On bhāvapada in the Saddanīti

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1. There are some studies, such as those by Kahrs [1992] and Deokar [2008], that elucidate the theory of kārakas in the Sadd (= Saddanīti), which is the grammatical literature of Theravāda written by Aggavamsa in Burma in the 12th century CE. However, these studies focus intensively on volume III, Suttamāla; it seems that less attention has been paid to volume I, Padamāla. Therefore, I am going to examine one of the discussions of kārakas in the first chapter of Padamāla, in which Aggavamsa points out that in Pāli, bhāvapada, akammakadhātu (i.e., objectless verb) + ya + attanopada/parassapada, such as bhūyate, is used with not only the agentive instrumental but also the agentive nominative case.

2. As a premise for the discussion in the Sadd, the outline of the derivation process of Pāṇini’s A (= Aṣṭādhyāyī) should be kept in mind: 1) [a] devadatta-sU(prātipadākṛta) (> devadattaḥ) odana-am(karman) paca-ty(kartṛ) [b] devadatta-Tā(kartṛ) (> devadattena) odana-sU(prātipadākṛta) pacya-te(karman) [c] ās-te(kartṛ) devadatta-sU(prātipadākṛta) [d] āsya-te(bhūva) devadatta-Tā(kartṛ). In passages [a] and [b], the L-affix, which is finally substituted by a verbal ending, is introduced after a verb when an agent [a] or an object [b] is to be signified (A 3.4.69: lah karmaṇi ca bhāve cākarmakebhyaḥ [67: kartari]). In passage [a], since an agent has already been signified by the L-affix (A 2.3.1: anabhīhite), agentive nominal endings are not to be introduced. The first triplet (prathama) is introduced only in the sense of its base meaning (A 2.3.46: prātipadākṛthaliṅgaparimāṇavacanaṃatra prathama). In the system of Pāṇinian grammar, the first triplet does not indicate any kāraka. The second triplet (dvitiya) is introduced when an object is to be signified (A 2.3.2: karmanī dvitiya). In contrast, in passage [b], the L-suffix has already signified an object; hence, an object is not expressed by nominal endings (A 2.3.1). Therefore, the first triplet is introduced when the meaning of the prātipadika alone is to be signified (A 2.3.46). In addition, the third triplet (tṛtya) is introduced when an agent is to be signified (A 2.3.18:
kārtrkaranayoh tṛtiyā). Then, in passages [c] and [d], the L-affix is introduced after the objectless verbs (akarmakebhyaḥ) when an agent [c] or mere bhāva [d], i.e., verbal action, is to be signified. In passage [d], the third triplet is introduced when an agent is to be signified by the same process as in passage [b].

3. Usually, Pāli grammarians follow the same system as the Sanskrit ones. However, in the Sadd, descriptions of kārakas are slightly different from those of the Pāṇinian school, especially in the discussion of bhāvapada, which corresponds to the previously cited passage [d]. Let us examine the definition of bhāvapada in the Sadd 7.24–25:

The word X expresses the meaning of bhāva under the following application: X has the same figure as a passive verb (kammuno kiriyāpada); and the object of action is not expressed—on the other hand, an agent-denoting word is expressed by the nominative or instrumental case.

According to the Sadd’s definition, expressions such as [e] so bhūyate (Sadd 8,9) and [d’] *āsyate devadattaḥ are justified. In addition, the Sadd quotes passages from various Pāli texts in which compositions of bhāvapada + nominative are seen, if we are to agree with Aggavaṃsa’s understanding of these texts. It should be noted that Aggavaṃsa admits that the first case ending conveys the meaning of an agent, unlike A 2.3.46. Now, let us consider the rule about the disposition of kārakas in the Suttamālā. Aggavaṃsa describes the first case ending in the following manner:

Sadd §594 (718,18–20): kattari paṭhamā tatiyā ca. ākhyaṭābhihite kattari paṭhamā vibhatti hoti. kitāḥhyātehi anabhihite kattari tatiyā vibhatti hoti. When an agent has always been signified (abhihite, cf. A 2.3.1) by a verb and an agent is to be signified, the first case ending (paṭhamā) is introduced; when an agent has not always been signified by a verb or kita (Skt. kṛt) and an agent is to be signified, the third case ending (tatiyā) is introduced.

This account suggests that Aggavaṃsa implies the following arrangement of kārakas: [a’] devadatta-s[ntukdu] (> devadatto) odana-am[ntukdu] paca-ti[ntukdu]. Furthermore, based on the above understanding in the Sadd, Aggavaṃsa seems to consider the arrangement of kārakas in the following manner: [e] sa-s[ntukdu] (> so) bhūyate[bhāva]. However, it is apparently impossible for the first case ending of sa-s[ntukdu] (> so) to convey the meaning of an agent for the reason that, according to the rule in Sadd §594, the first case ending provided with the sense of an agent can be introduced only when the agent is denoted by a verb. However, the question raises here: Apparently the verb bhūyate[bhāva] does not signify an agent.
4. Aggavaṃsa argues the case in detail. Especially in the Sadd 8.28–9.28, he tries to somehow give bhāvapada the meaning of an agent. Aggavaṃsa explains,

However, [bhāvapada] indicates, by its (= bhāvapada’s) figure, an agent that is substance; nonetheless, [the bhāvapada] denotes the agent that is denoting bhāva, even if it (= bhāva) depends on the agent . . . (Sadd 9.16–18)

It is widely accepted that the action (kiriya or bhāva) depends on the substance (dabba). On the bases of this understanding, Aggavaṃsa explains that bhāvapada in the primal sense should denote an agent; further, the bhāvapada can show bhāva, which depends on the agent. In other words, bhāva is indicated only secondarily by bhāvapada. As the justification of the name bhāvapada, Aggavaṃsa clarifies in the Sadd 9.23 that the “one resorting to” (nissita) takes place by the power of the “resorting place” (nissaya). Subsequently, he uses the following analogy:

As the mat and pot that are supporting the “resorting place” (nissaya) of the action, i.e., kārakas, which are called the agent and object [respectively], are thought of as the “supporter of action,” in the same manner, wise men think of bhāvapada, which is showing the resort of the bhāva, i.e., an agent, as explanatory of the bhāva. (Sadd 9.25–28)

Aggavaṃsa’s explanation is very clear. The adhikaraṇa, for example, a mat that directly supports a sitting man, is called “the supporter of the action (sitting)” only indirectly. In the same manner, bhāvapada, which directly indicates an agent, is called bhāvapada indirectly. To summarize these arguments, in order to establish consistency in his grammatical system, Aggavaṃsa attempts to dispose of the kārakas of the bhāvapada in the following manner: [e] so (kattar) bhūyate (kattar > bhāva).

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Notes
1) See Cardona [1997, 88, 145–149]. 2) Cf. Kacc 455: attanopadāni bhāve ca kammani, Sadd §934: bhāvakammesv attanopadām, Kacc 442: bhāvakammesu yo. Sadd §920: kamme yo bhāve ca. 3) It is, of course, doubtful that Aggavaṃsa reads these texts correctly; even in the Sadd-t, his readings are not supported at every instance. Aggavaṃsa probably makes use of the Saccas 63d: aggijādi pubbe va bhūyate (see also Kahrs [1992, 26]); however, the Sadd-t indicates a variant reading of the text: Sadd-t khè 5: tīkāyām pan’ assa aggijādhi ti vattabbe ādissadalopaṃ katvā aggijāhi ti vuttan ti vuttam. The Sadd-t provides us with information on the tīkā of the Saccas (= assa), where this text is understood.
There once existed a Bodhisattva called Sadāparibhūta. They went to hell on the grounds of having persecuted him.

Abbreviations

The abbreviations of Pāli texts follow the CPD, unless otherwise noted.

A  अष्टैध्यायः. See Appendix III in Cardona [1997].

CPD  A Critical Pāli Dictionary. Ed. Vilhelm Trenckner et al. 3 vols. Copenhagen: Pali Text Society, 1924–2011.

Kacc  Kaccāyana and Kaccāyanavuttī. Ed. Ole Holten Pind. With an index prepared by S. Kasamatsu and Y. Ousaka. Bristol: Pali Text Society, 2013.

Sadd  Saddanīti: La grammaire palie d'Aggavaṃsa. I Padamālā, II Dhātumālā, III Suttamālā (1928–1930), IV–V,2 Table (1949–1966). Ed. Helmer Smith. Acta Reg. Societatis Humaniorum Litterarum Lundensis, no. 12: 1–12: 5,2. Lund: Gleerup. Reprint, Oxford: Pali Text Society, 2001.

Sadd-ṭ  Saddanīti-ṭīkā. See Ruiz-Falqués [2014].

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