

SAMYAG-VAK SERIES-VI

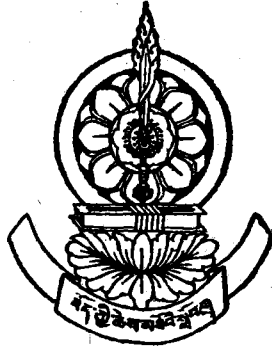
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Aspects of Buddhist Sanskrit

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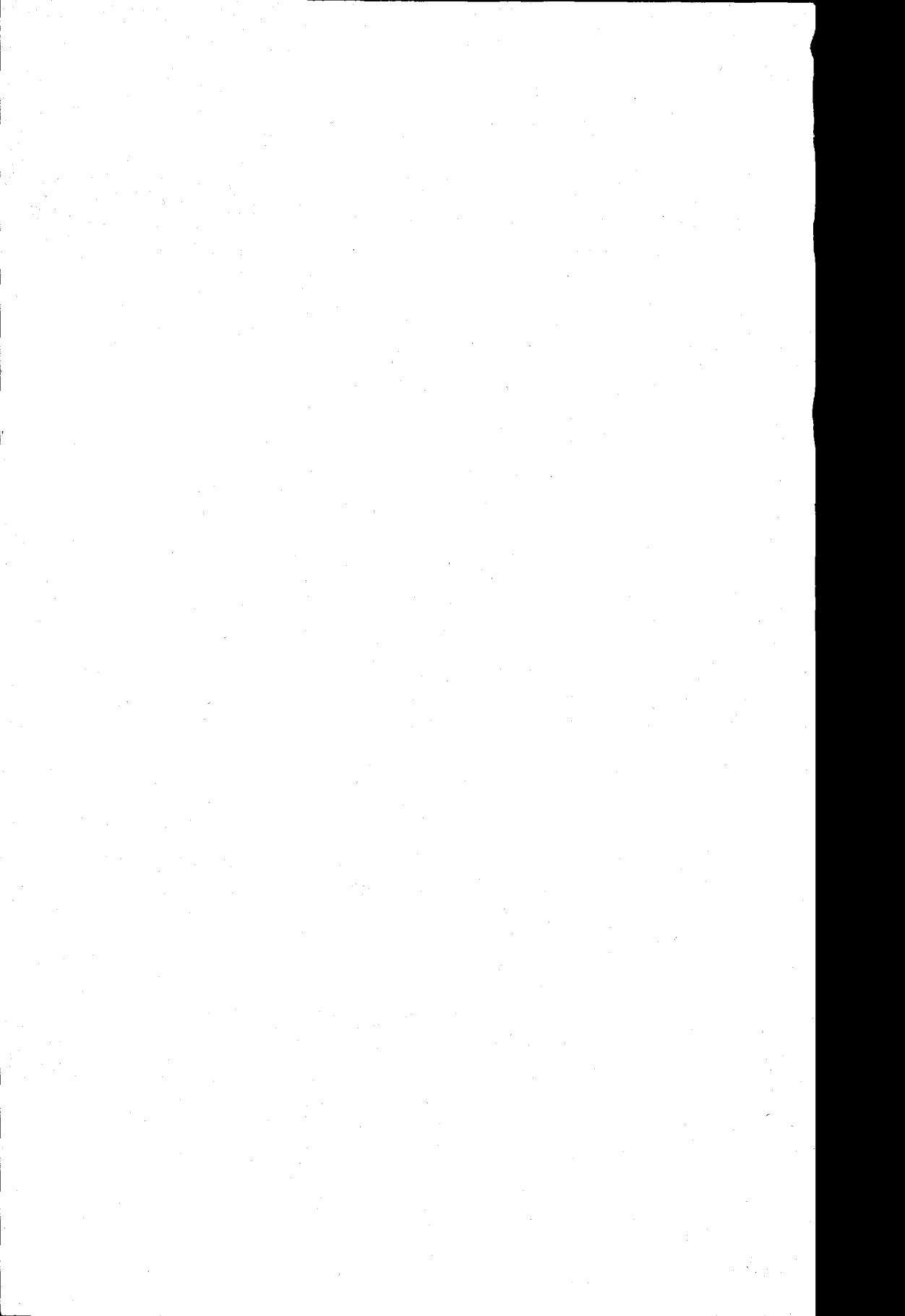


भोट विद्या संस्थानम्

CENTRAL INSTITUTE OF HIGHER TIBETAN STUDIES
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The Position of Some Anaphorical Forms Inside the Ślokas of Bhartrhari, Bhavya, Dharmakīrti and Kumāriila

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§ 1.- This research is just the first step into a larger investigation on the position of the pronominal forms and the particles inside the philosophical śloka. Due to the bulk of the material, it was decided to limit oneself, in the following pages, to some forms of the anaphoric pronoun *sa/ta-*.

The corpus investigated consists of

1. the 128 ślokas of the first chapter of Kumāriila's *Ślokavārttika*, entitled *Pratijñā sūtra*. The text used here is that of the edition Dv. Shastri, Pracya Bharati Series 10, Varanasi 1978. English translation by G.Jhā, Sri Garib Das Oriental Ser.8, Delhi (reprint) 1983.

2. the first 128 ślokas of Bhartrhari's *Vākyapadiya* according to the text edited by W.Rau. (*Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*, Band 42/4, Wiesbaden 1977)¹. Edition and French translation by M. Biarreau, Publications de l'Institut de Civilisation Indienne 24, Paris, 1964; English translation by K.A.S.Iyer, Deccan College Building Centenary and Silver Jubilee Series 26, Poona 1965.)

3. 128 ślokas of the *Madhyamakahrdayakārikās* of Bhavya, that is -the 104 ślokas of chapter 8 (*Vedāntatattvaviniścaya*) in the edition-translation of O.Qvarnström, Lund Studies in African and Asian Religions, Vol.4, Lund 1989. -24 ślokas of chapter 9 (*Mīmāṃsātattvanirṇayāvatāra*) in the edition-translation of Sh.Kawasaki, Studies 1976, 1987, 1988. Institute of Philosophy, University of Tsu-kuba².

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1. There are some more ślokas in Rau's edition than in Biarreau's, and consequently, their numbering differs.
 2. Bhavya's quotations below are accompanied by Q or K according their source.
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K.N. MISHRA (ed.): *Aspects of Buddhist Sanskrit: The Proceedings of the International Symposium on the Language of the Sanskrit Buddhist Texts*, (Oct. 1-5, 1991), Central Institute of Higher Tibetan Studies, Sarnath, Varanasi, INDIA, 221007, 1993.

4. the first 128 *ślokas* of Dharmakīrti's *Pramānavārttika* in the text edited by R.Gnoli, Serie Orientale Roma 23, Roma 1960. Quite a number of those *ślokas* have been translated

-in German by E.Frauwallner, Beiträge zur Apohalehre, Kleine Schriften, Wiesbaden 1982, pp.367-450 (= *ślokas* 31-185); E.Steinkellner, Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde Südasiens 1971, pp.175-211; T.Vetter, Erkenntnisprobleme bei Dharmakīrti, Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-historische Klasse, Sitzungsberichte 245/2, Wien 1964.

-in English by V.A.Van Bijlert, Epistemology and Spiritual Authority, Wiener Studien zur Tibetologie und Buddhismuskunde 20, Wien 1989¹.

§ 2.- As known, Bhartrhari (460-520 A.D.?) and Kumāriila (7th c.) are the defenders of the orthodox or Brahmanic thought, whereas Bhavya (500-570) and Dharmakīrti (600-660) are top expounders of the Buddhist doctrine. Still, impressionistically they write in the same way, and this study aims at checking whether this first feeling is justified or whether there are differences of language and syntax between the former and the latter two, in other words, if the Sanskrit of the Buddhist authors is in some way specific.

No doubt, the *ślokas* of all of them are metrically normal. They count 32 feet distributed over -2 hemistichs

-4 *pādas* divided by caesuras which only exceptionally cut a word into two.

-8 groups of 4 syllables. The 1st, the 3rd, the 5th and the 7th of those groups are free as regards the quantity of the syllables, but in the 2nd, the 4th, the 6th and the 8th groups, the first syllable is short (rare exceptions²). In the same groups, the 2nd syllable is almost always long. The 3rd syllable is long in the 2nd and 6th groups, but short in the 4th and 8th ones.

1. The translations below are either quoted verbatim or modified in order to be closer to the text and to concentrate the attention on the forms dealt with. Some of them are drawn on the French or the German.

2. See infra exx.22(Bh), 33(Bv), 38(Bv), 95(D), 136(D).

So the metrical scheme reads as follows (= or):

1st hemistich : - 0 - 0 - 0 - 0 / 0 - - : 0 / - 0 - 0 - 0 - 0 / 0 - 0 - 0

2nd hemistich : - 0 - 0 - 0 - 0 / 0 - - : 0 / - 0 - 0 - 0 - 0 / 0 - 0 - 0

§ 3.- 512 of those *ślokas*, that is 1024 hemistichs and 2048 *pādas*, have been examined. For the pronominal forms studied below, an easy principle of classification is their location inside the *pāda*. That provides 8 different places :

1st *pāda* : initial/inside ; 2nd *pāda* : initial/inside; 3rd *pāda* : initial/inside; 4th *pāda* : initial/inside.

But that classification is still too rough and must be made more accurate by taking into account the wider context of the hemistich and the *śloka* itself, particularly when we are confronted with correlative pairs formed by a subordinate clause, introduced e.g. by *ya-* or *yadī*, and a main clause.

In the table given § 4. the forms of the anaphorical pronoun occurring in the 4 samples¹ have been collected with the number of their attestations. Note that *tasyai*, *tau*, *tābhyām*, *tāni*, *tasmai* and *tābhyah* are lacking. *Tasmāt* and *tena* may be non-pronominal but rather sentence connectives ("therefore, thus")²; so they are not considered. *Tataḥ* neither, unless its meaning is not adverbial ("then")³. *Tasmin*, three times present with Bhavya (Bv)⁴, is frequently replaced by adverbial *tatra* (ratio 3 : 7 for Bv; 3 : 18 for the 4 writers together) which has been listed in the table. Are treated below the forms *sa* and *sā* which are the commonest (64 exx.), as well as *tat* (39 exx.) and *tasya/teṣām/tāsām* (35 exx.). The other forms are not frequent enough for deserving a full study.

1. A fifth shorter sample from Nāgārjuna is also supplied, see infra note 1, p.33.
2. In Bhavya, Q 59b *tena pūrṇam kuto jagat* "How could (then) the whole world be full of it ?", *tena* is clearly a pronoun. See also Dharmakīrti 104a. In Bharṭṥhari 66b (ex.121) *anyat tasmād vivicyate, tasmāt* is pronominal too.
3. In Dharmakīrti 63b *bhedo nāsti tato 'paraḥ* "There is no other difference than that one", *tataḥ* is pronominal : 1b *hetvābhāsās tato 'pare* "(Reasons) other than this one are fallacious" is also worth mentioning.
4. Bv Q5b *tasmin pralīnā vidvāṃso/...* "Wise men absorbed in Him..." ; Q 9a *tasmin sarvāṇi bhūtāni/bhavanti...* "All elements exist in that..." ; Q 104b *dhiyām aviṣaye tasmin/...* "In that which is not an object of the mind..."

§ 4.- Table of the pronominal forms

Form	Bhavya(Bv)	Bhartrhari(Bh)	Dharmakīrti(D)	Kumārila(Ku)	Total	Nāgārjuna(N)
SA	12	13	13	6	44	7
TAM		4	4		8	
TENA	3		10	8	21	
TATAH	3		4	2	9	3
TASMĀT				3	3	
TASYA	4	12	6	5	22	4
TASMIN	3				3	
TAD	14	4	13	8	39	6
SĀ	3	4	7	4 ¹	18	2
TĀM	1	1 (tām tām)	1 (tām tām)	1	4	2
TAYA			2		2	
TASYAH			2		2	
TASYĀM			1		1	
TE (dual)		2		2	4	
TAYOH	1	2			3	1
TE (plural)						2
TAN		1	2		3	
TAIH		1			1	
TEBHŪYAH				1	1	1
TESĀM	1	3	3	1	8	
TESU		3	1		4	
TAH			3		3	
TABHIH			1		1	
TĀSAM			6		6	
TĀU			1		1	
TATRA	7	4	3	4	18	1
						29 for
Total	51	53	85	45		75 ślokas ²

* * *

1. Ku 119a is not included because the words *sā hi tasya* introducing the *śloka* are a quotation of the *Sābara-bhāṣya*.
2. See also infra n.1, p.33. *Tat-*^o as the first element in a compound has not been envisaged in this study.

Part 1 : The position of SA/SĀ

Among the four writers under scrutiny, Kumārila (Ku) is the sparest in using these forms. Only 10 occurrences equally distributed through both hemistichs (5 : 5) are met with.

I. SA/SĀ in the Ślokavārttika

§ 5.- Once *sa* is initial of *śloka* by opening the first *pāda*, a string of 6 words.

Ex.1 Ku66a : *sa nāsty atrāthaśabdasye/ty adhyāhārādikalpanam*

Such cannot be said to be the case with the word *atha*, and, therefore, there must be a supplying of ellipsis etc.

The preceding hemistich (65b) begins with *yadi : yadi lokaprasiddhārthagrahaṇam kriyate pade* "If the word is always to be taken in its well-known sense". *Sa* is here a sort of correlative of *yadi*, and, as such, is fronted in the main clause. Note that, in more than one Buddhist example, *sa* in that capacity goes down to a rear or a final position, see exx.33, 34.

§ 6.- *Sā* inside the first *pāda*.

Ex.2 Ku52a : *anyāyyakalpanā sāpi/...*

That (assumption) for its part (which...) is unlawful

The predicate precedes *sāpi*, although this latter should have occupied the initial as the correlative of *yā* occurring in 51b and referring back to the head *vyakhyā* ("assumption") standing in 51a.

Ex.3 Ku44a : *yoktā sā vedavākyaṇām/...*

That (well-known character) which has been mentioned (as applied) to the Vedic sentences...

Sā picks up *prasiddhatā* "well-known character" of 43b.

§ 7.- 2nd *pāda* : initial/inside.

- Ex.4 Ku(93b-)94a : (...*niyamo yaḥ...*) *avadhitvam anāśritya / so*
'vasanam apekṣate

That (injunction which...), not having laid a limit...stands
in need of an end

This is an example -and not the only one- of a tripartite *śloka*.
Pādas 1-2 are disconnected from *pāda* 4 governing them by a
gerundive or a causal ablative making up the 3rd *pāda*. Cf.ex.38
and also exx.15, 22, 49, 59.

- Ex.5 Ku116a : .../*dharmāḥ sā vātha vā dvayam*
(...occurring as) duty or that (knowledge) or both of them

This string is not significant.

§ 8.-Sa/Sā in the 3rd *pāda*.

A.INITIAL

- Ex.6 Ku99b : *so 'yam pāthakramasyārthād/bādha ity avagamyate*
It is understood that this is (a case of) setting aside of the
sequential order by the meaning
So is kept at the initial as a component of the deictic pair
so'yam.¹ See ex.45.

B.INSIDE

- Ex.7 Ku 61b : *na ca so 'sty athaśabdasya/...*
And that (ascertainment of the meaning) of the word
atha is not (present)...
Priority of the negation over the anaphoric that picks up
vedārthanirṇayaḥ closing 61a.
- Ex.8 Ku108b : *praveśaḥ. so 'py adṛṣṭārtha / iti naiveha sūtritaḥ*
(...)the (former) return. That this (return) aims at an
unseen result has not been touched upon here.

1. For *so'yam* in a *Brāhmaṇa*, see J.M.Verpoorten, *L'ordre des mots dans*
l'Aitareya-brāhmaṇa (Liège-Paris, 1977), § 334.

So is got interior because a word of the sentence encompassed in the hemistich 108a has been rejected ahead 108b, but actually it opens its own meaning unit.

Ex.9 Ku115b : *jñānopasarjanā saiva/...*

That (desire) exclusively belongs to the knowledge...
In this *pāda* we have the usual order predicate-anaphoric subject.¹ See ex.2.

§ 9.-Let us mention the only case of *sa* standing in the 4th *pāda*.

Ex.10 Ku5b : *nesyate yaḥ parastho 'pi / sa svayam grhyate katham*
The (fault) which is not admitted for the others, how can it be sound in his own case?

Sa is still more disposed to open *pāda* 4 that it is correlative of *yaḥ*, but a conflict is likely to have taken place between it and *katham* for the first slot. *Sa* won the victory and *katham* went back to the end of the clause. Compare with D96b = ex.64 and 57b = ex.102.

II. SA/SĀ in the Vākyapadiya

Bhartrhari (Bh) sparingly uses S/SĀ in the first hemistich and at the onset of the 3rd *pāda*; he preferably puts it inside the 3rd *pāda* and in the 4th. Ratio 6:12.

§ 10.- *Sa* is initial of *śloka* in

Ex.11 Bh116a : *sa manobhāvam āpadya/...*

That (speech), turning into *manas*...
Sa picks up a notion lying in *śloka* 115.

Is to be joined here

Ex.12 Bh131a : *na so 'sti pratyayo loke / yaḥ...*

In this world, there is no idea that..

1. On this type of clause in the *Aitareya-brāhmaṇa*, see Verpoorten, o.c., § 300.

The negation is fronted; so is used as an adjective modifying *pratyayo*. As such, it is willing to occupy the initial of this inverted bipartite structure (because the main clause comes in front of the *ya*-clause and not the contrary).

§11.- The 3 occurrences of *sa* in the 2nd *pāda* take place in predicative strings. In the first example, *sa* is adjectival rather than pronominal.

Ex.13 Bh125a: ... /*sa cchandasyaḥ prajāpatiḥ* //

This Prajāpati is made up with meters...

Ex.14 Bh62a : *yo ya uccāryate śabdo/niyatam na sa kāryabhāk*
No enunciated term is necessarily submitted to the
grammatical operation

The sequence *sa*+predicate can be contrasted with the other way around attested in

Ex.15 Bh49a: *nādasya kramajātatvān / na pūrvo na paraś ca saḥ* //
Since the resonance is taking place in succession, that
(speech) is neither before nor after
Here a rare case of *pāda*-final *sa* in the sample of
Bhartrhari¹. See also ex.20.

§12.-*Sa* opens the 3rd *pāda* as the correlative of *ya*-in

Ex.16 Bh 105a-b: *yaḥ saṃyogavibhāgābhyām / karaṇair upajanyate*
sa sphoṭaḥ //

The *sphoṭa* is what is produced by the organs through contact and separation

Sa is also the first of the 2 words constituting the main clause.

§ 13.- More popular is the insertion of SA/SĀ in the
3rd

pāda.

Ex.17 Bh16b : *iyam sā mokṣamāṇānām / ajihmā rājapaddhatiḥ*

1. *Pāda*- or hemistich-final *sā* is more frequent with Dharmakīrti.

It is the straight royal road to take for those who desire salvation
The couple *iyam s̄a* is unfrequent, particularly with that order¹.

Ex.18 Bh 28b : *prāṇinām iva s̄a caiṣā*²/ *vyavasthā nityatocyate*

Like for the living creatures, that definition is said to be the "eternality"

Ex.19 Bh 84 b : *āvṛtṭyā na tu sa granthaḥ / pratyāvṛtti nirūpyate*

The passage is not perfectly learnt at each repetition separately

Sa is more clearly an adjective bearing on *grantha* than, in ex.18, *saiṣā* when it modifies *vyavasthā*.

Ex.20 Bh 87 b : *pratipattur aśaktiḥ s̄a / grahaṇopāya eva saḥ*

It is incapacity from the side of the addressee : it is a means to the (final) cognition

The predicates conveying fresh information are fronted.

Ex.21 Bh 120a-b : *yaḥ śabdaḥ...nopalabhyate//*

*vyajanād vāyur iva sa / svanimittāt pratīyate*³

That speech which is not perceived is known, like the air, when it is manifested by its own cause

4 of these 5 quotations present non-self-contained pādas. In other words, it is the hemistich that conveys a complete meaning (exx.17, 18, 19, 21).

§ 14.- *SA/SĀ* appears 7 x in the 4th pāda.

A. INITIAL

Ex.22 Bh121b : *vivartamānā sthāneṣu / saiṣā bhedaṃ prapadyate*⁴

Unfolding at the articulation points, that (verbal potency) reaches differentiation

1. Cf. supra ex.6.

2. *Saiṣā* occurs in ex.22 again. For *sa-eṣa* in the *Aitareya-brāhmaṇa*, see *Verpoorten* o.c., § 320.

3. 7th foot short in the first pāda.

4. 5th foot long in the first pāda.

Sā-eṣā is correlative of the relative string *yā śaktir yā ca...* of 121a (ex.115), but severed from it by a participial group encompassed in *pāda* 3. Threefold structure as in ex.4 etc.

Ex.23 Bh33b : *viśiṣṭadravyasambandhe / sā śaktiḥ pratibadyate //*
In case of connection with a specific substance, that power is countered.
Sā is not pronominal but adjectival ; it modifies *śaktiḥ*.

Ex.24 Bh50b : *tatpravṛttim ivānveti / sa dharmāḥ sphoṭanādayoḥ //*
It follows, as it were, the moving of that one ; such is the character of the *sphoṭa* and the resonance.

B. INSIDE

Ex.25 Bh87b = ex.20.

Ex.26 Bh48b : *karāṇebhyo vivṛttena / dhvaninā so 'nugṛhyate*
That (speech) is assisted by a sound manifested by the organs.

Ex.27 Bh82b : *visayendriyayor iṣṭaḥ / saṃskāraḥ. sa kramo dhvaneḥ*
A disposition is acknowledged for sense and object.
Such is the process for the sound.
Such brief end of hemistich is not unknown elsewhere. See D94a = ex.48.

Ex.28 Bh 107b : *ghaṇṭādīnām ca śabdeṣu / vyakto bhedaḥ sa dṛśyate*
In the sounds of bells etc., that distinction is clear
Undoubtedly, *sa* is an adjective postponed after its head *bhedaḥ*. See D33a = ex.51.

III. SA/SĀ in the work of Bhavya (Bv)

The first 128 or so *ślokas* of Bv contain 16 forms of *sa/sā*.

§ 15.- There is just one case of *sa* present in the 1st *pāda*.

Ex. 29 Bv94aQ : *sa kalpanāsamāropād / vācyo...*
It is expressible by virtue of the imposition of a conceptual construction.
Other ablatives in the first part of the hemistich in exx.6, 15.

§ 16.- Most of the occurrences of *sa/sā* are positioned in the
2nd
pāda : 7 out of 15 cases.

A. INITIAL

Ex.30 Bv 27aQ : *dhvanir varṇātmako yaś ca / so 'pīṣṭo*
nātmakartṛkaḥ //

Nor can sound, which has the nature of syllables, be regarded as having the Self as agent.

As correlative of *ya-* (functioning here as a marker of the qualifier), *sa* tends to open its own string, cf.ex.10

B. INSIDE

Ex.31 Bv47aQ : *kulālavan na tatsiddhis / tatsvabhāvo yato na saḥ //*
There is no proof it is likewise a pot-maker, since it
(= the Self) has not that (function) as its intrinsic nature
Sequence predicate-*sa*, as in ex.9 etc.

Ex.32 Bv48aQ : *na cājñō jñāḥ katham kartā / bhoktā ca sa bhavet*
tava //
Furthermore you (can) not in any way (maintain that) the
(Self) non-knowing can become a knowing agent and enjoyer.

Ex.33 Bv56aQ : *sūryādivarṇo yady ātmā/syād, avarṇaḥ katham ca*
saḥ¹ //
If the Self has the colour of the sun etc., how could it (also) be
without colour?

Ex.34 Bv59aQ : *dravyam yadi bhavet ātmā / dravyatvāt sarvago na*
saḥ //
If the Self were a substance, it could not be all-pervasive
because of its substantiality

Ex.35 Bv75aQ : *nityaikatvādirūpeṇa / tattvaś cet sa vidyate //*
If this (Self) existed in reality with the nature of permanency,
oneness etc....

1. 5th foot long in the first *pāda*.

Ex.36 Bv81aQ : *ajātir jātivad dharmas / tadabhāve ca sā satī //*
 Non-origination is a phenomenon which resembles origination, but it exists (only) in case of non-existence (of the latter)

In this series of examples, 2 exx. only (33 and 34) offer a common element : the presence in the 1st *pāda* of a *yadi*-clause of conditional nature. Ex.35 is close, since *cet* = *yadi*. See also ex.52 (D).

§ 17.- *sa/sā* in the 3rd *pāda*.

A. INITIAL

Ex.37 Bv4bQ : *so 'ntar bahiś ca dūre ca / ... ex.41*
 He (= *Puruṣa*) is within and without and distant...

B. INSIDE

Ex.38 Bv78Q : *nānātvadhīvat sā ca syād / vitathā pūrvavad grahāt¹*
 Furthermore this (liberation) would be false in analogy with the previous (argument), because (the Self) would be grasped like the cognition of multiplicity.

§ 18.- There are 6 occurrence of *sa/sā* in the 4th *pāda*.

A. INITIAL

Ex.39 Bv20bQ : *sarvasamkleśamūlatvāt. / saiva tvayā vivardhitā //*
 ...since it is the root of all afflictions. This (belief) is promoted by you.

As the causal ablative is part of the foregoing hemistich, one can say that *sā* occupies its normal position : the opening of the clause.

Ex.40 Bv66bQ : *.../so 'vakāśo 'vakāśinām //*
 ...There is room for those demanding room

Ex.41 Bv4bQ : *... ex.37 / so 'ntike sa ca karmakṛt //*
 He (= *Puruṣa*) is nearby and he is agent

1. 5th foot long in the first *pāda*.

B. INSIDE

Ex.42 Bv49bQ : .../vandhyātanayavat sa ca //

...It (would be as non-existent) as the son of a barren woman.

The -vat compound is focussed as a predicate. Same pattern in *pāda* 3 : *niḥsvabhāvaś ca nātmā syāt* "But the Self could not be without intrinsic nature."

Ex.43 = ex.41

Ex.44 Bv80bQ : *saty abhāvād anutpāde / tadvikalpasamo 'pi saḥ*

If it (i.e.seeing) does not arise because it is not an existing entity, it would be the same as a conceptual construction of that

Final *saḥ* is possibly accounted for in view of a 3rd *pāda* amounting to a conditional clause. Cf. above exx.33, 34. Below ex.140(D).

IV. SA/SĀ in the Pramāṇavārttika (20 cases)

§ 19.- Three times we meet *sa/sā* fronted in the 1st *pāda* whereas it never occurs inside.

Ex.45 D125a : *sa cāyam : anyavyāvṛtṭyā/gamyate tasya vastunaḥ //*

That (statement has been uttered) : by excluding the rest, (any part) of that object is seized.

The double demonstrative *sa-ayan* was put ahead by Kumārila too, ex.6.

Ex.46 D80a : *sa ca sarvaḥ padārthānām / anyonyābhāvasaṃśrayaḥ //*

Every(verbal relation) is founded upon the reciprocal inexistence of the objects.

Sa (*sarvaḥ*) is subject and initial ; the predicate is final.

Ex.47 D110a : *sā cātatkāryaviśeṣaḥ/...*

This (non-difference = *abhinnatā*, 109b) lies in the non-separation in their outcome...

§ 20.- Quite a number of the occurrences of *sa/sā* are located inside the 2nd *pāda*, more precisely at its closing. That remembers the situation noted with Bhavya.

Ex.48 D 94a : *tatrānarthakriyāyogyā / jātiḥ. tadvān alam sa ca //*
 From this point of view, the gender is unable to have
 causal efficiency, but (*ca*) the owner of that (gender)
 is able to
Sa seems to be an adjective qualifying *tadvān* but postponed.
 See ex. 28Bh.

Ex.49 D 1a-b : *paksadharmas tadāmsena vyāpto / hetus. tridhaiva
 saḥ // avinābhāvanīyamāt...*
 The (logical) reason is a property of the subject
 pervaded by a part of the (subject). The (reason) is only
 of 3 kinds, owing to the restriction of the (positive)
 invariable concomitance
 In that tripartite *śloka* (see ex.4), the embedded *sa*-clause
 jumps beyond the boundary of the 1st hemistich. *Saḥ* is
 hemistich-final but central in its string.

Ex.50 D10a : *śaktipravṛtṭiyā na vinā / rasaḥ. saivānyakāraṇam¹ //*
 There is no emotion without the action of a power.
 This latter is the cause of something else.
Sā precedes its predicate.

Ex.51 D 33a : *arthāntaranimitto hi / dharmāḥ syād anya eva saḥ //*
 This quality, (because it is) different, has indeed
 something else as its cause
 One more example of *sa* postponed behind its head
 (*dharmāḥ*). See exx.28, 48.

Ex.52 D 36a : *agnisvabhāvaḥ śakrasya mūrddhā / yady. agnir eva
 saḥ //*
 If an anthill possesses the essence of fire, then it is
 fire
 Once more, the hemistich exemplifies the trend of *sa* towards
 the final position after a *yadī*-clause, exx.33, 34.

Ex.53 D 92a : *śabdāḥ samketitam prāhur / vyavahārāya sa smṛtaḥ //*
 Words are conveying something conventional. That
 (convention) is remembered for the ordinary
 language

1. 5th foot long, 6th and 7th feet short in the 1st *pāda*.

§ 20.- In the 3rd *pāda*, *sa/sā* is met 5 times.

A. INITIAL

Ex.54 D 34b : *sa bhavams tadabhāve tu / hetumattām virañhayet //*
 If it (=smoke) occurred in the absence of that (=fire),
 it would violate the fact of having a cause
 This hemistich lies between 33a (ex.51) and 36a (ex.52)
 where *sa* is final.

Ex.55 D 22a-b :yo 'bhāvasyāprasādhakah //
saivānupalambhaḥ kim / hetvabhāvasya sādakah
 Why (can) the non-apprehension which is not
 proving absence be the proof of the absence of a
 cause?

When correlative of *ya-*, *sa* strives to the initial. see exx.10, 30.

B. INSIDE

Ex.56 D 42a-b :yo...viśeṣaḥ
na sa śakyas tato 'nyena./ tena bhinnā vyavasthitih //
 That (specialness) which..., cannot (be known)
 through another than this one. For this reason (each
 concept has its) separate existence

Ex.57 D 17b : (ex.100...yadi) *nāsti, sa khyāpyate nyāyas / tadā.*
nāstīti gamyate //
 (If) it does not exist, the rule is then made
 known. One knows that it does not exist.

The correlative of *yadi, tadā*, occupies the final position of
 the main clause. Therefore *sa* remains initial. If *tadā* would
 have been absent, *sa* might have taken its place. Cf. exx.33,
 34. Tripartite *śloka*, like ex.4.

Ex.58 D 99b : *parasyāpi na sā buddhiḥ / sāmānyād eva kevalāt //*
 Even according the contender, such a cognition does
 not come from the universal alone.

§ 22.- 6 occurrences of *sa/sā* are attested in the 4th *pāda*.

A. INITIAL

Ex.59 D 7a-b : *yaḥ...kāryotpādo 'numīyate*

arthāntarānapekṣatvāt /sa svabhāvo 'nuvartitaḥ //

The producing of an effect which is inferred...is described as an essence because it does not depend upon another object

In this tripartite *śloka*, *sa* initial of the main clause is severed from the *ya*-clause by the causal ablative of the 3rd *pāda*. See exx.4 etc.

B. INSIDE

Ex.60 D 58b : *yadvīṣeṣāvasāye 'sti /pratyayah sa pratiyate //*

The notion, when it arises as a specific feature, gets known

Ex.61 D 108b : *sādrśyam. nanu dhīḥ kāryam / tāsām, sā ca vibhidyate //*

...the similarity. Objection : the thought which is their result is also distinct.

Ex.62 D 5a-b : *...yopalabdhiḥ prayujyate*

nimittayor viruddhatvā/bhāve, sā vyabhicāriṇī //

The cognition which is applied...is faulty as far as the absence of contradiction in the two causes is concerned.

Sā, as a correlative of *yā*-, usually opens the main clause. See ex.55.

Ex.63 D 37b : *adhūmahetor dhūmasya / bhāve, sa syād ahetukah //*

If the occurrence of smoke from (a thing that is) not the cause of smoke were possible, it (=smoke) would be without cause

Here and above, sequence *sa/sā* + predicate.

Ex.64 D 96a-b : *...dhvaniḥ*

ucyate tena. tebhyo asyā/vyavacchede, katham ca saḥ

...a word is uttered by him. How is the (avoiding of that possible) if there is no difference between this and those ?

The presence of a locative and a *pāda*-final *sa* in the same hemistich is seen in ex.44 as well.

§ 23.- The global figures supply no decisive hint at a difference in the style of the Brahmanic and Buddhist authors. Here is the table of the occurrences :

Kumārila : 10 x
 Bhartrhari : 18 x
 Bhavya : 16 x
 Dharmakīrti : 20 x

The low percentage of Kumārila might be an individual factor¹. But the ratio 27 (Ku + Bh) : 36 (Bv + D) shows that the Buddhists are still truer to the anaphoric tradition of the Vedic Brāhmaṇas than their Brāhmanic fellows.

The distribution according to the *pādas* reads as follows :

1st <i>pāda</i>	initial :	Buddhist	4 x :	Brahmanic	3 x	
	inside :	"	0 x :	"	2 x	
2nd <i>pāda</i>	initial :	"	1 x :	"	2 x	
	inside :	"	12x :	"	3 x	
						1st hemistich : 27x
3rd <i>pāda</i>	initial :	"	3 x :	"	2 x	
	inside :	"	4 x :	"	8 x	
4th <i>pāda</i>	initial :	"	4 x :	"	4 x	
	inside :	"	8 x :	"	4 x	
						2nd hemistich : 37 X

§ 24.- Let us point out a number of patterns recurring in the above *ślokas*.

-By nature, *sa/sā* is designed to occupy the initial position in its string, either metrical (*pāda*/hemistich/*śloka*) or grammatical (main clause). The string may occupy a part only of the *pāda* and, thus, be extremely short, exx.8(Ku) and primarily 50(D), 62(D), 63(D) and, possibly, 60(D).

-When correlative of *ya-*, *sa/sā* prefers to be fronted in the main clause², as in exx.4(Ku) : 10(Ku), 16(Bh), 22(Bh)³; more often with the Buddhists, ex.30 (Bv) : 55(D), 59(D), 62(D) and 56(D) nearly initial.

-When *sa/sā* is coupled with predicates, two orders are possible

1. Predicate(s) + *sa/sā* : 2(Ku), 20(Bh 2 x), 9(Ku)
 42(Bv), 49(D), 51(D), 52(D)

2. *Sa/Sā* + predicate(s) : 14(Bh), 24(Bh), 27(Bh)

1. Like a high percentage of non-self-contained *pādas* or hemistichs, cf. §39.
 2. The situation in the *Aitareya-brāhmaṇa*, Verpoorten, o.c., §§294ff., 548ff.
 3. But exx.14(Bh), 21(Bh).

36(Bv), 38-41(Bv) ; 46-47(D), 50(D), 53(D)
59(D).

This pattern is mostly Buddhist.

-. *Pāda* final *sa/sā*

a. Without correlation with *yadi* : 15 and 20(Bh)

31(Bv) ; 50(D), 64(D)

b. In correlation with a *yadi* clause: 33-34(Bv) ; 52(D). In 44(Bv), the locative amounts to a conditional clause. But in exx. 1(Ku) and 57(D), *sa* is placed in the first slot..

- *Sa/Sā* functioning as a demonstrative adjective or, so to say, as an article is postponed after its head in exx. 28(Bh) and probably 48(D). See also Nāgārjuna XXIV. 10b mentioned infra 1. n.33-34 end.

- The negation is focussed and put before *sa/sā* in exx. 12(Bh) ; 56 and 58(D).

- We meet *sa katham* in ex. 10(Ku) but *katham sa* in ex. 64(D)

- Sometimes *sa/sā* is preceded by *pādas* encompassing

1. a gerundive group, ex. 4(Ku);

2. a locative, exx. 23(Bh) ; 44(Bv) ; 62(D).

It must be emphasized that the anaphoric forms are inequally distributed throughout the texts. Whereas they are wanting in several *ślokas*, suddenly they are clustered and then occur in a variety of positions¹.

* * *

Part 2 : The position of TAT

-
1. See f.i. in D the group of *ślokas* 33a (ex. 51)-36a(ex. 52)-37b (ex. 63)-38b (ex. 145)-42b (ex. 56). Add D154 (ex. 139) and Bv4 (exx. 37, 41) where *sa* occurs 2/3 times in the same hemistich ; exx. 82-83(Bv) where *tat* is repeated.

V. TAT in the Ślokavārttika

The 8 occurrences of *tat* in the treatise of Ku are not very instructive. It never stands at the beginning of the *śloka* nor is it seen inside the 1st *pāda*.

§ 25.- 4 times, *tat* intervenes in the 2nd *pāda*.

A. INITIAL

Ex.65 Ku62a : .../tac ca nāstīti duṣāṇam //

Here is the objection : "(the word *atha*) is not (endowed with such a meaning)"

The position of *tat* above is standard and needs not to be commented.

Ex.66 Ku 74a : nirvṛttam sūtrakāreṣṭam /tac ca nādhyayanād rte //

That is deemed as accomplished by the Sūtrakāra and not without study

The topic expressed by *tat* is symmetrically nested between its determinations.

B. INSIDE

Ex.67 Ku 90a : .../tyaktam kaiś cid. tad ucyate //

...left off by some (commentators). Here is the answer

This type of brief *sa/tad*- clause at the end of the hemistich has already been met in exx.27, 49.

Ex.68 Ku 112a : lakṣaṇam puruṣasyaiva / tadā tad dhi prasajyate //

For in that case (*tadā*), it (= Vedic study) becomes a qualification of the person

There is, seemingly, an exchange of positions between *tad dhi* and *lakṣaṇam puruṣasya*. This latter group is shifted in front for salience.

§ 26.- *Tat* in the 3rd *pāda*.

A. INITIAL

Ex.69 Ku111a-b : (yady api...) tad eva hetur atraiti/...

(Even if...) the fact that the (Vedic study) alone is the cause thereof...

The succession *tat* + predicate is expected.

B. FINAL

Ex.70 Ku16b : *yat svenoktam, vadeyus tat / bhāṣyakārādayaḥ katham //*

For how could the commentators etc. say what (the author) himself has said?

Tat should have been put before *vadeyuh*.

§ 27.- Finally 2 cases of *tat* in the 4th *pāda*.

A. INITIAL

Ex.71 ? Ku4b : *doṣo hy avidyamāno 'pi / tac cittānām prakāśate //*

For a mistake, even non-existent, arises for those thinking of that

Tat might also enter into composition with *cittānām*.

B. INSIDE

Ex.72 Ku12b : *yāvat prayojanam noktam / tāvat, tat kena grhyate*
While a purpose remains unexplained, by whom would it be assumed?

Tat allows the correlative *tāvat* to be fronted in the *pāda*, but the interrogative *kena*, which is entitled to the same position, remains blocked at the 3rd place.

VI .TAT in the Vākyapadīya

§ 28.- Bh employs *tat* only 5 times¹, and even so, the doubt arises about its real nature : pronoun or invariable sentence-linker.

A. FIRST PĀDA. initial

Ex.73 Bh14a : *tad dvāram apavargasya / vāṇmalānām cikitsitam //*

1. Including Bh12b (ex.75) : *yat tat puṇyatamaṃ jyotis / tasya mārgo 'yam āñjasah* "That very sacred light, the (grammar), is the direct path to it". Here *tat* might be non-pronominal and mean "thus".

That (= Grammar) is the gateway to liberation, the remedy for the speech impurities

B. THIRD PĀDA, initial and inside

Ex.74 Bh22b : *tad vyākaraṇam āgamyā / param brahmādhigamyate //*
By mastering the grammatical science, one attains the supreme Brahman

Ex.76 Bh102b : *tailodakādibhede tat / pratyakṣam pratibimbake //*
That is evident in the different (kinds of) reflections :
in oil, water and the like

C. FOURTH PĀDA, initial.

Ex.77 Bh30b : *iṣīṇām api yaj jñānam / tad apy āgamapūrvakam //*
Even the knowledge of the Sages is preceded by the Scripture

VII .TAT in the work of Bhavya

§ 29.- Therein *tat* occurs 14 times, but this number is skewed because 7 exx. come from the 24 *ślokas* borrowed from the chapter 9 (see § 1), while the other 7 are found throughout the 104 stanzas of the 8th chapter¹.

Tat in the initial slot is exemplified by

Ex.79 Bv18aK : *tad atrāpi parīkṣante/...*

On this point (*atra*), they examine it

Can be joined here the passage where *tat* opens the 2nd hemistich, that is the 3rd *pāda*²:

Ex.81 Bv20bK : *tad eva tāvan mīmāṃsyam/3..*

That must be first of all investigated

-
1. In ex.78 Bv41aQ : *.../jñānam tan na nivartate, tat* possibly means "then/thus", even if Q translates "(Then) that cognition will not cease".
 2. In ex.80 Bv17aQ : *nityam tad avikalpanam ca/...* "That (Self) is eternal and non-conceptual...", *tad* is shifted from the initial towards the place between the predicates.
 3. 5th foot long.

§ 30.-We can put together 4 cases containing the correlative pair *yat-tat*.

Ex. 82 Bv12aK : *yad ihāsti tad anyatra/...*

What is here is in others

First half of an hemistich completed by

Ex. 83 Bv12aK (*pāda-2*) : *.../yan nehāsti na tat kvacit*

What is not here (can)not (be found) in any other either

Ex. 84 Bv20a-bK : *yat.../ vacanaṃ cet, tad āgamah // tad ... (ex.81)*

If that discourse which...is the Scripture, that... (ex.81)

Ex. 85 Bv66aQ : *mukto dravyasya yo bhāvas / tad ākāśaṃ hi sāmṛttam //*

The object which is empty of substance is, as is known (*hi*), the relative space¹

Can be joined here

Ex. 86 Bv17bK : *yat yathoktaṃ tathoktaṃ tat/...*

Anything which is like the above-mentioned is like the above-mentioned.

§ 31.- In the 2nd hemistich, *tat* introduces the 4th *pāda* after a 3rd *pāda* which is
-a comparative expression

Ex. 87 Bv68bQ : *vandhyātanayavan nāpi / tad ekam ata eva hi //*

It (= space) is therefore not one (but inexistent), just as the (unreal) son of a barren woman (is not one)

-a locative group

Ex. 88 Bv12bK : *catustaye 'pi dharmādau / tan naivānyatra drśyate //*

As for the group of four, dharma etc., that is not found elsewhere

1. An other translation would be : "If the object is empty of substance, it is because it is the relative space". On the construction causal-clause + *hi*-clause, see J.Brereton in the book quoted infra 1 n.p.34.

§ 32.- *Tat* may also be inserted in the 4th *pāda*. sometimes as an element of a very short clause. (see above. ex.67)

Ex. 89 Bv25bQ : .../buddhim cet, tan na yujyate //
If...a cognition, that is not logical

Ex. 90 Bv31bQ : .../dātṛvat, tan na yuktimat //
...Like a cutter. This (assertion) is not logical

Ex. 91 Bv86bQ : *tasmā jātaspṛhais tīrthaiḥ / kṛtaṃ tatra : mamāpi
tat //*
Therefore, it is said by sectarians desirous of that :
"That is mine"

VIII. TAT in the Pramāṇavārttika

Tat, at least when regarded upon as a pronoun, is used 13 times by D¹.

§ 33.- Twice we come across the group *tad ekam (vastu)* at the aperture of the *śloka*.

Ex. 92 D102a : *tad ekam vastu kiṃ tāsām / nānātvam samopahati //*
Is this single object able to annul the diversity of them?

Ex. 93 D106a : *tad ekam upakuryus tāḥ / katham ekāṃ dhiyaṃ ca
na //*
These (particulars) can act upon this single (universal) : how could not they act upon a single thought?

Tad picks up the topic dealt with in the passage : the notion of "universal" (*sāmānya*).

§ 34.- *Tad* initial of the 2nd *pāda* is of little significance. See below ex.100².

1. *Tad* is probably to be rendered by "thus" in ex.91a D10a : *ity. atītaikaikālānam / gatis tat kāryalingajā* "...". Thus (*tat*), the knowledge of the past epochs is produced by the mark of (their) effect".
2. In ex.94 D123a : *vyartho 'nyathā prayogaḥ syāt / taj jñeyādipadeṣv api*
"Otherwise, the usage would be superfluous. So in the words 'recognizable'

Inside the 2nd *pāda*, let us quote

Ex. 95 D90a : *samānabhinnādyākārair / na tad grāhyam
kathamcana¹//*

Itself (= point-instant) is by no means to be endowed with the notions of universal and particular

After a 1st *pāda* made up with a long instrumental, the 2nd *pāda* focusses the negation. *Tad* follows it but precedes the semi-adjectival *grāhyam* functioning as a predicate.

§ 35.- *Tad* is sometimes encapsulated but never fronted in the 3rd *pāda*.

Ex. 96 D26b : *tadbhāve ca -tan neti / vacanād- api tadgacch //*

As, even in the absence of that, it is grasped from the utterance "It is not"

Tad is inserted because it belongs to the *iti*-group *tan na* itself embedded in the hemistich.

Ex. 97 D11b : *śesavat tad asamarthyād / dehād rāgānumānavat //*

That is an a posteriori (inference) because of the absence of power, like the inference of the emotion (proceeding) from the body

This hemistich can be compared with the next one where *tad* is inserted in the 4th *pāda*.

Ex. 98 D14b : *tasya saṁśayahetutvāc / chesavat tad udāhṛtam //*

Because it is a cause of doubt, the a posteriori (inference) is cited as an example

Tat might be adjectival and modify *śesavat* or, simply, be a conclusive particle connected with a preceding causal ablative.

Ex. 99 D16b : *yady adrṣṭiphalam tac ca / tad anukte 'pi gamyate //*

If that is endowed with the fruit of invisibility, that is knowable, even if (there is) no utterance

This hemistich is followed by the sentence

etc. also", *tat* is to be translated by "so". "daher" in German (Vetter, o.c. §1 .p.62).

1. 5th foot long.

Ex. 100 D17a : *na ca nāstīti vacanāt / tan nāsty eva yathā.¹ yadi //*
 It is not because one says : "It does not exist" that it
 does not exist. If....ex.57.

§ 36.- *Tat* in the 4th *pāda*.

A. INITIAL

Ex.101 D16b : cf.ex.99

Ex. 102 D57b : *yan na niścīyate rūpaṃ / tat teṣāṃ viśayaḥ katham //*
 That form which is not determined, how (should) it
 (be) an object for them ?

The sequence *sa...katham* already occurred in ex.10(Ku).

Ex. 103 D66a-b : *yad yathā...*

anapeksitabāhyārthaṃ / tat tathā vācakaṃ vacaḥ //
 As...so the word, unrelated with an outside object, is
 expressive a like.

Tat might be clause-connective in the sense of "thus, so" or
 qualify *vacaḥ*.

Ex. 104 D105b : *tāsām anyatamāpekṣam / tac cec chaktam, na
 kevalam //*

If that (universal) has a potency, it is in relation with
 anyone of them, (but) not alone

B. INSIDE

Ex. 105 D117b : *vṛkṣo 'yam iti samketah / kriyate. tat prapadyate //*
 The conventional denotation "This is a tree" is made.
 That reaches..

Here as elsewhere above (exx.27 Ku, 49D, 67Ku, 89Bv), a
 short *tat*-group completes the hemistich. Consequently, the
 whole *śloka* is roughly divided into 3 stretches.

Ex. 106 D14b : see ex.98.

§ 37.- Conclusion

The survey of *tat* is comparatively less interesting than that of *sa/sā*.
 The global figures are as follows :

1. What is the meaning of *yathā* here ?

Kumāṛila : 8 x

Bhartrhari : 4 x (+ 1 *tat* functioning as clause-particle)

Bhavya : 14 x

Dharmakīrti : 13 x

Comparative table of the positions

1st <i>pāda</i>	initial :	Buddhist	3 x ;	Brahmanic	1 x	
	inside :	"	2 x ;	"	0 x	
2nd <i>pāda</i>	initial :	"	3 x ;	"	2 x	
	inside :	"	3 x ;	"	2 x	
3rd <i>pāda</i>	initial :	"	1 x ;	"	2 x	
	inside :	"	4 x ;	"	2 x	(in ex. 75, p. 20, note 1, <i>tat</i> = thus?)
4th <i>pāda</i>	initial :	"	6 x ;	"	2 x	
	inside :	"	5 x ;	"	1 x	

The Buddhists are thus more inclined to use *tat* than the Brahmanic writers and, moreover, they preferably put it in the 2nd hemistich (ratio Bu/Br 14:8). With Ku and Bh, the ratio 2nd/1st hemistichs is 7:5.

§ 38.-*Tat* intervenes in sentences of dialectical function :
exx. 65-66Ku, 79-80 Bv ; in (short) predicative sentences :
exx. 69Ku ; 73, 76, 87Bv ; 103D.

In 81Bv, we find *tad mīmāṃsyam tad grāhyam* in 95D.

Incidentally, the correlation *yat-tat* is somewhat peculiar : exx. 85Bv (*yo...tat*) ; 84Bv where *tat* could be viewed as the correlative of *cet* ; 70Ku where *tat* loses the initial position in favour of the verb.

Elsewhere, the correlation is normal : exx. 77Bh, 82-83Bv, 102 and 103D.

In exx. 70 and 73Ku, *tat* stands before the interrogative adverb.

In exx. 70Ku and 76Bh, it is *pāda*-final, just before the caesura.

Sometimes *tat* is inside the *pāda* but first in its clause : exx. 84, 89Bv, 105D.

Cet tat occurs in exx. 84 and 89Bv but *tac cet* in ex. 104D.

Tat is probably adjectival in exx. 92, 93 and 98D.

Part 3 : The position of TASYA/TEṢĀM/TĀSĀM

IX. TASYA/TEṢĀM in the Ślokavārttika

§ 39.- They occur 6 times, generally in *pādas* or hemistichs which are non-self-contained, that means in which words of other *pādas* or hemistichs are encapsulated. Sometimes the anaphoric forms come to open their own strings, irrespective of their metrical position.

One example exhibits *tasya* inside the 2nd *pāda* but initial of its clause (3 words)¹.

Ex. 107 Ku93a : *adr̥ṣṭāyātha vāpy anyah / saṃskāraṃ, tasya cottaram //*

...for an invisible aim or also if someone else (speaks) of a purification, here is the answer to him

5 more occurrences lie inside the 3rd *pāda*.

Ex. 108 Ku32a-b : *yo...*

svasaṃjñam vāpi, tasyedaṃ / śāstrarūpam nirūpyate //

He who (requires...) or a technical use.... for such a one, this is declared as a command

As usual, *tasya*, the demonstrative head of *ya-*, is standing at the opening of the main clause. See the list supplied above § 23.

Ex. 109 Ku33a-b : *...arthavyatikramah*

śabdānām dr̥śyate. teṣām / upālabho 'yam ucyate //

The inversion of meanings of (some) words is found; this (*Bhāṣya* passage) is a censure of these (people inverting the sense of the words)

Ex. 110 Ku37b : *yat tasya parihāro 'yam / pratyākhyānena cocyate //*

Because the refutation here and now of that (interpretation) is also declared by a disowal

1. For Ku119a, see supra 1, n.p.4.

Ex. 111 Ku109b : *smaryate. tasya nārthaḥ syād / akṛtārthasya .*
nirgame //
 (...) has been declared in the *Smṛti*. And there could
 be no purpose in the return of who has not yet had
 his ends fulfilled

Ex. 112 Ku121b : *viśeṣaniṣṭhatā tasya / bhāṣyakāreṇa varnyate*
 The peculiar situation of that (relation) is described
 by the *Bhāṣyakāra*

X. TASYA/TEṢĀM in the Vākyapadīya

Amid the 4 authors, Bh is particularly fond of these forms of the
 anaphoric : 17 occurrences.

§ 40.- Four times *tasya* is initial of *śloka*.

Ex. 113 Bh8a : *tasyārthavādarūpāṇi / niśritāḥ*
 Backed on the explanatory passages in it (= the
 Veda)...

Ex. 114 Bh112a : *tasya kāraṇasāmarthyād / vegapracayadharmaṇaḥ*
 Due to the causal capacity of that (air) which is
 endowed with the attributes of speed and
 accumulation....

Ex. 115 Bh121a : *tasya prāṇe ca yā śaktir yā ca buddhau vyavasthitā*
 The capacity of the (speech) lying in the breath and
 the one lying in the mind....ex.22

Ex. 116 Bh66a : = ex.121.
 § 41.- *Tasya* occurs twice inside the 1st *pāda*.

Ex. 117 Bh10a : *vidhātus tasya lokānām/...*
 From him, the creator of the worlds...
 In view of its meaning, *vidhātus* is probably focussed and
tasya must go down.

Ex. 118 Bh11a : *āsannaṃ brahmaṇas tasya/...*
 Nearest to that Brahman...
Tasya is functioning here as an adjective demonstrative or
 an article modifying *brahmaṇas*, and following it.
 § 42.- At the beginning of *pāda* 2, we meet

Ex. 119 Bh5a : *prāptyupāyo 'nukāraś ca / tasya vedaḥ...*
 The Veda is a means of realization and a reflection of
 that (primordial speech)...
 Though lying in *pāda* 2, *tasya* depends on both nouns that
 are ahead as predicates.

Ex. 120 Bh28a : *nityatve kṛtakatve vā / teṣām ādir na vidyate*
 Either eternal or produced, the (words) have no
 beginning
 § 43- Here are the cases of *tasya/teṣām* in the 3rd *pāda*.

A. INITIAL

Ex. 121 Bh66a-b : *tasyābhidheyabhāvena /*
yaḥ śabdaḥ samavasthitaḥ //
tasyāpy uccāraṇe rūpam /
anyat tasmād vivicyate //
 When a word, which is recognized as being the
 significance of that, is uttered in its turn, from that
 (word) is discriminated another form

Ex. 122 Bh65a-b : *guṇaḥ...yaḥ...*
tasyāśritād guṇād eva / prakṛṣṭatvaṃ pratiyate //
 The quality...which...is endowed with an excellence
 owing to a quality residing in it

Ex. 123 Bh91b : *tesām atyantabhede 'pi / samkīrṇā eva śaktayaḥ //*
 Although they are entirely different, their powers are
 blended

Ex. 124 Bh64a-b : *...sāmānyam...yad yat...*
tasya tasyopamāneṣu / dharmo 'nyo vyatiricyate //
 In every middle term...there is an extra property (by
 which) comparisons go further

B. INSIDE

Ex. 125 Bh38b : *ye bhāvān, vacanaṃ teṣām / nānumānena*
bādhyate //
 Of those who (perceive), the realities the word
 cannot be refuted by inferential reasoning

Ex. 126 Bh52b : *vṛttis tasya kriyārūpā / bhāgaśo bhajate kramam //*
 Its sequence takes place in succession, part after part,
 like a movement

§ 44.- The last 3 cases exhibit *tasya* in the 4th *pāda*. Twice, it is

A. INITIAL

Ex. 127 Bh6b : *śabdānām yataśaktitvaṃ / tasya śākhāsu drśyate*
 In the branches of the (Veda), words are found to
 have a fixed capacity
 Here, *tasya* foregoes its governing word *śākhāsu*. It is
 likewise in

Ex. 128 Bh12b : *yat tat puṇyatamaṃ jyotis / tasya mārgo 'yam*
añjasaḥ //
 That very saint light, this (grammar) is the direct path
 to it.

B. In the last instance, the negation is emphatic and is fronted before
 the anaphoric.

Ex. 129 Bh62b : *anyapratyāyane śaktir / na tasya pratibadyate*
 Its power of revealing an other (form) is not
 obstructed
Tasya follows its head *śaktiḥ* which belongs to the foregoing
pāda.

XI. TASYA/TEṢĀM in Bhavya's work

§ 45.- The 5 occurrences are all positioned in the 2nd
 hemistich.

A. INSIDE PĀDA 3

Ex. 130 Bv50bQ : *na tasyātmā hy asau yukto / yathākhaṃ*
devaśarmaṇaḥ //
 That (*asau*) cannot, as far as he is concerned (*tasya*),
 logically be his Self, in the same way as the sky
 cannot belong to (any one e.g.) Devaśarmaṇ.

Ex. 131 Bv30bQ : *khapuṣpavad atas tasya / na sattāpy avadhāryate//*
 Its existence therefore cannot be (more) precisely
 determined like a sky flower (= than that of a sky-^o)

Note that *tasya*, put before its head as usually, is however severed from it by the caesura and the negation. Are the 3 words put together around the caesura as a marked position ?

Ex. 132 Bv81bQ : *naivātmasamatā tasya / yuktā nāpi na tatsthatā¹//*
It is not at all logical that (this non-origination) is identical with the (Self) or abiding in it

B. INSIDE PĀDA 4

Ex. 133 Bv73bQ : *ekatvayogād ekaś ced / yogas tasyaiva netarah //*
If (the Self) is one from its connection to oneness, (then) the relation is only to itself. There is no other.

Ex. 134 Bv14bK : *anumānapradhānānām / pātaḥ teṣām na durlabhaḥ*
Falling is not unlikely in the case of those who put primary importance on reasoning.

In exx.133-34, the anaphoric form follows its head ; in exx.130-31, it precedes it; in ex.132, it is inserted between its 2 heads.

XII. TASYA/TEṢĀM/TĀSĀM in the Pramāṇavārttika

We can mention 16 passages exhibiting these forms.

§ 46.- In the 1st pāda.

A. INITIAL

Ex. 135 D115a : *teṣām avikṣāḥ saṃkete / vyavacchinnā na vā. yadi//*
For those (people), are the non-trees put aside by the convention or not? If...

B. INSIDE

Ex. 136 D79a : *ta eva teṣām sāmānya/samānādhāragocaraiḥ...²*
They...through denoting (°-gocaraiḥ) universality and continual flux of those...

Ex. 137 D116a : *anirākarāṇe teṣām / saṃkete vyavahāriṇām //*

1. For Bv81aQ, see above ex.36.

2. A caesura inside a compound is very rare ; moreover the 5th foot of pāda 1 is long.

If the (non-trees) are not excluded in the convention,
for the users of the ordinary language

Ex. 138 D102a : ex.92.

§ 47.- In the 2nd pāda

A. INITIAL

Ex. 139 D104a : *tenaikenāpi sāmārthyam / tāsām neti...*

As there is no potency for them (= the individuals)
with the help of that single...

B. INSIDE

Ex. 140 D54a-b : *dharmopakāraśaktinām / bhede tās tasya kim; yadi
nopakāras tatas tāsām / tathā syād anavasthitih //*

If the powers sustaining the qualities are different
(from the object), how (are) they (belonging) to it; if
there is no sustainment of them by it, then there
would be impermanency.

A locative and a *yadi*-clause are parallel devices of
expressing the condition. See above ex.44(Bv).

Ex. 141 D125a : =ex.45.

§ 48.- In the 3rd pāda

A. INITIAL

Ex. 142 D14b : *tasya śaṃśayahetutvāt/...* cf. ex. 98

Ex. 143 D75b : *tāsām kṣetrādibhede 'pi / dhrauvyāc
(cānupakārataḥ) //*

Because of their (=the plants) immovableness even if
their place is different. (and as there is absence of
help in them)

Ex. 144 D88b : *tasyaiva cānyavyāvṛtṭyā / dharmabhedāḥ prakalpyate*

A specific property of this one is conceptually
constructed by way of excluding others.

Ex.145 D105b : = ex.104

B. INSIDE

Ex. 146 D38b : *svabhāvas tasya taddhetuḥ /...*

The essence of this one has been caused by it

Ex. 147 D106b : *kāryaś ca tāsāṃ prāpto / 'sau...*

That one (*asau* = *pratibhāsa* image) is held upon as the effect of those...

Ex. 148 D54a : ex.140b

§ 49. In the 4th *pāda*

Tasya and *tāsāṃ* occupy the initial position in both cases

Ex. 149 D29b : *hetur yuktopalambhasya /tasya cānupalambhanam//*

The non-grasping of it when it is a simultaneous perception, is the cause (?)

Ex.150 D108b : = ex.61

§ 50.- The following figures are worth remembering. In the *Pramāṇavārttika*, we encounter *tasya/teṣāṃ/tāsāṃ*

7x in the 1st hemistich

8x in the 2nd hemistich

5x at the onset of the 1st and 2nd hemistichs

6x postponed after their head

7x foregoing their head.

Two times the anaphoric has no clear head, but is rather linked with a latent verb (exx.135, 140a).

§ 51.- Some more statistics can be provided. *Tasya/teṣāṃ/tāsāṃ* occur

6 x in K

17 x in Bh

5 x in Bv

16 x in D.

that is 23 x on the Brahmanic side and 21 x on the Buddhist side;

14 x in the 1st hemistich and 28 x in the second.

All in all, these forms are fully anaphoric (and not deictic) and refer to something (generally some abstract component of the philosophical analysis) foregoing in the context.

§ 52.- Which conclusion is to be drawn from that survey of some anaphoric pronouns?

First of all, the impression evolved from the skimming through the texts is confirmed by the statistics. These authors, either Buddhist or Brahmanic, almost write the same language, and a long acquaintance alone is able to discover in their syntax slight differences that could be ascribed to their ideological background.¹

We must point out all the same

-that the Buddhist writers are still more inclined to use the anaphoric *sa/ta*-than their Brahmanic fellows. The ratio is as follows : 37 (Bv + D) : 27 (Ku + Bh) for *sa/sā*.

-that the Buddhists put 12 x *sa/sā* inside the 2nd *pāda*; their Brahmanic counterparts just 3 x : 8 x inside the 4th *pāda* against 4 x for the other side.

1. From a quick survey of the *Mūlamadhyamaka-kārikās* of Nāgārjuna, more precisely

-ch.I, 14 *ślokas* in the Sanskrit version published by L. de la Vallée Poussin, Vol. I, St. Petersburg, 1903. Bibliotheca Buddhica IV: English translation given in S.Radhakrishnan-C.A.Moore, *A Source Book in Indian Philosophy*, Princeton 1957, pp.341-2;

-ch.II, 26 *ślokas*, same edition; French translation by J.May, Paris 1959.

-ch.XXIV, 35 *ślokas* published by L.de la Vallée Poussin in *Mélanges Ch.de Harlez*, Leiden 1896, pp.313-20; French translation by J.May,

we obtain following figures : 29 anaphoric forms for 75 *ślokas* (see § 4) and among them 18 forms of *sa/sā/tat/tasya* (ratio 33Bv : 33Bh : 39D : 23K, for 128 *ślokas* each time).

In the work of N. *sa/sā* never occurs in *pāda* 1 ; in front of *pāda* 2, 1 x (II 18a); of *pāda* 3, 1 x (XXIV 10b); inside *pāda* 2, 4 x (II 22a and 23a, II 2a, XXIV 35a) ; inside *pāda* 4, 1 x (II 24b).

Sā appears 2 x in the same hemistich (XXIV 14 b : *sā prajñaptir upādāya / pratipat saiva madhyamā* "That (voidness) is a metaphorical designation, it is the middle way").

Tat exclusively shows up in the second hemistich : inside *pāda* 3, 2 x (I 11b and ? 12a); in front of *pāda* 4, 2 x (I 13b and XXIV 17b). In XXIV 5b, it has been added at the beginning of the hemistich, making wrong the scansion. In XXIV 24a, *tat* means "thus" (in correlation with *yat* "if").

Tasya is met inside *pāda* 2, 3 x (II 4a and 10a, XXIV 22a) and inside *pāda* 3, 1 x (XXIV 11b).

The most common position for the 3 forms is inside *pāda* 2 (7 x), then *pāda* 4 initial (4x). They are encountered 10 x in hemistich 2 and 8 x in the 1st. Note the correlations *yat-sa* II 18a, *yah-sa* XXIV 35a, *tad-yat* I 11b, *yat-tat* I 13b, *yasya-tasya* II 4a, *tasya-yasya* XXIV 11b. Adjectival *sa-ta* : I 12a, XXIV 10b (*doṣaprasaṅgo nāsmākaṃ / sa śūnye nopapadyate //* where *sa* follows the head *doṣa*-^o).

Elsewhere there are few significant disparities ; on the contrary, the similarities are astonishing. A number of rarer patterns are found with the Buddhist and Brahmanic authors, f.e. the final position of *sa/sā* in the hemistich (exx.15-20/31-51). On both sides too

-the preference of the anaphoric forms for the 2nd hemistich of the *śloka*.
-the occasional appearance of *ślokas* with repetitive structure, that is several *pādas* of similar structure.

Anyhow the *Brāhmaṇa* style is never remote¹, and we can say that the Indian philosophers have uttered more and more difficult ideas in an unchanged frame of stylistic and grammatical devices. This is an uncomfortable situation which no doubt explains (besides other reasons) why these texts are usually hard to grasp. But on the other hand, it is right to remember the opinion of L.Renou² :

"The *Bhāṣya* at its climax...especially the philosophical *Bhāṣya*... is a success... the more extraordinary that nothing in its linguistical background supplied a way to it."

Comments

S. Dietz

The paper has been presented the paper in the absence of Dr. Verpoorten on "*The Position of Some Anaphorical Forms inside the Ślokas of Bhartr̥hari etc.*". It is open for discussion.

G.C. Pande

Unfortunately the author is not present, but still we are discussing the paper. In the first place, the first impression which I gathered while reading the paper was that it is an essay in stylistic analysis. Unfortunately stylistic analysis even for a single author requires far more detailed data, while it is presented here for many authors taken together on the basis of hundred twenty verses from

1. Same observation as regards *iti* in the *Jaiminīya-Brāhmaṇa* and the *Śābara-Bhāṣya* by J.M. Verpoorten, *Panels of the VIIth World Sanskrit Conference*, vol.IV : Sense and Syntax in Vedic, ed. by J.P. Brereton and St.Jamison, Brill, Leiden etc., 1991, pp.86ff.
2. *Histoire de la langue Sanskrite*, Lyon-Paris 1956, p.144. The English translation is mine.

here and there. And that insufficient Bio-data covers the whole of Buddhist styles, whole of different styles of Sanskrit writing. That I think is too much. And that there is a common style in the Buddhist philosophers and a common style in the non-Buddhist philosophers, both have a common style. This is yet to be established. In fact this style is also different. Then quite often they say we want as it is without even having turned about it. Number two, can the style be defined simply in terms in positions of *sa* or *tat*? Really to study a notion of style we have to use many other criteria. Only then one can define a style. In fact as far as the Sanskrit is concerned, I have not yet seen any really detailed definition of any body's style. Although number of authors have attempted from partial data to draw the far reaching conclusions. Number three, the style of a particular author or a particular school, on this particular linguistic point has meaning only if someone standard review. That is to say the raw data about the usage whether *sa* is used or *ta* is used will have meaning if someone has some hypothesis. There is some acceptable general idea where these things should be used on. When we say *ayam ghataḥ ayam paṭaḥ* which of these the most standard usage. Then what is to be put in the first part of and which not in the second part of the *śloka*? I have never come across any standard on that. Anybody who has verified in Sanskrit prose, that on this particular point, nobody in versification follows durable as to whether the subject used to come first or predicate used to come first. Then there is also vast difference in the quality of versification. There is no comparison between Kumārila and Dharmakīrti in this matter. Both Bhartrhari and Kumārila have far better versified than Dharmakīrti. There is no comparison of Dharmakīrti's verses which break down constantly. He is unable to put the word in one verse. He puts half verse, has his idea, then goes forth. Having part three quarter in a verse he begins another sentence into the second verse. There is no comparison in Kumārila and Bhartrhari and Dharmakīrti on the other hand. Noting that in to the account is most unfortunate. So these are my three points, which I think that author to revise his paper in the light. On the first place, he has to mention some standard about the use of these things, which are nice. Number two- he has taken the account of the quality of versification. Number three,--- he needs to have more raw-data to support his conclusions. In fact if you put the criterion of generalization which have been made, I put up to Pathak, which have been reported here, the examples that Buddhist authors have habit of using *tat* in the second *pāda* of the *śloka*. I should say with the conclusion, it should have appeared, sound warning to the

author himself. How that could be possible? What is the reason for this? How it can be that *tat* should be in the second *pāda* more frequently, unless you have a hypothesis, got the reason why this was done. It is only a sign that the conclusion is doubtful. These are some of my comments. I am sorry that the author is not present, I would have asked him to comment at all.

B. Oguibenine

I would like to say that first, of course, Prof. Pande is entirely right, he says that the evidences presented here are not sufficient. But may I say in defence of Dr. Verpoorten, that he has unconsciously referred to his book on the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*, presuming that it was widely known. It is a very good book, very investigative of the syntax of the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* and may be his paper should be read in connection with his first book. Now, of course, I have some questions. May be, we can come back to some particular examples. He quotes, from the *Ślokavārtika*. If we read the example No-1 '*sa nāsty atrāthaśabdasyety adhyāhārādikalpanam*' we find the proceedings have mistakenly begin with *yadī* and *sa* is here a sort of co-relative of *yadī* and *sa* remains to the main clause. I fail to see, somebody may explain to me, may be however *sa* is co-relative to *yadī*, *sa* is co-relative to whole proceedings, he mistakes. This is only a question. Now the example No.92. This is also interesting. We read in the example No. 92 '*Tad ekam vastu kim teṣām*' etc. Instead of saying that the group *tad ekam vastu*, comes at the appature of the *śloka*. I think it would be more interesting to explain where is the co-relative missing? Why it is missing ?

Alex Wayman

I wonder why do you say that *sā* with *śakti* ch.23 ? why does he says that *sā* with *śakti* can be *sidd-śakti* ? It does not have to be called pro-nominal adjective. What is this vocabulary ? You see that the theory they have given in that *pāda*, could be translated better. You know, there is a theory among the some of those Nyāya people and writers that the *śakti* requires a specific *dravya* or place to manifest. So, you could say *siddhā-śakti* is manifest when this is in a condition of a specific substance. But why *Sā* has to be an adjective there? Why can't be a *siddhā-śakti*? Then in another place, he has that *sā*, *sā* refers then to *śūnyatā* and does not have to go to the next. It agrees with the *prajñapti*. The question is how does he

say that these people write the same just because they use the word *sā*. You can't write, I mean in English we can't write without using the word *yet*. And the word *yet* and another we all write the same, because we use the word *yet*. And does that make all right the same in English? If you write these all, how can these authors write anything without saying *sa*. And they write the same. Just because they use *sa*, they can't write anything with out using *yad*. So they are writing the same, because they use it. We know all are writing the same thing, because we use the word *yet*.

S.K. Pathak

I think this paper has taken us to a new direction of the study of language and dealing with the word pronoun. As far as I know English grammar, there pro-noun is always related to the noun. Rather it is co-relative to the noun. But, what is the context of the *Sarvanāma*? In Pāṇinian grammar, we don't find any definition (*Paribhāṣā*) of a *Sarvanāma*. It is just enumerated. We get the definition of *avyaya*, but not in the case of *Sarvanāmas*. So, I think it gives a new clue to a very pertinent question that whether the Sanskrit language which is usually regarded as Indo-Aryan language is coming originally from semetic group or it is something else. Because whole study of the language of the Sanskrit Buddhist texts is a very pertinent question in the history of Indian language.

L.N. Tiwari

For the study of Sanskrit adopted by Buddhists, how can we take Kumārilabhṭṭa? Kumāriḷa says

*asādhuśabda-bhūyiṣṭhā Śakya-Jaināgamāś ca ye /
asannibandhanatvāc ca śāstratvaṃ na pratīyate.* //*

He discards it. One should not touch the canons of Buddhists, because they have used *apaśabdās*, *asādhuśabdās*. Then again in the *Tantravārtika*, he says, that although he discusses as an opponent, although very good things have been said by Buddha, like non-violence, *Ahimsā*, *Dhamma* etc. but we should not adopt them

* *Tantravārtika* on 1.3.12 (*Ānandāśrama*, Vol. 97, 1970) p. 164.

as it has been said by Lord Buddha, because he is non-vedic*. So, how we can compare the language of a scholar to who is totally against the language or the doctrines used by Buddhist and compare it in a stylistic manner. What result it will bring? He has criticised in five or six paragraphs and defended some other negligible things found in the Vedic cult. He says that these may be bad, but these are good because Vedas permit. He says how Draupādī was married to five brothers? Why Rāma did not give the *Pīṇḍa* in the hands of Daśaratha? He has defended all these things in the *Tantra Vārtika*. He declares that as Buddhists use a corrupt language, we should not have regards for or we should not study the texts of the Buddhists.

B. Oguibenine

This is not necessarily scientific in our sense.

L.N. Tiwari

Yes, I say the same thing what you are saying. I am not the follower of Kumārila. I am against Kumārila. I am a vehement critic of Kumārila. I am not supporting him. But here study is being done between these two writings, and that is a stylistic study. So, stylistic study as said by my reverend teacher Prof. Pandey should contain certain principles. These are my principles and on which I am doing the stylistic studies and it can help in restoration of a *śloka* or a *gāthā* which is missing. So, what it will bring, I want to hear from this august assembly.

K.N. Mishra

The original contributor is absent, even then the paper has been discussed well and salient points have come up. Prof. Oguibenine has kindly given his queries to me to send to Dr. Verpoorten. It will be incorporated with the proceedings. (The response from the contributor was received which is given hereunder. The question's may be derived from the answers of Verpoorten).

* *samūlam apy ahimsādi śvadr̥tinikṣiptakṣiravad anupayogy aviśrambhaṇīyam* ca. *Tantravartika* on 1.3.7 (*Ānandāśrama*, Vol.97, 1970) p. 124.

Hereafter are his responses.

I. That remark is obviously right. However my research aims at nothing more than describing some patterns in the use of *sa/ta*, and it will be an interesting task to check its conclusions elsewhere. And I would not be surprised if they proved right there too owing to the great homogeneity of those texts. It goes without saying that these latter will provide a number of exceptions and special cases which will single out the style of each author, but without jeopardizing the cogency of my observations. H. Oertel discovered and collected many specific utterances throughout the *Brāhmaṇas*, but they do not call in question the general rules of the normal word-order in those treatises.

II. As for Ex.1 = Kum.66a, let us admit that *sa* is not the correlative of *yadi*. In that case, it should refer to *grahaṇam* and normally be neuter. The translation would be "That (taking in the well known sense) does not take place here in the case of the word *atha*".

After a more careful reading of the passage and in the light of the source of it in the *Śābara-bhāṣya* (especially the sentence *tathā hi yaḥ prasiddhapadārthakaḥ sa kalpitaḥ*) *sa* could belong to the *iti* stretch and refer to *lokaprasiddhārtha* in the foregoing compound.

III. Your idea of nominativus absolutus/pendens is skilful and gives the thought a touch of vividness.