On the Verbs *duṣ*- and *dvīṣ*- in Pāli

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The present form of the root *duṣ*- is *duṣya-ti* (AVP, Br +; Kulikov 2012: 560–562), which means ‘to be spoiled,’ or ‘to go bad,’ and there is a-stem noun *doṣa*- ‘fault’ of this root. In Pāli, these forms of the root *duṣ*- correspond to *dussa-ti* and *doṣa*- . The root *dvīṣ*- has the present *dvēṣṭi*, *dvīṣānti* (RV +) ‘hate’ ¹ and the a-stem noun is *dvēṣa*- ‘hatred.’ For *dvīṣ-*, on the one hand, we can find the verb forms 3. pl. *dissanti* and 3. sg. *vi-dessate*. On the other hand, in the set of technical terms for the three poisons, *rāga*- , *dvēṣa*- , and *mohā*- , Pā. *doṣa*- is equal to *dvēṣa*- and means ‘hatred.’ In addition, there is a case where *dussa-ti* seems to represent the meaning ‘hate.’ However, we should ask if Pā. *doṣa*- and *dussa-ti* are derived from *dvīṣ-*. Further, how are *duṣ*- and *dvīṣ*- used in Pāli? In this paper, regarding these problems, I show that Pā. *doṣa*- and *dussa-ti* came to be able to represent a meaning which is close to *dvīṣ*- through a process of semantic change.

Before we examine these issues, let us refer briefly to previous studies regarding them. Pischel (1900: §129, 300) pointed out that Pkt. *doṣa*- , *padoṣa*- , and *pakoṣa*- are *doṣa*- and *pradoṣa*- rather than *dvēṣa*- and *pradveṣa*- and that this change in the meaning of *doṣa*- and *pradoṣa*- had occurred. ² His account eventually agrees with the conclusion of this paper. Geiger (1916: §25.3) simply said that *doṣa*- and *dvēṣa*- are merged into *doṣa*- . Sakamoto-Goto (1988: 91–92), in a work on the Middle Indo-Aryan development of *v* in consonant cluster, states as follows: “das mittellindische Wort *doṣa*- erscheint sowohl in der Bedeutung ‘Fehler’ (ai. *doṣa*- ) als auch in der Bedeutung ‘Haß’ (ai. *dvēṣa*- ), vgl. Pischel §129. Es sind aber auch direkt aus *dvēṣa*- herzuleitende Formen belegt, und zwar mit *p/b*- Assimilation . . . ferner auch mit direkter Assimilation.” As Sakamoto-Goto has suggested here, it seems that Pā. *doṣa*- is not formally connected to *dvēṣa*- . Hinüber (2001: §134) comments, “Auch der Zusammenfall von Skt. *doṣa* und Skt. *dvēṣa* > P *doṣa* ist hier (probably = *Saṃprāsāraṇa*) anzuschließen” and cites Dhp 357 *dosadosā ayaṃ pają,

— 1133 —
PDhp 153 dosadosā ayam praśā, and Udāna-v 16.18 dveśadosā as an example. For understanding the actual relationship between dosa- and dveśa-, however, this comment is insufficient.

Looking at parallel passages in Pāli and Sanskrit Buddhist scriptures, Pā. dosa- might be taken to be dveśa- because dveśa- is found where dosa- is used in the Pāli passages. However, from the phonological point of view, it is considered to be difficult to think that the initial sounds dvi and dve become du and do respectively. As in other MIAś, Cvi and Cve turn into Ci and Ce in Pāli in order to avoid the consonant cluster of the initial position, but not Cu and Co: dvipa- > Pā. dipa-, svaṭa- > sata-, svidya-ti > sijja-ti, svedaya-ti > sede-ti, svinna- > sinna-, sveda- > seda-. Only in the numeral dva- and dvi- 'two,' do we find a change to du-, as well as to di- and dvi-, for example: dvya-arigulā- > dvangula-; dvi-jihva- > djīhva-, dujihva-; dvitīya- > ditya-(Ardhamāgadhi ducca-, docca-). Berger (1955: 61), however, has pointed out that vu is derived from va rather than vi: "die Paliform kann, da ein Wandel vi > vu sonst nicht belegbar ist, nur durch Samprasāraṇa aus *dvatiya entstanden sein, während docca auf *dvatya zurückgeht. Die Komposita mit du-im Pali gehen gleichfalls auf Formen mit *dva- zurück, dvi- dagegen hat sich als di-, dvi-gehalten." Although, as Berger said, there is room for occurrence of the form *dva in this numeral, dvi- does not have the possibility of becoming *dva. Moreover, there are the following expected forms derived from dvi- in Pāli metrical texts, which show this change Cvi, Cve > Ci, Ce: Pā. disa- (< dvi-, root-noun), dessa- (< dvésya-, grdv.), viddesanā- (< vidvēsana-), viddesin- (< vidvesin-), dissanti, viddessate, dessiya-, dhamma-dessin-, and videssa-. From the above perspectives, we cannot identify Pā. dosa- with dveśa-.

As I said at the beginning of this paper, and as Pischel (1900: §129) put it, semantic change seems to provide a good explanation of why Pā. dosa- takes on the sense of dveśa-. This becomes clear through the examination of the usage of both verbs. First of all, we will begin by quoting from Vedic to understand the basic meaning of duṣ-. (1) AB 7.4(3x) yasya sāyamduṣḍhām sāṃnāyyam dusyed vāpahared vā kā tatra praśaścittir iti. . . “When Sāmāyya which is milked in evening goes bad, or [someone] makes off with it, then, what is the atonement? . . .” (2) ChU 8.10.1 tad yady apiḍāṁ sārīraṁ anandham bhavaty anandhaṁ sa bhavati. yadi sāram asrarāmaḥ naivaiso 'syā doṣena dusyati. "Now, even if the body becomes blind, it [aṭman-] becomes what is not blind. Even though [the
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body becomes] lame, [it becomes] what is not lame. It is not spoiled by his fault."

Secondly, let us turn to some Pāli examples, where present (3) and causative (4), (5) are used. (3) Vin IV 117 tena kho pana samayena bhikkhū unhasamaye parilāhasamaye kukkuccāyantā na nhāyanti sedagatena gattena sayanti. civaṃ pi senāsanām pi dussati. “At the time Bhikkhus, when it was hot and stuffy, who behaved wrongly and did not wash, lay down wearing sweaty clothes. Their robes, seats, and beds all got dirty.” (4) Ja II 391 v. 88 addhā hi nūna migarājā puṭṭakammassa kovido / tathā hi puṭṭām dīseti aññām nūna karissati /// [Bodhisatta says] “Surely, now, the king of beasts is clever at working with containers, because he is breaking the container in that way. Now he will do something else.” (5) v. 89 na me pitā vā mātā va puṭṭakammassa kovido / kataṃ kataṃ kho dūsema evamdhammam idāṃ kulām /// [A monkey says] “My father or mother is not clever at working with containers. We break what is made, one after another. This family has a penchant for doing such things as dhamma.”

Further, there are examples of duṣ- with the prefixes pra and sam15) in Pāli. Present: (6) Ja III 66 v. 76 paṭicca-kammamṇa na phusati mano ce na ppaddussati / appossukkassa bhadrassa na pāpam upalippati /// [Bodhisatta says] “If your mind does not become bad, the work [karman] that depends on [you] does not touch [you]. Evil does not cling to [you] who has little eagerness [to help the hunter] and brings happiness.”16) Causative: (7) D I 20 (III 32) santi bhikkhave manopadosikā nāma devā. te ativelam aññamaññamhi upanijjhāyanti. te ativelam aññamaññamhi upanijjhāyantā aññamaññamhi cittāni padūsanti. te aññamaññamhi padutthacittā kilantakāyā kilantacittā. te devā tamhā kāyā cavanti. “There are, Bhikkhus, certain gods called Manopadosika. They excessively think about each other. Thinking about each other excessively, they spoil each other’s minds. Their minds are each spoiled, their bodies are exhausted, and their minds are exhausted. Those gods fall from those bodies.”

There are only two instances of verb forms of dvīṣ- in the Pāli canon, that is, pres. ind. 3. pl. dissanti in (8) and 3. sg. vi-dessate in (9). (8) Ja III 353 v. 58 na ve dissanti sappañña disvā yācaka-māgata / brahmacāri piyo me si vara tvam bhaññam icchasi /// “People who have understanding do not hate you, even when they see a beggar coming. You who is a brahmacārin dear to me. Choose . . . ?”17) (9) Thī 418 na pi ‘ham aparajjhaṃ kiṃci na pi hiṁs’ na gañāmi / dubbacanaṃ kiṃ sakā kātu ye yaṃ maṃ viddessate bhattā /// “I do not offend. I do not injure anything. I do not calculate. Why would I say bad words even if my
husband hates me?’

Thirdly, while duṣ- (Pā. dussa-ti), as we saw above, means ‘to be spoiled,’ ‘to go bad,’ and ‘to become bad,’ there are instances in Sanskrit where it is used to mean ‘to take a (intense) dislike to, be malicious.’ It is important to note that this usage is very similar to the meaning which is expressed with dviṣ-. I cite examples from Mahābhārata and Rāmāyaṇa here. In the examples (10) and (13), duṣ- appears with krudh- ‘get angry at’ and kup- ‘tremble, get angry at’ respectively. The object of dislike is indicted through the use of prati in (11) and (12). (10) MBh 12.21.5 yadāsau sarvabhūtānāṃ na kṛudhyati na dvyati / karmanā manasā vācā brahma samapadyate tadā // “When someone does not get angry at all beings and is not malicious with respect to act, mind, and speech, then he arrives upon brahman.” (11) MBh 12.79.19 atha cet sarvataḥ kṣatram pradusyed brahmānān prati / kas tasya brāhmaṇas trātā ko dharmaḥ kim parāyaṇam // “If kṣatra take an intense dislike to brāhmaṇas, who will protect [the brāhmaṇa] from them as brāhmaṇa? What is dharma? What is the final refuge?” (12) MBh 12.79.25 brahmavirye mṛdūbhūte kṣatrayire ca durbale / duṣṭesu sarvavarnesu brahmānān prati sarvaśāḥ // “When the power of brahman has become effete, the power of kṣatra has become weak, and all varṇas have entirely taken an intense dislike to brāhmaṇas.” (13) R 2.94.27 kālātikramane hy eva bhaktavetanayor bhṛtāḥ / bhartin kupyanti duṣyanti so ‘narthāḥ sumahān smṛtaḥ // “Thus, employees get angry at their employer and are malicious. Such serious disadvantage is remembered.”

In (14), the past participle duṣṭa- relates to the genitive case rāmasya ākliṣṭakarmanāḥ, so that it means ‘have taken a dislike to.’ Moreover, we can read the noun pāṇḍava-hetoḥ as a cause of the condition of duṣṭa- in (15), although there is not a direct grammatical relationship between pāṇḍava- heitoḥ and duṣṭa-. (14) R 2.79.7 kaccin na duṣṭo vrajasi rāmasyākliṣṭakaranāḥ / ivaṃ te mahati senā saṅkām janayatīva me // “Are you with maliciousness toward indefatigable Rāma headed [there]? Your large army is the source of my doubt.” (15) MBh 1.196.26 vidma te bhāvadoṣena yadartham idam ucye / duṣṭaḥ pāṇḍavahetos tvam doṣaṁ khyāpayase hi nahi // “We know you whose mind has gone bad and says these things for a certain purpose. You are malicious by reason of Pāṇḍava. This is because you expose our fault.”

It is observed in the preceding examination that the verb duṣ- has a variety of meanings and comes to express the sense of malice toward someone. The same is said
of Pā. dussa- ti. Moreover, this change in meaning is especially conspicuous in Pāli because of dussa- ti directly takes the accusative case in (16) and the genitive case in (17). We may be able to compare this phenomenon with dvīṣ- + accusative or genitive case. (16) Thi 413 evam maṁ bhattachārī anuttaram kārikām tam nihataṁānām / uttāhāyikām anālāsām silavatim dussate bhātā // “My husband bore malice toward me, who in this way has had faith, been the best doer, struck down pride, worked well, not been lazy, and kept good customs.” (17) Sn 662 (Dhp 125, S I 13v, 164v, Ja III 203 v. 89, Pv 24) yo appaduttāhassa narassa dussati suddhassa posassa anaṅgaṇassā / tam eva bālam pacceti pāpaṁ sukhumo rajo paṭīvātāṁ va khitto // “Evil goes to him, who bears malice toward someone who is not malicious, is purified, and does not have a stain, as if fine dust were thrown at the wind.”

Finally, in the context of the set of terms rāga-, dveṣa-, and moha-, Pā. dosa- means ‘hatred’ and corresponds with dveṣa- in parallel Sanskrit Buddhist texts. In the examples (18) and (19), however, dussa- ti and dussānīya- derived from duṣ- are used to express the sense of dveṣa-. This fact seems to prove that the meaning of the word has changed. (18) A II 120(2x) mā me rajanīyesu dhammesu cittāṁ rajī ti attarūpena appamādo sati cetaso ārakkho karāṇīyo. mā me dosanīyesu dhammesu cittāṁ dussi ti . . . mā me mohanīyesu dhammesu cittāṁ muyhi ti . . . “While thinking that ‘my mind must not get excited about dhammas which have the potential to excite,’ non-negligence, remembrance, and protection of mind should be practiced. While thinking that ‘my mind must not bear malice toward dhammas which have the potential to give rise to malice,’ . . . While thinking that ‘my mind must not be confused about dhammas which have the potential to confuse,’ . . .” (19) It 84v yo ca dosam pahantvāna dosaneyye na dussati / doso pahiyate tamhā tālapakkam va bandhanā // “Fault leaves one who, striking fault, is not offended at what has the potential to offend, as if a fruit of Tāla tree falls from the trunk.”

In closing, let me summarize these points. Although Pāli dussa- ti and dosa- are derived from duṣya- ti ‘spoil, decay’ and duṣa- ‘fault’ respectively, in some passages, they seem to mean ‘hate’ and ‘hatred,’ which the root dvīṣ- generally expresses in Sanskrit. Actually, in the context of the set of technical terms rāga-, dosa-, and moha-, Pāli dosa- corresponds with dveṣa- in the parallel Sanskrit works. However, judging from the phonological point of view, it is difficult to consider that Pāli dosa- is derived from dveṣa-. The words derived from dvīṣ- appear in Pāli metrical texts only, in other words,
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they are not used in prose texts. The examples from Sanskrit epic poetry prove that the verb duṣ- expresses a malicious state of mind. In Pāli, there are instances which dussa-ti takes the accusative and genitive cases. In these passages, we can see a semantic change where this verb takes a meaning similar to dvīṣ- in the accusative and genitive cases. We, therefore, can conclude that duṣ- came to be able to represent the meaning of dvīṣ- and that dveṣa- also is expressed by duṣ- in Pāli.

Notes

1) In Vedic, present participle of this root is used not only with the accusative but also the genitive case. Vārttika on Pāṇini-sūtra 2.3.69 refers to this usage: dvīṣaḥ śatur vāvacanam. “When the root dvīṣ- takes the affix śatṛ, the term ‘optionally’ should be included.” Moreover, see Gaedicke (1880: 183).
2) He cites: dveṣa- > besa- (Māhārāṣṭri), dveṣya- > besa- (Māhārāṣṭri, Ardhamāgadhī).
3) For an analysis of the consonant cluster in Pāli, see Suzuki (2002a, 2002b).
4) For example, it is considered that the nominative and accusative cases of the numeral ‘two’ do (< dvāi) in Middle Indo-Aryan is used in compounds (Pischel 1900: §436, Sakamoto-Goto 1988: 92). In addition, although Skt. dohada- (Ep.²; Pā. dohalay) may be referred to as an instance of the change dvi > du, there are two views of the origin of this word (EWAia, s.v., Emeneau 1988: 192–193, Burrow 1986: 593), that is, *dvihṛda- or *duruḥṛda- (Jv 2.23 durṛḥḍini, Skt. daurṛḥṛda-). And, according to Berger (1955: 61), it is possible to assume *dwaḥṛda-.
5) MI II 104v(3x), 105v = Th 874, 875, Dhp 42 = Ud 39v, Dhp 162, Ja IV 217 v. 33, 226 v. 58, V 85 v. 253, 453 v. 357(2x), Th 555.
6) Ja II 285 v. 9, VI 570 v. 2311, Thi 416, Cp 75, 76, 78, 81, 86, 90, 92, 93, 94, 97.
7) Ja III 353 v. 55, Vin III 148v, Thi 446.
8) Th 547.
10) Thi 418.
11) Ja VI 570 v. 2311, Cp 78, 81, 93, 97.
12) Sn 92.
13) Vin III 147v.
14) sāmāṇya- n. ‘a mixture of milk which is milked and heated on the evening of preparation day and on the morning of the day of a Vedic ritual’ (Ōshima, Nishimura, and Gotō 2012: 16, 65). There is only one noun sāṃdosa- in MI 17.
16) The hunter uses the partridge as a lure.
17) The word bhāṇṇam in the pāda d is unclear. Ja-a III 354 bhāṇṇamicchasi ti yaṁ kiñci vattabbaṁ icchasi sabbaṁ vada. rajjam pi te dassāmi yeva ti. “Tell me any valuable thing you desire. I will give you even royal authority.”
18) On the other hand, the words derived from dvīṣ- are used in (10) and Thi 416 which appear very near (17) in the original text, so that it seems that dussate is distinguished from dvīṣ- in Thi.
19) In addition A III 110.

Abbreviations

The abbreviations of the titles of Pāli texts follow CPD.

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Bibliography


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