Aspects of Buddhist Sanskrit

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The Position of Some Anaphorical Forms Inside the Ślokas of Bhartṛhari, Bhavya, Dharmakīrti and Kumārila

—Jean-Marie Verpoorten, Belgium

§ 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. There are some more ślokas in Rau’s edition than in Biardeau’s, and consequently, their numbering differs.

2. Bhavya’s quotations below are accompanied by Q or K according their source.

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


-in English by V.A.Van Bijlert, *Epistemology and Spiritual Authority*, Wiener Studien zur Tibetologie und Buddhismuskunde 20, Wien 1989\(^1\).

§ 2.- As known, Bhattṛhari (460-520 A.D.?) and Kumārila (7th c.) are the defenders of the orthodox or Brahmanic thought, whereas Bhāva (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 metricaly 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 exceptions\(^2\)). 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.

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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
2nd hemistich : -: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:


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 yadi, and a main clause.

In the table given § 4, the forms of the anaphorical pronoun occurring in the 4 samples\(^1\) have been collected with the number of their attestations. Note that tasyai, tau, tābhyaṁ, tāni, tasmai and tābhyaḥ 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/teśāṁ/tāsām (35 exx.). The other forms are not frequent enough for deserving a full study.

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1. A fifth shorter sample from Nāgārjuna is also supplied, see infra note 1, p.33.
2. In Bhavya, Q 59b tena pūrṇam kuto jagāt "How could (then) the whole world be full of it?", tena is clearly a pronoun. See also Dharmakīrti 104a. In Bhārthārī 66b (ex.121) anyai tasmād vivicyate, tasmāt is pronominal too.
3. In Dharmakīrti 63b bheda nāsti tato 'parah "There is no other difference than that one", tatah is pronominal: 1b hetvābhāsās tato 'pare "(Reasons) other than this one are fallacious" is also worth mentioning.
4. Bv Q5b tasmin pralīnā vidvānsot... "Wise men absorbed in Him..."; Q 9a tasmin sarvāni bhūtāni/bhavantī... "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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Bhavya(Bv)</th>
<th>Bhartrhari(Bh)</th>
<th>Dharmakirti(D)</th>
<th>Kumārila(Ku)</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Nāgārjuna(N)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>SA</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TAM</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>22</td>
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<tr>
<td>TENA</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>21</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
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<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>3</td>
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<tr>
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<td></td>
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<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
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<td>12</td>
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<td>5</td>
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<td>13</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>39</td>
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<td>7</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>6</td>
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<td>1 (tām tām)</td>
<td>1 (tām tām)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
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<tr>
<td>TE (dual)</td>
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<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
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<tr>
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<td></td>
<td>3</td>
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<td>1</td>
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<td>3</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td>6</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TAU</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TATRA</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>75 slokas²</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Total | 51         | 53             | 85             | 45           | 75    | 75 slokas²  |

* * *

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-⁶ 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 sparsest 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 nästy atrāthaśabdasyety 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 lokaprasiddhārthagrahaṇāṃ 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: anyāyyakalanā 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 vyakhya ("assumption") standing in 51a.

Ex.3  Ku44a: yoktā sā vedāvyākyānām/

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.
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Ex.4  Ku(93b-)94a: (...)niyamo yah... avadhitvam anāśritya / so 'vasanam apeksate

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 exc.15, 22, 49, 59.

Ex.5  Ku116a: .../dharmaḥ sa 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 adṛśṭārtha / iti naiveha sūrītaḥ

(...)the (former) return. That this (return) aims at an unseen result has not been touched upon here.

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¹ For so'yam in a Brāhmaṇa, see J.M. Verpoorten, L'ordre des mots dans l'Aitreya-brāhmaṇa (Liége-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 yah parastho 'pi / sa svaṃṃ 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
*yah*, 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 prayayo loke / yah...*

In this world, there is no idea that..

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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 adjetival rather than pronominal.

Ex. 13 Bh125a: .../*sa cchandasyah prajāpatiḥ*/
This Prajāpati is made up with meters...

Ex. 14 Bh62a: yo ya uccāryate ṣābdo/niyatum 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 kramajātavān / 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 Bhartrhari. See also ex.20.

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

Ex. 16 Bh 105a-b: *yah saṃyogavibhāgābhāyāṁ / karaṇaṁ upajanyate sa sphaltah.*/
The *sphalta* 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: *iyāṁ sa mokṣamāṇānām / aṭijhā rājapaddhatiḥ*

1. *Pāda*- or hemistic-final *sā* is more frequent with Dharmakīrti.
It is the straight royal road to take for those who desire salvation
The couple iyam sā is unfrequent, particularly with that order\footnote{1}.

Ex.18 Bh 28b : prañinām iva sā caiṣā\footnote{2} / vyavasthā nityatocytate

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

Ex.19 Bh 84 b : āvṛttyā na tu sa granthāḥ / 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 aśaktih sā / grahaṇopāya eva sah
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...nopalabhya\footnote{3} vyajanād vāyur iva sa / svanimitāt pratiyate
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 hemistic 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 : vivartāmānā sthānesu / saiṣā bhedam prapadyate\footnote{4}
Unfolding at the articulation points, that (verbal potency) reaches differentiation

\footnote{1}{Cf. supra ex.6.}
\footnote{2}{Saiṣā occurs in ex.22 again. For sa-ESA in the Aitareya-brāhmaṇa, see Verpoorten o.c., § 320.}
\footnote{3}{7th foot short in the first pāda.}
\footnote{4}{5th foot long in the first pāda.}
Sā-esā is correlative of the relative string yā saktir 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 saktiḥ pratibadhyate //
In case of connection with a specific substance, that power is countered.
Sā is not pronominal but adjectival: it modifies saktiḥ.

Ex.24 Bh50b : tatpravrttim ivānveti / sa dharmāḥ sphoṭanādayoh //
It follows, as it were, the moving of that one: such is the character of the sphota and the resonance.

B. INSIDE

Ex.25 Bh87b = ex.20.

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

Ex.27 Bh82b : viṣayendriyayor iṣṭāḥ / saṃskārah. sa krama 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 : ghaṇṭādīnāṃ ca śabdeṣu / vyakto bhedāḥ sa dṛṣyate
In the sounds of bells etc., that distinction is clear
Undoubtedly, sa is an adjective postponed after its head bhedāḥ. 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 kalpanaṃsaṃāropād / 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 nātmakartṛkāḥ //
Nor can sound, which has the nature of syllables, be regarded as having the Self as agent.
As correlative of ya- (functionning 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 cājño jñaḥ kathāṃ 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 kathāṃ ca saḥ //
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 / tattvataś 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 sati //
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: nānātvadhivat sā ca syād / vitathā pūrvavad grahāt
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 karmakṛ //
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: nihsvabhāvas 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 : anyavyāvṛttyā/gamyate tasya vastunāḥ //
That (statement has been uttered) : by excluding the rest, (any part) of that object is seized.

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

Ex.46 D80a: sa ca sarvah padārthānām / anyonyābhāvasamśrayah //
Every (verbal relation) is founded upon the reciprocal inexistence of the objects.
Sa (sarvah) is subject and initial: the predicate is final.

Ex.47 D110a: sā cātatkāryaviślesah/...
This (non-difference = abhinnaṭā. 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 tadāṃśena vyāpto / hetus. tridhaiva
saḥ // avinābhāvaniyamāt...*

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 *slokā* (see ex.4), the embedded *sa*-clause
jumps beyond the boundary of the 1st hemistic. *Saḥ* is
hemistic-final but central in its string.

Ex.50 D10a: *saktipraṇīttā na vinā / rasah. saivānyakāraṇāṃ1 //
There is no emotion without the action of a power.
This latter is the cause of something else.
*Sa* precedes its predicate.

Ex.51 D 33a: *arthāntaranimitto hi / dharmaḥ 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
(*dharmaḥ*). See exx.28, 48.

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

Ex.53 D 92a: *sabdāḥ 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 / hetumatām vilaṅghayet //
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 //
  saivānupalambhah kim / hetvabhāvasya sādhakaḥ
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...viśeṣah
  na sa ṣākyas tato 'nyena./ tena bhīnā 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.
  nāṣṭīti 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 / sāmānyad 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: yah...kāryotpādo 'numiyate
arthāntarānapakṣatvāt sa svabhāvo 'nuvartitah //
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 : yadviśesāvasāye 'sti / prayayah; sa pratiyate //
The notion, when it arises as a specific feature, gets
known

Ex.61 D 108b : sādṛśyam. nanu dhiḥ kāryam / tāsām, sā ca
vibhidyate //
...the similarity. Objection: the thought which is their
result is also distinct.

Ex.62 D 5a-b : ...yopalaḥdhiḥ prayujyate
nimittayor viruddhatvā/bhāve, sā vyabhicārini //
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 ahetukāh //
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, kathām 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:
Kumarila: 10 x
Bhartṛhari: 18 x
Bhavya: 16 x
Dharmakīrti: 20 x

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

The distribution according to the pādas reads as follows:

1st pāda initial: Buddhist 4 x: Brahmanic 3 x
inside: " 0 x: " 2 x
2nd pāda initial: " 1 x: " 2 x
inside: " 12 x: " 3 x

3rd pāda initial: " 3 x: " 2 x
inside: " 4 x: " 8 x
4th pāda initial: " 4 x: " 4 x
inside: " 8 x: " 4 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/hemistic/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
  clause, as in exx.4(Ku): 10(Ku), 16(Bh), 22(Bh); 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 hemistics, cf.§39.
2. The situation in the Atiṣṭeya-brāhmaṇa, Verpoorten, o.c., §§294ff., 548ff.
3. But exx.14(Bh), 21(Bh).
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 Nāgardjuna 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
*slokas*, suddenly they are clustered and then occur in a variety of
positions.  

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Part 2 : The position of TAT

1. See l.l.in D the group of *slokas* 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 Ku74a : nirvṛttam sūtrakāreśtam /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 Ku90a : .../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 Ku112a : laksāṇam 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 laksāṇam 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, va.deyus tat / bhāsyakārādayah katham //
For how could the commentators etc. say what (the author) himself has said?
Tat should have been put before vadeyuḥ.
§ 27.- Finally 2 cases of tat in the 4th pāda.

A. INITIAL

Ex.71 ? Ku4b : doṣo hy avidyamāno 'pi / tac cittānām prakāsate //
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 gṛhyate
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 Vākyapadiya

§ 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 / vānmalānām cikitsitam //

¹. Including Bh12b (ex.75) : yat tat punyatamam jyotis / tasya mārgo 'yam ānijasaḥ "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: *tailodakādi bhede tat/pratyaksām pratibimbake*

That is evident in the different (kinds of) reflections: in oil, water and the like

C. FOURTH PĀDA, initial.

Ex.77 Bh30b: *ṛṣīnām api yaj jñānam/tad apy āgamarūvakam*

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 chapter.

*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 pāḍa:

Ex.81 Bv20bK: *tad eva tāvan mīmāṃsyaṃ/...*

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 avikalpanām cal/... "That (Self) is eternal and non-conceptual...". *tat* 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.../vacanam cet, tad āgamah // tad ... (ex.81)
   If that discourse which...is the Scripture, that...
   (ex.81)

Ex. 85 Bv66aQ: mukto dravyasya yo bhāvas / tad ākāśam hi
   sāmyrīttam //
   The object which is empty of substance is, as is known (hi), the relative space
   Can be joined here

Ex. 86 Bv17bK: yat yathoktam tathoktam 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 inexisting), just as the (unreal) son of a barren woman (is not one)
   -a locative group

Ex. 88 Bv12bK: catustaye 'pi dharmādau / tan naivānyatra dṛṣyate //
   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 I 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 : .../buddhip cet, tan na yuyyate //
If...a cognition, that is not logical

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

Ex. 91 Bv86bQ : tasmāj jātapṛthais tūrthyaiḥ /kṛtam 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 kim tāsām /nānātvam samopahati //
Is this single object able to annul the diversity of them?

Ex. 93 D106a : tad ekam upakuryus tāh /katham ekām dhiyam 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" (*sāmāṇya*).

§ 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. atitākaikākānaṃ / gatis tat kārtyalīṅgajā "...: Thus (tat), the knowledge of the past epochs is produced by the mark of (their) effect".

2. In ex.94 D123a : vyartho *nyathā prayogah syāt / taj jñeyādipadesv api* "Otherwise, the usage would be superfluous. So in the words 'recognizable'
Inside the 2nd pāda, let us quote

Ex. 95 D90a: \textit{samānabhinnādyākārair / na tad grāhyam}
\textit{kathamcana\textsuperscript{1}}

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. \textit{Tad} follows it but precedes the
semi-adjectival grāhyam functionning as a predicate.

\textsection{35.-} \textit{Tad} is sometimes encapsulated but never fronted in
the 3rd pāda.

Ex. 96 D26b: \textit{tadbhāve ca -tan neti / vacanād- api tadgateḥ //}

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

\textit{Tad} is inserted because it belongs to the \textit{iti}-group \textit{tan na} itself
embedded in the hemistich.

Ex. 97 D11b: \textit{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 \textit{tad}
is inserted in the 4th pāda.

Ex. 98 D14b: \textit{tasya samśayahetutvāc / chesavat tad udāṛtam //}

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

\textit{Tat} might be adjectival and modify \textit{śesavat} or, simply, be a
conclusive particle connected with a preceding causal
ablative.

Ex. 99 D16b: \textit{yady ādṛśtiphalam 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

\textsuperscript{1} etc. also". \textit{tat} is to be translated by "so".\textit{\textquoteright duhcer} in German (Vetter, o.c. \textsection{1}
p.62).  
1. 5th foot long.
The Position of Some Anaphorical Forms

Ex. 100 D17a: na ca nāṣṭīti 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 niściyate rūpam / tat teṣām visayah 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...
  anapeksitabāhyārtham / tat tathā vācakam vacah //
  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 vacati.

Ex. 104 D105b: tāsām anyatamāpeksam / 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 hemistic. 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?
Kumārila: 8 x
Bhartṛhari: 4 x (+ 1 tat functioning as clause-particle)
Bhāvya: 14 x
Dharmakīrti: 13 x

Comparative table of the positions

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1st pāda</th>
<th>initial: Buddhist</th>
<th>3 x; Brahmanic 1 x</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>inside:</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>2 x; &quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>0 x</td>
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<th>3 x; &quot;</th>
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<td>3 x; &quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2 x</td>
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</tbody>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>3rd pāda</th>
<th>initial: &quot;</th>
<th>1 x; &quot;</th>
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</thead>
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<tr>
<td>inside:</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>4 x; &quot;</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2 x (in ex.75, p.20, note 1. tat= thus?)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
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<tr>
<th>4th pāda</th>
<th>initial: &quot;</th>
<th>6 x; &quot;</th>
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<tr>
<td>inside:</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>5 x; &quot;</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>2 x</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
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<td>1 x</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

The Buddhists are thus more inclined to use tat than the Brahmanic writers and, moreover, they preferably put it in the 2nd hemistic (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 tād mūmāṇsyam tād 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/TEŠĀM/TĀSĀM

IX. TASYA/TEŠĀM 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: adṛṣṭāyātha vāpy anyah / sanskāram, 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...

svasamjñam vāpi, tasyedam / 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
śabdānāṁ drṣyate. teśām / upālambo '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 pariḥāro '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 nārthāḥ 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: viṣeṣanisthatā tasya / bhāsyakāreṇa varnyate
The peculiar situation of that (relation) is described
by the Bhāsyakāra

X. TASYA/TEŚĀM in the Vākyapadiya

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: tasyārthavādarūpāni / niśritāḥ
Backed on the explanatory passages in it (= the Veda)...

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

Ex. 115 Bh121a: tasya prāne 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: āsannam 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 / teśām ādir na vidyate

Either eternal or produced, the (words) have no beginning.

§ 43: Here are the cases of tasya/teśām in the 3rd pāda.

A. INITIAL

Ex. 121 Bh66a-b: tasyābhidheyabhāvena /
yah śabdah samavasthitah //
tasyāpy uccāraṇc rūpaṃ /
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...yah...
tasyāśristād guṇād eva / prakṛṣṭatvaṃ pratīyate //
The quality...which...is endowed with an excellence owing to a quality residing in it

Ex. 123 Bh91b: teśām atyantabhede 'pi / samkūrṇā eva saktayaḥ //

Although they are entirely different, their powers are blended

Ex. 124 Bh64a-b: ...sāmānyam...yad yat...
tasya tasyopamānesu / dharma 'nyo vyatiricyate //

In every middle term...there is an extra property (by which) comparisons go further

B. INSIDE

Ex. 125 Bh38b: ye bhāvān, vacanam teśām / nānumānena
bādhyate //

Of those who (perceive), the realities the word cannot be refuted by inferential reasoning
Ex. 126 Bh52b: \textit{vṛttis tasya kriyārūpā / bhāgaśo bhajate kramam} //
Its sequence takes place in succession, part after part, like a movement

§ 44.- The last 3 cases exhibit \textit{tasya} in the 4th \textit{pāda}. Twice, it is

A. INITIAL

Ex. 127 Bh6b: \textit{śabdānām yataśaktitvām / tasya śākhāsu drśyate}
In the branches of the (Veda), words are found to have a fixed capacity

Here, \textit{tasya} foregoes its governing word \textit{śākhāsu}. It is likewise in

Ex. 128 Bh12b: \textit{yat tat puṇyatamān jyotis / tasya mārgo 'yam aṅjasaḥ} //
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: \textit{anyapratyāyane saktir / na tasya pratibadhyate}
Its power of revealing an other (form) is not obstructed

\textit{Tasya} follows its head \textit{saktih} which belongs to the foregoing \textit{pāda}.

XI. TASYA/TEŚĀM in Bhavya's work

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

A. INSIDE PĀDA 3

Ex. 130 Bv50bQ: \textit{na tasyātmā hy asau yukto / yathākham devaśarmanāḥ} //
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.) Devaśarman.

Ex. 131 Bv30bQ: \textit{khapuspavad atas tasya / na sattāpy avadhāryate//}
Its existence therefore cannot be (more) precisely determined like a sky flower (= than that of a sky-0)
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 tatsthatā*  
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 ekas 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 teśām na durlabhah*  
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/TEŚĀM/TĀSĀM in the Pramāṇavārttika

We can mention 16 passages exhibiting these forms.  
§ 46.- In the 1st pāda.

A. INITIAL

Ex. 135 D115a: *teśām avṛksāh samkete / vyavacchinā 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 teśām sāmānyā/samānādhāragocaraiḥ*  
They...through denoting (*-gocaraiḥ*) universality and continual flux of those...

Ex. 137 D116a: *anirākaraṇe teśām / samkete 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: tenaikenaśī samarthyam/tāsāṁ netī...
As there is no potency for them (= the individuals) with the help of that single...

B. INSIDE

Ex. 140 D54a-b: dharmopākaraśaktinām/bhede tās tasya kiṃ; yadi
nopakāras tatas tāsāṁ/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 samśayahetutvāt... cf. ex. 98

Ex. 143 D75b: tāsāṁ ksetrādhībhed ca/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 cānyavyāṛtyā/dharmabhedaḥ 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 taddhetuh /...
The essence of this one has been caused by it

Ex. 147 D106b: kāryaś ca tāsām 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 tāsām 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/teśām/tāsām

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/teśām/tāsām 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.

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1. From a quick survey of the *Mūlamadhyamaka-kārikās* of Nāgārjuna, more precisely
   -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 hemistic (XXIV 14 b : *sā praṇīaptir upādāya / pratipat saiva madhyamā "That (voidness) is a metaphorical designation, it is the middle way")

*Tat* exclusively shows up in the second hemistic : inside *pāda* 3, 2 x(II 11b and ? 12a); in front of *pāda* 4, 2 x(II 13b and XXIV 17b). In XXIV 5b, it has been added at the beginning of the hemistic, 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 hemistic 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 (doṣapsarangā nāsmākan / *sa śūnye* nāpapadyate // where *sa* follows the head doṣa-°).
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, i.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 Bhārtrihari 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

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 ghatah ayam patah 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 Bhaṭṭārka 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 Bhaṭṭārka 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 Ātareya Brāhmaṇa, presuming that it was widely known. It is a very good book, very investigative of the syntax of the Ātareya 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 atrāthaśabdasyet adhyātārādikālpanam’ we find the proceedings have mistakenly begin with yadi and sa is here a sort of co-relative of yadi and sa remains to the main clause. I fail to see, somebody may explain to me, may be however sa is co-relative to yadi. 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 teśām’ etc. Instead of saying that the group tad ekam vastu, comes at the appartment 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 sakti ch.23 ? why does he says that sā with sakti can be sidd-aśakti ? 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 sakti requires a specific dravya or place to manifest. So, you could say siddhā-sakti 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 prajñapāti. 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 Pānini 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 Semitic 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 Kumārilabhaṭṭa? Kumārila says

\[ \text{asādhuśabda-bhūyiṣṭhā Śakya-Jaināgamas ca ye /} \\
\text{asannibandhanatvāc ca śastratvam na pratiyate.} \]

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, Ahimṣa, Dhamma etc. but we should not adopt them

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).

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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 Sābara-bhāṣya (especially the sentence tathā hi yah prasiddhapadārthakah sa kalpitaḥ) sa could belong to the iti stretch and refer to lokaprasiddhatthā in the foregoing compound.

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