The Aṣṭādhyāyī of Pāṇini

Volume II

English Translation of Adhyāya One with Sanskrit Text, Translation, Word-Boundary, Anuvṛtti, Vṛtti, Explanatory Notes, Derivational History of Examples and Indices

Rama Nath Sharma

This volume of *Aṣṭādhyāyī of Pāṇini* contains the English translation of the first *adhyāya*. It includes Sanskrit text of the *sūtra* and their transliteration, word-boundaries with marked inflectional endings and compound-formation, *anuvṛtti, vṛtti*, examples, detailed explanatory notes, and complete derivational history of example forms cited by the *Kāśikāvṛtti*. Explanatory notes are presented to facilitate proper understanding of the *sūtra*, especially in relation to their formulation, interpretation, application and relative placement. An attempt has been made to sort out pertinent issues and explain them with reference to major commentaries. The appendix contains over 800 examples along with their complete derivational history and discussion relevent to the Pāṇinian grammatical system.

This volume is published as second volume of the planned six-volume study. The third, fourth, fifth, and sixth volumes of this series will cover the *sūtras* of *adhyāyas* two-three, four-five, six, and seven-eight respectively.

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VOLUME II

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ADHYĀYA ONE WITH SANSKRIT TEXT, TRANSLITERATION,
WORD-BOUNDARY, *ANUVṚTTI, VṚTTI,* EXPLANATORY NOTES,
DERIVATIONAL HISTORY OF EXAMPLES, AND INDICES

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हरेर्वाक्यपदीयस्य शोभना विश्वविश्रुता
अम्बाकर्त्रीति विज्ञाता येन व्याख्या कृता मुदा ।
पित्रे श्रीरघुनाथाय सौभद्राय च धीमते
समर्प्यते प्रबन्धोऽयं सश्रद्धं ज्येष्ठसूनुना ॥

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Preface

The present is the second of a planned five-volume study on the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* of Pāṇini. It also constitutes the first of the four translation volumes of the Pāṇinian *sūtra* with text, transliteration, word-boundary, *anuvṛtti, vṛtti,* English translation, examples, explanatory notes, derivations and appendices. This volume contains only of the first *adhyāya* of the *Aṣṭādhyāyī:* a rather bulky volume for only one-eighth of the grammar. This could not be helped, however, as practically every necessary explanation, and rule-application in derivation, has to be supplied in detail. It is my hope that with the facility of cross-reference, the size of subsequent volumes will not be as large. The second, third, and fourth translation volumes will cover the *sūtra* of *adhyāya* two-three, four-five, and six-seven-eight respectively.

I have relied very heavily upon the traditional commentaries in making this translation. The *Vyākaraṇamahābhāṣya (Mbh:* Gurukul Jhajjar edition) of Patañjali, with the *Pradīpa* of Kaiyaṭa and the *Udyota* of Nāgeśa; the *Kāśikāvṛtti* of Vāmana-Jayāditya (*Kāś*: Varanasi, Tara Publications edition) with the *Padamañjarī (PM)* of Haradatta and the *Nyāsa* of Jinendrabuddhi; the *Vaiyākaraṇasiddhāntakaumudī (SK)* of Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass edition) with the *Bālamanoramā* of Vāsudeva Dīkṣita and the *Tattvabodhinī* of Jñānendra Sarasvatī; and the *Paribhāṣenduśekhara (PŚ)* of Nāgeśa (Delhi: Kendriya Sanskrit Vidyapeeth edition) have been my constant sources of reference.

Many Hindi and English translations, as well as critical expositions of these texts, have also proved to be very beneficial. Most notable among these are: Hindi translation with notes of the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* of Pāṇini (Brahmadatta Jijñāsu with Prajñā Devī); Hindi translation of the *Mahābhāṣya* of Patañjali (Charudeva Shastri; Yudhiṣṭhira Mīmāṃsaka); English translation of the *Vyākaraṇamahābhāṣya* of Patañjali (especially of the *kārakāhnika)* made by S.D. Joshi; Hindi translation of the *Laghusiddhāntakaumudī* of Varadarāja made by Bhimasena Shastri; the *Arthaprakāśikā* of Radharaman Pandeya; and the *Vyākaraṇacandrodaya* of Charudeva Shastri. This by no means reduces my indebtedness to scores of other books and papers of scholars like George Cardona, S.D. Joshi, K.A. Subramania Iyer, and S.M. Katre. I have also consulted the *Laghuśabdendu śekhara (LŚ)* of Nāgeśa, along with his *Paramalaghumañjūṣā,* though only occasionally. I have consulted the *Vākyapadīya (VP)* of Bhartṛhari, especially the commentary *Ambākartrī* of Paṇḍita Raghunātha Śarmā,

where there was a need for explanatory details. The *Nyāsa* of Jinendrabuddhi; the *Rūpāvatāra* of Dharmakīrti; the *Prakriyākaumudī* of Rāmacandra; the *Prakriyāsarvasva* of Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa; and, of course, the *Siddhāntakaumudī* (with *Bālamanoramā* and *Tattvabodhinī*) of Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita were my primary sources for derivational details. The examples themselves have been culled from the *Kāśikāvṛtti*.

The following is the format in which I have discussed each *sūtra* with its translation, explanatory details, and examples:

(1) *sūtra* in the *Devanāgarī*.
(2) *sūtra* in transliteration.
(3) /.../ Constituent words with indications of their compound formation; and nominal endings following the convention *N/n*, where *N* can be replaced with the single value of numerals 1 through 7 denoting nominal endings, such as nominative (*prathamā*), accusative (*dvitīyā*), instrumental (*tṛtīyā*), etc., respectively. The *n* will be restricted to a numerical value of 1, 2 and 3 to denote singular (*ekavacana*), dual (*dvivacana*), and plural (*bahuvacana*) numbers. Thus, expressions such as 1/3, 5/2, and 7/1 would represent nominative plural, ablative dual, and locative singular respectively. Indeclinables (*avyaya*) have been indicated by means of the symbol *Ø*. The compounds have been indicated by their abbreviatory terms, such as *dv. (dvandva)*, *sam. dv. (samāhāra-dvandva)*, *tat. (tatpuruṣa)*, and *bv. (bahuvrīhi)*, etc., where *int.* refers to an internal compound within a compound.
(4) ( ) *anuvṛtti* elements from preceding *sūtra* with the last digit of the *sūtra* number separated by #. The first two digits need not be cited, as the *anuvṛtti* will be indicated generally within the limits of a *pāda* 'quarter'.
(5) *vṛtti* from the *Kāśikāvṛtti* of Vāmana-Jayāditya in transliteration.
(6) English translation.
(7) Examples excerpted from the *Kāśikāvṛtti* and presented with English glosses.
(8) Scope of the *sūtra* excerpted from the *Kāśikāvṛtti* where applicable.
(9) Explanatory notes, where an effort has been made to present an explanation of important aspects of the formulation, interpretation, function and application of the *sūtra* under discussion. (Additional details on these aspects of a *sūtra* can also be found in the appendix, where I present a full derivational history of all examples.)

The tone of my discussion, as well as my sources, have remained traditional. I have thus avoided controversies which may surround the interpretation or application of a rule. For example, I have refrained from discussing the implications of differing interpretations of the scope of rule 1.4.2 *vipratiṣedhe param kāryam*. Scholars of Pānini know that the Western

Pāṇinīyas interpret the scope of this rule as strictly limited to the domain of *ekasaṃjñā* (1.4.1 *ākaḍārād ekā saṃjñā).* However, the tradition, without any disagreement, regards this rule as universally valid throughout the *Sapādasaptādhyāyī.* I have felt all along that, in a work of the nature of the present volume, the aim of the translator should be to explain as faithfully as possible the original. Of course, the original in this case is the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*; but unlike many other such works the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* must be considered as a symbol (*pratīka*) for *vyākhyāna* 'exposition', which embodies the vast commentarial literature. Pāṇinī cannot be fully understood without the help of the commentaries, most notable among which is the *Mahābhāṣya.* It is for this reason that I have relied heavily upon the commentaries. I have also noted, where applicable, differences of opinion within the tradition.

I fully realize the extremely complex nature of the form and content of the *Aṣṭādhyāyī.* I am also aware of my own limitations, due to which I may have made mistakes. Any blame for them must come to me and not to the sources I have tapped. The project is an overwhelming one. I shall consider my efforts fulfilled if it could provide a better understanding of the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* and the Sanskrit grammatical tradition. I certainly do not claim to have made any significant contribution through this volume, for what it contains has been in the commentaries all along. I consider myself only an instrument for bringing, as best I could, the contents together in one place, in English. I shall welcome remarks from my readers, especially those relating to errors and omissions. Since this volume sets the tone for the entire project, readers' comments will be helpful for subsequent volumes.

A few words must also be said about the only available English translation of the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*, made in 1891 by S.C. Vasu. Vasu's translation follows the *Kāśikāvṛtti* and is trustworthy, though not free of problems, especially for modern readers. Vasu takes a great deal for granted. He not only omits glosses, but also misses explanatory details of terms and principles. References create still another problem. His archaic English becomes even more obscure because of his pedantic style. The need for a new English translation for linguists and Sanskritists became apparent to me during the summer of 1977, when I taught an introductory course on Pāṇini under the joint auspices of the Department of Linguistics at the University of Hawaii, and the Linguistic Society of America.

I must express my deep sense of indebtedness to the authors and works which have been my constant source of reference. My brother Narendra and Pandit Ramaprasad Tripathi have been very generous in giving of their time. Professor George Cardona has earlier read a draft of this translation, and as usual has made some very useful comments. The University of Hawaii, especially its Department of Indo-Pacific Languages; the

American Institute of Indian Studies; and the Smithsonian Institution have been very generous in supporting my research endeavour with grants. My student researchers Abigail Brown, Stanley Schab and Julie Trott deserve special thanks for their perseverance in spending long hours at the computers. Julie Trott must be singled out for her editorial acumen, consistency and sharp eyes for details to perfection. This volume owes a lot to her.

This volume also owes a lot to my wife Kamala, who has always protected me from many of the often time-consuming tasks of being a householder.

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28 July 1989

Abbreviations

abl	ablative
acc	accusative
Ait	*Aitareya-Brāhmaṇa*
bv	*bahuvrīhi*
DP	*Dhātupātha*
dat	dative
du	dual
dv	*dvandva*
id	ibidum
itar dv	*itaretara-dvandva*
fem	feminine
GP	*Gaṇapāṭha*
gen	genitive
inst	instrumental
int	internal
KS	*Kāṭhaka-Saṃhitā*
Kāś	*Kāśikāvṛtti* of Vāmana-Jayāditya with *Padmañjarī (PM)* of Haradatta and the *Nyāsa* of Jinendrabuddhi.
LS	*Laghuśabdenduśekhara* of Nāgeśa.
loc	locative
Mbh	*Vyākaraṇamahābhāṣya* of Patañjali with the *Pradīpa* of Kaiyaṭa and the *Udyota* of Nāgeśa.
masc	masculine
nañ tat	*nañ-tatpuruṣa*
neut	neuter
nom	nominative
PM	*Padamañjarī* of Haradatta as *Kāśikāvṛtti* of Vāmana-Jayāditya.
PS	*Paribhāṣenduśekhara* of Nāgeśa.
Pai	*Paippalāda-saṃhitā*
pbh.	*paribhāṣā*
paribh	*ibidum*
pañc	*pañcamī*
pl	plural
RV	*Ṛgveda*
SK	*Vaiyākaraṇasiddhāntakaumudī* of Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita with the *Bālamanoramā* of Vāsudeva Dīkṣita, and the *Tattvabodhinī* of Jñānendra Sarasvati.
SP	*Sūtrapāṭha*
sam	*samāhāra*
sg	singular

sing	ibidum
Ss	*Śivasūtra*
Śat	*Śatapatha-brāhmaṇa*
ṣaṣ	*ṣaṣṭhi*
Tai	*Taittirīya-brāhmaṇa*
tat	*tatpuruṣa*
tṛ/tṛt	*tṛtīyā*
VP	*Vākyapadīya* of Bhartṛhari with the commentary *Ambākartrī* of Paṇḍita Raghunātha Śarmā.
vt	*vārttika*
Vāj	*Vājasaneyi-saṃhitā*
voc	vocative

Śivasūtra

1. अइउण्	$a\,i\,u\,\dot{N}$
2. ऋऌक्	$\dot{r}\,\dot{l}\,K$
3. एओङ्	$e\,o\,\dot{N}$
4. ऐऔच्	$ai\,au\,C$
5. हयवरट्	$h^a\,\dot{y}^a\,v^a\,\dot{r}^a\,\dot{T}$
6. लण्	$l^a\,\dot{N}$
7. ञमङणनम्	$\tilde{n}^a m^a \dot{n}^a \dot{n}^a n^a M$
8. झभञ्	$jh^a\,bh^a\,\tilde{N}$
9. घढधष्	$gh^a\,\dot{d}h^a\,dh^a\,\dot{S}$
10. जबगडदश्	$\dot{j}^a\,b^a\,g^a\,\dot{d}^a\,d^a\,ś$
11. खफछठथचटतव्	$kh^a\,ph^a\,ch^a\,\dot{t}h^a\,th^a\,c^a\,\dot{t}^a\,t^a\,V$
12. कपय्	$k^a\,p^a\,Y$
13. शषसर्	$ś^a\,\dot{s}^a\,s^a\,R$
14. हल्	$h^a\,L$

The Śivasūtra (Śs) is a set of fourteen aphorisms enumerating the sound segments (*varṇasamāmnāya*) of the Sanskrit language in the order most conducive to forming the abbreviatory terms (*pratyāhāra*) used in the grammar. An item indicated in the preceding chart by capital letters is traditionally termed an *it* and is not treated as an item in the list. However, an *it* may serve as the final (*antya*) for any initial (*ādi*) element which, joined together, forms an abbreviatory term (*pratyāhāra*) to represent the initial and all intervening elements.[1] For example, the initial *a* of the first *Śs* can join the final *C* of *Śs* four to form the abbreviatory term *aC* signifying all the vowels. Similarly, *aL* designates the totality of vowels and consonants.

Another symbol, which is also not an item on the list, is the *a* used with the consonants of *Śs* five through fourteen. This *a* facilitates the pronunciation of the consonants in question. I have indicated the occurrences of this *a* by raising it. The *a* of *Śs* six is treated by *Kāśikā (Kāś.)*[2] and *Siddhāntakaumudī (SK)*[3] as an *it* in order to form an abbreviatory term *rĀ* which would denote *r* and *l*. I represent this *Ā* as a non-*it* because treating it otherwise would be non-Pāṇinian.

Pāṇini's method of forming abbreviatory terms with the help of the *Śs* can yield a vast number of abbreviations. However, the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* uses only 41 abbreviations, summarized in the following *ślokavārttika:*[4]

[1] see 1.1.71 *ādir antyena sahetā.*

[2] (*Kāś.* I:53) *hakārādiṣv akāra uccāraṇārthaḥ, nānubandhaḥ. lakāre tv anunāsikaḥ pratijñāyate....*

[3] (*SK*, 1:4) *...eṣām antyā itaḥ. laṇ-sūtre' kāraś ca. hakārādiṣv akāra uccāraṇārthaḥ..*

[4] see *Kāś.* (1:59-60).

ekasmān ṅañaṇavaṭā dvābhyāṃ ṣas tribhya eva kaṇamāḥ syuḥ/ ñeyau cayau caturbhyo raḥ pañcabhyaḥ śalau ṣaḍbhyaḥ//
"one (abbreviatory term) each with *Ṅ, Ñ, Ṇ, V, Ṭ;* two each with *Ṣ;* three each with *K, Ṇ, M;* four each with *C, Y;* five with *R* and six each with *Ś, L.*" Thus:

1. *eṄ, yÑ, aṆ, chᵃV, aṬ*
2. *jhᵃṢ, bhᵃṢ*
3. *aK, iK, uK; yᵃṆ, aṆ, iṆ, nᵃM, aM, yᵃM*
4. *aC, eC, aiC, iC; mᵃY, jhᵃY, khᵃY, yᵃY*
5. *śᵃR, yᵃR, jhᵃR, khᵃR, cᵃR*
6. *jhᵃŚ, jᵃŚ, bᵃŚ, aŚ, hᵃŚ, vᵃŚ; aL, hᵃL, śᵃL, vᵃL, rᵃL, jhᵃL*

If we treat the *a* of *Śs* six as an *anunāsika it,* as has been advocated by *Kāśikā* and *SK,* we will get an additional abbreviatory term, *rÃ.* There are two more abbreviatory terms, *cᵃY* and *n̄ᵃM,* the first of which is attested to by *vārttika* 3 ad 8.4.88 (*cayo dvitīyaḥ śari pauṣkarasādeḥ*) and the second by the *Uṇādisūtra* (1/114) *ñamantāḍ ḍaḥ.* This brings the total to 44. The following chart shows these abbreviatory terms with their initial items as well as their *it.*[5]

	initial element (*ādi*)								final element (*it*)					
	Ã	K	Ṅ	C	Ṭ	Ṇ	M	Ñ	Ṣ	Ś	V	Y	R	L
a		aK		aC	aṬ	aṆ	aM			aŚ				aL
i		iK		iC		iṆ								
u		uK												
e			eṄ	eC										
ai				aiC										
h									hᵃŚ					hᵃL
y						yᵃṆ	yᵃM	yᵃÑ				yᵃY	yᵃR	
v										vᵃŚ				vᵃL
r	rÃ													rᵃL
m												mᵃY		
ṁ							ṁᵃM							
bh									bhᵃṢ	bhᵃŚ				
jh									jhᵃṢ			jhᵃY	jhᵃR	jhᵃL
b										bᵃŚ				
j										jᵃŚ				
ch											chᵃV			
kh												khᵃY	khᵃR	
c													cᵃR	
ś													śᵃR	śᵃL

[5] A reference to the abbreviatory terms resulting out of *Śs* 5-14 can be made either by

The order of elements listed in the *Śs* is as follows.

1. vowels (*Śs*, 1-4)
   (1a) simple (*Śs*, 1-2)
   (1b) complex (*Śs*, 3-4)
2. consonants (*Śs*, 5-14)
   (2a) semivowels (*Śs*, 5-6)
   (2b) nasals (*Śs*, 7)
   (2c) stops (*Śs*, 8-14)
      ($2c_1$) voiced aspirates (*Śs*, 8-9)
      ($2c_2$) voiced nonaspirates (*Śs*, 10)
      ($2c_3$) voiceless aspirates (*Śs*, 11)
      ($2c_4$) voiceless nonaspirates (*Śs*, 12)
      ($2c_5$) pirants (*Śs*, 13-14)

The above order does not conform with the order of earlier listings, such as those of the *prātiśākhyas,* although there is considerable similarity of terminology and classification. Pāṇini certainly was aware of such previous classifications. However, his *Śs* listing reflects his own special purposes. Patañjali states that the *Śs* are presented in this fashion for the purpose of *vṛtti* 'application of rules' and *samavāya* 'ordered enumeration of elements' (*Mbh*): I:47, *vārttika* 18).[5] In *vārttika* 19, the setting up of *anubandhas* is cited as an additional purpose.[6]

Actually, the *pratyāhāras* are a means for bringing the elements of the list close to rule applications. A full and insightful discussion of this, as well as the principles of *sāmānya* 'general' and *viśeṣa* 'particular' underlying the listing of the *Śs* in relation to their *anubandhas* is presented in Cardona (1969).

The denotata of some abbreviatory terms may not, at first glance, be obvious. Consider *aṆ* and *iṆ*. Should the *Ṇ* of these abbreviations be interpreted as the *Ṇ* of *Śs* 1 or *Śs* 6? For, *aṆ* and *iṆ* formed with *Śs* 1 will denote only *a, i, u* and *i, u* respectively. If the *Ṇ* is interpreted as belonging to *Śs* 6, respectively *a, i, u, ṛ, ḷ, e, o, ai, au, h, y, v, r, l* and *i, u, ṛ, ḷ, eo, ai, au, h, y, v, r, ḷ,* will be denoted. However, an abbreviatory term *iṆ* formed with the *Ṇ* of *Śs* 1 to denote *i, u* counters Pāṇinian practice. Pāṇini never uses *iṆ* to denote *i, u;* instead he uses *iṆ* to denote sounds enumerated by *Śs* 1 through 6. Both interpretations of *aṆ,* however, are valid. The question as to when *aṆ* should be interpreted as formed with the *Ṇ* of *Śs* and when with the *Ṇ* of *Śs* 6 can only be resolved by the explanations (*vyākhyāna*) of

including or excluding the raised *a*. Thus, *hL* or *haL* can both be used to denote the consonants of the language. I have used such abbreviatory terms in both ways; with or without the raised *a*.

[5] *vṛttisamavāyārtha upadeśaḥ.*

[6] *anubandhakaraṇārthaś ca.*

the learned. For correct results, *aṆ* in 1.1.50 *ur aṇ raparaḥ*, for example, should be treated as formed with the *Ṇ* of *Śs* 1. As opposed to this, *aṆ* in 1.1.69 *aṇudit savarṇasya...* must be interpreted with the of *Śs* 6.

Rule 1.1.69 states that a vowel *(aṆ)*, as well as an item marked with *U*, denotes itself as well as sounds homogenous *(savarṇa)* with it. Thus, *a* denotes a class of eighteen vowels distinguished on the basis of length: short *(hrasva)* long *(dīrgha)* or extralong *(pluta)*; pitch: high *(udātta*) low *(anudātta)* or circumflex *(svarita)*; and nasality nasalized *(anunāsika)* and non-nasalized *(niranunāsika)*. Similar classes of eighteen each are represented by *i, u* and *ṛ*. The *ḷ* vowel represents a class of only twelve vowels as it lacks a corresponding long variety. Vowels denoted by *eC (e, o, ai, au)* also represent a class of 12 each. Here, unlike the case of *ḷ*, a corresponding short variety is not available. Items with *U* as their *it* represent a class of five consonants each. Thus, *kU (k)* represents *k, kh, g, gh,* and *ṅ*. Similar consonant classes are represented by *cU, ṭU, tU* and *pU.*[7]

There are many problems which may be raised concerning the formulation of the *Śs* and the use of the resultant abbreviatory terms; problems relating to the order and selection of sound segments and *its*, the use of *Ṇ* as an *it* twice, the use of *h* as an element twice, as well as the use of a *pratyāhāra* with no less than three denotata. A detailed discussion of these and other problems relating to the *Śs* may be found in Cardona (1969).

[7] Pāṇini provides for proper selection of items from class lists by means of metarules 1.1.50 *sthāne' ntaratamaḥ* and 1.3.10 *yathāsaṃkhyam anudeśaḥ samānām.* For a detailed discussion of how 1.3.10 interacts with 1.1.50 in order to select proper substitutes under 1.1.69, see Cardona (1980).

Adhyāya One

1.1.1 वृद्धिरादैच्

vṛddhir ādaic

/vṛddhiḥ 1/1 *ādaic* 1/1 *(āt ca ait ca; Śs* 4)/

vṛddhiśabdaḥ saṃjñātvena vidhīyate pratyekam ādaicāṃ varṇānāṃ sāmānyena tadbhāvitānām atadbhāvitānāṃ ca

āT (*ā,* see 1.1.70 *taparas...*) and *aiC* (*ai* and *au,* see *Śs* 4) are termed *vṛddhi.*

EXAMPLES:

āśvalāyanaḥ 'male descendant (grandson, and so on) ot Aśvala'
aitikāyanaḥ 'male descendant of Itika'
aupagavaḥ 'male descendant of Upagu'
aupamanyavaḥ 'male descendant of Upamanyu'
śālīyaḥ 'that which is located, obtains or is born in the house'
mālīyaḥ 'that which is located, obtains or is born in a garland'

1. The term *vṛddhi* is introduced as a name (*saṃjñā*) which applies to each one of its name-bearers (*saṃjñin*) *ā, ai* and *au,* whether they are derived by applying a rule which expressly mentions the name *vṛddhi (tadbhāvita)* or not (*atadbhāvita*).

For example, *bhāgaḥ* 'a part, portion' is derived by introducing the affix (3.1.1 *pratyayaḥ*) *GHaÑ* (3.3.16 *padaruj...*) after (3.1.2 *paraś ca*) the verbal root (3.1.91 *dhātoḥ) bhaj* 'to share, divide' to express the action denoted by the root (3.3.18 *bhāve*); this yields *bhaj* + *GHaÑ.* Rule 7.2.116 *ata upadhāyāḥ* read with 7.2.114 *mṛjer vṛddhiḥ* requires that the penultimate (*upadhā,* cf. 1.1.65 *alo' ntyāt...*) vowel of the presuffixal base (6.4.1 *aṅgasya,* cf. 1.4.13 *yasmāt...)* be replaced by *vṛddhi.* The role of 1.1.1 is simply to explain the term *vṛddhi* wherever it is encountered in the grammar.

A *vṛddhi* replacement of the type: *bh (a → ā)j* + *GHaÑ* is termed *tadbhāvita* because it is brought about by the application of a rule which expressly mentions the name *vṛddhi.* As opposed to this, consider *śālīyaḥ* 'that which is located, obtains or is born in the house', which is derived by introducing the *taddhita* (4.1.76 *utsādibhyo...)* affix (3.1.1 *pratyayaḥ) cha* (4.2.113 *vṛddhāc chaḥ...*) after (3.1.2 *paraś ca)* the syntactically related (4.1.82 *samarthānām...) pada* (1.4.14 *suptiṅ...) śālā* + *Ṅi.* Now, *cha* cannot be introduced unless *śālā* is an item termed *vṛddha* (1.1.73 *vṛddhir yasya...)* and an item cannot be termed *vṛddha* unless the first among its vowels is a *vṛddhi.* Here again, we witness the explanatory role of rule 1.1.1. The *vṛddhi* vowel *ā* of *śālā* which, in turn, qualified *śālā* to be called *vṛddha,* is *atadbhāvita* since it is already given and not derived by application of a rule which expressly mentions the name *vṛddhi.*

2. Pāṇini formulates this rule by using the technique of *taparakaraṇa* 'making *t* precede or follow'. That is, he inserts *t* between *ā* and *aiC* .This simply means that vowels, in the present case *ai* and *au*, cited with a preceding or a following *t* denote only those homogeneous (*savarṇa*) vowels which have the same time duration (*kāla*). It should be noted that the *t* in this rule is not used for constraining *ā* since *ā* is not included in *aN* (for details, see 1.1.69 *aṇudit...*). Instead, it is used for *aiC*. Here, *taparakaraṇa*, enables Pāṇini to block the assignment of the term *vṛddhi* to instances of *ai* and *au* which may constitute a time duration of three or four morae. For the details of how *t* does not constrain *ā*, see *Padamañjarī (PM) ad Kāśikā* 1.1.1 (I:66): *ākāro' naṇtvād eva na bhinna-kālānāṃ grāhaka iti....'*

3. Definitional rules are given in the form x_1y_1 where *x* represents a name-bearer (*saṃjñin*) to which *y*, a given name (*saṃjñā*), is assigned. The subscripts with both, *x* and *y* show that both of these elements are put in the nominative.

Sūtra 1.1.1 does not follow this general order. Instead, it presents the name first. Patañjali (*Mbh.* I:132) rather apologetically explains that the *ācārya* (Pāṇini) put the *saṃjña vṛddhi* 'prosperity, growth' first for auspicious reasons. A careful examination of all definitional rules in the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* reveals that this explanation is not satisfactory, as there are many other rules which violate the order x_1y_1. Consider, for example, rules 1.2.41 *apṛkta ekāl pratyayaḥ*, 3.1.92 *tatropapadaṃ saptamīstham*, 3.1.93 *kṛd atiṅ*, 3.1.94 *kṛtyāḥ* and 3.4.114 *ārddhadhātukam śeṣaḥ*.

SCOPE: 7.2.1 *sici vṛddhiḥ parasmaipadeṣu*, etc.

1.1.2 अदेङ् गुणः

adeṅ guṇaḥ
/adeṅ 1/1 (*at ca eṅ ca; Śs* 3); *guṇaḥ* 1/1/
guṇaśabdaḥ saṃjñātvena vidhīyate pratyekam adeṅo varṇānāṃ sāmānyena tadbhāvitānām atadbhāvitānāṃ ca aT (a; see 1.1.70 *taparas...*) an *eṄ* (*e* and *o*, see *Śs* 3) are termed *guṇa*.

EXAMPLES:

taritā 'he who floats or swims'
cetā 'he who heaps or gathers'
stotā 'he who praises'
pace 'I cook'
pacanti 'they (pl.) cook'
jayanti 'they (pl.) win'

1. Just as the term *vṛddhi* (1.1.1. *vṛddhir...*), the term *guṇa* is introduced as a name (*saṃjñā*) which applies to each one of its name-bearers (*saṃjñin*) *a, e* and *o*, whether they are derived by applying a rule which expressly

mentions the name *guṇa* (*tadbhāvita*), or not (*atadbhāvita*). For example, the nominal base *netṛ* 'he who leads' is derived by introducing the affix (3.1.1 *pratyayaḥ*) *tṛC* (3.1.133 *ṇvultṛcau*) after (3.1.2 *paraś ca*) the verbal root (3.1.91 *dhātoḥ*) *ṇīÑ* 'to lead'. It is required by rule 7.3.84 *sārvadhātukārdhadhātukayoḥ* that *ī* of *ṇī* be replaced by *guṇa*. Thus we get *ṇ*(*ī* → *e*) + *tṛ*. This *e* can be termed a derived (*tadbhāvita*) *guṇa* vowel because it is derived by applying a rule expressly mentioning the name *guṇa*.

The first four examples — *taritā, cetā, stotā* and *pace* — illustrate instances of *tadbhāvita guṇa* vowels. The next two — *pacanti* and *jayanti* — provide *atadbhāvita* instances. Note, however, that *atadbhāvita* instances are given only for *a* and *e*. An example for *o* could be *atho, aho,* etc.

2. The *taparakaraṇa* (cf. 1.1.1) is meant here for all the items (*a, e* and *o*).

SCOPE: 7.3.82 *mider guṇaḥ,* and so on.

1.1.3 इको गुणवृद्धी

iko guṇavṛddhī
/ikaḥ 6/1 *guṇavṛddhī* 1/2/
vṛddhiguṇau svasaṃjñayā śiṣyamāṇau ika eva sthāne veditavyau
When vowels denoted by *guṇa* and *vṛddhi* are ordered as substitutes (*ādeśa*), and no substituendum (*sthānin*) is specified, they only come in place of vowels denoted by *iK* (*i, u, ṛ, ḷ;* see *Śs* 1-2).

EXAMPLES:

tarati 'he swims or floats'
nayati 'he leads'
bhavati 'he becomes'
akārṣīt 'he did or made'
ahārṣīt 'he carried'
acaiṣīt 'he heaped or gathered'
anaiṣīt 'he led'
alāvīt 'he cut'
astāvīt 'he praised'

1. The function of this rule is to restrict the substituendum for *guṇa* and *vṛddhi* substitutes in places where they are ordered with the express mention of the terms *guṇa* and *vṛddhi* but no substituendum is specified. In all such instances, this rule becomes valid and states that items denoted by *iK* alone should be treated as substituendum. This obviously results from the fact that Pāṇini introduces *guṇa* and *vṛddhi* substitutes following either of two methods:

(*a*) he specifies both the substituendum as well as the substitute, and
(*b*) he specifies only the substitute and no substituendum.

Rule 1.1.3 covers this latter instance. For example, consider 7.2.114

mṛjer vṛddhiḥ (*aṅgasya*) which orders a *vṛddhi* substitute by the express mention of the name *vṛddhi*. However, *mṛjer* (genitive singular of *mṛj* 'to clean', an *aṅga*) cannot be treated as a substituendum since that would require replacing *mṛj* with a *vṛddhi* substitute, which, in turn, would make it impossible to derive the desired form *mārṣṭi*. Furthermore, how shall we go about deciding a proper *vṛddhi* substitute for *mṛj*? For this reason, 1.1.2 has to be read with 7.2.114 which will then order a *vṛddhi* replacement only in the place of the *iK* of *mṛj*, the *aṅga* (1.4.13 *yasmāt...*). As opposed to this, rule 1.1.3 does not find its scope in the application of 7.2.116 *ata upadhāyāḥ*. There, although a *vṛddhi* substitute is ordered with the express mention of the name *vṛddhi*, unlike 7.2.114 *mṛjer vṛddhiḥ*, the substituendum, that is, the penultimate *a* of the *aṅga*, is also specified. Similarly, consider 7.3.84 *sārvadhātukārdhadhātukayoḥ* (*guṇaḥ* carried from 7.3.82) which provides a *guṇa* substitute without specifying any substituendum. If we do not take 1.1.3 into account, we will interpret 7.3.84 something like this:

> A *guṇa* replaces the final *aL* (1.1.52 *alo' ntyasya*) of an *aṅga* when a *sārvadhātuka* (3.4.113 *tiṅśit...*) or an *ārdhadhātuka* (3.4.114 *ārdhadhātukaṃ śeṣaḥ*) affix follows.

Here again, besides encountering difficulty in arriving at a proper *guṇa* substitute, we will also end up with an incorrect derivation. However, if we read 1.1.3 together with 7.3.84, everything will be in order. That is, 7.3.84 will order a *guṇa* substitute only in place of the final *iK* of the *aṅga* (1.4.13 *yasmāt...*). For an example of a *guṇa* substitute where 1.1.3 does not apply, consider 6.4.116 *or guṇaḥ*, whereby a *guṇa* vowel is substituted for the *u* (long or short) of a *bha* (1.4.18 *yaci bham*). One need not invoke 1.1.3 here since the substituendum is specified.

To sum up, rule 1.1.3 can find its scope only when both the following conditions are met:

(*a*) a rule provides a *guṇa* or *vṛddhi* substitute by express mention of the name *guṇa* or *vṛddhi*, and

(*b*) that rule fails to provide any definite substituendum.

Pāṇini restricts the substituenda to sounds denoted by *iK* because he wants to exclude any *guṇa* or *vṛddhi* substitutes for *a*, *ai*, *au* and consonants. He explicitly uses *guṇavṛddhī* in this rule, rather than implicitly assuming it by *anuvṛtti*, to make it clear that 1.1.3 finds its scope only when a *guṇa* or *vṛddhi* substitute is given by explicitly using these terms.

1.1.4 न धातुलोप आर्धधातुके

na dhātulopa ārdhadhātuke

/na/ dhātulope 7/1 (*dhātor lopo yasmin; bv.*) *ārdhadhātuke* 7/1/ (*iko guṇavṛddhī* # 3)

dhātvekadeśo dhātus tasya lopo yasmin ārdhadhātuke tad ārdhadhātukaṃ dhātulopaṃ tatra ye guṇavṛddhī prāpnute te na bhavataḥ

Vowels denoted by *guṇa* and *vṛddhi* do not come in the place of an *iK* when an *ārdhadhātuka* (3.4.114 *ārdhadhātukaṃ śeṣaḥ*) affix conditioning deletion of part of the root follows.

EXAMPLES:

loluvaḥ 'he who cuts again and again'
popuvaḥ 'he who cleanses again and again'
marīmṛjaḥ 'he who wipes again and again'

1. The word *dhātulopa* is not a *tatpuruṣa* compound having the analyzed form: *dhātor lopaḥ* 'deletion of root'. Instead it is a *bahuvrīhi* with an analyzed form: *dhātor lopo yasmin* 'that before which deletion of a root occurs', or in other words, 'that which conditions the deletion of a root'. With a *bahuvrīhi* interpretation, the rule will be translated as: *guṇa* and *vṛddhi* do not obtain in the place of an *iK* when that before which the deletion of the root occurs, follows. This translation has a very serious flaw. When the root has already been deleted, there will be nothing with reference to whose *iK guṇa* and *vṛddhi* can be prohibited from obtaining. The *iK*, being part of the root, would have been deleted anyway, and there would be no need for the prohibition. Therefore, the expression 'deletion of a root' is interpreted as 'deletion of part of a root'. That is, the word *dhātu* is interpreted as referring to 'part of a root' (*dhātvaikadeśa*). Hence, the proper translation should be: *guṇa* and *vṛddhi* in the place of an *iK* do not obtain when that which conditions the deletion of part of a root follows. This rule thus, under the stated conditions, negates the provisions made by the preceding rule. For details of how this rule is used in a derivation, see steps (*g*) and (*h*) of (22) *loluvaḥ* in the appendix.

1.1.5 **क्ङिति च**

kṅiti ca
/*kṅiti* 7/1 (*gaś ca kaś ca ṅaś ca*) *ca* ∅/
Vowels denoted by *guṇa* and *vṛddhi* do not come in place of an *iK* when that which is marked with *K*, *G*, or *Ṅ* conditions the replacement.

EXAMPLES:

citaḥ 'heaped'
citavān 'he heaped'
stutaḥ 'praised'
stutavān 'he praised'
bhinnaḥ 'split, broken'
bhinnavān 'he split'
mṛṣṭaḥ 'wiped, cleaned'
mṛṣṭavān 'he wiped'
cinutaḥ 'they two heap or gather'

cinvanti 'they heap or gather'
mṛjanti 'they wipe or clean'
jiṣṇuḥ 'desirous of winning; he whose nature is to win'
bhūṣṇuḥ 'desirous of becoming; he whose nature is to become'

1. The purpose of 1.1.5 is to block the application of a rule which
(*a*) orders *guṇa* or *vṛddhi* replacement with express mention of the term *guṇa* or *vṛddhi*, where
(*b*) such replacement is also conditioned by an item (affix) marked with *K*, *G*, or *Ṅ*.

In view of (*a*), this rule can block a *guṇa* or *vṛddhi* replacement only when such a replacement is to come in place of items denoted by *iK*. Condition (*b*) is slightly more complicated than it appears to be on the surface. That is, the decision whether an item which conditions a *guṇa* or *vṛddhi* replacement is really marked with *K*, *G*, or *Ṅ* is not made solely on the basis of its being overtly marked with *K*, *G* or *Ṅ*. Instead, first the overt markings *K*, *G*, and *Ṅ* are considered and then rules 1.2.1 *gāṅkuṭādibhyo...* through 1.2.26 *ralo vyupadhād...* are consulted. These rules may or may not allow an item, either obligatorily or optionally, to be treated as marked with *K* or *Ṅ*. For example, rule 1.2.4 *sārvadhātukam apit* lets any *sārvadhātuka* affix — with the exception of those marked with *P* — be treated as if marked with *Ṅ*. Similarly, under certain conditions, rules 1.2.19 *niṣṭhā śīṅ...*, etc., will allow affixes *Ktvā* and *KtavatŪ* to be treated as if they were not marked with *K*.

2. The *saptamī* (seventh triplet) in this rule is interpreted as *nimittasaptamī*, a *saptamī* which may cause or condition an operation (here *guṇa* or *vṛddhi* replacement) to obtain (2.3.37 *yasya ca bhāvena...*). It is not interpreted as *parasaptamī*, a *saptamī* which serves as the right context for an operation. That is, the operation obtains on an item which immediately precedes the item in *saptamī* (1.1.66 *tasminn iti nirdiṣṭe pūrvasya*). The *parasaptamī* interpretation will greatly reduce the effectiveness of 1.1.5. For example, 1.1.5 would be able to block the *guṇa* of an *aṅga* – final *iK* which is immediately followed by an affix marked with *K*, *G*, or *Ṅ*. However, it may not block the *guṇa* which obtains in the place of the penultimate *iK* of an *aṅga* since this *iK* will not be immediately followed by the conditioning affix. By accepting *nimittasaptamī* in 1.1.5, we can block any *guṇa* or *vṛddhi* replacement of an *aṅga*, provided, of course, all other conditions are satisfied.

3. Abstract *L*–suffixes which are marked with *N* — that is, *LIṄ*, *LUṄ*, and so on — do not come under the purview of 1.1.5.

4. *Kāśikā* lists this rule as *kṅiti ca*, because, given the string *kkṅ* where the first *k* is a substitute of *g*, under the influence of the second *k*; 8.4.45 *yaro...* optionally will apply to change the second *k* into *ṅ*. This will yield *kṅṅ*. Rule 8.4.64 *halo...* will delete the first *ṅ*, reducing the string to *kṅ*. It should be

remembered here that if one follows this listing, one must accept the affix *Gsnu* (3.2.139 *glājisthaś ca ksnuḥ)* as *Ksnu*.

1.1.6 **दीधीवेवीटाम्**

dīdhīvevīṭām
/dīdhīvevīṭām 6/3/
(iko guṇavṛddhī # 3; *na* # 4)
dīdhī-vevyor iṭaś ca ye guṇa–vṛddhī prāpnutas te na bhavatah
Vowels denoted by *guṇa* or *vṛddhi* do not come in place of the *iK* of *dīdhīṄ* 'illuminate', *vevīṄ* 'go, pervade', and *iṬ* (the augment, see 7.2.35 *ārddha...*, etc).

EXAMPLES:

ādīdhyanam 'to be properly illuminated'
ādīdhyakaḥ 'that which illuminates properly'
āvevyanam 'to go or pervade properly'
āvevyakaḥ 'that which goes or pervades properly'
kaṇitā (śvaḥ) 'he will go (tomorrow)'
raṇitā (śvaḥ) 'he will go (tomorrow)'

1. As is obvious from the translation, *dīdhīvevī* refers to verbal roots *dīdhīṄ* and *vevīṄ*. A question is raised why *dīdhīvevī* cannot be interpreted as a word referring to four roots *dīṄ* 'decay', *dhīṄ* 'disrespect', *veÑ* 'weave', and *vī* 'to go'. If Pāṇini had intended to refer to all four roots, he probably would have formulated the rule in this manner: *vīvedhīdīṭām*. In this way, he would have been able to refer to the roots without any confusion with *dīdhīṄ* and *vevīṄ*. However, since he did not formulate the rule as *vīvedhīdīṭām*, he only meant the two roots *dīdhīṄ* and *vevīṄ*.

The question also arises why *iṬ*, since it is cited in association with verb roots, is not interpreted as referring to, for example, *iṬ* 'to go', a verb root rather than an augment. If Pāṇini had meant to refer to a root by *iṬ*, he would have put *iṬ* first, since it is a form with comparatively fewer vowels (2.2.24 *alpāc taram*). Since he did not, we interpret *iṬ* as referring to the augment *iṬ*. Note that *guṇa* substitution alone obtains in case of *iṬ*. This explains why no examples for *vṛddhi* are offered in this connection.

1.1.7 **हलोऽनन्तराः संयोगः**

halo' nantarāḥ saṃyogaḥ
/halaḥ 1/3 *anantarāḥ* 1/3 *saṃyogaḥ* 1/1/
bhinnajātīyair ajbhir avyavahitāḥ śliṣṭoccāritā halaḥ
saṃyoga saṃjñā bhavanti samudāyaḥ saṃjñī
A sequence of *hL* (consonants, see *Śs*, 5-14) uninterrupted by an *aC* (vowel; see *Śs*, 1-4)) is termed *saṃyoga* 'cluster, conjunct'.

EXAMPLES:

śv in *aśvaḥ* 'horse'
ndr in *indra* 'Indra'
gn in *agniḥ* 'fire'
rṇ in *karṇa* 'ear'
ṣṭr in *uṣṭra* 'camel'

1. Note that the name *saṃyoga* applies to a contiguous sequence of two or more consonants pronounced jointly without any intervening vowels. A sequence of vowels, as in *titauc chatram*, a sequence of consonants with intervening vowels, as in *pacati* and *panasam*, or a single consonant cannot be termed *saṃyoga*.

2. The purpose of this rule is to explain what the term *saṃyoga* means. For an illustration of what may be the consequence of naming something as *saṃyoga*, consider step (*h*) of derivation (29) *citavān*. Here, given the string *citavānt*, 8.2.33 *saṃyogāntasya lopaḥ* applies. According to this rule, the last sound of a *pada* (1.4.14 *suptiṅantaṃ padam*) ending in a *saṃyoga* is deleted. Rule 1.1.7 names the sequence *nt* as a *saṃyoga*. Consequently, the terminal consonant, *t*, is deleted.

SCOPE: 8.2.23 *saṃyogāntasya lopaḥ*, and so on.

1.1.8 **मुखनासिकावचनोऽनुनासिकः**

mukhanāsikāvacano' nunāsikaḥ
/mukhanāsikāvacanaḥ 1/1 *anunāsikaḥ* 1/1/
mukhasahitā nāsikā mukhanāsikā tayā ya uccāryate varṇaḥ so' nunāsikasaṃjño bhavati
A sound pronounced at once in the nose and the mouth is termed *anunāsika* 'nasal'.

1. This rule assigns the term *anunāsika* to those sounds which may be pronounced in the mouth and nose simultaneously. The purpose of such an assignment is to facilitate the application of rules such as 6.1.126 *āṅo' nunāsikaś chandasi* whereby *ā*, a particle, may be replaced by its nasalized counterpart in the Vedic before a vowel. Similarly, there are rules such as 6.4.37 *anudāttopadeśa...* through 6.4.41 *viḍvanor...* which require the obligatory or optional deletion or replacement of the nasal by *ā*. Their application will become problematic if the term *anunāsika* is not defined and assigned by rule 1.1.8 *mukhanāsikā...*

2. An interesting discussion ensues in the *Mahābhāṣya* (I: 193-95) about the formulation of this rule, especially in view of the formation of the compound *mukhanāsikāvacanaḥ*. First, it has been suggested that *mukhanāsikā* is a *dvandva* compound: *mukhaṃ ca nāsikā ca = mukhanāsikam*. This way the compound will, as shown, be a singular (2.4.2 *dvandvaś ca...*) neuter (2.4.17 *sa napuṃsakam*). Note that the final long *ā* of *nāsikā* is also

replaced by short by rule 1.2.47 *hrasvo napuṃsake prātipadikasya.* When joined with *vacana* 'articulation', the form will be *mukhanāsikavacanaḥ* with an underlying paraphrase *mukhanāsikaṃ vacanam asya.* But Pāṇini uses *mukhanāsikāvacanaḥ. The Mahābhāṣya* suggests that we will have the short *a* replaced by long by *nipātana,* or we will interpret *vacana* as *āvacana* 'slight articulation'.

There is yet a different way of interpretation. That is, *mukhanāsikāvacanaḥ* will be interpreted as a *bahuvrīhi* with an internal *tatpuruṣa* whose middle *pada (madhyamapada)* has been deleted. Thus, *mukhadvitīyā va nāsikā = mukhanāsikā (tatpuruṣa* with a middle constituent deletion); *mukhanāsikā vacanam asya so' yam = mukhanāsikā... (bahuvrīhi).* For the reason that there is no *dvandva* involved, there will not be the shortening of the *ā* of *nāsikā.*

Further questions have been raised against the inclusion of the words *mukha* 'mouth' or *nāsikā* 'nose' in the rule. It has been stated that if *nāsikā* is excluded, the rule will read: *mukhavacano' nunāsikaḥ.* This being the case, *k, c, ṭ, t, p,* etc. will get the designation of *anunāsika.* As a consequence, given the string *pac + Kta,* the *c* will be deleted by 6.4.37 *anudāttopadeśa...* This will yield a wrong form: **pata.* It is therefore recommended that *nāsikā* should also be used in the rule. But then an objection is raised against the inclusion of *mukha.* The argument is made that *mukha* can be understood even without its explicit use. How? In the same way in which one understands, in accordance with the *prāsādavāsinyāya,* a reference both to those who live in high places and those who live on the lower grounds. For, when one is commanded to bring people who live in high places, he complies by bringing not only such people, but also those who live in both the places. Similarly, the use of *nāsikā* alone will refer to sounds produced by both *nāsikā* and *mukha.* This is in consonance with the maxim of *prāsādavāsinyāya.* The *Mahābhāṣya* observes that in many ways it is correct; but formulating the rule simply as *nāsikāvacano' nunāsikaḥ* cannot then account for sounds which may be produced only by the nose. One such example is *anusvāra* It is therefore suggested that both *mukha* and *nāsikā* be retained in the rule.

SCOPE: 6.1.126 *āṅo' nunāsikaś chandasi*

1.1.9 तुल्यास्यप्रयत्नं सवर्णम्

tulyāsyaprayatnaṃ savarṇam
/tulyāsyapratyatnam 1/1 *savarṇam* 1/1/
tulya āsye prayatno yasya varṇasya yena varṇena saha sa samānajātīyaṃ prati savarṇasaṃjño bhavati
A sound which has the same articulation effort *(prayatna)* at the same place of articulation *(sthāna)* in the oral cavity as another sound is called *savarṇa* 'homogeneous' with that sound.

EXAMPLE:

ā in *khaṭvā* 'cot' with *a* in *agram* 'front'

1. This rule assigns the term *savarṇa* to sounds which have the same manner of articulation at the same place in the mouth. The word *āsya* 'mouth' is further explained as denoting the area beginning with the lips *(oṣṭha)* and extending up to but not including the *kākala* 'adam's apple'. Here *āsya* is treated as a *taddhita* derivative denoting 'that which is located in the mouth'. That is, it refers to 'the place of articulation'. The suffix introduced after *āsya* is *yaT* (4.3.54 *digādibhyo yat;* 4.3.55 *śarīrāvayavāc ca).* Given the string: *āsya* + *ya*($T \rightarrow \emptyset$) = *āsya* + *ya,* the first *a* will be deleted by 6.4.148 *yasyeti ca.* The *y* of *āsy* will then be deleted by 8.4.63 *halo yamāṃ yami lopaḥ,* thereby yielding the string: *ās* + ($y \rightarrow \emptyset$) + *ya* = *āsya.* The word *āsya* can also be derived by introducing the suffix *ṄyaT* after the verbal root *as* 'to throw, hurl', but that would simply mean 'mouth' and not 'located in the mouth'. To achieve the latter meaning, the affix *yaT* is further introduced to derive *āsya,* a *taddhita* derivative. The word *tulyāsya-prayatnam* is a *bahuvrīhi* compound meaning 'that which shares the manner of articulation at the same place in the mouth'. In this interpretation, *āsya* modifies *prayatna,* thereby giving the meaning 'similar effort at a place'. If *āsyaprayatna* were interpreted as a *dvandva* compound meaning 'place and manner', qualified by *tulya* 'same', with the entire expression being a *bahuvrīhi* with internal *dvandva, āsya* could not modify *prayatna.*

SCOPE: 6.1.101 *akaḥ savarṇe dīrghaḥ,* and so on.

1.1.10 **नाज्झलौ**

nājjhalau
/na ∅ ajjhalau 1/2/
(tulyāsyaprayatnaṃ savarṇam # 9)
tulyāsya prayatnāv apy ajjhalau parasparaṃ savarṇasaṃjñau na bhavataḥ
Sounds denoted by *aC* (vowel) are not termed *savarṇa* with sounds deonted by *hL* (consonant).

EXAMPLES:

a and *h* in *daṇḍa* 'stick' and *hasta* 'hand'
i and *ś* in *dadhi śītam* 'cold yogurt'
vaipāśo matsyaḥ 'fish found in the river Vipāśā'
ānaḍuhaṃ carma 'bull hide'

1. This rule disallows any *sāvarṇya* 'homogeneity' relationship between a vowel and a consonant. What necessitates the formulation of such a rule is the danger that a vowel and a consonant may, on account of their sharing the same place and manner of articulation in the oral cavity, be

labelled *savarṇa*. Consider for example: *daṇḍa hasta*, where both the final *a* of *daṇḍa* and the *h* of *hasta* are pronounced at the *kaṇṭha* with *vivṛta* 'open' manner of articulation. Similarly *dadhi śītam* entails a situation where the *i* of *dadhi* and the *ś* of *śītam* may be termed homogeneous since both are pronounced at *tālu* 'hard-palate' with *saṃvṛta* 'closed' manner of articulation. Once homogeneity is assigned, there would be an occasion for *savarṇadīrghatva* 'homogeneous long (vowel) replacement'. It is too much, however, to say that 1.1.10 has been formulated for disallowing *savarṇadīrghatva*, since 6.1.101 *akaḥ savarṇe dīrghaḥ* effectively blocks the long replacement of *a* + *h* and *i* + *ś* of *daṇḍa* + *hasta* and *dadhi* + *śītam* by requiring an *aC* 'vowel' as the right context for the replacement. Similarly 1.1.69 *aṇudit savarṇasya...* also rules out any *sāvarṇya* relationship between *a/h* or *i/ś*. Thus, blocking long replacement could hardly be the purpose of 1.1.10. The *Nyāsa* (I:104) summarizes the purpose of this rule as: *avaśyaṃ tāvad anyārthaṃ 'nājjhalau' ity etat kartavyam, yasyetilopābhāvārtham* 'therefore the formulation of *nājjhalau* is definitely for something else; (that is) so that deletion by *yasyeti ca* does not apply'.

The implications of these observations are fully discussed in the appendix under this rule. Note that wrong forms will result if deletion by 6.4.148 applies. See derivations for details.

1.1.11 ईदूदेद्विवचनं प्रगृह्यम्

īdūdeddvivacanaṃ pragṛhyam
/īdūdeddvivacanam 1/1 *pragṛhyam* 1/1/
īt ūt et ity evam antaṃ dvivacanaṃ śabdarūpaṃ pragṛhya saṃjñaṃ bhavati
A dual ending which terminates in *ī*, *ū*, or *e* (see 1.1.70 *taparas tatkālasya)* is termed *pragṛhya.*

EXAMPLES:

agnī iti 'two (kinds of) fire'
pacete iti 'they (two) cook'
pacethe iti 'you (two) cook'
māle iti 'two garlands'

1. This rule assigns the term *pragṛhya* to those dual nominal endings which terminate in *ī*, *ū*, or *e*. As an example, consider the derivation of *kavī* (nom., acc. dual of *kavi* 'poet'). It is derived from *kavi* + *au(Ṭ)* to which 6.1.102 *prathamayoḥ pūrvasavarṇaḥ* applies. As a result, we get a single long vowel replacement in place of *i* + *au*. This long vowel substitute must be homogeneous with the preceding vowel: thus, *kav(i* + *au* → *ī)* = *kavī*. Now, given a string *kavī* + *atra* 'two poets are here', 1.1.11 must assign the term *pragṛhya* to *ī* of *kavī* so that the replacement of *ī* by *y* (6.1.77 *iko yaṇ aci*) before *a* can be blocked. In order for *ī* to be termed *pragṛhya*, *ī* must be a

dual ending terminating in *ī*. There clearly is a problem here. The *ī* of *kavī* is neither a dual ending nor does it terminate in *ī* .

This problem is resolved by invoking rules 1.1.21 *ādyantavad ekasmin* and 6.1.85 *antādivac ca*. Rule 1.1.21 states that if an operation is ordered for an initial *(ādi)* or a final *(anta)* element of an item, that operation may also apply to an item which does not have any initial or final element. That is, operations applicable to an initial or final element also apply to an item which consists of a single element. Thus for purposes of *pragṛhya*, *ī* can be considered as ending in *ī*. Rule 6.1.85 states that a single replacement can be treated as the final of the preceding item and the initial of the following item. In case of *kavī*, *ī* is a single replacement for *i* + *au*. By 6.1.85, it can be treated as if it were the initial of *au*. But since *au* is a single element, *au* itself can be considered as its own initial element. Thus *ī* will be considered as if it were *au*. Hence *ī* can be accepted as a dual ending and, as I have already stated, considered as ending in *ī*. The way is now clear for 1.1.11 to assign the term *pragṛhya* to *ī* of *kavī*. As a result, there is no *yaṆ* replacement in *kavī* + *atra*.

SCOPE: 6.1.125 *plutapragṛhyā aci...*

1.1.12 अदसो मात्

adaso māt .

/adasaḥ 6/1 *māt* 5/1/

(īdūdet pragṛhyam # 11)

adasaḥ saṃbandhī yo makāras tasmāt para īdūdetaḥ pragṛhyasaṃjñā bhavanti

ī, *ū*, and *e* which follow the *m* of *adas* 'that' are termed *pragṛhya*.

EXAMPLES:

amī atra 'those people are here'

amū atra 'those two people are here'

1. There are two forms — *amī* (nom. pl.; m.) and *amū* (nom. acc. dual; m., f., n.) — which have *ī* or *ū* occurring after *m*. The *ū* of the feminine or neuter dual *amū* gets the *pragṛhya* designation from 1.1.11 *īdūded*.... Rule 1.1.12 is formulated only in view of the masculine dual and plural forms of *adas*.

For a proper understanding of the *pragṛhya* designations by rules 1.1.11-12, we must consider rules 8.2.1 *pūrvatrāsiddham*, 8.2.80 *adaso' ser dādu domaḥ* and 8.2.81 *eta īd bahuvacane*. These two rules are responsible for the forms of *adas* containing *m* followed by *ū*, *e*, or *ī*. Thus, 8.2.80-81 are necessary for creating conditions under which 1.1.12 can assign the term *pragṛhya*.

Rule 8.2.1 declares that rules contained in the last three quarters of

the *Aṇṭādhyāyī* are to be considered as *asiddha* 'suspended' with reference to rules contained in the preceding seven and one-quarter chapters. Thus, in the present context, any changes introduced in a form of *adas* by rules 8.2.80-81 will become *asiddha* as far as rules 1.1.11-12 are concerned. But rule 1.1.12 will not find any scope of application if the results of 8.2.80-81 (the use of *ū*, *e*, or *ī* with a preceding *m*) are suspended. It is precisely in order to save 1.1.12 from becoming vacuous that Pāṇinīyas do not regard the principle of *asiddhatva* as applicable to 1.1.12. However, results of 8.2.80-81 will still be considered as *asiddha* for rule 1.1.11, which accounts for the *pragṛhya* designation relative to feminine-neuter forms of *adas*. The form in question is *amū*. In the derivation of both the feminine and neuter *amū*, *ade* is the form to which 8.2.80 *adaso' ser...* applies, yielding: *a(d → m) (e → ū) = amū*, (for details see the appendix under 1.1.12). Now, if 8.2.80 is *asiddha* for 1.1.11 *īdūded...*, *ū* of *amū* cannot be assigned the term *pragṛhya*. This is correct because 1.1.11 can only see the form *ade* and not *amū*. Consequently, it will assign the term *pragṛhya* to the *e* of *ade*. Thus, given a string *amū* + *atra* where *amū* is either feminine or neuter, 1.1.11 will assign the term *pragṛhya* and block the *sandhi*. The derivation of the masculine form *amī* also involves *ade* which, after the application of 8.2.80-81, becomes *a(d → m) (e → ī) = amī*. However, 1.1.11 cannot assign the term *pragṛhya* to the *ū* of masculine dual *amū* since the form on which 8.2.80-81 were applied to yield *amū* was *adau*. Obviously 1.1.11 cannot apply to *au*. This clearly establishes the need for 1.1.12 along with the rejection of the principle of *asiddhatva* for its application.

1.1.13 शे

śe
/*śe* 1/1 (deleted)/
(*pragṛhyam* # 11)
śe ity etat pragṛhyasaṃjñaṃ bhavati
Śe is termed *pragṛhya*.

EXAMPLES:

asme indrābṛhaspatī (*RV*, 4.49.4)
yuṣme iti
tve iti
me iti
Note that *asme*, *me*, and *yuṣme*, *tve* are the Vedic forms of *asmad* 'first personal pronoun' and *yuṣmad* 'second personal pronoun' respectively. Both *asme* and *yuṣme* are dative as well as locative plurals; *me* and *tve* are locative singular. See the appendix for their derivational details.

1. Traditionally, *Śe* is understood here as that substitute of *sUP* which is provided by 7.1.39 *supāṃ*.... Rule 7.1.39 gets the *anuvṛtti* of the word *chandasi* 'in the Vedas' from 7.1.38 *ktvāpi*.... This clearly establishes that 1.1.13 applies only to Vedic examples.

2. The purpose of assigning the term *pragṛhya* is again *prakṛtibhāva*, blocking *sandhi*. Commentators (*Mbh.* I: 226) explain that the word *Śe* refers to a *Śe* which is functionally-semantically meaningful. Thus, for example, it could not refer to the *śe* that we find in the locative singular form of *kāśa* 'reed' and *kuśa* 'weed'. The *Śe* which Pāṇini intends us to understand in this rule is the *Śe* which is provided as a replacement for the *sUP* in the Vedic by rule 7.1.39 *supāṃ suluk*... The *Ś* is termed an *it* by 1.3.8 *laśakv ataddhite* and is subsequently deleted by 1.3.9 *tasya lopaḥ*. This *Śe* is functionally-semantically meaningful since it is a *vibhakti* 'nominal ending', via being a replacement (*ādeśa*) for one. It may be asked here why the *śe* of *kāśe* and *kuśe* cannot be accepted as significant. This too is a locative nominal ending. The answer is that the nominal ending is ($\dot{N} \rightarrow \emptyset$) $i = i$, which after the application of rule 6.1.87 *ād guṇaḥ* to *kāśa* + *e* and *kuśa* + *e* results in *kāśe* and *kuśe*. Thus, *śe* by itself is not a *vibhakti*. It may be accepted as ending in a *vibhakti*, but it must still be considered 'non-significant' (*anarthaka*). The *saptamī* ending *-i* is meaningful in its own right. This is in full consonance with the *Paribhāṣā* (15) *arthavad grahaṇe nānarthakasya*, whereby, when a meaningful form such as *Śe* is in focus, it cannot include a non-meaningful form such as *śe* of *kāśe* and *kuśe*. It has been further discussed in the *Mahābhāṣya* that there may still be a difficulty if one accepts the view just stated. Consider, for example, *hariśe* and *babhruśe*, which are locative singular forms of *hariśa* and *babhruśa*. The bases themselves derive from *hari* + *śa* and *babhru* + *śa*, where *śa* is a suffix denoting the sense of *matUP* and is introduced by rule 5.2.100 *lopādipāmādi*.... Can *śe* of *hariśe* and *babhruśe* be defined as meaningful? The answer is no, for this *śe* results from the application of a rule which combines the *a* of *śa*, the suffix, and the *i* of the nominal ending. This *śe* is not an explicitly stated form (*pratipadokta*) such as the *Śe* of rule 1.1.13. This is in accord with the *Paribhāṣā* (114) *lakṣaṇapratipadoktayoḥ pratipadoktasyaiva grahaṇam*, whereby one must accept an explicitly stated form as opposed to one which results as a combination of elements from the application of a rule.

Note that since rule 7.1.39 *supāṃ suluk*... gets the *anuvṛtti* of *chandasi* from rule 7.1.38 *ktvāpi*..., the implications of rule 1.1.13 *śe* must remain applicable only to the Vedic Sanskrit.

1.1.14 निपात एकाजनाङ्

nipāta ekāj anāṅ
/nipātaḥ 1/1 *ekāc* 1/1 *anāṅ* 1/1/
(*pragṛhyam* # 11)

ekaś cāsāv ac ca ekāc nipāto ya ekāj āṅvarjitaḥ sa pragṛhyasaṃjño bhavati
A *nipāta* (particle) which consists only of a single *aC* — except for *āÑ* — is termed *pragṛhya.*

EXAMPLES:

a apehi 'Hey, stay away'
i indram paśya 'O, look at Indra
u uttiṣṭha 'Hey, get up'
ā evaṃ kila tat 'Ah, I see'
ā evam nu manyase 'Now indeed you accept this'

1. The purpose of this rule is to assign the term *pragṛhya* to those *nipātas* (1.4.56 *prāg rīśvarān nipātāḥ*) which consist of just a single vowel and nothing else. This, however, does not include *āÑ*, even though it is a *nipāta* and consists of a single vowel *ā*. Its *Ñ* is not considered as significant here because of its being only an *it*. The function of the *pragṛhya* designation is similar to those discussed earlier. In the examples cited under this rule, *a, i, u,* and *ā* are all *nipātas* and, as such, will be termed *pragṛhya* to block the long vowel replacements ordered by 6.1.101 *akaḥ savarṇe dīrghaḥ*. For example, given a string *i* + *indraṃ* + *paśya,* if *i* is not termed *pragṛhya,* 6.1.101 will apply to yield a wrong form: (*i* + *i* → *ī*) *ndram paśya* = **īndraṃ paśya*. The same holds for all the other examples.

It should be remembered here that the particle *ā* which occurs in the examples *ā evaṃ nu manyase* and *ā evaṃ kila tat* is not *āÑ*. Instead, it is a different *nipāta* (see 1.4.57 *cādayo' satve*). The *āÑ* which is excluded from being termed a *pragṛhya* is used in the following four ways:

(*a*) in the sense of *īṣat* 'a little', as in *ā* + *uṣṇam* = *oṣṇam* 'slightly hot';
(*b*) as a preverb, as in *ā* + *ihi* = *ehi* 'come here';
(*c*) in the sense of *maryādā* 'limit', as in *ā pāṭaliputrād vṛṣṭo devaḥ* 'it rained up to (but not including) the city of Pāṭaliputra'; and,
(*d*) in the sense of *abhividhi* 'pervading limit', as in *ā pāṭaliputrād vṛṣṭo devaḥ* 'it rained up to (and including) the city of Pāṭaliputra'.

Clearly then, if *āÑ* is not termed *pragṛhya,* required *sandhi* rules will apply, as in (*a*) and (*b*). The *ā* which is termed a *pragṛhya* and thus does not undergo any *saṃdhi* changes is not used in any of these four ways.

1.1.15 **ओत्**

ot
/ot 1/1/
(*nipātaḥ* # 14; *pragṛhyam* # 11)
A *nipāta* which ends (1.1.70 *taparas tatkālasya*) in *o* (1.1.72 *yena vidhis...*, etc.) is termed *pragṛhya.*

EXAMPLES:

no idānīm 'not now'
āho iti 'emphatic interrogative particle'
utāho iti 'emphatic interrogative particle'
uta strengthened with *āho'*

1. The purpose of this rule is to extend the *pragṛhya* designation to those *nipātas* which terminate in *o*. It should be remembered here that, unlike 1.1.14, this rule does not require the *nipātas* to consist only of a single vowel. This *pragṛhya* designation is intended for blocking the application of 6.1.78 *eco' yavāyāvaḥ*. The particles used in the examples are termed *nipātas* by 1.4.57 *cādayo' satve*.

1.1.16 **सम्बुद्धौ शाकल्यस्येतावनार्षे**

sambuddhau śākalyasyetāvanārṣe
/sambuddhau 7/1 *śākalyasya* 6/1 *itau* 7/1 *anārṣe* 7/1/
(*ot* # 15; *pragṛhyam* # 11)
sambuddhinimitto ya okāraḥ sa śākalyasyācāryasya matena pragṛhya saṃjño bhavati iti śabde' nārṣe avaidike parataḥ
According to Śākalya, *o* is termed *pragṛhya* when it is conditioned by a *sambuddhi* (voc. sing.) ending and occurs before a non-Vedic *iti*.

EXAMPLES:

vāyo iti (Śākalya) *vāyav iti* (non-Śākalya) 'O Vāyu!'
bhāno iti (Śākalya) *bhānav iti* (non-Śākalya) 'O Bhānu!'

1. This rule also assigns the term *pragṛhya* to *o*. However, by ascribing this assignment to Śākalya, Pāṇini shows that this is something peculiar to Śākalya's own *padapāṭha*. The conditions under which *o* can be termed *pragṛhya* are quite specific. That is, *o* must result from applying a rule under the conditions of *sambuddhi*, and *o* must be used before an *iti* which does not represent a Vedic usage.

Let us consider the example *vāyo iti* where *iti* is not a Vedic *iti* and *vāyo* is vocative singular of *vāyu* derived from *vāyu* + *sŨ*. We know from 2.3.47 *sambodhane ca* that the first triplet of nominal endings (*prathamā*) may be used to express *sambodhana* 'address'. In addition, because of 2.3.47, these endings are also termed *āmantrita* (2.3.48 *sā' mantritatam*), and if the selected ending is singular (*ekavacana*), it gets the further designation *sambuddhi* (2.3.49 *ekavacanaṃ sambuddhiḥ*). The *sŨ* of *vāyu* + *sŨ* is *āmantrita* and *sambuddhi*, while the whole term *vāyu* + *sŨ* is *āmantrita*. The term *āmantrita* is assigned for purposes of accent (see 6.1.198 *āmantritasya ca*, also 8.1.19 *āmantritasya ca*). However, *sambuddhi* is assigned especially for 6.1.69 *eṅ hrasvāt sambuddheḥ* and 7.3.108 *hrasvasya guṇaḥ*.

Let us return to *vāyu* + *sŨ* which, after the *it* deletion of *Ũ*, becomes

vāyu + *s*. Rule 7.3.108 requires that a short vowel occurring at the end of an *aṅga* be replaced by *guṇa*. Thus we get *vāy*(*u* → *o*) + *s* = *vāyos*. The *guṇa* replacement is not possible if the following (*sU*) is not a *sambuddhi*. It is in this sense that we consider this *o* to be the result of a rule application conditioned by *sambuddhi*. Rule 1.1.16 assigns the term *pragṛhya* only to this type of derived *o* . Rule 6.1.69 can then apply to *vāyo* + *s* to delete *s* which is a consonant termed *sambuddhi* occurring after an *aṅga* terminating in *o*. Thus: *vāyo* + (*s* → ∅) = *vāyo*. Now, given a string *vāyo* + *iti*, *o* can be termed *pragṛhya* to block the application of 6.1.78 *eco' yavāyāvaḥ*. The form will remain *vāyo* + *iti*. However, since 1.1.16 is peculiar to Śākalya; elsewhere *vāyo* + *iti* may also yield *vāy*(*o* → *av*) + *iti* = *vāyav iti*, if the term *pragṛhya* is not assigned by 1.1.16. In that case, 6.1.78 would not be blocked.

2. The mention of names such as Śākalya is treated by Pāṇinīyas as another way of expressing optionality or as a sign of mentioning for the sake of respect.

1.1.17 उञः:

uñaḥ
/uñaḥ 6/1/
(*pragṛhyam* # 11 *śākalyasya, itau anārṣ* # 16)
uñaḥ pragṛhya-saṃjñā bhavati itau śākalyasyācāryasya mantena
According to Śākalya, *uÑ*, occurring before a non-Vedic *iti* is termed *pragṛhya*.

EXAMPLES:

u iti (Śākalya); *viti* (non-Śākalya)

1. Again this is an optional rule. Given the example *u iti*, as long as *u* is not assigned the term *pragṛhya*, 6.1.77 *iko yaṇ aci* will apply to yield (*u* → *v*) *iti* → *vi*. However, if *u* is assigned the term *pragṛhya*, 6.1.77 will be blocked.

1.1.18 ऊँ

ū̃ 1/1/
śākalyasya matena pragṛhyasaṃjñakaś ca
According to Śākalya, *uÑ*, occurring before a non-Vedic *iti*, is replaced by *ū̃* (lengthened and nasalized), and *ū̃* in turn is termed *pragṛhya*.

EXAMPLE:

ū̃ iti

1. This rule, too, is optional. It allows, first, that *uÑ* be replaced by *u*,

and then, optionally, transfers the *pragṛhya* designation to *ū̃*. Here again the purpose is to block the application of 6.1.77.

Note that the purpose of reading *śākalyasya* in this rule is to make its provisions optional. This will present three examples: *u iti, viti* and *ū̃ iti.*

1.1.19 ईदूतौ च सप्तम्यर्थे

īdūtau ca saptamyarthe
/īdūtau 1/2 *ca* Ø *saptamyarthe* 7/1/
(pragṛhyam # 11)
īdantam ūdantaṃ ca śabdarūpaṃ saptamyarthe varttamānaṃ pragṛhya-saṃjñaṃ bhavati
Forms which end in *ī, ū,* and express the sense of *saptamī* (seventh *sUP* triplet) are termed *pragṛhya.*

EXAMPLES:

somogaurī adhi śritaḥ 'Soma, reclining upon the yellow sheep hide'
tanu 'in the body (feminine)'

1. This rule extends the *pragṛhya* designation to any item which may end in *ī, ū,* and denote the sense of a *saptamī* 'locative'. Given the strings *māmakī* + *Ṅi,* and *tanū* + *Ṅi,* 7.1.39 *supāṃ suluk* will apply to delete the locative endings. Now, if *māmakī* and *tanū* are used before *iti,* as in, for example, the *padapāṭha* recitation, 6.1.77 *iko yaṇ aci* will apply to yield undesired forms such as *māmak (ī → y) iti* = **māmakyiti.* Similarly: *tan(ū → v) iti* = **tanviti.* If, on the other hand, *ī* and *ū* are termed *pragṛhya,* 6.1.77 will be blocked from applying. A form such as *gaurī,* which is derived from *gaurī* + *Ṅi,* will face a similar situation if its *i* is not termed *pragṛhya.* Thus, in the absence of a *pragṛhya* designation, a sequence *gaurī* + *adhi* will result in a wrong form **gauryadhi.*

1.1.20 दाधाघ्वदाप्

dādhā ghv adāp
/dādhāḥ 1/3 *ghu* 1/1 *adāp* 1/1/
dārūpāś catvāro dhātavo dhārūpau ca dvau dābdaipau varjayitvā ghusaṃjñakā bhavanti
(Roots of the form) *dā* and *dhā*—except for *dāP* 'to cut' and *daiP* 'to clean'—are termed *ghu.*

EXAMPLES:

praṇidadāti (ḌUdāÑ 'to give') 'he gives properly with full resolve'
praṇidadhāti (ḌUdhāÑ 'to put, provide for') 'he gives properly with full resolve'
praṇidātā (dāṆ 'to give') 'he who gives properly with full resolve'
praṇidyati (do 'to divide, split') 'he splits properly with full resolve'

praṇidayate (deṄ 'to protect, defend, nurture') 'he protects with full resolve'
praṇidhayati (dheṬ 'to drink, suck') 'sucks the milk from...

1. This rule refers to six verbal roots: *ḌUdāÑ, ḌUdhāÑ, dāṆ, do, deṄ,* and *dheṬ.* The phrase 'of the form' refers especially to two operations whereby verbal roots yield a form in *dā* or *dhā.* In case of roots such as *ḌUdāÑ, dāṆ,* and *ḌudhāÑ,* the specific operation is *it* deletion. *ḌU...Ñ, Ṇ,* and *ḌU...Ñ* will be deleted because they are *its* (markers), and the resulting forms of the roots will be *dā, dā,* and *dhā.* A second operation specific to verbal roots *do, deṄ,* and *dheṬ* can be associated with the application of 6.1.45 *ādeca upadeśe' śiti,* whereby a root-final *e, ai, o,* or *au* will be replaced by *ā.* Thus, *do, de(Ṅ),* and *dhe(Ṭ)* will each yield a form in *dā* or *dhā.*

2. The purpose of assigning the term *ghu* to verbal roots which have their forms in *dā* or *dhā* is to allow, in addition to operations applicable to items termed *ghu,* the *n* of the preverb *ni* to be replaced by *ṇ* before them. Thus: *pra-ni-dā = pra-(n → ṇ) i-dā = praṇidā.*

SCOPE: 6.4.66: *ghumāsthāgāpājahātiṣāṃ hali,* etc.

1.1.21 आद्यन्तवदेकस्मिन्

ādyantavad ekasmin
/ādyantavad Ø ekasmin 7/1/
ādāv iva anta iva ekasminn api kāryaṃ bhavati
Operations specific to the initial or final element of a given unit obtain even on a single element constituting that unit.

EXAMPLE:

ābhyām 'by those two'

1. The purpose of this rule is to make a provision whereby operations applicable to an initial (*ādi*) or final (*anta*) element of an item may be performed on an item which consists only of a single element and thus does not have any initial or final element. In view of the provisions of this rule, a single element can be treated as its own initial or final element. In other words, this extension rule extends operations which obtain only on items having initial or final elements to items which consist solely of a single element.

For example, consider (1) *aupagavaḥ* where the affix *a* will have the *udātta* 'high pitch' (1.2.29 *uccair udāttaḥ*) accent by 3.1.3 *ādyudāttaś ca.* This rule assigns an *udātta* accent to the initial vowel of an affix. Now, in the absence of 1.1.21, affix *a* in *aupagavaḥ* cannot be assigned this accent since it does not have an initial vowel.

Consider, also, the derivation of (64) *ābhyām.* At step (*e*), the string is *a + bhyām.* Rule 7.3.102 *supi ca* must apply now to give us *(a → ā) + bhyām = ābhyām.*

This rule replaces *a* by *ā* only when *a* is the final sound of a presuffixal base (*aṅga*) and is followed by a *sUP* which begins with *yÑ* (see *Śs.* 5-8); in this example, it is *bh.* Now the single vowel *a* itself constitutes the presuffixal base followed by *bhyām.* We cannot derive *ābhyām* unless this *a* is treated as the final sound of the *aṅga* it constitutes.

In examples like *kartavyam* 'that which is to be done' and *vṛkṣābhyām* (inst., dat., abl. dual of *vṛkṣa* 'tree'), we need not invoke 1.1.20, since the *udātta* accent will be assigned to the initial *a* of the suffix *tavyaT.* Similarly, the presuffixal base before the nominal ending *bhyām* will be *vṛkṣa,* which ends in *a.* These contrasting examples, where 1.1.20 need not be invoked, are furnished simply for explanatory purposes.

1.1.22 **तरप्तमपौ घः**

taraptamapau ghaḥ
/taraptamapau 1/2 *ghaḥ* 1/1/
tarap tamab ity etau pratyayau ghasaṃjñau bhavataḥ
Affixes *taraP* (5.3.57 *dvivacana...*, etc.) and *tamaP* (5.3.55-56 *atiśāyane...*, etc.) are termed *gha.*

EXAMPLES:

kumāritarā 'a comparatively better girl'
kumāritamā 'the best girl'
brāhmaṇitarā 'a comparatively better Brāhmaṇa woman'
brāhmaṇitamā 'the best Brāhmaṇa woman'

1. This rule assigns the term *gha* to affixes *taraP* and *tamaP.* The main function of *gha* is to facilitate shortening (*hrasva*) by 6.3.43 *gharūpa....* See the derivations for details. Additionally note that *gha* also receives the affix *ām* by 5.4.11 *kimettiṅ....*

There may be a confusion about *taraP* being a form derived by introducing the affix *aP* after the verbal root *tṛ* 'to float' (3.3.50 *ṛdor ap*). This of course is not acceptable because the association (*sāhacarya*) of *tamaP* with *taraP* will rule out the latter as being anything but an affix.

SCOPE: 6.3.43 *gharūpakalpa...*

1.1.23 **बहुगणवतुडति संख्या**

bahugaṇavatuḍati saṃkhyā
/bahugaṇavatuḍati 1/1 *saṃkhyā* 1/1/
bahugaṇavatuḍati ity ete saṃkhyāsaṃjñā bhavanti
Items *bahu* 'many' and *gaṇa* 'class, group', as well as those which end in *vatU* (5.2.39 *yattadetebhyaḥ...*) and *Ḍati* (5.2.41 *kimaḥ...*) are termed *saṃkhyā.*

EXAMPLES:

bahukṛtvaḥ 'many times'

katikṛtvaḥ 'how many times'
gaṇakṛtvaḥ 'a series of times'
tāvatkṛtvaḥ 'that many times'
bahudhā 'in many ways'
katidhā 'in how many ways'
gaṇadhā 'in a series of ways'
tāvaddhā 'that many ways'
bahukaḥ 'purchased for many (gold coins)'
katikaḥ 'purchased for how many...'
gaṇakaḥ 'purchased for a group of...'
tāvatkaḥ 'purchased for that many...'
bahuśaḥ 'frequently'
katiśaḥ 'how frequent...'
gaṇaśaḥ 'frequent in a series'
tāvacchaḥ 'that frequent'

1. The term *saṃkhyā* here refers to 'number'; not to its etymological sense (*anvartha*) of 'that by means of which one counts (*saṃkhyāyate' nayā*)'. If *saṃkhyā* here in the grammar referred to its popular sense, what would be the sense in defining it? The *Mahābhāṣya* invokes here the famous *paribhāṣā: kṛtrimākṛtrimayoḥ kṛtrimeṇa kāryasampratyataḥ* 'when both *kṛtrima* (artificial) and *akṛtrima* (non-artificial, popular) obtain, *kṛtrima* is accepted as operating'. This being the case, *eka* 'one', and so on, could be thrown out of the sphere of the term *saṃkhyā* because in the absence of the *kṛtrima* usage, *akṛtrima* could not be accepted.

However the question still remains as to how *eka, dvi,* and so on, would get the designation *saṃkhyā,* since the present rule does not include them. In answer one can argue that the grammar also uses *akṛtrimasaṃjñā.* If that were not so, restrictions such as *atiśadantāyāḥ* outlined by 6.1.22 *saṃkhyāyāḥ atiśadantāyāḥ kan* would become vacuous. For, as defined by the grammar here in 1.1.23, the word *saṃkhyā* cannot refer to anything *atiśadanta.* Forms referred to by the restriction only obtain in the *laukikasaṃjñā* 'terms in popular usage'.

The words *bahu* and *gaṇa* also mean 'multitude' *(vaipulya)* and 'group' *(saṃgha)* respectively. Thus we get the following phrases:

(a) bahurodanaḥ 'too much crying',

(b) mahān bhikṣūṇāṃ gaṇaḥ 'a very large group of ascetics'

When *bahu* and *gaṇa* are not used to denote number, they cannot be assigned the term *saṃkhyā.* The present rule is required not only to extend to *bahu, gaṇa,* and so on, the status of *saṃkhyā* but also to exclude words such as *bhūri* and *prabhūti* from being designated *saṃkhyā,* even though these words are similar to *bahu* and *gaṇa* in the sense that they mean 'much, abundant', and so on. For details see *Nyāsa* (I:126-27).

SCOPE: 2.1.19 *saṃkhyā vaṃśyena*, and so on.

1.1.24 ष्णान्ता षट्

ṣṇāntā ṣaṭ

/ṣṇāntā 1/1 *ṣaṭ* 1/1/

saṃkhyā # 23)

ṣakārantā nakārāntā ca yā saṃkhyā sā ṣaṭsaṃjñā bhavati

Numerals (*saṃkhyā*) which end in *ṣ* or *ṇ* are termed *ṣaṭ*.

EXAMPLES:

ṣaṭ tiṣṭhanti 'the six are standing there'
ṣaṭ paśya 'look at those six'
pañca 'five'
sapta 'seven'
nava 'nine'
daśa 'ten'

1. The word *saṃkhyā* is interpreted here as the *saṃjñin*. However, in the preceding rule from where it is carried to this rule, *saṃkhyā* is a *saṃjñā*. Pāṇini uses *ṣṇāntā*, a *saṃjñin*, in feminine so that it could serve as a modifier of *saṃkhyā*. In the absence of accepting this as the purpose of using the feminine form *ṣṇāntā*, the use of feminine becomes vacuous. The very fact that it is used in the feminine makes *saṃkhyā* understood as carried. If it had been used in the masculine, the rule would have become *ṣṇāntaḥ ṣaṭ*, with the meaning '*ṣaṭ* is that which ends in *ṣ* or *ṇ*'. This would have allowed *ṣaṭ* designation to any form ending is *ṣ* or *ṇ*.

A question is raised as to why *anta* 'final' should be used in 1.1.24. If *saṃkhyā* is carried, the sense of *anta* will automatically become available by the syntactico-semantic relation (*sāmarthya*) obtaining between *saṃkhyā* and *ṣ* or *ṇ*. Commentators (*Nyāsa*, I:127) indicate that the purpose of *anta* here is to make it clear that 'a numerical word ending in *ṣ* or *ṇ*' refers to a number word in *upadeśa* 'initial citation' and not to a number which, as the result of some operation, ends in *ṣ* or *ṇ*. Thus *pañcan* 'five', *ṣaṣ* 'six', *saptan* 'seven', *aṣṭan* 'eight', *navan* 'nine', and *daśan* 'ten' will be termed *ṣaṭ*. However such examples as *śatān* and *sahasrān*, of *śatān* + *i* = *śatāni* and *sahasrān* + *i* = *sahasrā(n→ ṇ)* + *i* = *sahasrāṇi*, where forms ending in *ṇ* are not *aupadeśika* 'radical', will not be termed *ṣaṭ*.

One of the major functions of the assignment of the term *ṣaṭ* is to facilitate the deletion of the nominative and accusative plural endings by 7.1.22 *ṣaḍbhyo luk*.

SCOPE: 7.1.22 *ṣaḍbhyo luk*, and so on.

1.1.25 डति च

ḍati ca

/ḍati 1/1 *ca* Ø/
(ṣaṭ # 24; *saṃkhyā* # 23)
ḍatyantā ca yā saṃkhyā sā ṣaṭsaṃjñā bhavati
Numerals which end in *Ḍati* also are termed *ṣaṭ*.

EXAMPLES:

kati tiṣṭhanti 'how many are sitting there'
kati paśya 'see however many you can'

1. Note that the reason Pāṇini wants to include numbers ending in *Ḍati* in those termed *ṣaṭ* is to facilitate the deletion of their nominative and accusative plural endings by 7.1.22 *ṣaḍbhyo luk*.

See the appendix, rules 1.1.24 and 1.1.25 for details.

1.1.26 क्तक्तवतू निष्ठा
ktaktavatū niṣṭhā
/ktaktavatū 1/2 *niṣṭhā* 1/1/
ktaśca ktavatuś ca ktaktavatū pratyayau niṣṭhāsaṃjñau bhavataḥ
Affixes *Kta* and *KtavatU* (3.2.102 *niṣṭhā*, etc.) are termed *niṣṭhā*.

EXAMPLES:

kṛtaḥ 'done, made'
kṛtavān 'he did, made'
bhuktaḥ 'eaten, consumed'
bhuktavān 'he ate'

1. Affixes *Kta* and *KtavatU* are assigned the term *niṣṭhā* so that, among other things, 3.2.102 *niṣṭhā*, may introduce these affixes by citing this term. This may sound contradictory. If these affixes are to be *niṣṭhā*, they must be introduced without assigning the term *niṣṭhā*. This is clearly an example of interdependency *(anyonyāśrayatva;* for a more complete discussion, see note 1 to rule 1.1.45 *ig yaṇaḥ...*). Commentators rule that the term *niṣṭhā* is applied as *bhāvin:* a term whose denotata are 'yet to be brought about'. One finds similar practices in everyday situations. Thus one asks a weaver *asya sūtrasya śāṭakaṃ vaya* 'weave a *śāṭaka* of this yarn'. The designation *śāṭaka* is used even though, being not yet woven, it is 'yet to be brought about'. Several derivations involving these affixes have already been given under 1.1.5 *knīti ca*. Examples such as *kṛtaḥ (ḌUkṛÑ + Kta), kṛtavān (ḌUkṛÑ + KtavatU), bhuktaḥ (bhuj + Kta),* and *bhuktavān (bhuj + KtavatU)* are similarly derived. Their complete derivations may be found under this rule in the appendix. However, it should be noted here that the *j* of *bhuj + (Kta* or *KtavatU) + sŨ* is changed into *k* by 8.2.30 *coḥ kuḥ*.

2. If affixes *Kta* and *KtavatU* are assigned the term *niṣṭhā*, items ending in these affixes can also be termed *niṣṭhā* by the principle of *tadantavidhi*

(see 1.1.72 *yena vidhis tadantasya).* To avoid this, one invokes the *paribhāṣā saṃjñāvidhau...* which rules that when operations are ordered with reference to a technical term, the implications of *tadantavidhi* do not apply; also see 1.1.72. For details of the *paribhāṣā,* see *Mbh.* (II. 361): *saṃjñāvidhau pratyayagrahaṇe tadantavidhir na bhavati; Pbh.* 27: *saṃjñāvidhau pratyayagrahaṇe tadantagrahaṇaṃ nāsti.* Also, *Pbh.*23: *pratyayagrahaṇe yasmāt sa vihitas tadādis tadantasya grahaṇam.*

1.1.27 सर्वादीनि सर्वनामानि

sarvādīni sarvanāmāni
/sarvādīni 1/3 *sarvanāmāni* 1/3/
sarvaśabdaḥ ādir yeṣaṃ tānīmāni sarvādīni sarvanāmasaṃjñāni bhavanti

Items listed in the set headed by *sarva* 'all, whole' are termed *sarvanāman.*

EXAMPLES:

sarvaḥ 'nom. sing. of *sarva*'
sarvau 'nom. dual'
sarve 'nom. pl.'
sarvasmai 'dat. sing.'
sarvasmāt 'abl. sing.'
sarvasmin 'loc. sing.'
sarveṣām 'gen. pl.'
sarvakaḥ 'all the people'

1. The purpose of this rule is to assign the term *sarvanāman* 'pronoun, pronominal' to all thirty-five items enumerated in the list headed by *sarva* 'all, whole'. This term assignment has the following three consequences:
   (*a*) the nominative plural ending *Jas* is replaced by *Śī* (7.1.17 *jasaḥ śī*),
   (*b*) the dative singular *Ṅe* by *smai* (7.1.15 *ṅasiṅyoḥ*...), and
   (*c*) the locative singular *Ṅi* by *smin* (7.1.15 *ṅasiṅyoḥ*...).

Similarly, *ām,* if introduced after a pronominal and occurring after an *aṅga* ending in *a,* receives the augment *sUṬ* (7.1.52 *āmi sarvanāmnaḥ suṭ*). An additional purpose of assigning this term is to allow the affix *akaC* after these bases (5.3.71 *avyaya sarvanāmnām akac*). See the derivations for details.

SCOPE: 7.1.14 *sarvanāmnaḥ smai,* and so on.

1.1.28 विभाषा दिक्समासे बहुव्रीहौ

vibhāṣā diksamāse bahuvrīhau
/vibhāṣā 1/1 *diksamāse* 7/1 *bahuvrīhau* 7/1/
(sarvādīni sarvanāmāni # 27)

diśām samāso diksamāsaḥ digupadiṣṭe samāse bahuvrīhau vibhāṣā sarvādīni sarvanāma saṃjñāni bhavanti
Items listed in the set headed by *sarva* optionally are termed *sarvanāman* if they occur in a *bahuvrīhi* compound composed of constituents denoting *diś* 'direction'.

EXAMPLES:

uttarapūrvasyai, or *uttarapūrvāyai*
'for the northeasterly direction'
dakṣiṇapūrvasyai, or *dakṣiṇapūrvāyai*
'for the southeasterly direction'

1. Rule 1.1.29 *na bahuvrīhau* obligatorily denies the assignment of the term *sarvanāman* to *bahuvrīhi* (2.2.23 *śeṣo bahuvrīhiḥ*) compounds. The present rule provides that a particular set of such compounds optionally may be assigned this term. Pāṇini identifies this set by using the expression *diksamāsa* (compounds derived by combining items denoting *diś* 'directional names'; see 2.2.26 *diṅnāmāny antarāle*).

2. It is interesting to note here that Pāṇini uses the word *samāsa* 'compound' along with *bahuvrīhi*. Since a *bahuvrīhi* can be nothing but a *samāsa*, as is evident from the inclusion of the rule which assigns the term *bahuvrīhi* (2.2.23 *śeṣo bahuvrīhiḥ*) in the domain of the rule which assigns the term *samāsa* (2.1.3 *prāk kaḍārāt samāsaḥ*), *samāsa* in 1.1.28 may appear to be redundant. Actually, Pāṇini uses the word *samāsa* to insure that 1.1.28 is applied only to those *bahuvrīhi* compounds which were derived by applying rules contained in the compound section (2.1.1-2.2.38). That is, he wanted to insure that items which are not actually *bahuvrīhi* compounds but are treated as such for purposes of *sUP* deletion (2.4.71 *supo dhātuprātipadikayoḥ*), accentuation, and masculine transformation did not fall under the scope of 1.1.28.

For example, 8.1.9 *ekaṃ bahuvrīhivat* provides that *ekā* + *Ṅe* + *ekā* + *Ṅe*, as in *ekaikasmai*, can be treated as a *bahuvrīhi*. Consequently, 2.4.71 will delete the nominal endings: *ekā* + *(Ṅe* → *∅)* + *ekā* + *(Ṅe* → *∅)* = *ekā* + *ekā;* 6.3.34 *striyāḥ puṃvadbhāṣita...* will cause masculine transformation: *ek(ā* → *a)* + *ek(ā* → *a)* = *eka* + *eka*, which (by 6.1.88 *vṛddhir eci*) becomes *ek(a* + *e* → *ai)ka* = *ekaika;* and 6.2.1 *bahuvrīhau prakṛtyā pūrvapadam* will assign the accent. It is in this situation that Pāṇini, by using *samāsa* in 1.1.28, clears the way for such quasi-*bahuvrīhi* to be treated as *sarvanāman*. As a result, given a string *ekaika* + *Ṅe*, the derived form will be *ekaikasmai*, similar to (95) *sarvasmai*.

To sum up, 1.1.29 obligatorily denies the assignment of the term *sarvanāman* to *sarva*, etc., when they constitute a *bahuvrīhi* compound. Our present rule makes this provision of 1.1.29 optional when the *bahuvrīhi* is a *diksamāsa*. However, one must remember that the provisions of 1.1.28-29

only are applicable to *bahuvrīhis* which are actually derived by applying rules from the compound domain. Extensional *(ātideśika) bahuvrīhis* like *ekaika* neither can be obligatorily denied nor optionally allowed the assignment of the term *sarvanāman* by 1.1.28-29. This means that they will always be treated as pronouns. Thus *ekaika* + *Ṅe* can yield only *ekaikasmai.*

1.1.29 **न बहुव्रीहौ** ।

na bahuvrīhau
/na Ø bahuvrīhau 7/1/
(sarvādīni sarvanāmāni # 27)
bahuvrīhau samāse sarvādīni sarvanāmasaṃjñāni na bhavanti
Items listed in the set headed by *sarva* are not termed *sarvanāman* if they occur in a *bahuvrīhi* compound (2.2.23 *śeṣo bahuvrīhiḥ).*

EXAMPLES:

priyaviśvāya 'one to whom everyone is dear'
priyobhayāya 'one to whom both are dear'
dvyanyāya 'for one to whom there are two others'
tryanyāya 'for he to whom there are three others'
tvatkapitṛkaḥ 'he whose father you are'
matkapitṛkaḥ 'he whose father I am'
vastrāntaravasanāntarāḥ 'those that have clothes as their cover and those that have houses as their cover'

1. See the notes under 1.1.28 *vibhāṣā...* for details concerning this rule. Also note that Pāṇini explicitly mentions *bahuvrīhau* in this rule where one would expect him to have carried it from the preceding rule. He does this simply to indicate that if *sarva,* etc., form a *bahuvrīhi* compound, even though such a compound is included in a non-*bahuvrīhi,* the assignment of the term *sarvanāman* is blocked. Consider *vastrāntaravasanāntarāḥ,* a *dvandva* compound formed of two constituents *(vastrāntara* and *vasanāntara).* These constituents are *bahuvrīhi* compounds in their own right. Together they form a *dvandva.* Technically the restriction imposed by 1.1.29 should not apply to *vastrāntaravasanāntarāḥ* since it is a *dvandva* compound. By expressly mentioning *bahuvrīhi* instead of carrying it from the preceding rule as *anuvṛtti,* Pāṇini wants us to remember that even a *bahuvrīhi*-based compound will come under the purview of the present rule. For details on this, see my explanation of this rule in the appendix. Also refer to *Padamañjarī* and *Nyāsa* ad *Kāśikā* 1.1.29: *atrāsati bahuvrīhigrahaṇe vartamānadvandvāśrayo niṣedhaḥ syāt, tataś ca jasi vibhāṣā syāt. punar bahuvrīhigrahaṇāt tu yadanto dvandvaḥ, so' ntaraśabdo bahuvrīheḥ pūrvam atrāsīd iti bahuvrīhyāśrayo' nitya eva niṣedho bhavati (Padamañjarī); ...punar bahuvrīhigrahaṇāt tu bhūtapūrvasyāpi bahuvrīher āśrayaṇāt tadāśrayo nityaḥ pratiṣedho bhavati (Nyāsa).*

The example discussed here optionally can be termed *sarvanāman* by the following rule (1.1.32 *vibhāṣā jasi)* because it is a *dvandva* compound-base after which *jas* is introduced.

1.1.30 **तृतीया समासे**

tṛtīyāsamāse
/tṛtīyāsamāse 7/1/
(ca # 29; *sarvādīni sarvanāmāni* # 27)
(tṛtīyāsamāse sarvādīni sarvanāmasaṃjñāni na bhavanti)
Items listed in the set headed by *sarva* are not termed *sarvanāman* if they occur in a *tatpuruṣa* compound (2.1.31 *pūrvasadṛśa...)* whose first constituent ends in *tṛtīyā* (the third s*UP* triad).

EXAMPLES:

māsapūrvāya 'for one who was born a month before'
saṃvatsarapūrvāya 'for one who was born a year before'
dvyahapūrvāya 'for one who was born two days before'
tryahapūrvāya 'for one who was born three days before'
māsena pūrvāya 'for one who precedes by a month'
tvyakā kṛtam 'it was done by you'
mayakā kṛtam 'it was done by me'

1. The purpose of this rule is to block the assignment of the term *sarvanāman* to *sarva,* etc., when they occur in an instrumental *tatpuruṣa* compound *(tṛtīyāsamāsa)* formed by applying 2.3.31 *pūrva-sadṛśasamona....* This means that instrumental *tatpuruṣa* compounds formed by rules other than 2.3.31 do not come under the purview of this blocking. Since compounds allowed by 2.1.31 are optional, they can be used as alternatives to their corresponding uncompounded forms. Thus, *māsapūrvāya* can be used as an alternate form of *māsena pūrvāya.* The restriction that *sarva,* etc., should not be termed *sarvanāman* when they occur as constituents of an instrumental *tatpuruṣa* compound is equally applicable to these items when they occur in corresponding uncompounded forms. For example, if 1.1.30 will not allow the assignment of the term *sarvanāman* to *pūrva* of an instrumental *tatpuruṣa* compound *māsapūrva,* it also will not allow this term assignment to *pūrva* of the corresponding uncompounded form *māsena pūrvaḥ.*

1.1.31 **द्वन्द्वे च**

dvandve ca
/dvandve 7/1 *ca* Ø/
(na # 29; *sarvādīni sarvanāmāni* # 27)
dvandve ca samāse sarvādīni sarvanāsaṃjñāni na bhavanti

Items listed in the set headed by *sarva* also are not termed *sarvanāman* if they occur in a *dvandva* compound (2.2.29 *cārthe dvandvaḥ*).

EXAMPLES:

pūrvāparāṇām 'of those who were prior to or posterior to'
katarakatamānām 'whose from among the two or many?'

1. The function of this rule is fully explained by the derivational details provided for its examples in the appendix.

1.1.32 विभाषा जसि

vibhāṣā jasi
/vibhāṣā 1/1 *jasi* 1/1/
(*dvandve* # 31; *na* # 29; *sarvādīni sarvanāmāni* # 27)
dvandve samāse jasi vibhāṣā sarvādīni sarvanāmasaṃjñāni na bhavanti
Items listed in the set headed by *sarva* optionally are not termed *sarvanāman* when they occur in a *dvandva* compound and operations relative to *Jas* (nom. pl.) are to be performed.

EXAMPLES:

katarakatame 'who from among the two or many' *katarakatamāḥ* 'id.'
katarakatamakāḥ 'who from among the two or many'

1. The preceding rule obligatorily denies the term assignment *sarvanāman* to *sarva,* etc., when they occur in a *dvandva* compound. This rule makes this term assignment optional in so far as operations relative to *Jas* (nom. pl.) are concerned. That is, *sarva,* and so on, optionally can be termed *sarvanāman* even when they occur in a *dvandva* compound provided operations relative to *Jas* are to be performed. Thus, a *dvandva* compound derived from (*katara* + *Jas* + *katama* + *Jas)* will be *katarakatama,* after which 4.1.2 *svauj...* can introduce *Jas.* Given a string *katarakatama* + *Jas,* 1.1.32 optionally will term *katarakatama* a *sarvanāman.* The resultant form will be *katarakatame,* which is derived exactly like (94) *sarve.* If we do not avail ourselves of the option of assigning the term *sarvanāman* to *katarakatama, katarakatama* + *Jas* will then yield *katarakatamāḥ.*

It should be remembered here that this optional assignment of the term *sarvanāman* is strictly limited to operations relative to *Jas* and not to operations which may obtain when *Jas* follows. This distinction must be maintained since the locative in *jasi* of 1.1.32 is not *parasaptamī* (see note 2 under 1.1.5 *ṅiti ca).* Accordingly, placement of *akaC* after *katarakatama* to derive *katarakatamaka,* as in (99) *sarvakaḥ* cannot be considered a purpose for assigning the term *sarvanāman* by 1.1.32.

1.1.33 **प्रथमचरमतयाल्पार्धकतिपयनेमाश्च**

prathamacaramatayālpārdhakatipayanemāś ca
/prathama...nemāḥ 1/1 *ca* ∅
(*vibhāṣā jasi* # 32; *sarvanāmāni* # 27)
prathama-carama-taya-alpa-ardha-katipaya-nema ity ete jasi vibhāṣā sarvanāmasaṃjñā bhavanti
Items *prathama* 'first', *carama* 'last', *alpa* 'little, less', *ardha* 'half', *katipaya* 'some', *nema* 'several', as well as those which end in affix *tayaP* (5.2.42 *saṃkhyāyā...*) optionally are termed *sarvanāman* when operations relative to *Jas* are to be performed.

EXAMPLES:

prathame/prathamāḥ
carame/caramāḥ
alpe/alpāḥ
katipaye/katipayāḥ
neme/nemāḥ
dvitaye/dvitayāḥ

1. Note that the above examples constitute the optional nominative plural forms of *prathama,* 'first'; *carama,* 'best'; *alpa,* 'little'; *katipaya,* 'several'; *nema,* 'half, part'; and *dvitaya,* 'half, split in two'. For further details of the implications of this rule, refer to its appendix.

1.1.34 **पूर्वपरावरदक्षिणोत्तरापराधराणि व्यवस्थायामसंज्ञायाम्**

pūrvaparāvaradakṣiṇottarāparādharāṇi vyavasthāyām asaṃjñāyām
/pūrva...dharāṇi 1/3 *vyavasthāyām* 7/1 *asaṃjñāyām* 7/1/
(*vibhāṣā jasi* # 32; *sarvanāmāni* # 27)
pūrvādīni vibhāṣā jasi sarvanāmasaṃjñāni bhavanti vyavasthāyām asaṃjñāyām
Items such as *pūrva,* front, east, prior'; *para,* 'subsequent, latter'; *avara,* 'lower, preceding, prior'; *dakṣiṇa,* 'southern, right-hand side'; *uttara,* 'northern, upper'; *apara,* 'western, posterior, others'; and *adhara,* 'lower' optionally are termed *sarvanāman:*

(*a*) When operations relative to *Jas* are to be performed, and
(*b*) when what is being denoted is *vyavasthā* 'relative difference, or location in time and space', and not *saṃjñā* 'name'.

EXAMPLES:

pūrve/pūrvāḥ
pare/parāḥ
avare/avarāḥ
dakṣiṇe/dakṣiṇāḥ
uttare/uttarāḥ

apare/aparāḥ
adhare/adharāḥ
Refer to the appendix for detailed derivations of these forms. Glosses are given in the translation.

1. Note that the above examples constitute again the nominative plural optional forms of *pūrva, para, avara, dakṣiṇa, uttara, apara* and *adhara.*

For properly comprehending the rule, one accepts the *anuvṛtti* of *sarvanāmāni* (from 1.1.27 *sarvādīni...*)and *vibhāṣā jasi* (from rule 1.1.32). Accordingly, one interprets the rule as above.

1.1.35 **स्वमज्ञातिधनाख्यायाम्**
svam ajñātidhanākhyāyām
/svam 1/1 *ajñātidhanākhyāyām* 7/1/
(vibhāṣā jasi # 32; *sarvanāmāni* # 27)
svam ity etac chabdarūpaṃ jasi vibhāsā sarvanāmasaṃjñaṃ bhavati na cej jñātidhanayoḥ saṃjñārūpeṇa vartate
The word *sva* optionally is termed *sarvanāman:*
(*a*) when operations relative to *Jas* are to be performed, and
(*b*) *sva* does not express *jñāti* 'relative' or *dhana* 'wealth, property'.

EXAMPLES:

sve putrāḥ/svaḥ putrāḥ 'one's own sons'
sve gāvaḥ/svaḥ gāvaḥ 'one's own cows'
Refer to the derivations of these forms in the appendix for details.

1. Note that *sva* means four things: *ātman,* 'self'; *ātmīya,* 'one's own'; *jñāti,* 'relative'; and *dhana,* 'wealth'. The scope of this rule covers only the first two meanings. Conversely, the term *sarvanāman* cannot be assigned to *sva* if it means *jñāti* and *dhana.*

1.1.36 **अन्तरं बहिर्योगोपसंव्यानयोः**
antaraṃ bahiryogopasaṃvyānayoḥ
/antaram 1/1 ***bahiryogopasaṃvyānayoḥ*** 7/2/
***(vibhāṣā jasi* # 32; *sarvanāmāni* # 27)**
antaram ity etac chabdarūpaṃ vibhāṣā jasi sarvanāmasaṃjñaṃ bhavati bahiryoga-upasaṃvyāne gamyamāne
The word ***antara*** optionally is termed ***sarvanāman:***
(*a*) when operations relative to ***Jas*** are to be performed, and
(*b*) when either ***bahiryoga*** 'connection with the exterior location' or ***upasaṃvyāna*** 'clothing' is being expressed.

EXAMPLES:

antare gṛhāḥ/antarā gṛhāḥ 'houses on the outside (of the village)'
antare śāṭakāḥ/antarāḥ śāṭakāḥ 'underclothing'

The appendix gives detailed derivations of these forms.

1. Note that the *Amarakośa* gives the following meanings of the word *antara: avakāśa,* 'hiatus'; *avadhi,* 'relative location'; *paridhāna,* 'garment *antarddhi,* 'hiding place'; *bheda,* 'difference'; *tādarthya,* 'meant for that' *avasara,* 'occasion'; *madhya,* 'middle'; *antdrātma,* 'inner soul'; *chidra,* 'hole'; *ātmīya,* 'one's own'; *vinā,* 'without'; and *bahiḥ,* 'outside of'. It is only with reference to the meanings of *antara, bāhya* and *paridhāna,* that the rule assigns the term *sarvanāman.* There is nothing new derivationally.

1.1.37 **स्वरादिनिपातमव्ययम्**

svarādinipātam avyayam
/svarādinipātam 1/1 *avyayam* 1/1 /
svarādīni śabdarūpāṇi nipātāś cāvyayasaṃjñāni bhavanti
Items listed in the set headed by *svar* 'sun, heaven' and items termed *nipāta* are called *avyaya.*

EXAMPLES:

svar 'sun, heaven'
antar 'midst'
prātar 'in the morning, and so on'
ca 'and'
vā 'or'
ha 'definitely', etc.

For further details on these forms, refer to the appendix.

1. The function of this rule is to assign the term *avyaya* to items enumerated in the list headed by *svar* and also to those items which are termed *nipāta* (see 1.4.56 *prāgrīśvarān nipātāḥ* through 1.4.96 *adhirīśvare*). Pāṇini assigns the term *avyaya* so that nominal endings *(sUP)* introduced after these bases can be deleted by 2.4.82 *avyayād āp supaḥ.*

For details of other functions of the assignment of the term *avyaya,* see notes and appendix under the following rules, especially under 1.1.41 *avyayībhāvaś ca.*

SCOPE: 2.4.82 *avyayād āp supaḥ,* and so on.

1.1.38 **तद्धितश्चासर्वविभक्तिः**

taddhitaś cāsarvavibhaktiḥ
/taddhitaḥ 1/1 *ca* Ø *asarvavibhaktiḥ* 1/1/
(*avyayam* # 37)
taddhitāntaḥ śabdo' sarvavibhaktir avyayasaṃjño bhavati
Items which end in a *taddhita* affix (4.1.76 *taddhitāḥ*) and which do not occur before all the *vibhakti* (here, *sUP,* nominal endings) also are termed *avyaya.*

EXAMPLES:

tatra 'there'
yatra 'the place where'
tadā 'then'
yadā 'at the time when'
sadā/sarvadā 'always', etc.

Refer to the derivations of these forms in the appendix for details.

1. Note that the word *asarvavibhaktiḥ* refers to a nominal base after which only a limited number of nominal endings can be introduced. That is, bases such as *tat* and *yat* of *tatra* and *yatra* are constrained from being used before all the *sUP* terminations. The cause of the introduction of only specific endings after these bases is the *taddhita* affixes which, after having been introduced, make the derived forms indeclinables. Patañjali (*Mbh.* I:301-2) enumerates rules whereby these *taddhita* affixes are introduced:

4.3.113 *tasiś ca*
5.1.114 *tena tulyaṃ kriyā ced...*
5.2.27 *vinañbhyām...*
5.3.7 *pañcamyās tasil* to 5.3.47 *yāpye pāśap*
5.4.11 *kimettiṅ...*
5.4.12 *amu ca chandasi*
5.4.17 *saṃkhyāyāḥ...*
5.4.18 *dvitricaturbhyaḥ...*
5.4.20 *vibhāṣā bahordhā...*
5.4.42 *bahvalpārtha...* to 5.4.68 *samasāntāḥ*

1.1.39 कृन्मेजन्तः
kṛn mejantaḥ
/kṛt 1/1 *mejantaḥ* 1/1/
(*avyayam* # 37)
kṛd yo makārāntaḥ ejantaś ca tadantaṃ śabdarūpam avyayasaṃjñaṃ bhavati
Items which end in those *kṛt* affixes which end in *m* or *eC* (*e, o, ai,* and *au;* see *Ś*s, 3-4) are termed *avyaya.*

EXAMPLES:

svāduṃkāraṃ bhuṅkte 'he eats the food after sweetening it'
sampannaṃkāraṃ bhuṅkte 'he eats the food after spicing it'
lavaṇaṃkāraṃ bhuṅkte 'he eats the food after salting it'
vakṣe rāyaḥ 'for naming the wealth'
tā vām eṣe rathānām 'for obtaining chariots'

1. This rule assigns the term *avyaya* to those items which end in such *kṛt* (3.1.93 *kṛd atiṅ*) affixes as also end in *m* or *eC (e, o, ai, au)*. The decision as to whether or not a particular affix ends in *m* or *eC* is made after deleting all the *its* from these affixes. Thus, *ṆamUL, KamUL, KHamUÑ,* and *tumUN* are *kṛt* affixes referenced here as ending in *m*.

Those *kṛt* affixes which end in *eC* are introduced mostly for Vedic usages by 3.4.9 *tumarthe se...*, 3.4.10 *prayai rohiṣyai...*, and 3.4.14 *kṛtyārthe tavaika....* For example, *vakṣe* and *eṣe* are derived from *vac* + *se* and *iṆ* + *seN* where affixes *se* and *seN* are introduced in the sense of *tumUN* by 3.4.9 *tumarthe sesena....* Given the string *vac* + *se,* 8.2.30 *coḥ kuḥ* will require *c* to be replaced by *k*, and *s* will then be replaced by *ṣ* (8.3.59 *ādeśa...*). Now one can introduce *sU* after *vakṣe,* a nominal stem by 1.2.46 *kṛttaddhita....* This *sU* will be deleted by 2.4.82 *avyayād...*on the strength of the term *avyaya* being assigned to *vakṣe* by 1.3.39. Note that given the string *i*($\dot{N} \rightarrow \emptyset$) + *se* ($N \rightarrow \emptyset$) = *i* + *se*, the remaining rule applications are similar to *vakṣe*. Similar examples for such indeclinables which end in *o, ai,* and *au* are not difficult to find.

2. Note that the rule which introduces *ṆamuL* (3.4.26 *svadumi ṇamul*) as a conjoined *pada* does not list *sampannam* and *lavaṇam*. This creates difficulty in deriving *sampannaṃkāram*. To resolve this, we assume that *sampanna* and *lavaṇa* are synonymous with *svādu*. But are they? Perhaps we may resolve this difficulty by saying that *svādu* is generic and *lavaṇa* is specific. As such, we can still derive *lavaṇaṃkāram* under the provisions discussed under note 2 on 1.1.68 *svaṃ rūpam....* But what about *sampannaṃkāram*? I think we have to treat all these forms as synonymous even though there may be some doubts about it.

1.1.40 **क्त्वातोसुन्कसुनः**

ktvātosunkasunaḥ
ktvātosunkasunaḥ 1/3/
(*avyayam* # 37)
ktvā tosun kasun ity evam antaṃ śabdarūpam avyayasaṃjñaṃ bhavati
Items which end in *Ktvā* (3.4.21 *samāna...*), *tosuN* (3.4.16 *bhāvalakṣaṇe...*), or *KasUN* (3.4.17 *sṛpi...*) are termed *avyaya*.

EXAMPLES:

kṛtvā 'after making'
hṛtvā 'after taking away'
purā sūryasyodetoḥ 'before the rising of the sun'
purā krūrasya visṛpaḥ 'before the cruel one gets away'
purā jatrubhya ātṛdaḥ 'before the neck starts bleeding by piercing'

1. Note that the purpose of assigning the term *avyaya* is again to facilitate the deletion of *sUP* by *LUK*. Refer to the appendix for details.

1.1.41 **अव्ययीभावश्च**

avyayībhāvaś ca
/avyayībhāvaḥ 1.1 *ca Ø/*
(avyayam # 37)
avyayībhāvasamāso' vyayasaṃjño bhavati
A compound termed *avyayībhāva* (2.1.5 *avyayī...*) also is termed *avyaya.*

EXAMPLES:

pratyagnim 'in front of the fire'
upāgnim 'near the fire'
upāgnimukhaḥ 'he whose face is close to the fire'
upapayaḥkāraḥ 'he who is near the one desirous of milk'
upapayaḥkāmaḥ 'id.'

1. *Kāśikā* (ad 1.1.41) mentions three reasons why *avyayībhāva* compounds (2.1.5 *avyayībhāvaḥ*) are assigned the term *avyaya:*

(*a*) for the deletion (*LUK,* see 1.1.61 *pratyayasya lukślu...*) of nominal endings introduced after them (2.4.82 *avyayād āpsupaḥ*),
(*b*) for the blocking of the assignment of the *udātta* (1.2.29 *uccair udāttaḥ*) accent to the final vowel of *mukha (mukhasvara)* when it underlies the final constituent of a *bahuvrīhi* (2.2.23 *śeṣo bahuvrīhiḥ*) compound that has an internal *avyayībhāva,* and
(*c*) for disallowing *upacāra,* a technical term denoting the change of *visarga (ḥ)* into *s.*

We have already illustrated how nominal endings get deleted on account of the term *avyaya* (see under 1.1.37). For an example of *mukhasvara,* consider *upāgnimukhaḥ* 'he whose face is close to the fire', a *bahuvrīhi* compound (2.2.24 *anekam anyapadārthe*) with *upāgni* 'near the fire' as its internal *avyayībhāva* compound (2.1.6 *avyayaṃ vibhaktisamīpa...*). Rule 6.2.167 *mukhaṃ svāṅgam* requires that an *udātta* accent should be assigned to the final vowel of a *bahuvrīhi* compound when *mukha* is its final constituent. However, 6.2.168 *nāvyaya...* will not allow the *udātta* accent, because *mukha* follows *upāgni,* which is an *avyaya.* Instead the first constituent of *upāgnimukha* retains its original accentuation (6.2.1 *bahuvrīhau...*). That is, the last vowel of *upāgni* is high pitched (6.1.223 *samāsasya*).

Similarly, 8.3.46 *ataḥ kṛkami...* states that *ḥ (visarga)* preceded by *a* is replaced by *s* before *ḌUkṛÑ* 'to do, make', and so on, unless the *visarga* is the final sound of an *avyaya.* Thus: *ayaḥ* + *kāraḥ* will yield *aya(ḥ → s)kāraḥ* = *ayaskāraḥ* 'he who makes iron, blacksmith'. Now consider *upapayaḥ* + *kāraḥ* which, parallel to *ayaskāraḥ,* should yield **upapayaskāraḥ.* However, this will be a wrong form merely because *upapayaḥ* is an *avyayībhāva* compound termed *avyaya* and hence 8.3.46 *ataḥ kṛkami...* has a built-in exception to this *visarga* replacement. If the *visarga* occurs at the end of an

indeclinable, it should not be replaced by *s*. Consequently, *upapayaḥ + kāraḥ = upapayaḥkāraḥ.*

1.1.42 शि सर्वनामस्थानम्

Śi sarvanāmasthānam
/Śi 1/1 *sarvanāmasthānam* 1/1/
Śi ity etat sarvanāmasthānasaṃjñaṃ bhavati
Śi (a substitute for the nominative plural ending *Jas* and accusative plural ending *Śas* after a neuter stem) is termed *sarvanāmasthāna.*

EXAMPLES:

kuṇḍāni, nom. pl. of *kuṇḍa* 'fire-pit, small pond'
dadhīni, nom. pl. of *dadhi* 'yogurt'
madhūni, nom. pl. of *madhu* 'honey'
trapūṇi, nom. pl. of *trapu* 'alloy'
jatūni, nom. pl. of *jatu* 'lac'

1. This rule assigns the term *sarvanāmasthāna* to *Śi*, which is a replacement of nominative plural *Jas* and accusative plural *Śas*. The reference is clearly to 7.1.20 *jaśśasoḥ śi*, whereby *Jas* or *Śas*, introduced after a neuter nominal stem, is replaced by *Śi*. Since *Śi* is marked with *Ś*, it replaces *Jas* and *Śas* in toto (1.1.55 *anekālśit sarvasya*). *Śi* is termed *sarvanāmasthāna* especially to accomplish the following two purposes:

(*a*) so that the augment *nUM* can be introduced to certain neuter pre-suffixal bases *(aṅgas)* by 7.1.72 *napuṃsakasya...*, and

(*b*) so that 6.4.8 *sarvanāmasthāne...* can apply to change the penultimate (*upadhā*, see 1.1.65 *alo' ntyāt...*) short vowel of an *aṅga* into the corresponding long vowel, provided also that the *aṅga* ends in *n* and a *sarvanāmasthāna* ending other than a *sambuddhi* (2.3.49 *ekavacanaṃ sambuddhiḥ*) follows.

SCOPE: 6.4.8 *sarvanāmasthāne cāsambuddhau*, and so on.

1.1.43 सुडनपुंसकस्य

suḍ anapuṃsakasya
/suṭ 1/1 *anapuṃsakasya* 6/1/
(sarvanāmasthānam # 42)
suḍ iti pañca vacanāni sarvanāmasthānasaṃjñāni bhavanti napuṃsakād anyatra
Items denoted by *sUṬ (sU, au, Jas, am, auṬ;* see 4.1.2 *svauj...*) are termed *sarvanāmasthāna* when they occur after a non-neuter stem.

EXAMPLES:

***rājā* 'nom. sing. of *rājan* king'**

rājānau 'nom. dual'
rājānaḥ 'nom. pl.'
rājānam 'acc. sg.'
rājānau 'acc. dual'

1. This rule assigns the term *sarvanāmasthāna* to the nominal endings denoted by the abbreviation *sUṬ (sŨ, au, Jas, am,* and *auṬ*) when they occur after non-neuter stems. This rule concerns three nominative and two (singular and dual) accusative endings. Because of the *sarvanāmasthāna* designation, the penultimate short vowels of stems are changed into corresponding long vowels (see note under 1.1.42).

1.1.44 न वेति विभाषा

na veti vibhāṣā
/na Ø vā Ø iti Ø vibhāṣā 1/1/
neti pratiṣedho veti vikalpas tayoḥ pratiṣedhavikalpayor vibhāṣeti saṃjñā bhavati
The signification *na vā* 'or not' is termed *vibhāsā.*

EXAMPLES:

śuśāva 'he went'
śiśvāya 'id.'
śuśuvatuḥ 'they two went'
śiśviyatuḥ 'id.'

This rule defines *vibhāṣā* as the meaning of *na vā* 'or not'. There are three types of *vibhāṣā: prāpta,* whereby something provided as obligatory (*nitya*) is made optional; *aprāpta,* whereby something not provided for is provided optionally; and *ubhayatra,* where both *prāpta* and *aprāpta* provisions are made optional. Rule 1.3.77 *vibhāṣopapadena pratīyamāne,* for example, optionally introduces *ātmanepada* endings. This option is constrained by two factors. First, the root which qualifies for this option must co-occur with another *pada;* and second, the co-occurring *pada* must indicate that the fruit of the action accrues to the agent. Thus, one gets sentences such as *svaṃ kaṭaṃ kurute,* 'he is making a mat for himself', where the co-occurring *pada svam* 'one's own' indicates that the fruit of the action, here a mat, is intended for the agent. Thus, in *karoti* the use of *parasmaipada,* or in *kurute* the use of *ātmanepada,* is optional.

For an example of *aprāptavibhāṣā,* consider rule 1.2.3 *vibhāṣorṇoḥ.* This rule states that an affix with initial *iṬ* optionally is treated as marked with *Ṅ* if it occurs after the verb root *urṇuÑ* 'to cover'. This option will yield two forms: *prorṇuvitā* and *prorṇavitā* 'he who is to cover', both derived from the underlying string *pra + urṇu + i + tṛ.* The affix with initial *iṬ* is *tṛC.* The *a* of *pra* and the *u* of *urṇu* will be replaced by a single *guṇa* vowel to yield

prorṇu. Given the string *prorṇu* + *i* + *tṛ*, the *u* of *prorṇu* will either be replaced by its *guṇa* counterpart *o* or else by *uvaṄ*, depending on whether or not *i* + *tṛ* is treated as marked with *Ṅ*. This is the option which 1.2.3 provides.

Note in this context that 1.1.5 *kṅiti ca* disallows any *guṇa* or *vṛddhi* replacements if those replacements are conditioned by an affix marked with *K*, *G* or *Ṅ*. A *guṇa* replacement optionally will be available under the provisions of 1.2.3. Thus, what was *aprāpta* 'not provided for' by 1.1.5 became *prāpta* 'optionally available'. If the string *prorṇu* + *i* + *tṛ* opts for treating *i* + *tṛ* as marked with *Ṅ*, a replacement of *u* by 7.3.84 *sārvadhātuka...* will be blocked. Rule 6.4.77 *aciśnudhātu...*, read with 1.1.53 *ñic ca*, will then apply to replace *u* with *uvaṄ*: *prorṇ(u → uv) (ÃṄ → Ø)* + *i* + *tṛ* = *prorṇuvitṛ*. If, on the other hand, *i* + *tṛ* is not treated as marked with *Ṅ*, *u* will be replaced by *o* which, in turn, will be replaced by *av* by 6.1.78 *eco' yavāyāvaḥ* to yield *prorṇ(u → o → av)* + *i → tṛ* = *prorṇavitṛ*.

The third type of *vibhāṣā* is *ubhayatra* or *prāptāprāpta*. A classic example of this type is furnished by 6.1.30 *vibhāṣā śveḥ*, whereby the root *śvi* 'to go, move toward' optionally is ordered to undergo *samprasāraṇa* before affixes *LIṬ* and *yaṄ*. Consider the derivation of *śuśāva* and *śiśvāya*, the optional third person singular perfect forms of *śvi*. Given the string *śvi* + *a* where *a* is a *ṆaL* (3.4.81 *liṭaḥ...*) replacement of *tiP* (3.4.78 *tiptas...*) which, in turn, is a replacement for *LIṬ*, rule 6.1.30 *vibhāṣā śveḥ* applies. The *v* of *śvi* will be replaced by its *samprasāraṇa* counterpart *u* and the resultant string *ś(v → u)i* + *a* = *śui* + *a* will undergo application of 6.1.108 *samprasāraṇāc ca*, whereby the sequence *u* + *i* will be replaced by *u*. This will yield *śu* + *a* which will then go through doubling (6.1.8 *liṭi dhātor...*) to yield *śu* + *śu* + *a*. The *u* of the second *śu* will then undergo *vṛddhi* (7.2.115 *aco' ñṇiti*) and *āv* replacement (6.1.78 *eco' yavāyāvaḥ*), yielding *śu* + *ś(u → au → āv)* + *a* = *śuśāva*.

If, however, the *samprasāraṇa* option of 6.1.30 is not accepted, the result will be *śiśvāya*. In this case, doubling will yield *śvi* + *śvi* + *a* where *i* of the second *śvi* will undergo *vṛddhi*. The resulting *ai* will then be replaced by *āy*: *śvi* + *śv(u → ai → āy)* + *a* = *śvi* + *śvāy* + *a* = *śviśvāya*. The *v* of *śvi* will be dropped by 7.4.60 *halādi śeṣaḥ* to finally yield *śiśvāya*. Note here that the two previous types of *vibhāṣā* were illustrated by explaining how a provision which was available (*prāpta*) was made optional, and how a provision which was not available (*aprāpta*) optionally was made available. It is therefore natural that I should now explain how 6.1.30 provides an option with reference to both *prāpta* and *aprāpta-vibhāṣā*.

Rule 1.1.44 defines the meaning of *na* 'negation' and *vā* 'option' as *vibhāṣā*. A question is raised in the *Mahābhāṣya* (I:324) whether the expressior *navā* in this rule should be interpreted as one particle (*nipāta*) *navā* or two particles, *na* and *vā*. If we read it as one particle it can only give us the

meaning of negation, as is attested by the usage *grāmo bhavatā gantavyo navā* 'will you go to the village or not'. If this negation then becomes the meaning of *vibhāṣā* it can only provide options in cases of *aprāpta-vibhāṣā*. On the other hand, one may argue that the question of a negative interpretation does not arise in *aprāpta* cases, since it is ridiculous to negate a provision when no such provision is available. To resolve this problem and also to justify the function of *navā* in *aprāpta* cases, one has to resort to a *prasajya* view of negation. That is, the very fact that a negative provision is made implies that a positive provision exists. How else can one make a negative provision without having a positive one first? Thus in the *aprāpta* cases, first a positive provision will be implicitly assumed and then a negative option will be made.

However, this negative *navā* interpretation cannot work in instances of *prāpta-vibhāṣā*, since a positive provision is explicitly stated, and the question of its implicit assumption for purposes of negation cannot arise. Consequently, negation will simply cancel the positive provision and the result will be a single form. In order to clear this up, Patañjali states (*Mbh.* I:326-27) that *navā* should not be interpreted as one particle with a negative meaning but as two particles, *na* and *vā*, meaning negation and option respectively. With this interpretation, the negative *na* will not have any purpose in *aprāpta-vibhāṣā;* but *vā* will provide two optional forms. This interpretation will also work in instances of *prāptāprāpta-vibhāṣā* where *na* will first negate *prāpta*, thereby bringing *prāpta* and *aprāpta* on a par. Thus, *vā* will apply to provide the optional forms. The only condition is that *na* must negate first before *vā* provides the options.

Let us see how 6.1.30 *vibhāṣā śveḥ* is interpretable in terms of the three *vibhāṣā* . It can be interpreted as an instance of *prāpta-vibhāṣā* if one carries, through *anuvṛtti*, the word *kit* 'marked with *K*' from 6.1.15 *vacisvapi...* As a result, the obligatory *samprasāraṇa* which is ruled by 6.1.15 will be made optional by 6.1.30.

On the other hand, if *kit* is not brought by *anuvṛtti* and the optional *samprasāraṇa* is interpreted as applicable to all the *LIṬ* instances, whether they be *kit* or *akit* 'not marked with *K*' (with the additional stipulation that the now available optional *samprasāraṇa* of *kit* will be blocked by 6.1.15, which will act as prior exception to 6.1.30), we find an instance of *prāptā-prāpta* or *ubhayatra vibhāṣā*. Thus, an instance of *LIṬ* marked by *kit* will receive obligatory *samprasāraṇa* by 6.1.15 *via* this stipulation. *Kit* instances will have *samprasāraṇa* as *prāpta*, while those of *akit* will have it as *aprāpta* . This would then mean that *na* will first negate the *prāpta samprasāraṇa* of *kit*, which *vā* will subsequently make optional. As far as *akit samprasāraṇa* goes, *na* would not have any purpose. It is *vā* which would provide the option.

Commentators also refer to yet another type of *vibhāṣā* commonly

known as *vyavasthita-vibhāṣā* 'fixed option'. This option applies only to some limited forms. The generally accepted view is that *vyavasthita-vibhāṣā* offers *vidhi* 'operation' by *vā* or *niṣedha* 'negation' by *na* only with reference to specific examples. Rule 6.1.27 *śṛtaṃ pāke* is an instance of this type of *vibhāṣā*. This rule provides the *ad hoc (nipātana)* derivation of the word *śṛtam* when *pāka* 'cooking' is denoted. The underlying root for *śṛtam* is *śrā* 'to cook'. What 6.1.27 provides is this: root *śrā* optionally takes the form *śṛ* when affix *Kta* follows, whether or not *śrā* ends in affix *ṆiC*. If we interpret the *vibhāṣā* carried from 6.1.26 as a general option under the particular meaning condition *pāka*, all the occurrences of *śrā* will be replaced by *śṛ* only in the context of *kṣīra* and *havi*. Thus we get *śṛtaṃ kṣīram* 'the rice pudding is cooked' and *śṛtaṃ haviḥ* 'the food for ritual oblation is cooked'. However, if what is cooked is not *kṣīra* or *havi*, *śrā* will not be replaced by *śṛ*. Other instances of *vyavasthita-vibhāṣā* are provided by 2.4.55 *ajer vyaghañapoḥ*, 3.2.124 *laṭaḥ śatṛśānacāv...* and 1.4.5 *vami*.

Pāṇini also uses *vā* and *anyatarasyām* in the sense of *vibhāṣā*. The names of earlier grammarians, too, are sometimes mentioned to indicate options. Thus, rules 2.4.40 *lity anyatarasyām*, 2.4.50 *vibhāṣā luṅlṛṅoḥ*, 2.4.55 *vā liṭi* and 8.3.19 *lopaḥ śākalyasya* all use different terms to provide for optionality. There is considerable debate whether or not Pāṇini intended to differentiate types of options by using these various terms. One would expect that since he uses more than one term for 'option', he must have some special differentiations in mind. A recent interpreter of Pāṇini has tried to establish some kind of variation in dialect or style based upon the use of the various terms. However, the tradition does not accept this view. For contemporary studies dealing with optional rules, and establishing stylistic variations corresponding to the above terms for 'option', see Kiparsky (1980) and Sharma (1983). It should be understood in this context that optional variants should not be treated as substandard or incorrect. In Pāṇini's eyes they are all equally correct. Since grammar only accounts for correct usage, the question of standard and substandard or preferred and incorrect variants does not arise.

Optional rules where Pāṇini uses names of earlier grammarians need some explanation. There are two views on this. According to one view, the citation of a grammarian's name in a given rule is interpreted as a reference to an authority *(pramāṇa)*. As a result, the form attested by that rule becomes an obligatory form and not an option. According to the second view, such a citation would single out one grammarian according to whom a given form is attested. This interpretation allows for the existence of other forms to which other grammarians may attest. This interpretation clearly supports the view that rules with names of grammarians are option rules. The first view is known as *kāryaśabdavāda*, the second *nityaśabdavāda*. The Pāṇinian tradition subscribes to the second view.

There are instances of rules where the name of a grammarian is cited along with the use of *vā*, one of the terms which Pāṇini uses to denote option. Consider 6.1.92 *vā supy āpiśaleḥ*. *Kāśikā* clearly states that in these instances *vā* will provide for option. Why then did Pāṇini use the name of Āpiśali when *vā* is already there to account for the option? *Kāśikā* says that by citing Āpiśali along with *vā*, Pāṇini intends to express respect for Āpiśali *(Kāś.* ad 6.1.92 *āpiśaligrahaṇaṃ pūjārthaṃ vety ucyata eva)*. Rules such as 1.2.55 *tṛṣimṛṣikṛṣeḥ kāśyapasya*, 5.4.112 *gireś ca senakasya*, 6.1.123 *avaṅ sphoṭāyanasya* and 6.3.61 *iko hrasvo' ñyor gālavasya* are additional examples of this nature.

SCOPE: 6.1.30 *vibhāṣā śveḥ*, etc.

1.1.45 इग्यणः सम्प्रसारणम्

ig yaṇaḥ saṃprasāraṇam
/ik 1/1 *yaṇaḥ* 1/1 *saṃprasāraṇam* 1/1/
ig yo yaṇaḥ sthāne bhūto bhāvī vā tasya saṃprasāraṇam ity eṣā saṃjñā bhavati
The *iK (i, u, ṛ, ḷ)* which comes in the place of *yṆ (y, v, r, l)* is termed *saṃprasāraṇa.*

EXAMPLES:

yaj — *iṣṭam* 'that which has gone through the normal sacrifice; desired'
vap — *uptam* 'sown'
graḥ — *gṛhītam* 'held on to, grasped'

1. Pāṇini assigns the term *saṃprasāraṇa* to sounds denoted by *iK* which are also at the same time replacements *(ādeśa)* of sounds denoted by *yṆ (y, v, r, l)*. That is, a sound denoted by *iK* cannot be termed *saṃprasāraṇa* unless it is a replacement of a sound denoted by *yṆ*. There are two ways in which Pāṇini uses the term *saṃprasāraṇa* in the *Aṣṭādhyāyī:*

(*a*) where *saṃprasāraṇa* is used for purposes of some other operations *(kāryāntarārtha;* see 6.1.108 *saṃprasāraṇāc ca*, 6.3.139 *saṃprasāraṇasya...)*, and

(*b*) where *saṃprasāraṇa* is used for its own purpose; that is, for replacing *yṆ* by *iK (vidheya;* see 6.1.13 *ṣyaṅaḥ saṃprasāraṇam...*, 6.4.131 *vasoḥ saṃprasāraṇam).*

Instances of (*a*) imply that the replacement of *yṆ* by *iK* has already taken place *(bhūta)*. That is why this usage of the term *saṃprasāraṇa* is called repetition *(anuvāda)*. As opposed to this, instances of (*b*) clearly imply that the replacement of *yṆ* by *iK* is yet to be accomplished. It is for this reason that *saṃprasāraṇa* of type (*b*) is known as *bhāvī* 'yet to be brought about'. Instances of (*b*) create difficulty, especially in view of the assignment of the term *saṃprasāraṇa.*

Normally, one would expect the nominatum (*saṃjñin*) to exist at the time when the name (*saṃjñā*) is assigned. The difficulty is this: *saṃprasāraṇa* cannot be assigned unless *yN* is replaced by *iK*, and *yN* cannot be replaced unless *saṃprasāraṇa* is assigned. Obviously we are faced here with the difficulty known as *anyonyāśrayatva* 'interdependency'. This is the reason why *Kāśikā* clearly states that *saṃprasāraṇa* must be interpreted as a name for both *bhūta* and *bhāvī* replacements of *yN* by *iK*. It should be noted, however, that *vārttika* three on 1.1.45 offers another possible interpretation. That is, the rule itself provides that both the vowels that substitute for semi-vowels and the process of substituting vowels for semi-vowels may be called *saṃprasāraṇa*, as is made clear by the different examples cited.

2. Among the examples cited under this rule, *iṣṭam* is derived from *(yaj + Kta) + sŨ* where *y (yN)* is replaced by *i (iK)*, its corresponding *saṃprasāraṇa* vowel, under the condition of the following affix being marked with *K (Kta*, see 6.1.15 *vacisvapi...)*. Given the string *(y → i) aj + (K → ∅) ta + sŨ = (iaj + ta) + sŨ*, first, 6.1.108 *saṃprasāraṇāc ca* will replace both the *i* and *a* of *ia + j + ta* by *i*, and then 8.2.36 *vraścabhrasj...* will replace the *j* of *ij + ta* by *s: (ia → i) (j → s) + ta + sŨ = is + ta + sŨ*. The *t* of the affix *(K)ta* will be replaced by *ṭ* by 8.4.41 *ṣṭunā ṣṭuḥ*. The result will be *iṣṭa*, which will be treated as neuter (*napuṃsaka*), and as such, *sŨ* introduced after it will be replaced with *am* by 7.1.24 *ato'm: iṣṭa + (sŨ → am) = iṣṭa + am*. Now 6.1.107 *ami pūrvaḥ* can apply to yield *iṣṭ (a + a → a)m = iṣṭam*.

The same set of rules apply in deriving *uptam* from *(vap + Kta) + sŨ* and *gṛhītam* from *(grah + Kta) + sŨ* where *v* and *r* of *vap* and *grah* have been replaced by their corresponding *saṃprasāraṇa* vowels. One should note here that in deriving *gṛhītam*, the following rules also apply. Rule 7.2.35 *ārdhadhātukasya...* introduces the augment *i(Ṭ → ∅)* at the end (1.1.46 *ādyantau...*) of *gṛh* of *gṛh + ta*. Given the string *gṛh + i + ta*, 7.2.37 *graho' liṭi dīrghaḥ* will cause the short *i* to be replaced by long *ī*. Thus: *gṛh + (i → ī) + ta = gṛhīta + (sU → am) = gṛhīt(a + a → a)m = gṛhītam*.

For details concerning the placement of the affix *Kta*, see the examples under 1.1.26 *ktatavatū niṣṭhā*.

SCOPE: 6.4.131 *vasoḥ saṃprasāraṇam*, and so on.

1.1.46 आद्यन्तौ टकितौ

ādyantau ṭakitau

/ādyantau 1/2 *ṭakitau* 1/2/

ādiṣ ṭid bhavati antaḥ kid bhavati ṣaṣṭhī nirdiṣṭasya

Elements marked with *Ṭ* or *K* become the initial and final segments respectively of items in the genitive to which they are introduced.

EXAMPLE:

bhīṣayate 'he frightens'

1. This rule is a prior exception (*purastāpavāda*) to 1.1.49 *ṣaṣṭhī sthāneyogā*. We infer from 1.1.49 that:

(*a*) substitution rules specify a substituendum (*sthānī*) by marking it with genitive (*ṣaṣṭhī*), and

(*b*) a given substitute (*ādeśa*) replaces the substituendum.

Our present rule does not allow this. According to 1.1.46, if a substitute is given for an item marked with genitive and this substitute is also marked with *Ṭ* or *K*, the substitute cannot replace the substituendum. Instead, the substitute which is marked with *Ṭ* should be introduced as the initial (*ādi*) element of its substituendum. On the other hand, the substitute which is marked with *K* should be introduced as the final (*antya*) element of its substituendum. Since these items marked with *Ṭ* or *K* do not replace an item marked with genitive, they can hardly be considered as substitutes (*ādeśa*). The tradition calls them augments (*vikaraṇa*).

Consider the derivation of *kaṇitā* (see appendix under rule 1.1.6 *dīdhī...*) where, given the string *kaṇ* + *tās* + *ā*, 7.2.35 *ārdhadhātukasya...* applies. This rule introduces *iṬ* by marking the term *ārdhadhātuka* with genitive. This clearly is a reference to *tās* which is an *ārdhadhātuka* affix (3.4.114 *ārdhadhātukaṃ śeṣaḥ*). In view of 1.1.49 *ṣaṣṭhī...*, *iṬ* should be introduced in place of *tās*. However, since *iṬ* is marked with *Ṭ*, 1.1.46 intervenes. Accordingly, *iṬ* will be introduced as an initial element of *tās*. The result will be: *kaṇ* + *tās* + *ā* → 7.2.35 *ārdhadhātukasya...*, # 1.1.46 *adyantau...* = *kaṇ* + (*iṬ* + *tās*) + *ā*.

Similarly, in deriving *bhīṣayate*, 7.3.40 *bhiyo hetubhaye ṣuk* applies at the stage when the string is *bhī* + *ṆiC*. What is marked with genitive in 7.3.40 is *bhī*. The element to be introduced is *ṣUK*. If we followed 1.1.49, *ṣUK* would be introduced in place of *bhī*. However, since *ṣUK* is marked with *K*, 1.1.46 will intervene, and consequently, *ṣUK* will be introduced as the final element of *bhī*. That is how we get: *bhī* + *ṆiC* → 7.3.40 *bhiyo...*, # 1.1.46 *ādyantau...* = (*bhī* + *ṣUK*) + *ṆiC*.

This discussion establishes 1.1.46 as an exception to 1.1.49.

SCOPE: of *ṭit*—7.2.35 *ārdhadhātukasyed...*, and so on; of *kit*—7.3.40 *bhiyo hetubhaye ṣuk*, and so on.

1.1.47 मिदचोऽन्त्यात्परः

midaco' ntyāt paraḥ

/mit 1/1 *acaḥ* 6/1 *antyāt* 5/1 *paraḥ* 1/1/

acaṃ sannivistanām antvād acaḥ paro mid bhavati

Given an operational rule which introduces unit *Y* to unit *X*, *Y* should be introduced after the last vowel of *X* if *Y* is marked with *M*.

EXAMPLES:

viruṇaddhi 'he obstructs, blocks...
muñcati 'he releases'
payāṃsi 'nom. pl. of *payas* 'milk' '

1. This too is a prior exception to 1.1.49 *ṣaṣṭhī sthāneyogā*. The reason is similar to the one discussed at 1.1.46. According to 1.1.47, an item marked with *M* is introduced after (*paraḥ*) the vowel (*aC*) which is the last (*antya*) among the vowels of an item marked with genitive.

Consider 3.1.78 *rudhādibhyaḥ śnam* which introduces *ŚnaM* to roots of the class headed by *rudhIR* 'to obstruct, prevent' under the condition that a *sārvadhātuka* (3.4.113 *tiṅśit...*) affix expressing agent follows. For example, at step (c) of the derivation of *viruṇaddhi*, the string is *virudh* + *ti*, where *rudh* is a root of the *rudhādi* class used with the preverb *vi*, and *ti* is a following *sārvadhātuka* affix. At this stage, 3.1.78 *rudhādibhyaḥ...* introduces *ŚnaM*, an affix marked with *M*. If 1.1.47 did not regulate the introduction of *ŚnaM*, we would end up with the wrong string: **virudh* + *ŚnaM* + *ti*. That is, affix *ŚnaM* (3.1.1 *pratyayaḥ*) would be introduced after (3.1.2 *paraś ca*) the verb root.

However, because of the present rule, *ŚnaM* will have to be introduced after the *u* of *virudh*. Thus we get: *virudh* + *ti* → 3.1.78 *rudhādi...* = *viru* + *ŚnaM* + *dh* + *ti*. It should be noted here that 3.1.1 *pratyayaḥ* assigns the class name affix (*pratyaya*) to *ŚnaM* which, according to 3.1.2 *paraś ca*, should be introduced after the verb root (3.1.22 *dhātoḥ...*).

Since 1.1.47 does not allow *ŚnaM* to occur as ruled by 3.1.2, 1.1.47 can also be treated as an exception to 3.1.2. This is what *Kāśikā* (I:164) means by *...pratyayaparatvasyāyam apavādaḥ*. Note that it is not necessary to find a single example which illustrates the nature of 1.1.47 as an exception to both 1.1.49 *ṣaṣṭhī sthāneyogā* and 3.1.2 *paraś ca*. In our cited examples, *viruṇaddhi* illustrates an exception to 3.1.2. For an illustration of an exception to 1.1.49, see the derivation of (167) *payāṃsi*.

2. The genitive in *acaḥ* of this rule is used for denoting *nirdhāraṇa*. Commentators have explained this word as specifying one from among a group on the basis of *jāti* 'genus', *guṇa* 'quality', or *krīyā* 'action' (see 2.3.45 *yataś ca nirdhāraṇam*). Genitive may be introduced after that nominal with reference to which such a specification is made: for example, *manuṣyāṇām* in *manuṣyāṇāṃ kṣatriyaḥ śūratamaḥ* 'a *kṣatriya* is bravest among men'. The singular use of this genitive in *acaḥ* may be understood as denoting a generic singular.

SCOPE: 3.1.78 *rudhādibhyaḥ śnam*, etc.

1.1.48 **एच इग्घ्रस्वादेशे**
eca ig hrasvādeśe

/ecaḥ 6/1 *ik* 1/1 *hrasvādeśe* 7/1/
eco hrasvādeśe kartavya ig eva hrasvo bhavati nānyaḥ
If a short vowel is to replace an *eC* (*e, o, ai, au;* and a substitute is not specified), *iK* (*i, u, ṛ, ḷ*) alone is to be understood as a replacement.

EXAMPLES:

atiri 'he who has excelled riches'
atinu 'he who has excelled boating'
upagu 'a name; near the cow'

1. The function of this interpretation rule is to restrict the selection of short replacements for vowels denoted by *eC*. Therefore, according to this rule, whenever a short vowel replacement is ordered for *e, ai, o,* or *au,* the replacement must be a vowel denoted by *iK* (*i, u, ṛ, ḷ*). Ancient phoneticians (*śikṣākāras*) describe *e* and *ai* as *kaṇṭhatālavya* 'palatal-velar' and *o* and *au* as *kaṇṭhyoṣṭhya* 'labio-velar'.

When faced with the problem of selecting a proper short replacement for *e, ai, o,* and *au,* one would naturally try to select a substitute which is most similar to the substituendum (see 1.1.50 *sthāne' ntaratamaḥ*). Thus, *e* and *o* are most similar to *i* and *u*, while *ai* and *au* are most similar to *a, i* and *a, u.* But, since this rule restricts the substitutes to *iK* (*i, u, ṛ, ḷ*), *a* must be omitted. We are left with *i, u, ṛ,* and *ḷ* as possible substitutes. One can now invoke 1.3.10 *yathāsaṃkhya...*, and accordingly resolve that *e, o, ai,* and *au* should be replaced by *i, u, ṛ,* and *ḷ* following the order of their enumeration.

Actually, invoking 1.3.10 will be useless because 1.1.48 rules a restriction (*niyama*) and restrictions are better viewed in the light of the instances they are to regulate. That is, the decision whether to invoke 1.3.10 is dependent upon instances where short substitutes for *eC* are ordered. According to 1.3.10, *ai* and *au* should be replaced by *ṛ* and *ḷ*. However, *ṛ* and *ḷ* cannot be proper substitutes for *ai* and *au* because they will not be most similar to *ai* and *au*. What will be most similar to *ai* and *au* is *a/i* and *a/u*. We have already indicated that *a* is out because it is not denoted by *iK*. This leaves us with *i* and *u* as proper short substitutes for *ai* and *au*. We already know that *i* and *u* are also the proper short substitutes for *e* and *o*. This amounts to saying that the proper short substitute for *eC* are *i* and *u*.

One can now rightly ask why, if Pāṇini wanted *i* and *u* to be the short substitutes for *eC*, did he use the abbreviation *iK*? Instead, he should have used *iṆ*. Pāṇini did not use *iṆ* because that could then have confused us about the interpretation of *iṆ*. That is, we would have become confused about whether to interpret the *Ṇ* of *iṆ* as the *Ṇ* of *Śs* 1 or of *Śs* 6. Pāṇini used *iK* to avoid this confusion.

2. Among our cited examples, *atiri* and *atinu* are *tatpuruṣa* compounds specifically known as *prādi* compounds. According to a *vārttika* on 2.2.18 *kugatiprādayaḥ, ati* + *sU* can be combined with a *pada* in accusative, provided

ati also denotes *krānta* 'transgression'. Thus, given the strings *rai* + *am* + *ati* + *sŪ* and *nau* + *am* + *ati* + *sŪ*, 2.2.18 will allow the compound formation. Rule 2.2.30 *upasarjanaṃ pūrvam* will identify *ati* + *sŪ* as *upasarjana*, and hence the order becomes: *ati* + *sŪ* + *rai* + *am* and *ati* + *sŪ* + *nau* + *am*. Rule 1.2.46 *kṛttaddhita...* will identify the strings as nominal stems, and 2.4.71 *supo dhātu...* will delete the endings, resulting in the forms *atirai* and *atinau*, to which 1.2.47 *hrasvo napuṃsake...* will apply to replace the long vowels *ai* and *au* by short ones. Our present rule will assign short *i* for *ai* and short *u* for *au*. Thus: *atir(ai → i)* = *atiri*, and *atin(au → u)* = *atinu*. Given the string *atiri* + *sŪ* and *atinu* + *sŪ*, 7.1.23 *svamor napuṃsakāt* will delete both the endings: *atiri* + (*sŪ → ∅*) = *atiri*, and *atinu* + (*sŪ → ∅*) = *atinu*.

Our third example, *upagu*, is an indeclinable compound derived from *go* + *am* + *upa* + *sŪ*, where *upa* is an indeclinable denoting *samīpa* 'proximate'. The compound formation is similar to *upāgni* discussed under 1.1.41 *avyayībhāvaś ca*. The resulting compound will be *upago*. Its final *o* will be replaced by a short *u* with reference to 1.1.48. Thus: *upag(o → u)* = *upagu*. Since *upagu* will be termed as indeclinable by 1.1.41 *avyayībhāvaś ca*, the *sŪ* introduced after it will be deleted by 2.4.82 *avyayād...* Thus: *upagu* + (*sŪ → ∅*) = *upagu*.

1.1.49 षष्ठी स्थानेयोगा

ṣaṣṭhī sthāneyogā

/ṣaṣṭhī 1/1 *sthāneyogā* 1/1/

iha śāstre yā ṣaṣṭhī aniyatayogā śrūyate sā sthāneyogaiva bhavati nānyayogā sthāneyoganimittabhūte sati sā pratipattavyā

A genitive ending (which is not otherwise interpretable in its context) signifies the relation 'in place of'.

EXAMPLES:

bhavitā 'that which is to be, become'
bhavitum 'for being, becoming'
bhavitavyam 'ought to be, become'
vaktā 'he who speaks'
vaktum 'for speaking'
vaktavyam 'ought to be spoken'

1. The function of this interpretive rule is to restrict the relationship denoted by genitive (*ṣaṣṭhī*). A genitive may denote any of several relationships. For example, it may denote relationships such as *svasvāmi* 'owner-owned', *anantara* 'in between', *samīpa* 'proximity', *samūha* 'collection', *vikāra* 'modification', *avayava* 'part of a whole', and so on. According to 1.1.49, a genitive used in this grammar must be interpreted as denoting the relationship 'in the place of', provided, of course, that the context (*prasaṅga*) is such that no other interpretation is possible.

Consider 2.4.52 *aster bhūḥ* and 2.4.53 *bruvoḥ vaciḥ,* where *asti* and *brū* are placed in the genitive. The context is such that no other interpretation of the genitive is possible. That is, none of the fixed relationships (*niyatayogas*) are discernible here. Consequently, 1.1.49 will restrict this genitive to denote the relationship 'in the place of' (that which is marked with genitive). This allows us to interpret the above rules as: *'bhū* (comes as a substitute) in the place of *as...'* (2.4.52), and *'vac* (comes as a substitute) in the place of *brū'* (2.4.53). This interpretation of genitive becomes obvious when we apply 2.4.52 and 2.4.53 in deriving the examples given under the present rule.

1.1.50 **स्थानेऽन्तरतमः**

sthāne' ntaratamaḥ
/sthāne 7/1 *antaratamaḥ* 1/1/
sthāne prāpyamāṇānām antaratama ādeśo bhavati sadṛśatamaḥ
A substitute (*ādeśa*) which is to replace a substituendum (*sthānin*) must be most similar to the substituendum.

EXAMPLES:

daṇḍāgram 'top or front of the stick'
yūpāgram 'top or front of the ritual post'
vātaṇḍyayuvatiḥ 'the young grand-daughter of Vataṇḍa'
amuṣmai 'dat. sg. of *adas* 'that"
amūbhyām 'dat. du. of *adas*'

1. This rule sets the principle for selecting a single substitute from among several possibilities. According to 1.1.50, one is required to compare all the substitutes with the substituendum, and then select the one which is most similar to the substituendum. This comparison is carried out in view of four factors: similarity based on place of articulation (*sthānakṛta*), similarity based on signification (*arthakṛta*), similarity based on sound quality (*guṇakṛta*), and similarity based on duration (*pramāṇakṛta*).

For example, given the strings *daṇḍa* + *agram* and *yūpa* + *agram,* 6.1.101 *akaḥ savarṇe dīrghaḥ* will apply. This rule states that when sounds denoted by *aK* (*a, i, u, ṛ, ḷ*) are followed by vowels homogeneous with them, a single long vowel should replace both the preceding and the following vowels. Thus, *a* + *a* of the above examples is replaced by *ā,* yielding *daṇḍāgram* 'top or front of the stick', and *yūpāgram* 'top or front of the ritual post'. The selection of long *ā* to replace *a* + *a* was made on the basis of their similarity in place of articulation *(sthāna);* they are both *kaṇṭhya* 'velar'.

Similarity can also be determined on the basis of *artha* 'signification'. Consider the derivation of (174) *vātaṇḍyayuvatiḥ,* where the base is *vātaṇḍyayuvati,* a *karmadhāraya-tatpuruṣa* (1.2.42 *tatpuruṣaḥ...*) compound derived by combining *vataṇḍī* + *sU* with *yuvati* + *sU.* After the compound

formation, the endings are deleted. Rule 6.3.42 *puṃvat karmadhāraya*...then applies to replace *vataṇḍī* with its corresponding masculine form. One would naturally think that *vataṇḍa* would be the right form. However, that does not denote *apatya* 'offspring', which *vataṇḍī* does. As a result, one must select *vātaṇḍya*, a masculine form which also denotes *apatya*, as a replacement for *vataṇḍī*.

Examples of similarity based on sound quality (*guṇa*) and duration (*pramāṇa*) are not difficult to find. Consider 7.3.52 *cajoḥ ku ghiṇyatoḥ* which under certain conditions causes the final *c* or *j* of a root to be replaced by *kU* (*k, kh, g, gh, ṅ;* see 1.1.69 *aṇudit*...). We clearly see that there are two substituenda for which five substitutes are ordered. In view of 1.1.50, we select *k* and *g* as proper replacements for *c* and *j*. We do it on the basis of their similarity in sound quality. Thus *c* is replaced by *k* because *c* shares with *k* sound qualities such as *aghoṣatva* 'voicelessness' and *alpaprāṇatva* 'nonaspiration'. Similarly, *j* is replaced by *g* because they are both voiced and nonaspirated.

For an example of similarity based on duration, consider the derivation of the dative singular of *adas*, i.e., (175) *amuṣmai*, where the string is *ada* + *smai*. Rule 8.2.80 *adaso' ser*... now orders two operations:

(*a*) replacement of *d* by *m*, and

(*b*) replacement of the final *a* of *ada* by *u*.

We know from 1.1.69 *aṇudit*... that items which do not constitute an affix, but are denoted by *aṆ* or marked with *U*, represent their own form as well as the forms of sounds homogeneous with them. In view of this, *u* of 8.2.80 can be construed as either short (*hrasva*), long (*dīrgha*), or extralong (*pluta*). However, since the substituendum is short, we will replace it with a short *u*.

2. Looking back at the wording of 1.1.50, one wonders why Pāṇini used *sthāne*, when it was available by *anuvṛtti* from 1.1.49. *Kāśikā* says that Pāṇini's use of *sthāne* again is simply to indicate that whenever there is a possibility of similarity based on more than one factor, a similarity based on *sthāna* 'place of articulation' should be considered decisive. For example, consider the derivation of (8) *cetā* and (9) *stotā*, where given the strings $ci(\tilde{N} \rightarrow \emptyset) + tṛ(C \rightarrow \emptyset) = ci + tṛ$, and $stu(\tilde{N} \rightarrow \emptyset) + tṛ(C \rightarrow \emptyset) = stu + tṛ$, 7.3.84 *sārvadhātukārdhadhātukayoḥ*... orders a *guṇa* replacement for *i* and *u*. There could be two possibilities for both *i* and *u*. They are: *a/e* and *a/o*. That is, *a* also qualifies because it is similar in duration. However, in addition to being similar in duration, *e* and *o* are also similar to *i* and *u* in place of articulation; hence, they win.

1.1.51 **उरण्रपरः**

ur aṇ raparaḥ

/uḥ 6/1 *aṇ* 1/1 *raparaḥ* 1/1/

(*sthāne* # 49)
uḥ sthāne' ṇ prasajyamāna eva raparo veditavyaḥ
If *aṆ (a, i, u)* comes as a substitute in place of *ṛ*, it is automatically followed by *r*.

EXAMPLES:

karttā 'he who does'
harttā 'he who takes away'
kirati 'he scatters around'
girati 'he swallows'
dvaimāturaḥ 'he who is the son of two mothers'
traimāturaḥ 'he who is the son of three mothers'

1. *Nyāsa* (I:175-76) suggests three possible interpretations of this rule.
(*a*) *ṛ* → *aṆ* followed by *r*
uḥ sthāne aṇ raparatvañ ca anenobhayaṃ vidhīyate
'*aṆ* as a substitute in place of *ṛ* as well as the immediately following *r*, both ordered by this very rule'
(*b*) *aṆ* → *aṆr*
lakṣaṇāntareṇa vihitasyāṇ uḥ sthāne paścād anena raparatvamātraṃ kriyate
'some other rule orders the replacement in *aṆ* after which the following *r* alone is ordered by this rule'
(*c*) *ṛ* → *aṆ* (by some other rule), and *aṆ* → *aṆr* (1.1.51) *uḥ sthāne lakṣaṇāntareṇa vidhīyamāno' ṇ vidhānakāla eva tena lakṣaṇāntareṇa saha saṃhatya raparatvaviśiṣṭo' nena bhāvyate*
'this rule joins the other rule, which orders a replacement for *ṛ* in *aṆ*, to bring about concurrently the *r* that is to follow *aṆ*'

Of these three interpretations the first orders both the concurrent replacement of *ṛ* as well as the following *r* by *aṆ*. Interpretation (*b*) has the two operations being carried out consecutively by two different rules. Interpretation (*c*) accepts the need for two rules; one rule which will order the replacement while the other, the present rule, will form that rule which brings the following *r*. This interpretation also makes both operations occur concurrently.

Haradatta (*PM*, I:175) presents a fourth view whereby 1.1.50 is interpreted as restrictive (*niyama*) in nature.

(*d*) *uḥ sthāne' ṇ eva bhavati, sa ca rapara iti*
'*aṆ* with a following *r* alone comes in place of *ṛ*'

Scholars agree that a replacement in *aṆ* for *ṛ* is ordered by a rule other than 1.1.50; that our present rule forms the rule ordering the replacement to introduce the following *r;* and that both these operations occur concurrently. Thus out of our four interpretations, scholars prefer (*c*).

2. This rule requires that any *aṆ* (*a, i, u*) which replaces *ṛ* must concurrently

be followed by *r*. A replacement for *ṛ* can be ordered either by specifying it with the term *guṇa* or by specifying it by one of the denotata of *aṆ*. The two specifications can be summarized by the following statements.

(*a*) let *guṇa* be a substitute for *X*, and

(*b*) let *Y* be the substitute of *X* where *Y* is *a*, *i*, or *u*.

For example, 7.3.84 *sārvadhātukārddhadhātukayoḥ* orders a *guṇa* replacement for the final vowel of a presuffixal base (*aṅga*) before an affix termed *sārvadhātuka* (3.4.113 *tiṅśit...*) or *ārddhadhātuka* (3.4.114 *ārddhadhātukaṃ śeṣaḥ*). Thus *karttā* is derived from *kṛ* + *kṛC* where the *ṛ* of *kṛ* is replaced by its *guṇa* counterpart *a* followed by *r* by force of 1.1.51. This kind of specification for substitution conforms with (*a*). For examples of (*b*) which specify *i* or *u* as a replacement for *ṛ*, consider the derivations of *kirati* from *kṛ* + *a* + *ti*, and *dvaimāturaḥ* from *dvimātṛ* + *aṆ*. In these derivations *i* and *u* replacements have been ordered for the *ṛ* by rules 7.1.100 *ṛt id dhātoḥ* and 4.1.115 *mātur ut...* respectively. For details of the above derivations see the appendix.

Note in connection with (*a*) that *guṇa* refers to *a*, *e*, and *o* (1.1.2 *adeṅ...*). When a *guṇa* is ordered as a substitute for *ṛ*, the question as to which one of the three shall be the substitute is resolved by resorting to 1.1.50 *sthāne' ntarātmaḥ*, whereby *a* is selected as a proper *guṇa* substitute for *ṛ*.

1.1.52 अलोऽन्त्यस्य

alo' ntyasya
/alaḥ 6/1/ *antyasya* 6/1/
(*ṣaṣṭhī* # 49)
ṣaṣṭhī nirdiṣṭasya ya ucyate ādeśaḥ so' ntyasyālaḥ sthāne veditavyaḥ

A substitute ordered for an item in *ṣaṣṭhī* 'genitive' comes in place of its final *aL* ('sound segment'; see *Ss*, 1-14).
Refer to the notes under 1.1.55.

EXAMPLES:

pañcagoṇiḥ 'purchased for a price of five *goṇī* (sacks)'
daśagoṇiḥ 'purchased for a price of ten *goṇī*'

See the derivations for details concerning this rule.

1.1.53 ङिच्च

ṅic ca
/ṅit 1/1 *ca* Ø/
(*alo' ntyasya* # 52; *ṣaṣṭhī* # 49)
ṇic ca ya ādeśaḥ so' nekāl api alo' ntyasya bhavati
A substitute marked with *Ṅ* and ordered for an item in *ṣaṣṭhī* also comes in place of its final *aL* 'sound segment'.

EXAMPLES:

mātāpitarau parents (mother and father)'
hotāpotārau 'hotṛ (he who offers the ritual oblation) and *potṛ* (he who officiates as the priest at the ritual sacrifice)'
jīvatāt 'may he live long'

For details concerning this rule, see the derivations and also the notes under 1.1.55.

1.1.54 **आदेः परस्य**

ādeḥ parasya
/ādeḥ 6/1/ *parasya* 6/1/
(alaḥ # 52; *ṣaṣṭhī* # 49)
parasya kāryaṃ śiśyamāṇam āder alaḥ pratyetavyam
A substitute ordered for a following item comes in place of its initial *aL.*

EXAMPLES:

āsīnaḥ 'seated'
dvīpam 'island; that which has water on two sides'
antarīpam 'part of land stretching out into the sea'
samīpam 'near'

See also the relevant notes under 1.1.55.

1.1.55 **अनेकाल्शित्सर्वस्य**

anekāl śit sarvasya
/anekāl 1/1 *śit* 1/1 *sarvasya* 6/1/
(ṣaṣṭhī # 49)
anekāl ya ādeśaḥ sic ca sarvasya ṣaṣṭhī nirdiṣṭasya sthāne bhavati
A substitute ordered for an item in *ṣaṣṭhī* comes in place of the entire item when it (the substitute) consists of more than one *aL* or is marked with *Ś.*

EXAMPLES:

bhavitā 'that which is to be, become'
bhavitum 'for being, becoming...'
bhavitavyam 'ought to be, become'
kuṇḍāni 'nom. pl. neut. of *kuṇḍa*'

1. Rules of this section, in some way or other, concern replacement operations which may be characterized as '*X* replaces *Y* where *X* is used in the genitive.' Clearly, then, these rules relate to 1.1.49 *ṣaṣṭhī sthāneyogā.* Rules 1.1.50-51 regulate the selection of proper substitutes. Rules 1.1.52-55

deal specifically with whether a replacement should replace an item in the genitive completely or in part, and if in part, then what part.

Rule 1.1.52 *alo' ntyasya* states that a replacement replaces only the final sound segment of that which is put in the genitive. Rule 1.1.53 states that if a substitute is marked with *Ṅ* as an *it*, it too comes in place of the final sound segment. If it were not for 1.1.55, 1.1.53 would not be required, for a substitute which is marked with *Ṅ* and given with reference to a form in genitive would automatically come in place of the final sound segment, as has already been provided for by 1.1.52. The present rule states that a substitute consisting of more than one sound segment, or one which is marked with *Ś*, replaces the item in genitive *in toto*.

A question arises as to what precisely constitutes the scope of 1.1.53 and 1.1.55. What rule will govern a substitute which is marked with *Ṅ* and consists of more than one sound segment? There will clearly be a conflict. Rule 1.1.53 will be applicable on the basis of the *Ṅ-it*, while 1.1.55 would apply because the substitute consisted of more than one sound segment.

Let us consider the derivation of *jīvatāt*, which underlies the string *jīv* + *LOṬ* → *jīv* + *tu* → *jīv* + *a-(tu* → *tāt)*. The affix *tātaṄ* is marked with *Ṅ* and consists of more than one sound segment; thus it comes within the scope of both 1.1.53 and 1.1.55. This conflict is resolved by invoking 1.4.2 *vipratiṣedhe paraṃ kāryam*, whereby *tātaṄ* replaces *tu in toto* in consonance with 1.1.55. This provides us with clues to demarcate the scope of these rules.

(*a*) 1.1.52 governs a substitute which is not marked with *Ṅ* (1.1.53) or *Ś* (1.1.55) and does not consist of more than one sound segment.

(*b*) 1.1.53 governs a substitute which is marked with *Ṅ* and does not consist of more than one sound segment.

(*c*) 1.1.55 governs a substitute which is either marked with *Ś* or consists of more than one sound segment.

See the appendix for further derivational details.

Rule 1.1.54 is an exception to 1.1.52, in the sense that a substitute given with reference to an item in the genitive does not come in place of its final sound segment, but comes in place of its initial sound segment. Of course when such a replacement is ordered, the item in the genitive must follow another item. That is, replacements governed by 1.1.54 require that the item with reference to which a replacement is ordered not only be in the genitive but also be following another item. When these conditions are both met, the replacement comes in place of the initial sound segment of the item specified in the genitive.

Refer to the derivation of *dvīpam* 'island', which at one stage underlies *dvi* +*ap*, where 6.3.97 *dvyantarupasargebhyo ap īt* requires that *ī* comes in place of *ap* occurring after *dvi*, *antar*, or items termed *upasarga* 'preverbs'. Note here that *apaḥ* of 6.3.97 is not only placed in the genitive but also required as following *dvi* and so on. Since both of these conditions are met,

ī comes in place of the initial sound segment of *ap*, the *a*. For further derivational details see the appendix.

Rule 1.1.54 applies when a replacement operation is given with reference to 'what follows'. This may become confusing since no such specification is available with explicit use of *para* 'subsequent, following'. This is the reason why *Kāśikā* explicitly states that a replacement operation is given with reference to 'what follows' by specification in the ablative *(pañcamī)*. That is, the item which will be following and will also be the focus of the replacement operation will be put in the genitive, while the item which will be preceding will be specified by the ablative.

This interpretation is based on rule 1.1.67 *tasmād ity uttarasya*. Let us consider 6.3.97 *dvyantarupasargebhyo ap īt*. which I now represent as follows:

dvyantarupasarga$_{5/3}$ *ap*$_{6/1}$ *it*$_{1/1}$

Let us further replace the three stems of this rule with variables and rewrite it as:

$X_{5/3}$ $Y_{6/1}$ $Z_{1/1}$

Translated in accordance with the explanation given above, we can say:

Z comes in place of the initial sound segment of *Y* (marked by genitive) occurring after *X* (marked by ablative)

SCOPE: 7.1.20 *jaś śasoḥ śiḥ*, and so on.

1.1.56 स्थानिवदादेशोऽनल्विधौ

sthānivad ādeśo' nalvidhau

/sthānivat Ø ādeśaḥ 1/1 *analvidhau* 7/1

sthānivad ādeśo bhavati sthāny āśrayeṣu kāryeṣv analāśrayeṣu sthānyalāśrayāṇi kāryāṇi varjayitvā

A substitute is treated like a substituendum except when an operation relative to an original sound (*aL*) is to be performed.

EXAMPLES:

dyukāmaḥ 'he who wishes for heaven'
kaʼiṣṭaḥ 'who has been worshipped?'
dyauḥ 'heaven'
mahoraskena 'by the one who has a broad chest'
kena 'inst. sg. of *kim* 'what, who
kābhyām 'inst. du. of *kim*'
kaiḥ 'inst. pl. of *kim*'
prakṛtya 'having made properly'
prahṛtya 'having taken away properly'
dādhikam 'mixed with yogurt'
adyatanam 'latest, relating to today'
vṛkṣāya 'dat. sg. ot *vṛkṣa* 'tree

plakṣāya 'dat. sg. of *plakṣa* 'tree of the banyan family' '
akurutām 'those two did, made'

1. The purpose of this extension rule (*atideśa-sūtra*) is to allow a substitute *(ādeśa)* to be treated as if it were a substituendum (*sthānin*). This rule is necessitated because substituenda and substitutes are two separate entities; hence, operations characteristic of a substituendum cannot be performed once it has been replaced by the substitute. By allowing a substitute to be treated like its substituendum, this rule, in effect, enables us to still perform those operations characteristic of the substituendum.

According to *Kāśikā* (see 1.1.56), replacements of the following eight forms are treated as if they were the substituenda: (1) *dhātu* 'root', (2) *aṅga* 'presuffixal base', (3) *kṛt* 'primary affix', (4) *taddhita* 'secondary affix', (5) *avyaya* 'indeclinable', (6) *sUP* 'nominal ending', (7) *tiṄ* 'verbal ending', and (8) *pada* 'fully inflected word'. I have illustrated each of these types in the appendix.

Pāṇini uses the compound *alvidhiḥ* (in *analvidhau* of this rule). According to rules of compound formation, this compound can be interpreted in four different ways:

(*a*) *alā vidhiḥ* = *alvidhiḥ* 'operations which obtain because of *aL*'; that is, *alvidhiḥ* is interpreted as an instrumental *tatpuruṣa* compound derived from *(al + Ṭā + vidhi + sŪ) + sŪ.*
Example: (204) *mahoraskena* 'by one who has broad chest'

(*b*) *alaḥ vidhiḥ* = *alvidhiḥ* 'operations which obtain on an item occurring after *aL*'; that is, *alvidhiḥ* is interpreted as an ablative *tatpuruṣa* compound derived from *(al + Ṅasi + vidhi + sŪ) + sŪ.*
Example: (205) *dyauḥ* 'heaven'

(*c*) *alaḥ vidhiḥ* = *alvidhiḥ* 'operations which obtain in place of *aL*'; that is, *alvidhiḥ* is interpreted as a genitive *tatpuruṣa* compound derived from *(al + Ṅas + vidhi + sŪ) + sŪ.*
Example: (208) *dyukāmaḥ* 'he who wishes for heaven'

(*d*) *ali vidhiḥ* = *alvidhiḥ* 'operations which obtain when *aL* follows'; that is, *alvidhiḥ* is interpreted as a locative *tatpuruṣa* compound derived from *(al + Ṅi + vidhi + sŪ) + sŪ.*
Example: (209) *ka iṣṭaḥ* 'who has been worshipped?'

For derivations of these examples which also include illustrations concerning the four-way compound formation of *alvidhiḥ*, see the appendix under this rule.

1.1.57 अचः परस्मिन्पूर्वविधौ

acaḥ parasmīn pūrvavidhau
/acaḥ 6/1 *parasmīn* 7/1 *pūrvavidhau* 7/1/
(sthānivad ādeśaḥ # 56)
ajādeśaḥ paranimittakaḥ pūrvavidhau kartavye sthānivad bhavati

A substitute for a vowel, if it is conditioned by a right context, is treated like its substituendum with respect to an operation on a preceding element.

EXAMPLES:

paṭayati 'he speaks eloquently'
avadhīt 'he killed'
bahukhaṭvakaḥ 'a place with many cots'

1. As shown under the previous rule, 1.1.56 does not allow a substitute to be treated as its substituendum with respect to an operation dependent on an original sound. The present rule, 1.1.57, allows this under specific circumstances: if the substituendum is a vowel, it is replaced in a right context, and the operation that depends on the original sound has as its operand an element preceding that sound.

1.1.58 **न पदान्तद्विर्वचनवरेयलोपस्वरसवर्णानुस्वारदीर्घजःश्शर्विधिषु**

na padāntadvirvacanavareyalopasvarasavarṇānusvāradīrghajaścarvidhiṣu
/na Ø padānta... vidhiṣu 7/1/
(*acaḥ parasmīn pūrvavidhau* # 57; *sthānivad ādeśaḥ* # 56)
pade antaḥ, padāntaḥ (loc. *tatpuruṣa*); *padāntaś ca dvirvacanaṃ ca, vare ca, ya-lopaś ca, svaraś ca, savarṇaś ca, anusvāraś ca, dirghaś ca, jaś ca, car ca = padāntadvirvacana...caraḥ; eteṣāṃ vidhayaḥ teṣu = padāntadvirvacana...vidhiṣu* (gen. *tatpuruṣa* with internal *dvandva*)
pūrveṇātiprasaktaḥ sthānivadbhāva eteṣu vidhiṣu pratiṣidhyate

A substitute for a vowel is not treated like its substituendum, (even though the conditions of 1.1.57 are met), with respect to operations relative to:

(*a*) final element of a *pada* (see 1.4.14 *suptiṅantam...*),
(*b*) reduplication,
(*c*) affix *varaC*,
(*d*) deletion (*LOPA*) of *y*,
(*e*) accent,
(*f*) homogeneous sounds,
(*g*) *anusvāra*,
(*h*) replacement by sounds denoted by *jŚ*,
(*i*) replacement by sounds denoted by *cR*.

EXAMPLES:

kau staḥ 'who are those two'
yau staḥ 'the two who are...'
daddhy atra 'there is yogurt here'

maddhv atra 'there is honey here'
suddhy upāsyaḥ 'to be revered by the learned,
yāyāvaraḥ 'gypsy; one who is always wandering'
kaṇḍūtiḥ 'scratching, itching'
cikīrṣakaḥ 'he who is desirous of doing, making'
jihīrṣakaḥ 'he who is desirous of taking away'
śiṇḍhi 'may you distinguish'
piṇḍhi 'may you grind it to powder'
śiṃṣanti 'they are distinguishing'
pratidīvnā 'inst. sg. of *pratidivan* 'sun, day, gambler'
sagdhiḥ 'eating together'
babdhām 'may they (two) eat, shine'
jakṣatuḥ 'they two ate'
jakṣuḥ 'they ate'

1. This is an exception to 1.1.57. As such, it will block any substitute from being treated as if it were the substituendum with respect to the performance of the following operations:
   (*a*) *padānta-vidhi* 'operation concerning an item which occurs at the end of a *pada*' (1.4.14 *suptiṅantaṃ padam);*
   (*b*) *dvirvacana-vidhi* 'operation concerning doubling (of a syllable)';
   (*c*) *vare-vidhi* 'operation concerning the affix *varaC*' (3.2.175 *sthe-śabhāsa...);*
   (*d*) *ya-lopavidhi* 'operation concerning the deletion (*lopa*) of *y*' (6.1.66 *lopo vyor vali);*
   (*e*) *svara-vidhi* 'operation concerning the assignment of accent';
   (*f*) *savarṇa-vidhi* 'operation concerning homogeneous sounds';
   (*g*) *anusvāra* 'operation concerning *anusvāra';*
   (*h*) *jŚ-vidhi* 'operation concerning *jŚ* as a substitute';
   (*i*) *cR-vidhi* 'operation concerning *cR* as a substitute'.

   See derivations in the appendix for details.

1.1.59 द्विर्वचनेऽचि

dvirvacane' ci
/dvirvacane 7/1 *aci* 7/1/
(*acaḥ* # 57; *sthānivad ādeśaḥ* # 56)
dvirvacananimitte' ci ajādeśaḥ sthānivad bhavati dvirvacana eva karttavye
A replacement of *aC* (a vowel) is treated like its substituendum when it is followed by an affix which consists of or begins with a vowel and conditions doubling, and doubling alone is to be performed.

EXAMPLES:

papatuḥ 'they (two) protected'
papuḥ 'they protected'

jaghnatuḥ 'they (two) killed'
jaghnuḥ 'they killed'
āṭiṭat 'he caused to wander'
cakratuḥ 'they (two) did or made'
ninaya 'I led'
nināya 'I led'
lulava 'I cut'
lulāva 'I cut'

1. This rule technically is known as an extension (*atideśa*) rule. Such rules are basically of two types: extension of form (*rūpātideśa*), and extension of operation (*kāryātideśa*). An extension rule either may allow operation *X* to be performed relative to *Y*, even though *Y* did not qualify for it, or it may allow *X* to be treated as having the form of *Y*, even though *Y* was of a totally different form. Rule 1.1.59 allows a vowel substitute to be treated as having the form of its substituendum. Obviously, it illustrates *rūpātideśa*. Furthermore, commentators hasten to add that this extension of form is allowed only for a limited period *(niyatakāla)*. In this case, a vowel substitute can be treated as having the form of its substituendum only when doubling is to be performed.

2. Given the string *pā* + *atus* (see the appendix for details), 1.2.5 *asaṃyogāl liṭ...* will allow *atus* to be treated as if it were marked with *K*. As a consequence, 6.4.64 *āto lopa...* will apply to delete the *ā*. Thus: $p(\bar{a} \rightarrow \emptyset) = p + atus$. Affix *atus* begins with a vowel and conditions doubling. However, doubling cannot occur since the root lost its vowel (see 6.1.8 *liṭi dhātor...* read with 6.1.1 *ekāco...*). Rule 1.1.59 lets the zero replacement of *ā* be treated as if it had the form of *ā*. That is, the string can be treated as *pā* + *atus*, under the condition that doubling alone be performed. Once doubling is performed, the string becomes *pā* + *pā* + *atus*. But then the *ā* must forever be reduced to zero: *pā* + *p* + *atus*. Similar problems are encountered in deriving *papuḥ* from *pā* + *us*.

In deriving *jaghnatuḥ* or *jaghnuḥ* from *han* + *atus* and *han* + *us*, the penultimate (*upadhā*) *a* of *han* is deleted. The resultant strings $h(a \rightarrow \emptyset)n + atus$ and $h(a \rightarrow \emptyset)n + us$ cannot yield the intermediate strings *ha* + *hn* + *atus* and *ha* + *hn* + *us*, unless 1.1.59 allows the zero substitute of *a* to be treated as *a*.

Similarly, given the string *āṭ* + ∅ + *a* + *t* (see step g of (240) *āṭiṭat)*, 6.1.2 *ajāder dvitīyasya* cannot apply to yield *ā* + *ṭi* + *ṭ* + *a* + *t* unless, for purposes of doubling, the zero substitute of *i (ṆiC)* is treated as *i*. Examples such as *ninaya, nināya, lulava,* and *lulāva* illustrate instances where, unless 1.1.59 allows the substitutes *ay, av, āy,* and *āv* to be treated as *e, o, ai,* and *au* (their substituenda), wrong forms would result.

In view of the preceding, we can say that the purpose of 1.1.59 is to allow four types of replacements to be treated as the items they replace:

(*a*) zero which replaces *ā (āl-lopa)*,

(*b*) zero which replaces a penultimate (*upadhā*) vowel,
(*c*) zero which replaces the *i* of *ṆiC* (*ṇi-lopa*), and,
(*d*) *ay, av, āy,* and *āv* which replace *eC* (*e, o, ai,* and *au; ayavāyāvādeśa).*

3. Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita accepts a different interpretation of this rule in his *Siddhānta Kaumudī (SK).* He carries the *anuvṛtti* of *na* 'not' from 1.1.58 *na padānta...* and treats 1.1.59 as a negation rule. According to him, a replacement of *aC* does *not* take place when an affix follows which consists of or begins with a vowel, and the affix conditions doubling, and doubling alone is to be performed. Comparing this interpretation with the one given here and by *Kāśikā,* we find that Bhaṭṭoji wants to avoid the embarrassment of applying a replacement and then treating it as something which did not occur. Both interpretations are correct, as they lead to the same results, and both have been discussed in the *Mahābhāṣya. Kāśikā* interprets this rule as an extension rule because the *Mahābhāṣya* prefers that interpretation.

1.1.60 **अदर्शनं लोपः**

adarśanaṃ lopaḥ
/adarśanam 1/1 *lopaḥ* 1/1/
adarśanam aśravaṇam anuccāraṇam anupalabdhir abhāvo varṇavināśa ity anarthāntaram etaiḥ śabdair yo' rtho' bhidhīyate tasya lopa itīyaṃ saṃjñā bhavati
Non-appearance *(adarśana)* is termed *LOPA.*

EXAMPLES:

gaudheraḥ 'male (offspring of an) alligator'
jīradānuḥ 'he who lives'
āsremāṇam 'he who moves; that which becomes dry'

1. It is to be remembered here that the term *LOPA* should be assigned to the meaning of the word *adarśana* and not to its form, the word *adarśana* itself. *Kāśikā* clearly states that the designation *LOPA* applies to whatever meanings *adarśana* 'non-appearance', *aśravaṇa* 'non-audibility', *anuccāraṇa* 'non-articulation, *anupalabdhi* 'non-availability', *abhāva* 'non-existence', and *varṇavināśa* 'loss or destruction of a sound segment' may have. Clearly then it is a term to be assigned to meaning and not mere form.

This clarification is necessary in view of 1.1.68 *svaṃ rūpaṃ śabdasya...'* according to which an item in this grammar, except when it is a *saṃjñā* 'name', denotes only its form. In the absence of this clarification, a replacement invoked by *LOPA* will end up prescribing the form of this word as a substitute. For example, given the string *gaudh + ey + ra* (see step (f) of (246) *gaudheraḥ),* 6.1.66 *lopo vyor vali* requires the deletion or zeroing of *y.* If we took the form of the word *LOPA* and not its meaning, our string will become *gaudh + e(y → lopa) + ra = gaudh + e + lopa + ra.*

A question may arise here as to how we know that Pāṇini wants to assign

the term *LOPA* to the meaning of the word *adarśana*. The question is valid because had Pāṇini intended the meaning to be assigned to this term he could have used the word *iti* 'thus'. That is, he could have phrased the rule as *adarśanam iti lopaḥ* as he does elsewhere (see 1.1.44 *na vā-iti vibhāśā*, 1.1.66 *tasminn iti...*' and so on). In view of this objection commentators claim the presence of the word *iti* from 1.1.44 *na vā-iti vibhāśā* by *maṇḍūkapluti* 'frog's leap', which, in turn, symbolizes the recurrence of a term from an earlier rule without its recurrence in the intervening rules.

Commentators also add here that zeroing or non-appearance should be applicable to something which existed or was brought about with reference to a rule of grammar. Thus, either the non-appearance applied to *y* above was brought about by a rule, or *y* existed in the context prior to the application of zeroing. If *LOPA* was allowed to apply to something which did not exist to start with, wrong forms could result. For example, one may think that because a *ṆiC* affix does not exist after *dadhi* 'yogurt' and *madhu* 'honey', since it cannot occur after a nominal, its non-appearance can be assigned the term *LOPA;* and subsequently, under the provisions of 1.1.62 *pratyayalope...*, the *i* and *u* of *dadhi* and *madhu* could be replaced by *vṛddhi*. To sum up, *LOPA* can only be assigned to something which already exists in the eyes of a grammatical rule.

For an extended discussion of deletion rules in Pāṇini, see Vol. I, Chap. 6.

SCOPE: 6.1.66 *lopo vyor vali*, and so on.

1.1.61 प्रत्ययस्य लुक्श्लुलुपः

pratyayasya lukślulupaḥ
/pratyayasya 6/1 *lukślulupaḥ* 1/1 (*luk ca ślu ca lup ca*)/
pratyayādarśanasya luk ślu lup ity etāḥ saṃjñā bhavanti
Non-appearance of an affix is termed *LUK, ŚLU,* or *LUP.*

EXAMPLES:

atti 'he eats'
juhoti 'he offers'
varanāḥ 'a village located in the proximity of the *varaṇa* trees'

1. The deletion (*LOPA*) of an affix is hereby assigned three names: *LUK, ŚLU,* and *LUP.* Pāṇini here is creating three subdomains within the single domain of affix deletion. How do we demarcate the individual domains? We note instances of zeroing brought about (*tadbhāvita*) by express use of these names. Thus non-appearance caused by express mention of the name *LUK* constitutes the domain of *LUK,* and the same is true for *ŚLU* and *LUP.* This *tadbhāvita* interpretation enables us to keep the three terms separate. There is no chance of confusion or mixing (*saṃkara*) of the names.

2. These names also present us with a difficulty, which I have already discussed in note 1 of 1.1.45 *ig yaṇaḥ...*, commonly known as *anyonyāśrayatva* 'interdependency'. *LUK*, *ŚLU*, and *LUP* are names assigned to affixal zeroing. But such zeroing cannot occur unless the names are already assigned. Thus, name assignment and zeroing are dependent upon each other. Commentators resolve this difficulty by stating that whenever these terms are used in ordering the operation of zeroing, the assignment of name follows zeroing. That is, assignment of a name *(saṃjñā)* is treated as 'yet to be brought about' *(bhāvinī)*.

3. Since all three of these names contain *LU*, they are commonly referred to as *LU-mān*. The *Ś*, *K*, and *P* mark the individual distinction *(bhedakattva)*.

SCOPE: of *LUK* — 1.2.49 *luktaddhitaluki*, and so on.
of *ŚLU* — 2.4.75 *juhotyādibhyaḥ śluḥ*, and so on.
of *LUP* — 4.2.81 *janapade lup*, and so on.

1.1.62 प्रत्ययलोपे प्रत्ययलक्षणम्

pratyayalope pratyayalakṣaṇam
/pratyayalope 7/1 *pratyayalakṣaṇam* 1/1/
pratyayalope kṛte pratyayalakṣaṇaṃ pratyayahetukaṃ kāryaṃ bhavati
An operation conditioned by an affix applies even if the affix has been replaced by zero.

EXAMPLES:

āgnicit 'he who heaped the fire'
somasut 'he who pressed *soma*'
adhok 'he milked'
āghnīya 'I may strike'
saṅgmīya 'I may meet or join'

1. This rule allows an operation (*kārya*) to be effective even though the cause (*nimitta*) for such an operation has been removed. Thus, *agnicit* 'he who heaped the fire' or *somasut* 'he who pressed *soma*' both are derived by adding and subsequently deleting *sŪ*, which is a *sUP*. Rule 1.4.14 *suptiṅantaṃ padam* assigns the name *pada* to those items which end either in a *sUP* or a *tiÑ*. Since *agnicit* and *somasut* no longer terminate in a *sUP*, they cannot be assigned the name *pada*. Rule 1.1.61 makes this name assignment possible. A similar situation obtains with *adhok* 'he milked', where a *tiÑ* ending is deleted. Again, 1.1.62 allows *adhok* to be called a *pada*. For further illustration of how else 1.1.62 allows an effect to obtain even though its cause was removed, see the full derivation of *agnicit*, etc.

2. Instead of treating it as a recurrent *(anuvṛtti)* element from 1.1.61,

Pāṇini specifically uses *pratyaya* in *pratyayalopa* of this rule. *Kāśikā* explains that by doing this Pāṇini wants us to realize that 1.1.62 applies only where the affix is totally deleted *(kṛtsnalopa)*. That is, operations characteristic of an affix *do not obtain* when the affix in question is deleted only in part *(pratyayaikadeśalopa)*. Consider the derivation of *āghnīya*, first person singular optative of *ā + han*, where the augment *sīyUṬ* is deleted only in part — its initial *s* is deleted. This being but a partial deletion, the removal of the *n* of *han* cannot take place before it. The same occurs with *saṅgmīya*. For details of these derivations, see the appendix. Also note that what *Kāśikā* says here is discussed in the *Mahābhāṣya*.

3. Pāṇini uses the *pratyayalakṣaṇa* to specify that 1.1.62 only permits an operation which is characteristic of, or is conditioned by, an affix, and not, for example, by a sound segment. Commentators explain that in examples like *gohitam* 'beneficial for cows' and *raikulam* 'prosperity of the clan', there is a deletion of an ending. The word *go* loses its dative ending in combination with *hita + sŨ*. Similarly, *rai* loses its genitive while combining with *kula + sŨ*. The dative and genitive endings are *(Ṅe)* and *(Ṅas)* respectively. If the compounds are not formed, *go* + (*Ṅ*) *e* and *rai* + (*Ṅ*) *as* would yield *go + e = gave* and *rai + as = rāya(s → ḥ) = rāyaḥ*. These forms result by applying 6.1.78 *eco' yavāyāvaḥ*.

When the affixes are deleted under compound formation, 6.1.78 does not apply. One may thus claim that operations ordered by 6.1.78 are characteristic of the deleted affixes. Consequently, *gohitam* and *raikulam* should be **gavhitam* and **rāykulam*. These are wrong especially because 6.1.78 orders the operations with reference to *eC*, the sound segments *e, o, ai,* and *au,* and not with reference to an affix.

1.1.63 न लुमताङ्गस्य

na lumatāṅgasya
/na Ø lumatā 3/1 *aṅgasya* 6/1/
lumatā śabdena lupte pratyaye yad aṅgaṃ tasya
pratyayalakṣaṇaṃ kāryaṃ na bhavati
An operation for a presuffixal base *(aṅga)* does not apply (although it would otherwise apply by 1.1.62) if the affix in question is replaced by zero referred to by a term which contains *LU (LUK, ŚLU,* or *LUP;* see 1.1.62).

EXAMPLES:

gargāḥ 'many grandsons of Garga'
mṛṣṭaḥ 'they two wipe'
juhutaḥ 'they two perform the sacrifice'

1. The purpose of this rule is to restrict the scope of 1.1.62. Accordingly, operations characteristic of an affix do not obtain on an *aṅga*

(1.4.13 *yasmāt...*) if the affix is deleted by using *LUK, ŚLU,* or *LUP.* It should be remembered here that the assignment of the term *aṅga,* as well as the characteristic operation of an affix, both must obtain with reference to the same affix. In other words, 1.1.63 cannot work if the affix with reference to which the term *aṅga* is assigned is different from the affix which conditions an operation.

Consider the derivation of *gargāḥ,* where affix *yaÑ* is introduced after *garga* and later deleted by 2.4.64 *yañañoś ca.* Given the string *garga + (J)as* from which one derives *gargāḥ,* 7.1.17 *taddhiteṣv...* may require the *vṛddhi* replacement for the first *a* of *garga.* This will be under the provisions of 1.1.62. However, since *garga* is an *aṅga* and the deletion of the affix *yaÑ* is accomplished by using the term *LUK (a LU-mān),* 1.1.63 will not allow *vṛddhi.*

Note also that 1.1.63 blocks operations on an *aṅga.* This should not be interpreted as non-application of operational rules contained in the *aṅga* domain (6.4.1 *aṅgasya* through 7.4.97 *īca gaṇaḥ).* Rule 1.1.63 blocks all operations which may obtain on an *aṅga* with reference to a deleted affix, provided only that the deletion was accomplished by using *LUK, ŚLU,* or *LUP.* It does not matter whether a particular operation rule is contained in the *aṅga* domain or not. For example, 1.1.63 blocks the application of the *vṛddhi* rule 7.1.17, which is contained in the *aṅga* domain, but it also blocks the application of 6.1.197 *ñṇityādir nityam,* which is not contained in the *aṅga* domain. This rule obligatorily assigns high pitch (*udātta*) to the initial syllable of an *aṅga* before an affix marked with *Ñ* or *Ṇ.* It is not contained in the *aṅga* domain yet it is blocked by 1.1.63 from assigning high pitch accent to the initial syllable of *garga.*

1.1.64 **अचोऽन्त्यादिटि**

aco' ntyādi ṭi

/acaḥ 6/1/ (see note 2 of 1.1.47 *midaco...); antyādi* 1/1 *ṭi* 1/1/

acāṃ sanniviṣṭānāṃ yo' ntyo' c tadādi śabdarūpaṃ ṭisaṃjñaṃ bhavati

That part of an item which begins with its last vowel (*aC*) is termed *ṭi.*

EXAMPLES:

agnicit 'he who heaped the sacrificial fire'

somasut 'he who pressed the *soma*'

pacete 'third person dual present indicative middle of *pac* 'to cook"

pace 'first person singular present indicative middle of *pac*'

1. This rule assigns the term *ṭi* to a syllable formed by the last among the vowels of an item. That is, *ṭi* is assigned to the last syllable of an item. The genitive in *acaḥ* denotes *nirdhāraṇa* 'singling out one from among many'. The question as to why Pāṇini uses singular instead of the plural *acām* can be answered by treating the denotatum of the singular *acaḥ* as *jāti* 'class'.

Some say that since one *aC* is singled out from among many, an additional *aC* should be used to denote the *aC* which is singled out. This question also is justified by the structure of the *vṛtti: acāṃ (sanniviṣṭānām) yo' ntyo' c...* In response it is argued that the second *aC* is not required because singling out one from among many underlies items of the same kind *(samānajātīya)*. Thus, providing that one understands genitive as denoting *nirdhāraṇa*, *acaḥ* in the singular, would account for two things:

(*a*) that the singular denotes class, and

(*b*) that it also denotes 'one from among many'.

2. The wording of 1.1.64 implies that the term *ṭi* would apply only to those items which contain more than one vowel. This is mostly because *antya* 'final' and *ādi* 'initial' are relative terms. If this argument is accepted, a linguistic item consisting of a single syllable will be thrown outside the scope of *ṭi*. It is to allow the assignment of *ṭi* to a part of a monosyllabic form that rules like 1.1.21 *ādyantavad ekasminn* are formed.

This practice is also supported by ordinary usage. For example a person who has but one son may introduce him as both the oldest as well as the youngest son (*ayaṃ me jyeṣṭhaḥ, ayameva me kaniṣṭhaḥ*). This is what is commonly known as *vyapadeśivadbhāva*. For further information see the discussion under 1.1.21.

The function of the present rule is to facilitate the deletion of *ṭi* by such rules as 6.4.143 *ṭeḥ* and 7.1.88 *bhasya ṭer lopaḥ*. This term *ṭi* is also instrumental in the *e* replacement of *ātmanepada* terminations marked with *Ṭ*. For details see the derivations under this rule in the appendix.

SCOPE: 3.4.79 *ṭit ātmanepadānāṃ ṭere*, and so on.

1.1.65 अलोऽन्त्यात्पूर्व उपधा

alo' ntyāt pūrva upadhā
/alaḥ 5/1 *antyāt* 5/1 *pūrva* 1/1 *upadhā* 1/1/
dhātvādau varṇsamudāye' ntyād alaḥ pūrvo yo varṇaḥ so'
lopadhāsaṃjño bhavati
The sound (*aL*) which precedes the final sound of an item is called *upadhā* 'penultimate sound'.

EXAMPLES:

in *pac* 'to cook' and *bhid* 'to split, *a* and *i* are *upadhā*
in *budh* 'to know, to awake', and *yudh* 'to fight', *u* is *upadhā*
in *vṛt* 'to be, to roll' and *vṛdh* 'to grow', *ṛ* is *upadhā*

1. The above constitute examples of *rūpodāharaṇa*, where this rule assigns the term *upadhā* to a given form *(rūpa)*. For functional examples (*kāryodāharaṇa*), where the term is assigned to a form resulting from rule application, refer to derivates like *pācakaḥ*, and *bhedakaḥ*.

In *pācakaḥ*, rule 7.2.116 *ata upadhāyāḥ* orders the long replacement for the short *a* of *pac* + *aka*. Similarly, given the string *bhid* + *aka*, rule 7.3.86 *puganta...* would order the *guṇa* replacement for the short vowel termed *upadhā*. Thus we will get: *bh(i → e)d* + *aka* = *bhedaka*. Further function of the assignment of the term *upadhā* can be witnessed in the derivation of *śiṣṭa* 'learned', where the penultimate long *a* of the root *śās* is replaced by short *–i*. It is thus clear that the function of assigning the term *upadhā* is to facilitate the application of rules whereby *'ātva* replacement in *ā'*, *guṇādeśa* 'replacement in a *guṇa*', and *itva* 'replacement in *–i*' are ordered. You will find many derivations involving these operations in the appendix.

SCOPE: 7.2.116 *ata upadhāyāḥ*

1.1.66 तस्मिन्निति निर्दिष्टे पूर्वस्य

tasminn iti nirdiṣṭe pūrvasya
/tasmin 7/1 *iti* Ø *nirdiṣṭe* 7/1 *pūrvasya* 6/1/
tasminn iti saptamyarthanirdeśe pūrvasyaiva kāryaṃ bhavati nottarasya
An element which is referred to by a locative *(saptamī)* form is understood as a right context for an operation on that which precedes it.

EXAMPLES:

daddhy udakam 'yogurt and water'
maddhv idam 'this is honey'
pacaty odanam 'he cooks rice'

1. Pāṇini's use of the word *iti* 'thus' does not follow the general usage. We know that this particle is most commonly used as a marker for a direct quotation. Thus, *X-iti* means the word form *X*. However, according to the usages in the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*, *X-iti* means 'the meaning of the word from *X*' (see 1.1.43 *na vā iti vibhāśā*, etc.).

2. Pāṇini makes extensive use of the pronouns *yat* and *tat* as variables. He marks them with different endings to indicate differing values they can be assigned for purposes of specific operations. Thus, *tasmin* can refer to an *X* which is a locus. According to 1.1.66, such an entity, denoted by a locative form, is to be understood as a right context for an operation on what precedes it. Clearly, then, this use of the locative specifies the locus of an operation by means of a right context. The use of the same variable in the ablative, as in 1.1.67 *tasmād...*, does a similar thing; it specifies an operation by means of a left context.

3. The scope of this rule extends to rules such as 6.1.77 *iko yaṇ aci*, where *ac* in the locative serves as the right context for an operation characterized by a replacement denoted by *yṆ (yaṇkārya)*. The present rule also specifies that *yṆ* should come in the place of (1.1.49 *ṣaṣṭhī...*) that *iK* which immediately precedes the *aC* in the locative. Thus, given the strings

dadhi 'yogurt' + *udaka* 'water', *madhu* 'honey' + *idam* 'this', and *pacati* 'cooks' + *odanam* 'rice' we get *dadhyudakam, madhvidam,* and *pacatyodanam,* where the locus of *yaN-kārya* is the vowel preceding the initial vowels of the words *udakam, idam,* and *odanam.*

SCOPE: 6.1.77 *iko yaṇ aci...,* and so on.

1.1.67 **तस्मादित्युत्तरस्य**

tasmād ity uttarasya
/tasmād 5/1 *iti* Ø *uttarasya* 6/1/
(nirdiṣṭe # 66)
tasmād iti pañcamyarthanirdeśa uttarasyaiva kāryaṃ bhavati na pūrvasya
An element referred to by an ablative form (not otherwise interpretable in a given context) is a left context for an operation on what follows it.

1. *Kāśikā* cites *odanaṃ pacati* 'he cooks rice' as an example where 8.1.28 *tiṅi atiṅaḥ* assigns low pitch *(anudātta)* to *pacati* with reference to 1.1.67. This is an interpretive rule, and, as such, helps us find the object of a given operation. The word *atiṅaḥ* in 8.1.28 is in the ablative. As a result, 8.1.28 is interpreted as: 'a *pada* which terminates in a verbal ending (*tiN*), and follows a *pada* which does not terminate in a verbal ending, has no high pitched vowel'. That is, 8.1.28 can assign blanket *anudātta* to *pacati* only when *pacati* occurs *after* a non-*tiN pada.* This interpretation is available only with reference to 1.1.67. Rule 1.1.67 read with 8.1.28 blocks assignment of *anudātta* to *pacati* occurring in sentences such as *pacaty odanam,* since here it does not follow a non-*tiN pada.*

It may be of interest to note that *pacati* is assigned accents by several different rules. Rule 6.1.162 *dhātoḥ* assigns high pitch (*udātta*) to *a* in *pac.* Low pitch is assigned to both *a* (of *ŚaP*) and *i* (of *tiP*) by 3.1.4 *anudāttau suppitau.* But in view of 8.1.28, and given the fact that *pacati* occurs after a *pada* not ending in a *tiN, pacati* can be assigned blanket *anudātta.*

For further implications of this rule, see the derivations of (188) *āsīnaḥ,* (step d), and (189) *dvīpam,* (step c) in the appendix under 1.1.54 *ādeḥ parasya.*

1.1.68 **स्वं रूपं शब्दस्याशब्दसंज्ञा**

svaṃ rūpaṃ śabdasya aśabdasaṃjñā
/svam 1/1 *rūpam* 1/1 *śabdasya* 6/1 *aśabdasaṃjñā* 1/1/
śāstre svam eva rūpaṃ śabdasya grāhyaṃ bodhyaṃ pratyāyyaṃ bhavati na bāhyo' rthaḥ śabdasaṃjñāṃ varjayitvā
A word other than one which is a technical term (*saṃjñā*) of the grammar denotes its form only.

The purpose of this interpretive rule is to make clear that, in this

grammar, a cited word denotes only its form. This, however, does not apply to technical terms.

It is generally the meaning of a particular word which comes to mind at a given citation. That is, terms, when used, serve to have one understand their meaning. But just as a single meaning can be expressed by more than one form, so a cited form can also invoke its association (*sāhacarya*) with its synonyms. This is what the commentators call 'practice in the real world.' Rule 1.1.68 obviously spells out a convention for the world of grammar which is exactly the opposite.

Kāśikā explains the implications of this rule by citing 4.2.33 *agner ḍhak* and 4.2.19 *udaśvito' nyatarasyām*. Rule 4.2.33 introduces a *taddhita* (4.1.76 *taddhitāḥ*) affix (3.1.1 *pratyayaḥ*) *ḍhaK* after a nominative form (3.1.2 *paraś ca*) to derive a word meaning 'whose deity is' (4.2.23 *sāsya devatāḥ*); for example, *āgneya* 'dedicated to Agni'. In view of 1.1.68, affix *ḍhaK* cannot be introduced after any one of its synonyms, such as *pāvaka, jvalana, dhūmaketu,* and so forth, in the nominative. The same is true in case of optional derivations such as *audaśvitkam* 'flavoured with butter' and *audaśvitam,* where 4.2.19 optionally introduces affix *ṭhaK* after the nominal stem (4.1.1 *ṅyāp...*) *udaśvit* 'buttermilk'. Now, in view of 1.1.68, this affix cannot be introduced after *takra, ariṣṭa, kālaśepa, daṇḍāhata,* or *mathita,* which are synonyms of *udaśvit.*

Pāṇini treats the technical terms as exceptions to 1.1.68 because such technical terms as *ghu* (1.1.20 *dādhāghv adāp*) and *gha* (1.1.22 *taraptamapau ghaḥ*) represent only their denotatum *(saṃjñin)* and not their form *(saṃjñā)*. For details on how a form represents only its meaning, see notes under 1.1.60 *adarśanam...* and 1.1.66 *tasminn iti...*

2. There are four *vārttikas* which constitute an exception to the general idea of 1.1.68. These *vārttikas* refer to the following categories of generic words: (*a*) *sit* 'those which are marked with *S*', (*b*) *pit* 'those which are marked with *P*', (*c*) *jit* 'those which are marked with *J*', and (*d*) *jhit* 'those which are marked with *JH*'. It should be remembered here that words falling under these categories are not marked with *S, P, J,* and *JH* in actuality. Instead, they are only assumed to be marked as such. The purpose of this assumed *itkaraṇa* 'marking some item with an *it*' is to distinguish one category of these words from the others depending on what they may or may not represent. The following is a detailed description of the individual categories:

(*a*) *sit*: Items marked with *S* represent only a particular member (*tadviśeṣa*) within their genus. For example, *vṛkṣa* may be treated as marked with *S* (*vṛkṣaS*), and when cited in rules such as 2.4.12 *vibhāṣā vṛkṣa-mṛga...* can only represent a particular kind of tree. It constitutes an exception to 1.1.68 because it does not represent its own form, *vṛkṣa,* nor does it represent any one of its synonyms.

(*b*) ***pit***: Items marked with *P* represent themselves (*svarūpa*) and their synonyms (*paryāya*) as well as particular members (*tadviśeṣa*) within their genus. Thus the word *sva* 'wealth' has been cited in 3.4.40 *sve puṣaḥ*. This word is treated as if it were marked with *P*. As a consequence, it may represent either itself or its synonyms, such as *rai* and *dhana*, or particular members within its genus, such as *aśva* 'horse' and *go* 'cow'.

(*c*) ***jit***: Items marked with *J* represent only their synonyms (*paryāya*). Consider 2.4.23 *sabhārājā...*, which cites the word *rājā* 'king'. Now, for purposes of 2.4.23, this word represents only its synonyms, such as *ina* and *īśvara*. It does not represent itself, nor particular members within its genus, that is, individual kings. Thus, one can have a compound such as *īśvarasabham* 'the assembly of kings', but not *rājasabham*. Similarly, *candraguptasabham* 'the assembly of King Candragupta' is disallowed.

(*d*) ***jhit***: Items marked *JH* represent only themselves (*svarūpa*) and particular members (*tadviśeṣa*) within their genus. Thus, 4.4.35 *pakṣimatsya...* cites words such as *pakṣin* 'bird' and *matsya* 'fish'. These words can refer to themselves, as is the case in *pākṣikaḥ* 'he who kills birds', but they may also refer to particular members within their genus, as is attested to by *śākunikaḥ* 'he who kills the Śakuni birds'. It is interesting to note that in the case of *matsya* 'fish', one of its synonyms, namely *mīna*, can be understood to be represented. This is shown by the word *mainikaḥ* 'he who kills fish', as opposed to *mātsyikaḥ*.

1.1.69 **अणुदित्सवर्णस्य चाप्रत्ययः**

aṇuditsavarṇasya cāpratyayaḥ

aṇudit 1/1 *(dv.) savarṇasya* 6/1 *ca* Ø *apratyayaḥ* 1/1/

aṇgṛhyamāṇa id ic ca savarṇānāṃ grāhako bhavati svasya ca rūpasya pratyayaṃ varjayitvā

A sound denoted by *aṆ* (*a, i, u, ṛ, ḷ, e, o, ai, au, h, y, v, r, l*), or marked with *U*, provided it is not an affix, constitutes a term, signifying not only itself but also sounds homogeneous with it.

1. The abbreviatory symbol *aṆ* has not been formed here with the help of the *Ṇ* in *Śivasūtra* (*Śs*) 1. Instead, it has been formed with the subsequent *Ṇ* of *Śs* 6. As a result, *aṆ* not only represents all the vowels; it also represents the consonants *h, y, v, r,* and *l*. The purpose of this rule is to establish a convention whereby items denoted by the abbreviatory symbol *aṆ* may denote not only themselves but also sounds homogeneous with them.

Thus, when Pāṇini cites *a*, one understands all varieties of *a* based on pitch (*svara*), nasality (*anunāsikatva*), and duration (*kāla*). Similarly, an item such as *kU*, which is marked with *U*, refers to all the sounds homogeneous

with it. Pāṇini accordingly refers to all velar stops plus the velar nasal by *kU*. References to palatal, retroflex, dental, and labial stops and their corresponding nasals are made by *cU, ṭU, tU,* and *pU* respectively.

Such homogeneous representation must not be allowed in case of sound segments which may be ordered as object of some operation. For example, 3.2.168 *sanā...* introduces affix *u*. If this sound segment, which here is constituting an affix, is allowed to represent its homogeneous sounds, wrong derivations will result.

1.1.70 तपरस्तत्कालस्य

taparas tatkālasya

/taparaḥ 1/1 *tatkālasya* 6/1/

taparo varṇas tatkālasyātmanātulyakālasya guṇāntarayuktasya savarṇasya grāhako bhavati svasya ca rūpasya

A vowel followed by *t* denotes sounds of the same duration.

1. The word *taparaḥ* may be interpreted either as a *bahuvrīhi* compound meaning 'that sound segment which is followed by *T* or a *pañcamī-tatpuruṣa* compound meaning 'that sound segment which follows *T*'. Pāṇini invokes either interpretation to suit his need. Rule 1.1.1 *vṛddhir ādaic* is an example where a *tatpuruṣa* interpretation is intended. On the other hand, 1.1.2 *adeṅ guṇaḥ* illustrates an instance where both interpretations are invoked simultaneously, and 7.1.9 *ato bhis ais* is a rule where only a *bahuvrīhi* interpretation is possible. For further explanation, see note 2 under 1.1.1 and 1.1.2.

2. This rule may be viewed as an exception to 1.1.69 *aṇudit...*, which allows sound segments denoted by *aN* to represent themselves as well as sounds homogeneous with them. Thus, *a*, when not followed or preceded by *T*, represents eighteen distinct varieties, depending on differences in length, pitch, and nasalization. Similarly, *e* and *o* each represent twelve sounds. But in case of a reference made by *aT*, where *a* is marked with *T*, *a* can represent only short varieties of its own duration. Reference is reduced thereby from eighteen varieties to six.

3. The *Kāśikā* cites examples such as *vṛkṣaiḥ*, instrumental plural of *vṛkṣa* 'tree', and *abjāḥ* 'born in water' to explain what *taparakaraṇa* could facilitate. For example, 7.1.9 *ato bhis ais* orders *ais* as a replacement for *bhis* of *vṛkṣa* + *bhis* with reference to an *aṅga* which ends in *a(T)*. Similarly, rules such as 6.1.87 *ād guṇaḥ* and 6.1.88 *vṛddhir eci* apply with reference to *taparakaraṇa*. It should be clear by now that *taparakaraṇa* is a device whereby a class of items can be blocked from being represented by a member of that class.

1.1.71 आदिरन्त्येन सहेता

ādir antyena sahetā

/ādir 1/1 *antyena* 3/1 *saha* Ø *itā* 1/3/
ādir antyenetsaṃjñakena saha gṛhyamāṇas tanmadhyapatitānāṃ varṇānāṃ grāhako bhavati svasya ca rūpasya
An initial item joined with a final *it* denotes not only itself but also all intervening items.

EXAMPLES:

aN 'a, i, u'; see *Śs* 1
aK 'a, i, u, ṛ, ḷ'; see *Śs* 2
aC 'all the vowels'; see *Śs* 1-4
hL 'all the consonants'; see *Śs* 5-14
sUP 'nominal endings'; see 4.1.2 *svauj...*
tiṄ 'verbal endings'; see 3.4.78 *tiptas...*

1. The purpose of this rule is to regulate the formation of abbreviatory symbols. Paraphrased as *antyena itā saha ādiḥ*, 1.1.71 states that when a prior or initial item of a given list is joined with a final *it*, it forms an abbreviatory symbol which represents itself as well as all the intervening items. The symbol must be formed with a final *it*, never with a preceding one. The *Ṭ* of *suṬ*, for example, represents the final *Ṭ* of *auṬ*, the accusative dual, and not the initial *Ṭ* of *Ṭā*, the instrumental singular. Intervening *its* are never represented by abbreviations. This is only logical since they are never included in a list as real items.

1.1.72 येन विधिस्तदन्तस्य

yena vidhis tadantasya
/yena 3/1 *vidhih* 1/1 *tad-antasya* 6/1/
yena viśeṣaṇena vidhir vidhīyate sa tadantasyātmāntasya samudāyasya grāhako bhavati svasya ca rūpasya
That (qualifier) by means of which a provision is made (in a rule) denotes an item which ends in it.

1. The purpose of this interpretive rule is to make it clear that when a qualifier (*viśeṣaṇa*) specifies an operation, that qualifier represents an item which ends in it. For example, consider 3.3.56 *er ac* where *i* is used as a qualifier of *dhātoḥ*. In view of 1.1.70, 3.3.56 can introduce the affix *aC* either after a root which consists of *i* or after a root which terminates in *i*. This twofold interpretation of *eḥ dhātoḥ* in 3.3.56 can only be possible with reference to 1.1.70.

Incidentally, *dhātoḥ* comes from *anuvṛtti*. A *vārttika* on this rule states, however, that in operations relative to compounds (*samāsa*) and affixation (*pratyaya*), a qualifier does not represent items which end in it. Thus, the word *śrita* in 2.1.24 *dvitīyā...* cannot represent a form such as *paramaśrita* which ends in it. The reason is simple: 2.1.24 deals with compound

formation. Similarly, one can derive *nāḍāyanaḥ* 'offspring of Naḍa' by introducing the affix *phaK* after *naḍa* + *Ṅas*. The word *naḍa* occurs in 4.1.99 *naḍādibhyaḥ phak*, but since that is a rule dealing with affixation, *naḍa* in 4.1.99 cannot represent a form ending in it. As a consequence, affix *phaK* cannot be introduced after forms such as *sūtranaḍa*.

1.1.73 **वृद्धिर्यस्याचामादिस्तद्वृद्धम्**

vṛddhir yasya acām ādis tad vṛddham
/vṛddhiḥ 1/1 *yasya* 6/1 *acām* 6/3 *ādiḥ* 1/1 *tat* 1/1 *vṛddham* 1/1/
acāṃ madhye yasya vṛddhi-saṃjñaka ādibhūtas tac chabdarūpaṃ vṛddhasaṃjñaṃ bhavati
That item, the first of whose vowels is a *vṛddhi*, is termed *vṛddha*.

EXAMPLES:

śālīyaḥ 'that which obtains, is born, or is located in the house'
mālīyaḥ 'that which obtains, is born, or is located in a garland'

1. The purpose of this rule is to specify the nominatum (*saṃjñin*) of the term *vṛddha*, and, in turn, facilitate, among other things, the introduction of affix *cha* (4.2.115 *vṛddhāc chaḥ*). Consider the derivation of (5) *śālīyaḥ*, and (6) *mālīyaḥ*, where *śālā* + *Ṅi* and *mālā* + *Ṅi* are termed *vṛddha* on the strength of their first vowel being a *vṛddhi*. This enables *śālā* + *Ṅi* and *mālā* + *Ṅi* to receive affix *cha*, and yield *śālīya* and *mālīya*. Similar rule applications are involved in deriving *aupagavīya* and *kāpaṭavīya*, where *au* and *ā*, the *vṛddhi* vowels, enable their bases to qualify as *vṛddha*.

Our first two examples (*śālīyaḥ*, *mālīyaḥ*) have a *vṛddhi* vowel which is *atadbhāvita* 'not brought about by a rule application' (see note 1 under 1.1.1). The next two illustrate instances of *vṛddhi* vowels *au* and *ā* which are *tadbhāvita* 'brought about by a rule application.' Thus, *au* results by replacing *u* of *upagu* (see the derivation of (1) *aupagavaḥ* for details. Similarly *ā* in *kāpaṭavīyaḥ* is a replacement of the first *ā* in *kapaṭu* + *Ṅas*, which, parallel to *upagu* + *Ṅas* + *aṆ* = *aupagavaḥ*, yields *kāpaṭavaḥ*. Derivational details of *aupagavīya* and *kāpaṭavīya* are similar to (5) *śālīyaḥ*.

3. There are *vārttikas* which present some exceptions to this rule. Thus, proper names optionally can be treated as *vṛddha* even though their first vowel is not a *vṛddhi*. This facilitates the derivation of *devadattīyā* 'female student of a grandson of Devadatta' optional to *daivadattā*.

Exception also is made in case of a compound which ends in a constituent denoting *gotra* 'grandson, etc'. In such cases, a *vṛddhi* vowel occurring as first among the vowels of the final constituent of a compound enables the entire compound to be called *vṛddha*. Consider deriving *ghṛtarauḍhīyāḥ* 'students of Ghṛtarauḍhi' from *ghṛtarauḍhi* + *Ṅas* + *cha*, where *au* in *rauḍhi* enables *ghṛtarauḍhi* to be treated as *vṛddha* so that *cha* can be introduced. Similar arguments hold for deriving *odanapāṇinīyāḥ* 'students of Pāṇini only for food'.

1.1.74 त्यदादीनि च

tyadādīni ca

/tyadādīni 1/3 *ca* Ø/

(*vṛddham* # 73)

tyadādīni śabdarūpāṇi vṛddhisaṃjñāni bhavanti

Items listed in the set headed by *tyad* also are termed *vṛddha.*

The purpose of this rule is to extend the assignment of the term *vṛddha* to items such as *tyad,* etc. These items have been enumerated as part of a longer list which is headed by *sarva* 'all, whole', and is assigned the term *sarvanāman* 'pronoun' (see 1.1.27 *sarvādīni...*). The following is the relevant partial list of such items with corresponding examples cited by *Kāśikā:*

tyad 'he, she, it'	*tyadīyam* 'his, etc.'
tad 'he, that'	*tadīyam* 'his'
etat 'this'	*etadīyam* 'this one's'
idam 'this'	*idamīyam* 'of this one'
adas 'that'	*adasīyam* 'of that one'
yuṣmad 'you'	*tvadīyam* 'yours'
	tvādāyaniḥ 'id.'
asmad 'I'	*madīyam* 'mine'
	mādāyaniḥ 'id.'
bhavat 'you (polite)'	*bhavadīyaḥ* 'yours (polite)'
kim 'what, who'	*kimīyam* 'whose'

1.1.75 एङ् प्राचां देशे

eṅ prācāṃ deśe

/eṅ 1/1 *prācām* 6/3 *deśe* 7/1/

(*yasyācām ādiḥ, vṛddham* # 73)

eṅ yasyācām ādis tat prācāṃ deśābhidhāne vṛddhasaṃjñaṃ bhavati

That item, the first of whose vowels is one denoted by *eṄ* (*e, o*), is termed *vṛddha* when it names an Eastern country.

EXAMPLES:

eṇīpacanīyaḥ 'a resident of Eṇīpacana'
bhojakaṭīyaḥ 'a resident of Bhojakaṭa'
gonardīyaḥ 'a resident of Gonarda'

1. The purpose of this rule is similar to that of the preceding rule. However, it differs from 1.1.74 in that Pāṇini does not cite here particular forms which are to be assigned the term *vṛddha.* Instead, he specifies the first vowels of these forms in *eṄ,* and constrains the signification of these forms to the 'name of an Eastern country'. The vowel specification is made by carrying the *anuvṛtti* of *yasyācāmādis... tad vṛddham* from 1.1.73 *vṛddhir...*

1.2.1 गाङ्कुटादिभ्योऽञ्णिन्ङित्

gāṅkuṭādibhyo' ñṇinṅit

/gāṅkutādibhyaḥ 5/3 = *kuṭ ādir yeṣāṃ te kuṭādayaḥ (bv.); gāṅ ca kuṭādayaś ca = gāṅkuṭādayaḥ, tebhyaḥ = gāṅkuṭādibhyaḥ (bv.* with internal *dv.); añṇit* 1/1 = *ñaś ca ṇaś ca = ñṇau (dv.) ñṇau itau yasya sa ñṇit (bv.); na ñṇit = aÑṇit (naÑ-tat.); ṅit* 1/1/

gāṅ iti iṅādeśo gṛhyate...kuṭādayo' pi 'kuṭ kauṭilye' ity etad ārabhya yāvat 'kuṅ śabde' iti. ebhyo gāṅkuṭādibhyaḥ pare añṇitaḥ pratyayā ṅito bhavanti, ṅidvad bhavantīty arthaḥ

An affix, not originally marked with *Ñ* or *Ṇ* is treated as marked with *Ṅ* when it occurs after *gāṄ* 'to read, to recite', or after the roots headed by *kuṬ* 'to be crooked'.

EXAMPLES:

adhyagīṣṭa 'he read'
adhyagīṣātām 'they two read, recited'
adhyagīṣata 'they (pl.) read, recited'
kuṭitā 'he who is to cheat...., to be crooked'
kuṭitum 'for cheating, being crooked'
kuṭitavyam 'ought to cheat, be crooked'
utpuṭitā 'he who is to embrace, clasp'
utpuṭitum 'for embracing, clasping'
utpuṭitavyam 'ought to be embraced, clasped'

1. Rules 1.2.1 *gāṅkuṭādi...* through 1.1.26 *ralo vyupadhād...* make a set which is generally referred to as *'Ṅit-Kit'* in Pāṇinian circles. Most of these rules are technically known as *atideśa* 'extension' rules because they may allow certain items to be treated as something which they were not. Similarly, they may forbid certain items from being treated as something which they were. In particular, this set deals with the status of some affixes that are treated as marked with *Ṅ* or *K*. The express purpose of extending *Ṅit-Kit* status to such affixes is to bring them within the operational scope of 1.1.5 *kṅiti ca,* whereby *guṇa* or *vṛddhi* substitutes are blocked from replacing *iK* if they happen to be conditioned by affixes marked with *K, G,* or *Ṅ*. Accordingly, then, the function of this entire set of rules is, among other things, to block *guṇa* and *vṛddhi.* Blocking, or allowing certain other operations relative to *Ṅit-Kit,* will be discussed in the appropriate places.

2. The root *gāṄ* cited here should not be confused with *gāṄ* 'to go'. Instead, it should be understood as the substitute of *iṄ* 'to study, learn', as referred to in 2.4.48 *iṅaś ca,* 2.4.49 *gāṅ liṭi,* and 2.4.50 *vibhāṣā luṅlṛṅoḥ.* For details, see *PM* and *Nyāsa* ad *Kāśikā* 1.2.1. Similarly, *kuṭ,* and so on, should be understood as representing a set of thirty-six verbal roots of the *tudādi* (sixth) class that are enumerated beginning with *kuṬ* 'crooked' and terminating with *kuṄ* 'noise'.

The verbal root *iṄ* invariably is used with the preverb *adhi.* If *iṄ* were to

be used with some other preverb in addition to *adhi, adhi* would always be first in order. Commentators make a distinction between the signification of *paṭhÃ* 'read, recite' and *iṄ*. They state that *iṄ* is used to signify reading, reciting, or learning something special with assured accomplishment, though it may also mean regular learning or reciting. For details, see *Kaiyaṭa* ad *Mahābhāṣya* (II: 185) for details: *tataś ca adhīte ity atra viśiṣṭārthayuktānāṃ śabdānāṃ paṭhanaṃ vidhipūrvakaṃ vā karotīty arthaḥ.* Also see *Udyota* of Nāgeśa: *kecit tu avagamaparyantatatvarūpa utkarṣo' dher arthaḥ.*

1.2.2 **विज इट्**

vija iṭ

/vijaḥ 5/1 *iṭ* 1/1/

(ṅit # 1)

'ovijī bhayacalanayoḥ' asmāt paraḥ iḍādi pratyayo ṅid bhavati

An affix with initial *iṬ* is treated as if marked with *Ṅ* when it occurs after *OvijĪ* 'to fear, to tremble with fear, to be agitated'.

EXAMPLES:

udvijitā 'he who is to be agitated'
udvijitum 'for becoming agitated'
udvijitavyam 'ought to be agitated'

1. My expression 'with *iṬ*' refers to those affixes which allow the augment *iṬ* (see 7.2.35 *ārdhadhātukasyeḍ valādeḥ*). Since *iṬ* is marked with *Ṭ*, it will be introduced to the affix as its initial element (see 1.1.46 *ādyantau...*). The word *ādi* 'initial' is inferred. However, some commentators (see *Nyāsa* ad *Kāśikā* 1.2.2: *'vṛddhir yasyācāmādiḥ' ityata ādi grahaṇam anuvarttate, tena ceḍ viśiṣyate)* think that *ādi* is carried from 1.1.73 *vṛddhir...* by *anuvṛtti* to qualify the word *iṬ* in this *sūtra.*

2. Since the augment *iṬ* can only be introduced as an initial element to an affix, the nominative singular of *iṬ* in the present rule should be read with *pratyayaḥ* 'affix'. The sense required of this expression is 'an affix with an initial *iṬ*'.

3. The purpose of this *ṅidvadbhāva* 'treating something as marked with *Ṅ*' is to block the *guṇa* replacement for the penultimate short vowel (*laghūpadha,* see 7.3.86 *puganta...*) of an *aṅga.* Thus, if *iṬ* + *tṛC* is not treated as marked with *K* after *udvij,* there will be a chance for the *guṇa* replacement of its penultimate *i.* This will yield a wrong form: **udvejita.*

4. The root *vij* is used with the preverb *ut.* However, one can also find a form such as *vigna,* used in the sense of *udvigna* (see *Raghuvaṃśa* of Kālidāsa 14/68: *cakranda vignā kurarīva dīnā*).

1.2.3 **विभाषोर्णोः**

vibhāṣorṇoḥ

/vibhāṣā 1/1 *ūrṇoḥ* 5/1/
(*iṭ* # 2; *ṅit* 1)
'ūrṇuñ ācchadane' asmāt para iḍādiḥ pratyayo vibhāṣā ṅid bhavati
An affix with initial *iṬ* is optionally treated as marked with *Ṅ* when it occurs after *ūrṇuÑ* 'to cover'.

EXAMPLE:

prorṇuvitā / prorṇavitā 'he who is to cover'

1. This rule provides that the *guṇa* application of 7.3.84 *sārvadhātukārdhadhātukayoḥ* becomes optional in case of *ūrṇuÑ*. As a consequence, two types of forms result. That is, if we take the option of blocking the *guṇa*, the result will be *ūrṇuvitā*. If we do not block *guṇa*, the result will be *ūrṇavitā*, where the root final *u* will be replaced by its *guṇa* counterpart *o* which, in turn, will be replaced by *av* (see 6.1.78 *eco' yavāyāvaḥ*).

1.2.4 सार्वधातुकमपित्

sārvadhātukam apit
/sārvadhātukam 1/1 *apit* 1/1/
(*ṅit* # 1)
sārvadhātukam yad apit tan ṅid bhavati
A *sārvadhātuka* affix (3.4.113 *tiṅśit sārvadhātukam)* not originally marked with *P* is treated as though marked with *Ṅ*.

EXAMPLES:

kurutaḥ 'they (dual) are doing, making'
kurvanti 'they (pl.) are doing, making'
cinutaḥ 'they (dual) are heaping, gathering'
cinvanti 'they (pl.) are heaping, gathering'

1. All affixes denoted by *tiṄ* (3.4.78 *tiptasjhi...)*, along with others which may be marked with *Ś* are termed *sārvadhātuka* by 3.4.113 *tiṅśit sārvadhātukam*. Our present rule provides that, except for those *tiṄ* affixes which are marked with *P*, the rest can be treated as marked with *Ṅ*. There are three *tiṄ* affixes — namely, third, second and first person singular *tiP*, *siP*, and *miP* — which come under this exclusion. Thus, under the provision of this rule, all *sārvadhātuka* affixes except for *tiP*, *siP*, and *miP* will be treated as marked with *Ṅ*. The purpose of treating the above mentioned *tiṄ* members as marked with *Ṅ* is to block *guṇa*. See the appendix for details.

1.2.5 असंयोगाल्लिट् कित्

asaṃyogāl liṭ kit
/asaṃyogāl 5/1 *liṭ* 1/1 *kit* 1/1/

(*apit* 4)
asaṃyogāntād dhātoḥ paro liṭ pratyayo' pit kid bhavati
A *LIṬ* affix not originally marked with *P* is treated as marked with *K* when it occurs after roots which do not terminate in a conjunct.

EXAMPLES:

bibhidatuḥ 'they (dual) split it'
bibhiduḥ 'they (pl.) split it'
cicchidatuḥ 'they (dual) cut, divided it'
cicchiduḥ 'they (pl.) cut, divided it'
ījatuḥ 'they (dual) performed the ritual sacrifice'
ījuḥ 'they (pl.) performed the ritual sacrifice'

1. Since *LIṬ* is an abstract suffix, and since all such abstract suffixes are later replaced by *tiṄ* (3.4.77 *lasya;* 3.4.78 *tiptasjhi...*), *LIṬ*, in this rule, refers to its replacements in *tiṄ*. We already know that *tiṄ* affixes are termed *sārvadhātuka,* and as such, except for those marked with *P*, will be treated as marked with *Ṅ* under the provisions of 1.2.4 *sārvadhātukam apit.* By the present rule, Pāṇini wants to ensure that specific *LIṬ* replacements will be treated as marked with *Ṅ*. These are *LIṬ* replacements which, in addition to not being marked with *P*, occur after roots not ending in a conjunct. Under 1.2.4, a replacement of *LIṬ* would have become eligible for being treated as marked with *Ṅ* if it occurred after a root ending in a conjunct. The rule now being considered excludes this possibility.

1.2.6 इन्धिभवतिभ्यां च

indhibhavatibhyāṃ ca
/indhibhavatibhyām 5/2 = *indhiś ca bhavatiś ca = indhibhavatī, tābhyām = indhibhavatibhyām (dv.) ca Ø/*
(*liṭ kit* # 5)
'indhi-bhavati' ity etābhyāṃ paro liṭ pratyayaḥ kid bhavati
A *LIṬ* affix which occurs after verbal roots *indhI* 'to kindle' and *bhū* 'to be, become' also is treated as though marked with *K*.

EXAMPLES:

putra īdhe atharvaṇaḥ (ṚV, VI.16.14) 'the son of Atharvan kindled you'
sam īdhe dasyuhantamam (ṚV, VI.16.15) 'you who killed the savages kindled'
babhūva 'he became'
babhūvitha 'you became'

1. In this rule, *LIṬ* again refers to its replacements. However, this time the reference is not to the *tiṄ* replacements of *LIṬ*. Instead, this rule

takes into account the replacement of *tiṄ* which replaced *LIṬ*. The fact that such replacements of *tiṄ* can be considered as the replacement of *LIṬ* only by means of *tiṄ* does not create any problem. Thus *LIṬ* is replaced by *tiṄ* and then the individual *tiṄ* members are replaced by, for example, *ṄaL, atus, us,* and so on (see 3.4.82 *parasmaipadānāṃ ṇal...).*

2. All three *parasmaipada* (see 1.4.99 *laḥ parasmaipadam,* and 1.4.100 *taṅāṇāv ātmanepadam)* singular affixes *tiP, siP* and *miP* are called *pit* because they are marked with *P*. As such, 1.2.5 will not allow them or their replacements to be treated as marked with *K*. Rule 1.2.6 makes that possible, although only when they are used after the cited roots.

3. The express purpose of treating *LIṬ* affixes after *indh* as marked with *K* is to make the deletion of the *n* in the root possible by 6.4.24 *aniditāṃ hala upadhāyāḥ*. A separate mention of this verbal root was necessitated because it ended in a conjunct and hence could not be covered by the preceding rule. Similarly, a mention of *bhū* is required because 1.2.5 *asaṃyogāl...* can extend the *Kit* status only to those *LIṬ* affixes which were originally not marked with *P*. By the present rule, all *LIṬ* affixes can qualify for *Kit* status. For example, 3.4.82 *parasmaipadānāṃ ṇal...* prescribes nine replacements for the nine *tiṄ* replacements of *LIṬ*. Of these replacements, those coming in place of *tiP, siP,* and *miP* can be considered *Kit.*

1.2.7 **मृडमृदगुधकुषक्लिशवदवसः क्त्वा**

mṛḍamṛdagudhakuṣakliśavadavasaḥ ktvā
/mṛḍa...vasaḥ 5/1/ *ktvā* 1/1/
(*kit* # 5)
mṛḍa, mṛda, gudha, kuṣa, kliśa, vada, vasa — ity etebhyaḥ paraḥ ktvā pratyayaḥ kid bhavati
Affix *Ktvā* (3.4.21 *samānakartṛkayoḥ pūrvakāle,* and so on) is treated as though marked with *K* when it occurs after *mṛḍĀ* 'to please, *mrdĀ* 'to squeeze, rub', *gudhĀ* 'to be angry', *kuṣĀ* 'to pull, drag', *kliśĀ* 'to torment', *vadĀ* 'to speak', and *vasĀ* 'to dwell, inhabit'.

EXAMPLES:

mṛḍitvā 'after having pleased'
mṛditvā 'after having pressed'
gudhitvā 'after having annoyed'
kuṣitvā 'after having pulled'
kliśitvā 'after having tormented'
uditvā 'after having told'
uṣitvā 'after having dwelt'

1. Note here that *Ktvā* is already marked with *K*. Consequently, the question of treating it as marked with *K* should not arise. Actually, this rule is a prior exception *(purastāpavāda)* to 1.2.18 *na ktvā seṭ* whereby *Ktvā,*

when used with *iṬ*, (7.2.35 *ārdhadhātukasy...*), is denied the status of being marked with *K*. This rule lets *Ktvā*, used with *iṬ*, be treated as marked with *K* with reference to the set of verbs cited here. Also note that 1.2.26 *ralo vyupadhād...* allows *Ktvā*, used with *iṬ*, to be treated as marked with *K* (again going against 1.2.18), provided *Ktvā* occurred after roots which:

(*a*) ended in *rL* (see *Ś*s 6-14),
(*b*) began with *hL* (see *Ś*s 6-14), and
(*c*) had *i* or *u* in their *upadhā* 'penultimate position' (1.1.65 *alo' ntyāt pūrva upadhā*).

However, this treatment of *Ktvā* by 1.2.26 *ralo vyupadhād...* is only optional. Rule 1.2.7 makes it obligatory (*nitya*). Incidentally, all seven roots cited under this rule perfectly match the requirements of 1.2.18, whereby *Ktvā* can be denied its *Kit* status.

1.2.8 रुदविदमुषग्रहिस्वपिप्रच्छः संश्च

rudavidamuṣagrahisvapipracchaḥ saṃś ca
/ruda...pracchaḥ 5/1 *san* 1/1 *ca* ∅/
(*ktvā* # 7, *kit* # 5)
ruda, vida, muṣa, grahi, svapi, praccha-ity etebhyaḥ saṃś ca ktvā ca kitau bhavataḥ
Affixes *Ktvā* and *saN* are considered as though marked with *K* when they occur after verbal roots *rudĀ* 'to cry', *vidĀ* 'to know', *muṣĀ* 'to steal', *grahĀ* 'to seize, grasp, get hold of', *ÑIsvapĀ* 'to sleep', and *pracchĀ* 'to ask'.

EXAMPLES:

ruditvā 'after having cried'
rurudiṣati 'wishes to cry'
muṣitvā 'after having stolen'
mumuṣiṣati 'wishes to steal'
viditvā 'after having known'
vividiṣati 'wishes to know'
gṛhītvā 'after having seized'
jighṛkṣati 'wishes to seize'
suptvā 'after having slept'
suṣupsati 'wishes to sleep'
pṛṣṭvā 'after having asked'
pipṛcchati 'wishes to ask'

1. The question of assigning *Kit* status to *Ktvā* after verbal roots *ÑIsvapĀ* and *pracchĀ* does not arise, since these roots are non-*iṭ*, and thus are not affected by 1.2.18. Their citation should be considered as relative to *saN* only. See also note 1 under 1.2.7 *mṛḍamṛda...*

1.2.9 **इको झल्**

iko jhal

/ikaḥ 5/1 *jhal* 1/1/

(*san* # 8, *kit* # 5)

igantād dhātoḥ paro jhalādi san kid bhavati

A *saN* affix is treated as if marked with *K* when it begins with a *jhL* (see *Ss* 8-14) and occurs after roots ending in *iK* (see *Ss* 1-2).

EXAMPLES:

cicīṣati 'wishes to heap, gather'
tuṣṭūṣati 'wishes to praise'
cikīrṣati 'wishes to do, make'

1. Note that in this rule the word *jhL* can refer to two things:
(*a*) an item ending in a *jhL* and
(*b*) an item beginning with a *jhL*.

The first interpretation is arrived at by following the principle of *tadantavidhi* 'the process of interpreting the citation of a form as meaning a form ending in that', whereas the second is the result of following the principle of *tadādividhi* 'the process of interpreting the citation of a form as meaning a form beginning with that'.

Commentators explain that in this rule the second interpretation is favoured because *saN*, in the nominative singular, is carried from the earlier rule which in turn forms syntactic co-ordination (*sāmānādhikaraṇya*) with *jhL*. Thus, *jhL*, with *ādi* 'initial' of 1.1.73, becomes an adjective to *saN*, and hence the *tadādividhi* interpretation is favoured. (See *Nyāsa ad Kāś.* 1:275: *sangrahaṇaṃ tu prathamāntam ihānuvarttate, ... jhal viśiṣyate; tasmāt tadādividhir eva vijñāyate na tadantavidhir iti.)* The *tadādividhi* interpretation is favoured mostly on account of *jhalādi* being an adjective to the affix *(pratyayaviśeṣaṇatvāt).*

A question is raised as to why *iK* cannot be interpreted as referring to the verbal root *iK* 'to remember'. The answer is that because *iK* is used in association (*sāhacarya*) with *jhL*, which is an abbreviatory term, *iK* must also be interpreted as an abbreviatory term. Besides, *iK* interpreted as a verbal root would not make any sense in rules such as the following. The requirement of an *hL* in that rule will not be met if *iK* is interpreted as a verbal root.

2. Is the purpose of assigning *Kit* status to *saN* to block *guṇa*? Perhaps not. Consider, for example, the derivation of *cicīṣati* 'he wishes to heap or gather'. Here *cici* ends in a *ṆiC* and is followed by *saN*. Given the string *cici* + *sa*, the following rules both become applicable:

6.1.16 *aj-jhanagamāṃ sani...*
7.3.84 *sārvadhātukārdhadhātukayoḥ*

The first rule orders a long vowel replacement for the short final *-i* of *cici*. The second rule requires that the same short vowel be replaced by

its-*guṇa* counterpart -*e*. But since the application of *guṇa* replacement will render the long vowel replacement vacuous (*vyartha*), long vowel replacement blocks the application of *guṇa*. The reason long vowel replacement will become vacuous is the fact that 6.1.16 *aj-jhanagamāṃ...* will find no scope of application at all (*anavakāśa*). Consequently, even after a long vowel replacement has occurred, *guṇa* still cannot apply. Since *guṇa* will be blocked by the long vowel replacement (*dīrgha*) on the basis of *anavakāśatva* 'lack of scope', blocking *guṇa* cannot be accepted as the purpose of assigning the *Kit* status to *saN*.

What then is the purpose of this assignment of *Kit* status to *saN*? It is stated that the purpose is to facilitate the deletion of *ṆiC*. The argument is that if *saN* is not assigned the status of *Kit*, the long vowel replacement (*dīrghatva*) will be able to block the deletion of *ṆiC* (*ṇilopa*) at the strength of its *anavakāśatva*, as it was able to block the *guṇa* in *cicīṣati*. It is for this reason that, in instances where both *dīrgha* and *guṇa* obtain, and where *ṆiC* is before *saN*, *guṇa* should be blocked by means of *Kit* status. Once *guṇa* has been blocked *dīrghatva* will find its scope. That is, it will no longer be *anavakāśa*. And as soon as it is not *anavakāśa*, it can be blocked by *ṇilopa* on the basis of *paratva*, 'being subsequent'.

It is in this sense that we say that the purpose of *kitva* in 1.2.9 is to facilitate *ṇilopa*. Take, for example, *jñīpsati* 'he wishes to have someone know' where, given the string *jñapi* + *sa*, *sa* is assigned the *Kit* status. Rules 6.1.16 *aj-jhana...* and 6.4.51 *ṇer aniṭi* both become applicable The first rule orders long vowel replacement, whereas the second orders the deletion of (*Ṇ*) *i* (*C*). Rule 6.1.16 is no longer *anavakāśa* because it found its scope in *cicīṣati*. It now becomes possible for the second rule to block its application on the basis of being subsequent (*para*).

1.2.10 हलन्ताच्च

halantāc ca

/halantāt 5/1 *ca* Ø/

(*iko jhal* # 9, *san* # 8, *kit* # 5)

igantād iksamīpād halaḥ paraḥ san jhalādiḥ kid bhavati

A *saN* affix which begins with a *jhL* and occurs after a *hL* that is preceded by an *iK* is treated as if marked with *K*.

EXAMPLES:

bibhitsati 'wishes to split, break'

bubhutsate 'wishes to know'

1. Note that the word *anta* in this rule does not denote part (*avayava;* end of something). Instead, it is used in the sense of *samīpa* 'proximate'. The word *halanta* is paraphrased as a *karmadhāraya-tatpuruṣa: halaś cāsāv antaś ca* 'that which is *hL* as well as *anta* 'near'. The postpositioning of

anta, the adjective, is *ad hoc* (*nipātana*). It is in view of this that the rule is interpreted as: *iksamīpād halaḥ paraḥ san jhalādiḥ kid bhavati 'a saN* beginning with *jhL* (and occurring after an *hL* proximate with an *iK*').

Observe that the word *iK* in the preceding rule is in the ablative (*pañcamī*). The *Kāśikā,* in the *vṛtti,* uses the expression *igantāt* where *iK* as part of the compound *iganta* is interpreted as genitive (*ṣaṣṭhī*). Thus, *igantāt* will be paraphrased as *ikaḥ* 6/1 *samīpāt* 5/1 'after that which is near *iK*'. The change of ablative into genitive is an instance of *vibhaktiviparināma* 'transposition of inflectional endings'.

The purpose of assigning *Kit* status to *saN* is to facilitate *samprasāraṇa* 'replacement of *yaN* by *iK*' (1.1.45 *ig yaṇaḥ samprasāraṇam*) by rule 6.1.15 *vacisvapiyajādīnām...* That is, in the absence of *Kit* status, *samprasāraṇa* will be blocked and wrong forms will result. (*Nyāsa ad Kāśikā* I:281: *kitvābhāvāt 'vacisvapi' ityādinā samprasāraṇaṃ na bhavati*).

1.2.11 लिङ्सिचावात्मनेपदेषु

liṅsicāv ātmanepadeṣu
/liṅsicau 1/2 *ātmanepadeṣu* 7/3/
(*halantāt* # 10, *iko jhal* # 9, *kit* # 5)
igantād iksamīpād halaḥ parau jhalādī liṅsicāv ātmanepadeṣu parataḥ kitau bhavataḥ
A *LIṄ* or *sIC* affix which begins with a *jhL* and occurs after a *hL* that is preceded by an *iK* is treated as if marked with *K*, provided also that it is related to *ātmanepada.*

EXAMPLES:

bhitsīṣṭa 'may he break, split'
bhutsīṣṭa 'may he know'
abhitta 'he split, broke'
abuddha 'he knew'

1. The word *ātmanepadeṣu* creates some problems in interpreting this rule. The confusion arises because of the relationship that exists between *LIṄ, SIC,* and *ātmanepada. LIṄ* is already *ātmanepada* because it gets replaced by *ātmanepada* endings. Now, one cannot interpret *ātmanepadeṣu* of this rule as 'when *ātmanepada* follows'. In other words, *ātmanepada* replaces *LIṄ* and does not follow it. This interpretation can only be valid in the context of *SIC.* Since *SIC* occurs before *ātmanepada,* we can interpret *ātmanepadeṣu* as 'when *ātmanepada* follows *SIC*'. In the context of *LIṄ* one need not invoke *ātmanepada.* Or else, one should interpret the use of *ātmanepada* in contradistinction to *parasmaipada.* The purpose of assigning *Kit* status is therefore mostly to block *guṇa* by 1.1.5 *kṅiti ca.* See derivations for details.

1.2.12 उश्च

uś ca

/uḥ 1/1 *ca* Ø/

(*liṅsicāv ātmanepadeṣu* # 11, *jhal* # 9, *kit* # 5)

ṛvarṇāntād dhātoḥ paro liṅsicāv ātmanepadeṣu jhalādi kitau bhavataḥ

A *LIṄ* or *sĪC* affix which begins with a *jhL* also is treated as if marked with *K* provided that it occurs after a verbal root terminating in *ṛ* and is related to *ātmanepada.*

EXAMPLES:

kṛṣīṣṭa 'may he do'
hṛṣīṣṭa 'may he take away'
akṛta 'he made'
ahṛta 'he took away'

1. The word *uḥ* in this rule is interpreted as the ablative singular of *ṛ*. By bringing 1.1.72 *yena vidhis tadantasya* to this context, we interpret *uḥ* as referring to an item, here a verbal root, which ends in *ṛ*. But there is nothing that can stop us from interpreting *uḥ* as the ablative singular of the root *ṛ* 'to go'. Under this interpretation, examples of only a single root, *ṛ*, could be considered. However, Pāṇini did not intend this latter interpretation. Commentators say that whenever Pāṇini wishes to refer to a particular root, he makes the reference by using a form of that root ending in *tiP*, etc. Since he does not do so in the present case, *uḥ* must be interpreted as 'after a root ending in *ṛ*'; *uḥ* here does not refer to the single root *ṛ* 'to go'.

1.2.13 वा गमः

vā gamaḥ

/vā Ø *gamaḥ* 5/1/

(*liṅsicāv ātmanepadeṣu* # 11, *jhal* # 9, *kit* # 5)

gamer dhātoḥ parau liṅsicāv ātmanepadeṣu jhalādī vā kitau bhavataḥ

A *LIṄ* or *sĪC* affix optionally is treated as marked with *K* if it begins with a *jhL*, occurs after the root *gam*, and is related to *ātmanepada.*

EXAMPLES:

saṃgaṃsīṣṭa 'may he meet properly'
saṃgasīṣṭa 'id'.
samagata 'he met properly'
samagaṃsta 'id.'

1. The purpose of treating *LIṄ* and *sĪC* replacements as if marked with *K* is to facilitate the deletion of *m* of *gam* 'to go' by 6.4.37 *anudāttopadeśā....* The *ātmanepada* replacements are ordered by 1.3.29 *samo gamyṛcchibhyām.* Since the *Kit* status of *LIṄ* and *sĪC* affixes is optional, there will be two

forms, one where there will be a deletion of *m* and another where this deletion will not occur. Incidentally, *sĪC* is deleted by 8.2.27 *hrasvād aṅgāt.*

1.2.14 हनः सिच्

hanaḥ sic
/hanaḥ 5/1 *sic* 1/1/
(ātmanepadeṣu # 11, *kit* # 5)
hanter dhātoḥ paraḥ sic kid bhavati
Affix *sĪC* is treated as marked with *K* when it occurs after *han* 'to kill'.

EXAMPLES:

āhata 'he killed'
āhasātām 'they (dual) killed'
āhasata 'they (pl.) killed'

1. Instead of carrying *sĪC* by *anuvṛtti,* Pāṇini explicitly mentions it in this rule. This is because carrying it by *anuvṛtti* could have given the wrong impression about the *anuvṛtti* of *LIṄ,* based on the previous association of *sĪC* with *LIṄ.* Mentioning *sĪC* alone cancels that association and indicates that *LIṄ* is no longer carried.

Though it does not serve any purpose in this rule, *ātmanepada* is also carried through *anuvṛtti.* Commentators inform us that Pāṇini retains the *anuvṛtti* of *ātmanepadeṣu* for later rules. *Kāśikā* says: *ātmanepadagrahaṇam uttarārtham anuvarttate:* 'the *anuvṛtti* of *ātmanepadeṣu* is accepted here for the following rules'. Since *han* obligatorily is replaced by *vadh* in *parasmaipada LUṄ,* the question of treating *sĪC* as *Kit* does not arise. There will not be any *n* for the deletion of which *sĪC* has to be marked with *K.* As far as *ātmanepada* forms, such as the ones cited above, are concerned, they are introduced after *han* preceded by *āṄ,* a preverb, and *āṄ-han* obligatorily selects *ātmanepada* affixes (1.3.24 *āṅo yamahanaḥ).* Since the question of deleting the *n* of *han* before *sĪC* only arises in *ātmanepada* when *han* is used with the preverb *āṄ,* carrying the *anuvṛtti* of *ātmanepadeṣu* for purposes of this rule will be stating what is most obvious. That is why it is said that *ātmanepadeṣu* is carried in this rule for the interpretation via *anuvṛtti* of the following rules.

2. The affix *sĪC* naturally refers to *LUṄ* (3.2.110 *luṅ)* which conditions the introduction of affix *CLI* after the root. It is this *CLI* which is then replaced by *sĪC* (see 3.1.43 *cli luṅi,* 3.1.44 *cleḥ sic).* Thus *sĪC* is a replacement of *CLI* which is introduced after a verb root when *LUṄ* follows.

3. The purpose of treating *sĪC* as *Kit* is to facilitate the deletion of the *n* of *han.* One can argue here that this rule is unnecessary if it serves only this purpose. Take, for example, the string *ā + han + sĪC + ta.* Here *sĪC* is a replacement of *CLI* introduced before *LUṄ,* of which the *ātmanepada ta* is a replacement. Therefore, *ta* will first be termed a *sārvadhātuka* by 3.4.113

tiṅ-śit sārvadhātukam, and later will receive the status of *Ṅit* by 1.2.4 *sārvadhātukam apit*. This will then enable 6.4.24 *aniditāṃ...* to delete the *n* of the *aṅga: ā-han-s*. Thus, 1.2.14 assigns *Kit* status for a purpose which can be served by 6.4.24.

Shall we then say that 1.2.14 is unnecessary? The answer has to be no. Pāṇini must have known that 6.4.24 can account for what 1.2.14 does. Yet he still felt the need to formulate the present rule. Commentators say that by retaining 1.2.14, Pāṇini wishes to indicate that the deletion of the *n* of a root should not be accomplished by invoking the *Ṅit* status of a *sārvadhātuka* affix which is external, with reference to *sĪC* which is internal. This, in turn, will make 1.2.14 necessary.

See also *Nyāsa* (*Kāś*. I: 288): *evaṃ tarhi siddhe ṅittve sati punar iha hanaḥ sij iti sicaḥ kitvaṃ vidadhāti taj jñāpayati — bāhya sārvadhātukam āśritya sijantasya aniditām ity anunāsikalopo na bhavatīti; tenāraṃsta, amaṃsta, āyaṃsta, āyaṃsta pādam iti siddhaṃ bhavati; anyathā hy anunāsikalope kṛta āyatety aniṣṭarūpaṃ syāt.*

1.2.15 **यमो गन्धने**

yamo gandhane

/yamaḥ 5/1 *gandhane* 7/1

(sic # 14, *ātmanepadeṣu* # 11, *kit* # 5)

yamo dhātor gandhane vartamānāt paraḥ sic pratyayaḥ kid bhavaty ātmanepadeṣu parataḥ

Affix *sĪC* is treated as if marked with *K* when it occurs after *yamĀ* to denote *gandhana* 'to reveal a fault the other is hiding' and is related to *ātmanepada*.

EXAMPLES:

udāyata 'he himself revealed someone's fault'
udāyasātām 'they (dual) revealed someone's fault'
udāyasata 'they (pl.) revealed someone's fault'

1. *Kāśikā* glosses *gandhana* as *sūcana*, and then defines *sūcana* specifically as the act of revealing a fault that is being concealed by another person *(pareṇa pracchādyamānasyāvadyasyāviṣkaraṇam)*. A special meaning such as this is required because a single root may have more than one meaning, while a particular form may be conditioned by only one particular meaning. In the present case, *gandhana* is the required meaning for forms such as *udāyata*, so that forms like *udāyaṃsta (kūpād udakam)* 'he fetched water from the water well' can also be derived. Here *yamĀ* does not mean *gandhana*; it means 'to fetch'. See also note 1 under 1.3.32 *gandhanāvakṣepaṇa...*

2. The *ātmanepada* affixes which replace *LUṄ* in the above examples are ordered by 1.3.28 *āṅo yamahanaḥ*. The *Kit* status of *sĪC* is intended to facilitate the deletion of the *m* of *yamĀ*.

1.2.16 **विभाषोपयमने**

vibhāṣopayamane
/vibhāṣā 1/1 *upayamane* 7/1/
(yamaḥ # 15, *sic* # 14, *ātmanepadeṣu* # 11, *kit* # 5)
yamer dhātor upayamane vartamānāt paraḥ sic pratyayo vibhāṣā kid bhavati, ātmanepadeṣu parataḥ
Affix *sĪC* optionally is treated as marked with *K* when it occurs after *yamÃ* denoting *upayamana* 'to accept in marriage', and is followed by *ātmanepada.*

EXAMPLES:

upāyata kanyām 'he accepted the girl in marriage'
upāyaṃsta kanyām 'id'.
upāyata bhāryām 'he accepted (her) as wife'
upāyaṃsta bhāryām 'id.'

1. Again, a special meaning condition is imposed on the derivation of *upāyata, upāyaṃsta,* and so on. *Kāśikā* glosses *upayamana* as *svīkaraṇa,* 'accepting as one's wife', *vivāha* 'marriage', *dārakarma* 'accepting someone as wife', or *pāṇigrahaṇa* 'holding hand in marriage'.

2. The *ātmanepada* affixes are ruled in view of 1.3.56 *upād yamaḥ svakaraṇe.* The purpose of the *Kit* status of *sĪC* is similar to that of the earlier rules. However, since this is an optional rule, the results of the *Kit* status will become optional, as is evident in the cited examples.

1.2.17 **स्थाघ्वोरिच्च**

sthāghvor ic ca
/sthā-ghvor 5/2 *it* 1/1 *ca Ø/*
(sic # 14, *ātmanepadeṣu* #11, *kit* # 5)
Affix *sĪC* is treated as marked with *K* when it occurs after *sthā* 'to stand, stay' or roots termed *ghu* (1.1.20 *dā-dhā-ghv adāp)* and is related to *ātmanepada.* In addition, the final vowels of such roots are replaced by *iṬ* (1.1.70 *taparas tatkālasya).*

EXAMPLES:

upāsthita 'he appeared'
upāsthiṣātām 'they (dual) appeared'
upāsthiṣata 'they (pl.) appeared'
adita 'he gave'
adhita 'he put on, placed'

1. In this, as in quite a few preceding rules, Pāṇini again cites special verbs. However, he does not constrain his citation with special meaning conditions. As in the earlier rules, he assigns *Kit* status to *sĪC.* However,

here he also adds another operation to be performed simultaneously: replacing by *i* the *ā* of *sthā*, as well as the *ā* of those roots which are termed *ghu* (1.1.20 *dādhāghv adāp*).

2. The very fact that Pāṇini replaces the *ā* of these roots by *i* and not by its *guṇa* counterpart *e* suggests that he did not want *i* to be replaced by *e*. For, had he wished a *guṇa* replacement, he would have replaced *ā* directly by *e*. One may now ask why he then assigned *Kit* status to *sĪC*. In view of what has just been said, the purpose can hardly seem to be that of blocking *guṇa*. Actually, the purpose of *Kit* status for *sĪC* is indeed just that; Pāṇini had to present this explicit device for blocking the *guṇa* in order to make it clear that the *i* replacement for the *ā* of these roots is not intended to make them susceptible to *guṇa* replacement.

3. To understand this rule correctly, one also must invoke 1.1 72 *yena vidhis*.... Without doing this, we cannot interpret *sthāghvor it* as '*i* replaces the final *ā* of...'.

4. In view of 2.2.32 *dvandve ghi*, this rule should read *ghusthvoḥ*. That is, *ghu* should be preposed in this *dvandva* compound. Some say that Pāṇini was certainly aware of this, but switched the order just to indicate that rules dealing with the preposing of items in compounds are non-obligatory (*anitya* 'non-universal'): *dvandve ghi iti gheḥ pūrvanipāte prāpte ghusthvor ity ucitam āsīt. paraṃ pūrvanipātaśāstrasyānityatva-jñāpanāya sautro' tra vyatyāsa iti kecit.*

5. Note here that given the string *a* + (*dā* → *i*) + (*sa* → ∅) + *ta* = *a* + *di* + *ta*, one might like to invoke 7.3.84 *sārvadhātukārdh*... to demand a *guṇa* replacement for the *aṅga* final *i* again. This time *ta* can be accepted as the affix conditioning this replacement. Since this affix is not marked with *K*, 1.1.5 *kṅiti ca* cannot block the *guṇa*. This would yield a wrong form. In order to save the situation, one invokes the principle of suspension (*asiddhatva*). Thus, since the rule which deleted *sĪC* (8.2.27 *hrasvād aṅgāt*) is *asiddha* 'suspended' in view of 7.3.84 *sārvadhātuka*..., which would require the *guṇa*, as far as 7.3.84 is concerned, *sĪC* will still be there. As a consequence, *adi* will have to be treated as *adi* + *sĪC*, which, in turn, will make *guṇa* inoperative.

1.2.18 न क्त्वा सेट्

na ktvā seṭ

/na ∅ ktvā 1/1 *seṭ* 1/1

(*kit* # 5)

ktvā pratyayaḥ seṭ na kid bhavati

Affix *Ktvā* (3.4.21 *samānakartṛkayoḥ pūrvakāle*), when used with the augment *iṬ*, is not treated as marked with *K*.

EXAMPLES:

kṛtvā 'after having made, done'

utvā 'after having offered the ritual oblation'
levitvā 'after having played, shone'
vartitvā 'after having behaved; conducted'

1. Note that just as an extension rule can extend a certain status to something which it did not have, so it can also withdraw a certain status which it may have. This happens to be the case in this rule. *Ktvā* is already marked with *K*. Its *Kit* status is withdrawn for a specific purpose in a specific context. That is, this rule is withdrawing the *Kit* status of *Ktvā* in instances where it is used with the augment *iṬ*. I shall discuss the purpose of extending the non-*Kit*, or denying the *Kit*, status to *Ktvā* momentarily.

First let me discuss some of the implications of *iṬ*. As is known, *iṬ* is an augment, and as such it has to be introduced at the beginning of an item. When introduced the *iṬ* becomes part of that item. If *iṬ* has to be part of *Ktvā*, then the *Ṭit* status of *iṬ* also becomes part of *Ktvā*. If it is accepted, then *Ktvā* becomes marked with *Ṭ*. Consequently, the question of not treating it as marked with *K* does not arise. It is true that the augments become part of the items to which they are introduced; but it is equally true that their status remains secondary *(guṇībhūta)*. In view of this the augments can be referred to by the items which have received them and not otherwise. Thus, *Ktvā* will remain marked with *K*, even though it has received an augment marked with *Ṭ*. For details of the secondary nature of the augments, refer to *Paribhāṣā* 12: *yadāgamās tadguṇībhūtās tadgrahaṇena gṛhyante*.

Also note in this connection that *Ktvā* is treated as if it were not marked with *K*. This understanding has its implications. For example, if *Ktvā* is only to be treated as if not marked with *K*, rules such as 1.3.8 *laśakv ataddhite* and 1.3.9 *tasya lopaḥ* could still apply to delete the *K* of *Ktvā*. If, on the other hand, one understands that the *K* of *Ktvā* is not an *it*, 1.3.8 and 1.3.9 cannot apply. This would result in all kinds of wrong forms.

Since this rule is negating the *Kit* status of that *Ktvā* which is used with the augment *iṬ*, the *Ktvā* which does not receive that augment will still be accepted as marked with *K*. Consider, for instance, the derivation of *devitvā* 'after having played' where, given the verbal root *div* 'to play', *Ktvā* has been introduced by 3.4.21 *samānakartṛkayoḥ pūrvakāle*. Rule 7.2.35 *ārdhadhātukasyeḍ valādeḥ* introduces the augment at the beginning of *Ktvā* in consonance with 1.1.46 *ādyantau ṭakitau*. Given the string *div* + *(K* → *∅) tvā* = *div* + *i(Ṭ* → *∅)* + *tvā* = *div* + *i* + *tvā*, rule 7.3.84 *sārvadhātukārdhadhātukayoḥ* will require the *guṇa* replacement for the *i* of *div*. If *Ktvā* is treated as marked with *K*, 1.1.5 *kṅiti ca* will not allow the *guṇa*. It is therefore the purpose of rule 1.2.18 to extend the non-*Kit* status to the *Ktvā*. This clears the way for the application of 7.3.84 and we get: *d(i* → *e)* + *v* + *i* + *tvā* = *dev* + *i* + *tvā* = *devitvā*.

But remember that rule 1.2.18 will extend the non-*Kit* status to a *Ktvā*

only when it receives the augment *iṬ*. Instances of *Ktvā* where it does not receive the augment *iṬ* will thus not be covered by rule 1.2.18. This fact is demonstrated by the example of the derivation of *kṛtvā* 'after having made', where *Ktvā* is introduced after *kṛ* 'to do, make' and the introduction of *iṬ* is blocked by 7.2.10 *ekāca upadeśe....* Since the string *kṛ* + *tvā* does not have the *Ktvā* with the augment *iṬ*, rule 7.3.84 *sārvadhātuka...* will be blocked by 1.1.5 *kṅiti ca*. As a result there will be no *guṇa* replacement for the *ṛ* of *kṛ*. If 7.3.84 had not been blocked by 1.1.5 on the strength of the *Kit* status of *Ktvā*, the resultant wrong form would have been **k(ṛ → ar) +tvā = *kartvā* or may be **karitvā*.

Similar implications apply to derivations such as that of *suptvā* 'after having slept', where, given the string *svap* + *tvā*, the suffix does not receive the augment *iṬ*, and hence is not extended the non-*Kit* status. Rule 6.1.15 *vacisvapiyajādīnām...*, based on the strength of *svap* occurring before a suffix marked with *K*, demands *samprasāraṇa* (1.1.45 *ig yaṇaḥ...*). The result is: *s(va → u)p* + *tvā* = *suptvā*. If *Ktvā* were to be denied the status of being marked with *K*, wrong forms would result. That is, there would be no *samprasāraṇa*. The purpose of assigning the non-*Kit* status to *Ktvā* in instances where it receives the augment *iṬ* is therefore to facilitate *guṇa* and block *samprasāraṇa*.

Because this rule explicitly extends the non-*Kit* status only to *Ktvā* when used with *iṬ*, other affixes which may be marked with *K* and which may be used with *iṬ* can still be treated as *Kit*. The affixes *Kta* and *KtvatU*, termed *niṣṭhā* (1.1.26 *ktavatū niṣṭhā*) are celebrated examples. Thus, there will not be *guṇa* in *kupitaḥ* 'angered', which is derived from *kup* + *Kta*, for the reason that *Kta* will still be marked with *K*.

1.2.19 निष्ठाशीङ्स्विदिमिदिक्ष्विदिधृषः

niṣṭhā śīṅsvidimidikṣvididhṛṣaḥ

/niṣṭhā 1/1 *śīṅ-svidi-midi-kṣvidi-dhṛṣaḥ* 5/1/

(*na seṭ* # 18, *kit* # 5)

śīṅ, svidi, midi, kṣvidi, dhṛṣ ity ebhyaḥ paro niṣṭhāpratyayaḥ seṭ na kid bhavati

Affixes which are assigned the term *niṣṭhā* (1.1.26 *ktaktavatū niṣṭhā*) are not treated as marked with *K* when they occur after verbal roots *śīṄ* 'to recline', *svid* 'to perspire', *mid* 'to feel affection, be fat', *kṣvid* 'to perspire, feel affection', and *dhṛṣ* 'to dare, be bold', and are also used with *iṬ*.

EXAMPLES:

śayitaḥ 'reclined'
śayitavān 'he reclined'
prasveditaḥ 'perspired'

prasveditavān 'he perspired'
prameditaḥ 'loved'
prameditavān 'he felt affection for'
prakṣveditaḥ 'perspired'
prakṣveditavān 'he perspired'
pradharṣitaḥ 'daring'
pradharṣitavān 'he dared'

1. Note that *na seṭ* is carried from the preceding rule. As such, the rule extends the non-*Kit* status to those *niṣṭhā* affixes which receive the augment *iṬ* and which occur after the verbal roots *śīṄ* 'to sleep', etc. Remember that the preceding rule, on the strength of citing just the affix *Ktvā*, denied this non-*Kit* status. However, this status is extended in the context of five verbs exclusively. As has been stated in the notes to the foregoing rules, non-*Kit* status can facilitate a replacement in *guṇa*. This would result in the derivation of forms such as *śayitaḥ*, which underlies *śī*(*Ṅ* → *Ø*) + (*K* → *Ø*)*ta* = *śī* + *i*(*Ṭ* → *Ø*) = *śī* + *i* + *ta*. In the absence of the *Kit* status, the *guṇa* replacement for *i* cannot be blocked by 1.1.5 *knīti ca*. This will clear the way for *ś*(*ī* → *e* → *ay*) + *i* + *ta* = *śayita*. See the appendix for derivational details. It should be understood that *niṣṭhā* affixes not meeting both the conditions stated in this rule will be accepted as marked with *K*.

1.2.20 मृषस्तितिक्षायाम्

mṛṣas titikṣāyām
/*mṛṣaḥ* 5/1 *titikṣāyām* 7/1/
(*niṣṭhā* # 19, *na seṭ* # 18, *kit* # 5)
mṛṣer dhātoḥ titikṣāyām arthe niṣṭhā seṇ na kid bhavati
Affixes which are termed *niṣṭhā* are not treated as marked with *K* when they occur after *mṛṣĀ* used in the sense of *titikṣā* 'forgiveness, endurance', and they are also used with *iṬ*

EXAMPLES:

marṣitaḥ 'endured, forgiven'
marṣitavān 'he endured, forgave'

1. This rule adds one more root to the list of the preceding, though with a semantic condition. That is, a *niṣṭhā* suffix which has received the augment *iṬ*, and is occurring after the verbal root *mṛṣĀ* is treated as if not marked with *K*, provided *mṛṣĀ* is used in the sense of *titikṣā* 'endurance, forgiveness'. The consequences of extending the non-*Kit* status here are similar to those detailed in the preceding rules.

1.2.21 उदुपधाद्भावादिकर्मणोरन्यतरस्याम्

udupadhād bhāvādikarmaṇor anyatarasyām

/udupadhāt 5/1 *bhāvādikarmaṇoḥ* 7/2 *anyatarasyām* 7/1/
(*niṣṭhā* # 19, *na seṭ* # 18, *kit* # 5)
udupadhād dhātoḥ paro bhāve ādikarmaṇi ca vartamāno niṣṭhāpratyayaḥ seḍ anyatarasyāṃ na kid bhavati
A *niṣṭhā* affix which denotes *bhāva* 'root sense' or *ādikarman* 'onset of action' optionally is not treated as marked with *K* when it is used with *iṬ* and occurs after a root which has *u* in its *upadhā* (1.1.65 *alo' ntyāt pūrva upadhā*).

EXAMPLES:

dyutitam anena 'he became illuminated'
dyotitam anena 'id.'
pradyotitaḥ 'started to be happy'
pradyutitaḥ 'id.'
muditam anena 'he became happy'
moditam anena 'id.'
pramuditaḥ 'started to become happy'
pramoditaḥ 'id.'

1. Note that this rule provides that a *niṣṭhā* suffix which receives the augment *iṬ* is treated as if not marked with *K* only optionally. Furthermore, this rule requires that the verbs after which these *niṣṭhā* suffixes occur must have *uT* (*u;* 1.1.70 *taparas tatkālasya*) in their penultimate (*upadhā;* 1.1.65 *alo' ntyāt pūrva upadhā*) position. Finally, the signification of these suffixes has also been outlined: they must denote *ādikarman* 'onset of an action' or *bhāva* 'root-sense'. The word *ādikarman,* read in the context of the meaning condition for the introduction of a *niṣṭhā* suffix, must be interpreted as 'onset of an action in the past'. (*Nyāsa* ad *Kāś.* I:297: *ādibhūtakriyākṣaṇa ādikarma, tasmin bhūtatvena vivakṣite yaḥ kto bhavati sa ādikarmaṇi bhavati.*)

The rules which introduce *Kta* to signify *bhāva* or *ādikarman* are 3.3.114 *napuṃsake bhāve ktaḥ* and 3.3.71 *ādikarmaṇi ktaḥ...* respectively. All the verbs meeting the conditions, both formal and semantic, will have two forms each. Thus, *muditam* and *moditam* are optional forms derived from *mud* + *Kta,* where *mud* has *u* in its penultimate position and where affix *Kta,* a *niṣṭhā,* is used to signify *bhāva.* Notice that, in instances where non-*Kit* status is optionally denied, the verb root goes through *guṇa* and we get forms such as *moditam.*

1.2.22 **पूङः क्त्वा च**
pūṅaḥ ktvā ca
/pūṅaḥ 5/1 *ktvā* 1/1 *ca Ø/*
(niṣṭhā # 19, *na seṭ* # 18, *kit* # 5)
pūṅaḥ paro niṣṭhā pratyayaḥ ktvā ca seṇ na kid bhavati

Affixes *niṣṭhā* and *Ktvā* are not treated as marked with *K* when they are used with *iṬ* and occur after *pūṄ* 'to cleanse, purify'.

EXAMPLES:

pavitaḥ 'cleansed, purified'
pavitavān 'he cleansed, purified'
pavitvā 'after having cleansed, purified'

1. Observe that *anyatarasyām* 'optionally' is not carried over from the earlier rule. How is that indicated? By the use of *vā* in the subsequent rule. If *anyatarasyām* was intended to be carried over to this rule, Pāṇini would have carried it further to the subsequent rule. This, in turn, would have made the explicit use of *vā* unnecessary. Note also that, without such a justification for the dropping of *anyatarasyām,* the carrying of *na seṭ* would become questionable; for unless indicated otherwise, *na seṭ* and *anyatarasyām* must be carried or dropped together.

Since the word *anyatarasyām* is not carried over from the preceding rule, the provisions of this rule become obligatory (*nityа*). But the non-*Kit* status of *Ktvā* with *iṬ* is already obligatorily provided for by rule 1.2.18 *na ktvā seṭ.* This being the case, Pāṇini should not have used *Ktvā* in this rule. However, as he does use it, he must have some special purpose in mind. Commentators suggest that *Ktvā* is given here for use in the subsequent rules, which are optional. But why, then, did Pāṇini not read *Ktvā* in 1.2.23 where it was intended? The conclusion to be drawn from his decision remains obscure. Perhaps he meant to indicate that *niṣṭhā* is not to be carried beyond this rule.

It is interesting that the *iṬ* augment is optionally provided to affixes *Ktvā* and *niṣṭhā* by rule 7.2.51 *pūṅaś ca,* in so far as the verbal root *pūṄ* is concerned. Also, recall that this option is traditionally known as *aprāptavibhāṣā,* an option which was not available but is made available now. The rule which earlier made this option unavailable is 7.2.11 *śṛyukaḥ kiti.*

1.2.23 **नोपधात्थफान्ताद्वा**

nopadhāt thaphāntād vā
/nopadhāt 5/1 *thaphāntāt* 5/1 *vā* Ø/
(ktvā # 22, *na seṭ* # 18, *kit* # 5)
nakāropadhād dhātos thakārāntāt phakārāntāc ca paraḥ
ktvā pratyayaḥ seḍ vā na kid bhavati
A *Ktvā* affix optionally is not treated as marked with *K* when it is used with *iṬ* and occurs after verbal roots which end in *th* or *ph* and have *n* in their *upadhā* 'penultimate position'.

EXAMPLES:

grathitvā 'having strung, fastened together'

granthitvā 'id.'
śrathitvā 'after having unfastened'
śranthitvā 'id.'
guphitvā 'having strung together, having composed'
gumphitvā 'id.'

1. This rule provides for a *Ktvā* which receives the augment *iṬ* to be only optionally treated as unmarked with *K*. This, of course, is the case only when it occurs after verbal roots which have *na* in their *upadhā* and end in *th* and *ph*. Note that 1.2.18 *na ktvā seṭ* denied the non-*Kit* status obligatorily. If the option of treating *Ktvā* as marked with *K* is accepted, the above-mentioned roots will lose their *n* and *m* by rule 6.4.24 *aniditāṃ hala*.... This deletion of the nasal will not occur when the option of treating *Ktvā* as not marked with *K* is accepted.

A question is raised as to why Pāṇini must use the word *anta* to indicate 'ending in...' when the same meaning could be available to him by means of the implicit device of *tadantavidhi* (see note under 1.2.9 *iko jhal*). Pāṇini explicitly uses the word *anta* to indicate that *tadantavidhi* in this section dealing with *Ktvā* is not available by any other means. It is for this reason also that the word *ṛT* in the subsequent rule is not interpreted as referring to a root ending in *ṛ*. Instead, it is interpreted as referring to the verbal root *ṛT* 'to reproach, condemn'.

1.2.24 **वञ्चिलुञ्चृतश्च**

vañciluñcṛtas ca
vañciluñcṛtaḥ 5/1 *ca* Ø/
(*vā* # 23, *ktvā* # 22, *na seṭ* # 18, *kit* # 5)
vañci, luñci, ṛt ity etebhyaḥ paraḥ ktvā pratyayaḥ seṭ vā na kid bhavati
Affix *Ktvā* optionally is not treated as marked with *K* when it is used with *iṬ* and also occurs after *vañcU* 'to deceive, defraud', *luñcĀ* 'to tear off, pull out', or *ṛt* 'to reproach, condemn'.

EXAMPLES:

vacitvā 'having deceived, defrauded'
vañcitvā 'id.'
lucitvā 'having torn off, pulled out'
luñcitvā 'id.'
ṛtitvā 'having reproached, condemned'
artitvā 'id.'

1. The *ca* in this rule is used to make clear that *vā* not only is to be carried from the previous rule, it also has to be carried to the following rule. In the absence of *vā* being carried to the next rule, mention of Kāśyapa in 1.2.25 will no longer be treated as denoting *pūjā* 'respect'; instead it will

denote 'option'. Furthermore, 1.2.24 without the *vā* from 1.2.23 will become an obligatory rule, according to: *dvayor vibhāṣayor madhyavartitvān nityo'yam vidhiḥ* (see *Nyāsa* ad *Kāś.* 1.2.24). Also note that *ṛtĀ* is a *sautra* root 'available only in the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*': *ṛta—iti sautro dhātuḥ* (*Nyāsa* ad *Kāś.* 1.2.24).

In cases of *vañcU* and *luñcU*, the consequences of either accepting or rejecting the option of treating *Ktvā* as marked with *K* are similar to those of the deletion or non-deletion of the nasal in the preceding rule. In the case of *ṛT*, the consequence relates to the *guṇa* replacement, or its absence.

1.2.25 तृपिमृषिकृशेः काश्यपस्य

tṛpimṛṣikṛśeḥ kāśyapasya
/tṛpimṛṣikṛśeḥ 5/1 *kāśyapasya* 6/1/
tṛpimṛṣikṛśeḥ 5/1 *kāśyapasya* 6/1/
(vā # 23, *ktvā* # 22, *na seṭ* # 18, *kit* # 5)
tṛṣi, mṛṣi, kṛśi ity etebhyaḥ paraḥ ktvā pratyayaḥ seṭ kāśyapasya ācāryasya mate vā na kid bhavati
Affix *Ktvā*, in the opinion of Kāśyapa, an earlier grammarian, optionally is not treated as marked with *K* when it is used with *iṬ* and occurs after verbal roots *tṛṣĀ* 'to be thirsty', *mṛṣĀ* to endure, tolerate', and *kṛśĀ* 'to be lean'.

EXAMPLES:

tṛṣitvā 'after having become thirsty'
tarṣitvā 'id.'
mṛṣitvā 'after having endured, tolerated, forgiven'
marṣitvā 'id.'
kṛśitvā 'after having become lean or slim, or having made something slimmer'
karṣitvā 'id.'

1. Note that the name of Kāśyapa, an earlier grammarian, is used here to show respect. The meaning of 'optionality' of the provision of this rule is expressed by carrying *vā* 'or' from 1.2.23

1.2.26 रलो व्युपधाद्धलादेः संश्च

ralo vyupadhād halādeḥ saṃś ca
/ralaḥ 5/1 *vyupadhāt* 5/1 *halādeḥ* 5/1 *san* 1/1 *ca Ø/*
(vā # 23, *ktvā* # 22, *na seṭ* # 18, *kit* # 5)
vi (uś ca iś ca) upadhe yasya sa vyupadhaḥ ukāropadhād ikāropadhāc ca dhāto ralantād halādeḥ paraḥ saṃś ca ktvā ca seṭau vā kitau bhavataḥ
Affixes *Ktvā* and *saN* optionally are treated as *Kit* when they are used with *iṬ*, occur after roots which begin with a consonant (*hL*), end in

rL (r, l, ñ, m, and so on; see *Śs* 5-14), and have *i* or *u* in their *upadhā* 'penultimate position' (see 1.1.65 *alo' ntyāt...*).

EXAMPLES:

dyutitvā 'after having become illuminated'
dyotitvā 'id.'
didyutiṣate 'wishes to be illuminated'
didyotiṣate 'id.'
likhitvā 'after having written'
lekhitvā 'id.'
lilikhiṣati 'wishes to write'
lilekhiṣati 'id.'

1. A question arises here whether the *vibhāṣā* 'option' denoted by *vā,* which is carried to this rule from 1.2.23 *nopadhāt...,* is intended for something which is given (*prāpta*) or something which is not given (*aprāpta*). Thus, optionally to treat *Ktvā* as marked with *K* is an option for something which is already given. Affix *Ktvā* already is marked with *K*. On the other hand, *saN* is not marked with *K*. In this case, the option provides for something which is not already available (*aprāpta*). The *Mahābhāṣya* decides in favour of the *aprāpta* option, since *saN* is not marked with *K*. Affix *Ktvā* is denied treatment as though marked with *K* by 1.2.18. This places *saN* and *Ktvā* on a par.

The consequences of treating *Ktvā* optionally as marked with *K* again relate mostly to *guṇa* replacement or its lack.

1.2.27 ऊकालो ऽज्झ्रस्वदीर्घप्लुतः

ūkālo' j j hrasvadīrghaplutaḥ
/ūkālaḥ 1/1 *ac* 1/1 *hrasvadīrghaplutaḥ* 1/1/
u, ū, ū^3 *ity evaṃ kālo' j yathākramaṃ 'hrasva, dīrgha, pluta' ity evaṃ saṃjño bhavati*
A vowel which has the duration of *u* (one mora, *'ekamātrika'*), *ū* (two morae, *'dvimātrika'*), or *ū*^{3} (three morae, *'trimātrika'*) is termed *hrasva* 'short', *dīrgha* 'long', or *pluta* 'extra-long'.

EXAMPLES:

dadhi 'yogurt', *i* (*ekamātrika* or *hrasva*)
madhu 'honey', *u* (*ekamātrika* or *hrasva*)
kumārī 'girl', *ī* (*dvimātrika* or *dīrgha*)
gaurī 'goddess Pārvatī; a fair-complexioned girl'
devadattā^3 'Devadatta', a proper name, *ā*^{3} (*trimatrika,* or *pluta*) as in *devadattā*^{3}, *atra nvasi* 'Devadatta, are you here?'

1. The word *ūkālaḥ* is interpreted as a three-word *bahuvrīhi* with internal *tatpuruṣa*, where *ū* itself is a *dvandva* underlying the paraphrase: *uś ca ūś ca ū*^{3} *ca 'u, ū* and *ū*^{3}'. After the formation of the *dvandva*, the string *u* + *ū* + *ū*^{3} will be due to the application of similar long vowel (*savarṇadīrgha*) *sandhi*, yielding *ū*. The *bahuvrīhi* will have the paraphrase: *vāṃ kāla iva kālo yasya* 'that whose duration equals that of *u, ū*, and *ū*^{3}'. The word *kāla*, as I have indicated in the preceding gloss, means duration (*mātrā*). The words *hrasva* 'short', *dīrgha* 'long', and *pluta* 'extra-long' together form the *dvandva* compound *hrasvadīrghaplutaḥ*. Keeping in view the *bahuvrīhi* and *dvandva* compounds just mentioned, the rule can be interpreted as: a vowel which has a duration similar to *u, ū*, and *ū*^{3} is termed *hrasva, dīrgha* and *pluta* respectively. Note that the *bahuvrīhi* paraphrase uses the word *kāla* twice. That is, the compound drops one *pada*, namely *kāla*, as in compounds like *uṣṭramukhaḥ* with the paraphrase: *uṣṭrasya mukham iva mukhaṃ yasya* 'he whose mouth is similar to the mouth of a camel'. Pāṇini uses *ūkālaḥ* in the masculine, which is not in consonance with his own grammatical rules. The compound should have been put in the neuter as *ūkālam*. Commentators say that the use of the masculine indicates that the usage is *sautra* 'peculiar to the formation of *sūtra*'.

Note that *ū* represents *u, ū* and *ū*^{3}, thereby giving three name-bearers (*saṃjñin*) to which the three names (*saṃjñā*), *hrasva, dīrgha*, and *pluta* could be applied, according to the order of enumeration (*saṃkhyātānudeśa*). This term assignment implies that the order of elements forming the *dvandva* represented by *ū* is: *u, ū*, and *ū*^{3}. If this order is not accepted, *hrasva*, etc., could be assigned to *ū* and vice versa. The *Mahābhāṣya* (II:39) discusses why *u, ū*, and *ū*^{3} should alone be considered as the correct order.

It is interesting to see that this rule attempts to measure the duration of the pronunciation of short, long, and extra-long vowels by taking *u* as the norm. The *hrasva, dīrgha* and *pluta* vowels are treated as having the duration of one, two, or three morae respectively. What exactly is one mora? The *Śikṣā* treatises discuss various aspects of this question. An attempt has also been made to identify these units of duration with the noises of the birds. Thus, a rooster's *(kukkuṭa) kukūkū*^{3} best illustrates these pronunciations.

This rule uses *ac* 'vowel' to make sure that a sequence of consonants, vowels or the like does not get the assignment of the terms *hrasva, dīrgha* and *pluta*. Consider for example the derivation of *prarakṣya* which underlies *pra* + *rakṣ* = *prarakṣ* + *Ktvā*. The root *rakṣa* is used with the preverb *pra* and *Ktvā* is replaced by *LyaP*, thereby yielding *prarakṣ* + *ya*. The *samāsa* 'compound' is in consonance with rule 2.2.18 *kugatiprādayaḥ*. Given the string *prarakṣ* + *ya*, the sequence of *ṣ* and *y*, where each has a duration of half a mora will together form a *saṃyoga* 'cluster', which equals the duration of short *u*. If the word *ac* is not used in the rule to indicate that clusters such as *ṣy* do not qualify for the assignment of the terms *hrasva*, etc., *ṣy* can be

termed *hrasva*. This will cause the application of rules which introduce the augment *tUK* (cf. 6.1.71 *hrasvasya pitikiti tuk*). Obviously, wrong forms would result. Similar problems would arise if a sequence of vowels such as *a* + *u* of *titauc chatram* 'the umbrella of Titau' is assigned the term *dīrgha* on the strength of jointly equalling the duration of *ū*. That is, *tUK* again will be introduced, though optionally, by rule 6.1.76 *padāntād vā*.

1.2.28 अचश्च

acaś ca

/acaḥ 6/1 *ca* Ø/

(hrasvadīrghaplutaḥ, ac # 27)

hrasvadīrghaplutāḥ svasaṃjñayā śiṣyamāṇā aca eva sthāne veditavyāḥ

A replacement which is specified by *hrasva, dīrgha,* or *pluta* should come in place of a vowel *(aC).*

EXAMPLES:

atiri 'he who has transgressed wealth'
atinu 'he who has transgressed boating'
upagu 'he who sits near cows'

1. Commentators explain that this interpretive rule is formulated to specify the substituendum (*sthānin*). This is why the rule is interpreted to mean: where a substitute (*ādeśa*) is provided by expressly mentioning the terms *hrasva, dīrgha* and *pluta,* the substitute comes only in place of an *aC* 'vowel'. If this becomes the mark (*liṅga*) of this interpretive rule, then wherever a substitution is ordered with reference to *hrasva, dīrgha,* and *pluta, acaḥ* will be read with the *sūtra.* But since a substitution will be ordered with reference to a genitive anyway, this *acaḥ* becomes the 'qualifier' (*viśeṣaṇa*) or 'qualified' (*viśeṣya*) to the genitive of the rule.

Thus, rule 1.2.47 *hrasvo napuṃsake prātipadikasya* orders short vowel replacement with the express mention of the term *hrasva.* The word *acaḥ* will be carried to rule 1.2.47 and, read with rule 1.1.52 *alo' ntyasya,* will qualify *prātipadikasya,* another word in the genitive. The interpretation of 1.2.47 will be: ...in place of the final *aL (aC* according to the dictates of 1.2.28, since the substitution is ordered by directly mentioning *hrasva)* of a nominal stem which is....

Rule 8,2.82 *vākyasya ṭeḥ pluta udāttaḥ* uses the word *pluta* and orders substitution. When the word *acaḥ* is brought to the context of this rule, it is used as a qualified element for the adjective *teḥ.* Whether *acaḥ* should be used as a qualifier or as qualified is determined by *kāmācāra* 'conduct according to one's own wish'. It is this special function of *acaḥ* that requires Pāṇini to use the word *acaḥ* explicitly.

The implications of counter-examples such as *suvāg brāhmaṇakulam* 'the clan of well-educated brāhmanas', where no vowel substitute is permitted

in place of a consonant, is worth explaining. Pāṇini follows a twofold practice of ordering vowel replacement. One practice is to order a vowel as a substitute in place of a non-vowel; and the other is to order a vowel substitute in place of a vowel. The express mention of words such as *hrasva, dīrgha,* and *pluta* is found in those instances of the second type, where the substituendum is going to be an *aC*.

1.2.29 **उच्चैरुदात्तः**

uccair udāttaḥ
/uccaiḥ Ø udāttaḥ 1/1/
(*ac* # 27)
uccair upalabhyamāno yo' c sa udāttasaṃjño bhavati
That (a vowel) which is pronounced higher (with high pitch) at its place of articulation is termed *udātta*, 'high-pitched'.

EXAMPLES:

the vowels and their pitch in
ye 'relative pronoun *yat* in nom. pl. masc'.
te 'third person pl. masc. personal pronoun'
ke 'third person pl. masc. interrogative pronoun'
See the note under the following rule.
SCOPE: 3.1.4 *ādyudāttaś ca.*

1.2.30 **नीचैरनुदात्तः**

nīcair anudāttaḥ
/nīcair Ø anudāttaḥ 1/1/
(*ac* 27)
nicair upalabhyamāno yo' c so' nudāttasaṃjño bhavati
That (a vowel) which is pronounced lower (with low pitch) at its place of articulation is termed *anudātta*, 'low-pitched'.

EXAMPLES:

tva 'thou'
sama 'some'
sima 'each, every'
nema 'other'
namaste rudra nīlakaṇṭha sahasrākṣa 'our obeisances to you, O Rudra, blue-throated, thousand-eyed one'

1. The words *ucca* and *nīca* should not be interpreted as referring to the loudness of the voice. Accordingly, one should not interpret rule 1.2.29 *uccair udāttaḥ* as: 'that which is pronounced loudly, or is heard as loud, is termed *udātta*'. Note that the notion of loudness or non-loudness is relative. A particular degree of loudness or lack of it may constitute

'unloud' or even 'more loud' for one person, as opposed to the other. This would create difficulty in defining the terms *udātta* and *anudātta.*

The *Mahābhāṣya* (II: 45-46) tries to identify certain features of these pronunciations. Thus, *udātta* is one which is pronounced with tenseness of limbs *(āyāmo gātrāṇāṃ nigrahaḥ),* terseness in tone *(dāruṇyaṃ svarasya rūkṣatā),* and constriction of the throat *(kaṇṭhasya saṃvṛtatā).*

Alternatively, an *anudātta* should be understood as pronounced with relaxed limbs *(anvàvasargo gātrāṇāṃ śithilatā),* gentleness of tone *(mārdavaṃ svarasya),* and openness of the throat *(urutā khasya, mahattā kaṇṭhasya).* These features have also been found inadequate to define the *udātta* and *anudātta.* For instance, an *udātta* effort *(prayatna)* of pronunciation by a weak person may be interpreted as an *anudātta* effort by a strong person.

The *Mahābhāṣya,* then, abandons the idea of defining these terms in view of relative loudness or of the features just discussed. Instead, it turns towards *prakrama,* 'the place where the sounds are pronounced', as the determining factor. It is because of this that rules 1.2.29 and 1.2.30 have been interpreted as: 'that which is pronounced higher at its place of articulation is termed *udātta';* and 'that which is pronounced lower at its place of articulation is termed *anudātta'.* The terms 'higher' and 'lower' are then inferred as meaning 'high' and 'low' tones of the vowels, as consonants cannot carry accent.

2. Note that the accentuation is practically lost, owing largely to the oral nature of the transmission of the texts. The practice of marking Vedic accentuation is also not uniform. For various textual recordings of accents, see under this rule in the Hindi commentary on the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* by Dayānanda Sarasvatī.

SCOPE: 3.1.4 *anudāttau suppitau*

1.2.31 **समाहारः स्वरितः**

samāhāraḥ svaritaḥ

/samāhāraḥ 1/1 *svaritaḥ* 1/1/

(*ac* # 27)

udāttānudāttasvarasamāhāro yo' c sa svaritasaṃjño bhavati

A vowel which is pronounced with a combination of features of *udātta* and *anudātta* is termed *svarita.*

EXAMPLES:

śikyam 'the hanging rope sling'
kanyā 'girl'
sāmanyaḥ 'skilled in *Sāmaveda*'
kva 'where'

1. Note that this rule assigns the name *svarita* to a vowel and not to the combination (*samāhāra*) of vowels. The vowel which may qualify for the name *svarita* must combine in itself both the qualities of an *udātta* and of an *anudātta* vowel. In other words, a *svarita* vowel must be distinguished on the basis of its combining in itself the features of *udātta* as well as of *anudātta* pronunciations.

The *Mahābhāṣya* (II: 48) illustrates this point as follows: *tad yathā-śuklaguṇaḥ śuklaḥ, kṛṣṇaguṇaḥ kṛṣṇaḥ, ya idānīm ubhayaguṇaḥ sa tṛtīyām ākhyām kalmāṣa iti vā sāraṅga iti vā. evam ihāpy udāttaguṇa udāttaḥ, anudāttaguṇo' nudāttaḥ, ya idānīm ubhayaguṇaḥ sa tṛtīyām ākhyām labhate svarita iti* 'for example, the quality (known as) whiteness is termed *śukla*, the quality (known as) blackness is termed *kṛṣṇa;* the one which now combines both these qualities receives the third name *kalmāṣa* or *sāraṅga* 'variegated; part-white, part-black'. Similarly, here also: (a vowel) which is pronounced with the quality of *udātta* is termed *udātta;* one which is pronounced with the quality of *anudātta* is termed *anudātta;* and one which now combines both these qualities receives the third name *svarita* 'high-low'.

SCOPE: 6.1.185 *tit svaritam*, etc.

1.2.32 तस्यादित उदात्तमर्धह्रस्वम्

tasyādita udāttam ardhahrasvam
/tasya 6/1 *āditaḥ* Ø *udāttam* 1/1 *ardhahrasvam* 1/1/
(*svaritaḥ* # 31, *ac* # 27)
tasya svaritasya ādāv ardhahrasvam udāttam, pariśiṣṭam anudāttam
The first part of a *svarita* vowel extending to one-half of the duration of a short vowel is *udātta,* while its remaining part is *anudātta.*

EXAMPLES:

śikyam 'the hanging rope sling'
kanyā 'girl'
māṇavaka[3] 'O! Boy!'

1. The variable *tat* 'that' has *svaritaḥ* as its antecedent. The phrase *tasya āditaḥ* will then be accepted as a qualifier to *arddhahrasvam. Kāśikā* interprets *arddhahrasvam* as referring to *ardhamātrā* 'half a mora'. Thus, *hrasva* does not mean 'a short vowel', but means the duration of the pronunciation of a vowel measurable to half a mora. It is in view of this that the *Kāśikā* (I: 313) states: *hrasvagrahaṇam atantram* 'the word *hrasva* is not used in the technical sense *(tantra)'.* But since there is no vowel that can be pronounced with a measure of duration equal to half a mora, *arddhahrasvam* is interpreted as meaning 'half a mora'. Patañjali (*Mbh.* II: 48-49) is in agreement with this interpretation; but it stipulates that *arddhahrasva* entails the deletion of the suffix *mātraC.* Thus, the word is *arddhahrasvamātra,*

derived by introducing the affix *mātraC* to denote *pramāṇa* 'measure' after the word *arddhahrasva* (5.2.37 *pramāṇe dvayasaj...*). The affix later gets deleted to yield *arddhahrasva,* meaning 'a measure of half a mora'. This interpretation is necessary because then the first half a mora of a *dīrgha* 'long', as well as a *pluta* 'extra-long', vowel can be assigned the term *udātta.*

Patañjali *(Mbh.* II: 63: *tad yathā, kṣīrodake saṃpṛkte āmiśrībhūtatvān na jñāyate, 'kiyat kṣīram, kiyad udakam, kasminn avakāśe kṣīram, kasmin vodakam iti'. evam ihāpy āmiśrībhūtatvān na jñāyate, 'kiyad udāttam, kiyad anudāttam, kasminn anudāttam iti)* explains the necessity of this rule by the analogy of milk mixed with water. As it is not known what amount of milk is mixed with what amount of water, or what part of milk and water mixed together contains milk, or what part contains water, the same idea is applicable here also. It is not known what is *udātta* or what is *anudātta* in a combination of *udātta* and *anudātta,* or what part of the combination is *udātta* and what part is *anudātta.*

A suggestion has been made, also in the *Mahābhāṣya* (II: 50; vt. I: *svaritasyārddhahrasvodāttād udāttasvaritaparasya sannatarād ūrdhvam udāttād anudāttasya svaritāt kāryam, svaritād iti sidhyartham)* that the set of nine *sūtras* beginning with 1.2.32 *tasyādita...* through 1.2.40 *udāttasvarita...*should be read after *sūtra* 8.4.65 *udāttād anudāttasya svaritaḥ,* so that operations relative to accent, conditioned by *svarita,* could be performed. I shall explain the reason for such a transfer of this set of rules by discussing the accentuation of the string *imaṃ me gaṅge yamune ṣarasvati ṣutudri (RV,* X.75.5).

Rules 1.2.39 *svaritāt saṃhitāyām anudāttam* 'monotone *(ekaśruti)* comes in place of *anudātta* occurring after *svarita* in *saṃhitā* 'close proximity between sounds'. The *ime* of the hymn is *udātta* at the end *(antodātta).* In view of rule 8.1.22 *te mayāv ekavacanasya, me* will be marked as *anudātta.* Now, the application of rule 8.4.65 *udāttād...* means that the *anudātta* of *me* will be replaced with *svarita.* The string *gaṅge yamune sarasvati* has all the words in the vocative singular. As a consequence, they will all be termed *āmantrita* (2.3.48 *sā' mantritam),* and they will receive *anudātta* accent as required by rule 8.1.19 *āmantritasya ca.* The word *ṣutudri* is also in the vocative, but it does not receive *anudātta* because it is occurring at the beginning of the quarter *(pāda)* of the metre (cf. 8.1.18 *anudāttam...).* Note that *me* is *anudātta* but that, because it occurs after the *udātta* of *ime,* it has to be marked with *svarita.* Furthermore, all the other words will be marked with *ekaśruti,* since they will be occurring after the *svarita* of *me.* Of course, *ṣutudri* will be an exception.

This accentuation, however, is problematical because of the placement of the rules involved. That is, the rule which requires *ekaśruti* after *svarita* is 1.2.39 *svaritāt...* and is obviously contained within the *Sapādasaptādhyāyī.* The rule assigning *svarita,* which, in turn, conditions *ekaśruti* is 8.4.65 *udāttād*

anudāttasya..., a rule contained within the *Tripādi*. Now, rule 8.2.1 *pūrvatrāsiddham* orders that the rules belonging to the first seven books and a quarter (*Sapādasaptādhyāyī*) of the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* should become suspended *(asiddha)* in favour of the rules of its last three quarters *(Tripādi)*. Accordingly, rule 1.2.39 *svaritāt...* will be suspended in view of 8.4.65 *udāttād....* The question of applying *ekaśruti* would not, therefore, arise. This creates certain problems. It is in order to correct this situation that the *Mahābhāṣya* makes the suggestion mentioned above; that the set of rules numbered 1.2.32 through 1.2.40 be moved to a position after 8.4.65 *udāttād....*

I have considered here only one aspect of that problematical situation which prompted the proposal to move the set of rules in question. The *Mahābhāṣya* discusses in detail different aspects relative to other rules of the set. It also discusses problems caused by the fact that rules within the *Tripādī* are themselves arranged in a peculiar way. Specifically, the arrangement of these rules is such that a prior rule in the *Tripādi* becomes suspended (*asiddha*) by the subsequent rule. This definitely adds complexity to the aspects of rule-interaction obtaining between the rules of the *Sapādasaptādhyāyī* and the *Tripādī* on the one hand, and the rules within the *Tripādī* on the other. I omit further detail for lack of space.

I must, however, explain that the proposal to move this set of rules subsequent to 8.4.65 *udāttād...* has been dropped with the stipulation that, for proper application of operations concerned, this set of rules can be treated as occurring after 8.4.65.

1.2.33 एकश्रुति दूरात्सम्बुद्धौ

ekaśruti dūrāt sambuddhau

/ekaśruti 1/1 *dūrāt* 5/1 *sambuddhau* 7/1/

traisvarye padānāṃ prāpte dūrāt sambuddhāv aikaśrutyaṃ vidhīyate

A sentence by which one calls someone from a distance carries *ekaśruti* 'monotone'.

EXAMPLES:

āgaccha bho māṇavaka devadatta[3] 'Come here, O boy, Devadatta!'

1. This rule assigns *ekaśruti* 'monotone' in place of *udātta, anudātta* and *svarita* of a string which is used to call from a distance. Thus, *āgaccha bho māṇavaka devadatta*[3] will receive monotone. Note that 'monotone' here refers to a kind of accentuation which dilutes the identity of *udātta, anudātta* and *svarita* into one pitch. When the same sentence is used from near by, it will retain its accent as follows: *āgaccha bho māṇavaka devadatta.* I have not shown the *ekaśruti* by any marking device in the earlier sentence.

Notice that the word *sambuddhi* is here interpreted in its general sense of address (*sambodhana*). That is, it is not interpreted in the sense of the

technical term *sambuddhi* as defined by rule 2.3.49 *ekavacanaṃ sambuddhiḥ*. For if it was interpreted in this case as a technical term, *ekaśruti* could only be applicable to forms which are vocative singular. So, the *ekaśruti* which obtains to *devāḥ brāhmaṇāḥ* 'O! Gods! and Brāhmaṇas!' will be blocked because the string is not singular (*ekavacana*). If, alternatively, the word *sambuddhi* is interpreted here as non-technical, everything will be in order.

A question has been raised as to what *ekaśruti* really is. The answer is given by the *Mahābhāṣya* (II: 53-54) based on whether or not one treats the word *tara* of rules 1.2.35 *uccaistarāṃ vā vaṣaṭkāraḥ* and 1.2.40 *udāttasvaritaparasya sannataraḥ* as *tantra* 'technical, principal'. If *tara* is treated as meaning *prakarṣa* 'higher degree of intensity', *ekaśruti* becomes a quality with a higher degree of *udātta* or *anudātta*. In other words, *ekaśruti* becomes *udātta* or *anudātta*. A third view also becomes possible when one does not accept that *tara* denotes its principal meaning. In this view, *ekaśruti* will be perceived as a mixture of *udātta* and *anudātta*. Note that this mixture, *ekaśruti*, is different from *svarita*, where the identities of *udātta* and *anudātta* are not lost. In *ekaśruti*, though, their identities are diluted.

Problems may be created by *Kāśikā*'s (I: 314) statement that *ekaśruti vākyaṃ bhavati* 'a sentence carries *ekaśruti*'. The word *ekaśruti* may, according to this statement, be interpreted as a qualifier (*viśeṣaṇa*) to *vākya* 'sentence'. Since this rule implies that the string used to call someone from a distance is a sentence, *ekaśruti* as an adjective to a sentence does not cause any difficulty. But if this same interpretation is accepted in the next rule, where *ekaśruti* is carried over, problems will arise. This is because the next rule assigns *ekaśruti* to many elements which are not sentences. It is for this reason that the *Mahābhāṣya* restricts the 'sentence modifier' interpretation of *ekaśruti* to 1.2.33 alone.

1.2.34 **यज्ञकर्मण्यजपन्यूङ्खसामसु**

yajñakarmany ajapanyūṅkhasāmasu

/*yajñakarmaṇi* 7/1 *ajapanyūṅkhasāmasu* 7/3/

(*ekaśrutiḥ* # 33)

traisvaryeṇa vede mantrāḥ paṭhyante, teṣāṃ yajñakriyāyām api tathaiva prayoge prāpte ekaśrutir vidhīyate, japanyūṅkhasāmāni varjayitvā

With the exception of *japa* 'inaudible chanting', *nyūṅkha* 'specific *nigadas*' (recitations from the *Āśvalāyana Gṛhyasūtra*), and recitals from the *Sāmaveda*, *yajñakarma* 'the offering of ritual oblation with chants' also carries *ekaśruti* 'monotone'.

EXAMPLES:

agnir mūrddhā divaḥ kakutpatiḥ pṛthivyā ayam (*ṚV*, VIII. 4.16) 'this *agni* (sun) is like the head and forehead because it is high up in the sky'

apām retāṃsi jinvato^{3}*m* (*ṚV*, VIII.44.16) 'you invigorate like the energy of water'

1. Note that this rule provides for *ekaśruti* in place of *udāttānudāttasvarita* '*udātta, anudātta* and *svarita*' of a recitation accompanying *yajñakarman* 'ritual oblation'. That is, the general requirement that the three pitches should be rendered distinctively is dropped. Of course, in the instance cited here, *ekaśruti* will not take place.

1.2.35 उच्चैस्तरां वा वषट्कारः

uccaistarāṃ vā vaṣaṭkāraḥ
/uccaistarām 1/1 *vā* Ø *vaṣaṭkāraḥ* 1/1/
(*yajñakarmaṇi* # 34, *ekaśrutiḥ* # 33)
yajñakarmaṇi vaṣaṭkāraḥ uccaistarāṃ vā bhavati, ekaśrutir vā
Monotone (*ekaśruti*) optionally becomes *udāttatara* 'higher' in *yajñakarman* when *vauṣaṭ* 'a particular *mantra* with which ritual offerings are made to gods' is chanted.

EXAMPLES:

somasyāgne vīhī^{3} *vau*^{3}*ṣaṭ* 'O Agni, accept the grain for *soma*'
somasyāgne vīhī^{3} *vau*^{3} *ṣaṭ* 'id'. (*Ait*, 35.5.6)

1. This rule assigns *udāttatara* accent to the word *vaṣaṭkāra* in recitation at *yajñakarman*. Since this assignment is optional, *ekaśruti* will also be applicable should the option provided by this rule not be accepted. Note also that the word *uccaistarām* is interpreted as *udāttatara* 'having a higher degree of *udātta*', based on the principal meaning of *tara*. Commentators add that the types of accent are seven: *udātta, anudātta, svarita, udāttatara, anudāttatara, ekaśruti* and *udāttānudātta*. The fourth and fifth types are based on the meaning of *tara*. The seventh type, *udāttānudātta*, is different from *svarita* in the sense that it clearly indicates what part of a *svarita* is *udātta* and what part is *anudātta*. A *svarita* may just indicate that there is a combination of *udātta* and *anudātta*.

1.2.36 विभाषा छन्दसि

vibhāṣā chandasi
/vibhāṣā 1/1 *chandasi* 7/1/
(*ekaśrutiḥ* # 33)
chandasi viṣaye vibhāṣā ekaśrutir bhavati, pakṣāntare traisvaryam eva bhavati
Monotone (*ekaśruti*) is optional (to *udātta, anudātta*, and *svarita*) in Vedic.

EXAMPLES:

iṣe tvorje tvā 'For you, for the benefit of food and strength'

iṣe tvorje tvā 'id.' (*Vāj*, 1.1.1).
agna āyāhi vītaye 'O Agni, please arrive to remove darkness'
agnāyāhi vītaye 'id.' (*ṚV*, VI.16.10).
śanno devīrabhīṣṭaye 'May our drinking water be divine'
śanno devīrabhīṣṭaye 'id.' (*RV*, X.9.4).

1. It is significant that the word *vibhāṣā* 'optionally' is explicitly used in this *sūtra*, where its purpose could have been served by simply bringing *vā* from the earlier rule. Pāṇini does not do this to indicate that *yajñakarmaṇi* is to be dropped from the *anuvṛtti*.

2. Since this rule is optional, Vedic recitations will follow their general practice of keeping the *udātta*, *anudātta* and *svarita* apart only optionally. In the absence of maintaining the accentual distinctions, *ekaśruti* will optionally be accepted.

Note that this option of *ekaśruti* is only applicable in the context of the three vedas: *ṚV*, *Yajuṣ* and *Atharvan* only. Because this rule is providing the option which was not available, it is interpreted as *prāptavibhāṣā*. The *Sāmaveda* is excluded from getting *ekaśruti* by rule 1.2.34 *yajñakarmaṇi...*, therefore it cannot be made available here. It is in view of this that the option made available by rule 1.2.36 *vibhāsā...* is applicable only to the three Vedas.

1.2.37 न सुब्रह्मण्यायां स्वरितस्य तूदात्तः

na subrahmaṇyāyāṃ svaritasya tūdāttaḥ
/na Ø subrahmaṇyāyām 7/1 *svaritasya* 6/1 *tu Ø udāttaḥ* 1/1/
(ekaśrutiḥ # 33)
subrahmaṇyāyām ekaśrutir na bhavati yas tu lakṣaṇaprāptaḥ svaritas tasyodātta ādeśo bhavati
There is no monotone in *subrahmaṇyā* 'a particular chanting', although the *svarita* becomes *udātta*.

EXAMPLES:

subrahmaṇyo³m indrāgaccha hariva āgaccha, medhātithermeṣa vṛṣa naśvasya me:e
'O Indra, Come! O, ram of Medhātithi who owns horses, Come! Come! O wife of Vṛṣaṇaśva (speech)';
gaurāvaskandinnahalyāyai jāra kauśika-brāhmaṇa gautamabruvāṇa śvaḥ sutyāmāgaccha maghavan (*Śat.* 3.3.1.19)
'O rider of the water buffalo, Come! O lover of Ahalyā, Come! The Kauśika brāhmaṇa named Gautama invokes your presence; O Indra, tomorrow at the pressing of *soma*'

1. This rule can be treated as an exception to the preceding, in the sense that it blocks the provision of *ekaśruti* in the context of *nigada* 'prose hymns

with command or prayer' known as *Subrahmaṇyā*, (the *nigada* of the *Śatapatha-brāhmaṇa*, particularly the seventeenth through twentieth of the first *brāhmaṇa* of the third section of the third canto, where *Subrahmaṇya* offers invocations to Indra). The word *subrahmaṇya* is derived by introducing the *taddhita* affix *yaT* after *subrahman*. The feminine affix *ṬāP* is later introduced after *subrahmaṇya* to derive *subrahmaṇyā*. Note that the affix *yaT* becomes *svarita* by rule 6.1.185 *tit svaritam*. The *ā* of the feminine affix *ṬāP* is *anudātta*. The *svarita* of *yaT* and the *anudāttà* of *ṬāP* are replaced by a single *svarita*, as reflected by *sumrahmaṇyom*. That is, *o*, a single replacement of *a* and *u*, carries *svarita*. This *svarita* cannot be replaced by *ekaśruti*, which is the provision of rule 1.2.37 with reference to *subrahmaṇyā*.

So far, my illustrations have shown only how *svarita* blocks *ekaśruti*, and how 1.2.37 is an exception to 1.2.36. However, the present rule goes beyond these stipulations. It has its own provision, which demands that the *svarita* thus prevented from being replaced by *ekaśruti* should be replaced instead by *udātta*.

1.2.38 **देवब्रह्मणोरनुदात्तः**

devabrahmaṇor anudāttaḥ
/devabrahmaṇoḥ 6/2 *anudāttaḥ* 1/1/
(*svaritasya* # 37)
devabrahmaṇoḥ svaritasyānudātta ādeśo bhavati
The *svarita* of *deva* 'god' and *brahman* 'creator' is replaced by *anudātta*.

EXAMPLES:

devā brahmāṇa āgacchata 'O gods and creator, Come!'

1. Note that the phrase *'na subrahmaṇyāyāṃ svaritasya'* is also carried to this rule. This means that the application of this rule will still be limited to the context of the *subrahmaṇyā* section, as stated in the previous rule. In the absence of this rule, the *udātta* of the previous rule would have replaced *svarita*. This rule, however, requires that *svarita* should be replaced by *anudātta*, particularly in the context of *deva* and *brahman*.

1.2.39 **स्वरितात्संहितायामनुदात्तानाम्**

svaritāt saṃhitāyām anudāttānām
/svaritāt 5/1 *saṃhitāyām* 7/1 *anudāttānām* 6/3/
(*ekaśrutiḥ* # 33)
saṃhitāyāṃ viṣaye svaritāt pareṣām anudāttānām ekaśrutir bhavati
Every *anudātta* which occurs after a *svarita* is replaced by *ekaśruti* 'monotone' in *saṃhitāpāṭha* 'recitation of the *Veda* with phonetic changes as effected by *sandhi* rules'.

EXAMPLES:

imaṃ me gaṅge yamune sarasvati śutudri 'O Gaṅgā, Yamunā, Sarasvatī, and Śutudri!'
māṇavaka! jaṭilādhyāpaka! kva gamiṣyasi? 'O boy! You whose teacher has matted hair! Where will you go?'

1. Where the base *anudātta* is treated as derived from *ekaśeṣa,* the word *aṇudāttānām* is genitive plural. That is, *anudātta* is derived from the underlying string *anudāttaś ca anudāttaś ca anudāttaḥ* by retaining only one *anudātta* to refer to more than one. It is in view of this derivation that *anudāttānām* in this rule is interpreted to mean 'in place of one or more than one *anudātta*'. The implication of this interpretation is as follows.

In *saṃhitā* recitation, as opposed to the *pada* recitation where individual vords are not recited with the application of *sandhi* rules, one or more *anudātta* are individually replaced by *ekaśruti,* providing, of course, that they are occurring after a *svarita.* Thus, in *imaṃ me gaṅge yamune sarasvati, me* is *svarita* and all the other accents after this are *anudātta.* When recited in *saṃhitā, gaṅge yamune sarasvati* would consequently receive *ekaśruti* from this rule. In the absence of *saṃhitā, ekaśruti* cannot replace *anudātta.*

1.2.40 **उदात्तस्वरितपरस्य सन्नतरः**
udāttasvaritaparasya sannataraḥ
/udāttasvaritaparasya 6/1 *sannataraḥ* 1/1/
(*anudāttānàm* # 39)
udāttaparasya svaritaparasya cānudāttasya sannatara ādeśo bhavati
An *anudātta* after which an *udātta* and *svarita* occur is replaced by *sannatara* 'higher in degree than *anudātta*'.

EXAMPLES:

devā marutaḥ pṛśnimātaro' paḥ 'Gods, wind, whose mother is earth and water...'
imaṃ me gaṅge yamune sarasvati śutudri (Glossed under previous rule.)
māṇavaka, jaṭilakādhyāpaka, kva gamiṣyasi? (Glossed under previous rule.)

1. Note that the word *sannatara* is interpreted to mean *anudāttatara* 'higher in degree than *anudātta*'. Similarly, the word *uccaistarām* is interpreted as *udāttatara* 'higher in degree than *udātta*' of rule 1.2.35 *uccaistarām...*

The word *udāttasvaritaparasya* is a *bahuvrīhi* compound meaning 'that which has *udātta* and *svarita* occurring after it'. The compound thus becomes an adjective to *anudātta* and yields the interpretation 'an *anudātta* after which an *udātta* and *svarita* occur is replaced by *sannatara...*'

In *imaṃ me gaṅge yamune sarasvati śutudri,* the *i* of *sarasvati* is *anudātta* (8.1.19 *āmantritasya ca*). The *śu* of *śutudri* is *udātta* because *śutudri* is occurring

at the beginning of a quarter of the hymn. The *anudātta* of the *i* of *sarasvati* is thus replaced by *sannatara* because it precedes an *udātta*. In the same way, given *māṇavaka jaṭilādhyāpaka kva gamiṣyasi* 'O Boy! You whose teacher has matted hair! Where will you go?', where *kva* is *svarita*, the *anudātta* of the *ka* of *adhyāpaka* will be replaced by *sannatara*.

1.2.41 **अपृक्त एकाल प्रत्ययः**

apṛkta ekāl pratyayaḥ

/apṛkta 1/1 *ekāl* 1/1 *pratyayaḥ* 1/1

'apṛkta' itīyaṃ saṃjñā bhavati, ekāl yaḥ pratyayas tasya

An affix which consists of a single *aL* 'sound segment' is termed *apṛkta*.

EXAMPLES:

ghṛtaspṛk 'he who touches ghee'

ardhabhāk 'he who receives one half share'

pādabhāk 'he who receives one quarter share'

1. It may be understood by the wording of this rule that the term *apṛkta* applies only to that affix which consists of a single sound segment. While this understanding is basically correct, there are certain corollaries to it. The *it* will not be taken into account in determining the status of the affixes as consisting of a single sound segment. If an *it* were taken into account, problems would result. For example, affixes *KvIN* and *KvIP* both consist of a single sound segment, namely *v*. The presence of *K*, *I*, and *P* is not a determining factor in these cases. It is in view of this assignment of the term *apṛkta* to the *v* of *KvIP*, and so on, that 6.1.67 *ver apṛktasya* applies under certain circumstances to delete the affix.

Consider, however, the application of 6.1.68 *halṅyābbhyo...*, which under the condition of the assignment of the term *apṛkta* accomplishes the deletion of, among others, the affix *si* 'second person singular active ending'. Now, this affix consists of two sound segments. Rule 6.1.68 deletes *s* after the *i* of affix *si* has been deleted by some other rule. This remainder of *si*, i.e. *s*, cannot be called *apṛkta* if one accepts a rigid interpretation of 1.2.41. If affixes like *si*, which originally did not consist of a single sound segment, can qualify through deletion for the assignment of the term *apṛkta* after all, they must be distinguished from affixes such as *KvIP*, which originally consisted of a single sound segment. I shall call affixes of the type *KvIP*, where the single sound segment constituency is given by grammar *atadbhāvita apṛkta* 'an *apṛkta* not brought about by the application of any rule' in contradistinction with affixes of the type *si*, which I shall call *tadbhāvita apṛkta* 'an *apṛkta* brought about by the application of a rule'. Functionally the present rule facilitates the application of such rules as 6.1.67 *ver apṛktasya* and 6.1.68 *halṅyābbhyo....*

SCOPE: 6.1.67 *ver apṛktasya*, and so on.

1.2.42 **तत्पुरुषः समानाधिकरणः कर्मधारयः**

tatpuruṣaḥ samānādhikaraṇaḥ karmadhārayaḥ
/tatpuruṣaḥ 1/1 *samānādhikaraṇaḥ* 1/1 *karmadhārayaḥ* 1/1/
'tatpuruṣa' iti samāsaviśeṣasya saṃjñā vakṣyati, sa tatpuruṣaḥ samānādhikaraṇapadaḥ karmadhārayasaṃjño bhavati
A tatpuruṣa (2.1.22 *tatpuruṣaḥ*) compound whose constituents refer to the same thing (are in syntactic co-ordination) is termed *karmadhāraya*.

EXAMPLES:

paramarājyam 'excellent kingdom'
uttamarājyam 'best kingdom'
pācakavṛndārikā 'excellent cook (fem.)'

1. This rule assigns the term *karmadhāraya* to a *tatpuruṣa* (2.1.22 *tatpuruṣaḥ*) compound whose constituents occur in syntactic co-ordination and refer to the same thing. In view of this interpretation, *samāna* and *adhikaraṇa* of *samānādhikaraṇa* mean 'same (*abhinna*) and 'denotatum' (*abhideya*) respectively. This in how *Kāśikā* explains it. Jinendrabuddhi (*Nyāsa* ad *Kāś.* I:330-31) elaborates as follows: *samānam = abhinnam, ekam adhikaraṇam = vācyam eṣāṃ padānāṃ tāni samānādhikaraṇāni padāni, lany āśrayabhūtāni yasya tatpuruṣasya sa samānādhikaraṇas tatpuruṣaḥ 'samānādhikaraṇa* are those words which have the same referent; a *tatpuruṣa* compound with such constituents is termed *samānādhikaraṇa (karmadhāraya) tatpuruṣa'*.

Note that *samānādhikaraṇa* words also share syntactic agreement. All three words of this rule are in the nominative singular, and thus share syntactic agreement. That is, they are occurring in syntactic co-ordination. Of course this is a formal condition for a *tatpuruṣa* compound to be called *karmadhāraya*. The semantic condition is also important: that the constituents of a *tatpuruṣa* compound must refer to the same thing. Note that the condition of identical reference is imposed on the constituents of the compound and not the compound itself. The wording of this rule appears to be suggesting that the compound itself must be co-referential with something outside of the compound.

2. A question may be raised here concerning the propriety of discussing the *karmadhāraya* designation in this second quarter of the first book. Compounds have been discussed in the second book. Naturally, *tatpuruṣa*, of which *karmadhāraya* are a subtype, are discussed in the second book. Why did not Pāṇini discuss *karmadhāraya* designation there? Kaiyaṭa (*Pradīpa* ad *Mbh.* II:63) observes that *karmadhāraya* has been discussed here so that it cannot block the designation *tatpuruṣa*. Note that the *tatpuruṣa* rule falls within the domain of *ekasaṃjñā*, and as such, only one

term per nominatum can be assigned. If Pāṇini had put *karmdhāraya* after *tatpuruṣa,* the *karmadhāraya* designation would have blocked the *tatpuruṣa* because of being subsequent (*para*). This is what Kaiyaṭa means by his explanation.

However, this is not yet satisfactory. Pāṇini need not have discussed *karmadhāraya* here to avoid *saṃjñāsamāveśa* 'class inclusion' or *vipratiṣedha* 'conflict of equal strength'. After all, he has discussed *dvigu,* a type of *tatpuruṣa* compound, in the *ekasaṃjñā* section. There is no reason why he could not discuss *karmadhāraya* there while at the same time, as with *dvigu,* avoiding *saṃjñāsamāveśa* and blocking by *vipratiṣedha.* For details of *saṃjñāsamāveśa* and *vipratiṣedha,* see notes under rules 1.4.1 and 1.4.2.

SCOPE: 6.2.46 *karmadhāraye' niṣṭhā,* etc.

1.2.43 प्रथमानिर्दिष्टं समास उपसर्जनम्

prathamānirdiṣṭaṃ samāsa upasarjanam
/prathamānirdiṣṭam 1/1 *samāse* 7/1 *upasarjanam* 1/1
prathamayā vibhaktyā yan nirdiśyate samāsaśāstre tad upasarjanasaṃjñaṃ bhavati
That which is referred by *prathamā* 'nominative' in rules of compound formation is termed *upasarjana* 'secondary'.

EXAMPLES:

kaṣṭaśritaḥ 'he who resorted to grief'
śaṅkulākhaṇḍaḥ 'split by an ax'
yūpadāruḥ 'wood for the ritual post'
vṛkabhayam 'fear of wolf'
rājapuruṣaḥ 'king's man'
akṣaśauṇḍaḥ 'skilled at dice'

1. It is difficult to explain why Pāṇini chose to discuss a rule such as this one outside the domain of compound formation. This rule is of major consequence, since it determines the order of the constituents of a compound. As such, the most appropriate place for it is in the compound section.

The word *samāse* 'in compound' refers to rules which allow the formation of compounds. If this interpretation is not accepted, *prathamānirdiṣṭam* read with *samāse* would mean: that which has been referred to by *prathamā* 'nominative' in a compound. Now, a compound such as *rājapuruṣa* 'king's man' does not have anything referred to by the nominative. Thus *samāse* cannot mean 'in a compound'. Can it refer to the nominative which may be available in the string which underlies a compound? That is, could it be the string *puruṣa* + *sU* of *rājan* + *Ṅas*+ *puruṣa* + *sU* which underlies the compound *rājapuruṣa*? The answer again has to be no, since this nominative is not the nominative which obtains when one considers combining

puruṣa + *sU* with *rājan* + *Ṅas*. It existed prior to that. Furthermore, it was added irrespective of the fact that it may be combined with *rājan* + *Ṅas*. It is because of these considerations that the word *samāse* is interpreted as referring to the rules which order the formation of compounds.

The rule which allows the formation of the compound *rājapuruṣa* is therefore 2.2.8 *ṣaṣṭhī*. It states that a *pada* ending in *ṣaṣṭhī* 'genitive' can be combined with a syntactically related *pada*. What is ending in *ṣaṣṭhī* is *rājan* + *Ṅas*. The word *ṣaṣṭhī* in 2.2.8 is referred to by the nominative; and as such, its referent, namely the *pada* which ended in genitive, must be termed *upasarjana* by the present rule. Once assigned the term *upasarjana*, it can then qualify to be placed first in the compound.

Commentators (see *Nyāsa* ad *Kāś*. 1.2.43, I:133, for example) add that the determination of what is *upasarjana* also is made on the basis of semantic considerations. In this sense the term *upasarjana* is an *anvarthasaṃjñā*, a term that follows its etymological meaning. The word has been interpreted as *gauṇa* 'secondary, non-principal'. A distinction such as this can be of help in determining the *upasarjana* status in situations where a rule allowing compound formation refers to more than one constituent in the nominative.

Let us again refer to 2.2.8 *ṣaṣṭhī*, in view of a string of elements such as *rājan* + *Ṅas* + *kumārī* + *Ṅas* + *svam* + *sU*. We find two words ending in *ṣaṣṭhī*. If we just took the formal condition of reference by nominative in a rule which allows compound formation as our guide for the assignment of the term *upasarjana*, they both would qualify for the term. It is for this reason that the semantic consideration is also resorted to. In this view an *upasarjana* element will be non-principal (*gauṇa*). Since the notion of secondary versus primary is a relative one, the secondary will always be referred to in relation to a particular primary. This way, one *ṣaṣṭhī* will be termed *upasarjana* with reference to the other. In the above example, *rājan* + *Ṅas* will be *upasarjana* to *kumārī* + *Ṅas*, which in turn will be an *upasarjana* to *svam* + *sU*. Accepting such a semantic consideration in determining the status of a *pada* as an *upasarjana* may also imply that Pāṇini based his descriptions on semantic considerations. Such an implication may have consequences for Pāṇinian theory.

SCOPE: 2.2.30 *upasarjanaṃ pūrvam*, etc.

1.2.44 एकविभक्ति चापूर्वनिपाते

ekavibhakti cāpūrvanipāte

/ekavibhakti 1/1 *ca* Ø *apūrvanipāte* 7/1/

(samāsa upasarjanam # 43)

ekā vibhaktir yasya tad idam ekavibhakti, samāse vidhīyamāne yan niyatavibhaktikaṃ dvitīye sambandhini bahubhir vibhaktibhir yujyamāne' py ekayaivavibhaktyā yujyate tad upasarjanamsaṃjñaṃ bhavati

That which has a fixed *vibhakti* 'nominal ending' (in the analysed form of a compound formation, irrespective of whether the other constituent has varying endings), is termed *upasarjana,* provided the assignment of this term does not result in *pūrvanipāta* 'preposing a secondary element'.

EXAMPLES:

niṣkauśāmbiḥ 'he who has gone outside of Kauśāmbī'
nirvārāṇasiḥ 'he who has gone outside of Vārāṇasī'

1. Note that the preceding rule assigns the term *upasarjana* to that constituent of a compound which happens to be referred to by the nominative in the rule which allowed the compound formation. The basic purpose of assigning the term *upasarjana* is to facilitate preplacing of such a constituent in the compound. The present rule also assigns the term *upasarjana.* It differs from the preceding rule, however, in that, first of all, the word *samāsa* here does not refer to the rule which allows the formation of a compound. Instead, it simply means a compound in the process of being formed. Second, this rule does not dwell upon 'nominative reference' for the assignment of the term. Rather, it assigns the term *upasarjana* to that constituent of the compound which is construed with the same ending, even though the other constituent may be construed with different endings.

Consider, for example, the compound *nirvārāṇasiḥ,* 'gone outside of the city of Vārāṇasī,' which can be analyzed as *niṣkrāntaḥ vārāṇasyāḥ.* The word *nir* is a particle used in the sense of *krānta* 'transgressed'; it also demands the use of *pañcamī* 'ablative' after the nominal stem in connection with which it is used. Thus, we get *vārāṇasī* in the ablative. One can interpret *niṣkrānta* as ending in *prathamā, dvitīyā, tṛtīyā, caturthī, pañcamī, ṣaṣṭhī,* or *saptamī;* but *vārāṇasī* will remain in the ablative no matter what is the ending of *niṣkrānta.* This is what the word *ekavibhakti* 'fixed nominal ending' means in the rule.

Finally, the term *upasarjana* when applied to a word such as *vārāṇasī* does not enable it to be placed first in the compound. On the contrary, the term *upasarjana* assigned by 1.2.44 does not become applicable in the context of preplacement. So, as far as this rule is concerned, the assignment of the term *upasarjana* and the preplacement of the constituent termed *upasarjana* are mutually exclusive. This brings us to the question of what is the function of the assigning by this rule of the term *upasarjana.* The term assignment by this rule facilitates the application of such rules as 1.2.48 *gostriyor upasarjanasya,* whereby the final vowel of an *upasarjana* is shortened. Thus, we get *nirvārāṇas(ī → i).*

1.2.45 **अर्थवदधातुरप्रत्ययः प्रातिपदिकम्**
arthavad adhātur apratyayaḥ prātipadikam

/arthavad 1/1 *adhātuḥ* 1/1 *apratyayaḥ* 1/1 *prātipadikam* 1/1/
arthavac chabdarūpaṃ prātipadikasaṃjñaṃ bhavati dhātupratyayau varjayitvā
A unit which has meaning and is neither a root nor an affix is termed *prātipadika.*

EXAMPLES:

ḍitthaḥ 'wooden elephant'
kapitthaḥ 'a place where monkeys sit'
kuṇḍam 'a mendicant's bowl; ritual fire-pit'
pīṭham 'a seat'

1. This rule assigns the term *prātipadika* 'nominal stem' to a form which is meaningful but is not a root or affix. The condition that the form must have meaning (*artha*) is obviously to exclude non-meaningful forms, for example *n*, or *van* of *vana* 'forest', from getting the designation *prātipadika.* For if they are assigned the term, nominal endings may be introduced by 4.1.2 *svaujas...* and subsequently *n* can be deleted by 8.2.7 *na lopaḥ prātipadikāntasya.* It is to be remembered in this context that the introduction of *sUP* as a consequence of the designation *prātipadika* to *n* or *van* is simply illustrative in nature. Or, the introduction of *sUP* and subsequent deletion of *n* is accepted to dramatize the consequences of assigning the term *prātipadika* to a form without any signification (*artha*). In reality there are several other factors which have to be weighed before *sUP* could be introduced, or *n* could be deleted. For example, *sUP* cannot be introduced unless a *kāraka* or a non-*kāraka* relation, or in case of the nominative, simply the meaning of the nominal stem, is to be expressed. If a *sUP* is to be introduced after a form which is defined as *prātipadika,* but which does not have any meaning, the signification under which *sUP* could be introduced becomes impossible to decide. Similarly, *n* could only be deleted after the *sUP* has been introduced to turn the string into a *pada* (1.4.14 *suptiṅantaṃ padam*).

Kāśikā explains that the word *artha* in *arthavat* means 'signification' (*abhideya*). Jinendrabuddhi (*Nyāsa* I: 337) asserts that *Kāśikā* explains this because *artha* means 'purpose' (*prayojana*), 'cessation' (*nirvṛtti*), 'wealth' (*dhana*), and 'signification' (*artha*), as is obvious from the following usages:

(*a*) *anenārthenāgataḥ* 'he came with this purpose'
(*b*) *maśakārtho dhūmaḥ* 'the smoke is for getting rid of mosquitoes'
(*c*) *arthavān devadattaḥ* 'Devadatta is rich'
(*d*) *asya vacanasya ayam arthaḥ* 'the meaning of the word is this'

The word *artha,* therefore, is used here to mean signification, and signifies four basic types of things: *jāti,* 'class'; *guṇa,* 'quality'; *kriyā,* 'action'; and *dravya,* 'concrete thing'. This typology also refers to the fourfold usage of words. Note, too, that *abhāva,* 'absence' of a thing signified by a form,

does not make that form meaningless. For instance, *śaśaviṣāṇa* 'rabbit-horn' does not exist, but this does not mean that *śaśaviṣāṇa*, the compound termed nominal stem, is meaningless. This shows that even in the absence of the thing signified, signification remains. This is what *Kāśikā* means by explaining the use of the word *artha* as *abhideya*.

The expressions *adhātuḥ* 'non-root' and *apratyayaḥ* 'non-affix' are negations. First of all, they would mean either a form which is not a root, or is not an affix, and/or a form which ends in a root or an affix. The use of *dhātu* in *adhātuḥ* to refer to something ending in *dhātu* is against Pāṇinian practice. We talk of *tadantavidhi* 'ending in that...' only in the context of an affix. Thus *apratyayaḥ* would entail *tadantavidhi* with reference to *pratyaya*. Contrary to this, *adhātuḥ* will not entail *tadantavidhi*. But even in the case of *apratyayaḥ* there is the *paribhāṣā* (*Paribh:* 28) *saṃjñāvidhau pratyayagrahaṇe tadantavidhir nāsti* 'elsewhere, when an operation relative to the assignment of a term is concerned, *tadantavidhi* remains inoperative with reference to an affix'. Can *tadantavidhi* be operative in case of *apratyayaḥ* of this rule? Yes, because there is no *saṃjñāvidhi* involved. What is involved is negation (*pratiṣedha*). This brings us to a discussion of the type of negation we have here.

The negation which we witness in *adhātuḥ* and *apratyayaḥ* is of the *paryudāsa* type. Therefore, *apratyayaḥ* and *adhātuḥ* will be interpreted as referring to something other than *pratyaya* and *dhātu*, though similar to them (*tadbhinnatatsadṛśa*). Consider the command *abrāhmaṇam ānaya*, 'bring someone other than a *brāhmaṇa*'. The person who is brought is not a *brāhmaṇa*. That is, he is other than a *brāhmaṇa* (*tad*, namely *brāhmaṇa*, *bhinna*). He is, however, similar to him (*tatsadṛśa*) in that, while he is a person of a caste other than a *brāhmaṇa*, he is not an animal or an inanimate object. He still shares human qualities with the person not supposed to have been brought.

A question may arise here: if something other than *dhātu* and *pratyaya* is to be assigned the term *prātipadika*, and if the meaning of the *naÑ* 'not' is *paryudāsa*, interpretable as *tadbhinnatatsadṛśa*, a condition such as *arthavat* 'meaningful' should not be stated in the rule. Why? Because the *paryudāsa* interpretation of *naÑ* will enable us to understand a *prātipadika* as a form which, though not *dhātu* or *pratyaya*, is similar (*sadṛśa*) to them. In addition, since *dhātu* and *pratyaya* are meaningful, an item other than a *dhātu* and *pratyaya* would, like them, be meaningful. Jinendrabuddhi (*Nyāsa:* 340) says that *arthavat* cannot be dropped just on this basis, since there are roots and affixes which by themselves could not have any meanings. For example, *iÑ* is explained as having the meaning *adhyayana* 'study'; similarly, *iK* is explained as meaning *smaraṇa* 'to remember'. But these meanings one gets only when these roots are used with the preverb *adhi*. Thus *iÑ* and *iK* do not possess any meaning. Jinendra also brings the example of affix *kaN*,

which is difficult to be ascertained as carrying any meaning if one attempts to find it using the technique of *anvaya* 'concurrent presence' and *vyatireka* 'concurrent absence'. This means that *arthavat* has to be stated.

Returning to the function of the assignment of the term *prātipadika*, we find several things:

(*a*) the assignment of the term enables a string to gain access to the domain of 4.1.1 *ṅyāp-prātipadkāt*, where any of three options can be pursued: the introduction of *sUP* by 4.1.2 *svaujasmauṭchas...*; the introduction of an affix denoting feminine in the domain of 4.1.3 *striyām;* or the introduction of a *taddhita* affix in the domain of 4.1.76 *taddhitāḥ;*

(*b*) the deletion of nominal endings which become part of a nominal stem;

(*c*) the deletion of *n* at the end of a *prātipadika* forming part of a *pada;* and

(*d*) the use of 1.2.47 *hrasvo napuṃsake prātipadikasya* whereby a long vowel at the end of a nominal stem denoting neuter is replaced by its short counterpart.

These are the major consequences of the assignment of the term *prātipadika*. Further consequences are attributable to the assignment of this term by the next rule.

SCOPE: 1.2.4 / *hrasvo napuṃsake...*

1.2.46 **कृत्तद्धितसमासाश्च**

kṛttaddhitasamāsāś ca
/*kṛttaddhitasamāsāḥ* 1/3 *ca* Ø/
(*prātipadikam* # 45)
kṛtas taddhitāḥ samāsāś ca prātipadikasaṃjñā bhavanti
That which ends in a *kṛt* (3.1.93 *kṛd atiṅ*), *taddhita* (4.1.76 *taddhitāḥ*) affix, or is a *samāsa* 'compound' also is termed *prātipadika*.

EXAMPLES:

kārakaḥ 'he who makes'
hārakaḥ 'he who takes something away'
karttā 'he who makes'
harttā 'he who takes something away'
aupagavaḥ 'male descendant of Upagu'
kāpaṭavaḥ 'male descendant of Kapaṭu'
rājapuruṣaḥ 'king's servant'
brāhmaṇakambalaḥ 'brāhmaṇa's blanket'

1. This rule deals with the assignment of the term *prātipadika* to derived nominals. The earlier rule, through its negation of *apratyayaḥ*, also negated the assignment of the term to something which ended in an affix.

Both *kṛt* and *taddhita* are affixes; and thus, in view of the negation of *apratyayaḥ*, the designation of the term *prātipadika* to a form ending in a *kṛt* or *taddhita* is a violation. However, commentators explain that since the negation was available, and since Pāṇini nevertheless included *kṛt* and *taddhita* in this rule to indicate that only items ending in these two affixes should be termed *prātipadika*, the rule therefore becomes a restrictive *(niyama)* rule, in so far as *kṛt* and *taddhita* are concerned.

A question is also raised about *samāsa* being included in this rule. It is argued that *samāsa* should not be included because *arthavat* of 1.2.45 would account for it already. After all, a *samāsa* is meaningful. But the commentators add that the restrictive nature of the present rule also works in the case of *samāsa*. That is, a form consisting of more than one meaningful unit can be termed a *prātipadika* only when it is a *samāsa*. This way a sentence cannot qualify for the term *prātipadika* on grounds of being meaningful. For details of why a combination of meaningful units other than a *samāsa* cannot be considered under this rule, see *Nyāsa* ad *Kāś.* I: 344-45. The tradition also raises the question of whether or not the word *arthavat* should be carried from the preceding rule. This, in turn, relates to the question of whether or not a *samāsa*, for example, should be explicitly qualified as being meaningful. I however believe that *arthavat* does not have to be carried.

The consequences of the assignment of the term *prātipadika* to items covered by this rule are in general similar to those discussed under the previous rule. The deletion of nominal endings by 2.4.71 *supo dhātuprātipadikayoḥ* is more directly related to *samāsa*. Various consequences relative to items ending in *kṛt* and *taddhita*, subsequently termed *prātipadika*, are specific to accent and other operations. Basically, operations such as the introduction of *sUP*, feminine affixes, and the deletion of *sUP* forming part of the nominal stem are the consequence of the term-assignment under this rule.

1.2.47 **ह्रस्वो नपुंसके प्रातिपदिकस्य**

hrasvo napuṃsake prātipadikasya

hrasvaḥ 1/1 *napuṃsake* 7/1 *prātipadikasya* 6/1/

(acaś ca # 28)

napuṃsakaliṅge' rthe yat prātipadikam vartate tasya hrasvo bhavati ādeśo lo' ntyasyācaḥ

The final vowel of a neuter nominal stem is replaced by a short vowel.

EXAMPLES:

atiri kulam 'a clan which has excelled in wealth'

atinu kulam 'a clan which has excelled in boating'

1. This rule orders a short substitute for a long vowel occurring at the end of a nominal stem signifying neuter. The word *napuṃsake* has been explained by *Kāśikā* (I: 346) as *napuṃsakaliṅge' rthe'* in the signification of that whose gender is neuter'. Obviously *napuṃsakaliṅga* is being interpreted as a *bahuvṛīhi* compound in order to focus on the fact that gender is the property of *dravya* 'substance', which could only be a nominal stem. If this is accepted then what is the need for using the word *prātipadika* in the rule? The *Mahābhāṣya* (II: 87-88) explains that the word *prātipadika* has been used to exclude short vowel substitution in case of forms ending in a *sUP* or a *tiP*. But how could they qualify to be a nominal stem? Let us take an example: *kāṇḍe* 'locative singular of neuter *kāṇḍa* 'sapling'. This example is derived from *kāṇḍa* + *i*, where the final *a* of *kāṇḍa* and the *i* of the locative ending *Ni* have been replaced by a single substitute *e*. Now by *antādivadbhāva* (6.1.35 *antādivac ca*), where the final could be treated as part of the preceding, *e* becomes part of the *prātipadika kāṇḍa*. Consequently *kāṇḍe* becomes qualified for the term *prātipadika*. In order to block this term assignment to forms like *kāṇḍe* and subsequent shortening, the word *prātipadika* has been used in 1.2.47. In addition, the term also carries to the following rule.

1.2.48 **गोस्त्रियोरुपसर्जनस्य**

gostriyor upasarjanasya
/gostriyoḥ 6/2 *upasarjanasya* 6/1/
(hrasvaḥ prātipadikasya # 47)
upasarjanagośabdāntasya upasarjanastrīpratyayāntasya ca prātipadikasya hrasvo bhavati
The final vowel of a nominal stem is replaced by *hrasva* 'short' when the nominal stem ends in the word *go* 'cow' which is termed *upasarjana*, or in a word termed *upasarjana* which ends in a feminine affix.

EXAMPLES:

citraguḥ 'he who has brindled cows'
śabalaguḥ 'id.'
niṣkauśāmbiḥ 'he who has gone outside the city of Kauśāmbī'
nirvārāṇasiḥ 'he who has gone outside the city of Vārāṇasī'
atikhaṭvaḥ 'he who has overstepped the cot'
atimālaḥ 'he who has excelled the garland in fragrance or beauty'

1. This rule also orders a short substitute for a final vowel of a nominal stem which ends in an *upasarjana* (1.2.43 *prathamānirdiṣṭaṃ samāsa...*) which is either *go* 'cow' or is a form ending in a feminine affix. *Kāśikā* (I:347-48) notes that by the word *go* we must understand only the form of the word *go;* contrary to this, the word *strī* is interpreted as referring to the feminine affixes introduced in the domain of 4.1.3 *striyām*. How do we

know this? *Kāśikā,* based on the discussion in the *Mahābhāṣya* (II: 289), explains that *strī* here is marked with *svarita* 'circumflex' accent, and hence is an *adhikāra* 'recurring element' (1.3.11 *svaritenādhikārah).* This becomes the clue that *strī* refers to the affixes and not to the form of the word *strī* 'woman', or its meaning, as is the case with *go.*

The word *prātipadikasya* is carried from the preceding rule along with *hrasvaḥ.* The word *upasarjanasya* modifies both *go* and *strī* to yield the interpretations:

(*a*) the form *go* 'cow' which is an *upasarjana,* and

(*b*) a form which ends in a feminine affix and is an *upasarjana.*

Finally, *tadantavidhi* 'process of interpreting something as ending in a given form' operates in case of the word *prātipadika,* thereby giving the sense as follows: 'short comes as a substitute for the final of a nominal stem which terminates in an *upasarjana,* specifically *go* 'cow', or a form ending in a feminine affix'. Note that this notion of *tadantavidhi* is important and has been discussed in detail in the tradition (*Paribh:* 26-30).

I shall here take a couple of examples and briefly illustrate that if *tadantavidhi* is not brought into focus *vis-à-vis go* and *strī* on the one hand and *prātipadika* on the other, shortening of *o* in *gokulam* 'herd of cows' and *i* in *rājakumārīputraḥ* will obtain. Jinendrabuddhi (I: 348) explains: 'Thus because of there being *tadantavidhi* of *prātipadika* with the *upasarjana go* as well as an *upasarjana* ending in a feminine affix, there does not obtain the shortening of *go* or *kumārī* in *gokulam* or *rājakumārīputraḥ* having their analyzed forms *goḥ kulam* or *rājñaḥ kumāryāḥ putraḥ* respectively' (*evaṃ gośabdenopasarjanena strīpratyayena ca prātipadikasya tadantavidhau sati goḥ kulaṃ, rājñaḥ kumāryāḥ putro rājakumārīputra ity atra gośabdasya kumārīśabdasya ca hrasvatvaṃ na bhavati...*). The word *go* in *gokulam* is an *upasarjana* and a *prātipadika.* But could it be treated as ending in a *prātipadika* for the purpose of the short-vowel substitution ordered by this rule? One can invoke *vyapadeśivadbhāva* and say that *go* is a *prātipadika* ending in *go.* However, the grammarians do not allow *vyapadeśivadbhāva* in case of a nominal stem. *(Mbh.* II.91: *vyapadeśivadbhāvo' prātipadikena).* This takes care of *go* in *gokulam.* In *rājakumārīputraḥ,* the long *ī* of *kumārī* cannot be shortened because *kumārī* itself is not an *upasarjana.* It is *rājakumārī* which is *upasarjana* with reference to *putraḥ,* and not *kumārī.* Besides, *rājakumārī* of *rājakumārīputraḥ* cannot be treated as a nominal stem for purposes of shortening, since what is a *prātipadika* in this context is not *rājakumārī* but *rājakumārīputraḥ.* This nominal stem does not end in a feminine suffix.

1.2.49 **लुक्तद्धितलुकि**

luk taddhitaluki

/luk 1/1 *taddhitaluki* 7/1/

(*strī upasarjanasya* # 48)

taddhitaluki sati strīpratyayasya upasarjanasya lug bhavati
When there is a *LUK* (1.1.61 *pratyayasya lukślulupaḥ*) deletion of a *taddhita* (4.1.76 *taddhitāḥ*), there is also a deletion of the feminine affix of the *upasarjana* 'secondary'.

EXAMPLES:

pañcendraḥ 'that (*sthālīpāka* ritual) whose presiding deities are five Indrāṇīs (Indra's wives)'
deśendraḥ 'that whose presiding deities are ten Indrāṇīs'
pañcaśaṣkuliḥ 'purchased with a bunch of five deep-fried breads'
āmalakam 'the fruit of the emblic myrobalan tree'
badaram 'the jujube fruit'
kuvalam 'water lily'

1. This rule, unlike the previous rules, allows for the *LUK*-deletion of the feminine affix of an *upasarjana*, providing there has been a deletion by *LUK* of a *taddhita* affix. The form under focus of this rule is thus as follows:
(*a*) it is an *upasarjana* form,
(*b*) it ends in a feminine affix, and
(*c*) a *taddhita* affix has been introduced and subsequently deleted.
This being the case, the feminine affix is deleted. The deletion by *LUK* of a *taddhita* affix thus forms a condition for the deletion, again by *LUK*, of the feminine affix. This is the reason why the locative in *luki* at the end of the rule is interpreted as *satsaptamī* and not as *parasaptamī*. There is not a *paurvāparya* 'one after the other' relation between the elements. That is, there is no chance of *luki* being interpreted as forming the right context so that an operation on what precedes can be performed. However, one may find *paurvāparya* in the operation of deletion by *LUK* itself: first a *taddhita* is deleted, then a feminine affix.

1.2.50 **इद्गोण्याः**
id goṇyāḥ
/it 1/1 *goṇyāḥ* 6/1/
(*taddhitaluki* # 49)
goṇyās taddhitaluki sati ikārādeśo bhavati
When there is a *LUK* deletion of a *taddhita* affix, the final vowel of *goṇi* is replaced by *i*.

EXAMPLES:

pañcagoṇiḥ 'bought for five *goṇī* (a sack of roughly seventy-five kilograms' capacity)'.
daśagoṇiḥ 'bought for ten *goṇī*'

1. This rule is an exception to the preceding rule in the sense that the

former orders the deletion of the feminine affix, while this one orders a replacement in *i*. Thus, according to this rule, there will be a short *i* replacement for the long *ī* of the feminine affix *ṄīṢ* of *goṇī*, given, of course, a *LUK*-deletion of a *taddhita* affix.

Some say that *iT*, a replacement in *i*, should not be stated. Pāṇini simply should have stated the rule as *goṇyāḥ na* 'no deletion of the feminine affix of *goṇī*....' Once the deletion was blocked, 1.2.48 *gostriyor upasarjanasya* would order the short replacement for the final *ī* of *goṇī* and everything would be in order. But actually forming the rule as a *vidhi* (*id goṇyāḥ*), or as a negation (*pratiṣedha: goṇyāḥ na*) does not make much difference. Still other commentators suggest that this rule should have been read with 1.2.49 *luktaddhitaluki*. This would then have made the rule to read as *goṇyāḥ*. There would no longer be any need for *iT* since *hrasva* could be carried from 1.2.48. See (*PM* ad *Kāś.* I:352).

1.2.51 **लुपि युक्तवद्व्यक्तिवचने**

lupi yuktavad vyaktivacane

/lupi 7/1 *yuktavat* Ø *vyaktivacane* 1/2/

lupi sati yuktavad vyaktivacane bhavataḥ

When there is a deletion of a *taddhita* affix by *LUP* (1.1.61 *pratyayasya lukślulupaḥ*), the original number (*saṃkhyā*) and gender (*liṅga*) of the base remains.

EXAMPLES:

pañcālāḥ (kṣatriyāḥ) 'place of residence of the Pañcāla warriors'
magadhāḥ 'place of residence of the Magadha warriors'
matsyāḥ 'place of residence of the Matsya warriors'
aṅgāḥ 'place of residence of the Aṅga warriors'
suhmāḥ 'place of residence of the Suhma warriors'
puṇḍrāḥ 'place of residence of the Puṇḍra warriors'

1. This rule allows the retention of the original number (*vacana*) and gender (*vyakti*) of a form whose *taddhita* affix has been deleted by *LUP*. The need for such a provision arises because the deletion of an affix creates a situation where the original number and gender of a form may not be retained after deletion.

As is obvious from the *vat* of *yuktavat*, 'like that with which the affix was joined', this rule is an extension (*atideśa*). Consequently, it extends the number (*vacana*) and gender (*vyakti*) of a given form (X_1) to another form (X_2), provided that:

(*a*) X_2 is derived by first introducing a *taddhita* affix after X_1, and
(*b*) subsequently deleting that affix by means of *LUP* (1.1.61 *pratyayasya lukślulupaḥ*).

When the above conditions are both met, X_2 retains the number and

gender of X_1. This rule provides for the extension of the number and gender of X_1, a possibility which would not otherwise be available. The number and gender of X_2 should normally be the number and gender of its own denotatum. This is the standard practice.

Let us take an example. The *taddhita* affix *ṬHaK* (4.4.22 *saṃsṛṣṭe...*) is introduced after the nominal stem *lavaṇa* 'salt' to denote the sense of 'mixed with' (*saṃsṛṣṭa*). Given the string *lavaṇa* + *ṬHaK*, rule 4.4.24 *lavaṇāl luk* deletes the affix by express mention of the term *LUK*. Now consider the derivation of a string denoting 'the soup mixed with salt', where we have two words: *lavaṇa* (X_2), derived by introducing and subsequently deleting the *taddhita* affix *ṬHaK* after *lavaṇa* (X_1), and *sūpa*. Since in the string to be derived *lavaṇa* (X_2) is being used as a qualifier (*viśeṣaṇa*) to denote *sūpa*, X_2 should take the number and gender of *sūpa*. Thus we will get *lavaṇaḥ sūpaḥ* masculine singular. The number and gender of X_1, from which X_2 was derived, is masculine singular.

If X_2 was allowed to retain the number and gender of X_1, forms such as *lavaṇā yavāgūḥ* 'salted barley' and *lavaṇaṃ śākam* 'salted leafy vegetable' could not be possible. Instead, the forms will be **lavaṇaḥ yavāgūḥ* and **lavaṇaḥ śākam* where *lavaṇa*, a masculine substantive, is used as an adjective to *yavagū* and *śāka*, masculine and neuter respectively. These wrong forms are prevented because the deletion of the affix *ṬHaK* in *lavaṇa*, X_2, is accomplished by *LUK* and not by *LUP*. It is because of this that X_2 does not have to take the number and gender of X_1

But let us consider an example when such a retention is possible. The word *śirīṣa*, denoting 'a nearby village', is derived by introducing the *taddhita* affix *aṆ* (4.2.69 *adūrabhavaś ca*) after *śirīṣa* 'a tree'. Given the string *śirīṣa* + *aṆ* rule 4.2.81 *varaṇādibhyaś ca* deletes the affix by express mention of the term *LUP*. Now, the derived form *śirīṣa* (X_2) denotes 'a nearby village', and as such it should be masculine singular. But since the deletion of *aṆ* was accomplished by *LUP*, rule 1.2.51 *lupi yuktavad vyaktivacane* would allow X_2 to retain the number-gender of X_1. As a consequence, *śirīṣa* (X_2) 'a nearby village', will be used as a masculine plural in accordance with the number and gender of *śirīṣa* (X_1) 'a tree'.

2. The very purpose of formulating this rule has been questioned in the *Mahābhāṣya* (II: 98-100), though Patañjali refutes it. It has been argued that this rule is not required, as number and gender can be determined according to the denotata and usage. For example, if it were not for the dominance of usage, *dārāḥ* 'wife' could not be obligatorily masculine plural.

Patañjali states that the purpose of this rule is not to specify the number-gender of a form, but to specify the extension of the number-gender of X_1 to X_2. The idea of the extension of the number-gender of X_1 to X_2 cannot be gotten by any means other than this rule. Thus, *yuktavadbhāva* 'likeness with that with which...' is the purpose of formulating this rule.

1.2.52 **विशेषणानां चाजातेः**

viśeṣaṇānāṃ cājāteḥ

/viśeṣaṇānām 6/3 *ca Ø ā Ø jāteḥ* 5/1/

(*lupi, yuktavad vyaktivacane* #51)

lubarthasya yāni viśeṣaṇāni teṣām api vyaktivacane bhavataḥ jātiṃ varjayitvā

An adjective, except for a word denoting *jāti* 'class', also retains its original number and gender when there is a *LUP*-deletion of an affix.

EXAMPLES:

pañcālāḥ ramaṇīyāḥ, bahvannāḥ, bahukṣīraghṛtāḥ bahumālyaphalāḥ 'the Pañcāla country is very beautiful, abundant in grain, milk, butter, flowers, and fruits'

godau ramaṇīyau, bahvannau, bahukṣīraghṛtau bahumālyaphalau 'Goda, the village with two ponds, is very beautiful, abundant in grain, milk, butter, flowers, and fruits'

1. We have noted that rule 1.2.51 *lupi yuktavad vyaktivacane* extends the number and gender of the denotatum of the source base (*prakṛtyarthaliṅgasaṃkhyā*), or X_1, to the derived base, or X_2. This takes place, of course, with the stipulation that such a base entails the introduction and subsequent deletion of a *taddhita* suffix with the express mention of *LUP*. Our present rule allows for the extension of the number and gender of the source base to the adjectives of the derived base, providing those adjectives do not denote *jāti* 'class'.

It has also been stated in our discussion of the previous rule (1.2.51) that the number and gender of a form is determined by its denotatum. This being the case, the number and gender of a derived base should normally have been determined by the denotatum of that base. Rule 1.2.51 is formulated to selectively block this general provision. That is, it extends the number and gender of the source base to the derived base against the general provision that the number and gender of the derived base should be determined in accordance with its own denotatum.

Rule 1.2.52 *viśeṣaṇānāṃ cājāteḥ* is another exception to the general provision that the number and gender of an adjective is determined on the basis of the noun it modifies. Let us understand this provision in the context of rule 1.2.51 *lupi yuktavad...*, which extends the number and gender of the source base to the derived base. Thus, the general provision validates the proposition that any adjective modifying the derived base must follow that base's number and gender. Rule 1.2.52 departs from this provision only in the single exceptional instance of an adjective denoting *jāti* 'class'. Such an adjective does not follow the number and gender of the derived base.

Let us consider the following example:

(*a*) *pañcālāḥ subhikṣāḥ sampannapānīyāḥ bahumālyaphalāḥ bahukṣīraghṛtāḥ*
'the Pañcāla (country) is generous in giving alms, has water in plenty, has abundant flowers and fruits, and is rich in milk and butter'

The word *pañcāla* is a derived base (X_2), where a *taddhita* affix denoting 'place of residence of the Pañcāla warriors' was introduced after the source base *pañcāla*, X_1. This affix was subsequently deleted by the express mention of the term *LUP*. It is for this reason that the derived base *pañcāla* in sentence (*a*) must be declined in the masculine plural. Note that in this sentence *pañcāla* denotes a place and, as such, according to its denotatum, it should be used in masculine singular. But since rule 1.2.51 *lupi yuktavad...* extends the masculine plural (gender-number) of the source base, X_1, to this derived base, X_2, *pañcāla* is used in the masculine plural.

The following sentence illustrates the provision of rule 1.2.52 *viśeṣaṇanāṃ cājāteḥ:*

(*b*) *pañcālāḥ janapadaḥ subhikṣaḥ sampannapānīyaḥ bahupālyaphalaḥ bahukṣīraghṛtaḥ*
'the country of the Pañcāla warriors is generous in giving alms, has water in plenty, has abundant flowers and fruits and is rich in milk and butter'

Note that according to the specification of rule 1.2.51 just discussed, *pañcāla* must be declined as masculine plural. There is syntactic co-ordination between the words *pañcāla* and *janapada* 'country', in the sense that their locus (*adhikaraṇa*) is the same (*samāna*). That is, they denote one and the same thing: the country of the residence of the Pañcāla warriors. Therefore *pañcala*, like *janapada*, should be declined in the masculine singular. But rule 1.2.51 would not permit this. The word *janapada* cannot be put in the masculine plural because that would be contrary to its own denotatum, a country. As a result, we have *pañcāla* in the plural and *janapada* in the singular.

What about adjectives such as *subhikṣa* 'generous in giving alms', *sampannapānīya* 'plentiful in water', *bahumālyaphala* 'abundant in flowers and fruits', and *bahukṣīraghṛta* 'rich in milk and butter'? How should they be declined? If one follows the general practice of assigning the number and gender to an adjective (*viśeṣaṇa*) according to its qualificand (*viśeṣya*), one would get a sentence such as (*a*) where the adjectives follow the number and gender of *pañcāla*. The problem, however, is faced in sentence (*b*) where both *pañcāla* and *janapada* are coterminus, but where they follow a different number and gender. The question is: should one accept the number and gender of these adjectives as similar to the number and gender of *pañcāla*, or should one accept the number and gender of *janapada*? Rule 1.2.52 resolves this conflict by stating that when the adjectives qualify *jāti* they do not retain the number and gender of their qualificand, which

is retaining the number and gender of its source base. The *pañcāla* in sentence *(a)* retains the number and gender of its original base, and the adjectives are not qualifying *jāti* since there is no mention of *janapada* 'country'. It is in view of this that the adjectives take the number and gender of their denotatum *pañcāla* 'a particular country'. In sentence *(b)*, however, the word *janapada* denoting *jāti* is used, and the adjectives also modify it, so they cannot retain the number and gender of *pañcāla*. Consequently, they are declined in accordance with the masculine singular gender and number of *janapada* denoting *jāti*.

2. A question is raised in the *Mahābhāṣya* (II: 102-3) whether *cājāteḥ* of the rule should be interpreted as *ca* + *ajāteḥ* or as *ca* + *ājāteḥ*. The first version will give the paraphrase *viśeṣaṇānāṃ ca ajāteḥ*, which, in the context of rule 1.2.51 *lupi yuktavad vyaktivacane*, would mean 'an adjective, when not qualifying a *jāti* word used explicitly, retains the original number and gender....' The *Mahābhāṣya* accepts the second version. Accordingly, the adjectives in the second sentence, contrary to their use in the first, are all used in masculine singular because the word *janapada* is explicitly used there.

1.2.53 तदशिष्यं संज्ञाप्रमाणत्वात्

tad aśiṣyaṃ saṃjñāpramāṇatvāt
/tat 1/1 *aśiṣyam* 1/1 *saṃjñāpramāṇatvāt* 5/1/
yuktavadbhāvalakṣaṇaṃ saṃjñāpramāṇatvān na vaktavyam
It (the retention of the original number and gender of a word) ought not to be taught (*aśiṣya*), since it is dependent upon usage.

EXAMPLES:

āpaḥ 'water'
dārāḥ 'wife'
gṛhāḥ 'house'
sikatāḥ 'sand'
varṣāḥ 'rain'

1. This rule heads the section traditionally referred to as the *aśiṣya* 'that which ought not to be taught'. The rule uses *yad* 'that', a variable whose antecedent in this context is *yuktavad vyaktivacane* 'retention of the number and gender of the original base...'. Some also, by inference, interpret the antecedent as number and gender in general. Pāṇini maintains that *yuktavadbhāva* ought not to be taught, since number and gender of the words in question would be determined by the usage itself. The same reasoning is worded in the form of *saṃjñāpramaṇatvāt* 'because the name (*saṃjñā*) itself is the standard (*pramāṇa*)'.

Let us recall the word *pañcālāḥ* 'the country of the Pañcāla warriors' to illustrate this point. At the time when this word was first used to denote 'the country of the Pañcāla warriors', there may have been a connection

between the country and the resident warriors named Pañcāla. But once the usage became standard there was no need to associate the word with the fact that Pañcāla warriors live in that place. This may be true or false. That is, the warriors may have left the country, yet the country could have retained the same name afterwards. This being the case, the number and gender of *pañcāla* should not be determined on the basis of the fact that this word is a derivative meaning *janapada*. Instead, its number and gender should be determined by the way it is used or by what it denotes.

Pāṇini elaborates this further by rule 1.2.55 *yoga pramāṇe ca tad abhāve' darśanaṃ syāt*. It is argued that if assigning a term to an item is dependent upon that item's association with *nivāsa* 'place of residence', the assigned term should no longer be used when the particular association disappears. Both of these rules are perhaps formulated to refute the idea of deriving the word *pañcāla* by the introduction and deletion of *aṆ* to denote 'residence of...'. Furthermore, they aim to reject the retention of the original number and gender as subjects deserving to be taught. By this Pāṇini means that, just as the number and gender of *dārāḥ* 'masculine plural meaning wife', *āpaḥ* 'feminine plural meaning water', *sikatāḥ* 'feminine plural meaning sand', and *varṣāḥ* 'feminine plural meaning rain' are determined by the usage, so the number and gender of a derived base such as *pañcāla* should be determined in the same way. Note in connection with the examples given above that even a single entity or part thereof must be used in plural.

2. A difficulty may be raised concerning *saṃjñāpramāṇa* of this rule. Since a name (*saṃjñā*) is itself dependent upon usage, how could it serve as the standard (*pramāṇa*) for usage? The difficulty can thus be recognized as one of 'mutual dependency' (*anyonyāśrayatva*). It is suggested in this connection that a *saṃjñā* is to be used first so that it could denote the *saṃjñin* (name-bearer). Once the name-bearer has been denoted, the *saṃjñā* becomes part of the usage. The *saṃjñā*, therefore, can still serve as *pramāṇa*. Consider an example from the real outside world. When Devadatta (*Mbh.* I:127), 'a lump of flesh', is born, his parents sit in the privacy of their home and name him Devadatta. This name, in turn, signifies that particular lump of flesh, or the son of that particular couple. Later, this name becomes part of the usage.

1.2.54 **लुब्योगाप्रख्यानात**

lub yogāprakhyānāt

/lup 1/1 *yogāprakhyānāt* 5/1/

(*aśiṣyam* # 53)

lub apy aśiṣyaḥ, yo' yam' janapade lup', 'varaṇādibhyaś ca' iti lub ucyate, ayaṃ na vaktavyaḥ yogāprakhyānāt

Since there is no necessary connection between the denotation of an affix and a particular place of residence, *LUP* need not be taught either.

1. This rule refutes the desirability of teaching the deletion of affixes denoting residence (*nivāsa*), etc. by means of *LUP*, when the meaning is *janapada* (4.2.81 *janapade lup*). The word *yoga* here means 'association or connection'. The implication is that since a particular country can still be called *pañcāla*, even when the *pañcāla* warriors have left, there is no necessary connection between the meaning of *pañcāla* 'country of Pañcāla warriors' and the affixes such as *aṆ* meaning 'place of residence (*nivāsa*). In this case, there can be no purpose to be served in teaching the deletion of those affixes by *LUP*.

The word *aprākhyānāt* means 'because of non-availability'. That is the non-availability of the meaning of the affix in the meaning of the derived word. To illustrate this a comparison is invoked. The word *daṇḍin* refers to an ascetic who carries a staff. It is a practice in the outside world to call *daṇḍin* only those ascetics who carry a staff. In this sense, then, there is a necessary connection between the meaning of the word *daṇḍin* and the affix which was introduced to derive it. But such a connection does not exist between the meaning of the word *pañcāla* and the affix which was introduced to derive it. It is in this respect that instruction about the deletion of this affix by *LUP* also becomes undesirable.

1.2.55 **योगप्रमाणे च तदभावेऽदर्शनं स्यात्**

yogapramāṇe ca tad abhāve' darśanaṃ syāt

/yogapramāṇe 7/1 *ca* Ø *tadabhāve* 7/1 *adarśanam* 1/1 *syāt* (*tiṄ*)/

(*aśiṣyam* # 53)

yadi pañcālādi śabdo yogasya pramāṇaṃ syāt tatas tadabhāve' darśanaṃ syāt

If assigning a term to an item is dependent upon that item's association with *nivāsa* 'place of residence', the assigned term should no longer be used when the particular association disappears.

1. If indeed a word has some necessary connection with what it denotes, it should cease to denote that thing when the connection is removed. That is, if words such as *pañcāla* denote a particular part of the country simply because that part was inhabited by the Pañcāla warriors, the word *pañcāla* should no longer be used to denote that part of the country after, for one reason or another, the warriors cease to inhabit that area. However, the fact is that the word *pañcāla* is used to denote the country even after the Pañcāla warriors have left. This proves that there is no necessary connection between a word and its denotatum. A word may be accepted as being used in the sense of what it denotes only conventionally.

1.2.56 **प्रधानप्रत्ययार्थवचनमर्थस्यान्यप्रमाणत्वात्**

pradhānapratyayārthavacanam arthasya anyapramāṇatvāt

/pradhānapratyayārthavacanam 1/1 *arthasya* 6/1 *anyapramāṇatvāt* 5/1/

(*aśiṣyam* # 53)
pradhānaṃ samāse kiñcit padam, pratyayaḥ tavyad-ādiḥ tābhyām artha vacanam anena prakāreṇa bhavatīti pūrvācāryaiḥ paribhāṣitam; tat pāṇinir ācāryaḥ pratyācaṣṭe: aśiṣyam etat, arthasya anyapramāṇatvāt
pratyācaṣṭe: aśiṣyam etat, arthasya anyapramāṇatvāt
'A particular constituent is the principal constituent, or a particular meaning is the meaning of a given affix' ought not to be taught either, since *artha* 'meaning' is dependent upon *loka* 'usage'.

1. This rule questions the desirability of teaching the meaning. For example, of compounds (*samāsa*) on the basis of the principal (*pradhāna*) or secondary (*gauṇa*) nature of their constituents. It also questions the desirability of teaching the meaning of the base and the affixes as expressed by bases. The reason again is given as usage, which alone can determine the meaning.

Given the compound *rājapuruṣaḥ* 'king's man', one understands that *puruṣa* 'man' is the principal constituent and *rājan* is secondary. To teach the meaning of a compound such as this by stating that the meaning of the principal constituent is principal would be futile. When asked *rājapuruṣam ānaya* 'bring the king's man', naturally one will not bring the king or a man, but will bring a man associated with the king. This, in turn, proves the statement that one need not be taught the meaning of the compound on the basis of the principal or secondary status of its constituents.

To take another example: *aupagavaḥ* is derived by introducing affix *aṆ* after *upagu* + *Ṅas*. The affix means 'offspring' and it is said that in *aupagavaḥ* both the meaning of the base *upagu* as well as the meaning of affix *aṆ* is expressed by the base *aupagava*. If in view of this one expects that the grammar should teach the meaning of *aupagava* in terms of the meaning of the base and the affix, that again will be undesirable. Obviously, when asked *aupagavam ānaya* 'bring Aupagava', one would not bring Upagu or any other offspring. One would, even if one did not study grammar, bring only the male offspring of Upagu. This proves that the meaning of bases, simple or complex, is based on usage. To teach them by specifying the meanings of their constituency will be undesirable.

1.2.57 **कालोपसर्जने च तुल्यम्**
kālopasarjane ca tulyam
/kālopasarjane 1/2 *ca* Ø *tulyam* 1/1/
(*aśiṣyam* # 53)
kālopasarjane cāśiṣye arthasya anyapramāṇatvāt
'Concept of time' (*kāla*) and 'secondary constituent of a compound' (*upasarjana*) ought not to be taught for similar reasons.

1. This rule questions the desirability of teaching the notions of *upasarjana*

'secondary' or *kāla* 'aspects of time', for reasons similar to those given in the preceding rules. Let us consider the time span known as *adyatana* 'pertaining to today' which is variously defined. Some say that the time between the last quarter of a night and the first quarter of the following night should be known as *adyatana*. Others define it as the time between the midnight of one night and the midnight of the following night. Actually, it is the usage of *adyatana* which determines exactly what it means (See *Nyāsa* ad *Kaś.* I: 364: *tad evam sakalo divasaḥ pūrvasyāś ca rātreḥ paścimo yāmaḥ, āgāminyāś ca prathamo yama ityeṣo' dyatanakāla ityuktaṃ bhavati...kṛtsno divasa ubhayataś cārddharātram...*). As the notions of 'today' and 'tomorrow' are known even to an ordinary person, so are known the notions of *upasarjana* 'secondary' and *pradhāna* 'principal'. After all, people habitually use such expressions as 'I am secondary (*upasarjana*) in the village', 'I am principal (*pradhāna*) in the house', and so on.

2. The word *tulyam* 'equally, the same' is used here to apply to the context of this rule the reasoning of the previous rule: *arthasya anyapramāṇatvāt* 'because meaning is dependent on something else (usage)'. (See *Nyāsa* ad *Kaś.* I: 363 *tasmāt tulyagrahaṇasāmarthyāt pūrvako hetur atrānuvartate. tena tulyaśabdo hetvanukarṣaṇārtho bhavatīti.* 'Therefore on the strength of the use of the word *tulya*, the cause from the earlier rule is carried. Thus, the word *tulya* then becomes used for the purpose of bringing the *hetu* 'cause'.)

A question is raised as to why Pāṇini did not include *kālopasarjane* of this rule in the preceding rule. If he had done so, the present rule would not have been needed. Nor would he have needed to say *tulyam*. *Kaśikā* thinks that Pāṇini split these rules for the purpose of explication or illustration. (I: 364: *pūrvasūtra eva kālopasarjanagrahaṇaṃ kasmān na kriyate, kimartho yogavibhāgaḥ? pradarśanārthaḥ.*)

1.2.58 जात्याख्यायामेकस्मिन्बहुवचनमन्यतरस्याम्

jātyākhyāyām ekasmin bahuvacanam anyatarasyām
jātyākhyāyām 7/1 *ekasmin* 7/1 *bahuvacanam* 1/1 *anyatarasyām* 7/1
jātyākhyāyām ekasminn arte bahuvacanam anyatarasyāṃ bhavati
Plural optionally can be used for singular when *jāti* 'class' is to be expressed.

EXAMPLES:

saṃpanno yavaḥ 'rich barley'
saṃpannā yavāḥ 'rich barley (pl.)'
saṃpanno vrīhiḥ 'rich paddy'
saṃpannā vrīhayaḥ 'rich paddies'
pūrvavayā brāhmaṇaḥ pratyuttheyaḥ 'let the *brāhmaṇa* older in age stand up'
pūrvavayaso brāhmaṇāḥ pratyuttheyāḥ 'let the *brāhmaṇa* (pl.) older in age stand up'

1. This rule provides optional plural for the singular of words denoting *jāti*. The word *jāti* is explained as denoting 'a thing which is one (*eka*) though it resides in many'. Consider, for example, *gotva* 'cowness', which is *jāti* and which has the *dravya* 'concrete object' known as 'cow' (*go*) as its locus. As opposed to this consider *devadatta*, which is a name. It does not have more than one locus, and therefore cannot have optional plural according to the provisions of this rule. (See *Nyāsa* ad *Kaś.* I: 366: *anekavyktyādhārā hi jātiḥ. tato na devadattatvaṃ nāma jātir astīti na bhavaty atra bahuvadbhāvaḥ: 'jāti* is something which resides in many individual loci. The name Devadatta does not form a *jāti*, hence there is no extension of optional plural in place of its singular.')

It is said that *jāti* could not have number (*saṃkhyā*) since by nature it has *vyakti* 'individual things' as locus. And as such, only the individuals would have number. Thus, the question of introducing plural (*bahuvacana*) does not arise. Grammarians do not find this a problem, because in this context they take number as referring to the number which distinguishes one manifestation of *jāti* from the other. *(Nyāsa* ad *Kaś.* I: 364: *nanu ca jāteḥ saṃkhyā na vidyate? tasyāḥ dravyadharmatvāt...tathāpi 'bhedakā guṇāḥ' ity asmad darśane bhedamātrā yā saṃkhyā sā vidyata evety adoṣaḥ.)* Besides, this rule does not introduce *bahuvacana* 'plural' as one would introduce it, for instance, after *brāhmaṇa* to denote many such men. Instead, this rule extends the plural status to the form which is basically singular. If the plural were to be introduced as it would be to pluralize *brāhmaṇa*, let us say by means of *Jas* 'nominative plural', then the adjective of the *jāti* would also get the plural. This would result in expressions such as *pañcālaḥ janapadāḥ subhikṣāḥ bahumālyaphalāḥ bahukṣīraghṛtāḥ...* 'the country of the Pañcāla warriors is generous in giving alms, is abundant in fruits and flowers, is very rich in milk and butter...'. This rule therefore implies the non-technical meaning of *bahuvacana* 'to speak of many in the sense of one'. It is in this way that the single *jāti* can be spoken of as many. (See *Nyāsa* ad *Kaś.* I: 365 for details.)

Note that *jāti* is inherently singular, and hence this singular becomes given or available (*prāpta*). Since this *prāpta* is optionally extended the status of plural, this option (*vibhāṣā*) is called *prāptavibhāṣā* 'option to what is already provided for'. This transfer of plural to the meaning of a singular is called in traditional circles *arthabahutvādeśa*. Our next rule also entails an instance of the transfer of plural to the meaning of a singular or dual form of *asmad* 'I'.

1.2.59 **अस्मदो द्वयोश्च**

asmado dvayoś ca

/asmadaḥ 6/1 *dvayoḥ* 7/2 *ca* 0/

(ekasmin bahuvacanam anyatarasyām # 58)

asmado yo' rthas tasyaikatve dvitve ca bahuvacanam anyatarasyāṃ bhavati
Plural optionally can be used for a singular or dual denotatum of *asmad* 'I'.

EXAMPLES:

ahaṃ bravīmi 'I speak'
āvāṃ brūvaḥ 'we two speak'
vayaṃ brūmaḥ 'we speak'

1.2.60 **फल्गुनीप्रोष्ठपदानां च नक्षत्रे**
phalgunīproṣṭhapadānāṃ ca nakṣatre
/phalgunīproṣṭhapadānām 6/3 *ca* Ø *nakṣatre* 7/1/.
phalgunyor dvayoḥ proṣṭhapadayoś ca dvayor nakṣatrayor bahuvacanam anyatarasyāṃ bhavati
Plural optionally can be used for denoting the dual of the constellations *phalgunī* and *proṣṭhapadā.*

EXAMPLES:

kadā pūrve phalgunyau, kadā pūrvāḥ phalgunyaḥ 'When are the Pūrvā and Uttarā-Phalgunī constellations?'
kadā pūrve proṣṭhapade, kadā pūrvāḥ proṣṭhapadāḥ 'When are the Pūrvā and Uttarā Proṣṭhapadā constellations?'

1. The word *nakṣatra* is used in this rule to make sure that only the constellation meaning is comprehended. Otherwise, the word *phalgunī* could also refer to 'a girl born in the constellation of Phalguṇī'. The *ca* is used in the rule to assimilate into its meaning the fact that *phalgunī* and *proṣṭhapadā* are terms each referring to two constellations: *pūrvā phalgunī/ uttarā phalgunī* and *pūrvā proṣṭhapadā / uttarā proṣṭhapadā.*

The *Mahābhāṣya* (II: 110) rejects this rule by saying that even without this rule *bahuvacana* can be gotten. Since the words *phalgunī* and *proṣṭhapadā* refer to two constellations each, and also since these words are used to denote the time when the moon is proximate to them, these words could individually mean three things: two constellations and the moon, because of her proximity to or conjunction with the constellations. When the constellations and not the moon are to be expressed, dual can be used. When both the constellations and the moon are meant, plural can be used.

1.2.61 **छन्दसि पुनर्वस्वोरेकवचनम्**
chandasi punarvasvor ekavacanam
/chandasi 7/1 *punarvasvoḥ* 6/1 *ekavacanam* 1/1/
(anyatarasyām # 58)
punarvasvoś chandasi viṣaye ekavacanam anyatarasyāṃ bhavati .
Singular can be used for denoting the dual of *punarvasu* in Vedic.

EXAMPLES:

punarvasur nakṣatram aditir devatā 'Punarvasu are constellations, Aditi is the deity'
punarvasū nakṣatram aditir devatā 'Punarvasu are the constellations, Aditi is the deity'

1.2.62 **विशाखयोश्च**

viśākhayoś ca
/viśākhayoḥ 6/2 *ca* ॥
(chandasi # 61, *anyatarasyām* # 58)
dvivacane prāpte chandasi viṣaye viśākhayor ekavacanam anyatarasyāṃ bhavati
In Vedic, singular optionally can be used to denote the dual of *viśākhā* also.

EXAMPLES:

viśākhaṃ nakṣatram indrāgnī devatā 'Viśākhā are constellations, Indra and Agni are the deities'
viśākhe nakṣatram indrāgnī devatā 'Viśākhā are the constellations, Indra and Agni are the deities'

1.2.63 **तिष्यपुनर्वस्वोर्नक्षत्रद्वन्द्वे बहुवचनस्य द्विवचनं नित्यम्**

tiṣyapunarvasvor nakṣatradvandve bahuvacanasya dvivacanam nityam
/tiṣyapunarvasvoḥ 6/2 *nakṣatradvandve* 7/1 *bahuvacanasya* 6/1 *dvivacanam* 1/1 *nityam* 1/1
tiṣyapunarvasvor nakṣatraviṣaye dvandve bahuvacanaprasaṅge nityaṃ dvivacanaṃ bhavati
In a *dvandva* (2.2.29 *cārthe dvandvaḥ)* compound of *tiṣya* and *punarvasu* which denotes *nakṣatra, dvivacana* 'dual' obligatorily is used for *bahuvacana* 'plural'.

EXAMPLES:

uditau tiṣyapunarvasū dṛśyete 'the Tiṣya and Punarvasu constellations are seen rising'

1. Note that *tiṣya* is one constellation but *punarvasu* are two. A *dvandva* compound of these three would have automatically become plural. This rule obligatorily blocks the plural in favour of a dual.

The word *nakṣatra* is used here again to indicate that the meaning of *tiṣya* and *punarvasu* is not the meaning one would find in expressions such as: *punarvasū māṇavakau* 'the two boys born in the constellation of Punarvasu'. A question is further raised as to why Pāṇini preferred to use the word *nakṣatra* explicitly, instead of bringing it by means of *anuvṛtti*. *Kāśikā* (I: 371)

states that the reason for this was to enable the synonyms of *tiṣya* and *punarvasu* to be covered. It offers as an example *siddhyapunarvasū*, parallel to *tiṣyapunarvasū*, where *siddhya* is a synonym of *tiṣya*. The *Mahābhāṣya* (II: 111) argues that these words could mean three things: (1) constellation; (2) persons born at the time when the moon was in conjunction with these constellations; and (3) the time of the moon's conjunction with these constellations. The word *nakṣatra* in the earlier rules is intended to give the meaning of the time of the moon's conjunction with these constellations. But in this rule, what is intended as the meaning is the *nakṣatra* itself. It is to indicate this that Pāṇini makes explicit use of the word *nakṣatra*.

The word *dvandva* is also important for this rule, because *tiṣyapunarvasavaḥ* is used as a *bahuvrīhi* compound with the paraphrase *yas tiṣyas tau punarvasū yeṣāṃ ta ime tiṣyapunarvasavaḥ*. The expression *unmugdhā tiṣyapunarvasavaḥ* refers to those people for whom the meaning of *tiṣya*, whatever it is, is the same as the meaning of *punarvasu*. That is, those people are confused (*unmugdha*) and cannot discriminate between *tiṣya* and *punarvasu*.

1.2.64 सरूपाणामेकशेष एकविभक्तौ

sarūpāṇām ekaśeṣa ekavibhaktau
/sarūpāṇāṃ 6/3 *ekaśeṣaḥ* 1/1 *ekavibhaktau* 7/1/
sarūpāṇāṃ śabdānām ekavibhaktau parata ekaśeṣo bhavati
Only one remains from among those which have the same form and which occur before the same *vibhakti* 'nominal ending'.

EXAMPLES:

vṛkṣaś ca vṛkṣaś ca = *vṛkṣau* 'two trees'
vṛkṣaś ca vṛkṣaś ca vṛkṣaś ca = *vṛkṣāḥ* 'trees'

1. This rule orders the retention of only one form from among many similar ones when they occur before a similar inflectional ending. Thus, given the string *vṛkṣa* + *sU* + *vṛkṣa* + *sU*, + *vṛkṣa* + *sU*, where three similar forms of *vṛkṣa* are occurring before the same *sU*, only one is retained and the rest are dropped. As a result, we get *vṛkṣa* + *Jas* = *vṛkṣāḥ*. Note that the singular ending *sU* will no longer be valid. It must be replaced by the plural as the signification is 'many'. The same process can be seen to operate in the retention of one in deriving *vṛkṣau* nominative dual, from *vṛkṣa* + *sU* + *vṛkṣa* + *sU* = *vṛkṣa* + *auṬ* = *vṛkṣau*.

Commentators explain that since each unit of meaning requires a word for its signification, no single word can express more than one unit of meaning. This being the case, more than one unit of meaning can only be expressed by more than one word. It is to facilitate the expression of more than one unit of meaning by a single word that *ekaśeṣa* is employed. It is then possible for three units of meaning of *vṛkṣa* to be expressed by *vṛkṣāḥ*

where the base is only one. (See *Kāś.* I: 373: *pratyartham śabdaniveśān naikenānekasyābhidhānam. tatrānekārthābhidhāne' nekaśabdatvaṃ prāptam, tasmād ekaśeṣaḥ.)*

The word *sarūpa* refers to similarity of form. If two or more items are not similar in form, then *ekaśeṣa* will not be allowed. It is for this reason that we cannot retain only one of the items in *plakṣa + sU + nyagrodha + sU;* we must use them instead as part of a *dvandva* compound in dual: *plakṣanyagrodhau* 'the *plakṣa* and the *nyagrodha* trees'. The word *rūpa* also attests to the fact that similarity of meaning is not a condition for *ekaśeṣa*. Similar forms with dissimilar meanings, on the other hand, can be allowed as part of *ekaśeṣa*. One can therefore retain just one *akṣa* 'dice, axle, sensory organ, etc.'even though the many used do not mean the same thing. The word *eka* 'one' of *ekaśeṣa* is used to make sure that only one form is retained. The *śeṣa* is used to indicate that *ekaśeṣa* is not *ādeśa* 'replacement' in place of the similar forms. This means that the genitive of *sarūpāṇām* has to be interpreted not as *sthānaṣaṣṭhī,* or genitive denoting 'in place of' (1.1.49 *ṣaṣṭhī sthāneyogā).* It should rather be interpreted as the genitive of specification (*nirdhāraṇa*), thereby giving the meaning 'one from among many which are similar in form'.

An interpretation of genitive as *sthānaṣaṣṭhī* will create all kinds of problems, especially with reference to accentuation (see *Kāśikā, Nyāsa* and *Padamañjarī* (I: 378-79) for details). Finally, the requirement of similar inflectional ending (*ekavibhakti*) is part of the rule to block *ekaśeṣa* in cases where the forms may be similar but the endings differ. Consider, for example, *brāhmaṇābhyām ca kṛtam* 'done by two *brāhmaṇas'* and *brāhmaṇābhyām ca dehi* 'give to the two *brāhmaṇas',* where the forms are similar but the endings are different. The fact that the two different endings result in the same form is not crucial. The first ending is instrumental dual, as opposed to the second, which is dative dual. Since the endings are different, *ekaśeṣa* cannot be permitted.

1.2.65 वृद्धो यूना तल्लक्षणश्चेदेव विशेषः

vṛddho yūnā tallakṣaṇaś ced eva viśeṣaḥ
/vṛddhaḥ 1/1 *yūnā* 3/1 *tallakṣaṇaḥ* 1/1 *cet Ø eva Ø viśeṣaḥ* 1/1/
(śeṣaḥ # 64)
vṛddhayūnoḥ sahavacane vṛddhaḥ śiṣyate tallakṣaṇaś ced eva viśeṣaḥ
Only that which ends in an affix denoting *vṛddha 'gotra* or grandsons, and so on,' remains when it is used with a word ending in an affix denoting *yuvan* 'younger descendant' and the distinction is caused only by the affixes.

EXAMPLES:

gārgyaś ca gārgyāyaṇaś ca = gārgyau 'grandson and great-grandson

of Garga'
vātsyaś ca vātsyāyanaś ca = vātsyau 'grandson and great-grandson of Vatsa'

1. This rule allows *ekaśeṣa* in instances where a word denoting a *gotra* descendant (4.1.162 *apatyaṃ pautraprabhṛti gotram)* is used with another word denoting a young *(yuvan) gotra* descendant (4.1.163 *jīvati tu vaṃśye yuvā)* provided the difference between those two is characterized by the affixes alone. Consider *gārgya + sU + gārgyāyaṇa + sU* where *gārgya* denotes the offspring (*gotra* descendant) of Garga and *gārgyāyaṇa* denotes the young male *gotra* descendant of Garga, such that the only difference between *gārgya* and *gārgyāyaṇa* is that caused by the affixes *aÑ* (in *gārgya*) and *pha* (in *gārgyāyaṇa*). It is in this sense that we call the differences between these forms as characterized by the affixes. A sequence such as *gārgya + sU + vātsyāyana + sU* cannot be allowed to go through *ekaśeṣa,* since the difference between them is not only characterized by the affixes but also by their own forms.

The word *tat* of *tallakṣaṇa* refers to *vṛddho yūnā* 'a *vṛddha* being used with a *yuvan'* and *lakṣaṇa* itself denotes *nimitta* 'cause'. Read with *cet* 'if' and *viśeṣa* 'difference' this gives us the meaning: if the difference is caused by the affixes *vṛddha* and *yuvan* alone.

1.2.66 **स्त्री पुंवच्च**

strī puṃvac ca
/strī 1/1 *puṃvat Ø ca Ø/*
(vṛddho yūnā tallakṣaṇaś ced eva viśeṣaḥ # 65)
strī vṛddhā yūnā sahavacane śiṣyate tallakṣaṇaś ced eva viśeṣo bhavati
Only the feminine form which ends in a *gotra* affix remains when it is used with a word ending in an affix denoting *yuvan,* provided the difference in them is caused only by these affixes. In addition, the feminine form is changed into masculine.

EXAMPLES:

gārgī ca gārgyāyaṇaś ca = gārgyau 'grand-daughter and great-grandson of Garga'
vatsī ca vātsyāyanaś ca = vātsyau 'grand-daughter and great-grandson of Vatsa'
dākṣī ca dākṣāyaṇaś ca = dākṣyau 'grand-daughter and great-grandson of Dakṣa'

1. This rule carries the *anuvṛtti* of *vṛddho yūnā tallakṣaṇaś ced eva viśeṣaḥ* (1.2.65). Consequently, *strī* 'feminine' is modified by *vṛddhā.* But what does the word *strī* mean? There could be three possibilities:

(*a*) *strī* refers to the word-form *strī* 'woman',

(*b*) *strī* refers to the meaning of the word-form *strī*, and
(*c*) *strī* refers to affixes introduced in the domain of 4.1.3 *striyām*.

Commentators explain that interpretations (*a*) and (*c*) are problematic. For example, if *strī* refers to the word-form *strī*, then given the string *gārgyaś ca gārgyāyaṇaś ca*, the *ekaśeṣa* will not be *gargāḥ*. This is because rule 2.4.64 *yañño ś ca* will not be able to delete affix *yaÑ*, which carries the *anuvṛtti* of *astriyām* 'when not *strī*' from 2.4.62 *tadrājasya...*

1.2.67 पुमान्स्त्रिया

pumān striyā
/pumān 1/1 *striyā* 3/1/
(tallakṣaṇaś ced eva viśeṣaḥ # 65)
striyā sahavacane pumān śiṣyate; strī nivartate: strīpuṃsalakṣaṇaś ced eva viśeṣo bhavati
Only the masculine form remains when it is used with the feminine and the distinction is due only to masculine and feminine.

EXAMPLES:

brāhmaṇaś ca brāhmaṇī ca = *brāhmaṇau* 'the *brāhmaṇa* and his wife'
kukkuṭaś ca kukkuṭī ca = *kukkuṭau* 'the rooster and the hen'

1. Note that *tallakṣaṇaś ced eva viśeṣaḥ* refers to the differences caused by gender only when like forms are being used. It is for this reason that *brāhmaṇa* and *brāhmaṇī* of *brāhmaṇaś ca brāhmaṇī ca* can yield *brāhmaṇau*. As opposed to this, *kukkuṭaś ca mayurī ca* cannot yield **kukkuṭamayūryau* 'chicken and pea-hen' for the reason that they differ in the word-form.

1.2.68 भ्रातृपुत्रौ स्वसृदुहितृभ्याम्

bhrātṛputrau svasṛduhitṛbhyām
/bhrātṛputrau 1/2 *svasṛduhitṛbhyām* 3/1/
(śeṣaḥ # 64)
yathāsaṃkhyaṃ bhrātṛputraśabdau śiṣyete sahavacane svasṛduhitṛbhyām
Only *bhrātṛ* 'brother' and *putra* 'son' remain when they are used with *svasṛ* 'sister' and *duhitṛ* 'daughter' respectively.

EXAMPLES:

bhrātā ca svasā ca = *bhrātarau* 'brother and sister'
putraś ca duhitā ca = *putrau* 'son and daughter'

1. This rule does not carry the *anuvṛtti* of *tallakṣaṇaś ced eva viśeṣaḥ*, as the items enumerated under this rule have formal differences. This may even be considered as the reason for the formulation of this rule; for, in its absence, no rule could account for the cited examples.

1.2.69 **नपुंसकमनपुंसकेनैकवच्चास्यान्यतरस्याम्**

napuṃsakam anapuṃsakenaikavac cāsyānyatarasyām
napuṃsakam 1/1 *anapuṃsakena* 3/1 *ekavat* Ø *ca* Ø *asya* 6/1 *anyatarasyām* 7/1/
(*tallakṣaṇaś ced eva viśeṣaḥ* # 65, *śeṣaḥ* # 64)
napuṃsakān anapuṃsakamātrakṛte viśeṣe' napuṃsakena sahavacane napuṃsakaṃ śiṣyate, ekavac ca asya kāryaṃ bhavati anyatarasyām
That which denotes neuter remains when it is used with that which denotes non-neuter, provided the difference is due only to these items. In addition, the neuter is treated optionally as denoting singular.

EXAMPLES:

śuklaś ca kambalaḥ śuklā ca bṛhatikā śuklaṃ ca vastram = śuklam / śuklāni
'the white blanket, upper garment, and garment'

1. This rule provides for the retention of the neuter when it is used with a non-neuter, providing that both are distinguished on the basis of neuter and non-neuter qualities alone. Furthermore, the neuter retained is optionally used in singular. Consider the following sentences:
   (*a*) *ālasyaḥ sevyamānaḥ vivarddhate* 'laziness, if indulged, increases'
   (*b*) *maithunaṃ sevyamānaṃ vivarddhate* 'sensuality, if indulged, increases'
   (*c*) *nidrā sevyamānā vivarddhate* 'sleepiness, if indulged, increases'

Note that *sevyamāna* is used in masculine, neuter and feminine respectively. When one wishes to combine these three sentences into one, the result will be:

   (*d*) *ālasyo maithunaṃ nidrā sevyamānaṃ vivarddhate* 'laziness, sensuality, and sleepiness, if indulged, increase'

The word *sevyamāna* is used here in (*d*) in neuter singular, although in the individual contexts of *ālasya* and *nidrā* it is construed in masculine and feminine respectively. Rule 1.2.69 makes it possible for only *sevyamānaṃ*, the neuter, to be retained. It can also be used, optionally, in singular. That is, given this context, *sevyamāna* could also be used in plural, i.e., *sevyamānāni*. The same is true of the *śukla* 'white' of the example *śuklaś ca kambalaḥ, śuklā ca bṛhatikā, śuklaṃ ca vastram'* where *śuklaś ca śuklā ca śuklaṃ ca* would yield *śuklam* or *śuklāni*. Observe that a neuter is used here with a non-neuter as dictated by the condition of *anapuṃsakena*, for, in its absence, *śuklaṃ ca śuklaṃ ca śuklaṃ ca* could not obligatorily yield *śuklāni*.

2. The word *asya* 'of this' is used here to make sure that *ekavat* 'onelike, singular' is not carried any further. Without this provision, *ekavat* would be carried to subsequent rules along with *anyatarasyām*, as required by association (*sāhacarya*). Consequently, in subsequent rules, whatever is retained would get the assignment of the singular number. It may be argued that if Pāṇini did not want *ekavat* to apply to subsequent rules, the

lack of *svarita* on *ekavat* would have accomplished that purpose. Why, then, did he use *asya*? The answer is probably that he wished to avoid confusion.

Commentators also indicate that *anyatarasyām,* because of its close proximity *(ānantarya),* should be constructed only with *ekavat* and not with *ekaśeṣa* 'retention of one'. In other words, what is made optional here is not the process of retaining one item but the assignment of number (*vacana*). (For details, see *Nyāsa* and *Kāś.* I: 385.)

1.2.70 पिता मात्रा

pitā mātrā
/pitā 1/1 *mātrā* 3/1/
(*anyatarasyām* 69, *śeṣaḥ* # 64)
mātrā sahavacane pitṛ-śabdaḥ śiṣyate anyatarasyām
Optionally, *pitā* 'father' is retained when used with *mātā* 'mother'.

EXAMPLES:

mātā ca pitā ca = *pitarau* / *mātāpitarau* 'parents; mother and father'

1.2.71 श्वशुरः श्वश्रूवा

śvaśuraḥ śvaśrvā
/śvaśuraḥ 1/1 *śvaśrvā* 3/1/
(*anyatarasyām* # 69, *śeṣaḥ* # 64)
śvaśrvā sahavacane śvaśuraḥ śiṣyate anyatarasyām
Optionally, *śvaśura* 'father-in-law' is retained when used with *śvaśrū* 'mother-in-law'.

EXAMPLES:

śvaśuraś ca śvaśrūś ca = *śvaśurau* 'father-in-law and mother-in law'
śvaśrūśvaśurau 'in-laws'

1.2.72 त्यदादीनि सर्वैर्नित्यम्

tyadādīni sarvair nityam
/tyadādīni 1/3 *sarvaiḥ* 3/3 *nityam* 1/1/
(*śeṣaḥ* # 64)
tyadādīni śabdarūpāṇi sarvaiḥ sahavacane nityaṃ śiṣyaṃte tyadādibhir anyaiś ca
Items enumerated in the list headed by *tyad* obligatorily are retained when used with any other items.

EXAMPLES:

sa ca devadattaś ca = *tau* 'he and Devadatta; they'
yaś ca devadattaś ca = *yau* 'he and Devadatta who...; those two who...'

1. Note that *tyadādi* refers to a list of items headed by *tyad* and contained

within the larger set headed by *sarva* (1.1.27 *sarvādīni sarvanāmānī*). The *sarva* 'all' here refers to all other items that may be in use with *tyad,* etc. For example, *sa ca devadattaś ca = tau* 'he and Devadatta = they'. Pāṇini anticipates formal differences in items undergoing *ekaśeṣa* and referred to here by *tyad,* etc., and *sarva.* This is also attested by the fact that *sarūpāṇām* is not carried in this rule from 1.2.64.

The word *nityam* 'obligatorily' is used here to drop the *anuvṛtti* of *anyatarasyām* 'optionally' from rule 1.2.69 *napuṃsakam...* It is also to be noted that when an item belonging to the list headed by *tyad* is to be used with another such item, the one used subsequent in order is retained in dual. Thus *sa ca yaś ca = yau* 'he and he who = those (two) who'.

1.2.73 ग्राम्यपशुसंघेष्वतरुणेषु स्त्री

grāmyapaśusaṅghaṣv ataruṇeṣu strī
/grāmyapaśusaṅgheṣu 7/3 *ataruṇeṣu* 7/3 *strī* 1/1/
(śeṣaḥ # 64)
grāmyānāṃ paśūnāṃ saṅghāḥ = grāmyapaśusaṅghāḥ; eteṣv ataruṇeṣu sahavivakṣāyāṃ strī śiṣyate
That which denotes feminine is retained when items denoting non-young groups of domesticated animals are used together.

EXAMPLES:

gāva imāḥ 'these cows and bulls'
ajā imāḥ 'these goats and she-goats'

1. Rule 1.2.67 *pumān striyā* provides for the retention of the masculine form when both masculine and feminine are used. This rule allows a qualified retention of the feminine.

2. The word *ataruṇa* 'non-young' cannot be interpreted as qualifying the principal constituent *saṃgha* 'group, herd' of *grāmyapaśusaṃgha,* for the idea of *tāruṇya* 'youngness' is incompatible with *saṃgha.* Commentators conclude that *ataruṇa* therefore qualifies the secondary (*gauṇa*) constituent, which is *paśu* 'animal'.

1.3.1 भूवादयो धातवः

bhūvādayo dhātavaḥ
/bhūvādayaḥ 1/3 *bhūś ca vaśca = bhūvau (dv.); bhūvau ādī yeṣāṃ te = bhūvādayaḥ (bv.* with internal *dv.); dhātavaḥ* 1/3/
'bhū' ity evam ādayaḥ śabdāḥ kriyāvacanā dhātusaṃjñā bhavanti
Items beginning with the class headed by *bhū* 'to be, become' are termed *dhātu* 'root'.

EXAMPLES:

bhū 'to be, become' as in *bhavati* 'he becomes'

edhÃ 'to increase, grow, prosper' as in *edhate* 'he prospers'
sparddhÃ 'to compete, be envious' as in *sparddhate* 'he competes'

1. Commentators generally have explained the word *bhūvādayaḥ* in two ways.

(*a*) Given the compound *bhū-vā-ādī, bhū* and *vā* first are combined to yield a *dvandva* compound *bhūvau* which, in turn, is combined with *ādī* to yield a *bahuvrīhi* compound *bhūvādayaḥ*. The analyzed form of this *bahuvrīhi* compound with its internal *dvandva* would be: *bhūśca vaśca = bhūvau; bhūvau ādī yeṣāṃ te bhūvādayaḥ*. Commentators add, however, that the word *ādī* 'and so on' has to be interpreted, in the case of *bhū,* as signifying *vyavasthā* 'a definite arrangement, namely the arrangement of roots in classes', and, in case of *vā,* as signifying *prakāra* 'type'. This will facilitate the interpretation of *bhūvādayaḥ* as 'items beginning with *bhū* and those which are similar to *vā* 'to move', inform'. The *vyavasthā* interpretation will rule out the designation of the term *dhātu* to *bhū* 'earth' while the *prakāra* interpretation of *vā* will rule out the indeclinable *vā* 'or, option' from being assigned the term *dhātu.* However, since the interpretation still may confuse us, commentators use the word *kriyāvacana* 'signifying action' as adjective to *bhū* and *vā*

(*b*) *Kāśikā* does not follow the above interpretation. Instead it states that the rule has the following string of elements: *bhū-va-ādī,* where Pāṇini has inserted *va* 'auspiciousness' for auspicious reasons (see *Kāś.* 1.3.1 *bhūvādīn...*). The *bahuvrīhi* compound with its internal *dvandva,* according to this interpretation, will have the analyzed form: *bhūśca vaśca ādīśca = bhūvādī; bhūvādī ādir yeṣāṃ te bhūvādayaḥ.*

The above two interpretations become necessary in view of the fact that, according to Pāṇinian practice, the *sūtra* should have read only *bhū-ādī* and, as a consequence, should have been interpreted as a *bahuvrīhi* compound having the form *bhvādi,* this latter as a result of *yN-sandhi.* In the absence of *sandhi, bhūvādayaḥ* must be interpreted as a *bahuvrīhi* compound with an internal *dvandva.* As we have seen, the first interpretation treats the *dvandva* as two constituent verbs, *bhū* and *vā,* whereas the second interpretation invokes auspiciousness as the signification of *vā.*

2. Puruṣottamadeva in his *Bhāṣāvṛtti* (6.1.77 *iko yaṇ aci*) brings forth yet another explanation for *bhūvādi.* He says that grammarians Vyāḍi and Gālava had the tendency to insert *y, v, r,* and *l* between the sequences of *i, u, ṛ,* and *ḷ*. Accordingly, in *bhū-ādi,* the sequence of *ū* and *ā* was interrupted by *v,* yielding *bhū-v-ādi = bhūvādi.* It may be that Pāṇini chose to pay respect to Vyāḍi and Gālava by following this practice. Jain grammarians also refer to this practice in their *vṛtti* (see Mimāṃsaka's Hindi translation of the *Mahābhāṣya* 1.3.1 (II: 233, fns.1-4).

SCOPE: 3.1.91 *dhātoḥ*, and so on.

1.3.2 उपदेशेऽजनुनासिक इत्

upadeśe' j anunāsika it
/upadeśe 7/1 *ac* 1/1 *anunāsika* 1/1 *it* 1/1/
upadeśe yo' nunāsikaḥ sa itsaṃjño bhavati
The nasalized *(anunāsika,* see 1.1.8 *mukhanāsikā...) aC* (vowel, see *Śs* 1-4) of an item in *upadeśa* 'the time when taught first, initial citation' is termed *it.*

EXAMPLES:

the *Ā* in *edhĀ* and *sparddhĀ*

1. The term *upadeśa* literally means 'instruction'. However it is used in Pāṇinian circles to refer to the initial teachings or citations *(ādyoccāraṇa)* in grammar *(śāstravākya).* Such citation could concern a rule, a linguistic item, or a collection of rules or linguistic items. Thus *sūtrapāṭha (SP)* 'the *sūtras* of the *Aṣṭādhyāyī,' dhātupāṭha (DP)* 'listing of roots', *gaṇapāṭha (GP)* 'listing of groups of nominals,' and other materials ancilliary to the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* are all treated as *upadeśa.*

2. The authority for determining whether a particular vowel in *upadeśa* is pronounced as nasalized is vested in the tradition of the Pāṇinīyas. That is, the grammatical tradition is what either allows or disallows the nasalization of a particular vowel in *upadeśa (pratijñā' nunāsikyā pāṇinīyāḥ).*

SCOPE: 7.2.16 *āditaś ca,* and so on.

1.3.3 हलन्त्यम्

halantyam
/hal 1/1 = *hasya* 1 *(ṣaṣ tat); hal ca hal ca = hal* (see 1.2.64 *sarūpā...);*
anytam 1/1 = *antye bhavam* (see 4.3.54 *digādibhyo yat*)
(upadeśe, it # 2)
dhātvādeḥ samudāyasya yad antyaṃ hal tad it saṃjñaṃ bhavati
A final *hL* of an item in *upadeśa* is termed an *it.*

EXAMPLES:

Ṇ, K, C of the *Śs* 1-4:
aiuṆ, ṛḷK, eoṄ, and *aiauC*

1. Commentators observe that there is a difficulty in the formulation of this rule. This difficulty technically is known as *itaretarāśraya* 'inter-dependency'. It is stated that this *sūtra* cannot be formulated unless the *l* of *hal* is termed *it,* and *l* cannot be termed an *it* unless this *sūtra* is formulated: In order to resolve this difficulty, *hal* above is interpreted as a genitive *tatpuruṣa* compound with the analyzed form, *hasya l,* the genitive

expressing proximity. Given this analyzed form, the partial interpretation of *hal* will be: that *l* which is near *h*. In order to get the complete interpretation of *hal* as 'the *l* which is proximate to the *h* of *pratyāhāra sūtra* 14 *hL*', we need to further analyze the string as: *hal ca hal ca* = *halhal*, where, after this combination, one *hal* will be deleted by 1.2.64 *sarūpā*.... Given the *anuvṛtti* of *it* from 1.3.2, the *l* may be termed an *it*.

This is the view of Kātyāyana, which in turn has been criticized by Nāgeśa. He thinks that Patañjali has used the word *antya* after the *hal* derived by the deletion of one *hal*. This will necessitate the interpretation of each *hal* along with *antya*. Thus the underlying interpretation of the *sūtra* will be *halantyam halantyam*, the final *l* of the *sūtra hal* and the final *hal*. This interpretation makes the earlier *hasya l* interpretation of *hal* useless. Bhaṭṭojī seems to accept this latter view, and as a result advocates repetition of the *sūtra*. Thus: one *halantyam* provides for the *it* status of the *l* of *sūtra* 14 *hL*, whereas the second provides for the *it* status of the final consonants of the other *Śiva-sūtras*.

There is a fine distinction between the above two views. Kātyāyana's view is based on *ekaśeṣa*, namely that only one *hal* of *halhal* is retained, while Nāgeśa's view is based on *tantroccāraṇa*, namely repeating *hal* and joining it with *antya* through a special effort. Both views have recourse to *ekaśeṣa* for deletion of one *hal*. However it should be remembered that *ekaśeṣa* obtains only when there is *sahavivakṣā* 'the desire to use both concurrently'. For example, *vṛkṣau* underlies *vṛkṣaś ca vṛkṣaś ca* where the desire to express both concurrently through *vṛkṣau* allows *ekaśeṣa*, and results in the deletion of *vṛkṣaḥ*. In regard to the *tantroccāraṇa* view of Nāgeśa, *sahavivakṣā* does not obtain. Besides if *tantroccāraṇa* had been intended by Kātyāyana or Patañjali, they would have clearly said *'tantroccāraṇāt'* and not *'ekaśeṣanirdeśāt'*. The above reasoning makes the *ekaśeṣa* view more acceptable (see Mimāṃsaka on 1.3.3 in his Hindi translation of the *Mahābhāṣya*).

1.3.4 **न विभक्तौ तुस्माः**

na vibhaktau tusmāḥ

/na Ø vibhaktau 7/1 *tusmāḥ* 1/3 = *ιuś ca saś ca maś ca (itar. dv.)* /
(*halantyam* # 3, *upadeśe*, *it* # 2)

pūrveṇa prāptāyām itsaṃjñāyāṃ vibhaktau vartamānānāṃ tavarga-sakāra-makārāṇām pratiṣedha ucyate

The final *-tU (t, th, d, dh, n;* see 1.1.69 *aṇudit...), s,* and *m* of a *vibhakti* 'inflectional ending' (*sUP* or *tiṄ*; see 1.4.104 *vibhaktiś ca*) in *upadeśa* is not termed *it*.

EXAMPLES:

(*a*) final *t* of *āt* as in

vṛkṣāt, ablative singular of *vṛkṣa* 'tree'
plakṣāt, ablative singular of *plakṣa* tree of banyan family

(*b*) *s* of *Jas* as in
brāhmaṇāḥ, nominative plural of *brāhmaṇa*
s of *tas* and *thas* as in
pacataḥ 'they two are cooking'
pacathaḥ 'you two are cooking'

(*c*) *m* of *tām* and *tam* as in
apacatām 'they two cooked'
apacatam 'you two cooked'

1. Examples such as *vṛkṣāt* and *plakṣāt* involve *āt* which is ruled by 7.1.12 *ṭāṅasiṅas...* as a replacement for *ṄasI* 'ablative singular'. *ṄasI* is termed a *vibhakti* by 1.4.104 *vibhaktiś ca* while *āt* is assigned this term by 1.1.56 *sthānivad....* Similarly, *tām* and *tam* are ruled as a replacement for *tas* 'third person dual verbal ending' and *thas* 'second person dual verbal ending' by 3.4.101 *tasthas....* Again, *tas* and *thas* are designated as *vibhakti* simply because they are replacements of a *vibhakti*.

1.3.5 **आदिर्ञिटुडव:**

ādir ñiṭuḍavaḥ
/ādiḥ 1/1 *ñiṭuḍavaḥ* 1/3 = *ñiś ca ṭuś ca ḍuś ca (itar. dv.)/(upadeśe, it* # 2)
ñi, ṭu, ḍu ity eteṣāṃ samudāyānām ādīto vartamānānām it saṃjñā bhavati
The initial *ÑI*, *ṬŨ*, or *ḌŨ* of an item in *upadeśa* is termed *it*.

EXAMPLES:

(*a*) the *ÑI* of
ÑĨmidĀ 'to be fat' as in *minnaḥ*
ÑĨdhṛṣĀ 'to dare' as in *dhṛṣṭaḥ*
ÑĨkṣvidĀ 'to hum' as in *kṣviṇṇaḥ*
ÑĨindhĨ 'to kindle' as in *iddhaḥ*

(*b*) the *ṬŨ* of
ṬŨvepṚ 'to tremble' as in *vepathuḥ* 'trembling'
ṬŨOśvi 'to grow, increase, swell' as in *śvayathuḥ* 'swelling'

(*c*) the *ḌŨ* of
ḌŨpacĀS 'to cook' as in *paktrimam*
ḌŨvap 'to sow, scatter' as in *uptrimam*
ḌŨkṛÑ 'to do, make' as in *kṛtrimam*

1. Commentators question here why this *ṬŨ* cannot be interpreted as referring to *ṭ, ṭh, ḍ, ḍh,* and *ṇ* in accordance with 1.1.69 *aṇudit savarṇasya....* The arguments that such an interpretation will be wrong are as follows.

(*a*) If Pāṇini intended this *ṬŨ* to refer to *ṭ, ṭh, ḍ, ḍh,* and *ṇ*, he did not have to refer to *ḍ* again in this rule by *ḌŨ*. This use of *Ḍ* would become vacuous.

(*b*) Because of the association (*sāhacarya*) with *ÑĪ* and *ḌŪ*, which refer to individual segments, *ṬŪ* also should refer to its own form.

(*c*) Pāṇini refers to the individual members of the retroflex series by *ṭu* in 1.3.7 *cuṭū*. This too can serve as a clue for not interpreting *ṬŪ* in 1.3.5 *ādir...* as referring to *ṭ, ṭh, ḍ, ḍh,* and *ṇ*. Besides, the *ṬŪ* of this rule is considered nasalized which, in turn, will take it out of the sphere of 1.1.69 *aṇudit....*

(*d*) *ÑĪ, ṬŪ,* and *ḌŪ* are intended to indicate that, for example, the past participial suffix *Kta,* after roots prefixed with *ÑĪ* as *it,* has the force of present (3.2.187 *ñītaḥ ktaḥ*); that *ṬŪ* prefixed with roots as *it* allows such roots to take the affix *athuC* (3.3.89 *ṭvito' thuc*) and that *ḌŪ* similarly enables roots to take the affix *tri* (3.3.88 *ḍvitaḥ*). Incidentally, affix *tri* obligatorily requires the augment *maP* (4.4.20 *trer mam nityam*).

1.3.6 षः प्रत्ययस्य

ṣaḥ pratyayasya
/ṣaḥ 1/1 *pratyayasya* 6/1/
(ādiḥ # 5, *upadeśe, it* # 2)
ṣakāraḥ pratyayasyādir itsaṃjño bhavati
The initial *Ṣ* of an affix in *upadeśa* is termed *it.*

EXAMPLES:

Ṣ of affix *ṢvuÑ* (3.1 145 *śilpini...*) as in
narttakī 'dancer'
rajakī 'washerman's wife'

1.3.7 चुटू

cuṭū
/cuṭū 1/2 = *cuś ca ṭuś ca (itar. dv.)/*
(pratyayasya # 6, *ādiḥ* # 5, *upadeśe, it* # 2)
cavarga-ṭavargau pratyayasyādī itsaṃjñau bhavataḥ
The initial *cU (c, ch, j, jh, ñ;* see 1.1.69 *aṇudit...*)
or *ṭU* (*ṭ, ṭh, ḍ, ḍh, ṇ;* see 1.1.69) of an affix in *upadeśa* is termed *it.*

EXAMPLES:

(*a*) the *C* of affix *CphaÑ* (4.1.98 *gotre...*) as in *kauñjāyanaḥ* 'a *gotra* descendant of Kunja'
the *J* of affix *Jas* (4.1.2 *svaujas...*) as in *brāhmaṇāḥ,* nominative plural of *brāhmaṇa*
the *Ñ* of affix *Ñya* (4.3.92 *śaṇḍikā...*) as in *śāṇḍikyaḥ* 'a native of Śaṇḍika'

(*b*) the *Ṭ* of affix *Ṭa* (3.2.16 *careṣ ṭaḥ*) as in *kurucarī* 'she who wanders

in the country of Kuru'; *madracarī* 'she who wanders in the country of Madra'
the *ḍ* of affix *Ḍa* (3.2.97 *saptamyām...*) as in *upasarajaḥ* 'he who is born near a pond'; *mandurajaḥ* 'he who is born in a stable'
the *Ṇ* of affix *Ṇa* (4.4.85 *annāṇṇaḥ* as in *ānnaḥ* 'he who has obtained food'

1. It is interesting to note that no examples involving the initial *ch, jh, ṭh,* and *ḍh* of an affix were provided. This omission is significant since affix initials *ch, jh, ṭh.* and *ḍh* always are replaced by *īy* (7.1.2 *āyaneyī....*) *ant* (7.1.3 *jho' ntaḥ), ik* (7.3.50 *ṭhasyekaḥ*), and *ey* (7.1.2) respectively. Thus the question of treating each of these as an *it* does not arise.

2. Commentators bring to our notice that Pāṇini would have been better off formulating 1.3.6 and 1.3.7 together as one rule: *cuṭuṣā pratyayasya.* Pāṇini decided to formulate 1.3.7 separately to indicate that provisions of this rule are *anitya* 'non-obligatory'. That is, they are not always applicable. Consider, for example, 5.2.26 *tena vittaś...* and 5.2.31 *nate...* where the initial *c* and *ṭ* of *cuñcuP, caṇaP,* and *ṭīṭaC* are not termed *it.*

3. Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita (*SK* on 5.2.26) considers the affixes as *ycuñcuP, ycaṇaP,* and *ytīṭaC.* This way the question of assigning the term *it* to affix-initial *c* or *ṭ* does not arise. The initial *y* may then be deleted by 6.1.66 *lopo vyor vali.* The very fact that this *y* is an imaginary insert takes it out of the sphere of the *upadeśa.*

1.3.8 लशक्वतद्धिते

laśakv ataddhite
/laśaku 1/1 = *laś ca śaś ca kuś ca (itar. dv.) ataddhite* 7/1 = *na taddhitaḥ (nañ. tat.), tasmin/*
(pratyayasya # 6, *ādiḥ* # 5, *upadeśe, it* # 2)
taddhitavarjitasya pratyayasyādito vartamānā lakāra śakāra-kavargā itsaṃjñā bhavanti
The initial *L, Ś,* and *KU (k, kh, g, gh, ṅ;* see 1.1.69 *aṇudit...)* of a non-*taddhita* (4.1.76 *taddhitāḥ*) affix in *upadeśa* is termed *it.*

EXAMPLES

(*a*) the *L* of affix *LyuṬ (*3.3.115 *lyuṭ ca)* as in *cayanam* 'the act of heaping, gathering, selecting'; *jayanam* 'the act of winning'
the *Ś* of affix *ŚaP* (3.1.68 *kartari śap)* as in *bhavati* 'he becomes'; *pacati* 'he cooks'

(*b*) the *K* of affixes *Kta* and *KtavatU* (1.1.26 *ktaktavatū...*) as in *bhuktaḥ* 'that which has been consumed'; *bhuktavān* 'he consumed, ate'
the *KH* of affix *KHaC* (3.2.38 *priyavaśe...*) as in *priyaṃvadaḥ* 'he who is pleasantly-spoken'; *vaśaṃvadaḥ* 'id.'

the *G* of affix *GsnU* (3.2.139 *glājisthaś ca gsnu*) as in *jiṣṇuḥ* 'he whose nature is to win'; *bhūṣṇuḥ* 'he whose nature is to become'
the *GH* of affix *GHuraC* (3.2.161 *bhañjabhāsabhid...*) as in *bhaṅguram* 'perishable, transient'
the *Ṅ* of affixes *ṄasI* and *Ṅas* as in *vṛkṣāt,* ablative singular of *vṛkṣa* 'tree'; *vṛkṣasya,* genitive singular of *vṛkṣa.*

1.3.9 **तस्य लोपः**

tasya lopaḥ
/tasya 6/1 *lopaḥ* 1/1/
tasyetsamjñakasya lopo bhavati
There is disappearance of that which is termed *it.*

EXAMPLES:

all the *it* elements enumerated under rules 1.3.2 *upadeśe...* through 1.3.8 *laśaku...*

1. Pāṇini uses the variable *tad* 'that' in the genitive to refer to the *it* elements enumerated earlier. The purpose of this rule simply is to delete them. One may question whether complex *it* elements such as *ÑI, ṬŪ,* and *ḌŪ* should be deleted in their entirety or only in part. This doubt arises because of 1.1.52 *alo' ntyasya,* which requires that a substitute, in this case zero, coming in place of an item specified by genitive, here *tasya,* must replace only its final sound segment. Accordingly one may only delete *Ī* or *Ū* of the above complex *it* elements. Pāṇini expressly mentions the variable genitive *tasya* to indicate total deletion.

2. It is also suggested that since Pāṇini formulates this rule as *tasya lopaḥ* and not as *itaḥ lopaḥ, tasya* must be treated as indicating total deletion.

1.3.10 **यथासंख्यमनुदेशः समानाम्**

yathāsaṃkhyam anudeśaḥ samānām
/yathāsaṃkhyam ∅ = saṃkhyām anatikrāntaḥ (av.); anudeśaḥ 1/1 *samānām* 6/1/
yathākramam anudeśo bhavati
Assignment of equivalents for equal numbers of elements follows the order of enumeration.

EXAMPLES:

4.3.94 *tūdī-śalātura-varmatī-kūcavārāḍ ḍhakchaṇ-ḍhañ-yak*

1. Rule 4.3.94 enumerates four bases — *tūdī, śalātura, varmatī,* and *kūcavāra* (all place names) — after which four affixes *(ḌHaK, CHaṆ, ḌHaÑ,* and *yaK)* are to be introduced to denote 'the native of'. It may be

asked how the four affixes should be added to the four bases: in turn, collectively, singly, and so on. The present rule specifies that whenever there are two sets of elements enumerated one after the other and the number of elements in each set is equal, the assignment of equivalence is strictly in the order of enumeration. Thus in the case of 4.3.94, affix *ḌHaK* should be introduced after *tūdī*, *CHaṆ* after *śalātura*, *ḌHaÑ* after *varmatī*, and *yaK* after *kūcavāra*.

2. A question arises here as to why Pāṇini preferred the expression *yathāsaṃkhya* over *yathākrama*. It is suggested that he wanted to avoid the interpretation of this rule being affected by the other meaning of *saṃkhyā*, namely *jñāna* 'knowledge, perception'.

1.3.11 स्वरितेनाधिकारः

svaritenādhikāraḥ
/svaritena 1/3 *adhikāraḥ* 1/1/
svarito nāma svaraviśeṣo varṇadharmaḥ tena cihnenādhikāro veditavyaḥ
An *adhikāra* 'heading' is known by means of *svarita* 'circumflex'

EXAMPLES:

pratyayaḥ as in 3.1.1 *pratyayaḥ*
dhātoḥ as in 3.1.91 *dhātoḥ*
ṅy-āp prātipadikāt as in 4.1.1 *ṅy-āp prātipadikāt*
aṅgasya as in 6.4.1 *aṅgasya*
bhasya as in 6.4.120 *bhasya*
p̲adasya as in 8.1.16 *padasya*

1. It is obvious that the intent of this rule is to provide a device whereby *adhikāra* 'governing elements' can be easily recognized. Unfortunately the tradition has lost these markings. That is, no one clearly knows exactly where the *svarita* marks were originally intended by Pāṇini to be placed. Additionally no one knows exactly how far down an *adhikāra* carries itself. For these and other related questions, the tradition invokes the first *paribhāṣā: vyākhyānato viśeṣa pratipattiḥ...* (*Pś:* 20-24). Thus it is the interpretation and explanation of the learned, accompanied by examples and counter-examples, which enable one to fully understand the true meaning of a particular rule.

1.3.12 अनुदात्तङित आत्मनेपदम्

anudāttaṅita ātmanepadam
/anudāttaṅitaḥ 5/1 = *anudāttaś ca ṅaś ca = anudāttaṅau, anudāttaṅau itau yasya anudāttaṅit, tasmāt* (*bv.* with internal *dv.*); *ātmanepadam* 1/1/

anudātteto ye dhātavo ṅitaś ca tebhya eva ātmanepadaṃ bhavati

An *ātmanepada* (1.4.100 *taṅānāv ātmanepadam)* affix occurs after a root which is marked either with *anudātta* 'low-pitch' or with *Ṅ*

EXAMPLES:

vasÃ 'to cover'
āsÃ 'to sit'
ṣūṄ 'to give birth'
śīṄ 'to recline, to sleep'

1. The term *ātmanepada* refers to a set of nine affixes enumerated by 3.4.78 *tiptasjhi....* Rule 1.4.100 *taṅānāv...* assigns the term *ātmanepada* by using the abbreviation *taṄ;* that is, *ta, ātām, jha; thās, āthām, dhvam; iṬ, vahi, mahiṄ.* In addition to these nine, affixes *ŚānaC* and *KānaC,* jointly referred to by the abbreviation *āna,* also are termed *ātmanepada.*

2. It is apparent from the *vṛtti* that *Kāśikā* reads *dhātubhyaḥ* 'after verbal roots' with items marked with *Ṅ anudatta.* While the context of the introduction of *ātmanepada* affixes necessarily implies this reading, *Kāśikā* intends to be cautious, as there might be a situation where wrong forms may result. Consider, for example, the derivation of *adudruvat* 'it flowed' from *aṬ + druÑ + CaṄ + LUṄ,* where *CaṄ* is introduced as a replacement for *CLI* before *LUṄ,* (3.1.48 *ṇiśridrusrubhyaḥ....*(For details of introducing *LUṄ, CLI,* and *aṬ,* see the derivations in the appendix.) Given the interpretation of 1.3.12, where one does not take *dhātubhyaḥ* as part of the rule, one may end up replacing the *LUṄ* of *aṬ + druÑ + CaṄ + LUṄ* by *ātmanepada.* This means that *LUṄ* will be replaced by *ātmanepada,* because it is occurring after an item ending in *CaṄ* which, in turn, is marked with *Ṅ.* The derivation of *adudruvat,* the correct form, will be blocked. But if *dhātubhyaḥ* is supplied in the interpretation, *LUṄ* in the above string cannot be replaced by *ātmanepada,* as the element ending in *CaṄ* cannot be treated as a *dhātu.*

This interpretation is supported by only a few. For, the question of replacing *LA* by *ātmanepada* after a string terminating in *CaṄ* should not arise. The replacement of *LA* by *parasmaipada,* and so on, is internal and thus would take precedence. Refusal to accept this view will create problems with respect to the introduction of augments (*vikaraṇa*) which are externally conditioned. In other words, *CaṄ* and so on must be introduced after *LA* has been replaced by the verbal endings. This renders the question of replacing *LA* by *ātmanepada* after a string terminating in *Ṅ* vacuous. This also explains why the inclusion of *dhātavaḥ* does not serve this function.

3. The purpose of the inclusion of *dhātavaḥ* is clarity. The term *Ṅit* in this rule may refer to two types of items (*dhātu*): those which are marked

bv *Ṅ* as an *it* and those which terminate in terms marked by *Ṅ* as an *it*. This second interpretation clearly comes from invoking 1.1.72 *yena vidhis tadantasya*. The referent of the variable *yena* in 1.1.72 is a qualifier (*viśeṣaṇa*). The rule sets up the principle of *tadantavidhi* whereby a qualifier is enabled to denote an item in which it terminates. However, *tadantavidhi* is not possible here in 1.3.12 unless a *viśeṣya* 'qualified' is provided. The inclusion of *dhātavaḥ* serves this very purpose. Comentators say that *dhātavaḥ* is carried from 1.3.1 via *maṇḍūkapluti* 'frog's leap' and its nominative plural is changed to an ablative singular in view of the context as well as the purpose of 1.3.12.

4. The present rule is a restrictive rule (*niyama*). Accordingly it imposes the restriction that *ātmanepada* terminations must be used only after those verbs which are marked either with *anudātta* or with *Ṅ*. All other verbs will thus be excluded.

1.3.13 **भावकर्मणोः**

bhāvakarmaṇoḥ

/bhāvakarmaṇoḥ 7/2 = *bhāvaś ca karma ca* = *bhāvakarmaṇī, tayoḥ bhāvakarmaṇoḥ (itar. dv.)/*

(ātmanepadam # 12)

bhāve karmaṇi cātmanepadaṃ bhavati

An *ātmanepada* affix occurs after a root when *bhāva* 'root sense' or *karman* 'object' is to be expressed.

EXAMPLES:

(*a*) *glāyate bhavatā* 'you (polite) are sad'
supyate bhavatā 'you (polite) sleep'
āsyate bhavatā 'you (polite) stand'

(*b*) *kriyate kaṭaḥ* 'the mat is being made'
hriyate bhāraḥ 'the load is carried'

1. This too is a *niyama* rule. Its restriction applies to the use of *ātmanepada*. That is, *ātmanepada* endings must be used when *bhāva* 'root sense, action' or *karman* 'object' is to be expressed. The reference is obviously to 3.4.68 *laḥ karmaṇi ca bhāve cākarmakebhyaḥ*, whereby *LA* affixes are introduced after a transitive verb to express *kartṛ* 'agent' or *karman*, and after an intransitive verb to express *kartṛ* or *bhāva*. Thus a *LA* affix which was introduced by 3.4.68 to express an object or action must be replaced by *ātmanepada* termination.

1.3.14 **कर्तरि कर्मव्यतिहारे**

karttari karmavyatihāre

/karttari 7/1 *karmavyatihāre* 7/1 = *karmaṇaḥ vyatihāraḥ (ṣaṣ. tat.), tasmin* = *karmavyatihāre/*

(ātmanepadam # 12)
karmavyatihāre tadviśiṣṭakriyāvacanād dhātor ātmanepadaṃ bhavati
An *ātmanepada* affix occurs after a root when agent with *karmavyatihāra* 'reciprocity of action' is to be expressed.

EXAMPLES:

vyatilunate 'they cut each other'
vyatipunate 'they wipe each other'

1. The word *karman* in this rule does not refer to the technical term *karman* 'object', but instead is used in the general sense of *kriyā* 'action'.

2. The word *karmavyatihāra* is interpreted as 'exchange (*vinimaya*) of action'. *Kāśikā* further explains that *karmavyatihāra* relates to a situation where some one performs an action characteristically performed by someone else, as for example, when a *brāhmaṇa* has exchanged his proper action for that of a *śūdra* 'low caste person'. *Padamañjarī* adds another dimension to the use of *karmavyatihāra,* namely *parasparakaraṇam* 'reciprocating each other's action'. Thus *karmavyatihāra* will also obtain when two kings are reciprocating the action of attacking each other.

3. The use of the word *karttari* serves two purposes. First, it allows 3.1.15 *na gati hiṃsārthebhyaḥ* to block the use of *ātmanepada* only when *kartṛ* is expressed. In other words, 3.1 15 cannot block the use of *ātmanepada* when *bhāva* or *karman* is being expressed. The second function of *karttari* is for *anuvṛtti* in rules such as 1.3.78 *śeṣāt karttari parasmaipadam.* Given the fact that *karttari* carries from here to 1.3.78, it will be read there twice. The double use of *karttari* will then signify that it is the pure *kartṛ* and not something such as *karmakartṛ* 'object termed agent' which should form the condition for the use of *parasmaipada.*

A majority of commentators do not accept the view that *karttari* in this rule serves any purpose other than *anuvṛtti.* That is, 1.3.13 rules *ātmanepada* in *bhāva* and *karman.* The very fact that Pāṇini formulates 1.3.14 as a separate rule suggests that *karmavyatihāra* of 1.3.14 is obviously intended for usage where *kartṛ* is to be expressed. The question of *karttari* enabling 1.3.15 to block only the *kartṛ* usage of *karmavyatihāra* and not the *bhāva-karman* usage does not arise, since 1.3.15 can only block 1.3.14 and not 1.3.13. (For details, see the *paribhāṣā* (62): *anantarasya vidhiḥ pratiṣedho vā).* This limits the use of *karttari* to *anuvṛtti.*

1.3.15 न गतिहिंसार्थेभ्यः

na gatihiṃsārthebhyaḥ
/na Ø gatihiṃsārthebhyaḥ 5/3 = gatiś ca hiṃsā ca = gatihiṃse (dv.), gatihiṃse arthau yeṣāṃ te = gatihiṃsārthāḥ (bv. with internal *dv.), tebhyaḥ = gatihiṃsārthebhyaḥ/*
(karmavyatihāre # 13, ātmanepadam # 12)

gatyarthebhyo hiṃsārthebhyaś ca dhātubhyaḥ karmavyatihāre ātmanepadaṃ na bhavati

An *ātmanepada* affix does not occur after a root which signifies *gati* 'motion' or *hiṃsā* 'injure, kill, smite' even though the action to be performed is reciprocal or exchanged.

EXAMPLES:

vyatigacchanti 'they go for each other'
vyatisarpanti 'they crawl for each other'
vyatihiṃsanti 'they injure each other'
vyatighnanti 'they kill each other'

1.3.16 **इतरेतरान्योऽन्योपपदाच्च**

itaretarānyo' nyopapadāc ca

/itare...padāt 5/1 = *itaretaraś ca anyonyaś ca = itaretarānyonyau (dv.) tau upapade yasya sa itare...padāḥ (bv.* with internal *dv.), tasmāt = itare... padāt; ca Ø/*
(na # 15, *karmavyatihāre #* 14, *ātmanepadam #* 12)

itaretaraḥ anyo' nyaḥ ity evam upapadād dhāto karmavyatihāre ātmanepadaṃ na bhavati

An *ātmanepada* affix does not occur after a root which co-occurs with a *pada* containing *itaretara* 'each other' or *anyonya* 'one another' when reciprocity or exchange of action is signified.

EXAMPLES:

itaretarasya vyatilunanti 'they are cutting each other's (crop)'
anyo' nyasya vyatilunanti 'id.'

1.3.17 **नेर्विशः**

ner viśaḥ

/neḥ 5/1 *viśaḥ* 5/1/
(ātmanepadam # 12)

neḥ parasmād viśa ātmanepadaṃ bhavati

An *ātmanepada* affix occurs after *viś* 'to enter' when it is used with the preverb *ni.*

EXAMPLES:

niviśate 'he enters'
niviśante 'they enter'

1. In view of the provisions of 1.3.78 *śeṣāt karttari...*, *ni-viś* should have *parasmaipada.* This rule provides for *ātmanepada.* But remember that *viś* here is allowed *ātmanepada* only when it is used with the preverb *ni.* When *viś* is used with other preverbs *parasmaipada* will occur, as in *gehe praviśati* 'enters the house'.

1.3.18 **परिव्यवेभ्यः क्रियः**

parivyavebhyaḥ kriyaḥ

/parivyavebhyaḥ 5/3 = *pari ca vi ca ava ca = parivyavās tebhyaḥ (itar. dv.); kriyaḥ* 5/1/

(ātmanepadam # 12)

parivyavebhya uttarasmāt krīṇāter ātmanepadaṃ bhavati

An *ātmanepada* affix occurs after *krīÑ* 'to buy, sell, barter' when it is used with the preverbs *pari, vi,* or *ava.*

EXAMPLES:

parikrīṇīte 'he hires on stipulated wages'
vikrīṇīte 'he sells'
avakrīṇīte 'he rents'

1. Since *ḌUkrīÑ* is marked with *Ñ,* it will take *ātmanepada* when the fruit of the action accrues to the agent (1.3.72 *svaritañitaḥ...*). However, 1.3.78 *śeṣāt karttari parasmaipadam* will introduce *parasmaipada* when the fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent. The present rule serves as an exception to block this application of 1.3.78.

1.3.19 **विपराभ्यां जेः**

viparābhyāṃ jeḥ

/viparābhyām 5/2 = *vi ca parā ca = viparau, tābhyām = viparābhyām (itar. dv.); jeḥ* 5/1/

(ātmanepadam # 12)

viparā pūrvāj jayater dhātor ātmanepadaṃ bhavati

An *ātmanepada* affix occurs after *ji* 'to conquer' when it is used with the preverbs *vi* and *parā.*

EXAMPLES:

vijayate (śatrūn) 'he conquers (the enemies)'
parājayate (śatrūn) 'he defeats (the enemies)'

1. Note that *parā* is the preverb and not the feminine form of *para* 'excellent', derived by introducing the affix *ṬāP.* By association *(sahācaryā)* with *vi,* which does not end in *ṬāP, parā* will also be interpreted as not ending in *ṬāP.* Similarly, since *parā* is to be interpreted as a preverb, *vi,* again by association, should be interpreted as a preverb. The question arises because *vi* also means 'bird'. Thus *ātmanepada* will not obtain in the following examples: *bahuvi jayati vanam* 'conquers a forestful of birds', and *parā jayati senā* 'the excellent army wins'.

1.3.20 **आङो दोऽनास्यविहरणे**

āṅo do' nāsyaviharaṇe

āṅaḥ 5/1 *daḥ* 5/1 *anāsyaviharaṇe* 7/1 = *āsyasya viharaṇam* = *āsyavihara-ṇam (ṣaṣ. tat.), na āsyaviharaṇam* = *anāsyaviharaṇam (nañ. tat.), tasmin* = *anāsyaviharaṇe*/
(ātmanepadam # 20)
āṅ pūrvād dadāter anāsyaviharaṇe vartamānād ātmanepadam bhavati.
An *ātmanepada* affix occurs after *DUdāÑ* 'to give' when it is used with the preverb *āṄ* and does not signify *āsyaviharaṇa* 'to open the mouth'.

EXAMPLE:

vidyām ādatte 'he imparts knowledge'

1. The restriction of *anāsyaviharaṇa* for blocking *ātmanepada* relates to 'opening one's own mouth'. That is, if someone is opening someone else's mouth, *ātmanepada* cannot be blocked. Thus *ātmanepada* in *vyādadate* of *vyādadate patańgasya mukhaṃ pipīlikāḥ* 'the ants are opening the mouth of the insect' is allowed.

2. Commentators also indicate that *āsyaviharaṇa* 'opening of the mouth' should be treated as though used in a wider sense; activities similar to it also should be blocked. This would permit blocking of *ātmanepada* in examples such as *vipādikāṃ vyādadāti* 'he is opening up the cracks of his feet' and *nadī kūlaṃ vyādadāti* 'the river is opening up'.

3. Note that because *ḌUdāÑ* is marked with *Ñ*, *ātmanepada* is available to it via 1.3.78 *svaritañitaḥ*...provided, of course, the fruit of the action accrues to the agent. The present rule provides for *ātmanepada* even when the fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent. Also note that the context of this rule refers exclusively to the root *ḌUdāÑ* and not to other roots which may have the same form *dā*.

1.3.21 **क्रीङोऽनुसम्परिभ्यश्च**

krīṅo' nusaṃparibhyaś ca
/*krīṅaḥ* 5/1 *anusaṃparibhyaḥ* 5/1 = *anu ca saṃ ca pari ca* = *anusaṃparayaḥ (itar. dv.), tebhyaḥ* = *anusaṃparibhyaḥ; ca*/
(āṅ # 20, *ātmanepadam* # 12)
krīṅ vihāre etasmād anu, saṃ, pari ity evaṃ pūrvād āṅpūrvāc cātmane-padaṃ bhavati
An *ātmanepada* affix also occurs after *krīṅ* 'to play' when it is used with preverbs *anu, saṁ, pari,* or *āṄ*.

EXAMPLES:

anukrīḍate 'he plays in turn'
saṅkrīḍate 'he plays together with'
parikrīḍate 'he plays beautifully'
ākrīḍate 'he plays'

1. It should be remembered that *māṇavakena saha krīḍati* 'plays with the boy' has an optional construction *māṇavakamanu krīḍati*. The *anu* of *māṇavakamanu* is a *karmapravacanīya* and thus, *parasmaipada* usage of *māṇavakamanu krīḍati* is accepted. The *anu* of this rule is a preverb, as we know from its association (*sāhacarya*) in this context with the preverb *sam*.

1.3.22 **समवप्रविभ्यः स्थः**

samavapravibhyaḥ sthaḥ
/samavapravibhyaḥ 5/3 = *saṃ ca ava ca pra ca vi ca* = *samavapravayaḥ, tebhyaḥ* = *samavapravibhyaḥ (itar. dv.) sthaḥ* 5/1/
(āṅ # 20, *ātmanepadam* # 12)
sam, ava, pra, vi ity evaṃ pūrvāt tiṣṭhater ātmanepadaṃ bhavati
An *ātmanepada* affix occurs after *sthā* 'to stand, stay' when it is used with the preverbs *sam, ava, pra, vi,* or *ā*Ṅ

EXAMPLES:

saṃtiṣṭhate 'he sits near, comes to an end, dies'
avatiṣṭhate 'he remains, abides, obeys'
vitiṣṭhate 'he stays, dwells'
pratiṣṭhate 'he sets out for...
ātiṣṭhate 'he remains, ascends, uses'

1.3.23 **प्रकाशनस्थेयाख्ययोश्च**

prakāśanastheyākhyayoś ca
/prakāśanastheyākhyayoḥ 7/2 = *prakāśanañ ca stheyākhyā (stheyasyākhyā* = *stheyākhyā, ṣaṣ. tat.) ca* = *prakāśanastheyākhye, tayoḥ* = *prakāśanastheyākhyayoḥ (itar. dv.) ca ∅/*
(sthā # 22, *ātmanepadam* # 12)
An *ātmanepada* affix also occurs after *sthā* when *prakāśana* 'revelation of one's own intent' and *stheyākhyā* 'reference to an arbiter' is signified.

EXAMPLES:

tiṣṭhate kanyā chātrebhyaḥ 'the girl reveals her intent to the students'
tiṣṭhate vṛṣalī grāmaputrebhyaḥ 'the *śūdra* woman reveals her intent to the village boys'
tvayi tiṣṭhate 'he has accepted you as arbiter'
mayi tiṣṭhate 'he has accepted me as arbiter'
saṃśayya karṇādiṣu tiṣṭhate yaḥ 'he who when in doubt accepts Karṇa and his associates as arbiter'

1. Note that *prakāśana* and *stheya* refer to 'revealing one's intent' and 'final authority in matters of dispute' respectively. The dative (*sampradāna*) in the first two examples is rules by 1.4.34 *ślāgh-hnu*....The *saptamī* in the remaining examples denotes domain (*viṣayasaptamī*).

1.3.24 **उदोऽनूर्ध्वकर्मणि**

udo' nūrdhvakarmaṇi
/udaḥ 5/1 *anūrdhvakarmaṇi* 7/1 = *na ūrdhva karma* = *anūrdhvakarma, tasmin* = *anūrdhvakarmaṇi (nañ. tat.)/*
(sthaḥ # 22, *ātmanepadam* # 12)
utpūrvāt tiṣṭhater anūrdhvakarmaṇi vartamānād ātmanepadaṃ bhavati
An *ātmanepada* affix occurs after *sthā* when it is used with the preverb *ut,* provided *ūrdhvakarman* 'arising' is not signified.

EXAMPLES:

gehe uttiṣṭhate 'he strives for the sake of the family'
kuṭumbe uttiṣṭhate 'he strives for the sake of the clan'

1. Explaining the meaning conditions under which *ātmanepada* may be introduced after *ut-sthā, Kāśikā* (under this rule) uses the phrase *tadarthaṃ yatate* 'strives for the sake of'. Thus *kuṭumbe uttiṣṭhate* means 'he strives for the sake of the clan'. *Padamñjarī* (also under this rule) considers *ut* in *ut-sthā* to signify *īhā* 'exertion'.

1.3.25 **उपान्मन्त्रकरणे**

upān mantrakaraṇe
/upāt 5/1 *mantrakaraṇe* 7/1 = *mantrasya karaṇam (ṣaṣ tat.), tasmin* = *mantrakaraṇe/.*
(sthaḥ 22, *ātmanepadam* # 12)
upapūrvāt tiṣṭhater mantrakaraṇe' rthe varttamānād ātmanepadaṃ bhavati
An *ātmanepada* affix occurs after *sthā* when it is used with the preverb *upa* and *mantra* '(chanting of a) Vedic hymn' is its *karaṇa* 'instrument'.

1. The general meaning of *upatiṣṭhate* in this Vedic context is *stuti* 'praise'. In the absence of such a meaning *ātmanepada* will be blocked. Compare: *bhartāram upatiṣṭhati yauvanena* 'she pleases her husband by means of her youth'.

1 3.26 **अकर्मकाच्च**

akarmakāc ca
/akarmakāt 5/1 *ca Ø/*
(upāt 25, *sthaḥ* 22, *ātmanepadam* 12)
upapūrvāt tiṣṭhater akarmakakriyāvacanād ātmanepadaṃ bhavati
An *ātmanepada* affix occurs after *sthā* when it is used intransitively with the preverb *upa.*

EXAMPLE:

yāvadbhuktam upatiṣṭhate 'he is near by whenever there is food to be eaten'

1. The intransitive meaning of *upasthā* here is 'to appear, stand by'. The word *bhuktam* is neuter singular, its base derived from *bhuj* + *Kta* denoting *bhāva* 'action' (3.4.114 *napuṃsake bhāve ktaḥ).* The word *yāvadbhuktam* is an indeclinable (*avyayībhāva*) compound where its constituent *yāvat* is an indeclinable particle (*nipāta*) used in the sense of *yathā* (2.1.8 *yāvad....*). This sense of *yāvat,* or *yathā,* is *vīpsā* 'each and every'; it is also treated as ending in *saptamī* 'locative'. This is why *yāvadbhuktam upatiṣṭhate* is also explained as *bhojane bhojane* (repetition to convey the sense of *vīpsā) sannidhīyate* 'he stays near by when it is time to eat'.

1.3.27 **उद्विभ्यां तपः**

udvibhyāṃ tapaḥ

/udvibhyām 5/2 = *ut ca vi ca = udvi (itar. dv.), tābhyām = udvibhyām; tapaḥ* 5/1/

(akarmakāt # 26, *ātmanepadam* # 12)

ud, vi ity evaṃpūrvāt tapater akarmakakriyā vacanād ātmanepadaṃ bhavati

An *ātmanepada* affix occurs after *tapĀ* 'to shine, be hot' when it is used intransitively with the preverbs *ut* or *vi.*

EXAMPLES:

uttapate sūryaḥ 'the sun is shining'
vitapate sūryaḥ 'id.'

1. Note that *ut-tap* can take *ātmanepada* only when it denotes an intransitive meaning. That is, usages where *ut-tap* denotes a transitive meaning must take *parasmaipada.* Consider *uttapati suvarṇaṃ suvarṇakāraḥ,* 'the goldsmith is heating up the gold' where *ut-tap* denotes a transitive meaning 'to heat or warm'. However, when the object of such transitive usage is one's own limbs *(svāṅgakarman), ātmanepada* should still be used. Thus: *uttapate pāṇim* 'warms his own hand', but not *caitro maitrasya pāṇim uttapati* 'Chaitra is warming Maitra's hand'.

1.3.28 **आङो यमहनः**

āṅo yamahanaḥ

/āṅaḥ 5/1 *yamahanaḥ* 5/1 = *yamaś ca han ca = yamahan (sam. dv.), tasmāt = yamahanaḥ/*

'yama uparame, hana hiṃsāgatyoḥ' iti parasmaipadinau. tābhyām akarmakakriyāvacanābhyām āṅpūrvābhyām ātmanepadaṃ bhavati

An *ātmanepada* affix occurs after *yamĀ* 'restrain, give, go' and *han* 'hit, injure' when they are used intransitively with the preverb *āN.*

EXAMPLES:

āyacchate 'it stretches out'

āyacchete 'they (two) stretch out'
āyacchante 'they (pl.) stretch out'
āhate 'he gets injured'
āghnāte 'they (two) get injured'
āghnate 'they (pl.) get injured'

1. The restrictions implied by this rule are similar to those of the preceding rule. Thus, verbal roots *ā-yam* and *ā-han* are treated as intransitive when the sense is 'to stretch out, expand' and 'to strike or get injured' respectively. This covers examples such as *āyacchate rajjuḥ* 'the rope stretches, expands...'. What has been stated about *svāṅgakarman* in 1.3.27 is also valid here. For example: *svīyaṃ śira āhate* 'he beats his head' as opposed to *parasya śira āhanti* 'they are beating someone else's head', as well as *āyacchati kūpād rajjum* 'he is pulling the rope back from the water well' and the earlier example *āyacchate rajjuḥ*.

1.3.29 समो गम्यृच्छिभ्याम्

samo gamyṛcchibhyām
/samaḥ 5/1 *gamyṛcchibhyām* 5/2 = *gamiś ca ṛcchiś ca* = *gamyṛcchi (itar. dv.), tābhyām* = *gamyṛcchibhyām/*
(akarmakāt # 26, *ātmanepadam* # 12)
sampūrvebhyo gami, ṛcchi (pracchi, svarati, arti, śru, vidi) ity etebhyo' karmakebhyo dhātubhya ātmanepadaṃ bhavati
An *ātmanepada* affix occurs after the roots *gamI* 'to go' and *ṛcchI* 'to go, to become hard' when they are used intransitively with the preverb *sam*.

EXAMPLES:

saṅgacchate 'he goes along with or joins'
samṛcchate 'id.'

1. *Kāśikā* reads this *sūtra* as: *samogamyṛcchipracchi-svaratyartiśruvidibhyaḥ*. In other words, *Kāśikā* reads five additional verbs: *pracchi, svarati, arti, śru,* and *vidi*. I have not included them in the text of the *sūtra* because they have been cited in the *Mahābhāṣya* (II: 256) as part of a *vārttika* under this rule. *Padamañjarī* clearly states that this *sūtra* is simply *samo gamyṛcchibhyām*. Additional items, namely *pracchi* and so on, have been pointed out by the *vārttika* and read in the *sūtra* by *Kāśikā* to indicate that, like Pāṇini, the author of the *vārttika* is also the *śāstrakāra* 'author of the grammar' (*PM* ad *Kāś.* I: 432: *'samo gamyrcchibhyām' ity etāvat sūtram; pracchyādayastu vārttikadṛṣṭāḥ sūtrarūpeṇa paṭhitāḥ, sūtrakāravad vārttikakāro' pi śāstrasya kartā, na vyākhyāteti darśayitum.*)

1.3.30 निसमुपविभ्यो ह्वः

nisamupavibhyo hvaḥ

/nisamupavibhyaḥ 5/3 = *ni ca sam ca upa ca vi ca = nisamupavayaḥ (itar. dv.), tebhyaḥ = nisamupavibhyo hvaḥ* 5/1/
(*ātmanepadam* # 12)
ni, sam, upa, vi ity evaṃ pūrvād hvayater dhātor ātmanepadaṃ bhavati
An *ātmanepada* affix occurs after *hveÑ* 'to call, challenge' when it is used with the preverbs *ni, sam, upa,* or *vi.*

EXAMPLES:

nihvayate 'he calls definitely'
saṃhvayate 'he calls properly'
upahvayate 'he calls near'
vihvayate 'he calls specifically'

1. Since *hveÑ* is marked with *Ñ, ātmanepada* may be introduced after it only when the fruit of the action accrues to the agent (1.3.72 *svaritañ...*). That is, *parasmaipada* could be introduced after *hveÑ* when the fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent. By formulating this rule, Pāṇini makes the introduction of *ātmanepada* obligatory irrespective of whether or not the fruit of the action accrues to the agent.

1.3.31 **स्पर्धायामाङः**
spardhāyām āṅaḥ
/spardhāyām 7/1 *āṅaḥ* 5/1/
(*hvaḥ* # 30, *ātmanepadam* # 12)
spardhāyāṃ viṣaye āṅpūrvād hvayater ātmanepadaṃ bhavati
An *ātmanepada* affix occurs after *hveÑ* when it is used with the preverb *āÑ* to denote *spardhā* 'competition, bout'.

EXAMPLES:

mallo mallam āhvayate 'one wrestler challenges the other'
chātraś chātram āhvayate 'one student challenges the other'

1. It should be remembered here that *ātmànepada* should be introduced only when 'competition' is denoted. If *hveÑ* simply means 'to call out' and not 'to call out in challenge' introduction of *ātmanepada* becomes optional.

1.3.32 **गन्धनावक्षेपणसेवनसाहसिक्यप्रतियत्नप्रकथनोपयोगेषु कृञः**
gandhanāvakṣepaṇasevanasāhasikyapratiyatnaprakathaṅopayogeṣu kṛñaḥ
/gandhana...yogeṣu 7/3 = *gandhanaṃ ca avakṣepaṇaṃ ca sevanaṃ ca pratiyatnaś ca prakathanaṃ ca upayogaś ca = gandhana...yogāḥ (itar. dv.), teṣu = gandhanā...yogeṣu kṛñaḥ* 5/1/
(*ātmanepadam* # 12)
gandhanādiṣv artheṣu vartamānā karoter ātmanepadaṃ bhavati
An *ātmanepada* affix occurs after *kṛÑ* 'to do, make' when it denotes

gandhana 'find fault', *avakṣepaṇa* 'condemn, threaten', *sevana* 'serve, obey', *sāhasikya* 'dare', *pratiyatna* 'introducing new quality to something', *prakathana* 'exaggerate', or *upayoga* 'charity'.

EXAMPLES:

utkurute 'he finds fault'
udākurute 'id.'
śyeno vartikām udākurute 'the hawk condemns or threatens the duck'
gaṇakān upākurute 'he follows or obeys the commanders'
mahāmātrān upākurute 'he follows or obeys the chief ministers'
paradārān prakurute 'he dares to seduce someone else's wife'
edhodakasyopaskurute 'the burning wood introduces new quality to the water'
kāṇḍaṃ guḍasyopaskurute 'the okra plant introduces new quality to the jaggery'
gāthāḥ prakurute 'he exaggerates the stories'
janāpavādān prakurute 'he exaggerates the faults of people'
śataṃ prakurute 'he donates a hundred to charity'
sahasraṃ prakurute 'he donates a thousand to charity'

1. *Kāśikā* (I: 435) explains that *gandhana* denotes 'finding fault with intent to harm' (*apakāraprayuktaṃ hiṃsātmakaṃ sūcanam*). The explanations for the other meaning conditions are as follows: *avakṣepaṇa* = *bhartsana* 'threaten, scorn'; *sevana* = *anuvṛtti* 'follow, obey'; *sāhasikya* = *sāhasikaṃ karma* 'daring act using force'; *pratiyatna* = *sato guṇāntarādhānam* 'bringing a new quality to an existing one'; *prakathana* = *prakarṣeṇa kathanam* 'exaggerate'; and *upayoga* = *dharmādi prayojano viniyogaḥ* 'to donate or invest in charity'.

1.3.33 **अधेः प्रसहने**

adheḥ prasahane
/adheḥ 5/1 *prasahane* 7/1/
(*kṛñaḥ* # 32, *ātmanepadam* # 12)
adhipūrvāt karoteḥ prasahane vartamānād ātmanepadaṃ bhavati
An *ātmanepada* affix occurs after *kṛÑ* 'to do, make' when it is used with the preverb *adhi* to denote *prasahana* 'tame, overcome'.

EXAMPLE:

tam adhicakre 'he tamed him'

1.3.34 **वेः शब्दकर्मणः**

veḥ śabdakarmaṇaḥ
/veḥ 5/1 *śabdakarmaṇaḥ* 5/1/
(*kṛñaḥ* # 32, *ātmanepadam* # 12)

vipūrvāt karoter akartrabhiprāye kriyāphale śabdakarmaṇa ātmanepadaṃ bhavati
An *ātmanepada* affix occurs after *kṛÑ* when it is used with the preverb *vi* and denotes *śabdakarman* 'noise as its object'.

EXAMPLES:

kroṣṭā vikurute svarān 'this jackal (loudmouth) mispronounces'
dhvāṅkṣo vikurute svarān 'this crow (impudent one) mispronounces'

1. The word *karman* here refers to the *kāraka* termed *karman* 'object' and not to *kriyā* 'action'.

1.3.35 **अकर्मकाच्च**
akarmakāc ca
/akarmāt 5/1 *ca* Ø/
(veḥ # 34, *kṛñaḥ* # 32, *ātmanepadam* # 12)
vipūrvāt karoter akarmakakriyāvacanād ātmanepadaṃ bhavati
An *ātmanepada* affix also occurs after *kṛÑ* used intransitively with the preverb *vi*.

EXAMPLES:

vikurvate saindhavāḥ 'the horses are leaping beautifully'
odanasya pūrṇāś chātrāḥ vikurvate 'the students filled up with rice jump idly'

1.3.36 **सम्माननोत्सञ्जनाचार्यकरणज्ञानभृतिविगणनव्ययेषु नियः**
sammānanotsañjanācāryakaraṇajñānabhṛtivigaṇanavyayeṣu niyaḥ
/sammānana...vyayeṣu 7/3 = *sammānanaṃ ca, utsañjanaṃ ca, ācārya-karaṇaṃ ca, jñānaṃ ca, bhṛtiś ca, vigaṇanaṃ ca, vyayaś ca = sammānana... vyayāḥ (itar. dv.), teṣu = sammānana...vyayeṣu; niyaḥ* 5/1/
(ātmanepadam # 12)
'ṇīñ prāpaṇe' ity etasmād dhātor ātmanepadaṃ bhavati sammānanādiṣu viśeṣaṇeṣu satsu
An *ātmanepada* affix occurs after *ṇīÑ* 'to lead' when it denotes *sammānana*, 'respect'; *utsañjana*, 'hurling'; *ācāryakaraṇa*, 'consecrating'; *jñāna*, 'perception, logical understanding'; *bhṛti*, 'wages'; *vigaṇana*, 'paying off debts, taxes, and so on'; or *vyaya*, 'spending in charity'.

EXAMPLES:

nayate cārvī lokāyate '(the teacher) leads the students' intellect toward the logical understanding of the *śāstras*'
māṇavakam udānayate 'he hurls the child'
māṇavakam upanayate 'he consecrates the child'
karmakarān upanayate 'he pays the wages to the workers and in turn makes them favourable'

madrāḥ karaṃ vinayante 'the Madras pay off the taxes'
śataṃ vinayate 'he donates a hundred to charity'
sahasraṃ vinayate 'he donates a thousand to charity'

1. Note that *utsañjana*, 'hurling'; *jñāna*, 'perception, logical understanding'; *vigaṇana*, 'paying off debts, taxes, and so on'; and *vyaya*, 'spending in charity' are generally the meanings of *ṇīÑ*. The other meanings such as *ācāryakaraṇa* are contextual.

In view of 1.3.72 *svarita..*, *ātmanepada* can be introduced when the fruit of the action accrues to the agent. The present rule allows the use of *ātmanepada* after *ṇīÑ* even when the fruit of the action accrues to someone else. Rule 1.1.72 comes into the picture because *ṇīÑ* is a verb marked with *Ñ (Ñit)*.

1.3.37 कर्तृस्थे चाशरीरे कर्मणि

kartṛsthe cāśarīre karmaṇi
/kartṛsthe 7/1 *ca* Ø *aśarīre* 7/1 *karmaṇi* 7/1/
(niyaḥ # 36, *ātmanepadam* # 12)
kartṛsthe karmaṇy aśarīre sati nayater ātmanepadaṃ bhavati
An *ātmanepada* affix also occurs after *ṇīÑ* when a *karman* 'object' other than *śarīra* 'body' is denoted with its locus in the *kartṛ* 'agent'.

EXAMPLES:

krodhaṃ vinayate 'he suppresses (his) anger'
manyuṃ vinayate 'id.'

1. Note that *krodha* and so on are not parts of the body per se. Instead they are emotions present or absent in the body. Also see note 2 on 1.3.36.

1.3.38 वृत्तिसर्गतायनेषु क्रमः

vṛttisargatāyaneṣu kramaḥ
vṛttisargatāyaneṣu 7/3 = *vṛttiś ca sargaś ca tayanaṃ ca* = *vṛttisargatāyanāni (itar. dv.)*, *teṣu* = *vṛttisargatāyaneṣu; kramaḥ* 5/1
(ātmanepadam # 12)
(śeṣāt karttari parasmaipade prāpte) vṛtyādiṣv artheṣu kramater ātmanepadaṃ bhavati
An *ātmanepada* affix occurs after *kramŪ* 'to move' when it denotes *vṛtti* 'uninterrupted movement', *sarga* 'enthusiasm', or *tāyana* 'expansion, growth'.

EXAMPLES:

ṛkṣv asya kramate buddhiḥ 'this one's intellect moves freely in the *ṛk* hymns'
yajuṣv asya kramate buddhiḥ 'this one's intellect moves freely in the *yajuṣ* hymns'

vyākaraṇādhyayanāya kramate 'he feels enthusiastic towards studying grammar'
asmin śāstrāṇi kramante 'in this prosper the *śāstras*'

1. Note that *ātmanepada* can be introduced after *kramŪ* only when *vṛtti, sarga,* or *tāyana* is denoted. Also the root must be used without any preverbs. For the *ātmanepada* usage of *kramŪ* denoting *vṛtti, sarga,* or *tāyana* when used with preverbs *upa* and *parā*, see the following rule.

1.3.39 **उपपराभ्याम्**
upaparābhyām
/upaparābhyām 5/2 = *upa ca parā ca = upaparau (itar. dv.), tābhyām = upaparābhyām/*
(vṛttisargatāyaneṣu # 38, *ātmanepadam* # 12)
upaparāpūrvāt kramater vṛttyādiṣv artheṣu vartamānād ātmanepadaṃ bhavati
An *ātmanepada* affix occurs after *kramŪ* when it is used with the preverbs *upa* and *parā* to denote *vṛtti, sarga,* or *tāyana.*

EXAMPLES:

upakramate 'he begins'
parākramate 'he moves ahead with courage'

1. This rule provides for *ātmanepada* affixes after *kramŪ* only when *kramŪ* is used with the preverbs *upa* or *parā.* Of course, as in the preceding rule, the denotatum must be *vṛtti, sarga,* or *tāyana.*

1.3.40 **आङ उद्गमने**
āṅa udgamane
/āṅaḥ 5/1 *udgamane* 7/1/
(kramaḥ # 38, *ātmanepadam* # 12)
āṅpūrvāt kramater udgamane vartamānād ātmanepadaṃ bhavati
An *ātmanepada* affix occurs after *kramŪ* when it is used with the preverb *āÑ* to denote *udgamana* 'rise of celestial beings'.

EXAMPLES:

ākramate candramāḥ 'the moon is on the rise'
ākramante jyotīṃṣi 'the stars are on the rise'

1. *Nyāsa* ad *Kāśikā* (I: 442) notes that the rule should be interpreted to give the sense of: 'only when the ascendance of celestial beings is denoted'.

1.3.41 **वेः पादविहरणे**
veḥ pādaviharaṇe

/veḥ 5/1 *pādaviharaṇe* 7/1 = *pādayoḥ viharaṇam (ṣaṣ. tat.), tasmin* = *pādaviharaṇe/*
(kramaḥ # 38, *ātmanepadam* # 12)
vipūrvāt kramateḥ pādaviharaṇe arthe vartamānād ātmanepadaṃ bhavati
An *ātmanepada* affix occurs after *kramŪ* when it is used with the preverb *vi* to denote *pādaviharaṇa* 'nice footwork'.

EXAMPLES:

suṣṭhu vikramate '(the horse) moves beautifully'
sādhu vikramate '(the horse) moves beautifully'

1. A question is raised as to why *ātmanepada* could not be made available to *kramŪ* under rule 1.3.39 *upaparābhyām*. The reason why it could not is that rule 1.3.39 has the *anuvṛtti* of *vṛttisargatāyaneṣu*, a semantic constraint not applicable here.

1.3.42 **प्रोपाभ्यां समर्थाभ्याम्**
propābhyāṃ samarthābhyām
/propābhyām 5/2 = *praś ca upaś ca (itar. dv.), tābhyām* = *propābhyām; samarthābhyām* 5/2/
(kramaḥ # 38, *ātmanepadam* # 12)
'pra upa' ity etābhyām upasargābhyāṃ parasmāt kramater ātmanepadaṃ bhavati, tau cet propau samarthau tulyārthau bhavataḥ
An *ātmanepada* affix occurs after *kramŪ* when it is used with the preverbs *pra* or *upa* to denote *tulyārtha* 'same sense'.

EXAMPLES:

prakramate bhoktum 'he starts eating'
upakramate bhoktum 'id.'

1. The preverbs *pra* and *upa* used with *kramŪ* here are synonymous, denoting *ādikarman* 'onset of an action'. In other words, *ātmanepada* should be used after *kramŪ* used with the preverb *pra* or *upa* only when the verb denotes onset of an action.

1.3.43 **अनुपसर्गाद् वा**
anupasargād vā
/anupasargāt 5/1 *vā Ø/*
(kramaḥ # 38, *ātmanepadam* # 12)
upasargaviyuktāt kramater ātmanepadaṃ vā bhavati
An *ātmanepada* affix occurs optionally after *kramŪ* when it is used without a preverb.

EXAMPLES:

kramate 'he moves'
kramati 'id.'

1. Note that under the provisions of 1.3.38 *vrttisarga...*, *ātmanepada* obligatorily must be introduced after *kramŪ* when it denotes *vṛtti, sarga,* or *tāyana,* and is not used with any preverb. Under the provisions of this rule, the use of *ātmanepada* becomes optional when *kramŪ* is not used with any preverb and does not denote *vṛtti, sarga,* or *tāyana.* This is technically a rule characterizing *aprāptavibhāṣā* 'making something optional which was not'.

1.3.44 **अपह्नवे ज्ञः**

apahnave jñaḥ
/apahnave 7/1 *jñaḥ* 5/1/
(ātmanepadam # 12)
śeṣāt karttari parasmaipada prāpte jānāter apahnave varttamānād ātmanepadaṃ bhavati
An *ātmanepada* affix occurs after *jñā* 'to know' when it denotes *apahnava* 'denial, concealment'.

EXAMPLES:

śatam apajānīte 'you are denying the debt of a hundred'
sahasram apajānīte 'you are denying the debt of a thousand'

1. Note that *parasmaipada* would have become available to *jñā* from rule 1.3.78 *śeṣāt karttari parasmaipadam.* This rule provides for *ātmanepada* under the meaning condition of *apahnava.* Root *jñā* denotes *apahnava* only when it is used with the preverb, and not alone.

1.3.45 **अकर्मकाच्च**

akarṃakāc ca
/akarmakāt 5/1 *ca* Ø
(jñaḥ # 44, *ātmanepadam* # 12)
(akartrabhiprāyārtham idam) kartrabhiprāye hi anupasargād jñaḥ iti jānāter akarmakād akarmakakriyāvacanād ātmanepadaṃ bhavati
An *ātmanepada* affix also occurs after *jñā* when it is used intransitively.

EXAMPLES:

sarpiṣo jānīte 'he offers the ritual oblation thinking it is ghee'
madhuno jānīte 'he offers the ritual oblation thinking it is honey'

1. Note that for the purpose of this rule *jñā* 'to know' is to be interpreted as meaning *pravṛtti* 'moving ahead'. There may be a doubt regarding the intransitivity of *jñā,* especially in the examples given. Actually, 'ghee', etc., are used here not as the object of knowing, but as the means of performing the ritual with the knowledge of them.

1.3.46 **सम्प्रतिभ्यामनध्याने**

sampratibhyām anadhyāne

/sampratibhyām 5/2 = *saṃ ca prati ca = samprati (itar. dv.), tābhyām = sampratibhyām; anadhyāne* 7/1 = *na ādhyānam = anadhyānam (nañ. tat.), tasmin = anadhyāne*
(jñaḥ # 44, ātmanepadam # 12)
'saṃ prati' ity evaṃ pūrvāt jñāter anādhyāne varttamānād ātmanepadaṃ bhavati
An *ātmanepada* affix occurs after *jñā* when it is used with the preverbs *sam* or *prati* but does not denote *ādhyāna* 'sad memories'.

EXAMPLES:

śataṃ saṃjānīte 'he affirms (the loan of) one hundred'
sahasraṃ saṃjānīte 'he affirms (the loan of) one thousand'
śataṃ pratijānīte 'he affirms (the loan of) one hundred'
sahasraṃ pratijānīte 'he affirms (the loan of) one thousand'

1. This rule is split in two by *yogavibhāga*. The first rule will be: *saṃpratibhyām 'ātmanepada* occurs after *jñā* when it is used with *sam* or *prati'*. The second rule will be: *anādhyāne 'ātmanepada* occurs after *jñā* when it is used with *sam* or *prati* and *ādhyāna* is not being expressed'. Thus *yogavibhāga* sets aside the application of 1.3.45 *akarmakāc ca*. The condition of *anādhyāna* is important, as in its absence *ātmanepada* will be blocked. For example, *mātuḥ saṃjānāti* 'remembers his mother (misses her)'. The *ṣaṣṭhī mātuḥ* is allowed by 2.3.52 *adhīgartha....*

1.3.47 **भासनोपसंभाषज्ञानयत्नविमत्युपमन्त्रणेषु वदः**
bhāsanopasaṃbhāṣājñānayatnavimatyupamantraṇeṣu vadaḥ
/bhāsanopa...mantraṇeṣu 7/3 = *bhāsanañ ca upasaṃbhāṣā ca jñānañ ca yatnañ ca vimatiś ca upamantraṇañ ca = bhāsanopa...mantraṇāni (itar. dv.), teṣu = bhāsanopa...mantraṇeṣu vadaḥ* 5/1/
(ātmanepadam # 12)
(śeṣāt karttari parasmaipade prāpte) bhāsanādiṣu viśeṣaṇeṣusatsu vadater ātmanepadaṃ bhavati
An *ātmanepada* affix occurs after *vadÃ* 'to speak' when it denotes *bhāsana*, 'gleam, sparkle, glitter'; *upasaṃbhāṣa*, 'conciliation, consolation, solace'; *jñāna*, 'proper understanding'; *yatna*, 'effort, enthusiasm'; *vimati*, 'disputation, argument'; or *upamantraṇa*, 'consultation, enticement'.

EXAMPLES:

vadate cārvī lokāyate 'his intellect sparkles (illuminates) the *śāstras'*
karmakarān upavadate 'he consoles the workers'
kṣetre vadate 'he is enthusiastic in the field'
gehe vadate 'he is enthusiastic in his house'
kṣetre vivadante 'they argue in the field'

gehe vivadante 'they argue in the house'
kulabhāryām upavadate 'he entices the virtuous women'
paradārān upavadate 'he entices someone else's wife'

1. Note that *upasaṃbhāṣa* and *upamantraṇa* are the literal meanings; the rest are contextual.

1.3.48 व्यक्तवाचां समुच्चारणे

vyaktavācām samuccāraṇe
/vyaktavācām 6/3 = *vyaktā vāg yeṣām (bv.), te = vyaktavācām; samuccāraṇe* 7/1 *(prādi tat.)/*
(vadaḥ # 47, ātmanepadam # 12)
vyaktavācām samuccāraṇaṃ (sahoccāraṇaṃ), tatra varttamānād vadater ātmanepadaṃ bhavati
An *ātmanepada* affix occurs after *vadÃ* when it denotes *samuccāraṇa* 'simultaneous recital, speaking' of *vyaktavāk* 'distinct, audible speech'.

EXAMPLES:

saṃpravadante brāhmaṇāḥ 'the brāhmaṇas recite together'
saṃpravadante kṣatriyāḥ 'the kṣatriyas recite together'

1. The expressions *vyaktavāk* 'distinct, audible speech' and *samuccāraṇa* 'simultaneous speech' are important. Humans are referred to as *vyaktavāk* since their speech is 'distinct, audible' in the sense of having a system of structure and meaning. As opposed to this, animal noise is considered *avyaktavāk*. Thus the purpose of using *vyaktavāk* is not simply to require audibility or clarity. The condition of *samuccāraṇa* is also necessary because, in the absence of collective speech, *parasmaipada* should be used. Observe: *brāhmaṇo vadati* 'the brāhmaṇa is speaking'.

1.3.49 अनोरकर्मकात्

anor akarmakāt
/anoḥ 5/1 *akarmakāt* 5/1/
(vyaktavācām samuccāraṇe # 48, vadaḥ # 47, ātmanepadam # 12)
anupūrvād vadater akarmakād vyaktavāg viṣayād ātmanepadaṃ bhavati
An *ātmanepada* affix occurs after *vadÃ* when it is used intransitively with the preverb *anu* to denote *samuccāraṇa* of *vyaktavāk* (see rule 1.3.48 for details).

EXAMPLES:

anuvadate kaṭhaḥ kalāpasya 'the *kaṭha* (a reciter of the *kaṭha* school) imitates the chanting of the *kalāpa* (a reciter of the *kalāpa* school)'
anuvadate maudgaḥ paippalādasya 'the *maudga* (a reciter of the *mudga*

school) imitates the chanting of the *paippalāda* (a reciter of the *pippalāda* school)'

1. The sense of *anu* here is *sādṛśya* 'similarity'. That is why *kalāpasya* has got the genitive by 2.3.72 *tulyārthair....* This *sādṛśya* is restricted to recital only, which is why the object remains unexpressed and residual *(śeṣa) ṣaṣṭhī* (2.3.50 *ṣaṣṭhī śeṣe*) is used.

1.3.50 **विभाषा विप्रलापे**

vibhāṣā vipralāpe
/vibhāṣā 1/1 *vipralāpe* 7/1/
(vyaktavācāṃ samuccāraṇe # 48, *vadaḥ* # 47, *ātmanepadam* # 12)
vipralāpātmake vyaktavācāṃ samuccāraṇe varttamānād vadater ātmanepadaṃ bhavati
An *ātmanepada* affix occurs optionally after *vadÃ* when it denotes *samuccāraṇa* of *vyaktavāk* with *vipralāpa* 'nonsense, contradiction'.

EXAMPLES:

vipravadante sāṃvatsarāḥ 'the astrologers are speaking aloud, contradicting each other'
vipravadanti sāṃvatsarāḥ 'id.'
vipravadante mauhūrttāḥ 'id.'
vipravadanti mauhūrttāḥ 'id.'

1.3.51 **अवाद्ग्रः**

avād graḥ
/avād 5/1 *graḥ* 5/1/
(ātmanepadam # 12)
avapūrvād girater ātmanepadaṃ bhavati
An *ātmanepada* affix occurs after *gṛ* 'to swallow' when it is used with the preverb *ava.*

EXAMPLES:

avagirate 'he swallows'
avagirete 'they (two) swallow'
avagirante 'they (pl.) swallow'

1. The word *graḥ* here refers to *gṛ* 'to swallow' which has been cited in the class headed by *tud* 'to torment'. It could not refer to *gṛ* 'to make noise' because the latter is not used with *ava.*

1.3.52 **समः प्रतिज्ञाने**

samaḥ pratijñāne
/samaḥ 5/1 *pratijñāne* 7/1/

(*graḥ* # 51, *ātmanepadam* # 12)
saṃ pūrvād girateḥ pratijñāne varttamānād ātmanepadaṃ bhavati
An *ātmanepada* affix occurs after *gṛ* when it is used with the preverb *sam* to denote *pratijñāna* 'to concur, accept, admit'.

EXAMPLES:

śataṃ saṃgirate 'he admits (that he owes) a hundred'
nityaṃ śabdaṃ saṃgirate 'he admits that *śabda* 'word' is *nitya* 'eternal'

1. The word *pratijñāna* has been glossed by commentators as *abhyupagama* 'to accept or admit something to be true'.

1.3.53 उदश्वरः सकर्मकात्

udaś caraḥ sakarmakāt
/udaḥ 5/1 *caraḥ* 5/1 *sakarmakāt* 5/1/
(*atmanepadam* # 12)
(*śeṣāt karttari parasmaipade prāpte*) *utpūrvāc carateḥ sakarmaka-kriyāvacanād ātmanepadaṃ bhavati*
An *ātmanepada* affix occurs after *car* 'to move' when it is used transitively with the preverb *ut*.

EXAMPLES:

geham uccarate 'he leaves defying the family'
kuṭumbam uccarate 'he leaves defying the clan'
guruvacanam uccarate 'he leaves defying the advice of the teacher'

1 Note that in the absence of this rule, 1.3.78 *śeṣāt karttari parasmaipadam* would provide for *parasmaipada*. Transitive usage is required to rule out examples such as *vāṣpam uccarati* 'the vapour is rising'. Also note that *utcara* in the above transitive usage means 'defy, disregard'.

1.3.54 समस्तृतीयायुक्तात्

samas tṛtīyāyuktāt
/samaḥ 5/1 *tṛtīyāyuktāt* 5/1 = *tṛtīyayā yuktaḥ* = *tṛtīyāyuktaḥ (tr. tat.), tasmāt* = *tṛtīyāyuktāt/*
(*caraḥ* # 53, *ātmanepadam* # 12)
saṃ pūrvāc carates tṛtīyāyuktād ātmanepadaṃ bhavati
An *ātmanepada* affix occurs after *car* when it is used with the preverb *sam* along with a *pada* in *tṛtīyā* 'third triplet of *sUP*'.

EXAMPLES:

aśvena saṃcarate 'he moves on a horse'

1. Note that *tṛtīyā* refers to the third triplet of *sUP*. The connection of *sam-car* with such a *pada* is established by meaning. Thus: *aśvena saṃcarate*

'he moves on (by means of) a horse'. However, for the use of *ātmanepada* after *sam-car,* one must have the relatable *pada,* here *aśvena,* in *tṛtīyā*. Consider, for example, *rathikāḥ saṃcaranti* 'the charioteers are wandering', where even though the semantic connection may be understood, the verb takes *parasmaipada* because of the lack of a *pada,* in this case *rathikāḥ,* in *tṛtīyā.*

1.3.55 **दाणश्च सा चेच्चतुर्थ्यर्थे**

dāṇaś ca sā cec caturthyarthe
/dāṇaḥ 5/1 *ca* Ø *sā* 1/1 *cet* Ø *caturthyarthe* 7/1/
(samaḥ # 54, *ātmanepadam* # 12)
(dāṇ dāne parasmaipadī) tataḥ saṃpūrvāt tṛtīyāyuktād ātmanepadaṃ bhavati, sā cet tṛtīyā caturthyarthe bhavati
An *ātmanepada* affix also occurs after *dāṆ* 'to give' when it is used with the preverb *sam* along with a *pada* in *tṛtīyā* provided the *tṛtīyā* is used in the sense of *caturthī* 'fourth triplet of *sUP*'.

EXAMPLES:

dāsyā mālāṃ samprayacchate 'he is giving the garland to (seduce) the maid'

1. The nominal ending *tṛtīyā* is used in the sense of *caturthī* when *aśiṣṭavyavahāra* 'unbecoming behaviour' is denoted. It is because of this that *dāsī* is put in the instrumental instead of the dative. See the *vārttika* (*Mbh.* II: 259) under this rule: *aśiṣṭavyavahāre tṛtīyā caturthyarthe bhavati.*

2. Note that *samaḥ* brought by *anuvṛtti* from the previous rule must here, as well as in the previous rule, be interpreted as ending in genitive. For if interpreted as ending in ablative, 1.3.67 *tasmād ity uttarasya* would not allow any intervening preverb between *sam* and *car* or *sam* and *dāṆ.* That is, rules 1.3.54 through 1.3.55 cannot allow *ātmanepada* if *sam* and *car* or *sam* and *dāṆ* are interrupted by any preverbs. Thus an example like *rathena samudācarate* will not come under the provisions of 1.3.54. If the *samaḥ* of 1.3.55 is interpreted as ablative, examples such as *samprayacchate* where *sam* and *yam* are interrupted by *pra* will be ruled out. This attests to the fact that in both 1.3.54 and 1.3.55 *samaḥ* should be interpreted as ending in genitive. This in turn will make *samaḥ* a qualifier (*viśeṣaṇa*) of *car* and *dāṆ,* its qualifieds (*viśeṣya*).

1.3.56 **उपाद्यमः स्वकरणे**

upād yamaḥ svakaraṇe
/upāt 5/1 *yamaḥ* 5/1 *svakarane* 7/1/
(ātmanepadam # 12)
(śeṣāt karttari parasmaipade prāpte) upa pūrvād yamaḥ svakaraṇe vartamānād ātmanepadaṃ bhavati

An *ātmanepada* affix occurs after *yamÃ* 'to give' when it is used with the preverb *upa* to denote *svīkaraṇa* 'to accept in marriage, marry'.

EXAMPLE:

bhāryām upayacchate 'he accepts (her) as his wife'

1. Where *Kāśikā* interprets *svakaraṇa* exclusively as *pāṇigrahaṇa* 'to accept in marriage', the *Mahābhāṣya* (II: 260) interprets it as 'accepting something as one's own' in general. Why did Pāṇini not use *svīkaraṇa*, a form including the *taddhita* affix *CvI*? *Padamañjarī* says that 4.1.82 *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* would allow one to use *CvI* optionally. That is, both *svakaraṇa* and *svīkaraṇa* would be correct.

There is basic disagreement about the meaning of *svakaraṇa* between the *Kāśikā* and the *Mahābhāṣya*. *Kāśikā* cites *devadatto yajñadattasya bhāryām upayaccati* as a counter-example, to explain that if 'Devadatta accepts Yajñadatta's wife as a maidservant', *upayam* must take *parasmaipada*. Thus *ātmanepada* should be used only when *svakaraṇa* means marriage. The *Mahābhāṣya*, however, would allow the above sentence to have the verb in *ātmanepadà* even if marriage is not the meaning.

1.3.57 **ज्ञाश्रुस्मृदृशां सनः**

jñāśrusmṛdṛśām sanaḥ

/jñāśrusmṛdṛśām 6/3 = *jñā ca śru ca smṛ ca dṛś ca* = *jñāśrusmṛdṛśaḥ (itar. dv.), teṣām* = *jnàsrusmṛdṛsaṃ; sanaḥ* 5/1/

(*ātmanepadam* # 12)

jñā, śru, smṛ, dṛś ity eteṣāṃ sannantānām ātmanepadaṃ bhavati

An *ātmanepada* affix occurs after the *saN* form of *jñā*, 'to know'; *śru*, 'to hear'; *smṛ*, 'to remember'; and *dṛśIR*, 'to see'.

EXAMPLES:

dharmaṃ jijñāsate 'he wishes to know about *dharma*'
guruṃ śuśrūṣate 'he wishes to hear the teacher'
naṣṭaṃ susmūrṣate 'he wishes to remember the lost'
nṛpaṃ didṛkṣate 'he wishes to see the king'

1. It should be noted here that *ātmanepada* may become available to these roots by rules 1.3.29 *samo gam...*, 1.3.44 *apahnave jñaḥ*, 1.3.45 *akarmakāc ca*, 1.3.46 *saṃpratibhyām anādhyāne*, and the *vārttika: artiśrudṛśibhyaś ca* (on 7.1.7 *vetter vibhāṣā*). The *ātmanepada* after the *saN* forms of these roots may similarly become available by 1.3.62 *pūrvavat sanaḥ*. Why did Pāṇini formulate this rule if he could provide for the *ātmanepada* elsewhere? The answer is that the present rule provides *ātmanepada* outside conditions, such as *apahnava* in 1.3.44, set by the above rules. Thus this rule provides for *ātmanepada* which was not available elsewhere.

1.3.58 **नानोर्ज्ञः**

nānor jñaḥ
/na Ø anoḥ 5/1 *jñaḥ* 5/1/
(sanaḥ # 57, *ātmanepadam #* 12)
anupūrvāj jānāteḥ sannantād ātmanepadaṃ na bhavati
An *ātmanepada* affix does not occur after the *saN* form of *jñā* when it is used with the preverb *anu*.

EXAMPLE:

putram anujijñāsati 'he wishes to permit his son'

1. This rule negates the provisions of the preceding rule whereby *ātmanepada* is allowed after the *saN* form of *jñā*. It should be remembered that what is provided for by 1.3.57 is the transitive use of *jñā*. That same use of *jñā* preceded by *anu* and its underlying *saN* form is disallowed by the present rule to take *ātmanepada*. The intransitive usage of *jñā* discussed under 1.3.45 *akarmakāc ca* cannot be blocked by this rule because:
   (*a*) this rule can only block the most immediate rule (see *paribhāṣā* 62: *anantarasya vidhir vā pratiṣedho vā*), and
   (*b*) 1.3.45 does not account for *saN* forms of *jñā*.

In a way this rule is a prior exception to 1.3.62 *pūrvavat sanaḥ*, which allows *ātmanepada* after the *saN* form of those verbs which may have *ātmanepada* after their non-*saN* forms. Note, however, that only the intransitive *jñā* preceded by *anu* and underlying *saN* can be blocked from taking *ātmanepada*. Its transitive usage, such as *auṣadhasya anujijñāsate* 'wishes to move ahead by means of medicine', will still require *ātmanepada* by 1.3.62 *pūrvavat sanaḥ*.

1.3.59 **प्रत्याङ्भ्यां श्रुवः**

pratyāṅbhyāṃ śruvaḥ
/pratyāṅbhyām 5/2 *śruvaḥ* 5/1/
(na # 58, *sanaḥ #* 57, *ātmanepadam #* 12)
'prati, āṅ' ity evaṃ pūrvāc chṛṇoteḥ sannantād ātmanepadaṃ na bhavati
An *ātmanepada* affix does not occur after the *saN* form of *śru* when it is used with the preverbs *prati* or *āṄ*.

EXAMPLES:

pratiśuśrūṣati 'he wishes to hear the response'
āśuśrūṣati 'he wishes to hear properly'

1. Note that because of its association (*sāhacarya*) with *śru*, a verb root, *prati*, as well as *āṄ*, must be interpreted as a preverb and not as *karmapravacanīya* (1.4.83 *karmapravacanīyāḥ*). Thus, *śru* used with the *karmapravacanīya prati* will still be allowed to take *ātmanepada*, as in *devadattaṃ*

prati śuśrūṣate. Since *prati* in this example is a *karmapravacanīya,* and hence can only be relatable to *devadatta,* the question of its blocking the *ātmanepada* via 1.3.59 does not arise.

1.3.60 **शदेः शितः**

śadeḥ śitaḥ
/śadeḥ 5/1 *śitaḥ* 6/1
(ātmanepadam # 12)
śadir yaḥ śit, śidbhāvī śito vā saṃbandhī tasmād ātmanepadaṃ bhavati
An *ātmanepada* affix occurs after *śadLṚ* 'to cut' when it is to be used with an item marked with *Ś.*

EXAMPLES:

śīyate 'he cuts'
śīyete 'they (two) cut'
śīyante 'they (pl.) cut'

1. Note that *śadIṚ* is a root which should normally take *parasmaipada.* This rule provides for *ātmanepada* under the condition that an affix marked with *Ś* will be introduced after it. This needs some explanation. If *śadeḥ śitaḥ* of this rule is interpreted as, *ātmanepada* occurs after that which is marked with *Ś,* and occurs after *śadLṚ,* then *ātmanepada* will have to wait until an item marked with *Ś* is introduced. In the meantime, the abstract *LA* suffix would have been replaced by *parasmaipada,* as provided for by 1.3.78 *śeṣāt karttiari parasmaipada.* Once *parasmaipada* is introduced, *ātmanepada* can never be introduced. This is the difficulty in interpreting *śadeḥ* (5/1) *śitaḥ* (5/1) as *śadeḥ paro yaḥ śit tasmāt* 'after that *śit* which occurs after *śad.*

Since *ātmanepada* and *parasmaipada* affixes are always introduced prior to the *vikaraṇa* 'augments', in the present context an item marked with *Ś, śadeḥ śitaḥ* must be interpreted in such a way that

(*a*) *ātmanepada* may be introduced after *śadLṚ,* and
(*b*) the condition of *śit* is also met.

For this reason *Kāśikā* interprets *śadeḥ śitaḥ* as *'ātmánepada* occurs after that *śadLṚ* after which an affix marked with *Ś* will be introduced'. That is, *śadLṚ* will definitely require an affix marked with *Ś* after the *LA* affix is replaced; and then the *LA* affix must be replaced by *ātmanepada.* In this way, the question of introducing a *śit* affix before the replacement of *LA* by *ātmanepada* does not arise.

1.3.61 **म्रियतेर्लुङ्लिङोश्च**

mriyater luṅliṅoś ca
/mriyateḥ 5/1 *luṅliṅoḥ* 7/2 = *luṅ ca liṅ ca (itar. dv.), tayoḥ = luṅliṅoḥ; cá Ø/*
(śitaḥ # 60, *ātmanepadam #* 12)

mṛiyater luṅliṅoḥ śitaś ca ātmanepadaṃ bhavati
An *ātmanepada* affix occurs after *mṛṄ* 'to die'when it is used in *LUṄ* 3.2.110 *luṅ), LIṄ (*3.3.159 *liṅ ca),* or with an item marked with *Ś.*

EXAMPLES:

aṃrta 'he died'
mṛṣīṣṭa 'may he die'
mriyate 'he dies'
mriyete 'they (two) die'
mriyante 'they (pl.) die'

1. Note that *mṛṄ* is marked with *Ṅ,* and as such, 1.3.12 *anudāttañitaḥ...* will automatically provide for *ātmanepada* in general. However, Pāṇini formulates this rule as a restriction *(niyama).* He employs this rule to restrict the blanket introduction of *ātmanepada* only to those instances where
(*a*) either *ātmanepada* is to replace *LUṄ* or *LIṄ,* or
(*b*) an affix marked with *Ś* is to be introduced after *mṛN.*

Needless to say, this *śit* affix will be introduced after *ātmanepada* has replaced an *LA* affix. The first two examples illustrate the replacement of *LUṄ* and *LIṄ* by *ātmanepada.* Bhaṭṭoji (*SK* ad 1.3.62 *pūrvavat...)* suggests that 1.3.60 and 1.3.61 should be interpreted via *yogavibhāga.* For this, he also recommends that *sanaḥ* and *na* be carried via *anuvṛtti* from 1.3.57 *jñāśru...sanaḥ* and 1.3.58 *nānor jñaḥ.* The two rules resulting from *yogavibhāga* would be:
(*a*) *śadeh śitaḥ mriyater luṅliṅoś ca*
'*ātmanepada* occurs after *śadLṚ* only when an item marked with *Ś* is to be introduced after it, and after *mṛṄ* only when it either occurs before *LUṄ* or *LIṄ,* or an item marked with *Ś* is to be introduced after it', and
(*b*) *sano na*
'*ātmanepada* does not occur after the *saN* form of *śadLṚ* or *mṛṄ'.*

The first split rule will provide for the derivation of *śīyate, mriyate, mamāra,* and so on. The second rule will block *ātmanepada* in deriving *śiśitsati* and *mumūrṣati,* and so on.

1.3.62 **पूर्ववत्सनः**
pūrvavat sanaḥ
/pūrvavāt Ø sanaḥ 5/1/
(ātmanepadam # 12)
san pūrvo yo dhātuḥ ātmanepadī tadvat sannantād ātmanepadaṃ bhavati
An *ātmanepada* affix occurs after a *saN* form of a root in the same manner in which it occurs after the preceding (non-*saN)* form.

EXAMPLES:

āsisiṣate 'he wishes to sit'
śiśayiṣate 'he wishes to recline'
niviśate 'he enters'
nivivikṣate 'he wishes to enter'
ākramate 'he moves ahead, attacks'
ācikraṃsate 'he wishes to move ahead, attack'

1. The compound *pūrvavat* must be interpreted as *pūrveṇatulyam*, where the affix *vatI* has been introduced by 5.1.115 *tena tulyam....* As is obvious, the present *sūtra* is an extension *(atideśa)* rule. As such it provides for the introduction of *ātmanepada* by means of *nimitta* 'cause, reason'. Commentators call this *nimittātideśa.* In view of this, the present rule provides for the introduction of *ātmanepada* after the *saN* form of a root for reasons similar to the introduction of *ātmanepada* after the non-*saN* form. Thus the reasons which were responsible for the introduction of *ātmanepada* after a given root will automatically be extended to the corresponding *saN* form by 1.1.62. Consequently, *ātmanepada* is ruled by 1.3.12 *anudāttaṅitaḥ...* after *ās* and *śīṄ*, because *ās* is marked with *anudātta* and *śīṄ* is marked with *Ṅ*. For the same reasons the *saN* forms of these roots, namely, *āsisiṣate* and *śiśayiṣate* must also take *ātmanepada.* The same holds for *niviśate* and *nivivikṣate* and for *ākramate* and *ācikraṃsate*, where 1.3.17 *ner viśaḥ* and 1.3.49 *āṅ udgamane* allow the *ātmanepada.*

One may wonder why *śadLṚ* and *mṛṄ* have *ātmanepada* forms *śīyate* and *mriyate* while their corresponding *saN* forms, such as *śiśītsati* and *mumūrṣati*, have *parasmaipada.* This is simply due to the absence of conditions proposed by 1.3.61 *mriyate....* That is, *ātmanepada* was only allowed under the special conditions of a subsequent introduction of *śit, LUṄ*, or *LIN.* These conditions are not met by *śiśītsati* and *mumūrṣati.* The *saN* forms of *kṛÑ* such as *anucikīrṣati* and *parācikīrṣati* also have *parasmaipada.* A question may arise as to why these forms should take *parasmaipada* when under certain meaning conditions, their non-*saN* counterparts were allowed *ātmanepada* (see 1.3.32 *gandhana...*). If *anucikīrṣati* and *parācikīrṣati* meet those meaning conditions then they must take *ātmanepada* in accordance with 1.3.62. An answer to this is that the *ātmanepada* provided for by 1.3.32 is blocked by the *parasmaipada* provided for by 1.3.79 *anuparābhyām...* If *ātmanepada* is blocked by *parasmaipada* in the non-*saN* form, it should also be blocked in the corresponding *saN* form.

The preceding discussion indicates that 1.3.62 allows *ātmanepada*, based on reasons for which *ātmanepada* is introduced after the earlier non-*saN* form of a root. But what if a root is always used with *saN*? That is, if it does not have a non-*saN* form to which reference can be made for the introduction of *ātmanepada*? The answer is to look for the characteristic marks in

the root, and if it is marked with a sign which requires *ātmanepada,* use *ātmanepada.*

There are seven roots which are never used without *saN: gup, tij, kit, mān, vadha, dān,* and *śān.* These are all marked with *anudātta* as *it.* This allows the introduction of *ātmanepada* by 1.3.12 *anudāttaṅitaḥ....* One may argue here that it is *gup* and so on, not *gup* + *saN,* which is marked with *anudātta.* As such, how can *gup* + *saN* be qualified as being marked with *anudātta* and hence be allowed to take *ātmanepada? Kāśikā* (1: 459) invokes the maxim: *avayave kṛtaṃ liṅgaṃ samudāyasya viśeṣakaṃ bhavati* 'a mark made on a part of a whole qualifies the whole'. That is, *anudātta* marked on *gup* will also qualify *gup* + *saN.* This resolves the difficulty in introducing *ātmanepada* in examples such as *jugupsate* and *mīmāṃsate.*

However, such a solution may create problems for the causal forms *jugupsayati* and *mīmāṃsayati.* If a mark made on the part (*gup* and so on) qualifies the whole (*gup* + *saN*), then that mark should also qualify such wholes as *gup* + *saN* + *ṆiC.* This would then block *parasmaipada* in *jugupsayati.* This difficulty necessitates a refinement of the argument based on the marking of a part qualifying a whole. It should be restricted as follows: a mark made on a part qualifies only that whole which is comprised of parts never leaving the whole. Since *saN* never leaves *gup,* a mark made on *gup* will qualify *gup* + *saN.* But *ṆiC* of *gup* + *saN* + *ṆiC* is a part which may leave the whole. Therefore, *gup* + *saN* + *ṆiC* is a whole which cannot be qualified by the mark made on *gup.* This is the reason why *jugupsayati* and so on may take *parasmaipada.*

1.3.63 आम्प्रत्ययवत्कृञोऽनुप्रयोगस्य

āmpratyayavat kṛño' nuprayogasya

/āmpratyayavat ∅ = ām pratyayo yasmāt sa = āmpratyayaḥ (bv.), tasya iva = āmpratyayavat; kṛñaḥ 5/1 *anuprayogasya* 6/1/

(*ātmanepadam #* 12)

āmpratyayasyaiva dhātoḥ kṛño' nuprayogasyātmanepadaṃ bhavati

An *ātmanepada* affix occurs after *kṛÑ* in a manner similar to the root which *kṛÑ* follows and after which the affix *ām* has been introduced.

EXAMPLES:

īkṣāñcakre 'he saw'
īhāñcakre 'he tried'

1. Note here that *kṛñaḥ* is marked with *Ñ,* which will enable it to take *ātmanepada* when the fruit of the action accrues to the agent (see 1.3.72 *svarita...*). The present rule provides for *ātmanepada* even when the fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent. However, this *ātmanepada* is conditioned by a preceding root which terminates in *ām.* If *kṛÑ* is not used with a preceding verb ending in *ām, ātmanepada* cannot be allowed under

the provisions of this rule. This restriction makes the present rule a restrictive rule (*niyama*).

Furthermore, this rule also provides that the ending after *kṛÑ* should be introduced in a manner corresponding to the preceding root terminating in *ām*. If the preceding root allows *parasmaipada*, *kṛÑ* will therefore take *parasmaipada*. If the preceding root allows both, *kṛÑ* may take one or the other. This provision that *kṛÑ* should follow the preceding root in the selection of *ātmanepada* or *parasmaipada* makes the present rule an operational rule (*vidhi*) as well.

Refer to the notes under the preceding rule for further details. Derivational details may be found in the appendix under this and the preceding rules.

In order to arrive at both the *niyama* and the *vidhi* interpretations of this rule, commentators say that *pūrvavat* of 1.3.62 *pūrvavat sanaḥ* is to be carried by *anuvṛtti*, and that the present rule should be interpreted by *yogavibhāga*. There would then be two rules:

(*a*) *āmpratyayavat kṛño' nuprayogasya*, and

(*b*) *pūrvavat kṛño' nuprayogasya*.

The first interpretation would provide *vidhi* status while the second would provide *niyama*. However, interpreting this rule via *yogavibhāga* is prolix (*gaurava*). The affix *vatI* of *āmpratyayavat* itself can account for both interpretations:

(*a*) *ātmanepada* should occur only when *kṛÑ* follows a root terminating in *ām*, and

(*b*) the ending should occur in the same manner as it does after the root underlying *ām*.

Thus, *pūrvavat* should not be carried. Some argue that carrying *pūrvavat* from the preceding rule is still necessary for treating this rule as a *niyama* 'restriction'. This is attested to by the dictum of *siddhe saty ārambho niyamārthaḥ*, 'a provision even when one can do without is made for *niyama*'.

2. The word *āmpratyayaḥ* should not be interpreted as a *karmadhāraya* compound with the paraphrase *ām cāsau pratyayaḥ = āmpratyayaḥ, ām* which is also the affix'. Instead, it should be interpreted as a *bahuvrīhi* with the paraphrase *āmpratyayo yasmāt sa āmpratyayaḥ*, 'that after which affix *ām* occurs'. This *bahuvrīhi* should also be accepted as *atadguṇasaṃvijñāna*, and not as *tadguṇasaṃvijñāna*. A *bahuvrīhi* where the compound does not qualify any of its constituent meanings is termed *atadguṇasaṃvijñāna*. In other words, where the compound does not permit any of its constituents to be construed with the verb, it is called *atadguṇasaṃvijñāna*. Conversely, a *bahuvrīhi* which allows a constituent to be construed with the verb is called *tadguṇasaṃvijñāna*. For example, consider the following:

(*a*) *sukeśīm ānaya* 'bring her who has beautiful hair'

(*b*) *citragum ānaya* 'bring him who owns brindled cows'

The first example is a *tadguṇasaṃvijñāna bahuvrīhi*, as opposed to the second, which is an *atadguṇasaṃvijñāna*. This distinction is based on the understanding that if one obeys the command implied by sentence (*a*), one would bring the woman who has beautiful hair. That is, the constituent *keśa* 'hair' will be construed with the verb. In response to the command of (*b*), however, *go* 'cow' will not be construed with the verb. It is the person who owns the brindled cows who will be brought, and not the cows. Given this distinction, the compound *āmpratyayaḥ* should be interpreted as an *atadguṇasaṃvijñāna*, for it refers to the root after which the affix *ām* occurs, and not to the affix *ām* itself.

The word *anuprayoga* is derived from *anu-pra-yuj* + *GHaÑ*, where *GHaÑ* is introduced to denote *karman*. The genitive in *anuprayogasya* is used in the sense of ablative.

1.3.64 **प्रोपाभ्यां युजेरयज्ञपात्रेषु**

propābhyāṃ yujer ayajñapātreṣu

/propābhyām 5/2 *yujeḥ* 5/1 *ayajñapātreṣu* 7/3 = *yajñasya pātrāṃ = yajñapātrāṇi (ṣaṣ. tat.); na yajñāpātrāṇi = ayajñapātrāṇi (nañ. tat.); teṣu = ayajñapātreṣu/*

(*ātmanepadam* # 12)

pra, upa ity evaṃ pūrvād yujer ayajñapātraprayogaviṣayād ātmanepadaṃ bhavati

An *ātmanepada* affix occurs after *yujĪR* 'to join, yoke' when it is used with the preverbs *pra* and *upa* provided there is no reference to *yajñapātra* 'ritual vessel'.

EXAMPLE:

prayuṅte 'he makes use of'

1. Verbal root *yuj* 'join' has been enumerated with *svarita* as its *it*. As a consequence, *ātmanepada* is available to it by rule 1.3.72 *svaritañitaḥ...* providing, of course, that the fruit of the action does accrue to the agent.

Also note that any reference to ritual vessels will require *parasmaipada*, as in *dvandvaṃ nyañci pātrāṇi prayunakti* 'he places the ritual vessels upside down in a set of two'.

1.3.65 **समः क्ष्णुवः**

samaḥ kṣṇuvaḥ

/samaḥ 5/1 *kṣṇuvaḥ* 5/1/

(*ātmanepadam* # 12)

(*'kṣṇu tejane' parasmaipadī*) *tataḥ saṃpūrvād ātmanepadaṃ bhavati*

An *ātmanepada* affix occurs after *kṣṇu* 'to sharpen' when it is used with the preverb *sam*.

EXAMPLES:

saṃkṣṇute 'he sharpens'
saṃkṣṇavāte 'they (two) sharpen'
saṃkṣṇuvate 'they (pl.) sharpen'

1. Note that verbal root *kṣṇu* 'sharpen, whet' does not take *ātmanepada*. This rule provides for *ātmanepada* when the root is used with the preverb *sam*. The *Mahābhāṣya* (II: 275) raises the question why *ātmanepada* was not made available to this root under the provisions of 1.3.29 *samo gamyṛcchibhyām*. The answer is that roots *gam*, etc., used with *sam* as their preverb, were intended to be *akarmaka* 'intransitive'. This rule implies that *kṣṇu* used with *sam* is transitive (*sakarmaka*). This therefore explains why *kṣṇu* could not be included in the roots of 1.3.29.

1.3.66 भुजोऽनवने

bhujo' navane
/bhujaṇ 5/1 *anavane* 7/1/
(ātmanepadam # 12)
('bhujo pālanābhyavahārayoḥ' iti ṛudhādau paṭhyate) tasmād anavane (apālane) varttamānād ātmanepadaṃ bhavati
An *ātmanepada* affix occurs after *bhujĀ* 'to consume, eat' when it does not denote *avana* 'protect, preserve'.

EXAMPLES:

bhuṅkte 'he eats'
bhuñjāte 'they (two) eat'

1. The word *bhujaḥ* 'after the verbal root *bhuj*' here refers to verbal root *bhuj* 'to raise, consume', listed in the class of roots headed by *rudh* 'obstruct'. Obviously, the *bhuj* 'to bend' listed in the class of roots headed by *tud* 'torment' is ruled out. How do we know this? We know it by the use of the negation *anavane* 'when *avana* "to raise" is not being denoted'. Since *avana* happens to be the meaning of *bhuj* listed in the *rudh* class, and also since the negation (by association, or *sāhacarya)* implies that the meaning of *bhuj* is 'to consume', the *bhuj* of the class of roots headed by *tud* must be ruled out. It is for this reason that sentences such as

(*a*) *vibhujati pāṇim* 'he bends (his) hand'

do not qualify for *ātmanepada*.

The association implied by the negation *anavane* and its subsequent impact, the exclusion of the *bhuj* of the *tud* class, is justified by sentences like the following:

(*b*) *sakuṇḍalaṃ hariṃ smarati bālaḥ* 'the child remembers Hari with ear-rings'

The word *hari* is interpreted here as meaning Kṛṣṇa, and not a monkey, because of Hari's association with *kuṇḍala* 'ear-ring'. If this association can work in the case of a positive provision, it should also work in the case of its negative counterpart. Thus, consider

(*c*) *akuṇḍalaṃ harim smarati bālaḥ* 'the child remembers Kṛṣṇa without ear-rings'

It is in this way that the negation *anavane* rules out the *bhuj* of the *tud* class.

1.3.67 णेरणौ यत्कर्म णौ चेत्स कर्त्तानाध्याने

ṇer aṇau yat karma ṇau cet sa karttānādhyāne

/ṇeḥ 5/1 *aṇau* 7/1 *yat* 1/1 *karma* 1/1 *ṇau* 7/1 *cet* Ø *saḥ* 1/1 *karttā* 1/1 *anādhyāne* 7/1 = *na ādhyānam (nañ. tat.); tasmin = anādhyāne/*

(*ātmanepadam* # 12)

ṇyantād ātmanepadaṃ bhavati; aṇau yat karma cet tad eva karma, sa eva karttā bhavati, anādhyāne (ādhyānaṃ varjayitvā)

An *ātmanepada* affix occurs after a root which terminates in *Ṇic* (3.1.26 *hetumati ca)* provided its agent (*kartṛ*) is the same as the object (*karman*) of its non-*ṆiC* counterpart and *ādhyāna* 'sad memory' is not denoted.

EXAMPLES:

ārohanti hastinaṃ hastipakāḥ 'the trainers mount the elephant'
ārohayate hastī svayameva 'the elephant allows itself to be mounted by the trainers'
upasiñcanti hastinaṃ hastipakāḥ 'the trainers are bathing the elephant'
upasecayate hastī svayameva 'the elephant bathes itself'
paśyanti bhṛtyā rājānam 'the servants are looking at the king'
darśayate rājā svayameva 'the king shows himself'

1. The word *ṇeḥ* is used here in the general sense *(sāmanya-nirdeśa)* 'of that which ends in *Ṇi*'. However, it cannot refer to the *Ṇi* of rule 3.1.20 *puc-chabhāṇḍacīvarāṇ ṇin* because the condition of the object of a non-*ṆiC* sentence becoming the agent of a *ṆiC* sentence will be impossible to meet. The *Ṇi* of rule 3.1.30 *kamer ṇiṅ*, though it meets the requirement of a non-*Ṇic* object, would also be excluded from being covered by this rule, for *ātmanepada* will be available to it by rule 1.3.12 *anudāttañita...* on the strength of *ṆiṄ* being marked with *Ṅ*. Thus we get:

(*a*) *kamiṣyate yoṣitam devadattaḥ* 'Devadatta would desire a woman'
(*b*) *kāmayiṣyate yoṣit svayam eva* 'the woman would allow herself to become desired'

Note that the *ātmanepada* of roots which end in *ṆiC*, and where the fruit of the action accrues to the agent, is already made available by rule 1.3.27 *ṣvaritañitaḥ kartrabhiprāye kriyāphale*. Rule 1.3.67 *ṇer aṇau...* is therefore

intended to cover those particular instances where the fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent *(akartrabhiprāyakriyāphala)*.

2. If one interprets rule 1.3.67 *ṇer aṇau...* according to the principle of single sentenceness *(ekavākyatā)*, one would get the following paraphrase:

> *ṇyantād ātmanepadaṃ bhavaty aṇyantāvasthāyāṃ yat karma ṇyantāvasthāyāṃ yadi sa karttā bhavati ādhyānād anyatra* '*ātmanepada* occurs after a verb root ending in *ṆiC*, providing the object of its non-*ṆiC* counterpart becomes the agent in the *ṆiC* sentence and the usage entails something other than *ādhyāna* 'wistful remembrance'.

This interpretation, however, does not exclude the possibility of the involvement of an additional object *(karmāntara)*. So we get:

(*c*) *ārohanti hastinaṃ hastipakāḥ tān ārohayati hastī* 'the trainers are mounting the elephant; the elephant allows them to mount'

The elephant is the object of mounting in the first part of the sentence, which is non-causal. The same elephant becomes the agent in the second part, but there is an additional object denoted by *tān* 'them'. This is the reason why sentence (*c*) does not avail itself of *ātmanepada* by this rule. A sentence parallel to (*c*), where *ātmanepada* can be introduced by rule 1.3.67 *ṇer aṇau...* will be:

(*d*) *ārohanti hastinaṃ hastipakāḥ ārohayate hastī svayam eva* 'the trainers are mounting the elephant; the elephant allows itself to be mounted'

The paraphrase of rule 1.3.67 based on the principle of *ekavākyatā* thus creates difficulty. Commentators propose recourse to *vākyabheda* 'interpreting a rule by splitting it into sentences'. *Kāśikā* proposes three split sentences. *Padamañjarī* (*Kāś.* I: 464) finds five sentences:

(*i*) *ṇer ātmanepadaṃ bhavati* '*ātmanepada* occurs after a root ending in *ṆiC*'
(*ii*) *aṇau yat karma* 'that which was *karman* 'object in the non-*ṆiC*'
(*iii*) *ṇau cet* 'if in the *ṆiC*'
(*iv*) *sa karttā* 'that is the *kartṛ* 'agent"
(*v*) *anādhyāne* 'when something other than *ādhyāna* "wistful remembrance" is denoted'

Haradatta argues that since there is a necessary correlation between *yat* 'that which' and *tat* 'that', the *tat* clause corresponding to *yat karma* of the rule must be inferred as *tat karma* 'that object'. This will make part of the *sūtra* read: *ṇer aṇau yat karma ṇau cet tat karma* 'that which is the object in the non-*ṆiC*, the same object'. When joined with *ṇau cet sa karttā*, it yields the following meaning: 'that which is the object in the non-*ṆiC*, the same object in *ṆiC* (that) is the agent...'.

In this way, the co-referentiality between the object of the non-*ṆiC* sentence and the object turned agent of the *ṆiC* sentence is not impaired.

Furthermore, in this interpretation, the *tat* of *tat karma* and the *sa* of *sa karttā* also become co-referential. It is this coreferentiality which requires rule-splitting (*yogavibhāga*), and rules out the possibility of any additional *karman* (*karmāntara*).

3. The *Kāśikā* offers some counter-examples to explain the implications of the wording of this rule:

(*e*) *ārohanti hastinaṃ hastipakāḥ tān ārohayati mahāmātyaḥ* 'the trainers are mounting the elephant; the Prime Minister has them mount'

(*f*) *ārohanti hastinaṃ hastipakāḥ ārohayamāṇo hastī sādhvārohati* 'the trainers are mounting the elephant; the elephant behaves itself beautifully while being mounted'

(*g*) *gaṇayati gaṇaṃ gopālakaḥ gaṇayati gaṇaṃ svayam eva* 'the cowherd is counting the herd; the herd counts itself'

(*h*) *dātreṇa lunāti lāvayati dātraṃ svayam eva* 'he is cutting with the sickle; the sickle cuts by itself'

(*i*) *ārohanti hastinaṃ hastipakāḥ ārohayamāṇo hastī bhītān secayati mūtreṇa* 'the trainers are mounting the elephant; while being mounted the elephant sprinkles the frightened ones with urine'

(*j*) *ārohanti hastinaṃ hastipakāḥ. ārohayamāṇo hastī sthalaṃ ārohayati manuṣyān* 'the trainers mount the elephant; the elephant while being mounted has the men land on the ground'

(*k*) *smarati vanagulmasya kokilaḥ smarayaty enaṃ vanagulmaḥ svayam eva* 'the cuckoo wistfully remembers the forest grove; the forest grove itself has the cuckoo wistfully remember it'

Sentences (*f*) and (*g*) illustrate how the conditions of *ṇeḥ* and *aṇau* are both important for the selection of *ātmanepada*. Sentence (*f*) does not have the object of non-*ṆiC* as the agent in *ṆiC*. Similarly, (*g*) does not have the second part as causal.

The word *dātra* is expressing the instrument (*karaṇa*) with its *tṛtīyā* in the first part of (*h*). Consequently, it does not meet the condition of *karman* in its non-*ṆiC* counterpart. Hence, it does not qualify for *ātmanepada* in its *ṆiC* counterpart.

The word *ṇau cet* is included in the rule to specify the similarity of action in both the *ṆiC* and non-*ṆiC* sentences. This is the reason why *secayati* of (*i*) does not qualify for *ātmanepada*.

Sentence (*j*) illustrates how the inclusion of *yat* in the rule implies the exclusion of any additional *karman*. Since the second sentence of (*j*) has an additional *karman* expressed by *manuṣyān*, its verb *ārohayati* does not qualify for *ātmanepada*. Note that *manuṣya* is assigned the term *karman* on account of *ruh* being a verb signifying motion (*gati*; cf. 1.4.52 *gatibuddhi*...).

The words *kartṛ* and *anādhyāna* are also important for the application of this rule. For this reason, (*e*), with a different agent (*mahāmātya*), does not qualify for *ātmanepada*

Again, it is because of the cuckoo's remembrance of the forest grove being 'wistful remembrance' that (*k*) does not get the *ātmanepada*. A question can be asked here about the wistful remembrance of the forest grove in the second part of sentence (*k*). How could something non-living like a forest grove (*vanagulma*) be talked about as remembering? Commentators explain that the conduct (*dharma*) of a sentient being (*cetana*) can be transferred to a non-sentient being (*acetana*). The transfer is similar to that which would make it possible to talk about the banks of a river wishing to fall, i.e., are feared to fall, as in:

(*l*) *nadīkūlaṃ pipatiṣati* 'the bank of the river is feared to fall'

4. Let us consider some further examples covered by this rule:

(*m*) *ārohanti hastinaṃ hastipakāḥ* 'the trainers are mounting the elephant'

(*n*) *ārohayate hastī svayam eva* 'the elephant lowers itself to be mounted'

Sentence (*m*) is non-causal and has *hastin* 'elephant' as the object. This same object becomes the agent in sentence (*n*), which is causal. Rule 1.3.67 can now assign *ātmanepada* to (*n*) which meets all its conditions.

It is clear from these examples that the object of the non-causal sentence is becoming the agent in the causal sentence. Such an object turned agent has aptly been assigned the term *karmakarttā* 'object-agent'. The activity (*kriyā*) of the trainers in sentence (*m*) is to cause the elephant to lower itself (*nyagbhāvana*). The activity of the elephant in (*n*) is to lower itself (*nyagbhavana*). The verb in sentence (*m*) is expressing the activity of the trainers, the agent. Conversely, sentence (*n*) expresses the activity of the agent, which is the object of (*m*). Let us now consider:

(*o*) *ārohayati hastī hastipakān* 'the elephant causes the trainers to mount'

This sentence also expresses the action of the elephant. Sentence (*o*) can be treated as the causal counterpart of (*n*), though it cannot qualify for *ātmanepada*. The reason why it cannot is the involvement of *hastipakān*, additional objects. A distinction must then be made between instances where a sentence involving *karmakarttā* may qualify for *ātmanepada* and where it may not.

Commentators explain that instances of *karmakarttā* entail two actions. For example, the verbal root *ruh* entails the actions of *nyagbhāvana* and *nyagbhavana* in sentence (*m*). The trainers are involved there in the activity of causing the elephant to lower itself (*nyagbhāvana*). The elephant, because it allows itself to be lowered for the purpose of mounting, is supposed to be involved in the activity of *nyagbhavana* 'lowering itself'. The verb in sentence (*m*) is expressing the activity of the trainers, which has been identified as *nyagbhāvana*. As opposed to this, the verb in sentence (*n*) expresses the activity of the elephant, which has been identified as *nyagbhavana*.

Now, consider sentence (*o*), where it is the elephant which is involved in the activity of *nyagbhāvana*, an activity generally characterized as that of a

trainer. This is why sentence (*o*) does not get the *ātmanepada.* The factor that makes sentences (*n*) and (*o*) different also determines whether *ātmanepada* can be assigned with reference to the *karmakarttā.* That is, a sentence which has a *karmakarttā* can qualify for *ātmanepada* when the activity of the main agent (trainers in the case of *nyagbhāvana*) is not to be expressed.

One can argue here that sentence (*o*) expresses both *nyagbhāvana* and *nyagbhavana,* but still does not qualify for *ātmanepada.* Commentators hasten to add the provision that, though the object (elephant) has turned agent in sentence (*o*), its activity is still being prompted by the main agent. This being the case, the prompting action of the main agent (the trainers) is still being expressed, through the medium of the elephant's activity. Since the elephant is therefore the agent of both the prompting as well as the prompted (*prayojya*) actions, *ātmanepada* cannot be assigned to (*o*).

The implication of this is that a sentence where a *karmakarttā* is involved qualifies for *ātmanepada* only when the object turned agent is free from prompting. Bhartṛhari (*VP,* III, 7: 59-60) explains five states of the meaning of the verbal root *ruh* with reference to causal and non-causal sentences:

> *nyagbhāvanaṃ nyagbhavanaṃ ruhau śuddhau pratīyate, nyagbhāvanaṃ nyagbhavanaṃ ṇyante' pi pratipadyate / avasthāṃ pañcamīm āhur ṇyantānāṃ karmakarttari, nivṛttapreṣaṇād dhātoḥ prākṛte' rthe ṇij ucyate //*
> 'the meaning of both *nyagbhāvana* 'cause to bend' and *nyagbhavana* 'to bend' are understood by non-*ṆiC ruh;* both these meanings are also understood from *ruh* used with *ṆiC;* a fifth state (of the meaning of *ruh*) obtains when object turned agent is used with *ruh* in *ṆiC;* when this causal action does not entail any prompting it denotes its original meaning'

It is evident from this verse that, in a sentence like (*n*), it is the action of the object turned agent alone which is expressed by the root. Similar states of meaning are also understood from roots like *bhid* 'to split', where dual actions are identified as *dvidhābhāvana* 'causing to split' and *dvidhābhavana* 'splitting'. Roots such as *ruh* and *bhid* are stated to be *karmasthakriya* 'an action which has its object as locus'. Thus the action of *nyagbhavana* denoted by *ruh,* or the action of *dvidhābhavana* denoted by *bhid,* both reside in their objects. Rule 1.3.67 *ṇer aṇau...* assigns *ātmanepada* after roots similar to these, when their objects become agent, when they are used with *ṆiC,* and when the object is free from any prompting.

Actions remain unaccomplished (*sādhya*) until some participant (*kāraka*) brings them to fulfilment (*siddha*) through its activity (*kriyā*). The activity of a participant while accomplishing an action may entail movement (*parispandana*), or may not (*aparispandana*). Consider the sentences

(*p*) *rāmo grāmaṃ gacchati* 'Rāma is going to the village'

(*q*) *rāmo mātuḥ smarati* 'Rāma misses his mother'

The act of going in sentence (*p*) requires movement on the part of Rāma, and is therefore to be accomplished by means of the agent's movement (*saparispandanasādhya*). As opposed to this, sentence (*q*) does not entail any movement on the part of the agent. It is thus called an instance of an action not requiring any movement (*aparispandanasādhya*). This notion of movement or its lack is also regarded as the basis for the distinction between *kriyā* 'action' and *bhāva* 'root-sense'. However, this distinction is not accepted by all.

Certain roots are said to have their object (*karma*) as the locus of their activity. They have been aptly called *karmasthakriya* 'that which has object as locus of activity'. Some verbs may have the object as the locus, not of their activity but of their meaning directly. Such verbs have been termed *karmasthabhāvaka* 'those having object as the locus of their meaning'. Let us look at the following sentences:

(*r*) *devadattaḥ kāṣṭhaṃ bhinatti* 'Devadatta is splitting the wood'

(*s*) *devadattaḥ odanaṃ pacati* 'Devadatta is cooking the rice'

The activity in the first sentence is that of *dvidhābhavana* 'splitting'. The agent is engaged in the activity of *dvidhābhāvana* 'splitting something'. The agent accomplishes *dvidhābhāvana*, which in turn results in *dvidhābhavana*, the sense of the root residing in the object. Thus, *bhid* is a root classed as *karmasthabhāvaka*.

Now take the second sentence, where the activity can be realized as *viklitti* 'softening', an activity which resides in the rice. This can be treated as an instance of *karmasthakriya*. The distinction between *karmasthabhāvaka* and *karmasthakriya* is often hazy. This in turn causes the distinction between *kriyā* and *bhāva* to become blurred. Sometimes, *bhāva* is seen as the result (*phala*) of the action as opposed to the activity (*kriyā*) in the process of being accomplished. Accordingly, the splitting of the wood can be treated as the result of the action residing in wood, the object. Conversely, the process of softening (*viklitti*) can be looked upon as residing in the rice.

Corresponding to these two types of distinction relating to the object are two similar distinctions relating to the agent (*kartṛ*). Recall sentences (*p*) and (*q*) where *gam* can be treated as a root having Rāma, the agent (*kartṛ*), as the locus of the activity. It can thus be called a *kartṛsthakriya* root 'which has the agent as the locus of activity'. Sentence (*q*), on the other hand, has the result (*bhāva*) of the action denoted by *smṛ* 'to remember' residing in the agent. Thus, *smṛ* can be called a *kartṛsthabhāvaka*.

It so happens that sometimes a speaker may wish to view the object of an action as the agent. This object turned agent (*karmakarttā*), based upon the intent (*vivakṣā*) of the speaker (*vaktā*), may be employed as a means to emphasize the nature of the object facilitating the activity. Take, for example, these sentences:

(*r*) *kāṣṭhaṃ bhidyate svayam eva* 'the wood is splitting by itself'

(*s*) *pacyata odanaḥ svayam eva* 'the rice is cooking by itself'
(*t*) *devadatto ghaṭaṃ paśyati* 'Devadatta looks at the jar'
(*u*) **ghataḥ dṛśyate svayam eva* 'the jar is looked at by itself'

The first two sentences present the object as agent. The third uses the object as object by denoting the same by means of *dvitīyā* 'the second triplet of nominal ending'. The last sentence is wrong, as it puts the object of sentence (*t*) as the agent, an arrangement which is not possible. The *kāṣṭha* of (*r*), or the *odana* of (*s*), can be identified as *karmakarttā* because they are impacted by the action denoted by the root. The object of looking, i.e., *gnaṭa,* denoted by *dṛś* does not get impacted by the action. It therefore cannot be termed *karmakartṛ*. For details of this and other observations see the *Mahābhāṣya* (III: 162-67) on 3.1.87.

1.3.68 **भीस्म्योर्हेतुभये**

bhīsmyor hetubhaye
/bhīsmyoḥ 6/2 *bhī ca smiṅ ca = bhīsmī (itar. dv.); tayoḥ = bhīsmyor hetubhaye* 7/1 *= hetor bhayam = hetubhayam (pañc. tat.); tasmin = hetubhaye/*
(ṇeḥ # 67, *ātmanepadam* # 12)
bibheteḥ smayateś ca ṇyantād ātmanepadaṃ bhavati hetubhaye
An *ātmanepada* affix occurs after *ÑIbhī* 'to fear' and *smiÑ* 'to smile' when they terminate in *ṆiC* and *hetubhaya* 'cause of fear' is denoted.

EXAMPLES:

jaṭilo bhīṣayate 'the one with matted hair frightens'
muṇḍo bhīṣayate 'the one with a shaven head frightens'
jaṭilo vismāpayate 'the one with matted hair frightens with his smile'

1. The word *hetu* is used in the technical sense of causal agent (see 1.4.55 *hetuś ca*). The expression *hetubhaye* is a condition whereby we learn that, if the source of fear is not the causal agent, *ātmanepada* cannot be introduced. Consider *kuñcikayainaṃ bhāyayati* 'he has him scared by means of the broom', where *ātmanepada* cannot be used because the source of fear is *kuñcikā* 'broom', the *karaṇa* 'instrument'. Furthermore, *bhaya* 'fear' is used as an *upalakṣaṇa* 'characteristic mark' to indicate *vismaya* 'astonishment'.

This rule is formulated for situations where the fruit of the action is intended for someone other than the *kartṛ* (*akartrabhiprāyakriyāphala*).

1.3.69 **गृधिवञ्चयोः प्रलम्भने**

gṛdhivañcayoḥ pralambhane
/gṛhdivañcayoḥ 6/2 *= gṛdhiś ca vañciś ca = gṛdhivañcī (itar. dv.); tayoḥ = gṛdhivañcayoḥ; pralambhane* 7/1/
(ṇeḥ # 67, *ātmanepadam* # 12)

'gṛdhu (abhikāṅkṣāyām) vañcu (gatau)' ity etayor ṇyantayoḥ pralambhane varttamānayor ātmanepadaṃ bhavati
An *ātmanepada* affix occurs after *gṛdhŪ* 'to desire' and *vañcŪ* 'to move' when they denote *pralambhana* 'deception by means of false promises'.

EXAMPLES:

māṇavakaṃ gardhayate 'he deceives the boy'
māṇavakaṃ vañcayate 'id.'

1. Note that the word *pralambhana* means *visaṃvāda* 'speaking against one's promise' and *mithyāphalākhyāna* 'making false promises'. The rule is again valid where *akartrabhiprāyakriyāphala* is understood.

1.3.70 लियः सम्माननशालीनीकरणयोश्च

liyaḥ sammānanaśālīnīkaraṇayoś ca
liyaḥ 5/1 *sammānanaśālīnīkaraṇoyoḥ* 7/2 = *sammānanaṃ ca śālīnīkaraṇaṃ ca* = *sammānanaśālīnīkaraṇayoḥ* (*itar. dv.*); *tayoḥ* = *sammānanaśālīnīkaraṇayoḥ; ca* Ø/
(*ṇeḥ* # 67, *ātmanepadam* # 12)
liyo nyantāt sammānane śālīnīkaraṇe ca varttamānād ātmanepadaṃ bhavati
An *ātmanepada* affix occurs after *līÑ* 'to cling' and *lī* 'to cling' when they terminate in *ṆiC* and denote *sammānana* 'respect', *śālīnīkaraṇa* 'to subdue', or *pralambhana*.

EXAMPLES:

jaṭābhir ālāpayate 'he gets respect because of matted hair'
śyeno varttikām ullāpayate 'the hawk subdues the duck'
kas tvām ullāpayate 'who is deceiving you?'

1. The word *liyaḥ* 'after *lī*' may be construed as referring either to *līÑ*, a root listed in the *divādi* class, or to *lī*, a root listed in the *kryādi* class. Since there is no indication as to which root is intended, we understand *liyaḥ* as referring to them both. The *ca* of this rule is used to bring *pralambhana* as an additional meaning condition.

2. Note that rule 6.1.58 *vibhāṣā līyateḥ* requires the *ā* replacement for the *ī* of *lī* optionally. But the *vibhāṣā* 'option' of rule 6.1.58 is of the *vyavasthita* type, thereby meaning that when *lī* is used in the sense referred to in rule 1.3.70, the option must be accepted. Elsewhere, *lī* can be replaced by *lā* optionally. Observe that *akartrabhiprāyakriyāphala* is equally intended here.

1.3.71 मिथ्योपपदात्कृञोऽभ्यासे

mithyopapadāt kṛño' bhyāse

/mithyopapadāt 5/1 = *mithyā śabda upapadaṃ yasya sa (bv.); tasmāt = mithyopapadāt; kṛñaḥ* 5/1 *abyāse* 7/1/
(ṇeḥ # 67, *ātmanepadam* # 12)
ṇyantāt karoter mithyopapadāt ātmanepadaṃ bhavati abhyāse
An *ātmanepada* affix occurs after *krīÑ* when it terminates in *ṆiC*, has *mithyā* 'false' as an *upapada* 'co-occurring *pada*', and *abhyāsa* 'repeated action' is denoted.

EXAMPLE:

padaṃ mithyā kārayate 'he repeatedly mispronounces the word'

1. The word *mithyopapada*, in *mithyopapadāt*, is a *bahuvrīhi* compound meaning 'that which has *mithyā* in its vicinity'. The word *upapada* then is to be understood in its literal sense of 'that which occurs in the proximity'. That is, it should not be interpreted in the technical sense of 3.1.92 *tatropapadaṃ saptamīstham*, an item specified in the domain of the 3.1.91 *dhātoḥ* by the seventh (*saptamī*) triad of *sUP* 'nominal ending'. Similarly, *abhyāsa* is used here in the sense of *punaḥ punaḥ karaṇam* 'doing over and over again'. The derivates of this rule imply that the fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent (*akartṛabhiprāyakriyāphaḷa*).

1.3.72 स्वरितञितः कर्त्रभिप्राये क्रियाफले

svaritañitaḥ kartrabhiprāye kriyāphale
/svaritañitaḥ 5/1 = *svaritaś ca ñaś ca = svaritañau (dv.); tau itau yasya sa = svaritañit (bv.* with internal *dv.); tasmāt = svaritañitaḥ; kartrabhiprāye* 7/1 = *kartur abhiprāyaḥ (ṣaṣ. tat.); tasmin = kartrabhiprāye; kriyāphale* 7/1 *= kriyāyāḥ phalam = kriyāphalam (ṣaṣ. tat.); tasmin = kriyāphale/*
(ātmanepadam # 12)
svariteto ye dhātavo ñitaś ca tebhya ātmanepadaṃ
bhavati, karttari cet kriyāphalam abhipraiti
An *ātmanepada* affix occurs after a root marked with either *svarita* 'circumflex accent' or *Ñ*, provided the fruit of the action accrues to the agent.

EXAMPLES:

yajate 'he performs the ritual for his own good'
pacate 'he cooks for himself'
sunute 'he presses *soma* for himself'
kurute 'he makes for himself'

1. This rule provides for *ātmanepada* after verbal roots which have *svarita*, or *Ñ* as their *it*, and the fruit of whose action is intended for the agent. Thus, a root like *yajÃ* 'to perform ritual sacrifice' is marked with *Ã* which is carrying *svarita*. Similarly, *ḌUkṛÑ* 'to do' is marked with *Ñ* as its *it*.

An *ātmanepada* must be used after these roots when the fruit of their action is intended for their agent. For instance, we get:

(*a*) *bhaktakarāḥ pacanty atra* 'the rice-cooks are cooking here'

(*b*) *bhaktakarāḥ pacante' tra* 'the rice-cooks are cooking here (for themselves)'

The word *kriyāphala* may refer to two kinds of fruits: secondary *(gauṇa)* and primary *(pradhāna)*. A secondary fruit of the action denoted by *pac* in the above sentences will be wages (*vṛtti*) for cooking the rice intended for someone else's consumption. A primary fruit of this action will be the consumption of the rice. The people who cook rice for others and get paid in return do not receive the primary fruit of the action.

This rule means the main fruit of the action by the word *kriyāphala*. How do we know this? We know it because Pāṇini explicitly mentions the word *phala* 'fruit'. There was no need for this, because there is no action whose fruit does not accrue to the agent. The use of *phala,* therefore, must be specific to the main fruit. Otherwise, Pāṇini should simply have said *kartrabhiprāye kriyāyāḥ*. There is a second solution to this as well. Where both the primary and the secondary fruits obtain one must accept the primary fruit (cf. *Paribhāṣā* 16: *gauṇamukhyayor mukhye kāryasaṃpratyayaḥ)*. This will give us the desired *ātmanepada* when the primary fruit of the action accrues to the agent. In this interpretation the explicit use of *phala* will then be accepted as made for the purpose of clarity.

Patañjali (*Mbh.* II: 289) explains the implications of the use of *abhipra* + *i* in *abhiprāye*. If *abhipra* + *i* is not used, the word *kriyāphala* would refer only to those fruits of actions which may soon accrue to the agent. Thus, if a person is spoken of as performing a ritual sacrifice with the desire to go to heaven (*svarga*), verbal root *yaj* cannot be used with *ātmanepada*. This is because *svarga* will not immediately be available to the performer of the ritual. But if the derivate of *abhipra* + *i* = *abhiprāya* is used, everything will be in order, for it will then mean 'the fruit of the action intended for, or directed towards, the agent'. This point may be illustrated by these additional sentences:

(*c*) *keśaśmaśru vapate* 'he has the hair and the moustache shaved'

(*d*) *dhānyaṃ vapate* 'he sows the rice seeds'

Sentence (*c*) takes *ātmanepada* with reference to the result of the action accruing to its agent immediately. Sentence (*d*) implies some delay, though it still uses *ātmanepada* because the fruit of the action is intended for the agent.

1.3.73 **अपाद्वदः**

apād vadaḥ

/apāt 5/1 *vadaḥ* 5/1

(*kartrabhiprāye kriyāphale* # 72, *ātmanepadam* # 12)

apapūrvād vadateḥ kartrabhiprāye kriyāphale ātmanepadaṃ bhavati
An *ātmanepada* affix occurs after *vadÃ* 'to speak' when it is used with the preverb *apa* provided the fruit of the action accrues to the agent.

EXAMPLE:

dhanakāmo nyāyam apavadate 'greedy for money, he speaks injustice'

1. Note that the verbal root *vadÃ*, used with the preverb *apa*, means 'to scold, to speak ill against, to spread rumour', etc. It must be used with *ātmanepada* when the agent benefits from the action denoted by *apavad*. Thus, in the sentence given above, the person who is greedy for money benefits by speaking injustice.

1.3.74 णिचश्च

ṇicaś ca
/nicah 5/1 *ca* Ø/
(kartrabhiprāye kriyāphale # 72, *ātmanepadam* # 12)
ṇijantād ātmanepadaṃ bhavati, kartrabhiprāye kriyāphale
An *ātmanepada* affix also occurs after roots terminating in *ṆiC* provided the fruit of the action is intended for the agent.

EXAMPLES:

kaṭaṃ kārayate 'he has the mat made for himself'
odanaṃ pācayate 'he has the rice cooked for himself'

1. This rule, as is understood from its wording, provides for *ātmanepada* after verbal roots ending in *ṆiC* when the fruit of the action accrues to the agent. Compare these two sentences:
(*a*) *kaṭaṃ kārayate* 'he has a mat made for himself'
(*b*) *kaṭaṃ kārayati parasya* 'he has a mat made for someone else'
Sentence (*b*) must have *parasmaipada* because the fruit of the action is intended for someone else.

1.3.75 समुदाङ्भ्यो यमोऽग्रन्थे

samudāṅbhyo yamo' granthe
/samudāṅbhyaḥ 5/3 *yamaḥ* 5/1 *agranthe* 7/1/
(kartrabhiprāye kriyāphale # 72, *ātmanepadam* # 12)
sam, ud, āṅ ity evaṃ pūrvād yameḥ kartrabhiprāye kriyāphale ātmanepadaṃ bhavati, granthaviṣayaś cet prayogo na bhavati
An *ātmanepada* affix occurs after *yamÃ* when it is used with the preverbs *sam, ud,* or *āÑ* provided the fruit of the action accrues to the agent and reference to *grantha* 'treatise' is not made.

EXAMPLES:

vrīhīn saṃyacchate 'he gathers the rice'

bhāram udyacchate 'he lifts up the bundle'
vastram āyacchate 'he wraps the cloth around'

1. This rule provides for *ātmanepada* after verbal root *yamÃ* used with the preverbs *sam, ut* and *āN*, provided that the fruit of the action accrues to the agent and no *grantha* 'treatise' is referenced by the derivate. This rule is intended for the transitive (*sakarmaka*) usage of *yamÃ*, as its intransitive usages have already been covered by rule 1.3.28 *āṅo yamahanaḥ*, etc. In addition, we have the condition of *kartrabhiprāyakriyāphala*. That is, when the fruit of the action would not accrue to the agent, we will get *parasmaipada* as in *saṃyacchati*, etc. The condition of *agranthe* is imposed to rule out *ātmanepada* in examples such as *udyacchati cikitsāṃ vaidyaḥ* 'the doctor is striving to comprehend the medical treatises'.

1.3.76 **अनुपसर्गाज्ञः**
anupasargāj jñaḥ
/anupasargāt 5/1 *jñaḥ* 1/1/
(kartrabhiprāye kriyāphale # 72, ātmanepadam # 12)
anupasargāj jānāteḥ kartrabhiprāye kriyāphale ātmanepadaṃ bhavati
An *ātmanepada* affix occurs after *jñā* when it is not used with a preverb provided the fruit of the action accrues to the agent.

EXAMPLES:

gāṃ jānīte 'he knows his cow'
aśvaṃ jānīte 'he knows his horse'

1. This rule provides for *ātmanepada* after verbal root *jñā* when it is used without a preverb. Note that a provision for *ātmanepada* is already available to *jñā* by rule 1.3.45 *akarmakāc ca*. But since that provision is made for *jñā* when used as an intransitive (*akarmaka*), usages of *jñā* as a transitive (*sakarmaka*) with *ātmanepada* must be covered by some other rule. Rule 1.3.76 is intended to cover such usages. Observe that the provisions of 1.3.45 *akarmakāc ca* also apply to usages where the fruit of the action is not intended for the agent. Our present rule, of course, requires that the fruit of the action accrue to the agent.

1.3.77 **विभाषोपपदेन प्रतीयमाने**
vibhāṣopapadena pratīyamāne
/vibhāṣā 1/1 *upapadena* 3/1 *pratīyamāne* 7/1/
(kartrabhiprāya kriyāphale # 72, ātmanepadam # 12)
upapadena pratīyamāne kartrabhiprāye kriyā vibhāṣā' tmanepadaṃ bhavati
An *ātmanepada* affix optionally occurs after roots used with a co-occurring *pada* which denotes that the fruit of the action accrues to the agent.

EXAMPLES:

svaṃ yajñaṃ yajati 'he performs his own ritual'
svaṃ yajñaṃ yajate 'id.'
svaṃ kaṭaṃ karoti 'he makes his mat'
svaṃ kaṭaṃ kurute 'id.'
svaṃ putram apavadati 'he scolds his son'
svaṃ putram apavadate 'id.'

1. This rule makes the *ātmanepada* provision of its preceding five rules (1.3.72 *svaritañitaḥ...*, 1.3.73 *apād vadaḥ*, 1.3.74 *ṇicaś ca*, 1.3.75 *samudāṅbhyo yamo' granthe*, and 1.3.76 *anupasargāj jñaḥ*) optional under the following conditions:

(*a*) verbal roots after which *parasmaipada* is to be introduced optionally to *ātmanepada* must be used in the proximity of a co-occurring *pada* and

(*b*) this co-occurring *pada* should indicate that the fruit of the action is intended for the agent.

Since this rule makes an obligatorily available provision optional, it represents *prāpte-vibhāṣā*.

The word *upapada* must not be interpreted here as used in its technical sense. Rule 3.1.92 *tatropapadaṃ saptamīstham* states that a form referenced in the seventh (*saptamī*) triad of *sUP*, in the domain of 3.1.91 *dhātoḥ*, should be termed *upapada* 'conjoined or co-occurring word'. It is in view of this that *karmaṇi* of 3.2.1 *karmaṇy aṇ* is interpreted as 'affix *aṆ* occurs after a verbal root co-occurring with a *pada* denoting object (*karman*)'. Needless to say, the word *karman* of rule 3.2.1 is in *saptamī*. Since *ātmanepada* or *parasmaipada* affixes are introduced after verbal roots in the domain of 3.1.91 *dhātoḥ*, one may be tempted to interpret the word *upapada* here in its technical sense. But this rule is not in the domain of *dhātoḥ;* and there is no variable used in the locative to suggest a technical *upapada* as we find in the case of 3.2.1. *karmaṇy aṇ*. We should therefore interpret the word *upapada* in its literal sense as 'that which is used in the proximity of...'.

Since this rule offers options to its five preceding rules, examples should be furnished with reference to them. Thus, the first four examples cited under this rule represent options of 1.3.72 *svaritañitaḥ...* The next two illustrate the options available for 1.3.73 *apād vadaḥ*. These examples should be sufficient to demonstrate the application of the options offered by this rule.

1.3.78 **शेषात्कर्त्तरि परस्मैपदम्**

śeṣāt karttari parasmaipadam
/śeṣāt 5/1 *karttari* 7/1 *parasmaipadam* 1/1/
yebhyo dhātubhyo yena viśeṣaṇenātmanepadam uktaṃ tato yad anyat sa śeṣaḥ,

śeṣāt karttari parasmaipadaṃ bhavati
A parasmaipada affix occurs after the remainder of roots when agency is denoted.

EXAMPLES:

yāti 'he goes'
vāti 'he moves'
praviśati 'he enters'
āviśati 'he enters'

1. The use of the word *śeṣa* clearly indicates that the domain headed by this rule is 'residual'. That is, whatever remains as not covered by the assignment of *ātmanepada* forms the domain of the *parasmaipada* of this rule. Since *śeṣa* 'remainder' is a relative term, commentators explain that its referent must be determined relative to the assignment of *ātmanepada,* marked by qualifiers such as *anudāttaṅita* 'having *anudātta* and *Ṅ* as *it*' (1.3.12 *anudāttaṅita...); svaritañita kartrabhiprāye kriyāphale* (1.3.72) and *neḥ* 'occurring after *ni*' of 1.3.17 *ner viśaḥ,* etc. In other words, 1.3.78 will apply where such qualifications are not available.

For instance, parallel to *āste, śete* we get *yāti, vāti,* where the verbal roots used with *parasmaipada* do not have an *anudātta* or *Ṅ* as an *it.* Similarly, parallel to *niviśate,* one would get *praviśati,* where *ātmanepada* cannot be used as the verbal root *viś* is not used with *ni.* It is evident from the preceding that the domain of 1.3.78 *śeṣāt...* covers that which could not be covered by rules dealing with the assignment of *ātmanepada.*

1.3.79 **अनुपराभ्यां कृञः**
anuparābhyāṃ kṛñaḥ
/anuparābhyāṃ 5/2 *kṛñaḥ* 5/1/
(parasmaipadam # 78)
anu, parā ity evaṃ pūrvāt karoteḥ parasmaipadaṃ bhavati
A *parasmaipada* affix occurs after *kṛÑ* when it is used with the preverbs *anu* or *parā.*

EXAMPLES:

anukaroti 'he imitates'
parākaroti 'he puts away'

1. Rule 1.3.32 *gandhanāvakṣepaṇasevana...* assigns *ātmanepada* after the verbal root *ḌUkṛÑ.* The same *ātmanepada* is also required by 1.3.72 *svaritañitaḥ kartrabhiprāye kriyāphale.* This rule not only demands the introduction of *parasmaipada* after *kṛ,* when it is used with the preverbs *anu* and *pari,* but also when these preverbs, used with *kṛ,* express the meaning of *gandhana* 'to speak ill against, find fault', etc.

1.3.80 **अभिप्रत्ययतिभ्यः क्षिपः**

abhipratyayatibhyaḥ kṣipaḥ
/abhipratyayatibhyaḥ 5/3 *kṣipaḥ* 5/1/
(*parasmaipadam* # 78)
abhi, prati, ati ity evaṃ pūrvāt kṣipaḥ parasmaipadaṃ bhavati

A *parasmaipada* affix occurs after *kṣipĀ* 'to throw, hurl' when it is used with the preverbs *abhi, prati* or *ati.*

EXAMPLES:

abhikṣipati 'he throws around'
pratikṣipati 'he throws in return'
atikṣipati 'he throws a lot'

1. Since the verbal root *kṣipĀ* is marked with *svarita,* rule 1.3.72 *svaritañitaḥ kartrabhiprāye kriyāphale* would require the use of *ātmanepada.* This rule provides for *parasmaipada* when this root is used with the preverbs *abhi, prati,* and *ati. Kāśikā* notes that a second *kartṛ* must also be carried to this rule via *anuvṛtti,* so that sentences such as *abhikṣipyate svayam eva* 'it gets hurled upwards by itself' do not qualify for the use of *parasmaipada.*

1.3.81 **प्राद्वहः**

prād vahaḥ
/prāt 5/1 *vahaḥ* 5/1/
(*parasmaipadam* # 78)
prapūrvād vahateḥ parasmaipadaṃ bhavati
A *parasmaipada* affix occurs after *vahĀ* 'to flow' when it is used with the preverb *pra.*

EXAMPLES:

pravahati '(the river) flows'
pravahataḥ (two rivers) flow'
pravahanti '(rivers) flow'

1. This rule provides for the use of *parasmaipada* after the verbal root *vahĀ* 'to flow' used with the preverb *pra.* Note that because this root is marked with a *svarita* vowel as its *it,* rule 1.3.72 *svaritañitaḥ kartrabhiprāye kriyāphale* will demand *ātmanepada.* This rule blocks that demand.

1.3.82 **परेर्मृषः**

parer mṛṣaḥ
/pareḥ 5/1 *mṛṣaḥ* 5/1/
(*parasmaipadam* # 78)
paripūrvād mṛṣyate parasmaipadaṃ bhavati

A *parasmaipada* affix occurs after *mṛṣÃ* 'to endure' when it is used with the preverb *pari.*

EXAMPLES:

parimṛṣyati 'he endures it in every way'
parimṛṣyataḥ 'they (two) endure it in every way'
parimṛṣyanti 'they (pl.) endure it in every way'

1. This rule assigns *parasmaipada* after the verbal root *mṛṣÃ* 'to endure, forgive' used with the preverb *pari.* Remember that *mṛṣÃ* is a root which is marked with a *svarita* vowel as its *it.* As such, rule 1.3.72 *svaritañitaḥ kartrabhiprāye kriyāphale* would require *ātmanepada* rather than *parasmaipada.*

1 3.83 **व्याङ्परिभ्यो रमः**

vyāṅparibhyo ramaḥ
/vyāṅparibhyaḥ 5/3 (*itar. dv.*); *ramaḥ* 5/1/
(*parasmaipadam* # 78)
vi, āṅ, pari ity evaṃ pūrvād parasmaipadaṃ bhavati
A *parasmaipada* affix occurs after *ramŨ* 'to play' when it is used with the preverbs *vi, āṄ,* and *pari.*

EXAMPLES:

viramati 'he stops'
āramati 'he plays'
pariramati 'he plays around'

1. The use of *parasmaipada* after the verbal root *ramŨ* 'to sport', with the preverbs *vi, āṄ,* and *pari,* is provided for by this rule. The provision is made against the *ātmanepada* which would otherwise obtain from rule 1.3.12 *anudāttañita ātmanepadam.* Usages of the root where any other preverbs are used will still have *ātmanepada.* We therefore get examples such as *abhiramate,* etc.

1.3.84 **उपाच्च**

upāc ca
/upāt 5/1 *ca* Ø/
(*parasmaipadam* # 78)
upapūrvād ramateḥ parasmaipadaṃ bhavati
A *parasmaipada* affix also occurs after *ramŨ* when it is used with the preverb *upa.*

EXAMPLES:

devadattam uparamati 'he has Devadatta play'
yajñadattam uparamati 'he has Yajñadatta play'

1. The word *ca* is used here to bring *ramŪ* and *parasmaipada* from the previous rule. This rule thus provides for *parasmaipada* after *ramŪ* used with *upa*, which was not otherwise available. Note that the verbal root *ramŪ* used with the preverb *upa* remains intransitive and means *vināśa* 'to be destroyed', and *nivṛtti* 'to be overcome, disenchanted', as in *adhyayanād uparamate* 'he gets overcome by studies'. The usage which is intended by this rule is supposed to be *sakarmaka* 'transitive'. How is the contradiction between *upa-ramŪ* being always *akarmaka*, and its usage in this rule being intended as *sakarmaka*, to be resolved?

Commentators inform us (*Nyāsa* ad *Kāś.* I: 485) that an intransitive root, when used in the sense of a causal, becomes transitive. The causal meaning is not added to the root by means of the affix *ṆiC*, but is imagined as inherent in the root itself. It is in view of this that rule 1.3.84 assigns *parasmaipada* after *ramŪ* used with the preverb *upa*, when the root has an inherently causal meaning. The examples under this rule have therefore been translated to reflect this meaning.

1.3.85 विभाषाऽकर्मकात्

vibhāṣā' karmakāt
/vibhāṣā 1/1 *akarmakāt* 5/1/
(parasmaipadam # 78)
upapūrvād ramater akarmakād vibhāṣā parasmaipadaṃ bhavati
A *parasmaipada* affix occurs optionally after *ramŪ* used intransitively with the preverb *upa*.

EXAMPLES:

yāvad bhuktam uparamati 'he refrains from eating during mealtime'
yāvad bhuktam uparamate 'id.'

1. Note that the previous rule assigns *parasmaipada* obligatorily after the verbal root *ramŪ* used with the preverb *upa*. This rule makes that provision optional when *ramŪ* is used with *upa* intransitively. The intransitive meaning of *uparam* is 'to refrain from...'.

1.3.86 बुधयुधनशजनेङ्प्रुद्रुस्रुभ्यो णेः

budhayudhanaśajaneṅprudrusrubhyo ṇeḥ
/budha...strubhayaḥ 5/3 (*itar. dv.*); *ṇeḥ* 5/1/
(parasmaipadam # 78)
budha, yudha, naśa, jana, iṅ, pṛu, dru, sru ity etebhyo ṇyantebhyaḥ parasmaipadaṃ bhavati
A *parasmaipada* affix occurs after *budhĀ* 'to know, perceive', *yudhĀ* 'to fight', *naśĀ* 'to disappear, perish', *janĪ* 'to be born', *iṄ* 'to learn, study', *pruṄ* 'to spring up, to move', *dru* 'to run, move', and *sru* 'to flow, move' when they terminate in *ṆiC*.

EXAMPLES:

bodhayati '...causes someone to know'
yodhayati '...causes someone to fight'
nāśayati '...causes something to perish'
janayati '...causes something to come into existence'
adhyāpayati '...causes someone to learn'
prāvayati '...causes something to reach somewhere'
drāvayati '...causes something to run'
srāvayati '...causes something to steer'

1. This rule assigns *paraṣmaipada* as an exception to *ātmanepada* for the eight specified roots. This exception is made against the provisions of rule 1.3.72 *svaritañitaḥ kartrabhiprāye kriyāphale.* Note that the intransitive verbal roots covered by this rule must have a non-sentient (*acittavat*) agent (*kartṛ*), for examples of roots having *cittavatkartṛ* 'sentient agent' will be covered by rule 1.3.88 *aṇāvakarmakāc....* Similarly, roots which may have the meaning of movement (*calana*) will be covered by the following rule. If one finds roots having the significance of *calana* listed among the examples of this rule, one must understand that, for purposes of this rule, they do not entail movement.

1.3.87 **निगरणचलनार्थेभ्यश्च**

nigaraṇacalanārthebhyaś ca
/nigaraṇacalanārthebhyaḥ 5/3 = *nigaraṇaṃ ca calanaṃ ca = nigaraṇacalane arthau yeṣāṃ te = nigaraṇacalanārthāḥ* (*bv.* with internal *dv.*) *tebhyaḥ = nigaraṇacalanārthebhyaḥ; ca Ø/*
(*ṇeḥ* # 86, *parasmaipadam* # 78)
nigaraṇārthebhyaś calanārthebhyaś ca dhātubhyo ṇyantebhyaḥ parasmaipadaṃ bhavati
A *parasmaipada* affix also occurs after roots which terminate in *ṆiC* and signify *nigaraṇa* 'swallowing, consuming', or *calana* 'moving, shaking'.

EXAMPLES:

nigārayati 'he feeds'
āśayati 'id.'
bhojayati 'id.'
calayati 'it moves, shakes'
copayati 'it moves, shakes gently'
kampayati 'it shakes'

1. This rule assigns *parasmaipada* as an exception to the *ātmanepada* which was made available by 1.3.72 *svaritañitaḥ kartrabhiprāye kriyāphale.*

Obviously, this rule is making the provision of *parasmaipada* with the stipulation that the fruit of the action would not accrue to the agent. Additionally, it is to be remembered that the roots covered by this rule must be either transitive (*sakarmaka*) or have their agent (*kartṛ*) as non-sentient (*acittavat*). Roots having the signification of *nigaraṇa* are thus transitive, whereas roots having the signification of *calana* are those which have non-sentient agents. Note that examples of roots which may be intransitive (*akarmaka*), or those which may have a sentient agent, will be covered by the following rule. Also note that the question of whether a root is transitive/intransitive, or whether it has a sentient/non-sentient agent, is primarily determined on the basis of its non-*ṆiC* status.

A *vārttika* on rule 1.4.52 *akathitaṃ ca* (*Mbh.* II: 431: *adikhādinīvahīnāṃ pratiṣedhaḥ*) blocks any *pratyavasānakārya* 'operation conditioned by the meaning of *pratyavasāna* "to consume" for verbal root *ad* "to eat"'. Consequently, *parasmaipada* made available by this rule under the meaning condition of *nigaraṇa* 'to swallow' will not be available to *ad*. An example of *ad* with *ṆiC* will be as follows:·

ādayate devadattena 'Devadatta has someone eat'

1.3.88 **अणावकर्मकाच्चित्तवत्कर्तृकात्**

aṇāv akarmakāc cittavatkartṛkāt

/aṇau 7/1 (*nañ. tat.*); *akarmakāt* 5/1 *cittavatkartṛkāt* 5/1 = *cittavān karttā yasya sa cittavatkartṛkaḥ* (*bv.*), *tasmāt* = *cittavatkartṛkāt/*

(*ṇeḥ* # 86, *parasmaipadam* # 78)

aṇyanto yo dhātur akarmakaś cittavatkartṛkaś ca tasmād ṇyantāt parasmaipadaṃ bhavati

A *parasmaipada* affix occurs after a root which terminates in *ṆiC* provided its non-*ṆiC* counterpart is intransitive with an animate (*cittavat*) agent (*kartṛ*).

EXAMPLES:

non-*ṆiC:*
āste devadattaḥ 'Devadatta sits'
ṆiC:
āsayati devadattam 'he has Devadatta sit'
non-*ṆiC:*
śete devadattaḥ 'Devadatta reclines'
ṆiC:
śāyayati devadattam 'he has Devadatta recline'

1. This rule states that *parasmaipada* occurs after a root which ends in *ṆiC* (*ṇeḥ;* 1.3.86 *budhayudhanaśa...* and 1.3.78 *śeṣāt karttari...*) which, when not ending in *ṆiC* (*aṇau*), is *akarmaka* 'intransitive' with sentient agent

(*cittavatkartṛ*). It should be understood here that *parasmaipada* is negated with reference to *ṆiC*, which is brought by *anuvṛtti* from rule 1.3.86 *budhayudhanaśa....* Now, the *ṆiC* which is used in rule 1.3.86 denotes *hetumat* 'instigator', and as such, a negation based on the same *ṆiC* must also be made with reference to the *hetumat* meaning of *ṆiC*. It is for this reason that *Kāśikā* questions the validity of *cetayate* 'he has someone perceive, know...'. *Kāśikā* cites *ārohayate* 'he has *X* mount *Y*' where the *ātmanepada* has been introduced by rule 1.3.67 *ṇer aṇau yat karma...*' which introduces *ātmanepada* after a root which

(*i*) ends in *ṆiC*, and

(*ii*) has as its current agent the object of its non-*ṆiC* counterpart.

Let us consider the following sentences:

(*a*) *ārohanti hastinaṃ hastipakāḥ* 'the trainers mount the elephant'

(*b*) *ārohayate hastī svayam eva* 'the elephant itself has the trainer mount'

Note that, according to rule 1.3.67 *ṇer aṇau yat karma...*, the agent of sentence (*b*) must be the object of sentence (*a*). That is why the elephant alone is regarded as having the trainers mount. Even though the *ṆiC* in (*b*) is introduced to express the relation of the elephant to the trainers as *prayojaka* 'instigator', the trainers are not understood as such. In the case of sentences (*a*) and (*b*), the non-*ṆiC* root is not *akarmaka* 'intransitive', though it has *cittavatkartṛ* 'sentient agent'. It can thus form a proper counter-example. See also the notes under rule 1.3.67 *ṇer aṇau yat karma....*

The examples given under the present rule include these two sentences:

śete devadattaḥ 'Devadatta reclines'

śāyayati devadattam 'he has Devadatta recline'

It is noticeable here that the non-*ṆiC* verb *śīṄ* is *akarmaka*, and by rule 1.3.12 *anudāttañita ātmanepadam* it is required to take *ātmanepada*. It also has a sentient agent. The *ṆiC* counterpart is thus blocked from taking *ātmanepada* by the present rule. It is because of the condition of *akarmaka* that sentences such as *kaṭaṃ kārayate* 'he has the mat made for himself' will not qualify for *parasmaipada*. Similarly, because of the condition of *cittavatkartṛ*, sentences such as *śoṣayate vrīhīnātapaḥ* 'the heat is drying up the rice' will not qualify for *parasmaipada*.

1.3.89 **न पादम्याङ्यमाङ्यसपरिमुहरुचिनृतिवदवसः**

na pādamyāṅyamāṅyasaparimuharucinṛtivadavasaḥ

/na Ø pāda...vasaḥ 5/1 = *pāś ca damiś ca āṅyamaś ca āṅyasaś ca parimuhaś ca ruciś ca nṛtiś ca vadaś ca vaś ca = pāda. ...s (sam. dv.)/*

(*ṇeḥ* # 86, *parasmaipadam* # 78)

pā, dami, āṅyasa, parimuha, ruci, nṛti, vada, vasa ity etebhyo ṇyantebhyaḥ parasmaipadaṃ na bhavati

A *parasmaipada* affix does not occur after *pā* 'to drink', *damI* 'to suppress, control', *ā-yam* (*āṄ-yamÃ*) 'to stretch out', *ā-yas* (*āṄ-yasŨ*) 'to exert', *pari-muh* (*pari-muhÃ*) 'to be perplexed', *rucÃ* 'to be pleasing', *nṛtĨ* 'to dance', *vadÃ* 'to speak', or *vasÃ* 'to dwell' when they terminate in *ṆiC*.

EXAMPLES:

pāyayate 'he causes someone to drink'
damayate 'he causes someone to be controlled'
āyāmayate 'he causes something to stretch out'
āyāsayate 'he causes someone to be afflicted'
parimohayate 'he causes someone to be perplexed'
rocayate 'he causes someone to be pleased'
narttayate 'he causes someone to dance'
vādayate 'he causes someone to speak'
vāsayate 'he causes someone to dwell'

1. This is a negation (*pratiṣedha*) rule, and as such it should negate a positive provision made available elsewhere. Such a positive provision is *parasmaipada,* made available by rules 1.3.87 *nigaraṇacalanārthebhyas ca* and 1.3.88 *aṇāvakarmakāc...* as an exception to *ātmanepada* which, in turn, was made available by rule 1.3.72 *svaritañitaḥ kartrabhiprāye...* to denote *kartrabhiprāyakriyāphala* 'the fruit of the action accruing to the agent'. Thus, this rule negates *parasmaipada* in favour of *ātmanepada.* In other words, it reinstates *ātmanepadam* to denote *kartrabhiprāyakriyāphala.*

It is important to remember here that the sphere of negating *parasmaipada,* or reinstating *ātmanepada,* is limited to *kartrabhiprāyakriyāphala.* This will give us forms such as *pāyayate.* But when the sphere is not that of *kartrabhiprāyakriyāphala,* rule 1.3.78 *śeṣāt karttari parasmaipadam* will introduce *parasmaipada* to yield *vatsān payaḥ pāyayati* '(the cow) has the calves drink milk'. Obviously, the fruit of the action denoted by *pā-i* 'to have someone drink' accrues to someone other than the agent. Also note that out of the nine roots listed by this rule, *pā* 'to drink' denotes *nigaraṇa* 'swallowing', and *nṛtĨ* 'to dance' denotes *calana* 'movement'. Their *parasmaipada* was therefore available from rule 1.3.87 *nigaraṇa....*

1.3.90 **वा क्यषः**

vā kyaṣaḥ
/vā Ø kyaṣaḥ 5/1/
(*parasmaipadam* # 78)
kyaṣantād dhātor vā parasmaipadaṃ bhavati
A *parasmaipada* affix occurs optionally after roots which terminate in affix *kyaṢ* (3.1.13 *lohitād...*).

EXAMPLES:

lohitāyati 'that which was not red reddens'
lohitāyate 'id.'
paṭapaṭāyati 'it makes the *paṭ-paṭ* noise'
paṭapaṭāyate 'id.'

1. This rule makes *parasmaipada* optional after roots which end in *KyaṢ*. Clearly, the roots covered by this rule will be deriving from rule 3.1.13 *lohitādiḍājbhyaḥ...* which introduces *KyaṢ* after words enumerated in the list headed by *lohita* 'red', or words ending in affix *ḌāC*. Note that if the option of *parasmaipada* is not accepted, *ātmanepada* can then be introduced.

In many ways this rule, more than making *parasmaipada* optionally available, makes *ātmanepada* optionally available, for *ātmanepada* is governed by 1.3.12 *anudāttañita ātmanepadam.* This rule does not give any indication as to whether *ātmanepada* will be available to roots ending in *KyaṢ*. Since *parasmaipada* and *ātmanepada* are mutually exclusive terms, the use of one may not be inferred from the use of the other if the two are separately discussed. It is for this reason that rule 1.3.90 makes the *ātmanepada* optionally available. As far as *parasmaipada* is concerned, it was available from 1.3.78 *śeṣāt karttari parasmaipadam.*

1.3.91 **द्युद्भ्यो लुङि**

dyudbhyo luṅi
/dyudbhyaḥ 5/3 *luṅi* 7/1/
(*vā* # 90, *parasmaipadam* # 78)
dyutādibhyo luṅi vā parasmaipadaṃ bhavati
A *parasmaipada* affix occurs optionally after *dyutĀ* 'to shine' and so on when *LUṄ* follows.

EXAMPLES:

vyadyutat 'it became illuminated'
vyadyotiṣṭa 'id.'
aluṭhat 'he became agitated'
aloṭhiṣṭa 'id.'

1. The *parasmaipada* affixes are made optional by this rule, after roots of the set headed by *dyutĀ* 'to shine' when they occur before *LUṄ*. The roots referred to by the *dyutĀ* set are those beginning with *dyutĀ* and terminating with *kṛpŪ* 'to be capable'. We know that the last root of the set has to be *kṛpŪ*, because the next set is referenced as headed by *vṛtŪ* in the following rule. The plural in *dyudbhyaḥ*, by *sāhacarya* 'association', brings the other roots. Thus, Pāṇini manages to refer to more than one verb without using the word *ādi*, etc.

The roots listed in this rule should, under the provisions of 1.3.12 *anudāttañita ātmanepadam,* take the *ātmanepada* endings. This rule, however, makes the *ātmanepada* optional for these special verbs before *LUṄ.* The option (*vibhāṣā*) of this rule is thus *aprāptavibhāṣā,* an optional provision made against something which was not available. The availability of this option facilitates the application of rule 3.1.55 *puṣādidyutādyḷditaḥ parasmaipadeṣu,* whereby *aṄ* replaces *CLI* before *LUṄ.* Once *aṄ* is introduced on the strength of *parasmaipada* made available by 1.3.91 *dudbhyo...,* any *guṇa* replacement will be blocked by 1.1.5 *kṅiti ca.* It is as a result of this that we get two forms: *vyadyutat,* derived with *parasmaipada, aṄ,* and no *guṇa;* and, as opposed to this, *vyadyotiṣṭa,* derived with *ātmanepada,* no *aṄ,* and *guṇa.* See the appendix for derivational details.

1.3.92 वृद्भ्यः स्यसनोः

vṛdbhyaḥ syasanoḥ

/vṛdbhyaḥ 5/3 *syasanoḥ* 7/2 (*itar. dv.*)/

(*vā* # 90, *parasmaipadam* # 78)

vṛtādibhyo dhātubhyaḥ sye sani ca parato vā parasmaipadaṃ bhavati

A *parasmaipada* affix occurs optionally after *vṛtŪ* 'to turn; to exist' and so on, when affixes *sya* or *saN* follow.

EXAMPLES:

vartsyati 'he will turn'
vartiṣyate 'id.'
avartsyat 'he turned'
avartiṣyat 'id.'
vivṛtsati 'he wishes to turn'
vivartiṣate 'id.'
vartsyati 'he will grow'
varddhiṣyate 'id.'
avartsyat 'he grew up'
avarddhiṣyata 'id.'
vivṛtsati 'he wishes to grow up'
vivarddhiṣate 'id.'

1. This rule makes the use of *parasmaipada* affixes optional after verbal roots *vṛtŪ,* etc., when they occur before *sya* and *saN.* Note that *vṛtŪ,* etc., are contained in the set headed by *dyutĀ,* etc., of rule 1.3.91 *dyudbhyo luṅi.* This rule identifies a set of five verbs, i.e. *vṛtŪ* 'to turn', *vṛdhŪ* 'to grow', *śṛdhŪ* 'to be defiant', *syandŪ* 'to move on', *kṛpŪ* 'to be capable', from within the *dyutĀ* set, and makes the option of *parasmaipada* available to them. This rule becomes necessary because only the above-mentioned verbs occurring before the two specified suffixes should have the option of *parasmaipada.*

These roots could not have this option under the previous rule. Incidentally, ***kṛpŪ*** is also referred to as ***klṗI:*** see rule 1.3.93, below.

1.3.93 **लुटि च क्लृपः**

luṭi ca klṗaḥ
/luṭi 7/1 *ca* **Ø** *klṗaḥ* 5/1/
(*syasanoḥ* # 92, *vā* # 90, *parasmaipadam* # 78)
luṭi ca syasanoś ca kṛpeḥ parasmaipadaṃ bhavati
A *parasmaipada* affix occurs after ***klṗI*** 'to be capable' when it is followed by *LUṬ, sya,* or *saN*

EXAMPLES:

kalptā 'he will be capable tomorrow'
kalpitā 'id.'
kālptārau 'they (two) will be capable tomorrow'
kalptāraḥ 'they (pl.) will be capable tomorrow'
kalpsyati 'he will become capable'
kalpiṣyate 'id.'
akalpsyat 'he would have become capable'
akalpiṣyata 'id.'
ciklṗsati 'he wishes to be capable'
cikalpiṣate 'id.'

1. Patañjali (*Mbh.*II: 296) states that the *ca* of this rule does not serve any purpose. Since Pāṇini did not use *ca* in rule 1.3.91 *dyudbhyo luṅi* to bring *vibhāṣā* 'optionally' via *anuvṛtti,* the same cannot be the purpose for using *ca* here. It could certainly not be used for bringing *syasanoḥ* from the preceding rule, because that is not desired. The *sya* and *saN* derivates of *klṗ* are already covered by the previous rule. That is, since ***klṗI*** is included in the set referred to by *vṛtŪ,* etc., of the preceding rule, the *sya* and *saN* derivatives of ***klṗI*** would already be covered. Rule 1.3.93 is thus formulated to cover only the derivates of *klṗ* relative to *LUṬ.* I think *ca* should be accepted as functional here: it should be read with *luṭi* to give the meaning 'and additionally when occurring before *LUṬ...*'.

1.4.1 **आ कडारादेका संज्ञा**

ā kaḍārād ekā saṃjñā
/ā **Ø** *kaḍārāt* 5/1 *ekā* 1/1 *saṃjñā* 1/1
'kaḍārāḥ karmadhāraye' iti vakṣyati ā etasmāt sūtrāvadher yad ita ūrdhvam anukramiṣyāmaḥ tatra ekā saṃjñā bhavatīti vaktavyam
As far as ***'kaḍāra'*** (2.2.38 ***kaḍārāḥ karmadhāraye***), only one term should be assigned.

EXAMPLES:

bhettā 'he who splits'
chettā 'he who cuts'
śikṣā 'instruction'
bhikṣā 'alms'
atatakṣat 'he smoothed the wood'
ararakṣat 'he protected'

1. This is one of the most important interpretive rules in the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*. It is also a governing rule. This means that its domain extends up to 2.2.38 *kaḍārāḥ karmadhāraye*. The purpose of this interpretive rule is to make it clear that whenever two terms given in the domain of this rule should become applicable to a single nominatum, only one would be considered valid. The next rule, 1.4.2 *vipratiṣedhe paraṃ kāryam*, determines which rule should be considered valid. When more than one term is applicable to a single nominatum and they appear in equal strength, the rules create a situation of conflict (*vipratiṣedha*). In such instances, in accordance with 1.4.2, the conflict should be resolved by accepting the latter rule as valid. That is, when there is a conflict between two rules of equal strength, the one which is subsequent in order wins. It should be remembered here, however, that not all conflicting situations merit the invoking of 1.4.2. For details on this and other interesting problems related to this rule, see my notes under 1.4.2 *vipratiṣedhe....*

The very fact that Pāṇini clearly states that the domain of one term per nominatum is limited to the rules between 1.4.1 and 2.3.38, inclusive, establishes that elsewhere more than one term may be assigned to a single nominatum. Commentators attest to this. Outside the domain of *ekasaṃjñā, saṃjñasamāveśa* 'class inclusion' is the norm. Thus an item may be termed *samāsa* 'compound' as well as *prātipadika* 'nominal stem'. Similarly, the designations *aṅga* (1.4.13 *yasmāt...*) and *bha* (1.4.18 *yaci bham*) involve class inclusion. For details, see the following rule.

1.4.2 विप्रतिषेधे परं कार्यम्

vipratiṣedhe paraṃ kāryam
/vipratiṣedhe 7/1 *param* 1/1 *kāryam* 1/1/
(tulyabala-virodhaḥ = vipratiṣedhaḥ) : *yatra dvau prasaṅgāv anyārthāv ekasmin yugapat prāpnutaḥ sa tulyabalavirodho vipratiṣedhaḥ; tasmin vipratiṣedhe paraṃ kāryaṃ bhavati*
When there is conflict caused by two rules of equal strength, apply the one which is subsequent in order.

EXAMPLES:

vṛkṣābhyām, instrumental, dative, and ablative dual of *vṛkṣa* 'tree'

plakṣābhyām, instrumental, dative, and ablative dual of *plakṣa* 'a kind of tree'
vṛkṣeṣu, locative plural of *vṛkṣa*
plakṣeṣu, locative plural of *plakṣa*
vṛkṣebhyaḥ, dative and ablative plural of *vṛkṣa*
plakṣebhyaḥ, dative and ablative plural of *plakṣa*

1. The purpose of this rule is to provide a decisive ruling in matters of conflict (*vipratiṣedha*). This rule then becomes restrictive (*niyama*) in nature. The locative in *vipratiṣedhe* is interpreted as *satisaptamī* 'locative absolute'. The word *param*, though interpretable as meaning *iṣṭa*, is generally interpreted as meaning *uttara* 'subsequent'. The word *kārya* refers to an operation. This *sūtra* can thus be interpreted as meaning that 'subsequent is to be performed when there is conflict'.

This rule has attracted a great deal of discussion in the literature. *Kāśikā* explains: *yatra dvau prasaṅgāv anyārthāv ekasmin yugpat prāpnutas sa eva tulyabalavirodho vipratiṣedhaḥ*. Obviously the focus is on the term *vipratiṣedha*, which is here explained as *tulyabalavirodha* 'conflict of equal strength'. That is, it concerns a conflict between two rules which are equally powerful in regard to their applicability. How should one go about determining *tulyabalatā* 'equal strength'? The answer is that two rules (*prasaṅga*) with their independent scope (*anyārtha*) of application are treated as equal in strength when they both obtain (*prāpnutas*) in a single context (*ekasmin*) simultaneously (*yugapat*). To sum up, *vipratiṣedha* is a situation of conflict where two rules with proven scope of application elsewhere simultaneously become applicable to a single context. This being the case (*sati*), the rule which is subsequent (*para*) in order of enumeration should be applied.

The phrase 'two rules with proven scope of application elsewhere' needs some explanation. A rule becomes vacuous (*vyartha*) if it does not have any scope of application. The conflict which is here characterized as *vipratiṣedha* demands that two rules in conflict must have their scope of application elsewhere. Let us consider some examples:

(*a*) *krūrāya krudhyati* 'he is angry with the cruel one'
(*b*) *krūram abhikrudhyati* 'id.'
(*c*) *gehaṃ praviśati* 'he is entering the house'
(*d*) *gehe praviśati* 'id.'

The word *krūra* 'cruel' in (*a*) is used with *caturthī* 'fourth triplet of nominal ending' to express *sampradāna* (2.3.13 *sampradāne caturthī*). However, it is used with *dvitīyā* 'second triplet of nominal ending' to express *karman* (2.3.2 *karmaṇi dvitīyā*). The term *sampradāna* is assigned to *krūra* in (*a*) because *krūra* denotes the person towards whom anger is directed, and the sentence underlies an action denoted by *krudh* 'to be angry' (1.4.37

krudha...yaṃ prati kopaḥ). The same word is assigned the term *karman* in sentence (*b*), where verbal root *krudh* is used with the preverb *abhi* (1.4.38 *krudha druhor upasṛṣṭayoḥ karma*). A situation of conflict arises here. The reasons are:

(*i*) the nominal endings, *dvītīyā* and *caturthī*, are introduced on the strength of the assignment of the terms *sampradāna* and *karman*,

(*ii*) both of these terms, or rules which assign them, are equally applicable to *krūra* in (*b*), and

(*iii*) rule 1.4.1 *ā kaḍārād ekā saṃjñā* forbids the assignment of two terms to a single nominatum at once.

Note that this conflict cannot be recognised as *vipratiṣedha* because the two rules in conflict are not of equal strength. The rule which assigns the term *karman* (1.4.38) will become vacuous if it does not apply to assign the term *karman* to *krūra* of (*b*). After all, its specification is that the person towards whom anger is directed should be assigned the term *karman* when verbs having the signification of *krudh*, and so on, are used with the preverb *abhi*. This alone is the right context for the application of rule 1.4.38. Elsewhere, it will become vacuous. This situation has been characterized as *niravakāśatva* 'no scope of application'.

It has been stated that *vipratiṣedha* entails a conflict between two rules of equal strength (*tulyabala*). That is, both rules must have their scope of application elsewhere. That is termed *sāvakāśa*. In the case of rules 1.4.37 and 1.4.38, the latter is *niravakāśa* whereas the former is *sāvakāśa* 'with scope of application elsewhere'. They cannot be taken as carrying equal strength, since a *niravakāśa* rule is treated as stronger than a rule which is *sāvakāśa*. Thus, rule 1.4.38 assigns the term *karman*. Note that rule 1.4.2 does not have anything to do with the resolution of this conflict, as the conflict does not entail *vipratiṣedha*. In order for it to be so called, both rules must be *sāvakāśa*. This alone can offer them equal strength.

Let us take a couple of examples where *tulyabalatā* may be the source of conflict. Consider the following sentences:

(*e*) *rāmo dhanuṣā mṛgaṃ vidhyati* 'Rāma is piercing the deer by means of (the arrow shot by) the bow'

(*f*) *devadatto rathena grāmād āgacchati* 'Devadatta is coming from the village by chariot'

The first sentence has *dhanuṣ* in the instrumental singular (2.3.18 *kartṛkaraṇayos tṛtīyā*) to express *karaṇa* (1.4.42 *sādhakatamaṃ karaṇam*). Since *dhanuṣ* as a participant serves as the means *par excellence* in accomplishing the act of piercing, it is termed *karaṇa*. However, since it also serves as a fixed (*dhruva*) point from whence there is movement away (*apāya*) of the arrow (*śara*), it can also qualify for the term *apādāna* (1.4.24 *dhruvam apāye' pādānam*). This clearly creates a situation of conflict (*vipratiṣedha*). The terms *apādāna* and *karaṇa* have their valid scope of application

elsewhere, as is evident from sentence (*f*). Here, *grāma* is termed *apādāna* because it serves as a fixed point from which Devadatta moves away. Similarly, to accomplish the act of going Devadatta is employing *ratha* as the means *par excellence*. On this basis, the conflict of term assignment with reference to *dhanuṣ* in sentence (*e*) can be identified as *tulyabalatā* 'equal in strength'. Rule 1.4.2 *vipratiṣedhe paraṃ kāryam* is therefore rightly invoked here to resolve the conflict in favour of the rule which is subsequent (*para*) in order. That is, *dhanuṣ* is uniquely termed *karaṇa* in this instance because rule 1.4.42 *sādhakatamaṃ karaṇam*, which assigns the term *karaṇa*, is subsequent in order to rule 1.4.24 *dhruvam apāye' pādānam*, which assigns the term *apādāna*.

Let us now consider *rāmaiḥ*, which is the instrumental plural of *rāma* derived from *rāma* + *bhis*. Rule 7.1.19 *ato bhis ais* will require a replacement for *bhis* of *ais*, which occurs after an *aṅga* ending in *a*. Note that *ataḥ* is placed in the *pañcamī*' fifth triplet of nominal ending' which brings rule 1.1.67 *tasmād ity uttarasya* close to the context of this rule. Rule 1.1.67 states that an operation pertains to the following form if its classification is made by a *pañcamī*. It is in view of this that *bhis* becomes the focus for the replacement by *ais*.

Then comes rule 1.1.54 *ādeḥ parasya*, which states that an operation specified for a following item should apply to the initial sound segment of that item. That is, *ais* should replace only the *bh* of *bhis*. But *bhis* itself is placed in the genitive, so rule 1.1.49 *ṣaṣṭhī sthāneyogā* must apply to demand that *ais* should replace *bhis*. Since the replacement consists of more than one sound segment, rule 1.1.55 *anekālśit sarvasya* would demand that *ais* should replace *bhis* in toto. We are surely faced with a problem: which substitution command should win if there is a conflict? Should we accept *pañcamī* or *ṣaṣṭhī* as the primary specifying condition?

If we accept *pañcamī*, a wrong form such as **rāma* + *(bh* → *ais)is* → *rmaisi* (*s* → *ḥ*) =**rāmaisiḥ* would result. Why? Because the focus of this replacement will then be determined by rule 1.1.54 read with 1.1.67. But if we accept *ṣaṣṭhī*, everything will be in order. How should we decide? The tradition regards this as an instance of *vipratiṣedha*. Commentators state that 1.1.54 *ādeḥ parasya* has a valid scope of application in examples like *dvīpam*, 'island', with reference to rule 6.3.97 *dvyantarupasargebhyo...* This scope of application also happens to be mutually exclusive of the valid scope of application of rule 1.1.55 *anekālśit sarvasya*. Rule 1.1.55 has its valid scope of application in rules like 2.4.52 *aster bhūḥ* where *bhūḥ* is ordered as a replacement for *asti* in genitive. The replacement here is total *(sarvādeśa)*.

This, then, is another situation involving *tulyabalatā*. When invoked, rule 1.4.2 resolves the conflict in favour of the subsequent rule, 1.1.55

anekāl.... There are, incidentally, some interesting corollaries to this situation. For example, the order in which *ataḥ* and *bhis* (items in *pañcamī* and *ṣaṣṭhī*) of rule 7.1.9 are given is also is consonance with the resolution of the conflict in favour of the subsequent. Secondly, the rules which introduce the *pañcamī* and *ṣaṣṭhī* nominal endings in the domain of 2.3.1 *anabhihite* also place *ṣaṣṭhī* rules subsequent to *pañcamī* rules. Lastly, needless to say, 1.1.55 is subsequent to 1.1.53.

Now, we shall take an example of a different nature. One of the most celebrated of traditional *vipratiṣedha* conflicts happens to involve rules 7.3.102 *supi ca* and 7.3.103 *bahuvacane jhaly et*. The first rule requires that the short final *a* of an *aṅga* be replaced with a long before a nominal ending beginning with *yÑ*. The second rule requires that in the case of a plural form the *aṅga*-final *a* should be replaced with *e*. Examples like *rāmāya* and *rāmebhyaḥ* provide for the independent scope of these two rules. Examples like the locative plural *rāmeṣu* create a situation of conflict. Given the string *rāma* + *suP*, where *suP* is the locative plural ending, both the rules become applicable. If one applies rule 7.3.102, a wrong form, **rāmāsu*, will result. If 7.3.103 is preferred, we will of course get the correct form *rāmeṣu*.

Commentators accept that in some cases a rule which is blocked in *vipratiṣedha* once must remain blocked forever (cf. *Paribhāṣā* 41: *sakṛd gatau vipratiṣedhe yad bādhitam tad bādhitam eva* 'that which goes through *vipratiṣedha* once and is blocked, remains blocked forever'). On the other hand, there may be cases where a rule blocked once may find an occasion to apply later (cf. *Paribhāṣā* 40: *punaḥ prasaṅgavijñānād bhavati* 'application of a blocked rule becomes possible by the knowledge of the context of its application again'). These two positions are not paradoxical. Two types of *vipratiṣedha* are recognized: one which is labelled as *tulyabalatā* 'equal strength', and the other as *asambhava* 'impossible'. These two types also relate to the interpretation of the expression *paraṃ kāryam* in rule 1.4.2, which can be interpreted in two ways:

(*i*) only the subsequent rule should apply, and

(*ii*) apply the subsequent rule.

The first interpretation makes rule 1.4.2 a restrictive (*niyama*) rule. The second makes it operational (*vidhi*). The notion of 'once blocked, is blocked forever' relates to the *tulyabalatā* aspect of *vipratiṣedha*. The 'application afterwards' notion relates to the *asambhava* aspect of *vipratiṣedha*.

I have already discussed several examples of *vipratiṣedha* of the *tulyabalatā* type. I shall now discuss the *vipratiṣedha* which constitutes the type of *asambhava*. Consider rule 3.1.333 *ṇvultṛcau*, which introduces affixes *ṆvuL* and *tṛC* after verb roots. The conflict concerns whether these two affixes should be introduced simultaneously (*yugapat*) or in turn (*paryāya*). Since a simultaneous application is impossible, *ṆvuL* and *tṛC* will be introduced in turn. Similarly, given the string *ajara* + *Jas*, where

7.1.20 *jaśśasoḥ śiḥ* applies to replace *Jas* by *Śi*, *ajara* + (*Jas* → *Śi*) = *ajara* + *i*, two rules become applicable. These are 7.1.72 *napuṃsakasya jhal acaḥ* and 7.2.101 *jarāyā jaras anyatarasyām.*

Now the question arises whether we should apply 7.1.72 or 7.2.101. If one prefers to apply 7.1.72, the result will be **ajara* + *nUM* + *i*. Applying 7.2.101 creates a different problem. This rule requires the replacing of *jara* by *jaras*, provided the *aṅga* is followed by an affix beginning with *aC*. If one considers *ajara* as the *aṅga*, the *n* of *nUM* will intervene before the *i*, the affix beginning with *aC*. Thus 7.2.101 will be blocked from application. However, one can also argue that *ajara* + *n* should be treated as the *aṅga*, since *n* happens to be part of it, or in other words because *jara* is part of the *aṅga* and *n* is also part of the *aṅga* (*avayavāvayava*). This reasoning will permit the application of 7.2.101 with the problematical result: **a* (*jara* → *jaras*) + *n* + *i* → *ajarasn* + *i* = **ajarasni.*

The real problem with this approach, however, is that the application of rule 6.4.10 *sānta mahataḥ saṃyogasya* requires the lengthening of the penultimate vowel of the *aṅga* ending in *s* preceded by *n*. Given the string **ajarasni*, the combination is not *ns* but *sn*, which will not permit 6.4.10 to apply. Wrong forms such as **ajarasni* will result. Therefore, in order to facilitate the application of 6.4.10, 7.2.101 must replace *jara* by *jaras* before 7.1.72 introduces *nUM*. This is possible only when one invokes 1.4.2 *vipratiṣedhe*.... The conflict between the application of rules 7.2.101 and 7.1.72 is that of *asambhava*, and hence 7.1.72 may reapply.

The Pāṇinian grammatical tradition, with virtually no dissent whatsoever, considers the applicability of rule 1.4.2 as going well beyond the limits of the domain of *ekasaṃjñā*. Pāṇinīyas in the West, with the same unanimity, refuse to accept the applicability of rule 1.4.2 outside the domain of *ekasaṃjñā*. That is, the Western *pāṇinīyas* consider rule 1.4.2 as local and strictly restricted to the domain of *ekasaṃjñā*. This is in opposition to the tradition, which accepts it as global. Since any discussion of the merits or demerits of either of these two positions falls outside the scope of this work, they shall not be further explained here.

1.4.3 यू स्त्र्याख्यौ नदी

yū stryākhyau nadī

/yū (*sUP* deleted) = *ī ca ū ca* = *yū* (*itar. dv.*);
stryākhyau 1/2 *nadī* 1/1/
īkārāntam ūkārāntaṃ ca stryākhyaṃ śabdarūpaṃ nadīsaṃjñaṃ bhavati
Feminine forms which end in *ī* or *ū* are termed *nadī*.

EXAMPLES:

kumarī 'girl'
gaurī 'goddess Pārvatī; a fair-complexioned girl'

lakṣmīḥ 'goddess (of wealth) Lakṣmī'
śārṅgaravī 'goddess of wealth'
brahmabandhūḥ 'a *brāhmaṇa* woman who does not behave like one'
yavāgūḥ 'rice gruel'

1. The purpose of assigning the term *nadī* is to facilitate the application of 7.3.107 *ambārthanadyor hrasvaḥ;* 7.3.112 *āṇ nadyāḥ;* and so on. In the absence of the designation *nadī, grāmaṇī* 'village leader' and *khalapū* 'he who cleans the threshing floor; he who changes (purifies the heart of) a wicked person' cannot have their long final vowels replaced by short ones in the vocative. Similarly, in view of 7.3.112, *mātṛ* 'mother' and *duhitṛ* 'daughter' will yield forms very different from the *nadī* words, since, under the provisions of 7.3.112, dative, ablative, and genitive singular endings receive the augment *āṬ* when they occur after items termed *nadī.* This augment will be blocked in the absence of the assignment of the term *nadī.*

2. The term *nadī* should only apply to those forms which, in addition to ending in *ī* or *ū*, independently denote a feminine object. Thus *strī* denotes a female in the sentence *strī gacchati* 'a woman is going'. A word like *paṭvī* 'clever (*f*)' in *paṭvī strī gacchati* 'a clever woman is going' also denotes a female. However, it does not denote feminine entirely on its own. Instead, it is able to denote feminine only because it modifies a feminine word. On its own, *paṭvī* is not capable of denoting feminine and therefore cannot be assigned the term *nadī.* By using the word *stryākhyā,* Pāṇini intends us to understand a reference to those words which, on their own, have an inherent capacity to denote feminine. Refer to *PM* ad *Kāśikā* 1.4.3: *āki yāgrahaṇasāmarthyāt padāntaram anapekṣya yau svayameva striyam ācakṣāte ity āśrīyate.*

1.4.4 नेयेङुवङ्स्थानावस्त्री

neyaṅuvaṅsthānāv·astrī
/na Ø iyaṅuvaṅsthānau 1/2 = *iyaṅ ca uvaṅ ca = iyaṅuvaṅau (itar. dv.), iyaṅuvaṅau sthānam anayor = iyaṅuvaṅsthānau (bv.); astrī = na strī (nañ. tat.)/*
(yūstryākhau nadī # 3)
iyaṅuvaṅoḥ sthānam anayor itīyaṅuvaṅsthānau yau yū tau nadīsaṃjñau na bhavataḥ, strīśabdaṃ varjayitvā
Except for *strī* 'woman', forms which terminate in *ī* or *ū* and denote feminine are not termed *nadī* if they have a replacement in *iyÃṄ* and *uvÃṄ.*

EXAMPLES:

he śrīḥ 'O, Śrī!'
he brūḥ 'O, Bhrū!'

1. The function of this rule is to restrict further the scope of 1.4.3. For example, according to 1.4.3 *śrī* and *bhrū* can be termed *nadī,* since they end in *ī* and *ū* and also denote feminine. The present rule disallows the *nadī* designation because both *śrī* and *bhrū* happen to be items which, in their paradigms, entail a replacement of *ī* and *ū* by *iyÃṄ* and *uvÃṄ* respectively. Thus, we get forms such as *śriyau* and *śriyaḥ* and *bhruvau* and *bhruvaḥ,* the nominative dual and plural forms. If this rule did not disallow the *nadī* designation of *śrī* and *bhrū,* 7.3.107 *ambārthanadyor...* would have required the shortening of their long vowels. This rule makes an exception for *strī,* even though *strī* entails *iyÃṄ* replacement, to account for forms like *striḥ,* the vocative singular. Clearly, in the absence of *nadī* designation, shortening of the final long *ī* of *strī* by 7.3.107 will be blocked.

1.4.5 **वाऽमि**

vā' mi

/vā Ø āmi 7/1/

(neyaṅuvaṅsthānāv astrī # 4, *yūstryākhyau nadī* # 3)

iyaṅuvaṅsthānau yū amī parato vā nadī saṃjñau na bhavataḥ

Except for *strī,* forms which terminate in *ī* or *ū* and denote feminine optionally are not termed *nadī* if they have a replacement in *iyÃṄ* or *uvÃṄ* and occur before *ām* (genitive plural).

EXAMPLES:

śriyām, genitive plural of *śrī* 'wealth'
śrīṇām 'id.'
bhruvām, genitive plural of *bhrū* 'brow'
bhrūṇām 'id.'

1. The function of this rule is to make the obligatory ruling of 1.4.4 optional in cases where a form ends in *ī* or *ū,* signifies feminine, and entails *iyÃṄ* or *uvÃṄ* replacement, but is not *strī.* As is obvious from the wording of the rule, such an option is available only when the form in question occurs before the genitive plural ending *ām.* The word *strī* is cited again as an exception simply because there is only one available form, *strīṇām.*

2. The wording of this rule may lead to confusion. For example, *vā' mi* may be interpreted as involving the *sandhi* of *vā* + *ami* where *am* of *ami* would be identified as accusative singular. However, since operations relative to the designation of the term *nadī* do not obtain where accusative singular (*am*) is involved, *vā' mi* must be interpreted as consisting of *vā* + *āmi.* Even so, there may still be confusion, because the *ām* of *āmi* can now be interpreted either as genitive plural or as a replacement of locative singular *Ṅi* by 7.3.116 *ṅer ām nadyām....* Such an interpretation of the *ām* of *āmi* as a replacement of *Ṅi* is not acceptable, since this replacement is conditioned by the designation of the term *nadī.* That is, the term assignment

precedes the replacement. Genitive plural is therefore the correct interpretation.

1.4.6 ङितिह्रस्वश्च

ṅiti hrasvaś ca
/ṅiti 7/1 *hrasvaḥ* 1/1 *ca* Ø/
(vā # 5, *neyaṅuvaṅsthānāv astrī* # 4, *yūstryākhyau nadī* # 3)
ṅiti parato hrasvaś ca yvoḥ sambandhī yaḥ stryākhyaḥ; stryākhyau iyaṅuvaṅsthānau ca yū vā nadī saṃjñau bhavataḥ
Except for *strī*, forms which denote feminine and which end in *i*, *u*, *ī*, or *ū*, and have a replacement in *iyÃṄ* or *uvÃṄ*, optionally are termed *nadī* if an affix marked with *Ṅ* follows them.

EXAMPLES:

kṛtyai, dative singular of *kṛti* 'creation'
kṛtāye 'id.'
dhenvai, dative singular of *dhenu* 'cow'
dhenave 'id.'
śriyai, dative singular of *śrī* 'wealth'
śriye 'id.'
bhruvai, dative singular of *bhrū* 'brow'
bhruve 'id.'

1. This rule is an exception to rules 1.4.3 and 1.4.4 because it optionally provides for the assignment of the term *nadī*, a term which was obligatorily denied them. It is an exception to 1.4.3 because it allows the designation *nadī* to forms which end in short *i* and *u*. It is an exception to 1.4.4 because it allows the assignment of the term *nadī* to forms which end in long *ī* and *ū* but permit a replacement in *iyÃṄ* and *uvÃṄ*.

2. Since this rule is optional, two forms could result. If the term *nadī* is assigned, rule 7.3.112 *āṇ nadyāḥ* will introduce the augment *āṬ*. One will then get forms such as *kṛtyai*, *dhenvai*, *śriyai*, and so on. In the absence of the assignment of the term *nadī*, rule 7.3.111 *gher ṅiti* would allow *guṇa* replacement for the stem-final vowel under the condition of the assignment of the term *ghi* by rule 1.4.7 *śeṣo ghy asakhi*. Thus one can get forms like *kṛtaye*, *dhenave*, *śriye*, and so on.

1.4.7 शेषोध्यसखि

śeṣo ghy asakhi
/śeṣaḥ 1/1 *ghy* 1/1 *asakhi* 1/1 *(nañ. tat.)/*
(hrasvaḥ # 6)
śeṣo' tra ghisaṃjño bhavati, sakhiśabdaṃ varjayitvā
Except for *sakhi* 'friend', the remaining forms which end in *i* or *u* are termed *ghi*.

EXAMPLES:

agnaye, dative singular of *agni* 'fire'
vāyave, dative singular of *vāyu* 'wind'
kṛtaye, dative singular of *kṛti* 'creation'
dhenave, dative singular of *dhenu* 'cow'

1. The purpose of this rule is to define the term *ghi* by assigning it to the residue (*śeṣa*) of rules 1.4.3-1.4.6. Thus, it assigns the term *ghi* to forms which either end in a short *i* or *u* but do not denote feminine, or which end in long *ī* or *ū*, denote feminine, but are not termed *nadī*.

2. The following are some operations performed when the term *ghi* is assigned:

(*i*) A corresponding *guṇa* vowel is ordered for the final *i* and *u* of an *aṅga* termed *ghi* when nominal endings marked with *Ṅ* follow (7.3.111 *gher ṅiti*).

(*ii*) The locative singular ending *Ṅi* is replaced by *au* when occurring after an *aṅga* which is termed *ghi* and ends in *i* or *u*. Additionally, the *ghi*-final *i* is replaced by *a* (7.3.119 *ac ca gheḥ*).

(*iii*) The instrumental singular ending *Ṭā* is replaced by *nā* when occurring after a non-feminine *aṅga* termed *ghi* (7.3.120 *āṅo nā' striyām*).

3. Note that the purpose of excluding *sakhi* 'friend' from the list of *ghi* forms is to block *guṇa* (by 7.3.111), *a*-replacement (by 7.3.119) and *na*-replacement (by 7.3.120). Consider the derivation of *sakhye*, ablative singular, and *sakhyuḥ*, genitive singular, where 7.3.111 does not order *guṇa*. Similarly, consider *sakhyau*, locative singular, where the final *i* of *sakhi* is not replaced by *a* by rule 7.3.119. Finally, consider *sakhyā*. instrumental singular, where, in the absence of the assignment of the term *ghi*, rule 7.3.120 could not order the *ā* of the ending to be replaced by *nā*.

1.4.8 पतिः समास एव

patiḥ samāsa eva
/patiḥ 1/1 *samāse* 7/1 *eva* **∅**/
(*ghi* # 7)
patiśabdaḥ samāsa eva ghisaṃjño bhavati
The word *pati* 'husband, lord, master' is termed *ghi* only when it occurs in a compound.

EXAMPLES:

prajāpatinā, instrumental singular of *prajāpati* 'creator; the Brahman'
prajāpataye, dative singular of *prajāpati*

1. This rule restricts the scope of the assignment of the term *ghi* to *pati*. Accordingly, *pati* can be assigned this term only when it occurs as the constituent of a compound. Note that this rule is not meant to assign the term *ghi* to *pati*. Instead, it is formulated to restrict the assignment of *ghi* with reference to *pati*. How can a provision be restricted if it has not been made? This provision is made by 1.4.7, which is then restricted by the present rule. The use of *eva* means that *pati* can be assigned the term *ghi* only when occurring in a compound.

1.4.9 षष्ठीयुक्तश्छन्दसि वा

ṣaṣṭhīyuktaś chandasi vā
/ṣaṣṭhīyuktaḥ 1/1 = *ṣaṣṭhyā yuktaḥ (tṛt. tat.); chandasi* 7/1 *ca* Ø*/*
(patiḥ # 8, *ghi* # 7)
ṣaṣṭhyantena śabdenayuktaḥ patiśabdaḥ chandasi viṣaye vā ghisaṃjño bhavati
In Veda, *pati* optionally is termed *ghi* when it is joined with a *pada* ending in *ṣaṣṭhī* 'sixth triad of *sUP*'.

EXAMPLES:

kuluñcānāṃ pataye namaḥ 'my obeisance to the cheat of cheats'
kuluñcānāṃ patye namaḥ 'id.'

1. Note that this rule provides, in the Vedic, for the assignment of the term *ghi* to *pati* even when it is not a constituent of a compound. The use of the word *yuktaḥ* in the rule makes it clear that the word *pati* is not to be interpreted as ending in *ṣaṣṭhī* 'genitive'. Instead, it is to be interpreted as used with a word ending in *ṣaṣṭhī*. Had the intended sense been *pati* ending in genitive, *yuktaḥ* would not have been required at all in the wording of the rule. By rule 1.1.72 *yena vidhis tadantasya, ṣaṣṭhī* itself could have accounted for that interpretation.

1.4.10 ह्रस्वं लघु

hrasvaṃ laghu
/hrasvam 1/1 *laghu* 1/1
hrasvam akṣaraṃ laghusaṃjñaṃ bhavati
A short vowel is termed *laghu*.

EXAMPLES:

bhettā 'he who splits'
chettā 'he who cuts'
acīkarat 'he did (it)'
ajīharat 'he took (it) away'

SCOPE: 7.3.86 *puganta lughūpadhasya ca*

1. The term *hrasva* has been defined by rule 1.2.27 *ukalō...* as a vowel consisting of a duration of one mora *(ekamātrā)*. This same vowel has been termed *laghu* by this rule. Furthermore, the subsequent rule calls the same vowel *guru* before a conjunct (*saṃyoga*). Since these two rules (1.4.10-1.4.11) come under the domain of *ekasamjñā*, no two terms of this domain can be assigned concurrently to a single entity. Therefore, *laghu* and *guru* cannot be assigned to a short vowel concurrently. However, outside the domain of *ekasaṃjñā*, class-inclusion (*saṃjñāsamāveśa*) is the norm. That is, a *hrasva* cannot be simultaneously assigned the term *laghu* and *guru*. But, in view of *saṃjñāsamāveśa*, there is nothing to stop the assignment of the terms *hrasva* and *laghu*, or *hrasva* and *guru*, to a single entity. This is possible because *hrasva* is a term not included in the *ekasaṃjñā* domain.

Haradatta *(PM* ad *Kāś.* 1.1.10, I: 511-12) states that the class-inclusion of the term *guru* with *hrasva* is desired so that *ṣatva*, change of *s* into *ṣ*, can take place by 8.3.103 *yuṣmattattatakṣuḥ....* However, in examples like *atatakṣat*, third person singular aorist of *takṣ* 'to fashion', class-inclusion of *laghu* and *guru* (*hrasva* before a conjunct) cannot be permitted. Here the term *guru* blocks the assignment of the term *laghu* so that *sanvadbhāva* 'operations similar to those conditioned by affix *saN*' can be blocked.

Note that *sanvadbhāva* basically refers to reduplication *(abhyāsa)* by rule 6.1.1 *sanyaṅoḥ*. It is ordered for roots ending in *ṆiC* and occurring before the augment *caṄ* in the aorist *(LUṄ)* by rule 7.4.93 *sanvallaghuni caṅpare' naglope*. Additionally, *sanvadbhāva* entails *itva*, change of *'a* by *i* of the *abhyāsa* by rule 7.4.79 *sany ataḥ*. For details of these operations, see the derivation of relevant examples.

2. Note that a situation of conflict between the assignment of the terms *laghu* and *guru* will obtain, but it will be resolved in favour of *guru* to meet the requirement of the domain of *ekasaṃjñā*, as dictated by rule 1.4.1 *ā kaḍārād ekā saṃjñā*. Note, however, that the conflict is not resolved on the strength of rule 1.4.2 *vipratiṣedhe....* Rule 1.4.2 resolves conflicts when both the terms have their independent scope of application elsewhere (*sāvakāśatva*). In the context of a conflict involving *laghu* and *guru*, *laghu* will have its scope of application elsewhere. That is, it can be assigned to all the short vowels except those which occur before a conjunct. The term *guru* can only be applicable to a short vowel when it is followed by a conjunct. If one does not assign the term *guru* to a *hrasva* occurring before a conjunct, *guru* will be left without any scope of application (*niravakāśa*). This will make rule 1.4.11 *saṃyoge guru* vacuous (*vyartha*). As far as 1.4.2 is concerned, it will not find any scope of application in a conflict situation obtaining between *laghu* and *guru*, for the *niravakāśatva* of *guru* will disqualify the conflict from being called *vipratiṣedha*.

1.4.11 **संयोगे गुरु**

saṃyoge guru
/saṃyoge 7/1 *guru* 1/1/
(hrasvam # 10)
saṃyoge parato hrasvam akṣaraṃ gurusaṃjñaṃ bhavati
A short vowel is termed *guru* when it occurs before *saṃyoga* 'a sequence of consonants.'

EXAMPLES:

kuṇḍā 'she who causes burns; adulteress'
huṇḍā 'multitude; tigress'
śikṣā 'instruction'
bhikṣā 'alms'

SCOPE: 3.3.103 *guroś ca halaḥ*

1. As is clear from my preceding note, a class-inclusion of *guru* with *laghu* is ruled out. That is, all occurrences of a short vowel before a following conjunct will be uniquely termed *guru*. What is the purpose of assigning this term? It is to permit one to derive forms such as *kuṇḍā* and *huṇḍā*, where, given the roots *kuḍ* and *huḍ* and the introduction of *nUM* by rule 7.1.58, the strings will be: *ku* + *nUM* + *ḍ* and *hu* + *nUM* + *ḍ*. Rule 1.4.11 can now assign the term *guru* to *u* of *ku* and *hu* since it is occurring before the consonant cluster *nḍ*. As a result, rule 3.3.103 *guroś ca halaḥ* will apply to introduce *a* and the resultant strings will be: *ku* + *(n(UM* → *Ø)ḍ)* + *a* = *kuṇḍa* and *hu* + *(n(UM* → *Ø)* + *a* = *huṇḍa*. These strings now qualify for the term *prātipādika* (1.2.46 *kṛttaddhitasamāsāś ca*) which, in turn, enables them to receive the feminine affix *ṬāP* (4.1.4 *ajādyatas ṭāp*) and ultimately yields *kuṇḍā* and *huṇḍā*.

I have already shown the derivation of (700) *śikṣā* and (701) *bhikṣā* where the term *guru* is applicable to the short *i* of *śikṣ* and *bhikṣ* before the following *kṣ*. Again the express purpose of assigning this term is to introduce affix *a* and subsequently affix *ṬāP*.

1.4.12 **दीर्घं च**

dīrghaṃ ca
/dīrgham 1/1 *ca Ø/*
(guru # 12)
dīrghaṃ cākṣaraṃ gurusaṃjñaṃ bhavati
A long vowel also is termed *guru*.

EXAMPLES:

īhāñcakre 'he strove'
īkṣāñcakre 'he saw'

1. Note that this rule assigns the term *guru* to *dīrgha* 'long' vowels in general. Thus the word *saṃyoge* is not carried from rule 1.4.11. The term *dīrgha,* like *hrasva,* has also been defined by 1.2.27 *ukālo...* A vowel, according to this rule, is termed *dīrgha* if it has the time duration equivalent to two morae. A full derivation of examples cited here is presented in the appendix under rule 1.3.63 *āmpratyayavat....* Note that, given the strings *īkṣ* + *LIṬ* and *īha* + *LIṬ,* 1.3.63 can apply to introduce affix *ām* under these conditions: when the root begins with *iC (i, u, ṛ, ḷ, e, o, o, ai, au)* but is not *ṛcch;* when it contains a vowel termed *guru (gurumān);* when *LIṬ* follows; and when the usage is not Vedic. Thus, one express purpose of assigning the term *guru* is to enable roots to receive the affix *ām.*

1.4.13 **यस्मात्प्रत्ययविधिस्तदादि प्रत्ययेऽङ्गम्**

yasmāt pratyayavidhis tadādi pratyaye' ṅgam

/yasmāt 5/1 *pratyayavidhiḥ* 1/1 = *pratyayasya vidhiḥ (ṣaṣ. tat.); tadādi* 1/1 = *tadādir ādir yasya (bv.); pratyaye* 7/1 *aṅgam* 1/1/

yasmāt pratyayo vidhīyate (dhātor vā prātipadikād vā) tadādi śabdarūpaṃ pratyaye parato' ṅgasaṃjñaṃ bhavati

A form beginning with that after which an affix is introduced is termed *aṅga* when the affix follows.

EXAMPLES:

karttā 'doer'
harttā 'he who takes away'
kariṣyati 'he will do'
hariṣyati 'he will take away'
akariṣyat 'he did'
aupagavaḥ 'male descendant of Upagu'
kāpaṭavaḥ 'male descendant of Kapaṭu'

1. Note that this rule is formulated by means of the variable *yat* 'that which...' with its correlative *tat* 'that'. Literally translated, it will read as follows:

yasmāt pratyayavidhiḥ 'that (a form) after which an affix (*pratyaya*) is introduced (*vidhīyate*)'; *tadādi* 'that (a form) which begins (*ādi*) with that (a form after which an affix is introduced)'; *pratyaye' ṅgam* is termed an *aṅga* when the affix follows'.

The word *tadādi* is a *tadguṇasaṃvijñāna* type of *bahuvrīhi,* from which we learn that the term *aṅga* is not simply assigned to the form after which an affix is introduced. It is assigned to the form which begins with that form after which an affix is introduced, but may extend right up to the affix and include constituents intervening between the initial form and the affix.

This assignment of the term *aṅga* occurs, of course, only when the affix follows.

A couple of examples explaining what a *tadguṇasaṃvijñāna* type of *bahuvrīhi* is will make things clearer. Pāṇini (2.2.24 *anekam anyapadārthe*) states that a compound is termed *bahuvrīhi* when its many constituents (*anekam*) denote something other than (*anyapadārtha*) their own meaning. Thus, we may take this sentence:

(*a*) *citragum ānaya citravāsasā saha* 'bring the man who owns brindled cows along with the man who wears colourful clothes'

Here, both *citragu* 'he who owns brindled cows' and *citravāsas* 'he who wears colourful clothes' are *bahuvrīhi* since their constituents (*citrā/citram* 'brindled'/'colourful', *gāvaḥ* 'cows', and *vāsas* 'clothes'), when combined to form a *bahuvrīhi*, denote something other than that which may be their own denotatum. Both the compounds denote a man. The first compound in sentence (*a*) is *atadguṇasaṃvijñāna*, because what is brought in compliance with the command is a man and not any brindled cow. That is to say, the meaning of individual constituents is suppressed. As opposed to this, *citravāsas* is a *tadguṇasaṃvijñāna* because, even though the constituents refer to something other than their own denotatum, what is brought in compliance with the command of sentence (*a*) is not just a man, but one who wears colourful clothes. Thus, in a *tadguṇasaṃvijñāna*, the constituent meanings are not suppressed. See also my notes under 1.3.63 *āmpratyayavat....*

Now let us return to *tadādi*. Interpreted as a *tadguṇasaṃvijñāna*, it will refer to a form which begins with a base after which an affix has been introduced Thus, a form beginning with a base may be construed as a form constituted by the base (1.1.21 *ādyantavad ekasmin*), or a form beginning with a base plus something else before the affix. For an illustration of this point, refer to my remarks on the derivation of (34) *cinutaḥ* in the appendix.

Note that a form cannot be termed an *aṅga* simply because an affix has been introduced after it. That is, the designation *aṅga* is contingent upon the presence of the following affix. If, for example, the affix has been deleted. the unit cannot be called an *aṅga*.

Now let us take some examples illustrating various aspects of the assignment of the term *aṅga*. Thus: *karttā, harttā; kariṣyati* and *hariṣyati*. First of all, bases after which an affix can be ruled may be identified as verbal roots (*dhātu*, see 1.3.1) or nominal stems (*prātipadika*, see 1.2.45-46). In the above four examples, the roots are *kṛ* and *hṛ*. Affixes introduced after these roots are *tṛC* and *sya*. Similarly, in examples such as *aupagavaḥ* and *kāpaṭavaḥ*, affix *aN* has been introduced after the nominal stems *upagu* and *kapaṭu*. Needless to say, bases *kṛ, hṛ, upagu* and *kapaṭu* are termed *aṅga* before their respective affixes.

The example *kariṣyati* is derived as: *kṛ* + *LRṬ* → *kṛ* + *ti* (*P* → ∅) → *kṛ* + *sya* + *ti* → *kṛ* + *iṬ* + *sya* + *ti* → *kar* + *i* + *sya* + *ti* → *kar* + *i* + *sya* + *ti*. In this example, both *kṛ* itself and *kṛ* + *sya* may be termed *aṅga*. The form *kṛ* becomes an *aṅga* before the affix *sya;* but *kṛ* + *sya* together may be termed an *aṅga* because they precede *tiP*.

Note that the word *pratyaya* is used twice in this rule. The first *pratyaya* is required, not only for specifying the context as that of *pratyayavidhi,* but also to clarify the fact that, if a root is used with a preverb, the sequence of preverb + root as a whole qualifies for the assignment of the term *aṅga*. The word *vidhi* is also necessary, since what is required by the rule is not simply a concatenation of a base and affix, but the introduction of an affix after a base. In consequence, given the sequence *strī* + *iyatī,* where affix *ṄīṢ* is introduced after *iyat* and not after *strī,* the term *aṅga* cannot be assigned to *strī*. If it were, a wrong form would result from the demand of 6.4.148 *yasyeti ca* that the *ī* of *strī* should be deleted. Incidentally, *iyatī* is derived by introducing affix *vatUP* after *idam* 'this', and replacing *va* of *vatUP* by *gha* (5.2.40 *kimidammbhyāṃ vo ghaḥ*). The fully derived form is *iyat,* to which feminine affix *ṄīṢ* (4.1.6 *ugitaś ca*) is introduced to derive *iyatī*.

The preceding also demonstrates why the second *pratyaya* (see *pratyaye*) should be used in the rule. If the affix is deleted, the assignment of the term *aṅga* is blocked. Take an example like *strī* + *Ṅe* + *artha* + *sU,* where the dative singular *Ṅe* and the nominative singular *sU* are deleted by 2.4.71 *supo dhātupratipadikayoḥ*. The resultant string is *strī* + *artha,* a compound, which could cause the assignment of the term *aṅga* to *strī* if *pratyaye* were not there in the rule. Note that an operation relative to an affix cannot be carried out when the affix in question has been deleted by means of the terms *LUK, ŚLU,* or *LUP*. The *Ṅe* and *sU* in our examples above were deleted by *LUK* (1.1.63 *na lumatāṅgasya*). Thus, for a form to be assigned the term *aṅga,* the affix must follow.

SCOPE: 6.4.1 *aṅgasya*

1.4.14 **सुप्तिङन्तं पदम्**

suptiṅantaṃ padam

/suptiṅantam 1/1 = *sup ca tiṅ ca = suptiṅau (dv.), tāv ante yasya sa = suptiṅantam (bv.* with internal *dv.); padam* 1/1/

subantaṃ tiṅantaṃ ca śabdarūpaṃ padasaṃjñaṃ bhavati

A form which terminates in *sUP* (4.1.2 *svaujas...;* 1.1.71 *ādir...*) or *tiṄ* (3.4.78 *tiptasjhi...;* 1.1.71 *ādir...*) is termed *pada.*

EXAMPLE:

brāhmaṇāḥ pacanti 'the brāhmaṇa are cooking'

1. Note that this rule assigns the term *pada* to a form which ends in a *sUP* 'nominal ending' or a *tiṄ* 'verbal ending' (4.1.2; 3.4.78). That is, given *rāmaiḥ,* instrumental plural of *rāma,* which derives from *rāma* + *bhis,* the entire string *rāma* + *bhis* is to be assigned the term *pada.* That is, a form can be termed a *pada* if and only if it ends in a *sUP* or *tiṄ* in accordance with 1.4.14.

2. Rule 1.1.72 *yena vidhis tadantasya* states that a form by means of which an operation is introduced denotes that form as well as the form in which it may end. If this is acceptable, Pāṇini should have said only *suptiṅ padam,* to account for a form ending in these affixes. Why should he add *antam*? The answer is that if he did not use *antam,* the term *pada* might also become applicable to affixes *sUP* and *tiṄ.* That being the case, if one were to derive *agniṣu* 'locative plural of *agni* 'fire', the plural ending *suP* would get the designation *pada.* As a consequence, the change of *s* to *ṣ* ordered by rule 8.3.111 *sāt padādyoḥ* would be blocked. Pāṇini's use of the word *antam* thus becomes indicative (*jñāpaka*) of the fact that in an instance such as the above rule a form cannot denote another form in which it ends.

What kind of an instance are we talking about? It is an instance where an operation relative to a term is ordered with reference to an affix. Thus, if the assignment of a term is made with reference to an affix, the affix cannot denote a form in which it ends (see *Paribhāṣā* (28): *saṃjñāvidhau pratyayagrahaṇe tadantagrahaṇaṃ nāsti).* The absence of *antam* would have blocked the meaning 'only the forms ending in *sUP* and *tiṄ.*' If an affix was allowed to denote a form in which it ended when a term was assigned, the term *gha* (1.1.22 *taraptamapau ghaḥ*) would also become applicable to forms ending in affixes *taraP* and *tamaP.*

Given the sequence *gaurī* + *brāhmaṇitarā,* the final vowel of *gaurī* will be replaced by its short counterpart by rule 6.3.43 *gharūpa....* The reason for this is that it is followed by *brāhmaṇitarā,* a *gha* ending in the affix *taraP.* Obviously, **gauri* will be a wrong form. It should instead be *gaura,* the masculine counterpart of *gaurī.* Thus, *gha* cannot be assigned to a form ending in *taraP.* It should only be assigned to the affix. In the case of *brāhmaṇitarā,* there will be additional problems. If it is interpreted as a *gha,* a form ending in *taraP,* its long *ī* (as in *brāhmaṇī*) cannot be replaced by a short *i,* as is desired. But if the term *gha* is assigned to the affix *taraP,* everything will be in order. Thus, *gaurabrāhmaṇitarā* will be the correct form of the compound.

3. There is still a question about the interpretation of *sUP* in this rule. Is it the abbreviatory term by which the totality of nominal endings are referenced? Or is it the locative plural ending *suP*? Here, it is the *sUP* by which the totality of nominal endings are referenced; for *tiṄ,* which is used with *sUP* in this rule, denotes the totality of the verbal endings. Naturally, because of this association *(sahācarya), sUP* should denote the totality of

nominal endings. Secondly, if a locative plural interpretation were accepted, rules such as 8.2.8 *na ṅisambuddhyoḥ* would become vacuous (*vyartha*). If *sUP* is interpreted here to mean locative plural *suP*, then the question of negating the deletion of *n* of a *prātipadika* (1.2.45 *arthavad...* and 1.2.46 *kṛttaddhita...*) termed *pada* before *Ṅi* and *sambuddhi* (2.3.49 *ekavacanaṃ sambuddhiḥ*) does not arise. This is how rule 8.2.8 *na ṅisambuddhyoḥ* would become vacuous. The *P* of *sUP* also could not be interpreted as the *P* of *kaP* of 5.4.151 *uraḥ prabhṛtibhyaḥ kap*. This would make a *bahuvrīhi* compound such as *priyasarpiṣka* 'he to whom ghee is dear' a *pada*. Technically, it is a nominal stem (*prātipadika;* 1.2.46 *kṛttaddhitasamāsāś ca*). Besides, if Pāṇini had intended the *P* of *sUP* to be interpreted as the *P* of *kaP*, he would have been better off formulating rule 1.4.17 *svādiṣv asarvanāmasthāne* as *supy asarvanāmasthāne*. With *sUP* denoting affixes up to and including *kaP*, beginning with *sUP* (enumerated under 4.1.1 *ṅyāpprātipadikāt*), he did not have to phrase his rule with *ādi* 'etc.'

SCOPE: 8.1.6 *padasya*

1.4.15 **नः क्ये**

naḥ kye

/naḥ 1/1 *kye* 7/1/

(*padam* # 14)

nāntaṃ śabdarūpaṃ kye paratah padasaṃjñaṃ bhavati

A form which terminates in *n* is termed *pada* when affixes *KyaC* (3.1.8 *supa....*), *KyaṄ* (3.1.11 *kartuḥ...*) or *KyaṢ* (3.1.13 *lohitādi...*) follow.

EXAMPLES:

rājīyati 'he wishes for a king for himself'
rājāyate 'he acts like a king'
varmāyati 'it acts like armour'
varmāyate 'id.'

1. This rule provides for the assignment of the term *pada* to forms which end in *-n*, when affixes *KyaC, KyaṄ,* and *KyaṢ* follow. Thus the word *Kya* in this rule refers to these affixes in general. It cannot be interpreted as referring to the *KyaP* of rule 3.3.99 *saṃjñāyāṃ samaja...*, as that would not serve any purpose. The purpose here is to enable the deletion of the final *-n* of stems such as *rājan* 'king' by rule 8.2.7 *na lopaḥ prātipadikāntasya*. By interpreting *Kya* of this rule as referring to *KyaP*, one would block the deletion of *-n*.

Note that affixes *KyaC, KyaṄ,* and *KyaṢ* are all introduced after items which end in a *sUP*. This already entitles them to be called a *pada* by rule 1.4.14. If one argues that after the introduction of *KyaC,* and so on, the *sUP* gets deleted, and hence this rule must provide for the assignment of

the term *pada*, the argument does not hold. For, even if the affix is deleted, rule 1.1.62 *pratyayalope pratyayalakṣaṇam* would enable us to retain the designation *pada*. Commentators explain that since Pāṇini is explicitly providing for something which is already available, he intends to offer a restriction (*niyama*). The restriction is: forms ending in *n* alone can be assigned the term *pada* before the above-mentioned affixes. All other forms will thus be restricted from being called *pada*.

1.4.16 सिति च

siti ca
/siti 7/1 = *sakāra it yasya sa (bv.), tasmin* = *siti ca ∅/*
siti pratyaye paratah pūrvaṃ padasaṃjñaṃ bhavati
A form is termed *pada* when an affix marked with *S* follows.

EXAMPLES:

bhavadīyaḥ 'yours (polite)'
ūrṇāyuḥ 'wool'
ṛtviyaḥ 'someone familiar with rituals'

1. This rule provides for the assignment of the term *pada* to a form which occurs before an affix marked with *S* as an *it*. Thus, *bhavat* of *bhavat* + *chaS* will be termed a *pada* which, in turn, will enable the final *t* to be changed into *d* by 8.2.39 *jhalāṃ jaśo...* Our next example, *ūrṇāyuḥ*, is derived by introducing affix *yuS* (5.2.123 *ūrṇāya...*) after *ūrṇa*. Because of the assignment of the term *pada*, 6.4.148 *yasyeti ca* cannot apply. Consequently, *ūrṇa* will be able to save its final *a* from deletion. An affix marked with *S* also occurs after *ṛtu* 'season' to derive *ṛtviyaḥ* in the Vedic. Given the string *ṛtu* + *ghaS* (5.1.106 *chandasi ghas*), *ṛtu* will be termed *pada* and 6.4.146 or *guṇaḥ* will thus be blocked from ordering *guṇa*.

2. Commentators explain this rule as a prior exception (*purastāpavāda*) to rule 1.4.18 *yaci bham*. Note that it cannot block its immediately following rule, 1.4.17 *svādiṣv....*, because prior exceptions only block a provision which is next to the one immediately following *(Paribhāṣā* (60): *purastāpavādā anantarān vidhīn bādhante nottarān).* It is in view of this that the assignment of the term *bha* is blocked by *pada* of this rule. Also note that the assignment of the term *bha* is blocked by *pada* under the provisions of this rule with reference to the examples of note 1.

1.4.17| स्वादिष्वसर्वनामस्थाने

svādiṣv asarvanāmasthāne
/svādiṣu 7/3 *asarvanāmasthāne* 7/1 *(nañ. tat.)/*
(padam # 14)
svādiṣu pratyayeṣu paratah sarvanāmasthānavarjiteṣu pūrvaṃ padasaṃjñaṃ bhavati

A form is termed *pada* when a *svādi* (affixes enumerated under 4.1.2 *svaujas...* through 5.4.151 *uraḥ prabhṛtibhyaḥ kap*) affix which is not a *sarvanāmasthāna (sU, au, Jas, am, auṬ;* see 4.1.2 *svaujas...*) follows.

EXAMPLES:

rājabhyām, instrumental dual of *rājan* 'king'
rājabhiḥ, instrumental plural of *rājan*
rājatvam, nominative singular of *rājatva* 'royalty'
rājatā 'royalty'
rājataraḥ, nominative singular of *rājatara* 'excellent king'
rājatamaḥ, nominative singular of *rājatama* 'best of kings'

1. This rule assigns the term *pada* to a wide variety of forms under the condition that they occur before an affix referred to here as *sU,* and so on, with the exception of affixes termed *sarvanāmasthāna.* The term *sU,* and so on, refers to affixes enumerated beginning with 4.1.2 *svaujas...*through 5.4.151 *uraḥ prabhṛtibhyaḥ kap.* The *sarvanāmasthāna* affixes relevant to this rule are given under 1.1.43 *sud anapuṃsakasya,* whereby we learn that nominative (singular, dual and plural) and accusative (singular and dual) endings, *sU, au, Jas, am, auṬ,* are termed *sarvanāmasthāna* when they occur after a non-neuter nominal base. Additionally, rule 1.1.42 *śi sarvanāmasthānam* assigns this term to *Śi,* a substitute for the nominative plural ending *Jas* and accusative plural ending *Śas* after a neuter stem.

It has already been stated that the *sU* of this rule cannot be interpreted as referring to the *saptamībahuvacana* 'plural of the seventh triad of *sUP*'. Note that the term *svādiṣu* has been interpreted here as a *bahuvrīhi* compound. This makes the scope of these affixes wider. Further note that the term *padam* is brought to this rule by *anuvṛtti,* and since *svādiṣu* is in the locative (*saptamī*), the term *pada* is assigned to items occurring before the affixes and not including them. This is in consonance with 1.1.66 *tasminn iti nirdiṣṭe pūrvasya,* which specifies that an operation referenced with a term in *saptamī* (in this case, *svādiṣu*) relates to the item which precedes (*pūrvasya*).

2. If it can be said that the lack of deletion of *-n* from the nominative singular and dual forms (*rājānau/rājānaḥ*) of *rājan* 'king' is caused by the lack of the assignment of the term *pada* to *rājan* occurring before an affix termed *sarvanāmasthāna,* the *-n* should also not be deleted from the nominative singular form *rājā.* The *Mahābhāṣya* (II: 363-64) discusses the solutions outlined below.

First, it is said that the negation (*pratiṣedha*) in *asarvanāmasthāne* should not be interpreted as *prasajyapratiṣedha,* for this would give the meaning 'the term *pada* is not assigned to an item when it occurs before a *sarvanāmasthāna* affix...'. Instead, the negation should be interpreted as

paryudāsa, whereby the assignment of the term *pada* will be made to an item occurring before an affix other than *sarvanāmasthāna*. The finer distinction made by the *paryudāsa* interpretation is that the designation *pada* is prescribed in a situation where an item occurs before some affix other than a *sarvanāmasthāna*. Thus, by rule 1.4.17, the designation of the term *pada* is not negated with reference to an affix termed *sarvanāmasthāna*. That is, a *paryudāsa* interpretation will show that the assignment (*pravṛtti*) or non-assignment (*nivṛtti*) of the term *pada* is not functionally related to *sarvanāmasthāna* affixes. This will now make the way clear for the assignment of the term *pada* to an item occurring before a *sarvanāmasthāna* affix, should such an assignment be available from a different rule. In the case of *rājā*, the term *pada* will be available to it by 1.4.14 *suptiṅantaṃ padam*. The problem created by the fact that the *sU* after *rājan* is deleted will be taken care of by 1.1.62 *pratyayalope pratyayalakṣaṇam*.

The *Mahābhāṣya* further explains that the *prasajya* interpretation of the negation will be unable to block the designation of *pada* to *rājan* + *sU*. It is said that *anantarasya vidhir bhavati pratiṣedho vā*, 'the application, or negation, applies to that which is non-immediate'. This, in turn, would not allow the blocking of the assignment of the term *pada* made available by rule 1.4.14 *suptiṅantaṃ padam*. Besides, an operation made available by 1.4.14 may be blocked by the provision of *svādiṣu* of 1.4.17; but not when the same is blocked by *asarvanāmasthāne (notsahate pratiṣiddhā satī bādhitum)*. The *Mahābhāṣya* offers yet another solution, which has recourse to *yogavibhāga* 'rule-splitting'. The various split rules will be as follows:

(*i*) *svādiṣu padam* 'an item occurring before affixes *sU*, etc., is termed *pada*'

(*ii*) *asarvanāmasthāne' yaci* 'an item is termed *pada* when it occurs before a *sarvanāmasthāna* affix not beginning with *y* or a vowel (*aC*)'

Note that the *naÑ* of *asarvanāmasthāne* is also construed with the *yaci* of *yaci bham* (1.4.18). Since there is no *sarvanāmasthāna* affix which begins with *y*, the *y* in this *yogavibhāga* is accepted for the subsequent (*uttarārtha*) rule. This will now block the assignment of the term *pada* only when a *sarvanāmasthāna* affix beginning with a vowel follows. Since the *sU* of *rājan* + *sU* does not begin with a vowel, the term *pada* can be assigned and hence the *n* cannot be deleted.

Jinendrabuddhi in *Nyāsa* ad *Kāśikā* (I: 521) offers an additional interesting solution. He states that Pāṇini intended that the assignment of the term *pada* should not be blocked when *sU* follows. His reason is that, by rule 8.2.8 *na ṅisambudhyoḥ*, *n* is not to be deleted before *Ṅi* or *sambuddhi*. Now, *sU* itself is called *sambuddhi* by 2.3.49 *ekavacanaṃ sambuddhiḥ*, when it is used in *sambodhana* 'vocative'. If Pāṇini had intended the non-application of the term *pada* before *sU*, he need not have made the specification *sambuddhi* in 8.2.8. The very denial of *pada* status caused by 1.4.17 should

have accounted for the deletion of *n*. Thus, the inclusion of *sambuddhi* in 8.2.8 is further proof that Pāṇini wanted the term *pada* to be assigned when *sU* was introduced.

1.4.18 **यचि भम्**

yaci bham

/yaci 7/1 *bham* 1/1/

(*svādiṣv asarvanāmasthāne* # 17)

yakārādāv ajādau ca svādau sarvanāmasthānavarjite pratyaye paratah pūrvaṃ bhasaṃjñaṃ bhavati

A form is termed *bha* when a *svādi* affix which begins with *y* or *aC* (a vowel) but which is not a *sarvanāmasthāna* follows.

EXAMPLES:

gārgyaḥ 'male descendant of Garga'
vātsyaḥ 'male descendant of Vatsa'
dākṣiḥ 'male descendant of Dakṣa'
plākṣiḥ 'male descendant of Plakṣa'

1. This rule assigns the term *bha* as opposed to the term *pada*. An item, according to this rule, can be termed *bha* if it occurs before a non-*sarvanāmasthāna* affix included in the list referred to as *sU*, etc. Furthermore, in order to qualify an item to be termed *bha*, the non-*sarvanāmasthāna* affixes of the list *sU*, etc., must begin either with *y*, or with a vowel. Recall that this is the domain of *ekasaṃjñā* (1.4.1 *ā kāḍārād ekā saṃjñā*) and therefore a single entity cannot be assigned more than one term. There is a situation of conflict which is created by the interaction of rule 1.4.14 *suptiṅantaṃ padam* and the present rule. Rule 1.4.14 states that items ending in a *sUP* or a *tiṄ* should be termed *pada*. Our present rule assigns the term *bha* to an item occurring before some of the same *sUP*. Commentators invoke rule 1.4.2 *vipratiṣedhe paraṃ kāryam* to resolve this conflict in favour of 1.4.18 *yaci bham*, since it is subsequent (*para*) in order. They also indicate that the assignment of the term *bha*, if not made in case of the items specified by 1.4.18, will make the rule vacuous (*vyartha*). Thus, rule 1.4.18 is not only subsequent (*para*), it is also *anavakāśa* elsewhere. This becomes an even stronger motivation to block the assignment of the term *pada* in favour of *bha*.

The consequences of assigning the term should be understood in view of its function as well as of which other term it blocks. Operations conditioned with special reference to this term are outlined in the sub-domain of 6.4.129 *bhasya*. Additionally, since the term *bha* blocks the assignment of the term *pada*, operations conditioned by the term *pada* would not apply to an item termed *bha*. For instance, a nominal stem termed *pada* goes

through the deletion of its final *n*. This, however, will no longer be applicable to *bha*. Consequences relating to accentuation, with reference to the assignment of the term *pada*, will also not be applicable in case of *bha*. Operations conditioned by the term *bha* generally relate to phonological change in bases. Consider the following rules:

6.4.130 *pādaḥ pat 'pād* is replaced by *pad* at the end of an *aṅga* termed *bha'*
6.4.134 *allopo' naḥ 'a* of the *an* occurring at the end of a *bha* is deleted'
6.4.140 *āto dhātoḥ* 'the final *ā* of a *bha* terminating in a root is deleted'
6.4.146 *or guṇaḥ 'u* or *ū* at the end of a *bha* is replaced with *guṇa'*
6.4.148 *yasyeti ca* 'a *bha*-final *i* or *a* (short or long) is deleted before a *taddhita* (4.1.76 *taddhitāḥ*) or a feminine affix'
6.4.150 *halas taddhitasya* 'the *y* of a *taddhita* affix which is preceded by a consonant and occurs in the *upadhā* (penultimate position) of a *bha* is deleted before the feminine affix *-ī*'

It is interesting to note that rules 1.4.14 *suptiṅantaṃ padam*, 1.4.17 *svādiṣv asarvanāmasthāne* (read with 1.4.43 *suḍ anapuṃsakasya*) and 1.4.18 *yaci bham* cause a triple classification of nominal endings as follows:

1. *sarvanāmasthāna:*
   sU, au, Jas (nominative singular, dual and plural) and
   am, auṬ (accusative singular and dual)
   1.4.17 *svādiṣv...* (read with 1.1.43 *suḍ anapuṃsakasya*)
2. *padasthāna:*
   bhyām (instrumental, dative and ablative dual)
   bhis (instrumental plural)
   bhyas (ablative plural) and
   suP (locative plural)
   1.4.18 *yaci bham*
3. *bhasthāna:*
   Śas (accusative dual)
   Ṭā (instrumental singular)
   Ṅe (dative singular)
   ṄasI (ablative singular)
   Ṅas, os, ām (genitive singular, dual and plural)
   Ṅi, os (locative singular and dual)
   1.4.18 *yaci bham*

SCOPE: 6.4.129 *bhasya*

1.4.19 तसौ मत्वर्थे

tasau matvarthe

/tasau 1/2 = *taś ca saś ca (itar. dv.); matvarthe* 7/1 = *mator arthaḥ (ṣaṣ. tat.), tasmin = matvarthe/*

(*bham* # 18)
takārāntaṃ sakārāntaṃ śabdarūpaṃ matvarthe pratyaye parato bhasaṃjñaṃ bhavati
A form which terminates in *t* or *s* is termed *bha* when an affix denoting the sense of *matUP* follows.

EXAMPLES:

udaśvitvān ghoṣaḥ 'the hamlet of cowherds, rich in yogurt and buttermilk'
vidyutvān balāhakaḥ 'the cloud with lightning'
payasvī 'rich in milk'
yaśasvī 'rich in fame'

1. This rule assigns the term *bha* to an item which ends in *t* or *s*, and which occurs before an affix having the signification of *matUP*. The sense of *matUP* has been outlined by rule 5.2.94 as *tadasyāstyasmin* 'he to whom something belongs' or 'he in whom something remains'.

The form *tasau* can only refer to the sound segments *t* and *s*. As such, *tasau* has to be interpreted in accordance with *tadantavidhi* (1.1.72 *yena vidhis tadantasya*), thereby referring to an item ending in *t* or *s*. An interpretation favouring *tadantavidhi* is also necessary because *t* or *s* alone cannot constitute the left context with reference to which an affix having the signification of *matUP* may occur.

The word *matvarthe* is interpreted as *vyadhikaraṇa*, in so far as its constituency is concerned. That is, its constituents are construed as having different loci (*adhikaraṇa*). The analysed form (*vigrahavākya*) of *matvarthe* is as follows:

mator artho matvartha iti 'matvartha is the sense of *matUP*'; *mator arthe yo varttate pratyayaḥ* 'the affix which denotes the sense of *matUP*'; *tasmin* 'when that affix follows'

It is in this way that we get the interpretation 'when an affix which has the sense of *matUP* follows'. The compound is *vyadhikaraṇa* because the affix which may have the signification of *matUP* is not the same as the affix *matUP* itself.

A question is raised whether the term *bha* could be assigned to an item which occurred before the affix *matUP* itself. Of course, when that form also ended in *t* or *s*. The answer has to be that it could, since we get examples such as *payasvān* 'rich in milk' and *yaśasvān* 'rich in fame'. If this is the case, why use *matvarthe*? Why not drop *arthe* and simply use *matau*? Commentators reply that *matau* may make it possible for an item ending in *t* or *s*, and occurring before affix *matUP*, to be termed *bha*. But it cannot facilitate the assignment of this term when an affix having the signification of

matUP follows. It will therefore rule out such examples as *yaśasvī* and *payasvī*. It is to include these examples that the word *artha* must be stated in the rule.

Further questions have been raised with reference to the use of *artha* in *matvarthe*, and the possibility of an item meeting all other conditions being assigned the term *bha* when *matUP* itself follows. This being the case, the rule will be interpreted as follows:

> An item which ends in *t* or *s*, and occurs before *matUP* having the signification of *matUP*, is termed *bha*.

However, this interpretation would create problems. The word *matUP* would then have to be qualified by *matvarthe*. How could *matUP* of *matvarthe*, a qualifier *(viśeṣaṇa)*, be its own qualified *(viśeṣya)*? The *Mahābhāṣya* (II: 366-67) argues that, in obeying the command *devadattasya śālāyām āsīnā brāhmaṇā ānīyantām* 'let the brāhmaṇa present in Devadatta's house be brought', one can also bring Devadatta should he be a brāhmaṇa. This example provides a precedent for treating *matUP* as having the signification of *matUP*. That is, because the word Devadatta can be treated as its own qualifier, *matUP* can be similarly treated.

1.4.20 अयस्मयादीनिच्छन्दसि

ayasmayādīni cchandasi
/ayasmayādīni 1/3 = *ayasmayādir yeṣāṃ tāni imāni (bv.); chandasi* 7/1/ (*bham* # 18)
ayasmayādīni śabdarūpāṇi chandasi viṣaye sādhūni bhavanti
In Veda, *ayasmaya*, and so on, are treated as correctly derived.

EXAMPLES:

ayasmayaṃ varma 'armour made from iron'
ayasmayāni pāttrāṇi 'pots made from iron'
sa suṣṭubhā sa ṛkvatā gaṇena (ṚV, IV.50.5) 'he, Bṛhaspati, and the Sun, beautifully praised by a multitude of rays...'

1. This rule is a *nipātana* 'ad hoc' rule, in that it allows for either *bha* or *pada*, or both, to apply in the context of some Vedic examples. For example, we can cite *aysmayam* 'made of iron' and *ṛkvat* 'he who sings'. Given the string *ayas* + *maya* (4.3.143 *mayaḍvaitayor...*), this rule would allow the assignment of the term *bha*, and hence the final *s* would be saved from changing into *r*. That is, rule 8.2.66 *sasajuṣo ruḥ* will be blocked. The term *pada* could be assigned to derive *ayomayam* in non-Vedic. Thus, in one case it is the term *bha* which applies, and in another it is *pada*. Obviously, this is against the norm. The norm is to block the assignment of *pada* by *bha*.

Let us consider *ṛkvat*, deriving from *ṛc* + *vat*. Here, first the *m* of *mat* (*UP* → *Ø*) is replaced by *v* (8.2.10 *jhayaḥ*) and subsequently, because of the

assignment of the term *pada,* the *c* of *ṛc* is replaced by *k* (8.2.30 *coḥ kuḥ*). The term *bha* is also assigned to this string to block the *k* or *ṛk* from being replaced with *g* (8.2.39 *jhalāṃ jaśo' nte*). This clearly shows how both the terms are assigned, one after the other. Commentators explain that, although this manipulation is contrary to the norm, correct derivation of the forms cannot be established in its absence. Assignment of these terms then becomes the means (*upāya*) to establish the correctness (*sādhutva*) of these forms. Note that all these discussions are merely for explanatory purposes. Since the derivations are given by way of *nipātana,* no step-by-step derivational detail is to be attempted.

1.4.21 **बहुषु बहुवचनम्**

bahuṣu bahuvacanam
/bahuṣu 7/3 *bahuvacanam* 1/1
bahuṣu bahuvacanaṃ bhavati
Plural (*bahuvacana*) occurs when plurality is denoted.

EXAMPLE:

brāhmaṇāḥ paṭhanti 'the brāhmaṇa recite'

1. Rule 1.4.102 *tāny ekavacanadvivacanabahuvacanāny ekaśaḥ,* alongwith 1.4.103 *supaḥ,* assigns the terms *ekavacana* 'singular', *dvivacana* 'dual', and *bahuvacana* 'plural' to individual members of the triads of *sUP* and *tiṄ*. The affix *sUP* is introduced by 4.1.2 *svaujas...,* and *tiṄ* is introduced as a replacement for *LA* by 3.4.78 *tiptasjhisipthastha....* The function of the present rule, 1.4.21 *bahuṣu bahuvacanam,* therefore could not be to assign the term *bahuvacana.* It does not assign the term, nor it is a rule ordering an operation. Instead, it is a restrictive (*niyama*) rule, stating that wherever a nominal or a verbal ending termed *bahuvacana* is used it should be used only to express plurality. The same restrictive meaning would be applied to *dvivacana* 'dual' and *ekavacana* 'singular' of the following rule.

1.4.22 **द्व्येकयोर्द्विवचनैकवचने**

dvyekayor dvivacanaikavacane
/dvyekayoḥ 7/2 = *dvau ca ekaś ca = dvyekau (itar. dv.);*
dvivacanaikavacane 7/1 = *dvivacanaṃ ca ekavacanaṃ ca = dvivacanaikavacane (itar. dv.)/*
dvitvaikatvayor arthayor dvivacanaikavacane bhavataḥ
Dual (*dvivacana*) and singular (*ekavacana*) occur when duality and singularity are to be denoted.

EXAMPLES:

brāhmaṇau pacataḥ 'two brāhmaṇa are cooking'
brāhmaṇaḥ pacati 'a brāhmaṇa is cooking'

1.4.23 कारके

kārake
/kārake 7/1/
('kārake' ity adhikāro veditavyaḥ) yad ita ūrdhvam anukramiṣyāmaḥ 'kārake' ity evaṃ tad veditavyam
A *kāraka*...

EXAMPLES:

grāmād āgacchati 'he is coming from the village'
parvatād avatarati 'he is climbing down the mountain'

1. This rule has received different interpretations because (*i*) it is an *adhikāra;* (*ii*) Pāṇini puts *kārake* in the locative (*saptamī*); and (*iii*) *kāraka* is a technical term (*saṃjñā*). There are three possible interpretations of this rule.

(*i*) *kārake* is an *adhikāra* whereby the technical term *kāraka* is introduced,
(*ii*) *kārake* states a meaning condition, and
(*iii*) *kārake* serves as a qualifier (*viśeṣana*) to the domain of the terms *apādāna,* etc.

Commentators have evaluated these interpretations in the light of the following considerations:

1. *kâraka* is a technical term which, according to its etymological meaning, denotes a thing which brings about an action,
2. the term *kāraka* should denote only the six categories of *apādāna,* etc., and
3. each of the six *kāraka* categories must also be assigned the term *kāraka*

Of these considerations, the first (1) establishes a necessary connection between *kāraka* and *kriyā* 'action'. The second consideration (2) restricts the number of things to which the term *kāraka* may be assigned. The third (3) requires that a thing which serves as *apādāna* must also serve as a *kāraka.* These three points are interrelated.

Returning to the three interpretations of 1.4.23, we find that *Kāśikā* seems to be following the second, i.e. (*ii*) the meaning condition, view. This interpretation is motivated by the fact that Pāṇini puts *kāraka* in the locative. *Kāśikā* seems to interpret the word *kāraka* as *kriyā.* However, this *Kāśikā* interpretation, and its *vṛtti* on subsequent rules, is confusing. Consider, for example, its *vṛtti* on rule 1.4.24 *dhruvam apāye' pādānam* (*Kāś.* I: 535: *dhruvaṃ [yad apāyayuktam] apāye sādhye [yad avadhibhūtaṃ tat kārakam] apādānasaṃjñaṃ bhavati.*) If one follows the 'meaning condition' view, and accordingly interprets *kāraka* as denoting *kriyā,* the above *vṛtti* should be rephrased with the exclusion of those items which I have enclosed in brackets. The rephrased *vṛtti* will be as follows:

dhruvam apāye sādhye apādānasaṃjñaṃ bhavati 'a thing which is *dhruva* 'fixed' is assigned the name *apādāna* (ablative) when *apāya* 'movement away' is to be accomplished'.

This interpretation obviously will run into problems. For instance, in sentences such as

(*a*) *grāmasya samīpād āgacchati* 'he is coming from the vicinity of the village', and
(*b*) *vṛkṣasya parṇāni patanti* 'leaves of the tree are falling'

both *grāma* 'village' and *vṛkṣa* 'tree' will qualify for the assignment of the term *apādāna*. To overcome these difficulties, *Kāśikā* includes the word *apāyayuktam* in the *vṛtti* to imply that *apāya*, being a relative notion, entails *saṃśleṣa* 'conjunction'. This will rule out the assignment of the term *apādāna* to *grāma* in sentence (*a*), as it is the vicinity of the village and not the village itself which is in conjunction with the reference to movement away. (See also *Mbh.* I: 241: *nātra grāmo' pāyayuktaḥ. kiṃ tarhi. samīpam. yadā ca grāmo' pāyayukto bhavati tadā' pādānasaṃjñā.*)

However, the difficulty mentioned in connection with the second sentence (*b*) still remains. One may resort to *vivakṣā* 'intent to speak', as has been advocated by the *Mahābhāṣya (na vā eṣa doṣaḥ kiṃ kāraṇam. apāyasyāvivakṣitatvān nātrāpāyo vivakṣitaḥ...)*, and state that in sentence (*b*) the speaker does not wish to speak about *vṛkṣa* as *apādāna*. This will remove the difficulty concerning *vṛkṣa* being assigned the term *apādāna;* yet *apāyayuktam* is still used in the *vṛtti* as part of a relative construction with *yad...tad.* Furthermore, there is syntactic co-ordination between *kārakam* and *apādānasaṃjñam* which, for all practical purposes, amounts to calling *apādāna* a *kāraka.* This will run counter to the 'meaning condition view' (*ii*) and favour the 'technical term' *(saṃjñā)* view of the first interpretation.

Both the 'technical term' (*i*) and the 'qualifier' (*iii*) views have been discussed in the *Mahābhāṣya* where, according to the first interpretation, *kāraka* becomes a technical term introduced by an *adhikāra.* Many arguments have been raised against this interpretation. Why did Pāṇini not put *kārake* in the nominative, as is his practice elsewhere? If *kāraka* is a technical term, why did Pāṇini not define it? There is no satisfactory explanation for the locative of *kārake* unless one abandons the *saṃjñā* view. Patañjali, however, is not bothered by the locative. His argument is that, since this is the domain of *ekasaṃjñā* 'one term', *kāraka* cannot be anything but a *saṃjñā* which, perhaps, Pāṇini chose not to define because it was already a fairly well-known term. Besides, *kāraka,* being a derivative with *ṆvuL,* can be used as an *anvarthasaṃjñā,* a technical term denoting its etymological meaning. (See *Mbh.* I: 239-40: *kim idaṃ 'kārake' iti. saṃjñānirdeśaḥ... kāraka*

iti saṃjñānirdeśaś cet saṃjñino' pi nirdeśaḥ kartavyah. saṃjñādhikāraś ceyam. tatra kim anyac chakyaṃ vijñātum anyad ataḥ saṃjñāyāḥ...; and also 242: *tatra mahatyāḥ saṃjñāyāḥ karaṇe etat prayojanam anvarthasaṃjñā yathā vijñāyeta; karotīti kārakam.*)

There are yet other problems with the *saṃjñā* view. For one thing, the term *kāraka* is introduced as a term in the domain of *ekasaṃjñā.* Since an item which is termed *apādāna* should also be termed *kāraka,* a situation of *saṃjñāsamāveśa* 'class-inclusion' arises which goes directly against the *ekasaṃjñā* requirement. To remove this difficulty, rule-splitting *(yogavibhāga)* is invoked, according to which individual rules will be split in two with *kārake* carried via *anuvṛtti (PM* ad *Kāś* I: 531: *ucyate saṃjñāpakṣe: apāye yad dhruvaṃ tat kārakasaṃjñaṃ bhavati, apādānasaṃjñaṃ cety ayam artho bhavati, evam anyatrāpi...).* Thus, 1.4.24 *dhruvam apāye' pādānam* will be interpreted as follows:

> *apāye dhruvaṃ kārakasaṃjñaṃ bhavati* 'a thing which is fixed when movement away is denoted is termed *kāraka,*

and

> *apāye dhruvaṃ kārakam apādānasaṃjñaṃ bhavati* 'a *kāraka* which is fixed when movement away is denoted is also termed *apādāna'*

Obviously, resorting to *yogavibhāga* will be prolix *(gaurava).* In addition, *kāraka* will be accepted as a term defined on the basis of its etymological meaning. But since *kāraka* is derived by introducing *ṆvuL* denoting *kartṛ, kāraka* will refer to a thing which is the doer. Since all the other *kāraka* are also participants in an action, and since they are also all termed *kāraka,* they will all be treated as *kartṛ.* This being the case, Pāṇini did not have to define the term *kartṛ* by rule 1.4.54 *svatantraḥ karttā.* The words *kāraka* and *kartṛ* will become synonymous. Further proposals have been made in the *Mahābhāṣya* to resolve this difficulty. *(Mbh.* I: 242-43: *...pratikārakaṃ kriyābhedāt. pacādīnāṃ hi pratikārakaṃ kriyā bhidyate....)*

An action may be viewed as a composite of several actions. For example, the action of cooking denoted by verbal root *pac* underlies such actions as arranging the fire with the firewood, putting the pot on the stove, placing the rice in the pot, stirring the rice and finally softening *(viklitti)* the rice. (See *Mbh.* I: 242-43: *adhiśrayaṇodakaśecana taṇḍulāvapanaidhopakarṣaṇādi-kriyāḥ kurvann eva devadattaḥ pacatīty ucyate. tatra tadā paci vartate....*)

A *kāraka* can be viewed as *svatantrakartṛ* 'independent agent' with reference to its own action. It can be termed *apādāna,* etc., with reference to the principal action. Thus, a pot *(sthālī),* because of its capacity to contain rice on a stove, can be viewed as *kartṛ.* When a speaker wishes to highlight this status of the pot, he uses it as the *kartṛ.* In this case, of course, the principal agent such as Devadatta of

(*c*) *devadattaḥ sthālyām odanaṃ pacati* 'Devadatta is cooking the rice in the pot'

is not used. As a result, we get:

(*d*) *sthālī pacati* 'the pot is cooking'

This explanation, however, also runs into difficulty, since of the six *kāraka* only *karman, karaṇa* and *adhikaraṇa* can be seen as *kartṛ*. Should we accept *vivakṣā* as a reason for the lack of *kartṛ* status of *apādāna* and *sampradāna*? The answer seems to be in the affirmative.

We shall now return to the third, 'qualifier' view. According to this view, *kārake* is treated as an *adhikāra* to restrict the application of the word *kāraka* only to the six categories of *apādāna, sampradāna, karaṇa, adhikaraṇa, karman,* and *kartṛ*. The locative will then be interpreted as that of specification (*nirdhāraṇa*). However, since the question of *nirdhāraṇa* arises only when one has to specify a single entity from among many, the singular in *kārake* should be treated as denoting *jāti* 'class'. Thus, *kārake* will be equivalent to *karakeṣu* 'among the *kāraka*'. (See *PM* ad *Kāś.* I: 531: *viśeṣaṇādhikāre tu: kārakeṣu madhye yad apāye dhruvaṃ kārakam ity artho labhyate, nirdhāraṇasya sajātīyaviṣayatvād iti....*) Rule 1.4.24 will then be interpreted as follows:

> *kārake (ṣu madhye) yad dhruvaṃ kārakaṃ tad apādānasaṃjñaṃ bhavaty apāye sādhye* 'that *kāraka* which among many is *dhruva* when movement away is to be accomplished is termed *apādāna*'

This interpretation still subscribes to the idea that *kāraka* denotes its etymological meaning, *kartṛ*. It is suggested that this difficulty can be removed by treating an action as a composite of several actions. Most of the interpretation problems entailed by 1.4.23 stem from the locative in *kārake*. The qualifier interpretation is preferable because it does not propose to interpret locative as nominative, nor does it resort to rule-splitting (*yogavibhāga*).

A *nirdhāraṇa* interpretation, accepted with the understanding that *kāraka* in *kārake* signifies cause (*nimitta*), would also block the assignment of a *kāraka* term to something which is not a *kāraka*. This will be made possible because *nirdhāraṇa* only obtains where similar entities are understood. A *kāraka* will not be similar to a non-*kāraka* for purposes of *nirdhāraṇa*. Consider, for example, the sentence

(*e*) *naṭasya gāthāṃ śṛṇoti* 'he is listening to the *gāthā* of the actor'.

According to the split interpretation discussed above (p. 227), *naṭa* can be considered as a *kāraka* because it is a *dhruva* 'fixed point' with reference to which *apāya* 'removal, movement away' of the *gāthā* occurs. Later on, it will be termed *apādāna*. However, the sentence will then have to be *naṭād gāthāṃ śṛṇoti*, rather than *naṭasya gāthāṃ śṛṇoti*. In order to derive *naṭasya gāthāṃ śṛṇoti, naṭa* must not be assigned the term *kāraka* through the split interpretation. If we accept the *nirdhāraṇa* interpretation, *naṭa* will be

termed *apādāna,* and, since *nirdhāraṇa* obtains between similar things, *naṭa,* when not perceived as a cause with reference to an action, will not get the designation *kāraka.* This will facilitate the derivation of both *naṭasya* (non-*kāraka*) as well as *naṭāt (kāraka).* Furthermore, in the *nirdhāraṇa* interpretation, *kāraka* will refer only to the six *kārakas* and not to any non-*kāraka.*

Rules of the *kāraka* domain have been constrained by rules 1.4.1 *ā kaḍārād ekā saṃjñā* and 1.4.2 *vipratiṣedhe paraṃ kāryam.* These rules state that only one term per nominatum *(saṃjñin)* should be assigned. A conflict between two terms is to be resolved in favour of the term introduced by the subsequent rule. It should be noted here that resolving conflicts between two terms is not solely the function of rule 1.4.2. Indeed, some conflicts related to the assignment of terms from this *ekasaṃjñā* domain cannot be solved by 1.4.2. This rule resolves conflicts only between two terms which are both *sāvakāśa* 'with scope of application'. (See *Mbh* I: 204: *dvau prasaṅgau yadānyārthau bhavata ekasmiṃś ca yugapat prāpnutaḥ....)* Conflicts between two terms of this domain where one term is *sāvakāśa* and the other *niravakāśa* without any scope of application elsewhere' are resolved on the basis of *niravakāśatva* under the requirements of 1.4.1 *ā kaḍārād....*

Consider the following sentences:

(*f*) *krūrāya krudhyati* 'he is angry with the cruel one'
(*g*) *krūram ahikrudhyati* 'id.'
(*h*) *gehaṃ praviśati* 'he is entering the house'
(*i*) **gehe praviśati* 'id.'

The word *krūra* 'cruel' in (*f*) is used with *caturthī* 'fourth triplet on nominal ending' to express *sampradāna* (2.3.13 *caturthī sampradāne*); but, in (*g*), it is used with *dvitīyā* 'second triplet of nominal ending' to express *karman* (2.3.2 *karmaṇi dvitīyā*). In (*f*), *krūra* is assigned *sampradāna* since it is identified as one towards whom anger is directed (1.4.37 *krudha... yaṃ prati kopaḥ).* It is assigned *karman* in (*g*) because there *krudh* 'to be angry' is used with the preverb *abhi* (1.4.38 *krudradruhor upasṛṣṭayoḥ karma*). Now, 1.4.37 is *sāvakāśa* as it may apply to sentences where *krudh* is used without a preverb; but 1.4.38 will be redundant if it does not apply in situations where *krudh* is used with a preverb. As a consequence, 1.4.38 blocks 1.4.37 and assigns *karman* uniquely to *krūra.* Remember that this conflict, because of the *niravakāśatva* of 1.4.38, cannot be resolved on the basis of *paratva* mentioned in 1.4.2.

Sentences (*h*) and (*i*) illustrate a conflict between two terms, *adhikaraṇa* and *karman,* resolved on the basis of *paratva* and *sāvakāśatva.* These sentences use *geha* 'house' in *dvitīyā* and *saptamī* 'seventh triplet of nominal ending' (2.3.36 *saptamy adhikaraṇe....*) respectively, to express *karman* (1.4.46 *adhiśīṇsthāsāṃ karma*) and *adhikaraṇa* (1.4.44 *ādhāro' dhikaraṇam*). Sentence (*i*) is ungrammatical because *geha* cannot be termed locus

(*adhikaraṇa*), and hence *saptamī* cannot be introduced to express it. This does not mean that a conflict between rules 1.4.44 and 1.4.46 does not arise. Both *karman* and *adhikaraṇa* are terms which are *sāvakāśa* elsewhere. They are equally applicable to *geha* in (*h*). Rule 1.4.2 is invoked to resolve the conflict in favour of *karman* introduced by rule 1.4.46, which is subsequent to 1.4.44.

The notion of *paratva* requires that the *kāraka* rules be arranged in a sequence most conducive to resolving conflicts. Pāṇini enumerates the six *kāraka* terms in the order of *apādāna, sampradāna, karaṇa, adhikaraṇa, karman,* and *kartṛ*. One can assume that *kartṛ* will prevail in conflicts over the assignment of the other *kāraka* terms. Similarly, *karman* will prevail over all the other *kāraka* besides *kartṛ*. The relative strength of the other *kāraka* can also be determined. However, one should not overplay this relative strength, as there may be conflicts entailing *niravakāśatva* which may also be resolved in favour of a rule which may be subsequent.

1.4.24 **ध्रुवमपायेऽपादानम्**

dhruvam apāye' pādānam
/dhruvam 1/1 *apāye* 7/1 *apādānam* 1/1/
(*kārake* # 23)
dhruvaṃ yad apāyayuktam apāye sādhye yad avadhibhūtaṃ kārakaṃ tat kārakam apādānasaṃjñaṃ bhavati
A *kāraka* which serves as a fixed point of reference when movement away is denoted is termed *apādāna* 'ablative'.

EXAMPLES:

grāmād āgacchati 'he is coming from the village'
parvatād avarohati 'he is climbing down the mountain'
sārthād hīnaḥ 'separated from the caravan'
rathāt patitaḥ 'fallen from the chariot'

1. The word *dhruva* literally means fixed. If one sticks to this interpretation, an entity which is moving cannot be termed *apādāna*. Thus a sentence such as *dhāvato'śvāt patati* 'he falls from the running horse' where *aśva* 'horse' takes *pañcamī* 'fifth or ablative ending' because of its being termed *apādāna* would not be possible. It is for this reason that *dhruva* is treated here as signifying *avadhi* 'limit or point of reference'. The *avadhi* meaning of *dhruva* is justified because of its association (*sāhacarya*) with *apāya* 'movement away'. Thus, with reference to *apāya*, that which is *dhruva* if not interpreted as 'fixed', can only be interpreted as *avadhi*. However, since *avadhi* which, in turn, is termed *apādāna* is determined on the basis of its connection with *apāya*, that which is not *avadhi* can also be termed *apādāna* if it is connected with *apāya*. Hence an entity which serves as a reference

point (horse) as well as that which moves away (the person who falls from the horse) both may qualify for the term *apādāna*. Actually the locative in *apāye* will have to be interpreted as *viṣayasaptamī* whereby *apāya* will become *sādhya* 'the objective'. As a consequence, only that entity is termed *apādāna* which serves as a point of reference (*avadhi*) when action to be denoted is *apāya*.

2. It is generally understood that movement away or separation (*viśleṣa*) occurs with reference to an understanding of previous non-separation (*saṃśleṣa*). Thus in a sentence such as *vṛkṣāt parṇaṃ patati* 'the leaf falls from the tree', *parṇa* 'leaf' which moves away from the tree is understood to be previously non-separated. If this is to be the condition for the assignment of the term *apādāna*, it cannot be assigned in cases where there has been no prior non-separation or, literally speaking, there is no physical movement away. Consider the sentence *pāpāj jugupsate* 'he turns away from sin', where there may not have been prior contact with *pāpa* 'sin,' and also where there may not be physical turning away. Commentators explain that even mental association and turning away can justify the assignment of the term *apādāna* (see *Mbh: na hi kāyasaṃprāptipūrvaka evāpāyo bhavati; kiṃ tarhi; cittasaṃprāptipūrvako'pi bhavati*). Commentators also explain that two entities serving at the same time as a reference point in *apāya* can also be termed *apādāna*. Consider *parasparān meṣāv apasarataḥ* 'two rams are moving away from each other'. Here one ram becomes the *avadhi* with reference to movement away of the other.

3. Bhartṛhari (3, II: 329) has classified *apādāna* into three types:
   (*i*) *nirdiṣṭaviṣaya*, where movement away is explicit in the action,
   (*ii*) *upāttaviṣaya*, where movement away is implicitly assumed, and
   (*iii*) *apekṣitakriya*, where a root signifying *apāya* is not mentioned (cf. verbal root *ā-gam* 'to come' in (c).)

Thus we get sentences such as
   (*a*) *grāmād āgacchati* 'he is coming from the village'
   (*b*) *pāpāj jugupsate* 'he is turning away from sin'
   (*c*) *kuto bhavān* 'where do you come from?'
   pāṭaliputrāt 'from Pāṭaliputra'

SCOPE: 2.3.28 *apādāne pañcamī*

1.4.25. **भीत्रार्थानां भयहेतुः**

bhītrārthānāṃ bhayahetuḥ

/bhītrārthānām 6/3 = *bhīś ca trāś ca = bhītrau (itar. dv.); bhītrau arthau yeṣām* (*bv.* with internal *dv.*); *bhayahetuḥ* 1/1 = *bhayasya hetuḥ (ṣaṣ tat.)/*

(apādānam # 24, *kārake* # 23)

bibhety arthānāṃ trāyaty arthānāṃ ca dhātūnāṃ prayoge bhayahetur yas tat kārakam apādānasaṃjñaṃ bhavati

A *kāraka* which serves as the source of fear when verbal roots having the signification of *bhī* 'to fear' and *trā* 'to protect' are used is termed *apādāna.*

EXAMPLES:

caurebhyo bibheti 'he fears thieves'
caurebhya udvijate 'he becomes agitated by fear of thieves'
caurebhyas trāyate 'he protects from thieves'
caurebhyo rakṣati 'id.'

1. Note that *bhayahetuḥ* 'source of fear' must be treated as a necessary condition in order for the entity to be assigned the term *apādāna.* In an example such as *araṇye bibheti* 'fears...in the forest', *araṇya* may qualify for the assignment of the term *apādāna* if *bhayahetuḥ* is not the condition. One may argue here that since the assignment of the term *adhikaraṇa* follows that of *apādāna* in order, 1.4.2 *vipratiṣedhe...* will automatically block the *apādāna* designation of *araṇya* and hence *bhayahetuḥ* should not be mentioned in the rule. Howevèr, consider *araṇyasya caurād vibhety araṇye* 'he fears the thief of the forest in the forest', where the residual *ṣaṣṭhī* (2.3.50 *ṣaṣṭhī śeṣe*) in the first *araṇya* may be blocked. If *bhayahetuḥ* is the condition, there will be no conflict between the locative and ablative of *araṇye vibheti,* and also the first *araṇya* of *araṇyasya caurād araṇye vibheti* will receive the *ṣaṣṭhī.*

2. Patañjali (II: 389) accepts mental turning away in this as well as other rules. As such, he thinks that 1.4.24 *dhruvam...* itself will account for the designation of the term *apādāna,* in both the present as well as the following rules. Consequently he considers these rules unnecessary.

1.4.26 **पराजेरसोढः**

parājer asoḍhaḥ
/parājeḥ 6/1 *asoḍhaḥ* 1/1 *(nañ. tat.)/*
(apādānam # 24, *kārake* # 23)
parāpūrvasya jayateḥ prayoge' soḍho yo' rthaḥ tat kārakam apādāna-saṃjñaṃ bhavati
A *kāraka* which serves as something unbearable when *ji* 'to win' is used with the preverb *parā* is termed *apādāna.*

EXAMPLE:

adhyayanāt parājayate 'he is overcome by studies'

1. Note that *parāji* 'to be weary' is intended here as intransitive. That the transitive meaning 'to overcome, defeat' is not intended is clear from the use of *asoḍha* 'that which is unbearable'. It is because of its association with *asoḍha* that *parāji* means 'to be weary'. Note also that since *kta* in *asoḍha* has no past signification, *asoḍha* is glossed as *asahya* 'unbearable'. This also

clears the way for sentences such as *adhyayanāt parājeṣyate* 'he will become weary of studying'.

2. The *pañcamī* ruled after *adhyayana* here, as well as after *caura*, and so on, in the previous rule, is an exception to *tṛtīyā* which may have been ruled by 2.3.23 *hetau* upon the strength of *adhyayana* and *caura* being *hetu* 'reason, cause'.

3. Note that *Kāśikā*, while justifying the use of the word *asoḍha* in the rule, offers *śatrūn parājayate* 'he defeats (his) enemies' as a counter-example. This is not a proper counter-example since the root referred to by this rule is meant to be intransitive, while the one used in the counter-example is transitive. The present rule implies that, in the absence of *asoḍha*, *ṣaṣṭhī* would obtain by 2.3.50 when the root is used transitively. The counter-example has the transitive verb and hence *śatru* would be placed with *dvitīyā* anyway (see *PM* ad *Kāś.* I: 540).

1.4.27 **वारणार्थानामीप्सितः**

vāraṇārthānām īpsitaḥ

/vāraṇārthānām 6/3 *=vāraṇam arthaṃ yeṣām (bv.); īpsitaḥ* 1/1/

(*apādānam* # 24, *kārake* # 23)

vāraṇārthānāṃ dhātūnāṃ prayoge ya īpsito' rthaḥ tat kārakam apādāna-saṃjñaṃ bhavati

A *kāraka* which serves as something desired when verbal roots having the signification *vāraṇa* 'warding off' are used is termed *apādāna*.

EXAMPLES:

yavebhyo gā vārayati 'he is warding off the cows from the barley field'
yavebhyo gā nivarttayati 'he has the cows warded off from the barley field'

1. *Kāśikā* (I: 540) glosses *vāraṇa* as *pravṛttivighāta* 'obstructing someone from advancing'. The cow in the above examples is the one perceived as advancing towards the barley *(yava)* which is *īpsita* 'desired'. A question may arise here concerning *īpsita;* one may ask, 'desired by whom?' The barley is desired by the cow. It is also desired, since it is to be protected from the advancing cow, by the person who obstructs the cow's advancement. The cow here is the object of *vāraṇa* while the person who puts the obstruction is its agent. The examples make it clear that it is the *īpsita* with reference to the agent which is intended to be assigned the term *apādāna*.

Kāśikā offers the counter-example *yavebhyo gā vārayati kṣetre* 'he is warding the cows off the barley in the field' to explain why *īpsita* is required in 1.4.27. Here, *kṣetra* 'field' is put in the locative to denote *adhikaraṇa* because it is not *īpsita*. Why can cows not be termed *apādāna* here? That would create a conflict between the terms *karman* and *apadāna*. One can

argue against this conflict by saying that what can be termed *karman* should be 'most desired'. The cows of the counter-example may not be that. This argument may not hold, however, since what is 'most desired' is also desired, just as what is 'most white' is also white. The conflict does obtain, but since the rule which assigns the term *karman* is subsequent, cows are termed *karman.*

1.4.28· **अन्तर्द्धौ येनादर्शनमिच्छति**

antarddhau yenādarśanam icchati
/antarddhau 7/1 *yena* 3/1 *adarśanam* 1/1 *icchati* (a *tiṄ* form)/
(*apādānam* # 24, *kārake* # 23)
antarddhinimittaṃ yenādarśanam ātmānam icchati tat kārakam apā dānasaṃjñaṃ bhavati
A *kāraka* which serves as he by whom one wishes not to be seen is termed *apādāna* when *antarddhi* 'hiding' is denoted.

EXAMPLES:

upādhyayād antarddhatte 'he is hiding from the teacher'
upādhyān nilīyate 'id.'

1. The word *yena,* instrumental singular of *yad* 'that', and *antarddhau,* locative singular of *antarddhi,* need some explanation. First of all, *yena* should perhaps be *yasya,* a form of *yad* in the genitive, because *yad* is being used with *adarśana* 'non-appearance', a form ending in *kṛt.* Rule 2.3.65 *kartṛkarmaṇoḥ kṛti* requires genitive to be introduced after a base to denote *kartṛ* or *karman,* when that base is used in construction with a form ending in a *kṛt* affix. Thus, *yena adarśanam* should have been *yasya adarśanam.*

Nyāsa (ad *Kāś.* I: 542-43) explains it differently. It does not accept that *yena* should have been *yasya.* It argues that *yena* denotes the agent of *iṣ,* and is used with *adarśanam,* a form ending in *kṛt,* in addition to *ātmanaḥ,* a form ending in genitive and denoting the object of *dṛś* 'to see'. That is, for purposes of the application of rule 2.3.65 *kartṛkarmaṇoḥ kṛti* in the context of *yenādarśanam, ātmanaḥ* has to be treated as used along with *yena.* Given this, the genitive of *ātmanaḥ* will be denoting the object, and will be introduced not by 2.3.65 but by 2.3.66 *ubhayaprāptau karmaṇi.* This rule introduces genitive to denote the *karman* when both the *kartṛ* and *karman* are used with a form ending in a *kṛt* affix. If one accepts *Nyāsa*'s explanation, *yena* will not have to be changed to its genitive counterpart *yasya.* Furthermore, a sentence such as

(*a*) *upādhyayād antarddhatte* 'he is hiding from his teacher'
can be paraphrased as
(*b*) *upādhyayena karttā śiṣya ātmanaḥ karmabhūtasya adarśanam icchati* 'the student, namely, the agent, wishes his self, that is, the object, not to be seen by the teacher'.

Nāgeśa (Joshi, 1975: 88-89) criticizes *Nyāsa* and says that the genitive is used to denote *karman* alone when both the agent as well as the object are used in a sentence, provided of course, that they are used in a construction with a form ending in a *kṛt* affix. Since Pāṇini does not explicitly use *ātmanaḥ, yena* has to be treated as incorrect. But then again, since Pāṇini uses this instrumental in place of the genitive, he must have some reason for it. Once this is accepted, no further justification is needed. The usage is *sautra* 'peculiar to a rule in the grammar'.

Haradatta seems to be in agreement with Jinendrabuddhi. He is not bothered by the fact that *ātmanaḥ* has not been given explicitly. He argues that given *yenādarśanam icchati,* if one asks *kasyādarśanam icchati* 'whose non-appearance does he wish for?', the answer would definitely be *ātmanaḥ* 'his own'. Therefore, Haradatta does not think that *yena* should be *yasya (PM* ad *Kāś.* I: 541: *nānv ātmane iti na śruyote, mā śrāvi; yenādarśanam icchatīty ukte kasyety apekṣāyām ātmana iti gamyate...).*

There is also some disagreement on the nature of *saptamī* in *antarddhi. Kāśikā* interprets it as being *nimittasaptamī* 'locative denoting cause or purpose'. Haradatta (*PM* ad *Kāś.* I: 541) opposes the *nimitta* interpretation. He is in favour of interpreting the *saptamī* as that of a domain (*viṣaya*), or as a locative absolute *(sati). Kāśikā* and *Nyāsa* understand this *saptamī* to have been introduced after a base denoting *nimitta* used in connection with an item denoting *karman (nimittāt karmasaṃyoge).* Of course, this refers to *vt.* VI: *nimittāt karmasaṃyoge* on 2.3.36 *saptamy adhikaraṇe ca.* Haradatta takes these sentences as illustrations:

(*c*) *vetanena dhānyaṃ lunāti* 'he is harvesting (as a worker) the paddy because of wages'
(*d*) *jāḍyena baddhaḥ* 'he got imprisoned on account of his foolishness'
(*e*) *carmaṇi dvīpinaṃ hanti* 'they kill the tiger for hide'

These sentences have *nimitta* 'cause' and *prayojana* 'purpose' as their denotatum. Haradatta contrasts them with

(*f*) *antarddhau yena adarśanam icchati* 'he by whom one wishes not to be seen when hiding'

and finds that the relationship between the cause and object, and so on, differs between (*c-e*) on the one hand and (*f*) on the other. For example, Haradatta argues that there is a relationship between the object (*dhānya*) and cause (*vetana*) in (*c*) which does not obtain between the object of *iṣ* 'to wish' (that is, *adarśanam*), and *antarddhi* 'hiding' in (*f*). One can, however, find a connection between the object of *adarśana,* namely, *ātmanaḥ,* and *antarddhi* in this sentence. It is the same person whose *adarśana* and *antarddhāna* is being talked about. For this, and similar reasons, Haradatta

concludes that the *saptamī* here should be interpreted as denoting domain, or else, locative absolute.

1.4.29 **आख्यातोपयोगे**

ākhyātopayoge

/ākhyātā 1/1 *upayoge* 7/1/

(*apādāna* # 24, *kārake* # 23)

upayoge sādhye ya ākhyātā tat kārakam apādānasaṃjñaṃ bhavati

A *kāraka* which serves as he who relates is termed *apādāna* when regular instruction is denoted.

EXAMPLES:

upādhyāyād adhīte 'he receives instruction from the teacher'

upādhyāyād āgamayati 'id.'

1. The word *ākhyātā* has been glossed by *Kāśikā* as *pratipādayitā* 'instructor, relator, demonstrator'. *Kāśikā* glosses *upayoga* as *niyamapūrvakaṃ vidyādhyayanam* 'receiving regular instruction while observing rules of conduct'. My expression 'rules of conduct' refers to certain ritual, or non-ritual, requirements which a student must fulfil if he is to regularly receive instruction from his teacher. Thus, in the first example above, *upādhyāya* may be termed *apādāna* when instruction occurs in compliance with ritual and non-ritual requirements. A counter-example would be

(*a*) *naṭasya gāthāṃ śṛṇoti* 'he is hearing the story from the dancer'

where *naṭa,* the relator, cannot be termed *apādāna* because *upayoga* is lacking. This, however, still does not rule out the possibility of a sentence such as

(*b*) *naṭād gāthāṃ śṛṇoti* 'id.'

where one may argue that the term *apādāna* should be assigned to *naṭa* either under the condition of *upayoga,* if met, or of *apāva* if denoted (1.4.24 *dhruvam apāye' pādānam*).

Note that Patañjali also rejects this rule on the grounds that, when the teacher imparts knowledge, he serves as the point from whence the movement away of knowledge takes place. This therefore becomes a case of *apāya* clearly falling within the range of 1.4.24 *dhruvam....*

1.4.30 **जनिकर्तुः प्रकृतिः**

janikarttuḥ prakṛtiḥ

/janikarttuḥ 6/1 = *janeḥ karttā (ṣaṣ. tat.); tasya = janikarttuḥ; prakṛtiḥ* 1/1/

(*apādānam* # 24, *kārake* # 23)

janeḥ karttur yā prakṛtiḥ tat kārakam apādānasaṃjñaṃ bhavati

A kāraka which serves as the material cause from which the agent of *jan* 'to come into being' arises is termed *apādāna.*

EXAMPLES:

śṛṅgāc charo jāyate 'an arrow comes into being (is made) from horn'
gomayād vṛściko jāyate 'a scorpion comes into being (is born) from cow-dung'

1. The words *janikarttuḥ* 'agent of the action denoted by the verbal root *jan* 'to be born' and *prakṛtiḥ* '(material) cause' need some explanation, especially as they relate to the assignment of the term *apādāna*. The *Kāśikā* paraphrases *janikarttuḥ* as *janeḥ karttā, tasya* = *janikarttuḥ* 'the agent of *jan*, of his = namely, of the agent of *jan*'. The agent of *jan* would then be the person coming into existence (*jāyamāna*). The question is, how could this compound formation be allowed? Rule 2.2.15 *tṛjakābhyāṃ karttari ca* rejects such a formation. That is, it does not permit a compound formation between a *pada* ending in genitive with the denotatum of agent, and another *pada* ending in a *kṛt* affix. The underlying string of elements from whence *janikarttṛ* derives is: *jani* + *Ṅas* + *kartṛ* + *sU*. To remove this difficulty, *janikarttuḥ* is interpreted as *jāyamānasya karttuḥ* 'the agent of the one who is being born'. In this way, compound formation will take place with a *pada* ending in genitive but not denoting *kartṛ*. Instead, the genitive will be denoting a non-*kāraka* relationship. This interpretation will take the compound out of the scope of 2.2.15. Haradatta (*Kāś*. I: 543) does not accept this. He considers *janikarttā* a compound formed from *jani* + *Ṅas* and *kartṛ* + *sU*, where the genitive denotes *karman* 'object'. This compound formation, when allowed, itself indicates that the prohibition laid down by 2.2.15 is *anitya* 'non-obligatory'.

The word *prakṛti* has been interpreted as the *kāraṇa* 'cause' which, in turn, is twofold: *upādāna* and *sahakārī*. A cause which is stated to be present in the effect is *upādāna*, as *mṛtpiṇḍa* 'lump of clay' in a *ghaṭa* 'jar'. A cause which is not stated to be present in the effect, but is associated with it, is *sahakārī* 'associated, accompanying' as in the second of the above examples, *gomayād vṛściko jāyate* 'a scorpion comes into being (is born) from cow-dung'.

Jinendrabuddhi considers *prakṛti* to mean *kāraṇa* in general, and not just the *upādāna* 'material cause'. He argues that *kāraṇa*, which has been indicated in this rule by the use of the word *prakṛti*, could have been indicated even without using *prakṛti*. How? By carrying *dhruvam* from 1.4.24 to indicate *avadhi* 'limit'. There is nothing but *kāraṇa* 'cause' which could thus qualify to be the *avadhi* for the agent of *jani* 'to be born'. After all, it is the cause which brings about the effect. Thus, the rule should have just been *janikarttuḥ dhruvam apādānam*, where *dhruvam* and *apādānam* would have been carried by *anuvṛtti*. But Pāṇini instead uses *prakṛti*. This, then, indicates that the cause could be a general cause. This way, *putrāt pramodo jāyate* 'a son brings happiness' could be interpreted as implying 'happiness

caused by a son'. As a result, *putra*, a cause (though not of the *upādāna* type), will qualify as *kāraṇa*.

Patañjali rejects this rule also. He suggests that 1.4.24 is able to handle what is intended by this rule.

1.4.31 भुवः प्रभवः

bhuvaḥ prabhavaḥ
/bhuvaḥ 6/1 *prabhavaḥ* 1/1/
(*kartuḥ* # 30, *apādānam* # 24, *kārake* # 23)
bhūkartuḥ prabhavo yas tat kārakam apādānasaṃjñaṃ bhavati
A *kāraka* which serves as the place of origin for the agent of *bhū* 'to be, become' is termed *apādāna*.

EXAMPLE:

himavato gaṅgā prabhavati 'Gaṅgā appears in the Himālaya'

1. The word *bhū* of *bhuvaḥ* is interpreted as *bhavana* 'first appearance'. The *karttuḥ of janikarttuḥ* is marked with *svarita* so that it could be carried by *anuvṛtti*. Thus, *bhuvaḥ karttuḥ prabhavaḥ* would mean 'the place where the agent of the action of appearing is sighted first'. This place is then termed *apādāna*. The *himavat* of *himavato gaṅgā prabhavati* 'the Gaṅgā first appears in the Himālaya' is in the ablative. If *himālaya* was the place of origin for the Gaṅgā, *apādāna* could have been accounted for by 1.4.30. But the tradition does not believe in the Himālayan origin of the Gaṅgā. The scope of the two rules, therefore, differs. The preceding rule assigns the term *apādāna* to the agent coming into existence, while this rule concerns the first appearance of the agent of an action already brought into existence.

1.4.32 कर्मणा यमभिप्रैति स सम्प्रदानम्

karmaṇā yam abhipraiti sa sampradānam
/karmaṇā 3/1 *yam* 2/1 *abhipraiti* (a *tiṄ* form) *saḥ* 1/1 *sampradānam* 1/1/
(*kārake* # 23)
karmaṇā karaṇabhūtena karttā yam abhipraiti tat kārakaṃ sampradānasaṃjñaṃ bhavati
A *kāraka* which serves as someone whom the agent intends as goal of the object of his action is termed *sampradāna*.

EXAMPLES:

upādhyāyāya gāṃ dadāti 'he gives a cow to the teacher'
māṇavakāya bhikṣāṃ dadāti 'he gives alms to the boy'

1. The word *sampradāna* can be interpreted as denoting its etymological sense: *samyak pradīyate asmai* 'he to whom something is properly given'.

That is, a participant in an action denoted by *sam-pra-dā,* whom the agent approaches by means of an object (gift). Thus in the first example, *upādhyāyāya gāṃ dadāti* 'he gives a cow to the teacher', the teacher is assigned the term *sampradāna* because he is the one whom the agent of *sampradā* approaches by means of the object 'cow'. The expression *karmaṇā* is interpreted as *sampradānasya karmaṇā* 'by means of the object of *sampradā*'. This is made possible by interpeting the term *sampradāna* in its etymological sense as stated above.

Why do we have to interpret this term as denoting its etymological meaning? This is because of the very fact that Pāṇini uses such a long term (*mahatī saṃjñā*). It is his practice to let long terms denote their etymological meaning (*anvartha*). Note that *dāna* 'gift', when made properly, entails one's own ownership (*sattva*), but also the acceptance of the ownership of the person approached. Thus, when the student approaches the teacher by means of the object of giving, namely the cow, he is releasing his ownership of the cow and accepting its ownership by the teacher. The assignment of the term *sampradāna,* following its etymological meaning, must follow this restriction about ownership. Otherwise, in

(*a*) *rajakasya vastraṃ dadāti* 'he is giving clothes to the washerman',

rajaka 'washerman' may qualify for the term *sampradāna.* Of course, if someone wants to give his clothes to the washerman for good, and for the use of the washerman, the washerman can be termed *sampradāna.* That would give us the sentence:

(*b*) *rajakāya vastraṃ dadāti.*

Patañjali (II: 402), however, does not emphasize the etymological sense of *sampradāna.*

In a sentence such as

(*c*) *rajakasya vastraṃ dadāti,*

the sense of *dā* will be *adhīnīkaraṇa* 'making someone subservient'. Thus, the washerman who did not have the clothes in his charge, gets them to keep in his charge until such time as he washes and returns them. The *ṣaṣṭhī* 'genitive' will naturally be introduced when the intent is to express this residual (*śeṣa*) relationship. Bhartṛhari (*VP* 3, II: 313) identifies three types of *sampradāna,* which I illustrate with the following sentences:

(*d*) *sūryāya arghyaṃ dadāti* 'he is offering ritual water to the Sun'

(*e*) *yācitaḥ viprāya gāṃ dadāti* 'when requested, he is giving a cow to the brāhmaṇa'

(*f*) *upādhyāyāya gāṃ dadāti* 'he is giving a cow to the teacher'

2. The above difference in the types of *sampradāna* is made on the basis of whether or not an act of approval (*anumati*), disapproval (*nirākaraṇa*), or instigation (*preraṇa*) is involved on the part of the person who is approached, by the agent, and by means of the object of giving. Thus, the Sun (*sūrya*) in (*d*) does not approve, disapprove, or inspire someone to

offer the ritual water *(arghya)*. The brāhmaṇa of sentence *(e)* does inspire someone to make him a gift of a cow. By doing this, the brāhmaṇa also indicates his willingness to accept the gift. As opposed to this, the teacher of *(f)* is understood not only to have not inspired the student to make a gift of the cow, but also to have not indicated his approval or disapproval of the gift.

SCOPE: 2.3.13 *caturthī sampradāne*

1.4.33 **रुच्यर्थानां प्रीयमाणः**

rucyarthānāṃ prīyamāṇaḥ
/rucyarthānām 6/3 = *rucir artho yeṣām (bv.); prīyamāṇaḥ* 1/1/
(sampradānam # 32, *kārake* # 23)
rucyarthānāṃ dhātūnāṃ prayoge prīyamāṇo yo' rthas tat kārakaṃ sampradānasaṃjñaṃ bhavati
A *kāraka* which serves as one who is pleased when verbal roots having the signification of *ruc* 'please' are used is termed *sampradāna.*

EXAMPLES:

devadattāya rocate modakaḥ 'Devadatta likes sweetballs'
yajñadattāya svadate' pūpaḥ 'Yajñadatta likes sweetcakes'

1. This rule assigns the term *sampradāna* to a participant in an action who is pleased, when the action is denoted by a verbal root having the signification of *ruc* 'to please'. Note that *ruc* can have two meanings: 'to please' (*abhiprīti*); and 'to shine' (*dīpti*). It is because of the association of *prīyamāṇaḥ* 'he who is being pleased' that *ruc* is accepted here having the sense 'to please'. This interpretation means that a sentence such as

(*a*) *vyomny ādityo rocate* 'the sun shines in the sky' does not come under the scope of this rule.

The following two derivations are given to explain *prīyamāṇaḥ:*

(*i*) It is derived from *prīÑ* + *ŚānaC,* where the root is taken from the *kryādi* class with the meaning of *tarpaṇa* 'to be satisfied', and affix *ŚānaC* (3.2.124 *laṭaḥ śatṛśānacāv....*) is used to denote *karman* 'object'. This gives the meaning of 'he who is being pleased...'.

(*ii*) It is derived by introducing affix *ŚānaN* (3.2.128 *pūṅyajoḥ śāṇan*) after the verbal root *prī* 'to please' of the *divādi* class, where affix *ŚānaN* denotes *kartṛ*. This will give the meaning of 'he who pleases'.

The first interpretation is the one most generally accepted.

For the implications of the word *prīyamāṇaḥ,* and the action denoted by *ruc,* consider these sentences:

(*b*) *devadattāya rocate modakaḥ* 'Devadatta likes sweetballs'

(*c*) *devadattaḥ prīyate* 'Devadatta is being pleased'

(*d*) *modakā devadattaṃ prīṇayanti* 'the sweetballs are pleasing Devadatta'
(*e*) *devadattasya prīter viṣayo bhavati modakaḥ* 'the sweetball becomes the locus of Devadatta's pleasure'

Sentence (*b*) illustrates the assignment of the term *sampradāna* to Devadatta by rule 1.4.32. Sentence (*c*) shows the passive meaning of *prīyamāṇaḥ* by putting the object in the nominative and the verb in the passive. Sentence (*d*) can be accepted as the active counterpart of (*c*), where the object of pleasing (Devadatta) is put in the accusative. Obviously, the agents (in this case *modaka* 'sweetballs') are performing the act of pleasing Devadatta. Sentence (*e*) demonstrates how Devadatta can be viewed as the locus *(ādhāra)* or the domain *(viṣaya)* of pleasure *(prīti)*.

There are several inferences to be drawn from the relata expressed by these sentences. For example, the denotatum of *ruc* underlies desire *(icchā)*. The agent of this desire could be *modaka* 'sweetballs'. Devadatta could be viewed as either the locus, the domain or the object of the action denoted by *ruc*. In this way, Devadatta could also qualify for the term *karman* 'object' or *adhikaraṇa* 'locus'. The present rule therefore blocks the assignment of the terms *karman* and *adhikaraṇa* in favour of *sampradāna*.

Remember that Devadatta's pleasure could also be seen as entailing the residual (*śeṣa*) relationship denoted by genitive (*ṣaṣṭhī*) introduced by 2.3.50 *ṣaṣṭhī śeṣe*. Additionally, because of an inherent relationship (*samavāyasambandha*) between pleasing and *modaka,* which serves as the agent of such pleasing, the *icchā* could also be relatable to Devadatta, the locus. It is with this understanding that *Kāśikā* explains the word *ruci* as *anyakartṛko' bhilāṣaḥ* 'a desire whose agent is someone else'. In other words, *devadattasthābhilāṣasya modakaḥ karttā, 'modaka* is the agent of the desire whose locus is Devadatta'.

1.4.34 श्लाघह्नुङ्स्थाशपां ज्ञीप्स्यमानः

ślāghahnuṅsthāśapāṃ jñīpsyamānaḥ
/ślāghahnuṅsthāśapām 6/3 (*itar. dv.*); *jñīpsyamānaḥ* 1/1/
(*sampradānam* # 32, *kārake* # 23)
ślāgha-hnuṅ-sthā-śapa ity eteṣāṃ jñīpsyamāno yo' rthas tat kārakaṃ sampradānasaṃjñaṃ bhavati
A *kāraka* which serves as someone of whom one wishes to be aware when *ślāghÃ* 'to praise', *hnuÑ* 'to hide', *sthā* 'to stay', and *śapÃ* 'to swear' are used is termed *sampradāna.*

EXAMPLES:

devadattāya ślāghate 'he praises Devadatta'
devadattāya hnute 'he hides from Devadatta'
devadattāya tiṣṭhate 'he waits for Devadatta'
devadattāya śapate 'he curses Devadatta'

1. The word *jñīpsyamānaḥ* is generally derived by introducing affix *ŚānaC* (3.2.124 *laṭaḥ śatṛśānacāv...*) after the *saN* (3.1.7 *dhātoḥ karmaṇaḥ...*) derivate of the verbal root *jñā* 'to know', where *ŚānaC* denotes *karman* 'object'. The meaning of the word *jñīpsyamānaḥ* thus becomes *jñapayitum iṣyamāṇaḥ/bodhayitum iṣṭaḥ* 'he who is being wished to be informed'. This derivation of *jñīpsyamānaḥ* also makes it clear how what can be viewed as the *karman* of an action characterized by 'a desire to inform' becomes, under the provisions of this rule, *sampradāna*. Note that the agent of our example sentences above, which entail *ślāghā* 'praise', *hnuti* 'hiding', *prakāśana* 'revelation', and *śapana* 'cursing, swearing, scolding' must also wish this object turned *sampradāna* to know about these actions.

1.4.35 **धारेरुत्तमर्णः**

dhārer uttamarṇaḥ
/dhāreḥ 5/1 *uttamarṇaḥ* 1/1 = *ṛṇe uttamaḥ (sap. tat.)/*
(sampradānam # 32, *kārake* # 23)
dhārayateḥ prayoge uttamarṇo yo' rthas tat kārakaṃ sampradānasaṃjñaṃ bhavati
A *kāraka* which serves as creditor when *dhāri* 'owe' (causative of *dhṛÑ*) is used is termed *sampradāna*.

EXAMPLES:

devadattāya śataṃ dhārayati 'he owes Devadatta a hundred'
yajñadattāya śataṃ dhārayati 'he owes Yajñadatta a hundred'

1. This rule assigns the term *sampradāna* to a creditor when the action is denoted by the causative (*ṆiC*) form of verbal root *dhṛÑ* 'to hold'. The word *uttamarṇa* 'creditor' is treated as a *bahuvrīhi* compound with the analyzed form *uttamaṃ adhikatāprāptam ṛṇaṃ yasya* 'he whose money when lent on interest has increased'. As opposed to this, a person who borrows money on loan is called *adhamarṇa*.

1.4.36 **स्पृहेरीप्सितः**

spṛher īpsitaḥ
/spṛheḥ 5/1 *īpsitaḥ* 1/1
(sampradānam # 32, *kārake* # 23)
spṛher īpsito yo' rthas tat kārakaṃ sampradānasaṃjñaṃ bhavati
A *kāraka* which is *īpsita* 'desired' for the agent of an action denoted by *spṛhÃ* 'yearn after' is termed *sampradāna*.

EXAMPLES:

puṣpebhyaḥ spṛhayati 'he longs for flowers'
phalebhyaḥ spṛhayati 'he longs for fruits'

1. The root *spṛhĀ* can give two shades of meaning:
   (*i*) *icchāmātra* 'desire in general'; and
   (*ii*) *phalāvaccinnecchā* 'a desire qualified by its being fulfilled'. That is, a desire for a thing with a desire at the same time to also obtain it.

The following sentences illustrate the two meanings:

(*a*) *puṣpebhyaḥ spṛhayati* 'he likes flowers'

(*b*) *puṣpāṇi spṛhayati* 'he likes flowers, and also likes to obtain them'

Sentence (*a*) puts the desired flowers in the dative, as the interpretation is 'a desire in general'. Sentence (*b*) puts the same flowers in the accusative because the agent also wishes to obtain them.

The desired thing, in accordance with the second meaning, will be assigned the term *karman* 'object' by 1.4.49 *kartur īpsitatamaṃ karma*. That is, this rule assigns the term *sampradāna* only to a thing desired when the action is denoted by *spṛhĀ*. When the same thing is viewed as most desired (*īpsitatama*), the term *karman* is assigned. (See *PM* ad *Kāś.* I: 553: *īpsitamātre iyaṃ saṃjñā. prakarṣavivakṣāyāṃ tu paratvāt karmasaṃjñaiva bhavati... yadā tv īpsitam īpsitatamaṃ vā śeṣatvena vivakṣyate tadā ṣaṣṭhī bhavati.* 'This term is assigned only in the sense of *īpsita* 'desired thing'. The term *karman*, on account of its being subsequent (*paratvāt*), is assigned uniquely when the pre-eminence of the desired thing is wished to be denoted. When *īpsita* or *īpsitatama* are wished to be expressed by means of a residual (*śeṣa*) relatum, genitive (*ṣaṣṭhī*) is used'.

1.4.37 क्रुधद्रुहेर्ष्यासूयार्थानां यं प्रति कोपः

krudhadruherṣyāsūyārthānāṃ yaṃ prati kopaḥ

/krudhadruherṣyāsūyārthānām 6/3 = *krudhaś ca druhaś ca īrṣyaś ca asūyaś ca* = *krudhadruherṣyāsūyaḥ* (*itar. dv.*), *teṣāṃ arthāḥ* = *krudhadruherṣyāsūyārthāḥ, krudhadruherṣyāsūyārthānām iva artha yeṣām*(*bv.* with internal *dv.*); *yam* 2/1 *prati Ø kopaḥ* 1/1/

(*sampradānam* # 32, *kārake* # 23)

krudhādyarthānāṃ prayoge yaṃ prati kopas tat kārakaṃ sampradānasaṃjñaṃ bhavati

A *kāraka* which serves as one towards whom anger is directed when verbal roots having the signification of *krudhĀ* 'to be angry', *druhĀ* 'to wish harm to', *īrṣyĀ* 'not to tolerate', and *asūya* 'to invent fault' are used is termed *sampradāna.*

EXAMPLES:

devadattāya krudhyati 'he is angry at Devadatta'
devadattāya druhyati 'he wishes to harm Devadatta'
devadattāya īrṣyati 'he does not tolerate Devadatta'
devadattāyāsūyati 'he finds fault with Devadatta'

1. The roots have been used in the following senses:

krudhĀ = *amarṣaḥ* 'anger; to be angry'
druhĀ = *apakāraḥ* 'harm; to harm'
īrṣyĀ = *akṣama* 'intolerance; not to tolerate'
asūya = *guṇesu doṣāviṣkaraṇam* 'inventing faults in someone's qualities'.

A question is raised in the *Mahābhāṣya* (II: 403-4) whether the roots enumerated in this rule are synonymous (*ekārthāḥ*). If they are synonymous, then their separate enumeration is not required. If they are not synonymous, then they should not be qualified by the single condition of *yaṃ prati kopaḥ* 'he towards whom anger is directed'. The *Mahābhāṣya* observes that these verbs are not synonymous. But since *kopa* 'anger' is common to the meaning of all of them, Pāṇini employs a common qualifier for their usage. For a person does not harm another, or invent faults in another's qualities, unless he is angry. This makes anger (*kopa*) a preceding condition for the actions denoted by all the verbs included in this rule. This, however, does not go well with *krudh* because it, too, means anger. How could anger be considered as a preceding condition for anger? The *Mahābhāṣya* seems to be making a distinction in the meanings of *kopa* and *krodha*. Bālamanoramā (*SK*, I: 648) glosses *krodha* as *prarūḍhakopaḥ* 'excessive anger'.

Note that the provision of anger underlying all verbs restricts sentences such as *bhāryām īrṣyati* from assigning the term *sampradāna* to *bhāryā* 'wife'. For, though *īrṣya* is used, the man is not angry at his wife. Instead, he is angry at someone who is looking at his wife. This allows *bhāryā* to be assigned the term *karman*.

1.4.38 क्रुधद्रुहोरुपसृष्टयोः कर्म

krudhadruhor upasṛṣṭayoḥ karma
/krudhadruhoḥ 6/2 (*itar. dv.*); *upasṛṣṭayoḥ* 6/2 *karma* 1/1/
(*yaṃ prati kopaḥ* # 37, *sampradānam* # 32, *kārake* # 23)
krudhadruhor upasṛṣṭayor (upasargasambandhayor) yaṃ prati kopas tat kārakaṃ karmasaṃjñaṃ bhavati
A *kāraka* is termed *karman* 'object' when it serves as someone towards whom anger is directed when *krudhĀ*, *druhĀ* and *īrṣyĀ*, are used with a preverb.

EXAMPLES:

devadattam abhikrudhyati 'he is angry at Devadatta'
devadattam abhidruhyati 'he wishes to harm Devadatta'

1. This rule is an exception to the preceding one. It offers an adjustment in the assignment of the term *sampradāna* in favour of *karman* when two of the verbs enumerated in the preceding rule, namely, *krudhĀ* and

druhÃ, are used with a preverb. Thus, what was to be termed *sampradāna* is termed *karman* if, all else being equal, the action is denoted by *krudhÃ* and *druhÃ* used with a preverb. Incidentally, the word *upasṛṣṭa* is interpreted in the grammatical parlance as meaning *sopasarga* 'with preverb'.

1.4.39 **राधीक्ष्योर्यस्य विप्रश्नः**

rādhīkṣyor yasya vipraśnaḥ
/radhīkṣyoḥ 6/2 = *rādhiś ca īkṣiś ca* = *rādhīkṣī* (*itar. dv.*); *vipraśnaḥ* 1/1/ (*sampradānam* # 32, *kārake* # 23)
rādher īkṣaś ca (prayoge) yasya vipraśnaḥ tat kārakaṃ sampradānasaṃjñaṃ bhavati
A *kāraka* which serves as one about whom many inquiries are made is termed *sampradāna* when *rādhÃ* 'to prophesy' or *īkṣÃ* 'to look, observe' are used.

EXAMPLES:

devadattāya rādhyati 'he (the astrologer), when asked about Devadatta's good or bad fortune, makes various prophecies'
devadattāya īkṣate 'id '

1. Note that both the roots are cited here in the sense of *śubhāśubhaparyāloçana* 'to make observations about good or bad fortune'. The word *vipraśnah* has been interpreted as *vividhaḥ praśnaḥ* 'various questions'. The variable *yad* in *yasya* has as its antecedent someone about whose good or bad fortune various questions are asked. Clearly, then, the genitive (*ṣaṣṭhī*) is used here to denote *karman*. Commentators (*PM* and *Nyāsa* ad *Kāś*. I: 555) observe that *yasya* is superfluous in the formulation of the rule. It could easily have been dropped by bringing *yaṃ prati* from the preceding rule via *anuvṛtti*. That would have given the string *yaṃ prati vipraśnaḥ*, with practically no change in meaning.

1.4.40 **प्रत्याङ्भ्यां श्रुवः पूर्वस्य कर्त्ता**

pratyāṅbhyāṃ śruvaḥ pūrvasya karttā
/pratyāṅbhyām 5/2 (*itar. dv.*); *śruvaḥ* 6/1 *pūrvasya* 6/1 *karttā* 1/1/ (*sampradānam* # 32, *kārake* # 23)
'prati, āṅ' ity evaṃ pūrvasya śṛṇoteḥ kārakaṃ sampradānasaṃjñaṃ bhavati
A *kāraka* that serves as the agent of a prior act of requesting is termed *sampradāna* when *śru* 'to hear' is used with the preverbs *prati* or *āN*.

EXAMPLES:

devadattāya gāṃ pratiśṛṇoti 'he promises to give a cow to Devadatta'
devadattāya gāṃ āśṛṇoti 'id.'

1. The dual ending *bhyām* after *pratyāṅ*, a *dvandva*, makes it imperative

that *śru* be construed with both the preverbs *prati* and *āṄ* individually. That is, concurrent usage of both *prati* and *āṄ* with *śru*, whether in the form of *pratyāśru* or of *āpratiśru*, is not permitted. If Pāṇini had intended the concurrent use of *prati* and *āṄ*, he would have phrased the rule as *pratyāṅśruvaḥ pūrvasya karttā*.

Note that the verbal root *śru* used with *prati* and *āṄ* means *abhyupagama*, or *pratijñāna* 'pledge, promise'. The following examples illustrate how *pratiśru* denotes *abhyupagama* in sentence (*b*) with reference to (*a*):

(*a*) *mahyaṃ gāṃ dehi* 'give me a cow'

(*b*) *devadattāya gāṃ pratiśṛṇoti* 'he is making a pledge to give a cow to Devadatta'

Devadatta, here, is the agent of sentence (*a*), to whom the pledge is made upon request.

If the rule does not include *pūrvasya karttā*, and specifically require the assignment of the term *sampradāna*, *tṛtīyā* 'third triad of *sUP*' should be used with *devadatta* of sentence (*b*). For, Devadatta would then be assigned the term *kartṛ* of the act of instigation (*preraṇa*). This rule thus blocks the assignment of *kartṛ* in favour of *sampradāna*.

1.4.41 अनुप्रतिगृणश्च

anupratigṛṇaś ca

/anupratigṛṇaḥ 6/1 = *anu ca prati ca* = *anupratī* (*itar. dv.*); *tābhyāṃ gṛṇā* (*pañc. tat.* with internal *dv.*); *ca Ø*/

(*pūrvasya karttā* # 40, *sampradānam* # 32, *kārake* # 23)

anupūrvasya pratipūrvasya ca gṛṇāteḥ kārakaṃ pūrvasyāḥ kriyāyāḥ kartṛbhūtaṃ sampradānasaṃjñaṃ bhavati

A *kāraka* which serves as the agent of a prior act of chanting is termed *sampradāna* when *gṛ* 'to chant' is used with the preverbs *anu* and *prati*.

EXAMPLES:

hotre' nugṛṇāti 'he is praising the *hotṛ*'

hotre pratigṛṇāti 'id.'

1. The force of *ca* associates this rule with the preceding. As a result of this association (*sāhacarya*), preverbs *anu* and *prati* are interpreted with *gṛ* in a manner similar to the way in which *prati* and *āṄ* were interpreted with *śru*. Haradatta (*PM* ad *Kāś.* I: 556-57) observes that *gṛ* used with *anu* or *prati* in Vedic means 'praising' (*anuśaṃsana*). In the above examples its meaning will be the praising of the priest (*hotṛ*) by the *adhvaryu*, 'initiator of the ritual sacrifice'. Incidentally, verbal root *gṛ* is here referenced with the *vikaraṇa* 'augment' *Śnā*. This, in turn, becomes a clue that *gṛ* of this rule belongs to the *kryādi* class, and not to the *tudādi* class.

Note that the word *pūrvasya karttā* is also carried. This means that, in the context of *anugṛ* or *pratigṛ* in the Vedic, the agent of the prior act of

śaṃsana 'praising' should be termed *saṃpradāna*. Such an agent of a prior act is *hotṛ*, since he is the one who first recites the hymns of praise. The *adhvaryu* then praises the *hotṛ*. Thus, we get *hotre' nugṛṇāti* 'he is praising the *hotṛ*' or *hotre pratigṛṇāti* 'id.'. This rule, by assigning the term *saṃpradāna*, blocks the assignment of the term *karman*, which would otherwise have become applicable to *hotṛ*.

1.4.42 साधकतमं करणम्

sādhakatamaṃ karaṇaṃ
/sādhakatamam 1/1 *karaṇam* 1/1/
(*kārake* # 23)
kriyāsiddhau sādhakatamaṃ kārakaṃ karaṇasaṃjñaṃ bhavati
A *kāraka* which serves as a means, more than anything else, is termed *karaṇa*.

EXAMPLES:

paraśunā chinatti 'he is cutting with the axe'
dātreṇa lunāti 'he cuts with a sickle'

1. This rule assigns the term *karaṇa* to a participant who is most instrumental in accomplishing the action. The rule uses *sādhakatamam*, a derivate ending in affix *tamaP* and denoting *atiśāyana* 'excellence'. Pāṇini uses *tamaP* to indicate that the participation of *karaṇa* is most useful in accomplishing the action. Bhartṛhari (III, 2: 258) identifies *karaṇa* as that *kāraka* after the completion of whose activity the action is considered as accomplished (*karaṇena hi sarveṣāṃ vyāpāro vyavadhīyate*). Thus, we get the first of the two examples cited above: *paraśunā chinatti* 'he is cutting with the axe'. The action of cutting is treated here as accomplished when *paraśu* accomplishes its own particular action, namely, rising, falling, and severing the thing to be cut. Haradatta (*PM* ad *Kāś*. I: 557) summarizes by saying that a *kāraka* labelled as means *par excellence* (*sādhakatama*) could be assigned the term *karaṇa* based on *deśa* 'place', *kāla* 'time' or *avasthā* 'state'. In a sentence such as

(*a*) *devadattaḥ sthālyām odanaṃ pacati* 'Devadatta is cooking rice in the pot'

sthālī 'pot' is in the locative. But the same locus, *sthālī*, can be assigned the term *karaṇa* because of its status of being conducive to cooking. The alternative sentence

(*b*) *sthālyā odanaṃ pacati* 'he is cooking the rice by means of the pot',

treats *sthālī* as *karaṇa*, because its shape and size facilitates the cooking.

An objection may be raised against singling out *karaṇa* from among the other *kārakas*. They, too, are instrumental in accomplishing the action. It is for this reason that Pāṇini uses *tamaP:* all *kārakas* are instrumental, but

only *karaṇa* is most instrumental. This excellence in serving as instrument is the condition for the assignment of the term *karaṇa*. Note, however, that the agent *(kartṛ)* can also be viewed as instrumental along with the other *kārakas*. This does not mean that the activity of the *karaṇa* excels the activity of the agent. The participant termed agent *(kartṛ)* is independent, in the sense that his activity does not have to depend on the activity of the other participants. Actually, it is the agent who sets other participants, including *karaṇa*, in motion. This makes it imperative that the question of the excellence of activity of the participants does not include the agent.

Relative to the remaining *kārakas*, the activity of the *karaṇa* is treated as most excellent. (*PM: kārakāntarapekṣaḥ karaṇasyātiśayaḥ na svakakṣāyām* 'The excellence of *karaṇa* is relative to other *kārakas* and not to entities in its own sphere'.) The degree of excellence among various participants termed *karaṇa* is not an issue. That is, more than one entity can be termed *karaṇa*, irrespective of its relative excellence. Thus we can find sentences such as:

(*c*) *aśvena dīpikayā rathena pathā saṃcarate* 'he is going by the chariot drawn by horses with the lamp by the road'

2. Commentators explain that the use of *tamaP* in this rule also has consequences elsewhere. For example, it not only facilitates the assignment of the term *karaṇa* to the entity which is most instrumental among others; it also facilitates the assignment of the term *adhikaraṇa* to secondary *(gauṇa)* loci *(ādhāra)*. Consider the following sentences:

(*d*) *tileṣu tailam* 'there is oil in the sesame'

(*e*) *gaṅgāyāṃ ghoṣaḥ* 'the dwellings of the cowherds (are there) by the Gaṅgā'

The sesame in sentence (*d*) is the locus (*ādhāra*) of the oil, the thing located (*ādheya*). The relationship between the locus and the thing located is all-encompassing. The oil is all-pervasive (*vyāpta*) in the sesame. A locus of this kind is termed 'principal' (*mukhya*). As opposed to this, the relationship between the dwellings (*ghoṣa*) and the Gaṅgā is at best dependent upon proximity (*sāmīpya*). The locusness (*ādhāratva*) to the Gaṅgā is thus transferred (*upacarita*) on the basis of its being proximate to the dwellings. If *tamaP* was not included in rule 1.4.42 *sādhakatamaṃ karaṇam*, the term *adhikaraṇa* could be assigned only to the principal *ādhārā*, such as *tila* in sentence (*d*). For, the principle of *gauṇamukhyayor mukhye kāryasampratyayaḥ* 'when an operation becomes applicable to both the principal as well as the secondary, it is applied only to the principal' would then have blocked the assignment of the term *adhikaraṇa* to *gaṅgā*. The inclusion of *tamaP* in 1.4.42 thus becomes an indication (*jñāpaka*) that the assignment of a term relative to the principal will be applicable only in the context of the term *karaṇa*. Elsewhere, the secondary also can be assigned the term. (Cf. *Nyāsa* ad *Kāś*. I: 558 *tatra asati tamabgrahaṇe 'gauṇamukhyayor mukhye*

kāryasampratyayaḥ' iti mukhyasyaivādhikaraṇasamjñā syāt, netarasya; tamabgrahaṇād tasyāpi bhavati.)

SCOPE: 2.3.18 *kartṛkaraṇayos tṛtīyā*

1.4.43 **दिवः कर्म च**

divaḥ karma ca

/divaḥ 6/1 *karma* 1/1 *ca Ø/*

(sādhakatamam # 42, *kārake* # 23)

divaḥ sādhakatamaṃ yat kārakaṃ tat karmasaṃjñaṃ bhavati

A *kāraka* which serves as a means, more than anything else, also is termed *karman* 'object' when *divÃ* 'to play' is used.

EXAMPLES:

akṣān dīvyati 'he plays dice'

akṣair dīvyati 'he plays with dice'

1. The particle *ca* is used here in the sense of *samuccaya* 'conjunction'. This makes it possible for the means *par excellence* in relation to the action of *divÃ* 'to play' to be additionally termed *karman*. Thus, we get two sentences with *akṣa* in the instrumental or accusative, depending on whether it was assigned the term *karaṇa* or *karman*. Note that the *ca* saves the situation against the demand of *ekasaṃjñā*. For, in its absence, there would have been conflict in the assignment of two terms to a single entity (*akṣa*). The *ca* facilitates the assignment of both the terms; but since they cannot be assigned simultaneously (*yugapat*), they are applied in turn (*paryāya*).

1.4.44 **परिक्रयणे सम्प्रदानमन्यतरस्याम्**

parikrayaṇe sampradānam anyatarasyām

/parikrayaṇe 7/1 *sampradānam* 1/1 *anyatarasyām* 7/1/

(sādhakatamam # 42, *kārake* # 23)

parikrayaṇe sādhakatamaṃ kārakam anyatarasyāṃ sampradānasaṃjñaṃ bhavati

A kāraka which serves as means, more than anything else, optionally is termed *sampradāna* when *parikrayaṇa* 'hiring on stipulated wages' is denoted.

EXAMPLES:

śatena parikrīto' nubrūhi 'you are hired for a hundred, aren't you?'

sahasrāya parikrīto' nubrūhi 'you are hired for a thousand, aren't you?'

1. This rule assigns the term *sampradāna* optionally to what could be called a *karaṇa* with reference to the action denoted by *parikrayaṇa*. The word *parikrayaṇa* means hiring someone for a specified time on wages, to recover a debt. The difference between *krayaṇa* 'purchasing' and

parikrayaṇa is thus related more to the permanence or temporariness of the services bought. A person on *parikrayaṇa* would be free to go when he has paid off the debt, by means of the wages earned to repay the debt.

1.4.45 आधारोऽधिकरणम्

ādhāro' dhikaraṇam
/ādhāraḥ 1/1 *adhikaraṇam* 1/1/
(*kārake* # 23)
dhāraṇakriyām prati ya ādhāras tat kārakam adhikaraṇasaṃjñaṃ bhavati
A *kāraka* which serves as locus of action is termed *adhikaraṇa*.

EXAMPLES:

kaṭe āste 'he sits on the mat'
kaṭe śete 'he reclines on the mat'
sthālyāṃ pacati 'he cooks in the pot'

1. This rule assigns the term *adhikaraṇa* to the locus (*ādhāra*) of an action (*kriyā*). In the real outside world we speak of an *ādhāra* in relation to action, quality (*guṇa*), and thing (*dravya*). But in the inside world of grammar we talk about *ādhāra* as a participant contributing (*upakārin*) towards accomplishing an action. An action is supposed to be related directly to the agent (*kartṛ*) or the object (*karman*). This is because an action is supposed to be located in the agent (*kartṛsthā kriyā*) or object (*karmasthā kriyā*). For example, in

(*a*) *devadattaḥ śete* 'Devadatta is reclining'

the action of sleeping is located in its agent, Devadatta. Similarly, in

(*b*) *odanaṃ pacati devadattaḥ* 'Devadatta is cooking rice'

the action denoted by *pac* 'to cook' is supposed to be located in the object *odana* 'rice'. For it is the rice which, when cooking, undergoes the process of softening (*viklitti*). However, in a sentence such as

(*c*) *sthālyāṃ pacati odanam devadattaḥ* 'Devadatta is cooking rice in the pot'

it is *sthālī* 'pot' which is assigned the term *adhikaraṇa*, because it serves as the locus for the action. But how could *pac* be accepted as denoting an action whose locus is the object? And, at the same time, how could the identical action be accepted as having *sthālī* as its locus? The tradition believes that *sthālī* serves as the locus of the object, *taṇḍula* 'uncooked rice' which, in turn, serves as the locus of *viklitti*, the action denoted by *pac*. Thus, *sthālī* serves as the locus of the action only indirectly. In short, it is the locus of an action mediated by the agent, or the object, that gets the assignment of the term *adhikaraṇa*.

It should also be noted in this connection that, for a grammarian, a root means two things: fruit of the action (*phala*) and process of accomplishing

an action (*vyāpāra*). The first is also termed *siddha* 'accomplished', as opposed to the second, which is termed *sādhya* 'to be accomplished'. In the context of an action denoted by a transitive root (*sakarmaka*), the agent (*kartṛ*), is viewed as the locus of *vyāpāra*. As opposed to this, the object (*karman*) is viewed as the locus of *phala*. (See *Vaiyākaraṇabhūṣaṇasāra*'s section dealing with the meaning of roots for details.)

Bartṛhari (*VP* III, 2: 352-53) recognized three types of *adhikaraṇa*, based on the relationship between what serves as *ādhāra* 'locus' and what is considered as the thing held (*ādheya*). Consider the following sentences:

(*d*) *tileṣu tailam* 'there is oil in the sesame'
(*e*) *kaṭe āste* 'he sits on the mat'
(*f*) *khe śakunayaḥ* 'there are birds in the sky'
(*g*) *gurau vasati* 'he lives with his teacher'

Sentence (*d*) illustrates the relationship between the *ādhāra* (*tila*) and the *ādheya* (*taila*) as *samavāya* 'inhered'. That is, *tila* inheres *taila*. As opposed to this, the relationship in (*e*) between the person sitting on the mat, and the mat itself serving as locus, can be recognized as one of *saṃyoga* 'contact'. That is, the relationship entails contact but not inherence. Finally, the last two sentences illustrate a relationship which can be characterized as *vaiṣayika* 'topical'. That is, it lacks contact, though one can assume the presence of mental contact. This threefold classification of *adhikaraṇa* is obviously based on the nature of *upaśleṣa* 'contact' between the *ādhāra* and the *ādheya*.

1.4.46 अधिशीङ्स्थासां कर्म

adhiśīṅsthāsāṃ karma
/adhiśīṅsthāsāṃ 6/3 = *śīṅ ca sthāś ca ās ca = śīṅsthāsaḥ (dv.); adheḥ śīṅsthāsaḥ* (*pañc. tat.*); *teṣāṃ karma* 1/1/
(*ādhāraḥ* # 45, *kārake* # 23)
adhipūrvāṇāṃ śīṅ, sthā, ās ity eteṣām ādhāro yas tat kārakaṃ karmasaṃjñaṃ bhavati
A *kāraka* which serves as locus is termed *karman* 'object' when *śīṄ* 'to recline', *sthā* 'to stand', or *āsĀ* 'to sit' are used with the preverb *adhi*.

EXAMPLES:

grāmam adhiśete 'he sleeps in the village'
grāmam adhitiṣṭhati 'he stands over (controls) the village'
parvatam adhyāste 'he sits on the top of the mountain'

1. This rule offers an adjustment in the assignment of the term *karman* with reference to verbal roots *śīṄ, sthā,* and *āsĀ,* when used with the preverb *adhi*. That is, what could have been assigned the term *adhikaraṇa* to the locus of these verbs is assigned the term *karman*. Note that these verbs

are basically intransitive (*akarmaka*). But when their locus is termed *karman* they become transitive (*sakarmaka*).

1.4.47 **अभिनिविशः**

abhiniviśaḥ 6/1 = *abhiś ca niś ca* = *abhinī* (*dv.*); *tābhyāṃ viś* = *abhiniviś* (*pañc. tat.* with internal *dv.*); *tasya* = *abhiniviśaḥ ca* Ø/
(*ādhāraḥ* # 45, *kārake* # 23)
abhinipūrvasya viśater ādhāro yas tat kārakaṃ karmasaṃjñaṃ bhavati
A *kāraka* that serves as locus also is termed *karman* when *viś* 'to enter' is used with the preverb *abhini*.

EXAMPLE:

grāmam abhiniviśate 'he enters the village'

1. This rule also orders a readjustment, though optionally. That is, the *ca* of this rule attracts the term *adhikaraṇa*; and hence, the assignment of the term *karman* becomes optional to *adhikaraṇa*. It is also noted by commentators (*Kāś.* I: 563) that the optional nature of this rule is determined by carrying *anyatarasyām* from rule 1.4.44 *parikrayaṇe sampradānam anyatarasyām*. Furthermore, this option is treated as *vyavasthitavibhāṣā* for reasons of its uncommon application.

The word *abhini* is a *dvandva* compound. Since *ni* has fewer vowels than *abhi*, it should, according to 2.2.34 *alpāc taram*, be placed first in the compound. The compound base should therefore by *nyabhi*, and not *abhini*. But the very fact that Pāṇini uses *abhini* indicates that it, as a single unit alone, should be used before *viś*. This will rule out any use of the verbal root *viś* separately with *ni* and *abhi* for the purposes of this rule. Elsewhere, *niviś*, for example, can be used.

1.4.48 **उपान्वध्याङ्वसः**

upānvadhyāṅvasaḥ
/*upānvadhyāṅvasaḥ* 6/1 = *upa ca anu ca adhi ca āṅ ca* = *upānvadhyāṅ* (*dv.*); *tebhyo vas* (*pañc. tat.* with internal *dv.*)/
(*karma* # 46, *ādhāraḥ* # 45, *kārake* # 23)
'upa, anu, adhi, āṅ' ity evaṃ pūrvasya vasater ādhāro yas tat kārakaṃ karmasaṃjñaṃ bhavati
A *kāraka* which serves as locus is termed *karman* when *vasĀ* 'to dwell' is used with the preverbs *upa, anu, adhi,* or *āṄ*.

EXAMPLES:

grāmam upavasati senā 'the army is camped near the village'
parvatam upavasati senā 'the army is camped near the mountain'
grāmam anuvasati senā 'the army is camped behind the village'

grāmam āvasati senā 'the army is camped around the village'

1. This also is an effort towards readjusting the assignment of the term *ādhāra*. The locus of the verbal root *vas* used with preverbs *upa, anu, āN,* and *adhi* is termed *karman*. The verbal root *vas* is to be interpreted here as meaning 'to dwell'. It is further indicated by a *vārttika* under this rule: *vaser arthasya pratiṣedho vaktavyaḥ* 'negation of the signification of the verbal root *vas* must be stated'. The signification of the verbal root *vas* which is proposed to be negated is *bhojananivṛtti* 'refraining from eating'. Thus, given a sentence such as

(*a*) *grāme trirātram upavasati* 'he fasts in the village for three nights'

the word *grāma* cannot be termed *karman* by reason of being the locus (*ādhāra*). Patañjali (*Mbh.* II: 406-7) rejects this *vārttika* on the grounds that *grāma* in a sentence such as (*a*) would not get the designation *karman* by the present rule, as it does not serve as the locus of the action denoted by verbal root *vas,* used with the preverb *upa* (cf. *nā' tropapūrvasya vaser grāmo' dhikaraṇam*). To the question 'for what, then, is *grāma* the locus?' (*kasya tarhi*), he answers: 'for the root *vas* used without any preverb (*anupasargasya*)'. He also cites the following paraphrase of sentence (*a*):

grāme' sau vasaṃs trirātram upavasati 'he fasts for three nights while living in the village'

It is clear from this that *grāma* is the *ādhāra* of the action denoted by *vas,* and not *vas* used with the preverb *upa.*

1.4.49 **कर्तुरीप्सिततमं कर्म**

kartur īpsitatamaṃ karma
/kartuḥ 6/1 *īpsitatamam* 1/1 *karma* 1/1/
(*kārake* # 23)
kartuḥ kriyayā yad āptum iṣṭatamaṃ tat kārakaṃ karmasaṃjñaṃ bhavati
A *kāraka* which the agent most wishes to reach through his action is termed *karman.*

EXAMPLES:

kaṭaṃ karoti 'he makes a mat'
grāmaṃ gacchati 'he goes to the village

1. A question is raised as to why Pāṇini did not bring *karman* from an earlier rule via *anuvṛtti.* Commentators explain that since the *karman* of the earlier rules is associated with *ādhāra,* the present rule would be able to assign the term *karman* only to an *ādhāra* which the agent most wishes to obtain. This would be the resultant interpretation if *karman* is carried from the earlier rule. Needless to say, if *karman* is brought, *ādhāra,* which is

associated with it, cannot be left behind. This would render the applicability of the term *karman* very narrow. It may account for sentences such as (*a*), below, but would not account for a multitude of others.

The *Kāśikā* (I: 565-66) offers three counter-examples to illustrate why *kartuḥ, īpsitatamam* and *karman* are used in this rule:

(*a*) *geham praviśati* 'he is entering the house'
(*b*) *māṣeṣv aśvaṃ badhnāti* 'he tethers the horse in the bean-field'
(*c*) *payasā odanaṃ bhuṅkte* 'he eats rice with milk'

The word *kartuḥ* is used in the rule to make sure that the thing which qualifies to be termed *karman,* because of being most desired, is also most desired by the agent (*kartṛ*). That is, a thing most desired by someone other than the agent cannot qualify to be termed *karman.* Consider the beans (*māṣa*) of sentence (*b*), which happens to be the most desired thing for the horse (*aśva*). As such, they could not be assigned the term *karman.* Besides, sentence (*b*) does not have the action of the horse, i.e. *bhojana* 'consuming', as the action to be accomplished (*sādhya*). On the contrary, it has the action of the agent to be accomplished. According to this action of *bandhana* 'tethering', the horse then becomes the most desired thing for the agent. The horse, and not the beans, is therefore assigned the term *karman.* Note that the agent may be tethering the horse to protect the beans from being eaten. This way, the beans may also become desired by the agent. But since they may not be most desired, they may not be assigned the term *karman.*

Sentence (*c*) creates a situation in which *payas* 'milk' and *odana* 'rice' are things equally desired by the agent. He is eating them both at the same time. The rice (*odana*), however, is the one he most wishes to eat. The milk (*payas*) thus becomes merely an accessory, a means, for making the rice more palatable. The milk is assigned the term *karaṇa.* This explains why only the most desired (*īpsitatama*) thing can be termed *karman.* Sentence (*b*), as I have already explained, justifies the explicit use of the word *karman* in the rule. For, carrying *karman* via *anuvṛtti* would only cover instances of locus turned object.

The *Kāśikā* glosses *īpsitatamam* as *āptum iṣṭatamam,* perhaps to maintain a distinction between the conventional (*rūḍha*) and derivational (*prakṛti-pratyayajanya*) meanings of the word *īpsita.* The word, as *rūḍha,* means 'desired', although derivationally it means 'desired to be obtained'. This second meaning directly relates an object of desire to the action to be accomplished (*sādhya*). *Nyāsa* (ad *Kāś.* I: 564) clearly observes that *na hi rūḍhiśabdasya kriyayā kartṛsādhyayā sambandha upapadyate* 'no relationship obtains between a word with conventional meaning, and action which remains to be accomplished (*sādhya*)'. Note further that *kāraka* terms are

assigned to entities with reference to their status as participant in an action to be accomplished.

2. Bhartṛhari (III, 2: 161-73) presents a three-way classification of *karman* which may be most desired to be obtained by the agent:

(*i*) *nirvartya*, where a thing is presented as different from its material cause,
(*ii*) *vikārya*, where a thing is presented as a modification (*vikāra*) of its material cause, and
(*iii*) *prāpya*, where the action does not have any effect whatsoever upon the thing classified as *karman*.

Consider, for example, the following sentences:

(*d*) *mṛdā ghaṭaṃ karoti* 'he makes a pot out of clay'
(*e*) *kāṣṭhaṃ bhasma karoti* 'he reduces wood to ashes'
(*f*) *mṛdaṃ ghaṭaṃ karoti* 'he is making the clay a pot'

Sentence (*f*), compared with (*d*), focuses on the most important consideration in the classification of a *karman* into the categories of *nirvartya* 'to be brought about', and *vikārya* 'to be modified'. It assumes that whenever the speaker wishes to speak about an object and its material cause on the basis of non-difference (*abhedavivakṣā*), the object is not termed *nirvartya*. The *vivakṣā* 'desire to speak' based on (*abheda*) 'non-difference' is important, since in this consideration the wish of the speaker overrides the truth value of the presence or absence of the difference between the object and its material cause. Sentence (*f*) thus does not accept any difference between the *mṛt* 'clay' and the *ghaṭa* 'jar', while in (*d*) such a difference is wished to be expressed. Sentence (*f*) can thus constitute an example of *nirvartya karman*. The same type of object is expressed by *kāṣṭha* 'wood' in (*e*). See also my discussion of *upādāna* and *sahakārī* causes under rule 1.4.30 *janikarttuḥ prakṛtiḥ*.

For examples of the *prāpya* type (*iii*) of object consider the following:

(*g*) *vanaṃ gacchati* 'he goes to the forest'
(*h*) *grāmaṃ paśyati* 'he sees the village'

Note that *vana* and *grāma* are not affected either directly or indirectly by the action of going or seeing. They do not go through any changes caused by the action (*kriyākṛtaviśeṣa*). As opposed to this, look at the sentences given below:

(*i*) *vanaṃ chinatti* 'someone is cutting the forest'
(*j*) *grāmaṃ dahati* 'someone is burning the village'

It is clear by the very nature of the actions denoted by *chid* 'to cut' and *dah* 'to burn' that the objects *vana* and *grāma* are here undergoing changes introduced by the action.

3. A *ślokavārttika* in the *Mahābhāṣya* (II: 427-28) raises the question of whether or not the statement of rule 1.4.49 *kartur īpsitatamaṃ karma* was really necessary:

> *etena karmasaṃjñā sarvā siddhā bhavaty akathitena / atrepsitasya kiṃ syāt prayojanaṃ karmasaṃjñāyāḥ // yat tu kathitaṃ purastād īpsitayuktaṃ ca tasya siddhyartham / īpsitameva tu yat syāt tasya bhaviṣyaty akathitena //* 'if by rule 1.4.51 *akathitaṃ ca* every assignment of the term *karman* may be made possible, then what could be the purpose of stating rule 1.4.49 *kartur īpsitatamaṃ karma;* if it is said that 1.4.49 is stated to facilitate the assignment of the term *karman* to that which is cited earlier, and is *tathāyukta* 'related to action in a manner similar' to *īpsita* 'desired', then that too can be taken care of by 1.4.51 *akathitaṃ ca'.*

There are four rules which form the focus of this *ślokavārttika:*

1.4.27 *vāraṇārthanām īpsitaḥ*
1.4.49 *kartur īpsitatamaṃ karma*
1.4.50 *tathāyuktaṃ cānīpsitam*
1.4.51 *akathitaṃ ca*

Let us consider the following example:

(*k*) *yavebhyo gāṃ vārayati* 'he is warding the cow off the barley'

The barley (*yava*) gets the assignment of the term *apādāna* by rule 1.4.27 *vāraṇārthanām īpsitaḥ* because it is desired by the cow (*go*) which, in turn, is being warded off. If rule 1.4.49 had not been formulated, rule 1.4.27 would assign the term *apādāna* to both *īpsita* and *īpsitatama* 'most desired'. For that which is *īpsitatama* must also be *īpsita.* Such reasoning would produce this wrong sentence:

(*l*) **yavebhyo gor vārayati*

The words *yava* and *go* are used here in the ablative, on account of their being assigned the term *apādāna.* It is to avoid the double assignment of the term *apādāna* (to *yava* and *go*) or to precisely demarcate the scope of *apādāna* of 1.4.27 and of *karman* that rule 1.4.49 must necessarily be stated.

If rule 1.4.49 is stated, for the purpose of assigning the term *karman* to *īpsitatama,* then rule 1.4.50 must also be stated to assign the term *karman* to something which is *anīpsita.* And there is yet another possibility. If rule 1.4.49 had not been stated, then *īpsita* could be assigned the term *apādāna* by 1.4.27 *vāraṇārthanām...* and *īpsitatama* could be assigned the term *karman* by 1.4.51 *akathitaṃ ca.* This could block the assignment of the term *apādāna* to something *īpsitatama.* But, conversely, rule 1.4.51 can also assign the term *karman* to *īpsita* of 1.4.27. This will produce a second wrong sentence:

(*m*) **yavān gāṃ vārayati*

It is therefore to block the possibility of wrong sentences such as these, and

to clearly demarcate the domain of rules assigning the term *karman,* that it is necessary to state rule 1.4.49 *kartur īpsitatamaṃ karma.*

SCOPE: 2.3.2 *karmaṇi dvitīyā*

1.4.50 **तथायुक्तं चानीप्सितम्**

tathāyuktaṃ cānīpsitam

/tathāyuktam 1/1 *ca* Ø *anīpsitam* 1/1 *(nañ. tat.)/*

(karma # 49, *kārake* # 23)

yena prakāreṇa kartur īpsitatamaṃ kriyayā yujyate tenaiva cet prakāreṇa yad anīpsitaṃ yuktaṃ bhavati tasya karmasaṃjñā vidhīyate

A *kāraka* which serves as something not desired by the agent is still termed *karman,* providing it is related to an action in the same manner as that which is most desired by the agent.

1. This rule, as is obvious from its wording, allows the assignment of the term *karman* to a participant not desired by the agent. Recall that rule 1.4.49 *kartur īpsitatamaṃ karma* could assign the term *karman* only to a thing most desired by the agent. Of course, a thing not desired by the agent, and coming under the scope of our present rule, has to be related to the action in a manner similar to that of the objects covered by the preceding rule. That is, a thing 'not desired by the agent' must also be a participant (*kāraka*). Consider the following sentences:

(*a*) *odanaṃ bhuñjāno viṣaṃ bhuṅkte* 'while eating rice he is consuming poison'

(*b*) *grāmaṃ gacchan tṛṇaṃ spṛśati* 'he idly touches the vegetation on the way to the village'

The object *viṣa* 'poison' in (*a*) constitutes a type of object called *anīpsita* 'undesired'. The agent may be forced to eat the poisoned rice under duress, or he simply may not know that the rice is mixed with poison. Sentence (*b*) has *tṛṇa,* which could not be assigned the term 'object' by either rule 1.4.49 *kartur īpsitatamam...* or by the present rule. For, *tṛṇa* is certainly not the most desired entity. It could not even be called an undesired (*anīpsita*) entity. Commentators interpret the negation of *anīpsita* as a *paryudāsa,* so that entities like *tṛṇa* may qualify for the assignment of the term *karman.* A *paryudāsa* interpretation of *anīpsita* will enable us to assign the term *karman* to an entity other than *īpsita* (*īpsitād anyat*). The *tṛṇa* of (*b*) is neutral (*udāsīna*) to considerations of *īpsita* 'desired' and *'anīpsita* 'undesired'. Thus, it is something other than *īpsita.* Some state that examples like *viṣa* of (*a*) may still create a conflict between the 'most desired' and 'undesired' aspects of *karman.* That is, a person may most desire *viṣa* in order to free himself from his present miseries. That would make *viṣa* the most desired thing to obtain. Commentators agree that when *viṣa* becomes the most desired thing for the agent it gets the assignment of the term *karman* by the

preceding rule. When, as in (*a*) above, it is 'not desired', it will be assigned the term by the present rule. In addition, if (*a*) is interpreted to mean that the agent does not know about the poison being mixed with the rice, *viṣa* could still be termed *karman* by the present rule. In such an instance it will be treated as neutral, as is *tṛṇa* in (*b*). A *karman* which is not desired by the agent is called *dveṣya* 'disliked'. Similarly, an object which is neutral is termed *udāsīna*. This brings the number of the types of objects discussed thus far to five: *nirvartya, vikārya, prāpya* (1.4.49) and *dveṣya* and *udāsīna* (1.4.50). Note, however, that these categories are not mutually exclusive, for they are based on a binary consideration of 'most desired' and 'undesired'. Besides, the first three types are given especially in view of changes brought about in the object by the action.

1.4.51 **अकथितं च**

akathitaṃ ca

/akathitam 1/1 (*nañ. tat.*); *ca Ø/*

(*karma* # 49, *kārake* # 23)

akathitaṃ ca yat kārakaṃ tat karmasaṃjñaṃ bhavati

A *kāraka* which has not yet been classed is termed *karman.*

EXAMPLES:

pāṇinā kāṃsyapātryāṃ gāṃ dogdhi payaḥ 'he milks the cow by hand into a copper vessel'

gāṃ dogdhi payaḥ 'he milks the cow's milk'

pauravam gāṃ yācate 'he requests a cow from the Paurava'

gām avaruṇaddhi vrajam 'he pens the cow in the pen'

māṇavakaṃ panthānaṃ pṛcchati 'he asks the boy the way'

pauravaṃ gāṃ bhikṣate 'he begs a cow from the Paurava'

māṇavakaṃ dharmaṃ brūte 'he explains the duty to the boy'

māṇavakaṃ dharmam anuśāsti 'id.'

1. Haradatta (*PM* ad *Kāś.* I: 569) mentions two meanings for the word *akathita: apradhāna* 'non-principal, secondary' and *akathita* 'not cited, stated'. Accepting the first view would assign the term *karman* to *pāṇi* 'hand' and *kāṃsyapātrī* 'copper vessel', since they are both nonprincipal compared to *go* 'cow' and *payas* 'milk' of the first example, *pāṇinā kāṃsyapātryāṃ gāṃ dogdhi payaḥ.* This *apradhāna* interpretation will thus create difficulties.

The second, *akathita,* interpretation requires a qualifying statement: 'not stated by what'. It is for this reason that *Kāśikā* asks: *kenākathitam.* The answer is: *apādānādiviśeṣakathābhiḥ* 'by specific statements of *apādāna,* and so on'. The use of *apādāna* refers to *kāraka* rules which assign the terms *apādāna,* and so on'. If one did not constrain *akathita* by the *kāraka* covered

thus far, an item which is not even a participant in the action may get the designation of a *karman*. Thus the boy (*māṇavaka*) of the sentence

(*a*) *māṇavakasya pitaraṃ panthānaṃ pṛcchati* 'he is asking the boy's father for directions'

would get the designation of *karman*. This again would create difficulties.

Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita (*SK*, I: 604-5) accepts a slightly different interpretation. He ties the notion of 'not stated by *apādāna*, and so on' to the notion of *vivakṣā* 'intention of the speaker'. After all, Pāṇinians do believe in *vivakṣātaḥ kārakāṇi bhavanti 'kārakas* are assigned based on one's intention in speaking'. Given this, the rule in the *SK* interpretation would mean the following:

'a *kāraka* which is not intended by the speaker to be used as classed is termed *karman*'.

Now consider this sentence:

(*b*) *gor dogdhi payaḥ* 'he milks the milk from the cow'

Here *goḥ* is in the ablative, denoting *apādāna*. That is, the speaker is wishing to speak about the cow (*go*) as the point from whence there is *apāya* 'movement away' of the milk. When this is not desired by the speaker, *go* can be assigned the term *karman*. Note, however, that this interpretation is also not free of problems, for it may entail over-application (*ativyāpti*). For example, consider the sentences below:

(*c*) *naṭād gāthāṃ śṛṇoti* 'he is hearing the story from the dancer'

(*d*) *śatrūn hanti raṇe* 'they are killing enemies on the battlefield'

If one wishes to speak about the *apādāna* of *naṭa* of (*c*), as well as of the *adhikaraṇa* of *raṇa* of (*d*) as *karman*, according to the interpretation just provided, these wrong sentences will result:

(*e*) **naṭam gāthāṃ śṛṇoti*

(*f*) **śatrūn hanti raṇam*

It is to correct these problems that recourse is taken to enumerating all roots whose actions may entail more than one object. That, in turn, should delimit the exact scope of this rule. A *ślokavārttika* in the *Mahābhāṣya* (II: 414-15) provides the enumeration as follows:

duhiyācirudhipracchibhikṣiciñāṃ upayoganimittam apūruavidhau /
bruviśāsiguṇena ca yat sacate tad akīrtitam ācaritaṃ kavinā //

'An entity which effects the participation (*upayoganimitta*) of the *karman* in the actions denoted by the following verbs, and for which there is no prior provision made (*apūrvavidhau*), is termed *akīrtita* 'unaccounted for' by the sage (Pāṇini): *duh* 'to milk'; *yāc* 'to ask'; *rudh* 'to obstruct, lock up'; *bhikṣ* 'to beg'; *ciÑ* 'to heap, gather'; in addition, also that which relates to the subordinate (*gauṇa*) object of actions denoted by the verbal roots *brū* 'to speak' and *śās* 'to instruct'.

Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita (*SK*, I: 605), by the following *kārikā* verse, expands this listing by including *pac* 'to cook'; *daṇḍ* 'to punish'; *ji* 'to win'; *math* 'to churn'; *muṣ* 'to steal'; *nī* 'to lead'; *hṛ* 'to carry'; *kṛṣ* 'to drag'; and *vah* 'to carry';

duhyācpacdaṇḍarudhipracchicibrūśāsujimathamuṣām /
karmayuk syād akathitaṃ tathā syān nīhṛkṛṣvahām //

Needless to say, this enumeration restricts the assignment of the term *karman* to only those entities which are wished not to be viewed by the speaker as *apādāna,* etc., with reference, of course, to the actions denoted by the cited roots. Consider the following examples:

(*g*) *pāṇinā kāṃsyapātryāṃ gāṃ dogdhi payaḥ* 'he milks the cow by hand into a copper vessel'
(*h*) *pāṇinā gor dogdhi payaḥ kāṃsyapātryāṃ* 'id.'
(*i*) *gām avaruṇaddhi vrajam* 'he pens the cow in the pen'
(*j*) *gām avaruṇaddhi vraje* 'id.'
(*k*) *māṇavakaṃ dharmaṃ brūte* 'he explains the duty to the boy'
(*l*) *māṇavakāya dharmaṃ brūte* 'id.'

The first sentence (*g*) has cow (*go*) in the accusative expressed as *karman.* The second (*h*) has the same cow in the ablative expressed as *apādāna.* This is made possible under the provisions of this rule, especially with reference to the enumeration of the verbal root *duh* in the list. Thus, the speaker of sentence (*g*) does not wish to speak about the cow as classed by rule 1.4.24 *dhruvam apāye...*as *apādāna.* In that case, as reflected by sentence (*h*), *karman* is assigned by this rule. The same is happening to *vraja* and *māṇavaka* in sentences (*i*) and (*k*), where the speaker does not wish to speak about *vraja* and *māṇavaka* as *adhikaraṇa* (1.4.45 *ādhāro' dhikaraṇam*) and *sampradāna* (1.4.32 *karmaṇā yam abhipraiti...*) as classed. In this case, in accordance with the provision of the present rule, both *vraja* and *māṇavaka* can be assigned the term *karman.*

As I have indicated earlier, the actions denoted by these roots entail two objects. One is the direct object, as per 1.4.49 *kartur...,* and the other is *akathita* 'unaccounted for' as provided by this rule. This may create a problem in determining the denotatum of *LA* (3.4.69 *laḥ karmaṇi ca...*) which is introduced after a verb root and gets replaced by *tiṄ* (3.4.76 *lasya;* 3.4.78 *tiptasjhi*). The denotatum of *LA* after a transitive root may be an agent or an object. The same after an intransitive verb may be an agent or root-sense (*bhāva*). Consider the sentences below:

(*m*) *ajāṃ grāmaṃ nayati* 'he is leading the goat to the village'
(*n*) *ajā grāmaṃ nīyate* 'the goat is led to the village'

Sentence (*m*) is expressing the agent (*kartṛ*) with *LAṬ* (3.2.123 *varttamāne laṭ*), which is replaced by *tiP.* Both *grāma* and *ajā* are the objects denoted by accusative. Sentence (*n*) has *grāma,* the secondary object, still being

expressed by the accusative ending. The *LAṬ* which, in turn, has been replaced by *te* of *ātmanepada* 'middle' is expressing the main object *ajā* 'goat'. Obviously, that is why *ajā* in the nominative is only expressing the nominal stem notion (*prātipadikārtha*). It is clear from the preceding that the verbal ending, when faced with the question of denoting two objects, is ruled in favour of the principal object. Note, however, that the main object must be expressed as *īpsitatama* 'most desired', in so far as its expression by the verb in this context is concerned. Incidentally, a *karman* termed *akathita* illustrates the sixth type of objects discussed thus far.

1.4.52 **गतिबुद्धिप्रत्यवसानार्थशब्दकर्माकर्मकाणामणि कर्त्ता स णौ**

gatibuddhipratyavasānārthaśabdakarmākarmakāṇām aṇi karttā sa ṇau
/gati...kāṇām 6/3 = *gatiś ca buddhiś ca pratyavasānaṃ ca = gatibuddhipratyavasanānāni (itar. dv.); teṣām artha yeṣāṃ te = gatibuddhipratyavasānārthāḥ (bv.*; with internal *dv.*); *śábdaḥ karma yasya tat śabdakarma (bv.*); *śabdakarma ca akarmakaś ca = gatibuddhi...karmakāḥ* (*dv.* with internal *dv.*); *teṣām = gati...kāṇām; aṇi* 7/1 (deleted) *karttā* 1/1 *saḥ* 1/1 *ṇau* 7/1/
(*karma* # 49, *kārake* # 23)
gatyarthānāṃ buddhyarthānāṃ pratyavasānārthānāṃ ca dhātūnāṃ tathā śabdakarmakāṇām akarmakānāṃ ca aṇyantānāṃ yaḥ karttā sa ṇyantānāṃ karmasaṃjño bhavati
A *kāraka* which serves as agent of a non-*Ṇic* root that either has the signification *gati* 'movement'; *buddhi* 'perception'; *pratyavasāna* 'consuming'; or has *śabda* 'sound' as its object; or has no object at all, is termed *karman* when the same root terminates in *Ṇic*.

EXAMPLES:

gacchati māṇavako grāmam 'the boy goes to the village'
gamayati māṇavakaṃ grāmam 'he has the boy go the village'
yāti māṇavako grāmam 'the boy goes to the village'
yāpayati māṇavakaṃ grāmam 'he has the boy go to the village'
adhīte māṇavako vedam 'the boy studies the Veda'
adhyāpayati māṇavakaṃ vedam 'he (has the boy study) teaches the boy the Veda'
māṇavaka odanaṃ bhuṅkte 'the boy is eating rice'
bhojayati māṇavakam odanaṃ 'he feeds the boy rice'
paṭhati māṇavako vedam 'the boy recites the Veda'
pāṭhayati māṇavakaṃ vedam 'he has the boy recite the Veda'
āste devadattaḥ 'Devadatta sits'
āsayati devadattam 'he has Devadatta sit'
śete devadattaḥ 'Devadatta reclines'
śāyayati devadattam 'he has Devadatta recline'

1. The selection of examples given above consists of a series of seven non-causal sentences, each followed by its causal counterpart. For the purpose of facilitating the discussion, these examples will be shown in pairs and numbered, as follows:

1. (*a*) *gacchati māṇavako grāmam* 'the boy goes to the village'
   (*b*) *gamayati māṇavakaṃ grāmam* 'he has the boy go the village'
2. (*a*) *yāti māṇavako grāmam* 'the boy goes to the village'
   (*b*) *yāpayati māṇavakaṃ grāmam* 'he has the boy go to the village'
3. (*a*) *adhīte māṇavako vedam* 'the boy studies the Veda'
   (*b*) *adhyāpayati māṇavakaṃ vedam* 'he (has the boy study) teaches the boy the Veda'
4. (*a*) *māṇavaka odanaṃ bhuṅkte* 'the boy is eating rice'
   (*b*) *bhojayati māṇavakam odanam* 'he feeds the boy rice'
5. (*a*) *paṭhati māṇavako vedam* 'the boy recites the Veda'
   (*b*) *pāṭhayati māṇavakaṃ vedam* 'he has the boy recite the Veda'
6. (*a*) *āste devadattaḥ* 'Devadatta sits'
   (*b*) *āsayati devadattam* 'he has Devadatta sit'
7. (*a*) *śete devadattaḥ* 'Devadatta reclines'
   (*b*) *śāyayati devadattam* 'he has Devadatta recline'

The significations of the verbal roots in the causal (second) sentences of the first four pairs are, respectively, as follows:

1. (*b*) *gati* 'movement'
2. (*b*) *gati* 'movement'
3. (*b*) *buddhi* 'perception'
4. (*b*) *pratyavasāna* 'consumption'

This is in accordance with the demands of the rule. The root which denotes the action in 5(*b*) is transitive, with its object as *śabda* 'sound'. The roots which denote the actions in 6(*b*) and 7(*b*) are intransitive (*akarmaka*). Note that *māṇavaka* and *devadatta* in all the non-causal sentences (1(*a*) to 7(*a*) inclusive) are used with the nominative. For, they are the agent (*kartṛ*), though their agency (*kartṛtva*) is being expressed by the verbal endings *ti* or *te*, as the case may be. The same *māṇavaka* and *devadatta* are placed in the accusative in all the causal sentences (1(*b*) to 7(*b*) inclusive) because they now are assigned the term *karman* by the present rule.

It is to be understood that all non-causal sentences entail only one action, whether that constitutes *gamana* 'going'; *adhyayana* 'studying'; *paṭhana* 'reciting'; *bhojaṇa* 'consuming'; *āsana* 'sitting'; or *śayana* 'reclining'. However, the actions constituted by their causal counterparts are twofold. That is, a causal action characteristically defined as *preraṇa* 'instigation' is added to each one of the non-causal actions. For example, two actions underlie sentence 1(*b*): the action of going, with *māṇavaka* of sentence 1(*a*) as its agent; and the action of instigating (*preraṇa*), with a variable third person singular agent 'he, she, or it'. The verb in all the causal (*b*) sentences here is expressing the agency (*kartṛtva*) of the agent of *preraṇa*.

It may be clear from the preceding discussion and examples that rule 1.4.52 *gatibuddhi...* assigns the term *karman* to the *kartṛ* of a non-causal (*a*) sentence, providing the actions denoted by those non-causal actions are covered by its specifications. This obviously is not a rule which may assign the term *karman* to all the *kartṛ* of the non-causal sentences. Consider these additional examples:

8. (*a*) *devadatta odanaṃ pacati* 'Devadatta is cooking rice'
   (*b*) *yajñadatto devadattena odanaṃ pācayati* 'Yajñadatta has Devadatta cook the rice'

Devadatta, the agent of the non-causal sentence 8(*a*), cannot be assigned the term *karman* in its causal counterpart 8(*b*), as the action denoted by the verb is not covered by the specification of rule 1.4.52. There is also a further condition to this specification. That is, the causal action in the causative sentences must be denoted by roots derived by the introduction of the causative affix *ṆiC* by 3.1.26 *hetumati ca*. This condition would block the actions denoted by roots of the *curādi* class from coming under the purview of this rule, as *curādi* roots are inherently causal and are not made causal by the introduction of the causative affix *ṆiC*.

1.4.53 **हृकोरन्यतरस्याम्**

hṛkor anyatarasyām

/hṛkoḥ 6/1 (*itar. dv.*); *anyatarasyām* 1/1/

(*aṇi karttā sa ṇau* # 52, *karma* # 49, *kārake* # 23)

harater karoteś cāṇyantayor yaḥ karttā sa ṇyantayor anyatarasyāṃ karmasaṃjñaṃ bhavati

A *kāraka* which serves as the agent of *hṛÑ* 'to carry' or *DUkṛÑ* 'to do, make' not used with *ṆiC*, optionally is termed *karman* when used with *ṆiC*.

EXAMPLES:

harati bhāraṃ māṇavakaḥ 'the boy carries the load'
hārayati bhāraṃ māṇavakam 'he has the boy carry the load'
hārayati bhāraṃ māṇavakena 'id.'
karoti kaṭaṃ devadattaḥ 'Devadatta makes a mat'
kārayati kaṭaṃ devadattam 'he has a mat made by Devadatta'
kārayati kaṭaṃ devadattena 'id.'

1. This rule assigns the term *karman* optionally to the agent of the non-causal action denoted by the verbal roots *hṛ* 'to carry' and *kṛ* 'to make', when the same are used with *ṆiC* to denote a causal action. Given this option, each relevant non-causal sentence will have two corresponding causal sentences. Consider the first three examples given above:

(*a*) *harati bhāraṃ māṇavakaḥ* (non-causal)

(*b*) *hārayati bhāraṃ māṇavakam* (causal)
(*c*) *hārayati bhāraṃ māṇavakena* (causal)

Sentence (*b*) opts for the assignment of the term ***karman*** to ***māṇavaka*** 'boy', the agent of the non-causal sentence (*a*), as is provided for by rule 1.4.53. Consequently, *māṇavaka* is put in the accusative. Sentence (*c*) does not opt for the assignment of the term ***karman***. Instead, it retains the term ***kartṛ***. This makes it necessary for *māṇavaka* to be placed in the instrumental (*tṛtīyā*), as is demanded by 2.3.18 *kartṛkaraṇayos tṛtīyā*.

2. The option (*vibhāṣā*) provided by this rule is treated as *ubhayatra* or *prāptāprāpta*, an option which is provided for both which was, or was not, made available. It is explained on the basis of the meanings of the roots in question. The verbal root *hṛ* used with the preverbs *abhi* and *ava* is used in the sense of *bhakṣaṇa* 'eating', while *hṛ* itself can be used in the sense of *gati* 'movement'. Similarly, verbal root *kṛ* can be used intransitively. The option of assigning the term ***karman*** to the non-causal agents of these verbs in a corresponding causal sentence will be available from rule 1.4.52 *gatibuddhi*.... The option thus provided by the present rule will be *prāpta*. When the verbal root *hṛ* is used in the sense of 'carrying' or 'stealing' and *kṛ* is used transitively, the option of assigning the term ***karman*** to their non-causal agent in a causal sentence cannot be made available by rule 1.4.52 *gatibuddhi*.... In this instance, the option made available by the present rule becomes *aprāpta*.

1.4.54 **स्वतन्त्रः कर्त्ता**

svatantraḥ karttā
/svatantraḥ 1/1 *karttā* 1/1
(*kārake* # 23)
aguṇabhūto yaḥ kriyāsiddhau svātantryeṇa vivakṣyate tatkārakaṃ kartṛsaṃjñaṃ bhavati
A *kāraka* which is independent of others (*svatantra*) is termed ***kartṛ*** 'agent'.

EXAMPLES:

devadattaḥ pacati 'Devadatta cooks'
yajñadattaḥ pacati 'Yajñadatta cooks'

1. The word *tantra* in *svatantra* is used in the sense of *pradhāna* 'principal', and not in the sense of *āyattā* 'expanse'. We can thus interpret *svatantra* as 'independent', as is demonstrated in the following sentence:

(*a*) *svatantro' sau brāhmaṇo grāme* 'this brāhmaṇa is independent in the village'

For the implications of this word in defining the term 'agent' (*kartṛ*), consider the following sentences:

(*b*) *devadattaḥ sthālyaṃ pacaty odanam agninā* 'Devadatta is cooking rice in the pot by means of fire'
(*c*) *sthālī pacaty odanam agninā* 'the pot is cooking rice by means of fire'
(*d*) *odanaṃ pacati sthālyām agniḥ* 'the fire is cooking rice in the pot'
(*e*) *odanaḥ pacaty agninā sthālyām* 'the rice is cooking in the pot by means of fire'

Note here that an action is considered as a composite of many actions. The action denoted by the verbal root *pac* 'to cook' is thus a composite of actions such as the burning of the fire (*jvalana*), the placing of the pot on the stove (*adhiśrayaṇa*), putting the rice in the water (*udakasecana*), and the softening of the rice (*viklitti*). The end product of this composite action is 'softening' (*viklitti*). This is why *viklitti* is considered as the principal (*mukhyā*) action (*kriyā*). The other actions (*avāntarakriyā*) are referred to as *guṇībhūta* 'subservient', so called because they are required only for bringing to completion the principal action. The agent of sentence (*b*) is Devadatta; and the action denoted by this sentence is *viklitti* 'softening', the principal action. The subservient actions may also be spoken of as having their own agents. For example, *agni* could be spoken of as the agent of the subservient action denoted by *jvalana* 'burning'. Similarly, *sthālī* could be looked upon as the agent of the action of *adhiśrayaṇa*. When the speaker wishes to emphasize the activity of the agent of a subservient action, that agent can be viewed as the agent of the principal action. This is what is happening in sentences (*c*), (*d*) and (*e*) where *sthālī, agni* and *odana* are wished to be spoken of as agents of the main action. Of course, in all these sentences the speaker has to suppress the agency of the main agent. It is only logical, therefore, that Devadatta's agency is suppressed in sentences (*c*), (*d*) and (*e*).

Bhartṛhari (III, 2: 267-70) explains in two *kārikā* verses the nature of *kartṛ*, especially in view of the notion of *svātantrya* 'independence':

> *prāg anyataḥ śaktilābhān nyagbhāvāpādanād api / tad adhīnapravṛttitvāt pravṛttānāṃ nivarttanāt // adṛṣṭatvāt pratinidheḥ praviveke ca darśanāt / ārādapy upakāritve svātantryaṃ kartur ucyate //*
> 'An agent is called *svatantra* because it receives its power (*śakti*) of participation from elsewhere prior to any of the other participants; because the other participants are subordinate to it; because their participation in an action or recall from participation is under its control; because there is no substitute for it; and also because it must participate when others may not, even when it is participating from a distance.'

It may be stipulated in view of the preceding verses that Devadatta, the agent of sentence (*b*), thinks about accomplishing the act of cooking. He therefore brings into play the other participants, such as *agni* 'fire', *sthālī*

'pot', *taṇḍula* 'uncooked rice', etc. In this context Devadatta receives his power to participate in the action of cooking prior to and independently of the subsequent participants. The fact that no action can be accomplished without having an agent definitely implies the independence of the agent. Thus, actions denoted by *asti* 'he exists' and *vidyate* 'id.' do not require any additional participants. Even so, they cannot be accomplished without an agent. The actions subsumed under the principal action do have their own individual agents; but their actions are still instigated by the agent of the main action. That they are subservient to the main agent is also evident from the fact that the activity of a subordinate participant cannot be emphasized to a greater degree than that of the agent of the principal action.

Let us now consider the causal counterpart of sentence (*b*):

(*f*) *devadattaḥ sthālyāṃ pācayaty odanam agninā yajñadattena* 'Devadatta is having Yajñadatta cook rice in the pot by means of the fire'

In technical terms, Devadatta is the agent of the action of prompting (*preṣaṇa*). Yajñadatta is the agent of the action of cooking as prompted. Yajñadatta, because he becomes a participant only when prompted by Devadatta, is subordinate to him. This contradicts the notion of the independence of an agent. If Yajñadatta is an agent, then he must also be independent. If he has been prompted, then he must be dependent. How can this contradiction be reconciled? Bhartṛhari observes that the prompted agent is equally independent, for he accomplishes his action independently of other participants. He also manipulates other participants in accomplishing the principal action (cf. *VP*, III, 2: 294-95):

> *sambhāvanāt kriyāsiddhau kartṛtvena samāśritaḥ / kriyāyām ātmasādhyāyāṃ sādhanānāṃ prayojakaḥ // prayogamātre nyagbhāvaṃ svātantryād eva niścitaḥ / aviśiṣṭo bhavaty anyaiḥ svatantrair muktaśaṃśayaiḥ //*

In fact, it is the power of independently performing the prompted action which qualifies a participant to become a prompted agent. Thus, the dependence of the prompted agent is based on his independence.

There are some other aspects of agency which may also be considered. For example, the rules of the *kāraka* domain are ordered with a view to the resolution of conflicts in favour of a subsequent rule. Our present rule is the last, in so far as the question of possible conflict with other *kāraka* terms is concerned. This clearly establishes that, whenever there is a conflict between this rule and any other rule of equal strength, this rule will always win.

1.4.55 तत्प्रयोजको हेतुश्च

tatprayojako hetuś ca

/tatprayojakaḥ 1/1 = *tasya prayojakaḥ* (*ṣaṣ. tat.* by *nipātana*); *hetuḥ* 1/1 *ca* Ø (*kārake* # 23)

svatantrasya prayojako yo'rthaḥ tat kārakaṃ hetusaṃjñaṃ bhavati, kartṛsaṃjñaṃ ca
A *kāraka* which serves as *prayojaka* 'instigator' of the agent in addition to being a *kartṛ*, is termed *hetu*.

EXAMPLES:

kārayati 'he has something made'
hārayati 'he has something carried'

1. The variable *tat* here refers to the prompter or instigator (*prayojaka*) of the agent (*kartṛ*). Thus, Yajñadatta is the agent of the action of making a mat in the following sentence:

(*a*) *yajñadattaḥ kaṭaṃ karoti* 'Yajñadatta is making a mat'

Yajñadatta is still the agent of making the mat in the next sentence, even though he is making the mat at the instigation of Devadatta:

(*b*) *yajñadattena devadattaḥ kaṭaṃ kārayati* 'Devadatta is having Yajñadatta, make a mat'

Here, Devadatta is the prompting agent, because he has instigated the action of Yajñadatta. According to our present rule, Devadatta is assigned the term *kartṛ* as well as *hetu* 'cause'. It is clear that the two terms *kartṛ* and *hetu* are both assigned to a single participant. The use of *ca* in this case facilitates the class-inclusion (*saṃjñāsamāveśa*) of terms. For, in its absence, rule 1.4.1 *ā kaḍārād ekā saṃjñā* would demand the assignment of only one term. The purpose of class-inclusion is to facilitate, by the term *hetu* 'cause', the introduction of the causal affix *ṆiC* by rule 3.1.26 *hetumati ca*. The *hetu* having been thus expressed, the agent can now be expressed by the *LA* (3.4.69 *laḥ karmaṇi ca bhāve cākarmakebhyaḥ*).

I have already talked about the independence of the prompted agent in my notes for the preceding rule. The word *hetu* is used in the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* in two senses: one, its regular sense of cause or reason; and the other its technical meaning as attested by this rule. The prompting (*prayojakatva*) could also be classified into two types: one which is principal (*mukhya*); and the other, which is otherwise (*itara*). Consider, for example, the following sentences:

(*c*) *devadattaḥ kaṭaṃ kārayati* 'Devadatta is having a mat made'

(*d*) *bhikṣā vāsayaty atra* 'begging for alms has him dwelling here'

Devadatta is the principal prompter in sentence (*c*), whereas in (*d*) the status of prompter-agent is transferred (*upacarita*) to *bhikṣā* 'alms', for the reason that alms serve as the cause of the choice of dwelling.

Commentators explain that the compound-formation between *tasya* and *prayojakaḥ* to derive *tatprayojakaḥ* is ad hoc; for rule 2.2.16 *kartari ca* would not allow it.

SCOPE: 3.1.26 *hetumati ca*

1.4.56 प्राग्रीश्वरान्निपाताः

prāg rīsvarān nipātāḥ

prāk Ø rīśvarāt 5/1 *nipātāḥ* 1/3/

'adhir īśvare' iti vakṣyati, prāg etasmād avadher yān ita ūrdhvam anukramiṣyāmaḥ, nipātasaṃjñās te veditavyāḥ

What are here enumerated prior to 1.4.97 *adhir īśvare* are termed *nipāta*.

EXAMPLES:

ca 'and'
vā 'or; option'
ha 'definitely'
aha 'certainly'

1. The use of the word *prāk* 'prior to' and *rīśvarāt* 'as far as *rīsvara*' needs some explanation. First of all, why did not Pāṇini formulate the rule as *nipātaḥ* or *nipātāḥ* on the pattern of 3.1.1 *pratyayaḥ* or 4.1.76 *taddhitāḥ*? One can argue here that Pānini wanted to set the limit (*avadhi*) of the domain of *nipāta*, and therefore chose to formulate this rule on the pattern of several other rules (2.1.3 *prāk kāḍarāt samāsaḥ*, and so on). But even if he wanted to set the limit of the domain, he could have proceeded in the following manner:

(*i*) he could have formulated the rule as *nipātaḥ* or *nipātāḥ*, and then, to indicate the limit of the domain, he could have subsequently introduced an incompatible *adhikāra*, or

(*ii*) he could have formulated the rule simply as *rīśvarān nipātaḥ* and allowed *prāk* to be understood on the strength of *pañcamī* of *rīśvarāt*.

Both of these proposals have difficulties owing mostly to the fact that this section of rules is governed by *ekasaṃjñā* (1.4.1 *ā kaḍārād ekā saṃjñā*) 'one term'. This would rule out the possibility of class inclusion (*saṃjñāsamāveśa*) between *nipāta, upasarga,* and *gati*. For, the blocking of *nipāta* by *upasarga* and *gati* will obtain on the strength of their becoming *niravakāśa* 'without scope of application'. If *niravakāśatva* is somehow ruled out, the terms *nipāta, gati* and *upasarga,* may apply in turn (*paryāya*), especially on the strength of carrying via *anuvṛtti* of *nipātaḥ* to subsequent rules. But this would still not be desired.

By using the term *prāk,* Pāṇini makes the desired *saṃjñāsamāveśa* possible. Formulating the rule simply as *nipātaḥ* or *nipātāḥ* would not have permitted it. As far as the explicit use of *prāk* is concerned, as opposed to its being understood on the strength of the ablative, commentators find problems, particularly with reference to the interpretation of 1.4.57 *cādayo'sattve* and 1.4.58 *prādayaḥ*. Deleting *prāk* would, they claim, place the above-mentioned rules outside the scope of 1.4.56 and consequently deprive them of

a predicate. This, in turn, would make their desired interpretation impossible.

Haradatta (*PM* ad *Kāś.* I: 587) not only defends the explicit use of *prāk*, but also requires the reading of an additional *prāk*: 'we need two *prāk* for the proper interpretation of this rule; one is given, and the other will be inferred on the strength of *pañcamī* of *rīśvarāt*'. This, according to Haradatta, will yield the following interpretation:

> *prāg rīśvarād ye vyavasthitās te prāk nipātasaṃjñā bhavanti, nipātāḥ santo gatyādi saṃjñā iti*
> 'those which have been enumerated prior to *rīśvara* will first be assigned the term *nipāta*; by virtue of being a *nipāta*, they will be assigned the term *gati*, and so on'

This would make the assignment of the term *nipāta* the cause (*nimitta*) for the assignment of the term *gati*, and so on. This would also remove any doubts about class inclusion.

2. The word *rīśvara* of *rīśvarāt* is interpreted as a compound with the analysed form: *repha sahito īśvaraḥ* = '*rīśvaraḥ* is *īśvara* with *r*'. Pāṇini used *rīśvara*, as opposed to *īśvara* or *vīśvara*, to make it clear that the limit of 1.4.56 is prior to the *rīśvara* of 1.4.97 *adhirīśvare*, and not prior to the *īśvara* of 3.4.13 *īśvare tosunkasunau*.

Note in this connection that *rīśvara* has been taken here as a *pratīka* 'symbol', in contradistinction to *vīśvara* of 3.4.13. But is there *vīśvara* in 3.4.13? The rule begins with *īśvara*. Commentators assume that the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* was recited in the *saṃhitāpāṭha* 'recitation with properly applying rules of *saṃdhi*'. This being the case, when 3.4.12 *śakiṇamulkamulau* is to be read together with 3.4.13, *īśvara* will turn into *vīśvara*. Thus: 3.4.12 *śakiṇamulkamula* (*u* → *v*) *īśvare* =...*vīśvare*. This, in turn, is also treated as a proof of the claim that the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* was recited in the *saṃhitāpāṭha*.

The purpose of assigning the term *nipāta* is to allow the assignment of the term *avyaya* by rule 1.1.37 *svarādinipātam avyayam*, along with the initial *udātta* accent. Furthermore, what is termed *nipāta* is also marked with *udātta* accent initially.

1.4.57 चादयोऽसत्त्वे

cādayo' sattve
/cādayaḥ 1/3 *asattve* 7/1 (*nañ. tat.*)/
(*nipātāḥ* # 56)
cādayo nipātasaṃjñā bhavanti, na cet sattve vartante
Items enumerated in the list headed by *ca* 'and' are *nipāta* when they do not denote *sattva* 'thing'.

EXAMPLES:

ca 'and'

vā 'or, option'
ha 'definitely'

1. Two questions arise in connection with the interpretation of this rule. First, what does the word *sattva* mean? Does it signify substance (*dravya*), or an action such as *sadbhāva* 'state of existence'. Commentators explain that *sattva* denotes *dravya* 'thing', and not *kriyā* 'action', or *jāti* 'class'; although the meaning of *jāti*, and so on, could reside in *sattva* as qualifier (*viśeṣaṇa*). Besides, in the list headed by *ca* there is no *nipāta* which denotes *sattā* 'existence'.

The other question that arises in connection with the interpretation relates to the nature of the negation in *asattve*. Should it be interpreted as *paryudāsa*, or *prasajya*? If *paryudāsa* is chosen, the rule will then be interpreted as:

(*i*) *sattvād anyatra varttamānāś cādayo nipātasaṃjñakā bhavanti*
'items enumerated in the list headed by *ca* are termed *nipāta* when they denote something other than *sattva*'

A *prasajya* interpretation would mean that

(*ii*) *sattve varttamānāś cādayo nipātasaṃjñakā na bhavanti*
'items enumerated in the list headed by *ca* are not termed *nipāta* when they denote *sattva*'.

Commentators find difficulty with the *paryudāsa* interpretation. They claim that *paśu*, one of the items enumerated in the list headed by *ca*, will qualify for the assignment of the term *nipāta*. It will qualify because its denotatum is *sattva* 'animal', qualified by *jāti*. Thus, a *paryudāsa* interpretation will always assign the term *nipāta* to *paśu*. As a consequence *paśu* will be termed *avyaya* 'indeclinable'; and hence, no nominal ending can be used after it.

To avoid this difficulty, a *prasajya* interpretation is favoured. According to such an interpretation, *paśu* will not qualify for the assignment of the term *nipāta* when it denotes *sattva*. It does not matter whether its denotatum is *sattva* per se, or *sattva* qualified by *jāti*. This would now allow both the declined (*paśuḥ*) as well as nondeclined (*paśu*) usage of *paśu*.

SCOPE: 1.1.37 *svarādinipātam avyayam*

1.4.58 **प्रादयः**
prādayaḥ
/prādayaḥ 1/3/
(*asattve* # 57, *nipātāḥ* # 56)
prādayo' sattve nipātasaṃjñā bhavanti
Items enumerated in the list headed by *pra* are termed *nipāta* when they do not denote *sattva* 'thing'.

EXAMPLES:

pra
parā
apa

1. Some tend to read this and the subsequent *sūtra* as one: *prādaya upasargāḥ kriyāyoge*. But a joint reading creates difficulty. That is, *pra*, and so on, can be termed *nipāta* only when used in relation to action (*kriyā*). The desired interpretation is twofold:

(*i*) *pra*, and so on, are termed *nipāta* when they do not denote *sattva*, and
(*ii*) *pra*, and so on, are termed *upasarga* when used in relation to an action.

In order to arrive at the desired interpretation, one must resort to *yogavibhāga* 'rule splitting'. That is, rules 1.4.58-59 are read as one rule. When split, there will be two interpretations available:

(*i*) *prādayaḥ asattve nipātasaṃjñakā bhavanti*
'*pra*, and so on, are termed *nipāta* when they do not denote *sattva*', and
(*ii*) *prādayaḥ kriyāyoge upasargasaṃjñakā bhavanti*
'*pra*, and so on, are termed *upasarga* when used with a verb'

Note that *Kāśikā* lists *prādayaḥ* and *upasargāḥ kriyāyoge* as two separate rules. The split listing is also intended to keep *prādayaḥ* separate from the preceding *cādayo' sattve*. For, if *cādi* and *prādi* were read together in one rule, the *upasarga* designation by 1.4.59 would also obtain on *cādi*. Thus, *Kāśikā* (I: 594) believes that listing *prādayaḥ* as a separate rule is intended to qualify the subsequent terms (*pṛthag yogakaraṇam uttarasaṃjñāviśeṣaṇārtham*). In this way, a *cādi* word of 1.4.57 cannot be assigned the term *upasarga*.

The extension of the term *upasarga* to *pra*, and so on, is of consequence to examples such as these:

(*a*) *pranāyakaḥ* 'a country with no leader'
(*b*) *praṇāyakaḥ* 'a good leader'

The *pra* in (*a*) does not have any connection with the action of leading (*nayana*). We therefore get the following explanation for (*a*):

pragato nāyako' smād deśāt 'a country from where the leader has departed'

Since *pra* in (*a*) is not termed an *upasarga*, the *n* of *pranāyakaḥ* cannot be changed to *ṇ*, as is the case in (*b*). Obviously, (*b*) has its *pra* termed *upasarga* on the strength of its connection with the verb. Thus, (*b*) will be interpreted as:

yaḥ prakarṣeṇa nayati 'he who leads well'

1.4.59 **उपसर्गाः क्रियायोगे**

upasargāḥ kriyāyoge

/upasargāḥ 1/3 *kriyāyoge* 7/1 = *kriyāyā yogaḥ* (*ṣaṣ. tat.*); *tasmin* = *kriyāyoge/*

(*prādayaḥ* # 58)
prādayaḥ kriyāyoge upasargasaṃjñā bhavanti
Items enumerated in the list headed by *pra* are termed *upasarga* when they are used with a *kriyā* 'verb'.

EXAMPLES:

praṇayati 'he makes, constructs'
pariṇayati 'he marries'
praṇāyakaḥ 'he who leads'
pariṇāyakaḥ 'he who marries'

1. Some say that, since items termed *upasarga* are used regularly (*avyabhicāritvāt*) with roots denoting action, *kriyāyoga* 'with action' should not be explicitly stated. But since Pāṇini makes an explicit mention it must have some special purpose. The purpose is to emphasize that such items are termed *upasarga* only with reference to specific roots. For example,

(*a*) *pragato nāyako' smād deśāt* 'a country from where the leader has departed'

has a parallel string, *pranāyako deśaḥ*, where *pra* is not termed *upasarga* because it is not related to the action of leading (*nayana*). Instead, it is related to the action of departing (*gamana*). Thus, *pra* could only be termed *upasarga* in connection with the action of 'going' and not with 'leading'. Consequently, the *n* of *pranāyakaḥ* cannot be replaced with *ṇ*, as has been shown in my notes for the preceding rule. Contrary to this, the *n* of *praṇāyakaḥ* 'a good leader' has been replaced by *ṇ* because its *pra* has been termed *upasarga*, specific to the verbal root denoting the action of *nayana*.

SCOPE: 3.3.92 *upasarge ghoḥ kiḥ*

1.4.60 **गतिश्च**

gatiś ca
/*gatiḥ* 1/1 *ca* Ø/
(*kriyāyoge* # 58, *prādayaḥ* # 57)
gatisaṃjñākāś ca prādayo bhavanti kriyāyoge
Items enumerated in the list headed by *pra* are also termed *gati* when they are used with a *kriyā* 'verb'.

EXAMPLES:

prakṛtya 'after properly having made'
prakṛtam 'properly made'
yat prakaroti 'that which he starts'

1. The technical term *gati* is not the same as the non-technical *gati* 'movement', for it is used in the grammar as masculine, as attested by

6.2.49 *gatir anantaraḥ.* Furthermore, it is derived by introducing affix ***KtiC*** after *gam* by rule 3.3.174 *kticktau ca saṃjñāyām.* Note, however, that the application of rule 6.4.39 *na ktici dīrghasya* is blocked by ***nipātana*** 'ad hoc'. If it were not for this, the *m* of *gam* could not have been deleted. Additionally, in the absence of the deletion of *m,* the *a* of *gam* would have been replaced with *ā* by rule 6.4.15 *anunāsikasya kvijhaloḥ kṅiti.*

The *ca* of this rule is used to facilitate *saṃjñāsamāveśa* of ***upasarga*** and *gati.* Items listed as *prādi* are thus termed *upasarga* by the preceding rule, when they are used in connection with a verb. They are also termed ***gati*** by the present rule. In the absence of *saṃjñāsamāveśa,* rule 1.4.1 ***ākaḍārād ekā saṃjñā*** would not allow the assignment of two terms to a single nominatum. Rules 1.4.59 and 1.4.60 could not be formulated as a single rule, for the next rule, 1.4.61, requires the ***anuvṛtti*** of ***gati*** only. If both *gati* and *upasarga* terms are given by a single rule replacing 1.4.60, 1.4.61 would then have to get the *anuvṛtti* of both the terms. This is because items assigned concurrently should also be applied, or dropped, concurrently. (See *Paribhāṣā* 18: *ekayoganirdiṣṭānāṃ saha vā pravṛttiḥ saha vā nivṛttiḥ.*)

Recall that *pra,* etc., in addition to being assigned the terms ***upasarga*** and *gati,* are also assigned the term *nipāta.* Consider ***praṇītam,*** which derives from *pra* + *nī* + *Kta,* for an understanding of the function of the concurrent assignment of the terms *upasarga* and *gati* to *pra.* The *n* of *nīta* will first get replaced with *ṇ* by rule 8.4.14 *upasargād asamāse' piṇopadeśasya.* The *pra* would then, on the strength of being termed a *gati,* be assigned the *udātta* accent by rule 6.2.49 *gatir anantaraḥ.* It has been stated that rules 1.4.59 and 1.4.60 are not formulated as one so that rule 1.4.61 will not have the term *upasarga* carried to it. Thus, in the absence of the assignment of the term *upasarga* to *ūrī* in *ūrī syāt,* the *s* of *as* 'to be' in *syāt* could not be replaced with *ṣ* by rule 8.3.87 *upasargaprādurbhyām....* Also note that, if rules 1.4.59 and 1.4.60 are formulated as one, to read ***prādaya upasargāḥ kriyāyoge,*** their denotata can be termed *nipāta* only when used in connection with ***kriyā*** 'action'.

The purposes of assigning the term *gaṭi* are as follows:

(*i*) The assignment of the term *gati* facilitates the formation of a compound. Thus, given the string *pra* + *sŪ* + *kṛta,* rule 2.2.18 *kugatiprādayaḥ* would allow the formation of the compound *prakṛta* which, after the introduction of *sŪ,* will yield *prakṛtam* 'well-done'.

(*ii*) The term *gati* is also assigned, for example, to *pra* of *prakṛtam* to facilitate the initial *udātta (ādyudātta;* 1.2.29 *uccair udāttaḥ)* accent of *pra* by rule 6.2.49 *gatir anantaraḥ* read with 6.2.45 *kte ca.*

(*iii*) Given the string *yat prakaroti,* where *karoti* ends in a *tiṄ* (3.4.78 *tiptasjhi...*) and occurs after a non-*tiṄ pra* termed *gati,* rule 8.1.28 *tiṅatiṅaḥ* would demand *sarvanighāta* 'total *anudātta*' of *karoti.* But rule 8.1.66 *yadvṛttān nityam* would block that demand. This, then,

enables *karoti* to retain its accent. That is, *tiP* remained *anudātta* because of being marked with *P*, as per rule 3.1.4 *anudāttau suppitau*. The augment *u* turned *o* by way of *guṇa* retains its *udātta* because of being an affix per rule 3.1.3 *adyudāttaś ca*, read with 3.1.1 *pratyayaḥ*.

(iv) There is still more, however, to the accentuation of *prakaroti*. The assignment of the term *gati* blocks the *udātta* accent of *pra* made available by the *Phiṭsūtra* (81): *upasargaś cābhivarjam*. Instead, *pra* is assigned the *anudātta* accent by rule 8.1.71 *tiṅi codāttavati*, on the strength of its occurrence before an item which ended in *tiṄ* and contained an *udātta*. Obviously, *pra* is occurring before *karoti*, which ends in *tiṄ* and has the *udātta* accent of the augment *u* turned *o* via *guṇa*.

SCOPE: 2.2.18 *kugati prādayaḥ*

1.4.61 ऊर्यादिच्विडाचश्च

ūryādicviḍācaś ca

/ūryādicviḍācaḥ 1/3 = *ūrī ādir yeṣāṃ te* (*bv.*); *ūryādayaś ca cviś ca ḍāc ca* = *ūryādicviḍācaḥ* (*dv.* with internal *bv.*); *ca Ø/*

(*gatiḥ* # 60, *kriyāyoge* # 59, *nipātāḥ* # 56)

ūryādayaś śabdāḥ cvyantā ḍājantāś ca kriyāyoge gatisaṃjñā bhavanti

Items enumerated in the list headed by *ūrī* 'to assent' as well as those which end in the affix *CvI* (5.4.50 *abhūtatadbhāve...*) or *ḌāC* (5.4.57 *avyaktānukaraṇād...*) are termed *gati* when they are used with a *kriyā* 'verb'.

EXAMPLES:

ūrīkṛtya 'after having accepted'
ūrīkṛtam 'accepted'
yad ūrīkaroti 'that which he accepts'
urarīkṛtya 'after having promised'
urarīkṛtam 'promised'
yad urarīkaroti 'that which he promises'
śuklīkṛtya 'after having made something white'
śuklīkṛtam 'made white'
yac chuklīkaroti 'that which he makes white'
paṭapaṭākṛtya 'after having made the *paṭa-paṭa* noise'
paṭapaṭākṛtam 'the *paṭa-paṭa* noise'
yat paṭapaṭākaroti 'the *paṭa-paṭa* noise which he makes'

1. Note that affixes *CvI* and *ḌāC* are introduced only in connection with the verbal roots *kṛ* 'to do', *bhū* 'to be, become', and *as* 'to be'. Since items

enumerated in the list headed by *ūrī* are assigned the term *gati* in association (*sāhacarya*) with items ending in *CvI* and *ḌāC*, *ūrī*, etc., must also be assigned the term *gati* in association with *kṛ*, *bhū*, and *as*. Note that affix *CvI* is introduced to denote *abhūtatadbhāva* (5.4.50 *abhūtatad...*) 'the state of becoming something which it was not'. Thus, *śuklīkṛtya* would mean that 'something was made white which it was not'. Similarly, *ḌāC* is introduced by rule 5.4.57 *avyaktānukaraṇād....*

2. The purpose of assigning the term *gati* to items such as *ūrī*, *śuklī* and *paṭapaṭā*, of *ūrīkṛtya*, *śuklīkṛtya*, and *paṭapaṭākṛtya*, is to facilitate the formation of compounds by rule 2.2.18 *kugatiprādayaḥ*. Furthermore, for the reason that *ūrī*, *śuklī* and *paṭapaṭā* have been assigned the term *gati*, the *Ktvā* of *ūrīkṛ* + *Ktvā*, *śuklīkṛ* + *Ktvā*, and *paṭapaṭākṛ* + *Ktvā* will be replaced by *LyaP* as per rule 7.1.37 *samāse'anañapūrve lyap*. This would then give the right derivates, such as *ūrīkṛtya*, *śuklīkṛtya*, and *paṭapaṭākṛtya*. Note in this connection that *tUK* is ruled with reference to *kṛ* by rule 6.1.71 *hrasvasya ... tuk*, and in accordance with rule 1.1.46 *ādyantau ṭakitau* is introduced at the end of *kṛ*. Thus, *śuklīkṛ* + *Ktvā* → *śuklīkṛ* + (*Ktvā* → *LyaP*) → *śuklīkṛ* + *tUK* + *LyaP* → *śuklīkṛ* + *t* + *ya* = *śuklīkṛtya*.

1.4.62 अनुकरणं चानितिपरम्

anukaraṇaṃ cānitiparam
/anukaraṇam 1/1 *ca* ∅ *anitiparam* 1/1 = *iti paro yasmāt tat (bv.); na iti param* = *anitiparam (nañ. tat.* with internal *bv.)/*
(gatiḥ # 60, *kriyāyoge* # 59, *nipātāḥ* # 56)
anukaraṇam anitiparaṃ kriyāyoge gatisaṃjñaṃ bhavati
A word denoting the imitation of a particular noise also is termed *gati* when it is used with a verb and is not followed by *iti* 'thus'.

EXAMPLES:

khāṭkṛtya 'after having imitated the noise *khāṭ*'
khāṭkṛtam 'the noise *khāṭ*'
yat khāṭkaroti 'the noise *khāṭ*, which he makes'

1. The function of the assignment of the term *gati* is again to facilitate the formation of compounds by rule 2.2.18 *kugatiprādayaḥ*.

1.4.63 आदरानादरयोः सदसती

ādarānādarayoḥ sadasati
/ādarānādarayoḥ 7/2 *(itar. dv.); sad-asatī* 1/2 *(itar. dv.)/*
(gatiḥ # 60, *kriyāyoge* # 59, *nipātāḥ* # 56)
ādarānādarayor yathākramaṃ sadasac chabdau gatisaṃjñau bhavataḥ
The two *nipāta*, *sat* and *asat*, are termed *gati* when they are used with

a *kriyā* 'verb' and respectively denote *ādara* 'respect' and *anādara* 'disrespect, indifference'.

EXAMPLES:

satkṛtya 'after having respected'
satkṛtam 'respected'
yat satkaroti 'the respect which he...'
asatkṛtya 'after having insulted'
asatkṛtam 'insulted'
yad asatkaroti 'the insult which he...'

1.4.64 **भूषणेऽलम्**

bhūṣaṇe' lam
/bhūṣaṇe 7/1 *alam* Ø/
(gatiḥ # 60, *kriyāyoge* # 59, *nipātāḥ* # 56)
bhūṣaṇe yo' laṃ śabdaḥ sa gatisaṃjño bhavati
The word *alam,* a *nipāta,* is termed *gati* when it is used with a *kriyā* 'verb' and denotes *bhūṣaṇa* 'ornamentation'.

EXAMPLES:

alaṃkṛtya 'after having ornamented'
alaṃkṛtam 'ornamented'
yad alaṃkaroti 'the thing which he is ornamenting...'

1. The word *alam* is an indeclinable (*avyaya*), and is used in the sense of *pratiṣedha* 'negation, prohibition', *sāmarthya* 'capability', *paryāpti* 'enough', and *bhūṣaṇa* 'ornamentation'. This rule permits the assignment of the term *gati* to *alam* only when it is used in the sense of *bhūṣaṇa.* Thus, we get the compound expression *alaṃkṛtya* 'after having ornamented'. When *alam* is to be used in a sense other than *bhūṣaṇa,* the compound formation by rule 2.2.18 *kugatiprādayaḥ* is not permitted. We therefore get examples such as

(*a*) *alaṃ bhuktvā odanaṃ gataḥ* 'after having eaten enough rice he left' where *alam* is used in the sense of *paryāpti.* In this case, a compound such as **alambhuktvā* would not be permitted.

1.4.65 **अन्तरपरिग्रहे**

antar aparigrahe
/antaḥ 1/1 *aparigrahe* 7/1 *(nañ. tat.)/*
(gatiḥ # 60, *kriyāyoge* # 59, *nipātāḥ* # 56)
antaḥ śabdo parigrahe' rthe gatisaṃjño bhavati
The word *antaḥ* is termed *gati* when it is used with a *kriyā* 'verb' and denotes *aparigraha* 'rejection, decline'.

EXAMPLES:

antarhatya 'after having rejected'
antarhatam 'rejected'
yad antarhanti 'the thing which they reject...

1. The word *antaḥ* is used in the sense of locus (*adhikaraṇa*), characterized as *madhya* 'inside' or 'in between'. It is also used in the sense of *parigraha* 'to accept something as one's own' (*svīkaraṇa*). This rule assigns the term *gati* to *antaḥ* when it is not used in the sense of *parigraha*. The assignment of *gati* can facilitate the formation of a compound such as *antarhatya*, where *LyaP* and *tUK* have also been introduced, as in *ūrīkṛtya* of 1.4.61 *ūryādicvi*.... The *n* of *han* is deleted by 6.4.38 *vā lyapi*. Note also that in the absence of the assignment of the term *gati*, operations conditioned by the term *upasarga* may obtain. Thus, we may get examples such as *antarṇayati*, where the *n* of *nayati* is replaced with *ṇ* on the strength of the term *upasarga*, even though *antarṇayati* does not entail compound formation.

1.4.66 **कणेमनसी श्रद्धाप्रतीघाते**

kaṇemanasī śraddhāpratīghāte
/kaṇemanasī 1/2 = *kaṇe ca manaś ca* (*itar. dv*); *śraddhāyāḥ pratīghātaḥ* (*ṣaṣ. tat.*); *tasmin/*
(*gatiḥ* # 60, *kriyāyoge* # 59, *nipātāḥ*# 56)
kaṇe śabdo manas śabdaś ca śraddhāpratīghāte gatisaṃjñau bhavataḥ
The words *kaṇe* and *manas* are termed *gati* when they are used with *kriyā* and denote *śraddhāpratīghāta* 'cessation of desire'.

EXAMPLES:

kaṇehatya payaḥ pibati 'he drinks milk to his heart's content'
manohatya payaḥ pibati 'id.'

1. Note that *kaṇe*, a *nipāta*, is similar (*pratirūpaka*) to a locative form, and is used here in the sense of the excellence of desire (*abhilāṣātiśaya*). This is the only way it can imply the *pratīghāta* 'cessation' of *śraddhā* 'desire'. The word *manaḥ*, because of its association (*sāhacarya*) with *kaṇe*, should be similarly understood.

1.4.67 **पुरोऽव्ययम्**

puro' vyayam
/puraḥ Ø avyayam 1/1/
(*gatiḥ* # 60, *kriyāyoge* # 59, *nipātāḥ* # 56)
asipratyayāntaḥ puraḥ śabdo' vyayaṃ sa gatisaṃjñaṃ bhavati
The indeclinable, *puraḥ*, is termed *gati* when it is used with a *kriyā* 'verb'.

EXAMPLES:

puraskṛtya 'after having rewarded'
puraskṛtam 'rewarded'
yat puraskaroti 'the reward which he...

1. The word *puras* is derived by introducing the affix *asI* after the word *pūrva* 'prior, east', by rule 5.3.39 *pūrvādharāvarā...*, where *pūrva* also gets replaced by *pura*. It receives the term *avyaya* by rule 1.1.38 *taddhitaś cāsarvavibhaktiḥ*. The purpose of assigning the term *gati* is, as usual, to facilitate the formation of compounds and the assignment of proper accent.

1.4.68 अस्तं च

astaṃ ca
/astam Ø ca Ø/
(avyayam # 67, gatiḥ # 60, kriyāyoge # 59, nipātāḥ # 56)
astaṃśabdo makārānto' vyayam anupalabdhau vartate, sa gatisaṃjño bhavati
The indeclinable, *astam,* is termed *gati* when it is used with a *kriyā* 'verb'.

EXAMPLES:

astaṃgatya savitā punar udeti 'the sun rises again after setting'
astaṃgatāni dhanāni 'gone are the riches'
yad astaṃ gacchati 'that which goes down'

1. The *ca* in this rule is used to carry the word *avyayam* from the preceding rule. This, in turn, facilitates the proper interpretation of *astam.* In the absence of the qualifier *avyayam, astam* could also be interpreted, for example, as the past passive participial derivative *astam* 'hurled', of *as* 'to hurl'. The function of the *gati* and *nipāta* terms are similar to those described in earlier notes.

1.4.69 अच्छ गत्यर्थवदेषु

accha gatyarthavadeṣu
/accha Ø gatyarthavadeṣu 7/1 = *gatir artho yeṣāṃ te gatyarthāḥ; gatyarthāś ca vadaś ca = gatyarthavadāḥ* (*dv.* with internal *bv.*); *teṣu/*
(avyayam # 67, gatiḥ # 60, kriyāyoge # 59, nipātāḥ # 56)
accha śabdo'yam avyayam abhiśabdasyārthe varttate, sa gatyartheṣu dhātuṣu vadatau ca gatisaṃjño bhavati
The indeclinable *accha* 'up front, in front of', is termed *gati* when it is used with *vadĀ* 'to speak' or with roots which denote *gati* 'movement'.

EXAMPLES:

acchagatya 'after having gone in front of'

acchagatam 'gone in front'
yad acchagacchati 'that which goes in front of'
acchodya 'after having said in front of'
acchoditam 'said in front of'
yad acchavadati 'that which he speaks in front of'

1. This rule assigns the terms *gati* and *nipāta* to *accha,* again an indeclinable. The context of this term assignment is limited only to its usage with a root having the signification of *gati* 'movement' or *vad* 'to speak'. The purpose of the assignment of these terms is again in relation to compound formation and accent.

1.4.70 अदोऽनुपदेशे

ado' nupadeśe
/adaḥ 1/1 *anupadeśe* 7/1 (*nañ. tat.*)/
(*gatiḥ* # 60, *kriyāyoge* # 59, *nipātāḥ* # 56)
adaḥ śabdas tyadādiṣu paṭhyate, so' nupadeśe gatisaṃjño bhavati
The word *adaḥ* 'that' is termed *gati* when it is used with *kriyā* 'verb' and denotes *anupadeśa* 'independent thinking'.

EXAMPLES:

adaḥkṛtya 'after having thought'
adaḥkṛtam 'having thought'
yad adaḥkaroti 'that which he thinks'

1. The word *anupadeśa* refers to the meaning of *adaḥ.* If a person does something in consultation with, or on the advice of, another person, the said consultation or advice may be termed *upadeśa.* When a person does something based entirely on his own thinking, however, his action can be called *anupadiṣṭa* 'not having been inspired by someone else'. Thus, *adaḥkṛtya* would literally mean 'after having thought independently'.

1.4.71 तिरोऽन्तर्द्धौ

tiro' ntarddhau
/tirah Ø antarddhau 7/1/
(*gatiḥ* # 60, *kriyāyoge* # 59, *nipātāḥ* # 56)
antarddhau tiraḥ śabdo gatisaṃjño bhavati
The word *tiraḥ* is termed *gati* when it is used with a *kriyā* 'verb' and denotes *antarddhi* 'hiding'.

EXAMPLES:

tirobhūya 'after having disappeared'
tirobhūtam 'disappeared'
yat tirobhavati 'that which disappears'

1. The word *tiraḥ* is assigned the terms *nipāta* and *gati* when it is used with a verb and denotes *antarddhi* 'hiding'. Again, the purpose of the assignment of these terms is to facilitate compound formation and determine proper accent. *Kāśikā* cites *tiro bhūtvā sthitaḥ* 'he stayed after having moved to one side', and glosses this *tiraḥ* as *pārśvam* 'side'.

1.4.72 विभाषा कृञि

vibhāṣā kṛñi
/vibhāṣā 1/1 *kṛñi* 7/1/
(*antarddhau* # 71, *gatiḥ* # 60, *kriyāyoge* # 59, *nipātāḥ* # 56)
tiraḥ śabdaḥ karotau parato vibhāṣā gatisaṃjño bhavati
The word *tiraḥ* optionally is termed *gati* when it is used with *ḌUkṛÑ* 'to do, make' and denotes *antarddhi* 'hiding'.

EXAMPLES:

tiraḥkṛtya 'after having hidden'
tiraskṛtya 'id.'
tiras kṛtam 'hidden'
yat tiras karoti 'that which he hides'
tiraḥ kṛtvā 'after having hidden'
tiras kṛtvā 'id.'

1. This rule is an instance of *prāptavibhāṣa* whereby a provision already made becomes optional. It is, again, an option provided in the context of the meaning of *antarddhi*. We will thus get two forms:
(*a*) *tiraḥkṛtya* 'after having hidden'
(*b*) *tiraḥ kṛtvā* 'id.'
The second example is derived under the option of not assigning the term *gati* to *tiraḥ*. Note also that these two examples will each have an additional optional form depending on whether or not the option of replacing *visarga* with *s* is accepted. Thus, *tiraḥ kṛtya/tiras kṛtya (gati); tiraḥ kṛtvā/tiras kṛtvā* (non-*gati*). It is to be understood here that what is provided as optional is the assignment of the term *gati* only. That is, the assignment of the term *nipāta* is not made optional by this rule.

1.4.73 उपाजेऽन्वाजे

upāje' nvāje
(*vibhāṣā kṛñi* # 72, *gatiḥ* # 60, *kriyāyoge* # 59, *nipātāḥ* # 56)
upāje' nvāje śabdau (vibhaktipratirūpakau nipātau durbalasya sāmarthyādhāne vartete) kṛñi vibhāṣā gatisaṃjñau bhavataḥ
The words *upāje* and *anvāje* optionally are termed *gati* when they are used with *ḌUkṛÑ*.

EXAMPLES:

upājekṛtya 'having helped the weak'

upāje kṛtvā 'id.'
anvājekṛtya 'id.'
anvāje kṛtvā 'id.'

1. The words *upāje* and *anvāje* are used here in the sense of supporting someone weak (*durbalasya sāmarthyādhāne*). The assignment of the term *gati* enables the formation of compounds as well as the introduction of *LyaP* in place of *Ktvā*, as is also the case in the preceding rule. Of course in the absence of the term *gati* a compound-formation along with *LyaP* will be blocked.

1.4.74 साक्षात्प्रभृतीनि च

sākṣātprabhṛtīni ca
/sākṣātprabhṛtīni 1/3 = *sākṣāt prabhṛti yeṣām* (*bv.*); *tāni; ca Ø/*
(*vibhāṣā kṛñi* # 72, *gatiḥ* # 60, *kriyāyoge* # 59, *nipātāḥ* # 56)
sākṣātprabhṛtīni śabdarūpāṇi kṛñi vibhāṣā gatisaṃjñāni bhavanti
Items enumerated in the list headed by *sākṣāt* 'manifestly' are optionally termed *gati* when they are used with *ḌUkṛÑ* 'to do, make'.

EXAMPLES:

sākṣātkṛtya 'having visualized something'
sākṣātkṛtvā 'id.'
mithyākṛtya 'having mispronounced something'
mithyā kṛtvā 'id.'

1. The *ca* of this rule is used to bring *vibhāṣā kṛñi* from the preceding rule. The list headed by *sākṣāt* 'manifestly' consists of nearly two dozen items. A *vārttika* (*Mbh.* II: 452) on this rule claims that the assignment of the term *gati* to items enumerated in the list headed by *sākṣāt* should be made only when they are used in the sense of the affix *CvI* (5.4.50 *abhūtatad...*). The sense of *CvI* is 'the state of becoming something which it was not'. Thus, an example such as *sākṣātkṛtya* would mean 'having made something manifest which it was not'. This implies that, when something which was manifest earlier is made manifest again, it will not be assigned the term *gati*. The term will not apply even though, in the process of being made manifest again, the thing may have acquired some new attribute. The *Nyāsa* ad *Kāśikā* (I: 606) captures the distinction as follows:

asākṣādbhūtaṃ yadā sākṣāt kriyate tadā gatisaṃjña yathā syāt
'when that which was not manifest is made manifest the term *gati*, as provided for by this rule, applies'
kiṃ tu sākṣādbhūtasya pratyakṣabhāvam upagatasyaiva sato yo' nyo viśeṣaḥ kaścit kriyate tadā mā bhūd iti
'but the term is not assigned when the thing which is already made

manifest goes through this process again and gains some other qualities'

This same observation applies to *mithyā* 'false', etc., also. *Nyāsa* observes, additionally, that this meaning could be gotten by carrying *cvi,* from rule 1.4.61 *ūryādicviḍācaś ca,* and *artha* from 1.4.69 *accha gatyarthavadeṣu.* The *anuvṛtti* of these elements will, of course, be that of *maṇḍūkapluti* 'frog's leaping'. Otherwise, the option provided for by this rule will have to be constrained to the meaning of *CvI* by treating the rule as *vyavasthitavibhāṣā,* an option obtaining in a highly restricted context. In this way, obligatory assignment of *gati* will be made by rule 1.4.61 *ūryādicviḍācaś ca.* The same will be made optional by this rule if items did not end in affix *CvI,* but were used in the sense of *CvI.*

1.4.75 **अनत्याधान उरसिमनसी**

anatyādhāna urasimanasī

/anatyādhāne 7/1 (*nañ. tat.*); *urasimanasī* 1/2 (*itar. dv.*)/

(*vibhāṣā kṛñi* # 72, *gatiḥ* # 60, *kriyāyoge* # 59, *nipātāḥ* # 56)

anatyādhāne urasimanasī śabdau vibhāṣā kṛñi gatisaṃjñau bhavataḥ

The words *urasi* and *manasi* optionally are termed *gati* when they are used with *ḌUkṛÑ* and *atyādhāna* 'to place close to, embrace' is not denoted.

EXAMPLES:

urasi kṛtya 'having completely comprehended'
urasi kṛtvā 'id.'
manasikṛtya 'having firmly resolved'
manasi kṛtvā 'id.'

1. The words *urasi* and *manasi* are *nipāta.* They are termed *gati* when used in the sense of *anatyādhāna.* The *Kāśikā* explains *atyādhāna.* as *upaśleṣaṇa* 'embracing, clinging close to'. The lack of *atyādhana* denoted by *urasi* and *manasi* is explained by *Nyāsa* as 'to closely adhere to, to firmly resolve (*niścitya*), to fully comprehend (*abhyupagamya*)'. It is because of denoting *atyādhāna* that

(*a*) *urasi kṛtvā pāṇiṃ śete* 'he is sleeping with his hand on his chest'

is treated as a counter-example. The purpose of optionally assigning the term *gati* is to facilitate the formation of compounds and the introduction of *LyaP* in place of *Ktvā.*

1.4.76 **मध्ये पदे निवचने च**

madhye pade nivacane ca

/madhye pade nivacane 1/1 (deleted) *ca* ॥/

/(*anatyādhāne* # 75, *vibhāṣā kṛñi* # 72, *gatiḥ* # 60, *kriyāyoge* # 59,

nipātāḥ # 56)
'madhye, pade, nivacane' ity ete śabdā anatyādhāne vibhāṣā kṛñi gatisaṃjñā bhavanti
The words *madhye, pade,* and *nivacane* optionally are termed *gati* when they are used with *ḌukṛÑ* and *atyādhāna* is not denoted.

EXAMPLES:

madhyekṛtya 'having placed in the middle'
madhye kṛtvā 'id.
padekṛtya 'having counted the words'
pade kṛtvā 'id.'
nivacanekṛtya 'having restrained his speech'
nivacane kṛtvā 'id.'

1. The use of *ca* in this rule facilitates the carrying over of the meaning condition of *anātyādhāna* from the preceding rule. The *anuvṛtti* of *vibhāṣā kṛñi* further restricts the usage to the context of an action denoted by *ḌUkṛÑ*. Thus, *madhye, pade* and *nivacane,* when not meaning *atyādhāna,* are optionally termed *gati,* provided they are also used in connection with an action denoted by *ḌUkṛÑ*.

The words *madhye, pade* and *nivacane* have been cited here as ending in *e* by *nipātana*. They should not be confused with their locative counterparts. Haradatta (*PM* ad *Kāś.* I: 609) clearly states that this is not locative (*tatra nipātanād ekārāntatvaṃ na punar eṣā saptamī*). However, when these are allowed to form a compound on the strength of the term *gati,* they are treated as ending in the locative. In addition, the endings are not deleted by *LUK* (2.4.71 *supo dhātuprātipadikayoḥ*) after the formation of the compound. This, as *Nyāsa* ad *Kāśikā* (I: 609) observes, is mainly because Pāṇini cites the forms in the rule as *madhye, pade* and *nivacane* (*uccāraṇasāmarthyāt saptamyāḥ samāse' py alug bhavati*). The word *nivacana* is combined to form an *avyayībhāva* compound to denote constraint (*niyamana*).

1.4.77 नित्यं हस्ते पाणावुपयमने

nityaṃ haste pāṇāv upayamane
/nityam Ø haste 7/1 *pāṇau* 7/1 *upayamane* 7/1/
(*kṛñi* # 72, *gatiḥ* # 60, *kriyāyoge* # 59, *nipātāḥ* # 56)
'haste, pāṇau' ity etau śabdau kṛñi nityaṃ gatisaṃjñau bhavataḥ upayamane
The words *haste* and *pāṇau* obligatorily are termed *gati* when they are used with *ḌUkṛÑ* to denote *upayamana* 'to accept in marriage, to marry'.

EXAMPLES:

hastekṛtya 'after having married her'
pāṇau kṛtya 'id.'

1. Except for the obligatory assignment of the term *gati*, this *sūtra* is not any different from the preceding one. The word *upayamana* is generally accepted as meaning *bhāryākaraṇa* or *dārakarman* 'to accept someone as wife'. Others say that *upayamana* simply means 'to accept' (*svīkaraṇa*). The meaning of *dārakarman* then has to be inferred.

1.4.78 प्राध्वं बन्धने

prādhvaṃ bandhane
/prādhvam Ø bandhane 7/1/
(*nityam* # 77, *kṛñi* # 72, *gatiḥ* # 60, *kriyāyoge* # 59, *nipātāḥ* # 56)
prādhvaṃ śabdaḥ kṛñi nityaṃ gatisaṃjño bhavati
The word *prādhvam* obligatorily is termed *gati* when it is used with *ḌUkṛÑ* to denote *bandhana* 'tying'.

EXAMPLE:

prādhvaṃkṛtya 'after having tied'

1. The word *prādhvam* is treated as an indeclinable ending in *m* (*makārānta*), because it is listed in the group headed by *ca* (*cādi*). Its meaning is generally explained as *ānukūlya* 'conduciveness'. The word *bandhana* is used as a meaning condition where its *saptamī* ('locative') is interpreted as denoting cause (*nimitta*). It is for this reason that *bandhana* has to be accepted as a conducive cause.

1.4.79 जीविकोपनिषदावौपम्ये

jīvikopaniṣadāv aupamye
/jīvikopaniṣadau 1/2 (*itar. dv.*); *aupamye* 7/1/
(*nityam* # 77, *kṛñi* # 72, *gatiḥ* # 60, *kriyāyoge* # 59, *nipātāḥ* # 56)
'jīvikā, upaniṣad' ity etau śabdau aupamye viṣaye kṛñi gatisaṃjñau bhavataḥ
The words *jīvikā* and *upaniṣad* obligatorily are termed *gati* when they are used with *ḌUkṛÑ* and *aupamya* 'comparison' is denoted.

EXAMPLES:

jīvikākṛtya 'after having treated something as a livelihood'
upaniṣatkṛtya 'after having treated something as a mystery'

1. This rule assigns the term *gati* to *jīvikā* 'livelihood' and *upaniṣad* 'Upaniṣad', when they are used in connection with *ḌUkṛÑ* and serve as a standard of comparison (*upamā*). Thus, *jīvikākṛtya* would mean 'after having treated something as a livelihood'. Similarly, *upaniṣatkṛtya* would mean 'after having treated something as a mystery'. The word *upaniṣad* then would have to mean 'a mystical, esoteric (*rahasya*) cause (*hetu*)'.

1.4.80 **ते प्राग्धातोः**

te prāg dhātoḥ
/te 1/3 *prāk* Ø *dhātoḥ* 5/1/
te gatyupasargasaṃjñakāḥ dhātoḥ prāk prayoktavayāḥ
Items termed *gati* and *upasarga* are preplaced to a verbal root.

1. A question is raised about the use of the word *te* 'they'. It is argued that, in the absence of *te*, prior placement would apply only to items termed *gati* as they are discussed in the context which immediately precedes (*anantara*) them. Since items termed *upasarga* are not so discussed, they could be left out. Their preplacement is also desired. It is to facilitate the preplacement of *upasarga* that *te* must be used in the rule. Many examples discussed in the preceding rules also illustrate the application of the present rule.

1.4.81 **छन्दसि परेऽपि**

chandasi pare' pi
/chandasi 7/1 *pare* 7/1 *api* Ø
(*te dhātoḥ* # 80)
chandasi viṣaye gatyupasargasaṃjñakāḥ pare' pi pūrve' pi prayoktavyāḥ
Items termed *gati* and *upasarga* may be preposed or postposed to a verbal root in the Veda.

EXAMPLES:

yāti ni hastinā 'he overpowers by means of his elephant'
niyāti hastinā 'id.'
ha. ṯi ni muṣṭinā 'he subdues by felling with his fists'
nihanti muṣṭinā 'id.'

1. The use of *ni* before or after *yāti* or *hanti* in these examples is self-explanatory.

1.4.82 **व्यवहिताश्च**

vyavahitāś ca
/vyavahitāḥ 1/3 *ca* Ø/
vyavahitāś ca gatyupasargasaṃjñakāḥ chandasi dṛśyante
Items termed *gati* and *upasarga* are also seen interrupted in the Veda.

EXAMPLES:

āyāhi 'come'
ā mandrairindra haribhiryāhi mayūraromabhiḥ 'O Indra, come by fast horses which have the colour of the peacock feather'

1. Our first example, *āyāhi*, illustrates the way in which *āṄ*, an *upasarga*, is preplaced to the root *yā* 'to go'. In the second example, however, the

same *āṄ* is used with *yāhi*, which is interrupted (*vyavahita*) by *mandrairindra haribhir*.

Note that the word *chandasi* is carried in this rule. This implies that the interrupted use of items termed *gati* and *upasarga* is characteristic of the Vedic usage only. More directly, they are not to be found in the classical language (*bhāṣā*). If this is acceptable, then how can one account for expressions such as *samudāhara* 'say it together', where *sam*, *ut*, and *āṄ* are used before *hṛ*? That is, *sam* or *ut* is used before the verb root with interruption. Commentators explain that interruption by elements of similar class (*tulyajātīyaka*) should not be considered as interruption. In other words, *upasarga* can be interrupted by *gati* when used before a verbal root. By interruption (*vyavadhāna*) the commentators therefore mean a *vyavadhāna* by something not belonging to the same class of elements (*vijātīyaka*). In support of this explanation, a parallel situation may be found in the outside world. Consider the following sentence as an answer to the question 'Are these the houses of brāhmaṇa?'

> *nānantare; vṛṣalakulam anayor madhye* 'not uninterruptedly; the house of a *vṛṣala* is between them'

This example clearly establishes that it is interruption by elements belonging to a different class which are in focus here.

1.4.83 कर्मप्रवचनीयाः

karmapravacanīyāḥ
/karmapravacanīyāḥ 1/3/
yān ita ūrdhvam anukramiṣyāmaḥ karmapravacanīyasaṃjñās te veditavyāḥ
What follows are termed *karmapravacanīya*.

1. The *Mahābhāṣya* (II: 456-57) presents an interesting discussion about items termed *karmapravacanīya*, which I reproduce as follows:

kimartham mahatī saṃjñā kriyate 'For what purpose is this long term used?'
anvarthasaṃjñā yathā vijñāyeta 'So that it is comprehended as denoting its etymological sense.'
karmaproktavantaḥ karmapravacanīyā iti 'Thus: those which denoted an action are termed *karmapravacanīya*.'
ke punaḥ karma proktavantaḥ 'What, then, are those which denoted an action?'
ye samprati kriyāṃ nāhuḥ 'Those which are not denoting any action now.'
ke ca samprati kriyāṃ nāhuḥ 'What are those which are not denoting any action now?'
ye' prayujyamānasya kriyām āhus te karmapravacanīyāḥ 'Those which denote the action of that which is not used are termed *karmapravacanīya*'.

The word *karmapravacanīya* is derived by introducing affix *anīyaR* to denote agent (*kartṛ*) by rule 3.1.96 *tavyattavyānīyaraḥ*. Since *anīyaR* is a non-*tiN̆* affix, it will be termed *kṛt*. It will also be termed *kṛtya*, as rule 3.1.96 is contained within the domain of 3.1.95 *kṛtyāḥ*. It is because of the assignment of the term *kṛtya* that *anīyaR* is construed with past (*bhūta;* cf. 3.2.84 *bhūte*), although rule 3.3.113 *kṛtyalyuṭo bahulam* also attests to some diverse interpretations. The word *karman* is used here in the sense of action. It is for this reason that *karmapravacanīya* is interpreted as having the sense 'that which denoted action in the past'. By inference, it is also understood that a *karmapravacanīya* does not denote any action at the current time. What, then, is the denotatum of a *karmapravacanīya*? Bhartṛhari (*VP*, II, 204: 322-23) presents the denotatum of a *karmapravacanīya* as follows:

> *kriyāyā dyotako nāyaṃ na sambandhasya vācakaḥ/*
> *nāpi kriyāpadākṣepī sambandhasya tu bhedakaḥ //*
> 'A *karmapravacanīya* does not denote any action (*kriyā*); nor does it denote any relatum (*sambandha*); it does not even mark another action to be construed with the present; it simply distinguishes (*bhedaka*) a particular relationship.'

Note that a distinction is being maintained between the words *dyotaka/vācaka* 'that which expresses or denotes' and *bhedaka* 'distinguisher'. A *karmapravacanīya* distinguishes an action by serving as a characteristic mark (*lakṣaṇa*) for something special about that action. It is in this sense that Puṇyarāja (*VP*, II, 199: 317) defines *karmapravacanīya* as a cause (*hetu*) which distinguishes a particular relatum (*sambandhaviśeṣa*) additionally brought (*upajanita*) to a particular action (*kriyāviśeṣa*). One of the most celebrated sentences illustrating the function of a *karmapravacanīya* is

(*a*) *śākalyasya saṃhitaṁ anu prāvarṣat* 'it rained right after the chanting of the Saṃhitā of Śākalya'

The *anu* of this sentence is a *karmapravacanīya* because it does not denote any particular action. Compare it with the *anu* of

(*b*) *anubhūyate kambalaḥ* 'the blanket is felt for its softness'

The *anu* of (*b*) is denoting the action of 'feeling' (*anubhū*). The *anu* of (*a*) does not denote any action because of the lack of a *pada* denoting an action (*kriyāpadābhāvāt*). That is, it is not used in (*a*) with something like *bhū* of (*b*). It does not even denote any relatum, such as one denoted by *ṣaṣṭhī* of *śākalyasya*. For, *saṃhitām* is required to be put in the *dvitīyā* 'accusative' which, in turn, does that. The *anu* of (*a*) does not even mark the construing of any other action as, for example, the *vi*, which is not a *karmapravacanīya*, does in

(*c*) *prādeśaṃ viparilikhati* 'he measures and marks off lengths of one-half forearm'

Here, the *vi* is actually indicating that one should construe the verbal root *mā* to properly interpret (*c*) as

(*d*) *prādeśaṃ vimāya parilikhati* 'he marks off lengths of one-half forearm after having measured (them)'

The *anu* is not even marking the relationship in (*a*) between the *saṃhitā* and *pravarṣaṇa* 'rain', for that residual relation (*śeṣasambandha*) is being expressed by the *dvitīyā* of *saṃhitā*. It is therefore clear that a special relationship (*sambandhaviśeṣa*) is being distinguished by *anu* of (*a*). This special relationship is recognized as *hetuhetumadbhāva* 'the relationship between the cause and the causal agent'. It is brought as a special addition to the relationship which obtains between *saṃhitā* and *pravarṣaṇa*. The means for bringing this specialty is the action of *niśamana*, here the completion of the action of chanting. A *karmapravacanīya* such as *anu* thus distinguishes a special relationship. The basic purpose of assigning the term *karmapravacanīya* is to facilitate the introduction of *dvitīya* after an item used in connection with it (2.3.8 *karmapravacanīyayukte dvitīyā*). Sentence (*a*) therefore has *dvitīyā* introduced after *saṃhitā* used in connection with *anu*. The introduction of the term *karmapravacanīya*, by rule 1.4.83, as an *adhikāra*, also serves an additional function. That is, it facilitates the dropping of the terms *gati* and *upasarga* from *anuvṛtti*. The terms *nipāta* and *karmapravacanīya* will now share the *saṃjñāsamāveśa* by themselves.

SCOPE: 2.3.8 *karma pravacanīyayukte dvitīyā*.

1.4.84 **अनुर्लक्षणे**

anur lakṣaṇe

/anuḥ 1/1 *lakṣaṇe* 7/1/

(*karmapravacanīyāḥ* # 83, *nipātāḥ* # 56)

anuśabdo lakṣaṇe dyotye karmapravacanīyasaṃjño bhavati

The term *karmapravacanīya* is assigned to *anu* when *lakṣaṇa* 'characteristic mark' is denoted.

EXAMPLE:

śākalyasya saṃhitām anu prāvarṣat 'it rained right after the chanting of the *Saṃhitā* of Śākalya'

1. The word *anu* is assigned the term *karmapravacanīya* by this rule under the condition of the denotatum of *lakṣaṇa* 'characteristic mark, symbol'. This is also included as one of the conditions for the assignment of the term *karmapravacanīya* again to *anu* by rule 1.4.90 *lakṣaṇet-taṃbhūtākhyāna...* This being the case, either this rule should not be stated, or the word *lakṣaṇa* should be excluded from rule 1.4.90. *Kāśikā* (I: 616) explains that this rule assigns the term *karmapravacanīya* to *anu* only when *hetu* 'cause, means' is denoted (*hetvartham tu vacanam...*). Haradatta (*PM* ad *Kāś.* I: 616) explains *hetu* as *karaṇa* 'cause, means' and adds that a cause, because it serves as *hetu* for indicating a particular thing (*kārya*), can also be

viewed as *lakṣaṇa (hetuḥ karaṇam...lakṣyate' nena tal lakṣaṇam = cihnaṃ jñāpakam, karaṇam api niyataṃ kāryaviśeṣāvagatihetuvād lakṣaṇaṃ bhavaty eva*). It is clear from the preceding that the *lakṣaṇa* used in this rule is *hetulakṣaṇa,* 'a mark which serves as a cause'. The *lakṣaṇa* used in rule 1.4.90 *lakṣaṇetthaṃbhūtākhyāna...* is what commentators call *jñāpakalakṣaṇa* 'indicatory mark'. Let us consider the following sentences:

(*a*) *śākalyasya sukṛtāṃ saṃhitām anuniśamya devo prāvarṣat* 'the god (cloud, Indra) caused the rain after having heard the well-performed recitation of the *Saṃhitā* of Śākalya'

(*b*) *śākalyasya saṃhitām anu prāvarṣat* 'id.'

(*c*) *vṛkṣam anu vidyotate vidyut* 'the lightning emanates from the tree'.

Note that the recitation of the *Saṃhitā* of Śākalya is the *hetu* 'cause' for the effect (*hetumat*) which has been identified as rain. The *anu* of sentence (*a*) is not a *karmapravacanīya;* it is an *upasarga* denoting the action of *niśamana* 'perceiving, hearing'. The *anu* of sentence (*b*) is a *karmapravacanīya,* because it denoted the action in the past (cf. sentence (*a*)) but is not doing so now. Instead, it is marking something special which is identified here as *hetuhetumadbhāva* 'the relationship between the cause and effect'. The *anu* of sentence (*c*) is also a *karmapravacanīya,* but what it marks is not the *hetuhetumadbhāva* but *lakṣyalakṣaṇabhāva* 'the relationship between the mark and what it marks off' in general. Thus *anu* in (*c*) implies that *vṛkṣa* 'tree' is a mark (*lakṣaṇa*) to indicate the place where lightning has struck. It is made possible because the tree also serves as the locus (*adhikaraṇa*) for the information (*jñāna*) that the lightning has struck. It is in this sense that we say that 'lightning marked by the tree strikes'. How is lightning marked by the tree? First, the lightning strikes. The tree, as a consequence, becomes lit up in the dark. After having been lit up in the dark, the tree becomes a symbol indicating the place or direction where lightning has struck. Thus, *vṛkṣa* acts as the *jñāpakalakṣaṇa* 'indicatory mark' of *vidyotana* 'lightning'.

You may also recall here my comments about *anu* of sentence (*b*) denoting *hetuhetumadbhāva* as a *karmapravacanīya.* The recitation of the *saṃhitā* is *hetu* 'cause'. If this rule did not assign the term *karmapravacanīya* to *anu,* rule 2.3.23 *hetau* would assign *tṛtīyā* 'third triplet of *sUP*' after *saṃhitā.* It is to block the application of rule 2.3.23 in favour of introducing *dvitīyā* after *saṃhitā* by rule 2.3.8 *karmapravacanīyayukte dvitīyā* that this rule is necessary.

1.4.85 तृतीयार्थे

tṛtīyārthe

/tṛtīyārthe 7/1 = *tṛtīyāyāḥ arthaḥ (ṣaṣ. tat.); tasmin/*

(anuḥ # 84, karmapravacanīyāḥ # 83, nipātāḥ # 56)

anuśabdas tṛtīyārthe dyotye karmapravacanīyasaṃjño bhavati

The term *karmapravacanīya* is assigned to *anu* when the sense of *tṛtīyā* 'third triplet of *sUP*' is denoted.

EXAMPLES:

nadīm anvavasitā senā 'the army is camping along the river'
parvatam anvavasitā senā 'the army is camping by the mountain'

1. The denotatum (*artha*) of *tṛtīyā* implied by this rule is called *sahārtha* 'the meaning of *saha* (with)', as is attested by rule 2.3.19 *sahayuktē'pradhāne*. Given the first example,
nadīm anvavasitā senā 'the army is camping along the river'
anu is assigned the term *karmapravacanīya*, as what is denoted here is *sāhitya* 'togetherness'.

1.4.86 **हीने च**

hīne ca
/hīne 7/1 *ca* Ø/
(*anuḥ* # 84, *karmapravacanīyāḥ* # 83, *nipātāḥ* # 56)
hīne dyotye'yam anuḥ karmapravacanīyasaṃjño bhavati
The term *karmapravacanīya* is also assigned to *anu* when *hīna* 'less, inferior' is denoted.

EXAMPLES:

anuśākaṭāyanaṃ vaiyākaranāḥ 'all the grammarians are inferior to Śākaṭāyana'
anvarjunaṃ yoddhāraḥ 'all the warriors are inferior to Arjuna'

1. The word *hīna* is explained here as 'inferior, less', relative to *utkṛṣṭa* 'superior'. It is therefore implied that the term *karmapravacanīya* is assigned in the context of denoting 'inferior' relative to 'superior'. It also follows from this that *anu* will be termed *karmapravacanīya* only when used in connection with an item denoting 'superior'. Thus, in the sentence *anvarjunaṃ yoddhāraḥ* 'all the warriors are inferior to Arjuna', *anu* is assigned the term *karmapravacanīya* on account of being used with Arjuna, who is superior to all the other warriors.

1.4.87 **उपोऽधिके च**

upo'dhike ca
/ upaḥ 1/1 *adhike* 7/1 *ca* Ø /
(*hīne* # 86, *karmapravacanīyāḥ* # 83, *nipātāḥ* # 56)
upaśabdaḥ adhike hīne ca dyotye karmapravacanīyasaṃjño bhavati
The term *karmapravacanīya* is also assigned to *upa* when *adhika* 'more' or *hīna* 'less, inferior' is denoted.

EXAMPLES:

upakhāryāṃ droṇaḥ 'a *khārī* is bigger than a *droṇa*'
upaniṣke kārṣāpaṇam 'a *niṣka* is bigger than a *kārṣāpaṇa*'
upaśākaṭāyanaṃ vaiyākaraṇāḥ 'all grammarians are inferior to Śākaṭāyana'

1. The *ca* is used in this rule to bring *hīne* from the preceding rule. Thus, the term *karmapravacanīya* is assigned to *upa* when it is used, either with something 'superior' to denote 'inferior', or with something 'more' to denote something 'less'. Consider the following sentences:

(a) upaśākaṭāyanaṃ vaiyākaraṇāḥ 'all grammarians are inferior to Śākaṭāyana'
(b) upakhāryāṃ droṇaḥ 'a *khārī* is bigger than a *droṇa*'

Sentence (*a*) uses *upa* in connection with Śākaṭāyana, a 'superior' grammarian relative to others whose inferiority is being denoted. Similarly, *upa* is used in (*b*) in connection with *khārī* 'a measure of weight', whose larger capacity is denoted relative to the smaller capacity of a *droṇa*. The *saptamī* 'seventh triplet of *sUP*' is introduced after *khārī* to denote 'more' (*adhika*) by rule 2.3.9 *yasmād adhikaṃ yasya....* Of course, 2.3.8 will introduce *dvitīyā*, as it does after *śākaṭāyana*, when the denotatum is 'inferior' (*hīna*).

1.4.88 **अपपरी वर्जने**

apaparī varjane
/apaparī 1/2 (*itar. dv.*); *varjane* 7/1/
(*karmapravacanīyāḥ* # 83, *nipātāḥ* # 56)
'apaparī śabdau varjane dyotye karmapravacanīyasaṃjñau bhavataḥ
The term *karmapravacanīya* is assigned to *apa* and *pari* when *varjana* 'exclusion' is denoted.

EXAMPLES:

apa trigarttebhyo vṛṣṭo devaḥ 'the god rained around but not in Trigartta'
pari pari trigarttebhyo vṛṣṭo devaḥ 'id.'

1. This rule assigns the term *karmapravacanīya* to *apa* and *pari* when *varjana* 'exclusion' is denoted. *Kāśikā* explains *varjana* as *prakṛtena sambandhinā kasyacid anabhisambandhaḥ* 'non-relation of something with that which is being set forth by a sentence'. Consider, for example, the second sentence given above:

pari pari trigarttebhyo vṛṣṭo devaḥ

where *pari* is termed *karmapravacanīya* because exclusion is denoted. That is, it rained all around Trigartta, but not in Trigartta itself. Also note in this connection that rule 2.3.10 *pañcamy apāṅparibhiḥ* introduces *pañcamī*

'fifth triplet of *sUP*', as opposed to *dvitīyā*, after *trigartta*. The reduplication of *pari* is ordered by rule 8.1.5 *parer varjane* under the condition of exclusion (*varjana*).

1.4.89 **आङ् मर्यादावचने**

āṅ maryādāvacane

/āṅ 1/1 *maryādāvacane* 7/1/

(*karmapravacanīyāḥ* # 83; *nipātāḥ* # 56)

āṅ ity eṣa śabdo maryādāvacane karmapravacanīyasaṃjño bhavati

The term *karmapravacanīya* is assigned to *āṄ* when *maryādā* 'extent, spatial limit' is denoted.

EXAMPLES:

ā pāṭaliputrād vṛṣṭo devaḥ 'the god rained up to and including Pāṭaliputra'

ā kumāraṃ yaśaḥ pāṇineḥ 'the fame of Pāṇini extends even to the young'

ā sāṃkāśyāt 'up to and including Sāṃkāśya'

ā mathurāyāḥ 'up to and including Mathurā'

1. This rule sets the condition of *maryādāvacana* 'denotation of limit' for *āṄ* to be termed *karmapravacanīya*. Commentators state that *maryādā* here also includes *abhividhi* 'inclusive limit', as opposed to exclusive. This meaning is obtained by interpreting the compound *maryādāvacana* as a *bahuvrīhi*, with the paraphrase *maryādā iti etad vacanaṃ yatra sūtre* 'the *sūtra* in which the word *maryādā* is stated'. This will refer to rule 2.1.13 *āṅ maryādābhividhyoḥ*, where *abhividhi* is included. Consequently, rule 1.4.89 could also be interpreted as including *abhividhi*. Others say that *maryādā* is a general term, included within whose meaning is the additional meaning of *abhividhi*. The very use of *vacana* in this rule makes this known. A sentence such as the first of the above examples

ā pāṭaliputrād vṛṣṭo devaḥ

can thus be interpreted as meaning 'the god rained up to and including Pāṭaliputra'. The *pañcamī* here is also introduced by 2.3.10 *pañcamy....*

1.4.90 **लक्षणेत्थंभूताख्यानभागवीप्सासु प्रतिपर्यनवः**

lakṣaṇetthaṃbhūtākhyānabhāgavīpsāsu pratiparyanavaḥ

/ lakṣaṇettha...vīpsāsu 7/3 = *lakṣaṇaṃ ca itthaṃbhūtākhyānaṃ ca bhāgaś ca vīpsā ca = lakṣaṇettha...vīpsāḥ* (*itar. dv.*), *tāsu; pratiparyanavaḥ* 1/3 (*itar. dv.*)

(*karmapravacanīyāḥ* # 83, *nipātāḥ* # 56)

lakṣaṇe, itthaṃbhūtākhyāne, bhāge, vīpsāyāṃ ca viṣayabhūtāyāṃ 'prati, pari, anu' ity ete karmapravacanīyasaṃjñā bhavanti

The term *karmapravacanīya* is assigned to *prati, pari* and *anu* when *lakṣaṇa* 'characteristic mark, symbol', *itthaṃbhūtākhyāna* 'characterizing *x* as *y*', *bhāga* 'share', or *vīpsā* 'pervasion' is denoted.

EXAMPLES:

vṛkṣaṃ prati vidyotate vidyut 'lightning flashes on the tree'
vṛkṣaṃ pari vidyotate vidyut 'id.'
vṛkṣam anu vidyotate vidyut 'id.'
sādhur devadatto mātaraṃ prati 'Devadatta is nice to his mother'
sādhur devadatto mātaraṃ pari 'id.'
sādhur devadatto mātaram anu 'id.'
yad atra māṃ prati syāt 'whatever be my share in this'
yad atra māṃ pari syāt 'id.'
yad atra mām anu syāt 'id.'
vṛkṣaṃ vṛkṣaṃ prati siñcati 'he waters every tree'
vṛkṣaṃ vṛkṣaṃ pari siñcati 'id.'
vṛkṣaṃ vṛkṣam anu siñcati 'id.'

1. This rule assigns the term *karmapravacanīya* to *prati, pari,* and *anu* when *lakṣaṇa* 'mark'; *itthaṃbhūtākhyāna* 'stating about something thus qualified where the antecedent of 'thus' is determined by the context'; *bhāga* 'one's rightful share'; or *vīpsā* 'desire to pervade, entirety' is the intended denotatum. Note that to say that *anu,* and so on, denote these meanings may become problematic, since *prati,* for example, does not denote *vīpsā.* Instead, the sense of *vīpsā* is inferred from the reduplicated use of *vṛkṣa,* and so on, in sentences such as:

(*a*) *vṛkṣaṃ vṛkṣaṃ prati vidyotate vidyut* 'lightning emanates from each and every tree'

Refer to my discussion under rule 1.4.84 *anur lakṣaṇe,*where I also illustrate with examples a distinction between the word *lakṣaṇa,* meaning *hetulakṣaṇa* and *jñāpakalakṣaṇa.* The latter meaning of the term as *jñāpakalakṣaṇa* is acceptable in this rule.

The term *itthaṃbhūtākhyāna* is glossed as 'characterizing *x* as *y*', or alternatively 'stating about something thus qualified'. The word *ittham* has been glossed as *prakāra,* which refers to a qualifier (*viśeṣaṇa*). Thus, *itthaṃbhūtaḥ,* with *bhūtaḥ* meaning *prāptaḥ* 'attained, reached', is interpreted as 'thus qualified', where 'thus' is a variable with its antecedent to be determined by context. Consider, for example, the following sentence:

(*b*) *sādhur devadatto mātaraṃ prati* 'Devadatta is nice to his mother'

Recollect my remarks in connection with the tree (*vṛkṣa*) being a mark (*lakṣaṇa*) for the lightning (*vidyut*). The tree is able to serve as *lakṣaṇa* because the relationship between the tree and the lightning is *lakṣyalakṣaṇa.* This is made possible by the lightning, in the sense that it first lit up the tree, and the tree consequently became the 'mark' for

lightning. Commentators describe this relationship as *prāptikriyājanita* 'originating as a result of the *lakṣya* reaching the *lakṣaṇa*'. In sentence (*b*), the relationship between Devadatta and his mother, characterized as *sādhutva* 'niceness', is called *viṣayaviṣayisambandha* 'subject and goal relationship'. This relationship is also viewed as *prāptikriyājanita*, for Devadatta becomes *sādhumān* 'qualified as nice' only after having reached his mother. The *karmapravacanīya* word *prati* denotes this very relationship.

The underlying relationships in the examples given for *bhāga* 'share' and *vīpsā* 'pervasion, entirety' are characterized as *svasvāmisambandha* 'owner-owned', and *sādhyasādhanabhāva* 'means and goal', respectively. Consider these sentences:

(*c*) *yad atra mām prati syāt* 'whatever be my share in this'

(*d*) *vṛkṣaṃ vṛkṣaṃ prati siñcati* 'he waters every tree'

The 'owner-owned' (*svasvāmisambandha*) relationship is perceived in (*c*) as resulting, first out of the act of splitting something into shares, and then out of recognizing or accepting individual shares (*svīkaraṇa*). Similarly, the 'means-goal' (*sādhyasādhanabhāva*) relationship in (*d*) results from the act of 'watering' (*sekakriyā*), which is to be accomplished (*sādhya*). The *karmapravacanīya prati* in both of these sentences denotes this relationship. Note, however, that *vīpsā* per se is not denoted by *prati*, as that happens to be inferred from the reduplicated use of *vṛkṣa*.

The purpose of assigning the term *karmapravacanīya* in examples like (*d*) is not to facilitate the introduction of the accusative nominal ending (*dvitīyā*). For, *vṛkṣa* will be the object of watering, and will therefore get the accusative introduced by rule 2.3.2 *karmaṇi dvitīyā*. The purpose of assigning the term *karmapravacanīya* here is to block the application of rule 8.3.65 *upasargāt sunotisuvati...* This rule requires a replacement by *ṣ* of any *s* occurring after the *i* or *u* of a preverb used in connection with a select list of verbs.

Take the sentence below as an example:

(*e*) *odanaṃ pariṣiñcati* 'he is soaking the rice in water'

The *s* of the verbal root *siñc* here occurs after the *i* of the preverb *pari*, and consequently gets replaced by *ṣ*. A *karmapravacanīya* designation of *prati* would not facilitate the *ṣ*-replacement in *prati siñcati* of (*d*).

1.4.91 **अभिरभागे**

abhir abhāge

/abhiḥ 1/1 *abhāge* 7/1 (*nañ. tat.*)/

(lakṣaṇetthaṃbhūtākhyānabhāgavīpsāsu # 90, *karmapravacanīyāḥ* # 83, *nipātāḥ* # 56)

lakṣaṇādiṣv eva bhāgvarjiteṣv abhiḥ karmapravacanīya saṃjño bhavati

The term *karmapravacanīya* is assigned to *abhi* when *lakṣaṇa*, *itthaṃbhūtākhyāna*, or *vīpsā*, but not *bhāga*, is denoted.

EXAMPLES:

vṛkṣam abhi vidyotate vidyut 'the lightning flashes on the tree'
sādhur devadatto mātaram abhi Devadatta is nice to his mother'
vṛkṣam abhi siñcati 'he waters the whole tree'

1. This rule assigns the term *karmapravacanīya* to *abhi* under the semantic conditions of *lakṣaṇa, itthaṃbhūtākhyāna,* or *vīpsā,* with the sole exception of *bhāga.* This means that when the denotatum is *bhāga, abhi* must still be termed an *upasarga.* The consequence of the term *upasarga,* in contexts where the denotatum is *bhāga,* is highlighted by the following sentence:

(*a*) *yad atra mamābhiṣyat tad dīyatām* 'let me have what is my share in this'

What is in focus here is the verbal form *abhisyāt,* which underlies the root *as* 'to be' used with the preverb *abhi.* The root loses its *a* as a result of the application of rule 6.4.111 *śnasor allopaḥ.* Furthermore, since *abhi,* in the absence of the assignment of the term *karmapravacanīya,* is still termed an *upsarga,* rule 8.3.87 *upasargaprādurbhyām astir yac paraḥ* becomes applicable. This rule requires the replacement of *s* of *as* by *ṣ,* if *ṣ* occurs after the *i,* or *u* of an *upasarga* and is followed by a vowel or *y.*

Haradatta raises another interesting point in this connection. He questions why Pāṇini did not formulate this set of rules as follows:

(*i*) *lakṣaṇetthaṃbhūtākhyānabhāgavīpsāṣv abhiḥ*
(*ii*) *pratiparī bhāge ca*
(*iii*) *anur lakṣaṇatṛtīyārthaś ca*
(*iv*) *hīne*
(*v*) *upo' dhike ca*

By this formulation, there would be no need to repeat *anu;* nor would it require adding the condition of *abhāge.* The use of *ca* twice would also have put the formulation of these rules on a par. Thus Pāṇini did not, perhaps, respect brevity (*akṣaralāghava*).

1.4.92 **प्रतिः प्रतिनिधिप्रतिदानयोः**

pratiḥ pratinidhipratidānayoḥ
/pratiḥ 1/1 *pratinidhipratidānayoḥ* 7/2 = *pratinidhiś ca pratidānaṃ ca* (*itar. dv.*); *tayoḥ/*
(*karmapravacanīyāḥ* # 83, *nipātāḥ* # 56)
pratinidhiviṣaye pratidānaviṣaye ca pratiḥ karmapravacanīyasaṃjño bhavati
The term *karmapravacanīya* is assigned to *prati* when *pratinidhi* 'representative, proxy' or *pratidāna* 'exchange' are denoted.

EXAMPLES:

māṣān asmai tilebhyaḥ prati yacchati 'he is giving him mungo beans in exchange for sesame'

abhimanyur arjunataḥ prati 'Abhimanyu is proxy for Arjuna'

1. The words *pratinidhi* and *pratidāna* are explained as follows:
pratinidhiḥ = *mukhyasadṛśaḥ* 'he who is treated as the principal; a substitute'

Haradatta (*PM* ad *Kāś.* II: 623) observes that a *pratinidhi* 'substitute' is one who is delegated to carry out the functions of a principal in the latter's absence: (*yas tu tadabhāve tatkāryakaraṇāya pratinidhīyate upādiśyate sa pratinidhiḥ*). The function of the substitute thus becomes the imitation (*anukaraṇa*) of what the principal may have done. Accordingly, *prati* denotes this special relationship, characterized as *anukāryānukaraṇa.*

The word *pratidāna* is explained as *pratiniryātanam* 'giving something in return for something received'. Thus:

(*a*) *tilān gṛhītvā māṣān dadāti* 'he accepts sesame and gives mungo beans in return'

According to *Nyāsa, prati* denotes here a relationship originating in the act of giving and receiving by a creditor and a debtor (*uttamamadhamarṇabhāva*).

1.4.93 अधिपरी अनर्थकौ

adhiparī anarthakau
/*adhiparī* 1/2 (*itar. dv.*), *anarthakau* 1/2 (*nañ. tat*)/
(*karmapravacanīyāḥ* # 83, *nipātāḥ* # 56)
adhiparī śabdau anarthakau (anarthāntaravācinau) karmapravaca nīyasaṃjñau bhavataḥ
The term *karmapravacanīya* is assigned to *adhi* and *pari* when they are synonymous.

EXAMPLES:

kuto' dhy āgacchati 'where is he coming from?'
kuto pary āgacchati 'id.'

1. A proper understanding of the word *anarthaka* is crucial for the correct interpretation of this rule. This word could be superficially interpreted as 'devoid of any meaning' (*avidyamānārtha*). Commentators say that *adhi* and *pari* do have meanings of their own. Consider for example the following sentence:

(*a*) *adhigacchati vyākaraṇam* 'he understands grammar'

The *adhi* used here with *gam* would have become devoid of any meaning if *adhigam* meant 'to go'. But since *adhigam* means 'to understand', *adhi* is not devoid of meaning. The word *anarthaka* in this rule is therefore glossed as *anarthāntaravācin* 'that which denotes no meaning other than the meaning of the verb'. Now consider this example:

(*b*) *kuto' dhy āgacchati* 'where is he coming from?'

The meaning of the expression *adhy āgacchati* is no different from that already denoted by *āgacchati* alone. It is in this sense that *adhi* and *pari* could be treated as *anarthaka*. Note that *adhi* and *pari* do not denote anything special when they are used as *karmapravacanīya*. They must, however, contribute to the meaning of the verbal form when used as an *upasarga*, as in the case of sentence (*a*).

The term *karmapravacanīya* also blocks the assignment of the term *gati*. This would result in the blocking of the application or rule 8.1.70 *gatir gatau* which orders *anudātta*. Note also that the assignment of the term *karmapravacanīya* does not facilitate the introduction of *dvitīyā* by 2.3.8 *karmapravacanīyayukte...* Instead, in view of *upadavibhakteḥ kārakavibhaktir balīyasī* 'a nominal ending conditioned by a co-occurring word is more powerful than the one introduced to denote a *kāraka*', the *pañcamī* 'ablative' is inferred on the strength of rule 5.3.7 *pañcamyās tasil*.

1.4.94 **सुः पूजायाम्**

suḥ pūjāyām

/suḥ 1/1 *pūjāyām* 7/1/

(*karmapravacanīyāḥ* # 83, *nipātāḥ* # 56)

suśabdaḥ pūjāyām arthe karmapravacanīyasaṃjño bhavati

The term *karmapravacanīya* is assigned to *su* when *pūjā* 'respect, praise' is denoted.

EXAMPLES:

susiktaṃ bhavatā 'O, Sir, how well you have watered'

sustutaṃ bhavatā 'O, Sir, what a prayer'

1. Note that in the absence of the assignment of the term *karmapravacanīya* to *su* of *su siktaṃ bhavatā*, two things will happen:

(*i*) the term *upasarga* will be assigned to *su* which, in turn, would cause the replacement of the *s* of *siktam* by *ṣ* (8.3.65 *upasargāt...*) and

(*ii*) the meaning of *suṣiktam* would then involve contempt (*kṣepa*).

Thus, *suṣiktaṃ bhavatā* would mean 'O, Sir, how badly you have watered'. Note, too, that the praise for the action of watering in the context of the assignment of the term *karmapravacanīya* is intended as praise for the agent of watering.

1.4.95 **अतिरतिक्रमणे च**

atir atikramaṇe ca

/atiḥ 1/1 *atikramaṇe* 7/1 *ca Ø/*

(*karmapravacanīyāḥ* # 83, *nipātāḥ* # 56)

atiśabdaḥ atikramaṇe pūjāyāṃ ca karmapravacanīyasaṃjño bhavati

The term *karmapravacanīya* is assigned to *ati* when *atikramaṇa* 'excelling' or *pūjā* 'praise' is denoted.

EXAMPLES:

ati siktaṃ bhavatā 'O, Sir, how excellently you have watered'
ati stutaṃ bhavatā 'O, Sir, what excellent praise'

1. The *ca* of this rule brings forth *pūjā* 'praise'. As a result, *ati* can be called a ***karmapravacanīya*** when praise, as well as *atikramaṇa* 'excellence' are both expressed. Consider the following example:

(*a*) *aṭi siktaṃ bhavatā* 'O, Sir, how excellently you have watered

The same sentence can also be interpreted as denoting praise for the agent, via the excellence of the action of watering.

1.4.96 **अपिः पदार्थसंभावनान्ववसर्गगर्हासमुच्चयेषु**

apiḥ padārthasaṃbhāvanānvavasargagarhāsamuccayeṣu
/apiḥ 1/1 *padārtha...samuccayeṣu* 7/1 (*itar. dv.*)/
(*karmapravacanīyāḥ* # 83, *nipātāḥ* # 56)
padārthe saṃbhāvane, ạnvavasarge, garhāyām, samuccaye ca varttamānaḥ apiḥ karmapravacanīyasaṃjño bhavati
The term ***karmapravacanīya*** is assigned to *api* when it denotes *padārtha, saṃbhāvana, anvavasarga, garhā,* and *samuccaya.*

EXAMPLES:

sarpiṣo' pi syāt 'there should be some ghee too'
mahduno' pi syāt 'there should be some honey too'
api siñcen mūlakasahasram 'he may be able to water even a thousand radish plants'
api stuyād rājānam 'he may praise even a king'
api siñca, api stuhi 'water or praise as you please'
dhig jālmaṃ devadattam api siñcet palāṇḍum, api stuyād vṛṣalam 'shame on Devadatta, who waters onions and praises a *vṛṣala*'

1. The four semantic conditions of this rule have been explained by commentators as follows:

(*i*) *padārtha* = *padāntarasyāprayujyamānasyārthaḥ* 'the meaning of a word not explicitly used but implicitly assumed'
(*ii*) *saṃbhāvana* = *adhikārthavacanena śakterapratighātāviṣkaraṇam* 'indicating someone's competence in something by means of exaggeration'
(*iii*) *anvavasarga* = *kāmacārābhyanujñānam* 'permitting someone to do things as he wishes'
(*iv*) *garhā* = *nindā* 'censure'

The word *padārtha* should not be interpreted as meaning 'a given word's own meaning'. This would be superfluous, because of the inseparability of a word and its meaning *(avyabhicāritvāt)*. This, in

turn, requires the interpretation of *padārtha* in a different manner. This special interpretation must be based neither upon the meaning of a word, nor upon the meaning of any other related word. (cf. *Nyāsa* ad *Kāś.* I: 627: *svapadārthagrahaṇe svasambandhipadārthagrahaṇe vā padārthagrahaṇam anarthakaṃ syāt.*) As a result, the word *padārtha* is interpreted as meaning 'the sense of a word implied'. In the first of the above examples, (*sarpiṣo 'pi syāt*), the word *api* is used to denote the scarcity of *sarpis* 'ghee, clarified butter'. It is for this reason that *api* is interpreted here as meaning *bindu* 'drop'. Additionally, this happens to be the reason for introducing *ṣaṣṭhī* after *sarpis*. A *dvitīyā* ending cannot be introduced after *sarpis*, since it cannot be relatable to *api*. What, then, is relatable to *api*? It is the drop (*bindu*) or measure (*mātrā*) of *sarpis* that is relatable. Why can *mātrā* not be explicitly used with *dvitīyā*? Because the assignment of the term *karmapravacanīya* will not then be possible. It is assigned when the sense of a word is not made explicit.

The second example (*api siñcen mūlakasahasram*) is an exaggeration of a person's ability to water numerous radish plants. It becomes an indication of his general ability to water.

The notion of 'permitting someone to do as he pleases' is made clear in the third example, *api siñca, api stuhi* 'water or praise as you please'.

Lastly, the sense of *nindā* is similarly implied by Devadatta's watering of the *palāṇḍu* 'onions' or praising the *vṛṣala*, 'a very low-caste *śūdra*'.

The 'either-or' relation, given as option in connection with *anvavasarga*, can be understood as 'and' (*ca*) in connection with *samuccaya* 'collection'.

1.4.97 अधिरीश्वरे

adhir īśvare
/adhiḥ 1/1 *īśvare* 7/1/
(*karmapravacanīyāḥ* # 83, *nipātāḥ* # 56)
īśvaraḥ svāmi, sa ca svam apekṣate tad ayaṃ svasvāmisambandhe karmapravacanīyasaṃjño bhavati
The term *karmapravacanīya* is assigned to *adhi* when it denotes *īśvara* 'lord, master'.

EXAMPLES:

adhi brahmadatte pañcālāḥ 'the Pañcāla country is under Brahmadatta'
adhi pañcāleṣu brahmadattaḥ 'Brahmadatta is the ruler of the Pañcāla country'

1. Since the word *īśvara* means *svāmin* 'lord', the *karmapravacanīya* designation of *adhi* must be conditioned by *svasvāmisambandha* 'owner-owned relationship'. Since such a relationship involves two (*dviṣṭha*), the *saptamī* 'seventh triplet of *sUP*' ordered by 2.3.9 *yasmād adhikaṃ yasyaceśvaravacanam...* is introduced, sometimes after the word denoting 'owned'

(*svam*) and at other times after the word denoting 'owner' (*svāmin*). Note that it is the action of 'protecting, preserving' etc. (*paripālanādi*) on the part of the agent identified as *īśvara* which brings about the *svasvāmisambandha*.

1.4.98 **विभाषा कृञि**

vibhāṣā kṛñi
/vibhāṣā 1/1 *kṛñi* 7/1/
(*adhiḥ* # 97, *karmapravacanīyāḥ* # 83, *nipātāḥ* # 56)
adhiḥ karotau vibhāṣā karmapravacanīyasaṃjño bhavati
The term *karmapravacanīya* is optionally assigned to *adhi* when it is used with *ḌUkṛÑ*.

EXAMPLE:

yad atra mām adhi kariṣyati 'if he wins over me here...'

1. This rule makes the assignment of the term *karmapravacanīya* optional in the case of *adhi* when it is used with *ḌUkṛÑ*, 'to do, make'. Note that when the option of assigning the term *karmapravacanīya* is not accepted, *adhi* will be assigned the term *gati*. That, as a result, would require *anudātta* accent by rule 8.1.71 *tiṅi codāttavati*. The assignment of the term *karmapravacanīya* thus blocks the *anudātta* accent ordered by rule 8.1.71.

1.4.99 **लः परस्मैपदम्**

laḥ parasmaipadam
/laḥ 6/1 *parasmaipadam* 1/1/
lādeśāḥ parasmaipadasaṃjña bhavanti
A replacement of *LA* is termed *parasmaipada*.

EXAMPLES: See subsequent rules.

1. The term *LA* refers to a set of ten items which all contain *L* and are collectively referred to as *lakāra*. They are enumerated as follows:
   1. *LAṬ* 'present' (3.2.123 *varttamāne laṭ*)
   2. *LUṄ* 'immediate past' (3.2.110 *luṅ*)
   3. *LIṬ* 'perfect' (3.2.115 *parokṣe liṭ*)
   4. *LAṄ* 'imperfect' (3.2.111 *anadyatane laṅ*)
   5. *LUṬ* 'first future' (3.3.15 *anadyatane luṭ*)
   6. *LṚṬ* 'general future' (3.3.12 *abhijñāvacane lṛṭ*)
   7. *LOṬ* 'imperative' (3.3.162 *loṭ ca*)
   8. *LṚṄ* 'conditional' (3.3.139 *liṅnimitte lṛṅkriyātipattau*)
   9. *LIṄ* 'optative' (3.3.161 *vidhinimantraṇāmantraṇādhīṣṭa...*)
   10. *LEṬ* 'Vedic subjunctive' (3.4.7 *liṅarthe leṭ*)

Note that these *lakāra* are abstract suffixes. They are introduced after a transitive (*sakarmaka*) root to denote an agent (*kartṛ*) or object (*karman*). They are introduced after an intransitive (*akarmaka*) root to denote either an agent or *bhāva* ('root-sense'; 3.4.69 *laḥ karmaṇi ca bhāve cākarmakebhyaḥ*). The following two rules are also important in this connection:

3.4.77 *lasya* 'in place of *LA*'

3.4.78 *tiptasjhisipthastha...* '*tiP, tas, jhi, siP, thas, tha...* come as replacements'

These rules clearly prove the abstract nature of affixes termed *LA*. They are replaced by items enumerated under rule 3.4.78 *tiptasjhisipthastha...* Commentators generally refer to these replacements of *LA* with the abbreviatory term *tiṄ* (1.4.101 *tiṇas trīṇi trīṇi...*).

The word *laḥ* is interpreted as ending in *ṣaṣṭhī* 'genitive' denoting *sthāna* 'place' (1.1.49 *ṣaṣṭhīsthāneyogā*). That is, *laḥ* is not interpreted as ending in the nominative (*prathamā*). A nominative interpretation would assign the term *parasmaipada* to the *lakāra* themselves. This is certainly not desired (*iṣṭa*). A genitive interpretation would make it possible for us to infer *ādeśa* 'replacement' from 'in place of *LA*'. This accords with rules 3.4.77 *lasya* and 3.4.78 *tiptasjhisipthastha....*

With this rule, Pāṇini assigns the term *parasmaipada* to all replacements of *LA*. This, in turn, becomes a general (*sāmānya*) rule to which the following is an exception. It is also logical in view of rule 1.4.1 *ā kaḍārād ekā saṃjñā*, which would not permit the class-inclusion (*saṃjñāsamāveśa*) of the terms *parasmaipada* and *ātmanepada*.

The purpose of assigning the term *parasmaipada* to the replacements of *LA* is, among other things, to condition changes in presuffixal bases (*aṅga*) by rule 7.2.1 *sici vṛddhiḥ parasmaipadeṣu*, etc.

SCOPE: 7.2.1 *sici vṛddhiḥ parasmaipadeṣu*

1.4.100 तङानावात्मनेपदम्

taṅānāv ātmanepadam

/taṅānau 1/2 (*itar. dv.*), *ātmanepadam* 1/1/

(*laḥ* # 99)

taṅānayor ātmanepadasaṃjñā vidhīyate

Replacements of *LA* denoted by *taṄ* (*ta, ātām, jha,* etc.; cf. 3.4.78 *tiptasjhisipthastha...*) and also those denoted by *āna* (*ŚānaC* and *KānaC;* cf. 3.2.124 *laṭaḥ śatṛśānacāv aprathamāsamānādhikaraṇe*; 3.2.106 *liṭaḥ kānaj vā*) are termed *ātmanepada*.

1. The term *āna* in this rule is referenced without any *it* (*niranubandha*). This, in view of the *Paribhāṣā* (82: *niranubandhakagrahaṇe sānubandhakasya* 'a reference made by an item without an *it* also includes reference to all such items with *it*), will enable *āna* to refer to *ŚānaC* and *KānaC*. A reference to affixes *ŚānaN* (3.2.128 *pūṅyajoḥ śānan*) and *CānaŚ* (3.2.129

tācchīlyavayovacana...) must be ruled out, as these affixes are not introduced as replacements for *LA*. Also note in this connection that affix *Śatṛ*, because it is not a part of a reference by *āna*, remains as *parasmaipada*.

Commentators explain that *parasmaipada* and *ātmanepada* are long terms, accepted by Pāṇini because they were used by his predecessors (*PM* ad *Kāś*. I: 630). One of the purposes of assigning the term *ātmanepadam* is to facilitate the selection of proper affixes as replacements for *LA*.

SCOPE: 1.3.12 *anudāttaṅita ātmanepadam*

1.4.101 **तिङस्त्रीणित्रीणि प्रथममध्यमोत्तमाः**

tiṅas trīṇi trīṇi prathamadhyamottamāḥ

/tiṅaḥ 6/1 *trīṇi* 1/3 *trīṇi* 1/3 *prathamamadhyamottamāḥ* 1/3 = *prathamaś ca madhyamaś ca uttamaś ca (itar. dv.)/*

parasmaipadeṣu trayastrikāḥ yathākramaṃ prathamamadhyamottamasaṃjñā bhavanti, ātmanepadeṣv api trayastrikāḥ prathamamadhyamottamasaṃjñā bhavanti

The triplets of *tiN* (3.4.78 *tiptasjhisipthastha...*) in both *parasmaipada* and *ātmanepada* are termed respectively *prathama* 'third person', *madhyama* 'second person', and *uttama* 'first person'.

EXAMPLES:

parasmaipada			
prathama	*tiP*	*tas*	*jhi*
madhyama	*siP*	*thas*	*tha*
uttama	*miP*	*vas*	*mas*
atmanepada			
prathama	*ta*	*ātām*	*jha*
madhyama	*thās*	*āthās*	*dhvam*
uttama	*iṬ*	*vahi*	*mahiṄ*

1. We have seen how the last two rules classify the set of eighteen affixes denoted by *tiN*, dividing it into the two sets of *parasmaipada* and *ātmanepada*. This rule further classifies the two sets, of nine affixes, into three subsets of three affixes each. That is, the first nine *parasmaipada* affixes will be classified in three subsets of three elements each. The next nine affixes, which are denoted by the abbreviatory term *taN* and called *ātmanepada*, will be similarly classified in three subsets. Each subset of three, within the larger nine-affix set, will be termed by this rule *prathama* ('third person'); *madhyama* ('second person'); and *uttama* ('first person'); respectively. This arrangement is shown in the columns above.

The classification of these affixes into the three sets of *prathama, madhyama,* and *uttama* obviously refers to the *puruṣa* 'person'. The assignment of the third, second and first persons (*prathama,* etc.) to the affixes

grouped under *parasmaipada* and *ātmanepada* makes class-inclusion (*saṃjñāsamāveśa*) possible. Thus, where *parasmaipada* will be blocked by *ātmanepada* on the one hand, *prathama, madhyama* and *uttama* will not be able to block either the *parasmaipada* or the *ātmanepada* on the other.

SCOPE: 1.4.108 *śeṣe prathamaḥ*

1.4.102 **तान्येकवचनद्विवचनबहुवचनान्येकशः**

tāny ekavacanadvivacanabahuvacanāny ekaśaḥ
/tāni 1/3 *eka...vacanāni* 1/3 (*itar. dv.*); *ekaśaḥ* 1/1
(*tiṅas trīṇi trīṇi* # 101)
tāny ekavacanadvivacanabahuvacanasaṃjñāny ekaśo bhavanti
The individual members of each triplet are termed respectively *ekavacana* 'singular', *dvivacana* 'dual', and *bahuvacana* 'plural'.

EXAMPLES:

tiP 'third person singular'
tas 'third person dual'
jhi 'third person plural', and so on

1. This rule assigns the terms *ekavacana* (*eka*), *dvivacana* (*dvi*), and *bahuvacana* (*bahu*), respectively, to each one of the three elements in the third, second and first personal sets. The following listing shows the full classification of eighteen *tiN* affixes in accordance with the three preceding rules.

		parasmaipada 'active'			*ātmanepada* 'middle'		
		eka	*dvi*	*bahu*	*eka*	*dvi*	*bahu*
prathama	(III)	*tip*	*tas*	*jhi*	*ta*	*ātām*	*jha*
madhyama	(II)	*siP*	*thas*	*tha*	*thās*	*āthām*	*dhvam*
uttama	(I)	*miP*	*vas*	*mas*	*iṬ*	*vahi*	*mahiṄ*

SCOPE: 1.4.21 *bahuṣu bahuvacanam*

1.4.103 **सुपः**

supaḥ
/supaḥ 1/1/
(*ekavacana...ekaśaḥ* # 102, *trīṇi trīṇi* # 101)
supas ca trīṇi trīṇi padāni ekaśa ekavacanadvivacanabahuvacanasaṃjñāni bhavanti
Individual members of each triplet of *sUP* (4.1.2 *svaujas...*) also are termed *ekavacana, dvivacana,* and *bahuvacana* respectively.

EXAMPLES:

sŪ 'singular'

au 'dual'
jas 'plural', and so on

1. The earlier rule assigned the terms *ekavacana, dvivacana,* and *bahuvacana* to individual members of each triad of *tiN* in their order of enumeration. The same terms are now assigned by this rule to individual members of each triad of *sUP*, again in their order of enumeration (4.1.2 *svaujasmauṭchaṣṭābhyām...*). The abbreviatory term *sUP* is formed by taking the first nominal ending *sU* and joining it to *P*, an *it*, of the last nominal ending, which is *suP*.

1.4.104 **विभक्तिश्च**

vibhaktiś ca
/vibhaktiḥ 1/1 *ca* **0** */*
(*supaḥ* #103, *ekaśaḥ* 102, *tiṅas trīṇi trīṇi* 101)
trīṇi trīṇi vibhaktisaṃjñāś ca bhavanti, supas tiṅaś ca
Each triplet of *sUP* and *tiN* is also termed *vibhakti*.

1. The *ca* of this rule attracts both *tiN* and *sUP* from the preceding rule, so that both of them can be termed *vibhakti*. Furthermore, it also facilitates the *saṃjñāsamāveśa* of *prathama*, etc. The term *vibhakti* is assigned to facilitate, among other things, operations conditioned by the nominal endings. For example, a nominal ending can condition the replacement of the final *n* or *aṣṭan* 'eight', optionally with *a*, as is attested by rule 7.2.84 *aṣṭan ā vibhaktau*.

SCOPE: 7.2.84 *aṣṭan ā vibhaktau*

1.4.105 **युष्मद्युपपदे समानाधिकरणे स्थानिन्यपि मध्यमः**

yuṣmady upapade samānādhikaraṇe sthāniny api madhyamaḥ
/yuṣmadi 7/1 *upapade* 7/1 *samānādhikaraṇe* 7/1 *sthānini* 7/1 *api* **0** *madhyamaḥ* 1/1/
yuṣmady upapade sati vyavahite cāvyavahite sati samānādhikaraṇe (samanābhidheye tulyakārake) sthānini prayujyamāne' prayujyamāne' pi madhyamapuruṣo bhavati
A *madhyama* 'second personal active or middle verbal ending' is used when *yuṣmad*, whether explicitly used or implicitly assumed, co-occurs in coreferential relation with it.

EXAMPLES:

tvaṃ pacasi 'you are cooking'
pacasi 'id.'
yuvāṃ pacathaḥ 'you (dual) are cooking'
pacathaḥ 'id.'

yūyaṃ pacatha 'you (pl.) are cooking'
pacatha 'id.'

1. This is a restrictive (*niyama*) rule specifying the use of *madhyama*. It outlines the use of *madhyama* under the conditions of *uṣmady upapade* 'when *yuṣmad* 'you' is the co-occurring word' and *samānādhikaraṇe* 'when *yuṣmad* is co-referential (*samānādhikaraṇa*) with the denotatum of *LA*'. Consider the following sentences:

(*a*) *tvaṃ pacasi* 'you are cooking'
(*b*) *pacasi* 'id.'

The first sentence has employed *siP*, a replacement of *LAṬ*, to denote *kartṛ* 'agent'. The pronominal form *tvam* is the nominative singular of the second personal pronoun *yuṣmad*. It has employed the nominative singular ending *sŨ* to denote *prātipadikārtha* 'nominal stem notion'. This was made necessary because *siP*, the verbal ending, has already been employed to denote the agent. This is also in consonance with the purpose of our present rule. That is, the denotatum of *yuṣmad*, and *LAṬ* replaced by *siP*, are co-referential. It is because of their co-referentiality that *yuṣmad* is put in the nominative. It is for the same reason that a sentence such as (*b*) could still have the same meaning as (*a*), even though the word *tvam* is not explicitly used. This is what is intended by the corollary *sthāniny api* 'whether explicitly used or implicitly assumed', in relation to the two conditions just discussed.

Jinendrabuddhi (*Nyāsa* ad *Kāś*. I: 636) explains, as do others also, that *sthāna* in the word *sthānin* means *prasaṅga* 'context'. This being the case, a *sthānin* will be that which may have a place in the context of a given sentence where *madhyama* may be co-occurring with *yuṣmad*, sharing the co-referential relationship with the denotatum of *LA*. The force of *api* in *sthāniny api* is to indicate the 'implicit assumption of *yuṣmad* in contradistinction with its explicit use'.

Note that a co-referentiality with *LA* may entail the denotatum of agent (*kartṛ*), object (*karman*), or root-sense (*bhāva*). However, for purposes of this rule, the co-referentiality between *yuṣmad* and a verbal form ending in a replacement of *LA* must be restricted to agent or object only. Haradatta (*PM* ad *Kāś*. I: 636) explains as follows:

> *trividhaṃ cābhidheyaṃ lakārāṇāṃ bhāvaḥ karma karttā ca; tatra dravyavācinor yuṣmadasmador bhāvavācinā lāntena samānādhikaraṇyāsambhavāt kartṛkarmaṇor eva grahaṇam*
> 'The denotatum of *lakāra* is threefold; root-sense, object and agent. But because of the impossibility of a co-referential relation of *yuṣmad/asmad*, which denote substance, with a form ending in *LA* and denoting root-sense, only agent and object should be accepted here.'

1.4.106 **प्रहासे च मन्योपपदे मन्यतेरुत्तम एकवच्च**

prahāse ca manyopapade manyater uttama ekavac ca

/prahāse 7/1 *ca* Ø *manyopapade* 7/1 = *manyatir upapadaṃ yasya* (*bv.*), *tasmin*; *manyateḥ* 5/1 *uttamaḥ* 1/1 *ekavat* Ø *ca* Ø/

(*madhyamaḥ* # 105)

prahāse gamyamāne manyopapade dhātor madhyamapuruṣo bhavati manyateś ca uttamaḥ sa caikavad bhavati

A *madhyama* is also used after a verbal root when *prahāsa* 'teasing, joke' is denoted with reference to its action and *manya* 'to think' used with the first personal (*uttama*) singular (*ekavat*) active or middle ending co-occurs with it.

EXAMPLES:

ehi manye odanaṃ bhokṣyase iti bhuktaḥ so' tithibhiḥ 'you think you will eat rice, the guests have already eaten it'

ehi manye rathena yāsyasi yātas tena te pitā 'you think you will go by the chariot, your father has already gone with it'

1. This rule, for the purpose of denoting 'teasing', allows the use of *uttama* along with *madhyama* in place of what should have been *madhyama* and *uttama* respectively. *Kāśikā* (I: 638) observes this (cf. *madhyamottamayoḥ prāptayoḥ uttamamadhyamau vidhīyete*) with the following counter-example:

(*a*) *ehi manyase odanaṃ bhokṣye* 'you think "I will eat rice" '

Note that *manyase* is ending in *madhyama* and *bhokṣye* is ending in *uttama*. The sentence as a consequence is not denoting 'teasing'. But consider now the second example above:

(*b*) *ehi manye rathena yāsyasi yātas tena te pitā* 'you think you will go by the chariot, your father has already gone with it'

The verbal form *yāsyasi*, with reference to whose action 'teasing' is denoted, is placed in the *madhyama*. This, in turn, is co-occurring with *manye*, which ends in the first personal singular ending. A parallel sentence not denoting 'teasing' may put (*b*) in perspective:

(*c*) *ehi manyase rathena yāsyāmi yātas tena te pitā* 'you think "I will go by the chariot", your father has already gone with it'

1.4.107 **अस्मद्युत्तमः**

asmady uttamaḥ

/asmadi 7/1 *uttamaḥ* 1/1/

(*upapade samānādhikaraṇe sthāniny api* # 105)

asmady upapade samānābhidheye prayujyamāne' py aprayujyamāne' pi uttamapuruṣo bhavati

An *uttama* 'first personal active or middle verbal ending' is used when *asmad* 'first personal pronoun', whether explicitly used or implicitly assumed, co-occurs in co-referential relation to it.

EXAMPLES:

ahaṃ pacāmi 'I am cooking'
pacāmi 'id.'
āvāṃ pacāvaḥ 'we (dual) are cooking'
pacāvaḥ 'id.'
vayaṃ pacāmaḥ 'we (pl.) are cooking'
pacāmaḥ 'id.'

1. This again is a restrictive (*niyama*) rule, specifying the use of the first personal verbal endings (*uttama*) under the co-occurrence condition of *asmad* 'first personal pronoun'. As in the case of *madhyama* (specified by rule 1.4.105 *yuṣmady upapade...*), *asmad* too can be either explicitly used or implicitly assumed. Thus, *ahaṃ pacāmi* 'I am cooking' could simply be stated as *pacāmi* 'id.' Note further that *asmad* must also be co-referential with the denotatum of *LA*, which *uttama* replaces.

An interesting question about the interpretation of this rule has been raised in connection with the following examples:

(*a*) *pacasi pacāmi ca* 'you and I are cooking'
(*b*) *tvaṃ ca ahaṃ ca pacāvaḥ* 'you and I are both cooking'
(*c*) *āvāṃ pacāvaḥ* 'we (you and I) are cooking'

The question is summed up by *Nyāsa* as: *yadā yuṣmadasmadī dve apy ete upapade staḥ tadā kathaṃ bhavitavyam* 'what should be the case when both *yuṣmad* and *asmad* are co-occurring words?' Sentence (*a*) illustrates the separate use of the verbal forms as the answer. Sentence (*b*), by means of an inference from the *vārttika* (ad 1.2.72 *tyadādīni sarvair nityam:* cf. *Mbh.* II: 170) *tyadādīnāṃ sāmānyarthatvāt* retains the dual *pacāvaḥ*. This is done at the expense of dropping *asmad*, because it is subsequent (*para*) in the order in which it is used in the sentence. Sentence (*c*) uses *āvām*, which is co-referential with the denotatum of *vas* in *pacāvaḥ*, with the understanding that *āvām* there also includes the meaning of *yuṣmad*. Otherwise, the dual ending could not be introduced.

1.4.108 **शेषे प्रथमः**

śeṣe prathamaḥ
/śeṣe 7/1 *prathamaḥ* 1/1/
yatra yuṣmadasmadī samānādhikaraṇe upapade na staḥ tatra śeṣe prathamapuruṣo bhavati
The *prathama* 'third triplet of *parasmaipada* and *ātmanepada*' occurs in the remaining cases.

EXAMPLES:

pacati 'he cooks'
pacataḥ 'they (dual) cook'
pacanti 'they (pl.) cook'

1. The word *śeṣa* 'residual' has been generally interpreted as *uktād anyaḥ* 'something other than that which has already been stated'. Since usage of *madhyama* and *uttama* has already been stated with reference to the co-occurring *yuṣmad* and *asmad*, which must also share co-referential relationship with the denotatum of *LA*, *prathama* should cover instances where there is no co-referentiality with *yuṣmad* and *asmad*. This may cover a wide variety of usages. For example, it can cover instances such as:

(*a*) *bhavān atra vasati* 'you (polite) live here'
(*b*) *sa tatra vasati* 'he lives there'
(*c*) *tau tatra vasataḥ* 'they (two) live there'
(*d*) *te tatra vasanti* 'they live there'

1.4.109 परः संनिकर्षः संहिता

paraḥ saṃnikarṣaḥ saṃhitā
/paraḥ 1/1 *saṃnikarṣaḥ* 1/1 *saṃhitā* 1/1/
paro yaḥ saṃnikarṣaḥ sa saṃhitāsaṃjño bhavati
Maximum proximity between sounds is termed *saṃhitā*.

EXAMPLES:

dadhy atra 'there is yogurt here'
madhv atra 'there is honey here'

1. The word *para* is used here in the sense of *atiśaya* 'extremity'. Commentators interpret *saṃhitā* as *pratyāsatti* and gloss the latter as *avyabhicārisaṃnikarṣaḥ* 'uninterrupted proximity'. The hiatus (*vyavadhāna*) between two sound segments (*varṇa*), constituting the context of *saṃhitā*, is regarded as equal to the duration (*kāla*) of one half mora (*ardhamātrā*). The purpose of assigning the term *saṃhitā*, is to facilitate operations conditioned by rules such as 6.1.72 *saṃhitāyām*. Consider the string *dadhi* + *atra*, which entails a hiatus of half a mora between *i* and *a* and thus qualifies to constitute the context of *saṃhitā*. Rule 6.1.77 *iko yaṇ aci* could then apply to order the *i* changed into *y* to yield *dadhy atra* 'there is yogurt here'.

SCOPE: 6.1.72 *saṃhitāyām*

1.4.110 विरामोऽवसानम्

virāmo' vasānam
/virāmo 1/1 *avasānam* 1/1/
virāmo' vasānasaṃjño bhavati
A cessation of speech (*virāma*) is termed *avasāna*.

EXAMPLES:

dadhi 'yogurt'
madhu 'honey'

vṛkṣaḥ 'tree'
plakṣaḥ 'a *plakṣa* tree'

1. The word *virāma*, as commentators point out, can be derived in three different ways:

(*i*) *viratiḥ* = *virāmaḥ* 'cessation of speech is termed *virāma*'
(*ii*) *viramyate' nena* = *virāmaḥ* 'that by means of which cessation of speech is accomplished'
(*iii*) *viramyate' smin* = *virāmaḥ* 'that in (the vicinity of) which the cessation of speech takes place'

All of the three interpretations entail the derivation of *virāma* by introducing affix *GHaÑ* after the verbal root *ramŪ*, used with the preverb *vi*. The first two interpretations are given by the *Kāśikā* (I: 642). The last comes from the *Bālamanoramā* (ad *SK*, I: 39) of Vāsudeva Dīkṣita. The first interpretation treats the denotatum of *GHaÑ* as *bhāva* 'root-sense', as opposed to the second which treats it as *karaṇa* 'instrument, means'. The last interpretation accepts the denotatum of *GHaÑ* to be locus of vicinity (*samīpādhikaraṇa*).

These interpretations have their consequences. For example, the first would assign the term *avasāna* to the 'cessation' that occurs after the articulation of the last sound. The second and third interpretations would assign the term to the last sound segment itself. Let us derive *rāmaḥ* from *rāma* + *r* to understand the implications of these interpretations. Rule 8.3.15 *kharavasānayor visarjanīyaḥ* requires that *r* be replaced with *ḥ*, either before a consonant denoted by the abbreviatory term *kh*^{a}*R* (*Śs*, 11-13), or before *avasāna*. The first interpretation, since it does not assign the term *avasāna* to the last sound segment before the cessation of speech, will have no problem replacing *r* with *ḥ*. For, absence of articulation, or a sound denoted by *kh*^{a}*R*, would then form the right context for replacement. The second and third interpretations must be phrased in such a way that *r* could be replaced with *visarga*, while at the same time serving as *avasāna*. This is made possible by interpreting the replacement condition of rule 8.3.15 *kharavasānayor visarjanīyaḥ* as '*r* is replaced with *ḥ* when it constitutes *avasāna*, or a consonant denoted by the abbreviatory term *kh*^{a}*R* follows'.

The *Kāśikā*, in its *vṛtti*, follows the first interpretation as far as rule 8.3.15 *kharavasānayor visarjanīyaḥ* is concerned. However, in the case of rules such as 8.4.56 *vāvasāne* and 8.4.57 *aṇopragṛhyasyānunāsikaḥ*, it seems to be following the second interpretation, for it glosses *avasāne* as *avasāne vartamāne*, which I translate as 'constituting *avasāna*'.

SCOPE: 8.3.15 *kharavasānayor visarjanīyaḥ*

APPENDIX

Derivational History of Examples

INTRODUCTORY REMARKS

The derivational history of the examples presented here is based on traditional sources: mostly the *Rūpāvatāra* of Dharmakīrti; *Padamañjarī* of Haradatta; *Nyāsa* of Jinendrabuddhi; *Prakriyākaumudī* of Rāmacandra; *Prakriyāsarvasva* of Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa; *Paribhāṣenduśekhara* of Nāgeśabhaṭṭa; *Siddhāntakaumudī* of Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita; and the *Tattvabodhinī* of Jñānendra Sarasvatī. Of course, the examples themselves come from the *Kāśikāvṛtti* of Vāmana and Jayāditya.

The derivations are deliberately presented as arranged, in steps. Thereby the derivative mechanisms are made easier to comprehend. The steps also show the recurring patterns in the derivational schemes. The rule applications in the derivational processes follow the traditional descriptions, though at places I have taken slight liberties simply for the sake of clarity.

The following is the key to the various symbols used:

→ means 'becomes', or 'becomes input for the application of a rule'
\+ marks concatenated elements of a string in derivation
= marks the output of a rule application
\# marks the process of reference

Certain operations occur with great frequency. To avoid repetition and save space, I have discussed these operations in full only upon their first occurrences. Thereafter they have usually been referenced with abbreviatory terms, which I shall explain in detail as follows:

(1) *it*-deletion

This abbreviation symbolizes the process of assigning the term *it* to a sound segment, or combination of segments, which occur at the beginning or the end of a grammatical element such as a root, stem, affix, inflectional ending, augment, or class marker (*vikaraṇa*). These attachments do not form any real part of the items to which they are affixed; they are termed *it* 'destined to go away'; and they are subsequently deleted at a single stroke by 1.3.9 *tasya lopaḥ*. However, they are employed to perform certain very important functions. For example, an *it* can be employed to block certain operations: *G* or *Ṅ* in an affix block the application of *guṇa* (see 1.1.5 *ṅiti ca*). An *it* can be manipulated to facilitate the introduction of a grammatical element: *Ñ* is added to facilitate the introduction of both the *ātmanepada* and *parasmaipada* endings (1.3.72 *svaritañitaḥ kartrabhi...*).

An *it* such as *Ṅ* also may facilitate the introduction of *ātmanepada* endings alone (1.3.12 *anudāttaṅita ātmanepadam*). An *it* can facilitate, block, or

specify the accentuation of a grammatical element. Consider, for example, 3.1.4 *anudāttau suppitau*, 6.1.185 *tit svaritam*, and 6.1.197 *ñnityādir nityam*, where *P*, *T*, *Ñ*, and *Ṇ* have been manipulated for accentuation. Pāṇini also manipulates certain *it* elements to specify the place for introducing a grammatical element. For example, an item marked with *Ṭ* as an *it* is introduced at the beginning of an element, while one marked with *K* is introduced at the end (1.1.64 *ādyantau ṭakitau*). These are merely a few of the many recurring functions performed by *it* assignment. Suffice it to say that an *it* is introduced in order to serve a specific purpose, subsequent to which it is deleted.

My last phrase 'subsequent to which' raises an interesting question about the timing of the deletion of items termed *it*, in view of the fact that traditional descriptions of derivations delete those elements almost immediately upon their introduction. I have followed the same procedure here. The question arises: why can the deletion of an *it* not be postponed until the *it* has performed its function? If an *it* is deleted immediately upon introduction, no indicators remain to facilitate the recoverability of deletion, and non-recoverability is an important problem for the theory of deletion in general. The traditional grammarians have not indicated any preference as to whether to delete an *it* right away or delay deletion. Incidentally, the deletion of an *it* constitutes the single type of deletion from which there is no recoverability. In other cases, recoverability is allowed or ways are mentioned by which to achieve it.

I have used the term *it*-deletion to refer to the process by which an item is termed *it* and subsequently deleted. The following set of rules forms the context for the assignment and deletion of items termed *it*.

1.3.2 *upadeśe' j anunāsika it*
'a nasalized vowel of an item in *upadeśa* is termed *it*'
1.3.3 *halantyam*
'a final consonant of an item in *upadeśa* is termed *it*'
1.3.4 *na vibhaktau tusmāḥ*
'a *tu*, *s*, or *m* at the end of a *vibhakti* is not termed an *it*'
1.3.5 *ādirñiṭuḍavaḥ*
'an initial *ÑI*, *ṬU*, and *ḌU* of an item in *upadeśa* is termed *it*'
1.3.6 *ṣaḥ pratyayasya*
'the initial *Ṣ* of an affix in *upadeśa* is termed *it*
1.3.7 *cuṭū*
'the initial *cU* (palatal stops and nasal) or *ṭU* (retroflex stops and nasal) of an affix in *upadeśa* is termed *it*'
1.3.8 *laśakv ataddhite*
'the initial *L*, *Ś*, and *kU* (velar stops and nasal) of a non-*taddhita* affix in *upadeśa* is termed *it*'
1.3.9 *tasya lopaḥ*
'there is disappearance of that which is termed *it*'

(2) *sUP*-selection

Pāṇini formulates 1.4.14 *suptiṇantaṃ padam* whereby a fully derived word is defined as one which ends in either a *sUP* or *tiÑ*. Note that *sUP* is an abbreviatory term denoting a class of twenty-one nominal endings listed by 1.4.2 *svaujas*....

	ekavacana (sing)	*dvivacana* (dual)	*bahuvacana* (plur)
pratnamā (nominative)	*sU*	*au*	*Jas*
dvitīyā (accusative)	*am*	*auṬ*	*Śas*
tṛtīyā (instrumental)	*Ṭā*	*bhyām*	*bhis*
caturthī (dative)	*Ṅe*	*bhyām*	*bhyas*
pañcamī (ablative)	*ṄasI*	*bhyām*	*bhyas*
ṣaṣṭhī (genitive)	*Ṅas*	*os*	*ām*
saptamī (locative)	*Ṅi*	*os*	*sUP*

Rule 4.1.2 merely enumerates these twenty-one elements. In order to select any particular one, other rules must be brought to the context of 4.1.2. The following is a controlled listing of the relevant rules:

4.1.1 *ṅyāp-prātipadikāt*
4.1.2 *svaujas... #*
1.2.45 *arthavad adhātur...*
1.4.103 *supaḥ*
1.4.104 *vibhaktiś ca*
1.4.22 *dvyekayor...*
2.3.1 *anabhihite*
2.3.2 *karmaṇi dvitīyā #*
1.4.49 *kartur īpsitatamaṃ karma*

These rules help select an accusative ending, namely the singular *am*, after the nominal stem *odana* 'rice' in *devadatta odanaṃ pacati* 'Devadatta is cooking rice.' It is from these rules that we know that *sUP* is an abbreviatory term denoting twenty-one nominal endings termed *vibhakti*. We also know that these endings can be grouped in seven triads where each triad has three members denoting singular, dual, and plural.

Furthermore, the introduction of these endings is constrained by whether or not their denotatum has already been expressed elsewhere. This brings us to the question of their denotatum. It could be either a grammatical (*kāraka*) or notional relation. For example, the second triad (*dvitīyā*) is used to denote the object (*karman*), when that object has not been expressed elsewhere by some other means. The selection of a nominal ending is thus also dependent upon the rules of the *kāraka* section. A similar dependency relationship between 4.1.2 *svaujas...* and the

kāraka-vibhakti section on the one hand, and the rules of the 1.4 section such as 1.4.3 on the other, can be seen at work in the selection of *sUP*.

In volume I of this study I have discussed the mechanisms used in the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* to bring relevant information from a different section closer to the context of the rule under consideration. Suffice it to say here that each time a selection of *sUP* is made, all such rules have to be brought close to 4.1.2 to facilitate the selection. In the actual derivations I have shown several times in detail the selection of *sUP* with reference to retrieved rules. Because of lack of space and to avoid repetition, I later omit the details. Instead I use the term *sUP*-selection to refer to this process.

(3) *sUP*-deletion

This term refers to the process for deleting any *sUP*, whereby one must refer to rules and their related exceptions, such as those in the following sequence.

2.4.71 *supodhātuprātipadikayoḥ*
'a *sUP* of a *dhātu* (verb root) or *prātipadika* (nominal stem) is replaced with *LUK* (deletion)'
2.4.82 *avyayād āp supaḥ*
'a *sUP*, or an *āP* (feminine affix), occurring after an *avyaya* (indeclinable) is replaced with *LUK*'
2.4.83 *nāvyayībhāvād ato' pañcamyāḥ*
'a *sUP* occurring after an *avyayībhāva* (indeclinable compound) is not replaced with *LUK* when the compound ends in *a;* instead it is replaced by *am*, though not when it is *pañcamī* (fifth triad of *sUP*)'

I shall use the term *sUP*-deletion to refer to these and similar rule patterns whereby a *sUP* will be deleted by express mention of the term *LUK*.

(4) *tiN*-selection

The process of selecting *tiN* 'verbal endings' is in many ways similar to the selection of *sUP*. The abbreviatory term *tiN* denotes eighteen elements termed *vibhakti* (1.4.104 *vibhaktiś ca*) which are introduced after verbal roots (3.1.91 *dhātoḥ*) as replacements for *LA* (3.4.77 *lasya*). The selection of a *tiN* also entails retrieving relevant rules, such as the following, from elsewhere in the grammar.

1.4.99 *laḥ parasmaipadam*
'a replacement of *LA* is termed *parasmaipada* (active)'
1.4.100 *taṅānāv ātmanepadam*
'a replacement of *LA* denoted by *taN* or *āna* (3.2.124 *laṭaḥ śatṛśānacāv...*) is termed *ātmanepada* (middle)'
1.4.101 *tiṇastrīṇitrīṇi prathamamadhyamottamāḥ*
'each triad of *tiN*, in each set of *parasmaipada* and *ātmanepada*, is termed *prathama* (third person), *madhyama* (second person), and *uttama* (first person) respectively'

1.4.102 *tāny ekavacanadvivacanabahuvacanāny ekaśaḥ*
'elements of individual *tiṄ* triads are each termed *ekavacana* (singular), *dvivacana* (dual), and *bahuvacana* (plural) respectively'
1.4.104 *vibhaktiś ca*
'individual elements in *tIṄ* triads are each termed *vibhakti*'
The classification of the *tiṄ* replacements of *LA* is thus as follows:

	ekavacana	*dvivacana*	*bahuvacana*
parasmaipada			
prathama	*tiP*	*tas*	*jhi*
madhyama	*siP*	*thas*	*tha*
uttama	*miP*	*vas*	*mas*
ātmanepada			
prathama	*ta*	*ātām*	*jha*
madhyama	*thās*	*āthām*	*dhvam*
uttama	*iṬ*	*vahi*	*mahiṄ*

This classification itself suggests that all kinds of rules have to be retrieved to form the total context of *tiṄ* selection. Additional terms and rules will also be applicable. For example, 3.4.113 *tiṅśit sārvadhātukam* states that a *tiṄ* affix is termed *sārvadhātuka*. This and similar rules have consequences for *tiṄ* selection. In the first derivations I have shown the selection of *tiṄ* affixes in detail. Subsequently I have used the abbreviation *tiṄ*-selection for this process.

(5) *s/r-visarga*
The following two rules also occur frequently in the derivations:
8.2.66 *sasajuṣo ruḥ*
'the *pada*-final *s* as well as the *ṣ* of *sajuṣ* is replaced with *rŨ*'
8.3.15 *kharavasānayor visarjanīyaḥ*
'*r* is replaced with *visarga* (*ḥ*) before a consonant denoted by *khR* (*Śs*, 11-13), or before *avasāna* (pause)'
Clearly 1.4.110 *virāmo' vasānam*, which defines *avasāna*, will be brought close to the context of these applications. I have indicated this very common change by the term *s-visarga*, though I also use *r-visarga* for the change of *ṛ* to *ḥ*.

(6) *dvitva* 'doubling'
Certain roots go through doubling, under the requirements of rules such as the following:
6.1.8 *liṭi dhātor anābhyāsasya*
'a root not already doubled is doubled when *LIṬ* (perfect; 3.2.15 *parokṣe liṭ*) follows'
6.1.9 *sanyaṅoḥ*
'a root which ends in *saN* (3.1.7 *dhātoḥ samānakartṛkād...*) or *yaṄ* (3.1.22

dhātor ekāco...) and is not already doubled is doubled'

6.1.10 *ślau*

'a root not already doubled is doubled when *ŚLU* (2.4.75 *juhotyādibhyah...*) follows'

6.1.11 *caṅi*

'a root not already doubled is doubled when *CaṄ* (3.1.48 *ṇiśridrubhyaḥ kartari caṅ*) follows'

What is doubled in all these cases is the part of the root constituted by the first vowel (*ekāc;* 6.1.1 *ekāco dve prathamasya*). If a root is not monosyllabic and begins with a vowel, the second unit constituted by a vowel is doubled (6.1.2 *ajāder dvitīyasya*).The first of the two reduplicated units is called *abhyāsa* (6.1.4 *pūrvo' bhyāsaḥ*), while both are termed *abhyasta* (6.1.5 *ubhe abhyastam*). The purpose of assigning the term *abhyāsa* is to facilitate the application of rules such as 7.4.58 *atra lopo' bhyāsasya* and 6.1.60 *halādi śeṣaḥ,* whereby deletion (*LOPA*), shortening (*hrasva*), or retention of the unit constituted by the first consonant can be ordered. I have used *dvitva* to indicate doubling, the assignment of the terms *abhyāsa* and *abhyasta,* and operations conditioned by the term *abhyāsa.*

(7) Variable reference (*VR*)

Pāṇini uses variables such as *yat* 'that which' and *tat* 'that'. They are given as part of a context such that a reconstruction of actual strings with their referents can easily be made. Consider, for example, the following rules:

4.1.82 *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā*

'a *taddhita* affix is introduced after the first among syntactically related words'

4.1.92 *tasyāpatyam*

'the descendant of *X*'

Note that the second rule introduces the affix *aṆ* after the first among syntactically related words. This rule also contains the variable *tat,* given in the genitive. The antecedent of this variable can be reconstructed as ending in genitive and denoting a person in relation to whom *apatya* 'offspring' is named. Let us say that the antecedent of *tat* is *upagu.* This would enable us to reconstruct the string, in view of 4.1.82 and 4.1.92, as *upagor apatyam* 'the offspring of Upagu'. More importantly, one would be able to reconstruct the posited string for the derivation of *aupagavaḥ* as *upagu + Ṅas + apatya + sU.*

Let us also examine the following two rules.

3.1.92 *tatropapadaṃ saptamīstham*

'that which is specified with *saptamī* (seventh triad of *sUP*) in the rules of the domain of 3.1.91 *dhātoḥ* is termed an *upapada* (co-occurring word)'

3.2.1 *karmaṇy aṇ*

'affix *aṆ* is introduced after a verbal root when a word denoting *karman* co-occurs'

Note that the word *karmaṇi* is put in the locative, in consequence of which it will be regarded as a co-occurring word denoting *karman*. For the application of 3.2.1, we have to have a string of at least two elements, where the first has to be a *pada* (1.4.14 *suptiṅantaṃ padam*) denoting the object. The second element has to be a verbal root. The completed string could be, for example: *kumbha* + *ām* + *kṛ*, where the genitive *ām* denotes object. A string such as *kumbha* + *ām* + *kṛ* + *a* (Ṇ → ∅) will ultimately yield *kumbhakāra*, para-phrased as *kumbhānāṃ karttā* 'the maker of pots'. Incidentally, affix *aṆ*, since it is a non-*tiṄ*, is termed *kṛt* (3.1.93 *kṛd atiṅ*) and being a *kṛt*, denotes *kartṛ* (3.4.67 *kartari kṛt*). I shall not show a detailed reconstruction of the variable references in the actual derivations. Instead I shall use the expression 'variable reference' (*VR*) to indicate the process.

Examples have been numbered in the order of their occurrence in the text. An alphabetical index of examples with page references to the text and appendix is provided to facilitate quick reference. No attempt has been made, however, to separately list those derivational examples which are given under rules as part of larger expressions. The derivational details given between steps of rule applications should be regarded as complementary to the explanatory notes given under the rules in question.

DERIVATIONAL HISTORY OF EXAMPLES

1.1.1 *vṛddhir ādaic*

The purpose of this *sūtra* is to explain what the term *vṛddhi* means when it is encountered in the grammar. The derivational history of the following examples is presented in a slightly different order from *Kāśikā* for the sake of clarity.

(1) *aupagavaḥ*

(*a*) *upagu*

1.2.45 *arthavad...*
4.1.1 *ṅyāp-prātipadikāt*
4.1.2 *svauj...* (3.1.1-2) # 1.4.103 *supaḥ*, 1.4.104 *vibhaktiś ca*
1.4.22 *dvekayor...*
2.3.50 *ṣaṣṭhī śeṣe*
= *upagu* + *Ṅas*

Similarly, one can also derive *apatya* + *sŪ*, where *sŪ* is introduced by 2.3.46 *prātipadikārtha*.... Now we have a string of *pada* (see 1.4.14 *suptiṅantaṃ padam*): *upagu* + *Ṅas* + *apatya* + *sŪ*. This string can yield *upagor apatyam* and *aupagavaḥ* depending on what operational steps are followed. Both forms can be used as alternants without any difference in meaning. Our example (1) *aupagavaḥ* is derived by introducing the affix *aṆ* after *upagu* + *Ṅas* where *aṆ* expresses *apatya* 'offspring'.

Note here that this affix *aṄ* is introduced after *upagu* + *Ṅas* in order to denote *apatya* 'offspring'. Any attempt to show two syntactically related *pada*, with one being constituted by *apatya* + *sŨ*, is done purely for pedagogical purposes. Actually *apatya* + *sŨ* is inferred on the strength of rules such as 4.1.92 *tasyāpatyam*. This observation also holds for some subsequent derivations, such as (5) *śālīyaḥ* where an attempt has been made to show the derivation of *bhava* + *sŨ*.

(*b*) *upagu* + *Ṅas*

4.1.82 *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* (3.1.1-1, 4.1.76 *taddhitāḥ*)

4.1.92 *tasyāpatyam* (4.1.83 *prāg dīvyato' ṇ*) # *VR*

= *upagu* + *Ṅas* + *aṆ*

(*c*) *upagu* + *Ṅas* + *aṆ*

1.3.3 *halantyam*

1.3.9 *tasya lopaḥ*

= *upagu* + *Ṅas* + *a*

Note that 1.3.8 *laśakv ataddhite* can also apply to define the *Ṅ* of *Ṅas* as an *it*. Consequently *Ṅ* should also get deleted by 1.3.9. However I have not shown this because, shortly, 2.4.71 will delete the total affix *Ṅas* anyway. This practice also applies to other instances where total deletion of an ending is anticipated. I realize that I am blocking the deletion of *Ṅ* solely for reasons of economy; the application of a rule (*śāstrapravṛtti*) should not ordinarily be blocked in this way.

(*d*) *upagu* + *Ṅas* + *a*

1.2.46 *kṛttaddhitasamāsāś ca* (1.2.45 *arthavad...*)

2.4.71 *supodhātuprātipadikayoḥ* (2.4.58 *ṇyakṣatriyā...lug...*)

= *upagu* + (*Ṅas* → *Ø*) + *a*

= *upagu* + *a*

All instances of the deletion of a nominal ending will be referred to by the term *sUP*-deletion. For details of rules involved, see 2.4.71 *supodhātu...* and so on.

(*e*) *upagu* + *a*

1.4.13 *yasmāt...*

6.4.1 *aṅgasya*

7.2.117 *taddhiteṣvacām ādeḥ* (7.2.114 *mṛjer vṛddhiḥ*) # 1.1.1 *vṛddhir ādaic*, 1.1.50 *sthāne' ntaratamaḥ*

= (*u* → *au*) *pagu* + *a*

= *aupagu* + *a*

Rules 1.3.3 through 1.3.8 assign the term *it* to a given segment which 1.3.9 subsequently deletes. Since this pattern is quite frequent in derivations, I shall not indicate detailed rule applications in subsequent occurrences. Instead I shall just indicate the assignment and deletion of the term *it* by '*it*-deletion', for which see introductory remarks to the appendix.

(*f*) *aupagu* + *a*

1.4.18 *yaci bham*
6.4.129 *bhasya*
6.4.146 *or guṇaḥ* # 1.1.2 *adeṅ guṇaḥ,* 1.1.50 *sthāne' ntaratamaḥ*
= *aupag* (*u* → *o*) + *a*
= *aupago* + *a*

(*g*) *aupago* + *a*
1.4.109 *paraḥ saṃnikarṣaḥ saṃhitā*
6.1.72 *saṃhitāyām*
6.1.78 *eco' yāva yāvaḥ* # 1.1.50 *sthāne' ntaratamaḥ*
= *aupag* (*o* → *av*) + *a*
= *aupagava*

(*h*) *aupagava*
4.1.1 *ṅyāp prātipadikāt*
4.1.2 *svaujas...* (*sUP*) (3.1.1-2 *pratyayaḥ, paraś ca*) # 1.4.103 *supaḥ,* 1.4.104 *vibhaktiś ca,* 1.4.22 *dvekayor dvivacanaikavacane,* 2.3.46 *prātipadikārthaliṅgaparimāṇa-vacanamātre prathamā*
= *aupagava* + *sŨ*

(*i*) *aupagava* + *sŨ*
it-deletion
= *aupagava* + *s*

(*j*) *aupagava* + *s*
1.4.13 *yasmāt...aṅgam*
6.4.1 *aṅgasya*
= *aupagava* + *s*

Note that no obvious purpose is served in defining the string as an *aṅga* and sending it to the *aṅga* domain. Nevertheless, this step cannot be ignored, since other strings may qualify for rule application.

(*k*) *aupagava* + *s*
1.4.14 *suptiṅantaṃ padam*
8.2.16 *padasya*
8.2.66 *sasajuṣo ruḥ*
= *aupagava* + *rŨ*

(*l*) *aupagava* + *rŨ*
it-deletion
= *aupagava* + *r*

(*m*) *aupagava* + *r*
8.3.15 *kharavasānayor visarjanīyaḥ* # 1.4.110 *virāmo' vasānam*
= *aupagava* + (*r* → *ḥ*)
= *aupagavaḥ*

The change of *s* → *rŨ* → *ḥ* is also very frequent, I shall henceforth indicate this by *s-visarga.*

One can similarly derive (2) *aupamanyavaḥ* from (*upamanyu* + *Ṅas* + *aṆ* + *sŨ*.

(3) *āśvalāyanaḥ*

(*a*) *aśvala*

follow step (*a*) of (1) *aupagavaḥ*

(*b*) *aśvala* + *Ṅas*

same as (1) *aupagavaḥ* except for the affix *aṆ* not being introduced after *aśvala* + *Ṅas;* instead its exception *phaK* is introduced by 4.1.99 *naḍādibhyo phak.*

= *aśvalā* + *Ṅas* + *phak* # *VR*

(*c-d*) *aśvala* + *Ṅas* + *phaK*

as in (1) *aupagavaḥ*

= *aśvala* + *pha*

(*e*) *aśvala* + *pha*

1.4.13 *yasmāt...*
6.4.1 *aṅgasya*
7.1.2 *āyaneyīnīyiyaḥ phaḍhakha...*

= *aśvala*
(*pha* → *āyana*) # 1.3.10 *yathāsaṃkhya...*

(*f*) *aśvala* + *āyana*

1.4.18 *yaci bham*
6.4.129 *bhasya*
6.4.148 *yasyeti ca*

= *aśval*(*a* → *Ø*) + *āyana*
= *aśval* + *āyana*

(*g*) *aśval* + *āyana*

7.2.118 *kiti ca* # 7.2.117 *taddhiteṣvacām...*
7.2.114 *mṛjer...* # 1.1.1 *vṛddhir ādaic*
1.1.50 *sthāne...*

= (*a* → *ā*) *śval* + *āyana*
= *āśvalāyana*

(*h*) *āśvalāyana*

Follow steps (*h*) through (*m*) of (1) to derive *āśvalāyanaḥ.*

One can also follow this derivational pattern to derive

(4) *aitikāyanaḥ* from (*itika* + *Ṅas* + *phak*) + *sŨ.*

(5) *śālīyaḥ*

(*a*) *śālā*

1.2.45 *arthavad...*
4.1.1 *ṅyāp-prātipadikāt*
4.1.2 *svaujas...* # 1.4.103 *supaḥ,* 1.4.104 *vibhaktiś ca,* 1.4.22 *dvekayor...*
1.4.45 *ādhāro' dhikaraṇam*
2.3.36 *saptamy adhikaraṇe ca*

= *śālā* + *Ṅi*

Similarly one may derive *bhava* + *sŨ*, where *sŨ* is introduced by 2.3.46 *prātipadikārtha....* Now we have a string of *pada* (see 1.4.14 *suptiṅantaṃ padam*): *śālā* + *Ṅi* + *bhava* + *sŨ*. This string can yield *śālāyāṃ bhavaḥ* or *śālīyaḥ* depending on what operations are followed. Both forms can be used as alternants without any difference in meaning. Our example (5) *śālīyaḥ* is derived by introducing the affix *cha* after *śālā* + *Ṅi*, where *cha* expresses 'that which obtains or is located there'.

(*b*) *śālā* + *Ṅi*

4.1.82 *samarthā...* (3.1.1-2, 4.1.76 *taddhitāḥ*)
4.1.92 *tasyāpatyam*
4.3.53 *tatra bhavaḥ # VR*
4.2.113 *vṛddhācchaḥ # 1.1.73*
vṛddhir yasya..., 1.1.1 *vṛddhir ādaic*
= *śālā* + *Ṅi* + *cha*

(*c*) *śālā* + *Ṅi* + *cha*

sUP-deletion
= *śālā* + *cha*

(*d*) *śālā* + *cha*

it-deletion
= *śālā* + *a*

(*e*) *śālā* + *a*

1.4.13 *yasmāt...*
6.4.1 *aṅgasya*
7.1.2 *āyaneyīnīyiyaḥ... #* 1.3.10 *yathāsaṃkhya...*
= *śālā* + *īy* + *a*

(*f*) *śālā* + *īy* + *a*

1.4.18 *yaci bham*
6.4.129 *bhasya*
6.4.148 *yasyeti ca #* 1.1.60 *adarśanam...*
= *śāl* (*ā* → *Ø*) + *īy* + *a*
= *śālīya*

(*g*) *śālīya*

śālīyaḥ
follow steps (*h*) through (*m*) of (l)

The initial *vṛddhi* vowel (*ā*) of *śālā* is considered *atadbhāvita* 'nonderived'. One can follow the same steps to derive (6) *mālīyaḥ* from (*māla* + *Ṅas* + *cha*) + *sŨ*.

1.1.2 *adeṅ guṇaḥ*

The purpose of this *sūtra* is to explain what the term *guṇa* means when it is encountered in the grammar.

(7) *taritā*

(*a*) *tṛ*

1.3.1 *bhūvādayo dhātavaḥ*
3.1.91 *dhātoḥ*
3.1.93 *kṛd atiṅ*
3.1.95 *kṛtyāḥ*
3.1.114 *ārdhadhātukaṃ śeṣaḥ*
3.1.133 *ṇvultṛcau*
= *tṛ + tṛC*

(*b*) *tṛ + tṛC*

it-deletion.
= *tṛ + tṛ*

(*c*) *tṛ + tṛ*

1.4.13 *yasmāt...*
6.4.1 *aṅgasya*
7.2.35 *ārdhadhātukasyeḍ valādeḥ*
1.1.46 *ādyantau ṭakitau*
= *tṛ + iṬ + tṛ*

(*d*) *tṛ + iṬ + tṛ*

it-deletion
= *tṛ + i + tṛ*

(*e*) *tṛ + i + tṛ*

7.3.84 *sārvadhātukārdhadhātukayoḥ* (7.3.82 *mider guṇaḥ*) # 1.1.2 *adeṅ guṇaḥ*, 1.1.3 *iko guṇa...*, 1.1.51 *uraṇ raparaḥ*
= *t(ṛ → ar) + i + tṛ*
= *tar + i + tṛ*

(*f*) *tar + i + tṛ*

as in steps (*h*, *i*) of (1)
= *taritṛ + sŨ*

(*g*) *taritṛ + sŨ*

1.4.13 *yasmāt*
6.4.1 *aṅgasya*
7.1.94 *ṛduśanaspu...* (7.1.93 *anaṅ sau*) # 1.1.53 *ṅic ca*
= *tarit(ṛ → anAṄ) + sŨ*
= *taritan + s*

(*h*) *taritan + s*

1.1.43 *suḍ anapuṃsakasya* (1.1.42 *śi sarvanāmasthānam*)
6.4.8 *sarvanāmasthāne...* # 1.1.65 *alo' ntyāt*, 1.2.27 *ukālo' j hrasva...*
= *tarit(a → ā)n + s*
= *taritān + s*

(*i*) *taritān + s*

1.2.41 *apṛkta...*
6.1.68 *halṅyābbhyo dīrghāt...*

= *taritān* + (*s* → *0*)
= *taritān*

(*j*) *taritān*

1.4.14 *suptiṅantaṃ padam* # 1.1.62 *pratyayalope...*
8.1.16 *padasya*
8.2.27 *nalopaḥ prātipadikāntasya*
= *taritā*(*n* → *0*)
= *taritā*

One can also derive (8) *cetā* from *cĪṄ* + *tṛC*, to which steps *(c)* and *(d)* of (7) do not apply, mostly because 7.2.10 *ekāc...* does not permit *iṬ*-placement. The other steps are the same. Similarly (9) *stotā* can be derived from (*ṣṭuÑ* + *tṛc* = *stotṛ*) + *sŪ*.

(10) *pacanti*

(*a*) *ḌUpacĀṢ*

it-deletion
= *pac*

(*b*) *pac*

3.1.91 *dhātoḥ*
3.2.123 *varttamāne laṭ*
3.4.69 *laḥ karmaṇi ca...*(3.4.68 *kartari*)
= *pac* + *LAṬ*

Note here that I am not showing the *it*-deletion in *LAṬ* as it will soon be replaced.

(*c*) *pac* + *LAṬ*

3.4.77 *lasya*
3.4.78 *tiptasjhi...* # 1.4.99 *laḥ parasmaipadam*, 1.4.101 *tiṅastrīni...*, 1.4.102 *tāny ekavacana...*, 1.4.104 *vibhaktiś ca*, 1.4.23 *bahuṣu...* # *sUP*-selection
= *pac* + (*LAṬ* → *jhi*)
= *pac* + *jhi*

(*d*) *pac* + *jhi*

3.4.113 *tiṅśit sārvadhātukam*
3.1.68 *kartari śap*
= *pac* + *ŚaP* + *jhi*

(*e*) *pac* + *ŚaP* + *jhi*

it-deletion
= *pac* + *a* + *jhi*

(*f*) *pac* + *a* + *jhi*

1.4.13 *yasmāt...*
6.4.1 *aṅgasya*
7.1.3 *jho' ntaḥ*
= *pac* + *a* + (*jh* → *ant*) *i*
= *pac* + *a* + *anti*

(*g*) *pac + a + anti*

1.4.109 *paraḥ saṃnīkarṣaḥ saṃhitā*
6.1.97 *ato guṇe* (6.1.96 *usyapadāntāt*; note that 6.4.101 *akaḥ savarṇe dīrghaḥ* cannot apply) # 1.1.2 *adeṅ guṇaḥ*
= *pac + (a + a → a)nti*
= *pacanti*

(*h*) *pacanti*

1.4.14 *suptiṅantaṃ padam*
= *pacanti*

(11) *jayanti*

To derive *jayanti*, follow steps (*a*) through (*g*) of (10); this will yield: *ji + a + anti*.

(*h*) *ji + a + anti*

7.3.84 *sārvadhātukārddhadhātukayoḥ* (7.3.82 *mider guṇaḥ*) # 1.1.2 *adeṅ guṇaḥ*, 1.1.50 *sthāne'...*
= *j(i → e) + a + anti*
= *je + a + anti*

(*i*) *je + a + anti*

1.4.109 *paraḥ saṃnīkarṣaḥ saṃhitā*
6.1.72 *saṃhitāyām*
6.1.78 *eco' yavāyāvaḥ* # 1.3.10 *yathāsaṃkhya...*
= *j(e → ay) + a + anti*
= *jay + a + anti*

(*j*) *jay + a + anti*

6.1.97 *ato guṇe*, and so on as in (*g*) of (10)
= *jay (a + a → a)nti*
= *jay + anti*

(*k*) *jay + anti*

jayanti (1.4.14 *suptiṅantaṃ padam*)
= *jayanti*

(12) *pace*

(*a-b*) *ḌUpacĀṢ*

follow (*a*) and (*b*) of (10)
= *pac + LAṬ*

(*c*) *pac + LAṬ*

3.4.77 *lasya*
3.4.78 *tiptasjhi...* # 1.4.99 *laḥ parasmaipadam*, 1.4.100 *taṅānāv ātmanepadam* # 1.3.72 *svaritañitaḥ...*, 1.4.101 *tiṅas...*, 1.4.102 *tāny ekavacana...*, 1.4.104 *vibhaktiś ca*, 1.4.108 *śeṣe prathamaḥ*, 1.4.22 *dvekayor...* # *tiÑ*-selection
= *pac + iṬ*

(*d*) *pac + iṬ*

it-deletion
= *pac* + *i*

(*e*) *pac* + *i*

follow steps (*d-e*) of (10)
= *pac* + *a* + *i*

(*f*) *pac* + *a* + *i*

3.4.79 *ṭit ātmanepadānāṃ ṭere* # 1.1.64 *aco' ntyādi ṭi*
= *pac* + *a* + (*i* + *e* → *e*)
= *pac* + *a* + *e*

(*g*) *pac* + *a* + *e*

follow steps (*g-h*) of (10)
= *pac* + (*a* + *e* → *e*)
= *pace*

1.1.3 *iko guṇavṛddhī*

(13) *tarati*

(*a*) *tṛ*

same as (*b*) of (10)
= *tṛ* + *LAṬ*

(*b*) *tṛ* + *LAṬ*

same as (*c*) of (10) except that 1.4.21 *bahuṣu bahuvacanam* does not apply here; instead 1.4.22 *dvyekayor-dvivacanaikavacane* applies, and hence *LAṬ* is replaced by *tiP*.
= *tṛ* + (*LAṬ* → *tiP*)
= *tṛ* + *tiP* # *tiṄ*-selection

(*c*) *tṛ* + *tiP*

it-deletion
= *tṛ* + *ti*

(*d*) *tṛ* + *ṭi*

same as (*d-e*) of (10)

(*e*) *tṛ* + *a* + *ti*

1.4.13 *yasmāt*
6.4.1 *aṅgasya*
7.3.84 *sārvadhātukārdhadhātukayoḥ* (7.3.82 *mider guṇaḥ*) # 1.1.2 *adeṅ guṇaḥ*, 1.1.3 *iko guṇavṛddhī* 1.1.50 *sthāne...*, 1.1.51 *uraṇ raparaḥ*
= *t*(*ṛ* → *ar*) + *a* + *ti*
= *tar* + *a* + *ti*

(*f*) *tar* + *a* + *ti*

1.4.14 *suptiṅantaṃ padam*
= *tarati*

The derivation of (14) *nayati* and (15) *bhavati* is very similar. The root in *nayati* is *ṇīÑ*, to which, after the deletion of *Ñ* (1.3.3 *halantyam*, 1.3.9 *tasya lopaḥ*), 6.1.65 *ṇo naḥ* applies. As a consequence the initial *ṇ* of the root is

replaced by *n*: (*ṇ* → *n*)*ī* = *nī*. Both *nī* of (14) and *bhū* of (15) follow steps (*a*) through (*e*) of *tarati* to yield:

(14) *n*(*ī* → *e*) + *a* + *ti* = *ne* + *a* + *ti*.
(15) *bh*(*ū* → *o*) + *a* + *ti* = *bho* + *a* + *ti*.

In addition, 6.1.78 *eco' yavāyāvaḥ* causes the *e* and *o* of (14) and (15) to be replaced by *ay* and *av*:

(14) *n*(*e* → *ay*) + *a* + *ti*
= *n* + *ay* + *a* + *ti*
= *nayati*;
(15) *bh*(*o* → *av*) + *a* + *ti*
= *bhav* + *a* + *ti*
= *bhavati*
(16) *akārṣīt*
(*a*) *ḌUkṛÑ*
it-deletion
= *kṛ*
3.1.91 *dhātoḥ* (3.1.1-2 *pratyayaḥ, paraś ca*)
3.2.84 *bhūte*
3.2.110 *LUṄ*
3.4.69 *laḥ karmaṇi...*
= *kṛ* + *LUṄ*
(*b*) *kṛ* + *LUṄ*
3.1.43 *cli luṅi*
= *kṛ* + *CLI* + *LUṄ*
3.1.44 *cleḥ sic*
= *kṛ* + (*CLI* → *sĨC*) + *LUṄ*
= *kṛ* + *sĨC* + *LUṄ*
(*c*) *kṛ* + *sĨC* + *LUṄ*
it-deletion
= *kṛ* + *s* + *LUṄ*
(*d*) *kṛ* + *s* + *LUṄ*
3.4.77 *lasya*
3.4.78 *tiptasjhi...* # 1.4.99 *laḥ parasmaipadam*, and so on, which facilitate *tiÑ* selection
= *kṛ* + *s* + (*LUṄ* → *tiP*)
= *it*-deletion
= *kṛ* + *s* + *ti*
(*e*) *kṛ* + *s* + *ti*
3.4.100 *itaś ca*
= *kṛ* + *s* + *t*(*i* → ∅)
= *kṛ* + *s* + *t*
3.4.113 *tiṅśit sārvadhā...* 3.4.114 *ārdhadhātukam...*
(*f*) *kṛ* + *s* + *t*
1.4.13 *yasmāt...*

6.4.1 *aṅgasya*
6.4.71 *luṅlaṅ...* # 1.1.46 *ādyantau...*
= *aṬ + kṛ + s + t*
= *it*-deletion
= *a + kṛ + s + t*

(*g*) *a + kṛ + s + t*
7.2.1 *sici vṛddhiḥ...* # 1.1.1 *vṛddhir ādaic*, 1.1.3 *iko guṇavṛddhī*, 1.1.50 *sthāne...*, 1.1.51 *ur aṇ raparaḥ*
= *a + kār + s + t*

(*h*) *a + kār + s + t*

Note here that 7.2.35 *ārddhātuka...* cannot apply to assign the augment *iṬ* to *s* since *kṛÑ* is marked with *anudātta*, and hence, 7.2.10 *ekāc upadeśe...* will not permit it.

1.2.41 *apṛkta...*
7.3.96 *astisico' pṛkte...* # 1.1.46 *ādyantau ṭakitau*
= *a + kār + s + īṬ + t*
= *it*-deletion
= *a + kār + s + ī + t*
1.4.14 *suptiṅantaṃ padam*
8.1.16 *padasya*
8.3.59 *ādeśapratyayoḥ*
= *a + kār + (s → ṣ) + ī + t*
= *a + kār + ṣ + ī + t*
= *akārṣīt*

One can similarly derive:

(17) *ahārṣīt*, from *aṬ + hṛÑ + sĨC + īṬ + tiP*,
(18) *acaiṣīt*, from *aṬ + ciÑ + sĨC + īṬ + tiP*, and
(19) *anaiṣīt*, from *aṬ + ṇīÑ + siC̃ + īṬ + tiP*

where the initial *ṇ* of the root is replaced by *n* by 6.1.65 *ṇonaḥ*, as in (14) *nayati*.

Examples (20) *alāvīt*, and (21) *astāvīt* are slightly different.

(20) *alāvīt*

(*a-g*) *lūÑ*
same as steps (*a*) through (*g*) of (16)
= *a + lau + s + t*

(*h*) *a + lau + s + t*
7.2.35 *ārdhadhātukasya...* # 1.1.46 *ādyantau ṭakitau*
a + lau + iṬ + s + t
it-deletion
= *a + lau + i + s + t*

(*i*) *a + lau + i + s + t*
same as the application of 7.3.96 *astīsīco...* at step (*h*) of (16) *akārṣīt*
= *a + lau + i + s + ī(Ṭ → ∅) + t*

(*j*) *a + lau + i + s + ī + t*

1.4.14 *suptiṅantaṃ padam*

8.2.16 *padasya*

8.2.18 *iṭ īṭi*

= *a + lau + i + (s → ∅) + ī + t*

(*k*) *a + lau + i + ī + t*

6.1.72 *saṃhitāyām* # 1.4.109 *paraḥ saṃnikarṣaḥ...*

6.1.78 *eco' yavāyāvaḥ* # 1.1.50 *sthāne...*

= *a + l(au → āv) + i + ī + t*

= *a + lāv + i + ī + t*

(*l*) *a + lāv + i + ī + t*

6.1.101 *akaḥ savarṇe dīrghaḥ*

= *a + lāv + (i + ī → ī) + t*

= *a + lāv + ī + t*

= *alāvīt*

Note that 6.1.101 applied here only because 8.2.28 *iṭ īṭi* deleted the intervocalic *s* from the string at step (*i*). According to 8.2.1 *pūrvatrāsiddham*, application of 8.2.28 will be considered as suspended (*asiddha*) with regard to 6.1.101. That is, as far as 6.1.101 is concerned, the deletion of the intervocalic *s* by 8.2.28 never took place. However since this interpretation would not allow 6.1.101 to apply, and consequently a wrong form **alāvisīt* would result, 8.2.28 is not considered as suspended in this context. For details concerning this, refer to the *vārttika* on this rule: *sijlopa ekādeśe siddho vācyaḥ* 'the deletion of *sĪC* is to be stated as *siddha* when *ekādeśa* is to be performed'.

Example (21) *astāvīt* derives from *aṬ + stuÑ + iṬ + sĪC + īṬ + tiP* according to the same steps as (20) *alāvīt*.

1.1.4 *na dhātulopa ārdhadhātuke*

(22) *loluvaḥ*

(*a*) *lūÑ*

it-deletion

= *lū*

(*b*) *lū*

3.1.22 *dhātor ekāco...yaṅ* (3.1.1 *pratyayaḥ*, 3.1.2 *paraś ca*)

= *lū + yaṄ*

it-deletion

= *lū + ya*

(*c*) *lū + ya*

6.1.1 *ekāco dve prathamasya*

6.1.4 *pūrvo'bhyāsaḥ*

= *lūy + lūy + a* # *dvitva*

(*d*) *lūy + lūy + a*

1.4.13 *yasmāt...*

6.1.4 *aṅgasya*
7.4.60 *halādi śeṣaḥ* (7.4.58 *atra lopo' bhyāsasya*)
= *lū(y → Ø) + lūy + a*
= *lū + lūy + a*

(*e*) *lū + lūy + a*
7.4.82 *guṇo yaṅlukoḥ* # 1.1.2 *adeṅ guṇaḥ*, 1.1.3 *iko...*, 1.1.50 *sthāne...*
= *l(ū → o) + lūy + a*
= *lo + lūy + a*
= *lolūya*

(*f*) *lolūya*
3.1.32 *sanādyantā dhātavaḥ*
3.1.91 *dhātoḥ*
3.1.93 *kṛd atiṅ*
3.1.134 *nandigrahi...lyuṇinyacaḥ*
= *lolūya + aC*
3.4.114 *ārdhadhātukaṃ śeṣaḥ*
it-deletion
= *lolūya + a*

(*g*) *lolūya + a*
2.4.74 *yaṅo' ci ca* # 1.1.61 *pratyayasya...*
= *lolū(ya → Ø) + a*
= *lolū + a*

Note here that *lolūya* was termed a root by 3.1.32 *sanādyantā dhātavaḥ*. Rule 2.4.74 *yaṅo' ci ca* has just deleted *ya* (a part of this root) under the conditions of the following *ārdhadhātuka* (3.1.114 *ārdhadhātukam...*) affix *aC*.

(*h*) *lolu + a*
1.4.13 *yasmāt...*
6.4.1 *aṅgasya*
7.3.84 *sārvadhātukārdhadhātukayoḥ* (7.3.82 *mider guṇaḥ*)

Note here that 7.3.84 requires that the *ū* of *lolū* (an *aṅga*) be replaced by *guṇa* because the *ārdhadhātuka* affix *aC* follows. Rule 1.1.4 *na dhātulopa...* will not permit this *guṇa* replacement because the *ārdhadhātuka* affix (*aC*) which conditions it is the same affix which also caused the deletion of *ya* of the root *lolūya*. In short, 7.3.84 will be blocked by 1.1.4.

(*i*) *lolū + a*
6.4.77 *aci śnudhātu...* # 1.1.53 *ṅit ca*
= *lol(ū → uvÃṄ) + a*
it-deletion
= *lol + uv + a*
= *loluva*

(*j*) *loluva*
s-visarga
= *loluvaḥ*

To derive (23) *popuvaḥ* from *pūṄ*, follow the same pattern as in (22) *loluvaḥ*.

(24) *marimṛjaḥ*

(*a*) *mṛjŪS*

same as steps (*a*) through (*d*) of (22) *loluvaḥ*

= *mṛ* + *mṛj* + *ya*

(*b*) *mṛ* + *mṛj* + *ya*

7.4.66 *urat* # 1.1.51 *uraṇ raparaḥ*

= *m*(*ṛ* → *ar*) + *mṛj* + *ya*

= *mar* + *mṛj* + *ya*

(*c*) *mar* + *mṛj* + *ya*

7.4.60 *halādi śeṣaḥ*

= *ma*(*r* → ∅) + *mṛj* + *ya* # *dvitva*

7.4.90 *rīgṛdupadhasya ca* # 1.1.46 *ādyantau ṭakitau*

= *ma* + *rīK* + *mṛj* + *ya*

it-deletion

= *ma* + *rī* + *mṛj* + *ya*

= *marīmṛjya*

(*d*) *marīmṛjya*

same as steps (*f*) through (*g*) of (22) *loluvaḥ*

= *marīmṛjya* + *a*(*C* → ∅)

= *marīmṛj*(*ya* → ∅) + *a*

Here again the *ya* of the root is deleted under the conditions of the following *ārdhadhātuka* affix.

= *marīmṛj* + *a*

(*e*) *marīmṛj* + *a*

1.4.13 *yasmāt...*

6.4.1 *aṅgasya*

7.2.114 *mṛjer vṛddhiḥ* # 1.1.1 *vṛddhir ādaic*, 1.1.3 *iko guṇavṛddhī*, 1.1.4 *na dhātulopa...*

Rule 7.2.114 requires that *ṛ*(*īk*) of *marīmṛj* (an *aṅga*) be replaced by *vṛddhi*. Rule 1.1.4 will not permit this because *a*(*C*) is the same *ārdhadhātuka* affix which conditioned the deletion of part of *marīmṛjya* (the root).

= *marīmṛj* + *a*

= *marīmṛja*

s-visarga

= *marīmṛjaḥ*

The derivation of (25) *sarīsṛpaḥ* is almost identical. It differs from (24) in that, in *marīmṛjaḥ*, 1.1.4 blocked the *vṛddhī* replacement, while in *sarīsṛpaḥ*, 1.1.4 blocks *guṇa* replacement ordered by 7.3.86 *puganta*....

1.1.5 *kṅiti ca*

(26) *citaḥ*

(*a*) *ciÑ*

it-deletion

= *ci*

(*b*) *ci*

3.1.91 *dhātoḥ*
3.1.93 *kṛd atiṅ*
3.2.84 *bhūte*
3.2.102 *niṣṭhā* # 1.1.25 *ktaktavatū niṣṭhā*

= *ci* + *Kta*

it-deletion

= *ci* + *ta*

(*c*) *ci* + *ta*

1.4.13 *yasmāt...*
6.4.1 *aṅgasya*

Note that 7.2.35 *ārdhadhātukasya...* cannot apply since *ciÑ* is *anudātta* and thus *iṬ* will be blocked by 7.2.10 *ekāc...;* also see step (*h*) of (16) *akārṣīt*. Similarly 7.3.84 *sārvadhātukārdhadhātukayoḥ* would require a *guṇa* replacement for the *iK* of *ci;* this however will be blocked by 1.1.5, since affix *Kta* which conditions this replacement is marked by *K*.

= *cita*

(*d*) *cita* + *sŨ*

s-visarga

= *citaḥ*

Similar steps can be followed to derive:

(27) *stutaḥ*, from (*ṣṭuÑ* + *Kta*) + *sŨ;*
(28) *bhinnaḥ*, from (*bhidĬR* + *Kta*) + *sŨ*, and
(29) *mṛṣṭaḥ*, from (*mṛjŨS* + *Kta*) + *sŨ*.

In (27), the root-initial *ṣ* is changed to *s* by 6.1.64 *dhātvādeḥ ṣaḥ saḥ*. This in turn causes the following *ṭ* to be replaced by *t*. Note that the root-initial *ṣ* of *ṣṭuÑ* caused the following *t* to become *ṭ*. When this *ṣ* is changed to *s*, the change of *t* into *ṭ*, which the ṣ conditioned, must also be undone (see the *Paribhāṣā* 56: *nimittāpāye naimittikasyāpyapāyaḥ*). Similarly in (28), both the *d* and *t* of *bhid* + *ta* are changed to *n* by 8.2.42 *radābhyāṃ niṣṭhāto na pūrvasya ca daḥ*. Thus (*bhi*(*d* → *n*) + (*t* → *n*) + *a*) + *sŨ* = *bhinna* + *sŨ* = *bhinnaḥ*. Unlike (26), where *guṇa* is blocked before an affix marked with *K*, (29) *mṛṣṭaḥ* illustrates the blocking of a *vṛddhi* replacement ordered by 7.2.114 *mṛjer vṛddhiḥ*. In addition the *j* of *mṛj* + *ta* is changed to *ṣ* by 8.2.36 *vraśca-bhrasj...*: *mṛ*(*j* → *ṣ*) + *ta*. Later the *t* of *mṛṣ* + *ta* is changed to *ṭ* by 8.4.41 *ṣṭunā ṣṭuḥ*, yielding: *mṛṣ* + (*t* → *ṭ*) + *a* = *mṛṣṭa*. Finally *mṛṣṭa* + *sŨ* will yield *mṛṣṭaḥ*.

(30) *citavān*

(*a*) *ciÑ*

same as in (26) *citaḥ*

(*b*) *ci* same as in (26) *citaḥ*, except for the affix which is *KtavatU* instead of *Kta*

= *ci* + *KtavatU*

it-deletion

= *ci* + *tavat*

(*c*) *ci* + *tavat*

1.4.13 *yasmāt...*

6.4.1 *aṅgasya*

Here again the *guṇa* replacement of *i* in *ci* is blocked because *KtavatU* is marked with *K*.

= *ci* + *tavat*

= *citavat*

(*d*) *citavat*

1.2.46 *kṛttadhitasamāsāś ca*

4.1.1 *ṅyāpprātipadikāt*

4.1.2 *svaujas...*

= *citavat* + *sŨ*

it-deletion

= *citavat* + *s*

(*e*) *citavat* + *s*

1.1.42 *suḍ anapuṃsakasya*

1.4.13 *yasmāt...*

6.4.1 *aṅgasya*

6.4.14 *atvasantasya...* # 1.1.64 *alo' antyāt*

= *citav*(*a* → *ā*)*t* + *s*

= *citavāt* + *s*

(*f*) *citavāt* + *s*

7.1.70 *ugidacām...* # 1.1.46 *midaco' ntyāt paraḥ*

= *citavā* + *nŨM* + *t* + *s*

it-deletion

= *citavān* + *t* + *s*

(*g*) *citavān* + *t* + *s*

1.2.41 *apṛkta...*

6.1.68 *halṅyābbhyo...*

= *citavān* + *t* + (*s* → *Ø*)

= *citavān* + *t*

= *citavānt*

(*h*) *citavānt*

1.4.14 *suptiṅantaṃ padam*

8.1.16 *padasya*

8.2.23 *saṃyogāntasya lopaḥ* # 1.1.7 *halo' nantarā saṃyogaḥ*

= *citavān*(*t* → *Ø*)

= *citavān*

The same derivational pattern can be followed to derive:

(31) *stutavān,* from (*stuÑ* + *KtavatU*) + *sŨ;*
(32) *bhinnavān* from (*bhidĨR* + *KtavatU*) + *sŨ;* and
(33) *mṛṣṭavān,* from (*mṛjŨS* + *KtavatU*) + *sŨ.*

For certain phonological changes in these examples, see the derivation of (27) *stutaḥ,* (28) *bhinnaḥ,* and (29) *mṛṣṭaḥ* at the end of (26) *citaḥ.*

(34) *cinutaḥ*

(*a*) *ciÑ*

it-deletion
= *ci*

(*b*) *ci*

same as steps *(b), (c),* and *(d)* of (10) *pacanti;* however in this case 3.4.78 *tiptasjhi...* will yield *tas* (see 1.4.22 *dvekayor...),* and at step *(d),* 3.1.73 *svādibhyaḥ śnuḥ* will assign *Śnu* instead of *Śap.* Thus:

3.1.73 *svādibhyaḥ śnuḥ*
= *ci* + *tas*
3.1.73 *svādibhyaḥ śnuḥ*
= *ci* + *Śnu* + *tas*
it-deletion
= *ci* + *nu* + *tas*

(*c*) *ci* + *nu* + *tas*

1.4.13 *yasmāt*
6.4.1 *aṅgasya*
7.3.84 *sārvadhātukārdhadhātukayoḥ* # 1.1.5 *kṅiti ca*
1.2.4 *sārvadhātukam apit*
= *ci* + *nu* + *tas*
= *cinutas*

(*d*) *ci* + *nu* + *tas*

s-visarga
= *cinutaḥ*

It is interesting to note here that 1.4.13 *yasmāt pratyayavidhis tadādi...* will assign the term *aṅga* to both *ci,* and *ci* + *nu.* That is, *ci* will be named an *aṅga* with reference to the *sārvadhātuka* affix (3.4.114 *tiṅśit sārvadhātukam*) *nu,* while *ci* + *nu* will be named an *aṅga* with reference to *tas,* another such affix. As a consequence, 7.3.84 *sārvadhātukārdhadhātukayoḥ* will require the *guṇa* substitute for the *iK* (here *i* and *u*) of both these *aṅga.*

The objection could be raised here that the term *aṅga* can apply to *ci with reference to tas,* but not to *ci* + *nu,* because *nu* was a later addition to *ci* + *tas.* Moreover *tas* was not added with reference to *ci* + *nu.* It is to resolve this that 1.4.13 *yasmāt pratyayavidhis tadādi...* includes the word *tadādi* 'beginning with that', where *tad* 'that' refers to the item after which an affix is introduced.

At this stage, step (*d*) of (34), 1.1.5 *kṅiti ca* is invoked to block the *guṇa* substitutions ordered by 7.3.84. One can argue here that since the affixes

Śnu and *tas* which condition these substitutions are not marked with *K, G,* or *Ṅ*, 1.1.5 is not qualified to block the application of 7.3.84. However this argument does not hold since 1.2.4 *sārvadhātukam apit* states that any *sārvadhātuka* affix not marked with *P* is treated as if it were marked with *Ṅ*. This latter rule clearly applies to *Śnu* and *tas* since they are both *sārvadhātuka* affixes not marked with *P*. The way is now clear for 1.1.5 to block the *guṇa* substitution ordered by 7.3.84.

Note also that examples (26) through (34) illustrate instances where 1.1.5 blocks *guṇa* or *vṛddhi* substitution independently. In (35) and (36), 1.1.5 accomplishes this blocking with the help of 1.2.4.

(35) *cinvanti*

(*a*) *ciÑ*

it-deletion

= *ci*

(*b*) *ci*

same as steps (*b*) and (*c*) of (10) *pacanti*

= *ci* + (*LAṬ* → *jhi*)

= *ci* + *jhi*

(*c*) *ci* + *jhi*

similar to step (*d*) of (34) *cinutaḥ*

= *ci* + *nu* + *jhi*

(*d*) *ci* + *nu* + *jhi*

similar to step (*f*) of (10) *pacanti*

= *ci* + *nu* + (*jh* → *ant*) *i*

= *ci* + *nu* + *anti*

(*e*) *ci* + *nu* + *anti*

6.4.87 *huśnuvoḥ sārvadhātuke* (6.4.81 *iṇo yaṇ*)

= *ci* + *n*(*u* → *v*) + *anti*

= *cinv* + *anti*

(*f*) *cinv* + *anti*

1.4.14 *suptiṅantaṃ padam*

= *cinvanti*

Example (36) *mṛjanti* is similarly derived. The placement of *LAṬ*, its replacement by *jhi*, and the subsequent replacement of *jh* by *ant*, is the same. However *mṛj* receives the augment *ŚaP*, which is deleted by 2.4.72 *ādiprabhṛtibhyo...*: *mṛj* + (*ŚaP* → *Ø*) + *anti* = *mṛjanti*. Note here that 1.1.5, read with 1.2.4, will block the *vṛddhi* of *ṛ* ordered by 7.2.114 *mṛjer vṛddhiḥ*.

(37) *jiṣṇuḥ*

(*a*) *ji*

1.3.1 *bhūvādayo...*

3.1.91 *dhātoḥ*

3.1.93 *kṛd atiṅ*

3.2.139 *glājisthaśca gśnuḥ*

= *ji* + *Gsnu*
it-deletion
= *ji* + *snu*
3.4.114 *ārdhadhātukaṃ śeṣaḥ*

(*b*) *ji* + *snu*
1.4.13 *yasmāt...*
6.4.1 *aṅgasya*
7.2.35 *ārdhadhātukasya...* (blocked here by 7.2.110 *ekāc...*)
7.3.84 *sārvadhātukārdhadhātukayoḥ* # 1.1.5 *kṅiti ca*
= *ji* + *snu*
= *jisnu*

(*c*) *jisnu*
sUP-selection (*sŪ*)
it-deletion
= *jisnu* + *s*

(*d*) *jisnu* + *s*
s-visarga
= *jisnuḥ*

(*e*) *jisnuḥ*
1.4.14 *suptiṅantaṃ padam*
8.1.16 *padasya*
8.3.59 *ādeśapratyayoḥ*
= *ji*(*s* → *ṣ*) *nuḥ*
= *jisnuḥ*
8.4.41 *ṣṭunā ṣṭuḥ*
= *jiṣ*(*n* → *ṇ*) *uḥ*
= *jiṣṇuḥ*

A similar pattern is followed in deriving (38) *bhūṣṇuḥ* from (*bhū* + *Gsnu*) + *sŪ*. The augment *iṬ*, however, is blocked by 7.2.11 *śruyakaḥ kiti*.

1.1.6 *dīdhīvevīṭām*

(39) *ādīdhyanam*

(*a*) *āṄ-dīdhīṄ*
same as step (*a*) of (26) *citaḥ*
it-deletion
ā-dīdhī
= *ādīdhī*

(*b*) *ādīdhi*
3.1.91 *dhātoḥ*
3.1.93 *kṛd atiṅ*
3.3.115 *lyuṭ ca* (3.3.114 *napuṃsake bhāve...*)
3.4.114 *ārdhadhātukaṃ śeṣaḥ*
= *ādīdhī* + *LyuṬ*

it-deletion
= *ādīdhī + yu*

(*c*) *ādīdhī + yu*
1.4.13 *yasmāt...*
6.4.1 *aṅgasya*
7.1.1 *yuvor anākau* # 1.3.1 *yathāsaṃkhyam...*
= *ādīdhī + (yu → ana)*

Rule 7.3.84 *sārvadhātukārdha...* demands a *guṇa* substitute for the *ī* of *dhī* which will be blocked by 1.1.6 *dīdhī....*
ādīdhī + ana

(*d*) *ādīdhī + ana*
6.4.77 *aci śnudhātu...* (cannot apply because of 6.4.82)
= *ādīdh (ī → y) ana*
= *ādīdhyana*

(*e*) *ādīdhyana*
sUP-selection (*sŨ*)
it-deletion
= *ādīdhyana + s*

(*f*) *ādīdhyana + s*
7.1.24 *ato' m*
= *ādīdhyana + (s → am)*
= *ādīdhyana + am*

(*g*) *ādīdhyana + am*
6.1.7 *saṃhitāyām* # 1.4.109 *paraḥ saṃnikarṣaḥ...*
6.1.104 *ami pūrvaḥ*
= *ādīdhyana + (a → ∅) m*
= *ādīdhyanam*

(*h*) *ādīdhyanam*
1.4.14 *suptiṅantaṃ padam*
= *ādīdhyanam*

One can similarly derive (40) *āvevyanam* from (*āṄ-vevĪṄ + LyuṬ*) + *sŨ*.

(41) *ādīdhyakaḥ*

(*a*) *āṄ-dīdhīṄ*
same as step (*a*) of (26) *citaḥ*
= *ādīdhī*

(*b*) *ādīdhī*
3.1.91 *dhātoḥ*
3.1.133 *ṇvultṛcau*
= *ādīdhī + ṆvuL*
it-deletion
= *ādīdhī + vu*

(*c*) *ādīdhī + vu*
1.4.13 *yasmāt...*

6.4.1 *aṅgasya*
7.1.1 *yuvor anākau* # 1.3.10 *yathāsaṃkhyam...*
= *ādīdhī* + (*vu* → *aka*)
= *ādīdhī* + *aka*

(*d*) *ādīdhī* + *aka*
7.2.115 *aco' ñniti* orders *vṛddhi* for the *ī* in *dīdhī*, but 1.1.6 blocks it
= *ādīdhī* + *aka*

(*e*) *ādīdhī* + *aka*
same as step (*d*) of (39) *ādīdhyanam*
= *ādīdh* (*ī* → *y*) *aka*
= *ādīdhyaka*

(*f*) *ādīdhyaka*
sUP-selection (*sŪ*)
it-deletion
s-visarga
= *ādīdhyakaḥ*

The derivation of (42) *āvevyakaḥ* is not different from (41).

(43) *kaṇitā*

(*a*) *kaṇĀ*
it-deletion
= *kaṇ*

(*b*) *kaṇ*
3.1.91 *dhātoḥ*
3.4.69 *laḥ karmaṇi ca...*
3.3.15 *anadyatane luṭ*
= *kaṇ* + *LUṬ*
3.1.33 *syatāsī lṛluṭoḥ* # 1.3.10 *yathāsaṃkhya...*
= *kaṇ* + *tās* + *LUṬ*

(*c*) *kaṇ* + *tās* + *LUṬ*
same as steps (*b*) and (*c*) of (13) *tarati*
= *kaṇ* + *tās* + (*LUṬ* → *tiP*)
it-deletion
= *kaṇ* + *tās* + *ti*

(*d*) *kaṇ* + *tās* + *ti*
2.4.85 *luṭaḥ prathamasya ḍāraurasaḥ* # 1.3.10 *yathāsaṃkhya...*
= *kaṇ* + *tās* + (*ti* → *Ḍā*)
it-deletion
= *kaṇ* + *tās* + *ā*

(*e*) *kaṇ* + *tās* + *ā*
1.4.13 *yasmāt...*
6.4.1 *aṅgasya*
7.2.35 *ārdhadhātukasya...* # 1.1.46 *ādyantau...*

it-deletion
= *kaṇ + i + tās + ā*

(*f*) *kaṇ + i + tās + ā*
6.4.143 *ṭeḥ* # 1.1.64 *aco' ntyādiṭi*
= *kaṇ + i + t(ās → Ø) + ā*

At this stage, 7.3.86 *pugantalaghūpadha...* would require that the penultimate short vowel *i* of the *aṅga* (*kaṇit*) be replaced by a *guṇa* vowel. Rule 1.1.6 blocks this *guṇa* substitution.

Also note that 6.4.143 *ṭeḥ* comes under the subdomain of 6.4.127 *bhasya*, whereby we learn that the input on which 6.4.143 applies must be termed *bha* by 1.3.18 *yaci bham*, and so on. Another condition on the applicability of 6.4.143 is that the input must be followed by an affix marked with *Ḍ*. Our present input cannot be termed a *bha*, although it is followed by affix (*Ḍ*)*ā*. That is, it only meets one condition. Consequent upon this, one can argue that 6.4.143 should not apply to delete the *ṭi* (1.1.64 *aco' ntyādi ṭi*) part of an input which is not a *bha*. Commentators explain that if this deletion is blocked, the condition that 6.4.143 should apply before an affix marked with *Ḍ* becomes meaningless (*vyartha*). It is for this reason that *Kāśikā* remarks:

ḍity abhasyāpy anubandhasāmarthyāt ṭilopo bhavati

'deletion of *ṭi*, under the condition of a following affix marked with *Ḍ*, is carried on the strength of the *it;* that is, *Ḍ*, even though the input happens to be a non-*bha*'.

= *kaṇ + i + t + ā*
= *kaṇitā*

Similar steps can be followed to derive (44) *raṇitā* from *raṇĀ + LUṬ*.

1.1.10 *nājjhalau*

The purpose of this rule is to block the homogeneity relationship between a vowel (*aC*) and a consonant (*hL*). Thus, even though they meet the conditions required by 1.1.9 *tulyāsya...*, a vowel and a consonant should not be treated as homogeneous.

(45) *daṇḍahastaḥ*

Given a string *daṇḍa + hasta*, rule 1.1.9 can allow the final *a* of *daṇḍa* to be termed homogeneous with the initial *h* of *hasta*. Their point of articulation (*sthāna*) is *kaṇṭha*, and their manner of articulation (*prayatna*) is *vivṛta*. If rule 1.1.10 does not block this *savarṇa* assignment, rule 6.1.101 *akaḥ savarṇe dīrghaḥ* would have to replace both *a* and *h* by a long vowel: *daṇḍ*(*a + h → ā*)*sta* = **daṇḍāsta*, a wrong form.

(46) *vaipāśo matsyaḥ*

(*a*) *vipāś*
similar to steps (*a*) through (*d*) of (5) *Śālīyaḥ*, except for the affix which, in this case is *aṆ*
it-deletion
= *vipāś + a*

(*b*) *vipāś* + *a*

7.2.117 *taddhiteṣvacām ādeḥ* # 1.1.1 *vṛddhir ādaic*, 1.1.50 *sthāne*...

= *v*(*i* → *ai*) *pās* + *a*

= *vaipāś* + *a*

(*c*) *vaipāś* + *a*

1.4.18 *yaci bham*
6.4.1 *aṅgasya*
6.4.129 *bhasya*
6.4.128 *yasyeti ca*

Rule 1.1.10 blocks the deletion of the *ś* of *vaipāś*, which would otherwise have been ordered by 6.4.148 *yasyeti ca*. This latter rule requires, among other things, the deletion of *i* before the *taddhita* affix *a*. But, in our example, there is a *ś* before *a*. May we still say that 6.4.148 applies here? The answer is yes, if *ś* can be considered homogeneous with *i*. If a rule requires the deletion of a short *i*, we understand it as also requiring the deletion of long and extra-long *i*. This is because the three are *savarṇa*. Now, *ś* is also similar in point and manner of articulation with *i*. They are both palatal (*tālavya*) and closed (*saṃvṛta*). As a result, 6.4.148 can not only include a reference to short, and thereby long and extra-long *i*, it can also refer to *ś* and all other sounds homogeneous with *i*. In this way 6.4.148 may delete the *ś* of *vaipāś*.

However, since 1.1.10 *nājjhalau* blocks a *savarṇa* relationship between a consonant and a vowel, *ś* cannot be understood as homogeneous with *i*, and therefore 6.4.148 will not apply, and there will be no deletion.

= *vaipāś* + *a*

= *vaipāśa*

(*d*) *vaipāśa*

sUP-selection (*sŨ*)
it-deletion
s-visarga

= *vaipāśaḥ*

(47) *anaḍuhaṃ carma*

(*a*) *anaḍuh*

same as steps (*a*) through (*d*) of (5) *śālīyaḥ*, except for the affix, which in this case is *aÑ*, ruled by 4.3.154 *prāṇirajātādibhyo' ñ*
it-deletion
anaḍuh + *a*

(*b*) *anaḍuh* + *a*

same as in (46) *vaipāśaḥ;* however, this time 6.4.148 would require the deletion of *h*, which in the absence of 1.1.10, would be considered as homogeneous with *a;* also see (45) *daṇḍahastaḥ*

= *anaḍuha*

(*c*) *anaḍuha*

sUP-selection (*sŪ*)
it-deletion
= *anaḍuha* + *s*

(*d*) *anaḍuha* + *s*

same as steps (*f*) through (*h*) of (39)
ādīdhyanam
= *anaḍuham*

1.1.11 *īdūded dvivacanaṃ pragṛhyam*

The purpose of this rule is to explain the term *pragṛhya*. Pāṇini uses this term to block several types of vowel *sandhi*.

(48) *agnī iti*

(*a*) *agni*

1.2.45 *arthavad...*
4.1.1 *ṅyāpprātipadikāt*
4.1.2 *svaujas...* # 1.4.103 *supaḥ*, 1.4.104 *vibhaktiś ca*, 1.4.22 *dvekayor...*
2.3.46 *prātipadikārtha...*
= *agni* + *au*

(*b*) *agni* + *au*

6.1.72 *saṃhitāyām*
6.1.102 *prathamayoḥ pūrvasavarṇaḥ*
= *agn* (*i* + *au* → *ī*)
= *agnī*

(*c*) *agnī*

1.4.14 *suptiṅantaṃ padam*
= *agnī*

Given the string *agnī* + *iti*, 6.1.101 *akaḥ savarṇe dīrghaḥ* may apply to order a single long-vowel replacement in place of the *ī* of *agnī* and *i* of *iti*. However 6.1.125 *plutapragṛhyā aci nityam* will block this long-vowel replacement on the grounds that the *ī* of *agnī* is a *pragṛhya* vowel.

= *agnī* + *iti*
= *agnī iti*

(49) *pacete iti*

(*a*) *ḌUpacĀS*

same as steps (*a*) and (*b*) of (10) *pacanti*
= *pac* + *LAṬ*

(*b*) *pac* + *LAṬ*

3.4.77 *lasya*
3.4.78 *tiptasjhi...* # 1.4.99 *laḥ parasmaipadam*, 1.4.100 *taṅānāvātmane-padam* # 1.3.72 *svaritañitaḥ kartṛabhiprāye...*
1.4.22 *dvekayor...*

1.4.101 *tiṅastrīṇi...*
1.4.102 *tānyekavacana...* # 1.4.104 *vibhaktiś ca*
= *pac* + (*LAṬ* → *ātām*)
= *pac* + *ātām*

(*c*) *pac* + *ātām*
same as step (*d*) of (10) *pacanti*
= *pac* + (*Ś* → ∅) *a* (*P* → ∅) + *ātām*
= *pac* + *a* + *ātām* (after *it*-deletion)

(*d*) *pac* + *a* + *ātām*
1.4.13 *yasmāt...*
6.4.1 *aṅgasya*
7.2.81 *āto ṅitaḥ* # 1.2.4 *sārvadhātukam apit*
= *pac* + *a* + (*a* → *iy*) *tām*
= *pac* + *a* + *iy* + *tām*

(*e*) *pac* + *a* + *iy* + *tām*
6.1.66 *lopo vyor vali*
= *pac* + *a* + *i*(*y* → ∅) + *tām*
= *pac* + *a* + *i* + *tām*

(*f*) *pac* + *a* + *i* + *tām*
1.1.64 *aco' ntyādi ṭi*
3.4.79 *ṭit ātmanepadānām...*
= *pac* + *a* + *i* + *t*(*ām* → *e*)
= *pac* + *a* + *i* + *te*

(*g*) *pac* + *a* + *i* + *te*
6.1.72 *saṃhitāyām*
6.1.87 *ādguṇaḥ* # 1 1.2 *adeṅ guṇaḥ*, 1.1.50 *sthāne...*
= *pac* + (*a* + *i* → *e*) + *te*
= *pacete*

(*h*) *pacete*
1.4.14 *suptiṅantaṃ padam*
= *pacete*

Given the string *pacete* + *iti*, 6.1.78 *eco' yavāyāvaḥ* might apply to replace the final *e* of *pacete* by *ay*. However, as in the previous example, 6.1.125 *plutapragṛhyā...* blocks it.

Example (50) *pacethe iti* follows the same derivational history, except that it is derived from *pac* + *ŚaP* + *āthām*, where *LAṬ* is replaced by the second person dual ending *āthām*.

(51) *māle iti*

(*a*) *mālā*
same as step (*a*) of (48) *agnī iti*
= *mālā* + *au*

(*b*) *mālā* + *au*
1.4.13 *yasmāt...*
6.4.1 *aṅgasya*

7.1.18 *auṅ āpaḥ* # 1.1.55 *anekālśit sarvasya*
= *mālā* + (*au* → *Śī*)
= *mālā* + *Śī*

(*c*) *mālā* + *Śī*

it-deletion
= *mālā* + *ī*

(*d*) *mālā* + *ī*

6.1.72 *saṃhitāyām*
6.1.87 *ād guṇaḥ* # 1.1.2 *adeṅ guṇaḥ*
= *māl*(*ā* + *ī* → *e*)
= *māle*

(*e*) *māle*

1.4.14 *suptiṅantaṃ padam*
= *māle*

Given the string *māle* + *iti*, 6.1.78 *eco' yavāyāvaḥ* becomes applicable. If 6.1.125 *plutapragṛhyā...* does not block the application of 6.1.78 on the grounds that the *e* in *māle* is a *pragṛhya*, a wrong form **māl*(*e* → *ay*)*i* = **mālayi* would result.

= *māle* + *iti*
= *māle iti*

1.1.12 *adaso māt*

The purpose of this rule is to extend the designation *pragṛhya* to *ī* and *ū* when they occur after the *m* of *adas*. In all the examples cited under this rule, *yaṆ* replacement (see 6.1.77 *iko yaṇ aci*) of these vowels is blocked by 6.1.125 *plutapragṛhyā*....

(52) *amī atra*

(*a*) *adas*

1.2.45 *arthavad...*
4.1.1 *ṅyāpprātipadikāt*
4.1.2 *svaujas...* # 1.4.103 *supaḥ*, 1.4.105 *vibhaktiś ca*, 1.4.21 *bahuṣu bahuvacanam*, 2.3.46 *prātipadikārtha...*
= *adas* + *Jas*

(*b*) *adas* + *Jas*

it-deletion
= *adas* + *as*

(*c*) *adas* + *as*

1.4.13 *yasmāt...*
6.4.1 *aṅgasya*
7.2.102 *tyadādīnāmaḥ* # 1.1.52 *alo' ntyasya*
= *ada*(*s* → *a*) + *as* →6.4.94 *ato guṇe*
= *ada* (*a* + *a* → *a*) + *as* = *ada* + *as*

(*d*) *ada* + *as*

7.1.17 *jasaḥ śī* # 1.1.55 *anekāl...*

= *ada* + (*as* → *Śī*)
= *ada* + *Śī*
it-deletion
= *ada* + *ī*

(*e*) *ada* + *ī*

6.1.72 *saṃhitāyām*
6.1.87 *ād guṇaḥ* # 1.1.2 *adeṅ guṇaḥ*
= *ad*(*a* + *ī* → *e*)
= *ade*

(*f*) *ade*

1.4.14 *suptiṅantaṃ padam*
8.2.80 *adaso' ser dādūdomaḥ*
= *a*(*d* → *m*)*e*
= *ame*
8.2.81 *eta īd bahuvacane*
= *am*(*e* → *ī*)
= *amī*

Given the string *amī* + *atra*, 6.1.77 *iko yaṇ aci* may apply to yield a wrong form: *am*(*ī* → *y*) + *atra* = **amyatra*. However, if the *ī* of *amī* is termed *pragṛhya* by 1.1.12, 6.1.125 *pluta*... will block the application of 6.1.77. The string will then remain: *amī* + *atra*. In all the examples cited under this rule, the purpose of *pragṛhya* designation is to block the *yN* substitution by 6.1.77. Thus in the absence of this designation wrong forms such as **amyāsate*, **amvatra*, and **amvāsate* would result.

(53) *amū atra*

(*a*) *adas*

same as step (*a*) of (52) *amī atra;* however in this case we select the nominative dual *au*, in consonance with 1.4.22 *dvyekayor*...
= *adas* + *au*

(*b*) *adas* + *au*

same as steps (*b*) and (*c*) of (52) *amī*
= *ada*(*s* → *a*) + *au*
= *ada* + *a* + *au*, as in step (*c*) of *amī*
= *ad*(*a* + *a* → *a*) + *au*
= *ada* + *au*

(*c*) *ada* + *au*

6.1.88 *vṛddhir eci* # 1.1.1 *vṛddhir ādaic*
= *ad*(*a* + *au* → *au*)
= *adau*

Note here that 6.1.102 *prathamayoḥ pūrvasavarṇaḥ* was blocked by 6.1.104 *nādici*.

= *adau*

(*d*) *adau*

same as steps (*g*) of *amī*
= *a(d→m) au*
= *am(au → ū)* # 1.1.50 *sthāne...*
= *amū*

Given the string *amū* + *atra,* 1.1.12 *adaso māt* would assign the term *pragṛhya* to *ū,* and consequently the application of 6.1.77 *iko yaṇ aci* will be blocked by 6.1.125 *pluta pragṛhyā aci nityam.*

1.1.13 *śe*
(54) *asme indrābṛhaspatī*
(*a*) *asmad*
1.2.45 *arthavad...*
4.1.1 *ṅyāpprātipadikāt*
4.1.2 *svaujas...*
sUP-selection *(bhyas)*
= *asmad + bhyas*
(*b*) *asmad + bhyas*
1.4.13 *yasmāt...*
6.4.1 *aṅgasya*
7.1.30 *bhyaso' bhyam*
= *asmad + (bhyas → abhyam)*
= *asmad + abhyam*
(*c*) *asmad + abhyam*
7.2.90 *śeṣe lopaḥ*
= *asm(ad → ∅) + abhyam*
= *asm + abhyam*
(*d*) *asm + abhyam*
7.1.39 *supāṃ suluk pūrvasavarṇā...* # 1.1.55 *anekālśit sarvasya*
= *asm + (abhyam → Śe)*
it-deletion
= *asm + e*
(*e*) *asme*
1.4.14 *suptiṅantaṃ padam*

Given the string *asme* + *indrābṛhaspatī,* the *e* of *asme* will be termed *pragṛhya,* and consequently replacement of *e* by *ay* (6.1.78 *eco' yavāyāvaḥ*) will be blocked. The application of 6.1.78 will be similarly blocked in examples (55) *yusme iti,* (56) *tve iti,* and (57) *me iti.* Following are the derivations of *yuṣme, tve* and *me.*

(55) *yuṣme*
(*a*) *yusmad*
1.2.45 *arthavad...*
4.1.1 *ṅyāpprātipadikāt*
4.1.2 *svaujas...*

sUP-selection
1.4.23 *bahuṣu bahuvacanam*
2.3.50 *ṣaṣṭhi śeṣe*
= *yuṣmad + ām*

(*b*) *yuṣmad + ām*
same as step (*c*) of *asme*
= *yuṣm(ad → ∅) + ām*
= *yuṣm + ām*

(*c*) *yuṣm + ām*
same as steps (*d*), (*e*), and (*f*) of *asme*
= *yuṣm + (ām → Śe)*
it-deletion
= *yuṣm + e*
= *yuṣme*

Note that, as in (54) if any word beginning with a vowel followed *yuṣme*, 1.1.13 *śe* would assign the term *pragṛhya*, and 6.1.125 *pluta pragṛhyā...* would block *sandhi*.

(56) *tve*

(*a*) *yusmad*

As in earlier derivations; what is different here is the *sUP*-selection of the ablative singular *ṄasI;* one could also select *Ṅe*, though the resultant form would still be *tve*

= *yuṣmad + ṄasI*

(*b*) *yuṣmad + ṄasI*
1.4.13 *yasmāt...*
6.4.1 *aṅgasya*
7.2.97 *tvamāvekavacane* (7.2.91 *maparyantasya*)
= *(yuṣm → tva) + ad + ṄasI*
7.2.90 *śeṣe lopaḥ*
= *tva + (ad → ∅) + ṄasI*
= *tva + ṄasI*

(*c*) *tva + ṄasI*
7.1.39 *supām...*
= *tva + (ṄasI → Śe)*
it-deletion
= *tva + e*

(*d*) *tva + e*
6.1.97 *ato guṇe*
= *tv(a + e → e)*
= *tve*

(*e*) *tve*
1.4.14 *suptiṅantaṃ padam*
= *tve*

One can similarly derive (57) *me* from *asmad* + *ṅasI* where *asm* will be replaced by *ma* (7.2.97 *tvamāvekavacane*) and *ad* will be deleted (7.1.39 *supām...*). The *Śe* replacement for *ṅasI* and subsequent derivation of *me* from *ma* + *ṅasI* is the same as in (56) *tve.*

1.1.20 *dādhāghv adāp*
(58) *praṇidadāti*
(*a*) *DUdāÑ*
it-deletion
= *dā*
(*b*) *dā*
same as steps (*a*) through (*d*) of (13) *tarati*
= *dā* + *a* + *ti*
(*c*) *dā* + *a* + *ti*
2.4.75 *juhotyādibhyaḥ śluḥ* # 1.1.61 *pratyayasya...*
= *dā* + (*a* → ∅) + *ti*
= *dā* + *ti*
(*d*) *dā* + *ti*
6.1.10 *ślau* (6.1.1 *ekāco dve prathamasya*)
= *dā* + *dā* + *ti*
6.1.4 *pūrvo' bhyāsaḥ*
= *dā* + *dā* + *ti*
(*e*) *dā* + *dā* + *ti*
1.4.13 *yasmāt...*
6.4.1 *aṅgasya*
7.4.59 *hrasvaḥ*
= *d*(*ā* → *a*) + *dā* + *ti*
= *da* + *dā* + *ti*
(*f*) *da* + *dā* + *ti*
1.4.14 *suptiṅantaṃ padam*
= *dadāti*

If the preverbs (1.4.58 *prādayaḥ*) *pra* and *ni* are used before *dā*, the form will be *pra* + *ni* + *dadāti*. At this stage, 1.1.20 will assign the term *ghu* to *dadāti*, and consequently 8.4.17 *nergadanada...ca* will apply to change the *n* of *ni* into *ṇ*. The form will thus become: *pra* + (*n* → *ṇ*)*i* + *dadāti* = *praṇidadāti.*

The same derivational steps can be followed in deriving (59) *praṇidadhāti* from *DUdhāÑ* used with the preverbs *pra* + *ni*. However there is an additional rule application. Given the form *dha* + *dhā* + *ti* at step (*f*), 8.4.54 *abhyāse car ca* will apply to yield: (*dha* → *da*) + *dhā* + *ti* = *dadhāti.*
(60) *praṇidātā*
(*a*) *DUdāÑ*
same as step (*a*) of (58) *praṇidadāti*
= *dā*

(*b*) ***dā***

Same as steps (*a*) through (*c*), and (*e*) through (*j*) of (7) *taritā;* step (*d*) of *taritā* is not applicable here

= *dātā*

= *pra + ni + dātā*

8.4.17 *nergadanada...*

= *pra + (n → ṇ)i + dātā*

= *praṇidātā*

(61) ***praṇidyati***

(*a*) ***do***

same as steps (*a*) through (*d*) of (13) *tarati*

= *do + ŚaP + ti*

(*b*) ***do + ŚaP + ti***

3.1.69 *divādibhyaḥ śyan*

= *do + (ŚaP → ŚyaN) + ti*

= *do + ŚyaN + ti*

it-deletion

= *do + ya + ti*

(*c*) ***do + ya + ti***

1.4.13 *yasmāt...*

6.4.1 *aṅgasya*

7.3.71 *otaḥ śyani # 1.1.52 alo' ntyasya*

= *d(o → ∅) + ya + ti*

= *dyati*

(*d*) ***pra + ni + dyati***

1.1.20 *dādhā...*

8.4.17 *nergada...*

= *pra + (n → ṇ)i + dyati*

= *praṇidyati*

(62) ***praṇidayate***

(*a*) ***deṄ***

it-deletion

de

(*b*) ***de***

Similar to steps (*b*) and (*c*) of (49) *pacete;* however in this case 1.3.12 *anudāttaṅitaḥ...* introduces *ātmanepada* endings obligatorily; in addition, by *tiṄ*-selection we select the ending *ta*

= *de + ŚaP + ta.*

it-deletion

= *de + a + ta*

(*c*) ***de + a + ta***

same as step (*f*) of (49) *pacete*

= *de + a + t(a → e)*

= *de + a + te*

(*d*) *de + a + te*

6.1.78 *eco' yavāyāvaḥ*
1.3.10 *yathāsaṃkhya...*
= *d(e → ay) + a + te*
= *dayate*

(*e*) *pra + ni + dayate*

8.4.17 *nergada...*
= *pra + (n → ṇ)i + dayate*
= *praṇidayate*

In order to derive (63) *praṇidhayati* from *dheṬ* used with the preverbs *pra + ni*, follow steps (*a*) through (*e*) of (13) *tarati*. This will yield: *dhe + a + ti*, to which 6.1.68 *eco' yavāyāvaḥ* will apply. Thus: *dh(e → ay) + a + ti = pra + ni + dhayati*. By 8.4.17 *nergadanada..., pra + ni + dhayati = praṇidhayati*.

1.1.21 *ādyantavad ekasmin*

(64) *ābhyām*

(*a*) *idam*

1.2.45 *arthavad...*
4.1.1 *ṅyāpprātipadikāt...*
4.1.2 *svaujas...*
sUP-selection

Since *ābhyām* may be either an instrumental, dative or ablative form, there will be three possible paths to follow at step (*a*). One should select only one rule from the upper set of three. The selection of a certain rule from the upper set determines the selection of a corresponding rule in the lower set.

1.4.24 *dhruvam...*
1.4.32 *karmaṇā...*
1.4.42 *sādhakatamam*
2.3.28 *apādāne...*
2.3.13 *caturthī...*
2.3.18 *kartṛkaraṇayos...*
= *idam + bhyām*

(*b*) *idam + bhyām*

1.4.13 *yasmāt...*
6.4.1 *aṅgasya*
7.2.102 *tyadādīnāmaḥ*
= *ida(m → a) + bhyām*
= *ida + a + bhyām*

(*c*) *ida + a + bhyām*

6.1.97 *ato guṇe* # 1.1.2 *adeṅ guṇaḥ*
= *id(a + a → a) + bhyām*
= *ida + bhyām*

(*d*) *ida + bhyām*

7.2.113 *hali lopaḥ*
= *(id → Ø)a + bhyām*
= *a + bhyām*

(*e*) *a + bhyām*

7.3.102 *supi ca*
= *(a → ā) + bhyām*
= *ābhyām*

(*f*) *ābhyām*

1.4.14 *suptiṅantaṃ padam*
= *ābhyām*

1.1.22 *taraptamapau ghaḥ*

(65) *kumāritarā*

(*a*) *kumārī*

1.2.45 *arthavad...*
4.1.1 *ṅyāpprātipadikāt*
4.1.76 *taddhitāḥ*
5.3.57 *dvivacanavibhajyo...*
= *kumārī + taraP*

(*b*) *kumārī + taraP*

it-deletion
= *kumārī + tara(P → Ø)*
= *kumārī + tara*
= *kumārītara*

(*c*) *kumārītara*

1.2.46 *kṛttaddhita...*
4.1.1 *ṅyāpprātipadikāt*
4.1.3 *striyām*
4.1.4 *ajādyataṣ ṭāp*
= *kumārītara + ṬāP*
= *it*-deletion
= *kumārītara + ā*

(*d*) *kumārītara + ā*

6.1.101 *akaḥ savarṇe dīrghaḥ*
= *kumārītar (a + ā → ā)*
= *kumārītarā*

(*e*) *kumārītarā*

6.3.43 *gharūpakalpa...*# 1.1.22 *taraptamau ghaḥ*
= *kumār (ī → i) tarā*
= *kumāritarā*

Examples such as (66) *brāhmaṇitarā,* (67) *kumāritamā* (from *kumārī + tamaP + ṬāP)* and (68) *brāhmaṇitamā* follow the same pattern of derivation.

The last two are examples of *tamaP* ruled by 5.3.55 *atiśāyane tamabiṣṭhanau.* It should be remembered here that these examples are cited in the nominative singular. For placement of *sŪ* after these feminine forms ending in *ṬāP,* follow *sUP*-selection and *it*-deletion. Rule 6.1.68 *halṅyābhyo...* will then apply to delete the *s*. Thus, for example, *kumāritarā* + *s*, by 6.1.68 becomes *kumāritarā* + (*s* → ∅) = *kumāritarā.* Rule 1.4.14 *suptiṅantaṃ padam* will assign the term *pada.*

1.1.23 *bahugaṇavatuḍati saṃkhyā*
(69) *bahukṛtvaḥ*
(*a*) *bahu* + *Jas*
4.1.76 *taddhitāḥ*
5.4.17 *saṃkhyāyāḥ...* # 1.2.23 *bahugaṇa...*
= *bahu* + *Jas* + *kṛtvasŪC*

Note that Pāṇinīyas generally accept that *taddhita* affixes are introduced after a *pada (subantāt taddhitotpattiḥ).* It is for this reason that *Jas* 'nominative plural' is introduced after *bahu.*

(*b*) *bahu* + *Jas* + *kṛtvasŪC*
it-deletion
= *bahu* + *Jas* + *kṛtvas*
2.4.71 *supo dhātu...*
= *bahu* + (*Jas* → ∅) + *kṛtvas*
= *bahukṛtvas*

(*c*) *bahukṛtvas*
sUP-selection (*sŪ*)
it-deletion
= *bahukṛtvas* + *s*

(*d*) *bahukṛtvas* + *s*
1.1.38 *taddhitaś...*
2.4.82 *avyayād...*
= *bahukṛtvas* + (*s* → ∅)
= *bahukṛtvas*

(*e*) *bahukṛtvas*
s-visarga
= *bahukṛtvaḥ*

(70) *katikṛtvaḥ*
(*a*) *kim* + *sŪ*
4.1.76 *taddhitāḥ*
5.2:41 *kimaḥ saṃkhyā...*
= *kim* + *sŪ* + *Ḍati*

(*b*) *kim* + *sŪ* + *Dati*
it-deletion
= *kim* + *sŪ* + *ati*

(*c*) *kim* + *sŨ* + *ati*

same as (*b*) of (69) *bahukṛtvaḥ*

= *kim* + (*sŨ* → ∅) + *ati*

= *kim* + *ati*

(*d*) *kim* + *ati*

6.4.143 *teḥ*

= *k*(*im* → ∅) + *ati*

= *kati*

(*e*) *kati*

same as in (69) *bahukṛtvaḥ*

= *katikṛtvaḥ*

Similar steps are to be followed in deriving (71) *gaṇakṛtvaḥ* from (*gaṇa* + *kṛtvasŨC*) + *sŨ*. Example (72) *tāvatkṛtvaḥ* is slightly more complex since it entails first deriving *tāvat* from *tad* + *sŨ* + *vatŨP*, and then deriving *tāvatkṛtvaḥ* from *tāvat* + *kṛtvasŨC* + *sŨ*.

(72) *tāvatkṛtvaḥ*

(*a*) *tad*

1.2.45 *arthavad...* (*sUP*-selection and *it*-deletion)

= *tad* + *s*

(*b*) *tad* + *s*

4.1.76 *taddhitāḥ*

5.2.39 *yattadetebhyaḥ parimāṇe vatup*

= *tad* + *s* + *vatŨP*

it-deletion

= *tad* + *s* + *vat*

(*c*) *tad* + *s* + *vat*

1.1.27 *sarvādīni sarvanāmāni*

6.3.91 *ā sarvanāmnaḥ* # 1.1.52 *alo' ntyasya*

= *ta* (*d* → *ā*) + *s* + *vat*

= *ta* + *ā* + *s* + *vat*

(*d*) *ta* + *ā* + *s* + *vat*

6.1.72 *saṃhitāyām*

6.1.101 *akaḥ savarṇe...* # 1.1.9 *tulyāsya...*

= *t*(*a* + *ā* → *ā*) + *s* + *vat*

= *tā* + *s* + *vat*

(*e*) *tā* + *s* + *vat*

1.2.46 *kṛttaddhita...*

2.4.71 *supo dhātu...*

= *tā* + (*s* → ∅) + *vat*

= *tā* + *vat*

= *tāvat*

Once *tāvat* is derived, the remaining steps are as in (69) *bahukṛtvaḥ*.

(73) *bahudhā*

(*a*) *bahu*

1.2.45 *arthavad...*
1.1.23 *bahugaṇa...*
4.1.1 *nyāp-prātipadikāt*
4.1.76 *taddhitāḥ*
5.3.42 *saṃkhyāyā...*
= *bahu* + *dhā*

(*b*) *bahu* + *dhā*

same as in steps (*c*) and (*d*) of (69) *bahukṛtvaḥ*
= *bahudhā*

Similar steps should be followed to derive (74) *gaṇadhā*, (75) *katidhā* (from *kim* + *Ḍati* → *kati; kati* + *dhā*) and (76) *tāvaddhā* (from *tad* + *s* + *vat* → *tāvat, tāvat* + *dhā*). Given the string *tāvat* + *dhā* + *sŨ*, rule 8.4.53 *jhalām jaś jhaśi* applies to change *tāva* (t → *d*) + *dhā* = *tāvaddhā*. The *sŨ* after all these items are selected and deleted according to the usual patterns.

(77) *bahukaḥ*

(*a*) *bahu*

As in (*a*) of (73) *bahudhā* except that 5.3.42 is blocked in favour of 5.1.22 *saṃkhyāyā atiśa...kan:*
= *bahu* + *ka*(*N* → ∅)
= *bahu* + *ka*

(*b*) *bahuka*

sUP-selection (*sŨ*)
it-deletion
= *bahuka* + *s*
r-visarga
= *bahukaḥ*

Similar steps can be followed to derive (78) *gaṇakaḥ* from (*gaṇa* + *kaN*) + *sŨ;* (79) *tāvatkaḥ* from *tad* + *vat* = *tāvat,* (*tāvat* + *kaN*) + *sŨ;* and (80) *katikaḥ* from *kim* + *Ḍati* = *kati,* (*kati* + *kaN*) + *sŨ.*

(81) *bahuśaḥ*

(*a*) *bahu*

As in previous rules, with the addition of 5.4.43 *saṃkhyaikavacanāc ca vīpsāyām:*
= *bahu* + *śas*

(*b*) *bahu* + *śas*

same as steps (*c*) and (*d*) of (69) *bahukṛtvaḥ*
= *bahu* + *śas* + (*sŨ* → ∅)
= *bahu* + *śas*

(*c*) *bahuśas*

s-visarga
= *bahuśaḥ*

Similar steps can be followed to derive (82) *gaṇaśaḥ* from (*gaṇa* + *śas*) + *sŨ;* and (83) *tāvacchaḥ* from *tad* + *vat* = *tāvat,* (*tāvat* + *śas*) + *sŨ.* Two additional rules apply to *tāvat* + *sas.* Rule 8.4.40 *sto ścunā ścuḥ* causes the final *t* of *tāvat* to become *c* and 8.4.63 *śaścho' ṭi* changes the *ś* of *śas* into *ch.* Thus *tāva*(*t* → *c*) + (*ś* → *ch*)*as* = *tāvacchas.*

1.1.24 *ṣṇāntā ṣaṭ*
(84) *ṣaṭ tiṣṭhanti*
(*a*) *ṣaṣ*

1.2.45 *arthavad... #*
1.1.24 *ṣṇāntā ṣaṭ*
4.1.1 *ṅyāp-prātipadikāt*
4.1.2 *svauj... #* 1.4.103 *supaḥ*
1.4.104 *vibhaktiś ca*
1.4.21 *bahuṣu bahuvacanam*
2.3.46 *prātipadikārtha...*
= *ṣaṣ* + *Jas*

(*b*) *ṣaṣ* + *Jas*

sUP-deletion
= *ṣaṣ*

(*c*) *ṣaṣ*

1.4.14 *suptiṅantaṃ padam #* 1.1.62 *pratyayalope...*
8.2.39 *jhalāṃ jaśo'nte*
= *ṣa*(*ṣ* → *ḍ*)
8.4.56 *vā' vasāne*
ṣa(*ḍ* → *ṭ*)
= *ṣaṭ*

The derivation of *ṣaṭ* in (85) *ṣaṭ paśya* is largely the same. However, the ending which is introduced after *ṣaṭ* and then subsequently deleted is accusative plural *Śas.* Rule 1.4.49 *karturīpsitatamaṃ karma* assigns the term *karman* 'object', which is then expressed by *dvitīyā* (accusative) introduced by 2.3.2 *karmaṇi dvitīyā.*

The derivation of the nominative or accusative plural (86) *pañca,* (87) *sapta,* (88) *nava,* and (89) *daśa* is straightforward. The endings *Jas* (nominative plural) and *Śas* (accusative plural) are introduced and deleted as illustrated in (84). The terminal *n* of the base is then deleted by 8.2.7 *na lopaḥ prātipadikāntasya.* For example, *pañcan,* by 2.3.46 becomes *pañcan* + *Jas;* 7.1.22 deletes the *Jas,* yielding *pañcan,* which by 8.2.7 becomes *pañca*(*n* → *∅*) = *pañca.*

1.1.25 *ḍati ca*

For the derivation of *kati* in (90) *kati tiṣṭhanti* and (91) *kati paśyanti,* see (70), (75), and (80) under 1.1.23.

1.1.27 *sarvādīni sarvanāmāni*

The purpose of this rule is to assign the term *sarvanāman* to all thirty-five items catalogued under the list headed by *sarva*. As a consequence of this term-assignment:

(*i*) the nominative plural ending *Jas* is replaced by *śi* (7.1.17 *jasaḥ śī*);
(*ii*) the dative singular *Ṅe* is replaced by *smai* (7.1.14 *sarvanāmnaḥ smai*);
(*iii*) the ablative singular *Ṅasi* is replaced by *smāt* (7.1.15 *ṅasiṅyoḥ smātsminau*); and
(*iv*) the locative singular *Ṅi* is replaced by *smin* (7.1.15 *ṅasiṅyoḥ...*).

Similarly *ām*, if introduced after a pronominal and occurring after an *aṅga* ending in *a*, receives the augment *sUṬ* (7.1.52 *āmi sarvanāmnaḥ suṭ*). An additional purpose of assigning the term *sarvanāman* is to allow the introduction of the affix *akaC* after such bases (5.3.71 *avyayasarvanāmnām akac*).

(92) *sarvaḥ*

(*a*) *sarva*

1.2.45 *arthavad...* # *sUP*- selection
it-deletion; *s-visarga*
= *sarvaḥ*

(93) *sarvau*

(*a*) *sarva*

1.2.45 *arthavad...*
4.1.1 *ṅyāpprātipadikāt*
4.1.2 *svauj...* (*sUP*-selection)
= *sarva* + *au*(*Ṭ* → *∅*)

(*b*) *sarva* + *au*

1.1.27 *sarvādīni sarvanāmāni*
6.1.88 *vṛddhireci* # 1.1.1 *vṛddhir...*
= *sarv*(*a* + *au* → *au*)
= *sarvau*

Note that given the sequence *a* + *au* of *sarv*(*a* + *au*), 6.1.102 *prathamayoḥ pūrvasavarṇaḥ* would become applicable. It would demand that a single long vowel homogeneous with *a*, namely *ā*, should replace the sequence *a* + *au*. This application, however, will be blocked by 6.1.104 *nādici*. Now the way is clear for 6.1.88 to apply. Note here that there is no obvious purpose served by the assignment of the term *sarvanāman* in the above derivations. However, consider (94) *sarve*.

(94) *sarve*

(*a*) *sarva*

same as step (*a*) of (4) *ṣaṭ*
= *sarva* + *Jas*

(*b*) *sarva* + *Jas*

1.1.27 *sarvādīni...*

1.4.13 *yasmāt...*
6.4.1 *aṅgasya*
7.1.17 *jasaḥ śī* # 1.1.55 *anekālśit sarvasya*
= *sarva* + (*Jas* → *Śī*)
= *sarva* + *Śī*

(*c*) *sarva* + *Śī*

it-deletion
= *sarva* + *ī*

(*d*) *sarva* + *ī*

6.1.72 *saṃhitāyām*
6.1.87 *ādguṇaḥ* # 1.1.2 *adeṅ guṇaḥ*
= *sarv*(*a* + *ī* → *e*)
= *sarve*

(95) *sarvasmai*

(*a*) *sarva*

1.1.27 *sarvādīni sarvanāmani*
1.2.45 *arthavad...*
4.1.1 *ṅyāpprātipadikāt*
4.1.2 *svauj...* (*sUP*-selection)
2.3.13 *caturthī sampradāne*
= *sarva* + *Ṅe*

(*b*) *sarva* + *Ṅe*

1.4.13 *yasmāt...*
6.4.1 *aṅgasya*
7.1.14 *sarvanāmnaḥ smai* # 1.1.55 *anekālśit sarvasya*
= *sarva* + (*Ṅe* → *smai*)
= *sarva* + *smai*
= *sarvasmai*

(96) *sarvasmāt*

(*a*) *sarva*

1.1.27 *sarvādīni...*
1.2.45 *arthavad...*
4.1.1 *svauj...* (*sUP*-selection)
2.3.28 *apādāne pañcamī*
= *sarva* + *ṄasI*

(*b*) *sarva* + *ṄasI*

1.4.13 *yasmāt...*
6.4.1 *aṅgasya*
7.1.15 *ṅasiṅyoḥ smātsminau*
= *sarva* + (*Ṅasi* → *smāt*)
sarva + *smāt*
= *sarvasmāt*

In deriving (97) *sarvasmin*, 1.4.45 *ādhāro' dhikaraṇam* applies to assign the term *adhikaraṇa*, which in turn is expressed by introducing the locative singular ending *Ṅi* by 2.3.36 *saptamy dhikaraṇe ca*. Thus at (*a*) the string will be *sarva* + *Ṅi*. Steps (*b*) and (*c*) are similar to those of (96) *sarvasmāt*. However since the ending is *Ṅi* and not *ṄasI*, 7.1.15 will replace it with *smin*. This will yield *sarva* + (*Ṅi* → *smin*) = *sarvasmin*. Note here that the assignment of *kārakas* and their realization by *vibhaktis* can also be accomplished by other rules, depending on the nature of the actions and participants, and so on. For details, see the *kāraka* (1.4.23 through 1.4.55) and *vibhakti* (2.3.1 through 2.3.73) sections.

(98) *sarveṣām*

(*a*) *sarva*

1.1.27 *sarvādīni...*
1.2.45 *arthavad...*
4.1.1 *ṅyāpprātipadikāt*
4.1.2 *svauj...* (*sUP*-selection)
2.3.50 *ṣaṣṭhī śeṣe*
= *sarva* + *ām*

(*b*) *sarva* + *ām*

1.4.13 *yasmāt...*
6.4.1 *aṅgasya*
7.1.52 *āmi sarvanāmnaḥ suṭ* # 1.1.46 *ādyantau ṭakitau*
= *sarva* + *sŨṬ* + *ām*

(*c*) *sarva* + *sŨṬ* + *ām*

it-deletion
= *sarva* + *s* + *ām*

(*d*) *sarva* + *s* + *ām*

7.3.103 *bahuvacane...* # 1.1.52 *alo' ntyasya*
= *sarv*(*a* → *eT*) + *s* + *ām*
= *sarv* + *e* + *s* + *ām*
= *sarve* + *sām*

(*e*) *sarve* + *sām*

1.4.14 *suptiṅantaṃ padam*
8.3.59 *ādeśa pratyayoḥ*
= *sarve* + (*s* → *ṣ*) *ām*
= *sarveṣām*

(99) *sarvakaḥ*

(*a*) *sarva*

1.1.27 *sarvādīni...*
1.2.45 *arthavad...*
4.1.1 *ṅyāpprātipadikāt*
4.1.76 *taddhitāḥ*
5.3.71 *avyayasarvanāmnām akac prāk ṭeḥ* # 1.1.64 *aco' ntyādi ṭi*

= *sarv + akaC + a*
it-deletion
= *sarva + aka + a*

(*b*) *sarv + aka + a*
6.1.72 *saṃhitāyām*
6.1.97 *ato guṇe*
= *sarv + ak(a + a → a)*
= *sarvaka*

(*c*) *sarvaka*
sUP-selection (*sŨ*) and *s-visarga*
= *sarvaka + sŨ*
= *sarvakaḥ*

Forms of (100) *viśva* follows the derivational patterns of *sarva*.

1.1.28 *vibhāṣā diksamāse bahuvrīhau*

The purpose of this rule is to provide for the optional assignment of the term *sarvanāman* to *bahuvrīhi* compounds which are derived by combining constituents denoting *diś* 'direction'. Rule 1.1.29 *na bahuvrīhau* obligatorily denies this term assignment. This means that *bahuvrīhi* compounds with constituents denoting *diś* will have two forms: one where the option of term assignment *sarvanāman* is taken and the other where the obligatory prohibition is accepted from 1.1.29. Thus either (101) *uttarapūrvasyai* or (102) *uttarpūrvāyai*, and either (103) *dakṣiṇapūrvasyai* or (104) *dakṣiṇapūrvāyai* are possible.

(101) *uttarapūrvasyai*

(*a*) *uttarā*
same as (*a*) of (1) *aupagavaḥ*
= *uttarā + Ṅas;* similarly, *pūrvā + Ṅas*

(*b*) *uttarā + Ṅas + pūrvā + Ṅas*
2.1.1 *samarthaḥ padavidhiḥ*
2.2.23 *śeṣo bahuvrīhiḥ*
2.2.24 *anekam anyapadārthe*
2.2.26 *diṅnāmāny antarāle*
= *uttarā + Ṅas + pūrvā + Ṅas*

(*c*) *uttarā + Ṅas + pūrvā + Ṅas*
sUP-deletion
= *uttarā + pūrvā*

(*d*) *uttarāpūrvā*
1.1.29 *vibhāṣā diksamāse...*
= *uttarāpūrvā*

(*e*) *uttarāpūrvā*
vt. sarvanāmno vṛttimātre puṃvadbhāvaḥ
(masculine transformation, namely, shortening, of the initial constituent)

= *uttar(ā → a)pūrvā*
= *uttarapūrvā*

(*f*) *uttarapūrvā*

4.1.1 *ṅyāp-prātipadikāt,* and so on, as in (*a*) of (95) *sarvasmai*

= *uttarapūrvā + Ṅe*
it-deletion
= *uttarapūrvā + e*

(*g*) *uttarapūrvā + e*

1.4.13 *yasmāt...*
6.4.1 *aṅgasya*
7.3.114 *sarvanāmnaḥ syād hrasvaś ca* # 1.1.46 *ādyantau ṭakitau*

= *uttarapūrv(ā → a) + syāṬ + e*
= *uttarapūrva + syāṬ +e*
it-deletion
= *uttarapūrva + syā + e*

(*h*) *uttarapūrva + syā + e*

6.1.72 *saṃhitāyām*
6.1.88 *vṛddhireci* # 1.1.1 *vṛddhir...*

= *uttarapūrva + sy(ā + e → ai)*
= *uttarapūrva + syai*
= *uttarapūrvasyai*

(*i*) *uttarapūrvasyai*

1.4.14 *suptiṅantaṃ padam*

= *uttarapūrvasyai*

(102) *uttarapūrvāyai*

(*a*) *uttarā*

follow (*a-b*), (*d*), and (*f*) of (101) *uttarapūrvasyai,* (*c*) is not pertinent here because we have decided not to assign the term *sarvanāman*

(*b*) *uttarapūrvā + e*

1.4.13 *yasmāt...*
6.4.1 *aṅgasya*
7.3.113 *yāḍ āpaḥ*

= *uttarapūrvā + yāṬ + e*

(*c*) *uttarapūrvā + yāṬ + e*

same as steps (*h*) through (*j*) of (101) *uttarapūrvasyai*

= *uttarapūrvā + yā + e*
= *uttarapūrvā + y(ā + e → ai)*
= *uttarapūrvā + yai*
= *uttarapūrvāyai*

Similar patterns have to be followed for (103) *dakṣiṇapūrvasyai* and (104) *dakṣiṇapūrvāyai.* In view of the preceding derivations, assignment of the term entails:

(*i*) augment *syāṬ*, and
(*ii*) shortening of the *aṅga*-final vowel.

1.1.29 *na bahuvrīhau*
(105) *priyaviśvāya*
(*a*) *priya, viśva*
selection and placement of nominative plural *Jas* after both *priya* and *viśva* follows (*a*) of (84) *ṣaṭ*
= *priya* + *Jas* + *viśva* + *Jas*
same as (*b*) of (101) *uttarapūrvasyai* with the exception of 2.2.26 *diṅnāmāny...*
sUP-deletion
= *priyaviśva*
(*b*) *priyaviśva*
same as step (*j*) of (101) *uttarapūrvasyai*
= *priyaviśva* + *Ṅe*
(*c*) *priyaviśva* + *Ṅe*
1.4.13 *yasmāt...*
6.4.1 *aṅgasya*
Note that since *priyaviśva* cannot be assigned the term *sarvanāman,* 7.1.14 *sarvanāmnaḥ smai* cannot replace *Ṅe* by *smai;* instead 7.1.33 *ṅer yaḥ* applies.
= *priyaviśva* + (*Ṅe* → *ya*)
priyaviśva + *ya*
(*d*) *priyaviśva* + *ya*
7.3.102 *supi ca*
= *priyaviśv*(*a* → *ā*) + *ya*
= *priyaviśvāya*
(*e*) *priyaviśvāya*
1.4.14 *suptiṅantaṃ padam*
= *priyaviśvāya*

Similarly, *priya* + *au* + *ubha* + *au* → *priya* + *ubha; priya* + *ubha* (6.1.87 *vṛd guṇaḥ*) = *priy*(*a* + *u* → *o*)*bha; priyobha* + *Ṅe* = (106) *priyobhayāya.* Also *dvi* + *au* + *anya* + *au* → *dvi* + *anya; dvi* + *anya* (6.1.77 *iko yaṇ aci*) = *dv*(*i* → *y*) + *anya; dvyanya* + *Ṅe* = (107) *dvyanyāya.* Rule 6.1.77 also applies in deriving (108) *tryanyāya* from *tri* + *Jas* + *anya* + *Jas.* These examples show how *Ṅe* cannot be replaced by *smai* without assigning the term *sarvanāman.*

Examples such as (109) *tvatkapitṛkaḥ* and (110) *matkapitṛkaḥ* are given to show how affix *akaC* (see (99) *sarvakaḥ*) cannot be introduced after items not termed *sarvanāman.*

Our final example (111) *vastrāntaravasanāntarāḥ* is a *dvandva* compound with internal *bahuvrīhi* compounds *vastrāntara* and *vasanāntara*. This example is provided to show how Pāṇini, by repeating *bahuvrīhi* again in 1.1.29, also wants to deny the designation *sarvanāman* to a *bahuvrīhi* forming part of a non-*bahuvrīhi*.

It should be remembered here that we face a conflict in deciding the order of elements in *dvyanyāya* and *tryanyāya*. Since *anya* is termed *sarvanāman*, it qualifies for first placement in the compound in accordance with *vārttika* 1 of 2.2.35 *saptamī*.... However *dvi* or *tri* can also qualify for initial placement because they are also included in the same *vārttika*. The conflict is resolved by invoking 1.4.2 *vipratiṣedhe paraṃ kāryam*. The word *sarvanāman* is placed first in the *vārttika*, with *saṃkhyā* subsequent. Accordingly *sam* wins prior placement in the compound. That this conflict, technically known as *śabdaṃ paraṃ vipratiṣedhe*, may be resolved by 1.4.2 indicates that *vipratiṣedhe paraṃ kāryam* does not apply merely to a conflict between rules, but also governs two words within the same rule.

1.1.30 *tṛtīyāsamāse*

(112) *māsapūrvāya*

(*a*) *māsa, pūrva*

selection and placement of instrumental singular *Ṭā* after *māsa* and nominative singular *sŨ* after *pūrva* by *sUP*-selection

= *māsa* + *Ṭā* + *pūrva* + *sŨ*

(*b*) *māsa* + *Ṭā* + *pūrva* + *sŨ*

2.1.1 *samarthaḥ*
2.1.3 *prāk kaḍārat*...
2.1.22 *tatpuruṣaḥ*
2.1.31 *pūrvasadṛśa*...
2.2.30 *upasarjanaṃ pūrvam* # 1.2.43 *prathamā*...

= *māsa* + *Ṭā* + *pūrva* + *sŨ*

(*c*) *māsa* + *Ṭā* + *pūrva* + *sŨ*

sŨP-deletion

= *māsa* + *pūrva*

(*d*) *masapūrva*

same as (*c*) through (*f*) of (105) *priyaviśvāya*

= *māsapūrva* + *Ṅe*

= *māsapūrvāya*

(113) *saṃvatsarapūrvāya* follows the same pattern

The derivation of (114) *dvyahapūrvāya* and (115) *tryahapūrvāya* is more complicated, since it involves three derivational levels:

(*i*) deriving *dvyaha* and *tryaha* by compounding (*dvi* + *au* + *ahan* + *au*) and (*tri* + *Jas* + *ahan* + *Jas*);

(*ii*) deriving *dvyahapūrva* and *tryahapūrva* by compounding (*dvyaha* + *Ṭā* + *pūrva* + *sŨ*) and (*tryaha* + *Ṭā* + *pūrva* + *sŨ*); and,

(*iii*) deriving *dvyahapūrvāya* and *tryahapūrvāya* from (*dvyahapūrva* + *Ṅe*) and (*tryahapūrva* + *Ṅe*).

(114) *dvyahapūrvāya*

(*a*) *dvi, ahan*

4.1.1 *ṅyāp-prātipadikāt*
4.1.2 *svauj...*(*sUP*-selection)
= *dvi* + *au* + *ahan* + *au*

(*b*) *dvi* + *au* + *ahan* + *au*

2.1.1 through 2.1.22 as in (112) *māsapūrvāya*
2.1.51 *taddhitārthottara...*
= *dvi* + *au* + *ahan* + *au*
sŨP-deletion
= *dvi* + *ahan*

(*c*) *dvi* + *ahan*

4.1.1 *ṅyāp-prātipadikāt...*
4.1.76 *taddhitāḥ*
5.4.91 *rājāhaḥ sakhibhyaṣ ṭac*
= *dvi* + *ahan* + *ṬaC*

(*d*) *dvi* + *ahan* + *ṬaC*

it-deletion
= *dvi* + *ahan* + *a*

(*e*) *dvi* + *ahan* + *a*

5.4.88 *ahno' hna etebhyaṇ*
5.4.89 *na saṃkhyādeh...*
= *dvi* + *ahan* + *a*

(*f*) *dvi* + *ahan* + *a*

1.4.13 *yasmāt...*
6.4.1 *aṅgasya*
6.4.145 *ahnaṣṭakhoreva* # 1.1.64 *aco' ntyādi ṭi*
= *dvi* + *ah*(*an*→ *Ø*) + *a*
= *dvi* + *ah* + *a*

(*g*) *dvi* + *ah* + *a*

6.1.72 *saṃhitāyām*
6.1.77 *iko yaṇ aci* # 1.3.10 *yathā...*
= *dv*(*i* → *y*) + *ah* + *a*
= *dvy* + *ah* + *a*
= *dvyaha*

(*h*) *dvyaha, pūrva*

same as (*a*) through (*d*) of (112) *māsapūrvāya*
= *dvyaha* + *Ṭā, pūrva* + *sŨ*
= *dvyaha* + *pūrva*
= *dvyahapūrva*
= *dvyahapūrva* + *Ṅe*
= *dvyahapūrvāya*

(115) *tryahapūrvāya* is similarly derived.
(116) *māsena pūrvāya* is offered as an example to show that the term *sarvanāman* cannot be assigned to *pūrva*, since that is part of the analyzed form of an instrumental *tatpuruṣa* compound. Similarly (117) *tvyakā kṛtam* and (118) *mayakā kṛtam* are cited as analyzed forms corresponding to their instrumental *tatpuruṣa* compounds. However, 1.1.30 cannot restrict the assignment of the term *sarvanāman* here because these compounds are not formed by applying 2.1.31.
1.1.31 *dvandve ca*

This rule, also, denies the designation *sarvanāman* to *sarva* and so on when they occur in a *dvandva*(2.2.29 *cārthe dvandvaḥ*) compound.
(119) *pūrvaparāṇām*

(*a*) *pūrva, para*

same as (*a*) of (51) *amī*

= *pūrva* + *Jas, para* + *Jas*

(*b*) *pūrva* + *Jas, para* + *Jas*

same as (*b*) and (*c*) of (101) *uttarapūrvasyai*, excluding 2.2.26 *diṅnāma...*

= *pūrvapara*

(*c*) *pūrvapara*

same as (*a*) of (98) *sarveṣām;*

Note here that *pūrvapara* cannot be assigned the term *sarvanāman*, as it is a *dvandva* compound. As a consequence, rules of step (*c*) of (98) *sarveṣām* cannot apply.

1.4.13 *yasmāt...*
6.4.1 *aṅgasya*
7.1.54 *hrasvanadyāpo nuṭ* # 1.1.46 *ādyantau ṭakitau*

= *pūrvapara* + *nŪṬ* + *ām*

(*d*) *pūrvapara* + *nŪṬ* + *ām*

it-deletion

= *pūrvapara* + *n* + *ām*

(*e*) *pūrvapara* + *n* + *ām*

6.4.3 *nāmi*

= *pūrvapar*(*a* → *ā*) + *n* + *ām*
= *pūrvaparā* + *n* + *ām*
= *pūrvaparān* + *ām*

(*f*) *pūrvaparān* + *ām*

1.4.14 *suptiṅantaṃ padam*
8.1.16 *padasya*
8.4.2 *aṭ kupvāṅ numvyavāye' pi*

= *pūrvaparā* (*n* → *ṇ*) + *ām*
= *pūrvaparāṇām*

Similarly, one can also derive (120) *katarakatamānām* from (*katara* + *Jas* + *katama* + *Jas*) + *ām*. Rule 8.4.2 *aṭ kupvāṅ...* cannot apply here.

1.1.32 *vibhāṣā jasi*

(121) *katarakatame* can be derived like (94) *sarve* as follows.

(*a*) (*katara* + *Jas* + *katama* + *Jas*)
= *katarakatama*, as in (119) *pūrvaparāṇam*

(*b*) *katarakatama* + *Jas*
same as (*a*) through (*e*) of (94) *sarve* (that is, if *katarakatama* is assigned the term *sarvanāman* by 1.3.32)

(122) *katarakatamāḥ*

(*a*) *katarakatama* + (*J* → ∅) *as*
= *katarakatama* + *as*

6.1.72 *saṃhitāyām*
6.1.102 *prathamayoḥ pūrvasavarṇaḥ*
= *katarakatam* (*a* + *a* → *ā*)*s*
= *katarakatamās*

(*c*) *katarakatamās*
r-visarga
= *katarakatamāḥ*

As I have already noted under 1.1.27 *sarvādīni...*, the assignment of the term *sarvanāman* will cause *Jas* to be replaced by *Śī* (7.1.17 *jasaḥ śī*). In the absence of this term assignment, *Jas* cannot be replaced by *Śī* and forms like *katarakatamāḥ* will result. For (123) *katarakatamakāḥ*, see (1) under the translation of this rule.

1.1.33 *prathama-carama-taya-alpa-ardha-katipaya-nemāś ca*

All of the examples cited under this rule can be derived like (94) *sarve*, provided the option of assigning the term *sarvanāman* is taken. Thus one would derive *prathame*, and so on, from *prathama* + (*Jas* → *Śī*), etc. If, on the other hand, *prathama*, and so on, are optionally not termed *sarvanāman*, they would yield forms like *prathamāḥ*, etc., as has already been shown in (122) *katarakatamāḥ*. Forms such as *dvitaye/dvitayaḥ*, *tṛtaye/tṛtayaḥ* (122 *a-d*) derive from *dvitaya* + *Jas* and *tṛtaya* + *Jas* where nominal stems *dvitaya* and *tṛtaya* are complex. They are derived by introducing the *taddhita* (4.1.76 *taddhitāḥ*) affix (3.1.1 *pratyayaḥ*) *-tayaP* (5.2.42 *saṃkhyāyā avayave tayap*) after (3.1.2 *paraś ca*) *dvi* and *tri*. Thus: *dvi* + *taya* (*P* → ∅), *tṛ* + *taya* (*P* → ∅) = *dvitaya*, *tṛtaya*. Now one can introduce *Jas* to derive *dvitaye/dvitayāḥ*, *tṛtaye/tṛtayāḥ* from *dvitaya* + *Jas*, *tṛtiya* + *Jas*.

1.1.34 *pūrvaparāvaradakṣiṇottarāparādharāṇi vyavasthāyām asaṃjñāyām*

1.1.35 *svam ajñātidhanākhyāyām*

1.1.36 *antaraṃ bahiryogopasaṃvyānayoḥ*

Examples cited under these rules follow the derivational patterns of the preceding two rules.

1.1.38 *taddhitaś cāsarvavibhaktiḥ*

This rule extends the assignment of the term *avyaya* to include in addition those items which end in a *taddhita* (4.1.76 *taddhitāḥ*), affix and after which not all *vibhakti* can be introduced.

(124) *tataḥ*

(a) *tad*

same as (*a*) of (96) *sarvasmāt*

= *tad* + *ṄasI*

(b) *tad* + *ṄasI*

4.1.76 *taddhitāḥ*

5.3.7 *pañcamyās tasil* (5.3.1 *prāgdiśo vibhaktiḥ*)

= *tad* + *ṄasI* + *tasIL*

it-deletion

= *tad* + *ṄasI* + *tas*

(c) *tad* + *ṄasI* + *tas*

sŨP-deletion

= *tad* + *tas*

(d) *tad* + *tas*

1.4.13 *yasmāt...*

7.2.102 *tyadādīnāmaḥ* # 1.1.52 *alo' ntyāt...*

= *ta* (*d* → *a*) + *tas*

= *ta* + *a* + *tas*

(e) *ta* + *a* + *tas*

6.1.72 *saṃhitāyām*

6.1.97 *ato guṇe* # 1.1.2 *adeṅ guṇaḥ*

= *t* (*a* + *a* → *a*) + *tas*

= *tatas*

r-visarga

= *tataḥ*

Follow similar steps to derive (125) *yataḥ* from *(yat* + *ṄasI* + *tasIL)* + *sŨ*.

(126) *tatra*

(a) *tad*

same as (97) *sarvasmin*

= *tad* + *Ṅi*

(b) *tad* + *Ṅi*

4.1.76 *taddhitāḥ*

5.3.10 *saptamyās tral* (5.3.1 *prāgdiśo vibhaktiḥ*)

= *tad* + *Ṅi* + *traL*

it-deletion

= *tad* + *Ṅi* + *tra*

(*c*) *tad* + *Ṅi* + *tra*

same as (*c-d*) of (124) *tataḥ*
= *ta* (*d* → ∅) + (*Ṅi* → ∅) + *tra*
= *ta* + *tra*
= *tatra*

(*d*) *tatra*

same as (*g*) of (124) *tataḥ*, plus 1.4.14 *suptiṅantaṃ padam*
= *tatra* + (*sŨ* → ∅)
= *tatra*

(127) *yatra* will follow the same pattern.

(128) *tadā*

(*a*) *tad*

same as (126) *tatra*
= *tad* + *Ṅi*

(*b*) *tad* + *Ṅi*

4.1.76 *taddhitāḥ*
5.3.15 *sarvaikānya...* (5.3.1 *prāgdiśo vibhaktiḥ*)
= *tad* + *Ṅi* + *dā*

(*c*) *tad* + *Ṅi* + *dā*

same as (*c*), (*d*), and (*g*) of (124) *tataḥ*, plus 1.4.14 *suptiṅantaṃ padam*
= *ta*(*d* → ∅) + (*Ṅi* → ∅) + *dā*
= *tadā* + (*sŨ* → ∅)
= *tadā*

The derivation of (129) *yadā* from (*yad* + *Ṅi* + *dā*) + *sŨ* is similar to *tadā*; (130) *sadā* and (131) *sarvadā* are not different either.

1.1.39 *kṛnmejantaḥ*

(132) *vakṣe rāyaḥ*

(*a*) *vac*

3.1.91 *dhātoḥ*
3.1.93 *kṛd atiṅ*
3.4.9 *tumarthe sesenase...*
= *vac* + *se*

(*b*) *vac* + *se*

1.2.46 *kṛttadhita...*
4.1.1 *ṅyāp...*
4.1.2 *svauj...*(*sUP*-selection)
= *vac* + *se* + *sŨ*

(*c*) *vac* + *se* + *sŨ* (*sUP*-deletion)
= *vac* + *se*

(*d*) *vac* + *se*

1.4.14 *suptiṅantaṃ padam*
8.2.30 *coḥ kuḥ* # 1.1.50 *sthāne...*

= *va*(*c* → *k*) + *se*
= *vakse*

(*e*) *vakse*

8.3.59 *ādeśapratyayoḥ*
= *vak*(*s* → *ṣ*)*e*
= *vakṣe*

The word *rāyaḥ* in *vakṣe rāyaḥ* is derived by introducing the accusative plural affix (3.1.1 *pratyayaḥ*) *śas* (4.1.2 *svauj...*) after (3.1.2 *paraś ca*) the nominal stem (1.2.45 *arthavad...*, 4.1.1 *ṅyāp...*) *rai*. Thus: *rai* +(*Ś* → *Ø*) *as* = *rai* + *as*. Rule 6.1.78 *eco' yavāyāvaḥ* will then replace *ai* by *āy*: *r*(*ai* → *āy*) + *as* = *rāyas*. The replacement *rāya*(*s* → *rŨ* → *ḥ*) occurs by *s-visarga*. Note, however, that *rāyaḥ* does not contribute anything to the scope of 1.1.39. It has simply been quoted along with *vakṣe*. Similar to *vakṣe* are *eṣe*, *jīvase*, and *dṛśe* of the other examples. They are derived as follows, by applying 3.4.9 *tumarthe...* and introducing *kṛt* affixes ending in *eC*.

(133) *tā vām eṣe rathnām*

(*a*) *iṄ*

3.1.91 *dhātoḥ*
3.4.9 *tumarthe...*
= *i*(*Ṅ* → *Ø*) + *se*(*Ṅ* → *Ø*)
= *i* + *se*

(*b*) *i* + *se*

1.4.13 *yasmāt...*
6.4.1 *aṅgasya*
7.3.84 *sārvadhātuk...* # 1.1.2 *adeṅ guṇaḥ*
= (*i* → *e*) + *se*
= *ese*

(*c*) *ese*

same as (*c*) and (*e*) of (132) *vakṣe rāyaḥ*
= *e*(*s* → *ṣ*) *e*
= *eṣe*

In deriving *jīvase*, affix *ase* is introduced after the verbal root *jīv*. Thus: *jīv* + *ase* = (134) *jīvase*. Similarly, *dṛś*(*IR* → *Ø*) + *KeN* = (135) *dṛśe*. The purpose of 1.1.39 in all these examples is to assign the term *avyaya* and thereby facilitate the deletion of the nominal endings introduced after them (2.4.82 *avyayād...*).

(136) *svāduṃkāraṃ bhuṅkte*

This is an *upapadasāmasa*, a compound which is derived by combining two *pada*, *svādum* and *kāra* + *am*, where one is in construction with the other. Furthermore *kāra* + *am* is derived by introducing affix (3.1.1 *pratyayaḥ*) *ṆamUL*, a *kṛt* (3.1.93 *kṛd atiṅ*) affix ending in *m*, after (3.1.2 *paraś ca*) the verbal root (3.1.91 *dhātoḥ*) *ḌUkṛÑ* (3.4.25 *karmaṇy ākrosé*

kṛñaḥ...). Note that the following three conditions must be met before *ṆamUL* can be introduced:

(*i*) *ḌUkṛÑ* must have an *upapada*, specifically *svādum*, in construction with it (3.4.26 *svādumi ṇamul; svādum* is known as an *upapada* by its locative ending, as stated by 3.1.92 *tatropapadaṃ saptamīstham*);

(*ii*) *ḌUkṛÑ* must denote prior action (3.4.21 *samānakartṛkayoḥ pūrvakāle*) in relation to a subsequent action; and

(*iii*) *ḌUkṛÑ* must have an agent similar to the agent of the subsequent action.

In (136), *svādum* is an *upapada* because it serves as the object of *ḌUkṛÑ* with which it is in construction. This sentence also involves two actions, where one, denoted by *ḌUkṛÑ*, is prior to the other one denoted by *bhuj* 'to consume'. Finally they have the same third personal singular agent. The derivation of *svāduṃkāram* is as follows.

(*a*) *svādum* + (*ḌU* → ∅) *kṛ*(*Ñ* → ∅)
= *svādum* + *kṛ*

(*b*) *svādum* + *kṛ*
3.1.91 *dhātoḥ*
3.1.92 *tatropapadam*...
3.1.93 *kṛd atiṅ*
3.4.26 *svādumi ṇamul* (3.4.21 *samāna*...,
3.4.25 *karmaṇy*...)
= *svādum* + *kṛ* + *ṆamUL*
it-deletion
= *svādum* + *kṛ* + *am*

(*c*) *svādum* + *kṛ* + *am*
1.4.13 *yasmāt*...
6.4.1 *aṅgasya*
7.2.115 *aco' ñṇiti* # 1.1.51 *ur aṇ raparaḥ*
= *svādum* + *k*(*ṛ* → *ār*) + *am*
= *svādum* + *kār* + *am*
= *svādum* + *kāram*

(*d*) *svādum* + *kāram*
2.2.19 *upapadam atiṅ*
2.2.20 *amaivāvyayena* # 1.1.39 *kṛn*...
= *svādum* + *kāram*

Note that this compound is obligatory. That is, *kāra* + *am* must be combined with *svādum* to yield the compound *svāduṃkāram*.

(*e*) *svādumkāram*
4.1.1 *ṅyāp*...
4.1.2 *svauj*... (*sŨP*-selection)

= *svādumkāram + sŨ*

(*f*) *svādumkāram + sŨ*

sŨP-deletion

= *svādumkāram*

(*g*) *svādumkāram*

1.4.14 *suptiṅantaṃ padam*
1.1.62 *pratyalope...*
8.1.5 *padasya*
8.3.24 *na ścāpadantasya jhali* (8.3.24 *mo' nusvāraḥ*)

= *svādu*(*m* → *ṃ*) *kāram*

= *svāduṃkāram*

Similar steps are to be followed in deriving (137) *sampannaṃkāram...* from *sampannam + ḌUkṛÑ + ṆamUL,* and (138) *lavanaṃkāram...* from *lavaṇam + ḌukṛÑ + ṆamUL.* Note here that the affix *NaṃUL* is still introduced by 3.4.26 *svādumi...* even though *upapada* such as *sampanna* and *lavaṇa* are not mentioned in this rule. This is possible only because we consider *svādu* of 3.4.26 as representing its synonyms *sampanna* and *lavaṇa* also. Since Pāṇini lists the base *svādu* as *svādum, sampanna* and *lavaṇa* will also have to be treated as *sampannam* and (138) *lavaṇam.*

There are three more *kṛt* affixes which end in *m: KamUL* (3.4.12 *śaki ṇamulkamulau*), *KHamUÑ* (3.4.25 *karmaṇy ākrośe kṛñaḥ khamuñ*;), and *tumUN* (3.4.65 *śaka...tumun*). Their examples will be discussed under later rules.

1.1.40 *ktvātosunkasunaḥ*

This rule assigns the term *avyaya* to items which end in *kṛt* affixes *Ktvā* (3.4.21 *samānakartṛkayoḥ pūrvakāle*), *tosUN* (3.4.16 *bhāvalakṣaṇe sthen...tosun*), and *KasUN* (3.4.17 *sṛpipadoḥ kasun*).

(139) *kṛtvā*

(*a*) *ḌUkṛÑ*

it-deletion

= *kṛ*

1.3.1 *bhūvādayo...*
3.1.91 *dhātoḥ*
3.1.91 *kṛd atiṅ*
3.4.21 *samānakartṛkayoḥ pūrvakāle*
3.4.114 *ārdhadhātukaṃ śeṣaḥ*

= *kṛ + Ktvā*

it-deletion

= *kṛtvā*

(*b*) *kṛtvā*

1.2.46 *kṛttaddhita...*

sŨP-selection

= *kṛtvā* + *sŨ*
sŨP-deletion
= *kṛtvā*
1.4.14 *suptiṅantaṃ padam*
= *kṛtvā*

Similarly (140) *hṛtvā* may be derived from (*hṛÑ* + *Ktvā*) + *sŨ*. Also note that the affix *Ktvā* is *ārdhadhātuka* by 3.4.114 *ārdhadhātukaṃ śeṣaḥ*. As a consequence, 7.2.35 *ārdhadhātukasyeḍ valādeḥ* may order the augment *iṬ*. This, however, will be blocked by 7.2.10 *ekāc*.... In the same way, 7.3.84 *sārvadhātukārdha*... may require a *guṇa* substitute in the place of the *ṛ* of *kṛ* or *hṛ*. This again will be blocked by 1.1.5 *kṅiti ca*, since *Ktvā* is marked with *K*.

(141) *udetoḥ*

as in *purā sūryasyodetor ādheyaḥ*

(*a*) *ut i*(*Ṇ* → ∅) = *ut i*
1.4.58 *prādayaḥ*...
3.1.91 *dhātoḥ*
3.1.93 *kṛd atiṅ*
3.4.16 *bhāvalakṣaṇe*...
3.4.114 *ārdhadhātukaṃ śeṣaḥ*
= *ut* + *i* + *tos*(*UN* → ∅)
= *ut* + *i* + *tos*

(*b*) *ut* + *i* + *itos*
1.4.13 *yasmāt*...
6.4.1 *aṅgasya*
7.3.84 *sārvadhātukārdha*... # 1.1.2 *adeṅ guṇaḥ*
= *ut* + (*i* → *e*) + *tos*
= *ut* + *e* + *tos*
= *utetos*

(*c*) *utetos*
same as (*b*) of (139) *kṛtvā*, plus
8.1.16 *padasya*
8.2.39 *jhalāṃ jaśo' nte* # 1.1.50 *sthāne*...
= *ut* + *e* = *tos*
= *u*(*t* → *d*) + *e* + *tos*
= *udetos*

(*d*) *udetos*
s-visarga
= *udetoḥ*

Given the string *sūryasya* + *udetoḥ*, 6.1.87 *ād guṇaḥ* (read with 6.1.72 *saṃhitāyām* and 1.1.2 *adeṅ guṇaḥ*) will apply. Thus: *sūryasy*(*a* + *u* → *o*)*detoḥ* = *sūryasyodetoḥ*. Furthermore, since *sūryasyodetoḥ* occurs before *ādheyaḥ*

(as in *pūra sūryasyodetoḥ ādheyaḥ*), the *visarga (ḥ)* of *sūryasyadetoḥ* will have to be replaced by *r*. Thus: *sūryasyodeto (ḥ → r) ādheyaḥ = sūryasyodetor ādheyaḥ.*

(142) *visṛpo*

as in *pūra krūrasya visṛpo virapśin*

(*a*) *vi-sṛp(LR → ∅)*

= *vi + sṛp*

Same as in (141) *udetoḥ*, except that the affix is *KasUN*, ruled by 3.4.17 *sṛpitṛdoḥ kasun.*

= *it*-deletion

= *vi + sṛp + as*

= *visṛpas*

(*b*) *visṛpas*

same as step (*b*) of (139) *kṛtvā*

visṛpas + (sŪ → ∅)

= *visṛpas*

(*c*) *visṛpas*

8.1.16 *padasya*

8.2.66 *sasajuṣo ruḥ*

= *visṛpa(s → r(Ū → ∅))*

= *visṛpar*

(*d*) *visṛpar*

8.3.15 *kharavasānayor...*

= *r-visarga*

= *visṛpaḥ*

Note here that the *ṛ* of *visṛpar* changes into *ḥ* only when it is preceded by *a* and followed by nothing. However, given the string *visṛpas + virapśin* (as is the case in the present example), the final *s* of *visṛpas* will change into *r* but not into *visarga (ḥ)* since it is followed by *v* of *virapśin*. As a result, 6.1.114 *haśi ca* will apply to yield: *visṛp (a → u) + virapśin.* Rule 6.1.87 *ād guṇaḥ* will then change the *u* into *o:visṛp (u → o) + virapśin = visṛpo virapśin.*

Similarly, one can derive *ātṛdaḥ* of (143) *pūra jartṛbhya ātṛdaḥ* from (*a + tṛdIR + KasUN) + sŪ* where *ātṛdas* will yield *ātṛda (s → r → ḥ) = ātṛdaḥ.*

1.1.41 *avyayībhāvaś ca*

(144) *pratyagni*

as in *pratyagniṃ śalabhāḥ patanti*

(145) *upāgni*

as in *upāgniṃ śalabhāḥ patanti*

The analyzed forms for deriving these compounds are:

(144) *agni + ωm + prati + sŪ*

(145) *agni + Ṅas + upa + sŪ*

where *sŪ* is introduced after *prati* and *upa* for heuristic purposes.

Rule 2.1.6 *avyayaṃ vibhakti...* allows the compounding of the indeclinable *upa* with a syntactically related (2.1.1 *samarthaḥ...*) *pada* (1.4.14 *suptiṅantaṃ padam*) when it (*upa*) denotes *samīpa* 'proximate'. Similarly *prati*, when denoting *ābhimukhya* 'facing', is combined with a syntactically related *pada* denoting *lakṣaṇa* 'mark, characteristic'. The combination yields *agni* + *Ṅas* + *upa* + *sŨ*. Rule 2.2.30 *upasarjanaṃ pūrvam* requires that an *upasarjana* 'secondary' constituent of a compound must be placed at the beginning of the compound. But what is an *upasarjana* constituent? Rule 1.2.43 *prathamā nirdiṣṭam...* tells us that a constituent which is referenced with the nominative ending in rules dealing with compound formation is termed *upasarjana*. In our examples, both *upa* + *sŨ* and *prati* + *sŨ* are *upasarjanas* since they have been referred to by the nominative singular form *avyayam* of 2.1.6 *avyayam....* Thus the correct order of words should be *upa* + *sŨ* + *agni* + *Ṅas* and *prati* + *sŨ* + *agni* + *am*.

Rule 1.2.46 will term these strings a *prātipadika* 'nominal stem' and 2.4.71 *sūpo dhātu...* will delete all the endings. This will yield *upa* + *agni* which by the application of 6.1.101 *akaḥ savarṇe dīrghaḥ* will become *up(a* → *ā)gni* = *upāgni*. Similarly 6.1.77 *iko yaṇ aci* will apply to *prati* + *agni* to yield *prat(i* → *y)agni* = *pratyagni*. Given nominal stems such as *upāgni* and *pratyagni*, nominal endings can be introduced after them by 4.1.2 *svauj...*, and so on. Because the compounds will also be termed *avyaya* by 1.1.41 *avyayībhāvaś ca*, the nominal endings will eventually be deleted by 2.4.82 *avyayād āpsupaḥ*.

For further examples, consider (146) *upāgnimukhaḥ*, (147) *pratyagnimukhaḥ*, (148) *upapayaḥkāraḥ*, and (149) *upapayaḥkāmaḥ*; also see my comments under 1.1.41.

1.1.42 *śi sarvanāmasthānam*

(150) *kuṇḍāni*

(*a*) *kuṇḍa*

same as (*a-b*) of (52) *amī atra*

= *kuṇḍa* + *as*

(*b*) *kuṇḍa* + *as*

1.4.13 *yasmāt...*

6.4.1 *aṅgasya*

7.1.20 *jaśśasoḥ śi* # 1.1.55 *anekālśit sarvasya*

= *kuṇḍa* + (*as* → *Śi*)

it-deletion

= *kuṇḍa* + *i*

(*c*) *kuṇḍa* + *i*

7.1.72 *napuṃsakasya jhal acaḥ* # 1.1.47 *midaco' ntyāt paraḥ*

= *kuṇḍa* + *n*(*UM* → *Ø*) + *i*

= *kuṇḍa* + *n* + *i*

(*d*) *kuṇḍa + n + i*

6.4.8 *sarvanāmasthāne cāsambuddhau*

= *kuṇḍ(a → ā) + n + i*

= *kuṇḍāni*

(*e*) *kuṇḍāni*

1.4.14 *suptiṅantaṃ padam*

= *kuṇḍāni*

Similar steps are to be followed in deriving (151) *dadhīni*, (152) *madhūni*, (153) *trapūṇī*, and (154) *jatūni*. The *n* of *trapūni* will be changed into *ṇ* at step *(e)* by 8.4.2 *aṭkupvāṅ num....* This will yield: *trapū (n + ṇ) i = trapūṇi.*

1.1.43 *suḍ anapuṃsakasya*

(155) *rājā*

(*a*) *rājan*

1.2.45 *arthavad... # sŨP* selection

= *rājan + s*

(*b*) *rājan + s*

1.4.13 *yasmāt...*

6.4.1 *aṅgasya*, plus (*h-j*) of (7) *taritā*

= *rāj(a → ā)n + s*

= *rājān + (s → ∅)*

= *rājā(n → ∅)*

= *rājā*

(156) *rājānau*

(*a*) *rājan*

same as (*a*) of (93) *sarvau*

= *rajan + au*

(*b*) *rājan + au*

same as (*h*) of (7) *taritā*

= *rāj(a → ā)n + au*

= *rājānau*

(157) *rājānaḥ*

(*a*) *rājan*

same as (*a*) of (84) *ṣaṭ*

= *rājan + as*

(*b*) *rājan + as*

same as (*h*) of (7) *taritā*

= *rāj(a → ā)n + as*

= *rājānas*

s-visarga

= *rājānaḥ*

(158) *rājānam*

(*a*) *rājan*

same as (*a*) of (48) *agnī iti*, except that the selected ending is *am* and there is no *it*-deletion

= *rājan* + *am*

(*b*) *rājan* + *am*

same as (*h*) of (7) *taritā*

= *rāj*(*a* → *ā*)*n* + *am*

= *rājānam*

(159) *rājānau*

(*a*) *rājan*

same as (*a*) of (48) *agnī iti*

= *rājan* + *au*

(*b*) *rājan* + *au*

same as (*b-c*) of (156) *rājānau*

= *rājānau*

1.1.44 *na veti vibhāṣā*

(160) *śuśāva*

(*a*) *ṬUOśvi*

it-deletion

= *śvi*

(*b*) *śvi*

1.3.1 *bhūvādayo dhātavaḥ*
3.1.91 *dhātoḥ*
3.2.84 *bhūte*
3.2.111 *anadyatane...*
3.2.115 *parokṣe liṭ*
3.4.69 *laḥ karmani ca...* (3.4.67 *kartari...*)

= *śvi* + *LIṬ*

(*c*) *śvi* + *LIṬ*

same as (*b-c*) of (13) *tarati*

= *śvi* + (*LIṬ* → *tiP*)

= *śvi* + *ti*

(*d*) *śvi* + *ti*

1.4.99 *laḥ parasmaipadam*
3.4.82 *parasmaipadānām...* (3.4.81 *liṭaḥ...*) # 1.3.10 *yathā...*

= *śvi* + (*ti* → *ṆaL*)

= *śvi* + *a*

(*e*) *śvi* + *a*

6.1.30 *vibhāṣā śveḥ* # 1.1.44 *na veti vibhāṣā*, 1.1.45 *ig yaṇaḥ...*
1.3.10 *yathāsaṃkhya...* Note here that the term *vibhāṣā* makes the application of 6.1.30 optional; also refer to the derivations under 1.1.28 *vibhāṣā diksamāse...*

= *ś(v → u) i + a*
= *su + i + a*

(*f*) *śu + i + a*

6.1.108 *samprasāraṇāc ca*
= *ś(u + i → u) + a*
= *śu + a*

(*g*) *śu + a*

6.1.1 *ekāco dve...*
6.1.8 *liṭi dhātor anabhyāsasya* # 1.1.59 *dvirvacane' ci*
= *śu + śu + a*

(*h*) *śu + śu + a*

1.4.13 *yasmāt...*
6.4.1 *aṅgasya*
7.2.115 *aco' ñṇiti* # 1.1.1 *vṛddhir...* 1.1.3 *iko guṇavṛddhī*, 1.1.50 *sthāne' ntaratamaḥ*
= *śu + ś(u → au) + a*
= *śu + śau + a*

(*i*) *śu + śau + a*

6.1.72 *saṃhitāyām*
6.1.78 *eco' yavāyāvaḥ* # 1.3.10 *yathāsaṃkhya....*
= *śu + ś (au → āv) + a*
= *śu + śāv + a*
= *śuśāva*

(*j*) *śuśāva*

1.4.14 *suptiṅantaṃ padam*
= *śuśāva*

(161) *śiśvāya*

(*a-i*) *śvi*

Similar to (*a-d*) and (*g-i*) of (160) *śuśāva;* note that (*e-f*) do not apply here as they are related to the option offered by 6.1.30.

(*a-c*) = *śvi + (LIṬ → ti(P → ∅))*
(*d*) = *śvi + (ti → (Ṇ → ∅) a(L → ∅))*
(*g*) = *śvi + śvi + a*
(*h*) = *śvi + śv (i → ai) + a*
(*i*) = *śvi + śv (ai → āy) + a*
= *śviśvāya*

(*j*) *śviśvāya*

7.4.60 *halādi śeṣaḥ*; (note that this rule can also be applied to the result of (*h*))
= *ś(v → ∅) iśvāya*
= *śiśvāya*

(*k*) *śiśvāya*

1.4.14 *suptiṅantaṃ padam*

= *śiśvāya*

(162) *śuśuvatuḥ*

(*a*) *ṬUOśvi*

Similar to (*a-b*) of (160) *śuśāva*

= *śvi* + *LIṬ*

(*b*) *śvi* + *LIṬ*

Same as (*c*) of (160) *śuśāva*, except that here we select the third person dual ending *tas*.

= *śvi* + *tas*

(*c*) *śvi* + *tas*

Similar to (*d*) of (160) *śuśāva*, but since we have the dual ending *tas*, the replacement will be *atus*.

= *śvi* + (*tas* → *atus*)

= *śvi* + *atus*

(*d*) *śvi* + *atus*

Same as steps (*e-f*) of (160) *śuśāva*

= *ś*(*v* → *u*) + *i* + *atus* (step *e*)

= *śu* + *i* + *atus*

= *ś*(*u* + *i* → *u*) + *atus* (step *f*)

= *śu* + *atus*

Note here that *atus* (the replacement for *LIṬ*) is considered as if it were marked with *K* (1.2.5 *asaṃyogāl liṭ kit*). As a consequence, 1.1.5 *knṅiti ca* will block the *guṇa* which would otherwise obtain by 7.3.84 *sārva...*

(*e*) *śu* + *atus*

same as (*g*) of (160) *śuśāva*

śu + *śu* + *atus*

(*f*) *śu* + *śu* + *atus*

1.4.13 *yasmāt...*

6.4.1 *aṅgasya*

6.4.77 *aci śnudhātubhruvām...* # 1.1.53 *ṅic ca*

= *śu* + *ś*(*u* → *uvAÑ*) + *atus*

= *śuśuv* + *atus*

= *śuśuvatus*

(*g*) *śuśuvatus*

s-visarga

śuśuvatuḥ

(163) *śiśviyatuḥ*

This is an alternate form of *śuśuvatuḥ* which results when the option offered by 6.1.30 *vibhāṣā śveḥ* is not accepted.

Given the string *śvi* + *atus*, similar to the result of (*a-c*) of (162) *śuśuvatuḥ*, (*d*) will be ignored and (*e*) will yield *śvi* + *śvi* + *atus*, to which one should apply rules similar to (*j*) of (161) *śiśvāya*. The result will be: *ś*(*v* → ∅) *iśvi* + *atus* = *śiśvi* + *atus*. Furthermore, similar to (*f*) of (162) *śuśuvatuḥ*, the final *i* of *śiśvi* + *atus* will get the replacement *iyAṄ*. Thus: *śiśv*(*i* → *iyAṄ*) + *atus* = *śiśviy* + *atus*. Now the *s* of *śiśviyatus* can be changed into *ḥ* via *s-visarga*.

1.1.46 *ādyantau ṭakitau*

(164) *bhīṣayate*

as in *muṇḍo bhīṣayate*

(*a*) *Ñibhī*

it-deletion

= *bhī*

(*b*) *bhī*

1.3.1 *bhūvādayo...*
3.1.22 *dhātor...*
3.1.25 *satyāpa...ṇic*
3.1.26 *hetumati ca*

= *bhī* + (*Ṇ* → ∅)*i*(*c* → ∅)
= *bhī* + *i*

1.4.13 *yasmāt...*
6.4.1 *aṅgasya*
7.3.40 *hetubhaye ṣuk* # 1.1.46 *ādyantau ṭakitau*. Note here that 1.1.49 *ṣaṣṭhī sthāneyogā* cannot make *ṣUK* replace *bhī;* instead, *ṣUK* must be introduced as the final element of *bhī* since *ṣUK* is marked with *K*.

= (*bhī* + *ṣ*(*UK* → ∅)) + *i*
= *bhīṣ* + *i*
= *bhīṣ* + *i*

(*c*) *bhīṣi*

3.1.32 *sanādyantā dhātavaḥ*
3.1.91 *dhātoḥ*, and so on, as in (*a-b*) of (49) *pacete*. Note, however, that *ātmanepada* (1.4.100 *taṅānāv...*) affix *ta* (third person singular) is introduced by 1.3.68 *bhīsmyor hetubhaye* and not by 1.3.72 *svaritañitaḥ...*

= *bhīṣi* + (*LAṬ* → *ta*)
= *bhīṣi* + *ta*

(*d*) *bhīṣi* + *ta*

same as (*d*) of (10) *pacanti*
3.4.113 *tiṅśit sārvadhātukam*
3.4.114 *ārdhadhātukaṃ śeṣaḥ*

= *bhīṣi* + (*Ś* → ∅) *a*·(*P* → ∅) + *ta*
= *bhīṣi* + *a* + *ta*

(*e*) *bhīṣi* + *a* + *ta*
3.4.79 *ṭit ātmanepadānāṃ ṭere* # 1.1.64 *aco 'ntyādi ṭi*
= *bhīṣi* + *a* + *t*(*a* → *e*)
= *bhīṣi* + *a* + *te*

(*f*) *bhīṣi* + *a* + *te*
1.4.13 *yasmāt...*
6.4.1 *aṅgasya*
7.3.84 *sārvadhātukārdhadhātukayoḥ* # 1.1.2 *adeṅ guṇaḥ*, 1.1.3 *iko guṇavṛddhī*
= *bhīṣ*(*i* → *e*) + *a* + *te*
= *bhīṣe* + *a* + *te*

(*g*) *bhīṣe* + *a* + *te*
6.1.72 *saṃhitāyām*
6.1.78 *eco' yavāyāvaḥ* # 1.3.10 *yathāsaṃkhya...*
= *bhīṣ*(*e* → *ay*) + *a* + *te*
= *bhīṣay* + *a* + *te*
= *bhīṣaya* + *te*
1.4.14 *suptiṅantaṃ padam*
= *bhīṣayate*

1.1.47 *midaco' ntyāt paraḥ*
'165) *viruṇaddhi*

(*a*) *vi-rudh*
= *virudh*

(*b*) *virudh*
same as (*a-d*) of (13) *tarati*
= *virudh* + (*LAṬ* → *tiP*)
= *virudh* + *ti*(*P* → ∅)
= *virudh* + *ti*

(*c*) *virudh* + *ti*
3.1.78 *rudhādibhyaḥ śnam* # 1.1.47 *midaco' ntyāt paraḥ*, 1.1.21 *ādyantavad ekasmin*
= *viru* + *ŚnaM* + *dh* + *ti*
it-deletion
= *virunadh* + *ti*

(*d*) *virunadh* + *ti*
1.4.14 *suptiṅantaṃ padam*
8.1.16 *padasya*
8.4.2 *aṭkupvāṅ...*
= *viru*(*n* → *ṇ*)*adh* + *ti*

(*e*) *viruṇadh* + *ti*
8.2.40 *jhaṣastatho...*

= *viruṇadh* + (*t* → *dh*) *i*
= *viruṇadh* + *dh* + *i*

(*f*) *viruṇadh* + *dh* + *i*
8.4.53 *jhalāṃ jaś jhaśi*
= *viruṇa*(*dh* → *d*) + *dh* + *i*
= *viruṇaddhi*

(166) *muñcati*

(*a*) *muc*(*LṚ* → ∅) = *muc*

(*b*) *muc*
same as (*a-d*) of (13) *tarati*
= *muc* + (*LAṬ* → *ti*(*P* → ∅))
= *muc* + *ti*

(*c*) *muc* + *ti*
3.1.77 *tudādibhyaḥ śaḥ*
= *muc* + *Śa* + *ti*
it-deletion
= *muc* + *a* + *ti*

(*d*) *muc* + *a* + *ti*
1.4.13 *yasmāt...*
6.4.1 *aṅgasya*
7.1.59 *śe mucādīnām* # 1.1.47 *midaco' ntyāt paraḥ*
= *mu* + *nUM* + *c* + *a* + *ti*
it-deletion
= *munc* + *a* + *ti*

(*e*) *munc* + *a* + *ti*
1.4.14 *suptiṅantaṃ padam*
8.1.16 *padasya*
8.3.24 *naścāpadāntasya jhali*
= *mu*(*n* → *ṃ*)*c* + *a* + *ti*
= *muṃc* + *a* + *ti*

(*f*) *muṃc* + *a* + *ti*
8.4.58 *anusvārasya yayi parasavarnaḥ*
= *mu*(*ṃ* → *ñ*) *c* + *a* + *ti*
= *muñc* + *a* + *ti*
= *muñcati*

(167) *payāṃsi*

(*a*) *payas*
similar to (*a-c*) of (150) *kuṇḍāni*
= *paya* + *nUM* + *s* + *i* # 1.1.47 *midaco...*
it-deletion
paya + *n* + *s* + *i*

(*b*) *paya* + *n* + *s* + *i*
1.4.13 *yasmāt...*

6.4.1 *aṅgasya*
6.4.10 *sāntamahataḥ...*
= *pay*(*a* → *ā*) + *n* + *s* + *i*
= *payā* + *n* + *s* + *i*

(*c*) *payā* + *n* + *s* + *i*
1.4.14 *suptiṅantaṃ padam*
8.3.24 *naścāpadantasya...*
= *payā* + (*n* → *ṃ*) + *s* + *i*
= *payāṃsi*

1.1.49 *saṣṭhī sthāneyogā*

(168) *bhavitā*

(*a*) *as*
same as (*a-b*) of (7) *taritā*
= *as* + *tṛ*

(*b*) *as* + *tṛ*
2.4.52 *aster bhūḥ* # 1.1.55 *anekālsit sarvasya*
= (*as* → *bhū*) + *tṛ*
= *bhū* + *tṛ*

(*c*) *bhū* + *tṛ*
same as (*e*) of (7) *tarita*

(*d*) *bhū* + *i* + *tṛ*
7.3.84 *sārvadhātukārdha...* # 1.1.50 *sthāne...*
1.1.3 *iko guṇavṛddhī*
= *bh*(*ū* → *o*) + *i* + *tṛ*
= *bho* + *i* + *tṛ*

(*e*) *bho* + *i* + *tṛ*
6.1.78 *eco'yavāyāvaḥ* # 1.3.10 *yathāsaṃkhya...*
= *bh*(*o* → *av*) + *i* + *tṛ*
= *bhav* + *i* + *tṛ*
= *bhavitṛ*

(*f*) *bhavitṛ*
same as (*f-j*) of (7) *tarita*
bhavitṛ + *sŨ*
bhavitā

(169) *vaktā*

This example is similarly derived from (*vac* + *tṛ*) + *sŨ* where *vac* is a replacement of *brūÑ* 'to speak'. Note here that, unlike (*c*) of (7) *taritā*, 7.2.35 does not apply to introduce *iṬ*. The string remains *vactṛ*. Given the string *vactṛ* + *sŨ*, (*f-j*) of (7) *taritā* will yield *vactā*, to which 8.2.30 *coḥ kuḥ* will apply. The result will be *va*(*c* → *k*) *tā* = *vaktā*.

(170) *bhavitum* and (171) *vaktum* are both derived by introducing the affix (3.1.1 *pratyayaḥ*) *tumUN* (3.3.158 *samānakartṛkeṣu tumun*) after verbal

roots *as* and *brūÑ*. The roots will be replaced by *bhū* and *vac*. Given the string *bhū + tum(UN → Ø)*, rule application similar to (*c-e*) if (168) *bhavitā* will occur. Thus: *bhū + tum → bhū + i(Ṭ → Ø) + tum; bhū + i + tum → bh(ū → o) + i + tum; bh(o → av) + i + tum = bhavitum.*

Unlike *bhavitum, vaktum* does not involve *iṬ*. Given the string *vac + tum + sŨ*, the *c* will be changed into *k* by 8.2.30: *va(c → k) + tum = vaktum.* We have already noted that nominal endings introduced after indeclinables are deleted by 2.4.82 *avyayād...* Items ending in *tumUN* are termed indeclinable by 1.1.39 *kṛn mejantaḥ.*

In deriving (172) *bhavitavyam* and (173) *vaktavyam,* we introduce the affix *tavyaT* by 3.1.96 *tavyattavyānīyaraḥ.* Given the strings *as + tavya(T → Ø)* and *brū + tavya(T → Ø)*, the roots will be replaced by *bhū* and *vac*. The resultant strings from *bhū + tavya* and *vac + tavya* will be *bh(ū → o → av) + i + tavya = bhavitavya* and *vactavya*. They will be termed nominal stems by 1.2.46 *kṛttaddhitasamāsāś ca* and *sŨ* can then be introduced after them by 4.1.2 *svauj....* Rule 7.1.24 *ato' m* will then replace the *sŨ* by *am*. This will yield *bhavitavya + am* and *vactavya + am,* where the *c* of *vactavya + am* will be replaced by *k* by 8.2.30 *coḥ kuḥ*. Rule 6.1.97 *ato guṇe* will then apply to both strings to yield: *bhavitavy(a + a → a)m = bhavitavyam,* and *vaktavy(a + a → a)m = vaktavyam.*

1.1.50 *sthāne' ntaratamaḥ*
(174) *vātaṇḍyayuvatiḥ*
(*a*) *vataṇḍa*
same as (*a-b*) of (1) *aupagavaḥ,* plus 4.1.108 *vataṇḍāc ca*
= *vataṇḍa + Ṅas + yaÑ*
(*b*) *vataṇḍa + Ṅas + yaÑ*
same as (*c-d*) of (1) *aupagavaḥ,* plus
4.1.3 *striyām*
4.1.109 *luk striyām*
= *vataṇḍa + (Ṅas → Ø) + yaÑ*
= *vataṇḍa + (yaÑ → Ø)*
= *vataṇḍa*
(*c*) *vataṇḍa*
4.1.73 *śārṅgaravādyañor...*
= *vataṇḍa + ṄiN*
= *it*-deletion
= *vataṇḍa + ī*
(*d*) *vataṇḍa + ī*
1.4.18 *yaci bham*
6.4.129 *bhasya*
6.4.148 *yasyeti ca*

= *vataṇḍ*(*a* → ∅) + *ī*
= *vataṇḍī*

Given the strings *vataṇḍī* + *sŨ* + *yuvati* + *sŨ*, 2.1.65 *poṭāyuvatistoka...* will allow the compound formation. After the assignment of the terms *samāsa* 'compound' and *prātipadika* (1.2.46 *kṛttaddhita...*), 2.4.71 *supo dhātu* will delete the endings. The result will be *vataṇḍīyuvati,* to which 6.3.42 *puṃvat...* applies. This rule requires a feminine form which occurs in a *karmadhāraya-tatpuruṣa* (1.2.42 *tatpuruṣaḥ*) compound and does not end in *u* to be replaced by a corresponding masculine form in usage. Thus *vataṇḍī* has to be replaced by its corresponding masculine form. Since it cannot be replaced by *vataṇḍa* as the latter does not signify *apatya* 'offspring', one would select *vātaṇḍya.* This form is approved by 1.1.50 *sthāne...* because it is similar to *vataṇḍī* in signification. The final form of the compound will thus become: (*vataṇḍī* → *vātaṇḍya*) *yuvati* = *vātaṇḍyayuvati,* which by *sUP*-selection, *it*-deletion, and *s-visarga* yields *vātaṇḍyayuvatiḥ.*

(175) *amuṣmai*

(*a*) *adas*

same as (*a-b*) of (95) *sarvasmai*
= *adas* + *Ṅe*
= *adas* + (*Ṅe* → *smai*)
= *adas* + *smai*

(*b*) *adas* + *smai*

same as (*c*) of (52) *amī*
= *ada*(*s* → *a*) + *smai*
= *ada* + *a* + *smai*

(*c*) *ada* + *a* + *smai*

same as (*c*) of (64) *ābhyām*
= *ad*(*a* + *a* → *a*) + *smai*
= *ada* + *smai*

(*d*) *ada* + *smai*

same as 8.2.20 *adaso...* at (*g*) of (52) *amī*
= *a*(*d* → *m*) (*a* → *u*) + *smai*
= *amu* + *smai*

(*e*) *amu* + *smai*

8.3.59 *ādeśapratyayoḥ*
= *amu* + (*s* → *ṣ*)*mai*
= *amu* + *ṣmai*
= *amuṣmai*

(176) *amūbhyām*

The steps outlined below are followed to derive *amūbhyām* from *adas* + *bhyām.*

(a) steps *(a), (c),* and *(e)* of (64) *ābhyām*

(*a*) *adas*

= *adas* + *bhyām*

(*c*) *adas* + *bhyām*

ada(*s* → *a*) + *bhyām*

= *ad*(*a* + *a* → *a*) + *bhyām*

= *ada* + *bhyām*

(*e*) *ada* + *bhyām*

ad(*a* → *ā*) + *bhyām*

= *adā* + *bhyām*

(*b*) step (*g*) of (52) *amī*, as indicated in (*d*) of (175) *amuṣmai*

= *a*(*d* → *m*) *ā* + *bhyām*

= *am*(*ā* → *ū*) + *bhyām*

= *amūbhyām*

Note here that 8.2.80 *adaso...* orders *u* as a substitute. As *u* is denoted by *aṆ* (1.1.69 *aṇudit...*), it can also represent its long or extra-long counterparts. In (175) *amuṣmai*, we selected a short *u* because the substituendum was short *a;* that is, we decided on the basis of similarity in duration. In *amūbhyām*, again we selected *ū* because of the similarity in duration.

1.1.51 *ur aṇ raparaḥ*

For deriving (177) *karttā* from (*ḌUkṛÑ* + *tṛC*) + *sŨ*, and (178) *harttā* from (*hṛÑ* + *tṛC*) + *sŨ*, follow, first (*a-b*), and then (*e-j*) of (7) *taritā*. These steps will yield *kartā* and *hartā*, to which 8.4.46 *aco rahābhyāṃ dve* must apply. Thus: *kar* (*t* → *tt*)*ā* = *karttā*, and *har*(*t* → *tt*)*ā* = *harttā*.

(179) *kirati* and (180) *girati* are derived from *kṛ* + *Śa* +(*LAṬ* → *tiP*) and *gṛ* + *Śa* + (*LAṬ* → *tiP*) according to (*b-d*) of (166) *muñcati*. Given the strings *kṛ* + *a* + *ti* and *gṛ* +*a* + *ti*, 7.1.100 *ṛt id dhātoḥ* will order *i* as a substitute for *ṛ*. Since *i* is a substitute denoted by *aṆ*, 1.1.51 will cause it to be followed by *r*. Thus: *k* (*ṛ* → *ir*) + *a* + *ti* = *kirati*, and *g* (*ṛ* → *ir*) + *a* + *ti* = *girati*.

(181) *dvaimāturaḥ*

Given a string of two syntactically related words, *dvi* + *os* and *mātṛ* + *os*, where *os* is genitive dual, 2.1.51 *taddhitārthottara...*will allow compound formation.

(*a*) *dvi* + *os* + *mātṛ* + *os*

2.1.51 *taddhitārtha...*

= *dvi* + *os* + *mātṛ* + *os*

1.2.46 *kṛttaddhita...*

2.4.71 *supo dhātu...*

= *dvi* (*os* → *Ø*) + *mātṛ* (*os* → *Ø*)

= *dvimātṛ*

(*b*) *dvimātṛ*

4.1.1 *ṅyāp...*

4.1.92 *tasyāpatyam*

4.1.115 *māturut...*
= *dvimātṛ* + *a* (*Ṇ* → ∅) # 1.1.52 *alo' ntyasya*
= *dvimāt* + (*ṛ* → *u*) + *a* # 1.1.51 *ur aṇ raparaḥ*
= *dvimātur* + *a*

Note that in addition to introducing affix *aṆ*, 4.1.115 also introduces *u* as a substitute for *mātṛ*. However *u* can only replace the final sound (*aL*) of *mātṛ*, because it is a substitute consisting of a single sound (see 1.1.55 *anekāl...*), and thus, this replacement operation will be regulated by 1.1.52 *alo' ntyasya*. Since the substituendum is *ṛ*, and also since the substitute is a sound denoted by *aṆ*, 1.1.51 *ur aṇ raparaḥ* applies. The result is: *dvimāt* (*ṛ* → *ur*) = *dvimātur*.

(*c*) *dvimātur* + *a*
same as (*e*) of (1) *aupagavaḥ*
= *dv* (*i* → *ai*) *mātur* + *a*
= *dvaimātura*

Follow (*h-m*) of (1) *aupagavaḥ* to derive *dvaimāturaḥ* from *dvaimātura* + *sŨ*. Similar rule applications on (*tri* + *ām* + *mātṛ* + *ām*) + *sŨ* will produce (182) *traimāturaḥ*.

1.1.52 *alo' ntyasya*
(183) *pañcagoṇiḥ*

This example is derived from ((*pañcan* + *bhis* + *goṇī* + *bhis*) + *ṬhaK*)) + *sŨ*, where *pañcan* + *bhis* + *goṇī* + *bhis* are combined by rules similar to (181) *dvaimāturaḥ*. Affix *ṬHaK* is introduced after *pañcagoṇī* by 5.1.37 *tena krītam* and 5.1.19 *ārhādago...*, the *n* of *pañcangoṇī* having been deleted by 8.2.7 *na lopaḥ prātipadikāntasya*. Affix *ṬHaK* itself gets deleted by 5.1.28 *adhyarddhapūrva...*(# 2.1.52 *saṃkhyāpūrvo dviguḥ*). However at the same time, 1.2.49 *luktaddhitaluki* requires the deletion of *ī*, the feminine affix, in *pañcagoṇī*. This is blocked by 1.2.50 *id goṇyāḥ*, which orders *i* as a substitute. Similar to the replacement of *ṛ* by *u* in (181) *dvaimāturaḥ*, *i* can only replace the final sound of *goṇī*. Consequently we get: *pañcagoṇ*(*ī* → *i*) = *pañcagoṇi*. The nominative singular form *pañcagoṇiḥ* derives from *pañcagoṇi* + *sŨ* by *s-visarga*. The same set of rules apply in deriving (184) *daśagoṇiḥ*

1.1.53 *ṅic ca*
(185) *hotāpotārau*

This is a *dvandva* (2.2.29 *cārthe dvandvaḥ*) compound derived by combining *hotṛ* + *sŨ* and *potṛ* + *sŨ*. After the assignment of the term *prātipadika* by 1.2.46 *kṛttaddhita...*, 2.4.71 *supo dhātu...*will delete the endings: *hotṛ* + (*sŨ* → ∅ + *potṛ* + (*sŨ* → ∅) = *hotṛ potṛ*. Rule 6.3.23 *ṛto vidyāyoni...*will now apply to introduce *ānAṄ* to *hotṛ*. It is obvious that *ānAṄ* is *anekāl* 'consisting of more than one *aL*', and hence 1.1.54 *anekālśit sarvasya* may demand that *ānAṄ* replace *hotṛ*. However, since *ānAṄ* is marked with *Ṅ*, it can only

replace the final sound (*ṛ*) of *hotṛ*. Thus: *hot* (*ṛ* → *ān* (*AṄ* → *Ø*) *potṛ* becomes *hotānpotṛ*. The *n* of *hotānpotṛ* will be deleted by 8.2.7 *na lopaḥ*....Given the string *hotāpotṛ* + *au*, 1.1.43 *sud anapumsakasya* will assign the term *sarvanāmasthāna*. Consequently, in the *aṅga* section (6.4.1 *aṅgasya*), 7.3.110 *ṛto ṅisarvanāmasthānayoḥ* will require a *guṇa* substitute of the *aṅga* ending in *ṛ*. With reference to 1.1.2 *adeṅ guṇaḥ* and 1.1.51 *ur aṇ raparaḥ*, we will get *hotāpot* (*ṛ* → *ar*) + *au* = *hotāpotarau*. The *a* of *hotāpotar* is lengthened by 6.4.11 *aptṛntṛc*.... The result is: *hotāpot* (*a* → *ā*)*r* + *au* = *hotāpotārau*. Similarly, (*mātṛ* + *sŪ* + *pitṛ* + *sŪ*) + *au* will yield (186) *mātāpitarau*.

Note here that (187) *jīvatāt*, in both *jīvatād bhavān* and *jīvatāt tvam*, is derived from *jīv* + *LOṬ*, where *LOṬ* is replaced by *ti* (*P* → *Ø*), and *ŚaP* is introduced after *jīv*. Given the string *jīv* + *a* + *ti*, 3.4.86 *eruḥ* applies to yield: *jīv* + *a* + *t* (*i* → *u*) = *jīvatu*. Rule 7.1.35 *tuhyostātaṅ* now introduces *tātAṄ* as a substitute for *tu*. Since *tātAṄ* is marked with *Ṅ*, it should replace the *u* of *tu* (see 1.1.53 *ṅic ca*). However that is not the case. Instead *tāt*(*AṄ* → *Ø*) replaces *tu* in toto in view of 1.1.55 *anekālśit sarvasya*. The resultant form is: *jīva*(*tu* → *tāt*) = *jīvatāt*.

There is clearly a conflict between the application of 1.1.53 and 1.1.55 here. They both seem valid. Commentators (see *Nyāsa* ad *Kāś*. 1.1.53) conclude that since both 1.1.53 and 1.1.55 find their scope simultaneously, 1.4.2 *vipratiṣedhe*....should be invoked. That declares that when two rules of equal strength become applicable in a given situation, the one which is subsequent in order wins. It is thus 1.1.55 which regulates this replacement here.

One can compare the conflicting situation here with that of the one encountered in (185) *hotāpotārau* where *ānAṄ* is marked with *Ṅ* and consists of more than one *aL*, yet does not replace the full form *hotṛ*, as should be the case in view of 1.4.2. Actually 1.4.2 also requires that two rules which create conflict must be backed by their independent domains. That is, they should also be *sāvakāśa* 'with scope of application'. In case of *hotāpotārau*, *ānAṄ* is marked with *Ṅ* in order to block *guṇa* or *vṛddhi* (see 1.1.5 *ṅiti ca*); instead, it is marked with *Ṅ* so that it may replace the whole form on the strength of its being *anekāl* 'consisting of more than one *aL*'. Thus the blocking of total replacement (*sarvādeśa*) is the scope of *Ṅ* in *ānAṄ*. It will make 1.1.53 *anavakāśa* 'without any scope' if we did not allow it to block the *sarvādeśa*. As far as *jīvatāt* is concerned, *tātAṄ* independently has scope for blocking *guṇa* and *vṛddhi*. It is able to create conflict with 1.1.55 *anekāl*...because 1.1.55 also has independent scope of application (see 2.4.52 *aster bhūḥ*, and so on). Thus the conflict is such that no rule will become without scope if one is preferred over the other. Rule 1.4.2 must be invoked here.

1.1.54 *ādeḥ parasya*

The scope of this rule is related to 1.1.67 *tasmād...*, which states that operations specified by an item in *pañcamī* 'ablative' obtain on the item which follows. We know for sure that it is the following item which is the focus of a given operation. What we do not know is whether that operation obtains on the entire following item or on some part of it. Rule 1.1.54 answers that such operations obtain only on the initial *aL* of the following item.

(188) *āsīnaḥ*

(*a*) *ās*

1.3.1 *bhūvādayo...*
3.1.91 *dhātoḥ*
3.2.123 *varttamāne laṭ*
3.4.69 *laḥ karmaṇi...*
= *ās* + *LAṬ*

(*b*) *ās* + *LAṬ*

1.3.12 *anudāttaṅitaḥ ātmanepadam*
1.4.100 *taṅānāv ātmanepadam*
3.4.124 *lataḥ śatṛ-śanacāv...* # 1.1.55 *anekāl...*
= *ās* + (*LAṬ* → *ŚānaC*)
it-deletion
ās + *āna*

(*c*) *ās* + *āna*

3.4.113 *tiṅśit sārvadhātukam*
3.1.68 *karttari śap*
= *ās* + *ŚaP* + *āna*
2.4.72 *adiprabhṛtibhyaḥ śapaḥ*
= *ās* + (*ŚaP* → *∅*) + *āna*
= *ās* + *āna*

(*d*) *ās* + *āna*

1.4.13 *yasmāt...*
6.4.1 *aṅgasya*
7.2.83 *īd āsaḥ* # 1.1.67 *tasmād ity uttarasya*
1.1.54 *ādeḥ parasya*

Note here that 7.2.83 orders the substitute *ī* with reference to *ās* in the ablative. In view of 1.1.67, this substitute will be construed as applicable to *ān* of *ās* + *āñ*. However, taking 1.1.54 into consideration, we resolve that *ī* is ruled as a substitute for *ā* only. Thus: *ās* + (*ā* → *ī*) *na* = *āsīna*.

(*e*) *āsīna*

sUP-selection; *s-visargo;*
= *āsīnaḥ*

(189) *dvīpam*

(*a*) *dvi* + *au* + *ap* + *Jas*

2.1.1 *samarthaḥ...*

2.1.3 *prāk kaḍārāt...*
2.1.4 *saha supā*
2.2.23 *śeṣo bahuvrīhiḥ*
2.2.24 *anekam anyapadārthe*
= *dvi + au + ap + Jas*
1.2.46 *kṛttaddhita..*
2.4.71 *supo dhātu...*
= *dvi(au → Ø) + ap + (Jas → Ø)*
= *dvi + ap*

(*b*) *dvi + ap*

4.1.1 *ṅyāp...*
4.1.76 *taddhitāḥ*
5.4.68 *samāsāntāḥ*
5.4.74 *ṛkpūrabdhūḥ...*
= *dviap + a*

(*c*) *dviap + a*

6.3.97 *dvyantarupasarge...*
= *dvi(a → i) p + a*

Here again *i* is introduced as a substitute with reference to *dvi* in *pañcamī*. In view of 1.1.67 *tasmād ity...*, *ap* of *dviap* becomes the focus of this operation. Rule 1.1.54 resolves that *i* should replace the *a* of *ap*.

= *dvi(a → i) p + a*
= *dviip + a*
= *dviip*

(*d*) *dviipa*

6.1.72 *saṃhitāyām*
6.1.101 *akaḥ savarṇe dīrghaḥ*
= *dv(i + i → ī)pa*
= *dvīpa*

(*e*) *dvīpa*

follow (*e-h*) of (39) *adīdhyanam*
= *dvīpa + (sŨ → am)*
= *dvīp(a + a → a)m*
= *dvīpam*

Similar rules apply in deriving (190) *antarīpam* from (*antar + sŨ + ap + Jas + a*) + *sŨ*, and (191) *samīpam* from (*sam + sŨ + ap + Jas + a*) + *sŨ*.

1.1.55 *anekālśit sarvasya*

The derivations of (168) *bhavitā*, (170) *bhavitum*, and (172) *bhavitavyam* have already been given under 1.1.49 *ṣaṣṭhī sthāneyoga*. The purpose of 1.1.55 is simply to state that a substitute consisting of more than one *aL* replaces the entire substituendum. In the above examples, the verbal root *as* was thus totally replaced by *bhū*. Similarly, refer to the derivation of

(150) *kuṇḍāni* under 1.1.42 *śi sarvanāmsthānam.* Given the string *kuṇḍa* + *Jas,* 7.1.20 *jaśśasoḥ śiḥ* will rule the substitute *Śi* for *Jas.* Since *Śi* is marked with *Ś,* 1.1.55 will enable it to replace *Jas* in toto.

1.1.56 *sthānivad ādeśo' nalvidhau*

1. The replacement of a root (*dhātu*) is treated like a root; see the derivations of (168) *bhavitā,* (169) *vaktā,* and so on under 1.1.49 *ṣaṣṭhī sthāneyogā.* In these examples, 2.4.52 *aster bhūḥ* and 2.4.53 *bruvoḥ vaciḥ* cause replacement of the verbal roots *as* by *bhū* and *brū* by *vac.* When it comes to introducing affixes *tṛC* and *tavyaT* by 3.1.133 *ṇvultṛcau* and 3.1.96 *tavyattavyānīyaraḥ,* we encounter a problem. These rules are contained in the domain of 3.1.91 *dhātoḥ,* and as a result, affixes *tṛC* and *tavyaT* can only be introduced after items termed *dhātu* 'verb root'. Now, *bhū* and *vac* are not roots. They are only replacements of roots. Rule 1.1.56 resolves this problem by stating that replacements of a root can be treated like a root.

2. Replacement of an *aṅga* 'presuffixal base' is treated like an *aṅga.*

(192) *kena*

(*a*) *kim*

same as (*a*) of (64) *ābhyām* where the selected *sUP* is instrumental singular *Ṭā*

= *kim* + (*Ṭ* → *Ø*) *ā* (*it*-deletion)

= *kim* + *ā*

(*b*) *kim* + *ā*

1.4.13 *yasmāt...*
6.4.1 *aṅgasya*
7.2.103 *kimaḥ kaḥ*

= (*kim* → *ka*) + *ā*

= *ka* + *ā*

(*c*) *ka* + *ā*

7.1.12 *ṭāṅasiṅasā...* # 1.1.56 *sthānivad...,* 1.1.55 *anekāl...*

= *ka* + (*ā* → *ina*)

= *ka* + *ina*

Note here that at (*b*), *kim,* an *aṅga,* was replaced by *ka.* Unless *ka* is treated like *kim* by 1.1.56, *ā* cannot be replaced by *ina.*

(*d*) *ka* + *ina*

6.1.72 *saṃhitāyām*
6.1.87 *ād guṇaḥ* # 1.1.2 *adeṅ guṇaḥ*

= *k*(*a* + *i* → *e*) + *na*

= *ke* + *na*

= *kena*

(193) *kābhyām* is derived from *kim* + *bhyām,* where *kim* is replaced by *ka.* Also see the derivation of (64) *ābhyām.* The same replacement occurs in

deriving (194) *kaiḥ* from *kim* + *bhis*. Given the string (*kim* → *ka*) + *bhis* = *ka* + *bhis*, 7.1.9 *ato bhis ais* applies to replace *bhis* by *ais*. Here again, if *ka*, a replacement of an *aṅga*, is not treated like *kim*, *bhis* cannot be replaced by *ais*. Given the string *ka* + (*bhis* → *ais*) = *ka* + *ais*, 6.1.88 *vṛddhir eci* will rule *ai* as a single *vṛddhi* replacement for both *a* + *ai*. Thus: *k*(*a* + *ai* → *ai*)*s* = *kais*. The terminal *s* undergoes *s-visarga*, yielding *kaiḥ*.

3. The replacement of a *kṛt* (3.1.93 *kṛd atiṅ*) is treated like a *kṛt*.

(195) *prakṛtya*

Given the string *pra* + *kṛtvā*, where *kṛtvā* is derived from *ḌUkṛÑ* + *Ktvā* (see (139 *kṛtvā*)), 2.2.18 *kugatiprādayaḥ* allows *pra* to be combined with *ktvā*. The result is: *prakṛtvā*. Rule 7.1.37 *samāse' nañ pūrve...* introduces *LyaP* as a substitute for *ktvā*. The string becomes: *prakṛ* (*tvā* → (*L* → ∅) *ya* (*P* → ∅) = *prakṛ* + *ya*. Rule 6.1.71 *hrasvasya piti kṛti tuk* now introduces the augment *tUK*. As a result we get *prakṛ* + *t*(*UK* → ∅) + *ya* = *prakṛtya*. However, remember that 6.1.71 cannot introduce *tUK* unless the following affix is a *kṛt*. In our example, *LyaP* cannot be called a *kṛt*, especially because *kṛt* affixes are introduced in the domain of 3.1.91 *dhātoḥ*. Rule 1.1.56 clears the way for *LyaP* to be treated as *Ktvā*. Furthermore it is because of 1.1.56 that *prakṛtya* is assigned the term *prātipadika* 'nominal stem' by 1.2.46 *kṛttaddhitasamāsāś ca*.

4. The replacement of an *avyaya* 'indeclinable' is treated like an *avyaya*.

Given the string *prakṛtya* + *sŨ*, 2.4.82 *avyayād āp supaḥ* applies and deletes *sŨ*, mainly for the reason that *sŨ* is ruled after an indeclinable. Rule 1.1.40 *ktvātosunkasunaḥ* assigns the term *avyaya* 'indeclinable' to items which end in *Ktvā*, *tosUN*, and *kasUN*. Now, *prakṛtya* cannot be treated as an *avyaya* because it does not end in *Ktvā*. Furthermore, since *prakṛtya* is not an indeclinable, *sŨ* cannot be deleted. At this stage, 1.1.56 comes to our rescue. First we treat *LyaP* as if it were *Ktvā*; then we treat *prakṛtya* as if it were an indeclinable. Now the way is clear for 2.4.82 to delete *sŨ*.

Follow similar steps to derive (196) *prahṛtya* from (*pra* + (*hṛÑ* + (*Ktvā* → *LyaP*)) + *sŨ*.

5. The replacement of a *taddhita* (4.1.76 *taddhitāḥ*) affix is treated like a *taddhita*.

(197) *dādhikam*

(*a*) *dadhi*

same as (*a*) of (5) *śālīyaḥ*

= *dadhi* + *Ṅi*

(*b*) *dadhi* + *Ṅi*

4.1.76 *taddhitāḥ*
4.1.82 *samarthānām...*
4.2.16 *saṃskṛtaṃ bhakṣāḥ*
4.2.18 *dadhnaṣ ṭhak*

= *dadhi* + *Ṅi* + *ṬHaK*

(*c*) *dadhi* + *Ṅi* + *ṬhaK*
same as (*c*) of (5) *śālīyaḥ*
= *dadhi* + (*Ṅi* → *Ø*) + *ṬHaK*
= *dadhi* + *ṬHaK*

(*d*) *dadhi* + *ṬHaK*
7.2.118 *kiti ca* # 1.1.56 *sthānivad...*
1.1.1 *vṛddhir ādaic*
= *d*(*a* → *ā*)*dhi* + *ṬHaK*
= *dādhi* + *ṬHaK*

(*e*) *dādhi* + *ṬHaK*
1.4.13 *yasmāt...*
6.4.1 *aṅgasya*
7.3.50 *ṭhasyekaḥ*
= *dādhi* + (*Ṭ HaK* → *ika*)
= *dādhi* + *ika*

(*f*) *dādhi* + *ika*
same as (*f*) of (5) *śālīyaḥ*
= *dādh*(*i* → *Ø*) + *ika*
= *dādhika*

(*g*) *dādhika*
same as (*e-h*) of (39) *ādīdhyanam*
= *dādhika* + (*sŨ* → *am*)
= *dādhik*(*a* + *a* → *a*)*m*
= *dādhikam*

Note here that 1.1.56 must be invoked in order to insure that a substitute, *ika*, is treated like its substituendum, *ṬHaK*. Our derivate *dādhika* cannot be termed a *prātipadika* by 1.2.46 *kṛttaddhitasamāsāś ca* unless it ends in a *taddhita* affix. But *ika* is only the substitute of such an affix. Since 1.1.56 allows us to treat the substitute like the substituendum, however, the *prātipadika* may still be assigned.

(198) *adyatanam*

(*a*) *adya*
1.2.45 *arthavad...*
4.1.1 *ṅyāp...*
4.1.76 *taddhitāḥ*
4.3.23 *sāyañciram...*
= *adya* + *tUṬ* + *Ṭyu*
it-deletion
= *adya* + *t* + *yu*
Note here that 4.3.23 introduces the affix *Ṭyu* along with its augment *tUṬ* as part of concurrent operations.

(*b*) *adya* + *t* + *yu*
1.4.13 *yasmāt...*
6.4.12 *aṅgasya*

7.1.1 *yuvor anākau* # 1.3.10 *yathā...*
= *adya* + *t* + (*yu* → *ana*)
= *adya* + *t* + *ana*
= *adyatana*

(*c*) *adyatana*

same as (*e-h*) of (39) *ādīdhyanam*
= *adyatana* + (*sŪ* → *am*)
= *adyatan*(*a* → ∅) + *am*
= *adyatanam*

Note here that *adyatana* ends in *ana*, which in turn is a replacement of the *taddhita* affix (*Ṭ*)*yu*. Rule 1.2.46 *kṛttaddhita...* cannot assign the term *prātipadika* to *adyatana* unless 1.1.56 allows the *ana* of *adyatana* to be treated as a *taddhita* affix.

6. The replacement of a *sŪP* is treated like a *sŪP*.

(199) *vṛkṣāya*

(200) *plakṣāya*

Follow (*c-f*) of (104) *priyaviśvāya*. Note, however, that unless the substitute *ya* is treated like *Ne* (a *sŪP*), 7.3.102 *supi ca* cannot allow the short *a* of *vṛkṣa* to be changed into long *ā*.

7. The replacement of a *tiṄ* is treated like a *tiṄ*.

(201) *akurutām*

(*a*) (*ḌU* → ∅) *kṛ* (*Ñ* → ∅)

kṛ 1.3.1 *bhūvādayo...*
3.1.91 *dhātoḥ*
3.2.84 *bhūte*
3.2.111 *anadyatane*
3.4.69 *laḥ karmaṇi...*
= *kṛ* + *LAṄ*

(*b*) *kṛ* + *LAṄ*

3.4.77 *lasya*
3.4.78 *tiptasjhi...* # *tiṄ*-selection
= *kṛ*(*LAṄ* → *tas*)
kṛ + *tas*
3.4.113 *tiṅśit sārvadhātukam*

(*c*) *kr* + *tas*

same as (*d*) of (10) *pacanti*, plus 3.1.79 *tanādikṛñ...*
= *kṛ* + *u* + *tas*

(*d*) *kṛ* + *u* + *tas*

3.4.101 *tasthasthamipām...* # 1.3.10 *yathāsaṃkhya...*
= *kṛ* + *u* (*tas* → *tām*)
= *kṛ* + *u* + *tām*

(*e*) *kṛ + u + tām*

same as (*f*-*g*) of (16) *akārṣīt*

= *a*(*Ṭ* → ∅) + *kṛ + u + tām*

= *a + kṛ + u + tām*

(*f*) *a + kṛ + u + tām*

7.3.84 *sārvadhātukārdha...* # 1.1.2 *adeṅ guṇaḥ*, 1.1.51 *ur aṇ raparaḥ*

= *a + k*(*ṛ* → *ar*) *+ u + tām*

= *a + kar + u + tām*

(*g*) *a + kar + u + tām*

6.4.110 *at ut sārvadhātuke*

= *a + k*(*a* → *u*)*r + u + tām*

Note here that this replacement of *a* by *u* must meet three conditions:

(*a*) *a* should be part of an *aṅga* constituted by *kṛ*,

(*b*) this *aṅga* should also terminate in the affix *u*, and

(*c*) the *aṅga* as a whole should be followed by a *sārvadhātuka* affix.

We clearly see that our *aṅga, a + kar + u*, meets conditions (*a*) and (*b*). It does not, however, meet condition (*c*), as the following affix *tām* is neither a *tiN* nor an affix marked with *Ś* (see 3.4.113 *tiṅśit sārvadhātukam*). But, as *tām* is a replacement of a *tiN* affix *tas*, which in turn is a *sārvadhātuka*, we can say that, in view of 1.1.56, *tām* is a *sārvadhātuka*. Now replacement condition (*c*) can be met and *a* can be replaced by *u*.

= *a + k*(*a* → *u*)*r + u + tām*

= *akurutām*

8. The replacement of a *pada* (1.4.14 *suptiṅantaṃ padam*) is treated like a *pada*.

(202) *vas* as in *grāmo vaḥ svam*

This entire sentence is derived from the string: *grāma + sŨ + yuṣmad + ām + sva + sŨ*, where *yuṣmad + ām* yields *yuṣmākam*, which in turn is replaced by *vas* (8.1.21 *bahuvacanasya vasnasau*). Given the string: *grāma + (sŨ* → *ḥ) + vas + sva + (sŨ* → *am) = grām* (*aḥ* → *o*) *+ vas + sv*(*a + a* → *a*) *m = grāmo vas svam*, 8.2.66 *sasajuṣo ruḥ* is applied. According to this rule, the *s* of a *pada* is replaced by *rŨ*. In our string *yuṣmākam* is a *pada*, *vas* is not. By invoking 1.1.56, *vas* can be treated as a *pada* to yield *va*(*s* → *rŨ* → *ḥ*) = *vaḥ*.

Similarly, in (203) *grāmo naḥ svam, naḥ* is a replacement of *asmākam* 'genitive plural of *asmad*'.

(*a*) *alā vidhiḥ* 'operation which obtains because of *aL*'

Our example (204) *mahoraskena* is derived from (*mahat + sŨ + uras + sŨ*) *+ Ṭā*, where *mahat + sŨ + uras + sŨ* form a *bahuvrīhi* compound (see (208) *dyukāmaḥ*). Given the compound *mahat + uras*, 6.3.46 *ānmahataḥ...* (# 1.1.52 *alo' ntyasya*) will replace *t* of *mahat* by *ā* and *s* of *uras* will be changed into *ḥ* via *s-visarga*. This will give us *maha + ā + uraḥ*, after which 5.4.151

uraḥ prabhṛtibhyaḥ... would introduce the *samāsānta* (5.4.68 *samāsāntāḥ*) affix *ka*($P \rightarrow \emptyset$) = *ka*. The instrumental singular *Ṭā* will then be introduced after *maha* + *ā* + *uraḥ* + *ka*. Rule 6.1.101 *akaḥ savarṇe...* and 6.1.87 *ād guṇaḥ* will alternately apply on *maha* + *ā* + *uraḥ ka* + *Ṭā*. The result will be: *mah*(*a* + *ā* → *ā*) + *uraḥ* + *ka* + *Ṭā* = *mahā* + *uraḥ* + *ka* + *Ṭā* and *mah*(*ā* + *u* → *o*) *raḥ* + *ka* + *Ṭā* = *mahoraḥ* + *ka* + *Ṭā*. The ending *Ṭā* will be replaced by *ina* by 7.1.12 *ṭāṅasi...*. Also 8.3.38 *so' padādau* will replace the *visarga* of *uraḥ* by *s*. Thus *mahoraḥ* + *ka* + (*Ṭā* → *ina*) = *mahoraḥ* + *ka* + *ina* and *mahora*(*ḥ* → *s*) + *ka* + *ina* = *mahoraska* + *ina*. Rule 6.1.87 will then replace *a* + *i* by *e*. Thus: *mahorask*(*a* + *i* → *e*)*na* = *mahoraskena*. Now, if *s* (the replacement of *ḥ* ruled by 8.3.38 *so' padādau*) is treated as if it were *ḥ*, then 8.4.2 *aṭkuppvāṅ...* will cause the *n* of *ina* to be replaced by *ṇ*. This would result in the derivation of an unacceptable form **mahoraskeṇa*. But since 1.1.56 does not find any scope here, everything is in order.

(*b*) *alaḥ vidhiḥ* 'operation obtaining on an item occurring after *aL*'

(205) *dyauḥ*

Given the string *div* + *s*(*Ū* → ∅), the *v* of *div* will be replaced by *au* by 7.1.84 *div aut* (# 1.1.52 *alo' ntyasya*). If *au* is treated as if it were *v*, the *s*, occurring after *di*(*v* → *au*) + *s* = *diau* + *s*, would have to be deleted. This would result in an undesired form. Looking at the ablative in 6.1.88 *halṅyābbhyaḥ...*, we can say that the operation of deleting *s* is occurring after *aL*. As a result, we cannot invoke 1.1.56 *sthānivāt...*. Once *au* is not treated as *v*, *di* + *au* + *s* will first yield *d*(*i* → *y*) + *au* + *s* = *dyau* + *s* (6.1.77 *iko yaṇ aci*), and then by *s-visarga*, *dyauḥ*.

A similar interpretation and resultant blocking of 6.1.88 is involved in deriving (206) *panthāḥ* from *pathin* + *sŪ* and (207) *saḥ* from *tad* + *sŪ*.

(206) *panthāḥ*

(*a*) *pathin*

4.1.2 *svauj...* (*sUP*-selection)
= *pathin* + *sŪ*
it-deletion
= *pathin* + *s*

(*b*) *pathin* + *s*

1.4.13 *yasmāt...*
6.4.1 *aṅgasya*
7.1.85 *pathimathy...*
= *pathi* (*n* → *ā*) + *s*

Note that treating *ā* as if it were *n* would give an occasion for the application of 6.1.68 *halṅyābbhyaḥ...* The operation to be performed in that case would be the deletion of *s*.

(*c*) *pathi* + *ā* + *s*

1.1.43 *suḍ anapuṃsakasya*
7.1.76 *iṭo' t...*
7.1.87 *tho nthaḥ*
= *path*(*i* → *a*) + *ā* + *s*

$= pa(th \rightarrow nth) + a + \bar{a} + s$
$= panth + a + \bar{a} + s$

(*d*) $panth + a + \bar{a} + s$

6.1.101 *akaḥ savarṇe dīrghaḥ*
$= panth + (a + \bar{a} \rightarrow \bar{a}) + s$
$= panth + \bar{a} + s$
$= panthā + s$

(*e*) $panthā + s$

s-visarga
$= panthāḥ$

(207) *saḥ*

(*a*) $tad + sŨ$

7.2.102 *tyādādīnāmaḥ* # 1.1.52 *alo' ntyasya*
$= ta(d \rightarrow a) + s$
$= ta + a + s$

(*b*) $ta + a + s$

7.2.106 *tadoḥ saḥ...*
$= (ta \rightarrow sa) + a + s$
$= sa + a + s$

Refer here to my note concerning the application of 6.1.68 *halṅyābbhyaḥ...* in (*b*) of (206) *panthāḥ*.

(*c*) $sa + a + s$

6.1.97 *ato guṇe*
$s(a + a \rightarrow a) + s$
$= sa + s$
$= sas$

(*d*) *sas*

s-visarga
$= saḥ$

(*c*) *alaḥ vidhiḥ* 'operation obtaining in place of *aL*'

(208) *dyukāmaḥ*

Given a string of two syntactically related *pada*, $div + Ṅi$ and $kāma + sŨ$ the following rules apply.

(*a*) $div + Ṅi + kāma + sŨ$

2.1.1 *samarthaḥ...*
2.1.3 *prāk...*
2.1.4 *saha supā*
2.2.24 *anekam...*
$= div + Ṅi + kāma + sŨ$

(*b*) $div + Ṅi + kāma + sŨ$

1.2.46 *kṛttaddhita...*
2.4.71 *supo dhātu...*
$= div + (Ṅi \rightarrow \emptyset) + kāma + (sŨ \rightarrow \emptyset)$

= *div* + *kāma*
= *divkāma*

(*c*) *divkāma*

4.1.2 *svauj...* (*sUP*-selection)
it-deletion
= *divkāma* + *s*(*Ū* → *Ø*)

(*d*) *divkāma* + *s*

6.1.131 *div ut* # 1.1.52 *alo' ntyasya*
= *di*(*v* → *u*) *kāma* + *s*
= *diukāma* + *s*

(*e*) *diukāma* + *s*

6.1.72 *saṃhitāyām*
6.1.77 *iko yaṇ aci*
= *d*(*i* → *y*) *ukāma* + *s*
= *dyukāma* + *s*

Note here that the *u* of *dyukāma* + *s* is a replacement for *v*. If this *u* is treated as if it were *v*, 6.1.66 *lopo vyor vali* would apply to delete the *u*. The result would be a wrong form **dy*(*u* → *Ø*) *kāma* + *s* = **dykāma* + *s*. However, since this deletion of *u* is not only an operation pertaining to *aL* but also an operation obtaining in place of one, 1.1.56 *sthānivat...* cannot be invoked. That this operation obtains 'in place of *aL*' is clear from the genitive in 6.1.66 *lopo vyor vali* (see *lopaḥ* 1/1, *vyor* 6/1, *vali* 7/1).

(*f*) *dyukāma* + *s* → same as (*j-m*) of (1) *aupagavaḥ*
= *s-visarga*
= *dyukāmaḥ*

(*g*) *ali vidhiḥ* 'operation obtaining when *aL* follows'

(209) *ka iṣṭaḥ*

Given the string *kim* + *sŪ iṣṭa* + *sŪ*, where *i* of *iṣṭa* is a replacement of *y* (see note 2 under 1.1.45 *ig yaṇaḥ...*), first, 7.2.103 *kimaḥ kaḥ* will replace *kim* by *ka*. Rule 8.2.66 *sasajuṣo ruḥ* will then replace *sŪ* by *rŪ*. If the *i* replacement of *y* in *iṣṭa* is treated as if it were *i*, our resultant string *ka* + *r* + *iṣṭa* + *sŪ* will be subject to the application of 6.1.114 *haśi ca*, which would replace *r* by *u*, yielding an unacceptable form **ka* + (*r* → *u*) + *iṣṭaḥ*. However since the substitute (*i*) is a sound denoted by *aL* and the operation obtains with reference to this substitute constituting the following *aL*, 1.1.56 *sthānivat...* cannot be invoked. The locative in 6.1.114 *haśi ca* attests to the fact that an *aL-vidhi* is obtaining with reference to a following *aL* denoted by *hŚ*. The *r* is replaced by *y* by 8.3.17 *bhobhago...*, which is deleted later by 8.3.19 *lopaḥ...*. Thus: *ka* + (*r* → *y*) + *iṣṭaḥ* = *kay* + *iṣṭaḥ* = *ka*(*y* → *Ø*) + *iṣṭaḥ* = *ka iṣṭaḥ*. Note that *iṣṭa* + *sŪ* will yield *iṣṭaḥ*.

1.1.57 *acaḥ parasmin pūrvavidhau*

(210) *paṭayati*

Given the string *paṭu* + *ṆiC*, where the causative affix *ṆiC* is introduced after a *prātipadika* (1.2.46 *arthavad...*) by the strength of the *vārttika* (*vt.*)

tatkaroti tadācaṣṭe (ad 3.1.25 *satyāpa...*), the *u* of *paṭu* + (*Ṅ* → ∅)*i*(*C* → ∅) = *paṭu* + *i* is deleted at the strength of another *vt. ṇāviṣṭhavat prātipadikasya* (ad 6.4.115 *ṭeḥ*). This yields *paṭ*(*u* → ∅) + *i* = *paṭ* + *i*. Rule 7.2.116 *ata upadhāyāḥ* may now become applicable here. This rule would require a *vṛddhi* replacement for the penultimate vowel (*a*) of our *aṅga paṭ*. However 1.1.57 intervenes. It states that the *a* of *paṭ* cannot be termed *upadhā* (1.1.65 *alo' ntyāt pūrva...*) because the zero replacement of *u* of *paṭu* will have to be treated as if it were *u*. There are two reasons for this:

(*a*) the zero replacement of *u* was conditioned by a following item (*ṆiC*), and

(*b*) the *vṛddhi* replacement obtains for a preceding item.

Thus, for all practical purposes, the zero replacement of *u* will be considered as if it were *u*. This will make *ṭ* the *upadhā* of *puṭ*. Obviously *ṭ* cannot be replaced by *vṛddhi*, since *ṭ* is not denoted by *iK* (1.1.3 *iko...*). The *vṛddhi* is blocked.

There is another reason why 1.1.57 must be formulated. As I have already pointed out under (*c*) of 1.1.56 *sthānivat...*, a genitive interpretation of *aL-vidhi* is possible. According to this, when an operation obtains 'in place of *aL*,' a substitute cannot be treated like the substituendum. Given this, the zero replacement of *u* in *paṭu* cannot be treated like *u*, and hence, *a* cannot be denied the assignment of the term *upadhā*. This will clear the way for *vṛdaṅ* of *a* which, in turn, will eventually lead to a wrong form **pāṭayati*. But 1.1.57 prevents it.

Turning back to the derivation of *paṭayati*, we end up with a causal form *paṭ* + *i* = *paṭi*, which is termed a *dhātu* 'root' by 3.1.32 *sanādyantā....* For deriving *nāṭayati* from *paṭi*, follow steps similar to (14) *nayati* and (15) *bhavati*.

(211) *avadhīt*.

This example is derived from *aṬ* + *han* + *sĪC* + *īṬ* + *tiP*, where the verbal root *han* is replaced by *vadha* by 2.3.43 *luṅi ca*. For other details, refer to the derivation of (16) *akārṣīt*, and so on. Given the string *a* + *vadha* + *s* + *ī* + *t*, 6.4.48 *ato lopaḥ* will delete the *a* of *vadha* under the condition of *s*(*ĪC*), an *ārddhadhātuka* affix. Now the *a* of *vadh* in the new string *a* + *vadh* + *s* + *ī* + *t* may become an object of *vṛddhi* replacement by 7.2.7 *ato halāder....* However, for purposes of this replacement, the *aṅga* (in this case, *a-vadh*), must terminate in a consonant. Under the provisions of 1.1.57 *acaḥ parasmin...*, *a-vadh* can still be treated as if it ended in *a*. This is possible because the *a* of *vadh* was deleted under the condition of the following *sĪC*, and this *vṛddhi* replacement is obtaining on a preceding item. The *vṛddhi* is again blocked. The resultant form will be *avadhīt*.

(212) *bahukhaṭvakaḥ*

This example is derived from *bahukhaṭvaka* + *sU*, where the base is a *bahuvrīhi* compound termed a nominal stem. The compound results by

combining *bahvī* + *Jas* + *khaṭvā* + *Jas* according to 2.2.24 *anekam anya-padārthe*. The nominative plural endings are deleted after the compound formation. The resultant form *bahvīkhaṭvā* is further subjected to masculine transformation (see (102) *uttarapūrvasyai;* also (174) *vātaṇ-ḍyayuvatiḥ*) by 6.3.34 *striyāḥ puṃvad....* The result is *bahukhaṭvā,* after which 5.4.154 *śeṣād vibhāṣā* introduces the *samāsānta* affix *kaP*. Given the string *bahukhaṭvā* + *ka,* 7.4.15 *āpo...'nyatarasyām* causes the *aṅga*-final *ā* to be replaced by short *a*. The form now becomes *bahukhaṭv(ā → a)* + *ka* = *bahukhaṭvaka*. Rule 6.2.175 *bahor nañvat...* states that when *bahu* signifies the plurality of the following constituent of a *bahuvrīhi* compound, the accent of such a following constituent should be assigned according to rules stated for constituents which follow *naÑ*. In other words, because *bahu* is signifying the plurality of *khaṭvā,* the accent of *khaṭvā,* particularly the *a* of *khaṭvā,* should be determined on the basis of 6.2.174 *hrasvānte....* This rule assigns accent to forms which follow *naÑ*. It states that the vowel which is prior to the final vowel of an item is assigned *udātta* 'high' accent, if that item both follows *naÑ* and also terminates in a short vowel.

If we follow 6.2.174 *hrasvānte...* in assigning an accent to the non-final *a* of *khaṭva* (in *bahukhaṭva), a* will be *udātta*. However 1.1.56 will cause the final short vowel of *khaṭva* to be treated as long. This will block the *udātta* accent of the *a* of *kha* on the grounds that *khaṭva* no longer terminates in a short vowel. This brings into play 6.2.173 *kapi pūrvam,* according to which the *udātta* accent should be assigned to the final *a* of *bahukhaṭva*. But this assignment is not trouble free either. It will come into conflict with the locative interpretation of *al-vidhi*.

Since the operation of assigning *udātta* occurs with reference to the following *kaP,* the final short *a* of *khaṭva* cannot be considered like a long *ā*. This will bring back 6.2.174 *hrasvānte* again. The problem is finally resolved by 1.1.57 *acaḥ parasmin...,* which states that since the short replacement was caused by the following *kaP,* and the operation obtains on that which precedes the substitute, the substitute can be considered as the substituendum. Consequently 6.2.173 *kapi pūrvam* assigns the *udātta* accent to the final *a* of *bahukhaṭva*.

The other accents of *bahukhaṭvaka* are as follows: *a, u, a* as in *bahukha* are *anudātta* 'low' (see 6.1.158 *anudāttaṃ padam ekavarjam*); and the *a* of *ka* is *svarita* 'circumflex' (see 8.4.66 *udāttānudāttasya...*). Thus: *bahukhaṭvaká*.

1.1.58 *na padāntadvirvacana...*

(*a*) *padānta-vidhi*

(213) *kau ṣṭaḥ*

The word *kau* is derived from *kim* + *au,* where *kim* is replaced by *ka* (see (*b*) of (2) under 1.1.57). For deriving *kau* from (*kim → ka*) + *au* = *ka* + *au,* follow (*b-c*) of (93) *sarvau*.

The word *staḥ* is derived from *as* + *LAṬ*, where *LAṬ* is replaced by the third-person dual ending *tas*, and the augment *ŚaP* is introduced after the root. This yields *as* + *ŚaP* + *tas*. Rule 2.4.72 *adiprabhṛtibhyaḥ...* causes the deletion of *ŚaP*. Given the string *as* + *tas*, 6.4.111 *śnasor al lopaḥ* applies to delete the *a* of *as*. The final *s* of *stas* becomes *ḥ* by *s-visarga*. It should be remembered here that the deletion of the *a* in *as* was caused by the *sārvadhātuka* (3 4.113 *tiṅśit...*) affix *tas*, treated as if it were marked with *Ṅ* (see 1.2.4 *sārvadhātukam apit*).

If we have the string *kau* + *staḥ*, and if we treat the zero replacement of *a* as if it were *a*, then 6.1.78 *eco' yavāyāvaḥ* will find its scope. This will yield an unacceptable form **k(au → āv)* + *staḥ* = **kāvstaḥ*. The *ali-vidhi* interpretation of 1.1.56 *sthānivad...* will stop us from treating the zero replacement of *a* as *a*. However 1.1.57 *acaḥ parasmin...* will again allow zero replacement to be treated as *a*(see (210) *paṭayati* for details). The result would still be **kāvstaḥ*. In order to block this, we must block treating the zero replacement of *a* as *a*. Rule 1.1.57 *na padānta...* accomplishes exactly this. However, as is clear from the rule, and also from our present example, there are constraints on this blocking. For example, the preceding illustrates that such blocking was possible only because a particular operation concerned a *pada*-final element (the *au* in *kau*).

The application of 6.1.78 *eco' yavāyāvaḥ* is similarly blocked in (214) *yau staḥ*. The *santi* in (215) *yāni santi* and (216) *kāni santi* also involves the deletion of the root-initial *a* of *as*. If this deletion was treated as *a*, 6.1.77 *iko yaṇ aci* will apply. The result will be incorrect forms such as **yānysanti* and **kānysanti*.

(*b*) *dvirvacana-vidhi*

(217) *daddhy atra*

Given the string *dadhi* + *atra*, 6.1.77 *iko yaṇ aci* will apply. The result will be *dadh(i → y)* + *atra* = *dadhy atra*. Rule 8.4.47 *anaci ca* can now require the doubling of *dh* because *dh* is followed by a non-*aC*, namely *y*. But if this *y* is treated as if it were the *i* which it replaces, then doubling cannot take place because, since *i* is an *aC*, *dh* then will not have a following non-*aC*. The *ali-vidhi* interpretation will again block the treatment of *y* as *i*. Consequently doubling will obtain. However the problem is not yet resolved. Rule 1.1.57 *acaḥ parasmin...* cannot permit doubling. The final decision that *y* should not be treated as *i* is made by 1.1.58 *na padānta....* This decision is made possible because of the operation which concerns doubling. The final form of *dadhi* + *atra* will be *dadhdhyatra*, which after the application of 8.4.53 *jhalāṃ jaś jhaśi*, becomes *da(dh → d)dhyatra* = *daddhyatra*. Similar problems are encountered in deriving (218) *maddhvatra* and (219) *sud-dhyupāsyaḥ* from *madhu* + *atra* and *sudhi* + *upāsyaḥ*.

(*c*) *vare-vidhi*

(220) *yāyāvaraḥ*

(*a*) *yā*

1.3.1 *bhūvādayo...*
3.1.22 *dhātor ekāco...*
= *yā* + *ya*(*Ṅ*) → ∅ # *dvitva*
= *yā* + *ya*

(*b*) *yā* + *ya*

6.1.1 *ekāco dve...*
6.1.4 *pūrvo' bhyāsaḥ*
6.1.9 *sany aṅoḥ*
= *yā* + *yā* + *ya*

(*c*) *yā* + *yā* + *ya*

1.4.13 *yasmāt...*
6.4.1 *aṅgasya*
7.4.59 *hrasvaḥ*
= *y*(*ā* → *a*) + *yā* + *ya*
= *ya* + *yā* + *ya*
= *yayāya*

(*d*) *yayāya*

7.4.83 *dīrgho' kitaḥ*
= *y*(*a* → *ā*) *yāya*
= *yāyāya*

(*e*) *yāyāya*

3.1.32 *sanādyantā...*
3.1.91 *dhātoḥ*
3.2.17 *yaś ca yaḥ*
3.4.114 *ārdhadhātukaṃ śeṣaḥ*
= *yāyāya* + *vara* (*C* → ∅)
= *yāyāya* + *vara*

(*f*) *yāyāya* + *vara*

1.4.13 *yasmāt...*
6.4.1 *āṅgasya*
6.4.46 *ārdhadhātuke*
6.4.48 *ato lopaḥ*
= *yāyāy* (*a* → ∅) + *vara*
= *yāyāy* + *vara*

(*g*) *yāyāy* + *vara*

6.1.64 *lopo vyor vali*
= *yāyā*(*y* → ∅) + *vara*
= *yāyā* + *vara*

Given the string *yāyā* + *vara*, the following takes place:

(*a*) If the zero replacement of the *a* of *yaṄ* is treated as *a*, this string will be viewed as *yāyā* + *a* + *vara*. Now, 6.4.64 *āto lopa iṭi ca* can apply to delete the *ā* of *yā*. The result will be **yāy*(*ā* → ∅) + *vara* = **yāyvara*.

(*b*) the *ali vidhi* interpretation will block treatment of zero as *a*. This in turn blocks the above mentioned deletion of *ā*.

(*c*) Rule 1.1.57 *acaḥ parasmin...* allows the treatment of zero as *a*. The deletion is revived again.

(*d*) Finally, according to 1.1.58 *na padānta...*, the treatment of zero as *a* is blocked, and hence, deletion of *a* does not take place. The ultimate form is *yāyā* + *vara* = *yāyāvara*, which after *sŨ* and *s-visarga* yields *yāyāvaraḥ*

(*d*) *ya-lopa vidhi*

(221) *kaṇḍūtiḥ*

(*a*) *kaṇḍū*(*Ñ* → ∅)

1.3.1 *bhūvādayo...*
3.1.22 *dhātor...*
3.1.27 *kaṇvādibhyo...*
= *kaṇḍū* + *ya*(*k* → ∅)
= *kaṇḍū* + *ya*
3.1.32 *sanādyantā...*
= *kaṇḍūya*

(*b*) *kaṇḍūya*

3.1.91 *dhātoḥ*
3.3.174 *kticktau ca...*
= *kaṇḍūya* + (*K* → ∅) *ti*(*C* → ∅)
= *kaṇḍūya* + *ti*

(*c*) *kaṇḍūya* + *ti*

3.4.114 *ārdhadhātukam...*
1.4.13 *yasmāt...*
6.4.1 *aṅgasya*
6.4.46 *ārdhadhātuke*
6.4.48 *ato lopaḥ*
= *kaṇḍūy* (*a* → ∅) + *ti*
= *kaṇḍūy* + *ti*

(*d*) *kaṇḍūy* + *ti*

6.1.66 *lopo vyor vali*
= *kaṇḍū*(*y* → ∅) + *ti*
= *kaṇḍūti*

Note here that

(1) If zero replacement of *a* is treated as *a*, 6.1.66 *lopo vyor vali* cannot apply to delete *y*.

(2) If the *ali-vidhi* interpretation of 1.1.56 *sthānivad...*negates treating zero as *a*, deletion of *y* can be accomplished. However 1.1.57 *acaḥ parasmin...*will again block it.

(3) The problem is resolved by 1.1.58 *na padānta...*which allows the zero not to be treated as *a*. This in turn makes it possible for 6.1.66 *lopovyor vali* to delete *y*.

The final form of the example derived from *kaṇḍūti* + *sŨ* = *kaṇḍūtiḥ* via *s-visarga*.

Also note that the explanation given here under (1)-(3) is also applicable to the deletion of *v* in (220) *yāyāvaraḥ*.

(*e*) *svara-vidhi*

(222) *cikīrṣakaḥ*

(*a*) (*ḌU* → ∅) *kṛ* (*Ñ* → ∅)

kṛ 1.3.1 *bhūvādayo...*
3.1.7 *dhātoḥ*
= *kṛ* + *sa*(*N* → ∅)
= *kṛ* + *sa*

(*b*) *kṛ* + *sa*

3.4.114 *ārdhadhātukam...*
1.4.13 *yasmāt...*
6.4.1 *aṅgasya*
7.2.35 *ārdhadhātukasyeḍ...*, blocked because of 7.2.10 *ekāc...*
7.3.84 *sārvadhātukārdha...* blocked because 1.2.9 *iko jhal* will allow the *jhL*-initial *saN* to be treated as marked with *K*, and thus 1.1.5 *kṅiti ca* will intervene.
= *kṛ* + *sa*

(*c*) *kṛ* + *sa*

7.1.100 *ṛta id dhātoḥ* # 1.1.51 *uraṇ...*
= *k*(*ṛ* → *ir*) + *sa*
= *kir* + *sa*

(*d*) *kir* + *sa*

6.1.9 *sany aṅoḥ* (6.1.1 *ekāco dve...*
6.1.4 *pūrvo' bhyāsaḥ*) # *dvitva*
= *kir* + *kir* + *sa*

(*e*) *kir* + *kir* + *sa*

7.4.62 *kuhoś cuḥ* # 1.1.50 *sthāne...*
= (*k* → *c*)*i* + *kir* + *sa*
= *ci* + *kir* + *sa*

(*f*) *ci* + *kir* + *sa*

8.2.77 *hali ca*
= *ci* + *k*(*i* → *ī*)*r* + *sa*
= *ci* + *kīr* + *sa*
8.1.59 *ādeśa pratyayoḥ*
= *ci* + *kīr* + (*s* → *ṣ*)*a*
= *ci* + *kīr* + *ṣa*
= *cikīrṣa*

(*g*) *cikīrṣa*

3.1.32 *sanādyantā...*
3.1.91 *dhātoḥ*
3.1.133 *ṇvultṛcau*
= *cikīrṣa* + (*Ṇ* → ∅) *vu* (*L* → ∅)
= *cikīrṣa* + *vu*
3.4.114 *ārdhadhātukam...*

(*h*) *cikīrṣa* + *vu*

1.4.13 *yasmāt...*
6.4.1 *aṅgasya*

6.4.46 *ārdhadhātuke*
6.4.48 *ato lopaḥ*
= *cikīrṣ(a → Ø) + vu*
= *cikīrṣ + vu*
7.1.1 *yuvoranākau* # 1.3.10 *yathā...*
= *cikīrṣ + (vu → aka)*
= *cikīrṣ + aka*

Given the string *cikīrṣ + aka*, the following explains how the problem of assigning accent will finally be resolved by 1.1.58.

(1) Rule 6.1.193 *liti* will assign an *udātta* accent to *ī* of *cikīrṣa* under the condition that the following affix was marked with *L* (*aka* can be considered as marked with *L* because it is a replacement of *ṆvuL*).
(2) But if the zero replacement of *a* is treated like *a*, the *udātta* accent will then obtain on the *a* of *sa*.
(3) However since 6.1.193 *liti* is in the locative, an *ali-vidhi* interpretation of 1.1.56 *sthānivat...* will block the *udātta* on *a*.
(4) Rule 1.1.57 *acaḥ parasmin...* will now intervene to allow zero replacement of *a* to be treated as *a* again. Consequently it is *a* of *sa* which will qualify for *udātta*.
(5) Rule 1.1.58 *na padānta...* will make the final decision now by disallowing treatment of zero replacement as *a* on the grounds that the present operation concerns assignment of accent. This will clear the way for assigning the *udātta* accent to *ī* of *cikīrṣaka*.

Similar explanations can be given in assigning the *udātta* accent to *ī* of (223) *jihīrṣakaḥ*, which is derived from *hṛÑ + saN + ṆvuL*.

(f) savarṇa-vidhi/*(g) anusvāra-vidhi*

(224) *śiṇḍhi*

(a) śiṣ(LṚ → Ø)
1.3.1 *bhūvādayo...*
śiṣ 3.1.91 *dhātoḥ*
3.3.162 *loṭ ca*
= *śiṣ + LOṬ*

(b) śiṣ + LOṬ
3.4.77 *lasya* # *tiÑ*-selection
= *śiṣ + (LOṬ → siP)*
it-deletion
= *śiṣ + si*

(c) śiṣ + si
3.1.78 *rudhādibhyaḥ...* # 1.1.47 *midaco' ntyāt paraḥ*
= *śi + (Ś → Ø)na(M → Ø) + ṣ + si*
= *śi + na + ṣ + si*

(d) śi + na + ṣ + si
3.4.87 *ser hy apic ca*
= *śi + na + ṣ + (si → hi)*

$= śi + na + ṣ + hi$

Note here that even though *hi* is a replacement of an affix marked with *P*, it is not allowed to be treated as such.

(*e*) $śi + na + ṣ + hi$

1.4.13 *yasmāt...*
6.4.1 *aṅgasya*
6.4.111 *śnasor al lopaḥ* # 1.2.4 *sārvadhātukam apit*
$= śi + n(a \rightarrow \emptyset) + ṣ + hi$
$= śi + n + ṣ + hi$

(*f*) $śi + n + ṣ + hi$

6.4.101 *hujhalbhyo her dhiḥ*
$= śi + n + ṣ + (hi \rightarrow dhi)$
$= śi + n + ṣ + dhi$

(*g*) $śi + n + ṣ + dhi$

1.4.14 *suptiṅantaṃ padam*
8.4.41 *ṣṭunā ṣṭuḥ*
$= śi + n + ṣ + (dh \rightarrow ḍh)\, i$
$= śi + n + ṣ + ḍhi$

(*h*) $śi + n + ṣ + ḍhi$

8.4.53 *jhalāṃ jaś jhasi* # 1.1.50 *sthāne...*
$= śi + n + (ṣ \rightarrow ḍ) + ḍhi$
$= śi + n + ḍ + ḍhi$

(*i*) $śi + n + ḍ + ḍhi$

8.4.65 *jharo jhari savarṇe*
$= śi + n + (ḍ \rightarrow \emptyset) + ḍhi$
$= śi + n + \emptyset + ḍhi$

(*j*) $si + n + \emptyset + ḍhi$

8.3.24 *naścāpadantasya*
$= śi + (n \rightarrow ṃ) + \emptyset + ḍhi$

Note here that the *a* of (*Ś*)*na*(*M*) was deleted at (*e*). If the zero replacement of *a* is treated as *a*, then at (*j*) of this string, *n* cannot be replaced by *m* (obviously because *n* will no longer be followed by a *jhL*). As usual, an *ali-vidhi* interpretation of 1.1.56 *sthānivad...* will block the treatment of zero as *a*. Rule 1.1.57 *acaḥ parasmin...* will restore it merely until 1.1.58 *na padānta...* finally negates it, because of the nature of the operation on hand. The preceding serves as an illustration of the application of 1.1.58 to *anusvāra-vidhi*. Continuing on with this derivation we find an illustration of *savarṇa-vidhi*.

(*k*) $śi + ṃ + ḍhi$

8.4.58 *anusvārasya yayī parasavarṇaḥ*
$= śi + (ṃ \rightarrow ṇ) + ḍhi$

This homogeneous replacement is possible only when *yY* follows. Again if the zero replacement of *a* (of *ŚnaM*) is treated as *a*, then there will not be any following *yY*. As discussed earlier, an *ali-vidhi* interpretation of

1.1.56 *sthānivad...* and 1.1.57 *acaḥ parasmin...* will first allow and then disallow the change. Rule 1.1.58 *na padānta...* will intervene to make the final decision. Since the operation on hand concerns homogeneous sounds, zero replacement cannot be treated as *a*. This will clear the way for deriving *śiṇḍhi*.

(225) *piṇḍhi*

A similar example is *piṇḍhi*, derived from *pisLṚ + LOṬ*. There is yet another example, (226) *śiṣanti*, which is derived from *śisLṚ + (LAṬ → jhi)*. As in (10) *pacanti, jh* gets replaced by *ant*. With the introduction of *ŚnaM* and the subsequent deletion of its *a*, the string will become *śi + n + ṣ + anti*. Again, the *n* will be changed into *anusvāra*. The form would become *śiṃṣanti*. The function of 1.1.58 is to make this final decision of not allowing the zero replacement of *a* to be treated as *a*, because of the *anusvāra* operation. This traditional example *śiṃṣanti* is provided to make it clear that *anusvāra* and *savarṇa* operations can be considered independently in applying 1.1.58.

(*g*) *dīrgha-vidhi*

(227) *pratidīvnā*

(*a*) *pratidivan*

1.2.45 *arthavad...*
4.1.1 *ṅyāp...*
4.1.2 *svauj... # sUP*-selection
= *pratidivan + Ṭā*
it-deletion
= *pratidivan + ā*

(*b*) *pratidivan + n̄*

1.4.13 *yasmāt...*
1.4.18 *yaci bham*
6.4.1 *aṅgasya*
6.4.129 *bhasya*
6.4.134 *allopo' naḥ # 1.1.65 alo' ntyāt...*
= *pratidiv*$(a \rightarrow \emptyset)$ *n + ā*
= *pratidiv + Ø + n + ā*

(*c*) *pratidiv + Ø + n + ā*

1.4.14 *suptiṅantaṃ padam*
8.2.77 *hali ca*
1.1.58 *na padānta...*
= *pratid*$(i \rightarrow ī)$*v + Ø + n + ā*
= *pratidīvnā*

Note that long-vowel replacement is conditioned by a following *hL* (in this case *n*). If the zero replacement is treated as *a*, there will not be any following *hL*. Accordingly long-vowel replacement will be blocked. It will be revived by an *ali-vidhi* interpretation, only to be blocked again by 1.1.57 *acaḥ parasmin*. Rule 1.1.58 will finally allow it on grounds of the nature of the operation at hand, namely *dīrgha-vidhi*.

Similar problems will have to be overcome in deriving (228) *pratidivne* from *pratidivan* + *Ne*.

(*h*) *jŚ-vidhi*

(229) *sagdhiḥ*

(*a*) *ad*

1.3.1 *bhūvādayo...*
2.4.39 *bahulam...*
= (*ad* → *ghas*(*LṚ* → ∅))
= *ghas*

(*b*) *ghas*

3.1.91 *dhātoḥ* # 1.1.56 *sthānivad...*
3.3.94 *striyāṃ ktin*
= *ghas* + (*K* → ∅) *ti* (*Ṅ* → ∅)
= *ghas* + *ti*

(*c*) *ghas* + *ti*

1.4.13 *yasmāt...*
6.4.1 *aṅgasya*
6.4.100 *ghasibhasor hali* # 1.1.65 *alo'ntyāt...*
= *gh*(*a* → ∅)*s* + *ti*
= *gh* + ∅ + *s* + *ti*

(*d*) *gh* + ∅ + *s* + *ti*

1.4.14 *suptiṅantaṃ padam*
8.1.16 *padasya*
8.2.26 *jhalo jhali*
= *gh* + ∅ + (*s* → ∅) + *ti*
= *gh* + ∅ + ∅ + *ti*

(*e*) *gh* + ∅ + ∅ + *ti*

8.2.40 *jhaṣastathor dho' dhaḥ*
= *gh* + ∅ + ∅ + (*t* → *dh*)*i*
= *gh* + ∅ + ∅ + *dhi*

(*f*) *gh* + ∅ + ∅ + *dhi*

8.4.53 *jhalāṃ jaś jhasi*
= (*gh* → *g*) + ∅ + ∅ + *dhi*

Remember here that *gh* (a *jhL*) cannot be replaced by *g* (a *jŚ*) unless *dh* (a *jhŚ*) follows. Unless the zero replacement of the *a* of *gha* is disallowed from being treated as *a*, this desired replacement cannot take place. Rules 1.1.56, 1.1.57, and 1.1.58 apply in turn as has already been discussed. The final decision is made by 1.1.58 on the basis of the nature of the present operation (*jŚ-vidhi*). The form remains *g* + ∅ + ∅ + *dhi* = *gdhi*, which, after placement of *sŨ*, becomes *gdhi* + *sŨ*.

Given a string of two *pada*, *gdhi* + *sŨ* and *samānā* + *sŨ*, 2.1.58 *pūrvapara...* will combine them to yield a *karmadhāraya tatpuruṣa* compound *samānā* + *sŨ* + *gdhi* + *sŨ*. The endings of this string will be deleted (2.4.71 *supo dhātu...*) after the compound is named a *prātipadika* (1.2.46 *kṛttaddhita...*).

In addition, 6.3.42 *puṃvatkarmadhāraya...* would require a masculine transformation of the *samānā* of *samānāgdhi.* Rule 6.3.84 *chandasya...* will then replace *samānā* by *sa.* The resultant form will be *sagdhi,* after which *sŨ* can be introduced to derive *sagdhiḥ.*

(230) *babdhām*

(*a*) *bhas*

steps similar to (*a-b*) of (224) *śiṇḍhi*
= *bhas* + (*LOṬ* → *tas*)
= *bhas* + *tas*

(*b*) *bhas* +*tas*

3.4.85 *loṭo laṅvat*
3.4.101 *tasthastha...*, see (*d*) of (201) *akurutām*
= *bhas* + (*tas* → *tām*)
= *bhas* + *tām*

(*c*) *bhas* + *tām*

same as (*d*) of (10) *pacanti,* plus
2.4.74 *juhotyādibhyaḥ śluḥ* # 1.1.61 *pratyayasya...*
bhas + *ŚaP* + *tām*
bhas + (*ŚaP* → *Ø*) + *tām*
bhas + *Ø* + *tām*

(*d*) *bhas* + *Ø* + *tām*

6.1.10 *ślau* (6.1.1 *ekāco dve...*) # *dvitva*
= *bhas* + *bhas* + *Ø* + *tām*
6.1.4 *pūrvo' bhyāsaḥ*

(*e*) *bhas* +*bhas* + *Ø* + *tām*

1.4.13 *yasmāt..*
6.4.1 *aṅgasya*
7.4.60 *halādi śeṣaḥ*
= *bha* (*s* → *Ø* + *bhas* + *Ø* + *tām*
= *bha* + *Ø* + *bhas* + *Ø* + *tām*

(*f*) *bha* + *Ø* + *bhas* + *Ø* + *tām*

1.4.14 *suptiṅantaṃ padam*
8.1.16 *padasya*
8.4.54 *abhyāse carca*
= (*bh* → *b*) a + *Ø* +*bhas* + *Ø* + *tām*
= *ba* + *Ø* + *bhas* + *Ø* + *tām*

(*g*) *ba* + *Ø* + *bhas* + *Ø* + *tām*

6.4.100 *ghasibhasor...* # 1.2.4
sārvadhātukam apit
= *ba* + *Ø* + *bh*(*a* → *Ø*)*s* + *Ø* + *tām*
= *ba* + *Ø* + *bh* + *Ø* + *s* + *Ø* + *tām*

(*h*) *ba* + *bh* + *Ø* +*s* + *tām*

8.2.26 *jhalo jhali*
= *ba* + *bh* + *Ø* (*s* → *Ø*) + *tām*

= *ba + bh + Ø + tām*

(*i*) *ba + bh + Ø + tām*

8.2.40 *jhaṣastatho...*

ba + bh + Ø + (t → dh)ām

= *ba + bh + Ø + dhām*

(*j*) *ba + bh + Ø + dhām*

8.4.53 *jhalāṃ jaś jhaśi*

= *ba +(bh → b) + Ø + dhām*

= *babdhām*

For details of how rules 1.1.56 and 1.1.57 create problems which 1.1.58 resolves, see the explanation at the end of (229) *sagdhiḥ*.

(*i*) *cR-vidhi*

(231) *jakṣatuḥ*

(*a*) *ad* same as (*a*) of (162) *śuśuvatuḥ*

= *ad + LIṬ*

(*b*) *ad + LIṬ*

3.4.115 *liṭ ca*

2.4.35 *ārdhadhātuke*

2.4.40 *liṭy anyatarasyām*

= *(ad → ghasLṚ) + LIṬ*

it-deletion

= *ghas + LIṬ*

(*c*) *ghas + LIṬ*

same as (*a-b*) of (162) *śuśuvatuḥ*

= *ghas +(LIṬ → tas)*

= *ghas + (tas → atus)*

= *ghas + atus*

(*d*) *ghas + atus*

1.2.5 *ɪsaṃyogāl...*

1.4.23 *yasmāt...*

6.4.1 *aṅgasya*

6.4.100 *ghasibhasor...*

= *gh(a → Ø)s + atus*

= *gh + Ø + s + atus*

(*e*) *gh + Ø +s + atus*

6.1.8 *liṭi dhātor...*(6.1.1 *ekāco dve...*) # 1.1.59 *dvirvacane' ci*

= *ghas + gh + Ø + s + atus*

(*f*) *ghas + gh + Ø + s + atus*

6.1.4 *pūrvo' bhyāsaḥ*

7.4.60 *halādi śeṣaḥ*

= *gha(s → Ø) + gh + Ø + s + atus*

7.4.62 *kuhoś cuḥ*

= *jha + gh + Ø + s + atus*

(*g*) *jha* + *gh* + *Ø* + *s* + *atus*

1.4.14 *suptiṅantaṃ padam*

8.1.16 *padasya*

8.4.54 *abhyāse carca*

= (*jh* → *j*)*a* + *gh* + *Ø* + *s* + *atus*

(*h*) *ja* + *gh* + *Ø* + *s* + *atus*

8.4.55 *khari ca*

= *ja* + (*gh* → *k*) + *Ø* + *s* + *atus*

Remember here that the *cR* (*k*) replacement of *gh* is possible only when *khR* (*s*) follows. If the zero replacement of *a* (see (*d*) is treated as *a*, there will not be any following *khR*. The result will again be achieved by going through provisions of 1.1.56 and 1.1.57. Finally 1.1.58 will disallow the treatment of zero as *a* and *k* can replace *gh*.

(*i*) *ja* + *k* + *Ø* + *s* + *atus*

8.3.60 *śāsivasighas...*

ja + *k* + *Ø* + (*s* → *ṣ*) + *atus*

= *jakṣatus*

(*j*) *jakṣatus*

s-visarga

= *jakṣatuḥ*

Similar problems occur in deriving (232) *jakṣuḥ* according to the same pattern.

(233) *akṣan*

(*a*) *ad*

same as (*a*) of (16) *akārṣīt*

= *ad* + *LUṄ*

(*b*) *ad* + *LUṄ*

same as (*b*) of (231) *jakṣatuḥ*

= (*ad* → *ghasLṚ*) + *LUṄ*

= *ghas* + *LUṄ*

(*c*) *ghas* + *LUṄ*

same as (*c-f*) of (10) *pacanti*

ghas + *CLI* + *LUṄ*

(*d*) *ghas* + *CLI* + *LUṄ*

same as (*c-f*) of (10) *pacanti*

= *ghas* + *CLI* + (*LUṄ* → *jhi*)

= *ghas* + *CLI* + (*jh* → *ant*) *i*

= *ghas* + *CLI* + *anti*

(*e*) *ghas* + *CLI* + *anti*

3.4.100 *itaś ca*

= *ghas* + *CLI* + *ant*(*i* → *Ø*)

= *ghas* + *CLI* + *ant*

(*f*) *ghas* +*CLI* + *ant*

2.4.80 *mantre....*

ghas + (*CLI* → ∅) + *ant*

ghas + *ant*

(*g*) *ghas* + *ant*

same as (*f*) of (16) *akārṣīt*

= *a*(*Ṭ* → ∅) + *ghas* + *ant*

(*h*) *a* + *ghas* + *ant*

1.4.13 *yasmāt...*

6.4.100 *ghasibhasor...*# 1.2.4 *sārvadhātukam...*

= *a* + *gh*(*a* → ∅)*s* + *ant*

= *a* + *gh* + *s* + *ant*

(*i*) *a* + *gh* + *s* + *ant*

1.4.14 *suptiṅantaṃ padam*

8.1.16 *padasya*

8.2.23 *saṃyogāntasya...*

= *a* + *gh* + *s* + *an*(*t* → ∅)

= *a* + *gh* + *s* + *an*

(*j*) *a* + *gh* + *s* + *an*

8.4.54 *abhyāse carca*

= *a* +(*gh* → *k*) + *s* + *an*

= *a* + *k* + *s* + *an*

Note here that if the deletion of *a* of *ghas* is treated as *a*, *gh* cannot be replaced by *k*. This problem is resolved by 1.1.58 in the manner already familiar.

(*k*) *a* + *k* + *s* + *an*

8.3.60 *śāsivasighasi...*

= *a* + *k* + (*s* → *ṣ*) + *an*

= *a* + *k* + *ṣ* + *an*

= *akṣan*

1.1.59 *dvirvacane' ci*

Examples such as (234)/ (235) *papatuḥ/papuḥ*, (236)/ (237) *jaghnatuḥ/ jaghnuḥ*, and (238)/ (239) *cakratuḥ/cakruḥ* are derived by introducing *LIṬ* (3.4.115 *liṭ ca*) after *pā*, *han* and *kṛ*, and replacing it first by *tas/jhi* (3.4.78 *tiptas...*), and then by *atus/us* (3.4.82 *parasmaipadānam...*). Replacement and doubling involving 1.1.59 will apply as follows.

(*a*) *pā* + *atus/pā* + *us*

6.1.1 *ekāco dve...*

6.1.8 *liṭi dhātor...*# *dvitva*

= *pā* + *pā* + *atus/pā* + *pā* + *us*

1.1.59 *dvirvacane...*

(*b*) *pā* + *pā* + *atus/pā* + *pā* + *us*

6.4.64 *āto lopa...*

1.2.5 *asaṃyogāl...*
= *pā + p(ā → ∅) + atus*
pā +p(ā → ∅) +us

Given the strings *pā + p + ∅ + atus/pā + p + ∅ + us*, *pā* will be termed *abhyāsa* by 6.1.4 *pūrvo' bhyāsaḥ* to clear the way for its *ā* to be shortened by 7.4.59 *hrasvaḥ*. For deriving (234) *papatuḥ*/(235) *papuḥ* from *papatus/papus*, apply *s-visarga*.

(236) *jaghnatuḥ*/(237) *jaghnuḥ*

(*a*) *han + atus/han + us*
 # dvitva
= *ha + h + n + atus/*
ha + h + n + us

(*b*) *ha + h + n + atus/ha + h + n + us*
6.4.1 *aṅgasya*
6.4.98 *gamahana...# 1.1.65 alo' ntyāt...*
= *h(a → ∅) + h + n + atus/*
h(a → ∅) + h + n + us
7.3.55 *abhyāsāc ca # 6.1.4 pūrvo' bhyāsaḥ*
= *ha +(h → gh) + ∅ + n + atus/*
ha +(h → gh) + ∅ + n + us
8.4.54 *abyāse carca*
(h → j) a + gh + n + atus/
(h → j) a + gh + n + us
= *ja + gh + n + atus/ja + gh + n + us*
= *jaghnatus/jaghnus*
s-visarga
= *jaghnatuḥ/jaghnuḥ*

(238) *cakratuḥ*/(239) *cakruḥ*

These involve *yN* replacement. Thus, given the strings *kṛ + atus/kṛ + us*, 6.1.77 *iko yaṇ aci* will apply. The results will be *k(ṛ → r) + atus/k (ṛ → r) + us = kr + atus/kr + us*. Note here that doubling cannot take effect unless 1.1.59 *dvirvacane...*allows *r* (the replacement of the vowel *ṛ*) to be treated as having the form *ṛ*. As a result, *kr + atus/kr + us* will be treated as if it were *kṛ + atus/kṛ + us*. The strings will become *kṛ + kr + atus/kṛ + kr + us* after doubling. The rest of the rule application are as follows.

kṛ + kr + atus/kṛ + kr + us
6.4.1 *aṅgasya*
7.4.66 *urat # 6.1.4 pūrvo' bhyāsaḥ, 1.1.50 uraṇ raparaḥ*
= *k(ṛ → ar) + kr + atus/*
k(ṛ → ar) + kr + us
7.4.60 *halādi śeṣaḥ*
= *ka(r → ∅) + kr + atus/*
ka(r → ∅) + kr +us

7.4.62 *kuhoś cuḥ*
= $(k \rightarrow c)$ *a + kr + atus*
$(k \rightarrow c)$ *a + kr + us*
= *cakratus/cakrus*
s-visarga
= *cakratuḥ/cakruḥ*

(240) *āṭiṭat*

(*a*) *aṭ*

1.3.1 *bhūvādayo...*
3.1.91 *dhātoḥ*
3.1.26 *hetumati ca*
= *aṭ* + $(\dot{N} \rightarrow \emptyset)i(C \rightarrow \emptyset)$
= *aṭ + i*

(*b*) *aṭ + i*

6.4.1 *aṅgasya* # 1.4.13 *yasmāt...*
7.2.116 *ata upadhāyāḥ* # 1.1.1 *vṛddhir adaic*, 1.1.65 *alo' ntyāt*
= $(a \rightarrow \bar{a})$ *ṭ + i*
= *āṭ + i*
= *āṭi*

(*c*) *āṭi*

3.1.32 *sanādyantā...*
3.1.91 *dhātoḥ*
3.2.110 *luṅ* (3.2.84 *bhūte*)
= *āṭi + LUṄ*
3.4.77 *lasya*
3.4.78 *tiptas...* # *tiṄ*-selection
= *āṭi + ti*

(*d*) *āṭi + ti*

3.1.48 *ṇisridru...*
āṭi + $(C \rightarrow \emptyset)a(\dot{N} \rightarrow \emptyset)$ + *ti*
āṭi + a + ti

(*e*) *āṭi + a + ti*

3.4.100 *itaś ca*
= *āṭi + a + t*$(i \rightarrow \emptyset$,
= *āṭi + a + t*

(*f*) *āṭi + a + t*

6.4.1 *aṅgasya*
6.4.51 *ṇer aniṭi*
= *āṭ* $(i \rightarrow \emptyset)$ *+ a + t*
= *āṭ + ∅ + a + t*

(*g*) *āṭ + ∅ + a + t*

7.4.1 *ṇau caṅ...*
= $(\bar{a} \rightarrow a)$ *ṭ + ∅ + a + t*
= *aṭ + ∅ + a + t*

(*h*) *aṭ* + *Ø* + *a* + *t*

6.1.1 *ekāco...*
6.1.2 *ajāder...*
6.1.11 *cañi*

Note here that if the root begins with a vowel, 6.1.2 requires the doubling of the unit constituted by second vowel. However in this case, the second *i* is deleted. Rule 1.1.59 restores it temporarily and we get:

= *a* + *ṭi* + *ṭ* + *a* + *t*

(*i*) *a* + *ṭ* + *ṭi* + *a* + *t*

6.4.72 *āḍajādīnām* # 1.1.45 *ādyantau ṭakitau*
= *ā*(*Ṭ* → *Ø*) + *a* + *ṭi* + *ṭ* + *a* + *t*
= *ā* + *a* + *ṭi* + *ṭ* + *a* + *t*

(*j*) *ā* + *a* + *ṭi* + *ṭ* + *a* + *t*

6.1.72 *saṃhitāyām...*
6.1.90 *āṭaś ca*
(*ā* + *a* → *ā*) + *ṭi* + *ṭ* + *a* + *t*
= *āṭiṭat*

(241) *ninaya*/(242) *nināya*

(*a*) *ṇĪÑ*

placement of *LIṬ* and its replacement first by *miP* and then by *ṆaL*
= *ṇī*(*Ñ* → *Ø*) + (*Ṇ* → *Ø*)*a*(*L* → *Ø*)
= *ṇī* + *a*
6.1.63 *ṇo nah*
= (*ṇ* → *n*)*ī* + *a*
= *nī* + *a*

(*b*) *nī* + *a*

1.4.13 *yasmāt...*
6.4.1 *aṅgasya*
7.1.91 *ṇaluttamo vā*
7.3.84 *sārvadhātukārddha...*
= *n*(*ī* → *e*) + *a*
= *ne* + *a*

Note here that 7.1.91 is an optional rule. That is, it allows the affix *ṆaL* to be treated as if marked with *Ṇ* only optionally. Our string *ne* + *a* results by applying *guṇa* replacement. This is only possible when we do not treat *ṆaL* as marked with *Ṇ*. As opposed to this, and also under the option of 7.1.91, if we did treat *ṆaL* as marked with *Ṇ*, 7.3.84 *sārva...* will not apply on *nī* + *a*. Instead 7.2.115 *aco' ñṇiti* will apply. The result will be a *vṛddhi* replacement for *ī*. Thus: *n*(*ī* → *ai*) + *a* = *nai* + *a*.

Turning back to deriving *ninaya*/*nināya* from *ne* + *a*/*nai* + *a*, we face the problem of applying the doubling rules 6.1.1 *ekāco...*, and so on. Employing 1.1.59 *dvirvacane...* to restore our strings to *nī* + *a* resolves the difficulty.

This yields: *ni* + *ne* + *a/ni* + *nai* + *a*, to which 6.1.75 *eco'yavāyāvaḥ* can then apply. The result will be: *ni* + *n*(*e* → *ay*) + *a/ni* + *n*(*ai* → *āy*) + *a* = *ninaya/nināya*. Rule 7.4.59 *hrasvaḥ* changes the *nī* of root to *ni*.

For deriving (243) *lulava/*(244) *lulāva* from *lu* + *LIṬ*, follow the same pattern.

(245) *paceran*

(*a*) (*ḌU*) *pac* (*ĀṢ*)
1.3.1 *bhūvādayo...*
3.1.91 *dhātoḥ*
3.3.161 *vidhinimantraṇa...* # 3.4.69 *laḥ karmaṇi...*
pac + *LIṄ*

(*b*) *pac* + *LIṄ*
similar to (*c-e*) of (10) *paçanti* except that here the selected ending is third person plural *ātmanepada jha*
= *pac* + (*LIṄ* → *jha*)
= *pac* + *ŚaP* + *jha*
it-deletion
= *pac* + *a* + *jha*

(*c*) *pac* + *a* + *jha*
3.4.102 *liṅaḥ...* # 1.1.46 *ādyantau..*
= *pac* + *a* + *sīy*(*UT* → *Ø*) + *jha*
= *pac* + *a* + *sīy* + *jha*

(*d*) *pac* + *a* + *sīy* + *jha*
3.4.105 *jhasya ran*
pac + *a* + *sīy* + (*jha* → *ran*)
pac + *a* + *sīy* + *ran*

(*e*) *pac* + *a* + *sīy* + *ran*
1.4.13 *yasmāt...*
6.4.1 *aṅgasya*
7.2.79 *liṅaḥ salopo...*
= *pac* + *a* + (*s* → *Ø*)*īy* + *ran* # 1.1.60 *adarśanam...*
= *pac* + *a* + *īy* + *ran*

(*f*) *pac* + *a* + *īy* + *ran*
6.1.55 *lopo vyor vali* # 1.1.60 *adarśanam...*
= *pac* + *a* + *ī*(*y* → *Ø*) + *ran*
pac + *a* + *ī* + *ran*

(*g*) *pac* + *a* + *ī* + *ran*
6.1.87 *ād guṇaḥ* # 1.1.2 *adeṅ guṇaḥ*
= *pac* + (*a* + *ī* → *e*) + *ran*
= *pac* + *e* + *ran*
= *paceran*

1.1.60 *adarśanaṃ lopaḥ*

(246) *gaudheraḥ*

(*a*) *godhā* + *ṄasI*
same as (*a-b*) of (1) *aupagavaḥ*, plus 4.1.129 *godhāyā ḍhrak*
= *godhā* + *ṄasI* + *ḍhrak*

(*b*) *goana* + *ṄasI* + *ḍhrak*
same as (*c-d*) of (1) *aupagavaḥ*
godhā + *ḍhra*

(*c*) *godhā* + *ḍhra*
1.4.13 *yasmāt...*
6.4.1 *aṅgasya*
7.1.2 *āyaneyi...*
= *godhā* + (*ḍh* → *ey*)*ra*
= *godhā* + *ey* + *ra*

(*d*) *goahā* + *ey* + *ra*
7.2.118 *kiti ca* # 1.1.1 *vṛddhir ādaic*
= *g*(*o* → *au*)*dhā* + *ey* + *ra*
= *gaudha* + *ey* + *ra*

(*e*) *gaudhā* + *ey* + *ra*
6.4.148 *yasyeti ca* # 1.1.60 *adarśanam...*
= *gaudh*(*ā* → ∅) + *ey* + *ra*
= *gaudh* + *ey* + *ra*

(*f*) *gaudh* + *ey* + *ra*
6.1.66 *lopo vyor vali* # 1.1.60 *adarśanam...*
= *gaudh* + *e*(*y* → ∅) + *ra*
= *gaudhera*

(*g*) *gaudhera*
sŪP-selection
it-deletion
s-visarga
= *gaudheraḥ*

(247) *jīradānuḥ*

This example is derived by introducing the affix *radānuK* (see *Uṇ-ādi* affix 2/23 *jīver adānuk*) after the verb root *jīv*. Thus: *jīv* + *radānu*(*K* → ∅) = *jīv* + *radānu*. The *v* of *jīv* is deleted by 6.1.66 *lopo vyor vali*, of course with reference to 1.1.60 *adarśanam...*: *jī*(*v* → ∅) + *radānu* = *jīradānu*. The application of *sUP*-selection, *it*-deletion, and *s-visarga* then yields *jīradānuḥ*.

(248) *āsremāṇam*

This example is also derived by introducing an *Uṇ-ādi* affix after the verb root *srivŪ* used with the preverb *āṄ*:

ā(*Ṅ* → ∅ + *sriv*(*U* → ∅) = *āsriv*

āsriv + *Un-ādi* affix *man*(*IN* → ∅) = *āsriv* + *man*.

Given the string *āsriv* + *man*, 7.3.86 *pugantalaghūpadhasya* (# 1.4.13 *yasmāt...*, 6.4.1 *aṅgasya*) will order a *guṇa* replacement for *i*: *āsr*(*i* → *e*)

v + *man* = *asrev* + *man*. Rule 6.1.66 *lopo vyor vali* will delete the *v*. The resultant base *āsre*(*v* → ∅) + *man* = *āsre* + *man* will be termed a nominal stem (*prātipadika*) by 1.2.46 *kṛttaddhita*.... Finally, to *āsreman* will be introduced the accusative singular ending *am* (4.1.1-4.1.2 *ṅyāp*..., *svauj*..., and so on). The following two rules then apply to *āsreman* + *am*:

(*a*) 6.4.8 *sarvanāmasthāne*... (# 1.4.13 *yasmāt*..., 6.4.1 *aṅgasya*, 1.1.42 *suḍ anapuṃsakasya*) where we get *āsrem*(*a* → *ā*)*n* + *am*

(*b*) 8.4.27 *aṭ kup*... (# 1.4.14 *suptiṅantaṃ padam*) which changes dental *n* into retroflex *ṇ*. Thus: *āsremā*(*n* → *ṇ*) + *am* = *āsremāṇam*.

1.1.61 *pratyayasya lukślulupaḥ*

(249) *atti*

The word *atti* is derived from *ad* + *ŚaP* + *tiP* with *ŚaP* having been deleted by 2.4.72 *adiprabhṛtibhyaḥ*. Thus: *ad* + (*ŚaP* → ∅) + *ti*(*P* → ∅) = *ad* + *ti*. The *d* is changed into *t* by 8.4.55 *khari ca*. As a consequence, *a*(*d* → *t*) + *ti* = *atti*. Note here that the deletion of *ŚaP* was accomplished by using the term *LUK*.

(250) *juhoti*

The word *juhoti* is derived from *hu* + *ŚaP* + *tiP*, where *ŚaP* is deleted by using the term *ŚLU*. Given the string *hu* + *ti*, the following rules apply.

(*a*) *hu* + *ti*

6.1.10 *ślau* (6.1.1 *ekāco*...)
\# *dvitva*
= *hu* + *hu* + *ti*

(*b*) *hu* + *hu* + *ti*

6.1.4 *pūrvo' bhyāsaḥ*
7.4.62 *kuhoś cuḥ* (1.4.13 *yasmāt*..., 6.4.1 *aṅgasya*)
= (*hu* → *jhu*) + *hu* + *ti*
= *jhu* + *hu* + *ti*

(*c*) *jhu* + *hu* + *ti*

8.4.54 *abhyāse carca*
(*jh* → *j*)*u* + *hu* + *ti*
ju + *hu* + *ti*

(*d*) *ju* + *hu* + *ti*

7.3.84 *sārvadhātu*... # 1.1.2 *adeṅ guṇaḥ*)
= *ju* + *h*(*u* → *o*) + *ti*
= *juhoti*

(251) *varaṇāḥ*

(*a*) *varaṇa*

placement of genitive plural ending *ām* with reference to 4.1.1 *ṅyāp*..., and so on
= *varaṇa* + *ām*

(*b*) *varaṇa* + *ām*

4.1.82 *samarthānām*... (*VR*)

4.1.83 *prāgdīvyato' ṇ*
4.2.70 *adūrabhavaś ca*
= *varaṇa* + *ām* + *aṆ*

(*c*) *varaṇa* + *ām* + *aṆ*
1.2.46 *kṛttaddhita...*
2.4.71 *supo...*
= *varaṇa* + (*ām* → ∅) + *a*
= *varaṇa* + *aṆ*

(*d*) *varaṇa* + *aṆ*
4.3.82 *varaṇādibhyaś ca*
= *varaṇa* + (*aṆ* → ∅)
= *varaṇa*

(*e*) *varaṇa*
4.1.1 *ṅyāp...*
4.1.2 *svauj...# sUP*-selection
= *varaṇa* + *Jas*

Note here that *Jas* (the plural) alone should be considered the proper ending after *varaṇa* in order to denote the sense implied by the *taddhita* affix *aṆ*. The syntactically related *pada*, *varaṇa* + *ām* had a plural sense. Hence in view of 1.2.51 *lupi yuktavad vyaktivacane*, the number and gender of the original, of *varaṇa* + *ām*, must be restored when the *taddhita* affix is deleted by involving *LUP*. Also note that since the deletion has been accomplished by means of *LUP*, operations such as *vṛddhi* replacement conditioned by the affix and obtaining on the *aṅga* do not apply.

(*f*) *varaṇa* + (*J* → ∅)*as*
6.1.104 *prathamayoḥ...*
= *varaṇ* (*a* + *a* → *ā*) *s*
= *s-visarga*
= *varaṇāḥ*

1.1.62 *pratyayalope pratyayalakṣaṇam*
(252) *agnicit*
(*a*) *ciÑ*
1.3.1 *bhūvādayo...*
3.1.91 *dhātoḥ*
3.1.92 *tatropapadam...*(3.2.84 bhūte, 3.2.86 *karmaṇi...*, 3.2.87 *...kvip*) (*VR*)
3.2.91 *agnau ceḥ*

Rule 3.2.91 *agnau ceḥ* is contained in the domain of 3.2.84 *bhūte;* therefore by 3.2.91, *KvIP* will be introduced when *bhūta* is being denoted. A question may be raised here concerning 3.2.76 *kvip ca*, which in general introduces *KvIP* after a root co-occurring with any conjoined *pada*. In view of this, why cannot *KvIP* be introduced by 3.2.76? In other words, what is the need and function of 3.2.91? Actually 3.2.91 is a restrictive rule;

it restricts the introduction of *KvIP* when *agni* + *am* is co-occurring with *ciÑ*. Here is how the restriction works.

(*a*) This *KvIP* is introduced only when *bhūta* is introduced. If present or future are being denoted, it cannot be introduced.

(*b*) This *KvIP* can only be introduced after *ci* co-occurring with *agni* + *am*. That is, if the root is not *ci*, *KvIP* cannot be introduced. Thus, *agniṃ bhṛtavān* = *agnibhāraḥ* has to be derived from *agni* + *am bhṛ* + *aṆ*, and not *KvIP*.

(*c*) Also when the *upapada* is different, *KvIP* cannot be introduced. Thus *iṣṭikāś citavān* = **iṣṭikācit* has to be derived with *aṆ*. The form **iṣṭikācit* is wrong. The correct *aṆ* derivation would be *iṣṭikācāyaḥ*.

(*d*) Since *KvIP* after *ci* with co-occurring *agni* + *am* is introduced by 3.2.91, no other affix can be introduced after *ci* with the co-occurring *agni* + *am* when *bhūta* is being denoted.

Since *agni* + *am* is required for the placement of *KvIP* after *ciÑ* we could start the derivation of *agnicit* with the string *agni* + *am* + *ciÑ*. However this process is less revealing. Instead, I prefer to start with *ciÑ* and when faced with the application of 3.2.91, reconstruct the string *agni* + *am* with reference to the *anuvṛtti* elements in 3.2.91. The reason of introducing *agni* + *am* to the string at the time of the application of 3.2.91 is simple. The domain of 3.2.91 is 3.1.91 *dhātoḥ*. A string such as *agni* + *am* + *ciÑ* will not qualify for access to this domain. Furthermore we have no means of knowing whether *agni* + *am* will be introduced as a co-occurring *pada* for *ciÑ* before we reach 3.2.91. Starting with *agni* + *am* + *ciÑ* means taking a lot for granted.

(*b*) *agni* + *am* + *ci* (*Ñ* → *Ø*) +(*K* → *Ø*)*vīP* → *Ø*)

= *agni* + *am* + *ci* + *v*

2.2.19 *upapadam atiṅ* (2.2.17 *nityam...*, 2.1.22 *tatpuruṣaḥ*, 2.1.4 *saha supā*, 2.1.3 *prāk...*) (*VR*)

= *agni* + *am* + *ci* + *v*

1.2.46 *kṛttaddhita...*

2.4.71 *supo...*

= *agni* + (*am* → *Ø*) + *ci* + *v*

= *agni* + *ci* + *v*

(*c*) *agni* + *ci* + *v*

1.2.41 *apṛkta...*

6.1.67 *ver apṛktasya*

= *agni* + *ci* +(*v* → *Ø*)

= *agni* + *ci*

= *agnici*

(*d*) *agnici*

6.1.71 *hrasvasyapiti...#* 1.1.62 *pratyayalope...*, 1.1.45 *ādyantau*

= *agnici* + *t* (*UK* → ∅)
= *agnicit*

Note here that the introduction of *tUK* is conditioned by the presence of a following *kṛt* affix marked with *P*. Affix *KvIP* is marked with *P* but it no longer follows. That is, it has been deleted. Consequently the introduction of *tUK* (the effect) cannot take place since *KvIP* (the cause) is removed. But 1.1.62 allows the effect (introduction of *tUK*) to occur even though *KvIP* (the cause) is removed.

(*e*) *agnicit*

1.2.46 *kṛttaddhita...*
4.1.1 *ṅyāp...*
4.1.2 *svauj...# sŨP*-selection
= *agnicit* + *s* (*Ũ* → ∅) # *it*-deletion
= *agnicit* + *s*

(*f*) *agnicit* + *s*

1.2.41 *apṛkta*
6..1.68 *halṅyābbhyo*
= *agnicit* + (*s* → ∅)
= *agnicit*

(*g*) *agnicit*

1.4.14 *suptiṅantaṃ padam*
1.1.62 *pratyayalope...*
= *agnicit*

(253) *somasut*

Similar steps are to be followed in deriving *somasut* from SuÑ + *KvIP*, where 3.2.90 *some suñaḥ* helps reconstruct the co-occurring *pada soma* + *am* and the root initial *ṣ* is replaced by *s* by 6.1.64 *dhātvādeḥ*.

1.1.64 *aco' ntyādiṭi*

Examples such as *agnicit* and *somasut* are cited to illustrate that they have more than one *aC* and the items which begin with the final vowel of these forms, namely *it* and *ut*, can be termed *ṭi*. These examples are formal (*rūpodāharaṇa*), as opposed to *pacete* and *pacethe* which are functional (*kāryodāharaṇa*). A functional example requires the assignment of the term *ṭi* to result in some operation to be performed. A formal example is simply illustrative and does not involve any operation caused by the term assignment.

(254) *pacete*/(255) *pacethe*

See the appendix under 1.1.11 *īdūdet...*for derivational details. It is important to remember here that given the strings *pac* + *a* + *ātām* and *pac* + *a* + *āthām, ām* of both the endings is termed *ṭi* and consequently replaced by *e*.

1.1.65 *alo' ntyāt pūrva upadhā*

All the examples cited under this rule are given in the root form. As formal examples they illustrate that *a* (in *pac, paṭh*); *i* (in *bhid, chid*), *u* (in

budh, rudh) and *ṛ* (in *vṛt, vṛddh*) are penultimate (*upadhā*). As functional examples, they indicate that stems like *pācaka, pāṭhaka, bhedaka, chedaka, varttaka, varddhaka,* and so on, are derived by introducing affixes after them where, consequent upon the assignment of the term *upadhā* to *i, u,* and *ṛ*, replacement operations such as *vṛddhi* (in *pācaka, pāṭhaka*) by (7.2.116 *ata upadhāyāḥ*) and *guṇa* (in the rest of the examples by, 7.3.86 *pugantalaghūpadhasya*), have taken place.

1.1.72 *yena vidhis tadantasya*
(256) *cayaḥ*
(257) *jayaḥ*
(258) *ayaḥ*

These examples are derived by introducing affix *aC* after verbal roots *ciÑ* 'to select, pick, arrange', *ji* 'to conquer', and *iṆ* 'to go'. Rule 3.3.56 *erac* introduces this affix by referring to these roots with *i*. In view of 1.1.72 *yena vidhis...*, this *i* not only refers to roots like *i* (*Ṅ*) which it solely constitutes but also to roots like *ci* (*Ñ*) and *ji* which end in it. Given the strings *ci* + *a*, *ji* + *a*, and *i* + *a*, affix *a* will be termed an *ārdhadhātuka* by 3.4.114 *ārdhadhātukaṃ śeṣaḥ*. Similarly *ci, ji,* and *i* will be termed *aṅga* by 1.4.13 *yasmāt....* Rule 7.3.84 *sārvadhātuka...* will introduce *guṇa* in the place of *i* of all three *aṅga*. This will yield *c*(*i* → *e*) + *a* = *ce* + *a*; *j*(*i* → *e*) + *a* = *je* + *a*; and (*i* → *e*) + *a* = *e* + *a*, which after the application of 6.1.78 eco' *yavāyāvah* will result in *c*(*e* → *ay*) + *a* = *caya*; *j*(*e* → *ay*) + *a* = *jaya*; and (*e* → *ay*) + *a* = *aya*. These forms are termed nominal stems by 1.2.46 *kṛttaddhita...* and the introduction of *sŨ* by 4.1.1 *ṅyāp...* will ultimately yield: *cayaḥ, jayaḥ,* and *ayaḥ*.

It should be remembered here that strings *ci* + *a*, *ji* + *a*, and *i* + *a* also meet the conditions for applying 6.1.77 *iko yaṇ aci* which, if applied, would yield *c*(*i* → *y*) + *a* = **cya*; *j*(*i* → *y*) + *a* = **jya*, and (*i* → *y*) + *a* = **ya*. This rule application will definitely produce undesirable results. Commentators say that the application of 6.1.77 is blocked in favour of 7.3.84 by the *paribhāṣā: vārṇād āṅgaṃ baliīyaḥ* 'an operation relative to an *aṅga* is more powerful than one relative to a *varṇa* (sound)'.

1.1.74 *tyadādīni ca*

Most of the examples cited under this rule are easy to derive. For example (259) *tyadīyam* is the nominative singular neuter form of *tyadīya*, where the base is complex. It is derived by first introducing affix *Ṅas* to *tyad* (as in (*a*) of(1) *aupagavaḥ*). The resultant string *tyad* + *Ṅas* is termed *vṛddha* to enable it to receive affix *CHa* (4.2.115 *vṛddhāc chaḥ*). For rules required for deriving *tyadīya* from *tyad* + *Ṅas* + *CHa*, see the relevant steps of (5) *śālīyaḥ*. For rules required for deriving *tyadīam* from *tyadīya*, see (*e-h*) of (39) *ādīdhyanam*. Similar rules apply in deriving all the other examples except for (260) *madīyam* (261) *mādāyaniḥ*, and (262) *tvādāyaniḥ*, where *asm* and *yuṣm* of *asmad* and

yuṣmad are replaced by *ma* and *tva* as provided by 7.2.98 *pratyayottarapadayoś ca*. Given the string (*asm* → *ma*) *ad* + *Ṅas* + *Cha*, rule application similar to (5) śaliyaḥ will give us: *ma* + *ad* + *īya*. Rule 6.1.97 *ato guṇe* will then apply to yield: *m*(*a* + *a* →*a*) + *d* + *īya*. Affix *PHiÑ* rather than *CHa* is introduced after both *yuṣmad* + *Ṅas* and *asmad* + *Ṅas* (see 4.1.157 *udīcaṃ vṛddhād agotrāt*) to derive *tvādāyaniḥ* and *mādāyaniḥ* where, in addition to the replacement of *yuṣm* and *asm* by *tva* and *ma*, and the application of 6.1.97 *ato guṇe*, 7.1.2 *āyaneyī*...must also apply. This rule replaces the *PH* part of *PHiÑ* by *āyan*. This result of all the rule applications is as follows:

(*yuṣm* → *tva*)*ad* + *Ṅas* → *tva* + *ad* + *Ṅas* (7.2.98 *pratyayo*...) = *tv*(*a* + *a*→ *a*) *d* +*Ṅas* → *tvad* + *Ṅas* (6.1.97 *ato*...) = *tvad* + (*Ṅas* → ∅) + *PHiÑ* → *tvad* + *PHiÑ* (2.4.71 *supo*...) = *tvad* + (*PH* → *āyan*) +*i* (*Ñ* → ∅) → *tvad* + *āyan* + *i* (7.1.2 *āyan*...) = *tv* (*a* → *ā*)*d* + *āyan* + *i* = *tvādāyani*; *tvādāyani* + *sŨ* = *tvādāyaniḥ*

Except for a replacement of *asm* by *ma* of *asmad*, *mādāyaniḥ* follows the same pattern.

1.1.75 *eṅ prācāṃ deśe*

(263) *eṇīpacanīyaḥ*, (264) *bhojakaṭīyaḥ*, (265) *gonardīyaḥ*

Examples such as *eṇīpavacanīyaḥ*, *bhojakaṭīyaḥ*, and *gonardīyaḥ* are derived exactly like (5) *śālīyaḥ*. The only significant difference which exists in the derivation of these forms as compared with that of (5) *śālīyaḥ* is the way in which these bases are termed *vṛddha*. In (5) *śālīyaḥ*, *vṛddha* is assigned at the strength of the *vṛddhi* vowel *ā*. In these examples it has to be assigned by the present rule on the strength of their vowels being denoted by *eṄ*. Of course they must also meet the semantic condition of denoting an Eastern country.

1.2.1 *gāṅkuṭādibhyo' ñṇiṅṅit*

(266) *adhyagīṣṭa*

(267) *adhyagīṣātām*

(268) *adhyagīṣata*

The above examples are derived by introducing the abstract suffix *LUṄ* after the verbal root *iṄ* used with the preverb *adhi*.

(*a*) *adhi* + *iṄ*

same as (a) of (16) *akārṣit*

= *adhi* + *iṄ* + *LUṄ*

(*b*) *adhi* + *iṄ* + *LUṄ*

2.4.50 *vibhāṣā lṛṅluṅoḥ*

= *adhi* + (*iṄ* → *gāṄ*) + *LUṄ*

it-deletion

= *adhi* + *gā* + *LUṄ*

(*c*) *adhi* + *gā* + *LUṄ*

same as (*b*-*c*) of (16) *akārṣīt*

(step *b*) = *adhi* + *gā* + *CLI* + *LUṄ*
(step *c*) = *adhi* + *gā* + (*CLI* → *sÎC*) + *LUṄ*
(*d*) *adhi* + *gā* + *sIC* + *LUṄ*
3.4.77 *lasya*;3.4.78 *tiptas...#*
1.3.12 *anudātaṅitaḥ ātmanepadam*
1.4.99 *laḥ parasmaipadam*
1.1.100 *taṅānāv ātmanepadam*
= *adhi* + *gā* + *s*(*ÎC* → ∅) + (*LUN* → *ta*)
= *adhi* + *gā* + *s* + *ta*
(*e*) *adhi* + *gā* + *s*+ *ta*
1.4.13 *yasmāt...*
6.4.1 *aṅgasya*
6.4.66 *ghumāsthāgā...* # 1.2.1 *gāṅkuṭādi...*, 1.1.51 *alo'ntasya*
= *adhi* + *g*(*ā* → *ī*) + *s* + *ta*
= *adhi* + *gī* + *s* + *ta*

Note here that 6.4.66 *ghumāsthāgā...* allows *ā* of *gā* to be replaced by *i* under the conditions that: (*a*) *gā* was followed by an affix marked with *Ṅ;* and (*b*) that this affix also began with a consonant. Our affix *sÎC* can meet *(b)* but not *(a)*. Rule 1.2.1 *gāṅkuṭādi...* lets *sÎC* be treated as marked with *Ṅ*. This, in turn, enables *sÎC* to meet condition (*a*) and facilitate the application of 6.4.66 *ghumāsthāgā....*

(*f*) *adhi* + *gī* + *s* + *ta*
6.4.71 *luṅlaṅ...* # 1.1.46 *ādyantau ṭakitau*
= *adhi* + *a* (*Ṭ* → ∅) + *gī* + *s* + *ta*
= *adhi* + *a* + *gī* + *s* + *ta*
(*g*) *adhi* + *a* + *gī* + *s* + *ta*
6.1.77 *iko yaṇ aci*
= *adh*(*i* → *y*) + *a* + *gī* + *s* + *ta*
= *adhya* + *gī* + *s* + *ta*
(*h*) *adhya* + *gī* + *s* + *ta*
1.4.14 *suptiṅantaṃ padam*
8.3.59 *ādeśa pratyayoḥ*
= *adhya* + *gī* + (*s* → *ṣ*) + *ta*
8.4.41 *ṣṭunā ṣṭuḥ*
= *adhya* + *gī* + *ṣ* (*t* → *ṭ*)*a*
= *adhya* + *gī* + *ṣ* + *ṭa*
= *adhyagīṣṭa*

The remaining two examples (267) *adhyagīṣātām* and (268) *adhyagīṣata* are very similar to (266) *adhyagīṣṭa.* They differ as follows:

(*a*) At step (*d*) *LUṄ* will be replaced by *ātām* in *adhyagīṣātām* and by *jha* in *adhyagīṣata;*

(*b*) Given the string *adhi + gā + s + jha*, 7.1.5 *ātmanepade...* will replace *jh* by *at: adhi + gā + s + (jh → at)a = adhi + gā + s+ ata*. Note that the rest of the rule applications are similar except for 8.4.41 which does not apply in (267) and (268).

(*c*) Affix *sĪC* cannot be deleted in these examples, mostly because of the absence of a following *jhL*.

(269) *kuṭitā*, (270) *kuṭitum*, and (271) *kuṭitavyam* are derived like (168) *bhavitā*, (170) *bhavitum*, and (172) *bhavitavyam*. The same is true for (272) *utpuṭitā*, (273) *utpuṭitum*, and (274) *utpuṭitavyam*. However, in the derivation of these examples, affixes *tṛC*, *tumUN*, and *tavyaT* are treated as marked with *Ṅ*. As a consequence, 7.3.86 *puganta...*cannot introduce a *guṇa* replacement for the penultimate *u* of the *anga kut + tṛ*, *utput + tṛ*, and so on. The *guṇa* replacement in (168) *bhavitā*, and so on, was not blocked by 1.1.5 *kṅiti ca* because *tṛC*, *tumUN*, and *tavyaT* were not treated there as marked with *K*.

1.2.2 *vija iṭ*
(275) *udvijitā*
(276) *udvijitum*
(277) *udvijitavyam*

These forms are derived by introducing affixes *tṛC*, *tumUN*, and *tavyaT* after the verbal root *Ovijī* used with the preverb *ut*. Refer to the preceding group of derivations for details of rule applications.

1.2.3 *vibhāṣor ṇoḥ*
(278) *prorṇuvitā*
(279) *prorṇavitā*

These optional forms are both derived from (*pra + urṇu + i + tṛ*) + *sŨ*. As is obvious, *pra + urṇu* yields *prorṇu*, where the *a* of *pra* and initial *u* of *urṇu* are replaced by a single *guṇa* vowel *o* (see 6.1.97 *ato guṇe*). Given the string *prorṇu + i + tṛ*, the *u* of *prorṇu* will either be replaced by its *guṇa* counterpart *o* or else be replaced by *uvAṄ*, depending on whether or not *i + tṛ* is treated as marked with *Ṅ*. This is the option which 1.2.3 provides. When *i + tṛ* is not treated as marked with *Ṅ*, 7.3.84 *sārvadhātukārdhadhātukayoḥ* applies. This yields *prorṇ(u → o) + i + tṛ = prorṇ(o → av) + i + tṛ = prorṇavitṛ*, as in (168) *bhavitā*. If *i + tṛ* is treated as marked with *Ṅ*, 1.1.5 *kṅiti ca* will block the *guṇa* and therefore also the *av* replacement. This will cause the *u* of *prorṇu* to be replaced by *uvAṄ* with reference to 6.4.77 *aciśnudhā...* read with 1.1.53 *ṅic ca*. Thus: *prorṇ (u → uv AṄ) + i + tṛ – prorṇuvitṛ*.

Follow steps similar to *bhavitṛ + sŨ* of (168) *bhavitā* to derive *prorṇuvitā* and *prorṇavitā* from *prorṇuvitṛ + sŨ* and *prorṇavitṛ + sŨ*.

1.2.4 *śarvadhātukam apit*
(280) *kurutaḥ*

(*a*) *DUkṛṄ*

it-deletion

= *kṛ*

same as in (34) *cinutaḥ*

(*b*) *kṛ + tas*

3.1.79 *tanādi...*

= *kṛ + u + tas*

(*c*) *kṛ + u + tas*

1.4.13 *yasmāt...*

6.4.1 *aṅgasya*

7.3.84 *sārvadhātukārdha...* # 1.1.51 *uraṇ raparaḥ*

= *k(ṛ → ar) + u + tas*

= *kar + u + tas*

(*d*) *kar + u + tas*

6.4.110 *ata ut sārvadhātuke*

= *k(a → u)r + u + tas*

= *kurutas*

s-visarga

= *kurutaḥ*

Note here that 7.3.84 *sārvadhātuka...*cannot apply to replace *u* or *kar + u + tas* by its corresponding *guṇa* vowel *o*. This is because the affix *tas* is a *sārvadhātuka* not marked with *P*. As such it can be treated as marked with *Ṅ* and *guṇa* will be blocked by 1.1.5 *kṅiti ca*.

(281) *kurvanti* is derived from *kṛ + Śap + jhi*. It differs from (280) only in its selection of *tiṄ*, namely the third person plural. Given the string *kur + u + jhi, jh* will be replaced by *ant*, as in (10) *pacanti*. The result, *kur + u + anti*, will be subject to the application of 6.1.77 *iko yaṇ aci*, which will produce *kur + (u → v) + anti = kurvanti*.

1.2.5 *asaṃyogāl liṭ kit*

(282) *bibhidatuḥ*

(283) *bibhiduḥ*

(284) *cicchidatuḥ*

(285) *cicchiduḥ*

(286) *ijātuḥ*

(287) *ījuḥ*

These sets are derived like (234) *papatuḥ* and (235) *papuḥ*. Thus, given a string such as *bhid + LIṬ, LIṬ* will be replaced by *atus* or *us*. These being *sārvadhātuka* (3.4.113 *tiṅsit sārvadhātukam*) affixes, 7.3.84 would require a *guṇa* replacement for the *i* of *bhid* or *chid*. Rule 1.1.5 *kṅiti ca* will block this *guṇa* replacement at the strength of 1.2.5 *asaṃyogāl...*allowing *atus* and *us* to be treated as marked with *K*. Reduplication (*dvitva*) will yield *bhid + bhid + atus* and *bhid + bhid + us*, which after the application of 7.4.60 *halādi seṣaḥ*, will produce *bhi + bhid + atus* and *bhi + bhid + us*. Rule 8.4.54 *abhyāse carca* will change the first *bh* into *b*, thereby producing *bibhidatus/bibhidus*.

In the derivation of *cicchidatuḥ* and *cicchiduḥ*, there is an additional rule application. That is, given the string *ci* + *chid* + *atus* and *ci* + *chid* + *us*, 6.1.73 *che ca* introduces the augment *tUK*, which after the application of 8.4.34 *stoś cunā...* becomes *c*. This produces *ci*(*t* → *c*) + *chid* + *atus* and *ci*(*t* → *c*) + *chid* + *us* = *cicchidatus*/*cicchidus*. Deriving *ījatuḥ* and *ījuḥ* involves *samprasāraṇa* (see 1.1.45 *ig yaṇaḥ samprasāraṇam*). Given the strings *yaj* + *atus* and *yaj* + *us*, 6.1.15 *vacisvapi...* replaces *y* by its *samprasāraṇa* counterpart *i*. This produces (*y* → *i*) *aj* + *atus* and (*y* → *i*) *aj* + *us* = *iaj* + *atus* and *iaj* + *us*. Rule 6.1.108 *samprasāraṇāc ca* now applies to replace the sequence *i* + *a* with a single replacement *i*. Given the strings *ij* + *atus* and *ij* + *us*, the desired forms can be derived through reduplication. However, remember that 6.1.101 *akaḥ savarṇe...* will apply to the result of the application of 7.4.60 *halādi śeṣaḥ*. Thus: *ij* + *atus*/*ij* + *us* → *ij* + *ij* + *atus*/*ij* + *ij* + *us* (*dvitva*); *ij* + *ij* + *atus*/ *ij* + *ij* + *us* → *i* + *ij* + *atus*/*i* + *ij* + *us* (by 7.4.60); and *i* + *ij* + *atus*/*i* + *ij* + *us* → *ījatus*/*ījus* (by 6.1.101).

1.2.6 *indibhavatibhyāṃ ca*

(288) *īdhe*/*samīdhe*, as in *putra īdhe atharvaṇaḥ* and *samīdhe dasyuhantamam*

The root here is (*Ñ* → *Ø*) *indh* (*I* → *Ø*) = *indh*, used in the second example with the preverb *sam*. Given the string *indh* + *LIṬ*, *LIṬ* is replaced by *ta* (see (*d*) of (266) *adhyagīṣṭa*). The *ta* in turn is replaced by *eŚ* by 3.4.81 *liṭastajha...* Rule 1.2.6 allows us to treat *eŚ* as marked with *K*. As a result, 6.4.24 *aniditāṃ...* deletes the *n* of the root. After reduplication (*dvitva*) and subsequent deletion of the first *dh*, the string becomes *i*(*dh* → *Ø*) + *e* = *i* + *idh* + *e*. Rule 6.1.101 *akaḥ savarṇe...* now applies to yield (*i* + *i* = *ī*) *dh* + *e* = *īdhe*. Similar rule applications yield *samīdhe* from *sam* + *indh* + *e*.

(289) *babhūva*

(*a*) *bhū*

Same as (*a*) of the many *LIṬ* examples already derived

= *bhū* + *LIṬ*

(*b*) *bhū* + *LIṬ*

LIṬ replaced by *ṆaL* (by 3.4.82 *parasmaipadānām...*; also see (234) *papatus*, and so on)

= *bhū* + (*LIṬ* → *tiP*; *tiP* → *ṆaL*)

it-deletion

= *bhū* + *a*

(*c*) *bhū* + *a*

1.4.13 *yasmāt...*

6.4.1 *aṅgasya*

6.4.88 *bhuvo...*

1.1.46 *ādyantau ṭakitau*

= *bhū* + *vUK* + *a*

it-deletion

= *bhū* + *v* + *a*

(*d*) *bhū + v + a*
dvitva as in (282) *bibhidatuḥ*
= *bhū + bhū + v + a*
(*e*) *bhū + bhū + v + a*
7.4.59 *hrasvaḥ*
= *bh*(*ū* → *u*) *+ bhū + v + a*
= *bhu + bhū + v + a*
7.4.73 *bhavater aḥ*
= *bh*(*u* → *a*) *+ bhū + v + a*
= *bha + bhū+ v + a*
(*f*) *bha + bhū + v + a*
1.4.14 *suptiṅantaṃ padam*
8.1.16 *padasya*
8.4.53 *abhyāse carca*
= (*bh* → *b*) *a + bhū + v + a*
= *ba + bhū + v + a*
= *babhūva*

Deriving (290) *babhūvitha* from *bhū + LIṬ* is not difficult. The abstract affix *LIṬ* is first replaced with *siP*, which in turn is replaced by *thaL*. Given the string *bhū + tha*, 7.2.35 *ārdhadhātukasya...* will introduce *iṬ*. This will yield *bhū + i + tha*, which after the application of rules as in (*d-f*) of (289) *babhūva*, will produce (290) *babhūvitha*.

The purpose of treating a replacement of *LIṬ* as marked with *K* is to block a *guṇa* or *vṛddhi* replacement ordered by rules such as 7.3.84 *sārvadhātuka...*or 7.2.115 *aco' ñṇiti*.

1.2.7 *mṛḍmṛd...*
(291) *mṛḍitvā*
(292) *mṛditva*
(293) *guhitvā*
(294) *kuṣitvā*
(295) *kliśitvā*
(296) *uditvā*
(297) *uṣitvā*

These examples are all derived by introducing the affix *Ktvā* (3.4.21 *samāna kartṛkayoḥ*) after their respective roots. Since *Ktvā* is neither marked with *Ś* nor denoted by *tiN*, it will be assigned the term *ārdhadhātuka* (3.4.113 *tiṅsit sārvadhātukam;* 3.4.114 *ārdhadhātukaṃ śeṣaḥ*). This will result in the introduction of augment *iṬ*, as shown in (290) *babhūvitha*. Thus a string such as *mṛḍ + Ktvā* will yield *mṛḍ + iṬ + Ktvā = mṛḍitvā*. Other examples can be similarly derived. However, note that the last two examples, (296) *uditvā* and (297) *uṣitvā*, have *vad* and *vas* as their respective roots, which will be subject to *samprasāraṇa*. Thus *vad* and *vas* will yield

(v → u) ad and *(v → u)as*. In addition, their *u + a* sequence will also be replaced by *u;* see the derivational details of (285) *ījatuḥ* and (286) *ījuḥ*. The final example requires an additional rule application. Given the string *us + i + tvā*, 8.3.60 *śāsivasighas...* will replace the *s* by *ṣ*. Thus: *usitvā → uṣitvā*.

It is interesting to note that 1.2.18 *na ktvā seṭ* does not permit a *Ktvā* used with *iṬ* to be treated as marked with *K*. As a result, *guṇa* replacements ordered by, for example, 7.3.86 *pugantalaghūpadha...*, cannot be blocked by 1.1.5 *kṅiti ca*. The present rule 1.2.7 provides for the blocking of such *guṇa* replacements under specific conditions. Also note in this connection that 1.2.26 *ralo vyupa...* allows *ktvā* to be treated as marked with *K* only optionally, provided, of course, that it occurs after verbal roots *gudh, kuṣ,* or *kliś*. Rule 1.2.7 treats *Ktvā* as marked with *K* obligatorily.

All the derived bases, *mṛḍitvā, mṛditvā,* and so on, will be termed *avyaya* 'indeclinable' by 1.4.40 *ktvātosun...* This will cause the deletion of *sŨ* introduced after them (see 2.4.82 *avyayād...*).

1.2.8 *rudavidamuṣ...*

(298) *ruditvā*

(299) *viditvā*

(300) *muṣitvā*

These can be derived similarly to (291) *mṛḍitvā,* and so on. The derivation of (301) *gṛhitvā,* (302) *suptvā,* and (303) *pṛṣṭvā* entails some additional rule applications. Thus: given the string *grah + iṬ + Ktvā*, 6.1.16 *grahijy...* will order *samprasāraṇa* (1.1.45 *ig yaṇaḥ...*). The result will be: *g(ṛ → r) ah + iṬ + Ktvā = grah + i + tvā*, which after the replacement of its sequence *r + a* by *ṛ*, as in (285) *ījatuḥ*, yields *gṛh + i + tvā*. The final form *gṛhītvā* is derived after the application of 7.2.37 *graho' liṭi*, whereby the short *i* is replaced by long *ī*. This long *ī* replacement is not relevant for *suptvā* and *pṛṣṭvā*, as these do not involve the augment *iṬ* (see 7.2.10 *ekāc...*). Furthermore, in deriving *pṛṣṭvā*, 8.2.36 *vraś ca...* replaces the *ch* of *pṛch + tvā* by *ṣ* Rule 8.4.41 *ṣṭunā ṣṭuḥ* later replaces the *t* by *ṭ* to yield *pṛ(ch → ṣ) + (t → ṭ) vā = pṛṣṭvā*.

(304) *rurudiṣati*

(*a*) *rud(IR → ∅)*

it-deletion

rud

1.3.1 *bhūvādayo...*

3.1.7 *dhātoḥ...*(3.1.1-3.1.2 *pratyayaḥ-paraś ca*)

= *rud + saN*

it-deletion

= *rud + sa*

(*b*) *rud* + *sa*

3.4.114 *ārdhadhātukaṃ śeṣaḥ*
1.4.13 *yasmāt...*
6.4.1 *aṅgasya*
7.2.35 *ārdhadhātukasy...* # 1.1.45 *ādyantau...*
= *rud* + *iṬ* + *sa*
it-deletion
= *rud* + *i* + *sa*

Note that 7.3.86 *puganta...* cannot apply here to introduce a ***guṇa*** replacement for the penultimate *u* of *rud* mainly because 1.2.8 ***rudvid...*** will enable *saN* to be treated as marked with *K*. Obviously 1.1.5 ***kṅiti ca*** will block the *guṇa*.

(*c*) *rud* + *i* + *sa*

6.1.9 *sanyaṅoḥ* (6.1.1 *ekāco dve...*)
= *rud* + *rud* + *i*+ *sa* # *dvitva*

(*d*) *rud* + *rud* + *isa*

6.1.4 *pūrvo' bhyāsaḥ*
7.4.60 *halādi śeṣaḥ*
= *ru* (*d* → ***Ø***) + *rud* + *i* + *su*
= *rurudisa*

(*e*) *rurudisa*

3.1.32 *sanādy...*, plus relevant rules concerning placement of *LAṬ*, *tiP*, and *ŚaP*, as in (11) *jayati*
= *rurudisaati*

(*f*) *rurudisaati*

6.1.97 *ato guṇe*
= *rurudis* (*a* + *a* → *a*) + *ti*
= *rurudisati*

(*g*) *rurudisati*

1.4.14 *suptiṅantaṃ padam*
8.3.59 *ādeśa pratyayoḥ*
= *rurudi* (*s* → *ṣ*) *ati*
= *rurudiṣati*

One can similarly derive (305) *vividiṣati* and (306) *mumuṣiṣati* from *vid* + *saN* and *muṣ* + *saN*. The derivational histories of (307) *jighṛkṣati*, (308) *suṣupsati*, and (309)*pipṛcchiṣati* are slightly more complex since, in addition to *dvitva*, they also involve *samprasāraṇa*. Unlike the purpose of blocking *guṇa* or *vṛddhi* replacement, as in (304) *rurudiṣati*, and so on, the reason *saN* is treated as marked with *K* here is to allow *samprasāraṇa* and *dvitva*. In addition, *saN* becomes instrumental in blocking the introduction of *iṬ* (7.2.12 *sani grahaguhoś ca*).

(307) *jighṛkṣati*

(*a*) *grah*

same as in (304) *rurudiṣati*

– *grah* + *sa*

(*b*) *grah* + *sa*

6.1.16 *grahijyā...* # 1.2.8 *rudavida..*

= *g*(*r* → *ṛ*) *ah* + *sa*

= *gṛah* + *sa*

6.1.108 *samprasāraṇāc ca*

= *gṛ*(*a*→ ∅)*h* + *sa*

= *gṛh* + *sa*

(*c*) *gṛh* + *sa*

 # dvitva

= *gṛh* + *gṛh* + *sa*

(*d*) *gṛh* + *gṛh* + *sa*

7.4.66 *urat* # 1.1.51 *uraṇ raparaḥ*

= *g*(*ṛ* → *ar*)*h* + *gṛh* + *sa*

= *garh* + *gṛh* + *sa*

(*e*) *garh* + *gṛh* + *sa*

7.4.62 *kuhoś cuḥ*

7.4.60 *halādi śeṣaḥ*

= (*g* → *j*) *arh* + *gṛh* + *sa* (7.4.62)

= *ja*(*rh* → ∅) + *gṛh* + *sa* (7.4.60)

= *ja* + *gṛh* + *sa*

(*f*) *ja* + *gṛh* + *sa*

7.4.79 *sanyataḥ*

= *j*(*a* → *i*) + *gṛh* + *sa*

= *ji* + *gṛh* + *sa*

(*g*) *ji* + *gṛh* + *sa*

8.2.31 *ho ḍhaḥ*

= *ji* + *gṛ*(*h* → *ḍh*) + *sa*

= *jigṛḍh* + *sa*

(*h*) *jigṛḍh* + *sa*

8.2.37 *ekāco baśo...*

= *ji*(*g* → *gh*)*ṛḍh* + *sa*

= *jighṛḍh* + *sa*

(*i*) *jighṛḍh* + *sa*

8.2.51 *ṣaḍhoḥ kaḥ si*

= *jighṛ*(*ḍh* → *k*) + *sa*

= *jighṛk* + *sa*

(*j*) *jighṛk* + *sa*

8.3.59 *ādesá pratyayoḥ*

= *jighṛk* + (*s* → *ṣ*)*a*

= *jighṛkṣa*

(*k*) *jighṛkṣa*

3.1.32 *sanādyantā dhātavaḥ*, plus rules relating to *LAṬ*, *tiP*, and *ŚaP*

= *jighṛkṣati*

Similar rules apply in deriving (308) *suṣupsati* and (309) *pipṛcchiṣati*. I shall now show some important rule applications in their derivational history.

(308) *suṣupsati*

(*a*) *svap*

affix *saN* and *samprasāraṇa* (6.1.15 *vacisvapi...*)

= *s* (*v* → *u*)*ap* + *sa*

(*b*) *suap* + *sa*

6.1.108 *samprasāraṇāc ca*

= *su*(*a* → ∅)*p* + *sa*

= *sup* + *sa*

(*c*) *sup* + *sa*

dvitva followed by 7.4.40 *halādi śeṣaḥ*

= *sup* + *sup* + *sa*

= *su*(*p* → ∅) + *sup* + *sa*

= *su* + *sup* + *sa*

= *susupsa*

(*d*) *susupsa*

same as (*e g*) of (303) *rurudiṣati*

= *suṣupsati*

If one followed similar rule applications to derive (309) *pipṛcchiṣati* from *prach* + *sa*, (*b*) would yield *pṛch* + *sa* which, after reduplication, becomes *bṛch* + *pṛch* + *sa*. One must follow (*d-f*) of (307) *jighṛkṣati* to get: *pṛch* + *bṛch* + *sa*, which will then be changed as follows:

pṛch + *pṛch* + *sa* → *p*(*ṛ* → *ar*) *ch* + *pṛch* + *sa* = *parch* + *pṛch* + *sa*; *pa*(*rch* → ∅) + *pṛch* + *sa* = *pa* + *pṛch* + *sa*.

Note here that 7.4.62 *kuhoś cuḥ* of (*e*) of (307) *jighṛkṣati* is not pertinent to this derivation: *pa* + *pṛch* + *sa* → *p*(*a* → *i*) + *pṛch* + *sa* = *pi* + *pṛch* + *sa*. Two augments will now be introduced to *pi* + *pṛch* + *sa*

(*a*) *pi* + *pṛch* + *sa*

7.2.75 *kiraś ca...* # 1.1.46 *ādyantau...*

= *pi* + *pṛch* + *iṬ* + *sa*

it-deletion

= *pi* + *pṛch* + *i* + *sa*

(*b*) *pi* + *pṛch* + *i* + *sa*

7.1.13 *che ca*

= *pi* + *pṛ* + *tUK* + *ch* + *i* + *sa*

it-deletion
= *pipṛtchisa*

The outcome of (*b*) will be termed a root by 3.1.32 *sanādyantā*....which, after the placement of *LAṬ*, *tiP*, and *ŚaP* will yield *pipṛtchisati*. Rule 8.5.39 *ādeśa pratyayoḥ* will replace *s* by *ṣ*. An additional application of 8.4.40 *stoś cunā*...will further replace *t* by *c*. Thus we will get:

pipṛtchisati → *pipṛtchi*(*s* → *ṣ*)*ati* = *pipṛtchiṣati;*
pipṛ(*t* → *c*) *chiṣati* = *pipṛcchiṣati*

1.2.9 *iko jhal*

(310) *cicīṣati*

This example is derived from *ciṄ* + *sa* where 7.2.10 *ekāc*...blocks the introduction of *iṬ*. Rule 7.3.84 *sārvadhātukārdha*....is also blocked from introducing the *guṇa* replacement for *i* mainly by 1.1.5 *kṅiti ca* on the strength of 1.2.9 *iko jhal*. The *i* in *ci* + *sa* is lengthened by 6.1.16 *ajjhan*.... This yields *ci* + *sa* which, after reduplication, becomes *cī* + *cī* + *sa*. Rule 6.1.4 *pūrvo' bhyāsaḥ* assigns the term *abhyāsa* to the first *cī*, which consequently gets its long *ī* replaced by a short *i* (7.4.59 *hrasvaḥ*). The remaining rule applications on *cicīṣa* for deriving *cicīṣati* offer nothing new.

(311) *tuṣṭūṣati*

Parallel to *cī* + *cī* + *sa*, *stū* + *sa* will yield *stū* + *stū* + *sa*. At this stage an exception to 7.4.60 *halādi śeṣaḥ*, namely 7.4.61 *śar pūrvāḥ*..., applies to delete the initial *s*. The string becomes *tū* + *stū* + *sa*, which after the shortening of the first *ū*, yields the root *tustūsa*. Given the string *tustūsa* + *a* + *ti*, arrived at by placing *LAṬ*, *tiP*, and *ŚaP*, the following rules apply:

8.3.59 *ādeśa pratyayoḥ*
= *tustū*(*s* → *ṣ*)*a* + *a* + *ti*
= *tustūṣa* + *a* + *ti*
8.3.61 *stauti*...
= *tu*(*s* → *ṣ*)*tūṣa* + *a* + *ti*
= *tuṣṭūṣa* + *a* + *ti*
8.4.41 *ṣṭunā ṣṭuḥ*
= *tuṣ*(*t* → *ṭ*)*ūṣa* + *a* + *ti*
= *tuṣṭūṣa* + *a* + *ti*
6.1.97 *ato guṇe*
= *tuṣṭūṣ*(*a* + *a* → *a*) + *ti*
= *tuṣṭūṣati*

For deriving (312) *cikīrṣati*, first derive the root *cikīrṣa* as in (222) *cikīrṣakaḥ*, and then introduce *LAṬ*, *tiP*, and *ŚaP*.

1.2.10 *halantāc ca*

(313) *bibhitsati*

Given the string *bhid* + *bhid* + *sa* (after the placement of *saN* and *dvitva*), the first *d* is deleted by 7.4.60 *halādi śeṣaḥ*: *bhi*(*d* → ∅) + *bhid* + *sa* = *bhi* +

bhid + *sa*. The first *bh* will then be replaced by *b* under the provision of 8.4.53 *abhyāse carca*. This is followed by the application of 8.4.55 *khari ca*, whereby the *d* of *bhid* is replaced by *t*. The resultant string *bibhitsa* will be termed a root after which *LAṬ*, *tiP*, and *ŚaP* can be introduced to derive *bibhitsati*.

(314) *bubhutsate*

This example entails deriving *bubhutsa* as a root from *budh* + *saN*. After *dvitva* followed by 7.4.60 *halādi śeṣaḥ*, *budh* + *sa* becomes *bu* + *budh* + *sa*. Two rules, 8.2.37 *ekāco...* and 8.4.55 *khari ca*, now apply to produce *bu* + (*b* → *bh*)*u*(*dh* → *t*) + *sa* = *bubhutsa*. The abstract affix *LAṬ* is replaced by the third person singular middle (*ātmanepada*) ending *ta*, and *bubhutsa* + *ta* eventually yields *bubhutsate* (see (49) *pacete* for details).

1.2.11 *liṅsicāv...*

(315) *bhitsīṣṭa*

(*a*) *bhid*

1.3.1 *bhūvādayo...*
3.1.91 *dhātoḥ*
3.3.173 *āśiṣi liṅloṭau*
= *bhid* + *LIṄ*

(*b*) *bhid* + *LIṄ*

3.4.102 *liṅaḥ sīyut* # 1.1.46 *ādyantau...*
= *bhid* + *sīy*(*UṬ* → ∅) + *LIṄ*
= *bhid* + *sīy* + *LIṄ*

(*c*) *bhid* + *sīy* + *LIṄ*

3.4.77 *lasya*
3.4.78 *tiptsasjhi* # 1.4.99 *laḥ...*, and so on; # 1.3.72 *svaritañitaḥ...*
= *bhid* + *sīy* + (*LIṄ* → *ta*)
= *bhid* + *sīy* + *ta*

(*d*) *bhid* + *sīy* + *ta*

3.4.107 *suṭ tithoḥ* # 1.4.46 *āyantau...*
= *bhid* + *sīy* + *s*(*UṬ* → ∅) + *ta*
= *bhid* + *sīy* + *s* + *ta*

(*e*) *bhid* + *sīy* + *s* + *ta*

3.4.116 *liṅāśiṣi*
6.1.66 *lopo vyor vali*
= *bhid* + *sī*(*y* → ∅) + *s* + *ta*
= *bhid* + *sī* + *s* + *ta*

(*f*) *bhid* + *sī* + *s* + *ta*

8.3.59 *ādeśa pratyayoḥ*
= *bhid* + *sī* + (*s* → *ṣ*) + *ta*
= *bhid* + *sī* + *ṣ* + *ta*

(*g*) *bhid* + *sī* + *ṣ* + *ta*

8.4.55 *khari ca*

= *bhi*(*d* → *t*) + *sī* + *ṣ* + *ta*

= *bhit* + *sī* + *ṣ* + *ta*

(*h*) *bhit* + *sī* + *ṣ* + *ta*

8.4.41 *ṣṭunā ṣṭuḥ*

= *bhit* + *sī* + *ṣ* + (*t* → *ṭ*)*a*

= *bhitsīṣṭa*

Deriving (316) *bhutsīṣṭa* from *budh* + *sīy* + *ta* involves, in addition to the appropriate rule applications from (315) *bhitsīṣṭa*, 8.2.37 *ekāco...*, which replaces the *b* of *budh* by *bh*.

(317) *abhitta*

(*a*) *bhid*

same as (*a-d*) of (265) *adhyagīṣṭa*

= *a* + *bhid* + *s* + *ta*

(*b*) *a* + *bhid* + *s* + *ta*

8.2.26 *jhalo jhali*

= *a* + *bhid* + (*s* → ∅) + *ta*

= *a* + *bhid* + *ta*

(*c*) *a* + *bhid* + *ta*

8.4.55 *khari ca*

= *a* + *bhi* (*d* → *t*) + *ta*

= *abhitta*

One can similarly derive (318) *abuddha* where, given the string *a* + *budh* + (*s* → ∅) + *ta*, 8.2.40 *jhaṣatathor...* will replace *t* by *dh*. Thus: *a* + *budh* + (*t* → *dh*)*a* = *a* + *budh* + *dha*. Rule 8.4.53 *jhalāṃ jas...* introduces an additional change: *a* + *bu*(*dh* → *d*) + *dha* = *abuddha*.

1.2.12 *uś ca*

(319) *kṛṣīṣṭa*

(320) *hṛṣīṣṭa*

These examples are derived from *kṛ* + *sīyŪṬ* + *sĪC* + *LIṄ* and *hṛ* + *sīyŪṬ* + *sĪC* + *LIṄ*, where *LIṄ* in both cases is replaced by the third person singular *ātmanepada* suffix *ta*. The *s* of both *sīyŪṬ* and *sĪC* is changed to *ṣ* by 8.3.59 *ādeśa pratyayoḥ*. The *t* of *ta* is also replaced by *ṭ* by 8.4.41 *ṣṭunā ṣṭuḥ*. For other details of these derivations see (315) *bhitsīṣṭa*, and so on.

(321) *akṛta*

(322) *ahṛta*

These forms are derived from *aṬ* + *kṛ* + *sĪC* + *ta* and *aṬ* + *hṛ* + *sĪC* + *ta*, where *sĪC* is a replacement of *CLI* (3.1.44 *cleḥ sic*) and *ta* is third person singular *ātmanepada* suffix replacing *LUṄ*. Rule 8.2.27 *hrasvād aṅgāt* causes the deletion of *sĪC*. See (317) *abhitta*, (266) *adhyagīṣṭa*, and so on for other derivational details.

1.2.13 *vā gamaḥ*
(323) *saṃgaṃsīṣṭa*
(324) *saṃgasīṣṭa*

Both these examples are derived from *sam + gam + sīyŨṬ + sŨṬ + ta* (see (315)*bhitsiṣṭa* for further details). The *ātmanepada* affix, here *ta,* has been introduced to replace *LIṄ* with reference to 1.3.29 *samogamyṛcch....* Since 1.2.13 *vā gamaḥ* assigns the *Kit* status to *sĨC* only optionally, and also since the purpose of assigning such a status is to facilitate the deletion of the *m* of *gam,* there naturally will be two forms:

(*a*) *saṃgasīṣṭa,* where the *m* of *gam* will be deleted by 6.4.37 *anudāttopadeśa...* mainly because *sĨC* will be treated as marked with *K,* and
(*b*) *saṃgaṃsīṣṭa,* where no such deletion will occur.

The *m* of the preverb *sam* in both (*a*) and (*b*), in addition to the *m* of *gam* in (*b*), where absence of *Kit* status to *sĨC* would not permit its deletion, will be replaced by *anusvāra* (*ṃ*) by 8.3.24 *naś cāpadāntasya jhali.*

The third person singular *ātmanepada* forms of *sam + gam* in *LUṄ* are optionally (325) *samagata* and (326) *samagaṃsta.* Both are derived from *sam + aṬ + gam + sĨC + ta* (see (317) *abhitta,* and so on, for other details). The *Kit* status of *sĨC* will cause the deletion of *m* of *gam* in *samagata:* its absence will save this *m* from being deleted in (326) *samagaṃsta.* In this latter case, *m* will be replaced by *anusvāra.* Also note that in (325) *samagata,* the deletion of *m* will be followed by the deletion of *sĨC.* Thus given the string *sam + aṬ + gam + sĨC + ta,* 6.4.37 *anudātto...* will first delete the *m* of *gam.* The resultant string, *sam + a + ga + s + ta,* will undergo the deletion of affix *s(ĨC)* simply because the affix will now be occurring after an *aṅga,* namely *sam + a + ga,* terminating in a short vowel (see 8.2.27 *hrasvād aṅgāt*). The same *sĨC* is retained in (326) *samagaṃsta,* where the *aṅga* does not end in a short vowel.

1.2.14 *hanaḥ sic*
(327) *āhata*
(328) *āhasātām*
(329) *āhasata*

These third person singular, dual, and plural *LUṄ* forms of *han* are derived from *āṄ + aṬ + han + sĨC + LUṄ* where the verbal root *han* is used with the preverb *āṄ,* and *LUṄ,* as a result, must be replaced by appropriate *ātmanepada* terminations (see 1.3.28 *āṅo yamahanaḥ*). Augment *sĨC* is deleted by 8.2.27 *hrasvād aṅgāt* as in (321) *akṛta.* However, *sĨC* cannot be deleted in (328) *āhasātām* and (329) *āhasata,* because given the strings *ā + a + ha + s + ātām* and *ā + a + ha + a + ata, sĨC* will no longer be followed by *jhL,* which is one of the conditions for such a deletion (see also (267) *adhyagīṣātām* and (268) *adhyagīṣata*). The initial sequence *a + a* in both examples will be replaced by *ā* in view of 6.1.101 *akaḥ savarṇe dīrghaḥ.*

1.2.15 *yamo gandhane*
1.2.16 *vibhāṣopayamane*
(330) *udāyata*
(331) *udāyasātām*
(332) *udāyasata*

The derivational history of these forms is very similar to that of the preceding examples. They derive from *ut* + *āṄ* + *aṬ* + *yam* + *sĪC* + *LUṄ*, where *LUṄ* gets replaced by third person *ātmanepada* endings: *ta, ātām,* and *jha.* For details also see (327) *āhata,* and so on. Similar rules apply in deriving (333) *upāyata,* (334) *upāyaṃsta,* and so on (see 1.2.16 *vibhāṣopayamane*). However, since *sĪC* in *upa* + *a* + *yam* + *sĪC* + (*LUṄ* → *ta*) is treated as marked with *K* only optionally, *upāyata* will have an alternant form *upāyaṃsta.* For derivational details, see (325) *samagata* and (326) *samagaṃsta.* The *Kit* status of *sĪC* in *upāyata* will cause the deletion of the *m* of *yam.* Furthermore *sĪC* will also be deleted (see (327) *āhata*). In case of *upāyaṃsta,* both *m* and *sĪC* will be retained. In addition, *m* will be further replaced by *anusvāra* (*ṃ*) (see 8.3.24 *naś cāpadāntasya jhali*). The *ātmanepada* endings which replace *LUṄ* in the above examples are ordered by 1.3.56 *upādyamaḥ svakaraṇe.*

1.2.17 *sthāghvor ic ca*
(335) *upāsthita*
(336) *upāsthiṣātām*
(337) *upāsthiṣata*

These forms derive from *upa* + *āṄ* + *aṬ* + *sthā* + *sĪC* + *LUṄ* where *LUṄ,* of course, is replaced by third person *ātmanepada* terminations. These derivations differ slightly from other *LUṄ* examples in the following manner:

(*a*) the root final *ā* of *sthā* is replaced by short *i* under the direction of the present rule, and
(*b*) the *s* of *sĪC* in the second and third examples is replaced by *ṣ* by 8.3.59 *ādeśa pratyayoḥ.*

Note that unless *ā* is changed into *i, s* of *sĪC* cannot be replaced by *ṣ.* Thus, for example, *upa* + *āṄ* + *aṬ* + *sthā* + *sĪC* + *ta* becomes *up*(*a* + *ā* → *ā*) + *a* + *sth*(*ā* → *i*) + (*sĪC* → *∅*) + *ta* = *upā* + *a* + *sthi* + *ta.* This will finally yield *up*(*ā* + *a* → *ā*) + *sthi* + *ta* = *upāsthita.*
(338) *adita*
(339) *adhita*

These forms are derived from the strings *aT* + *dā* + *LUṄ* and *aṬ* + *dhā* + *LUṄ.* They also illustrate the *ghu* aspect of 1.2.17 *sthāghvor....* That is, because *dā* and *dhā* are termed *ghu* by 1.1.20 *dādhāghv adap,* the *ā* of these roots is replaced by *i* by 1.2.17. Thus: *a* + *d*(*ā* → *i*) + (*sĪC* → *∅*) + *ta* = *adita,* and so on. Note that *dā* and *dhā* here also refer to the set of roots referenced by 1.1.20 *dādhāghv....*

1.2.18 *na ktvā seṭ*
(340) *devitvā*
(341) *vartititvā*

These forms are derived by introducing affix (3.1.1 *pratyayaḥ*) *Ktvā* (3.4.21 *samānakartṛkayoḥ pūrvakāle*) after (3.1.2 *paraś ca*) the verbal roots *div* 'to play' and *vṛt* 'to turn, behave' (3.1.91 *dhātoḥ*). It should be remembered here that *Ktvā* is a *Kit* affix and if, in view of this rule, its *Kit* status is not blocked, 1.1.5 *kṅiti ca* would not allow the *guṇa* replacement for the penultimate root vowels *i* and *ṛ*. This would yield a set of wrong forms: **dvivitvā* and **vṛtitvā*. However, if a *Ktvā* affix, which receives the augment *iṬ*, is allowed to be treated as not marked with *K*, 1.1.5 *kṅiti ca* cannot block the *guṇa*. Thus the purpose of treating a *Ktvā* used with *iṬ* as not marked with *K* is to allow the *guṇa* (7.3.84 *sārva...*), as is illustrated by *div* + *iṬ* + *Ktvā* = *d(i → e) v* + *i* + *tvā* = *devitvā*, and so on. For the relevant derivational details of such examples, see under 1.2.7 *mṛḍmṛd....*

1.2.19 *niṣṭhā śīṅsvidimidi...*
(342) *śayitaḥ*
(343) *prasveditaḥ*
(344) *prameditaḥ*
(345) *prakṣveditaḥ*
(346) *pradharṣitaḥ*

These forms are derived by introducing the *niṣṭhā* affix (1.1.26 *ktaktavatū niṣṭhā*) *Kta* after the cited roots. Except for the verbal root *śīṄ* 'to sleep, recline', all the other roots are used with preverb *pra*. Thus, given the root *śī*, 3.4.72 *gatyarthākarmaka...* can introduce affix *Kta*. The result will be: *śī* + (*K* → *Ø*) *ta* = *śī* + *ta*. Affix *ta* will be termed *ārdhadhātuka* by 3.4.114 *ārdhadhātukaṃ śeṣaḥ*. This will invoke the application of 7.3.84 *sārvadhātukārdha...* which, in turn, will demand a *guṇa* replacement for the *i* of *śī*, the *aṅga*. Rule 1.1.5 *kṅiti ca* will try to block this *guṇa* replacement on grounds that *Kta* is marked with *K*. But since *Kta* is termed *niṣṭhā* (see 1.1.26 *ktaktavatū niṣṭhā*), and is occurring after *śī*, 1.2.19 will treat *Kta* as an affix not marked with *K*. This will then rule out the possibility of 1.1.5 *kṅiti ca* blocking the *guṇa*. The result will be: *ś(ī → e)* + *ta*. Affix *ta* can now receive the augment *iṬ* at its beginning (1.1.46 *ādyantau ṭakitau*) as required by 7.2.35 *ārdhadhātukasyeḍ....* The resultant string, *śe* + *i(Ṭ → Ø)* + *ta* = *śe* + *i* + *ta*, will yield the nominal stem (1.2.46 *kṛttaddhita....*) *śayita* after 6.1.78 *eco'yavāyāvaḥ* applies. By *s-visarga*, *śayita* + *sŨ* yields *śayitaḥ*. Note that in all the other examples, *Kta* has been introduced by 3.4.71 *ādikarmaṇi...* to denote the agent. The preverb *pra* here denotes the onset of the action denoted by the respective roots. For further details of deriving forms ending in *Kta*, see (26) *citaḥ* under 1.1.5 *kṅiti ca*.

Examples such as (347) *śayitavān*, (348) *prasveditavān*, (349) *prameditavān*, (350) *prakṣveditavān*, and (351) *pradharṣitavān* are derived by introducing

another *niṣṭhā* affix *KtavatŪ*. For details of the placement and subsequent operations concerning this affix, see (30) *citavān*. Remember, however, that because of *Kta* and *KtavatŪ* being *niṣṭhā*, and also because they cannot be treated as marked with *K*, any *guṇa* replacement for the penultimate vowel of an *aṅga* in the above examples cannot be blocked by 1.1.5 *kṅiti ca* (also see (*c*) of (30) *citavān*). Except for (347) *śayitavān*, where the *guṇa* substitute is ordered by 7.3.84 *sārvadhātukārdhadhātukayoḥ*, 7.3.86 *puganta...* orders *guṇa* for the remaining examples.

1.2.20 *mṛṣas titikṣāyām*
(352) *marṣitaḥ*
(353) *marṣitavān*

These examples follow derivational patterns similar to those discussed in the preceding rule.

1.2.21 *udupadhād...*
(354) *dyutitam* / (355) *dyotitam*
(356) *pradyutitaḥ* / (357) *pradyotitaḥ*
(358) *muditam* / (359) *moditam*
(360) *pramuditaḥ* / (361) *pramoditaḥ*

Forms in the above sets are optional. They illustrate an instance where affix *Kta* which, although marked with *K*, is treated as such only optionally. This gives rise to forms like (354) *dyutitam* where, given the string *dyut* + *(K → Ø)ta* = *dyut* + *ta*, one treats *Kta* as marked with *K*. As a consequence, the penultimate *u* of the *aṅga dyut* does not get replaced by its *guṇa* counterpart. That is, 7.3.86 *puganta...* is blocked by 1.1.5 *kṅiti ca*. On the other hand, if one does not treat *Kta* as marked with *K*, 1.1.5 *kṅiti ca* cannot block 7.3.86 *puganta....* The result will be *dy(u → o) t* + *ta* = *dyot* + *ta*. This explanation also holds for the other examples of this rule. Given the strings: *dyu* + *ta*/*dyot* + *ta*, 7.2.35 *ārdhadhātukasyeḍ...* will introduce augment *iṬ* to the initial position (1.1.46 *ādyantau ṭakitau*) of the *ārdhadhātuka* (3.4.114 *ārdhadhātukaṃ śeṣaḥ*) affix *ta*. The result will be a nominal stem (1.2.46 *kṛt-taddhitasamāsāś ca*) : *dyutita*/*dyotita* after which one can add *sU* to derive (354) *dyutitam* / (355) *dyotitam* (see (*e-f*) of (39) *ādīdhyanam* for this procedure).

The derivation of the other examples does not differ except that their roots are used with the preverb *pra*.

1.2.22 *pūṅaḥ ktvā ca*
(362) *pavitaḥ*
(363) *pavitavān*
(364) *pavitvā*

The first two examples are derived similarly to (342) *śayitaṇ* and (347) *śayitavān*. The *guṇa* in these examples comes in place of *ū*. Our last example (364) *pavitvā* derives from *pūṄ* + *Ktvā* where three operations become applicable:

(*a*) *guṇa* replacement for the *ū* of the *aṅga*;
(*b*) introduction of the augment *iṬ* to *Ktvā*; and
(*c*) the *av* replacement for the *o* of *po* + *i* + *tvā* by 6.1.78 *eco'yavāyāvaḥ*.

For details of the placement of the affix *Ktvā*, refer to the derivations under 1.2.7 *mṛḍmṛd*.... For particular details of the preceding operations, see (342) *śayitaḥ*.

1.2.23 *nopadhāt*...
(365) *grathitvā* / (366) *granthitvā*
(367) *śrathitvā* / (368) *śranthitvā*
(369) *guphitvā* / (370) *gumphitvā*

The derivation of the above sets of examples is similar to many *Ktvā* derivations already discussed. Our present examples illustrate the optional treatment of *Ktvā* as marked with *K* with reference to a set of special verbs. The consequence of this optional *Kit* status is the deletion or retention of the penultimate *n* of the *aṅga*. In the absence of this status, *n* will not be deleted, as is illustrated by examples like (366) *granthitvā*. Placement of *Ktvā* and introduction of *iṬ* is accomplished by following the rules as already discussed in previous examples.

1.2.24 *vañcilu̱ñcy ṛtaś ca*
(371) *vañcitvā*
(372) *vacitvā*
(373) *luñcitvā*
(374) *lucitvā*
(375) *ṛtitvā*
(376) *artitvā*

The purpose of optionally denying *Kit* status to *Ktvā* in the first two sets of examples is to allow the deletion of the *n* of *vañcI*/*luñcI*. In case of *ṛt*, the purpose of denying *Kit* status is to allow the *guṇa* replacement for *i*. These derivations are similar to those cited under the previous rule. However, note that, in case of *vañcitvā*/*vacitvā* and *luñcitvā*/*lucitvā*, the augment *iṬ* is introduced by 7.2.56 *udito vā*.

1.2.25 *tṛṣimṛṣikṛśeḥ*...
(377) *tṛṣitvā* / (378) *tarṣitvā*
(379) *mṛṣitvā* / (380) *marṣitvā*
(381) *kṛśitvā* / (382) *karśitvā*

The purpose of denying *Kit* status here is to allow the *guṇa* replacement for the penultimate vowel of the *aṅga*. Thus the *guṇa* in, for example, (378) *tarṣitvā* is not blocked by 1.1.5 *kṅiti ca*. On the other hand, (377) *tṛṣitvā*, and so on, illustrate instances where nondenial of *Kit* status blocks *guṇa*.

1.2.26 *ralo vyupadhād*...
(383) *dyutitvā* / (384) *dyotitvā*

(385) *likhitvā* / (386) *lekhitvā*
(387) *didyutiṣate* / (388) *didyotiṣate*
(389) *lilikhiṣati* / (390) *lilekhiṣati*

The first two sets of examples illustrate how, depending on whether or not *Ktvā* is treated as *Kit*, *guṇa* of *u* or *i* is allowed or blocked. The next two sets illustrate instances of the affix *saN* being allowed or denied the *Kit* status. Accordingly, where *saN* is denied *Kit* status, *guṇa* replacement for the penultimate vowel of the *aṅga* — in the present cases, *didyut* and *lilikh* — cannot be blocked by 1.1.5 *kṅiti ca*. In the event that *saN* is treated as *Kit*, there will be no *guṇa*. For example given the string *dy* + *dyut* + *sa*, 7.3.86 *puganta...* would require the replacement of *u* by *o*. This can be blocked if, under the provisions of the present rule, *sa* is treated as *Kit*. The result will be *dydyu* + *sa*. However, if *sa* is not treated as *Kit*, 1.1.5 *kṅiti ca* cannot block 7.3.86 *puganta...* and the result will be *dydyo* + *sa*.

Details of deriving (383) *dyutitvā*/(384) *dyotitvā* have already been discussed under previous rules. For deriving the examples which involve *saN*, refer to the derivation of (304) *rurudiṣati* under 1.2.8 *rudvid....* The optional application of 7.3.86 *puganta...* which is not pertinent there is explained prior to step (*c*). With regard to (387) *didyutiṣate*/(388) *didyotiṣate*, also remember the following:

(*a*) given the strings *dy* + *dyut* + *i* + *sa* and *dy* + *dyot* + *i* + *sa*, parallel to (*d*) of (304) *rurudiṣati*, 7.4.67 *dyutisvapyoḥ...* will replace the first *y* of the strings by the corresponding *samprasāraṇa* vowel *i*, and
(*b*) the *LAṬ* after the derived roots *didyutiṣa* / *didyotiṣa* will be replaced by the third person singular *ātmanepada* ending.

1.2.27 *ukālo' jjhrasvadīrghaplutaḥ*
(391) *dadhi*
(392) *madhu*

Both *i* and *u* in these examples have the duration of one mora (*mātrā*). Given the strings *dadhi* + *chatram* and *madhu* + *chatram*, 6.1.71 *che ca* will introduce the augment *tUK* at the end (1.1.46 *ādyantau...*) of the short (*hrasva*) *i* and *u*. This will yield:

dadhi + *t*(*UK* → ∅) + *chatram* = *dadhi* + *t* + *chatram*, and
madhu + *t*(*UK* → ∅) + *chatram* = *madhu* + *t* + *chatram*.

Rule 8.4.40 *stoḥ ścunā ścuḥ* will later replace the *t* by *c* to yield:

dadhi + (*t* → *c*) + *chatram* = *dadhicchatram*, and
madhu + (*t* → *c*) + *chatram* = *madhucchatram*.

(393) *kumārī*
(394) *gaurī*

Given the strings *kumārī* + *sŨ* and *gaurī* + *sŨ*, 1.2.27 will assign the term *...rgha* to the long *ī*, which will then cause the deletion of *sŨ* by 6.1.66 *halṅyābhyo....* The result will be:

kumārī + (*sŪ* → ∅) = *kumārī*, and
gauri + (*sŪ* → ∅) = *gaurī*.
(395) *devadattā atra nvasi*

Given the string *devadatta* + *sŪ*, where *sŪ* is introduced to denote *sambodhana* 'address' (2.3.47 *sambodhane ca*), 8.2.105 *anantyasyāpi praśnākhyānayoḥ* requires that the final *a* of *devadatta* become *svarita* 'circumflex' and *pluta* 'extra-long'. Thus: *devadatta* + *sŪ* → *devadattā* + *sŪ*. The *sŪ* will be replaced by *rŪ* (8.2.66 *sasajuṣo ruh*), which in turn will be replaced by *r* (8.3.17 *bhobhago...*). Finally *r* will be deleted by 8.3.19 *lopaḥ śākalyasya* to yield:
devadattā + (*sŪ* → *rŪ* → *r* → ∅) = *devadattā*.
The purpose of the present rule here is to explain and assign the terms *hrasva, dīrgha,* and *pluta.*

1.2.28 *acaś ca*
(396) *atiri*
(397) *atinu*
(398) *upagu*

The final vowel in the above examples is a short replacement for *ai, au,* and *o*. For details, see note two under 1.1.48; also see (*f*) in the derivation of (*l*) *aupagavaḥ*. The purpose of this rule is to explain that short, long, and extra-long substitutes only replace vowels.

1.2.29 *uccair udāttaḥ*
(399) *ye*
(*a*) *yad*
1.2.45 *arthavad...*
4.1.1 *ṅyāp...*
4.1.2 *svaujas... # sŪP*-selection
it-deletion
= *yad* + (*J* → ∅)*as*
= *yad* + *as*
(*b*) *yad* + *as*
1.4.13 *yasmāt...*
6.4.1 *aṅgasya...*
7.2.102 *tyad... #* 1.1.52 *alo' ntyasya*
= *ya*(*d* → *a*) + *as*
= *ya* + *a* + *as*
(*c*) *ya* + *a* + *as*
6.4.97 *ato guṇe*
= *y*(*a* + *a* → *a*) + *as*
= *ya* + *as*
(*d*) *ya* + *as*
7.1.17 *jasaḥ śī #* 1.1.55 *anekāl...*
= *ya* + (*as* → *Śī*)

it-deletion
$= ya + \bar{\imath}$

(*e*) $ya + \bar{\imath}$

6.1.87 *ād guṇaḥ*
$= y(a + \bar{\imath} \rightarrow e)$
$= ye$

This derivational history does not account for accentuation. According to *Phiṭsūtra* 1 *phiṣo' ntodāttaḥ*, the final vowel of a stem is treated as *udātta*. Rule 1.2.29 explains what *udātta* is. Rule 3.1.4 *anudāttau suppitau* makes the *a* of *Jas* an *anudātta*, a term which is defined by 1.2.30. Thus, given the string *yad* + *as*, the *a* of *yad* will be *udātta* as opposed to the *anudātta a* of *Jas*. When *as* is replaced by *Śī*, the accent of *as*, namely *anudātta*, is automatically transferred to *Śī* on the strength of 1.1.56 *sthānivad*.... Similarly, given the string *ya* + *ī*, where *a* + *ī* gets replaced by *e*, 8.2.5 *ekadeśa*... will assign the *udātta* status to *e*. Remember that *e* is a single replacement for *a* + *ī* where *a* is *udātta* and *i* is *anudātta*.

The same rules apply in deriving (400) *te* from *tad* + *Jas* and (401) *ke* from *kim* + *Jas*, where in the latter example, *kim* is replaced by *ka* (see (207) *saḥ* for other details).

1.2.30 *nīcair anudāttaḥ*

(402) *tva, sam, sima,* and *nema* are all *anudātta* by *Phiṭsūtra* 78 *tvasamasimanemety anuccāni*

Thus: *tva, sama, sima,* and *nema*.

(403) *namaste rudra nīlakaṇṭha sahasrākṣa*

The *te* of *namaste* is a replacement for *tubhyam* ordered by 8.1.22 *te maya*.... It is also *anudātta* by 8.1.17 *anudāttam*.... All the other *pada*, namely *rudra nīlakaṇṭha sahasrākṣa*, are in the vocative (*sambodhana*), an address form. Consequently they will be termed *āmantritā* by 2.3.48 *sāmantritam*. Rule 8.1.18 *āmantritasya ca* will then order a blanket *anudātta*. Thus: *namaste rudra nīlakaṇṭha sahasrākṣa*.

The dative singular *tubhyam* of which *te* is a replacement is derived from *yuṣmad* + *Ṅe*, where (*Ṅ*)*e* is the singular member of the fourth triplet of *sUP*. Rule 7.2.95 *tubhya*... will order *tubhya* as a replacement for that part of the *aṅga* (1.4.13 *yasmāt*...) which extends up to and includes *m*. That is, *yuṣm* of *yuṣmad* + *Ṅe* will be replaced by *tubhya*, yielding *tubhya* + *ad* + *Ṅe*. Rule 7.2.90 *śeṣe lopaḥ* will delete *ad*, and 7.1.28 *ṅe prathamayor amādeśaḥ* will replace *Ṅe* by *am*. Given the string *tubhya* + (*ad* → ∅) + (*Ṅe* → *am*) = *tubhya* + *am*, 6.1.107 *ami pūrvaḥ* will apply to yield: *tubhy*(*a* + *a* → *a*)*m* = *tubhyam*.

1.2.31 *samāhāraḥ svaritāḥ*

(404) *śikyam*

(405) *kanyā*

Both of these words end in *svarita* by *phiṭsūtra* 76 *tilyaśikya....* The remaining accentuations will follow 6.1.158 *anudāttam...* whereby the *i* of *śikyam* and *a* of *kanyā* will be marked *anudātta.*

(406) *sāmanyaḥ*

This word underlies *sāman* + *sŨ*, where the affix *yaT* is introduced after *sāman* by 4.4.98 *tatra sādhuḥ.* Given the string *sāman* + *Ṅi* + *ya*(*T* → *Ø*) + *sŨ* = *sāmanya* + *sŨ*, we can easily derive *sämanyaḥ.* As for accentuation, *yaT* will be assigned *svarita* because it is marked with *T* (6.1.185) *tit svaritam*). The others will be assigned *anudātta* by 6.1.158 *anudāttam....*

(407) *kva*

This example is derived from *kim* + *Ṅi*, where *Ṅi* is locative singular (*saptamī ekavacana*) introduced by 4.1.2 *svauj....* Rule 5.3.12 *kimo' t* introduces the affix *aT.* Given the string *kim* + (*Ṅ* → *Ø*)*i* + *a* (*T* → *Ø*) = *kim* + *i* + *a*, 2.4.71 *supo dhātu...* will delete *i.* Rule 1.2.46 *kṛttaddhita...* will recognize *kim* + *a* as a *prātipadika* after which *sŨ* can be introduced by 4.1.2 *svauj....* Given the string *kima* + *sŨ*, first 7.2.105 *kvāti* will replace *kim* by *kva*, and then 6.4.148 *yasyeti ca* will delete the *a* of *kva.* This will yield (*kim* → *kva*) + *a* + *sŨ* = *kva* + *a* + *sŨ*, and *kv*(*a* → *Ø*) + *a* + *sŨ* = *kva* + *sŨ.* The *sŨ* itself will be deleted by 2.4.82 *avyayād...* because *kva* will be treated as a *taddhita* derivate termed indeclinable (see 1.1.38 *taddhitas...*).

Coming back to the accentuation of *kva*, we find that the *a* of affix *aT* (see *kim* + *aT*) will be *svarita* by 6.1.185 *tit svaritam.* The *a* of *kva* + *a* will be *udātta* because *kva* is a replacement for *kim* whose *i* was *udātta* by *phiṭsūtra* 1. Finally the *a* of *kva* will retain its *svarita* accent. Thus: *kva.*

1.2.41 *apṛkta ekāl pratyayaḥ*

(408) *ghṛtaspṛk*

(*a*) *ghṛta*

1.2.45 *arthavad...*
4.1.1 *ṅyāp*
4.1.2 *svauj...* # *sŨP*-selection
it-deletion
2.3.2 *karmaṇi...* # 1.4.49 *kartur...*
= *ghṛta* + *am*

(*b*) *ghṛta* + *am* + *spṛś*

(*b1*) *spṛś* 1.3.1 *bhūvādayo...*
3.1.91 *dhātoḥ*
3.1.92 *tatropapadam...*
3.2.58 *spṛśo...*
= *spṛś* + (*K* → *Ø*)*v*(*IN* → *Ø*) # *it*-deletion
= *spṛś* + *v*

(*c*) *ghṛta* + *am* + *spṛś* + *v*

1.4.41 *apṛkta...*
6.1.65 *ver apṛktasya*

= *ghṛta* + *am* + *spṛś* + (*v* → ∅)
= *ghṛta* + *am* + *spṛś*

(*d*) *ghṛta* + *am* + *spṛś*
1.2.46 *kṛttaddhita...*
2.4.71 *supo...*
= *ghṛta* + (*am* → ∅) + *spṛś*
= *ghṛtaspṛś*

(*e*) *ghṛtaspṛś*
4.1.1 *ṅyāp...*
4.1.2 *svauj...* # *sŨP*-selection
it-deletion
= *ghṛtaspṛś* + *s* (*Ũ* → ∅)
= *ghṛtaspṛś* + *s*

(*f*) *ghṛtaspṛś* + *s*
8.2.62 *kvinpratya...* # 1.1.50 *sthāne...*
= *ghṛtaspṛ* (*ś* → *k*) + *s*
= *ghṛtaspṛk* + *s*

(*g*) *ghṛtaspṛk* +*s*
1.2.41 *apṛkta...*
6.1.66 *halṅyā...*
= *ghṛtaspṛk* + (*s* → ∅)
= *ghṛtaspṛk*

(409) *arddhabhāk*
(410) *pādabhāk*

These examples derive from *arddha* + *am* + *bhaj* + *ṆvI* and *pāda* + *am* + *bhaj* + *ṆvI*, where the affix *ṆvI* has been introduced by 3.2.62 *bhajo...* after *bhajĀ*, which has the two *pada*, *arddha* + *am* and *pāda* + *am* in construction with it. The penultimate vowel of the *aṅga*, namely the *a* of *bhaj* in *arddha* + *am* + *bhaj* + *v* undergoes *vṛddhi* (1.1.1 *vṛddhir...*) by 7.2.116 *ata upadhāyāḥ*. This yields *arddha* + *am* + *bhāj* + *v*. The *v* of *ṆvI* is deleted by 6.1.66 *halṅyā...* on the strength of the term *apṛkta*. Given the string *arddha* + *am* + *bhāj*, 2.2.19 *upapadam...* will assign obligatory compounding, and 1.2.46 *kṛttaddhita...* will term *arddha* + *am* + *bhāj* as a nominal stem. Deletion of *am* by 2.4.71 *supo...* will naturally follow. Now one will introduce *sŨ* after *arddhabhāj* and subsequently delete it, as in (408) *ghṛtaspṛk*. The *j* of *arddhabhāj* will be replaced by *g* by 8.2.30 *coḥkuḥ*. Finally 8.4.55 *vāvasāne*, with reference to 1.4.110 *virāmo' vasānam*, will replace the resultant *g* of *arddhabhāg* by *k*. Similar rules apply in deriving *pādabhāk*.

1.2.42 *tatpuruṣaḥ...*
(411) *paramarājyam*
(412) *uttamarājyam*
(413) *pācakavṛndārikā*

Rule 1.2.42 *tatpuruṣaḥ* ... assigns the term *karmadhāraya* to a *tatpuruṣa* compound which has its constituents in syntactic coordination with *rājya* + *sŨ*. The same can be said of the relation between *pācikā* + *sŨ* and *vṛndārikā* + *sŨ*. The purpose of 1.2.42 is to explain what a *karmadhāraya tatpuruṣa* is. Thus, given a syntactically related string of two coordinate *pada, parama* + *sŨ* + *rājya* + *sŨ*, 2.1.57 *viśeṣaṇam...* will allow a *tatpuruṣa* (2.1.22 *tatpuruṣaḥ*) compound (2.1.4 *samāsaḥ*). Rule 1.2.46 *kṛttaddhita...* will assign the term *prātipadika* and consequently 2.4.71 *supo...* will delete the two *sŨ*. The result will be *parama* + (*sŨ* → ∅) + *rājya* + (*sŨ* → ∅) = *paramarājya*, a *karmadhāraya tatpuruṣa* compound termed nominal stem.

It should be noted that the term *viśeṣaṇam* 'qualifier' in 2.1.57 which allowed this compound is in the nominative, and hence a constituent which serves as a qualifier, here *parama*, will be termed *upasarjana* (1.2.43 *prathamā...*). Rule 2.2.30 *upasarjanaṃ pūrvam* will now require a *pada* termed *upasarjana* to be placed first in a compound. Given the nominal stem *paramarājya*, one can derive *paramarājyam* by introducing *sŨ* and following (*f*) of (39) *ādidhyanam*. The terms *karmadhāraya* and *samāsa* assigned to the stem will play a decisive role in determining accent. Thus, because of being part of a *karmadhāraya* compound, *rājya* will not have its initial vowel as *udātta* (see 6.2.130 *akarmadhāraye...*). Its final *a* will be *udātta* on the strength of being the final vowel of a compound (6.1.223 *samāsasya*). Similar rules apply on *uttamarājyam*.

(413) *pācakavṛndārikā*

The derivational history of this compound is slightly different. The underlying string of syntactically coordinate *pada* is *pācikā* + *sŨ* + *vṛndārikā* + *sŨ*. This *tatpuruṣa* compound is allowed by 2.1.62 *vṛndāraka...*, while 1.2.42 assigns the term *karmadhāraya*. Given the compound *pācikāvṛndārikā*, 6.3.42 *puṃvat...* would require masculine transformation of *pācikā*. The form now becomes *pācakavṛndārikā*. The nominative singular *sŨ* introduced after this stem will be deleted as in (409) *arddhabhāk*.

1.2.43 *prathama...*

(414) *kaṣṭaśritaḥ*

(415) *śaṅkulākhaṇḍaḥ*

(416) *yūpadāru*

(417) *vṛkabhayam*

(418) *rājapuruṣaḥ*

(419) *akṣaśauṇḍaḥ*

The above examples derive from the following strings.

(414) (*kaṣṭa* + *am* + *śrita* + *sŨ*) + *sŨ*

(415) (*śaṅkulā* + *Ṭā* + *khaṇḍa* + *sŨ*) + *sŨ*

(416) (*yūpa* + *Ṅe* + *dāru* + *sŨ*) + *sŨ*

(417) (*vṛka* + *NaṣI* + *bhaya* + *sŨ*) + *sŨ*

(418) (*rājan* + *Ṅas* + *puruṣa* + *sŪ*) + *sŪ*
(419) (*akṣa* + *Ṅi* + *śauṇḍa* + *sŪ*) + *sŪ*

These are all *tatpuruṣa* compounds where the first constituent *pada* ends in the second (*dvitīya*), third (*tṛtīyā*), fourth (*caturthī*), fifth (*pañcami*), sixth (*ṣaṣṭhī*), or seventh (*saptamī*) singular triplet of *sUP* respectively. The present rule defines *upasarjana* as a compound constituent which is referred to by *prathamā* (first triplet of *sŪP*) in a rule which allows such compounds. Because of their designation as *upasarjana,* these constituents are placed first in a compound (2.3.36 *upasarjanam...*)

The above compounds are allowed by the following rules respectively.
(414) 2.1.23 *dvitīyā...*
(415) 2.1.29 *tṛtīyā...*
(416) 2.1.35 *caturthī*
(417) 2.1.36 *pañcamī*
(418) 2.2.8 *ṣaṣṭhī*
(419) 2.1.39 *saptamī*

Since the constituents in question end in *dvitīyā,* and so on, and also since they have been referred to by the terms *dvitīyā,* and so on in *prathamā* (nominative) in rules which allow the compound formation, these constituents will be termed *upasarjana* and will be placed first in the compound. This is the reason why we have the arrangement of constituents of the above compounds as *kaṣṭaśrita,* and so on, and not, for example, as **śritakaṣṭa.*

The endings within parentheses will be deleted by 2.4.71 *supo...* once the compound strings are termed *prātipadika* 'nominal stem' by 1.2.46 *kṛttaddhitā....* One can now introduce *sŪ* after these nominal stems and derive *kaṣṭaśritaḥ, śaṅkulāhaṇḍaḥ, rājapuruṣaḥ,* and *akṣaśauṇḍaḥ* by *s-visarga.* The *n* of *rājanpuruṣa* + *sŪ* is deleted by 8.2.7 *na lopaḥ....*

Our other two examples, (416) *yūpadāru* and (417) *vṛkabhayam* are similarly derived. However *vṛkabhaya* + *sŪ* yields the form *vṛkabhayam* as in (*f*) of (39) *ādīdhyanam,* while the *sŪ of yūpadāru* + *sŪ* is deleted by 7.1.23 *svamor anapuṃsakāt.*

1.2.44 *ekavibhakti...*
(420) *niṣkauśāmbiḥ*
(421) *nirvārāṇasiḥ*

This rule assigns the term *upasarjana* to that constituent of a compound which has a fixed nominal ending. However, 1.2.44 also adds that such a term assignment is not for the purpose of placing *upasarjana* first in a compound. Thus the compound *niṣkauśāmbiḥ* may be analysed as *niṣkrāntaḥ kauśāmbyā, niskrāntaṃ kauśāmbyā, niṣkrāntena kauśāmbyā,* and so on, where *kauśāmbī* will always be in the ablative. On the other hand, *niṣkrānta* could be used with diverse endings. According to this, *kauśāmbī* will be termed *upasarjana* but cannot be placed first.

The underlying string for the compound is *nir + sŪ + kauśāmbī + ṄasI,* which after compound formation ruled by the *vārttika nirādayaḥ...* (see 2.2.18 *kugati...*), yields *nirkauśāmbī.* Although 1.2.44 blocks *kausāmbī* from being placed first in the compound, it enables it to undergo the shortening of its final vowel by 1.2.48 *gostriyor....* This can be regarded as the function of the term *upsarjana* as far as *kauśāmbī* is concerned. Given the string *nirkauśāmbī, sŪ* may be introduced. This should give the form *nirkauśāmbiḥ.* However, in this process there are two additional rule applications. Rule 8.3.15 *khara...* replaces the *r* of *nir* by *visarga* (*ḥ*), and 8.3.42 *idupadh....* replaces this *visarga* by *ṣ*. Thus: *ni(r → ḥ)kauśāmbiḥ → ni(ḥ→ ṣ) kauśāmbiḥ = niṣkauśāmbiḥ.* Note that these last two rules do not apply to the *nir* of (421) *nirvārāṇasiḥ.*

1.2.45 *arthavad...*
(422) *ḍitthaḥ*
(423) *kapitthaḥ*
(424) *kuṇḍam*
(425) *pīṭham*

These examples are derived by introducing *sŪ* after the nominal stems *ḍittha, kapittha, kuṇḍa,* and *pīṭha.* For deriving *ḍittahaḥ* and *kapitthaḥ* from *ḍittha + sŪ* and *kapittha + sŪ,* follow (*h-m*) of (1) *aupagavaḥ;* for deriving *kuṇḍam* and *pīṭham* from *kuṇḍa + sŪ* and *pīṭha + sŪ,* follow (*f*) of (39) *ādīhyanam.*

1.2.46 *kṛttaddhita...*
(426) *kārakaḥ*
(427) *hārakaḥ*
karttā see (177) under 1.1.51 *uraṇ...*
hartta see (178) under 1.1.51 *uraṇ...*
aupagavaḥ see (1) under 1.1.1 *vṛddhir...*
(428) *kāpaṭavaḥ* see (1) *aupagavaḥ* for deriving it from *kapaṭu + Ṅas + apatya + sŪ*
(419) *rājapuruṣaḥ* see (419) under 1.2.43 *prathamā...*
(429) *brāhmaṇakambalaḥ* see (419) *rājapuruṣaḥ* for deriving it from *brāhmaṇa + Ṅas + kambala + sŪ*

Example (426) *kārakaḥ* is derived from *ḌUkṛÑ + ṆvuL,* which will yield *kṛ + vu* after *it*-deletion. This *kṛt* (3.1.93 *kṛd atiṅ*) affix (3.1.1 *pratyayaḥ*) *ṆvuL* is introduced after (3.1.2 *paraś ca*) the root (3.1.91 *dhātoḥ*) by 3.1.133 *ṇvultṛcau* to denote agent (3.4.67 *karttari kṛt*). Given the string *kṛ + vu, vu* will be replaced by *aka* because of being part of an affix following the *aṅga kṛ* (see 7.1.1 *yuvor anākau;* also, 1.3.10 *yātha...*). The resultant string *kṛ(vu → aka) = kṛ + aka* will be subject to the application of 7.2.115 *aco' ñṇiti* whereby, with reference to 1.1.51 *uraṇ...., ṛ* will be replaced by *vṛddhi.* Thus we get *k(ṛ → ār) + aka = kāraka.* The word *kārakaḥ* is derived from *kāraka + sŪ* by *s-visarga.* Similar rules apply in deriving (427) *hārakaḥ* from *(hṛÑ + ṆvuL) + sŪ.*

1.2.47 *hrasvo...*
(430) *atiri kulam*
(431) *atinu kulam*

See notes one and two under 1.1.48 *ec igh....* For deriving *kulam* from *kula* + *sŨ*, see (*f*) of (39) *ādīhyanam.*

1.2.48 *gostriyor...*
(432) *citraguḥ*
(433) *śabalaguḥ*

These examples are derived from (*citrā* + *Jas* + *go* + *Jas*) + *sŨ* and (*śabalā* + *Jas* + *go* + *Jas*) + *sŨ*, where 2.2.24 *anekam anyapadārthe* allows a *bahuvrīhi* (2.2.23 *śeṣo bahuvrīhiḥ*) compound. After the assignment of the term *prātipadika* (1.2.46 *kṛttaddhita...*) and deletion of *Jas*, the strings become *citrāgo* and *śabalāgo*. The feminine forms *śabalā* and *citrā* are subject to masculine transformation by 6.2.34 *striyāḥ*. At the same time, 1.2.48 requires that a short vowel should replace the *o* of *go*. What should be a proper short substitute for *o* is decided by 1.1.48 *ec igh...* in conjunction with 1.3.10 *yathāsaṃkhya....* Thus we get: *citr*(*ā* → *a*)*g*(*o* → *u*) = *citragu* and *śabal*(*ā* → *a*) *g* (*o* → *u*) = *śabalagu*. Now *sŨ* can be added to these stems to derive *citraguḥ* and *śabalaguḥ*.

(434) *niṣkauśāmbiḥ* see under 1.2.44 *ekavibhakti...*
(435) *nirvārāṇasiḥ* see under 1.2.44 *ekavibhakti...*
(436) *atikhaṭvaḥ*
(437) *atimālaḥ*

These examples are derived similarly to the preceding two. Given the strings *ati* + *sŨ* + *mālā* + *am* and *ati* + *sŨ* + *khaṭvā* + *am*, the nominal stems will be *atimālā* and *atikhaṭvā*. The final vowels of these stems will be shortened by 1.2.48.

1.2.49 *luk taddhitaluki*
(438) *pañcendraḥ*
(439) *daśendraḥ*
(440) *pañcaśaṣkuliḥ*
(441) *pañcaśaṣkulam*
(442) *āmalakam*
(443) *badaram*
(444) *kuvalam*

Example (438) *pañcendraḥ* is derived by combining *pañcan* + *Jas* + *indrāṇī* + *Jas* by 2.1.50 *taddhitārtha...* under the condition of further *taddhita* affixation. Given the string *pañcan* + *Jas* + *indrāṇī* + *Jas*, the resultant *dvigu* (2.1.52 *saṃkhyā...*) compound, after deletion of the two nominative plurals *Jas*, will be: *pañcanindrāṇī*. Rule 1.2.46 *kṛttaddhita...* will assign the term *prātipadika* and 8.2.7 *na lopaḥ...* will delete the *n* of *pañcan*. In addition, 6.1.87 *ād guṇaḥ* will order a *guṇa* (1.1.2 *adeṅ...*) replacement for the

sequence *a* + *i* of *pañcaindrāṇī*. The result will be *pañcendrāṇī*. What follows next is the *taddhita* affixation which conditions the *dvigu* compound. In order to fully understand the impact of *LUK* — deletion in this example, however, one must understand the derivational details of *indrāṇī*, the final constituent of the *dvigu*.

indrāṇī

(*a*) *indra*

1.2.45 *arthavad...*
4.1.1 *ṅyāp...*
4.1.3 *striyām*
4.1.49 *indra...ānuk* # 1.1.46 *ādyantau...*
= *indra* + (*Ṅ* → ∅) *ī* (*Ṣ* → ∅) # *it*-deletion
= *indra* + *ī*
= *indra* + *ān*(*UK* → ∅) + *ī* # *it*-deletion
= *indra* + *ān* + *ī*

(*b*) *indra* + *ān* + *ī*

8.4.2 *aṭkup...*
= *indra* + *ā*(*n* → *ṇ*) + *ī*
= *indra* + *āṇ* + *ī*

(*c*) *indra* + *āṇ* + *ī*

6.1.101 *akaḥ savarṇe...*
= *indr*(*a* + *ā* → *ā*)*ṇ* + *ī*
= *indrāṇī*

Going back to the derivation of *pañcendra* from *pañcendrāṇī*, we introduce the *taddhita* (4.1.76 *taddhitāḥ*) affix *aṆ* to *pañcendrāṇī* (see 4.2.24 *sāsya devatā*). This affix subsequently gets deleted by 4.1.88 *dvigor....* However, the resultant form at this step is not *pañcendrāṇī* + (*aṆ* → ∅) = *pañcendrāṇī* as one might expect; instead the form is *pañcendra*.

Since *aṆ* is a *taddhita* affix whose deletion is accomplished by *LUK*, 1.2.49 makes the deletion of the feminine affix (*Ṅ*) *ī* (*Ṣ*) obligatory. This should yield **pañcendrāṇ* rather than *pañcendra*. Pāṇinīyas here invoke *paribhāṣā* 86: *sanniyogaśiṣṭānām anyatarāpāye ubhayor apy anyatarasya apāyaḥ*, by which we learn that when two things are introduced simultaneously, once one is removed the other also must be removed. The introduction of augment *ān* (*UK*) took place at the same time as the feminine affix (*Ṅ*)*ī*(*Ṣ*). If (*Ṅ*)*ī*(*Ṣ*) is removed, *ān*(*UK*) must also be removed. Thus the original base which received (*Ṅ*)*ī*(*Ṣ*) and *ān*(*UK*), namely *indra*, is restored. This is how we get *pañcendra*, the stem which yields *pañcendraḥ* after the introduction of *sU*.

Similar rules apply in deriving (439) *daśendraḥ*.

(440) *pañcaśaṣkuliḥ* / (441) *pañcaśaṣkulam*

The compound *pañcaśaṣkulī* is derived from *pañcan* + *bhis* + *śaṣkulī* + *bhis* similarly to the derivation of *pañcendrāṇī*. However the *taddhita* affix

introduced after *pañcaśaṣkulī* is *ṬHaK*, denoting 'purchased by' (see 5.1.37 *tena krītam*). Given the string *pañcaśaṣkulī* + *ṬHaK*, 5.1.28 *adhyardha...* will delete *ṬHaK* by *LUK*, since *pañcaśaṣkulī* is a *dvigu* (2.1.52 *saṃkhyā...*) denoting a *saṃjñā* 'name'. As in *pañcendrāṇī*, once the *taddhita* affix is removed by *LUK*, the feminine affix *ṄīṢ* which was introduced after *śaṣkula* by 4.1.41 *ṣidgaurādibhyaḥ* must also be removed. This will yield *pañcaśaṣkula*, after which *sŨ* can be added to derive *pañcaśaṣkulam* as in (*f*) of (39) *ādīdhyanam*.

(442) *āmalakam*

This example is derived from *āmalaka* + *sŨ* where *āmalaka*, the stem, is derived by first introducing the feminine affix *ṄīṢ* to *āmalaka* (4.1.41 *ṣidgaurā...*) and then introducing the *taddhita* affix *mayaṬ* (4.3.144 *nityam*, # 1.1.73 *vṛddhir...*, 1.1.1 *vṛddhir...*) after *āmalakī* + *Ṅas*. Since *mayaṬ* gets deleted by 4.3.163 *phale luk*, 1.2.49 also requires the deletion of *ṄīṢ*. Thus: *āmalaka* + *ṄīṢ* = *āmalakī*, with the final *a* of *āmalaka* being deleted by 6.4.148 *yasyeti ca*; *āmalakī* + *Ṅas* + *mayaṬ* = *āmalakī* + (*Ṅas* → ∅; see 2.4.71 *supo...*) + (*mayaṬ* → ∅) = *āmalaka*; *āmalaka* + *sŨ* = *āmalakam*.

(443) *badaram*

(444) *kuvalam*

The affix *mayaṬ* is introduced to denote *vikāra* 'modification, product'. Affix *aṆ* is similarly introduced by 4.3.140 *anudāttād...* after *badarī* and *kuvalī*, both ending in *ṄīṢ*. The remaining rule applications are similar to *āmalakam*.

1.2.50 *id goṇyāḥ*

(183) *pañcagoṇiḥ* see under 1.1.52 *alo' ntyasya*

(184) *daśagoṇiḥ* see under 1.1.52 *alo' ntyasya*

1.2.51 *lupi yuktavad...*

(445) *pañcālāḥ*

(446) *magadhāḥ*

(447) *matsyāḥ*

(448) *aṅgāḥ*

(449) *suhmāḥ*

(450) *puṇḍrāḥ*

The word *pañcālāḥ* refers to the country of residence of the *pañcāla* warriors. Two *taddhita* affixes are entailed in the derivation of the base *pañcāla*. First *pañcāla* + *Ṅas* is to be derived, and then the affix *aÑ* is to be introduced after it to denote offspring (see (1) *aupagavaḥ*). Given the string *pañcāla* + *Ṅas* + *aÑ*, 4.1.174 *te tadrājāḥ* will assign the term *tadrāja* to *aÑ*. Consequently, 2.4.62 *tadrājasya* will delete it by *LUK*. *Ṅas* will also be deleted by 2.4.71 *supo...*

The second affix which is introduced to *pañcāla*, the new base, is *aÑ*, which is used to denote 'the residence of those' where the variable 'those' refers to

the many offspring of *pañcāla* warriors (4.2.68 *tasya nivāsaḥ*). Note that *aÑ* is added after *pañcāla* + *ām*, a genitive plural. Given the string *pañcāla* + *ām* + *aÑ*, *ām* will be deleted by 2.4.71 *supo...* and *aÑ* will be deleted by 4.2.80 *janapade lup*. This yields *pañcāla*, a *prātipadika* (1.2.46 *kṛttaddhita...*) after which *Jas* (nominative plural) is introduced to derive *pañcālāḥ* as follows.

(*a*) *pañcāla* + (*J* → *Ø*) *as* # *it*-deletion
= *pañcāla* + *as*

(*b*) *pañcāla* + *as*
6.1.100 *prathamayoḥ...*
= *pañcāl*(*a* + *a* → *ā*)*s*
= *pañcālās*

(*c*) *pañcālās*
s-visarga
= *pañcālāḥ*

It should be noted here that *pañcāla* must denote masculine plural as the *taddhita* affix *aÑ* was deleted by *LUP*. Rule 1.2.51 thus allows the retention of the original number and gender.

All the other examples under this rule are similarly derived. However, in their derivation the first *taddhita* affix is *aÑ*, introduced by 4.1.170 *dvyñ...* to denote 'many offspring'. The remaining rule applications are identical to *pañcālāḥ*.

1.2.52 *viśeṣaṇānāṃ cājāteḥ*

(451) ***godau***

The word *godau* refers to a village, possibly with two ponds. The word itself is dual, meaning ponds. Given an analysed form such as *godayor adūrabhavo grāmaḥ* 'a village near two ponds', one may introduce the affix *aṆ* after *goda* + *os* to denote 'located not far from' (4.2.70 *adūra...*). Incidentally, *os* is the genitive dual introduced after *goda* 'pond'. Affix *aṆ* is deleted by 4.2.82 *varaṇādi...* and *os* by 2.4.71 *supo....* Thus: *goda* + *os* + *aṆ* → *goda* → *os* + (*aṆ* → *Ø*) = *goda* + (*os* → *Ø*) = *goda*. When one wants to add another *sUP* after *goda*, what would be its number? One would naturally think that since *goda* refers to a village it should be singular, but 1.2.51 does not allow this. Instead *goda* must remain dual since the original number of the base should be retained. That is why the deletion of *aṆ* was accomplished by *LUP*.

Given the string *goda* + *au* where *au* is nominative dual, 6.1.102 *prathamayoḥ...* would require that the sequence *a* + *au* be replaced by *ā*. Rule 6.1.104 *nād ici* blocks this on the grounds that *a* was followed by a vowel denoted by *iC* (*Śs*, 1-4). Rule 6.1.88 *vṛddhir eci* will now order a single *vṛddhi* replacement *au* for *a* + *au*. Thus: *god*(*a* + *au* → *au*) = *godau*.

1.2.53 *tad aśiṣyam...*

(452) ***āpaḥ***

(*a*) *ap*

1.2.45 *arthavad...*
4.1.1 *ṅyāp...*
4.1.2 *svauj... # sUP*-selection and so on
2.3.46 *prātipadikārtha...*
1.4.21 *bahuṣu bahuvacanam*
= *ap* + (*J* → ∅) *as* # *it*-deletion
= *ap* + *as*

(*b*) *ap* + *as*

6.4.111 *aptṛn...*
= (*a* → *ā*)*p* + *as*
= *āp* + *as*

(*c*) *āp* + *as*

s-visarga
= *āpaḥ*

(453) *dārāḥ*

This form is derived from *dārā* + (*J* → ∅) *as* = *dārā* + *as* where the sequence *ā* + *a* is replaced by *ā* by 6.1.98 *akaḥ savarṇe...* The resultant form, *dār*(*ā* + *a* → *ā*)*s* = *dārās* will undergo *s-visarga* to yield *dārāḥ*. Similar rules apply in deriving (454) *sikatāḥ* and (455) *varṣāḥ* from *sikatā* + *Jas* and *varṣā* + *Jas*.

(456) *gṛhāḥ*

This example derives from *gṛha* + (*J* → ∅) *as* = *gṛha* + *as* where the sequence *a* + *a* is replaced by a single long vowel homogeneous with the preceding one (6.1.102 *prathamayoḥ...*). The application of *s-visarga* on *gṛhās* yields *gṛhāḥ*.

1.2.59 *asmado...*
(457) *ahaṃ bravīmi*
(458) *āvāṃ brūvaḥ*
(458) *vayaṃ brūmaḥ*
(460) *aham*

(*a*) *asmad*

1.2.45 *arthavad...*
4.1.1 *ṅyāp...*
4.1.2 *svauj... # sUP*-selection
it-deletion
= *asmad* + *s*(*Ū* → ∅)
= *asmad* + *s*

(*b*) *asmad* + *s*

1.4.13 *yasmāt...*
6.4.1 *aṅgasya*
7.1.128 *ṅe prathamayor am*
= *asmad* (*s* → *am*)
= *asmad* + *am*

(*c*) *asmad* + *am*

7.2.91 *ma paryantasya*

= (*asm* → *aha*) *ad* + *am*

= *aha* + *ad* + *am*

(*d*) *aha* + *ad* + *am*

7.2.90 *śeṣe lopaḥ*

= *aha* + *a*(*d* → ∅) + *am*

= *aha* + *a* + *am*

(*e*) *aha* + *a* + *am*

6.1.97 *ato guṇe* # 1.1.2 *adeṅ guṇaḥ*

= *ah*(*a* + *a* → *a*) + *am*

= *aha* + *am*

(*f*) *aha* + *am*

6.1.107 *ami pūrvaḥ*

= *ah*(*a* + *a* → *a*) *m*

= *aham*

(458) *āvām*

This example is derived from *asmad* + *au* where the rules of (*b*) of *aham* will produce *asmad* + *am*. As in (*c*) of *aham*, *asm* will be replaced by *ava* (7.2.92 *yuvāvau*...). This will yield: *āva* + *ad* + *am*. The *d* will be deleted and *āva* + *a* + *am* will be subject to the applications of (*e*) of *aham*. Finally *āva* + *am* will produce *āvām* by the following rule applications.

(*a*) *āva* + *am*

7.2.88 *prathamā*...

= *āv*(*a* → *ā*) + *am*

= *āvā* + *am*

(*b*) *āvā* + *am*

6.1.107 *ami pūrvaḥ*

= *āv* + (*ā* + *a* → *ā*) *m*

= *āvām*

(459) *vayam*

This example is derived from *asmad* + *Jas* where *asm* is replaced by *vaya* with reference to 7.2.93 *yūyavayau jasi*. The remaining steps are similar to *aham*.

(457) *bravīmi*

This example underlies *brūÑ* 'to speak' and is derived from *brū*(*Ñ* → ∅) + *ŚaP* + *mi* where *mi* is a replacement for *LAṬ*. Since the root is listed in the *ad* class, *ŚaP* is deleted by 2.4.72 *adi*.... Given the string *brū* + *mi*, 7.3.93 *bruva iṭ* introduces augment *i*(*Ṭ*) at the end of *brū* (1.1.46 *ādyantau*...). The resultant string *brū* + *ī* + *mi* is subject to *guṇa* and *av* replacement of *o* as in (15) *bhavati* and (*e*) of (13) *tarati*.

(460) *brūvaḥ*

(461) *brūmaḥ*

apply to term the final *t* of *āt* an *it*. This may eventually lead to the deletion as in (*a*) of (462) *vṛkṣāt*, plus 2.3.46 *prātipadikārtha*...

These examples are derived from *brūÑ* + *ŚaP* + *LAṬ* where *LAṬ* is replaced by *vas* in *brūvaḥ* and *mas* in *brūmaḥ*. These derivations are straightforward. After the deletion of *ŚaP*, all that remains is *s-visarga* to change *brūvas* and *brūmas* into *brūvaḥ* and *brūmaḥ*.

The derivation of examples relative to rules 1.2.60-1.3.3 have been excluded. This is because they may be easily comprehended by reference to the notes under the relevant rules, or because similar derivations are to be found elsewhere in the appendix.

1.3.4 *na vibhaktau tusmāḥ*

(462) *vṛkṣāt*

(*a*) *vṛkṣa*

1.2.45 *arthavad...*
1.4.24 *dhruvam*
= *vṛkṣa*

(*b*) *vṛkṣa*

4.1.1 *ṅyāp...*
4.1.2 *svauj... # sUP*-selection
= *vṛkṣa* + *ṄasI*

(*c*) *vṛkṣa* + *ṄasI*

1.4.13 *yasmāt*
6.4.1 *aṅgasya*
7.1.12 *ṭāṅasiṅas... #* 1.3.10 *yathā...*
= *vṛkṣa* + (*ṄasI* → *āt*)
= *vṛkṣa* + *āt*

Rule 7.1.12 requires that the instrumental, ablative, and genitive singular endings *Ṭā*, *ṄasI*, and *ṄaS* be replaced by *in*, *āt*, and *sya* when they occur after an *aṅga* ending in *a*. Given the string *vṛkṣa* + *āt*, 1.3.3 *halantyam* may apply to term the final *t* of *ān* at *it*. This may eventually lead to the deletion of *t* by 1.3.9 *tasya lopaḥ*. However, since *ṄasI* is termed a *vibhakti* by 1.4.103-4 *supaḥ-vibhaktiś ca*, and also since 1.1.56 *sthānivad...* extends this designation to *āt*, 1.3.4 blocks the *it* designation of *t* of *āt*.

(*d*) *vṛkṣa* + *āt*

6.1.70 *saṃhitāyām*
6.1.102 *akaḥ savarṇe dīrghaḥ*
= *vṛkṣ*(*a* + *ā* → *ā*)*t*
= *vṛkṣāt*

Similar rules apply in deriving (463) *plakṣāt* from *plakṣa* + *ṄasI*.

(464) *brāhmaṇāḥ*

(*a*) *brāhmaṇa*

as in (*a*) of (462) *vṛkṣāt*, plus 2.3.46 *prātipadikārtha...*
= *brāhmaṇa* + *Jas*

(*b*) *brāhmaṇa* + *Jas*

it-deletion
= *brāhmaṇa* + *as*

See the explanation in (*c*) of (462) *vṛkṣāt* for the reason why the *s* of *as* cannot be termed an *it* and hence is deleted.

(*c*) *brāhmaṇa* + *as*
6.1.70 *saṃhitāyām*
6.1.102 *prathamayoḥ pūrvasavarṇaḥ*
= *brāhmaṇ*(*a* + *a* → *ā*)*s*
= *brāhmaṇā* + *s*

(*d*) *brāhmaṇā* + *s*
s-visarga
= *brāhmaṇāḥ*

(465) *pacataḥ*

This example follows the same pattern given in (*a-c*) of (10) *pacanti*, except that 1.4.22 *bahuṣu...* is not appropriate in this derivation. Instead, 1.4.23 *dvekayor...* facilitates the selection of the third person dual ending *tas*. Given the string *pac* + *tas*, *ŚaP* can be introduced to yield *pac* + *a* + *tas* *pacataḥ* by *s-visarga*.

One may similarly derive (466) *pacathaḥ* from *pac* + *a* + *thas*, where *thas*, the second person dual *parasmaipada* ending, replaces *LAṬ*.

(467) *apacatām*

(*a*) *ḌUpacĀṢ*
as in (*a*) of (10) *pacanti*, plus the non-*it rules* of (*a*) of (16) *akārṣīt*
= *pac* + *LAṄ*

(*b*) *pac* + *LAṄ*
as in (*d*) of (16) *akārṣīt*
= *pac* + (*LAṄ* → *tas*)
1.4.22 *dvyekayor...*
= *pac* + *tas*

(*c*) *pac* + *tas*
3.4.101 *tasthasthamipām...*
1.3.10 *yathāsaṃkhya...*
= *pac* + (*tas* → *tām*)
= *pac* + *tām*

(*d*) *pac* + *tām*
as in (*d*) of (10) *pacanti*, but *tām* may be treated as a *tiṄ* only by 1.2.56 *sthānivad...*
= *pac* + *ŚaP* + *tām*
= *pac* + *a* + *tām*

(*e*) *pac* + *a* + *tām*
as in (*f*) of (16) *akārṣiit*
= *aṬ* + *pac* + *a* + *tām*
it-deletion

= *a* + *pac* + *a* + *tām*

(*f*) *a* + *pac* + *a* + *tām*

1.4.14 *suptiṅantaṃ padaṃ*

= *apacatām*

1.3.5 *ādir ñiṭuḍavaḥ*

(468) *minnaḥ*

(469) *dhṛṣṭaḥ*

(470) *kṣviṇṇaḥ*

(471) *iddhaḥ*

These examples are derived from:

(468) *ÑImidĀ* + *Kta* + *sŨ*

(469) *ÑIdhṛṣĀ* + *Kta* + *sŨ*

(470) *ÑIkṣvidĀ* + *Kta* + *sŨ*

(471) *ÑIindhĪ* + *Kta* + *sŨ*

All these examples involve *ÑI* as a root-initial *it* which is deleted by 1.3.9 *tasya lopaḥ*. The final *Ā* and *Ī* are also deleted. For placement of *Kta*, see (*b*) of (26) *citaḥ*. However, note that 3.2.187 *ñītaḥ ktaḥ* introduced the affix to denote the present tense. Also note that, as in (*c*) of (26) *citaḥ*, the augment *iṬ*, as well as *guṇa*, will be blocked by 7.2.16 *āditaś ca* and 1.1.5 *kṅiti ca*. Given the string *mid* + *ta*, 8.2.42 *radābhyām...* will replace both *d* and *t* by *n*: *mi*(*dn*) + (*t* → *n*) *a* = *minna*. *Similar phonological operations relevant to the other examples are as follows.*

(469) *dhṛṣ* + *ta*

8.4.41 *ṣṭunā ṣṭuḥ*

= *dhṛṣ* + (*t* → *ṭ*) *a*

= *dhṛṣṭa*

(470) *kṣvid* + *ta*

8.2.42 *radābhyām...*

= *kṣvi*(*d* → *n*) + (*t* → *n*)*a*

= *kṣvin* + *na*

8.4.2 *aṭkupvāṅ...*

= *kṣvi* (*n* → *ṇ*) + (*n* → *ṇ*)*a*

= *kṣviṇṇa*

(471) *indh* + *ta*

6.4.24 *aniditām...*

= *i*(*n* → ∅) *dh* + *ta*

= *idh* + *ta*

8.2.40 *jhaṣasta...*

= *idh* + (*t* → *dh*)*a*

= *idh* + *dha*

8.4.53 *jhalām...*

= *i*(*dh* → *d*) + *dha*

= *iddha*

To derive (468) *minnaḥ,* and the others, from *minna* + *sŨ,* and so on, follow (*d*) of (26) *citaḥ.*

(472) *vepathuḥ*

(473) *śvayathuḥ*

The above examples are derived from (*ṬUvepṚ* + *athuC*) + *sŨ* and (*ṬUOśvi* + *athuC*) + *sŨ,* where *ṬU* and the nasalized vowels are termed *it* by 1.3.5 *ādir*...and 1.3.2 *upadeśe*... and deleted by 1.3.9 *tasya lopaḥ.* The affix *athuC* is introduced after these roots (1.3.1 *bhūvādayo*..., 3.1.91 *dhātoḥ*) to denote *bhāva* 'root sense' by 3.3.89 *ṭvito' thuc.* The final *C* of *athuC* is deleted by 1.3.9 *tasya lopaḥ* for being an *it* (1.3.3 *hakāmuyam*). This yields *vep* + *athu* = *vepathu,* which is a *prātipadika* (1.2.46 *kṛttaddhita*...) since it ends in a *kṛt* (3.1.93 *kṛd atiṅ*). Since *athuC* is termed an *ārddhadhātuka* (3.4.114 *ārddhadhātukam*...), not being a *tiṄ* nor being marked with *Ś* (3.4.113 *tiṅśit*....), 7.3.84 *sārvadhātuka*... applies in the *aṅga* domain (1.4.13 *yasmāt*...., 6.4.1 *aṅgasya*). However, only *śvi* + *athu* qualifies for *guṇa* application:

śvi + *athu* 7.3.84 *sārvadhātuka*... # 1.1.12 *adeṅ guṇaḥ*
= *śv*(*i* → *e*) + *athu*
= *śve* + *athu*

Given the string *śve* + *athu,* 6.1.78 *eco' yavāyāvaḥ* applies to yield: *śv*(*e* → *ay*) + *athu* = *śvayathu.* The placement of *sŨ* after both *vepathu* and *śvayathu* yields *vepathuḥ* and *śvayathuḥ* by *s-visarga.*

(474) *paktrimam*

(475) *uptrimam*

(476) *kṛtrimam*

These examples involve roots such as *ḌUpacĀṢ* 'to cook', *ḌUvapĀ* 'to sow', and *ḌUkṛÑ* 'to do, make' which all have initial *ḌU* as an *it.* As the initial *ṬU* in the preceding examples allowed the introduction of *athuC, ḌU* allows the introduction of *Ktri.*

(*a*) *ḌUpacĀṢ*
it-deletion
= *pac*

(*b*) *pac*
1.3.1 *bhūvādayoḥ*...
3.1.91 *dhātoḥ*
3.3.88 *ḷvitaḥ ktriḥ*
= *pac* + *Ktri*
it-deletion
= *pac* + *tri*

(*c*) *pac* + *tri*
8.2.30 *coḥ kuḥ*
1.1.50 *sthāne*...
= *pa* (*c* → *k*) + *tri*
= *paktri*

(*d*) *paktri*

1.2.46 *kṛttaddhita...*
4.1.1 *ṅyāp...*
4.4.20 *kter mam nityam*
= *paktri* + *maP*
it-deletion
= *paktri* + *ma*
= *paktrima*

(*e*) *paktrima*

as in (*e-f*) of (39) *adīdhyanam*
= *paktrimam*

Similar rules apply in deriving *kṛtrimam* and *uptrimam.* Note, however, that given the form *vaptrima,* 6.1.15 *vacisvapi...* requires the *samprasāraṇa* (1.1.45 *ig yaṇaḥ*) of the initial *v.* Thus: (*v* → *u*) *aptrima* = *uaptrima.* Rule 6.1.108 *samprasāraṇāc ca* then orders a single replacement of *u* for the initial *ua: (ua* → *u)ptrima* = *uptrima.*

1.3.6 *ṣaḥ pratyayasya*
(477) *narttakī*

(*a*) *nṛtI*

1.3.1 *bhūvādayo...*
1.3.2 *upadeśe...*
1.3.9 *tasya lopaḥ*
= *nṛt*

(*b*) *nṛt*

3.1.91 *dhātoḥ*
3.1.145 *śilpini ṣvuñ*
= *nṛt* + *ṢvuÑ*

(*c*) *nṛt* + *ṢvuÑ*

it-deletion
= *nṛt* + *vu*

(*d*) *nṛt* + *vu*

1.4.13 *yasmāt...*
6.4.1 *aṅgasya*
7.1.1 *yuvor anākau* # 1.3.10 *yathā...*
= *nṛt* + (*vu* → *aka*)
= *nṛt* + *aka*

(*e*) *nṛt* + *aka*

7.3.86 ***puganta*** # 1.1.2 ***adeṅ guṇaḥ,*** 1.1.51 ***ur aṇ...***
= ***n(ṛ → ar)t + aka***
= ***nartaka***

(*f*) ***nartaka***

1.2.46 ***kṛttaddhita...***
4.1.1 ***ṅyāp...***

4.1.41 *ṣidgaurādibhyaḥ*
= *nartaka* + *ṄīṢ*

(*g*) *nartaka* + *ṄīṢ*

it-deletion
nartaka + *ī*

(*h*) *nartaka* + *ī*

1.4.18 *yaci bham*
6.4.148 *yasyeti ca*
= *nartak* (*a* → ∅) + *ī*
= *nartakī*

(*i*) *nartakī*

8.4.46 *aco rahābhyām...*
1.4.17 *svādiṣv...*
8.1.16 *padasya*
= *nar*(*t* → *tt*) *akī*
= *narttakī*

Similar rules apply in deriving (478) *rajakī* from *rañjÃ* + *ṢvuÑ* + *ṄīṢ*. Note, however, that the nasal of *rañjÃ* is deleted by a *vārttika* on 6.4.24 *aniditām...* (cf. *rajakarajana...*).

1.3.7 *cuṭū*

(479) *kauñjāyanyaḥ*

This example is derived from *kuñja* + *Ṅas* + *phaK* in a manner similar to (3) *āśvalāyanaḥ*. However, before an operation similar to (*h*) of (3) *aśvalāyanaḥ* may be carried out, 5.3.113 *vrātacphañor...* applies.

kauñjāyan 5.3.113 *vrātacphañor...*
= *kauñjāyan* + *Ñya*
it-deletion
= *kauñjāyanya*

brāhmaṇāḥ

See (464) under 1.3.4 *na vibhaktau....*

(480) *śāṇḍikyaḥ*

This example is derived similarly to many of the *taddhita* derivations already given. The underlying string is *śaṇḍika* + *sŪ*, after which the *taddhita* affix *Ñya* (4.3.92 *śaṇḍikādibhyaḥ...*) is added to denote *abhijana* 'country' 4.3.90 *abhijanaś ca*). Given the string *śaṇḍika*, + *sU* + *Ñya*, deletion of *Ū*, *Ñ*, and the final *a* of *śaṇḍika*, together with the *vṛddhi* replacement of the first *a*, can be accomplished as in the previous examples.

(481) *kurucarī*

(*a*) *kuru*

sUP-selection
= *kuru* + *sUP*

(*b*) *car*

1.3.1 *bhūvādayo...*

3.1.91 *dhātoḥ*
3.1.92 *tatropapadam...*
3.2.16 *careṣ ṭaḥ*
= *car* + *Ṭa*

Note here that *Ṭa* cannot be introduced after *car* unless *kuru* + *sŪ*, a *pada*, is referred to by *saptamī* 'seventh triplet of *sUP*', which here is *adhikaraṇa* of 3.2.15 *adhikaraṇe...*

(*c*) *kuru* + *sUP* + *car* + *Ṭa*
it-deletion
= *kuru* + *sUP* + *car* + *a*

(*d*) *kuru* + *sUP* + *car* + *a*
2.1.22 *tatpuruṣaḥ*
2.2.19 *upapadam atiṅ*
= *kuru* + *sUP* + *cara*

(*e*) *kuru* + *sUP* + *cara*
1.2.45 *kṛttaddhita...*
2.4.71 *supo...*
= *kuru*(*sUP* → ∅) *cara*
= *kurucara*

(*f*) *kurucara*
4.1.1 *ṅyāp...*
4.1.15 *ṭiḍḍhā...*
= *kurucara* + *ṄīP*
= *kurucara* + *ī*

Note here that the initial *it* of the *Ṭa* in which *kurucara* terminates facilitates the introduction of *ṄīP*.

(*g*) *kurucara* + *ī* as in (*h*) of (477) *narttakī*
= *kurucar*(*a* → ∅) + *ī*
= *kurucarī*

The same rules apply in deriving (482) *madracarī*.

(483) *upasarajaḥ*
(484) *mandurajaḥ*

The base *upasara* is an *avyayībhāva* (2.1.5 *avyayībhāvaḥ*) compound (*samāsa* # 2.1.3 *prāk...*) ruled by 2.1.6 *avyayaṃ...* The affix *Ḍā* is introduced after *janĪ* 'to be born', come into existence' by 3.2.97 *saptamyāṃ janer ḍaḥ* under conditions similar to (481) *kurucarī*. Thus we get *upasara* + *Ṅi* + *jan* + *Ḍa*, where *Ṅi* is introduced after *upasara* according to the pattern of (5) *śālīyaḥ*.

(*a*) *upasara* + *Ṅi* + *jan* + *Ḍa*
1.4.13 *yasmāt...*
1.4 1 *aṅgasya*
6.4.143 *teḥ*
= *upasara* + *Ṅi* + *j*(*an* → ∅) + *Ḍa*
= *upasara* + *Ṅi* + *j* + *Ḍa*

Note that *an* was deleted mostly on the strength of *Ḍa* being marked with *Ḍ*.

(*b*) *upasara* + *Ṅi* + *j* + *a*
as in (*c-e*) of (481) *kurucarī*
s-visarga
= *upasarajaḥ*

One may similarly derive (484) *mandurajaḥ* from *mandurā* + *Ṅi* + *jan* + *Ḍa*) + *sŨ*. However, before applying rules as in (*b*) of (483) *upasarajaḥ*, one must apply 6.3.61 *ṅyāpo...* to replace the long vowel of *mandurā* by short *a*. This application also implies that the base *mandurā* is derived from *mandura* + *āP* where *āP* is a feminine suffix.

(485) *ānnaḥ*

This example is derived by introducing the *taddhita* (4.1.76 ***taddhitāḥ***) affix *Ṇa* (4.4.85 *annāṇṇaḥ*) after a syntactically related *pada* ending in *dvitīyā* 'second triplet of *sUP*' and underlying the stem *anna* 'food'. The *dvitīyā* after *anna* is introduced by 2.3.2 *karmaṇi dvitīyā* to denote *karman* 'object' (1.4.49 *kartur īpsita...*). Given the string *anna* + *am* + *Ṇa*, 1.3.7 *cuṭu* and 1.3.9 *tasya lopaḥ* cause *it*-deletion. The initial *a* of *anna*, an *aṅga* (1.4.13 *yasmāt...*, 6.4.1 *aṅgasya*), is replaced by *vṛddhi* (1.1.1 *vṛddhir...*) by 7.2.117 *taddhiteṣv....* Thus we get (*a* → *ā*)*nna* + *am* + (*Ṇ* → ∅) *a* = *ānna* + *am* + *a*. This full string is termed a *prātipadika* (1.2.46 *kṛttaddhita...*) and 2.4.71 *supo...* deletes its *am*. The new string, *ānna* + *a*, is subject to the application of 6.4.148 *yasyeti ca* as in (*h*) of (477) *narttakī*: *ānn*(*a* → ∅) + *a* = *ānna*. The final form *ānnaḥ* is derived from *ānna* + *sŨ* by *s-visarga*.

1.3.8 *laśakv ataddhite*

(486) *cayanam*

(*a*) *ciÑ*
as in (*a*) of (26) *citaḥ*
= *ci*

(*b*) *ci*
1.3.1 *bhūvādayo...*
3.1.91 *dhātoḥ*
3.1.95 *kṛtyāḥ*
3.3.115 *lyuṭ ca*
= *ci* + *LyuṬ*

(*c*) *ci* + *LyuṬ*
as in (*g*) of (477) *narttakī*
= *ci* + *yu*

(*d*) *ci* + *yu*
as in (*d*) of (477) *narttakī*
= *ci* + (*yu* → *ana*)
= *ci* + *ana*

(*e*) *ci* + *ana*

as in (*h-i*) of (11) *jayanti*

= *c*(*i* → *e*) + *ana*

= *c*(*e* → *ay*) + *ana*

= *cayana*

(*f*) *cayana*

as in (*e-f*) of (39) *adīdhyanam*

= *cayana* + (*sŨ* → *am*)

= *cayan*(*a* + *a* → *a*)*m*

= *cayanam*

Similar rules apply in deriving (487) *jayanam* from *ji* + *LyuṬ*.

(15) *bhavati*

See under 1.1.3.

(488) *pacati*

See (13) *tarati*. Note, however, that (*e*) is not applicable here.

(489) *bhuktaḥ*

(490) *bhuktavān*

See my notes under 1.1.26 *ktavatū*.

(491) *priyaṃvadaḥ*

(*a*) *priya*

1.2.45 *arthavad...*
4.1.1 *ṅyāp...*
4.1.2 *svaujas...* # 1.4.102 *tāny...* and so on...
2.3.2 *karmaṇi...*

= *priya* + *am*

(*b*) *vcdÃ*

it-deletion

= *vad*

(*c*) *vad*

1.3.1 *bhūvādayo...*
3.1.91 *dhātoḥ*
3.1.92 *tatropapadam...*
3.1.93 *kṛd atiṅ*
3.2.38 *priyavaśe*

= *vad* + *KHaC*

Note here that *KHaC* cannot be introduced after *vad* unless there is a co-occurring *pada* denoting object and underlying *priya* or *vaśa*.

(*d*) *priya* + *am* + *vad* + *KHaC*

it-deletion

= *priya* + *am* + *vad* + *a*

(*e*) *priya* + *am* + *vad* + *a*

same as (*d-e*) of (481) *kurucarī*

= *priyavada*

(*f*) *priyavada*

1.4.13 *yasmāt...*
6.4.1 *aṅgasya*
6.3.65 *arurdviṣad...* # 1.1.46 *midaco...*
= *priya(mŪM)vada*
= *priyamvada*

(*g*) *priyamvada*

s-visarga, except that here 8.2.34 *naścāpadāntasya jhali* replaces the *m* with *anusvāra* (*ṃ*)
= *priya(m → ṃ) vada + (sŪ → ḥ)*
= *priyaṃvadaḥ*

Similar rules apply in deriving (492) *vaśaṃvadaḥ* from (*vaśa + am + vadÃ + KHaC*) + *sŪ*

(37) *jiṣṇuḥ*

(38) *bhūṣṇuḥ*

See derivations (37) and (38).

(493) *bhaṅguram*

This example is derived by introducing the affix (3.1.1 *pratyayaḥ*) *GHuraC* (3.2.161 *bhañjabhāsa...*) after (3.1.2 *paraś ca*) the verbal root (1.3.1 *bhūvādayo...*, 3.1.91 *dhātoḥ*) *bhañjÃ* to denote the action denoted by these verbs as the nature (*śīla*) of their agent. Given the string *bhañjÃ + GHuraC*, *it*-deletion will yield *bhañj + ura*, which will be subject to rule application in the *aṅga* (1.4.13 *yasmāt...*, 6.4.1 *aṅgasya*) domain. There, with reference to 1.1.50 *sthāne...*, 7.3.52 *cajoḥ ku ghiṇyatoḥ* will apply to replace the *j* by *g*: *bhañ(j → g) + ura = bhañgura*. Once *bhañgura* is termed a *prātipadika* (1.2.46 *kṛttaddhita...*) and *sŪ* is introduced (4.1.1 *ṅyāp...*, 4.1.2 *svauj...*), 7.1.24 *ato' m* will replace *sŪ* by *am*. The nasal of *bhañgura + am* will be replaced first by *anusvāra* (*ṃ*) by 8.3.24 *naś cāpadantasya...*, and then by *ṅ* by 8.4.57 *anusvārasya....* Thus, we get *bha (ñ → ṃ)gura + am → bha(ṃ → ṅ)gura = bhaṅgura + am*. Finally, 6.1.107 *ami pūrvaḥ* will apply to yield *bhaṅgur(a + a → a)m = bhaṅguram*.

(462) *vṛkṣāt*

See under 1.3.4 *na vibhaktu...*

(494) *vṛkṣasya*

This example is derived by introducing the genitive singular *Ṅas* after the nominal stem *vṛkṣa* by 2.3.50 *ṣaṣṭhī śeṣe*. Other rules relating to the selection of *Ṅas* present no problem. As in (462) *vṛkṣāt*, 7.1.12 *ṭāṅasi...* replaces *as* by *sya* to yield *vṛkṣa + (Ṅas → sya) = vṛkṣasya*.

(495) *glāyate*

(*a*) *glai*

as in (*a-b*) of (10) *pacanti*
= *glai + LAṬ*

Note that *LAṬ* is introduced after *glai* to denote *bhāva* 'root sense' (3.4.69 *laḥ karmai...*).

(*b*) *glai* + *LAṬ*

3.4.77 *lasya*
3.4.78 *tiptasjhi* # 1.4.99 *laḥ parasmaipadam*, 1.4.100 *taṅānāv ātmanepadam*, 1.4.101 *tiṅas...* # *tiÑ*-selection
= *glai* + (*LAṬ* → *ta*)
= *glai* + *ta*

(*c*) *glai* + *ta*

3.4.79 *ṭit ātmanepadānām...* # 1.1.64 *aco' ntyādi ṭi*
= *glai* + *t*(*a* → *e*)
= *glai* + *te*

(*d*) *glai* + *te*

3.4.113 *tiṅśit sārvadhātukam*
3.1.67 *sārvadhātuke yak*
= *glai* + *yaK* + *te*
it-deletion
= *glai* + *ya* + *te*

(*e*) *glai* + *ya* + *te*

6.1.45 *ādec upadeśe...*
= *gl*(*ai* → *ā*) + *ya* + *te*
= *glāyate*

Similar rules apply in deriving (496) *supyate* and (497) *āsyate*. Note, however, that rules at (*e*) of (495) *glāyate* are not applicable. In addition, given the string *svap* + *ya* + *te*, where the root is *ÑIsvap*, the following rules apply.

(*e*) *svap* + *ya* + *te*

6.1.15 *vacisvapi...* # 1.1.45 *ig yaṇaḥ...*
= *s*(*v* → *u*)*ap* + *ya* + *te*
= *suap* + *ya* + *te*

(*f*) *suap* + *ya* + *te*

6.1.108 *saṃprasāraṇāc ca*
= *s*(*u* + *a* → *u*) *p* + *ya* + *te*
= *supyate*

Examples (498) *kriyate* and (499) *hriyate* are similarly derived from *ḌUkṛÑ* + *yaK* + *ta* and *hṛÑ* + *yaK* + *ta*. However, in both these derivations, the *aṅga* (1.4.13 *yasmāt...*, 6.4.1 *aṅgasya*) final *ṛ* is replaced by *riṄ* by 7.4.28 *riṅ śaya....*

Thus:
k(*ṛ* → *ri*) (*Ṅ* → ∅) + *ya*(*K* → ∅) + *t*(*a* → *e*)
= *kri* + *ya* + *te*
= *kriyate*
h(*ṛ* → *ri*) (*Ṅ* → ∅) + *ya*(*K* → ∅) + *t*(*a* → *e*)

$= hri + ya + te$
$= hriyate$

1.3.14 *karttari karmavyatīhāre*
(500) *vyatilunate*
(501) *vyatipunate*

Both *lūÑ* and *pūÑ* are used here with the preverbs *vi* and *ati*. Given the string *vi* + *ati* + *lū*, placement of *LAṬ* and its replacement by *tiṄ* is similar to (*a-b*) of (495) *glāyate*. However, at (*b*) there are two different rule applications.

(1) plural is introduced by 1.2.21 *bahuṣu...*
(2) *ātmanepada* is introduced by 1.3.14 *karttari...*

Thus: *vi* + *ati* + *lū* + (*LAṬ* → *jha*) = *vi* + *ati* + *lū* + *jha*

(*d*) *vi* + *ati* + *lū* + *jha*
3.4.113 *tiṅśit...*
3.1.67 *kartari śap*
3.1.81 *kryādibhyaḥ śnā*
$= vi + ati + lū + Śnā + jha$
it-deletion
$= vi + ati + lū + nā + jha$

(*e*) *vi* + *ati* + *lū* + *nā* + *jha*
1.4.13 *yasmāt...*
6.4.1 *aṅgasya*
7.1.5 *ātmanepadeṣv...*
$= vi + ati + lū + nā + (jh \rightarrow at)a$
$= vi + ati + lū + nā + at + a$

(*f*) *vi* + *ati* + *lū* + *nā* + *at* + *a*
7.3.80 *pvādīnām...*
$= vi + ati + l(ū \rightarrow u) + nā + at + a$
$= vi + ati + lu + nā + at + a$

(*g*) *vi* + *ati* + *lu* + *nā* + *at* + *a*
6.4.112 *śnābhyas...*
$= vi + ati + lu + n(ā \rightarrow \emptyset) + at + a$
$= vi + ati + lun + at + a$

(*h*) *vi* + *ati* + *lun* + *at* + *a*
as in (*c*) of (495) *glāyate*
$= vi + ati + lun + at + e$

(*i*) *vi* + *ati* + *lun* + *at* + *e*
6.1.77 *iko yaṇ aci* # 1.3.10 *yathā...*
$= v(i \rightarrow y) + ati + lun + at + e$
$= vy + ati + lun + at + e$
$= vyatilunate$

The same rules apply in deriving (502) *vyatipunate*.

(503) *vyatigacchanti*

This example is derived from *vi* + *ati* + *gam* + *ŚaP* + *jhi* where the root *gamḷ* is used with the preverbs *vi* and *ati*; see (10) *pacanti* for details. Given the string *vi* + *ati* + *gam* + *a* + *jhi*, the root final *m* is replaced by *ch* (see 7.3.77 *iṣugami...* # 1.1.51 *alo' ntyasya*). The resulting *vi* + *ati* + *gach* + *a* + *jhi* receives the augment *tUK* by 6.1.73 *che ca:*

vi + *ati* + *ga* + *t* + *ch* + *a* + *jhi*

6.1.77 *iko yaṇ aci*

= *v*(*i* → *y*)*ati* + *ga* + *t* + *ch* + *a* + *jhi*

After the replacement of the *jh* of *jhi* by *ant* as in (10) *pacanti*. 8.4.40 *stoś cunā ścuḥ* will apply: *vyati* + *ga* + (*t* → *c*) + *ch* + *a* + *ant* + *i* = *vyatigaccha* + *anti*. The final *a* of *vyatigaccha* and the initial *a* of *anti* will be replaced by a single *a: vyatigacch*(*a* + *a* → *a*)*nti* = *vyatigacchanti*.

Example (504) *vyatisarpanti* is derived from *vi* + *ati* + *sṛpḷ* + *ŚaP* + *jhi* = *vyati* + *sṛp* + *anti*, where the *ṛ* undergoes *guṇa* (1.1.2 *adeṅ guṇaḥ*) by 7.3.36 *puganta*.... Thus: *vyati* + *s*(*ṛ* → *ar*)*p* + *anti* = *vyatisarpanti*.

Example (505) *vyatihiṃsanti* is similarly derived from *vi* + *ati* + *hisI* + (*LAṬ* → *jhi*). Since the root belongs to the *rudh* class, *ŚnaM* will be introduced by 3.1.78 *rudhādi...* read with 1.1.47 *midaco...* Thus: *vi* + *ati* + *hi* + *na* + *s* + *jhi*. In addition, the augment *nUM* will have to be introduced by 7.1.58 *idito...*, again with reference to 1.1.47 *midaco...*, since the root is marked with *I* and the augment is marked with *M: vi* + *ati* + *hi* + *na* + *n* + *s* + *jhi*. This *n* is later deleted by 6.4.23 *śnānnallopaḥ*. Similarly 6.4.111 *śnasor...* deletes the *a* of *na*. Thus we get *vi* + *ati* + *hi* + *na* + (*n* → ∅) + *s* + *ihi* → *vi* + *ati* + *hi* + *n*(*a* → ∅) + *s* + *jhi* = *vi* + *ati* + *hi* + *n* + *s* + *jhi*. We have already explained how *vi* + *ati* yields *vyati*, and how *jhi* yields *anti*. Given the string *vyati* + *hins* + *anti*, 8.3.24 *mo' nusvāraḥ* will replace the *n* by *anusvāra* (*ṃ*): *vyati* + *hi*(*n* → *ṃ*)*s* + *anti* = *vyatihiṃsanti*.

Example (506) *vyatighnanti* is derived from *vi* + *ati* + *han* + *ŚaP* + *jhi*, where *ŚaP* is introduced by 3.1.68 *karttari śap*. Since *han* belongs to the *ad* class, *ŚaP* must be deleted by 2.4.72 *adiprabhṛti...* Given the string *vi* + *ati* + *han* + *jhi*, 6.4.98 *gamahana...* requires the *a* of *han* to be deleted: *vi* + *ati* + *h*(*a* → ∅)*n* + *jhi*. Furthermore 7.3.54 *ho hante...* makes it necessary that the *h* of *hn* be replaced by *gh* (see 1.1.50 *sthāne...*). This will give us *vi* + *ati* + (*h* → *gh*)*n* + *jhi* = *vi* + *ati* + *ghn* + *jhi*, which after the replacement of *jh* by *ant* and the change of *vi* to *vy*, yields *vyatighnanti*.

1.3.16 *itaretarānyonyopapadāc ca*

(507) *vyatilunanti*

This example is derived in the same way as (500) *vyatilunate*, except that here *LAṬ* is replaced by the *parasmaipada* ending *jhi* which yields *anti*. The

other rules pertinent to deriving *vyatilun* from *vi* + *ati* + *lū* + *śnā* are the same.

1.3.17 *ner viśaḥ*
(508) *niviśate*
(509) *niviśante*

Example (508) *niviśate* is derived from *niviś* + *LAṬ* where *LAṬ* is replaced by the third person singular *ātmanepada* ending *ta* as in (*b-c*) of (495) *glāyate*. The *tudādi* root *viś* here is used with the preverb *ni*. Given the string *niviś* + *ta*, 3.1.77 *tudādibhyaḥ...* will introduce *Śa*. For deriving *niviśate* from *niviś* + *Śa* + *ta*, apply rules similar to (*a*) of (491) *glāyate*. Thus: *niviś* + *a* + *t*(*a* → *e*) = *niviśate*.

Example (509) *niviśante* is similarly derived from *niviś* + *Śa* + *jha* where *jha* is a third person plural *ātmanepada* replacement for *LAṬ*. This *jha* will yield *ante* by first replacing the *a* of *jha* by *e* as in (*e*) of (495) *glāyate*, and then replacing the *jh* by *ant* as in (*f*) of (10) *pacanti*.

1.3.18 *parivyavebhyaḥ kriyaḥ*
(510) *parikrīṇīte*
(511) *vikrīṇīte*
(512) *avakrīṇīte*

Example (510) *parikrīṇīte* is derived from *parikrī* + *LAṬ* where *ḌUkrīÑ* is used with the preverb *pari*. The *LAṬ* is replaced by the third person singular *ātmanepada* ending *ta*. Given the string *parikrī* + *ta*, 3.1.80 *kryādibhyaḥ...* introduces *Śnā* as in (*d*) of (500) *vyatilunate*. The resulting string *parikrī* + *Śnā* + *ta* becomes *parikrī* + *nā* + *ta* by *it*-deletion, and the following steps apply.

(*a*) *parikrī* + *nā* + *ta*
as in (*c*) of (495) *glāyate*
= *parikrī* + *nā* + *t*(*a* → *e*)
= *parikrī* + *nā* + *te*

(*b*) *parikrī* + *nā* + *te*
1.4.13 *yasmāt...*
6.4.1 *aṅgasya*
6.4.113 *ī haly aghoḥ* # 1.1.52 *alo' ntyasya*
= *parikrī* + *n*(*ā* → *ī*) + *te*
= *parikrī* + *nī* + *te*

(*c*) *parikrīnīte*
1.4.14 *suptiṅ...*
8.4.2 *aṭ kupvāṅ...*
= *parikrī*(*n* → *ṇ*)*īte*
= *parikrīṇīte*

The same rules apply in deriving (511) *vikrīṇīte* and (512) *avakrīṇīte* where the root is used with the preverbs *vi* and *ava*.

1.3.19 *viparābhyāṃ jeḥ*
(513) *vijayate*
(514) *parājayate*

These examples are derived from *viji* + *LAṬ* and *parāji* + *LAṬ*, where *vi* and *parā* are preverbs. In both cases, *LAṬ* is replaced by the third person singular *ātmanepada* ending *ta* which eventually yields *te* as in (*b-d*) of (495) *glāyate*. The two bases before *te* will finally become *vijayate* and *parājayate* exactly in the same manner as *jaya* before *anti* in (11) *jayanti*.

1.3.20 *āṅo do' nāsyaviharaṇe*
(515) *ādatte*

This form is derived from *ādā* + *LAṬ*, where *ḌUdāÑ* is used with the preverb *āṄ*. Given the string *ādā* + *LAṬ*, the third person singular *ātmanepada* ending *ta* will replace *LAṬ* and will, as usual, be replaced by *te*. The following steps then apply.

(*a*) *ādā* + *te*
as in (*c-d*) of (230) *babdhām*
= *ādā* + (*ŚaP* → *Ø*) + *te*
= *ādā* + *te* (step *c*)
= *ādā* + *dā* + *te* (step *d*)

(*b*) *ādā* + *dā* + *te*
1.4.13 *yasmāt...*
6.4.1 *aṅgasya*
6.4.112 *śnābhyas...*
= *ādā* + *d*(*ā* → *Ø*) + *te*
= *ādā* + *d* + *te*

(*c*) *ādā* + *d* + *te*
7.4.59 *hrasvaḥ*
= *ād*(*ā* → *a*) + *d* + *te*
= *āda* + *d* + *te*

(*d*) *āda* + *d* + *te*
1.4.14 *suptiṅ...*
8.4.55 *khari ca*
= *āda* + (*d* → *t*) + *te*
= *ādatte*

1.3.21 *krīḍo' nusaṃparibhyaś ca*
(516) *anukrīḍate*
(517) *saṅkrīḍate*
(518) *parikrīḍate*
(519) *ākrīḍate*

The *ātmanepada* endings are introduced by this rule when *krīḍR* is used with the preverbs *anu, sam, pari,* or *āN*. Given the preverb-root sequences *anukrīḍ, samkrīḍ, parikrīḍ,* and *ākrīḍ, LAṬ* will be introduced. After *LAṬ* is replaced by the third person singular *ātmanepada* ending (*ta* → *te*), *ŚaP* is introduced. This yields *anukrīḍ + a + te = anukrīḍate, parikrīḍate,* and *ākrīḍate*. With *samkrīḍate*, two further rules apply. Rule 8.3.24 *naś cāpadāntasya...* replaces the *m* of *sam* with *anusvāra* (*ṃ*), and 8.4.57 *anusvārasya...* replaces the *anusvāra* (*ṃ*) with *ṅ*. Thus: *samkrīḍ + a + te = saṃkrīḍate* → *saṅkrīḍate*.

Note also in this connection that 8.4.59 *vā padāntasya* will make the application of 8.4.57 optional. But the *m* of *sam* must occur at the end of a *pada*. This condition is met by *sam + sŨ*, where *sam*, an *upasarga*, is assigned the terms *nipāta* and *avyaya*. The *sŨ* can now be dropped and thereby *m* of *sam* becomes *padānta* 'occurring at the end of a *pada*'. Thus, we may get forms such as follows: *saṅkrīḍate/saṃkrīḍate*. The same process applies to (520) *santiṣṭhate* (see the following rule).

1.3.22 *samavapravibhyaḥ sthaḥ*
(520) *santiṣṭhate*
(521) *avatiṣṭhate*
(522) *vitiṣṭhate*
(523) *ātiṣṭhate*

The derivation of these examples is similar to those cited under the preceding rule. However, note that in the present examples, *sthā* is replaced by *tiṣṭha* by 7.3.78 *pāgrhā....* Thus: *sam(sthā* → *tiṣṭha) + ŚaP + te samtiṣṭha + a + te*. Given this latter string, the sequence *a + a* will be replaced by a single *a* by 6.1.97 *ato guṇe*. The resulting string, *samtiṣṭha + te*, will be subject to the application of two *anusvāra* rules as in (*a-b*) of (517) *saṅkrīdate*. Thus: *sa(m* → *ṃ* → *n)tiṣṭha + te = santiṣṭhate*. The other examples follow the same pattern.

1.3.23 *prakāśanastheyākhyayoś ca*
(524) *tiṣṭhate*

This example is derived in the same manner as the examples under 1.3.22. The root is used alone here, without preverb.

1.3.24 *udo' nūrdhvakarmaṇi*
(525) *uttiṣṭhate*

Here *sthā* is used with the preverb *ut*. For the details of derivation, see the examples under 1.3.22.

1.3.25 *upānmantrakaraṇe*
(526) *upatiṣṭhate*

The root *sthā* is used with the preverb *upa*; the derivation follows the pattern shown under 1.3.22.

1.3.27 *udvibhyaṃ tapaḥ*
(527) *uttapate*
(528) *vitapate*

These examples are derived from *uttap* + *ŚaP* + (*ta* → *te*) and *vitap* + *ŚaP* + (*ta* → *te*). where *tapÃ* 'to be hot' is used with the preverbs *ut* and *vi*.

1.3.28 *āṅu yamahanaḥ*
(529) *āyacchate*
(530) *āyacchete*
(531) *āyacchante*
(532) *āhate*
(533) *āghnāte*
(534) *āghnate*

Example (529) *āyacchate* is derived from *āyam* + *ŚaP* + (*ta* → *te*), where *yamÃ* 'to give' is used with the preverb *āṄ*, and *yam* yields the form *yacch* as in (503) *vyatigacchanti*. Thus: *āya*(*m* → *ch*) + *a* + *te* = *āya*(*ch* → *cch*) + *a* + *te* = *āyacchate*.

(530) *āyacchete*

(*a*) *āyam* + *LAṬ*
LAṬ is replaced by the third person dual *ātmanepada* ending *ātām*
= *āyam* + *ātām*

(*b*) *āyam* + *ātām*
introduction of *ŚaP*; *tiṄ*-selection
it-deletion
= *āyam* + *a* + *ātām*

(*c*) *āyam* + *a* + *ātām*
3.4.79 *ṭit ātmanepadānām...* # 1.1.64 *aco' ntyādi ṭi*
= *āyam* + *a* + *āt*(*ām* → *e*)
= *āyam* + *a* + *āte*

(*d*) *āyam* + *a* + *āte*
1.4.13 *yasmāt...*
6.4.1 *aṅgasya*
7.2.81 *āto ṅitaḥ*
= *āyam* + *a* + (*ā* → *iy*)*te*
= *āyam* + *a* + *iyte*

(*f*) *āyam* + *a* + *iyte*
7.3.77 *iṣugami...* # 1.1.54 *alo'...*
= *āya*(*m* → *ch*) + *a* + *iyte*
= *āyach* + *a* + *iyte*

(*g*) *āyach* + *a* + *iyte*
6.1.64 *lopo vyor...*
= *āyach* + *a* + *i*(*y* → *Ø*)*te*
= *āyach* + *a* + *ite*

(*h*) *āyach + a + ite*

6.1.87 *ād guṇaḥ*; 6.1.73 *che ca*

= *āyach + (a + i → e)te*

= *āya + t + ch + ete*

(*i*) *āyatch + ete*

1.4.14 *suptiṅ...*

8.4.40 *stoś cunā ścuḥ*

= *āya(t → c)ch + ete*

= *āyacchete*

(531) *āyacchante*

This example is derived from *āyam + LAṬ*, where *LAṬ* is replaced by the third person plural *ātmanepada* ending *jha*, which finally yields *ante* as in (*c*) of (495) *glāyate* and (*f*) of (10) *pacanti*. Given the string *āyam + a + ante*, follow (*e-g*) of (529) *āyacchate*. This will yield *āyatch + a + ante*. An application of rules from (*g*) of (10) *pacanti* will yield *āyatch + (a + a → a)nte = āyatch + ante*. Now follow (*i*) of *āyacchate* to arrive at *āyacchante*.

(532) *āhate*

Given the string *āṄ + han + LAṬ*, where *āṄ* is a preverb, *LAṬ* will be replaced by the third person singular *ātmanepada* ending *ta*. The resulting *āhan + ta*, will receive *ŚaP*, which will be deleted by 2.4.72 *adiprabhṛtibhyaḥ...*: *āhan + (ŚaP → ∅) + ta = āhan + ta*. The *ta* will yield *te* as usual, and the *n* of *han* will be deleted by 6.4.37 *anudāttopadeśa....* This will yield: *āha(n → ∅) + t(a → e) = āha + te = āhate*.

(533) *āghnāte*

Given the string *āhan + LAṬ*, *LAṬ* will be replaced by the third person dual *ātmanepada* ending *ātām*, and *ŚaP* will be introduced and then deleted. Follow (*d*) of (530) *āyacchete* to arrive at *āhan + āte*. To derive *āghnāte* from *āhan + āte*, apply 6.4.98 *gamahanā...* and 7.3.54 *ho hante* as in (506) *vyatighnanti*. This will yield: *āh(a → ∅)n + āte = ā(h → gh)n + āte = āghnāte*.

(534) *āghnate*

This example involves replacing the *LAṬ* of *āhan + LAṬ* by the third person plural *ātmanepada* ending *jha*. After *ŚaP* has been introduced and deleted, apply rules as in (*e*) and (*h*) of (500) *vyatilunate*. This will yield *āhan + (jh → at)a → āhan + at(a → e) = āhan + ate*. The deletion of the penultimate *a* of *han* and the replacement of *h* by *gh* follows the same rule applications as in (533) *āghnāte*. Thus: *āh(a → ∅)n + ate → ā(h → gh)n + ate = āghnate*.

1.3.29 ***samo gamyṛcchibhyām***

(535) ***saṅgacchate***

(536) ***samṛcchate***

The first example is derived from *samgam + LAṬ*, where *gamḶ* is used with the preverb *sam*. As in other examples, *LAṬ* will be replaced by the

third person singular *ātmanepada* ending *ta*, the *a* of which will be replaced by *e*. Given the string *samgam* + *te*, *ŚaP* will be introduced, and operations specific to *gam* will be carried out. For these operations, see (*e*), (*g*), and (*i*) of (529) *āyacchate*. These rule applications will yield *samgacch* + *a* + *te*. A further rule application similar to (*a-b*) of (517) *saṅkrīḍate* will change the *m* of *sam* to *ṅ*. The result will be *sa*(*m* → *ṃ* → *ṅ*)*gacch* + *a* + *te* = *saṅgacchate*.

The underlying string for (536) *samṛcchate* is *sam* + *ṛcch* + *Śa* + *ta*, where *sam* is a preverb and *ta* is the replacement for *LAṬ*. Since the root belongs to the *tud* class, *Śa* is introduced before *ta* (3.1.77 *tudādi...*). Deriving *samṛcchate* from *sam* + *ṛcch* + *a* + *ta* only entails the replacement of the *a* of *ta* by *e* (see 3.4.79 *ṭit ātmanepadānām...*).

1.3.30 *nisamupavibhyo hvaḥ*
(537) *nihvayate*
(538) *saṃhvayate*
(539) *upahvayate*
(540) *vihvayate*

All these examples are derived from *hveÑ* + *LAṬ* used with the preverbs *ni*, *sam*, *upa*, or *vi*. The third person singular *ātmanepada* ending *ta* replaces *LAṬ* in all cases. Given the string *ni* + *hve* + *ta*, *ŚaP* will be introduced prior to operations specific to the change of *ta* to *te*. Finally rules similar to (*i*) of (11) *jayanti* will apply to *nihve* + *a* + *te* to yield *nihv*(*e* → *ay*) + *a* + *te* = *nihvayate*. The same thing happens in the other examples. However, note that in the case of *sam* + *hv*(*e* → *ay*) + *a* + *te*, additional rule applications similar to (*a-b*) of (517) *saṅkrīḍate* are also required.

1.3.31 *sparddhāyām āṅaḥ*
(541) *āhvayate*

See (537) *nihvayate* for deriving this example from *āṄ* + *hveÑ* + *LAṬ*

1.3.32 *gandhanāvakṣepaṇasevanasāhasikyapratiyatnaprakathanopayogeṣu kṛñaḥ*
(542) *utkurute*
(543) *udākurute*
(544) *upakurute*
(545) *prakurute*
(546) *upaskurute*

These examples are all derived by introducing the affix *LAṬ* after *ḌUkṛÑ* used with the preverb *ut*, *ut* + *āṄ*, *upa*, or *pra*. *LAṬ* is replaced by the *ātmanepada* third person singular ending *ta* under conditions outlined under 1.3.32. Given the string *ut* + *kṛ* + (*ta* → *te*) = *ut* + *kṛ* + *te*, *u* will be introduced in place of *ŚaP* because the root belongs to the *tanādi* class (see 3.1.79 *tanādikṛñ...*). The resulting string will undergo operations similar to (*c-d*) of (279) *kurutaḥ*. Similar rules apply to (544) *upakurute* and (545) *prakurute*. (543) *udākurute* and (546) *upaskurute*, however, are slightly

different. Given the string *ut* + *āṄ* + *kṛ* + *LAṬ*, the *t* of *ut* will be replaced by *d* by 8.2.39 *jhalāṃ Jaśo...* Now *udā* + *kṛ* + *LAṬ* will yield *udākurute*. Given the string *upa* + *kurute*, to derive *upaskurute*, 8.1.139 *upāt pratiyatna...* will apply to introduce the augment *sŪṬ*. Thus: *upa* + *s*(*ŪṬ* → *Ø*) + *kurute* = *upaskurute*. Also note that the genitive *Ṅas* of *udakasya* and *guḍasya* is introduced to denote the object (see 2.3.53 *kṛñaḥ pratiyatne*).

1.3.33 *adheḥ prasahane*

(547) *adhicakre*

(*a*) *adhi* + *ḌUkṛÑ*
*it*deletion
= *adhikṛ*

(*b*) *adhikṛ*
1.3.1 *bhūvādayo...*
3.1.91 *dhātoḥ*
3.2.115 *parokṣe liṭ*
= *adhikṛ* + *LIṬ*

(*c*) *adhikṛ* + *LT*
as in (*b*) of (495) *glāyate*, except that *atmanepada is introduced by 1.3.33 adheḥ*
= *adhikṛ* + (*LIṬ* → *ta*)
= *adhikṛ* + *ta*

(*d*) *adhikṛ* + *ta*
3.4.81 *liṭastajhayor...* # 1.1.55 *anekāl...*
= *adhikṛ* +(*ta* → *eŚ*)
it-deletion
= *adhikṛ* + *e*

(*e*) *adhikṛ* + *e*
6.1.8 *liṭi dhātor...* # 1.5.59 *dvirvacane...*
= *adhikṛ* + *kṛ* + *e*

(*f*) *adhikṛ* + *kṛ* + *e*
= 6.1.77 *iko yaṇ aci*
= *adhikṛ* + *k*(*ṛ* → *r*)) + *e*
= *adhikṛ* + *kr* + *e*

(*g*) *adhikṛ* + *kr* + *e*
1.4.13 *yasmāt*
6.4.1 *aṅgasya*
7.4.66 *urāt* # 1.5.51 *uraṇ...*
= *adhik*(*ṛ* → *ar*) + *kr* + *e*
= *adhikar* + *kre*

(*h*) *adhikar* + *kre*
7.4.60 *halādi...*
adhika(*r* → *Ø*) + *kre*
= *adhika* + *kre*

(*i*) *adhika + kre*

7.4.62 *kuhoś cuḥ*

= *adhi*(*k* → *c*)*a + kre*

= *adhicakre*

Note here that 3.1.79 *tanādibhyaḥ*...cannot introduce the *vikaraṇa u*, as the *tiÑ* replacement of *LIṬ*, namely *ta*, will be deprived of the designation *sārvadhātuka* by 3.4.115 *liṭ ca*.

1.3.34 *veḥ śabdakarmaṇaḥ*

(548) *vikurute*

This example derives from *vi + ḌU'kṛÑ + LAṬ*, where *vi* is a preverb. The present rule orders *LAṬ* to be replaced by the *ātmanepada* ending *ta*. Given the string *vi + kṛ + ta* apply rules as in (*b*) of (280) *kurutaḥ* and (*c*) of (495) *glāyate*. This will yield: *vi + kṛ + ta* → *vi + kṛ + u + ta* → *vi + kṛ + u + te*. You may now apply rules similar to (*c-d*) of (280) *kurutaḥ* to derive *vikurute*.

1.1.35 *akarmakāc ca*

(549) *vikurvate*

This is a plural form corresponding to (548) *vikurute*. It is derived by replacing *LAṬ* of *vi + kṛ + LAṬ* by the third person plural *ātmanepada* ending *jha*. Given the string *vi + kṛ + jha*, *u* will be introduced as in (548) *vikurute*. After the application of rules as in (*c*) of (495) *glāyate* and (*e*) of (501) *vyatipunate*, the string will be: *vi + kṛ + u + jha* → + *vi + kṛ + u + jh*(*a* → *e*) → *vi + kṛ + u* + (*jh* → *at*)*e*. One may now apply the rules as in (*c-d*) of (280) *kurutaḥ* to derive *vi + k* (*ṛ* → *ar*) *+ u + ate* = *vi + k*(*a* → *u*)*r + u + ate* = *vi + kur + u + ate*. Rule 6.1.77 *iko yaṇ aci* now applies to yield *vi + kur* +(*u* → *v*) *+ ate* = *vikurvate*.

1.3.36 *sammānanotsañjanācāryakaraṇajñānabhṛtivigaṇanavyayeṣu niyaḥ*

(550) *nayate*

(551) *upanayate*

(552) *vinayate*

All of these examples derive from *ṇīÑ + LAṬ*, where in *upanayate* and *vinayate* the root is used with a preverb. As usual *LAṬ* will be replaced, here by the third person singular *ātmanepada* ending *ta* which will then yield *te*. For deriving *nayate*, *upanayate*, and *vinayate* from *nī + te*, *upa + nī + te*, and *vi + nī + te*, follow (*d*) of (10) *pacanti* and (*h-i*) of (11) *jayanti*. Also see the explanation under (14) *nayati* concerning the replacement of the root initial *ṇ* by *n*.

1.3.38 *vṛttisargatāyaneṣu kramaḥ*

(553) *kramate*

(554) *kramante*

The underlying strings for these examples are *kramŪ + ŚaP + ta* and *kramŪ + ŚaP + jha*, where *ta* and *jha* are replacements for *LAṬ*. Many

examples have already been given of how *ta* and *jha* yield *ta* and *te*. With *kramante*, *jh* will be replaced by *ant*. Furthermore the sequence *a* + *a* of *kram* + *a* + *ante* will be replaced by a single *a*. See the derivation of (10) *pacanti* for details.

1.3.39 *upaparābhyām*
(555) *upakramate*
(556) *parākramate*

These derivations are similar to (553) *kramate*, except that *kramŪ* is used here with the preverbs *upa* and *parā*.

1.3.40 *āṅ udgamane*
(557) *ākramate*
(558) *ākramante*

The root *kramŪ* is used here with the preverb *āṄ*. The rest of the derivation is similar to (553) *kramate* or (554) *kramante*.

1.3.41 *veḥ pādaviharaṇe*
(559) *vikramate*

The underlying string is *vi* + *kramŪ* + *LAṬ*, where *vi* is a preverb. Except that *ātmanepada* is introduced by 1.3.41, this derivation does not offer anything new.

1.3.42 *propābhyāṃ samarthābhyām*
(560) *prakramate*
(561) *upakramate*

Note that the root is used with preverbs *pra* and *upa*, and rule 1.3.42 introduces *ātmanepada*.

1.3.43 *anupasargād vā*
(562) *kramati*

This example derives from *kramŪ* + *ŚaP* + *tiP* under the option offered by 1.3.43.

1.3.44 *apahnave jñaḥ*
(563) *apajānīte*

The underlying string is *apa* + *jñā* + *LAṬ*, where *apa* is a preverb and 1.3.44 introduces the *ātmanepada* ending *ta* as a replacement for *LAṬ*. The remaining rule applications are as follows.

(*a*) ***apa*** + *jñā* + *ta*
3.1.81 *kryādibhyaḥ...*
= *apa* + *jñā* + *Snā* + *ta*
it deletion
= ***apa*** + *jñā* + *nā* + *ta*

(*b*) ***apā*** + *jñā* + *nā* + *ta*
3.4.79 *ṭit ātmanepadānām...*

= *apa* + *jñā* + *nā* + *t*(*a* → *e*)
= *apa* + *jñā* + *nā* + *te*

(*c*) *apa* + *jñā* + *nā* + *te*
1.4.13 *yasmāt...*
6.4.1 *aṅgasya*
7.3.79 *jñājanor...*
= *apa* + (*jñā* → *jā*) + *nā* + *te*
= *apa* + *jā* + *nā* + *te*

(*d*) *apa* + *jā* + *nā* + *te*
6.4.113 *ī haly...*# 1.2.4 *sārvadhā...*
= *apa* + *jā* + *n*(*ā* → *ī*) + *te*
= *apajānīte*

1.3.45 *akarmakāc ca*
(564) *jānīte*

This example is included in (563) *apajānīte.*

1.3.46 *saṃpratibhyām anādhyāne* under 1.3.44 *apahnave jñaḥ.*
(565) *sañjānīte*
(566) *pratijānīte*

Except that *ātmanepada* is ruled by 1.3.46 after *jña* used with the preverb *sam* or *prati*, deriving *jānīte* should not pose any problem. Note that *sam* + *jānīte* requires rule applications as in (*a-b*) of (517) *saṅkrīḍate* to yield *sañjānīte.*

1.3.47 *bhāsanopasaṃbhāṣājñānayatnavimatyupamantraṇeṣu vadaḥ*
(567) *vadate*
(568) *upavadate*
(569) *vivadante*

These forms are derived similarly to (553) *kramate*, (556) *upakramate*, and (554) *kramante.*

1.3.48 *vyaktavācāṃ samucaraṇe*
(570) *saṃpravadante*

This example is derived in the same way as (554) *kramante.* Also see (*a-b*) of (517) *saṅkrīḍate.*

1.3.49 *anor akarmakāt*
(571) *anuvadate*

This example is derived according to the same pattern as (553) *kramate.*

1.3.50 *vibhāṣā vipralāpe*
(572) *vipravadante*
(573) *vipravadanti*

Note that *vadĀ* is used here with the preverbs *vi* and *pra*, and that *ātmanepada* is optional. Follow the pattern of (554) *kramante* and (10) *pacanti.*

1.3.51 *avād graḥ*
(574) *avagirate*
(575) *avagirete*
(576) *avagirante*

These examples are derived by introducing *LAṬ* after *gṛ* used with the preverb *ava*. The replacements for *LAṬ* are *ta, ātām,* and *jha* respectively. Given the strings *ava* + *gṛ* + *ta*, and so on, 3.1.77 *tudādibhyaḥ śaḥ* will introduce the augment *Śa*. The sequence *avagṛ* in all the examples yields the form *avagir* as in (180) *girati*. To derive *avagirate* and *avagirante* from *avagir* + *a* + *ta* and *avagir* + *a* + *jha*, follow the patterns for (553) *kramate* and (554) *kramante*. For deriving *avagirete* from *avagir* + *a* + *ātām*, follow the appropriate steps outlined under (530) *āyacchete*.

1.3.52 *samaḥ pratijñāne*
(577) *saṅgirate*

This example is derived similarly to (574) *avagirate*, except that it also entails applications of rules given under (*a-b*) of (517) *saṅkrīḍate*.

1.3.53 *adaścaraḥ sakarmakāt*
(578) *uccarate*

Except for the application of 8.4.40 *stoś cunā ścuḥ*, which replaces the *t* of the preverb *ut* with *c*, deriving *uccarate* from *ut* + *car* + *ŚaP* + (*LAṬ* → *ta* → *te*) presents no difficulty.

1.3.54 *samas tṛtīyāyuktāt*
(579) *sañcarate*

Apply (*a-b*) of (517) *saṅkrīḍate* to the *m* of *sam* + *car* + *a* + *te*.

1.3.55 *dāṇaśca sā cec caturthyarthe*
(580) *samprayacchate*

The root *yamÃ* is used here with a sequence of two preverbs, *sam* and *pra*. Follow the steps given for (529) *āyacchate* and (530) *āyacchete*. For operations relative to the *m* of *sam*, see (*a-b*) of (517) *saṅkrīḍate*.

1.3.56 *upād yamaḥ svakaraṇe*
(581) *upayacchate*

Apply the pattern for (529) *āyacchate* to *upa* + *yamÃ* + *LAṬ*

1.3.57 *jñāśrusmṛdṛśām sanaḥ*
(582) *jijñāsate*
(583) *śuśrūṣate*
(584) *susmūrṣate*
(585) *didṛkṣate*
(582) *jijñāsate*
(*a*) *jñā*

as in (*c*) of (304) *rurudiṣati*

= *jñā + jñā + sa # dvitva*

(*b*) *jñā + jñā + sa*

7.4.59 *hrasvaḥ*

= *jñ(ā → a) + jñā + sa*

= *jña + jñā + sa*

(*c*) *jñā + jña + sa*

7.4.60 *halādi śeṣaḥ*

= *j(ñ → Ø)a + jñā + sa*

= *ja + jñā + sa*

(*d*) *ja + jñā + sa*

7.4.79 *sany ataḥ*

= *j(a → i) + jñā + sa*

= *jijñāsa*

(*e*) *jijñāsa*

3.1.32 *sanādyantā...*, plus the relevant rules for deriving *jijñāsa + LAṬ*, which will yield *jijñāsa + ŚaP + ta* where *ta* is third person singular *ātmanepada*

The remaining operations are similar to (553) *kramate*.

Example (583) *śuśrūṣate* is derived in a similar manner, except that (*d*) is not applicable here. Note further that the *s* of the affix *saN* in *śuśrūṣate* will be replaced by *ṣ* by 8.3.59 *ādeśa pratyayoḥ*. Incidentally, given the string *śru + sa*, two operations should obtain: the introduction of augment *iṬ* by 7.2.35 *ārdhadhātukasya...*, and *guṇa* by 7.3.84 *sārvadhātuka....* However, these operations are blocked by 7.2.11 *śryukaḥ...*and 1.2.9 *iko jhal* respectively.

(584) *susmūrṣate*

(*a*) *smṛ*

as in (*a*) of (303) *rurudiṣati*

= *smṛ + sa*

(*b*) *smṛ +sa*

1.4.13 *yasmāt...*

6.4.1 *aṅgasya*

7.1.101 *ud oṣthyapūrvasya # 1.1.51 uraṇ raparaḥ*

= *smar + sa*

(*c*) *smar + sa*

8.2.77 *hali ca*

= *sm(a → ū)r + sa*

= *smūr + sa*

(*d*) *smūr + sa*

as in (*c*) of (304) *rurudiṣati* and (*b*) of (586) *jijñāsate*

= *smūr + smūr + sa*

= *sm(ū → u)r + smūr + sa*

= *smur + smūr + sa*

(*e*) *smur + smūr + sa*

7.4.61 *śar pūrvāḥ...*

= *s(m → Ø)u(r → Ø) + smūr + sa*

= *susmūrsa*

(*f*) *susmūrsa*

as in (e) of (586) *jijñāsate*, also note that the *s* of *sa* is replaced by *ṣ* by 8.3.59 *ādeśa...*

= *susmūrṣate*

(585) *didṛkṣate*

(*a*) *dṛśIR*

it-deletion

as in (*a*) of (304) *rurudiṣati*

= *dṛś + sa*

Note that the *guṇa* application of 7.3.84 *sārva...* will be blocked by 1.1.5 *kṅiti ca.*

(*b*) *dṛś + sa*

as in (*a*) of (586) *jijñāsate*

= *dṛś +dṛś + sa*

(*c*) *dṛś + dṛś + sa*

7.4.66 *urat* # 1.1.51 *uraṇ raparaḥ*

= *d(ṛ → ar)ś + dṛś + sa*

= *darś + dṛś + sa*

(*d*) *darś + dṛś + sa*

as in (*c*) of (582) *jijñāsate*

= *da(rś → Ø) + dṛś + sa*

= *da + dṛś + sa*

(*e*) *da + dṛś + sa*

as in (*d*) of (582) *jijñāsate*

= *d(a → i) + dṛś + sa*

= *di + dṛś + sa*

(*f*) *di + dṛś + sa*

8.2.39 *vraśjabhras...*

= *di + dṛ (ś → ṣ) + sa*

= *di + dṛṣ + sa*

(*g*) *di + dṛṣ + sa*

8.2.41 *ṣaḍhoḥ...*

= *di + dṛ(ṣ → k) + sa*

= *di + dṛk + sa*

(*h*) *di + dṛk + sa*

8.3.59 *ādeśa pratyayoḥ*

= *di + dṛk +(s → ṣ)a*

= *didṛkṣa*

(*i*) *didṛkṣa*

3.1.32 *sanādyantā...*, plus rules for *LAṬ*, *ta*, *ŚaP*, and

so on,
= *didṛkṣate*

1.3.58 *nānor jñaḥ*
(586) *anujijñāsati*

This example derives like (582) *jijñāsate*, except that the present rule does not allow *ātmanepada*. Consequently *LAṬ* is replaced by *tiP*. The root is used here with the preverb *anu*.

1.3.59 *pratyāṅbhyāṃ śruvaḥ*
(587) *pratiśuśrūṣati*
(588) *āśuśrūṣati*

The root is used with preverbs *prati* and *āṄ*. Except for *LAṬ* being replaced by *tiP*, all the other operations are similar to (586) *śuśrūṣate*.

1.3.60 *śadeḥ śitaḥ*
(589) *śīyate*
(590) *śīyete*
(591) *śīyante*

These examples are derived from *śadḶ* by introducing *LAṬ* and replacing it by the third person *ātmanepada* suffixes *ta, ātām,* and *jha*. Since the root is *tudādi*, *Śa* will be introduced by 3.1.77 *tudādibhyaḥ*.... In addition the root itself will be replaced by *śīy* (see 7.3.38 *pāghrādhmā*....). Given the strings *śīy* + *a* + *ta,* and so on, follow the patterns of (529) *āyacchate,* (530) *āyacchete,* and (531) *āyacchante* respectively for further operations.

1.3.61 *mriyater luṅliṅoś ca*
(592) *amṛta*
(593) *mṛṣīṣṭa*
(594) *mriyate*
(595) *mriyete*
(596) *mriyante*

To derive (592) *amṛta*, follow the directions given for (321) *akṛta*.

To derive (593) *mṣīṣṭa*, follow the directions given for (319) *kṛṣīṣṭa*.

Examples (594) *mriyate*, (595) *mriyete*, and (596) *mriyante* are derived from *mṛÑ* + *LAṬ*, where *LAṬ* is replaced by the third person *ātmanepada* endings *ta, ātām,* and *jha* respectively. Given the string *mṛ* + *ta, Śa* will be introduced by 3.1.77 *tudādibhyaḥ*.... Following the application of 3.4.79 *ṭit ātmanepadānām*..., whereby *tu* yields *te*, our string *mṛ* + *a* + (*ta* → *te*) undergoes the following operations.

(*a*) *mṛ* + *a* + *te*
7.4.28 *riṅ śaya*...
= *m*(*ṛ* → *ri*(*Ṅ* → ∅)) + *a* + *te*
= *mri* + *a* + *te*

(*b*) *mri* + *a* + *te*

6.4.77 *aciśnu...* # 1.1.51 *alo'...*
= *mr(i → iya) + a + te*
= *mriya + a + te*

(*c*) *mriya + a + te*

6.1.97 *ato guṇe*
= *mriy(a + a → a) + te*
= *mriyate*

For deriving (595) *mriyete* and (596) *mriyante* from *mṛ + LAṬ*, where *mṛ* will yield *mriya* and *LAṬ* will be replaced by *ātām* and *jha*, see (530) *āyacchete* and (531) *āyacchante* for additional rule applications.

1.3.62 *pūrvavat...*
(597) *āsisiṣate*
(598) *śiśayiṣate*

These examples are derived from *ās + saN* and *śī + saN* respectively. After the augment *iṬ* is introduced (7.2.35 *ārdha...*), *dvitva* takes place. Given the string *ās + iṬ + saN*, 6.1.2 *ajāder...* will require the doubling of *is*. This will yield *ās + is + i + as = āsisisa*, a root defined by 3.1.32 *sanādyantā....* The third person singular *ātmanepada* form *āsisiṣate* can then be derived from *āsisisa + LAṬ* following the pattern of (584) *śusmūrṣate*. The other example is similarly derived from *śīṄ + saN*, where after the augment *iṬ* is introduced, the root is doubled. Thus: *śī + i + sa = śī + sī + i + sa*. The first *ī* is shortened (7.4.79 *hrasvaḥ*), and the second *ī* goes through *guṇa* and *ay* replacement as in (342) *śayitaḥ*. This produces *ś(ī → i) + ś(i → e → ay) + i + sa = śiśayisa*. One can now derive *śiśayiṣate* from *śiśayisa + LAṬ*, where the *s* of *saN* has been replaced by *ṣ* by 8.3.59 *ādeśa....* The remaining rule applications are similar to the previous examples.
(599) *niviśate*
(600) *nivivikṣate*

The first example is derived from *niviś + LAṬ*, where the root is used with the preverb *ni*, and *LAṬ* is replaced by *ta*.

The next example is derived from *niviś + saN*. Doubling produces *niviś + viś + sa*, where the first *ś* will be deleted by 7.4.60 *halādi....* Given the string *nivi(ś → ∅) + viś + sa*, rules similar to steps (*f-i*) of (585) *didṛkṣate* will apply to yield *nivivikṣate*.
(601) *ācikramsate*

This example is derived by introducing the affix *saN* to *ākram*, where *kramŪ* is used with the preverb *āṄ*. Given the string *ākram + sa*, *dvitva* will produce *ākra + kram + sa*, which after the application of 7.4.60 *halādi...* and 7.4.79 *sany ataḥ* will produce: *āk(r → ∅) a + kram + sa → āk(a → i) + kram + sa = āki + kram + sa*, as in (*c-d*) of (582) *jijñāsate*. The *k* of *āki* will be replaced by *c* by 7.4.62 *kuhoś cuḥ*. The *m* of the resultant *ā(k → c)i + kram + sa = ācikram + sa* will be replaced by *anusvāra* by 8.3.24 *naś cāpadāntasya*.

The new root *ācikraṃsa* will take *LAṬ*, which will then be replaced by *ta* to yield *ācikraṃsate*.

1.3.63 *āmpratyayavat...*
(602) *īkṣāñcakre*
(603) *īhāñcakre*

(a) *īkṣ*

as in (*b*) of (160) *śuśāva*
= *īkṣ* + *LIṬ*

(b) *īkṣ* + *LIṬ*

3.1.36 *ijādeś ca...* # 1.4.11 *saṃyoge...*
= *īkṣ* + *ām* + *LIṬ*

(c) *īkṣ* + *ām* + *LIṬ*

2.4.81 *āmaḥ*
= *īkṣ* + *ām* + (*LIṬ* → *∅*)
= *īkṣ* + *ām*

(d) *īkṣ* + *ām*

1.2.45 *arthavad...*
4.1.1 *ṅyāp...*
4.1.2 *svauj...* # *sUP*-selection (*sŨ*)
= *īkṣ* + *ām* + *sŨ*

(e) *īkṣ* + *ām* + *sŨ*

1.1.39 *kṛn mejantaḥ*
2.4.82 *avyayād...* # *sUP*-deletion
= *īkṣ* + *ām* + (*sŨ* → *∅*)
= *īkṣ* + *ām*

(f) *īkṣ* + *ām*

3.1.40 *kṛñcā...*
= *īkṣām* + *kṛ*

(g) *ikṣām* + *kṛ*

as in (*b*) of (160) *śuśāva*
= *īkṣām* + *kṛ* + *LIṬ*

(h) *īkṣām* + *kṛ* + *LIṬ*

3.4.77 *lasya*
3.4.78 *tiptas...*
1.3.63 *āmpratyaya...* # 1.1.61 *pratyayasya*
= *īkṣām* + *kṛ* + (*LIṬ* → *ta*)

(i) *īkṣām* + *kṛ* + *ta*

3.4.81 *liṭastajha...* # # 1.1.55 *anekāl...*
= *īkṣām* + *kṛ* + (*ta* → *eś*)
= *īkṣām* + *kṛ* + *e*(*ś* → *∅*)
= *īkṣām* + *kṛ* + *e*

(j) *īkṣām* + *kṛ* + *e*

6.1.77 *iko...* # 1.4.10 *yathā...*

= *īkṣām + k (ṛ → r) + e*
= *īkṣām + kr + e*

(*k*) *īkṣām + kr + e*
6.1.8 *liṭi... # 1.1.59 dvirvacane...*
= *īkṣām + kṛ + kr + e*

(*l*) *īkṣām + kṛ + kr + e*
6.1.4 *pūrvo' bhyāsaḥ*
7.4.66 *urat # 1.1.51 uraṇ raparaḥ*
= *īkṣām + kar + kr + e*

(*m*) *īkṣām + kar + kr + e*
7.4.60 *halādi śeṣaḥ*
= *īkṣām + ka(r → Ø) + kr + e*
= *īkṣām + ka + kr + e*

(*n*) *īkṣām + ka + kr + e*
7.4.62 *kuhoś cuḥ*
= *īkṣām (k → c)a + kr + e*
= *īkṣām + ca + kr + e*

(*o*) *īkṣām + ca + kr + e*
8.3.23 *mo' nusvāraḥ*
= *īkṣā(m → ṃ) + cakre*
8.4.58 *anusvārasya...*
= *īkṣā(ṃ → ñ) + cakre*
= *īkṣāñcakre*

(603) *īhāñcakre*

Follow the same derivational pattern to derive this example from *īhā + LIṬ*. However, note that the term *guru*, at (*c*), is assigned by 1.4.12 *dīrghaṃ ca.*

1.3.64 *propābhyām...*

(604) *prayuṅkte*

(*a*) *pra + yujIR*
it-deletion
= *prayuj*

(*b*) *prayuj*
3.4.77 ***lasya***
3.4.78 ***tiptas... # 1.4.101 tiṅas...*** and so on
1.3.64 ***propābhyām...***
= ***prayuj + ta***

(*c*) ***prayuj + ta***
3.1.78 ***rudhādi... # 1.1.47 midaco...***
= ***prayu + (Ś → Ø)na(M → Ø) + j + ta # it*** deletion
= ***prayu + na + j + ta***

(*d*) ***prayu + na + j + ta***
1.4.13 ***yasmāt...***

6.4.1 *aṅgasya*
6.4.111 *śnasor...*
$= prayu + n(a \rightarrow \emptyset) + j + ta$
$= prayu + n + j + ta$

(*e*) $prayu + n + j + ta$
8.2.30 *coḥ kuḥ* # 1.1.50 *sthāne...*
$= prayun + (j \rightarrow g) + ta$
$= prayun + g + ta$

(*f*) $prayun + g + ta$
8.4.55 *khari ca*
$= prayun + (g \rightarrow k) + ta$
$= prayun + k + ta$

(*g*) $prayun + k + ta$
8.3.24 *naś cāpadāntasya...*
$= prayu(n \rightarrow ṃ) + k + ta$
$= prayu + ṃ + k + ta$

(*h*) $prayu + ṃ + k + ta$
8.4.58 *anusvārasya...*
$= prayu + (ṃ \rightarrow ṅ) + k + ta$
$= prayuṅkta$

Consequently the *ātmanepada ta* will yield *te* as has been shown in many previous examples. Thus: *prayuṅkta* → *prayuṅkte.*

1.3.65 *samaḥ kṣṇuvaḥ*
(605) *saṃkṣṇute*

This example derives from *sam* + *kṣu* + *LAṬ*, where *LAṬ* is replaced by *ātmanepada* third person singular *ta*. The augment *ŚaP* will be deleted by 2.4.72 *adiprabhṛtibhyaḥ*. There is nothing new in deriving *saṃkṣṇute* from *sam* + *kṣṇu* + *ta*. The *m* will be replaced by *ṃ* by 8.3.24 *naś cāpadāntasya.*

(606) *saṃkṣṇuvate*

This example also derives from *saṃkṣṇu* + *LAṬ*. However, *LAṬ* is replaced by *ātmanepada* third person dual *ātām* which yields *āte* as in (*c*) of (529) *āyacchete*. Given the string *samkṣṇu* + *āte*, *ŚaP* will be introduced and deleted. Rule 6.4.77 *aci śna...* will then apply to yield *samkṣṇ*$(u \rightarrow uv)$*āte* = ***samkṣṇuvāte***. Again, *m* will be replaced by *ṃ*.

(607)• ***saṃkṣṇuvatē***

This example is derived from *saṃkṣṇu* + *LAṬ*, where *LAṬ* is replaced by third person plural *ātmanepada jha*. After the deletion of *ŚaP*, *jh* of *jha* will be replaced by *at* by 7.1.5 *ātmanepadeṣv....* Given the string *samkṣṇu* + $(jh \rightarrow$ ***at***$)$ ***a = samkṣṇu*** + *ata*, 6.4.77 *aci śnu...* will replace the *u* of the root by *uvAṄ*. This will produce ***samkṣṇ***$(u \rightarrow uva)$ + *ata* = *samkṣṇuv* + *ata*, which yields ***saṃkṣṇuvate*** by the familiar procedure.

1.3.66 *bhujo' navane*
(608) *bhuṅkte*

This example is derived like (604) *prayuṅkte.*

(609) *bhuñjate*

This example is derived from *bhuj* + *LAṬ*, where *LAṬ* gets replaced by *ātām.* As in the earlier example, *ŚnaM* will be added. Given the string *bhu* + *ŚnaM* + *ātām* = *bhunaj* + *ātām,* follow (*d*) of (604) *prayuṅkte* to get *bhuñjate.*

1.3.67 *ṇer aṇau...*

(610) *ārohayate*

(*a*) *āṄ* + *ruh*

it-deletion

= *āruh*

(*b*) *āruh*

3.1.26 *hetumati ca*

= *āruh* + *ṆiC*

it-deletion

= *āruh* + *i*

(*c*) *āruh* + *i*

3.1.32 *sanādyantā..*

3.1.91 *dhātoḥ*

3.2.123 *vartamāne laṭ*

= *āruh* + *i* + *LAṬ*

(*d*) *āruh* + *i* + *LAṬ*

= *āruh* + *i* + (*LAṬ* → *ta*)

1.3.67 *ṇer...*

= *āruh* + *i* + *ŚaP* + *ta*

it-deletion

= *āruh* + *i* + *a* + (*ta* → *te*)

as in many previous examples

(*e*) *āruh* + *i* + *a* + *te*

1.3.13 *yasmāt...*

6.4.1 *aṅgasya*

7.3.84 *sārvadhātuka...* # 1.1.2 *adeṅ guṇaḥ*

= *āruh* + (*i* → *e*) + *a* + *te*

= *āruh* + *e* + *a* + *te*

(*f*) *āruh* + *e* + *a* + *te*

7.3.86 *puganta...*

= *ār*(*u* → *o*)*h* + *e* + *a* + *te*

= *āroh* + *e* + *a* + *te*

(*g*) *āroh* + *e* + *a* + *te*

6.1.78 *eco'yavāyāvaḥ*

= *āroh* + (*e* → *ay*) + *a* + *te*

= *ārohayate*

(611) *upasiñcati*

This example is derived from *upa* + *ṣicÃ* + *LAṬ*, where *upa* is a preverb. The initial *ṣ* of the root is replaced by *s* by 6.1.64 *dhātvādeḥ*. Given the string *upasic* + *LAṬ*, *LAṬ* is replaced by *jhi*, with *Śa* added as the augment since the root is *tudādi*. The result is *upasic* + *a* + *jhi*. The next rule applications are similar to (*e-f*) of (166) *muñcati* and (*f-h*) of (10) *pacanti*.

(612) upasecayate

This example is derived from *upa* + *ṣic* + *ṆiC* where *ṣ* is replaced by *s*. Given the derived root *upasic* + *i*, applications similar to (610) *ārohayate* will produce *upas*(*i* → *e*)*c* + (*i* → *e* → *ay*) + *a* + *te* = *upasecayate*.

(613) *paśyanti*

This example is derived like (10) *pacanti*. The *dṛś* of *dṛśIR* is replaced by *paśya* by 7.3.78 *pāghrā*....

(614) *darśayate*

This example derives (*dṛś* + *ṆiC*) + *LAṬ*, where the *guṇa* of *ṛ* will be *ar* in consonance with 1.1.51 *ur aṇ raparaḥ*. The remaining operations are similar to (610) *ārohayate*.

1.3.68 *bhīsmyor...*
bhīṣayate

See derivation (164).

(615) *vismāpayate*

(*a*) *vi* + *smiÑ*
it-deletion
= *vismi*

(*b*) *vismi*
vismi + *ṆiC* as in (*b*) of (610) *ārohayate*
= *vismi* + *i*

(*c*) *vismi* + *i*
6.1.57 *nityaṃ smayateḥ*
= *vism*(*i* → *a*) + *i*
= *visma* + *i*

(*d*) *visma* + *i*
7.3.36 *artihrī*...
= *visma* + *pUK* + *i*
it-deletion
= *vismapi*

(*e*) *vismapi*
vismapi + *LAṬ* and the relevant rules as in (610) *ārohayate*
= *vismāpayate*

1.3.69 *gṛdhivañcyoḥ*...

(616) *gardhayate*

This example derives from (*gṛdhI* + *ṆiC*) + *LAṬ* → *gṛdh* + *i* + *ta* as in (614) *darśayate*. Similar rules apply in deriving (617) *vañcayate* from (*vañcU* + *ṆiC*) + *LAṬ*.

1.3.70 *liyaḥ sammānana...*
(618) *ālāpayate*
(619) *ullāpayate*

These examples derive from (*āṄ* + *līṄ* + *ṆiC*) + *LAṬ* and (*ut* + *līṄ* + *ṆiC*) + *LAṬ*, where *līṄ* is used with the preverbs *āṄ* and *ut*. The derivations are similar to (615) *vismāpayate*, except that, in *ullāpayate*, the *t* of *ut* + *lāpayate* is replaced by *l* by 8.4.60 *tor lī*, and the *ī* of *lī* is replaced by *ā* by 6.1.51 *vibhāśā*....

1.3.71 *mithyopapadāt...*
(620) *kārayate*

This example is derived from (*ḌUkṛÑ* + *ṆiC*) + *LAṬ* + *kṛ* + *i* + *LAṬ*, where *kṛ* + *i* will produce *kār* + *i* in consonance with 7.2.115 *aco' ñṇiti* read with 1.1.1 *vṛddhir...* and 1.1.51 *uraṇ raparaḥ*. To derive *kārayate* from *kāri* + *LAṬ*, follow the derivation pattern of the earlier examples.

1.3.72 *svaritañitaḥ...*
(621) *yajate*
(622) *pacate*
(623) *sunute*
(624) *kurute*

The first two examples derive from *yaj* + *LAṬ* and *pac* + *LAṬ*, where *LAṬ* is replaced by *ātmanepada ta*. Deriving *yajate* and *pacate* from *yaj* + *ta* and *pac* + *ta* offers no difficulties. The last example is derived similarly to *kurute* of (542) *utkurute*. Our third example, *sunute*, is derived from *ṣuÑ* + *LAṬ*, where the root initial *ṣ* is replaced by *s* (6.1.62 *dhātvādeḥ...*). The remaining rule applications are similar to (34) *cinutaḥ*, except that *LAṬ* in the present example is replaced by *ta*. Thus: *su* + *nu* + (*LAṬ* → *ta*) → *su* + *nu* + *ta* → *sunute*.

1.3.74 *ṇicaś ca*
kārayate
See (620) under 1.3.71 *mithyopapadāt*....

1.3.75 *samud...*
(625) *saṃyacchate*
(626) *udyacchate*
See the derivations of (529) *āyacchate*, and so on, under 1.3.28.

1.3.77 *vibhāṣopapadena...*
(627) *karoti*

This example derives from *ḌUkṛÑ* + *LAṬ*, where *LAṬ* is replaced by *tiP* by 3.4.78 *tiptas...* and *u* is introduced after *kṛ* by 3.1.79 *tanādi....* Given the string *kṛ* + *u* + *ti*, *ṛ* will be replaced by its *guṇa* counterpart *ar* (7.3.84) *sārvadhātuka*, read with 1.1.51 *uraṇ...*) because *u* is an *ārdhadhātuka* (3.4.114 *ārdhadhātuka...*). Given the resultant string *kar* + *u* + *ti*, *u* will undergo the same *guṇa* application. Thus: *kar* + (*u* → *o*) + *ti* = *karoti*. However, this time the conditioning suffix is *ti*, a *sārvadhātuka* (3.4.113 *tiṅśit...*).

1.3.78 *śeṣāt...*
(628) *yāti*
(629) *vāti*
(630) *praviśati*
(631) *āviśati*

Examples (628) *yāti* and (629) *vāti* are derived from *yā* + *LAṬ* and *vā* + *LAṬ* where *LAṬ* is replaced by *tiP*. Since *yā* and *vā* are *adādi*, 2.4.72 *adiprabhṛti...* deletes *ŚaP*.

The other two examples use the preverbs *pra* and *āÑ* before the root. Since the root belongs to the *tudādi* class, *Śa* will be introduced by 3.1.77 *tudādibhyaḥ...* Thus: *praviś* + (*LAṬ* → *tiP*) → *praviś* (*Ś* → ∅) *a* + (*P* → ∅) + *ti* = *praviśati*.

1.3.79 *anuparābhyām...*
(632) *anukaroti*
(633) *parākaroti*

The root *ḌUkṛÑ* is used here with the preverbs *anu* and *parā*. See (627) *karoti* for other details.

1.3.80 *abhipraty...*
(634) *abhikṣipati*
(635) *pratikṣipati*
(636) *atikṣipati*

The root *kṣipĀ* is used with preverbs *abhi*, *prati*, and *ati*. The derivational details are similar to (630) *praviśati*.

1.3.81 *prād vahaḥ*
(637) *pravahati*
(638) *pravahataḥ*
(639) *pravahanti*

The root *vahĀ* is used with the preverb *pra*. The remaining operations are similar to (10) *pacati*, and so on.

1.3.82 *parer mṛṣaḥ*
(640) *parimṛṣyati*
(641) *parimṛṣyataḥ*
(642) *parimṛṣyanti*

The root *mṛṣŪ* 'to endure' is used with the preverb *pari*. The derivations are similar to (10) *pacati*, and so on.

1.3.83 *vyāṅparibhyo...*
(643) *viramati*
(644) *āramati*
(645) *pariramati*

The root *ramŪ* is used with preverbs *vi*, *āṄ*, and *pari*. All these examples derive from *viram* + *ŚaP* + (*LAṬ* → *tiP*), and so on.

1.3.84 *upāc ca*
(646) *uparamati*

This example is derived from *uparam* + *ŚaP* + (*LAṬ* → *tiP*), where *ramŪ* is used with the preverb *upa*.

1.3.85 *vibhāṣā...*
(647) *uparamate*

This example is derived similarly to (646) *uparamati*, except that optionally *LAṬ* is replaced by *ta*. Thus: *uparam* + *ŚaP* + (*LAṬ* → *ta* → *te*) = *uparamate*.

1.3.86 *budhayudha...*
(648) *bodhayati*
(649) *yodhayati*
(650) *nāśayati*
(651) *janayati*
(652) *adhyāpayati*
(653) *prāvayati*
(654) *drāvayati*
(655) *srāvayati*

The first two examples derive from *budh* + *ṆiC* + *LAṬ*, and *yudh* + *ṆiC* *LAṬ* as in (610) *ārohayate*. However, there is a marked difference here. Affix *LAṬ* is not replaced by *ātmanepada ta*, as should be the case in consonance with 1.3.74 *ṇicaś ca*. In all these examples, 1.3.86 allows *parasmaipada ti* to replace *LAṬ*.

The third example derives from (*ṇaś* + *ṆiC*) + *LAṬ*, where the initial *ṇ* of the root is replaced by *n* by 6.1.65 *ṇo naḥ*. The initial *a* of *naś* + *i* undergoes *vṛddhi* as in (620) *kārayate*. The root *nāśaya* is produced by following the pattern of (610) *ārohayate*. The present rule will assign a *parasmaipada ti* replacement for *LAṬ*. The next example (651) *janayati* is similarly derived, with the *vṛddhi* of *a* in *jan* + *ṆiC* being blocked by 7.3.35 *janivadhyoś ca*.

(652) *adhyāpayati*
(*a*) *adhi* + *iṄ*
it-deletion

= *adhi* + *i*

(*b*) *adhi* + *i*

adhi + *i* + *ṆiC*, as in the previous examples

it-deletion

= *adhi* + *i* + *i*

(*c*) *adhi* + *i* + *i*

7.2.115 *aco' ñṇiti* # 1.1.1 *vṛddhir...*

= *adhi* + (*i* → *ai*) + *i*

= *adhi* + *ai* + *i*

(*d*) *adhi* + *ai* + *i*

6.1.48 *krīṅjīnām...*

= *adhi* + (*ai* → *ā*) + *i*

= *adhi* + *ā* + *i*

(*e*) *adhi* + *ā* + *i*

6.1.77 *iko...*

= *adh*(*i* → *y*) + *ā* + *i*

= *adhyā* + *i*

(*f*) *adhyā* + *i*

7.3.36 *artihrī...*

= *adhyā* + *pUK* + *i*

it-deletion

= *adhyā* + *p* + *i*

= *adhyāpi*

To derive *adhyāpayati* from *adhyāpi* + *LAṬ*, select *tiP* as a replacement of *LA* and then apply the relevant rules as in (648) *bodhayati*.

(653) *prāvayati*

This example derives from (*pru* + *ṆiC*) + *LAṬ*, where given the string *pru* + *i*, *u* is replaced by *vṛddhi au* (7.1.115 *aco...*) and *au* is replaced by *āv* (6.1.78 *eco...*). This yields *pr*(*u* → *au* → *āv*) + *i* = *prāvi*, to which *LAṬ* may be introduced. The remaining rule applications are similar to the earlier examples.

Examples (654) *drāvayati* and (655) *srāvayati* are similarly derived from (*dru* + *ṆiC*) + *LAṬ* and (*sru* + *ṆiC*) + *LAṬ*.

1.3.87 *nigaraṇa...*

(656) *nigārayati*

This example follows (620) *kārayate*, except that *LAṬ* is replaced here by *parasmaipada ti*.

(657) *āśayati*

This example is derived from *āśĀ* + *ṆiC* → *āś* + *i* → *āś* + *i* + *LAṬ* → *āś* + *i* + *tiP*, according to the familiar pattern.

(658) *bhojayati*

This example is derived from *bhuj* + *ṆiC* → *bhuj* + *i* → *bhoj* + *i* → *bhoj* + *i* + *LAT* → *bhoj* + *i* + *tiP*, and so on.

(659) *calayati*

This example is derived from *calI* + *ṆiC* → *cal* + *i* → *cāl* + *i* → *cāl* + *i* → *cāl* + *i* + *LAṬ* → *cāl* + *i* + *tiP*, and so on. Note that given the string *cāl* + *i*, a result of the *vṛddhi* of *a* of *cal* + *i*, *ā* is replaced by *a* by 6.4.92 *mitāṃ hrasvaḥ*.

(660) *copayati*

This example is derived similarly to (658) *bhojayati* from (*cupÃ* + *ṆiC*) + *LAṬ*.

(661) *kampayati*

This example is derived similarly to (659) *calayati*.

1.3.88 *aṇāv...*

(662) *āste*

This example is derived from *āsÃ* + *LAṬ* where *LAṬ* is replaced by *ātmanepada ta*. Given the string *ās* + *ta*, *ŚaP* will be added and subsequently deleted by 2.4.72 *adiprabhṛti....* Finally *ās* + *ta* will yield *āste*.

(663) *āsayati;*

This example is derived from (*āsÃ* + *ṆiC*) + *LAṬ* where *LAṬ* is replaced by *tiP*.

(664) *śete*

This example is derived from *śīṄ* + *LAṬ* similarly to *āste*. Note, however, that *ī* of *śī* will be replaced by *e*, its *guṇa*, by 7.3.84 *sārvadhātukārdha....*

(665) *śāyayati*

This example is derived similarly to (653) *prāvayati*, except that given the string *śī* + *i*, the *vṛddhi* replacement of the root final *ī* will be *ai*, which in turn will be replaced by *āy*. The causative root will thus be *śāyi*. The rules are the same as in (653) *prāvayati*.

1.3.89 *na pād...*

(666) *pāyayate*

This example derives from *pā* + *ṆiC* where the augment *yUK* (7.3.37 *śācchā...*) is introduced at the end (1.1.46 *ādyantau...*) of *pā*. Given the string *pā* + *yUK* + *i* = *pāyi*, *LAṬ* is introduced. The present rule will not allow *parasmaipada* replacement for *LAṬ*. Consequently *LAṬ* will be replaced by *ātmanepada ta*. Follow the usual pattern to derive *pāyayate* from *pāyi* + *ŚaP* + *ta*.

(667) *damayate*

This example derives from *damU* + *ṆiC* → *dami* + (*LAṬ* → *ta*) = *dami* + *ta*. The *vṛddhi* of the *a* of *dam* will occur; however, the resultant *ā* will be shortened by 6.4.92 *mitāṃ hrasvaḥ*. Thus: *dami* + *ta* → *dāmi* + *ta* → *dami* + *ta*. The remaining rule applications are similar to the many examples already given.

(668) *āyāmayate*

This example derives from (*aṄ* + *yamÃ* + *ṆiC*) + *ḶAṬ*, where *āṄ* is a preverb and given the string *āyam* + *i*, *a* of *yam* is replaced by *vṛddhi ā*. There is nothing new in deriving *āyāmayate* from *āyāmi* + (*LAṬ* → *ta*).

(669) *āyāsayate*

This example derives from (*āṄ* + *yasŪ* + *ṆiC*) + *LAṬ* as in the previous case.

(670) *parimohayate*

This example is derived like (658) *bhojayate*, except that the root *muhÃ* is used here with the preverb *pari*.

(671) *rocayate*

This example is derived similarly to (658) *bhojayate* though with *LAT* → *te*.

(672) *narttayate*

This example is derived from (*nṛtI* + *ṆiC*) + *LAṬ*, where *ṛ* undergoes *guṇa*. See (614) *darśayate* for other details. For the doubling of the *t*, see (475) *narttakī*.

(673) *vādayate*

This example is derived from *vadÃ* + *ṆiC*, where *a* undergoes *vṛddhi* by 7.2.116 *ata upadhāyāḥ*. Thus: *vad* + *i* → *vād* + *i* = *vādi*. Deriving *vādayate* from *vādi* + (*LAṬ* → *ta*) offers nothing new.

(674) *vāsayate*

This example is derived from (*vāsÃ* + *ṆiC*) + *LAṬ* according to the pattern of the previous example.

1.3.90 *vā kyaṣaḥ*

(675) *lohitāyati*

(676) *lohitāyate*

(677) *paṭapaṭāyati*

(678) *paṭapaṭāyate*

The first two examples are derived from *lohitāya* + *LAṬ*, where *lohitāya* is a derived root (3.1.32 *sanādy...*) ending in *KyaṢ*, a *sanādi* affix. *KyaṢ* has been introduced after *lohita* + *sŪ* by 3.1.13 *lohitād...*. Thus: *lohita* + *sŪ* + *KyaṢ* → *lohita* + *sŪ* + *ya*. Rule 3.1.32 assigns the term *dhātu* and consequently 2.4.71 *supo...* deletes the *sŪ*. This yields *lohita* + (*sŪ* → ∅) + *ya* = *lohitaya*. Given the string *lohitaya* + *ŚaP* + (*LAṬ* → *tiP*) = *lohitaya* + *a* + *ti*, 7.4.25 *akṛt...* replaces the first *a* of *lohitaya* + *a* with *ā*. Finally 6.1.97 *ato guṇa* applies to yield *lohitāy*(*a* + *a* → *a*) + *ti* = *lohitāyati*. In (676) *lohitāyate*, *LAṬ* is replaced by *ātmanepada ta*.

The second pair of examples derives for *paṭapaṭāya* + *LAṬ*, where *paṭapaṭāya* again is a derived root. It is derived as follows.

(*a*) *paṭat*

1.2.45 *arthavad...*
4.1.1 *ṅyāp...*
5.4.57 *avyaktānu...* # 8.1.12 *prakāre...*

= *paṭat* + *ḌāC # dvitiva*
= *paṭat* + *paṭat* + *ḌāC*
it-deletion
= *paṭat* + *paṭat* + *ā*

The doubling of *paṭat* is ordered in relation to *ḌāC* by the *vārttika ḍāci dve bhavataḥ* on 8.1.12 *prakāre*....

(*b*) *paṭat* + *paṭat* + *ā*
8.1.2 *tasya*...

The second *paṭat* is termed *āmreḍita*, and so, in view of a *vārttika* on 6.1.100 *nityam āmreḍite*, we get *paṭa*(*t* → ∅) + *paṭat* + *ā*.

(*c*) *paṭa* + *paṭat* + *ā*
1.4.18 *yaci bham*
6.4.145 *ṭeḥ*
= *paṭa* + *paṭ*(*at* → ∅) + *ā*
= *paṭapaṭā*

(*d*) *paṭapaṭā*
follow the pattern of *lohitāyati* to derive *paṭapaṭā* + *KyaṢ* → *paṭapaṭāyate* → *paṭapaṭāya* + *LAṬ* → *paṭapaṭāyati* and *paṭapaṭāyate*

1.3.91 *dyudbhyo*...
(679) *vyadyutat*
(680) *vyadyotiṣṭa*

The first example derives from *vidyutÃ* + *LUṄ*, where *dyutÃ* 'to be illuminated' is used with the preverb *vi*. Given the string *vidyut* + *CLI* + *LUṄ*, as in (16) *akārṣīt*, *LUṄ* will be replaced by *tiP*. Furthermore instead of *SĨC* replacing *CLI*, 3.1.55 *puṣādi*... will require that *CLI* be replaced by *aṄ*. Since *aṄ* is marked with *Ṅ*, there will be no *guṇa* for the *u* of *vidyut*. Thus: *vidyut* + (*CLI* → *a*(*Ṅ* → ∅)) + *ti*(*P* → ∅) = *vidyut* + *a* + *ti*. As in (*f*) of (266) *adhyagīṣṭa*, *aṬ* may now be introduced. This will produce *vi* + *aṬ* + *dyut* + *a* + *ti*. Rule 3.4.100 *itaś ca* will now delete the *i* of *ti* as in (*e*) of (16) *akārṣīt*, and 6.1.77 *iko yaṇ aci* will replace the *i* of *vi* with *y*. Thus: *vi* + *a* + *dyut* + *a* + *t*(*i* → ∅) = *vi* + *a* + *dyut* + *a* + *t* → *v*(*i* → *y*) + *a* + *dyut* + *a* + *t* = *vyadyutat*.

The second example also is derived from *vidyut* + *LUṄ*. However, given the string *vidyut* + *CLI* + *LUṄ*, *CLI* is replaced by *SĨC* and *LUṄ* by *ta* as in (*c-d*) of (266) *adhyagīṣṭa*. After the introduction of *aṬ*, the string will by *vi* + *a* + *dyut* + *s* + *ta*. Rule 7.2.35 *ārdhadhātukasya*... will introduce *iṬ* as in (*h*) of (20) *alāvīt* and 6.1.77 *iko yaṇ aci* will replace the *i* of *vi* by *y*, yielding *vy* + *a* + *dyut* + *i* + *s* + *ta*. Rule 7.3.86 *puganta*... applies to this. The result will be *vy* + *a* + *dy*(*u* → *o*)*t* + *i* + *s* + *ta* = *vy* + *a* + *dyot* + *i* + *s* + *ta*. One may now follow (*h*) of (266) *adhyagīṣṭa* to derive *vyadyotiṣṭa*.

(681) *aluṭhat*
(682) *alothiṣṭa*

These examples are derived similarly to the preceding ones.

1.3.92 *vṛdbhyaḥ syasanoḥ*
(683) *vartsyati*
(684) *avartsyat*
(685) *vivṛtsati*
(686) *vartiṣyate*
(687) *avartiṣyata*
(688) *vivartiṣate*
(689) *vartsyati*
(690) *avartsyata*
(691) *vivṛtsati*
(692) *varddhiṣyata*
(693) *vivarddhiṣate*

Example (683) *vartsyati* derives from *vṛtŪ* + *LṚT*, where 3.3.13 *lṛt śeṣe ca* introduces *LṚT* which is replaced by *tiP*. Rule 3.1.33 *syatāsī...* will require that affix *sya* be introduced before *LṚT*. This will produce *vṛt* + *sya* + *ti*. Rule 7.2.35 will require *iṬ*, but that will be blocked by 7.2.59 *na vṛdbhya....* Rule 7.3.86 *puganta...* will order *guṇa* of the penultimate *ṛ* of *vṛt*. Thus: *v*(*ṛ* → *ar*)*t* + *sya* + *ti* = *vartsyati*. One can similarly derive the alternate (689) *vartsyati* from *vṛdhŪ* + *LṚT*, where *dh* of the root gets replaced by *t*.

(684) *avartsyat*

This example derives from *vṛtŪ* + *LṚṄ*, where *LṚṄ* is introduced by 3.3.139 *liṅnimitte....* After *LṚṄ* is replaced by *tiP* and *sya* is introduced, the result will be *vṛt* + *sya* + *ti*. One may now introduce *aṬ*, apply *guṇa*, and delete the *i* of *ti* as in (16) *akārṣīt* and many other examples. Thus: *aṬ* + *v*(*ṛ* → *ar*)*t* + *sya* + *t*(*i* → ∅) = *avartsyat*. Similar rules apply in deriving (691) *avartsyata* from *vṛdhŪ* + *LṚṄ*.

(685) *vivṛtsati*

This example derives from (*vṛt* + *saN*) + *LAṬ*, where by following (*a-f*) of (584) *didṛkṣate, vivṛt* + *sa* will be produced. Deriving *vivṛtsati* from *vivṛtsa* + *LAṬ* offers nothing new. Note here that 1.2.10 *halantāc ca* will be instrumental in blocking *guṇa* of *ṛ*. Similar rules apply in deriving (691) *vivṛtsati* from (*vṛdhŪ* + *saN*) + *LAṬ*

(686) *vartiṣyate*

This example derives from *vṛtŪ* + *LṚṬ*, where *LṚṬ* gets replaced by *ātmanepada ta*. Given the string *vṛt* + *ta*, *sya* and *iṬ* will be introduced as in *vartsyati* and *vyadyotiṣṭa*. The result will be *vṛt* + *sya* + *ta* → *vṛt* + *iṬ* + *sya* + *ta* = *vṛt* + *i* + *sya* + *ta*. After the *guṇa* of *ṛ* and the changing of *ta* to *te*, the *s* of *sya* will be replaced by *ṣ*. Thus: *v*(*ṛ* → *ar*)*t* + *i* + (*s* → *ṣ*)*ya* + (*ta* → *te*) = *vartiṣyate*. Note here that *iṬ* cannot be blocked as in (683) *vartsyati*. One may similarly derive *vardhiṣyate* from *vṛdhŪ* + *LṚṬ*.

(687) *avartiṣyata*

This example is derived from *vṛtŪ* + *LṚN* similarly to (684) *avartsyat*. Affix *LṚN* here optionally is replaced by *ta*. The remaining operations (*sya, iṬ, aṬ, guṇa* of *ṛ*, and *s* → *ṣ*) offer nothing new.

(688) *vivartiṣate*

This example derives from (*vṛt* + *saN*) + *LAṬ* as in *vivṛtsati*. However, in this example *LAṬ* optionally gets replaced by *ātmanepada te*. Also *iṬ*, *guṇa* of *ṛ*, and change of *s* → *ṣ* occur. For details, see the preceding examples.

The examples derived from *vṛdhŨ* are quite similar.

1.3.93 *luṭi ca klṛpaḥ*

(694) ***kalptā***

(695) ***kalptārau***

(696) ***kalptāraḥ***

These three examples are derived from *kṛpŨ* + *LUṬ* as follows.

(*a*) *kṛpŨ*

it-deletion

= *kṛp*

(*b*) *kṛp*

1.3.1 *bhūvādayo...*
3.1.91 *dhātoḥ*
3.3.15 *anadyatane luṭ*

= *kṛp* + *LUṬ*

(*c*) *kṛp* + *LUṬ*

3.4.77 *lasya*
3.4.78 *tiptas...*
2.4.85 *luṭaḥ...*

= *kṛp* + (*LUṬ* → *Ḍā*)

it-deletion

= *kṛp* = *ō*

(*d*) *kṛp* + *ā*

3.1.33 *syatāsī...*

= *kṛp* + *tās* + *ā*

(*e*) *kṛp* + *tās* + *ā*

1.4.13 *yasmāt...*
6.4.1 *aṅgasya*
6.4.143 *teḥ* # 1.1.64 *aco' ntyādi...*

= *kṛp* + *t*(*ās* → ∅) + *ā*

= *kṛp* + *tā*

(*f*) *kṛp* + *tā*

7.3.84 *sārvadhātuka...*

= *k*(*ṛ* → *ar*)*p* + *tā*

= *karp* + *tā*

(*g*) *karp* + *tā*

8.2.18 *kṛpo rolaḥ*

= *ka*(*r* → *l*)*p* + *tā*

= ***kalptā***

Examples (695) *kalptārau* and (696) *kalptāraḥ* are derived by replacing *LUṬ* by *rau* and *ras* respectively in (*c*). At (*e*) only the *s* of *tās* is deleted, since the affixes *rau* and *ras* begin with *r* (see 7.4.51 *ri ca*). This will yield *kṛp* + *tā* + *rau* and *kṛp* + *tā* + *ras*. The remaining rule applications are similar. Note, however, that *iṬ* will be blocked by 7.2.10 *ekāca...*, and the final *s* of *kalptāras* will yield *ḥ* by *s-visarga*.

The other examples follow the derivational pattern of those under 1.3.92 *vṛdbhyaḥ...* and many previous rules.

1.4.1 *ā kaḍārād ekā saṃjñā*
(697) *bhettā*
(698) *chettā*

This example is derived from *bhidIR* + *tṛC*. Its derivation is similar to that of (8) *cetā* (1.1.2 *adeṅ guṇaḥ*), where *tṛC* is introduced by 3.1.133 *ṇvul tṛcau*. Given the string *bhid* (*IR* → *it*-deletion) + *tṛ*, rule 1.4.10 *hrasvaṃ laghu* assigns the term *laghu* to the short *i* of *bhid*. This, in turn, necessitates the *guṇa* (1.1.2) replacement for the penultimate (*upadhā* cf. 1.1.65 *alo' ntyāt pūrva upadhā*) *laghu* vowel *i* of the *aṅga* (1.4.13 *yasmāt...*) *bhid*. This yields *bh*(*i* → *e*)*d* + *tṛ*. The rest of the steps to derive *bhettā* are similar to (8) *cetā*, except that the *d* of *bhed* + *tṛ* is changed into *t* by 8.4.55 *khari ca*. Similar rule applications on *chid* + *tṛC* will yield (698) *chettā*. Note that these examples illustrate the scope of the term *laghu*, and operations obtaining as a result of this term assignment.

(699) *śikṣā*
(700) *bhikṣā*

These examples illustrate the scope of the technical term *guru* (1.4.11 *saṃyoge guru*), whereby a *hrasva* 'short' vowel is termed *guru* before a conjunct (*saṃyoga*). Thus, for the reason that the short *i* of both *śikṣ* and *bhikṣ* is followed by the conjunct *kṣ*, *i* will be assigned the term *guru*. These examples are derived from *śikṣā* + *sŨ* and *bhikṣā* + *sŨ*, where *śikṣā* and *bhikṣā* are feminine forms ending in *ṬāP*. Given the roots *śikṣ* and *bhikṣ*, *i* will be termed *guru*. Consequently, rule 3.3.103 *guroś ca halaḥ* will introduce affix (3.1.1 *pratyayaḥ*) *a* after (3.1.2 *paraś ca*) a verb root (3.1.91 *dhātoḥ*) which terminates in a consonant (*hL* cf. *Ś*s, 5-14) and contains a *guru* vowel (*gurumān*). This is, of course, provided that the derivate is to signify feminine, or *bhāva* 'root-sense', or a *kāraka* other than *kartṛ*.

Needless to say, *śikṣ* and *bhikṣ* meet these requirements. The resultant forms *śikṣ* + *a* = *śikṣa* and *bhikṣ* + *a* = *bhikṣa* are assigned the term *prātipadika* (1.2.46 *kṛttaddhitasmāsāś ca*), since they end in an affix termed *kṛt* (3.1.9 *kṛd atiṅ*). Rule 4.1.4 *ajādyataṣ ṭāp* then introduces affix *Ṭāp* after a nominal stem (4.1.1 *ṅyāp-prātipadikāt*) belonging to the list headed by *aja* 'goat', or ending in *a*. Note that affix *Ṭāp* is introduced to denote feminine (4.1.3 *striyām*). This yields *śikṣa* + *ā* which, after the application of 6.1.101 *akaḥ savarṇe dīrghaḥ*, yields *śikṣa* + *ā* = *śikṣā*.

1.4.2 *vipratisedhe paraṃ kāryam*
(701) *vṛkṣābhyām*
(702) *plakṣābhyām*
(703) *vṛkṣeṣu*
(704) *plakṣeṣu*
(705) *vṛkṣebhyaḥ*
(706) *plakṣebhyaḥ*

Our first example (701) *vṛkṣābhyām* is derived by introducing the fourth (*caturthī*) or fifth (*pañcamī*) dual (*dvivacana*) nominal ending (*vibhakti*) *bhyām* (4.1.2 *svaujas...*) after the nominal stem (*prātipadika*) *vṛkṣa*, to denote either the dative (*sampradāna*; 1.4.32 *karmaṇā yam abhipraiti sa sampradānam*) or ablative (*apādāna*; 1.4.24 *dhruvam apāye' pādānam*). Given the string *vṛkṣa + bhyām*, rule 7.3.102 *supi ca*, read with 7.3.101 *ato dīrgho yañi*, would require the lengthening of the final *a* of the *aṅga* (1.4.13 *yasmāt...*; 6.4.1 *aṅgasya*); i.e., *vṛkṣa*. Thus we get: *vṛkṣ(a → ā) + bhyām = vṛkṣā + bhyām = vṛkṣābhyām*. Our next example (702) *plakṣābhyām* is similarly derived from *plakṣa + bhyām*.

The next example, (703) *vṛkṣeṣu* which is the locative plural of *vṛkṣa*, is derived by introducing the seventh (*saptamī*) plural (*bahuvacana*) ending *sUP* after *vṛkṣa* to denote 'locus' (*adhikaraṇa*). Given the string *vṛkṣa + su*, rule 7.3.103 *bahuvacane jhaly et* would require that the *aṅga-* final *a* be replaced with *e*. Thus, we get *vṛkṣ(a → e) + su = vṛkṣe + su*. The *s* of *su* will subsequently be replaced with *ṣ*, and we will then have *vṛkṣe + (s → ṣ)u = vṛkṣeṣu*. Similar rules apply to derive *plakṣeṣu* from *plakṣa + su*.

The last two, (705) *vṛkṣebhyaḥ* and (706) *plakṣebhyaḥ*, are the dative or ablative plural forms of *vṛkṣa* and *plakṣa*. Given the string *vṛkṣa + bhyas*, rules 7.3.102 *supi ca* and 7.3.103 *bhahūvacane jhaly et* will both become equally applicable. The result could be either *vṛkṣ(a → ā) + bhyas = *vṛkṣābhyas*, or *vṛkṣ ((a → e) + bhyas = vṛkṣebhyas*. Obviously, **vṛkṣābhyas* is wrong.

Rule 1.4.2 requires a situation of conflict (*vipratiṣedha*) between two rules of equal strength (*tulyabala*). A major requirement for proving that two rules are equal in strength is that the rules must have their valid scope of application elsewhere (*anyatra*). Note here that (701) *vṛkṣābhyām* and (702) *plakṣābhyām* illustrate instances where 7.3.102 *supi ca* finds its scope, independently of the situation of conflict with 7.3.103 *bahuvacane jhaly et*. Similarly, 7.3.103 finds its valid scope independently of the situation of conflict with 7.3.102 *supi ca* in (705) *vṛkṣebhyaḥ* and (707) *plakṣebhyaḥ*. Given the fact that these two rules have their independent scope of application elsewhere, one must invoke rule 1.4.2 *vipratiṣedhe...* to resolve the conflict in deriving (705) *vṛkṣebhyaḥ* and (706) *plakṣebhyaḥ*. Accordingly, rule 7.3.103 *bahuvacane jhaly et* will block the application of 7.3.102 *supi ca*, as 7.2.103 is subsequent to 7.2.102. Thus, *vṛkṣa + bhyas* and *plakṣa + bhyas* could only

yield *vṛkṣe + bhyas* and *plakṣe + bhyas*. The *s* of *bhyas* will go through *r-visarga* and we will get: *vṛkṣe + bhya(s → ḥ) = vṛkṣebhyaḥ*. Similarly, one can derive (706) *plakṣebhyaḥ*.

1.4.3 *yū stryākhyau nadī*
(707) *kumārī*
(708) *gaurī*
(709) *lakṣmīḥ*
(710) *sārṅgaravī*
(711) *brahmabandhūḥ*
(712) *yavāgūḥ*

The first set of four examples have their derived feminine bases, i.e., *kumārī; gaurī; lakṣmīḥ;* and *sārṅgaravī*, ending in *ī*. The second set of two examples. i.e., *brahmabandhūḥ* and *yavāgūḥ*, have bases ending in *ū*. The first two examples, (*kumārī; gaurī*) are derived by introducing the feminine (4.1.3 *striyām*) affixes (3.1.1 *pratyayaḥ*) *ṄīP* and *ṄīṢ* (4.1.20 *vayasi prthame;* 4.1.41 *ṣid gaurā...* after (3.1.2 *paraś ca*) the nominal stems (*prātipadika* cf. 1.2.45 *arthavad...;* 4.1.1 *ṅyāp-prātipadikāt*) *kumāra* and *gaura*. Given the strings *kumāra + ṄīP = kumāra + ī* and *gaura + ṄīṢ = gaura + ī*, rule 6.4.148 *yasyeti ca* would delete the *a* of *kumāra* and *gaura* (*aṅga* (1.4.13 *yasmāt....*) and *bha* (1.4.18 *yaci bham*)). In addition, these forms are occurring before the feminine affixes constituted by *ī*. This will yield the forms *kumāri* and *gaurī*, after which *sŨ*, the nominative singular ending, can be introduced by rule 4.1.2 *svaujas...*, read with 4.1.1 *ṅyap-prātipadikāt*.

Of course, other rules relating to the selection of *sŨP* will be brought into focus. Given the strings *kumārī + s(Ũ → Ø) = kumārī + s*, and *gaurī + s(Ũ → Ø) = gaurī + s*, the *s* is termed *apṛkta* (1.2.47 *apṛkta ekāl pratyayaḥ*) and is deleted by 6.1.68 *halṅyābhyo....* The two words *kumārī* and *gaurī* still qualify to be called a *pada* (1.4.14 *suptiṅantaṃ padam*), even though their affix has been deleted (1.1.62 *pratyayalope pratyayalakṣaṇam*). Note that these examples have been cited in connection with the assignment of the term *nadī*. They have not been mentioned in the derivation, nor has the purpose of assigning them been shown. Commentators class such examples as *rūpodāharaṇa* 'examples illustrating a form refered to by a term' and contrast them with, for example, *kāryodāharaṇa*, which illustrates the function of the term assignment. Obviously, *kumārī* and *gaurī* are examples illustrating the form to which the term *nadī* may be applicable.

Our example (709) *lakṣmīḥ* is also an instance of *rūpodāharaṇa*. Thus, *lakṣmīḥ* is derived from *lakṣmī + sŨ*, where *lakṣmī*, the base, is derived by introducing the *Uṇādi* affix *ī* (*Uṇādi* 448 *lakṣer muṭ ca*) after the verbal root *lakṣ* 'appearance, mark'. Note that the *Uṇādi* affix is introduced along with the augment *mUṬ*. That is, *lakṣ + (mUṬ → m) + ī = lakṣ + m + ī = lakṣmī*. Rule 1.2.45 *kṛttaddhitasamāsāś ca* assigns the term *prātipadika*, as *lakṣmī* is

derived by introducing a *kṛt* affix after a verbal root. Given the string *lakṣmī* + *sŨ* = *lakṣmī* + *s*, rule 6.1.68 *halṅyābhyo...* cannot delete *s*, as *lakṣmī* does not end in a feminine affix marked with *Ṅ* or *P*. This clears the way for *s-visarga: lakṣmī* + (*s* = *ḥ*) = *lakṣmīḥ*.

Our next example (710) *śārṅgaravī* is derived by introducing the feminine affix *ṄīN* after the nominal stem *śārṅgarava* (4.1.73 *śārṅgaravād yaño ṅīn*). Given the string *śārṅgarava* + (*Ṅ* → *Ø*)*i*(*Ṅ* → *Ø*) = *śārṅgarava* + *ī*, follow the derivational pattern of *kumārī*.

The last two examples, (711) *brahmabandhūḥ* and (712) *yavāgūḥ*, illustrate forms ending in *ū*. Given the string *brahmabandhu* + *ūṄ*, where *ūṄ* is a feminine affix introduced after *brahmabandhu*, a complex nominal stem denoting 'humans' (*manuṣyajāti;* 4.1.66 *Uṅutaḥ*), rule 6.1.101 *akaḥ savarṇe dīrgaḥ* will apply. Thus, *brahmabandhu* + *ū*(*Ṅ* → *Ø*) = *brahmabandhu* + *ū* = *brahmabandhū*. Affix *āgūC* is introduced after the verbal root *yū* 'to mix' by the *Uṇādi* rule 3.81 *sṛyuvacibhyo' nyujāgūjaknucaḥ*. Given the string *yū* + *āgū* (*C* → *Ø*), *ū* of *yū*, an *aṅga* (1.4.13 *yasmāt...*) termed *bha* (1.4.18 *yaci bham*), will be replaced by its *guṇa* (1.1.2 *adeṅ guṇaḥ*) counterpart *o* (6.4.146 *or guṇaḥ*). Now rule 6.1.78 *eco' yavāyāḥ* applies to *y*(*ū* → *o*) + *āgū* = *yo* + *agu* to yield *y*(*o* → *av*) + *āgū* = *yav* + *āgū* = *yavāgūḥ*. Deriving *brahmabandhūḥ* from *brahmabandhū* + *sŨ*, and *yavāgūḥ* from *yavāgū* + *sŨ* is not problematic. For, in the absence of the deletion of *s*, one would apply *s-visarga*.

These examples, as I have indicated earlier, illustrate only the forms to which the term *nadī* could be applicable. For a functional illustration (*kāryodāharaṇa*) of the assignment of the term *nadī*, consider the dative singular forms of the preceding examples, such as *kumāryai*, the dative singular form of (707) *kumārī*. We begin with the string *kumārī* + (*Ṅ* → *Ṅe*) = *kumāri* + *e*, where *Ṅe* is the fourth triplet (*caturthī*) singular (*ekavacana*) nominal ending introduced after *kumārī*, a form ending in the feminine affix *ṄīP* (4.1.1 *ṅyāp-prātipadikāt*). The nominal ending (*vibhakti*) *Ṅe* is introduced by 4.1.2 *svaujas...*, though its selection is made on the basis of its function to denote *sampradāna* (2.3.13 *caturthī sampradāne*). Now let us return to *kumārī* + *e*, where rule 1.4.3 *yūstryākhyau nadī* assigns the term *nadī* to *kumārī* because it ends in *ī* and denotes feminine. Rule 7.3.112 *āṇ nadyāḥ*, in the *aṅga* (1.4.13 *yasmāt...*) domain (6.4.1 *aṅgasya*), will then introduce the augment (*āgama*) *āṬ*. This will give us: *kumārī* + *ā*(*Ṭ* → *Ø*) + *e* = *kumārī* + *ā* + *e*. Note that since *āṬ* is marked with *Ṭ*, rule 1.1.46 *ādyantau ṭakitau* will regulate the introduction of *āṬ* before *e*. Subsequent to this, but still with reference to *āṬ* conditioned by the term *nadī*, rule 6.1.87 *āṭaś ca* will order a single (*eka*) *vṛddhi* (1.1.1 *vṛddhir ādaic*) replacement (*ādeśa*) in place of both the *ā* of *āṬ* and the *e* of the nominal ending. The result will be: *kumārī*(*ā* + *e* → *ai*) = *kumārī* + *ai*. Rule 6.1.77 *iko yaṇ aci* will now apply to yield: *kumār*(*ī* → *y*) + *ai* = *kumāry* + *ai* = *kumāryai*. Note that operations relative to *āṬ* are the results of the assignment of the term *nadī*.

1.4.4 *neyaṅuvaṅsthānāv astrī*
(713) *he śrīḥ*
(714) *he bhrūḥ*

These examples are in the vocative (*sambodhana*), where *he* is an indeclinable (*avyaya*). They are derived from *śrī* + *sŨ* and *bhrū* + *sŨ*, similar to *lakṣmīḥ* and *brahmabandhūḥ*, which are derived from *lakṣmī* + *sŨ* and *brahmabandhū* + *sŨ* respectively. Both *śrī* and *bhrū* are forms for which a replacement (*ādeśa*) in *iyAṄ* and *uvAṄ* is respectively ordered by rule 6.4.77 *aciśnudhātubhruvām*.... It is in this sense that *śrī* and *bhrū* and forms similar to them are termed the substituenda (*sthānin*) of *iyAṄ* and *uvAṄ*. The application of rule 6.4.77 results in the derivation of forms such as *sriyau* 'nominative dual', *śriyaḥ* 'nominative plural', and, in the case of *bhrū*, *bhruvau* 'nominative dual', and *bhruvaḥ* 'nominative plural', etc. If the assignment of the term *nadī* is not blocked in the case of *śrī* and *bhrū*, or in the case of a similar form covered by this rule, wrong forms will result. That is, rule 7.3.107 *ambārthanadyor hrasvaḥ* would order a short replacement for the long *ī* and *ū* of *śrī* and *bhrū*.

1.4.5 *vā' mi*
(715) *śriyām*
(716) *śrīṇām*
(717) *bhruvām*
(718) *bhrūṇām*

The above two sets of examples illustrate the optional genitive plural forms of *śrī* and *bhrū*, derived respectively from *śrī* + *ām* and *bhrū* + *ām*. In these derivations, the option of either assigning or not assigning the term *nadī* results in two forms in each set. Given the string *śrī* + *ām*, where *ām* (genitive plural) is introduced after *śrī* (*sŨP*-selection), rule 7.1.54 *hrasvanadyāpo nuṭ* orders the augment *nUṬ* on the strength of the assignment of the term *nadī*. Note that augment *nUṬ* is being introduced with reference to the genitive plural ending *ām*. As a consequence, and in accordance with the specification of rule 1.1.46 *ādyantau ṭakitau*, *n*(*UṬ* → *Ø*) is introduced at the beginning of *ām*, thereby yielding *śrī* + (*n* + *ām*) = *śrī* + *nām*. The *n* of *nām* is replaced by *ṇ* by rule 8.4.1 *raṣābhyām no ṇaḥ samānapade*. The same rule application will result in the derivation of (718) *bhrūṇām*.

Clearly, the introduction of the augment *nUṬ* and the subsequent replacement of *n* by *ṇ* takes place as a result of accepting the option of assigning the term *nadi* to *śrī* and *bhrū*. If on the other hand, this option of assigning the term *nadī* is not accepted, the genitive plural forms of *śrī* and *bhrū* will be *śriyām* and *bhruvām*. That is, the *ī* and *ū* of *śrī* and *bhrū* will be replaced by *iy* and *uv* respectively. The result will be: *śr*(*ī* → *iy*) + *ām* and *bhr*(*ū* → *uv*) + *ām* = *śriyām* and *bhruvām*. This will be accomplished by rule 6.4.77 *aciśnudhātu*...

1.4.6 *ṅiti hrasvaś ca*
(719) *kṛtyai*
(720) *kṛtaye*
(721) *dhenvai*
(722) *dhenave*
(723) *śriyai*
(724) *śriye*
(725) *bhruvai*
(726) *bhruve*

Note that in each of the above four sets, both forms are alternate dative singulars. That is, *kṛti* + *Ṅe*, *dhenu* + *Ṅe*, *śrī* + *Ṅe* and *bhrū* + *Ṅe* have each yielded two forms, depending on whether or not the option of assigning the term *nadī* was accepted. Of course, *Ṅe* is the dative singular ending (refer to the derivation of *kumāryai* under rule 1.4.3, above).

If the option of assigning the term *nadī* is accepted, the first of the above examples in each set will be derived. Given the string *kṛti* + (*Ṅ* → *Ø*)*e* = *kṛti* + *e*, and the fact that the term *nadī* is assigned, rule 7.3.112 will introduce *āṬ*. Thus: *kṛti* + *ā*(*Ṭ* → *Ø*) + *e*. The *ā* and *e* will then be replaced by a single *vṛddhi* vowel, *ai*. This will give: *kṛti* + (*ā* + *e* → *ai*) = *kṛti* + *ai*. Finally, the *i* of *kṛti* will be replaced by *y*.

For details of these derivational steps and relevant rules, see the derivation of *kumāryai*. Practically the same rule applications will give forms such as (721) *dhenvai*. Note that accepting the option of assigning the term *nadī* will result in the introduction of *āṬ*, single *vṛddhi* replacement and the substitution of *i/u* by *y/v*. This takes care of the derivation of the first example in each set.

The second examples are those where the option of assigning the term *nadī* has not been taken. This would cause the application of rule 1.4.7 *śeṣo ghy asakhi*, whereby the term *ghi* will be assigned. Given the string *kṛti* + *e*, where *kṛti* is assigned the term *ghi*, rule 7.3.111 *gher ṅiti* will assign *guṇa*, thereby yielding: *kṛt* (*i* → *e*) + *e* = *kṛte* + *e*. Forms like *dheu* + *e* which end in *u* would yield: *dhen*(*u* → *o*) + *e* = *dhen*(*u* → *o*) + *e*. Subsequent to this, the *e* of *kṛte* and the *o* of *dheno* will be replaced by *ay* and *av* as demanded by rule 6.1.78 *eco' yavāyāvaḥ*. Thus: *kṛt*(*e* → *ay*) + *e* and *dhen*(*o* → *av*) + *e* = *kṛtay* + *e* = *kṛtaye* and *dhenav* + *e* = *dhenave*. This shows that refusing the option of assigning the term *nadī* results in the assignment of the terms *ghi* and *guṇa* along with a replacement in *ay/av*. But this only happens in the case of forms which end in short *i/u*. For, the term *ghi* cannot be assigned to a form ending in a long *ī/ū*.

This brings us to the question of possible results in the case of the examples of this rule where the option of assigning the term *nadī* is not accepted, and where long *ī/ū* are involved. Those examples are (723) *śriyai* and (725) *bhruvai*. Given the string *śrī* + *e* and *bhrū* + *e*, where the term *nadī*

is not assigned, the *ī* and *ū* will be replaced by *iyAṄ* and *uvAṄ*. That is: *śr(ī → iy(AṄ → Ø) + e = śriy + e = śriye;* and *bhr(ū → uv (AṄ → Ø) + e = bhruv + e = bhruve.* The rule that orders the *iyAṄ* and *uvAṄ* replacement is again 6.4.77 *aciśnudhātu*

1.4.7 *śeṣo ghy asakhi*
(727) *agnaye*
(728) *sakhye*
(729) *vāyave*
(730) *sakhyuḥ*
(731) *sakhyā*
(732) *sakhyau*

The first two examples can be derived like (720) *kṛtaye* and (722) *dhenave* of the preceding rule.

Our next four examples are taken to illustrate why *sakhi* must be excluded from being assigned the term *ghi*. The first example is the instrumental singular *sakhyā* derived from *sakhi* + *Ṭā*. Given the string *sakhi* + (*Ṭ → Ø*) *ā* = *sakhi* + *ā*, rule 6.1.77 *iko yaṇ aci* will replace the *i* with *y*, thus yielding *sakh* (*i → y*) + *ā* = *sakhyā*. Note that had *sakhi* been allowed to be termed *ghi*, rule 7.3.120 *āṅo nāstriyām* would have required the instrumental singular ending (*Ṭ*)*ā* to be replaced by *nā*. This would have resulted in the wrong form **sakhinā*. Also note that one of the functions of assigning the term *ghi* is to facilitate the application of rule 7.3.120, whereby under certain conditions the instrumental singular ending (*Ṭ*)*ā* could be replaced by *nā*.

The next example (728) *sakhye* is the dative singular, derived similarly to (720) *kṛtaye*. This illustrates that, in the absence of the assignment of the term *ghi* to *sakhi*, rule 7.3.111 *gher ṅiti* cannot order the replacement of the *i* of *sakhi* + (*Ṅ → Ø*)*e* by the corresponding *guṇa* vowel *e*. Thus, assigning the term *ghi* serves the purpose of facilitating the application of 7.3.111 *gher ṅiti*.

The following example, (730) *sakhyuḥ*, may be interpreted as either the ablative or the genitive singular form. In both instances, the derivation will start with *sakhi* + *as*, with the understanding that *as* may be that of *ṄasI*, ablative singular, or *Ṅas*, genitive singular. The *i* of *sakhi* will be replaced by *y* by rule 6.1.77 *iko yaṇ aci*. Rule 6.1.112 *khyāt parasya* would further require that the *a* of *as* be replaced by *u*. This would yield: *sakh(i → y)* + (*a → u*)*s* = *sakhy* + *us*. Finally, *s-visarga* will yield *sakhyu(s → r → ḥ)* = *sakhyuḥ*. Note that, if *ghi* had been assigned to *sakhi*, 7.3.111 *gher ṅiti* would also have required *guṇa*.

Our last example (732) *sakhyau* is a locative singular form underlying *sakhi* + *Ṅi*. The *i* of (*Ṅ → Ø*)*i* is replaced by *au*. Rule 6.1.77 *iko yaṇ aci* can now replace the *i* of *sakhi* to produce *sakh(i → y)* + *au* = *sakhyau*. Note that

the replacement of the locative singular *Ni* by *au* is made possible by denying *sakhi* the assignment of the terms *nadī* or *ghi*.

1.4.8 *patiḥ samāsa eva*
(733) *prajāpatinā*
(734) *prajāpataye*
(735) *patyā*
(736) *patye*

The word *prajāpatinā* is the instrumental singular of *prajāpati*. It is a compound (*samāsa*) termed nominal stem (*prātipadika*) underlying *prajāpati* + *Tā*. Given *prajāpati* + (*Ṭ* → *Ø*)*ā* = *prajāpati* + *ā*, as in *sakhi* + *ā* of (731) *sakhyā*, rule 1.4.8 will assign the term *ghi*; and as a consequence rule 7.3.120 *āṅo nā' striyām* will require that *ā* be replaced by *nā*. The result will be *prajāpati* + (*ā* → *nā*) = *prajāpati* + *nā* = *prajāpatinā*. Recall that if *sakhi* were not disallowed from being termed *ghi*, its instrumental singular would have been **sakhinā* and not (731) *sakhyā*. This is the purpose of assigning the term *ghi*.

The compound base *prajāpati* is derived from *prajā* + *Ṅas* + *pati* + *sŨ*, where *prajā* + *Ṅas*--which is a *pada* (1.4.14 *suptiṅantaṃ padam*)--ends in the genitive (*ṣaṣṭhī*; 2.3.50 *ṣaṣṭhī śese*). It is syntactically related (*samartha*; 2.1.1 *samarthaḥ padavidhiḥ*) to *pati* + *sŨ*, another *pada* ending in the nominative. The compound (2.1.3 *prāk kaḍārāt samāsaḥ*) is a *tatpuruṣa* (2.1.22 *tatpuruṣaḥ*) ordered by 2.2.8 *ṣaṣṭhī*, whereby a nominal *pada* ending in the genitive can be combined with a syntactically related nominal *pada* (2.1.4 *saha supā*). The word *ṣaṣṭhī*, in rule 2.2.8 *ṣaṣṭhī* which allows the compound formation, is used in the nominative (*prathamā*). Consequently, in view of rule 1.2.43 *prathamā nirdiṣṭa samāsa upasarjanam*, an item specified by the nominative in a rule which allows compound formation is termed *upasarjana* 'secondary'. Such an item is *prajā* + *Ṅas*, as the *ṣaṣṭhī* of 2.2.8 specifies a *pada* which is in the genitive. This being the case, 2.2.30 *upasarjanaṃ pūrvam* will order that the item which is termed *upasarjana* be placed first in the compound. The result is: *prajā* + *Ṅas* + *pati* + *sŨ*.

Since it is now a *samāsa* 'compound', this item can be termed a nominal stem (*prātipadika*). Rule 2.4.71 *supo dhātuprātipadikayoḥ* will therefore delete the *sŨP*, (in this case *Ṅas* and *sŨ*) which forms part of the nominal stem. Now we have: *prajā* + (*Ṅas* → *Ø*) + *pati* + (*sŨ* → *Ø*) = *prajā* + *pati* = *prajāpati*.

Note that 4.1.2 read with 4.1.1 can here introduce the nominal ending, such as *Ṭā*, to derive *prajāpatinā*. This compound is optional (*vā*). That is, if the option of combining the *pada* is not accepted, the result will be a fully derived *pada*: *prajāyāḥ patiḥ*. Remember, too, that a compound base such as *prajāpati* will be masculine, in accordance with the second member *pati* (2.4.26 *paraval liṅgaṃ dvandvatatpuruṣayoḥ*).

Example (734) *prajāpataye* is derived like (720) *kṛtaye*, from *prajāpati* + $(\dot{N} \rightarrow \emptyset)$ *e*.

The last two, (735) *patyā* and (736) *patye*, are given as counter-examples to show what happens when the word *pati* is not assigned the term *ghi*. In that case, we will get (735) *patyā* and (736) *patye*, the instrumental and dative singular forms. That is, given the string *pati* + $(\dot{A} \rightarrow \emptyset)\bar{a}$, $\bar{a}$ cannot be replaced by *nā*. This is because *pati* cannot be called *ghi*. Instead, rule 6.1.77 *iko yaṇ aci* will apply to yield: $pat(i \rightarrow y) + \bar{a} = paty + \bar{a} = patyā$. The derivation of (736) *patye* from *pati* + $(\dot{N} \rightarrow \emptyset)e$ involves the same rule application. Thus we get: $pat(i \rightarrow y) + e = paty + e = patye$.

1.4.9 *ṣaṣṭhīyuktaś chandasi vā*

(737) *pataye*

patye (see (736) under rule 1.4.8)

This rule allows an optional assignment of the term *ghi* to the word *pati* in Vedic, provided the word occurs in conjunction with a genitive (*ṣaṣṭhī*). Thus we have (737) *pataye* and (736) *patye*, derived from *pati* + $(\dot{N})e$, under the condition that these occur together with words such as *kuluñcānām*, a genitive derived from *kuluñca* + *ām*. Of course, the genitive nominal ending *ām*, a plural, is introduced after *kuluñca*, by 4.1.2 *svaujas...*, taking into consideration also rules such as: 2.3.50 *ṣaṣṭhī śeṣe*; 1.4.21 *bahuṣu bahuvacanam*, etc. Augment *nUṬ* is introduced to *ām* occurring after an *aṅga* (1.4.13 *yasmāt...*), in this case *kuluñca*, which ends in a short (*hrasva*) vowel. The rule which introduces this *nUṬ* is 7.1.54 *hrasva nadyāpo nuṭ*, which is contained in the domain of 6.4.1 *aṅgasya*, and also takes the *anuvṛtti* of 7.1.52 *āmi sarvanāmnaḥ suṭ*. In view of rule 1.1.46 *ādyantau ṭakitau*, this will give: *kuluñca* + $n(UṬ \rightarrow \emptyset)$ + *ām* = *kuluñca* + *n* + *ām* = *kuluñca* + *nām*. Rule 6.4.3 *nāmi* can now introduce a long replacement for the short final vowel of an *aṅga* occurring before *nām*. Thus, $kuluñc(a \rightarrow \bar{a})$ + *nām* = *kuluñcā* + *nām* = *kuluñcānām*.

Note that *pati* is assigned the term *ghi* in the Vedic under the circumstances discussed as above only optionally, and this is why we get the two forms (737) *pataye* and *patye*.

1.4.10 *hrasvaṃ laghu*

bhettā

chettā (already derived as (697) and (698) under rule 1.4.1.

(738) *acīkarat*

(739) *ajīharat*

(738) *acīkarat*

(*a*) *DUkṛÑ*

After *it*-deletion follow steps similar to (*a*) of (240) *āṭiṭat*. This will give *kṛ* + *i*.

(b) $kṛ + i$

Follow rules similar to step *(f)* of (201) *akurutām*. The result will be $k(ṛ \rightarrow ar) + i = kar + i$

(c) $kar + i$

Follow step *(b)* through *(g)* of (240) *āṭiṭat*

$= k(a \rightarrow ā)r + ı = kār + i$

$= kār + i$

$= kar + a + t$

(d) $kar + a + t$

6.1.1 *ekāco...*

6.1.11 *cañi*

1.1.59 *dvir vacane' ci* (also refer to *Mbh.* I: ad 1.1.58 *ṇau kṛtam...*

$= kṛ + kar + a + t$

(e) $kṛ + kar + a + t$

6.1.4 *purvo' bhyāsaḥ*

7.4.66 *urat* #

\# 1.4.13 *yasmāt...*

\# 1.1.50 *uraṇ raparaḥ*

$= k(ṛ \rightarrow ar) + kar + a + t$

$= kar + kar + a + t$

(f) $kar + kar + a + t$

7.4.60 *halādi śeṣaḥ*

$= ka\ (r \rightarrow \emptyset) + kar + a + t$

$= ka + kar + a + t$

(g) $ka + kar + a + t$

7.4.62 *kuhoś cuḥ* # 1.4.50 *sthāne...*

$= (k \rightarrow c)a + kar + a + t$

$= ca + kar + a + t$

(h) $ca + kar + a + t$

6.4.71 *luṅlaṅ...* # 1.1.46 *ādyantau...*

$= a(Ṭ \rightarrow \emptyset) + ca + kar + a + t$

$= a + ca + kar + a + t$

$= a + ca + kar + a + t$

(i) $a + ca + kar + a + t$

7.4.93 *sanvat laghu...*

7.4.79 *sany ataḥ*

$= a + c(a \rightarrow i) + kar + a + t$

$= a + ci + kar + a + t$

(j) $a + ci + kar + a + t$

7.4.94 *dīrgho laghoḥ*

$= a + c(i \rightarrow ī) + kar + a + t$

$= a + cī + kar + a + t$

$= acīkarat$

Similar rules will apply in deriving (739) *ajīharat* from *hṛÑ + ṆiC*. Note, however, that given the string *ha + har + a + t*, parallel to the results at step (*f*) of *acīkarat*, rule 7.4.62 *kuhoś cuḥ* will change the first *h* to *jh* thus yielding: *jha + har + a + t*. Subsequently, the *jh* will be replaced with *ja* by rule 8.4.53 *abhyāse carca*. Other rule applications are similar to (738) *acīkarat*.

1.4.11 *saṃyoge guru*
(740) *kuṇḍā*
(741) *huṇḍā*
śikṣā
bhikṣā Derived under 1.4.1 as (699) and (700)

Our first example (740) *kuṇḍā* is derived from the verbal root *kuḍI* as follows:

(*a*) *kuḍI*
1.3.1 *bhūvādayo dhātabaḥ*
1.3.2 *upadeśe' j anusnāsika it*
1.3.9 *tasya lopaḥ*
= *kuḍ* (*I* → ∅)
= *kuḍ*

(*b*) *kuḍ*
7.1.58 *idito num dhātoḥ*
1.1.47 *mid aco' ntyāt paraḥ*
= *ku + nUM + ḍ* (*it*-deletion)
= *ku + n*(*UM* → ∅) *+ ḍ*
= *ku + n + ḍ*
= *kunḍ*

(*c*) *kunḍ*
1.1.7 *halo' anantarā saṃyogaḥ*
1.4.11 *saṃyoge guru*
3.1.93 *dhātoḥ*
3.3.103 *guroś ca halaḥ*
= *kunḍ + a*
= *kunḍa*

(*d*) *kunḍa*
1.2.46 *kṛttaddhita...*
4.1.1 *ṅyāp-prātipadikāt*
4.1.3 *striyām*
4.1.4 *ajādy-ataṣ ṭāp*
kunḍa + Ṭāp → *it*-deletion
kunḍa + (*Ṭ* → ∅)*ā* (*P* → ∅)
= *kunḍa + ā*

(*e*) *kunḍa + ā*
6.1.101 *akaḥ savarṇe dīrghaḥ*

= *kunḍ* (*a* + *ā* → *ā*)
= *kunaā*

(*f*) *kundā*

4.1.1 *ṅyāp-prātipadikāt*
4.1.2 *svaujas...*, # *sŨP*-placement
= *kunḍā* + *sU*

(*g*) *kunḍā* + *sŨ*

6.1.68 *halṅyābbhyo...*
= *kunḍā* + (*sŨ* → *Ø*)
= *kunḍā*

(*h*) *kunḍā*

1.4.14 *suptiṇantaṃ padam*
8.1.16 *padasya*
8.3.24 *naś cāpadāntasya jhali*
= *ku* (*n* → *ṃ*) *ḍā*
= *kuṃḍā*

(*i*) *kuṃḍā*

8.4.58 *anusvārasya yayi parasavarṇaḥ*
= *ku* (*ṃ* → *ṇ*) *ḍā*
= *kuṇḍā*

Note that the basic function of the assignment of the term *guru* in case of the *u* of *kunḍ* (see steps (*b*) and (*c*) above) is to enable *kunḍ* to receive the suffix *a*. The fact that a short vowel (*hrasva*), in the present case *u*, is occurring before a *saṃyoga* (1.1.7 *halo'nantarāḥ...*) and is assigned the term *guru* is relevant to the assignment of the term. Similar rule applications would yield (741) *huṇḍā* from *huḍI*.

1.4.12 *dīrghaṃ ca*
īkṣāñcakre
īhāñcakre

These derivations are given under (602) and (603) with reference to rule 1.3.63 *ām pratyayavat*.... Note that the assignment of the term *dīrgha* to a short vowel occurring before a *saṃyoga* 'conjunct' allows *saṃjñā-samāveśa* 'class-inclusion', which otherwise would not have been possible in this domain of *ekasaṃjñā*. Furthermore, this class-inclusion facilitates certain operations which would not have been available to certain strings. For details see the relevant steps in the derivations of the examples cited under this rule.

1.4.13 *yasmāt pratyayavidhis...*
karttā
karttā (Derived under 1.1.51 as (177) and (178)).

(742) *kariṣyati*
(743) *hariṣyati*
(744) *akariṣyat*

aupagavaḥ (Derived under 1.1.1 as (1)).
kāpaṭavaḥ (Derived as (428) under 1.2.46).

(742) *kariṣyati*
(*a*) *ḌUkṛÑ*
it-deletion
= *kṛ*
Follow the derivational steps of (683) *vartsyati*
(*b*) *kṛ + sya + ti*
7.2.10 *ekāc upadeśe*
7.2.35 *ārddhadhātukasyeḍ valādeḥ*
7.2.70 *ṛddhanoḥ sye*
1.1.46 *ādyantau...*
= *kṛ + iṬ + sya + ti*
= *kṛ + i(Ṭ → Ø) + sya + ti*
(*c*) *kṛ + isya + ti*
7.3.84 *sārvadhātukarddhadhātukayoḥ*
= *k (ṛ → ar) + isya + ti*
= *kar + isya + ti*
(*d*) *kar + isya + ti*
8.3.59 *ādeśapratyayoḥ*
= *kar + i(s → ṣ (ya)) + ti*
= *kar + iṣya + ti*
= *kariṣyati*

One can similarly derive (743) *hariṣyati*. Note that the immediate effect of the assignment of the term *aṅga*, in the above examples, to *kṛ* and *hṛ* is to allow the *guṇa* by rule 7.3.84 *sārvadhātukārddha....* Additionally, the term *aṅga* is instrumental in the introduction of the augment *iṬ* by 7.2.70 *ṛddhanoḥ...*

(744) *akariṣyat*
(*a*) *(ḌU → Ø) kṛ(Ñ → Ø)*
= *kṛ* 1.3.1 *bhūvādayo...*
3.1.1-2 *pratyayaḥ-paraś ca*
3.1.91 *dhātoḥ*
3.3.139 *liṅnimitte lṛṅ kriyātipattau*
3.3.156 *hetuhetumator liṅ*
3.3.140 *bhūte ca*
= *kṛ + LṚṄ*
(*b*) *kṛ + LṚṄ*
3.1.33 *syatāsī lṛluṭoḥ*
= *kṛ + sya + LṚṄ*
(*c*) *kṛ + sya + LṚṄ*
1.4.13 *yasmāt...*
6.4.1 *aṅgasya*

6.4.71 *luṇlaṅ...*
= *a* (*Ṭ* → ∅) + *kṛ* + *sya* + *LṚṄ*
= *a* + *kṛ* + *sya* + *LṚṄ*

(*d*) *a* + *kṛ* + *sya* + *LṚṄ*

3.4.77 *lasya*
3.4.78 *tiptasjhi...* # *tiṄ*-selection
= *a* + *kṛ* + *sya* + (*LṚṄ* → *ti*(*P* → ∅)
= *a* + *kṛ* + *sya* + *ti*

(*e*) *a* + *kṛ* + *sya* + *ti*

3.4.100 *itaś ca*
= *a* + *kṛ* + *sya* + *t*(*i* → ∅)
= *a* + *kṛ* + *sya* + *t*

(*f*) *a* + *kṛ* + *sya* + *t*

Follow steps (*b*), (*c*), and (*d*) of (742) *kariṣyati*
= *a* + *kṛ* + *iṬ* + *sya* + *t*
= *a* + *kar* + *i* + *sya* + *t*
= *a* + *kar* + *i* + (*s* → *ṣ*) *ya* + *t*
= *akariṣyat*

Note that the function of the assignment of the term *aṅga* is again as outlined earlier in connection with (742) *kariṣyati*. The function of the assignment of this term could also be a replacement in *vṛddhi*, as will be clear from the derivational history of (1) *aupagavaḥ* and (428) *kāpaṭavaḥ*. Incidentally, (428) *kāpaṭavaḥ* will derive exactly as *aupagavaḥ*, except for the fact that it will start with *kapaṭu* + *Ṅas* + *aṆ* and that when the *vṛddhi* rule (see step (*e*) of (1) *aupagavaḥ*) applies, the *a* of *kapaṭu* will be replaced with *ā* to yield: *kāpaṭu* + *a*.

1.4.14 *suptiṅantaṃ padam*

(745) *brāhmaṇāḥ*
pacanti (See under rule 1.1.2, number (10)).

The above examples illustrate two types of *pada*, where the first is a nominal and the second a verbal. That is, the first ends in a *sŨP* and the second in a *tiṄ*. The derivation of (10) *pacanti* has already been provided.

(*a*) *brāhmaṇa*

sŨP-placement
= *brāhmaṇa* + (*J* → ∅)*as*
= *brāhmaṇa* + *as*

(*b*) *brāhmaṇa* + *as*

6.1.102 *prathmayoḥ pūrvasavarṇaḥ*
= *brāhmaṇ* (*a* + *a* → *ā*)*s*
= *brāhmaṇās*

Note here that rules 6.1.97 *ato guṇe* and 6.1.101 *akaḥ savarṇe dīrghaḥ* both become applicable to the context of this derivation at step (*b*). Rule 6.1.97

ato guṇe is a prior exception (*purastāpavāda*) of both 6.1.101 and 6.1.102. Since an exception (*apavāda*) blocks (*bādhate*) its general (*utsarga*) counterpart obligatorily (*nityam*), one would expect 6.1.97 *ato guṇe* to block not only 6.1.101 *akaḥ savarṇe*...but also 6.1.102 *prathamayoḥ*... It is true that 6.1.97 here blocks 6.1.101. Why does it not block 6.1.102? A prior exception can block only the most immediately available rule and not any rule subsequent to that. (Refer to the *Paribhāṣā* (60) *purastāpavādā anantarān vidhīn bādhante nottarān*).

(*c*) *brāhmaṇās*

s-visarga
= *brāhmaṇā* (*s* → *r*(*U* → ∅) → *ḥ*)
= *brāhmaṇāḥ*

1.4.15 *naḥ kye*
(746) ***rājīyati***
(747) ***rājāyate***
(748) ***varmāyati***
(749) ***varmāyate***

(746) *rājīyati*

(*a*) *rajan*

sUP-selection (2.3.1 *karmaṇi dvitīyā*)
= *rājan* + *am*

(*b*) *rājan* + *am*

3.1.1 *pratyayaḥ*, 3.1.2 *paraś ca*
3.1.8 *supa ātmanaḥ kyac*
= *rājan* + *am* + (*K* → ∅) *ya*(*C* → ∅)
= *rājan* + *am* + *ya*

(*c*) *rājan* + *am* + *ya*

3.1.32 *sanādyantā dhātavaḥ*
2.4.71 *supo dhātuprātipadikayoḥ*
= *rājan* + (*am* → *LUK*-deletion) + *ya*
= *rājan* + *ya*

(*d*) *rājan* + *ya*

1.4.15 *naḥ kye*
8.2.7 *na lopaḥ prātipadikāntasya*
= *rāja*(*n* → *LOPA*-deletion) + *ya*
+ *raja* + *ya*

(*e*) *rāja* + *ya*

6.4.1 *aṅgasya*
7.4.33 *kyaci ca*
= *rāj*(*a* → *ī*) + *ya*
= *rājīya*

(*f*) *rājīya*

LA-placement, *tiṄ*-selection

= *rājīya* + *LA*
= *rājīya* + *ti*($P \rightarrow \emptyset$)
= *rājīya* + *ti*

(*g*) *rājīya* + *ti*

3.4.113 *tiṅśit sārvadhātukam*
3.1.68 *karttari śap*
= *rājīya* +($Ś \rightarrow \emptyset$)*a*($P \rightarrow \emptyset$) + *ti*

(*h*) *rājīya* + *a* + *ti*

6.1.97 *ato gune*
= *rājīy*(*a* + *a* → *a*) + *ti*
= *rājīyati*

Note that the purpose of assigning the term *pada* by rule 1.4.15 *naḥ kye* is, among other things, to facilitate the deletion of *n*.

Our next example, (747) *rājāyatē* is derived by introducing affix *KyaṄ* by rule 3.1.11 *karttuḥ kyaṅ salopaś ca* after *rājan* + *sŨ*. Given the string *rājan* + *ya*, (after *it*-deletion and *sŨ*-deletion), two steps will follow. These are, as in the preceding example, assignment of the term *pada* and the deletion of *n*. Rule 7.4.25 *akṛt sārvadhātukam* in the domain of 6.4.1 *aṅgasya* will then apply to *rāja* + *ya* in order to replace the final short vowel by long *ā*. This is under the condition that *ya* is a non-*kṛt*, non-*sārvadhātuka* affix beginning with *y*: *rāj*(*a* → *ā*) + *ya* = *rājāya*. Operations similar to step (*d*) of (746) *rājīyati* will apply, though the selected *tiṄ* will be an *ātmanepada*, for details of which see steps (*a*) through (*d*) of (495) *glāyate*. Note, however, that the *ātmanepada*-selection at step (*b*) entails the application of rule 1.3.12 *anudāttaṅitaḥ*... The *a* + *a* of *rājāya* + *a* + *ta* will again be replaced by *a*, as in step (*h*) of (746) *rājīyati*.

Our last two examples (748) *varmāyati* and (749) *varmāyate* are optional forms derived from *varman* + *sŨ* + *KyaṢ*, where *KyaṢ* is introduced by rule 3.1.13 *lohitādi*.... The rest of the rule applications are similar to the preceding derivations, except that rule 1.3.90 *vā kyaṣaḥ* makes the introduction of *parasmaipada* ending optional. It is for this reason that we get two examples.

1.4.16 *siti ca*
(750) *bhavadīyaḥ*
(751) *ūrṇāyuḥ*
(752) *ṛtviyaḥ*

(750) *bhav* *'īyaḥ*

(*a*) *bhavat*

\# *sŨP*-selection; 2.3.50 *ṣaṣṭhī śeṣe*
= *bhavat* + *Ṅas*

(*b*) *bhavat* + *ṄaS*

\# 4.1.82 *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā*
4.2.114 *bhavataṣ ṭhakchasau* #

1.1.73 *tyadādīni ca*
= *bhavat* + *Ṅas* + *cha*(*S* → ∅)
= *bhavat* + *Ṅas* + *cha*

(*c*) *bhavat* + *Ṅas* + *cha*
sŨP-deletion
(2.4.71 *supo dhātu...*)
\# 1.2.46 *kṛttaddhita...*
= *bhavat* + (*Ṅas* → ∅) + *cha*
= *bhavat* + *cha*

(*d*) *bhavat* + *cha*
1.4.13 *yasmāt...*
6.4.1 *aṅgasya*
7.1.2 *āyaneyīnīyiyaḥ...*
= *bhavat* + (*cha* → *īya*) \# 1.3.10 *yathāsaṃkhyam...*
= *bhavat* + *īya*

Note here that *bhavat* can also be qualified for the assignment of the term *bha* by 1.4.18 *yaci bham;* but since *chaS* is a *sit* 'that which is marked with an *S* as its *it*' *bhavat* is assigned the term *pada.* A question may arise here as to why there may not be found a conflict between the assignment of the terms *bha* and *pada* in reference to *bhavat* + *cha.* For this is the domain of *ekasaṃjñā* and only one term will apply. It would appear that the conflict should be resolved by rule 1.4.2 *vipratiṣedhe paraṃ kāryam,* whereby rule 1.4.18 *yaci bham,* which assigns the term *bha,* would take precedence as it happens to be subsequent in order. However, the term *bha* does not block the assignment of the term *pada* in view of rule 1.4.2 *vipratiṣedhe...* This is because the nature of this conflict is such that it does not qualify to be called *tulyabalatā* 'equal in strength'. Instead, it is a conflict which entails a rule which is *nitya* 'obligatory'. That is, if the term *pada* is not assigned to *bhavat* + *cha* and similar examples, rule 1.4.16 *siti ca* would become vacuous (*vyartha*). It is for this reason that a conflict entailing a *nitya* rule such as this is not accepted as involving *tulyabalatā.* Hence, that conflict falls outside the sphere of 1.4.2 *vipratiṣedhe....*

(*e*) *bhavat* + *īya*
1.4.16 *siti ca*
8.1.16 *padasya*
8.2.39 *jhalaṃ jaśo' nte*
= *bhava* (*t* → *d*) + *īya*
= *bhavadīya*

(*f*) *bhavadīya*
1.2.46 *kṛttaddhita...*
4.1.1 *ṅyāp-prātipadikāt*
4.1.2 *svaujas...; sŨP*-selection

= *bhavadīya + sŨ*
it-deletion; *s-visarga*
= *bhavadīya + s (U → ∅)*
= *bhavadīya +(s → ḥ)*
= *bhavadaīyaḥ*

Note that the purpose of the assignment of the term *pada* by this rule is to block the assignment of the term *bha*, which may have resulted in the derivation of a wrong form. Additionally, it also facilitates the replacement of the final *t* of *bhavat* by *d*. For, in its absence, a wrong form **bhavatiya* may have been produced.

(751) *ūrṇāyuḥ*

This example is derived from *ūrṇā + sU + yuS*, where *yuS* is a suffix introduced in the sense of *matUP* (5.2.94 *tad asyāsty asminn iti matup*) after *ūrnā + sŨ*. Subsequent to *it*-deletion of the *S* of *yuS*, and the *sŨP*-deletion similar to (750) *bhavadīyaḥ*, the form will be: *ūrṇa + yu = ūrṇāyu*. The application of rules as in step (*f*) of (750) *bhavadīyaḥ* will yield *ūrnāyuḥ*.

Note in this connection that because the assignment of the term *bha* was blocked by *pada* of 1.4.16 *siti ca*, rule 6.4.148 *yasyeti ca* could not delete the *ā* of *ūrṇā + yū*.

(752) *ṛtviyaḥ*

(*a*) *rtu*

sŨP-selection
2.3.50 *ṣaṣṭhi śeṣe*
= *ṛtu + Ṅas*

(*b*) *ṛtu + Ṅas*

4.1.82 *samarthānāṃ...*
5.1.105 *ṛtor aṇ*
5.1.106 *chandasi ghas*
= *ṛtu + Ṅas + ghas*

(*c*) *ṛtu + Ṅas + ghas*

Follow steps (*c*), (*d*), and (*f*) of (750) *bhavadīyaḥ* with the understanding that at step (*d*), *gha* will be replaced by *iya*. This will yield: *ṛtu + iya* which, after the application of 6.1.77 *iko yaṇ aci* will yield:

= *ṛt (u → v) + iya*
= *ṛtviya*

One can now apply step (*f*) of (750) *bhavadīyaḥ* to derive *rtviyaḥ*. Note that because the assignment of the term *bha* was blocked by *pada*, rule 6.4.146 or *guṇaḥ* does not become applicable. That is, there is no occasion for the *guṇa* replacement of the *u* of *ṛtu*. This could result in the derivation of a wrong form: *ṛt(u → o → av) + iya = *ṛtaviya*.

1.4.17 *svādisv asarvanāmasthāne*

(753) *rājabhyām*

(754) *rājabhiḥ*

(755) *rājatvam*
(756) *rājatā*
(757) *rājataraḥ*
(758) *rājatamaḥ*
(759) *rājānau*
(760) *rājānaḥ*

The purpose for assigning the term *pada* by rule 1.4.17, especially in the context of the above examples, is to facilitate the deletion of the *n* of the nominal stem *rājan*. Thus, given the strings *rājan* + *bhyām* and *rājan* + *bhis*, (where *bhyām* and *bhis* are the *sŨP*, introduced after *rājan* through the process of *sŨP*-selection), the *n* will be deleted, as in (746) *rājīyati*. The *s* of *bhis* will go through *s-visarga* before one gets *rājabhiḥ*.

Both (755) *rājatvam* and (756) *rājatā* are derived by introducing affixes *tva* and *taL* by rule 5.1.118 *tasya bhāvas tvalau* after *rājan* + *Ṅas*. Given the strings *rājan* + *Ṅas* + *tva* and *rājan* + *Ṅas* + *taL*, the *Ṅas* and *n* will be deleted, as has been shown earlier. Given the string *rāja* + *tva* = *rājatva*, *sŨ* can be introduced according to the process of *sUP*-selection. Rule 7.1.24 *ato' am* will then apply to yield: *rājatva*, + (*s* → *am*) = *rājatvà* + *am*. The final *a* of *rājatva* and the initial *a* of *am* will then be replaced by a single *a*, by rule 6.1.97 *ato guṇe*. Thus we get: *rājatv* (*a* + *a* → *a*) *m* = *rājatvam*.

Note that (756) *rājatā* is a feminine derivative ending in the affix *ṬāP*. Given the string *rāja* + *ta*, after *Ṅas*, *n* and the *L* of the *taL* have been deleted; *rājata* is defined as a nominal stem by 1.2.46 *kṛttaddhitasamāsāś ca*. Affix *ṬāP* can now be introduced to derive *rājatā* from *rājata* + (*Ṭ* → *Ø*)*ā*(*P* → *Ø*) = *rājata* + *ā*. Given the string *rājata* + *ā*, 6.1.101 *akaḥ savarṇe*...will apply to yield: *rājat* (*a* + *ā* → *ā*) = *rājatā*. Now one can apply the *sUP*-selection to introduce *sU* after *rājatā*. Given the string *rājatā* + *s*, rule 6.1.66 *halṅyāb*... will delete the *s*, thereby yielding: *rājatā* +(*s* → *Ø*) = *rājatā*.

Our examples (757) *rājataraḥ* and (758) *rājatamaḥ* are respectively derived from (*rājan* + *taraP*) + *sU* and (*rājan* + *tamaP*) + *sU*, where *taraP* and *tamaP* are comparative and superlative suffixes introduced after *rājan* by rules 5.3.57 *dvivacanavibhajyopapade*... and 5.3.55 *atiśāyane tamab*... Given the strings *rājan* + *taraP* and *rājan* + *tamaP*, *it*-deletion and *n*-deletion will apply to yield: *rājatara* and *rājatama*. Now a *sU* introduced after them can yield *rājataraḥ* and *rājatamaḥ* through the process of *s-visarga*.

The last two examples (759) *rājānau* and (760) *rājānaḥ* are given as counter-examples. They represent a form where the *n* is not deleted. The reason for this is that rule 1.4.17 covers only those instances where a nominal ending termed *sarvanāmasthāna*, i.e. the first five *sUP* endings, is not involved. Therefore, in deriving *rājānau* and *rājānaḥ* from *rājan* + *aU*(*Ṭ* → *Ø*) and *rājan* + *as*, *n* is not deleted. The short *a* of *rājan* in both the examples is replaced by long *ā* by rule 6.4.8 *sarvanāmasthāne*... under the condition of *sarvanāmasthāna*.

1.4.18 *yaci bham*
(761) *gārgyaḥ*
(762) *vātsyaḥ*
(763) *dākṣiḥ*
(764) *plākṣiḥ*
(765) *gārgayaḥ*

(761) *gārgyaḥ*

(*a*) *garga*

sUP-selection
= *garga* + *Ṅas*
4.1.76 *taddhitāḥ*
4.1.82 *samarthānāṃ*
4.1.92 *tasyāpatyam*
4.1.93 *eko gotre*
4.1.98 *gotre kuñjādibhyaś...*
4.1.105 *gargādibhyo yañ*
= *garga* + *Ṅas* + *yaÑ*
= *garga* + *Ṅas* + *ya*(*Ñ* → ∅)
= *garg* + *Ṅas* + *ya*

(*b*) *garga* + *Ṅas* + *ya*

sUP-selection as in step (*c*) of (750)
bhavadīyaḥ
= *garga* + (*Ṅas* → ∅) + *ya*
= *garga* + *ya*

(*c*) *garga* + *ya*

1.4.13 *yasmāt*
1.4.18 *yaci bham*
6.4.148 *yasyeti ca*
= *garg*(*a* → ∅) + *ya*
= *garg* + *ya*

(*d*) *garg* + *ya*

7.1.118 *kiti ca* # 1.1.1 *vṛddhir...*
= *g*(*a* → *ā*) *rg* + *ya*
= *gārg* + *ya*
= *gārgya*

(*e*) *gārgya*

1.2.46 *kṛttaddhita...*
4.1.1 *ṅyāp-prātipadikāt*
4.1.2 *svaujas...* (*sUP*-selection)
= *gārgya* + *sU* (*it*-deletion)
= *gārgya* + *s* → *s-visarga*
= *gārgya* + (*s* → *ḥ*)
= *gārgyaḥ*

The rest of the examples are similarly derived by adding *Ṅas* and the appropriate *taddhita* affix after *vatsa*, *daksa* and *plakṣa*. Note, however, that (762) *vātsyaḥ* will exactly follow the derivational history of *gārgyaḥ*. The other two examples will receive their *taddhita* affix *iÑ* from rule 4.1.95 *ata iñ* to denote a young (*yuvan*, 4.1.163 *jīvati tu vaṃśye yuvā*) male descendant. The rest of the rule applications will be similar to (761) *gārgyaḥ*. The purpose of the assignment of the term *bha* with reference to rule 1.4.18 *yaci bham* and these examples is to facilitate the deletion of the *aṅga*-final *a*.

1.4.19 *tasau matvarthe*
(766) *udaśvitvān ghoṣaḥ*
(767) *vidyutvān balāhakaḥ*
(768) *payasvī*
(769) *yaśasvī*

(766) *udaśvitvān*

(*a*) *udaśvit*

1.2.45 *arthavat...*; 4.1.1 *ṅyāp-prātipadikāt*
4.1.2 *svaujas...*; *sUP*-selection
= *udaśvit* + *sŨ*

(*b*) *udaśvit* + *sU*

4.1.76 *taddhitāḥ*
5.2.94 *tadasyāsty asminn iti matup*
= *udaśvit* + *sŨ* + *matUP*
it-deletion
sUP-deletion (2.4.71 *supodhātu...*)
= *udaśvit* + *sŨ* + *mat*(*UP* → ∅)
= *udaśvit* + (*sŨ* → ∅) + *mat*
= *udaśvit* + *mat*

(*c*) *udaśvit* + *mat*

8.2.10 *jahayaḥ*
= *udaśvit* + (*m* → *v*)*at*
= *udaśvit* + *vat*
= *udaśvitvat*

(*d*) *udaśvitvat*

Follow steps (*d*) through (*h*) of (30)
citavān
= *udaśvitvān*

Note that the assignment of the term *pada*, which was available from rule 1.4.17 *svādiṣv asarvanāmasthāne*, was blocked by rule 1.4.19 *tasau...* in favour of the assignment of the term *bha*. The purpose of this is to facilitate the blocking of the replacement of *t* of *udaśvitvān* by *d* vide rule 8.2.39 *jhalāṃ jaso' nte*. Our next example (767) *vidyutvān* is derived from *vidyut* + *sŨ* + *mat* following the same derivational history.

(768) *payasvī*

(*a*) *payas*

same as (*a*) of (766) *udaśvitvān*

= *payas* + *sŨ*

(*b*) *payas* + *sŨ*

same as (766) *udaśvitvān* (step) except that affix *vinI* is introduced to denote the sense of *matUP* by rule 5.2.121 *asmāyāmedhāsrajo...*

= *payas* + *sŨ* + *vinI*

it-deletion; *sup*-deletion

= *payas* + *sŨ* + *vin*(*I* → ∅)

= *payas* + (*sŨ* → ∅) + *vin*

= *payas* + *vin*

= *payasvin*

(*c*) *payasvin*

1.2.46 *kṛttaddhita...*

4.1.1 *ṅyap-prātipadikāt*

4.1.2 *svaujas...* (*sŨP*-selection)

= *payasvin* + *sŨ*

it-deletion

= *payasvin* + *s*

(*d*) *payasvin* + *s*

1.4.13 *yasmāt...*

6.4.1 *aṅgasya*

6.4.13 *sau ca*

= *payasv*(*i* → *ī*)*n*

= *payasvīn* + *s*

(*e*) *payasvīn* + *s*

6.1.66 *halṅyābbhyo...*

= *payasvīn* + (*s* → ∅)

= *payasvīn*

(*f*) *payasvīn*

1.4.14 *suptiṅantaṃ...*

8.1.16 *padasya*

8.2.7 *na lopaḥ...*

= *payasvī*(*n* → ∅)

= *payasvī*

Note here that given the string *payas* + *s* + *vinI*, rule 1.4.19 blocks the assignment of the term *pada* in favour of the term *bha*. This being the case, the process of *s-visarga* does not become applicable. Our last example (769) *yaśavī* is similarly derived from (*yaśas* + *sU* + *vinI*) + *sU*.

1.4.20 *ayasmayādīni chandasi*

(770) *ayasmayam varma*

(771) *ayasmayāni pātrāṇi*
(772) *sa suṣṭubhā sa ṛkvatā gaṇena*

Note that for the application for rule 1.4.20 *ayasmayāni...*, *ayasmayam*, *ayasmayāni* and *ṛkvatā* are the only relevant words in the above examples.

(770) *ayasmayam*

(*a*) *ayas*

sUP-selection; 2.3.50 *ṣaṣṭhī śeṣe*
= *ayas* + *Ṅas*

(*b*) *ayas* + *Ṅas*

4.1.76 *taddhitāḥ*
4.1.82 *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā*
4.3.134 *tasya vikāraḥ*
4.3.150 *dvyacaś chandasi*
= *ayas* + *Ṅas* + *mayaṬ* (*it*-deletion)
= *ayas* + *Ṅas* + *maya*(*Ṭ* → ∅) (*sŨP*-deletion)
= *ayas* + (*Ṅas* → ∅) + *maya*
= *ayas* + *maya*
= *ayasmaya*

(*c*) *ayasmaya*

sUP-selection
= *ayasmaya* + *sŨ*

(*d*) *ayasmaya* + *sŨ*

Follow rule applications similar to those of *rājatva* + *sŨ* of (755) *rājatvam* to arrive at *ayasmayam*.

Note that the purpose of assigning the term *bha* at the expense of blocking *bada* is again to block the *s-visarga*.

(771) *ayasmayāni*

(*a*) *ayasmaya* derived similarly to the preceding example.

(*b*) *ayasmaya* same as the preceding example, though with the *sŨP*-selection yielding:
= *ayasmaya* + *Jas*

(*c*) *ayasmaya* + *Jas*

1.4.13 *yasmāt...*
6.4.1 *aṅgasya*
7.1.20 *jaśśasoḥ śi*
= *ayasmaya* + (*Jas* → *Śi*)
= *ayasmaya* + *Śi* → *it*-deletion
= *ayasmaya* + (*Ś* → ∅)*i*

(*d*) *ayasmaya* + *i*

1.1.42 *śi sarvanāmasthānam*
7.1.72 *napuṃsakasya jal acaḥ*
\# 1.1.47 *mid aco' ntyāt paraḥ*
= *ayasmaya* + *nUM* + *i* (*it*-deletion)

= *ayasmaya* + *n*(*UM* → ∅) + *i*
+ *ayasmaya* + *ni*

(*e*) *ayasmaya* + *ni*

6.4.8 *sarvanāmasthāne cāsambuddhau*

= *ayasmay* (*a* → *ā*) + *ni*
= *ayasmayāni*

(772) *ṛkvatā*

(*a*) *ṛc*

same as steps (*a*) through (*d*) of (766) *udaśvitvān*

= *ṛc* + *vat*
= *ṛcvat*

(*b*) *ṛcvat*

sUP-selection
= *ṛcvat* + *Ṭā* (*it*-deletion)
= *ṛcvat* + *ā*

(*c*) *ṛcvat* + *ā*

1.4.20 *ayasmayādīni...*
8.1.16 *padasya*
8.2.30 *coḥ kuḥ*
= *ṛ*(*c* → *k*)*vat* + *ā*
= *ṛkvat* + *ā*
= *ṛkvatā*

Note that (772) *ṛkvatā* is assigned both the terms *pada* and *bha*. This goes against the general practice, since it is contrary to the requirement of *ekasaṃjña*. Jinendrabuddi (*Nyāsa* ad *Kāś*.I:525) states as follows:

> *sādhutvavidhāne tu eṣa doṣo na bhavati, tadd hi keṣāñcid bhasaṃjñā vidhīyate padasaṃjñakānām; keṣāñcid ubhayasaṃjñakānāṃ; tasmāt sādhutvam eva yuktam*
>
> 'The question (of *ekasaṃjñā*) does not interfere when one is to show the correct derivation. It is therefore that an item assigned the term *pada* is assigned the term *bha;* sometimes both the terms are assigned. Consequently, what is appropriate is the correct derivation (*śabdasādhutva*).'

Looking at the example on hand, we find that the term *bha* is also assigned. It is because of the assignment of this term that it becomes possible to block rule 8.2.39 *jhalāṃ jaśo' nte*. Thus, assigning *bha* prevents the derivation of a wrong form: *ṛ* (*k* → *j*)*vata* = **ṛjvatā*. It is for this reason that class-inclusion (*saṃjñā-samāveśa*) of *pada* and *bha* is allowed here.

1.4.21 *bahuṣu bahuvacanam*

(773) *brāhmaṇāḥ paṭhanti*

These derivations are both simple. The first word has already been derived as example (745). For the second word, follow the derivation of (10) *pacanti* (beginning, of course, with the verbal root *paṭhĀ*).

1.4.22 *dvekayor dvivacanaikavacane*
(774) ***brāhmaṇau pacataḥ***
(775) ***brāhmaṇaḥ pacati***

We have already shown many examples of how singular or dual nominative forms of a masculine noun ending in *a* are derived. Similarly, we have also explained the derivation of a dual or singular present indicative active form of a verb like *pac*. The rule itself simply explains where dual or singular should be used.

1.4.23 *kārake*

Examples cited under this rule have been derived under the following rule. Note also that unless otherwise required, words illustrating the application of a given rule alone will be derived. That is, if an example is given as a part of a sentence, not all items of that sentence will be derived.

1.4.24 *dhruvam apāye' pādānam*
(776) ***grāmād āgacchati***
(777) ***parvatād avarohati***
(778) ***sārthād hīnaḥ***
(779) ***rathāt patitaḥ***

The function of rule 1.4.24 *dhruvam apāye' pādānam* is to assign the term *apādāna* to items such as *grāma*, *parvata*, *sārtha*, and *ratha*, which denote something *dhruva* 'fixed' with reference to an action (*kriyā*) entailing *apāya* 'movement away'. Once the term is assigned, the fifth triad (*pañcamī*) of *sUP* 'nominal ending' can be introduced after the nominal stem by rule 2.3.28 *apādāne pañcamī*. For the derivation of the ablative forms, follow steps similar to (462) *vṛksāt*.

1.4.25 *bhī-trārthānāṃ bhayahetuḥ*
(780) ***caurebhyo bibheti***
(781) ***caurebhyas trāyate***

This rule assigns the term *apādāna* to the source of fear (*bhayahetu*) when roots having the signification of *bhī* and *trā* are in use. To derive (782) *caurebhyaḥ* from *caura* + *bhyas*, follow the derivational history of (705) *vrksebhyaḥ*.

1.4.32 *karmaṇā yam abhipraiti sa sampradānam*
(783) ***māṇavakāya bhikṣāṃ dadāti***
(784) ***upādhyāyāya gāṃ dadāti***

The function of this rule is to assign the term *sampradāna* to a participant in an action who is approached by the agent of that action by means of an object. Once the term *sampradāna* is assigned, rule 2.3.13 *caturthī sampradāne* will allow the use of *caturthī* 'the fourth *sUP*-triad'. For example, *upādhyāya* is termed *sampradāna* and *upādhyāyāya* is the dative singular form derived from *upādhyāya* + *Ṅe*. Rule 7.2.18 *ṅer yaḥ* will replace the *Ṅe* with *ya*, and

rule 7.3.102 *supi ca* will replace the short *a* of the *aṅga* by a long. This will finally produce: *upādhyāya* + (*Ṅe* → *ya*) = *upādhyāy*(*a* → *ā*) + *ya* = *upādhyāyāya*.

Note that from here on up to the end of the *kāraka* section (1.4.55 *tatprayojako...*) no attempt will be made to explain the derivation of nominal forms which express a *kāraka* relation and are given as part of a sentence after a rule in the *Kāśikā*. These examples do not offer anything new in terms of derivation, and relate more to the assignment of the *kāraka* terms. I have tried to explain the implications of the *kāraka* names in appropriate explanatory notes. Derivational details of nominative, accusative, etc. are also available elsewhere. A somewhat fuller account of some derivational aspects of nominal forms will be available in the 2.3 section.

1.4.59 *upasargāḥ kriyāyoge*
(785) *praṇayati*
(786) *pariṇayati*
(787) *praṇāyakaḥ*
(788) *pariṇāyakaḥ*

The first two examples are derived from *pra* + *nī* + *LAṬ* and *pari* + *nī* + *LAṬ* where *LAṬ* replaced by *tiP* and *ŚaP* is introduced. The rest of the rule applications will be similar to steps (*h*) and (*i*) of (11) *jayanti*. Note, however, that because *pra* and *pari* are used in connection with an action, they will be termed *upasarga*. Once the term *upasarga* is assigned, rule 8.4.14 *upasargād...* orders the *n* of the root *nī* to be replaced with *ṇ*. The same *ṇ* replacement is also taking place in the following examples, which are derived from *pra* + *nī* + *vu* and *pari* + *nī* + *vu* similar to (426) *kārakaḥ*. Note, however, that these involve an additional rule-application. That is, at the step similar to (426) *kārakaḥ* where rule 7.2.115 *aco' ñṇiti* applies, these strings will yield: *pra* + (*nī* - • *ai*) + *aka* = *pra* + *nai* + *aka* and *pari* + *nai* + *aka*. Given this, rule 6.1.78 *e' yavāyāvaḥ* will apply to yield: *pra* + *n*(*ai* → *āy*) + *aka* = *pra* + *nāy* + *aka* = *pranāyaka*. Similarly one will arrive at *pari* + *nāy* + *aka* = *pariṇāyaka*. Given the strings *praṇāyaka* + *sŨ* and *pariṇāyaka* + *sŨ*, it is easy to derive *praṇāyakaḥ* and *pariṇāyakaḥ* with the understanding that because of the assignment of the term *upasarga* to *pra* and *pari* the *n* will again be replaced with *ṇ* by rule 8.4.14 *upasargād....*

Note in connection with the function of this rule that, in examples like *pranāyako deśaḥ*, the *n* cannot be replaced by *ṇ* as the *pra* of *pranāyakaḥ* is not associated with the action denoted by *nī* 'to lead'. Instead, it is relatable to *gam* 'to go' as the paraphrase of *pranāyako deśaḥ* (*pragato nāyako' smād deśāt*) suggests. That is, for items like *pra* to be assigned the term *upasarga* there has to be a direct connection with the verb.

1.4.60 *gatiś ca*

prakṛtya (see (195) under rule 1.1.56).

(789) *prakṛtam*
(790) *yat prakaroti*

Note that in (195) and elsewhere the assignment of the term *gati* facilitates the formation of compounds by rule 2.2.18 *kugatiprādayaḥ*

(789) *prakṛtam*

This example is derived from *pra* + *sU* + *kṛta* + *sU* where *kṛta* is derived similar to *cita* of (26) *citaḥ*. Rule 2.2.18 *kugati...* allows the formation of the compound on the strength of *pra* being *gati*. Rule 2.4.71 *supo dhātu...* deletes the endings to yield *prakṛta*, after which *sU* is introduced by 4.1.2 *svaujas...* Given the string *prakṛta* + *sU*, rules 7.1.24 *ato'm* and 6.1.97 *ato guṇe* will apply similar to (755) *rājatvam*. This will yield: *prakṛta* + (*sU* → *am*) = *prakṛt*(*a* + *a* → *a*)*m* = *prakṛtam*. Note here that the assignment of the term *gati* also has implications for the placement of accent. For example, the *pra* of *prakṛtam* will be initially high-pitched (*ādy-udātta*) by rule 6.2.49 *gatir anantaraḥ* read with 6.2.45 *kte ca*.

(790) *yat prakaroti*

Note that *prakaroti* is derived from *pra* + (*ḌU* → ∅) *kṛ*) *Ñ* → ∅) = *pra* + *kṛ* + *LAṬ* where *LAṬ* is replaced by *ti*(*P* → ∅) and *u* is introduced after *kṛ* by rule 3.1.79 *tanādikṛñbhya uḥ*. Given the string *pra* + *kṛ* + *u* + *ti*, *kṛ* goes through *guṇa* under the condition of *u* by rule 7.3.84 *sārvadhātudār dhadhātukayoḥ*. This gives us: *pra* + *k*(*ṛ* → *ar*) + *u* + *ti*. Now the same rule orders the *guṇa* for the *u* under the condition of *ti*. This gives us: *pra* + *kar* + (*u* → ∅) + *ti* = *pra* + *kar* + *o* + *ti* = *prakaroti*.

Note that the assignment of the term *gati* also has its function in relation to *prakaroti*. The word *pra* had initial high pitch (*ady-udātta*) available to it by *Phiṭsūtra* 81: *upasargāś cābhivarjam*. But because of the assignment of the term *gati*, rule 8.1.71 *tiṅi codāttavati* assigned low pitch (*anudātta*) to *pra*, especially since it was occurring before a form ending in *tiṄ* and containing an *udātta*. That is, it was occurring before *karoti* which had high pitch in the middle (*madhyodātta*). The remaining accentuation will follow rules 6.1.152 *anudāttam...* and 8.4.66 *udāttād anudāttasya svaritaḥ*.

1.4.61 *ūryādicviḍācaś ca*
(791) *ūrīkṛtya*
(792) *ūrīkṛtam*
(793) *yad ūrīkaroti*
(794) *urarīkṛtya*
(795) *urarīkṛtam*
(796) *yad urarīkaroti*
(797) *śuklīkṛtya*
(798) *śuklīkṛtam*
(799) *paṭapaṭākṛtya*
(800) *paṭapaṭākṛtam*
(801) *yat paṭapaṭākaroti*

These examples follow the derivation patterns of (195) *prakṛtya*, (789) *prakṛtam* and (790) *yat prakaroti*, with the difference that, in place of *pra*, these examples use *ūrī* and *ururī*. The consequences of assigning the term *gati* are similar to the preceding examples.

(797) *śuklīkṛtya*

(*a*) *śukla* + *kṛ*

4.1.1 *ṅyāp-prātipadikāt*
4.1.76 *taddhitāḥ*
5.4.50 *abhūtatad...*
= *śukla* + *CvI* + *kṛ* = *it*-deletion
= *śukla* + *v* + *kṛ*

(*b*) *śukla* + *v* + *kṛ*

1.4.13 *yasmāt...*
6.4.1 *aṅgasya*
7.4.37 *asya cvau*
= *śukl*(*a* → *ī*) + *v* + *kṛ*
= *śuklī* + *v* + *kṛ*

(*c*) *śuklī* + *v* + *kṛ*

1.2.41 *apṛkta ekālpratyayaḥ*
6.1.65 *ver apṛktasya*
= *śuklī* + (*v* → ∅) + *kṛ*
= *śuklī* + *kṛ*

It should not now be difficult to derive *śuklīkṛtya* according to the pattern of (195) *prakṛtya*. Note, however, that *śuklī* gets the designation of *gati* by the present rule because it ends in *CvI*. The fact that the *śuklī* is preplaced to the root *kṛ* of *kṛtya* is fully in consonance with the requirements of rule 1.4.80 *te prāg dhātoḥ*. The implications of the assignment of the term *gati* are similar to earlier examples.

(799) *paṭapaṭākṛtya*

(800) *paṭapaṭākṛtam*

(801) *yat paṭapaṭākaroti*

There is nothing new in these examples except that one has first to derive *paṭapaṭā* similar to the *paṭapaṭā* of (678) *paṭapaṭāyate*. The rest is easy with reference to (195) *prakṛtya*, etc.

The derivation of examples relative to remaining rules of the fourth quarter can be understood from similar examples already derived. One may also refer to relevant explanatory notes for further details

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