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ASE-WORDS IN PĀŅINI AND THE VEDA

0. Introduction

An attempt is made in this paper to examine the Vedic ase-words in the light of Pāṇini's rules of word-formation and accentuation [Aṣṭādhyāyī (= A) 3,4,9; 1,3; 6,1,197]. Having briefly reviewed the position maintained by some Western Vedists regarding the infinitival character of ase-words, the paper determines their morphological cum accentual structure based on the Pāṇinian system and « the Space-Time perspective » 1 .

1. Pāṇini: A 3,4,9

- **1.0.** Pāṇini (= P.) teaches in the rule, tum.arthe se.sen.ase.asen.kse-kasen . . . tavenah (A.3,4,9) that in the Sacred Literature (chandasi recurring from A 3,4,6 into 9), fifteen krt-pratyaya-s (= KPs) such as se, seN, ase, and other primary suffixes, enumerated in the rule 9, are appended to roots to denote the sense of -tum (tumUN). Of these 15 KPs I focus my attention only on three KPs which are: ase, aseN and KaseN (= bound morpheme -ase).
- **1.1.** The infinitives (= infs) in -ase accent the suffix-initial in accordance with P.'s accent rule A 3,1,3, while those in aseN and KaseN are barytonic, which is indicated by the accent exponent /N/ through the force of A 6,1,197. Typical instances are: doh-áse ($\sqrt{duh} + ase$) « to milk », bhój-ase ($\sqrt{bhuj} + aseN$) « to enjoy or protect » and * śríy-ase ($\sqrt{sri} + KaseN$) « to have recourse to, to be resplendent », etc. instances in which the first inf. appears with the suffixal accentuation, while the rest have the radical accentuation.

^{*} Principal, K. S. Vidyapeetha, Tirupati (A.P.), India.

^{1.} S. M. KATRE, Two Lectures on Linguistics, Agra, 1959, pp. 24-25.

2. Pāņinīyas

- **2.0.** That P. has drawn his Vedic materials from firsthand experience, is clearly shown by the way in which he structures the formation and accentuation of words (= Ws) formed with *-ase* and other infinitival suffixes enumerated in A 3,4,9. Yet most of the Pāṇinīyas have commented on this rule in a rather lethargic and lateral manner.
- **2.1.** Patañjali, in his *Mahābhāṣyam ad A 3,4,9*, has not provided us with any illustration for Vedic infs. But he concentrates his attention only on the significance of the expression *tum.arthe* which occurs in this rule. The suffix *-tum*, according to him, is employed by P. neither in the agentive sense (*kartā* by A 3,4,67) nor in the accusative or other syntactic relations, since it is understood by implication (*jñāpana-*) that the meaning of *-tum* should be differentiated from the rest (i.e. agentive, etc.). In conformity with the semantic theory, that the suffixes whose meanings are not specifically determined by P. carry the *svārtha-*(the sense of the nucleus), *-tum* denotes the radical meaning (*dhātvarthaḥ*), that is, *bhāva*.
- **2.2.** According to Kaiyaṭa 2 and Nāgeśa 3 [Sekhara to Siddhānta-Kaumudī (= SK) 3436] -tum denotes sādhya: « durative action » (which is opposed to siddha: « frozen action »).
- **2.3.** The authors of the $K\bar{a}sik\bar{a}$ (= K 4) and SK 3436 (supra) are somewhat sketchy in illustrating the rule with adequate ase-Ws as shown in Table I as under:

TABLE I

	rrn	TT - 11	T7 11 /
Commentary	KP	Vedic citation	Vedic reference
K	ase/aseN	krátve dákṣāya jīváse	RV 10,57,4b = MaiS 3,11,10
»	KaseN	* bhágāya śríyase	?
SK	ase aseN	śarádo jīváse dhāḥ * * * * *	RV 3,36,10c
	KaseN	gávām-iva śriyáse	RV 5,59,3a

It emerges from Table I that both K and SK pass over aseN in silence. On the one hand, the Vedic illustration cited in K may be regarded as one of the untraced vedisms; on the other hand, the

^{2.} Vyākaraņa-Mahābhāṣya, Ed. Vedavrata, Rohtak, 1963, vol. III: 375 [s.v. A 3,4.9].

^{3.} Siddhānta-Kaumudī [with Bālamanoramā and Tattvabodhinī], Ed. CARUDEVA-BHASKAR, Varanasi, 1961, vol. IV: 346.

^{4.} Kásikā [with Nyāsa and Padamañjarī], Ed. Shastri-Shukla, Varanasi, 1966, vol. III: 156.

Rgvedic *śriyáse*, cited in SK, is a paroxytone vis-a-vis the barytone intended by P., since the exponent /N/ of KaseN allows the accent to rest with the initial syllable of the W.

3. Vedic ase-words

- **3.0.** The ase-Ws are typical Rgvedic formations. Although twenty-seven ase-Ws are attested in RV, it cannot be argued with certainty that all these play the infinitival role sensu stricto. In fact the KP ase forms, from roots (= Rs) of different kind, infs (simples) numbering at least fifteen, according to my count, in RV. Sāyaṇa admits of seven ase-Ws alone as infs. Such Ws are: ávase, rcáse, rñjáse, jīváse, doháse (ad RV 6,45,7; 66,1; 5), rājáse and śriyáse. To this we may now add: áyase, arháse, kṣádase, tujáse, bhójase, śobháse, spárase and spūrdháse.
- **3.1.** Before proceeding to a categorisation of the Vedic infs in *-ase* (\S 3.2 *infra*), a reference may be made to the theoretical position maintained by some Western Vedists with regard to the complex character of the *ase*-Ws which are productive in RV. Some of these Ws are considered « augenblicksbildungen », while others as showing a « Quasi-infinitival character ».

According to several philologists 5, some twenty-five ase-Ws are datives of stems in (the neuter suffix) -as [< s]. Of these, eighteen Ws appear with bound morphemic accentuation, the rest having the radical accentuation.

- **3.1.1.** Wackernagel ⁶ classifies these Ws under the three following categories:
 - (i) Primitive infs with suffixal accentuation and weak-grade R-vowel: rcáse « to praise », tujáse « to hurl », puṣyáse « to thrive », vrdháse « to promote ».
 - (ii) Infs with suffixal accentuation and strong-grade R-vowel mostly from Present stems: arháse « to be worthy of » (: árha-), javáse « to speed » (:jáva-), doháse « to milk » (: dóhate), bhojáse « to enjoy » (: bhójate), śobháse « to shine » (: śóbha-).
 - (iii) Other infs with radical accentuation from Present stems: kṣádase « to partake of » (: kṣáda-), cákṣase « to see » (: cáṣṭe), bhárase « to bear » (: bhára-), hárase « to seize » (: hára-).
- **3.1.2.** Although the ase-Ws may be grouped under these categories, yet there are one or two difficulties which airse in connection with this classification: first, that all ase-Ws listed above, are not infs sensu stricto, that is to say, it is not an easy task to consider such Ws as

^{5.} B. Delbrück, Das ai-Verbum..., Halle, 1874, pp. 221-8; A.A. Macdonell, Vedic Grammar, Strassburg, 1910; and T. Burrow, Sanskrit Language, London, 1955, 158.
6. J. Wackernagel-A. Debrunner, Altindische Grammatik, 1954, vol. II-2: 229-30.

vṛdháse (besides *dhruváse*, *vṛñjáse*) as belonging to the class of genuine infs, since these are *hapax legomena* in RV; and second, that it is difficult to explain the anomalous accentuation 7 of the corresponding (neut.) stems in *-as-* on the one hand, and the verbal themes on the other as seen in:

javáse (paroxytone): jávas- (barytone); and doháse (paroxytone): dóhate (barytone).

- **3.1.3.** The precise character of some twenty-two *ase*-Ws is subjected to a searching scrutiny by Manessy ⁸ who takes into consideration such criteria as morphological structure, syntactic and semantic functions in evaluating these formations. She divides the *ase*-Ws under three categories as shown below:
 - (i) Les infinitifs barytons à degré radical plein;
 - (ii) Les infinitifs oxytons à degré radical réduit; and
 - (iii) Les infinitifs oxytons à degré radical plein.

The first categaory belongs to the domain of the noun (domaine du nom), the second quite near to the verbal zone and almost integrated to it (la zone verbale et presque intégrés à celle), and the third constitutes « une catégorie transitoire » (p. 207). She thinks that the barytonic ase-Ws are not genuine infs (p. 92), but these can always be interpreted to mean « datifs finals de substantifs » (p. 207), and often present other characteristics which mark of their nominal nature.

At the end of her study, Manessy (p. 208) finds it difficult to prove the existence of a proper inf. in -ase, and from the linguistic point of view, she regards the ase-Ws as dative forms of verbal nouns. Furthermore, the infs in -ase do not participate in the essential character of the verb of the Indoeuropean languages, which is its capacity to indicate « time ».

- **3.1.4.** Although Manessy's contribution to the ase-Ws in RV cannot be underestimated, her hypothesis that the barytonic ase-Ws do not show any infinitival character, goes against the Pāṇinian system which clearly marks out three categories:
 - (i) Paroxytonic infs in ase with the strong grade R-vowel;
 - (ii) Barytonic infs in ase(N) with the strong grade R-vowel; and
 - (iii) Barytonic infs in (K)ase(N) with the reduced grade R-vowel.

^{7.} T. Burrow, loc. cit.

^{8.} J. Manessy, Les Substantifs en -as- dans la Rk-Samhitā, Dakar, 1961, chapitres II-III.

As will be seen later (Category 2 in § 3.2 infna), the barytonic Ws of the type $\acute{a}yase$ play the role of infs in RV.

3.2. We may now furnish a binary categorisation into which the fifteen Rgvedic ase-Ws may be conveniently fitted — a categorisation which rests on two assumptions: (i) the place of accent, and (ii) the vowel conditions of the R^9 .

Category 1

Ase-Ws having (i) irreducible, (ii) gunated, (iii) nongunated and (iv) altered R-vowels are paroxytonic (initial suffixal accentuation). Examples are:

- (i) | 1 arh-áse 2 ṛñj-áse 3 rāj-áse |
- (ii) | 4 doh-áse 5 śobh-áse |
- (iii) | 6 rc-áse > jīv-áse 8 tuj-áse |
- (iv) | 9 spūrdh-áse |

Category 2

Ase-Ws having (i) irreducible, (ii) gunated, (iii) nongunated R-vowels are barytonic (radical accentuation). Examples are:

- (i) { 10 áy-ase 11 áv-ase 12 kṣád-ase }
- (ii) | 13 bhój-ase 14 spár-ase |
- (iii) { 15 * sríy-ase}

The Ws listed above under Items 1-5 are made by means of P.'s ase, and those under Items 6-8 could be formed with * Kase — a KP not taught by P. but which should be innovated — since the exponential marker |K| of (K) ase would prohibit guṇa/vṛddhi of R-vowels by the rule, A 1,1,5: K(g) \dot{n} iti ca. With regard to Item 9, $sp\bar{u}$ rdháse (: $\sqrt{sp\bar{r}}$ dh¹0 [?] or spardh + ase), one has to cudgel one's brain to explain the R-vowel alternation of $sp\bar{r}$ dh- $< spardh < sp\bar{u}$ in the light of P.'s morphophonemic procedure. Yet it is listed in Category 1, since it belongs to the paroxytonic class.

All the Ws listed in Category 2 are formed with P.'s aseN with the exception of * śríyase which is made by means of KaseN, if the accent falls on the initial syllable of the W. The barytonic śriyase (probably meant by K ad A 3,4,9) is one of the untraced or lost Vedisms (§ 3.4.3 infra).

^{9.} Jacques A. Durr, Die Zusammensetzung bei den Infinitiven und Gerundien im Rigveda, «W. Schubring 70th Birth-day Volume», Hamburg, 1951, pp. 11-18.

10. Manessy, op. cit., 196: sprdh- suggère surtout l'idée de compétition.

3.3. Of these infs, ten Ws listed under Items 1-2, 4-6, 8-9, 12-14 occur only in the *Rgvedasamhitā* (Table II). The remaining five Rgvedic Ws, listed under Items 3,7,10-11 and 15 (Table III) recur in the other *Samhitā*-s with the exception of *ávase* and *jīváse* which appear in the other Vedic texts not only in the borrowed Rgvedic *Mantra*-s but also in independent citations ¹¹. The observations made by the Rgvedic exegets ¹² on these Ws are concisely shown in Tables II and III, while the Rgvedic *ase*-Ws recurring in the other Vedic texts are sketched out in the third column of Table III. The Items marked in the first column refer to the *ase*-Ws categorised in § 3.2.

TABLE II

Item	Derivation	ŖV	Observations
í	√arh+ase	10,77,1c	S: pūjārtham. U: pūjayasi VeM: arhaṇārtham VPK (sam) 434: ase-pratyayaḥ
2	√rñj+ase	8,4,17a	S & VeM: prasādhayitum. Manessy, op. cit., 197: le datif singulier du nom-racine.
4	√duh+ase	6,66,1c	S: dogdhum. SS: dohanārtham
5	√śubh+ase	10,77,1d	S: śobhārtham. VeM: śobhanārtham U: śobhāya na yujyase
6	$\sqrt{\text{rc}}$ +ase	7,61,6c	S: sevitum. VeM: arcanārtham
8	√tuj+ase	4,23,7b	S: vadhāya. VeM: śatrūṇām himsāyai. Manessy, <i>op. cit.</i> , 200: Quasi-infinitive.
9	$\sqrt{\mathrm{sprdh}}$ -/ spardh +ase	5,64,4d	S & VeM: spardhanāya
12	√kṣad(?)+aseN	1,25,17c	See § 3.4.2
13	√bhuj+aseN	1,55,3a	S, SS & M: bhojanāya VeM: bhogāya
		8,51,3d	S: svapālanāya
14	$\sqrt{\text{spr}+\text{aseN}}$	8,20,8d	S: prītyai ca balanāya ca VeM: pāraņāya taraņāya ca

^{11.} VISHVA BANDHU (= VB), Vaidika-padānukrama-kośa (= VPK) Samhitas; s.v. ávase / jīváse.

^{12.} Note the following abbreviations: U = Udgītha; M = Mudgala; S = Sāyaṇa; SS = Skanda-Svāmī; VeM = Venkaṭa-Mādhava; BVC = Bloomfield, A Vedic Concordance², Delhi, 1964. For Sāyaṇa-Bhāṣya, see Rgveda-Samhitā, vol.s I-IV, Poona, 1933-46. For other scholiasts, see Rgveda with commentaries, Ed. VB, Hoshiarpur, 1965, vol.s I-VII.

TABLE III

Item	Derivation	RV & Other Vedic Texts	Observations
3	√rāj+ase	RV 8,97,10b = AV 20,54,1b = SVK 1,370; 2,280 = SVJ 1,39,1; 3,23,12 [BVC 956]	S: rājates tum-arthe ase-pratyayah / ātmano virājārtham prakāśanārtham / VeM: ātmano virājanārtham
7	√jīv+ase	RV 1,25,21c = KāṭhaS 21,13d = TB 2,4,2,6c = Mānśs 3,1,29 [BVC 121]	S: « jīva-prāṇadhāraṇe » ity asya tum-arthe ase-pratyayaḥ / pratyayasvaraḥ / SS: jīvayitum / VeM: jīvanāya / M: jīvitum
10	√ay+aseN	RV 1,57,3d = AV 20,15,3d	See § 3.4.1
11	√av+aseN	ŖV 1,22,6a = SāṅB 26,13	S: rakṣitum / « tum-arthe se-sen » ityādinā asen / nitvād ādyudāttaḥ / SS: tarpaṇāya pālanāya vā / M: rakṣitum /
15	√śri+KaseN	RV 1,87,6a = TS 2,1,11,2a = 4,2,11,2a = MaiS 4,11,2a = KāṭhaS 8,17a [BVC 939]	See § 3.4.3

- **3.4.0.** Let us now briefly consider the three ase-Ws: áyase (§ 3.4.1), ksádase (§ 3.4.2) and śriyase.
- **3.4.1.** The W $\dot{a}yase$ « to go » occurs in $\dot{R}V$ 1,57,3d (= AV): $\dot{y}y\acute{o}tir$ $\dot{a}k\bar{a}ri$ haríto $n\acute{a}$ - $\dot{a}yase$: The light (radiance) was made (created for him) to go (to tread the desired path) like mares (to run its course). The exeget S, VeM and M gloss the W with « $gaman\bar{a}ya$ », attaching a dative nominal value to the W.

Grassmann ¹³ considers it an inf., while Sgall ¹⁴ regards it as a quasiinf. However, S *ad RV* derives *ayase* from the process: $\sqrt{ay} + asUN$ [*Unādi* IV: 188] in the action sense. A logical derivation of the W is from: $\sqrt{ay} + aseN$ in accord with A 3,4,9 so that the barytonesis could be justified in the light of \tilde{n} .nity.ādir nityam (A 6,1,197).

14. P. SGALL, Die Infinitive im Rgveda, «Acta Universitatis Carolinae, Philologica», Prague, 1958, No. 2: 182.

^{13.} H. Grassmann, Wörterbuch zum Rig-veda³, 1955, p. 57: « ayase » ist Inf. von \sqrt{ay} lat. aes Goth. aiz eisarn.

3.4.2. The barytonic $k \dot{s} \dot{a} dase$ « to partake of or to distribute » occurs in RV 1,25,17:

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sám nú vocāvahai púnar
yáto me mádh ábhṛtam /
hóteva kṣádase priyám //
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Glossing the W with « $a\acute{s}n\bar{a}si$ », S and other exegets attach a finite verb value to it. Grassmann (loc.~cit.) too accepts this W as 2 sg. Middle. But, if priyam in the Rgvedic stanza would be taken as the complement of kṣadase, we could make the latter an inf. construction, which is so intimately related to the verbal flexion as to show case-relation ¹⁵. Accordingly we may render RV 1,25,17 as under:

We want to invoke (him) together again, because honey is brought to me as the Hotr (invokes) the dear (honey) in order to distribute it.

3.4.30. The word *śriyase* is made by means of KaseN according to K and SK (Table I). The W is constructed by the following grammatical steps:

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\sqrt{\text{śri-N}} + K-ase-N ... .. Kase-N by A 3,4,9
= \sqrt{\text{śri}} \oslash + \oslash ase \oslash ... .. \tilde{N},N= \oslash by A 1,3,3; 9. K is \oslash by A 1,3,8; 9
= \sin + ase ... .. iy \sim i by A 6,4,77
= \sin ... barytonesis by A 6,1,197
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If the W is formed with K-ase-N, it should be barytonised through the force of A 6,1,197. But the Veda has preserved only the paroxytone (\acute{sriy} ase). Consequently, we are led to distinguish the barytonic \acute{sriy} ase from the paroxytonic \acute{sriy} ase.

- **3.4.31.** Two typical instances for the paroxytonic W drawn from RV are cited here:
 - (a) 1,87,6a: śriyáse kám bhānúbhih sám mimikṣire / This line is interpreted by the exegets to mean that « by their radiance (or by the brilliant lustre of sun's rays, the Maruts desire to) pour down rainwaters abundantly to be served (by people, that is to say, the Maruts pour down rain for the welfare of mankind) ». Both S and M gloss śriyáse with « śrayitum prānibhih sevitum », while SS and VeM seem to attach a dative nominal value to it.

^{15.} Manessy, op. cit., 187.

(b) 5,51,3: gávām-iva śriyáse śrigam uttamám (a) / Both S and M, surprisingly enough, gloss śriyase with «śriye dhārayatha». However. SS and VeM attach a (dative) nominal value to it. Concomitantly this line (3a) may be rendered as follows:

[You remain splendid] to be resplendent [with your]

highest horn, like [the horn of] cattle 16.

- 3.4.32. Bhattoji cites RV 5,59,3a for illustrating KaseN, but he does not offer an explanation for the Vedic paroxytone. The citation given by K for illustrating KaseN is, in all probability, one of the lost or untraced Vedisms. Haradatta, Jinendra Buddhi (ad SK 3436) do not throw any light on the accentuation of śriyase. But Jayakṛṣṇa (Subodhinī gloss ad SK 3436) ventures to put forward the view that, although in the Mantra (i.e. RV) the inf. is a paroxytone, śriyase may be justified on the ground of bāhulaka (A 3,1,85).
- 3.4.33. S ad RV 1,87,6a thinks the W is formed with KaseN, and Bhattabhāskara ad TS 2,1,11,2 [Mysore edn., vol. III, p. 324] regards the suffix as ase. Neither the former explains the Rgvedic paroxytonesis nor the latter accounts for the absence of guna/vrddhi of the R-vowel of the Vedic śriyase.
- 3.4.34. VB (op. cit., 3164) assumes the suffix * kase with which the W is formed, in an attempt to justify the paroxytonesis by A 3,1,3: ādy udāttas ca and the nongunated/nonvrddhied R-vowel by A 1,1,5 (indicated by KIT).
- 3.4.35. Across the diverse explanations given by Pāṇinīya-s and exegets, a probable solution would be to explain śriyase as formed with ase and account for the absence of guna/vrddhi of the R-vowel by resorting to P.'s tool of vyatyaya taught in the rule: vyatyayo bahulam [A 3,1,85] which, perforce, admits of the operation of A 1,1,5.
- 3.4.36. The magnitude of the task is such that most of the Pāṇinīya-s have refrained from citing an apt illustration for KaseN. But I may throw open the hypothesis that P. might have drawn his materials for formulating KaseN from a lost Vedic text which, in my opinion, might be closely related to the Rgveda. Does the author of the Kāśikā cite the Vedic tag * bhágāya śríyase from this source?

4. Conclusion

4.0. Looking back on the ground covered in this paper, we would be struck by the following considerations.

^{16.} Cf. K. F. Geldner's translation of RV 5,59,3a: Wie der Rinder (Horn) ist euer höchstes Horn prächtig zu schauen (Der Rig-Veda, HOS, 1951), vol. 34: 66. On śriyase, see now M. D. BALASUBRAHMANYAM, Vedic śriyase and Pāṇini 3,4,9, in VIJ, vol. X, 1972, pp. 7-10.

- 4.1. Across the diversity of syntactic functions of the ase-Ws in the Rgvedasamhitā (= RV), a student of P. and the Veda may discern the coherence of an accentual structure well established in RV. And from the Pāṇinian point of view, it is possible to show the infinitival character of some fifteen ase-Ws in RV, nine of which are paroxytonic, and the rest belong to the barytonic class.
- **4.2.** Based on the place of accent and the vowel conditions of the R. as warranted by the Pāninian system, the fifteen ase-Ws may be conveniently fitted into a binary categorisation: the first, comprising paroxytonic Ws with irreducible, strong, weak and altered R-vowels; and, the second, belonging to the barytonic Ws with irreducible, strong, weak R-vowels (§ 3.2).
- 4.3. According to the Paninian system of accentuation, ase-Ws accent the suffix-initial by the rule: (pratyayah A 3,1,1; paras ca A 3,1,2) ādy udāttas ca (A 3,1,3), and those in aseN/KaseN are barytonic Ws through the force of the rule: ñ.n.ity ādir nityam (A 6,1,197).
- 4.4. A Pāninist cum Vedist would have expected of P. to posit the KP * Kase (after -kse-) in A 3,4,9 in order that such Rgvedic infs as rcáse and tujáse in which the R-vowels appear without guna, could be satisfactorily explained.
- 4.5. P. might have drawn his materials for formulating KaseN from a lost Vedic text which would be closely related to RV.
- 4.6. P.'s rules of word-formation and accentuation, besides the Space-Time perspective, must occupy an important niche in evaluating Vedic linguistic materials.

SŪTRA REFERENCES sütra

Α

	SULL W
1,1,5	k(g)niti ca
1,3,3	hal.antyam
1,3,8	la.śa.kv ataddhite
1,3,9	tasya lopah
3,1,1	pratyayah
3,1,2	paras ca
3,1,3	ādy udāttas ca
3,1,85	vyatyayo bahulam
	tum-arthe se.sen.ase. asen.kse. kasen. adhyai. adhyain. kadhyai. kadhyain
	śadhyai, śadhyain, tavai, taven, tavenah
3,4,67	karttari krt
6,1,197	ñ.n.ity ādir nityam
6,4,77	aci śnu.dhātu.bhruvām yvor iyan.uvanau