WORD ORDER IN EARLY PALI PROSE TEXTS

Pathompong Bodhiprasiddhinand

Ñāṇasaṃvara Centre for Buddhist Studies
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Contents

Abstract 1

Acknowledgements 3

Foreward 5

Preface: *Pariyatti* Studies in Thailand 9

The History of *Pariyatti* Studies in Thailand 10

The current curriculum of Pariyatti Studies in Thailand 23

The Classification of Pariyatti Studies in Thailand 29

Prayoke 1-2 (Combined Together) 29

Prayoke 3 30

Prayoke 4 31

Prayoke 5 31

Prayoke 6 31

Prayoke 7 31

Prayoke 8 31

Prayoke 9 32

Abbreviations 37

A. Primary Sources: Pāli and Sanskrit Texts and Translations 37

(1). Abbreviations of Edited Texts 37

(2). CD-ROM 42

(3). Key to symbols and abbreviations used in the examples 43

B. Secondary Sources 43

C. General Abbreviations....47
CHAPTER I: INTRODUCTION....51
Part I: General Statements....51
§ 1.1. Problem, scope and remarks on the data....51
§ 1. 2. Outline of contents....60
PART II: Theoretical knowledge on word order in Pāli....64
§ 1. 3. The concept of word order in Indic languages....64
The notions of marked and unmarked word orders in Pāli....66
§ 1.4. Unmarked positions of words in the selected texts....71
§1.4.1. Introductory elements in sentences....73
§ 1.4.2. Unmarked positions of nominals and their modifiers....75
§ 1.4.2.1. The nominative case....76
§ 1.4.2.1.1 Subjects without finite verbs....77
§ 1.4.2.1.2. Subjects with finite verbs....85
§ 1.4.2.2 The accusative case....92
§ 1.4.2.3. The instrumental case....95
§ 1.4.2.4 The dative case....99
§ 1.4.2.5 The ablative case....100
§ 1.4.2.6 The genitive case....102
§ 1.4.2.7 The locative case....106
§ 1.4.2.8. Concluding remarks....110
§ 1.4.3 Positions of subject complements (*vikatikattā*)....113
§ 1.4.4 Positions of non-finite verbs (participles and absolutives)....119
§ 1.4.5. Positions of finite verbs....123
§ 1.4.6. Positions of verbal modifiers....124

§ 1.4.6.1 Indeclinable adverbs 126
§ 1.4.6.2. Case forms functioning as adverbials 128
§ 1.4.6.3. Adverbial phrases led by adverbial particles 134
§ 1.4.7. Summary 136
§ 1.5 Unmarked word order and styles 140
CHAPTER II: POST-VERBAL WORDS IN SENTENCES 143
§ 2.1 The group of appositional nouns or substantives 144
§ 2.2 The group of nouns without other nouns in apposition 157
§ 2.2.1 The group of post-verbal words with their finite verbs or predicative groups placed at the beginning of sentences 158
(I) The group of the verb 'to be' 159
(II) The group of other verbs 163
(I) Interrogative or Question Sentences 174
(II) Emphatic sentences 176
(III) Command sentences 180
(IV) Request sentence 181
§ 2.2.2 The group of post-verbal words with finite verbs or predicates placed in penultimate positions, i.e. before post-verbal nouns. 183
§ 2.2.2.1 Commentalisation 194
§ 2.2.2.2 Stylistic features of author(s) 203
§ 2.2.2.3 A stereotyped expression: *paraṃ maraṇā* ('after death') 210
§ 2.3 Post-verbal nouns linked by *seyyathīdaṃ* and *yadidaṃ* 211
(I) Many single words 215
(II) Phrases 218
(III) Sentences 219

(IV) Single words plus clauses/sentences 221
§ 2.4 The group of post-verbal words linked by *saddhiṃ* 232
§ 2.5 The Group of Post-verbal Adjectives 244
§ 2.5.1 Post-verbal extra adjectives which define main nouns more exactly 249
§ 2.5.2 Post-verbal adjectives which are non-restrictive 251
§ 2.5.3 Post-verbal adjectives as a result of an authorial or literary style 252
§ 2.6 The group of post-verbal words conjoined by conjunctions *ca* and *vā* 254
§ 2.7 The group of post-verbal subjective complements 258
§ 2.7.1 One subject complement is post-verbal, the rest are pre-verbal 263
§ 2.7.2 Cases in which subject complements are placed after their finite verbs 265
§ 2.8 Post-verbal case forms which function adverbially 267
§ 2.9 Metrical influences 271
§ 2.10 Summary 273
CHAPTER III: POST-VERBAL INFINITIVES, ABSOLUTIVES AND PARTICIPLES 279
§ 3.1. Post-verbal infinitives 279
§ 3.1.1 Interrogative or question sentences 286
§ 3.1.2 Emphatic sentences 288
§ 3.1.3 Declarative sentences 289
§ 3.2 Post-verbal Absolutives 296
§ 3.2.1 An Analysis of Contexts 296
§ 3.2.3 Concluding Remarks 310
§ 3.3 Post-verbal Present Participles 313
§ 3.3.1 An Analysis of the Contexts 313
§ 3.3.2 Concluding remarks 316

§ 3.4 Summary 317

CHAPTER IV: POSITIONS OF RELATIVE CLAUSES IN SENTENCES 321

§ 4.1 Restrictive relative clauses (RRC) 325

§ 4.1.1 Preposed RRC 328

§ 4.1.1.1 One *ya-* in RRC+ one *ta-* in MC 329

§ 4.1.1.2 The Multiuse of *ya-* in RRC or *ta-* in MC 348

§ 4.1.1.3 *Ya-* in combination with InterPro in RRC + *ta-* in MC 351

§ 4.1.1.4 The pattern *ya-* in combination with *ta-* in RRC + *ta-* in MC. 353

§ 4.1.1.5 Concluding remarks 362

§ 4.1.2 Post-posed RRC 363

§ 4.1.2.1 Finite verbs as emphatic words 372

§ 4.1.2.2 Interrogative pronouns as emphatic words 374

§ 4.1.2.3 Noun subjects in MC as emphatic words 375

§ 4.1.2.4 Other elements as emphatic words 376

§ 4.1.2.5 Demonstrative pronouns as emphatic words 378

§ 4.1.2.6 Lemmata as emphatic words 384

§ 4.1.2.7 The whole MC as emphatic words 386

§ 4.1.3 Concluding remarks 387

§ 4.2 Non-restrictive relative clauses (Non-RRC) or deficient relative clauses (DRC) 390

§ 4.2.1 Explanations on DRC by Pāli grammarians 394

§ 4.2.2 Explanations from IE, Vedic and classical Skt. Grammarians 400

§ 4.2.3 Concluding remarks 408

§ 4.3 The unmarked positions of adverbial clauses (AdC) 411

§ 4.3.1 AdC placed before MC 414

§ 4.3.2 AdC placed after MC 437
§ 4.3.4 Concluding remarks 443
§ 4.5 Summary 446
1. Complex sentence 449
2. Complex sentence 449
3. Complex sentence 450
CHAPTER V: CONCLUSION 455
Appendix: Brief notes on modern 465
Thai Pāli syntacticians cited in this thesis 465
Bibliography 471
1. Primary Sources 471
2. Secondary Sources 475

Abstract

Drawing on both Thai and Western scholarship, this thesis aims to investigate word order in early Pāli prose. The texts selected for study are: (A) the *Brahmajālasutta* (BJS), the *Sāmaññaphalasutta* (SPS) and (B) a portion of the commentary on the *Brahmajālasutta* (BJSA). (A) represents the earliest prose style, being the initial portion of the Dīghanikāya and thus of the Suttapiṭaka in its traditional arrangement. (B) by contrast, represents the classical commentarial style, being the initial portion of the commentary on the Dīghanikāya ascribed to Buddhaghosa. About five centuries separate the two texts in the form in which they have reached us. I have limited my study to these two bodies of text for pragmatic reasons, since a large sample would be too much to handle in one thesis. The thesis is divided into five main chapters. Chapter One presents the research question and an overview of theories on marked and unmarked word order. Relying primarily on Thai scholarship, as it is more comprehensive than Western, I propose reasons for divergences from the SOV word order usually found in early Pāli texts. Chapter Two investigates the factors leading to the post-verbal placement of case forms. Chapter Three investigates post-verbal participles, gerunds and infinitives. Chapter Four examines all the relative clauses in the selected texts. Chapter Five summarises my findings.

I suggest that the normative order of words is the placement of dependent words before governing words. Any divergence is the result of other parameters, notably topicalisation, commentalisation, unemphasis, authorial style, and stereotyped expressions. I also propose that the standard

order of restrictive relative clauses (RRC) in BJS, SPS and BJSA is before main clauses (MC). The reverse order takes place when MC is topicalised, which occurs in two ways: (1) a particular word in MC is emphasised; (2) the whole MC is emphasised. Divergent contexts are mainly due to authorial style and inherited stereotyped patterns. In addition, I propose that there are two remarkable differences between the two corpuses of texts. (1) BJS and SPS contain the phenomenon of topicalisation more than BJSA. It is proposed that this is because BJS and SPS are composed mostly in dialogue style, while BJSA is composed in an academic expository style. (2) Though both corpuses of texts maintain the SOV pattern, BJSA at times differs from BJS and SPS by having longer relative sentences and compounds.

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Pathompong Bodhipraiddhinand,
St Anne's College, Oxford University,
Hilary Term, 2003

Foreward

Thailand holds a strange position in the history of Pali literature and Pali education. On the one hand, there is no other place in the Buddhist world where there are more resources, better organization, and more students studying Pali. On the other hand, there have very few original Pali texts composed and very few traditional grammars produced in Thailand. Thai scholars (both ordained and lay) could simply be labeled the great preservers of the Theravada Buddhist tradition and the legacy of Pali literature and learning. However, despite the fact that few original Pali texts have been written by Thai nuns, monks, and lay people, there has been great innovation in the way Pali is taught and transmitted over time. Thais have not simply preserved Pali literature, but have developed a wide variety of pedagogical techniques, vernacular grammatica, and unique approaches to the study of Pali.

Pathompong Bodhiprasiddhinand's new book, based on his 2003 doctoral dissertation from Oxford University written under the supervision of Richard Gombrich, reveals innovations in the Pali grammatical and pedagogical tradition in Thailand over time. He starts off the book with a clearly written and very useful history of the study of Pali in Thailand in Sukhothai, Ayutthaya, and Bangkok. This is a straightforward history using both Thai and Western sources that shows how the learning of Pali went from a relatively loose system of royally sponsored readings and informal examinations, to a very formal, nine level system. Other changes over time

were a move away from Pali canonical texts to a greater (and almost total) focus on Pali commentarial texts. Local grammatica based on traditional Pali grammars produced in Sri Lanka and Burma also changed over time. At first they were transmitted through vernacular glosses of Pali grammatica like the *Kaccāyanavyākaraṇa* and the *Saddanīti*, but during the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries original Thai grammar textbooks for the study of Pali were developed under the supervision of the Prince Monk Vajirañāṇavarorasa and his students. Phra Sompong Mudito (a student of Phra Dhammananda of Wat Tha Ma-o) produced editions of five foundation Pali grammatica in a large collected volume called the *Pañca Mūla Gantha*, which contained the Pali texts *Kaccāyanavyākaraṇa, Abhidhānappadīpikā, Vuttodaya, Subhodhālaṇkāra, Dhātvatthasaṇgaha.* One of the most important Pali guides was written by late His Holiness Somdet Phra Ñāṇasaṃvara, Supreme Patriarch called the *Explanations on the Pali Syntax* (*Athibai Vākyasampan*). There were also numerous guides to Pali examinations (*ku meu triam sop*) that reveal local adaptations to traditional Pali learning. Therefore, where we see Thai scholars putting their stamp on the tradition is in method more than new texts. These new pedagogical methods enabled the study of Pali grammar to grow throughout the country and allow students with no previous knowledge of Pali from the farthest reaches of the kingdom to access Pali canonical and commentarial texts.

Pathompong Bodhiprasiddhinand's book not only provides a clear history of the study of Pali grammar in Thailand and *Pariyatti* Studies in general, but also is an in depth study of syntax and word order in the *Brahmajālasutta*, the *Sāmaññaphalasutta,* and a portion of the commentary on the *Brahmajālasutta.* Pathompong argues well that the first two texts

represent the earliest prose style of Pali and the third text represents the classical commentarial style, being the initial portion of the commentary on the *Dīghanikāya* ascribed to Buddhaghosa. He provides a wide-range of detailed sections on the position of verbs, subject complements, verbal modifiers, appositional nouns, emphatic sentences, post-verbal infinitives, restrictive relative clauses, demonstrative pronouns, and many other grammatical features. What I particularly found useful about this book was his sections on post-verbal nouns like *seyyathīdaṃ* and *yadidaṃ*, as well as the stereotyped expression *paraṃ maraṇā* ("after death"). At the end of the book he emerges from this detailed study to offer a broad view of Vedic and Classical Sanskrit grammarians and their impact on Pali grammar traditions. He also includes a short section on the modern study of Pali grammar in Thailand and provides a useful list of modern internet and CD-Rom resources to study Pali.

With the publication of Pathompong Bodhiprasiddhinand's book *Word Order in Early Pali Prose Texts* we both have a clear history of the study of Pali grammar and grammatica in Siam/Central Thailand, but also a close study of the innovative methods used to study Pali and, especially, Pali syntax. It will be a very valuable resource for students and scholars alike for many years.

Justin Thomas McDaniel
University of Pennsylvania

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Preface: *Pariyatti* Studies in Thailand

This work is an analytical study of syntactical structures of texts in the Pali Canon, with a special focus on the early Buddhist Texts of the *Nikāyas*. It was formerly a DPhil thesis submitted to the Oriental Institute, at the University of Oxford, in 2003. In analyzing the structure of sentences in the Pali Canon, I based myself on the Pali literature widely used and studied in Thailand, which include the *Kaccāyanavyākaraṇa* and the *Saddanīti*, the *Atthayojanā*s, the works of Prince Monk Vajirañāṇavarorasa and other scholars who compose other grammatical texts to support the works of the Prince monk.

The work which I mention quite often in my thesis is the Explanations on the Pali Syntax (*Athibai Vākyasampan* or 'Explanations on the Pali Syntax'), written by the late His Holiness Somdet Phra Ñāṇasaṃvara, Supreme Patriarch of Thailand. These books were published, in two volumes, by the Mahamakuta Rajavidyalaya Foundation (henceforth MRF), Bangkok. Being the basic books on Pali syntax used throughout the country, they were greatly influenced by other Pali grammatical treatises, especially the *Kaccāyaṇavyākaraṇa* and the *Saddanīti*, popularly studied in both Thailand and Myanmar. The two books are meant to be the textbooks for monk and novice students in Thailand who study Thai Traditional Pali Studies Prayoke or Grade 3, which I am going to explain afterwards. The Supreme Patriarch finished the Thai traditional Pali Studes Prayoke or Grade 9 in 1941. At Wat

Bowornniwetwiharn, he composed the two books in order to explain how each word in each Pali sentence is connected to one another (*kāraka)*. It is important that one has to understand the function of each conjugated or declined word clearly first before one can understand the sentence structure of Pali.

Another book was written by Phra Udomyānamoli, a prominent Pali scholar who currently lives at Wat Sampanthawongsaram, Bangkok. After finishing Prayoke 9 in 1956, he works as member of the Pali Text Committee at the MRF, Bangkok. He published his work entitle “หนังสือคู่มือฝึกหัดแต่งไทยเป็นมคธ” has been published by this foundation right from the very beginning. I was privileged to work with him for quite some time when I was appointed Academic Advisor to MRF by the late His Holiness Somdet Phra Ñāṇasaṃvara. In order to explain how my work is related to other Pali literature used in Thailand, it is important that I first explain its contexts, socially and historically.

The History of *Pariyatti* Studies in Thailand

The study of Pali and Buddhism within the Thai monastic Order is normally called *pariyattidhamma* Studies, 'the study of the Buddhist Pali Scriptures', which could be understood more widely as the study of the Pali language and the Buddha's teachings', and can be termed *'Pariyatti* Studies' for short. The meaning of the term is not as wide as ‘Buddhist Studies’ as it is generally used nowadays since it focuses on the Pali language, literature and the teachings of Theravada Buddhism as preserved in Thailand only. It does not cover any other disciplines which could be introduced as part of modern Buddhist Studies, such as history, archaeology, art, anthropology etc. The

notion of *Pariyatti* Studies centres around the Pali language and some Pali texts selected by the governing body of the Saṇgha which was supported by Kings according to each period. A monk or a novice who is in the monkhood or novicehood nowadays is expected to study the *pariyattidhamma.* which means he must learn Pali, which is the language of the Theravada scriptures, and the *dhamma* of the Buddha in the Pali Canon or other Pali scriptures. The *Pariyattidhamma* schools have been set up in almost every monastery in Thailand for Buddhist monks and novices to study.

Usually, *pariyatti* translates as 'learning (the Pali scriptures)',[1] and is complemented by *patipatti* (Practice). It means that Buddhist monks have to learn the Pali language and other Buddhist Pali texts first before he could put the Buddha's teachings into practice seriously. There are two purposes of p*ariyatti* Studies: on the one hand, it is for the preservation and continuation of Theravada Buddhism in Thailand; on the other, it is a map for spiritual development if monks are going to put the Buddha's teaching into practice seriously. With a good foundation in the *Pariyatti* studies, monks will be able to realize the step to be taken in the course of spiritual development. Fundamental to *Pariyatti* Studies is certainly the Pali language, but the texts selected to study are subject to change through a long history of Buddhism in Thailand, depending on preferences of the monastic administrators of each period. I find it important to explore *Pariyatti* Studies in Thailand so that the readers will be able to understand the social contexts of the Pali grammatical or syntactical books utilised by my thesis rely.

Pariyatti Studies in Thailand go back to at least the Sukhothai period

[1]PTSD, 1966, sv, *Pariyatti,* p.432.

(1238-1438). At that time, Buddhist monks and the general public were provided with basic education in two venues: the Royal Palace and Buddhist monasteries. While the Royal Palace had set up the schooling, mainly for sons and daughters of the royal and upper class families, Buddhist monasteries were the strong seats of learning where general laypeople sent their children. Within the monasteries, Pali was usually taught by monks; for monks and novice students, the emphasis was on Pali, and when their foundation was strong, they could study the Pali Canon, starting from the Suttantapiṭaka, the Vinayapiṭaka and the Abhidhammapiṭaka respectively. It is recorded: 'When King Dhammaraja established his royal palace, he ordered Buddhist monks to learn the Pali Canon and Brahmins to learn other liberal arts within his palace'.[2] The courses offered were focused on the Pali language, the Pali Canon and some other subjects which could be taught by learned *thera*s, kings or other learned royals. One of the most learned Kings who happened to teach at the Royal school within the Grand Palace was notably Ramkhamhaeng (1279-1298) who not only taught general knowledge but also morality (he has been highly esteemed in this respect).[3] The texts used for the studies of

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[2] 'เมื่อพระมหาธรรมราชาสร้างปราสาทราชมนเทียรแล้ว
ได้จัดให้มีพระสงฆ์เรียนพระไตรปิฎกและ-
ให้มีพวกพราหมณ์เรียนศิลปะศาสตร์ในบริเวณพระมหาปราสาท'
Phitoon Maliwan, *Moradok Phor Khun Ram Khamhaeng (Heritage of King Ramkham-haeng),* Bangkok: 248. (From the original Thai: พิทูรย์ มลิวัลย์, มรดกพ่อขุนรามคำแหง, กรุงเทพฯ, หน้า ๒๔๘).

[3] 'พ่อขุนรามคำแหงนั้นหาเป็นท้าวเป็นพระญาแก่ไทยทั้งหลาย หาเป็นครูอาจารย์สั่งสอนไทย-ทั้งหลายให้รู้บุญรู้ธรรมแท้'. พิทูรย์ มลิวัลย์, มรดกพ่อขุนรามคำแหง วรรณกรรมเรื่องแรกของไทย, หน้า ๑๙๒-๑๙๓.

monks in those days included not only the Pali texts of Theravada Buddhism, but also the Sanskrit texts of Mahayana Buddhism. The latter was due to the influence of the Khmer kingdom, where Mahayana Buddhism and Hinduism flourishing together. Only later, after King Ramkhamhaeng replaced the old Khmer alphabet with his new the Thai alphabet, were many monks and laypeople enthusiastic to learn more.

The main subjects taught at that time included general knowledge, useful for serving the country, as well as Buddhist ethics or morality. If Buddhist monks disrobed, they could therefore serve the country well. However, around the end of the period, Buddhist studies within the *saṇgha* was weakened because later Kings, especially, King Leuthai (1370-1388), did not pay much interest to monastic study; at the time, state administration was also quite weak. In addition, there was a clear split of monks during this period into *gāmavāsī* (city-dwelling) and *araññavāsī* (forest-dwelling). While it is true that the *gāmavāsī* monks were more powerful within the royal palaces and among the general public than the *araññavasī* ones, their *Pariyatti* studies was quite weak. As a consequence, by the end of the Sukhothai period Buddhist Studies had been considerably weakened.

During the Ayutthaya period (1351-1767), *Pariyatti* Studies was improved tremendously due to royal support, despite the fact that the early Kings of Ayutthaya did not pay much attention to monastic education at all. The *gāmavāsī* monks who controlled *Pariyatti* Studies lost their permanent grounds since the general public and Thai Kings paid more attention to the *araññavāsī* monks. *Pariyatti* studies during the beginning of the Ayutthaya period was therefore neglected by the Kings, who were its main patrons. Even if the *araññavasī* monks were more popular, the monks whom the general

public paid much attention to were, nonetheless, those who practiced the superstitious beliefs (ไสยศาสตร์) or incantations (เวทย์มนตร์คาถา), which might collectively be termed 'Black magic'.[4] The general public who were ordained in the monkhood were, in fact, interested in studying these arts, although they are regarded as low *(tiracchāna-vijjā)* in the Pali Canon (as had been emphasized during the early Sukhothai period).

Having seen the decline of Buddhism, King Narai or King Ramadhipati III (1633-1688) wanted to improve matters. He started to develop *Pariyatti* studies again, modeling it on the Sukhothai period. Not only did he bring into prominence the study of the Pali language and the Pali Canon, but he also set up the examination system to evaluate the proficiency of monk students too. This was the first time that the study of *pariyatti* was examined seriously in Thailand, even though we donor know for certainty how the examination was organized. Those who passed the exam was officially called 'Parien'. This word is derived from *pariññā* in Pali, which can be translated as 'full or accurate knowledge'. In Thai language, the word *Parien* is developed to be Barien, which turns to mean 'an expert or specialist in *Pariyatti* (Pali language and Pali scriptures) Studies'. It was for the first time too that the position of Parien was set up by the King in recognition of knowledge for having passed the *Pariyatti* exam. While *Pariyatti* Studies were

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[4] Pathompong Bodhiprasiddhinand, *History of Buddhism in Thailand: From the Sukhothai Period up until the King Rama V.* A Research work sponsored by College of Religious Studies, Mahidol University, 2006. (in Thai). Nakhonpathom: Mahidol University, p.72 (ปฐมพงษ์ โพธิ์ประสิทธินันท์, ประวัติศาสตร์พระพุทธศาสนาในประเทศไทยตั้งแต่สมัยสุโขทัยจนถึงสมัยรัชกาลที่ ๕, งานวิจัยได้ทุนสนับสนุนจากวิทยาลัยศาสนศึกษา มหาวิทยาลัยมหิดล, ๒๕๔๙ หน้า ๗๒).

revived again, the King also supported monks or novices in a number of way to encourage them to study *Pariyatti*, since the *Pariyatti* studies was regarded as part of the national education for training people nationwide. Because of his serious support, many more people were ordained as monks, so *Pariyatti* studies were lively again.

It is also well recorded that many within the monastic order escaped from their worldly life simply to enjoy material supports made to Buddhist monks by the King, without having a serious dedication to *Pariyatti* Studies at all. When the King was informed of these monks, he asked Khun Lunag Sorasakdi (ขุนหลวงศรศักดิ์) to organize a *Pariyatti* examination. Only those who passed the examiniation were allowed to remain in the monkhood, but those who failed were not only defrocked but also were punished by the state law.[5] To promote *Pariyatti* Studies seriously, King Narai ordered that *Pariyatti* schooling be established, so that every monk and novice were engaged in this study throughout the Kingdom. From now on, the tradition of 'getting ordained as monk or novice in order to study' (บวชเรียน) was fully set up and well known in Thailand. Because an ordination had become the tradition, one can be ordained as a monk or novice in order to learn if one wants to learn. This tradition was obviously set up in order to wipe out all those monks who were engaged in studying black magics rather than the Pali Canon.

Even if *Pariyatti* Studies were initiated during the Sukhothai period,

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[5] *Pariyatti* Texts Division, *History of the Monastic Education (Prawat Karn Sueksa Khong Song)*, Bangkok: Department of Religions, 2517, p.16 (From the original: Thai ฝ่ายปริยัติปกรณ์ กองศาสนศึกษา, ประวัติการศึกษาของสงฆ์, กรุงเทพฯ: โรงพิมพ์การศาสนา, ๒๕๒๗, หน้า ๑๖).

no curriculum and examination for evaluations were designed. The study depended entirely on personal preferences of both teachers and students. Upon seeing that there were no fixed texts, timetable, evaluations and status of students, King Narai assigned Buddhist monks to learn the Pali Canon, starting, like the Sukhothai period, from the Suttantapiṭaka, the Vinayapiṭaka and the Abhidhammapiṭaka. The classes were divided into three, namely:

1. Barien Tree (The Beginners' Class). The students must study the Suttantapiṭaka.
2. Barien Tho (The Second or Intermediate Class). The students must study both the Suttantapiṭaka and the Vinayapiṭaka.
3. Barien Ek (The Top or Advanced Class). The students must study all the Suttantapiṭaka, the Vinayapiṭaka and the Abhidhamma-piṭaka.

It is important to note that the word 'Barien' is derived from Pali *'pariñña'*, which literally translate as 'full, accurate or exact knowledge'[6] but the word 'Barien' in Thai changes its original meaning to mean 'somebody who has full knowledge in Pali', or simply, 'an expert in Pali'. During the Ayutthaya until the early Ratanakosindra period, we find the word 'Barien' in use but later, from the time of King Rama V onwards it was replaced by 'Parien', which is also a derivative from '*pariñña*'.

Those who finished all the three classes were called 'Mahābarienbali' ([*mahā+pariñña+Pali*] A Great scholar who is an expert in Pali). The *Pariyatti* schooling was mainly provided within the compound of the Grand Palace while some monasteries were simply branches of the schools within the Royal

6 PTSD, 1966, p. 425 (sv. *pariññā*).

Palace. The teachers of these schools were mainly the Kings themselves, royal *paṇḍitas* (learned men) and senior monks who were well versed in the Pali Canon. Before monks or novices could start learning the Pali Canon, they were required to master the Pali Language by first of all studying the *Kaccāyanavyākaraṇa*, simply called *'Mūlakaccāyana'* (or มูลกัจจายน์ in Thai) the standard work on Pali grammar. At least, monk or novice students had to spend two years in order to study and master this work, after which they were required to study the Pali Canon, for at least three years, before being allowed to sit for the Barien Tree exam. Having gained confidence in their knowledge, prospective students now went to inform their masters to ask for the exam and their masters proceeded to inform the King respectively.

The King then ordered his officers to organize an examination, traditionally called 'สอบสนามหลวง' (*Sob Sanam Lhuang*) which refers to 'the royally-supported annual or final examination'. On the examination day, the king would chair a committee which contained two other members: another Mahathera monk and a royal *paṇḍita*. The prospective students were supposed to translate the assigned Pali passages orally in front of the committee. Normally, those students were evaluated by being asked to translate the *Suttantapiṭaka*, which consisted of 21,000 *dhammakhandhas*, first. The *Suttantapiṭaka* was prepared in many different bundles and the prospect students were allowed to select any one of these bundles themselves. For the translation of the whole selected passages, they were allowed to mistranslate one word or one sentence for three times only. If they made mistakes more than three times, they would be failed and had to prepare for the exam in another year. If students could translate without making any mistake, they were passed and obtained the certificate of Barien Tree, which means they

had finished the beginners' class and had to wait for another three years for the examiniation of Barien Tho, and another three years for Barien Ek respectively. That means that a prospective student had to spend eleven years, including the first two years spent on studying the *Kaccāyanavyākaraṇa*, to finish *Pariyatti* Studies during the Ayutthaya period.

Those who successfully passed the final exam of Barien Tree were awarded the prefix *'maha'* (great) before their name. For example, a monk whose previous name was Pathompong successfully passed the exam for Barien Tree. The Thai word for monk is Phra (พระ). When a young man named Pathompong (ปฐมพงษ์) was ordained as monk, he is called Phra Pathompong (พระปฐมพงษ์). After he had successfully passed the three stages of the *Pariyatti* Studies, he was honorifically called 'Phra Mahā Pathompong' (which literally means 'Monk Great Pathompong', or 'the great monk Pathompong'). Apart from the prefix, the monk who successfully passed the Pali exam was subject to be promoted by the King to a higher ecclesiastic position within the Saṇgha. The King hoped that he could be able to teach the Buddha' s genuine teachings from the Pali Canon directly, and that those in the kingdom more prevalent in black magic could be replaced by those specializing in the sublime teachings of the Buddha instead.

After Ayutthaya was razed by the Burmese in 1767, King Taksin (1767-1782), who established a new Thai Kingdom with a capital in Thonburi, tried very hard to collect the Pali palm-leaf manuscripts which were scattered here and there across the country, since a large number of Pali texts kept in various monasteries of Ayutthaya were destroyed by Burma. For *Pariyatti* Studies, it is recorded in a Royal Handwritten Chronicle

(พงศาวดารฉบับพระราชหัตถเลขา), that 'monastic education for monks during the Thonburi period remained the same as in during the Ayutthaya period'.[7] This is because the country was not in a completely peaceful state: Buddhist texts were mostly destroyed, monks were scattered here and there due to wars, and monasteries were plundered by the Burmese troops. The King himself had to invite many monks from across the country to restore Pali schooling and teach *Pariyatti* Studies again.

A significant change to *Pariyatti* Studies was made during the early Ratanakosindra period, when King Rama 2 of the present Chakri Dynasty (Buddhalerd La Naphalai) asked His Holiness the Supreme Patriarch (Mee) of Wat Rajburana to change the curriculum in a way that monks would be trained harder and posses more knowledge than during the Ayutthaya period. Being the Chairman responsible for reforming the monastic *Pariyatti* Studies, the Supreme Patriach proposed the new idea of dividing *Pariyatti* Studies into nine classes (typically called *Prayoke* [Skt=<*prayoga*]), starting from class (Prayoke) 1 to class 9. This laid the foundation for the modern study of Pali in Thailand. According to the Supreme Patriarch, there were two reasons for the classification: on the one hand, the teaching of the Buddha is divided into nine format *(aṇgas)* which are *suttas, geya, veyyākaraṇa, gāthā, udāna, itivuttaka, abbhūtadhamma* and *vedalla*; and, on the other hand, the Buddha's

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[7] การศึกษาเล่าเรียนของบรรดาพระภิกษุสงฆ์ก็คงไว้ตามแบบฉบับของกรุงศรีอยุธยา. *Pariyatti* Texts Division, *History of the Monastic Education (Prawat Karn Sueksa Khong Song)*, Bangkok: Department of Religions, 2517, p.16 (From the original Thai ฝ่ายปริยัติปกรณ์ กองศาสนศึกษา, ประวัติการศึกษาของสงฆ์, กรุงเทพฯ: โรงพิมพ์การศาสนา, ๒๕๒๗, หน้า ๑๙).

teaching, if practiced properly, can lead a person to nine fruits, namely, four *maggas*, four *phalas* plus *nibbāna*.[8]

Instead of focusing on the Pali Canonical Texts as during the Ayutthaya period, commentarial or special texts were selected to the Saṇgha's new Pali curriculum instead. The details are as follows.

1. **Prayoke 1-3.** The Pali texts used for these three levels were the *Dhammapadaṭṭhakathā* (commentary on the *Dhammapada*). The prospective students have to pass the translations of three passages successfully in order to obtain the Barien credential.
2. **Prayoke 4.** The Pali textbooks used for studying was the first bundle of the *Mangalatthadīpanī*
3. **Prayoke 5.** The Pali textbooks used for studying were Pālimuttaka before it was replaced by the *Sāratthasaṅgaha*, and then it was changed back to the *Pālimuttaka* again.
4. **Prayoke 6.** The Pali textbook used for studying was the second bundle of the *Mangalatthadīpanī*
5. **Prayoke 7.** The Pali textbook used for studying was the *Samanta-pāsādikā*, the commentary on the *Vinayapiṭaka*.
6. **Prayoke 8.** The Pali textbook used for studying was the *Visuddhimagga*.
7. **Prayoke 9.** The Pali textbooks used for stuying were the

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[8] *Pariyatti* Texts Division, *History of the Monastic Education (Prawat Karn Sueksa Khong Song)*, Bangkok: Department of Religions, 2517, p.30 (From the original Thai: ฝ่ายปริยัติปกรณ์ กองศาสนศึกษา, ประวัติการศึกษาของสงฆ์, กรุงเทพฯ: โรงพิมพ์การศาสนา, ๒๕๒๗, หน้า ๓๐).

Sāratthadīpanīṭīka. Later it was replaced by *Abhidhammattha vibhāvinīṭīka*.

The Thai word 'Prayoke' needs more explanations. Derived from the Sanskrit word *prayoga*, the word changes its original meaning in Pali to refer to 'sentences' or 'passages' in the Pali palm-leaf manuscripts selected for a Pali candidate to translate in the final exam. At first, the Saṅgha fixed the number of sentences which form 'a set of passages' to be translated for each grade. The Pali passages to be translated were normally unseen texts, taken from any part of the Pali textbooks in the form of Pali palmleaf manuscripts for each Prayoke or grade in the curriculum. For example, a candidate for Prayoke 3 was supposed to translate thirty lines of unseen Pali passages from three Pali palm-leaf manuscripts of the textbooks in the curriculum because each Pali manuscript has ten lines. A candidate had to translate all the three palmleaf manuscripts successfully, from the original Pali into Siamese/Thai. Because 'Prayoke' was used to denote the sentences which were translated by the Pali Candidates successfully, so it turns, by extension, to mean 'Grade' automatically. Therefore, a monk who passed the exam for Prayoke 3, means he is a Pali Scholar Grade 3.

Tradition has it that those who passed the translations of the three Pali manuscripts were given the title of 'Barien 3 Prayoke', which means 'an Expert in Pali Grade 3.'Because the word 'Prayoke' was used to refer to the number of sentences or a set of passages to be translated for each grade, gradually it shifted its meaning from 'sentence' to 'Grade' or 'Level'. The top grade is the 9th. 'A monk of Prayoke 9' means 'he is an expert in Pali Grade 9'. Any candidate, if able, could pass many Prayokes or grades on one day if he could successfully translate and pass all the unseen passages provided

during his exam. For example, King Rama IV, who was noted for his expertise in Pali, passed Prayokes 1 to 5 in one day, becoming the first 'Barien monk' from the royal families in the Kingdom. During the time of King Rama III, the Pali examination was held every three years to make sure that students of each grade had sufficient time to prepare for the exam. Even if *Pariyatti* Studies were divided into nine grades or levels, they were classified according to the Ayutthaya convention: Prayoke 3 is Barien Tree (First-Grade Expert), Prayoke 4-5-6 is Barien Tho (Intermediate Expert) and Prayoke 7—9 is Barien Ek (An Advanced Expert).

It is obvious that the Saṅgha led by His Holiness the Supreme Patriarch (Mee) had removed all the Pali Canonical texts which were used as textbooks during the Ayutthaya period from the new curriculum, replacing all the Pali Canonical texts with the commentarial ones. They thought that the newly selected texts would make Buddhist monks and novices who passed all the nine classes/grades better versed in Pali. Even if the Saṅgha may be criticized for giving more importance to commentarial texts rather than the more important canonical texts, on the grounds of linguistics, I personally think the Saṅgha's selection of the texts for the new curriculum justisfied their aim, since the commentarial style is more complicated than the style of the canonical texts.

Having familiarized themselves with the commentarial texts, the Pali Candidates were not only supposed to be skilled in translating the canonical texts, which are somewhat easier, but also able to compose more complicated Pali sentences in the commentarial style. If one focuses on canonical texts as throughout the curriculum of the Ayutthaya period, one would be able to translate the canonical texts with ease but would also find it difficult to

translate the commentarial texts which are more complicated. But if Buddhist monks are familiar with the commentarial texts, not only can they translate the commentarial texts, they can also gain proficiency in translating the canonical texts. In addition, student monks and novices can compose Pali commentarial texts in order to explain the Buddha's teachings in the same way as many commentators such as Buddhaghosa did in the past too.

I have argued elsewhere[9] that the new arrangement of the curriculum, with a special focus on the commentarial texts, made the student monks and novices familiar with exegetical Pali, and helped them realize how to explain the Buddha's words critically, in case the Pali Canonical texts are not clear. Previously, monks and novices were usually familiar with learning by heart rather than thinking critically. The curriculum was introduced during the time of King Nangklao Chao Yu Hua or King Rama III (1824-1851) to King Mongkut or King Rama IV (1851-1864). From King Rama V onwards, some changes were made by Prince Monk Vajirañāṇavarorasa, one of the royal sons of King Mongkut and former abbot of Wat Bowornniwetwiharn.

The current curriculum of Pariyatti Studies in Thailand

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[9] Pathompong Bodhiprasiddhinand, Monastic Education in the Past: From the Buddha's Lifetime to the Time of King Rama IV. In Phrathammathatjamuni (et al), editors, *100 Years of Mahamakuta Rājavidyālaya 1893-1993*, Bangkok: Mahamakuta Rajavidyalaya Foundation, 1993, p.422 (From the original version in Thai: ปฐมพงษ์ โพธิ์ประสิทธินันท์, การศึกษาของสงฆ์ในอดีต: ตั้งแต่สมัยพุทธกาลจนถึงรัชกาลที่ ๔ ใน พระธรรมธัชมุนีและคณะ (บรรณาธิการ), ๑๐๐ ปีมหามกุฏราชวิทยาลัย ๒๔๓๖-๒๕๓๖. กรุงเทพ: มูลนิธิมหามกุฏราชวิทยาลัยในพระบรมราชูปถัมภ์, ๒๕๓๖, หน้า ๔๒๒.

Preface

Pariyatti Studies in Thailand has been closely connected to Prince Monk Vajirañāṇavarorasa. It is impossible to explain Pali studies without mentioning his seminal and solid contributions. One of the royal sons of King Mongkut, the prince followed his father's footsteps by being ordained as monk and stayed at Wat Bowornniwetwiharn. He himself studied *Pariyatti* following the ancient tradition, and successfully joined the Pali final exammination, finishing at Parien 5. He did not continue with the further examinations again because his royal father, Vajirañāṇo Bhikkhu or King Mongkut, stopped the examination of *Pariyatti* Studies when he finished Parien 5 only.

Because of his mastery of Pali, the Prince Monk was appointed by his royal brother, King Rama V or King Chulalongkorn, to lead a group of Buddhist scholars to edit the Pali Canonical texts from the original palm-leaf manuscripts in Khom script, and into Thai script, during 1888-1893; the Pāli canon was then successfully published for the first time in the Kingdom in 39 volumes. When the job was done, big celebrations were made within the Royal Palaces in which some 1,026 monks were invited to recite the Pali chantings for three days. Around 1,000 sets of the Pali Canon was produced and given to various leading monasteries in the Kingdom.[10]

In 1892, the Prince Monk Vajirañāṇavarorasa was made Abbot of Wat Bowornniwetwiharn. Having seen that many monks and novices who were ordained temporarily were not scheduled to learn anything much, and did not

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[10] Wat Bowornniwetwiharn (editors), *A Legend of Wat Bowornniwetwiharn*. Bangkok: MRF, 1997, pp.95-6 (From the original Thai: วัดบวรนิเวศวิหาร, ตำนานวัดบวรนิเวศวิหาร, เล่ม ๑. กรุงเทพ: โรงพิมพ์มหามกุฏราชวิทยาลัย, หน้า ๙๕-๖)

know much about the Buddha's teachings or disciplines, the Prince Monk divided his students into two groups. The first group was those who planned to live in the monkhood for many years and they were expected to study the *Pariyatti* following the tradition. The second group was those who were in the monkhood temporarily. For the latter, he set up *Dhamma* (otherwise called *Naktham*) Studies, consisting of four courses for them to learn within Wat Bowornniwetwiharn first. The four main courses of Dhamma Studies were: *Krathū* (Buddhist Essays), *Dhammavibhāga* (The Explanations of the Buddha's Teaching), *Buddhappavatti* (History of the Buddha) and *Vinayapaññatti* (Monastic Disciplines).

In 1893, the Prince Monk Vajirañāṇavarorasa was appointed as the governing Chief of the Dhammayuttika Order. In the same year, with the royal decree, he set up the Mahamakuta Rajavidyālaya College or King Mongkut Royal Academy in honour of his late royal father, Mongkut, where he developed the study of Pali in such a simplified way that attracted many people to his new college. The college was actually the first higher education institution ever established in the country where he introduced the writing system for Pali Studies to replace the old, oral examination. A simplified Pali course was initiated by him so that his students could study faster in comparison to the old system. Courses in Buddhism were also introduced by him at this college to train student monks, from Bangkok as well as other provinces, to become teachers, many of whom were sent by him to teach in many schools across the country.[11]

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[11] Wat Bowornniwetwiharn Staff (editors), *A Collection of Writings of Prince Monk Vajirañaṇavarorasa.* Bangkok: Mahamakuta Rajavidyalaya Foundation, 2514, p.5 (From

After the college was founded, and since its rector needed more textbooks for his *Pariyatti* students to learn, there being insufficient palm-leaf manuscripts, the Prince Monk revived the old printing house, earlier initiated by his royal father, King Mongkut, within the compound of Wat Bowornniwetwiharn, in order to print the Pali textbooks, edited from the original Khom scripts into Thai.[12] A large number of Pali books were also transcribed from the original local scripts, and then edited and published by him afterwards. The printing house was later named as *Mahamakuta Rajavidyalaya*, which is currently affiliated to MRF, to honour his royal father. Historically, this printing house is the oldest of its kind owned by the Thai people in Thailand. Three years later, in 1896, King Chulalongkorn also wanted to develop the similar education at Wat Mahādhātu for monks of the Mahānikāya Order too, so he asked the Prince Monk to help him too. Thus, the old and famous Pali school called Mahādhātuvidyālaya was renamed Mahachulalongkornrājavidyālaya, modelling its curriculum and administrative system on its sister college, KMRA. Both colleges stood as the leading instututions for higher learning in the then Thailand before Chulalongkorn University was founded in 1902. After KMRA was run for eight years, it stoped operations[13] and, soon afterwards, its sister College at Wat Mahādhātu

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the original Thai: วัดบวรนิเวศวิหาร, ประมวลพระนิพนธ์ สมเด็จพระมหาสมณเจ้า กรมพระยาวชิรญาณวโรรส, กรุงเทพฯ: โรงพิมพ์มหามกุฏราชวิทยาลัย, ๒๕๑๔, หน้า ๕).

12 Wat Bowornniwetwiharn (editors), *A Legend of Wat Bowornniwetwiharn*. Bangkok: Mahamakuta Rajavidyalaya Foundation, 1997, p.83 (From the original Thai: วัดบวรนิเวศวิหาร, ตำนานวัดบวรนิเวศวิหาร, เล่ม ๑. กรุงเทพ: โรงพิมพ์มหามกุฏราชวิทยาลัย, หน้า ๘๓)

13 Now, Chulalongkorn University claims to be the the oldest university of Thailand but If

was also closed down.

The reasons for the closing down of these institutions were numerous. The main one was likely that the Prince Monk himself was asked by his royal brother, King Chulalongkorn (Rama V), to reform the national education, rather than forcussing on higher education at KMRA only. It means he had to think about how to educate young pupils at primary and high schools as well as students at the university level across the country too. The King went to visit several European countries and saw how Euorpean peoples had developed their universities. Upon his return, he planned to found the first secular university for civil services urgently for fear of the colonial threat. The Prince monk was then asked to draw up the curriculum of this new higher institution while Prince Damrongrājānubhāb, also a royal brother of King Chulalongkorn, was asked to set up the administrative rules. Because the new job assigned by the King together with other administrative work in his capacity as the Supreme Patriarch occupied much of his times, the Prince Monk had to close the King Mongkut Royal Academy. The new higher education institution later changed its name to be Chulalongkorn University during the time of King Rama VI.

In addition, Prince Monk Vajirañāṇavarorasa also initiated the translations of many Pali *Suttas* into Thai, and started the *Dharmacakṣu*

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we combine the historical backgrounds of both the monastic and secular educations together, we can see that actually KMRA (or currently known as Mahamakut Buddhist University) was the first institution for higher learning in Thailand, and, second to it, was certainly its sister college at Wat Mahadhatu, as currently known as Mahachulalongkorn Buddhist University, and then Chulalongkorn University.

magazine to publish all his Thai translations and other Buddhist articles, especially sermons. The magazine was widely known within a short period of time, since many of his students, both monks and laypeople, had to study how he translated from the original Pali into Thai. His translations became the foundation from which many later translations were produced by others, mostly his senior student monks, before the translations of Buddhist Pali texts were spread to other monasteries in Bangkok. Based on his earlier pioneering translations, many of his students translated numerous other Pali *Suttas* and published their work at MRF long before the first, complete set of the Thai translation of the Pali Canonical texts was printed and published in eighty volumes in 1957.

Even though the Prince Monk had done a lot for the progress of *Pariyatti* Studies in Thailand, his works were mostly confined to his students within the *Dhammayuttika* Order. It was not until in 1910, when he was made Supreme Patriarch of Thailand by King Rama VI, a position which could affect the curriculum of *Pariyatti* Studies throughout the country, that he could further systematise *Pariyatti* Studies. In 1913, having seen that student monks and novices who followed the traditional *Pariyatti* Studies were very weak in the teachings of the Buddha, the Prince Monk added the Dhamma Studies as part of *Prayoke* (Grade) 3. These four courses were required for all students of *Prayoke* 3 to pass first. It was obvious that the Prince Monk thought that the *Pariyatti* students of his day focused only on Pali, and so on the language of Theravada Buddhism rather than the teachings of the Buddha themselves, and, therefore, that their foundations in Buddhist doctrines were not sufficient. Dhamma or *Naktham* Studies, which had been conducted within Wat Bowornniwetwiharn, then became integrated into a wider system

of national monastic education.

The *Dhamma* or *Naktham* Studies are divided into three levels: *Naktham Tree* (Dhamma Studies Grade 3), *Naktham Tho* (Dhamma Studies Grade 2) and *Naktham Ek* (Dhamma Studies Grade 1 or Top Grade). Each grade has the four main courses as mentioned above. This means that before a Pali candidate can sit for the examination of *Prayoke* (Grade) 4, he has to pass the three grades of Dhamma or *Naktham* Studies first. In the very same year, the Prince introduced the writing system to replace the oral examination for the final examination of *Prayokes* 1 and 2. It was not until 1916 that the Prince Monk, now the Supreme Patriarch, ordered to stop using the oral examination completely, replacing it with the writing system as previously used at KMRA instead.

The Classification of Pariyatti Studies in Thailand

The classification of *Pariyatti* Studies in Thailand into nine *Prayoke* has been fixed from the time of King Rama III onwards, with some changes regarding the textbooks to be used for each prayoke later. The word *'Prayoke'* here specifically means 'Grade' or 'Level', and doesnot have anything to do with 'a set of passages' any longer. 'Barien' (an expert in Pali) is completely replaced by 'Parien' during the time of King Rama V. Even though the classification is divided into nine, but it can be summarised into three, following the ancient convention: Prayokes 1-5 equal 'Parien Tree', Prayoke 6-7 equal 'Parien Tho' and Prayokes 8-9 equal Parien Ek. The following details are the most up-to-date:

Prayoke 1-2 (Combined Together)

1. Pali Grammar, based on a set of five books of Pali grammar composed by Prince Monk Vajirañāṇavarorasa.
2. Translations[14] of Pali texts into Thai, the textbooks are the four *Dhammapadaṭṭhakathā,* vol.1-4 of the Thai version, printed and published by MRF.

Prayoke 3

1. Pali Grammar, based on a set of Pali grammar composed by Prince Monk Vajirañāṇavarorasa
3. Pali Syntax, based on the *Dhammapadaṭṭhakathā*, vol.5-8.
4. Translation from Pali into Thai, based on the *Dhammapadaṭṭhakathā*, vol.5-8.
5. *Būrapaphāk* (<*Pūrvabhāga*=In Thai, meaning 'Official Letter Writings'). This course focuses on how to write official letters within the monastic cycle, or to contact government officials. It has been intended for Buddhist monks to know how to write formal letters to one another and to government officials correctly.

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[14] There are two types of translation required in every *prayoke*: literal and sense. 'Literal translation' means the *Pariyatti* candidates must translate every word following the grammatical structure word by word showing how words are syntactically connected to one another in terms of *kāraka*. 'Sense translation' means a somewhat more concise translation which can easily be understood by the general public. When I was a monk, I was once requested by Phra Phrommuni (Vijamai Puññārāmo), Vice-abbot of Wat Bowornniwetwiharn and then Director of MRF, to write a book on how to translate the Pali texts into Thai. So back in 1989, I (by the name of Phramaha Pathompong Ngamluan) published my first book, *The Art of Pali Translation*. Bangkok: Mahamakuta Rajavidyalaya Foundation, pp.1-179 in which I illustrate how the literal and sense translations can be produced in Thai.

Prayoke 4

1. Translation from Thai into Pali, based on the *Dhammapadaṭṭhakathā*, vol.1.
2. Translation from Pali into Thai, based on the *Maṇgalatthadipanī*, Part 1.

Prayoke 5

1. Translation from Thai into Pali, based on the *Dhammapadaṭṭhakathā*, vols.2,3,4.
2. Translation from Pali into Thai, based on the *Maṇgalatthadīpanī,* Part 1I.

Prayoke 6

1. Translation from Thai into Pali, based on the *Dhammapadaṭṭhakathā*, vols.5,6,7,8.
2. Translation from Pali into Thai, based on the *Samantapāsādikā* (vols.3,4,5).

Prayoke 7

1. Translation from Thai into Pali, based on the Mangalaṭṭhadipanī, vols.1-2.
2. Translation from Pali into Thai, based on the Samantapasadikā, vols 1-2.

Prayoke 8

1. Pali Verse Composition (แต่งฉันท์). The candidates must be well-versed in the six types of verse, but can select only three of them in the final exam: *Paṭhyāvatta, Indavajirā, Upendavajirā, Indravaṃsa, Vaṃsattha,* and *Vasantatilakā*. Within three and a half hours, all the Pali candidates must compose the given, unseen Thai

passages and summarise them from the original Thai into Pali, selecting three types of verses out of six at their preferences.

2. Translation from Thai into Pali, based on the *Samantapasadikā*, vols. 1-2.
3. Translation from Pali into Thai, based on the *Visuddhimagga*.

Prayoke 9

1. Pali Composition (แต่งไทยเป็นบาลี), based on the Thai unseen passages to be given by the examiners. The Thai passages could be sermons of the Supreme Patriach, Govenment annoucements, essays from the newspapers etc. The candidates must translate and summarise the whole Thai passages into good Pali.
2. Translation from Thai into Pali, based on the *Samantapasadikā*, vols. 1-2.
3. Translation from Pali into Thai, based on the *Abhidhammattha-saṅghahavibhāvinī*

All the Pali textbooks used for each Prayoke or Grade were originally the bundles of Pali palm-leaf manuscripts in Khom script. Prince Monk Vajirañāṇavarorasa had laid the seminal contributions to the study of Pali texts by composing and editing many books. He made attempts to decipher and edit many of these Pali manuscripts from original local scripts such as Khom (Tham), Mon, ancient Lanna and ancient Isan scripts into modern Thai alphabet and got them printed by MRF. First, he composed textbooks in Thai covering all the four courses in preparation for teachings the Dhamma Studies to his monk students at Wat Bowornniwetwiharn. All of his books turn to become the textbooks for the Dhamma Studies across the country even today. Second, he made the *Pariyatti* studies easier by summarizing the

contents of the *Kaccāyanavyākaraṇa* into a set of five simplified Pali grammatical books by which there has been no need for Thai monk and novice students to study the *Kaccāyanavyākaraṇa* themselves in original palm-leaf manuscript which was written in Khom script any longer. His Pali grammar books were eariser by far. Third, he edited around twenty Pali textbooks from the original Pali palm-leaf manuscripts in local script, and encouraged his students to do the same. Altogether, with the exception of his edited Pali texts, he wrote around 200 titles in circulation.

Apart from making every effort to publish as many Pali textbooks in Thai modern alphabet as possible, the Prince Monk encouraged his students to do the same. He even appointed a group of monk committee to do. To make sure that the publication of Buddhist texts will continue following the footstepts of the Prince Monk, the Governing Chief of the Dhammayuttika Order (เจ้าคณะใหญ่คณะธรรมยุต) has appointed a group of monks, selected from the most learned monk scholars within the Dhammayuttika Order, to revise the old Pali texts already in existence for new publication and to publish new Pali textbooks for monastic studies following the footsteps of Prince Monk Vajirañāṇavarorasa. Currently, the MRF[15] has a group of the Pali Text

[15] Currently, the chairperson of this group of monks is now His Holiness Somdet Phra Wannarat (Cunda Brahmagutto), current abbot of Wat Bowornniwetwiharn, my teacher whom I stayed and studied with for many years when I was a novice and monk there. He has been the chair of the committee for more than 30 years standing. All the Pali and *dhamma* books published by MRF for more than thirty years were revised or edited by him. To help him set up the priorities of books to get published, I have also been appointed by former His Holiness Somedet Phra Nāṇasaṃvara the Supreme Patriarch of Thailand to be academic advisor to MRF. And my responsibility is to prepare old books before getting them published, and to introduce new ones to be published too.

Committee responsible for doing the same thing.

After the Prince Monk himself produced a set of Pali grammar in six books, other grammatical books were produced by the Pali Text Committee of MRF to elaborate the books of the Prince Monk or other points which had not been covered by his books. Both His Holiness Somdet Phra Ñāṇasaṁvara the Supreme Patriarch of Thailand and Most Venerable Somdet Phra Mahāmunīwong (formerly Phra Udomñaṇamoli mentioned in this book) whose books were mentioned in my thesis were the Pali Text Committee affiliated to MRF. Even though the former had retired long before he passed a way, I was fortunate enough to joint meetings at MRF with the latter quite often. As we can see from the examples of Pali sentences quoted in their work, both of them based themselves on the commentarial texts, more often than not, the *Dhammapadaṭṭhakaṭhā*. The books on the Pali syntax are especially quite rare. Even though MRF has published a set of eight books entitled *Special Pali Grammar* by Luang Thep Darunanusit (Thawee Tharomthat), but his books deal with general aspects of the Pali syntax having taken Pali sentences from a wide range of Pali texts covering both the Pali Canonical and non-Canonical Ones while those in two volumes[16] produced by His Holiness the Supreme Patriarch are somewhat more practicable ones in the sense that they explain how each word in the sentence is connected to others in the same sentences, basing himself on the *Dhammapadaṭṭhakathā* throughout.

Before I selected this topic for my thesis, I looked at the position of words in the counpounds critically. It is apparent to me that the order of word

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[16] Phra Sophonganaporn (Charön Suvaṭṭhano). *Athibai Vākyasamphan* (Explanations on Pali Syntax). Two Volumes. Bangkok: MRF, 1949 (reprinted 1946).

in compound words usually reflects the order of words in sentences too, especially when we take the *kāraka* system into account syriously, we can see that the governing words are usually placed after the governed words. It means that positions of Pali words are in normal situations fixed between the governing and governed words, and that their positions will be shifted only for emphatic reasons such as in command or exclamation sentences. My familiarity with Pali syntax written by Thai scholars has helped me understand the Pali structures better. My deep thanks go to Prof Richard Gombrich of Balliol College, Oxford University for supervising me, to Dr James Benson of Wolfson College, Oxford University for explaining Sanskrit counterpart terminologies and reading some of the earliest drafts of my thesis, to Justin Meiland for correcting the grammar of my thesis, to Lance Cousins and Kate Crosby for useful suggestions to improve this work during my DPhil viva and, last but not least, to my friend Alexander Wynne, who has prepared this work for publication. I hope the readers will get better understanding of Pali sentence structures better by which a better translation of Pali texts may follow up.

Sotthi te hotu sabbadā

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Abbreviations

The following system of abbreviations follows, wherever possible, the CPD (Epilegomena) and, for some other Sanskrit texts not mentioned there, the manual of abbreviations of Buddhist literature in India and South-east Asia (Abkürzungsverzeichnis zur buddhistischen Literatur in Indien und Südostasien. Sanskrit-Wörterbuch der buddhistischen Texte aus den Turfan-Funden. Beihelft 3), edited by Heinz Bechert (1990). Unless otherwise stated, Pāli texts are published by the Pali Text Society.

A. Primary Sources: Pāli and Sanskrit Texts and Translations

(1). Abbreviations of Edited Texts

AN	*Aṅguttaranikāya.*
Abh	*Abhidhānappadīpikā* (Phra Khamphee Aphithānappathīpikā), MRF edition.
Abh-a	*Sammohavinodanī* (Vibhaṅga commentary).
AbhdhP	*Abhidhammapiṭaka.*
Abhidhi-s	*Abhidhammattha-saṅgaha.*
Abhidh-s-ṭ	*Abhidhammatthasaṅgaha and the Abhidhammatthavibhāvinī-ṭīkā.*
Abh-y	*Abhidhammatthavibhāviniyā Pañcikā nāma Atthayojanā*, MRF edition.
Am-k	*Amarakośa,* edited by Vamanacharya Jhalakikar with Commentary of Maheśvara
AS	*Aṭṭhasālinī* (Dhammasaṅgaṇī commentary).

Abbreviation

It	*Itivuttaka.*
It-a	*Itivuttaka-aṭṭhakathā.*
Uttr	*Uttararāmacarita.*
Ud	*Udāna.*
Ud-a	*Udāna-aṭṭhakathā (= Paramaṭṭhadīpanī I).*
Kacc	Kaccāyana's *Pāli Grammar* (Phra Khamphee Balī Kaccāyanamūl).
Kacc-v[17]	*Kaccāyanavutti* (the commentary on Kacc).
Kāv	*Kāvyadarśana.*
Khp-a	*Khuddakapāṭha-aṭṭhakathā.*
Kśv	*Kāśikāvṛtti of Jayāditya and Vāmana,* edited by Śāstri & Kaliprasad.
Gv	*Gandhavaṃsa,* edited by Minayeff.
Ja	*Jātaka.*
DN	*Dīghanikāya.*
Dhp	*Dhammapada.*
Dhp-a	*Dhammapadaṭṭhakathā.*
Dhs	*Dhammasaṅgaṇī.*
Dhātuk-mṭ	*Dhātukathāpakaraṇamūlaṭīkā* (ChS).
Dśk	*Daśakumāracarita,* edited by Kale.
Nidd I	*Mahāniddesa.*

[17] I use the word 'commentary' for the passages explaining the aphoristic rules found in Kacc (henceforth Kacc-v). However, it is important to clarify that the rules *(sutta)* and their explanations (*vutti*, Skt. *vṛtti*) are composed by the same author and both make up the text of Kacc. The same applies to Sadd-v and Rūp-v.

Abbreviation

Nidd II	*Cullaniddesa.*
Niganṭu	*The Niganṭu and the Nirukta,* edited by Sarup.
NiganṭuTrs.	*The Niganṭu and the Nirukta,* translated with notes by Sarup.
Nett	*Nettipakaraṇa.*
Nett-a	*Nettipakaraṇa-aṭṭhakathā.*
Nett-pṭ	*Nettipakaraṇaṭīkā.*
Patañjali	*Mahābhāṣya of Patañjali*, edited by Kielhorn (three vols.).
Paṭis	*Paṭisambhidāmagga.*
Pāṇini	*Aṣṭādhyāyī of Pāṇini,* edited and translated by Vasu (two vols.). Cited by its chapter, to be followed by *pāda* and *sūtra*.
Pālim-nṭ	*Pālimuttakavinayanavatīkā* (ChS).
Pct	*Pañcatantra.*
Pj I	*Paramatthajoṭikā* (khp-a).
Pd	*Paramatthadīpanī.*
Pp	*Puggalapaññatti.*
Ps	*Paṭisambhidāmagga.*
Pv-a	*Petavatthu-aṭṭhakathā (= Paramatthadīpanī IV).*
Bāl	*Bālāvatāra,* edited by Gandhasārābhivaṃsa.
Maṅg-d	Maṅgalatthadīpanī, MRF edition (two vols.).
Maṅg-d	*Maṅgalatthadīpanī* (two vols.) by Phra Sirimaṅgalācariya, MRF edition.
Mālv	*Mālavikāgnimitra.*

Maṇis	*Maṇisāramañjusā* of Saṃgharakkhita in two volumes (in Burmese script). (Not included in ChS).
Mil	*Milindapañha.*
Moh	*Mohavicchedanī.*
MN	*Majjhimanikāya.*
Mp	*Manorathapūraṇī.*
Mp-ṭ	*Manorathapūraṇītīkā (Sāratthamañjūsā)* (ChS).
Mhc	*Mahācattārīsakasutta.*
Mhv	*Mahāvaṃsa.*
Mms	*Pūrva Mīmāṃsā,* edited and translated by Sandal Mogg *Moggallānavyākaraṇa.* BBL edition. Cited by chapter and number of aphorism.
Mtrs.	The Middle Length Discourses of the Buddha: A New Translation of the Majjhima Nikāya. Translated by Bhikkhu Ñāṇamolī and revised and edited by Bhikkhu Bodhi.
RvPrt	*Ṛgveda-Prātiśākhya* edited by Max Müller. Mention is made by chapter *(adhyāya),* number of aphorism and number marked by Müller to give additional explanations.
Rūp	*Rūpasiddhi* or *Padarūpasiddhi.*
ṚV	*Ṛgveda.*
Vibh	*Vibhaṅga.*

Abbreviation	
VjPrt	*Vājasaneyi-Prātiśākhya,* edited by Weber.
Vin	*Vinayapiṭaka.*
Vin-vn	*Vinayavinicchaya.*
VP	*Bhartṛhari's Vākyapadīya.* Cantos I & II, edited and translated by Pillai, and Canto III, edited by Iyer.
Vpvś	*Vetālapañcaviṃśaka.*
ŚB	*Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa,* edited by Weber.
ŚC	*Śāunakīya Caturādhyāyikā.*
Sadd	Sadd I (Padamālā); Sadd II (Dhātumālā = Root numbers); Sadd III (Suttamālā = Aphorism numbers), edited by Smith; Sadd Se III = Saddanītipakaraṇam Suttamālā, BBL edition (In Thai script); Sadd-v = Saddanītivutti (the commentary on Sadd provided by Aggavaṃsa himself).
Sās	*Sāsanavaṃsa.*
Subodh	*Subodhālaṅkāra.* The PTS version, edited by Jaini, includes the *Porāṇatīkā* and the *Abhinavaṭīkā* in Subodh.
Subodh-nṭ	*Subodhālaṅkāraṭīkā,* Wat Tamao edition. (In Thai script).
SN	*Saṃyuttanikāya.*
Sn	*Suttanipāta.*
Sp	*Samantapāsādikā.*
Sp-ṭ	*Samantapāsādikātīkā (Sāratthadīpanī)* (ChS).

Spk	*Sāratthappakāsinī.*
Sp Se	*Samantapāsādikā (Vinayaṭṭhakathā)*, MRF edition. (In Thai script).
Sp-ṭ Ne	*Sāratthadīpanī,* Indian edition. (In Devanāgarī script).
Sp-y	*Samantapāsādikāya nāma Vinayaṭṭhakaṭhāya Aṭṭhayo-janā*, MRF edition. (In Thai script).
Sv	*Sumaṅgalavilāsinī.*
Sv-pṭ	*Sumaṅgalavilāsinīpūraṇatīkā.*
Hitop	*Hitopadeśa.*

Note that references to BJS and SPS in this thesis are to page and paragraph numbers in the PTS edition. In some paragraphs the same text occurs several times. Everything in bold is my own emphasis, and those Pāli words which are underlined are citations from the root text being explained by the commentator.

(2). CD-ROM

BUDSIR	*A Digital Edition of the Pāli Buddhist Texts on CD-ROM,* Mahidol University Computing Centre, Bangkok: Mahidol University, Thailand, 1994.
BCCD	Buddhist Canon CD-ROM (Pāli text ver. 1.0). PTS and Dhammakāya Foundation. Pathumdhani, Thailand, 1996.

ChS	Chaṭṭhasaṅgāyana edition (of canonical and non-canonical Pāli text published by the Buddhasāsana Council, Rangoon 1956ff.). It is put into CD-Rom Version 3 by Vipassanā Research Institute, Igatpuri, India. (= Be).

(3). Key to symbols and abbreviations used in the examples

[ ]	Pāli texts which are restored grammatically or syntactically for semantic reasons.
[....]	omitted text.
<	developed from/ comes from.
>	becomes.
Be	Burmese edition (= ChS).
ed. / eds.	edited by/editor (s).
Ne	Devanāgarī edition.
Se	Siamese edition.
trs	translation/ translated.

B. Secondary Sources

AVEPS	*Athibai Vākyasamphan* (Explanations on *[Pāli* Syntax). Two vols. By Phra Sophonganaporn (Charön Suvaṭṭhano).
Bbh	*Bodhisattvabhūmi.*
Bloch	*Indo-Aryan: From the Vedas to Modern Times.*
BHSD	Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Dictionary by Edgerton.
BRPS	*Baeb Rien Phasa Sanskrit: A Sanskrit Manual*,

	in four vols., by Santaṃkuro Bhikkhu: Vol. I: *Samajñābhidhāna* & *Sandhi,* Vol. II: *Nāma* & *Avyayaśabda,* Vol. III: *Ākhyāta,* Vol. IV: *Vṛttis* (in Thai).
BW	*Bālīwaiyākorn: Pāli Grammar* (six vols.) by His Holiness Somdet Phra Mahāsamaṇa Chao Krom Phrayā Vajirañāṇavarorasa (Prince Monk Vajirañāṇavarorasa), Vol. I: *Samaññābhidhāna* & *Sandhi,* Vol. II: *Nāma* & *Avyayasadda*, Vol. III: *Samāsa* & *Taddhita,* Vol. IV: *Ākhyāta* & *Kitaka*, Vol. V: *Vākyasambhanda* (Pāli Syntax), Vol. VI: *Ubhayavākya parivattana* (How to translate Thai into Pāli and vice versa) (in Thai).
BWEx.	A series of Books produced by the editorial board for Pāli texts of MRF to explain BW in greater detail in five volumes: Vol. I: *Samaññābhidhāna* & *Sandhi,* Vol. II: *Nāma* & *Avyayasadda*, Vol. III: *Samāsa* & *Taddhita,* Vol. IV: *Ākhyāta* and Vol. V: *Kitaka*.
CCEG	*Collins Cobuild English Grammar*.
CPD	*A Critical Pāli Dictionary,* the Royal Danish Academy of Sciences and Letters.
Crystal	*A Dictionary of Linguistics and Phonetics* by Crystal.
DPPN	*Dictionary of Pāli Proper Names* by

	Malalasekera.
DS	*A Dictionary of Stylistics* by Wales.
EWA	*Etymologisches Wörterbuch des Altindoarischen* by Mayrhofer.
EWED	*Encarta World English Dictionary*.
Geiger	*A Pāli Grammar* (previously Pāli Literature and Language), translated into English by B. Ghosh and revised and edited by Norman.
GEL	*Greek-English Lexicon: With a Revised Supplement* by Liddell and Scott. Greenberg 'Some Universals of Grammar with Particular Reference to the Order of Meaningful Elements' in *Universals of Language*. Edited by Greenberg.
HCPTL	*How to Compose Pāli from the Thai Language* by Jaweng Sommasarn and Prasarn Thongphakdī.
KCLL	*Key Concepts in Language and Linguistics* by Trask.
Macdonell[1]	*A Vedic Grammar for Students* by Macdonell.
Macdonell[2]	*A Sanskrit Grammar for Students* by Macdonell.
Mayrhofer	*Handbuch des Pāli: Mit Texten und Glossar* by Mayrhofer.
MCP	*A Manual for Composing Pāli* by Phra Udomyānamolī

Abbreviation	
OCEL	*The Oxford Companion to the English Language* (abridged edition).
ODEG	*The Oxford Dictionary of English Grammar*.
Pischel	*A Grammar of the Prākrit Languages* by Pischel.
Porzig	*Die Hypotaxe im Rigveda* by Porzig.
PSED	*The Practical Sanskrit-English Dictionary* by Apte.
PTSD[1]	*The Pāli Text Society's Pāli-English Dictionary* by Rhys Davids and Stede.
PTSD[2]	*A Dictionary of Pāli* by Cone.
Renou[1]	*Grammaire de la langue védique*.
Renou[2]	*Grammaire sanscrite*.
RVPDSkt	*The Roots, Verb-Forms and Primary Derivatives of the Sanskrit Language* by Whitney.
Sen	*Historical Syntax of Middle Indo-Aryan*. ABORI, vols. viii-x.
SED	*A Sanskrit-English Dictionary* by Monier Monier-Williams.
SWKF	*Sanskrit-Wörterbuch in Kürzerer Fassung* by Böhtlingk. Seven vols.
Trask	*A Dictionary of Grammatical Terms in Linguistics* by Trask.
Whitney	*Sanskrit Grammar* by Whitney.
WR	*Wörterbuch zum Rig-Veda* by Grassmann.

C. General Abbreviations

ABORI	Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute.
AiB	Aitareya Brāhmaṇa.
ALH	Acta Linguistica Hafniensia.
AO	Acta Orientalia.
BBL	Bhūmibalo Bhikkhu Foundation, Bangkok.
BEI	Bulletin d' Études Indiennes.
BLS	Proceedings of the Annual Meeting of the Berkeley Linguistics Society.
BS	Buddhist Studies, Hamamatsu.
BSL	Bulletin de la Société de Linguistique de Paris.
CSLI	Center for the Study of Language and Information, Stanford.
GWL	Berichte über die Verhandlungen der königlich sächsischen. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Leipzig. Philologisch-historische-Klasse. Leipzig.
HOS	Harvard Oriental Series.
HWPL	Harvard Working Papers in Linguistics.
IEL	International Encyclopedia of Linguistics.
IHQ	Indian Historical Quarterly.
IIJ	Indo-Iranian Journal.
IF	Indogermanische Forschungen. Zeitschrift für Indogermanistik und allgemeine

	Sprachwissenschaft. (Strasburg-) Berlin.
IFZSA	Indogermanische Forschungen: Zeitschrift für Indogermanische Sprach-und Altertumskunde, Berlin & Leipzig.
IL	Indian Linguistics.
IT	Indologica Taurinensia.
IULC	Indiana University Linguistics Club.
JA	Journal Asiatique.
JAOS	Journal of the American Oriental Society.
JRAS	Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.
JASB	Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta.
JLSA	Journal of the Linguistic Society of America.
JIES	Journal of the Indo-European Studies.
JIP	Journal of Indian Philosophy.
JORB	Journal of the Oriental Institute (Baroda).
JORM	Journal of Oriental Research Madras.
JRAS	Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.
KZ	Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung auf dem Gebiete, der indogermanischen prachen, begründet von Kuhn. (Berlin-Gütersloh-) Göttingen.
LE	The Linguistics Encyclopedia, edited by Malmkjaer.
MRF	Mahamakuta Rajavidyalaya Foundation.
MRV	Mahāmakuṭa Rājavidyālaya (King Mongkut

	Royal Academy).
MSL	Mémoires de la Société de Linguistique de Paris.
NJL	Norwegian Journal of Linguistics.
OWPLP	Oxford University Working Papers in Linguistics, Philology and Phonetics.
SLS	Studies in the Linguistic Sciences.
StII	Studien zur Indologie und Iranistik.
VIJ	Vishveshvaranand Indological Journal.
WZKSA	Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde Südasiens.
ZDMG	Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft.
ZVS	Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung.

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CHAPTER I: INTRODUCTION

Part I: General Statements

§ 1.1. Problem, scope and remarks on the data

This thesis aims to investigate the typological consistency of word order in Pāli canonical and commentarial texts, and to examine how these texts differ from one another in terms of their placement of words. I hope to illustrate the factors underlying these differences. Tradition has it that Pāli, which is identified by the *Mahāvaṃsa* as Māgadhī, is the language spoken by the Buddha during his life time, and that the canon represents 'the Buddha's own words' *(Buddhavacana)*.[18] However, many modern scholars have a different view. Based on information within the Pāli Canon, King Mongkut (1804-1868) of Thailand has noted that the section on the *Parivāra* in the *Vinayapiṭaka* was probably composed at a later date in Sri Lanka, and not in India.[19] In terms of the language itself, it has been pointed out that the Pāli

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[18] Norman (1983: 1); von Hinüber (1994a: 80).

[19] King Rama IV (1972: 376): *Parivārapāṭho ca Sīhaḷadīpe paramparācariyānaṃ nāmapaṭipātidassanato tatth' eva porāṇācariyehi majjhimapadesaṃ apassantehi jātakādi-otujanatosanapakaraṇasavane katapariccayehi vaḍḍhetvā vaḍḍhetvā likhito bhaveyyā ti parisaṅkātabbattā ubhatovibhaṅgakhandhakapāṭhato dubbalataro*; 'Because the text of the *Parivāra* gives the sequence of the names of teachers in the lineage in Sri Lanka, it must be suspected that it must have been gradually formed over time and [eventually] written down by ancient teachers in Sri Lanka itself who were not familiar with the central region (i.e., northern India, the cradle of Buddhism) [but] were used to listening to

used in the canonical texts is not consistent and that the texts contain different layers of Pāli as well as various forms of dialects. Some texts seem to be older than others. Wilhelm Geiger[20] has explained on the basis of the evidence of the different linguistic strata that there are four stages of Pāli in Buddhist literature: *gāthās*, or metrical pieces; canonical prose; the later prose of post-canonical literature; and artificial poetry. Oskar von Hinüber[21] has shown that several Pāli words are sanskritised. K.R. Norman[22] has also said that in the Pāli Theravādin Canon, there are many forms of dialects of Middle Indo-Aryan, notably Māgadhī, Ardha-Māgadhī and Sanskritised forms.

Pāli chronicles record that the Pāli scriptures were written down during the reign of the Sinhalese King Abhaya who lived around 89-77 BC.[23] This information has led Wilhelm Geiger to propose the hypothesis, which has been now commonly accepted among modern Pāli philologists, that the Pāli canonical texts (Tipiṭaka) were written down for the first time during the

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works such as the *Jātakas* intended to plese their hearers. Therefore, the text of the Parivāra is less authoritative [lit. less powerful] than the texts of the *Ubhatovibhaṅga* and the *Khandhaka*.

20 Geiger (1994: 1). See also von Hinüber (1996: 5); Bechert (1991: 4) states: 'The language of the Pāli could not be identical with the language spoken by the Buddha himself, as the Sinhalese tradition maintains.' See Keith (1934); Bagchi (1945); von Hinüber (1982) and Norman (1997: 59-75, 1991: 84-98; 1993: 105).

21 See von Hinüber (1982).

22 Norman (1993: 46); (1997: 95ff.), cf. von Hinüber (1994b: 8-14).

23 Bechert (1992: 45). Collins (1990: 95), however, says that both canonical and non-canonical texts were written down between 29 and 17 BC.

reign of this king[24] after they had been handed down orally for centuries. It is highly probable that, before coming down to us in the present form, the Pāli canonical texts have undergone various changes, interpolations and redactions.[25] Richard Gombrich has recently noted:

> Most of the physical evidence for Pāli is suprisingly recent: the bulk of the Pāli manuscripts surviving in Sri Lanka and Burma were copied in the 18th and 19th centuries.[26] A considerable number of manuscripts in northern Thailand, recently brought to wider notice by Prof. von Hinüber, date from the 16th century; only a handful of manuscripts known from elsewhere are older than that. The grammarians who systematised Pāli grammar and prosody in Burma in the 12th century exercised considerable influence on how the language was written thereafter in Burma, and thence to some extent elsewhere.[27]

Since it has been observed that the language in the Pāli Canon

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[24] Geiger (1960: 68). There is no evidence to indicate how many texts were actually written down at this time. Nevertheless, there is no reason to suspect that some texts may not have been written down as claimed. Compelling evidence is provided by the group of manuscripts which consists of thirteen rolls of birch bark, composed in the Gāndhārī or Northwestern Prakrit language, using the Kharoṣṭhī script which dates, according to Salomon (1997: 355; see also the detail of manuscripts in Salomon 1999), as early as the first half of the first century A.D. Salomon (1999: xv) states that these manuscripts, 'are likely to be the oldest Buddhist manuscripts, as well as the oldest Indian manuscripts.' See also Collins (1992: 121).

[25] See this chapter, §5 below.

[26] More recently, Stargardt (1995) has brought to notice the oldest known Pāli texts from Śrī Kṣetra, which are dated to around the 5th century.

[27] Gombrich (1994: xxv).

contains inconsistent elements, attempts have been made by many scholars[28] to explore its original form by comparison with other parallel versions. It is unfortunate that, although Pāli scholarship on phonology and morphology has been extensively produced, few modern scholars have undertaken detailed investigations of Pāli syntax. O. H. de A. Wijesekera[29] and von Hinüber[30] conducted surveys of the Pāli Canon on syntactical grounds,[31] yet they were mainly concerned with case syntax, which centres around government[32] *(kāraka)*. Even the most recent monograph dealing with Pāli by von

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28 Lists of research works carried out by scholars in the past are given by Lamotte (1988: 141) (fn. 49) and Bechert (1991: 3-19). See also Keith (1927: 501-517); Sen (1953); Bechert (1980); von Hinüber (1994: 62); Hendriksen (1948).

29 Wijesekera (1936 reprinted 1993).

30 von Hinüber (1978).

31 The word 'syntax' or 'syntactical' is used in a broad sense in this thesis. It is not confined to the superficial arrangement of words as sometimes in English but, for want of a better translation, is used more inclusively, as equivalent to *vākyasambandha* (interrelations [of words] in a sentence) in Skt. and Pāli, covering three main divisions, namely, concord (agreement), government *(kāraka)* and word order. See Kale (1995: 468-536). Elizarenkova (1976: 113-139), however, divides Pāli's syntactic structures into binomial constructions: subordinative (further divided into government, agreement and parataxis) and coordinative.

32 I use the term 'government' to translate the word *kāraka* in order to reflect the depedent relations of case forms which modify other syntactical elements, in which the modifying elements are usually placed before their modified ones. The fact that the modifying elements or 'modifiers' are usually placed before their modified words reflect a syntactical function that even though words in sentence are equally inflectional or conjugational, some words are more equal than others in the sense that they govern them. See also §4.2.8 of this chapter.

Hinüber[33] does not have a separate chapter on word order. We need to bear in mind that there is no text written by traditional Indian grammarians which describes Pāli word order in particular.[34] It is my aim to fill this large lacuna. My examination of syntax in early Pāli texts will reveal how far those texts are consistent in terms of their arrangement of words in sentences.

Apart from Pāli canonical texts, I shall also examine a Pāli commentarial text in order to discover the extent to which it differs in syntax. Tradition has it that the commentaries on the Pāli canonical scriptures date from the first Council and were later brought to Ceylon and translated into Sinhalese.[35] Buddhaghosa is said to have translated them back into Pāli. However, Buddhaghosa,[36] the attributed author of *Vinaya* commentary, states that he based his commentaries on old ones available to him in his time; he refers to the *Mahā-aṭṭhakathā*, the *Mahāpaccarī,* the *Kurundī* and other

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33 von Hinüber (1986 revised 2000).

34 The same can be said of Skt. Recently, Aklujkar (1996: 9) has stated: 'The Indian situation seems to be this: there is a large-scale and long-standing involvement with word order, but no evidence of a significant or sustained attempt to state comprehensively the principles of word order application to different bodies of literature has come down to us'.

35 Sv I 15-18, etc.; Mhvs. 33, verses 101-101: *Piṭakattayapāḷiñ ca tassā aṭṭhakatham pi ca, mukhapāṭhena ānesuṃ pubbe bhikkhū mahāmatī. hāniṃ disvāna sattānaṃ tadā bhikkhū samāgatā, ciraṭṭhitatthaṃ dhammassa potthakesu likhāpayuṃ.* 'Previously, wise monks handed down the Pāli of the three *piṭakas* and their commentaries by verbal recitation. Later, after they saw the decay of beings, the monks assembled and caused the texts to be written down in manuscripts so that the teaching [of the Buddha] could endure for a long time.'

36 Sp I 2. See also Norman (1983: 118); von Hinüber (1996: 103-104).

commentaries. Moreover, in the *Gandhavaṃsa,*[37] Buddhaghosa is portrayed as having been the author of various commentaries himself, including those on the *Vinayapiṭaka*, the first four *Nikāyas*, the Abhdhp and so on.

On the other hand, in his introduction to Sp and Abhidh-s-ṭ, which he composes in Pāli,[38] Prince Monk Vajirañāṇavarorasa (1859-1921) remarked that many texts attributed to Buddhaghosa do not seem to be composed by one and the same person, as the language used even in a single text is not consistent *(visadiso vohāro paññāyati),* let alone that used in many texts. While it may be true that early Pāli commentaries were brought into Sri Lanka by missionaries from India, it is evident that those commentaries were later edited and expanded by Buddhaghosa. Norman has noted:

There is no direct evidence that any commentarial material was in fact recited at the first Council, but there is clear evidence that some parts of the commentaries are very old, perhaps going back to the time of the Buddha, because they afford parallels with texts which are regarded as Canonical by other sects, and must therefore predate the schisms between the sects.[39]

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37 Gv 59, 18-30.

38 Sp Se I 4; Abhidh-s-ṭ Se *(kathāpaṭṭhapanaṃ)*. The Pāli texts run as follows: *ṭhānam etaṃ vijjati, yaṃ dhammapadaṭṭhakathāsadisā vatthudīpikā vā vinayaṭṭhakathāsadisā anupubba-padavaṇṇanaṃ ṭhapetvā Pālimuttakavinicchayādikathādīpikā vā paṭhamaṃ Sīhalabhāsāya racitā tato Māgadhabhāsāya parivattitvā pacchā katāsu aṭṭhakathāsu pakkhittā honti. yam pana vuttaṃ, 'Buddhaghosācariyena ekakena Māgadhabhāsāya parivattitā ti tan nijjhānaṃ na kkhamati. ekasmiṃ pi pakaraṇe visadiso vohāro paññāyati na ekakass' eva puggalassa. Dhammapadaṭṭhakathā-vuttavacanassa nidassanaṃ. pag eva sambahulānaṃ pakaraṇānaṃ visadisatā.*

39 Norman (1983: 11, cf. (1980: 72-73).

Elsewhere, he points out: 'We have no evidence earlier than Buddhaghosa's statement that Mahinda did bring commentaries with him, but we have no reason to doubt that commentaries were brought from India either by Mahinda or other missionaries coming after him. The commentaries seem to have contained much information about India, and particularly N. India, which could only have been from there.'[40] We may conclude that some of the *Mahā-aṭṭhakathā* and other commentaries now unavailable, on which Buddhaghosa's commentaries are based, were handed down from India. The extant canonical commentaries, on the other hand, should be attributed to Buddhaghosa (and his school),[41] who expanded them.[42] By examining commentarial texts, we will see how the styles of sentence patterning of canonical and non-canonical texts differ from each other.

As early Pāli texts constitute a vast body of literature, I shall limit myself to the *Brahmajālasutta* (henceforth BJS), the *Sāmaññaphalasutta* (henceforth SPS) and the Commentary on BJS (henceforth BJSA = Sv). The reason for choosing BJS and SPS is that they are considered by modern Pāli

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40 Norman (1978: 34).

41 Bapat & Vadekar (1942: XXXIII-XXXIX) and Jayawickrama (1979: IX-XIII) state that the Abhidhamma commentaries were probably composed by a close associate of Buddhaghosa. Pind (1992: 136-137) states that the commentaries on the four *nikāyas* can undoubtedly be ascribed to Buddhaghosa, but that the commentaries on the Abhidhamma canonical texts cannot be his. See also Cousins (1981: 22-46) and Kim (1999: 10-11).

42 Buddhaghosa states: *Mahāṭṭhakathāyaṃ sāraṃ ādāya* [...] ('having taken the essence of the *Mahā-aṭṭhakathā*'). This means that he did not simply edit the commentarial texts. Cf. Ps V 109; Spk III 308; Mp V 98. However, in the epilogue of Vbh-a 523, the phrase *porāṇaṭṭhakathāyaṃ sāraṃ ādāya* [...] occurs instead. See also Kim (1999: 10).

scholars as being in a typical dialogue style, taken from debate situations.[43] Stylised dialogues and debates had been widely used among religious teachers prior to the emergence of Buddhism. According to accounts in Buddhist texts, when the Buddha proclaimed his teaching, he defeated several brahmins with his argumentation and reasoning. Many of them eventually became converted to his teaching. H. Oldenberg states that both [early] Buddhist teaching and Pāli in early Buddhist texts developed after the Upaniṣadic texts.[44] A.K. Warder [45] has stated that DN contains ordinary prose language typical of the Pāli prose in which most of the canon is composed. Gombrich has also pointed out the striking connection between BJS and Bṛh.U. which is believed to have been composed before the rise of Buddhism, stating that the former contains elements which are, 'just a retelling of the creation myth in the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad.*'[46] BJSA itself is rather long and beyond the range of this thesis. Therefore, I shall examine only the section starting from the beginning of the text until the end of the explanations of *Cullasīla* ('minor

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[43] It has been pointed out (see Manné [1990]) that more than half of DN consists of debates with Brahmins or members of other sects. This kind of debate was, in fact, a usual practice in India long before Buddhism (see Witzel [1987], Insler [1989/90] and von Hinüber [1996: 28-29, §56-7). Oldenberg (1917: 40, also quoted in von Hinüber [1996, fn. 108]), in particular, has pointed out that Bṛh.U. IV, I is the model for SPS.

[44] Oldenberg (1917: 39): 'Die buddhistische Lehre ist eine Weiterentwicklung der Upaniṣadenlehre. So ist die Prosa der buddhistischen heiligen Texte in wesentlichen Beziehungen Weiterentwicklung der Upaniṣadenprosa.'

[45] Warder (1963: 354).

[46] Gombrich (1990). Gombrich (1994: 31) also states: 'The central teachings of the Buddha came as a response to the central teachings of the old *Upaniṣads*, notably the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka*.'

virtues [precepts]') on page 80 of the PTS edition.[47]

Although I realise that both prose and verse passages in the Pāli Canon are rich in exceptional sentence patternings, and that many *suttas* are interspersed with verse which contains archaic elements, I shall examine only prose portions. This is because they are uninfluenced by any metrical requirements which may interfere with the ordinary order of words.[48] The Pāli *suttas* selected above contain enough pure narrative prose to discover the statistical significance of words in syntactical patterns. In addition to this, BJSA occasionally quotes some sentences from Pāli canonical texts. I shall not investigate these quotations because they do not reflect the true language of the commentarial period. Apart from the above selected texts, I also seek explanations of Pāli syntax from other sources, particularly Thai and modern Western scholarship. In addition, other Pāli grammatical and exegetical treatises dealing with Pāli syntax, such as the *Aṭṭhayojanās*,[49] are also used when neccessary. Nevertheless, I am also open to other possible factors which may affect the arrangement of words in sentences such as metre, literary style

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47 Sv I 26-69.

48 Cf. Warder (1965: viii): 'Prose sentences provide the student with straightforward examples of the language, unconstrained by metrical considerations (which in verse distort the word order, influence the choice of words, lead to the insertion of superfluous words to fill the lines, produce irregular spellings through poetic licence, and induce the poet to use archaic words and inflections).

49 The *Aṭṭhayojanās* are a set of texts composed by a Thai monk named Ñāṇakitti in the 15th century A.D. to the explain syntactical structures of Pāli sentences in commentaries. The *Aṭṭhayojanās* known to us include those of *Samantapāsādikā* (Sp), *Abhidhamma-tthavibhāvinī* (Abhidh-s-ṭ), the *Aṭṭhasālinī* (AS) and the *Sammohavinodanī* (Vibh-a). See Saddhātissa (1990: 15-17).

and marking.

§ 1. 2. Outline of contents

A comprehensive or exhaustive investigation of the position of all type of words in sentences is beyond the limits of this thesis. Therefore, I concern myself with certain syntactical problems. It is evident and generally understood that Pāli (and Skt.) texts, though composed in different periods, usually contain, more or less, a consistent typology of word order. This is often described as 'a standard order' or 'the most usual order of words'.[50] In this thesis, I firstly therefore formulate the general principles governing usual word order, based on the selected texts. In this respect, I critically compare scholarship on Pāli syntax with my observations on the evidence provided in the selected texts. Second, in order to discuss unusual word order, I single out two groups of words which are particularly striking for their unusual position in sentences.

These groups are: words placed after their finite verbs, and relative clauses. While the former are moved from their usual position, i.e. before their finite verbs, to be placed finally, the latter are sometimes placed before their main clause and sometimes after it. This thesis aims to find explanations for these placements. It must be emphasised that relative clauses and post-verbal words occur regularly and in varying circumstances in Pāli canonical and non-canonical texts. However, the number of relative clauses and post-verbal words in every text in the *nikāyas* or *piṭakas* is too large to detail here. Moreover, even if their statistical frequency could be given, it would be

[50] Apte (1925, §399-402) uses the terms 'natural order' for Skt. However, he did not clarify what he meant by using the terms.

beyond the scope of this thesis to analyse all the instances of the two phenomena. Rather than taking examples at random, this thesis offers a rigorous and structured analysis of the placement of post-verbal words and relative clauses by scrutinising thoroughly their application in particular selected texts.

Chapter One addresses the issue of the normative or standard order of Pāli words. This chapter constitutes the foundation on which the other chapters are based. In Chapter Two, I scrutinise different types of post-verbal words which are placed at the end of their sentences after their finite verbs or predicates. The main question that I seek to answer is why these words, all of which are nominals, are not placed in their expected position, i.e. before their verbs, even though their contexts are declarative statements. Sometimes, these words appear on their own. Sometimes they come in the forms of phrases, clauses or sentences. Such words, in fact, are found in many languages and they have been discussed by several scholars, who describe them differently.

For instance, they are collectively called 'Schleppe' by B. Delbrück (Vedic),[51] 'epexegetical words' by L. Bloomfield (Vedic),[52] 'epexegeses' by J. Canedo (portions of Epic Skt., Pāli, Aśokan and Classical Skt.),[53] 'amplified [words or] sentences' by J. Gonda (Vedic)[54] and P. Anderson (Aśokan),[55] 'the

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51 Delbrück (1878).

52 Bloomfield (1912/1913).

53 Canedo (1937).

54 Gonda (1959: 7-69), cf. Gonda (1939: 123-143).

55 Anderson (1980b).

remainder of the verb'[56] by C. Watkins (IE), 'after -thoughts' by S. Kuno (Japanese),[57] 'coda' by Lehmann and Ratanajoti (Vedic)[58] and 'backgrounding' by E. Erguvanli (Turkish).[59] In this thesis, I shall, for the sake of convenience, call them collectively 'postverbal words' or 'words in codas', when they come alone or in a phrase, and 'amplified clauses/sentences', when they come in the form of a complete clause. I examine all of the words placed after their finite verbs or predicates in all of the contexts. Based on the previous findings of scholars and on the evidence in the texts under scrutiny, I am convinced that there is no single explanation covering the whole phenomenon and I offer full explanations as to why each of them is placed at the end of their sentences. I also categorise these post-verbal words under separate headings according to their grammatical contexts and meanings.

In Chapter Three, I examine three other groups of post-verbal words which are found sporadically in early Pāli texts, namely infinitives, absolutives[60] and present participles. I separate them from Chapter Two, because on the one hand infinitives and absolutives are designated by Pāli grammarians as 'indeclinables' and are therefore different from the post-verbal nominals discussed in Chapter Two and on the other hand, even though

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56 Watkins (1963: 31).

57 Kuno (1978).

58 Lehmann and Ratanajoti (1975).

59 Erguvanli (1984).

60 I use this term following Hock (1987). Whitney (Whitney, §989) calls them 'indeclinable particles'.

present participles usually function as anterior actions and adjectives,[61] they have a different function when they appear after their finite verbs. Post-verbal absolutives and present participles, in particular, are quite few, yet I have accumulated examples of possible instances from other sources in order to explain why they are placed post-verbally in the selected texts.

In Chapter Four, I focus on relative clauses. My main question continues from Chapter Two. In the course of my examination of post-verbal words in sentences, I have found that post-verbal words are not confined to single words, phrases, but also extend to dependent clauses. This inspires me to investigate the positions of different types of relative clauses which are found in the texts as a whole. My attempts here are geared towards ascertaining what the normative position of relative clauses should be and why they are sometimes placed after their main clauses. I provide substantial evidence from the selected texts in order to answer these two questions. All the data, as well as my analysis of this issue are given in Chapter Four.

In Chapter Five, I draw conclusions from my findings. I also offer my observations on the generic differences between Pāli canonical and non-canonical texts, basing my explanations on the selected texts. This provides a broad overview and examines the extent to which the styles of the two corpuses of text affect the order of words in sentences. Guidelines for future research are also provided so that the study of word order can be expanded by further research.

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[61] Vajirañāṇavarorasa explains (BW V 223) that words ending in *-anta*/*-māna* suffixes sometimes function as adjectives and sometimes as anterior actions. For the latter, see below.

PART II: Theoretical knowledge on word order in Pāli

§ 1. 3. The concept of word order in Indic languages

Before I examine words or sentences which are placed in unusual positions, it is important to give a brief outline of the position of words which is regarded as standard. The following sections describe the general principles formulated by previous Pāli scholars on this issue and provide examples from the selected texts. As Pāli and Skt. are closely connected to each other in terms of historical development and share the same socio-cultural milieu, I shall sometimes also seek explanations from Skt. grammatical treatises in order to make certain points clearer. It is well known that traditional native grammarians have never supplied a fully-fledged explanation of word order. The *Aṣṭādhyāyī* of Pāṇini, the oldest Skt. grammar available to us, does not discuss the arrangement of independent words in sentences at all. However, Yāska's *Nirukta* 1.15 says that the order of Vedic words is fixed *(niyatavāco yuktayo niyatānupūrvyā bhavanti* ['the sentences have fixed words with immutably fixed order']), [62] and that this fixed order is confined not only to the *Saṃhitās* but covers ordinary speech as well (*laukikeṣv apy etad yathendrāgnī pitāputrāv iti* ['This [fixed word order occurs] also in expressions of ordinary language, e.g. *indrāgnī* ('Indra and Agni'), *pitāputrau* ('father and son')]).[63] Patañjali,[64] on the other hand, states that one should not pay attention to the

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62 Also quoted in Staal (1967: 24). Sarup (1984: 16) translates it: 'Propositions have their words fixed, their order, too, is immutably fixed, while Staal puts it: 'The mantras are joined with fixed sound and fixed order.'

63 Nirukta 1.16. Also quoted in Staal (1967: 25) (The above is Staal's translation).

64 See Staal (1967: 28ff.), on which the above discussion is based.

word order in the *sūtra*, because there is no restriction being taught *(neha prayoganiyama ārabhyate)*.[65] He explains that words are generated in accordance with grammatical rules, but their order *[abhisambandha]* is free, such as the order of *āhara pātraṃ* and *pātram āhara* ('fetch the bowl').[66]

Developing further the different opinions of ancient Indian native grammarians, modern scholars have raised the question as to whether or not word order in Skt. is free. Renou has observed that in general the order of words in Indo-Aryan was extremely free.[67] He is also quoted as saying that the word order of Pāṇini's grammar exhibits some degree of freedom.[68] Staal states: 'The Vedic ritualists paid great attention to the fixed word order of the two traditional recensions of the Vedic text [...]. For the Vedic ritualists of the *Prātiśākhya* period the Vedic language was an object of study only in as far as it was embodied in the Vedic tradition. Accordingly, they regarded the order of words in the Vedic language as fixed.'[69] Because Patañjali describes word order with the terms: *yatheṣṭam, kāmacāra* and *yathākāma,* which may be rendered as 'according to wish' or 'according to desire', Staal concludes, 'Patañjali clearly regards word order as free'.[70] The example given by Patañjali, i.e. *āhara pātraṃ* or *pātram āhara,* is obviously too simple to form a generalisation covering all aspects of sentence structures in Skt. (and Pāli), as

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65 Translation by Dr. James Benson.

66 Patañjali.I.39 (lines 18-9): *saṃskṛtya saṃskṛtya padāny utsṛjyante teṣāṃ yatheṣṭam abhisaṃbandho bhavati/ tadyathā āhara pātraṃ pātram āhareti.* Quoted in Staal (1967: 28 [Staal's translation]).

67 Renou (1952: 333); Gonda (1971: 152 [fn. 3]).

68 Also quoted in Staal (1967: 27).

69 Staal (1967: 24).

70 Ibid., p. 28.

it has only two words: a finite verb and its direct object. In marked contrast to Renou, a number of scholars agree that Pāli and Skt. have an inherent unmarked order. However, in the past, Western scholarship on Skt. has not discussed the unmarked position of words in sentences very extensively. As modern Thai Pāli scholarship on word order is more extensive,[71] I shall base my arguments primarily on its insights. In addition, as grammatical syntactical exegeses such as the *Aṭṭhayojanās* contain a wealth of information concerning Pāli syntax, I shall use those sources too.

The notions of marked and unmarked word orders in Pāli

It is necessary to review briefly previous studies on the positions of words in sentences, with additional explanations or observations of my own. The outline of this section will be used as a theoretical framework to assess the extent to which words are placed in usual and less usual positions. I would first like to explain two syntactic terms that will be used repeatedly throughout this thesis: marked and unmarked (or marking and unmarking, markedness and unmarkedness). The term 'marking' has been used by many scholars. However, it has apparently been applied with slightly different meanings. The notions of 'marked' and 'unmarked' for grammatical categories were first introduced in the 1930s by the Prague School of linguistics.[72] They are said to have appeared for the first time in an article *Zur Strukture des russischen Verbums* by Roman Jakobson[73] and were later elaborated by N.S.

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71 Note that usually Thai Pāli syntacticians do not give the sources from which their examples are taken. I trace their examples and provide their sources wherever possible.

72 See KCLL 180; DS 243.

73 Prague (1932: 74-84). See also Greenberg (1966: 11, fn.3).

Trubetzkoy.[74] Jakobson and Trubetzkoy were prominent linguists, from whom the Prague School originated. In fact, the two terms were originally used by them to contrast pairs of phonemes. They are currently used, however, to distinguish between a normal (i.e. unmarked) linguistic phenomenon and a less common variant. Peter Hawkins explains:

> The concept of marking and its values 'marked' and 'unmarked' is a way of showing that, when two linguistic elements are related in some way, the relation may not be between 'equals', but that one element is somehow more 'basic' than the other. The 'basic' element is said to be the unmarked member of the pair and the other the 'marked' member. Marking is used not only in phonology, but also in other areas of linguistics.[75]

Delbrück regards initial position in Skt. as characteristic of marked elements in a clause.[76] To him, marked constructions are occasional, as opposed to traditional or unmarked word order. Coulson[77] has similarly stated that the initial position is the position of greatest emphasis in Skt. The same is said of Pāli. Vajirañāṇavarorasa and subsequent Thai Pāli scholars have

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74 See Trubetzkoy (1969), particularly Chapter IV (pp. 146ff.).

75 Hawkins (1984: 114-5). Task (KCLL 180) defines the term 'markedness' similarly as: It is a very broad notion applying at all levels of analysis. Generally speaking, a marked form is any linguistic form which is less usual or less neutral than some other form —the *unmarked* form— from any of a number of points of view. A marked form may be distinguished from an unmarked one by the presence of additional linguistic material, by the presence of additional nuances of meaning, by greater rarity in a particular language or in languages generally, or in several other ways.

76 Delbrück (1878: 17-19). See also Delbrück (1888: 16); Lehmann and Ratanajoti (1975: 152).

77 Coulson (1992: 48).

pointed out that sometimes a particular word, such as a finite word or an interrogative pronoun,[78] is placed initially in the sentence for emphasis (BW VI 13, 26; HCPTL 75; MCP 62-65). Some typical examples provided by Pāli and Skt. scholars in their monographs are:

Table 1.1 Examples of verbs placed at the beginning of sentences

No.	Contexts
(1)	*suṇātu me, bhante, saṃgho* (Vin I 56-7, II 2, 7-9, 12, 15, 26-7, etc.).
	'Let the community listen to me, sir'.
(2)	*kiṃ tayā pabbajituṃ na vaṭṭati.*
	'Isn't an ordination suitable for you?'.
(3)	*dīyati pana te gahapati kule dānaṃ* (A III 391; IV 392, etc.).
	'But, householder, do you still offer alms in your family?'.
(4)	*paśyati tvām ācārya˙*.
	'The teacher *does see you*.'

The final position was noticed as emphatic for the first time by O.

[78] Delbrück (1888: 24) has observed that the question words (or in modern transformational-generative grammar *WH-words*) in Vedic have a strong tendency to occupy the first position in their clauses. Hale has studied the oldest layers of both Vedic and Avestan, and has brought to light that the placement of question words in the initial position was common to Indo-Iranian. See Hale 1987a: 8ff., cf. Hale (1987b: 38-50) and 1993: 29-43). Sometimes, the placement of question words in the initial position of sentences is called by transformational grammarians 'wh-movement', i.e. the process of movement of a *wh* - word, or a phrase introduced by a wh-word, to the front of a sentence. Although the terms *wh-word* and *wh- movement* are formulated on the basis of English conventions, both terms are employed to refer to question words serving the same syntactic and semantic function as well. See LE 491.

Behaghel.[79] He remarked that weighty words can be placed in the final position in the same way as they are placed at the beginning.[80] Later on, without mentioning previous scholarship, Otto Jespersen accepted the final position in English as 'marked'. In his book on English grammar,[81] he divided emphatic positions into two: first and last. However, it was Nils Erik Enkvist who, while explaining different parameters which affect the order of words in English, brought, among other parameters, the final marked position into prominence in modern linguistics.[82] Since Enkvist made his remarks, two terms, topicalisation and commentalisation,[83] have been fully adopted by modern syntacticians to refer to words which are particularly placed respectively in the initial position of sentences and in the final one.[84] Recently, while discussing the functions of word order variants in Marathi, Hindi and Bengali, Indira Y. Junghare has explained that Indo-Aryan languages do not have definite and indefinite articles or overt markers equivalent to English 'the' and 'a', and that a particular noun which is placed in the initial and final positions is, among other things, meant to be definite. Examples include a Marathi sentence: *malā* (I) *cāku* (a knife) *sapaḍlā* (found): 'I found a knife'. However, if the word *cāku* ('knife') is fronted, as in: *cāku malā sāpaḍlā,* it is properly translated as 'I found the knife'.[85] She quotes

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79 Behaghel (1909: 110-142), cf. Enkvist (1976: 11).

80 Behaghel (1909: 139).

81 See his arguments in detail in Jespersen (1933: 99), cf. Anderson (1980: 5).

82 See Enkvist (1976: 11-12).

83 Discussions on positions of emphasis, i.e. at the beginning and at the end of sentences in Greek can be found in Denniston (1952: 44ff).

84 Junghare (1983: 123).

85 See other examples in Junghare (1985: 244).

Elinor Keenan and Bambi Schieffelin[86] as noting that topic is a discourse notion and that all 'topics' are definite. She further states:

> In spoken speeches, emphasis is generally conveyed through stress, i.e. the element which is to be emphasized receives stress or loudness. Another means of making emphasis is the use of various particles mentioned above. However, in the absence of emphatic particles the word order variation in conjunction with intonation and stress is employed for marking emphasis. Most often in speech, we find an interplay of particles, stress and word-order for expressing emphasis. For emphasis, elements may be moved into sentence-initial or sentence-final position, depending on discourse conditions.[87]

It seems that a consensus has become established among scholars that a particular word or a whole phrase may be placed at the beginning or end of sentences for emphasis. The 'unmarked' versus 'marked' notions will, therefore, be used in this thesis to refer to the usual or common order on the one hand and to less common variants on the other. Here, the usual or normal order refers particularly to that which is usually expected in ordinary declarative statements. While it is true that it is common to place a finite verb initially in sentences, such as a command, I shall consider this order as 'marked', as it differs from normal declarative statements in all prose texts, where there is no emphasis upon a particular word.

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86 Keenan and Schieffelin (1976, unseen), quoted in Junghare (1985: 244).

87 Junghare (1985: 248).

§ 1.4. Unmarked positions of words in the selected texts

As discussed above, this thesis emphasises two groups of words: post-verbal words and relative clauses. The position of these two groups of words is striking in that they are not placed in the usual position. However, a comprehensive study of the constraints governing the ordering system of the phenomenon in a given text has yet to appear. Before investigating these two key issues, it is important to establish the standard positions of other words in sentences.

The most well known treatises on Pāli syntax in Thai are Vajirañāṇavarorasa's two manuals for studying and composing Pāli. One was first published in 1893,[88] and the other in 1914.[89] These two manuals have been used by the Sangha Supreme Council of Thailand as textbooks and standard references for Thai traditional Pāli studies for several decades. In these two books, we find a number of principles put forward to explain Pāli's unmarked word order. Later, these principles were expanded, with more illustrations, by modern Thai Pāli syntacticians, notably Phra Sophonganaporn,[90] Phra Udomyānamolī[91] and Jaweng Sommasarn in collaboration with Prasarn Thongphakdī.[92] These scholars provide further explanations on the positions of syntactic elements in sentences, covering all important words in sentences: subjects together with their modifiers,

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88 BW VI (1893).

89 BW V (1914).

90 AVEPS.

91 Udomyānamolī (1995).

92 Somasārn and Thongphakdī (1972).

adjectives, nouns, adverbs, participles and finite verbs in all declarative, command or imperative, exclamatory, interrogative and complex sentences. While some terms are of unclear origin and are not found in Pāṇini, many are mentioned in grammatical and exegetical works such as Sadd[93] and the Aṭṭhayojanās.

To begin with, Udomyānamolī (MCP 24-26) and Sommasārn and Thongphakdī (HCPTL 28) provide a basic rule of thumb that each sentence in Pāli has two essential parts: subject and finite verb. These may be further modified by many other words; these modifiers must be placed before the modified noun subjects and verbs (either finite or non-finite ones). With regard to nouns, the term 'modifier'[94] refers particularly to adjectives, demonstrative pronouns, genitives which express possession *(sāmisambandha)*,[95] proper names of subjects syntactically called *saññāvisesana* (such as Kokāliko in the phrase: *Kokāliko bhikkhu* ('a monk named Kokālika'), and locatives which denote location, known syntactically as *visayādhāra* (see explanations of this word given below). The modifiers of verbs are all case

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93 It has been pointed out by Franke (1902) that Sadd drew on Pāṇini and Kśv. It is also evident that its author knew the Kātantra. See also Ohihara (1971 and Kahrs (1992: 7).

94 The term 'modifier' is translated from a Thai word วิเสสนะ. In the above context, this word refers to a group of words which expand a particular subject or a finite verb. Therefore, there are two expanded words, namely, those which expand a subject, called 'ขยายประธาน' (subject modifier) and those which expand a finite verb, called 'ขยายกิริยา' (finite verb modifier). See MCR 24-25.

95 All the technical terms, unless otherwise stated, are drawn from Vajirañāṇavarorasa's work (BW VI) on which other subsequent Thai works are based. Some Skt. counterparts are found in Speijer (1886).

forms which function adverbially, particularly those in the accusative case (nt. & sing.), known as *kiriyāparāmāsa* (see explanations of this word in §4.3.1 of Chapter Four), the instrumental case known as *tatiyāvisesana* and subject complements known as *vikatikattā*.

Pāli sentences are sometimes long and complicated and sometimes simple and plain. The following sub-sections will examine the positions of all words in all the sentences which are found on a regular basis. They are divided into various groups according to their practical functions: introductory elements which usually start sentences (§1.4.1); nominals and their modifiers (§1.4.2); subject complements (§1.4.3); non-finite verbs (§1.4.4); finite verbs (§1.4.5) and verbal modifiers (§1.4.6).

§1.4.1. Introductory elements in sentences

Thai Pāli syntacticians (HCPTL 35-37; MCP 50-52) explain that there are four types of words which are used to introduce sentences and are often placed before subjects or agents. Below is a description of their contexts and positions:

(1) Temporal adverbials *(kālasattamī)*. Thai Pāli syntacticians (HCPTL 36-7; MCP 43) explain that words in this group usually lead sentences. This type of word includes *atha* ('now', 'and then', 'moreover', 'at that time'),[96] *pāto* ('early in the morning'), *divā* ('in the day time'), *sāyaṃ* ('evening', 'at night'), *sve, suve* ('tomorrow', 'the next day'), *hiyyo* ('yesterday', Skt. *hya·*), *sampati* ('right now'), *āyatiṃ* ('in future') and so on. Included in

[96] Hale (1987: 42-3) says, 'There is no evidence in the Ṛgveda which would indicate that these sentence introductory particles occupy any other slot than the TOP-slot posited above.'

this category are also case forms which function adverbially, notably the instrumental case and temporal locatives such as: *tasmiṃ samaye* or *tena samayena* ('at that time'). Udomyānamolī (MCP 43) agrees that these adverbial case forms have two usual positions: they may come first in the sentence or they may follow the subject of the sentence. If a temporal case form comes with a temporal adverbial indeclinable, the latter is placed first such as: *atha sāyaṇhasamaye* ('Then, in the evening [...]'). Udomyānamolī (MCP 51, 37) explains that alternatively a sentence may start with other words, particularly adverbial indeclinables such as the pairs of *yathā-evaṃ, yathā-tathā, seyyathāpi-evaṃ,* causal case forms such as *yāsmā-tasmā* or *yena-tena* and the locative or the genitive absolute (see below), instead of the *kālasattamī* and the *visayādhāra* (see below). I provide examples from my selected texts in a section on 'Verbal modifiers' (§4.6) below.

(2) Nouns in the locative which denote residence. This group of words, syntactically known as *visayādhāra*, includes examples such as *Sāvatthiyaṃ* ('at the city of Sāvatthī'), *rājagahe* ('at the city of Rājagaha'), and so on. If the *visayādhāra* and the *kālasattamī* come together, the latter is placed first as in: *tadā Sāvatthiyaṃ* [...] ('At that time, at the city of Sāvatthī [...]'). I assume that the reason for the placement of these words at the beginning of a sentence is to describe the scene in which all the following actions take place.

(3) Introductory indeclinables. These include such terms as *ca* ('then', 'now'), *vā* ('or'), *pana* (Skt. probably *puna (*'but'*)* according to PTSD, p. 411), *hi* ('for', 'because', 'indeed'), *tu* ('however', 'but', 'yet', 'now', 'then'), *api ca* ('well', 'by the way') come second.

(4) Vocatives. In Pāli, *ālapana*; *āmantrita* is the technical term in Skt. according to Pāṇini 2.3.48, or *sambodhana,* which is its meaning according to Pāṇini 2.3.47. Both nominal vocatives and indeclinable vocatives such as *bhikkhave* ('monks'), *āvuso* ('friends'), *bhante* ('Lord'), *āyasmanto* ('the long-lived'), etc. more often than not come third in the sentence. According to BW VI 23 (§16), MCP 45 and HCPTL 44, vocatives *(ālapanas)* in canonical texts mostly take second position; they may come third if there are enclitics in the sentence. In commentarial texts, however, their position is somewhat flexible; it can occur initially or finally in the sentence. HCPTL 46 explains that the unfixed placement of vocatives in commentarial texts is due to the fact that its position depends upon the authors' subjective preference. Alternatively, we may say that a final vocative is less stressed than an initial one, an explanation which usually applies to Vedic.[97]

§ 1.4.2. Unmarked positions of nominals and their modifiers

This section is devoted to discussing positions of seven case forms. Generally speaking, one of the main contributions made by Thai Pāli syntacticians is that they give a detailed description of each case form in various contexts, depending on their functions. Each case form is designated with different syntactical terms. These technical terms are taken from various grammatical and commentarial texts. However, as they do not give references to the sources from which examples are taken, I provide them wherever possible. Note that in each section, I have tried to give a classic or control example of the form described, as for instance in 1.3. However, because of the

[97] See particularly Peter (1993: 127). Pāṇini 8.1.19 says that vocatives bear an initial *udātta* accent [when they are accented].

limited space, in many cases several examples are grouped under one heading. For instance, in 1.4, I have collected together many kinds of verbless constructions in one table. Below is a detailed account of case forms and their positions.

§ 1.4.2.1. The nominative case

The nominative case[98] functions as the subject (agent) of a sentence with an active verb and usually comes first in the sentence, unless it is accompanied by temporal adverbs, introductory indeclinables and attributes, in which case it is placed after them. There are many words which can be used as a subject in a sentence. Udomyānamolī (MCP 26-280) lists six types of them, namely:

1) Nouns *(nāmanāma)*.
2) Personal pronouns *(purisasabbanāma)*.
3) Adjectives used as substantives, which can function as a subject such as *dandha* (the fool) and *paṇḍita* (the wise).
4) Nominal forms of verbs (*kiriyānāma* or *bhāvanāma*), which refers to nouns formed out of primary derivative suffixes, such as *cintanaṃ* ('thinking'), *gamanaṃ* ('going'), *karaṇaṃ* ('doing') and infinitives such as *kātuṃ* ('to do'), *gantuṃ* ('to go').[99] It is to be noted that the subject which is derived from the *-tuṃ* suffix is called *tumatthakattā*[100] and differs from *sayakattā*, a term which refers to the subjects of all other active voice sentences (AVEPS I 22).

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98 See Kacc 281; Sadd III 548; Warder (1995: 14) and Sen (1926: 347-357).

99 See other infinitives in Geiger §204-6.

100 The term *tumartha* occurs in Pāṇini 2.3.15. See also Kahrs (1992: 93).

5) Cardinal numerals *(pakatisaṃkhayā)* starting from no.100 (*sata* in Pāli) onwards, such as: *itthīnaṃ sataṃ* ('100 females [lit. one hundred of females]'), etc.
6) Certain declinables and indeclinables. Some Thai grammarians conclude that they function as a [quasi-] subject. Those, supposed to be noun subjects, are *sādhu* ('goodness'),[101] *alaṃ* ('enoughness') ('stopping'), *ajja* (Skt. *adya*) ('today'), *idāni* (Skt. *idānīṃ*) ('this moment', 'now'), and *tathā* ('suchness'). Three examples are given in HCPTL 32 thus: *alaṃ amma* ('enough', 'lady' [lit. that is an enoughness, lady']); *sādhu bhante* ('Good, sirs [lit. that is a goodness, sirs!]'); *ajja pakkhassa aṭṭhamī* ('Today is the eighth day of a fortnight)'. Sophonga- naporn (AVEPS II 188) gives an additional example: *ajj' uposatho paṇṇaraso* ('Today is the fifteenth, the observance day).' These quasi-subjects are known syntactically as *sattamīpatta*. However, it seems to me that the interpretation of these indeclinables as subjects is not substantiated by the Pāli grammatical tradition. Broadly speaking,[102] subjects in Pāli are of two types: subjects without finite verbs and subjects with finite verbs.

§ 1.4.2.1.1 Subjects without finite verbs

In Pāli, this type of subject is syntactically called *liṃgattha*. Translating it as 'denoting [merely] gender', Vajirañāṇavarorasa defines it as 'the subject

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101 Note that my translation of these quasi—(or pseudo) —subjects here is to fit the above interpretation only.

102 BW V 216.

in adjectival and nominal phrases which do not have a finite verb'[103] (BW V 216, cf. AVEPS I 19). Though the term does not occur in Pāṇini, it is evident that Pāṇini 2.3.46 lists gender as one of the things denoted by the nominative case. According to Vajirañāṇavarorasa (BW V 216), the *liṃgattha* subject can stand in isolation and has no connections with verbs, hence its name, which means that it merely denotes gender. Even if it is accompanied by other words, the whole group of these words is merely a phrase, without a finite verb. The *liṃgattha* subject is the central word of its phrase, and therefore it may be called the 'head', while all modifiers which accompany it explain functionally some aspect of their head. Vajirañāṇavarorasa (BW IV 216) provides two examples of nominal phrases:[104]

Table 1.2 Examples of a verbless subject (*liṃgattha*)

No.	Contexts
(5)	*kulassa putto*[105] 'a son of good family.'
(6)	*piyo putto*[106] 'a dear son'.

There are a number of examples provided by the Sadd commentary. In (5) and (6), the *liṃgattha* subject is *putto* and is placed behind its modifiers. Its modifiers, or attributes, functionally describe or express a certain characteristic of it by identifying or adding information about it but the

[103] Ibid.

[104] See other examples of *liṅgattha* subjects in the commentary on Sadd-v III 713-4; Sadd-v Se III 577.

[105] Cf. Sp V 1016: *purāṇakulaputto ti purāṇassa anukkamena pārijuññaṃ pattassa kulassa putto.*

[106] Cf. J II 354: *kicchā laddho piyo putto, yo andhe abharī vane.*

liṃgattha subject itself stands on its own. Syntactically, there are two types of *liṃgattha*: the normal *liṃgattha*, and the *liṃgattha* which is accompanied by particles of comparison, technically called *upamāliṃgattha*. The latter refers to a comparative context in which there is one of the following comparative particles: *iva* or *va* or *viya* (Skt. also *iva*, see Pischel, §143, 336 [pp. 132-133, 270-271]). These particles can be translated as 'like'. The subject introduced by them is strictly finite-verbless. Sometimes a non-finite verb may be supplied, but the verb can only be the adjective of the *liṃgattha* subject, i.e. it does not function as a finite verb. Sophonganaporn provides six typical examples (AVEPS I 20-21). One would suffice here:

Table 1.3 An example of the *upamāliṃgattha* subject

No.	Context
(7)	*tato naṃ dukkham anveti cakkaṃ va vahato padaṃ* (Dhp 1). 'From that [evil mind], suffering follows him as the wheel [follows] the foot [of the ox] which is pulling [a wagon].'

In (7), the *upamāliṃgattha* subject *cakkaṃ* is without a finite-verb. I restore the whole phrase as: *vahato gāvassa padaṃ anuyantaṃ cakkaṃ [i]va*, which is merely a noun phrase. As the *va* (<*iva* = as if, like as) itself is an adverbial particle, so the whole phrase introduced by it is the modifier of the finite verb *anveti*. In other words, the whole phrase introduced by *va* forms part of the main sentence and thereby functions adverbially. Even when *anuyantaṃ*, which governs the phrase: *vahato [gāvassa] padaṃ*, is added, it is merely an adjective of *cakkaṃ*.

This use of nominative cases in the verbless construction can be

verified with examples. However, I would like to divide the verbless subject construction into two types, as some distinction between them is apparent. The first is the seemingly verbless subject which leaves out a finite verb as understood. The second is the finite-verbless construction in absolute terms which does not require a finite verb at all. With regard to the first type, even though the verb itself does not appear explicitly in the sentence, it must be added to complete it. This construction corresponds to what is described in Western scholarship as 'nominal sentences'.[107] In the strict sense of the term, the sentence is not *liṃgattha*. The verbless construction where a finite verb is not explicitly given but is implied is found a few times in BJS and SPS but occurs very often in BJSA. We can say that BJSA is particularly characterised by this construction. Below are some examples.

Table 1.4 Examples of the verbless construction in the selected texts

No.	Contexts
(8)	*yāni kānici* ***ambāni vaṇṭūpanibandhanāni,*** *sabbāni tāni tadanvayāni bhavanti* (BJS 46.73). 'All mangoes that are connected with a stalk follow it.'
(9)	*rājā* [...] *yāvatikā nāgassa* ***bhūmi*** *nāgena gantvā, nāgā paccorohitvā pattiko va yena maṇḍalamāḷassa* ***dvāraṃ,*** *ten' upasaṃkami* (SPS 50.11).

[107] For nominal sentences in IE see Meillet (1906); for Skt. see Bloch (1906: 27-96); Gren-Eklund (1978) and for a recent work on Skt. and Pāli see Breunis (1990). Breunis explains the concept of 'nominal sentence' exactly in the same way as other Sanskritists do.

'The king [...] rode on his elephant as far as the ground permitted. Then, he got down from the elephant and went on foot to the door of the round pavilion.'

(10) *ettha evan ti* ***nipātapadaṃ.*** *me ti ādīni* ***nāmapadāni.*** *paṭipanno hotī ti ettha paṭī ti* ***upasag– gapadaṃ.*** *hotī ti* ***ākhyātapadaṃ*** (BJSA 1).

'[The word] *evaṃ* in that [context] is merely a particle. Words such as *me* are nominals. [The word] *paṭi* in the context *paṭipanno hoti* is a prefix. [The word] *hoti* is a finite verb *(ākhyāta)*.'

(11) *me-saddo tīsu atthesu dissati. 'tathā hi'ssa gāthābhigītaṃ me abhojaneyyan ti' ādīsu mayā ti* ***attho****. 'sādhu me bhante Bhagavā saṃkhittena dhammaṃdesetū ti' ādīsu mayhan ti attho. 'dhamma-dāyādā me bhikkhave bhavathā ti' ādīsu mamā ti attho* (BJSA 28).

'The word *me* is used in three meanings. It appears in the sense of *mayā* ('by me') [an instrumental] such as in the context: *gāthābhigītaṃ me abhojaneyyaṃ* ('the food which is obtained through reciting verses should not be eaten by me'); it appears in the sense of *mayhaṃ* ('to me') such as in the context: *sādhu me bhante Bhagavā saṃkhittena dhammaṃ desetu* ('Lord, well, let the Blessed One preach the dhamma to me briefly'); it appears in the sense of *mama* ('my') such as in the context *dhammadāyādā me bhikkhave bhavatha* ('Monks, be heirs of my dhamma').

(12) *tathā evan ti niddisitabbappakāsanaṃ. me ti puggalappakāsanaṃ. sutan ti puggala– kiccappakāsanaṃ* (BJSA 29).

'Similarly, the word *evaṃ* declares what is to be illustrated. The

word *me* declares the person. The word *sutaṃ* declares the activities of the person.'

In (8) the relative clause introduced by *yāni* is verbless, but it is assumed that *santi* or *atthi or tiṭṭhanti* is implied semantically. In (9) there are two verbless subjects: *bhūmi* ('ground') and *dvāraṃ* ('door'). Again, in these two contexts either *hoti* or *tiṭṭhati* is required to complete the sentence semantically. In (10), all the nouns: *nipātapadaṃ, nāmapadāṃ, upasaggapadaṃ, ākhyātapadaṃ* require the addition of *hoti*. The word ***attho*** which appears three times in (11)**,** and the words: *niddisitabbappakāsanaṃ, puggalappakāsanaṃ,* and *puggalakiccappakāsanaṃ* in (12) all need *hoti*, which is left out as understood for semantic reasons. It is noteworthy that the pattern for the verbless construction in BJSA is usually # **Lemmata + iti + a verbless noun #,** which is typical of the text.

With regard to the second type, it is the finite verbless subject in absolute terms. In this respect, the structure neither has nor requires a finite verb. The noun subject together with its modifiers stands on its own and is not associated with any action. Even if there is action, it must be described adjectivally, not by means of a finite verb. Below are some examples.

Table 1.5 Examples of the verbless construction in BJSA

No.	Contexts
(13)	*aparo nayo* (BJSA 29, 30, etc.). 'Another meaning.'
(14)	*sesaṃ vuttanayam eva* (BJSA 44).

'The rest [has] the same meaning as said.'

(15) *idan tāva purebhattakiccaṃ* (BJSA 46).
'This [is] the duty before breakfast.'

(16) *vitthāro* (BJSA 65).
'The detail [is as follows].'

In (13)-(16), the subjects carry the full sense. Practically speaking, the *liṃgattha* subjects are usually employed as a short title or description of texts without actions as finite verbs. The main word in high focus is the noun subject itself, not any other words associated with it.

These two verbless constructions may sometimes have overlapping interpretations. A typical explanation of this made by Thai Pāli syntacticians is that if a finite verb, which is not explicitly given, is added, the subject is no longer a *liṃgattha*. Sophonganaporn (AVEPS I 19), whose treatises explain the rules formulated by Vajirañāṇavarorasa, says that the *liṃgattha* subject functions as the subject in a nominal or adjectival phrase and that its meaning is described by that phrase only. Therefore, some scholars may interpret the contexts of (10)-(13) as also having an understood finite verbs. It is interesting to note that the commentary on Sadd III 577 explains that there are two kinds of nominatives which function as subjects: (1) the subject which stands on its own without a finite verb, called *suddhaliṃgattha* ('pure *liṃgattha*'), and (2) the other kind of subject which is called *kammādisaṃsaṭṭha* ('[a subject] which

is associated with words expressing 'objects' and so on'). [108] On the other hand, the *upamāliṃgattha* subject also occurs regularly in the selected texts. Let me give some examples:

Table 1.6 Examples of the upamāliṃgattha subject in BJSA

No.	Contexts
(17)	*Buddhuppādato pana paṭṭhāya pahīnalābhasakkārā honti, suriyuggamane khajjopanakā viya nissirīkataṃ āpajjanti* (BJSA 41). 'But after the arising of the Buddha, they find their gains and honour dwindle and they lose their splendour, like fireflies at sunrise.'
(18)	*tasmiṃ ca samaye samantā vippakiṇṇā tārakā viya padīpā jalanti* (BJSA 42). 'And at that time lamps burnt everywhere like scattered stars.'

Here, the phrases: *suriyuggamane [nissirikataṃ āpajjantā] khajjopanakā viya* ('like fireflies losing their splendour when the sun rises') and *vippakiṇṇā* [*jalantā*] *tārakā viya* ('like scattered stars which are shining') modify the finite verbs *āpajjanti* and *jalanti* respectively. So the subjects of the two nominal phrases *khajjopanakā* and *tārakā* are *upamāliṃgattha* ('*liṃgattha* subject within a sentence of comparison').

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[108] Sadd-v III 714; Sadd-v Se III 577: *so pana kammādisaṃsaṭṭho suddho cā ti duvidho. tattha kammādīsu dutiyādīnaṃ vidhiyamānattā kammādisaṃsaggarahito liṅgasaṃkhyāparimāṇayutto tabbinimuttupasaggādipadatthabhūto ca suddho saddhattho idha liṅgattha nāma. yo pana ākhyātakitataddhitasamāsehi vutto kammādisaṃsaṭṭho attho, so' pi dutiyādīnaṃ puna attanā vattabbassa atthavisesassābhāvena avisayattā ca liṅgatthamattassa sambhavato ca paṭhamāy' eva visayo ti veditabbo.*

§ 1.4.2.1.2. Subjects with finite verbs

Traditional grammarians (Kacc 453, 454, 456 and Sadd III 935, 937) explain that there are three voices: active *(kattu)*, passive *(kamma)* and impersonal passive *(bhāva)*. However, Vajirañāṇavarorasa (BW 4 165-170), while explaining types of finite verb *(ākhyāta)*, elaborates the distinction by noting that finite verbs *(ākhyāta)* denote five different types of subjects: (1) those which express active voices *(kattuvācaka)* such as: *sūdo odanaṃ pacati* ('a cook is cooking rice'); (2) those which express passive voices *(kammavācaka)* such as: *sūdena odano paciyate* 'The rice is being cooked by a cook.'; (3) those which express impersonal (stative) passive voices *(bhāvavācaka)* such as *tena bhūyate* ('he is'); (4) those which express causative voices *(hetukattuvācaka)* such as: *sāmiko sūdaṃ odanaṃ pāceti* ('a boss causes a cook to cook rice'); (5) those which express causative passive voice *(hetukammavācaka)* such as: *sāmikena sūdena odano pacāpiyate* ('a boss causes a cook to cook the boiled rice.' [lit. the boiled rice is caused by a boss to be cooked by a cook.']).

These subjects can be summarised further into two groups. One is the group of active *(kattu– vācaka)* and causative *(hetukattuvācaka)* agents, known technically as *sayakattā* and *hetukattā* respectively. Their unmarked position is found in three contexts: 1) It is usually placed first in the sentence if it does not have modifiers, temporal adverbs and introductory indeclinables *(nipāta)*; 2) If the subject has adjectives, no matter how many there are, it is placed after them all; 3) If there is an introductory indeclinable (such as *atha*), the subject always comes second.[109] However, the positions proposed by Thai

[109] Udomyānamolī (1972: 28-29).

scholars do not cover a phenomenon which occurs occasionally in my selected texts: the noun subjects in the nominative also sometimes appear after finite verbs, albeit not often. I discuss this in Chapter Two (see §2.3.2) and attribute it to the stylistic preferences of the author(s).

Apart from this, the subject of a verb in the passive voice *(kammavācaka)* and in the causative-passive *(hetukammavācaka)* pattern, which is called *vuttakamma*, is also striking. Though it is not in the nominative case, it is still considered to be the grammatical subject, as the real agent of this type of sentence is in the instrumental case. This grammatical subject is usually in the nominative case and is placed second in the sentence behind an instrumental noun, which here functions as the real agent or the logical subject (HCPTL 50-51; MCP 28).[110] Occasionally, the former precedes the latter. For instance:

Table 1.7 Examples of the placement of logical subjects

No.	Contexts
(19)	*sūdena odano paciyate.*[111]
	'The boiled rice is cooked by a cook'.
(20)	*paṇṇaṃ mama sahāyena pesitaṃ.*
	'A letter was sent by my friend.'

In (19), we see that the logical subject *sūdena* is placed in the initial position and is followed by the grammatical subject. This is the usual order

[110] Jamison (1981: 317.320-1) argues that the agentive instrumental goes back to the PIE period and was full established in ṚV.

[111] Bāl 70 has: *tena tayā vā so odano paccati paccate vā.*

of the logical subject in the passive and causative passive construction.[112] (20), on the other hand, has its grammatical subject, *paṇṇaṃ*, placed initially while its logical subject, *sahāyena*, is placed just before its governing verb. This order is occasionally seen.

The placement of subjects and instrumentals ('agents' or 'psychological subjects') in the passive voice varies from this general rule in different contexts. I hypothesise that the pattern given by Pāli scholars represents passive verbs found in general declarative statements, where no emphasis is given. In practice, the passive voice occurs in different contexts. Instrumentals may not be given if they occur in contexts where the agents can be assumed. Sometimes grammatical subjects are placed initially in the sentence, followed by instrumentals. Sometimes finite verbs are placed initially in the sentence for emphasis. We need to be aware of the fact that texts do not resemble speech. While in speech emphasis can be made by talking loudly, softly or slowly, by altering the tone of one's voice or by changing its timbre, written texts cannot employ such methods to emphasise words.[113] Instead, emphatic elements are produced in texts by placing particular words initially in the sentence or at the end of a sentence. Passive sentences occur very occasionally in BJS and SPS but relatively more often in BJSA. Below are some examples.

Table 1.8 Examples of passive sentences in the selected texts

No.	Contexts
(21)	[...] *idaṃ tena Bhagavatā jānatā passatā arahatā sammāsambuddhena*

[112] See also Wallace (1984: 168).

[113] Cf. Kane (1988: 147). See my discussions on 'emphasis' in Chapter Two, §2.2.

sattānaṃ nānādhimuttikatā suppaṭividitā (BJS 2.3).

'The different inclinations of beings are well penetrated by the Blessed One, who knows and sees this, who is an Arahat, and is fully Enlightened One.'

(22) [...] *yaṃ yaṃ suttaṃ yamhi yamhi saṃvacchare utumhi māse pakkhe rattibhāge divasabhāge vā vuttaṃ, sabban taṃ therassa suviditaṃ suvavatthāpitaṃ paññāya* (BJSA 32).

'Every discourse that was spoken in every period of time -whatever year, season, month, fortnight, night or day- was known very well, i.e. was well fixed by the Thera with wisdom.'

(23) *yo hi so sikkhāpadapaññattisamayo Sāriputtādīhi pi duviññeyyo* [...] (BJSA 33).

'The time at which a precept was laid down is difficult to understand even for [disciples] such as Sāriputta.'

(24) *Etena etaṃ oḷārikaṃ akkhāyati* (BJS 37.23).

'Because of this, this is called gross.'

(25) *so hi Visuddhimagge Buddhānussatiniddese vutto yeva* (BJSA 34).

'Clearly, that was already told in the exposition on "Recollection of the Buddha" in the Visud– dhimagga.'

(26) *tasmā tadatthajotanatthaṃ tattha karaṇavacanena niddeso kato* (BJSA 33 [twice][114]).

'Therefore in order to clarify the meaning of that, the expression of an instrumental is provided there.'

(27) *na ca pan' etaṃ amhesu saṃvijjati* (BJS 3.5).

[114] This construction occurs twice. The other context is: *tasmā tadatthajotanatthaṃ idha upayogavacananiddeso kato* (BJSA 33).

'But this is also not found among us.'

(28) [...] *paradāraṃ gacchato musā bhaṇato, karato na karīyati pāpaṃ* (SPS 52.17).

'Evil does not accrue to the person who commits adultery and tells lies.'

(29) [...] *Abhidhamme 'yasmiṃ samaye kāmāvacaran ti' ca, ito aññesu Suttapadesu 'yasmiṃ samaye bhikkhave bhikkhu vivicc' eva kāmehīti' ca bhummavacananiddeso kato, Vinaye ca tena samayena Buddho Bhagavā ti karaṇavacanena, tathā akatvā ekaṃ samayan ti upayoga-vacananiddeso kato* (BJSA 33).

'[...] In the Abhidhamma a locative is used as in the words *yasmiṃ samaye kāmāvacaraṃ,* and so also in in the sutta passages, such as, *yasmiṃ samaye bhikkhave bhikkhu vivicc' eva kāmehi.* And in the Vinaya the instrumental is used such as in the phrase *"tena samayena Buddho Bhagavā"* whereas [in the Suttantas] this is not the case and [instead] an accusative is used, namely, *ekaṃ samayaṃ.*'

(30) *antarāsaddena pana yuttattā upayogavacanaṃ kataṃ* (BJSA 35).

'An accusative is used because it is connected with the word *antarā.*'

(31) *mattā ti pamānaṃ vuccati* (BJSA 35).

'A measure is expressed through *"mattā"* ('a measure').

(32) *saṃvijjati ca pan' etaṃ amhesu* (BJS 3.6).

'But is this found among us?'

(33) *sahitaṃ me asahitan te* (BJS 8.18).

'Beneficial for me, not beneficial for you.'

(34) *āropito te vādo* (BJS 8.18).

'Your argument is certainly refuted.'

The passive construction occurs in my selected texts about fifty-five times, mostly in BJSA. There is no evidence of its occurrence in SPS. The remaining passive verbs are: *vuccati* (BJSA 35, 43 [three times], 78 [twice]), *veditabbo* (BJSA 38 [three times]), *pakāsetabbo* (BJSA 38), *veditabbo* (BJSA 41, 43, 53, 54, 66), *vuccanti* (BJSA 42), *suppaṭividitā* (BJSA 44), *viditā* (BJSA 44), *upasaṃkamitabbo* (BJSA 48), *bhāsitaṃ* (BJSA 50), *kathitāni* (BJSA 50, 51), *nikkhittaṃ* (BJSA 51), *apanetabbaṃ* (BJSA 59), *vattabbaṃ* (BJSA 53), *veditabbaṃ* (BJSA 53, 54, 55, 59), *kātabbaṃ* (BJSA 53), *kātabbā* (BJSA 53), *vutto* (BJSA 53), *vuttaṃ* (BJSA 54), *vaṇṇitaṃ* (BJSA 54), *adhippetaṃ* (BJSA 54), *paṭijānitabbaṃ* (BJSA 54 [three times]), *paṭijānitabbo* (BJSA 55), *āraddhā* (BJSA 55), *vitthāretabbaṃ* (BJSA 57), *vuyhanti* (BJSA 59), *pariḍayhanti* (BJSA 59), *āvuṭā nivuṭā ophuṭā paṭicchannā paṭikujjitā* (BJSA 59), *veditabbā* (BJSA 67), *veditabbo* (BJSA 67, 68, 70, 71, 80), *vattabbaṃ* (BJSA 69, 70), *gahetabbaṃ* (BJSA 70), *vutto* (BJSA 71), *daṭṭhabbo* (BJSA 73, 81), *gahetabbaṃ* (BJSA 73), *sutaṃ* (BJSA 74), *vuccati* (BJSA 98), *uparikkhitabbo* (BJSA 100), *jānitabbo* (BJSA 102), *labbhati* (BJSA 79), *dinno* (BJSA 80), *saṃgahītaṃ* (BJSA 80).

In (7), (8) and (9) the sentence structure is # GramS + Instr [LogicS] + FV# where the grammatical subject comes first, followed by an instrumental, which is the logical subject, and a finite verb. In (10), (11), (12), and (13) the pattern is still # GramS + FV # but instrumentals are not given. In (14), the sentence pattern changes; it places the GramS at the end of the sentence instead. So we have # ... FV + GramS #, while an instrumental or a logical subject is implied. In (15), (16) and (17) the pattern is still # GramS + FV #, but there are other elements placed in front of them. In (18), we have the pattern # FV + Particles + GramS # but an instrumental is not given,

while in (19) we have the pattern # FV+ Instrumentals [LogicalS] # but without a grammatical subject in the nominative. In (20), on the other hand, we have the pattern #FV + Instr [LogicalS] + GramS #. We see that in certain contexts passive verbs occur in emphatic or interrogative contexts, in which the finite verb is placed initially in the sentence. This means that the generalisation made by previous Thai scholars is based primarily on normal declarative statements where there is no emphasis at all.

Apart from functioning as the subject, nominative cases also function as modifiers, or adjectives. HCPTL 34-35 explains that adjectives may come together in a group. The general rules are: 1) If a definite *(niyamuddesa)* or indefinite *(aniyamuddesa)* pronoun, which functions as an adjective *(visesanasabbanāma),*[115] comes with a general adjective, the definite or indefinite pronoun is placed at the beginning and followed by the latter such as: *ye cattāro yogā* [...] ('which four *yogas* [...]'). 2) If definite and indefinite pronouns come together and modify the same subject, the indefinite pronouns are placed first, such as: *yā panāyaṃ avasesā pajā* [...] ('But these remaining people who [...])'. 3) If number adjectives *(saṃkhayāvisesana)* appear with other adjectives, the former are placed closest to the subject, such as: *ete bhikkhave dve sahāyakā* ('Monks, these two friends [...]').

This generalisation again does not cover all the contexts found in my

[115] Adjectives of definiteness *(niyamuddesa)* are *ta* 'that' (*tad* in Skt.)*, eta* 'this' (*etad* in Skt.)*, ima* 'this'*, amu* 'that' (*asau* [for masculine in Skt. and *adas* for nt.). Adjectives of indefiniteness *(aniyamuddesa)* are *ya* (*yad* in Skt.), *añña* (*anya* in Skt.), *aññatra* (*anyatra* in Skt.), *aññatama* (*anyatama* in Skt.), *para* 'the other', *apara* 'another', *katara* 'which [of the two]', *katama* 'which [of the many]', *eka* 'one', *ekacca* 'some' (*ekatya* in Skt.), *sabba* 'all' (*sarva* in Skt.), *kiṃ* 'what, which', *ubhaya* 'both' (*ubhau* in Skt.).

selected texts. It is true that the most usual position of adjectives is before their nouns but sometimes they are placed post-verbally. I have found some evidence concerning this in my selected texts and offer explanations as to why they are placed in that position (see Chapter Two §2.6).

§ 1.4.2.2 The accusative case

The accusative case is generally known as the case of direct objects.[116] However, seven functions of accusatives are described by Pāli grammarians. They are known syntactically as: *avuttakamma* (the direct object), *kāritakamma* (the causal or causative accusative), *vikatikamma* (the transformed accusative or complemental accusative), *sampāpuṇīyakamma* (the accusative of goal), *accantasaṃyoga* (the spatio-temporal accusative) (see Kacc 298, cf. Ps I: 151), *akathitakamma* (the non-mentioned accusative) (cf. Pāṇini 1.4.51) and *kiriyāvisesana* (the adverbial accusative). They are usually placed before their governing verbs. Often, two or three of them come together in a sentence with the following order (MCP 29-30; HCPTL 48-49; AVEPS I 29-35): when the *kāritakamma* (the casual or causative accusative) appears with the *avuttakamma* (the direct object accusative), the former precedes the latter. When the *akathitakamma* ('the non-mentioned accusative') appears with the *avuttakamma* (the direct object), the former precedes the latter. When the *accantasaṃyoga* (the spatio-temporal accusative) and the *avuttakamma* (the direct object) appear together, the former precedes the latter. When the *avuttakamma* (the direct object accusative) appears with the *sampāpuṇīyakamma* (the accusative of goal), the former precedes the latter.

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[116] In Pāli it is called *kammakāraka*. See Kacc 280; Sadd III 551. See also Warder (1995: 17ff.), cf. Pāṇini 1.4.49-50; Sen (1926: 357-378, 1927: 33-46).

When the *avuttakamma* (the direct object accusative) appears with the *vikatikamma* (the complemental accusative or the accusative of transformation), the former precedes the latter. When the *kāritakamma* (the casual or causative accusative), the *akathitakamma* ('the not-mentioned accusative') and the *avuttakamma* ('the direct accusative') come together, the *kāritakamma* is placed first, to be followed by the *akathitakamma* and *avuttakamma* respectively. The following are typical examples:[117]

Table 1.9 Examples of the placement of accusative cases

No.	Contexts
(35)	*atha naṃ taṃ nivāsāpetvā nivatthakāsāvaṃ udakena maddāpetvā ātape vissajjāpesi* (Dhp-a I 320). 'Having made him put on his robe and knead his donned robe with water, he then made him dry it in the sun.'
(36)	*sā pana sotāpannā hutvā satthāraṃ pabbajjaṃ yāci* (Dhp-a II 269). 'When she had become a stream-enterer, she asked the Teacher for ordination.'
(37)	*Sāvatthiyaṃ kira ekavīthivāsino manussā* [...] *sabbarattiṃ dhamma-ssavanaṃ kāresuṃ* (Dhp-a II 159-160). 'It is said that people who lived in the same street at Sāvatthī had the dhamma taught throughout the night.'
(38)	*bhikkhū satthāraṃ Maddakucchiṃ nayiṃsu* (Dhp-a II 164). 'Monks led the Buddha to *Maddakucchi*.'

[117] All the examples are given in MCP 29. Some of them appear in HCPTL 48-49. Note that examples provided by HCPTL and MCP do not cover all the above explanations. I suppose that this is because it is rare to see three accusatives coming together.

(39)	*taṃ jāmātaraṃ akāsi* (Dhp-a I 325). 'He made him his son-in-law'.
(40)	*tassā pi mātāpitaro tath'eva cintetvā taṃ naccagītavāditamattam eva sikkhāpesuṃ* (Dhp-a III 126). 'Her parents too thought similarly and had her learn only dancing, singing and music.'

In (35), the accusative *naṃ* is the *kāritakamma* while *taṃ* is the *avuttakamma*. In (36), the accusative *satthāraṃ* is the *akathitakamma*, while *pabbajjaṃ* is the *avuttakamma*. In (37), the word *sabbarattiṃ* is an *accantasaṃyoga*. In (38), the accusative *Maddakucchiṃ* is an accusative of goal *(sampāpuṇīyakamma)*. In (39), the accusative *jāmātaraṃ* is a *vikatikamma,* which functions as the complemental object. Like the *vikatikattā* which complements the subject, the *vikatikamma* accusative refers back to the direct object, such as *saraṇaṃ* ('as a refuge') in: *Buddhaṃ saraṇaṃ gacchāmi* ('I go to the Buddha as my refuge'). In (40), the accusative *taṃ [dhītaraṃ]* is the *kārītakamma* accusative, while *naccagītavāditamattaṃ* is the *avuttakamma* accusative. Udomyānmolī further remarks (MCP 30) that if the *avuttakamma* accusative appears together with the *kārītakamma* accusative, *akathitakamma* accusative and *accantasaṃyoga* accusative, it is usually placed after those accusatives. If it comes with the *sampāpuṇīyakamma* and the *vikatikamma* accusative, it is usually placed before them. However, he does not provide examples for these cases.

As has been shown, Thai Pāli syntacticians therefore concern themselves very much with the placement of various accusatives when they

appear together. What is clear is that these accusatives are usually placed before their governing words, i.e. verbs no matter whether they are finite or non-finite. The examples provided by Thai scholars show that words which govern accusatives are invariably the two types of verbs. Nevertheless, occasionally accusatives are also placed after finite verbs. This variation is not mentioned by the Thai scholars. I discuss this phenomenon in Chapter Two (for commentalised accusatives see §2.3.1 and for accusatives which follow *seyyathīdaṃ* see §2.4).

§ 1.4.2.3. The instrumental case

The instrumental expresses means, instrument and agent.[118] Six functions of the instrumental case are known to Pāli grammarians. Firstly, it functions as an instrumental, syntactically called *karaṇa* 'instrument'. The syntactic term occurs in Pāṇini 2.3.18, Kacc 286, Sadd III 591. Secondly, it modifies actions which take place directly, collectively called *tatiyāvisesana* (the adverbial instrumental),[119] as in the phrase: *tena samayena* ('at that time'), or *mama vacanena* ('according to my word'). Thirdly, it is syntactically called *anabhihitakattā* ('the non-conveyed agent') (cf. Pāṇini 2.3.1),[120] when it functions as the agent of a verb which merely expresses activity *(bhāvavācaka)* in the passive voice *(kammavācaka)* and causative passive voice *(hetukammavācaka).* Unfortunately, Udomyānamolī does not provide

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[118] Cf. Pāṇini 2.3.18; Kacc 279; Sadd III 552; Warder (1995: 41ff.); Speijer (1886: 49ff).

[119] BW VI 218.

[120] In Skt. (Pāṇini 2.3.1), the word *anabhihita* refers to the agent which is not expressed elsewhere (i.e. by its verb).

examples for this. The term *anabhihitakattā* as an agent is mentioned in Kacc 288 and Sadd III 594 along with the agent in the nominative case. Fourth, when it functions as a cause of actions, it is syntactically called *hetu* ('the causal instrumental'), as in: *lābhena unnato loko* ('The world is lifted by gains'). Fifth, when it expresses the manner or character of nouns, it is syntactically called *itthambhūta* ('the instrumental of characterisation').[121] The technical term occurs in Pāṇini 2.3.21, Sadd III 584-585 and Mogg 2.8. An example is the word *manasā* ('with a mind') in: *manasā pasannena bhāsati vā karoti vā,* ('with a pure mind, one speaks or acts'). Sixth, when it accompanies the two adverbial particles *saha* and *saddhiṃ,* it is collectively called *sahatthatatiyā* (the 'associative instrumental'),[122] which occurs in Sadd III 593. An example is *bhikkhusaṃghena* ('with a group of monks') in the sentence: *Bhagavā Verañjāyaṃ viharati mahatā bhikkhusaṃghena saddhiṃ* ('the Blessed One lived at Verañjā together with a large group of monks').

With regard to position, Udomyānamolī (MCP 35) states that: (i) The *karaṇa* and *tatiyāvisesana* instrumentals are usually placed before their governing nouns, verbs and indeclinables; (ii) If *karaṇa* and *tatiyāvisesana* instrumentals appear with the *avuttakamma, sampāpuṇīyakamma* or *accantasaṃyoga* accusatives, they are placed before them; (iii) An instrumental which modifies a sentence beginning with an interrogative pronoun is placed

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[121] Literally, it translates as 'the thus-become instrumental'. It is used to indicate a mark or attribute of a particular thing or condition such as *jaṭābhi˙* in a phrase: *jaṭābhis tāpasa˙* ('he is an ascetic by (having) matted hair').

[122] See also von Hinüber (1968: 111 [§96]).

instead at the end of a sentence, as the emphasis is placed on the latter; (iv) An *itthambhūta* instrumental is placed after its subject; (v) A *sahatthatatiyā* instrumental is placed before *saddhiṃ* but after *saha.* Acording to Udomyānamolī's personal observation (MCP 35), *saddhiṃ* is, in most cases, used with visible objects, while *saha* usually goes with invisible objects. Udomyānamolī (MCP 31) provides several examples some of which are given below.

Table 1.10 Examples of the placement of instrumental cases

No.	Contexts
(41)	*kāyena saṃvaro sādhu (Dhp 52; SN I 73; Dhp-a V 87).*
	'Bodily restraint is good.'
(42)	*haṃsā ākāsena gamiṃsu.*[123]
	'Swans went through the air.'
(43)	*pañcahi sakaṭasatehi bhaṇḍaṃ āharanti (Dhp-a I 66).*
	'They bring their property in five hundred wagons.'
(44)	*dakkhiṇena passena sīhaseyyaṃ kappeti (M I 355, etc.).*
	'He (the Buddha) lies down like a lion on his right side.'
(45)	*kiṃ mayhaṃ jīvitena (Ja V 256; Dhp-a IV 118).*
	'What is the use of life for me?'

In (41), the *karaṇa* instrumental *kāyena* is placed before its subject *saṃvaro*. In (42), the *tatiyāvisesana* instrumental *ākāsena* is placed before its verb *āgamiṃsu*. In (43), the *karaṇa* instrumental is placed before the

[123] Cf.: *tasmiṃ khaṇe dve haṃsā ākāsena gacchanti* (Dhp-a IV 87; Ja II 366, cf. Ja I 418).

avuttakamma accusative *bhaṇḍaṃ.* In (44), the *tatiyāvisesana* instrumental *passena* is placed before the *avuttakamma* accusative *sīhaseyyaṃ.* In (45), where *kiṃ* is placed at the beginning of the sentence, the *karaṇa* instrumental *jīvitena* is placed in the final position. It is important to note that the instrumental case is usually governed by either a noun or a verb or an adverbial indeclinable (BW V 218). One particular case may be interpreted differently among Pāli grammarians. This is: *maṇinā me attho*, which is given in Sadd III 597 under the rule: *paccatte* ([the instrumental used] in the nominative sense). *Prima facie*, one may translate the sentence: *maṇinā me attho* as 'I need the jewel'. *Maṇinā* in this context can only be a *karaṇa.* One might then interpret the prepositioning of *maṇinā* as a word modifying *attho*. However, Sadd III 597[124] explains that in the above context the *karaṇa* functions in the nominative sense *(paccatta)* and this may be an alternative explanation as to why it is placed in the initial position of the sentence, like other normal nominative cases. So, alternatively it may be translated as 'The jewel is useful to me'. If we interpret the sentence in this way, *attho* becomes a subject complement.

Like the accusatives, all the instrumentals in the examples provided by Thai scholars are placed in front of their governing words. Unlike accusatives, however, words which govern instrumentals can be both nominals and verbs. Nevertheless, in my selected texts instrumentals are also sometimes placed after finite verbs due to specific reasons. I deal with this phenomenon in detail in Chapter Two (§2.3.1 and §2.5).

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[124] Sadd III 659 similarly states, albeit in slightly different terms: *paṭhamatthe tatiyāsattamiyo* ('The instrumental and the locative [are used] in the nominative sense').

§ 1.4.2.4 The dative case

The function of the dative case denotes the indirect object. It is used for a target person or object or destination, for whom or for which something is done, or an action takes place.[125] Syntactically, it is called *sampadāna*.[126] It often appears with an *avuttakamma* accusative. The former however functions as the indirect object, while the latter is the direct object of the verb (See also Pāṇiṇi 2.3.12). It is always governed by a verb (BW V 219). Very rarely, it is governed by a noun, such as *kaṭhinassa* in the nominal phrase: *kaṭhinassa dussaṃ* ('a cloth for the *kaṭhina* ceremony') (MCP 35). Pāṇini 2.3.16 says that there are some substantives which can go with the dative, i.e. *nama* ('salutation'), *svasti* ('peace'), *svāhā* ('let there be a blessing on'), *svadhā* ('let there be a blessing on'), *alaṃ* ('sufficient') and *vaṣaṭ* '(an exclamation) *vaṣaṭ*'. The usual position of the dative case is before its verb. When it comes with the *avuttakamma* accusative, it is placed before it but it usually comes after the *sampāpuṇiyakamma* accusative and the locative case. The following are typical examples (MCP 35):

Table 1.11 Examples of the placement of dative cases

No.	Context
(46)	*tumhākaṃ mahāsakkāraṃ karissāmi (Dhp-a I 3).* 'I will show great honour to you.'
(47)	*Mahākaccāyanatthero Soreyyanagaraṃ piṇḍāya pavisitukāmo bahi-nagare saṃghātiṃ pārupati* (Dhp-a I 325). 'Ven. Mahākaccāyana, who wishes to enter the city of Soreyya for

[125] Cf. Pāṇini 1.4.32.

[126] Cf. Pāṇini 1.4.32.

	alms, puts on his *saṃghāti* robe outside the city.'
(48)	*so nibaddhaṃ ñātigāme yeva piṇḍāya carati* (Dhp-a I 283).
	'He regularly goes for alms only in the village of his relatives.'

In (46), the dative *tumhākaṃ* is placed before the *avuttakamma* accusative *mahāsakkāraṃ.* In (47), the *sampāpuṇiyakamma* accusative *soreyyanagaraṃ* is placed before the dative *piṇḍāya*. In (48), the locative *ñātigāme* is placed before the *sampadāna* dative *piṇḍāya.* Like instrumentals, all dative cases are placed before their governing words, i.e. verbs, even though they sometimes may be separated from the latter by other words such as accusatives. The unmarked position is in fact formulated on the basis of normal declarative sentences, in which there is no emphasis upon a particular word. Therefore, the rules made by Thai scholars do not cover other datives which are placed after finite verbs. I discuss all the post-verbal dative cases which occur in my selected texts in Chapter Two (§2.3.1).

§ 1.4.2.5 The ablative case

The ablative case denotes the source from which something or someone departs. Syntactically, it is called *apadāna* ('withdrawal').[127] According to BW V 219, it is mostly governed by a verb. MCP 36 and HCPTL 57-58 offer further evidence showing that occasionally the ablative is also governed by nouns, adjectives and indeclinables *(nipāta).* Sen, who has investigated case forms in Vedic prose, has similarly pointed out that during this period the ablative is used with verbs, verbal nouns, substantives and adjectives.[128] Vajirañāṇavarorasa lists three typical uses of the ablative: as a

[127] Pāṇini 1.4.24; 2.3.28; Kacc 271 and Sadd III 555, 556, cf. Warder (1995: 88-92).

[128] See detail in Sen (1927: 149ff).

source of departure, as a comparison and as a cause. The unmarked position of the ablative case is thus (MCP 36-38): (i) If the ablative comes alone with its modified words, it is usually placed before them; (ii) If the ablative appears with the *avuttakamma* accusative, the ablative may be placed before or after the accusative; (iii) The ablative which modifies certain indeclinables, i.e. *vinā, yāva* (*yāvat* in Skt.), *aññatra* (Skt. *anyatra*), *ārā* (*ārāt* in Skt.), is placed after them; (iv) The causal ablative such as *yasmā*, *tasmā*, *kasmā* is usually placed initially in the sentence even if there is a *kālasattamī* word (temporal adverbs), such as *taṃ divaṃ* ('that day'); (v), if *kasmā* comes with the temporal adverb *atha*, the latter is placed before the former. Below are some examples (MCP 36-37).

Table 1.12 Examples of the placement of ablative cases

No.	Contexts
(49)	*pāpā cittaṃ nivāraye* (Dhp 116). 'One should restrain one's mind from evil.'
(50)	*rājā taṃ raṭṭhā pabbājetvā* [...] (Dhp-a I 153-4). 'The King, having banished him from the kingdom [...]'.
(51)	*tasmā hi attā va attano patiṭṭhā siyā* (cf. Dhp-a IV 117). 'Therefore, indeed, one's self should be the support of one's self.'
(52)	*tasmā taṃ divasaṃ satthā tassa upanissayaṃ oloketvā dhammaṃ desento anupubbikathaṃ kathesi* (Dhp-a I 6). 'Therefore, that day, after he had seen his necessary preparation, the teacher taught him the doctrine by preaching a graduated sermon.'

In (49), the ablative *pāpā* is placed before an *avuttakamma* accusative,

but in (50) the ablative *raṭṭhā* follows the *kāritakamma* accusative. In (51), the causal ablative *tasmā*, which is connected with the previous message, is placed initially in the sentence. In (52), the causal ablative *tasmā* is placed before the *kālasattamī* phrase: *taṃ divasaṃ.* It is apparent that the tendency for the placement of ablative cases before their governing words is strong. The generalisation made by Thai scholars holds true of my selected texts as well. There is only one context in the texts under my scrutiny in which an ablative is placed post-verbally and I argue that this is due to authorial style (see Chapter Two §2.3.2).

§ 1.4.2.6 The genitive case

The genitive case is used to mark 'belonging to'.[129] It is used to modify nouns, adjectives and indeclinables *(nipāta).* There are six functions related to it. First, it is known syntactically as *sāmisambandha* ('the possessive genitive or the genitive of ownership'), which denotes 'belonging to'.[130] This term occurs in Kacc 301; Sadd III 610, 611, 612; Mogg 2.39. Second, it is called *samūhasambandha* ('the Genitive of Aggregation'), which denotes its relation with nouns in a group. Third, it is called *bhāvādisambandha* ('the genitive relating to abstract nouns[131] formed out of the affixes *bhāva* and so on').

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[129] Pāṇini 2.3.50 broadly defines it (the sixth case) as: *ṣaṣṭhī śeṣe* ('The sixth case is used to explain the remaining relation'). See also Sen (1927: 167-170; 1929: 45-66) and Warder (1995: 55ff).

[130] Sen (1927: 167).

[131] Vajirañāṇavarorasa (BW III 151) explains that there are six suffixes in Pāli which belong to the *Bhāvataddhita*, namely, *tta, ṇya, ttana, tā, ṇa,* and *kaṇ*. These suffixes are used in the same sense as *'bhāva'*. Any genitives which are governed by nouns with these suffixes are called *bhāvādisambandha* ('the genitive relating to the words *bhāva* and so on').

Fourth, it is associated with a participle to form the genitive absolute,[132] known as *anādara* ('lack of consideration, lack of respect'). This term occurs in Kacc 305, Sadd III 633, Mogg 2.35 and Pāṇini 2.3.38.[133] Renou[134] explains that genitive absolutes in Skt. are actually restricted to particular verbs; the predominant ones, according to him, are *paśyant-, prekṣant-, miṣant-, śṛṇvant-, cintayant-*. Having examined the use of cases in Vedic prose, Sen[135] makes the generalisation that the phenomenon is totally unknown in ṚV, is rare in Vedic prose and is a very frequent idiom in Classical Skt. Fifth, the genitive denotes the group from which a noun or substantive is taken or separated. Syntactically, it is called *niddhāraṇa*, while the noun which is removed or withdrawn from the *niddhāraṇa* genitive is called *niddhāraṇīya*. The term *niddhāraṇa* occurs in Kacc 304 and Mogg 2.36. Sadd III 632, on the other hand, uses the term *ubbāhana* [136]instead, explaining that *ubbāhana* is a

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[132] Brugmann (1902-4, §815) explains that the absolute construction was independently developed in each language. Wackernagel (1920: 293) proposes that the linguistic phenomenon goes back to PIE. However, he does not provide explanations for its origin. Meillet and Vendryes (1948: §840 and §899) state that different languages in the IE family use different cases for the absolutive function: for instance, Skt. uses the locative and genitive, Gothic the dative and accusative (which is exceptionally rare), Greek the genitive and accusative, and Latin the ablative.

[133] According to Pāṇini, the term *anādara* is not a syntactic term, but is used to refer to the genitive or locative case which expresses disregard, i.e. when it functions absolutively. However, the term has been regarded by Thai Pāli grammarians as a syntactically technical term referring to the Genitive absolute.

[134] Renou (1930, II, §226). See also Sluszkiewicz (1972); Speyer (1896 §211).

[135] Sen (1929: 65), cf. Sluszkiewicz (1972: 198).

[136] The word *ubbāhana* (Skt.= *udvāhana*) occurs in the Pāli Canonical and non-canonical texts several times, such as in J VI 488; Patis-a I 59; Sp VI 1208; Th-a I 112. However,

religious term while *niddhāraṇa* is a linguistic one.[137] Sixth, the genitive functions as the object of verbal nouns made of all primary derivative suffixes except *tum* (BW V 220). It is known syntactically as *chaṭṭhīkamma* ('an object in the form of the genitive case'). Stephanie Jamison, citing Oertel and Cardona, explains that the genitive agent in Vedic is a late phenomenon, and that it is common only in Vedic prose and Middle Indic.[138] The unmarked position of genitives is thus: (i) All types of genitives are placed before their nouns, adjectives or indeclinables; (ii) The *anādara* genitive together with its phrase has two unmarked positions, according to MCP 39-40. On the one hand, it is placed initially in the sentence if it is connected with the previous message, and on the other hand the whole phrase can be inserted at any place when it is needed to cause interruption. Basically, like all other genitives which are placed before their modificands, it is placed before the statement it interrupts (see [56] below).

Table 1.13 Examples of the placement of genitive cases

No.	Contexts
(53)	*bhikkhussa cīvaraṃ.*[139]
	'The upper robe of a monk.'
(54)	*satthu sammukhā dhammo kathito* (Dhp-a IV 103).
	'The *dhamma* is taught before the Teacher.'

it does not seem to be used as a religious technical term. Literally, it means 'carrying', 'lifting' 'raising', 'lifting up', (see PTSD,[1] PTSD,[2] and CPD, *s.v. ubbāhana*).

137 Explanations of Sadd III 632 say: *ettha ca ubbāhanan ti sāsane vohāro, niddhāraṇan ti saddatthe.*

138 Jamison (1981: 322).

139 Bāl has*: bhikkhuno cīvaraṃ, nagarassa cīvaraṃ, nagarassa samīpaṃ, suvaṇṇassa rāsi.*

(55) *goṇānaṃ yūtho.*
'A herd of oxen.'

(56) *mātāpitūnaṃ [...] rudamānānaṃ[...] agārasmā anagāriyaṃ pabbaji (M II 93; Nidd II 454; Rūp-v Se 161, etc. cf. D I 115).*
'Though [his] parents [...] were weeping [...], he went forth from his home into the homeless state.'

(57) *manussānaṃ khattiyo sūratamo (Kacc 304; Sadd-v III 632; Rūp-v Se 161)).*
'Of human beings, the warrior is the most courageous.'

(58) *Sāvatthiyaṃ kir' eko kuṭumbiko bhariyāya kālakatāya pabbaji (Dhp-a III 72; Ja I 126).*
'It is said that after his wife had passed away a landlord at Sāvatthī went forth.'

All the above examples are given in BW V 20. The data shows that in (53)-(54), the genitives *bhikkhussa* and *satthu* are *sāmisambanda*. The difference lies in the fact that while the former modifies a noun, the latter modifies an adjective, which has become an indeclinable *sammukhā*. Both are fronted. In (55), the word *goṇānaṃ* is a *samūhasambanda* as its governing noun *yūtho* is a collective term. In (56), the genitive *mātāpitūnaṃ* functions as an *anādara* genitive, while its verb, *rudamānānaṃ*, is syntactically called an *anādarakiriyā* accordingly. The *anādara* phrase is placed in front, because it is connected with, or refers to, a previous message. In (57), the genitive plural *manussānaṃ* is a *niddhāraṇa* genitive denoting a group of people, from which only the warrior is selectively withdrawn, on account of his being the most courageous. Therefore, *khattiya* is referred to as *niddhāraṇīya* ('the withdrawn' or 'selected'). In (58), Udomyānamolī (MCP 40) explains that the *anādara*

phrase: *bhariyāya kālakatāya* is placed before the finite verb *pabbaji*, because semantically it takes place before the latter. As with ablatives, the tendency to place genitive cases in front of their governing words is very strong and holds true in my selected texts as well. I find only one context where a genitive is placed after its governing word. I attribute this to authorial style (see §2.3.2).

§ 1.4.2.7 The locative case

Generally, the locative case describes the location in which a situation or action takes place.[140] Pāṇini 1.4.45: *ādhāre' dhikaraṇaṃ,* defines it as the case which denotes the abode of an action. However, there are seven functions of the locative case and its syntactic names are given according to their different functions. First, it denotes something which is hidden, and is then known syntactically as *paṭicchannādhāra* ('the hidden locative'). Second, it functionally denotes something which is permeated, and is hence called syntactically *vyāpikādhāra* ('the permeated locative'). Third, it functionally denotes residences or dwelling places and is known syntactically as *visayādhāra* ('the residence locative'). Fourth, it functionally denotes a nearby place and is known syntactically as *samīpādhāra* ('the nearby locative'). Fifth, it functionally denotes a place where something is placed on top, known syntactically as *upasilesikādhāra*[141] ('the contiguous locative'). Sixth, it functionally denotes time, or when an action takes place, and is therefore known syntactically as *kālasattamī* ('the temporal locative'). Seventh, it functionally denotes the cause which brings about an action, and is known syntactically as *nimittasattamī* ('the causal locative'). This term occurs in Kacc

[140] Kacc 278; Sadd III 572, cf. Warder (1995: 100); Sen (1929: 67) and Speijer (1886: 102ff).

[141] See Sadd III 709, 710, cf. Pāṇini 4.1.72.

310, Sadd III 641 and Mogg 2.33. Eighth, it functionally denotes the subject in an inserted phrase and this phrase has its own verb, also in the locative. It is syntactically known as *lakkhaṇa* or *lakkhaṇavanta* ('the locative absolute') and its governing verb in the locative, which is usually a past or present participle,[142] is called *lakkhaṇakiriyā* or *lakkhaṇavantakiriyā.* According to Gary B. Holland, this phenomenon goes back to IE.[143] Last but not least, it functionally denotes the group of nouns (things, animals or human beings) from which one noun is taken out or withdrawn, like the genitive, and is known syntactically as *niddhāraṇa*, while the withdrawn noun is called *niddhāraṇīya.* Examples (46)-(53) below are provided in BW 5 221 while the context of (54) is given in HCPTL 59.

Table 1.14 Examples of the placement of locative cases

No.	Contexts
(59)	*karaṇḍake maṇi.*
	'Jewel in a casket.'
(60)	*tilesu telaṃ* (Kacc-v 278).
	'Oil in sesame seeds.'
(61)	*jale macchā* (cf. Rūp-v 320: *jalesu macchā*).
	'Fish in water.'
(62)	*nagaradvāre gāmā* (cf. Dhp-a I 188).
	'Houses at the gate of the city.'
(63)	*paññatte āsane nisīdi* (DN I 2, etc.).

[142] Delbrück (1888: 387-389) states that in ṚV only the present participle is used in the absolute construction and the past participle is found only in Vedic prose.

[143] Holland (1987: 163-193).

	'He sat on a prepared seat.'
(64)	*tasmiṃ samaye dhammā honti khandhā honti* (Dhs 25 [§121]).
	'At that time, phenomena and aggregates do exist.'
(65)	*kuñjaro dantesu haññate* (Kacc-v 310).
	'An elephant is killed for its tusks.'
(66)	*suriye atthaṃgate, cando uggacchati.*
	'When the sun has set (lit. went home), the moon rises.'
(67)	*tassa dve goṇā, tesu eko mato* (Dhp-a III 124; Ja II 165-6).
	'He had two oxen. Of the two, one died.'

In (59)-(67), the locatives are usually placed before their governing nouns and verbs. In (59), the locative *karaṇḍake* is a *paṭicchannādhāra*. In (60), the noun *tilesu* is a *vyāpikādhāra* locative. The locative *jale* in (61) is a *visayādhāra.* In (62), the word *nagaradvāre* is a *samīpādhāra* and *āsane* in (63) is a *upasilesikādhāra*. *Samaye* in (64) is a *kālasattamī*, while the word *dantesu* in (65) is *a nimittasattamī* locative. *Suriye* in (66) and *tesu* in (67) are examples of *lakkhaṇa* and *niddhāraṇa* respectively. Udomyānamolī (MCP 42) remarks that the *lakkhaṇavanta* locative, as can be seen in (54), must be followed by a *lakkhaṇavanta verb* in the locative with the same gender, number, and case as its *lakkhaṇavanta* noun. MCP 42 explains that the placement of the *lakkhaṇa* phrase resembles that of the *anādara* genitive: firstly, it is placed at the beginning of the sentence if its event takes place before the whole main clause which follows it, but comes second if there is a vocative; and secondly, the phrase is embedded within a sentence. Two examples (MCP 43) are given.

Table 1.15 Examples of the anādara genitive

No.	Contents
(68)	*deva tayi rajjaṃ kārente aruṇo na uṭṭhāti* (Dhp-a I 41). 'Lord, when you reign, the sun does not rise.'
(69)	*tumhe nāma mādisassa Buddhassa santike pabbajitvā mayi sāmaggiṃ karonte mama vacanaṃ na karittha* (Dhp-a I 64). 'Indeed, you did not follow my word, even after you had been ordained in the presence of a Buddha like me and even though I promote harmony.'

In the above contexts, we see that the *lakkhaṇa* phrase: *tayi rajjaṃ kārente* in (68) is placed after a vocative *deva* while the *lakkhaṇa* phrase *mayi sāmaggiṃ karonte* in (69) is embedded within the sentence. On the other hand, Udomyānamolī (MCP 43) explains that the *kālasattamī* locative in particular is of two kinds: indeclinable and nominal. If the indeclinable locative comes together with a nominal one, the former is usually placed first and is followed by the latter. If one of them comes alone, it has two placements: if it modifies a whole sentence, it is placed at the beginning of the sentence, and if it modifies a particular verb, it is placed before it. He gives two examples.

Table 1.16 Examples of kālasattamī locatives

No.	Contexts
(70)	*tasmiṃ khaṇe tā kumārikāyo satthāraṃ disvā vanditvā ekamantaṃ aṭṭhaṃsu* (Dhp-a III 258). 'At that moment, those young girls saw the teacher, paid respect to him and stood to one side.'

(71)	*satthā āsāḷhapuṇṇamīdivase antonagaraṃ pāvisi* (Dhp-a III 206). 'The Teacher entered the city centre on the full moon day of Āsāḷha (the eighth lunar month).'

In the above two contexts, the *kālasattamī* is placed in two different places: one is in the first position of the sentence, while the other follows the subject. Udomyānamolī explains that both *kālasattamī* locatives modify the whole sentence by functioning adverbially and both their positions are acceptable as unmarked.

The data given above shows us that the position of locative cases is mostly before their governing words, except that they change functions. Some locatives may be moved to the front position of the sentence because they function as modifiers of a whole sentence rather than of a particular word. Nevertheless, Thai Pāli scholars have observed that there are two positions in which locatives are placed: before their governing words, which covers most contexts in which locatives occur, and initially in the sentence when they modify a whole sentence. In my selected texts there are two contexts where locatives are placed after finite verbs and I attribute this to commentalisation (see Chapter Two §2.3.1).

§ 1.4.2.8. Concluding remarks

The above sections on the position of nominals or case forms have revealed that there is a strong inter-relation between modifiers and modified words or between words which are governed and their governing words. This relation has produced a strong tendency for all modifiers or governed words

(Pāli *upasajjana* = Skt. *upasarjana*)[144] to be placed before their governing words (*padhāna* words = Skt. *pradhāna*).[145] This relation forms the basic structure in a Pāli sentence and is found in every Pāli text composed in normal declarative statements of prose texts. As has been shown, modifiers can be adjectives or patronymic names or nouns of various case forms, particularly genitives and locatives which modify subjects. So the pattern we obtain is.

Table 1.17 Pattern of the placement of Pāli words in sentences

Dependent Words	**Governing Words**	**Abbreviations**
Adj	Nouns	Adj+N
Demon	Nouns	Demon+ N
Gen	Nouns	Gen+N
Loc	Nouns	Loc+N

[144] As far as I can ascertain, the word *upasajjana* occurs twice in Pāli grammatical texts in the sense of 'dependent' or 'subordinate' member (> 'modifier') as in Skt. It is found in Sadd I 109. The context in which it occurs runs: *"Aṅguttarāpesū" ti ettha hi āpasaṅkhāto attho upasajjanībhūto, pulliṅgabahu-vacanena pana vutto janapadasaṅkhāto atthoyeva padhāno "āgatasamaṇo saṅghārāmo" ti ettha samaṇasaṅkhātaṃ atthaṃ upasajjanakaṃ katvā pavattassa āgatasamaṇa saddassa saṅghārāma-saṅkhāto attho viya, tasmā āpasaṅkhātaṃ atthaṃ gahetvā yo Aṅguttarāpo nāma janapado, tasmiṃ aṅguttarāpesu janapadeti attho veditabbo.* However, it does not occur in any grammatical rule of traditional Pāli texts.

[145] The placement of dependent words before their governing words or noun subjects (*pradhāna* in Skt. according to the Mahābhāṣya on Pāṇini 1.2.43: *pradhānam upasarjanam iti ca saṃbandhiśabdāv etau,* as opposed to *upasarjana*, or *padhāna* in Pāli according to Sadd III 709) in compounds is mentioned in Pāṇini. Thus, Pāṇini 2.2.30 says: *upasarjanaṃ pūrvaṃ* ('The *upasarjana* word (secondary word, i.e. the dependent word), is to be placed first'). The word *upasarjana* is defined in Pāṇini 1.2.44.

Acc, Instr, Dat, Gen, Loc	Verbs	Acc, Instr, Dat, Gen, Loc +V

To translate this phenomenon into Greenberg's famous pattern,[146] the Pāli language we find is strongly SOV. My main hypothesis, for which I offer evidence in the next three chapters, is that the position of case forms which are dependent words tends to be fixed. They are more often than not placed before their governing nouns, and their position changes sometimes only for specific reasons such as commentalisation and topicalisation, which I shall discuss in the next chapter. The placement of case forms before their governing words, as demonstrated by Thai Pāli syntacticians, covers Pāli prose texts in ordinary declarative statements. Even if some case forms are placed after finite verbs, this phenomenon occurs only occasionally, and this occasional occurrence does not affect their generalisations. The strong tendency to place dependent words before their governing words is possibly related to the functions of case forms themselves and their grammatical categories. When a word functions as a modifier of a particular word, in order

[146] In 1963 Joseph H. Greenberg conducted a survey of the sentence patternings of 30 languages with the aim of obtaining a genetic and a real coverage of them and afterwards laying down the general principles, 45 in all, which may have existed in them. According to him, though the vast majority of those languages have several variant orders, a single dominant one usually stands foremost. He said that six possible orders were found: SVO, SOV, VSO, VOS, OSV and OVS. Of these, however, only three, namely, SVO, SOV and VSO, predominantly occur. Abbreviations: S = Subject, V = Verb, O = Object. The order SOV means the subject + object + verb construction. See a long discussion in Greenberg (1963 reprinted 1966: 73-113).

to express its functional effectiveness it has to be placed before it and possibly will change its position only when its function changes.

It is important to note that nouns in Indic are regarded as 'substantial' or 'having substance', in marked contrasted to indeclinables. The Nirukta[147] says that the verb and nouns are the core of a speech, explaining that the former has 'becoming' as its fundamental notion, while the latter have 'essence' (substance) as their fundamental notion *(bhāvapradhānam ākhyātaṃ. sattvapradhānāni nāmāni)*.[148] All nouns in various case forms are substantial in the sense that they help accomplish an action in their own way. As the relations between syntactical words in sentences are signalled by case forms, and case forms themselves, together with words governing them, are many, all case forms are placed before their governing words both to avoid syntactic confusion and to assure that messages can be fully conveyed.

§ 1.4.3 Positions of subject complements (*vikatikattā*)

The nominative case also functions as a complement. The complement, from Latin *complementum* 'a filling up or completion', forms part of a predicate group. As a complement refers back to the subject, it may be conveniently called 'the subject complement'. Thai Pāli syntacticians explain (MCP 52-55; HCPTL 60-61) that subject complements in Pāli can

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147 Nirukta §1.

148 In the Niganṭu Trs (p. 5), Sarup (fn.7) points out that the above statement resembles Plato's statement: 'Name is not a musical or pictorial imitation...but it is an expression of the essence of each thing in letters and syllables.'

be either nouns or adjectives or past participles or phrases. Usually, the gender of complements is the same as that of the subject but not always. Sometimes they differ. Udomyānamolī (MCP 54) explains that sometimes a copula is assumed as understood, but he does not explain why or in which context the elision occurs. Three typical examples, which are given in MCP 53, are.

Table 1.18 Examples of the omission of a copula

No.	Contexts
(72)	*mahāpuriso brahmalokūpago ahosi* (D II 196). 'The great man was one who had reached (been born in) the Brahmā World.'
(73)	*Buddho me saraṇaṃ varaṃ.*[149] 'The Buddha is my best refuge.'
(74)	*saccaṃ ve amatā vācā* (Sn 79; Th 1238). 'Certainly, truth is deathless speech.'

It is noteworthy that in (72) the gender of the complement *brahmalokūpago* is the same as that of its subject, while in (73)-(74), the gender of *saraṇaṃ* and *vācā* differ from that of their subjects. In a declarative sentence, the complement always comes last in the sentence, if its finite verb, i.e. the copula, is left out as understood; or the complement comes before the copula if the latter appears. However, if there are two or more complements in a sentence, only one subject complement is placed before its copula and the rest are placed after it (BW VI 45; HCPTL 61; MCP 53). One example given by Udomyānamolī (MCP 53) suffices.

[149] Cf.: *Buddho me saraṇaṃ tāṇaṃ* [...] (It-a II 46; Mp II 109; Ps I 133; Sv I 232).

Table 1.19 An example of the placement of one complement before a copula

No.	Contexts
(75)	*tena kho pana samayena Vesālī subhikkhā hoti susassā sulabhapiṇḍā* (Vin I 238). 'At that time, Vesālī had plenty of food and crops and was good for obtaining alms.'

The following patterns can be set up, based on the explanations and examples given by Thai Pāli syntacticians.

I. Verbless construction: # S + SubCom #

II. With a copula: # S + SubCom + Copula + SubCom, SubCom #

The generalisations made by Thai Pāli syntacticians are, in most cases, justified by the evidence in the selected texts. There is no evidence that in normal declarative statements a subject complement is placed in other places, except when the whole group of predicates, which includes a copula and a subject complement, is placed at the beginning of a sentence for emphatic reasons (see §2.2.1). It seems that it is common for a copula to be left out as understood, as is evident in the examples provided by Thai scholars. From what I can observe, this phenomenon occurs when a sentence refers to facts about something, which are true either all the time or during the time when the sentence is uttered. In this respect, subject complements stand juxtaposed with their subjects or agents. In the selected texts, subject complements occur in a verbless construction four times in BJS but there is no evidence of its occurrence in SPS at all. However, it is found on a regular basis in BJSA. Below are some of the contexts.

Table 1.20 Examples of the omission of a copula in the selected texts

No.	Contexts
(76)	*abrahmacariyaṃ pahāya brahmacārī samaṇo Gotamo ārācārī virato methunā gāmadhammā* (BJS 4.8). 'The ascetic Gotama, having abandoned unchastity, lives a celibate life, is aloof, and refrains from the village practice of sex.'
(77)	*iti bhinnānaṃ va sandhātā sahitānaṃ va anuppādātā samaggārāmo samaggarato samagganandī samaggakaraṇiṃ vācaṃ bhāsitā* (BJS 4.9). 'Thus he unites those who are broken up, encourages those who are already united, delights in unity, loves unity, feels joy at unity, and speaks words which produce unity.'
(78)	*yā sā vācā nelā kaṇṇasukhā pemanīyā hadayaṃgamā porī bahujanakantā bahujanamanāpā tathārūpiṃ vācaṃ bhāsitā* (BJS 4.9). 'He speaks the kind of words that are blameless, pleasant to the ear, lovely, reach the heart, polite, make people happy and please people'
(79)	*ime kho te bhikkhave dhammā gambhīrā duddasā durānubodhā santā paṇītā atakkāvacarā nipuṇā paṇḍitavedanīyā* (BJS 17.37). 'Monks, these are the teachings which are profound, difficult to see, difficult to understand, peaceful, delicate, not within the scope of logical argument, subtle and comprehensible only to the wise.'
(80)	*yassa hi sutaṃ, sammuṭṭhaṃ hoti* [...] (BJSA 29). 'Whoever forgets what he has heard [...]'.
(81)	*Suppiyo ti tassa nāmaṃ* (BJSA 35).

"'Suppiya" is his name.'

(82) <u>*Brahmadatto*</u> *ti tassa nāmaṃ* (BJSA 36).

"'Brahmadatta" is his name.'

(83) *tañ ca pana Bhagavantaṃ parivāretvā ṭhitā bhikkhū sabbe va appicchā santuṭṭhā pavivittā asaṃsaṭṭhā codakā pāpagarahino vattāro vacana-kkhamā sīlasampannā samādhipaññāvimutti vimuttiñāṇadassana-sampannā* (BJSA 40).

'All the monks who live surrounding the Blessed One desire little, *are* content, practise in solitude, are not gregarious, reprove [faults], blame evil, eloquent, are patient when addressed, endowed with morality, meditation, wisdom, deliverance, and the knowledge which realises that one has attained deliverance.'

(84) <u>*sutan*</u> *ti ayaṃ saddo saupasaggo ca anupasaggo ca gamanavissuta-kilinnūpacitānuyogasota-viññeyyasotadvārānusāraviññāṇādi-anekatthappabhedo* (BJSA 28).

'The word *suta* in "I have heard", with and without a prefix, has various meanings such as going, famous, soaking accumulated, practising, what can be known through listening and knowledge acquired by way of the ear.'

The data shows that in (76)-(79) a copula is understood. The contexts of (76), (77), (78) and (79) which occur in BJS describe the virtues of the Buddha and his disciples. These virtues of the Blessed One, in particular, are 'facts' or 'truths' which are usually timeless. In (80), a copula in the relative clause is left out as understood while in the main clause it is given. The contexts of (81) and (82) represent the typical arrangement followed by commentarial texts in which a lemma is placed initially in the sentence

followed by defining words. This feature occurs regularly in BJSA. The contexts of (83) and (84) show that the subject complements describe the virtues or characters of their main nouns in various ways. There is only one context in which a verbless subject complement is placed initially in the sentence. It occurs in BJSA.

Table 1.21 An example of a verbless subject complement placed initially in a sentence

No.	Context
(85)	*atītakālattho hi ettha hoti-saddo* (BJSA 36). 'The word *hoti* here denotes the past tense.'

Here, the subject complement *atītakālattho* is placed initially in the sentence while its subject comes last. This pattern, however, is found only once in the selected texts. On the other hand, the placement of a subject complement before a copula, while leaving the remaining complements after a copula, is also a usual phenomenon in the selected texts. With the above data, we can set up the following patterns.

Table 1.22 Patterns of sentences with and without a copula

I.	**Verbless construction: # S + SubCom #**
II.	**Verbless construction: # SubCom + S (emphatic) #**
III.	**With a copula: # S + SubCom + Copula #**
IV.	**With a copula: # S + SubCom + Copula + SubCom, SubCom #**
V.	**With a copula: # SubCom + Copula + S (emphatic) #**

However, Thai scholars merely describe the phenomemon when they come across it in certain texts and do not provide explanations as to why, when there is more than one subject complement, only one complement is

placed before a copula while the rest are placed after it. In the selected texts, it is evident that post-verbal subject complements occur in two contexts. Firstly, they all stand juxtaposed after a copula without any other words in between. Secondly, either *vā* ('or') or *ca* ('and') intervene. I divide all the contexts where post-verbal subject complements occur in the selected texts into various groups and offer my explanations regarding the possible causes as to why they are so placed (see §2.6 and §2.7).

§ 1.4.4 Positions of non-finite verbs (participles and absolutives)

In a section on 'Phrasal verbs' (i.e. 'verbs in between' which form part of phrases),[150] Vajirañāṇavarorasa has explained that present participles (those verbs ending in *-nta* or —*māna/āna*) in Pāli have two different syntactic functions: (i) They function as adjectives of a noun or substantive. In this case, they are syntactically called *visesana* ('adjective or modifier') like other general adjectives and are placed in front of their nouns like other adjectives, such as *kariyamāno uposatho* ('The *uposatha* ceremony which is being undertaken'); (ii) They can function as interior actions, syntactically called *abbhantarakiriyā*[151] ('actions [taking place] in between'). Usually, the action

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[150] (BW V 223). 'Verbs in between' refer to verbs or actions in sentences.

[151] According to Vajirañāṇavarorasa (BW V 223, §160), the term *abbhantarakiriyā* is used to refer to an action ending in *-nta* or *māna/āna*. However, Sommasarn and Thongphakdee (HCPTL 73) use the term *antarakiriyā* ('lit. within-actions') to refer to verbs which are not finite verbs. These verbs are participles (present and past) and absolutives. They emphasise that these verbs follow their subjects. If many of them come together, they are placed according to their chronology. Kacc 564, Sadd III 1150 and Mogg 5.63 use the term *pubbakāla* (> *pubbakālakiriyā*) to refer to verbs ending in *-tūna* (or *-tuna* according to Kacc 564), *-tvā* and *- tvāna*. Sadd III 1157-1158 explains that

associated with them takes place before finite verbs and accordingly they are placed before them according to sequence. An example is *paṭipajjanto,* ('taking care of)' in the phrase: *putto mātāpitaresu sammā paṭipajjanto* [...] ('A son while properly taking care of [his] parents [...])'. Sophonganaporn (AVEPS I 176, cf. MCP 58-59) further explains that sometimes the present participle may be used to denote an action taking place simultaneously with its main action, i.e. the finite verb. In this respect, it is called *abbhantarakiriyā*. He remarks that if the simultaneous action is replaced with an absolutive of the same verbal root, the action is known syntactically as *samānakālakiriyā*[152] ('simultaneous action'). Below is an example.

Table 1.23 An example of a *samānakālakiriyā*

No.	Context
(86)	*tasmiṃ samaye satthā* [...]*Jetavanamahāvihāre viharati mahājanaṃ saggamagge ca mokkhamagge ca patiṭṭhāpayamāno* (Dhp-a I 4). 'At that time, the Teacher lived in the Jetavana Monastery, establishing many people on the path leading to both heaven and liberation'.

Sophonganaporn states that the meaning implied by the pattern in the above context is that, while the Buddha spent his time at Jetavana, he simultaneously also established people on the Noble Path. In other words, both actions *viharati* and *patiṭṭhāpayamāno* took place at the same time. With regard to past participles (those ending in *-ta* or occasionally *-na*),

verbs ending in *-anta* and *-māna* refer to actions which have not been completed, i.e. they are still going on (*avippakata* > *avippakatakiriyā*).

[152] See Sadd III 1151.

Vajirañāṇavarorasa explains that they have five different functions: (i) They function as adjectives, syntactically called *visesana*, such as: *uppannaṃ lābhaṃ anurujjhati*, ('the gain which has occurred disappears'); (ii) They function as subject complements, syntactically called *vikatikattā* such as: *pāpo jāto 'si* ('you are born sinful'); (iii) They function as *vikatikamma* such as *sucaritaṃ* ('properly') in the sentence: *dhammaṃ care sucaritaṃ* ('you should practise the dhamma properly'); (iv) They function as finite verbs in the genitive and locative absolutive phrases, syntactically known as *anādarakiriyā* and *lakkhaṇa (*or *lakkhaṇavanta) kiriyā,* as mentioned above (Locative cases [7.]); (v) They function as finite verbs in sentences and are usually placed at the end of sentences (BW VI 4).

Vajirañāṇavarorasa also explains that absolutives (i.e. those ending in *-tvā, -tvāna* and *-ya*) have six different functions: (i) They take place before final verbs in sequence, syntactically called *pubbakālakiriyā* ('preceding action'), such as *sutvā* ('having heard') in the sentence: *dhammaṃ sutvā gāmaṃ paccānugacchati* ('having heard the *dhamma*, he returns the village'). (ii) They are simply repeated actions which have already taken place in preceding sentences to imply that the actions have been completely finished, known syntactically as *pariyosānakālakiriyā* ('completely-finished actions'), such as *upasaṃkamitvā,* ('having approached') in the sentence: *yena Bhagavā, ten' upasaṃkami. upasaṃkamitvā* [...] *nisīdi*. ('He approached the Blessed One. Having approached him, he sat down'). *Upasaṃkamitvā* in the second sentence is modelled on *upasaṇkami* in the preceding one. (iii) They take place simultaneously with a final action and are called syntactically *samānakālakiriyā*, such as *gahetvā* ('carrying') in the sentence: *chattaṃ gahetvā gacchati,* ('he goes [walks] carrying an umbrella) (or 'with an umbrella in

hand'). (iv) They take place after a finite verb, which is the key action in a sentence, and are known syntactically as *aparakālakiriyā* ('subsequent action'), such as *gahetvā* ('holding') in the sentence: *dhammāsane nisīdi cittavījaniṃ gahetvā*, ('He [the monk] sat down on the dhamma-preaching seat [i.e. a seat prepared for preaching the dhamma only], holding a beautiful fan').

Vajirañāṇavarorasa (see more explanations in §3.2 of Chapter Three) explains that the monk in this context sat down first before taking hold of the fan and that the verb (action) *gahetvā* takes place after the finite verb *nisīdi*. (v), They modify agents and actions: if they modify nouns, they are called *visesana* ('modifier') like other adjectives such as *ṭhapetvā* ('except') in the sentence: *ṭhapetvā dve aggasāvake avasesā arahattaṃ pāpuṇiṃsu,* ('the remaining monks attained arahatship except for the pair of disciples'). On the other hand, if they modify actions, they are called *kiriyāvisesana* ('verbal modifier'), such as in the sentence: *tīni ratanāni ṭhapetvā aññaṃ me paṭisaraṇaṃ n' atthi,* ('there is no refuge for me except the three jewels'). (vi) They function as 'the cause' by which an action takes place, such as *disvā* ('because of seeing', 'having seen') in: *sīhaṃ disvā bhayaṃ uppajjati* ('fear arises because of seeing a lion'). Vajirañāṇavarorasa (BW V 224) explains that the agent of *disvā* and *uppajjati* is different: *disvā* is the action of an understood noun *puggalo* (i.e. the real agent), but the verb *uppajjati* is the action of the subject *bhayaṃ.*

It is my impression that these explanations cover all present participles and absolutives which are found in my selected texts. Most present participles and absolutives appear in their normative position, i.e. after their noun subjects and before finite verbs. Present participles and absolutives which are placed after finite verbs are found a few times in the texts under my scrutiny.

I discuss them in detail in Chapter Three (see §3.2 and §3.3)

§ 1.4.5. Positions of finite verbs

The usual position of finite verbs, as mentioned by several Pāli syntacticians, is that they come last in the sentence. This principle is set forth for all declarative sentences in general prose texts in Pāli. Thai Pāli scholars further explain (BW VI 13; HCPTL 74-78; MCP 62-65) that, for emphasis, verbs normally come first in the sentence when the sentence expresses an interrogative sense, a command, a request, a warning or reminding, a persuading or an emphasis. All of these aspects of text are grouped together as 'six special sentences'. These finite verbs, referred to as *mukhyakiriyā* (MCP 61), include past participles formed with the suffixes *-ta* and *-na*, as well as three other words which sometimes function as predicates of sentences, namely *sakkā* ('capable'), *labbhā* ('should be obtained') and *alaṃ* ('suitable'). Udomyānamolī (MCP 61-2) provides three examples for the last three words to illustrate their predicative functions.

Table 1.24 Examples of various predicates

No.	Contexts
(87)	*Buddhā ca nāma na sakkā saṭhena ārādhetuṃ* (Dhp-a I 290). 'Certainly, the Buddhas cannot be pleased by trickery.'
(88)	*navahi bhikkhave aṃgehi samannāgataṃ kulaṃ anupagantvā vā nālaṃ upagantuṃ, upagantvā vā nālaṃ nisīdituṃ* (A IV 387). 'Monks, a monk should not approach a family which is endowed with the nine factors. Or even if he has approached, he should not sit down [there].'
(89)	*idaṃ na labbhā evaṃ kātuṃ* (Dhp-a I 338).

'One can not obtain this (kingship) by acting in this way.'

The generalisation of the placement of finite verbs made by Thai Pāli syntacticians can be summarised under two Patterns: (1) # S + ... + FV/FVP #, and (2) # FV/FVP + S + ...#. Evidence from the selected texts shows, however, that this generalisation, though correct, does not cover all aspects of the placement of finite verbs. I argue in Chapter Two (see §2.2.1) that there is some evidence which indicates that not only can a single finite verb be placed in the initial position, but its whole predicative group can also be moved there. In addition, it is also evident that finite verbs are sometimes placed in the penultimate position if a particular substantial word is commentalised, or if there is an elaboration which provides extra information to the text. Finite verbs may also be embedded in the middle position of a sentence if the elaboration extends to many single words, a phrase, a clause or a sentence. I discuss the phenomenon in the selected texts in detail in Chapter Two and Three.

§ 1.4.6. Positions of verbal modifiers

Non-finite verbs and finite verbs usually have modifiers. These modifiers can be case forms or indeclinable adverbs. Case forms which modify a verb are usually placed before their verb exactly in the same way as case forms which modify a noun. As some adverbs are placed after finite verbs like nouns, I shall explain their normative position. In early Vedic, indeclinable adverbs in Skt. are categorised as *upasarga* and *nipāta.* According to Isidore Dyen,[153]

[153] Dyen (1939, particularly p. 12).

the customary division of words before Pāṇini is that found in RvPrt:[154] noun, verb, *upasarga* and *nipāta,* and the same division is also employed in VjPrt,[155] ŚC and the *Nirukta*. Pāṇini, on the other hand, uses a collective term *avyaya* to cover both the *upasarga* and the *nipāta*. In marked contrast to nouns and verbs which are regarded as 'substance', both RvPrt and VjPrt define the word *upasarga* as *viśeṣakṛta* ('specializer'),[156] while the *nipāta* is defined by RvPrt as *pādapūrṇa* ('verse-filler').[157] Yāska explains this group of words as, 'Those words which are used —the sense being complete —to fill

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154 RvPrt. xii.5.699 says: *nāmākhyātam upasargo nipātāś catvāry āhu padajātāni śābdā.*

155 VjPrt.viii.52 says: *tac caturdhā nāmākhyātopasarganipātā˙.*

156 ṚVPrt.xii.8.707 and VjPrt.viii.54-5: *upasargo viśeṣakṛt.* Cf. Dyen (1939: 14).

157 ṚVPrt.xii.8. In Pāli, we find the word *padapūraṇa* occurs in Sadd instead of *pādapūraṇa*. This is logical since early Vedic texts are composed in verse. It should be noted that the word *pādapūraṇa* only seems to occur in later Pāli texts such as in Subodh 101 (verse 85); Subodh Be 158 (verse 39), Subodh-nṭ Se 80 (§39), 120 (§85), Vin-vn Be 6; Pālim-nṭ Be I 106. The words which are called *pādapūraṇa* are minor elements, which simply fill in the verses and, semantically, do not have much significance in sentences. In marked contrast to Skt. grammarians, Sadd explains that in Pāli there are two types of word which carry the sense of filling *(pūraṇatthaṃ)*: those filling in the sentence in terms of meaning *(atthapūraṇa)* and those filling in the sentence in terms of decorating it, making it more interesting *(padapūraṇa)*. This means that the term *padapūraṇa* in Pāli applies to both verse and prose texts. It says: *pūraṇatthaṃ duvidhaṃ: atthapūraṇañ ca padapūraṇañ ca. tesu atthapūraṇan ti padantarena pakāsitass' ev'atthassa jotanavasena adhikabhāvakaraṇaṃ* [...]. *padapūraṇan ti asati pi atthavisesābhidhāne vācāsiliṭṭhatāya padassa pūraṇaṃ.* Sadd also enumerates many adverbial particles which are considered as *padapūraṇa.* Those include: *atha, khalu, vata, vatha, atho, assu, yagghe, hi, carahi, naṃ, ca, vā, vo, pana, have, kīva, ha, tato, yathā sudaṃ, kho, ve, kahaṃ, enaṃ.* See details in Sadd I 890; Sadd Se I 451, cf. Rūp-v Se 282 [pp. 124ff].

up a sentence in prose, and a verse in poetic compositions, are expletives.'[158] Sadd defines it as 'having no substance' *(asatvavācakaṃ)*:

Nipāta words do not express (or contain) substance [*asatvavācakaṃ*]. Something substantial[159] is called *satva* in the [compound] word *asatvavācakaṃ.* Something other than that is called *asatvam*, i.e. words [such as a particle *ca*] which denote 'accumulation' and so on. What denotes something not substantial is called *asatvavācaka*. [...] It is the *nipāta* words that are called *asatvavācaka* ('[words] without substance').[160] Thai Pāli syntacticians (MCP 28-61; HCPTL 28-63) conclude that their normative position is before their governing verbs, no matter whether the latter is a finite or a non-finite one. According to them, some may be placed initially in the sentence if they modify a whole sentence (see §4.1 above). However, this generalisation does not cover all adverbial phrases found in my selected texts. Positions of these adverbials can be considered in three ways, according to their groups.

§ 1.4.6.1 Indeclinable adverbs

The adverbs (*nipātas*) which are found often in the selected texts are *tattha* ('there'), *yathā* ('how'), *evaṃ* ('thus'), *ettha* ('there'), *idha* ('here'), *athavā*

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158 The Niganṭu, p. 35: *atha ye pravṛtte 'rthe 'mitākṣareṣu granthеṣu vākyapūraṇā āgacchanti padapūraṇās te mitākṣareṣv anarthakā˙*. The above is Sarup's translation (Niganṭu Trs, p.12). Cf. RvPrt xii.9.708.

159 *dabba* = < *ddavva < *dravya* [< √dru] in Skt.

160 Sadd Se III 445 (*Catupadavibhāga*): *asatvavācakaṃ nepātikaṃ. ettha ca satvaṃ vuccati dabbaṃ. tato aññaṃ asatvaṃ, samuccayādiy eva, asatvaṃ vadatī ti asatvavācakaṃ* [...] *tad eva asatvavācakan ti nipātapadam eva vuccati.*

('on the other hand'), *api ca* ('by the way'), *sammā* 'rightly', *kiñcāpi* ('even though'), ('in spite of', *ito* ('from that'), *iti ha* ('thus'), *puna* ('again'), *idāni* ('now'), *katthaci* ('somewhere') and *ajja* ('today'). These adverbs include *yathā* ('such as'), *evaṃ* ('thus'), *iti* ('thus'), *tatra* ('there'), *yāva* ('to what extent'), *idha* (=*iha*) ('here'), *ito* ('from here'), *bahiddhā* ('outside'), *pubbe* ('previously'), *yato* ('when'), *yadi* ('if'), etc. The position of these adverbs is three-fold: they are placed in the initial position in the sentence if they introduce or modify a whole sentence; they are placed before their verbs if they modify a particular verb and some of them may be placed after their finite verbs when they modify a whole sentence and are commentalised. Below are some examples from the selected texts.

Table 1.25 Examples of the placement of indeclinable adverbs

No.	Contexts
	(A) Initial Positiion
(90)	***evaṃ*** *me sutaṃ* (BJS 1.1; SPS 47.1).
	'Thus have I heard.'
(91)	***ath'*** *evaṃ anopamāya Buddhalīḷhāya gacchantaṃ* [...] *disvā paribbājako* [...] (BJSA 41).
	'Then, having seen him walking with the incomparable grace of a Buddha [...], the Wanderer [...].'
	(B) Before Their Verbs or in the Middle Position in the Sentence
(92)	*so 'mhi* ***etarahi*** *ahutvā sattattāya*[161] *pariṇato* (BJS 29.31).
	'Because of [my self] not-being, I am now inclined towards truth.'

[161] Variant reading: *santatāya* Se.

(93) *so **evaṃ** niṭṭhitapacchābhattakicco* [...] *gattāni utuṃ gaṇhāpeti* (BJSA 47).
'Having finished his activities after a meal like that, he refreshes his body.'

(C) Final Position

(94) *migapakkhīnaṃ pi cakkhūni pīṇayati **pag eva devamanussānaṃ*** (BJSA 40).
'He pleases the eyes of both of animals and birds, let alone of gods and men'.

(95) [...] *vāsaṃ upagañchi **saddhiṃ attano parisāya*** (BJSA 42).
'He took up residence for the rainy season with his assembly.'

We see that in (A) the temporal particle *atha* leads the sentence, while in (B) *evaṃ* modifies only the verb *niṭṭhita-,* which is, in turn, within a compound. On the other hand, in (C) the whole phrase: *pag eva devamanussānaṃ*, which modifies the whole sentence, is placed at the end of the sentence. In fact, the placement of adverbs/adverbials after finite verbs is not a new invention, as it also occurs in early Vedic. [162]

§ 1.4.6.2. Case forms functioning as adverbials

Some case forms in Pāli also function adverbially. [163] These adverbs

[162] Gonda (1959a: 34). Gonda has already stated that an adverb or adverbial word qualifying the verb may occupy the final position. However, he does not explain the difference between normal adverbs and post-verbal sentence adverbs.

[163] For Skt., see Whitney, §1097-1113; Burrow (1965: 280-287); Gonda (1975b: 72-81), etc.

are mostly derived from instrumentals and accusatives. Of the two, adverbial accusatives are either placed in the initial position in a sentence, when they modify the whole sentence, or before their finite verbs. In the selected texts, they are not found in the final position at all. Below are four examples:

Table 1.26 Examples of case forms functioning adverbially

No.	Contexts
	A. Initial Positions
(96)	***ekaṃ samayaṃ*** *Bhagavā antarā ca Rājagahaṃ antarā ca Nāḷandaṃ addhānamaggapaṭipanno hoti mahatā bhikkhusaṃghena saddhiṃ pañcamattehi bhikkhusatehi* (BJS 1.1). 'Once, the Blessed One was travelling along the main road between Rājagaha and Nāḷandā with a large number of monks, i.e. some five hundred.'
(97)	***yaṃ hi samayaṃ*** *Bhagavā imaṃ aññaṃ vā suttantaṃ desesi, accantam eva* ***taṃ samayaṃ*** *karuṇāvihārena vihāsi* (BJSA 33). 'For the Blessed One abided in compassion throughout the time when he delivered this suttanta or another one.'
	B. Before Finite Verbs or Predicates
(98)	[...] *nisajj'eva* ***sabbaññūppavāraṇaṃ*** *pavāreti* (BJSA 49). 'As soon as he has sat down, he stops [the ongoing discussion] in the manner of the Omniscient.'
(99)	***ito paraṃ*** *pana apubbam eva vaṇṇayissāma* (BJSA 71). 'But from now onwards, we shall describe what has not been mentioned before'.

We see that the adverbial phrases: *ekaṃ samayaṃ* in (96) and: *yaṃ samayaṃ* in (97) are placed at the beginning of the sentence. The data also shows that the cognate accusative: *sabbaññuppavāraṇaṃ* is placed immediately before its verb, while *apubbaṃ* is placed right before its verb. On the other hand, instrumentals are found in one of three positions: firstly, the instrumental is placed in the first position in the sentence when there is no other particle, or in the second position when there is an introductory particle like *evaṃ*; secondly, the instrumental is placed before its finite verbs; thirdly, it is placed after its finite verb. The first position is obviously confined to instrumentals which function as temporal adverbs, while the final position is for adverbial instrumentals in the form of a phrase. Therefore, the regular position of an instrumental is before its verb or predicate. Below are some examples of this type.

Table 1.27: (A) First or second positions

No.	Contexts
(100)	***tena samayena*** *hetubhūtena karaṇabhūtena ca sikkhāpadāni paññāpento* [...] (BJSA 33). 'At that time, which is the cause [and] the factor, when laying down various rules [...].'
(101)	***tena saññāṇena*** *manussā jānanti 'ajja Bhagavā idha piṇḍāya paviṭṭho' ti* (BJSA 46). 'By that signal, people realise that today the Blessed One entered in order to collect [his] alms here.'
(102)	[...] ***yena*** *maṇḍalamāḷo* ***ten'*** *upasaṃkami* (BJS 2.4).

'He went to the Round Pavilion.'

The data shows that both *tena samayena* and *tena saññāṇena* modify a whole sentence, hence they are placed in the initial position. BJSA explains the use of three adverbial phrases: *tena samayena* which occurs regularly in Abh, *taṃ samayaṃ* which occurs in the Suttantas, and *tasmiṃ samaye* which is found regularly in Vin. All express a sense of temporality and are equally translated as 'at that time'. All are placed in the initial position of a sentence. Yet why do the authors use different cases in the three canonical texts? BJSA[164] and Sadd[165] clarify this, saying that: the instrumental in Vin is intentionally used to express the 'causes' *(karaṇa & hetu)* which led the Buddha to lay down his monastic rules; in the Suttantas, the temporal accusative *(accantasaṃyoga)* is deliberately used to express the Buddha's

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[164] BJSA 33.

[165] Sadd III 662: *samaye karaṇopayogabhummavacanāni piṭakakkamena* [...] *etthāha 'kasmā tīsu piṭakesu samayassa karaṇavacanādivasena visadisaniddeso kato'ti? pakāsetabbassa tassa tassa atthavisesassa sambhavato. kathaṃ? Vinaye tāva hetuattho ca karaṇattho ca sambhavati. yo hi so sikkhāpadapaññattisamayo Sāriputtādīhi pi dubbiññeyyo, tena samayena hetubhūtena karaṇabhūtena ca sikkhāpadāni paññāpayanto sikkhāpadapaññattihetuñ ca apekkhamāno Bhagavā tattha tattha vihāsi, tasmā tadatthajotanatthaṃ Vinaye karaṇavacanena niddeso kato. Suttante accantasaṃyogattho sambhavati. yañ hi samayaṃ Bhagavā Brahmajālādīhi suttantāni desesi, accantam eva taṃ samayaṃ karuṇāvihārena vihāsi, tasmā tadatthajotanatthaṃ tattha upayoganiddeso kato adhidhamme. Abhidhamme pana adhikaraṇattho bhāvenabhāvalakkhaṇattho ca sambhavati. adhikaraṇañ hi kālattho ca samūhattho ca samayo tatthavuttānaṃphassādidhammānaṃ khaṇasamavāyahetusaṃkhātassa ca samayassa bhāvena tesaṃ bhāvo lakkhīyati, tasmā tadatthajotanatthaṃ bhummavacanena niddeso kato ti veditabbo.*

uninterrupted compassion towards people while he was still alive and preached sermons to his disciples; on the other hand, the locative (*kālasattamī*) is used in AbhdhP with the aim of emphasising the fact that this collection of Buddhist doctrines contains invaluable information about *dhammas,* such as touch *(phassa)*, which are discussed at the particular time when they arise. Sadd further explains that ancient (Pāli) teachers considered these three alternative case forms to have the same sense of locative.[166]

On the other hand, Edgerton remarks that the *yena…tena* expression is very common in Pāli and Buddhist Skt. and is not known elsewhere except in these two languages.[167] The explanations in Sadd and BJSA indicate that Pāli grammarians have strikingly developed certain syntactical features of Indic to serve Buddhism, which are not available in Skt. grammar. In the above context, *yena* introduces a separate clause which is semantically a restrictive one. Its whole clause modifies *tena*. So its whole clause, including *tena*, functions adverbially. Traditionally, the *ya-* pronoun which introduces a dependent clause is understood to be a relative marker and all the clauses introduced by it are relative clauses proper, but this view proves to be wrong.[168] The *ya-* may introduce a full dependent clause with a finite verb or

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166 Sadd III 662: *porāṇā pana vaṇṇayanti: 'taṃ samayan ti vā tasmiṃ samaye ti vā tena samayenā ti vā abhilāpamattabhedo esa, sabbattha bhummam eva attho' ti. tasmā tesaṃ laddhiyā 'tena samayenā ti vutte pi tasmiṃ samaye ti attho; 'ekaṃ samayan ti vutte pi 'ekasmiṃ samaye ti attho veditabbo.*

167 Edgerton (1935-1937: 500).

168 It has been pointed out that the *ya-* clause introduces both an independent group without a correlative (see Chapter Four on Relative Clauses) and a relative clause proper.

only a phrase. Because it functions adverbially, *yena* in all the above texts does not need any noun to govern it. However, the commentarial texts usually explain the pattern: *yena/tena* which occurs in the first example as being governed by *disābhāgena*[169] or other similar nouns, which are left as implied. Nevertheless, *disābhāgena* syntactically functions as an adverbial instrumental *(tatiyāvisesana).* In such contexts *yena* occurs once in BJS and seven times in SPS (i.e. SPS 49.9, 52.16, 53.19, 55.22, 58.31).

Table 1.28: (B) Before verbs or predicates

No.	Contexts
(103)	*so **yena yen' eva** pakkamati* (SPS 71.66). 'He goes wherever he goes.'
(104)	***iriyāpathānubandhanena** anubaddhā honti* (BJSA 39). 'They have followed [the Buddha and his Order] by following their path of conduct deportment.'

See Bloch (1965: 311-12). Other scholars who held the same view include Delbrück (1888: 75 (§45), 562 [§277]); Speijer (1896: 83-86); Macdonell[1], §179 (see examples especially on pp. 211, 242); Porzig (1923: 263, 271, 295-6). Hettrich (1988: 423) remarks: 'Clauses introduced by the relative *yat* and by the other relative adverbs *yāvat, yadi, yathā,* etc. are formed as if they were independent.' Gonda (1975: 164) investigated Vedic relative clauses and reached the conclusion: 'The so-called Indo-European pronoun only in the course of time assumed the character of a relativum proper. Originally, it must have been a distinguishing, defining, isolating, explicative, annunciatory includer.' See also Chapter Four (§4.2.2).

[169] See also fn. 81 of Chapter Four.

Table 1.29: (C) After verbs

No.	Context
(105)	*piṇḍāya pavisati* ***kadāci pakatiyā kadāci anekehi pāṭihāriyehi vattamānehi*** (BJSA 45). '[The Buddha] enters for collecting alms sometimes as naturally, sometimes with various miracles occurring.'

Here, we see that the word *iriyāpathānubandhanena* modifies its predicates, here *anubandhā honti.* This in fact is the usual position of adverbial instrumentals, which is found more often than others. Here, the string of adverbial instrumentals is placed after its finite verb. All the instrumentals explain the manner of the Blessed One's entrance into the city.

§ 1.4.6.3. Adverbial phrases led by adverbial particles

Some adverbials are a group of words governed by indeclinable particles. These particles,[170] called 'prepositions' when placed before case forms, or 'postpositions', when they follow them, are known as *kammappa-vacanīya* (Sadd III 586, Kacc 299, cf. Pāṇini 1.4.83-5). For convenience, I shall call them 'adverbial phrases' or 'string of adjuncts'.[171] The particles which lead such adverbial phrases in the selected texts are *saddhiṃ* ('with', 'together

[170] Burrow (1965: 283-4).

[171] The word is defined in CCEG 281 as follows: a word or group of words which you add to a clause when you want to say something about the circumstances of an event or situation, for example, when it occurs, how much it occurs and where it occurs. CCEG 418 explains, 'They (these sentence adjuncts) are sometimes called sentence adverbial or disjuncts in other grammars.'

with'), *yadidaṃ* ('namely'), *seyyathīdaṃ* ('namely') and *paraṃ* ('after'). The normative position of this phrase is before the nouns or verbs they modify. Below are two examples.

Table 1.30 Examples of the placement of finite verbs

No.	Contexts
	A. Before Verbs
(106)	*tāni* ***yāva*** *ca aggā* ***yāva*** *ca mūlā sītena vārinā abhippasannāni* (SPS 75.80). 'Those lotuses are suffused with cold water up to their tops and their roots.'
(107)	*Bhagavā* ***antarā*** *ca Rājagahaṃ* ***antarā*** *ca Nālandaṃ addhānamagga-paṭipanno hoti* [...] (BJS 1.1). 'The Lord was travelling along the main road between Rājagaha and Nālandā [...].'
	B. After Verbs
(108)	*anekapariyāyena tiṇṇaṃ ratanānaṃ vaṇṇaṃ bhāsitum āraddho* ***yathā taṃ paṇḍitajātiko kulaputto*** (BJSA 37). 'He began to praise the Three Jewels in many ways like a wise man of a noble family.'

The formula: *antarā ca* [...] *antarā ca*, a stereotypical expression, appears in front of its governing words, here the verbal phrase: *Nāḷandaṃ addhānamaggapaṭipanno hoti.* In addition to this, some adverbial phrases may come after their finite verbs. To sum up, most adverbial phrases are placed in front of their governing verbs and fewer are placed after them. Thai Pāli

syntacticians propose that adverbs/adverbials are normatively placed in two positions: initially in the sentence and before the corresponding verb. The texts under my examination, however, show that sometimes adverbs/adverbials are placed after finite verbs. The pattern of the order of adverbial phrases can be set up as follows:

(i) Sentence = S + Adv + V
(ii) Sentence = Adv + S + V
(iii) Sentences = S+ V + Adv

I argue that the placement of adverbials according to Pattern (III) is marked. I discuss why these adverbs/adverbials are placed as such in Chapter Two (see §2.2.2.3; §2.3, §2.4, and §2.8).

§ 1.4.7. Summary

We can conclude from the foregoing discussion that the syntactical order of words as formulated by Thai Pāli syntacticians accords with the predominant phenomenon found in my selected texts. What is striking is that these principles are similar to the usual order of words in other Pāli and Skt. texts examined by Thommen,[172] Canedo[173] and briefly Mayrhofer.[174] This

[172] (1905 reprinted 1994). Tommen uses the terms 'habituell' and 'occasional' to refer to 'usual positions' and 'exceptional ones' which are rare throughout his thesis. His usage is followed by Canedo (1937).

[173] Canedo (1937).

[174] Mayrhofer (1951: 196-198, §504-506).

indicates that what is called the 'unmarked position' of words in Pāli (and Skt.) texts, which was recognised among traditional Pāli and Skt. scholars, does exist. The peculiar or different arrangements of words which may be found in certain texts are, I argue, mostly due to the option of different styles. Pāli has several grammatical and syntactical elements that form a sentence. The length of a Pāli prose sentence can be immensely varied, depending on authorial preferences. Some sentences may be long and highly complicated, while others may be short, precise and plain. For instance, it may start simply with a subject, followed by the object of a finite verb, and then a finite verb, or it may begin with many different kinds of indeclinable adverbs, case forms which express time and locality, or vocatives, followed by verbal modifiers, non-finite verbs, verbal modifiers again and finite verbs. Nevertheless, Thai Pāli syntaticians have formulated a broad pattern that stresses that if the sentence is lengthened by the addition of many types of words, the words should be arranged in the following order: (1) Temporal adverbials *(kālasattamī)*, (2) Nouns in the locative which denote residence or time, (3) Introductory indeclinables, (4) Vocatives, (5) Nominal modifiers or attributes, (6) Subjects or agents, (7) Modifiers or attributes of non-finite verbs, (8) Non-finite verbs, (9) Verbal modifiers, and (10) Finite verbs.[175]

This order, regarded as standard, covers all grammatical elements in sentences although they rarely appear together. Some of them, namely, groups (1) and (2) may not often appear together. If group (1) does not appear, group

[175] I summarise the most likely possible order from MCP 28-61; HCPTL 28-63.

(2) will start the sentence. Groups (1), (3), and (4) tend to be flexible, while groups (5) to (10) are likely to be more fixed. The first group is indeclinable, except some nominal vocatives, while the second is inflected. Then, the flexibility of order may be, more or less, related to their grammatical origin. Inflectional nouns are relatively stronger elements in the sentences because they are put into a sentence on account of their syntactical and semantical relations, and their placement can be explained via the 'governing rules' principles: governed words are generally placed before governing words.

Put differently, nouns and adjectives have case values which describe the number and gender involved. Personal endings of verbs, on the other hand, tell us tense, number and person. Adverbs could come from many elements, particularly nouns, adjectives or verbs, but their case forms do not have such inflectional value.[176] I suppose that their flexibility may be more or less connected with their grammatic and pragmatic function. As said earlier, grammarians such as Yāska label *upasargas* and *nipātas* as 'without substance'. Yāska and RvPrt regard *nipātas* as merely *pādapūraṇa* ('verse filler)', or 'dummy elements'/'expletives' in modern linguistics, while *upasargas* are described by RvPrt and VjPrt as *viśeṣakṛta* ('specializer'). Pāṇini 1.4.57 states similarly that *yat*, *inter alia*, is also called a *nipāta* ('particle') when it does not have substance. The words which are designated as 'without substance' could then possibly mean: (i) they do not have much semantic significance, and (ii)

[176] I discuss in Chapter Four on relative clauses that some inflectional words such as *yaṃ* function as adverbials. In this respect, they do not have a governing noun and lose their inflectional value.

their inflectional value does not count. Just as words 'without-substance' serve merely to fill in verse in ṚV, so, in later prose texts, they can be left out without affecting the essential meaning of the sentence. Accordingly, their positions tend to be more flexible than inflectional nominals because they are extremely independent.

From what I observe, the main contribution made to Pāli syntax by Thai Pāli syntacticians is that (1) they illustrate with examples covering all case forms that modifiers are usually placed before their modified words; (2) they collect various syntactical terms from various grammatical and exegetical texts to designate each case form. Because each case form serves many functions, they are named differently according to their contexts. Illustrations provided by Thai Pāli syntacticians show us that there is a strong inter-relation existing between modifiers and their governing words, which brings out the placement of the former before the latter. This is certainly the foundation on which a Pāli sentence is based. With this foundation, we can distinguish words which have a somewhat fixed order from those which are relatively more flexible. Let us consider the above ten key words again. These key words can be summarised into four different groups of words as follows:

Groups	Types of Words
I	temporal indeclinables (adverbials), introductory indeclinables (adverbials), certain locative cases, and vocatives
II	Attributes/modifiers + noun subjects
III	Modifiers + non-finite verbs
IV	Modifiers + finite verbs

The principles of arrangements of words, as formulated by Thai Pāli scholars and the evidence from the selected texts, show that Groups II, III and IV have a very strong tendency to be highly fixed, unless there is a specific reason to move them somewhere. There is a crucial difference between Group I and Groups II, III as well as IV. The four types of words in group I modify a whole sentence, many of which are independent elements which are not affiliated to a particular word in a sentence. In the next three groups, on the other hand, there is an inter-relation between governing nouns and dependent nouns which are governed, as said earlier. It is clear that the placement of case forms depends vitally on their functions in sentences. If they function as a noun subject, normatively they lead a sentence, and if they function as modifiers they have a strong tendency to be placed before their governing nouns and this tendency is unlikely to be scrambled in normal declarative statements, unless a particular word is deliberately moved somewhere, for specific reasons (see Chapter Two, §2.2.1).

§ 1.5 Unmarked word order and styles

Given that many words in Pāli are usually placed in the most usual order, we face another question: how does style play a role in early Pāli texts? I am fully aware that it is generally understood that the Buddhist texts that have come down to us in their present form might have undergone various changes and modifications under the influences of local traditions, culture and languages. Pāli Buddhist texts are not the products of single individuals but were passed on and shaped by various hands. Hence different editions. The role of Buddhaghosa in editing many Pāli texts is one prime example of how

editors could have affected the texts. While commenting on the Suttantas of DN, von Hinüber[177] has remarked:

> In contrast to a modern author, however, who might imitate an actual conversation in creating a "fictitious orality", the true orality found in early Buddhist texts avoids the natural ways of conversation, a situation that is the result of their having to create a formalised text that can be remembered and handed down by the tradition. In this respect the remembered and originally true orality of the Buddhists is ultimately much more artificial than the fictitious orality in a modern novel.

On the other hand, L.S. Cousins has said that there are three factors which are mainly responsible for early Pāli texts: individuals, contents, and redactors. He explains that since the (early canonical) *suttas* were chanted by individuals for edification and for enjoyment and may have been tailored to particular situations, the ways in which the messages are presented may be shortened or lengthened, as can be seen in the recitations of Ānanda and Upāli. He further says that the language may have been consistent if 'an experienced chanter would be able to string together many different traditional episodes and teachings so as to form a coherent, profound and moving composition.'[178]

Therefore, I would like to explain two types of style used in this thesis

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177 von Hinüber (1996: 28).

178 Cousins (1983: 1).

at the outset. First and foremost is the 'normative style',[179] sometimes referred to as the 'most usual', 'unmarked', 'conventional' or 'standard' one. This style is the 'expected' arrangement of words supposed to be standard in ordinary declarative statements in all prose texts. Second is 'authorial style'. I deliberately use it to refer to certain features which are personally preferred by authors and are accordingly confined to particular texts. I use the term to cover all the individuals or groups of people who might be involved in composing, editing or redacting a certain text. In the next chapter, I shall proceed to discuss different types of words which are placed after finite verbs. All of them are substantial nouns which are supposed to be placed before their finite verbs. I shall examine the reasons why they are placed as such.

[179] I follow McArthur (1996: 912) who states: 'Yet, even such an apparently "unmarked" style is stylistically significant, by virtue of its apparent plainness: if there is a norm, and if such a style adheres strictly to that norm, then it is the normative style.'

CHAPTER II: POST-VERBAL WORDS IN SENTENCES

Having discussed unmarked positions of words in sentences in the previous chapter, I shall now proceed to deal with words which are placed after their finite verbs or predicates. As far as the texts examined here are concerned, most words are placed in the standard or normal positions, as laid down by Thai Pāli syntacticians. One syntactical problem which has never been dealt with comprehensively by Pāli syntacticians is the order of post-verbal words.[180] There is no consensus among them as to why post-verbal words should exist in various sentences. As already noted in Chapter One, there are many groups of words which appear post-verbally. This chapter focuses on case forms, which consist of nouns (or substantives) and adjectives which are inflected, and adverbs, including those which are introduced by some adverbial particles. I hypothesise that the main order of words in the selected texts is the same as that formulated by Thai Pāli syntacticians; that the post-verbal words are marked; and that they are placed as such due to specific reasons. I shall illustrate these words with examples from the selected texts.

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[180] I use the term 'post-verbal' to refer to all the words placed after their verbs, or in some contexts, their predicates, which can be either verbs or other words which function predicatively.

The texts under investigation contain many case forms[181] which are placed post-verbally and appear in different contexts. In order to cover all aspects of this phenomenon, I shall first deal with the group of appositional nouns or substantives (§ 2.1). Secondly, I shall discuss the group of nouns or substantives without other nouns in apposition (§ 2.2). Next, I shall focus on the group of nouns with finite verbs or predicates placed in penultimate positions (§ 2.3). Then, I shall deal with the group of nouns linked by *seyyathīdaṃ* and *yadidaṃ* (§ 2.4), followed by the group of nouns linked by the particle *saddhiṃ* (§ 2.5). Next, I shall investigate the group of post-verbal adjectives (§ 2.6). After that, I shall investigate the group of post-verbal words conjoined by the two particles: *ca* ('and') and *vā* ('or') (§ 2.7). Then, I shall concern myself with the group of post-verbal subject complements (§ 2.8). Next, I shall discuss the group of cases functioning adverbially (§ 2.9) and this will be followed by the group of cases placed after finite verbs due to metrical influences (§ 2.10). I shall end this chapter with my conclusions (§ 2.11).

§ 2.1 The group of appositional nouns or substantives

Appositional nouns or nominal phrases which fall within this category have equal status with the main nouns, without any particles such as *ca* or *vā* to conjoin them. Two examples are found in BJS, two in SPS and four in BJSA. We can say that the phenomenon is a stylistic feature of all three texts. I shall first provide the data found in the texts before analysing them. All the contexts in which the post-verbal words appear are given in Tables 2.1, 2.2, 2.3.

[181] These post-verbal case forms are sometimes called *cases in codas*.

Chapter II

(I) BJS

In this text, I found two groups of post-verbal, both in the accu. sing. and with similar contexts. In each context, the post-verbal words are in bold type. In (1) the nouns in the accu. sing. come in the form of a phrase and are found only once, while the accusative in (2) is found nine times.

Table 2.1 Post-verbal nouns in BJS

No.	Contexts
(1)	*atha aññatare pi sattā āyukkhayā vā puññakhayā vā ābhassarakāyā cavitvā Brahmavimānaṃ upapajjanti* ***tassa sattassa sahavyataṃ*** (BJS 17-18.4). 'Then, from the exhaustion of their life span or merit, other beings fall from the ābhassara world and arise in the Brahmā palace to become companions for this being.'
(2)	[...] *eke samaṇabrāhmaṇā amarā-vikkhepikā tattha tattha pañhaṃ puṭṭhā samānā vācāvikkhepaṃ āpajjanti* ***amarāvikkhepaṃ*** (BJS 26.25, cf. 24.23, 25. 24, 25. 25, 26.25 [twice], 26.26, 27.27 [twice]). 'Some ascetics and brahmins who are Eel-Wrigglers, when asked about this or that matter, turn to evasive statements, i.e. they wriggle like eels.'

(II) SPS

In this text, the post-verbal words are, again, in the sing. accu. While in (3) the accusatives appears in the form of phrase, in (4), an accusative occurs alone. Below are their contexts.

Table 2.2 Contexts of Post-verbal nouns in SPS

No.	Contexts
(3)	*so* [...] *vivittaṃ senāsanaṃ bhajati,* ***araññaṃ rukkhamūlaṃ pabbataṃ kandaraṃ giriguhaṃ susānaṃ vanapatthaṃ abbhokāsaṃ palālapuñjaṃ*** (SPS 71.67). 'He resorts to a solitary lodging, i.e. [one in] a forest, the foot of a tree, a mountain, a cave, a mountain cave, a charnel-ground, a jungle-thicket, the open air or a heap of straw.'
(4)	*so tatonidānaṃ labhetha pāmujjaṃ adhigacche* ***somanassaṃ*** (SPS 72.69 [five times]). 'Because of that, he would rejoice and be glad.'

(III) BJSA

In marked contrast to BJS and SPS, the post-verbal appositional nouns in BJSA come in the form of an instrumental phrase (5) and a nominative case (6), (7) and (8). All of their contexts are given below.

Table 2.3 Contexts of Post-verbal nouns in BJSA

No.	Contexts
(5)	*idaṃ suttaṃ dvīhi padehi ābaddhaṃ,* ***vaṇṇena ca avaṇṇena ca*** (BJSA 55). 'The Blessed One began this discourse with two words, i.e. both praise and criticism.'
(5)	*idaṃ suttaṃ dvīhi padehi ābaddhaṃ,* ***vaṇṇena ca avaṇṇena ca*** (BJSA 55).

'The Blessed One began this discourse with two words, i.e. both praise and criticism.'

(6) *tassa pañca sambhārā honti:* ***pāṇo, pāṇasaññitā, vadhakacittaṃ, upakkamo, tena maraṇaṃ*** (BJSA 69-70).
That [act of 'taking life' (*pāṇātipāta*)] has five components: the being is alive, the knowledge that the being is alive, the intention to kill, the effort to kill, and that the being is killed by that effort.'

(7) *tassa pañca sambhārā honti:* ***paraparigghītaṃ, paraparigghīta-saññitā, theyyacittaṃ, upakkamo, tenāharaṇaṃ*** (BJSA 71).
'That [word 'taking what is not given' (*adinnādāna*)] has five components: the material is someone else's property, the knowledge that the material is someone else's property, the intention to steal, making an effort to steal, and taking it away with that effort.'

(8) *tassa cattāro sambhārā honti:* ***atathaṃ vatthu, visaṃvādanacittaṃ, tajjo vāyāmo, parassa tadatthavijānanaṃ*** (BJSA 72).
'That word ['falsehood' (*musāvādā*)] has four components: the matter told is not true, the intention to distort facts, the attempt which is derived from the intention to distort facts, and telling that matter to another person.'

In all the above contexts, we see that there is a finite verb, often a copula, which stands between the main nouns and explanatory nouns. Most finite verbs are in the present indicative form, except the one in (5), which is a past participle. However, sometimes a copula is omitted as understood. Then, subject complements stand between the noun subject and their appositional nouns. This phenomenon is totally absent in BJS and SPS but

occurs in BJSA three times. In Table 2.4 below are all the instances.

Table 2.4 Contexts of explanatory nouns placed after their main nouns without finite verbs in between

No.	Contexts
(9)	*taṃ [kiccaṃ] pañcavidhaṃ* [hoti]: ***purebhattakiccaṃ, pacchābhatta kiccaṃ, purimayāmakiccaṃ, majjhimayāmakiccaṃ, pacchima-yāmakiccaṃ*** (BJSA 45). 'That [useful duty *(sātthakakicca)* of the Blessed One] is fivefold: the duty before his meal, the duty after his meal, the duty in the first watch, the duty in the middle watch, and the duty in the last watch.'
(10)	*tassā tayo sambhārā*: ***akkositabbo paro, kupitacittaṃ, akkosanā*** (BJSA 75). 'That [rough speech] has three components: a person to whom one speaks harshly, an angry mind, and scolding.'
(11)	[*pāṇātipātā*] *chappayogā* [hoti]: ***sāhatthiko, āṇattiko, nissaggiyo, thāvaro, vijjāmayo, iddhimayo*** (BJSA 70). 'That [taking of life *(pāṇātipāta)*] consists of six means: killing with one's own hands, ordering somebody to kill, killing with projected weapons, killing with static instruments, killing with a spell [or magic] and killing with psychic power.'

We see that the main noun in (9), which is represented by *taṃ,* is followed by a subject complement *pañcavidhaṃ*, which is the sing. nom. neuter. All the appositional nouns are in the nominative case like their

corresponding main noun, namely, *purebhattakiccaṃ pacchābhattakiccaṃ purimayāmakiccaṃ majjhimayāmakiccaṃ pacchimayāmakiccaṃ* and are placed after *pañcavidhaṃ,* which functions predicatively in this case. In (10), the main noun *sambhārā* stands juxtaposed to its explanatory or appositional nouns, which are *akkositabbo paro, kupitacittaṃ, akkosanā* without either a complement or a copula in between. In Table 2.4, there is one striking point in the first two contexts: they do not have a noun and a copula, both of which are omitted as understood. Only a subject complement *chappayogā* ('consists of six means' or 'is sixfold') is provided, standing in apposition to its group of *sarūpavisesana* nouns: *sāhatthiko āṇattiko nissaggiyo thāvaro vijjāmayo iddhimayo*.

The above data suggests that there is some syntactical difference in the placement of the two types of adjectives. On the one hand, the normal adjective *tayo* in (10) is placed before its main noun. On the other hand, the other two adjectives in (9) and (11) (*pañcavidhaṃ* and *chappayogā*), which here function as subject complements, are placed before their explanatory nouns. These subject complements form part of a predicate. Contextually, all the nouns which are placed after subject complements are explanatory elements which classify the main nouns. Overall, the post-verbal words in all the above contexts correspond to what is called *sarūpavisesana*, or simply called *sarūpa* among Thai Pāli syntacticians. The two terms are explained as synonyms according to AVEPS II 16ff. The word *sarūpa* occurs in Pāṇini 1.2.64: *sarūpāṇām ekaśeṣa ekavibhaktau* ('Of the words having the same form, and all in the same case-termination, only the last one is retained'). In the Pāṇinian

rule, however, the word refers to 'elements showing the same form' while *sarūpavisesana* in Pāli is used synactically to refer to different types of 'modifying elements' of a main noun. Both are used to refer to nouns or substantives which syntactically stand parallel to their main nouns in sentences. Sophonganaporn, whose book is the only treatise which discusses this point of syntax, defines the word *sarūpavisesana* briefly as 'the concluding modifier which clarifies the meaning [of a main noun] purported to give, like explanations'.[182] He further explains that the number of the *sarūpavisesana* may differ from that of their main noun. In Table 2.5 below are some examples that he provides (AVEPS II 9).[183]

Table 2.5 Various contexts of sarūpavisesana nouns

No.	Contexts
(12)	*Idhāraṇañ ca pan' etassa* ***apāyādinibbattanakilesaviddhaṃsanaṃ*** (Abhidh-s-ṭ 56; Abhidh-s-ṭ Se 65).[184] 'Truly, the upholding (*dhāraṇaṃ*) of this [dharma] is the elimination of defilements which lead to misfortune, etc.'
(13)	***cittassa ālambitukāmatāmattaṃ*** <u>*chando*</u> (Abhidh-s-ṭ 83; Abhidh-s-ṭ Se 102).[185]

[182] AVEPS II 16.

[183] All examples are drawn from AVEPS II 9.

[184] Abh-yoj I.140 explains: *dhāraṇañ cā ti liṅgattho. etassā ti dhāraṇan ti pade kiriyāsambandho. apāyādinibbattanakilesaviddhaṃsanan ti dhāraṇan ti padassa sarūpavisesanaṃ* [...].

[185] Abh-yoj- I 583: *cittassā ti kāmatā ti pade sambandho. ālambitukāmatāmattan ti chando ti padassa sarūpaṃ. chando ti liṅgattho.*

'Preference (*chanda*) is just the mind's desire to take an object.'

(14) ***Nisabho ca Anomo ca*** *dve aggasāvakā* (Ap-a 39; Bv-a 176; Dhp-a I 105, etc.).

'The two foremost disciples are Nisabha and Anoma.'

(15) *idha pana bhikkhave ekacce kulaputtā dhammaṃ pariyāpuṇanti* ***suttaṃ, geyyaṃ*** (M I 134; Ps I 166; Dhp-a I 22).

'Monks, some sons of good families in this [doctrine] learn the teaching, i.e. *sutta* ('discourse') and *geyya* ('verse')'.

(16) *atha yā buddhānaṃ sāmukkaṃsikā dhammadesanā, taṃ pakāsesi* ***dukkhaṃ samudayaṃ nirodhaṃ maggaṃ*** (Vin I 16; D I 110, 148; D II 41, 43-4; M I 380, II 145; A IV 190, 209; Ap-a 545).

'Then, [the Buddha] declared the sermon of [all] Buddhas which leads to transcendence, [namely] suffering, the cause of suffering, the cessation of suffering and the way leading to the cessation of suffering.'

(17) *catasso hi sampadā nāma* ***vatthusampadā paccayasampadā cetanāsampadā guṇātirekasampadā*** *ti* (Dhp-a III 93; Dhp-a Se V 85[186]).

'Verily, there are four accomplishments (*sampadā*), namely, the accomplishment of materials, the accomplishment of accompaniments, the accomplishment of intention and the accomplishment of high virtues.'

[186] This Siamese source is given by BUDSIR.

Note that Sophonganaporn does not provide the sources of these examples but I have traced them in full. The data provided by Sophonganaporn shows that the *sarūpavisesana* can involve 'single words' or 'phrases', and that it can be placed either before or after its main noun. Even more interesting is that it can be a defining noun, an appositional noun, a synonym, or a string of nouns added to qualify or specify a main noun. Therefore, semantically, the word *sarūpavisesana* can be rendered as 'specification', 'elaboration', 'amplified noun', 'appositional noun' or 'the modifying nouns' as opposed to 'the modified noun',[187] depending on the context in which it appears. It may simply be called the 'modifier' of a main noun. In other words, the word *sarūpavisesana* is an umbrella term, referring to 'words' or 'phrases' added to define, specify or clarify a modified noun. Syntactically, Sophonganaporn provides explanations so that we can distinguish *sarūpavisesana* nouns from main nouns. However, he does not go to the length of elucidating their syntactic order, explaining why these *sarūpavisesana* nouns are placed post-verbally. If we consider their placement closely, we see that these *sarūpavisesana* nouns differ from one another

[187] There is a pair of Sanskrit and Pāli terms used to refer to the modified noun and the modifying adjectives or substantives. Thus Pāṇini 2.1.57 mentions *viśeṣaṇa* (qualifying or modifying) and *viśeṣya* (qualified or modified). The two words also appear in the *Vākyapadīya* (such as in VP III 14, 7). However, sometimes, Bhartṛhari (such as VP III 14, 89) uses the terms *nimitta* and *nimittin* to refer to *viśeṣaṇa* and *viśeṣya* respectively. Sadd III 688 has *visesanīya* and *visesana* instead and explains that these terms have similar meaning, but are used within the category of morphology, i.e. at the compound formation level.

remarkably in terms of contexts and meanings. There are three distinct types of nouns which can be derived from the word *sarūpavisesana*: **definitions or specifications**, **classifications** and **additional explanations**. The later two may also collectively be referred to as '**elaboration**'[188] or '**enhancement**'.

Sarūpavisesana nouns in (12) and (13) are **definitions.** In particular, the main noun in (12), not a technical term itself, is a defined word, while the compound *apāyādinibbattanakilesaviddhaṃsanaṃ* is a *sarūpavisesana* which defines its main noun. Similarly, in (13), the word *ālambitukāmatāmattaṃ* is the *sarūpavisesana* of *chando* and defines the latter. In (14), *sarūpavisesana* nouns are a typical example of **specification** where the phrase: *Nisabho ca Anomo ca* functions predicatively. Examples (15) and (16), on the other hand, are typical of **classifying nouns** where the finite verbs already have a direct object. Here, *sarūpavisesana* nouns constitute additional information. In (15), the words *suttaṃ* and *geyyaṃ* are the *sarūpavisesanas* of *dhammaṃ*, while in (16) the words: *dukkhaṃ*, *samudayaṃ*, *nirodhaṃ*, and *maggaṃ* are *sarūpavisesana* nouns of *dhammadesanā.* In the same way, all the words *vatthusampadā*, *paccayasampadā*, *cetanāsampadā*, and *guṇātirekasampadā* in (17) classify the word *sampadā*.

The raw data from the three selected texts shown above, along with the examples of *sarūpavisesana* nouns adduced by Sophonganaporn, leads me to propose that there are two groups of appositional nouns to be found

[188] Halliday (1994: 225) explains that elaboration involves restating, clarifying, refining, or adding a descriptive attribute or comment.

regularly in both Pāli canonical and non-canonical texts: **defining** or **predicative** ones, which function as predicates of a noun subject, and **non-restrictive** ones, which give additional information, not essential to the texts. The appositional nouns may be put differently as '**modifiers**' of the main nouns, which can be divided into **defining/predicative** and **non-restrictive** ones. Because these 'modifiers' or 'appositional nouns' are of different types depending on semantic reasons, their sentential position differs accordingly.

Sophonganaporn does not explain the syntactical structure of the examples he has given but his examples also suggest that the **defining/ predicative** appositional nouns, namely those in (12), (13) and (14), may be placed before or after their main nouns. Examples (12) and (13) show that the explained words are placed both before and after their *sarūpavisesana* nouns. According to the contexts given by him, it is likely that there are two options for the placement of predicative appositional nouns. However, I found two contexts in the BJSA where two main nouns or *lemmata* are defined and placed after *sarūpavisesana* nouns. Below in Table 2.6 are the only two examples found in the texts under my scrutiny.

Table 2.6 Placement of lemmata after defining words

No.	Contexts
(18)	*parassa haraṇaṃ theyyaṃ* (BJSA 71). '*Theyya* (stealing) means taking (the property) of others.'
(19)	*parassa mammacchedakāya vacīpayogasamuṭṭhāpikā ekantapharusacetanā pharusavācā* (BJSA 75).

> 'A harsh word is the one-sided harsh intention which causes one to have bodily and verbal exertions, and pierces the other person at a weak point.'

This data shows that the two lemmata: *theyyaṃ* and *pharusavācā*, which are in the sing. nom., are placed after their defining words. In fact, it is not surprising to find sentences with a similar structure occurring in non-canonical texts, as these texts are supposed to explain all the ambiguous and obscure terms found in the canonical texts. The following sentence pattern, then, can be set up according to our evidence:

 # NP + Lemmata (defined Word) #

On the other hand, **non-restrictive** appositional nouns are usually placed post-verbally or post-predicatively, and this placement is evidently consistent in the three texts. The group of post-verbal words which, as mentioned above, occurs in BJS twice: ***tassa sattassa sahavyataṃ*** ('companionship with this being') in (1) and ***amarāvikkhepaṃ*** ('wriggling statements like eels') in (2) as mentioned above are certainly *sarūpavisesanas*. Semantically, they merely restate the meaning of the two pre-verbal words: *brahmavimānaṃ* and *vācāvikkhepaṃ* respectively. As a matter of fact, they are just restatements or explanations of the two main nouns which are already given and placed pre-verbally, using different terms. The group of post-verbal words which occur in SPS, all in the accu. sing.: *araññaṃ rukkhamūlaṃ-pabbataṃ kandaraṃ giriguhaṃ susānaṃ vanapatthaṃ abbhokāsaṃ palālapuñ-jaṃ* is also a *sarūpavisesana*. However, these words are not synonymous with

their main nouns, but elaborations or classifications of them in minute detail. They provide more information about the given main nouns. On the other hand, BJSA contains three contexts in which a group of *sarūpavisesana* words occurs in the accu. sing.: in (7) *paraparigahītaṃ* [*vatthu*] *paraparigahīta-saññitā theyyacittaṃ upakkamo tenāharaṇaṃ*, in (8), *atathaṃ vatthuṃ visaṃvādanacittaṃ tajjo vāyāmo parassa tadatthavijānanaṃ* and in (10) *akkositabbo paro, kupitacittaṃ, akkosanā*. They are all *sarūpavisesana* nouns which classify their main nouns.

The data from the three texts given above shows that the three selected texts use three distinctive types of *sarūpavisesana* nouns. First, in BJS, the *sarūpavisesana* nouns are basically **synonyms**. Second, in SPS, the *sarūpavisesana* nouns are a group of **explanatory words** which describe the main nouns already given in an attributive way. Third, the *sarūpavisesana* nouns in BJSA are **classifications** of the main nouns into different categories. All of them are elaborations or elaborating words of main nouns and, therefore, can be grouped as non-restrictive *sarūpavisesana* nouns. We can, then, set up two patterns for the placement of non-restrictive *sarūpavisesana* nouns as follows.

(1) # Main Noun^{1} + FV/FVP + Noun^{2} (Elaborating Noun^{2}) #
(2) # Main Noun^{1} + FV/FVP + Phrase^{2} (Elaborating Phrase^{2}) #

Pattern (1) shows that the elaborating word is a single word, while pattern (2) refers to the contexts in which the post-verbal words are a phrase. Both elaborating post-verbal nouns and phrases are similar in being additional

explanations. Even if they are deleted, the core meaning of the passage remains the same. On the basis of the contextual analysis of the three selected texts, I propose the hypothesis that the main reason the *sarūpavisesana* nouns are placed post-verbally is that they are seen as elaborations or expansions of the core elements which have already been given, and that the post-verbal placement of these words is to separate them from the pre-verbal main substantial nouns which are placed in the usual order before finite verbs. Nevertheless, the texts also contain a number of post-verbal words which are substantial. I shall proceed to discuss them in the next section.

§ 2.2 The group of nouns without other nouns in apposition

These post-verbal nouns are marked off from the first group because they do not have any *sarūpavisesana* nouns in apposition. They themselves are essential parts of the sentence but move from their usual position before their verbs to become post-verbal or post-predicative. I shall investigate their contexts to explain why they are placed as such. As far as the data in the three examined texts is concerned all the post-verbal words which fall within this section can be classified into two major groups based on their distinctive contexts: (i) the group of post-verbal words which occur in contexts where their finite verbs are placed at the beginning of sentences, (ii) the group of post-verbal words which occur in contexts where their finite verbs are placed penultimately, i.e. they are followed by post-verbal nouns or substantives. I shall detail these with illustrations in the following sub-sections.

§ 2.2.1 The group of post-verbal words with their finite verbs or predicative groups placed at the beginning of sentences

The initially placed finite verbs which are found more frequently than others are normally forms of the verb 'to be', namely, *atthi* ('there is, there exists' [sing.]), *n' atthi* ('there is not, there does not exist' [sing.]), *santi* ('there are, there exist' [plural)], *honti* ('there are, there exist' [pl]), *saṃvijjati* ('there is' [sing.]). Other verbs or predicates which are found are: *assosi* ('heard'), *addasā* ('saw'), *etu* ('come!') and *cara* ('go on!)'. All the raw data from the three texts are presented in Table 2.7 below.

Table 2.7 Contexts finite verbs placed at the beginning of sentences in the selected texts

Verbs	Frequency	Contexts
atthi	34	BJS 3.6, 14.31, 15.32, 16.33, 27.27 (3 times), 34.11, 34.12, 34.13 (twice), 35.13, 34.14 (twice), 35.15 (twice), 35.16 (twice), 36.21, 37.22-4; SPS 58.31 (11 times), SPS 72.70.
n' atthi	58	BJS 3.5, 16.35, 24.21, 29.33, 30.35, 32.3, 33.7, 39. 29, 27.27; SPS: 55.23 (10 times), 58.31 (four times); SPS: 52.17(six times), 53.20 (twice), 52.17 (twice), 53.20 (seven times), 54.20 (3 times), 55.23 (10 times), 58-59 (four times),72.71.
santi	3	BJS 19.7, 20.10, 26.26.
hoti	7	BJS 17.3, 27.27 (six times).

saṃvijjati	1	BJS 3.
etu	2	BJS 60.35, 62.37.
cara	1	BJS 8.18.
hotu	1	SPS 60.35.
ahu	3	SPS 49.10 (three times).
assosi	2	BJSA 45 (twice).
addasā	3	BJSA 34, 44-5.

The contexts where the finite verbs or the predicative group occur in the initial position, by which many nouns are placed post-verbally, are provided below, after discarding repetitions. Note that some post-verbal nouns are similar, but follow different finite verbs, or vice versa.

(I) The group of the verb 'to be'

Most verbs 'to be' which are placed at the beginning of sentences are in the present tense and third person. They can be in either the plural or the singular. These verbs are used to express the existence of things. If verbs 'to be' are used in a present form, they assert that something exists either at the moment of speaking or at all times. On the other hand, if the past tense is used, semantically they assert that something did exist or really happened in the past. Contextually, they are, in most cases, found in philosophical or religious debates, which are culled from speech situations. Many of them are possibly 'stock phrases' which occur here and there several times. Their contexts are given in Table 2.8.

Table 2.8 Post-verbal nouns in BJS and SPS

No.	Contexts
(20)	*n' atthi **c' etaṃ amhesu*** (BJS 3.5). 'And there is not this among us.'
(21)	*atthi **c' etaṃ amhesu*** (BJS 3.6). 'And there is this among us.'
(22)	*n' atthi **tatonidānaṃ pāpaṃ.** n' atthi **pāpassa āgamo*** (SPS 52.17 [three times]). 'There is no evil as a result of that, no evil accrues.'
(23)	*n' atthi **mahārāja hetu**, n' atthi **paccayo sattānaṃ saṃkilesāya*** (SPS 53.20). 'Your Majesty, there is neither a cause nor is there a condition for the defilement of beings.'
(24)	*n' atthi **hetu**, n' atthi **paccayo sattānaṃ visuddhiyā*** (SPS 52.17). 'There is neither a cause nor is there a condition for the purification of beings.'
(25)	*n' atthi **attakāre,***[189] *n' atthi **parakāre**, n' atthi **purisakāre**, n' atthi **balaṃ,** n' atthi **viriyaṃ,** n' atthi **purisathāmo**, n' atthi **purisa-parakkamo*** (SPS 53.20). 'There is no self-agency or other agency, there is no agency in

[189] BJSA 160 explains this word as: *attakāre ti attakāro* ('the word *attakāre* equals the word *attakāro*'). I assume that all words: *attakāre, parakāre* and *purisakāre* are the sing. nom. borrowed from Māgadhī. Cf. Geiger, § 66.2a, 80, 82.5, 98.3, 105.2, 110.2; Norman (1991: 59-70, 129-147).

humans, no strength, no force, no human vigour or human exertion.'

(26) *hevaṃ n' atthi **doṇamite**[190] **sukhadukkhe pariyantakaṭe saṃsāre.** n 'atthi **hāyanavaḍḍhane**. n' atthi **ukkaṃsāvakaṃse*** (SPS 54.20).

'Thus there is no pleasure or pain that is measured by a measure in the round of rebirth with a limit, nor is there increase or decrease, neither excellence nor inferiority.'

(27) *n' atthi mahārāja **dinnaṃ,** n' atthi **yiṭṭhaṃ,** n' atthi **hutaṃ,** n' atthi **sukaṭadukkaṭānaṃ kammānaṃ phalaṃ vipāko**, n' atthi **ayaṃ loko**, n 'atthi **paro loko**, n' atthi **mātā**, n' atthi **pitā**, n' atthi **sattā opapātikā**, n 'atthi samaṇabrāhmaṇā **sammaggatā sammāpaṭipannā*** (SPS 55.23).

'Your Majesty, there is nothing given. There is nothing sacrificed. There is nothing oblated. There is no fruit or result of good or bad deeds. There is not this world or the next. There is no mother or father. There are no spontaneously arisen beings. There are no ascetics or brahmins who have attainments [lit. 'who have gone rightly'] [and] who have practised perfectly.'

(28) *hoti **Tathāgato paraṃ maraṇā**. na hoti **Tathāgato paraṃ maraṇā**. hoti ca na ca hoti **Tathāgato paraṃ maraṇā**. n' eva hoti na na hoti **Tathāgato paraṃ maraṇā*** (SPS 58-9).

'Does the Tathāgata exist after death? Does he not exist? Does he exist and not exist? Does he neither exist nor not exist?'

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[190] All these -e forms: *doṇamite, sukhadukkhe, hāyanavaḍḍhane, ukkaṃsāvakaṃse* are the same as in fn.10.

(29) *santi **bhikkhave khiḍḍāpadosikā nāma devā*** (BJS 19.7).
'Monks, there are gods who are called corrupted by pleasure.'

(30) *hoti **vā sandiṭṭhikaṃ sāmaññaphalaṃ, no vā*** (SPS 62.38).
'Is the fruit of the homeless life visible here and now or not?'

(31) *santi **hi kho pana samaṇabrāhmaṇā paṇḍitā nipuṇā kataparappa-vādā vālavedhirūpā** vobhindantā maññe caranti paññāgatena **diṭṭhigatāni*** (BJS 26.26).
'There are ascetics and brahmins who are wise, skilful, practised debaters, like archers who can split hairs, who go around, methinks, destroying others' views with their wisdom.'

(32) *hoti **Tathāgato param maraṇā*** (BJS 27.27).
'Does the Tathāgata exist after death?'

(33) *atthi **paro loko*** (BJS 27.27 [three times]).
'Is there another world?'

(34) *atthi ca n' atthi ca **paro loko*** (BJS 27.27).
'Is there both another world and no other world?'

(35) *atha kho raññho Māgadhassa Ajātasattussa Vedehiputtassa avidūre Ambavanassa ahud eva **bhayaṃ,** ahu **chambitattaṃ,** ahu **lomahaṃso*** (SPS 49. 10).
'When King Ajātasattu came near the mango grove, he felt fear and terror and his hair stood on end.'

(36) *punad eva hotu dāso kammakaro pubbuṭṭhāyī pacchānipātī kiṃkārapaṭissāvī manāpacārī pi* (SPS 60.35).
'Let him once again be a slave who works for me, gets up earlier

	than me, goes to bed after me, is obedient, and does what pleases me.'

(II) The group of other verbs

Apart from verbs 'to be', there are relatively few other verbs or predicates. The roots themselves can be derived from any verbal roots. It is noteworthy that all the contexts where these fronted finite verbs appear, and which are found in the selected texts, are similar in that they are found in conversational dialogues. Table 2.9 shows their contexts, after discarding repetitions.

Table 2.9 Post-verbal nouns after another group of finite verbs

No.	Contexts
(37)	*āropito te **vādo**. niggahīto' si. cara **vādappamokkhāya*** (BJS 8.18; SPS 66.53). 'Your argument has been overthrown. You are refuted. Proceed to clear up your argument.'
(38)	*adhiccasamuppanno **attā ca loko ca*** (BJS 29.31-2). 'Both the self and the world came into existence by chance.'
(39)	*etu me bho **so puriso*** (SPS 60.35, 62.37). 'That man must come back, sir.'
(40)	*agamā kho tvaṃ mahārāja **yathāpemaṃ*** (SPS 50.12). 'Your Majesty, have you [in thought] gone according to your affections?'
(41)	*aggo 'ham asmi **lokassa**, jeṭṭho 'ham asmi **lokassa*** (BJSA 61).

'I am the highest of the world. I am supreme in the world.'

There are two striking facts which can be deduced from these two groups of examined data. First, the post-verbal words can be a single word, each of which does not have an appositional noun. They can also come in the form of a phrase. This means that the group of nouns moves to the final position together. Second, not only is a single word in the initial position, but a whole predicative group can also be moved to the initial position. As I mentioned in Chapter One (see § 3), previous Pāli scholars have already put forward a broad hypothesis that finite verbs are sometimes placed in the first position of the sentence due to emphasis. I shall first provide more explanations made by previous Pāli scholars and then analyse the data in the texts under my scrutiny. To begin with, Vajirañāṇavarorasa,[191] probably the first Thai scholar to point this out, explains briefly that a finite verb is sometimes placed initially in the sentence. He gives one example:

Table 2.10 An example of a finite verb placed at the beginning of a sentence

No.	Context
(42)	***suṇātu*** *me bhante saṃgho.* 'Reverend sirs, may the Order listen to me.'

Vajirañāṇavarorasa does not give a reference for this example. However, it is evident that this sentence occurs several times in the Pāli Canon (such as in Vin I 56-7, Vin II 2, 7, 9, 12, 15, 18-9, 21, 26-7, etc).

[191] BW VI 13 (§ 8).

BUDSIR[192] also records a number of occurrences in the commentaries. Here in (42), the 3rd person sing. imperative *suṇātu* takes the first position and accordingly there are two nouns and one indeclinable particle placed post-verbally: *me bhante saṃgho.* In a section of his *Manual of Pāli Grammar*, Vajirañāṇavarorasa[193] also states that in Pāli the interrogative *kiṃ* is sometimes not used to form a question; instead the placement of a finite verb in the initial position is required. He also states that in such contexts the finite verb which is placed initially in the sentence has a rising pitch, like the use of 'tones' in a question sentence in English. He provides one example (see [43a] below). However, it is Sommasarn and Thongphakdī (HCPTL 74-78), as well as Udomyānamolī (MCP 62-65),[194] who explained this concept in detail. They list six special sentences which express in various contexts an interrogative sense, a command, a request, a warning or reminding, a persuasion, an emphasis, a pondering, a wondering or a contemplation. All the finite verbs in these contexts are placed initially in the sentence. All of them, together with their illustrations, are shown in Table 2.10. As the Thai scholars do not give references, I provide them below.

Table 2.11 Six special contexts where finite verbs are placed initially

No.	Contexts
	(I) An Interrogative Sense

[192] Such as Sp Se I 13.

[193] BW II 87 (§ 87).

[194] Judging from the date of his work, he definitely follows HCPTL since the examples given in HCPTL and MCP are the same.

(43) a. ***atthi*** *panāyasmato koci veyyāvaccakaro?* (Vin III 220ff.).

'Is there anybody who is your servant [or housekeeper]?'

b. ***dīyati*** *pana te gahapati kule dānaṃ?* (A III 391; IV 392, etc.).

'But, householder, do you still offer alms in your family?'

(II) A Command

(44) ***vadehi*** *āvuso pālita?* (Dhp-a I 55).

'Venerable Pālita, speak up.'

(III) A Request

(45) ***āgametu*** *bhante bhagavā dhammassāmi* (Ja III 487; Dhp-a I 55).

'Lord, could you, the Blessed One, who is the master of the dhamma, please wait?'

(46) ***khamatha*** *me bhante* (Sv III 8, Mil 14).

'Sir, please forgive us.'

(IV) A Warning or Reminding

(47) ***passānanda*** *imaṃ mahādhanaseṭṭhiputtaṃ imasmiṃ yeva nagare dveasītikoṭidhanaṃ khepetvā bhariyaṃ ādāya bhikkhāya carantaṃ* (Dhp-a III 131).

'Ānanda, look at the son of this great wealthy merchant who has wasted 160 koṭi of wealth and then taken his wife to beg for a living in this very city.'

(IV) A Persuading

(48) ***gacchāma*** *bhante* (Vin IV 131).

'Sir, let's go.'

(V) An Emphasis

(49) ***pabbajissāmi*** *tāta* (Dhp-a I 7; II 48; Mp I 356; Thī-a 120).

	'Father, I must be ordained!'.
(50)	***atthi*** *dinnaṃ,* ***atthi*** *yiṭṭhaṃ* (M I 288,402, III 24; S IV 348; A I 269; Vibh 328; Sv III 983).
	'What has been given exists [, i.e. has its result], what has been sacrificed exists [i.e. has its result].
	(VI) A Pondering, Wondering or Contemplation
(51)	*satthā taṃ disvā* [...] *'****atthi*** *nu kho mayhaṃ ettha gatappaccayena attho' ti upadhārento* [...]. (Dhp-a I 26).
	'Having seen him, the Teacher wondered, 'Is there any use in my going there?'"

Because their treatises are meant to teach Pāli syntax to Pāli learners, these contexts are called 'six special sentences' for the sake of convenience. The context in (43a) is provided by Vajirañāṇavarorasa while (43b) is given by Sommasarn and Thongphakdī (HCPTL 75). In fact, interrogative sentences which front finite verbs are found in abundance in the Pāli Canon. In particular, there is a sentence which is similar to (43b) which occurs in A III 391, but here the two particles, *api* and *nu*, are used to form an interrogative sentence instead: *api nu te gahapati kule dānaṃ dīyati* ('House-holder, do you still offer almsgiving in your family?'). In (43a) and (43b), the present indicative *atthi* ('is there?') and a passive present indicative verb *dīyati* ('is given?') are placed initially in the sentence.

Following Vajirañāṇavarorasa, Sommasarn and Thongphakdī (HCPTL 75, cf. MCP 62) provide the further explanation that an interrogative sentence is usually formed by using interrogative pronouns such

as *kiṃ.* However, the sentence can be formed by simply placing a finite verb in the initial position, as seen in (43). In (44), the 2nd person sing. imperative *vadehi* ('speak up') is placed at the beginning of a sentence. This sentence is not found in either BUDDSIR or BCCD, but a similar sentence occurs in Vin 1 82: *vadehi Gotamā ti* ([The Buddha told King Suddhodana] 'Gotama! Please speak up'). Sommasarn and Thongphakdī (HCPTL 75, cf. MCP 62) explain that a command sentence which places a finite verb in the initial position indicates that the speaker is superior to listeners in terms of rank and social status, and that the finite verbs which are placed as such usually come from the imperative. Usually, the verb is inflected in the second person singular and plural, depending on the number of listeners. They also state that in most cases the subject of such finite verbs is left as understood.

Both (45) and (46) occur in many places in the Pāli Canon: (45) is found in Vin I 341, 342; MN III 153 (twice) while (46) is found in Ja I 161, III 440, 487, III 487; Vin I 130, cf. Ja V 50. Here, two imperative verbs, namely, the 3rd sing. *āgametu* ('could you wait?') and the 2nd pl. *khamatha* ('please forgive') are placed at the beginning of the sentence. According to BUDSIR, the first instance, i.e. (45), occurs several times in the commentarial texts as well, for example Dhp-a I 51, Ja V 344, etc. while (46)[195] occurs in Sv III 8 and Mil 14. Sommasarn and Thongphakdī (HCPTL 76, cf. MCP 63) state that a request sentence which places its finite verb initially in the

[195] The Database of the Pāli Canon on the CD-ROM also gives other similar instances which occur in the SV such as: *khamatha taṃ Bhagavā* ('Lord, please forgive us') in Spk III 288; *khamatha taṃ āvuso* ('Friend, please forgive him') in Sv II 156; Spk III 292.

sentence is usually spoken by an inferior to implore a superior. They further argue that in most cases the imperative second person is used but occasionally the first person (European: third person) is also used. With regard to the number of the verbs, if the second person is employed, the verb can be in both the singular or plural, even if the person addressed is only one person. They explain that the use of a finite verb in the plural shows that the speaker respects the addressee. A sentence similar to example (47) also occurs in D III 198: *pass' Ānanda sabbe te saṃkhārā atītā niruddhā vipariṇatā* ('Ānanda, look. All the compounded things have passed, died out and have changed'). In (47), we see that the Buddha simply reminds Ānanda of the over-expenditure of a wealthy merchant's son. Sommasarn and Thongphakdī (HCPTL 76, cf. MCP 64) say that this sentence reminds or advises listeners to do something, but does not go to the length of ordering them. In (48), we see a persuading verb in its context. This instance is found in Vin IV 131.

Both Sommasarn and Thongphakdī explain (HCPTL 77, cf. MCP 64) that a speaker of this type of sentence persuades listeners to follow him, and that usually the finite verb is inflected in the imperative first person plural. They also say that the finite verb of this sentence usually comes first in the sentence. Emphatic sentences which place finite verbs initially in the sentence as in example (49), sometimes also occur in the Pāli Canon such as *dīyati* in the second sentence: *api nu te, gahapati, kule dānaṃ dīyati* ('But, householder, do you still offer alms in your family?'); ***dīyati*** *me, bhante, kule dānaṃ* [...] ('Definitely sir, I still offer almsgiving in my family [...]'), which is found in A III 391; IV 392, cf. Mp IV 178. Here, the passive verb *dīyati* ('is given') in

the second sentence comes first in the sentence. On the other hand, (50) is found a number of times in the Pāli Canon.[196] In both (49) and (50) two finite verbs, i.e. the 1st sing. future *pabbajissāmi* ('I must be ordained') and the 3rd sing. indicative *atthi* ('there is') occur in emphatic sentences. Sommasarn and Thongphakdī further explain (HCPTL 77, cf. MCP 65) that this type of sentence emphasises the strong intention of a speaker to do something, and that if the sentence conveys a particular truth, that truth is usually absolute. They also say that the finite verb of this sentence type can be inflected in any personal ending. In (51), the finite verb *atthi* ('there is') occurs in a 'pondering sentence'. Sommasarn and Thongphakdī (HCPTL 78, cf. MCP 65) explain that the noun subject of this sentence feels doubtful or is thinking over a particular issue, and that this sentence is like an interrogative one, except that the subject of the sentence asks himself or herself instead of others. They further say that the finite verb of this sentence is like that in emphatic sentences in the sense that it can be inflected in any personal ending. Apart from this, Sommasarn and Thongphakdī (HCPTL 74) also argue that the finite verbs they are explaining cover past participles and the future passive participles, i.e. those ending in *-ta, -anīya* and *-tabba* suffixes. They also explain that any finite verb can be placed at the beginning of a sentence if it is in emphatic, pondering or contemplating types of sentences.

The examples provided by Thai Pāli syntacticians show that finite

[196] Such as in A V 269; MN I 288; MN III 24; Ja I 347; Vibh 328; Dhs 233 and Pp 25.

verbs which are placed at the beginning of the sentences are mostly inflected in the imperative and optative endings. However, the main point discussed by these Thai Pāli syntacticians is not the post-verbal placement of substantial words but rather the placement of finite verbs in the initial position of the sentence. The fronting of finite verbs certainly results in the post-verbal placement of many substantial words, yet Thai Pāli syntacticians never pay proper attention as to why many nouns are placed post-verbally in normal declarative sentences. Besides, it is evident that not only is a single finite verb placed in the initial position of the sentence as pointed out by Vajirañāṇavarorasa, Sommasarn and Thongphakdī, and Udomyānamolī, but a whole predicative group may be placed in the initial position of the sentence. These predicative groups occur several times. After discarding repetitions, the contexts are as shown in Table 2.12.

Table 2.12 Groups of the predicates which are in the front position

FV/FVP	**Body of the Texts**
n' atthi	*c' etaṃ amhesu* (20, etc.)
na hoti	*Tathāgato paraṃ maraṇā* (28)
n' eva hoti na na hoti	*Tathāgato paraṃ maraṇā* (28)
hoti ca na ca hoti	*Tathāgato paraṃ maraṇā* (28)
h' evaṃ n'atthi	*doṇamite sukhadukkhe pariyantakaṭe saṃsāre* (26)
punad eva hotu	*kassako gahapatiko kārakārako rāsivaḍḍhako* (39)

This data shows that not only does a single finite verb move to the front position, but all the elements which form part of a predicative group also move. The predicative groups as shown in Table 2.11 are: *n' atthi* (20, etc.),

na hoti (28), *n' eva hoti na na hoti* (28), *hoti ca na ca hoti*, *punad eva hotu* (39). Moreover, the move of a finite verb or predicative groups is not as simple as a change of the position of a finite verb, or a predicative group, from the final to the front position. Sometimes the usual arrangement of certain elements in a sentence is also affected. From the above raw data, four contexts occur where finite verbs or predicative groups are placed in the initial position of the sentence which need some changes when they are transformed into normal declarative sentences. Below I distinguish normal declarative sentences, where every word is placed in their standard order, from other declarative sentences, in which finite verbs or predicative groups are placed initially in the sentence.

Table 2.13 Rearrangement of predicative groups which are placed at the beginning of sentences

(I)	a.	***n' atthi*** *c' etaṃ amhesu* (20, etc.).
	b.	*etañ ca amhesu n' atthi.*
(II)	a.	***na hoti*** *Tathāgato paraṃ maraṇā* (28).
	b.	*Tathāgato na hoti paraṃ maraṇā.*
(III)	a.	***h' evaṃ n' atthi*** *doṇamite sukhadukkhe pariyantakaṭe saṃsāre* (26).
	b.	*evañ hi doṇamite sukhadukkhe n' atthi pariyantakaṭe saṃsāre n' atthi.*
(IV)	a.	***punad eva hotu*** *kassako gahapatiko kārakārako rāsivaḍḍhako* (39).
	b.	*kassako punad eva hotu gahapatiko kārakārako rāsivaḍḍhako.*

Keys:

a = original contexts in the selected texts which front a finite verb.

b =newly and tentatively arranged sentences in normal declarative sentences.

In (I) when the predicative phrase is moved to the end of the sentence, the enclitic particle *ca* moves to its second position, hence being placed after the particle *evaṃ*. In (II), the predicative phrase: *na hoti* ('there is not') is moved to the centrally embedded position, because the adverbial phrase: *paraṃ maraṇā* is always post-verbal, even in usual declarative statements. In (III), obviously there are two subjects and sentences, both of which need a copula. However, only one copula is given, as is implied within the context (cf. § 2.6). In (IV), the predicative phrase: *punad eva hotu* is moved to the middle, being placed after a subject complement and before other remaining subject complements (see § 2.7). The predicative group: *h' evaṃ n' atthi* in (26) is remarkable, because in this context, *h' evaṃ*, which is derived from an enclitic *hi* and *evaṃ*, appears first in the sentence. However, the word here functions as an emphatic indeclinable.[197] In addition to this, in the texts

[197] See von Hinüber (1986: 25, § 166). PTSD, p.731 explains that the word *h' evaṃ* is derived from *hi* + *evaṃ,* like some other words, i.e. *h' etaṃ* = *hi*+ *etaṃ*, *no h' etaṃ* = *no hi etaṃ*. Norman (1994: 79, cf. 1996: 231) argues against this, saying that the word must be *hevaṃ,* which is a genuine Eastern dialect form. He points out that forms with initial *-h* are frequent in the Eastern versions of the Aśokan inscriptions. See also Pischel, § 336 (p. 271). Norman is possibly right too in pointing out the practical influence from

under my scrutiny, the post-verbal placement of nouns occurs in four types of sentences, namely, they express an interrogative sense or a question, an emphasis, a command and a request. For convenience, we might call them (i) Interrogative or Question Sentences, (ii) Emphatic or Strongly Affirmative Sentences, (iii) Command Sentences and (iv) Request Sentences respectively.

(I) Interrogative or Question Sentences

As already stated, Vajirañāṇavarorasa (BW VI 13 [§ 8]; BW II 87 [§ 87]) has explained that interrogative sentences differ from declarative sentences in two ways. First, they use interrogative pronouns to form the sentence. Second, if there is no interrogative pronoun, the finite verb is placed initially in the sentence. The second type of Interrogative Sentence is found several times in the texts under my scrutiny. The most popular ones are those which begin with *atthi* or *n' atthi*. They occur fourteen times in BJS. In addition, *hoti* is placed at the beginning of the sentence six times. Below are all of their contexts, after discarding repetitions.

Table 2.14 Finite verbs in interrogative sentences which are placed at the beginning of sentences

No.	Contexts
(52)	*hoti* ***Tathāgato paraṃ maraṇā****. na hoti Tathāgato* ***paraṃ maraṇā****.*

outside, and this can explain why the word can be placed initially in the sentence. Even so we cannot deny the fact that etymologically speaking the word, which is designated by Norman as the emphatic form' (1994: 83), is probably derived from *hi+ evaṃ*. This is probably a good example which shows that the shift of function, i.e. from enclitic to emphatic, can affect the placement of words in sentences.

hoti ca na ca hoti ***Tathāgato paraṃ maraṇā****. n' eva hoti na na hoti* ***Tathāgato paraṃ maraṇā*** (SPS 58-9).
'Does the Tathāgata exist after death? Does he not exist? Does he exist and not exist? Does he neither exist nor not exist?'

(53) [...] *hoti* ***vā sandiṭṭhikaṃ sāmaññaphalaṃ no vā*** (SPS 62.38 [twice]).
'Is that fruit of the homeless life visible here and now or not?'

(54) *hoti* ***tathāgato param maraṇā*** (BJS 27.27).
'Does the Tathāgata exist after death?'.

(55) *atthi* ***paro loko*** (BJS 27.27 [3 times]).
'Is there another world?'.

(56) *atthi ca n' atthi ca* ***paro loko*** (BJS 27.27).
'Is there both another world and no other world?'.

(57) *agamā* ***kho tvaṃ mahārāja yathā pemaṃ*** (SPS 50.12)
'Your Majesty, have you [in thought] gone according to your affections?'.

The data shows that the finite verbs themselves can be either a single word or come in a group. We may expect that if all the above sentences change to be declarative statements, the verbs will be placed at the end of the sentence. There is only one idiomatic expression which may not follow the usual unmarked position, namely, the adverbial phrase: *paraṃ maraṇā*, as in (52). Even if the context in which it appears turns out to be a normal declarative statement: *Tathāgato hoti paraṃ maraṇā* (52), the phrase would still remain post-verbal, as it is found in this pattern on a regular basis in early

Pāli canonical texts.[198] I shall return to this point later.[199]

(II) Emphatic sentences

Generally speaking, emphasis is commonly used to describe words which are the focus of the speaker or author. In certain circumstances one may find it fairly easy to designate an element in the sentence as 'emphatic' or 'unemphatic'. The main criterion to describe a particular word as 'emphatic' is its context. The emphatic words occur in 'specific circumstances' only. We may say then that emphatic elements are context-sensitive. As far as the selected texts are concerned, the placement of finite verbs in the initial position of the sentence is found significantly more often than other words. Sommasarn and Thongphakdī (HCPTL 77-78) argue that the verb which is placed at the beginning of a sentence can be any tense, person and number. However, he does not give examples covering all of the contexts in which the fronted finite verb appears. In the texts under my scrutiny, most finite verbs are in the present tense. Only occasionally do verbs of other tenses occur. There is one instance, i.e. (71) below, where two subject complements are placed initially in the sentences, followed by their subjects and finite verbs.

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[198] The phrase *paraṃ maraṇā* occurs in the Pāli Canon numerous times. I have checked BCCD and found that mostly it occurs within the sentence: *puna ca paraṃ gahapatayo dussīlo sīlavipanno kāyassa bhedā paraṃ maraṇā apāyaṃ duggatiṃ vinipātaṃ nirayaṃ upapajjati* (Vin I 227-8). See also Vin III 5, 20; V 129, 132; DN III 32; Sn 122; MN II 149, 150, 228, etc. However, no matter where it occurs, the adverbial accusative *paraṃ* is placed in front of the abl. sing. *maraṇā*.

[199] In §2.3.3 of this chapter, I deal with certain phrase patternings, which I call 'idiomatic expressions', as they regularly occur in the same pattern.

Table 2.14 gives their contexts, after discarding repetitions.

Table 2.15 Finite verbs in emphatic sentences which are placed at the beginning of sentences

No.	Contexts
(58)	*n' atthi* ***c' etaṃ amhesu*** (BJS 3.5).
	'This is not found among us.'
(59)	*atthi* ***c' etaṃ amhesu*** (BJS 3.6).
	'This is found among us.'
(60)	*n' atthi* ***tatonidānaṃ pāpaṃ.*** *n' atthi* ***pāpassa āgamo*** (SPS 52.17 [three times]).
	'There is no evil as a result of that, no evil accrues.'
(61)	*n' atthi* ***mahārāja hetu,*** *n' atthi* ***paccayo sattānaṃ saṃkilesāya*** (SPS 53.20).
	'Your Majesty, there is neither a cause nor is there a condition for the defilement of beings.'
(62)	*n' atthi* ***hetu,*** *n' atthi* ***paccayo sattānaṃ visuddhiyā*** (SPS 52.17).
	'There is neither a cause nor is there a condition for the purification of beings.'
(63)	*n' atthi* ***attakāre,*** *n' atthi* ***parakāre,*** *n' atthi* ***purisakāre,*** *n' atthi* ***balaṃ,*** *n' atthi* ***viriyaṃ,*** *n' atthi* ***purisathāmo,*** *n' atthi* ***purisaparakkamo*** (SPS 53.20).
	'There is no self-agency or other agency, there is no agency in humans, no strength or force, no vigour or excertion.'
(64)	*h' evaṃ n' atthi* ***doṇamite sukhadukkhe pariyantakaṭe saṃsāre.*** *n' atthi* ***hāyanavaḍḍhane.*** *n' atthi* ***ukkaṃsāvakaṃse*** (SPS 54.20).
	'Thus there is no pleasure or pain that is measured by a measure in

the round of rebirth with a limit, nor is there increase or decrease, neither excellence nor inferiority.'

(65) *n' atthi mahārāja* ***dinnaṃ,*** *n' atthi* ***yiṭṭhaṃ,*** *n' atthi* ***hutaṃ,*** *n' atthi* ***suka- ṭadukkaṭānaṃ kammānaṃ phalaṃ vipāko****, n' atthi* ***ayaṃ loko****, n' atthi* ***paro loko****, n' atthi* ***mātā****, n' atthi* ***pitā****, n' atthi* ***sattā-opapātikā****, n' atthi samaṇabrāhmaṇā* ***sammaggatā sammāpaṭipannā*** (SPS 55.23).

'Your Majesty, there is nothing given. There is nothing sacrified. There is nothing oblated. There is no fruit or result of good or bad deeds. There is not this world or the next. There is no mother or father. There are no spontaneously arisen beings. In the world, there are no ascetics or brahmins who have attainments (and) who have practised perfectly.'

(66) *santi* ***bhikkhave khiḍḍāpadosikā nāma devā*** (BJS 19.7).

'Monks, there are gods called 'corrupted by pleasure'.

(67) *santi hi kho* ***pana samaṇabrāhmaṇā paṇḍitā nipuṇā katapara-ppavādā vālavedhirūpā*** *vobhindantā maññe caranti paññāgatena* ***diṭṭhigatāni*** (BJS 26.26).

'There are ascetics and Brahmins who are wise, skilful, practised debaters, like archers who can split hairs, who go around destroying others' views with their wisdom.'

(68) *āropito te* ***vādo*** (BJS 8.18; SPS 66.53).

'Your argument has been refuted.'

(69) *adhiccasamuppanno* ***attā ca loko ca*** (BJS 29.31-2).

	'The self and the world came into existence by chance.'
(70)	*agamā* ***kho tvaṃ mahārāja yathāpemaṃ*** (SPS 50.12).
	'Your Majesty, have you [in thought] gone according to your affections?'
(71)	*aggo 'ham asmi* ***lokassa****, jeṭṭho 'ham asmi* ***lokassa*** (BJSA 61).
	'I am the highest of the world. I am supreme in the world.'

The data shows that the fronting of finite verbs occurs in BJS and SPS more than in BJSA, where only one instance is found. More striking is that the contexts in which the fronted finite verbs are found are mainly taken from speech situations. The above data also shows that most verbs which are placed in the initial position of the sentence are derived from the verb 'to be'. It is evident that they are used semantically to confirm strongly that something does exist, has existed or does not exist during religious debates.

The data also indicates that the post-verbal words can be a single noun, i.e. the noun subject itself, a phrase or phrases. The verbs which are placed at the beginning of sentences themselves can be a single word, i.e. *atthi* in (59), *santi* in (66) and (67), *āropito* in (68), *adhiccasamuppanno* in (69), *agamā* in (70), or a predicative group, i.e. *n' atthi* in (58) and (60-65), *h' evaṃ n' atthi* in (64). There is one context in which the finite verb is placed in the middle of the sentence. Structurally, it is the same as in (58) and (71), in that the finite verb is placed before its noun subject, except for the fact that there are some other words placed before their verbs, for example *ahu*, which occurs three times:

Table 2.16 Context of a finite verb placed in the middle of a sentence

No.	Context
(72)	*atha kho rañño Māgadhassa Ajātasattussa Vedehiputtassa avidūre Ambavanassa ahud eva* ***bhayaṃ,*** *ahu* ***chambitattaṃ,*** *ahu* ***lomahaṃso*** (SPS 49.10). 'When King Ajātasattu came near the mango-grove, he felt fear and terror and horripilation [lit. his hair stood on end].'

This context shows that the placement of the finite verb *ahu* ('there was') in front of the three subjects in the nom. sing.: *bhayaṃ, chambhitattaṃ* and *lomahaṃso* is for emphasis. Yet since the sentence has other elements (i.e.: *atha kho rañño Māgadhassa Ajātasattussa Vedehiputtassa avidūre Ambavanassa*) which give more details about the agent, *ahu,* which is the finite verb, is embedded within the sentences instead.

(III) Command sentences

Contextually, the command sentence may express an instruction or an order, a suggestion or an admonition of an inferior by a superior. The verb form is usually the second person sing. and plural. I found only one context, which is repeated. Their context and meaning are the same:

Table 2.17 A finite verb in a command sentence placed at the beginning of the sentence

No.	Context
(72)	*cara* ***vādappamokkhāya*** (BJS 8.18; SPS 66.53). 'Proceed to clear up your argument.'

Here, the imperative verb *cara* in the 2nd person sing. is placed initially in the sentence; while the sing. dat. *vādappamokkhāya* is placed post-verbally. Note that the subject is implied in the finite verb.

(IV) Request sentence

Like Command Sentences, Request sentences use personal endings of the imperative. I found only two examples in SPS. Both are similar in terms of syntactical structure and contexts:

Table 2.18 Finite verbs in request sentences which are placed at the beginning of sentences

No.	Contexts
(74)	*etu* ***me bho puriso****, punad eva hotu* ***dāso kammakaro pubbuṭṭhāyī pacchānipātī kiṃkārapaṭissāvī manāpacārī*** (SPS 60.35). 'Sir, let my man come back. Let him once again be a slave who works for me, gets up earlier than me, goes to bed after me, is obedient and does what pleases me.'
(75)	*etu* ***me bho so puriso****, punad eva hotu* ***kassako gahapatiko kārakārako rāsivaḍḍhako*** (SPS 62.37). 'Sir, let my man come back. Let him once again be a farmer, who is a householder, who pays taxes, and who makes a heap [of wealth].'

The data shows that the finite verb *etu*, which appears at the beginning of the sentence, is inflected in the imperative, while *hotu* is in the 3rd person sing. As shown above, the Request sentence occurs four times in

(74) and (75). In (74), all the nouns as well as an indeclinable, i.e. *bho* are placed post-verbally. In (75) on the other hand, all elements which form an NP: *dāso kammakaro pubbuṭṭhāyī pacchānipātī kiṃkārapaṭissāvī manāpacārī pi* are placed post-verbally. Their contexts are slightly different: the verb *etu* in both contexts comes in isolation while the second imperative *hotu*, which is found twice, appears together with its modifier: *punad eva hotu.* This indicates that when a finite verb moves to the first position of the sentence, its modifier also goes along with it. Like a verbal modifier in a normal declarative sentence placed before its governing verb, here *punad eva* is placed before *hotu.*

Overall, we see that the sentences which place finite verbs in the initial position differ remarkably from normal declarative statements where every word is placed in their usual positions in terms of intonation. It is clear that such sentence structure, in most cases, occurs in speech situations, not descriptive ones. The distinction between the two patterns: (1) # **Subject** + **FV/FVP #**, or (2) # **FV/FVP** + **Subject #** is made on the basis of the determinateness of the subjects, that is the subject in (1) is very general, which occurs in a plain context while that in (2) is more determined or more specific. The examined data supports the claim made by Thai Pāli syntacticians that the fronted finite verbs occur in one of the six special sentence types. Of these six, four kinds of sentence, i.e. the interrogative or question sentences, emphatic sentences, command and request sentences are found in the selected texts. In other words, I claim that the final placement of substantial nouns in the final position is because the emphasis is placed on a finite verb or predicative group which is moved to the initial position of the sentence.

§ 2.2.2 The group of post-verbal words with finite verbs or predicates placed in penultimate positions,[200] i.e. before post-verbal nouns.

Now I shall proceed to discuss all the post-verbal words which are found in declarative statements in their usual positions and finite verbs not placed initially in the sentence. Here, finite verbs or predicates include subject complements where a copula is left out as understood (see particularly (78) below). Semantically, the post-verbal words which fall within this category are substantial. In general, they are placed before their governing nouns or verbs. However, the examined data gathered from the selected texts show that they move from the pre-verbal position to be post-verbal instead. Below I provide all the contexts where the phenomenon occurs, except those which are repeated, in which case I give only a typical example to represent the group, followed by my analysis.

(I) BJS

Table 2.19 Group of post-verbal substantial nouns in BJS

No.	Contexts
(76)	*te ca bhonto samaṇabrāhmaṇā kiṃ āgamma kiṃ ārabbha pubbanta-kappikā pubbantānudiṭṭhino pubbantaṃ ārabbha anekavihitāni adhi-vuttipadāni abhivadanti* ***aṭṭhādasahi vatthūhi*** (BJS 13.29). 'Monks, on what basis, on what grounds do some ascetics and brahmins, who are speculators about the past and have fixed views about the past, put forward various [speculative] theories about the

[200] Here, I regard a noun phrase as a single unit.

past in eighteen ways?'.

(77) *abrahmacariyaṃ pahāya brahmacārī samaṇo Gotamo ārācārī virato **methunā gāmadhammā*** (BJS 4.8).
'The ascetic Gotama, abandoning unchastity, lives far from it, aloof from the village-practice of sex.'

(78) *musāvādaṃ pahāya musāvādā paṭivirato samaṇo Gotamo saccavādī saccasandho theto paccayiko avisaṃvādako **lokassa*** (BJS 4.9).
'The ascetic Gotama, abandoning false speech, dwells refraining from it, being a truth-speaker, a reliable person, trustworthy, dependable, [and] not a deceiver of the [people in the] world.'

(79) *pisuṇavācaṃ pahāya pisuṇāya vācāya paṭivirato samaṇo Gotamo, ito sutvāna amutra akkhātā* [hoti] ***imesaṃ bhedāya**, amutra vā sutvā na imesaṃ akkhātā* [hoti] ***amūsaṃ bhedāya*** (BJS 4.9).
'Having abandoned malicious speech, the ascetic Gotama refrains from malicious speech; he does not tell over there what he heard here to the detriment of these people nor does he tell here what he heard over there to the detriment of those people.'

(80) *yato kho bho ayaṃ attā* [...] *na hoti **param maraṇā*** (BJS 34.10, 34.11-2, 35. 13, 35.14, 35.15, 35.16).
'Sir, since the self [...] does not exist after death.'

(81) *kāmā hi bho aniccā dukkhā vipariṇāmadhammā, tesaṃ vipariṇāmaññathābhāvā uppajjanti **sokaparidevadukkhadomanassupāyāsā*** (BJS 36.21).
'Sir, because sense-desires are impermanent, painful and subject to

change, and from their change and transformation there arise sorrow, lamentation, pain, grief and distress.'

(82) *kāyassa bhedā uddhaṃ jīvitapariyādānā na dakkhinti* ***devamanussā*** (BJS 46.73).

'But at the breaking up of the body and after the exhaustion of his life-span, gods and humans will see him no more.'

The contexts which are similar to (76) occur in BJS a number of times. All the contexts where these post-verbal words occur are given in Table 2.20 below.

Table 2.20 Frequency of post-verbal substantial nouns in BJS

Case Forms	Frequency	Contexts
dvīhi vatthūhi	6	BJS 28.30 [twice], 29.33, 40.36, 42.49, 43. 62.
catuhi vatthūhi	22	BJS 13.30 (twice), 16.34-5, 17.(2).1, 20. 14, 22.16, 24.21 (twice), 24.23, 39.32, 40.33, 40.35, 42.45, 42.46, 42.47, 42.48, 43.58, 43.59, 43.60, 43.61, 44. 100.
pañcahi vatthūhi	6	BJS 36.19 [twice], 38.25, 41.42, 52.55, 44. 68.
sattahi vatthūhi	6	BJS 34.9 [twice], 36.17, 41.41, 42.54, 44.67.
aṭṭhahi vatthūhi	11	BJS 32.3.1[twice], 33.5 [twice], 41.39, 41. 40, 42. 52, 42.52, 43.63, 44.65, 44.

		66.
Soḷasahi vatthūhi	2	BJS 42.51, 44.64.
catucattārīsāya vatthūhi	5	BJS 30.27 [twice], 38.27, 41.43, 43.56, 44.69.
aṭṭhādasahi (or aṭṭhārasahi) vatthūhi	3	BJS 13.29, 30.35, 40.37.
soḷasahi vatthūhi	5	BJS 31.38 [3 times], 40.38, 42.50.
dvāsaṭṭhiyā vatthūhi	5	BJS 39.29, 41.44, 43.57, 44.70, 45.71.

(II) SPS

As in BJS, some post-verbal words in SPS occur several times. It is noteworthy that these words themselves are from all the case forms. I provide below all the contexts in SPS.

Table 2.21 post-verbal substantial nouns in SPS

No.	Contexts
(83)	*atha kho rājā Māgadho Ajātasattu Vedehiputto pañcasu hatthinikāsatesu paccekā itthiyo āropetvā ārohaṇīyaṃ nāgaṃ abhirūhitvā, ukkāsu dhāriyamānāsu Rājagahamhā niyyāsi* ***mahaccarājānubhāvena*** (SPS 49.9). 'Having placed each of his wives on one of the five hundred cow-elephants, King Ajātasattu of Magadha, the son of Vedehi, mounted the royal tusker and proceeded from Rājagaha in royal state, accompanied by torch-bearers.'
(84)	*eso mahārāja Bhagavā majjhimaṃ thambhaṃ nissāya puratthābhimukho nisinno* ***purakkhato bhikkhusaṃghassa*** (SPS 50.11).

'Your Majesty, that is the lord sitting against the middle column, facing east, with his order of monks in front of him.'

(85) *sace me Bhagavā okāsaṃ karoti* ***pañhassa veyyākaraṇāya*** [...] (SPS 51.13).

'If the Blessed One grants me the opportunity to give the detailed explanations [of my question [...].'

(86) *karoto kho mahārāja kārayato chindato chedāpayato pacato pācayato socayato* [...] *paradāraṃ gacchato musā bhaṇato, karoto na karīyati* ***pāpaṃ*** (SPS 52.17).

'No evil is done by one who is the doer or instigator of an act, by one who cuts or causes to be cut, by one who burns or causes to be burnt, by one who causes grief [...], commits adultery and tells lies.'

(87) *bāle ca paṇḍite ca kāyassa bhedā ucchijjanti vinassanti. na honti* ***paraṃ maraṇā*** (SPS 55.23).

'Both the fool and the wise man, at the breaking up of the body, are destroyed and perish. They do not exist after death.'

(88) *te na iñjanti na vipariṇamanti na aññamaññaṃ vyābādhenti nālaṃ* ***aññamaññassa sukhāya vā dukkhāya vā sukhadukkhāya vā*** (SPS 56.26 [twice]).

'They do not shake, do not change, obstruct one another, nor are they able to cause one another pleasure, pain or both.'

(89) [...] *aṇumattesu vajjesu bhayadassāvī samādāya sikkhati* ***sikkhāpadesu*** (SPS 63.42).

'Seeing dangers in the slightest faults, he undertakes and observes the commitments.'

(90) *idha mahārāja bhikkhu santuṭṭho hoti* ***kāyaparihārikena cīvarena kucchi-parihārikena piṇḍapātena*** (SPS 71.66 [twice]).

'Your Majesty, a monk in this [*dharma* and *vinaya*] is satisfied with a robe to protect his body and with alms [lit. almsround] to satisfy his stomach.'

(91) *so tatonidānaṃ labhetha pāmujjaṃ adhigacche* ***somanassaṃ*** (SPS 72.69 [five times]).

'He would rejoice and be glad because of that.'

(92) *seyyathā pi mahārāja puriso ābādhiko assa dukkhito bāḷhagilāno bhattañ c' assa nacchādeyya,* [...] *na ca me āsi kāye* ***balamattā*** [...] *ti* (SPS 72.70 [twice]).

'Your Majesty, just as a man who was ill, suffering, terribly sick, with no appetite and weak in the body might say, "There has been no energy in my body any more [I have no energy!] [...]."'

(93) [...] *cakkhumā puriso tīre ṭhito passeyya* ***sippisambukam pi sakkharakaṭhalam pi maccha gumbam pi carantam pi tiṭṭhantam pi*** (SPS 84.98).

'A man with good eyesight standing on the bank could see oyster-shells, gravel-banks, and shoals of fish, on the move or stationary.'

(94) *tassa me bhante Bhagavā accayaṃ accayato patigaṇhātu* ***āyatiṃ saṃvarāya*** (SPS 85.99).

'May the Blessed One accept my confession of my evil deed that I may refrain in future.'

(95) *idam pi 'ssa hoti* ***sīlasmiṃ*** (SPS 63.43 [eight times], 65.46, 65.47,

	62.48, 65.49, 65.50, 66.51-53, 67.54-57, 68.58-9, 69.60-62). 'Thus he is accomplished in morality.'
(96)	*seyyathā pi mahārāja puriso addhānamaggapaṭipanno so suṇeyya* ***bherisaddam pi mudiṅgasaddam pi saṅkhapaṇavadeṇḍimasaddam pi*** [...] (SPS 79.90). 'Just as a man who is travelling on a long journey might hear a sound of a drum, a smaller drum, a conch, cymbals or a kettle drum, so [...].'

(III) BJSA

BJSA has seven contexts where post-verbal words occur. Of all the case forms, the instrumental is predominant. Below in Table 2.22 are all the post-verbal nouns in BJSA.

Table 2.22 Post-verbal substantial nouns in BJSA

No.	Contexts
(97)	*evan ti vacanena yonisomanasikāraṃ dīpeti* ***ayonisomanasikaroto nānappakārapaṭivedhābhāvato*** (BJSA 29). 'With the word *evaṃ* ('thus') he explains the word *yonisomanasikāra* ('proper attention') because the person without it cannot attain insight in its various forms.'
(98)	*sutan ti vacanena avikkhepaṃ dīpeti* ***vikkhittacittassa savaṇābhāvato*** (BJSA 29). 'With the word *sutaṃ* ('heard'), he explains the word 'non-disturbance', because the person whose mind is disturbed cannot hear [the Buddha's teaching].'

(99) *yoniso manasikārena c' ettha attasammāpaṇidhiṃ pubbe ca kata-puññataṃ sādheti,* ***sammā appaṇihitattassa pubbe akaṭapuñña-ssa vā tadabhāvato*** [...] (BJSA 30).

'In those contexts, through proper attention, he accomplishes 'the development of one's personality' *(attasammāpaṇidhiṃ*) and 'the previous accumulation of merit' (*pubbekata– puññatā*), because the person who has not developed their personality and accumulated merit cannot have proper attention

(100) *tattha kiñcāpi etesu saṃvaccharādisu samayesu yaṃ yaṃ suttaṃ yamhi yamhi saṃvacchare utumhi māse pakkhe rattibhāge divasabāge vā vuttaṃ, sabban taṃ therassa suviditaṃ suvavatthāpitaṃ* ***paññāya*** (BJSA 32).

'Regarding the word ['at one time'], every discourse that was spoken in every period of time such as years and so on, whatever year, season, month, fortnight, night or day, was known very well, i.e. was well fixed by the elder with wisdom.'

(101) *so hi bhikkhusaṃgho guṇehi mahā ahosi* ***appicchatādiguṇasatasa-mannāgatattā****, saṃkhāya pi mahā pañcasatasaṃkhātattā* (BJSA 35).

'Verily, the Order of Monks was great by its virtues, because it was endowed with a hundred virtues such as contentment, and it was also great by number because it consisted of some five hundred monks.'

(102) *tañ c' assa gamanaṃ tathaṃ ahosi* ***avitathaṃ anekesaṃ visesādhi-***

gamānaṃ[201] ***pubbanimittabhāvena*** (BJSA 61 [twice]).

'And the going of the Blessed One has been truthful, i.e. not changeable, because it has the attainment of numerous distinctions as its previous sign.'

(103) *upari bhavaggaṃ heṭṭhā avīciṃ pariyantaṃ katvā tiriyaṃ aparimāṇāsu lokadhātusu sabbasatte abhibhavati* ***sīlena pi samādhinā pi paññāya pi vimuttiyā pi*** (BJSA 67).

'The Blessed One excels above all beings up to the highest (Bhavagga) realm of existence, down to the Avīci Hell and across all the immeasurable worlds of existence in morality, meditation, wisdom and deliverance.'

The regular appearance of these post-verbal words, which appear in almost all the case forms clearly indicate that the post-verbal placement of these substantial nouns is a common stylistic feature used by authors during the canonical and commentarial periods. Unfortunately, Thai Pāli syntacticians have not explained this post-verbal placement. However, a number of modern scholars such as L. Bloomfield,[202] J. Gonda[203] and Indira Y. Junghare[204] have made attempts to investigate the causes behind this phenomenon in Indic and offered different interpretations of it. In particular,

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[201] I follow the Thai reading *-gamānaṃ,* as it makes more sense than the PTS reading *-gamanaṃ*.

[202] Bloomfield (1913/13: 164ff.).

[203] Gonda (1971: 148-9) and (1939: 123-143).

[204] Andersen (1980b).

Post-verbal Words in Sentences

Bloomfield[205] divides post-verbal words in early Vedic into two types: 'light' which refers to all enclitics and the like, and 'substantial'. According to Bloomfield, substantial words are placed at the end of the sentence for emphasis. As for light words, he points out that the sentence structure in which they appear does not change as much: the main verbs still remain in the penultimate position of sentences; some are arranged as such because of metrical requirements, while others are merely extras adding little meaning to the sentences. If post-verbal words come in a group, he proposes that: 'They betoken the greater haste from the noun to the verb, deferring something that is not essential to a time after the completion of the sentence [...] the larger the number of epexegetical words, the less marked is each one of them individually and the less marked are all of them collectively.'[206] The examples he gives cover the nominative, instrumental, dative and locative.

Following Bloomfied, Gonda distinguishes between words which are and are not emphasized: 'With the exception of some indeclinables and enclitic pronouns monosyllables are at the end of a verse or sentence usually avoided unless they are given this position for reasons of emphasis.'[207] He further explains: 'Many subtypes may be considered to be inherited from prehistoric or even 'common Indo-European' usage, even in those cases in which no parallels from other languages have been mentioned.'[208] Gonda's

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205 Bloomfield (1912/13: 164ff.).

206 Bloomfield (1912/13: 172).

207 Gonda (1971: 149) and (1939: 123-143).

208 Gonda (1959: 68).

opinion that 'all the words following the verb may be left out without mutilating the sentence' [209] concords well with my observations that the post-verbal *sarūpavisesana* nouns merely enhance the meaning of a main noun which is already given.

On the other hand, Junghare, who studies modern Indic, explains that a noun phrase after a verb has a definite meaning. She says: 'The reason that unmarked NP's in sentence initial and post-verbal positions are interpreted as definite is due to the fact that they serve as topics in sentence initial pattern, and 'reactivated' or 'reinforced' topics in post-verbal position.' [210] This explanation apparently does not cover the 'light words' referred to by Bloomfield. Prior to her work, Keenan and Schieffelin established that 'topics' are definite. [211] If we consider these explanations, we can see that there can be a variety of post-verbal words in sentences, each of which is possibly placed as such for different reasons.

The assembled data from the selected texts mentioned above shows that post-verbal nouns are formed in almost all case forms. It also shows that (i) the post-verbal placement of these nouns occurs in normal declarative statements, under which circumstances all the subjects are placed in their usual positions, i.e. at the beginning of the sentences, (ii) their contexts differ from those of six special sentences in which a particular word is placed at the

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209 Gonda (1959a: 7).

210 Junghare (1987: 244).

211 Keenan and Schieffelin (1976).

beginning of a sentence, as I have discussed, (iii) post-verbal nouns are all substantial, (iv) if they are not substantial words, they are idiomatic expressions.

Based on their distinctive contexts in the selected texts, I propose three different interpretations. First, that post-verbal placement is due to the commentalisation of a particular word. Second, that it is a stylistic feature or an idiomatic expression employed by the author(s) of the texts. Third, it is a stereotyped expression commonly used among many authors of early Pāli texts.

§ 2.2.2.1 Commentalisation

As said in Chapter One,[212] 'commentalisation' is a phenomenon in which a particular word, which is the focus of the author's or speaker's emotions, is simply moved to the end of a sentence. As a matter of fact, it is an alternative term used to refer to emphasis placed on a word placed at the end of a sentence. It is the opposite to 'topicalisation',[213] in which a topic is placed in the initial position of a sentence. Andersen,[214] who examined the Aßokan Inscriptions, has explained that there are three functions related to commentalisation: (i) marking for indefiniteness, (ii) expression of emphasis, and (iii) connections of sentences with their textual and situational environment. While it is true that Andersen has proposed some interesting hypotheses, I interpret some contexts of commentalised words differently

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212 See the notions of topic and comment in Chapter One, § 3.

213 See KCLL 316.

214 Andersen (1982: 41)

from him.[215] The evidence from the selected texts show that substantial nouns can be commentalised for different reasons. All the commentalised nouns or substantives, which constitute what I designate as 'commentalisation' in the selected texts, can be broadly divided into five different kinds. This division is based entirely on semantic-pragmatic categorisation.

First, the group of words is the 'focus' of attention. Each word is the main word of a sentence around which the rest of the sentence pivots. The word itself is 'the topic' which is being either defined or explained or talked about. It can be a specified object which is brought into focus. Their post-verbal placement means that they are core elements or important information of that sentence. Table 2.23 below gives all five contexts in which the main nouns of this type are commentalised.

Table 2.23 Commentalised nouns

No.	Contexts
(104)	[...] *cakkhumā puriso tīre ṭhito passeyya* ***sippisambukam pi***

[215] See Andersen (1980b: 23). I agree with Andersen's division of post-verbal words into three main groups, but would replace the first one with the concept of *sarūpavisesa*. Andersen gives an example of indefiniteness from Aśokan: *jane ucāvucaṃ maṃgalaṃ kaleti: ābādhasi āvāhasi* [...] (IX B) ('People practise various ceremonies: in (event) of an illness, at a marriage of a son [...]'). He interprets that the phrase *ābādhasi āvāhasi* marks indefiniteness of the main noun *ucāvucaṃ maṃgalaṃ*. I interpret the phrase *ābādhasi āvāhasi* as a group of non-restrictive appositional nouns *(sarūpavisesana)*, which provides an additional explanation of the main noun.

sakkharakaṭhalam pi macchagumbam pi carantam pi tiṭṭhantam pi (SPS 84.98).

'A man with good eyesight standing on the bank could see oyster-shells, gravel-banks, and shoals of fish on the move or stationary.'

(105) *seyyathā pi mahārāja puriso addhānamaggapaṭipanno so suṇeyya* ***bherisaddam pi mudiṅgasaddam pi saṅkhapaṇavadeṇḍima am pi***[...] (SPS 79.90).

'Your Majesty, just as a man who is travelling on a long journey might hear a sound of a drum, a smaller drum, a conch, cymbals or a kettle drum, so [...]'.

(106) *idha, mahārāja, bhikkhu santuṭṭho hoti* ***kāyaparihārikena cīvarena kucchiparihārikena piṇḍapātena*** (SPS 71.66 [twice]).

'Your Majesty, a monk in this [*dharma* and *vinaya*] is satisfied with a robe to protect his body and with alms to satisfy his stomach.'

(107) *idam pi 'ssa hoti* ***sīlasmiṃ*** (SPS 63.43 [eight times], 65.46, 65.47, 62.48, 65. 49, 65.50, 66.51-53, 67.54-57, 68.58-9, 69.60-62).

'Thus he is accomplished in morality.'

(108) [...] *aṇumattesu vajjesu bhayadassāvī samādāya sikkhati* ***sikkhāpadesu*** (SPS 63.42).

'Seeing dangers in the slightest faults, he undertakes and observes the commitments [i.e. rules].'

All the post-verbal words in the above contexts are emphasised. Examples (104) and (105) are similar. The group of words in the accu. sing. in (104) (*sippisambukam pi sakkharakaṭhalam pi macchagumbam pi carantam pi*

tiṭṭhantam pi are the objects which a man standing on the bank of a river can see, while the group of accusatives in (106) (*bherisaddam pi mudiṅgasaddam pi saṅkhapaṇavadeṇḍimasaddam pi* [...]) includes the sounds which a man travelling a long road can hear. In the same way, the instru. nouns: *kāyaparihārikena cīvarena kucchiparihārikena piṇḍapātena* describe those things with which a Buddhist monk is to be content. The objects to be content with are many but here only a robe and alms are emphasised. The two post-verbal words: *sīlasmiṃ* in (107) and *sikkhāpadesu* in (108) occur in a very similar context. While *sīlasmiṃ* is the topic which is being explained, the word *sikkhāpadesu* is highlighted, because it is the main issue which is being discussed, as it is the code of disciplines that a Buddhist monk is committed to studying. Hence, their final placement.

Second, some commentalised words seem to answer a specific question of either 'how many', or 'on what grounds', or 'on what reasons'. They may or may not be provided with details or have connections with the following sentences.

Table 2.24 Other Commentalised words which may or may not be connected with the following sentence

No.	Contexts
(109)	*te ca bhonto samaṇabrāhmaṇā kiṃ āgamma kiṃ ārabbha pubbanta-kappikā pubbantānudiṭṭhino pubbantaṃ ārabbha anekavihitāni adhivuttipadāni abhivadanti* ***aṭṭhādasahi vatthūhi*** (BJS 13.29). 'Monks, on what basis, on what grounds do some ascetics and brahmins, who are speculators about the past and have fixed views

about the past, put forward various [speculative] theories about the past in eighteen ways?'

There are many contexts which are similar to (109). Details of them are given in Table 2.15 and one of their examples is (76) as given above. All of their contexts, seventy-two altogether, occur in BJS. In (109) above, the plural instru. phrase: *atthādasahi vatthūhi* is commentalised, as these are the main grounds on which arguments of many ascetics and brahmins are based. Third, the words express the essential means of achieving a certain goal. The placement of instrumentals which express 'means' in the final position is the stylistic feature brought into prominence by BJSA as two examples which are found occur in the commentary. Because the means is very important, it is commentalised to bring it into prominence. This feature is not found in BJS and SPS, but occurs twice in BJSA. All of them are given in Table 2.25.

Table 2.25 Post-verbal nouns which are means of actions

No.	Contexts
(110)	*upari bhavaggaṃ heṭṭhā avīciṃ pariyantaṃ katvā tiriyaṃ aparimāṇāsu lokadhātusu sabbasatte abhibhavati* ***sīlenā pi samādhinā pi paññāya pi vimuttiyā pi*** (BJSA 67). 'The Blessed One excells all beings up to the highest (Bhavagga) realm of existence, down to the Avīci Hell, and across all the immeasurable worlds of existence in morality, meditation, wisdom, and deliverance.'
(111)	*tattha kiñcāpi etesu saṃvaccharādisu samayesu yaṃ yaṃ suttaṃ yamhi*

yamhi saṃvacchare utumhi māse pakkhe rattibhāge divasabāge vā vuttaṃ, sabban taṃ therassa suviditaṃ suvavatthāpitaṃ ***paññāya*** (BJSA 32). 'Regarding the word ['at one time'], every discourse that was spoken in every period of time such as years and so on, whatever year, season, month, forth- night, night or day was known very well, i.e. was well fixed by the elder with wisdom.'

All the above post-verbal words are emphasised with the same reason. The sing. instrumental phrase: *sīlenā pi samādhinā pi paññāya pi vimuttiyā pi* in (110), describes the virtues by which the Blessed One excels all other beings. On the other hand, the word *paññāya* in (111) is the means or quality by which Ven. Ānanda could memorise the Buddha's teaching. Third, they are the words used to express reasons, causes, or accompaniments from which other things come about. In other words, the post-verbal words are used to explain why something takes place, or a particular word, etc. is used. This phenomenon is found five times in BJSA, but is totally absent in BJS and SPS. Below are their contexts in the commentarial text.

Table 2.26 Post-verbal nouns which express 'causes'

No.	Contexts
(112)	*evan ti vacanena yonisomanasikāraṃ dīpeti* ***ayonisomanasikaroto nānappakārapaṭivedhābhāvato*** (BJSA 29). 'With the word *evaṃ* ('thus') he explains the word *yonisomanasikāra* ('proper attention') because the person without it cannot

attain insight in its various forms.'

(113) <u>sutan</u> *ti vacanena avikkhepaṃ dīpeti* ***vikkhittacittassa savaṇābhāvato*** (BJSA 29).

'With the word *sutaṃ* ('heard'), he explains the word 'non-disturbance', because the person whose mind is disturbed cannot hear [the Buddha's teaching].'

(114) *yoniso manasikārena c' ettha attasammāpaṇidhiṃ pubbe ca kata-puññataṃ sādheti,* ***sammā appaṇihitattassa pubbe akaṭapuññassa vā tadabhāvato*** [...] (BJSA 30).

'In those contexts, through proper attention, he accomplishes 'the development of one's personality' *(attasammāpaṇidhiṃ*) and 'the previous accumulation of merit' (*pubbe kata– puññatā*), because the person who has not developed their personality and accumulated merit in the past cannot have proper attention [...]'.

(115) *tañ c' assa gamanaṃ tathaṃ ahosi* ***avitathaṃ anekesaṃ visesā-dhigamānaṃ***[216] ***pubbanimittabhāvena*** (BJSA 61 [twice]).

'And the going of the Blessed One has been truthful, i.e. not changeable, because it has the attainment of numerous distinctions as its previous sign.'

(116) *so hi bhikkhusaṃgho guṇehi mahā ahosi* ***appicchatādiguṇasata-samannāgatattā****, saṃkhāya pi mahā* ***pañcasatasaṃkhātattā*** (BJSA 35).

'Verily, the Order of Monks was great by its virtues, because they

[216] See fn. 21.

are endowed with a hundred virtues such as contentment, and it was also great by number because they consisted of some five hundred monks.'

In the above contexts, all the post-verbal words explain why a particular word or words are used. Contextually, they are similar. The instrumental phrases: *ayonisomanasikaroto nānappakārapaṭivedhābhāvato* in (112) and *vikkhittacittassa savanābhāvato* in (113) explain why the words *evaṃ* and *sutaṃ* are used to open every discourse passed on by Ānanda. In the same way, the other three phrases of sing. instrumentals: *sammā appaṇihitattassa pubbe akaṭapuññassa vā tadabhāvato* in (114), *anekesaṃ visesādhigamānaṃ pubbanimittabhāvena* in (115), *appicchatādiguṇasatasamannāgatattā, saṃkhāya pi mahāpañcasatasaṃkhātattā* in (116) and *pañcasatasaṃkhātattā* in (116) explain how Ānanda accomplished the development of his personality and accumulated merits with proper attention, why the going of the Buddha is unique, and why the Order of Buddhist monks is regarded as 'great' respectively. Fourth, they are used to denote or express the goals or aims for which the main action (the finite verb) is undertaken. This feature is found mainly in BJS and SPS, but is totally absent in BJSA. Below are all of the contexts in which it is found.

Table 2.27 Post-verbal goals of actions

No.	Contexts
(117)	*pisuṇavācaṃ pahāya pisuṇāya vācāya paṭivirato samaṇo Gotamo, ito sutvāna amutra akkhātā* ***imesaṃ bhedāya****, amutra vā sutvā na imesaṃ akkhātā* ***amūsaṃ bhedāya*** (BJS 4.9).

'Having abandoned malicious speech, the ascetic Gotama refrains from malicious speech; he does not tell over there what he heard here to the detriment of these people nor does he tell here what he heard over there to the detriment of those people.'

(119) *sace me Bhagavā okāsaṃ karoti* ***pañhassa veyyākaraṇāya*** (SPS 51.13).
'If the Blessed One grants me the opportunity to explain my question.'

(120) *tassa me bhante Bhagavā accayaṃ accayato paṭigaṇhātu* ***āyatiṃ saṃvarāya*** (SPS 85.99).
'May the Blessed One accept my confession of my evil deed that I may refrain in future.'

(121) *te na iñjanti na vipariṇamanti na aññamaññaṃ vyābādhenti nālaṃ* ***aññamaññassa sukhāya vā dukkhāya vā sukhadukkhāya vā*** (SPS 56. 26 [twice]).
'They do not shake, do not change, obstruct one another, nor are they able to cause one another pleasure, pain or both.'

The post-verbal words in the sing. dat. phrases: *imesaṃ bhedāya*, *amūsaṃ bhedāya* in (117), *pañhassa veyyākaraṇāya* in (118), *āyatiṃ saṃvarāya* ('[lit.] to refrain in future') (in 119), and *aññassa sukhāya vā dukkhāya vā sukhadukkhāya vā* in (120), are all the aims for which their finite verbs or main actions are undertaken. Because all of them are the causes of all the actions, it is highly possible that the author(s) placed them as such because he (they) deliberately brought them into prominence. They may be less stylistically pleasing if they are placed pre-verbally, which is their usual position.

§ 2.2.2.2 Stylistic features of author(s)

As I have already explained in Chapter One,[217] 'style' may be broadly divided into two categories: first, a 'normative style' based on the usual order which can be expected in all declarative statements, and second an 'authorial style' found in certain texts. However, certain stylistic features which differ from a normative style may be shared by many authors. In Table 2.28 below are the post-verbal words which I attribute to authorial styles.

Table 2.28 Placement of post-verbal words due to authorial styles

No.	Contexts
(121)	*abrahmacariyaṃ pahāya brahmacārī samaṇo Gotamo ārācārī virato* ***methunā gāmadhammā*** (BJS 4.8). 'The ascetic Gotama, abandoning unchastity, lives far from it, aloof from the village-practice of sex.'
(122)	*musāvādaṃ pahāya musāvādā paṭivirato samaṇo Gotamo saccavādī saccasandho theto paccayiko avisaṃvādako* ***lokassa*** (BJS 4.9). 'The ascetic Gotama, abandoning false speech, dwells refraining from it, being a truth-speaker, a reliable person, trustworthy, dependable [and] not a deceiver of the world.'

The above post-verbal words: the abl. sing. *methunā gāmadhammā* in (121) and the gen. & dat. sing. *lokassa* in (122), occur in a similar context. Both phrases, in fact, are governed by *virato* and *avisaṃvādako* respectively.

[217] See a section on 'Unmarked Word Order and Styles' in Chapter One, § 1.5.

The normal placement of ablatives and genitives, as I have already explained in the introduction to this thesis,[218] is before governing words. However, in the above contexts they are placed after them. If we scrutinise the contexts closely, we see that the words which stand parallel to *virato* and *avisaṃvādako* are single subjective complements without other words in between, modifying and preceding them. The author(s) of BJS, then, may want the modifiers of the last subject complement to be placed after governing words, or he may not want other words to be inserted between the subject complements which have an equal status. No matter what the cause may be, it is the deliberate intention of the author(s) of the text to place the ablative and genitive in a way which contradicts the normative style. Included in this authoric style are also the nominative cases, three of which occur in BJS and two in SPS. In a standard declarative statement, it is rare to see the nominative case placed post-verbally. Partly, this may be because the initial position, where the noun subject in the nominative case is usually placed, is also the place for emphasis. See an example in table below:

Table 2.29 Placement of a Noun Subject at the End of a Sentence

No.	Context
(123)	*iti vā iti evarūpāya tiracchānakathāya paṭivirato* ***samaṇo Gotamo*** (BJS 8.17). 'Thus, the ascetic Gotama refrains from such unedifying conversation.'

[218] See Chapter One, § 1.4.2.5.

As the text shows, the sing. nom. *samaṇo Gotamo* ('ascetic Gotama') ends the sentence. This placement differs from the conventional one, and as such needs to be explained. Statistically, sentences with a similar patterning occur in BJS forty-three times i.e., 5.10 (eighteen times), 5.11 (eight times), 6.12, 6.13, 7.14, 7.15, 7.16, 8.17, 8.17, 8.18, 8.19, 8.20, 9.21, 9.22, 10.23, 11.24, 11.25, 11.26 and 12.27. The common pattern can be stated as:

 # nouns (abl.) + *paṭivirato* + *samaṇo Gotamo #*
abl (from) + refrains + ascetic Gotama

Contextually, all the above sentences sum up explanations of improper behaviour, such as involvement in unedifying conversation and behaviour performed by other ascetics and brahmins. These kinds of behaviour are not practised by Gotama. In all these contexts, the noun phrase: *samaṇo Gotamo* is placed at the end of the sentence. Semantically, all the words placed before *samaṇo Gotamo* are a summary of previous passages, marked by the deictic adverb *iti*. It is noteworthy that the same issue is also discussed again in SPS, between 63.43 and 69.63. Here, however the Buddha emphasises that the improper behaviour which is practised by other religious ascetics is not practised by his disciples. In marked contrast to the similar context in BJS, the author of SPS ends all the sentences with the copula *hoti* instead of *samaṇo Gotamo*. Their sentence patterning can be set up as follows:

 # [bhikkhu] + nouns (abl.) + *paṭivirato hoti #*
[a monk] + abl. (from) + has abandoned

Since the counterpart sentences in SPS occur in a similar context with a similar patterning, I provide only two typical examples in the following table for comparison:

Table 2.30 Contexts of two similar sentences

No.	Contexts
(124)	*pisuṇāvācaṃ pahāya pisuṇāya vācāya* ***paṭivirato hoti*** (SPS 63.44). 'A monk has abandoned harsh speech and refrains from such speech.'
(125)	*iti evarūpā bījagāmabhūtagāmasamārambhā* ***paṭivirato hoti*** (SPS 64-5.46). 'Thus, a monk has refrained from such damaging of seeds and plants.'

The sentence which ends with the predicate phrase: *paṭivirato hoti* ('has abandoned') occurs thirty-six times in SPS (i.e. 63.44, 64.44, 64.45 [seventeen times], 64-5.46, 65.47, 65.48, 65.49, 65.50, 66.51, 66.52, 66.53, 67.54, 67.55, 67.56, 67.57, 68.58, 68.59, 69.60, 69.61, 69.62). The data tells us that, in spite of the fact that the above two sentences in (124) and (125) are similar in content to (123), the arrangement of the words in (124) and (125) strictly follows the usual or standard pattern. In other words, the passages in (123), (124) and (125) are remarkadly similar in terms of context. The only crucial difference lies in the fact that the context of (123) has the visible nominal phrase: *samaṇo Gotamo* which functions as the subject of the sentence while in the contexts of (124) and (125) the subjects are similarly left out as understood. However, in marked contrast to (123), both possess

the verbal phrase: *paṭivirato hoti* instead. One may argue that the placement of: *samaṇo Gotamo* at the end of the sentence, when the combined particiles: *iti vā iti* are present in (123), may determine the final placement of its subject. This may or may not be true because we also have another sentence: *iti vā hi bhikkhave puthujjano Tathāgatassa vaṇṇaṃ vadamāno vadeyya* (BJS 8.17), which follows the context of (123) in BJS. Here, the subject is placed after the combined particles and the vocative *bhikkhave.*

Nevertheless, the distinctive differences in terms of placement of the texts with a similar content is a feature which is beyond purely grammatical explanation. A style is the way something is expressed such as preferred sentence length, and the words preferred to use. Since the post-verbal placement of *samaṇo Gotamo* in (123) is not usually found in a normal declarative statement, and since the absence or the full presence of subjects and finite verbs in particular sentences are entirely preferred by individual authors, it is suggested that its post-verbal placement is due to authorial style, which explains why texts which are identical in structure and content may still have different word orders. It is also clear that the preferences of the authors (or speakers) of the two texts are consistent as they choose a particular arrangement throughout their texts.

The remaining four pieces of evidence are similar in structure, although there are no analogous passages either in BJS or in SPS to use for comparison. Below are all of the contexts.

Table 2.31 Placement of the post-verbal noun subjects due to authorial styles

No.	Contexts
(126)	*kāmā hi bho aniccā dukkhā vipariṇāmadhammā, tesaṃ vipariṇāma-ññathābhāvā uppajjanti* ***sokaparidevadukkhadomanassupāyāsā*** (BJS 36.21). 'Sir, sense-desires are impermanent, painful and subject to change, and from their change and transformation there arise sorrow, lamentation, pain, grief and distress.'
(127)	*yāv' assa kāyo ṭhassati tāva naṃ dakkhinti* ***devamanussā.*** *kāyassa bhedā uddhaṃ jīvitapariyādānā na dakkhinti* ***devamanussā*** (BJS 46.73). 'As long as his body subsists, gods and humans will see him. But after the breaking up of the body and the exhaustion of his life-span, gods and humans will see him no more.'
(128)	*karoto kho, mahārāja, kārayato chindato chedāpayato pacato pācayato socayato* [...] *paradāraṃ gacchato musā bhaṇato, karoto na karīyati* ***pāpaṃ*** (SPS 52.17). 'No evil is done by one who is the 'doer' or instigator of an act, by one who cuts or causes to be cut, by one who burns or causes to be burnt, by one who causes grief or causes to cause it [...] commits adultery and tells lies.'
(129)	*ahaṃ kho pubbe ahosiṃ ābādhiko dukkhito bāḷhagilāno bhattañ ca me nacchādesi, na ca me āsi* ***kāye balamattā*** [...] *ti* (SPS 72.70). 'Before I was ill, suffering, terribly sick, with no appetite and weak in the body: there was no energy in me any more [...]'.

The above evidence shows that all the post-verbal nom. noun subjects in bold type are moved from their usual position at the initial position of the sentence to the end of the sentence. Here, contextually, the long subject in the nom. plural: *sokaparidevadukkhadomanassupāyāsā* in (126) is placed post-verbally, while the other elements: *tesaṃ vipariṇāmaññathābhāva uppajjanti* just express the changeable conditions of sense-desire in the previous sentence with the plural gen. *tesaṃ* standing between the previous sentence and the following one. The author(s) move the long noun subject to be placed post-verbally instead. In (127), the author moves the noun subject in the plural nom.: *devamanussā,* which occurs twice at the end of the sentence, preferring to place the other elements in the initial position instead. After placing the first noun subject at the end of the first sentence he does the same to the second noun subject.

In (128), the text shows that there are lots of 'doers' or agents in the genitive case. In total, there are eighteen types of doers of sinful actions said to be sinless. The author places all those doers before the finite verb *karīyati* and then places the grammatical subject at the very end. In a similar way, the noun subject in the plural nom. *balamattā* in (129) is placed post-verbally, after the cause which makes the physical body weak has been mentioned. If we consider its context, we see that the clause containing *balamattā* describes the result of the previous passages. Precisely, the man was weak or lacked energy because he was terribly sick. The author(s) chose to place all the noun subjects post-verbally rather than following the usual order. I claim that this is dictated by personal style.

§ 2.2.2.3 A stereotyped expression: *paraṃ maraṇā* ('after death')

A 'stereotyped expression' occurs on a regular basis in many Pāli texts, no matter where it is found in the text. These expressions do not conform to the usual order expected of declarative statements. In particular, I am referring to the post-verbally placed stereotyped pattern: *paraṃ maraṇā* ('after death'), which occurs seven times in the selected texts. I provide the contexts below, after discarding repetitions.

Table 2.32 Post-verbal stereotyped patterns

No.	Contexts
(130)	*yato kho bho ayaṃ attā rūpī cātummahābhūtiko mahāpettikasambhavo, kāyassa bhedā ucchijjati vinassati, na hoti* ***param maraṇā*** (BJS 34.10, 34.11-2, 35. 13, 35.14, 35.15, 35.16). 'Since the self is material, composed of the four great elements, and the product of mother and father, at the breaking up of the body it is annihilated and perishes and does not exist after death.'
(131)	*bāle ca paṇḍite*[219] *ca kāyassa bhedā ucchijjanti vinassanti, na honti* ***paraṃ maraṇā*** (SPS 55.23). 'Both the fool and the wise man, at the breaking up of the body, are destroyed and perish. They do not exist after death.'

The accu. sing. *paraṃ* ('after' or 'over') in both contexts functions as an adverb or a preposition, while the abl. sing. neuter *maraṇā* is its object. They form a prepositional phrase, or an adverbial phrase. It is to be noted that

[219] I assume that the endings (sing. nom.) of both *bāle* and *paṇḍite* here are Māgadhisms, as in footnotes 10 and 11 above.

all the finite verbs are placed in the usual positions. None of them is placed in the initial position of the sentence. Therefore, I claim that the adverbial phrase: *paraṃ maraṇā* is a stereotyped expression, as it appears in this way on a regular basis, even though the contexts in which it appears are declarative statements. However, it could also be argued that sentence adverbs and adverbial phrases are sometimes placed post-verbally to indicate that they are not affiliated to any particular element in the sentence.

To sum up, the selected texts show that there can be many types of words which are included in 'commentalisation'. Semantically, they are essential parts of the sentence. Their final placement marks then as core elements which should be brought into prominence. This group of post-verbal words can be in any case form. The post-verbal adverbial phrase: *paraṃ maraṇā*, which is one of the stereotyped expressions, is an indication that post-verbal substantial words may be led by an indeclinable. It is also evident that many post-verbal words which are not substantial are placed after some indeclinables, and that this group of words is a functionally different type of elaboration. I shall proceed to discuss those which are introduced by *seyyathīdaṃ* and *yadidaṃ* at the beginning of the following section.

§ 2.3 Post-verbal nouns linked by *seyyathīdaṃ* and *yadidaṃ*

In the preceding sections, I have shown that many post-verbal nouns stand on their own, except the adverbial phrase: *paraṃ maraṇā*. I have also claimed that there are many explanations for the post-verbal placement of these words. As the selected texts also show that there are some elaborative words expanded by using connectives, I shall now discuss other post-verbal

nouns which come with the two linking words *seyyathīdaṃ* and *yadidaṃ*. These two particles are sometimes inserted between main nouns and *sarūpavisesana* nouns. I shall show that all the words which are linked by the two particles are merely elaborative. These elaborative nouns offer more detail about the main nouns which are already specified. Because the nouns which follow the two particles provide merely additional explanation not essential to the texts, the best word to refer to them is perhaps 'elaboration'.

The linking words *yadidaṃ* and *seyyathīdaṃ* in this respect can be simply translated as: 'which is this', 'viz', 'that is', 'that is to say', 'so to speak', 'just this', 'namely', 'i.e.', 'to wit', 'as follows' or 'I mean', depending on the context. In fact, even though these two particles are not inserted we still need one of these phrases to connect the main nouns and elaborative (*sarūpavisesana*) nouns whenever we translate them into English. The pattern of post-verbal nouns introduced by *seyyathīdaṃ* and *yadidaṃ* can be set up as follows:

main nouns + FV/FVP + ***seyyathīdaṃ, yadidaṃ*** **+ elaboration #**

As already said, these main nouns may be classified or explained in the form of many single nouns, phrases or even sentences. The contextual difference between *seyyathīdaṃ* and *yadidaṃ* is that *seyyathīdaṃ* introduces a long elaborative phrase or, at times, even a sentence, while *yadidaṃ* introduces a single word or short phrase. Of the two, *seyyathīdaṃ* occurs more often than *yadidaṃ* (43 to 6). Table 2.33 below gives statistical information as well as contextual references for the two particles.

Table 2.33 Contexts where the words *seyyathīdaṃ* and *yadidaṃ* occur in the three selected texts

Links	BJS	SPS	BJSA	Contexts
seyyathīdaṃ	22	21	-	BJS 5.11, 6.12, 6.13, 6.14,7.15, 7.16, 7.17, 8.18, 8.19, 9.21, 9.22, 9.23, 10.24, 11. 25, 11.26, 12.27, 13.31 (twice), 14-15.32 (twice), 15-16.33 (twice); SPS: 51.14, 52.16, 59.34, 64-5.46, 65.47, 65.48, 65. 49, 65.50, 66.51, 66.52, 66. 53, 66.54, 67.56, 67.57, 67-8.58, 68.59, 68-9.60, 69.61, 69.62, 81. 93, 81-2.94.
yadidaṃ	-	3	3	SPS 69-70.63 (three times); BJSA: 27 (three times [quotations])

It is important to note that even though the word *yadidaṃ* occurs three times in BJSA, all of the examples are quotations taken from canonical texts. Therefore, I shall not discuss them here. I shall investigate all the contexts of *seyyathīdaṃ* first.

Grammatically, the word *seyyathīdaṃ*, originally *seyyathā* + *idaṃ* or *taṃyathā*,[220] is well known among Thai Pāli syntacticians as a particle. BJSA

[220] PTSD (s.v. *seyyathā*) and Geiger (§ 105.2) explain that it is influenced by Māgadhī (*taṃ-*

explains it as: *seyyathīdan ti nipāto* (BJSA 81) ('The word *seyyathīdaṃ* is a particle'). Elsewhere in the same commentarial text,[221] it is defined as: *seyyathīdan ti aniyamitaniyamanikkhitta-atthavibhājanaṭṭhe nipāto* ('The word *seyyathīdaṃ* is a particle [which is used] in the sense of fixing the meaning [of a word] which has not been fixed and classifying [or dividing up] the word which has been laid down [i.e., the lemma]'). Vajirañāṇavarorasa[222] explains that this particle is referred to syntactically as *pucchanattha* ('having the sense of [or denoting] a question'). 'The question' here is something like 'what are they?', 'what is that', 'what are their details?', 'what is the classification of that substantial noun?', 'how many kinds are there?' or the like.[223] In BJS and

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> *se-*). Lüders (1954: 13 [§2]) explains that *taṃyathā* occurs in Mil.1, 13. Pischel (Pischel, § 432) took it to be derived from *sed* (*sa-id*) + *yathā*. However, Norman says that this does not seem to be convincing. See Geiger § 105, 2 (fn. 3) and Lüders § 2 and Andersen (1901: 277), cf. Mayrhofer, p.65.

221 Sv Se II 95 according to BUDDSIR. Quoted in AVEPS II 193.

222 BW V 241 (§ 164).

223 Sadd III 892; Sadd Se III 456 explains: *seyyathīdaṃ iti so katamo ti vā, te katame ti vā, sā katamā ti vā, tā katamā ti vā, taṃ kataman ti vā, tāni katamānī ti vā evaṃ liṅgavacanavasena aniyamite atthe pi* ('The word *seyyathīdaṃ* is used in an unrestricted sense according to the gender and number [of main nouns] thus: [it is equivalent to] *so katamo* 'which is that?' [if its main noun is a sing. masc.], [it is equivalent to] *te katame* 'which are they?' [if its main noun is masc. plural], [it is equivalent to] *sā kataṃā* which is that? '[if its main noun is fem. sing.], [it is equivalent to] *tā katamā* 'which are they' [if its main noun is fem. plural], [it is equivalent to] *taṃ katamaṃ* 'which is that?' [if its main noun is neuter. sing], [it is equivalent to], *tāni katamāni* 'Which are those' [if its main noun is neuter plural]'). Cf. Sv I 250: *seyyathīdan ti tassīdha tāni katamānī ti attho* ('the meaning of the word *seyyathīdaṃ*' in that context is: *tāni katamāni* ['how many are they?']).

SPS, the word *seyyathīdaṃ* is more frequent. Table 2.28 below describes in detail the statistical information of its occurrence in the selected texts.

Table 2.34 Types of elaborations introduced by *seyyathīdaṃ*

Elaboration Types	Frequency	Contexts
Many Single Words	28	BJS 5.11,6.12,6.13, 6.14, 7.15,7.16, 7.17, 9.21, 9.22, 11.26, 12.27; SPS 59.34, 64-5.46, 65.47, 65.48, 65.49, 65.50, 66.51, 66.52, 66.54, 67.56, 67. 57, 69.61, 69.62, 81.93, 81-2.94.
Phrases	6	BJS 13.31 (twice), 14-15.32 (twice), 15-16.33 (twice).
Clauses/sentences	14	BJS 8.18, 8.19, 9.23, 9.24, 10. 24, 11.25, 66.53, 67-8.58, 68.59, 68-9.60.
Single Words & Clauses/Sentences	6	SPS 51.14, 52.16; BJSA: 45, 50, 51(twice).

Since the contexts for the word *seyyathīdaṃ*, which introduces four types of elaborations (see Table 2.28 above), are similar, I provide only ten typical examples that represent the four major groups contextually. These are given in Table 2.35.

(I) Many single words

Table 2.35 Post-verbal words linked by *seyyathīdaṃ*

No.	Contexts
(132)	*yathā vā pan' eke bhonto samaṇa-brāhmaṇā saddhādeyyāni*

bhojanāni bhuñjitvā te ***evarūpaṃ bījagāmabhūtagāmasamārambhaṃ anuyuttā*** *viharanti****seyyathīdaṃ mūlabījaṃ khandabījaṃ phalubījaṃ aggabījaṃ bījabījaṃ eva pañcamaṃ*** (BJS 5.11).

'Gentlemen, whereas some ascetics and brahmins who feed on food which should be given out of faith are addicted to the destruction of seeds and plants, namely those which are propagated from roots, stems, joints, cuttings, [and] seeds which is the fifth one [...]'.

(133) *yathā vā pan' eke bhonto samaṇabrāhmaṇā saddhādeyyāni bhojanāni bhuñjitvā te* ***evarūpaṃ sannidhikāraparibhogaṃ*** *anuyuttā viharanti* ***seyyathīdaṃ annasannidhiṃ pānasannidhiṃ vatthasannidhiṃ yānasannidhiṃ sayanasannidhiṃ gandhasannidhiṃ āmisasannidhiṃ*** (BJS 6.12).

'Gentlemen, whereas some ascetics and brahmins who feed on food which should be given out of faith, remain addicted to to the enjoyment of storing up (or stockpiling), namely food, drink clothing, carriages, beds, perfumes, meat [...]'.

(134) *yathā vā pan' eke bhonto samaṇabrāhmaṇā* [...] ***evarūpaṃ tiracchānakathaṃ*** *anuyuttā viharanti seyyathīdaṃ* ***rājakathaṃ corakathaṃ mahāmattakathaṃ senākathaṃ bhayakathaṃ yuddhakathaṃ annakathaṃ pānakathaṃ vatthakathaṃ sayanakathaṃ mālākathaṃ gandhakathaṃ ñātikathaṃ yānakathaṃ gāmakathaṃ nigamakathaṃ nagarakathaṃ janapadakathaṃ itthikathaṃ [purisakathaṃ] sūrakathaṃ visikhākathaṃ kumbha-ṭṭhānakathaṃ***

pubbapetakathaṃ nānatthakathaṃ lokakkhāyikaṃ samuddakkhāyikaṃ itibhavābhavakathaṃ (BJS 7-8.17).

'Gentlemen, whereas some ascetics and brahmins are addicted to unedifying conversations, namely, conversations about kings, robbers, ministers, armies, dangers, wars, food, drink, clothing, beds, garlands, perfumes, relatives, carriages, villages, towns, cities, countries, women, men, heroes, street-and well-gossip, talk of the departed, talk about various issues, desultory chat, speculations about land and sea, talk about being and non-being.'

(135) *yathā vā pan' eke bhonto samaṇabrāhmaṇā* [...] *evarūpāya* ***tiracchānavijjāya micchājīvena jīvikaṃ*** *kappenti–****seyyathīdaṃ aṅgaṃ nimittaṃ uppādaṃ supinaṃ lakkhaṇaṃ mūsikācchinnaṃ aggihomaṃ dabbihomaṃ thusahomaṃ kaṇahomaṃ taṇḍulahomaṃ sappihomaṃ telahomaṃ mukhahomaṃ lohitahomaṃ aṅgavijjā vatthuvijjā khattavijjā sivavijjā bhūtavijjā bhūrivijjā ahivijjā visavijjā vicchikavijjā mūsikavijjā sakuṇavijjā vāyasavijjā pakkajjhānaṃ saraparittānaṃ migacakkaṃ*** (BJS 9.21).

'Gentlemen, whereas some ascetics and brahmins make a living with the wrong means of livelihood, using low arts, namely, palmistry, divining by signs, portents, dreams, body marks, mouse gnawings, fire oblations, oblations from a ladle, of husks, rice powder, rice grains, ghee or oil, from the mouth or of blood, reading the finger tips, house and garden lore, skill in charms, ghostlore, earth-house lore, snake-lore, poison-lore, rat-lore,

bird-lore, crow-lore, foretelling a person's life-span, charms against arrow, knowledge of animals' cries'.

The data in (132) shows that the word *seyyathīdaṃ* is introduced to link the main nouns in the accu. sing. which come in the form of a phrase*:* *evarūpaṃ bījagāmabhūtagām- asamārambhaṃ,* along with their elaborations, which are also in the accusative: *mūlabījaṃ khandabījaṃ phalubījaṃ aggabījaṃ bījabījaṃ eva pañcamaṃ*. It is important to note that if the word *seyyathīdaṃ* is omitted, all the elaborations will be considered as *sarūpavisesana* nouns syntactically. Both main nouns and elaborations have the same case and number.

Similar to (132), the main nouns in (133), (134), and (135), namely, *evarūpaṃ sannidhi– kāraparibhogaṃ, evarūpaṃ tiracchānakathaṃ,* and *evarūpāya tiracchānavijjāya micchājīvena jīvikaṃ* are elaborated by many single words, with the same number. The case of the main noun in (132), (133) and (134) is the same as that of its elaborative nouns. Only the main noun of (135), which is in the instrumental, differs from its elaborations which are in the accusative.

(II) Phrases

In Table 2.36 below, I provide the contexts in which the post-verbal words are phrases.

Table 2.36 Post-verbal phrases

No.	Contexts
(136)	*idha bhikkhave ekacco samaṇo vā brāhmaṇo vā* [...] ***anekavihitaṃ***

pubbenivāsaṃ *anussarati-* ***seyyathīdaṃ ekam pi jātiṃ, dve pi jātiyo, tisso pi jātiyo, catasso pi jātiyo, pañca pi jātiyo, dasa pi jātiyo, vīsatiṃ pi jātiyo, tiṃsam pi jātiyo, cattārīsam pi jātiyo, paññāsam pi jātiyo, jātisatam pi, jātisahassam pi, jātisatasahassam pi, anekāni pi jātisatāni, anekāni pi jātisahassāni, anekāni pi jātisatasahassāni*** (BJS 13-14.31). 'Monks, here, a certain ascetic or Brahmin [...] can recall his many past existences, namely, one birth, two births, three, four five, ten, twenty, thirty, forty, fifty, a hundred, a thousand, a hundred thousand, several hundred, several thousand, several hundred thousand births.'

The context in (136) differs from the previous ones in that the word *seyyathīdaṃ* leads many phrases, which elaborate the main noun: *anekavihitaṃ pubbenivāsaṃ*. Also, it is noteworthy that while the cases of the main noun and elaborating phrases or *sarūpavisesana* are the same, their number differs.

(III) Sentences

Table 2.37 below provides contexts where the main nouns are expanded into sentences, which are in bold type.

Table 2.37 Post-verbal sentences

No.	Contexts
(137)	*yathā vā pan' eke bhonto samaṇabrāhmaṇā* [...] ***evarūpaṃ viggāhikakathaṃ*** *anuyuttā viharanti–* ***seyyathīdaṃ: 'na tvaṃ imaṃ***

dhammavinayaṃ ājānāsi, ahaṃ imaṃ dhammavinayaṃ ājānāmi, kiṃ tvaṃ imaṃ dhammavinayaṃ ājānissasi? micchāpaṭipanno tvam asi, aham asmi sammāpaṭipanno, sahitaṃ me asahitaṃ te. pure vacanīyaṃ pacchā avoca, pacchā vacanīyaṃ pure avaca. aviciṇṇan te viparāvattaṃ. āropito te vādo, niggahīto' si. cara vādappamokkhāya, nibbeṭhehi vā sace pahosi (BJS 8.18).

'Gentlemen, whereas some ascetics and brahmins are addicted to disputation, namely, 'You do not understand this dhamma and vinaya. I do. How can you understand this dhamma and vinaya? You have behaved wrongly. I have behaved rightly. [It is] beneficial for me, not beneficial for you. You said last what you should have said first. You said first what you should have said last. The knowledge you master was refuted. Your argument has been overthrown. You are refuted. Proceed to clear up your argument. Or unravel them, if you can.'

(138) *yathā vā pan' eke bhonto samaṇabrāhmaṇā* [...] ***evarūpaṃ dūteyya-pahiṇagamanānuyogaṃ*** *anuyuttā viharanti* – ***seyyathīdaṃ raññaṃ rājamahāmattānaṃ khattiyānaṃ brāhmaṇānaṃ gahapatikānaṃ kumārānam: 'idha gaccha, amutrāgaccha, idaṃ hara, amutra idaṃ āhara.'*** (BJS 8.19).

'Gentlemen, whereas some ascetics and Brahmins are addicted to running errands and messages, namely, for kings, royal ministers, nobles, brahmins, householders and young men who say, 'Go here! Go there! Take this! Bring this there!'

(139) *yathā vā pan' eke bhonto samaṇabrāhmaṇā* [...] ***evarūpāya***

tiracchānavijjāya micchājīvena jīvikaṃ *kappentiseyyathīdaṃ,* ***'raññaṃ niyyānaṃ bhavissati, raññaṃ aniyyānaṃ bhavissati, abbhantarānaṃ raññaṃ upayānaṃ bhavissati, bāhirānaṃ raññaṃ apayānaṃ bhavissati, bāhirānaṃ raññaṃ upayānaṃ bhavissati, abbhantarānaṃ raññaṃ apayānaṃ bhavissati, bāhirānaṃ raññaṃ jayo bhavissati, abbhantarānaṃ raññaṃ parājayo bhavissati.'*** (BJS 9-10.23).

'Gentlemen, whereas some ascetics and Brahmins make a living with the wrong means of livelihood using low arts, namely, saying [predicting] that the kings will march out, the kings will not march out, the inside kings will advance and the outside kings will retreat and vice versa, the inside kings will win, the outside kings will lose and vice versa, there will be victory for the outside kings and there will be defeat for the inside kings.'

The data from (137), (138) and (139) suggests that many sentences can be placed after *seyyathīdaṃ*. Similar to the *sarūpavisesana* nouns which elaborate a main noun, the additional sentences introduced by *seyyathīdaṃ* elaborate the main nouns, here: *evarūpaṃ viggāhikakathaṃ* in (137), *evarūpaṃ viggādūteyyapahiṇagamanānuyogaṃ* in (138), *evarūpāya tiracchānavijjāya micchājīvena jīvikaṃ* in (139).

(IV) Single words plus clauses/sentences

All the single words plus sentences which are post-verbal are given in bold type in Table 2.38 below.

Table 2.38 Post-verbal single words and sentences

No.	Contexts
(140)	*yathā nu kho imāni bhante* ***puthusippāyatanāni****–seyyathīdaṃ* ***hatthārohā assārohā rathikā dhanuggahā celakā calakā piṇḍadāvikā uggā rājaputtā pakkhandino mahānāgā sūrā cammayodhino dāsakaputtā āḷārikā kappakā nahāpakā sūdā mālākārā rajakā pesakārā naḷakārā kumbhakārā gaṇakā muddikā yāni vā pan' aññāni pi evaṃgatāni puthusippāyatanāni, te diṭṭhe va dhamme sandiṭṭhikaṃ sippaphalaṃ upajīvanti*** [...] (SPS 51.14, 52.16). 'Lord, just as there are these common crafts, namely, elephant drivers, horse drivers, chariot fighters, archers, standard bearers, adjutants, army caterers, champions and senior officers, scouts, heroes, brave fighters, cuirassiers, slaves' sons, cooks, barbers, bathmen, bakers, garland makers, bleachers, weavers, basket-makers, potters, calculators and accountants or any other skills which are similar, they enjoy the visible fruits of their skills in this very life [...].'
(141)	*tattha yāni suttāni Bhagavā parehi anajjhiṭṭho* ***kevalaṃ attano ajjhāsayen' eva*** *katheti, seyyathīdaṃ* ***Ākaṅkheyyasuttaṃ Vatthasuttaṃ Mahāsatipaṭṭhānasuttaṃ Mahāsaḷāyatanavibhaṅgasuttaṃ Ariyavaṃsasuttaṃ Sammappadhānasuttantahārako iddhipādaindariyabalabojjhaṅgamaggaṅgasuttantahārako ti evam ādīni, tesaṃ attajjhāsayo nikkhepo*** (BJSA 50). 'Of all the four types of discourses, all the discourses which were

declared by the Buddha himself when he was not invited by others, namely, *Ākaṅkheyyasutta, Vatthasutta Mahāsatipaṭṭhānasutta, Mahāsaḷāyatanavibhaṅgasutta, Ariyavaṃsa sutta,* the discourse which discusses the essence of *sammappadhānasutta, iddhipāda, indriya, bala, bojjhaṅga* and accompaniments of *magga* and so on are included in the group of discourses declared by the Buddha according to his own wishes.'

The data suggests that the main nouns: *puthusippāyatanāni* in (140) and *suttāni* in (141) are explained in a somewhat different way. The first noun is, without a finite verb, elaborated by many single words, including a relative clause where a finite verb *honti* or *santi* is left as understood: *yāni vā pan' aññāni pi evaṃgatāni puthusippāyatanāni*. The second main noun which is *suttāni*, on the other hand, is elaborated only by many single words. These two data suggest that the word *seyyathīdaṃ* is employed to link the main nouns with many different types of elaborations. The main nouns themselves do not necessarily have the same cases and numbers as their elaborations. The use of *seyyathīdaṃ* makes it possible to expand the main nouns in the form of sentences. Therefore, it is a literary device or linguistic tool to elaborate a particular main noun with somewhat more detailed information, which cannot be done using *sarūpavisesana* nouns.

On the other hand, the word *yadidaṃ* does not occur in BJS at all, but is found four times in SPS. One passage is repeated. In Table 2.39 below are the two examples of this type, after discarding repetitions.

Table 2.39 Post-verbal words linked by *yadidaṃ*

No.	Contexts
(142)	*sa kho so mahārāja bhikkhu evaṃ sīlasampanno na kuto ci bhayaṃ samanupassati* ***yad idaṃ*** *sīlasaṃvarato*[224] (SPS 69-70.63 [three times]). 'And then, your majesty, that monk who is thus perfected in morality sees no danger from any side, i.e. because he is restrained by morality.'
(143)	*seyyathā pi mahārāja khattiyo muddhāvasitto nihitapaccāmitto na kuto ci bhayaṃ samanupassati,* ***yad idaṃ*** *paccatthikato* [...] *evam eva* [...] (SPS 70.63). 'Your Majesty, just as a king who is duly anointed and who has conquered his enemies sees no danger from any side, i.e. from [his] enemies.'

In (142), the *yadidaṃ* explains that 'being restrained by morality' is the explanation as to why a monk does not see dangers from any side. In (143), it explains what the word *kutoci* means 'from any side', specifying the fact that the words *kutoci bhayaṃ* ('danger from any side') actually refer to *paccatthikato* ('from enemies'). Like the word *seyyathīdaṃ*, Pāli syntacticians consider the two accu. sing. pronouns *yad idaṃ*, together with its derivatives

[224] Prof Richard Gombrich says that *sīlāsaṃvarato* 'from lack of moral restraint' would make much better sense to be a parallel to the king; but there is probably no evidence for this reading. (personal communication).

such as *yāvat* as a *nipāta,*[225] to form a compound *yadidaṃ.*[226] Like *seyyathīdaṃ,* it has the sense syntactically of [or denoting] a question, called *pucchanattha.*[227] Therefore it is best translated as 'namely', 'that is to say', or the like. Sophonganaporn[228] explains that:

> The word *yadidaṃ* is regarded by teachers as a particle. However, in the commentarial texts the word is sometimes explained as pronouns which function as an adjective *(visesana)*.[229] In this case, it is separated as *yadidaṃ.* Sometimes, it is regarded as a *kiriyāparāmāsa* ('adverbial particle') [see below].

The commentary does not comment on the *yadidaṃ* of the two examples given above; it merely provides explanations of it by restoring and explaining the contexts using different words.[230] Sophonganaporn[231] gives five typical examples from the Pāli Canon together with commentarial explanations. Since some examples are cited by him only in part, the full

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225 Pāṇini 1.4.57 also regards *yad* in certain contexts as a *nipāta*, which is described as without substance. Cf. WR 1085.

226 See below.

227 AVEPS II 196.

228 AVEPS II 196.

229 That means that the word *yadidaṃ* must be split into two words: *yaṃ idaṃ.*

230 Sv I 182: *na kutoci bhayaṃ samanupassati yadidaṃ sīlasaṃvarato ti, yāni asaṃvaramūlakāni bhayāni uppajjanti, tesu yaṃ idaṃ bhayaṃ sīlasaṃvarato bhaveyya, yaṃ kutoci ekasaṃvarato pi na samaṇupassati. kasmā. saṃvarato asaṃvaramŪlakassa bhayassa abhāvā.* Sv I 182: *yadidaṃ paccatthikato ti yaṃ kutoci ekapaccatthikato pi bhayaṃ bhaveyya, taṃ na samaṇupassati. kasmā. nihatapaccāmitto.* Cf. Sv II 522: *yadidan ti nipātanamattaṃ.*

231 Detailed explanations are provided in AVEPS II 196.

passages are provided below.

Table 2.40 Post-verbal words linked by *yadidaṃ* in other Pāli texts

No.	Contexts
(144)	*esa paccayo jarāmaraṇassa,* ***yadidaṃ*** *jāti* (D II 57). 'This is the condition for ageing and death, i.e. birth.'
(145)	*evaṃ saṃvaddhā hi tassa Bhagavato parisā,* ***yadidaṃ*** *aññamaññavacanena aññamañ– ñavuṭṭhāpanena* (Vin III 178). The assembly of the Blessed One has increased thus, i.e. through speaking to one another, by assisting one another'
(146)	*yāni kānici rukkhajātāni candano tesaṃ aggam akkhāyati* ***yadidaṃ*** *mudutāya c' eva kammaññatāya ca* (A I 9). 'Of all the different sorts of trees, the sandal tree is regarded as chief, precisely on account of its pliability and adaptability.'
(147)	*tathāgatasāvakasaṃgho tesaṃ aggam akkhāyati,* ***yadidaṃ*** *cattāri purisayugāni, aṭṭha purisapuggalā* (It 88; DN II 93, III 5, 227; MN I 37, etc.). 'The Order of the Blessed One's disciples, i.e. the Four Pairs of Noble Persons, the Eight Types of Individuals, is regarded as the best among them.'
(148)	*yāvatā bhikkhave dhammā saṃkhatā vā asaṃkhatā vā virāgo tesaṃ aggam akkhāyati,* ***yadidaṃ*** *madanimmadano pipāsavinayo ālayasamugghāto vaṭṭūpacchedo taṇhakkhayo virāgo nirodho nibbānaṃ* (It. 88). 'Monks, with regard to things compounded or not compounded, freedom from passion is regarded as best among them, namely: the

> subduing of pride in self, the restraint of thirst, the removal of clinging, the cutting of the cycle of rebirth, the extinction of craving, the passionless state, the extinction [of suffering] and *nibbāna*.'

This evidence shows that the words introduced by *yadidaṃ* can be a sentence or a long phrase, like *seyyathīdaṃ* as mentioned earlier, even though the former tends to introduce a single word or a phrase rather than a sentence, as attested in SPS above. The commentary on (144) explains that *yadidaṃ* is merely a particle,[232] as do the commentaries on (145),[233] (146),[234] (147),[235] and (148).[236] Thai Pāli syntacticians offer two interpretations of the word *yadidaṃ* based on semantic arguments.

First, they consider that *yadidaṃ* consists of two words joined together by *sandhi* and that they must be separated as *yaṃ* and *idaṃ.* Both are interpreted as functioning as a *visesana* of some other noun or substantive, even if it has a different gender. This deviation in gender is grammatically known as *liṅgavipallāsa.* This explanation is derived from a Yojanā exegetical

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232 Sv II 498: *yadidaṃ jātī ti ettha yadidan ti nipāto, tassa sabbapadesu liṅgānurūpato atthato veditabbo, idha pana yā esā jātī ti ayam ettha attho, jarāmaraṇassa hi jāti upanissayakoṭiyā paccayo hoti.*

233 Sp III 613; Sp Se II 127: *yadidan ti vuḍḍhikāraṇanidassanatthe nipāto. tena yaṃ idaṃ aññamaññassa hitavacanaṃ āpattito vuṭṭhāpanañ ca, tena aññamaññavacanena aññamaññavuṭṭhāpanena ca saṃvaḍḍhā parisā ti evaṃ parisāya vuḍḍhikāraṇaṃ dassitaṃ hoti.*

234 Mil I 61: *yadidan ti nipātamattaṃ.*

235 Pd II (It-a) 107: *yadidan ti yāni imāni.*

236 Pd II (It-a) 106: *yadidan ti nipāto, yo ayan ti attho.*

text. Let me give an example. A passage from Abhidh-s-ṭ 57, cf. Abhidh-s-ṭ Se 66 says: *yathāpaccayañ hi pavattimattam eva yadidaṃ sabhāvadhammo nāma* ('Verily, it is its mere occurrence according to conditions that is called 'a dhamma with its own particular nature'). Abh-yoj explains that *yadidaṃ*, in spite of having a different gender *(vipallāsa)* from its governing noun, is a *visesana* of *sabhāvadhammo*; it specifies the phenomenon which takes its rise and continues to be [endure] following its conditions.[237]

The term *vipallāsa* was used in the grammatical sense by Aggavaṃsa in his Sadd to explain certain linguistic phenomena in the canonical texts (collectively mentioned by him as *pāvacana*) when there are some syntactical disagreements among words in sentences, which are not supposed to occur. According to Sadd,[238] there are six types of *vipallāsa* (deviation from ordinary grammatical usage) found in the canonical texts, that of gender *(liṅgavipallāsa),* case *(vibhattivipallāsa),* number *(vacanavipallāsa),* tense *(kālavipallāsa),* person *(purisavipallāsa)* and phoneme *(akkharavipallāsa).*[239] In

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[237] Abh-y I 175-6: *hi saccaṃ yadidaṃ yo ayaṃ sabhāvadhammo nāma* [...] *evasaddo sanniṭṭhānattho. yadidan ti padassa tassā ti niyamanaṃ. yadidan ti liṅgavipallāso. yaṃ idan ti chedo, yo ayan ti attho* [...] *yathāpaccayaṃ pavattī ti pade kiriyāvisesanaṃ* [...] *yadidan ti sabhāvadhammo-padassa visesanaṃ. sabhāvadhammo liṅgattho.*

[238] Sadd III 672 provides examples of each deviation.

[239] The term *viparyāsa* does not seem to occur in Pāṇiṇi (I base myself on DSG). The Sanskrit term used by later Skt. grammarians as corresponding to the Pāli *vipallāsa* is *bheda* ('disruption') or *bhedaka* ('different'). Therefore, the Skt. terms which correspond to the Pāli words: *vacanavipallāsa*, *liṅgavipallāsa,* etc. are *vacanabheda*, *liṅgabheda,* etc. The term *vipallāsa* (Skt. *viparyāsa*) occurs in early Pāli texts in a religious sense meaning 'perversion'. In the Pāli Canon (AN II 52; Nett 85; Vism 683) three perversions are

the above contexts, the gender of both *yaṃ* and *idaṃ* differs from the word which they qualify -*sabhāvadhammo*. The subject which governs the *yadidaṃ* like this, which may come from any gender, is considered by the Yojanā as *liṅgattha*.[240] This means that the group of words introduced by *yadidaṃ* is merely a noun phrase and the function of the whole phrase is to denote the governing noun which is at its head. Sophonganaporn provides two typical examples of this:

Table 2.41 Contexts of *yadidaṃ* provided by Sophonganaporn

No.	Contexts
(149)	*gahanaṃ h' etaṃ bhante,* ***yadidaṃ*** *manussā. uttānaṃ h' etaṃ bhante* ***yadidaṃ*** *pasavo* (MN I 340). 'Lord, this is obscure, namely, humankind. Lord, this is evident, namely, domestic animals.
(150)	*etad' aggaṃ bhikkhave mama sāvikānaṃ upāsikānaṃ bahussutānaṃ* ***yadidaṃ*** *Khujjuttarā* (AN I 23). 'Monks, she is the best of all my learned laywoman disciples, namely, Khujjuttarā.'

Sophonganaporn explains that all the verbless noun subjects which follow the word *yadidaṃ* in (149) and (150) are *liṅgattha*. Therefore, *yaṃ idaṃ*

mentioned, namely, *saññāvipallāsa* ('perversion of perception'), *cittavipallāsa* ('perversion of thought'), and *diṭṭhivipallāsa* ('perversion of views'). There is no exact evidence as to when this word is used in grammar. Presumably, it is introduced into grammar for the first time in commentarial texts.

[240] This term is defined in BW V 216 as 'the noun subject in nominal and adjectival phrases'.

in the three passages is considered to be a quality or adjective *(visesana)* of *manussā*, *pasavo* and *Khujjuttarā* respectively. In my view, this interpretation seems to be an attempt to restore the inflectional value of *yadidaṃ* in such a way that its case ending could be syntactically meaningful. The second explanation is that *yadidaṃ* is regarded as a subordinating conjunction or a sentential adverb, known as *kiriyāparāmāsa*. In this case it is considered to be one word. This explanation has been given by modern Thai Pāli grammarians. One of them, Sophonganāporn, provides five typical examples. Since he gives the examples in part, I offer their full contexts.

Table 2.42 Post-verbal words introduced by *yadidaṃ* in other texts

No.	Contexts
(151)	*appāyukasaṃvattanikā esā māṇava paṭipadā,* ***yadidaṃ*** *pāṇātipātī hoti luddo lohitapāṇī hatapahate niviṭṭho adayāpanno pāṇabhūtesu* (M III 203). 'Young man, this course leads to a short life, namely, if one kills living beings and is murderous, bloody-handed, given to blows and violence and merciless to living beings.'
(152)	*etad aggaṃ bhikkhave peyyavajjānaṃ,* ***yadidaṃ*** *atthikassa ohitaso-tassa punappunaṃ dhammaṃ deseti* (AN IV 364). 'Monks, this is the kindest speech, namely, teaching dhamma repeatedly to one who requests it and pays attention to it.'
(153)	*evaṃ saṃvaddhā hi tassa Bhagavato parisā,* ***yadidaṃ*** *aññamaññā-vacanena tena aññamaññavuḍḍhāpanena* (Vin III 178). 'Thus, the Blessed One's assembly increased, namely by speaking to one another, by assisting one another.'

(154)	*hatthipadaṃ tesaṃ aggam akkhāyati,* ***yadidaṃ*** *mahantattena* (MN I 184). 'The elephant's footprint is said to be the chief of them, precisely[241] on account of its great size.'
(155)	*kammaṃ satte vibhajati,* ***yadidaṃ*** *hīnappaṇītatāya* (MN III 203). '[It is] action [that] distinguishes beings, precisely by being inferior or superior.'

We see that in (151) and (152), the word *yadidaṃ* introduces a full clause while in (153) and (154), it introduces a phrase and an individual word respectively. In the latter case, the missing words which are left out as understood are expected to be added in full. Sophonganaporn explains[242] that in (153) and (154) above, the full clauses of *yadidaṃ* are restored as: ***yadidaṃ*** *aññamaññavacanaṃ aññamaññavuḍḍhāpanaṃ, tena aññamaññavacanena aññamaññavuḍḍhāpanena;* ***yadidaṃ*** *hatthipadaṃ, tassa hatthipadassa mahantattena;* ***yadidaṃ*** *sattā, tesaṃ sattānaṃ hīnappaṇītatāya.*

The clauses introduced by *yadidaṃ* are all relative clauses, while phrases introduced by its correlatives, namely, *tena aññamaññavacanena aññamaññavuḍḍhāpanena, tassa hatthipadassa mahantattena and tesaṃ sattānaṃ hīnappaṇītatāya* form part of the main clauses. Based on Sophonganaporn's explanations, *yadidaṃ* is deemed a *kiriyāparāmāsa* only when it introduces a full clause. However, in spite of the fact that the *ya-* of the *kiriyāparāmāsa* type introduces a clause and has a correlative *-ta* in the

[241] I use this word because the *yadidaṃ* here specifies the cause.

[242] AVEPS II 200.

main clause, Sophonganaporn explains[243] that Vajirañāṇavarorasa translated the term in such a way that there would be no need to put the correlative *-ta*. He supplies one example which is the same as that mentioned in (155) above.

Overall, even though the commentators and Sophonganaporn provide full explanations of the adverbial function of both *yadidaṃ* and *seyyathīdaṃ* and identify some case forms of the relative pronoun *ya-* as *kiriyāparāmāsa*, they do not pay proper attention to their syntactical order. I propose a hypothesis that the post-verbal placement of words introduced by *seyyathīdaṃ* and *yadidaṃ* is similar to the placement of *sarūpavisesana* nouns, in the sense that they are different types of additional information. Therefore, there is one possible explanation why their groups are placed post-verbally: the words, phrases or sentences introduced by them are a group of words which provides extra information in the texts. In other words, they are seen as **elaborations** like **non-restrictive** appositional nouns. Both *seyyathīdaṃ* and *yadidaṃ* are introduced for semantic reasons to make clear that single words, phrases or sentences which are placed post-verbally modify a particular main noun in the preceding sentence. Since both *seyyathīdaṃ* and *yadidaṃ* are regarded as indeclinables, the whole group of words introduced by them should be deemed to function adverbially.

§ 2.4 The group of post-verbal words linked by *saddhiṃ*

This group of post-verbal words, all of which are instrumentals, is marked off from the previous group as it either introduces an elaborative

[243] AVEPS II 202.

group linked by the indeclinable *saddhiṃ* ('with, together with'), or is preceded by it. The position of the particle itself is twofold. It may be placed before or after the instrumental phrase. Statistically, *saddhiṃ* leads post-verbal words four times in BJS, twice in SPS and once in BJSA. In Tables 2.43, 2.44 and 2.45 below are all of the contexts.

(I) BJS

Table 2.43 Post-verbal instrumentals linked by *saddhiṃ* in BJS

No.	Contexts
(156)	*ekaṃ samayaṃ Bhagavā antarā ca Rājagahaṃ antarā ca Nāḷandaṃ addhānamagga–paṭipanno hoti* ***mahatā bhikkhusaṃghena saddhiṃ pañcamattehi bhikkhusatehi*** (BJS 1.1). 'Once the Blessed One was travelling along the main road between Rājagaha and Nāḷandā with a large group of monks, i.e. some five hundred.'
(157)	*Suppiyo pi kho paribbājako addhānamaggapaṭipanno hoti* ***saddhiṃ antevāsinā Brahmadattena māṇavena*** (BJS 1.1). 'The wanderer Suppiya was also travelling on the main road with his pupil, a young brahmin named Brahmadatta.'
(158)	*atha kho Bhagavā Ambalaṭṭhikāyaṃ rājāgārake ekarattivāsaṃ upagañchi* ***saddhiṃ bhikkhusaṃghena*** (BJS 1.2).[244] 'Then, the Blessed One went to stay overnight with his assembly

[244] Others are such as: *yo pana bhikkhu bhikkhūnaṃ sikkhāsājīvasamāpanno sikkhaṃ apaccakkhāya dubbalyaṃ anāvikatvā methunaṃ dhammaṃ paṭiseveyya antamaso tiracchānagatāya* (Vin III 23); *atha kho Sudinno Kalandaputto sambahulehi sahāyakehi saddhiṃ Vesāliṃ agamāsi kenacid eva karaṇīyena* (Vin III 11-12).

	of monks at the royal palace of Ambalaṭṭhikā.'
(159)	*ekaṃ samayaṃ Bhagavā* [...] *addhānamaggapaṭipanno hoti* ***mahatā bhikkhusaṃghena saddhiṃ pañcamattehi bhikkhusatehi*** (BJS 1.2). 'Once, the Blessed One was travelling along the main road with a large company of some five hundred monks.'

(II) SPS

Table 2.44 Post-verbal instrumentals linked by *saddhiṃ* in SPS

No.	Contexts
(160)	*ekaṃ samayaṃ Bhagavā Rājagahe viharati* ***Jīvakassa Komārabhaccassa Ambavane mahatā bhikkhusaṃghena saddhiṃ aḍḍhatelasehi bhikkhusatehi*** (SPS 47.1). 'Once the Blessed One was dwelling in the mango-grove of Jīvaka Komārabhacca at Rājagaha, together with a large company of twelve hundred and fifty monks.'
(161)	*ayaṃ deva Bhagavā arahaṃ sammāsambuddho amhākaṃ Ambavane viharati* ***mahatā bhikkhusaṃghena saddhiṃ aḍḍhatelasehi bhikkhusatehi*** (SPS 49.8) 'Sir, there is the Blessed One, the Arahant, the fully-enlightened Buddha staying in my mango-grove with a large company of monks, i.e. some twelve hundred and fifty.'

(III) BJSA

Table 2.45 Post-verbal instrumentals linked by *saddhiṃ* in BJSA

No.	Contexts
(152)	*paribbājako'pi* [...] *vāsaṃ upagañchi* ***saddhiṃ attano parisāya*** (BJSA

42). 'He took up residence for the rainy season with his assembly.'

The above data tells us that there are two contexts where *saddhiṃ* functions prepositionally, and five contexts where it functions post-positionally. On the basis of this evidence, the statement made by Sophonganaporn is correct. He based his arguments primarily on evidence in Dhp-a, and states that in Pāli *saha* is mostly prepositional while *saddhiṃ* principally post-positional.[245] My point is that both *saha* and *saddhiṃ* are not essential, even though in many cases they are used. Thai Pāli grammarians explain that the application of instrumentals in Pāli is twofold, and there is a Pāli verse summarising this: [246]

Table 2.46 A Pāli verse explaining the use of *saha* and *saddhiṃ*

No.	Context
(163)	***sahayogo dudhā hoti sahatthasahayogato, so puttena gato gehaṃ puttena saha saṃgamo.*** There are two ways to express 'in company with': by meaning and by putting the word *saha* itself. Examples are: *so puttena gato gehaṃ* ('He went home with his son') and *puttena saha saṃgamo* '([There is] a meeting with his son).'

[245] AVEPS I 1.

[246] Quoted in AVEPS I 62. The source of this verse, however, is not mentioned. Mogg-v 2.17 has: *sahatthena yoge tatiyā siyā. puttena saha gato, puttena saddhiṃ āgato, tatiyā pi chaṭṭhī va appadhāne eva bhavati.*

We see that in the first place a sing. instrumental (i.e. the first *puttena*) is used in isolation, without the particles *saha* or *saddhiṃ*, and syntactically this is called *sahatthatatiyā* ('instrumental with the sense of *saha*'). The instrumental can stand on its own, with a full sense of association. Kacc[247] and Sadd[248] state as an optional rule that: *sahādiyoge ca* ('The instrumental is applied in combination with words such as *saha*').[249] They do not specify that *saha* and *saddhiṃ* are required when the sense of accompaniment is needed. In addition, Sadd III 593 specifically states: *sahatthena*, which essentially means that the instrumental (alone) can be used in the sense of accompaniment (even without *saha* and *saddhiṃ*). The first example in the above verse indicates that, in fact, the word *saha* is not necessary if the finite verb is prefixed with *saṃ*, an inherited prefix from Vedic *sám-*[250]. Below are two examples where neither *saha* or *saddhiṃ* are needed:

Table 2.47 A Context of instrumental cases without *saha* or *saddhiṃ*

No.	Contexts
(164)	*Devadatto Rājagahaṃ pāvisi* ***kokālikena pacchāsamaṇena*** (Cf. Rūp-v Se 296). 'Devadatta entered the city of Rājagaha with a monk named Kokālika who was his attendant.'

247 Kacc 287.

248 Sadd III 592.

249 Other words in the same group include: *saddhiṃ, samaṃ, vinā, nānā, alaṃ*. See Sadd III 592 and AVEPS I 61.

250 See WR 1478; SED 1152; SWKF VII 1.

(165) *dukkho* ***bālehi*** *saṃvāso.*[251]
'Association with fools is painful.'

Both examples of (164) and (165) are illustrated in Sadd.[252] Sophonganaporn[253] gives another example from the Dhammapada Commentary: *pamādena na saṃvase* ('One should not dwell with negligence'). We see that the word *pāvisi* ('entered') in (164) is not prefixed with a particle which contains the sense of association like *saṃ.* The instrumentals: *kokālikena pacchāsamaṇena* stand in isolation without either *saha* or *saddhiṃ.* Another instrumental *bālehi* in (164), however, comes with the noun *saṃvāso* which possesses the preposition *saṃ*. Secondly, it is combined with the word *saha* or the like, syntactically called *sahayogatatiyā* ('instrumentals with an association with the word *saha*').

Sadd III 592[254] furnishes us with an additional explanation that there are usually six indeclinables combined with instrumentals, namely, *saha* ('with'), *saddhiṃ* ('with'), *samaṃ* ('by one self'), *nānā* ('variously'), *vinā* ('except') and *alaṃ* ('enough'). In addition, while explaining the *bahubbīhi* compound in association with the word *saha*, Sadd III 681 says: *sahassa hassa ca lopo vā,* which means in essence that in a compound the word *saha*

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[251] Cf. Dhp 207: *bālasaṅgatacārī hi, dīgham addhāna socati. dukkho bālehi saṃvāso, amitten' eva sabbadā. dhīro ca sukhasaṃvāso, ñātīnaṃ va samāgamo.*

[252] See the commentary on Sadd III 593.

[253] AVEPS I 61.

[254] The commentary on Sadd III 592 also provides some examples which occur in both Canonical and non-canonical texts.

sometimes remains intact and sometimes *-ha* is deleted so that it remains only *sa-*. Therefore, it is possible that the two indeclinables, *saha* and *saddhiṃ*, are inserted only for the semantic reason of making the meaning clearer. In other words, there is not much difference between having or not having the indeclinables *saha* and *saddhiṃ* in the sentence. Wijesekera[255] is correct in stating:

> 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.

However, Wijesekera does not pay proper attention to the syntactical order of both particles. There are two phenomena, whose causes we are seeking to explain: (1) Instrumentals which are placed post-verbally, and (2) The group of instrumentals introduced by *saddhiṃ.* I offer two explanations. On the one hand, in contexts where instrumentals come post-verbally without *saddhiṃ* or *saha,* they are commentalised, because in this respect instrumentals express means par excellence (see § 2.3.1, cf. (108), and (111) above). On the other hand, the post-verbal placement of instrumentals led by *saddhiṃ* follows the same principle and the word *saddhiṃ* (or *saha*) is added only to make the context in which it appears semantically clearer. However, since *saddhiṃ* itself is regarded as a particle and, in most cases, either *saddhiṃ*

[255] Wijesekera (1993: 81).

or *saha* has been employed to accompany instrumentals, all the instrumentals introduced by both should be regarded as an adverbial phrase, functioning as a group of sentence adverbs.

The next point which deserves special treatment is when both instrumentals led by *saddhiṃ* stand post-verbally and are further elaborated by another group of instrumentals. As shown above, this phenomenon occurs four times in the texts under my scrutiny, i.e. (156), (159), (161) and (162). The use of instrumentals in this way, in fact, seems common in early Pāli texts, as we find them regularly in many canonical texts. Despite this, very few scholars have paid proper attention to them. For instance, Wijesekera and von Hinüber explain the instrumentals which accompany *saddhiṃ* as idiomatic,[256] without explaining their syntactical order. The only exception is Sophonganaporn, who offered convincing explanations of this. He stated that the first group of instrumentals is the main noun, while the second group led by *saddhiṃ* is its *sarūpavisesana.* He quotes a context which occurs in BJS (156) above as his typical example, and explains that the word *bhikkhusatehi* is the *sarūpavisesana* of *bhikkhusaṃghena.*[257] I agree with these explanations. Even though he does not discuss further why words are placed post-verbally, his proposal is a good foundation for my analysis. To compare the contextual differences of *saddhiṃ* in a usual or typical situation and a specific one, I first set up a pattern of *saddhiṃ* in the standard situation of a declarative statement as follows:

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[256] Wijesekera (1993: 81) and Hinüber (1978: 111).

[257] AVEPS II 16.

S + [....] + **Instru** + ***saddhiṃ*** + **FV/FVP**

This pattern is formulated on the basis of six contexts where *saddhiṃ* is placed in its standard position and its phrase is not commentalised. Altogether, there are seven contexts in which it is found. Four similar examples occur in SPS while the other three occur in BJSA. Below are the contexts.

Table 2.48 Post-verbal instrumentals placed in the normative position

(1)	*upasaṃkamitvā Ajitena Kesakambalena* ***saddhiṃ*** *sammodiṃ* (SPS 55.22). 'Having approached Ajita Kesakambala, I exchanged courtesies with him.'
(2)	*upasaṃkamitvā Pakudhena Kaccāyanena* ***saddhiṃ*** *sammodiṃ* (SPS 56.25). 'Having approached Pakuddha Kaccāyana, I exchanged courtesies with him.'
(3)	*upasaṃkamitvā Nigaṇṭhena Nāṭaputtena* ***saddhiṃ*** *sammodiṃ* (SPS 57.28). 'Having approached Nigaṇṭha Nāṭaputta, I exchanged courtesies with him.'
(4)	*upasaṃkamitvā Sañjayena Belaṭṭhaputtena* ***saddhiṃ*** *sammodiṃ* (SPS 58.31). 'Having approached Sañjaya Belaṭṭhaputta, I exchanged courtesies with him.'
(5)	*Brahmadattena nāma taruṇantevāsinā* ***saddhiṃ*** [samāgacchati] (BJSA 36).

'[He goes together] with the young man named Brahmadatta.'

(6) *taṃ aññehi paṇḍitehi* [*samaṇabrāhmaṇehi*] ***saddhiṃ*** *saṃsandanatthāya pañhaṃ pucchati* (BJSA 68).
'He asks that question in order to compare [his knowledge] with other wise [ascetics and brahmins].'

(7) *idaṃ nāma aññehi paṇḍitehi samaṇabrāhmaṇehi* ***saddhiṃ*** *saṃsandetvā desessāmi* (BJSA 69).
'I will declare this [doctrine] by comparing with other wise ascetics and brahmins.'

The pattern shows that instrumentals are placed before *saddhiṃ* which is their governing word, as I have argued in Chapter One. The particle *saddhiṃ*, in turn, is placed before its finite verb, as it modifies the latter even though sometimes (such as [5] above) it may be left out as understood. The arrangement of instrumentals before *saddhiṃ* and the latter before its verb is the normative style, which is just found in the simple text without topicalisation or commentalisation. The data from the texts under my scrutiny (see Tables 2.43, 2.44, 2.45), however, suggests that there are another two patterns which differ from the normal usage:

Pattern I

 # S + [...] FV/FVP + *saddhiṃ* + Instru #

This pattern is modelled on (157), (158) and (162) above, where all the instrumentals follow their particle *saddhiṃ*, which functions prepositionally. The selection between the two patterns: **FV/FVP + *saddhiṃ* [preposition] +**

instrumentals, or **instrumentals+ *saddhiṃ* [postposition]**, seems to be based on authorial favour.

Pattern II

 # S + [...] FV/FVP + Instru (main nouns) + *Saddhiṃ* + *Sarūpavisesana* Nouns #

This pattern is drawn from (156), (159), (160) and (163) above, where a group of instrumentals led by *saddhiṃ* is placed post-verbally and *saddhiṃ* itself functions post-positionally as usual. In addition, the instrumentals, which are the main nouns, are further elaborated by another group of instrumentals. To illustrate this, let me take (156) as a typical example, as contextually all the four examples are similar in structure:

Table 2.49 Context of a nominal phrase led by *saddhiṃ*

No.	Context
(166)	*ekaṃ samayaṃ Bhagavā antarā ca Rājagahaṃ antarā ca Nāḷandaṃ addhānamaggapaṭipanno hoti* ***mahatā bhikkhusaṃghena saddhiṃ pañcamattehi bhikkhusatehi*** (BJS 1.1). 'Once the Blessed One was travelling along the main road between Rājagaha and Nāḷandā with a large group of monks, i.e. some five hundred.'

I interpret the assembled data shown above in the following way. First, the group of instrumentals: *mahatā bhikkhusaṃghena* is governed by *saddhiṃ*, which functions post-positionally as found in the standard situation. Second, the group of instrumentals governed by *saddhiṃ* is placed post-verbally. And third, the instrumentals governed by *saddhiṃ,* which are the main nouns, are

further elaborated by another group of instrumentals: *pañcamattehi bhikkhusatehi*, and this group of instrumentals is in fact an elaboration or *sarūpavisesana* of the main nouns in the instrumentals, i.e. *mahatā bhikkhusaṃghena.* The elaborative instrumentals clarify the number of monks, which is vaguely described by the main noun. Fourth, all the instrumentals are placed post-verbally.

I have two explanations for the post-verbal placement of the group of instrumentals led by *saddhiṃ.* The first possibility, which is most likely, is that it is commentalised. In other words, the adverbial phrase is emphatic, like many commentalised substantial nouns, or they gain added emphasis from that position. It seems clear that in the above contexts the number of monks is highlighted, and if it remains in the middle position, it is least likely to catch the attention of receivers of the message. If my interpretation is correct, commentalisation can extend to adverbial phrases as well. My second proposal is that the group of instrumentals led by *saddhiṃ* functions as an adverbial phrase which modifies the whole sentence. They are not placed inside the text simply because they functionally do not modify any particular word, rather the whole sentence. While it is true that an adverb is supposed to modify a particular word, all the verbs which are modified by the adverbial phrase are finite ones, which are in turn 'the core elements' of the messages. Therefore, when the adverbial phrase modifies a finite verb, whose action affects the other elements in the sentences, it can suitably be called a 'sentence

adverbial' in the sense that it modifies a whole sentence.[258] This proposal is based primarily on the fact that *saddhiṃ* itself is an indeclinable or an adverb. The second group of instrumentals: *pañcamattehi bhikkhusatehi* is the elaboration (*sarūpavisesana* nouns) of the main nouns, which are instrumentals governed by *saddhiṃ*, and therefore is placed after it because it is extra information.

§ 2.5 The Group of Post-verbal Adjectives

In all the examples given in the previous sections, the post-verbal words are substantial nouns or substantives. While investigating the selected texts, I find that there are many post-verbal words which are adjectives, and that these adjectives are not included in what are called *sarūpavisesana* nouns.

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[258] Swan (1988: 29) defines sentence adverb(ial) as: 'Such adverbials are speaker-oriented and have the sentence as scope, and can consequently be conceived of as reduced sentences or alternatively as expressing a separate proposition. Thus a sentence with an SA (i.e., sentence adverb[ial]) will be seen as having at least two sets of propositional content.' CCEG 418 (§ 10.56-10.67, i.e.) explains that: '[They] are called sentence adjuncts because they apply to the whole sentence they are in. They are sometimes called sentence adverbials or disjuncts in other grammars. Sentence adjuncts are often placed at the beginning of a sentence. Some are also used in other positions [...], but they are usually separated from the words around them by intonation or by commas, to show that they apply to the whole sentence.' See many examples of sentence adverbials in different contexts in English in CCBG 418ff. Scholarship which deals with definitions and classifications of sentence adverbs in English together with their positions in sentences include Swan (1988) and less comprehensively Kato (1993).

This phenomenon is in fact common to many Skt. and Pāli texts.[259] Thai Pāli syntacticians do not explain these words. Statistically, post-verbal adjectives occur three times in BJS while in SPS they occur seventeen times, including repetitions. In BJSA, on the other hand, they occur three times. The contexts in which they appear are similar to those of *sarūpavisesana* nouns in that in most cases they constitute extra information. Firstly, I shall give all of the contexts, after discarding repetitions, and then I shall analyse them. Below are all of their contexts in BJS, SPS and BJSA.

(I) BJS

BJS contains three contexts where the adjectives occur post-verbally, one of which occurs twice. One post-verbal adjective comes in the form of the accu. sing. phrase (i.e.: *kālena sāpadesaṃ pariyantavatiṃ atthasaṃhitaṃ*) while the other, which occurs twice, is a phrase in the nom. sing. (i.e. *tiriyaṃ anantasaññī*). Below are all of the contexts.

Table 2.50 Post-verbal adjectives in BJS

No.	Contexts
(167)	*samphappalāpaṃ pahāya samphappalāpā paṭivirato samaṇo Gotamo kālavādī bhūtavādī atthavādī dhammavādī vinayavādī nidhānavatiṃ* ***vācaṃ*** *bhāsitā* ***kālena sāpadesaṃ pari– yantavatiṃ atthasaṃhitaṃ*** (BJS 4-5.9).

[259] Earlier, Thomnen (1994: 2), who investigated the languages of Mbh, Ja, and Dśk, brought to light that Skt. and Pāli in these texts are evidently characterized by the use of many adjectives.

	'The ascetic Gotama, refraining from idle chatter, speaks at the right time, what is correct, and to the point, and speaks of the doctrine and the discipline. He speaks words which are treasured, seasonable, reasoned, well-defined and connected with the goal.'
(168)	[...] *yathā samāhite*[260] *citte uddhamadho antasaññī lokasmiṃ viharāmi,* ***tiriyaṃ anantasaññī*** (BJS 23.19, 23.46). 'Just as, with my mind concentrated, I dwell perceiving the world as finite up-and-down and infinite across.'

(II) SPS

SPS contains eight contexts where post-verbal adjectives appear, some of which are repeated. All of the post-verbal adjectives are either nom., namely (170), and (173), or accu., namely (169), (111), (171) and (174). Below are all of the contexts.'

Table 2.51 Post-verbal adjectives in SPS

No.	Contexts
(169)	[...] *samaṇabrāhmaṇesu uddhaggikaṃ dakkhiṇaṃ patiṭṭhāpenti* ***sova-ggikaṃ sukhavipākaṃ saggasaṃvattanikaṃ*** (SPS 51.14, 52.16, 59.34). 'They maintain a gift for ascetics and brahmins which is aimed at a lofty end, which assures themselves a heavenly reward, a happy result and tends towards paradise.'

[260] Variant reading: while the PTS version reads: *samahite,* the Siamese one has: *samāhite*. I follow the latter.

(170) *so evaṃ pabbajito samāno kāyena saṃvuto vihareyya vācāya saṃvuto vihareyya manasā saṃvuto vihareyya* ***ghāsacchādanaparamatāya santuṭṭho abhirato paviveke*** (SPS 60.35 [twice], 61.39 [twice]).
'Having thus gone forth, he might dwell, restrained in body, speech and thought, satisfied with the minimum of food and clothing, delighting in solitude.'

(171) *so imamhā kāyā aññaṃ kāyaṃ abhinimmināti* ***rūpiṃ manomayaṃ sabbaṅgapaccaṅgaṃ ahīnindriyaṃ*** (SPS 77.85 [twice]).
'He produces another body out of this body, which has a form, is mind-made, and is complete in all its limbs and faculties.'

(172) *so dhammaṃ deseti* ***ādikalyāṇaṃ majjhe kalyāṇaṃ pariyosānakalyāṇaṃ sātthaṃ savyañjanaṃ*** (SPS 62.40).
'He teaches the dhamma which is good in its beginning, good in its middle, good in its ending, in the spirit and in the letter.'

(173) *evaṃ pabbajito samāno pātimokkhasaṃvarasaṃvuto viharati* ***ācāragocara-sampanno*** (SPS 63.42).
'Having gone forth thus, he dwells restrained by the restraint of the rules, persisting in right behaviour.'

(174) *so dibbāya sotadhātuyā visuddhāya atikkantamānusikāya ubho sadde suṇāti* ***dibbe ca mānuse ca*** (SPS 79.89, 79.90).
'He hears two sounds, i.e. both divine and human, with his divine ear, which is purified and surpasses that of human beings.'

(175) *iti dibbena cakkhunā visuddhena atikkantamānusakena satte passati* ***cavamāne upapajjamāne*** (SPS 82-3.95 [twice]).
'Thus with his divine eye, which is purified and surpasses that of human beings, he sees beings who pass away and arise.'

(176)	*eso maharaja Bhagavā majjhimaṃ thambhaṃ nissāya puratthābhimukho nisinno* ***purakkhato bhikkhusaṃghassa*** (SPS 50.11). 'Your Majesty, that is the Lord sitting against the middle column, facing east, with his order of monks in front of him.'

(III) BJSA

BJSA has three contexts where post-verbal adjectives occur. The case forms which are found are accu., namely in (178) and (179), and instru., namely in (177). Below are all of the contexts.

Table 2.52 Post-verbal adjectives in BJSA

No.	Contexts
(177)	***māṇavehi*** *samāgacchanti* ***katakammehi pi akatakammehi pi*** (BJSA 36). 'They associate with young men *who have and have not committed deeds*.'
(178)	*so ajānitvā va gacchanto gīvaṃ ukkhipitvā olokayamāno Bhagavantaṃ addasa* ***Buddhasiriyā sobhamānaṃ rattakambalaparikkhittaṃ viya jaṃgamaṃ kanakagirisikharaṃ*** (BJSA 39). 'Suppiya, not knowing that [the Buddha was there], raised his neck and saw the Blessed One who was beautified by a Buddha's splendour and was like a moving golden mountain wrapped in a red woollen garment.'
(179)	*tato Bhagavā sampattaparisāya anurūpena pāṭihāriyena gantvā dhammasabhāyaṃ paññattavarabuddhāsane nisajja dhammaṃ deseti* ***kālayuttaṃ samayayuttaṃ*** (BJSA 47).

> 'When his assembly was complete, the Blessed One went up there with an appropriate miracle, sat down on the Buddha's seat which was prepared in the dhamma hall and declared the dhamma which is suitable to time and period.'

The data from (167) to (179) shows that the post-verbal words are either adjectives or adjectival phrases.[261] It is evident that the case form which occurs more often is the accusative. It also shows that even though adjectives are equally placed after their finite verbs and are similar structurally and contextually, they are different semantically. The semantic differences have inclined me to categorise all the above post-verbal adjectives into three main groups, which I shall explain in detail with illustrations in the following three sub-sections.

§ 2.5.1 Post-verbal extra adjectives which define main nouns more exactly

This group of post-verbal adjectives functionally specifies a main

[261] A similar phenomenon also occurs in early Vedic. See Delbrück (1878: 54ff. [§ 27]). One of many examples provided by Delbrück suffices: (I B.1, 8, 1: 'He continued praising and practising mortification, desirous of offspring'). According to Delbrück, such an adjective is very much like a subordinate clause and, due to this, it is placed in a special position ('Das Adjectivum ist so viel werth wie ein Nebensatz, und darin liegt der Grund der Sonderstellung.'). Gonda (1959a: 44) further explains that in the Brāhmaṇas such passages are far from rare and, according to him, the adjective may be equivalent to a conditional clause and this adjective may be a participle. However, he considers that all adjectives, nominals and participles which are placed at the end of the sentence are equivalent to a conditional clause. In my view, in many contexts post-verbal present participles should be excluded from normal adjectives and past participles, as they may functionally denote actions which occur at the same time as their finite verbs.

noun. The evidence indicates that a main noun here is the object of the finite verb and is used in a broader sense. The additional adjectives provide information to specify the main noun in a definite sense. This group of adjectives is found four times. Table 2.53 shows this group of adjectives.

Table 2.53 Post-verbal extra adjectives

Body of the Context	FV	Post-verbal Adjectives
so imamhā kāyā ***aññaṃ kāyaṃ***	***abhinimminā**ti*	*rūpiṃ manomayaṃ sabbaṃgapaccaṃgaṃ ahīnindriyaṃ* (171).
so dibbāya sotadhātuyā visuddhāya atikkantamā-nusikāya ***ubho sadde***	***suṇāti***	*dibbe ca mānuse ca* (174).
iti dibbena cakkhunā visuddhena atikkanta-mānusakena ***satte***	***passati***	*cavamāne upapajjamāne* (175).
māṇavehi	***samā gacchanti***	*katakammehi akatakammehi.* (177).

We see that in (171), the main noun: *aññaṃ kāyaṃ*, which is in the accusative, is still used in a broader sense. In other words, we do not know what 'another body' looks like. The additional adjectives: *rūpiṃ manomayaṃ sabbaṃgapaccaṃgaṃ ahīnindriyaṃ* clarify its specific characteristics. In (174), the main nouns: *ubho sadde* are also still broad and need clarifying. The two adjectives: *dibbe ca mānuse ca* specify the sounds that they mean, namely, ('the ones which are divine and human'). In (175), the main noun is *satte* ('beings')

which is still broad. The additional adjectives: *cavamāne upapajjamāne* give us specific information about those beings. In a similar way in (178), the adjectives: *katakammehi akatakammehi* specify the main noun *māṇavehi*.

§ 2.5.2 Post-verbal adjectives which are non-restrictive

Semantically speaking, this group of post-verbal adjectives provides additional information or explanations not essential to the texts, like non-restrictive appositional nouns. These adjectives can be divided into two major groups on the basis of their meanings. The first is the group of adjectives which are synonymous with one another and the second is the group of adjectives which modify a main noun. These two groups of adjectives are illustrated in Tables 2.54 and 2.55.

Table 2.54 Post-verbal extra adjectives

The Body of the Contexts	FV	Post-verbal Adjectives
samaṇabrāhmaṇesu uddhaggikaṃ ***dakkhiṇaṃ***	***patiṭṭhāpenti***	*sovaggikaṃ sukhavipākaṃ saggasaṃvattanikaṃ* (167).
samphappalāpaṃ pahāya samphappalāpā paṭivirato samaṇo Gotamo kālavādī bhūtavādī atthavādī dhammavādī vinayavādī ***nidhānavatiṃ vācaṃ***	***bhāsitā***	*kālena sāpadesaṃ, pariyantavatiṃ, atthasaṃhitaṃ* (168).

Table 2.55 Post-verbal non-restrictive adjectives

Body of the Contexts	FV	Post-verbal Adjectives
so ***dhammaṃ***	***deseti***	*ādikalyāṇaṃ majjhe*

		kalyāṇaṃ pariyosāna-kalyāṇaṃ sātthaṃ savyañjanaṃ (172).
so ajānitvā va gacchanto gīvaṃ ukkhipitvā olokayamāno ***Bhagavantaṃ***	***addasa***	*Buddhasiriyā sobhamānaṃ rattakambalaparikkhittaṃ viya jaṃgamaṃ kanaka-girisikharaṃ* (178).
tato Bhagavā sampattaparisāya anurūpena pāṭihāriyena gantvā dhammasabhāyaṃ paññatta-varabuddhāsane nisajja ***dhammaṃ***	***deseti***	*kālayuttaṃ samayayuttaṃ* (179).

We see that the main nouns in the accu. are already given and specified. The post-verbal adjectives merely provide other characteristics of them, like the post-verbal *sarūpavisesana* nouns which provide additional explanations. The difference is only that in the above contexts the post-verbally explaining words are adjectives instead.

§ 2.5.3 Post-verbal adjectives as a result of an authorial or literary style

This group of post-verbal adjectives occurs in a context where there is more than one adjective in the sentence. One adjective is placed before the finite verb while the other is placed after it. Both share the same agent with the same finite verb. These adjectives, which are found twice in the texts under scrutiny, are shown in Table 2.56.

Table 2.56 Post-verbal placement of adjectives

Body of the Contexts	FV	Post-verbal Adjs.
so evaṃ pabbajito samāno kāyena saṃvuto ***vihareyya*** *vācāya saṃvuto vihareyya, manasā saṃvuto*	***vihareyya***	*ghāsacchādanaparamatāya santuṭṭho abhirato paviveke* (170).
evaṃ pabbajito samāno pātimokkhasaṃvara- saṃvuto	***viharati***	*ācāragocarasampanno* (173).
yathā samāhite citte uddhamadho antasaññī lokasmiṃ	***viharāmi***	*tiriyaṃ anantasaññī* (168).
eso mahārāja Bhagavā majjhimaṃ thambhaṃ nissāya puratthābhimukho	***nisinno***	***purakkhato bhikkhusaṃghassa*** (176).

We see that in (170) the finite verb is inserted after almost every adjective, except the last one, i.e. *ghāsacchādanaparamatāya santuṭṭho abhirato paviveke*. In the same way, in (173), the word *ācaragocarasampanno*, is placed after its finite verb *viharati* while the compound used as an adjective, *pātimokkhasaṃvarasaṃvuto* is placed before it. Similarly, the post-verbal adjectival phrase: *tiriyaṃ anantasaññī* is placed after the finite verb *viharati.* Semantically, all the adjectives are not synonymous. They describe the main noun in a different way. The phrase: *purakkhato bhikkhusaṃghassa* ('[lit.] of the Order of Buddhist monks who are in front [of him]') in (176) is an adjectival phrase like *puratthābhimukho* which is placed before the word

nisinno. However, the phrase is placed post-verbally. It is deliberately moved to the end of the sentence. This placement stresses the fact that the Buddha, and no-one else, sits directly in front of his monks. Because all the adjectives have an equal status, the placement of one adjective before its finite verb and the others after it seems to be based on the fact that they have the same finite verb. In other words, such placement avoids redundant repetitions. It is possible that the avoidance of repetitions eventually became an authorial style or a conventional norm. The inversion in the second phrase of the order of words in the first in (170), i.e. *abhirato paviveke* is not dictated by surrounding syntactical constraints, but it is a literary device of the author(s), known as *chiasmus*.[262]

§ 2.6 The group of post-verbal words conjoined by conjunctions *ca* and *vā*

This group of post-verbal words differs from the previous sections in that it is connected by either *ca* or *vā*. Some of them are nouns or substantives while some are subject complements. It is important to note that these post-verbal words are neither synonymous with pre-verbal nouns, nor are they explanatory elements. They are totally different things and have an equal status. However, one noun is placed pre-verbally while the rest, sometimes more than one, are placed post-verbally. This phenomenon is found nine

[262] The term *chiasmus* (pl. *chiasmi*) is derived from the Greek word *chiasmos* ('diagonal or crosswise arrangement'). Liddell & Scott (GEL 1991) explain the Greek word *χιασμός* as 'placing crosswise, diagonal arrangement'. It is a literary device used by poets to invert, in the second of two parallel phrases, the order followed in the first. See also Fowler (1926: 86); DS 53-54.

times: six in BJS and three in SPS. It is totally absent in BJSA. Tables 2.57 and 2.58 below give all of the contexts after discarding repetitions.

(I) BJS

Table 2.57 Post-verbal words conjoined by *ca* in BJS

No.	Contexts
(180)	*iti ha te ubho ācariyantevāsī aññamaññassa ujuvipaccanīkavādā Bhaga-vantaṃ piṭṭhito piṭṭhito anubaddhā honti* ***bhikkhusaṃghañ ca*** (BJS 1.1, 2.2, 2.3, 2.4). 'Thus, disputing with one another, both teacher and pupil followed close behind the Blessed One and his order of monks.'
(181)	*eke bhonto samaṇabrāhmaṇā saddhādeyyāni bhojanāni bhuñjitvā te kuhakā ca honti* ***lapakā ca nemittikā ca nippesikā ca lābhena ca lābhaṃ nijigiṃsitāro*** (BJS 8.20). 'Sirs, feeding on the food which should be given out of faith, some ascetics and brahmins are frauds, babblers, soothsayers, jugglers, and eagerly desire gain upon gain.'
(182)	*yo so satto paṭhamaṃ upapanno so dīghataro ca hoti* ***vaṇṇavantataro ca mahesakkhataro ca*** (BJS 18.6 [twice]). 'That being who was born there first is more long-lived, more beautiful and more powerful [than others].'

(II) SPS

Table 2.58 Post-verbal words conjoined by *ca* and *vā* in SPS

No.	Contexts
(183)	*idha mahārāja nigaṇṭho sabbavārīvārito ca hoti,* ***sabbavārīyuto ca,***

sabbavārīdhuto ca, sabbavārīpuṭṭho ca (SPS 57.29).

'Your Majesty, here this Jain is restrained by all restraints, fastened [yoked] by all restraints, has evil shaken off by the restraint of evil and is subjected to all restraints'.[263]

(184) *yathā va pan' eke bhonto samaṇabrāhmaṇā saddhādeyyāni bhojanāni bhuñjitvā te kuhakā ca honti* ***lapakā ca nemittikā ca nippesikā ca lābhena ca lābhaṃ nijigiṃsitāro*** (SPS 67.55).

'Your Majesty, here, feeding on the food which should be given out of faith, some ascetics and brahmins are frauds, babblers, soothsayers, jugglers, and eagerly desire gain upon gain.'

(185) *na kho me bhante garu, yatth' assa Bhagavā nisinno* ***Bhagavanta-rūpā***[264] ***vā*** (SPS 51.15).

'Wherever the Blessed One or one like him would sit down, I do not mind.'

We see that in (180) the accu. sing. *bhikkhusaṃghaṃ* is a direct object of *anubaddhā* like the pre-verbal accu. sing. *Bhagavantaṃ*. The first noun in the accu sing. *Bhagavantaṃ*, however, does not have the conjoining *ca*, which is placed after the accu. sing. *bhikkhusaṃghaṃ*, which is placed before the predicative group: *anubaddhā honti.* In (181) the post-verbal words are subject complements in the nom. sing., syntactically called *vikatikattā.* Only one subject complement is placed before its predicative group while the rest:

[263] This text refers particularly to Jain practices. Scholars such as Rhys Davids (1910: 74), Horner (1957: 41-42), etc. offer different interpretations and translations. My translations here are adopted from Norman (1992: 168).

[264] Variant reading: *Bhagavantarūpo* (Se).

lapakā ca nemittikā ca nippesikā ca lābhena ca lābhaṃ nijigiṃsitāro, are placed post-verbally. The particle *ca* is placed after every subject complement except the last one, i.e. *lābhaṃ nijigiṃsitāro*.

In (182) there are three subject complements, one of which is placed pre-verbally while the rest are placed after it. The particle *ca* appears after every subject complement. In (183) the structure is similar to (184), in that the conjoining particle *ca* appears after every subject complement, except that there are four subject complements. (185) is similar to (186). Indeed, the subject complements used in (181) and (184) seem to be among the 'stock in trade' used by the authors of both BJS and SPS. In (185) we see a similar structure between words conjoined by the particles *ca* and *vā*, as the placement of *vā* here is similar to the placement of *ca* in (180). Here the post-verbal noun, *Bhagavantarūpā*, is followed by the particle *vā*. It has the same finite verb as *Bhagavā.* The word *Bhagavantarūpā*, an optional subject, is placed post-verbally followed by *vā.*

The syntactical problem we are trying to solve now is why the subject complements are placed post-verbally. Vajirañāṇavarorasa[265] argues, in effect, that if there are many subject complements which come with a copula, only one of them is placed before its finite verb while the rest are placed after it. His explanation is elaborated with illustrations by Sommasarn and Thongphakdī (HCPTL 61) and Udomyānamolī (MCP 53). However, these Thai scholars do not explain why they are so placed. The data I have gathered shows that these subject complements qualify their agents from different

[265] BW 6 45.

perspectives and that the post-verbal subject complements have similar finite verbs.

Given that the 'fourfold restraint' (*cātuyāmasaṃvara* or *cātuyāmasu-saṃvuto*, according to S I 66) discussed in (183) refers to different kinds of religious practice in Jainism,[266] it is possible that these verbs are omitted as understood. The most likely explanation for the post-verbal placement of subject complements conjoined by either *ca* or *vā*, then, is that it is redundant to have finite verbs repeated several times. Because the subject complements modify the same subject and finite verbs, only one finite verb is placed after the first subject complement and the remaining subject complements are placed after it. The omission of unneccessary words corresponds to what is known among modern linguists as gapping or ellipsis.[267]

§ 2.7 The group of post-verbal subjective complements

This group of post-verbal words is similar to the previous section (§ 2.6), except that subjective complements in this group do not have the

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[266] A similar context occurs in D III 48; M I 377 and S I 66. Cf. Sv 168; Ps III 58, 59; Spk I 127. See a discussion on this point by Balbir (2000: 9ff.) and Norman (1992: 167-168).

[267] Gonda (1960 fn. 16). Gonda (1960: 6) defines the linguistic term as: 'the phenomenon that part of an expression which is current in normal usage or part of a construction which is, in a given milieu, usual, is omitted, because at the moment of speaking (or writing) it may be dispensed with and inevitably and as a matter of course supplied by the audience or understood by them in the construction of the sentence'. As Gonda has shown, 'ellipsis' is defined differently by other scholars such as Gardiner (1932: 270) who uses the term to embrace all those types of incongruent functions where the feeling of an omission is awakened. See Gonda (1960: fn. 16).

particles *ca* and *vā* to link them. These subject complements, called syntactically *vikatikattā,* as already mentioned in Chapter One,[268] usually come with a copula and co-function predicatively.[269] Literally, the term *vikatikattā* is translated as 'doing alteration'. The number of occurrences of this phenomenon found in each of the selected texts is almost the same. It occurs ten times in BJS, three times in SPS and seven times in BJSA. This indicates that the use of post-verbal subject complements is common in both canonical and non-canonical texts. I shall offer all the data, followed by my analysis. Tables 2.59, 2.60 and 2.61 below contain all of their contexts, after discarding repetitions.

(I) BJS

Table 2.59 Post-verbal subject complements in BJS

No.	Contexts
(186)	*idha, bhikkhave, ekacco samaṇo vā brāhmaṇo vā* ***takkī*** *hoti* ***vīmaṃsī*** (BJS 16.34, 21.13, 29.32). 'Monks, an ascetic or brahmin in this world is a logician and a reasoner.'

[268] See Chapter One, § 1.4.3.

[269] The data from the selected texts also shows that sometimes a copula is omitted and all the subject complements are juxtaposed. This sentence structure is known among Western scholars as 'a nominal sentence'. The contexts in which the subject complements come last in sentences without a copula occur seven times, i.e. four times in BJS (BJS 4.8, 4.9, 4.9, 17.37) and three in BJSA (BJSA 35, 36, 40). As a copula does not occur explicitly in these contexts, I shall not investigate their contexts here.

(187) *te tattha honti* ***manomayā pītibhakkhā sayaṃpabhā antalikkhacarā subhaṭṭhāyino*** (BJS 17.2; 17.3).

'There they dwell, mind-made, feeding on delight, self-luminous, moving through the air and glorious.'

(188) *te pi tattha honti* ***manomayā pītibhakkhā sayaṃpabhā antalikkhacarā subhaṭṭhāyino*** (BJS 18.4).

'There they dwell, mind-made, feeding on delight, self-luminous, moving through the air and glorious.'

(189) *idha bhikkhave ekacco samaṇo vā brāhmaṇo vā* ***mando*** *hoti* ***momūho*** (BJS 27.27).

'Monks, here an ascetic or brahmin is dull and stupid.'

(190) *idha bhikkhave ekacco samaṇo vā brāhmaṇo vā* ***evaṃvādī*** *hoti* ***evaṃdiṭṭhī****: 'yato kho bho ayaṃ attā pañcahi kāmaguṇehi samappito*[...][ti]' (BJS 36.20).

'Monks, an ascetic or brahmin declares and holds the view that as far as this self which is endowed with the fivefold sense-pleasures [...].'

(191) *tayidaṃ bhikkhave Tathāgato pajānāti: 'ime diṭṭhiṭṭhānā evaṃgahitā evaṃparāmaṭṭhā evaṃgatikā bhavissanti* ***evaṃabhisamparāyā*** (BJS 16.36, 38.26).

'Monks, the Tathāgata understands this: when these viewpoints are grasped at and adhered to in this way, they will lead to such and such destinations in another world.'

(II) SPS

Table 2.60 Post-verbal subject complements in SPS

No.	Contexts
(192)	*abrahmacariyaṃ pahāya brahmacārī hoti* ***ārācārī virato methunā gāmadhammā*** (SPS 63.43). 'Having abandoned unchastity, he lives a celibate life, living far from unchastity and refraining from the village-practice of sex.'
(193)	*idha mahārāja bhikkhu cakkhunā rūpaṃ disvā na nimittaggāhī hoti* ***nānuvyañjanaggāhī*** (SPS 70.64). 'Your Majesty, here, on seeing a visible object with the eye, a monk does not grasp at its major signs or secondary characteristics.'
(194)	*ahaṃ kho pubbe ābādhiko ahosiṃ* ***dukkhito bāḷhagilāno*** (SPS 72.70 [twice]) 'Before this I was ill, suffering and terribly sick.'

(III) BJSA

Table 2.61 Post-verbal subject complements in BJSA

No.	Contexts
(195)	*sā hoti* ***kācadaṇḍake olaggitvā gahitaoluggaviluggapīṭhikātidaṇḍa-morapiñjamattikāpasibbakakuṇḍikādianekaparikkhārabhārabharitā 'asukassa hatthā sobhanā asukassa pādā' ti evamādiniratthaka vacanamukharā vippakiṇṇavācā adassanīyā apāsādikā*** (BJSA 41). '[The assembly of that wanderer] is burdened by many requisites such as small three-legged chairs, earth-made alms bowls with the

colour resembling a peacock's tail, sacks and a water pot, which are suspended and hung in a disorderly way onto a carrying-pole. It talks of this and that, usually speaks useless words such as 'The hands of that person are beautiful, the feet of that person are beautiful', is not attractive and does not inspire faith.'

(196) *tañ c' assa gamanaṃ tathaṃ ahosi* ***avitathaṃ*** *anekesaṃ visesādhigamānaṃ*[270] *pubbanimitta– bhāvena* (BJSA 61).

'The going of the Blessed One is true, i.e. unchangeable because it is the prior indication of various specific attainments.'

(197) *tañ c' assa gamanaṃ tathaṃ ahosi* ***avitathaṃ tesaṃ yeva visesādhigamānaṃ***[271] ***pubbani– mittabhāvena*** (BJSA 61).

'The going of the Blessed One is true, i.e. unchangeable because it is the prior indication of those specific attainments.'

(198) *sabbaṃ taṃ* [...] *tatham eva hoti* ***avitathaṃ*** (BJSA 66).

'All the [Buddha's] words' are true, i.e. unchangable.'

(199) *katamā adiṭṭhajotanā pucchā nāma? pakatiyā lakkhaṇaṃ aññātaṃ hoti* ***adiṭṭhaṃ atulitaṃ atīritaṃ avibhūtaṃ avibhāvitaṃ*** [...]. (BJSA 68).

'What is the question for elucidating the unseen? Usually, the characteristic is not known, unseen, unconsidered, unscrutinised, unclear, unexplained [...].'

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[270] I follow the Thai reading *-gamānaṃ,* as it makes more sense than the PTS reading *-gamanaṃ.*

[271] See fn. 91.

(200) *katamā diṭṭhasaṃsandanā pucchā? pakatiyā lakkhaṇaṃ ñātaṃ hoti* ***diṭṭhaṃ tulitaṃ tīritaṃ vibhūtaṃ vibhāvitaṃ*** (BJSA 68).
'What is the question for comparing other opinions with one's view? Usually, the characteristic [of this information] is known, seen, considered, scrutinised, clear and examined.'

(201) *katamā vimaticchedanā pucchā? pakatiyā saṃsayapakkhanto hoti* ***vimatipakkhanto dveḷhakajāto*** (BJSA 68).
'What is the question for dispelling uncertainty? Usually, a man is sceptical, suspicious and doubtful'.

Vajirañāṇavarorasa (see § 2.6) has explained that if there is more than one subject complement, only one is placed before a copula while the rest are placed after it. Unfortunately, he does not explain why. However, the examined data shows some striking similarities between the placement of post-verbal adjectives and post-verbal subject complements. There are three different contexts for the above post-verbal subject complements and I shall detail them below.

§ 2.7.1 One subject complement is post-verbal, the rest are pre-verbal

This post-verbal placement of the subject complement follows the general order as mentioned by Vajirañāṇavarorasa. All the contexts in which post-verbal subject complements occur are shown in Table 2.62.

Table 2.62 Contexts of the type of post-verbal subject complements

Body of the Text	FV	Post-verbal Subject Comp
idha bhikkhave ekacco samaṇo	*hoti*	***vīmaṃsī*** (186).

vā brāhmaṇo vā takkī		
idha, bhikkhave, ekacco samaṇo vā brāhmaṇo vā mando	*hoti*	***momūho*** (187).
idha, bhikkhave, ekacco samaṇo vā brāhmaṇo vā evaṃvādī	*hoti*	***evaṃdiṭṭhī:*** '*yatho kho bho ayaṃ attā pañcahi kāmaguṇehi samappito* [..].' (191).
abrahmacariyaṃ pahāya brahmacārī	*hoti*	***ārācārī virato methunā gāmadhammā*** (192).
idha mahārāja bhikkhu cakkhunā rūpaṃ disvā na nimittaggāhī	*hoti*	***nānuvyañjanaggāhī*** (193).
ahaṃ kho pubbe ābādhiko	*ahosiṃ*	***dukkhito bāḷhagilāno*** (194).
tañ c' assa gamanaṃ tathaṃ	*ahosi*	***avitathaṃ anekesaṃ visesādhigamānaṃ pubbanimittabhāvena*** (195).
tañ c' assa gamanaṃ tathaṃ	*ahosi*	***avitathaṃ tesaṃ yeva visesādhigamānaṃ*** [272] ***pubbanimittabhāvena*** (196).
sabbaṃ taṃ [...] *tatham eva*	*hoti*	***avitathaṃ*** (197).
katamā adiṭṭhajotanāpucchā nāma? pakatiyā lakkhaṇaṃ	*hoti*	***adiṭṭhaṃ atulitaṃ atīritaṃ avibhūtaṃ avibhāvitaṃ*** (199).

[272] See fn. 91.

aññātaṃ		
katamā diṭṭhasaṃsandanā pucchā? pakatiyā lakkhaṇaṃ ñātaṃ	*hoti*	***diṭṭhaṃ tulitaṃ tīritaṃ vibhŪtaṃ vibhāvitaṃ*** (200).
katamā vimatichedanā pucchā? pakatiyā saṃsayapakkhanto	*hoti*	***vimatipakkhanto dveḷhakajāto*** (201).

The examined data shown above is structurally the same, except that in (191) the post-verbal subject complements have an elaboration in the form of a sentence, which lengthens them. All the post-verbal subject complements occur in a context where there is another post-verbal subject complement placed before a copula. A possible explanation for why these subject complements are placed post-verbally is potentially the same as to why *sarūpavisesana* nouns are placed post-verbally. The data show that only context (193) contains subject complements which describe different aspects of the subject. It seems appropriate to add the particle *ca* there. In the other contexts, however, the post-verbal subject complements are merely additional decorations to the text. They merely restate the pre-verbal subject complements which are already given. If all these contexts are scrutinised in terms of semantics, one thing stands out: one subject complement placed pre-verbally is enough to make sense of the sentence. The rest are merely *sarūpavisesana* adjectives added to elaborate the subject.

§ 2.7.2 Cases in which subject complements are placed after their finite verbs

This phenomenon does not occur often. In the selected texts, it is

found only four times, three of which are in the BJS and one of which is found in BJSA. Of those which occur in BJS, one is repeated. All the contexts are given in Table 2.63, after discarding repetitions.

Table 2.63 Contexts where subject complements are post-verbal

N/NP (Subjects)	FV	Post-verbal Subject Complements
te tattha	*honti*	***manomayā pītibhakkhā sayaṃpabhā antalikkhacarā subhaṭṭhāyino*** (187).
te pi tattha	*honti*	***manomayā pītibhakkhā sayaṃpabhā antalikkhacarā subhaṭṭhāyino*** (188).
sā	*hoti*	***kācadaṇḍake olaggitvā gahitaoluggaviluggapīṭhikāti ḍaṇḍamorapinja– mattikāpasibbakakuṇḍikādianeka-parikkhāraapāsādikābhārabharitā 'asukassa hatthā sobhanā asukassa pādā' ti evamādiniratthakavacana-mukharā vippakiṇṇavācā adassanīyā apāsādikā*** (196).

The above data shows that all the post-verbal words are subject complements. The contexts of the post-verbal subject complements in (187) and (188) are similar. Semantically, these contexts explain life in the Brahmā world, in which beings are described as 'mind-made, feeding on delight, self-luminous, moving through the air and glorious.' What we see in the data is that the characteristics of that life are sifted and explained in the form of phrases. Because the structure occurs three times in the same text (i.e. 17.2, 17.3, 18.4), it is possible that the author(s) deliberately commentalised them to make the characteristics of life in the Brahmā world more prominent. On the other hand, the context in (195), which occurs in BJSA, is similar to the

previous three. It contains the negative impression of the assembly of a wanderer. All the subject complements, which describe improper behaviours of disciples of the wanderer, are placed together after the copula. It is likely that they too are deliberately commentalised.

§ 2.8 Post-verbal case forms which function adverbially

The cases in this section are distinguished from the previous cases in that the post-verbal nouns or substantives function syntactically as adverbials. Case forms functioning adverbially are, in fact, found even in IE.[273] In the texts under my scrutiny, only instrumentals are found. In terms of function, these instrumentals describe the manner of their finite verbs. In other words, they modify the whole sentence in which they occur. They occur six times, with one duplication. Below are all of the contexts after discarding repetitions.

Table 2.64 Post-verbal adverbial nouns

No.	Contexts
(202)	*accayo maṃ bhante accagamā* ***yathābālaṃ yathāmūḷhaṃ yathā-akusalaṃ*** (SPS 85.99). 'O Lord, transgression overcame me because of my foolishness, delusion and wrongness.'
(203)	*so aparena samayena tamhā bandhanā mucceyya* ***sotthinā avyayena*** (SPS 72.71[twice]). 'At a later time he would be freed from that bond with safety, i.e.

[273] See Brugmann (1892). In his work, Brugmann deals with all case forms in IE and at times show an adverbial application of those cases. Adverbs in Sanskrit have been dealt with at length by Dyen (1939), Whitney, § 1097ff. and Gombrich (1979), to mention but a few.

without any loss.'

(204) *nidānavatiṃ vācaṃ bhāsitā* [hoti] ***kālena*** (SPS 64.44).
'He speaks speech which is well grounded at the proper time.'

(205) *so aparena samayena taṃ kantāraṃ nitthareyya, sotthinā gāmantaṃ anupāpuṇeyya* ***khemaṃ appaṭibhayaṃ***[274] (SPS 73.73).
'After a time, he would get through the desert and arrive safe and sound at the edge of a village.'

(206) *Bhagavā hi pāto va uṭṭhāya* [...] *piṇḍāya pavisati* ***kadāci pakatiyā kadāci anekehi pāṭihāriyehi vattamānehi*** (BJSA 45).
'The Blessed One, having got up early in the morning enters [the city] for alms, sometimes as normal and sometimes with lots of miracles occurring.'

(207) *atha kho rājā Māgadho Ajātasattu Vedehiputto pañcasu hatthinikāsatesu paccekā itthiyo āropetvā ārohaṇīyaṃ nāgaṃ abhirŪhitvā, ukkāsu dhāriyamānāsu Rājagahamhā niyyāsi* ***mahaccarājānubhāvena*** (SPS 49.9).
'Having placed each of his wives on one of the five hundred cow-elephants, King Ajātasattu mounted the royal tusker and departed from Rājagaha **with royal great splendour**, accompanied by torch-bearers.'

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[274] The phrase: *khemaṃ appaṭibhayaṃ* can be explained in two ways. First, it functions as a *kiriyāvisesana* (adjectives in the sing. accu. which function adverbially). Second, it can be explained as functioning as adjectives of *gāmantaṃ* but is placed at the end of the sentence for emphasis. In the second case, it must be translated as: 'He would get through the desert and arrive at the edge of a village, which is safe and free from dangers.'

The post-verbal accu. sing. nouns, namely, *yathābālaṃ yathāmūḷhaṃ yathāakusalaṃ* ('[lit.] following my foolishness, delusion and wrongness'), in (202) are all formed out the *avyayībhāva* compound (see Sadd III 695, as well as its commentary, which provides similar instances prefixed with *yathā-* ['according to', 'in accordance with', 'following', or simply 'because of'], functioning as an adverbial accusative, syntactically known as *kiriyāvisesana* ('lit. verbal-modifier'). On the other hand, the post-verbal instrumental words: *sotthinā avyayena* in (203), *kālena* in (204), *kadāci pakatiyā kadāci anekehi pāṭihāriyehi vattamānehi* in (206) and *mahaccarājānubhāvena* in (207) function adverbially, syntactically called in Pāli *tatiyāvisesana*.[275]

One must not confuse the Pāli notions of *karaṇa* (instrumentality) and *tatiyāvisesana.* Pāṇini 1.4.22 rules: *sādhakatamaṃ karaṇaṃ* ('The instrument par excellence which helps accomplish the action is called *karaṇa*'). Similarly, by *karaṇa,* Pāli syntacticians mean instruments

[275] Kacc 290 states: *sattamyatthe ca. vibhatti hoti. tena kālena; tena samayena; tena kho samayena*: ('The third case is also used in a sense of locative case, such as *tena samayena*, *tena kālena* and *tena kho samayena*.'). Cf. Sadd III 602. Obviously, the examples illustrated here refer especially to the *kālasattamī.* This, however, does not mean that only instrumentals which express temporal sense can be used adverbially. Wijesekera (1993: 97-8) has already stated: 'Many instrumentals, mostly of the sociative, means, causal, local and temporal classes, having more or less the character of adverbs, have come to be applied in a purely adverbial sense in the *Nikāyas.*' Cf. Lehmann (1974a: 47). However, I do not agree with his statement that *vájreṇa* in the following sentence is an example of an adverbial instrumental: *áhan vṛtrám* [...] *índro vájreṇa* (ṚV.1.32.5) ('Indra killed Vṛtra with his bolt.'). I interpret the word *vájreṇa* in the above example as an ordinary *karaṇa.*

(upakaraṇa) which are used in the accomplishment of an action, outside and inside the body.[276] While Pāṇini and Patañjali[277] keep silent on instrumental nouns which function as adverbs, even though Patañjali himself adds some instrumental adjectives functioning adverbially within the category of adverbial usage, Pāli grammarians introduce the term *tatiyāvisesana* to refer to instrumentals which become verbal-modifiers, expressing the means, manner or circumstance of an event or a situation in which an action is performed.

The function of these instrumentals resembles that of adverbs of manner in English which are used to describe the way in which something is done. The adverbial accu. sing.: *yathābālaṃ yathāmūḷhaṃ yathāakusalaṃ* in (202) modifies the whole sentence, while other adverbial instrumentals or instrumental phrases: *sotthinā avyayena* in (202), *kālena* in (203), ***kadāci pakatiyā kadāci anekehi pāṭihāriyehi vattamānehi*** in (206), apparently function adverbially. Similarly, the instrumental noun *mahaccarājānubhāvena* in (207) indicates the splendour in which the king goes to visit the Buddha. Even though the number of these post-verbal nouns is different, contextually they are similar.

The context of (205) is more striking. The adverbial intrumental

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[276] Sadd-v III 552 explains thus: *kariyati kiriyaṃ janeti anena kattuno upakaraṇabhūtena vatthunā ti karaṇaṃ* [...] *kiriyāsambhāralakkhaṇaṃ karaṇakārakaṃ. taṃ duvidhaṃ ajjhattikabāhiravasena. cakkhunā rūpaṃ passati, sotena saddaṃ suṇāti, manasā dhammaṃ vijānāti. Hatthena kammaṃ karoti, parasunā rukkhaṃ chindati.*

[277] Gombrich (1979: 248-9).

sotthinā is further elaborated by the adverbial accusatives: ***khemaṃ appaṭibhayaṃ*** ([lit.] 'peacefully and without dangers'). These two accusatives, in fact, are non-restrictive *sarūpavisesana* nouns and therefore are not essential to the texts: they are merely introduced to restate the meaing of *sotthinā* ('safely' or 'with safety'), which is already given and placed before its finite verb. This evidence indicates that *sarūpavisesana* nouns can be of different case forms.

To sum up, I propose that the post-verbal placement of case forms which function adverbially is twofold. First, the final placement of these words gives them as much weight as placing them in the initial position. Therefore, the final placement can be attributed to commentalisation in the sense that the author is trying to bring the manner in which an action is performed to the fore. Second, all the above adverbial case forms function adverbially, modifying the whole sentences. Because they function as sentence adverbs, their post-verbal placement signifies the fact that they are not attached to any particular element in the sentence but modify all the elements in the sentences.

§ 2.9 Metrical influences

As stated in Chapter One (§ 1.2), Alsdorf, Bechert and Allon have found that some sentences in prose portions of the Pāli Canon were originally metrical, especially of the *veḍha* type. Norman has explained that this type of metre is usually found in the very oldest texts in Ardha-Māgadhī, Pāli and

BHS.[278] However, the examples they illustrate are mostly fragmentary and old inherited passages. They seem to be part of stock in trade material, often used to begin paragraphs or introduce verses. Some are truth statements widely recognised among early Buddhists, while the others are stereotyped idiomatic expressions added to authorise texts.[279] Allon's illustrations include the examples which are given in Table 2.65.[280]

Table 2.65 Contexts where words are placed post-verbally *metri causa*

No.	Contexts
(208)	*evaṃ me sutaṃ. ekaṃ samayaṃ Bhagavā* [...] *viharati* (BJS 2.1; SPS 47.1). 'Thus, I have heard. Once, the Blessed One was staying at [...]'
(209)	*idaṃ* ***avoca Bhagavā*** *attamanā* ***te*** *bhikkhū Bhagavato bhāsitaṃ abhinandun ti* (BJS 46.74; SPS 86.101). 'Thus the Blessed One spoke, and the monks, delighted, rejoiced at the Buddha's words'.

According to Allon, the formula: *evaṃ me sutaṃ ekaṃ samayaṃ Bhagavā* [...] *viharati* has a pattern: - - | - ˘ ˘ | - - | ˘ ˘ - | ˘ ˘ - | . . . | ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ | . . . and the formula: *idaṃ avoca Bhagavā. attamanā te bhikkhū Bhagavato bhāsitaṃ abhinanditun ti* has a pattern: ¿ ¿ | ˘ - ˘ | ˘ ˘ - | - ˘ ˘ | - - | - - | ˘ ˘ ¿ | - - | ˘ ¿ ˘ | ˘ - ˘ |

[278] See detail in Norman (1993: 27).

[279] Manné (1993) has stated that the Pāli Buddhist texts are characterised by their use of formulas. She gives many instances of formulas from the Pāli Canon. Cf. von Hinüber (1994b) and Allon (1997).

[280] Allon (1997: 248).

- ˘ |. However, even though texts are woven in the *veḍha* metrical form, it is discernible that in most cases the placement of words in the sentences coincides with the usual unmarked word order. It is obvious that apart from the post-verbal instrumental case, all the words in (208) are placed in an unmarked position. In (209), on the other hand, with the exception of *Bhagavā* and *te*, all the words still adhere to an unmarked order. One might argue that the word *Bhagavā* is placed in the sentence because of metrical influence. We could say, however, that the two words placed before: *Bhagavā*, *idam avoca*, may be a product of topicalisation.

§ 2.10 Summary

The selected texts show that post-verbal words are immensely varied from context to context. They can be nouns in appositions, adjectives, subjects, subject complements, phrases or clauses, all of which provide further information about a particular main noun. There are two crucial aspects relating to post-verbal nouns which are pointed out by Thai Pāli syntacticians. On the one hand, they have observed that finite verbs are placed in the initial position of the sentence if they occur in one of the six 'special sentences' as described above. I have scrutinised the selected texts and found that this claim is strengthened by evidence in the texts (see § 2.2.2.1). However, as far as the evidence is concerned, the phenomenon occurs in the two Pāli canonical texts, i.e. BJS and SPS, rather than in BJSA. On the other hand, they offer explanations by which we can distinguish *sarūpavisesana* nouns from main nouns. In a broader sense, the term *sarūpavisesana* refers to 'modifiers' of a main noun. However, even though the distinction between the two kinds of

nouns is made, Thai Pāli syntacticians do not pay sufficient attention to their syntactical order. The evidence of post-verbal nouns in the selected texts leads me to propose a theory that nouns are placed post-verbally because they are merely additional information given to explain their main nouns. Nouns which contain additional information are what Thai Pāli grammarians designate as *sarūpavisesana*.

Generally speaking, there are four major groups of post-verbal words. First, is the group of appositional nouns which provides additional information to the main nouns (see § 2.1). Their contextual pattern, as in § 2.1, is provided again below for the purpose of summary.

(1) # Main Noun^{1} + FV/FVP + Noun^{2} (Elaborating Noun)^{2} #
(2) # Main Noun^{1} + FV/FVP + Phrase^{2} (Elaborating Phrase)^{2} #

It is obvious that by using different words the elaborating nouns and phrases restate the meaning of main nouns already given. As they are not essential to the texts, they can be deleted without affecting the core meaning of the sentences. Thai Pāli syntacticians identify these elaborating nouns as *sarūpavisesana.* Second, is the group of post-verbal nouns, which occurs in contexts where their finite verbs/predicative groups are placed in the initial position of the sentence. Their pattern can be set up as:

 # FV/FVP + Post-verbal nouns (Including Other Elements) #

As I have shown in § 2.2.2.1, most contexts of these post-verbal nouns are in dialogues. Each context where this type of post-verbal nouns appears is

one of the 'special sentences' in which finite verbs are usually placed initially in sentences. Third, is the group of substantial words placed at the end of the sentence due to emphasis. Depending on contexts, the final placement is known as commentalisation, authorial styles, stereotyped expressions and metrical interference. I have illustrated all these in section § 2.3.

 # S + FV/FVP + Post-verbal Nouns #

This group of post-verbal nouns can be any substantial element which is being focussed upon. Fourth, is the elaboration in the forms of adjectives, adverbs, subject complements and clauses. The word *sarūpavisesana*, which is introduced by Thai Pāli syntacticians, does not cover these post-verbal words. While it is true that these words are sometimes post-verbal like nouns, the group of post-verbal words is not explained adequately by Thai Pāli syntacticians. The evidence in the selected texts shows that the elaboration which is placed post-verbally is not confined to nouns, but extends to adjectives, adverbs and subject complements as well. Like post-verbal nouns, these adjectives, adverbs and subject complements are post-verbal as well. We may set up similar patterns for these elements as follows:

(1) # Main Noun^{1} + FV/FVP + Phrase^{2} (elaborating Phrases)^{2} #
(2) # Main Noun^{1} + FV/FVP + Clause^{2} (elaborating Clauses)^{2} #
(3) # Main Adj^{1} + FV/FVP + Adj^{2} (elaborating Adjectives)^{2} #
(4) # Main SubCom^{1} + FV/FVP (a copula) + SubCom^{2} (an elaborating SubCom)^{2} #

Pattern (1) describes the fact that a main noun can be further modified by elaborations in the form of phrases. Sections § 2.4 and § 2.5 illustrate this. Pattern (2) shows that elaboration comes in the form of a clause or a sentence, introduced by *yadidaṃ* and *seyyathīdaṃ*. Section § 2.4 (III) illustrates this. Pattern (3) describes the fact that additional adjectives are given either to explain main nouns which are placed in front of finite verbs or to restate the meaning of adjectives which are placed before main nouns. The latter is placed in the usual position, i.e. before main verbs. Section § 2.6 illustrates this. Pattern (4) explains that additional subject complements are provided and these complements resemble post-verbal nouns in that they restate the main adjectives which are already given and placed before copulas. Their contexts are illustrated in § 2.8.

With the presence of these four types of post-verbal words in the three selected texts, we see that there are several factors which may shift words from their usual positions and these factors are not addressed by Thai Pāli syntacticians. One of these is that many post-verbal words are an elaboration, not essential to the text. The typological consistency of word order as promulgated by Thai Pāli syntacticians, which I have described in Chapter One, applies mainly to the most usual order of simple declarative statements in prose texts without taking properly into account other factors, i.e. commentalisation, elaboration, extra stylistic features of authors and idiomatic expressions. In fact, these phenomena occur on a regular basis in early Pāli texts even though some texts may exhibit them less than others.

From the perspective of genre, even though the three selected texts,

BJS, SPS and BJSA, share similarities in having these different types of post-verbal words, there is a striking difference between the two early canonical texts and the non-canonical one. BJS and SPS contain more texts taken from dialogues which place many finite verbs in the initial position of the sentence, while BJSA is composed almost purely in descriptive prose style with little dialogue. Because BJS and SPS contain several conversational texts, many of which are dialogues[281] between a superior and an inferior, more finite verbs are placed at the beginning of sentences (see § 2.2.2.1 above). In other words, many post-verbal words occur in BJS and SPS simply because their finite verbs are placed at the beginning of sentences, as they appear in one of the four special sentences as described above. Since BJSA does not have some features which are regularly found in BJS and SPS, that is, the placement of post-verbal nouns which I attribute to stylistic features of authors (see § 2.3.2), stereotyped expressions (§ 2.3.3) and the fact that the use of phrases/clauses introduced by *seyyathīdaṃ, yadidaṃ* and *saddhiṃ* are more predominant in BJS and SPS than in BJSA, we can rightly say that the typological order of words by Thai Pāli syntacticians, as described in Chapter One, is closer to the arrangement of words in the BJSA than it is to the two early canonical treatises.

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[281] See Chapter One § 1 (fn. 26). Because many parts of DN were taken from debates, it is natural that texts which are debate-dominated will contain a lot of assertive statements in which finite verbs are placed initially in the sentences. In marked contrast to DN, BJSA is composed in a plain descriptive prose style. We might say that the genre of BJS together with SPS and BJSA are different.

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CHAPTER III: POST-VERBAL[282] INFINITIVES, ABSOLUTIVES AND PARTICIPLES

I have discussed the post-verbal placement of case forms in the preceding chapter. Now I shall proceed to discuss three other types of post-verbal words, the first two of which are, in terms of grammar, indeclinable: infinitives, absolutives and present participles. These three groups of words are grammatically different elements and are formed by adding different suffixes. I hypothesise that these words, like case forms, are usually placed before their predicates, and that their placement after them, which is found sometimes, is for specific reasons. I shall demonstrate them with all the examples found in the selected texts. Because there are different reasons for the words being placed in these ways, I shall deal with them under different headings. In each section, I shall begin by offering the raw data, followed by my analysis. This chapter is organised as follows. First, I shall discuss infinitives. Second, I shall deal with absolutives. Third, I shall focus on present participles.

§ 3.1. Post-verbal infinitives

As far as the evidence shows, the post-verbal placement of infinitives

[282] The word 'post-verbal' here is used in a somewhat looser sense. 'Post-verbal words' refers also to other nominal words which function predicatively such as *sakkā, labbhā* and *alaṃ*.

goes back to IE. In particular, in Vedic,[283] a noun ending in *-um* is one of the various verbal action nouns, *nomina actionis,* which are inflected in various cases. Originally, it is formed by the suffix *-tu* with the form *-tuṃ* as the accusative case. Whitney explains that the infinitive in the accusative is used as an object of a verb.[284] Gonda says that the use of *-tuṃ* becomes more common in the Brāhmaṇas.[285] He scrutinised early Vedic together with the Brāhmaṇas and found that the accusatives in *-tuṃ* and *-am* tend to follow the principal verb.[286] Lehmann notes that the final placement of the infinitive *-tuṃ* is also found in ancient Greek.[287] Classical Sanskrit, on the other hand, regards all the words ending in *-tvā* as indeclinables and the former accusatives ending in *-tuṃ* as the infinitive.[288]

With the evidence for the existence of post-verbal infinitives in IE, we can say with certainty that post-verbal placement was not introduced for the first time during the Middle Indic period. Pāli grammarians have developed the application of *-tuṃ* further. Apart from its function as a purposive dative, which is the case for all datives, known syntactically as

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283 Bloch (1965: 249-50); Withney, § 968; Macdonell (appendix iii: 14b [p. 463]). Cf. Mayrhofer, §453.

284 Whitney, §981.

285 Gonda (1971: 136).

286 Gonda (1959: 14).

287 Lehmann (1995a: 159).

288 See also Whitney, §968ff.; Burrrow (1965: 364). See also a detailed study on the subject in Deshpande (1980).

tumatthasampadāna ('*-tuṃ* which has the meaning of *sampadāna*'),[289] they also recognise its use as a subject in the sentence, like the English infinitive. In this respect, it is known syntactically as *tumatthakattā* ('*-tuṃ* which functions as the agent'). In the texts under my scrutiny, infinitives occur twelve times. Of these, three contexts place the infinitives in the normative position, i.e. before their predicates and all occur in the BJSA. All of their contexts are given in Table 3.1 below.

Table 3.1 Placement of infinitives *-tuṃ* in a normative position

No.	Contexts
(1)	*na hi vikkhitto* ***sotuṃ*** *sakkoti* (BJSA 30). 'The person whose mind is disturbed cannot hear it [the Buddha's words].'
(2)	*desanā pana ādito paṭṭhāya evaṃ āgatā, atthaṃ pana dīpentena bhikkhusaṃghavasenāpi* ***dīpetuṃ*** *vaṭṭati* (BJSA 70). 'Verily, the teaching has come down in this way from the very beginning. However, when explaining its meaning, it is suitable to explain it according to [the tradition of] the Order of Monks.'
(3)	*'bhikkhave puthujjano Tathāgatassa vaṇṇaṃ* [...] *vattukāmo pi appamattakaṃ ācāramattakaṃ eva vakkhati, upari asādhāraṇa-sabhāvaṃ nissāya guṇaṃ* ***vattuṃ*** *na sakkhissati* (BJSA 71). 'Monks, an ordinary person who wishes to praise the Tathāgata can

[289] Pāṇini 3.3.10 explains that the affixes *-tumUn* and *ṅvul* are placed after a verbal root with the force of the future, when the word in construction therewith is another verb, denoting an action performed for the sake of the (future) action (cf. Pāṇini 3.3.11).

do so only in terms of his minor moral practices. He cannot praise his higher virtues which depend on his unique specific nature.'

(4) *atthasaṃhitan ti anekehi pi nayehi vibhajantena* ***pariyādātuṃ*** *asakkuṇeyyatāya atthasampannaṃ bhāsati* (BJSA 77).
'The word *atthasaṃhitaṃ* ("which is useful") means that he speaks words which are perfect in meaning, because the speaker cannot finish [his conversation] if the words are classified [or expanded] into various senses.'

The above data illustrates the appearance of infinitives in their expected position which are usually found in declarative statements. A regular and usual pattern then can be set up as: **# N/NP.... + Infinitives + FV/FVP** (or Predicates) #. Verbs in *-tuṃ* expresses the purpose or feasibility of their governing element. So they are placed before their governing words. Thus, *sotuṃ* ('to listen'), *dīpetuṃ* ('to declare'), *vattuṃ* ('to say, to speak') and *pariyādātuṃ* ('to end up, to finish') in all the above contexts precede their governing words, here *sakkoti* ('is able, is capable'), *vaṭṭati* ('is suitable, is proper'), *sakkhissati* ('will be able to, will be capable of') and *asakkuṇeyyatāya* ('because it should not be possible') respectively. All the infinitives in the above contexts express purpose, known as *tumatthasampadāna*. What is striking about the above contexts is that all the infinitives occur in declarative statements. The placement of verbs ending in *-tuṃ* before their predicates resembles the placement of case forms before their finite verbs or the placement of governed words before governing ones, as I have described in Chapter One (see § 1.4.2.8 and § 1.4.7). Therefore, I hypothesise that the

placement of verbs ending in *-tuṃ* after their predicates is marked, i.e. they are placed as such because their verbs or predicates are topicalised or moved to be placed before them due to emphasis. I shall examine all the contexts in which infinitives appear. Infinitives which are placed after their predicates are also found regularly in early Pāli canonical texts. Table 3.2 below gives the contexts where such infinitives appear, after discarding repetitions.

Table 3.2 All the post-verbal infinitives in the selected texts

No.	Contexts
(5)	*sakkā nu kho bhante evam evaṃ diṭṭhe va dhamme sandiṭṭhikaṃ sāmaññaphalaṃ* ***paññāpetuṃ*** (SPS 51.14, 52.16, 53.19, 55.22, 56.25, 57.28, 58.31, 59-60.34, 61.37, 62.39). 'Sir, can you point to the fruit of the holy life [lit. monkhood] which is visible here and now in just the same way?'.
(6)	***na idaṃ sukaraṃ*** *agāraṃ ajjhāvasatā ekantaparipuṇṇaṃ ekantapari suddhaṃ saṃkhali- khitaṃ brahmacariyaṃ* ***carituṃ*** (SPS 63.41). 'It is not easy for a person living the household life to live the fully perfected holy life which is fully purified and polished like a conch-shell.'
(7)	*iti payogāsayasuddhass' āgamādhigamasampannassa vacanaṃ, aruṇaggaṃ viya suriyassa udayato yonisomanasikāro viya ca kusalakammassa arahati* ***Bhagavato vacanassa pubbaṃ gamaṃ bhavituṃ*** (BJSA 30). 'Thus the words [of Ānanda], who is pure in his exertion and is endowed with understanding of the texts, should precede the

Buddha's words, just as the beginning of dawn should precede the rising of the sun, or as systematic thought should precede good deeds.'

(8) [...] *ko* ***samattho viññātuṃ*** [...] (BJSA 27).
'[...]Who is able to understand [those profound words of the Buddha]? [...]'.

(9) *evam me sutaṃ asukasaṃvacchare asukautumhi asukamāse asukapakkhe asukarattibhāge divasabhāge vā ti evaṃ vutte* ***na sakkā sukhena dhāretuṃ vā uddisituṃ vā uddisāpetuṃ vā*** (BJSA 32).
'When [Ānanda] said: "Thus I have heard in that year, that season, that month, that fortnight, that part of the night, or day", no one can easily memorise, specify or cause others to specify.'

(10) *imasmiṃ hi ṭhāne buddhādīnaṃ guṇe pakāsento atitthena pakkhanto dhammakathiko ti*, ***na sakkā vattuṃ*** (BJSA 38).
'When he declares the virtues of the Buddha and so on on this occasion, no one can say that he is [like] a dharma preacher who jumps onto a wrong fording place [leads someone into error].'

(11) *Bhagavā tāya Buddhalīḷhāya gacchamāno, anupubbena Ambalaṭ-ṭhikādvāraṃ pāpuṇitvā, suriyaṃ oloketvā,* ***'akālo dāni gantuṃ,*** *atthasamī-pagato suriyo ti, Ambalaṭṭhikāyaṃ rājāgārake ekarattivā-saṃ upa-gañchi* (BJSA 41).
'The Blessed One, moving with the graceful ease of a Buddha, in due course reached the entrance to the mango grove. Then he looked at the sun, thinking that "This is not the right time to go.

The sun is about to set". Therefore, he went to stay overnight at the Royal Palace of Ambalaṭṭhikā.'

(12) *Bhagavā kira attano santike kammaṭṭhānaṃ gahetvā phāsukaṭṭhāne viharante manasikaroti, 'asuko mayhaṃ santike kammaṭṭhānaṃ gahetvā gato,* ***asakkhi nu kho visesaṃ nibbattetuṃ no vā*** (BJSA 48).
'It is said that the Blessed One [usually] thinks thus of monks who have received an object for meditation from him and who stay in a pleasant place: "Having received an object for meditation from me, has that monk been able to develop any specific attainment or not?"

The examined data shows that the contexts where infinitives are placed post-predicatively are varied. Since their contexts are different, I am convinced that there is no single explanation which can cover all the contexts in which they appear. Sommasarn and Thongphakdī (HCPTL 81, cf. MCP 62-65), while explaining the order of the predicative words including *sakkā* ('is able, is capable'), state that:

> If it is in a usual declarative sentence it is usually placed after its subject. However, if the context in which it appears is one of the "special sentences"[290] as said above, it is favourably placed before its noun subject or in the initial position of the sentence.[291]

[290] By 'special sentences', here, they are particularly referring to six types of sentence where finite verbs are placed initially: interrogative or question, command, request, persuading, emphatic and pondering or contemplating sentences (See Chapter Two, §2.2.2.1).

[291] HCPTL 81.

These observations do not cover all the contexts which are found in the selected texts. While it is true that verbs in *-tuṃ* are placed post-predicatively, their predicate *sakkā* is not placed at the beginning of the sentence in all contexts. Often, there are other nominal phrases or even a quoted sentence placed before them. In addition to this, the limited evidence available in the selected texts does not represent every possible context of the 'special sentences' mentioned above. Despite this, there is one feature which is not included in what they call 'special sentences': the evidence in Table 3.2 above shows that the post-verbal *-tuṃ* occurs even in a declarative statement where the finite verb is embedded in the middle of the sentence. All the contexts where the post-predicative infinitive *-tuṃ* appears in the examined texts can be divided according to their contexts into three types: interrogative, emphatic and declarative sentences.

§ 3.1.1 Interrogative or question sentences

Infinitives which occur in the interrogative sentences are found three times. One (8) uses the interrogative pronoun *kiṃ* to introduce it while (5) places its predicate initially in the sentence instead and (12) depends on how the sentence is explained.

Table 3.3 Placement of infinitives in interrogative sentences

FV/FVP	Infinitives' Contexts
ko	*samattho* ***viññātuṃ*** (8).
sakkā *nu kho*	*bhante evam evaṃ diṭṭh 'eva dhamme sandiṭṭhikaṃ sāmaññaphalaṃ* ***paññāpetuṃ*** (5).

Bhagavā kira attano santike kammaṭṭhānaṃ gahetvā phāsukaṭṭhāne viharante manasikaroti, 'asuko mayhaṃ santike kammaṭṭhānaṃ gahetvā gato ***asakkhi nu kho***	*visesaṃ* ***nibbattetuṃ,*** *no vā'* (12).

The data shows that the infinitives: *paññāpetuṃ* ('to point out') (5), *viññātuṃ* ('to know') (8) and *nibbattetuṃ* ('to develop') (12) appear after their predicates: *sakkā*[292] ('is able, is capable') (5), *samattho* ('is able, is capable') (8) and *asakkhi* ('has been able') (12) respectively. It is clear that even though the three different predicates of the three infinitives are used in different contexts, they are semantically similar. It is also clear that actions in *-tuṃ* usually follow predicates which contain the meaning of 'capability', or 'ability'. The context of (12), on the other hand, is open to interpretations. The context can be divided into two sentences, i.e.: *asuko mayhaṃ santike kammaṭṭhānaṃ gahetvā gato* and ***asakkhi nu kho*** *visesaṃ* ***nibbattetuṃ,*** *no vā'*. If we separate them into two sentences, the finite verb *asakkhi* will start the second one which is interrogative. However, if we consider the whole context as one sentence, the position of *asakkhi* is the middle, like *arahati* in (7) above and other examples in § 3.5 below. I consider it to be one sentence. Hence, my translation. The placement of the verb and the particles: *asakkhi nu khu* ('has been able') in the middle of the sentence is remarkable because it occurs in an interrogative

[292] Originally, *sakkā* is not a verb. However, sometimes it functions as a predicate. Thai Pāli syntacticians regard *sakkā* which functions as a predicate as a kind of sentence verb. See also Hendriksen (1944: 105).

sentence. Even though it is expected at the beginning of the sentence, it can be moved to the middle position when there are other elements or phrases which take the initial position instead. Nevertheless, the infinitive *-tuṃ* appears post-verbally. Therefore, on the basis of the above data, three patterns of *sakkā* in the interrogative sentences where the infinitive *-tuṃ* occurs are:

a.	#	**InterPro (Subj) + FVP (*samattho*) + *-tuṃ* #**
b.	#	**FVP (*sakkā*) + Instru (LogSubj) + *-tuṃ* #**
c.	#	**NP (Subj) + FVP (*sakkā*) + *-tuṃ* #**

It is noteworthy that the infinitives in *-tuṃ* in the above contexts always appear at the end of the sentence. Pattern c. (12) also shows that in interrogative sentences which are without an interrogative pronoun, the verb *sakkā* may be embedded in the middle of the sentences after the phrase of a noun subject.

§ 3.1.2 Emphatic sentences

Sommasarn and Thongphakdī (HCPTL 81) explain that the 'emphatic sentence', which is one of their 'six special sentences', is the sentence in which its meaning is emphasised. They give one example without any further explanation: *na sakkā so [dhammo] agāramajjhe vasantena pŪretuṃ* (Dhp-a I 7) ('I cannot fulfil that teaching while living a household life'). We, therefore, see that the VP: *na sakkā* ('cannot, unable') is given strong emphasis. The placement of *na sakkā* in the initial position of the sentence implies that the speaker strongly asserts that it is impossible for him to practise Buddhist morality while living a household life. There are two

sentences from the selected texts which fall within this category. See Table 3.4.

Table 3.4 Infinitives in emphatic sentences

FV/FVP	Infinitives' Contexts
*na idaṃ **sukaraṃ** agāraṃ ajjhāvasatā*	*ekantaparipuṇṇaṃ ekantaparisuddhaṃ saṃkhalikhitaṃ brahmacariyaṃ **carituṃ*** (6).
*bhagavā tāya Buddhalīḷhāya gacchamāno, anupubbena Ambalaṭṭhikadvāraṃ pāpuṇitvā, suriyaṃ oloketvā, **'akālo dāni***	***gantuṃ,** atthasamīpagato suriyo ti, Ambalaṭṭhikāyaṃ rājāgārake ekarattivāsaṃ upagañchi* (11).

The patterns of *–tuṃ* in the emphatic sentences as shown above are similar to that in interrogative sentences. Their pattern can be set up as:

a. # GramS (Nom) + FV/FVP (*sukaraṃ*) + LogSubj (Instru) + *-tuṃ #*

b. # FVP *(akālo)* + *-tuṃ #*

Pattern (a) shows that there are two subjects in the sentence. One is the grammatical subject and the other is the logical subject, which is in the instrumental. Pattern (b) shows that the subject complement which functions predicatively *akālo* is placed initially in the sentence.

§ 3.1.3 Declarative sentences

'Declarative sentences' are contexts which are not included in what are called 'special sentences' by Sommasarn and Thongphakdī and

Udomyānamolī. The evidence in the selected texts shows that post-verbal infinitives occur in ordinary declarative sentences three times. See Table 3.5 below.

Table 3.5 Post-verbal infinitives in usual declarative sentences

Other Elements	FV/FVP	Inf/InfP
itipayogāsayasuddhassa āgamā-dhigamasampannassa vacanaṃ arunuggaṃ viya suriyassa udayato yonisomanasikāro viya ca kusala–kammassa	***arahati***	*Bhagavato vacanassa pubbaṃgamaṃ* ***bhavituṃ*** (7).
evam me sutaṃ asukasaṃvacchare asukautumhi asukamāse asukapakkhe asukarattibhāge divasabhāge vā ti evaṃ vutte	***na sakkā***	*sukhena dhāretuṃ vā uddisituṃ vā uddisāpetuṃ vā* (9).
imasmiṃ hi ṭhāṇe buddhādīnaṃ guṇe pakāsento atitthena pakkhanto dhammakathiko ti	***na sakkā***	*vattuṃ* (10).

In the above three contexts, *bhavituṃ* ('to be'), *vattuṃ* ('to say, to speak'), and *sukhena dhāretuṃ uddisituṃ vā uddisāpetuṃ vā* ('to either memorise or point out or cause others to point out easily') are placed after two kinds of finite verbs in declarative sentences: *arahati* ('is suitable') and *sakka* ('is able' or 'is capable'). The contexts in which the infinitive *-tuṃ* occurs above differ from the contexts of *-tuṃ* in § 3.1.2 in that they are more likely to be declarative sentences than the latter even though the finite verb *sakkā*

in both groups is embedded in the middle of the sentence. This indicates that the placement of the infinitives after *sakkā* may be a stylistic feature. The evidence in table 3.5 shows that, apart from the six special sentences, post-predicative infinitives can also occur in normal declarative ones.

It is interesting to note that in his reply to the question in sentence (5) put forward to him by a king, the Blessed One replies: *sakkā mahārāja* ('It is possible, your Majesty') (SPS 51.14, 52.16, 53.19, 55.22, 56.25, 57.28, 58.31, 59-60.34, 61.37, 62.39). Here, *sakkā* still leads the sentence. My observations are that these post-verbal infinitives usually follow a certain group of verbs or predicates, namely, *sakkā* ('is able, is capable'), *arahati* ('is suitable, is proper to'), *kālo/akālo* ('it is time/it is not time to'), *sukaraṃ* ('it is easy to' and *asakkhi* ('has been able'). Pāli Grammatical treatises also provide some explanations with regard to the verbs to be used with the suffixes *-tuṃ, -tave* and *-tāye*. Thus, Sadd III 1148 says: *icchatthesu tavetuṃ vā samānakattukesu* (cf. Kacc 561: *icchatthesu samānakattukesu tavetuṃ vā*), ('The suffixes *-tave* and *-tuṃ* are used with the verbal roots in the sense which expresses 'wishes' with the same agents'). This rule seems to be modelled on Pāṇini 3.3.158: *samānakartṛkeṣu tumun*, which states that the infinitive suffix *-tuṃ* is used to complement verbs meaning 'want' with the same agent. Examples provided by Sadd-v III are:

Table 3.6 Examples verbs in *-tuṃ* provided by Sadd

No.	Contexts
(13)	*puññāni kātave icchati* (cf. Rūp-v 637).

	'He wishes to do meritorious acts.'
(14)	*saddhammaṃ sotum icchati* (cf. It-a I 27: *saddhaṃ sutuṃ sakkoti*).
	'He wishes to listen to the good teaching.'

Sadd III 1149[293] also stipulates: *tumarahasakkādīsu* [cf. Kacc 562: *arahasakkādīsu ca*] ('The suffix *-tuṃ* is used with verbs which mean "suitable" and "capable"). Whitney[294] explains that in Skt. the infinitive in the accusative is used as an object of a verb. In Pāli, these verbs or predicates include: *velā, samayo, kālo* & *akālo*, *abhabbo, sakkā* or any derivatives derived from √śak and some other verbs of motion. Pāṇini recognises this type of predicate and offers three rules: (i) Pāṇini 3.4.65: *śakadhṛṣajñāglāghaṭara-bhalabhakrama-sahārhāstyartheṣu tumun,* ('the affix *-tum* is added to roots, when another verb having the sense of √śak 'be able', √dh®ṣ 'make bold', √jñā 'know', √glai 'be wearied', √ghaṭ 'strive', √rabh 'begin', √labh 'get', √kram 'set about', √sah 'bear', √arh 'be pleased' or 'deserve', and √as 'be' is in construction'); (ii) Pāṇini 3.3. 167 rules that: *kālasamayavelāsu tumun,* ('The affix *-tumUN* comes after a root when the words *kāla*, *samaya* and *velā* are used'); (iii) Pāṇini 3.4.66: *paryāptivacaneṣvalamryeṣu* rules that the *-tum* suffix comes after a root having in composition with it, *alaṃ,* and its synonyms, when these words express being capable of something. The Pāṇinian sūtras indicate that the use of the infinitive *-tum* with the above verbs has already become an idiomatic expression during the time Pāṇini lived. The Pāṇinian rules directly tell us the contexts where the infinitive could be used, because

[293] See also Warder (1995: 69).

[294] Whitney §981

the infinitive differs from other general datives. Sadd-v explains thus.

Table 3.7 Explanations of verbs in *-tuṃ* in Sadd-v

No.	Context
(15)	*tumarahasakkādīsu. arahasakkādīsu atthesu sabbadhātūhi tuṃ-paccayo hoti. ko taṃ ninditum aharati. sakkā jetuṃ dhanena vā. bhabbo niyāmaṃ okkamituṃ. anucchaviko bhavaṃ dānaṃ paṭiggahetuṃ. idaṃ kātuṃ anurūpaṃ. dātuṃ yuttaṃ. dātuṃ vattuṃ ca labhati. evaṃ vaṭṭati bhāsituṃ. bandhituṃ na ca kappati. kālo bhuñjituṃ.* 'The suffix *-tuṃ* is used with verbs such as *araha* and *sakkā*. [More specifically]. The suffix *-tuṃ* is used with all verbal roots in many senses such as *araha* ('is suitable') and *sakkā* ('is capable'). [Examples are:] *ko taṃ ninditum arahati* ['Who is suitable to blame him'], *sakkā jetuṃ dhanena vā* ('Or, he may be able to win with money'), *bhabbo niyāmaṃ okkamituṃ* ('It is suitable to cross over the boundary'), *anucchaviko bhavaṃ dānaṃ paṭiggahetuṃ* ('Lord, you deserve to accept the gift'), *idaṃ kātuṃ anurŪpaṃ* ('This is suitable to do'), *dātuṃ yuttaṃ* ('It is proper to give'), *dātuṃ vattuṃ ca labhati* ('He/she obtains a chance to give and to say'), *evaṃ vaṭṭati bhāsituṃ* ('It should be proper to speak in this way'), *bandhituṃ na ca kappati* ('It is not fit to bind'), *kālo bhuñjituṃ* ('It is time to eat.').'

Kacc 563 stipulates: *pattavacane alam atthesu ca*[295] ('The suffix *-tuṃ* is

[295] Na Bangchang (1995: 611) opines that this aphorism is not available in Sadd because its content is covered by Sadd III 1149.

added to all the meanings [of the verbal roots] in combination with *alaṃ*'). Examples provided by its commentary which are derived from the Pāli Canon are:

Table 3.8 Examples of verbs in *-tuṃ* provided by Kacc-v

No.	Contexts
(16)	*alam eva dānāni dātuṃ* (A III 34; A V 273).
	'It is very suitable to offer gifts.'
(17)	*alam eva puññāni kātuṃ* (A III 34).
	'It is very suitable to do meritorious acts.'

Another explanatory aphorism with regard to *-tuṃ* is found in Mogg 5.61: *tuṃtāyetave bhāve bhavissati kriyāyaṃ tadatthāyaṃ,* ('The suffixes *-tuṃ, -tāye* and *-tave* are used with verbal roots to denote future events which are beneficial to those verbal roots'). Examples of this include: *icchati bhottuṃ* ('He wishes to eat'), *sakkoti bhottuṃ* ('He is able to eat'), *kālo bhottuṃ* ('It is time to eat'), *arahati bhottuṃ* ('He serves to eat'), *alaṃ bhottuṃ* ('It is suitable to eat).' If we consider all the aphorisms from the main Pāli grammatical treatises, we see that even though Pāli grammarians offer explanations with regard to the verbal roots to be used with *-tuṃ,* they do not explain its syntactical order. What is striking is that examples provided by them include many contexts where infinitives are placed post-predicatively. In short, Sanskrit and Pāli both consider verbs in *-tuṃ* as indeclinables. However, Pāli grammarians further divide the function of actions in *-tuṃ* into two: (i) it functions as a subject in the sentence, syntactically called *tumatthakattā,* ('*-tuṃ* suffix in the sense of an agent'), (ii) it functions as a dative of purpose,

syntactically called *tumatthasampadāna* ('*-tuṃ* suffix in the sense of a dative case') as said earlier.

If we combine the examples where infinitives are placed post-predicatively in my selected texts with the findings made by Vedic scholars as mentioned earlier in § 3.1, we can offer two possible explanations why infinitives are placed after their predicates or finite verbs. First is because their predicates are deliberately placed before them for emphasis. We are informed that the placement of infinitives after finite verbs is found often in Vedic. Many predicates in Pāli, which are placed at the beginning of the sentence whenever infinitives appear, are also inherited from Vedic. This indicates that for emphasis many predicates such as: *sakkā, arahati, kālo, sukaraṃ, asakkhi,* etc. which are described in Sadd III 1148-9; Kacc 561-2 are marked to stand out from their usual position, an ancient practice still in use in Pāli. The fact that all the post-verbal infinitives appear in contexts which are regarded as 'special sentences' is sufficient to claim that their usual position, in which no other element is emphasised, is before their finite verbs, and that they are placed after predicates because the latter are emphasised. Second is a stylistic feature. This stylistic feature was probably derived from the usual placement of some verbs or predicates before them. Because certain words which function as predicates are placed before infinitives very often, the placement soon extends to normal declarative sentences (see § 3.1.3 above).

§ 3.2 Post-verbal Absolutives

§ 3.2.1 An Analysis of Contexts

Normally, Pāli grammarians (Sadd III 1150; Kacc 564; Mogg 5.63) regard all absolutives as indeclinables *(avyaya)*[296] and in most cases they function as anterior actions. Because actions in the form of absolutives take place before finite verbs, all of them are supposed to be placed before the latter (HCPTL 72; MCP 58). However, occasionally absolutives are placed after finite verbs. I hypothesise that the final placement of absolutives is for specific reasons, like post-verbal nouns, as I discuss in Chapter Two. As a matter of fact, post-verbal absolutives are seen only occasionally. As far as the texts under my scrutiny are concerned, I have found only one example which occurs in SPS.

Table 3.9 Context of a post-verbal absolutive in SPS

No.	Context
(18)	*so pacchābhattaṃ piṇḍapātapaṭikkanto* ***nisīdati*** *pallaṅkaṃ* ***ābhujitvā*** *ujuṃ kāyaṃ* ***paṇidhāya*** *parimukhaṃ satiṃ* ***upaṭṭhapetvā*** (SPS 71.67). 'After he has eaten and returned from his alms-round, he (the monk) sits cross-legged, holding his body erect, and concentrates on keeping mindfulness established before him.'

The data in (18) shows that four absolutives, (*upaṭṭhapetvā, ābhujitvā,*

[296] Cf., Pāṇini 1.1.40.

paṇidhāya and *upaṭṭhapetvā*) are placed at the end of the sentences, which is not the normative position of absolutives. Now, we are seeking to explain why they are placed in that position. Thai Pāli syntacticians offer interesting interpretations of the phenomenon. According to Vajirañāṇavarorasa (BW V 224), these post-verbal absolutives fall within the category of what is syntactically called *aparakālakiriyā* ('subsequent action'). He states that this term is used to refer to absolutives which appear after finite verbs. In other words, the absolutives are placed after their predicates because the actions they describe takes place after them. He gives one example:

Table 3.10 An Example of an *aparakālakiriyā* verb provided by Vajirañāṇavarorasa

No.	Context
(19)	*dhammāsane* ***nisīdi*** *cittavījaniṃ* ***gahetvā.*** 'He sat down on the seat [prepared] for preaching and holding a coloured fan.'

I cannot trace the context of (19) to any Pāli text. Nevertheless, the similar formation occurs several times in other commentarial texts.[297]

[297] Such as: *evaṃ attanāva attānaṃ sammannitvā āyasmā, Upāli uṭṭhāyāsanā ekaṃsaṃ cīvaraṃ katvā there bhikkhū vanditvā dhammāsane nisīdi dantakhacitaṃ vījaniṃ gahetvā* (Pj I 97); *tattha pacchābhattaṃ alaṅkatadhammāsane nisīditvā dantakhacitaṃ cittavījaniṃ gahetvā mahājanassa dhammaṃ desente Bhagavati Uttaro pi avidūre nisīdati* (Ps III 255); *tasmiñ ca divase Cūḷanāgattherassa vāro, tena dhammāsane nisīditvā vījaniṃ gahetvā pubbagāthāsu vuttāsu therassa āsanapiṭṭhiyaṃ ṭhitassa etadahosi* (Sv III 745); *tasmiñ ca samaye satthā parisamajjhe alaṅkatadhammāsane sannisinno cittavījaniṃ ādāya*

Vajirañāṇa-varorasa explains that in (19) the monk who preached the dhamma had to be seated first before holding the fan. If we interpret the context in this way, the absolutive *gahetvā* is syntactically called *aparakālakiriyā.* He further explains that if the context is interpreted to mean that the monk sat down and held the fan at the same time, the absolutive is known syntactically as *samānakālakiriyā* instead. Sophonganāporn (AVEPS II 50-1) follows Vajirañāṇavarorasa and further explains that sometimes absolutives functions like adverbs, and that in this respect, they are called *samānakālakiriyā* ('simultaneous action'), *kiriyātatiyāvisesana* ('Adverbial instrumental'), or *kiriyāvisesana* ('Verbal modifier'). He gives two examples taken from Dhp-a to illustrate the contexts of *aparakālakiriyā*. I provide them with full references.

Table 3.11 Examples of *aparakālakiriyā* verbs provided by Sophonganaporn

No.	Context
(20)	*tena kho pana samayena āyasmā Mahākassapo* [...] *sattāhaṃ ekapallaṅkena* ***nisinno*** [*hoti*][298] *aññataraṃ samādhiṃ* ***samāpajjitvā*** (Dhp-a I 427; Pāṇiniṭis-a III 669, cf. Ud-a 195). 'At that time, Ven. Mahākassapa sat down cross-legged, entering into a meditative concentration for seven days.'

ākāsagaṅgaṃ otārento viya sineruṃ matthaṃ katvā… [...] (Spk II 183); *evaṃ attānaṃ sammannitvā āyasmā Upāli uṭṭhāyāsanā ekaṃsaṃ cīvaraṃ katvā there bhikkhū vanditvā dhammāsane nisīdi dantakhacitaṃ vījaniṃ gahetvā* (Sv I 12); *asmiñ ca samaye satthā parisamajjhe alaṅkatadhammāsane nisinno cittavījaniṃ gahetvā ākāsagaṅgaṃ otārento viya sineruṃ manthaṃ katvā sāgaraṃ nimmanthento viya ca dhammakathaṃ kathesi* (Ap-a 253*)*.

[298] Dhp-a I 427 has the verb *hoti* as well.

(21)	***gaccha*** *tāsaṃ* ***datvā*** (Dhp-a I 214).
	'Go and give to those girls.'

In (20) and (21), the subjects of the sentences have to perform the main actions (*nisinno* and *gaccha*) first before doing the subsequent ones (*samāpajjitvā* and *datvā*). Sophonganaporn further notes that *aparakālakiriyā* and *samānakālakiriyā*[299] are similar in structure and that sometimes one confuses their identification, as it often depends on subjective interpretation. In other words, at some point they overlap. In (20), which is similar to (19) which is given by Vajirañāṇavarorasa, Sophonganaporn explains that the verb *samāpajjitvā* may be interpreted in a different way as a *samānakālakiriyā* instead. He further states that a *samānakālakiriyā* is usually placed before its finite verb while an *aparakālakiriyā* is placed after it.[300] This view is endorsed by Udomyānamolī (MCP 60). In (21), on the other hand, the placement of the word *gaccha* in the initial position overlaps with the concept of fronting a finite due to its being emphasised, because *gaccha* ('Go') is an imperative. He further provides eight other examples (AVEPS I 171-2), all of which are taken from Dhp-a, to illustrate the contexts of a *samānakālakiriyā* in particular. Below are all of them. Since Udomyānamolī does not give the sources from which his examples are taken, I provide them in full below.

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[299] Sen, who examined the post positions in Middle Indic, notes that most absolutives end in *-ya* (rarely in *-tva*). See Sen (1953: 84 [parts iii-iv]). See also Hendriksen (1944: 112-116 [§41]).

[300] AVEPS I 175.

Table 3.12 Examples of *samānakālakiriyā* verbs

No.	Contexts
(22)	*chattaṃ gahetvā gacchati* (cf. Ap-a 339[301]).
	'He goes while carrying an umbrella'.
(23)	*jhānaṃ samāpajjitvā nisīdi* (Dhp-a I 224; Ja II 332, cf. Bv-a 163; Mp I 197, etc.)
	'He sat down and simultaneously entered the high meditation'.
(24)	*vāsuladattaṃ ādāya palāyi* (Dhp-a I 198).
	'[He] escaped and simultaneously tookVāsuladattā with him.'
(25)	*bhikkhū bhagavantaṃ ādāya Jīvikambavanaṃ agamaṃsu* (Dhp-a II 164).
	'The monks have taken the Blessed One to the mango grove of Jīvaka.'
(26)	*atītaṃ āharitvā kathesi* (Dhp-a III 73).
	'He talked narrating the past [stories]'
(27)	*imaṃ saṃvaccharaṃ idha vasitvā vikkiṇitvā gamissāmi* (Dhp-a III 430).
	'I have made up my mind to stay and sell goods thoughout this year here and [then] go.'
(28)	*idaṃ pana pāṭihāriyaṃ satthā tasmiṃ caṅkame caṅkamitvā akāsi* (Dhp-a III 214).
	'But the Teacher had walked meditating in that terraced walk and simultaneously caused miracles.'

[301] Ap-a 339: *nandatāpaso mahantaṃ pupphacchattaṃ gahetvā tathāgatassa matthake dhārento aṭṭhāsi.*

In the above contexts, the absolutives: *gahetvā* (22), *samāpajjitvā* (23), *ādāya* (24) and (25), *āharitvā* (26), *caṅkamitvā* (28) are simultaneous actions of their finite verbs. The context of (27) is slightly different. Sophonganaporn explains that both absolutives ***vasitvā*** and ***vikkiṇitvā*** function as *samānakālakiriyā.* The above explanations by Thai Pāli syntacticians are convincing, even though they do not provide enough information about the tradition of how a fan is used in Buddhist countries, particularly in South or South-east Asia. There are some other contexts in various Pāli texts which lead me to support their arguments, namely:

Table 3.13 Contexts in which a fan is held in other Pāli texts

No.	Contexts
(29)	*āyasmā Upāli uṭṭhāyāsanā ekaṃsaṃ cīvaraṃ katvā there bhikkhū vanditvā* ***dhammāsane nisīdi dantakacitaṃ vījaniṃ gahetvā*** (Sp I 13; Sv I 12, cf. Sp I 14-5). 'Ven. Upāli arose from his seat, made his robe on one side and paid homage to elder monks. He sat down on a preaching seat, holding a fan inlaid with ivory.'
(30)	*tasmiñ ca divase Cūḷanāgattherassa vāro, tena* ***dhammāsane nisīditvā vījaniṃ gahetvā*** *pubbagāthāsu vuttāsu therassa āsanapiṭṭhiyaṃ ṭhitassa etad ahosi* [...] (Ps I 321, cf. Sv III 745). 'And that day, it was the turn of Cūḷanāga thera. When he had sat down on the preaching seat, holding a fan, and recited the preliminary verses, while he was on that very seat he thought: [...]'.
(31)	*tattha pacchābhattaṃ* ***alaṅkatadhammāsane nisīditvā dantakhacitaṃ cittavījaniṃ gahetvā*** *mahājanassa dhammaṃ desente*

Bhagavati uttaropi avidūre nisīdati (Ps III 371).

'There, after the meal, when the Blessed One had sat down on a decorated preaching seat, holding a coloured fan inlaid with ivory, delivering teachings to a large group of people, Ven. Uttaro also sat down not far away.'

(32) *tato Maliyadevatthero* ***dhammāsane nisīditvā cittavījaniṃ gahetvā*** [...] *dhammadesanaṃ ārabhitvā sabbarattiṃ kathesi* (Mp I 39).

'Then Ven. Maliyadeva sat down on a preaching seat, held a beautiful fan, began the dhamma talk and kept talking throughout the night.'

(33) *so* [...] *"pātimokkhaṃ uddisissāmī" ti* ***vījaniṃ ādāya dhammāsane nisīditvā*** [...] (Dhp-a IV 39, cf. Sp-ṭ Be 61).

'He said, 'I shall recite the *Paṭimokkha'*. Then, he carried a fan and sat down on a dhamma seat.'

The context of (29) resembles the example provided by Vajirañāṇa-varorasa in (19). The occurrence of similar contexts several times in commentarial texts indicate that the pattern has been stereotyped and therefore is often used by commentators when those commentarial texts were composed. The contexts of (30), (31) and (32) tell us that the action *nisīditvā,* which functions as *pubbakālakiriyā* according to Sadd III 1150, Kacc 564 and Mogg 5.63, occurs before a subsequent action, *gahetvā*. In other words, monks have to be seated first before holding a fan. The context of (33), on the other hand, indicates that a monk carries a fan with him before sitting down on a seat. Overall, the information from (29)-(33) shows two situations in which a monk may or may not carry a fan before sitting down, and that the interpretation of Vajirañāṇavarorasa is correct, as he is referring particularly to

a situation when a monk comes to a ceremony without a fan, which is already prepared for him near his seat.[302] In other words, he is referring particularly to the situation when a monk has to sit down properly first before holding a fan.

As it happens, the syntactical terms *aparakālakiriyā* and *samānakālakiriyā* are not newly invented. The term *aparakālakiriyā* is obviously derived from Sadd III 1152: *apare ca*. This rule implies that actions in *-tūna, -tvā* and *-tvāna* can also occur in the sense of 'subsequent action' in a sequence of events following the finite verb with the same agent. The commentary on Sadd III 1152 explains that absolutives in such contexts have the same agent as their finite verbs.[303] It gives one example.

Table 3.14 An example of an *aparakālakiriyā* verb in Sadd-v

No.	Context
(34)	*dvāram āvaritvā pavisati* (Sadd-v III 1152). 'He entered the room and [then] closed the door.'

In the above context the person (he) must enter the room first before closing the door, though the final action of the sequence is indicated by an absolutive suffix, which is here placed before its finite verb. Therefore, *āvaritvā* is called *aparakālakiriyā* according to Sadd III 1152, not *pubbakiriyā*

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[302] In Thailand, in particular, a monk may or may not carry a fan with him when he enters a village for an auspicious ceremony. By and large, a fan or fans are usually prepared for monks in a dhamma hall within monasteries. Therefore, they do not need to bring them. Sometimes, however, when monks are invited by a householder to an auspicious ceremony in the village, they have to carry them with them unless they are informed that the ceremony organiser has prepared fans for them already.

[303] Sadd-v: *aparakāle ca samānakattukānaṃ dhātŪnaṃ tŪnatvānatvāiccete honti kadāci.*

or *pubbakālakiriyā* ('anterior action') according to Sadd III 1150; Kacc 564 and Mogg 5.63, as usually seen. Nevertheless, Sadd III 1152 does not specify the position of *aparakālakiriyā.* With regard to the notion of *samānakālakiriyā*, Sadd also recognises its application. Thus, Sadd III 1151 says: *kadāci samāne ca* ('Sometimes actions in *-tūna, -tvā* and *-tvāna* also occur simultaneously with the finite verb'). Its commentary explains thus:

> Sometimes the three suffixes *-tūna, -tvāna* and *-tvā* are used in the simultaneous sense with the verbal roots which have the same agent, such as *andhakāraṃ nihantvāna udito' yaṃ divākaro* ('The sun has arisen and simultaneously destroys the darkness'). The application of *-tūna* and *-tvā* suffixes is also illustrated with the illustration of the application of the *-tvāna* suffix.[304]

Here, *nihantvāna* functions as *samānakālakiriyā*, according to Sadd III 1152. It is clear that the notions of *aparakālakiriyā* and *samānakālakiriyā* are recognised among Pāli grammarians, even though few grammarians provide detailed explanations about them. Interestingly enough, Sophonganaporn has further noted that sometimes absolutives function as *kiriyāvisesana* or simply *visesana, tatiyāvisesana* and *samānakālakiriyā.* The designation of these syntactical terms depend on the contexts in which they appear. Since the contexts where absolutives function as *samānakālakiriya* are already given, I shall provide below examples which demonstrate the contexts where

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[304] *samānakāle ca samānakattukānaṃ dhātūnaṃ tūnatvātvānatvā icc ete paccayā honti kadāci. andhakāraṃ nihantvāna, udito' yaṃ divākaro. ettha ca tvānappayogadassaneneva tūnatvāpayogāpi dassitā va honti.*

absolutives function as *tatiyāvisesana* and *kiriyāvisesana.* These examples are given by Sophonganaporn (AVEPS I 177-180; AVEPS II 50-51).

Table 3.15 Examples of absolutives which function as a *tatiyāvisesana*

No.	Contexts
(35)	*anāgate pana kappasatasahassādhikaṃ ekaṃ asaṅkheyyaṃ* ***atikkamitvā*** *Gotamo nāma Buddho loke uppajjissati* (Ap-a 515; Mp I 138, 153; Th-a I 32). 'Verily, in future with the passing of one *asaṅkheyya* ('incalculable period') which is greater than one hundred thousand *kappa* ('aeons'), the Buddha named Gotama will be born in the world.'
(36)	[...] *yena kenaci ākārena vacībhedaṃ* ***katvā*** *vā sīsakampādīhi vā sampaṭicchati* (Sp III 556; Sp Se II 52). 'He accepts [it] by uttering a word in one way or another, or by gestures such as nodding his head'.
(37)	*hetu* ***hutvā*** *paccayo* (Dhātuk-a 107[305]). '(It) is the factor by being the cause.'
(38)	***ṭhapetvā*** *dve aggasāvake avasesā arahattaṃ pāpuṇiṃsu* (Dhp-a I 95). 'Except for the two foremost disciples, the remaining monks attained arahatship.'
(39)	*sabbe deve* ***atikkamma*** *Sambuddho va virocati*[306] (Dhp-a III 219). 'The Self-enlightened One shines, surpassing all gods.'

[305] Sophonganaporn refers to Pd Se 455 but I cannot find the example there. Nevertheless, it also occurs in Pd Be 387 and many other texts such as in Moh Be 440; Abhidh-av-pṭ Be II 363; Abhidh-s Be 241; Dhātuk-mṭ Be 167, etc.

[306] This example occurs in verse.

Sophonganaporn explains that the absolutives *atikkamitvā* in (35), *katvā* in (36) and *hutvā* in (35) may be called *kiriyātatiyāvisesana* ('adverbial instrumental'), *samānakālakiriyā* ('simultaneous action') or *kiriyāvisesana* ('verbal modifier'). In particular, he further states that Pd Se explains the word *hutvā* in (37) using the instrumental as *hetubhāvena paccayo*. On the other hand, the absolutive *ṭhapetvā* in (38) is explained as *visesana* ('adjective' or 'modifier') of *avasesā* [*sāvakā*] while the absolutive *atikkamma* in (39) is labelled as *kiriyāvisesana* as it modifies a verb, here *virocati.* Sophonganaporn explains (AVEPS I 177) that the syntactical terms of the last two absolutives are different because the words they modify are different; if the words they modify are nouns, they are called *visesana* and if the words are verbs, they are called *kiriyāvisesana.* All these syntactical terms assigned to absolutives are meant to reflect their pragmatic functions according to contexts.

A question may be raised: why do the three syntactical terms: *kiriyātatiyāvisesana, samānakālakiriyā* and *kiriyāvisesana* sometimes overlap? Bopp[307] has already pointed that the indeclinable form in *-tvā* is originally the instrumental case of a verbal noun in *-tu*. He further explains that the forms in *-tya* and *-ya* are derived analogically from infinitival stems in *-ti* and *-i,* with secondary shortening of the case ending due to adverbialisation; he also found a counterpart to this shortening in the instrumental case of polysyllabic a-stems in Avestan.[308] Whitney explains clearly:

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307 Bopp (1816: 43-58). See also Tikkanen (1987: 42) and Coulson (1992: 80).

308 Quoted in Tikkanen (1987: 43).

> The so-called gerund is a stereotyped case (doubtless instrumental) of a verbal noun, used generally as adjunct to the logical subject of a clause, denoting an accompanying or (more often) a preceding action to that signified by the verb of the clause. It has thus the virtue value of an indeclinable participle, present or past, qualifying the actor whose action it describes.[309]

On the other hand, Bloch[310] traces the origin of absolutives in Iranian to root-nouns or nouns in *-ti.* He explains that, while Iranian uses certain adverbial accusatives of nouns used with an infinitive meaning in Vedic, Vedic has 'actually created a category of absolutive or gerund, expressing as a rule an anterior or simultaneous occurrence; it is expressed by fixed instrumental (and locative?) forms, of which the subject (at least the notional subject) should be as that of the principal sentence: *píbā niṣádya* (ṚV.1.177.4) ('drink after being seated')'.[311] He further remarks that the wealth of equivalent forms in Vedic is diminished in Classical Sanskrit but the vitality of the absolutive is manifested by the extension and renewal of forms: in the first series Vedic has already accumulated *-tv≤ya* and, according to Pāṇini, *tvīnam*. The same idea is addressed by Hendriksen.[312] Tikkanen[313] provides the same example of *píbā niṣádya* and explains:

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309 Whitney, §989, cf. Macdonell,[1] §163.

310 Bloch (1965: 281).

311 Bloch (1965: 281).

312 Hendriksen (1944: 108): 'The gerund being indeclinable, it is only natural to look upon it as a verbal adverb and, as will be seen, its syntax is in accordance with this conception.'

313 Tikkanen (1987: 105).

> Although a form like *niṣadya* 'having sat down' may in some contexts imply the notion of a continuous simultaneous state ('while sitting'), the point of event of the action it expresses (i.e. that of 'sitting down' <ni + √sad) is specifically anterior to the external reference point, i.e. *piba niṣadya* 'drink after sitting down'≠ 'drink while/at the time of sitting down.

These explanations resemble those of Sophonganaporn and Udomyānamolī as mentioned above. It is clear that modern scholars agree that absolutives are originally verbal nouns in the instrumental.[314] Delbrück[315] states that in certain contexts absolutives tend to function adverbially, citing examples from ŚB to support him; perhaps not surprising if these absolutives were originally instrumentals. It is also generally understood that the syntactical term *tatiyāvisesana,* according to Thai Pāli grammarians, or simply *visesana,* according to grammatical treatises (see Sadd III 604; Kacc 292; Mogg 2.16), is the term introduced to label all the instrumentals which function adverbially.

Because absolutives are originally instrumentals which can function adverbially, it is not surprising that they can be interpreted by Pāli grammarians as occurring simultaneously with finite verbs. This is because adverbial instrumentals are actually *tatiyāvisesana*. However, with the passage of time and when nouns ending in *-tvā* are widely accepted as indeclinables,

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[314] See recent studies by Jeffers (1984) and Tikkanen (1987), etc.

[315] Delbrück (1818: 215).

the syntactical term *samānakālakiriyā* is introduced to emphasise that their actions take place simultaneously with finite verbs. Now they are fully recognised as actions rather than instrumentals. Just as an adverb describes the manner in which an action takes place, so the *samānakālakiriyā* takes place simultaneously with the finite verb. The example: *píbā niṣádya* (ṚV.1.177.4) explains very well that both actions take place simultaneously. Even though we translate this sentence differently as 'Drink after sitting down [first]', 'Sit down first and [then] drink' or 'Sit and drink simultaneously', the context still indicates that at some point the two verbs *píbā* and *niṣádya* occur at the same time.

The use of absolutives in various contexts in Vedic is also well reflected in the Aṣṭādhyāyī. Pāṇini clearly devotes seven rules to explaining the application of the suffixes of absolutives (differently called *'ktvā', 'lyap'*, and *'ṇamul'* according to their contexts), i.e. Pāṇini 3.4.18-24. These rules may be summarised under four different categories of the suffix *-tvā*: (i) absolutives are used in the sense of instrumental. This is explained by Pāṇini 3.4.18: *alaṃkhalvoˑ pratiṣedhayoˑ prācāṃ ktvā,* ('according to the Eastern grammarians, the affix *'ktvā'* comes after a verb, when in combination with it; the words *'alaṃ'* and *'khalu'* expressing the sense of prohibition'). Examples given by Kśv include: *alaṃ bāle ruditvā,* ('Baby, do not cry').

The use of absolutives in the *karaṇa* sense of instrumental was first observed by Bopp,[316] (ii) the use of absolutives with anterior actions within

[316] Bopp (1816: 52), cf. Tikkanen (1987: 44).

the sentence which take place before the finite verb is explained by four Pāṇinian rules, i.e. Pāṇini 3.4.21: *samānakartṛkayo˙ pūrvakāle,* ('The suffix -*ktvā* is used with an action (root) which takes place earlier in time than the finite action which has the same agent with it'); Pāṇini 3.4.23: *na yady anākāṃkṣe*, Pāṇini 3.4.24: *vibhāṣāgre prathamapūrveṣu*, ('The suffix -*ktvā* is used optionally with the words: *praṭhamaṃ* or *pūrvaṃ* ['first or at first']), and Pāṇini 3.4.19: *udīcāṃ māṇo vyatihāre* ('According to the northern grammarians, the suffix -*ktvā* is used in connection with the root √men 'exchange'), (iii) the use of absolutives which express an action which take place simultaneously with a finite verb, corresponding to what is known in Pāli as *samānakālakiriyā*, is shown by Pāṇini 3.4.22: *ābhīkṣṇye ṇamul ca,* ('In the repeated form, the suffix -*ktvā* [here *ṇmul* which refers to the non-past absolutive] may be used to express reiteration [of action])'. (iv) the use of absolutives as particles or links. This is expressed in Pāṇini 3.4.20: *parāvarayoge ca* ('The suffix -*ktvā* is also used to express what is situated across or near.').[317]

§ 3.2.3 Concluding Remarks

When synchronic explanations of absolutives by Thai Pāli grammarians

[317] Examples given by Kāś are: (i) *aprāpya nadīṃ parvata˙ sthita˙*. 'The mountain is situated before reaching (i.e., on this side of) the river; (ii) *atikramya tu parvataṃ nadī sthitā.* 'But the river is situated after crossing (i.e., beyond) the mountain'. Pāṇini explains the use of absolutives in this context in Pāṇini 3.4.20. Both *aprāpya* and *atikramya* are used to modify nouns. (Tikkanen translated both sentences as: the mountain is situated before the river, but the river is situated beyond the mountain [1987: 207]).

are combined with recent scholarship on the diachronic development of absolutives produced by Western scholars, we have a clearer picture of how absolutives function in my selected texts. We know that originally absolutives were instrumentals, and that it was during the later period that they are used as indeclinables, being regarded as non-finites. The diachronic development of absolutives from their original instrumental cases can be classified or summarised into three main stages, as displayed in table 3.16 as follows.

Table 3.16 Stages of development of absolutives

Stages Involved	Developments & Applications
Stage I (During the PIE/IE)	All absolutives are still inflected as instrumentals. They are used differently according to their sentential functions, such as *karaṇa* ('instrumental par excellence'), *tatiyāvisesana* ('adverbial instrumental'), *hetu* ('causal instrumental'), etc.
Stage II (At least since early Vedic or the period of Old Indo-Aryan onwards)	Instrumentals become indeclinables when *-tvā* or *-ya* are regarded as indeclinable suffixes. This phenomenon is found both in Vedic and in Pāli literature.
Stage III (The period of Middle Indo-Aryan, or during the Pāli period, including the later Pāli grammatical	The various functions of absolutives are identified and called by different terms such as *pubbakālakiriyā* ('anterior actions'), *samānakālakiriyā* ('simultaneous actions'), *aparakālakiriyā* ('subsequent actions'),

tradition)	*visesana* or *kiriyāvisesana* ('petrified instrumentals').

Pāṇini accommodates almost all these phenomena in his grammar, except for the absolutives with two different agents as illustrated in (ii). His rule (i.e., 3.4.21: *samānakartṛkayoʿ pūrvakāle)* requires the two verbal roots to have the same agent. To sum up, absolutives were used in a variety of ways. Originally, they were instrumental nouns and these nouns function differently. It is clear that there is no single explanation which could cover its applications in all contexts. Because the use of absolutives is inherited from early Indic, four possible functions may be found in a text: (i) they may be like normal nouns; (ii) they may function adverbially like all *tatiyāvisesana* instrumentals; (iii) they may be interpreted fully as 'anterior actions or minor verbs', as generally understood among Pāli grammarians; (iv) they may be, in certain contexts, interpreted as finite verbs. In marked contrast to ancient Indo-Iranian, as described by Bloch, the subject of the absolutive in commentarial Pāli may not neccessarily be the same as that of a finite verb which is linked with it.

The context of (19) which is given by Vajirañāṇavarorasa is culturally related. In some contexts, a monk may carry a fan with him and be seated simultaneously. In this respect, the absolutives in the two contexts are doubtless *samānakālakiriyā.* On the other hand, in some situations, a seat and a fan are prepared for a Buddhist monk to preach. The monk has to be seated properly before holding the fan. If we take this situation into account, the absolutives in the two contexts are certainly *aparakālakiriyā.*

With regard to the context of (18), which is the only such example found in the text, we can conclude that the absolutives are definitely *aparakālakiriyā.* It is possible that the author(s) of the text is referring particularly to the situation when a monk has to sit down first before adjusting himself properly in a meditation position. Even though Sadd III 1152 does not specify where this type of absolutive should be placed, there is a possibility that the author(s) places them after their finite verb, because, in sequence, the monk has to be seated first before crossing his legs, holding his body erect, and concentrating his mind. The finite verb *nisīdi* is placed before them all simply because it is the main action which lasts longer than others. This implies that while sitting the monk undertakes many other minor actions and these actions occur within a comparatively shorter time. At any rate, the post-verbal placement of the absolutives is not dictated by duration of verbs, as we have other examples where absolutives are placed before finite verbs as well. On the basis of this analysis, we can sum up this point by saying that the post-verbal placement of absolutives is a product of a particular author(s).

§ 3.3 Post-verbal Present Participles

§ 3.3.1 An Analysis of the Contexts

Like post-verbal absolutives, present participles which are placed post-verbally are rare. In the texts under my scrutiny, I found the phenomenon only once.

Table 3.17 An example of post-verbal participle in BJSA

No.	Context
(40)	*tattha gantvā maṇḍalamāle paññattapavarabuddhāsane* ***nisīdi***

> *bhikkhūnaṃ bhattakicca– pariyosānaṃ* ***āgamayamāno*** (BJSA 46).
> 'The Blessed One went there and sat down on an excellent prepared seat in the pavilion, waiting for the monks to finish their meal duty.'

Sommasarn and Thongphakdī (HCPTL 73) explain that sometimes actions which end in *-ta, -māna* and *-anta* are occasionally placed before their noun subjects, in which case they are considered syntactically as *visesana* ('adjective, modifier'). Because they occasionally occur before their noun subjects, Sommasarn and Thongphakdī (HCPTL 73) state, 'In order to remove any [possible] difficulty [in arranging these words], one should hold the principle that actions ending in the three suffixes must be placed after their noun subjects.'[318]

Udomyānamolī (MCP 60), on the other hand, explains, 'The actions ending with the three suffixes can be placed before their noun subjects if they explicitly function as adjectives of their main nouns. However, when they express motions of nouns in various ways, they are placed after their nouns.' Like the absolutives described above, the present participle *āgamayamāno* in (40) takes place simultaneously[319] with its finite verb ***nisīdi***. Sophonganaporn

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[318] HCPTL 73.

[319] Gonda (1959a: 44) provides evidence of a similar phenomenon in early Vedic and supports Delbrück's proposal that the present participle in such a context is equivalent to a clause, like other normal post-verbal adjectives. Examples illustrated by him are taken from ŚB, AiB, Bṛh.U, and ṚV, one of which is: *babu manuṣyeṣu saṃsṛṣṭam acāriṣṭaṃ bhiṣajyantau* (ŚB.4, 1, 5, 14). 'You have wandered and mixed much among men, healing (i.e., being physicians).' For Delbrück and Gonda, the present participle *bhiṣajyantau* is equivalent to a clause.

further explains that the verb which takes place simultaneously with the finite verb could be formed out of the two suffixes *-anta* (and *-nta*) and *-māna* (and-*āna*), in addition to absolutives, which are described above. Verbs derived from these suffixes function in most cases as *abbhantarakiriyā* ('actions which take place within the sentence'). He goes on to explain that sometimes these verbs function similarly to the *samānakālakiriyā,* even though their syntactical names are different. He (AVEPS I 173) provides two pairs of examples.

Table 3.18 Examples of present participles functioning as an *abbhantarakiriyā*

No.	Contexts
(41)	*ugghosetvā vicarantaṃ* [...] *ugghosento vicarāmi* (Dhp-a III 81). 'I go about making an announcement'.
(42)	*oloketvā aṭṭhāsi* (Ja VI 282) or *olokento aṭṭhāsi* (Dhp-a III 260; Ap-a 354). 'He stood watching'.

He explains that semantically, *ugghosetvā vicarantaṃ* and *ugghosento vicarāmi* are the same, as are *oloketvā aṭṭhāsi* and *olokento aṭṭhāsi*. In such contexts, he states, the absolutives and present participles overlap semantically. The function of verbs ending in *-anta* and *-māna* suffixes as *samānakālakiriyā* is supported by Sadd. Thus, Sadd III 1157 says: *vattamāne vippakatavacane mānantā* ('The suffixes *-anta* and *-māna* are [added] to verbs which have not been finished, which are still going on'). Sadd-v on Sadd III 1157 provides three examples to illutrate this.

Table 3.20 Examples of *samānakālakiriyā* verbs in Sadd-v

No.	Contexts
(43)	***saramiāno*** *rodati* [320] (Kacc-v 564; Sadd I 80).
	'[He] cries and simultaneously remembers.'
(44)	***gacchanto*** *gaṇhāti* (Kacc-v 564; Sadd I 80).
	'[He] carries [an umbrella] while he is going.'
(45)	***gacchanto*** *so Bhāradvājo addasa Accutaṃ isiṃ* (Ja VI 532; Sadd I 80).
	'That Bhāradvāja, while going, saw the sage named Accuta.'

According to Sadd, all the present participles in the above contexts refer to actions that take place at the same time as that of their finite verbs. However, Sadd does not specify where to place them.

§ 3.3.2 Concluding remarks

The placement of present participles which function as *samānakālakiriyā* or *abbhanta- rakiriyā* before or after finite verbs seems to depend entirely on the personal preference of the author(s). On the basis of the above analysis, I contend that there is one explanation why the present participle *āgamayamāno* in the context of (48) is placed after its finite verb *nisīdi*: it is a stylistic feature of the authors.

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[320] Cf.: *saramāno vandati* in Ap-a 489: *atha mahāmacco pubbavāsanāvasena buddhagāravaṃ uppādetvā tato cuto Sāvatthiyaṃ vibhavasampanne brāhmaṇakule nibbatto saddho pasanno satthu dhammadesanaṃ sutvā pabbajitvā saha paṭisambhidābhi arahattaṃ pāpuṇitvā divasassa tikkhattuṃ upaṭṭhānaṃ gantvā saramāno vandati.*

§ 3.4 Summary

In this chapter, I claim in my discussion of post-verbal infinitives, absolutives and present participles that (i) post-verbal infinitives can be explained in three ways. First, if they occur in the 'six special sentences' where finite verbs are usually moved to the initial position of sentences, their post-verbal position marks its deemphasis. Second, certain verbs such as: *sakkā, arahati, samattho, kālo* are among words inherited from an earlier period and these verbs or predicates are very often placed before infinitives. In this case, the post-verbal placement of *-tuṃ* marks its deemphasis, because an emphasis is already given to their verbs or predicates which are placed before them. Third, in usual declarative statements some post-verbal infinitives appear after their predicates in what is a stylistic feature. These three main factors have paved the way for the post-verbal placement of the infinitive *-tuṃ,* to the extent that such placements are seen regularly. (ii) With regard to the placement of absolutives, I contend that originally these words were instrumentals, which change to become indeclinables (or actions). Grammatical treatises such as Sadd, Kacc and Mogg as well as scholarship produced by Thai Pāli syntacticians help us identify these absolutives as *samānakālakiriyā* or *aparakālakiriyā*, which takes place after their finite verbs. Even though Sophonganaporn assembles some evidence to show that some absolutives are placed after their main verbs due to their functioning as *aparakālakiriyā,* this does not cover all the contexts.

Moreover, Western scholarship on Vedic has informed us that originally these absolutives are in fact instrumental case forms which function

adverbially, known as *tatiyākiriyāvisesana* according to Pāli syntax. However, while the grammatical treatises such as Sadd do not specify the position of absolutives and while the absolutives which function as *samānakālakiriyā* and *aparakālakiriyā* are placed both before and after their verbs or predicates, I contend that the placement of *aparakālakiriyā* absolutives after their predicates in my selected texts is a feature of authorial style. (iii) In the matter of present participles, I find only one example in my selected texts. In other words, the data on the subject matter is not sufficient to give a generalisation covering all of its contexts. To confine myself to the example found in the selected texts, I claim that their post-verbal placement is also due to a stylistic feature.

In short, the evidence in the selected texts shows that there are four major groups of words placed in different positions from the conventional order. First, any finite verb can be moved to the initial position of a sentence if it appears in one of the six special sentences mentioned above. Second, a particular word may be commentalised if the author wants to bring it into prominence. Third, words may be placed post-verbally due to authorial styles, idiomatic expressions or, somewhat rarely, metrical requirements. Fourth, elaboration or extra information added to texts can be placed post-verbally because it is seen as subsidiary and not essential to them. This elaboration is collectively described as *sarūpavisesana* by Thai Pāli syntacticians. However, Thai Pāli syntacticians employ this term to refer to elaboration in the form of nouns or substantives only. As a matter of fact, the selected texts show that elaboration also regularly exists in the three texts in the form of adjectives and

subject complements, and this results in their post-verbal placement as well. We can draw the conclusion that with the exception of the three main causes, Pāli words are, in most cases, placed according to the conventional principles formulated by Thai Pāli syntacticians. In addition to this, elaborative words can also be expanded by using connectives such as *saddhiṃ.*

Therefore, I claim that all words which are placed post-verbally can be explained, although there is no single explanation as to why they are placed in such positions, as these words are derived from different elements. My main proposals in this chapter, borne out by the investigation of the texts involved, are therefore:

(i) case forms are post-verbal because they are seen as extra information,
(ii) some case forms may be placed post-verbally because they are remnant stock phrases or due to metrical influences,
(iii) some case forms are placed as such because of ellipsis or gapping,
(iv) some case forms have an adverbial value,
(v) some case forms are commentalised.

There is another group of words which is also placed post-verbally but not discussed in this chapter. This is the group of participles, gerunds and infinitives. I shall proceed to investigate them in the next chapter. In addition to this, the evidence from the selected texts also shows that modifiers which modify a main noun can extend to relative clauses, which can be further divided into restrictive and non-restrictive types, for example, *sarūpavisesana*

nouns (see § 2.1 of this chapter). I shall discuss this point in detail in the fourth chapter.

CHAPTER IV: POSITIONS OF RELATIVE CLAUSES IN SENTENCES

In the preceding chapter, I investigated post-verbal words and suggested why nouns and non-finite verbs are placed after finite verbs. I also mentioned at the end of Chapter Two (see § 2.10) that post-verbal words can extend to a relative clause (or *saṅkarappayoga,* according to HCPTL 21), as shown in my selected texts. The extension of modifying elements into a relative clause has led me to hypothesise that the position of relative clauses is determined by semantic factors, and that semantics determines functions which, in turn, fix their position. Before I investigate various types of relative clauses in the selected texts, I find it necessary first to define[321] the technical terms used regularly in this chapter, since many scholars employ different words and have different views regarding the clauses or phrases introduced by *ya-*.

> **Definition 1**: The *ya-* pronoun or its derivatives (i.e., pronominal adverbs such as *yatra* 'where' and conjunctions such as *yadi* 'if') will be referred to as a 'relative' or 'relative marker'.
>
> **Definition 2**: 'Complex sentence' means a sentence where two clauses are combined: one is the main clause, while the other is the subordinate.

[321] The above definitions follow in part Held (1957).

Definition 3: The clause which contains the demonstrative *ta-* will be referred to either the 'main clause', or the 'matrix clause', while the other, introduced by the *ya-* pronoun or its derivative, is termed 'relative clause'. Sometimes, it is also called 'relative clause proper' to distinguish it from a relative clause which does not have a correlative, particularly the demonstrative *ta-*, in the main clause. (See definition 5 below.). This type of relative clause is usually a 'defining' or 'restrictive' clause.

Definition 4: The noun in the main clause which is modified by a relative clause will be referred to as 'head noun' or 'antecedent'.

Definition 5: 'Relative Clause Proper' (RCP) is a term used to refer to all the restrictive relative clauses (RRC) where the *ya-*or its derivatives has a correlative in the main clause. Its function is to define or specify a main noun.

Definition 6: 'Deficient relative clause' (henceforth DRC) is a term used by Pāli grammarians to refer to all the relative clauses which do not have the correlative *ta-* in the main clause. This type of clause is usually a non-restrictive or non-defining clause, as it merely provides extra information. In Pāli DRC is called *sākaṅkhagati*. I shall explain this term with examples later.

Definition 7: 'Fronted relative clause' or 'relative clause in the initial position' refers to a relative clause placed before its main clause. It is the opposite to a 'final relative clause' or 'relative clause in the final

position', which refers to a relative clause placed after its main clause. Sometimes, the terms 'preposed/ post-posed' are used instead.

Definition 8: 'Subordinate clause' is a collective term used for all dependent clauses. According to Sylvia Chalker and Edmund Weiner,[322] traditional English grammar recognises three types of subordinate clause: adverbial, nominal (noun), and relative (adjective or adjectival clause).

Definition 9: *Kiriyāparāmāsa,* 'verbal modifier', is a term used to refer to the *ya-* pronoun in any case-form, henceforth to be referred to as *ya-,* when it does not have an inflectional value and functions as a sentential adverb (see explanations of this term in § 4.3.1 of this chapter).

Statistically speaking, clauses introduced by relative pronouns and relative adverbs occur in the selected texts 306 times. The detailed number of occurrences in the selected texts is summarised in table 4.1 below:

Table 4.1 Number of clauses introduced by relative pronouns and adverbs

Texts	Relative Pronouns	Relative Adverbs	Total
BJS	135	39	174
SPS	33	33	66
BJSA	48	18	66

Even though relative clauses occur in the selected texts fairly often,

[322] Chalker and Weiner (1997: 382).

they can be broadly divided into three main groups, on the basis of their functions: restrictive, non-restrictive and adverbial. I hypothesise that the order of all these dependent clauses is determined by semantic or functional factors. Except for adverbial clauses, which will be discussed later, all other relative clauses, to a very large extent, resemble *sarūpavisesana* nouns in that they modify a particular word in a main clause; like modifying words placed before modified elements their usual position is before main clauses, and they are placed after main clauses mainly due to changes of functions of the relativiser *ya-*. Main clauses may be placed before relative clauses for certain specific reasons, but normally, if semantically relative clauses are restrictive, they are placed before main clauses and, if semantically they are non-restrictive, they come after main clauses. Apart from these two types of clause, some relative clauses function adverbially in the same way as some nominals which function as adverbials in sentences.

In this chapter, therefore, I shall discuss all three types of clauses: restrictive, non-restrictive, and adverbial in order to see the extent to which the different contexts of *ya-* affect its style of arrangement and meaning. Because *ya-* is the keyword in formulating a relative clause, all the relative clauses will be sifted and scrutinised according to its contexts. In order to cover all important aspects of these clauses, this chapter is organised as follows. In the first part (§4.1), I shall deal with various types of restrictive relative clauses (RRC), together with their position. In the second part (§4.2), I shall discuss non-restrictive relative clauses and their position. Finally, (§4.3), I shall focus on adverbial clauses which are introduced by both relative

pronouns and relative adverbs as well as their position in the sentence.

§ 4.1 Restrictive relative clauses (RRC)

The use of relative clauses in Indic languages have been studied by many previous scholars. In particular, Brugmann, Delbrück and Porzig have made attempts to distinguish RCP from other types of clause on certain grounds. Delbrück noticed a distinction between what he calls 'correlative' and 'anaphoric applications [of the *ya*-]'.[323] He stated that the 'correlative' must have a relative pronoun which defines the antecedent, while other clauses introduced by the anaphoric *ya*- are described as characterizing.[324] However, he neither develops this idea to the full, nor does he scrutinise various types of relative clause in a given text thoroughly. On the other hand,

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[323] EWED (s.v. *anaphora*) explains that (i), grammatically, it means 'referring back'. It refers to reference to 'a word' or 'phrase' used earlier, especially to avoid repeating the word or phrase by replacing it with something else such as a pronoun. (ii), repetition for effect. It means the use of the same word or phrase at the beginning of several successive clauses, sentences, lines, or verses, usually for emphasis or rhetorical effect. An example of anaphora which is given by EWED is 'She didn't speak. She didn't stand. She didn't even look up when we came in' is. Gonda (1959: 128-165) provides evidence that anaphora is a common phenomenon in Vedic. Klein (1987: 193-199) further explains that the term 'anaphora' is, as in ancient Greek as explained by Liddell and Scott, used in the two senses: *homoiomatic* (i.e. denoting resemblance) and *antapodotic* (i.e., correlative). He provides evidence from ṚV to argue that the two senses are also in use in the text. There has also been a proposal that the original function of the Vedic *sá/tám* is a sentence connective or a particle, not a pronoun. See Dunkel (1990), Jamison (1992) and Hock (1997b).

[324] Delbrück (1900: 316ff.), cf. Gren-Eklund (1978: 23); Holland (1991: 22-33) and Hale (1991: 37).

Porzig[325] distinguishes two types of clause: one is used as a correlative (der correlative) and the other as an attributive (der attributive Verwendung). Yet he does not elaborate how far semantics or functions might determine the order of relative clauses in sentences. Among the few Pāli scholars who have paid attention to Pāli word order, Warder[326] and Sommasārn, in collaboration with Thongphakdī,[327] have explained that the usual position of a subordinate clause introduced by the *ya-* is before its main clause. Sommasārn and Thongphakdī (MCPTL 23) have explained that the relative clause is preposed because its whole clause, when analysed in terms of its function, modifies the subject as normal adjectives do.

However, it is obvious that the position of RCP is immensely varied and that these previous scholars did not concern themselves with a thorough scrutiny of all the contexts in which relative clauses appear in a particular text. Their remarks, therefore, do not cover all the contexts of relative clauses. At any rate, Brugmann, Delbrück and Porzig have suggested correctly that not every dependent clause introduced by *ya-* is RCP.[328] Because not every clause

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325 Porzig (1923). Also quoted in Gren-Eklund (1978: 59).

326 Warder (1995: 71, 300).

327 HCPTL 22.

328 Delbrück (1888: 553) thinks that any clause introduced by the *yá-* pronoun or its derivatives is a relative clause. Cf. Speijer (1896: 83 (§ 267). Porzig (1923: 138) has collected a wealth of information from ṚV to show that there are a lot of clauses introduced by the *yá-* pronoun standing without finite verbs and functioning as subsidiaries of the sentence *(satzglied)*, which may not be 'relative clauses proper'. In his well known 1988 work, Hettrich accepts Lehmann's (1984) definition of Sanskrit relative

is RCP, it is most likely that not every dependent clause is placed before MC. From now on, I shall use the term RRC to replace RCP, which was used by other previous scholars such as Delbrück, as we can clearly identify the latter with the former on semantic grounds.

My main hypothesis in this chapter is that the placement of relative clauses depends on functions of the *ya-* pronoun, as well as other parameters which affect their usual order, particularly topicalisation or emphasis and authorial style. All restrictive dependent clauses function as modifiers or qualifiers of a main noun or a pronoun in MC. RRC in Pāli has two main characteristics: (i) the clause must be semantically a restrictive one, like *sarūpavisesana* nouns, which define a main noun, (ii) the clause must have a correlative *ta-* in MC; even if the correlative *ta-* does not appear explicitly, grammatically it must be added.[329] This is because the noun in MC, which is defined by a relative clause, must be clearly identified. Just as *sarūpavisesana* nouns which define head nouns are placed before main nouns, RRC is usually placed before its main clause (MC), as it defines or specifies a main noun or

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constructions as being of the 'relative-correlative' type (quoted in Hock 1990: 608). For a definition of restrictive and non-restrictive clauses in English, see Keenan (1985:141-170); Lehmann (1986: 663-680; 1992: 333-335), etc.

[329] Peterson (1988: 164ff.) has remarked: 'What are generally termed 'relative clauses' in Pāli, as well as in Sanskrit and Hindi, could more appropriately be termed 'correlatives', following the terminology used in Keenan [1985].' On the other hand, Bubenik (1998: 209, 212) has also used the term 'a relative-correlative construction' or 'a relative-correlative pair' to refer to the typical relative clauses in Ap which, according to him, resemble those of OIA and NIA.

pronoun in MC. The typical arrangement of this type of complex sentence, therefore, is: # RRC -MC #. However, while it is true that RRC is usually placed before MC, sometimes it is also placed after it, for specific reasons. I shall provide examples together with full explanations below. As far as the texts under scrutiny are concerned, there is a large preponderance of preposed RRC over post-posed RRC. Table 4.2 below illustrates this.

Table 4.2 Number of preposed and post-posed RRC

Texts	Preposed RRC	Post-posed RRC
BJS	64	34
SPS	15	6
BJSA	36	1
Total	115	41

We see that RRC occurs commonly in the selected texts and most of it is preposed. The number of post-posed RRC in BJS is very striking in comparison with SPS and BJSA where there appears only one context. I shall scrutinise each context in terms of meanings and styles, thereby seeking explanations as to why they are placed in such positions.

§ 4.1.1 Preposed RRC

In the three selected texts, preposed RRC occurs as many as one hundred and fifteen times. Each occurence defines or specifies a main noun or pronoun in the main clause. Sometimes called antecedent, the noun or pronoun which is modified can be a word referring to things, people, places, concepts, etc. which function as either the subject or object (both direct and

indirect) of a verb or an adverbial particle *(nipāta)*. The relative pronouns have a demonstrative *ta-*, or other words, which function similarly in the main clause.[330] Even though sometimes either relative pronouns in RRC or their correlatives in MC are left out as understood, they must be added. The case form of the demonstrative *ta-* and the relative pronoun *ya-* may be different, but the number is usually the same. However, even though these relative clauses are all restrictive, and are placed before their MC, the contexts in which they occur are immensely varied. In the following, I shall sift these restrictive clauses into various groups and scrutinise them according to their contexts and meaning. Broadly speaking, we can divide them into five major types, which I shall describe as follows.

§ 4.1.1.1 One *ya-* in RRC+ one *ta-* in MC

The normal type of complex sentence involves the use of one relative pronoun in RRC and one correlative, mostly demonstrative pronoun, in MC. This pattern is the usual and basic structure of a complex sentence in the selected texts. Both relative pronouns and demonstratives can be derived from any case form. Semantically, both RRC and MCs are grammatically self-contained, even though sometimes finite verbs of RRC are left out as understood. Because they specify main nouns, we may call RRC 'restrictive adjective clauses'. Statistically, the fronted RRC occurs sixty-four times in BJS, fifteen times in SPS and thirty-six times in BJSA. Below I provide all of the instances and sift them into various groups according to their contexts,

[330] The correlatives of the *ya-* include all the demonstrative pronouns and some other words such as *tādisa, evaṃ, tathā, evarūpaṃ, īdisa, tathārūpaṃ, evaṃbhūtaṃ,* etc.

after discarding repetitions. Note that the relative *ya-* and its correlatives are in bold type.

(1) BJS

In this text, the phenomenon *ya-/ta-* occurs eight times. In all the contexts, the *ya-* leads dependent clauses while *ta-* usually leads MC. This placement is the unmarked order of complex sentences in all contexts where no particular word is given special emphasis. Below are the contexts after discarding repetitions.

Table 4.3 Contexts of *ya-/ta-* in BJS

No.	Contexts
(1)	***ye*** *pana mayaṃ ahumha tena Brahmunā nimmitā,* ***te*** *mayaṃ aniccā addhuvā appāyukā cavanadhammā itthattaṃ āgatā* (BJS 18-19.6). 'But we, who were created by that Brahmā, are impermanent, unstable, short-lived, subject to fall and have come to this world.'
(2)	***yaṃ*** *kho idaṃ vuccati cakkhun ti pi sotan ti pi ghānan ti pi jivhā ti pi kāyo ti pi,* ***ayaṃ*** *attā anicco addhuvo asassato vipariṇāmadhammo* (BJS 21.13). 'The self which is called "eye", "ear", "nose", "tongue" or "body" is impermanent, unstable, non-eternal, [and] subject to change.'
(3)	***yañ*** *ca kho idaṃ vuccati cittan ti vā mano ti vā viññāṇan ti vā,* ***ayaṃ*** *attā nicco dhuvo sassato avipariṇāmadhammo* (BJS 21.13). 'However, the self which is called "mind" or "consciousness", is permanent, stable, eternal and not subject to change.'
(4)	***yaṃ*** *mam' assa musā,* ***so*** *mam'* ***assa*** *vighāto* (BJS 25.24).

	'Whatever falsehood I might tell, that would trouble me.'
(5)	***ye*** *maṃ tattha samanuyuñjeyyuṃ samanugāheyyuṃ samanubhāseyyuṃ,* ***tesāhaṃ*** *na sampāyeyyaṃ* (BJS 26.26).
	'I might not be able to answer those [ascetics and brahmins] who might cross-examine me, demand my reasons and argue against me.'
(6)	***yesāhaṃ*** *na sampāyeyyaṃ,* ***so*** *mam' assa vighāto* (BJS 26.26).
	'That I am not able to answer would be my trouble.'
(7)	***yo*** *mam' assa vighāto,* ***so*** *mam' assa antarāyo* (BJS 25.24, 26.26).
	'What would be my trouble would be my danger.'

These data show that (1) RRC is placed before MC and (2) the relativiser *ya-* is placed initially in its clause. This is understandable given that the *ya-* introduces its clause which restricts a particular noun in MC.

(2) SPS

SPS has only three examples. Nevertheless, they are striking and contrast remarkably with BJS. The *ya-* pronoun, instead of leading RRC like BJS above, is embedded in its clause, while certain words are placed at the beginning of the sentence instead. I explain this order as the result of topicalisation. All the topicalised words are members of RRC.

Table 4.4 Contexts of *ya-/ta-* in SPS

No.	Contexts
(8)	*khurapariyantena ce pi cakkena* ***yo*** *imissā paṭhaviyā pāṇe*

ekamaṃsakālaṃ[331] *ekamaṃsapuñjaṃ kareyya, n' atthi* ***tatonidānaṃ*** *pāpaṃ, n' atthi pāpassa āgamo* (SPS 52.17).

'Even if with a razor-sharp wheel one were to make of the creatures on this earth one single mass and heap of flesh, there would be no evil because of doing that, no evil would accrue.'

(9) *yagghe deva jāneyyāsi:* ***yo*** *te puriso dāso kammakaro pubbuṭṭhāyī pacchānipātī kiṃkāra– paṭissāvī manāpacārī piyavādī mukhullokako,*[332] ***so*** *deva kesamassuṃ ohāretvā kāsāyāni vatthāni acchādetvā agārasmā anagāriyaṃ pabbajito* (SPS 60.35).

'Here, O King, what would you think if your man (or servant), who is a slave, a labourer, who gets up before you do and goes to bed after you, who tends to your business, who behaves agreeably, speaks pleasantly, and attends to your moods, O King, he shaved off his hair and beard, donned yellow robes and went forth from the house into homelessness.'

(10) *yagghe deva jāneyyāsi:* ***yo*** *te puriso kassako gahapatiko kārakārako rāsivaḍḍhako,* ***so****, deva, kesamassuṃ ohāretvā kāsāyāni vatthāni acchādetvā agārasmā anagāriyaṃ pabbajito* (SPS 61.37).

'O king, what would you think if your man, who is a farmer, a householder, pays taxes and accumulates wealth, O King, shaved

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[331] Variant reading: the PTS version has *ekamaṃsakhalaṃ* while the Siamese one has *ekamaṃsakālaṃ*. I follow the latter.

[332] The word *mukhullokako* occurs in DN four times, i.e. DN 59, 60 (three times). According to PTSD (*s.v.*), the word can mean 'flatter'. The commentary (BJSA [=Sv] I 168) explains thus: *sāmino tuṭṭhapahaṭṭhaṃ mukhaṃ ullokayamāno vicaratī ti mukhullokako.*

off his hair and beard, donned yellow robes and went forth from home into homelessness?'

The data suggests that the instrumental phrase: *khurapariyantena ce pi cakkena* is topicalised. Hence its initial placement in the sentence. This example indicates that topicalisation can take place in relative clauses as well, and that the *ya-* itself may be moved a bit further inside the clause because of this constraint. In the context of (9) and (10), on the other hand, the complex sentence is led by another introducing sentence by which the clause introduced by *ya-* is moved further inside. Nevertheless, the *ya-* still leads its clause.

(3) BJSA

Usually, the *ya-* is placed at the beginning of RRC. In the other remaining examples, also found in BJSA, the *ya-* leads RRC. This is the dominant stylistic feature of complex sentences in this text. Below are the contexts.

Table 4.5 Contexts of RRC led by *ya-* in BJSA

No.	Contexts
(11)	***yaṃ*** *mama mātā mukhena kathesi,* ***taṃ*** *mā hotu* (BJSA 75). 'May whatever my mother said with her mouth not happen.'
(12)	***yaṃ*** *vā so atthavādī vadati,* ***tena*** *atthena saṃhitattā atthasaṃhitaṃ vācaṃ bhāsati* (BJSA 77). 'Or, what he who speaks useful words says, he says as useful words because they are endowed with this usefulness.'

(13) ***yā*** *vācā satte samagge karoti,* ***taṃ*** *sāmaggiṃ guṇaparidīpakam eva vācam bhāsati na itaram* (BJSA 74-5).

'He speaks words which make beings [people] harmonious and which highlight the virtue of such harmony, not others.'

(14) ***ye vā*** *ime gabbhokkantikasamayo, jātisamayo saṃvegasamayo abhini-kkhamanasamayo dukkarakārikasamayo Māravijayasamayo abhisam-bodhisamayo diṭṭhadhammasukhavihāra-samayo desanā-samayo pari-nibbānasamayo ti evam ādayo Bhagavato devamanussesu ativiya pakāsā aneke kālappabhedā eva samayā,* ***tesu*** *samayesu desanāsamaya-saṃkhātaṃ Ekaṃ samayan ti dīpenti* (BJSA 32).

'On the other hand, out of the various occasions of the Blessed One, which are the different times which are particularly famous among gods and humans, such as the occasion of [his] descent into [his mother's] womb, the occasion of his birth, the occasion of religious emotion,[333] the occasion of renouncing the world, the occasion of performing self-mortification, the occasion of defeating *Māra,* the occasion of attaining enlightenment, the occasion of dwelling happily in this world, the occasion of teaching, the occasion of passing away', they illustrate that it is concerned with an occasion of teaching by stating, "At one time".

(15) ***yassa*** *pīṭham atthi,* ***so*** *taṃ paññāpeti* (BJSA 49).

'The monk who has a chair, prepares it [for the Blessed One]'.

(16) ***yassa*** *n' atthi,* ***so*** *mañcaṃ vā phalakaṃ vā kaṭṭhaṃ vā pāsāṇaṃ vā*

[333] When he felt disgust at the sleeping musicians.

vālukapuñjaṃ vā paññāpeti (BJSA 49).

'Whoever does not have [a chair] prepares a couch, a plank, a piece of wood, a stone, or a heap of sand.'

(17) ***yāni*** *pana* [...] *paresaṃ ajjhāsayaṃ khantiṃ manaṃ abhinīhāraṃ bujjhanabhāvañ ca avekkhitvā parajjhāsayavasena kathitāni* [...], ***tesaṃ*** *parajjhāsayo nikkhepo* (BJSA 50-51).

'However, the [discourses] which are addressed on the basis of others' inclination, i.e. after he has taken into account others' inclination, patience, mind, behaviour, and state of understanding, are included[334] in the group of discourses addressed according to others' inclination.'

(18) ***yaṃ*** *abhūtaṃ,* ***taṃ*** *abhūtabhāven' eva apanetabbaṃ* (BJSA 52).

'The word which is not true should be abandoned just because it is not true.'

(19) ***yaṃ*** *tumhehi vuttaṃ,* ***taṃ*** *iminā pi kāraṇena abhūtaṃ* (BJSA 53).

'The word which has been said by you is not true because of this reason.'

(20) ***yaṃ*** *pana Bhagavā satasahassakappādhikāni cattāri asaṅkheyyāni pāramiyo pūretvā* [...] *sabbakilese khepetvā, sabbe Buddhaguṇe paṭivijjhi,* ***idam*** *assa paññākiccaṃ* (BJSA 57-8).

'That the Blessed One developed the [ten] perfections throughout four incalculable periods of time plus one hundred thousand aeons, put an end to all mental defilements and realised all the Buddha's

[334] The word *nikkhepa* may be translated as 'the reason for delivering the discourse'.

virtues, is his duty relating to wisdom.'

(21) ***yaṃ*** *bhikkhave sadevakassa lokassa* [...], ***sabban taṃ*** *Tathāgatena abhisambuddhaṃ* (BJSA 68).

'Monks, all of what belongs to the world with its gods has been fully understood by the Tathāgata.'

(22) ***yaṃ*** *pana, bhikkhū, kattaraḍaṇḍaṃ vā dantakaṭṭhaṃ vā vāsiṃ vā pipphalakaṃ vā gahetvā vicaranti, na* ***taṃ*** *parūpaghātatthāya* (BJSA 70).

'However, whatever monks carry as they travel — a walking stick, a piece of wood for cleaning teeth, a knife or a razor— is not for taking the life of others.'

(23) ***yo*** *hi puriso kadāci musā vadati kadāci saccaṃ,* ***tassa*** *musāvādena antaritattā saccaṃ saccena na ghaṭīyati* (BJSA 73).

'Certainly, the person who sometimes speaks lies and sometimes the truth does not fit truth onto truth, because his truth is interrupted by lies.'

(24) ***yassa*** *hi sutaṃ sammuṭṭhaṃ hoti, na* ***so*** *kālantare mayā sutan ti paṭivijānāti* (BJSA 29).

'The person who totally forgot what he had heard could not realise "Thus have I heard" at other times.'

(25) ***yasmā*** *pana Buddhānaṃ ekadhamme pi āsappanā parisappanā n' atthi, bodhimaṇḍe va sabbakaṅkhā chinnā,* ***tasmā*** *vimaticchedanā pucchā pi n' atthi yeva* (BJSA 69).

'Certainly, because the Buddhas do not have doubt or uncertainty

about even a single phenomenon, as they have eradicated all doubts at the spot of enlightenment, they therefore definitely do not also have "questions to cut off doubts" (*vimaticchedanā pucchā*).'

(26) ***yasmā*** *pana* ***yathā*** *kāyapaṭibaddhavācāya paraṃ visaṃvādeti,* ***tathā,*** *'imassa bhaṇāhī ti' āṇāpento pi paṇṇaṃ likhitvā purato nissajjanto pi 'ayam attho evaṃ veditabbo ti kuḍḍādisu likhitvā ṭhapento pi,* ***tasmā*** *ettha āṇattikanissaggiyathāvarā pi payogā yujjanti* (BJSA 73).

'However, because it is the case that, just as one deceives another through speech related to the body, so one can also do so by ordering someone, "Speak to this person", or by writing a letter and sending it to someone, or by writing a message by posting it on walls, etc., thinking 'This should be understood in this way', therefore activities of ordering, sending, and [use of] immoveable objects, are also included in that [which is called "speech"].

(27) ***yasmā*** *evaṃ ti yassa cittasantānassa nānappakārappavattiyā nānatthavyañjanaggahaṇaṃ hoti tassa nānākāraniddeso ti vuttaṃ, so ca evaṃ bhaddako ākāro na sammā appaṇihitat– tano pubbe akatapuññassa vā hoti,* ***tasmā*** *evaṃ ti iminā bhaddakena ākārena pacchimacak– kadvayasampattiṃ attano dīpeti* (BJSA 30).

'Because by the word "thus" is stated the indication of various aspects of the continuum, which grasps sense and literal meanings which occur in various ways, and this good aspect does not occur in a person who has not established himself in a proper position or who has not previously accumulated merit. Therefore, by saying

"this" he [Ānanda] demonstrates through this good aspect that he has attained the latter two of the set of [Four] Blessings (*Cakka*).[335]

(28) ***yasmā*** *pana 'evaṃ me sutaṃ asukasaṃvacchare asukautumhi asukamāse asukapakkhe asukarattibhāge divasabhāge vā ti evaṃ vutte na sakkā sukhena dhāretuṃ vā uddisituṃ vā uddisāpetuṃ vā bahuṃ c' eva vattabbaṃ hoti,* ***tasmā****eken' eva padena tam atthaṃ samodhānetvā, 'ekaṃ samayan ti āha* (BJSA 32).

'Because of the fact that, when he [Ānanda] thus says, "Thus I have heard", it is not possible for anyone easily to memorise, demonstrate, or make people demonstrate, and very much has to be said, therefore said "at one time", summarises all that content with one word.'

(29) ***yaṃ hi*** *samayaṃ Bhagavā imaṃ aññaṃ vā suttantaṃ desesi, accantaṃ eva* ***taṃ samayaṃ*** *karuṇāvihārena vihāsi* (BJSA 33).

'Certainly, when the Blessed One delivered this sermon or another, he continuously dwelt in the dwelling of compassion throughout that period.'

(30) ***yaṃ*** *loke jātivuddhesu kattabbaṃ abhivādanādisāmīcikammaṃ sāmaggiraso ti vuccati,* ***taṃ*** *samaṇassa Gotamassa n' atthi* (BJSA 36).

[335] The Four Blessings are living in a proper place *(paṭirūpadesavāsa),* association with a good man *(sappurisūpassaya), attasammāpaṇidhi* (establishment of oneself in a proper position) and *pubbekatapuññatā* (the state of having done merit previously). They occur at A II 32; J V 114. See also PTSD, p. 259.

'The ascetic Gotama does not have the proper behaviour such as paying respect which should be done to elderly people in the world, which is called 'the taste of concord.'

(31) ***tatiyabhāge yaṃ*** *gāmaṃ vā nigamaṃ vā upanissāya viharati,* ***tattha jano*** *purebhattadānaṃ datvā pacchābhattaṃ sunivattho supāruto gandhapupphādīni ādāya vihāre sannipatati* (BJSA 47).

'In the third part of the night, the people who live in the village or town which he [the Blessed One] lives in dependence on, offer food before [his] meal. After the meal they are dressed up well and properly, then bring things such as perfume and flowers, and assemble in the *Vihāra.*'

The data shows that the case form of the relative marker *ya-* can differ from its correlative but their number is similar and this is consistent throughout the texts. The clause introduced by the *ya-* in RRC modifies a particular head noun in MC. Like a defining adjective, RRC defines a main noun and is accordingly placed before it. All the dependent clauses above can be changed to be simply adjectival phrases which modify nouns which are usually placed after them. Let me take (1) as a case in point. The whole complex sentence: *ye pana mayaṃ ahumha tena Brahmunā nimmitā,* ***te*** *mayaṃ aniccā addhuvā appāyukā cavanadhammā itthattaṃ āgatā* in (1) can be simply changed to be: *te tena Brahmunā nimmitā mayaṃ aniccā addhuvā appāyukā cavanadhammā itthattaṃ āgatā* without affecting the original meaning of the complex sentence. All other RRCs in the above contexts can be changed to an adjectival phrase in a similar way, even though in some contexts some

words may be dropped if unnecessary.

Firstly, a complex sentence: ***yaṃ*** *kho idaṃ vuccati cakkhun ti pi sotan ti pi ghānan ti pi jivhā ti pi kāyo ti pi,* ***ayaṃ*** *attā anicco addhuvo asassato vipariṇāmadhammo* (in 2). The whole RRC is meant to modify a main word, here *attā,* in MC. The finite verb in RRC is changed to be a past participle functioning as an adjective instead. So we have: *cakkhun ti pi sotan ti pi ghānan ti pi jivhā ti pi kāyo ti pi vutto attā anicco addhuvo asassato vipari- ṇāmadhammo*. Secondly, ***yaṃ*** *mam' assa musā,* ***so*** *mam'* ***assa*** *vighāto* in (4). Here, the whole RRC specifies or clarifies the noun subject in MC which is referred to as *so*. The main idea of RRC here is that the author does not want to speak falsehood, which he considers as 'trouble'. Therefore, the clause can be changed into a noun phrase: *mama musābhāvo* (or *musāvācā*, *musābhūtaṃ vacanaṃ* or the like) *mam'* ***assa*** *vighāto*. Thirdly, RRC in a context: ***ye*** *maṃ tattha samanuyuñjeyyuṃ samanugāheyyuṃ sananu- bhāseyyuṃ,* ***tesāhaṃ*** *na sampāyeyyaṃ* in (5). RRC in this context specifies the noun of *tesaṃ* in MC. Therefore, it can be changed to: *ahaṃ tattha maṃ samanuyuñjantānaṃ samanugāhantānaṃ samanubhāsantānaṃ samaṇabrāhmaṇānaṃ na sampāyeyyaṃ,* without affecting the original meaning of the sentence in the complex construction. Dependent clauses which modify a noun, in fact, are nothing but longer extensions of modifiers. Just as defining modifiers are placed before nouns, so restrictive clauses are placed before main clauses.

It is interesting to note that the context of (27) is a pregnant complex sentence. There are two complex sentences in this context. One is the pair *yasmā/tasmā* which is the main complex sentence and the other pair is

yassa/tassa. This makes the complex sentence more complicated. The point here, however, is the pair *yasmā/tasmā* which introduces both RRC and MC respectively. I shall return to discuss the second pair *yassa/tassa* in a different category below. However, there are some contexts which are similar to those which occur in SPS. Examples (32)-(35) below show that the *ya-* pronoun does not come first in its clause. It is preceded by other elements. I find four contexts in BJSA.

Table 4.6 Contexts of *ya-/ta-* in BJSA

No.	Contexts
(32)	*sā* ***yaṃ*** *sandhāya pavattitā,* ***tassa*** *appaguṇatāya appasāvajjā, mahāguṇatāya mahāsāvajjā* (BJSA 75). 'That [harsh speech] has little fault if the targeted person is blameworthy and has much fault if the person is virtuous.'
(33)	*Bhagavā,* ***yaṃ*** *sadevake loke* [...] *sadevamanussāya aparimāṇāsu lokadhātusu aparimāṇānaṃ sattānaṃ cakkhudvāre āpāthaṃ āgacchantaṃ rūpārammaṇaṃ nāma atthi,* ***taṃ*** *sabbākārato jānāti passati* (BJSA 65). 'The Blessed One understands and sees in all manners the visible object which comes to the eyes of innumerable beings in the innumerable world systems of both gods and men in the world with its gods.'
(34)	*sā pan' esā suttavaṇṇanā* ***yasmā*** *suttanikkhepaṃ vicāretvā vuccamānā pākaṭā hoti,* ***tasmā*** *suttanikkhepaṃ tāva vicārayissāma* (BJSA 50). 'Because the commentary on a discourse which is given after the reason for delivering the discourse is taken into account, is already

	clear, I shall describe the reason for giving the discourse.'
(35)	*iti imehi dvīhi kāraṇehi ayaṃ paribbājako* ***yasmā*** *niccaṃ pi Bhagavantaṃ usūyati,* ***tasmā*** *taṃ usūyāvisuggāraṃ uggiranto ratanattayassa avaṇṇaṃ eva bhasati* (BJSA 41). 'Because of these two causes, this wanderer, because he is constantly jealous of the Blessed One, criticises the Triple Gem, ejecting the poisonous vomit of his jealousy.'

The data shows that *yaṃ* in (32) and (33) is not placed at the beginning of the sentence. *Yaṃ* in (32) is in the accusative which qualifies an object of a verb while *yaṃ* in (33) is in the nominative modifying *rūpārammaṇaṃ.* The noun subjects of both contexts stand at the beginning of the sentence. In (33), in particular, the word *Bhagavā*, which is the noun subject in MC, is placed at the beginning of the sentence. It is isolated from the group of MC, which is placed after RRC. In (34), the word *yasmā* is moved a bit further inside while the subjectival phrase: *sā pan' esā suttavaṇṇanā* is topicalised. The placement of *yasmā* within the sentence is occasionally seen. A strikingly stylistic feature which is typical of BJSA is a dependent clause embedded within a sentence following a *lemma*, which is placed at the beginning of the sentence. Four examples are found. See table 4.7.

Table 4.7 Placement of lemmata before RRC in BJSA

No.	Contexts
(36)	*tatrā ti* ***ye*** *avaṇṇaṃ vadanti,* ***tesu*** (BJSA 51). 'The word "in that" means in those people who blame.'

(37) *yasmā* ***<u>evan</u>*** *ti* ***yassa*** *cittasantānassa nānappakārappavattiyā nānatthavyañjanaggahaṇaṃ hoti,* ***tassa*** *nānākāraniddeso* [...] (BJSA 30).

'Because by the word "thus" is stated the indication of various aspects of the thought continuum, which grasps various meanings and detail which occur in various ways [...]'.

(38) *<u>katamañ ca taṃ bhikkhave</u> ti* ***yena*** *appamattakena oramattakena sīlamattakena puthujjano Tathāgatassa vaṇṇaṃ vadamāno vadeyya,* ***taṃ*** *kataman ti pucchati* (BJSA 68).

'The words "Monks, which is that?" asks concerning which trifling, insignificant matter of discipline an ordinary person might praise the Tathāgata.'

The data shows that all the relative markers are preceded by particular words taken from the Pāli Canon, which need clarifying. The placement of these words at the beginning of sentences as *lemmata* is also an aspect of topicalisation. Because they need explanations, they are highlighted by being placed in such position. This leads me to put forward the hypothesis that topicalisation also occurs within a relative clause, and that the *ya-* may be moved from the normative position, i.e. at the beginning of the sentence, to the middle position for topicalisation of a particular word or phrase. After all, it is obvious that the placement of RRC before MC reflects an interrelation between a modifier/modifiers and a modified element, in which the former is placed before the latter, as I have already described in Chapter One. Because the initial placement of RRC is primarily due to its function as a restrictive clause, the order: # RRC+ MC# must be regarded as its unmarked pattern.

It is worthy of note that the data given above also suggests that, while the pattern: one *ya-* in RRC + one *ta-* in MC hardly occurs in SPS (found only three times), it occurs occasionally (seven times) in BJS and is found regularly in BJSA (nineteen times). Even though sometimes a correlative does not appear on the surface in the text, which is, I suppose, a feature due to an authorial style, semantically and syntactically it must be added to complete the sense. Below is a good example.

Table 4.8 Dropping of a demonstrative in MC

No.	Context
(39)	*yaṃ cittena cintesi, hotu* (BJSA 75). 'May whatever [she] thought with her mind take place.'

Here, a correlative *taṃ* in MC is deliberately left out, presumably because it is understood in the context. However, semantically, the whole dependent clause specifies the noun subject in MC; so it is a restrictive or defining clause. Because RRC needs to have a clearly identified noun to modify, the missing words: *taṃ [vatthu]* must be added to complete MC. In addition to this, even though stylistically sometimes a finite verb of either RRC or MC is dropped, as it is clearly understood from the context, the omission of the word does not affect the others in the sentence, nor is it an indication that the restrictive function of RRC changes to be unrestrictive. All the necessary missing elements must be added. I provide below all the instances found in the selected texts, after discarding repetitions.

(1) BJS

In all the contexts provided below, RRC does not have a finite verb while MC usually does. It is noteworthy that the verb which is left out as understood is usually a copula which indicates that the finite-verbless sentence is an assertive statement and the copula demonstrates that that assertion exists, or confirms the existence of something. Below are the contexts after discarding repetitions.

Table 4.9 Group of verbless RRC in BJS

No.	Contexts
(40)	***yad eva*** *tattha pītigataṃ cetaso ubbillāvitattaṃ,* ***etena etaṃ*** *oḷārikaṃ akkhāyati* (BJS 37.23). 'There, because mental exhilaration accompanied by joy is present, with respect of that, this is said to be gross.'
(41)	***yad eva*** *tattha sukhan iti cetaso ābhogo,* ***etena etaṃ*** *oḷārikaṃ akkhāyati* (BJS 37.23, 37.24). 'Because the state of mind called happiness is there, therefore this is said to be gross.'
(42)	***yad eva*** *tattha vitakkitaṃ vicāritaṃ, etena etaṃ oḷārikaṃ akkhāyati* (BJS 37.22). 'Because thinking and pondering are there, with respect of that this is said to be gross.'

(2) SPS

Table 4.10 Group of verbless RRC in SPS

No.	Contexts
(43)	*so* ***yāni*** *ca porāṇāni iṇamūlāni,* ***tāni*** *ca vyantikareyya* (SPS 71.68).

'And he might pay off whatever old debts he may have.'

(44) *so' haṃ **yāni** ca porāṇāni iṇamūlāni, **tāni** ca vyantiakāsiṃ* (SPS 72.69).

'I have paid off whatever old debts I have had.'

(45) *yathā nu kho imāni, bhante, puthusippāyatanāni seyyathīdaṃ hatthārohā assārohā rathikā dhanuggahā celakā piṇḍadāvikā uggā rājaputtā pakkhandino mahānāgā sūrā cammayodhino dāsakaputtā āḷārikā kappikā nahāpakā sūdā malākārā rajakā pesakārā naḷakārā kumbhakārā gaṇakā muddikā **yāni vā** pan' aññāni pi evaṃgatāni puthusippāyatanāni, **te** diṭṭhe va dhamme sandiṭṭhikaṃ sippaphalaṃ upajīvanti* (SPS 51.14, 52.16).

'Lord, just as there are lots of classes of craftsmen, namely, elephant-drivers, horse- drivers, chariot-fighters, archers, standard-bearers, adjutants, army caterers, champions and senior officers, scouts, heroes, brave fighters, cuirassiers, slaves' sons, cooks, barbers, bathmen, bakers, garland makers, bleachers, weavers, basket makers, potters, calculators, and accountants and whatever other skills there may be, they live on the visible fruits of their skills in this life.'

The data shows that in all the above six examples taken from BJS and SPS, the finite verb in RRC does not appear explicitly. I ascertain that the disappearance is a product of authorial style and does not mean that semantically the sentence is verbless. It is also obvious that the absence of verbs usually takes place when they can be left out as understood. I have

noticed that in such contexts the clauses are usually assertive or affirmative and the statements are truthful, either at all times or at the times of speaking.

(3) BJSA

Table 4.11 Group of verbless MC in BJSA

No.	Contexts
(46)	***yaṃ*** *tumhehi vuttaṃ,* ***taṃ*** *iminā pi kāraṇena bhūtaṃ* (BJSA 54). 'What you said is true because of this cause.'
(47)	***so yaṃ*** *atthaṃ bhañjati,* ***tassa*** *appatāya appasāvajjo, mahantatāya mahāsāvajjo* (BJSA 72). 'That [false speech] is less faulty if the matter which it falsifies is trivial, and more faulty if the matter is important.'
(48)	***sā*** *yassa bhedaṃ karoti,* ***tassa*** *appaguṇatāya appasāvajjā mahāguṇatāya mahāsāvajjā* (BJSA 74). 'That [harsh word] is less faulty if the targeted person who is disaffected is less virtuous and is more faulty if the person is more virtuous.'
(49)	***yena*** *samphappalapati niratthakaṃ,* ***so*** *samphappalāpo* (BJSA 74). 'The speech by which a person talks uselessly is 'useless talk' *(samphappalāpa).*'
(50)	*pisuṇaṃ vācaṃ pahāyā ti ādisu* ***yāya*** *vācāya* ***yassa*** *taṃ vācaṃ bhāsati,* ***tassa*** *hadaye attano piyabhāvaṃ parassa ca suññabhāvaṃ karoti,* ***sā*** *pisuṇā vācā* (BJSA 73-74). 'Words such as "having abandoned slanderous speech" are explained as a speech which makes one liked in the mind of the

person whom one addresses with that speech, and makes the other person have no place there; this is called "slanderous speech" (*pisuṇa– vācā*)'.

(51) ***yāya*** *pana attānaṃ pi paraṃ pi pharusaṃ karoti,* ***yā*** *vācā sayam pi pharusā, n' eva kaṇṇasukhā na hadayasukhā,* ***ayaṃ*** *pharusā vācā* (BJSA 74).

'Certainly, with what [speech] one makes oneself as well as others rough, and is rough by itself, is not pleasant to the ear and is not pleasant to the heart, this is "rough speech".

In marked contrast to BJS and SPS, in the above six examples, i.e. (46), (47), (48), (49), (50) and (51), MC does not have a finite verb while RRC does. Included within this group is also the context of (39), which was mentioned earlier. It is likely that the missing verb in all the above examples is a copula; its omission presumably being a stylistic feature. However, even though the verb does not appear explicitly in the contexts, semantically all the clauses are restrictive. Therefore, the absence of the copula in either RRC or MC does not affect their RRC or MC status.

§ 4.1.1.2 The Multiuse of *ya-* in RRC or *ta-* in MC

Sometimes, the relative marker *ya-* appears twice or more in RRC while there is only one correlative in MC. Sometimes there is only one *ya-* in RRC to correlate with *ta-* which occurs several times in MC. Of all the preposed RRC, the phenomenon occurs six times: twice in SPS and four times in BJSA. See the contexts below.

Table 4.12 Contexts of two *ya-* in RRC in SPS

No.	Contexts
(52)	[...] *mahārāja, dakkho dantakāro vā dantakārantevāsī vā suparikammakatasmiṃ dantasmiṃ* ***yaṃ yad*** *eva dantavikatiṃ ākaṅkheyya,* ***taṃ tad*** *eva kareyya abhinipphādeyya* (SPS 78.88). 'Great King, a skilled ivory-carver or his apprentice can accomplish the feat of making any ivory artefact he wants.'
(53)	*seyyathā pi pana mahārāja dakkho suvaṇṇakāro vā suvaṇṇakārantevāsī vā supari–kammakatasmiṃ suvaṇṇasmiṃ* ***yaṃ yad eva*** *suvaṇṇavikatiṃ ākaṅkheyya,* ***taṃ taṃ eva*** *kareyya a bhinipphādeyya* [...] (SPS 78.88). 'Great King, just as a skilled goldsmith or his apprentice, when the gold has been well worked, can accomplish the feat of making any gold article he wants, [...]'.

The data shows that the number of relative + correlative markers in the above contexts which are found in SPS is identical. Semantically, the use of two relative markers *ya-* in RRC to correlate with two demonstratives *ta-* in MC, as in (52) and (53) above, means that the head noun has an indefinite meaning,[336] which can be translated as either 'any' or 'whatever'. In other words, the use of two relative pronouns changes the head noun which is modified from having a specific sense to a non-specific one. The data also shows that whenever there are two relative markers in RRC, MC also have two correlatives.

[336] See Perniola (1997: 56-57).

Table 4.13 The use of two *ya-* in BJSA

No.	Contexts
(54)	[...] ***yattha*** *ca bhāsitaṃ* ***yañ ca*** *ārabbha bhāsitaṃ,* ***taṃ sabbaṃ*** *pakāsento āyasmā Ānando 'evam me sutan' ti ādim āha* (BJSA 26). 'Ānanda, when declaring all relevant matters pertaining to the place where the Buddha delivered the speech [BJS] and concerning what the Buddha preached, said "Thus I have heard".'
(55)	[...] *etesu saṃvaccharādīsu samayesu* ***yaṃ yaṃ*** *suttaṃ,* ***yamhi yamhi*** *saṃvacchare utumhi māse pakkhe rattibhāge vā divasabhāge vā vuttaṃ,* ***sabban taṃ*** *therassa suviditaṃ suvavatthāpitaṃ paññāya* (BJSA 32). 'Regarding the word ['at one time'], every discourse that was spoken in every period of time such as years and so on, whatever year, season, month, fortnight, part of the night or day, was known very well, i.e. was well fixed by the elder with wisdom.'

The data shows that the above contexts are slightly different from (50)-(51) which are found in SPS. In (52), RRC has two relative markers *ya-* while MC has only one demonstrative *ta-*. Here, the first *ya-,* i.e. *yattha*, refers to any place while the second one, i.e. *yaṃ,* refers to any person, but both of them correlate with *taṃ* in MC. In (53), on the other hand, RRC has four relative markers while MC still has only one. However, along with the demonstrative pronouns which correlate with *ya-*, there is a pronoun *sabba* ('all, every'), which compensates for the presence of one correlative. Even though the four relative markers *ya-* in RRC have changed to have a non-

specific sense, the whole RRC defines or specifies the noun subject in MC.

§ 4.1.1.3 *Ya-* in combination with InterPro in RRC + *ta-* in MC

The use of a relative pronoun in combination with an interrogative pronoun is another means of expressing an indefinite or non-specific meaning. Usually, the particle *-ci* is added to the interrogative pronoun. The pronoun *ya-* in this respect is translated as 'someone', 'something' or 'somebody'.[337] The phenomenon occurs fifteen times in BJS, but is totally absent in SPS and BJSA. Contextually, all of them take place in a similar situation. On the one hand, they are addressed to monks by the Buddha. On the other hand, they are direct speeches. Below are the contexts which are found.

Table 4.14 Contexts of the phrase: *ye hi keci*

No.	Contexts
(56)	***ye hi keci*** *bhikkhave samaṇā vā brāhmaṇā vā sassatavādā sassataṃ attānañ ca lokañ ca paññāpenti,* ***sabbe te*** *imeh' eva catuhi vatthūhi etesaṃ vā aññatarena* (BJS 16.35, cf. BJS 21.14, 24.21, 28.28, 29.32, 32.3, 31.39, 33.7, 35.17, 38.25, 38.27, 39.29, 46.72, 45.72). 'Monks, whatever ascetics or brahmins are eternalists [and] proclaim the eternity of the self and the world, they all do so in these four ways or one of them.'
(57)	*seyyathā pi bhikkhave ambapiṇḍiyā vaṇṭacchinnāya* ***yāni kānici*** *ambāni vaṇṭūpaniban–dhanāni,* ***sabbāni tāni*** *tadanvayāni bhavanti,*

[337] Cf. Vedic in Renou,[1] pp. 382, 384-385 and Holland (1991: 24).

evam eva kho [...] (BJS 46.73).
'Monks, just as when a bunch of mangoes is cut at the stalk, whatever mangoes are fastened to the stalk, all those follow [the stalk], even so [...]'.

The above data shows that in the context of (56), the phrase: *ye hi keci,* which leads RRC fifteen times in BJS, is placed at the beginning of the sentence. The phrase: ***yāni kānici,*** on the other hand, is preceded by particles, a vocative and a phrase of locative absolute. The joining together of the two words: *ye keci* is meant to have an indefinite meaning, i.e. 'whatever'. Therefore, the two words are supposed to come together, except that the sentence has an enclitic particle *hi*, in which case the particle is inserted in between. In addition to this, the phrase: *ye keci* may be moved further inside the clause if the clause has other introductory particles and genitive absolutes, as in (57).

Semantically, the pattern # ***ya-*** + **interPro #**, which is another characteristic of RRC, changes the meaning of the noun it modifies from a specific sense to a non-specific one. It is interesting to note that, in my selected texts, all the contexts where the pattern occurs are culled from speech situations. They are used in a quite similar context, i.e. when the Buddha is referring to a particular group of ascetics and brahmins who may hold a particular philosophical view. All of them occur in BJS in a direct speech. Note that the finite verb of (57) is left out as understood. It is clear, however, that the omission of a finite verb does not affect the status of RRC.

§ 4.1.1.4 The pattern *ya-* in combination with *ta-* in RRC + *ta-* in MC.

This is another feature which characterises relative clauses in the selected texts. This phenomenon occurs in BJS ten times and another four times in BJSA. It is noteworthy that in all the contexts a correlative *ta-* or the like is present in MC. Below are all the contexts of this in the selected texts, after discarding repetitions.

(1) BJS

The clause type occurs in BJS more than in other texts, many of which repeat. While most contexts in which the pattern # *ya-*+*ta-*/*ta-*# occurs are short, BJS contains the longest sentence of the type. In (58), there are fourteen RRC introduced by *ya-* which correlates with only one *ta.*

Table 4.15 Contexts of *ya-*+*ta-* in RRC/*ta-* in MC in BJS

No.	Contexts
(58)	*tatra bhikkhave* ***ye te*** *samaṇabrāhmaṇā sassatavādā sassataṃ attānañ ca lokañ ca paññāpenti catuhi vatthūhi,* ***ye pi te*** *samaṇabrāhmaṇā ekaccasassatikā ekaccaasassatikā,* ***ye pi te*** *samaṇabrāhmaṇā antānantikā,* ***ye pi te*** *samaṇabrāhmaṇā amarāvikkhepikā,* ***ye pi te*** *samaṇabrāhmaṇā adhiccasamuppannikā,* ***ye pi te*** *samaṇabrāhmaṇā pubbantakappikā,* ***ye pi te*** *samaṇabrāhmaṇā uddhamāghatanikā saññīvādā,* ***ye pi te*** *samaṇabrāhmaṇā uddhamāghatanikā asaññīvādā,* ***ye pi te*** *samaṇabrāhmaṇā uddhamāghatanikā n' evasaññīnāsaññivādā,* ***ye pi te*** *samaṇabrāhmaṇā ucchedavādā,* ***ye pi te*** *samaṇabrāhmaṇā diṭṭhadhammanibbānavādā,* ***ye pi te*** *samaṇabrāhmaṇā pubbanta-*

kappikā,[338] ***ye pi te*** *samaṇabrāhmaṇā aparantakappikā,* ***ye pi te*** *samaṇabrāhmaṇā pubbantakappikā ca aparantakappikā ca pubbantāparantakappikā pubbantāparantānudiṭṭhino pubbantā-parantaṃ ārabbha anekavi-hitāni adhivuttipadāni abhivadanti dvāsaṭṭhiyā vatthūhi,* ***sabbe te*** *chahi phassāyatanehi phussa phussa paṭisaṃvedenti* (BJS 44-45.71).

'Monks, therein whatever ascetics and brahmins, who are Eternalists, proclaim the eternity of the self and the world in four ways, and also those ascetics and brahmins, who are partly Eternalists and partly Non-Eternalists, and those ascetics and brahmins who are Finitists and Infinitists, and those ascetics and brahmins who are Eelwrigglers, and those who are Chance Originationists, and those ascetics and brahmins who are speculators about the past, and those ascetics and brahmins who proclaim a doctrine of Conscious Post-Mortem Survival, and those ascetics and brahmins who proclaim a doctrine of Unconscious Post-Mortem Survival, and those ascetics and Brahmins who proclaim a doctrine of Neither-Conscious-Nor-Unconscious Post-Mortem survival, and those ascetics and brahmins who are Annihilationists, and those who proclaim a doctrine of *Nibbāna* here and now, and those ascetics and brahmins who are speculators about the future, and those ascetics and brahmins who are speculators about the past, and those ascetics and brahmins who are speculators about both the past and the future, having fixed

[338] In the Siamese version, this clause is not found (see D I Se 57). In the PTS version, however, the clause occurs twice in the same paragaph.

views, put forward views in sixty two different ways; all of them experience these feelings by contact through the six-sense bases.'

(59) *tatra bhikkhave **yo so satto** paṭhamaṃ upapanno, **tassa** evaṃ hoti: 'ahaṃ asmi Brahmā Mahābrahmā* [...]' (BJS 18.5).

'Monks, that being who arose there first thinks, "I am Brahmā, the Great Brahmā [...]."'

(60) *tatra bhikkhave **ye te** samaṇabrāhmaṇā sassatavādā sassataṃ attānañ ca lokañ ca paññāpenti catuhi vatthūhi, **tad api tesaṃ** bhavataṃ samaṇabrāhmaṇānaṃ ajānataṃ apassataṃ vedayitaṃ taṇhāgatānaṃ paritasitavipphanditam eva* (BJS 39-40.32; cf. BJS 40.33, 40.34,40.35, 40, 36, 40.37, 40.38, 41.39, 41.40, 41.41, 41.42, 41.43, 41.44, 42.46, 42.47, 42.48, 42.49, 42.50, 42.51, 42.52, 42.53, 42.54, 42.55, 42.56, 43.57, 43.58, 43.59, 43.60, 43.61, 43.62, 43.63, 43.64-5, 44.65, 44.66, 44.67, 44.68, 44.69, 44.70, 44.71 (eleven times), 45.72, 46.72).

'Monks, when those ascetics and brahmins who are eternalists proclaim the eternity of the self and the world in four ways, their claim is merely the feeling of those who do not know and see; their claim is merely the worry and vacillation of those who are led by craving.'

The context of (58) is not only the longest clause of its type but also of all relative clauses found in BJS and SPS. The above data shows that unless RRC is introduced by introductory particles and vocatives, the pair *ya-ta* in RRC usually leads RRC. Below are the contexts where the pair leads RRC after discarding repetitions.

Table 4.16 Various contexts of *ya-+ta-* which lead RRC

No.	Contexts
(61)	***yā sā*** *vācā nelā kaṇṇasukhā pemanīyā hadayaṃgamā porī bahujana-kantā bahujanamanāpā,* ***tathārūpiṃ*** *vācaṃ bhāsitā* (BJS 4.9). 'He speaks such a speech which is faultless, pleasing to hear, lovely, reaching one's heart, polite, pleasing to many people, well liked by many people.'
(62)	***ye pi te*** *sattā pacchā upapannā,* ***tesam*** *pi evaṃ hoti: "ayaṃ kho bhavaṃ Brahmā Mahābrahmā"* [...]' (BJS 18.5). 'But these beings who arose later think that "Surely, this is the venerable Brahmā, great *brahmā* [...]'.
(63)	*tatra bhikkhave* ***yo so satto*** *paṭhamaṃ upapanno,* ***so*** *dīghāyukataro ca hoti vaṇṇa– vantataro ca mahesakkhataro ca* (BJS 18.6). 'Monks, that being who arose there first is longer-lived, more beautiful and more powerful.'
(64)	***ye pana te*** *sattā pacchā upapannā,* ***te*** *appāyukatarā ca honti dubbaṇṇatarā ca appesak– khatarā ca* (BJS 18.6). 'But these beings who arose later are shorter-lived, less beautiful and less powerful.'
(65)	***yo kho so*** *bhavaṃ Brahmā Mahābrahmā abhibhū anabhibhūto aññadatthudaso vasavattī issaro kattā nimmātā seṭṭho sañjitā vasī pitā bhūtabhavyānaṃ* ***yena*** *mayaṃ bhotā Brahmunā nimmitā,* ***so*** *nicco dhuvo sassato avipariṇāmadhammo sassatisamaṃ tath' eva ṭhassati* (BJS 18.6). 'That venerable Brahmā who is Great Brahmā, the Conqueror, the unconquered, the All-seeing, the All-powerful, the Lord, the

Maker and the Creator, the best, Appointer, Orderer, and Father of all which has existed and will be, by which venerable Brahmā we have been created, he is permanent, stable, eternal, not subject to change, and will remains as such eternally.'

(66) ***ye kho te*** *bhonto devā na Khiḍḍāpadosikā,* ***te*** *na ativelaṃ hassakhiḍḍā-ratidhammasamāpannā viharanti* (BJS 19.9 [twice]).
'Sirs, those gods who are not corrupted by pleasure do not spend too much time in laughter, play and delight.'

(67) ***ye kho te*** *bhonto devā na Manopadosikā,* ***te*** *na ativelaṃ aññamaññaṃ upanijjhāyanti* (BJS 20.12, 21.12).
'Sirs, those gods who are not corrupted in mind, do not scrutinise each other too closely.'

(68) ***ye te*** *samaṇabrāhmaṇā evam āhaṃsu: 'antavā ayaṃ loko parivaṭumo' ti,* ***tesaṃ*** *musā* [...] (BJS 23.19, 23.20).
'Those ascetics and brahmins who say "This world is finite [and] limited", are lying.'

(69) ***ye pi te*** *samaṇabrāhmaṇā evam āhaṃsu: 'ananto ayaṃ loko apariyanto ti,* ***tesam*** *pi musā* (BJS 23.19, 24.20).
'Those ascetics and brahmins who say "This world is endless and infinite" are lying.'

(70) ***ye pi te*** *samaṇabrāhmaṇā evam āhaṃsu: 'antavā ca ayaṃ loko ananto cā ti,* ***tesam pi*** *musā*' (BJS 24.20).
'Those ascetics and brahmins who say "This world is both finite and infinite", are lying.'

The above data shows that unless there are some other introductory particles or vocatives, the pair *ya-ta* usually leads RRC. It is clear that the pair

ya-ta in RRC is not likely to be separated, unless between them one of the three enclitic particles *pi, kho* and *pana* is inserted, in which case the particles, which usually take the second position in sentences, stand between them. In all of the above contexts, RRC defines a head noun, which is represented by a correlative pronoun.

(2) SPS

In marked contrast to BJS, SPS has only one example. It appears in a narrative prose text. In fact, it is a repetition of the same context (59) which occurs in BJS.

Table 4.17 Context of *ya-+ta-* in RRC in SPS

No.	Context
(71)	***yā sā*** *vācā nelā kaṇṇasukhā pemanīyā hadayaṃgamā porī bahujana-kantā bahujanamanāpā,* ***tathārūpiṃ*** *vācaṃ bhāsitā hoti* (SPS 64.44). 'He speaks the kind of words that are blameless, pleasant to the ear, lovely, reach the heart, polite, make people happy and please people'.

The context of (71) shows that a demonstrative pronoun occurs in RRC. The fact that the same sentence occurs in both texts means that when both discourses were composed, certain types of inherited stock-in-trades might have been transmitted among Buddhist monks.

(3) BJSA

BJSA has four examples. The pattern occurs in prose narrative style,

which is both a commentarial and a conversational style, typical of early Buddhist texts like BJS and SPS. Below are the contexts.

Table 4.18 Various contexts of *ya-* + *ta-* in RRC in BJSA

No.	Contexts
(72)	***yaṃ hi taṃ*** *ettha sotena upaladdhaṃ,* ***taṃ*** *paramatthato vijjamānan ti* (BJSA 29). What has been heard here exists in the ultimate sense.'
(73)	***yo cāyaṃ*** *ñāṇakaruṇākiccasamayesu karuṇākiccasamayo, attahita-parahitapaṭipattisamayesu parahitapaṭipattisamayo, sannipatitānaṃ karaṇī-yadvayasamayesu dhammikathāsamayo, desanāpaṭipatti-samayesu desanāsamayo*, ***tesu*** *pi samayesu aññataraṃ sandhāya* '*ekaṃ samayan ti āha* (BJSA 32-3). 'Certainly, whatever occasion [may be]: the occasion of carrying out his duty with compassion among the occasions of carrying out his duty with insight or compassion, the occasion of performing his duty for the advantage of others among the occasions of performing [duties] for the advantage of himself or others, the occasion of sermons among the two occasions of duties [performed for monks] who have assembled, the occasion of preaching among the two occasions of preaching or practising. The word "on one occasion" [is said] to refer to one of these periods.'
(74)	***yo hi so*** *sikkhāpadapaññattisamayo Sāriputtādīhi duviññeyyo,* ***tena samayena*** *hetubhūtena karaṇabhūtena ca sikkhāpadāni paññā-payanto sikkhāpadapaññattihetu ca avekkhamāno Bhagavā tattha*

tattha vihāsi (BJSA 33).

'Certainly, the occasion when [the Buddha] lays down monastic rules is difficult to ascertain by disciples such as Sāriputta. On that occasion, which is the reason and cause, the Blessed One laying down monastic rules and considering the cause of laying them down, stayed in various places.'

(75) ***yo so*** *Bhagavā samatiṃsapāramiyo pūretvā sabbe kilese bhañjitvā anutta-raṃ sammāsambodhiṃ abhisambuddho,* ***tena*** *Bhagavatā, tesaṃ tesaṃ sattānaṃ āsayānusayā jānatā* [...] *nānajjhāsayatā suppaṭividitā yāva ca sutthu paṭividitā* (BJSA 43).

'The fact that beings have different intentions is well understood and fully comprehended by the Blessed One who has completed [the practice of] thirty perfections, has put an end to all mental defilements and has attained supreme enlightenment, who knows the inclination and the dormant inclination of those beings [...].'

The data shows that BJSA follows the pattern of **# *ya-* + *ta-* in RRC/ *ta-* in MC #**, as found in BJS. The difference lies in that the above sentences have longer compounds consisting of three members, while compounds in BJS consist mainly of two members. Like the similar phenomenon in BJS and SPS, however, usually the pair *ya-*/*ta-* in RRC come together and usually there is no other word in between except some enclitic particles, which usually take the second or third position, like *ca, hi, pana*, and so on. We see that in RRC a demonstrative pronoun follows the relative marker *ya-* in every context. The use of a demonstrative, which is a definite pronoun, in RRC seems to indicate

that the clauses introduced by relative markers *ya-* contains information which is mentioned again to define a main noun in MC which, in turn, contains new information. In other words, RRC provides what is probably well-known information, as it is indicated by a demonstrative, while MC supplies additional information.

In addition to the stylistic characteristics of dependent clauses as described above, there is a noteworthy feature, which is typical of BJSA, and which distinguishes it from BJS and SPS: BJSA sometimes has longer pregnant clauses. That is to say, there is another complex sentence embedded within a complex sentence. The contexts are those which are already quoted:

Table 4.19 Pregnant relative clauses

No.	Contexts
(76)	***seyyathā*** *pi pana mahārāja dakkho dantakāro vā dantakārantevāsī vā suparikammakatasmiṃ dantasmiṃ* ***yaṃ yad*** *eva dantavikatiṃ ākaṅkheyya,* ***taṃ tad*** *eva kareyya abhinipphādeyya,* ***evam*** *eva kho maharaja bhikkhu evam samāhite citte parisuddhe pariyodāte anaṅgaṇe vigatūpakkilese mudubhūte kammaniye ṭhite ānejjappatte iddhividhāya cittaṃ abhinīharati abhininnāmeti* (SPS 78.88). 'Great King, just as a skilled ivory-carver or his apprentice can accomplish the feat of making any artefact he wants, even so a monk with his concentrated mind which is purified, cleansed, unblemished, free from dormant deflilements, malleable, workable, stable, having reached the state of imperturbability, can

direct and incline his mind towards psychic powers.'

(77) ***seyyathā*** *pi pana mahārāja dakkho suvaṇṇakāro vā suvaṇṇakāran-tevāsī vā suparikammakatasmiṃ suvaṇṇasmiṃ* ***yaṃ yad eva*** *suvaṇṇavikatiṃ ākaṅkheyya,* ***taṃ tad eva*** *kareyya abhinipphādeyya*, ***evam eva*** *kho mahārāja bhikkhu* [...] (SPS 78.88).

'Great King, just as a skilled goldsmith or his apprentice, when the gold has been well worked, can accomplish the feat of making any gold article he wants, even so, Great King, a monk [...]'.

(78) ***yasmā*** *evan ti* ***yassa*** *cittasantānassa nānappakārappavattiyā nānatthavyañjanag– gahaṇaṃ hoti tassa nānākāraniddeso ti vuttaṃ, so ca evaṃ bhaddako ākāro na sammā appaṇihitattano pubbe akatapuññassa vā hoti,* ***tasmā*** *evan ti iminā bhaddakena ākārena pacchimacak– kadvayasampattiṃ attano dīpeti* (BJSA 30).

'Because by the word "thus" is stared the indication of various aspects of the continuum, which grasps various meanings and detail which occur in various ways, and this good aspect does not occur in a person who has not established himself in a proper position or who has not previously accumulated merit. Therefore, by saying "this" he [Ānanda] demonstrates through this good aspect that he has attained the latter two of the set of [Four] Blessings (*Cakka*).

§ 4.1.1.5 Concluding remarks

On the basis of the above data, it is evident that RRC differs from one context to another.

It may not have an explicit finite verb and its MC may not have it either. A correlative in MC may not be given explicitly as it is understood from contexts. Yet as RRC's function is to restrict a noun or pronoun, all words which are missing in either RRC or MC must be added to complete a clause. It is evident that all the RRC in the above contexts are placed before MC. Their occurrence, numbering as many as eighty-five times in all, indicates that RRC is a very productive type of clause in the selected texts. In line with BJS and SPS which show RRC's predominance, BJSA also favours RRC. With the exception of sporadic quotations of non-RRC from the canonical texts, all subordinate clauses introduced by the *ya-* pronoun in BJSA are RRC and they are all placed before MC. It is obvious that the left-adjoined RRC is the unmarked position of RRC, and that such a placement is rigid in BJSA, as there is no evidence of occurrence of non-RRC at all. One possible reason to explain why the initial placement is the unmarked position of RRC is that it restricts a main noun or pronoun in MC, like the defining/predicative appositional nouns, called *sarūpavisesanas,* which I described in Chapter Two. Both groups of words follow the proposition, which I have put forward in Chapter One, that words in sentences have an inter-dependent relation, in which a modified one *(padhāna)* is placed after a modifying group *(upasajjana).* Since RRC modifies a main noun in MC, it naturally comes after it.

§ 4.1.2 Post-posed RRC

In the preceding section, I have shown that the dominant relative clause type in the selected texts is RRC, and that its unmarked position is

before its main clause, mainly because this type of clause defines or specifies an antecedent. In this it is like restrictive appositional nouns *(sarūpavisesana)*, which specify a main noun and are placed before it accordingly. There is also another group of RRC, which is placed after its MC due to specific reasons, which I shall describe in this section. The number of occurrences of these RRC is given in Table 4.20.

Table 4.20 Number of occurrence of post-posed RRC

Texts	Numbers of Occurrences
BJS	41
SPS	6
BJSA	1

The placement of RRC after MC in Indic languages has been an issue of interpretation by a number of scholars. There are two or three interesting proposals put forward by them. Minard, while examining Skt. relative clauses in ŚB, has explained that the inversion of order between a relative clause and a main clause occurs both when the main clause is emphasised and when the subordinate clause provides secondary information.[339]

Warder[340] has stated: 'Inversion of this order [i.e., from # RRC-MC # to # MC-RRC #], like inversion of word order, may be used to emphasise the words thus placed first.' He cites one example: *tassa te āvuso lābhā, tassa te suladdhaṃ, yassa te Tathāgato pacchimaṃ piṇḍapātaṃ bhuñjitvā parinibbuto*

[339] Minard (1936: 9). Also quoted in Gren-Eklund (1978: 59).

[340] Warder (1995: 300).

([his translation] 'it is a gain for you, sir, it was well obtained for you, that the thus gone attained liberation after eating your last offering of alms.' Warder explains: 'Here instead of a plain statement that this circumstance is a gain we have an emotive assertion (intended to reassure the person spoken to) stressing the words *lābhā* and *suladdhaṃ*.'

Minard based his arguments primarily on semantic grounds, which is, I think, a correct approach. I agree with Minard's proposals, but with some slight difference in interpretation. In addition, even though he rightly proposes that certain relative clauses are placed after MC because the latter is emphasised, he does not elaborate this theory comprehensively. Warder's proposal, on the other hand, applies mainly to RRC, while ignoring the fact that there are some relative clauses which are placed after their main clauses as the latter are topicalised (see detailed account of this point in §4.2 of this chapter) and that there are some which are placed after their main clauses because of their adverbial functions (see § 4.3 of this chapter). In addition, Minard's proposal that relative clauses are placed after main clauses because the latter are emphasised seems opposed to Warder's remarks that the main clauses are placed before relative clauses because a particular word in them is emphasised.[341]

I would like to put forward a hypothesis that the placement of MC before RRC resembles the topicalisation of nominals in sentences, in which

[341] Cf. Kane (1988: 147-8) who explains that in English there are two degrees of emphasis: total emphasis, which applies to the entire sentence, and partial emphasis, which applies only to a word, phrase or clause.

other elements are shifted to be placed behind them. The crucial difference is that the topicalisation of a particular word is a partial emphasis, which covers a word or a phrase, while the placement of RRC after MC is a total emphasis placed on the latter, by which a whole sentence in MC is moved altogether. I agree with Minard and Warder, but with a somewhat different interpretation. After close examination, I have found that there are two kinds of emphasis which explain why main clauses are fronted: an emphasis on an individual word which may be called partial emphasis and an emphasis on the whole main clause, or a total one. I would argue that the emphasis placed on an individual word is the basis for an emphasis on the whole clause. In the following I shall offer evidence to demonstrate that this hypothesis is correct.

It is striking that the arrangement of words in MC placed before RRC is similar to an emphatic sentence, in which a particular word is topicalised. First, all the above MC contexts are emphatically direct speech with the explicit appearance of vocatives. Secondly, it is obvious that MC is emphasised, either wholly or partially. This can be seen through the use of either emphatic or affirmative statements, imperative verbs and second persons in pronouns. As I have said in Chapters One and Two,[342] there are some circumstances in which words are either topicalised or commentalised; I have provided all the contexts of words which are fronted in the six special sentences, and other words which are commentalised. Amongst what are called the 'six special sentences' by Thai Pāli syntacticians, an emphatic

[342] See Chapter One, § 1.3 and Chapter Two, § 2.2.2.1 and § 2.9.

sentence is the only type of normal declarative sentence in which a substantial word in the sentence is fronted. By and large, when a selected element in this sentence needs an emphasis, the word is simply moved to take the initial position, because Pāli and Skt. do not have overt marks to translate loudness, intonation and emphasis in writing.[343]

However, when a particular element in MC is to be topicalised, the author does not want simply to move a single word to the initial position of the MC, because the whole MC is preceded by RRC. The word which is placed before RRC will be placed in the initial position alone, being isolated from its group in MC. If the selected element to be fronted is just moved to the first position of MC, even though it leads MC it still remains in the middle position of the sentence. Therefore, the most likely position of MC before RRC can be described in two ways. First, the whole MC in which a selected element is placed in the initial position is placed before its RRC. Second, an element selected for emphasis is just moved to be placed before RRC, and the rest is left after it. These two orders can be set up into two patterns:

[343] Kane (1988: 147) writes: 'In speech we achieve emphasis in a variety of ways: by talking loudly (or sometimes very softly); by speaking slowly, carefully separating words that ordinarily we run together; by altering our tone of voice or changing its timbre. We also stress what we say by nonvocal means: a rigid uncompromising posture; a clenched fist; a pointing finger; any of numerous other body attitudes, gestures, facial expressions.'

(1)	**Pattern I: # An Emphatic Element from MC+RRC+ other elements of MC #**
(2)	**Pattern II: # MC + RRC #**

Pattern I is somewhat more complicated, as the topicalised word is separated from MC. As far as the selected texts are concerned, I find only one example, which is the same as that mentioned earlier, i.e. the context of (10). Let me quote it again:

Table 4.21 RRC in Pattern I

No.	Context
(79)	*Bhagavā,* ***yaṃ*** *sadevake loke* [...] *sadevamanussāya aparimāṇāsu lokadhātusu aparimāṅānaṃ sattānaṃ cakkhudvāre āpāthaṃ āgacchantaṃ rūpārammaṇaṃ nāma atthi,* ***taṃ*** *sabbākārato jānāti passati* (BJSA 65). 'The Blessed One understands and sees in all modes the visible object which comes to the eyes of innumerable beings in the innumerable world systems of both gods and men in the world with its gods.'

Here, we see that the word *Bhagavā* is isolated from the group and is placed in the initial position of the sentence. It is the noun subject of MC which is placed after RRC. One possible explanation is that the author(s) of the text probably wants to put the word *Bhagavā* at the beginning of the sentence, presumably to highlight it. So, the placement can be attributed to authorial style. On the other hand, Pattern II is relatively simple and is more

productive, particularly in texts culled from speech situations, as structurally it is plain and easily understood. It is evident that Pattern II is more frequent in the selected texts, particularly in BJS and SPS. I argue that this is because, in a complex sentence, a topicalised individual word in the main clause is in focus, and the main clause itself is grammatically self-contained. When the particular word is topicalised, the whole main clause is more likely to be moved to be placed before its RRC as well, because it forms part of a connected whole and is not likely to be scrambled. One of the most obvious examples is an interrogative sentence in which an interrogative pronoun is fronted. Let me show its context, which is the only instance found in my selected texts.

Table 4.22 Topicalisaition of a question word found in SPS

No.	Context
(80)	***kaṃ nu kh' ajja*** *samaṇaṃ vā brāhmaṇaṃ vā payirupāseyyāma,* ***yaṃ*** *no payirupāsatocittaṃ pasīdeyya* (SPS 47.1). 'Which ascetic or brahmin should we today approach, upon approaching whom our mind would be pleased?'

The above context shows that the interrogative pronoun *kaṃ* ('which') in MC is topicalised while the other elements of MC come after it, followed by RRC. It is interesting to note that the accusative *kaṃ* modifies two nouns: *samaṇaṃ* and *brāhmaṇaṃ* placed before their governing verb and moved to the initial position in the sentence. There is no doubt that the interrogative pronoun in (80) is the keyword, upon which the other members

are pivoted. I have already shown in Chapter One (see § 1.3 and fn. 61) how question words are usually placed in the initial position, because the first position of the sentence is the position of the main focus. In particular, Hale[344] has explicitly shown that question words (or in modern transformational-generative grammar *WH-words*) in Vedic and Av have a strong tendency to occupy the first position in their clauses. Warder[345] held a similar idea, explaining that the clause order is inverted when the whole sentence is interrogative, citing an interrogative sentence leading by an interrogative *katame* ('which') as an example.

The tendency to place interrogative pronouns in the initial position of the sentence, thus moving the whole clause to the initial position, clearly indicates that the placement of an individual word counts, and that it is possible that the initial placement of MC is made possible because of the initial placement of a particular element in MC. Usually interrogative pronouns are used to form an interrogative sentence. As I said in chapter One (see Chapter One, § 1.3 and fn. 61), the interchangeable word usually takes the initial position of the sentence, which results in the initial placement of MC. The reason is simple: an interrogative pronoun *kaṃ* above is given more emphasis than any other member in the sentence. Another example which is very striking is the fronting of finite verbs in a command sentence which result in the placement of relative clauses after its main clause:

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[344] See his unpublished PhD thesis (1987a: 8ff.) (Chapter 2: WH - Movement and Topicalisation in the Oldest Indo-Iranian Languages). Cf. fn. 61 of Chapter One.

[345] Warder (1995: 300).

Table 4.23 Topicalisation of an Imperative verb

No.	Context
(81)	***puccha*** *maharaja yad ākaṃkhasi* (SPS 51.13). 'Ask me what you feel doubtful about, Great King.'

It is interesting to note that in the context of (81), in which MC is placed at the beginning of the sentence, the imperative verb *puccha* is topicalised, by which the whole MC is placed in front of RRC. Perhaps we can say that the whole MC is emphasised when its finite verb is placed at the beginning of the sentence. As far as evidence is concerned, the emphatic element is not confined to a particular word, but extends to many syntactical elements. It can be any word, whether finite verb, subject, object, complement or pronoun, except enclitics. Example (81) clearly shows that MC is placed in the front position because its finite verb which represents a whole clause is topicalised.

On the basis of this analysis, I hypothesise that there are two possibilities which explain why MC is placed before RRC. On the one hand, applicable in most cases, it is because an emphasis is given to an individual word, no matter whether it is in interrogative sentences or in a general declarative sentence. On the other hand, the whole meaning of MC is emphasised. This is particularly obvious when its finite verb is itself placed at the beginning of the sentence. In the texts under my scrutiny, it is evident that many different types of individual words are placed in the initial position in MC. So far as evidence goes, complements are placed in the initial position twice; demonstrative or correlatives thirty-one times; nouns, adjectives,

pronouns and indeclinables seventeen times; finite verbs nine times. Below I divide them into different groups, after discarding repetitions.

§ 4.1.2.1 Finite verbs as emphatic words

This group of verbs, or predicates, can be finite verbs or past participles which function as predicates in sentences. Contextually, there are two kinds of MC, in which a finite verb is emphasised. The first is an interrogative sentence. The second is in an affirmative or assertive sentence. For the first group, I find only one example in SPS.

Table 4.24 Topicalisation of indeclinables in SPS

No.	Context
(82)	*yagghe deva jāneyyāsi, yo te puriso kassako gahapatiko kārakārako rāsivaḍḍhako, so deva kesamassuṃ ohāretvā kāsāyāni vatthāni acchādetvā agārasmā anagāriyaṃ pabbajito* (SPS 61.37). 'O King, what would you think of your man, who is a farmer, a householder, pays taxes and accumulates wealth, O King, shaved off his hair and beard, donned yellow robes and went forth from home into homelessness?'

It is important to note that even though the whole MC is topicalised, the finite verb of MC may not be placed at the beginning of the sentence. The context of (82) illustrates this. Even though MC itself is an interrogative clause, the finite verb follows the two vocatives. For the second group, all the examples found occur in BJS. All the finite verbs which are placed in the initial position are types of the verb "to be", which I mark with bold type.

Table 4.25 All other RRC before main clauses

No.	Contexts
(83)	***atthi*** *bhikkhave aññ' eva dhammā gambhīrā duddasā duranubodhā santā paṇītā atakkāvacarā nipuṇā paṇḍitavedanīyā,* ***ye*** *Tathāgato sayaṃ abhiññā sacchikatvā pavedeti,* ***yehi*** *Tathāgatassa yathābhuccaṃ vaṇṇaṃ sammā vadamānā vadeyyuṃ* (BJS 12.28). 'Monks, there are teachings which are profound, difficult to see, difficult to understand, peaceful, excellent, beyond mere reasoning, subtle, to be experienced by the wise, which the Tathāgata proclaims after having realised them with higher knowledge himself, [and] for which those speaking correctly would speak the praise of the Tathāgata as it really is.'
(84)	***hoti*** *kho so bhikkhave samayo,* ***yaṃ*** *kadāci karahaci dīghassa addhuno accayena ayaṃ loko vivaṭṭati* (BJS 17.3, cf. 17.2). 'Monks, there is a time when, after a long time, this world devolves.'
(85)	***atthi*** *kho bho eso attā,* ***yaṃ*** *tvaṃ vadesi* (BJS 34.11, 34.12, 34.13, 35.14, 35.15, 35.16). 'Sir, there is the self which you speak of.'
(86)	***n' atthi*** *loke samaṇabrāhmaṇā sammaggatā sammāpaṭipannā, ye imañ ca lokañ ca parañ ca lokaṃ sayaṃ abhiññā sacchikatvā pavedenti* (SPS 55.23). 'In this world, there are no ascetics and brahmins, who are perfect and correctly behaved, who declare this world and the next having realised and witnessed themselves.'

The data shows that in all the five contexts, a superior person, either

in virtue or in rank, addresses an inferior or inferiors, usually the Buddha delivering sermons to his disciples, in strongly affirmative statements, by which all the finite verbs of the sentences, i.e. *atthi, n' atthi* and *hoti* are topicalised. The context of (84) I shall discuss again in another category (see § 4.3.2 of this chapter). As I mentioned above, the contexts where a finite verb is given emphasis are similar to the phenomenon of topicalisation. The only thing which makes the above contexts differ from the examples in Chapter Two (see § 2.2.1) where a finite verb is topicalised is that a noun in the above contexts has been further modified by a dependent clause, and that this clause comes after MC. If RRC which comes after it is deleted from all the above contexts, all the finite verbs must be explained as being simply topicalised. The same applies to other contexts where other types of word are placed in the initial position of the sentences to be shown below.

§ 4.1.2.2 Interrogative pronouns as emphatic words

This is a common feature, in which interrogative pronouns are topicalised. The pronouns which lead a sentence suggest that the sentence is a question or interrogative type, so they must be placed at the beginning of the sentence. Accordingly, MC is moved to lead RRC automatically. I find two contexts of the phenomenon in BJS and SPS, while in BJSA there is no such phenomenon at all.

Table 4.26 The initial placement of Interrogative pronouns

No.	Contexts
(87)	***katame*** *ca pana te bhikkhave dhammā gambhīrā duddasā*

duranubodhā santā paṇītā atakkāvacarā nipuṇā paṇḍitavedanīyā, ***ye*** *Tathāgato sayaṃ abhiññā sacchikatvā pavedeti,* ***yehi*** *Tathāgatassa yathābhuccaṃ vaṇṇaṃ sammā vadamānā vadeyyuṃ* (BJS 12.28).

'Monks, what are teachings which are difficult to see, difficult to understand, peaceful, excellent, beyond mere reasoning, profound and to be known by the wise, which the Tathāgata declares having realised them with superior knowledge himself, by which the people who want to praise him as he is can do so rightly?'.

(88) ***kaṃ*** *nu kh' ajja samaṇaṃ vā brāhmaṇaṃ vā payirupāseyyāma,* ***yaṃ*** *no payirupāsato cittaṃ pasīdeyya* (SPS 47.1).

'Which ascetic or brahmin should we today approach, upon approaching whom our mind will be pleased?'.

The data suggests that *katame* and *kaṃ* which modify nouns and are usually placed immediately before them are moved from their usual position to the initial position. Their placement at the beginning of the sentences resembles many question words in RRC, as mentioned earlier. It is because the interrogative words are moved to the front that the whole MC sentence is emphasised, and because the whole MC is emphasised, RRC needs to be placed after it, even though it functionally restricts nouns in MC.

§ 4.1.2.3 Noun subjects in MC as emphatic words

In my selected texts, I found only one context where this phenomenon occurs, and it is found in BJS only. In the other two texts, it is completely absent. Below is the context.

Table 4.27 Contexts of topicalised noun subjects found in SPS

No.	Context
(89)	***vuddhi*** *h' esā mahārāja ariyassa vinaye,* ***yo*** *accayaṃ accayato disvā yathādhammaṃ paṭikaroti āyatiṃ saṃvaraṃ āpajjati* (SPS 85.100). 'The growth, O King, in the discipline of the noble men will occur to the person who, having found out about his transgression, and confessed it properly, restrains himself in the future.'

The word *vuddhi* in (89) is topicalised, by which its demonstrative pronoun *tassa* is left out as understood. This phenomenon is not found very often, as in most cases a demonstrative pronoun precedes the noun subject.

§ 4.1.2.4 Other elements as emphatic words

There are some other words which I conclude are being emphasised. These words, not included in the previous categories, may appear in the form of single words, a phrase or even a verbless sentence. My interpretations are based purely on contextual possibility. The contexts which are found in the selected texts are shown in table 4.28.

Table 4.28 Contexts of various topicalised elements

No.	Context
(90)	*cuddasa kho pan'* ***imāni*** *yonipamukhasatasahassāni saṭṭhiñ ca satāni cha ca satāni* [...], ***yāni*** *bāle ca paṇḍite ca saṃsaritvā sandhāvitvā dukkhass' antaṃ karissanti* (SPS 53-54.20). 'There are one million, four hundred thousand principal sorts of births and six thousand others and again six hundred [...], during

	which foolish and wise men are reborn till they make an end of suffering.'

In the above contexts, I interpet that in (90) emphasis is placed on 'the number' of births; the author(s) is trying to give a whole picture in which the fools and the wise will take a very long time to put an end to sufferings. So the words which are emphasised are: *cuddasa kho pan' imāni yonipamukhasatasahassāni saṭṭhiñ ca satāni cha ca satāni* [...]. I find another two contexts in which members of MC are emphasised but they are not placed at the beginning of the sentences. They appear in the second position instead. The two examples are shown in table 4.29 below:

Table 4.29 Emphasised words in the second position of sentences

No.	Contexts
(91)	*accayo* ***maṃ*** *bhante accagamā yathābālaṃ yathāmūḷhaṃ yathā-akusalaṃ, yo' haṃ pitaraṃ dhammikaṃ dhammarājānaṃ issariyassa kāraṇā jīvitā voropesiṃ. tassa me bhante Bhagavā accayaṃ accayato paṭiggaṇhātu āyatiṃ saṃvarāyā" ti* (SPS 85.99). 'O Lord, transgression overcame me because of my foolishness, delusion and wrongness when for the sake of sovereignty I took the life of my father who was a righteous and just king. Lord, please accept my fault as a fault for restraint in future.'
(92)	*taggha* ***tvaṃ*** *mahārāja accayo accagamā yathābālaṃ yathāmūḷhaṃ yathāakusalaṃ, yaṃ tvaṃ pitaraṃ dhammikaṃ dhammarājānaṃ jīvitā voropesi* (SPS 85.100).

> 'O King, transgression overcame you because of your foolishness, delusion and wrongness when you took the life of your father who was a righteous and just king.'

The above data shows that the main nouns which are emphasised in (91) and (92) are the two accusatives: *maṃ* and *tvaṃ* respectively. Both are further expanded by RRC. As a matter of fact, *maṃ* and *tvaṃ* are already specified or identified as the king, but both main clauses further clarify that the king is foolish, erring and wicked and because of this he took the life of his own father. These two examples are particularly striking. Even though in (91) and (92) both accusatives are in the second position, they follow different words: while *maṃ* follows the subject of the sentence which is placed in its normative position, *tvaṃ* follows a vocative. We may infer that the words which are emphasised may not take the initial position of the sentence if there are other words which have a tendency to be placed in this position, particularly noun subjects and vocatives. Nevertheless, MC of both complex sentences is placed before RRC because its members are emphasised.

§ 4.1.2.5 Demonstrative pronouns as emphatic words

This proposal is tenable because usually, i.e. in normal declarative sentences, demonstrative pronouns take the initial position in the sentence. However, the following contexts differ from general ones in that the demonstratives modify nouns which are further expanded by RRC. Semantically, all the contexts where the demonstrative pronouns appear are strongly affirmative. The phenomenon occurs in my selected texts seventeen times; it is found in BJS sixteen times and once in SPS.

(1) BJS

BJS contains fourteen contexts where the word *idaṃ* leads MC. It is noteworthy that all of the contexts in which the word *idaṃ* is topicalised are culled from speech situations. All of the contexts also involve monks being addressed by the Buddha. They are marked by the use of vocative *bhikkhave* ('monks'). Below are the contexts.

Table 4.30 Contexts of the demonstrative *idaṃ* at the initial position

No.	Context
(93)	***idaṃ*** *bhikkhave catutthaṃ ṭhānaṃ,* ***yam*** *āgamma* ***yaṃ*** *ārabbha eke samaṇabrāhmaṇā sassatavādā sassataṃ attānañ ca lokañ ca paññāpenti* (BJS 16.34, cf. BJS 14.31, 15.32, 16.33, 16.34, 19.6, 20.9, 21.12, 21.13, 23.18, 23.19, 24.20, 25.24, 26.25, 26-7.26, 27.27, 29.31, 29.32). 'Monks, this is the fourth basis, on which some recluses and ascetics who hold the doctrine of eternalism proclaim the eternity of the self and the world.'

Apart from the demonstrative *taṃ,* there are two other contexts in which a demonstrative pronoun is topicalised, also involving the Buddha addressing his monks. The demonstrative pronoun which means 'these' below specifies what the Buddha wants his disciples to know and, for that reason, is topicalising. Below are the contexts after discarding repetitions.

Table 4.31 Contexts of topicalised demonstrative *idaṃ*

No.	Context
(94)	***ime kho te*** *bhikkhave dhammā duddasā duranubodhā santā paṇītā*

atakkāvacarā nipuṇā paṇḍitavedanīyā, ***ye*** *Tathāgato sayaṃ abhiññā sacchikatvā pavedeti, yehi Tathāgatassa yathābhuccaṃ vaṇṇaṃ sammā vadamānā vadeyyuṃ* (BJS 36.18, 38.26, 39.28, 39.30, 22.15, 28.29, 29-30.34, 31-32.40, 32-33.4, 33.8).

'Monks, these teachings are difficult to see, difficult to understand, peaceful, excellent, beyond mere reasoning, profound and to be known by the wise, which the Tathāgata declares having realised them with super knowledge himself, by which the people who want to praise him as he is can do so rightly.'

These two examples are similar in contexts to the above fourteen examples. While MC is placed before RRC, RRC itself may be more than one, all of which specify different aspects of a head noun.

(2) SPS

This text contains only one example, which is similar to many which occur in BJS as given above. The only difference lies in the use of tense. While all the above examples basically use the present form, the example in SPS uses the Imperative.

Table 4.32 Context of a topicalised demonstrative in SPS

No.	Context
(95)	***iminā me upasamena*** *Udāyibhaddo kumāro samannāgato hotu,* ***yen'*** *etarahi upasamena bhikkhusaṅgho samannāgato* (SPS 50.12 [twice]). **'May my young boy named Udāyibhadda be endowed with the peace with which the order of monks is endowed now.'**

In all the above contexts, MC is led by demonstrative pronouns, which make the whole sentences strongly assertive or affirmative. The nominative occurs more often than other cases. Therefore, the placement of demonstrative pronouns for emphasis overlaps with the usual order of the demonstrative pronouns, which usually begin a sentence in normal declarative statements. I totally agree with Gren-Eklund who, while discussing relative clauses in the early Upaniṣads, states: 'The construction with a post-posed relative clause, on the other hand, is different. When a demonstrative opens the sentence, it is, of course, topicalising'.[346]

It must be noted that in (93) the noun modified by the demonstrative pronoun *idaṃ* does not appear explicitly in the context and the word *ṭhānaṃ* (93) in MC functions as a subject complement. In (94), on the other hand, the phrase: *ime kho te* modifies its noun subject *dhammā.* Both contexts, however, tell us that the pronouns specify or identify nouns in a strongly affirmative sense. Such sentences are meant to pin down what it is; so the familiar sentences are usually 'This is that. That is this. That does exist. That does not exist, or the like'. Often, a copula which functions as a linking word may be dropped out as understood. In the above contexts, we see that even though demonstrative pronouns in the last three contexts are followed by noun subjects, the three main clauses are still assertive statements.

Of all the complex sentences in the selected texts, there is another context, quite peculiar and found only once. This complex sentence has one

[346] Gren-Eklund (1978: 62).

MC but two RRC, one of which is placed before MC, while the other one comes after it; the finite verb of the first RRC, understandably a copula, does not explicitly appear in the context, and its subject complement leads the clause; a main noun in MC is further modified by the second RRC, which is placed after MC, and, therefore, MC is embedded in the middle of the whole complex sentence. Even more interesting is that the second RRC syntactically needs to have a demonstrative *ta-*, which is left out, to correlate with the relative marker *ya-* in the first RRC. Therefore, while the second RRC is a dependent clause, modifying a noun in MC, it simultaneously becomes MC of the first RRC. Below is the context.

Table 4.33 Context of a complex sentence with a peculiar structure

No.	Context
(96)	*dattupaññattaṃ yad idaṃ dānaṃ,* ***tesaṃ*** *tucchaṃ musā vilāpo,* ***ye*** *keci atthikavādaṃ vadanti* (SPS 55.23). 'The offering [which is said to produce future results] is proclaimed by the fool; the words of those who say that it has results are all vain and false.'

This sentence is the most complicated one found in the selected texts and is open to differing interpretations. The first sentence: *dattupaññattaṃ yad idaṃ dānaṃ* occurs in several other texts as well.[347] Because of this, we

[347] Such as in S III 207; M I 515; Ja V 240; Ap-a 184; Pj I 109. The commentary does not explain th words *yad idaṃ*. They put simply thus: *dattupaññattan ti dattūhi bālamanussehi paññattaṃ. idaṃ vuttaṃ hoti 'bālehi abuddhīhi paññattam idaṃ dānaṃ, na paṇḍitehi. bālā*

can say that it is a stereotyped pattern. It could be interpreted as a separate sentence (see also § 4.3 below), but if we follow the punctuation suggested in the PTS edition, it is possible to give the interpretation that the relative pronoun *yad idaṃ* in the first RRC has its correlative in the second RRC, which is left out as understood, here: *tassa dānassa* ('of that offering'); the demonstrative pronoun *tesaṃ* ('of them'), correlates with: *ye keci* in the second RRC. In this respect, *yaṃ* is taken as having an inflectional value and has a governing noun. Therefore, the whole complex sentence, when fully restored for semantic and syntactical reasons, will be: *dattupaññattaṃ* [hoti] *yad idaṃ dānaṃ,* ***tesaṃ*** *[janānaṃ taṃ vacanaṃ] tucchaṃ musā vilāpo* [hoti], ***ye*** *keci [janā] [tassa dānassa] atthikavādaṃ vadanti.* The sentence's structure may be set up as follows.

Table 4.34 Outline of the most complicated RRC structure

RRC (***ya***-), MC (***ta***-), RRC=MC (***ya***-+ ***ta***-)

The whole complex sentence may be analysed further into two complex sentences as (1): *dattupaññattaṃ yad idaṃ dānaṃ, te dattujanā* ***tassa dānassa*** *atthikavādaṃ vadanti,* (2): ***ye*** *keci dattujanā tassa dānassa atthikavādaṃ*

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denti, paṇḍitā gaṇhantī' ti dasseti (Sv I 166); *dattupaññattan ti dattūhi bālamanussehi paññattaṃ. idaṃ vuttaṃ hoti bālehi abuddhīhi paññattam idaṃ dānaṃ, na paṇḍitehi. bālā denti, paṇḍitā gaṇhantīti dasseti. atthikavādan ti atthi dinnaṃ dinnaphalan ti imaṃ atthikavādaṃyeva vadan ti tesaṃ tucchaṃ vacanaṃ musāvilāpo. bāle ca paṇḍite cā ti bālā ca paṇḍitā ca* (Ps III 228); *dattupaññattan ti dattūhi bālamanussehi paññattaṃ. idaṃ vuttaṃ hoti bālehi abuddhīhi paññattam idaṃ dānaṃ, na paṇḍitehi. bālā denti, paṇḍitā gaṇhantīti dassenti* (Spk II 339), etc.

vadanti, ***tesaṃ dattujanānaṃ*** *tucchaṃ musā vilāpo hoti.* The author(s) combines a set of ideas which can be explained clearly in the above two sentences together to form a single complex sentence. Instead of using a simple structure, the author(s) of the text resorts to a complicated way of expressing his ideas; therefore, many words are left out. The placement of the first RRC before MC is a usual pattern because the dependent clause defines a noun in MC and the placement of MC before the second RRC is marked, because the emphasis is laid on the demonstrative pronoun *tesaṃ* in MC, by which the whole MC is placed before the second RRC.

§ 4.1.2.6 Lemmata as emphatic words

There is a striking phenomenon in BJSA, which is typical of this text: the *ya-* is used as a means of defining words. It appears in two different contexts: 1) when particular words occur as *lemmata,* with a particle *iti* as a connecting link at the beginning of the sentence. The *ya-* clauses follow the clauses led by the *lemmata,* which functionally define or specifie them. The words which are provided as *lemmata* are usually taken from the canonical texts which need more clarification or specification. 2), when *lemmata* which are placed in the initial position are followed by *nāma* instead of *iti*. This way of giving definitions has become a common stylistic feature, usually found in normal commentarial prose texts of BJSA. The following are typical examples.

Table 4.35 Typical style of RRC in BJSA

No.	Contexts
(97)	*rajatan ti kahāpaṇo lohamāsako jatumāsako dārumāsako ti ye vohāraṃ*

gacchanti (BJSA 78).

'The word *rajata* refers to [all] those [monetary units] which go with the name of *kahāpaṇa*, metal *māsaka,* lac *māsaka* and wooden *māsaka*.'

(98) *<u>khettaṃ</u> nāma **yasmiṃ** pubbaṇṇaṃ rūhati, <u>vatthu</u> nāma **yasmiṃ** aparaṇṇaṃ rūhati* (BJSA 78).

'*Khetta* means the place where "the first grain" grows; *vatthu* means the place where vegetables grow.'

The above data shows the initial placement of *lemmata.* We know that clauses introduced by *ya-* are RRC because (1) functionally they restrict or define a main clause or MC in which *lemmata* appear, and (2) lemmata are topicalised, like many other MC in which a main noun is given more emphasis. In (97), the words *<u>rajatan</u> ti*, which constitute the main clause, are specially brought to attention, hence their initial placement in the sentence. If its clause is restored in full, I analyse it thus: *te dhanajātaṃ 'rajatan ti vuccanti, kahāpaṇo lohamāsako jatumāsako dārumāsako ti, ye vohāraṃ gacchanti.* Again, in (98), the words *khettaṃ nāma* represent the main clause with an understood *taṃ ṭhānaṃ.* The full sentence, if restored for grammatical reasons, is: *taṃ 'khettaṃ' nāma hoti, yasmiṃ ṭhāne pubbaṇṇaṃ rūhati.* Both *rajataṃ* and *khettaṃ* of the two main clauses are obviously forefronted due to emphasis. These two examples strongly support my claim that a particular word can be topicalised for reasons of emphasis, by which RRC, which specifies it, can be moved after its group.

§ 4.1.2.7 The whole MC as emphatic words

In addition to all the above groups, there is a group of special RRC, which is also placed after its main clause. This group differs from the previous ones in two ways. First, while in the previous groups only one particular word or a phrase in MC is emphasised, in this group the whole set of MC is given emphasis. Second, the whole idea of RRC repeats the idea of MC. We may say that in the previous groups a partial emphasis is laid down while in this group the whole emphasis operates within MC. There are two contexts which are found; both are identical, but repeat in different texts: one occurs in BJS and the other in SPS.

Table 4.36 Contexts of topicalised whole MC

No.	Contexts
(99)	***yato*** *kho bho* ***ayaṃ attā*** *pītiyā ca virāgā upekkhako ca viharati sato ca sampajāno sukhañ ca kāyena paṭisaṃvedeti,* ***yan taṃ*** *ariyā ācikkhanti, 'upekkhako satimā sukhavihārī' ti tatiyajjhānaṃ upasampajja viharati,* ***ettāvatā*** *kho bho ayaṃ attā paramadiṭṭhadhammanibbānaṃ patto hoti* (BJS 37.23). 'Friend, when this self through detachment from joy remains imperturbable, with mindfulness and awareness experiences happiness physically, which is referred to by noble people as "He remains imperturbable with mindfulness, dwelling in happiness", attains and abides in third *jhāna*, then this self has reached the supreme *nibbāna* in this very life.'
(100)	*…mahārāja bhikkhu pītiyā ca virāgā ca upekkhako ca viharati sato ca*

> *sampajāno, sukhañ ca kāyena paṭisaṃvedeti,* ***yan taṃ*** *ariyā ācikkhanti, 'upekkhako satimā sukhavihārī' ti tatiyajjhānaṃ upasampajja viharati* (SPS 75.79).
>
> 'O King, a monk who through detachment from joy remains imperturbable, and who with mindfulness and awareness experiences happiness physically, which is referred to by noble people as "He remains imperturbable with mindfulness, dwelling in happiness" attains and abides in the third *jhāna*.'

Contextually, both are similar. On the one hand, they are taken from speech situations. On the other hand, both explain a deep level of meditative experience in Buddhism. In fact, this text is one of many stereotyped formulae which recur in numerous suttas in the Pāli Canon.[348] We see that the whole MC explains a meditative experience and then this state of meditation is further specified again by RRC, using a quotative to specify. In this respect, I infer that the whole MC is emphasised and therefore is placed before RRC.

§ 4.1.3 Concluding remarks

Having scrutinised all the above contexts, we see that even though the contexts where RRC occurs may vary in such features as a lack of explicit finite verbs in both RC and MC, a lack of a correlative in MC, etc., all of them share similarities in restricting a particular main noun or pronoun in MC, which is essential. This is because semantics determines functions and

[348] Such as in D I 75, 94, 182, 208; D III 222; Dhs 32; M I 159, 182, 347, 522; M II 226; M III 26, 234, 252; A I 163, 221; A III 11, 92; A II 127, 151.

functions determine their position. For the placement of RRC, I propose that RRC is like definitive *sarūpavisesana* nouns which define a main noun, because it specifies or identifies a main noun. The unmarked order of RRC, therefore, is before MC, like defining *sarūpavisesana* nouns which are placed before a main noun. To support my claim, let me provide an example of emphatic sentences where a particular word is topicalised, as given in Chapter Two (§2.2.1), to compare with complex sentences in which MC is placed at the beginning of the sentence.

Table 4.37 Contexts of single emphatic sentences and topicalised MC

No.	Contexts
1) **Emphatic sentences**	
(101)	***suṇātu*** *me, bhante, saṃgho* (Vin I 56-7; II 2, 7, 9, 12, 15, 18-9, etc). 'Reverend sirs, may the Order listen to me.'
(102)	*hoti* ***Tathāgato paraṃ maraṇā****. na hoti Tathāgato* ***paraṃ maraṇā****. hoti ca na ca hoti* ***Tathāgato paraṃ maraṇā****. n' eva hoti na na hoti* ***Tathāgato paraṃ maraṇā*** (SPS 58-9.). 'Does the Tathāgata exist after death? Does he not exist? Does he exist and not exist? Does he neither exist nor not exist?'
2) **Complex Sentences**	
(103)	***atthi*** *bhikkhave aññ' eva dhammā gambhīrā duddasā duranubodhā santā paṇītā atakkāvacarā nipuṇā paṇḍitavedanīyā,* ***ye*** *Tathāgato sayaṃ abhiññā sacchikatvā pavedeti,* ***yehi*** *Tathāgatassa yathābhuccaṃ vaṇṇaṃ sammā vadamānā vadeyyuṃ* (BJS 12.28). 'Monks, there are phenomena which are profound, difficult to see,

> difficult to understand, peaceful, excellent, beyond mere reasoning, subtle, to be experienced by the wise which the Tathāgata proclaims after having realised them with his high knowledge himself, and with which those who wish to praise him would do so correctly.'

We see that in emphatic sentences the finite verbs or the groups of predicates lead the sentences while in the complex sentences MC are placed at the beginning of the sentences too. We can see the similarities between MC and emphatic sentences, in which a particular element or a predicative group is topicalised. The only difference is that emphatic sentences do not have a particular noun further modified or expanded in the form of a clause. And if RRC in (103) is deleted from the contexts, MC will turn to become emphatic sentences automatically. On the other hand, emphatic sentences can be further expanded by a clause if the author wishes to modify a particular noun further. Let us take the sentence: ***suṇātu*** *me bhante saṃgho* above as an example. This sentence can be lengthened by modifying a noun further as: ***suṇātu*** *[tassa] me bhante saṃgho, [yo' haṃ sabbaṃ atthaṃ pakāsetuṃ dūrato āgato'mhi]* ('Reverend sirs, may the Order listen to me [who has come a long way to declare a whole story]).'

In short, RRC is placed after MC because MC is topicalised, and MC is regarded as topicalised simply because *suṇātu* is topicalised. This is what I mean by claiming that emphasis given on a particular noun in many contexts is the foundation for the whole emphasis of MC, which explains why MC is placed before RRC. I have already shown that whenever MC is placed before RRC, there is always a particular word, phrase or a whole MC which is given

special emphasis. In other words, there are two kinds of emphasis: partial and whole. A partial emphasis refers to an emphasis given to a particular word or phrase while the whole emphasis is laid upon a whole sentence. I propose that MC with a partial emphasis resembles declarative sentences where topicalisation operates. Indeed, if we drop RRC, the whole MC with a topicalised element will automatically be a simple declarative sentence which has a particular word topicalised. This suggests that an emphasis given strongly to a particular word in MC can move RRC to be placed after it. It is striking that contextually, in all the MC which are placed before RRC, all the MC are affirmative statements.

§ 4.2 Non-restrictive relative clauses (Non-RRC) or deficient relative clauses (DRC)

Now, I shall proceed to examine non-restrictive clauses and their position. In marked contrast to RRC which occurs predominantly in the texts under scrutiny, non-RRC is found only a few times. Delbrück[349] has stated that a complete simple sentence may be followed by modifications in the form of a clause. Following Delbrück, Gonda sought to explain post-verbal clauses in Vedic, which he terms 'amplified sentences,' and described his findings in a long article.[350] Gonda has put forward many interesting observations. He writes: 'The general tendency is that an author completes the schema of a short sentence and then strings on one or more additions or modification,

[349] Delbrück (1878: 56).

[350] Gonda (1959a: 7-70).

which often assume the character of specifications or elucidations.'[351] There are two almost synonymous terms, which I am going to use in this section: DRC and non-RRC. The crucial difference between the two lies in the fact that DRC, as explained by Pāli grammarians (see below), does not have a correlative *ta-* in MC, while non-RRC may have. Both share similarity in providing only extra information to the text.[352]

Broadly speaking, a clause which supplies extra information is not essential. At times, it even shows a marked tendency to function independently, like an adverbial phrase, largely because it acts as 'extra information'. Alternatively, we may call the *ya-* of this function 'an appositional (appositive) relative pronoun', following Hettrich,[353] and the whole clause 'an appositional or appositive relative clause', because it provides detailed supplementary information. I propose that DRC functions like Pāli additional *sarūpa– visesana* nouns (explanatory or appositional nouns), in the sense that they expand an antecedent in the form of a subordinate clause. In fact, modern linguists also employ 'appositive' 'descriptive' and 'explanatory' as synonyms for 'non-defining' or 'non-restrictive'.[354] Its application revolves around the idea of explaining in more detail an antecedent, which has already been mentioned in the main clause. I propose that this type of clause is, like

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351 Gonda (1971: 148-9).

352 See Chapter Three (introduction and § 3.1.1).

353 Hettrich (1988: 776).

354 Comrie (1981: 131).

sarūpavisesana nouns, post-posed as its unmarked position.[355] This phenomenon occurs in SPS once and the same text repeats.[356] There is no evidence of its occurrence in BJS and BJSA. Below is the context.

Table 4.38 Context of DRC in the selected texts

No.	Context
(104)	*so dibbāya sotadhātuyā visuddhāya atikkantamānusikāya ubho sadde suṇāti, dibbe ca mānuse ca, ye dūre santike ca* (SPS 79.89, 79.90). 'He [a monk] with an ear which is divine, purified and surpasses that of human beings, can hear sounds both divine and human, which are far and near'.

The context of (104) is the only example of DRC we have. We see that the noun phrase: *dibbe ca mānuse ca* already explains the two sounds specified by the phrase: *ubho sadde*. Both, linked by the *ca*, provide additional explanation, or *sarūpavisesanas,* of *ubho sadde*. The group of words —*ye dūre santike ca*, on the other hand, is merely another form of additional information introduced by the *ya-* pronoun. I interpret the group of words: *ye dūre santike ca* as an appositive or appositional clause. The *ye* classifies the antecedent into categories which are extra information. The *ya-* pronoun itself has become a 'tool' in explaining words by being used to introduce subordinating clauses, no matter whether they are defining or non-defining.

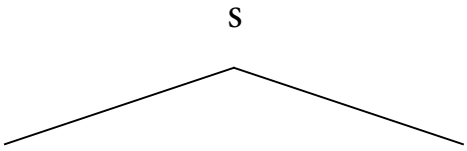
It appears that there are two distinctive ways of providing additional

[355] Cf. Holland and Ickler (1978: 1).

[356] According to Hock (1993: 23), the phenomenon is rare in Vedic prose texts as well.

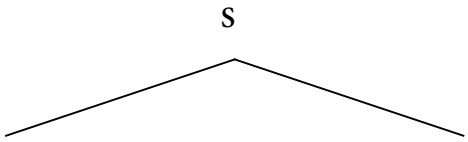
explanations prevalent in early Pāli suttas: one is the use of additional *sarūpavisesana* nouns and the other the use of dependent clauses or phrases introduced by the *ya-*. Both are functionally similar and both are used on a regular basis in early Pāli prose texts. I hypothesise that the group of non-defining clauses actually resembles the *sarūpavisesana* nouns in that it gives extra information about the antecedent. The above sentence can be easily transformed into a simple sentence, using the *sarūpavisesana* whilst maintaining its original message intact.

1. Original sentence: SOV + REL



so dibbāya sotadhātuyā visuddhāya *ye dūre santike ca.*
atikkantamānusikāya ubho sadde
suṇāti, dibbe ca mānuse ca,

2. Transformed sentence: SOV+ *Sarūpavisesana*



so dibbāya sotadhātuyā visuddhāya *dūre santike ca sante [or tiṭṭhante].*
atikkantamānusikāya ubho sadde
suṇāti, dibbe ca mānuse ca,

It is worthy of note that (1) the phrase: *dibbe ca mānuse ca* is a

sarūpavisesana phrase which identifies or specifies the phrase: *ubho sadde* before the finite verb; (2) the relative clause: *ye dūre santike ca* has an understood copula *santi* or *honti*, so in the transformed sentence I restore the word *sante* to replace it. Semantically, both the relative clause and the transformed sentences are similar. Only syntactically are they different. In fact, nouns, adjectives and verbs are liable to be further expanded by additional explanations, either in the form of phrases or clauses introduced by *ya-*. While clauses introduced to modify nouns function as defining or non-defining antecedents, those modifying verbs function adverbially. A problem may be raised: why is the demonstrative *ta-* absent in certain contexts? Do we need to have the pair *ya-* and *ta-* in all contexts? In other words, is it possible to have an independent *ya-* without its correlative? To answer these questions and see the development of *ya-*, I shall seek explanations in the next sections.

§ 4.2.1 Explanations on DRC by Pāli grammarians

As previous scholars have already noted,[357] traditional Indic grammarians tend to think that all clauses introduced by *ya-* are relative clauses proper. The use of the relativiser *ya-* without *ta-*, which characterises DRC in Pāli, is not explained in detail in Skt. In marked contrast to the Skt. tradition, the presence of DRC is well recognised in Pāli. Pāli grammarians use a Pāli word *sākaṅkha* or *sākaṅkhagati* to differentiate DRC from RRC. They point out that there are two types of subordinate clause: DRC, or the *sākaṅkhagati* clause, and RRC. Both have a finite verb, though sometimes it

[357] See fn 8.

is omitted as understood. The two types of clause are described below.

Table 4.39 Explanations of DRC in Maṇis

No.	Contexts
(105)	***yan*** *ti sutvā* ***tan*** *ti padaṃ* ***tan*** *ti sutvāna* ***yan*** *ti ca, yojeyya yatasaddānaṃ* ***niccasambandhibhāvato.*** 'Having heard *ya*, one should supply the word *ta* and vice versa, because the words *ta-* and *ya-* are always correlated.'
(106)	*pubbo vākyo pātattho*[358] *tu yaṃsaddo uttaravākye, taṃsaddopādānaṃ vinā* ***sākaṅkho*** *vākyassa ūnattaṃ janeti*. 'However, if the previous sentence has already had a clear meaning, the *ya-* pronoun in the following sentence without the presence *(upādāna)* of a word *ta-* is termed *sākaṅkha.* It causes the lack in the sentence [of the *ta-* correlation].'

The two verses which are given above occur in Chapter Six[359] *(Rūpaparicchedavaṇṇā)* of Maṇis, a Pāli exegetical text composed by a Burmese monk named Ariyavaṃsa who lived in the Dhammakapabbata monastery on the banks of the Irawaddy in the 15th century (in AD 1466, according to the

[358] I suppose that it is derived from *pātur* (Skt. *prādus*) or *pātu* which is an indeclinable (PTSD, p. 452) like in the word: *pāturahosi*. The final vowel *u* of the *pātu* is deleted: *pāt+attho = pātattho*, according to a Sandhi rule (Kacc 12, Sadd III 30 and Mogg 1.26). The deletion is known as *pubbalopasarasandhi*. Other similar analogies are: *yassa + indriyāni = yassindriyāni* and *ajja + uposatho = ajjuposatho*.

[359] Maṇis Be II 102-3. The two verses are quoted in HCPTL 122 and AVEPS II 93.

nigamana in Maṇis Be II 480).[360] The text, in turn, quotes Saṅgharakkhita's *Subodhālaṅkāra* (henceforth Subodh) of the 12th century[361] as its source (*tathā hi vuttaṃ Subodhālaṅkāre...*). However, I checked Subodh but cannot find the two verses there. Instead, the second verse is found in Subodh-nṭ (included in Jaini's 2000 work, PTS) 126; Subodh-nṭ Se 149 with some variants: *pubbavākyopātto tu yasaddo uttaravākye tasaddopādānaṃ vinā sākaṅkho vākyassa ūnattaṃ janeti*.

Verse (105) above rules that the correlative *ta-* (or the like) in the main clause is a *sine qua non* for a RRC, as both *ya-* and *ta-* are correlated. Even though the *ta-* is left out as understood or as a matter of authorial style, it is necessary to supply it whenever the sentence is analysed, to make sure that the targeted audience understands every syntactic element together with sentential structure. In its absence, the clause introduced by the *ya-* pronoun is no longer regarded as RRC. Maṇis explains that a view that the demonstrative *ta-* must be always added to correlate with *ya-* whenever the latter appears is held among some Pāli grammarians (Maṇis Be II 102 says: *yadi evaṃ 'yaṃtaṃsaddā niccasambandhato ti idaṃ kathan ti? idaṃ pana kesañ ci matan ti daṭṭhabbaṃ. niyatāniyatavasena vā idaṃ vuttan ti daṭṭhabbaṃ*). Other Pāli syntacticians, however, maintain that in certain contexts where the sentence is grammatically and semantically perfect, the correlative *ta-* is not necessary. The term *sākaṅkha* is used to label the *ya-*pronoun without *ta-*, and

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[360] Its date is given in Sās (composed by Paññāsāmi in 1861 AD). See Sās 95ff.; Bode., p. 41; von Hinüber (1996: 162).

[361] Gv 61: *Saṃgharakkhito nāmācariyo subodhālaṅkāraṃ akāsi*. See also Norman (1983: 167).

its whole clause, better known among Thai Pāli grammarians as *sākaṅkhagati,*[362] as mentioned earlier. Semantically, the *ya-* in question introduces an appositive subordinate clause. Verse (106) explains this. Literally, the *ya-*, called *sākaṅkha* (expectant), seems to expect *ta-*, despite the latter's absence (cf.: *yaṃ taṃ saddānaṃ niccasambandho ti āha* in Sp-ṭ Be I 195; Sp-ṭ Ne 146). It is interesting to note that Subodh-nṭ provides two explanations. First, it gives three examples of sentences in which the demonstrative *ta-* occurs in isolation to show that the use of *ta-* without *ya-* is possible (see Subodh-nṭ 127; Subodh-nṭ Se 148, 150). It concludes that in the three contexts the demonstrative *ta-* does not expect *ya-* at all *(tasmā tīsu pi ṭhānesu tasaddo yasaddaṃ nāpekkhate).* Secondly, the word *sākaṅkha* is used to refer to a restrictive relative clause introduced by *ya-* without *ta-* in the main clause on the surface. It shows clearly that in such a context, the demonstrative *ta-* needs to be added *(*Subodh-nṭ 127, cf. Subodh-nṭ Se 150: *api ca uttaravākye ṭhito yasaddo Buddha[*Se-*pubba-]vākye tasadde asati pi tam eva dīpeti).* Subodh-nṭ provides one example to illustrate this. Nevertheless, it does not discuss the use of *ya-* without *ta-* in non-restrictive contexts.

It is apparent that Subodh-nṭ's above explanation of the word *sākaṅkha* is not likely to be the one used by modern Thai Pāli syntacticians. Vajirañāṇavarorasa[363] is quoted as explaining that the *ya-* of this function does

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[362] This concept is explained with illustrations (not available in Maṇis) in AVPES II 92 and HCPTL 121.

[363] HCPTL 123. Chandra explains similarly that Thai Pāli teachers from ancient times have taught that the Pāli term *sākaṅkhagati* semantically seems to expect the demonstrative *ta-,* but practically the *ta-* is not required (HCPTL 122-3).

not require the demonstrative *ta-* as in the case of RRC, and that the clause itself is called the *sākaṅkhagati* because of the lack of the *ta-*.[364] Phramahā Chandra,[365] a modern Pāli monk scholar, further explains that the demonstrative *ta-* is not supplied, because the message in the main clause is already perfectly clear. My interpretation is that a whole *ya-* clause, which is led by a *sākaṅkhagati ya-* merely provides extra information, equivalent to a non-defining or appositive (appositional) relative clause, and if the clause is left out, it does not affect the message in the main clause; or even if the *ta-* is supplied in the main clause, semantically the *ya-* clause still remains an appositional clause. Chandra has noted that the *ya-* of the *sākaṅkhagati* clause may occur in any case-form.[366] The following are some typical examples of the *ya-* of the *sākaṅkhagati* type provided by Sophonganaporn and Chandra, whose books are, as far as I know, the only monographs dealing with this type of clause in Thai. As neither Thai scholar provides the sources of the examples, I provide them here in full.

Table 4.40 DRC's examples provided by Thai syntacticians

No.	Contexts
(107)	*hatthidantena pavattitā dantamayasalākā,* ***yattha*** *dāyakānaṃ*

[364] The word *sākāṅkṣa* also occurs in VP i.e., VP II 4, 75, 426, 439, 422, 445. However, if we consider all the contexts where *ākāṅkṣa* or *sākāṅkṣa* appear, clearly Bhartєhari does not use it to explain the absence of *ta-*.

[365] HCPTL 122. Sophonganaporn does not explain why the demonstrative *ta-* is omitted. He simply says that the *ya-* which functions as *sākaṅkhagati* rarely occurs (AVEPS II 93).

[366] HCPTL 123.

	nāmaṃ aṅkenti (Maṅg-d Se II 36).
	'Tickets made of ivory are called *dantamayasalāka,* on which people write down donors' names.'
(108)	*dve me goṇā mahārāja,* ***yehi*** *khettaṃ kasāmase* (Dhp-a III 125 [twice], Ja I 165; Ja II 166).
	'My lord, I have two cows, with which I plow the field.'
(109)	*atijātaṃ anujātaṃ puttam icchanti paṇḍitā, avajātaṃ na icchanti* ***yo*** *hoti kulagandhano* (It 64).
	'Wise people want a son who excels *(atijāta)* to follow them *(anujāta).* They do not want an inferior son *(avajāta),* who destroys the family fame.'
(110)	*uṭṭhānen' appamādena saññamena damena vā, dīpaṃ kayirātha medhāvī,* ***yaṃ*** *ogho nābhikīrati* (Dhp 25 [p. 4]).
	'The wise should make [their] island, which is not to be flooded by an ocean, with industry, diligence, abstinence and self-control.'

Both Thai scholars explain that the *ya-* clauses in the above contexts merely supply additional information, which is the reason why *ta-* is dropped from MC. Put simply, in such contexts the demonstrative *ta-* is not required. If we scrutinise all the above contexts, we can see that only the first example, i.e. (107), is taken from prose contexts while all the rest are culled from verse. The full context of the verse (108) runs as: *dve me goṇā mahārāja, yehi khettaṃ kasāmase. tesu eko mato deva, dutiyaṃ dehi khattiyā* ('My lord, I have two cows, with which I plow the field. Lord, one of them has died. O King, could you give me a second one?)'.

Because almost all of the above examples provided by Thai scholars

are derived from verses, it might be argued that the demonstrative *ta-* is deliberately dropped *metri causa*, and that it might be a stylistic feature of verses to drop a demonstrative *ta-*, which can be understood. However, we must accept the fact that semantically all of them are non-restrictive, and that they provide only extra information. The dropping of *ta-* when the dependent clause is a non-restrictive type is evident even in IE. The example (107), which is in prose, indicates that the demonstrative *ta-* is not provided explicitly even in prose texts. Besides, it is obvious that the whole MC makes perfect sense so there is no need to add a demonstrative *ta-* to correlate with the *ya-*, as claimed. The introduction of the term *sākaṅkhagati*, therefore, was possibly introduced by Thai Pāli syntacticians to refer to the pragmatic function of *ya-* pronoun in contexts where it is loosely connected to any word in the sentence. The problem we face is whether or not the relative markers *ya-* have ever been used in a somewhat loose connection, i.e. without a demonstrative *ta-* to correlate. In the next section, I shall briefly explore Skt. sources.

§ 4.2.2 Explanations from IE, Vedic and classical Skt. Grammarians

Now, we are going to seek explanations as to why *ta-*, in certain contexts, is left out by IE and Vedic grammarians. Traditionally,[367] the stem *yá-* is described as a relative pronoun and the clauses introduced by it usually as relative clauses. The omission of words or phrases in sentences, presumed

[367] Jacobi (1897: 38), for instance, proposed that the relative pronoun in many languages (including Vedic) was downgraded to function as an *indefinitum* later. Similarly, Elizarenkova (1995: 291) stated, 'In extreme cases the relative *yá-* is downgraded to the status of a particle, while the neuter of this pronoun *(yád)* is identical with the conjunction.'

to be understood by audiences, is perhaps as old as the language itself. It is found commonly in Vedic.[368] Speijer explained that the relative clause sometimes follows the main one, and that in this case the demonstrative *ta-* is often omitted.[369] This means that the omission is a feature of authorial or literary style. He said that sometimes the relative sentence follows the principal one, and that in this case, the demonstrative is often omitted. This explanation, however, is a half-truth. It holds true only of complex sentences where a main clause is topicalised.

As stated in Chapter One,[370] a number of previous scholars[371] have

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368 See Gonda (1960) for the phenomenon in Vedic. See also Deshpande (1985), who attempts to explain the phenomenon from a grammatical point of view.

369 Speijer (1886: 350 [§ 452]), cf. Ananthanarayana (1996: 38).

370 See Chapter One, fn. 152.

371 Delbrück (1871: 33) has observed that there are many different kinds of relative clauses already in existence in ṚV but he did not concern himself with their development. It is Walter Porzig's merit, while giving comments on Delbrück's *Altindische Syntax,* to point out that the study of the relative clause should not be confined to the complete idea of it, but also to the way it is subdivided and how it is organised (Porzig [1923: 211]). Subsequent to Porzig's *Die Hypotaxe im Ṛgveda* (cf. Gonda [1971: 138]), scholars are unanimous in stating that Delbrück's above observations need correction. With a wealth of evidence from ṚV, Porzig (1923: 218) has stated that the *yá-* with or without *verbum finitum* in Vedic is not seen as a sentence or a sentence equivalent, but as part of the sentence in which pronouns and nouns are connected with an action in an attributive way. Cf. Hirt (1937: 146). While explaining the Vedic subordinate sentence, Bloch has remarked: 'Clauses introduced by the relative *yat* and by the other relative adverbs *yāvat, yadi*, *yathā*, etc. are formed as if they were independent and the indicative takes precedence of the optative. The meaning of the particles has hardly yet been evolved: even in *yat* which comes the nearest to a true particle, the relative sense is still on the

already shown that the use of the relative *ya-* in ṚV is very loose, often without the demonstrative *ta-* in MC, by which an anacoluthon always occurs. Brugmann, in particular, has explained that the *ya-s* correspond to the word **Áo-s* in proto-IE which is, in turn, closely connected with the demonstrative stem **i-*,[372] -either as its derivative or as a morphological modification from it. However, as Brugmann explained, during the time when *i-* developed to be **Áo* (>*ös* in Greek and *yá-* in Skt., etc.), the latter was already used in two senses: as a demonstrative pronoun and a relative pronoun; therefore, the two are no longer identical.[373] The *ya-* forms correspond with the *j*-forms in the Baltic-Slavonic languages still in use as a demonstrative, which is its original application. Brugmann further stated:

> There can be no doubt that this **Áo-* [of the *ya-*] is the same as

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surface' (Bloch 1965: 311-2). Elizarenkova (1995: 263) calls the loose formal relations between the main clause and the subordinate clause with *yá-*, particularly the absence of the demonstrative *ta* due to its adverbial application, 'violations' and 'breaches', but I disagree. As shown by a number of scholars, the *yá-* was used in that way even in PIE.

372 Brugmann (1892: 331 [§ 409]) illustrated with some examples: Skt=*i-d>idaṃ,* with the particle *-ám* affixed, Av. i-ρ; skt = *i-m-ám* = Av. imem; OP = *imam*, also with the particle *-am,* etc.

373 Brugmann (1908: 49) wrote: Dass man sich dieses Lautes wegen nicht in dem Sinn an das Relativum wozu noch aksl. *jakv, jeda* u.dgl.) zu wenden hat, als wenn dieses Pronomen zur Zeit der idg. Urgemeinschaft noch Relativum und Demonstrativum zugleich gewesen wäre und die j-Formen des Baltisch-Slavischen das uridg. Relativpronomen mit seiner ursprünglichen Demonstrativbedeutung fortsetzten, dürfte heute allgemein anerkannt sein. Das Relativum **Áó-s* war verwandt mit dem Demonstrativum **i-,* war ein Derivatum oder, wenn man lieber will, eine morphologische Modifikation von ihm, aber nicht identisch mit ihm.

> the anaphoric **Áo-* and **i-*...the identity of these is made clear in Gr. *iva* for **i-na*, for *iva*: *ö-ς* = Lith. (j) *ì-s*: *j õ*. Thus **Áo-* came to be used as a relative in the proethnic language without losing its purely anaphoric value.'[374]

According to Liddell-Scott-Jones,[375] the term 'anaphora' has been used in two distinct senses: 'anaphoric [sc. noun] ... which is also called homoiomatic [i.e. denoting resemblance] and deictic and antapodotic [i.e. correlative]'. Holland and Ickler have scrutinised the application of relatives and demonstratives in Greek and Skt. and have already noted that Homeric Greek and Vedic Skt. form relative clauses with the demonstrative pronoun.[376] They explain that in certain contexts the demonstrative pronoun functions like the relative one. After Brugmann, Gonda scrutinised the original function of the *ya-* in IE and put forward a broad thesis:

> The so-called Indo-European relative pronoun *Áo-* (Skt. *yá-*, Greek *ös*, etc.), has, in the author's opinion, only in the course of time assumed the character of a *relativum* proper. Originally, it must have been a distinguishing, defining, isolating, explicative, annunciatory includer.[377]

Because the original meaning of the stem **i-*, from which the *ya-* comes, does not function as a relative pronoun, but is used anaphorically from

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374 Brugmann (1892: 332 [§ 410]).

375 Quoted in Klein (1987: 1).

376 See detail in Holland and Ickler (1978: 432-445).

377 Gonda (1975c: 1). See similar remarks by Elizarenkova (1995: 262ff.).

the very beginning, it is likely that throughout the long historical development of IE, *ya-* could have been used to introduce (1) a complete relative clause or RRC as widely recognised, (2) a somewhat looser dependent clause without a demonstrative to correlate with it or DRC, and (3) a phrase. It is wrong to assume that every clause introduced by *ya-* is RRC. The fact that the *ya-* pronoun is derived from the demonstrative stem **i-* tells us that the hypotactic structure of languages developed out of the paratactic one, and that the relative clause was actually a later development. Therefore, it is not surprising to see that in early Vedic the application of the *ya-* pronoun or its derivatives is very loose, in many occasions without a demonstrative, as described by previous scholars such as Delbrück, Porzig, Gonda, Elizarenkova, Hettrich. In particular, Hirt has stated that the original form of relative clauses is the one without a finite verb (Relativsätze ohne Verb), even a copula.[378] Elizarenkova and Gonda have remarked that in ṚV, the *yá-* frequently appears in the form of the neut. sing., serving as an attribute to a neuter substantive noun. An example from the Chāndogya Upaniṣad (1.1.8) given by Gonda is: *eṣo eva samṛddhir yad anujñā* ('Assent [is] success).'[379] Gonda explains that the neuter *yad* here represents the indeclinable or invariable use of *ya-*in 'periphrastic identifications'.[380]

Gonda's hypothesis that the original function of the *ya-* is as a

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[378] See Hirt (1937: 144). See also Porzig (1923: 212).

[379] Above is Gonda's translation. Oliveller puts it: 'And assent is nothing but fulfilment' (1998: 171).

[380] See other similar examples in Gonda (1959a: 28).

distinguishing, isolating, explicative, annunciatory includer was further elaborated by Hettrich. The latter traced the historical development of the *yá-* and, with a plethora of data from Vedic, claimed that there are two types of relative clauses descending from two entirely different constructions in Proto-IE: restrictive (defining) and non-restrictive (appositional) (non-defining) relative clauses.[381] In spite of the rejection of this hypothesis by Jamison,[382] who reviewed his work, I find that the two different types of relative construction proposed by him, using analogies based on Porzig and Gonda's works, is convincing.

Now, let me turn to Classical Skt. grammarians to see how they explain the dropping of *ta-*. We still have the same question in mind: is there any

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[381] Hettrich (1988: 776ff.). See also a review by Jamison (1990: 536).

[382] Jamison (1990: 536) said, 'However, one major semantic distinction he wishes to set up, that between the restrictive and non-restrictive (appositional) relative clauses, seems inadequately marked formally for the structural and historical significance he attributes to it. He claims that these two types descend from two entirely different constructions in Proto-Indo-European.' While scrutinising the infixed *-ch* in Old Irish which corresponds to IE.* *Q, E*, Binchy (1960: 91) suggested that originally there were two sets of pronouns: one is'non-relative' and the other is 'relative'. Watkins (1963: 26) argued against this view, saying there was originally only a single set of enclitic pronouns, used in both relative and non-relative sentences (cf. Gonda 1971: 75). In favour of Watkins's hypothesis, I believe that the earliest form of PIE was paratactic (the combination of clauses or phrases without the use of conjunctions) rather than hypotactic, as pointed out by a number of scholars such as Jacobi (1897: 38) (Kapitel 3: Bezügliche Nebensätze in Sprachen ohne Relativ-pronomen); Onions (1932: 153ff.). However, the earliest form of PIE is a pre-historical issue, which is ultimately beyond proof, while Hettrich's arguments are based on recorded evidence.

possibility of deleting or dropping *ta-* from a complex sentence? Or in other words, can we use the relative pronoun *ya-* without the demonstrative *ta-* to correlate? Kiparsky[383] remarked that Pāṇini's grammar contains no syntactic deletion rules at all, although deletion of morphological and phonological elements is very common in it. He explains that it is clear that Pāṇini assumes, as a phenomenon that does not have to be mentioned in the grammar itself, that words may be freely omitted in sentences if they are evident from the meaning or context. He cites Pāṇini 1.2.64: *sarūpānāṃ ekavibhaktau* ('Of words identical in form and having the same person or case, only one is retained') to support his arguments. It is obvious that the aphorism does not apply to the absence of a demonstrative in the main clause of a complex sentence, as the *ya-* and *ta-* are of totally different forms.

As far as evidence goes, the Skt. term *sākāṃkṣa* (Pāli = *sākaṅkha*) or *ākāṅkṣā* (Pāli *ākaṅkhā*) appears in Pāṇini three times, namely:[384] (i), 8.1.35: *chandasy anekam api sākāṅkṣam* 'In the Veda, the finite verb retains its accent, if it co-occurs with *hi* and is mutually expectant of another verb in the discourse.'; (ii), 8.2. 96: *aṅgayuktaṃ tiṅ ākāṅkṣam* 'A sentence ending in a finite verb which co-occurs with the word *aṅga* has its final syllable prolated and accented to signify censure, if this verb is expectant of a continuing

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383 Kiparsky (1982: 37).

384 Text edition and translations by Deshpande (1987: 62). The term *sākāṅkṣa* appears once in the Pūrva Mīmāṃsā Sūtra (Mms II 1.46): *arthaikatvād ekaṃ vākyaṃ sākāṅkṣaṃ ced vibhāge syād*. 'By reason of the unity of sense there is one sentence; if, on division, it is dependent or expectant (*sākāṅkṣa*)' (Translation by Sandal [1974: 54]). However, this passage does not tell us the possibility of using *ya-* without *ta-*.

discourse.'; (iii), And 8.2.140: *kṣiyāśī᳡praiṣeṣu tiṅ ākāṅkṣam* 'When an error against polite usage is censured, or when a benediction or a bidding is intended, the final syllable of a verb occurring at the end of a *vākya* is prolated and is made *svarita*, if this verb is expectant of a continuing discourse.' Apparently, these rules do not deal with the structure of relative sentences. They simply explain the links between two words in terms of continuing discourse. Deshpande explains that the word *ākāṅkṣā* in Pāṇinian rules refers to an expectation for continuing discourse and hence is inter-sentential in its nature.[385] Deshpande mentions the following verse from VP.

Table 4.41 Mention of *sākāṅkṣa* in VP

(111)	*bahuṣv api tiṅanteṣu **sākāṅkṣeṣv** ekavākyatā/ tiṅantebhyo nighātasya paryudāsas tathārthavān//* (VP II 442). 'Even when there are several finite verbs (in it), a sentence is one, if they are mutually expectant. The prohibition of the dropping of accent in a finite verb is thus meaningful.'[386]

He explains that Bhartṛhari seems to have used the above term *sākāṅkṣa* in the sense of *samartha* ('semantically and syntactically related to each other'), when saying that if many verbs are *sākāṅkṣa* (i.e., expecting each other to complete), they belong to the same sentence, and that this is what justifies the conditions 'if not preceded by a *samartha tiṅ*' in Pāṇini 8.1.28. Deshpande states that Bhart®hari identifies *samartha* ('semantically and

[385] Deshpande (1987: 63).

[386] Translation by Pillai (1971: 137).

syntactically related to each other') with *sākāṅkṣa* ('expectant of each other in terms of continuing discourse'). On the other hand, Mahavir[387] explains that the term *ākāṅkṣā* in Pāṇini refers to inter-sentential expectancy. Deshpande agrees with this, and further explains that by the term *ākāṅkṣā* Pāṇini 'believes that two finite verbs can be semantically and syntactically interrelated.'[388] To explain the three aphorisms in Pāṇini where the word *ākāṅkṣā* appears, Deshpande[389] cites three examples. One of them is: *svayaṃ rathena yāti, upādhyāyaṃ padātiṃ gamayati* ('He goes in the chariot himself, (and) makes the teacher (go) on foot'). He explains: 'Here again the verb *yāti* occurs at the end of a *vākya* and yet is expectant of the continuing discourse. It is important to keep in mind that these rules apply only to the verb occurring at the end of a *vākya*.'

§ 4.2.3 Concluding remarks

IE and early Vedic scholars provide compelling evidence to prove that the *ya-* from very early on functions as an anaphora which is independent of correlation, or as a link introducing a phrase, or as a relative marker introducing fully subordinative clauses, with or without a demonstrative to correlate. The term *sākaṃkha[gati]* in Pāli was possibly adopted from its Skt. counterpart *ākāṅkṣā* or *sākaṅkṣā*, but its application in Pāli is different from Skt. The fact that there is evidence that the *ya-* functions somewhat independently from the earliest period of PIE onwards, and that the *ya*-with

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387 Mahavir (1984). Also quoted in Deshpande (1987: 62).

388 Deshpande (1987: 61).

389 Deshpande (1987: 63).

this function is far from rare throughout its long history, indicates that the phenomenon in Pāli texts is certainly not a new invention, but a continuity from an older period. It is even possible that the observation that the *ya*-of this function is employed somewhat independently without the requirement of the *ta*- was made and transmitted among Pāli syntacticians a long time before it reached Burmese and Thai scholars. The counterpart of the Pāli word *sākaṃkhagati* in Skt. is *sākāṃkṣagati.* However, the latter does not seem to occur in any Skt. grammatical treatises. In addition, the word *sākāṅkṣa* which occurs in Skt grammatical treatises is used for words which expect others for the completion of the meaning. There is a possibility that the word *sākaṅkha* or *sākaṅkhagati* in Pāli is used by some Pāli syntacticians to differentiate appositive clauses from RRC. The main reason, as explained by Thai Pāli syntacticians, is that the *sākaṅkhagati* clause, in marked contrast to RRC, provides merely extra information added to text. The *ya*- of DRC is a fully relative pronoun, but it tends to be loosely connected with its main clause, in comparison with *ya*- of RRC, though it does not go to the length of functioning adverbially.[390] In other words, the *ya*- has a marked tendency to be a conjunctive particle, connecting an antecedent with extra information. My proposal is that semantically, DRC which is non-defining, resembles post-verbal *sarūpavisesana* nouns, with *ya*- (which explains the antecedent) functioning somewhat like a 'link' between the antecedent and the modifying clause.

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[390] The *yat* which is used adverbially in early Vedic is abundant. See Macdonell[1] 208 (§ 176ff.); Elizarenkova (1995: 264ff.); WR 1085-1087, etc.

We do not know for certain when the observation of the somewhat independent use of the *ya-* was first made, but the word *sākaṅkha* does appear in Ariyavaṃsa's Maṇis of the 15th century and in Dhammakitti's Subodh-nṭ, also of the 15th century. It is important to note that the technical term *sākaṅkhagati* occurs neither in Subodh, nor in Kacc, nor in Sadd. As Norman rightly observes,[391] Saṅgharakkhita depends on Skt. texts, from which technical terms are borrowed and adopted. Saṅgharakkhita spells out the fact that he composed the text because this type of work was lacking and needed for consultation among *(suddha-)* Māgadhī (i.e. Pāli) users[392] and, although similar works had previously been produced by Rāmasamma (Skt. Rāmaśarmā) and others, they all were in Skt.[393] Jaini[394]has found that three verses in Subodh are adapted from the *Kāvyādarśa* of Daṇḍin who lived in the 6th or 7th century AD,[395] and whose name is cited by Subodh-nṭ among the sources utilised by Saṅgharakkhita. Yet the three verses do not deal with relative clauses. I have checked all 370 verses of Subodh and could not find

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391 Norman (1983: 168).

392 Subodh 6 (verse 2): *rāmasammādyalaṅkārā santi santo purātanā tathā pi tu vaḷañjenti suddha-Māgadhikā na te.*

393 However, Wright (2002: 325) has stated recently that 'The more obvious hypothesis seems to be conversion from a Middle Indo-Aryan source into Sanskrit'. See detail in his 2002 work.

394 Subodh, p. xvi (introduction). In fact, there could be more than three verses. I found one, i.e. verse 205 which is similar to the *Kāvyādarśa*, verse 50 of Chapter Three (see fn. 74).

395 Böhtlingk (1890: iii [vorwort]).

the above two verses as quoted by Maṇis. The fact that Maṇis refers to other treatises such as Subodh or Subodh-nṭ as its sources makes it possible that the notion of *sākaṅkha* could have been used and known among Pāli grammarians at least before the 12th century.

On the basis of the above analysis, I propose that the unmarked position of DRC is after its MC, as, semantically, it provides additional information about a head noun in MC, like additional *sarūpavisesana* nouns. This explains why it is placed after MC. The recognition of the presence of DRC in Pāli also proves that even though the Pāli word *sākaṃkha* does have its counterpart in Skt., the grammatical interpretation was by no means inherited from Classical Skt. The Pāli application of the term reflects a real pragmatic application of the *ya-* in early Vedic, which is not described in Pāṇinian grammar.

§ 4.3 The unmarked positions of adverbial clauses (AdC)

As I have explained in the previous section, the relative pronoun *ya-* or its derivatives has been used in various different ways from very early on. Sometimes it is used somewhat independently in a clause without a correlative or even as conjunction linking a phrase. In the texts under my scrutiny, there appear four examples, in which the *ya-* appears without an explicit correlative *ta-*. Below are the contexts.

Table 4.42 Contexts of *ya-* in a somewhat looser sense in the selected texts

No.	Contexts
(112)	*iminā pāhaṃ etaṃ jānāmi*: "***yathā*** *ananto ayaṃ loko*, *ayaṃ*

apariyanto." (BJS 23.18).

'Therefore I know that this world is both infinite and unbounded.'

(113) *iminā pāhaṃ etaṃ jānāmi:* ***yathā*** *antavā ca ayaṃ loko ananto ca* (BJS 23.19).

'Therefore I know this fact that this world is finite and infinite.'

(114) *kappitāni kho te deva hatthiyānāni.* ***yassa*** *dāni kālaṃ maññasi* (SPS 49.9).

'Sire, the elephant-vehicles are ready for you. Now, please consider what you want to do [now is the time to do what you want to do].'[396]

(115) *idha mahārāja bhikkhu saṇṭuṭṭho hoti kāyaparihārikena cīvarena, kucchiparihārikena piṇḍapātena, so* ***yena yen'*** *eva pakkamati samādāy' eva pakkamati* (SPS 71.66).

'Great King, here, a monk is satisfied with a robe to protect his body, with almsround to satisfy his stomach, and wherever he goes he takes just them.'

The *ya-* in the above contexts is quite loose in comparison with *ya-* in general complex sentences, in which it is expected to correlate with a demonstrative pronoun. In the context of (112), we see that the relative particle *yathā* stands in isolation and there is no correlative. For semantic and syntactical reasons, I restore the full texts tentatively as: ***yathā*** *ananto ayaṃ loko* [hoti], [*tathā ayaṃ loko*] *apariyanto* [hoti]". The same explanations also apply to (113). For (114), the inflectional *ya-* pronoun *yassa* stands in

[396] Walshe (1987: 92) puts it: 'Sire, the riding-elephants are ready. Now is the time to do as Your Majesty wishes.'

isolation. The commentary explains that it specifies an activity to be carried out as connected with the previous sentence *(tattha **yassa dāni kālaṃ maññasī** ti upavacanam etaṃ. idaṃ vuttaṃ hoti, 'yaṃ tayā āṇattaṃ, taṃ mayā kataṃ. idāni yassa tvaṃ, gama– nassa vā agamanassa vā kālaṃ maññasi, tad eva attano ruciyā karohī ti)*.[397] Here, elephants are being prepared for a journey.

Therefore, the idiomatic expression: *yassa dāni kālaṃ maññasi* informs the king that the proper time for setting off on the journey should be considered, as he deems suitable or wishes. The pronoun *yassa* is used somewhat independently, specifying an activity deemed suitable at the time when the sentence is spoken. In isolation, the sentence: *yassa dāni kālaṃ maññasi* has become an idiomatic expression, meaning, 'Please consider doing the thing for which this time is suitable'. The word *yassa*, which functions independently, is supposed to mean 'the thing' or 'whatever is deemed suitable' and it does not require a correlative *ta-*. When I use the term 'adverbial clause' (AdC), I mean all dependent clauses introduced by inflected relative pronouns and relative particles *(nipāta)*, which function adverbially and have to have demonstrative pronouns in MC to correlate with.

AdC differs from RRC and DRC in that it modifies a whole MC. My definition depends on syntactical functions of relative markers and I call every clause introduced by relative markers which function adverbially adverbial clauses. This criterion makes me group all the dependent clauses which are regarded as 'adverbial' together in order to scrutinise their contexts in a

[397] SV I 148.

separate section. While RRC is unmarkedly placed before MC and DRC's usual position is after MC, the position of AdC is relatively more flexible. Often they are placed before MC and often too they are placed after it. In this section, I attempt to scrutinise all the AdC in the selected texts to see the possible reasons why they are flexible. Like RRC, broadly there are two groups of AdC: those which are placed before MC and those which are placed after it. In the following section, I shall provide detail of the examples found in the texts in order to see how contextually they differ, and what parameters determine their various positions in sentences.

§ 4.3.1 AdC placed before MC

The placement of AdC before MC is found on a regular basis in the selected texts, even though the frequency of its occurrences is not the same. The number of AdC, which is placed before MC, in the three selected texts is given below.

Table 4.43 AdC placed before MC

Texts	AdC Before MC
BJS	25
SPS	46
BJSA	41
Total	112

I hypothesise that each of the AdC found in the selected texts specifies or restricts its correlative in MC, which is the reason why it is placed before MC. This function resembles RRC, which restricts a particular noun or

pronoun in MC. In other words, the whole AdC specifies or restricts correlatives in MC, no matter whether the latter is an adverbial particle or an inflectional *ya-*, which functions adverbially. As far as the evidence shows, in most contexts AdC is led by adverbial particles, some of which occur several times. The adverbial particles which occur most often are *yathā* and *yato.* Even though these particles are adverbial, their correlatives in MC can be either adverbials or case forms. The pairs of *yato/evarūpaṃ, yato/ettāvatā* are found on a regular basis, in addition to *yāva/tāva* which occurs only once. Below are the contexts in the selected texts, after discarding repetitions.

(1) BJS

BJS contains only one AdC placed before MC. Note that the context is not in a speech situation. This similar pattern, in fact, occurs very often in the Pāli Canon.

Table 4.44 Contexts of AdC placed before MC in BJS

No.	Context
(116)	*atha kho Bhagavā tesaṃ bhikkhūnaṃ imaṃ saṅkhiyādhammaṃ viditvā yena maṇḍalamāḷo,* ***ten'*** *upasaṃkami* (BJS 2.4). 'Then the Lord, being aware of what those monks were discussing, went to the Round Pavilion.'

Example (116) is a typical example of the *yena,* which undoubtedly forms an idiomatic expression: *# yena* + noun/ *tena* + *upasaṃkami (upasaṃkamiṃsu* for plural*) #*, meaning 'towards'. Diachronically, *yena* is an adverb *per se*, which does not require a noun or substantive to govern it. As

described earlier, its adverbial function goes back even to early PIE. [398] Wijesekera rightly explains *yena* in a similar context: *yena Bhagavā, ten' upasaṃkama* (MN II 91) ('Whither the Blessed One, thither repair') as an adverb [399] and observes, 'The idiom: *yena-tena* found generally with verbs of motion implies the direction, the route by which and sometimes even the place where.' [400] Von Hinüber mentions six words in Vin, with which the idiom *yena-tena* always appears: *abhip– pasāreti, upasaṃkamati, sīsaṃ karoti, gacchati, pakkamati, añjaliṃ paṇāmeti, payāti*. [401] He also points out that in certain contexts, *yena* appears without the correlative *ta-* such as*: seyyathāpi nāma pakkhī sakuṇo yena yen' eva ḍeti sapattabhāro ḍeti* (MN I 346.5ff.) 'Just as a bird carries its wings with it whenever it flies...' (the same sentence also occurs in SPS 71.66). On the other hand, the commentary of BJS (BJSA 48) explains that the word *yena* is governed by a noun or substantive, particularly *disābhāgena*. [402] However, even if one of these three nouns is added,

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398 See Holland (1984: 609) for early IE; Elizarenkova (1995: 262) for early Vedic; Sen., p. 120 for the Brāhmana texts and Wijesekera (1993: 32, 106-7) for Pāli.

399 Wijesekera (1993: 32, cf. pp. 106-7).

400 Wijesekera (1993: 107).

401 von Hinüber (1978: 138-9).

402 It is quite normal for commentators to explain that *yena* in such contexts is governed by *disābhāgena* such as in Sv I 48: *evaṃ cintetvā yena maṇḍalamā¬o ten' upasaṅkam ī ti. yenā ti yena disābhāgena, so upasaṅkamitabbo. bhummatthe vā etaṃ karaṇavacanaṃ, 'yasmiṃ padese so maṇḍalamā¬o, tattha gato' ti ayam ettha attho*. In fact, the use of *disābhāgena* to govern the pair *yena/tena* is a common practice in commentarial texts. Examples include: *yena yena disābhāgena gantum icchati, tena tena disābhāgena gocarāya gacchati* (Apa-1 165-166); *yena disābhāgena icchati, tena disābhāgena so paṇāmeti nīharati* (Ja II 28); *idañ ca hi tañ ca ekapariccheḍam' eva. vissakammo pi assamapade paṇṇasālaṃ māpetvā dussadde mige*

syntactically the noun itself is considered as an adverbial instrumental *(tatiyāvisesana)*.

AdC introduced by relative particles, on the other hand, is found fifteen times in BJS alone. The typical way of arrangement is that AdC is placed before MC. It is interesting to note that, even though the words which lead AdC are AdV particles, often the whole AdC sentence specifies their correlatives in MC. Below are all the contexts.

Table 4.45 Contexts of AdC introduced by AdV particles in BJS

No.	Contexts
(117)	***yathā*** *va pan' eke bhonto samaṇabrāhmaṇā saddhādeyyāni bhojanāni bhuñjitvā, te evarūpaṃ bījagāmabhūtagāmasamārambhaṃ anuyuttā viharanti* [...], ***iti evarūpā*** *bījagāmabhūtagāmasamārambhā paṭivirato samaṇo Gotamo* (BJS 5.11, cf. BJS 5.11, 6.12, 6.13, 6.14, 7.15, 7.16,7.17, 8.18, 8.19, 9.20, 9.21, 9.22, 9.23, 10.24, 11.25, 11.26, 12.27). 'As various ascetics and Brahmins who feed on the food which

ca sakuṇe ca amanusse ca paṭikkamāpetvā tena tena disābhāgena ekapadikamaggaṃ māpetvā attano vasanaṭṭhānam' eva agamāsi (Ja I 315); *tena tenā ti tena muttakhaṇena yena disābhāgena tesaṃ pitā atthi, tena padhāviṃsu, padhāvitvā pitu santikaññ' eva āgamiṃsū ti attho* (Ja VI 554); *ten' eva nato ti yena yena disābhāgena Buddho, tena ten' evā' ham pi nato, tanninno tappoṇoti dasseti* (Nidd-a II 93); *yenicchakaṃ gacchati gocarāya ti yena yena disābhāgena gantum icchati, tena tena disābhāgena gocarāya gacchat i* (Pj I 83; Sv I 48); *yena Bhagavā ti yassaṃ disāyaṃ Bhagavā nisinno. bhummatthe hi etaṃ karaṇavacanaṃ. yena vā disābhāgena Bhagavā upasaṅkamitabbo, tena disābhāgena upasaṅkami* (Ud-a: 52-3); *tenā ti yena disābhāgena so ambārāmo, tena agamā agañchi* (Vv-a 307).

should be given out of faith, they are addicted to destroying seeds and creatures [...] Thus the ascetic Gotama refrains from such destruction.'

(118) ***yathā*** *sassato attā ca loko ca vañjho kūṭaṭṭho esikaṭṭhāyiṭṭho,* ***te*** *ca sattā sandhāvanti saṃsaranti cavanti upapajjanti* (BJS 14.31).

'As both the self and the world are eternal, stationary as a mountain peak, set firmly as a post, these beings rush around, transmigrate, pass away and re-arise.'

(119) ***yāv****' assa kāyo ṭhassati,* ***tāva*** *naṃ dakkhinti devamanussā* (BJS 46.73 [twice]).

'As long as his body remains, gods and humans will see him.'

(120) ***yattha*** *me assa chando vā rāgo vā doso vā paṭigho vā,* ***taṃ*** *mam' assa* ***upādānaṃ*** (BJS 25.24, 25.25).

'That for which I feel desire, lust, hatred or aversion, would be an attachment for me.'

The reason for the placement of AdC before MC is obvious. Semantically, AdC restricts the limit or boundary of the correlatives it modifies. Unlike other RRC which defines or restricts a head noun or a pronoun in MC, the whole AdC restricts or specifies its correlative in MC. Because its correlative is placed, in most contexts, at the beginning of MC, all the AdC is placed before it accordingly. In (117), the whole AdC: ***yathā*** *va pan' eke, bhonto, samaṇabrāhmaṇā saddhādeyyāni bhojanāni bhuñjitvā* modifies the phrase: *evarūpaṃ bījagāmabhūtagāmasamārambhaṃ* in MC. One of the most obvious examples is (119). Here, we see that the whole AdC, which is

introduced by *yāva,* modifies its correlative *tāva,* while *tāva* itself modifies its predicative phrase: *naṃ dakkhinti.* The example (120) is also striking. The relative particle *yattha* introduces a clause which modifies: *taṃ* [*chandarāgadosapaṭighabhāvattaṃ*] in MC. The same explanations apply to the other contexts. In all the contexts of (115)-(118) above, AdC is introduced by adverbial particles which are indeclinable. There are also many examples of AdC which are introduced by *yato* (<*yata˙* Skt.), which is, in turn, the ablative case functioning adverbially.[403]

Table 4.46 Contexts of AdC introduced by *yato*

No.	Contexts
(121)	***yato*** *kho bho ayaṃ attā rūpī cātummahābhūtiko mātāpettika-sambhavo, kāyassa bhedā ucchijjati vinassati, na hoti paraṃ maraṇā,* ***ettāvatā*** *kho bho ayaṃ attā sammā samucchinno hoti* (BJS 34.10, cf. BJS 34.11, 34.12, 34.13, 35.14, 35.15, 35.16, 36.20, 37.21, 37.23, 37-38.24). 'Friend, in so far as the self is material, composed of the four great elements, born out of a mother and a father, and when this body breaks up, disappears and perishes, and does not exist after death, thus, friend, this self is annihilated completely.'
(122)	***yato*** *kho bhikkhave bhikkhu channaṃ phassāyatanānaṃ samudayañ ca atthagamañ ca assādañ ca ādīnavañ ca nissaraṇañ ca yathābhūtaṃ pajānāti* [...] (BJS 45.71). 'Monks, when a monk understands the arising, passing away, the

[403] PTSD, p. 548 (s.v. *yato*).

> attraction, the danger and the emancipation from six bases of contact as they really are [...].'

It is well known that *yato* in all the above contexts is an ablative, which functions adverbially. The use of *yato* in the adverbial sense reminds us of the adverbial *ya-* in PIE as stated above (see § 4.2 above). Sophonganaporn explains that such *ya-* pronoun is collectively called *kiriyāparāmāsa* or *kiriyāparāmasana* ('verbal modifier') (lit. 'word which touches a verb'). This term occurs regularly in the Yojanā texts.[404] It refers to any *ya-* pronoun derived from case forms which function adverbially, and it does not require a noun to govern it.[405] *Yato* in the above contexts does not require a noun like *kāraṇato* or *hetuto*, to govern it. 'Because' seems to best suit the context when translated. It functions as a full adverb *per se*. Although the *kiriyāparāmāsa* is supposed to appear in every case form, in Pāli it seems to be confined to *yato*,

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[404] This term occurs many times in the *aṭṭhakathā* and *ṭīkā* texts such as in It-a II 78; Pv-a 159; Ud-a 106; Nett-a Be 31; Ud-a 106; Pv-a 159; Sv-pṭ I 26, Mp-ṭ III Be 186, 233; Nett-pṭ Be 58; Sp-ṭ I Be 34, etc. Ñāṇakitti also identifies many *ya-* pronouns which function adverbially as *kiriyāparāmasanaṃ* in his yojanā texts such as Sp-y Se I 13, 16, 19, etc.

[405] AVEPS II 35ff. Literally, the term *kiriyāparāmāsa* translates as 'touching a verb'. It is formed out of *kiriyā* ('action') + *parāmāsa* (*pa* + *ā* +√*mas*) ('touching, contact'). This type of adverb does not qualify any particular word in the sentence as it applies to the whole sentence it is in. If anything at all, it 'touches' the verb and is governed by a verb. The clause introduced by it is always separated from the main clause to show that it qualifies a whole sentence. Though the term does not occur in Pāṇini's grammar, James Benson is of the opinion that, if it is Sanskritised (as either *kriyāparāmarśa* or *kriyāparāmarśana*), the term could probably mean 'sentential adverb', as in Pāli (personal communication).

yaṃ and *yasmā*. Even so, Soponganaporn[406] remarks that *yasmā* and *yato,* which function as *kiriyāparāmāsa,* rarely occur. In my selected texts, however, the word *yato* occurs in BJS twelve times, i.e. (121)-(122), and is found in SPS four times (see [124] below).

(2) SPS

SPS has forty-six contexts, in which AdC is placed at the beginning of the sentence. All these contexts are similar to those in BJS. There is a striking point which is noteworthy: the use of adverbial particles: *yato, yathā* and *yāva* is the same as those found in BJS. Below is an example from the selected texts, after discarding repetitions.

Table 4.47 Contexts of AdC introduced by relative pronouns functioning adverbially

No.	Context
(123)	*atha kho rājā Māgadho Ajātasattu* [...] ***yena*** *Jīvakassa komārabhaccassa Ambavanaṃ,* ***tena*** *pāyāsi* (SPS 49.9, 50.11, cf. 53.19, 50.12, 52.16, 56.25, 57.28, 58.31). 'Then King Ajātasattu of Magadha went to the mango-grove of Jīvaka Komārabhacca.'

The data shows the context in which a relative *ya-* functions adverbially. Here, *yena* together with its governing noun (*disābhāgena*[407] or

[406] AVEPES II.

[407] See fn. 82 above.

the like), if inserted for syntactical and semantic reasons, functions as *tatiyāvisesana* 'adverbial instrumental'. We see that the whole clause introduced by *yena* simply modifies the demonstrative pronoun *tena* which placed right at the beginning of MC. In addition to this, there are some contexts in SPS, in which *yato* leads AdC. Below are the contexts.

Table 4.48 Contexts of AdC introduced by *yato* in SPS

No.	Context
(124)	***yatvādhikaraṇam*** *enaṃ cakkhundriyaṃ asaṃvutaṃ viharantaṃ abhijjhā-domanassā pāpakā akusalā dhammā anvāssaveyyuṃ,* ***tassa*** *saṃvarāya paṭipajjati* (SPS 70.64 [three times]). 'As greed and sorrow which are evil unskilled states, would overwhelm him if he dwells leaving this eye-faculty unguarded, so he behaves so as to guard against that [...]'.
(125)	***yato*** *ca kho tvaṃ mahārāja accayaṃ accayato disvā* ***yathā*** *dhammaṃ paṭikarosi, tan te mayaṃ paṭigaṇhāma* (SPS 85.100). 'O King, since you have seen your transgression as a transgression [and] confessed it we will accept it [...].'

The data shows that in (124), the word *yato*[408] in the phrase: *yatvādhikaraṇam enaṃ* (*yato* + *adhikaraṇam enaṃ*) functions as an adverb of

[408] While explaining the same passage in (124) which is quoted in Maṅg-d, Phra Sirimaṅgalācariya (Maṅg-d Se II 369) explains thus: *'yatvādhikaraṇam enan ti yaṃkāraṇā yassa cakkhundriyāsaṃvarassa hetu enaṃ puggalaṃ satikavāṭena cakkhundriyaṃ asaṃvutaṃ apidahitacakkhudvāraṃ hutvā viharantaṃ ete abhijjhādayo dhammā anvāsaveyyuṃ anubandheyyuṃ.'*

reason, which can be translated as 'as, from which case, since, because, because of, by reason of which',[409] as the case may be. Syntactically, it is referred to as *kiriyāparāmāsa,* as mentioned earlier. The contexts of (124) and (125) express the reason of MC. Apart from AdC introduced by relative pronouns, SPS also has other AdC introduced by relative particles (*nipāta*). Below are the contexts, after discarding repetitions.

Table 4.49 Contexts of AdC introduced by relative particles

No.	Contexts
(126)	*yathā nu kho imāni bho Gosāla puthusippāyatanāni seyyathīdaṃ hatthārohā* [...] *sakkā nu kho bho Gosāla,* ***evam eva*** *diṭṭhe va dhamme sandiṭṭhikaṃ sāmaññaphalaṃ paññāpetuṃ* (SPS 53.19, cf. SPS 56.25, 57.28, 58.31). 'Friend Gosāla, just as there are these various crafts, namely, elephant-drivers [...], friend Gosāla, would it be possible [for you] to proclaim the fruits of a homeless life here and now?'
(127)	*yathā te khameyya, tathā naṃ vyākareyyāsi* (SPS 60.34, 61.37). 'You should answer it as you see fit.'
(128)	*yathā va pan' eke bhonto samaṇabrāhmaṇā saddhādeyyāni bhojanāni bhuñjitvā te evarūpaṃ bījagāmabhūtagāmasamārambhaṃ anuyuttā viharanti* [...], *evarūpā bīja– gāmabhūtagāmasamārambhā paṭivirato hoti* (SPS 64-5.46, cf. SPS 65.47, 65.48, 65.49, 65.50, 66.51, 66.52, 66.53, 66-7.54, 67.55, 67.56, 67.57, 68. 58, 68.59, 68-69.60, 69.61, 69.62).

[409] See explanations on this phrase in BHSGD II 12; PTSD s.v. *yato.*

'Friends, as some ascetics and brahmins who eat the food which should be given out of faith, they are addicted to the destruction of seeds and creatures.'

The above data shows that all the adverbial clauses function like RRC in that they specify a particular word in MC. AdC above clarifies adverbial particles which function adverbially in MC in detail. That is to say, the whole AdC in the context of (126) led by *yathā* modifies the word *evaṃ* in MC and the whole AdC in (127) modifies the adverbial particle *tathā* in MC. The context of (128), on the other hand, shows that the correlative of an adverbial particle in AdC can be an inflected word; therefore, the whole AdC led by *yathā* modifies the word *evarūpā* in MC. Sometimes, however, the correlatives do not appear on the surface in MC. In this respect, an appropriate correlative needs to be supplied. In table 4.50 below are all the contexts which occur in SPS.

Table 4.50 AdC without correlatives in MC

No	Contexts
(129)	***yathā*** *nu kho imāni bhante puthusippāyatanāni—, seyyathīdaṃ hatthārohā assārohā* [...]—, ***te*** *diṭṭhe va dhamme sippaphalaṃ upajīvanti* (SPS 51.14, 59.34). 'Lord, just as there are various crafts, namely, elephant-drivers, horse-drivers [...], they live off their arts in this very life.'
(130)	***yathā*** *kathaṃ pana te mahārāja vyākaṃsu, sace te agaru, bhāsassu* (SPS 51.15).

'O King, if it is not burdensome for you, can you tell [me] how they explained [it]?'.

(131) *cātummahābhūtiko ayaṃ puriso.* ***yadā*** *kālaṃ karoti, paṭhavī paṭhavikāyaṃ anupeti anupagacchati* (SPS 55.23).

'This human being is composed of four great elements. When a man dies, the earth part returns and goes back to category of earth.'

(132) *āsandipañcamā purisā mataṃ ādāya gacchanti,* ***yāva*** *āḷāhanā, padāni paññāpenti, kāpotakāni aṭṭhīni bhavanti, bhassantāhutiyo* (SPS 55.23).

'Humans go taking the dead man with the bier as fifth; people proclaim their footsteps as far as the cremation ground; the bones become white and sacrifices end up in ashes.'

We see that in the above contexts the author(s) has left out the correlatives in MC as understood. It is noteworthy that the context of (129) is similar to (126). In fact, they both occur in the same text. However, the former does not contain the adverbial particle *evaṃ* which is found in the latter. The same omission also applies to (130), (131) and (132). Overall, the most popular adverbial particles which lead AdC in SPS are *yato* and *yathā.* If we scrutinise the contexts in which the two words appear, we see that it is obvious that all the AdC found in SPS modify its correlative in MC. I propose that the whole AdC is placed before MC because the relative particles which lead the whole AdC specify their correlatives in MC and their correlatives are usually placed at the beginning of MC. The usual order of AdC before the word it modifies, therefore, follows the generalisation I made in Chapter One

that a dependent word *(upasajjana)* is usually placed before its governing one *(padhāna)*.

(3) BJSA

While the author(s) of BJS and SPS basically use relative particles to lead AdC, BJSA has a larger number of AdC which is led by an inflectional relativiser. The contexts of (133)-(150) given below show that AdC is led by adverbial particles.

Table 4.51 Contexts AdC introduced by relative particles in BJSA

No.	Context
(133)	*kathaṃ* [Bhagavā] *tathā gato ti Tathāgato? **yathā** sampatijāto Vipassī Bhagavā gato...pe...Kassapo Bhagavā gato. kathañ ca so gato? so hi sampatijāto va samehi pādehi paṭhaviyaṃ patiṭṭhāya uttarābhimukho satta padavītihāre gato. yath' āha: sampatijāto Ānanda Bodhisatto samehi padehi patiṭṭhahitvā uttarābhimukho satta padavītihāre gacchati, setamhi chatte anuhīramāne sabbā ca disā anuviloketi, āsabhiñ ca vācaṃ bhāsati "Aggo' ham asmi lokassa, jeṭṭho 'ham asmi lokassa, seṭṭho' ham asmi lokassa, ayam antimā jāti, n' atthi dāni punabbhavo ti* [...] ***tathā** ayaṃ Bhagavā pi gato* (BJSA 60-1, cf. BJSA 37). 'How is the *Tathāgata* "thus-gone" (*tathā gato*)? The Blessed One went exactly in the same way as the Buddhas Vipassī and Kassapa who, as soon as they were born, went. How did he go? Certainly, the Buddha, immediately after he was born, stood up on the ground

with even feet and while facing north, walked forward for seven steps. As he said, "Ānanda, the Bodhisatta, immediately after he was born, stood up with even feet facing north and walked for seven steps. When a white umbrella was held over him, he looked in all the directions, and uttered bull-like words thus: I am supreme in the world; I am superior in the world; I am the noblest in the world. This is my last birth. Now, there is no more rebirth [for me]". In this way, this Blessed One also went.'

(134) ***yathā*** *ca Buddhassa evaṃ dhammassāpi taṃ taṃ akāraṇam eva kāraṇato vatvā, 'samaṇassa Gotamassa dhammo durakkhāto duppaṭivedito aniyyāniko anupasamasaṃvattaniko' ti,* ***tathā tathā*** *avaṇṇaṃ bhāsati* (BJSA 37).

'He criticises the doctrines, in the same way as he does the Buddha's doctrine, pointing out something which is not a proper cause as the cause saying, "The doctrine of the ascetic Gotama is said wrongly, understood wrongly, cannot lead to final liberation, and does not bring about peace,"

(135) ***yadā*** *Bhagavā taṃ addhānamaggaṃ paṭipanno,* ***tadā*** *Suppiyo paribbājako maggapaṭipanno ahosi* (BJSA 35-36).

'When the Blessed One was on that journey, the Wanderer Suppiya also was on the road.'

(136) *Buddhakāle kira* ***yattha yattha*** *eko pi bhikkhu viharati,* ***sabbattha*** *Buddhāsanaṃ paññattam eva hoti* (BJSA 48).

'It is said that during the Buddha's lifetime wherever there is even

one monk living, there is always a seat prepared for the Buddha.'

(137) [...] *aññatitthiyānaṃ hi* ***yāva*** *Buddhā loke na uppajjanti,* ***tāvad*** *eva lābhasakkāro nibbattati* (BJSA 41).

'Because as long as Buddhas are not born in the world, gains and honours still accrue to heretics.'

(138) *ten' evā' yasmā Channo pi* ***yāva*** *Buddhā na parinibbāyiṃsu,* ***tāva*** *visesaṃ nibbattetuṃ nāsakkhi* (BJSA 54).

'Because of this very [reason], Channa could not develop a special virtue as long as the Buddha had not passed away.'

(139) ***yath****' eva hi kuddho,* ***evaṃ*** *luddho pi atthaṃ na jānāti* (BJSA 54).

'Just as it is with the angry person, even so the greedy person does not know the meaning.'

(140) *tattha* ***yathā*** *hatthe udakaṃ pātiyā udakaṃ na pāpuṇati* [...], ***evam*** *eva upari guṇe upādāya sīlaṃ appamattakaṃ oramattakan ti upari veditabbaṃ* (BJSA 58).

'In that context, just as the water in the hand cannot be compared with (fig. is smaller in amount than) the water in a vessel [...], even so morality should be known as 'inferior' [and] 'trifling' in comparison with higher virtues.'

(141) *kathaṃ Bhagavā tathā āgato ti Tathāgato?* ***yathā*** *sabbalokahitāya ussukkam āpannā purimakā sammā Sambuddhā āgatā, yathā Vipassī Bhagavā āgato,* ***yathā*** *Sikhī Bhagavā,* ***yathā*** *Vessabhū Bhagavā,* ***yathā*** *Kakusandho Bhagavā,* ***yathā*** *Koṇāgamano Bhagavā,* ***yathā*** *Kassapo Bhagavā, āgato. kiṃ vuttaṃ hoti? yena abhinīhārena ete Bhagavanto*

āgatā, ten' eva amhākaṃ pi Bhagavā āgato (BJSA 60).

'How is The Blessed One, the Tathāgata who is "thus-come" (Tathāgato)? Just as previous fully-enlightened Buddhas came and exerted themselves for the advantage of all sentient beings; just as the Blessed One Vipassī came; just as the Blessed Ones Sikhī, Vessabhū, Kakusandha, Koṇāgamana and Kassapa came. How is it explained? [It is explained that] Our Blessed One came with the same resolve with which those previous Blessed Ones had come.'

(142) *atha vā yathā Vipassī Bhagavā* [...], ***yathā*** *Kassapo Bhagavā* [...] *pubbayogapub– bacariyadhammakkhānañātatthacariyādayo pūretvā, buddhicariyāya koṭiṃ patvā āgato,* ***tathā*** *amhākam pi Bhagavā āgato* (BJSA 60).

'On the other hand, just as the Blessed Ones Vipassī [...], Kassapa etc., [...], have completed such previous exertions, previous conduct, the preaching of dhamma and conduct for the sake of relatives, etc. and have reached the summit of a Buddha's conduct before coming, even so our Blessed One has come in a similar way.'

(143) ***yathā*** *Vipassī Bhagavā* [...] *Kassapo Bhagavā cattāro satipaṭṭhāne sammappadhāne cattāro iddhipāde pañc' indriyāni pañca balāni satta bojjhaṅge ariyaṃ aṭṭhaṅgikaṃ maggaṃ bhāvetvā brūhetvā āgato,* ***tathā*** *amhākam pi Bhagavā āgato* (BJSA 60).

'Just as the Blessed Ones Vipassī, Kassapa, etc. came after having developed the Four Foundations of Mindfulness, the Four Right Efforts, the Four Principles of Success, the Five Faculties, the Five

Powers, the Seven Factors of Enlightenment, the Noble Eightfold Path, even so our Blessed One came similarly.'

(144) *evambhūtassa c' assa **yathā** vācā kāyo pi, **tathā** gato pavatto ti attho* (BJSA 67).

'The meaning is that the body of the [Blessed One] being thus went on and continued just like his words.'

(145) ***yathā** ca idha, **evaṃ** sabbattha* (BJSA 72).

'And in all [monastic rules] [the meaning is] the same as in this one.'

(146) ***yathā** ca cittasaṇhatāya pharusavācā na hoti, **evaṃ** vacanasaṇhatāya apharusavācā na hoti* (BJSA 75).

'Just as harsh speech does not occur because the speaker's thought is gentle, so speech is not (necessarily) not harsh because the words are gentle.'

(147) ***yathā** assā paricchedo paññāyati, **evaṃ** bhāsatīti attho* (BJSA 76).

'The meaning is that he speaks in such a way that the demarcation of his words appears.'

(148) *tattha <u>adinnan</u> ti parapariggahītaṃ, yattha paro yathākāmakārī, taṃ āpajjanto adaṇḍāraho anupavajjo ca hoti* (BJSA 71).

'The word "what is not given" in the context [of *adinnādāna*] means 'the property reserved by others', which another person is allowed to use as he wishes, and if he does so is to be neither punished nor blamed'.

(149) ***yattha** samaggā n' atthi, **tattha** vasitum pi na icchatī ti attho* (BJSA 74).

'The meaning is that where people are not united, he does not want even to stay.'

(150) ***yattha*** *vā ubhayam pi rūhati,* ***taṃ*** *khettaṃ* (BJSA 78).
'Or the place where both [the 'first grain' and 'vegetables'] grow, that is a *khetta.*

The data shows that even though dependent clauses are introduced by adverbial particles, they all restrict the correlative markers in MC, like adverbial clauses in BJS and SPS. Hence their initial placement. Some adverbial relativisers even have demonstratives *ta-* as their correlatives. Note that in the example of (148) the adverbial particle *yattha* ('where' or 'which place') has the correlative *taṃ* [*ṭhānaṃ*] in MC. The use of *yattha* in replacement of *yasmiṃ thāne* is merely due to style. Here, the difference between *yattha* and *yasmiṃ thāne* is twofold. On the one hand, they have a different morphological category. While *yasmiṃ* functions as a modifier (i.e. adjective) of *ṭhāne* and *ṭhāne* functions as a *visayādhāra* of the first grain and vegetables, *yattha* functions, in all contexts, as an adverbial, without any noun to govern it. On the other hand, *ṭhāne* is a nominal, having fully an inflectional value while *yattha* is an indeclinable. However, both can be used equally in a restrictive sense, which applies to the above contexts, by which AdC is placed before MC like normal RRC.

It is important to note that while there is ample evidence to prove that the inflectional *ya-* does not have an inflectional value in many contexts

in early Vedic,[410] we find some in the selected texts as well. While traditional Skt. grammarians do not explain the syntactical aspect of such relativisers, the relative pronoun which does not have an inflectional value and which functions adverbially is recognised in Pāli as *kiriyāparāmāsa* as mentioned above. The *ya-* which functions as *kiriyāparāmāsa* occurs several times. Some of them lead clauses which are placed before MC while the others introduce clauses placed after it. Below are the contexts of the first group.

Table 4.52 Contexts of AdC introduced by relative pronoun functioning adverbially

No.	Contexts
(151)	***yaṃ*** *himapātasamaye himena paṭicchannā hutvā maggapaṭipannaṃ janaṃ musanti,* ***ayaṃ*** *himaviparāmoso* (BJSA 80). 'When it snows, the behaviour of the person who hides himself within the snow and robs a passer-by is called "snow robbery".

[410] Speijer (1886: 354), for instance, stated that placing the relative pronoun after the main sentence implies a causal meaning. He remarked that in some cases, *yá-* may be used quite adverbially and even assumes the nature of a conjunction, such as *yad*, *yena*, *yata* and *yasmāt*, moreover *yāvat* and *yāvatā* (Speijer [1886: 357 [§ 461]), cf. Holland (1984: 609) and Grassmann's WR 1085-1087). Elizarenkova (1995: 264). See also Macdonell,[1] § 215 (p. 356); Renou,[2] § 388; Gonda (1975c: 37-8); Holland (1991: 24, 27), etc.) also said that in spite of being inflected (n. & a. sg. neut.), the *yad* in early Vedic is employed adverbially 'with a very wide range of meanings, extremely divergent as compared with its original semantics.' It can be variously translated as 'if', 'when',' because' and so on, according to context. Recently, Gren-Eklund (1978: 58) comments on Speijer's statements saying, 'In other words, the relative pronoun is sometimes used where one would expect a relative adverb or conjunction.'

(152) ***yaṃ*** *gumbādīhi paṭicchannā janaṃ musanti,* ***ayaṃ*** *gumbaviparāmoso* (BJSA 80).

'The action of hiding oneself in things such as bushes and then robbing people is called "bush robbery"."

(153) ***yaṃ hi so*** *sampatijāto va samehi pādehi patiṭṭhahi,* ***idaṃ*** *assa caturiddhipādapaṭilābhassa pubbanimittaṃ* (BJSA 61).

'Certainly, that the Buddha, as soon as he was born, could stand on his own even feet is the omen of his attainment of the Four Bases of Success.'

Syntactically, the relativiser *yaṃ* which appears in the above three contexts is not the same as *yaṃ* which occurs in many other contexts in the selected texts which are mentioned earlier. Here, it does not modify a particular noun. Note that it is in the sing. accu. form. Usually, a nominal in this form can function adverbially, which is known in Pāli as *kiriyāvisesana.*[411] The whole clause introduced by *yaṃ* semantically specifies the subject and becomes the subject of the main clause itself. The *ya-* itself does not modify any particular noun in the clause it introduces, but the whole clause.[412] The *ya-* pronoun in such contexts is also known syntactically as *kiriyāparāmāsa.* Sophonganaporn explains that *yaṃ* which functions adverbially can be from any case forms. Apart from *yaṃ* which occurs more often than other *ya-*

[411] Sadd III 590: *bhāvanapuṃsake dutiyekavacanaṃ.*

[412] The sentence structure is similar to an idiomatic expression in Classical Sanskrit: *yuktaṃ yat* ('It is fit (or suitable) that'). See Gonda (1975c: 16). Cf. Renou[2], § 387; Speijer (1886: 358 [§ 463]).

derivatives, *yena* and *yasmā* occur occasionally. He provides an example of *yasmā* which is functioning as *kiriyāparāmāsa* which is taken from Abhidh-s-ṭ.[413]

Table 4.53 Context of *yasmā* which functions as a *kiriyāparāmāsa*

No.	Context
(154)	***yasmā*** *vibhāgavantānaṃ dhammānaṃ sabhāvavibhāvanaṃvibhā-gena vinā na hoti,* ***tasmā*** *yathā-uddiṭṭhānaṃ abhidhammatthānaṃ uddesa-kkamena vibhāgaṃ dassetuṃ āha* (Abhidh-s-ṭ 58; Abhidh-s-ṭ Se 68). 'Because one cannot elucidate the nature of dhammas which are classified without giving the classification, therefore, in order to illustrate the classification of the topics of Abhidhamma in the order of the outline, he said [...].

In (154), *yasmā* correlates with *tasmā*. Sp-y identifies it as a *kiriyāparāmāsa*.[414] It is obvious that the =word *yasmā* is counted as *kiriyāparāmāsa*, when it does not need a noun or substantive (such as *kāraṇena* or *hetu*) to govern it, but functions as a full sentential adverb *per se*. *Yaṃ* in (151)-(153) and *yasmā* in (154) stand on their own and in such contexts there is no noun which governs the relative pronoun *ya-*. *Yaṃ* which is called *kiriyāparāmāsa* in such contexts modifies a whole clause introduced

[413] Cf. AVEPS II 37. There are several contexts in Smp where *yasmā*, explained as a *kiriyāparāmāsa*, occurs such as in Smp Se I 3 and its explanations in Sp-y Se I 19.

[414] Abh-y Se 203: *yasmā ti na hotīti pade kiriyāparāmāsanahetu.*

by it. Because *ya-*, which functions as a *kiriyāparāmāsa,* does not have a particular head noun to modify, its correlative in MC does not have a particular head noun either. The noun supposed to be the subject in MC must be formed using all the syntactical elements in AdC. The best translation for the word *kiriyāparāmāsa* to suit its pragmatic application in such contexts is probably 'sentential adverb'.

Like all indeclinable adverbs, it does not require any noun or substantive to govern it. Sophonganaporn[415] has stated that the adverbial accusatives usually qualify only a particular verb (action), such as the accusative *sukhaṃ* in: *sukhaṃ seti* ('He sleeps happily'), while *kiriyāparāmāsa* always qualifies a whole clause. If it is to qualify any particular word at all, that word will be a finite verb, which is the core of any sentence, hence its name, which denotes that it touches an action. In spite of the presence of the demonstrative *ta-* in the main clause, the clause introduced by the *ya-* does not resemble a normal relative clause, on the grounds that functionally the *ya-* qualifies an entire clause. The noun subject which goes with the *taṃ*, therefore, must be formed from all meaningful elements in the *ya*-clause. Sophonganaporn[416] provides some examples, three of which correspond to (159), (160), and (161), which will be discussed below in another category. One of his examples will suffice here.

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[415] AVEPS II 35-40. Examples are taken from BJS and Warder (1995: 291ff.). Cf. Renou,[2] § 387.

[416] AVEPS II 35.

Table 4.54 An example of *yaṃ* which functions as a *kiriyāparāmāsa*

No.	Context
(155)	*idha kho taṃ bhikkhave sobhetha,* ***yaṃ*** *tumhe evaṃ svākkhāte dhammavinaye pabbajitā samānā khamā ca bhaveyya soratā ca* (Vin I 187). 'Monks, may it shine forth that having been ordained in this well-proclaimed teaching and discipline, you become patient and modest.'

Sophonganaporn explains that the inflected *yaṃ* in (155) is a *kiriyāparāmāsa*. Like the *ya-* pronoun in all other case-forms functioning adverbially, the *yaṃ* does not require a governing noun or substantive. The *ya-* of this function qualifies its whole clause, which functions as the subject of the main clause. In other words, semantically the actual subject which governs *taṃ* in MC is the entire *ya-* clause. As has been said, all the necessary grammatical constituents in the *ya-* clauses must form part of the subject. For instance, the *taṃ* in (155), which is placed before the *ya-* clause, modifies the subject which I tentatively restore in full[417] for semantic reasons as: *tumhākaṃ evaṃ svākkhāte dhammavinaye pabbajitānaṃ samānānaṃ khamasoratattaṃ*.

On these grounds, the noun subjects in the three examples from my selected texts which are given above, i.e. (151)-(153) can be tentatively

[417] Even though Sophonganaporn identifies the relativiser *ya-* which functions adverbially, he does not restore any subject of MC from AdC.

restored fully for semantic and syntactical reasons as: *ayaṃ corassa himapātasamaye himena paṭicchaditvā maggapaṭi- pannānaṃ janānaṃ musanabhāvo himaviparāmoso* [*nāma hoti*], which is translated as 'the state of a robber who hides himself within the snow and robs a passer-by is called "the robbing by hiding"; *ayaṃ gumbādīhi paṭicchaditvā janānaṃ musanabhāvo gumba- viparāmoso [nāma hoti]* ('The action of hiding oneself in things such as bush and then robbing people is called "bush robbery"); *idaṃ tassa Buddhassa sampatijātassa va samehi pādehi patiṭṭhahitattaṃ assa caturiddhi-pādapaṭilābhassa pubbanimittaṃ* ('The state of the Buddha who, as soon as he was born, could stand with his own even feet, is the previous sign of his attainment of the Four Bases of Success'). We see that the correlatives in MC need to have every word in AdC to form a subject, and the *ya-* itself does not have an inflectional value even though it is in the accusative.

§ 4.3.2 AdC placed after MC

In his monograph, Minard clearly distinguishes RRC from Non-RRC or DRC (see detail of this clause in 4.2), but unfortunately he did not take into account the extent to which adverbial functions of certain relative clauses can place AdC after MC. I hypothesise that AdC is placed after MC for two reasons. On the one hand, a particular word in MC is emphasised, by which the entire MC is moved to the front. On the other hand, it is a stylistic feature of the author(s). I shall elaborate these points below. As far as evidence shows, post-posed AdC occurs twenty-eight times altogether. In most cases, it is introduced by a relative particle *yathā.* The contexts in which these dependent clauses occur are similar in all the three selected texts. Below are its details.

Note that words which are topicalised are given in bold type.

Table 4.55 Number of AdC introduced by relative adverbs

Texts	Numbers of Occurrence
BJS	3
SPS	3
BJSA	2
Total	8

(1) BJS

AdC, which is placed after MC in BJS, is found four times in BJS. The first two contexts below show that it is placed as such, obviously because a particular word in MC is topicalised, by which the placement of the complex sentence is the reverse of the usual pattern.

Table 4.56 Contexts of AdC placed after MC in BJS

No.	Contexts
(156)	***acchariyaṃ*** *āvuso abbhutaṃ āvuso, yāvañ c' idaṃ tena Bhagavatā jānatā passatā arahatā sammāsambuddhena sattānaṃ nānādhimuttikatā suppaṭividitā* (BJS 2.3). 'It is wonderful, friends, it is marvellous how [or that] the BlessedOne, the Arhat, the fully Enlightened Buddha knows andsees the differentinclinations of beings.'
(157)	***appamattakaṃ*** *kho pan' etaṃ, bhikkhave, oramattakaṃ sīlamattakaṃ,* ***yena*** *puthujjano Tathāgatassa vaṇṇaṃ vadamāno vadeyya* (BJS 3.7). 'Monks, it is for elementary, inferior matters of moral practice that

the ordinary person would praise the Tathāgata.'

(158) ***idha*** *bhikkhave ekacco samaṇo vā brāhmaṇo vā ātappam anvāya padhānam anvāya anuyogam anvāya appamādam anvāya sammāmanasikāram anvāya* ***tathārūpaṃ cetosamādhiṃ*** *phusati,* ***yathā*** *samāhite cite anekavihitaṃ pubbe nivāsaṃ anussarati* (BJS 13.31).

'Here, monks, with his well concentrated mind recalls past existence, so a certain ascetic or brahmin has attained to such a state of mental concentration via his effort, exertion, application, earnestness and proper concentration.'

We see that the two words: ***acchariyaṃ*** and ***appamattakaṃ*** in (156) and (157) are topicalised. The structure and the reasons for placing such dependent clauses in that position resembles the placement of MC before RRC as mentioned earlier. The only difference lies in that the relativiser of RRC modifies a noun or a pronoun while that of AdC functions as adverbial. In (158), on the other hand, it seems that there are two reasons why the AdC: ***yathā*** *samāhite citte anekavihitaṃ pubbe nivāsaṃ anussarati* is placed after MC. On the one hand, the whole AdC: ***yathā*** *samāhite citte anekavihitaṃ pubbe nivāsaṃ anussarati* specifies or restricts the meaning of *tathārūpaṃ* ('such') ***[cetosamādhiṃ],*** which is placed right before its finite verb. Because the specified element is embedded within MC, the whole AdC cannot be moved to be placed before MC which is far from its specified element. On the other hand, the weight of emphasis is given on *idha* ('here') or ('in this [Buddhism]'), by which the whole MC is placed at the beginning of the sentence. Because *idha* is given emphasis, the whole MC which is an assertive

statement is moved to the beginning of the sentence.

Apart from AdC which is introduced by relative particles, there are other conexts in which the *ya-* pronoun introduces AdC. Below are all the contexts in the selected texts, after discarding repetitions.

Table 4.57 Contexts of AdC in BJS introduced by the *ya–* pronoun and placed after MC

No.	Contexts
(159)	*hoti kho so bhikkhave samayo,* ***yaṃ*** *kadāci karahaci dīghassa addhuno accayena ayaṃ loko saṃvaṭṭati* (BJS 17.2, 3). 'But the time comes, sooner or later after a long period, when this world expands.'
(160)	***ṭhānaṃ*** *kho pan' etaṃ bhikkhave vijjati, yaṃ aññataro satto tamhā kāyā cavitvā itthattaṃ āgacchati* (BJS 18.6, 19.8, 20.11, 28.31). 'Monks, it is possible that some being may fall from that realm and come to this place.'
(161)	*appamattakaṃ kho pan' etaṃ bhikkhave oramattakaṃ sīlamattakaṃ,* ***yena*** *puthujjano Tathāgatassa vaṇṇaṃ vadamāno vadeyya* (BJS 3.7). 'Monks, it is for elementary, inferior matters of moral practice that the ordinary person would praise the Tathāgata.'

It is important to note that *yaṃ* in (159)-(161) does not have a syntactical function as *yaṃ* in § 4.1.2.5, i.e. the context of (93). While the latter is an adjective modifying a particular word which is left out as understood, the *yaṃ* in (159)-(161) is a *kiriyāparāmāsa*. In other words, all the above clauses are AdC with *yaṃ* functioning as an adverbial. What is

obvious in the above complex sentences is that a particular word in MC is topicalised. Hence topicalisation of MC. The topicalised words are a finite verb, i.e. *hoti* in (159), a noun subject, i.e. (160), and a subjective complement, i.e. *appamattakaṃ* in (161). It is worthy of note that the word *ṭhānaṃ* ('possibility [lit. place, ground]') in (160) is a stereotyped pattern or an idiomatic expression, which occurs many times in the Pāli canonical and non-canonical texts.[418]

In (161), *yena* may be optionally interpreted to mean that it is governed by a noun or substantive such as *ākārena* or *lakkhaṇena*, as commentaries usually explain. But again, syntactically the noun to be restored functions as *tatiyāvisesana* (adverbial instrumental). Semantically, *yena* modifies the whole sentence. The real subject of its main clause which is

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[418] There are two striking positions of the sentence in which *ṭhānaṃ* appears. First, it is placed right before RRC when it appears in MC. Among these contexts are: *ṭhānaṃ kho pan' etaṃ, sunakkhatta, vijjati yaṃ te acelo korakkhattiyo vyākarissati jānāmi, āvuso sunakkhatta, attano gatiṃ; kālakañcikā nāma asurā sabbanihīno asurakāyo, tatrāmhi upapannoti* (D III 7); *aṭṭhānaṃ kho etaṃ, mārisā, anavakāso, yaṃ ekissā lokadhātuyā dve arahanto sammāsambuddhā apubbaṃ acarimaṃ uppajjeyyuṃ, n' etaṃ ṭhānaṃ vijjati* (D II 225). See also D I 18, 20, 28, etc.; D III 30-33, 45, 60, 99; AN IV 253, 254. Second, the word *ṭhānaṃ* or its whole group: *ṭhānam etaṃ vijjati* is placed after a quoted sentence. This occurs often in both canonical and non-canonical texts. Examples include: *tatra, bhikkhave, ye te samaṇabrāhmaṇā ekaccasassatikā ekacca asassatikā ekaccaṃ sassataṃ ekaccaṃ asassataṃ attānañca lokañca paññapenti catūhi vatthūhi, te vata aññatra phassā paṭisaṃvedissantīti n' etaṃ ṭhānaṃ vijjati* (D I 43); *taṃ vata mā palujjīti n' etaṃ ṭhānaṃ vijjati* (D II 118); *tattha parato ghosassa saccānusandhissa desitassa atthaṃ avijānanto atthappaṭisaṃvedī bhavissatīti n' etaṃ ṭhānaṃ vijjati* (Pet 1, cf. Pet 2, 31, 32, etc.).

placed initially, if fully restored for semantic reasons, is, tentatively: *puthujjanassa tathāgatavaṇṇavadanalakkhaṇaṃ.* Its function is the same as that of the *yaṃ* of the *kiriyāparāmāsa* type.

(2) SPS

Like MC in BJS, MC in SPS which is modified by AdC also contains elements which are emphasised, by which the whole MC is topicalised. Below a negative particle *(na)* in MC of (162) is given emphasis:

Table 4.58 Contexts of AdC placed after MC in SPS

No.	Context
(162)	***na*** *kho me bhante garu,* ***yatth****' assa Bhagavā nisinno Bhagavantarūpā vā* (SPS 51.15). 'Lord, it is not inconvenient for me in a place where the Blessed One or someone like him might be seated.'

Here in (162), however, its verb is omitted as understood and the particle *na* appears at the beginning of the sentence, showing that it modifies the whole MC. When it is placed at the beginning of the sentence, it indicates the fact that the whole sentence is strongly assertive.

(3) BJSA

In BJSA, on the other hand, we find the placement of AdC after MC twice.[419] The contexts are below:

[419] There are some quotatives from the canonical texts as well but they are not scrutinised here. Their contexts can be found at: BJSA 27 (*yena, tena*), 27 (*yena*), 28 (*ye*), 34 (*yassa*),

Table 4.59 Contexts of AdC placed after MC in BJSA

No.	Contexts
(163)	[...] *sattānaṃ nānādhimuttikatā nānajjhāsayatā suppaṭividitā,* ***yāva*** *ca suṭṭhu paṭividitā* (BJSA 44). 'Various inclinations and intentions of beings are well realised and finally perfectly known [by the Blessed One].'
(164)	***tathā*** *dhammaṃ deseti,* ***yathā*** *keci saraṇāgamane patiṭṭhahanti* (BJSA 46). 'The [Blessed One] preaches his doctrines in such a way that some people establish [themselves] in the [Three] Refuges.'

The function of the adverbial particle *yāva* in the first context, i.e. (163) is doubtful. It seems to function as a conjunction meaning 'until [they are perfectly known]' rather than the usual *yāva/tāva* pair. It is more likely to be an authorial stylistic feature. In (164), on the other hand, we see that the word *tathā* is given emphasis. The word means 'in that way', which semantically is not quite clear. AdC introduced by *yathā* specifies, in its capacity as an adverbial, that the Blessed One preaches to people until they can establish themselves in the Triple Gem.

§ 4.3.4 Concluding remarks

What we can draw from the foregoing discussions is that, while in BJS and SPS the adverbial application of the *ya-* pronoun is prominent, it is

38 (ye), 44 (*yā*), 54 (*yassa*), 54 (*yā*), 54 (*yassa*), 54 (*yā*), 54 (*ye*), 66 (*yaṃ*), 66 (*yaṃ*), 66 (*yañ ca, yaṃ*).

seen relatively less in the BJSA. Yet, there is an obvious consistency from the early Pāli period down to the commentarial period: the predominance of RRC. This phenomenon continues to prevail until the NIA period. As to relative clauses in NIA, Masica informatively says that this period also saw the predominance of RRC.[420] Recently, Bubenik has remarked that relative clauses in Apabhraṃśa represent the characteristic relative-correlative construction of the type.[421]

As far as I can ascertain, AdC developed out of verbal modifers. They are expanded from them to be adverbial clauses. Because the *ya-* was used to connect nouns or substantives like conjunctions forming adverbial phrases right from the beginning, it can be used to expand verbal modifiers in the form of a separate sentence. One point stands out. The inflected *ya-* pronoun in BJS and SPS tends to have a strong tendency to have a fully inflectional value. The *ya-* pronoun which functions adverbially, known as *kiriyāparāmāsa,* is relatively less frequent. It tends to be superseded by indeclinable relative adverbs.

If we take into account all the contexts where *kiriyāparāmāsa* words appear, we can clearly set up general rules governing its operation. First, the term *kiriyāparāmāsa* is actually a term introduced by Pāli syntacticians to refer to the inflected *ya-* pronoun functioning as a sentential adverb, which is

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[420] Masica (1991: 402): 'It would seem that the general left-branching tendency of an SOV language has prevailed over the specifics of subordinator placement.'

[421] Bubenik (1998: 209), cf. Masica (1991: 402).

attested from early IE onwards. This inflected *ya-* may appear in any case form. Second, despite being inflected like other pronouns, the *ya-* does not have an inflectional value; therefore, it does not have its governing noun or substantive. Diachronically, the *ya-* is fully adverbial and there is strong support from IE and early Vedic for this claim.

BJS and SPS share similarities in two major syntactic features. First, RRC prevails. Second, the abverbial application of the *ya-* known as *kiriyāparāmāsa* or *kiriyāparāmasana* is common. However, the inflected *ya-* which functions adverbially occurs less often in BJS and SPS and is totally absent in BJSA. In other words, the inflected *ya-* pronoun tends to have a fully inflectional value in BJS and SPS and is rigid in BJSA. It has a very strong tendency to be superseded by relative adverbs. The placement of the *ya-* clause in BJS and SPS is contextually derived, as it depends entirely on its pragmatic applications. If the *ya-* introduces relative clauses which define an antecedent, its position is always before its main clause. However, this order is sometimes reversed if the main clause is emphasised. On the other hand, if it introduces a non-defining clause, it is always post-posed. If we do not take emphasis into account, we can formulate a usual order of clauses introduced by the *ya-*: RRC always takes the initial position in the sentence, DRC always follows its main clause and, finally, adverbial clauses which have the most flexible positions of all have three optional positions: at the beginning of the sentence, embedded centrally within the main clause (or before their verbs), and after the main clause. The case of the *yaṃ* of the *kiriyāparāmāsa* type which is placed after the main clause can be explained in two ways. First, it is

placed after its main clause because it functions adverbially, or it contains information which is non-defining in essence. Secondly, the emphasis is placed on the main clause.

I would like to propose that adverbial clauses are placed after main clauses because of the adverbial application of the *ya-*, which affects the shift of its whole clause. My proposal is that *ya-* introduces a clause and when *ya-* functions adverbially, all the components of the clause must be viewed as verbal modifers accordingly. The *ya-* which introduces AdC can be both a relative pronoun, which comes from all case forms and which function adverbially, and its derivatives (i.e. relative adverbs such as *yathā*). The crucial point is that it must function adverbially and does not have inflectional value. In other words, the inflectonal *ya-* pronoun in such contexts becomes merely a subordinating conjunction or a particle.

§ 4.5 Summary

There has been unanimous agreement among modern scholars that the IE relative pronoun *Áo-*, equivalent to Skt. *yá-,* Greek *öç-*, Hittite *kuit-*, Latin *quod-*, Gathic Av *hiiaṭ-* and Young Av *yáṭ-*, had in its earliest function as an adverbial application and later assumed the character of a *relativum* proper. The hallmark in the placement of clauses introduced by the *ya-* pronoun or its derivatives lies in the application of the *ya-*, which affects the placement of its clauses. The correct question to raise in dealing with the position of relative clauses in Indic is 'how is the *ya-* applied in each context?', rather than 'what is the original position of the relative clause?' The *ya-* clauses

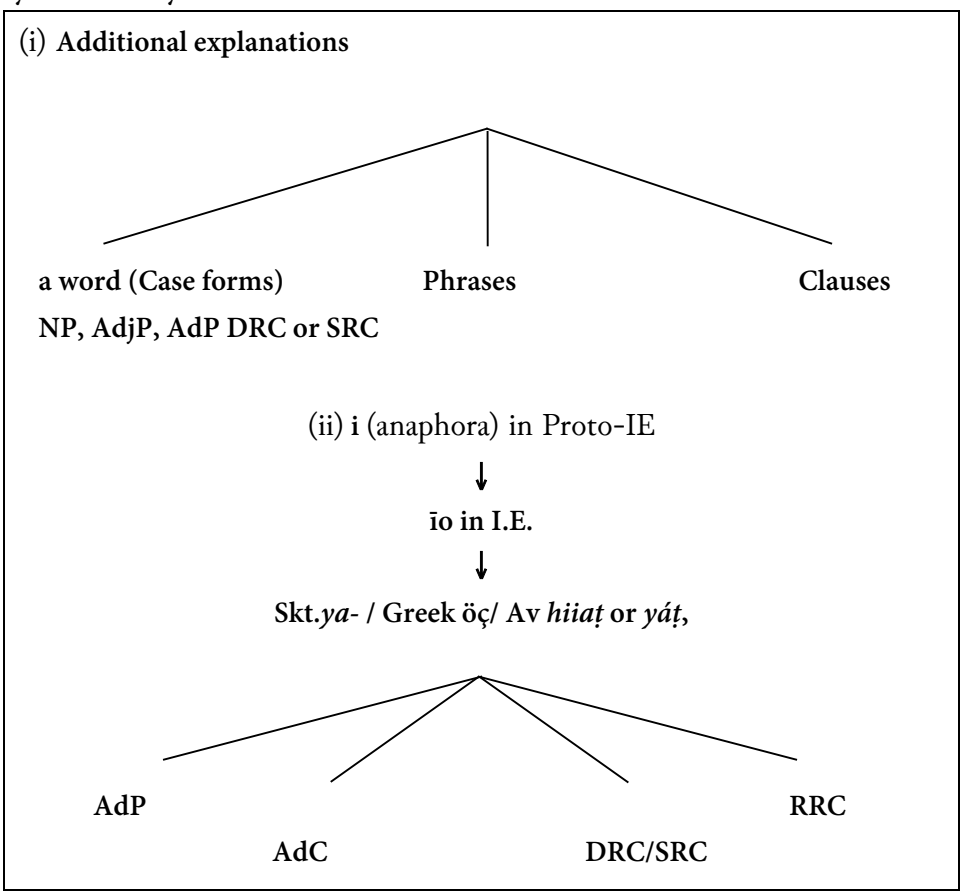
appear in many positions due to the *ya*'s pragmatic applications. Its classifications into RRC, DRC and AdCs are, therefore, mainly due to its performing distinctive functions.

The somewhat independent as well as adverbial usage of the *ya*-pronoun was inherited from IE. However, while traditional Skt. grammarians do not provide adequate explanations of the adverbial application of the *ya*-pronoun, modern Thai Pāli syntacticians introduce two striking syntactical terms. On the one hand, they introduce what is called *kiriyāparāmāsa* to explain an adverbial function of relative pronoun *ya-* which is traceable to IE. The term *kiriyāparāmāsa* is equivalent to *kiriyāparāmasana* which is found many times in commentarial and later exegetical texts, including the *yojanā* treatises composed by a Thai Pāli syntactician by the end of the 15th century. On the other hand, they bring the word *sākaṅkhagati* which is apparently derived from *sākaṅkha* found in Maṇis and Subodh-nṭ, into prominence. While the term *sākaṅkha* made its first appearance in Maṇis and Subodh-nṭ, it has been adopted and used by later Thai Pāli scholars, with some changes.

The introduction of the two terms has clarified the uninterrupted application of the *ya-* pronoun in a somewhat looser sense than traditionally used. While it is true that such an aspect is not much in use, it is traceable to IE and is by no means newly invented. The recognition of the somewhat independent usage of the *ya-* has paved the way for me to scrutinise the contexts in which the relative pronoun *ya-* occur and finally I can come to the conclusion, as mentioned in the above sections, that clauses which are introduced by *sākaṅkhagati* and *kiriyāparāmāsa* relative pronouns can be

placed after MC on certain grounds, as I have explained above. The *ya*'s development can be put in a diagram as follows.

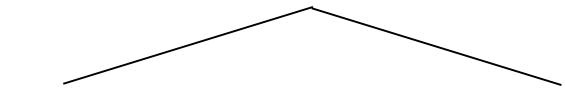
Table 4.60 An outline of the *ya*- functions in various contexts, diachronically and synchronically



Because dependent clauses are at times placed after their main clauses due to emphasis on the latter and adverbial application, their post-posing can by no means indicate the historical change of the language from one typology to another. In other words, the typology of Indic remains the same: it has the

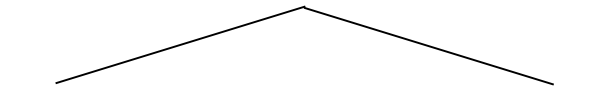
SOV genre. I disagree with Lehmann's statement: 'We hold that when an OV language becomes VO, embedded modifying sentences are placed after nouns in the commonly known relative clauses, and also adjectives and genitives; though the changes may take place over a long period of time. The changes in modifiers accordingly entail a massive disruption.'[422] As far as BJS, SPS and BJSA are concerned, it is evident that subordinate clauses introduced by the *ya-* or its derivatives display a strong tendency to be preposed. Positions of RRC in all three texts have a strong tendency to be placed before MC. The pattern which is found in the texts may be shown in a diagram as follows:

1. Complex sentence



This pattern is the norm. Many contexts such as those in (1)-(7) illustrate this. However, sometimes the reverse occurs when MC is topicalised. Therefore, we have another pattern:

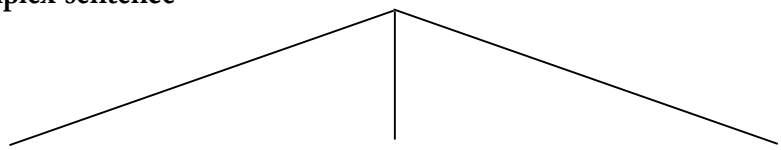
2. Complex sentence



[422] Lehmann (1975a: 156).

I provided evidence for this pattern in § 4.1.2 above. It is only rarely that a particular word in MC may be topicalised, in which case the word is placed at the beginning of the clause, which may be shown as follows:

3. Complex sentence



Topicalised word (taken from MC) Rel MC

The context of (79) illustrates this. The data from the selected texts suggests that the placement of MC before RRC occurs when: (1) a particular word in MC is topicalised and (2) when the whole MC is emphasised. A question may be raised: how early is its preposition? The answer is that the phenomenon goes back to IE. Sturtevant's study has revealed that the Hittite relative *kuiπ* is always preposed.[423] It is obvious that Pāli, as reflected in the two Pāli suttas under scrutiny, tends to have only RRC. Subsequently, when BJSA was composed, RRC was the norm., as there is no evidence of using DRC at all. It is clear that the author(s) of BJSA attempts to confine the application of the *ya-* pronoun to introduce relative clauses. I base my conclusion on the obvious fact that the *ya-* pronoun functioning adverbially is favourably minimised and is replaced by other relative adverbs. In other words, the *ya-* pronoun in BJSA in all contexts where it appears has a full inflectional value in comparison with that in BJS and SPS.

[423] Sturtevant (1930: 140ff.).

The unmarked position of DRC is usually after MC because it provides additional explanations in texts. I propose that the function of DRC resembles the additional *sarūpavisesana* nouns in that it provides inessential information, and that its placement after MC resembles the placement of non-restrictive *sarūpavisesana* nouns which supply extra information, after their finite verbs. Therefore, Holland's generalisation that: 'Because the relative clause (RC) and the resumptive or main clause (MC) are each grammatically self-contained, they may occur in either order: RC-MC, MC-RC'[424] does not hold true for BJS, SPS and BJSA. Positions of dependent clauses in these texts are determined significantly by functional or pragmatic application of the *ya-*, not because of their grammatically self-contained characteristics.

On the other hand, the position of AdC is similar to RRC, in that the whole AdC led by the *ya-* pronouns or relative particles restricts or modifies their correlatives in MC. Their unmarked position is # **AdC + MC #.** However, the reverse order # **MC + AdC #** occurs in the selected texts. In this respect, as I have shown, it is clear that a particular element in MC or a whole MC is topicalised.

I have observed that clauses are, in fact, modifiers which are sometimes preferred to words or phrases but nonetheless they all function similarly. Indeed, functions of dependent clauses resemble functions of individual words or phrases which are modifiers in that they all modify a

[424] Holland (1996: 326).

particular word within a sentence. Clauses are simply modifiers which have their own subjects and finite verbs apart from a word, words or a phrase. In this chapter, I claim that the position of dependent clauses depends on their function. There are three main functions of the *ya-*, which affects their arrangement in sentences:

(1) in RRC the *ya-* functionally introduces a clause which defines an antecedent in an MC. Therefore, it is placed before its main clause.
(2) In the non-RRC or DRC, the *ya-* introduces a clause which functionally provides additional non-essential information. Like the group of non-restrictive appositional nouns placed post-verbally, the non-RRC or DRC is placed after MC.
(3) in adverbial clauses the *-ya* leads a relative clause which functions as sentence adverb.

The evidence of AdC in the three selected texts shows two things:

(1) Like RRC, AdC also restricts the meaning of a particular word in MC. I find that while RRC restricts the meaning of a head noun or a head pronoun, a whole AdC restricts the meaning of its correlatives in MC, sometimes an adverbial particle, at others an inflectional correlative. In this respect, it is usually placed before MC.
(2) When MC is placed before AdC, it is evident that a word in MC is topicalised, a phenomenon which is also found in normal RRC.

> Both canonical and non-canonical texts show the preponderant occurrence of RRC, where subordinate clauses are always preposed in a usual situation, except when the main clause is emphasised, in which case the order will be reversed. This consistency remains obvious in BJS, SPS and becomes rigid in BJSA.

In sum, there are two strong phenomena which can be generalised from the evidence in the three selected texts: first, the evidence pinpoints pre-position of RRC as the norm for the complex sentences in usual situations, and secondly, the flexible order which allows postposition of RRC occurs in emphatic situations. Therefore, we can generalise that early Pāli is strongly characterised by the SOV pattern.

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CHAPTER V: CONCLUSION

As I stated in my introduction, the texts selected for study represent the earliest prose style, being the initial portion of the Dīghanikāya and thus of the Suttapiṭaka in its traditional arrangement and the classical commentarial style, being the initial portion of the commentary on the Dīghanikāya ascribed to Buddhaghosa. About five centuries separate the two texts in the form in which they have reached us. I have limited my study to these two bodies of text for pragmatic reasons, since a large sample would be too much to handle in one thesis. The starting point of my reseach was three related questions: is there any normative or standard word order in Pāli at all? And if there is, why do positions of words change from normative positions? Is there any difference in terms of word order between early Pāli canonical texts and non-canonical ones, both of which represent two different periods? My attempt in the previous three chapters is specifically to answer these related questions.

Judging from the data available in three selected texts, it is evident that there is a typological consistency of word order in Pāli. When the selected Pāli texts are scrutinised carefully, one never fails to see that the placement of some words in unusual positions, which is found from time to time in the

texts, occurs for specific reasons only. In other words, what is called normative word order does exist as it has been formulated mainly by Thai syntacticians. After a close examination of all the normative order of words in sentences, a hypothesis has been put forward in Chapter One that Pāli (as well as Skt.) has an inter-dependent relation, in which a modifying word is, more often than not, placed before its governing word, and that even though words seem to be equal, in the sense that they all are somehow inflectional or conjugational, some of them are more equal than others; there is a strong tendency to place modifying or dependent (subordinate) words (*upasarjana* in Skt. or *upasajjana* in Pāli) before their governing ones (*pradhāna* in Skt. or *padhāna* in Pāli) when words are woven together in the form of a sentence. Even when two sentences (clauses), one of which is dependent on another, are combined together, the dependent one has a very strong tendency to be placed before its main sentence.

It is argued that there exists a very close connection between defining *sarūpavisesana* words which define a particular noun and RRC which restricts a head noun or an antecedent in MC, and between post-verbal words and DRC/non-restrictive clauses which are placed after main clauses. They all are modifiers. Indeed, relative clauses are simply the extension of modifying words led by the *ya-* pronoun or its derivatives. The main feature underlying a syntactical construction which exists between two words is: # Modifiers (*upasajjana* words) + Modified (governing) words (*padhāna* words) #. Modified or governing words, either in the form of nouns, verbs or particles (i.e. prepositions as well as postpositions), are usually placed after modifying

words. The inter-dependent relation between the two words forms a phrase or a clause and many phrases and clauses form a compound or complex sentence. The best way to understand this underlying structure is to divide sentences into phrases. Below is an example:

Table 5.1 An example of inter-dependent relation of words in the selected texts

tatra sudaṃ Suppiyo paribbājako anekapariyāyena Buddhassa avaṇṇaṃ bhāsati

dhammassa avaṇṇaṃ bhāsati saṅghassa avaṇṇaṃ bhāsati (BJS 1.1)

'Suppiya the wanderer was abusing the Buddha, the dhamma and the sangha in numerous ways.'

We see that, except for the two introductory particles: *tatra sudaṃ,* all the other syntactical elements have an underlying interrelation, in which a dependent word is placed before its governing word. *Suppiyo* is syntactically referred to as *saññāvisesana* ('modifier in the form of name') of *paribbājako*. An adverbial instrumental (*tatiyāvisesana*): *anekapariyāyena* modifies the verbal phrases: *Buddhassa avaṇṇaṃ bhāsati dhammassa avaṇṇaṃ bhāsati saṅghassa avaṇṇaṃ bhāsati.* If we scrutinise each member of the verbal phrase, we see that *Buddhassa* modifies *avaṇṇaṃ,* which in turn modifies *bhāsati.* The same can be said of *dhammassa* and *saṅghassa.* Both modify *avaṇṇaṃ* which in turn modifies *bhāsati.* Thus, words are woven together by the inter-dependent relation into a phrase and phrases form a sentence. Because of this constraint, preferences for normative patterns of word order are consistent

and the textual evidence contributes to my earlier claim that SOV or the left-branching sentence pattern is the prevailing word order of the selected texts. What is striking while reading the three selected texts is that words are, in most cases, placed in the normative position, as laid down by Thai Pāli syntacticians. There are, of course, some variants. It is argued that these variants can be explained. Attempts are made in the subsequent Chapters, Two, Three and Four to offer explanations on the basis of textual evidence.

The next relevant question is: since governed words are supposed to be placed before governing words, how can the post-verbal placement of words in the texts, which is apparently the unusual position, be explained? Put differently, why are words placed in many unusual positions? This thesis is restricted to answering two relevant questions: the rationale behind a post-verbal placement of words in sentences and the order of relative clauses. A closer study of facts gathered from the selected texts reveals that two bodies of texts, i.e. BJS together with SPS and BJSA, share remarkable similarities. There are seven major causes which trigger off final placement in the three selected texts (1) bringing extra information, (2) commentalisation, (3) deemphasis when other words are topicalised, (4) adverbialisation, (5) authorial or literary style or preferences which are peculiar to specific texts, (6) stereotyped or idiomatic expressions found in other Pāli texts, and (7), least of all, metrical influences. These patterns can be shown as follows:

Table 5.2 Patterns found to explain post-verbal words

Pattern I: # S + FV/FVP + additional Information #

Pattern II: # S + FV/FVP + commentalisedWords #
Pattern III: # S + FV/FVP + Unemphatic Words #
Pattern IV: # S + FV/FVP + Adverbials #
Pattern V: # S + FV/FVP + # Authorial Style #
Pattern VI: # S + FV/FVP + stereotyped or Idiomatic Phrases#
Pattern VII: # S + FV/FVP + Metrical Influence #

Literary or authorial style, in particular, plays a crucial role; the use of style reflects the fact that the authors have a number of different ways of expressing sentences without affecting the message. As long as the meaning of the message is not disturbed, the authors can choose the length and complexity of the sentence as well as the words, which together form their styles. It has been argued that with the factual evidence gathered from the selected texts, it is obvious that the grammatical rules of Pāli in both bodies of texts are basically the same. Put differently, from the period of the two early Pāli texts down to the early commentarial text Pāli does not change its typology of order. It remains strongly SOV. Even though both bodies of texts have a strong tendency to be of the SOV type, there are some striking differences. First and foremost is the difference in terms of genre, which dramatically affects the arragement of words in sentences. BJS and SPS are basically composed in dialogue style, which is typical of early Indic language and is reflected in such texts as the Upaniṣads. This feature allows topicalisation in BJS and SPS more than in BJSA because the former are culled from speech situations. While BJS and SPS are among the earliest Pāli canonical texts, supposedly composed during the Buddha's lifetime, BJSA represents the early stage of commentarial texts. The outward genre of the

latter is plainly narrative, and is marked off from BJS and SPS in that it contains longer compounds, clauses and complex sentences. BJSA has also developed a particular kind of complex sentence, in which main nouns or head nouns become lemmata and accordingly are placed initially in the sentence, followed by RCC. This stylistic structure is typical of BJSA, and is not found in BJS and SPS.

With evidence taken from the selected texts, it is also argued that the placement of RCC before MC resembles the placement of defining *sarūpavisesana* nouns before governing nouns. It is explained that RRC has two functions. First, it is used when the head noun is not definite and secondly, when the head noun, even if already definite, needs to be clearly specified. DRC and non-RRC resembles certain cases in *codas*, in that they provide additional explanations to clarify nouns. The initial placement of MC occurs when a particular word in MC or a whole MC is topicalised, in which case RCC is moved to be placed after MC. It has been argued that topicalisation in complex sentences occurs in three ways. First, a particular word in MC is given emphasis. Secondly, the whole MC is emphasised. And thirdly, in terms of the order of words, even though both bodies of texts maintain the SOV genre, BJSA is sometimes particularly marked by longer relative sentences and compounds. Some typical styles of relative clauses not available in BJS and SPS are also found in this text.

Both bodies of texts show similarities in that the predominant type of relative clause is RCC and the relative-correlative construction has been the norm. BJS, SPS and BJSA show the overwhelming use of RRC pattern in

which MC is placed after it. Evidence of the placement of RCC before MC, when the former restricts or specifies a head noun in the latter supports my hypothesis that modifying words have a strong tendency to be placed before their governing words. As far as the evidence goes, the major difference between the two canonical suttas and the BJSA lies in two facts. First, the *ya*-pronoun in BJSA tends to have an inflectional value. Relative pronouns which function adverbially and which are traceable to PIE are merely stereotyped patterns which recur regularly in many other early Pāli texts. Secondly, while restrictive relative clauses in BJS and SPS tend to be short, plain and are taken from speech situations, those in the BJSA are rather longer, more complicated and sometimes have another RC inserted inside. Thirdly, BJS and SPS have more stereotyped patterns in the form of phrases and clauses, which recur in other early Pāli texts as well, more than BJSA. Even though the authorship of both BJS and SPS cannot be ultimately proved with much certainty, the repetition of stereotyped patterns in various texts indicates that the author(s) or compilers of the texts, from whom BJS and SPS are transmitted, are fully familiar with the expressions of them in many different contexts. The features of complex sentences in BJS, SPS, and BJSA can be put in a pattern as follows:

Table 5.3 Patterns of complex sentences in the selected texts

Pattern I: # RCC + MC # (Normative)
Pattern II: # MC + RCC # (Marked)
Pattern III: # MC + DRC & Non-restrictive Clauses # (Normative)
Pattern IV: # AdC + MC # (Normative)
Pattern V: # MC + AdC # (Marked)

Conclusion

The relativiser *ya-* or its derivatives usually leads relative clauses. However, they are moved to the second, third, fourth or later position, as the case may be, when some other words in the same clause are topicalised or when there are other introductory elements, particularly vocatives and other introductory particles such as enclitics, in which case they are sometimes moved further inside the clause.

Contributions on Pāli syntax made by Thai Pāli syntacticians are indispensable and particularly thought-provoking. Even though in many respects these Thai scholars, ancient and modern, do not provide full answers as to the placement of post-verbal words and relative clauses, they introduce certain technical terms, namely *sarūpavisesana, sākaṅkhagati* and *kiriyāparāmāsa* to identify the contextual functions of some syntactical elements, which is vital for my own investigation. Overall, the hypothesis, which is put forward in Chapter One that Pāli sentences in both bodies of texts mainly contain the left-branching or SOV pattern, and that various changes of placement in the texts are for specific reasons and can be explained, is strongly supported by a plethora of evidence in the selected texts.

Nevertheless, many questions still remain unanswered and more thorough examinations of word order in various texts of various periods should follow. As I stated in Chapter One (p. 8), relative clauses and the placement of words after finite verbs occur regularly in other texts which constitute *nikāya* or *piṭaka* as well. In particular, the study of the phenomena in Vinaya and Abhidhamma texts could follow up my study in order to see how relative clauses in these texts are placed, why words in these texts are

placed post-verbally, and whether or not the authors have different reasons for the placement. In addition, as this thesis confines itself to post-verbal words and relative clauses because of limited space, it leaves aside the position of many other words such as enclitics,[425] dependent nominals (when a number of them appear to modify a particular governing word) and adverbials. It is only when a comprehensive investigation of all aspects of the order of words in various Pāli texts has been carried out that we can formulate generalisations covering all important aspects of word order in early Pāli texts. This will certainly contribute vitally to the understanding of the syntactical structure of Pāli and, more importantly, the essence of Buddhism in early Pāli texts.

[425] Dik (1995: 31-32) refers to these cnclitics as "postpositives" which occur in "peninitial position". Wackernagel (1892) scrutinised enclitics in IE. placed in the second position and later formulated the theory widely known as Wackernagel's Law.

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Appendix: Brief notes on modern

Thai Pāli syntacticians cited in this thesis

Ñāṇakitti, Phra (15th century). The author of, *inter alia*, *Aṭṭhayojanās* in the 15th century Thailand to explain syntactical structures of Pāli sentences in the commentaries. He was ordained in the North of Thailand and went to Sri Lanka to learn Buddhism and Pāli. He was one of the most prominent Pāli scholars of the Lanna period. [426]

King Mongkut (1804-1868).[427] His formal title was Phra Bāt Somdet Phra Chomklao Chao Yuhua or King Rama IV of the present Chakri Dynasty. He was ordained as a monk and later became the founder of the Dhammayuttika Order, which he calls in full 'Saddhammayuttika'. His reasons for the establishment of the new order to reform the sangha in Thailand are given in detail in his Pāli compositions.[428] Apart from helping Thailand escape colonialism, Mongkgut has also been regarded as the most prominent Thai Pāli scholar in the 19th

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[426] See other detail in Saddhātissa (1990: 15); von Hinüber (1996) and (1997).

[427] See also Saddhātissa (1990: 45)

[428] See King Rama IV (1972).

century. He made Wat Bovornivesviharn the centre of Pāli studies par excellence. It is recorded that his student monks, whom he sent to Sri Lanka in search of Pāli texts, conversed well in Pāli during the time when English was not well known. Apart from composing many texts in Pāli, Mongkut also produced the Ariyaka characters for writing down Pāli texts.

Vajirañāṇavarorasa, Prince Monk (1859-1921). He is Mongkut's royal son and the 10th Supreme Patriarch of Thailand. Vajirañāṇavarorasa succeeded his royal father and became Lord Abbot of Wat Bovornivesviharn during 1892-1910. He edited large parts of the Pāli Canon which constitutes the Syāmarath Edition, published by MRF. He translated many Pāli scriptures into Thai and composed a large number of books explaining Pāli, many of which are used as textbooks or references even today. He founded Mahāmakuṭa Rājaviyālaya, better known among foreign scholars as King Mongkut Royal Academy, which used to be the first college in the Kingdom, and became its Chancellor. Later, seeing that the college was in its initial project to educate monks of the Dhammayuttika Order, King Chulalongkorn (1868-1911), his brother asked him to found another college for monks of the Mahānikāya Order. It was only then that Mahādhātuvidyālaya, formerly established as a Pāli school, was renamed Mahāchula-longkorn Rājavidyālaya. Vajirañāṇavarorasa also modified the Thai traditional Pāli studies into nine grades (parientham). When King

Chulalongkorn established the first secular university in Thailand, Chulalongkorn, Vajirañāṇavarorasa was also asked to draw up the curriculum while Prince Damrong Rājānubhāb (1864-1943), Mongkut's youngest son, was in charge of the administrative work. He was invited to be Member of the Royal Society of Great Britain and Ireland.

Sophonganaporn, Phra (Charoen Suvaṭṭhano [1913-]). He is the late Supreme Patriarch of Thailand. His original name was Phra Mahā[429] Charoen Suvaṭṭhano. He finished the 9th grade of the traditional Thai Pāli studies and later produced the most famous book on Pāli syntax,[430] which expands the theories previously formulated by Vajirañāṇa-varorasa. He is also one of the active monks who made attempts to establish the modern Mahamakut Buddhist University.[431] Later, he became seriously interested in meditation and has good connections with forest monks affiliated to the Dhammayuttika Order. He is well known as a meditation master, having taught meditation to both Thai and foreigners at Wat Bovornivesviharn for more than four decades.

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[429] 'Phra' is a Thai word derived from 'vara' (noble) in Pāli and has been used to refer to "Buddhist monks". Sometimes it is also used to prefix things which are invaluable such as the Pāli Canon, which is called in Thai as 'Phra Traipidok' (<*tripiṭaka* [Skt.]). 'Phra Mahā' is a title used to introduce monks who have completed at least the 3rd grade of Pāli studies.

[430] AVEPS, Vols. I & II.

[431] Bodhiprasiddhinand (2002).

The preceptor of Phra Mahā Charoen was the former 13th Supreme patriarch, Somdet Phra Sangharāt Chao Krom Luang Vajirañāṇa-vaṃsa, who was a student of Vajirañāṇavarorasa. Works on Pāli syntax by Phra Mahā Charoen, therefore, more or less reflect the tradition of Pāli composition which was handed down within Wat Bovornives-viharn. He was also the caretaker of King Bhūmipol when the latter was ordained as a monk and dwelled at Wat Bovornivesviharn.

Udomyānamolī, Phra (Mānit Thāvaro). He is currently Lord Abbot of Wat Samphanthawong, which also belongs to the Dhammayuttika Order. He finished the 9th Grade of Pāli studies and has been working for MRF as one of the senior editorial staff members for more than thirty years. He is currently one of the board of directors of MRF and member of the Sangha Supreme Council. His work (MCP) is meant to be a manual for monks who are undertaking the courses of Pāli grades 4, 5, 6.

Sommasarn, Jaweng. He is an ex-monk who completed his Pāli scholar Grade 9 at Wat Bovornivesviharn. He taught Pāli at this monastery for several years before disrobing.

Thongphakdī, Prasarn. He is an ex-monk and used to live at Wat Boromnivās, which is affiliated to the Dhammayuttika Order. He completed the 8th Grade of Pāli studies and taught Pāli at his monastery many years before disrobing. His book, which he co-authored with Sommasarn,

was the product of his long experiences in teaching how to compose Pāli.

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