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Émilie Aussant

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वसुधैव कुटुम्बकम्
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French Grammars of Sanskrit and Word-Class Systems

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Abstract

French grammars of Sanskrit – and, more broadly, Western grammars of Sanskrit – bring two different languages face to face (Sanskrit and French) but also two different descriptive models as well as two different metalanguages, both resulting from secular practices and thinking. Given this framework, two questions arise which constitute the main lines of thought which underlie the reflection within which the present study falls: how have French grammars of Sanskrit navigated between these two descriptive models and metalanguages, while at the same time dealing with word classifications? And what does this tell us about “Extended Sanskrit Grammar”? To answer both these questions, a very brief overview of word classifications elaborated by ancient Indian scholars for Sanskrit is given as a first step; then, as a second step, a synthesis of the various configurations one finds in French grammars of Sanskrit with concrete illustrations is presented.

Keywords: Word-Class System; Vyākaraṇa; French grammars of Sanskrit; Extended Sanskrit Grammar.

Introduction

The analysis of language into units seems to have been fundamental in all traditions of language study. Yet, classifying words is an activity which is neither self-explanatory nor consistent: the classifier has an epistemological aim (i.e. something to explain) and we must consider the regularities (in other words, the classes) established on this basis. Epistemological aims have varied greatly throughout history, from one tradition of language study to another as well as within one and the same tradition. Even today, category-assignment and the nature of categories (language-particular categories vs. pre-established – hence, universal – categories) are hotly debated topics in descriptive linguistics and linguistic typology.

In a paper presented on the occasion of the 14th International Conference on the History of the Language Sciences (see Aussant 2020), I studied, from the perspective of “Extended Sanskrit Grammar,”¹ how some word classes elaborated by ancient Indian scholars for Sanskrit were transferred to Hindi and Malayalam. Here, I consider how French grammars describing Sanskrit have resorted to word classes elaborated by ancient Indian scholars for Sanskrit.² We are still in line with the “Extended Sanskrit Grammar” perspective, but now I take a different angle: French grammars of Sanskrit – and, more broadly, Western grammars of Sanskrit – bring two different languages face-to-face (the language described, i.e. Sanskrit, and the language of description, French in the present case) but also two different descriptive models as well as two different metalanguages (the Vyākaraṇic model and its metalanguage and the Graeco-Latin model and its metalanguage), both resulting from secular practices and thinking. Given this framework, two questions arise which constitute the main lines of thought which underlie the reflection within which the present study falls: how have French grammars of Sanskrit navigated between these two descriptive models and metalanguages, while at the same time dealing with word classifications? And what does this tell us about “Extended Sanskrit Grammar”?

To answer both these questions, I give, as a first step, a very brief overview of word classifications elaborated, by ancient Indian scholars, for Sanskrit; then, as a second step, I present a synthesis of the various configurations one finds in French grammars of Sanskrit with concrete illustrations.

¹ For a general presentation of “Extended Sanskrit Grammar” and a description of the current state of the art, see Aussant 2017.

² For a general presentation of the reception of the Vyākaraṇic descriptive model in French grammars of Sanskrit, see Aussant *forthcoming*.

1. Overview of word-class systems elaborated for Sanskrit in Sanskrit

When one looks at word classifications elaborated in Sanskrit scholarly disciplines dealing with language,³ one observes, among other things, that:⁴

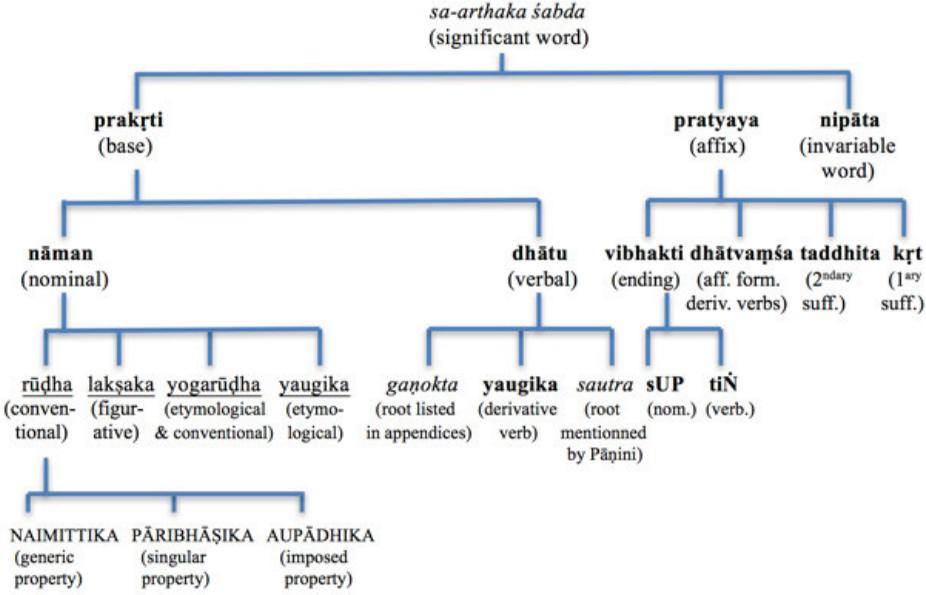
- 1) There is a wide range of word classifications.
- 2) These word classifications are based on different criteria: mainly semantic, formal and pragmatic.
- 3) Words – and nouns especially – are more often classified according to semantic criteria.
- 4) Among the Sanskrit scholarly disciplines dealing with language (see note 3), grammar resorts to the widest range of word classifications (semantic, formal, pragmatic). Though these classifications are not mutually exclusive, as far as I know, there is no attempt, *in grammar*, at a global classification that attempts to include the various word-class systems into one single system.
- 5) Some word classifications have circulated among these disciplines and have been diversely re-used, with or without change, and/or have been merged – outside grammar – with another classification. One may mention an example coming from dialectics. Dialecticians mainly developed two classifications of nouns: one according to kinds of noun-object relation and one according to what causes the application of a noun (a classification which originates from grammar). In his *Śabdaśakti-prakāśikā*, Jagadīśa, a dialectician of the late 16th century, combined both classifications in a general word-class system which even includes grammatical categories: see Figure 1 (diagram borrowed from Matilal 1975).⁵

³ Padapāṭhas, phonetics (Śikṣā), metrics (Chandas), grammar (Vyākaraṇa), semantic explanation (Nirvacana, Nirukta), Vedic hermeneutics (Mīmāṃsā), lexicography (Nighaṇṭu and later, Kośa), poetics (Alaṃkāra) and dialectics (Nyāya).

⁴ For a detailed study of the various word classifications elaborated in Sanskrit scholarly disciplines dealing with language, see Aussant 2016.

⁵ The classification based on the kinds of noun-object relation is underlined, the classification based on the cause of application is in capital letters and grammatical categories – mainly based on formal criteria – are in bold type.

Figure 1.



This kind of mixed classification is particularly interesting for it ties in with what we very often find in grammars resulting from a transfer. In some grammars of Hindi, Bengali or Malayalam which are modelled on the grammatical description of Sanskrit, indeed, one observes a fairly clear trend which consists in combining word-class systems based on different criteria.⁶ A noteworthy feature of these mixed classifications is that, though the majority of the distinct word-class systems they merge with were developed within the scope of Sanskrit grammar (*Vyākaraṇa*), some come from other Sanskrit scholarly disciplines dealing with language (dialectics and poetics,⁷ among others) or even from another grammatical tradition entirely (Tamil).

Now, what is the situation in French grammars of Sanskrit, which navigate between the Graeco-Latin model/metalanguage and the *Vyākaraṇic* model/metalanguage?

⁶ See Aussant 2020 for more details.

⁷ For instance, in Rājā Shivprasād Sitār-e-Hind's *Hindī vyākaraṇa* (1875), one finds a class of meaningful words (*sārthak*) – presumably opposed to a class of non-meaningful words – which is subdivided into denotative (*vācak*) and connotative (*lakshak*), both terms which originate from Sanskrit poetics.

2. Word-class systems in French grammars of Sanskrit

Before addressing the data, I have to say a word regarding the corpus studied here. The present study is based on 22 French grammars of Sanskrit for which I was able to find references. It goes without saying that French studies of Sanskrit language are inextricably tied to French and Western Linguistics, as well as to French and Western Oriental Studies, both these fields of research having a long and complex history. These strong ties with different disciplines and with different Western approaches (German, English, etc.) make the corpus of French grammars an excellent entry point to study the way Western grammars of Sanskrit navigated between descriptive models and metalanguages while they were dealing with word classifications.⁸

The table below (Table 1) presents the data I have found in the 22 grammars. It has one row per grammar and four columns, each of these corresponding to one of the four structures of word classifications I have identified:

- 1) The “fully exclusive use of one word-class system” column includes grammars where the Graeco-Latin or the Sanskrit model/metalanguage is exclusively used.
- 2) The “partially exclusive use of one word-class system” column includes grammars where, for instance, the Graeco-Latin model/metalanguage is exclusively used for verbs while compounds are exclusively classified according to the Sanskrit model/metalanguage.
- 3) The “juxtaposition of word-class systems” column includes grammars where different models/metalanguages are successively mentioned without being interconnected.⁹
- 4) The “amalgamation of word-class systems” column includes grammars where different models/metalanguages are interconnected.

NB: superscript numbers added to X are not references to footnotes but references to explanations and examples given below the table.

⁸ Some incursions in Western grammars of Sanskrit written in languages other than French show that the approaches are fully comparable.

⁹ For an illustration coming from the Latin grammatical tradition, see Taylor 1991: 89-90.

Table 1.

Grammar	Fully exclusive use of one word-class system	Partially exclusive use of one word-class system	Juxtaposition of word-class systems	Amalgamation of word-class systems
<i>De la Syntaxe</i> , Father Jean-François Pons, 1730 (?)		X ¹		
<i>Notes grammaticales sur le sanscrit</i> , Claude Fauriel, 1802-1843 (?)	X (Graeco-Latin word-class system)			
<i>Grammaire sanscrite-française</i> , Alix Desgranges, 1845-47		X ²		X ³
<i>Abrégé de grammaire sanscrite dicté par E. Burnouf</i> , Eugène Burnouf, 1824		X ⁴		X ⁵
<i>Grammaire sanscrite. Résumé élémentaire de la théorie des formes grammaticales en sanscrit</i> , Frédéric Baudry, 1853		X (e.g. separate classes for adjectives and pronouns)		X (declensions)
<i>Méthode pour étudier la langue sanscrite</i> , Émile-Louis Burnouf and L. Leupol, 1859		X ⁶	X (suffixes)	
<i>Grammaire sanscrite</i> , Jules Oppert, 1859		X (e.g. Sanskrit classification of compounds)	X (present-stem formations)	X (declensions)

Grammar	Fully exclusive use of one word-class system	Partially exclusive use of one word-class system	Juxtaposition of word-class systems	Amalgamation of word-class systems
<i>Grammaire abrégée de la langue sanscrite</i> , Léon Rodet, 1859-60		X (e.g. presentation of declensions according to the Greek model)		X (present-stem formations)
<i>Grammaire pratique de la langue sanscrite</i> , Charles de Harlez, 1878		X (e.g. Sanskrit classification of compounds)		X (present-stem formations)
<i>Manuel pour étudier la langue sanscrite. Chrestomathie, lexique, principes de grammaire</i> , Abel Bergaigne, 1884	X (Graeco-Latin word-class system)			
<i>Éléments de sanscrit classique</i> , Victor Henry, 1902	X (Graeco-Latin word-class system + see X ?)		X ⁷	
<i>Grammaire élémentaire de la langue sanscrite comparée avec celle des langues indo-européennes</i> , Albert Joseph Carnoy, 1925	X (Graeco-Latin word-class system, with the exceptional mention of the Sanskrit ten classes of present-stem formations)		X (present-stem formations)	
<i>Grammaire sanscrite</i> , Louis Renou, 1930			X ⁸ (compounds, indeclinables, derivatives, nouns, verbal endings, present-stem formations)	

Grammar	Fully exclusive use of one word-class system	Partially exclusive use of one word-class system	Juxtaposition of word-class systems	Amalgamation of word-class systems
<i>Grammaire élémentaire du sanscrit classique</i> , Henri Courbin, 1931	X (Graeco-Latin word-class system, see X⁹)			X⁹
<i>Saṃskṛtaṃ vyākaraṇam</i> , René Daumal, 1934-44		X (e.g. separate class for adjectives)	X (present-stem formations)	
<i>Précis de grammaire du sanscrit classique</i> , Adriaan Scharpé, 1945		X (e.g. separate classes for adjectives and pronouns)		X (present-stem formations)
<i>Grammaire sanskrite élémentaire</i> , Louis Renou, 1946		X¹⁰		
<i>Grammaire du sanskrit</i> , Jean Varenne, 1971		X (e.g. Sanskrit classification of compounds vs thematic/athematic declensions and conjugations)		
<i>Grammaire sanskrite pāṇinéenne</i> , Pierre-Sylvain Filliozat, 1988	X (Sanskrit word-class systems with the exceptional mention, regarding the verb, of the thematic/athematic distinction – see X¹¹)		X¹¹	
<i>Éléments de grammaire sanskrite – Gīrvāṇa-bhāṣā, La langue des dieux</i> , Vasundhara Filliozat, 1998	X (Sanskrit word-class systems)			

Grammar	Fully exclusive use of one word-class system	Partially exclusive use of one word-class system	Juxtaposition of word-class systems	Amalgamation of word-class systems
<i>Grammaire élémentaire et pratique du sanskrit classique</i> , Sylvain Brocquet, 2010		X (e.g. Sanskrit classification of compounds)		X (declensions and present-stem formations)
<i>Le sanskrit</i> , Nalini Balbir, 2013		X (e.g. separate classes for adjectives and pronouns, syntax; Sanskrit classification of compounds)	X (present stem-formations)	

X¹: In his description of Sanskrit compounds, Father Pons exclusively resorts to Sanskrit classification.¹⁰ Particularly noteworthy is his juxtaposition of two Sanskrit classifications of compounds: the first classification, which is introduced by the sentence “Le *samāsa* se divise généralement en quatre espèces” (p.30, “*Samāsas* are generally divided into four kinds”),¹¹ distinguishes between *nityasamāsa* (“necessary compound”), *anityasamāsa* (“non-necessary compound”),¹² *lug[sic]samāsa* (“compound where the case-affix is elided before the final member”) and *alug[sic]samāsa* (“compound where the case-affix is not elided before

¹⁰ Note that Father Pons made a Latin (shortened) translation of the *Samkṣiptasāra* (see J. Filliozat 1937). His general description of Sanskrit illustrates the “partially exclusive use of one word-class system” for, in his Sanskrit grammar written in Latin, he has a separate chapter for pronouns (*De pronomibus*) (J. Filliozat 1937: 278).

¹¹ Pages are those of the manuscript digitized by Gallica.

¹² *Anitya-samāsa* is used by Pāṇini (A 6.1.169); he also uses *nityam* in relation to compounds (A 2.2.17-19). But *nitya-samāsa* seems to have been used for the first time by Patañjali, in his commentary on the *vārttika* 4 ad A 2.2.19. The couple *nityasamāsa-anityasamāsa* seems to have been used for the first time in the *Kāśikāvṛtti* ad A 6.1.169.

the final member”).¹³ The second classification, introduced by the sentence “Mais pour donner une connaissance plus exacte du *samāsa* on le divise plus particulièrement en six espèces [...]” (p.30, “In order to provide a more precise understanding of *samāsas* one divides them into six kinds [...]”), distinguishes between *tatpuruṣa samāsaḥ*, *karmadhāraya samāsaḥ*, *dvigou [dvigu] samāsaḥ*, *dvandva samāsaḥ*, *bahu brīhi [bahuvrīhi] samāsaḥ*, and *avyaya bhāvaḥ [avyayībhāva]*. All these terms are already used by Pāṇini but, in his grammar, some of them denote subcategories of compounds: *karmadhāraya* (i.e., appositional determinative compounds) constitute a subcategory of *tatpuruṣa* compounds, and *dvigu* (i.e. determinative compounds), with a numeral as the first member, constitute a subcategory of *karmadhāraya* compounds. This hierarchy has not always been preserved by later grammarians, who simply mentioned *karmadhāraya* and *dvigu* compounds on an equal footing with the other compounds.

Note that native classification of Sanskrit compounds has varied greatly (even within the Pāṇinian school) and it is not always easy to trace its developments. As mentioned above, Pāṇini (as well as some non-Pāṇinian grammarians like Candra) distinguishes between four classes of compounds on the basis of semantics,¹⁴ while Kauṇḍabhaṭṭa distinguishes, on the basis of morphology, six classes of compounds (cf. *Bṛhadvaiyākaraṇabhūṣaṇa* p.143).

X²: Desgranges, who is particularly sensitive to the native view of the language, very often follows Sanskrit classifications.¹⁵ One can easily assess this while looking at the list of Sanskrit metalinguistic terms Desgranges gives in his *Prolegomena* (vol. 1: XXV-XLII). A good example is the classification of nouns – very likely of vernacular origin – given on p. xxxix, which distinguishes between *dravyavācaka*

¹³ The elision (*luk-*) of endings before the final member of a compound is prescribed by A 2.4.71 and *aluk-* (“non-elision”) is used in reference to compounds in A 6.3.1. But I could not find the first occurrence of the couple *luksamāsa-aluksamāsa*. Note that this first fourfold classification already juxtaposes two different classifications: the *nityasamāsa-anityasamāsa* classification which is based on a semantic criterion (the meaning of a necessary compound cannot be grasped by the corresponding analytical sentence) and the *luksamāsa-aluksamāsa* classification which is based on a morphological criterion (the elision or the non-elision of case affix of the first member of the compound).

¹⁴ According to Patañjali (cf. *Mahābhāṣya ad A 2.1.6*), the difference between the four classes of compounds is correlated to the distribution of the semantic predominance of compound components.

¹⁵ Desgranges follows occasionally Western classifications, as in the passage dealing with indeclinables (vol. 2: 269).

“nom commun, substantif” (“common noun, substantive”), *nānavācaka* “nom propre, substantif” (“proper name, substantive”), *saṃghavācaka* “nom collectif” (“collective noun”), *bhāvavācaka* “nom abstrait” (“abstract noun”), *prāṇivācaka* “noms d’êtres animés” (“nouns for animate beings”), *aprāṇivācaka* “noms d’êtres inanimés” (“nouns for inanimate beings”) and *kriyāvācaka* “nom verbal” (“verbal noun”). One finds this classification – or a very similar one – in Carey (1805: 30) as well as in Rev. Adam (1837: 6-7), but I have not yet been able to identify its source.

X3: In different places, Desgranges amalgamates Sanskrit and Graeco-Latin word-class systems and says this openly. A good example is provided in the 2nd vol., p.1:

Les Indous ont fait deux classes [de mots dérivés] : la première, celle des dérivés de *dhatous* immédiatement, et compris tous sous la dénomination de *kṛdanta* [...] ; la deuxième, celle des dérivés de mots quelconques autres que les *dhatous* eux-mêmes et compris sous la dénomination de *taddhita*. Dans chaque classe les mots sont rangés en liste, chacun sous son affixe, sans plus de distinction ; mais dans les grammaires européennes on a établi des subdivisions, qui sans nuire au système indou, rendent plus claire et plus facile le développement des règles. Les mots qui dans nos grammaires constituent le *mode infinitif*, sont en sanscrit tout simplement quelques-uns d’entre les *kṛdanta* ; mais comme ils ont des rapports directs et spéciaux chacun avec un temps du verbe, et qu’ils traduisent nos *participes*, tandis que les autres dérivés répondent seulement à l’idée que présente le *dhatou*, et qu’ils ne sont que de simples mots ou noms verbaux [footnote: *Nomina verbalia*, dit Ramus], on a jugé convenable d’en faire deux parts : la première sous la dénomination connue et adoptée de *participes* [footnote: *Participium*, dit Quintilien], auxquels on adjoint l’infinitif ; la deuxième sous la dénomination de *participiaux*, dénomination semblable à la précédente, assignée à ces mots dans des grammaires antérieures à celle-ci, et acceptée par Chézy.¹⁶

“Hindus distinguish between two classes [of derivative words]: the first one [gathers together words] directly derived from *dhātus* and all designated by *kṛdanta* [...]; the second one [gathers together words] derived

¹⁶ *Participiaux* include: 1) agent nouns, 2) attributives of possession or of aptitude, etc., 3) substantives immediately derived from the root, 4) different nouns derived with the help of *uṇādi* affixes.

from any word other than *dhātus* and designated by *taddhita*. In each class, words are listed, each of them under its affix, without further distinction; but in European grammars, subdivisions have been established which make the development of rules clearer and easier without affecting the Hindu system. Words which in our grammars represent the infinitive mood are simply some of the *kr̥dantas* in Sanskrit. But as each of them have direct and special relations with a verb tense and as they convey our *participles* whereas the other derivatives correspond to the idea expressed by the *dhātu* only and are simple words or verbal nouns [*Nomina verbalia*, as Ramus says], it has been deemed appropriate to categorise them in two parts: the first one designated by the known and accepted [word] *participles* [*Participium*, as Quintilian says] and within which the infinitive falls; the second one designated by *participiaux*, a name similar with the previous one, which is given to these words in former grammars and approved by Chézy.”

X4: In Burnouf’s *Abrégé*, a feature common to almost all French grammars of Sanskrit can be noted, that is a chapter (or a section) specifically devoted to adjectives (p.26 and following), a grammatical category which does not exist in native Sanskrit grammar¹⁷ and which is a pure product of the “extended Latin grammar.” The same often applies for pronouns (as in Burnouf’s *Abrégé*, p.30 and following), which are presented in a separate section in French grammars of Sanskrit whereas native Sanskrit grammars include them in the noun category. On the other hand, Burnouf closely follows the native classification of verbs in ten conjugations (p.36 and following).¹⁸

X5: Burnouf, like many other French authors of Sanskrit grammars, amalgamates Sanskrit and Graeco-Latin declensional classifications. He distinguishes between five kinds of declensions (p.11):

¹⁷ Adjectives and substantives have the same inflexion in Sanskrit, the chief difference between them being that the former class has three gender variants. Pāṇini nevertheless uses the terms *viśeṣaṇa* (“qualifier”) and *viśeṣya* (“qualified”) in one rule (A 2.1.57) to distinguish the qualifier and the qualified in compounds such as *nīla-utpala* “blue lotus.” Patañjali, one of the commentators on Pāṇini, introduces two terms which will continue to be used thereafter: *guṇa-vacana* “which expresses quality” and *dravya-vacana* “which expresses substance.”

¹⁸ Sanskrit grammarians distinguish between ten root classes, differentiated by the formation of the present tense stem.

Il y a cinq déclinaisons dont quatre se terminent par des voyelles et une par des consonnes, quelques substantifs se terminent par des diphthongues mais ils sont irréguliers.

“There are five declensions, four of which end with a vowel and one ends in consonants; some substantives end with diphthongs but they are irregular.”

Burnouf's first declension (given on p.12) includes masculine nouns ending in “*ah*” (*a*-stems), feminine nouns ending in “*ā*” (*ā*-stems) and neuter ending in “*am*” (*a*-stems). The second declension (given on p.13) includes nouns ending in “*i*” (*i*-stems) or “*ou*” (*u*-stems). The third declension (given on p.14) includes nouns ending in “*ī*” (*ī*-stems) or “*oū*” (*ū*-stems) which are almost all feminine. The fourth declension (given p.16) includes nouns ending in “*ṛī*” (*ṛ*-stems). The fifth declension (given p.17 and p.20-22) includes nouns ending in a consonant, which can be a guttural, a palatal, a velar, a dental, “*an*,” “*in*,” a labial, “*r*,” “*ś*,” “*s*.” Like most Latin declensional classifications,¹⁹ Burnouf's classification focuses exclusively on one formal criterion (stem-endings); gender – though mentioned – plays no role in the classification, contrary to the Sanskrit tradition of topically organised grammars,²⁰ which bases declensional classification upon both stem-

¹⁹ For an overview of Latin declensional classifications, see Taylor 1991 and Colombat 1999: 281-337.

²⁰ Pāṇini's *Aṣṭādhyāyī* consists in a derivational model of a highly technical nature, made up of approximately 4,000 rules (*sūtra*) and which includes numerous metalinguistic rules (metarules, rules related to technical terms, headings). Due to the need for a more practical and pedagogical grammar and to a divergence of opinion regarding theoretical issues, some grammarians moved away from Pāṇini's work. That is how an arrangement of grammatical rules by topic emerged, as well as a reduction (or even a suppression) of the metalinguistic tools and the removal of rules teaching purely Vedic forms. As far as one knows, grammars arranged by topic firstly appeared in the Buddhist and Jaina spheres (that is to say outside the Pāṇinian school which is of Brahmanical or Hindu tradition), after Sanskrit versions of their canonical texts were adopted.

endings and gender.²¹ From Sanskrit declensional classifications, Burnouf retains – in addition to stem-endings – the Sanskrit order of declensions (which follows Sanskrit alphabetical order: *a, i, u, ṛ* and the corresponding long vowels).

X⁶: In their *Préface* (p. iv-xi), (É.-L.) Burnouf and Leupol state explicitly their methodological choices, for instance on pages iv-vi:

On eût pu dédoubler la sixième [déclinaison], distinguer les parisyllabiques des imparisyllabiques, et rentrer entièrement dans le système de la déclinaison grecque; mais la division indienne s'applique mieux que toute autre au sanscrit. Elle est très simple en elle-même; elle souffre moins d'exceptions que quelque autre que ce soit; elle répond d'ailleurs assez bien au latin et au grec: nous l'avons donc adoptée. De plus, suivant l'idée très-juste des Indiens, nous avons réuni sous un même titre les substantifs, les adjectifs et tous les mots indéclinables: ces mots ont logiquement une origine commune [...]. Mais la conjugaison des verbes sanscrits est présentée par nous tout autrement qu'elle ne l'est en Allemagne [...où] on a conservé intégralement les habitudes des savants indous. [...] nous avons la certitude de n'avoir fait qu'adopter l'ordre naturel, en rendant la conjugaison sanscrite conforme à celle du grec et du latin.

“One could have split the sixth [declension], distinguished between parisyllabics and imparisyllabics and fully fit it into the system of Greek declension; but the Indian division better applies to Sanskrit than any other. It is very simple in itself; it has fewer exceptions than any other; it is quite well adapted to Latin and Greek: we have therefore adopted it. Moreover, following the very accurate idea of the Indians, we have included substantives, adjectives and all the indeclinable words under one and the same title: these words obviously have a common origin. [...]

But we present the conjugation of Sanskrit verbs in a very different way

²¹ Though the notion of grammatical gender is very ancient in Sanskrit grammatical texts, it was used – as a criterion to classify nouns – very sparingly until the 10th c. We find, in the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* and the *Kātantra*, among others, a few technical terms to designate masculine or feminine stems ending in *-i/ī* or *-u/ū*, as well as operations (elision or substitution of nominal endings according to the gender and the phonological form of the stem). But the use of gender, combined with stem-ending, as a criterion for classifying nouns appears for the first time in Dharmakīrti's *Rūpāvatāra*, a Sanskrit grammar of the 10th century (?), topically organised. It is commonly used in grammars – such as the *Rūpāvatāra* – which rearrange the order of Pāṇini's rules.

than it is presented in Germany [...where] the habits of Indian scholars have been fully retained. [...] by bringing Sanskrit declension into line with Greek and Latin declension, we are confident that we have adopted the natural order.”

The quotation is self-explanatory.

X7: Regarding word-class systems, Henry does not resort to native models. Only once, on p. 104, does he mention the Sanskrit ten verbal-class system in the following terms:

Le type en *-cha* n'est pas compté par les grammairiens indigènes comme une classe à part. À titre de renseignement, on indiquera ici en terminant leur classification, tout arbitraire d'ailleurs et sans aucune valeur scientifique [suivent les dix classes].

“Type *-cha* is not considered by native grammarians as a separate class. For illustrative purposes, we will end by giving their classification here, which is, as it happens, fully arbitrary and without any scientific value [the ten classes follow].”

X8: Renou explicitly resorts to Indian grammatical texts – he claims to follow the Pāṇinian school but does not restrict himself to it and quotes other works – as well as to Western studies on Sanskrit, such as Wackernagel’s grammar. These distinct sources are harmoniously put together, on an equal footing and from this synthesis – which takes place in a structuralist scientific context – results a complete synchronic description of the Sanskrit language.²² The following passage, though not dealing with a classification of *words* but with a classification of *word components*, provides a good illustration of Renou’s approach (1996: 400-402):

Les désinences comportent deux séries, la série primaire qui sert pour les temps primaires, le présent proprement dit à l’indicatif et le futur ; la série secondaire pour l’imparfait, l’aoriste, le conditionnel, l’optatif ; parfait et impératif ont en partie des désinences spéciales. [...] Les désinences (P. *vibhakti tīn*)²³ et affixes verbaux sont classés par les gr. en *sārvadhātuka* “qui s’attache au radical entier (= au thème),” soit, approximativement, les affixes du présent et toutes désinences, sauf celles du par-

²² This does not have an equivalent in the West, except Whitney’s grammar.

²³ P stands for Pāṇini.

fait et du précatif – et en *ārdhadhātuka* “qui s'attache au demi-radical (= à la racine)” pour les autres caractéristiques, soit en gros les systèmes extérieurs au présent.²⁴

“Endings include two series, the primary series which is used for primary tenses, the present strictly speaking in the indicative mood and the future; the secondary series for the imperfect, the aorist, the conditional, the optative; perfect and imperative mood have partly distinct endings. [...] Endings (P. *vibhakti tiṅ*) and verbal affixes are classified by the gr[ammarians] as *sārvadhātuka* ‘which is connected to the entire root (= to the stem),’ that is to say, approximately, the present affixes and all the endings except perfect and precative endings – and as *ārdhadhātuka* ‘which is connected to the half of the root (= to the root)’ for the other characteristics, in other words, broadly speaking, the systems other than present.”

X⁹: Courbin mainly follows the Graeco-Latin word-class system. He resorts to Sanskrit metalinguistic terminology on two occasions only: firstly in his section on the Sanskrit sound system (where he uses *guṇa* and *vr̥ddhi* among others), secondly in the chapter devoted to compounds, where he mixes Western and Sanskrit approaches (p.109-112) and distinguishes between: “composés copulatifs (type dit *dvandva*, couple)” (“copulative compounds – the so-called *dvandva* type, couple”); “composés distributifs” (“distributive compounds”);²⁵ “composés appositifs” (“appositive compounds”);²⁶ “composés de dépendance (type dit *tatpuruṣa*)” (“dependency compounds – the so-called *tatpuruṣa* type”); “composés possessifs (type dit *bahuvr̥hi*)” (“possessive compounds – the so-called *bahuvr̥hi* type”) and “composés de composés” (“compounds of compounds”).

X¹⁰: In this grammar which describes the basic characteristics of the Sanskrit language, Renou resorts to both the native and the Graeco-Latin models. The most salient features are the following: from the native (Pāṇinian) model, he retains the classification of words into two main categories (nouns and verbs), but he adds a third section, devoted to the sentence, a section which does not come from the native model; another Pāṇinian feature is the inclusion of indeclinables

²⁴ For more details about *sārvadhātuka* and *ārdhadhātuka*, see Shefts 1961: 13-16, Cardona 1980: 198 and Chatterji 2003: 50-55.

²⁵ Ex.: *ekaika* “one by one.”

²⁶ Ex.: *dīrghasattra* “long sacrifice.”

(“invariants”) in the noun category. The description of the verb category seems more to follow the Graeco-Latin model.

Xⁱⁱ: P.-S. Filliozat gives (p.107), side by side, the traditional Sanskrit list of ten verbal classes and the corresponding Western designation for each class, for instance: “1. *bhvādi vikaraṇa śap* (présent thématique sans affixe à degré plein)” (“1. *bhū-* etc. [with the] modifier *śap* = thematic present without affix and with second vocalic grade”). Elsewhere, one more often finds juxtapositions of different native classifications, as on p.64-65, where P.-S. Filliozat mentions the different subclasses of *pada* (“word”) according to the criterion of definition (formal criterion: two subclasses, *subanta* “nouns” and *tinanta* “verbs”; semantic criterion: *dravya* “[which refers to a] substance,” *guṇa* “[which refers to a] quality,” *kriyā* “[which refers to an] action”; logical criterion: *jāti* “[which has a] generic property [as cause of application (*pravṛtti-nimitta*)],” *guṇa* “[which has a] quality [as cause of application],” *kriyā* “[which has an] action [as cause of application],” *yadṛcchā* “[which has the] wish of the speaker [as cause of application]”).

Conclusion

The table given above shows a clear tendency to establish a kind of synthesis of ancient Indian and Western approaches, a conclusion already reached in a previous study (see Aussant *forthcoming*). Among the 22 grammars studied, indeed, only seven exclusively use one word-class system (but even in some of these grammars, things are not always clear-cut, as we have seen). Now, how did the remaining 15 French grammars of Sanskrit navigate between the two descriptive models and metalanguages, while at the same time dealing with word classifications? Three different attitudes can be observed: 1) a distribution of word-class systems according to the categories under consideration (most frequently: Sanskrit classification for compounds and Graeco-Latin classification for verbs); 2) a juxtaposition of word-class systems which juxtaposes native and Western classifications, the contrast being positively or negatively emphasized; 3) an amalgamation of word-class systems which mixes native and Western classifications. As mentioned in the first section of this paper, this structure is observable within the Indian tradition of language studies (Sanskrit or other Indian languages) itself. It would be interesting to know if this was practised within other grammatical traditions or linguistic spheres. Lastly, what does this tell us about “Extended Sanskrit Grammar”? In some cases (Father Jean-François Pons, Desgranges, Burnouf, and P.-S. Filliozat), it can be observed that the “Sanskrit”

word-class systems resorted to are not Pāṇinian. This phenomenon confirms the idea that the path of the transfers did not start *only*, or *directly*, from the Pāṇinian model: it often took complex routes where different native models were intertwined.

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