

## PĀLI LEXICOGRAPHICAL STUDIES VIII<sup>1</sup>

### SEVEN PĀLI ETYMOLOGIES

Here is another random collection of words which are either omitted from PED,<sup>2</sup> or given an incorrect meaning or etymology there.

1. *āharitā* “having brought”
2. *chandaso* “willingly”
3. *vāc’-uggata* “learnt orally”
4. *vyasanna* “sunk down”
5. *vyamhita* “frightened”
6. *sīhavasā* “lion’s oil”
7. *Sugata/Tathāgata* “Buddha”

1. *āharitā* “having brought”

At Ja III 399,2\* Be and Ee read *iminā sakunājātena bijam āharitā hatā* “[The trees] are destroyed by birds which have brought a seed”. Ce and Se read *āharitvā*, which is unmetrical in the cadence of a śloka pāda. The cty states: *bijam āharitā ti bijam āharitvā* (399,12’), and the reading of Ce and Se is probably the gloss which has been taken over into the text by scribes who did not understand the reading.

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<sup>1</sup> See K.R. Norman, “Pāli Lexicographical Studies VII”, in *JPTS*, XIV, pp. 219–25.

<sup>2</sup> Abbreviations of the titles of Pāli texts are as in the Epilegomena to V. Trenckner: *A Critical Pāli Dictionary*, Vol. I, Copenhagen 1924–48 (= CPD). In addition: Be = Burmese edition; Ce = Sinhalese edition; Ee = European (i.e. PTS, unless otherwise stated) edition; Se = Siamese edition; PTS = Pali Text Society; PED = PTS’s *Pali-English Dictionary*; BD = *Book of the Discipline*; cty = commentary; Ms. = manuscript.

CPD (s.v. *āharati*) suggests reading *āhariyā*, which would represent the absolutive *āhariya* with lengthening of the final *-a* to *-ā*. There is, however, no obvious reason for such a lengthening, since it is not required metri causa. Moreover, CPD's suggestion seems to be a conjecture with no authority in any of the manuscript traditions. In view of the existence of absolutes in *-tā* metri causa,<sup>3</sup> it seems very likely that we should accept the reading *-tā*, and surmise that this represents a simplification of the geminate consonant *-tt-* in the old pre-Pāli absolutive ending *-ttā*, to produce a short *-i-* where the metre requires it.

## 2. *chandaso* "willingly"

When dealing with the phrase *buddhavacanaṃ chandaso āropema* (Vin II 139,8) elsewhere,<sup>4</sup> I suggested that *chandaso* did not mean "into verse, into metre, into Vedic" as had been proposed by other scholars, but should rather be connected with the word *chanda* "will, desire". I could not quote a canonical usage of the word in this sense, but I quoted the sentence *tesaṃ tesaṃ samaṇabrāhmaṇānaṃ chandaso paṭiññāyamānaṃ vohāramattaṃ ev' etaṃ* from Thī-a 64,24 (ad Thī 57).

In Bhikkhunīpātimokkha (Pārājikā dhammā I.1) No. 1,<sup>5</sup> which is quoted at Sp 1302,32–34, we find: *yā pana bhikkhunī chandaso methunaṃ dhammaṃ paṭiseveyya antamaso tiracchānagatāya pi, pārājikā hoti asaṃvāsā*. As Miss Horner points out,<sup>6</sup> this is the same as the first pārājika rule for bhikkhus, except that the bhikkhus' rule (Vin III 22,33) omits the word *chandaso*. The word is explained in the cty on the Bhikkhunīpātimokkha: *tattha chandaso ti methunarāgapaṭisaṃyuttena chandena c' eva ruciyā ca, chande pana asati balakkārena padhaṃsitāya*

<sup>3</sup> See K.R. Norman, "Pāli Lexicographical Studies III", *JPTS* X, 1985, pp. 32–35.

<sup>4</sup> K.R. Norman, "MIA Studies VIII", *JOI(B)* XX, 1971, pp. 329–36.

<sup>5</sup> See R.D. Vadekar, *Pātimokkha*, Poona 1939, p. 27.

<sup>6</sup> See I.B. Horner, *BD*, VI p. 3 n. 4.

*anāpatti*, Kkh 157,10–12. It also occurs in the exegesis of this explanation: *tilaphalamattam pi padesaṃ chandaso paveseti*, 157,18.

The Sanskrit Bhikṣuṇī-vinaya<sup>7</sup> also includes the word. It gives the rule in the form: *yā puna bhikṣuṇī chandaso maithunaṃ grāmyaṃ dharmāṃ pratiṣeviyā antamasato tiryagyonigata(gatena) pi sārđhaṃ iyaṃ bhikṣuṇī pārājikā bhavaty asaṃvāsyaḥ(syā)* (§ 114).

As I explained in my earlier article, *chandaso* would then be an example of the suffix *-so* < *-śas* added to the word *chanda*, and is not to be confused with *chandaso* = gen. sg. of *chanda(s)* "metre", e.g. *savitti chandaso mukhaṃ*, Sn 568 (*vede sajjhāyantehi paṭhamaṃ ajjhetabbato savitti chandaso mukhaṃ*, Pj II 456,21 = Ps III 406,24). For other usages of *chanda* in the sense of metre, cf. *atitakālikānaṃ pi hi chandasi vattamānavacanaṃ akkharacintakā icchanti*, Pj II 16,24 (ad Sn 2 "udacchidā"); *chandavasena c' ettha dīghaṃ katvā ca-kāram āha, saṃsuddhacaraṇo ti attho*, Pj II 205,25 (ad Sn 162 "-cāraṇo"); *chando nidānaṃ gāthānaṃ*, S I 38,21 (glossed: *gāyattī-ādiko chando gāthānaṃ nidānaṃ*, Spk I 94,21–22); *chandavasena rassaṃ katvā*, Pj II 402,27 (ad Sn 455 "manta"). At Vv-a 265,14 *chandoviciti* is used specifically of one of the six *vedāṅgas* (= Sanskrit *chandoviciti*); in the corresponding list at Pv-a 97,28 it appears as *chanda*. If, therefore, we reject the suggestion that *chandaso* is to be taken from *chanda* "will", then it would appear from the Pāli uses of *chanda* that it means "metre" rather than "Vedic language".

## 3. *vāc'-uggata* "learnt orally"

This compound occurs in a number of places in the commentarial and later literature: *suppavattī ti suṭṭhu pavattaṃ paguṇaṃ*

<sup>7</sup> G. Roth, *Bhikṣuṇī-vinaya: Manual of discipline for Buddhist nuns*, Patna 1970.

~am suvinicchitam, Sp 234,10 (~an ti vācāya uggatam; tattha nirantaram thitan ti attho, Vmv I 125,18); atthakathāsu pana pākātavohāram gahetvā °-vasena sabbacchannā nāma pañcahi chadanehi channā ti, 745,19; dve mātīkā paguṇā ~ā katvā, 788,29; dve vibhaṅgā paguṇā ~ā kātābbā, 789,11; vattantī ti āgacchanti, paguṇā ~ā ti attho, 792,9; yassa sātthakatham vinayapīṭakam ~am pavattati, 983,30; suppvattinī ti °-vasena, 990,11 (°-vasenā ti paguṇavasena, Sp-ṭ III 7,12); dve pana akhaṇḍā suvisadā ~ā honti, 1060,3 (~ā ti purimass' eva vevacanam, Sp-ṭ III 39,27); pariyāpunitvā ti, uggaṇhitvā vā ~am vā katvā, Spk I 262,3; eken' eva uddesena tayo vedā hadayaṅgatā ~ā sūpadhāritā ... ahesum, Mil 10,11; sajjhāyanti ca ~am parantā dhārenti ca, Sp-ṭ (Līnasāratthadīpanī), p. 123; yāvata ~ā pariyatti hoti, Ps III 78,15; divase divase ca chasahassa-vedapadāni ~ā honti, Bu-up 42,3; Abhidhamma-pīṭakam uggaṇhitvā sātthakatham ~am katvā, Saddhamma-s 82,2 ≠ 82,6; ten' eva katakammena bhavantaram anāgate sāvijjattha katass' eva ~aṅ ca tantiyā, 82,13–14.

I am uncertain about the last of these, but in all the other passages the compound refers to the doctrine, or teachings, or sermons. It is not clear how the meaning “with well-intoned speech”, which is given in PED, is to be construed. In his translation of Mil 10,11 Rhys Davids changes the construction of the sentence and translates “Could intone them correctly”,<sup>8</sup> which leaves undecided the question of whether he understood the compound correctly. Miss Horner’s translation of the same phrase “[the three vedas] were properly intoned in voice”<sup>9</sup> is grammatically possible. Gray changes the construction and translates as though the verb were active “[he] got off [presumably “by heart”] 6000 pādas daily”.<sup>10</sup> I do not understand B.C. Law’s “... learnt the Abhidhamma-pīṭaka and the commentary thereon with their well-intoned

<sup>8</sup> T.W. Rhys Davids, *The Questions of King Milinda*, Vol. I, Sacred Books of the East Vol. XXXV, London 1890, p. 17.

<sup>9</sup> I.B. Horner, *Milinda's Questions*, Vol. I, London 1963, p. 14.

<sup>10</sup> J. Gray, *Buddhaghosuppatti* (ed. and trsl.), London 1892, Part 2, p. 8.

speech”, or his “He who ... comes nearer to one who has mastered a well-intoned speech”.<sup>11</sup>

I suggest that *uggata* is a form of *ōggata* = *ogata* (< *avagata*) with the sense of “learnt, understood”, which not usual in Pāli, although *avagata* sometimes occurs with the meaning “understood”.<sup>12</sup> The compound would therefore mean something like “learnt orally”, referring to the recitation procedure.

Although in all these references the word seems to be used of the texts, there are several references in later texts where the word seems to be used of people (*sabbe pi te bhikkhū ... sabbe ~ā honti*, Gv<sup>13</sup> 77,12; cf. Gv 77,14,17,18,24,27,30), or even *kāla* (*Duṭṭhagāminīrañño ca kālo ~o dhuvam*, Gv 77,18). If these are correct usages, and the fact that they occur only in Ms. M, which is said to be “full of clerical errors”,<sup>14</sup> gives reason for some doubt about this, then they presumably reflect a later semantic development, perhaps taking *uggata* in an active sense “those who have learnt (texts) orally”. This, however, is hardly applicable to *kāla*.

#### 4. *vyasanna* “sunk down”

This word occurs in the Citta-Sambhūta-jātaka at Ja IV 399,6\* (*nāgo yathā paṅkamajjhe vyasanno*) and 399,8\* (*evam p' aham kāmapaṅke vyasanno*). In both places Fausbøll lists the v.ll. *vyasanto* (in Ms. C<sup>k</sup>) and *byasanno* (in Ms. B<sup>d</sup>). It is glossed: *vyasanno* (C<sup>k</sup>s *vyasanto*, B<sup>d</sup> *byasanno*) *ti visanno* (C<sup>k</sup> *visante*, C<sup>s</sup> *visanne*, B<sup>d</sup> *visannova*), 399,17–18'. The word also occurs in the Kumbha-jātaka at Ja V 16,15\* (*sammakkhito vantagato*

<sup>11</sup> B.C. Law, *A manual of Buddhist historical traditions (Saddhamma-saṅgaha)*, Calcutta 1941, p. 122.

<sup>12</sup> See CPD, Vol. I, s.v. *avagata*.

<sup>13</sup> *JPTS* 1886, pp. 54–80.

<sup>14</sup> *ibid.*, p. 55.

*vyasanno*, without v.l. It is glossed: *vyasanno* (C<sup>ks</sup> *vyaccannā*) *ti vyanāpanno*, *visanno* (B<sup>d</sup> *vipphanno*, C<sup>k</sup> *visatto*) *ti pi pāṭho*, *tasmim vante osanno* (C<sup>ks</sup> *osanto*) *ti attho* (19,1'-2').

PED explains *vyasanna* as metric (diaeretic) for *visanna*,<sup>15</sup> but does not explain how reading *vya-* instead of *vi-* affects the metre. Preceded by the final *-e* of *majjhe*, *vy-* cannot make any difference to the scansion of the pāda. The editors of PED make no reference to the Ardha-Māgadhī equivalent of the Citta-Sambhūta-jātaka found in Uttaraññāyana-sutta XIII. There we find: *nāgo jahā paṅkajalāvasanno* (XIII.30).<sup>16</sup> This enables us to postulate that an earlier version of the Pāli pāda ended with *paṅkamajjhāvasanno*. When this became wrongly divided as *paṅkamajjhā vasanno*, perhaps at a time when long vowels were not written, the ending of *-majjhā* was changed to the locative *-e*, and the initial *v-* of *vasanno* was changed to *vy-* by a scribe who knew that initial *v-* was often derived from *vy-*.<sup>17</sup> We might deduce that this change was made before the time of the composition of the cty on Ja, since the explanation *vyasanāpanno* would seem to reflect a word beginning with *vy-*. It is, on the other hand, possible that *vyasanāpanna* is simply intended as a gloss upon the whole compound, in which case we might suspect that the presence of *vy-* in *vyasana* led to the insertion of *-vy-* into *paṅkamajjhāvasanno*, with the resultant belief that *vyasanno* was a word in its own right, followed by the replacement of the unintelligible *-majjhā* by *-majjhe*. At Ja V 16,15\* we might assume that an earlier version of the pāda ended with the words *vantagato 'vasanno*, and here the reading *avasanno* is supported by the gloss *osanno*.

<sup>15</sup> See PED, s.v. *vyasanna*.

<sup>16</sup> J. Charpentier, *The Uttarādhyāyanasūtra*, Uppsala 1922, p. 118.

<sup>17</sup> Cf. *vyappatha* < \**vappatha*. See K.R. Norman, "Two Pali etymologies", *BSOAS* XLII, 1979, pp. 321-28 (p. 326).

### 5. *vyamhita* "frightened"

The conclusion that initial *vy-* has been restored incorrectly in *vyasanna* suggests that we might look at other words beginning with *vy-* to see if the ligature can be explained as a non-historic restoration of the same kind. It is possible that the word *vyamhita* is another example, since here too *vya-* is explained by PED as being metrical for *vi-*.<sup>18</sup> The word occurs at Ja V 69,4\*: *avaca* (C<sup>k</sup> *avañca*) *vyamhito* (B<sup>d</sup> *by-*) *rājā*. The word is glossed: *vyamhito* (B<sup>d</sup> *byamitto*) *ti bhīto vimhaya-punno* (B<sup>d</sup> *vimhayam āpanno*) vā, 69,21'-22'. Here *vy-* could be regarded as *metri causa*, since the conjunct consonant lengthens the preceding *-a* and consequently changes the scansion of the opening of the pāda to *vvv*. This avoids the opening *vvv*, which is irregular by classical standards, although it can certainly be paralleled elsewhere in Pāli. If, however, a redactor had a feeling for metre and wished to avoid this opening, it would have been simple to gain the same result by lengthening the final vowel of *avaca* and reading *avacā*.

In the other occurrences of the word the importance of its form in relation to metre is not obvious. We find: *rājā vyamhitamānaso*, Ja VI 243,10\* where Be reads *byathita-mānaso*. It is glossed: *vyamhita-mānaso* (Be *byathita-*) *ti bhītacitto*. Here, after the final *-ā* of *rājā*, it makes no difference metrically whether *vyamhita-* or *vimhita-* occurs. Nor is it *metri causa* at the beginning of a pāda at Ja VI 314,26\*: *vyamhito nābhivādeti*, glossed: *vyamhito ti bhīto*, 314,27'. Nor in the opening of a śloka pāda with the pathyā cadence at 315,1\*: *na c' amhi vyamhito* (Be *byamhito*) *nāga*, where *bhīto* occurs in the exegesis.

Despite the glosses *vimhaya-punno* and *vimhayam āpanno*, the word does not seem to be identical in meaning with *vimhita*. The occurrence of the gloss *bhīto* and the Be reading *vyathita-* suggests that

<sup>18</sup> See PED, s.v. *vyamhita*.

we may be dealing with the verb *vyādheti* “to frighten” which, as is well known, takes over the meanings of the root *vyath-* in Pāli. If this is so, then the correct reading at Ja VI 243,10\* could be *vyādhitā-mānasa*. There must, however, be some doubt about this, because in an earlier form the verb was probably *\*vādhitā-*, which could equally well be derived from the root *bādh-*.<sup>19</sup> With the development of *\*vādhitā-* to *\*vāhitā-*, and the replacement of the long syllable *-ā-* by a nasalised short vowel *-am-*, via *-am-*, we would get *\*vamhita-*.<sup>20</sup> The restoration of *vy-* at the beginning of the word was due to a scribe or redactor who, rightly or wrongly, thought that initial *v-* was derived from *vy-*.

#### 6. *sihavasā* “lion’s oil”

The translation “lion’s oil” for *sihavasā* depends on the recognition that here the word *vasā* has the sense of “oil”; cf. *vas’ odissam*, Sp 717,27 (“oil as an object of specification or stipulation”).<sup>21</sup> The compound *sihavasā* has much the same meaning as *sihatela* “lion’s oil” = “a valuable oil or perfume”. Cf. *gahitagahitaṃ ... suvaṇṇabhājane pakkhittam iva sihatelaṃ avinassamānaṃ dhārento* (Pj I 198,26) with *gahitagahitaṃ pāsāne khatalekhā viya, suvaṇṇaghaṭe pakkhitta-sihavasā viya ca gahitākāren’ eva tiṭṭhati* (Ps II 336,34).

It is used in a simile for doing something attentively or carefully (because the oil is valuable and must not be spilled), e.g. *~āya suvaṇṇanāḷiṃ pūrento viya sakkaccaṃ sotaṃ odahitvā*, Ja I 98,4; *pāsāne lekhaṃ khaṇanto viya kañcananāḷiyā ~am paṭicchanto viya ohitasoto*,

<sup>19</sup> For the confusion between *bā(d)h-* and *vā(d)h-*, see K.R. Norman, “Middle Indo-Aryan Studies XIV”, *JOI(B)* XXIX, pp. 37–41 (p. 37). Cf. the gloss *na vyādheti na bādheti*, Ja IV 166,21 (ad 166,4\* “na ... vyādheti”).

<sup>20</sup> For a similar alternation between long and nasalised short vowels (in *\*ud-āhati* and *\*ud-aṅhati*) see O. von Hinüber, *Die Sprachgeschichte des Pāli im Spiegel der südostasiatischen Handschriftenüberlieferung*, Mainz 1988, p. 26.

<sup>21</sup> PED (s.v. *vasā*) gives the meanings “fat, tallow, grease”.

*sakkaccaṃ subhāsītāni suṇāti*, Ja V 149,13; *sakkaccaṃ pāsāne lekhaṃ khaṇantā viya, kañcananāḷiyā ~am paṭicchantā viya ca ohitasotā savanaṃ karoṭhā ti attho*, Mhv-ṭ 6,24–25.

It is also used as an illustration of something remaining unchanged and not disappearing. The two words *kañcana-pātī* and *kañcana-nāḷī* which frequently occur with *sihavasā* both refer to containers (“bowl” and “tube”) in which the valuable oil is kept, so that it is not lost (because it is in a golden container, and not an earthenware one, through the walls of which seepage might take place), e.g. *yassa hi sutam hadayamañjūsāya sannicitam silāya lekhā viya suvaṇṇaghaṭe pakkhitta-~ā viya ca tiṭṭhati*, Mp III 28,15 = Ps II 252,30 (ad “*suta-sannicaya*”); *gahitagahitaṃ pāsāne khatalekhā viya, suvaṇṇaghaṭe pakkhitta-~ā viya ca gahitākāren’ eva tiṭṭhati*, Ps II 336,34

Its container is used as an illustration of something which is useful and valuable. We find *tadadhikāram pi suṇantānaṃ va sāsānikajanassa dīpaṃ idaṃ ~āya suvaṇṇabhājanaṃ viya suriyaramsiyā samphullapadumaṃ viya ca disvā*, Mhv-ṭ 50,24–26. In contrast to this, at Ja V 489,13 we find *mattikābhājanaṃ viya ~āya abhājanaṃ tvam dhammassa* “You are useless as a container for the dhamma, just as a clay container is useless for ...”.

The compound is very appropriate to the work of authors and scribes, who hope that their work will not disappear, just as something inscribed on stone, or valuable oil kept safe in a permanent, leak-proof, container is not lost, but remains unchanged. The compound is found (dissolved into *vasā* and *sihassa*) in a verse which occurs in the colophons of the Jātaka (Ja VI 595,3–4), Att (34,1–2), and Mhbv<sup>22</sup>: *vasā sihassa pakkhittā* (Ja reads the first two words as one; Att reads all three words

<sup>22</sup> Cited in the preface to Strong’s edition, p. v.

as one) *yathā kañcanapāṭiyā silālekheva* (for *-lekhā iva*; Att and Mhvb read *silālekhe va*) *me niccaṃ sabbaṃ sutaṃ na nāsaye*.

### 7. *Sugata/Tathāgata* “Buddha”

PED translates *Sugata* as “faring well, happy, having a happy life after death”,<sup>23</sup> but if that were correct, then all those born in a *sugati*, which includes all men,<sup>24</sup> would be called *sugata*. I regard the word *Sugata* as having the same relationship to *sugati* as *duggata* has to *duggati*, i.e. the implied *-gati* is not being used in its technical sense of “(category of) rebirth”. So *duggata* is used in a general sense “(one who is) in a bad way” = “poor”, whereas *Sugata* is used in a very specialised sense “(one who is) in a (particularly) good way” = “Buddha”.

The same applies to the word *Tathāgata*. PED states that its derivation is uncertain.<sup>25</sup> It was long ago pointed out that it occurs in the Prakrit form *tahāgaya* in Jain literature, although Thomas hinted that the word was possible not of Aryan origin, because “in its use in the scriptures there is no trace of the Sanskrit meaning contained in *tathā* and *gata*”.<sup>26</sup> If, however, we assume that *-gata* is used in the same way as in *sugata* and *duggata*, then we can see that it means “(one who is) in that sort of (= very good) way”. For the force of the demonstrative, we can compare *tādi(n)* “of such a kind = excellent”.<sup>27</sup>

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<sup>23</sup> See PED, s.v. *Sugata*.

<sup>24</sup> Cf. *tattha sugatiggahaṇena manussagati pi saṅgayhati*, Vism 427,28.

<sup>25</sup> See PED, s.v. *tathāgata*.

<sup>26</sup> See E.J. Thomas, “Tathāgata and tahāgaya”, *BSOS*, VIII, 1936, pp. 781-88 (p. 787).

<sup>27</sup> See K.R. Norman, *Elders' Verses* I, p. 131 (ad Th 41).

## TUṆḌILOVĀDA: AN ALLEGEDLY NON-CANONICAL SUTTA

“The *Sutta* of the Advice to Tuṇḍila” is a short Pali text in both prose and verse. Although by title it is a *sutta* and the narrative attributes its contents to the Buddha, it is not included in the Pali Text Society’s edition of the Pali Canon. This is not to say that its contents are markedly different from other discourses in the Pali canon. On the contrary, the *Tuṇḍilovāda Sutta* provides a concise illustration, albeit an inspirational illustration, of the logic and structure of traditional Theravāda Buddhist practice.

The occasion for the discourse is a *dāna* given by the layman Tuṇḍila and his wife. After perceiving Tuṇḍila’s spiritual potential, but before delivering the discourse proper, the Buddha sends forth his six bodily rays. This is reminiscent of narratives in medieval Sinhala Buddhist literature where the Buddha is also sometimes said to use two means to convert beings, his manner of preaching and the performance of miracles.<sup>1</sup> The discourse then begins appropriately with an exposition of the benefits (*anīsaṃsā*) which accrue to those who practice *dāna*. Significantly, the giving of *dāna* is portrayed here as an integral component of the attainment of *nibbāna*. An account of how *sīla* is always a necessary complement to *dāna* then follows. The exposition of the benefits of practicing *sīla* provides an occasion for an enumeration of first, the five precepts, and then the ten precepts. There is some incongruity in discussing all ten precepts in a discourse addressed to a layman, although this portion of the text may be more narrowly addressed only to the monks in the audience.<sup>2</sup> The benefits of guarding

<sup>1</sup> See, for example, Guruḷugomi, *Amāvatura*, edited by Kodagoda Nānaloka Thera (Colombo: Gunasena, 1967), p. 49.

<sup>2</sup> The repeated use of the vocative *bhikkhave* in this portion of the text may be taken in more than one way. It can be read as a limitation of the relevance of the