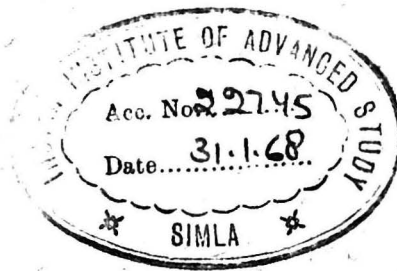




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Amāvasyā : An Accentual Study

by

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[The paper examines the accentuation of *amāvāsyā*/*amāvasyā* in Pāṇini and the Veda, and it shows that Pāṇini is intimately acquainted with the *Samhitā* texts which have recorded both the forms.]

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0 NIPĀTANA

Nipātana—literally the term means “ the way of falling upon by chance (le fait de tomber par hasard) ” in the grammatical corpus like a meteorite, instead of coming under formative rules [RENOU]¹—is one of the characteristic procedures of Pāṇini (P.) by which he directly enumerates certain finished forms in the nom. sg. (except for individual cases). Such a procedure is different from P.'s usual manner of constructing stems from the ‘ Root plus Suffix Process ’.

1 THE PĀṆINIAN POSITION

1.0 A 3, 1, 122

P. teaches the *nipātana* forms *amāvāsyā-*/*amāvasyā-* in the rule :

amāvasyad anyatarasyām A 3, 1, 122.

But the Pāṇinian commentators have derived both the *nipātana* forms from \sqrt{vas} with the Kṛt Suffix *ṆyaT* appended to the root in the sense of ‘ location of time ’ (*kāle'dhikaraṇe*) when the supplementary word (*upapada*) *amā-* is preposed. This is expressed by the *Kāśikā* (s. v. A 3, 1, 122) in the following terms :

amā.śabdah saharthe vartate / tasmin(n) upapade vaser
dhatoḥ kāle'dhikaraṇe nyat.pratyayo bhavati,
tatra anyatarasyām vṛddhyabhāvo nipātyate /

1. *Études védique et Pāṇinéennes* I. 103 [Paris, 1955].

1.1 Grammatical steps

Following Patañjali (Pat.) and the Pāṇinīyā-s, one may find it convenient to set up the following grammatical steps for constructing the derivatives *amāvasyā-*/*amāvasyā-* (hereafter abbreviated to *a-1/a-2* respectively):

<i>a-1</i> :	(<i>amā</i>) √ <i>vās</i> + <i>NyaT</i>	[<i>NyaT</i> suffixation by <i>rhalor nyat</i> A 3, 1, 124]
	„ „ + <i>ϕ ya ϕ</i>	[<i>N</i> = <i>ϕ</i> by <i>cutū</i> A 1, 3, 7 & 9; <i>T</i> = <i>ϕ</i> by <i>hal antyam</i> A 1, 3, 3 & 9]
	(<i>amā</i>) √ <i>vās</i> + <i>ya</i>	[<i>vṛddhi</i> by <i>ata upadhāyāḥ</i> A 7, 2, 116]
	„ „ + <i>yā</i>	[<i>svarita</i> of suffixial vowel by <i>tit svaritam</i> A 6, 1, 185]
	= <i>amāvasyā-</i>	[<i>gatikārapapadāt kṛt</i> A 6, 2, 139 preserving the end- <i>svarita</i> taught in A 6, 1, 185]
<i>a-2</i> :	(<i>amā</i>) √ <i>vās</i> + <i>NyaT</i>	[<i>NyaT</i> by A 3, 1, 124]
	„ „ + <i>ya</i>	[<i>N</i> & <i>T</i> = <i>ϕ</i>]
	„ <i>vas</i> + <i>ya</i>	[Absence of <i>vṛddhi</i> by the <i>nipātana</i> process]
	„ „ + <i>yā</i>	[<i>svarita</i> as in <i>a-1</i>]
	= <i>amāvasyā-</i>	
	<i>amāvasyā-</i> / <i>amāvasyā-</i> + <i>TāP</i> [<i>TāP</i> by <i>ajādy ataṣ tāp</i> A 4, 1, 4] = <i>amāvasyā-</i> / <i>amāvasyā-</i> + <i>ā</i> [<i>T</i> & <i>P</i> = <i>ϕ</i>] = <i>amāvasyā</i> / <i>amāvasyā-</i> [lengthening by <i>akaḥ savarṇe dīrghaḥ</i> A 6, 1, 101].	

It can be seen that in *a-1* there is a formation with *vṛddhi* root, while in *a-2* the *vṛddhi* of the root-vowel is neutralised by the *nipātana*. It can also be seen that in conformance with the Pāṇinian system of accentuation, the circumflex intonation falls on the suffixial final of *a-1/a-2*.

The upapada *amā*² is glossed by commentators as ‘*saha*’ (: with). According to them, both *a-1* and *a-2* are used to denote ‘the dwelling together’ (of the Sun and Moon on the same day)—as the *Kāśikā* observes :

saha vasato’ smin kāle sūryācandramsāv iti /

2. On *amā*, see WACKERNAGEL, *Mél. Saussure* 149 f; KZ 7 127, 30.431 A; ZGDS 231 = *Altindische Grammatik* [AIG] III. 494. *Amā* is adverbial final *ā* of instrumental origin : MINARD, *Trois Énigmes sur les Cent Chemins* II. § 173a [Paris, 1956]. It means “Zu Hause, daheim/at home” : *Kurz. ety. Wört. d. Altindischen* I. 44 [Heidelberg, 1956] where MAYRHOFER writes :

Vielleicht mit *āmaḥ*² (this) zu verbinden, vgl. Havers, IF 19, 4.

But MINARD, *loc. cit.*, rightly regards the relationship between *amā* ‘at home’ and *āmaḥ* ‘this’ as uncertain. Also see Śāyaṇa *ad RV* 2, 38, 6b : ‘*amā dame*’ (*Nirukta* 3, 4, 11) iti gṛha.nāmasu pāṭhāt /

1.2 Pat. on A 3, 1, 122

The *raison d'être* of the accent exponent *T*—fixed to the final position of the *nipātana* form—in A 3, 1, 122 deserves our consideration. The question naturally arises whether *T* should belong to the suffix or the *nipātana* form. Adverting to this question in his commentary on the rule 122, Pat. [VMB II.87.5-11] argues:

Question³ ..To which [part does] this exponent [*anubandha T* belong] ?

Answer ..[It (*T*) belongs] to the principal part (that is, the suffix *yaT* by *nipātana*).

Objection ..If [it belongs to the] principal part, the [*udātta*] pitch [will fall on the root-vowel in] **amāvāsyā* (according to the rules: *gatikāarakopapadāt kṛt A 6, 2, 139* and *yato'nāvah A 6, 1, 213*); but (in fact) the desired [form] is *amāvāsyā* (in which the *svarita* intonation⁴ falls on the final syllable by the rule: *tit svaritam A 6, 1, 185*).

Similarly (if the exponent belongs to the suffix) it is not possible to explain (or obtain the word) *amāvāsyā* (which is desired as an alternant in the rule: *amāvāsyāyā vā A 4, 3, 30*) by [the word] *amāvāsyā*.

Reply ..If [this were the argument, then] let [the exponent belong to the entire] *nipātana* [word] (that is, *amāvāsyā*).

Objection ..However, if these *nipātana* [words] are formed in this manner, then in [the word *śrōtriya-*] (which occurs as a *nipātana* word having the sense of 'one who studies the *Chandas*' in the rule:) *śrōtriyamś chando'dhīte* (A 5, 2, 84), the *ādyudātta* (initial acute accentuation) will not take place [in accordance with the rule:] *ñnity ādir nityam* (A 6, 1, 197),

3. Supplementary words and phrases occurring in the *VMB* [abbreviation for KIELHORN's edn. of the *Mahābhāṣya*, revised edn. by K. V. ABHYANKAR, BORI, 1965] are given in square brackets, and explanatory notes are enclosed between brackets.

4. Pat.'s statement—

amāvāsyā evaṁ svarah prasajyeta / amāvāsyā itī ca iṣyate /

—seems to suggest that the written accent signs had existed in his time besides the learning of the Veda *viva voce*. The *Vārttikam*,

yavanāllipyaṁ,

ad A 4, 1, 49 proves to the hilt that the writing of Yavanas is known to Kāt. who preceded Pat. by a century. On the other hand, GOLDSTÜCKER went up to the extent of saying that even P. "knew the written accent signs" and he (P.) also "must have seen written Vedic texts"; for his arguments, see *Pāṇini*, 58-64, Ind. edn. [Vārāṇasi, 1965]. But we have evidence to show that the Pāṇinian tradition has been oral; cf. KATRE, *Introduction to Indian Textual Criticism*, 13 [Poona, 1954].

since it (the *nipātana* word) is not [subjected to the process of] *vyapavarga* (: the segmentation of a single item into its constituent parts, that is to say, ' the Root-Suffix-analysis ').

Answer .. If [this were the objection] then [I answer it in the following verse (*ślokavārttikam*)] :

I derive [both the words] *amāvāsyā* and *amāvāsyā* from : [the root *vas-* with the addition of the Kṛt Suffix] *ṆyaT* [and I explain the] non-applicability of *ṛddhi* [by the process of] *nipātana*. Thus I establish the [*svarita*] intonation for both [the forms] as well as the *ekavṛttitā* (: the application of the rule in the formation of the *taddhita* word).

1.3.0 Annotation to VMB

Some of the grammatical problems which arise in connection with Pat.'s discourse may be conveniently treated here by way of annotation.

1.3.1 Pat.'s first proposition : A 4, 3, 30

Pat. has to face two difficulties in accepting the proposition that the exponent *T* should belong to the suffix (*pradhānāśya* in his terminology) : first, that the desired accentuation in *a-2* (*amāvāsyā*) cannot be maintained ; and second, that it is impossible to account for *a-2* which is considered an indispensable alternant in the rule A 4, 3, 30. With regard to the second difficulty, Pat. says :

tathā amāvāsyā.grahaṇena amāvāsyā.grahaṇam
na prāpnoti /

This rule (4, 3, 30) enjoins the addition of *vuN* optionally to *a-1* in the sense of ' born therein ' (*tatra jātaḥ* A 4, 3, 25). Accordingly *a-1* + *vuN* will give us *amāvāsyakah*. Its alternant *amāvāsyakah* is obtained by the suffixation of *vuN* to *a-2* on the authority of the *Paribhāṣā* (37) :

ekadeśa.vikṛtam anyavav

which is translated by KIELHORN [*Paribhāṣendusekhara* II.179] as under :

That which has undergone a change in regard to one of its parts, is by no means (in consequence of this change) something else (than what was before the change had taken place).

The application of this maxim (37) would be justified, if *a-2* could be derived from *a-1*, on the ground that the short root-vowel (\sqrt{vas}) is substituted for a long one ($\sqrt{vās}$).

Concomitantly Pat. derives both *a-1* and *a-2* from : $\sqrt{vas} + \text{ṆyaT}$. The root appears *ṛddhi*ed in *a-1* but not in *a-2*. Thus taking recourse to the Pāṇinian tool of *nipātana*, he accounts for the change of $\sqrt{vās}$ (in *a-1*) to \sqrt{vas} (in *a-2*).

1.3.2.0 The Contextual Suffixation

A word must be said about the context (*prakaraṇa*) of the Kṛt suffixes which can be drawn by the characteristic *anuvṛtti* procedure of P. in the rule 3, 1, 122, when our attention is being focussed on the derivation of *a-1/a-2*. It is theoretically feasible to allow the recurrence of *YaT* (A 3, 1, 97 to 105) and *KyaP* (A 3, 1, 106 to 121) in A 3, 1, 122, if we follow P.'s order of the arrangement of *sūtra*-s in the first *pāda* of the third *Adhyāya*. Furthermore, *Ṇyat* which is intended for grammatical operation, must be brought backwards from the subsequent rule (3, 1, 124) to the previous rule (122) by the well-known Pāṇinian *apakarṣa* technique. Bhaṭṭoji, having accepted the *ṆyaT* suffixation of *a-1/a-2* in the *Siddhāntakaumudī* (*SK*), introduces the rule 3, 1, 122 (*SK* 2874) after A 3, 1, 124 (*SK* 2872). His numbering of P.'s *sūtra*-s may be represented in the following Table :

SK. No.	Sūtra	A. No.	Suffix
2871	<i>vibhāṣā kṛvṛṣoh</i>	3, 1, 120	<i>KyaP</i>
2872	<i>ṛhalor ṇyat</i>	3, 1, 124	<i>ṆyaT</i>
2873	<i>yugyam ca patre</i>	3, 1, 121	<i>KyaP</i>
2874	<i>amāvasyad anyatarasyām</i>	3, 1, 122	<i>Ṇyat</i>

TABLE I

Correspondingly, these three suffixes must be taken into consideration. Pat., using his pen to good effect, rules out the possibility of *YaT*, since the accent rule A 6, 1, 213 will paroxytonise * *amāvasyā*; but the *svārita* falling on the *endlaut* is a *requisite* in *amāvasyā*.

1.3.2.1 *KyaP*-Nāgeśa's view

This leaves a choice between the suffixes *KyaP* and *ṆyaT*. As already shown, Pat. advances his formula :

$$(amā) \sqrt{vas} + \dot{N}yaT = a-1/a-2.$$

Since the immediate context warrants the recurrence of *KyaP*, a Pāṇinist may be tempted to choose a different suffixal route, and analyse *a-2* as :

$$(amā) \sqrt{vas} + KyaP.$$

True, the exponent *K* of *KyaP* discharges the function of prohibiting *vṛddhi* in accord with the rule ;

$$(k) kṛiti ca A 1, 1, 5.$$

Consequently, *KyaP* may be resorted to in an attempt to justify *a-2*. But the suffixation of *KyaP* will necessarily introduce another grammatical change in the root-vowel of *a-2*. To put it particularly, the semivowel (labial) *v* of

\sqrt{vas} will be vocalised when KIT affixes are appended to the roots, *vac*, *svap* and the *yajādi* class, in conformance with the rule :

vaci.svapi.yajādīnām̐ kiti A 6, 1, 15.

Therefore (*amā*) \sqrt{vas} + *KyaP* will give us:—

(*amā*) us + ya = **amōsya*—

which is, obviously, an erroneous construction. Here one may confine oneself to the *nipātana* for nullifying the effect caused by *saṁprasāraṇa* and explain the end-circumflexed *a-2* by substituting *T* (IT) for *P* (IT) in *KyaP*.

That *T* is specifically added by *P*. to the forms directly enumerated in the rule 122 for the sake of dispelling the doubt, viz. the *nipātana* is meant to throw overboard the *saṁprasāraṇa* caused by the contextual suffixation of *KyaP* in *a-2*, is foreshadowed rightly by Nāgeśa. His argument is that the accent exponent itself suggests the form of the suffix which, of course, contains *T*. Needless to say, *ṆyaT* is the suffix intended by *P.*, since *T* is ragged around the edge of *kṛtpratyaya*, and thus, its suffixation remains unquestionable. Consequently *KyaP* which is deprived of *T* must be deleted. The relevant sentences of the *Laghuśabdendusekhara*⁵ ad A 3, 1, 122 read as follows:

atra anyatarasyām̐ iti nipātyamāna.hrasva.sambaddham̐
nyat tu nitya eva/sūtre takāroccāraṇam̐ tu prakaraṇa-
prāpta.kyapi saṁprasāraṇābhāva.nipātana śāṅkā.vāraṇāya
iti bodhyam /

1.3.3 Pat.'s second proposition : A 5, 2, 84

We now refer to Pat.'s argument regarding the second proposition (see 1.3.1 for the first proposition) that *T* belongs to the *nipātana* word (*a-2*). He goes on to show that if accent exponents are postposed to *nipātana* words in this manner, it is impossible to account for the *ādyudatta* in *śrotriya-* which is formed in conformity with the rule :

śrotriyam̐ chando'dhīte,

since the *nipātana* technique is not subjected to the Root-Suffix-analysis.

Kāt (yāyana) ad A 5, 2, 84 gives us to understand in the *vārttikam* :

śrotriyam̐ chando'dhīta iti vākyārthe padavacanam,

that, as Pat. [VMB II.389.4] paraphrases it, the entire word *śrotriya-* is treated as *nipātana*, and it conveys the meaning of the full sentence : "He

5. See P. Gopal SASTRI's edn., 758 [Vārāṇasī, 1926]. We may incidentally note that against Nāgeśa's view, S. D. JOSHI (in a private communication) opines that *T* should actually belong to the suffix which does not contain the accent exponent. Since the immediate context demands the recurrence of *KyaP* which is deprived of *T*, its suffixation may be intended by *P.*, and the *nipātana* could be made use of for preventing the operation of *saṁprasāraṇa* in *a-2*. But all Pāṇinīyā-s from Pat. to Vṛttikāra and subsequent glossators—Jinendra Buddhi and Haradatta—have candidly accepted the suffixation of *ṆyaT*, and the *Padamañjarī* observes :

nyat.pratyayo nityaḥ, vṛddhyabhāvas tu pakṣika ity arthaḥ /

See Vārāṇasī edn. of the *Kāśikāvṛttiḥ* II. 514 [1965].

studies the Veda". Furthermore, it is glossed in the *Pradīpa* [Śrī VEDAVRATA's edn. IV. 144-5 (Rohtak, 1963)] that the exponent *N*, added to the entire *nipātana* word, serves the purpose of indicating the *ādyudātta* which has, perforce, taken place, although the word is not analysed by the process of *vyapavarga*. Kaiyaṭa states his case in the following terms :

tatra avidyamāna.praṅkṛti.pratyaya.vibhāgaḥ
śrotṛiya.śabdo nipātyate / na.kāraḥ svarārthaḥ /
tena ādyudāttatvaṁ nit.karaṇa.sāmarthyād
vyapavargābhāve'pi bhavati //

1.3.4 Kāt. on A 6, 1, 185

It deserves mention in this connection that the idea of appropriating *T* to the Suffix (*NyaT*) is clearly brought out by Kāt. in the *vārttikam* :

titi pratyaya.grahaṇam

ad A 6, 1, 185. Pat., in his disquisition on the rule 122, has implicitly stated—as is evident from the *śloka-vārttikam* (1.2)—that the accent exponent belongs to the suffix. But Kāt's additional note to the rule 185 is intended to incorporate *pratyaya.grahaṇam* in his rule. It is true that the scope of the rule 185 lies in the fact that *T* (IT) belongs to the suffix. But when Kāt. goes up to the extent of insisting upon the *pratyaya-grahaṇam* in the rule 185, Pat. rejects the *vārttikam* as redundant, since the desired result could be achieved even without the *pratyaya-grahaṇam* in the rule : *titi svaritam*. It is unnecessary at this juncture to discuss Pat.'s views which fall outside the scope of the present paper. If one wants to go into details, one may as well refer to the *Svarasiddhāntacandrikā* (SSC) [pp. 131-5, Ed. K. A. Sivaramakrishna SASTRI, *Ann. Univ. skt. series* No. 4 (1936)] in which the celebrated author—Śrīnivāsajvan, the Sanskrit polymath—has reiterated the theoretical position put forward by Pāṇinīyā-s.

1.4 Epitome of P. and Pāṇinīyā-s

To sum up the position of P. and Pāṇinīyā-s : Whatever might be the implications involved in appertaining *T* to the suffix or stem, three facts certainly emerge from P.'s teaching of *a-1/a-2* as *nipātana* forms and the disquisition on the rule 122 by Pāṇinīyā-s : first, that the accent exponent is specifically consigned by P. to make both *a-1* and *a-2* perispomena; second, that P. achieves a remarkable sense of economy by making *a-1/a-2 nipātana-s*; and third, that Pat. and his adherents have derived both forms by means of *NyaT*. In *a-1* the root vowel is vṛddhied; but in *a-2* it is non-vṛddhied due to the *nipātana* technique.

2 THE VEDIC DATA

2.0 Samhitā texts : a-1/a-2 as perispomena

The importance of P.'s general rule becomes considerable when we endeavour to check the accuracy of his teaching by a comparison with the *Samhitā* texts which explicitly record *a-1/a-2*, although P. does not specify his

rule (122) as a *Chandas* formulation. As a matter of fact, the *nipātana* technique—the direct enumeration of the ready-made *a-1/a-2* which are sealed with *T*—employed by *P.* in the rule 122, bears witness to the *Samhitā* texts which treat both forms as perispomena.

2.1.0 Etymologies of *a-1* in the select texts

Before referring to the Vedic testimony, a word may be said about the significance of *amāvāsyā* in the Sacred Literature. With regard to the ritual or philosophical concept of *a-1* in Vedic texts, there is no need to go into details.⁶ It will be sufficient here to mention briefly one or two etymologies proposed by the select Vedic treatises.

The word *amāvāsyā*—popularly used to refer to the new Moon—denotes generally the sense of the dwelling together of the Sun and Moon on the same day (*tithi*). Accordingly Śāyana *ad ŚBM* 11, 1, 1, 1 glosses :

amāvāsyā amā ity ayam śabdaḥ saha.śabdārthe
vartate / pratipadādītithiṣu madhye yasyām
tithau amā sūryeṇa saha candro vasati sā
amāsvāsyā / amā pūrvaḥ vāseḥ *rhalor nyat* iti
nyat.pratyayaḥ /

Alternatively, he testifies to the derivational explanation corroborated by *TS* 2, 5, 3, 6-7 that the night of the new Moon is designated *amāvāsyā*, since Indra—to whom the epithet *Vasu* (treasure) is assigned—dwells together with the Devas for drinking the *Sāmnāyya*⁷ oblation on the *amāvāsyā*. To quote Śāyana [*ibid*] again :

yad vā vasu.śabdābhidheya Indraḥ sāmnāyya.pānārtham
devaiḥ saha asyām tithau vasati ity *amāvāsyā* / tathā
ca *Taittirīyakam* (2, 5, 3, 6-7) :—

amā vai no'dyā vāsu vasati iti /

īndro hi devānām vāsu /

tād amāvāsyāyā amāvāsyatvām /

According to the *Taittirīya* passage cited above, Indra, the treasure of Devas, dwells together (*amā vasati*) or at home.⁸ The word is subjected to a similar etymologizing in *KS* 7.10 :

*amā vai no vāsv abhūd iti, sā amāvāsyā, amā ha
vā asya vāsu bhavati,*⁹

6. On the mythical and philosophical significance of *amāvāsyā*, see M. FALK. *IHQ* 18.26-45 [1942]. According to him the central item in the *Sūrya-Sūkta* (*RV* VI. 58.4, Book X *et passim*) is the *Amāvāsyā*-myth—the myth of the nuptials between the Sun and the Moon; see. pp. 27 ff.

7. *Sāmnāyya* is an offering of milk which is extracted from a cow on *amāvāsyā*, and it is turned sour; the sour coagulated milk is mixed on the following day with fresh milk. See *AB* 2, 443; *ŚBM* 1, 6, 4, 9. Cf. *SBE* XII. 178, n.4.

8. Cf. KEITH, *TS* I. 192 HÖS 18 [1914].

9. The accents which are not marked for *KS* 7.10 in SATAVALEKAR's edn. (Aundh, 1943), are restored here in conformance with the *Samhitā* accentuation.

and *SBM* 1, 6, 4, 5 :

....स वै देवीनां वस्त्रं ॐ ह्येषां तद्यदेष यता ॐ रात्रिमिहामा वसति तस्माद्दमावास्या
नाम ॥ ५ ॥ [WEBER's edn.]

The interpretation given in the *Ś* (*ānkhāyana*)-*Ś* (*rauta*)-*S* (*Śūtra*) 1, 3, 6 is that both days go by the appellation of *amāvāsyā*—(the day on which one says :) “Tomorrow one will not see (the Moon)” and the day on which he is not seen.¹⁰ The Śrauta citation [HILLEBRANDT's edn., I.3 (Calcutta, 1888)] runs as follows :

śvo na draṣṭeti yad ahaś ca na dṛśyate, te *amāvāsyē* /

2.1.1 Functional Meanings of a-1 in the select texts

Amāvāsyā is defied as a *Devatā* in *AVŚ* 7, 84 [cf. *AV-Bṛhadanukramānikā* 7, 79]; she is described in *TB* 3, 7, 5, 13 as an auspicious Goddess, and she is fit to be panegyrised :

amāvāsyā *subhāgā* *suśāva*.

Prajāpati is said to have created *Amāvāsyā* (*TS* 1, 6, 9, 1), and she represents his bosom (*MS* 1, 6, 9). The picture painted in *SBM* 11, 1, 1, 1 is that *Prajāpati*, the sacrifice, is the year and that *amāvāsyā* (the night of the New Moon) is the gate :

ओम् । संवत्सरो वै यज्ञः प्रजापतिः ।

तस्यैतद्द्वारं यदमावास्या चन्द्रमा एव द्वारपिघ्नान् ॥ २ ॥ [WEBER's edn.]

The new moon (Night) is designated *Sinivālī*—the former part of *amāvāsyā* :

yā pūrvā amāvāsyā sā sinivālī

—a passage which is attested in several texts : *MS* 4, 3, 5; *KS* 12, 8; *AB* 7, 11; *TS* 3, 4, 9, 6; *KB* 3, 1; *Ṣad. B* 4, 6; *GB* 2, 1, 10 [cf. *Nirukta* 11, 31].

The sacredotal ritualists have named one of the sacrifices, *amāvāsyā* which is offered at the time of New Moon.

It deserves mention in this connection that in one of the *sūtrā*-s [X.8.53 in the *Mīmāṃsādarśanam*, Ānandāśrama edn., Pt. VI. 2089 (Poona, 1934)] of the Jaiminian *Mīmāṃsā*—which endeavours to interpret Vedic hermeneutics—a preliminary discussion arises whether the *Upāṃśuyājya*, at which Viṣṇu is the Deity invoked because of the declaration of the *Hautra-mantra*, should be performed on the Full-moon day or at the *Darśa*, when the substance offered should be the same as that at the *Darśa* sacrifice (*amāvāsyā.haviś ca syād hautrasya tatra darśanāt*). But THADANI¹¹ interprets this

10. This explanation is based on DEBRUNNER's rendering of *ŚŚS* 1, 3, 6 [in the *Nachträge*, 91 zu *AIG* II.1] :

(der Tag, an dem man sagt :) 'morgen wird man (den Mond) nicht sehen' und der Tag, an dem er nicht gesehen wird, diese (beiden Tage) heissen *amāvāsyā*.

11. *Mīmāṃsā.. of the Hindus*, 339 [Delhi, 1952]. But for the exegetical interpretation of the *sūtra* X.8.53, according to Śabara, see G. JHA (Trans.), *Shubara-Bhāṣya* III.2070-71 [Baroda, 1936].

sūtra (X.8.53) differently from the norm accepted by Śabara and his adherents. He thinks that "amāvāsyā is symbolic of the association of the mind (moon) with the intellect (sun) as well as the object of nature; and it is this that is represented by Viṣṇu" (?).

The functional meanings of *a-1* in given situations or contexts have not been exhaustively treated in 2.1.1. But these are representative of the materials extracted from select Vedic texts. In addition to the logical sense, both *a-1* and *a-2* generally signify the first day of the first quarter on which the Moon is invisible. Truly enough, the logical sense of 'the dwelling together (of the Sun and Moon on the same *tithi*)' has come to stay in Post Vedic literature—as the *Amara Koṣa* I.4.8 [Bombay, 1944] observes :

*amāvāsyā tv amāvāsyā
darśaḥ sūryendusamgamah ||*

2.2 Black YV and AV

We have now to refer to the evidence confirmed by the *Samhitā*-s. The forms *amāvāsyā* and *amāvāsyā* occur in the Black *Yajurveda* texts—*Taittirīya* (*TS*), *Kaṣiṣṭhala-Kāthā* (*KKS*), *Kāthaka* (*KS*) and *Maitrāyaṇīya* (*MS*) *Samhitā*-s—and in the *Śaunaka* (*AVŚ*) and the *Paippalāda* (*AVP*) recensions of the *Atharva-Veda-Samhitā*. The former (*a-1*) occurs in eleven places in *TS*, *MS* and *AVŚ*, and the letter (*a-2*) is attested ten times in *KKS*, *KS* and *AVP*. Their occurrence in the *Samhitā* texts [VISHVA BANDHU, *Vaidikapadānukramakoṣa* (abbr. *VPK*) *Samhitās*, I.380] is tabulated as under :

<i>Samhitā</i>	<i>a m ā v ā s y ā</i>	No.
<i>TS</i>	1, 6, 9, 1; 2, 5, 4, 1; 3, 4, 9, 6; 5, 1, 4	4
<i>MS</i>	1, 4, 15; 6, 9; 9, 5; 4, 3, 5	4
<i>AVŚ</i>	7, 84, 2; 15, 2, 14; 16, 3	3
	Total	11

TABLE II

<i>Samhitā</i>	<i>a m ā v a s y ā</i>	No.
<i>KS</i>	7, 5; 10; 9, 13; 14; 10, 5; 12, 8; 39, 8	7
<i>KKS</i>	5, 4; 9	2
<i>AVP</i>	1, 103, 4	1
	Total	10

TABLE III

The first occurrence of other declensional forms belonging to *a-1/a-2* is noted as under :

Vocable	TS	MS	AVŚ	AVP
<i>amāvāsyāyā</i>	7, 5, 6, 1	—	—	—
<i>amāvāsyām</i>	1, 6, 9, 1	1, 6, 10	1, 16, 1	1, 10, 3
<i>amāvāsyāyāḥ</i>	2, 5, 3, 7	4, 3, 5	—	—
<i>amāvāsyāyai</i>	—	—	7, 84, 3	—
<i>amāvāsyē</i>	—	—	4, 36, 3	—
<i>āmāvāsyē (Voc.)</i>	3, 5, 1, 1	—	7, 84, 1	—

TABLE IV

Vocable	KS	KKS	AVP
<i>amāvāsyām</i>	6, 6	4, 5	1, 103, 1
<i>amāvāsyāyāḥ</i>	12, 8	—	—
<i>amāvāsyāyām</i>	8, 1	6, 6	—

TABLE V

2.3.0 Brāhmaṇa texts

In the *Brāhmaṇa* (B.) texts, *a-1* alone is attested 24 times. Presumably *a-2* has gone into *désuétude*. The same story is told in the *Gr̥hya* and *Sūtra* literature. Even in Classical Sanskrit *a-1* has prominently come to stay, although a few poets like Bhaṭṭi [*Bhaṭṭikāvya* VI.64] have used *a-2*. The number of occurrences of *a-1* in B. texts [VPK., *Brāhmaṇas* and *Āraṇyakas* I.122] is tabulated as under :

Veda	ṚV		YV				SV		AV
B. & Ār.	AB	ŚāB	TB	TĀ	ŚBM	ŚBK	JB	SB	GB
No.	1	3	3	1	8	2	1	3	2
Total No. of Occurrences = 24									

TABLE VI

In the accentuated *B.* and *Ār.* texts—*Mādhyandina* (*ŚBM*) and *Kāṇva* (*ŚBK*) recensions of the *Ś* (*atapatha*), *Taittirīya* (*TB*) including its *Āraṇyaka* (*TĀ*)—that have come down to us, *TB* and *TĀ* have faithfully preserved the *Samhitā* perispomenon. But it is rather hazardous to decide whether *a-ī* is considered perispomenon, paroxytone or oxytone in the *ŚB*, since we have to oscillate between the written accents of orthoepic diaskeuasts and the traditional recitation of *ŚB*, known as the *Bhāṣikasvara* which has come to be differentiated from the *Samhitā* intonation pattern. If for the sake of argument one were to rely on the two recensions edited by WEBER (*ŚBM*) and CALAND (*ŚBK*), one might as well regard *a-ī* as a perispomenon, so far as the marking of accents in the *ŚB* is concerned. Nevertheless, the question of perispomenon will not arise at all if one were to believe in the testimony of Kāt.'s *Bhāṣikasūtra* I.2: *dvau* which distinctly mentions the *udatta* and the *anudatta* as the two accents employed in the *ŚB*. That the *svarita* of *Samhitā*-s is not extant in the *ŚB* and that it has neither place nor significance in the *Volkssprache* and the prose-recitation, is shown by HAUG:¹²

Der Swarita der Samhitā ist in dem *Śatapatha* gar
nicht vorhanden, und hat in der Volkssprache und
in der prosaischen Recitation keine Stelle und
keine Sinn.

2.3.1.0 ŚB accentual structure

The general accentual structure of *ŚB* may be conveniently treated here before proceeding to examine the accentuation of *a-ī* in the *ŚB*.

It is generally believed that the *ŚB* belongs to the period of transition from the older *Samhitā*-s to the younger way of accentuation.¹³ In fact it represents the fourth stage in the evolution of Vedic accentuation—the other stages being: *RV*, *AV*, *VS*, *TS*, *TB*, *TĀ* (First stage); *MS*, *KS* (Second stage) and *SV* (Third stage)—to which WACKERNAGEL draws our attention in *AIG*. I § 244. Needless to say, the system of accentuation in the *ŚB* differs considerably from that of the *Samhitā*-s both in its recitation and in the marking of accents.

2.3.1.1 ŚB accents: the Bhāṣika-svara

The *ŚB* accent distinguishes only two tones, *udatta* and *anudatta*, and the evidence on this point is furnished by *Vāj. Pr.* I.129 = *Bhāṣika-sūtra* I.2 [cf. *KŚS* 1, 8, 17 in Kāśī edn. (1929)]. Furthermore, it is said in the *Bhāṣika-Sūtra*-s (I.13–14) that the *svarita* and *anudatta* of *Mantra*-s are treated as *udatta*, and the *Mantraic udatta* is converted into an *anudatta* in *ŚB*.

12. *Ueber das Wesen und den Werth des wedischen Accents*, 71 [München, 1873].

13. See Mahāsvāmin's *Bhāṣika-vṛtti*, IS X.405 :

Mantra.lakṣaṇa.bhinnatvūc
Chatapatha.Brāhmaṇasya tu |
tal.lakṣaṇārtham munitū
praṇītam bhāṣikam khalu ||

Cf. LEUMANN, *KZ* 31.50 [1892] and HAUG, *op. cit.*, 43.

The modern recitation¹⁴ of the *ŚB* confirms to the rule laid down in the above-mentioned accentological treatises. This is further supported by the evidence given by Śabara *ad* the *Mīmāṃsā* rule 12, 3, 8 that the *Bhāṣika-svara* distinguishes only two tones, *ucca* (high) and *nīca* (low), which are employed in the recitation of *B*-s belonging to *R̥V*, *V̥S* and *ŚV*:

*Chandogā Bahvr̥cāś ca eva
tathā Vājasaneyinaḥ |
ucca.nīca.svaram̐ prāhuḥ
sa vai bhāṣika ucyaते ||*

Thus by the explicit assertion of two tones, it may be taken for granted that the *svarita* of *Samhitā*-s seemed to the *ŚB* accentual theorists and modern reciters of little practical significance. Accordingly, KIELHORN [IS X.402] suggests that *manuṣyeṣu* in the *ŚB* should be transcribed *manuṣyeṣu* and not *manuṣyēṣu*. But WEBER [IS X.434] and CALAND [*Introduction*, p. 10 to *ŚBK*, (Lahore, 1926)] think that "the rules of *Bhāṣika-sūtra* have reference only to the graphic representation of the accent marks" and that मनुष्येषु in the *ŚB* is analogous to मनुष्येषु of the *Samhitā*-s.

2.3.2 *ŚB*—written accent marks

The written accent system, as represented in the editions of *ŚB* of both recensions, contains on the one hand, a subscript horizontal stroke marked beneath the accented syllable (WEBER, Chinnaswamy SASTRI and CALAND). The BOMBAY edition on the other hand, employs a curved notation resembling the crescent placed under the accented syllable. The horizontal stroke or curved sign indicates the *udatta*: नृषदम् । नृषदम् । Furthermore, the *nitya-svarita* is also marked by the same stroke or curved sign appearing below the preceding syllable: वीर्यम् । वीर्यम् । WEBER in the *Introduction* (p. xii) to *SBM* [Indian edn., 1964] observes :

The *udatta* has the stroke beneath itself. the *svarita* beneath the preceding syllable. . .

To avoid this ambiguity I have denoted the *svarita* in this edition by two horizontal strokes : वीर्यम्.

14. KIELHORN, IS X.403—writing from Poona College (the present Deccan College), dated 12 January, 1867—had expressed his inability to find any traditional reciter of the *ŚB*, since none could recite the text thoroughly in Poona. Among the Nasik Vaidikā-s of Maharashtra State, the *ŚB* recitation is still prevalent. Its recitation is current among the Vājasaneyin-s of Trichy, Tanjore and Tinnevely Districts of Madras State. Cf. RAGHAVAN, *The Present Position of Vedic Recitation and Vedic Śakhas*, 8; 16 [Kumbhakonam, 1962]. STAAL, *Nambudiri Veda Recitation*, 27 [The Hague, 1961] says that the only Vaidika Informant (whom he could find in S. India) recited *V̥S* with four accents :

(corresponding to respectively : The vertical stroke above; the absence of any mark; the horizontal stroke below; and one out of several consecutive horizontal strokes),

and the *ŚB* "with the three low notes out of these four". STAAL himself admits that this way of recitation must be of a later origin. But according to Prof. K. A. S. SASTRI (private communication) the Vaidikā-s in Trichy and Tanjore Districts recite the *SBM* only with TWO TONES. The same is true of a few Nasik Vaidikā-s who recite the *ŚB*.

2.3.3 a-1 in Weber and Bombay edition

The BOMBAY edition consistently transcribes अमावास्या in the *SBM*. But in WEBER's edition a single horizontal stroke appears in four places, and accordingly, a-1 is transcribed अमावास्या; elsewhere (that is from *SBM* 11, 1, 1, 1 onwards) the word is written as अमावास्या. The graphic representation of a-1 in *SB* according to both editions is tabulated as follows :

<i>SBM</i>	Weber's edition	Bombay edition
1, 6, 4, 5	अमावास्या —	अमावास्या ◡
1, 6, 3, 35	„	„
2, 4, 4, 20	„	„
6, 2, 2, 30	„	„
11, 1, 1, 1	अमावास्या =	„
11, 1, 1, 7	„	„
13, 8, 1, 3	„	„

TABLE VII

WEBER's inconsistency in marking a-1 in *SBM* is at once apparent. That he has fallen a victim to the accentual ambiguity, since he first believed a-1 to be a paroxytonic word and then treated it correctly as a perispomenon, is pointed out by MINARD (*loc. cit.*) :

Victime de l'ambiguïté accentuelle, WEB. a d'abord cru de dernier mot paroxyton ; à partir de XI 1 1 1, il l'a correctment, fait périspomène.

We are now faced with the dichotomy between the written accent and the *Bhāṣikasvara* technique in the *SB*. To justify a-1 as a perispomenon, we will be compelled to adduce the written accentual evidence in support. But judging on the merits of the *Bhāṣikasvara* theorists, we may be tempted to treat a-1 as an oxytonic word in the *SB*. It would be an easy way out to suggest that the *Sarīhitā* perispomenon which is graphically represented by the diaskeuasts in the *SB*, has witnessed an accentual devolution, in the sense that the *svarita* is pronounced like the *udātta*. Thus an independent *svarita* of the *Mantra* is thrown back on the preceding syllable in the form of an *udātta* in the written accentual system of *SB*. In accordance with this way of accentuation, a-1 has acquired an oxytonic pronunciation in the *SB*.

2.3.4 Sandhi accentuation

We have next to consider the Sandhi accentuation which arises in connection with *a-l* in the Black *YV* texts on the one hand, and the *SB* on the other. With regard to the Sandhi accentuation, we again notice the difference between *MS/KS* and *SB*, which is shown in the following Table :

<i>Sandhi</i>	<i>Combination</i>	<i>Reference</i>
<i>amāvāsyā</i> + <i>ījyate</i>	<i>amāvāsyējyate</i>	<i>MS</i> 1, 9, 5
<i>amāvāsyā</i> + „	„	<i>KS</i> 9, 13
<i>amāvāsyā</i> + <i>īti</i>	<i>amāvāsyēti</i>	<i>SBK</i> 1, 4, 3, 9
„ + „	„	<i>SBM</i> 11, 1, 5, 1
„ + „	„	„ 11, 1, 5, 4

TABLE VIII

We can justify the Black *YV* Sandhi by resorting to the *Tai. Pr.* rule x.12 [WHITNEY's edn., *JAOS* 9 (1871)] :

svaritānudātta.samnipāte svaritam

which teaches us that when *svarita* is combined with *anudātta*, the result of this combination is *svarita*. Thus *MS/KS amāvāsyā/amāvāsyā + ījyate* will give us : *amāvāsyējyate/amāvāsyējyate*.

The *SB* Sandhi phenomenon : *amāvāsyā + īti = amāvāsyēti* can be explained on the authority of the *Vāj. Pr.* rule IV.134 [SHARMA's edn. (Madras, 1934)] :

udāttavān udāttaḥ,

according to which *udātta* is the resultant tone brought about by the coalescence of its constituents. One of the conditions stated by the commentator, Uvaṭa, is the merger of the final *svarita* with the initial *udātta* into an *udātta*. To explain fully, when the final *svarita* of the first member combines with an accented initial vowel of the second member, the contracted syllable retains *udātta*. The relevant sentences in Uvaṭa's *Bhāṣya* read as follows :

udātto'smin (n) asti iti udāttavān / udāttavān
ekībhāva udātto bhavati / sa ca udāttaḥ purastād
paścād vā bhavati / itaratra udāttānudātta.svarita.pracitāḥ /
...svarita.pūrva udātta.paro yathā...
supvā + īti = supvēti /

At this juncture, the question would naturally arise whether P.'s accentual rules could be lucratively used for interpreting the Sandhi accentuation of *YV* texts and of the *ŚB*.

In the absence of any precise Pāṇinian rule which could operate, a Pāṇinist may be inclined to justify the *YV* Sandhi accentuation on the ground of the *Paribhāṣā* rule :

sthāne'ntaratamaḥ A 1, 1, 50.

This rule lays down the general principle that, when substitution takes place, the most similar to what it replaces (that is, the prototype) is the genuine substitute. Accordingly the *svarita*, being "the likest of its significates", represents the accents of both its constituents—the *svarita* and the *anudatta*. To explain fully, the combination of *svarita* plus *anudatta* results in the *svarita* intonation. As a matter of fact, the *svarita*, according to *A 1, 2, 31*, is the union of a high and low tone within the same syllable. Consequently it (*svarita*) contains the two qualities of its constituents—the acute and grave tones—within the limits of a single syllable. Hence the *svarita* is substituted for *svarita* and *anudatta*. But the *udatta* and the *anudatta* are not in themselves necessarily suited to play the rôle of substitution, since both tones are deprived of the quality of the other. That is to say, the *udatta* is devoid of the *anudatta* quality, and the *anudatta*, in turn, lacks the *udatta* quality. Therefore, the *svarita* which has both qualities within the compass of the same syllable is fit to be the substitute. In accordance with the *Paribhāṣā* rule, then, we can satisfactorily account for the *YV* Sandhi : *amāvāsyâ/amāvasyâ + ijyate = amāvāsyējyate/amāvasyējyate*. And to justify such cases, it is not necessary to formulate a fresh rule that the *svarita* is the substitute for *svarita* and *anudatta*, since the *Paribhāṣā* rule 1, 1, 50 can take care of this Sandhi phenomenon. Kaiyaṭa, glossing on Pat. *ad A 8, 2, 6* [*V. 365* (Rohtak, 1962)], furnishes the same explanation which runs thus :

Kanyā'nōpa iti / Kanyā.śabdaḥ 'kanyā.rājanya.manuṣ-
yāṇām antaḥ' ity anta.svaritaḥ / tataḥ svaritānudattayor
ekādeśa āntaryataḥ svaritaḥ /

As regards the Sandhi in *ŚB*, a Pāṇinist may resort to the rule :

ekādeśa udāttena udāttaḥ

A 8, 2, 5 (= *AV. Pr. iii.66*) in an attempt to justify the euphonic accentuation : *amāvāsyâ + iti = amāvāsyēti*. Nevertheless the rule *8, 2, 5* enjoins *udatta* as the single substitute for an unaccented vowel with the preceding *udatta* vowel. In fact, the word *anudattasya* is drawn into *A 8, 2, 5* from the rule,

udattasvaritayor yaṇaḥ svarito'nudattasya

A 8, 2, 4, by the *anuvṛtti* procedure. The recurrence of *anudattasya* is a requisite in *A 8, 2, 5* according to the theoretical position maintained by Pat. and his adherents. But Bhaṭṭoji and Nṛsimha (whose work, the *svaramañjarī*, is subjected to adverse criticism at the hands of Śrīnivāsa in the *SSC*) have not accepted the *anuvṛtti* of *anudattasya* into *A 8, 2, 5*. If the recurrence of *anudattasya* were prevented from operation in *A 8, 2, 5*, then alone could the *udatta* substitution be validated in the *ŚB* Sandhi accentuation on the strength of this rule.

It remains to mention in this connection that Śrīnivāsa in his *SSC* (pp. 31–37) has allowed the rule 8, 2, 5 to a searching scrutiny. He has also referred to the views of Pāṇiniyā-s regarding the acceptance or non-acceptance of the *anuvṛtti* of *anudāttasya* in this rule. We may now briefly consider the salient features of his discussion *ad rem* on A 8, 2, 5:

- (i) The word *udātta* in the rule suggests that the single substitution of an *udātta* for either two *anudātta* vowels or a *svārīta* and an *anudātta*, should *not* take place, since a single *anudātta* replaces two *anudātta* vowels, and since a single *svārīta* is substituted for a *svārīta* and an *anudātta*—based on the principle of proximity (*āntarya*).
- (ii) The word *anudāttasya*—drawn from A 8, 2, 4 into A 8, 2, 5 by recurrence—is intended to prohibit the single substitution of an *udātta* for the *udātta* and *anudātta* vowels. If such were the purport of the word, then there arises the question of justifying the *Taittīriya* Sandhi accentual type in which the fusion of the final *svārīta* and the initial *udātta* produces the *udātta* tone which falls on the combined diphthong. An instance of this type can be seen in :

Kāryā + īti = Kāryēti (*TS* 7, 5, 5, 1).

A satisfactory answer to this question stems from *Tai. Pr.* x. 10:

udāttam udāttavati

which states that, when the constituents (first, second or both) have *udātta*, their combination is the *udātta*. The *RV. Pr.* (III.11) makes a similar observation :

udāttavaty ekībhāva udāttam sām̐dhyam¹⁵ akṣaram.

- (iii) The characteristic absence of *anudātta* in the *Pr.* rules, cited above, has led Nṛsimha in his *svaramaṅjarī* to assume that the recurrence of *anudāttasya* in A 8, 2, 5 is unnecessary. Such an assumption is supported by the authors of *Kaustubha*, *SK* and *Manoramā*. But *Pat.*, *Vṛttikāra*, *Kaiyaṭa* and *Haradatta* have maintained the opposite view, that is to say, the word *anudāttasya* recurs in A 8, 2, 5. Finally Śrīnivāsa rejects the assumption of those who have disallowed *anudāttasya* to be read in the *sūtra*, thus falling in line with *Pat.* and his *entourage*.

While discussing the SB Sandhi accentuation, we have introduced Śrīnivāsa's commentary—a desirable digression—only to show the difficulty in interpreting A 8, 2, 5. Nevertheless, as mentioned before, if the word *anudāttasya* were discontinued in A 8, 2, 5, we could justify the euphonic accentuation : *amāvāsyā + īti = amāvāsyēti* in the light of P.'s rule.

15. M. D. SHASTRI's edn. of the *RV. Pr.*, II.117 [Allahabad, 1931] reads 'sam̐dhyam̐',

3 THE VEDIC COMMENTATORS

3.0 Sāyaṇa and Bhaṭṭabhāskara

Sāyaṇa and Bhaṭṭabhāskara (hereafter referred to as S. and BH. respectively), the two celebrated Vedic commentators who are well-versed in the intricacies of the Pāṇinian system, have shown their predilection to P, which emerges from the derivational or accentual explanation of *a-I* furnished by them in their *Bhāṣya*-s. Both the commentators have utilised P.'s rules for interpreting *a-I* at six contexts, according to my count, in four Vedic texts : *AVŚ*, *TS*, *TB* and *ŚBM*. As a matter of fact, they have derived *a-I* from *amā* $\sqrt{\text{vas}}$ + *Ṇyat* in order that the Vedic perispomenon may be justified on the strength of *A* 6, 1, 185. As shown in Table IX, S. and BH. have cited *A* 3, 1, 122 in three places. S. refers to *A* 3, 1, 124 once (*ŚBM* 11, 1, 1, 1). But in his gloss on *AVŚ* 1, 16, 1 and 4, 36, 3, he has taken recourse to P.'s secondary derivative rules, since he has assigned a taddhita sense to the *Atharvan* vocables : *amāvāsyām* and *amāvāsyē*. The Pāṇinian rules which S. and BH. have actually made use of in their commentaries¹⁶ for interpreting *a-I*, are listed in column four of Table IX.

Commentator	Vocable	Vedic Reference	P.'s Rules
S	<i>amāvāsyām</i>	<i>AVŚ</i> 1, 16, 1a	3, 1, 122; 4, 3, 120; 6, 1, 185: <i>vārt.</i> to 7, 1, 39
„	<i>amāvāsyē</i>	„ 4, 36, 3b	(<i>ṆyaT</i>); 4, 3, 30; 31
„	<i>āmāvāsyē</i>	„ 7, 84, 1b	3, 1, 122 Vocative—initial accentuation by 6, 1, 198
„	<i>amāvāsyā</i>	<i>ŚBM</i> 11, 1, 1, 1	3, 1, 124
BH	<i>amāvāsyā</i>	<i>TS</i> 1, 6, 9, 1	3, 1, 122
„	„	<i>TB</i> 3, 7, 5, 13	„

TABLE IX

Needless to say, S. and BH. have clearly recognised the importance of P.'s rules for interpreting the Vedic perispomenon (*a-I*). This is further supported by the evidence furnished by the commentator in *AV. Pr.* iii. 57 [WHITNEY (Varanasi, 1962)] that *a-I* is an instance of the *jātya.svarita*.

16. For the commentaries of S. and BH., see the following editions :

AVŚ : VISHVA BANDHU [Hoshiarpur, 1960].

TS : SASTRI-RANGACHARYA [Mysore, 1894-6].

TB : SASTRI-SRINIVASACHARYA [Mysore, 1911].

ŚBM : BOMBAY edn. [1940].

As shown in Table IX, *a-1* is treated as *ādyudatta* in *AVŚ* 7, 84, 1 ab:

yāt te devā ākr̥ṇvan bhāgadheyam
āmāvāsye saṁvāsanto mahitvā |

which reminds us of *TS* 3, 5, 1, 1 where *ādadhuh* is read in lieu of the Atharvan *ākr̥ṇvan*. S. has rightly observed here that *a-1* is a vocative which, standing at the commencement of a *Pāda*, is acutely accented on its initial vowel in conformance with P.'s rule :

āmantaritasya ca A 6, 1, 198.

The relevant sentences from S.'s *Bhāṣya* read as under :

‘ *āmāvasyad anyatarasyām* ’ (P. 3, 1, 122) iti
ṇyat.pratyayah | nitvāt pakṣe upadhā.vṛddhiḥ /
tasyāḥ saṁbuddhiḥ |

3.1 Sāyaṇa : *AVŚ* 1, 16, 1 and 4, 36, 3

We now proceed to give S.'s explanation of *a-1* as a perispomenon in *AVŚ*. Of special interest to Pāṇinists is the way in which S. has relied on P.'s rules for interpreting the words : *āmāvāsyām* and *āmāvāsyē*. The former occurs in 1, 16, 1 :

ye' māvāsyām rātrim
ud āsthur vrājām attrīṇaḥ |
agnīs turīyo yātuḥā
só asmābhyam ādhi bravat ||

S. interprets *āmāvāsyām* to mean either *āmāvāsyā.saṁbandhinīm* : “ belonging to the *āmāvāsyā* ” (the *tithi* in which the Sun and Moon dwell together) or *āmāvāsyāyāḥ* : “ of the *āmāvāsyā* ”. When he assigns these meanings to the Atharvan vocable, he adduces Pāṇinian rules in support. His commentary then reads as follows :

- (i) *āmāvāsyām / amā saha vasataḥ asyām tithau sūryācandra-*
masau iti amāvāsyā / vasa nivāse / asmāt ṇyati ‘ amāvasyad
anyatarasyām ’ (P. 3.1.122) iti vṛddhyabhāva.nipātanasya
pākṣikatvād atra vṛddhiḥ / ‘ *tasyedam* ’ (P. 4, 3, 120) arthe
vihitasya aṇaḥ chāndaso luk / ‘ *tit svaritam* ’ (P. 6, 1, 185)
iti antasvaritatvam / *āmāvāsyāsaṁbandhinīm* ity arthaḥ /
- (ii) *yad vā ‘ supām supo bhavanti ’* (P. *Vārt.* 7, 1, 39) iti
ṣaṣṭhyā amādeśaḥ / amāvāsyāyā ity arthaḥ /

S. offers two explanations in his commentary cited above.

- (i) First he derives the *nipātana* form (*āmāvāsyā*) from :
amā √ vas + Nyat. He, then, adds the taddhita suffix *aN*
to *a-1* in the sense of ‘ this is his ’ in accord with P.'s rule,
tasyedam A 4, 3, 120

which teaches that an affix—*aN* recurring from the rule :
prāg dīvyato'ṇ A 4, 3, 120—is appended to a word in the

gen. case in construction, when the meaning intended is, 'this is his'. In view of this explanation, *amāvāsyām* is rendered as 'belonging to amāvāsyā' [that is, the night (*rātrim*) belonging to amāvāsyā]. Having assigned this meaning to the vocable, S. goes on to allow the disappearance of the suffix *aN*. He is perfectly aware of several apparent irregularities in *Chandus* with regard to the application of the rules of *kṛt* / *taddhita* suffixation and of several other features—which P. teaches in the rule :

vyatyayo bahulam A 3, 1, 85.

In compliance with this, S. has conveniently deleted *aN* with the remark :

chāndaso.luk.

Subsequently, he brings in the rule *A 6, 1, 185* to justify the Vedic perispomenon.

In trying to propose the suffixation of *aN*, S. has to face two difficulties. If the secondary suffix *aN* were appended to *a-1*, the derived *taddhita* word must, first, be *vṛddhied* initially (*ādivṛddhi*) according to P.'s rule :

taddhiteṣv acām ādeḥ A 7, 2, 117;

and, second, it must be oxytonised by the general accentual principle :

ādy udāttaś ca A 3, 1, 3.

Consequently, the suffixation of *aN* would run counter to the Vedic perispomenon. S. overcomes both the difficulties by stating the disappearance of *aN* so that the Vedic perispomenon could be explained by *A 6, 1, 185*. It is apparent that S. introduces *aN* at first sight only to provide the meaning 'belonging to amāvāsyā', and then he prevents the operation of the suffix, when he is confronted with the problem of accentuation.

(ii) Let us turn to S.'s alternative suggestion. S., in all probability, desiring to avoid the circularity which has crept into his first argument, adopts a different course of action. He now renders *amāvāsyām* as *amāvāsyāyāḥ*, taking his stand on the *vārttikam* :

*supām supo bhavanti*¹⁷

in an attempt to give the genitive meaning to the accusative form *amāvāsyām*. *Kāt.* teaches that in the Veda case morphemes replace other such morphemes promiscuously. Therefore, S. states that the accusative ending *-am* is substituted for the genitive case morpheme so that *amāvāsyām* would signify *amāvāsyāyāḥ*.

17. *Kāśīkā* at *A 7, 1, 39* reads the *vārttikam* :

supām supo bhavanti iti vaktavyam |

Pt. G. SHASTRI's edn. of the *Mahābhāṣyam* [Vol. VIII.47 (Kāśī, 1938)] adds *ca* after *supām*. But KIELHORN, *VMB* III.256.13 [Bombay, 1885] and the Rohtak edn., V.47 [1962] do not read this as a *Vārttikam*.

The second explanation of S. might have influenced WHITNEY and BLOOMFIELD. The former [*AV Trans.*, I.17 (Ind. edn., 1962)] takes *amāvāsyaṁ rātrim* to mean 'on the night of the new moon'; the latter [*Hymns of the AV*, 65 (Ind. edn., 1964)] renders the unit similarly as 'in the night of the full (*sic*) moon'. Here BLOOMFIELD's translation should be corrected as 'in the night of the new moon'.

We shall pass on to *AVŚ* 4, 36, 3 which reads as under :

yā āgaré mṛgáyante
pratikrośé'māvāsye |
kravyādo anyān dīpsataḥ
sārvāms tān sāhasā sahe ||

S. glosses *amāvāsye* with *amāvāsya.sambandhini ardha.rātra.kāle* : 'at the time of midnight belonging to *amāvāsya* (or of a day of new moon)'. The commentator states his explanation in the following terms :

..*amāvāsye | amā sūryeṇa saha candramā vasaty asyāṁ*
tithau iti amāvāsya | adhikaraṇe nyat | tatra jātaḥ utpannaḥ
ardha.rātra.kālaḥ amāvāsyaḥ | 'amāvāsyaḥ vā', 'a ca' (P. 4,
3, 30; 31) iti akāra.pratyayaḥ | tādṛśe amāvāsya.sambandhini
ardha.rātra.kāle... |

S. derives *a-1* by the same process, *amā* √ *vas* + *NyaT*, and *NyaT* is suffixed to the nucleus in the sense of 'location'. To *a-1* is then appended the secondary derivative suffix *-a-* to convey the meaning : 'born therein' (*tatra jātaḥ* *A* 4, 3, 25 which is continued in *A* 4, 3, 31) in accordance with the rule :

a ca *A* 4, 3, 31.

This rule teaches the addition of the taddhita suffix *-a-* to *amāvāsya* (which recurs from *A* 4, 3, 30) in the aforesaid sense. Thus S. abides by P.'s taddhita rules for glossing *amāvāsye* with *amāvāsya.sambandhini ardharātrakāle*.

Now enters the feline.

Although the Pāṇinian rules have percolated S.'s *Bhāṣya*, yet his argument runs directly counter to the Vedic perispomenon. To explain fully, if *-a-* were suffixed to *a-1*, the form thus derived must be oxytonic in accordance with the general principle of suffixal accentuation (*A* 3, 1, 3). Furthermore *amāvāsya-* plus (*Ṇ*)*i* [the locative sg. morpheme unaccented by *A* 3, 1, 4] will give us *amāvāsye*, since *udatta* is the single substitute for an *udatta* and an *anudatta* by the rule *A* 8, 2, 5. Concomitantly, *amāvāsye* will be treated as an oxytonic word. But *AVŚ* 4, 36, 3 has perispomenised the word. Therefore, S.'s argument lays itself open to criticism.

It emerges from S.'s gloss at *AVŚ* 1, 16, 1 that he is definitely aware of the fact that *a-1* is an instance of the *Jātya.svarita*. Then why did S. who is well-versed in the intricacies of P., fail to maintain his consistency at *AVŚ* 4, 36, 3? Naturally an accentologist has to cudgel his brains for an explanation of S.'s discrepancy. Should he take it for granted that S.'s text is

defective or incomplete here? In fact, the two editors of *AVŚ*—VISHVA BANDHU and S. P. PANDIT—have read the text of the scholiast as cited above. Nevertheless VISHVA BANDHU strikes the following appropriate remark in his notes to *AVŚ* 4, 36, 3 :

akāre pratyaye na svāra.siddhiḥ /

The question would naturally arise whether we could accept this as a *Varia lectione* or as a conjectural emendation.

The problem can be solved only by examining the fresh material presented by the evidence of Mss. Meanwhile, if one were allowed to tamper with S.'s text, one may refurbish the commentary as follows :

‘ amāvāsyāyā vā ’ ‘ a ca ’ iti akāra.pratyayaḥ /

[Chāndaso luk / ‘ tit svaritam ’ iti antasvaritatvam] /

It must be remembered that S. has offered a similar explanation at *AVŚ* 1, 16, 1. Thus judging from the intrinsic probability, one might be legitimately tempted to refurbish S.'s text in this manner so that one would not take the scholiast to task for his failure in observing the strict laws of Vedic accentuation.

4 RÉSUMÉ AND CONCLUSION

4.0 Résumé

Looking back on the ground covered in our study of the accentuation of *a-1/a-2* in P., Pāṇinīyā-s and the Vedic collectanea, we are struck by the following facts :

- (i) As a general rule, *A* 3, 1, 122 is applicable to ‘ the sacred literature ’ (*Chandas*) and ‘ the secular or current language ’ (*Bhāṣā*). Accordingly *a-1* and *a-2* happen to be employed in the Veda and in the standard dialect of P.'s time.
- (ii) By teaching *a-1/a-2* as *nipātana* forms, P. achieves “ the principle of parsimony (both of entities and of statement). ”¹⁸ But the Pāṇinīyā-s from Pat. to Nāgeśa, taking recourse to the *vyapuvarga* technique, derived *a-1/a-2* by means of *ṆyaT*.
- (iii) The accent exponent *T* has been *specifically* fixed to the final position of the *nipātana* form by P. for characterising *a-1/a-2* as *perispomena*.
- (iv) The *Samhitā* texts (*KS*, *KKS* and *AVP* which attest only *a-2*, and *TS*, *MS* and *AVŚ* which record *a-1*) have preserved *a-1/a-2* as *perispomena* in a remarkably transparent frame.
- (v) The *ŚB* has attempted to retain the *Samhitā* relic only in the written system; but the *Bhāṣikasvara* theorists and the

18. Cf. EMENEAU, “ India and Linguistics ”, *JAOS* 75.147 [1955].

modern Vaidikā-s regard the Mantraic *Svarita* as the *udatta* in the actual recitation of *ŚB*.

- (vi) The commentator on *AV. Pr. iii.57* cites *a-1* as an example of *Jātyasvarita*.
- (vii) Sāyaṇa and Bhaṭṭabhāskara, the celebrated commentators, have assigned importance to P.'s rules in their interpretation of the Vedic perispomenon *a-1*.
- (viii) A diachronic study of the accentuation of *a-1/a-2* in the Vedic collectanea via P.'s synchronistic description, reveals that there is a striking harmony between the system of accentuation of P. and that of the Veda, as far as these two words are concerned.

4.1 Conclusion

Writing "on the accent in Sanskrit", ¹⁹WHITNEY acknowledged that—

The great grammarian Pāṇini, whose work has become the acknowledged authority for all after time, is clear and intelligible in his statements as to accent.

And twenty three years later, he cursorily examined approximately one-fifth of P.'s Vedic rules, and made the observation :

...no discoverable principle seems to underlie his (P.'s selections).^{19-a}

The trenchant criticism on P. by WHITNEY made it necessary for other competent Vedists cum Pāṇinists—BÖHTLINGK, LÉVI, v. SCHROEDER and THIEME (only to mention a few)—to focus their attention on P.'s Vedic rules again. The last-mentioned writer has attempted to show that,

A detailed interpretation of P.'s vedic rules, which must be confronted with the facts of the *Saṃhitās*, *does not confirm Whitney's verdict*²⁰ (Italics mine).

THIEME confesses that "the study of single expressions", by the application of *Vyākhyāna* which is the oldest method of Pāṇinīyā-s, "will lead to better and safer results than any other".

With this and other tools at hand, we have surveyed the accentuation of *a-1/a-2* in Pāṇini and the Veda. Against WHITNEY's criticism the present paper may perhaps serve a useful purpose by giving an idea of the *modus operandi* of the new technique of comparing the accentual system of P. with that of the Veda. We may now round off our argument by saying that a special niche must be allotted to the accentual rules of P. in scrutinising Vedic accentuation. At the same time, we must take due notice of the pitfalls which should be avoided when considering the rapprochement between the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* and the Veda.

19. APA I.21 [1969-70].

19-a. "The Veda in Pāṇini", GSAI 7.254 [1893].

20. See his Introduction, xiii to *Pāṇini and the Veda* [Allahabad, 1935].

It clearly emerges from the foregoing discussion that P. is intimately acquainted with the *Sāmhita* texts which have faithfully preserved *a-1/a-2* as perispomena. To put it particularly, we are almost one hundred percent sure that P.'s rule 3, 1, 122 is intended to vindicate the *Sāmhita* perispomena.

According to A 5, 2, 84, a *Śrotriya-* is defined as 'one who has studied *chandās*' or 'one who is well-versed in the four Vedas'. "Pāṇini himself had full claim to this honourable title"^{2c-a}.

Abbreviations

Most of the abbreviations are explained in the text itself; others are :

<i>APA</i>	..Transactions of the American Philological Association.
<i>GSAI</i>	..Giornale della Societa Asiatica Italiana.
<i>IHQ</i>	..Indian Historical Quarterly.
<i>IS</i>	..Indische Studien.
<i>JAOS</i>	..Journal of the American Oriental Society.
<i>KZ</i>	..Zeitschrift...KUNN.
<i>Pr.</i>	.. <i>Prāiśākhyā</i> .
<i>SBE</i>	.. Sacred Books of the East.

Acknowledgement

A summary of this paper was submitted to the Vedic section of the All-India Oriental Conference, Aligarh, October 1966. The full text is published here with the permission of the General Secretary of the Conference.

