

## On the Verbs *duṣ-* and *dviṣ-* 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 *dosa-*. The root *dviṣ-* has the present *dvéṣṭi*, *dviṣānti* (RV +) ‘hate’<sup>1)</sup> and the *a*-stem noun is *dvēṣa-* ‘hatred.’ For *dviṣ-*, 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-*, *dveṣa-*, and *moha-*, Pā. *dosa-* is equal to *dveṣa-* and means ‘hatred.’ In addition, there is a case where *dussa-ti* seems to represent the meaning ‘hate.’ However, we should ask if Pā. *dosa-* and *dussa-ti* are derived from *dviṣ-*. Further, how are *duṣ-* and *dviṣ-* used in Pāli? In this paper, regarding these problems, I show that Pā. *dosa-* and *dussa-ti* came to be able to represent a meaning which is close to *dviṣ-* 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. *dosa-*, *padosa-*, and *paosa-* are *doṣa-* and *pradoṣa-* rather than *dvēṣa-* and *pradveṣa-* and that this change in the meaning of *doṣa-* and *pradoṣa-* had occurred.<sup>2)</sup> His account eventually agrees with the conclusion of this paper. Geiger (1916: §25.3) simply said that *doṣa-* and *dvēṣa-* are merged into *dosa-*. Sakamoto-Goto (1988: 91–92), in a work on the Middle Indo-Aryan development of *v* in consonant cluster, states as follows: “das mittelindische Wort *dosa-* erscheint sowohl in der Bedeutung ‘Fehler’ (ai. *doṣa-*) als auch in der Bedeutung ‘Haß’ (ai. *dveṣa-*), vgl. Pischel §129. Es sind aber auch direkt aus *dveṣa-* herzuleitende Formen belegt, und zwar mit *p/b-* Assimilation . . . ferner auch mit direkter Assimilation.” As Sakamoto-Goto has suggested here, it seems that Pā. *dosa-* is not formally connected to *dveṣa-*. Hinüber (2001: §134) comments, “Auch der Zusammenfall von Skt. *doṣa* und Skt. *dveṣa* > P *dosa* ist hier (probably = *Samprasāraṇa*) anzuschließen” and cites Dhṛp 357 *dosadosā ayaṃ pajā*,

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PDhp 153 *doṣadoṣā ayam prajā*, and Udāna-v 16.18 *dveṣadoṣa* as an example. For understanding the actual relationship between *dosa-* and *dveṣa-*, however, this comment is insufficient.

Looking at parallel passages in Pāli and Sanskrit Buddhist scriptures, Pā. *dosa-* might be taken to be *dveṣa-* because *dveṣa-* 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 MIAs, *Cvi* and *Cve* turn into *Ci* and *Ce* in Pāli in order to avoid the consonant cluster of the initial position,<sup>3)</sup> but not *Cu* and *Co*: *dvīpa-* > Pā. *dīpa-*, *śveta-* > *seta-*, *svidya-ti* > *sijja-ti*, *svedaya-ti* > *seḍe-ti*, *svinna-* > *sinna-*, *sveda-* > *seḍa-*. Only in the numeral *dva-* and *dvi-* ‘two,’ do we find a change to *du-*, as well as to *di-* and *dvi-*, for example: *dvy-aṅgulā-* > *dvaṅgula-*; *dvī-jihva-* > *dijivha-*, *dujivha-*; *dvitīya-* > *dutiya-* (Ardhamāgadhī *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 Saṃprasāraṇa 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,<sup>4)</sup> *dviṣ-* does not have the possibility of becoming \**dva*. Moreover, there are the following expected forms derived from *dviṣ-* in Pāli metrical texts, which show this change *Cvi*, *Cve* > *Ci*, *Ce*: Pā. *disa-*<sup>5)</sup> (< *dvīṣ-*, root-noun), *deṣsa-*<sup>6)</sup> (< *dvēṣya-*, grdv.), *viddesanā-*<sup>7)</sup> (< *vidvēṣana-*), *viddesin-*<sup>8)</sup> (< *vidvesin-*), *dissanti*,<sup>9)</sup> *viddessate*,<sup>10)</sup> *deṣsiya-*,<sup>11)</sup> *dhamma-deṣsin-*,<sup>12)</sup> and *videssa-*.<sup>13)</sup> From the above perspectives, we cannot identify Pā. *dosa-* with *dveṣa-*.

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 *dveṣa-*. 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 sāyaṃdugdham sāṃnāyyaṃ duṣyed vāpahared vā kā tatra prāyaścittir iti. . .* “When Sāṃnāyya<sup>14)</sup> 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 apīdam śarīram andham bhavaty anandhaḥ sa bhavati. yadi srāmam asrāmaḥ. naivaiṣo 'sya doṣeṇa duṣyati*. “Now, even if the body becomes blind, it [ātman-] becomes what is not blind. Even though [the

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 uṇhasamaye pariḷāhasamaye kukkuccāyantā na nhāyanti sedagatena gattena sayanti. cīvaraṃ pi senāsanam 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 puṭakammasa kovido / tathā hi puṭaṃ dūseti aññaṃ 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 puṭakammasa kovido / kataṃ kataṃ kho dūsema evaṃdhammam idaṃ kulaṃ* // [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 *sam*<sup>15)</sup> in Pāli. Present: (6) Ja III 66 v. 76 *paṭiccakammaṃ na phusati mano ce na ppadussati / appossukkassa bhadraṃ 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.”<sup>16)</sup> Causative: (7) D I 20 (III 32) *santi bhikkhave manopadosikā nāma devā. te ativeḷaṃ aññaṃaññaṃ upanijjhāyanti. te ativeḷaṃ aññaṃaññaṃ upanijjhāyantā aññaṃaññaṃhi cittāni padūsentī. te aññaṃaññaṃhi paduṭṭhacittā 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 *dviṣ-* 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 sappaññā disvā yācaka-m-āgate / brahmacāri piyo me si vara tvaṃ bhaññaṃ 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 . . . ?”<sup>17)</sup> (9) Thī 418 *na pi ‘haṃ aparajjhaṃ kiñci na pi hims’ na gaṇāmi / dubbacanaṃ kiṃ sakkā kātuye 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

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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 sarvabhūtānām na **krudhyati** na **duṣyati** / karmaṇā manasā vācā brahma saṃpadyate 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 kṣatraṃ **praduṣyed** **brāhmaṇān prati** / kas tasya brāhmaṇas trātā ko dharmah kiṃ 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 *brahmavīrye mṛdūbhūte kṣatravīrye ca durbale / **duṣṭeṣu** sarvavarṇeṣu **brāhmaṇān prati** sarvaśaḥ //* “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 *kālātikramaṇe hy eva bhaktavetanayor bhṛtāḥ / bhartuḥ **kupyanti duṣyanti** so ’narthāḥ sumahān smṛtāḥ //* “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\_akliṣṭakarmanah*, 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- hetoḥ* and *duṣṭa-*. (14) R 2.79.7 *kaccin na **duṣṭo** vrajasi **rāmasyākliṣṭakarmanah** / iyaṃ te mahatī senā śaṅkāṃ 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 bhāvadoṣeṇa yadartham idam ucyate / **duṣṭaḥ** **pāṇḍavahetos** tvam doṣam khyāpayase hi naḥ //* “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 *dviṣ-* + accusative or genitive case.<sup>18)</sup> (16) Thī 413 *evaṃ maṃ bhattikataṃ anuttaraṃ kārikaṃ taṃ nihatamānaṃ / utthāyikaṃ analasaṃ silavatim **dussate** bhattā //* “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 **appaduṭṭhassa** narassa **dussati** suddhassa posassa anaṅgaṇassa / tam eva bālaṃ pacceti pāpaṃ sukhumo rajo paṭivātaṃ 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 *dussanīya-* 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)<sup>19)</sup> *mā me rājanīyesu dhammesu cittaṃ rajjī ti attarūpena appamādo sati cetaso ārakkho karaṇīyo. mā me **dosanīyesu** dhammesu cittaṃ **dussī** ti . . . mā me mohanīyesu dhammesu cittaṃ muyhī 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** pahīyate tamhā tālapakkaṃ 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 *doṣa-* ‘fault’ respectively, in some passages, they seem to mean ‘hate’ and ‘hatred,’ which the root *dviṣ-* 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 *dviṣ-* 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 *dviṣ-* in the accusative and genitive cases. We, therefore, can conclude that *duṣ-* came to be able to represent the meaning of *dviṣ-* 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: *dviṣaḥ śatur vāvacanam*. “When the root *dviṣ-* takes the affix *śatr*, the term ‘optionally’ should be included.” Moreover, see Gaedicke (1880: 183). 2) He cites: *dveṣa-* > *besa-* (Māhārāṣṭrī), *dveṣya-* > *besa-* (Māhārāṣṭrī, 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* (< *dváu*) in Middle Indo-Aryan is used in compounds (Pischel 1900: §436, Sakamoto-Goto 1988: 92). In addition, although Skt. *dohada-* (Ep +; Pā. *dohaḷa-*) 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, *\*dviḥṛda-* or *\*durḥṛda-* (JB 2.23 *durḥṛdinī*, Skt. *daurḥṛda-*). And, according to Berger (1955: 61), it is possible to assume *\*dvahṛda-*. 5) M II 104v(3x), 105v = Th 874, 875, Dh 42 = Ud 39v, Dh 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, Thī 416, Cp 75, 76, 78, 81, 86, 90, 92, 93, 94, 97. 7) Ja III 353 v. 55, Vin III 148v, Thī 446. 8) Th 547. 9) Ja III 353 v. 58, Ap 565. 10) Thī 418. 11) Ja VI 570 v. 2311, Cp 78, 81, 93, 97. 12) Sn 92. 13) Vin III 147v. 14) *sāmnāyyā-* 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). 15) There is only one noun *saṃdosa-* in M I 17. 16) The hunter uses the partridge as a lure. 17) The word *bhañṇam* in the *pāda* d is unclear. Ja-a III 354 *bhañṇamicchasi ti yaṃ kiñci vattabbaṃ icchasi sabbam vada. rajjam pi te dassāmi yevā ti*. “Tell me any valuable thing you desire. I will give you even royal authority.” 18) On the other hand, the words derived from *dviṣ-* are used in (10) and Thī 416 which appear very near (17) in the original text, so that it seems that *dussate* is distinguished from *dviṣ-* in Thī. 19) In addition A III 110.

## Abbreviations

The abbreviations of the titles of Pāli texts follow CPD.

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ChU Morgenroth, Wolfgang, ed. 1958. “Chāndogya-Upaniṣad.” PhD diss., Jena.  
CPD Trenckner, Vilhelm et al. 1924–2011. *A Critical Pāli Dictionary*. 3 vols. Copenhagen: Pali Text

Society.

- EWAia Mayrhofer, Manfred. 1992–2001. *Etymologisches Wörterbuch des Altindiarischen*. 3 vols. Heidelberg: Carl Winter Universitätsverlag.
- MBh Sukthankar, Vishnu S. et al., eds. 1933–1966. *The Mahābhārata*. Poona: Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute.
- R 2 Vaidya, Paraśurāma L., ed. 1962. *The Ayodhyākāṇḍa: The Second Book of the Vālmiki Rāmāyaṇa*. Baroda: Oriental Institute.

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