CHAPTER FIVE

THE INSTRUMENTAL

1. The instrumental is the case of 'association' or 'means', effecting the accomplishment of an action. It has two distinct, though closely interallied, functions viz (i) the associative or comitative (s a h Ṛ r t h a), conveying the sense of English 'with', and (ii) the instrumental or of means (k a r a n a), denoting the sense of English 'by'. Of these the former is probably earlier than the latter (which seems to be an extension of the former), because the underlying idea of 'association' is always inherent in the latter idiom. All the different functions of the instrumental belong to either of these two heads.

2. This was the use of the instrumental in OIA. and has generally been inherited by MIA. In Apbh., due to the process of syncreticism, started in early MIA. itself, it has usurped some functions of other cases, especially those of the ablative. Many idioms of the instrumental can be explained as those of the locative and vice versa, because in the disintegration of cases in MIA, the two local cases of OIA viz. the instrumental and the locative got mixed up morphologically and in many cases became even identical. Moreover, in many instances the semantic difference between the two cases is not so pronounced and the use of the one for the other is attested in OIA. also.

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2. HSMIA. pp. 15 ff, §§ 22 ff.
3. The following are the typical uses of the instrumental in Apbh.:-

(a) The sociative instrumental-
   (i) with person, (ii) with thing,(iii) with circumstances;
(b) The instrumental of identity or likeness;
(c) The cognate instrumental;
(d) The instrumental of indirect object;
(e) The instrumental of means;
   (i) with things,(ii) with limbs,(iii) with abstract notions;
(f) The instrumental of exchange;
(g) The instrumental of parentage;
(h) The agentive instrumental;
(i) The causal instrumental;
(j) The instrumental of space;
(k) The instrumental of time;
(l) The adverbial instrumental;
(m) The instrumental absolute;
(n) The instrumental of purpose;
(o) The instrumental of utility;
(p) The reciprocal instrumental;
(q) The instrumental of correspondence;
(r) The instrumental for other cases.

(a) The sociative instrumental-

The sociative use of the instrumental is one of the chief functions of the instrumental. As stated earlier, the other uses of the instrumental have developed out of this idiom. It is contended that the original language had two separate cases, the sociative and the instrumental. But since
there is no clear dividing line between the two, the contention remains untenable.

This use of the instrumental has been regular in all the stages of IA. The sociative idea is expressed either by the instrumental itself or, as is quite usual, by employing with the instrumental some adverbs, expressing the notion of accompaniment (e.g. saha, sadaha, samaü etc.), and having the force of post-positives. From these adnominals have developed the various post-positions expressing instrumentality in the NIA languages.

(i) *The sociative Instrumental with person-

sapparivarē sundarena

thuiliadhattapuranandarena.

'The eulogy was started by the beautiful along with (his) family'. Pc.38.1. jīnu pavv-

aiüturantudasahīsahā-

saahi

'sahiyaū. 'The J. took pravrajā immediately with ten thousand people'. Pc.52.9.

java gavesamihai mahāra-

ū/ sahūvaidechiepānapiyāraū. 'I will go and search my brother (who is) dear to me as life (and is) with V.'.

Pc.40.11.9. niggau sattehi akk-

hōhanīhi. 'He went out with seven aksauhinīs (of army)'. Pc.43.12.8. sahū

sasaharenavauddāvivoahu.

'There is great enmity with S!'. MP.12.7.

jāùulūvaūsamaùuluē-
'Became an owl in company of an owl'. AP.9.19.11.

hindahi sama vayasabha dehi juttu- 'Roams with a group of friends-of-the same age'. Jc.1.5.9. kumarasahû caliû jama- 'As(he) started with K!

Jc.1.27.1. jananta sama unto hi caliyau- 'he started for there with his mother'. Jc.2.23.6. vanivarahâ sayaî pâmcahi samaânu. 'Along with five hundred of noble merchants'. Bh.62.11.

gayauri jühi sama suhi 1oâ. 'Go to G. with noble men'. Bh.125.9.

mahûdeviesahi- 'Along with queen'. KPP.J.3.2. suhu bhumjaî sahu devicaukkê. 'Partakes of the pleasure with four queens'. Jsc.3.10.3. paûmasiri tûna sahû sahihi diṭtha.

'P., along with friends, was seen by him'. FSC.2.64.

sohât sijja târûni ajanâ satthihî- 'The bed looks nice with young damsels'. SR.175. 'Keli kavanisamâna maheliyâhî- 'Sport with ladies'. APKTC.22.4.

(11) The sociative instrumental with thing- kaho vi pûsâhana suhû varava-tthe. 'Somebody's adornment with good cloths'.

Pc.62.14.8. jai juyala juyala jivehi juttu. 'Victory into thee, accompanied by two creatures'. Jc. 1. 7. 8.
varatamboludinnukapp-
ūrē. 'Gave good bētēkēs with camphor'. Bh.30.4.
sahapaharaninapavesu-
'No admission with weapons'. APKT.C.21.4.

(iii) **Sociative instrumental with circumstances**-

ṇam/paisaraírayani saĩ
sukkhē. 'As if the night enters with plea-

sure'. Psc.23.3.7. jammēna samaū
dhāmmēṇibaddha.'(is) tied to
dharma with birth'. MP.4.29. This idiom may
be explained as an ablative case also since the
idea is 'since the birth'. aḥmāṇēsahū
vari hōumarānu- 'Better(there)
be death with pride'. MP.1.4.6. riddhī
vīnasē samaū pavaŋja'- 'The
prosperity leaves with utter loss'. Bh.202.5.
jaṁāgama ayaraṇīhi sahu
navaisanyaya'. 'That which does not
sow poison i.e. defile with āgama and ācāra'.
APKT.32.1.8. dōhā pama kahij-
asa guru vīnaena sahū-'Tell
tive dōhās with great devotion'. SR.74.

In the following idiom a part of the body is
construed with the instrumental conveying a sense
of sociation. chinnijjaí sahū
hoṭthena nakku. 'The nose be cut
with lip'. PSC.1.146.

Related to the sociative instrumental is the
instrumental of dissociation or separation. This
is distinguished from the ablative, which denotes
pure separation, in so far as it indicates a dissociation, definitely implying proximity or an underlying unity of thought with a person or an object whom the dissociation affects. The separation in this case may be rendered as 'from with' or 'without' and not merely 'from' as in the case of the ablative. The idiom may be termed the instrumental of disunity. This idiom is usually either construed with verbs of separation like \( \sqrt{muc} \) (and its derivatives) as well as its Desi counterpart \( \sqrt{mell}a' \), or is accompanied by an adverb or adjective meaning 'without' or 'devoid of' like \( \text{vinu} (=\text{Skt.}\ \text{vinā}) \), \( \text{rahita} (=\text{Skt.}\ \text{rahita}) \), \( \text{vivajjia} (=\text{vivarjita- 'except'}) \). Examples: with verbs: - \( \text{panava} \text{huyana}\ \text{nāhu je muccahu saṃsārē} \) 'Salute the lord of three worlds so that you are dissociated with world i.e. you leave the world'. MP.9.27.17. \( \text{tabbe} \ \text{bhava nivvā-}\ \text{pahī mukkaa} \) 'Then you leave the \( \text{bhava}\ \text{saṃsāra} \)'. DKS.32. \( \text{parihari kohakhamāikari muccahi kohjmaleṇa} \) 'Leaving anger and doing pardon (so that) you may be separated from (i.e. may leave) the dirt of anger'. Sd.129. \( \text{tilu vinateyasahāvē melliu} \) 'He did not move even an inch from his bright nature'. JSC.2.4.4. This idiom may alternatively
be explained as instrumental of subject matter, and the meaning would be 'he did not give up an inch in matter of his bright nature'.

The following idiom construed with an adverb of association viz. sa ha (Sat sa ha 'with') is a fine example of dissociation because in this idiom the idea of dissociation from association is clearly indicated. bhi-ṃṇiya satti sivena sihu (vl. sa h u). 'The sakti is separated from Siva'. Pa.127. cf. Skt. bh ar tra sa ha viyogah.

With adverb and adjective: vinu manti sa hāsē māntu kavanu 'What advice (can be there) with a thousand counsels (or ministers). Pa.16.6.7. paī vinu su-nāu mokku. 'The mokṣa is useless without you'. Pa.2.10.9. paī vinu majjhu kālu aidduttarādu. 'My life is very difficult without you'. Bh.48.2. paī vinu savvaī pajalant-i mahu. 'All (things) burn me without you'. Jc.2.7.9. and hārāi vinu dvinda ādāi (vl. diwaīna) ahava ki pimchāi koi. 'Does anybody otherwise see without lamp in darkness?'. Sd.6. This idiom may also be explained as the instrumental of means and the dissociation here is of the means.
Some of the idioms under the instrumental of dissociation denote deficiency and they may be termed instrumentals of deficiency. In this idiom the dissociation qualifies the affected person or object in terms of some deficiency rather than total absence as in case of the idioms with vina etc. examples. māsehi

(b) The instrumental of identity or likeness or reference:

Not far removed from the sociative instrumental is the instrumental of identity or likeness. This idiom,
as defined by Pāṇini (i t tā mbhūta la kṣaṇa
2.3.21), denotes that laksana or characteristics asso-
ciated with a person or an object, which describes somebody
or something as possessing that quality or property, e.g.
vaṃkaḍau sa hāvē jema kha lu. 'As a
wicked is crooked by nature'. Pā.6.16.5. k o e k k a m s
thiu si yāla e. 'Who stayed naked- bodied in the
cold house'. Pā.24.4.9. aņņekku vi pūnu pa-
cohaṅṇa nāri nara vese. 'Many a lady dis-
guised in the dress(or form) of men'. Pā.26.10.12. ha si-
yau pūnu pūnu sīha- nī nāe. 'laughed
again and again in the sound of lion'. Pā.35.3.3. le hē
ka hīu sāvāv a hīnānēhī. 'Told by writing
everything in recollection'. Pā.38.1.4. su a vālīhe
nāmo candakirāṇu. 'The son of Vāli by name
Candrakirāṇa'. Pā.43.6.5. nacca'ī bharaha-bhā-
va vittthērē. 'Dances according to the rules of
Bharatī. MP.2.1.13. pari yanda'ī am māhīra e n a.
'Swings by lullaby'. MP.4.4.13. amara kīra vese n a
ko vi rai purai. 'Some god is having amorous
enjoyment in form of a parrot'. MP.9.22.13. jo hē yau
nāmin a t thi desu. 'There is a country Y. by
name'. Jā.1.3.4. disai jagi kevala ahi-
nāni. 'The kevala is seen in the world by sign or symbol'.
Jā.3.22.7. cha ha daṃsaṇa-gaṃthim ba-
hula a var up paru gajjant i. 'Many frown
at each other in form of the books of six darsānas'. Pā.125.
sā mkhe vē paya da akkharahī akkkhami
śāvay ad ham mu- 'I will recite the Śrāvakadharma.
briefly in clear terms'. Sd.1. tahi desi mano-
haru rayagihu namē nivasai pat-
tata nu. 'In that country there is a charming city R. by
name.' TSC.1.8.10. so ayaū taho ciraṇeha-
eṇa parinimmiya mehasarūvaena.
'Having assumed the form of a cloud, he came there because
of the love of long time'. KC.1.11.7. rukkhaho
nāmi phalu sambajjhāi. 'The fruit is
connected with (i.e. known) by) the name of its tree'. Bh.19.7.
vinaū vi avinaya rūvin maṇnaī.
'He considers even the modesty in form of immodesty'. Bh.21.4.
This idiom may also be explained as adverbial by rendering
avinayarūvinas'immodesty'. tumhai ka-
rahu mantu vahu bhoyahi āgama-
satthapurāṇahi veyahi. 'You give coun-
sel in different forms (as told by) āgamas, Sāstras, Purāṇas, (and)
Vedas'. Bh.284.5. bhayavai sahaū tujjha
samāsim. O Goddess! I tell you my suggestion i.e.
suggestively'. PSC.4.53. kahaū kimpisamdesau piyatu cchacocharahi. Tell some message to
the beloved in small letters (i.e. briefly). SR.68.

Under the instrumental of identity may be treated
the following idioms which describe the characteristic way of
formation of the divisions of time and of the composition of
an army. These may be grouped under the instrumental of id-
entity (measurement).

nādihe nādihe kumbhagau causa-
tthehi kumbhehi rattidinu. 'A Kumbha
(is) equal to nādis (= 1/2 muhūrtas) and sixty four kumbhas
make a night and a day'. Pc.50.7.10. vihi ayanihī
A year is said to be of two ayanas and a yuga is said to be of five years. MP.2.5.7. raha varas-gayavarchi ekkekkhehi/ tihi turachhi paickehi. vuccai patti seha tihi pattihi/ senamahu tihi senuppattihii. gummu ti- senamuhaihinehi/ vahini tihi gummapari-
mainehi. tihi vahinihi anna tihi piyanehi/ tam camu namu pagasiu
niunehi. tihi camuihii pahpananti
anikkini/ dasahi anikkini
akkhohini.'One chariot, one elephant, three horses
and five vahini is equal to one patti, 3 pattis = 1 sena,
3 sena = 1 senamukha; 3 senamukha = 1 gulra; 3 gulra = 1
vahini, 3 vahini = 1 pragtan; 3 pragtan = 1 camu, 3 camu =
1 anika, 10 anika = 1 akshauhini'. P60.8.1-5.

(c) The Granate Instrumental. In this idiom the
instrumental is derived either from the same root or from
an allied root, from which the verb governing it is derived.
This idiom is found in the language of Vedic Prose, in MBh. as
also in Pali and Prakrits. In Apbh. the idiom is quite
common. The following are examples.

(i) Etymological. kasa ghaehi ghai-
jantu-'Were hurt by lash-strokes'. P6.
9.10.3. sola ha varisa jiama
ve vi vasahu vanavase.
'Till both(of us) live for sixteen years by

1. UCP p.72, HSM/A, p.18, §27, OSBS, p.15
forest-dwelling'. Pc.23.8.9. kīṃ ghoṭṭena mahaṃ vahī ghoṭṭamī.
'Should I swallow the ocean by a draught?'; Pc. 38.6.3. vaṇe hīndami kāma-gaheṇa gahiū. 'I am wandering in
the forest being seized by the grip of Cupid'.
Pc.43.8.8. aīla liyahi thottasa sāhī thuya. 'was eulogized by
hundred nice stotras'. MP.3.3.4. mo hijja i mo he. 'Is deluded by delusion'. MP.7.4.7. āhārē āhāriya je je.'Who-so-
ever was fed by food'. MP.11.29.5. cittaṇa cittaṇāu mantena manti-
yāu. 'Was thought by citta( and) counselled by counsel'. MP.15.4.3. daṇḍim daṇ-
diū. 'punished by a punishment'. Jc.1.29.5. nam dharāṇie dhāriyaū.'As
if taken by the earth'. Jc.1.3.4. bhāvīm bhāvijja i. 'Is felt by feeling'. Jc. 331.9. mai lai ma leṇa. 'Is defiled
by filth'. Pd.163. dasiū daṃsānihi. 'Is bitten by teeth'. SR.137. sosāṇena sosijjai. 'Is dried by drying' SR.129.

(ii) Non-etymological- sahu tena mahurava-
vayāṇe hi teva volijja i.
'Till then, with them should be spoken in sweet
words'. Pc.16.8.6. This example shows double
instrumentals, the other one being the instru-
mental of indirect object. annai
(d) The Instrumental of the indirect object. The instrumental of indirect object is not attested in OIA nor in early MIA. It seems that this idiom came into vogue in late MIA, i.e. Apbh. owing to the fusion of different cases. Basically the idiom alternates with the dative of the indirect object. So it is not unlikely that in process of syncreticism, which affected the dative case the most, this use of dative was usurped by the instrumental. This idiom is mostly construed with verbs meaning 'to tell' or 'to speak' or verbs allied to the same. It is also generally accompanied by the adverbial postpositions of the instrumental viz. sa hū, sā ma(u) etc. Examples: sa hū kanta e ko vi vīru cava i. 'Some warrior tells (lit. talks with) the wife'. Pc. 62.5.1. gahavā i suyā hi padiva yānu bha nā i. 'The master of the house speaks reply (i.e. replies) to the female-parrot'. Jc. 1.3.12. tā hā sā maū jaya ka kā riya vy.
'The salutation (of Jaya Jinendra) with them'. Pd.215.

sahū dujjanaḥhā caviṣjai camgau.

'(One) should speak well with wicked men'. Bh.168.4. samu saruvai mantu payasi. 'The counsel was made known to Svarūpa'. Bh.38.9. navikeṇa vi samanu sa jamai. 'She does not talk with any one'. Bh.159.1. eṇa samaṇa caviṣjai.

'One should not speak with him'. Bh.221.9. iyā avatta-ha amhariyā kantahā sīva(v.l. saha, saū) kahiya. 'Tell to my husband this condition of mine'. SR.105.

Not far removed from this idiom of indirect object is the instrumental of concomitance, wherein the idea of association is closer or nearer than in case of pure sociative. The distinction between the sociative instrumental and the instrumental of concomitance is one of degrees and not of kind. In the former the association or unity of thought is not so intimate as in the case of the latter.

It is generally construed with verbs meaning 'to marry', 'to fight', 'to play', 'to delight', 'to dally', 'to enjoy or partake of' etc. Examples.

sahukānnae kiupāniggaḥaṇu.

'Did pānigrahana (i.e. married) with the girl'. Pc.9.2.8.

avarāhasaehī mi vaisavāṇu tum-haḥi samaṇa jujjhai. 'Even on hundred crimes V. will not fight with you'. Pc.10.7.9. jammaĩ jārim sāḥu kiliyaũ. 'That I was dallying with my paramour'. Jc.2.21.7. putta maharaũ sa janaĩ raṃjai. 'My son delights with
Kinsmen'. Jc.3.9.9. tāṁ suhu indu vi ṇāu lahaī deviḥī kodi ramantu. 'Even Indra, dallying with a million goddesses, does not get that pleasure'. Pd.3. tehī samānū sukku hu bhum jantaū. 'Enjoying pleasure with them'. JSC. 3.11.1. jo dāśiḥī raccantī. 'Who have sexual relation with female slaves'. PRC.39. mahu - lacchiḥī saū paṁnayānu ghadivi. 'Having married with Madhu Lakṣmi'. Kc.2.7.2. bhañu kavaṇa sandhi kīra samaū tehī. 'Tell what compromise( can there be) with them'. Bh.235.5. sā parinīya nayaṇa suṁkareṇa/ vaiṣamaṇaṭha puttiṁ samkareṇa. 'She was wedded to Saṅkara, the good looking son of V'. PSC.1.58. jihī aṁgihī tū vilasiyaū te daddhā virahēṇa. 'The limbs, with which you dallied, they are burnt by separation'. SR.77.

(e) The instrumental of means- The instrumental of means or karanā is one of the basic functions of Instrumental. The idea of means has developed out of the sociative Instrumental. The instrumental of means may be divided under three heads, depending on the kind of means, viz.(i) with things, (ii) with limbs and(iii) with abstract notions.

(1) with things- paṁcāḥī sarahī vidduḥu naṁ mārā. 'As if smitten by Cupid by his five arrows'. Pc.21.9.1. keṇa paḥam jāṇu vaddhu padēṇa. 'Who can tie storm by his cloth.'
Pc. 31.9.8. 

sūhaḍa - sīre hi
māi jhinduena ramevau. 
'Tomorrow shall I play with the heads of the warriors like balls'. Pc. 62.8.9. kuḍaena 
mavaiko jalanihānu. 'Who can measure the sea by a pitcher?'

MP. 1.9.13. aṁ 
kusena bhamādaivivīha-

bhāmgi. 'Makes to move in different ways by a hook'. JC. 1.5.19. visabhoyaṇena 
kīmaṇara jiyanti. 'Can men 
survive by poisonous food?'.

JC. 1.11.1. dinhu 
suvānāmoṇa bhimgārem. 
'Gave by a golden pitcher! Bh. 30.2. 
laūdai 
māra. 'Beats with stick! Apkt. C.19.d.

aggīṇa daddhā jaivi gharu 
to tē aggīṇ kajju. 'Although a 
house is burnt by fire, even then one requires 
fire'. M. 4.343. tānu ghanasārīna 
candanīna aliū jī kivi 
caccanti. 'Some damsels smear their bodies 
by sandal powder'. SR. 138. pahiya jam 
thoyamsuyahi thana thaddā 
dajjhanti. '0 traveller! by the rains 
of tears are burnt (my) hard breasts'. SR. 156.

(ii) with limba- hatthe ṇ upphāli 
vahai candu. 'Raising by hands, holds 
firmly'. JC. 1.6.5. sīseṇa 

namamśiyanaju 
tha pāya. 'I salute by head your
feet'. Jc.1.25.18. kaṇṇiṃ koviṇa bhaṅkhai cākkhai. 'No one tastes foods by ears'. Jc.3.22.2. thiyama hī vāmaē pāē vilihaftī. 'She was writing on the ground by the left foot'. Bh.79.7. bhavisayaḥ vi vayāṇi vatt-haṁcalu deviniḥ hāsiū na-yanāhīm'. Bh. also putting border of cloth on the mouth laughed through eyes'. Bh.210.10. maṁ dinna sahatthim savv-kāla- 'I always gave by(my) own hands'. PSC. 1.1.27. chāyantī kaha kaha va sala jī jīna nīyakaraḥī. 'Covering abashedly somehow by her hands'. SR. 29.q. varī viyarā jahi jānū piyai ghuttughutu culue-hi. 'Blessed are the streams where men drink with folded hands'. PK.279. calaṇaṇaṁ gu-tthi dharaṭṭī sala jī jīra uḷlihaī. 'Being abashed, she scratches on ground with her toe'. SR.41. (iii) with abstract notions- āṭthāvihā vinoē divasu neī. 'Leads the day by eight types of pastimes'. Pāc.16.21. koviṇisumbhiū ṭakkara ghaēṣī. 'Someone smashed by striking of dash'. Pāc. 28.15.5. pahavanti paropparu paharaṇe hī. 'Strike at each other with weapons'. Pāc.75.2.2. honti abuha bu- hāsamge buddha/campayavāsī
tila vasuyandhā. 'Even fools become wise in company of learned as the til is scented by the scent of campa'. MF.5.8.6.

na chuhāi ghoppanti na tisāi/hippanti. '(is) neither taken by hunger nor touched by thirst'. MF.11.33.11.

uvaesē kaūlaho huvaū nāndu. 'Become happy by the preaching of the kaula' Jc.1.8.8. appāyat ājām ji suhu tena ji kari sa- ntosu. 'Be satisfied with whatever pleasure aṇa your control'. Pd.2. sattie pari- pālantayahā sahalāū mānu- sa jammu. 'The human life is easy to them (who) follow (religion) according to their capacity'. Sd.9. jo nāina ku vi jināvina sakkaī- 'who cannot be won by anyone by NYĀYA?' APKT U.44. avasim lacchihoi vavasaē. 'There is definitely wealth by business'. Bh.39.8. pahu āesē so vi padhāio. 'He too ran by the order of the master'. Bh.175.4.

(f) The instrumental of exchange. This is a special idiom to be noted under instrumental of means. As a matter of fact, it is a variety of the larger idiom of means. Examples: sattu vapattē tena ji kinnū. 'It was purchased by him for some corn'. Jc. 2.29. 8. jāi kira phullāi labbhai mullina. 'That which blooms and is got by the (proper) cost'. ApKt. C.28.
Who exchanges newei for glass, or who barters gold by brass? 

Who exchanges newei for glass, or who barters gold by brass? 

(v) The instrumental of parentage. This is another special function of instrumental to be included under the instrumental of means. This idiom is confined to the verbs meaning 'to give birth' or 'to be born'—more particularly with the derivatives of √ja—'to beget'. This usage is not unknown in OIA. It occurs in early NIA and has a regular development in NIA through Apbh. In Apbh, it is a very rare idiom. This may alternatively be explained as Agentive Instrumental. Examples:

haũ suňha he niyaputtim jaňiyaũ. 'I was born to my daughter by my son'. Jc.3.34.3. nattiehe nattieṇa uppanṇi. 'Was born to the grandson by the grandson'. Jc.3.34.5. haũ jāyaũ jaṇani ke ha. 'How was I born of the mother?'. Jc.1.23.11. haũ jaňiyaũ tāi māhāsaĩe. 'I was born from that Mahāsatī'. Jc.1.23.10.

The following examples of the instrumental of material would also come under the instrumental of means.

tim kukkuðu vannukkadu pitthim nimimi vi ānīya. 'Then a cock, ugly-in-shape (and) made of flour, was brought'. Jc.2.19.12.

1 & 2. ISNIA, pp. 26-27.
(h) The Agentive Instrumental. This idiom is closely related to (rather an extension of) the Instrumental of means. This idiom functions as subject in passive construction. Out of this idiom developed the Agentive Nominative in NIA languages. The change of the functions of the agentive instrumental as pure nominative in active construction as well as of the pure nominative in passive construction has been noted earlier (Chapter 7).

Examples: paūjji ehi paūmjiū takkhane. 'Drummers beat (drums) at that moment'. Pc.2.9.8. siri-kaṇṭhe pariniya paūmavaī. 'P. was married by S'. Pc.6.4.1. keṇa viṇīsuṇůviu a sanīveū. 'Some one told A. (lit. A was made to hear by some one) '. Pc.7.6.4. amhaī vāhiya bhukkhae khaḷāe. 'We are troubled by the wicked hunger'. Pc.25.10.9. bhanu mahīlae ko ṇa parajjuyaū. 'Tell who has not been defeated by a woman'. Pc.48.11.9. naũ jāṇiyamaĩ ekka vi vihatti. 'No vibhakti is known by me'. MP.1.9.7. isāṇe dhava la chattu dharīu. 'White umbrella was held by I'. MP.3.11.10. maĩ hiya e dharīya m. 'It was kept by me- in heart'. Jc.1.15.17. amhaī vancya daīvāyattē. 'We are deceived by the luck'. Bh.28.6. teṇa vi vani ghallio asahāya c- 'By him was also left in the forest without help'. Bh.83.4. vijjhaĩiya vana laya jiha davena. 'Was burnt by fire like a forest creeper'. Psc.1.162. jaĩ uỹa m sasaharenā. 'If the moon rises'. Sr.8.
(i) **The causal Instrumental.** It is only used with abstract nouns. In this respect it is closely related to the instrumental of means (abstract notions) and the sociative instrumental (with circumstances). The difference is as following. The causal instrumental qualifies, rather conditions, the whole statement, that is, the whole statement depends on the cause whereas the Instrumental of means goes with the verb and the means depends on the subject. Examples:

maharisi tavasteē thiū vimānu.
'The plane stopped due to the power of the penance of the great sage'. Pc.13.1.2. nau jānahū mahilahā ko sahāū/ jovvāna maēna na gān-anti pāū. 'I don't know what is the nature of ladies, they do not care for the sin due to the pride of their youth'. Pc.22.1.5. piyavirahena va sūsaī kāmiṇi. 'The damsel becomes weak due to the separation of the beloved'. Pc.26.5.7. rūvena payamē su mīnu rasēna bhasalu gandha vasa-ēna pharisēna vināsu māttu gāi-ndu gāū. 'The intoxicated elephant attained end due to touch, the bird due to beauty, the fish on account of taste and the bee due to the power of scent'. Pc.33.12.8. aicāē nāsu na hoi kaho. 'Whose destruction does not happen due to much giving'. Pc.74.15.10. guru sa mē ko nau hoi guru. 'Who does not become great in company of (i.e. because of the company of) the teacher'. MP.3.17.3. cāena kannu vihāvena indu/ rūvena kāmu kantie candu. 'Karna (is known) because of tyāga, Indra because of his prosperity,'
the Cupid because of his beauty and the moon because of his light'. Jc.1.5.1. jahi jhena virah him tattiya. 'Where the lady has become thin due to (the pangs of) separation'. Jc.1.21.6. supotthabharesu hau gaimand.'(she) became slow because of the weight of the full stomach'. Kc.1.98. jiva vahanti marayagai abhayapadane sangu. 'The hell(is obtained) by killing of the creatures and the heaven by giving abhaya'. Pd.105. dharmem cakkavatti hari halaharu. 'H. and Hala. are cakravartins because of the religion'. Jsc.2.11.6. ainaena jani kayaru vuccai/ aibhaena jayalacchie muccai.... aighiena bhoyaru vainabhava'. 'One is called coward because of excessive humility, is left by the goddess of victory because of too much fear... even the food is not liked because of too much ghee. Bh.42.3-4. bharina majjhu nahu tutta i tavi bhui manii. 'Her waist is not broken due to the weight( of her breasts), (he) was wonderstruck in his mind?'. Sr.47.

In the following, the derivatives of the verb bhii and its related verbs, usually construed in ablative in Skt.(cf. bhirarthana bhayahetu. P.1.4.25), are construed as the instrumental of cause. bhaiyaemuccaviyarayaahu. 'The royal bride became unconscious due to fear'. Pc.6.9.3. maha indabhaya inam tamas milanti. 'As if the darkness meets due to fear of the moon face'. Kc.1.16.14.
Even the sigh was not released due to the fear of the burning of limbs. SR.79. magga bhagga panthiyaha na pava si hi hima darina. The path of the travellers is broken and they do not go out due to the fear of the snow. SR.193. nabhantiki kimci agga’i bhave. 'They do not say anything in front due to fear'. PSF.1.122.

In the following the causal instrumental functions, as the dative of purpose, dijjaho rajuvi hisanaho jena ve vi jujjhantiparopparu. 'Give the Kingdom to V. for which the two fight among themselves'. Pc.49.5.4. te kojjē yiiya pai bhāniū karu uvavāsabhāsu. 'For that reason, 0 creature! I tell you do practise fast'. Sd.112. vappaho nāmimā vipparā dijjai. 'Is given to Brahmins by the name of the father'. Jc.3.5.6.

(j) The instrumental of space. It denotes the space, or distance or path traversed. Unlike the Vedic Prose and Pali and Prakrits, where the idiom is restricted to words meaning 'way' and like Cl.Skt. and Buddh. Skt. its use is more varied in Apbh.

Examples: gau nāraū kahi mi nāhāmagane. 'N. went somewhere by (through) the celestial path'. Pc.16.9.1. pahu chaddevi uppahena caliya. 'Leaving the way went by the opposite way'. Pc.33.7.5. pahumaggena narahiū laggaiū. 'The king started by (followed) the path of Lord'. Pc.24.8.3. bārahajoyanehī sui pāvai. 'The knowledge
is attained in twelve Yojanas'. 

In the following, the instrumental of space denotes direction and conveys the sense of the locative: 

In the following the word dūra - 'distance', used in the instrumental, conveys an ablative sense.
Was left from a long distance'. Psc.69.7.1. tā u dū rē
dīt thī je jānā'ī su hu. 'Your being seen
from a far, which produces happiness'. Psc.9.2.3. u j jh-i
yā'ī visām va dūrena bhoga.'(She)
had abandoned from a far the pleasures as poison'. Psc.1.227.

In the following the instrumental of space really
denotes the medium.
am su pānālē nīsariiū. 'Tear rolled down
by rows'. Psc.19.10.10 māyām gan hu dānē' vahai nē hu. 'Love flows through the rutfluid of elephants'. Mφ.
l2.7.9. nāyanāmsuya dhārahi galiū.
'The tears of eyes fell through lines'. Jc.4.12. vahai
khīr u cauvisahi suttahi. 'The milk
flows through 24 sutras'. Bh.157.10. salilanivahu tu ccacchaū sarai tarām ganihī.
'The mass of water flows through slender streams'. SR.157.12.

The following are quite interesting examples of a
particular usage of instrumental. This idiom, which may be
called Instrumental- Accusative phrase, consists of two words.
The first is an instrumental of space or time(conveying the
locative or, as is more usually the case, the ablative sense),
and the second word is an accusative of the same word. The
whole phrase may be rendered as 'along' and conveys the sense
of plurality. This idiom is found in early MIA as also
in MEh. In Buddh., Skt. it is very prolific usage2. In Apbh.
it is restricted to the verbs of 'motion' viz. hindā-,
bhama- 'to roaw, to wander'. etc. Examples. am ha hū

1. MIA.pp.22.23, § 36.
2. OSBS.pp.23.24.
desē desu bhāmantahū. 'Of us roaming from
country to country'. Pc.32.2.6. sugīva bhāma-
antu vaṇena vaṇa. 'S roaming from forest to
forest'. Pc. 43.1.3. also at Pc.40. titthaī titt-
hā bhāmahi bādha. 'O fool you wander from
pilgrimage to pilgrimage'. Pd.162, also Bh.110.5. jov va-
ṇa diyahi diyahu vilijjai. 'The
youth weathers away day by day'. Bh.22.3.

In the following idiomatic expression the ablative
sense is quite clear. hatthai hatthu bha-
mai jānavindahō. 'Roams from hand to hand
of men'. Bh.17.6. cf. Hindi hāthō hāth. In pāsē
pasa bhāmane acohaha. 'Keep roaming from
near to near i.e. nearby' Bh. pāsē pāsa de-
notes occupation.

In mūhamuhenā tambolu samp-
pai. 'Offers bōtās from mouth to mouth'. Pc.38.4.3. and
mūhamuhenā tambolu padicchāi.
'Gives bōtās from mouth to mouth'. Bh.13.5., the instru-
mental denotes reciprocity.

(k) The instrumental of time. This idiom is very
rare in Apbh. Its use is varied and free. Sometimes (and not
always as in OIA) it denotes the completion of the final
action, but generally it denotes the time occupied without
any reference to its completion. Many an idiom under this
head can as well be explained as locative of time. Examples.
tahi je aūjjhahi bahavē kālē/
uĉchāane āravara tarujālē. 'There,
in Ayodhyā, the noble men(are) lost for a long time by
(i.e. under) the cluster of trees'. Pc. 5.1.1. pekkhesa-
"You will see within a few days!" Pc.9.6.8. vahū vāṣarehi āujjhā paittha. 'In many days entered Ayodhya'. Pc.21.4.7. paharantem niya-manai. cintiyāu. 'Thought in his mind for one prahara(lit. by the end of a prahara)'. Jc.2.8.5. varināsayena vi jomilai. 'Who meets even after a hundred years'. Nc.4.332. bahu kālē tāhe/pu-ttajammi ahilasai manu. 'For along time his heart yearned for the birth of a son'. Bh.13.9. māsē kahiutenā taho āgamu. 'He married the āgama within a month'. Bh.28.7.1. This idiom may be compared with māsena dāhīt a m. 'learnt within a month' of Cl.Skt.

In the following the temporal instrumental denotes a part or point of time. manikamaṇa dhanajana paūru pattaṃkuu nimiṣa-dhaḥ o addhe. 'He constructed within the half of the half of a moment (instantly) a city full of jewels, gold, wealth and men'. Pc.28.8.9. kāi vihaṇaṇa sajjuvipikkhanto dahagīvaho. 'Why in the morning (tomorrow) only today of D.seeing' Pc. 72.11.11. lenti deha sahasatti muhu-tū. 'They take the body immediately within a moment'. MP. 11.13.7. sūru viṇāsaī timiraḥah nekka-lāu nimisesa. 'The sun destroys the mass of darkness alone within a moment'. Pd.75.

Many instrumentals of time have become fossilized adverbs of time e.g. turaṇtē 'immediately' Pc.2.11.4.
The adverbial instrumental. The adverbial function of the instrumental is a very old and regular feature of the syntax of IA. Quite a large number of stereotyped adverbial forms with the instrumental ending are found in OIA and in early MIA.\(^1\) In Apbh., too, their occurrence is not infrequent. Examples: so pahu muañ a vāreñ nij jai. 'That 0 lord! being left would be taken immediately'. Pc.5.2.5. varu avas̐̐e hosaï kovi tett hu. 'Certainly, there will be some bride-groom'. Pc.18.3.8. navara niyānē hua vijjāhari. 'Later, she really became a Vidyādharī'. Pc.50.3.7. att a kkae jāu puñ annavau sayalu vi rāmaho tanañ valu. 'All the army of R., suddenly, became alive again (like finger nails)'. Pc.69.19.9. sahas̐̐a jiha na mara-nitiha rāvanañ marañu kahiu pari hāse. 'So that they do not die suddenly, he told the death of R. joculously' Pc.76.12.10. niyāneñ ha aha va jadattanena/ hau bhananĩ kimpi dhiṭhat anna. 'Either out of love, or due to foolishness, I tell something imprudently'. MP.4.6.14.

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1. UCVP.p.77, § 15; HSMIA.p. 29, § 42; Whitney. § 1112
nissaàkìm labbhàia gayànagamaànu
'Attains undoubtably the going to sky'. Jc.1.7.7. saàs-saàyàna pápuçchiè. 'Asked doubtfully'. Kc.1.6.7. padhamè jài âyàsa visàddha.'Firstly, if pure by âyàsa'. DKS.33. ahi lâsè - pij jài.
'Is drunk desiringly'. JSC.1.5.10. sàavyàdhammu payatte pàlahu.'Follow the Sràvakadharmà with effort'. PSC.1.109. kannosannaì cavai jànu. 'People tell whisperingly'. Bh. 13.10. pàli vî kusalatattànaa. 'Is to be followed skillfully'. Bh.252.11. dihàhà jantì jhàdappadíhì.
The days pass 'away quickly'. Hc.4.388. jà ì jàssà kàvvasattì sàtenà alajjìhènà bhanîyàvà. 'Whatever one's poetic capacity, one must declare (the same) unabashed'. SR.17. ìnèhènà bhasiìù. 'Uttered affectionately'. SR.23. ramànàbhàru guru viyàdãu kàkatthìhi dhàraì. 'Some one bears miserably the weight of the hips'. SR.50.1.

(m) The instrumental absolute- This idiom developed out of the sociative use of the instrumental. It is found, though not frequently, in OIA. especially the language of Vedic Prose1. Not a few examples of its occurrence are available in MBh and Buddhistic Sanskrit 2. In Apbh. this idiom is quite common, so much so that sometimes an entire Kadavaka is found with this(Pc.49.3, nine examples).

1. UCVP.pp.78-79.
2. RMJAI. § 44; OSBS.p.25.
As stated earlier, in Apbh. the instrumental and locative almost coalescing, developed many identical functions. So many examples of the instrumental absolute can be explained as locative absolute and vice versa. This, perhaps, is the reason for Bhayani's description of the following idioms as 'instrumental absolute(used) for locative absolute'.

pañhontena havāntu aesañi
'By your being all(form of religion) may be'. Pc.2.10.8.
dhamme hontena deva visavakaranti. 'By the religion being even the gods serve'.
Pc.6.14.19. nisariē purāpararā mesarenā nisariyavīra. 'By the lord of the city having gone out, the hero went out'. Pc.12.7.8. (Translation ours).

An analysis of these idioms would show that the completion or the possibility of completion of the final action(of the finite verb), is conditioned by(or depends on) the instrumental absolute. That is, the instrumental absolute is the cause or source of the final action. The locative absolute on the other hand, as would be shown in the following chapter, denotes usually circumstances or time which is not necessarily related to the final action as cause or source. Again, the instrumental absolute, as found in these idioms, is a regular feature of the syntax of Iā, being available in all the earlier stages of the development of Iā. So even if Bhayani would have treated the examples discussed above as pure instrumental absolute, his treatment would have perhaps not been unjustified.

In this idiom the absolute participle and the finite verb are, not infrequently derived from the same root, which perhaps justifies the conditioning use of the instrumental absolute.

The instrumental absolute, as stated earlier, generally denotes the cause or source of the action. But, sometimes, it also denotes other functions of the instrumental.

Examples: teasma parasanta esa suraha mi vibbam u lai. 'By his having entered with splendour, even the gods were astonished'. Pc.3.9.10. maighontey kai na sambyavai. 'By my being what is not possible'. Pc.15.12.1.
amjaanae muiyae marami. 'By A. having died, I will die'. Pc.19.12.1. pai gana vi sijjhai naahi kajja. 'By your going even no work would be done'. Pc.69.14.6. khanu mina jiyami marante rame. 'By R. having died, I will not live even for a moment'. Pc.73.11.6. nacca indenayanaanande girisharai tu ttanti. 'By the eye-pleasing Indra dancing, the peaks of mountains break'. MP.3.20.20. re gabbhi thienna na nanaui. 'There can by no knowledge by the king being in womb'. MP.5.3.3. vuddhatana pani m caliyana. 'By the life having gone the old age( is finished)'. Jc.4.10.4. kalagacchante vennigaui. 'By the time passing, both have gone'. DKS.21. cittabaddha bajjhai mukke mukka. 'By the heart being tied, is tied and by the
freedom is freed'. DMS.91. te jaya te vhe vi sari u duk khu. 'By his having been born her troubles were forgotten'. Kc.2.1.3. dharmim natta mam nara yaga a. 'By the religion having decayed, there is way to hell'. Pd.93. bahue sallila vishaliyai karu coppada na ho i.

'The hand does not become soft, by much water having been churned'. Pd.147. vinatthena dhammena savva ma akammam. 'By the decay of religion, all is useless'. Bh.56.7. tunhahi jantahi jai khanvi ithami. 'By your having gone, if I stay for even a moment'. Bh.337.2. jam himstai avara asasa humti. 'By whose being all others things become'. Fsc.1.92. vimjho na ho ivamjho gaei bahuehi vigaehi. 'By the going (out) of many elephants, the Vindhyamountain does not become barren'. Pk.94.

(n) The instrumental of purpose: This is quite an old idiom in IA and is allied to the causal instrumental. In Abph. it is accompanied by words meaning 'for' or 'purpose' viz. at the (arthena), karana- and vimitta. Thus, this idiom borders on final dative or the dative of purpose. Examples ekka ho niya jiva ho karane na jiva sayai vi vahiyai. 'For the sake of one life even hundred creatures are killed'. MP.13.912. suvya aje jam kahi u hiyat the. 'What Suvrata told for the sake of good'. Bh.98.1. kevi utti u kalu piysa e. 'Spent so much time in hope of husband'. Bh.195.5.
The power of moha is for the sake of life. JSC.2.1.11.

(c) The instrumental of Utility. This use of instrumental is regular in IA. It is attested in the language of Vedic Prose. As in OIA, it is accompanied by the interrogative kim in Apbh.

In many cases the verb is suppressed, not infrequently the whole construction is elliptical. The whole idiom implies or carries a sense of peroration. Examples: kim vahuena alavena tihuane sayale gavittthau. What by talking more, in the world all are seen? Pd.3.11.kim vahuё ettiу kahiu mai. 'What by much, I told this much', Pd.12.7.2. kim mantena matta māyaŋge. 'What (is) the use of an elephant intoxicated by mantra?' Pd.53.12.2. kim ba̱hue adaveda̱ vadina deha na appā hoi. 'What by speaking much uselessly, the body is not yours'. Pd.145. pai rahięa tāya kim ra̱jš. 'What by a kingdom 0 father! without you?', MP. 7.20.14. bappihā kai bollięa nigg-hiña vāraı vāra. '0 ruthless cātaka! what is the use of repeatedly telling?'. Hc.4.383. kahau pah-iya kiṇa kahau kahisu kim kahi-yayaṇa. '0 traveller,(should) I tell or not tell, or I will tell, but what( is the use of) by telling? SR.91.

Sometimes, the instrumental of utility is denoted by instrumental absolute. dhamae laię kavau phalu. 'What is the result of the religion having been taken?', Pd.28.89. kim sukkhe rukkhe
The war broke between Kauravas and Pandavas in Kuruksetra. Bh.6.8.
(q) The instrumental of correspondence: The instrumental is used to denote comparison—to be more specific, similarity and dissimilarity—between two objects. The idiom is used with verbs conveying the sense of comparison, (u v a m i j j a – u p a m i y a –), or the words denoting the same sense, e.g. j e h ï (= Skt y a d r ñ a), e v a etc. Examples: t a i j e h a ñ a n n u n a k o v i v a ñ d h u. 'There is no other fool like you'.
Pc.1.2.18. j a i n ñ a h e n ñ a h u v a m i j j a i 'If (some) master is compared with the (particular) master'.
Pc.25.7.10. t e n a s a m ñ a n h ñ ñ u k o d i s a i. 'Who is seen so low as he?'. MP.16.9.8. k a v i n a m a i j e h i d u h a b h a y a ñ a. 'No body is miserable like me'. Bh.93.6. t u m h a i j e m a s o v i p h-a l u p ñ a v a i. 'He will also get the result like you'.
Bh.332.6.

(r) The use of instrumental for other cases.

(i) Dative: g a ñ u k k h a m ñ h ñ e v a r u-n a h o u p p a r i. 'Went on Varuna for attack i.e. attacked V'. Pc.55.10.5. v a n-dh u a t t u s a m ñ a l i ü v a n i-j j ñ. 'V. started for trade'. Bh.39.4. t e n a s a m ñ a n v a n i j j e m ñ a y a o. Bh.105.8. (other idioms are given earlier).

(ii) Ablative: g os i m g a ñ i k i m d u d-d h a ñ i c a v a n i. 'Do milks flow from the horns of cows'. Jc.1.11.1. m a r a ñ a b ñ a e n a m l u k k a i. 'Hides due to
(from) fear of death'. JSC.2.6.11. jī o pabhāvīm kavihī payattai vānivara. 'Due to whose influence, the noble speech originates from poets'. PSC.1.14.

(iii) Locative. As stated earlier, the overlapping of Instrumental and locative is a common feature of the syntax of Apbh. Some examples are given here. taho dāhiṇabhae bhara-hu thakkhu. 'Bh. stood in his right side'. Pc.1.11.8. āhulihūe hiyaeno visūra'i. 'Being perplexed was thinking in heart'. Pc.29.3.2. tam tuttai ka haviṇaphiṭṭai jīvahu jamma sahaśāsē. 'That is broken, and is never repaired in thousand lives of the Jīva'. MP.8.4.36. jasu dhamma raṁ ṭṛaṇjīyaū mānu. 'Whose mind was dyed in the colour of virtue'. Kc.1.5.8. dhānasiriparicintai niya- manoṇa. 'Dh. thinks in her mind'. PSC.1.126.