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PANINICA

By

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Retired Khaira Professor, Calcutta University.

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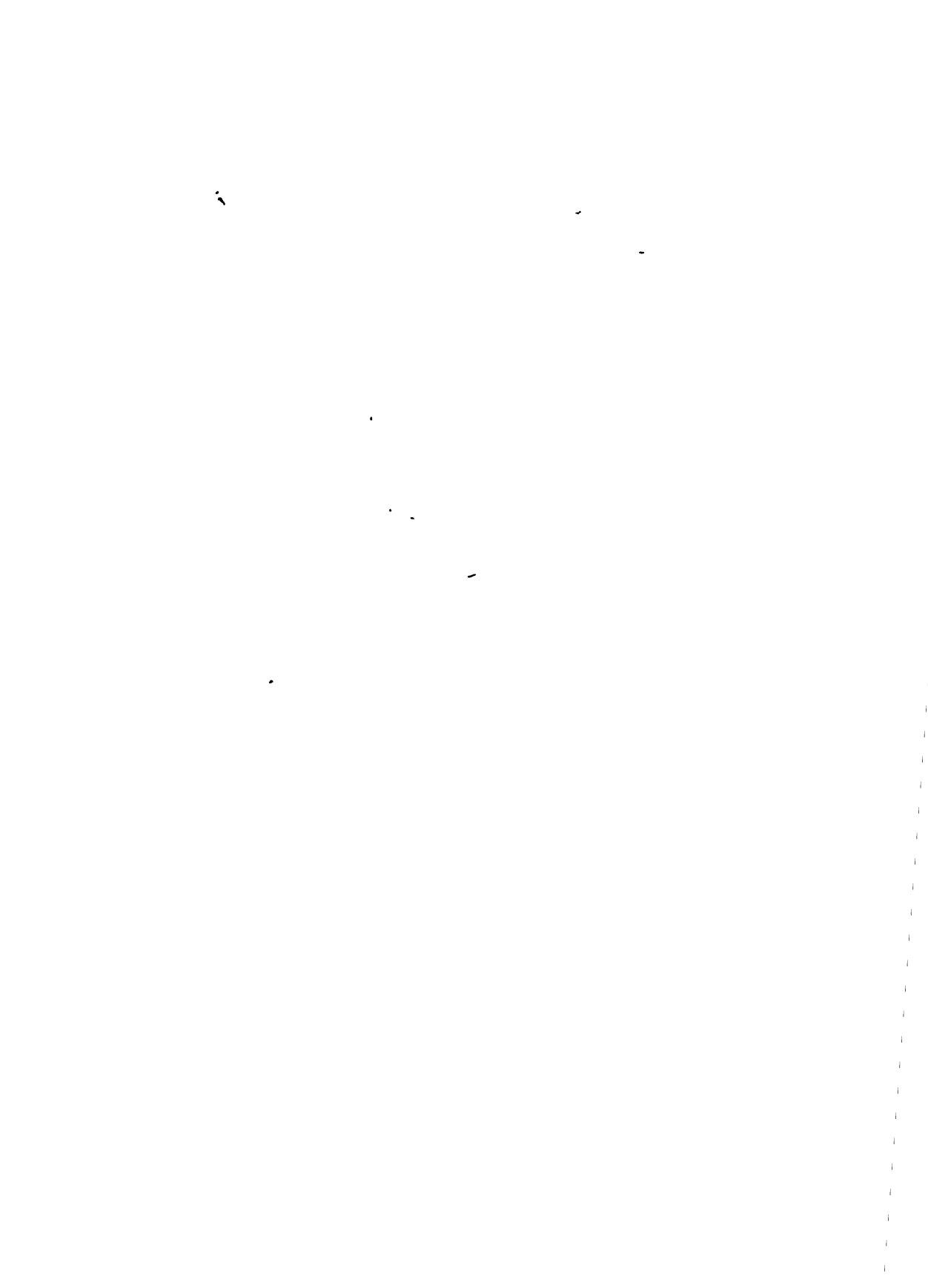
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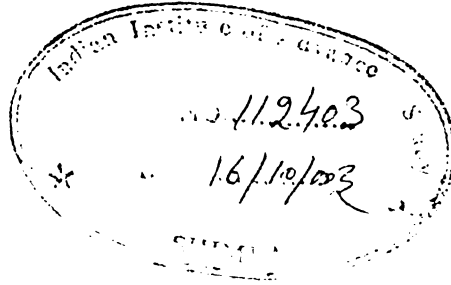


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FOREWORD

The three lectures on Pāṇini, dealing with different aspects of his Grammar included in this brochure, were delivered by Dr. Sukumar Sen, M. A., Ph. D., under the auspices of the Sanskrit College Seminar in February last. Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterji, National Professor in Humanities presided over all the three meetings and actively participated in the lively discussions that ensued after their delivery each day. The keen interest that was noticeable among the learned audience on the occasion once more helped to prove beyond doubt the perennial appeal of the Aṣṭādhyāyī to lovers of linguistics. It is hoped that these lectures in their published form would receive the careful attention of all true lovers of Pāṇini and inspire them to undertake the study of those aspects of his unparalleled linguistic achievement that have as yet attracted little attention of the world of scholars.

*Sanskrit College,
September 27, 1970.*

Bishnupada Bhattacharya
Principal.



PREFACE

In spite of close study of the grammar of Panini for more than two thousand years many of the sutras have eluded satisfactory explanation or plausible interpretation. The reason seems to be manifold. Panini described the linguistic phenomena known to him from books, from authorities and from his own observation. But he had not cared to illustrate his observations because, as it appears to me, it would have made the sutras cumbersome and for he did not consider it at all necessary. The time gap between him and his two oldest commentators the author of the Varttika sutras and the author of *Mahābhāṣya*, is not negligible. Many of the forms and idioms noted by Panini had in the meantime disappeared and many forms and words had undergone semantic change. These disappearances and mutations affected the current literary and spoken language only, the old texts were unaffected. The first commentator, the author of Varttika sutras, was perhaps in a better position than the second commentator, the author of *Mahābhāṣya* to notice some of the changes in current speech. But the former accepted Panini's as normal grammar and the second, followed by all successors, as prescriptive grammar. This approach could not lead them to proper interpretation of the sutras the matter of which was unknown to them. The later commentators coming many centuries later, followed Patañjali as they could not do otherwise but some of them also tried to be original and there they blundered heavily (Compare my note on the sutra : *asti nāsti diṣṭam matiḥ*). I do not decry the traditional interpretation of Panini's grammar. It is an interesting subject of academic interest. But it offers very little help to the student of linguistic history of India.

The following pages, delivered as lectures at Sanskrit College, are an attempt to interpret Panini from the non-orthodox viewpoint of a linguistīan,

(x)

I thank Sri Bishnupada Bhattacharya, M. A., P. R, S.,
Principal of Government Sanskrit College, for giving me
the opportunity to speak out my observations on Panini.
I also thank my professor National Professor Suniti Kumar
Chatterji, who presided over the delivery of the lectures.

Calcutta
The 9th September, 1970.

Sukumar Sen

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LECTURE I

THE LANGUAGE STYLES DESCRIBED BY PANINI*

1

Panini's grammatical sutras in eight chapters have been the greatest force in the formation of the classical Sanskrit language and in controlling that language ever since. But Panini did not write for the classical Sanskrit language, nor for the classical and Vedic Sanskrit, nor for a language or languages exclusively to which a name has been given. There is no mention of language in general or a language in particular in any of his sutras. The only reference to the phenomenon of speech is in sutra (1. 3. 48) : *vyakta-vācāṃ samuccāraṇe*. ('The root *vad* takes Ātmanepada when it means to utter articulated speech'). The word *vāc* as a stem however occurs in four sutras prescribing the validity (and meaning) of the formations *vācaṇyama* (3. 2. 40 ; 6. 3. 69), *vāgmin* (5. 2. 124) and *vācika* (5. 4. 35).

*First Lecture delivered on 18 February, 1970,

As a matter of fact there never was in Old Indo-Aryan, till about half a dozen centuries after Panini, a word indicating a language in particular or a language in general. From the time of the Vedas there was only one word *vāc* which denoted only the faculty of speech, the phenomenon of speaking. It was also personified into the supreme spirit that binds all beings together and guides even the highest of the gods. This Rigvedic conception of speech as Supreme Brahman (RV 10. 125) is echoed in the opening line of Gospel of St. John. ('In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God').

In later Vedic tradition the stature of Vāc was considerably reduced ; it came down to that of an enticing Apsaras who was responsible for the final victory of the gods (the Devas) over the Asuras. There are many stories in the Brāhmaṇas regarding Vāk's partisanship with the Devas. One of them is very remarkable. It is recorded in the *Kaṭha-Kapiṣṭhala Saṃhitā* (4. 6.) of Black Yajurveda. In brief the story is as follows.

Men were born with the power of speech. Gods and Asuras were born without it. It so happened that whatever men said came to pass. At this the gods and the Asuras came to Prajāpati and complained that whatever men said came true. Then Prajāpati took away from men the three essential elements, the basis of truth (*satya*), out of speech (*vāk*), viz. *bhur bhuvar svar*. The fourth and last element, the element of untruth (*asatya*), was left to men.

The story tells us for the first time that speech is an inherent faculty of man only from the beginning of his creation or evolution. It also indirectly tells us that it has been the man that had made the gods.

Let us return to the main theme : the identity of the linguistic material dealt by Panini.

The matter of speech described or analysed by Panini is mainly, if not purely, literary. The grammarian refers to Vedic texts of various types and levels as well as to non-Vedic literary matter. He very often refers to the opinion or prescription of other grammarians. Some of whom he mentions by name and some he mentions by the region (or by the speech community) they belonged to. He also occasionally refers to local or communal usages. But a spoken language is never mentioned, and no distinction between written and spoken language or between learned and ordinary speech is ever indicated. Language was speech (*ṽāc*) whatever may be its components and texture. There was no essential difference in speech uttered by different men in different regions. Only there was variation in tone, in sounds and in words. There was also variation in the degree of intelligibility. So there was no foreign language as such. What is a foreign language to us was really a badly pronounced or mispronounced (*mlecchita*) speech to Panini. Spoken language during the days of Panini was not different from the language of literary compositions (*grantha*) if the speakers were "instructed" (*śiṣṭa*) i.e. literate. The vernacular of the *a-śiṣṭa* or illiterate was no concern of Panini and he did not refer to it.

The distinction between the speech of the literate and of the illiterate was made a few centuries later by Patañjali. He mentions the speakers of the cultivated standard language as Ārya.¹ The special matter of the uncultivated speech is called by him *Apabhraṣṭa* ('off standard').

A question may be raised here. What was the nature of the vernacular in Panini's time? Was it Old Indo-Aryan or Middle Indo-Aryan? An answer to this question

1. *Śavati gatikarmā kambojeṣveva bhāṣito bhavati vikāra enam āryā bhāṣante śava iti hammatih surāṣṭreṣu ramhatih prācyamadhyeṣu gamim eva tvāryāḥ prāyūñjate dātir lavanārthe prācyeṣu dātram udīcyeṣu, Māhābhāṣya 1. 1. 1. 1.*

is bound to be, to some extent, speculative, depending on the date of Panini. If he belonged to the fourth century B. C. the vernacular (i.e., the lowest level of the current Indo-Aryan speech) would certainly be MIA, being somewhat akin to Pali and to the Asokan. But it must not be forgotten that MIA at its earliest stage differed from the contemporary OIA (the literary language) mostly in phonology i.e. on the changes brought about by shifts in articulation. Such tendencies have been there from the time of the earliest Vedic records. Disappearance of *r* and cerebralization of *t* are manifest in some words occurring in RV. There are a few examples of other types of "Prakritism" in RV. Such "Prakritism" was gathering force in the course of time. It was only when the final consonants were weakened and lost and when the consonant clusters were generally assimilated the grammatical structure was noticeably affected. Inflexions were confused, some losing their individuality; and the roots, being amalgamated with the stem affixes, lost their identity. Apart from this the number of declensional and conjugational types were being normalized and reduced in number, and old forms and idioms were constantly being dropped.

Quite naturally words from the vernacular speech (MIA) were slowly intruding into the vocabulary of the standard literary language (OIA). There are a few such MIA infiltrations in the sutras of Panini. For instance *mātula* (4. 1. 49; 2. 36) 'maternal uncle' (for **mātura* from **mātṛa*); *kaccha* (4. 2. 133) 'bank, shore' (<*kakṣa*); *geha* (3. 1. 144) 'house' (<*gr̥ha*); *phulla* (8. 2. 55) 'blossomed' (<**sphṛya*); *sphulati*, *sphurati* (6. 1. 47; 8. 3. 76) 'it moves' (<**sphṛati*); cf. *visphāra*, *visphāla*); the vocatives *aghoh*, *bhagoḥ* (8. 3. 17) showing the MIA contraction of *ava* > *ō* (from *aghavas*, *bhagavas*). A most interesting 'Prakritism' is *caura* (5. 1. 133) 'thief' (<*catura* 'four square, clever'). Still more interesting is the denominative stem *cura-* derived from it. Panini does not mention any *cur-* class in the conjugational system of the present tense. Instead he prescribes *ṇic* (that is the denomi-

native conjugation) for a number of nouns beginning with *satyāpa* and ending with *cura* (or *curā*): *satyāpa-pāśa-rūpa-vīṇā - tūla - śloka - senā - loma - tvaca - varma - varṇa - cūrṇa - curā-ādibhyo* *ṇic* (3. 1. 25).

The denominative stem *coraya-* presupposes the base as *cora-*, also from *catura* with the contraction of the udvṛtta vowel with the preceding one. Contrast between *caura* (with non-contraction) and *cora-* (with contraction) has a parallel in Asokan where there is a similar loss of intervocalic *t*: *cāvudasa* (<* *cāturdaśa*) and *codasa* (<*caturdaśa*). The noun stem *cura* is presupposed by Panini in order to explain *caura* and *corayati*.

2

Panini has not given a name to the language described or analysed by him. The name Sanskrit was not given to it until some centuries later. Patanjali (*Mahābhāṣya* 1. 1. 1) has given a few isoglosses to indicate the dialectal distribution of the Indo-Aryan language of the day. To indicate action of movement the verb *śavati* (from *cyu-*) occurs in Kamboja, *hammati* (from **ham-*, cf. Bengali *hāmā-kuṛi* <**hammaka kuṇḥita* 'movement on hand and feet', *hāmā deoyā* 'to walk on all fours'; or from **harma-*, cf. *harmita-* 'thrown, cast, sent') in Surāṣṭra, and *raṃhati* (from *raṃha-*: *laṅgha-*) in the East-Central region (*prācyamadhyā*), but among the Āryas (or throughout Aryandom) only the root *gam* is used (*gamim eva tvāryāḥ...*). Following Patanjali we may as well name the language (Vedic and non-Vedic) discussed by Panini as Ārya. Once Panini has used the term *anārṣa* ('not belonging to a ṛṣi'): *sambuddhau śākalyasyetāv anārṣe* (1. 1. 16) 'According to Śākalya the vocative terminal -*āu* before *iti* is *pragṛhya*, but not in a work coming from a ṛṣi. It probably means subsidiary Vedic literature.

Panini makes no distinction between Vedic and non-Vedic in his overall treatment. He only points out the

special forms or phenomena in which one differs from the other, generally the Vedic from the non-Vedic. For Vedic in general he uses the term *chandas*.¹ He has no specific name for the non-Vedic except once (5. 3. 49) where he mentions it as *acchandas*. This sutra *ekādaśabhyo 'cchandasī* ('upto eleven exclusive, in non-*chandas*') points out the contrast between Vedic and non-Vedic in some ordinals; e. g. *pañcamah* (non-Vedic) as against *pañcamāḥ* (Vedic).

Vedic matter (*chandas*) again shows many strata in the sutras. First, there is the division into *mantra* ('sacred verse') and *amantra* ('not sacred verse').² *Chandas* however stands for Vedic matter as a whole.

The ritualistic hymns only (including perhaps the bulk of the Rigveda) are the *Mantra* matter, and the rest *A-mantra*; cf. the sutra *kāsapratyayād ām amantre liṭi* (3. 1. 35) prescribing for some periphrastic perfect formations which are not found in Rigvedic verse. Contrast between *Chandas* and *Mantra* is noticeable in the following consecutive sutras: *juṣṭārpite ca cchandasi* (6. 1. 209). '*Juṣṭa* and *arpita* are optionally accented on the initial vowel in *chandas*'; *nityaṃ mantre* (6. 1. 210). '(The two words have) always the accent on the initial vowel'.

Some Vedic words and inflexional phenomena are assigned to *Nigama*. The *nigama* matter, no doubt belonging to *Mantra*, is differentiated from the rest of it. The term *nigama* occurs in the following five sutras. (i) *sāḍhyai sāḍhvā sāḍheti nigame* (6. 3. 113). 'The forms *sāḍhyai* (infinitive), *sāḍhvā* (conjunctive) and *sāḍhā* (agentive) occur

1. *Chandas* however means 'metre' and 'will' respectively in two sutras: *chandonānni ca* (3. 3. 34) and *chandaso nirmite* (4. 4. 93).

2. Sacred verse means Vedic verse applicable in priestly performance.

(only) in *Nigama*.' In non-*Nigama* texts and elsewhere the conjunctive and agentive formations from the root *sah-* appear respectively as *soḍhum* and *soḍhā*, the infinitive in *-tyai* having no parallel. (ii) *vā ṣapūrvasya nigame* (6. 4. 9). 'In *Nigama* (the lengthening is) optional (in the declension of the *-an* stems in the strong case forms) when *ṣ* precedes (it)'. Thus *takṣāṇau* and *takṣaṇau*. The short vowel is peculiar to *Nigama* texts. (iii) *babhūthātanthajagṛmbhavavartheti nigame* (7. 2. 64). 'The perfect forms *babhūtha*, *ātatantha*, *jagṛmbha* and *vavaritha* (are available only) in *Nigama*.' Elsewhere they are respectively *babhūvitha*, *ātenitha*, *jagṛhima* and *vavaritha*. *Jagṛmbha* comes from **jagṛbhma* by metathesis. (iv) *mīnāter nigame* (7. 8. 81). 'In *Nigama* the radical vowel of the root *mī* (is shortened) when a *ṣit* affix (is added). Thus *praminanti* (*Nigama*) but *pramīnanti* (elsewhere). (v) *sasūvetinigame* (7. 4. 74). 'The perfect form *sasūva* (is available only) in *Nigama*.' Elsewhere *suṣuve*.

Nigama is interpreted either as Vedic text or as Vedic quotation or as insertion in a Vedic text or passage. In classical Sanskrit *nigama* means *apauruṣeya veda*, that is the Vedas which did not come from a human or known source, as against *āgama* (i. e. *tantra*) which come from Siva. Etymologically *nigama* means 'come as such' and *āgama* 'come out from'. The etymological sense may be applied here in the occurrences of *nigama* in Panini. The forms and phenomena mentioned in the sutra are definitely older formations pointing out their direct connection with Indo-European; the corresponding non-*Nigama* forms and phenomena show later modification. By *nigama* Panini probably meant the Vedic matter which was considered as coming from an older heritage or belonging to an anonymous strata.

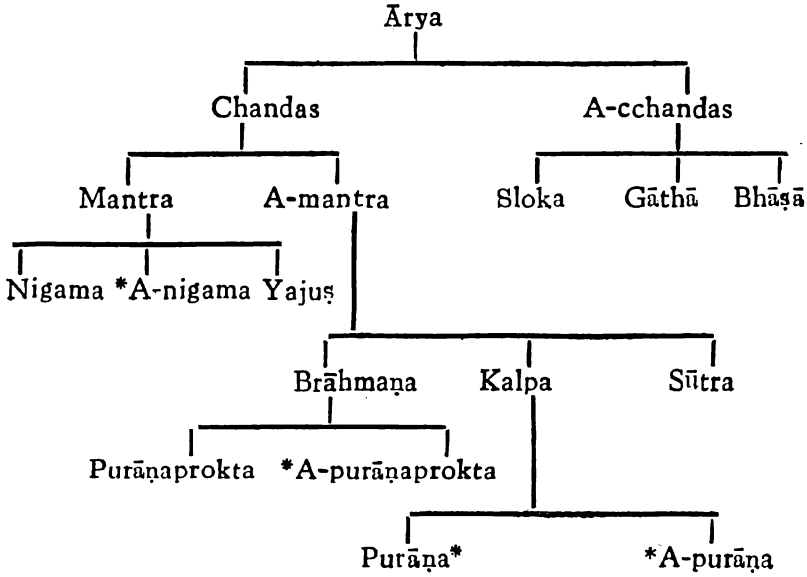
Panini does not mention any individual Vedic text by name except once. The *Kaṭha* text of the *Yajus* is mentioned in sutra 7. 4. 38 : *devasumnayor yajuṣi kāṭhake*. 'The final

vowel in *deva* and *sumna* appears lengthened in the Kāṭha text of Yajuṣ, when the denominative affix is attached.'

Panini mentions *Yajuṣ* and *Brāhmaṇa* a few times and *Kalpa* and *Sūtra* once or twice. These I presume come under *A-mantra* (non-Vedic). There are two sutras for Yajuṣ texts in general : *yajuṣy uraḥ* (6. 1. 117). 'Uras becoming *uro* in sandhi does not allow the elision of a following *a*'. *Yajuṣy-ekēṣām* (8. 3. 104). 'According to some the change of *s* to *ṣ* as mentioned in the preceding sutra, happens in Yajuṣ texts also'. The *Brāhmaṇa* text (or matter) is mentioned in three sutras : *dvitīyā brāhmaṇe* (2. 3. 60). 'The second case-termination in place of the sixth in connexion with the verb *div-*, appears in the Brāhmaṇas'. *chandobrāhmaṇāni ca tadviṣayāni* (4. 2. 66). 'Also the Brāhmaṇas in verse and in the matter thereof'.¹ *purāṇaprokteṣu brāhmaṇakalpeṣu* (4. 3. 105). 'In the Brāhmaṇa and Kalpa works pronounced by ancient (sages).' This sutra reveals old and new strata in both Brāhmaṇa and Kalpa works. The latter is mentioned only in this sutra. *Sūtra* occurs in many sutras.

Of the non-Vedic types of linguistic and literary matter the most frequent to appear in the sutras is *Bhaṣā*. Other types mentioned once or twice are *śloka* and *gāthā*. Both are mentioned in the sutras 3. 1. 25. (previously quoted when discussing the denominative root *coraya-*) and 3. 2. 23 (*na śabdaślokakalahagāthāvairacāṭyusūtramantrapadeṣu*). *Bhāṣā* requires a separate discussion. Before I do it I offer the following chart of classification of the linguistic material in Panini's grammar.

1. *Chandobrāhmaṇāni* is traditionally interpreted as a *dvandva* compound but that hardly makes a sense. 'The sutra is in continuation of the preceding sutra : *sūtrāc ca kopadhāt*. The affix is elided when it is a *Sūtra* work the name having *ku* in the penult'.



3

The root *bhāṣ-* does not occur in RV but it is an old extended root from earlier IE **bhel-*. Two extended roots **bhel-no-* and **bhel-s-* meaning 'to utter a continuous sound, bark, roar, tease,' etc. are attested in the Balto-Slavic and Germanic branches beside Indo-Aryan. **Bhel-no-* gives OIA *bhaṇ-* 'to speak on, to tease' etc. **Bhel-s-* has produced *bhaṣ-* 'to bark' and *bhāṣ-* 'to tell, describe, address, announce' etc. As against *vāc-* and *vad-*, *bhāṣ-* indicates or implies continuity of utterance. (*Vāc-* was a very old root but it was fast disappearing in OIA. The contrast between *vad-* and *bhāṣ-* may be detected from Panini's use of *upasāṃvāda* 'agreeing together' and *upasāṃbhāṣā* 'conversing together' in the sutras 3. 4. 8. and 1. 3. 47.)¹ Panini does not use the verb² but several derivatives from the root appear in the

1. *upasāṃvādāśaṅkayoś ca* 3. 4. 8 (use of *leṭ*). *bhāsanopasāṃbhāṣājñānayatavimatyupamantraṇeṣu vadaḥ* 1. 3. 47 (use of *Ātamanepada*).
2. The root is mentioned in two sutras 3. 2. 146 (*nindahimsakliśakhādaparikṣipaparirataparivadivyahhasasuyayoh vuv*) and 7. 4. 3 (*bhrāja-bhāṣabhāṣadīpa-jīvamīlapīḍām anyatrasyām*). (Shortening of the initial vowel in reduplicated aorist.)

sutras, some of which are technical words. (In the days of Patanjali *bhāṣ-* was quite in common use.) These are *bhāṣā* (appearing only in the loc. sg. *bhāṣāyām*), *upasāṃbhāṣā*, *vibhāṣā*, *vibhāṣitam*, *bhāṣitā-*, *abhāṣita-* and *-bhāṣin*. These words can all be explained satisfactorily if we take *bhāṣ-* to mean here 'explain, clarify'. There is some difficulty however with *bhāṣā* and *vibhāṣā*.

Bhāṣā in the sutras of Panini clearly indicates a distinct type of linguistic and literary matter. Paninian scholars, ancient and modern, all have taken the word to mean the secular or the spoken language i. e. classical Sanskrit. The meaning of *language* however was not acquired by the word before the fifth or the sixth century A. D., at least to my knowledge. As I have mentioned earlier the idea of a *language* was still not evolved in the days of Panini.

Bhāṣā occurs in the following sutras.

Bhāṣāyāṃ sadavasāruvaḥ (3. 2. 108). 'In *Bhāṣā* the *kvasu* (perfect participle active) forms of the verbs *sad*, *vas* and *śru* are used as substitute for *liṭ* (perfect tense).' This idiom is frequent in the Upanisads but rare in cl. Skt.

sakhyaśiśvīti bhāṣāyām (4. 1. 62). 'The feminine forms *sakhī* and *asiśvī* are available (only) in *Bhāṣā*.' *Sakhī* is quite common in cl. Skt. But *asiśvī* is completely unknown there. *Asiśvī* however occurs twice in RV (1. 120. 8 ; 3. 55. 15).

mayāḍ vaitayor bhāṣāyām abhakṣyācchādanayoḥ (4. 3. 143). 'The affix *-maya* is optiodally available in *Bhāṣā*, except in words meaning food and raiment, when *vikāra* and *avayava* is meant.'

vibhāṣā bhaṣāyām (6. 1. 181). 'In *Bhāṣā* (the accentuation) is variously articulated.' E.g. *pañcabhiḥ*, as well as *pañcabhiḥ*. Here *Bhaṣā* cannot mean cl. Skt. as

accentuation was no longer of any linguistic significance in the language. The vernacular too must have lost it long ago.

sthe ca bhāṣāyām (6. 3. 20). 'In *Bhāṣā* (the locative ending in the first component of a compound is lost) when the second member is *stha*.' E. g. *kūṭasthaḥ*.

prathamāyās ca dvivacane bhāṣāyām (7. 2. 88). 'In *Bhāṣā* the nominative dual (of the personal pronouns lengthen the stem vowel).' E.g. *āvām*, *yuvām*. This usage, goes against Vedic and agrees with cl. Skt. In Vedic nom. du. is *āvām* (Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa) and *yuvām* as against acc. du. *āvām* (ŚB) and *yuvām*. In cl. Skt. both nom. and acc. du. is *āvām* and *yuvām*.

pūrvam tu bhāṣāyām (8. 2. 93). 'But in *Bhāṣā* (if there is deliberation between two alternatives—*vicāryāmāṅānām*—the first syllable of) the first alternative only (is pronounced extrn long, *pluta*).' This is in contrast with Vedic where the last alternative has *pluta* in the final syllable. The sutra refers to a speech habit in *Bhāṣā*.

Vibhāṣā is a technical term occurring in 110 sutras. It is probably a *nipāta*, originally instrumental singular of **bhāṣ*, **bhāṣa* or *bhāṣā*. Panini defines *Vibhāṣā* as "may be or may not be" (*na veti vibhāṣā* 1. 1. 144), *Vibhāṣā* probably indicates contention or disagreement in idiom or usage ; literally non-agreeing discourse. This interpretation is supported by *vibhāṣā* in Ardhmāgadhi and *vibhāṣā* in Buddhistic Sanskrit as well as by *vibhāṣai* ('expounds variously') in Prakrit. For other kinds of alternatives there are the terms and phrases *vā*, *bahulam*, *anyatarasyām*, *anyebhyo'pi dṛṣyate*, etc.

Vibhāṣitam (nom. sg. nt.) occurs in three sutras.

jaṅgaladhenubalajāntasyavibhāṣitam uttaram (7. 3. 25). 'The initial vowel of) the second element also—if it is *jaṅgala*,

dhenu or *balaja*—is contended (to show *vridddhi* in the initial vowel when a secondary affix with the indicatory *ñ*, *ṇ* or *k* is added).’ E. g. *kaurujaṅgalam*, *kaurujāṅgalam*.

vibhāṣitaṃ sopasargam anuttamam (8. 1. 53). ‘It is a matter of contention that an imperative (not first person) compounded to a preposition (following an imperative of a verb meaning ‘to go’ (may retain its accent).’ E.g. *āgaccha devadatta praviśā* (or *prāviśā*).

*vibhāṣtaṃ viśeṣavacane (bahuvacanam)*¹ (8. 1. 74). ‘It is contended that (a second vocative following may not lose its accent) when specification is intended.’ E. g. *devāḥ śāraṇyāḥ* : *devāḥ śāraṇyāḥ*.

Bhāṣita and *abhāṣita* occur compounded with *pumska* in three sutras (6. 3. 34 ; 7. 1. 74 ; 7. 3. 48). It means ‘indicated or mentioned.’

Bhāṣin occurs compounded to *bahu* in only one sutra (5. 2. 125). *ālaj-ātācau bahubhāṣiṇi*. The radical meaning of the root is quite clear here.

Upaṣaṅgbhāṣā has been discussed previously.

From the discussions above it is evident that *Bhāṣā* in the sutras of Panini indicates the “style” of discourse. This interpretation fully justifies the title of the great work of Patañjali.

4

Regional and communal articulation and usage is noted by Panini in a few of his sutras. We may take these as dialectal observations of Panini, and the dialects as belonging to the spoken Indo-Aryan of his time. The following

1. The bracketed word in the sutra occurs in *Mahābhāṣya*.

regions are mentioned showing linguistic difference in some point or other : *Sauvīra*, North of the *Vipāś*, *Udīcyā* and *Vāhika*. The sutras are as follows.

vṛddhaḥ ṭhak sauviṛeṣu bahulam (4. 1, 148). 'The affix *ṭhak* is added to a *vṛddha* form in the country of *Sauvīra* (or among *Sauvīras*). In the traditional explanation the word *gotra* is understood. But it is hardly justifiable.

udak ca vipāśaḥ (4. 2. 74). '(In the region) to the North of the river *Bias* (a derivative word indicating a well shows the affix *añ* instead of *aṅ*)'. The sutra is in continuation of the previous sutra and it indicates a difference in accentuation between the regions on the northern and the southern bank of the river.

udīcyagrāmācca bahvṛco' ntodāttāt (4. 2. 116). '(The affix *an* in place of *aṅ* is added) to polysyllabic and finally accented names of villages of the Northern regions.' The sutra refers to a change in accentuation.

vāhīkagrāmebhayaśca (4. 2. 117), '(The affixes *ṭhañ* and *ñiṭ* are added after *vṛddha* words) denoting village of *Vāhika*'.

Speech-communities are mentioned in some sutras. These are the *Uśīnara*, the Eastern *Bharatas*, the *Andhka-Vṛṣṇis* and the *Madras*.

The *Uśīnaras* are mentioned in two sutras. *saṃjñāyāṃ kanthośīnareṣu* (2. 4. 20). 'Among the *Uśīnaras* (a *Tatpuruśa* compound) ending in the word *kanthā* is neuter if indicating a name. *Vihāśośīnareṣu* (4. 2. 111). 'The use of the affixes (*ṭhañ* and *ñiṭ*) are freely used among the *Uśīnaras*.' This sutra follows *vāhīkagrāmebhayaśca* (4. 2. 117).

The Eastern *Bharatas* (*Prācyā-bharata*) are mentioned in three sutras. *Bahvṛca iñāḥ prācyabharateṣu* (2. 4. 66). '(There

is elision of the Gotra affix *iñ*) after a polysyllabic word among the Prācyabharatas.' *na dvyacaḥ prācyabharateṣu* (4. 2. 113). '(The affix *iñ* is not added) to dissyllabic words among the Prācyabharatas.' *pariskandaḥ prācyabharateṣu* (8. 3. 79). 'The form *pariskanda* (without cerebralization of -s-) is current among the *Prācyabharatas*.'

The Andhaka-Vṛṣṇis are mentioned in a single sutra. *rājanyabahuvacanadvandve 'ndhakavṛṣṇiṣu* (6. 2. 34). '(The first member of a Dvandva in the names of) Kṣatriya clans in plural) retains its original accent among the Andhaka-Vṛṣṇis.'

The Madra speech-community is made distinct from the rest of Aryandom in one point and in a single sutra. *diṣo 'madrūṇām* (7. 3. 13). 'Except among the Madras, (the first vowel) of a word indicating direction (is vriddhied when a Taddhita suffix with an indicating *ñ, ṇ* or *k* is added).'

A phenomenon in the women's speech-habit among the Sauvīras and the Sālvas and among the Eastern peoples is noted in a sutra : *striṣu sauvīrasālvaṇaprākṣu* (4. 2. 76). '(The affix *añ* is added) among women of the Sauviras and Salvas and in the East'. The sutra may however mean 'among women and among etc.' The traditional explanation of *striṣu* as "feminine words" is against the normal syntax of Panini's grammar.

There is one sutra indicates the existence of communal variation. *pratyabhivāde 'śūdre* (8. 2. 83). 'In returning a salutation the last syllable is extra long and the first syllable accented. But not to a Śūdra.'

Panini often refers to a regional variation without mentioning the area or speech-community but by such terms as *prācām*, *udīcām* and *anudīcām*. The genitive ending indicates that it is a reference and not a jurisdiction, and the

terms should be translated as 'according to the Eastern authorities', 'according to the Northern authorities', and 'not according to Northern the authorities'. *Prācām* occurs in more than fifteen sutras. E.g. *iñah prācām* (2. 4. 60). 'According to the Easterners (Eastern authorities) (there is elision of a *yuvan* affix after a *gotra* affix) ending in *iñ.*' *alamkhalvoḥ pratiṣedhayoḥ prācām ktvā* (3. 4. 18). 'According to the Easterners a verbal form showing the affix *ktvā* (may be used for the finite verb) to indicate prohibition (when accompanied) by *alam* or *khalu.*'

Udīcām occurs in five sutras. E. g. *ārag udīcām* (4. 1. 130). 'According to the Northerners (Northern authorities) the affix *ārak* (is added to the word *godhā* in the sense of a descendant)'. *mātarapitarāv udīcām* (6. 3. 32). 'According to the Northerners the Dvandva compound *mātarapitarau* (is a valid form).'

Anudīcām occurs in a single sutra : *amahannavaṃ nagare 'nudīcām* (6. 2. 89). '(The first member, other than *mahat* and *nava*, has acute accent on the first syllable) if it is followed by the word *nagara*, but not according to the Northern authorities.'

If *prācām* etc. do not refer to the grammatical authority they would only mean the authoritative (or average) speakers, and then these sutras may be accepted as containing Panini's own observations.

Panini has quoted several authorities by name, sometimes to show respect or to indicate his indebtedness and sometimes to imply his disagreement or neutrality. These are : Śākalya (mentioned in three sutras), Śākaṭāyana (mentioned in two sutras), Gārgya, Bhāradvāja, Āpīśali and Sphoṭāyana. On two occasions no name is mentioned. One, to show the unimportance of the authority (*ekeṣām* 'according to some' : *yajuṣy ekeṣām* 8. 3. 104), and the other to show

veneration (*ācāryāṇām* 'the revered teacher'): *dīrghād ācāryāṇām* (8. 4. 52). 'According to (our) revered teacher (there is no gemination of a consonant) after a long vowel.' This sutra contradicts the dictum of Śākalya who prescribes gemination always: *sarvatra śākalyasya* (8. 4. 51). Panini's *gurubhakti* shown by not mentioning the name of his master has deprived history.

LECTURE II

ON SOME WORDS FROM PANINI*

Panini's vocabulary contains not a few words which are peculiar in the sense that they are presented, of course with necessary changes in MIA or in NIA. I am discussing some which have come to my notice.

āyukta (*āyuktakuśalābhyaṃ cāsevāyām* 2. 3. 40). In the sense of *sevā* (service) the word occurs as *āvutika* (< **āyukti-ka*) in Asokan.

arya (*aryaḥ svāmiyvaisyayoḥ* 3. 3. 103). In the sense of 'employer' (*svāmin*) it occurs in Asokan : *bhata-m-ayesu* ('among the employees and the employers.')

udanka (*udanko' nudake* 3. 3. 123.). The accepted meaning of the word, 'a bucket or vessel' (Katre¹), 'a bucket or vessel (for oil etc. but not for water)' (Monier-Williams) is unconvincing to say the least. This interpretation is apparently based on the analysis *ud-anka*. But more plausible would be *udanka* as Panini explains it (*anudake* there being no water'). I consider that *udanka* is the source of the NIA (Bengali) *daṅk* meaning 'bog, morass.'

vasnika (constructed from the sutra *vasnadravyābhyaṃ ṭhaṅkanau* 5. 1. 51 ; cf. *so'syāṃsavasnabhṛtayaḥ* 5. 1. 56) is represented in NIA (Bengali) by *bāni* with a slight change in meaning. In OIA it meant 'one who lives by fees earned as

*Second Lecture delivered on 12 March, 1970

1. *Dictionary of Panini* (Deccan College, Poona, 1968) p. 126,

a craftsman ;' in Bengali it means the fee of a craftsman (generally a goldsmith or weaver).

The root *vīya-* 'to carry in womb' (*prajane vīyateḥ* 6. 1. 55) is not attested in OIA. A derivative however occurs in in Asokan : *viyatāyai dhātīye* 'to a delivery nurse.'

'*kuṇḍa*' meaning 'thicket, wood' (*kuṇḍam vanam* 6. 2. 136) is represented in NIA (Bengali) in such an idiom as *kuṣ uthe geche* 'destroyed root and branch'.

sadhri 'with' is mentioned by Panini in connexion with the formation of *sadhryañ* (*sahasya sadhriḥ* 6. 3. 95). Its independent occurrence is found in MIA—*saddhiṃ*.

The root *vañc-* 'to move' (*vañcater gatau* 7. 3. 63) is listed in the Dhātupāṭhas but not attested in use in OIA. But it occurs, though rarely, in MIA—*vaññāmi* < **vacñāmi* < *vañcāmi*.

kṣiyā meaning 'condemnation, damning' occurs in two sutras (*heti kṣiyāyām* 8. 1. 60 ; *kṣiyāśīḥpraīṣeṣu tīñākāñṣam* 8. 2. 104) is the ancestor of Bengali *chi* (interjection).

prastha 'pioneer, going ahead' (*prastho'gragāmini* 8. 3. 92) does not seem to occur in OIA. It is of very frequent use in Niya Prakrit—*pratham* 'at once, quickly'.

accha 'in front of, toward, to' (*accha gatyarthavadeṣu* 1. 4. 69). This preposition and its variant *acchā* occurs almost exclusively in RV and never outside Vedic. But Panini prescribes it for general use. It must have been therefore current in literature as well as in the common standard speech during his time. There is no evidence of the occurrence of this preposition in Classical Sanskrit nor in MIA. But it can be traced in NIA. Bengali *āchār* 'fall down forward' may be best explained as coming from *acchā-pat-*

patayati 'flies towards')¹ From its use with *vad.* (as noted by Panini also in RV *acchā vada* 'salute, praise, approve') the preposition acquired the value of an adverb indicating approval and as such it has perhaps come down to NIA as *ācchā*, with the probable influence of the imperative of *āch-* 'to be' (cf. *acchaha siriguru nāha kahijjai*. 'Good ! Says the reverend guru the master.' Saraha's Dohā).

kaṣṭāya- 'to walk, step on' (*kaṣṭāya kramāṇe*), denominative verb from *kaṣṭa* perfect participle of *kaṣ-* 'to scratch, scrape, hurt,' etc. I have not found any occurrence of the verb in Sanskrit nor in Prakrit. But in Middle Bengali there is the idiom *patha kāṛ(h)-a*, 'to move along a new difficult or tedious path.' OIA *kaṣṭāyate* (*kaṣṭayati*), MIA **kaṣṭhāi* (*kaṣṭhei*) > **kaḍḍhei*,² NIA *kāṛhe* > *kāṛe*.

avāra 'this side, near bank of a river' (*avārapārāt yantānu-kāmaṇ gāmī* 5. 2. 11 : 'the suffix- *ina*—'kha'—is attached to *āvarapāra*, *atyanata* and *anukāma* in the sense of one who goes over' ; *rāṣṭrāvārapārād ghakhau* 4. 2. 93 : 'after *rāṣṭra* and *avārapāra* the suffixes *-iya*—'gha'—and *-ina*—'kha'—are added'. *Avāra* occurs in Vedic,³ though rarely, and in classical Skt. it occurs only in the inverted compound *pārāvāra* 'the two banks of an expanse of water ; limit.' Panini's compound *avārapāra* appears in Bengali as a loose compound—or *pār*.

aroka 'not bright, absence of light' (*vibhāṣā śyāvārokābhyām* 5. 4. 144). This word does not occur in cl. Skt. nor in Prakrit. A cognate form *āroka* (doublet of *āloka*) too occurs in Vedic but not otherwise in OIA nor in MIA. But in NIA *āroka* 'light ; sunlight' is traceable, in Oriyā and in

1. Cf. *pāchāṛ* 'fall backward' from **paścāpat-*.

2. For vocalization of the cluster *-ṭh-* cf. MIA *dūḍhā* > OIA *daṁṣṭrā*.

3. Probably meant originally 'down on the sea'.

Middle Bengali (dialectal) *āroā cāul(a)*, New Bengali *ālo cāl* 'rice from paddy dried in the sun'. This preparation of rice requires sunning of the paddy and no boiling or steaming.

ON THE INTERPRETATION OF THE SUTRA 4. 4. 60

asti nāsti diṣṭam matiḥ 4. 4. 60. According to the old commentators as well as modern interpreters it means : The affix *-ika* ('*ḥhak*') is added after (the words) *asti*, *nāsti* and *diṣṭam* in the sense '(one has) this belief'. The sutra accordingly gives the sense of the formations *āstika*, *nāstika* and *daiṣṭika*. This interpretation cannot be accepted on two grounds. First it supplies no subject to the verbs *asti* and *nāsti*. Secondly *daiṣṭika* does not occur outside *Kāśīkā*, showing that it is a grammarian's creation. A normal and simple explanation would do away with *daiṣṭika* and give a reasonable interpretation. *Diṣṭam* is the subject of the verbs and the sutra therefore would read thus in English : (The affix '*ḥhak*' is added to *asti* and *nāsti* to indicate a person holding the believe that) there is or there is not predetermination or fate (*diṣṭam*). The sutra precribes only for *āstika* and *nāstika* and not for *daiṣṭika* as well.

ON THE SUTRA 5. 2. 55

treḥ samprasāraṇaṃ ca 5. 55. After the suffix *-tīya* ('*cha*') *tri* becomes *ṭṛ*. This sutra carries two information to us : (i) the sonant *ṛ* was still a phoneme in Panini's times ; (ii) writing was known to Panini. That *ṭṛtīya* was a living word and not a grammarian's emendation for the historical **tritīya* (cf. Old Persian *ssitīya*, Avestan *thritya*) is proved by the existence of *tatiya* in early MIA (Khāravēla's *Hāthigumphā edict*.)

ON THE SUTRA 5. 3. 52

bhūtāpūrve caraṭ 5. 3. 52. 'The suffix *cara* is added to indicate what happened long ago'. But what is the meaning and etymology of *cara* ? There is little doubt that like *-rūpa* ('*rūpap*'), *-kalpa* ('*kalpap*'), *-deśīya* ('*deśīyar*'), *-jātīya* ('*jātīyar*')

and *-mātra* ('*mātrac*') etc. *Cara* was a word that for some reason had lost its independent use and so it has been shown as a suffix by Panini.

Cara is clearly connected with *carama*; its superlative form meaning 'last, ultimate, final'. It is also connected with *cira* 'lasting a long time, eternal', and possibly with the adverb *kila* (Pali *kira*). The source of these words and other cognates in Indo-European would be like this **qwel* : **qwol* : **qwil*—extended forms of the interrogative-indefinite pronoun **qwe* : **qwo* : **qwi*. **qwelo* > OIA *cara*, Lat. (*tran-quillus* ; **qwilo* > OIA *cira*, Goth *hueila* ; **qwol* > OIA *karhi* 'when'.

THE SUTRA STYLE OF PANINI

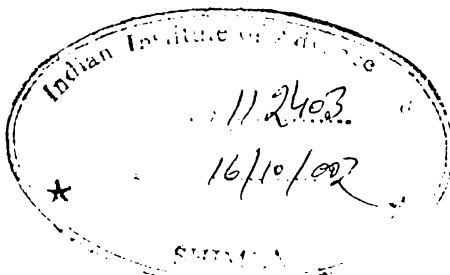
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Panini's sutras, some fully expressive *per se* and the rest understandable only in the context of the preceding sutras may comprise a full grammatical or semantical sentence or may consist of a single word or a couple of words or more. To give an example of the types of his sutras I quote below the six consecutive sutras covering the formation of the *Divitiyā-tatpuruṣa* compound.

dvitīyā śritātītapatitagatātyastaprāptāpannaili (2. 1. 24).
'An accusative (governed by *śrita* etc. is compounded) with them.'

svayaṃ ktena (2. 1. 25). '*Svayaṃ* (accusative in from, is compounded with) a '*ktā*' formation (whether governed by it or not)'

khaṭvā kṣepe (2. 1. 26). '*Khaṭvā* (in the accusative case is compounded with a '*ktā*' formation) when derision is implied'.



vaiti (5. 1. 115). '(The suffix) *-vat* (*'vati'*) (is added) if the action is similar to it.'

The sutras containing a finite verb are of four types : (i) finite verb in a clause only, (ii) finite verb in the main sentence, (iii) subject understood, and (iv) the sentence comprising of the verb only. The verb is generally in the present tense, active and passive, or in the optative mood. The only other tense used is *veda*, but it has the sense of the present (as in RV). Thus : (i) *karmanā yam abhipraiti sa sampradānam* (1. 4. 34). 'Who is approached (or intended) by the object is *sampradāna*'. *tad asminn astīti deśe tannamni* (4. 2. 67). '(The suffix is added) in the sense of "it belongs there" to the name to indicate the country'. E.g. *pārvataḥ*, *āudumbaraḥ* etc. (ii) *tadadhīte tad veda* (4.2.59). '(The suffix *'aṅ'* is added to indicate) he studies it or he knows it'. *vyāharati mṛgaḥ* (4. 3. 51). 'A wild animal cries (or feeds)'. It is a semantic sutra for such a formation as *naiśaḥ* 'nocturnal animal'. *tena dīvyati khamati jayati jitam* (4. 4. 2). 'By (or with) it one plays, wins or one has won'. It is a semantic sutra for such formations as *ākṣika āsika* etc. *yogapramāṇe catadabhāve darśanām syāt* (1. 2. 55). 'When there is expected etymological evidence, (then) in its absence there should be disappointment'. This is one of the longest sentences of Panini. (iii) *vetanādibhyo jīvati* (4. 4. 12). (The suffix *'ḥak'* is added) to words *vetana* ('salary') etc. (to indicate) one lives thereby'. Semantic sutra for *vaitanika* etc.¹ *Ojaśsaho'mbhasā vartate* (4. 4. 27). '(The

1. In this connexion I am tempted to point out a universal mistake in the interpretation of the sutra *vāsudevārjunābhyām vun* 4. 3. 98. The suffix *'vun'* is attached to the names *Vāsudeva* and *Arjuna* (to indicate one who has *bhakti* on him). The sutra is a continuation of the general sutra *bhaktiḥ* (4. 3. 95). *Bhakti* had not yet changed its meaning to 'spiritual devotion'; it still held the etymological sense of 'share, sharing'. *Vāsudevaka* therefore meant according to Panini, a (feudal) follower of *Vāsudeva* and not a devotee of him. The wrong interpretation of *bhakti* here (4. 3. 95) has misled our historians.

suffix 'ṭhak' is added to) *ojas*, *sahas* and *ambhas* when indicating possession'. Semantic sutra for *aujasika*, *sāhasika*, *āmbhasika*. *Anyeṣvapi dṛśyate* (3. 2. 101) 'It is found in others (*upapada*, *kāraka*) also'. *anyebhyo'pi dṛśyate* (3. 3. 130). 'The suffix 'yuc' is found (added) to other (roots) also'. *bhūte'pi dṛśyante* (3. 3. 2). '(The *uṇādi* suffixes) are seen in (the sense of) the perfect (*bhūta*) also'. *antardhau yenādarsam icchati* (1. 4. 28), 'In hiding a non-sight by whom one desires (it is in the ablative case)'. (iv) *tarati* (4. 4. 5). 'One who crosses over'. Semantic sutra for a formation like *auḍupika* (<*uḍupa*). *carati* (4. 4. 8). 'One who moves on (or subsits)'. Semantic sutra for *hūstika* etc.

Panini's sutras are in prose yet it has a rhythm of its own. The sutras containing two or more words fall into a natural division, the first part containing syllables equal to or more than the second. Thus :

<i>vipraṭiṣedhe / param kṛyam</i>	1. 4. 2
<i>antardhau yenā- / darśanam icchati</i>	1. 4. 28
<i>anyebhyo'pi / dṛśyante</i>	3. 2. 178 ; 3. 3. 130
<i>anyeṣvapi / dṛśyate</i>	3. 3. 2
<i>tena raktam / rāgāt</i>	4. 2. 1
<i>tad adhāte / tad veda</i>	4. 2. 59
<i>udak ca / vipūśaḥ</i>	4. 2. 74
<i>prayacchati / garhyam</i>	4. 4. 30
	etc.

These are however exceptions ; e. g.

<i>tasya / nivāsaḥ</i>	4. 2. 69
<i>so'sya / nivāsaḥ</i>	4. 4. 60
	etc.

Longer sutras show sometimes a twofold and sometimes a threefold division. Thus :

- (i) *karmaṇāyam abhipraiti / sa sampradānam* 1. 4. 32
asti nāsti diṣṭam / matiḥ 4. 4. 60
taddharati vahatyāvahati / bhārād vaṃśādibhyaḥ 5. 1. 50
 etc.
- (ii) *ṣaṣṭikāḥ / ṣaṣṭirūtreṇa / pacyante* 5. 1. 90
yogapramāṇe ca / tadabhāve / 'darśanam syāt 1. 2. 55
tad asya / tad asmin / syād iti 5. 1. 16
tad asmin / vṛddhāya- / lābhaśulkopadā / dīyate 5. 1. 47
parovara- / parampara / anubhavati 5. 2. 10
yasmād adhikaṃ / yasya ceśvaravacanam / tantra
saptamī 2. 39
karmaṇi ca / yena saṃsparśāt / kartuḥ śarīrasukham 3. 3. 116
 etc.

A sutra does not end in a short vowel unless the penultimate is metrically long. E.g. *svayaṃ ktena*. 2. 1. 25. *taddhīte tad veda*. 4. 2. 59. *divaḥ karma ca*. 1. 4. 43.—Here final *ca* is necessary.

The order of words in the sutras is generally significant. A good example is the contrast between the two sutras where the words with the ending *-bhyas* are in reverse order.

vetanādibhyō jīvati 4. 4. 12.
haraty utsaṅgādibhyaḥ. 4. 4. 15.

In the first sutra *vetana* is the source (of the form *vaitanika*) as well as the instrument of the action (*jīvati*). But in the second sutra *utsaṅga* is the source (of the form *autsaṅgika*) and it stands as locative (*adhikarāṇa*) for the object of the verb (*harati*) by which it is not governed. To indicate the lesser importance of the word in relation to the verb, *utsaṅgādibhyaḥ* which should have come first is put after the verb.

The word that limits the condition of operation of a sutra comes at the end. E.g. *vidhyaty adhanuṣū* (4. 4. 80), '(which) pierces but not with a bow'. Example : *padyāḥ*

śarkarāḥ. *so'syādir iti chandasaḥ pragātheṣu* (4. 2. 55). 'It is its beginning, of a metre, (only) in *pragāthas*.' *janapadinām janapadavat sarvaṃ janapadena samānaśabdānām bahuvacane* (4. 3. 100). Example *āṅgaka* 'belonging to the feudal state of Anga', as well as 'a partisan of the feudal chief of Anga'.

In the use of some of the cases the sutras show some peculiar idioms. In the formation of the compounds the nominative stands for the first member (*prathamānirदिष्टam samāsa upasarjanam* 1. 2. 43). The instrumental stands for the second member. In the formative process of a derivative the locative stands for the first element or member (*tasminn iti nirदिष्टe pūrvasya*. 1. 1. 66) and the ablative for the second (*tasmād ity uttarasya* 1. 1. 67).

The locative of subject-matter may stand for limitation or restriction. E. g. *yamo gandhane* (1. 2. 15); e. g. *udāyata*.

The genitive sometime stands for authority. E.g. *tṛṣi-mṛṣikṛṣeḥ kāśyapasya* (1. 2. 25); e. g. *tṛṣitvā, tarṣitvā*.

There is, in the sutras, a preference for the subjective instrumental in connexion with a verbal. E.g. *antardhau yenādarśanam icchati* (1. 4. 28); *karmaṇi ca yena saṃsparśāt kartuḥ śarīrasukham* (3. 3. 116).

LECTURE III

THE TENSE IN PANINI*

In the parent Indo-European language as reconstructed in Linguistics the so-called tenses had no time significance at all. The time value of the tenses is a development in the several constituent languages after their separation from the parent stock. At the earliest stage of IE there seems to have been only two "tenses" and at the latest stage three; and they indicated the most predominant and general aspect of action indicated by the verb. At first these were Imperfective and Perfective "tenses", or aspects indicating respectively incomplete and complete action. At the last stage of IE the "tenses" were three : Present (earlier imperfective), Aorist (neutral or momentary and perfective) and Perfect (action identical with the state of the agent, or perfective with the result continuing). The present tense indicated action not completed, action repeated or action frequently happening. The aorist indicated either completed or momentary action. The perfect indicated action identical with the state of the agent, action outside the agent's control or action completed and its effect continuing. To give examples from Sanskrit.

Present *gacchāmi* 'I am in the act of going' : 'I often go'.

Aorist *agamam* 'I have gone'.

Perfect *jagama* 'I am gone'.

There were many other aspects of the verb in Indo-European. Some became moods, some developed into special conjugational categories and rest, all indicated by

*Third Lecture delivered on 13 March, 1970

distinct stem affixes, merged into the root itself. There was as yet no conception of time. There were words for night, morning, evening etc. but there was no word for time in the abstract. The primitive IE speakers conceived a past (or future) action only as action projected at a distance back (or forward) in their mental perspective.

A temporal implication was inherent in the meaning in the verb and was emphasised by the aspect or was conveyed by the context. Towards the end of the common Indo-European period an adverb (or prefix) was coming into use to indicate an action happening in the past. The use of this adverb (*e) was not universal and among the constituent languages only Greek and Indo-Iranian have it.

In the final pattern emerging at the end of the IE period there were three "tenses", and there were four "moods" beside the indicative under each of the tenses. The moods were connected with the tenses mainly in regard to the formation. The moods have generally no time significance; they imply an attitude of the agent in regard to the action of the verb. For instance,

Sanskrit : *śṛṇu* (present tense imperative mood). 'Pay heed.'
śrudhi (aorist tense imperative mood). 'Hark !'

Greek : *pīne* (present tense imperative mood). 'Go on drinking.'
piē (aorist tense imperative mood). 'Drink up.'

There had never been a future tense as a morphological category in IE nor in the constituent languages individually for a long time. The future tense in Sanskrit is an Indo-Aryan innovation. Futurity was expressed in IE by the subjunctive or the optative-potential mood or by the context.

Panini treats the tenses and the moods together and he does not differentiate between the two.

Panini's treatment is based on the IE conception as modified in course of developement during a couple of thousand years or so.

Panini presents the tenses and moods mixed up in peculiar symbolic terms of his own. These terms all begin in *l* (and so they are known to the later grammarians as *la-kāra*) and end in *ṭ* or *ṅ*.

Between the two consonants there is a vowel (*a, i, u, e, or o*) or the sonant *ṛ*. Thus

<i>laṭ</i>	stands for present tense indicative mood.
<i>laṅ</i>	„ „ imperfect „ „ „
<i>luṅ</i>	„ „ aorist „ „ „
<i>liṭ</i>	„ „ perfect „ „ „
<i>liṅ</i>	„ „ optative (or potential) „
<i>leṭ</i>	„ „ subjunctive „
<i>loṭ</i>	„ „ imperative „
<i>lṛṭ</i>	„ „ future „
<i>lṛṅ</i>	„ „ „ „ imperfect

Panini has no term for the grammatical category of the tense (and of course neither for the mood). *kāla* for "tense" was used for the first time by the author of *Mahābhāṣya* (e. g. *kathaṃ vartamānakālatā* "Why the idiom of the present tense?). *Kāla* occurs several times in the sutras of Panini and there it always means a stretch or period of time or occupied time and is therefore comparable to *sthāna* 'a spot, place, occupied space', Both words do not occur in the sense of temporal or spatial continuum or infinite expansion. In the later language *kāla* acquired the sense of infinite time but *sthāna* did never get that sense as there was already the word *ākāśa*. Two examples are enough to illustrate the sense of *kāla* in Panini's sutras. *u-kālo'j hrasvadīrghaplutaḥ* (1. 2 27). The time taken to pronounce the short, the long and the prolonged *u* is a

vowel *hrsva*, (short) *dirgha* (long) and *pluta*, (extra long) *kālasamayavelāsu tumun* (3. 3. 167). 'The affix—*tum* (is added) to indicated a period of time (*kāla*), a fixed time (*samaya*) or a limit of time or daytime (*velā*).

What we now call the Tense and the Mood in Sanskrit grammar are indicated by Panini only by their peculiar formative process as well as by the distinctive personal endings. These terms contain the consonant *l* followed by a vowel (*a, i, u, e, o*) or by the sonant (*ṛ*) and closed by the consonant *ṭ* or *ṇ*. The first element (*la—, li—, lu—, le—, lo—, lṛ—*) indicates the nature of the action (including a time colour if any) indicated by the verb stem, and the second element (*ṭ, ṇ*) indicates the type of the personal affixes. *La-* indicates the formation of the stem as in the "present system" of Comparative IE Grammar and the sense of the action, a statement of fact (including continuity or historicity) is implied. *Lu-* indicates the formation of the stem as in the "aorist system" and the sense of the action as completed (with the implication of the past or without any "time" significance). *Li-* indicates the formation of the stem partly according to *la* and partly according to *lu* and partly according to the "perfect system" of Comparative IE grammar. The sense of the perfective action with continuity of the result is generally implied. *Le—, lo—, lṛ—* are new groupings : *le—* stands for the archaic subjunctives, (and injunctives) *lo—* for the imperative and *lṛ—* for the future. The final consonant indicates the type of the personal endings : *ṇ* for the secondary endings (*—t, —ta* etc.) and *ṭ* for the other endings including the primary (*—ti te* etc.) the perfect (*a / e*, etc.) and the imperative (*-tu-tam* etc.)

For the present tense Panini uses the term *vartamāna* and his sutra is *vartamāne laṭ* (3. 2. 123). The commentators beginning with the author of *Mahābhāṣya* take *vartamāne*

for *vartamānakāle*. But I have already mentioned that *kāla* was never used by Panini in the general sense of infinite or indefinite time. It can only mean when the nature of the action *kriyā* (*prabandha* or *kriyābhāva*) is *vartamāna* (turning round, revolving, happening again and again) i. e. when the aspect of the verb presents a generality or habitualness. Therefore the present tense (*laṭ*) according to Panini indicated durative or habitual action. When it had to express an isolative or momentary action the adverb *sma* (IE **sme*, from **sm*, weak grade of **sem* 'one once') was used optionally. The sutra *laṭ sma* (3.2.118) is helpful in understanding the implication of *vartamāna*. *Sma* contradicts *vartamāna*, and so the sense of the past naturally comes in.

For the "perfect tense" Panini has two sutras. One is for the Vedic language and it comes under the jurisdiction of the preceding sutra *niṣṭhā* (3.2.102) which indicates that the following sutras are operative in the sense of settled or completed action. *Chandasi liṭ* (3.2.105) i. e. *liṭ* indicating action completed is peculiar to Vedic verse. The other sutra gives the general idiom of *liṭ*, and it does not come under the operation of the sutra *niṣṭhā*.

parokṣe liṭ (3.2.115) i. e. *liṭ* is used in (the sense of) *parokṣa*.' In explaining this sutra the commentators have all gone astray. They take *parokṣa* as meaning "outside the vision of the agent" and they interpret the sutra as being governed by the sutra *niṣṭhā* (3.2.182). But *parokṣa* may equally mean "beyond the direct perception or observation." Judging from the general use of the "perfect tense" or *liṭ* in *Rigveda* and taking into consideration the survival of *liṭ* (e. g. *āha*, *veda*) in spoken Sanskrit the real meaning of the sutra of Panini appears to be this: *liṭ* expresses that the action is beyond tangibility while its effect is perceivable. This was the idiom of the perfect tense in Greek and the idiom came down from Indo-European. In *Rigveda* the perfect (*liṭ*) is generally to be translated into English

by the present tense, as is implied in two of the following sutras : *laṭ sme* (3. 2. 118) and *aparokṣe ca* (3. 2. 119) 'also when not in *parokṣa*.'

According to Panini the "aorist tense (*luṅ* 3. 2. 110) implies completion of action as it comes under the sutra *niṣṭhā* (3. 2. 102). So also the "imperfect tense" (*laṅ*). There is however a difference : *laṅ* is applicable when the action (*kriyābhāva*) does not belong to the present day (*anadyatane laṅ* 3. 2. 11). It may be noted here that the word *adyatana* (or *śvastana* etc.) has never been used by Panini but *anadyatana* occurs four times in the sutras (*anadyatane luṭ* (3. 3. 15) *nūnadyatanavat kriyāprabandhasāmīpyayoh* 3. 3. 135 ; *anadyatane rhiḥ anyatarasyām* 5. 2. 21).

Panini has no general rule for the "future tense" (*lṛṭ*). First he prescribes it as an alternative idiom to *laṅ* when remembering etc. is implied. (*abhiṅṅāvacane lṛṭ ; na yadi ; vibhāṣā sākāṅkṣe* 3. 2. 112-114). Then he prescribes alternative non-finite forms implying action in future (*bhaviṣyati gamyādayah* 3. 3. 3) followed by *yāvatpurānīpatayor laṭ* (3. 3. 4) prescribing *laṭ* as an alternative idiom (for *lṛṭ* or nonfinite *gamyādayah*) when the indeclinables *yāvat* or *Purā* is used. Then eight sutras more or less connected follow. Then comes the sutra *lṛṭ śeṣe ca* (3. 3. 13) "*lṛṭ* is optionally available for the remaining idioms (or other usages").

The terms *vartamāna*, *parokṣa*, *anadyatana bhūta* and *bhaviṣyat* are used by Panini as substantives in technical sense¹ (e. g. *vartamānasāmīpye vartamanavad vā* 3. 3. 131 ; *āśamsāyām bhūtavac ca* 3. 3. 132 ; *bhaviṣyati gamyādayah* 3. 3. 3). But these are originally adjectives and so they pose the same problem as *anyatarasyām*. What was the substan-

1. These terms are technical for the purpose of syntax ; the corresponding terms for morphology are *laṭ*, *liṭ*, *laṅ*, *luṅ* and *lṛṭ* respectively.

tive understood here? I suggest it may be *kriyābhāva* or some such word (cf. *kriyāprabandha* and *kriyāsāmīpya* in 3. 3. 135).

Panini does not recognize the moods apart from the tenses. In Vedic there were modal forms for the three tenses present, aorist and perfect. The future tense also had started developing modal variation although the Vedic evidence for it is extremely meagre. In post Vedic language the modal forms that were current, all with a few exceptions, belonged to the present tense. So Panini treats the moods for the present tense only. The few survivals of modal forms for the other tenses (rather only one other tense, aorist) he has treated under the present, mentioning however their syntactical peculiarity (e. g. *icchārtheṣu liṅloṭau* 3. 3. 157; *āśiṣi liṅloṭau* 3. 3. 173 etc.). The subjunctive mood (*leṭ*) which was common in the language of RV is dismissed by Panini in a couple of sutras (*liṅarthe leṭ* 3. 4. 7 and *upasamvādāsāṅkayo's ca* 3. 4. 8) where he equates the mood with the optative (*liṅ*).

The old injunctive mood was already disappearing in the language of Rig Veda having been confused with the aorist in the indicative and the subjunctive mood. A single idiom of the injunctive however survived throughout (even up to the end of MIA). Panini has noted it as a special idiom of the aorist indicative (*māni luṅ* 3. 3. 175).

Even in the Indo-European period the injunctive mood had started to merge, morphologically into the imperative. A faint relic of the old injunctive mood as an amorphous verb form, surviving through the imperative is noted by Panini in two of his sutras devoted to the imperative :

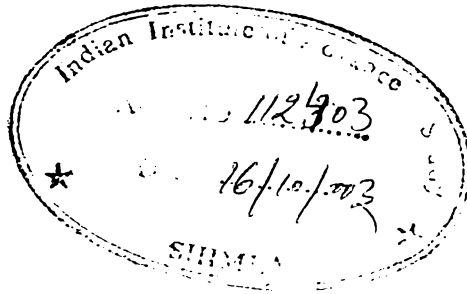
kriyāsamabhihāre loṭ hisvau vā tadvamau (3. 4. 2). 'In a group of concerted actions the imperative stands (for any tense) and the ending may be second person singular and Plural, both voices, (for any person)'.

samuccye'nyatarasyām (3. 4. 3). 'Optionally (so) when there is a series of actions'.

The real import of these two sutras is clear but the idiom is not very clear to us as no examples are available except the example manufactured by the commentators of Panini. The poet Māgha, following the grammarians, made use of the sutras in a verse in the first canto of the Śiśupālavadhā :

*purīm avaskanda lunīhi nandanam
muṣūḥa ratnāni harāmarāṅganāḥ |
vigrhya cakre namucidviṣā balī
ya ittham asvāsthyam ahardivam divaḥ ||*

'(They) laid seize on the city ; (they) cut down (the garden) Nandana ; (they) looted the treasures ; (they) carried away the women of the gods. Out of spite for Namuci the powerful one created havoc in heaven throughout day and night'.



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