

What is *bhāva*?: A Grammatical Analysis of the Term *bhāva**

HIDEYO OGAWA
HIROSHIMA UNIVERSITY

0. Introduction

As every Sanskritist knows, the term *bhāva*, which occurs frequently in Classical Sanskrit texts, especially in philosophical ones, is a rather broad term, although it is commonly used to denote 'being', 'existence', an 'existing thing', and so on. Whenever we come across this term, it forces us to examine carefully in what sense it is used. I am left with the impression that the derivational explanation of it is of great help to properly understand in what sense it is used in a given context. Fortunately, vārttikas on A5.1.119 *tasya bhāvas tvatalau* give us a chance of knowing how the term *bhāva* is to be grammatically explained, for in the vārttikas it is used to refer to three different things: existence, a linguistic item (*śabda*), and a meaning (*artha*) and later Pāṇinīyas give a derivational explanation for that. The purpose of this paper is thus to furnish a key to an understanding of what the term *bhāva* could mean by carefully looking into its use in the vārttikas on A5.1.119.

1. A5.1.119 provides that the taddhita affix *tva* or *tal* follows a pada with a sixth-triplet ending (*tasya*) to form a derivate which denotes *bhāva* that is connected with the base of the pada. For example, this sūtra allows one to have *puruṣatvam*, *puruṣatā* that are equivalent to the utterance *puruṣasya bhāvaḥ* 'bhāva of a man', 'the property of being a man, manhood'. Naturally the question arises: What exactly does the term *bhāva* in this sūtra signify?¹

Let us first consider the fourth vārttika, in which Kātyāyana points out that the sūtra could possibly apply even if the term *bhāva* signifies meanings like 'intention' (*abhiprāya*).² According

*I gratefully acknowledge helpful discussions with Professor Brendan S. Gillon on several points in the paper.

¹Note that the meaning of a sixth-triplet ending (*ṣaṣṭhī*) introduced by A2.3.50 *ṣaṣṭhī śeṣe* is a relation in general (*sambandha*).

²Vt. 4 on A5.1.119: *tasya bhāva ity abhiprāyādiṣv ati-*

to Patañjali, one says:

abhiprāyo devadattasya modakeṣu bhojane
'Devadatta has the intention of eating sweet-meats' or 'Devadatta's intention of eating sweet-meats';

and besides, using the word *bhāva* in the sense of 'intention', one has in ordinary discourse:

ye no bhāvās te no bhāvāḥ putrāḥ putraiś ceṣtante

"Our desires/intents will always be what they are; sons act on their own."³

In this utterance the string *no bhāvās* is used. The item *no* (=nas) is a substitute for *asmākam* 'our'(gen. pl.), so that this string is equivalent to the utterance *asmākam bhāvāḥ* 'our intentions' from which the item *asmattva*, *asmattā* might be derived. This is what Kātyāyana intends to say in his fourth vārttika. Obviously, in stating this vārttika Kātyāyana presupposes that there are several meanings of the word *bhāva*, beginning with 'intention', other than what Pāṇini is assumed to mean by this word in the sūtra.

2. Later Pāṇinīyas enumerate different meanings the term *bhāva* could have. I will give them here, together with their usage where possible.

- (1) intention (*abhiprāya*) *ayam bhāvāḥ* 'This is what one's intention is';
- (2) a thing in general, an existent thing in general (*padārthamātra*)
vicitrā bhāvaśaktayaḥ 'varied powers of a thing';

prasaṅgaḥ //

³MBh on vt. 4 ad A5.1.119 (II.366.8–9): *tasya bhāva ity abhiprāyādiṣv atiprasaṅgo bhavati / ihāpi prāpnoti— abhiprāyo devadattasya modakeṣu bhojane / ye no bhāvās te no bhāvāḥ putrāḥ putraiś ceṣtanta iti /*

The utterance in question literally means 'The intentions (*bhāva*) which we have belong to us; sons act with sons'. Kaiyaṭa paraphrases the first half of this utterance as follows: *asmākam ye 'bhiprāyās te nityam evāsmākam bhavanti* 'The intentions we have always occur to us (*bhavanti*)'.

- (3) feelings culminating in sentiments (*rasa*) such as *śṛṅgāra* or an erotic sentiment *sthāyībhāva* 'a lasting feeling', *sañcārībhāva* 'a transient feeling';
- (4) the act denoted by the verb *bhū*, in the abstract (*bhavatyartha*)
- (5) a *kāraka* other than an agent with respect to the act denoted by the verb *bhū*;
- (6) a verb meaning in general (*dhātvarthamātra*), an action in general
A2.3.37 *yasya ca bhāvena bhāvalakṣaṇam*;
- (7) the basis for occurrence (*pravṛttinimitta*).⁴

It is to be noted in this connection that the verb *bhū*, from which the word *bhāva* is derived by adding a *kṛt* affix, is polysemous. Pāṇinīyas recognize that one can attribute different meanings to this verb. According to Haradatta, they are as follows:

- (1) 'exist', 'be'(*sattā*)
A4.3.53 *tatra bhavaḥ*;
- (2) 'be born', 'arise'(*janman*)
A5.2.1 *dhānyānām bhavane kṣetre khañ*;
- (3) 'obtain'(*prāpti*)
A2.3.21 *ithambhūtalakṣaṇe*,
A6.2.149 *ithambhūtena kṛtam iti ca*;
- (4) 'be prosperous'(*samṛddhi*)
bhūṣṇu 'one who wishes for prosperity',
bhūtikāma 'one who is desirous of prosperity'.⁵

⁴Padamañjarī on *Kāśikāvṛtti* ad A5.1.119: *bhāvaśabdo 'yam bhavateś ceti vaktavyam iti napatrayayānto 'sty evābhiprāye, yathā—ayam bhāvaḥ iti, asti ca padārthamātravacanaḥ, tathā—vicitrā hi bhāvaśaktayaḥ iti, asti ca śṛṅgārādiṣu—sthāyībhāvaḥ sañcārībhāva iti, ghañantas tu bhavatyarthe kartṛvarjite ca kārake varitate / bhavatiś cānekārthaḥ, tadyathā—tatra bhavaḥ iti sattārthaḥ, dhānyānām bhavane ity utpatyārthaḥ, ithambhūte iti prāptyārthaḥ, bhūṣṇur bhūtikāmaḥ iti samṛddhyārthaḥ, yasya ca bhāvena bhāvalakṣaṇam ityādau dhātvarthamātravacanaḥ, vṛttikāropadarśitaś cāparaḥ, tataś ca tasya bhāvaḥ ity abhiprāyādiṣv atiprasaṅgaḥ... /*

Uddyota on *MBh* ad A5.1.119 (IV.82–83): *bhāvaśabdo 'sty abhiprāyavācī, yathā ayam bhāva iti / padārthamātre 'pi yathā—vicitrā bhāvaśaktaya iti / asti ca śṛṅgārādisthāyīsañcārīṣu sthāyībhāvaḥ, sañcārībhāva iti / [ghañantas tu] kartṛvarjitakārake ca / yasya ca bhāvenetyādau dhātvarthavacanaḥ / pravṛttinimittvācī cety abhiprāyēṇāha bhāṣye—abhiprāyādiṣv iti /*

According to Haradatta, the term *bhāva* which ends in the *kṛt* affix *na* covers (1)–(3), and the one which ends in the *kṛt* affix *ghañ* covers (4)–(7).

⁵See the *Padamañjarī* cited in note 4 above.

Pāṇinīyas also hold that the term *bhāva* is formed from the verb *bhū* with different *kṛt* affixes: *na* and *ghañ*. In general, *kṛt* affixes are introduced on condition that an agent is to be signified (A3.4.67 *kartari kṛt*). But the *kṛt* affix *ghañ* follows a verb on condition that an abstract act (*bhāva*) or a *kāraka* other than an agent is to be signified (A3.3.18 *bhāve*; A3.3.19 *akartari ca kārake samjñāyām*). The introduction of the affix *na* after the verb *bhū* is provided for by the following *vārttika*.

bhavateś ceti vaktayam //

This *vārttika*, which is not incorporated in the *Mahābhāṣya* but is stated in the *Kāśikāvṛtti* on A3.1.143, provides that the *kṛt* affix *na* is optionally introduced after the verb *bhū*, allowing one to have two forms: *bhāva* (*na*) and *bhava* (*ac*).⁶

The *kṛt* affix *ghañ* is introduced after the verb *bhū* by the following *sūtra*:

A3.3.24 *śriṅībhuvō 'nupasarge //*

This *sūtra* provides that the *kṛt* affix occurs after the verb *bhū* which is not preceded by a preverb (*upasarga*).

Of the above-mentioned meanings attributed to the verb *bhū*, those with which we are concerned are (1) *sattā* and (2) *janman*. For when discussing what Pāṇini means by the term *bhāva* in A5.1.119, Pāṇinīyas try to give derivational explanations to it by saying *bhavantīti bhāvāḥ, bhavaty aneneti*.⁷

This shows that the verb *bhū* which signifies *prāpti* and which is included in the group beginning with *cura* is left out of consideration here. And, moreover, the use of the verb *bhū* in the sense of *samṛddhi*, archaic, is irrelevant to the present discussion. Thus we have only to consider here the two meanings of the verb *bhū*:

⁶Bhaṭṭoji Dikṣita regards the statement *bhavateś ceti vaktavyam* to have been made by the *Kāśikāvṛtti*. He says that, according to Patañjali, the term *bhāva* that refers to *padārtha* a 'thing' is to be derived from the verb *bhū* which signifies *prāpti* by adding the *kṛt* affix *ac*. SK2905 (A3.1.143): *bhavateś ca iti kāśikā / bhāvo devaḥ saṃsāraś ca / bhāvāḥ padārthāḥ / bhāṣyamate tu prāptyarthaḥ curādīṇyantād ac / bhāvaḥ / (bhū + nic + ac)*. The *Bālamānoramā* comments as follows. *BM* on SK2905: *bhāvayati prāpayati svakāryam ity arthe bhū prāptau iti curādīṇyantād bhāvi ity asmād acpratyaye nilope bhāvaśabda ity arthaḥ /*

⁷See §§4.2, 6.

sattā and *janman*. It is to be noted in passing that there is a possibility that the term *bhāva* might be formed from the derived verb *bhāvi* (*bhū* + *ñic* [A3.1.25–26]).⁸

But the derivational explanations stated above rule out this possibility, although, in view of the verb *bhū* used in the sense of *prāpti* being ruled out, only the causative form *bhāvi* is taken into consideration. To summarize:

bhū (*sattā/janman*) + *na* [kartṛ] → *bhāva*
bhū (*sattā/janman*) + *ghañ* [*bhāva*/kāraka
 other than an agent] → *bhāva*

This shows that the term *bhāva* means:

what is or arises;⁹
 the abstract act of being or arising;
 a kāraka other than an agent which is involved
 in the act of being or arising.

3. It has been shown that the polysemy of the term *bhāva* compels Kātyāyana to state vārttika 4 on A5.1.119. In order to avoid the difficulty pointed out, Kātyāyana goes on to suggest the reformulation of the rule to provide for the taddhita affix *tva* or *tal* to occur. He gives two formulations that alternate with each other.

3.1. The first formulation is given in vārttika 5. Kātyāyana says:

*Vt. 5: siddham tu yasya guṇasya bhāvād
 dravye śabdaniveśas tadabhidhāne tvatalau //*
 F1

Here is what Kātyāyana means to say by this vārttika. A linguistic item (*śabda*) is applied to or used (*niveśa*)¹⁰ to refer to a substance (*dravya*) on the basis of the existence (*bhāva*) of a quality (*guṇa*). When this quality is to be signified, the taddhita affix *tva* or *tal* is introduced after a pada with a sixth-triplet ending.¹¹

⁸In his *Nāṭyaśāstra* Bharatamuni explaining *bhāva* as a feeling, says *bhāvayantīti bhāvāḥ* 'those which bring something to being', where the verb *bhū* + *ñic* is taken to be synonymous with the verb *kr* 'make', so that the verb *bhū* here means *janman*.

⁹In explaining the usage of the term *bhāva* to mean *abhiprāya*, Kaiyaṭa takes it as an agent noun. *Pradīpa* on *MBh* ad A5.1.119 (IV.83): *ye no bhāvā itī / asmākaṃ ye 'bhiprāyās te nityam evāsmākaṃ bhavanti arthaḥ / bhavanti bhāvāḥ / bhavateś cetī vaktavyam itī kartari naḥ /*

¹⁰*Nyāsa* on *Kāśīkāvṛtti* ad A5.1.119: *niveśaḥ pravṛtīḥ /*

¹¹*MBh* on *vt. 5* ad A5.1.119 (II.366.11–11–12): *siddh-*

Note that, according to later Pāṇinīyas, what is meant by the terms *dravya* and *guṇa* are precisely what Bhartṛhari defines in the *Bhūyodravyasamuddeśa* and *Guṇasamuddeśa* of his *Vākyapadīya*, respectively. According to Bhartṛhari, that which is connected with something and which functions to differentiate it from others (*bhedaka*) is called *guṇa*, while that which is referred to by demonstratives such as *idam* 'this' or *tad* 'that' and which is intended to be conveyed as something to be differentiated (*bhedyā*) is called *dravya*.¹²

Given F1, the taddhita affix *tva* or *tal* is not used to signify *bhāva* that is *abhiprāya*. For the word *devadatta* is not used to refer to a substance just because there exists *abhiprāya* in the person named *devadatta*.¹³

3.2. The second formulation, an alternative to the first, is suggested in the sixth vārttika.

*Vt. 6: yadvā sarve bhāvāḥ svena bhāvena
 bhavanti sa teṣāṃ bhāvas tadabhidhāne //* F2

The meaning of this vārttika could never be easily grasped for the reason that the same word *bhāva* is employed here three times. Of the three *bhāvas*, Patañjali says, the first one refers to a linguistic item (*śabda*) and the last two to a meaning (*artha*).¹⁴ Using the terms *śabda* and *artha* instead of the term *bhāva*, he paraphrases vārttika 6 as follows:

MBh on *vt. 6* ad A5.1.119 (II.367.26–27):
*yadvā sarve śabdāḥ svenārthena bhavanti sa
 teṣāṃ artha itī, tadabhidhāne vā tvatalau
 bhavata itī vaktavyam /*

Merely rephrasing *bhāvas* as *śabda* and *artha*, however, do not seem to facilitate the understand-

am etat / katham / yasya guṇasya bhāvād dravye śabdaniveśas tadabhidhāne tasmin guṇe vaktavye pratyayena bhavitavyam ... /

¹²*VP3.5.1: samsargi bhedakaṃ yad yat savyāpāraṃ
 praṭīyate / guṇatvaṃ paratantratvāt tasya śāstra udāhṛtam
 // VP3.4.3: vastūpalakṣaṇaṃ yatra sarvanāma prayujyate /
 dravyam ity ucyate so 'rtho bhedyatvena vivakṣitaḥ
 // Kaiyaṭa says as follows. Pradīpa on MBh ad A5.1.119
 (IV. 83): guṇaśabdena yāvān kaścit parāśrayo bhedako
 jātyādir arthaḥ sa sarva iha gṛhyate / ... / dravyaśabdena
 viśeṣyabhūtas sattvabhāvāpanno 'rtha ucyate /*

¹³*MBh* on *vt. 5* ad A5.1.119 (II.366.12): *na cābhiprāyādīnāṃ bhāvād dravye devadattaśabdo vartate /*

¹⁴*MBh* on *vt. 6* ad A5.1.119 (II.367.25): *ekena śabdāḥ
 pratīnirdīśyate dvābhyām arthaḥ /*

ing of F1. Kaiyaṭa therefore suggests that the ablative form of the relative pronoun *yad* (*yasmāt*) should be supplied in F2 as a correlative with *saḥ* (*tad*; nom. sg. m.) in *sa teṣāṃ bhāvaḥ*, taking the relative pronoun as referring to *pravṛttinimitta* or the basis for occurrence. He says:

Pradīpa on *MBh* ad A5.1.119 (IV.91): *yasmāt yatpravṛttinimittāt svenārthena prayujyante so 'rthas teṣāṃ pravṛttinimittatayā sambandhūty arthaḥ /*

The pronoun *saḥ* in the clause *sa teṣāṃ bhāvaḥ* is coreferential with the term *bhāva* (*bhāvaḥ*) as taken as referring to a meaning. Consequently the phrase *yasmāt pravṛttinimittāt* is equivalent to *yasmād bhāvāt*. In his *Uddyota* Nāgeśa gives his interpretation of the present vārttika by supplying *yasmāt* in the same way as Kaiyaṭa.

Uddyota on *MBh* ad A5.1.119 (IV.91): *sarve śabdāḥ svena [arthena] vācyena karaṇena yasmāt pravṛttinimittād bhavanti vācyārthabodhanāya prayogaṃ prāpnuvanti sa pravṛttinimittarūpo 'rthas teṣāṃ śabdānāṃ bhāvaḥ /*

The fifth-triplet ending or ablative ending in the phrase *yasmāt pravṛttinimittāt* signifies *hetu* or 'cause', 'reason'. This is accounted for by A2.3.25 *vibhāṣa guṇe 'striyām*. On the other hand, the third-triplet ending or instrumental ending in the phrase *svena bhāvena* or *svenārthena* undoubtedly signifies *karaṇa* or 'instrument'. This is accounted for by A2.3.18 *karṭṭrakaraṇayos trītyā*. It is to be noted in this connection that what is spoken of as *hetu* can be what is spoken of as *karaṇa*. According to Bhartrhari, what is called *hetu* is what brings a thing to accomplishment and the thing can be a substance or a quality or an action (*kriyā*), while what is called *karaṇa* is what brings only an action to accomplishment.¹⁵

Now we come to know what the vārttika in question means to say. Any linguistic item (*bhāva* 1, i.e., *śabda*) occurs (*bhavanti*) for the sake of conveying its own (*sva*) meaning (*bhāva* 2, i.e., *artha*). This takes place on the basis of a meaning (*bhāva* 2, i.e., *artha*) which consists

¹⁵VP3.7.25ab: *dravyādiviṣayo hetuḥ kāraṇaṃ niyata-kriyam / Vt. 1 on A2.3.23:nimittakāraṇahetuṣu sarvāsāṃ prāyadarśanam* tells us that the terms *nimitta*, *kāraṇa*, and *hetu* are synonymous with one another.

in being *pravṛttinimitta*. It is the meaning of a linguistic item which functions as *pravṛttinimitta* that is the *bhāva* to be signified by the taddhita affix *tva* or *tal*.

We have to note here that later Pāṇinīyas recognize that there are two kinds of meanings: one is what is to be denoted by a linguistic item (*vācyā*) and the other is what serves as the basis for the application of the linguistic item (*pravṛttinimitta*).¹⁶ This is a reflection of Pāṇinīyas'theory of denotation: in order to refer to a substance, one has to resort to a quality which differentiates the substance from others.¹⁷ In my opinion, therefore, we must say that F1 is highly important in that it presupposes Pāṇinīyas'theory of denotation.

4. We have seen that in F1 and F2 Kātyāyana uses the term *bhāva* in three senses.

4.1. *bhāva* = *vidyamānatva*

The term *bhāva* in the phrase *yasya guṇasya bhāvāt* of F1 is derived from the verb *bhū* which means *sattā* or being by adding the kṛt affix *ghañ* to denote the abstract act of being. Kaiyaṭa glosses *bhāvāt* with *vidyamānatvāt* 'because of being the agent of being'. When a quality is said to exist, it is the agent of the act of being. The kṛt affix *ghañ* here denotes *bhāva*, a verb meaning in the abstract (*bhāve ghañ*). It is proper to say that the term *bhāva* here means 'existence', 'being', counting as *bhāvasādhana* or an

¹⁶*Pradīpa* on *MBh* ad A5.1.119 (IV.91): *sa ca dvividho vācyapravṛttinimittarūpaḥ / Helārāja* interprets vārttika 6 differently. First, he takes the term *bhāva* in *svena bhāvena* as referring to a meaning characterized as *pravṛttinimitta* and not a meaning characterized as *vācyā* (*bhavanti asmād iti [bhāvāḥ]*). Second, he takes [*sarve bhāvāḥ*] *bhavanti* as equivalent to *prayujyante* '...are used', saying that the verb *bhū* could mean *prayoga* 'use'. Third, without introducing *yasmāt*, he takes the pronoun *saḥ* in *sa teṣāṃ bhāvaḥ* as referring to the *bhāva* in *svena bhāvena*, *bhāva* as the meaning characterized as *pravṛttinimitta*. *Prakāśa* on VP3.5.1: *yadvā sarve bhāvāḥ svena bhāvena bhavanti sa teṣāṃ bhāvaḥ ity atra tu pakṣe śabdavācīnī prakṛtiḥ , gośabdasya bhāvo gotvam iti / tathā hi sarve bhāvāḥ sarve śabdāḥ svena bhāvena bhavanti asmād iti vyutpattiyā pravṛttinimittalakṣaṇenārthena bhavanti / anekārthatvād dhātūnāṃ bhavateḥ prayogavacanatvāt prayujyanta iti / sa pravṛttinimittalakṣaṇo bhāvas teṣāṃ śabdānāṃ pratyaya-vācyā iti tacchbdavācyā śabdātmikā prakṛtir atra pakṣe bhavati /*

¹⁷VP3.5.2abd: *dravyasyāvvyapadeśasya ya upādīyate guṇaḥ / bhedako vyapadeśāya ...//*

item formed with the *kṛt* affix to denote *bhāva* or an abstract act.

One might add that it is clear from the following remark of Kaiyaṭa that the term *bhāva* in F1 is used in the sense of 'existence', 'being',

Pradīpa on *MBh* ad A5.1.119 (IV.93): *yasya bhāvād ity etāvaty ucyamāne putrasya bhāvāt pītari pīṭṛśabdappravartanāt pīṭṛtvam iti putre bhāvapratyayaḥ syāt, putratvam iti ca pītārīti guṇagrahaṇam /*

According to Kaiyaṭa, if F1 were formulated as *yasya bhāvāt* . . . without putting the word *guṇasya*, an undesirable result would follow. The word *pīṭṛ* 'father' is used to refer to a father on the basis of the existence of his son, so that the derivate *pīṭṛva* should denote the son; similarly, the word *putra* 'son' is applied to a son on the basis of the existence of his father, so that the derivate *putratva* should denote the father.

4.2. *bhāva* = *śabda*

In explaining Patañjali's gloss of the term *bhāva* with the term *śabda*, Kaiyaṭa says:

Pradīpa on *MBh* ad A5.1.119 (IV.91): *bhavanīti bhāvāḥ śabdāḥ / bhavateś ceti vaktavyam iti kartari ṇaḥ /*¹⁸

According to Kaiyaṭa, the term *bhāva* taken as referring to a linguistic item (*śabda*) is derived from the verb *bhū* by adding the *kṛt* affix *ṇa* to denote the agent with respect to the act of being born which is denoted by this verb *bhū*. It is clear from the following that the verb *bhū* here means *janman* or birth. Kātyāyana says *sarve bhāvāḥ . . . bhavanti*. What is referred to by the term *bhāva* is what is spoken of as *bhavati*. Kaiyaṭa glosses *bhavanti* with *pravartante* ' . . . occur'. According to him, a linguistic item occurs as what denotes its own meaning.¹⁹ Nāgeśa says that linguistic items occur as the objects of utterance (*uccāraṇaviśaya*).²⁰ It is natural that the *kṛt* affix *ṇa* here refers to an agent (*kartari ṇaḥ*).

¹⁸It is interesting to note that Kaiyaṭa, when explaining the term *bhāva* used in the sense of *abhiprāya*, uses a similar expression (*bhavanīti bhāvāḥ / bhavateś ceti vaktavyam iti kartari ṇaḥ*). See n. 7.

¹⁹*Pradīpa* on *MBh* ad A5.1.119 (IV.91): *śabdānām svārtho vācyas tena bhavanti—tatra vācakatvena pravartanta ity arthaḥ /*

²⁰*Uddyota* on *MBh* ad A5.1.119 (IV.91): *bhavanīti / uccāraṇaviśayā bhavanīty arthaḥ*

4.3. *bhāva* = *artha*

The term *bhāva* taken as referring to a meaning (*artha*) is formed from the verb *bhū* with the *kṛt* affix *ghañ*. What matters is what this *kṛt* affix denotes. According to Kaiyaṭa, when the term *bhāva* is taken to refer to a meaning, the *kṛt* affix *ghañ* signifies an instrument (*karaṇa*). He says:

Pradīpa on *MBh* ad A5.1.119 (IV.91): *atra tu karaṇasādhano ghañ /*

According to Kaiyaṭa, the term *bhāva* which signifies a meaning counts as *karaṇasādhana* or an item formed with the *kṛt* affix to denote an instrument. When the term *bhāva* for a meaning is taken as an item that ends in the *kṛt* affix *ghañ* to denote an instrument, the verb *bhū* this affix follows means *janman*. It is obvious that a meaning is connected with a linguistic item, as something that occurs. A meaning serves as instrument of a linguistic item occurring, for one uses a linguistic item in order to convey a meaning. It is precisely a meaning that is that by which a linguistic item occurs.

As said earlier, a meaning is twofold: a meaning to be denoted by a linguistic item (*vācya*) and a meaning as the basis for the occurrence of the linguistic item (*pravṛtтинимित्ता*). A meaning that is to be denoted is, it is true, an instrument for a linguistic item occurring in that one uses a linguistic item in order to convey a meaning.²¹ However, a meaning to be denoted by a linguistic item is insufficient to cause the linguistic item to occur. For it comes in question how such a meaning is spoken of. We have to recall that Pāṇinīyas' theory of denotation demands that a quality connected with a substance be resorted to in order to denote the substance. This implies that the meaning which consists in being the basis for the occurrence of a linguistic item is also properly said to be another instrument for the occurrence of the linguistic item.

5. The difference between F1 and F2 is this. F1 provides that the affix *tva* or *tal* follows a pada with a sixth-triplet ending when the quality, on the basis of which the base of the pada is applied to its meaning, a substance which is

²¹*Pradīpa* on *MBh* ad A5.1.119 (IV.91): *vācya 'rthaḥ śabdabhavane karaṇatvena vivakṣitaḥ / arthapratyāyanāya śabdaprayogād bhavaty arthasya karaṇatvam /*

related to that quality, is to be signified. According to Kaiyaṭa, F1 amounts to saying that *tva* or *tal* occurs after items such as *go* which denote meanings such as a universal, a quality (in a narrower sense), a substance (in a narrower sense) when properties related to them, such as a word-form, a quality (in a narrower sense²²), and a universal, are to be denoted.²³ F2, on the other hand, provides that these affixes follow a pada with a sixth-triplet ending when the base of the pada denotes its own form and when the basis for the application of that base is to be denoted.²⁴ While in F1 the base after which the affixes occur is taken to denote its own meaning (*arthābhīdhāyin*), in F2 it is taken to denote its own form (*śabdābhīdhāyin*). Whichever one chooses, what F1 and F2 account for is the same. The affix *tva* or *tal* is introduced to denote the basis for the application of the linguistic item which that affix follows.

Therefore the objection is raised in the Bhāṣya: Either of F1 and F2 is to be formulated, so that the sūtra in question is changed. To this objection, an answer is given: Let it be just as it has been originally phrased. But it has been argued in the fourth vārttika that the sūtra as it is leads to the undesired consequence that the affix *tva* or *tal* is introduced to denote *bhāva* in the sense of intention and so on.²⁵

In his seventh vārttika Kātyāyana, obviously assuming that the sūtra in question has to be accepted as it is, says that the undesired consequence pointed out does not ensue because of the principle of *anabhidhāna* 'improper use of a derivate'. That is, the derivate *devadattatva* which corresponds to *devadattasya bhāvaḥ* = *devadattasya abhiprāyaḥ* is grammatically well

²²"In a narrower sense" in the sense that they are like what the Vaiśeṣika school posits.

²³*Pradīpa* on MBh ad A5.1.119 (IV.91): *pūrvatra lakṣaṇe jātiguṇadravyalakṣaṇārthābhīdhāyibhyo gavādibhyaḥ śabdāsvārūpaṅgaṣāmānyādīṣu pratyayaḥ /*

²⁴*Pradīpa* on MBh ad A5.1.119 (IV. 91): *iha tu śabdābhīdhāyibhyaḥ pūrvokteṣv evārtheṣv iti prakṛtyarthabhede 'pi pradhānapratyayārthābhīdhāpeko vikalpaḥ /*

²⁵MBh on vt. 7 ad A5.1.119 (II.368.1–2): *tat tarhy anyatarat kartavyaṃ sūtraṃ ca bhidyate / yathānyāsam evāstu / nanu cokaṭaṃ tasya bhāva ity abhiprāyādīṣv atiprasaṅga iti /*

formed by the present sūtra, it is not allowed because it is not used to convey the meaning of the corresponding phrase *devadattaya bhāvaḥ* = *devadattasya abhiprāyaḥ*.²⁶

6. But how can the sūtra allow a desirable derivate to be formed? It is left that one has to understand the term *bhāva* to refer to the basis for the application of the linguistic item. The point made by Kātyāyana and Patañjali is explained by Kaiyaṭa as follows:

Pradīpa on MBh ad A5.1.119 (IV.92): *na hi gotvam aśvatvam ityādyukte 'bhiprāyādy avagamyate kiṃ tu jātyādīty arthaḥ / tatra bhavaty aneneti karaṇasādhanena ghañantena bhāvaśabdena jātyādike ucyamāne vācya-sambandhini śabdāsambandhini ca pūrvoktanīyāyād dravyādivācīnaḥ śabdābhīdhāyino vā śuklādes tvatalādaya iti sthitam /*

According to Kaiyaṭa, first of all, the term *bhāva* in the given sūtra is the same as the one taken as referring to a meaning in F2. It is derived from the verb *bhū* which means *janman* by adding the kṛt affix *ghañ* that denotes an instrument. Thus the term *bhāva* in the sūtra means 'that by which [a linguistic item] occurs' (*bhavaty aneneti bhāvaḥ*). That by which a linguistic item occurs is a meaning; and, the meaning is twofold: something to be denoted by a linguistic item and the basis for the application of the linguistic item to it. As indicated by F2, the meaning referred to by the term *bhāva* in the sūtra is the latter.

In the *Kāśīkāvr̥tti* a straightforward explanation of this term is given.

Kāśīkāvr̥tti on A5.1.119: *bhavato 'smād abhidhānapratyayāv iti bhāvaḥ / śabdasya prāvṛttinimittaṃ bhāvaśabdenocyate /*

It is said here that the term *bhāva* refers to that on the basis of which a word and a cognition occur, so that this term refers to the basis for the application of the word. According to Haradatta, on the basis of the universal cowness (*gotva*), the word *go* occurs to denote a cow and a cognition in the same form 'this is a cow' occurs with reference to individual cows. He adds that the affix *ghañ*

²⁶Vt. 7: *uktaṃ vā // MBh on vt. 7 (II.368.4): kim uktaṃ / anabhidhānād iti / anabhidhānād abhiprāyādīṣūtpattir na bhaviṣyati /*

which denotes an instrument is introduced after the verb *bhū* by A3.3.24 *śrīṅbhuvo 'nupasarge*, since there is no sūtra to state that the affix *ghaṅ* is used to denote *hetu* (*asmāt*).²⁷

7. We have seen that the term *bhāva* in the sūtra refers to the basis for the application of the linguistic item. As Kātyāyana suggests, the pronominal *tad* of *tasya* in the sūtra can refer to the meaning of the base of the pada after which *tva* or *tal* occurs or to the word form of that base. Therefore, we have the following reading of the sūtra.

tasya bhāvaḥ

- (1) When *tad* refers to the meaning of the base of the pada, the phrase *tasya bhāvaḥ* means: *bhāva* (or that by which a linguistic item occurs), connected with the meaning *x* conveyed by the base of the pada.
- (2) When *tad* refers to the word form of the base of the pada, the phrase means: *bhāva* (or that by which a linguistic item occurs), connected with the base of the pada; that is, the basis for the occurrence of that base.

That is to say: When the utterance *gor bhāvaḥ* 'the *bhāva* of a cow' is given, if one takes into consideration the meaning conveyed by the item *go* 'cow', this utterance signifies the basis for the occurrence of the item *go*, which basis is connected with the cow (*gośabdārthasya bhāvaḥ*); and, if one takes into consideration the item *go* itself, it signifies the basis for the occurrence of the item *go* (*gośabdasya bhāvaḥ*).

It is to be noted, moreover, the meaning which serves as the basis for the application of the linguistic item and which is referred to by the term *bhāva* is simply a quality (*guṇa*) that is connected with a substance (*dravya*), as is indicated by F1. We may say that, according to Pāṇinīyas' theory

²⁷ *Padamañjarī* on *Kāśikāvṛtti* ad A5.1.119: *yasmād go- tvāder hetor gavādao gaur ityevamādikam abhidhānam pravartate, gaur gaur ityevamādiś cābhinnākāraḥ pratyayo bhavati, so 'rtho gavādeḥ śabdasya pravṛttinimitam iha bhāvaśabdenocyate / tatra bhavato 'smād ity arthapradarśanam etat, na tu hetau kenacid ghaṅ vihitāḥ / tasmāt śrīṅbhuvo 'nupasarge iti karaṇe ghaṅ draṣṭavyaḥ /* See §3.2 also.

of denotation, the meaning of a linguistic item is of two kinds: a substance, which is a meaning to be denoted by a linguistic item, and a quality, which is the meaning on the basis of which the linguistic item occurs to denote the substance. Such a quality is simply the *bhāva* which is to be denoted by the *kṛt* affix *tva* or *tal*.

8. In this connection it is interesting to consider what Patañjali says in the discussion as to what a substance is.

MBh on *vt. 5* ad A5.1.119 (II.366.23):
athavā yasya guṇāntareṣv api prādurbhavatsu tattvaṃ na vihanyate tad dravyam /

He first says that a substance is that whose *tattva* is not lost even if it assumes different qualities (a quality in a narrower sense).²⁸ He then asks the question of what is the *tattva* and answers by saying *tadbhāvas tattvam*:

MBh on *vt. 5* ad A5.1.119 (II.366.23–25): *kiṃ punas tattvam / tadbhāvas tattvam / tadyathā—āmalakādīnām phalānām raktādayaḥ pitādayaś ca guṇāḥ prādurbhavanti, āmalakaṃ badaram ity eva bhavati /*

We can say that the same fruit of the *Āmalaka* tree is red at a time and yellow at another time without saying that they are two different *Āmalaka* trees. Even if the fruit of the *Āmalaka* tree changes color, one has the same cognition 'This is an *Āmalaka* tree' or uses the same word *āmalaka* with reference to the *Āmalaka* tree, because the *tattva* of the *Āmalaka* tree is not lost. It is clear that when Patañjali says *tadbhāvas tattvam*, he is conscious of the present sūtra, so that he intends to remind us of the derivational meaning of the term *tattva* and not of its conventional meaning. In the case of the *Āmalaka* tree, *tattva* glossed with *tadbhāva* is

²⁸ What is eternal (*nitya*) is also defined as that whose *tattva* is not lost. *Paspaśā* (I.7.22–23): *tad api nityam— yasmims tattvaṃ na vihanyate / kiṃ punas tattvam / tadbhāvas tattvam / Pradīpa* on *Paspaśā* (I.32): *buddhipratibhāsaḥ śabdārtho yadā yadā śabda uccāritas tadā tadārthākārā buddhir upajāyate iti pravāhanityatvād arthasya nityatvam ity arthaḥ /* The eternity defined here is called *pravāhanityatā* 'stream-eternity'. Whenever the word *go* is heard, the same form of cognition occurs; one speaks of cow1 as *go* and of cow2 as *go* even if cow1 has gone away. What is cognized as a cow or what is denoted by the word *go* is considered to be eternal.

that on the basis of which the word *āmalaka* or the cognition 'This is an *Āmalaka* tree' occurs. That is why Kaiyaṭa neatly says that *tattva* is *ekākārabuddhinimittatvam* 'the cause of the occurrence of the cognition of the same form'.²⁹ The phrase *tadbhāvaḥ* is paraphrased as *tasya bhāvaḥ* and the term *bhāva* here refers to the basis for the occurrence of the linguistic item or of the cognition.

9. Conclusion

As far as it is taken to be a derivate which is formed from the verb *bhū* signifying *sattā* and *janman* with the kṛt affixes *ṇa* and *ghañ*, the term *bhāva* signifies (1) what is or arises, (2) the abstract act of being or arising, and (3) a *kāraka* other than an agent which is involved in the act of being or arising. When it signifies (1) or (3), it is classed as a kind of general term. What this term refers to depends on the context in which it is used. For discussing what Pāṇini means by the term *bhāva* in formulating A5.1.119, Pāṇinīyas provide the framework centered around their theory of denotation: one has to resort to a quality to denote a substance. A quality serves as instrument for the application of a linguistic item to a substance and hence is precisely the basis for the occurrence of the linguistic item. It is reasonable that such a quality is spoken of as *bhāva*, the term for which is a *karaṇasādhana*. We have to say that little attention has been given to this interpretation of the term *bhāva*: *bhāva* as a *karaṇasādhana*.

References and abbreviations

- A: Pāṇini's *Aṣṭādhyāyī*.
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 BM: Vāsudeva Dikṣita's *Bālamānoraṁā*. See

²⁹ *Pradīpa* on *MBh* ad A5.1.119 (IV.87). Vedavrata gives the reading *ekākārabuddhiḥ / nimittatvam ity arthaḥ*, which is to be emended to *ekākārabuddhinimittatvam ity arthaḥ*.

- Giridhara Śarmā *Caturveda and Parameśvarānanda Śarmā Bhāskara* [1958-61].
 Giridhara Śarmā *Caturveda and Parameśvarānanda Śarmā Bhāskara*
 1958-61 *Śrī-bhaṭṭojī-dikṣita-viracitā vaiyākaraṇa-siddhānta-kaumudī śrīmadvāsudeva-dikṣita-praṇīṭayā bālamānoraṁākhya-vyākhyayā śrīmaj-jñānendra-sarasvatī-viracitayā tattva-bodhiny-ākhyā-vyākhyayā ca sanāthitā*. 4 vols. Varanasi: Motilal Banarsidass.
Kāśikāvṛtti: Vāmana and Jayāditya's *Kāśikāvṛtti*. See Miśra [1985].
MBh: Patañjali's *Vyākaraṇamahābhāṣya*. See Abhyankar [1962-72]. (References of the text of the *Mahābhāṣya* are to volumes, pages, and lines of Abhyankar [1962-72].)
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Nāṭyaśāstra: Bharatamuni's *Nāṭyaśāstra*. See Naagar, R. S. [1998].
Nyāsa: Jinendrabuddhi's *Nyāsa*. See Miśra [1985].
Padamañjarī: Haradatta's *Padamañjarī*. See Miśra [1985].
Pradīpa: Kaiyaṭa's *Pradīpa*. See Vedavrata [1962-63]. (References of the text of the *Pradīpa* are to volumes and pages of Vedavrata [1962-63].)
Prakāśa: Helārāja's *Prakāśa*. See Subramania Iyer [1962].
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 SK: Bhaṭṭojī Dikṣita's *Vaiyākaraṇasiddhānta-kaumudī*. See Giridhara Śarmā *Caturveda and Parameśvarānanda Śarmā Bhāskara* [1958-61].
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1962–63 *Śrībhagavat-patañjali-viracitaṃ
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are made according to Rau [1977].)