

## A NOTE ON TRĀCÁ-

In his *Some Aspects of Indo-Aryan Linguistics*, Prof. M. A. Mehendale examines the question of the relative age of Yāska and Pāṇini and finally claims Yāska to be post-Pāṇinian. One of his arguments is based on the explanation of the expression *trācá-* in Yāska's Nirukta. Let me quote Prof. Mehendale's argument, before I offer my criticism:<sup>1</sup>

In the Nirukta 2.1, Yāska says that in the form *trāca-* one observes the loss of two letters (*athāpi dvivarna-lopaḥ/trāca iti*). ... As was recognized by Roth long ago, the two letters which have disappeared are *r* and *y*: *tri + rc(a) = tryrca > trāca*, i.e. the form does not follow the normal *yañ* sandhi which, for instance, is to be observed in *dvyrca* (*dvi + rca*). Now it is significant to note that Pāṇini's sūtras do not provide for the form *trāca*. One way of accounting for this lapse is to say that the word escaped Pāṇini's notice. But *trāca* is not uncommon enough to make this explanation satisfactory. It is more reasonable to assume that in Pāṇini's time and in his region, the pronunciation of the form was still *tryrca*, like *dvyrca*, and hence there was no occasion for him to make any rule to explain *trāca*. By the time of Kātyāyana, however, the change in the pronunciation had come about and hence he found it necessary to formulate a *vārttika* (P.6.1.37) to account for this peculiarity. The *vārttika* runs as *rci trer uttara-padādi-lopaś ca chandasi*. ... This development shows that in Pāṇini's time *tryrca* was pronounced in the regular way. It was later changed to *trāca*, and this was arrived at somewhat differently by Yāska and Kātyāyana.

Prof. Mehendale's argument seems to ignore the condition *chandasi* "in the Vedic speech only" of the *vārttika*, which means that *trāca-* did not occur in Kātyāyana's own speech. This is confirmed by the Vedic evidence: *trāca-* occurs in Śaunaka's recension of the *Atharvaveda*<sup>2</sup> and in the *Black Yajurveda MS 1, KS 1, TS 3*<sup>3</sup> and besides in most of the major *Āraṇyaka-Brāhmaṇa* texts<sup>4</sup> and the major *Śrautasūtras*,<sup>5</sup> whereas *tryrca-* is absent from the Vedic literature and first found in classical Sanskrit (*Manusmṛti* and *Yājñavalkyasmṛti*).<sup>6</sup> Prof. Mehendale's assumption that "in Pāṇini's time

<sup>1</sup> M. A. Mehendale, *Some Aspects of Indo-Aryan Linguistics* (University of Bombay, 1968), pp. 7–8.

<sup>2</sup> Śaunaka's recension of the *Atharvaveda*, 19.23.19.

<sup>3</sup> TS, 1.5.8.3, 2.5.8.1 and 2.5.10.1.

<sup>4</sup> Vishva Bandhu (ed.), *Vaidika-Padānukrama-Koṣa*, Sec. II, Pt. II (Lahore, 1936), p. 460). Here we find references to: *Aitareya-Brāhmaṇa* and *Āraṇyaka, Śāṅkhyāyana-Brāhmaṇa* and *Āraṇyaka, Tāṇḍya-mahābrāhmaṇa, Jaiminīya-Brāhmaṇa, Satapatha-Brāhmaṇa*, and *Gopatha-Brāhmaṇa*.

<sup>5</sup> Vishva Bandhu (ed.), *Vaidika-Padānukrama-Koṣa*, Sec. IV, Pt. II (Hoshiarpur, 1958), pp. 1193–4. Here we find references to the following *Srauta-sūtras*: *Āśvalāyana, Śāṅkhyāyana, Kātyāyana, Drāhyāyana, Āpastamba, Jaiminīya-* and *Lāṭyāyana*.

<sup>6</sup> Sanskrit-English Dictionary, by Monier Williams.

and in his region, the pronunciation of the form was *tryṛca*” cannot, therefore, be correct. Since Pāṇini was probably acquainted with the *Śaunakīya Atharvaveda*,<sup>7</sup> and certainly with the *Black Yajurveda*<sup>8</sup> and the *Aitareya-Brāhmaṇa*,<sup>9</sup> the lack of a rule in Pāṇini’s grammar to account for *ṛca-* can only be due to an oversight. The fact that Yāska explains it, while Pāṇini does not, cannot prove anything about their relative chronology. The argument is totally inconclusive. In the absence of a special rule for *ṛca-*, Prof. Mehendale considers the normal rule P.6.1.77 (*iko yaṇ aci*) an indication of the existence of *tryṛca-* in Pāṇini’s speech. However, this general *sandhi*-rule is not enough to show the existence of a particular expression in Pāṇini’s speech.

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<sup>7</sup> V. S. Agrawala, *India as Known to Pāṇini*, University of Lucknow, 1953, p. 318; Paul Thieme, *Pāṇini and the Veda*, Allahabad, 1935, p. 41, 66 and 73, *Kleine Schriften*, p. 528.

<sup>8</sup> Agrawala, *ibid*, p. 321; Thieme, *ibid*, p. 63.

<sup>9</sup> Agrawala, *ibid*, p. 328; Thieme, *ibid*, p. 75.