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UN-PANINIAN FORMS IN THE YOGAVASISTHA

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The Yogavāsistha betrays the deep grammatical acumen of its author in the many complex grammatical constructions thoughout the work. In the light of this, it should be quite interesting to note the numerous ungrammatical formations that occur in that work. The commentator explains these away by saying that they are arsa-usages. The sages and seers are not bound, as ordinary people are, to observe strictly and with meticulous care the rules of grammar (ct. niyogaparyanuyogānarhā maharşayah vāksvatantrāh). But this is not the whole truth. The Yogavāsistha, as it exists today, cannot claim for itself such an antiquity and sanctity as the Rāmāyana and Mahābhārata, nor can it be said to have come out of Valmiki's mouth as tradition would have it. From the mass of evidence that has come to light recently it is possible to say that this work could not be Valmiki's. It must be the creation of some anonymous poet who appeared rather late on the Indian horizon and shone there brilliantly. He was a master-poet. Language presented him with no difficulty. He could wield it with the utmost ease. With such firm grip over the medium he could not be expected to permit himself grammatical aberrations. Moreover, he belonged to the classical age when poets and playwrights followed grammatical rules strictly. Any deviation from them was frowned upon by connoisseurs of literature. The existence of the numerous ungrammatical forms in the Yogavāsistha would. therefore, be perplexing and could be explained only in two ways : one, wherever these are found, those passages are later interpolations. The singers and rhapsodists while reciting older works often introduce their own verses which, more often than not, are impromptu. In such circumstances, there was little scope for pausing and looking to the grammatical niceties, since the verses would be as rapidly uttered as they were composed. Second, they are tempted to impart a touch of antiquity to the work which otherwise would have a modern look. This would also appear to be the purpose of some prose passages which are interspersed in the work, which, as in the Bhagavata verses, have a good sprinkling of Vedic words. Whatever be the explanation for the un-Paninian forms, they are very much in evidence in the work and due notice, therefore, of them needs to be taken. VIJ I (1963) 247

option is limited (vyavasthita-vibhāsā). There is difference between sandhi and samhitā. Samhitā has been defined by Pānini himself as parah sannikarsah, the closest proximity of letters (sounds). When the letters are thus in closest proximity (samhitā), sandhi (euphonic combination) takes place. Now, it is left to the discretion of the speaker to give the pause, where necessary. He may not resort to sandhi if he intends a pause. If the speaker does not pause, sandhi must take place. reduced to the minimum, for The option for sandhi is thus in one sentence where words are in construction with each other, there is no scope fcr pause and consequently there is no option for sandhi. This option in the matter of sandhi in a sentence, as enunciated in the $k\bar{a}rik\bar{a}$ is very much misunderstood in these days. It was seldom exercised in resorted to in one olden times. Not only was sandhi always sentence-unit, it took place even between words of two different sentenceunits : as for example in 'tisthatu dadhy asana tvam sakena' where dadhi and asana belong to two different sentences. Yet this does not stand in the way of the yan-sandhi taking place between the final and the preceding vowels of the two words respectively. Sandhi in a sentence, therefore, in effect, becomes more or less compulsory and the absence of it is neither favoured by grammarians nor supported by usage. The absence of sandhi, therefore, in some of the examples of the Yogavāsistha is against the genius of Sanskrit. Usage does not permit it. The Rāmāyaņa and the Mahābhārata too have many instances of it. So have the Purāņas. But they are never accepted it as regular. This irregularity is, however, sought to be covered up by pronouncing them to be arsa, the sublime sages being above the ordinary rules of grammar. But a modern critic, no less reverential than the ancients, cannot but note all these irregularities and put them down as such.

Absence of Vrddhi-sandhi

In the Yogavāsistha there are instances where vrddhi is due, but has not been effected. Cf. for instance :

iti bhāvitayā buddhyā te dvijā atha ainadvāh | III. 86. 50.

manye vyavasthita-vibhūseyam tenāsya visayasamkoco 'nukto'pi gamyate. kā nāma samhitā ? varņānām ānantaryeņoccāraņam. āha ca sūtrakāraķ—'paraķ sannikarsaķ samhite'ti. yac ca šāstreņa sandhi-kāryam upadistam sarvam tat samhitāyām satyam eva bhavati nāsamhitāyām......."

Charudeva Shastri, Presidential Address to the Fourth Annual Session of the Panjab Branch of the All India Sanskrit Sahitya Sammelan, Amritsar, pp. 5-7.

Absence of Prakrtibhava

Words in the dual number ending in ' \bar{i} ', ' \bar{u} ' and 'e' are termed pragrhya. Such pragrhya words remain unaffected when followed by any vowel; *i.e.* there is no sandhi. This is known as prakrtibhāva. This is the meaning of the sūtra of Pāṇini, plutapragrhyā aci nityam (6.1.125). Disregard of this rule is found in the Yogavāsistha verse: ahankāradršāv ete sāttvike <u>dvetinirmale</u> (V. 73. 9), where the dual dve is combined with atinirmale. The absence of the prakrtibhāva here is an irregularity. The commentator explains it away-as ārṣa.

Irregular Hal-sandhi

There are many kinds of irregularities of the hal-sandhi in the Yogavāsistha. First, sthitah and andhranām are combined in sandhi to form a highly irregular sthito'ndhrānām.² The s of sthitas which is turned into r(ru) cannot be changed to u, for, that change takes place only if r(ru) is followed by a short vowel or by a consonant included in the haś-pratyāhāra. Since the r cannot be substituted by u we cannot have the form sthito by Panini adgunah (6. 1. 87). When sthito itself is not possible then there is no scope for purvarupa, for, according to Pāņini, enah padāntād ati (6, 1, 109), pūrvarūpa (regressive assimilation) takes place only if e and o, the finals of a pada, are followed by a. Here we have ā and not a. Sthito'ndhrānām, therefore, is wrong. It should be sthita and hranam, the r(ru) being first changed to y and then dropped by Pāņini, lopah śākalyasya (8, 3, 19). The expression sthito-'ndhrāņām on account of its irregular sandhi reminds us the Upanişadic text, gudhotma na prakasate (Katha.) where gudhotma is used for the regular gudha atma.

In the verse, 'avāsanam mano kartrpadam tasmād avāpyate' (V. 56. 18) the sandhi is wrong. It cannot be mano kartrpadam. It should be manah kartrpadam, for the s in manas will first be changed to ru and then to visarga followed by khar.

Another case which in its irregularity resembles very much sthito-'ndhrānām is found in the verse 'Vasisthādyaś ca munayo rṣayo Brāhmanās tathā' (V. 3. 14), where y in place of the r (ru) of munayas (which has its s changed to r) is not dropped by Pāṇini lopah śākalyasya (8. 3. 19). Instead, it is substituted by u which when combined with the preceding a in y has given us munayo even though it is followed by r, a semi-vowel, not included in the haś-pratyāhāra. Exactly the same thing has been

^{2. &#}x27;sa eso 'dya sthito'ndhrāņām grāme bahulapādāpe 1' V. 84. 36.

done in 'abhyavartata vai kālo rtusamvatsarātmakah', (VI. ii. 149. 3) where o irregularly appears before r.

It will not be out of place to mention here the reverse case where 'o' which should normally be present is omitted. In the verse, ' $d\bar{u}rv\bar{a}nkur-\bar{a}sv\bar{a}danag\bar{i}tinistha$ ahan kanisthe vanavāsimadhye,' (VI. ii. 131. 35) the proper sandhi should have been ... gītinistho 'han. We have yet another irregular hal-sandhi in manotthena occurring in the verse, 'cirasāmyāt manotthena nirvibhāgavilāsinā' (VI. i. 74. 22). Here the irregularity in the form has resulted from the author's disregard for Pānini's dictum, pūrvatrāsiddham (8. 2. 1). The two words manas and uttha form an ablative Tatpurusa compound. With regular sandhi, the form should have been manautthena.

Irregular Visarga-sandhi

In the expression tamacchannavivek $\bar{a}rtham$ found in the verse, *tamacchannavivek\bar{a}rtham lolakajjalatamecakam*, the proper form should be tamaścchannavivek $\bar{a}rtham$. The s of tamas should first be changed to ru and then to visarga. This visarga has then to be converted into e obligatorily by Panini 8. 3. 34, and later changed to s by Pānini 8. 4. 40.

It is just possible that some of the examples of the irregular sandhi, especially the irregular Visarga-sandhi or Hal-sandhi quoted above, may be no more than spelling mistakes or scribal errors. Texts get corrupted in various ways in course of time. There is an interesting verse in the Mahābhārata-Tātparya-Nirnaya of Ānandatīrtha, wherein he enumerates the various causes which lead to the corruption of a text :

kvacid granthān praksipanti kvacid antaritān api |

kuryuh kvacic ca vyatyāsam pramādāt kvacid anyathā II II. 3

It says that interpolations, omissions and transpositions in the original texts, either through ignorance or otherwise lead to the corruption of texts. It may be that the text of the Yogavāsistha has got corrupted on account of one or other of these causes.

COMPOUNDS

The entire chapter on compounds in the Astadhyayi is prefaced by the sutra, samarthah padavidhih (2.1.1), which in effect governs it. It lays down the principle governing the formation of compounds. It specifies that only those words which are connected in sense enter into a compound. Connection in sense or samarthya is, therefore, the condition precedent for all compound formation in Sanskrit. Yet instances are not wanting where words un-connected in sense are compounded; / these are termed Asamartha-samāsas.

In the Yogavāsistha one striking irregularity in compound formation is the Avyayībhāva compound where the indeclinables are placed after the substantives with which they are compounded, while the proper thing would be for these indeclinables to precede the substantives. The following are illustrations in point:

- prāņyangeşv api jāyante vicitrāķ kakubham prati i sthāvareşv api jāyante ghuņā jaghanakādayaķ IIV. 14. 32
- 2. dišam prati girindreşu pulindad va vane vane | V. 14. 19
- 3. iti sañcıntya vidhinā dināntena dinam prati | VI. ii. 196. 15
- 4. pratigrāmam puram prati I VI. ii. 63.31
- 5. tatra puspalatājālaih kandam prati šilānkitaih | VI. i. 106.52.

In these examples the proper compound forms should have been *pratikakubham* (or *pratikakup*), *pratidiśam*, *pratidinam* etc. That the above forms with *prati* are compounds goes without saying, for, if they were not, the words such as *kakubham* in construction with *prati* in the sense $v\bar{v}ps\bar{a}$ would have to be repeated as required by the rule *nityavīpsayoh* (8.1.4).

Another irregular compound form in the Yogavāsistha is sāntamāsevi in the verse 'samvittyā kim sramārto 'smi sāntamāsevi mānasam' (VI. ii. 137. 53) for the regular sāntāsevi.

Now, coming to the asamartha compounds we find that there are two prominent examples of it in the Yogavāsistha :

- 1. distyā Raghuņām tanayasamjňah pāvitavān asi | VI. ii. 201.34
- 2. iti śrņvan sabhām loko vismayotphullalocanah (kusumāsārasampūrņam rājīvānām dadarša tam 11 VI. ii. 200,23

In the first example the words tanaya and samjña are compounded, while from considerations of sense the word tanaya is connected with Raghūnām. The word Raghūnām should, therefore, be compounded with tanaya and this compound-word Raghutanaya should be further compounded with the word samjña, the meaning of the compound being Raghutanaya iti samjñā yasya sa Raghutanaya-samjňah.'. In the second example rājīvānām is connected with kusuma in sense. It cannot, therefore, remain outside the compound. The samartha words should be compounded. The normal compound formation should, therefore, be rājīvakusumasāra-sampūrņam.

KARAKAS

Sanskrit grammar restricts the use of certain cases in relation to certain roots. Thus, for example, only the dative case is to be used with a noun (or pronoun) in relation with the object of the roots $d\bar{a}$, ruc and

svad or the synonyms thereof. The Yogavāsistha, however, does no follow invariably the Pāninian rule. It uses $sasth\bar{i}$ in place of the normal caturth \bar{i} as may be seen from the following examples :

1. sarvāvasthāgatānām tu jīvanmuktim pradāsyati |

VI. i. 128.75

2. prasaram tvam <u>avidyāyā</u> mā <u>prayaccha</u> Raghūdvaha l III. 114. 66

3. Lavanasya tathā dattvā tām āpadam anuttamām III. 115.9

- 4. rājasūyakriyākartuh pasya dattvā mahāpadam | III. 116.7
- 5. v<u>yādhasya</u> kāmanām <u>dātum</u> Padmajanmā samāyayau l VI. ii. 158. 5

6. munih sapam adat tasya mahākāratayāsramah I VI. ii. 136.12

- 7. trnāder devakāyāntān mā kincit tava rocatām 1 VI. i. 124.11
- 8. ayam nāma bhaved bhartā he tāta tava rocatām | III. 106.58
- 9. na svadante sutrptasya yathā prativisā rasāh 1 IV. 33.68
- 10. svapnā iva parijnātā na svadante vivekinah 1 VI. ii. 51. 32
- 11. kasya svadante satyāni | VI. ii. 51. 35
- 12. svadante yasya vastūni svadate sa na kasya ca I V. 36.18

NOUNS

Even in the case of nouns there are certain irregularities in the Yogavāsistha. Either the wrong case-affixes are used with them or case-affixes the all. Thus used in the verse are not at sthiramaninibham ambho vāriņī vārinīle, (V. 67. 45), varinī is in construction with the locative singular vārinīle; the correct form would be vāriņi. Vāriņī is evidently wrong. The lengthening is perhaps due to metrical exigency. The author of the the verse, like so many classical writers, seems to be a believer in the dictum, apl māşam maşam kuryāc chandobhange tyajed giram. The commentator seems to read varine for variņī. He attempts to explain it-as made of vā in the sense of yathā, and arino things like swords having a sharp edge (ara). This is a feat of ingenuity. Arin in the given sense is obscure. Vā, if a nipāta in the sense of yatha, is also misplaced. It ought to have come after arinah. It must be conceded that with the reading variat too, the following vari (loc. of var) is redundant.

A case where no case-affix has been used with a word is found in the Yogavāsistha verse 'tatas tesv atiramyesu candraraśmisu sampatat'. The word sampatat is here without any case-affix. Since it has to go with candraraśmisu, which is locative plural, the locative plural suffix su should be used with sampatat. It should be sampatatsu. No word without any case-affix can be used in a sentence (apadam na prayunjīta). There is no justification for the omission of the suffix.

KRDANTAS

Among the krdantas, jighraņa, used by the author, is manifestly a wrong formation. A strange aspect of it is that it is used side by side with ghrāņa, as for example, in 'tvagbhāvaṃ sparšanād eti ghrāṇatām eti jighraṇāt' (III. 110. 18). Jighra is substituted for ghrā only when it is followed by a set pratyaya.³ Now, in the word jighraṇa, it is followed by lyut which is not set. Here, therefore, ghrā cannot be replaced by jighra. The correct word should have been ghrāṇāt.

Another *krdanta* word which presents some difficulty is *cañeūra* in III. 50. 16. It is from the intensive form of the root *car* with the suffix *ac* by Pānini 3.1.134, the derivation being *cañcūryate iti cañcūram*. The \bar{u} in inexplicable. Hence the commentator's remark, *chāndaso dīrghah*.

Pānini clearly lays down that the krdanta suffix $ktv\bar{a}$ is to be replaced by lyap (ya) when the krdanta form enters into a compound with an indeclinable other than nañ, giving us a Gati-samāsa. The presence of a preposition (pra, parā, etc.) or a word termed gati is, therefore, the necessary condition when $ktv\bar{a}$ can be replaced by lyap. In the epics and the Purānas there is no dearth of such usage. It is pointed out by Mm. Pt. Shiva Datta Shastri, annotator of the Siddhānta Kaumudī, that in the Jāmbavatīvijaya (ascribed to Pānini) the line 'sandhyākarān grhya kareņa bhānuh' occurs, wherein we have the lyabanta form grhya without any pūrvapada. There are instances in the Yogavāsistha when the lyap appears even without a preposition coming before the root. Some such cases are :

- 1. vyāpnoti tailam iva vāriņi vārya sankām | III. 84. 45
- 2. śirasā dhārya sarvātmā sarvān prāha ghrnānidhiķ !

3. dehākāšam iha sthāpya dhyāneneha yathāsthitam I

VI. i. 59.11

- sa tatropāvišad vrttīš cetasas tanutām nayan 1 antahsuddhavapuh srnge vrsya mūka ivāmbudah II V. 52. 5
- 5. āšāšatāvapūrņatve tvam evam sarvaduķkhadam 1 tyajya yāhi param šreyaķ param ekāntasundaram 11 V. 52.11.

There are also instances of the reverse tendency where the suffix ktva coming after a root is not replaced by *lyap* even though it (the root)

VI. i. 128. 104

^{3.} By the Panini sutra 'paghradhmasthamna' etc. (7.3.78).

is preceded by a preposition. The following are noted by way of illustration:

- śarīram asthiram api <u>santyaktvā</u> ghanašobhanam l vītamuktāvalītantum cinmātram avalokayet II IV. 61. 16
- samūlam api <u>santyaktvā</u> vyoma saumyaprašāntadhīķ I yas tvam bhavasi sadbuddhe sa bhavān astu satkrtaķ II

The correct form in both the verses would be santyajya. IV. 57. 24

Among the other irregular $k_r danta$ forms mention may be made of *jahran* in the verse '*nilān acalakākolān jahran salilajālakai*h (VI. ii. 78.16). The present participal form from the root hr is haran and not *jahran*. The re-duplication here is irregular. The commentator offers the explanation harateh śatuś chāndaso lidvad bhāvah, that is, śatr coming after \sqrt{hr} irregularly is treated as a perfect suffix and thus re-duplication appears here.

The absence of the augment muk by $P\bar{anini}$ 'ane muk' (7.3.82) is the irregularity in the form cintayānam found in the verse 'sarvastham cintayānam tu nityadhyāne'tha Bhārgavah' (V. 26. 2). The regular form here should have been cintayamānam. The non-addition of this augment to the *a*-ending stems is a phenomenon which is very frequent in the epics and the Purānas. It appears that this augment came to be dropped in the case of some roots of the Tenth conjugation.

The past participal form *praņasta* in VI. i. 113. 17 from the root *naś* with the preposition *pra* is irregular in that the *n* appears in the word although $P\bar{a}nini$ clearly rules against it. The rule 'naśeh sāntasya' (8.4.36) prohibits *natva* otherwise due by the sūtra, 'upasargād asamāse' pl nopadeśasya' (8.4.14).

Another krdanta form which has nothing wrong so far as its krt suffix is concerned but which is nevertheless irregular in other respects is hrsyatih used the verse :

kaccit kalamakedārakoņasthānesu <u>hrsvatīh</u> I

pratigrāmam kumāryas te gayanty anandanam yašah 11 V. 61. 36

The feminine form of the present participal form hrsyat should be $hrsyant\bar{i}$ and in the nominative plural the form should have been hrsyantyah for the sake of concord, the noun qualified, $kum\bar{a}ryah$, being plural. The irregularity lies first in omitting the augment num and then in adding a wrong case-suffix.

The form $j\bar{a}grti$ is very much in vogue these days. It has come to be accepted as a correct form while the fact is that it is wrong.

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Guna is inevitable here. It is enjoined by Pānini 7.3.85. The proper form should be jāgarti. The Yogavāsistha uses this form in the verse 'jāgratsvapnaś ciram rūdho jāgrtāv eva gacchati' (III. 117. 25). The form jāgarti, it may be pointed out, is not from \sqrt{j} āgr with ktin, but with ktic, for ktin is superseded by a and sa ordained by the vārttika, jāgarter akāro vā.

Another krdanta form which is very popular these days and which has very frequently been used in the Yogavāsistha is viśrāma. Bhattojidīksita definitely declares it to be an un-Pāņinian form. Says he, 'viśrāma iti tv apāņinīyam.' (Vide his comment on Pāņini sūtra, 'nodāttopadeśasya māntasyānācameḥ' (7.3.34). The Yogavāsistha reads viśrāma thrice :

- 1. svasamvinmātraviśrāmavatām amanasām satām l
- 2. atyaham śramito deva ksanam viśrāmatām gatah I V. 41.3.
- 3. śrānto viśrāma āyātah ksīņacittabhavabhramah I

The Pāninian form is viśrama and not viśrāma. A word may be termed correct if it has been used by master-writers or authorities on the language even though it may not be sanctioned by grammar. Viewed in this light viśrāma will have to be pronounced as correct for it has been adopted in usage (vyavahāra). However, we propose to list all forms which are un-Pāṇinian, though some of them may have been accepted by pre-Paṇinian grammar or sanctioned by usage.

Along with the word visrama in one of the verses quoted above (V. 41. 3.) is used the obviously indefensible form *sramita*. The \sqrt{sram} , though $ud\bar{a}ttopadesa$, is debarred from taking the augment *it* before a *nisthā pratyaya* (*kta* and *ktavatu*) by 'yasya vibhāsā' (Pāņini 7 2. 15). The correct form would therefore be *srānta* and not *sramita*. If justification has to be sought for this form (*sthitasya gatis cintanīyā*) *sramita* may be looked upon as a form with the suffix *nic* added to the root *sram* in the sense of the root itself (*svārthe*). There is, however, nothing unnatural or unusual about it if the author of the *Yogavāsistha* is wont to add to roots the suffix *nic* in the *svārtha*-sense. The following are examples where the suffix *nic* has been used in the *Yogavāsistha* in the sense of the roots themselves (*svārtha*):

1. kim karoti katham dūrvāš carvayaty urvarāspadah |

VI. ii. 129. 45

 bhramanto viciśrngesu makarebhah karotkaţaih l haranti sikarāmbhodā meghānudrāvitā iva II VI. ii. 114. 13

uI the first example carvayati means only carvati. In the second, anudrāvita gives only the sense of anudruta.

Just as the suffix *nic* appears in the Yogavāsistha even where it is not wanted, the reverse tendency is also noticeable, that is, it is not used or, if at all used, is dropped arbitrarily. An interesting example of this is provided by the verse 'svāntam hi nahi kenapi śakyate nāśitum kvacit' (III. 90. 8) where the form nāśitum is used in place of the regular nāśayitum. The vrddhi here is due to the suffix *nic*, which is arbitrarily dropped.

The author shows unusual skill in the use of *taddhita* formations. There are only a few instances where he uses un-Pāninian *taddhitānta* forms. One such is *ausnyatva* in the verse '*ausnyatvād eti hy agnitām*' (VI. i. 81. 96). Here *ausnya* would do. The suffix *syañ* is added to the word *usna* in the sense of *bhāva* or *being*. The suffix *tva* is also added in this very sense⁴ and, therefore, one of them is superfluous.

The list of un-Pāninian taddhitānta words would be incomplete if mention is not made of the word śārvara which is not sanctioned by Pānini but which has been used by ancient authors like Kālidāsa.⁵ The Yogavāsistha uses this form at least thrice. The verses in which it occurs are:

- 1. atha punyaksaye jāte nīhāra iva sārvare | IV. 10. 55
- vilīyate manomohah sacchāstrapravicāranāt | nabhoviharanād bhānoh sārvaram timiram yathā || IV. 13. 6
- 3. sārvare timire sante prātah sandhyām ivāmbujam I V. 54. 45

According to $P\bar{a}nini$ the suffix than (ika) should come after the word sarvārī in the sense of belonging to it (sarvaryām bhavam) by the sūtra, 'kālāt than' (4.3.11), This would give us the form sārvarika.

An illustration of wrong Taddhita suffix is found in the form asmika used in the verse :

iti sañcintya tam deham vidam bhūsattayā'smikam I

tyaktvā cidātma tat prānāt pavane yojito mayā 11 VI. ii. 50. 25.

The suffix an is added to the word asmaka; a substitute of asmad. The proper form should, therefore, be asmaka or asmakina and not asmika as used in the Yogavasistha.

An interesting case where the *Taddhita* suffix should have been used but is actually not used is found in the Yogavāsistha verse bālyayauvanavīddhesu duhkhesu ca sukhesu ca' (Y. 50, 33). Uttered

^{4.} Vide Pāņini, 'tasya bhāvas tvatalau' (6.1.111).

^{5. &#}x27;sārvarsya tamaso nisiddhaye', Kumārasambhava, VII1.58.

in the same breath with $b\bar{a}lya$ and yauvana which express the first two stages of life, vrddha must also stand for a stage of life, viz. old age. But the suffix expressive of it is wanting. Our author should have used the word vrddhatva ending in the Taddhita suffix $tv\bar{a}$ in the sense of $bh\bar{a}va$. But this is nothing strange. Even the great $\bar{A}c\bar{a}rya$ Pānini uses dvi and eka in place of dvitva and ekatva in the sutra, 'dvekayor dvivacanaikavacane' (1.4.22). Such uses are accepted as good Sanskrit and are called $Bh\bar{a}vapradh\bar{a}na-nirdeśa$. The fact of the matter is that such cryptic uses are compelled by considerations of metre or are resorted to with a view to achieving aphoristic brevity. Sotsukam for sautsukyam, met with elsewhere is an instance in point.

GENDER

The author sometimes uses wrong gender. For example, the word *asava* which is masculine is used by him as neuter in the verse :

pītam Carmaņvatītīre gāyantyā madhurākṣaram l pulindyā suratānteṣu nālikeraras<u>āsavam</u> 11 III. 27.48

It is very rarely that writers disobey the well-known rule of gender, 'ghanabantāh pumsi' (Lingānusāsana, 35).

As a rule the adjectives follow the number and gender of the words they qualify. But our author often makes a departure from it, for in the verse 'nadīşu kşepaņācchāsu varakeşv abjapanktişu' (III. 38.2) he uses the word varaka in the masculine, which, however, being an adjective of abjapankti should have been used in the feminine. Another case where an adjective has the wrong gender is in the verse 'vāsanāprāvrşi kşīņe saṃsthitau Rāmam āgate' (IV. 35.57). Here the locative singular kşīņe in the masculine or the neuter gender is in apposition with prāvrşi, the locative singular of the feminine word prāvrş. The correct expression should be vāsanāprāvrşi kşīņayām. The present case is one on a par with 'duhitā krpaņam param' of Manu (4.185).

A glaring case of wrong gender is found in the verse :

sargo vidyata evāyam na yatra kila kiñcana I tasya dharmāni karmāni na caivāksaramālikā II VI. i. 143. 7

Here dharmani is used in the neuter. *Dharma* is a masculine word. *Dharmani* is, therefore, manifestly wrong. It should be dharmani. Because the author was to say karmani, of this word he said dharmani. Or it may be that an earlier Vedic verse 'yani dharmani prathamany $asan',^6$ where dharmani is used in the neuter, was present in the subconscious mind of the writer, and it was on account of this that he

^{6.} Reveda 10. 90. 16.

permitted himself this use. The form *dharmāni* in the Vedic verse is sought to be justified on the basis of *dharma* being one of the *Ardharcādi* words which are used both in the masculine and neuter. In the case of *dharma*, the sense in which it is used also governs the choice of the permissible gender. Commenting on *ardharcāh puņsi ca* (Pāṇini 2. 4.31) the author of the Kāśikā says: "*Dharma* is masculine in the sense of *merit* but neuter in the sense of *means of merit*."⁷ If in the *Yogavāsisiha*, too, the word *dharmāni* could be interpreted in the sense of *dharmasādhanāni* the use of *dharmāni* in the neuter would have been permissible. But obviously this is not the meaning intended here.

A clear case of indefensible gender is in the verse 'ajñasyājñatayā deyo jñasya tu jñatayottarah' (VI. ii. 29.32), where the word uttara in the sense of 'reply' is used in the masculine. Uttara, originally an adjective, meaning later, latter, subsequent, was used in earlier literature with the word vākya or a synonym thereof, and the two together stood for 'reply' Later, vākya etc. was dropped and uttara alone was deemed sufficient to convey the sense.⁸ Being an adjective used for a noun, it should not be used in a gender other than the neuter (sāmānye napuņsakam). This is how uttara in the sense of 'answer' or 'reply' came to be used regularly in the neuter. As it is, the use of uttarah has to be included among cases of wrong gender which are unfortunately not a few in the Yogavāsistha.

It is possible that the text of the Yogavāsistha, like the texts of most of the earlier Sanskrit works, has suffered in the process of being handed down from generation to generation. And, it is probably because of this that such manifestly wrong forms as patre ubhau in the verse 'tasmād ankuratah patre ubhau vikasatah svayam' (VI. ii. 44. 18) have crept into the work. The word patra meaning a leaf is positively neuter. The word ubha used as an adjective must therefore follow its gender and number. Patre ubhau should, therefore, be patre ubhe. The change of ubha to ubhe does not affect the metre. It may be that the original reading was ubhe and here is only a case of scribal error.

According to the Amarakosa the gender of the word sthala is neuter or feminine,⁹ but the Yogavāsistha uses it in the masculine, as for example, ' $u\dot{d}d\bar{i}yam\bar{a}nam\,dtm\bar{a}nam\,sil\bar{a}h\,sailasthal\bar{a}n\,iva'$ (VI. ii. 145. 36). Similarly the well-known word $\bar{a}varana$ which is admittedly neuter is

^{7.} Cf. dharma ity apūrve pullingah, tatsādhane napumsakam 1 'tāni dharmāņi prathamāny āsan 1' Kāśikā, Kashi Sanskrit Series, p. 130.

^{8.} On this see the author's book, The Rāmāyana—A Linguistic Study, Munshi Ram Manohar Lal, Delhi, 1963.

^{9.} dvāvapy anyalingau sthalam sthalī, Amara., 2. 1. 5.

used in masculine in the Yogavāsistha verse 'tāv ivāsritya tisthanti jalādyāvaranās tatah' (VI. ii. 129. 23). In the same verse we have the use of the neuter word krīdanaka in the masculine gender:

trņam trņam kalpayati bālāh krīdanakān iva l

Krīdanaka in the masculine is grammatically unjustifiable. In the yāvādigaņa (Gaņapātha 196, under Pāņini 5 4. 29) also, we have krīdanaka used in the neuter in the expression kumārī krīdanakāni ca.

Just as in the instances quoted above, the author of the Yogavāsistha uses some neuter words in the masculine gender, he uses some acknowledgedly masculine words in the neuter gender. Thus the word $l\bar{a}ja$, which according to the Amarakośa, is always to be used in the plural and in the masculine gender,¹⁰ has been used in the neuter gender in the Yogavāsistha, as may be seen from the verse 'sa hutvā tilalājāni pāvakāya Śikhidhvajaḥ' (VI. i. 106, 56).

Similar is the use of the masculine word kumāra in the neuter in the verse 'kadā nu tānīksurasābdhitīre.....draksyema bhūyo gudamodakāni 1 tathā kumārāņy api śarkarāyāḥ' (VI. i. 134. 52). Kumārāņi is wrong and it is inconceivable that the author of the Yogavāsistha could commit it. If we assume that the author read kumārān only, the form would be perfectly correct, leaving the metre intact. Kumāra is used here in the sense of a doll, kumāra-pratikrti. The suffix kan ordained by the sūtra ive pratikrtau (Pāņini 5. 3. 96) is dropped by the sūtra, devapathādibhyaś ca (Pāņini 5. 3. 100). This elision is technically called lup; hence the lūbanta form must take the gender and number of the base (kumāra), which is masculine. Hence kumārapratikrtayaḥ kumārāḥ. The neuter kumārāni has no justification.

VERBAL FORMS

In the case of verbs too, there have been many lapses in the $Yogav\bar{a}sistha$. In the verse quoted above where kumāra is used in the wrong gender, we have the verbal form draksyema. It is palpably wrong. It should either be paśyema if the optative sense is intended, or draksyāmah if simple futurity is meant. If we substitute paśyema for draksyema the metre is not violated, while draksyāmah would go against the metre. Strangely enough, in draksyema, the optative suffix has been added to the future base of \sqrt{drs} . Such forms occur in the epics and the Purānas, but are unheard of in classical literature.

^{10.} See Amara., II. 9. 47, lajah pumbhumni caksatah.

The causal form ksipayati from the root ksip, 'to throw' has been used thrice in the Yogavāsistha.¹¹ It appears rather strange that every time this very form should have been used by the author. By Pānini pugantalaghūpadhasya ca (7. 3. 86) guņa must take place in ksipayati. It is only once that the correct form with guņa in the imperative second person singular is used; but the guṇa-less form is also used alongside:

> Pāndoh putro'rjuno nāma sukham jīvitam atmanah l ksipavisvati nirduhkham tathā ksepava jīvitam II VI. i. 52. 9

In the Present and the Future tenses the guna-less form has been used by the author with a consistency that is surprising. As the simple anustubh metre has been used in the two stanzas, there is no question of the infringement of the metre even if ksepayatl and ksepayisyatl are read for ksipayatl and ksipayisyatl respectively.

In the verse given below the form *himsati* has been used in the place of *hinasti* in common use.

rūpakardamam etan mānayanāsvādayādhama l našyaty etan nimesena bhavantam api himsati II V. 80.4.

The commentator offers the comment chandaso vikaranavyatyayah on the word himsati. The root hims belongs to the seventh conjugation. The conjugational suffix for it is snam (na). The correct form therefore would be hinasti. But in the Yogavāsistha \sqrt{hims} is made to take the conjugational suffix (vikarana) 'a' which comes after the roots of the This kind of use of wrong conjugational suffix first conjugation. (vikaranavvatvāsa) is common in popularworks like the Rāmāyaņa and the Mahābhārata. It is, however, incorrect to say, as the commentator does, that there is vikaranavyatyaya in the form himsati; for \sqrt{hims} is read in the Tenth conjugation and is $\overline{A}dhrsiya$, and so it takes nic optionally. Thus himsati and himsayati are also correct by the side of hinasti of the 7th conjugation. Himsati is, therefore, not strictly un-Paninian. We have listed it as an un-Paninian form, following the commentator. Grammar apart, usage seems to have extended progressively the treatment of the roots of the First Conjugation to roots assigned to other groups, for the forms thus evolved are far more easy.

^{11.} tathā cidghanas cittam cittvāc ca sarvāh saktāh karmamayār vāsanāmayār manomayās cinoti daršayati, bibharti, janayati, ksipayati ceti. IV. 39. 5. ksipayanti surā Rāma bhuvo bhāranivrttaye 1 VI. i. 52. 21.

Pandoh putro'rjuno nāma sukham jīvitam ātmanahl ksipayisyati nirduhkham tathā ksepaya jīvitam 11 VI. i. 52, 9.

Although the Yogavāsistha is a later work and cannot claim the antiquity of the $R\bar{a}m\bar{a}yana$ and the Mahābhārata it seeks to approximate older works in freestyle language with an amount of laxity in grammar and other things. We are tempted to make here the assertion which, due to its sweep, may not be acceptable to many, that these grammatical aberrations were introduced into the Yogavāsistha deliberately to give it an old look. This is also perhaps the purpose of a sprinkling of prose passages here and there which are reminiscent of the style of the prose works of the later Vedic age. Otherwise the work is written in a highly ornate classical style with its special characteristics of excessive alliteration and rhyme.

There are a few forms in the Yogavāsistha where in the imperfect or the agrist the augment a(at) or $\bar{a}(\bar{a}t)$ is not prefixed. One such form is vyavatisthata in the verse 'kevalam susuptasamstham sadaiva vyavatisthata' (V.12. 2). The correct form would be vyavātisthata. Similarly, vibudhyata in the verse 'vibudhyata dinasyante sva evopavane nrpah,' (III. 115. 32), should be vyabudhyata. Another form where the augment is omitted is visam found in the verse 'tatha susuptavisranteh svapne nidrām aham višam' (VI. ii. 146. 9). Višam is imperfect. The correct form would be avisam. It may be pointed out that forms like visam are quite interesting and are reminiscent of the Vedic injunctive which too is augmentless. The augmentless forms are quite common in the Rāmāyaņa and the Mahābhārata. Still another augmentless form in the Yogavāsistha is found in the verse 'apālya yad asad Brahmā tarangān iva sāgarah' (IV. 59. 22). The correct form here should have been asthat. By Panini asyates thuk (7.4.17) the augment thuk (th) is added to the root as in the aorist. Besides, \sqrt{as} should take the augment \bar{a} ($\bar{a}t$) since it begins with a vowel. In the form as it occurs in the Yogavāsistha both the augments \bar{a} ($\bar{a}t$) and th (thuk) are missing.

A verbal form which, as it exists, is clearly, indefensible is $k\bar{a}rsa$ in the verse 'tani ma karsa bhos tasmal lokadvitayasiddhaye' (VI. ii. 101.27). The correct form should be $k\bar{a}rs\bar{s}h$, the aorist second person singular from the root kr, 'to do'. The commentator accepts this reading and explains it as a chandasa form.

In place of the regular form *pratyeti* from the root *in*, 'to go' with the preposition *prati* the Yogavasistha uses the irregular form *pratyayeti* in the verse 'nastam bhuyas tad utpannam iti pratyayeti kah' (VI. ii. 52. 17). This is clearly indefensible.

The Yogavāsistha uses the desiderative form prajīsete in the verse:

agnīsomau mithah kāryakāraņe ca vyavasthite l paryāyeņa samam caitau <u>prajīset</u>e parasparam II VI. i. 81. 80 The regular form would be jigīsete, though the ātmanepada would be open to objection. There is a twofold irregularity in prajīsete. First, there is no usual reduplication by Pāņini sanyahoh (6.1.9). Second, there is no kutva by Pāņini sanilitor jeh (7.3.57). In the words of the commentator, "jeh sani dvitvakutvayor abhāvas chāndasah". Prajīsete of the text is, therefore, ungrammatical.

Atmanepada and Parasmaipada

So far as the $\bar{a}tmanepada$ and parasmaipada are concerned there is a lot of confusion in the $Yogav\bar{a}sistha$. Very often the parasmaipada terminations are added in the place of the regular $\bar{a}tmanepada$ and the $\bar{a}tmanepada$ terminations used at times in lieu of the regular parasmalpada. In common with the Purāņas, the Yogavāsistha frequently contravenes Pāņini's regulations on the use of these terminations. A few of these are selected for discussion below.

By viparābhyām jeh (1. 3. 19) Pāņini ordains the ātmanepada after the root ji when it is preceded by the preposition vi and parā. The Yogavāsistha contravenes this rule by using vijeşyanti in 'nāhamkāram prayāsyanti vijeşyanti ca tān surān' (IV. 34. 6). Vijeşyanti is therefore un-Pāņinian. Again we read avatisthati in the verse 'cid eveyam śtlākāram avatisthati bibhratī' (VI. ii. 70. 21), for the regular avatisthate. Similarly in the verse 'bhrtyāh priyāh kila tathā sant/sthati sa bhikşukah' (VI. i. 66. 11), the form santisthati is used for the regular santisthate. In both these cases, the author has disregarded Pāņini's well-known rule, 'samava pravibhyah sthah' (1. 3. 22).

The root īks is anudāttet. It is. therefore, ātmanepadī. The parasmaipada form preksa in the verse 'jīvann eva mahābāho tattvaņt prekşa yathasthitam' (VI. i. 55. 43) is manifestly un-Paninian. It should be preksasva. The root rabh too is ātmanepadi. So samārabhet in parasmai pada optative is irregular. It should be samārabheta. It occurs in 'abhyāsena bhayam tasmāt samam eva samārabhet' (V. 24, 8). The root sah has been mentioned among the anudattet roots in the Dhātupātha. It is, therefore, ātmanepadī. Its forms in the parasmaipada, would be, therefore, irregular and un-Paninian. In the Yogavāsistha we have sah in the parasmaipada in the verse 'no sangam eti gatasangatayā phalena karmodbhavena sahatīva ca dehabhāram' (V. 69, 12). Among the anudattet roots which should have the atmanepada, but which are used with the parasmaipada, the root vrt, 'to be', deserves special notice. Parasmai pada suffixes are permitted after this

root only in the future (lrt) and aorist (lun). In other tenses and moods it is to have only $\bar{a}tmanepada$ suffixes. But in the Yogavāsistha even in the Present, the parasmaipada is used with the root. Thus we have the form anuvartāmi in the Present first person singular for anuvarte in the verse 'yathāprāpto 'nuvartāmi ko langhayati sadvacah' (VI. ii. 216. 21). There are certain specified senses in which the parasmaipadi roots take the ātmanepada terminations. Thus, the root vad 'to speak', which is parasmaipadī takes the ā manepada suffixes in certain specified senses of speaking brilliantly, pacifying, conciliating, knowing, toiling, disagreeing, disputing etc. The sense of disagreement in the root is brought out by the preposition vi. Vi+vad is accordingly used in the ātmanepada. In the Yogavāsistha it is used in the parasmaipada instead in the verses 'mitho bodhāt vivadati maitrīm bhajati bodhatah' (VI. ii. 45. 61) and 'kevalam vivadanty ete vikalpair ārurukşavah' (III. 96. 52).

There are cases where the $\bar{a}tmanepada$ suffixes are added where more appropriately parasmaipada suffixes should have been used. Thus, for example, nas 'to disappear', is parasmaipadī. But we have it with the $\bar{a}tmanepada$ in the verse 'tasmāt kim iva nasyate kim iva jāyate' (VI. ji. 61.4). Again, the $\bar{a}tmanepada$ would be regular after the root prech 'to ask', with the preposition an in the sense to take leave of, as we have it in Kālidāsa: $\bar{a}prechasva$ priyasakham amum tungam ālingya śailam, (Meghadūta, Pūrva., 9). But the Yogavāsistha has used $\bar{a}prech$ in the parasmaipada in the verse 'mām $\bar{a}prechan$ namaskrtya tasminn eva ksane tatah (VI. ii. 155.28). The form $\bar{a}prechan$ should be $\bar{a}prechamānah$.

Set and Anit

There are certain roots which take the augment *it* before an ardhadhatuka suffix beginning with val (pratyahara) and are termed positively set while there are others which do not take the augment and are called anit. It is an irregular formation if the augment *it* is added to the anit roots and if, conversely, the *it* is omitted in the set roots. This kind of irregularity is very common in the Yogavāsistha. A glaring example of this is provided by the form vivecitārah in the Yogavāsistha verse :

sangād āhlādayanty antah sasānkakiranā iva l vivecitārah sāstrānām nirnetārah ksanād api 11 VI. ii. 98.4

The root vic being anit, the correct form would be vivektāraķ. Another example is provided by the form kşipita used in the verse 'harendudhavalā rātryaķ kşipitā gaņagītibhiķ' (IV. 8.8). The proper form should be kşiptāķ. The root kşip is anit. The root is 'to desire', though set is debarred from taking it before kta and ktavatu by the sātra, yasya vibhāsā (Pānini 7.2.15). The correct form in the past participle with kta would be anista and not anicchita as used in the following verse of the Yogavāsistha:

anicchite hitair dūradešāntaragataih phalam 1 VI. ii. 206.19

The root vid 'to know' is invariably set. Now, there is a lot of confusion with regard to this root which is very often used in the work as anit. The form brahmavettr derived from vid with trc has gained wide currency. Yet it is un-Pāninian, for, the root, as observed above, is set. Brahmaveditr is therefore the correct form. The anit form with the suffix trc is found used twice in the Yogavāsistha, first, in the verse:

> sarvajñā vedyavettāro vītarāgāgatainasah I yathāprāptaikakartāro bhāvitātmāna uttamāh II IV. 34, 8

and second, in the verse :

śastrartharasikas tajjña jñatalokaparavarah i heyopadeyavettaro yathāpraptābhipatinah II VI. ii. 98,6



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