JOHANNES BRONKHORST

PĀṆINI'S USE OF API

The word *api* as used in the Aṣṭādhyāyī is sometimes treated as equivalent to *ca* in Patañjali's Mahābhāṣya. This gives rise to difficulties in the case of rule 3.1.84 *chandasi śāyaj api*. This rule is preceded by P. 3.1.83 *halaḥ śnaḥ śānajjhau* which prescribes substitution of *ŚānaC* for *Śnā* after verbal roots ending in consonants in the 2nd pers. sing. imperative Parasmaipada. *Śnā* is added to the roots of the 9th conjugation (*kryādi*), and rule 83 therefore accounts for imperative forms like *muṣāṇa* (root *muṣ*, Dhp. 9.58). Rule 84 allows for the possibility of substituting *ŚāyaC* instead of *ŚānaC* for *Śnā* in ritual literature. This accounts for *gṛbhāya* in RV 8.17.5 *gṛbhāya jihvayā madhu* from the root *grah* (Dhp. 9.61; with the help of 8.2.32 vt. 1), as the Kāśikā points out.

The problem is raised in P. 3.1.84 vt. 1 *śāyac chandasi sarvatra* "*ŚāyaC* (can be used) in all situations in ritual literature". What is meant is clear from the illustrations provided by the Mahābhāṣya (III.64.15): *mahī askabhāyat* (AV 4.1.4; etc.); *yo askabhāyat* (RV 1.154.1; etc.); *udgṛbhāyata* (?); *unmathāyata* (?).[1] *ŚāyaC* is not confined to the 2nd pers. sing. imperative, and not even to roots of the 9th conjugation, since *manth* does not belong there.

It seems from the above that Pāṇini's rule 3.1.84 excludes forms which nonetheless occur in the Ṛgveda. These forms include *askabhāyat* in RV 1.154.1, but also the following: *astabhāyaḥ* (RV 1.62.5), *astabhāyat* (RV 1.164.25; 2.15.2; 6.44.22), *gṛbhāyata* (RV 7.104.18; 8.69.10), *gṛbhāyati* (RV 1.140.7), *pruṣāyat* (RV 1.121.2), *pruṣāyati* (RV 10.26.3 [2x]), *pruṣāyan* (RV 1.180.1; 4.43.5), *pruṣāyanta* (RV 1.186.9), *pruṣāyante* (RV 1.139.3), *mathāyat* (RV 9.77.2), *mathāyati* (RV 1.141.3), *mathāyan* (RV 5.30.8; 6.20.6), *muṣāyaḥ* (RV 4.30.4; 6.31.3), *muṣāyat* (RV 1.61.7; 7.18.19), *muṣāyati* (RV 1.130.9 [2x]; 5.44.4; 6.28.2), *muṣāyan* (RV 10.99.5), *vasāyate* (RV 9.14.3), *skabhāyat* (RV 5.29.4; 6.44.24), *skabhāyata* (RV 10.76.4), *skabhāyati* (RV 10.44.8), *stabhāyaḥ* (RV 6.17.7), *stabhāyat* (RV 4.5.1; 6.2), *stabhāyan* (RV 4.21.5; 10.3.2).

This is a large number of exceptions, given the fact that forms clearly rejected by Pāṇini rarely, if ever, occur in the Ṛgveda (see Bronkhorst, 1991: esp. § 4.1). How is this to be explained?

[125]

G. B. Palsule (1978: 35 and 237) proposes not to accept the *anuvṛtti* of *hau* from 3.1.83 into 84. This would end the confinement of the latter rule to the imperative Parasmaipada 2nd

---

[1] On all these Vedic quotations see Rau, 1985.

pers. sing. In this way all the above forms of verbs belonging to the 9th conjugation would be accounted for. Against this it must be pointed out that *math* and *vas* do not belong to this 9th conjugation. Moreover, Palsule's proposal interferes rather arbitrarily with *anuvṛtti*, which is not permitted in Pāṇini's grammar. Words are continued by *anuvṛtti* until they are cancelled by an incompatible item, but no such item is present in P. 3.1.84. And still taking *api* to be synonymous with *ca* it must be observed that ca does not stop arbitrary items from continuing by *anuvṛtti*.[2]

Only one possible solution seems to remain: *api* is not used like *ca*. Unlike *ca*, *api* seems to give a rather loose indication that, in our case, "also ŚāyaC [is seen to occur] in ritual literature". Kiparsky (1980: 203-04) has observed that many rules with *api* are "either Vedic rules or appended to Vedic rules to extend some Vedic phenomenon sporadically to the Classical language. ... These rules give the impression of afterthoughts added at a late stage in the composition of the system." This is, to say the least, compatible with the view that the ordinary rules of *anuvṛtti* are not rigorously enforced in rules with *api*.

The 'loose' sense of *api* is confirmed in rules which have both *api* and *dṛśya(n)te*. Take P. 3.2.101 *anyeṣv api dṛśyate*. The preceding rule deals with the suffix *Ḍa* which is added to the root *jan* after *anu*, when in composition with a word indicating the grammatical object (*anau karmaṇi*). The Mahābhāṣya proposes the reading *anyebhyo 'pi dṛśyate* in order to allow for other roots than *jan* as well. But the Kāśikā, more correctly, observes that "the word *api* serves to cancel all restrictions" (*apiśabdaḥ sarvopādhivyabhicārārthaḥ*), including the verbal root *jan*. It repeats this observation under P. 3.2.75 *anyebhyo 'pi dṛśyante* and 7.1.38 *ktvāpi chandasi*. On 7.3.47 *bhastraiṣājājñādvāsvā nañpūrvāṇām api* the Kāśikā states that *api* indicates that other words than *naÑ*, or no word at all, may precede.

Another clear example of the use of *api* is P. 6.4.73 *chandasy api dṛśyate*, following rule 72 *āḍ ajādīnām*. These rules concern the prefix *āṬ* which is normally added in certain past tenses to roots beginning with a vowel. Rule 73 states at first sight no more than that this phenomenon is also met with in ritual literature. The use of *api* however indicates more than just this; it also indicates that all restrictions have been cancelled. This means that in ritual literature *āṬ* is also prefixed to roots which do not begin with a vowel.

This interpretation of *api* must further be accepted for the following rules: P. 3.2.178 *anyebhyo 'pi dṛśyate*, 3.3.130 id., 3.3.2 *bhūte 'pi dṛśyante*, 5.3.14 *itarābhyo 'pi dṛśyante*, 6.3.137 *anyeṣām api dṛśyate*, 7.1.76 *chandasy api dṛśyate*. It must be kept in [126] mind that where there are no restrictions that can be cancelled, *api* becomes for all practical purposes synonymous with *ca*.

The peculiarity of *api* to break rather radically with the rules that precede explains its second use by Pāṇini, viz. when conventions on the interpretation of rules or items stated in the preceding rules are directly negated. In these cases *api* is logically equivalent to *ca*, yet

---

[2] On the effect of *ca* on the *anuvṛtti* see Kiparsky, 1980: 197 f.; Joshi-Bhate, 1983; 1984: 98 f.

Pāṇini preferred api here. This use of the term has already been noticed by Kiparsky (1980: 202-03), so that it is sufficient to enumerate the sūtras which fall in this category:

chandasi pare 'pi (1.4.81)

yuṣmady upapade samānādhikaraṇe sthāniny api madhyamaḥ (1.4.105)

satsūdviṣadruhaduhayujavidabhidacchidajinīrājām upasarge 'pi kvip (3.2.61

anavaklptyamarṣayor akiṃvṛtte 'pi (3.3.145)

avṛddhād api bahuvacanaviṣayāt (4.2.125)

aḍabhyāsavyavāye 'pi (6.1.136)

bahulaṃ chandasy amāṅyoge 'pi (6.4.75)

chandasy anekam api sākāṅkṣam (8.1.35)

sagatir api tiṅ (8.1.68)

guror anṛto 'nantyasyāpy ekaikasya prācām (8.2.86)

anantyasyāpi praśnākhyānayoḥ (8.2.105)

numvisarjanīyaśarvyavāye 'pi (8.3.58)

prāk sitād aḍvyavāye 'pi (8.3.63)

sivādīnāṃ vāḍvyavāye 'pi (8.3.71)

aṭkupvāṅnumvyavāye 'pi (8.4.2)

pranirantaḥśarekṣuplakṣāmrakārṣyakhadirapīyūkṣābhyo 'sañjñāyām api (8.4.5)

upasargād asamāse 'pi nopadeśasya (8.4.14)

padavyavāye 'pi (8.4.38)

References

Bronkhorst, Johannes (1991): "Pāṇini and the Veda reconsidered." Pāṇinian Studies. Professor S. D. Joshi Felicitation Volume. Edited by Madhav M. Deshpande and Saroja Bhate. Ann Arbor, Michigan: Center for South and Southeast Asian Studies, University of Michigan. Pp. 75-121.

Joshi, S. D., and Bhate, Saroja (1983): The Role of the Particle ca in the Interpretation of the Aṣṭādhyāyī. Pune: University of Poona. (Publications of the Centre of Advanced Study in Sanskrit, Class B, No. 8.) Also printed in: Proceedings of the International Seminar on Studies in the Aṣṭādhyāyī of Pāṇini (held in July 1981). Edited by S. D. Joshi and S. D. Laddu. Pune: University of Poona. 1983. (Publications of the Centre of Advanced Study in Sanskrit, Class E, No. 9.) Pp. 167-227.

Joshi, S. D., and Bhate, Saroja (1984): The Fundamentals of Anuvṛtti. Pune: University of Poona. (Publications of the Centre of Advanced Study in Sanskrit, Class B, No. 9.)

Kiparsky, Paul (1980): Pāṇini as a Variationist. Edited by S. D. Joshi. Pune: University of Poona. (Publications of the Centre of Advanced Study in Sanskrit, Class B, No. 6.)

Palsule, G. B. (1978): Verbal Forms in the Ṛgveda (Maṇḍala VI). Pune: University of Poona. (Publications of the Centre of Advanced Study in Sanskrit, Class B, No. 4.)

Rau, Wilhelm (1985): Die vedischen Zitate im Vyākaraṇa-Mahābhāṣya. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag Wiesbaden. (Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur, Mainz. Abhandlungen der Geistes- und Sozialwissenschaftlichen Klasse, Jahrgang 1985 Nr. 4.)