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Demonstratives in Dignaga's Theory of Meaning Michael Rolig²

Explaining how language conveys meaning is a major theme in the philosophy of language. The aim of this paper is to examine the theory of meaning put forward by the sixth century Indian Buddhist philosopher Dignaga⁹⁵ in light of the debate concerning how best to account for demonstratives ("this," "that," "here," "now," etc.) within his theory.

The novelty of Dignaga's theory, known as apohavada, is that he holds that words are meaningful on the basis of exclusion (apoha). A word like "cow" functions by excluding those things that are not cows, rather than conveying some essential cow-ness. Debate has arisen arguing that demonstratives are not included in this exclusionary theory of meaning. I put forward the thesis that Dignaga is most coherent if demonstratives are explained through apoha, rather than through a separate theory of meaning.

The essay is broken into four sections: 1) an introduction to Digna ga; 2) following the introduction of Dignaga, I give three interpretations of Dignaga from contemporary philosophers; 3) In answer to these interpretations I give original arguments; 4) To complete the essay, I provide a reconstruction of Dignaga's theory.

²I owe many thanks to Joy Laine, who has provided me more of her time, research materials, and support than I could have ever expected.

⁹⁵ Others often spell the name Dinnaga.

Introduction to Dignaga

Dignaga was a Buddhist philosopher of the sixth century C.E. in India. His works, the most prominent being the *Pramanasamuccaya*, focused on perception, inference, and his theory of meaning [p1]. He marks the beginning of the Buddhist epistemology (*pramana*) school that lasts through the eleventh century C.E. and includes the philosophers Dharmakirti, Santaraksita, Jñanasrimitra, and Ratnakirti. His influential predecessors include Mahayana and Abhidharma Buddhists and Bhartr hari, an orthodox (thus non-Buddhist) grammarian.

In general, Indian Buddhist philosophy is based upon a phenomenalist anti-realist metaphysic, ranging from the completely "mind-only" Yogacara school to more realist philosophies, granting external existence to phenomena. Dignaga does not come out in a clear position in opposition to or in affinity to the Yogacara.

The Mahayana philosophers were critical of their Abhidharma predecessors, who had constructed an elaborate atomistic theory of phenomena to accompany their phenomenal metaphysics. They constructed large systems of phenomenal categories to explain the complex objects in the world, classifying these atoms and their functions, etc. Nagarjuna, a philosopher of the Madhyamaka school, heavily criticized the systems of the Abhidharma and left behind a skeptical theory, the middle way, half way between being and non-being[p262].

The Yogacara school developed a mind-only idealist system⁹⁶ [p306], while Dignaga and Dharmakirti developed a phenomenalism, although much of Dignaga's work, especially the *Pramaṇasamuccaya* is not especially committed to one view or the other.

The momentary nature of the world is an important foundation for Indian Buddhist philosophy. Objects do not exist as stable entities persisting from moment to moment, rather they are constantly reborn as different objects. The supporting argument is an empirical one: if we watch objects over time, they are constantly changing. A clay pot gradually deteriorates. To explain this deterioration we must ask at what point does the pot become a different thing? The Buddhists answer with the extreme response that the pot is constantly different from moment to moment. Objects⁹⁷ exist across moments only in so far as there is a causal chain of pots, one pot causing the next. Thus, language hides the nature of the world, it imposes similarity and sameness where it is not present.

Dignaga holds that what exists are the phenomena themselves, not any objects or atoms whose appearance is perceived. Two verses from Dignaga's *Ālambanaparī kṣā* are especially illuminating here:

Even if atoms⁹⁸ are the material case of the sensory phenomenon, the atoms are not its field of operation, because the phenomenon no more has the appearance of atoms than it has the appearance of

⁹⁶Dignaga is often placed within the Yogacara school.

⁹⁸This refers to the atomism of the Abhidharma philosophers.

⁹⁷Conceptual objects, not "real" objects. We cannot constrain ourselves to a position that holds that discrete objects exist in reality as discrete objects, these may merely be a product of conceptual construction.

the sense-faculty. [autocommentary omitted] the phenomenon does not come from that whose appearance it has.[p175]

This expression of Dignaga's phenomenalism has a similar basis as Hume's skepticism of causation. To word it according to modern scientific theory, it makes no sense to say that the phenomena are the cow's appearance rather than the light's appearance. All we perceive is the phenomenon of the light. We have no mechanism to attribute the appearance to any object, rather we have the appearance itself. The phenomena are all that we have, not objects with appearance.

Further, in Dignaga's theory of perception, given in the first chapter of the *Pramanasamuccaya*, he holds that human perception grasps the phenomena of the world unerringly, exactly as they are. Perception is unerring because error comes only with judgment, and perception is free from judgment. For instance, upon seeing a mirage on the horizon, there is nothing errant in perception, one sees what one sees. It is only when one judges that there is water on the horizon that error is introduced.

The term svalakṣana (own-appearance) is used to describe a moment of perceptual awareness. Though usage in the literature varies, svalakṣana is always used to describe pre-conceptual (that is perceptual) awareness. Interpretations vary from holding a svalakṣana to including all perceptual awareness at a single moment, to limiting it to a perceptual moment in relation to a single object. The crux of the debate is whether the phrase cow svalakṣana makes sense, or if a svalakṣana necessarily includes the entire perceptual field and thus the "cow" is only a conceptual construction.

A crucial result of the Buddhists' metaphysics, especially the idea of a momentary world, is that the Buddhists could not follow the orthodox philosophy that holds the existence of a permanent *jati* (cow-ness) which is present in all cows. For such a universal to be coherent, it requires permanence in the world, which goes against the basic notion of momentary existence. The *jati* also require sameness in *svalakṣana*, but they are completely unique and dissimilar.

Bronkhorst offers speculation that Dignaga developed *apohavada* in order to solve problems posed by Nagarguna. Nagarguna held a correspondence principle, that language corresponds to the things it describes. This has problems, however, when explaining a sentence like "He is making a jar." The term jar cannot be corresponding to a jar, because it hasn't been made yet. Thus, according to Bronkhorst, Dignaga is concerned with explaining how language can be meaningful in this case.

With this groundwork for Dignaga's theory of meaning, the following section will introduce contemporary interpretations of Dignaga's apoha theory of meaning. Following these interpretations, I will attempt to construct a more complete and consistent theory based upon Dignaga's work, but without strict adherence to the texts.

Hattori's Interpretation

Masaaki Hattori provided the first English translation of an entire chapter of the *Pramaṇasamuccaya* in 1968 and significantly influenced the study

of Dignaga's works. The translation of the first chapter of the Pranasamuccaya appears in Dignaga on Perception and Hattori discusses apoha in more depth in his later article "Apoha and Pratibha."

on the interpretation by Dignaga's prominent successor Dharmakirti. Radhika Herzberger criticizes Hattori for his acceptance of Dharmakirti's work as a faithful continuation of Dignaga's work. Hayes follows Herzberger in the criticism of Hattori, as he holds that Dharmakirti was a vehement apologist for the Buddhist position, but Dignaga was less concerned with an apologetic and defensive philosophy. Hayes holds that Dignaga was less concerned with convincing others through an apologetic fashion and more concerned with his philosophy as a part of his path to *nirvana* [ch1].

Hattori's translation of the opening of chapter five of the *Praman* asamuccaya (the apoha chapter) provides a good introduction to the apoha theory of meaning:

That [mean of cognition] which is based on word is not an [independent] means of cognition other than inference. Because [the words as the basis of] it expresses its own object through the exclusion of the other [things], just as [the inferential mark] 'kr takatva' or like [establishes the object to be proved through the exclusion of what is not a possessor of that inferential mark].[p61]

The characteristic mark of the *apoha* theory is that words work like logical signs do in inference, that is by exclusion (*apoha*). This requires examining Dignaga's view of inference.

The canonical example of inference in the Indian logical tradition is the inference of the presence of fire upon a hill from the sign of smoke upon the hill. Dignaga's explanation of inference is that upon seeing smoke, we infer the presence of fire. However, we do not infer the presence of any particular fire. We can say nothing of the color, heat, size, etc of this particular fire, all that we can infer is the presence of fire in general. However, as noted in the previous section, the universal fire is not a real entity. What we know from experience is that smoke does not arise from things other than fire, like water, earth, etc. What is inferred on the basis of smoke, is the absence of non-fire. Thus smoke indicates fire on the basis of excluding non-fire. Of course, we do not draw these conclusions out of thin air, it isn't a matter of wondering the earth and finding that non-fire never produces smoke, but there is also the important aspect of having encountered fire and smoke together as well [p61].

Hattori characterizes word meaning in the introduction to *Dignaga on Perception*:

Dignaga expounds his theory that a word indicates an object merely through the exclusion of other objects (anyapoha, -vyavr tti). For example, the word "cow" simply means that the object is not a non-cow. As such, a word cannot denote anything real, whether it be an individual (vyakti), a universal (jati), or any other thing. The apprehension of any object by means of the exclusion of other objects is nothing but an inference.[p12]

It is for the same reason as in the inference from smoke to a fire particular that the inference from the linguistic sign "smoke" to a smoke particular is unsuccessful. The result of the inference is not knowledge of a smoke particular, only the exclusion of non-smoke. Knowledge of the smoke particular is a matter of perception alone.

Hattori's presentation emphasizes an extreme dualism between the perceptual awareness and conceptual awareness in Dignaga. Perception is held to be perfect and have unerring access to particulars (*svalakṣana*), but language can never have access to particulars. That is the *svalakṣana* is ineffable. After reading Hattori, one is left with the feeling that language is left to itself, describing a world completely isolated from the perceptual realm we experience.

The focus of Hattori's "Apoha and Pratibha", as indicated by the title, includes pratibha. Dignaga borrowed heavily from Bhartrhari in this theory, which holds the sentence is the basic unit of meaning. The principle is that a listener is struck with a sudden, complete "insight" (pratibha) upon hearing a sentence. This insight is greater than merely the sum of the all words in the sentence.

To continue consistent application of the *apoha* theory, Dignaga does add to the theory, beyond Bhartrhari. He holds that the entire sentence conveys meaning via *apoha* as well. Thus each sentence is meaningful because of the sentences which it excludes.

Dignaga's successors in the Buddhist tradition appear to use *pratibha* as justification for holding that words can also have a positive aspect that plays a part in meaning. If an entire sentence can be meaningful in a

moment of intuition, then words could also have some positive aspect of meaning that is immediately apparent to the hearer.

Herzberger's Interpretation

Radhika Herzberger critiques Hattori's interpretation of Dignaga. In Bhartrhari and the Buddhists Herzberger argues that language is not isolated from the perceptual realm, that is language is descriptive of the perceptual world. She wants to remove the dualism of the perceptual and conceptual, that is "the same object possesses both samanyalakṣana (universal) and svalakṣana (particular) "[p113, 115].

The basis of Herzberger's interpretation is to view Dignaga's work from the perspective of his grammarian predecessor Bhartrhari. Hattori also acknowledged the great extent to which Dignaga drew his ideas from Bhartrhari. However, whereas Hattori drew heavily on Dharmaki rti's and other successors for direction, Herzberger has attempted to draw upon Bhartrhari's thought as a guide. She also argues that Dignaga's goal was to be faithful to Katyayana's requirements for a theory of meaning.

Herzberger gives Katyayana's requirements for a theory of meaning, which at first glance appear to be good common sense requirements to give for a theory of meaning. These are:

- 1. "Names are atomic: not related to other names.
- 2. Names are given to things on the basis of a quality (guṇa) they possess.

3. Names do not exceed over their bearers' quality."[Error! Reference source not found.p127]

Here "names" should be read as universals, these apply to general/genus terms like "cow."

Of particular confusion is the phrase "name do not exceed over their bearers' quality," which Herzberger uses continually. From the commentary accompanying her translation of fragments of the *Praman asamuccaya* [155] and Hayes' translation of the same verse I have ferreted out an interpretation: *names* convey no qualities or properties of the objects themselves. The qualities of the particular can be known only by direct perception. Herzberger says: "... the word conveys its objects on the basis of that quality alone which does not exceed over its object, not on the basis of qualities *belonging to the words*." (emphasis mine). Hayes translates "A word ... does not make its object known through the fact that significant sound is a quality and other such properties." These two passages support my conclusion, because they seem to emphasize that the sounds are not providing qualities of the object itself.

Unfortunately, my interpretation appears to conflict with some of the usage of Herzberger, but it is unclear to me that she uses the idea of "exceeding over" consistently throughout her work.

On the basis of Katyayana's limits, Herzberger proposes that the apoha operation exists to erase the excess of names. By using the double negative Herzberger claims that apoha removes any existential commitment to the universals [p127] and to individuals within the class signified by the universal [p168].

In explaining how names are given on the basis of a shared quality, Herzberger appears to commit to the existence of qualities in the *svalakş* ana. Given that a name is given on the basis of particular qualities, if the *svalakṣana* does contain the qualities for which a name is given. This requires a commitment to real similarity between objects, on the bases of qualities present in the *svalakṣana*. This seems to contradiction the Buddhist framework of a momentary world where similarity is not possible.

A further significant aspect of Herzberger's argument for language's application to the perceptual world is that demonstratives can directly describe particulars. This is opposed to universals which operate via the *apoha* operation. Of special importance to her argument is the interpretation of a verse of the *Pramaṇasamuccaya*:

pratyakşam anumanam ca pramane

...yasmad

lakşanadvayam/

prameyam

na hi svasamanyalakṣaṇabhyam anyat prameyam asti / svalakṣaṇaviṣ ayaṃ hi pratyakṣaṃ samanyalakṣaṇaviṣayam anumanam iti pratipadayiṣ yamaḥ/

which Hattori translates as

the means of cognition are [immediate and mediate, namely,] perception (pratyakşa) and inference (anumana). They are only two, because the object to be cognized has [only] two aspects.

Apart from the particular (sva-lakṣaṇa) and the universal (sama nya-lakṣaṇa) there is no other object to be cognized, and we shall prove that perception has only the particular for its object and inference only the universal (emphasis Herzberger).

Whereas Herzberger reads it as:

... there is no other object to be cognized, for we shall prove that perception has the particular for its object and inference the universal.[p115]

This interpretation leaves her some ground to argue that it is not only through inference (that is apoha in the linguistic case) that the svalakṣaṇ a can be cognized.

Dignaga's conceptual process is crucial at this point. Hattori's interpretation relies on the premise that perceptual cognition accurately presents phenomena. Any conceptual cognition is the product of conceptual construction, and language exists only within the realm of conceptual construction. That is language has as its object conceptual entities, not perceptual ones. Error is not possible in the perceptual realm, because error is a matter of judgment, which comes only at the conceptual level, shaped by desires.

Herzberger's basic explanation of cognition is a four step process: 1) perceive an individual (*svalakṣana*) "this" 2) learn the genus/name "this is a cow" 3) remember name "cow" 4) apply to new individual "this is a cow". She claims that the demonstrative, "this" is always referring directly to the perceptual object at hand. The "own object" in the passage above, is then represented by the demonstrative [p119].

The fundamental assumption Herzberger makes is that the objects of the conceptual realm are the same objects as the perceptual. Upon combining her arguments I have concluded her interpretation implies languages works as follows: 1. Qualities are present in phenomena.

2. Perception cognizes qualities.

3. Based upon the multiplicity of objects with shared qualities, universals are established conceptually. These universals consist of shared qualities.

4. After knowing a name, upon perceiving an object presence of the qualities of a universal are the basis of the application of a

universal.

5. A sentence may be uttered, such as "This is a cow."

6. The hearer is directly aware of the particular (

"this"), and attributes the absence of non-cowness to that particular

on the basis of exclusion (apoha).

Before offering my criticism of Herzberger's interpretation I will present the views of Chien-Hsing Ho, who attempts to show that Dignaga's system can be expressive of the world without relying on extra-apoha explanation of demonstratives.

Chien-Hsing Ho's Interpretation

In "How Not to Avoid Speaking" Chien-Hsing Ho offers an interpretation and application of Dignaga's apohavada, with no claims of "hermeneutic accuracy". The central argument, explicated most in the introduction and conclusion, is that the apoha theory itself sufficiently explains meaning such that no separate "bridge" is necessary to connect perceptual and cognitive realities.

His argument includes a critique of Herzberger's interpretation of Dignaga's apohavada. Herzberger's argument implies that apoha alone is not sufficient for a complete theory of meaning, demonstratives are required to have completely meaningful sentences. Chien-Hsing Ho's position that apoha is a sufficient theory, requires a theory of

demonstrative meaning that includes it in those words explained by apoha.

The argument is based on two key points: 1) demonstratives are linguistic, and thus acting in the conceptual realm. 2) demonstratives work like proper names (arbitrary words), and the proposition that Digna ga includes these in the *apoha* theory.

In his first argument Chien-Hsing Ho, like Hattori, relies on a dualistic interpretation of perception and cognition in Dignaga. Following this distinction, there is a perceptual cognition that has perfect knowledge of the world as it is, and a conceptual cognition that is imperfect. If conceptual construction is "the association of a name (na man), genus (jati), etc." , then it seems most sensible to interpret this as "anything verbal or linguistic is part of conceptual construction by definition." Thus expression by any name, proper or demonstrative, ought to be included in conceptual cognition. However, this relies purely on one's interpretation of the breadth of "naman, jati, etc.". For this reason, I think more arguments (given below) are necessary to bolster Chien-Hsing Ho's position on demonstratives.

The second argument, that demonstratives work like proper names, is also weakened, because it relies on the interpretation of the passage

⁹⁹PS1.3 - Hattori p25

¹⁰⁰As Hattori's notes reveal, interpretation of this within the Buddhist canon became in issue almost immediately. Many successors of Dignaga wanted to include everything under the category of common names, to avoid any commitment to existent universals. I am more inclined to read Dignaga as referring to grammatic categories here, not ontological ones.

above, to include demonstratives with arbitrary names, as Chien-Hsing Ho claims.

The product of his interpretation, however, is a system of demonstrative-apoha. He explains the meaning of "this", for example, as excluding "that." Thus a sentence like "this is a cow" would be meaningful only in contrast to a sentence like "that is not a cow."

Original Arguments

The focus of my argument is Herzberger's view that demonstratives can "directly" signify their object. I hope to show that a philosophy based on Dignaga's theory is most coherent if direct signification by demonstratives is rejected and Chien-Hsing Ho's demonstrative apoha is used. I will take as my starting point a portion of Dignaga and Bhartr hari's philosophy that is apparently ignored by Herzberger, and given only brief attention from Chien-Hsing Ho, this is pratibha, the primacy of meaning at the sentential level.

I want to argue that describing demonstratives as working "directly" is meaningless in itself. I believe there are three ways to interpret "direct" expression:

1. the perceptions of the speaker reproduce the signified phenomenon exactly in the hearer.

2. The hearer can reproduce the exact phenomenon signified upon

hearing the word, free from ambiguity.

3. The hearer, upon hearing the demonstrative, recognizes (from memory) some phenomenon on the basis of inference (i.e. ambiguity is possible).

The first of these would be necessary if we assume *svalakṣana*'s are private. For a hearer to gain knowledge of the speaker's experience (of some phenomenon), the word must somehow carry with it the phenomenon. This is clearly absurd, no one will claim that the sound "this" carries with it the phenomenon signified so that the hearer directly perceives the phenomenon herself.

The second case is one where we hold that svalaksana's are public, that is it is possible for more than one person to perceive the same phenomenon, but I insist on adhering to the momentary nature of phenomena, such that it is not possible to have the same perception at different times. If multiple people can perceive the same svalakşana it might then be possible for a word to refer to the svalakşana without transmitting it. However, this cannot be the case that demonstratives work this way. Imagine a situation where two people are in a room with a cow, which can be seen only (it has no smell, is silent, and too far away to touch). These people also close their eyes compulsively. At no point do both people have their eyes open at the same time. The two people can still converse freely about the cow in the room using a demonstrative. Given this situation, the two never experience any common phenomenon of the cow. It cannot be the case that the hearer of a sentence has the identical phenomenon as the speaker, the two cannot believe the demonstrative to refer to the exact same phenomenon, because they don't have the experience of any phenomena in common. The second case cannot be acceptable, because it make little sense of the word to refer directly, if the referent is different in each person's mind.

In the third case we have lost all semblance of directness. The term "direct" is meaningless. Herzberger is claiming that demonstratives work "directly" in contrast to inferentially. Inference is the basis of Dignaga's *apoha*, to follow this third explanation of the function of demonstratives we cannot hold that the words function outside *apoha*.

As a further example of usage of "this is a cow" where "direct" signification is absurd, take the case of looking at a picture of a cow. If I utter "fetch me this cow", the demonstrative is referring to a cow that is not even necessarily known to either party. What sense does it make for "this" to refer directly. Pragmatically, if we must explain the usage of demonstratives in these cases via some form of *apoha* why not use this in all places.

Hattori describes the point that Dignaga took from Bhartrhari's philosophy that the primary unit of meaning is the sentence. *Pratibha* is the meaning of the sentence which strikes the hearer "without reference to the external object" [p65].

Now, if we apply our notion of *pratibha* to "this is a cow" we must realize that we cannot treat each word independently when explaining the meaning. The meaning of the sentence goes beyond the words alone. We must recognize that the word "cow" informs the meaning of "this" in the sentence "this is a cow". The referent of "'this" is not clear without the rest of the sentence "is a cow". If pointing in the same direction all of the following would make sense "this is a cow", "this is an ear", "this is a field", etc. Clearly "this" is the same in all of these sentences. We can only understand the meaning of the demonstrative in terms of the rest of

the sentence. The universal used in the sentence forms our conception of what "this" refers to. In "I want this cow," the sentence gets its meaning in contrast to "I want that cow" and to "I want this horse". Without the universal it can easily be unclear what "this" refers to, perhaps the speaker wants the farm, or maybe the cow bell around the neck.

Reconstruction

At this point I want to turn to the task of constructing a philosophically coherent theory of meaning based upon Dignaga's philosophy. I draw heavily upon the interpretations of Chien-Hsing Ho and upon Richard Hayes' Dignaga on the Interpretation of Signs.

A critical point at which I depart from Herzberger is *Praman* asamuccaya 1: 3:

Among these [two means of cognition]

perception (pratyakşa) is free from conceptual construction (kalpana);

The cognition in which there is no conceptual construction is perception. What, then, is this conceptual construction?

the association of name (naman), genus (jati), etc. [with a thing perceived, which results in verbal designation of the thing.][p25]

I take this to mean conceptual construction is, by definition, the association of name, genus word, adjective, verb, or substance word. (This is where Chien-Hsing Ho includes demonstratives as falling under the category of name.) The bottom line of my interpretation is that Hattori's dualism is correct, the perceptual and conceptual are different. Names are the conceptual object, the line Herzberger argues, that the

perceptual and conceptual have the same object must be false, as conceptual objects are not perceptual, they are linguistic.

Now I will attempt outline a cognitive process resulting in linguistic expression that I believe is consistent with Dignaga's philosophy.

- 1. Phenomena of a moment are perceived as an undifferentiated whole, svalakşana.
- 2. Under the influence of desires of the perceiver, she constructs conceptual objects manifest as words.
- 3. Upon hearing a sentence such as
- "Bring me a cow," the hearer is instilled with a desire to get a "cow." Knowing this, the cow fetcher knows the object to be brought must not be non-cow.
- 4. In a field, under the desire to get a cow, the cow fetcher will construct conceptual objects from the perceptual field. Upon conceptualizing an object devoid of non-cowness, the person can fetch it.

This rough outline ought to provide a clear picture of the interaction of the perceptual and conceptual field. Like Hayes, I conclude that the conceptual is not capable of fully describing, or taking account of the particulars, but that language remains useful as cognitive objects are constructed from perception[p311]. It is because of the particularity and dissimilarity of each moment (svalaksana) that language (which used identically across moments) is unable to positively describe particulars on the basis of their qualities. By working negatively, that is via exclusion, words like "cow" are able to signify particulars, because signification is a matter of inference on the part of the hearer. "Cow" signifies nothing if a hearer cannot infer what sort of object to expect. And inference works by excluding what is not possible, thus words work by excluding what is not signified.

Bronkhorst's example gives us an even better example to illustrate the necessity of the exclusionary approach: consider "Devadatta makes a jar" [p19]. "Jar" cannot be functioning by indicating some particular jar, as no such jar exists yet. "Jar" must be functioning by means of excluding non-jars. The product of Devadatta's work will not be a non-jar.

This remains consistent with the overall view of Buddhism that $n\bar{i}$ rvana is ineffable. Perception alone is capable of knowing the world as it is. The linguistic activities may prove useful in directing the actions of people, but ultimately it is incapable of describing the world. Language is able to describe the world as our conceptual apparatus constructs it, but it cannot reach the particularity of the constantly changing world. Like a raft to cross a river, language is a tool to help live one's life, but you must not remain so attached that you carry it on your back after crossing the river.

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