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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हरेवांशपदीयस्य शोभनार्काश्व बिश्वविश्वुताः
अभासार्कार्की विविधा येन प्रार्थ्य कृतां मुद प्र
पिष्टे श्रीरुनानाथाय सौधार्य च धीमरते
समर्पिते प्रज्ञाबोधवे सच्चादी ज्येष्ठसुनाः प्र
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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, anuvṛtta, 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. TheVyākaranamahābhāṣya (Mbh: Gurukul Jhajjar edition) of Patañjali, with the Pradaipa of Kātyāṇa and the Udhyota of Nāgėśa; the Kāśikāvṛtti of Vāmana-Jayāditya (Kāś: Varanasi, Tara Publications edition) with the Padamaṇjarī (PM) of Haradatta and the Nyāsa of Jinendrabuddhi; the Vaiyākaranasiddhāntakaumudi (SK) of Bhāṭṭoji Dīkṣita (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass edition) with the Bālamanoramā of Vāsudeva Dīkṣita and the Tattvabodhini of Jīnendras Sarasvati; and the Paribhāṣenduśekhara (PS) of Nāgėśa (Delhi: Kendriya Sanskrit Vidyaapeeth 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 Jīnāsu with Prajnā Devi); Hindi translation of the Mahābhāṣya of Patañjali (Charudeva Shastri; Yudhiṣṭhira Mīmāṁsaka); English translation of the Vyākaranamahābhāṣya of Patañjali (especially of the kārakāhnikā) made by S.D. Joshi; Hindi translation of the Laghusiddhāntakaumudi of Varadarāja made by Bhimasena Shastri; the Arthapraṇāśikā of Radharaman Pandeya; and the Vyākaranacandra 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 Laghusabdendu śekhara (LS) of Nāgėśa, along with his Paramalaghumaṇḍūsā, though only occasionally. I have consulted the Vākyapadiya (VP) of Bhartrhari, especially the commentary Ambākartri of Paṇḍita Raghunātha Ṣarmā,
where there was a need for explanatory details. The Nyāsa of Jinendra-buddhi; the Rūpāvatāra of Dharmakīrti; the Prakriyākaumudi of Rāmacandra; the Prakriyāsarvasva of Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa; and, of course, the Siddhāntakaumudi (with Bālamaniromā and Tattvabodhini) of Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita were my primary sources for derivational details. The examples themselves have been culled from the Kāśikārvṛtti.

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 (dvitiyā), instrumental (trétyā), etc., respectively. The n will be restricted to a numerical value of 1, 2 and 3 to denote singular (ekavacana), dual (dvívacana), 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 (ānyāya) have been indicated by means of the symbol 0. The compounds have been indicated by their abbreviatory terms, such as dv. (dvandva), sam. dv. (samāhāra-dvandva), tat. (tatpurusa), and bu. (bahuvrihi), 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. *vr̥tti* from the Kāśikārvṛtti of Vāmana-Jayāditya in transliteration.


7. Examples excerpted from the Kāśikārvṛtti and presented with English glosses.

8. Scope of the sūtra excerpted from the Kāśikārvṛtti 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 *vīpratisedhe paraṁ kāryam*. Scholars of Pāṇini know that the Western
Pāṇiniyas interpret the scope of this rule as strictly limited to the domain of ekasamājñā (1.4.1 ākaḍārād ekā samājñā). However, the tradition, without any disagreement, regards this rule as universally valid throughout the Sapādasaptādhyāyi. 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 Aṣṭādhyāyi; but unlike many other such works the Aṣṭādhyāyi must be considered as a symbol (pratika) for vyākhyāna ‘exposition’, which embodies the vast commentarial literature. Pāṇini 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 Aṣṭādhyāyi. 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 Aṣṭādhyāyi 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 Aṣṭādhyāyi, made in 1891 by S.C. Vasu. Vasu’s translation follows the Kaśikāvṛtti 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 Ramprasad 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 bahuvrihi
DP Dhātupātha
dat dative
du dual
dv dvandva
id ibidum
itar dv itaretara-dvandva
fem feminine
GP Ganapātha
gen genitive
inst instrumental
int internal
KS Kāṭhaka-Saṃhita
Kāś Kāśikāvṛtti of Vāmana-Jayāditya with Padmañjari (PM) of Haradatta and the Nyāsa of Jīnendrabuddhi.
LS Laghuśabdendusēkhara of Nāgena.
loc locative
Mbh Vyākaranamahabhāṣya of Patañjali with the Pradīpa of Kaiyāṭa and the Udyota of Nāgena.
masc masculine
nañ tat nañ-tapusra
neut neuter
nom nominative
PM Padamañjari of Haradatta as Kāśikāvṛtti of Vāmana-Jayāditya.
PS Paribhāṣendusēkhara of Nāgena.
Pai Paippalāda-saṃhitā
pbh. paribhāṣā
paribh ibidum
pañc pañcamī
pl plural
RV Rgveda
SK Varākaraṇasiddhāntakaumudi of Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita with the Bālamananam of Vāsudeva Dīkṣita, and the Tattvabodhini of Jñānendra Sarasvati.
SP Sūtrapāṭha
sam samāhāra
sg singular
### Abbreviations

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<td>Śivasūtra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Šat</td>
<td>Šatapatha-brāhmaṇa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>śaṣ</td>
<td>śaṣṭhi</td>
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<td>Tai</td>
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<tr>
<td>tat</td>
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<td>trī/tṛt</td>
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<td>Vākyapadīya of Bhartrihari with the commentary Ambākartrī of Paṇḍita Raghunātha Sarmā.</td>
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<td>vt</td>
<td>vārttika</td>
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<td>Vāj</td>
<td>Vājasaneyi-sañhilā</td>
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<td>voc</td>
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The Śivasūtra (Śs) is a set of fourteen aphorisms enumerating the sound segments (varṇasamānmāya) 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 intervining elements. 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 Kaśikā (Kāś.) and Siddhāntakaumudi (SK) as an it in order to form an abbreviatory term rA which would denote r and l. I represent this A 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.1

1 see 1.1.71 ādir antyena saṅvatā.
2 (Kāś. 1.53) hakārādiṣv akāra uccaṟaṇaṟthah, nāṇubandhaṉ. lakāre tu anuṇāsikāḥ pratiṣṭhāyate....
3 (SK, 1.4) ...eṣāṁ antyā itaḥ. laṅ-ṣūtre' kāraś ca. hakārādiṣv akāra uccaṟaṇaṟthah..
4 see Kāś. (1.59-60).
ekasmān nañanavatā dvābhyaṁ sas tribhya eva kañamāh suḥ/ jñeyau cayau caturbhyo rah panicabhyaḥ śalau saṁbhyaḥ//

“one (abbreviatory term) each with ṇ, ṇ, ṇ, T; two each with S; three each with K, N, M; four each with C, Y; five with R and six each with S, L.” Thus:
1. eṇ, yṇ, aṇ, chṇ, aT
2. jhṇ, bhṇ
3. aK, iK, uK; yṇ, aṇ, iṇ, nṇ, aM, yṇ
4. aC, eC, aiC, iC, mṇ, jhṇ, khṇ, yṇ
5. ṇ, ṇ, jhṇ, khṇ, cṇ
6. jhṇ, jṇ, bṇ, aṇ, hṇ, ṇ, ṇ, ṇ, aL, hṇ, ṇ, ṇ, ṇ, ṇ, ṇ, ṇ, ṇ, ṇ, jhṇ

If we treat the a of ṇ six as an anunāsika it, as has been advocated by Kāśikā and SK, we will get an additional abbreviatory term, rĀ. There are two more abbreviatory terms, cṇ and nṇ, the first of which is attested to by vārttika 3 ad 8.4.88 (cayo dvitīyah śari pauskaraśādeḥ) and the second by the Upādisūtra (1/114) nāmantād daḥ. This brings the total to 44. The following chart shows these abbreviatory terms with their initial items as well as their it.⁵

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Initial Element (ādi)</th>
<th>Final Element (it)</th>
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<tr>
<td>Ā</td>
<td>K</td>
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<tr>
<td>a</td>
<td>aK</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i</td>
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<td>ai</td>
<td>aiC</td>
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<td>yṇ</td>
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<td>vṇ</td>
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<td>r</td>
<td>rĀ</td>
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<td>ñ</td>
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<td>bh</td>
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<td>jh</td>
<td>jhṇ</td>
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<td>b</td>
<td>bṇ</td>
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<td>kh</td>
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<tr>
<td>c</td>
<td>cṇ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ũ</td>
<td>ũṇ</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

⁵ A reference to the abbreviatory terms resulting out of ũś 5-14 can be made either by
The order of elements listed in the Śs is as follows.

1. vowels (Śs, 1-4)
   (la) simple (Śs, 1-2)
   (lb) complex (Śs, 3-4)

2. consonants (Śs, 5-14)
   (2a) semivowels (Śs, 5-6)
   (2b) nasals (Śs, 7)
   (2c) stops (Śs, 8-14)
     (2c₁) voiced aspirates (Śs, 8-9)
     (2c₂) voiced nonaspirates (Śs, 10)
     (2c₃) voiceless aspirates (Śs, 11)
     (2c₄) voiceless nonaspirates (Śs, 12)
     (2c₅) pirants (Śs, 13-14)

The above order does not conform with the order of earlier listings, such as those of the prātiṣākhyaḥ, 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). In vārttika 19, the setting up of anubandhas is cited as an additional purpose.

Actually, the prayāhāraḥs 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 sāmānyā '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 aN and iN. Should the N of these abbreviations be interpreted as the N of Śs 1 or Śs 6? For, aN and iN formed with Śs 1 will denote only a, i, u and i, u respectively. If the N is interpreted as belonging to Śs 6, respectively a, i, u, r, l, e, o, ai, au, h, y, v, r, l and i, u, r, l, eo, ai, au, h, y, v, r, l will be denoted. However, an abbreviatory term iN formed with the N of Śs 1 to denote i, u counters Pāṇinian practice. Pāṇini never uses iN to denote i, u; instead he uses iN to denote sounds enumerated by Śs 1 through 6. Both interpretations of aN, however, are valid. The question as to when aN should be interpreted as formed with the N of Śs and when with the N 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 vṛtisamavāyārtha upadeśah.
6 anubandhakaranārthaḥ ca.
the learned. For correct results, \(aN\) in 1.1.50 ur an raparāh, for example, should be treated as formed with the \(N\) of Śs l. As opposed to this, \(aN\) in 1.1.69 anudit savarṇasya... must be interpreted with the of Śs 6.

Rule 1.1.69 states that a vowel (\(aN\)), 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 (dirgha) 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 r. The l 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 l, 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, tU, 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 \(N\) 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' ntaratamah and 1.3.10 yathāṣamkhyaṃ anudeśah 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 युद्धिस्तरेच

vrddhir ādaic
/vrddhī v 1/ ādaic 1/ (āt ca ait ca; Šs 4)/
vrddhisabdah samjñātvena vidhiyate pratyekam ādaicām varṇānām
sāmānyena tadbhāvānām atadbhāvānām ca
āT (ā, see 1.1.70 taparas...) and aiC (ai and au, see Šs 4) are termed
vrddhi.

EXAMPLES:

āśvalāyaṇah ‘male descendant (grandson, and so on) of Aśvala’
aitikāyaṇah ‘male descendant of Itika’
aupagavaḥ ‘male descendant of Upagu’
aupamanyavaḥ ‘male descendant of Upamanyu’
śāliyāḥ ‘that which is located, obtains or is born in the house’
māliyāḥ ‘that which is located, obtains or is born in a garland’

1. The term vrddhi is introduced as a name (samjñā) which applies to
each one of its name-bearers (samjñin) ā, ai and au, whether they are
derived by applying a rule which expressly mentions the name vrddhi
(tadbhāvītā) or not (atadbhāvītā).

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

A vrddhi replacement of the type: bh (a → ā)j + GHaN is termed tadbhāvītā
because it is brought about by the application of a rule which expressly
mentions the name vrddhi. As opposed to this, consider śāliyāḥ ‘that which
is located, obtains or is born in the house’, which is derived by introducing
the taddhīta (4.1.76 utsādibhyo...) affix (3.1.1 pratyayah) cha (4.2.113 vrddhāc
chāḥ...) after (3.1.2 paraś ca) the syntactically related (4.1.82 samar-
thānām...) pada (1.4.14 suptīṇ...) śālà + Nī. Now, cha cannot be introduced
unless śālà is an item termed vrddha (1.1.73 vrddhir yasya...) and an item
cannot be termed vrddha unless the first among its vowels is a vrddhi. Here
again, we witness the explanatory role of rule 1.1.1. The vrddhi vowel ā of
śālà which, in turn, qualified śālà to be called vrddha, is atadbhāvītā since it
is already given and not derived by application of a rule which expressly
mentions the name vrddhi.
2. Pāṇini formulates this rule by using the technique of taparakarana ‘making t precede or follow’. That is, he inserts t between a 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 (savarga) vowels which have the same time duration (kāla). It should be noted that the t in this rule is not used for constraining a since a is not included in aN (for details, see 1.1.69 anudit...). Instead, it is used for aiC. Here, taparakarana, enables Pāṇini to block the assignment of the term vrddhi 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 a, see Padamañjari (PM) ad Kāśikā 1.1.1 (I:66): ākāro’ nanťvād eva na bhinnā-kālānām grāhaka iti....’

3. Definitional rules are given in the form x_{yi} where x represents a name-bearer (samjñin) to which y, a given name (samjñā), 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 acarya (Pāṇini) put the samjñā vrddhi ‘prosperity, growth’ first for auspicious reasons. A careful examination of all definitional rules in the Aśṭādhyāyī reveals that this explanation is not satisfactory, as there are many other rules which violate the order x_{yi}. Consider, for example, rules 1.2.41 aprkta ekāl pratyayah, 3.1.92 tarpapadaṁ saptamistham, 3.1.93 krd atiṁ, 3.1.94 kṛtyāḥ and 3.4.114 ārddhadhātukam śeṣah.

SCOPE: 7.2.1 sici vrddhiḥ parasmaipadesu, etc.

1.1.2 अदेऽः गुणः:

aden gunaḥ
/ad/en 1/1 (at ca eḥ ca; Śs 3); gunaḥ 1/1/
gunaśadah samjñātvena vidhyate pratyekam adeṇo varṇānām sāmānyena
tadbhāvītanām atadbhāvītanām ca aT (a; see 1.1.70 taparas...) an eN (e and o, see Śs 3) are termed guna.

EXAMPLES:

taritā ‘he who floats or swims’
cetā ‘he who heaps or gathers’
stotā ‘he who praises’
pac ‘I cook’
pacanti ‘they (pl.) cook’
joyanti ‘they (pl.) win’

1. Just as the term vrddhi (1.1.1. vrddhir...), the term guna is introduced as a name (samjñā) which applies to each one of its name-bearers (samjñin) 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 neti ‘he who leads’ is derived by introducing the affix (3.1.1.1 pratyayah) tṛc (3.1.133 ṇivultycau) after (3.1.2 paraś ca) the verbal root (3.1.91 dhātoḥ) niṣ ‘to lead’. It is required by rule 7.3.84 sārvadhātu-
kārddhadhātukayo that i of ni be replaced by guṇa. Thus we get ni(i → 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 — tariṇa, cetā, stotā and pace — illustrate instances of tadbhāvita guṇa vowels. The next two — pracinti 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 tapatarkaṇa (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 इत्य गुणवूढः

iko guṇaḥprddhi
iḥkā 6/1 guṇaḥprddhi 1/2/

vrddhi guṇau svasaṁjñayā sisyamāṇau ika eva sthāne veditavyau

When vowels denoted by guṇa and vrddhi are ordered as substitutes (ādesa), and no substituendum (sthānin) is specified, they only come in place of vowels denoted by iK (i, u, r, l; see Śs 1-2).

EXAMPLES:

tarati ‘he swims or floats’
nayati ‘he leads’

bhavati ‘he becomes’

akārṣīti ‘he did or made’

ahārṣīti ‘he carried’

acāsīti ‘he heaped or gathered’

anāsīti ‘he led’

alāvīti ‘he cut’

astāvīti ‘he praised’

1. The function of this rule is to restrict the substituendum for guṇa and vrddhi substitutes in places where they are ordered with the express mention of the terms guṇa and vrddhi 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 vrddhi 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
mrjer vṛddhiḥ (aṅgasya) which orders a vṛddhi substitute by the express mention of the name vṛddhi. However, mrjer (genitive singular of mrj 'to clean', an aṅga) cannot be treated as a substituendum since that would require replacing mrj with a vṛddhi substitute, which, in turn, would make it impossible to derive the desired form māṛṣṭi. Furthermore, how shall we go about deciding a proper vṛddhi substitute for mrj? 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 mrj, 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 upadāyāḥ. There, although a vṛddhi substitute is ordered with the express mention of the name vṛddhi, unlike 7.2.114 mrjer vṛddhiḥ, the substituendum, that is, the penultimate a of the aṅga, is also specified. Similarly, consider 7.3.84 sārvadhātukārdhadhātukayoh (gunaḥ carried from 7.3.82) which provides a guna 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 guna replaces the final aL (1.1.52 alo’ntyasya) of an aṅga when a sārvadhātuka (3.4.113 tīṅsit...) or an ārdhadhātuka (3.4.114 ārdhadhātukam ṣeṣaḥ) affix follows.

Here again, besides encountering difficulty in arriving at a proper guna 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 guna substitute only in place of the final iK of the aṅga (1.4.13 yasmāt...). For an example of a guna substitute where 1.1.3 does not apply, consider 6.4.116 or gunaḥ, whereby a guna 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 guna or vṛddhi substitute by express mention of the name guna 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 guna or vṛddhi substitutes for a, ai, au and consonants. He explicitly uses gunavṛddhi in this rule, rather than implicitly assuming it by anuvṛtti, to make it clear that 1.1.3 finds its scope only when a guna or vṛddhi substitute is given by explicitly using these terms.
Vowels denoted by \( guna \) and \( vrddhi \) do not come in the place of an \( iK \) when an \( ārdhadhātuka \) (3.4.114 ārdhadhātukaṃ \( šeṣaḥ \)) affix conditioning deletion of part of the root follows.

**Examples:**

- \( loluvah \) 'he who cuts again and again'
- \( popuvah \) 'he who cleanses again and again'
- \( marimrajah \) 'he who wipes again and again'

1. The word \( dhātulopa \) is not a tatpurusa compound having the analyzed form: \( dhātor lopah \) 'deletion of root'. Instead it is a bahuvrihi 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 bahuvrihi interpretation, the rule will be translated as: \( guna \) and \( vrddhi \) 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 \( iK \) \( guna \) and \( vrddhi \) 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’ (dhātvaiñkadesa). Hence, the proper translation should be: \( guna \) and \( vrddhi \) 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) \( loluvah \) in the appendix.

### 1.1.5 किर्ति च

| \( krītī ca \) |
| \( \text{Ikrītī} 7/1 \ (gaś ca kaś ca ṅaś ca) ca \( \emptyset \) |

Vowels denoted by \( guna \) and \( vrddhi \) do not come in place of an \( iK \) when that which is marked with \( K, G \), or \( N \) conditions the replacement.

**Examples:**

- \( citah \) 'heaped'
- \( citavān \) 'he heaped'
- \( stutah \) 'praised'
- \( stutavān \) 'he praised'
- \( bhinnah \) 'split, broken'
- \( bhinnavān \) 'he split'
- \( mṛṣṭah \) 'wiped, cleaned'
- \( mṛṣṭavān \) 'he wiped'
- \( cinutah \) '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 vrddhi replacement with express mention of the term
        guṇa or vrddhi, where
   (b) such replacement is also conditioned by an item (affix) marked with
        K, G, or N.

   In view of (a), this rule can block a guṇa or vrddhi 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
   vrddhi replacement is really marked with K, G, or N is not made solely on
   the basis of its being overtly marked with K, G or N. Instead, first the overt
   markings K, G, and N are considered and then rules 1.2.1 gāṅkutādibhyo...
   through 1.2.26 ralo vyupadhdād... are consulted. These rules may or may
   not allow an item, either obligatorily or optionally, to be treated as marked
   with K or N. For example, rule 1.2.4 sārvadhdātukam api lets any sārvadhdātuka
   affix — with the exception of those marked with P — be treated as if
   marked with N. Similarly, under certain conditions, rules 1.2.19 niṣṭhā
   śīn..., etc., will allow affixes Ktvā and KtavatŪ to be treated as if they were
   not marked with K.

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

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

4. Kāśikā lists this rule as knīti ca, because, given the string kkh
   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 n. This will yield kkh. Rule
8.4.64 halo... will delete the first n, reducing the string to kkh. 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 दीधीवेवीटय

dīdhīveviṭāṃ
\[dīdhīveviṭāṃ\ 6/3/
(iko guṇavṛddhi \# 3; na \# 4)
dīdhī-veyor iṭaś ca ye guṇa-vṛddhi prāṃmutas te na bhavataḥ
Vowels denoted by guṇa or vṛddhi do not come in place of the iK of
dīdhīN 'illuminate', veviN 'go, pervade', and iT (the augment, see
7.2.35 ārddha..., etc).

EXAMPLES:

āddidhyanam 'to be properly illuminated'
āddidhyakah 'that which illuminates properly'
āvevyanam 'to go or pervade properly'
āvevyakah 'that which goes or pervades properly'
kaṇītā (svaḥ) 'he will go (tomorrow)'
raṇītā (svaḥ) 'he will go (tomorrow)'

1. As is obvious from the translation, dīdhīvevi refers to verbal roots dīdhīN and veviN. A question is raised why dīdhīvevi cannot be interpreted as a word referring to four roots dīN ‘decay’, dhiN ‘disrespect’, veN ‘weave’, and vi ‘to go’. If Pāṇini had intended to refer to all four roots, he probably would have formulated the rule in this manner: vivedhīdiṭāṃ. In this way, he would have been able to refer to the roots without any confusion with dīdhīN and veviN. However, since he did not formulate the rule as vivedhīdiṭāṃ, he only meant the two roots dīdhīN and veviN.

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

1.1.7 हलोज्ञत्तरा: संयोग:
aloh' nantarāḥ samyogah
\[aloh\ 1/3 anantarāḥ 1/3 samyogah 1/1\]
bhinnajātiyair ajhīr avyāvahitāḥ sliṣṭoćcāritā halakah
samyogasamanā bhavantī samudāyah samjñī
dharmasethaḥ (consonants, see 5s, 5-14) uninterrupted by an aC
(vowel; see 5s, 1-4) is termed samyoga 'cluster, conjunct'.
Examples:

śv in asvah ‘horse’
ndr in indra ‘Indra’
ɡn in agniḥ ‘fire’
ṛṇ in karnaḥ ‘car’
śr in uṣṭra ‘camel’

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

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

Scope: 8.2.23 samyogāntasya lopaḥ, and so on.

1.1.8 मुखनासिकाकालनोज्ञनासिकः
mukhanāsikākālacānaḥ ‘nunāsikā
/mukhanāsikākālacānaḥ 1/1 anunāsikāḥ 1/1/
mukhasahità nāsikā mukhanāsikā layā ya uccāryate varṇāḥ so
nunāsikasamjñō 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 āṇo’ nunāsikāḥ 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 anudāṭtopadeśa... through 6.4.41 vidvanor... 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 (1: 193-95) about the formulation of this rule, especially in view of the formation of the compound mukhanāsikākālacānaḥ. First, it has been suggested that mukhanāsikā is a dvandva compound: mukham ca nāsikā ca = mukhanāsikam. This way the compound will, as shown, be a singular (2.4.2 dvandvaś ca...) neuter (2.4.17 sa napumśakam). Note that the final long ā of nāsikā is also
replaced by short by rule 1.2.47 hrasvo napumṣake prātipadikasya. When joined with vacana ‘articulation’, the form will be mukhanāśikāvacanah with an underlying paraphrase mukhanāśikām vacanam asya. But Pāṇini uses mukhanāśikāvacanah. 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, mukhanāśikāvacanah will be interpreted as a bahuvrīhi with an internal tatpurusa whose middle pada (madhyamapada) has been deleted. Thus, mukhadvitiyā va nāśikā = mukhanāśikā (tatpurusa with a middle constituent deletion); mukhanāśikā vacanam asya so’yaṁ = mukhanāśikā... (bahuvrīhi). For the reason that there is no dvandva involved, there will not be the shortening of the ā of nāśikā.

Further questions have been raised against the inclusion of the words mukha ‘mouth’ or nāśikā ‘nose’ in the rule. It has been stated that if nāśikā is excluded, the rule will read: mukhavacano ‘nunāśikah. This being the case, k, c, t, t, p, etc. will get the designation of anumāṇika. As a consequence, given the string pac + Kta, the c will be deleted by 6.4.37 anudāttopadesa...

This will yield a wrong form: *pata. It is therefore recommended that nāśikā 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 prāśādavāsinyāya, 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 nāśikā alone will refer to sounds produced by both nāśikā and mukha. This is in consonance with the maxim of prāśādavāsinyāya. The Mahābhāṣya observes that in many ways it is correct; but formulating the rule simply as nāśikāvacano ‘nunāśikah cannot then account for sounds which may be produced only by the nose. One such example is anuvāra It is therefore suggested that both mukha and nāśikā be retained in the rule.

SCOPE: 6.1.126 āno’ nunāśikaś chandasi

1.1.9 तुल्यायाप्रयतनमं सवर्णम्

tulyāsyaprtyatnam savarnam
/tulyāsyaprtyatnam 1/1 savarnam 1/1/
tulya āsy pratyatno yasya varṇasya yena varṇena saha sa samānajātiyam prati savarnaśamājayo bhavati

A sound which has the same articulation effort (pratyatna) at the same place of articulation (sthāna) in the oral cavity as another sound is called savarna ‘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 āṣya '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 āṣya 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 āṣya is yaT (4.3.54 digādhnya yat; 4.3.55 sārīrāvayavāc ca). Given the string: āṣya + ya(T → θ) = āṣya + ya, the first a will be deleted by 6.4.148 yasyeti ca. The y of āṣya will then be deleted by 8.4.63 halo yamāṁ yami lokah, thereby yielding the string: ās + (y → θ) + ya = āṣya. The word āṣya can also be derived by introducing the suffix NyaT 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 āṣya, a taddhita derivative. The word tulyāṣya-prayatnam is a bahuvrīhi compound meaning 'that which shares the manner of articulation at the same place in the mouth'. In this interpretation, āṣya modifies prayatna, thereby giving the meaning 'similar effort at a place'. If āṣya-prayatna were interpreted as a dvandva compound meaning 'place and manner', qualified by tulya 'same', with the entire expression being a bahuvrīhi with internal dvandva, āṣya could not modify prayatna.

SCOPE: 6.1.101 akāḥ savarṇe dirghah, and so on.

1.1.10 नाज्जालौ

nāṭjhalau
/na θ ajjhalau 1/2/
(tulyāṣya-prayatnam savarṇam # 9)

SOUNDS denoted by aC (vowel) are not termed savarṇa with sounds deonted by hL (consonant).

EXAMPLES:

a and h in danda 'stick' and hasta 'hand'
i and s in dadhi sitam 'cold yogurt'
vaśpāṣo matsyaḥ 'fish found in the river Vipāśā'
ānaduḥṣam 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 savarna. Consider for example: danḍa hasta, where both the final a of danḍa and the h of hasta are pronounced at the kantha 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 samuṛta ‘closed’ manner of articulation. Once homogeneity is assigned, there would be an occasion for savarnadīrghatva ‘homogeneous long (vowel) replacement’. It is too much, however, to say that 1.1.10 has been formulated for disallowing savarna- dīrghatva, since 6.1.101 ahaḥ savarṇe dīrghaḥ effectively blocks the long replacement of a + h and i + ś of danḍa + hasta and dadhi + śītam by requiring an aC ‘vowel’ as the right context for the replacement. Similarly 1.1.69 añudit savarṇasya... also rules out any saṇvarṇa relationship between alh or īlś. Thus, blocking long replacement could hardly be the purpose of 1.1.10. The Nyāsa (I:104) summarizes the purpose of this rule as: avasyaḥ tāvad anyārtham ‘nājīhalau ity evam tāktyavam, yasyetaīlapābhāvārtham ‘therefore the formulation of nājīhalau 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 इदुद्धृववचनं प्रग्रःहयम्

iduddhuvačanaḥ pragṛhyam
/iduddhuvačam 1/1 pragṛhyam 1/1/

īt īt īty evam antam dvivačanam sabdārūpam pragṛhyam saṁjñam bhavati
A dual ending which terminates in ī, ū, or e (see 1.1.70 taparasya tā strivesya) is termed pragṛhyam.

EXAMPLES:

agni 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 pragṛhyam to those dual nominal endings which terminate in ī, ū, or e. As an example, consider the derivation of kavi (nom., acc. dual of kavi ‘poet’). It is derived from kavi + au(T) to which 6.1.102 prathamaṁ pūrva-savarnaḥ 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, kavi(i + au → i) = kavi. Now, given a string kavi + atra ‘two poets are here’, 1.1.11 must assign the term pragṛhyam to ī of kavi so that the replacement of ī by y (6.1.77 iko yaṁ aci) before a can be blocked. In order for ī to be termed pragṛhyam, ī must be a
dual ending terminating in \( i \). There clearly is a problem here. The \( i \) of \( kavi \) is neither a dual ending nor does it terminate in \( i \).

This problem is resolved by invoking rules 1.1.21 \( \text{adyantavod ekasmin} \) and 6.1.85 \( \text{antadivac ca} \). Rule 1.1.21 states that if an operation is ordered for an initial (\( \text{adi} \)) or a final (\( \text{anta} \)) 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 \( \text{pragryha} \), \( i \) can be considered as ending in \( i \). 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 \( kavi \), \( i \) 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 \( i \) will be considered as if it were \( au \). Hence \( i \) can be accepted as a dual ending and, as I have already stated, considered as ending in \( i \). The way is now clear for 1.1.11 to assign the term \( \text{pragryha} \) to \( i \) of \( kavi \). As a result, there is no \( yN \) replacement in \( kavi + atra \).

**SCOPE:** 6.1.125 \( \text{plutapragryya aci} \)

1.1.12 अदसो मात

\[ \text{ adip m\at} \]
\[ \text{ adasaḥ 6/1 m\at 5/1} \]

(\( \text{idūdet pragryam} \) # 11)

\[ \text{ adaśah sam\bandhī yo mā\kāras tasm\at para idūdet\ah pragryyasamjñā bhavanti} \]

\( i \), \( ū \), and \( e \) which follow the \( m \) of \( adas \) 'that' are termed \( \text{pragryha} \).

**EXAMPLES:**

- \( \text{ami atra} \) 'those people are here'
- \( \text{amū atra} \) 'those two people are here'

1. There are two forms — \( \text{ami} \) (nom. pl.; m.) and \( \text{amū} \) (nom. acc. dual; m., f., n.) — which have \( i \) or \( ū \) occurring after \( m \). The \( ū \) of the feminine or neuter dual \( \text{amū} \) gets the \( \text{pragryha} \) designation from 1.1.11 \( \text{idūde} ... \). Rule 1.1.12 is formulated only in view of the masculine dual and plural forms of \( adas \).

For a proper understanding of the \( \text{pragryha} \) designations by rules 1.1.11-12, we must consider rules 8.2.1 \( \text{pūrvastrasiddham} \), 8.2.80 \( \text{adaso' ser dādu domah} \), and 8.2.81 \( \text{eta id bahuvacane} \). These two rules are responsible for the forms of \( adas \) containing \( m \) followed by \( ū \), \( e \), or \( i \). Thus, 8.2.80-81 are necessary for creating conditions under which 1.1.12 can assign the term \( \text{pragryha} \).

Rule 8.2.1 declares that rules contained in the last three quarters of
the Aṣṭādhyāyī 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 ï 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 pragṛhyā 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 idūded..., ū of amū cannot be assigned the term pragṛhyā. This is correct because 1.1.11 can only see the form ade and not amū. Consequently, it will assign the term pragṛhyā 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 pragṛhyā 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 → i) = amī. However, 1.1.11 cannot assign the term pragṛhyā 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

ṣe

/ṣe 1/1 (deleted)/

(pragṛhyam # 11)

ṣe ity etat pragṛhyasamjñam bhavati

Se is termed pragṛhyā.

EXAMPLES:

asme indrābrhhaspati (RV, 4.49.4)

yusme iti

tve iti

me iti

Note that asme, me, and yusme, tve are the Vedic forms of asmad ‘first personal pronoun’ and yusmad ‘second personal pronoun’ respectively. Both asme and yusme 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 praṇghya is again prakṛtiḥavā, blocking sandhi. Commentators (Mbh. 1: 226) explain that the word Śe refers to a Śe which is functionally-semantically meaningful. Thus, for example, it could not refer to the se 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 ā by 1.3.8 laśakv ataddhite and is subsequently deleted by 1.3.9 tasya lopāḥ. This Śe is functionally-semantically meaningful since it is a vibhakti 'nominal ending', via being a replacement (ādesa) 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 (N → θ) i = i, which after the application of rule 6.1.87 ad guṇah to kāṣa + e and kuṣa + e results in kāṣe and kuṣe. 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 saaptam ending -i is meaningful in its own right. This is in full consonance with the Paribhāṣā (15) arthavād grahaṇe nānarthakasya, whereby, when a meaningful form such as Śe is in focus, it cannot include a non-meaningful form such as śe of kāṣe and kuṣe. 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 babhrūsa, which are locative singular forms of hariśa and babhrūsa. The bases themselves derive from hari + śa and babhrū + 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 babhrūsa 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) lakṣanapratiḥadoktayoh 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 एकाधानाऽः

nipāṭa ekādah anān
nipāṭaḥ 1/1 ekāc 1/1 anān 1/1
(pragṛhyam # 11)
ekāṁ cāsaṁ ac ca ekāṁ nipāta ya ekāj ānvarjitaḥ sa pragṛhyasamājno bhavati

A nipāta (particle) which consists only of a single aC — except for āN — is termed pragṛhyā.

EXAMPLES:

a apihi ‘Hey, stay away’
i indram paśya ‘O, look at Indra
u uttīṣṭha ‘Hey, get up’
ā evaṁ kila tat ‘Ah, I see’
ā evaṁ nu manyase ‘Now indeed you accept this’

1. The purpose of this rule is to assign the term pragṛhyā to those nipātas (1.4.56 prāg rīśvarān nipātaḥ) which consist of just a single vowel and nothing else. This, however, does not include āN, even though it is a nipāta and consists of a single vowel ā. Its N is not considered as significant here because of its being only an ā. The function of the pragṛhyā 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 pragṛhyā to block the long vowel replacements ordered by 6.1.101 akāḥ savarne dirghah. For example, given a string i + indram + paśya, if i is not termed pragṛhyā, 6.1.101 will apply to yield a wrong form: (i +i → i) indram paśya = *indram paśya. The same holds for all the other examples.

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

(a) in the sense of īsat ‘a little’, as in ā + uṣṇam = oṣṇam ‘slightly hot’;
(b) as a preverb, as in ā + thi = ehi ‘come here’;
(c) in the sense of maryādā ‘limit’, as in ā pāṭaliputrad 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 pāṭaliputrad vṛṣṭo devaḥ ‘it rained up to (and including) the city of Pāṭaliputra’.

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

1.1.15 अतः

ot
lot 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 pragṛhyā.
EXAMPLES:

\textit{no idānīm} ‘not now’
\textit{āho iti} ‘emphatic interrogative particle’
\textit{utāho iti} ‘emphatic interrogative particle’
\textit{uta} strengthened with \textit{āho}.

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

1.1.16 सम्बुधो शाक्तव्येतावनां

\textit{sambuddhau sākalyasyetāvanārṣe}
\textit{/sambuddhau 7/1 sākalyasya 6/1 itau 7/1 anārṣe 7/1/}
\textit{(ot \# 15; pragṛhyam \# 11)}
\textit{sambuddhimūtta ya okāraḥ sa sākalyasyācāryasya matena pragṛhyam samjño bhavati iti sābde' nārṣe avaidike parataḥ}

According to Śākalya, \textit{o} is termed \textit{pragṛhya} when it is conditioned by a \textit{sambuddhi} (voc. sing.) ending and occurs before a non-Vedic \textit{iti}.

EXAMPLES:

\textit{vāyo iti} (Śākalya) \textit{vāyav iti} (non-Śākalya) ‘O Vāyu!’
\textit{bhāno iti} (Śākalya) \textit{bhānav iti} (non-Śākalya) ‘O Bhānu!’

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

Let us consider the example \textit{vāyo iti} where \textit{iti} is not a Vedic \textit{iti} and \textit{vāyo} is vocative singular of \textit{vāyu} derived from \textit{vāyu} + \textit{sŪ}. We know from 2.3.47 \textit{sambodhane ca} that the first triplet of nominal endings (prathamā) may be used to express \textit{sambodhana} ‘address’. In addition, because of 2.3.47, these endings are also termed \textit{āmantrita} (2.3.48 \textit{sā’ manrītātā}), and if the selected ending is singular (ekavacana), it gets the further designation \textit{sambuddhi} (2.3.49 ekavacanam sambuddhīḥ). The \textit{sū} of \textit{vāyu} + \textit{sū} is \textit{āmantrita} and \textit{sambuddhi}, while the whole term \textit{vāyu} + \textit{sū} is \textit{āmantrita}. The term \textit{āmantrita} is assigned for purposes of accent (see 6.1.198 \textit{āmantritasya ca}, also 8.1.19 \textit{āmantritasya ca}). However, \textit{sambuddhi} is assigned especially for 6.1.69 \textit{en hrasvāt sambuddheḥ} and 7.3.108 \textit{hrasvasya guṇāḥ}.

Let us return to \textit{vāyu} + \textit{sū} which, after the \textit{it} deletion of \textit{ū}, becomes
vāyu + s. Rule 7.3.108 requires that a short vowel occurring at the end of
an an̄ga be replaced by guṇa. Thus we get vēy(u → o) + s = vāyas. The guṇa
replacement is not possible if the following (sū) is not a sambuddhi. It is in
this sense that we consider this o to be the result of a rule application con-
tioned 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 an̄ga terminating in o.
Thus: vāyo + (s → θ) = vāyō. Now, given a string vāyo + iti, o can be termed
pragṛhya to block the application of 6.1.78 eco’ yavāyāvah. 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 Pāṇiniyas as
another way of expressing optionality or as a sign of mentioning for the
sake of respect.

1.1.17 का:

uṇāh
uṇāh 6/11
(pragṛhyam # 11 śākalyasya, stau anārś # 16)

uṇāh pragṛhya-samjñā bhavati itau śākalyasyācāryasya mantena
According to Śākalya, uN, occurring before a non-Vedic iti is termed
pragṛhya.

EXAMPLES:

uṇī (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 yan aci will apply to yield (u → v)
iti → vnu. However, if u is assigned the term pragṛhya, 6.1.77 will be
blocked.

1.1.18 द

ा 1/17
śākalyasya matena pragṛhyasamjñākaś ca
According to Śākalya, uN, occurring before a non-Vedic iti, is
replaced by ā (lengthened and nasalized), and ā in turn is termed
pragṛhya.

EXAMPLE:

ā iti

1. This rule, too, is optional. It allows, first, that uN be replaced by u,
and then, optionally, transfers the _pragṛhya_ designation to ū. Here again the purpose is to block the application of 6.1.77.

Note that the purpose of reading _sākalyasya_ in this rule is to make its provisions optional. This will present three examples: _u iti_, _viti_ and _ū iti_.

### 1.1.19 इदुतै च सप्तयथेः

_idūtāu ca sapṭamyarthē_
_/idūtāu 1/2 ca @ sapṭamyarthē 7/1/
_(pragṛhyam # 11)_

=idantam udantam ca śabdāraṇaḥ sapṭamyarthē varttamānaḥ pragṛhya-
- samjñānam bhavati

Forms which end in _i_, _ū_, and express the sense of _sapṭamī_ (seventh _sUP_ triplet) are termed _pragṛhya_.

**EXAMPLES:**

somogauri adhi śrītaḥ ‘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 _i_, _ū_, and denote the sense of a _sapṭamī_ ‘locative’. Given the strings _māmakī + Ni_, and _tanū + Ni_, 7.1.39 _suṣām_ _suluk_ will apply to delete the locative endings. Now, if _māmakī_ and _tanū_ are used before _iti_, as in, for example, the _padapātha_ recitation, 6.1.77 _iko yan aci_ will apply to yield undesired forms such as _māmak_ (i → y) _iti_ = *māmayiti_. Similarly: _tan(ū → v)_ _iti_ = *tanviti_. If, on the other hand, _i_ and _ū_ are termed _pragṛhya_, 6.1.77 will be blocked from applying. A form such as _gaurī_ , which is derived from _gaurī + Ni_, 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 दाधाँग्रह

dādhā ghu adāp
_/dādhāḥ 1/3 ghu 1/1 adāp 1/1/
dārūpaś ca duvaśo dhārūpaḥ ca dvau dābdāpau varjavitvā
ghusamjñakā bhavanti

(Roots of the form) _dā_ and _dhā_—except for _dāP_ ‘to cut’ and _daiP_ ‘to clean’—are termed _ghu_.

**EXAMPLES:**

_pranidadāti_ (DUdāN ‘to give’) ‘he gives properly with full resolve’
_pranidadāhāti_ (DUdāhāN ‘to put, provide for’) ‘he gives properly with full resolve’
_pranidātā_ (dāN ‘to give’) ‘he who gives properly with full resolve’
_pranidāyati_ (do ‘to divide, split’) ‘he splits properly with full resolve’
prāṇidayaṭe (deN ‘to protect, defend, nurture’) ‘he protects with full resolve’
prāṇidhayati (dheT ‘to drink, suck’) ‘sucks the milk from...

1. This rule refers to six verbal roots: DUdāN, DUdhāN, dāN, do, deN, and dheT. 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 DUdāN, dāN, and DUdhāN, the specific operation is it deletion. DU...N, N, and DU...N 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, deN, and dheT can be associated with the application of 6.1.45 ādeca upadeśe’ sīti, whereby a root-final e, ai, o, or au will be replaced by ā. Thus, do, de(N), and dhe(T) 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 n before them. Thus: pra-ni-dā = pra-(n → n) i-dā = prāṇidā.

SCOPE: 6.4.66: ghumāsthāgāpājahātisām hali, etc.

1.1.21 आद्यान्तवदेकासिन्
adhyaṇtavad ekasmin
/ādyaṇtavad/ ə ekasmin 7/1/
ādāv iva anta iva ekasmin n api kāryam 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 (adi) 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) aṣṭapāvah where the suffix a will have the udātta ‘high pitch’ (1.2.29 uccaīr udāṭtah) accent by 3.1.3 ādyudāttaī 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 aṣṭapāvah cannot be assigned this accent since it does not have an initial vowel.

Consider, also, the derivation of (64) əbhyaṃ. At step (e), the string is a + bhyāṃ. Rule 7.3.102 suṣṭi ca must apply now to give us (a → ā) + bhyāṃ = əbhyaṃ.
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 yN (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 ābhīyām 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 vrksābhyām (inst., dat., abl. dual of vrksa ‘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 vrksa, which ends in a. These contrasting examples, where 1.1.20 need not be invoked, are furnished simply for explanatory purposes.

1.1.22 तरापतमपौ घाः
taraḥ tamapau ghaḥ
/taraḥ tamaḥ 1/2 ghaḥ 1/1/
taraḥ tamab ity etau praṣyau ghasamjñau bhavataḥ
Affixes taraP (5.3.57 dvivacana..., etc.) and tamaP (5.3.55-56 atisāyane..., etc.) are termed gha.

EXAMPLES:

kumārītārā ‘a comparatively better girl’
kumāritāmā ‘the best girl’
brāhmaṇītārā ‘a comparatively better Brāhmaṇa woman’
brāhmaṇītāmā ‘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 kimetiṇ....

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 rdor 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 बहुणवतुति संख्या
bahuganaṇavatudati samkhyā
/bahuganaṇavatudati 1/1 samkhyā 1/1/
bahuganaṇavatudati ity ete samkhyaṃjña bhavanti
Items bahu ‘many’ and gaṇa ‘class, group’, as well as those which end in vatU (5.2.39 yaddadebhyaḥ...) and Dati (5.2.41 kimah...) are termed samkhyā.

EXAMPLES:

bahuṇaṁtyah ‘many times’
katikṛtvāḥ ‘how many times’
ganakṛtvāḥ ‘a series of times’
tāvatkṛtvāḥ ‘that many times’
bahudhā ‘in many ways’
katidhā ‘in how many ways’
ganadhā ‘in a series of ways’
tāvaddhā ‘that many ways’
bahukah ‘purchased for many (gold coins)’
katiKAḥ ‘purchased for how many...’
ganakah ‘purchased for a group of...’
tāvatakah ‘purchased for that many...’
bahuśah ‘frequently’
katishā ‘how frequent...’
ganashā ‘frequent in a series’
tāvacchāḥ ‘that frequent’

1. The term samkhya here refers to ‘number’; not to its etymological sense (anvartha) of ‘that by means of which one counts (samkhyayate nayā)’. If samkhya here in the grammar referred to its popular sense, what would be the sense in defining it? The Mahābhāṣya invokes here the famous paribhāṣā: kṛtrimākṛtrimayoh kṛtrimena kāryasampratyatah ‘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 samkhya because in the absence of the kṛtrima usage, akṛtrima could not be accepted.

However the question still remains as to how eka, dvī, and so on, would get the designation samkhya, since the present rule does not include them. In answer one can argue that the grammar also uses akṛtrimasamajnā. If that were not so, restrictions such as atisadantāyāḥ outlined by 6.1.22 samkhyaśāḥ atisadantāyāḥ kan would become vacuous. For, as defined by the grammar here in 1.1.23, the word samkhya cannot refer to anything atisadanta. Forms referred to by the restriction only obtain in the laukikasamajnā ‘terms in popular usage’.

The words bahu and gana also mean ‘multitude’ (vaipulya) and ‘group’ (samgha) respectively. Thus we get the following phrases:

(a) bahurodahāḥ ‘too much crying’,
(b) mahān bhiksūnām ganaḥ ‘a very large group of ascetics’

When bahu and gana are not used to denote number, they cannot be assigned the term samkhyā. The present rule is required not only to extend to bahu, gana, and so on, the status of samkhyā but also to exclude words such as bhūri and prabhūti from being designated samkhyā, even though these words are similar to bahu and gana in the sense that they mean ‘much, abundant’, and so on. For details see Nyāsa (1:126-27).
SCOPE: 2.1.19 *sāṃkhya* vamśyena, and so on.

1.1.24 ज्यान्ता बदः

*ṣāntā saṭa*

\( /ṣāntā 1/1 saṭ 1/1/ \)

*sāṃkhya* # 23

*ṣakāranta nakārānta ca yā sāṃkhya sā ṣaṭsāṃjīna bhavati*

Numerals (*sāṃkhya*) which end in \( ĵ \) or \( ṇ \) are termed *ṣaṭa*.

**EXAMPLES:**

*ṣaṭ tiṣṭhanti* 'the six are standing there'

*ṣaṭ paṣya* 'look at those six'

*paṇca* 'five'

*saptā* 'seven'

*nava* 'nine'

*dasa* 'ten'

1. The word *sāṃkhya* is interpreted here as the *sāṃjīna*. However, in the preceding rule from which it is carried to this rule, *sāṃkhya* is a *sāṃjīna*. Pāṇini uses *ṣāntā, a sāṃjīna*, in feminine so that it could serve as a modifier of *sāṃkhya*. In the absence of accepting this as the purpose of using the feminine form *ṣāntā*, the use of feminine becomes vacuous. The very fact that it is used in the feminine makes *sāṃkhya* understood as carried. If it had been used in the masculine, the rule would have become *ṣāntah saṭa*, with the meaning *ṣaṭ* is that which ends in \( ĵ \) or \( ṇ \). This would have allowed *ṣaṭ* designation to any form ending is \( ĵ \) or \( ṇ \).

A question is raised as to why *anta* 'final' should be used in 1.1.24. If *sāṃkhya* is carried, the sense of *anta* will automatically become available by the syntactico-semantic relation (*sāmanthya*) obtaining between *sāṃkhya* and \( ĵ \) or \( ṇ \). Commentators (*Nyāsa*, I:127) indicate that the purpose of *anta* here is to make it clear that 'a numerical word ending in \( ĵ \) 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 \( ĵ \) or \( ṇ \). Thus *paṇcan* 'five', *ṣaṭ* 'six', *sāptatan* 'seven', *aṣṭan* 'eight', *nava* 'nine', and *dāsan* 'ten' will be termed *ṣaṭa*. However such examples as *ṣatān* and *sahasrān*, of *ṣatān + i = ṣatāni* and *sahasrān + i = sahasrāampaign (n→ ṇ) + i = sahasrāṇi*, where forms ending in \( ṇ \) are not *auspadeśīka* 'radical', will not be termed *ṣaṭa*.

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

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

1.1.25 धति च

*dati ca*
Examples:

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

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

See the appendix, rules 1.1.24 and 1.1.25 for details.

Examples:

kṛtaḥ 'done, made'
kṛtvān 'he did, made'
bhūktah 'eaten, consumed'
bhūktavān 'he ate'

1. Affixes Ktā 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 yaṇah...). 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 sājakaṃ vaya 'weave a sājaka of this yarn'. The designation sājaka 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 khitā ca. Examples such as kṛtaḥ (Dukṛṇ + Ktā), kṛtvān (Dukṛṇ + KtavatU), bhūktah (bhuj + Ktā), and bhūktavān (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 + (Ktā or KtavatU) + sū is changed into k by 8.2.30 coḥ kuḥ.

2. If affixes Ktā and KtavatU are assigned the term niṣṭhā, items ending in these affixes can also be termed niṣṭhā by the principle of tandaṇaavidhi
(see 1.1.72 yena vidhis tadantasya). To avoid this, one invokes the paribhāṣā samjñāvidhau... 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): samjñāvidhauprayayagrahaṇe tadantavidhir na bhavati; Pb. 27: samjñāvidhau pratyayagrahaṇe tadantagrahanam nāsti. Also, Pb. 23: pratyayagrahaṇe yasmāt sa vīhitas tadādis tadantasya grahaṇam.

1.1.27 वर्द्धिनि सर्व्वनामानि

sarbādini sarvanāmāni
/sarbādini 1/3 sarvanāmāni 1/3/
sarvasabdaḥ ādvīṃ yeṣam tāñnimāni sarvādini sarvanāmasamjñāni bhavantu

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.’
sarvēsām ‘gen. pl.’
sarvakāḥ ‘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 Śi (7.1.17 jasah śi),
(b) the dative singular Ne by smai (7.1.15 ṇ asiṇyoh...), and
(c) the locative singular Ni by smin (7.1.15 ṇ asiṇyoh...).

Similarly, əm, if introduced after a pronominal and occurring after an anga ending in a, receives the augment sU T (7.1.52 əm avyaya sarvanāmnaḥ su). An additional purpose of assigning this term is to allow the affix aCk after these bases (5.3.71 avyaya sarvanāmnām akac). See the derivations for details.

SCOPe: 7.1.14 sarvanāmnah smai, and so on.

1.1.28 विभाषा दिक्समासे बहुव्रीहो

vibhāṣā diksamāṣe bahuvrihau
/vibhāṣā 1/1 diksamāṣe 7/1 bahuvrihau 7/1/
(sarbādini sarvanāmāni # 27)
diśam samāso diksamāsaḥ digupadiṣte samāse bahuvrihau vibhāṣā sarvā
dīini sarvanāma samijnāni bhavanti

Items listed in the set headed by sarva optionally are termed sarvanāman if they occur in a bahuvrihi compound composed of constituents denoting diś 'direction'.

EXAMPLES:

uttarapūrvasyai, or uttarapūrvāyai
‘for the northeasterly direction’
daksinapūrvasyai, or daksinapūrvāyai
‘for the southeasterly direction’

1. Rule 1.1.29 na bahuvrihau obligatorily denies the assignment of the term sarvanāman to bahuvrihi (2.2.23 śesō bahuvrihiḥ) 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 dīnnāmāny antarāle).

2. It is interesting to note here that Pāṇini uses the word samāsa ‘compound' along with bahuvrihi. Since a bahuvrihi can be nothing but a samāsa, as is evident from the inclusion of the rule which assigns the term bahuvrihi (2.2.23 śesō bahuvrihiḥ) in the domain of the rule which assigns the term samāsa (2.1.3 prāh 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 bahuvrihi 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 bahuvrihi compounds but are treated as such for purposes of sUP deletion (2.4.71 sūpo dhūntprātipadikayoḥ), accentuation, and masculine transformation did not fall under the scope of 1.1.28.

For example, 8.1.9 ekām bahuvrihivat provides that ekā + īe + ekā + īe, as in ekaikasmai, can be treated as a bahuvrihi. Consequently, 2.4.71 will delete the nominal endings: ekā + (īe → ∅) + ekā + (īe → ∅) = ekā + ekā; 6.3.34 striyāḥ pumādhbhāṣita... 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 bahuvrihau 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-bahuvrihi to be treated as sarvanāman. As a result, given a string ekaika + īe, 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 bahuvrihi compound. Our present rule makes this provision of 1.1.29 optional when the bahuvrihi is a diksamāsa. However, one must remember that the provisions of 1.1.28-29
only are applicable to bahuvrihis which are actually derived by applying rules from the compound domain. Extensional (ätideśika) bahuvrihis 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 + Ne can yield only ekaikasmai.

1.1.29 न बहुव्रीहैः

na bahuvrihau

/na 0 bahuvrihau 7/1/
(sarvakāṇi sarvanāmānī # 27)

bahuvarhau samāse sarvakāṇi sarvanāmasamjñāṇi na bhavanti

Items listed in the set headed by sarva are not termed sarvanāman if they occur in a bahuvrihi compound (2.2.23 śesō bahuvrihiḥ).

Examples:

priyavisvāya ‘one to whom everyone is dear’
priyobhayāya ‘one to whom both are dear’
duryāya ‘for one to whom there are two others’
tryanyāya ‘for he to whom there are three others’
tvatakapiṣṭkah ‘he whose father you are’
matkapiṣṭkah ‘he whose father I am’
vastrāntaravasanantarāḥ ‘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 Paṇini explicitly mentions bahuvrihau 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 bahuvrihi compound, even though such a compound is included in a non-bahuvrihi, the assignment of the term sarvanāman is blocked. Consider vastrāntaravasanantarāḥ, a dvandva compound formed of two constituents (vastrāntara and vasanantarā). These constituents are bahuvrihi compounds in their own right. Together they form a dvandva. Technically the restriction imposed by 1.1.29 should not apply to vastrāntaravasanantarāḥ since it is a dvandva compound. By expressly mentioning bahuvrihi instead of carrying it from the preceding rule as anuvṛti, Paṇini wants us to remember that even a bahuvrihi-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 Padamaṇijāri and Nyāsa ad Kāśikā 1.1.29: atrāsati bahuvrīhigrhaṁ vartamānapravandvāśrayo nisedhāḥ syāt, tataḥ ca jasi vibhāṣa syāt. punar bahuvrihi-
grhaṇāt tu yadante dvandvaḥ, so nitarāsābdo bahuvrīheḥ pūrṇam atrāsid iti bahuvrīhāśrayo nitya eva nisedho bhavati (Padamaṇijari); ...punar bahuvrīhigrhaṇāt tu bhūtpūrṇavyāpi bahuvrīher āśrayanāt tadāśrayo nityah pratisedho 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 सपासे

_trīyāsamāśe_
<trīyāsamāśe 7/1/
%(ca # 29; sarvādīnī sarvanāmānī # 27)
(trīyāsamāśe sarvādīnī sarvanāmasamjñānī 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 _trīyā_ (the third sUP triad).

#### EXAMPLES:

māsapūrvāya ‘for one who was born a month before’
sarvāsasarapūrvāya ‘for one who was born a year before’
dvyahapūrvāya ‘for one who was born two days before’
_trīyāpūrvāya_ ‘for one who was born three days before’
māsena _pūrvāya_ ‘for one who precedes by a month’
tuyakā _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 (_trīyāsamāśa_) formed by applying 2.3.31 _pūrvasadṛśasamvāna_.... 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 _pūrvā_ of an instrumental _tatpuruṣa_ compound māsapūrvā, it also will not allow this term assignment to _pūrvā_ of the corresponding uncompounded form māsena _pūrvah_.

### 1.1.31 द्वादशे च
dvandve ca
<dvandve 7/1 ca 0/>
%(na # 29; sarvādīnī sarvanāmānī # 27)
dvandve ca samāśe sarvādīnī sarvanāsamjñānī na bhavanti
Items listed in the set headed bysarva also are not termed sarvanāman if they occur in a dvandva compound (2.2.29 cārthe dvandvah).

**Examples:**

pūrvāparānām ‘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
\(\text{vibhāṣā} \ 1/1 \ jasi \ 1/1\)
(dvandve \# 31; na \# 29; sarvādīni sarvanāmāni \# 27)
dvandve samāse jasi vibhāṣā sarvādīni sarvanāmasamjñāni na bhavanti

Items listed in the set headed by sarva optionally are not termed sarvanāman when they occur in advandva compound and operations relative to Jas (nom. pl.) are to be performed.

**Examples:**

katarakatame ‘who from among the two or many’ katarakatamāh ‘id.’
katarakatamakāh ‘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 (katarā + Jas + kattama + 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 katarakatamāh.

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 parasaptami (see note 2 under 1.1.5 knīti ca). Accordingly, placement of ahaC after katarakatama to derive katarakatamaka, as in (99) sarvakah cannot be considered a purpose for assigning the term sarvanāman by 1.1.32.
1.1.33 ग्रथमचरमतयाल्पार्धकतिपयनेमाशः

prathamacaramatayālpārdhakatipayanemāś ca
/prathama...nemāḥ 1/1 ca 0
(vibhaṣā jasi # 32; sarvanāmāni # 27)
prathama-carama-taya-alpa-ardha-katipaya-nema ity ete jasi vibhaṣā sarvanāmasamjñaḥ 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 samkhyāyā...) optionally are termed sarvanāman when operations relative to Jas are to be performed.

EXAMPLES:

prathame/praṭhamāḥ
carama/caramāḥ
alpa/alpāḥ
ekatipaya/katipayāḥ
nema/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 पूर्वपारावरदाक्षिणोत्तरापदार्धाणि यवस्थायामसंज्ञायाम्

pūrvaparāvaradākṣiṇottarāparādharāṇi vyavasthāyām asamjñāyām
/lṭ uvra...utharāṇi 1/3 vyavasthāyām 7/1 asamjñāyām 7/1/
(vibhaṣā jasi # 32; sarvanāmāni # 27)
pūrvādīnī vibhaṣā jasi sarvanāmasamjñānī bhavanti vyavasthāyām asamjñāyām

Items such as pūrva, ‘front, east, prior’; para, ‘subsequent, latter’; avara, ‘lower, preceding, prior’; daksīna, ‘southern, right-hand side’; uttara, ‘northern, upper’; aparā, ‘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 samjña ‘name’.

EXAMPLES:

pūrve/pūrvāḥ
pare/parāḥ
avare/avarāḥ
daksīne/daksīnāḥ
uttare/uttarāḥ
apare/aparāḥ
adhare/adharaḥ

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, daksīna, uttara, aparā and adhara.

For properly comprehending the rule, one accepts the anusvṛtti of sarvanāmāni (from 1.1.27 sarvādini...) and vibhāsā jasi (from rule 1.1.32). Accordingly, one interprets the rule as above.

1.1.35 समवतिकारणाक्याधापः
svam ajñātidhanākhyāyām
/svam 1/1 ajñātidhanākhyāyām 7/1/
(vibhāsā jasi # 32; sarvanāmāni # 27)
svam ity etac chadbarūpam jasi vibhāsā sarvanāmasamjñāṃ bhavati na cēj
jñātidhanayoḥ samjñārūpeṇa 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 pūrāh/svah pūrāḥ 'one's own sons'
sve gāvah/svah gāvah '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'; ātmiya, '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 अन्तां बाहिर्योगोपसांनकान्योः
antaram bahiryogopamasāmyāyāḥ
/antaram 1/1 bahiryogopamasāmyāyāḥ 7/2/
(vibhāsā jasi # 32; sarvanāmāni # 27)
antaram ity etac chadbarūpam vibhāsā jasi sarvanāmasamjñāṃ bhavati
bahiryoga-upasāmyāne gamyāmāne

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 upasāmyāna 'clothing' is being expressed.

EXAMPLES:
antare grhāḥ/antarā grhāḥ 'houses on the outside (of the village)'
antare śātakāḥ/antarā śātakāḥ 'underclothing'
The appendix gives detailed derivations of these forms.

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

1.1.37 स्वरादिनिपातमवयम्

*svarādinipātam avyayam*
/svarādinipātam 1/1 avyayam 1/1 /
*svarādīni śabdārūpāni nipātās cāvyayarasyamjñāni bhavanti*

Items listed in the set headed by *svar* 'sun, heaven' and items termed *nipātā* 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 *nipātā* (see 1.4.56 *prāgrīṣuvarāṇ nipātāh* through 1.4.96 *adhirīṣvare*). Pāṇini assigns the term *avyaya* so that nominal endings (*sUP*) introduced after these bases can be deleted by 2.4.82 *avyayād āp supah*.

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 *avyayābhāvaḥ ca*.

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

1.1.38 तद्विष्क्तासविभिधति:

*taddhitās cāsarvavibhaktiḥ*
/taddhitāḥ 1/1 ca @ asarvavibhaktiḥ 1/1/
(arvyayam # 37)
*taddhitāntaḥ śabdo, sarvavibhakti avyayasyamjñāno bhavati*

Items which end in a *taddhitā* 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. 1:301-2) enumerates rules whereby these taddhita affixes are introduced:

4.3.113 tasiś ca
5.1.114 tena tulyaṁ kriyā ced...
5.2.27 vinañbhyaṁ...
5.3.7 pañcamyās tasil to 5.3.47 yāpye pāṣap
5.4.11 kimettiḥ...
5.4.12 amu ca chandasi
5.4.17 saṁkhyāyāḥ...
5.4.18 dvitrīcaturbhyaḥ...
5.4.20 vībhasā bahordhā...
5.4.42 bahvalpartha... to 5.4.68 samasāntāḥ

1.1.39 कृपेजननः

kṛn mejantah
kṛt 1/1 mejantah 1/1/
(avyaya # 37)
kṛd yo maṅkāntāḥ ejantaś ca tadantaṁ śabdaraśpaṁ avayavasaṁjñāṁ bhavati

Items which end in those kṛt affixes which end in m or eC (e, o, ai, and au; see Śś, 3-4) are termed avyaya.

EXAMPLES:

svādūmkāraṁ bhunkte 'he eats the food after sweetening it'
sampānavamkāraṁ bhunkte 'he eats the food after spicing it'
laṃvānāmkāraṁ bhunkte 'he eats the food after salting it'
vakṣe rōyah 'for naming the wealth'
tā vām ēse rathānāṁ 'for obtaining chariots'
1. This rule assigns the term avyaya to those items which end in such kṛt (3.1.93 kṛd atin) 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 is from these affixes. Thus, NamUL, KamUL, KHamUN, 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 rohisyai..., and 3.4.14 kṛtyārthe tavaika... For example, vasket and ese are derived from vac + se and iN + 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 coh kuh will require c to be replaced by k, and s will then be replaced by s (8.3.59 ādesa...). Now one can introduce sU after vasket, a nominal stem by 1.2.46 kṛtatadhita.... This sU will be deleted by 2.4.82 avyaya...on the strength of the term avyaya being assigned to vasket by 1.3.39. Note that given the string i(N → θ) + se (N → θ) = i + se, the remaining rule applications are similar to vasket. Similar examples for such indeclinables which end in o, ai, and au are not difficult to find.

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

1.1.40 क्वातोस्तुकसुनः
ktvātosunkasunāh
ktvātosunkasunāh 1/3/
(avyaya # 37)
ktvā tosun kasun ity evam antam sabdarūpam avyayasamjñam bhavati
Items which end in Ktvā (3.4.21 samāna...), tosun (3.4.16 bhāvalakṣāne...), or KasUN (3.4.17 srpi...) are termed avyaya.

EXAMPLES:

ktvā ‘after making’
hṛtvā ‘after taking away’
purā sūryasodatoḥ ‘before the rising of the sun’
purā krūrasya visṛpah ‘before the cruel one gets away’
purā jatrubhyā ātṛdah ‘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 अवयीपावक्ष

avyayībhāva ca

lavyayībhāvaḥ 1.1 ca 0/1

(avyayam # 37)

avyayībhāvasamāso ’vayasyaṁyño bhavati

A compound termed avyayībhāva (2.1.5 avayi...) also is termed avayya.

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. Kāśīkā (ad 1.1.41) mentions three reasons why avyayībhāva compounds (2.1.5 avayayībhāvaḥ) are assigned the term avyaya:

(a) for the deletion (LUK, see 1.1.61 pratyāsyaḥ lukṣtu...) of nominal endings introduced after them (2.4.82 avayād āpsupah),

(b) for the blocking of the assignment of the udāṭṭa (1.2.29 uccair udāṭṭah) accent to the final vowel of mukha (mukhasvara) when it underlies the final constituent of a bahuvrihi (2.2.23 śeṣo bahuvrihiḥ) compound that has an internal avyayībhāva, and

(c) for disallowing upacārā, 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 mukhaśvara, consider upāgnimukhaḥ ‘he whose face is close to the fire’, a bahuvrihi compound (2.2.24 anekam avayaṭapah) with upāgni ‘near the fire’ as its internal avyayībhāva compound (2.1.6 avayam vibhaktisāma...). Rule 6.2.167 mukham svaṅgam requires that an udāṭṭa accent should be assigned to the final vowel of a bahuvrihi compound when mukha is its final constituent. However, 6.2.168 nāvyaya... will not allow the udāṭta accent, because mukha follows upāgni, which is an avyaya. Instead the first constituent of upāgnimukha retains its original accentuation (6.2.1 bahuvriḥau...). That is, the last vowel of upāgni is high pitched (6.1.223 samāsaya).

Similarly, 8.3.46 atah kṛkamī... states that ṣ (visarga) preceded by a is replaced by s before DUA ‘to do, make’, and so on, unless the visarga is the final sound of an avyaya. Thus: ayaḥ + kāraḥ will yield ayaḥ (h → s)kāraḥ = ayakāraḥ ‘he who makes iron, blacksmith’. Now consider upopayaḥ + kāraḥ which, parallel to ayakāraḥ, should yield *upopayakāraḥ. However, this will be a wrong form merely because upopayaḥ is an avyayībhāva compound termed avyaya and hence 8.3.46 atah kṛkamī... 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, \( upapayaḥ + kāraḥ \) = \( upapayaḥ\kāraḥ \).

1.1.42 शि सर्वनामस्थानाः

\( ṣi \) sarvanāmasthānām
\( ṣi 1/1 \) sarvanāmasthānām 1/1
\( ṣi ity etat sarvanāmasthānasamjñām bhavati \)
\( Śi \) (a substitute for the nominative plural ending \( Jas \) and accusative plural ending \( Śas \) after a neuter stem) is termed sarvanāmasthāna.

**EXAMPLES:**

\( kundāni \), nom. pl. of \( kunda \) ‘fire-pit, small pond’
\( dadhīni \), nom. pl. of \( dadhi \) ‘yogurt’
\( madhūni \), nom. pl. of \( madhu \) ‘honey’
\( trapūni \), nom. pl. of \( trāpu \) ‘alloy’
\( jatūni \), nom. pl. of \( jatu \) ‘lac’

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

(a) so that the augment \( nUM \) can be introduced to certain neuter presuffixal bases (aṅgas) by 7.1.72 nāpumsakasya..., and
(b) so that 6.4.8 sarvanāmasthāne... can apply to change the penultimate (upadha, see 1.1.65 alo’ ntyāi...) 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 ekavacanam sambuddhiḥ) follows.

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

1.1.43 सुधन्वपुस्कर्ष

\( suḍ anapumsakasya \)
\( /suṭ 1/1 anapumsakasya 6/1/ \)
\( (sarvanāmasthānām \# 42) \)
\( suḍ iti pāṅca vacanāni sarvanāmasthānasamjñāni bhavanti napumsakād anyatra \)

Items denoted by \( sUT \) (\( sU, au, Jas, am, auT; \) see 4.1.2 suauj...) are termed sarvanāmasthāna when they occur after a non-neuter stem.

**EXAMPLES:**

\( rājā \) ‘nom. sing. of rājan king’
rājānau 'nom. dual'
rājānah 'nom. pl.'
rājānam 'acc. sg.'
rājānau 'acc. dual'

1. This rule assigns the term sarvanāmasthāna to the nominal endings denoted by the abbreviation sUT (sū, au, Jas, am, and auT) 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 vēti vibhāṣā
t /ṇa vā əi əi vibaṣā 1/1/
neti pratiṣedho vēti vikalpas tayoh pratiṣedhavikalpayor vibhāṣeti samjñā bhavati

The signification na vā 'or not' is termed vibhāṣā.

EXAMPLExES:

śūṣāya 'he went'
iśūṣāya 'id.'
śūṣavatuḥ 'they two went'
iśūṣavatuḥ '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 pratiyamāne, 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 svam katam 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 karoṭi the use of parasmāpaṭa, or in kuroṭe the use of ātmanepada, is optional.

For an example of aprāptavibhāṣā, consider rule 1.2.3 vibhāṣorṇoh. This rule states that an affix with initial iṭ optionally is treated as marked with ə if it occurs after the verb root əruṣuN 'to cover'. This option will yield two forms: prorṇauṭi and prorṇauṭi 'he who is to cover', both derived from the underlying string pra + əruṣu + i + tr. The affix with initial iṭ is trC. The a of pra and the u of əruṣu will be replaced by a single guṇa vowel to yield
The third type of vibhāṣā is ubhayatra or prāptaprāpta. A classic example of this type is furnished by 6.1.30 vibhāṣā svēh, whereby the root svī 'to go, move toward' optionally is ordered to undergo samprasāraṇa before affixes LIT and yaN. Consider the derivation of svāsava and śvāsya, the optional third person singular perfect forms of svī. Given the string svī + a where a is a Nāl. (3.4.81 liṭah...) replacement of tiP (3.4.78 tiptas...) which, in turn, is a replacement for LIT, rule 6.1.30 vibhāṣā svēh applies. The v of svī will be replaced by its samprasāraṇa counterpart u and the resultant string sv → uṣṭ + a = svī + a will undergo application of 6.1.108 samprasāraṇa ca, whereby the sequence u + i will be replaced by u. This will yield sv + a which will then go through doubling (6.1.8 liṭi dhārot...) to yield sv + sv + a. The u of the second sv will then undergo vṛddhi (7.2.115 eco' niṇiit) and āv replacement (6.1.78 eco' yawāyāvah), yielding sv + i(u → au → āu) + a = svāsvā.

If, however, the samprasāraṇa option of 6.1.30 is not accepted, the result will be śvāsvāya. In this case, doubling will yield svī + svī + a where i of the second svī will undergo vṛddhi. The resulting ai will then be replaced by āy: svī + sv(u → ai → āy) + a = svī + svāsvāya. The v of svī will be dropped by 7.4.60 halādī sesah to finally yield śvāsvāya. Note here that the two previous types of vibhāṣā were illustrated by explaining how a provision was made 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 (1:324) whether the expression 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. 1:326-27) 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 svēḥ is interpretable in terms of the three vibhāṣā. It can be interpreted as an instance of prāpta-vibhāṣā if one carries, through anuvrtti, the word kit ‘marked with K’ from 6.1.15 vacisvaṭi... 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 anuvrtti and the optional samprasāraṇa is interpreted as applicable to all the LIT 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 LIT 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 *nisedha* 'negation' by *na* only with reference to specific examples. Rule 6.1.27 *śṛṭam pāke* is an instance of this type of *vibhāṣā*. This rule provides the *ad hoc* (*niḥpātana*) derivation of the word *śṛṭam* when *pāka* 'cooking' is denoted. The underlying root for *śṛṭam* 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 *NīC*. 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 *śṛṭam kṣīram* 'the rice pudding is cooked' and *śṛṭam 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 *aṭer vyaghaṇāpoh*, 3.2.124 *lataḥ satrāṇacāv...* 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 *līty anyatarasyām*, 2.4.50 *vibhāṣā luhṛṇoh*, 2.4.55 *vā līti* and 8.3.19 *lopaḥ tākārasya* 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 āpiśaligrahaṇam pujaṃrtham vety ucyata eva). Rules such as 1.2.55 trṣimśikrerḥ kāśyapaśya, 5.4.112 gireś ca senakasya, 6.1.123 avaḥ śpotāyanasya and 6.3.61 iko ṭrasvo nyor gālavasya are additional examples of this nature.

Scope: 6.1.30 vībhāṣā śveḥ, etc.

1.1.45 इत्यय: सम्प्रसारण

ig yanāḥ samprasāraṇam
\(i/k\) 1/1 yanāḥ 1/1 samprasāraṇam 1/1
ig yo yanāḥ sthāne bhūto bhāvi vā tasya samprasāraṇam ity esā samjñā bhavati

The iK (i, u, r, l) which comes in the place of yN (y, v, r, l) is termed samprasāraṇa.

Examples:

yaj — istsm ‘that which has gone through the normal sacrifice; desired’
vaḥ — uptam ‘sown’
grah — grhitam ‘held on to, grasped’

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

(a) where samprasāraṇa is used for purposes of some other operations (kāryāntārātha; see 6.1.108 samprasāraṇaṁ ca, 6.3.139 samprasāraṇasya...), and
(b) where samprasāraṇa is used for its own purpose; that is, for replacing yN by iK (vidheya; see 6.1.13 yanāḥ samprasāraṇam..., 6.4.131 vasoh samprasāraṇam).

Instances of (a) imply that the replacement of yN by iK has already taken place (bhūta). That is why this usage of the term samprasāraṇa is called repetition (anuvāda). As opposed to this, instances of (b) clearly imply that the replacement of yN by iK is yet to be accomplished. It is for this reason that samprasāraṇa of type (b) is known as bhāvi ‘yet to be brought about’. Instances of (b) create difficulty, especially in view of the assignment of the term samprasāraṇa.
Normally, one would expect the nominatum (samjñin) to exist at the time when the name (samjñä) is assigned. The difficulty is this: samprasa-\(\text{\textit{ra}}\)\(\text{\textit{ra}}\)\(\text{\textit{n}}\) cannot be assigned unless \(yN\) is replaced by \(iK\), and \(yN\) cannot be replaced unless samprasa\(\text{\textit{ra}}\)\(\text{\textit{ra}}\)\(\text{\textit{n}}\) is assigned. Obviously we are faced here with the difficulty known as anyoný\(\text{\textit{raya}}\)\(\text{\textit{tva}}\) 'interdependency'. This is the reason why K\(\text{\textit{ä}}\)\(\text{\textit{k}}\)\(\text{k}a\) clearly states that samprasa\(\text{\textit{ra}}\)\(\text{\textit{ra}}\)\(\text{\textit{n}}\) must be interpreted as a name for both bh\(\text{\textit{u}}\)\(\text{\textit{ta}}\) and bh\(\text{\textit{av}}\)\(\text{\textit{i}}\) replacements of \(yN\) by \(iK\). It should be noted, however, that v\(\text{\textit{ārttik}}\) 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 samprasa\(\text{\textit{ra}}\)\(\text{\textit{ra}}\), as is made clear by the different examples cited.

2. Among the examples cited under this rule, i\(\text{\textit{ṣ}}\)\(\text{\textit{tam}}\) is derived from \((y\text{\textit{j}} + K\text{\textit{a}}) + s\text{\textit{U}}\) where \(y\) (\(yN\)) is replaced by \(i\) (\(iK\)), its corresponding samprasa\(\text{\textit{ra}}\)\(\text{\textit{ra}}\)\(\text{\textit{n}}\) vowel, under the condition of the following affix being marked with \(K\) (K\(\text{\textit{a}}\), see 6.1.15 vacisv\(\text{\textit{a}}\)pi...). Given the string \((y \rightarrow i) a\text{\textit{j}} + (K \rightarrow \emptyset) t\text{\textit{a}} + s\text{\textit{U}} = (i a + t a) + s\text{\textit{U}}, first, 6.1.108 samprasa\(\text{\textit{ra}}\)\(\text{\textit{ra}}\)\(\text{\textit{n}}\)\(\text{\textit{ī}}\)\(\text{\textit{c}}\)\(\text{\textit{a}}\) will replace both the \(i\) and \(a\) of \(i a + t a\) by \(i\), and then 8.2.36 u\(\text{\textit{ra}}\)\(\text{\textit{sc}}\)\(\text{\textit{ā}}\)\(\text{\textit{b}}\)\(\text{\textit{ra}}\)\(\text{\textit{s}}\)\(\text{\textit{i}}\)\(\text{\textit{a}}\) will replace the \(j\) of \(i j + t a\) by \(s\): \((i a \rightarrow i) (j \rightarrow s) + t a + s\text{\textit{U}} = i s + t a + s\text{\textit{U}}\). The \(t\) of the affix \((K)a\text{\textit{t}}\) will be replaced by \(t\) by 8.4.41 ś\(\text{\textit{u}}\)\(\text{\textit{n}}\)\(\text{\textit{ā}}\) st\(\text{\textit{u}}\)\(\text{\textit{hi}}\). The result will be i\(\text{\textit{ṣ}}\)\(\text{\textit{ta}}\), which will be treated as neuter (napum\(\text{\textit{m}}\)\(\text{\textit{a}}\)\(\text{\textit{k}}\)a), and as such, \(s\text{\textit{U}}\) introduced after it will be replaced with \(a m\) by 7.1.24 āt\(\text{\textit{m}}\): i\(\text{\textit{ṣ}}\)\(\text{\textit{ta}}\) + \((s\text{\textit{U}} \rightarrow a m) = i\text{\textit{ṣ}}\)\(\text{\textit{ta}}\) + \(a m\). Now 6.1.107 \(a m\) p\(\text{\textit{ā}}\)\(\text{\textit{r}}\)\(\text{\textit{v}}\)\(\text{\textit{a}}\)\(\text{\textit{h}}\) can apply to yield i\(\text{\textit{ṣ}}\) \((a + a \rightarrow a)m = i\text{\textit{ṣ}}\)\(\text{\textit{tam}}\).

The same set of rules apply in deriving u\(\text{\textit{pt}}\)\(\text{\textit{am}}\) from \((\text{\textit{v}}\text{\textit{a}}\text{\textit{p}} + K\text{\textit{a}}) + s\text{\textit{U}}\) and gr\(\text{\textit{hit}}\)\(\text{\textit{am}}\) from \((\text{\textit{gr}}\text{\textit{a}}\text{\textit{h}} + K\text{\textit{a}}) + s\text{\textit{U}}\) where \(v\) and \(r\) of \(\text{\textit{v}}\text{\textit{a}}\text{\textit{p}}\) and \(\text{\textit{gr}}\text{\textit{a}}\text{\textit{h}}\) have been replaced by their corresponding samprasa\(\text{\textit{ra}}\)\(\text{\textit{ra}}\)\(\text{\textit{n}}\) vowels. One should note here that in deriving gr\(\text{\textit{hit}}\)\(\text{\textit{am}}\), the following rules also apply. Rule 7.2.35 ārdh
dh\(\text{\textit{a}}\)\(\text{\textit{h}}\)\(\text{\textit{ā}}\)\(\text{\textit{k}}\)\(\text{\textit{a}}\)\(\text{\textit{s}}\)\(\text{\textit{a}}\)\(\text{\textit{y}}\)\(\text{\textit{a}}\)... introduces the augment \(i(T \rightarrow \emptyset)\) at the end (1.1.46 ā\(\text{\textit{dy}}\)\(\text{\textit{an}}\)\(\text{\textit{t}}\)\(\text{\textit{au}}\)... of gr\(\text{\textit{h}}\) of gr\(\text{\textit{h}}\) + ta. Given the string gr\(\text{\textit{h}}\) + i + ta, 7.2.37 graho' \(l\)\(i\) \(l\)\(i\) \(d\)\(i\) \(r\)\(g\)\(h\) will cause the short \(i\) to be replaced by long \(i\). Thus: gr\(\text{\textit{h}}\) + \((i \rightarrow i) + t a = gr\text{\textit{hi}}\text{\textit{ta}} + \((s\text{\textit{U}} \rightarrow a m) = gr\text{\textit{hit}}\text{\textit{a}}(a + a \rightarrow a) m = gr\text{\textit{hit}}\text{\textit{am}}\).

For details concerning the placement of the affix K\(\text{\textit{a}}\), see the examples under 1.1.26 kt\(\text{\textit{a}}\)\(\text{\textit{t}}\)\(\text{\textit{a}}\) v\(\text{\textit{a}}\)\(\text{\textit{t}}\)\(\text{\textit{a}}\)\(\text{\textit{t}}\)\(\text{\textit{ā}}\)\(\text{\textit{n}}\) n\(\text{\textit{s}}\)\(\text{\textit{t}}\)\(\text{\textit{h}}\)\(\text{\textit{ā}}\).

**Scope:** 6.4.131 vac\(\text{\textit{о}}\)\(\text{\textit{s}}\) samprasa\(\text{\textit{ra}}\)\(\text{\textit{n}}\)am, and so on.

1.1.46 आद्यात्म कालिनात्रे
 ाद्यात्म कालिनात्रे
 /ād\(\text{\textit{y}}\)\(\text{\textit{a}}\)\(\text{\textit{t}}\)\(\text{\textit{a}}\)\(\text{\textit{t}}\)\(\text{\textit{a}}\)\(\text{\textit{t}}\)\(\text{\textit{a}}\)\(\text{\textit{t}}\)\(\text{\textit{a}}\)/
 /ā\(\text{\textit{d}}\)\(\text{\textit{s}}\) तिद bhavati antaḥ kid bhavati saś\(\text{\textit{th}}\)ी nirdi\(\text{\textit{s}}\)\(\text{\textit{t}}\)\(\text{\textit{s}}\)\(\text{\textit{a}}\)

Elements marked with T 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 sāṣṭhi sthāneyogā. We infer from 1.1.49 that:

(a) substitution rules specify a substituendum (sthānī) by marking it with genitive (sāṣṭhi), 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 ḳ, 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 ḳ should be introduced as the final (antya) element of its substituendum. Since these items marked with ṭ or ḳ do not replace an item marked with genitive, they can hardly be considered as substitutes (ādeśa).

The tradition calls them augments (vikarana).

Consider the derivation of karitā (see appendix under rule 1.1.6 didhi...) where, given the string kān + 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 ārdhadhātukam śeṣaḥ). In view of 1.1.49 sāṣṭhi..., 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: kān + tās + ā → 7.2.35 ārdhadhātukasya..., # 1.1.46 adyaṇtau... = kān + (iṬ + tās) + ā.

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

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 bhīyo hetubhaye śuk, and so on.

1.1.47 भिलोचन्याययः

midaco' ntyāt parah
/m/it 1/1 acaḥ 6/1 antyāt 5/1 parah 1/1/
acaḥ sanmucchastam 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:

\[ \text{vīruṇāddhi} \text{ 'he obstructs, blocks...} \]
\[ \text{muṇicati} \text{ 'he releases} \]
\[ \text{prayāṃsi} \text{ 'nom. pl. of payas 'milk'} \]

1. This too is a prior exception to 1.1.49 śāṣṭhī 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 (antiya) 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 sārvadātukā (3.4.113 tiņśū...) affix expressing agent follows. For example, at step (c) of the derivation of viruṇāddhi, the string is virudh + ti, where rudh is a root of the rudhādi class used with the preverb vi, and ti is a following sārvadātukā 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 pratyayah) 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 pratyayah 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 (1:164) means by ...pratyayapatrasyaśām āpavādah. 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 śāṣṭhi sthāneyogā and 3.1.2 paraś ca. In our cited examples, viruṇāddhi 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', guna 'quality', or kriyā '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, manusyaṁ in manuṣyaṁ ksatriyaḥ sūratamah 'a ksatriya 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 एवं इम्महस्थादेशे
\[ eca \text{ ig hrasvādeśe} \]
\textit{lecāh} 6.1/1 \textit{ik} 1/1 \textit{hrasvādeśe} 7/1/
\textit{eco} \textit{hrasvādeśe} \textit{kartavya ig eva} \textit{hrasvo bhavati nānyaḥ}

If a short vowel is to replace an \textit{eC} (\textit{e}, \textit{o}, \textit{ai}, \textit{au}; and a substitute is not specified), \textit{iK} (\textit{i}, \textit{u}, \textit{r}, \textit{l}) alone is to be understood as a replacement.

\textbf{Examples:}

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textit{atiri} 'he who has excelled riches'
  \item \textit{atīnu} 'he who has excelled boating'
  \item \textit{upagu} 'a name; near the cow'
\end{itemize}

1. The function of this interpretation rule is to restrict the selection of short replacements for vowels denoted by \textit{eC}. Therefore, according to this rule, whenever a short vowel replacement is ordered for \textit{e}, \textit{ai}, \textit{o}, or \textit{au}, the replacement must be a vowel denoted by \textit{iK} (\textit{i}, \textit{u}, \textit{r}, \textit{l}). Ancient phoneticians (\textit{sīkṣākāras}) describe \textit{e} and \textit{ai} as \textit{kauṭhatālāvya} 'palatal-velar' and \textit{o} and \textit{au} as \textit{kauṭhyōṣṭhya} 'labio-velar'.

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

Actually, invoking 1.3.10 will be useless because 1.1.48 rules a restriction (\textit{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 \textit{eC} are ordered. According to 1.3.10, \textit{ai} and \textit{au} should be replaced by \textit{r} and \textit{l}. However, \textit{r} and \textit{l} cannot be proper substitutes for \textit{ai} and \textit{au} because they will not be most similar to \textit{ai} and \textit{au}. What will be most similar to \textit{ai} and \textit{au} is \textit{ai} and \textit{au}. We have already indicated that \textit{a} is out because it is not denoted by \textit{iK}.

This leaves us with \textit{i} and \textit{u} as proper short substitutes for \textit{ai} and \textit{au}. We already know that \textit{i} and \textit{u} are also the proper short substitutes for \textit{e} and \textit{o}. This amounts to saying that the proper short substitute for \textit{eC} are \textit{i} and \textit{u}.

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

2. Among our cited examples, \textit{atiri} and \textit{atīnu} are \textit{tatpuruṣa} compounds specifically known as \textit{pradī} compounds. According to a \textit{vārttika} on 2.2.18 \textit{kugatipradayāḥ}, \textit{ati} + \textit{sU} can be combined with a \textit{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 upasaranjanam pāravam will identify ati + sŪ as upasarjana, and hence the order becomes: ati + sŪ + rai + am and ati + sŪ + nau + am. Rule 1.2.46 kṛtaddhīta... will identify the strings as nominal stems, and 2.4.71 supo dhātuv... will delete the endings, resulting in the forms atirai and atinau, to which 1.2.47 hrasvo napūmsahe... 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) = atirī, and atin(au → u) = atinu. Given the string atirī + sŪ and atinu + sŪ, 7.1.23 svamor napūmsakāt will delete both the endings: atirī + (sŪ → θ) = atirī, and atinu + (sŪ → θ) = 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 avayayibhāvas 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 avayayibhāvas ca, the sŪ introduced after it will be deleted by 2.4.82 avayād... Thus: upagu + (sŪ → θ) = upagu.

1.1.49 वष्णू ज्ञानेयोगा

ṣaṣṭhi sthāneyogā
dsāṣṭhi 1/1 sthāneyogā 1/1/
iha sāstre yā ṣaṣṭhi aniyatayogā śṛṣṭyate sā sthāneyogaiva bhavati nānyayogā
sthāneyogamitimittabhūte sāti 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 (ṣaṣṭhi). A genitive may denote any of several relationships. For example, it may denote relationships such as svavāmi ‘owner-owned’, anantara ‘in between’, samīpa ‘proximity’, samūha ‘collection’, vikāra ‘modification’, avayāva ‘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 *bṛuvahvacīḥ*, where *asti* and *bṛū* 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 (*niyatayuγas*) 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 bṛū' (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 स्थानेन्दिःतत्तमः:

sthāne'ntraratamah

|sthāne 7/1 antaratamah 1/1 |
sthāne prāpyamāṇānām antaratama ādeśo bhavati sadṛṣatamah

A substitute (ādeśa) which is to replace a substituendum (sthānin) must be most similar to the substituendum.

**EXAMPLES:**

dandaigram 'top or front of the stick'
yūpagram 'top or front of the ritual post'
vāṇaṇyayuvatiḥ 'the young grand-daughter of Vataṇḍa'
amuśmai 'dat. sg. of adas 'that' amūbhyaṁ '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 (pramāṇaṛka).

For example, given the strings danda + agram and yuṇa + agram, 6.1.101 ahaś savaner dirghaḥ will apply. This rule states that when sounds denoted by aK (a, i, u, r, ṭ) 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 dandaigram 'top or front of the stick', and yuṇagram '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 kanṭhya 'velar'.

Similarity can also be determined on the basis of artha 'signification'. Consider the derivation of (174) vāṇaṇyayuvatiḥ, where the base is vāṇaṇyayuvati, a karmadhārasyataṭpuruṣa (1.2.42 tapṣuṣah...) compound derived by combining vataṇḍi + sU with yuvati + sU. After the compound
formation, the endings are deleted. Rule 6.3.42 *pumvat karmadhāraya*...then applies to replace *vataṇḍi* with its corresponding masculine form. One would naturally think that *vataṇḍa* would be the right form. However, that does not denote *apatyā* 'offspring', which *vataṇḍi* does. As a result, one must select *vātaṇḍya*, a masculine form which also denotes *apatyā*, as a replacement for *vataṇḍi*.

Examples of similarity based on sound quality (*guna*) and duration (*pramāṇa*) are not difficult to find. Consider 7.3.52 *cajoh ku ghinyatoḥ* which under certain conditions causes the final *c* or *j* of a root to be replaced by *kU* (*k, kh, g, gh, ŋ; see 1.1.69 *anudīt*...). 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 *alpa-prāṇatva* '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) *amusmai*, where the string is *ada + smai*. Rule 8.2.80 *adasa* '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 *anudīt*... that items which do not constitute an affix, but are denoted by *aN* 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(N → Ø) + tr(C → Ø) = ci + tr*, and *stu(N → Ø) + tr(C → Ø) = stu + tr*, 7.3.84 *sārvadhātukārdhadhātukayoḥ... orders a guna* replacement for *i* and *u*. There could be two possibilities for both *i* and *u*. They are: *ale* and *alo*.

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 उष्णपरः:

ur an raparah

/uh 6/1 an 1/1 raparáh 1/1/
(sthāne # 49)

uh śthāneṇa praśajyāmaṇa eva raparo veditavyah

If aN (a, i, u) comes as a substitute in place of r, it is automatically followed by r.

EXAMPLES:

kartā 'he who does'
hartā 'he who takes away'
kirati 'he scatters around'
girati 'he swallows'
dvaímāturah 'he who is the son of two mothers'
traimāturah 'he who is the son of three mothers'

1. Nyāsa (I:175-76) suggests three possible interpretations of this rule.

(a) r → aN followed by r

uh śthāne an raparatau ca anenobhayam vidhiyate

aN as a substitute in place of r as well as the immediately following r, both ordered by this very rule'

(b) aN → aNr

lakṣaṇāntarenā vihitasyān, uh śthāne paścād anena raparataṃvātram kriyate

'some other rule orders the replacement in aN after which the following r alone is ordered by this rule'

(c) r → aN (by some other rule), and aN → aNr (1.1.51) uh śthāne lakṣaṇāntarenā vidhiyāmaṇo n eva tena lakṣaṇāntarenā saha samhataya raparatavavisṣṭo' nena bhāvyate

'this rule joins the other rule, which orders a replacement for r in aN, to bring about concurrently the r that is to follow aN'

Of these three interpretations the first orders both the concurrent replacement of r as well as the following r by aN. 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) uh śthāneṇa eva bhavati, sa ca rapara iti

aN with a following r alone comes in place of r'

Scholars agree that a replacement in aN for r 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 aN (a, i, u) which replaces r must concurrently
be followed by \( r \). A replacement for \( r \) can be ordered either by specifying it with the term \textit{guna} or by specifying it by one of the denotata of \( aN \). The two specifications can be summarized by the following statements.

(a) let \textit{guna} 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 \textit{sārvadhātukārddhadhātukayoḥ} orders a \textit{guna} replacement for the final vowel of a presuffixal base (\textit{aṅga}) before an affix termed \textit{sārvadhātuka} (3.4.113 \textit{tiṅśit...}) or \textit{ārddhadhātuka} (3.4.114 ārddhadhātukam śeṣah). Thus \textit{karitā} is derived from \( kr + krC \) where the \( r \) of \( kr \) is replaced by its \textit{guna} 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 \( r \), consider the derivations of \textit{kirati} from \( kr + a + ti \), and \textit{dvaimāturaḥ} from \( dvimātr + aN \). In these derivations \( i \) and \( u \) replacements have been ordered for the \( r \) by rules 7.1.100 \( rt id dhātoḥ \) and 4.1.115 \( mātūr ut\ldots \) respectively. For details of the above derivations see the appendix.

Note in connection with (a) that \textit{guna} refers to \( a \), \( e \), and \( o \) (1.1.2 \textit{adeḥ...}). When a \textit{guna} is ordered as a substitute for \( r \), the question as to which one of the three shall be the substitute is resolved by resorting to 1.1.50 \textit{sthāne' ntarātmaḥ}, whereby \( a \) is selected as a proper \textit{guna} substitute for \( r \).

1.1.52 अन्तर्गत्वयः

\texttt{alo' ntyasya}

\texttt{/alāh 6/1 antyasya 6/1/}

(\texttt{saṣṭhi \# 49})

\texttt{saṣṭhi nirdāḍyasya ya ucya te ādesaḥ so' ntyasyālah sthāne veditavyaḥ}

A substitute ordered for an item in \textit{saṣṭhi} 'genitive' comes in place of its final \( aL \) ('sound segment'; see Ss, 1-14).

Refer to the notes under 1.1.55.

EXAMPLES:

\textit{pañca-gonṛḥ} 'purchased for a price of five \textit{gonṛ} (sacks)'

\textit{daśa-gonṛḥ} 'purchased for a price of ten \textit{gonṛ}''

See the derivations for details concerning this rule.

1.1.53 हिक्क

\texttt{nīc ca}

\texttt{/hit 1/1 ca 0/}

(\texttt{alo' ntyasya \# 52; saṣṭhi \# 49})

\texttt{nīc ca ya ādesaḥ so' nekāl api alo' ntyasya bhavati}

A substitute marked with \( N \) and ordered for an item in \textit{saṣṭhi} 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 अदे: परस्य
ādeḥ parasya
lādek 6/1/ parasya 6/1/
(alah # 52; śaṣṭhi # 49)
parasya kāryaṃ sīyamāṇam āder alah pratetavyam
A substitute ordered for a following item comes in place of its initial al.

EXAMPLES:

āśīnāḥ ‘seated’
dvīpaṃ ‘island; that which has water on two sides’
antarīpaṃ ‘part of land stretching out into the sea’
samīpaṃ ‘near’

See also the relevant notes under 1.1.55.

1.1.55 अनेकालिणात्सर्वस्य
anekaḥ śit sarvasya
lanekaḥ 1/1 śit 1/1 sarvasya 6/1/
(śaṣṭhi # 49)
anekaḥ ya ādesaḥ sic ca sarvasya śaṣṭhi nirdiṣṭasya sthāne bhavati
A substitute ordered for an item in śaṣṭhi comes in place of the entire item when it (the substitute) consists of more than one al or is marked with Ś.

EXAMPLES:

bhavitaḥ ‘that which is to be, become’
bhavitum ‘for being, becoming...’
bhaviavam ‘ought to be, become’
kunda ‘nom. pl. neut. of kunda’

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 śaṣṭhi 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 *aṅga nyāsa* 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 ā 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 ā 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 Š, 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 ā 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 ā-ū, while 1.1.55 would apply because the substitute consisted of more than one sound segment.

Let us consider the derivation of *jīvātāt*, which underlies the string *jīv + LOT → jīv + tu → jīv + a-(tu → tāt)*. The affix tātāN is marked with ā 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 *vipratīṣedhē parām kāryam*, whereby tātāN 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 ā (1.1.53) or Š (1.1.55) and does not consist of more than one sound segment.
(b) 1.1.53 governs a substitute which is marked with ā and does not consist of more than one sound segment.
(c) 1.1.55 governs a substitute which is either marked with Š 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 *dvī + ap*, where 6.3.97 *dvānterupāsargabhya ap it* requires that it comes in place of *ap* occurring after *dvī, antar*, or items termed *upasarga* 'preverbs'. Note here that *apah* of 6.3.97 is not only placed in the genitive but also required as following *dvī* and so on. Since both of these conditions are met,
ᵰ comes in place of the initial sound segment of \( \text{ap} \), the \( \text{a} \). 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 \( \text{para} \) 'subsequent, following'. This is the reason why \( \text{Kāśikā} \) explicitly states that a replacement operation is given with reference to ‘what follows’ by specification in the ablative (\( \text{pañcamī} \)). 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 \( \text{tasmād ity uttarasya} \). Let us consider 6.3.97 \( \text{dvantarūpasargabhya ap it} \). which I now represent as follows:

\[ \text{dvantarūpa-sarga} \text{ap, it} \]

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

\[ X_{9/3} Y_{6/1} Z_{1/1} \]

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 \( \text{jaś śasāḥ śīḥ} \), and so on.

1.1.56 स्थानिवदादेशोऽनलिखित

\( \text{sthānivad ādeoḥ' nalvidhau} \)

\( \text{/sthānivat ō ādeśāḥ 1/1 analvidhau 7/1} \)

\( \text{sthānivad ādeoḥ bhavati sthāny āśrayasyu kāryeṣu analāśrayeṣu sthānyalāśrayaṁ kāryāṇi varjayītvā} \)

A substitute is treated like a substituend except when an operation relative to an original sound (\( \text{aL} \)) is to be performed.

**EXAMPLES:**

\( \text{dyukāmaḥ 'he who wishes for heaven'} \)

\( \text{kā īṣṭāḥ 'who has been worshipped?'} \)

\( \text{dyauḥ 'heaver'} \)

\( \text{mahoraskena 'by the one who has a broad chest'} \)

\( \text{kena 'inst. sg. of kim 'what, who'} \)

\( \text{kābhyaṁ 'inst. du. of kim'} \)

\( \text{kaiḥ 'inst. pl. of kim'} \)

\( \text{prakṛtya 'having made properly'} \)

\( \text{prakṛtya 'having taken away properly'} \)

\( \text{dādhikam 'mixed with yogurt'} \)

\( \text{advatanam 'latest, relating to today'} \)

\( \text{vṛksāya 'dat. sg. of vṛkṣa 'tree'} \)


plaksāya '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 (stānīn). 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 Kāśīkā (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) taddhīta ‘secondary affix’, (5) avyaya ‘indeclinable’, (6) sUP ‘nominal ending’, (7) tiN ‘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 tatpurusa compound derived from (al + ṭa + 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 tatpurusa compound derived from (al + ńasī + 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 tatpurusa compound derived from (al + ńasī + 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 tatpurusa compound derived from (al + ni + vidhi + sū) + sū.
Example: (209) ha istsaḥ ‘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 अव: परसिम्यूति
acah parasmin pūrvavidhau
/acah 6/1 parasmin 7/1 pūrvavidhau 7/1
(stānīvad ōdeśah # 56)
ajādeśah paranimittakah pūrvavidhau kartavye stānīvad 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:**
- *patayati* 'he speaks eloquently'
- *avadhīt* 'he killed'
- *bahukhaṭvakah* '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 पदान्तविद्वाकरुणवर्तीयलोपस्वरस्वर्णानुस्वरादीर्धन्तब्रविधिषु

\[na \text{ पदान्ता... vidhiṣu 7/1} \]

\((a)\text{ caḥ parasmin pūrvavidhau \# 57; sthānīsad ādesāḥ \# 56)}
\(pade\text{ antaḥ, padāntaḥ (loc. tatpuruṣa); padāntaḥ ca dvirvacanaṃ ca, vare ca, ya-lopaś ca, svaraś ca, savaṇṇaś ca, anusvāraś ca, dirghaś ca, jaś ca, ca}
\(ca = \text{padāntadvirvacana...carah; eteśāṃ vidhayah teṣu = padāntadvirvacana...vidhiṣu (gen. tatpurusa with internal duandva)}
\(pūrvenātiprasaktah sthānīvadbhāva teṣu vidhiṣu pratiṣidhyate\)

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 *suptihantam...*),
- (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 sound\(ś\) denoted by *cR*.

**Examples:**
- *kau staḥ* 'who are those two'
- *yau staḥ* 'the two who are...'
- *daddhy atra* 'there is yogurt here'
maddhu atra ‘there is honey here’
suddhy upāsyaḥ ‘to be revered by the learned,
yāyāvarah ‘gypsy; one who is always wandering’
kandāṭih ‘scratching, itching’
cikīrṣakah ‘he who is desirous of doing, making’
jihīrṣakah ‘he who is desirous of taking away’
sīndhi ‘may you distinguish’
pīndhi ‘may you grind it to powder’
sīmsanti ‘they are distinguishing’
pratidīvam ‘inst. sg. of pratidivam ‘sun, day, gambler’
sadhiḥ ‘eating together’
babdham ‘may they (two) eat, shine’
jaksatuh ‘they two ate’
jaksuh ‘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 supṭiṁnantam padam);
(b) dvirvacana-vidhi ‘operation concerning doubling (of a syllable)’;
(c) vare-vidhi ‘operation concerning the affix varaC’ (3.2.175 sthe-
sabhāsa...);
(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) savarna-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 द्विरवचनेनेवि
dvirvacane’ci
/dvirvacane/ 7/1 aci 7/1/

(acaḥ # 57; sthānivad ādeśah # 56)

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:

papatuh ‘they (two) protected’
papuh ‘they protected’
jaghnatuḥ ‘they (two) killed’
jaghnuh ‘they killed’
ātiṭat ‘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 asamyogāl līṣ... 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(ā → ∅) = 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 līṭi 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 papuh from pā + us.

In deriving jaghnatuḥ or jaghnuh from han + atus and han + us, the penultimate (upadhā) a of han is deleted. The resultant strings h(a→∅)m +atus and h (a→∅)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)ātiṭat), 6.1.2 ayāder dvitīyasya cannot apply to yield ā + tī + t + a + t unless, for purposes of doubling, the zero substitute of i (NiC) 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 (upadha) vowel, 
(c) zero which replaces the i of NiC (ni-lopa), and,  
(d) ay, av, ay, and av which replace eC (e, o, ai, and au; ayavayavadea).

3. Bhaṭṭoji Dikṣita accepts a different interpretation of this rule in his Siddhānta Kaumudi (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 अदर्शनेन लोपः:  
adarśanam lopah  
/adarśanam 1/1 lopah 1/1/  
adarśanam āśravaṇam anuccāraṇam anupalabdhir abhāvo  
varnaṉiṇāśa ity anarthāntaram etaiḥ śabdair yo’rtho’  
bhidhiyate tasya lopa itiṣya samjñē bhavati  
Non-appearance (adarśana) is termed LOPA.

EXAMPLES:

gaudherah ‘male (offspring of an) alligator’  
jiradānuḥ ‘he who lives’  
āśremāṇam ‘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’, āśravaṇa ‘non-audibility’, anuccāraṇa ‘non-articulation, anupalabdhi ‘non-availability’, abhāva ‘non-existence’, and varnaṉiṇāśa ‘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 svam rūpaṃ śabdasya... according to which an item in this grammar, except when it is a samjñē ‘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) gaudherah), 6.1.66 lopa 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 lopah as he does elsewhere (see 1.1.44 na vā-iti vibhāṣā, 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 vibhāṣā by mandūkaptuti ‘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 NiC 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. 1, Chap. 6.

SCOPE: 6.1.66 lopo vyor vali, and so on.

1.1.61 प्रत्ययस्य लक्ष्ललुप:  
pratyayasya lukślalupah  
lukślalupah 1/1 (luk ca slu ca lup ca)/  
pratyayādarsanasya luk slu lup ity etāḥ samjñā bhavanti  
Non-appearance of an affix is termed LUK, ŠLU, or LUP.

EXAMPLES:

atti ‘he eats’  
juhoti ‘he offers’  
varanāḥ ‘a village located in the proximity of the varana trees’

1. The deletion (LOPA) of an affix is hereby assigned three names: LUK, ŠLU, 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 ŠLU 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 yaṇah..., commonly known as anyonya-
śrayata v 'interdependency'. LUK, ŚLU, and LUP are names assigned to affi-
xial 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 (samjñā) is treated as
'yet to be brought about' (bhāvini).

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 juhotyādibhyāḥ sūh, and so on.
of LUP — 4.2.81 janapade lūp, and so on.

1.1.62 प्रत्ययलोपे प्रत्ययलक्षणम

pratyayalope pratyayalaksanam
/pratyayalope 7/1 pratyayalaksanam 1/1/
pratyayalope kṛte pratyayalaksanam pratyayahetukam
kāryam bhavati

An operation conditioned by an affix applies even if the affix has
been replaced by zero.

EXAMPLES:

āc nīcīt 'he who heaped the fire'
somasut 'he who pressed soma'
adhok 'he milked'
āghniyā 'I may strike'
saṅgmiyā '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, agnicīt '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 suptinān-
tam padam assigns the name pada to those items which end either in a sUP
or a tiN. Since agnicīt and somasut no longer terminate in a sUP, they cannot
be assigned the name pada. Rule 1.1.61 makes this name assignment pos-
sible. A similar situation obtains with adhok 'he milked', where a tiN ending
is deleted. Again, 1.1.62 allows adhok to be called a pada. For further illustra-
tion of how else 1.1.62 allows an effect to obtain even though its cause was
removed, see the full derivation of agnicīt, etc.

2. Instead of treating it as a recurrent (anuvṛtti) element from 1.1.64,
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 (*pratyayaikadesalopa). Consider the derivation of āgnīya, first person singular optative of ā + han, where the augment *stiUT 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 saṅgmiya. For details of these derivations, see the appendix. Also note that what Kāśikā says here is discussed in the Mahābhāṣya.

3. Pāṇini uses the *pratyayalakaṇa 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 + sū. Similarly, rai loses its genitive while combining with kula + sū. The dative and genitive endings are (N) and (Nas) respectively. If the compounds are not formed, go + (N) e and rai + (N) as would yield go + e = gave and rai + as = rāya(s → h) = rāyah. These forms result by applying 6.1.78 *eco' yavōyāvah.

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 *raykulam. 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 लुप्ताङ्गाय
na lumatāṅgasya
Vna O lumatā 3/1 aṅgasya 6/1
lumatā śabdena lupte pratyaye yad aṅgaṃ tasya
pratyayalakaṇam 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:

gargaḥ 'many grandsons of Garga'
mṛṣṭah 'they two wipe'
juhutah '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 āṅga, 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 āṅga is assigned is different from the affix which conditions an operation.

Consider the derivation of gargaḥ, where affix yaN is introduced after garga and later deleted by 2.4.64 yaṇaṇaś ca. Given the string garga + (j)as from which one derives gargaḥ, 7.1.17 taddhīteṣu... may require the vṛddhi replacement for the first a of gargaḥ. This will be under the provisions of 1.1.62. However, since garga is an āṅga and the deletion of the affix yaN 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 āṅga. This should not be interpreted as non-application of operational rules contained in the āṅga domain (6.4.1 āṅgasya through 7.4.97 ica ganaḥ). Rule 1.1.63 blocks all operations which may obtain on an āṅga 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 āṅga domain or not. For example, 1.1.63 blocks the application of the vṛddhi rule 7.1.17, which is contained in the āṅga domain, but it also blocks the application of 6.1.197 nityādir nityam, which is not contained in the āṅga domain. This rule obligatorily assigns high pitch (udātta) to the initial syllable of an āṅga before an affix marked with N or N. It is not contained in the āṅga domain yet it is blocked by 1.1.63 from assigning high pitch accent to the initial syllable of gargaḥ.

1.1.64 अवोध्यादिति
acontīyaḍī ti
/acaḥ 6/1/ (see note 2 of 1.1.47 midaco...); antyāḍī 1/1 ti 1/1/
acām sannivṛṣṭānām yo ’ntyo’ c tadādi śabdārisam tiṣamjñām bhavati
That part of an item which begins with its last vowel (aC) is termed ti.

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 ti to a syllable formed by the last among the vowels of an item. That is, ti is assigned to the last syllable of an item. The genitive in acaḥ denotes nirdhārana ‘singing 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 \( vyrtti: \) \( acāṃ \) (sānṇivistānām) 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 (samānajātiya). 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 \( tī \) would apply only to those items which contain more than one vowel. This is mostly because \( anūya \) ‘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 \( tī. \) It is to allow the assignment of \( tī \) 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 (ayam me jyesthah, ayameva me kaniṣṭhah). 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 \( tī \) by such rules as 6.4.143 \( sēḥ \) and 7.1.88 \( bhāṣya τερ lopaḥ. \) This term \( tī \) is also instrumental in the \( e \) replacement of \( ātmanepada \) terminations marked with \( T. \) For details see the derivations under this rule in the appendix.

SCOPE: 3.4.79 \( tīt ātmanepadānām te, \) and so on.

1.1.65 अतोलैन्यात्युर्गुप्त उपधा

\[ alo’ ntyāt pūrva upadhā \]
\[ /alaḥ 5/1 antyāt 5/1 pūrva 1/1 upadhā 1/1/ \]
\[ dhātvādaus varṇasamudāye nyāyād alaḥ pūrvo yo varṇaḥ so’ \]
\[ lopadhāsamyōn bhavati \]

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 \( bhud \) ‘to know, to awake’, and \( yudh \) ‘to fight’, \( u \) is \( upadhā \)
in \( vṛt \) ‘to be, to roll’ and \( vṛdh \) ‘to grow’, \( r \) is \( upadhā \)

1. The above constitute examples of \( rūpodāharana, \) where this rule assigns the term \( upadhā \) to a given form \( (rūpa). \) For functional examples \( (kāryodāharana), \) where the term is assigned to a form resulting from rule application, refer to derivatives like \( pācakah, \) and \( bhedakah. \)
In \( \text{pāca kaḥ} \), rule 7.2.116 \textit{ata upadhayāḥ} orders the long replacement for the short \( a \) of \( \text{pac} + \text{aka} \). Similarly, given the string \( \text{bhid} + \text{aka} \), rule 7.3.86 \textit{puganta...} would order the \textit{guna} replacement for the short vowel termed \textit{upadhā}. Thus we will get: \( \text{bh}(\rightarrow \text{a})\text{id} + \text{aka} = \text{bhedaka} \). Further function of the assignment of the term \textit{upadhā} can be witnessed in the derivation of \textit{śīga} ‘learned’, where the penultimate long \( a \) of the root \( \text{śās} \) is replaced by short \( \dot{a} \). It is thus clear that the function of assigning the term \textit{upadhā} is to facilitate the application of rules whereby ‘\textit{ātva} replacement in \( \dot{a} \)’, \textit{gunādeśā} ‘replacement in a \textit{guna}’, and \textit{ītva} ‘replacement in \( \dot{a} \)’ are ordered. You will find many derivations involving these operations in the appendix.

**SCOPE:** 7.2.116 \textit{ata upadhayāḥ}

1.1.66 \textit{तस्मिन्न इति निर्दिṣ्टेऽपरवस्य}

\textit{tasminn iti nirdiṣṭe pūrvasya}

\textit{tasmin 7/1 iti 0 nirdiṣṭe 7/1 pūrvasya 6/1/}

\textit{tasmin iti saptamanyarhanirdeśe pūrvasyaiva kāryam bhavati nottarasya}

An element which is referred to by a locative (\textit{saptami}) form is understood as a right context for an operation on that which precedes it.

**EXAMPLES:**

- \textit{daddy udakam} ‘yogurt and water’
- \textit{maddhu idam} ‘this is honey’
- \textit{pacat odanam} ‘he cooks rice’

1. \textit{Pāṇini’s} use of the word \textit{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, \textit{X-iti} means the word form \( X \). However, according to the usages in the \textit{Āṣṭādhyāyi}, \textit{X-iti} means ‘the meaning of the word from \( X \)’ (see 1.1.43 \textit{na vā iti vibhāṣā}, etc.).

2. \textit{Pāṇini} makes extensive use of the pronouns \textit{yat} and \textit{tat} as variables. He marks them with different endings to indicate differing values they can be assigned for purposes of specific operations. Thus, \textit{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 \textit{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 \textit{iko yan aci}, where \textit{ac} in the locative serves as the right context for an operation characterized by a replacement denoted by \textit{yN} (\textit{yanākaryā}). The present rule also specifies that \textit{yN} should come in the place of (1.1.49 \textit{ṣaṣṭhi}...) that \textit{iK} which immediately precedes the \textit{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 pacatyodananam, where the locus of yN-kārya is the vowel preceding the initial vowels of the words udakam, idam, and odanam.

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

1.1.67 \textit{tasmād ity uttarasya}
\textit{tasmād 5/1 iti} \textit{0 uttarasya 6/1/}
(nirdiśe \# 66)
\textit{tasmād iti pāncaṁyarthanirdesā uttarasyaiva kāryam 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 odanam pacati ‘he cooks rice’ as an example where 8.1.28 tiṇi atiṇah assigns low pitch (anudatta) 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 atiṇah in 8.1.28 is in the ablative. As a result, 8.1.28 is interpreted as: ‘a \textit{pada} which terminates in a verbal ending (tiN), and follows a \textit{pada} which does not terminate in a verbal ending, has no high pitched vowel’. That is, 8.1.28 can assign blanket anudatta 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 anudatta 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 (udatta) to a in pac. Low pitch is assigned to both a (of SaP) 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 anudatta.

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

1.1.68 \textit{svam rūpam śabdasya aśabdasmajñā}
\textit{svam 1/1 rūpam 1/1 śabdasya 6/1 aśabdasmajñā 1/1/}
\textit{śastre svam eva rūpam śabdasya grāhyam bodhyam pratyāśyam bhavati na bāhyo’ rthah śabdasmajñām varjyaitvā}

A word other than one which is a technical term (samjñā) 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.

Kāśıka explains the implications of this rule by citing 4.2.33 agner ḍhak and 4.2.19 uḍaśvito' nyatarasyām. Rule 4.2.33 introduces a taddhita (4.1.76 taddhitaḥ) affix (3.1.1 pratyayah) ḍhaK after a nominative form (3.1.2 paraś ca) to derive a word meaning 'whose deity is' (4.2.23 sāṣya 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 ḍhaK after the nominal stem (4.1.1 ṭyāp...) uḍaśvīt 'buttermilk'. Now, in view of 1.1.68, this affix cannot be introduced after takra, arīṣṭa, kālaśepa, dandaḥata, or mathita, which are synonyms of uḍaśvīt.

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 (samjñin) and not their form (samjñā). 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) hjit '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, vrksa may be treated as marked with S (vrksaS), and when cited in rules such as 2.4.12 vi- bhāṣa vrksa-marga... can only represent a particular kind of tree. It constitutes an exception to 1.1.68 because it does not represent its own form, vrksa, nor does it represent any one of its synonyms.
(b) *pit*: Items marked with *P* represent themselves (*svarūpa*) and their synonyms (*parīśya*) as well as particular members (*tadviśesa*) within their genus. Thus the word *sva* ‘wealth’ has been cited in 3.4.40 *sve puṣah*. This word is treated as if it were-marked with *P*. As a consequence, it may represent either itself or its synonyms, such as *ra* 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 (*parīśya*). 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 *īvara*. It does not represent itself, nor particular members within its genus, that is, individual kings. Thus, one can have a compound such as *īvarasabham* ‘the assembly of kings’, but not *rājasabham*. Similarly, *candrauguptasabham* ‘the assembly of King Candragupta’ is disallowed.

(d) *jhit*: Items marked *JH* represent only themselves (*svarūpa*) and particular members (*tadviśesa*) within their genus. Thus, 4.4.35 *paksimatsya...* cites words such as *paksin* ‘bird’ and *matsya* ‘fish’. These words can refer to themselves, as is the case in *pāksikah* ‘he who kills birds’, but they may also refer to particular members within their genus, as is attested to by *sākunikah* ‘he who kills the Śakuni birds’. It is interesting to note that in the case of *matsya* ‘fish’, one of its synonyms, namely *mina*, can be understood to be represented. This is shown by the word *mainikah* ‘he who kills fish’, as opposed to *mātsyikah*.

1.1.69 अनुयोदितस्वरस्य चार्यत्वः:
anuditaśavarnaśya caśṛṣṭyayah

aṇudit 1/1 (dv.) savarṇasya 6/1 ca Θ apratyayah 1/1/
anṛghamāna id ic ca savarṇanāṁ grāhako bhavati svasya ca rūpasya
pratyaṇam varjayitvā
dA sound denoted by *aN* (*a, i, u, ɪ, e, o, a, 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 *aN* has not been formed here with the help of the *N* in Śivasūtra (Ś) 1. Instead, it has been formed with the subsequent *N* of Ś 6. As a result, *aN* 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 *aN* 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 (*anumāṇikatva*), 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 \textit{\textit{kU}}. References to palatal, retroflex, dental, and labial stops and their corresponding nasals are made by \textit{\textit{cU}}, \textit{\textit{tU}}, \textit{\textit{tU}}, and \textit{\textit{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 \textit{sanā}... introduces affix \textit{\textit{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 तपरात्तात्तात्साख

\textit{taparas tattālasya}
\textit{taparāh} 1/1 tattālasya 6/11
\textit{taṇaro varṇas tattālasyātmanātvatulyakālasya guṇāntarayuktasya savarṇasasya grāhako bhavati svasya ca rūpasya

A vowel followed by \textit{\textit{t}} denotes sounds of the same duration.

1. The word \textit{\textit{taparāh}} may be interpreted either as a \textit{\textit{bahuvrihi}} compound meaning 'that sound segment which is followed by \textit{T}' or a \textit{\textit{paṇcami-tatpurusa}} compound meaning 'that sound segment which follows \textit{T}'. Pāṇini invokes either interpretation to suit his need. Rule 1.1.1 \textit{\textit{vṛddhir ādaic}} is an example where a \textit{\textit{tapuruṣa}} interpretation is intended. On the other hand, 1.1.2 \textit{\textit{adēn guṇah}} illustrates an instance where both interpretations are invoked simultaneously, and 7.1.9 \textit{\textit{ato hhis ais}} is a rule where only a \textit{\textit{bahuvrihi}} 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 \textit{\textit{anudit}}..., which allows sound segments denoted by \textit{\textit{a\textit{\textit{N}}}} to represent themselves as well as sounds homogeneous with them. Thus, \textit{\textit{a}}, when not followed or preceded by \textit{T}, represents eighteen distinct varieties, depending on differences in length, pitch, and nasalization. Similarly, \textit{\textit{e}} and \textit{\textit{o}} each represent twelve sounds. But in case of a reference made by \textit{\textit{a\textit{T}}}, where \textit{\textit{a}} is marked with \textit{T}, \textit{\textit{a}} can represent only short varieties of its own duration. Reference is reduced thereby from eighteen varieties to six.

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

1.1.71 आदिर्मिच्चन सञ्ज्ञा

\textit{ādir antyena sahetā}
lādir 1/1 antyena 3/1 saha ṭā 1/3/ 
ādir antyenetsamāṇakena saha gridhamānas tanmadhyapatītānāṁ varṇāṁ 
grāhako bhavati svasya ca rūpasya

An initial item joined with a final īt denotes not only itself but also all intervening items.

EXAMPLES:

aN ‘a, i, u’; see Śs 1
aK ‘a, i, u, ṛ, ṭ’; 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...
tiN ‘verbal endings’; see 3.4.78 tiptas...

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

1.1.72 देन विधिसतदनसय

yena vidhis tadantasya
/yena 3/1 vidhhī 1/1 tad-antasya 6/1/
yena vṛṣeṣaṇena vidhir vidhiyate 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 (vṛṣeṣaṇa) 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 eh 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 śrīta in 2.1.24 dvitiyā... cannot represent a form such as paramaśrīta 
which ends in it. The reason is simple: 2.1.24 deals with compound
formation. Similarly, one can derive nādīyānāḥ ‘offspring of Naḍā’ by introducing the affix phaK after naḍā + Nas. The word nada occurs in 4.1.99 nādādibhyah phak, but since that is a rule dealing with affixation, nada in 4.1.99 cannot represent a form ending in it. As a consequence, affix phaK cannot be introduced after forms such as sūtranaḍā.

1.1.73 वर्द्धित्वायाचामादिनिद्वृत्तपथ

vrddhir yasya acām ādis tad vrddham
vrddhiḥ 1/1 yasya 6/1 acām 6/3 ādiḥ 1/1 tat 1/1 vrddham 1/1/
acām madhye yasya vrddhi-samijnaka ādibhūtas tac chadarūpam
vrddhasamijnam bhavati

That item, the first of whose vowels is a vrddhi, is termed vrddha.

EXAMPIES:

śāliyāḥ ‘that which obtains, is born, or is located in the house’
māliyāḥ ‘that which obtains, is born, or is located in a garland’

1. The purpose of this rule is to specify the nominatum (samjñin) of the term vrddha, and, in turn, facilitate, among other things, the introduction of affix cha (4.2.115 vrddhāc chaḥ). Consider the derivation of (5) śāliyāḥ, and (6) māliyāḥ, where śālā + Ŧī and mālā + Ŧī are termed vrddha on the strength of their first vowel being a vrddhi. This enables śālā + Ŧī and mālā + Ŧī to receive affix cha, and yield śāliyā and māliyā. Similar rule applications are involved in deriving aupagaviya and kāpaṭaviya, where au and ā, the vrddhi vowels, enable their bases to qualify as vrddha.

Our first two examples (śāliyāḥ, māliyāḥ) have a vrddhi vowel which is atadbhāvita ‘not brought about by a rule application’ (see note 1 under 1.1.1). The next two illustrate instances of vrddhi vowels au and ā which are tadabhāvita ‘brought about by a rule application.’ Thus, au results by replacing u of upagu (see the derivation of (1) aupagavah for details. Similarly ā in kāpaṭaviyāḥ is a replacement of the first ā in kapaṭu + Nas, which, parallel to upagu + Nas + an = aupagavah, yields kāpaṭaviḥ. Derivative details of aupagaviya and kāpaṭaviya are similar to (5) śāliyāḥ.

3. There are vāṛttiikas which present some exceptions to this rule. Thus, proper names optionally can be treated as vrddha even though their first vowel is not a vrddhi. This facilitates the derivation of devadātiya ‘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 vrddhi vowel occurring as first among the vowels of the final constituent of a compound enables the entire compound to be called vrddha. Consider deriving ghṛṭaraudhiyāḥ ‘students of Ghṛṭaraudhi’ from ghṛṭaraudhi + Nas + cha, where au in raudhi enables ghṛṭaraudhi to be treated as vrddha so that cha can be introduced. Similar arguments hold for deriving odanapāṇiniyāḥ ‘students of Pāṇini only for food’.
1.1.74 त्यदादिनि च
tyadādini ca
\[tyadādini \ 1/3 \ ca \ 0/1\]
\[(vrddham \ # \ 73)\]
tyadādini sabdarūpāni vrddhisamjñāni bhavanti
Items listed in the set headed by \textit{tyad} also are termed \textit{vrddha}.

The purpose of this rule is to extend the assignment of the term \textit{vrddha} to items such as \textit{tyad}, etc. These items have been enumerated as part of a longer list which is headed by \textit{svava} ‘all, whole’, and is assigned the term \textit{svavanāman} ‘pronoun’ (see 1.1.27 \textit{svavādini}...). The following is the relevant partial list of such items with corresponding examples cited by \textit{Kāśikā}:

\begin{itemize}
\item \textit{tyad} ‘he, she, it’
\item \textit{tad} ‘he, that’
\item \textit{etat} ‘this’
\item \textit{idam} ‘this’
\item \textit{adas} ‘that’
\item \textit{yuṣmd} ‘you’
\item \textit{asmad} ‘I’
\item \textit{bhavat} ‘you (polite)’
\item \textit{kim} ‘what, who’
\end{itemize}

\begin{itemize}
\item \textit{tyadiyam} ‘his, etc.’
\item \textit{tadiyam} ‘his’
\item \textit{etadiyam} ‘this one’s’
\item \textit{idamiyam} ‘of this one’
\item \textit{adasiyam} ‘of that one’
\item \textit{tvadiyam} ‘yours’
\item \textit{tvādāyaniḥ} ‘id.’
\item \textit{madiyam} ‘mine’
\item \textit{mādāyaniḥ} ‘id.’
\item \textit{bhavadiyah} ‘yours (polite)’
\item \textit{kimiyam} ‘whose’
\end{itemize}

1.1.75 एष्ट प्राचां देशे
en prācām deśe
\[en \ 1/1 \ prācām \ 6/3 \ deśe \ 7/1/\]
\[(yasyācām ādih, vrddham \ # \ 73)\]
en yasyācām ādis tat prācām desābhidhāne vrddhasamjñām bhavati
That item, the first of whose vowels is one denoted by \textit{eN} (e, o), is termed \textit{vrddha} when it names an Eastern country.

\textbf{Examples:}

\begin{itemize}
\item eniṣpacanīyāḥ ‘a resident of Eniṣpacana’
\item bhōjakatīyāḥ ‘a resident of Bhojakatā’
\item gonaridīyāḥ ‘a resident of Gona’
\end{itemize}

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 \textit{vrddha}. Instead, he specifies the first vowels of these forms in \textit{eN}, and constrains the specification of these forms to the ‘name of an Eastern country’. The vowel specification is made by carrying the \textit{anuvṛti} of \textit{yasyācāmādīs}... \textit{tad} \textit{vrddham} from 1.1.73 \textit{vrddhir}...
1.2.1 गान्कुटादिभ्योऽनिनिन्त

गान्कुटादिभ्योऽनिनिन्त

\[ \text{gāṅkutādibhyo'ānīnus} \]

5/3 = kūṭ ādir yeśām te kutādayah (bv.); gāṅ ca kutādayas ca = gāṅkutādibhyah (bv. with internal dv.);

\[ \text{ānīn 1/1 = nās ca nās ca = nāsau (dv.) nāsau itau yasya sa nīṇit (bv.); na nīnus = aNīna (naNī-lat.); nūt 1/1/} \]

gāṅ iti ānīnāśo gṛhyate...kutādaya'pi kūṭ kauṭilīye ity etad ārabhya yāvat kūṭa śānde'iti. ebhaya gāṅkutādibhyah pare ānīnatā pratyaya nūto bhavanti, nīnuvad bhavantīty arthah

An affix, not originally marked with ṅ or N is treated as marked with ṅ when it occurs after gāṅ to read, to recite', or after the roots headed by kuT 'to be crooked'.

**EXAMPLES:**

- adhyagīṣṭa 'he read'
- adhyagīṣṭām 'they two read, recited'
- adhyagīṣṭā 'they (pl.) read, recited'
- kūṭa 'he who is to cheat..... to be crooked'
- kūṭitu 'for cheating, being crooked'
- kūṭita 'ought to cheat, be crooked'
- utpūtā 'he who is to embrace, clasp'
- utpūtītum 'for embracing, clasping'
- utpūtītayam 'ought to be embraced, clasped'

1. Rules 1.2.1 gāṅkutādi... through 1.1.26 ralo vyupadhād... make a set which is generally referred to as 'ṅit-Kit' in Pāñinian circles. Most of these rules are technically known as atīdeśa '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 kūṭa ca, whereby gūna 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 gūna 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 inas ca, 2.4.49 gāṅ liṭi, and 2.5.40 vibhāṣa luniṛñho. For details, see PM and Nyāsa ad Kāśika 1.2.1. Similarly, kūṭ, 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 kuT '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 pathā ‘read, recite’ and iN. They state that iN 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 Kaiyāta ad Mahābhāṣya (II: 185) for details: tataś ca adhitē ity atra viśiṣṭārthayuktēnāṁ sabdānāṁ paṭhaṇaṁ vidhipūrvaṁ vā karotītī arthaḥ. Also see Udyota of Nāgēsa: kecit tu avagamaparyantatatvarūpa utkarṣo’dher arthaḥ.

1.2.2 विजि इत

viṣa it
‘ovijī bhayacalanayoh’ asmāt parah idādi prayayo nida bhatavi

An affix with initial iT is treated as if marked with N 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 iT’ refers to those affixes which allow the augment iT (see 7.2.37 ārdhadhātukasīyaṇe valadeḥ). Since iT is marked with T, it will be introduced to the affix as its initial element (see 1.1.46 adyāntau...). The word ādi ‘initial’ is inferred. However, some commentators (see Nyāsa ad Kāśikā 1.2.2: ‘vrddhir yasyācāmādiḥ’ ityata ādi grahaṇam anuvartatte, tena ced viśyate) think that ādi is carried from 1.1.73 vrddhir... by anuvṛtti to qualify the word iT in this sūtra.

2. Since the augment iT can only be introduced as an initial element to an affix, the nominative singular of iT in the present rule should be read with prayayah ‘affix’. The sense required of this expression is ‘an affix with an initial iT’.

3. The purpose of this nīdvadbhāva ‘treating something as marked with N’ is to block the guṇa replacement for the penultimate short vowel (laghupadha, see 7.3.86 puganta...) of an anāga. Thus, if iT + trC 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: *udvejīta.

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 Raghuvaṁśa of Kālidāsa 14/68: cakranda vignā kurarīva dinā).

1.2.3 विभाषोऽनोऽह
1.2.5  Adhyāya One: Pāda Two

\textit{vibhāsa} 1/1 \textit{ūṛnuḥ} 5/1/

(iṭ 2; niṭ 1)

\textit{ūṛnuḥ acchadane\textquoteright} asmāt para idādiḥ pratyayo vibhāsa niṭ bhavati

An affix with initial \textit{iT} is optionally treated as marked with \textit{N} when it occurs after \textit{ūṛnuN} 'to cover'.

**Example:**

\textit{prornavītā / prornavitā} 'he who is to cover'

1. This rule provides that the \textit{guna} application of 7.3.84 \textit{sārvadhatukaradvadhatukayoh} becomes optional in case of \textit{ūṛnuN}. As a consequence, two types of forms result. That is, if we take the option of blocking the \textit{guna}, the result will be \textit{ūṛnavitā}. If we do not block \textit{guna}, the result will be \textit{ūṛnavitā}, where the root final \textit{u} will be replaced by its \textit{guna} counterpart \textit{o} which, in turn, will be replaced by \textit{av} (see 6.1.78 \textit{eco' yavōyāvah}).

1.2.4  सार्ववादकत्रांपतिः

\textit{sārvadhatukam apit}

\textit{sārvadhatukam 1/1 apit 1/1/}

(niṭ 1)

\textit{sārvadhatukam yad apit tan niṭ bhavati}

A \textit{sārvadhatuka} affix (3.4.113 \textit{tiṁśi sārvadhatukam}) not originally marked with \textit{P} is treated as though marked with \textit{N}.

**Examples:**

\textit{kurutaḥ} 'they (dual) are doing, making'
\textit{kurvantī} 'they (pl.) are doing, making'
\textit{cinutaḥ} 'they (dual) are heaping, gathering'
\textit{cinvantī} 'they (pl.) are heaping, gathering'

1. All affixes denoted by \textit{tiN} (3.4.78 \textit{tiptasjhī}...), along with others which may be marked with \textit{Ś} are termed \textit{sārvadhatuka} by 3.4.113 \textit{tiṁśi sār-

vadhatukam}. Our present rule provides that, except for those \textit{tiN} affixes which are marked with \textit{P}, the rest can be treated as marked with \textit{N}. There are three \textit{tiN} affixes — namely, third, second and first person singular \textit{tiP}, \textit{siP}, and \textit{miP} — which come under this exclusion. Thus, under the provision of this rule, all \textit{sārvadhatuka} affixes except for \textit{tiP}, \textit{siP}, and \textit{miP} will be treated as marked with \textit{N}. The purpose of treating the above mentioned \textit{tiN} members as marked with \textit{N} is to block \textit{guna}. See the appendix for details.

1.2.5  असम्योगालिकः कित्

\textit{asamyogāl liṭ kit}

\textit{asamyogāl 5/1 liṭ 1/1 kit 1/1/}
(apit 4)
asamyogantad dhato paro li pratyayo pit kid bhavati

A \textit{LiT} affix not originally marked with \textit{P} is treated as marked with \textit{K} when it occurs after roots which do not terminate in a conjunct.

**Examples:**

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textit{bibhidatu}ṁ 'they (dual) split it'
  \item \textit{bibhidu}ṁ 'they (pl.) split it'
  \item \textit{cicchidatu}ṁ 'they (dual) cut, divided it'
  \item \textit{cicchidu}ṁ 'they (pl.) cut, divided it'
  \item \textit{ijatu}ṁ 'they (dual) performed the ritual sacrifice'
  \item \textit{iju}ṁ 'they (pl.) performed the ritual sacrifice'
\end{itemize}

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

1.2.6 \textit{विधिप्रवतिप्रवचनः}

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textit{indhibhavatibhyāṁ ca}
  \item \textit{indhibhavatibhyāṁ 5/2 = indhīś ca bhavatīś ca = indhibhavati, tābhyaṁ = indhibhavatibhyāṁ (dv.) ca 0/}
  \item (lū kīt # 5)
  \item 'indhi-bhavati' ity etābhyaṁ paro li pratyayaḥ kid bhavati
\end{itemize}

A \textit{LiT} affix which occurs after verbal roots \textit{indhī} 'to kindle' and \textit{bhū} 'to be, become' also is treated as though marked with \textit{K}.

**Examples:**

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textit{putra idhe atharvanah} (RV, VI.16.14) 'the son of Atharvan kindled you'
  \item \textit{sam idhe dasyuhantamam} (RV, VI.16.15) 'you who killed the savages kindled'
  \item \textit{babhūva} 'he became'
  \item \textit{babhūvina} 'you became'
\end{itemize}

1. In this rule, \textit{LiT} again refers to its replacements. However, this time the reference is not to the \textit{tiN} replacements of \textit{LiT}. Instead, this rule
takes into account the replacement of tiN which replaced LIT. The fact that such replacements of tiN can be considered as the replacement of LIT only by means of tiN does not create any problem. Thus LIT is replaced by tiN and then the individual tiN members are replaced by, for example, NaL, atus, us, and so on (see 3.4.82 parasmaiapadānām nal...).

2. All three parasmaipada (see 1.4.99 laḥ parasmaipadam, and 1.4.100 taḥāṇāv ātmaneṣadānam) 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 LIT affixes after indh as marked with K is to make the deletion of the n in the root possible by 6.4.24 anūdītām hala upadhāyāh. 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 asanyogā... can extend the Kīt status only to those LIT affixes which were originally not marked with P. By the present rule, all LIT affixes can qualify for Kīt status. For example, 3.4.82 parasmaiapadānām nal... prescribes nine replacements for the nine tiN replacements of LIT. Of these replacements, those coming in place of tiP, siP, and miP can be considered Kīt.

1.2.7  

मदुमदुझुकुञिकिलसवदवस: कत्वा
mrdamṛdaudhakusakliśavadavasaḥ ktvā
/mṛda...vasah 5/1/ ktvā 1/1/
(kīt # 5)

mṛda, mṛda, gudha, kusa, kliśa, vada, vasa — ity ēṭebhyāḥ paraḥ ktvā
pāṭiṣhayāḥ kid bhavatī
Affix Ktvā (3.4.21 samānakartṛkāyoh pūrvakāle, and so on) is treated as though marked with K when it occurs after mṛdA ‘to please, mṛdA ‘to squeeze, rub’, gudhA ‘to be angry’, kusA ‘to pull, drag’, kliśA ‘to torment, vadA ‘to speak’, and vasA ‘to dwell, inhabit’.

Examples:

mṛdatvā ‘after having pleased’
mṛdatvā ‘after having pressed’
gudhātvā ‘after having annoyed’
kusātvā ‘after having pulled’
kliśātvā ‘after having tormented’
udātvā ‘after having told’
usātvā ‘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 (purāstāpavāda) to 1.2.18 na ktvā seḥ whereby Ktvā,
when used with \(iT\), (7.2.35 ārdhadhātukasya...), is denied the status of being marked with \(K\). This rule lets \(Ktvā\), used with \(iT\), 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 \(iT\), to be treated as marked with \(K\) (again going against 1.2.18), provided \(Ktvā\) occurred after roots which:

- (a) ended in \(rL\) (see Śs 6-14),
- (b) began with \(hL\) (see Śś 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 \(Kt\) status.

1.2.8 स्तविदमुष्टविविष्णिणिः: संक्षेप

\[\text{rudavidamuniṣṭaṃprasāpraḥaḥ samś ca}\]
\[\text{ruda...pracchaḥ 5/1 san 1/1 ca 0/1}\]
\[\text{(ktvā # 7, kit # 5)}\]
\[\text{ruda, vidda, muṣa, grahi, svapi, praccha-ity etebhyaḥ samś ca ktvā ca kitau bhavataḥ}\]

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’, \(Nīsvapā\) ‘to sleep’, and \(pracchā\) ‘to ask’.

**Examples:**

- \(ruditvā\) ‘after having cried’
- \(rurudīṣati\) ‘wishes to cry’
- \(muṣitvā\) ‘after having stolen’
- \(mumuṣīṣati\) ‘wishes to steal’
- \(viditvā\) ‘after having known’
- \(vividīṣati\) ‘wishes to know’
- \(grhitvā\) ‘after having seized’
- \(jigrhrksati\) ‘wishes to seize’
- \(suptvā\) ‘after having slept’
- \(suṣupsati\) ‘wishes to sleep’
- \(prṣtvā\) ‘after having asked’
- \(piprcchati\) ‘wishes to ask’

1. The question of assigning \(Kt\) status to \(Ktvā\) after verbal roots \(Nīsvapā\) and \(pracchā\) does not arise, since these roots are non-\(i\), 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 \(mrḍamṛda\)...
1.2.9 इको इकल

\( \text{inho jhal} \)
\( \text{lnika} 5/1 \text{ jhal } 1/1/ \)
\( \text{(san } \# 8, \text{ kit } \# 5) \)
\( \text{igantād dhātōh paro jhalādi san kid bhavati} \)

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:**

- \( ciciṣati \) 'wishes to heap, gather'
- \( tuṣṭiṣati \) '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 \( tadan-
	avidhi \) '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 \( tadan-avidhi \) '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 (sāmāṅḍhikaranya) with \( jhL \). Thus, \( jhL \), with \( ādi \) 'initial' of 1.1.73, becomes an adjective to \( saN \), and hence the \( tadan-avidhi \) interpretation is favoured. (See \( Nyāsa ad Kaś. I:275: \)

\( \text{sangrahaṃ tu prathamāntam ihānuvarttate, ... jhal viṣṇyate; tasmāt tadanvidhir eva vijñāyate na tadanavidhir īti.} \) The \( tadanavidhi \) interpretation is favoured mostly on account of \( jhalādi \) being an adjective to the affix (pratayayavāsāṇavatvā).

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 (sāhacarṇya) 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 \( ciciṣati \) 'he wishes to heap or gather'. Here \( cici \) ends in a \( NiC \) and is followed by \( saN \). Given the string \( cici + sa \), the following rules both become applicable:

- 6.1.16 \( aj-jhanagnāṃ sani... \)
- 7.3.84 \( sārvadāḥūkārdhādāhūkāyoh \)

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 guna counterpart -e. But since the application of guna replacement will render the long vowel replacement vacuous (uyarthā), long vowel replacement blocks the application of guna. The reason long vowel replacement will become vacuous is the fact that 6.1.16 aj-jhanagamām... will find no scope of application at all (anavakāśa). Consequently, even after a long vowel replacement has occurred, guna still cannot apply. Since guna will be blocked by the long vowel replacement (dirgha) on the basis of anavakāśata 'lack of scope', blocking guna 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 NiC. The argument is that if saN is not assigned the status of Kit, the long vowel replacement (dirghatva) will be able to block the deletion of NiC (nilopa) at the strength of its anavakāśatva, as it was able to block the guna in cicīṣati. It is for this reason that, in instances where both dirgha and guna obtain, and where NiC is before saN, guna should be blocked by means of Kit status. Once guna has been blocked dirghatva 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 nilopa 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 nilopa. Take, for example, jñāpsati 'he wishes to have someone know' where, given the string jñāpi + sa, sa is assigned the Kit status. Rules 6.1.16 aj-jhana... and 6.4.51 ner aniṣi both become applicable. The first rule orders long vowel replacement, whereas the second orders the deletion of (N) 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 हलान्ताच
halantāc ca
/halantāt 5/1 ca Ø/
(iko jhal # 9, san # 8, kit # 5)
sgantād iksamipād halah paraḥ san jhalādhiḥ 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:

* bibhīṣati 'wishes to split, break'
* bhūḥsate 'wishes to know'

1. Note that the word anta in this rule does not denote part (ayavaya; end of something). Instead, it is used in the sense of samipā 'proximate'. The word halanta is paraphrased as a karmadhāraya-tatpurusha: halas 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: iksamipād halah 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 (paṇcami). The Kāśikā, in the vṛtti, uses the expression igantāt where iK as part of the compound iganta is interpreted as genitive (śaṭhi). Thus, igantāt will be paraphrased as ihā 6/1 samipāt 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 yN by iK' (1.1.45 ig yañah samprasāraṇam) by rule 6.1.15 vacisvapīṣajādīnām... 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 samprasāraṇam na bhavati).

1.2.11 लिङ्कितवाचवाचमनेदेवु
liṅcāv ātmanepadeṣu
liṅcācu 1/2 ātmanepadeṣu 7/3/
(halatāt #: 10, iko jhal #: 9, kit #: 5)
igantād iksamipād halah parau jhalādi liṅcāv ātmanepadeṣu parataḥ
kitaḥ bhavataḥ
A LIN 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:

bhītsīṣṭa 'may he break, split'
bhūtsīṣṭa 'may he know'
abhītta '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 LIN, SIC, and ātmanepada. LIN 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 LIN 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 LIN one need not invoke ātmanepada. Or else, one should interpret the use of ātmanepada in contradistinction to parasmaitpada. The purpose of assigning Kit status is therefore mostly to block guṇa by 1.1.5 khiṣ ca. See derivations for details.
1.2.12 उँच

उँच ca
/उँच 1/1 ca 0/
(līṅścāv ātmānapadesu # 11, jhal # 9, kit # 5)

rvarṇāntād dhātoḥ paro līṅścāv ātmānapadesu jhalādi kitau bhavataḥ

A LIN or sIC affix which begins with a jhL also is treated as if marked
with K provided that it occurs after a verbal root terminating in r and
is related to ātmānapada.

EXAMPLES:

kṛṣiṣṭa 'may he do'
hrṣiṣṭa 'may he take away'
akṛta 'he made'
akhṛta 'he took away'

1. The word Ṽh in this rule is interpreted as the ablative singular of r.
By bringing 1.1.72 yena vidhis tadantasya to this context, we interpret Ṽh as
referring to an item, here a verbal root, which ends in r. But there is
nothing that can stop us from interpreting Ṽh as the ablative singular of
the root r 'to go'. Under this interpretation, examples of only a single root,
r, could be considered. However, Pāṇini did not intend this latter inter-
pretation. 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, Ṽh must be interpreted
as 'after a root ending in r'; Ṽh here does not refer to the single root r 'to go'.

1.2.13 वा गमः

वा गमः
/वा 0 gamah 5/1/
(līṅścāv ātmānapadesu # 11, jhal # 9, kit # 5)

gamer dhātoḥ parau līṅścāv ātmānapadesu jhalādi vā kitau bhavataḥ

A LIN or sIC affix optionally is treated as marked with K if it begins
with a jhL, occurs after the root gam, and is related to ātmānapada.

EXAMPLES:

samgaṃsīṣṭa 'may he meet properly'
samgaṣṭiṣṭa 'id'.
samagata 'he met properly'
samagaṃṣṭa 'id.'

1. The purpose of treating LIN and sIC replacements as if marked with
K is to facilitate the deletion of m of gam 'to go' by 6.4.37 anudattopadesā....
The ātmānapada replacements are ordered by 1.3.29 samo gamyṛcchibhyām.
Since the Kit status of LIN and sIC 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, $iC$ is deleted by 8.2.27 hravād aṅgāt.

1.2.14 हन: सिंध

hanaḥ sic
/hanaḥ 5/1 sic 1/1/
(ātmanepadesu # 11, kit # 5)
haner dhiṣōḥ paraḥ sic kid bhavati

Affix $iC$ 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 $iC$ 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 LIÑ, based on the previous association of
$iC$ with LIÑ. Mentioning $iC$ alone cancels that association and indicates
that LIÑ 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 ātmanepadesu for later rules. Kāśikā says: ātmanepadagrahaṇam
uttarārtham anuvartate: ‘the anuvṛtti of ātmanepadesu is accepted here for
the following rules’. Since han obligatorily is replaced by vadh in parasmai-
pada LIÑ, the question of treating $iC$ as Kit does not arise. There will not
be any $n$ for the deletion of which $iC$ 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 āN, a preverb, and āN-han obligatorily
selects ātmanepada affixes (1.3.24 ātro yamahānā). Since the question of
deleting the $n$ of han before $iC$ only arises in ātmanepada when han is used
with the preverb āN, carrying the anuvṛtti of ātmanepadesu for purposes of
this rule will be stating what is most obvious. That is why it is said that
ātmanepadesu is carried in this rule for the interpretation via anuvṛtti of the
following rules.

2. The affix $iC$ naturally refers to LIÑ (3.2.110 luñ) which conditions
the introduction of affix CLI after the root. It is this CLI which is then
replaced by $iC$ (see 3.1.43 cli luñi, 3.1.44 cleh sic). Thus $iC$ is a replacement
of CLI which is introduced after a verb root when LIÑ follows.

3. The purpose of treating $iC$ 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 + $iC$ + ta. Here $iC$ is a
replacement of CLI introduced before LIÑ, of which the ātmanepada ta is
a replacement. Therefore, ta will first be termed a sāravadhātuka by 3.4.113
tiṣ-ṣīt sārvadhātuḥ, and later will receive the status of Ṛit by 1.2.4 sārvadhātuḥ apiḥ. This will then enable 6.4.24 aniditām... to delete the n of the anīga: 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 Ṛit status of a sārvadhātuḥ affix which is external, with reference to sIC which is internal. This, in turn, will make 1.2.14 necessary.

See also Nyāsa (Kāś. I: 288): evaṁ tarhi siddhe niṣṭve sati punar iha hanaḥ sij iti sicaḥ kitvaṃ vidadhāti taj jñāpayati — bāhya sārvadhātuḥ āśritya sijantasya aniditāṁ ity anunāsikalo na bhavatīti; tenāramsta, amamsta, āyamsta, āyamsta pādam iti siddhaḥ bhavati; anyathā hy anunāsikalo kṛta āyatet anuśāśita-pam syā.

1.2.15 यमो गन्धने

yamo gandhane
/yamaḥ 5/1 gandhane 7/1
(sic # 14, ātmanepeṣu # 11, kit # 5)

yamo dhātor gandhane vartamānāt parah sic pratīyāyaḥ kid bhavatī ātmanepeṣu parātaḥ

Affix sIC 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 ātmepada.

EXAMPLES:

udāyata ‘he himself revealed someone’s fault’
udāyasūdām ‘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 pracchādyamānasyāvadhāryasyāvākṣaraṇam). 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 udāyasūmanta (kāpād 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 gandhanāvākṣepaṇa...

2. The ātmepada affixes which replace LUN in the above examples are ordered by 1.3.28 ātṛo yamahanāḥ. The Kit status of sIC is intended to facilitate the deletion of the m of yamā.
1.2.16 विभाषेपयम्

vibhāṣopayamane

/yibhāṣā 1/1 upayamane 7/1/

(yamāḥ # 15, sic # 14, ātmanepadēsu # 11, kit # 5)

yamer dhātor upayamane vartamānāt parah sic prayayo vibhāṣā kid bhavati, ātmanepadēsu parataḥ

Affix sīC optionally is treated as marked with K when it occurs after yamāḥ denoting upayamana ‘to accept in marriage’, and is followed by ātmanepadā.

EXAMPLES:

upāyata kanyām ‘he accepted the girl in marriage’

upāyamsta kanyām ‘id’.

upāyata bhyāryām ‘he accepted (her) as wife’

upāyamsta bhāryām ‘id’.

1. Again, a special meaning condition is imposed on the derivation of upāyata, upāyamsta, and so on. Kāśikā glosses upayamana as svikaraṇa, ‘accepting as one’s wife’, vivāha ‘marriage’, dārakarma ‘accepting someone as wife’, or pānigrahaṇa ‘holding hand in marriage’.

2. The ātmanepadā affixes are ruled in view of 1.3.56 upād yamāḥ svakarana. 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 शाप्योर्चि

sthāghvor ic ca

/sthā-ghvor 5/2 it 1/1 ca Θ/

(sic # 14, ātmanepadēsu # 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-ghu adāp) and is related to ātmanepadā. In addition, the final vowels of such roots are replaced by iṬ (1.1.70 ta práras tathālasāya).

EXAMPLES:

upāṛṣṭhīta ‘he appeared’

upāṛṣṭhisātām ‘they (dual) appeared’

upāṛṣṭhīsāta ‘they (pl.) appeared’

adāta ‘he gave’

adhīta ‘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 \( \tilde{a} \) of sthā, as well as the \( \tilde{a} \) of those roots which are termed ghu (1.1.20 dādhāghv adāp).

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

3. To understand this rule correctly, one also must invoke 1.1.72 yena vidhis.... Without doing this, we cannot interpret sthāghvīr it as 'i replaces the final \( \tilde{a} \) of...'.

4. In view of 2.2.32 dvandve ghi, this rule should read ghusthvoh. 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 gheh pūrvanipāte pṛāpte ghusthvīr ity utam āsit. param pūrvanipātaśastrasyānityatva-jñāpanāya sātu' tra vyāyāsa iti keci.

5. Note here that given the string a + (dā → i) + (sa → θ) + ta = a + di + ta, one might like to invoke 7.3.84 sārvadhāṭukārdh... to demand a guna replacement for the angha 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 krīti ca cannot block the guna. This would yield a wrong form. In order to save the situation, one invokes the principle of suspension (asiddhavatva). Thus, since the rule which deleted sīC (8.2.27 hravād anghā) is asiddha 'suspended' in view of 7.3.84 sārvadhāṭukā..., which would require the guna, as far as 7.3.84 is concerned, sīC will still be there. As a consequence, adī will have to be treated as adī + sīC, which, in turn, will make guna inoperative.

1.2.18 न कत्वा सेत

na ktvā set

na θ ktvā 1/1 set 1/1

(kit # 5)

ktvā prātyayah sen na kid bhavati

Affix Ktvā (3.4.21 samānakartkayoḥ pūrvahāle), when used with the augment iT, is not treated as marked with K.

EXAMPLES:

ktvā 'after having made, done'
utvā 'after having offered the ritual oblation'
levitoṇā 'after having played, shone'
varitoṇā '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 Kīt status is withdrawn for a specific purpose in a specific context. That is, this rule is withdrawing the Kīt status of Ktvā in instances where it is used with the augment iṬ. I shall discuss the purpose of extending the non-Kīt, or denying the Kīt, 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 ṭīṭ status of iṬ also becomes part of Ktvā. If it is accepted, then Ktvā becomes marked with T. 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 (guṇibhūta). 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 T. For details of the secondary nature of the augments, refer to Paribhāṣā 12: yadāgamās tadguṇibhūtās tadbhṛhaṇena 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 lasāka ataddhitre and 1.3.9 tasya lopah could still apply to delete the K of Ktvā. If, on the other hand, one understands that the K of Ktvā is not an iṭ, 1.3.8 and 1.3.9 cannot apply. This would result in all kinds of wrong forms.

Since this rule is negating the Kīt 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 devitoṇā 'after having played' where, given the verbal root div 'to play', Ktvā has been introduced by 3.4.21 samānakartākyoh pūrvakāle. Rule 7.2.35 ārdhadhātuḥ asyed valādeḥ introduces the augment at the beginning of Ktvā in consonance with 1.1.46 ādyantau ṭakitaṇ. Given the string div + (K → Θ) tvā = div + i(T → Θ) + tvā = div + i + tvā, rule 7.3.84 sārvadhātuḥ- dhātuḥkāyoh will require the guṇa replacement for the i of div. If Ktvā is treated as marked with K, 1.1.5 knūt ca will not allow the guṇa. It is therefore the purpose of rule 1.2.18 to extend the non-Kīt 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 = devitoṇā.

But remember that rule 1.2.18 will extend the non-Kīt status to a Ktvā
only when it receives the augment \( iT \). Instances of \( Ktvā \) where it does not receive the augment \( iT \) will thus not be covered by rule 1.2.18. This fact is demonstrated by the example of the derivation of \( kṛtva \) ‘after having made’, where \( Ktvā \) is introduced after \( kṛ \) ‘to do, make’ and the introduction of \( iT \) is blocked by 7.2.10 \( ekāca upadeśe \). Since the string \( kṛ + tvā \) does not have the \( Ktvā \) with the augment \( iT \), rule 7.3.84 \( sārvadhātuka \) will be blocked by 1.1.5 \( kṛiti ca \). As a result there will be no \( guṇa \) replacement for the \( r \) of \( kṛ \). If 7.3.84 had not been blocked by 1.1.5 on the strength of the \( Kṛ \) status of \( Ktvā \), the resultant wrong form would have been \( *k(r → ar) + tvā = * kartvā \) or may be \( *karitvā \).

Similar implications apply to derivations such as that of \( suptvā \) ‘after having slept’, where, given the string \( swap + tvā \), the suffix does not receive the augment \( iT \), and hence is not extended the non-\( Kṛ \) status. Rule 6.1.11\( vacisvapipajādinām \), based on the strength of \( swap \) occurring before a suffix marked with \( K \), demands \( samprasāraṇa \) (1.1.45 \( ig yaṇah \)). 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-\( Kṛ \) status to \( Ktvā \) in instances where it receives the augment \( iT \) is therefore to facilitate \( guṇa \) and block \( samprasāraṇa \).

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

1.2.19 निषिद्धानिस्विदिमिदिनिदिक्षितविविधः:

\[ niṣṭhā śińskaśvismiśvismidhrṣaṅ\]
\[ /niṣṭhā 1/1 śiṅ-svidmiḥ-kṣvindhrṣaṅ 5/1/\]
\[ (na set # 18, kit # 5)\]
\[ śiṅ, svidi, midi, kṣvidi, dhṛṣ ity ebhyah paro niṣṭhāpratayah sena kid bhavati\]

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 \( śiṅ ‘to recline’, svidi ‘to perspire’, midi ‘to feel affection, be fat’, kṣvidi ‘to perspire, feel affection’, and dhṛṣ ‘to dare, be bold’, and are also used with \( iT \).

EXAMPLES:

\[ śaṅitah ‘reclined’ \]
\[ śaṅitavān ‘he reclined’ \]
\[ prasveditah ‘perspired’ \]
prasveditavān ‘he perspired’
prameditāh ‘loved’
prameditavān ‘he felt affection for’
praksveditāh ‘perspired’
praksveditavān ‘he perspired’
pradharsītāh ‘daring’
pradharsītavān ‘he dared’

1. Note that na set is carried from the preceding rule. As such, the rule extends the non-Kīṭ status to those niṣṭhā affixes which receive the augment \(iT\) and which occur after the verbal roots siN ‘to sleep’, etc. Remember that the preceding rule, on the strength of citing just the affix Ktvā, denied this non-Kīṭ 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-Kīṭ status can facilitate a replacement in guṇa. This would result in the derivation of forms such as saṣitāh, which underlies si(N → 0) + (K → 0)ta = si + i(T → 0) = sī + i + ta. In the absence of the Kīṭ status, the guṇa replacement for i cannot be blocked by 1.1.5 knīti ca. This will clear the way for ū(i → e → ay) + i + ta = saṣīta. 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 वृत्तितिलक्षणायां
mrṣaḥ titikṣāyām
/mrṣah 5/1 titikṣāyām 7/1/
(niṣṭhā # 19, na set # 18, kīṭ # 5)
mrṣer dhātōḥ titikṣāyām arthe niṣṭhā sen na kid bhavati
Affixes which are termed niṣṭhā are not treated as marked with K when they occur after mrṣā used in the sense of titikṣā ‘forgiveness, endurance’, and they are also used with iT

Examples:

marṣitāh ‘endured, forgiven’
marsitavān ‘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 iT, and is occurring after the verbal root mrṣā is treated as if not marked with K, provided mrṣā is used in the sense of titukṣā ‘endurance, forgiveness’. The consequences of extending the non-Kīṭ status here are similar to those detailed in the preceding rules.

1.2.21 उदुपधाद्भावावदिकर्मदङ्गोत्तरतस्यायां
udupadhād bhāvādikarmanor anyatarasyām
The Aśṭādhyāyī of Pāṇini

1. Note that this rule provides that a niṣṭhā suffix which receives the augment īT 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 yah kī bhavati sa ādikarmanī bhavati.)

The rules which introduce Kta to signify bhāva or ādikarman are 3.3.114 napumṣake bhāve ktaḥ and 3.3.71 ādikarmanī 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.
Affixes niśthā and Ktvā are not treated as marked with K when they
are used with iT and occur after pūN ‘to cleanse, purify’.

EXAMPLES:

pavitah ‘cleansed, purified’

pavitavān ‘he cleansed, purified’

pavitvā ‘after having cleansed, purified’

1. Observe that anyatārasyām ‘optionally’ is not carried over from the
earlier rule. How is that indicated? By the use of vā in the subsequent rule.
If anyatārasyām 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 anyatārasyām, the carrying of na set would
become questionable; for unless indicated otherwise, na set and anya-
trasyām must be carried or dropped together.

Since the word anyatārasyām is not carried over from the preceding rule,
the provisions of this rule become obligatory (nītya). But the non-Kīt status
of Ktvā with iT is already obligatorily provided for by rule 1.2.18 na ktvā
set. 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 niśthā is not to be car-
rried beyond this rule.

It is interesting that the iT augment is optionally provided to affixes Ktvā
and niśthā by rule 7.2.51 pūnāṣ ca, in so far as the verbal root pūN is con-
cerned. 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 नोपद्धातः थप्पान्तादः vā

nopadhāt thaphāntād vā

nopadhāt 5/1 thaphāntāt 5/1 vā 0/

(ktvā # 22, na set # 18, kti # 5)
nakāropadhād dhātos thakārantāt phakārāntāc ca parah
ktvā pratayah se d vā na kid bhavati

A Ktvā affix optionally is not treated as marked with K when it is used
with iT 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’
granhitvā 'id.'
srāhitvā 'after having unfastened'
srāhitvā 'id.'
guhhitvā 'having strung together, having composed'
gunuphitvā '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-Kīt 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 anidiūṃ 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 taddantavidhi (see note under 1.2.9 iko jhal). Pāṇini explicitly uses the word anta to indicate that taddantavidhi in this section dealing with Ktvā is not available by any other means. It is for this reason also that the word rṬ 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 rṬ 'to reproach, condemn'.

1.2.24 वनितृत्वाचा

vaṇicitvāc ca
vaṇiciluṇcyrtaḥ 5/1 ca 0/
(vā # 23, ktvā # 22, na seṭ # 18, kit # 5)
vaṇci, luṇci, rṭ ity etebhyah parah ktvā pratyahāh 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 vaṇcU 'to deceive, defraud', luṇcA 'to tear off, pull out', or rṭ 'to reproach, condemn'.

Examples:

vaṇcitvā 'having deceived, defrauded'
vaṇcitvā 'id.'
lucitvā 'having torn off, pulled out'
luṇcitvā 'id.'
rṭitvā '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
1.2.26  Adhyāya One: Pāda Two

denote ‘option’. Furthermore, 1.2.24 without the vā from 1.2.23 will become an obligatory rule, according to: dvayor vibhāsayor madhyavartitvān niyos’yam vidhiḥ (see Nyāsa ad Kāś. 1.2.24). Also note that ṛtā is a sautra root ‘available only in the Āṣṭāḥṣā míts: ṛta—iśa sautra dhātṛ (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 guna replacement, or its absence.

1.2.25  तृपितविष्कृतः कार्यपत्र

tr̥pyaṁṛṣtikṛṣeḥ kāśyapasya
/tr̥pyaṁṛṣtikṛṣeḥ 5/1 kāśyapasya 6/1/
tr̥pyaṁṛṣtikṛṣeḥ 5/1 kāśyapasya 6/1/
(vā # 23, ktvā # 22, na set # 18, kit # 5)

ṛṣi, mṛṣi, kṛṣi ity etebhyah paraḥ ktvā prayayah set 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 ṛṣā ‘to be thirsty’, mṛṣā to endure, tolerate’, and kṛṣā ‘to be lean’.

EXAMPLES:

ṛṣṭivā ‘after having become thirsty’

iṃṛṣṭivā ‘id.’
mṛṣivā ‘after having endured, tolerated, forgiven’

marṣivā ‘id.’

kṛṣivā ‘after having become lean or slim, or having made something slimmer’

karṣivā ‘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  सलो व्यपाधातिनादः संख्या

ralo vyapadhād haladeḥ sanś ca
/ralah 5/1 vyapadhāt 5/1 haladeḥ 5/1 san 1/1 ca ṧ/
(vā # 23, ktvā # 22, na set # 18, kit # 5)
vi (uṣ ca iṣ ca) vyapadaḥ yasya sa vyapadhāh ukāropadhād ikāropadhāc ca dhātō ralaṁtād haladeḥ paraḥ sanś ca ktvā ca setau vā kitau bhavataḥ

Affixes Ktvā and saN optionally are treated as Ktv when they are used with iṬ, occur after roots which begin with a consonant (hL), end in
rL (r, l, ŋ, m, and so on; see Šs 5-14), and have i or u in their upadhā ‘penultimate position’ (see 1.1.65 alo’ ntyāt...).

EXAMPLES:

dyuṣitvā ‘after having become illuminated’
dyotītvā ‘id.’
didyutisate ‘wishes to be illuminated’
didyotisate ‘id.’
likhitvā ‘after having written’
lekhītvā ‘id.’
likhiṣati ‘wishes to write’
lilekhiṣati ‘id.’

1. A question arises here whether the vibhāṣā ‘option’ denoted by va, which is carried to this rule from 1.2.23 nopadhā... 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 guna replacement or its lack.

1.2.27 उक्कालो ज्ञून्य स्वदीर्घपलुतः:
ākālo’j j hrasvadīrghaplatuḥ
i/aikalh 1/1 ac 1/1 hrasvadīrghaplatuḥ 1/11
u, ū, ū³ ity evam kālo’j yathākramam hrasva, dīrgha, pluta’ity evam samjño bhavati

A vowel which has the duration of u (one mora, ‘ekamātrika’), ū (two morae, ‘dvimātrika’), or ū³ (three morae, ‘trimātrika’) is termed hrasva ‘short’, dīrgha ‘long’, or pluta ‘extra-long’.

EXAMPLES:

daddhi ‘yogurt’, i (ekamātrika or hrasva)
mandhu ‘honey’, u (ekamātrika or hrasva)
kumāri ‘girl’, i (dvimātrika or dīrgha)
gaurī ‘goddess Pārvati; a fair-complexioned girl’
devadatta⁴ ‘Devadatta’, a proper name, a³ (trimātrika, or pluta) as in devadatta⁴, atra nāves ‘Devadatta, are you here?’
1. The word ākālaḥ is interpreted as a three-word bahuvrihi with internal tattpurusā, where ā itself is a dvandva underlying the paraphrase: uṣ ca uṣ ca uṣ ca 'u, ā, and uṣ. After the formation of the dvandva, the string u + ā + uṣ will be due to the application of similar long vowel (savarṇadīrgha) sandhi, yielding ā. The bahuvrihi will have the paraphrase: vāṁ kāla iva kālo yasya 'that whose duration equals that of u, ā, and uṣ. 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 hrasvadīrghaplustaḥ. Keeping in view the bahuvrihi and dvandva compounds just mentioned, the rule can be interpreted as: a vowel which has a duration similar to u, ā, and uṣ is termed hrasva, dīrgha, and pluta respectively. Note that the bahuvrihi 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 mukham yasya 'he whose mouth is similar to the mouth of a camel'. Pāṇini uses ākālaḥ in the masculine, which is not in consonance with his own grammatical rules. The compound should have been put in the neuter as ākālam. Commentators say that the use of the masculine indicates that the usage is sastra 'peculiar to the formation of śūtra'.

Note that ā represents u, ā, and uṣ, thereby giving three name-bearers (samjñin) to which the three names (samjñā), hrasva, dīrgha, and pluta could be applied, according to the order of enumeration (samkhyātānudeśa). This term assignment implies that the order of elements forming the dvandva represented by ā is: u, ā, and uṣ. If this order is not accepted, hrasva, etc., could be assigned to ā and vice versa. The Mahābhāṣya (II:39) discusses why u, ā, and uṣ 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 Śīksa 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 (kukkuta) kukkutiḥ 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 praraksya which underlies pra + rakṣ = praraks + Ktvā. The root rakṣa is used with the preverb pra and Ktvā is replaced by LyAP, thereby yielding praraks + ya. The samāsa 'compound' is in consonance with rule 2.2.18 kugatiṇḍadayah. Given the string praraks + ya, the sequence of s and y, where each has a duration of half a mora will together form a samyoga 'cluster', which equals the duration of short u. If the word ac is not used in the rule to indicate that clusters such as sy do not qualify for the assignment of the terms hrasva, etc., sy can be
termed krasva. This will cause the application of rules which introduce the augment tUK (cf. 6.1.71 hrasvāsyā pitikitī tuk). Obviously, wrong forms would result. Similar problems would arise if a sequence of vowels such as a + u of titauç chatram ‘the umbrella of Titau’ is assigned the term dirgha on the strength of jointly equalling the duration of 低估. That is, tUK again will be introduced, though optionally, by rule 6.1.76 padāntād vā.

1.2.28 अचत

acaś ca
/acaḥ 6/1 ca 0/
(hrasvādirghaplutah, ac # 27)
hrasvādirghaplutah svasamjñayā sīsyamānā aca eva sthāne veditavyāḥ
A replacement which is specified by krasva, dirgha, or plutā should come in place of a vowel (aC).

Examples:

titiri ‘he who has transgressed wealth’

atimu ‘he who has transgressed boating’

upagā ‘he who sits near cows’

1. Commentators explain that this interpretive rule is formulated to specify the substituendum (sthānān). This is why the rule is interpreted to mean: where a substitute (ādeśa) is provided by expressly mentioning the terms krasva, dirgha and plutā, 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 krasva, dirgha, and plutā, 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’ (viśeyya) to the genitive of the rule.

Thus, rule 1.2.47 hrasvā napumśake prātipadikasya orders short vowel replacement with the express mention of the term krasva. The word acaḥ will be carried to rule 1.2.47 and, read with rule 1.1.52 alo’ nyasya, 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 krasva) of a nominal stem which is....

Rule 8.2.82 vākyasya teḥ plutā udātāḥ uses the word plutā 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 brāhmaṇaḍukulam ‘the clan of well-educated brāhmaṇas’, 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 expression of words such as hrasva, dirgha, and pūta is found in those instances of the second type, where the substituendum is going to be an aC.

1.2.29 उच्चकुट्टः:

uccair udāttaḥ
uccair จอง udāttaḥ 1/1/
(ac # 27)

uccair upalabhyaṁāno yo’c sa udāttasamjñō bhavati

That (a vowel) which is pronounced higher (with high pitch) at its place of articulation is termed udāṭta, ‘high-pitched’.

EXAMPLES:

- 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-a dyudāṭṭaś ca.

1.2.30 नीचकुट्टः:

nicair anudāttaḥ
nicair จอง anudāttaḥ 1/1/
(ac 27)

nicair upalabhyaṁāno yo’c so’ nūdāttasamjñō bhavati

That (a vowel) which is pronounced lower (with low pitch) at its place of articulation is termed anudāṭta, ‘low-pitched’.

EXAMPLES:

- Tva ‘thou’  
- Sama ‘some’  
- Sima ‘each, every’  
- Nema ‘other’  
- Namaste rudra nilakaṁṭha sahasrākṣa ‘our obeisances to you, O Rudra, blue-throated, thousand-eyed one’

1. The words ucca and nica 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 udāṭta’. 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 gātrāṇāṁ nigrahāḥ), terseness in tone (dārūnyāṁ svarasya rūkṣatā), and constriction of the throat (kaṇṭhasya samvṛtata). Alternatively, an anudātta should be understood as pronounced with relaxed limbs (anuvāsargo gātrāṇāṁ śīthilatā), gentleness of tone (mārdavam 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 suppita

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**1.2.31 समाहारः खति:**

samāhāraḥ svaritāḥ
/samāhāraḥ 1/1 svaritāḥ 1/1/
(ac # 27)
udāttaudāttaasvarasamāhāro yo’c sa svaritasamjñō 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’
sāmaryāḥ ‘skilled in Sāmaveda’
kuva ‘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: tat yathā-śuklaguṇah śuklah, kṛṣṇaguṇah kṛṣṇah, ya idānim ubhaya-guṇah sa ṭṛīyāṁ ākhyāṁ kalmāṣa iti vā sāraṅga iti vā. evam iḥāpy udāttaguṇa udāttaḥ, anu-dāttaguṇo' nudattah, ya idānim ubhaya-guṇah sa ṭṛīyāṁ ākhyāṁ 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 tasyāditya udāttam ardhaḥrasvam

\[ tasya \# 1/1 āditya \# udāttam 1/1 ardhaḥrasvam 1/1 \]

(svaritah # 31, ac # 27)

tasya svaritasya ādāv ardhaḥrasvam udāttam, pariśṭam 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:

śikyaṁ 'the hanging rope sling'
kanyā 'girl'
māṇavaka3 'O! Boy!'

1. The variable tat 'that' has svaritah as its antecedent. The phrase tasya ādityah will then be accepted as a qualifier to ardhaḥrasvam. Kāśikā interprets ardhaḥrasvam as referring to ardhamātra '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, ardhaḥrasvam is interpreted as meaning 'half a mora'. Patañjali (Mbh. II: 48-49) is in agreement with this interpretation; but it stipulates that ardhaḥrasvam entails the deletion of the suffix mātraC. Thus, the word is ardhaḥrasvamātra,
derived by introducing the affix mātra to denote pramāṇa 'measure' after the word arddhahrasva (5.2.37 pramāṇa dvayasa...). 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 dirgha 'long', as well as a pluta 'extra-long', vowel can be assigned the term udāṭtā.

Patanjali (Mbh. II: 63: tad yathā, kṣīrodake samprakte āmśīribhūtatvān na jñāyate, 'kiyam kṣīram, kiyam udakam, kasminn avakāše kṣīram, kasmin vodakam iti'. evam ihāpy āmśīribhūtatvān na jñāyate, 'kiyam udāṭtām, kiyam anudāṭtām, kasminn anudāṭtām 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 udāṭtā or what is anudāṭtā in a combination of udāṭtā and anudāṭtā, or what part of the combination is udāṭtā and what part is anudāṭtā.

A suggestion has been made, also in the Mahābhāṣya (II: 50; vt. I: svaritasvarārdhahrasvādattād udāṭtāsvaratāpārasya sannatarād iśrīvām udāṭtād anudāṭtāsya svaratā kāryam, svaratā iti siddhyarha...) that the set of nine sūtras beginning with 1.2.32 tasyādita... through 1.2.40 udāṭtāsvarita...should be read after sūtra 8.4.65 udāṭtād anudāṭtāsya svaratāh, 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 imām me gaṁge yamuna sarasvatī śūtudri (RV, X.75.5).

Rules 1.2.39 svaratā sāṁhitāyām anudāṭtām 'monotone (eka śruti) comes in place of anudāṭtā occurring after svarita in sāṁhitā 'close proximity between sounds'. The ime of the hymn is udāṭtā at the end (ante udāṭtā). In view of rule 8.1.22 te mayāv ekavacanasaya, me will be marked as anudāṭtā. Now, the application of rule 8.4.65 udāṭtād... means that the anudāṭtā of me will be replaced with svarita. The string gaṁge yamuna sarasvatī has all the words in the vocative singular. As a consequence, they will all be termed āmanṛita (2.3.48 sa' manritam), and they will receive anudāṭtā accent as required by rule 8.1.19 āmanṛitasya ca. The word śūtudri is also in the vocative, but it does not receive anudāṭtā because it is occurring at the beginning of the quarter (pāda) of the metre (cf. 8.1.18 anudāṭtām...). Note that me is anudāṭtā but that, because it occurs after the udāṭtā of ime, it has to be marked with svarita. Furthermore, all the other words will be marked with eka śruti, since they will be occurring after the svarita of me. Of course, śūtudri will be an exception.

This accentuation, however, is problematical because of the placement of the rules involved. That is, the rule which requires eka śruti after svarita is 1.2.39 svaratā... and is obviously contained within the Sapādasaṁpātīdhyāyī. The rule assigning svarita, which, in turn, conditions eka śruti is 8.4.65 udāṭtād
anudātasya..., a rule contained within the Tripādi. Now, rule 8.2.1 pūrvarāgādānāh orders that the rules belonging to the first seven books and a quarter (Satādasaptādhyāyi) of the Aṣṭāḥṣākāyaḥ should become suspended (asiddha) in favour of the rules of its last three quarters (Triṣṭāmasī). Accordingly, rule 1.2.39 svaritā... 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 Tripādi 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 Satādasaptādhyāyi and the Tripādi on the one hand, and the rules within the Tripādi 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 एकश्रृति दूरास्तस्मुदृढः

ekaśruti diurāt sambuddhau
lekaśruti 1/1 diurāt 5/1 sambuddhau 7/1
traisvarye padānām prāpte diurāt sambuddhāv aikaśrutyam vidhiyate

A sentence by which one calls someone from a distance carries ekaśruti ‘monotone’.

EXAMPLES:

āgaccha bho māṇavaka devadatta3 ‘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 devadatta3 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, *ekāśruti* could only be applicable to forms which are vocative singular. So, the *ekāśruti* which obtains to *devāḥ brahmāṇāḥ* ‘O! Gods! and Brahmāṇās!’ 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 *ekāśruti* 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 *uccaistaraṃ vā vaṣati kāraḥ* and 1.2.40 *udāttasvaritaparāsyā sannatarah* as *tantra* ‘technical, principal’. If *tara* is treated as meaning *prakarsa* ‘higher degree of intensity’, *ekāśruti* becomes a quality with a higher degree of *udāttā or anudāttā*. In other words, *ekāśruti* becomes *udāttā* or *anudāttā*. A third view also becomes possible when one does not accept that *tara* denotes its principal meaning. In this view, *ekāśruti* will be perceived as a mixture of *udāttā and anudāttā*. Note that this mixture, *ekāśruti*, is different from *svartita*, where the identities of *udāttā and anudāttā* are not lost. In *ekāśruti*, though, their identities are diluted.

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

1.2.34 याज्ञवल्क्यपञ्चनूठसांसारस

*yañnapakarmay aṣṭaṇgaḥ* 
*yañnapakarmāṇī 7/1 aṣṭaṇgaḥ* 
(*ekāśrutiḥ # 33*)

*traiśvareṇa vede mantrah paṭhyante, teśāṃ yañnakriyāyām api tathaiva prayoge prāpte ekāśrutrīt vidhiyate, jaṇapannyaḥkhasāmāṇi varjayitvā*

With the exception of *japa* ‘inaudible chanting’, *nyānikha* ‘specific nigadas’ (recitations from the *Āṣvalāyana Gṛhyasūtra*), and recitals from the *Sāmaveda*, *yañnakarma* ‘the offering of ritual oblation with chants’ also carries *ekāśruti* ‘monotone’.

**Examples:**

*aṅgrū mūrdhdā divāḥ kakupatiḥ prthivyā ayam* (*RV*, VIII. 4.16) ‘this *aṅgru* (sun) is like the head and forehead because it is high up in the sky’
adhyāya one: pada two

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1. Note that this rule provides for ekaśruti in place of udāttāmundāttasvarita 'udāṭṭa, anudāṭṭa 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 उच्चासरां वा वषाखाराः

uccaistāram vā vasaṭkāraḥ
uccaistāram 1/1 vā ṣ vasaṭkāraḥ 1/1/
yajñakarmāṇi # 34, ekaśrutiḥ # 33
(yajñakarmāṇi vasaṭkāraḥ uccaistāram vā bhavati, ekaśruti vā
Monotone (ekaśruti) optionally becomes udāttatara 'higher' in yajñakarmāṇi when vauṣat 'a particular mantra with which ritual offerings are made to gods' is chanted.

EXAMPLES:

somasāgne vihiṣ vauṣaṭ 'O Agni, accept the grain for soma'
somasāgne vihiṣ vauṣaṭ 'id'. (Ait, 35.5.6)

1. This rule assigns udāttatara accent to the word vasaṭkāra in recitation at yajñakarmāṇi. 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 uccaistāram is interpreted as udāttatara 'having a higher degree of udāṭṭa', based on the principal meaning of tara. Commentators add that the types of accent are seven: udāṭṭa, anudāṭṭa, svarita, udāttatara, anudāttatara, ekaśruti and udāttāmundāṭṭa. The fourth and fifth types are based on the meaning of tara. The seventh type, udāttāmundāṭṭa, is different from svarita in the sense that it clearly indicates what part of a svarita is udāṭṭa and what part is anudāṭṭa. A svarita may just indicate that there is a combination of udāṭṭa and anudāṭṭa.

1.2.36 विभाषा क्रमांśि

vibhāṣā chandasi
vibhāṣā 1/1 chandasi 7/1/
(ekaśrutiḥ # 33)
chandasi viṣaye vibhāṣā ekaśruti bhavati, paksāntare tvraśvaram eva bhavati
Monotone (ekaśruti) is optional (to udāṭṭa, anudāṭṭa, and svarita) in Vedic.

EXAMPLES:

iṣe tvorje tvā 'For you, for the benefit of food and strength'
iṣe tuvra tvā 'id.' (Vāj, 1.1.1).
agnā ayāhi vitaye 'O Agni, please arrive to remove darkness'
agnāyāhi vitaye 'id.' (RV, VI.16.10).
śanno devīrakahīṣṭaye 'May our drinking water be divine'
śanno devīrakahīṣṭaye 'id.' (RV, X.9.4).

1. It is significant that the word vibhāsā '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 yajñakarmāṇi is to be dropped from the cnuvṛtti.

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

Note that this option of ekaśrutī is only applicable in the context of the three vedas: RV, Yajus and Atharvān only. Because this rule is providing the option which was not available, it is interpreted as praptavibhāsā. The Sāmaveda is excluded from getting ekaśrutī by rule 1.2.34 yajñakarmāṇi..., 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 सुब्रह्मण्यायाः स्वरितस्य तु हलम:

na subrahmanyāyāṁ svaritasya tūdattāḥ
/na 0 subrahmanyāyāṁ 7/1 svaritasya 6/1 tu 0 udattāḥ 1/1/
(ekaśrutīḥ # 33)
subrahmanyāyāṁ ekaśrutīr na bhavati yas tu lakṣaṇapraśptāh svaritas
tasyadattā ādeso bhavati

There is no monotone in subrahmanyā 'a particular chanting', although the svarita becomes udātta.

EXAMPLES:

subrahmanyeyo'm indrāgaccha hariva āgaccha, medhātithermeśa vṛṣa
naśvasya mene

'O Indra, Come! O, ram of Medhātithi who owns horses, Come! Come! O wife of Vṛṣaṇaśva (speech)';
gaurāvaskandinahalyāyai jāra kauśika-brāhmaṇa gautamabravuṇā śvah
sutyaṁāgaccha maghavan (Sat. 3.3.1.19)

'O rider of the water buffaloes, 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 ekaśrutī in the context of nīgada' prose hymns
with command or prayer’ known as Subrahmanyā, (the nigada of the Śatapatha-brāhmaṇa, particularly the seventeenth through twentieth of the first brahmaṇa of the third section of the third canto, where Subrahmanyā offers invocations to Indra). The word subrahmanyā is derived by introducing the taddhita affix yaT after subrhaven. The feminine affix TāP is later introduced after subrahmanyā to derive subrahmanyā. Note that the affix yaT becomes svarita by rule 6.1.185 ̄tit svaritam. The ā of the feminine affix TāP is anudāttā. The svarita of yaT and the anudāttā of TāP are replaced by a single svarita, as reflected by sumrahmanyom. 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 subrahmanyā.

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 देवब्रह्मणोरसुदतः:

devabrahmaṇor anudāttaḥ
/devabrahmaṇoḥ 6/2 anudāttaḥ 1/1/
(svaritasya # 37)

devabrahmaṇoḥ svaritasya anudātta ādeśo bhavati
The svarita of deva ‘god’ and brahman ‘creator’ is replaced by anudātta.

EXAMPLES:

deva bhrahmaṇa āgaṇchata ‘O gods and creator, Come!’

1. Note that the phrase ‘na subrahmanyāyāṃ svaritasya’ is also carried to this rule. This means that the application of this rule will still be limited to the context of the subrahmanyā 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 स्वरितासंहितायामनुदत्तानाम

svaritāt samhitāyām anudāttānām
/l/svaritāt 5/1 samhitāyām 7/1 anudāttānām 6/3/
(ekaśrutiḥ # 33)
samhitāyām viśaye svaritāt pareasām anudāttānām ekaśrutir bhavati
Every anudātta which occurs after a svarita is replaced by ekaśruti ‘monotone’ in samhitāpātha ‘recitation of the Veda with phonetic changes as effected by sandhi rules’.
EXAMPLES:

imāṃ me gāṅge yamune sarasvati śutudri ‘O Gaṅgā, Yamunā, Sarasvatī, and Śutudri!’
māṇavaka! jaṭilādhīyāpaka! kva gamisyasi? ‘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 anudātānāṃ is genitive plural. That is, anudātta is derived from the underlying string anudātaś ca anudāttaś ca anudāttaḥ by retaining only one anudāṭṭha in this rule is interpreted to mean ‘in place of one or more than one anudāṭṭha’. The implication of this interpretation is as follows.

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

1.2.40 उदात्तस्वरितापरस्य सन्नातरः
udāttaśvaritaparasya sannatarah
/udāttaśvaritaparasya 6/1 sannatarah 1/1/
(anudātānāṃ 39)
udāttaśvaritasannatarah cānudātatasannatā ādeśo bhavati
An anudāṭṭha after which an udāṭṭha and svarita occur is replaced by sannatara ‘higher in degree than anudāṭṭha’.

EXAMPLES:

devā marutah ṁṛṣnimātarāḥ ‘paḥ ‘Gods, wind, whose mother is earth and water...’
imāṃ me gāṅge yamune sarasvati śutudri (Glossed under previous rule.)
māṇavaka, jaṭilakādhīyāpaka, kva gamisyasi? (Glossed under previous rule.)

1. Note that the word sannatara is interpreted to mean anudātattara ‘higher in degree than anudāṭṭha’. Similarly, the word uccaistārāṃ is interpreted as udāṭṭhārā ‘higher in degree than udāṭṭha’ of rule 1.2.35 uccaistārāṃ...

The word udāttaśvaritaparasya is a bahuvrihi compound meaning ‘that which has udāṭṭha and svarīta occurring after it’. The compound thus becomes an adjective to anudāṭṭha and yields the interpretation ‘an anudāṭṭha after which an udāṭṭha and svarīta occur is replaced by sannatara...’

In imāṃ me gāṅge yamune sarasvati śutudri, the i of sarasvati is anudāṭṭha (8.1.19 ṣamnitrītasya ca). The ṣu of śutudri is udāṭṭha because śutudri is occurring
at the beginning of a quarter of the hymn. The anudāṭta of the i of sarasvatī is thus replaced by sannatara because it precedes an udāṭta. In the same way, given māṇavaka jatīlādyāpaka kva gamisyasi ‘O Boy! You whose teacher has matted hair! Where will you go?’, where kva is svarīta, the anudāṭta of the ka of adhyāpaka will be replaced by sannatara.

1.2.41 अप्रक्त एकल प्रश्नः:
aprktā ekāl pratyayaḥ
aprktā 1/1 ekāl 1/1 pratyayaḥ 1/1
‘aprktā’ itiṣyam samajnā bhavati, ekāl yah pratyayasy tasya
An affix which consists of a single aL ‘sound segment’ is termed aprkta.

EXAMPlES:
gṛtaspṛk ‘he who touches ghee’
āndhabhāk ‘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 aprkta 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 KvI P 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 aprkta to the v of KvIP, and so on, that 6.1.67 var aprktasya applies under certain circumstances to delete the affix.

Consider, however, the application of 6.1.68 halīyābhbhyo..., which under the condition of the assignment of the term aprkta 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 aprkta 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 aprkta 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 aprkta ‘an aprkta not brought about by the application of any rule’ in contradistinction with affixes of the type si, which I shall call tadbhāvita aprkta ‘an aprkta brought about by the application of a rule’. Functionally the present rule facilitates the application of such rules as 6.1.67 ver aprktasya and 6.1.68 halīyābhbhyo....
SCOPE: 6.1.67 *ver aprktsya*, and so on.

1.2.42 तत्पुरुषः: समानाधिकरणः: कर्मधारयः:

\[\text{tatpuruṣaḥ samānādhihikaranaḥ karmadhārayaḥ} \]
\[\text{yat puruṣaḥ} 1/1 \text{samānādhihikaranaḥ karmadhārayaḥ} 1/1 \]

‘*tatpurusa*’ iti *samāsāviseṣasya sameṣa vakṣyati*, sa *tatpuruṣaḥ* samānādhihikaranaṃ padāh karmadhārayasamajño bhavati

*At* *tatpuruṣa* (2.1.22 *tatpuruṣaḥ*) compound whose constituents refer to the same thing (are in syntactic co-ordination) is termed *karmadhāraya*.

**EXAMPLES:**

*paramarājyaṃ* ‘excellent kingdom’
*uttamaraṇyaṃ* ‘best kingdom’
*pacacakṛṇdārikā* ‘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 *adhikaranā* of *samānādhihikaraṇa* mean ‘same (abhinna)’ and ‘denotatum’ (abhideya) respectively. This in how Kāśīkā explains it. Jīnendrabuddhi (Nyāsa ad Kāśī. I.330-31) elaborates as follows: samānam = abhinnam, ekam adhikaranam = vacyam esām padānām tāni samānādhihikaranāni padāni, lany āśrayabhūtiṇī yasya tatpuruṣasya sa samānādhihikaranas tatpuruṣaḥ *samānādhihikaraṇa* are those words which have the same referent; a *tatpuruṣa* compound with such constituents is termed *samānādhihikaraṇa* (*karmadhāraya*) *tatpuruṣa*.

Note that *samānādhihikaraṇa* 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? Kaiyata (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 *ekasamjña*, and as such, only one
term per nominatum can be assigned. If Pāṇini had put karmandaṛaya after
tatpuruṣa, the karmadhraya designation would have blocked the tatpuruṣa
because of being subsequent (para). This is what Kātyāṭa means by his
explanation.

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

SCOPE: 6.2.46 karmadhāraye nisēhā, etc.

1.2.43 प्रत्ययनिवृत्ति समास उपसर्जनम्
prathamānirdiśtām samāsa upasarjanam
/prathamānirdiśtām 1/1 samāsa 7/1 upasarjanam 1/1
prathamāyā vibhaktā yan nirdiśyate samāsaśāstre tad upasarjanasamjñām
bhavati

That which is referred by prathamā ‘nominative’ in rules of com-
 pound formation is termed upasarjana ‘secondar y’.

EXAMPLES:

kaṣṭaṣritah ‘he who resorted to grief’
śāṅkulaṅkhaṇḍaḥ ‘split by an ax’
yupadāruḥ ‘wood for the ritual post’
vṛkuḥ śhayam ‘fear of wolf’
rājapuruṣaḥ ‘king’s man’
akṣāsaunḍaḥ ‘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 con-
sequence, 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 forma-
tion of compounds. If this interpretation is not accepted, prathamānirdiśtām
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 + ṇas + puruṣa + sU which underlies the
compound rājapuruṣa? The answer again has to be no, since this nomina-
tive is not the nominative which obtains when one considers combining
purusa + sU with rájan + exampleModal. It existed prior to that. Furthermore, it was added irrespective of the fact that it may be combined with rájan + exampleModal. 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 șaṣṭhi. It states that a pada ending in șaṣṭhi ‘genitive’ can be combined with a syntactically related pada. What is ending in șaṣṭhi is rájan + exampleModal. The word șaṣṭhi 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 upasārjana by the present rule. Once assigned the term upasārjana, 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 upasārjana also is made on the basis of semantic considerations. In this sense the term upasārjana is an anvarthasamjña, a term that follows its etymological meaning. The word has been interpreted as gauna ‘secondary, non-principal’. A distinction such as this can be of help in determining the upasārjana 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 șaṣṭhi, in view of a string of elements such as rájan + exampleModal + kumāri + exampleModal + svam + sU. We find two words ending in șaṣṭhi. 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 upasārjana, they both would qualify for the term. It is for this reason that the semantic consideration is also resorted to. In this view an upasārjana element will be non-principal (gauna). 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 șaṣṭhi will be termed upasārjana with reference to the other. In the above example, rájan + exampleModal will be upasārjana to kumāri + exampleModal, which in turn will be an upasārjana to svam + sU. Accepting such a semantic consideration in determining the status of a pada as an upasārjana may also imply that Pāṇini based his descriptions on semantic considerations. Such an implication may have consequences for Pāṇinian theory.

SCOPE: 2.2.30 upasārjanam pūrvam, etc.

1.2.44 एकविभक्तिः चापूर्वासीति

ekavibhakti cāpūrvaranipāte
ekavibhakti 1/1 ca 0 aṁpurvaranipāte 7/1/
(samāsa upasārjanam # 43)
ekā vibhaktir yasya tad idam ekavibhakti, samāse vidhīyamāne yan niyata- vibhaktikaṁ duṁśe sambandhini bahubhir vibhaktibhir yuyamāne' py ekayaivavibhaktiḥ yuyyate tad upasārjanamsamjñāṁ 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:**

*niskauśāmbib* ‘he who has gone outside of Kauśāmbi’

*nirvārānasiḥ* ‘he who has gone outside of Vārānasi’

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 constituent may be construed with different endings.

Consider, for example, the compound *nirvārānasiḥ*, 'gone outside of the city of Vārānasi,' which can be analyzed as *niskrāntah* vārānasyah. 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 vārānasi in the ablative. One can interpret niskrānta as ending in *prathamā*, *dvitiyā*, *tṛtiyā*, *caturthi*, *pañcamī*, *saṣṭhi*, or *saptamī*; but vārānasi will remain in the ablative no matter what is the ending of niskrānta. This is what the word *ekavibhakti* ‘fixed nominal ending’ means in the rule.

Finally, the term *upasarjana* when applied to a word such as vārānasi 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 gosṭiyor *upasarjanasya*, whereby the final vowel of an *upasarjana* is shortened. Thus, we get *nirvārānasiḥ* (i → i).

1.2.45 अर्थविद्यातुत्प्रवव: प्रतिपदिकम्

*arthavād adhātur apratyayaḥ pratipadikam*
A unit which has meaning and is neither a root nor an affix is termed prātiṣaṅga.

**Examples:**

- ditthah ‘wooden elephant’
- kapitthah ‘a place where monkeys sit’
- kunḍam ‘a mendicant’s bowl; ritual fire-pit’
- pitham ‘a seat’

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

Kāśyapa explains that the word artha in arthavat means ‘signification’ (abhidyana). Jinendrabuddhi (Nyāsa I: 337) asserts that Kāśyapa explains this because artha means ‘purpose’ (pravojana), ‘cessation’ (nirvṛtti), ‘wealth’ (dhana), and ‘signification’ (arthā), as is obvious from the following usages:

(a) anenārthenaṅgataḥ ‘he came with this purpose’
(b) maśakārtho dhūmaḥ ‘the smoke is for getting rid of mosquitoes’
(c) arthavāṃ devadattaḥ ‘Devadatta is rich’
(d) asya vacanasya ayam arthah ‘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, śasavisāṇa ‘rabbit-horn’ does not exist, but this does not mean that śasavisāṇa, the compound termed nominal stem, is meaningless. This shows that even in the absence of the thing signified, signification remains. This is what Kāśiḥa 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 paribhāṣa (Paribh.: 28) samjñāvidhau pratyayagrahane 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 samjñāvidhi 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 (taddhinnatatsadrśa). Consider the command abrāhmaṇaṁ ānaya, ‘bring someone other than a bṛāhmaṇa’. The person who is brought is not a bṛāhmaṇa. That is, he is other than a bṛāhmaṇa (tad, namely bṛāhmaṇa, bhinna). He is, however, similar to him (tatsadrśa) in that, while he is a person of a caste other than a bṛāhmaṇa, 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 pratiṣṭipadika, and if the meaning of the naN ‘not’ is paryudāsa, interpretable as taddhinnatatsadrśa, a condition such as arthavat ‘meaningful’ should not be stated in the rule. Why? Because the paryudāsa interpretation of naN will enable us to understand a pratiṣṭipadika as a form which, though not dhātu or pratyaya, is similar (sadrśa) 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, iN is explained as having the meaning adhyāyana ‘study’; similarly, iK is explained as meaning smarana ‘to remember’. But these meanings one gets only when these roots are used with the preverb adhi. Thus iN 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 pratiṭpadika, we find several things:

(a) the assignment of the term enables a string to gain access to the domain of 4.1.1 nyāp-pratiṭpadkāti, where any of three options can be pursued: the introduction of sUP by 4.1.2 svaujasmauchas...; the introduction of an affix denoting feminine in the domain of 4.1.3 striyām; or the introduction of a taddhīta 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 pratiṭpadika forming part of a pada; and
(d) the use of 1.2.47 hrasvo napumṣaka pratiṭpadikasya 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 pratiṭpadika. Further consequences are attributable to the assignment of this term by the next rule.

SCOPE: 1.2.4 / hrasvo napumṣake...

1.2.46 कृतद्विशतसमासाः

kṛttaddhītasamāsāś ca
/kṛttaddhītasamāsāḥ 1/3 ca 0/
(pratiṭpadikam # 45)
kṛtas taddhītāḥ samāsāś ca pratiṭpadikasamajñā bhavanti
That which ends in a kṛ (3.1.93 kṛd atiṣṭ), taddhīta (4.1.76 taddhītāḥ) affix, or is a samāsa ‘compound’ also is termed pratiṭpadika.

EXAMPLES:

kārakaḥ ‘he who makes’
ḥārakaḥ ‘he who takes something away’
karttā ‘he who makes’
harttā ‘he who takes something away’
aupagavaḥ ‘male descendant of Upagu’
kāpatavaḥ ‘male descendant of Kapaṭu’
rājapuruṣaḥ ‘king’s servant’
brāhmaṇakambalāḥ ‘brāhmaṇa’s blanket’

1. This rule deals with the assignment of the term pratiṭpadika to derived nominals. The earlier rule, through its negation of apratyayakah, 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 *aprāyaṇah*, 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 *samāśa* should not be included because *arhavat* of 1.2.45 would account for it already. After all, a *samāśa* is meaningful. But the commentators add that the restrictive nature of the present rule also works in the case of *samāśa*. That is, a form consisting of more than one meaningful unit can be termed a *prātipadika* only when it is a *samāśa*. 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 *samāśa* 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 *arhavat* should be carried from the preceding rule. This, in turn, relates to the question of whether or not a *samāśa*, for example, should be explicitly qualified as being meaningful. I however believe that *arhavat* 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 *suṇo dhātu-prātipadikāyoh* is more directly related to *samāśa*. 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 प्रतिपदिकस्य

*hrasvo napūṃsake prātipadikasya*

*hrasvah 1/1 napūṃsake 7/1 prātipadikasya 6/1*  
(acāś ca # 28)

*nāpūṃsakālinge ‘ruhe yat prātipadikam varāte tasaḥ hrasvo bhavati ādeśo lo’ nṛṇyaśācaḥ*

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

**Examples:**

*atiṟi kulam* ‘a clan which has excelled in wealth’

*atiṟu 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 napumsake has been explained by Kāśikā (I: 346) as napumsakalīṅge 'rīte' in the signification of that whose gender is neuter'. Obviously napumsakalīṅga is being interpreted as a bahuvrīhi 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 vocal substitution in case of forms ending in a sU or a tī. But how could they qualify to be a nominal stem? Let us take an example: kānde '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 Nī have been replaced by a single substitute e. Now by antādivadbhāva (6.1.35 antādvac ca), where the final could be treated as part of the preceding, e becomes part of the prātipadika kāṇḍa. Consequently kānde becomes qualified for the term prātipadika. In order to block this term assignment to forms like kānde 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 गोश्रियोपसर्जनय

gostriyor upasarjanasya
gostriyoḥ 6/2 upasarjanasya 6/1/
(hraśvaḥ prātipadikasya 47)
upasarjanagosabdāntasya upasarjanastīpratyaṅtasya ca prātipadikasya
hraśuḥ bhavati

The final vowel of a nominal stem is replaced by hraśva '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:

citraguh 'he who has brindled cows'
sabalaguh 'id.'
nīkauśāmbī 'he who has gone outside the city of Kauśāmbi'
nirvārānasū 'he who has gone outside the city of Vāraṇasi'
atikhatvah '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 prathamānirdiṣṭām samāsa...) which is either go 'cow' or is a form ending in a feminine affix. Kāśikā (1.347-48) notes that by the word go we must understand only the form of the word go; contrary to this, the word stri is interpreted as referring to the feminine affixes introduced in the domain of 4.1.3 striyām. How do we
know this? Kāśīka, based on the discussion in the Mahābhāṣya (II: 289), explains that stri here is marked with svarita ‘circumflex’ accent, and hence is an adhikāra ‘recurring element’ (1.3.11 svaritenādhikāro). This becomes the clue that stri refers to the affixes and not to the form of the word stri ‘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 stri 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 stri on the one hand and prātipadika on the other, shortening of o in gokulam ‘herd of cows’ and i in rājakumāriputraḥ will obtain. Jīnendrabuddhi (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 rājakumārīputrāḥ having their analyzed forms goḥ kulaṃ or rājñāḥ kumārīḥ putraḥ respectively’ (evam gośabdenopasarjanena stripratyayena ca prātipadikasya tadantavidhau sati goḥ kulaṃ, rājñāḥ kumārīḥ putro rājakumārīputraḥ ity atra gośabdasya kumārīsāb- dasyā 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 vyapadesivadbhāva and say that go is a prātipadika ending in go. However, the grammarians do not allow vyapadesivadbhāva in case of a nominal stem. (Mbh. II.91: vyapadesivadbhāvo prātipadikena). This takes care of go in gokulam. In rājakumārīputraḥ, the long i 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 तुक्तदिकातत्तुकी
luk taddhitaluki
luk 1/1 taddhitaluki 7/1/
(stri upasarjanasya # 48)
taddhitaluki sati strīpratyayasya upasarjanasya tūg bhavati
When there is a LUK (1.1.61 pratyayasya lukśīlupah) deletion of a taddhita (4.1.76 taddhītāḥ), there is also a deletion of the feminine affix of the upasarjana ‘secondary’.

EXAMPLES:

pañcendraḥ ‘that (sthālipāka ritual) whose presiding deities are five Indrāṇis (Indra’s wives)’
deśendraḥ ‘that whose presiding deities are ten Indrāṇis’
paṅcaśākṣkulīḥ ‘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 paurvāparaya ‘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 paurvāparaya in the operation of deletion by LUK itself: first a taddhita is deleted, then a feminine affix.

1.2.50 इत्योणः:

id gonyāḥ
/it 1/1 gonyāḥ 6/1/
(taddhitaluki # 49)
gonyāḥ taddhitaluki sati ikārādeo bhavati
When there is a LUK deletion of a taddhita affix, the final vowel of gonyi is replaced by i.

EXAMPLES:

paścagoṇīḥ ‘bought for five goni (a sack of roughly seventy-five kilograms’ capacity)’
daśagoṇīḥ ‘bought for ten goni’

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 $i$ of the feminine affix Ňiś of $gōṇi$, 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 $gonyāh na ‘no deletion of the feminine affix of $gōṇi’. ‘’ Once the deletion was blocked, 1.2.48 gostiyor upasarjanasya would order the short replacement for the final $i$ of $gōṇi$ and everything would be in order. But actually forming the rule as a vidhi (id $gonyāh$), or as a negation (pratiseśda: $gonyāh na$) does not make much difference. Still other commentators suggest that this rule should have been read with 1.2.49 luktaddhitaluksi. This would then have made the rule to read as $gonyāh$. There would no longer be any need for $iT$ since hrasva could be carried from 1.2.48. See (PM ad Kāśi 1:352).

1.2.51 लुपि सुक्तवद्यक्तिकावने
lupi yuktvavad vyaktivacane
lupi 7/1 yuktvavat 0 vyaktivacane 1/2
lupi sati yuktvavad vyaktivacane bhavatāh

When there is a deletion of a taddhita affix by LUP (1.1.61 pratayeṣya luksitulupah), the original number (samkhyā) and gender (liṅga) of the base remains.

Examples:

pañcālāh (kṣatriyāh) ‘place of residence of the Pañcāla warriors’
magadhāh ‘place of residence of the Magadha warriors’
matsyāh ‘place of residence of the Matsya warriors’
anāgāh ‘place of residence of the Āṅga warriors’
suhmāh ‘place of residence of the Suhma warriors’
pundrāh ‘place of residence of the Puruṇḍra 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 yat of yuktvat, ‘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 pratayeṣya luksitulupah).

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 THaK (4.4.22 samsṛṣṭe...)
is introduced after the nominal stem lavana ‘salt’ to denote the sense of
‘mixed with’ (samsṛṣṭa). Given the string lavana + THaK, rule 4.4.24
lavanał luk deletes the affix by express mention of the term LUK. Now con-
sider the derivation of a string denoting the soup mixed with salt’, where
we have two words: lavana ($X_2$), derived by introducing and subsequently
deleting the taddhita affix THaK after lavana ($X_1$), and sūpa. Since in the
string to be derived lavana ($X_2$) is being used as a qualifier (viśeṣaṇa) to
denote sūpa, $X_2$ should take the number and gender of sūpa. Thus we will
get lavanah sūpah 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
lavanā yavāgūh ‘salted barley’ and lavanam śākam ‘salted leafy vegetable’
could not be possible. Instead, the forms will be *lavanah yavāgūh and
*lavanah śākam where lavana, a masculine substantive, is used as an adjecti-
ve to yavagū and śāka, masculine and neuter respectively. These wrong
forms are prevented because the deletion of the affix THaK in lavana, $X_2$,
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 śirīsa, denoting ‘a nearby village’, is derived by introducing the tadd-
hita affix aN (4.2.69 adūrabhavaś ca) after śirīsa ‘a tree’. Given the string
śirīsa + aN rule 4.2.81 varannādibhyāś ca deletes the affix by express mention
of the term LUP. Now, the derived form śirīsa ($X_3$) denotes ‘a nearby
village’, and as such it should be masculine singular. But since the deletion
of aN was accomplished by LUP, rule 1.2.51 lupi yuktavod vyaktivacane
would allow $X_2$ to retain the number-gender of $X_1$. As a consequence, śirīsa
($X_2$) ‘a nearby village’, will be used as a masculine plural in accordance wit-
the number and gender of śirīsa ($X_1$) ‘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, dārāh ‘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, yuktavodbhāva ‘likeness
with that with which...’ is the purpose of formulating this rule.
1.2.52 विशेषणानां चाजाते:

viśeṣaṇānāṁ cājāteḥ

viśeṣaṇānāṁ 6/3 ca θ ā θ jāteḥ 5/1
(lupi, yuktavād vyaktivacane #51)
lubarthasya yāṁ viśeṣaṇāṁ teṣāṁ api vyaktivacane bhavataḥ jātiṁ var-

jāyitvā

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:

pañcañāṁ ramaṇīyā, bahvannā, bahukṣiragṛtāḥ bahumālayaphalāḥ 'the
Pañcāla country is very beautiful, abundant in grain, milk, butter,
flowers, and fruits'
godau ramaṇīyau, bahvannau, bahukṣiragṛtau bahumālayaphalau 'Godā,
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 yuktavād vyaktivacane extends the
number and gender of the denotatum of the source base (prakṛtya-
thaliṅgasamkhya), or X₁, to the derived base, or X₂. 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 viśeṣaṇānāṁ cājāteḥ is another exception to the general pro-
vision 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) paścālāḥ subhiṣaḥ sampannapāṇiśaḥ bahumālaphalaḥ bahuṣṭhīraghṛtaḥ

‘the Paścāla (country) is generous in giving alms, has water in plenty, has abundant flowers and fruits, and is rich in milk and butter’

The word paścāla is a derived base (X₂), where a taddhāta affix denoting ‘place of residence of the Paścāla warriors’ was introduced after the source base paścāla, X₁. This affix was subsequently deleted by the express mention of the term LUP. It is for this reason that the derived base paścāla in sentence (a) must be declined in the masculine plural. Note that in this sentence paścāla denotes a place and, as such, according to its denotatum, it should be used in masculine singular. But since rule 1.2.51 lupti yuktavat... extends the masculine plural (gender-number) of the source base, X₁, to this derived base, X₂, paścāla is used in the masculine plural.

The following sentence illustrates the provision of rule 1.2.52 viśeṣaṇānām cājāteḥ:

(b) paścālāḥ janaśpadāḥ subhiṣaḥ sampannapāṇiśaḥ bahupālaphalaḥ bahuṣṭhīraghṛtaḥ

‘the country of the Paścāla 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, paścāla must be declined as masculine plural. There is syntactic co-ordination between the words paścāla and janaśpadā ‘country’, in the sense that their locus (adhiṣṭhāna) is the same (samaṇa). That is, they denote one and the same thing: the country of the residence of the Paścāla warriors. Therefore paścāla, like janaśpadā, should be declined in the masculine singular. But rule 1.2.51 would not permit this. The word janaśpadā cannot be put in the masculine plural because that would be contrary to its own denotatum, a country. As a result, we have paścāla in the plural and janaśpadā in the singular.

What about adjectives such as subhiṣa ‘generous in giving alms’, sampannapāṇiya ‘plentiful in water’, bahumālaphala ‘abundant in flowers and fruits’, and bahuṣṭhīraghṛta ‘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 paścāla. The problem, however, is faced in sentence (b) where both paścāla and janaśpadā 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 paścāla, or should one accept the number and gender of janaśpadā? 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 *viśeṣanām ca ajāteḥ*, which, in the context of rule 1.2.51 *lupti 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 

\[
tad aśisyāṁ samjñāpramanāṇatvāt
\]

\[
/lat 1/1 aśisyām 1/1 samjñāpramanāṇatvāt 5/1
\]

*yuktavadbhāvalakṣaṇām samjñāpramanāṇatvān na vaktavyam*

It (the retention of the original number and gender of a word) ought not to be taught (aśisyā), since it is dependent upon usage.

**Examples:**

- *āpah* 'water'
- *dārāh* 'wife'
- *grhaḥ* 'house'
- *sikatāḥ* 'sand'
- *varṣāḥ* 'rain'

1. This rule heads the section traditionally referred to as the aśisyā '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. Paññini 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 *samjñāpramanāṇatvāt* 'because the name' (samjñā) 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 gen-
der should be determined by the way it is used or by what it denotes.

Pāṇini elaborates this further by rule 1.2.55 yoga pramāne ca tad abhāve'
darsanam 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 aN 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 dārāh ‘masculine plural meaning wife’,
āpāh ‘feminine plural meaning water’, sīkatāh ‘feminine plural meaning
sand’, and varṣāh ‘feminine plural meaning rain’ are determined by the
usage, so the number and gender of a derived base such as pañcāla should
determine 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 samjñāpramāṇa 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 samjñā 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. 1:127), ‘a lump of flesh’, is born, his parents sit in the pri-
vacy 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  लुब्धःग्रामक्षायानात...

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, whose 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 aN 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 dāndin refers to an ascetic who carries a staff. It is a practice in the outside world to call dāndin only those ascetics who carry a staff. In this sense, then, there is a necessary connection between the meaning of the word dāndin 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 तद्भवेत्‌ श्रेष्ठं स्रावः
yogapramāṇe ca tad abhāve' darśanaṁ syāt

(yogapramāṇe 7/1 ca Θ tadabhāve 7/1 adarśanagan 1/1 syāt (tiNh)/
(aśiṣyaṁ # 55)

yadi pañcālādā śabdā yogasya pramāṇam syāt tatas tadabhāve' darśanaṁ 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 प्रधानप्रमाणवेश्वरवचनमध्यस्यप्रमाणविवेचनम्
pradhānapratyayārthavacanam arthasya anyapramāṇavatvāt

(pradhānapratyayārthavacanam 1/1 arthasya 6/1 anyapramāṇavatvāt 5/1/
(āśīsyam # 53)
pradhānān samāse kiñcita padam, pratyayaḥ tavay-ādiḥ tābhyām artha
vacanam anena prakāreṇa bhavatii pūrvācaryah paribhāṣitam; tat pāṇinir
ācaryah pratyācāste: āśīsyam etat, arthasya anyaprāmapāṇatvāt
pratyācāste: āśīsyam etat, arthasya anyaprāmapāṇatvāt

'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 (gauna) nature of their constituents. It also questions the desira-
bility 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 rājapurusah 'king's man', one understands that
purusa '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 rājapurusam
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: aupagavah is derived by introducing affix aN
after upagu + ānas. The affix means 'offspring' and it is said that in
aupagavah both the meaning of the base upagu as well as the meaning of
affix aN 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 gram-
mar, 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 specify-
ing the meanings of their constituency will be undesirable.

1.2.57 कालोपासर्जन gang tulyam
kālopāsarjane ca tulyam
/kālopāsarjane 1/2 ca 0 tulyam 1/1/
(asīsyam # 53)
kālopāsarjane cāśīsyē arthasya anyaprāmapāṇatvāt
'Concept of time' (kāla) and 'secondary constituent of a compound'
(upāsargana) ought not to be taught for similar reasons.

1. This rule questions the desirability of teaching the notions of upāsargana
'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 divasāḥ pūrvasyās ca rātreḥ paścimo yāmaḥ, āgāminyāṣ ca prathamo yama ityesa' dyatana-kāla ityuktaṁ bhavati...kṛtsno divasa ubhayataś cārdha-rātram...). 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 tulyagrahaṇasāmarthīyāt pūrvako hetur atrānuvarəte. tena tulyāsabdo hetvanukarṣaṇārtho bhavatī. '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 kālopaśarjane 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 kālopaśarjanagraghaṇam kasmān na kriyate, kimartho yogaviḥāraḥ? pradarsanārthaḥ.)

1.2.58 जातयाथायायकिर्मिन्संवधुबचनमन्यतरस्याप

jātyākkhyāyām ekasmin bahuvacanam anyatarasyām
jātyākkhyāyām 7/1 ekasmin 7/1 bahuvacanam 1/1 anyatarasyām 7/1
jātyākkhyāyām ekasmin arte bahuvacanam anyatarasyām bhavati

Plural optionally can be used for singular when jāti 'class' is to be expressed.

**Examples:**

sampanno yavāḥ 'rich barley'
sampannā yavāḥ 'rich barley (pl.)'
sampanno vṛīhiḥ 'rich paddy'
sampannā vṛīhiḥ 'rich paddies'
pūrvasūtyā brāhmaṇāḥ pratyutthēyāḥ 'let the brāhmaṇa older in age stand up'
pūrvasūtvaso brāhmaṇāḥ pratyutthēyāḥ '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, gotvā ‘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: anekavyaktyādhāraḥ hi jātiḥ. tato na devadattatvam nāma jātiḥ astū ti 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 (saṃkhya) 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 saṃkhyaḥ na vidyate? tasyāḥ dravyadharmatvā...tathāpi ‘bhedakā guṇāḥ’ ity asmad darśane bhedamātrāḥ yaḥ saṃkhyaḥ 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 Jās ‘nominative plural’, then the adjective of the jāti would also get the plural. This would result in expressions such as pańcālah janapadāḥ subhikṣāḥ bahumāyaphańcarāḥ bahuksiraphṛtāḥ... ‘the country of the Pańcāla 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 arthabahuvavādeśa. 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 अस्मदे हुष्येश्यः

asmado dvayोṣ ca
/asmadāḥ 6/1 dvayoḥ 7/2 ca 0/1
(ekasmin bahuvacanam anyatarasyām # 58)
asmado yo' rthas tasyaikate dvitve ca bahuvacanam anyatarasyāṁ bhavati
Plural optionally can be used for a singular or dual denotatum of asmad 'I'.

EXAMPLES:

ahaṁ brāvīmi 'I speak'
āvāṁ brūvāḥ 'we two speak'
vayaṁ brūmaḥ 'we speak'

1.2.60 फल्गुनीप्रोश्तपदानां च नक्षत्रे
phalguni prośṭhapadānam ca nakṣatre
/ phalguni prośṭhapadānam 6/3 ca 0 nakṣatre 7/1/.
phalgunyor dvāyoh prośṭhapadayoś ca dvāyor nakṣatraro bahuvacanam
anyatarasyāṁ bhavati
Plural optionally can be used for denoting the dual of the constellations phalgunī and prośṭhapadā.

EXAMPLES:

kādā pūrvā phalgunyat, kādā pūrvāḥ phalgunyāḥ 'When are the Pūrvā and
Uttarā-Phalguni constellations?'
kādā pūrvā prośṭhapade, kādā pūrvāḥ prośṭhapadāḥ 'When are the Pūrvā
and Uttarā Prośṭhapadā 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 Phalguni'. The ca is
used in the rule to assimilate into its meaning the fact that phalgunī and
prośṭhapadā are terms each referring to two constellations: pūrvā phalgunī/
uttarā phalgunī and pūrvā prośṭhapadā / uttarā prośṭhapadā.

The Mahābhāṣya (II: 110) rejects this rule by saying that even without
this rule bahuvacana can be gotten. Since the words phalgunī and
prośṭhapadā 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 चन्द्रसिं पुनर्वसिवेकवचनम्
chandasi punarvasvor ekavacanam
/ chandasi 7/1 punarvasvoḥ 6/1 ekavacanam 1/1/
(anyatarasyāṁ # 58)
punarvasvoḥ chandasi viṣaye ekavacanam anyatarasyāṁ bhavati
Singular can be used for denoting the dual of punarvasu in Vedic.
EXAMPLES:

punarvasur nakṣatram aditīr devatā ‘Punarvasu are constellations, Aditi is the deity’
punarvasū nakṣatram aditīr devatā ‘Punarvasu are the constellations, Aditi is the deity’

1.2.62 विशाखयोगः
viśākhayoṣ ca
/viśākha/yoh 6/2 ca ϑ
(chandasi # 61, anyatarasyāṁ # 58)
dvivacane prāpte chandasi viṣaye viśākhayor ekvacanam anyatarasyāṁ bhavati
In Vedic, singular optionally can be used to denote the dual of viśākhā also.

EXAMPLES:

viśākham nakṣatram indrāgni devatā ‘Viśākhā are constellations, Indra and Agni are the deities’
viśākhe nakṣatram indrāgni devatā ‘Viśākhā are the constellations, Indra and Agni are the deities’

1.2.63 तिष्यपुनर्वसोऽन्तकांत्रिकूणे बहुवचनम् द्विवन नित्यम्
tisyapunarvasov naksatradvandve bahuvacanasya dvivacamam nityam
/tisyapunarvasoh 6/2 naksatradvandve 7/1 bahuvacanasya 6/1 dvivacamam
1/1 nityam 1/1
tisyapunarvasov naksatraviṣaye dvandve bahuvacanaprasaṅge nityam
dvivacamam bhavati
In a dvandva (2.2.29 cārthe dvandvaḥ) compound of tisyā and punarvasu which denotes naksatra, dvivacana ‘dual’ obligatorily is used for bahuvacana ‘plural’.

EXAMPLES:

udisau tisyapunarvasū dṛṣyete ‘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 naksatra is used here again to indicate that the meaning of tiṣya and punarvasu is not the meaning one would find in expressions such as: punarvasu māṇavakau ‘the two boys born in the constellation of Punarvasu’. A question is further raised as to why Pāṇini preferred to use the word naksatra explicitly, instead of bringing it by means of anuvṛtī. Kāśikā (1: 371)
states that the reason for this was to enable the synonyms of *tisya* and *punarvasu* to be covered. It offers as an example *siddhayapunarvasū*, parallel to *tisyapunarvasū*, where *siddhay* is a synonym of *tisya*. 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 *tisyapunarvasavah* is used as a *bahuvrīhi* compound with the paraphrase *yas tisyas tau punarvasū yeṣāṁ ta ime tisyapunarvasavah*. The expression *unmugdha* *tisyapunarvasavah* refers to those people for whom the meaning of *tisya*, whatever it is, is the same as the meaning of *punarvasu*. That is, those people are confused (*unmugdha*) and cannot discriminate between *tisya* and *punarvasu*.

1.2.64 सरुपानंकस्कृतिः एकविश्लेषः

*sarūpāṇām ekaśeṣa ekavibhaktau*

*lsarūpāṇām 6/1 ekaśeṣah 1/1 ekavibhaktau 7/11/

*sarūpāṇām sabdānām 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:**

*vrksaś ca vrksaś ca = vrksau ‘two trees’*

*vrksaś ca vrksaś ca vrksaś ca = vrksāḥ ‘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 *vrksa + sU + vrksa + sU, + vrksa + sU*, where three similar forms of *vrksa* are occurring before the same *sU*, only one is retained and the rest are dropped. As a result, we get *vrksa + fas = vrksāḥ*. 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 *vrksau* nominative dual, from *vrksa + sU + vrksa + sU = vrksa + auT = vrksau.*

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 *vrksa* to be expressed by *vrksāḥ*.
where the base is only one. (See Kāś. 1: 373: \textit{pratyartham sābdanivesān naikenānekasyābhīdhānām. tatrānekārthābhīdhāne} nekaśabdatvam prāptam, tasmād ekaśeṣaḥ.)

The word \textit{srūpa} 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 \textit{plakṣa + sU + nyagrodha + sU}; we must use them instead as part of a dvandva compound in dual: \textit{plakṣaṇyagrodhau} 'the plakṣa and the nyagrodha trees'. The word \textit{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 \textit{akṣa} 'dice, axle, sensory organ, etc.' even though the many used do not mean the same thing. The word \textit{eka} 'one' of ekaśeṣa is used to make sure that only one form is retained. The \textit{ēṣa} is used to indicate that ekaśeṣa is not \textit{adeśa} 'replacement' in place of the similar forms. This means that the genitive of \textit{srūpāṇām} has to be interpreted not as \textit{sthānasaṣṭhī}, or genitive denoting 'in place of' (1.1.49 \textit{ṣaṣṭī sthāneyogā}). It should rather be interpreted as the genitive of specification (\textit{nirdhāraṇa}), thereby giving the meaning 'one from among many which are similar in form'.

An interpretation of genitive as \textit{sthānasaṣṭhī} will create all kinds of problems, especially with reference to accentuation (see Kāśikā, Nyāsa and \textit{Padamaṇī} (1: 378-79) for details). Finally, the requirement of similar inflectional ending (\textit{ekavibhakti}) is part of the rule to block ekaśeṣa in cases where the forms may be similar but the endings differ. Consider, for example, \textit{brāhmaṇābhīyām ca kṛtam} 'done by two brāhmaṇas' and \textit{brāhmaṇābhīyām 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 

\textbf{वृद्धो युवा तत्तक्षणक्रेत्रेश्व विशेष:}

\begin{verbatim}
vrddho yunā tallakṣanaś ced eva viśeṣaḥ
\end{verbatim}

\begin{verbatim}
/vrddhah 1/1 yunā 3/1 tallakṣanaḥ 1/1 cet 0 eva 0 viśeṣaḥ 1/1/
\end{verbatim}

(\textit{viśeṣaḥ} # 64)

\begin{verbatim}
vrdhavunoh sahavacane vrddhah sisyate tallakṣanaś ced eva viśeṣaḥ
\end{verbatim}

Only that which ends in an affix denoting \textit{vrddha} 'grandson or grandsons, and so on,' remains when it is used with a word ending in an affix denoting \textit{yuvan} 'younger descendant' and the distinction is caused only by the affixes.

\textbf{EXAMPLES:}

\begin{verbatim}
gārgyaś ca gārgyāyaṇaś ca = gārgyau 'grandson and great-grandson
\end{verbatim}
of Garga’

vātsyāś 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 + gārgyāyana + sU where gārgya denotes the offspring (gotra descendant) of Garga and gārgyāyana denotes the young male gotra descendant of Garga, such that the only difference between gārgya and gārgyāyana is that caused by the affixes aN (in gārgya) and pha (in gārgyāyana). 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 yuvaṇ’ and lakoṣaṇa itself denotes nimitta ‘cause’. Read with cet ‘if’ and višeṣa ‘difference’ this gives us the meaning: if the difference is caused by the affixes vṛddha and yuvaṇ alone.

1.2.66 श्री पुंकव

strī pumvaś ca
/strī 1/1 pumvat 0 ca 0/
(vṛddho yūnā tallakṣaṇaś ced eva višeṣā # 65)
strī vṛddhā yūnā saha vacane śisyate tallakṣaṇaś ced eva višeṣo bhavati

Only the feminine form which ends in a gotra affix remains when it is used with a word ending in an affix denoting yuvaṇ, provided the difference in them is caused only by these affixes. In addition, the feminine form is changed into masculine.

EXAMPLES:

gārgī ca gārgyāyanaś ca = gārgyau ‘grand-daughter and great-grandson of Garga’
vātsyāś ca vātsyāyanaś ca = vātsyau ‘grand-daughter and great-grandson of Vatsa’
dākṣī ca dākṣaṇaś ca = dākṣyau ‘grand-daughter and great-grandson of Dakṣa’

1. This rule carries the anuvṛtti of vṛddho yūnā tallakṣaṇaś ced eva višeṣā (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 gārgyāsa ca gārgyāyanaś ca, the ekaśeṣa will not be gargaḥ. This is because rule 2.4.64 yaṁnoś ca will not be able to delete affix yaṁ, which carries the anuvṛtti of astriyām ‘when not strī’ from 2.4.62 tadrājasya...

1.2.67 पुमानस्त्रिया

/pumān striyā

/pumān 1/1 striyā 3/1/

(tallakṣaṇaś ced eva viśeṣaḥ # 65)

striyā sahayacane pumān śisyate; strī nivartate: striṃpumśalakṣaṇaś 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 mayūrī ca cannot yield *kukkuṭamayūryau ‘chicken and pea-hen’ for the reason that they differ in the word-form.

1.2.68 प्रान्तपुत्रि वस्सदुहित्र्ब्रह्मāय

/bhrāṭṛputrau svāsṛduhitṛbhṛyām

/bhrāṭṛputrau 1/2 svāsṛduhitṛbhṛyām 3/1/

(viśeṣaḥ # 64)

yathāsāmkhyāṃ bhṛāṭṛputraśaśadau ssyete sahayacane svāsṛduhitṛbhṛyām

Only bhṛāṭṛ ‘brother’ and ṭetra ‘son’ remain when they are used with svāṛ ‘sister’ and duhitṛ ‘daughter’ respectively.

EXAMPLES:

/bhrāṭā ca svasā ca = bhrāṭarau ‘brother and sister’

/putraś ca duhitā ca = ṭetrapeu ‘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.
Examples:

śuklaś ca kambalāḥ śuklā ca bhūhatikā śuklam 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 sevyamānāḥ vivarddhate ‘laziness, if indulged, increases’
   (b) maithunam sevyamānam vivarddhate ‘sensuality, if indulged, increases’
   (c) nīdrā sevyamānāḥ 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 maithunam nīdrā sevyamānam 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 nīdrā it is construed in masculine and feminine respectively. Rule 1.2.69 makes it possible for only sevyamānam, 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 kambalāḥ, śuklā ca bhūhatikā, śuklam ca vastram where śuklaś ca śuklā ca śuklam ca would yield śuklam or śuklāni. Observe that a neuter is used here with a non-neuter as dictated by the condition of anapumsakena, for, in its absence, śuklam ca śuklam ca śuklam 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 (*ānantaryya*), should be constructed only with *ekavat* and not with *ekāśeṣa* ‘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

\[\text{pitā mātrā} \]

\[\text{/pitā 1/1 mātrā 3/1/} \]

\[\text{(anyatarasyām 69, śeṣah 64)} \]

\[\text{mātrā sahavacane pīṭ-śabdaḥ śisyate anyatarasyām} \]

Optionally, *pitā* ‘father’ is retained when used with *mātā* ‘mother’.

**EXAMPLES:**

\[\text{mātā ca pitā ca = pitarau / mātāpitarau ‘parents; mother and father’} \]

### 1.2.71 श्रुवः: श्रुवः

\[\text{svaśūraḥ svaśṛvā} \]

\[\text{/svaśūraḥ 1/1 svaśṛvā 3/1/} \]

\[\text{(anyatarasyām 69, śeṣah 64)} \]

\[\text{svaśṛvā sahavacane svaśūraḥ śisyate anyatarasyām} \]

Optionally, *śvaśura* ‘father-in-law’ is retained when used with *śvaśṛvā* ‘mother-in-law’.

**EXAMPLES:**

\[\text{śvaśuras ca śvaśṛṣ ca = śvaśurau ‘father-in-law and mother-in-law'} \]
\[\text{śvaśṛvāsvaśura ‘in-laws’} \]

### 1.2.72 त्यददीनि सब्बिन्नवयम्

\[\text{tyadādīnī sarvair nityam} \]

\[\text{/tyadādīnī 1/3 sarvaiḥ 3/3 nityam 1/1/} \]

\[\text{(śeṣah 64)} \]

\[\text{tyadādīnī śabdāśūryaḥ sarvaiḥ sahavacane nityam śisyate tyadādibhir anyaś ca} \]

Items enumerated in the list headed by *tyad* obligatorily are retained when used with any other items.

**EXAMPLES:**

\[\text{sa ca devadattaś ca = tau ‘he and Devadatta; they’} \]
\[\text{yaś ca devadattaś ca = yau ‘he and Devadatta who…; those two who…’} \]

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 sarvanāmāni). 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 ekāṣaṇa and referred to here by tyad, etc., and sarva. This is also attested by the fact that sarupāṇām is not carried in this rule from 1.2.64.

The word nityam 'obligatorily' is used here to drop the ānuvṛtti 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 ग्राम्यपासुसांग्षेषा सतरुणेषु सती
<br>grāmyapaśusāṅgṣeṣa anatarunēṣu strī
/gramyapaśusangheśu 7/3 anatarunēṣu 7/3 strī 1/1/
(seṣeḥ # 64)
<br>grāmyānām paśūnām saṅghāḥ = grāmyapaśusāṅgsthā; eteṣu anatarunēṣu saha-
vyakṣayāṁ strī sīyate

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'
aśa imāḥ 'these goats and she-goats'

1. Rule 1.2.67 pumān strīyā 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 anataruṇa 'non-young' cannot be interpreted as qualifying the principal constituent saṅgha 'group, herd' of grāmyapaśusāṁgraha, for the idea of tārūṇya 'youngness' is incompatible with saṅgha. Commentators conclude that anataruṇa therefore qualifies the secondary (gaṇa) constituent, which is paśu 'animal'.

1.3.1 भूववदयो दातवः
<br>bhūvādayo dhātavāḥ

/bhūvādayah 1/3 bhūs ca vaśca = bhūvā (dv.); bhūvāvā adī yeṣām te =
bhūvādayah (bv. with internal dv.); dhātavāh 1/3/

'bhū' ity evam ādayah sābdāḥ kriyāvacanā dhātusāmāṇā bhaṇvanti

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'
edhā ‘to increase, grow, prosper’ as in edhate ‘he prospers’
sparddhā ‘to compete, be envious’ as in sparddhate ‘he competes’

1. Commentators generally have explained the word bhūvādayah in two ways.

(a) Given the compound bhū-vā-ādi, bhū and vā first are combined to yield a dvandva compound bhūvau which, in turn, is combined with ādi to yield a bahuvrīhi compound bhūvādayah. The analyzed form of this bahuvrīhi compound with its internal dvandva would be: bhūsca vaśca = bhūvau; bhūvau ādi yeṣāṁ te bhūvādayah. Commentators add, however, that the word ādi ‘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 bhūvādayah 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 indelible 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) Kāśīkā does not follow the above interpretation. Instead it states that the rule has the following string of elements: bhū-va-ādi, 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: bhūsca vaśca ādiśca = bhūvādī; bhūvādī ādir yeṣāṁ te bhūvādayah.

The above two interpretations become necessary in view of the fact that, according to Pāṇinian practice, the sūtra should have read only bhū-ādi and, as a consequence, should have been interpreted as a bahuvrīhi compound having the form bhūvādi, this latter as a result of yhN-sandhi. In the absence of sandhi, bhūvādayah 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 yan aci) brings forth yet another explanation for bhūvādi. He says that grammarians Vyādi and Gālava had the tendency to insert y, v, r, and l between the sequences of i, u, r, and l. Accordingly, in bhū-ādi, the sequence of ā and ā was interrupted by v, yielding bhū-v-ādi = bhūvādi. It may be that Pāṇini chose to pay respect to Vyādi and Gālava by following this practice. Jain grammarians also refer to this practice in their vṛtti (see Mīmāṃsaka’s Hindi translation of the Mahābhāṣya 1.3.1 (II: 233, fns.1-4).
1.3.3  Adhyāya One: Pāda Three

SCOPE: 3.1.91 dhātol, and so on.

1.3.2  उपदेशेश्युनासिक इत्र

upadeśe' j anunāsika it
hupadeśe 7/1 ac 1/1 anunāsika 1/1 it 1/1/
upadeśe yo' nunāsikah sa itsamjñô bhavati

The nasalized (anunāsika, see 1.1.8 mukhanāsikā...) aC (vowel, see Šs 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 (śastravāya). Such citation could concern a rule, a linguistic item, or a collection of rules or linguistic items. Thus sūtrapātha (SP) 'the sūtras of the Aṣṭādhyāyī,' dhārupātha (DP) 'listing of roots', ganaṇapātha (GP) 'listing of groups of nominals,' and other materials ancillary 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 Pāṇiniyas. That is, the grammatical tradition is what either allows or disallows the nasalization of a particular vowel in upadeśa (pratijñā' nunāsikā pāṇiniyah).

SCOPE: 7.2.16 āditaś ca, and so on.

1.3.3  हलल्लाम

halantyam
ihal 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)
dhātvadeś samudāyasya yad antyam hal tad it samjñāṃ bhavati

A final hL of an item in upadeśa is termed an it.

EXAMPLES:

N, K, C of the Šs 1-4:
aiuN, ṣIK, eoN, 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 tatpurusa 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 = hal hal, where, after this combination, one hal will be deleted by 1.2.64 sarūpa.... 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 Nāgęśa. He thinks that Patańjali 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 halantyaṃ halantyaṃ, 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 halantyaṃ 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 hal hal is retained, while Nāgęśa’s view is based on tantroccarana, 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 sahaśivaśa ‘the desire to use both concurrently’. For example, vrksau underlies vrksas ca vrksas ca where the desire to express both concurrently through vrksau allows ekaśeṣa, and results in the deletion of vrksaḥ. In regard to the tantroccarana view of Nāgęśa, sahaśivaśa does not obtain. Besides if tantroccarana had been intended by Kātyāyana or Patańjali, they would have clearly said ‘tantroccaranaḥ’ and not ‘ekaśeṣamirdeśāt’. 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 विभक्ति तुम्मा:
na vibhaktau tasmāh
/na ṛ vibhaktau 7/1 tasmāh 1/3 = uṣ ca saṣ ca maṣ ca (ūtar. dv.) /
(halantyaṃ # 3, upadeśe, it # 2)
pūrveṇa prāptiṣyām itsamjñāyāṃ vibhaktau vartamānānāṃ tavarga-
sakāra-makārāṇāṃ pratisedhā ucyate
The final -tU (t, th, d, dh, n; see 1.1.69 amudī...), s, and m of a vibhakti ‘inflectional ending’ (SUP or tiN; see 1.4.104 vibhaktiṣ ca) in upadeśa is not termed it.

EXAMPLES:

(a) final t of āt as in
vṛksā, ablative singular of vṛksa ‘tree’
plakṣā, 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
pacatāḥ ‘they two are cooking’
pacatathā ‘you two are cooking’
(c) m of tām and tam as in
apacatām ‘they two cooked’
apacatam ‘you two cooked’

1. Examples such as vṛksāt and plakṣāt involve āt which is ruled by 7.1.12
tāhasiṇhas... as a replacement for Nasi ‘ablative singular’. Nasi is termed a
vibhakti by 1.4.104 vibhaktiś ca while āt is assigned this term by 1.1.56
stāṇiṇaḥ... 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 tashaḥs.... Again, tas and thas are designated as vibhakti simply
because they are replacements of a vibhakti.

1.3.5 आदित्यैः:
adī nītudahah
lādī 1/1 nītudahah 1/3 = niś ca tuś ca duś ca (itär. dv.)/(upadesa, it # 2)
ṇī, tu, du ity eteśām samudāyaṇām āditā vartamanānām it samjñā bhavati
The initial Nī, Tū, or Dū of an item in upadesa is termed it.

EXAMPLES:

(a) the Nī of
Nīmidā ‘to be fat’ as in minnah
Nīdhṛṣṭā ‘to dare’ as in dhṛṣṭah
Nīkṣidā ‘to hum’ as in kṣiṇnah
Nīindhī ‘to kindle’ as in iddhāh
(b) the Tū of
TŪvepr ‘to tremble’ as in vepaṭuḥ ‘trembling’
TŪoṣvī ‘to grow, increase, swell’ as in svaṭuḥ ‘swelling’
(c) the Dū of
Dūpacās ‘to cook’ as in paktrimam
Dūvaḍpa ‘to sow, scatter’ as in uptrimam
Dūkṛṇ ‘to do, make’ as in kṛtrimam

1. Commentators question here why this TŪ cannot be interpreted as
referring to t, th, d, dh, and ṇ in accordance with 1.1.69 anudit savarṇasya....
The arguments that such an interpretation will be wrong are as follows.
(a) If Pāṇini intended this TŪ to refer to t, th, d, dh, and ṇ, he did not
have to refer to d again in this rule by DŪ. This use of D would become vacuous.
(b) Because of the association (sāhacarya) with \( \bar{NI} \) and \( DU \), which refer to individual segments, \( T \bar{U} \) also should refer to its own form.

(c) Pāṇini refers to the individual members of the retroflex series by \( T \) in 1.3.7 cutū. This too can serve as a clue for not interpreting \( T \bar{U} \) in 1.3.5 ādir... as referring to \( t, th, d, dh, \) and \( n \). Besides, the \( T \bar{U} \) of this rule is considered nasalized which, in turn, will take it out of the sphere of 1.1.69 anudit....

(d) \( \bar{NI}, T \bar{U}, \) and \( D \bar{U} \) are intended to indicate that, for example, the past participial suffix Kta, after roots prefixed with \( \bar{NI} \) as \( it \), has the force of present (3.2.187 nītaḥ ktaḥ); that \( T \bar{U} \) prefixed with roots as \( it \) allows such roots to take the affix athuC (3.3.89 tivita' thuc) and that \( D \bar{U} \) similarly enables roots to take the affix tri (3.3.88 dvitaḥ). Incidentally, affix tri obligatorily requires the augment maP (4.4.20 trer mum nityam).

1.3.6 श: प्रत्ययायः

\( šaḥ \) pratyayasya  \\
\|\( šaḥ \) 1/1 pratyayasya 6/1  \\
\| (ādīḥ # 5, upadeśe, it # 2)  \\
\| sakāraḥ pratyayasyādir itsamjño bhavati  \\
\| The initial \( Š \) of an affix in upadeśa is termed \( it \).

EXAMPLES:

\( Š \) of affix ŚvauN (3.1 145 silpini...) as in  \\
\| narttaki ‘dancer’  \\
\| rajaki ‘waherman’s wife’

1.3.7 चुँू

\( cutū \)  \\
\| \( cutū \) 1/2 = cuś ca tuś ca (itar. dv.)  \\
\| (pratyayasya # 6, ādīḥ # 5, upadeśe, it # 2)  \\
\| cavarga-tavarga pratyayasyādi itsamjñau bhavataḥ  \\
\| The initial \( cU \) (c, ch, j, jh, \( \bar{n} \); see 1.1.69 anudit...)  \\
\| or \( \bar{t}U \) (t, th, d, dh, \( \bar{n} \); see 1.1.69) of an affix in upadeśa is termed \( it \).

EXAMPLES:

(a) the C of affix CphaN (4.1.98 gotre...) as in kaunjāyanaḥ ‘a gotra descendant of Kunja’  \\
\| the J of affix Jas (4.1.2 suavjas...) as in brāhmaṇāḥ, nominative plural of brāhmaṇa  \\
\| the N of affix Nyā (4.3.92 śaṇḍika...) as in śaṇḍikyaḥ ‘a native of Śaṇḍika’

(b) the T of affix Ta (3.2.16 careś ṭaḥ) as in kurucari ‘she who wanders
in the country of Kuru'; madracari 'she who wanders in the country of Madra',
the i of affix Da (3.2.97 saptamâyam...) as in upasarajah 'he who is
born near a pond'; mandurajah 'he who is born in a stable',
the N of affix Na (4.4.85 annâññah as in âññah 'he who has
obtained food'

1. It is interesting to note that no examples involving the initial ch, jh, th,
and dh of an affix were provided. This omission is significant since affix
initials ch, jh, th, and dh always are replaced by ïy (7.1.2 âyaneyi....) ant (7.1.3
jho' ntañ), ik (7.3.50 thasyekâ), and ey (7.1.2) respectively. Thus the ques-
tion of treating each of these as an it does not arise.

2. Commentators bring to our notice that Panini would have been bet-
ter off formulating 1.3.6 and 1.3.7 together as one rule: cuñâ pratyayasâ.
Panini 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 vittañ... and 5.2.31 nate... where the
initial c and t of cuñcuP, cañap, and ñtaC are not termed it.

3. Bhattoji Dikshita (SK on 5.2.26) considers the affixes as yeuñcuP,
yeñap, and yñtaC. This way the question of assigning the term it to affix-
initial c or t does not arise. The initial y may then be deleted by 6.1.66
lopoñyor valîñ. The very fact that this y is an imaginary insert takes it out of
the sphere of the upadeñ.

1.3.8 लश्करादिगिते
lośakv ataddhite
ilasañku 1/1 = lañ ca sañ ca kuñ ca (itar. dv.) ataddhite 7/1 = na taddhitah
(naññ. tat.), tasmin/
(pratyayasã # 6, âdih # 5, upadeñe, it # 2)
taddhitavarjitasã pratyayasâyâdo vartamânã lakâra ūkâra-kavargâ
itsamâyâ bhavanti
The initial L, Š, and KU (k, kh, g, gh, ṇ; see 1.1.69 anudit...) of a non-
taddhita (4.1.76 taddhitâ) affix in upadeñ is termed it.

EXAMPLES

(a) the L of affix LyuT (3.4.115 lyuñ ca) as in cayanan 'the act of heaping,
gathering, selecting'; Jayanan 'the act of winning'
the Š of affix ŠaP (3.1.68 kartari śap) as in bhavati 'he becomes';
paceñ 'he cooks'

(b) the K of affixes Kla and KvatU (1.1.26 ktaktavatû...) as in bhuktah
'that which has been consumed'; bhuktavan 'he consumed, ate'
the KH of affix KHaC (3.2.38 priyavañe...) as in priyamoñvadah 'he
who is pleasantly-spoken'; vañvadah 'id.'
the $G$ of affix $GsmU$ (3.2.139 glājīsthas ca $gsmu$) as in īśyūḥ ‘he whose nature is to win’; bhūśyūḥ ‘he whose nature is to become’ the $GH$ of affix $GHuraC$ (3.2.161 bhāṅjabhāṣaśabhid...) as in bhāṅguram ‘perishable, transient’ the $N$ of affixes $NasI$ and $Nas$ as in vrksāt, ablative singular of vrksa ‘tree’; vrksasya, genitive singular of vrksa.

1.3.9 तस्य लोपः:

\begin{align*}
\text{tasya lopah} \\
\text{/tasya 6/1 lopah 1/1/} \\
\text{tasyetsamjñakasya lopo bhavati}
\end{align*}

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 lasaku...

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 $NI$, $TU$, and $DU$ 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 I or U 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 lopah and not as itah lopah, tasya must be treated as indicating total deletion.

1.3.10 यथासंख्यामनुदेशः समानाम्

\begin{align*}
\text{yathāsāmkhyaṁ anudeśah samānām} \\
\text{lyathāsāmkhyaṁ θ = sāmkhyāṁ anatikrāntah (av.); anudeśah 6/1 samānām} \\
\text{6/1/} \\
\text{yathākramam anudeśo bhavati}
\end{align*}

Assignment of equivalents for equal numbers of elements follows the order of enumeration.

EXAMPLES:

4.3.94 tūdi-śalātura-varmati-kucavarād ḍhakchan-ṭhañ-yak

1. Rule 4.3.94 enumerates four bases — tūdi, śalātura, varmati, and kucavarā (all place names) — after which four affixes ($DHaK$, $CHAČN$, $DHaN$, 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 \( DHaK \) should be introduced after \( tūḍi, CHaN \) after \( śalātura, DHaN \) after \( varmati \), and \( yaK \) after \( kūcavāra \).

2. A question arises here as to why Pāṇini preferred the expression \( yathāsamkhyā \) 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 खरितेनाधिकारः

- \( svaritenādhikāraḥ \)
- \( /svaritena 1/3 adhikāraḥ 1/1/ \)
- \( svarito nāma svaraviśeṣo varṇadharmaḥ tena cihnenādhekāro veditavyah \)

An \( adhikāra \) ‘heading’ is known by means of \( svarita \) ‘circumflex’

**EXAMPLES:**

- \( pratyayah \) as in 3.1.1 \( pratyayah \)
- \( dhātoḥ \) as in 3.1.91 \( dhātoḥ \)
- \( ny-āp prātipadikāt \) as in 4.1.1 \( ny-āp prātipadikāt \)
- \( angasya \) as in 6.4.1 \( angasya \)
- \( bhasya \) as in 6.4.120 \( bhasya \)
- \( padasya \) 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 \( paribhāṣā: vyākhyānato viśeṣa pratipattih \)...(Ps: 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 अनुदात्तित आल्मनेपदम्

- \( anudāttataḥ ātmanepadam \)
- \( /anudāttataḥ 5/1 = anudāttaś ca īnas ca = anudāttaṇau, anudāttaṇau itau yasya anudāttaṇit, tasmāt (bv. with internal dv.); ātmanepadam 1/1/ \)
anudātteto ye dhātavo nītaś ca tebhyā eva ātmanepadam bhavati

An ātmanepada (1.4.100 tahānāv ātmanepadam) affix occurs after a root which is marked either with anudāttā 'low-pitch' or with ṇ

EXAMPLES:

vasā ‘to cover’
āsā ‘to sit’
śūṇ ‘to give birth’
śīṇ ‘to recline, to sleep’

1. The term ātmanepada refers to a set of nine affixes enumerated by 3.4.78 tiṭasāhī.... Rule 1.4.100 tahānāv... assigns the term ātmanepada by using the abbreviation taṇ; that is, ta, ātām, jha; thās, āhām, dhvam; iṭ, vahi, māhīṇ. In addition to these nine, affixes Śānac and Kānac, jointly referred to by the abbreviation ānā, also are termed ātmanepada.

2. It is apparent from the vr̥tti that Kāśikā reads dhātubhyāḥ ‘after verbal roots’ with items marked with ṇ anudattā. 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 + druṇ + Caṇ + LU̹, where Caṇ is introduced as a replacement for CLI before LU̹, (3.1.48 niśridrusrubhyah....(For details of introducing LU̹, CLI, and aṬ, see the derivations in the appendix.) Given the interpretation of 1.3.12, where one does not take dhātubhyāḥ as part of the rule, one may end up replacing the LU̹ of aṭ + druṇ + Caṇ + LU̹ by ātmanepada. This means that LU̹ will be replaced by ātmanepada, because it is occurring after an item ending in Caṇ which, in turn, is marked with ṇ. The derivation of adudruvat, the correct form, will be blocked. But if dhātubhyāḥ is supplied in the interpretation, LU̹ in the above string cannot be replaced by ātmanepada, as the element ending in Caṇ 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 Caṇ 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 (vikaranac) which are externally conditioned. In other words, Caṇ 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 ṇ vacuous. This also explains why the inclusion of dhātavah does not serve this function.

3. The purpose of the inclusion of dhātavah is clarity. The term ṇiṭ in this rule may refer to two types of items (dhātu): those which are marked
by $N$ as an it and those which terminate in terms marked by $N$ as an it. This second interpretation clearly comes from invoking 1.1.72 yena vidhis tada

tasya. The referent of the variable yena in 1.1.72 is a qualifier (viṣeṣaṇa). The rule sets up the principle of tadavidhi whereby a qualifier is enabled to denote an item in which it terminates. However, tadavidhi is not possible here in 1.3.12 unless a viṣeṣa ‘qualified’ is provided. The inclusion of dhātavaḥ serves this very purpose. Commentators 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 anudāta or with $N$. All other verbs will thus be excluded.

1.3.13 भवकर्मणोऽ

bhāvakarmanoḥ

bhāvakarmanoḥ 7/2 = bhāvaś ca karma ca = bhāvakarmanī, tayoḥ

bhāvakarmanoḥ (itar. dú.)

(ātmanepadam # 12)

bhāve karmanī cātmanapadam 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’

subyate bhavatā ‘you (polite) sleep’

āsyate bhavatā ‘you (polite) stand’

(b) kriyāte kāṭaḥ ‘the mat is being made’

hriyāte 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 karmanī ca bhāve cākarmakeśhyah, whereby LA affixes are introduced after a transitive verb to express kartya ‘agent’ or karman, and after an intransitive verb to express kartya 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 कर्तारी कर्मवादित्वारे

kartāri karmavyātihāre

kartāri 7/1 karma

karmavyātihāre 7/1 = karmanāḥ vyatihāraḥ (saś. taḥ.), tasmin

= karma

karmavyātihāre!
(ātmanepadam # 12)
karmavyatihāre tadviśiṣṭakriyāvacananād dhātor ātmanepadam bhavati
An ātmanepada affix occurs after a root when agent with karmavyatihāra
‘reciprocity of action’ is to be expressed.

EXAMPLES:

vyatilunāte 'they cut each other'
vyaṭipunāte 'they wipe each other'

1. The word karmā in this rule does not refer to the technical term
karmā ‘object’, but instead is used in the general sense of kriyā ‘action’.
2. The word karmavyatihāra is interpreted as ‘exchange (vinimaya) of
action’. Kāśīkā further explains that karmavyatihāra relates to a situation
where some one performs an action characteristically performed by some-
one else, as for example, when a brāhmaṇa has exchanged his proper
action for that of a śūdra ‘low caste person’. Padamanjari adds another
dimension to the use of karmavyatihāra, namely parasparakaranam ‘recip-
rocating 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 himsārthebhyyah 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 karmā 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 some-
thing 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 karmā. 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-karmā 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 pratiśedho
vā). This limits the use of karttari to anuvṛtti.

1.3.15 न गतिहिसारथेभ्याः:
na gatihimsārthebhyyah
/na 0 gatihimsārthebhyyah 5/3 = gatiḥ ca himsā ca = gatiḥimse (dv.),
gatihimse arthau yeśām te = gatihimsārthāḥ (bv. with internal dv.), tebhyyah
= gatihimsārthebhyyah/
(karmavyatihāre # 13, ātmanepadam # 12)
gatyarthebhyaḥ himsārthebhyaś ca dhātubhyah karmavatihāre ātmanepadāṃ na bhavati

An ātmanepada affix does not occur after a root which signifies gati ‘motion’ or himsā ‘injure, kill, smite’ even though the action to be performed is reciprocal or exchanged.

Examples:

vyatigacchanti ‘they go for each other’
vyatīsaparanti ‘they crawl for each other’
vyatihimsanti ‘they injure each other’
vyatighnanti ‘they kill each other’

1.3.16 इतरेतारायण्योपपददशः

ītaretarānyo’ nyopapadāc ca

ītare...padaḥ 5/1 = ītaretarā sa anyonyaś ca = ātmanepadāṃ (dv.) tauc upāpade yaśa sa ātare...padaḥ (bv. with internal dv.), tasām = ītare...padaḥ; ca 0/1 (na # 15, karmavatihāre # 14, ātmanepadāṃ # 12)

ītaretarāḥ anyo’ nyah īty evam upapadāḥ dhāto karmavatihāre ātmanepadāṃ na bhavati

An ātmanepada affix does not occur after a root which co-occurs with a pada containing ītaretara ‘each other’ or anyonya ‘one another’ when reciprocity or exchange of action is signified.

Examples:

ītaretarasya vyatilunanti ‘they are cutting each other’s (crop)’
anyo’ nyasya vyatilunanti ‘id.’

1.3.17 अविभाज्य:

ner viśaḥ

/neḥ 5/1 viśaḥ 5/1/
(ātmanepadāṃ # 12)

neḥ parasmād viśa ātmanepadāṃ 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 śeṣāḥ karttari..., ni-viś should have parasmaiṇapada. 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 parasmaiṇapada will occur, as in gehe praviśati ‘enters the house’.
1.3.18 परिवेष्ठ: क्रियः:

\[ \text{parivavyebhyah kriyah} \]
\[ /\text{parivavyebhyah} \ 5/3 = \text{pari ca vi ca ava ca} = \text{parivyavās tebhyaḥ (itar. dv.)}; \]
\[ \text{kriyah} \ 5/1/ \]
\[ (ātmanepadam # 12) \]
\[ \text{parivavyebhya uttarasmāt kriñāter ātmanepadam bhavati} \]

An ātmanepada affix occurs after kriṅ to buy, sell, barter when it is used with the preverbs pari, vi, or ava.

EXAMPLES:

\[ \text{parikrīṇiṭe 'he hires on stipulated wages'} \]
\[ \text{vikrīṇiṭe 'he sells'} \]
\[ \text{avakrīṇiṭe 'he rents'} \]

1. Since ĆUkriṅ is marked with ā, it will take ātmanepada when the fruit of the action accrues to the agent (1.3.72 svaritaṁitaḥ...). However, 1.3.78 sēṣā kartari 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 विपरारथ्याः जे:

\[ \text{viparābhhyām jeh} \]
\[ /\text{viparābhhyām} \ 5/2 = \text{vi ca parā ca} = \text{viparau, tābhhyām = viparābhhyām (itar. dv.); jeh 5/1/} \]
\[ (ātmanepadam # 12) \]
\[ \text{viparā pūrvā jayater dhātor ātmanepadaṁ bhavati} \]

An ātmanepada affix occurs after ji 'to conquer' when it is used with the preverbs vi and parā.

EXAMPLES:

\[ \text{vijayate (sātrūn) 'he conquers (the enemies') \]
\[ \text{parājayate (sātrūn) 'he defeats (the enemies') \]

1. Note that parā is the preverb and not the feminine form of para 'excellent', derived by introducing the affix TāP. By association (sahācaryā) with vi, which does not end in TāP, parā will also be interpreted as not ending in TāP. 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 आः दो देशास्यविहरणे

\[ \text{āno do' nāyavaharane} \]
āṇāḥ 5/1 daḥ 5/1 anāśavyāharaṇe 7/1 = āśasya viharaṇam = āśavyāharaṇam (saś. tat.), na āśavyāharaṇam = anāśavyāharaṇam (nañ. tat.), tasmin = anāśavyāharaṇe
(āṭmanepadām # 20)
āṇ pūrvād dadātār anāśavyāharaṇe vartamānād āṭmanepadām bhavati.
An āṭmanepada affix occurs after DUdāN ‘to give’ when it is used with the preverb āN and does not signify āśavyāharaṇa ‘to open the mouth’.

EXAMPLE:

vidyām ādattē ‘he imparts knowledge’

1. The restriction of anāśavyāharaṇa for blocking āṭmanepada relates to ‘opening one’s own mouth’. That is, if someone is opening someone else’s mouth, āṭmanepada cannot be blocked. Thus āṭmanepada in vyādādate of vyādādate patangasya mukham āpi pīlikāḥ ‘the ants are opening the mouth of the insect’ is allowed.

2. Commentators also indicate that āśavyāharaṇa ‘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 āṭmanepada in examples such as vipādikāṃ vyādātī ‘he is opening up the cracks of his feet’ and nadi kūlam vyādātī ‘the river is opening up’.

3. Note that because DUdāN is marked with N, āṭmanepada is available to it via 1.3.78 svaritaṇiṇaḥ...provided, of course, the fruit of the action accrues to the agent. The present rule provides for āṭmanepada 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 DUdāN and not to other roots which may have the same form dā.

1.3.21 क्रीडोःनुसमपरिष्यक्ष

krīḍoḥ nusamparibhyās ca

/kṛīḍāḥ 5/1 anusamparibhyāḥ 5/1 = anu ca saṁ ca pari ca = anusamparayāḥ (itar. dv.), tebhāyaḥ = anusamparibhyāḥ; ca/ (ān # 20, āṭmanepadām # 12)
kṛīḍaḥ vihāre etasmād ānu, saṁ, pari ity evam pūrvād āṇpūrvāc cāṭmanepadām bhavati
An āṭmanepada affix also occurs after krīḍa ‘to play’ when it is used with preverbs ānu, saṁ, pari, or āN.

EXAMPLES:

anukrīḍate ‘he plays in turn’
saṅkrīḍate ‘he plays together with’
parakrīḍate ‘he plays beautifully’
ākrīḍate ‘he plays’
1. It should be remembered that māṇavakena saha kriḍati ‘plays with the boy’ has an optional construction māṇavakamanu kriḍati. The anu of māṇavakamanu is a karmapracayanīya and thus, parasmāipada usage of māṇavakamanu kriḍati is accepted. The anu of this rule is a preverb, as we know from its association (sāhacaryā) in this context with the preverb sam.

1.3.22 समवप्रविक्ष्य: समवाप्रविक्ष्याः स्थात

samavaprabhivyāḥ sthāḥ

/samavaprabhivyāḥ 5/3 = sam ca ava ca pra ca vi ca = samavaprabhayaḥ,

tebhāḥ = samavaprabhivyāḥ (utar. dv.) sthāḥ 5/1/

(ān # 20, ātmanepadām # 12)

sam, ava, pra, vi ity evam pūrūt tiṣṭhate ātmanepadām bhavati

An ātmanepada affix occurs after sthā ‘to stand, stay’ when it is used with the preverbs sam, ava, pra, vi, or āN

EXAMPLES:

samtisthate ‘he sits near, comes to an end, dies’

avatisthate ‘he remains, abides, obeys’

vitisthate ‘he stays, dwells’

pratisthate ‘he sets out for…

ātisthate ‘he remains, ascends, uses’

1.3.23 प्रकाशनसैयथायायोः

prakāśanastheyākhyayoḥ ca

/prakāśanastheyākhyayoḥ 7/2 = prakāśanaṁ ca stheyākhyā (stheyasyākhyā = stheyākhyā, saṣ. tat.) ca = prakāśanastheyākhyey, tayoḥ = prakāśanastheyākhyayoḥ (utar. dv.) ca 0/1

(sthā # 22, ātmanepadām # 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 kanṭā chātrebhayaḥ ‘the girl reveals her intent to the students’

tiṣṭhate vrṣalī grāmaputrebhayaḥ ‘the śūdra woman reveals her intent to the village boys’

tvayo tiṣṭhate ‘he has accepted you as arbiter’

mayi tiṣṭhate ‘he has accepted me as arbiter’

samśayaa karnādiṣu tiṣṭhate yaḥ ‘he who when in doubt accepts Karna 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 उद्वृज्ज्वंकर्मणि

udanāna

/udaḥ 5/1 anūrdhvakarmanī 7/1 = na ārdhva karna = anūrdhvakarna, 
asmin = anūrdhvakarmanī (nañ. tat.)/
(sthāḥ # 22, ātmanepadam # 12)

upāprwāt tisṭhater anūrdhvakarmanī vartamānād ātmanepadām bhavati
An ātmanepada affix occurs after sthā when it is used with the preverb
ut, provided ārdhvakarman '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 tadartham
yatate 'strives for the sake of'. Thus kuṭumbe uttiṣṭhate means 'he strives for
the sake of the clan'. Padamājarī (also under this rule) considers ut in
ut-sthā to signify 'ihā 'exertion'.

1.3.25 उपांस्य-करणि

upān mantrakaraṇe

/upāt 5/1 mantrakaraṇe 7/1 = mantrasya karaṇam (śaś tat.), tasmin =
mantrakaraṇa/.
(sthāḥ 22, ātmanepadām # 12)

upāpūrvāt tisṭhater mantrakaraṇe'ṛ the vartamānād ātmanepadām 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 अकर्मकालः

akarmanakā ca

/lakarmakāt 5/1 ca Ø/
(upāt 25, sthāḥ 22, ātmanepadām 12)

upāpūrvāt tisṭhater akarmakakriyāvacanād ātmanepadām bhavati
An ātmanepada affix occurs after sthā when it is used intransitively
with the preverb upa.

EXAMPLE:

�āvadbhuktam upatiṣṭhate 'he is near by whenever there is tooo to
be eaten'
1. The intransitive meaning of *upasthā* here is ‘to appear, stand by’. The word *bhuktaṃ* is neuter singular, its base derived from *bhuj + Kt* denoting *bhāva* ‘action’ (3.4.114 *napumsake bhāve ktaḥ*). The word *yāvadbhuktaṃ* is an indeclinable (*avayayibhāva*) 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 *vipṣā* ‘each and every’; it is also treated as ending in *saptamī* ‘locative’. This is why *yāvadbhuktaṃ upātiṣṭhate* is also explained as *bhojane bhojane* (repetition to convey the sense of *vipṣā* *sannidhiyate* ‘he stays near by when it is time to eat’).

1.3.27 उद्विब्याम तपः:

\[ udvibhyām \]

\[ udvibhyām 5/2 = ut ca vi ca = udvi (itar. dv.), tābhyaṃ = udvibhyām;
.tapah 5/1
\]

\[ (akarmakā # 26, ātmanepadam # 12)
ud, vi ity evampūrvāt tapater akarmakakriyā vacanād ātmanepadam bhavati\]

An ātmanepada affix occurs after tapā ‘to shine, be hot’ when it is used intransitively with the preverbs *ut* or *vi*.

**Examples:**

- *uttapate sūryah* ‘the sun is shining’
- *vitapate sūryah* ‘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 suvarṇam 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 *cātṛt maitrasya pāṇim uttapati* ‘Chaitra is warming Maitra’s hand’.

1.3.28 आङ्के यमानः:

\[ āṅko yamahanah \]

\[ āṅko 5/1 yamahanah 5/1 = yamaś ca han ca = yamahan (sam. dv.), tasmāt = yamahanah/\]

\[ yama uparame, hana himsāgatyoh iti parasmaipadinau. tābhyaṃ akarmakakriyāvacanābhāyām ātpūrvābhāyām ātmanepadam bhavati\]

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 svāṅgakarmaṇa in 1.3.27 is also valid here. For example: svīyam śira āhate 'he beats his head' as opposed to parasya śira āhante '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 गम्यर्चिभ्यां

samo gamyṛcchibhyām
/samah 5/1 gamyṛcchibhyām 5/2 = gams ca ṛcchis ca = gamsṛcchi (itar. dv.), tābhṛyām = gamyṛcchibhyām/
(akarmakāt # 26, ātmapepadam # 12)
sampūrvbhṛyo gami, ṛcchī (pracchi, svarati, arti, śru, vidi) ity etebhīyo
karmakebhīyo dhātubhṛyo ātmepadām bhavati
An ātmepada affix occurs after the roots gaml 'to go' and ṛcchī '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. Kāśīkā reads this sūtra as: samogamyṛcchchipracchi-svaratayartisṛuvidyābhū. In other words, Kāśīkā 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. Padamaṇjarī 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 Kāśīkā to indicate that, like Pāṇini, the author of the vārttika is also the śastraśāra 'author of the grammar' (PM ad Kāś. I: 432: 'samo gamyṛcchibhyām' ity etāvat sūtram; pracchayādayastu vārttikadṛśtāḥ sūtrarūpena pañhitāḥ, sūtrakārayad vārttikākāro' pi sāstrasya kartā, na vyākhyātei darśayitum.)

1.3.30 निसमुपाविभ्यो हवः
nisamupāvibhyo hвах
nisamupavibhyah 5/3 = ni ca sam ca upa ca vi ca = nisamupavayah (itar. dv.), tebhyah = nisamupavibhyo hvaḥ 5/1
(ātmanepadam # 12)
i, sam, upa, vi ity evam purvād hvaṭer dhātor ātmanepadam bhavati
An ātmanepada affix occurs after hvaN 'to call, challenge' when it is used with the preverbs ni, sam, upa, or vi.

EXAMPLES:

nihvayate 'he calls definitely'
samhvat ye 'he calls properly'
upahvaye 'he calls near'
vihvaye 'he calls specifically'

1. Since hvaN is marked with N, ātmanepada may be introduced after it only when the fruit of the action accrues to the agent (1.3.72 svaritaṁ...). That is, parasmaipada could be introduced after hvaN 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 स्पर्धायामधः:

spardhāyām āñaḥ

/spardhāyām 7/1 āñaḥ 5/1/

(hvaḥ # 30, ātmanepadam # 12)

spardhāyām visaye āṇhpurvād hvaṭer ātmanepadam bhavati
An ātmanepada affix occurs after hvaN when it is used with the preverb āN to denote spardhā 'competition, bout'.

EXAMPLES:

mallo mallam āhsvayate 'one wrestler challenges the other'
chātraś chātram āhsvayate 'one student challenges the other'

1. It should be remembered here that ātmanepada should be introduced only when 'competition' is denoted. If hvaN simply means 'to call out' and not 'to call out in challenge' introduction of ātmanepada becomes optional.

1.3.32 गन्धनावक्षेपणायसेवनसाहित्यप्रतिपादिक्यप्रकृतिक्षेत्रायोगैः क्रः:

gandhanāvakṣepaṇaṁsevanasāhasikyapratiyātanarpakathānopayogesu kṛṇaḥ
gandhana...yogesu 7/3 = gandhanam ca avakṣepanaṁ ca sevanaṁ ca pratiyatraś ca prakathanaṁ ca upayogas ca = gandhan...yogāḥ (itar. dv.),
tesu = gandhananā...yogesu kṛṇaḥ 5/1/

(ātmanepadam # 12)
gandhanādiśu artheṣu vartamānāḥ karoter ātmanepadam bhavati
An ātmanepada affix occurs after kṛN 'to do, make' when it denotes

EXAMPLES:

utkuruṭe ‘he finds fault’
udākuruṭe ‘id.’
śyena vartikām udākuruṭe ‘the hawk condemns or threatens the duck’
ganakān upākuruṭe ‘he follows or obeys the commanders’
maḥāmātrān upākuruṭe ‘he follows or obeys the chief ministers’
paradārān prakuruṭe ‘he dares to seduce someone else’s wife’
edhodakasyopaskuruṭe ‘the burning wood introduces new quality to the water’
kāṇḍām guḍasyopaskuruṭe ‘the okra plant introduces new quality to the jaggery’
gāthāḥ prakuruṭe ‘he exaggerates the stories’
janāpavādān prakuruṭe ‘he exaggerates the faults of people’
śataṁ prakuruṭe ‘he donates a hundred to charity’
sahasraṁ prakuruṭe ‘he donates a thousand to charity’

1. Kāśīkā (I: 435) explains that gandhana denotes ‘finding fault with intent to harm’ (apakāra-prayuktaṁ hiṁsātmakam sücanam). The explanations for the other meanings conditions are as follows: avakṣepana = bhartsana ‘threaten, scorn’; sevana = anuvṛtti ‘follow, obey’; sāhasikya = sāhasikam karma ‘daring act using force’; pratiyatna = sato guṇāntarādhānam ‘bringing a new quality to an existing one’; prakathana = prakarṣena kathanam ‘exaggerate’; and upayoga = dharmādi prajñano vimānayah ‘to donate or invest in charity’.

1.3.33 अथ: प्रसहने
adheḥ prasahane.
ladhēḥ 5/1 prasahane 7/1/
(kṛṇaḥ # 32, ātmanepadam # 12)
adhipūravāt karoteḥ prasahane vartamānād ātmanepadam bhuvati
An ātmanepada affix occurs after kṛṇ ‘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 वे: शब्दकर्मणाः
veḥ śabdakarmanaḥ
lveḥ 5/1 śabdakarmanaḥ 5/1/
(kṛṇaḥ # 32, ātmanepadam # 12)
vipūrvāt karoter akartrabhīprāye kriyāphale śabdakaranā ātmanepadam bhavati

An ātmanepada affix occurs after krN 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 kāraṇa termed karman ‘object’ and not to kriyā ‘action’.

1.3.35 अकर्मकाल्य

akarmakāc ca
(lakarmāt 5/1 ca Θ)
(vēh # 34, krīṇā # 32, ātmanepadam # 12)

vipūrvāt karoter akarmanakriyāvacanād ātmanepadām bhavati

An ātmanepada affix also occurs after krN used intransitively with the preverb vi.

EXAMPLES:

vikurvate saindhavāḥ ‘the horses are leaping beautifully’
odanasya pūrṇāḥ chāṭrāḥ vikurvate ‘the students filled up with rice jump idly’

1.3.36 सम्माननोंतुसङ्कोचकरणांपृतिविगणनःव्येषु नियः

sammānanotsaṇjanācāryakaraṇājnānabhīṣṭivigānanavyeyuṣu niyāh
(sammānana...vyeyuṣu 7/3 = sammānanam ca, utsaṇjanam ca, ācāryakaranam ca, jñānam ca, bhūtiṣ ca, vigānanam ca, vyayāṣ ca = sammānana...
vyayāḥ (itar. dv.), teṣu = sammānana...vyeyuṣu; niyāḥ 5/1)
(ātmanepadam # 12)

‘nīṃ prāṇeḥ ity etasmād dhātōr ātmanepadām bhavati sammānanādiṣu
viśeṣaṇeṣu satsu’

An ātmanepada affix occurs after niN ‘to lead’ when it denotes sammānana, ‘respect’; utsaṇjana, ‘hurling’; ācāryakaraṇa, ‘consecrating’; jñāna, ‘perception, logical understanding’; bhṛti, ‘wages’; vigānana, ‘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’
madrāh karaṇ vinayante 'the Madras pay off the taxes'
saṭam vinayate 'he donates a hundred to charity'
sahasraṃ vinayate 'he donates a thousand to charity'

1. Note that uṣṭana, 'hurling'; jñāna, 'perception, logical understanding'; vīgāna, 'paying off debts, taxes, and so on'; and vyaya, 'spending in charity' are generally the meanings of niṣī. 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 niṣī even when the fruit of the action accrues to someone else. Rule 1.1.72 comes into the picture because niṣī is a verb marked with ātmanepada bhavati.

An ātmanepada affix also occurs after niṣī when a karaṇ 'object' other than śarīra 'body' is denoted with its locus in the karta 'agent'.

EXAMPLES:

krodham vinayate 'he suppresses (his) anger'
manyum 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 वृत्तिसर्गतयनेनेशु क्रमः:

vṛttisargatāyanesu kramaḥ
vṛttisargatāyanesu 7/3 = vṛttiś ca sargaś ca tayanaṃ ca = vṛttisargatāyanesu (itar. du.), tesi = vṛttisargatāyanesu; kramaḥ 5/1
(ātmanepadam # 12)

(śeṣāt karttari parasmaipade prāpte) vṛtyādiṣv arthesu kramaṭer ātmanepada bhavati
An ātmanepada affix occurs after krama 'to move' when it denotes vṛtti 'uninterrupted movement', sarga 'enthusiasm', or tāyana 'expansion, growth'.

EXAMPLES:

ṛkṣaṇāṣya kramaṭe buddhiḥ 'this one's intellect moves freely in the ṛk hymns'
yājusṣy aṣya kramaṭe buddhiḥ 'this one's intellect moves freely in the yajus hymns'
vyākaraṇādhyayanāya kramate ‘he feels enthusiastic towards studying grammar’
asmin sāstrāṇi kramante ‘in this prosper the śāstras’

1. Note that ātmanepada can be introduced after kramU only when vr̥tti, sarga, or tāyana is denoted. Also the root must be used without any preverbs. For the ātmanepada usage of kramU denoting vr̥tti, sarga, or tāyana when used with preverbs upa and parā, see the following rule.

1.3.39 उपपराध्यायम्

upaparādhyaṁ

/upaparādhyaṁ 5/2 = upa ca parā ca = upaparau (ītar. dv.), tābhvāṁ = upaparādhyaṁ/

(vṛttiśargaṭāyaneṣu # 38, ātmanepadam # 12)

upaparāderucat vramantra vṛttyādīṣv artheṣu vartamāṇād ātmanepadam bhavati

An ātmanepada affix occurs after kramU when it is used with the preverbs upa and parā to denote vr̥tti, sarga, or tāyana.

EXAMPLES:

upaikramate ‘he begins’
parākramate ‘he moves ahead with courage’

1. This rule provides for ātmanepada affixes after kramU only when kramU is used with the preverbs upa or parā. Of course, as in the preceding rule, the denotatum must be vr̥tti, sarga, or tāyana.

1.3.40 अझ उगमने

ānā udgamane

/ānāḥ 5/1 udgamane 7/1/

(kramaḥ # 38, ātmanepadam # 12)

āṅpūrvat kramater udgamane vartamāṇād ātmanepadam bhavati

An ātmanepada affix occurs after kramU when it is used with the preverb āN to denote udgaman ‘rise of celestial beings’.

EXAMPLES:

ākramate caṇḍramāh ‘the moon is on the rise’
ākramante jyotiṁṣi ‘the stars are on the rise’

1. Nyāsa ad Kaśikā (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 वे: पादविहारणे

veṅ pādavihāraṇe
1.3.43 Adhyāya One: Pāda Three

\[ \text{ve} \text{h 5/1 pādaviharaṇe 7/1 = pādayoḥ viharaṇam (śaś. tat.), } \text{tasmin = pādaviharaṇe/} \]
(kramaḥ # 38, ātmanepadam # 12)
\[ \text{vipūrvar kramateḥ pādaviharaṇe arthe vartamāṇād ātmaneṇapaṇaḥ bhavati} \]
An ātmaneṇapaṇa affix occurs after kramaḥ when it is used with the preverb vi to denote pādaviharaṇa 'nice footwork'.

**EXAMPLES:**

\[ \text{suśṭhu vikramate ' (the horse) moves beautifully' } \]
\[ \text{sādhu vikramate ' (the horse) moves beautifully'} \]

1. A question is raised as to why ātmaneṇapaṇa could not be made available to kramaḥ under rule 1.3.39 upaparābhyaṃ. The reason why it could not is that rule 1.3.39 has the anuvṛtti of vṛtтиsargalāyaneṣu, a semantic constraint not applicable here.

1.3.42 प्रेषाण्य समपरिकाराः

\[ \text{propābhyaṃ samartabhāḥ} \]
\[ /\text{propābhyaṃ 5/2 = praś ca upaś ca (itar. dv.), tābhāḥ = propābhyaṃ;} \]
\[ \text{samartabhāḥ 5/2/} \]
(kramaḥ # 38, ātmanepadam # 12)
\[ \text{'pra upa' ity etābhāḥ upasargābhāḥṃ parasmat kramater ātmaneṇapaṇam bhavati, tāv cet propau samarthaḥ tulyārthaḥ bhavataḥ} \]
An ātmaneṇapaṇa affix occurs after kramaḥ when it is used with the preverbs pra or upa to denote tulyārtha 'same sense'.

**EXAMPLES:**

\[ \text{prakramate bhoktum 'he starts eating'} \]
\[ \text{upakramate bhoktum 'id.'} \]

1. The preverbs pra and upa used with kramaḥ here are synonymous, denoting ādikarman 'onset of an action'. In other words, ātmaneṇapaṇa should be used after kramaḥ used with the preverb pra or upa only when the verb denotes onset of an action.

1.3.43 अनुपसर्गद्वा

\[ \text{anupasargad vā} \]
\[ \text{lanupasargat 5/1 vā ō/} \]
(kramaḥ # 38, ātmanepadam # 12)
\[ \text{upasargavivuktat kramater ātmaneṇapaṇam vā bhavatī} \]
An ātmaneṇapaṇa affix occurs optionally after kramaḥ when it is used without a preverb.

**EXAMPLES:**

\[ \text{kramate 'he moves'} \]
\[ \text{kramati 'id.'} \]
1. Note that under the provisions of 1.3.38 vṛttiṣarga..., 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 अपहर्णे सः:
apahnave jñāḥ
/apahnave 7/1 jñāḥ 5/1/
(ātmanepadam # 12)
śeṣāt karttari parasmaipada prāpte jānāter apahnave varttamānād ātmane-
padam 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. अकर्मकर्थः
akarmakā ca
/akarmakāt 5/1 ca @
(jñāḥ # 44, ātmanepadam # 12)
(akartrabhìpīrahtham idam) kartrabhìpīrāye hi anupasargād jñāḥ iti jānāter
akarmakād akarmakāryāvacanād ātmanepadam bhavati
An ātmanepada affix also occurs after jñā when it is used intransitively.

EXAMPLES:

sarpiso jānīte 'he offers the ritual oblation thinking it is ghee'
madhunō 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 समप्रतिध्यायनश्च
sampratibhyāṁ anadhyāne
1.3.47  Adhyāya One: Pāda Three

/sampratibhyām 5/2 = sam ca prati ca = sampratī (itar. dv.), tābhyām = sampratibhyām; anādhyāne 7/1 = na ādhānām = anādhyānam (nañ. tat.), tasmiṇ = anādhyāne

(jñāḥ # 44, ātmanepadam # 12)
'sam prati' ity evam pūrvāt jānāter anādhyāne varitamanād ātmanepadaḥ bhavati

An ātmanepada affix occurs after jñā when it is used with the preverbs sam or prati but does not denote ādhāna 'sad memories'.

EXAMPLES:

śataṃ samjānīte 'he affirms (the loan of) one hundred'
sahasraṃ samjānīte 'he affirms (the loan of) one thousand'
śataṃ pratiśajānīte 'he affirms (the loan of) one hundred'
sahasraṃ pratiśajānīte 'he affirms (the loan of) one thousand'

1. This rule is split in two by yogavibhāga. The first rule will be: sampratibhyām 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 ādhāna is not being expressed'. Thus yogavibhāga sets aside the application of 1.3.45 akarmākā ca. The condition of anādhyāna is important, as in its absence ātmanepada will be blocked. For example, mātuh samjānāti 'remembers his mother (misses her)'. The śaṣṭhī mātuḥ is allowed by 2.3.52 adhigārtha..

1.3.47  भासनोपसंभाषणायत्वविमत्युपामान्तः वदः:

bhāsanopasambhāṣājñānayatnavimatyupamantraṇeṣu vadaḥ

bhāsanopa...mantraṇeṣu 7/3 = bhāsanaḥ ca upasambhāṣā ca jñānāḥ ca yatnaḥ ca vimatiḥ ca upamantraṇaḥ ca = bhāsanopa...mantraṇāni (itar. dv.), teṣu = bhāsanopa...mantraṇeṣu vadaḥ 5/1

(ātmanepadam # 12)

(śeṣāḥ kartārī parasmai-pade prāpte) bhāsanādiṣu viśeṣāneṣu saḥ vadoṣ ātmanepadaḥ bhavati

An ātmanepada affix occurs after vadaḥ 'to speak' when it denotes bhāsana, 'gleam, sparkle, glitter'; upasambhāṣa, '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 sāstras'
karmakaravān 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 upasamabhāsa and upamantraṇa are the literal meanings; the rest are contextual.

1.3.48 व्यक्तवाचां समुचारणे
vyakta vačām samuccāraṇe
\(\text{vyakta vačām} 6/3 = \text{vyakta vāg yeśām (bv.), te = vyakta vačām; samuccāraṇe} 7/1 (\text{prādi tatra})/\)
(vadāḥ # 47, ātmanepadām # 12)
vyakta vačām samuccāraṇam (sahoccāraṇam), tatra varttamanād vadater ātmanepadām bhavati
An ātmanepada affix occurs after vadā when it denotes samuccāraṇa 'simultaneous recital, speaking' of vyakta vačā 'distinct, audible speech'.

EXAMPLES:

sampravadante brāhmaṇāḥ 'the brāhmaṇas recite together'
vampravadante kṣatriyāḥ 'the kṣatriyas recite together'

1. The expressions vyakta vačā 'distinct, audible speech' and samuccāraṇa 'simultaneous speech' are important. Humans are referred to as vyakta vačā '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 avyakta vačā. Thus the purpose of using vyakta vačā 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: brāhmaṇaḥ vadatī 'the brāhmaṇa is speaking'.

1.3.49 अनोरकर्मकालः
anor akarmakāt
(anoh 5/1 akarmakāt 5/1)
(vyakta vačām samuccāraṇe # 48, vadāḥ # 47, ātmanepadām # 12)
anupūrvād vadater akarmakād vyakta vačā viśvayād ātmanepadām bhavati
An ātmanepada affix occurs after vadā when it is used intransitively with the preverb anu to denote samuccāraṇa of vyakta vačā (see rule 1.3.48 for details).

EXAMPLES:

anuvadate kathāḥ kalāpasya 'the kathā (a reciter of the kathā school) imitates the chanting of the kalāpa (a reciter of the kalāpa school)'
anuvadate maudgāḥ paippalādasya 'the maudga (a reciter of the maudga
school) imitates the chanting of the paippalāda (a reciter of the pip-
palāda 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) ṣaṣṭhi
   (2.3.50 ṣaṣṭhi śeṣe) is used.

1.3.50 विभाषा विप्रलापे

vibhāṣa vipralāpe
/vibhāṣa 1/1 vipralāpe 7/1/
(vyaktavācām samuccāraṇe # 48, vadaḥ # 47, ātmanepadam # 12)
vipralāpātmaka vyaktavācām samuccāraṇe varātamānād vadar
ātmanepadam bhavati

An ātmanepada affix occurs optionally after vada when it denotes
samuccāraṇa of vyaktavāk with vipralāpa ‘nonsense, contradiction’.

EXAMPLES:

vipravadante sāmvatsarāḥ ‘the astrologers are speaking aloud, con-
tradiacting each other’
vipravadanti sāmvatsarāḥ ‘id.’
vipravadante mauhūrttāḥ ‘id.’
vipravadanti mauhūrttāḥ ‘id.’

1.3.51 अवादम:

avād graha
/avād 5/1 graha 5/1/
(ātmanepadam # 12)
avātupūrvād girater ātmanepadam bhavati

An ātmanepada affix occurs after gra ‘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 graha here refers to gra ‘to swallow’ which has been cited in
   the class headed by tud ‘to torment’. It could not refer to gra ‘to make noise’
   because the latter is not used with ava.

1.3.52 सम: प्रतिज्ञाने

samaḥ pratiṣṭhāne
/samaḥ 5/1 pratiṣṭhāne 7/1/
(grah # 51, atmanepadam # 12)
sam pūrvād girāteḥ pratijñāne varttamānād atmanepadaṁ bhavati
An atmanepada affix occurs after gr when it is used with the preverb sam to denote pratijñāna ‘to concur, accept, admit’.

EXAMPLES:

śatam samgirate ‘he admits (that he owes) a hundred’
nityam sabdam samgirate ‘he admits that sabda ‘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 उदाहः साकर्मकात
udaś caraḥ sakarmakāt
/udaḥ 5/1 caraḥ 5/1 sakarmakāt 5/1/
(atmanepadam # 12)
(śeṣāt karttari parasmaipade prāpte) utpūrvāc caraṭeḥ sakarmaka-
kiśyavacanād atmanepadaṁ bhavati
An atmanepada affix occurs after car ‘to move’ when it is used transitively with the preverb ut.

EXAMPLES:

gaham uccarate ‘he leaves defying the family’
kutumam uccarate ‘he leaves defying the clan’
guruvacaṇam 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 vāspam uccarati ‘the vapour is rising’. Also note that uccara in the above transitive usage means ‘defy, disregard’.

1.3.54 समस्तृतियायुक्ताद्
samas tritiyāyuktād
/samah 5/1 tritiyāyuktā 5/1 = tritiyāyuktāḥ = tritiyāyuktāḥ (tr. tat.), tasmāt = tritiyāyuktāt/
(carah # 53, atmanepadam # 12)
sam pūrvāc carates tritiyāyuktād atmanepadaṁ bhavati
An atmanepada affix occurs after car when it is used with the preverb sam along with a pada in tritiyā ‘third triplet of sUP’.

EXAMPLES:

aśvena saṃcaraṭe ‘he moves on a horse’

1. Note that tritiyā refers to the third triplet of sUP. The connection of sam-car with such a pada is established by meaning. Thus: aśvena saṃcaraṭe
'he moves on (by means of) a horse'. However, for the use of ātmanepada after sam-car, one must have the relatable pada, here asvena, in tṛtiyā. Consider, for example, rathikāh samacaranti '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 rathikāh, in tṛtiyā.

1.3.55 दाना स तेष्वविवर्धेष्वं

*dānā ca sā cec caturthyarthe*

\[\text{dānā 5/1 ca 0 sā 1/1 cet 0 caturthyarthe 7/1}\]

(samaḥ # 54, ātmanepadam # 12)

(dān dāne parasmaipadi) tatah sampūrvāt tṛtiyāyuktād āatmanepadam bhavati, sā cet tṛtiyā caturthyarthe bhavati

An ātmanepada affix also occurs after dāN 'to give' when it is used with the preverb sam along with a pada in tṛtiyā provided the tṛtiyā is used in the sense of caturthī 'fourth triplet of sUP'.

**Examples:**

dāsyā mālām samprayacchate 'he is giving the garland to (seduce) the maid'

1. The nominal ending tṛtiyā is used in the sense of caturthī when asīṣṭavayavahāra 'unbecoming behaviour' is denoted. It is because of this that dāsi is put in the instrumental instead of the dative. See the vārttika (Mbh. II: 259) under this rule: asīṣṭavayavahāre tṛtiyā 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 dāN. That is, rules 1.3.54 through 1.3.55 cannot allow ātmanepada if sam and car or sam and dāN are interrupted by any preverbs. Thus an example like rathena samudācarahe 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 (viṣeṣana) of car and dāN, its qualifieds (viṣeṣya).

1.3.56 उपाद्यम: सकरणे

*upād yamah svakarane*

\[\text{upāt 5/1 yamah 5/1 svakarane 7/1}\]

(ātmanepadam # 12)

(śeṣāt karttāri parasmaipade prāpte) upa pūrvād yamah svakarane var-tamānād ātmanepadam bhavati
An ātmanepada affix occurs after yamā 'to give' when it is used with the preverb upa to denote svikaranā 'to accept in marriage, marry'.

**EXAMPLE:**

bhāryām upayaccate 'he accepts (her) as his wife'

1. Where Kāśikā interprets svikaranā exclusively as pāṇigrahanā 'to accept in marriage', the Mahābhāṣya (II: 260) interprets it as 'accepting something as one's own' in general. Why did Pāṇini not use svikaranā, a form including the taddhīta affix Cūl? Padamañjari says that 4.1.82 samarthānām prathamād vā would allow one to use Ćūl optionally. That is, both svikaranā and svikaranā would be correct.

There is basic disagreement about the meaning of svakaraṇa between the Kāśikā and the Mahābhāṣya. Kāśikā cites devadatto yaṣjnadattasya bhāryām upayaccati as a counter-example, to explain that if Devadatta accepts Yaṣjnadatta's wife as a maidservant, upayam must take parasmaipada. Thus ātmanepado should be used only when svakaraṇa means marriage. The Mahābhāṣya, however, would allow the above sentence to have the verb in ātmanepado even if marriage is not the meaning.

1.3.57 ज्ञातस्वपदाः सन:  
jñāsrsmrṛdāṁ sanah  
iñāsrsmrṛdāṁ 6/3 = jñā ca śru ca smr ca ṅṛṣ ca = jñāsrsmrṛṛṣaḥ (itar.  
dv.), teṣām = jnasrsrmṛṛṣaṁ; sanah 5/1  
(ātmanepado# 12)  
jñā, śru, smr, ṅṛṣ ity eteṣām sannantānāṁ ātmanepadāṁ bhavati  
An ātmanepado affix occurs after the saN form of jñā, 'to know'; śru, 'to hear'; smr, 'to remember'; and ṅṛṣIR, 'to see'.

**EXAMPLES:**

dharmaṁ jijnāsate 'he wishes to know about dharma'  
gurum śvārasate 'he wishes to hear the teacher'  
naśaṁ susmārsate 'he wishes to remember the lost'  
rnpaṁ didrksate 'he wishes to see the king'

1. It should be noted here that ātmanepado may become available to these roots by rules 1.3.29 samo gam..., 1.3.44 apahnaive jñāḥ, 1.3.45 akarmāca ca, 1.3.46 sampratibhyām anādhyāṁ, and the vārttika: atriśrudyśibhyas ca (on 7.1.7 vetter vibhaṣā). The ātmanepado after the saN forms of these roots may similarly become available by 1.3.62 pūrvavat sanah. Why did Pāṇini formulate this rule if he could provide for the ātmanepado elsewhere? The answer is that the present rule provides ātmanepado outside conditions, such as apahnaive in 1.3.44, set by the above rules. Thus this rule provides for ātmanepado which was not available elsewhere.
1.3.58 नानेः:

नानेःjñāḥ
/na ə anoh 5/1 jñāḥ 5/1/
(sanah # 57, ātmanepadam # 12)
ānu-pūrvāj jānāteḥ sannantād ātmanepadāḥ na bhavati
An ātmanepada affix does not occur after the saN form of jñā when it is used with the preverb anu.

EXAMPLE:

putram anujjñāsatī ‘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 purībhāṣā 62: anantarasya vidhīr vacaḥ, 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 sanah, 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 anujjñāsatā ‘wishes to move ahead by means of medicine’, will still require ātmanepada by 1.3.62 pūrvavat sanah.

1.3.59 प्रताभ्या sruvāḥ:

pratyānabhyaṁ sruvah
/pratyānabhyaṁ 5/2 sruvah 5/1/
(na # 58, sanah # 57, ātmanepadam # 12)
‘prati, aN’ ity evam pūrvāc chṛṇoteḥ sannantād ātmanepadāṃ na bhavati
An ātmanepada affix does not occur after the saN form of śru when it is used with the preverbs prati or aN.

EXAMPLES:

pratīṣuśrūṣatī ‘he wishes to hear the response’
āśuśrūṣatī ‘he wishes to hear properly’

1. Note that because of its association (sāhacārya) with śru, a verb root, prati, as well as aN, must be interpreted as a preverb and not as karma-pravacaniya (1.4.83 karma-pravacaniyāḥ). Thus, śru used with the karma-pravacaniya prati will still be allowed to take ātmanepada, as in devadattām
prati śusṛūṣate. Since prati in this example is a karmaparvacanīya, 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 शतेः: शितः:
śadeh śītah
śad 5/1 śītah 6/1
(ātmanepadam # 12)
śadir yah śit, śidhāvī śīto vā sambandhi tasmād ātmanepadam bhavati
An ātmanepada affix occurs after śadLR 'to cut' when it is to be used with an item marked with Ṣ.

EXAMPLES:
śīyate 'he cuts'
śīyete 'they (two) cut'
śīyante 'they (pl.) cut'

1. Note that śadLR is a root which should normally take parasmaipada. This rule provides for ātmanepada under the condition that an affix marked with Ṣ will be introduced after it. This needs some explanation. If śadeh śītah of this rule is interpreted as, ātmanepada occurs after that which is marked with Ṣ, and occurs after śadLR, then ātmanepada will have to wait until an item marked with Ṣ is introduced. In the meantime, the abstract LA suffix would have been replaced by parasmaipada, as provided for by 1.3.78 śētā kartṭīrī parasmaipada. Once parasmaipada is introduced, ātmanepada can never be introduced. This is the difficulty in interpreting śadeh (5/1) śītah (5/1) as śadeh paro yah śīt tasmāt 'after that śīt which occurs after śad.

Since ātmanepada and parasmaipada affixes are always introduced prior to the vikarana 'augments', in the present context an item marked with Ṣ, śadeh śītah must be interpreted in such a way that
(a) ātmanepada may be introduced after śadLR, and
(b) the condition of śīt is also met.

For this reason Kāśikā interprets śadeh śītah as 'ātmanepada occurs after that śadLR after which an affix marked with Ṣ will be introduced'. That is, śadLR will definitely require an affix marked with Ṣ after the LA affix is replaced; and then the LA affix must be replaced by ātmanepada. In this way, the question of introducing a śīt affix before the replacement of LA by ātmanepada does not arise.

1.3.61 प्रयत्नेनिक्तिनिकोश
mriyate luṃliṅos ca
/mriyateh 5/1 luṃliṅoh 7/2 = luṅ ca liṅ ca (itar. dv.), tayoh = luṃliṅoh; ca Ā/
(sītah # 60, ātmanepadam # 12)
miyater luñiñoś šitaś ca ātmanepadam bhavati

An ātmanepada affix occurs after mrN 'to die' when it is used in LUÑ 3.2.110 luñ, LIÑ (3.3.159 liñ ca), or with an item marked with Š.

EXAMPLES:

amṛta 'he died'
mṛṣiṣṭa 'may he die'
mṛiyate 'he dies'
mṛiyete 'they (two) die'
mṛiyante 'they (pl.) die'

1. Note that mrN is marked with Š, and as such, 1.3.12 anudāttañitah... 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 LUÑ or LIÑ, or
(b) an affix marked with Š is to be introduced after mrN.

Needless to say, this šit affix will be introduced after ātmanepada has replaced an LA affix. The first two examples illustrate the replacement of LUÑ and LIÑ 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 sanah and na be carried via anuvṛtti from 1.3.57 jñāśru...sanah and 1.3.58 nānār jñāh. The two rules resulting from yogavibhāga would be:

(a) śadeh šitaḥ mṛiyater luñiñoś ca
   ātmanepada occurs after ādLR only when an item marked with Š is to be introduced after it, and after mrN only when it either occurs before LUÑ or LIÑ, or an item marked with Š is to be introduced after it', and

(b) san na
   ātmanepada does not occur after the saN form of ādLR or mrN'.

The first split rule will provide for the derivation of śiṣyte, mṛiyate, ma-māra, and so on. The second rule will block ātmanepada in deriving śiṣṭati and munṛṣati, and so on.

1.3.62 पूर्ववातानः:

pūrvavat sanah
/pūrvavat ō sanah 5/1/
(ātmanepadam # 12)
san pūro yo dhātuh ātmanepadi tadvat sannantād ātmanepadam 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:

āsīṣiṣate 'he wishes to sit'
śīṣāysiṣate 'he wishes to recline'
nivīṣate 'he enters'
nivivikṣate 'he wishes to enter'
ākramate 'he moves ahead, attacks'
ācikramṣate 'he wishes to move ahead, attack'

1. The compound pūrvavat must be interpreted as pūrvatutulyam, where the affix vatI has been introduced by 5.1.115 tene tulyam.... As is obvious, the present sūtra is an extension (atideśa) rule. As such it provides for the introduction of ātmmanepada by means of nimitta 'cause, reason'. Commentators call this nimitātideśa. In view of this, the present rule provides for the introduction of ātmmanepada after the saN form of a root for reasons similar to the introduction of ātmmanepada after the non-saN form. Thus the reasons which were responsible for the introduction of ātmmanepada after a given root will automatically be extended to the corresponding saN form by 1.1.62. Consequently, ātmmanepada is ruled by 1.3.12 anudāttaniṭah... after ās and śiN, because ās is marked with anudattā and śiN is marked with Ń. For the same reasons the saN forms of these roots, namely, āsīṣate and śīṣāysiṣate must also take ātmmanepada. The same holds for nivīṣate and nivivikṣate and for ākramate and ācikramṣate, where 1.3.17 ner viṣah and 1.3.49 an udgamane allow the ātmmanepada.

One may wonder why sadLR and myN have ātmmanepada forms sīyate and mriyate while their corresponding saN forms, such as sīṣatsati and mumūṛṣati, have parasmaiṃpada. This is simply due to the absence of conditions proposed by 1.3.61 mriyate.... That is, ātmmanepada was only allowed under the special conditions of a subsequent introduction of śit, LUŃ, or LIN. These conditions are not met by sīṣatsati and mumūṛṣati. The saN forms of kṛN such as anvukırsati and parācikırsati also have parasmaiṃpada. A question may arise as to why these forms should take parasmaiṃpada when under certain meaning conditions, their non-saN counterparts were allowed ātmmanepada (see 1.3.32 gandhana...). If anvukırsati and parācikırsati meet those meaning conditions then they must take ātmmanepada in accordance with 1.3.62. An answer to this is that the ātmmanepada provided for by 1.3.32 is blocked by the parasmaiṃpada provided for by 1.3.79 anuparābhīyam... If ātmmanepada is blocked by parasmaiṃpada in the non-saN form, it should also be blocked in the corresponding saN form.

The preceding discussion indicates that 1.3.62 allows ātmmanepada, based on reasons for which ātmmanepada 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 ātmmanepada? 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, kīt, mān, vadhu, dān, and śān. These are all marked with anudātta as it. This allows the introduction of ātmanepada by 1.3.12 anudāttaṇaitāh. 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: āvaye kṛtam liṅgam samudāyasya viśeṣakam 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 jugūpsate and mmāṃsate.

However, such a solution may create problems for the causal forms jugūpsayati and mmāṃsasayati. 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 + NiC. This would then block parasmaiṇpada in jugūp-sayati. 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 NiC of gup + saN + NiC is a part which may leave the whole. Therefore, gup + saN + NiC is a whole which cannot be qualified by the mark made on gup. This is the reason why jugūpsayati and so on may take parasmaiṇpada.

1.3.63 आमप्रत्ययवक्तौप्रयोगकरण...

āṃpratāyavaat kṛṇo’ nuprayogasya
lāṃpratāyavaat ṭt = ām pratyaya yasmāt sa = āṃpratāyayaḥ (hv.), tasya iva
= āṃpratāyayaat; kṛṇaḥ 5/1 anuprayogasya 6/1/
(ātmanepadam # 12)
āṃpratāyaṣayaiva dhātoḥ kṛṇo’ nuprayogasyātmanepadam bhavati

An ātmanepada affix occurs after kṛN in a manner similar to the root which kṛN follows and after which the affix ām has been introduced.

Examples:

iksaṇacakra ‘he saw’
ihaṇacakra ‘he tried’

1. Note here that kṛṇaḥ is marked with ṇ, 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 kṛN 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 krN should be introduced in a manner corresponding to the preceding root terminating in ām. If the preceding root allows parasmaipada, krN will therefore take parasmaipada. If the preceding root allows both, krN may take one or the other. This provision that krN 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 sanah is to be carried by ānubhyt, and that the present rule should be interpreted by yogavibhaga. There would then be two rules:

(a) āmpratayavat krñō’ nuprayogasya, and
(b) pūrvavat krñō’ nuprayogasya.

The first interpretation would provide vidhi status while the second would provide niyama. However, interpreting this rule via yogavibhaga is prolix (gaurava). The affix vaTI of āmpratayavat itself can account for both interpretations:

(a) ātmanepada should occur only when krN 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 satyārambho niyamārthah, ‘a provision even when one can do without is made for niyama’.

2. The word āmpratayah should not be interpreted as a karmacārāya compound with the paraphrase ām cāsaū pratayah = āmpratayah, ām which is also the affix’. Instead, it should be interpreted as a bahuvrīhi with the paraphrase āmpratayo yasmāt sa āmpratayah, ‘that after which affix ām occurs’. This bahuvrīhi should also be accepted as atadgunaśamviñāna, and not as tadgunaśamviñāna. A bahuvrīhi where the compound does not qualify any of its constituent meanings is termed atadgunaśamviñāna. In other words, where the compound does not permit any of its constituents to be construed with the verb, it is called atadgunaśamviñāna. Conversely, a bahuvrīhi which allows a constituent to be construed with the verb is called tadgunaśamviñāna. For example, consider the following:

(a) sukeṣim ānaya ‘bring her who has beautiful hair’
(b) citragum ānaya ‘bring him who owns brindled cows’
The first example is a *tadgūnasamvijñāna bahuvrīhi*, as opposed to the second, which is an *atadgūnasamvijñāna*. 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 *kesā ‘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 *āmpratayah* should be interpreted as an *atadgūnasamvijñāna*, 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-ya+u+GHaN, where GHaN is introduced to denote *karman*. The genitive in *anuprayogasya* is used in the sense of ablative.

1.3.64 **प्राप्तः कुजेयथप्राप्तेषु**

*propābhāyām yujer ajayānapātresa*

/propābhāyām 5/2 yujeh 5/1 ayajñapātresu 7/3 = yajñasya pātrām = yajñapātrāni (saś. tat.); na yajñapātrāni = ayajñapātresu (nañ. tat.); teṣu = ayajñapātresu/ (ātmanepadām # 12)

pra, upa ity evam pūrvād yujer ayajñapātraprayogavisayād ātmanepadāṁ bhavati

An ātmanepada affix occurs after yujIR ‘to join, yoke’ when it is used with the preverbs *pra* and *upa* provided there is no reference to *yajñapātra* ‘ritual vessel’.

**EXAMPLE:**

*prayuñte ‘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 *svaritaśītah...* 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 *dvandvaṁ nyaści pātrāni prayunakti* ‘he places the ritual vessels upside down in a set of two’.

1.3.65 **सम: क्षुञ्जः**

*samah kṣṇuvah*

/samah 5/1 kṣnuvah 5/1/ (ātmanepadām # 12)

(‘kṣnu tejan’ parasmaipadi) tataḥ sampūrvād ātmanepadāṁ bhavati

An ātmanepada affix occurs after kṣnu ‘to sharpen’ when it is used with the preverb *sam*. 
EXCEPTIONS:

samkṣṇute 'he sharpens'

samkṣṇavāte 'they (two) sharpen'

samkṣṇavate 'they (pl.) sharpen'

1. Note that verbal root kṣṇu 'sharpen, whet' does not take ātmānepada. This rule provides for ātmānepada when the root is used with the preverb sam. The Mahābhāṣya (II: 275) raises the question why ātmānepada was not made available to this root under the provisions of 1.3.29 samo gamyṛcchībhīyām. 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 भुजोनवने

bhujō' navane

/bhujan 5/1 anavane 7/1/

(ātmānepadam # 12)

('bhujō pālanābhavyahārayoh' iti rudhādau pāthyate) tasmād anavane (apālāne) varttamānād ātmānepadam bhavati

An ātmānepada affix occurs after bhujā 'to consume, eat' when it does not denote avana 'protect, preserve'.

EXCEPTIONS:

bhukkte 'he eats'

bhūnjāte 'they (two) eat'

1. The word bhujāh 'after the 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 pānim ‘he bends (his) hand’

do not qualify for ātmānepada.

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) sakundalam harim smarati bālah ‘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 kundala '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) akundalāṃ 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.

Examples:

ārohanti hastināṃ hastipakāḥ 'the trainers mount the elephant'
ārohayate hastī svayameva 'the elephant allows itself to be mounted by the trainers'
upāsīncanti hastināṃ hastipakāḥ 'the trainers are bathing the elephant'
upāsecayate hastī svayameva 'the elephant bathes itself'
pāśyanti bhṛtyā rājānām 'the servants are looking at the king'
darsāyate rājā svayameva 'the king shows himself'.

1. The word neḥ is used here in the general sense (sāmanya-nirdeśa) 'of that which ends in Ni'. However, it cannot refer to the Ni of rule 3.1.20 pucchabhāndacīvarān nin because the condition of the object of a non-NiT sentence becoming the agent of a NiC sentence will be impossible to meet. The Ni of rule 3.1.30 kamer niṅ, though it meets the requirement of a non-NiT object, would also be excluded from being covered by this rule, for ātmaneṣpadā will be available to it by rule 1.3.12 anudāttāṇīta... on the strength of NiV being marked with N. Thus we get:

(a) kamisyaṇa yosītam devadattaḥ 'Devadatta would desire a woman'
(b) kāmayasyate yosīt svayam eva 'the woman would allow herself to become desired'

Note that the ātmaneṣpadā of roots which end in NiC, and where the fruit of the action accrues to the agent, is already made available by rule 1.3.27 śvarāṇītaḥ kātrabhūpraye kriyaḥphale. Rule 1.3.67 ner anau... is therefore
intended to cover those particular instances where the fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent (akarabrhibhidasyakriyadha).

2. If one interprets rule 1.3.67 na na... according to the principle of single sentenceness (ekavākyatā), one would get the following paraphrase:

nyantād ātmanepadam bhavaty anyantavasthāyām yat karma nyantavasthāyām yady sa kārtā bhavati ādhyānād anyatra ātmanepada occurs after a verb root ending in NiC, providing the object of its non-NiC counterpart becomes the agent in the NiC sentence and the usage entails something other than ādhyānā ‘wistful remembrance’.

This interpretation, however, does not exclude the possibility of the involvement of an additional object (karmāntara). So we get:

(c) ārohanti hastinam 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 na na... will be:

(d) ārohanti hastinam 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’. Kaśikā proposes three split sentences. Padamaṇījari (Kāś. I: 464) finds five sentences:

(i) na ātmanepadaṃ bhavati ātmanepada occurs after a root ending in NiC
(ii) na na yāt karma ‘that which was karman ‘object in the non-NiC’
(iii) na na cet ‘if in the NiC’
(iv) sa kārtā ‘that is the kārtṛ ‘agent’
(v) anādhyānā ‘when something other than ādhyāna “wistful remembrance” is denoted’

Haradatta argues that since there is a necessary correlation between yāt ‘that which’ and tat ‘that’, the tat clause corresponding to yāt karma of the rule must be inferred as tat karma ‘that object’. This will make part of the sūtra read: na na yāt karma na na cet tat karma ‘that which is the object in the non-NiC, the same object’. When joined with na na cet sa kārtā, it yields the following meaning: ‘that which is the object in the non-NiC, the same object in NiC (that) is the agent...’.

In this way, the co-referentiality between the object of the non-NiC sentence and the object turned agent of the NiC 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 (karmantrapā).

3. The Kāśīka offers some counter-examples to explain the implications of the wording of this rule:

(e) ārohanti hastinām hastipakāh tān ārohayati mahāmātyaḥ ‘the trainers are mounting the elephant; the Prime Minister has them mount’

(f) ārohanti hastinām hastipakāh ārohayāmāno hasti sādhvārohati ‘the trainers are mounting the elephant; the elephant behaves itself beautifully while being mounted’

(g) ganayati ganam goñālakah ganayati ganam svayam eva ‘the cowherd is counting the herd; the herd counts itself’

(h) dātraṇa tināti lāvayaṇa dātraṇa svayam eva ‘he is cutting with the sickle; the sickle cuts by itself’

(i) ārohanti hastinām hastipakāh ārohayamāna hasti bhītān secayaṇi mitreṇa ‘the trainers are mounting the elephant; while being mounted the elephant sprinkles the frightened ones with urine’

(j) ārohanti hastinām hastipakāhā. ārohayamāṇa hasti sthalañi ārohayati manusyaṁ ‘the trainers mount the elephant; the elephant while being mounted has the men land on the ground’

(k) smarati vanagalmaṇsa kokilah smarayeṇa enaṁ vanagalmaṇa 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 neh and anna are both important for the selection of ātmanepada. Sentence (f) does not have the object of non-ñiC as the agent in ñiC. Similarly, (g) does not have the second part as causal.

The word dātra is expressing the instrument (karana) with its trīṣyas in the first part of (h). Consequently, it does not meet the condition of karman in its non-ñiC counterpart. Hence, it does not qualify for ātmanepada in its ñiC counterpart.

The word nau cet is included in the rule to specify the similarity of action in both the ñiC and non-ñiC 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 manusyaṁ, its verb ārohayati does not qualify for ātmanepada. Note that manusya is assigned the term karman on account of ruh being a verb signifying motion (gati; cf. 1.4.52 gatibuddhi...).

The words kārty 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 (acetana) 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) nadikulam ātmani ‘the bank of the river is feared to fall’

4. Let us consider some further examples covered by this rule:

(m) ārohantā hastinām hastipakāh ‘the trainers are mounting the elephant’

(n) ārohaya 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 karmakartā ‘object-agent’. The activity (kriya) 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 (nyagbhāvana). 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) ārohaya 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 karmakartā may qualify for ātmanepada and where it may not.

Commentators explain that instances of karmakartā entail two actions. For example, the verbal root rukh entails the actions of nyagbhāvana and nyagbhāvana 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 nyagbhāvana ‘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 nyagbhāvana.

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 karmakartā. That is, a sentence which
has a karmakartā 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
nyagbhāvana, 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 (pravyojya) actions, ātmanepada cannot be assigned to (o).

The implication of this is that a sentence where a karmakartā 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 rugh with reference to causal and non-causal
sentences:

nyagbhāvanam nyagbhāvanam rughau śuddhau pratiṣyate, nyagbhāvanam
nyagbhāvanam nyante pi pratiṣayate / avasthām paścamām āhur nyantānām
karmakartāri, niśrīta-prēṣānād dhātuḥ prākṛte 'theṣe niṣṭa ucyate //
'the meaning of both nyagbhāvana ‘cause to bend’ and nyagbhāvana ‘to
bend’ are understood by non-NīC rugh; both these meanings are also
understood from rugh used with NīC; a fifth state (of the meaning of rugh)
obtains when object turned agent is used with rugh in NīC; 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 bhīd ‘to split’, where dual
actions are identified as dvidhābhāvana ‘causing to split’ and dvidhābhāvana
‘splitting’. Roots such as rugh and bhīd are stated to be karmasthakriya ‘an
action which has its object as locus’. Thus the action of nyagbhāvana
denoted by rugh, or the action of dvidhābhāvana denoted by bhīd, both reside
in their objects. Rule 1.3.67 net anau... assigns ātmanepada after roots similar
to these, when their objects become agent, when they are used with
NīC, and when the object is free from any prompting.

Actions remain unaccomplished (sāḍhya) 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 grāmanām 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 (sapisparanasādhyā). 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 (aparispandanasādhyā). 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 kāṣṭham bhimatti 'Devadatta is splitting the wood'
(s) devadattaḥ odanam pacati 'Devadatta is cooking the rice'

The activity in the first sentence is that of dvidhābhāvana 'splitting'. The agent is engaged in the activity of dvidhābhāvana 'splitting something'. The agent accomplishes dvidhābhāvana, which in turn results in dvidhābhāvana, the sense of the root residing in the object. Thus, bhid is a root classified 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 (kārta). Recall sentences (p) and (q) where gam can be treated as a root having Rāma, the agent (kārta), as the locus of the activity. It can thus be called a kārtrsthakriya 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 kārtrsthabhāvaka.

It so happens that sometimes a speaker may wish to view the object of an action as the agent. This object turned agent (karmakartā), based upon the intent (vikāsa) 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) kāṣṭham bhidyate svayam eva 'the wood is splitting by itself'
(s) *pacyata odanah svayam eva 'the rice is cooking by itself'  
(t) devadatto ghaṣam paśyatī 'Devadatta looks at the jar'  
(u) *ghatah dṛṣyate 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 dviṭīya '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 kāśṭha of (r), or the odana of (s), can be identified as karmakartā 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  

bhīṣmyor hetubhaye  
/bhīṣmyoḥ 6/2 bhi ca smiṅ ca = bhīṣmī (itar. dv.); tayoḥ = bhīṣmyor hetubhaye  
hetubhaye 7/1 = hetor bhayam = hetubhaye (pañ. tat.); tasmin = hetubhaye/  
(ṇeh # 67, ātmanepadam # 12)  
bibhetey smayate sa nyantād ātmanepadam bhavati hetubhaye  
An ātmanepadā affix occurs after Niḥi 'to fear' and smiṅ 'to smile' when they terminate in NiČ and hetubhaya 'cause of fear' is denoted.

EXAMPLES:

jaṭīlo bhīṣayate 'the one with matted hair frightens'  
muṇḍo bhīṣayate 'the one with a shaven head frightens'  
jaṭīlo vismāpyate '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, ātmanepadā cannot be introduced. Consider kuṇicikayainām bhāyayati 'he has him scared by means of the broom', where ātmanepadā cannot be used because the source of fear is kuṇicā 'broom', the karaṇa 'instrument'. Furthermore, bhaya 'fear' is used as an upalaksana '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 (akartrabhīṣparyakriyāphala).

1.3.69  

gṛdhivaṅcayoh pralambhane  
/gṛdhiṇaṅcayoh 6/2 = gṛdiṣ ca vaṇciṣ ca = gṛdhivaṅcī (itar. dv.); tayoḥ = gṛdhivaṅcayoh; pralambhane 7/1/  
(ṇeh # 67, ātmanepadam # 12)
The Ṛṣṭādhyāyī of Pāṇini

1.3.70

'ṛdhu (abhīkāṅkṣāyāṁ) vaṅcu (gatau)' ity etayor nyantayoh pralambhe vartamānayor ātmanepadaṁ bhavati
An ātmanepada affix occurs after ṛdhū 'to desire' and vaṅcū 'to move' when they denote pralambha 'deception by means of false promises'.

EXAMPLES:

māṇavakāṁ gardhayate 'he deceives the boy'
māṇavakāṁ vaṅcayate 'he deceives'  

1. Note that the word pralambha means visamvāda 'speaking against one's promise' and mithyāpalākhyaṇa 'making false promises'. The rule is again valid where akartrabhāṣprāyakryāphala is understood.

1.3.70 लिय: सम्माननासालिनिकरणवोः
liyāḥ sammananasaśālinikaranayoḥ ca
liyāḥ 5/1 sammananaśāalinikaranayoḥ 7/2 = sammananam ca śālinikaraṇam ca = sammananaśāalinikaranayoḥ (itar. dū.); tayoh = sam-
mānanaśāalinikaranayoḥ; ca 0/
(ṇēḥ # 67, ātmanepadam # 12)
liyāḥ nyantāṅ sammanana śālinikarane ca vartamānād ātmanepadam bhavati
An ātmanepada affix occurs after liṅ 'to cling' and li 'to cling' when they terminate in NiC and denote sammanana 'respect', śālinikaraṇa 'to subdue', or pralambha.

EXAMPLES:

jaṭābhir āḷāpayate 'he gets respect because of matted hair'
śeno vartitkām ullāpayate 'the hawk subdues the duck'
kas tvām ullāpayate 'who is deceiving you?'

1. The word liyāḥ 'after li' may be construed as referring either to liṅ, a root listed in the divādī class, or to li, a root listed in the kṛyādī class. Since there is no indication as to which root is intended, we understand liyāḥ as referring to them both. The ca of this rule is used to bring pralambha as an additional meaning condition.

2. Note that rule 6.1.58 vibhāsā liyateḥ requires the ā replacement for the i of li optionally. But the vibhāsā 'option' of rule 6.1.58 is of the vyavasthitā type, thereby meaning that when li is used in the sense referred to in rule 1.3.70, the option must be accepted. Elsewhere, li can be replaced by lā optionally. Observe that akartrabhāṣprāyakryāphala is equally intended here.

1.3.71 पिथ्योपपदलकुञ्जोप्यासे
mithyopaḍaḷi kṛṇo bhyāse
mthypapadāt 5/1 = mthya śabda upapadam yasya sa (bv.); tasmāt = mthypapadāt; kriñāh 5/1 abhyāse 7/1
(neh # 67, ātmanepadam # 12)
nyantāt karoter mthypapadāt ātmanepadam bhavati abhyāse
An ātmanepada affix occurs after kriñāh when it terminates in NiC, has mthya 'false' as an upapada 'co-occurring pada', and abhyāsa 'repeated action' is denoted.

Example:

padām mthya kārayate 'he repeatedly mispronounces the word'

1. The word mthypapada, in mthypapadāt, is a bahuvrihi compound meaning 'that which has mthya 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 tātropapadam saptamāsthām, an item specified in the domain of the 3.1.91 dhātoḥ by the seventh (saptamā) 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 (akartarabhīprāyakriyāphala).

1.3.72 स्वरितितिति: कर्मिभिप्राये क्रियाफले

svaritaṁtād kartrabhīprāye kriyāphale
/svaritaṁtād 5/1 = svaritaś ca nāś ca = svaritaṅnau (dv.); taut iau yasya sa
= svaritaṁt (bv. with internal dv.); tasmāt = svaritaṁtād; kartrabhīprāye
7/1 = kartur abhīprāyah (sas. tat.); tasmān = kartrabhīprāye; kriyāphale 7/1
= kriyāyah phalam = kriyāphalam (sas. tat.); tasmān = kriyāphale/
(ātmanepadam # 12)
svariteto ye dhātavo nītaś ca tebhya ātmanepadam
bhavati, kartari cet kriyāphalam abhīpraiti
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 yajā 'to perform ritual sacrifice' is marked with ā which is carrying svarita. Similarly, DUkñ '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 (gaṇa) 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 kartrabhhiprāye 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: gaṇamukhyayor mukhyē kāryasampratyayayāḥ). 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) keśaśmaśrī vaṁpate ‘he has the hair and the moustache shaved’
(d) dhānyam vaṁpate ‘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 अयाद्वकः:
apād vadoḥ
|apāt 5/1 vadoḥ 5/1 |
(kartrabhhiprāye kriyāphale # 72, ātmanepadam # 12)
apāpūrvād vadateḥ kartrabhiprāye kriyāphale ātmanepadām bhavati
An ātmanepada affix occurs after vadā ‘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 vadā, 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 apavād.
Thus, in the sentence given above, the person who is greedy for money
benefits by speaking injustice.

1.3.74 गित्चर्च
nīcaś ca
/ nicah 5/1 ca 0 /
(kartrabhiprāye kriyāphale # 72, ātmanepadām # 12)
nījantād ātmanepadām bhavati, kartrabhiprāye kriyāphale
An ātmanepada affix also occurs after roots terminating in NiC pro-
vided the fruit of the action is intended for the agent.

EXAMPLES:

kataṁ kārayate ‘he has the mat made for himself’
odanaṁ 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 NiC when the fruit of the action accrues to the
agent. Compare these two sentences:
(a) kataṁ kārayate ‘he has a mat made for himself’
(b) kataṁ kārayati parasya ‘he has a mat made for someone else’
Sentence (b) must have paraśmaiṇḍa because the fruit of the action is
intended for someone else.

1.3.75 समुदाध्यो यमोपगच्छे
samudāṇbhhyo yamo’ granthe
/samudāṇbhhyah 5/3 yamah 5/1 agranthe 7/1/
(kartrabhiprāye kriyāphale # 72, ātmanepadām # 12)
sam, ud, ān ity evam pūrvād yameḥ kartrabhiprāye kriyāphale ātmanepadām
bhavati, granthaviśayaś ceti prayogo na bhavati
An ātmanepada affix occurs after yamā when it is used with the pre-
verbs sam, ud, or āN provided the fruit of the action accrues to the
agent and reference to grantha ‘treatise’ is not made.

EXAMPLES:

vrihiṁ samyacchate ‘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 yamā 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 yamā, as its intransitive usages have already been covered by rule 1.3.28 āno yamahanaḥ, etc. In addition, we have the condition of kartrabhuprāya kriyāphala. That is, when the fruit of the action would not accrue to the agent, we will get parasmaiṣṭa as in samyacchati, etc. The condition of agranthe is imposed to rule out ātmanepada in examples such as udyacchati cikitsāṁ vaidyaḥ ‘the doctor is striving to comprehend the medical treatises’.

1.3.76 Anupasargāḥ:

anuṇāsargajñāḥ
lanuṇāsargāt 5/1 jñāḥ 1/1
(kartrabhuprāye kriyāphale # 72, ātmanepadam # 12)
anuṇāsargajñāte kartrabhuprāye kriyāphale ātmanepadam bhavati
An ātmanepada affix occurs after jñā when it is not used with a pre-
verb provided the fruit of the action accrues to the agent.

Examples:

gām jānite ‘he knows his cow
aśvaṁ jānite ‘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 akarmakā 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 akarmakā 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 Vibhāṣopapadāṇa Pratīyamāne

vibhāṣopapadāṇa pratīyamāne
vibhāṣā 1/1 upapadāna 3/1 pratīyamāne 7/1
(kartrabhuprāya kriyāphale # 72, ātmanepadam # 12)
upapadāna pratīyamāne kartrabhuprāye kriyā vibhāṣā tmanepadam 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:

\begin{itemize}
\item \textit{svam yaj\=nam yajati} 'he performs his own ritual'
\item \textit{svam yaj\=nam yajate} 'id.'
\item \textit{svam ka\=tam karoti} 'he makes his mat'
\item \textit{svam ka\=tam kurute} 'id.'
\item \textit{svam putram apavadati} 'he scolds his son'
\item \textit{svam putram apavade} 'id.'
\end{itemize}

1. This rule makes the \textit{\=atmanepada} provision of its preceding five rules (1.3.72 \textit{svarita\=nita\=h...}, 1.3.73 \textit{ap\=\=ad vada\=h}, 1.3.74 \textit{nica\=s ca}, 1.3.75 \textit{samud\=\=a\=nhbhyo yamo' granthe}, and 1.3.76 \textit{anu\=pasarg\=aj j\=n\=ah}) optional under the following conditions:

(a) verbal roots after which \textit{parasmaipada} is to be introduced optionally to \textit{\=atmanepada} must be used in the proximity of a \textit{co-occurring pada} and

(b) this co-occurring \textit{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 \textit{pr\=\=apte-vibh\=\=as\=a}.

The word \textit{upapada} must not be interpreted here as used in its technical sense. Rule 3.1.92 \textit{tatropapadam sa\=ptam\=ish\=am} states that a form referenced in the seventh (\textit{sa\=ptami}) triad of \textit{sUP}, in the domain of 3.1.91 \textit{dh\=\=a\=toh}, should be termed \textit{\=upapada} 'conjoined or co-occurring word'. It is in view of this that \textit{kar\=\=ani} of 3.2.1 \textit{kar\=\=am\=a an} is interpreted as 'affix \textit{a\=N} occurs after a verbal root co-occurring with a \textit{pada} denoting object (\textit{kar\=\=man})'. Needless to say, the word \textit{kar\=\=man} of rule 3.2.1 is in \textit{sa\=ptami}. Since \textit{\=atmanepada} or \textit{parasmaipada} affixes are introduced after verbal roots in the domain of 3.1.91 \textit{dh\=\=a\=toh}, one may be tempted to interpret the word \textit{upapada} here in its technical sense. But this rule is not in the domain of \textit{dh\=\=a\=toh}; and there is no variable used in the locative to suggest a technical \textit{upapada} as we find in the case of 3.2.1. \textit{kar\=\=am\=a an}. We should therefore interpret the word \textit{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 \textit{svarita\=nita\=h...} The next two illustrate the options available for 1.3.73 \textit{ap\=\=ad vada\=h}. These examples should be sufficient to demonstrate the application of the options offered by this rule.

1.3.78 \textbf{\=S\=e\=sa\=t kart\=\=ari parasmaipadam}

\textit{\=S\=e\=sa\=t 5/1 kart\=\=ari 7/1 parasmaipadam 1/1/
\=yebh\=yo dh\=\=atubh\=yo yena vi\=\=se\=sa\=\=n\=en\=atmanepadam ukt\=\=am tato yada any\=\=at sa \=se\=sa\=t,}
śesāt karttari parasmaiypadam bhavati
A parasmaiypada affix occurs after the remainder of roots when agency is denoted.

EXAMPLES:

yāti 'he goes'
vāti 'he moves'
pravīśati 'he enters'
vāvīśati 'he enters'

1. The use of the word śesā clearly indicates that the domain headed by this rule is ‘residual’. That is, whatever remains as not covered by the assignment of āṭmanepada forms the domain of the parasmaiypada of this rule. Since śesā ‘remainder’ is a relative term, commentators explain that its referent must be determined relative to the assignment of āṭmanepada, marked by qualifiers such as anudāttana 'having anudatta and N as it' (1.3.12 anudāttana...); svartanita kartrabhipraye kriyāphale (1.3.72) and nehi occurring after ni’ of 1.3.17 ner viśah, etc. In other words, 1.3.78 will apply where such qualifications are not available.

For instance, parallel to āste, āste we get yāti, vāti, where the verbal roots used with parasmaiypada do not have an anudatta or N as an it. Similarly, parallel to nīvīśate, one would get pravīśati, where āṭmanepada 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 śesā... covers that which could not be covered by rules dealing with the assignment of āṭmanepada.

1.3.79 अनुपराध्याइयाः

anuparābhyāṁ kṛṇah
/anuparābhyāṁ 5/2 kṛṇah 5/1/
(parasmaiypadams # 78)
anu, parā ity evam pūrvāḥ karoteḥ parasmaiypadam bhavati
A parasmaiypada affix occurs after kṛN when it is used with the preverbs anu or parā.

EXAMPLES:

anukaroti ‘he imitates’
parākaroti ‘he puts away’

1. Rule 1.3.32 gandhanāvasepaṇasevana... assigns āṭmanepada after the verbal root DUkṛN. The same āṭmanepada is also required by 1.3.72 svartanitaḥ kartrabhipraye kriyāphale. This rule not only demands the introduction of parasmaiypada after kṛ, when it is used with the preverbs anu and pari, but also when these preverbs, used with kṛ, express the meaning of gandhāna ‘to speak ill against, find fault’, etc.
1.3.80 **अधिप्रत्ययतिथ्य: क्षिपः**

`abhipratyayatibhyah ksipah`

`/abhipratyayatibhyah 5/3 ksipah 5/1/`

`(parasmai̇padam # 78)`

`abhī, prati, ati ity evam purvāt ksipah parasmai̇padam bhavati`

A *parasmai̇padama* affix occurs after *ksipā* 'to throw, hurl' when it is used with the preverbs *abhī, prati* or *ati*.

**EXAMPLES:**

`abhikṣipati` 'he throws around'

`pratikṣipati` 'he throws in return'

`atikṣipati` 'he throws a lot'

1. Since the verbal root *ksipā* is marked with *svarita*, rule 1.3.72 *svaritanītaḥ kartrabhiprāye kriyāphale* would require the use of *ātmanepada*. This rule provides for *parasmai̇padama* when this root is used with the preverbs *abhī, prati*, and *ati*. Kāśīka notes that a second *kartya* must also be carried to this rule via *anuvṛtti*, so that sentences such as *abhikṣipate svayam eva* 'it gets hurled upwards by itself' do not qualify for the use of *parasmai̇padama*.

1.3.81 **प्रदाहः**

`prād vahah`

`/prāt 5/1 vahah 5/1/`

`(parasmai̇padam # 78)`

`prāpūrvād vahateḥ parasmai̇padam bhavati`

A *parasmai̇padama* 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 *parasmai̇padama* 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 *ś*, rule 1.3.72 *svaritanītaḥ kartrabhiprāye kriyāphale* will demand *ātmanepada*. This rule blocks that demand.

1.3.82 **परेशुषः**

`parer mrśah`

`/pareḥ 5/1 mrśah 5/1/`

`(parasmai̇padam # 78)`

`paripūrvād mrśyate parasmai̇padam bhavati`
A parasmaipada affix occurs after mṛṣā '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’
parimṛṣyantि ‘they (pl.) endure it in every way’

1. This rule assigns parasmaipada after the verbal root mṛṣā 'to endure, forgive' used with the preverb pari. Remember that mṛṣā is a root which is marked with a svarita vowel ə before its i. As such, rule 1.3.72 svaritaṇītaḥ kartrabhīpye kriyāphale would require ātmanepada rather than parasmaipada.

1.3.83 आत्मनेपद: 
vṛyāṇparibhyo ramah
/vṛyāṇparibhyah 5/3 (itar. du.); ramah 5/1/
(parasmaipadam # 78)
vi, añ, pari ity evam pūrvād parasmaipadam bhavati
A parasmaipada affix occurs after ramū ‘to play’ when it is used with the preverbs vi, añ, and pari.

EXAMPLES:

viramati ‘he stops’
āramati ‘he plays’
pariramati ‘he plays around’

1. The use of parasmaipada after the verbal root ramū ‘to sport’, with the preverbs vi, añ, and pari, is provided for by this rule. The provision is made against the ātmanepada which would otherwise obtain from rule 1.3.12 anudattaṇīta 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’ अपाच
upāc ca
/upāt 5/1 ca 0/
(parasmaipadam # 78)
upapūrvarāmateḥ parasmaipadam bhavati
A parasmaipada affix also occurs after ramū 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 nīvyttā ‘to be overcome, disenchanted’, as in adhyayānād 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 NiC, 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 विभाषाकर्मकात्
vibhāṣā karmakāt
/vibhāṣā 1/1 akarmakāt 5/1/
(parasmaipadām # 78)

upaṇpūrṇaś 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 बुधप्रदन्तनेिन्मुल्लयो पो:
budhayudhanaśajanaeṇprudrasrubhyo neḥ
/budha...strubhayah 5/3 (ītār. dv.); neḥ 5/1/
(parasmaipadām # 78)

budha, yudha, naśa, jana, inā, pru, dru, sru ity ete bhyo nyantebhayah parasmaipadāṃ bhavati
A parasmaipada affix occurs after budha ‘to know, perceive’, yudhā ‘to fight’, naśa ‘to disappear, perish’, janī ‘to be born’, iṇā ‘to learn, study’, pruṇā ‘to spring up, to move’, dru ‘to run, move’, and sru ‘to flow, move’ when they terminate in NiC.
EXAMPLES:

- bodhayati ‘...causes someone to know’
- yodhayati ‘...causes someone to fight’
- naśayati ‘...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 parasmaipada as an exception to ātmanepada for the eight specified roots. This exception is made against the provisions of rule 1.3.72 svarita-nilāh kartrabhuprāye kriyāphale. Note that the intransitive verbal roots covered by this rule must have a non-sentient (acittavat) agent (kartr), for examples of roots having cittavat-kartr ‘sentient agent’ will be covered by rule 1.3.88 anāvakarmakāc.... 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 निगराणचलनार्थंप्रयोगः

- nigaraṇacalanārthebhyaś ca
- /nigaraṇacalanārthebhyaḥ 5/3 = nigaraṇam ca calanam ca = niga-
- raṇacalane arthau yeṣām te = nigaraṇacalanārthāḥ (bv. with internal dv.)
- tebhyaḥ = nigaraṇacalanārthebhyaḥ; ca Ø/
- (neh # 86, parasmaipadam # 78)

A parasmaipada suffix also occurs after roots which terminate in NiC and signify nigaraṇa ‘swallowing, consuming’, or calana ‘moving, shaking’.

EXAMPLES:

- nigārayati ‘he feeds’
- aśāyati ‘id.’
- bhojāyati ‘id.’
- calayati ‘it moves, shakes’
- copayati ‘it moves, shakes gently’
- kāmpayati ‘it shakes’

1. This rule assigns parasmaipada as an exception to the ātmanepada which was made available by 1.3.72 svarita-nilāh kartrabhuprāye 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 (*karti* or *acittavat*) as non-sentient (*acittavat*). Roots having the signification of *nigaran* 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-*NiC* status.

A *vārttika* on rule 1.4.52 *akathitam ca* (*Mbh. II: 431: adikādinnivahaṇām pratiśedhah*) blocks any *pratyavasānakaṁ* ‘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 *nigaran* ‘to swallow’ will not be available to *ad*. An example of *ad* with *NiC* will be as follows:-

ādayate devadattena ‘Devadatta has someone eat’

1.3.88 अणावर्मकाक्षाविकाव्यक्तिकालः

*aṇāv akarmakāc cittavatkartrkāt*

*laṇau* 7/1 (*naṅ. tat.); *akarmakāt 5/1 cittavatkartrkāt 5/1 = cittavān kartā yasya sa cittavatkartrkāh (bv.), tasmāt = cittavatkartrkāt! (ṇeḥ 86, parasmaipadām # 78)

*anyanto yo dhātur akarmakaś cittavatkartrkās ca tasmād nyantāt parasmaipadam bhavati*

A *parasmaipada* affix occurs after a root which terminates in *NiC* provided its non-*NiC* counterpart is intransitive with an animate (*cittavat*) agent (*karti*).

**EXAMPLES:**

- non-*NiC*:
  - *āste devadattah* ‘Devadatta sits’
- *NiC*:
  - *āsāyati devadattam* ‘he has Devadatta sit’
- non-*NiC*:
  - *śete devadattah* ‘Devadatta reclines’
- *NiC*:
  - *śāsāyati devadattam* ‘he has Devadatta recline’

1. This rule states that *parasmaipada* occurs after a root which ends in *NiC* (*ṇeḥ; 1.3.86 budhayudhānaśa... and 1.3.78 śesāt karttari...) which, when not ending in *NiC* (*aṇau*), is akarmaka ‘intransitive’ with sentient agent
(cittavatkartr). It should be understood here that parasmaipada is negated with reference to NiC, which is brought by anuvrtti from rule 1.3.86 budhayudhanaśa... Now, the NiC which is used in rule 1.3.86 denotes hetumat ‘instigator’, and as such, a negation based on the same NiC must also be made with reference to the hetumat meaning of NiC. 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 ner anau yat karma...’ which introduces ātmanepada after a root which

(i) ends in NiC, and
(ii) has as its current agent the object of its non-NiC counterpart.

Let us consider the following sentences:
(a) ārohantī 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 ner anau 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 NiC 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-NiC root is not akarmaka ‘intransitive’, though it has cittavatkartr ‘sentient agent’. It can thus form a proper counter-example. See also the notes under rule 1.3.67 ner anau yat karma....

The examples given under the present rule include these two sentences:
sēte devadattāḥ ‘Devadatta reclines’
sāyayati devadattam ‘he has Devadatta recline’

It is noticeable here that the non-NiC verb sīN is akarmaka, and by rule 1.3.12 anudattānīta ātmanepradam it is required to take ātmanepradam. It also has a sentient agent. The NiC counterpart is thus blocked from taking ātmanepradam by the present rule. It is because of the condition of akarmaka that sentences such as katam kārayate ‘he has the mat made for himself’ will not qualify for parasmaipada. Similarly, because of the condition of cittavatkartr, sentences such as sāsayate vrihiṇātāpan ‘the heat is drying up the rice’ will not qualify for parasmaipada.

1.3.89 न पादायायमायमसपरिमुहलचिन्तविदवस: ।
na pādānyānyamaṇyaṇa parimuharucintivadavasah ।
/na 0 pāda...vasah 5/1 = pāś ca damiś ca āhyamas ca āhyasaś ca parimuhas ca ruciś ca nṛtiś ca vadaś ca vaśa ca = pāda. ।

(neh # 86, parasmaipadam # 78)

pā, dami, āhyasa, parimuha, ruci, nṛti, vada, vasa ity etekhyo nyantebhyah parasmaipadam na bhavati.
A parasmaipada affix does not occur after pā ‘to drink’, daml ‘to suppress, control’, ā-yam (āN-yamĀ) ‘to stretch out’, ā-yas (āN-yasU) ‘to exert’, parimuh (pari-muhA) ‘to be perplexed’, rudA ‘to be pleasing’, nṛtl ‘to dance’, vadĀ ‘to speak’, or vasĀ ‘to dwell’ when they terminate in NiC.

EXAMPLES:

pāyayate ‘he causes someone to drink’
damayate ‘he causes someone to be controlled’
āyāmayaṭe ‘he causes something to stretch out’
āyāsayaṭe ‘he causes someone to be afflicted’
parimoḥayaṭe ‘he causes someone to be perplexed’
rocayaṭe ‘he causes someone to be pleased’
naritayaṭe ‘he causes someone to dance’
vādayaṭe ‘he causes someone to speak’
vāṣayaṭe ‘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 nigaranacalanārthebhyaśa ca and 1.3.88 anāvakarmakāc... as an exception to ātmanepada which, in turn, was made available by rule 1.3.72 svaritaṁitaḥ kartrabhīprāye... to denote kartrabhīprāyakriyāphala ‘the fruit of the action accruing to the agent’. Thus, this rule negates parasmaipada in favour of ātmanepada. In other words, it reinstates ātmanepadām to denote kartrabhīprāyakriyāphala.

It is important to remember here that the sphere of negating parasmaipada, or reinstating ātmanepada, is limited to kartrabhīprāyakriyāphala. This will give us forms such as pāyayate. But when the sphere is not that of kartrabhīprāyakriyāphala, rule 1.3.78 šeṣāt kartrārī parasmaipadām will introduce parasmaipada to yield vatsān payāḥ 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 nṛtl ‘to dance’ denotes caḷaṇa ‘movement’. Their parasmaipada was therefore available from rule 1.3.87 nigaraṇa....

1.3.90 वा क्यसः:

vā kyaṣah

(vā 0 kyaṣah 5/1)
(parasmaipadam # 78)

kyaṣantād dhātor vā parasmaipadam bhavati

A parasmaipada affix occurs optionally after roots which terminate in

affix kyaṣ (3.1.13 lohitād...).
EXAMPIES:

lohitāyati 'that which was not red reddens'
lohitāyate 'id.'
patapatāyati 'it makes the pat-pat noise'
patapatāyate 'id.'

1. This rule makes parasmaipada optional after roots which end in KyaŚ. Clearly, the roots covered by this rule will be deriving from rule 3.1.13 lohitādīdībhyaḥ... which introduces KyaŚ after words enumerated in the list headed by lohita 'red', or words ending in affix DāC. 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 anudātaṁita ātmanepadam. This rule does not give any indication as to whether ātmanepada will be available to roots ending in KyaŚ. 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 kartāri parasmaipadam.

1.3.91 द्युद्भध्यो लुि

dyudbhṛyo luni
/dyudbhṛyaḥ 5/3 luni 7/1/
(vā # 90, parasmaipadam # 78)
dyutādibhyo luni vā parasmaipadam bhavati

A parasmaipada affix occurs optionally after dyutĀ 'to shine' and so on when LUN follows.

EXAMPIES:

vyadyutat 'it became illuminated'
vadyotiṣṭa 'id.'
aluthat 'he became agitated'
aloitḥiṣṭa '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 LUN. The roots referred to by the dyutĀ set are those beginning with dyutĀ and terminating with kṛpU 'to be capable'. We know that the last root of the set has to be kṛpU, because the next set is referenced as headed by vṛtU in the following rule. The plural in dyudbhṛyaḥ, by sāhacarya 'association', brings the other roots. Thus, Panini 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 anudāttanīta ātmanepadam, take the ātmanepada endings. This rule, however, makes the ātmanepada optional for these special verbs before LUN. 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 puṣādīdyutādydīlītāḥ parasmaipadesu, whereby aN replaces CLI before LUN. Once aN is introduced on the strength of parasmaipada made available by 1.3.91 dudbhya..., any guna replacement will be blocked by 1.1.5 kṛtī ca. It is as a result of this that we get two forms: vyadyutat, derived with parasmaipada, aN, and no guna; and, as opposed to this, vyadyotīṣṭa, derived with ātmanepada, no aN, and guna. See the appendix for derivational details.

1.3.92 **वृत्त्य: स्यासनोः:**

vrdbhyah syasanoh

/vrdbhyah 5/3 syasanoh 7/2 (itar. dv.)/

(vā # 90, parasmaipadam # 78)

vrtdibhyo dhātubhyah sye sani ca parato vā parasmaipadam bhavyati

A parasmaipada affix occurs optionally after vṛtU 'to turn; to exist' and so on, when affixes sya or saN follow.

**EXAMPLES:**

vartsyati 'he will turn'
vartisyate 'id.'
avartsyat 'he turned'
avartiṣyat 'id.'
vivṛtisati 'he wishes to turn'
vivartiṣate 'id.'
vartsyati 'he will grow'
varddhisyate 'id.'
avartsyat 'he grew up'
avarddhisyata 'id.'
vivṛtisati 'he wishes to grow up'
vivarddhīṣate 'id.'

1. This rule makes the use of parasmaipada affixes optional after verbal roots vṛtU, etc., when they occur before sya and saN. Note that vṛtU, etc., are contained in the set headed by dyutA, etc., of rule 1.3.91 dyudbhya luni. This rule identifies a set of five verbs, i.e. vṛtU 'to turn', vṛdhU 'to grow', śṛdhU 'to be defiant', syandU 'to move on', kṛpU 'to be capable', from within the dyutA 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, krpeḥ is also referred to as klpi: see rule 1.3.93, below.

1.3.93 लुटि च कल्पः:

\begin{align*}
\text{luṭi} & \text{ ca klpaḥ} \\
\text{luṭi} & 7/1 \text{ ca } 0 \text{ klpaḥ } 5/1 \\
\text{(syasanoḥ } & \text{ # 92, vā } \text{ # 90, parasmaipadam } \text{ # 78) } \\
\text{luṭi} & \text{ ca syasanoś } \text{ ca krpeḥ parasmaipadam bhavati} \\
\text{A parasmaipada } & \text{ affix occurs after klpi 'to be capable' when it is followed by LUT, sya, or saN} \\
\end{align*}

**Examples:**

\begin{itemize}
\item kalptā 'he will be capable tomorrow'
\item kalpitā 'id.'
\item kālpārau 'they (two) will be capable tomorrow'
\item kālpārah 'they (pl.) will be capable tomorrow'
\item kalpsyati 'he will become capable'
\item kalpsyate 'id.'
\item akalpsyat 'he would have become capable'
\item akalpsyata 'id.'
\item cikhpsati 'he wishes to be capable'
\item cikhpsate 'id.'
\end{itemize}

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 luṭi to bring vibhāṣa '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 derivatives of klpi are already covered by the previous rule. That is, since klpi is included in the set referred to by vṛtṛU, etc., of the preceding rule, the sya and saN derivatives of klpi would already be covered. Rule 1.3.93 is thus formulated to cover only the derivatives of klpi relative to LUT. I think ca should be accepted as functional here: it should be read with luṭi to give the meaning 'and additionally when occurring before LUT...'.

1.4.1 आ कड़रादेका संज्ञा

\begin{align*}
\text{ā kadaśrād ekā samjñā} \\
\text{ā kadaśrāt 5/1 ekā 1/1 samjñā 1/1} \\
\text{‘kadaśrāḥ karmadhāraye’ iti vakṣyati ā etasmāt sūtrāvadher yad ita īrdhvaṃ} \\
\text{anukramasyāmah īatra ekā samjñā bhavati iti vaktavyam} \\
\text{As far as ‘kadaśra’ (2.2.38 kadaśrāḥ karmadhāraye), only one term should} \\
\text{be assigned.} \\
\end{align*}
EXAMPLES:

bhettā ‘he who splits’
chetṭā ‘he who cuts’
sīkṣā ‘instruction’
bhiṃṣā ‘alms’
atataksat ‘he smoothed the wood’
araraksat ‘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 kadārāḥ 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 viprātisedhe param 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 (viprātisedha). 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 viprātisedhe.

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 ekasamjñā, samjñasamāveśa ‘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 yasmat...) and bha (1.4.18 yaici bham) involve class inclusion. For details, see the following rule.

1.4.2 विप्रतिशेषं परं कार्ययु 

viprātisedhe param kāryam
/viprātisedhe 7/1 param 1/1 kāryam 1/1/
(tulyabala-virodhah = viprātisedhah) \ yatra dvau prasaṅgāv anyārthāv
ekasmin yugapat prāpruṣuṣa sa tulyabalavirodho viprātisedhah; tāsmin vi-
prātisedhe param kāryam bhavati

When there is conflict caused by two rules of equal strength, apply the one which is subsequent in order.

EXAMPLES:

vṛksābhyaṃ, instrumental, dative, and ablative dual of vṛksa ‘tree’
plaksabhyaṁ, instrumental, dative, and ablative dual of plakṣa 'a kind of tree'

vrkṣeyu, locative plural of vrkṣa

plakṣeyu, locative plural of plakṣa

vrkṣebbhyaḥ, dative and ablative plural of vrkṣa

plakṣebbhyaḥ, dative and ablative plural of plakṣa

1. The purpose of this rule is to provide a decisive ruling in matters of conflict (vipraṭiṣedha). This rule then becomes restrictive (nīyama) in nature. The locative in vipraṭiṣedhe is interpreted as satiṣaptamī 'locative absolute'. The word param, though interpretable as meaning īṣṭa, 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. Kāśika explains: yatra dvau prasaṅgān anyārthāv ekasmin yugpat prāṇmutas sa eva tulyabalavirodho vipraṭiṣedah. Obviously the focus is on the term vipraṭiṣedha, which is here explained as tulyabala-virodha '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 tulyabala-tā '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 (prāṇmutas) in a single context (ekasmin) simultaneously (yugapat). To sum up, vipraṭiṣedha 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 (sāti), 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 vipraṭiṣedha demands that two rules in conflict must have their scope of application elsewhere. Let us consider some examples:

(a) kṛūrāya krudhyati 'he is angry with the cruel one'
(b) kṛūram abhikruḍhyati 'id.'
(c) gehaṃ pravṛṣati 'he is entering the house'
(d) gehe pravṛṣati 'id.'

The word kṛūra 'cruel' in (a) is used with caturthi 'fourth triplet of nominal ending' to express sampradāna (2.3.13 sampradāne caturthi). However, it is used with dvitiyā 'second triplet of nominal ending' to express karman (2.3.2 karmanī dvitiyā). The term sampradāna is assigned to kṛūra in (a) because kṛūra denotes the person towards whom anger is directed, and the sentence underlies an action denoted by krudh 'to be angry' (1.4.37
krudha...yam 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 upasṛṣṭayoh karma). A situation of conflict arises here. The reasons are:

(i) the nominal endings, dvitīya 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 samajñā forbids the assignment of two terms to a single nominatum at once.

Note that this conflict cannot be recognised as vipratisedha 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 niravakāśa as 'no scope of application'.

It has been stated that vipratisedha 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 as '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 vipratisedha. 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 dhanusā mrgaṃ vidyatī ‘Rama 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 dhanus in the instrumental singular (2.3.18 karmakaṇṇayos trīyā) to express karana (1.4.42 sādhakatamāṇ karanaṃ). Since dhanus as a participant serves as the means par excellence in accomplishing the act of piercing, it is termed karana. However, since it also serves as a fixed (dhrva) point from whence there is movement away (apāya) of the arrow (śara), it can also qualify for the term apādāna (1.4.24 dhrvam apāye’ pādānam). This clearly creates a situation of conflict (vipratisedha). The terms apādāna and karana 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 vipratisedhe param 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 karana in this instance because rule 1.4.2 sādhakatamaṃ karaṇam, which assigns the term karana, 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 aśis will require a replacement for bhis of aśis, which occurs after an aṅga ending in a. Note that atak is placed in the pañcamī fifth triplet of nominal ending which brings rule 1.1.67 tasmād ity uttaraśya 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 aśis.

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, aśis should replace only the bh of bhis. But bhis itself is placed in the genitive, so rule 1.1.49 saṣṭhī sthāneyoṅə must apply to demand that aśis should replace bhis. Since the replacement consists of more than one sound segment, rule 1.1.55 anekālṣīt sarvasya would demand that aśis 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 saṣṭhī as the primary specifying condition?

If we accept pañcamī, a wrong form such as *rāma + (bh → aśis) is → rīmaisi (s → ṣ) = *rāmaisin 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 saṣṭhī, everything will be in order. How should we decide? The tradition regards this as an instance of vipratisedha. Commentators state that 1.1.54 ādeḥ parasya has a valid scope of application in examples like dviṃpaṃ, ‘island’, with reference to rule 6.3.97 dvyantarupasargabhya... This scope of application also happens to be mutually exclusive of the valid scope of application of rule 1.1.55 anekālṣīt 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 astī in genitive. The replacement here is total (sarvadeśa).

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 atah and bhis (items in paṇcami and saṣṭhi) of rule 7.1.9 are given is also consonance with the resolution of the conflict in favour of the subsequent. Secondly, the rules which introduce the paṇcami and saṣṭhi nominal endings in the domain of 2.3.1 anabhikhiñe also place saṣṭhi rules subsequent to paṇcami 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 vipratisedha 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 anāga be replaced with a long before a nominal ending beginning with yN. The second rule requires that in the case of a plural form the anāga-final a should be replaced with e. Examples like rāmāya and rāmebhıyah 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 vipratisedha once must remain blocked forever (cf. Paribhāṣa 41: sakrd gatau vipratisedhe yad bādhitam tad bādhitam eva ‘that which goes through vipratisedha 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. Paribhāṣa 40: punah prasaṅga-vijñānād 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 vipratisedha are recognized: one which is labelled as tulyabalata ‘equal strength’, and the other as asambhava ‘impossible’. These two types also relate to the interpretation of the expression param 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 tulyabalata aspect of vipratisedha. The ‘application afterwards’ notion relates to the asambhava aspect of vipratisedha.

I have already discussed several examples of vipratisedha of the tulyabalata type. I shall now discuss the vipratisedha which constitutes the type of asambhava. Consider rule 3.1.333 nurvṛteau, which introduces affixes NvuL and trC 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, NvuL and trC will be introduced in turn. Similarly, given the string ajara + Jas, where
7.1.20 jaśasoh śih applies to replace fas by Śi, ajara + (fas → Śi) = ajara + i, two rules become applicable. These are 7.1.72 naṭumśakasya jhal acaḥ and 7.2.101 jaraṇā 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 → ajarasni + i = *ajarasni.

The real problem with this approach, however, is that the application of rule 6.4.10 sānta mahatah sanyogasya 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 viprātisedhe.... 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 ekasamjñā. Pāṇinīyas in the West, with the same unanimity, refuse to accept the applicability of rule 1.4.2 outside the domain of ekasamjñā. That is, the Western pāṇinīyas consider rule 1.4.2 as local and strictly restricted to the domain of ekasamjñā. 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 खयाखो नदी

yū stryākhyau nadi

/yū (sUP deleted) = i ca ū ca = yū (itar. dv.); stryākhyau 1/2 nadi 1/1

ikārāntam ukārāntam ca stryākhyam ūdbharīpam natisamjñām bhavati

Feminine forms which end in i or ū are termed nadi.

Examples:

kumari ‘girl’
gauri ‘goddess Pārvatī; a fair-complexioned girl’
lakṣmīḥ ‘goddess (of wealth) Lakṣmī’
sārṇgaraṇvī ‘goddess of wealth’
brahmabandhāḥ ‘a brāhmaṇa woman who does not behave like one’
yavāgūḥ ‘rice gruel’

1. The purpose of assigning the term nadi is to facilitate the application of 7.3.107 ambārtanadyor hrasvah; 7.3.112 ān nadyāḥ; and so on. In the absence of the designation nadi, grāmaṇi ‘village leader’ and khalapā ‘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, māṭṛ ‘mother’ and duḥitṛ ‘daughter’ will yield forms very different from the nadi 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 nadi. This augment will be blocked in the absence of the assignment of the term nadi.

2. The term nadi should only apply to those forms which, in addition to ending in ī or ū, independently denote a feminine object. Thus stṛi denotes a female in the sentence stṛi gacchati ‘a woman is going’. A word like paṭṭī ‘clever (f)’ in paṭṭī stṛi 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, paṭṭī is not capable of denoting feminine and therefore cannot be assigned the term nadi. By using the word stṛyākhyā, 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 Kāśīkā 1.4.3: āḥ yāgrahaṇasūmarthyaḥ padāntaram anapekṣya yau svayameva striyam ācaksāte ity āśriyate.

1.4.4 नेपेश्वरवस्त्रानवस्त्र

neyānuvanshānauḥ aṣṭi
/na ṣ iyaṇuvanshānau 1/2 = iyaḥ ca uvaḥ ca = iyauvaṇau (itār. d.), iyauvaṇau sthānam anayor = iyauvaṇau sthānam (bu.); astri = na stri (naṃ. tat.)/
(yuṣṭryākhaṇuḥ nadi # 3)
iyauvaṇoh sthānam anayor ityānuvanshānau yau yū taur nadiśaṃjñau na bhavataḥ, stṛiśabdaṃ varjavitū

Except for stṛi ‘woman’, forms which terminate in ī or ū and denote feminine are not termed nadi if they have a replacement in iyĀN and uvĀN.

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 nadi, since they end in i and u and also denote feminine. The present rule disallows the nadi designation because both śrī and bhrū happen to be items which, in their paradigms, entail a replacement of i and u by iyān and uvān respectively. Thus, we get forms such as śriyau and śriyah and bhrūvau and bhruvah, the nominative dual and plural forms. If this rule did not disallow the nadi designation of śrī and bhrū, 7.3.107 ambāthanadyor... would have required the shortening of their long vowels. This rule makes an exception for stṛi, even though stṛi entails iyān replacement, to account for forms like stṛih, the vocative singular. Clearly, in the absence of nadi designation, shortening of the final long i of stṛi by 7.3.107 will be blocked.

1.4.5 ब्राध्य

vā' mi
/lvā ō āmī 7/1/

(neyauwaṇstānāv astṛi # 4, yūstryākhya nadi # 3)
ityauwaṇstānau yu āmi parato vā nadi samjñau na bhavatāḥ
Except for stṛi, forms which terminate in i or u and denote feminine optionally are not termed nadi if they have a replacement in iyān or uvān and occur before ām (genitive plural).

EXAMPLES:

śriyām, genitive plural of śrī ‘wealth’
śrīnām ‘id.’
bhrūvām, genitive plural of bhrū ‘brow’
bhrūnām ‘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 i or u, signifies feminine, and entails iyān or uvān replacement, but is not stṛi. 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 stṛi is cited again as an exception simply because there is only one available form, stṛiṇām.

2. The wording of this rule may lead to confusion. For example, vā’ mi may be interpreted as involving the sandhi of vā + ām where ām of ām would be identified as accusative singular. However, since operations relative to the designation of the term nadi do not obtain where accusative singular (ām) is involved, vā’ mi must be interpreted as consisting of vā + ām. Even so, there may still be confusion, because the ām of ām can now be interpreted either as genitive plural or as a replacement of locative singular Ni by 7.3.116 ńer ām nadyām.... Such an interpretation of the ām of ām as a replacement of Ni is not acceptable, since this replacement is conditioned by the designation of the term nadi. That is, the term assignment
precedes the replacement. Genitive plural is therefore the correct interpretation.

1.4.6 विनिवृहत्वस्त्र

निति ह्रस्वासः का
ह/निति 7/1 ह्रस्वाः 1/1 का घ।
(và # 5, neyauvansthānāv astrī # 4, yūstryākhyaṃ nadi # 3)
निति धर्मात्म ह्रस्वासः का वोह सम्बन्धी या य, स्त्रिया यह, स्त्रियाहं
ियानुवानस्थानां से या वा नादी सम्यं रावण भवताह

Except for stri, forms which denote feminine and which end in i, u, i, or u, and have a replacement in iyĀN or uvĀN, optionally are termed nadi if an affix marked with N follows them.

EXAMPLES:

kṛtyai, dative singular of kṛti ‘creation’
kṛtaye ‘id.’
dhenvai, dative singular of dhenu ‘cow’
dhenaive ‘id.’
śriyai, dative singular of śṛi ‘wealth’
śriye ‘id.’
bhravai, 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 nadi, a term which was obligatorily denied them. It is an exception to 1.4.3 because it allows the designation nadi 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 nadi to forms which end in long i and u but permit a replacement in iyĀN and uvĀN.

2. Since this rule is optional, two forms could result. If the term nadi is assigned, rule 7.3.112 ǎn nadyāh will introduce the augment āT. One will then get forms such as kṛtyai, dhenvai, śriyai, and so on. In the absence of the assignment of the term nadi, rule 7.3.111 gher niti would allow gṛṇa replacement for the stem-final vowel under the condition of the assignment of the term ghi by rule 1.4.7 šeso ghy asakhi. Thus one can get forms like kṛtaye, dhenaive, śriye, and so on.

1.4.7 अष्टोध्यस्थिति

šeso ghy asakhi
/šešā 1/1 ghy 1/1 asakhi 1/1 (nañ. tat.)/
(hrasvaḥ # 6)
śeso’ tra ghisamjño bhavati, sakhiṣabdam 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’
kratyaye, dative singular of krīti ‘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 (śesa) 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 i or u, denote feminine, but are not termed nadi.

2. The following are some operations performed when the term ghi is assigned:

(i) A corresponding guna vowel is ordered for the final i and u of an āṅga termed ghi when nominal endings marked with N follow (7.3.111 gher ṛiti).

(ii) The locative singular ending Ni is replaced by au when occurring after an āṅga 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 ṭa is replaced by nā when occurring after a non-feminine āṅga 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 guna (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 sakbyuḥ, genitive singular, where 7.3.111 does not order guna. 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 पति: समास एव
patiḥ samāsa eva
/patiḥ 1/1 samāse 7/1 eva 0/
(ghi # 7)
patisabdah samāsa eva ghisanjñō 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 चशियुक्तर्ग्नदिस्या

ṣaṣṭhiyuktaś chandasi vā

Iṣaṣṭhiyuktaḥ 1/1 = ṣaṣṭhyā yuktāḥ (tṛ. tat.); chandasi 7/1 ca 0/

(patiḥ # 8, ghi # 7)

ṣaṣṭhyantena sabdenayuktāḥ patīśābdāḥ chandasi viṣaye vā ghisamjño bhavati

In Veda, *pati* optionally is termed *ghi* when it is joined with a *pada* ending in ṣaṣṭhi 'sixth triad of sUP'.

**Examples:**

- kulunīcānāṁ pataye namah ‘my obeisance to the cheat of cheats’
- kulunīcānāṁ patye namah ‘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 ṣaṣṭhi 'genitive'. Instead, it is to be interpreted as used with a word ending in ṣaṣṭhi. 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 vidhiś tadantasya, ṣaṣṭhi itself could have accounted for that interpretation.

1.4.10 तस्त्वल्लतः

hrasvaṁ laghu

/lhrasvam 1/1 laghu 1/1

hrasvam aksaram laghusamjñāṁ bhavati

A short vowel is termed *laghu*.

**Examples:**

- bhettā ‘he who splits’
- chettā ‘he who cuts’
- aciharat ‘he did (it)’
- ajiharat ‘he took (it) away’
**SCOPE:** 7.3.86 puganta tughupadhasya ca

1. The term *hrasva* has been defined by rule 1.2.27 ukalo... 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 (samyoga). 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 ekasamjñā, class-inclusion (samjñāsamāveśa) is the norm. That is, a *hrasva* cannot be simultaneously assigned the term *laghu* and *guru*. But, in view of samjñāsamāveśa, 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 *ekasamjñā* 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 *satva*, change of ś into ś, can take place by 8.3.103 yusmatattataksuh.... 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 (abhyaśa) by rule 6.1.1 sanyañoh. It is ordered for roots ending in NiC and occurring before the augment caN in the aorist (LUṆ) by rule 7.4.93 sanvallaghuni caṇpāre' naglope. Additionally, sanvadbhāva entails itva, change of a by i of the abhyāsa by rule 7.4.79 sany atah. 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 ekasamjñā, as dictated by rule 1.4.1 ā kadrād ekā samjñā. Note, however, that the conflict is not resolved on the strength of rule 1.4.2 vipraṭisṛedha.... 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 samyoge guru vacuous (svartha). 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 vipraṭisṛedha.
1.4.11 संयोजे गुरु

\textit{samyoge guru}
\textit{/samyoge 7/1 guru 1/1/}
\textit{(hrasvam \# 10)}
\textit{samyoge parato hrasvam aksaram gurusamjnah bhavati}

A short vowel is termed \textit{guru} when it occurs before \textit{samyoga} ‘a sequence of consonants.’

\textbf{Examples:}

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textit{kundā} ‘she who causes burns; adulteress’
  \item \textit{hundā} ‘multitude; tigress’
  \item \textit{sikśa} ‘instruction’
  \item \textit{bhikśa} ‘alms’
\end{itemize}

\textbf{Scope: \textit{3.3.103 guros ca halah}}

1. As is clear from my preceding note, a class-inclusion of \textit{guru} with \textit{laghu} is ruled out. That is, all occurrences of a short vowel before a following conjunct will be uniquely termed \textit{guru}. What is the purpose of assigning this term? It is to permit one to derive forms such as \textit{kundā} and \textit{hundā}, where, given the roots \textit{kud} and \textit{hud} and the introduction of \textit{nUM} by rule 7.1.58, the strings will be: \textit{ku} + \textit{nUM} + \textit{d} and \textit{hu} + \textit{nUM} + \textit{d}. Rule 1.4.11 can now assign the term \textit{guru} to \textit{u} of \textit{ku} and \textit{hu} since it is occurring before the consonant cluster \textit{nd}. As a result, rule 3.3.103 \textit{guros ca halah} will apply to introduce \textit{a} and the resultant strings will be: \textit{ku} + (\textit{n(UM} \rightarrow \textit{0)}\textit{d}) + \textit{a} = \textit{kundā} and \textit{hu} + (\textit{n(UM} \rightarrow \textit{0)}\textit{d}) + \textit{a} = \textit{hundā}. These strings now qualify for the term \textit{pratipādika} (1.2.46 krttaddhitasasa ca) which, in turn, enables them to receive the feminine affix \textit{TāP} (4.1.4 ajādyatas tāp) and ultimately yields \textit{kundā} and \textit{hundā}.

I have already shown the derivation of (700) \textit{sikśa} and (701) \textit{bhikśa} where the term \textit{guru} is applicable to the short \textit{i} of \textit{sikś} and \textit{bhikś} before the following \textit{kš}. Again the express purpose of assigning this term is to introduce affix \textit{a} and subsequently affix \textit{TāP}.

1.4.12 दीर्घच

\textit{dirgham ca}
\textit{/dirgham 1/1 ca 0/1}
\textit{(guru \# 12)}
\textit{dirgham caksaram gurusamjnah bhavati}

A long vowel also is termed \textit{guru}.

\textbf{Examples:}

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textit{īhānacakre} ‘he strove’
  \item \textit{ikṣānacakre} ‘he saw’
\end{itemize}
1. Note that this rule assigns the term guru to dīrgha ‘long’ vowels in
general. Thus the word samyoge is not carried from rule 1.4.11. The term
dīrgha, like hrasva, has also been defined by 1.2.27 ukālo... A vowel, accord-
ing 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
iks + LIT and iha + LIT, 1.3.63 can apply to introduce affix ām under these
conditions: when the root begins with iC (i, u, ŏ, l, e, o, o, ai, au) but is not
rech; when it contains a vowel termed guru (gurumān); when LIT 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 समावृत्यविधिसकालदित्रिकस्वैंदुः

yasmāt pratyayavidhis tadādi pratyaye’ āngam

| yasmāt 5/1 pratyayavidhiḥ 1/1 = pratyayasya vidhiḥ (saś. tat.); tadādi 1/1 |
| tadādi adir yasya (bu.); pratyaye 7/1 āngam 1/1 |
| yasmāt pratyayyo vidhiyate (dhañlor vā prātipadikād vā) tadādi sañdarūpaṃ |
| pratyaye paramārūt veṣām samāvete bhavati |

A form beginning with that after which an affix is introduced is
termed ānga when the affix follows.

EXAMPLES:

 kartā 'doer'
 harītā 'he who takes away'
 kariyati 'he will do'
 harīyati 'he will take away'
 akariyati 'he did'
 avapagavah 'male descendant of Upagū'
 kāpaṭavah '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 fol-

yasmāt pratyayavidhiḥ ‘that (a form) after which an affix (pratyaya) is intro-
duced (vidhiyate)’; tadādi ‘that (a form) which begins (ādi) with that (a
form after which an affix is introduced)’; pratyaye āngam is termed an
āṅga when the affix follows’.

The word tadādi is a tadgūnasamvijñāna type of bahuvrihi, from which we
learn that the term āṅga 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 \textit{aṅga} occurs, of course, only when the affix follows.

A couple of examples explaining what a \textit{tadgunaṃsamvijñāna} type of \textit{bahuṛhi} is will make things clearer. Pāṇini (2.2.24 anekam anyapadārthe) states that a compound is termed \textit{bahuṛhi} when its many constituents (anekam) denote something other than (anyapadārtha) their own meaning. Thus, we may take this sentence:

\begin{itemize}
\item[(a)] \textit{citragum ānaya citravāsasā saha} 'bring the man who owns brindled cows along with the man who wears colourful clothes'
\end{itemize}

Here, both \textit{citragu} 'he who owns brindled cows' and \textit{citravāsas} 'he who wears colourful clothes' are \textit{bahuṛhi} since their constituents (citrā/citram 'brindled'/colourful', gāvah 'cows', and vāsas 'clothes'), when combined to form a \textit{bahuṛhi}, denote something other than that which may be their own denotatum. Both the compounds denote a man. The first compound in sentence (a) is \textit{atadgunaṃsamvijñāna}, 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, \textit{citravāsas} is a \textit{tadgunaṃsamvijñāna} 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 \textit{tadgunaṃsamvijñāna}, the constituent meanings are not suppressed. See also my notes under 1.3.63 āṃpratāyavat......

Now let us return to \textit{tadādi}. Interpreted as a \textit{tadgunaṃsamvijñāna}, 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 āḍyantavād 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) \textit{cินutaḥ} in the appendix.

Note that a form cannot be termed an \textit{aṅga} simply because an affix has been introduced after it. That is, the designation \textit{aṅga} is contingent upon the presence of the following affix. If, for example, the affix has been deleted, the unit cannot be called an \textit{aṅga}.

Now let us take some examples illustrating various aspects of the assignment of the term \textit{aṅga}. Thus: \textit{karitā}, \textit{hartā}; \textit{hariṣyati} and \textit{hariṣyati}. First of all, bases after which an affix can be ruled may be identified as verbal roots (\textit{dhātu}, see 1.3.1) or nominal stems (\textit{prātipadika}, see 1.2.45-46). In the above four examples, the roots are \textit{kr} and \textit{hr}. Affixes introduced after these roots are \textit{ṛC} and \textit{ṣya}. Similarly, in examples such as \textit{aupagavah} and \textit{kāpatavah}, affix \textit{aṇ} has been introduced after the nominal stems \textit{upagu} and \textit{kapaṭu}. Needless to say, bases \textit{kr}, \textit{hr}, \textit{upagu} and \textit{kapaṭu} are termed \textit{aṅga} before their respective affixes.
The example karisyati is derived as: kṛ + LRT → kṛ + ti (P → Θ) → kṛ + sya + ti → kṛ + i T + 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 prataya is used twice in this rule. The first prataya is required, not only for specifying the context as that of pratayavidhi, 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 + iyātī, where affix Nīṣ 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 kimidambhīyām vo ghaḥ). The fully derived form is iyat, to which feminine affix Nīṣ (4.1.6 ugiatan ca) is introduced to derive iyati.

The preceding also demonstrates why the second prataya (see prataye) should be used in the rule. If the affix is deleted, the assignment of the term aṅga is blocked. Take an example like strī + Ne + artha + sU, where the dative singular Ne and the nominative singular sU are deleted by 2.4.71 supo dhātupratīpratikayoh. The resultant string is strī + artha, a compound, which could cause the assignment of the term aṅga to strī if prataye 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, SLU, or LUP. The Ne and sU in our examples above were deleted by LUK (1.1.63 na lūnaṁaṅgasya). Thus, for a form to be assigned the term aṅga, the affix must follow.

SCOPE: 6.4.1 aṅgasya

1.4.14 सुप्तिनांत: पद्म

suptinatam padam
/suptina tam 1/1 = sup ca tiṅ ca = suptinau (dv.), tāv ante yasya sa = sup-

tina tam (bu. with internal dv.); padam 1/1
/subantam tinantam ca sabdarūpaṁ padasamjñam bhavati

A form which terminates in sUP (4.1.2 svaujas...; 1.1.71 ādir...) or tiN
(3.4.78 tiptasji...; 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 tiN ‘verbal ending’ (4.1.2; 3.4.78). That is, given rāmaih, 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 tiN 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 suptiṇ 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 tiN. That being the case, if one were to derive agnisū ‘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 padādyoh 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): samyāvidhau pratyayagrahane tadantagrahaṇam nāsti). The absence of antam would have blocked the meaning ‘only the forms ending in sUP and tiN.’ If an affix was allowed to denote a form in which it ended when a term was assigned, the term gha (1.1.22 tarapramapau 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, *gaurī 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 i (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 nominat endings are referenced; for tiN, which is used with sUP in this rule, denotes the totality of the verbal endings. Naturally, because of this association (sahācārya), sUP should denote the totality of
nominal endings. Secondly, if a locative plural interpretation were accepted, rules such as 8.2.8 na ṇisambuddhyoh would become vacuous (vya-
ṛtha). If sUP is interpreted here to mean locative plural suP, then the ques-
tion of negating the deletion of n of a prātipadika (1.2.45 arthava...
and 1.2.46 kṛtaddhīta...) termed pada before ĩi and sambuddhi (2.3.49
ekaṭacanaṁ sambuddhiḥ) does not arise. This is how rule 8.2.8 na ṇisambud-
dhyoh would become vacuous. The P of sUP also could not be interpreted
as the P of kaP of 5.4.151 uṣrāḥ prabhṛtibhyaḥ kap. This would make a bahu-
vrīhi compound such as priyasarpiśka 'he to whom ghee is dear' a pada. Tech-
nically, it is a nominal stem (prātipadika; 1.2.46 kṛtaddhitasamāśaś 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 svādīṣv asar
vanāmāsthāṇe as supṣy asarvanāmāmāsthāṇe. With sUP denoting affixes up to
and including kaP, beginning with sUP (enumerated under 4.1.1 ṇyāp-
prātipadikāt), he did not have to phrase his rule with ādi ‘etc.’

SCOPE: 8.1.6 padasya

1.4.15 न: क्ये

naḥ kye

/nah 1/1 kye 7/1/

(padam # 14)

nāntam sabdarśapam kye parataḥ padasamjñam bhavati

A form which terminates in n is termed pada when affixes KyaC (3.1.8
supa....), KyaN (3.1.11 kartuh...) or KyaS (3.1.13 lohitādi...) follow.

EXAMPLES:

rājīyatī ‘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, KyaN, and KyaS 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 samjñāyām 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 lopah prātipadikāntasya.
By interpreting Kya of this rule as referring to KyaP, one would block the
deletion of -n.

Note that affixes KyaC, KyaN, and KyaS 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 *pratyayalopa* *pratyayalaksanam* 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 Θ/

*siti prayē parataḥ pūrvam padasamjñām bhavati*

A form is termed *pada* when an affix marked with *S* follows.

**Examples:**

*bhavadiyāh* ‘yours (polite)’

*ūrṇāyuh* ‘wool’

*rṭviyāh* ‘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* or *bhavat + chaS* will be termed a *pada* which, in turn, will enable the final *t* to be changed into *d* by 8.2.39 *jalām ja.so...* Our next example, *ūrṇāyuh*, 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 *ṛtvīyāh* in the Vedic. Given the string *ṛtu* + *ghaS* (5.1.106 chandasi *ghas*), *ṛtu* will be termed *pada* and 6.4.146 or *gunaḥ* will thus be blocked from ordering *guna*.

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 *svādiṣu...*, because prior exceptions only block a provision which is next to the one immediately following (*Paribhāṣā* (60): *purastāpa vādā anantarān vidhīn bādhante noltarān*). 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 | स्वादिश्वसर्वनामस्थाने

*svādiṣu asarvanāmāsthāne*

/lsvādiṣu 7/3 asarvanāmāsthāne 7/1 (nañ. tat.)/

(*padam # 14*)

*svādiṣu pratyayēṣu parataḥ sarvanāmāsthānavarjīṣu pūrvam padasamjñām bhavati*
A form is termed \textit{pada} when a svādi (affixes enumerated under 4.1.2 svaujas... through 5.4.151 urah prabhṛtibhyah kap) affix which is not a sarvanāmasthāna (sU, au, Jas, am, auT; see 4.1.2 svaujas...) follows.

\textbf{Examples:}

\begin{itemize}
\item \textit{rājabhyām}, instrumental dual of rājan ‘king’
\item \textit{rājabhīh}, instrumental plural of rājan
\item \textit{rājatvam}, nominative singular of rājatva ‘royalty’
\item \textit{rājata ‘royalty’}
\item \textit{rājatarah}, nominative singular of rājatara ‘excellent king’
\item \textit{rājatamah}, nominative singular of rājatama ‘best of kings’
\end{itemize}

1. This rule assigns the term \textit{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 urah prabhṛtibhyah kap. The sarvanāmasthāna affixes relevant to this rule are given under 1.1.43 sud anapumsakasya, whereby we learn that nominative (singular, dual and plural) and accusative (singular and dual) endings, sU, au, Jas, am, auT, 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 saptamibahuvacana ‘plural of the seventh triad of sUP’. Note that the term svādiṣu has been interpreted here as a bahwrihi compound. This makes the scope of these affixes wider. Further note that the term \textit{padam} is brought to this rule by anuvṛtī, and since svādiṣu is in the locative (saptami), the term \textit{pada} is assigned to items occurring before the affixes and not including them. This is in consonance with 1.1.66 tasmīn iti nirādiṣte pūrvasya, which specifies that an operation referenced with a term in saptami (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/rājānah) of rājan ‘king’ is caused by the lack of the assignment of the term \textit{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 (pratiśedha) in asarvanāmasthāne should not be interpreted as prasajyapratīṣedha, for this would give the meaning ‘the term \textit{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 sarvanāmaṣṭhāna. 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 sarvanāmaṣṭhāna. Thus, by rule 1.4.17, the designation of the term pada is not negated with reference to an affix termed sarvanāmaṣṭhāna. That is, a paryudāsa interpretation will show that the assignment (pravr̥tti or non-assignment (nivr̥tti) of the term pada is not functionally related to sarvanāmaṣṭhāna affixes. This will now make the way clear for the assignment of the term pada to an item occurring before a sarvanāmaṣṭhāna affix, should such an assignment be available from a different rule. In the case of rāja, the term pada will be available to it by 1.4.14 supṭiṇantaṃ padaṃ. The problem created by the fact that the sU after rājaṃ is deleted will be taken care of by 1.1.62 pratyāyalope pratyāyalakṣaṇaṃ.

The Mahābhāṣya further explains that the prasāya interpretation of the negation will be unable to block the designation of pada to rājaṃ + sU. It is said that anantarasya vidhir bhavati pratisedho 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 supṭiṇantaṃ padaṃ. 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 asarvanāmaṣṭhāne (notsayate pratiśiddhā satī bādhītum). The Mahābhāṣya offers yet another solution, which has recourse to yogaviṇbhāga ‘rule-splitting’. The various split rules will be as follows:

(i) svādiṣu padaṃ ‘an item occurring before affixes sU, etc., is termed pada’

(ii) asarvanāmaṣṭhāne’ yaci ‘an item is termed pada when it occurs before a sarvanāmaṣṭhāna affix not beginning with y or a vowel (aC)’

Note that the naN of asarvanāmaṣṭhāne is also construed with the yaci of yaci bham (1.4.18). Since there is no sarvanāmaṣṭhāna affix which begins with y, the y in this yogaviṇbhāga is accepted for the subsequent (uttarārtha) rule. This will now block the assignment of the term pada only when a sarvanāmaṣṭhāna affix beginning with a vowel follows. Since the sU of rājaṃ + 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 niṣambudhyoh, n is not to be deleted before Ni or samabuddhi. Now, sU itself is called samabuddhi 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 samabuddhi 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 \( \text{sambuddhi} \) in 8.2.8 is further proof that Pāṇini wanted the term \( \text{pada} \) to be assigned when \( sU \) was introduced.

\[ 1.4.18 \quad \text{यति यध्य} \]
\[ \text{yaci bham} \]
\[ /\text{yaci 7/1 bham 1/1/} \]
\[ (\text{svādiśo asarvanāmasthāne} \# 17) \]
\[ \text{yakārādāv ajādau ca svādau sarvanāmasthānavarjite pratyaye parataḥ} \]
\[ \text{pūrvaḥ bhasamjñām bhañvati} \]

A form is termed \( \text{bha} \) when a \( \text{svādi} \) affix which begins with \( y \) or \( \text{aC} \) (a vowel) but which is not a \( \text{sarvanāmasthāna} \) follows.

**Examples:**

- \( \text{gārgyah} \) 'male descendant of Garga'
- \( \text{vāetsyah} \) 'male descendant of Vatsa'
- \( \text{dāksih} \) 'male descendant of Dakṣa'
- \( \text{plāksih} \) 'male descendant of Plakṣa'

1. This rule assigns the term \( \text{bha} \) as opposed to the term \( \text{pada} \). An item, according to this rule, can be termed \( \text{bha} \) if it occurs before a non-\( \text{sarvanāmasthāna} \) affix included in the list referred to as \( sU \), etc. Furthermore, in order to qualify an item to be termed \( \text{bha} \), the non-\( \text{sarvanāmasthāna} \) affixes of the list \( sU \), etc., must begin either with \( y \), or with a vowel. Recall that this is the domain of \( \text{ekasamjñā} \) (1.4.1 \( \text{ā kāḍārād ekā samjñā} \)) 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 \( \text{suptiṇantaṁ padam} \) and the present rule. Rule 1.4.14 states that items ending in a \( sUP \) or a \( tIN \) should be termed \( \text{pada} \). Our present rule assigns the term \( \text{bha} \) to an item occurring before some of the same \( sUP \). Commentators invoke rule 1.4.2 \( \text{vipratīṣedhe param kāryam} \) to resolve this conflict in favour of 1.4.18 \( \text{yaci bham} \), since it is subsequent (\( \text{para} \)) in order. They also indicate that the assignment of the term \( \text{bha} \), if not made in case of the items specified by 1.4.18, will make the rule vacuous (\( \text{vyartha} \)). Thus, rule 1.4.18 is not only subsequent (\( \text{para} \)), it is also \( \text{anavakāśa} \) elsewhere. This becomes an even stronger motivation to block the assignment of the term \( \text{pada} \) in favour of \( \text{bha} \).

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 \( \text{bhasya} \). Additionally, since the term \( \text{bha} \) blocks the assignment of the term \( \text{pada} \), operations conditioned by the term \( \text{pada} \) would not apply to an item termed \( \text{bha} \). For instance, a nominal stem termed \( \text{pada} \) 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 pādah pat ‘pād is replaced by pad at the end of an aṅga termed bha’
6.4.134 allopō’nuh ’a of the an occurring at the end of a bha is deleted’
6.4.140 āto dātōh ’the final ā of a bha terminating in a root is deleted’
6.4.146 or guṇāḥ ’u or ā at the end of a bha is replaced with guṇa’
6.4.148 yasyēti 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 -i’

It is interesting to note that rules 1.4.14 suptīnāntam padam, 1.4.17 svādiṣṭ asarvanāmasthāne (read with 1.4.43 suṭ anapumṣakasya) and 1.4.18 yaci bham cause a triple classification of nominal endings as follows:

1. sarvanāmasthāna:
   sU, au, jaś (nominative singular, dual and plural) and
   am, auT (accusative singular and dual)
   1.4.17 svādiṣṭ... (read with 1.1.43 suṭ anapumṣakasya)
2. padasthāna:
   bhyaṁ (instrumental, dative and ablative dual)
   bhis (instrumental plural)
   bhyaśas (ablative plural) and
   suP (locative plural)
   1.4.18 yaci bham
3. bhasthāna:
   Śas (accusative dual)
   Tā (instrumental singular)
   Nē (dative singular)
   NāsI (ablative singular)
   Nās, os, ām (genitive singular, dual and plural)
   Nī, os (locative singular and dual)
   1.4.18 yaci bham

Scope: 6.4.129 bhaya

1.4.19 तत्सै मतवर्थेः

tasau matvarthe
/tašau 1/2 = taś ca saś ca (śitar. dv.); matvarthe 7/1 = mator arthaḥ (śas.
tat.), tasmin = matvarthe/
(bham # 18)
takārāntam sakārāntam śabdārūpaṃ matvarthe pratyayē parato
bhasamijñāṃ bhavati

A form which terminates in t or s is termed bha when an affix denoting
the sense of matUP follows.

EXAMPLES:

udaśvitvān ghośah ‘the hamlet of cowherds, rich in yogurt and butter-
milk’
vidyutvān balāhakaḥ ‘the cloud with lightning’
payasvī ‘rich in milk’
yāsasvī ‘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 tadasaṣṭyastasmin ‘he to whom
something belongs’ or ‘he in whom something remains’.

The form tāsau 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 interpre-
tation favouring tadantavidhi is also necessary because t or s alone cannot
constitute the left context with reference to which an affix having the sig-
nification of matUP may occur.

The word matvarthe is interpreted as vyadhikaraṇa, in so far as its consti-
tuency is concerned. That is, its constituents are construed as having diffe-
rent loci (adhiharaṇa). The analysed form (vigrāhavākya) of matvarthe is as
follows:

mator artho matvartha iti ‘matvartha is the sense of matUP’; mator arthe yo
varttate pratyayah ‘the affix which denotes the sense of matUP’; tasmān
‘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 exam-
pies 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 mator? Com-
mentators reply that mator may make it possible for an item ending in t or
s, and occurring before affix matUP, to be termed bha. But it cannot facili-
tate 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 (vīśeṣaṇa), be its own qualified (vīśeṣya)? The Mahābhāṣya (II: 366-67) argues that, in obeying the command devadattasya sālāyām āśīnā brāhmaṇā añityantam '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 अयस्मयाधीनखवति

ayasmayādīni cchandasi
layasmayādīni 1/3 = aysmayadir yeṣām tāni imāni (br.); chandasi 7/1 (bham # 18)
ayasmayādīni śabdārūpāṇi chandasi viṣaye sādhāṇā bhavanti
In Veda, ayasmaya, and so on, are treated as correctly derived.

EXAMPLES:

ayasmayam varma ‘armour made from iron’
ayasmayāni pātrāni ‘pots made from iron’
sa suṣṭubhā sa ṛkvaṭā ganena (RV, IV.50.5) ‘he, Brhaspati, and the Sun, beautifully praised by a multitude of rays...’

1. This rule is a nipaṭana ‘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 ṛkvaṭ ‘he who sings’. Given the string ayas + maya (4.3.143 mayaḥvaiṭayor...), 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 aysmayam 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 ṛkvaṭ, deriving from ṛc + vat. Here, first the m of mat (UP → θ) is replaced by v (8.2.10 jhayah) and subsequently, because of the
assignment of the term pada, the c of re is replaced by k (8.2.30 coh kuh). The term bha is also assigned to this string to block the k or rk from being replaced with g (8.2.39 jhalam 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 (sādhvata) 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 bahus bhuvacanam

bahus 7/3 bhuvacanam 1/1
bahus bhuvacanam bhavati

Plural (bhuvacana) occurs when plurality is denoted.

EXAMPLE:

brāhmaṇaḥ paṭhanti ‘the brāhmaṇa recite’

1. Rule 1.4.102 tānī ekavacanaddivacanabhuvacanāny ekasāḥ, along with 1.4.103 supah, assigns the terms ekavacana ‘singular’, divacana ‘dual’, and bhuvacana ‘plural’ to individual members of the triads of sup and tīn. The affix sup is introduced by 4.1.2 svaujas,..., and tīn is introduced as a replacement for LA by 3.4.78 tiptasjīśipthastha.... The function of the present rule, 1.4.21 bahus bhuvacanam, therefore could not be to assign the term bhuvacana. 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 bhuvacana is used it should be used only to express plurality. The same restrictive meaning would be applied to divacana ‘dual’ and ekavacana ‘singular’ of the following rule.

1.4.22 dvīyekayor dvivacanākavacane
dīyekayoh dvivacanākavacane
/divyekayoh 7/2 = dīvau ca ekas ca = dīyekau (itar. dv.);
divivacanākavacane 7/1 = divivacanam ca ekavacanam ca =
divivacanākavacane (itar. dv.)/
divivacanākavacane arthāyor dvivacanākavacane bhavataḥ

Dual (divacana) and singular (ekavacana) occur when duality and singularity are to be denoted.

EXAMPLES:

brāhmaṇau pacātah ‘two brāhmaṇa are cooking’
brāhmaṇaḥ pacati ‘a brāhmaṇa is cooking’
1.4.23 कारके

कारके
/kārake 7/1/
('kārake' ity adhikāro veditavyah) yad ita ārdhvam anukramisyāmah
'kārake' ity evam tad veditavyam
A kāraka...

EXAMPLES:

grāmād āgacchati 'he is coming from the village'
parvatād avaṭatarati '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 (saḍtami); 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. kāraka 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 Kāśiṅa 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. Kāśiṅa seems to interpret the word kāraka as kriyā. However, this Kāśiṅa 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: dhruvam [yat apāyayuktam] apāye sādhye [yat avadhībhūtam tat kārakam] apādānasamjñam 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 apādānasamjñām 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) vrkṣasya pārṇāni patanti 'leaves of the tree are falling'

both grāma 'village' and vrkṣa '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 samīleṣa '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 pāyayuktah. kim tarhi. samīpam. yaḍa ca grāmo pāyayuktah bhavati tada pādānasamjñā.)

However, the difficulty mentioned in connection with the second sentence (b) still remains. One may resort to vivakṣa 'intent to speak', as has been advocated by the Mahābhāṣya (na vā esa doṣaḥ kim kāraṇam. apāyasyāvivakṣitavān nātrāpāyo vivakṣitah...), and state that in sentence (b) the speaker does not wish to speak about vrkṣa as apādāna. This will remove the difficulty concerning vrkṣa 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 kāraṇam and apādānasamjñām 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' (samjñā) 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 samjñā view. Patañjali, however, is not bothered by the locative. His argument is that, since this is the domain of ekasamjñā 'one term', kāraka cannot be anything but a samjñā which, perhaps, Pāṇini chose not to define because it was already a fairly well-known term. Besides, kāraka, being a derivative with NuvL, can be used as an anuvāthasamjñā, a technical term denoting its etymological meaning. (See Mbh. I: 239-40: kim idam kārake iti. samjñānirdeśah... kāraka
iti samjñānirdeśaḥ ret samjñinoḥ pi nirdeśah kartavyah. samjñādhiḥkāraś veyam. tatra kim antar chakyaṃ vijnātum anyad atah samjñāyāh...; and also 242: tatra mahatyāḥ samjñāyāḥ karāṇe etat prayojanam anvarthasaṃjñā yathā vijnāyeta; karotiti kārakaṃ.)

There are yet other problems with the samjñā view. For one thing, the term kāraka is introduced as a term in the domain of ekasamjñā. Since an item which is termed apādāna should also be termed kāraka, a situation of samjñāsamāvesa ‘class-inclusion’ arises which goes directly against the ekasamjñā 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 samjñāpakṣa: apāye yad dhruvam tat kārakasamjñāṃ bhavati, apādānasamjñāṃ cety ayam artho bhavati, evam anyatṛāpi...). Thus, 1.4.24 dhruvam apāye’ pādānam will be interpreted as follows:

apāye dhruvam kārakasamjñāṃ bhavati ‘a thing which is fixed when movement away is denoted is termed kāraka,

and

apāye dhruvam kārakam apādānasamjñāṃ 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 NyuL 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 svatantrāḥ 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: ...pratikārakāṃ kriyābhedāt. pacādināṃ hi pratikārakāṃ 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: adhiśrayanodakaśecana taṇḍulāvapaṇaṇḍhopakarṣanādi-kriyāḥ kurvann eva devadattaḥ pacātya ucyate. tatra tādā pacī varṣate....)

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 (sthāli), 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 odanam pacati ‘Devadatta is cooking the rice in the pot’
is not used. As a result, we get:
(d) sthāli pacati ‘the pot is cooking’

This explanation, however, also runs into difficulty, since of the six kāraka only karman, karana and adhikarana can be seen as kartṛ. Should we accept vívaktā 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, karana, adhikarana, 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 Kaś: I: 531; viśeṣanādhitkāre tu: kārakeṣu madhye yad apāye dhruvam kārakam ity artho labhyate, nirdhāraṇasya sajātiyaviṣayatvād iti... ) Rule 1.4.24 will then be interpreted as follows:

kārake (su madhye) yad dhruvam kārakam tad apādānasamjñān bhavaty apāye sadhye ‘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) naśasya gāthām śrṇoti ‘he is listening to the gāthā of the actor’.

According to the split interpretation discussed above (p. 227), naśa 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 naśad gāthām śrṇoti, rather than naśasya gāthām śrṇoti. In order to derive naśasya gāthāṁ śrṇoti, naśa must not be assigned the term kāraka through the split interpretation. If we accept the nirdhāraṇa interpretation, naśa will be
termed *apādāna*, and, since *nirddhāraṇa* obtains between similar things, *nāta*, when not perceived as a cause with reference to an action, will not get the designation *kāraka*. This will facilitate the derivation of both *nātasya* (non-*kāraka*) as well as *nāṭi* (*kāraka*). Furthermore, in the *nirddhāraṇa* 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 *kaḍārūd ekā samjñā* and 1.4.2 *vipratisedhe param kāryam*. These rules state that only one term per nominatum (*samjñīn*) 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 *ekasamjñā* 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* 1: 204: dvau prasāṅgau yadāṅyārthau bhavata ekasmimś ca yugapat prāṇmaṭaḥ,...) 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 *kaḍārūd*....

Consider the following sentences:

(f) *krūrāya krudhyati* 'he is angry with the cruel one'
(g) *krūram ahikrudhyati* 'id.'
(h) *geha praviṣati* 'he is entering the house'
(i) *geha praviṣati* 'id.'

The word *krūra* 'cruel' in (f) is used with *caturthi* 'fourth triplet on nominal ending' to express *sampradāna* (2.3.13 *caturthi sampradāne*); but, in (g), it is used with *dvitiyā* 'second triplet of nominal ending' to express *karmaṇ* (2.3.2 *karmaṇi dvitiyā*). In (f), *krūra* is assigned *sampradāna* since it is identified as one towards whom anger is directed (1.4.37 *krudha... yam prati kopah*). It is assigned *karmaṇ* in (g) because there *krudh* 'to be angry' is used with the preverb *abhi* (1.4.38 *krudradruhur upasṛṣṭayoh 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 *karmaṇ* 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, *adhihkarana* and *karmaṇ*, resolved on the basis of *paratva* and *sāvakāśatva*. These sentences use *geha* 'house' in *dvitiyā* and *saptamī* 'seventh triplet of nominal ending' (2.3.36 *saptamī adhihkarana*....) respectively, to express *karmaṇ* (1.4.46 *adhiśīnsthāṃ karma* and *adhihkarana* (1.4.44 *adhāro* 'dhikaranam'). Sentence (i) is ungrammatical because *geha* cannot be termed locus
(adhikarāṇa), and hence saptami 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 adhikarāṇa 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 apādana, 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 शुचमप्येवपदानम्

dhruvam apāye pādānam
//dhruvam 1/1 apāye 7/1 apādānam 1/1/
(kāraka # 23)
dhruvam yad apāyayuktam apāye sādhye yad avadhibhūtaṁ kārakaṁ tat kārakam apādānasamajñānam bhavati
A kāraka which serves as a fixed point of reference when movement away is denoted is termed apādana ‘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 patitah ‘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 apādana. Thus a sentence such as dhāvatośvāt patati ‘he falls from the running horse’ where aśva ‘horse’ takes paṇcani ‘fifth or ablative ending’ because of its being termed apādana 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 apādana is determined on the basis of its connection with apāya, that which is not avadhi can also be termed apādana 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 apāya will have to be interpreted as viśayasaṃpattī whereby apāya will become sādhyā '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 (saṃsleṣa). Thus in a sentence such as vrktā pariṃ patati 'the leaf falls from the tree', pariṃ '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 kāyasamprātipūrvaka evāpōyo bhavati; kim tarhi; citrasamprātipūrvaka 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 mesāv apasurataḥ 'two rams are moving away from each other'. Here one ram becomes the avadhi with reference to movement away of the other.

3. Bhartrhari (3, II: 329) has classified apādāna into three types:
   (i) nirūṭitaṁ saysa, where movement away is explicit in the action,
   (ii) upūtattvasa, where movement away is implicitly assumed, and
   (iii) apanaḥsa, where a root signifying apāya is not mentioned (cf. verbal root a-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?'
   pātaliputrā 'from Pātaliputra'

SCOPE: 2.3.28 apādāne paṅcamī
A kāraka which serves as the source of fear when verbal roots having the signification of bhi ‘to fear’ and trā ‘to protect’ are used is termed apādāna.

Examples:

caurebhya bibheti ‘he fears thieves’
carebhya udvijate ‘he becomes agitated by fear of thieves’
carebhyaas trāyate ‘he protects from thieves’
carebhya rakṣati ‘id.’

1. Note that bhayaḥetuḥ ‘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 aranye bibheti ‘fears...in the forest’, aranya may qualify for the assignment of the term apādāna if bhayaḥetuḥ is not the condition. One may argue here that since the assignment of the term adhikarana follows that of apādāna in order, 1.4.2 vipraṣedhe... will automatically block the apādāna designation of aranya and hence bhayaḥetuḥ should not be mentioned in the rule. However, consider aranyasya caurād vibhety aranye ‘he fears the thief of the forest in the forest’, where the residual ʂaṣṭhi (2.3.50 ʂaṣṭhi ʂeṣe) in the first aranya may be blocked. If bhayaḥetuḥ is the condition, there will be no conflict between the locative and ablative of aranye vibheti, and also the first aranya of aranyasya caurād aranye vibheti will receive the ʂaṣṭhi.

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 पराज्ञसौिऽः

parājej asodhah
/parājej 6/1 asodhah 1/1 (nañ. tat.)/
(apādānah # 24, kārake # 23)
parāpurasya javateḥ prayoge’ soḍho yo’ rthaḥ tat kārakam apādāna-
samjñām bhavati

A kāraka which serves as something unbearable when ji ‘to win’ is used with the preverb parā is termed apādāna.

Example:

adhyaṇāt parājayate ‘he is overcome by studies’

1. Note that parājī ‘to be weary’ is intended here as intransitive. That the transitive meaning ‘to overcome, defeat’ is not intended is clear from the use of asodhā ‘that which is unbearable’. It is because of its association with asodhā that parājī means ‘to be weary’. Note also that since kta in asodhā has no past signification, asodhā is glossed as asahya ‘unbearable’. This also
clears the way for sentences such as adhyayanāt parājeyate ‘he will become weary of studying’.

2. The pāṇcami ruled after adhyayana here, as well as after caura, and so on, in the previous rule, is an exception to tritiyā 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 asodha 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 asodha, saṣṭhī would obtain by 2.3.50 when the root is used transitively. The counter-example has the transitive verb and hence śatrū would be placed with dvitiyā anyway (see PM ad Kāś. I: 540).

1.4.27 वारणार्थानामीपिति:

vāraṇārthānāṁ īpsitah
/vāraṇārthānāṁ 6/3 =vāraṇam artham yesāṁ (bu.); īpsitah 1/1/
(apādānam # 24, kārake # 23)
vāraṇārthānāṁ dhātūnāṁ prayoge ya īpsito ’rthah tat kārakam apādāna-samjñānam bhavati
A kāraka which serves as something desired when verbal roots having the signification vāraṇa ‘warding off’ are used is termed apādāna.

EXAMPLES:

yavebhya gā vārayati ‘he is warding off the cows from the barley field’
yavebhya gā niwarttayati ‘he has the cows warded off from the barley field’

1. Kāśikā (I: 540) glosses vāraṇa as pravṛttivīghāta ‘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 yavebhya 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 adhikarana because it is not īpsita. Why can cows not be termed apādāna here? That would create a conflict between the terms karman and apādāna. 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. अन्तर्द्धौं बेनादर्शनिकाश्चि
   antarddhau yenādarśanam icchati
   /antarddhau 7/1 yena 3/1 adarśanam 1/1 icchati (a tiN form)/
   (apādānam # 24, kārake # 23)
   antarddhinimittam yenādarśanam ātmānam icchati tat kārakam apā
dānasamjñānam bhavati

   A kāraka which serves as he by whom one wishes not to be seen is termed apādāna when antarddhī 'hiding' is denoted.

EXAMPLES:

   upādhyāyaḥ antarddhatte 'he is hiding from the teacher'
   upādhyānyā niliyate 'id.'

1. The word yena, instrumental singular of yad 'that', and antarddhau, locative singular of antarddhī, 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 krt. Rule 2.3.65 kartṛkarmaṇaḥ 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 krt 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 is, and is used with adarśanam, a form ending in krt, 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 kartṛkarmaṇaḥ 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 karmanī. This rule introduces genitive to denote the karman when both the kartṛ and karman are used with a form ending in a krt 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) upādhyāyaḥ antarddhatte 'he is hiding from his teacher'
   can be paraphrased as

   (b) upādhyāyaḥ karṭṭā sīsyā ātmanaḥ karmabhūtaṣya 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 ātmanah, 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 ātmanah has not been given explicitly. He argues that given yenādarsanam icchati, if one asks kasyādarsanam icchati ‘whose non-appearance does he wish for?’, the answer would definitely be ātmanah ‘his own’. Therefore, Haradatta does not think that yena should be yasya (PM ad Kāś. I: 541: nānāv ātmane iti na śrūyate, mā śrāvī; yenādarsanam icchatity ukte kasyety apekṣyāyām ātmana iti gamyate...).

There is also some disagreement on the nature of saptami in antarddhi. Kāśikā interprets it as being nimittasaptami ‘locative denoting cause or purpose’. Haradatta (PM ad Kāś. I: 541) opposes the nimitta interpretation. He is in favour of interpreting the saptami as that of a domain (viśaya), or as a locative absolute (sāti). Kāśikā and Nyāsa understand this saptami to have been introduced after a base denoting nimitta used in connection with an item denoting karman (nimittāt karmaśamyoge). Of course, this refers to vt. VI: nimittāt karmaśamyoge on 2.3.36 saptamy adhitkaraṇe ca. Haradatta takes these sentences as illustrations:

(c) vetanena dhānyam bunāti ‘he is harvesting (as a worker) the paddy because of wages’
(d) jādyena baddhah ‘he got imprisoned on account of his foolishness’
(e) carmani dvvipinam 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 adarasanam 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 is ‘to wish’ (that is, adarasanam), and antarddhi ‘hiding’ in (f). One can, however, find a connection between the object of adarasana, namely, ātmanah, and antarddhī in this sentence. It is the same person whose adarasana and antarddhanā is being talked about. For this, and similar reasons, Haradatta
concludes that the *saptami* here should be interpreted as denoting domain, or else, locative absolute.

1.4.29 आख्यातोपयोगे

\[ \text{ākhyaatopayoge} \]
\[ \text{/ākhyaatā 7/1 upayoge 7/1} \]
\[ \text{(apādāna # 24, kārake # 23)} \]
\[ \text{upayoge sādhye ya ākhyaatā tat kārakam apādānasamjñām bhavati} \]

A kāraka which serves as he who relates is termed *apādāna* when regular instruction is denoted.

**EXAMPLES:**

\[ \text{upādhyāyād adhite ‘he receives instruction from the teacher’} \]
\[ \text{upādhyāyād āgamayati ‘id.’} \]

1. The word *ākhyaatā* has been glossed by Kāśīkā as *pratipādayitā* ‘instructor, relator, demonstrator’. Kāśīkā glosses *upayoga* as *niyama-prūvakam vi-
\[ \text{dyādhyayanam} \text{ ‘receiving regular instruction while observing rules of conduct’. My expression ‘rules of conduct’ refers to certain ritual, or non-
\text{ritual, requirements which a student must fulfil if he is to regularly receive instruction from his teacher. Thus, in the first example above, upādhyāya may be termed apādāna when instruction occurs in compliance with ritual and non-ritual requirements. A counter-example would be} \]
\[ \text{(a) naṭasya gāthām śrṇoti ‘he is hearing the story from the dancer’} \]
\[ \text{where naṭa, the relator, cannot be termed apādāna because upayoga is lacking. This, however, still does not rule out the possibility of a sentence such as} \]
\[ \text{(b) naṭād gāthām śrṇoti ‘id.’} \]
\[ \text{where one may argue that the term apādāna should be assigned to naṭa either under the condition of upayoga, if met, or of apōva if denoted (1.4.24 dhruvam apāye ‘pādānam).} \]

Note that Patanjali 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 apōya clearly falling within the range of 1.4.24 dhruvam....

1.4.30 जनिकतः प्रकृति:

\[ \text{janikarttā prakṛtih} \]
\[ \text{/janikarttā 6/1 = janeh karttā (sa. tat.); tasya = janikarttā; prakṛtih 1/1} \]
\[ \text{(apādānam # 24, kārake # 23)} \]
\[ \text{janeh karttṛr yā prakṛtih tat kārakam apādānasamjñām bhavati} \]

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 vṛṣčiko jāyate ‘a scorpion comes into being (is born) from cow-dung’

1. The words *janikarttṛḥ* ‘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 *apādāṇa*. The *Kāśikā* paraphrases *janikarttṛḥ* as *janeḥ karttāḥ, tasya = janikarttṛḥ* ‘the agent of *jan* of his = namely, of the agent of *jan*’. The agent of *jan* would then be the person coming into existence (*jāyamāṇa*). The question is, how could this compound formation be allowed? Rule 2.2.15 *trjakābhyaṁ karttārī 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 *janikarttṛḥ* derives is: *jani + Ńas + kartṛ + sU*. To remove this difficulty, *janikarttṛḥ* is interpreted as *jāyamāṇasya karttṛḥ* ‘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 *janikarttṛḥ* a compound formed from *jani + Ńas* 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 *aniṭya* ‘non-obligatory’.

The word *prakṛti* has been interpreted as the *kārana* ‘cause’ which, in turn, is twofold: *upādāṇa* and *sahakārī*. A cause which is stated to be present in the effect is *upādāṇa*, as mrtaṅga ‘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 vṛṣčiko jāyate* ‘a scorpion comes into being (is born) from cow-dung’.

Jinendrabuddhi considers *prakṛti* to mean *kārana* in general, and not just the *upādāṇa* ‘material cause’. He argues that *kārana*, 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 *avadiḥ* ‘limit’. There is nothing but *kārana* ‘cause’ which could thus qualify to be the *avadiḥ* 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 *janikarttṛḥ dhruvam apādāṇam*, where *dhruvam* and *apādāṇam* would have been carried by *avadiḥ. 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 पुष्प: प्रमवः:

bhuvah prabhavaḥ
/bhuvah 6/1 prabhavah 1/1/
(kartuḥ # 30, apādānam # 24, kārake # 23)
bhūkartoḥ prabhavo yas tat kārakam apādānasamjñām bhavati
A kāraka which serves as the place of origin for the agent of bhū ‘to be, become’ is termed apādāna.

Example:

himavatō gaṅgā prabhavati ‘Gaṅgā appears in the Himālaya’

1. The word bhū of bhuvah is interpreted as bhavana ‘first appearance’. The kartuḥ of janikartuḥ is marked with svarita so that it could be carried by anuvṛtti. Thus, bhuvah kartuḥ 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 वयमित्रां स सम्प्रदानम्

karmāṇā yam abhipraitī sa sampradānam
/karmāṇā 3/1 yam 2/1 abhipraitī (a tuṅ form) saḥ 1/1 sampradānam 1/1/
(kārake # 23)
karmāṇā karaṇabhūtena karttā yam abhipraitī tat kārakaṃ sam-
pradānasamjñāṃ bhavati
A kāraka which serves as someone whom the agent intends as goal of the object of his action is termed sampradāna.

Examples:

upādhyāyāya gām daddāti ‘he gives a cow to the teacher’
māṇavakāya bhūksāṃ daddāti ‘he gives alms to the boy’

1. The word sampradāna can be interpreted as denoting its etymological sense: samyak pradiyate 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, upādhyāya gām 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 approach by means of the object ‘cow’. The expression karmanā is interpreted as sampradānasya karmanā ‘by means of the object of sampradā’. This is made possible by interpreting 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 (mahāti samjñā). It is his practice to let long terms denote their etymological meaning (anuvartha). 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 vastram 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 vastram dadāti.

Patanjali (II: 402), however, does not emphasize the etymological sense of sampradāna.

In a sentence such as

(c) rajakasya vastram dadāti,

the sense of dā will be adhinikaraṇa ‘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 sāṣṭhi ‘genitive’ will naturally be introduced when the intent is to express this residual (śesā) relationship. Bhartrhari (VP 3, II: 313) identifies three types of sampradāna, which I illustrate with the following sentences:

(d) sūryāya arghyam dadāti ‘he is offering ritual water to the Sun’

(e) yāciṭaḥ viprāya gām dadāti ‘when requested, he is giving a cow to the brāhmaṇa’

(f) upādhyāya gām 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 (anumatt), disapproval (nirakaraṇa), or instigation (prerāṇa) 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 स्वयंत्र नामः प्रीयमानः:

rucyarthānāṁ priyamānah
/rucyarthānāṁ 6/3 = rucir artho yesām (bu.); priyamānah 1/1/
(sampradānām # 32, kāraka # 23)
rucyarthānāṁ dhātūnāṁ prayoge priyamāno yo’ rthas tat kārakam sam-
pradānasamājñām bhavati
A kāraka which serves as one who is pleased when verbal roots having the signification of ruc ‘please’ are used is termed sam-
pradāna.

EXAMPLES:

devadattāya rocate modakah ‘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’ (dipti). It is because of the association of priyamānah 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 priyamānah:

(i) It is derived from prīN + ŚānaC, where the root is taken from the
kṛydī class with the meaning of tarpaṇa ‘to be satisfied’, and affix
ŚānaC (3.2.124 lataḥ śatśānacāv....) is used to denote karman ‘ob-
ject’. This gives the meaning of ‘he who is being pleased...’.

(ii) It is derived by introducing affix ŚānaN (3.2.128 puṇyajāh śānan) after the verbal root prī ‘to please’ of the divādī class, where affix
ŚānaN denotes kartr. This will give the meaning of ‘he who pleases’.

The first interpretation is the one most generally accepted.

The implications of the word priyamānah, and the action denoted by
ruc, consider these sentences:

(b) devadattāya rocate modakah ‘Devadatta likes sweetballs’
(c) devadattāḥ prīyate ‘Devadatta is being pleased’
(d) modākā devadattam prīṇayanti 'the sweetballs are pleasing Devadatta'
(e) devadattasya prīter viṣaya bhavati modakah '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 priyamānaḥ by putting the object in the nominative and the verb in the passive. Sentence (d) can be accepted as the active counterpart of (e), 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 (ādāra) 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 adhikarana 'locus'. The present rule therefore blocks the assignment of the terms karman and adhikarana in favour of sampradāna.

Remember that Devadatta's pleasure could also be seen as entailing the residual (śeṣa) relationship denoted by genitive (saṣṭhi) introduced by 2.3.50 saṣṭhi śeṣa. 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 anyakartrko bhilāsah 'a desire whose agent is someone else'. In other words, devadattas-thābhilāśasya modakah karittā, 'modaka is the agent of the desire whose locus is Devadatta'.

1.4.34 स्लाघातुर्हस्यास्या मेथ्यमानः:  
ślāghahunsthāsopāṁ jñāpsayamānah  
ślāghahunsthāsopāṁ 6/3 (itar. dv.); jñāpsayamānah 1/1  
(sampradānam # 32, kārake # 23)  
ślāgha-hmun-sthā-sapa ity eteṣam jñāpsayamāno yo' rthas tat kārakam sampradānasamjñām bhavati  
A kāraka which serves as someone of whom one wishes to be aware when ślāghā 'to praise', hmun 'to hide', sthā 'to stay', and sapā 'to swear' are used is termed sampradāna.

EXAMPLES:

devadattāyā ślāghate 'he praises Devadatta'  
devadattāyā hnutē 'he hides from Devadatta'  
devadattāyā tiṣṭhate 'he waits for Devadatta'  
devadattāyā sapāte 'he curses Devadatta'
1. The word **jñāpsyamānah** is generally derived by introducing affix ŚānaC (3.2.124 laṭah śatrānacāv ...) after the saN (3.1.7 dhātoḥ karmanāh ...) derivate of the verbal root jñā ‘to know’, where ŚānaC denotes karman ‘object’. The meaning of the word **jñāpsyamānah** thus becomes jñāpayītum isyamānah/bodhayītum iṣṭaḥ ‘he who is being wished to be informed’. This derivation of **jñāpsyamānah** 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 śālgā ‘praise’, hmuti ‘hiding’, prakāśana ‘revelation’, and sāpama ‘cursing, swearing, scolding’ must also wish this object turned sampradāna to know about these actions.

1.4.35 धारेरुतमणि:

dhārer uttamarṇah
/dhāreḥ 5/1 uttamarṇah 1/1 = ṛne uttamah (sas. tat.)/
(sampradānam # 32, kārake # 23)
dhāreyateḥ prayoge uttamarṇa yo’ rthas tat kārakaṁ sampradānasamjñam bhavati
A kāraka which serves as creditor when dhāri ‘owe’ (causative of dhṛN) is used is termed sampradāna.

**EXAMPLES:**

devadattāya śatam dhārayati ‘he owes Devadatta a hundred’
yajñadattāya śatam dhārayati ‘he owes Yajñadatta a hundred’

1. This rule assigns the term sampradāna to a creditor when the action is denoted by the causative (NiC) form of verbal root dhṛN ‘to hold’. The word uttamarna ‘creditor’ is treated as a bahuvrihi compound with the analyzed form uttamah adhikatāprāptam ṛṇam yasya ‘he whose money when lent on interest has increased’. As opposed to this, a person who borrows money on loan is called adhamarna.

1.4.36 स्प्रहेणिस्थित:
sprher ıpsitah
/sprheḥ 5/1 ıpsitah 1/W
(sampradānam # 32, kārake # 23)
sprher ıpsito yo’ rthas tat kārakaṁ sampradānasamjñam bhavati
A kāraka which is īpsita ‘desired’ for the agent of an action denoted by sprhA ‘yearn after’ is termed sampradāna.

**EXAMPLES:**

puspabhyah sprhayati ‘he longs for flowers’
phalebhyah sprhayati ‘he longs for fruits’
1. The root śṛyā can give two shades of meaning:
   (i) icchāmātra ‘desire in general’; and
   (ii) phalāvacincedhā ‘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) puṣṭehityaḥ śṛyāyati ‘he likes flowers’
   (b) puṣṭāni śṛyāyati ‘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 īpsitamāms karma. That
is, this rule assigns the term sampradāna only to a thing desired when the
action is denoted by śṛyā. When the same thing is viewed as most desired
(īpsitama), the term karman is assigned. (See PM ad Kāś. I: 553: īpsitamātre
śrāṣṭnā. prakāravīvākyāṇum tu paratvā karmasamājīnaiva bhavati... yadā tu
īpsitam īpsitamāmas va śrāṣṭvena vivākṣyate tadā śrāṣṭhī 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
īpsitama are wished to be expressed by means of a residual (śēṣa) relatum,
genitive (śrāṣṭhī) is used’.

1.4.37 कृधद्रुहस्यसयांसघां ये प्रतिकोषः:
   krudhadruhersyasuyārthānām yam prati kopah
   krudhadruhersyasuyārthānām 6/3 = krudhaśa ca druhaśa ca īrsyaś ca asūyaś
   ca = krudhadruhersyasuyāyaḥ (itar. dv.), teṣāṃ arthāḥ = krudhadruh-
   hersyasuyārthāḥ, krudhadruhersyasuyārthānām iva artha yesāṃ(bv. with
   internal dv.); yam 2/1 prati 0 kopah 1/1/
   (sampradānam # 32, kāraṇa # 23)
   krudhāyarthānām prayoge yam prati kopas tat kārakaṃ sam-
   pradānasamjñāṃ bhavati
   A kāraka which serves as one towards whom anger is directed when
verbal roots having the signification of krudha ‘to be angry’, druha ‘to
wish harm to’, īrsya ‘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 īrsyati ‘he does not tolerate Devadatta’
   devadattāya asūyati ‘he finds fault with Devadatta’
1. The roots have been used in the following senses:

krudhÅÄ = amarsah ‘anger; to be angry’
druhÅÄ = apakårakah ‘harm; to harm’
îrsyÅÄ = akåsama ‘intolerance; not to tolerate’
asiya = guñcesu dosåvishåkanam ‘inventing faults in someone’s qualities’.

A question is raised in the Mahåbhåsya (II: 403-4) whether the roots enumerated in this rule are synonymous (ekårthåh). 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 yam prati kopah ‘he towards whom anger is directed’. The Mahåbhåsya observes that these verbs are not synonymous. But since kopah ‘anger’ is common to the meaning of all of them, Pånini 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 (kopah) a preceding condition for the actions denoted by all the verbs included in this rule. This, however, does not go well with krudhah because it, too, means anger. How could anger be considered as a preceding condition for anger? The Mahåbhåsya seems to be making a distinction in the meanings of kopah and kroṭha. Bålamanoramå (SK, I: 648) glosses kroṭha as prarûdhakopah ‘excessive anger’.

Note that the provision of anger underlying all verbs restricts sentences such as bhåryåm īrsyaṭi from assigning the term sampradåna to bhåryå ‘wife’. For, though īrsya is used, the man is not angry at his wife. Instead, he is angry at someone who is looking at his wife. This allows bhåryå to be assigned the term karman.

1.4.38 कृष्णद्रोहसूच्योः कर्म

krudhadruhor upasṛṣṭayoh karma
/krudhadruhoḥ 6/2 (itar. dv.); upasṛṣṭayoh 6/2 karma 1/1/  
(yam prati kopah # 37, sampradånam # 32, kåraka # 23)  
krudhadruhor upasṛṣṭayor (upasargasambandhayor) yam prati kopas tat  
kårakaṁ karmasamjñåṁ bhavati  
A kåraka is termed karman ‘object’ when it serves as someone towards whom anger is directed when krudhÅÄ, druhaÅÄ and īrsyaÅÄ, are used with a preverb.

Examples:

devadattam abhi krudhyati ‘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 sampradåna in favour of karman when two of the verbs enumerated in the preceding rule, namely, krudhÅÄ and
druhÅ, are used with a preverb. Thus, what was to be termed sampradåna is termed karman if, all else being equal, the action is denoted by krudhÅ and druham used with a preverb. Incidentally, the word upasrÇta is interpreted in the grammatical parlance as meaning sopaÇsarga ‘with preverb’.

1.4.39 राधिक्षोर्वयस्य विप्रश्न:
rādhikṣor yasya viprasnah
/rādhikṣor 6/2 = rādhīś ca ikṣś ca = rādhikṣī (itar. dv.); viprasnah 1/1 (sampradånam # 32, kåraka # 23)
rādhīḥ ikṣś ca (prayoge) yasya viprasnah tat kårakaṁ sampradånasamjñāṁ bhavati

A kåraka which serves as one about whom many inquiries are made is termed sampradåna when rādhī ‘to prophesy’ or ikṣÅ ‘to look, observe’ are used.

EXAMPLES:

devadattäyä rādhyaṭi ‘he (the astrologer), when asked about Devadatta’s good or bad fortune, makes various prophecies’
devadattäyä ikṣate ‘id.’

1. Note that both the roots are cited here in the sense of śubhåsubhabhåtparyåloçana ‘to make observations about good or bad fortune’. The word viprasnah has been interpreted as vividhaḥ pråśnah ‘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 (śaṣṭhi) is used here to denote karman. Commentators (PM and Nyåsa ad Kåś. I: 555) observe that yasya is superfluous in the formulation of the rule. It could easily have been dropped by bringing yam prati from the preceding rule via anuvṛtti. That would have given the string yam prati viprasnah, with practically no change in meaning.

1.4.40 प्रत्याञ्च सुव�: पूर्वसः कर्ताः
pratyånabhyaṁ śrùvah pùrvasya kartā
d/paryånabhyaṁ 5/2 (itar. dv.); śrùvah 6/1 pùrvasya 6/1 kartā 1/1 (sampradånam # 32, kåraka # 23)
‘prati, ån’ ity evam pùrvasya śr̥toteh kårakaṁ sampradånasamjñåṁ bhavati

A kåraka that serves as the agent of a prior act of requesting is termed sampradåna when śrù ‘to hear’ is used with the preverbs prati or åN.

EXAMPLES:

devadattäyä gām pratiśr̥toti ‘he promises to give a cow to Devadatta’
devadattäyä gām åśr̥toti ‘id.’

1. The dual ending bhyaṁ after pratyån, a dvandva, makes it imperative
that śru be construed with both the preverbs prati and āN individually. That is, concurrent usage of both prati and āN with śru, whether in the form of pratyāśru or of āpratiśru, is not permitted. If Pānini had intended the concurrent use of prati and āN, he would have phrased the rule as pratyāśravah pūrvasya karttā.

Note that the verbal root śru used with prati and āN means abhyupagama, or pratijñāna ‘pledge, promise’. The following examples illustrate how pratiśru denotes abhyupagama in sentence (b) with reference to (a):

(a) mahyam gām dehi ‘give me a cow’
(b) devadattāya gām pratiśrṇoti ‘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, tṛitiyā ‘third triad of sUVP’ should be used with devadatta of sentence (b). For, Devadatta would then be assigned the term kārty of the act of instigation (prerāṇa). This rule thus blocks the assignment of kārty in favour of sampradāna.

1.4.41 अनुप्रतिग्रन्तः

anupratiṣṭhṛ ca

( anuspratiṣṭhṛ 6/1 = anu ca prati ca = anuprati (itār. dv.); tābhyaṃ gṛṇā (puṇ. tat. with internal dv.); ca 0)

( pūrvasya karttā # 40, sampradānam # 32, kārake # 23)

anupūrvasya pratiṣpurvasa ca gṛṇāteḥ kārake pūrvasyāḥ kriyāyāh karttybhūtam sampradānasamjñāṃ bhavati

A kāraka which serves as the agent of a prior act of chanting is termed sampradāna when gr ‘to chant’ is used with the preverbs anu and prati.

EXAMPLES:

hottre’ nurgṛṇāti ‘he is praising the hotṛ’
hottre pratiṃgṛṇāti ‘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 gr in a manner similar to the way in which prati and āN were interpreted with śru. Haradatta (PM ad Kāś. I: 556-57) observes that gr used with anu or prati in Vedic means ‘praising’ (anusamsana). 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 gr is here referenced with the vikaraṇa ‘augment’ Śnh. This, in turn, becomes a clue that gr of this rule belongs to the kṛyādī class, and not to the tudādī class.

Note that the word pūrvasya karttā is also carried. This means that, in the context of anugṛ or pratiṣṛ in the Vedic, the agent of the prior act of
śaṃsana ‘praising’ should be termed sampradāna. 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’ nuggesti ‘he is praising the hotṛ’ or hotre pratigrasti ‘id.’. This rule, by assigning the term sampradāna, blocks the assignment of the term karman, which would otherwise have become applicable to hotṛ.

1.4.42 साधकतमं करणम्

sādhakatamam karanam
/lśādhakatamam 1/1 karaṇam 1/1/
(kārake # 23)
kriyāsiddhau sādhakatamam kārakam karaṇasamjñāṁ 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 karana to a participant who is most instrumental in accomplishing the action. The rule uses sādhakatamam, a derivate ending in affix tamaP and denoting atisāyana ‘excellence’. Pāṇini uses tamaP to indicate that the participation of karana is most useful in accomplishing the action. Bhartrhari (III, 2: 258) identifies karana as that kāraka after the completion of whose activity the action is considered as accomplished (karaṇena hi sarvesāṁ 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 karana based on deśa ‘place’, kāla ‘time’ or avastā ‘state’. In a sentence such as

(a) devadattaḥ sthāłyām odanam pacati ‘Devadatta is cooking rice in the pot’

sthāli ‘pot’ is in the locative. But the same locus, sthāli, can be assigned the term karana because of its status of being conducive to cooking. The alternative sentence

(b) sthālyā odanam pacati ‘he is cooking the rice by means of the pot’,

treats sthāli as karana, because its shape and size facilitates the cooking.

An objection may be raised against singling out karana 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 karana is most instrumental. This excellence in serving as instrument is the condition for the assignment of the term karana. Note, however, that the agent (kartya) can also be viewed as instrumental along with the other kārakas. This does not mean that the activity of the karana excels the activity of the agent. The participant termed agent (kartya) 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 karana, 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 karana is treated as most excellent. (PM: kārakāntara apekṣah karaṇasyatiśāyāh na svakākṣāyām ‘The excellence of karana is relative to other kārakas and not to entities in its own sphere’.) The degree of excellence among various participants termed karana is not an issue. That is, more than one entity can be termed karana, irrespective of its relative excellence. Thus we can find sentences such as:

(c) aśvena dipikayā rathena patha śamcarate ‘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 karana to the entity which is most instrumental among others; it also facilitates the assignment of the term adhikarana to secondary (gauna) loci (ādhāra). Consider the following sentences:

(d) tileṣu tailam ‘there is oil in the sesame’

(e) gaṅgāyāṁ 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 (ādhēya). 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 sādhakatamam karanaṁ, the term adhikarana could be assigned only to the principal ādhāra, such as tīla in sentence (d). For, the principle of gaunamukhyayor mukhye kāryasam-pratyayāḥ ‘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 adhikarana to gaṅgā. The inclusion of tamaP in 1.4.42 thus becomes an indication (jmāpaka ) that the assignment of a term relative to the principal will be applicable only in the context of the term karana. Elsewhere, the secondary also can be assigned the term.

(Cf. Nyāsa ad Kāś. I: 558 tatra asati tamabgrahane ‘gaunamukhyayor mukhye
kāryasampratayah’ iti mukhyasyaivādhikaraṇasamajñā syāt, netarasya; tamab-
grahanād tasyāpi bhavati.)

SCOPE: 2.3.18 kārtikaraṇayos tṛtiyā

1.4.43 दिव: कर्म च
dīvaḥ karma ca
/dīvaḥ 6/1 karma 1/1 ca 0/
(sādhakatamām # 42, kārake # 23)
-dīvaḥ sādhakatamām yat kāraṇa tat kārmasamajñām bhavati
A kāraka which serves as a means, more than anything else, also is
termed kārman ‘object’ when dīva ‘to play’ is used.

EXAMPLES:

aksān dīvya ‘he plays dice’
aksāir dīvya ‘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 dīva ‘to play’ to be additionally termed kārman. Thus, we get two sen-
tences with aksa in the instrumental or accusative, depending on whether
it was assigned the term karaṇa or kārman. Note that the ca saves the situa-
tion against the demand of ekasamajñā. For, in its absence, there would have
been conflict in the assignment of two terms to a single entity (aksā). The
di ca facilitates the assignment of both the terms; but since they cannot be
assigned simultaneously (yugapati), they are applied in turn (paryāya).

1.4.44 परिक्रयणे सम्प्रदानमन्यतरस्यायम्
parikrayaṇe sampradānam anyatarasvāṃ
/parikrayaṇe 7/1 sampradānam 1/1 anyatarasvāṃ 7/1/
(sādhakatamām # 42, kārake # 23)
parikrayaṇe sādhakatamaṇi kāraṇaṃ anyatarasyāṃ sampradānasamajñāṃ
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’ nubruhi ‘you are hired for a hundred, aren’t you?’
sahasrāya parikrīto’ nubruhi ‘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
parikrayana is thus related more to the permanence or temporariness of the services bought. A person on parikrayana 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 आधारोधिकरणं
ādhāro’adhikarānaṁ
‘ādhāraḥ 1/1 adhikarānam 1/1/
(kāraka # 23)
dhāraṇakriyāṁ prati va ādhāras tat kārakam adhikarānasamjñāṁ bhavati
A kāraka which serves as locus of action is termed adhikarāṇa.

EXAMPLES:

kete āste ‘he sits on the mat’
kete sete ‘he reclines on the mat’
sthālyam pacati ‘he cooks in the pot’

1. This rule assigns the term adhikarāṇa to the locus (ādhāra) of an action (kriyā). In the real outside world we speak of an ādhāra in relation to action, quality (guna), 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 (karti) or the object (karman). This is because an action is supposed to be located in the agent (kartṛṣṭhā kriyā) or object (karmasthā kriyā). For example, in

(a) devadattaḥ sete ‘Devadatta is reclining’
the action of sleeping is located in its agent, Devadatta. Similarly, in

(b) odanam 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) sthālyam pacati odanam devadattaḥ ‘Devadatta is cooking rice in the pot’
it is sthāli ‘pot’ which is assigned the term adhikarāṇa, 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 sthāli as its locus? The tradition believes that sthāli serves as the locus of the object, tāṇḍula ‘uncooked rice’ which, in turn, serves as the locus of viklitti, the action denoted by pac. Thus, sthāli 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 adhikarāṇa.

It should also be noted in this connection that, for a grammarians, 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 (kartr), is viewed as the locus of vyāpāra. As opposed to this, the object (karma) 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 adhikarana, based on the relationship between what serves as ādhāra ‘locus’ and what is considered as the thing held (ādheya). Consider the following sentences:

(d) tilesu tailam ‘there is oil in the sesame’
(e) kate āste ‘he sits on the mat’
(f) khe sakunayaḥ ‘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 samavīya ‘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 samyoga ‘contact’. That is, the relationship entails contact but not inherence. Finally, the last two sentences illustrate a relationship which can be characterized as vaiśayika ‘topical’. That is, it lacks contact, though one can assume the presence of mental contact. This threefold classification of adhikarana is obviously based on the nature of upaśleṣa ‘contact’ between the ādhāra and the ādheya.

1.4.46 अधिशीतस्यात्मां कर्म

adhīśīthāsām karma
ladhiśīthāsām 6/3 = śīn ca sthāś ca ās ca = śīnthāsāḥ (dv.); adheṣi śīnthāsāḥ (pañc. tat.); teṣām karma 1/1
(ādhāraḥ # 45, kārake # 23)
adhipūryānām śīn, sthā, ās ity eteṣām ādhiḥro yas tat kārakaṃ karmasamjñiṃ bhavati

A kāraka which serves as locus is termed karma ‘object’ when śīn ‘to recline’, sthā ‘to stand’, or ās ‘to sit’ are used with the preverb adhi.

EXAMPLES:

grāmam adhiṣete ‘he sleeps in the village’
grāmam adhiṣṭhatai ‘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 karm with reference to verbal roots śīn, sthā, and ās, when used with the preverb adhi. That is, what could have been assigned the term adhikarana to the locus of these verbs is assigned the term karm. Note that these verbs
are basically intransitive (akarmaka). But when their locus is termed karman they become transitive (sakarmaka).

1.4.47 अधिनिविशे:  
abhinivishaḥ 6/1 = abhiś ca niś ca = abhini (dv.); tābhyaṁ vis = abhinivishaḥ (pañc. tat. with internal dv.); tasya = abhinivishaḥ ca ōśi (ādhāraḥ # 45, kārake # 23)  
abhinīpurvasya visater ādhāro yaś tat kārakāṃ karmasamjñāṃ bhavati  
A kāraka that serves as locus also is termed karman when vis 'to enter' is used with the preverb abhini.

Example:

grāmam abhinivisate 'he enters the village'

1. This rule also orders a readjustment, though optionally. That is, the ca of this rule attracts the term adhikarana; and hence, the assignment of the term karman becomes optional to adhikarana. It is also noted by commentators (Kāś. I: 563) that the optional nature of this rule is determined by carrying anyataraṣām from rule 1.4.44 parikrayaṇe sampradāṇaṃ 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 vis. This will rule out any use of the verbal root vis separately with ni and abhi for the purposes of this rule. Elsewhere, niviś, for example, can be used.

1.4.48 उपवाधयायवस:  
upānvadhyāyavasah
/ upānvadhyāyavasah 6/1 = upa ca anu ca adhi ca ān ca = upānvadhyān (dv.); tebhya vas (pañc. tat. with internal dv.)/
(karma # 46, ādhāraḥ # 45, kārake # 23)  
‘upa, anu, adhi, ān’ ity evam pūrvasya vasater ādhāro yaś tat kārakāṃ karmasamjñāṃ bhavati  
A kāraka which serves as locus is termed karman when vasā 'to dwell' is used with the preverbs upa, anu, adhi, or āN.

Examples:

grāmam upavasati senā ‘the army is camped near the village’  
pavataṃ upavasati senā ‘the army is camped near the mountain’  
grāmam anuvāsati 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 adhī 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 vaktavyah ‘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 bhojananiśṛttī ‘restraining 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 troṣtpūrvasya 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 (anupasar-gasya)’. 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 कर्मगतिपरिवर्तितकर्म
kartur īśitatamam karma
/kartuḥ 6/1 īśitatamam 1/1 karma 1/1/
(kāraka # 23)
kartuḥ kriyāyā yad āptum īśitatamam tat kārakaṃ karmasamjñānam bhavati
A kāraka which the agent most wishes to reach through his action is termed karman.

EXAMPLES:

kaṭām karoti ‘he makes a mat’
grāmam gachhati 'he goes to the village'

1. A question is raised as to why Pāṇini did not bring karman from an earlier rule via anuṣṛttī. 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 *karmāna* very narrow. It may account for sentences such as (a), below, but would not account for a multitude of others.

The Kaśikā (I: 565-66) offers three counter-examples to illustrate why *kurtuḥ, īpsītatamam* and *karmāna* are used in this rule:

(a) *gēham praviśati* 'he is entering the house'

(b) *māseṣu aśvam badhnāti* 'he tethers the horse in the bean-field'

(c) *pāyasā odanaṃ bhūṅkte* 'he eats rice with milk'

The word *kurtuḥ* is used in the rule to make sure that the thing which qualifies to be termed *karmāna*, 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 *karmāna*. 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 *karmāna*. Besides, sentence (b) does not have the action of the horse, i.e. *bhujana* 'consuming', as the action to be accomplished (*sādhyā*). 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 *karmāna*. 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 *karmāna*.

Sentence (c) creates a situation in which *pāyas* '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 (*pāyas*) 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 (*īpsītatama*) thing can be termed *karmāna*. Sentence (b), as I have already explained, justifies the explicit use of the word *karmāna* in the rule. For, carrying *karmāna* via anuvṛtti would only cover instances of locus turned object.

The Kaśikā glosses *īpsītatamam* as āptum īṣṭātātām, perhaps to maintain a distinction between the conventional (*rūḍha*) and derivational (*prakṛti-pratyayajanyā*) 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 (*sādhyā*). Nyāsa (ad Kaś. I: 564) clearly observes that *na hi rūḍhiśāabdasya kriyāyā kartṛsādhyayā sambandha upapadyate* 'no relationship obtains between a word with conventional meaning, and action which remains to be accomplished (*sādhyā*). Note further that *kāraka* terms are
assigned to entities with reference to their status as participant in an action to be accomplished.

2. Bhartrhari (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 ghaṭam karoti 'he makes a pot out of clay'
(e) kāśṭhaṁ bhūṣma karoti 'he reduces wood to ashes'
(f) mṛdam ghaṭam 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 (abheda vivakṣā), 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 kāśṭha 'wood' in (e). See also my discussion of upādāna and sahakārī causes under rule 1.4.30 janikarttṛth prakṛtīḥ.

For examples of the prāpya type (iii) of object consider the following:

(g) vanam gacchati 'he goes to the forest'
(h) grāmaṁ paśyati 'he sees the village'

Note that vanam 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 (kriyākṛtavisaṣa). As opposed to this, look at the sentences given below:

(i) vanam chinatti 'someone is cutting the forest'
(j) grāmaṁ dahi 'someone is burning the village'

It is clear by the very nature of the actions denoted by chinatti 'to cut' and dahi 'to burn' that the objects vanam and grāma are here undergoing changes introduced by the action.
3. A *slokavārttika* in the *Mahābhāṣya* (II: 427-28) raises the question of whether or not the statement of rule 1.4.49 *kartur īpsitatamaṁ karma* was really necessary:

> etena karmasamajña sarvā siddhā bhavaty akāhitena / atrepsitasya kim syāt prayojanāṁ karmasamanjñāyāḥ // yat tu kathitaṁ prустād īpsitayuktaṁ ca tasya siddhyartham / īpsitameva tu yat syāt tasya bhavisyatā akāhitena // ‘if by rule 1.4.51 akāhitam ca every assignment of the term *karman* may be made possible, then what could be the purpose of stating rule 1.4.49 *kartur īpsitatamaṁ 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 akāhitam ca’.

There are four rules which form the focus of this *slokavārttika*:

1.4.27 *vāraṇārthanāṁ īpsitaḥ*
1.4.49 *kartur īpsitatamaṁ karma*
1.4.50 *tathāyuktaṁ ānīpsitaṁ*
1.4.51 *akāhitam ca*

Let us consider the following example:

(k) *yavebhyo gāṁ vārayati ‘he is warding the cow off the barley’*

The barley (*yava*) gets the assignment of the term *apādāna* by rule 1.4.27 *vāraṇārthanāṁ 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 īpsitama ‘most desired’. For that which is īpsitama 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 īpsitama, then rule 1.4.50 must also be stated to assign the term *karman* to something which is ānīpsita. 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 īpsitama could be assigned the term *karman* by 1.4.51 *akāhitam ca*. This could block the assignment of the term *apādāna* to something īpsitama. 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 gāṁ 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 īpsitamatam karma*.

**SCOPE:** 2.3.2 *karmaṇi dvitiyā*

1.4.50 **तथायुक्तं कानिःसितयः**

\[\text{tathāyuṅktaṃ cānīpsitam} \]
\[\text{ḥaṭṭhāyuṅktaṃ 1/1 ca θ anīpsitam 1/1 (nañ. tat.)} \]
\[\text{(karma # 49, kāraka # 23)} \]
\[\text{yena prakārenā kartur īpsitamatam kriyāyā yuṣyate tenaśva cetā prakārena yad anīpsitam yuktam bhavati tasya karmasamjñā vidiṣyate} \]

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 īpsitamatam 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) *odanam bhuiñjano viṣam bhūṅkte* ‘while eating rice he is consuming poison’

(b) *grāmam gacchan trṇam sprṣati* ‘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 *trṇa*, which could not have been assigned the term ‘object’ by either rule 1.4.49 *kartur īpsitamatam*... or by the present rule. For, *trṇa* 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 *trṇa* 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 *ipsita* (*ipsitaḥ anyat*). The *trṇa* of (b) is neutral (*udāśīna*) to considerations of *ipsita* ‘desired’ and *anīpsita* ‘undesired’. Thus, it is something other than *ipsita*. 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 tṛṣṇa in (b). A karman which is not desired by the
agent is called dvesya ‘disliked’. Similarly, an object which is neutral is
termed udāśīna. This brings the number of the types of objects discussed
thus far to five: nirvartya, vikārya, prápya (1.4.49) and dvesya and udāśīna
(1.4.50). Note, however, that these categories are not mutually exclusive,
for they are based on a binary consideration of ‘most desired’ and ‘undesir-
ed’. 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
akathitam ca

.akathitam 1/1 (nañ. tat.); ca Ø/
(karma # 49, kārake # 23)
akathitam ca yat kārakam tat karmasamjñaṁ bhavati
A kāraka which has not yet been classed is termed karman.

Examples:

pañinā kāṁsyapātryāṁ gām dogdhi payah ‘he milks the cow by hand into
a copper vessel’
gām dogdhi payah ‘he milks the cow’s milk’
pauravam gām yācate ‘he requests a cow from the Paurava’
gām avarunādāhi vrojam ‘he pens the cow in the pen’
māṇavakam pānthānaṁ prchait ‘he asks the boy the way’
pauravam gām bhiksate ‘he begs a cow from the Paurava’
māṇavakam dharmam brūte ‘he explains the duty to the boy’
māṇavakam 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 kāṁsyapātri ‘copper vessel’, since they are both nonprincipal
compared to go ‘cow’ and payas ‘milk’ of the first example, pāṇinā
kāṁsyapātryāṁ gām dogdhi payah. 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: apādānādīvīṣakathābhiḥ ‘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 (*mānavaka*) of the sentence

(a) *mānavakasya pitaram panthānam prcchati* 'he is asking the boy’s father for directions’

would get the designation of *karman*. This again would create difficulties.

Bhaṭṭoji Dikṣita (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 *vivaksātah kārakāni 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 payah* ‘he milks the milk from the cow’

Here *goh* 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 (*atityāpti*).

For example, consider the sentences below:

(c) *naṭād gāthāṃ śṛṇoti* ‘he is hearing the story from the dancer’

(d) *satrūn 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 *adhikarana* of *raṇa* of (d) as *karman*, according to the interpretation just provided, these wrong sentences will result:

(e) *naṭam gāthāṃ śṛṇoti*

(f) *satrūn 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 *slokavārttika* in the *Mahābhāṣya* (II: 414-15) provides the enumeration as follows:

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duḥiyācīruthidpracchibhikṣicitāṃ upayoganimittam apūrvavidhau /
bruvīśaśūnen ca yat sacate tad akṛĪtīm ācaritaṃ kavinā //
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‘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 *akṛītī* ‘unaccounted for’ by the sage (Pāṇini): *duḥ* ‘to milk’; *yāc* ‘to ask’; *rudh* ‘to obstruct, lock up’; *bhiks* ‘to beg’; *ciN* ‘to heap, gather’; in addition, also that which relates to the subordinate (*gaṇa*) object of actions denoted by the verbal roots *brū* ‘to speak’ and *sās* ‘to instruct’.
Bhaṭṭoṣi Dīkṣita (SK, I: 605), by the following kārikā verse, expands this listing by including pac ‘to cook’; daṇḍ ‘to punish’; ji ‘to win’; māth ‘to churn’; muṣ ‘to steal’; ni ‘to lead’; hṛ ‘to carry’; kṛṣ ‘to drag’; and vah ‘to carry’;

duhyācpacdaṇḍarudhipracchicibrūsāsujimathamuśām /
karmayuk syād akathita lathā syān nihṛkṛṣvahām //

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 apādāṇa, etc., with reference, of course, to the actions denoted by the cited roots. Consider the following examples:

(g) pāṇīnā kāṃsyapātryām gām dogdhi payah ‘he milks the cow by hand into a copper vessel’

(h) pāṇīnā gor dogdhi payah kāṃsyapātryām ‘id.’

(i) gām avaruṇaddhi vrajam ‘he pens the cow in the pen’

(j) gām avaruṇaddhi vraj ‘id.’

(k) māṇavakām dharmac brūte ‘he explains the duty to the boy’

(l) māṇavakāya dharmac 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 apādāṇa. This is made possible under the provisions of this rule, especially with reference to the enumeration of the verbal root duḥ 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 apādāṇa. 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 sampradāṇa (1.4.32 karmanā 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 karmanī ca...) which is introduced after a verb root and gets replaced by tūN (3.4.76 lasya; 3.4.78 tīptasāhi). 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 grāmāṃ nayati ‘he is leading the goat to the village’

(n) ajā grāmāṃ niyate ‘the goat is led to the village’

Sentence (m) is expressing the agent (kartr) with LAT (3.2.123 varttamāne lat), which is replaced by tūP. 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 *atmanepada* 'middle' is expressing the main object *ajā* 'goat'. Obviously, that is why *ajā* in the nominative is only expressing the nominal stem notion (*prātipadi-kārtha*). 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 *ipsitama* '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  गतिभिप्रत्यावसानार्थशब्दकर्मकर्मानमणि कर्त्ता स णौ

\[ \text{gatibuddhipratyavasanaarthasaabdakarmakarmakāṇāṁ ani kartta sa nāu} \]
\[ \text{/gati...kāṇām 6/3 = gati ca buddhi ca pratyavasānāṁ ca = gatibuddhi-} \]
\[ \text{pratyasanānāṁ (itar. dv.); teśām artha yeśām te = gatibuddhi-} \]
\[ \text{pratyavasānārthāḥ (bv.; with internal dv.); sābdah karma yasya tat} \]
\[ \text{śabdakarma (bv.); śabdakarma ca akarmakāś ca = gatibuddhi...karmakāh} \]
\[ \text{(dv. with internal dv.); teśām = gati...kāṇām; ani 7/1 (deleted) kartta 1/1} \]
\[ \text{saḥ 1/1 nāu 7/1/} \]
\[ \text{(karma # 49, kāraka # 23)} \]
\[ \text{gatyarthānāṁ buddhyarthānāṁ pratyavasānārthānāṁ ca dhā tinām tathā} \]
\[ \text{śabdakarmakāṇāṁ akarmakāṇāṁ ca anyantānāṁ yah kartta sa nyantānāṁ} \]
\[ \text{karmasamjñō bhavati} \]

A *kāraka* which serves as agent of a non-*Nīc* root that either has the signification *gati* 'movement'; *buddhi* 'perception'; *pratyavasāna* 'consuming'; or has *sābda* 'sound' as its object; or has no object at all, is termed *karman* when the same root terminates in *Nīc*.

**Examples:**

- *gacchati māṇavako grāmam* 'the boy goes to the village'
- *gamayati māṇavakaṁ grāmam* 'he has the boy go the village'
- *yati māṇavako grāmam* 'the boy goes to the village'
- *yāpaṭayati māṇavakam grāmam* 'he has the boy go to the village'
- *adhiṭe māṇavako vedam* 'the boy studies the Veda'
- *adhyāṭayati māṇavakam vedam* 'he (has the boy study) teaches the boy the Veda'
- *māṇavaka odanam bhuṅkte* 'the boy is eating rice'
- *bhojayati māṇavakaṁ odanam* 'he feeds the boy rice'
- *pāṭhāti māṇavako vedam* 'the boy recites the Veda'
- *pāṭhayati māṇavakaṁ vedam* 'he has the boy recite the Veda'
- *āste devadattaḥ* 'Devadatta sits'
- *āśayati devadattam* 'he has Devadatta sit'
- *śete devadattah* '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 māṇavakam grāmam 'he has the boy go the village'
2. (a) yatī māṇavako grāmam 'the boy goes to the village'
   (b) yāpayati māṇavakam grāmam 'he has the boy go to the village'
3. (a) adhite māṇavako vedam 'the boy studies the Veda'
   (b) adhyāpayati māṇavakam vedam 'he (has the boy study) teaches the boy the Veda'
4. (a) māṇavaka odanam 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) paṭhayati māṇavakam vedam 'he has the boy recite the Veda'
6. (a) āste devadattaḥ 'Devadatta sits'
   (b) āsavyati devadattam 'he has Devadatta sit'
7. (a) sēte devadattaḥ 'Devadatta reclines'
   (b) śārayati 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) pratyāvasāna '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 (kartr), though their agency (kartrvā) 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 accusative sentences (1(b) to 7(b) inclusive) because they now are assigned the term karmā by the present rule.

It is to be understood that all non-causal sentences entail only one action, whether that constitutes gamana ‘going’; adhyayanā ‘studying’; paṭhana ‘reciting’; bhojana ‘consuming’; āsana ‘sitting’; or śayana ‘reclining’. However, the actions constituted by their causal counterparts are twofold. That is, a causal action characteristically defined as prerana ‘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 (prerana), with a variable third person singular agent 'he, she, or it'. The verb in all the causal (b) sentences here is expressing the agency (kartrvā) of the agent of prerana.
It may be clear from the preceding discussion and examples that rule 1.4.52 gatibuddhi... assigns the term karman to the kartr 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 kartr of the non-causal sentences. Consider these additional examples:

8. (a) devadatta odanam pacati ‘Devadatta is cooking rice’
   (b) yajñadatto devadattenana odanam 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 NiC 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 NiC.

1.4.53 हकोर्यतरस्याः

hrkor anyatarasyām
/hrko 6/1 (ūtar. dv.); anyatarasyām 1/1
(ani kartrī sa nou # 52, karma # 49, kārake # 23)
harater karotēś cānyantayor yaḥ karttā sa nyantayor anyatarasyām
karmasamjñāṃ bhavati

A kāraka which serves as the agent of hrN ‘to carry’ or DUkrN ‘to do, make’ not used with NiC, optionally is termed karman when used with NiC.

EXAMPLES:

harati bhāram mānavakah ‘the boy carries the load’
hārayati bhāram mānavakam ‘he has the boy carry the load’
hārayati bhāram mānavakena ‘id.’
karoṭi kutam devadattah ‘Devadatta makes a mat’
kārayati kutam devadattam ‘he has a mat made by Devadatta’
kārayati kutam devadattena ‘id.’

1. This rule assigns the term karman optionally to the agent of the non-causal action denoted by the verbal roots hr ‘to carry’ and kr ‘to make’, when the same are used with NiC 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 bhāram mānavakah (non-causal)
(b) hārayati bhāram māṇavakam (causal)
(c) hārayati bhāram 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 (tritiyā), as is demanded by 2.3.18 kartṛkaranayos tritiyā.

2. The option (vibhāṣā) provided by this rule is treated as ubhayatra or prāptaprāpta, 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 kṛ used with the preverbs abhi and ava is used in the sense of bhaksana ‘eating’, while kṛ 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 kṛ is used in the sense of ‘carrying’ or ‘stealing’ and kṛ is used transitively, the option of assigning the term karmān 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 कार्त्त
svatantrah kartā
/svatantrah 1/1 kartā 1/1
(kārake # 23)
agunabrhiḥ yaḥ kriyāsiddhau svatantryena vivaksyate tatkārakam kartṛsamjñāṃ 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) svatantraro 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 sthātyam pacaty odanam agninā ‘Devadatta is cooking rice in the pot by means of fire’
(c) sthāli pacaty odanam agninā ‘the pot is cooking rice by means of fire’
(d) odanam pacati sthāyām agnih ‘the fire is cooking rice in the pot’
(e) odanah pacaty agninā sthāyām ‘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 (jivalana), 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 gunīthūta ‘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 jivalana ‘burning’. Similarly, sthāli 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 sthāli, 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 svātantra ‘independence’:

prāg anyataḥ saktilabhān nyagbhāvāpādanād api / tad adhimaprvrttitvāt pravṛttānām nivarttanāt / adṛṣṭatvāt pratimidheḥ praviveke ca darśanāt / ārādāpy upahārīte svātantryam kartur ucyeate //

‘An agent is called svatantra because it receives its power (ṣakti) 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’, sthāli
‘pot’, tanḍula ‘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) devadattah sthālyāṁ pācayaty odanam agnī na 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 (presāṇa). 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? Bhartrhari 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 karttātvāna samāśritah / kriyāyām atmasādhvyāyām ājayānānam prayojakaḥ // prayogāntar Nyagbhāvam svātāntryād eva niṣcitah / avāśiṣṭo bhavyaḥ anyāh svatantrair muktaśaṁsayaḥ //

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 तत्त्वत्योजकं हेतुस्त्र्रत्र

tatprayojakaḥ hetuṣ ca
/tatprayojakah 1/1 = tasya prayojakah (ṣas. tat. by nipātana); hetuḥ 1/1 ca Ø (kārake # 23)
svatantrasya prayojako yo’rthaḥ tat kārakaḥ hetusamjñāṃ bhavati, kartṛsamjñāṃ 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) yajñadattāḥ kaṭām 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 devadattāḥ kaṭām 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 (samjñāsamāveśa) of terms. For, in its absence, rule 1.4.1 ā kādārād ekā samjñā 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 NiC by rule 3.1.26 hetumati ca.

The hetu having been thus expressed, the agent can now be expressed by the LA (Ś.4.69 laḥ karmanī ca bhāve cākarmakebhyah).

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 Aśtādhdyāyī 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 (utara). Consider, for example, the following sentences:

   (c) devadattāḥ kaṭām kārayati ‘Devadatta is having a mat made’

   (d) bhikṣa vāsāyatya 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 bhikṣa ‘alms’, for the reason that alms serve as the cause of the choice of dwelling.

Commentators explain that the compound-formation between tasya and prayojakah to derive tatprayojakah is ad hoc; for rule 2.2.16 kartari ca would not allow it.

SCOPE: 3.1.26 hetumati ca
1.4.56 प्रान्तिक्रसारिष्याताः:

प्राक्र रिःत्वरान निपाताः
प्राक्र 0 रिःत्वराट 5/1 निपाताः 1/31
‘अधिर इस्वारे’ इति वाक्यत, प्राक्र एतमाद अवधेत यान इता उर्ध्वम अनु-
क्रमिष्यामह, निपातसान्त्यनास ते वेदित्यायाः

What are here enumerated prior to 1.4.97 adhir iśvare are termed nipāta.

EXAMPLES:

cā ‘and’
vā ‘or; option’
ha ‘definitely’
aha ‘certainly’

1. The use of the word prāk ‘prior to’ and riśvarāt ‘as far as riśvara’ needs some explanation. First of all, why did not Pāṇini formulate the rule as nipātaḥ or nipātaḥ on the pattern of 3.1.1 pratyayaḥ or 4.1.76 taddhītāḥ? One can argue here that Pāṇini wanted to set the limit (avadhī) of the domain of nipāta, and therefore chose to formulate this rule on the pattern of several other rules (2.1.3 prāk kāḍarāt samāsadāḥ, 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 nipātaḥ, 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 riśvarān nipātaḥ and allowed prāk to be understood on the strength of pañcamī of riśvarāt.

Both of these proposals have difficulties owing mostly to the fact that this section of rules is governed by ekasamjñā (1.4.1 ā kāḍārād eka samjñā) ‘one term’. This would rule out the possibility of class inclusion (samjñāsamāvesa) 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 samjñāsamāvesa possible. Formulating the rule simply as nipātaḥ or nipātaḥ 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 Kāśī 1: 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 riśvarāt'. This, according to Haradatta, will yield the following interpretation:

prāk riśvarād ye vyavasthitās te prāk nipātasamjñā bhavanti, nipātāh santo
gatyādi samjñā iti
'those which have been enumerated prior to riśvāra 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 riśvāra of riśvarāt is interpreted as a compound with the analysed form: repha sahito iśvarah = 'riśvarah is iśvara with r'. Pāṇini used riśvāra, as opposed to iśvāra or viśvāra, to make it clear that the limit of 1.4.56 is prior to the riśvāra of 1.4.97 adhirīśvare, and not prior to the iśvāra of 3.4.13 īśvare losunkasunau.

Note in this connection that riśvāra has been taken here as a pratika 'symbol', in contradistinction to viśvāra of 3.4.13. But is there viśvāra in 3.4.13? The rule begins with iśvāra. Commentators assume that the Aṣṭādhyāyī was recited in the samhitāpātha 'recitation with properly applying rules of samdhi'. This being the case, when 3.4.12 sākñamulakumulau is to be r̥vd together with 3.4.13, iśvāra will turn into viśvāra. Thus: 3.4.12 sākñamulakumulau (u → v) īśvare =...viśvare. This, in turn, is also treated as a proof of the claim that the Aṣṭādhyāyī was recited in the samhitāpātha.

The purpose of assigning the term nipāta is to allow the assignment of the term avaya by rule 1.1.37 svarādinipātam avayam, along with the initial udātta accent. Furthermore, what is termed nipāta is also marked with udātta accent initially.

1.4.57 चादयोस्तत्वे
cādayo' sattve
/īcādayaḥ 1/3 asattve 7/1 (nañ. tatt.)/
(nipātāh # 56)
cādayo nipātasamjñā bhavanti, na cet sattve varantae

Items enumerated in the list headed by ca 'and' are nipāta when they do not denote sattva 'thing'.

Examples:

cā '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 varttamānās cādayo nipātasamjñakā 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 varttamānās cādayo nipātasamjñakā 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 (paśuh) as well as nondeclined (paśu) usage of paśu.

SCOPE: 1.1.37 svarādīnipātam avyayam

1.4.58 प्रदयः

prādayah
/prādayah 1/3/
(asattve # 57, nipātāh # 56)
prādayo’ sattve nipātasamjñā bhavanti

Items enumerated in the list headed by pra are termed nipāta when they do not denote sattva ‘thing’.
EXAMPLES:

prā
parā
apa

1. Some tend to read this and the subsequent sūtra as one: prādaya upasargāh kriyāyoge. But a joint reading creates difficulty. That is, prā, and so on, can be termed nipāta only when used in relation to action (kriyā). The desired interpretation is twofold:

(i) prā, and so on, are termed nipāta when they do not denote sattva, and
(ii) prā, 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) prādayah asatve nipātasamjñakā bhavanti

‘prā, and so on, are termed nipāta when they do not denote sattva’, and

(ii) prādayah kriyāyoge upasargsamjñakā bhavanti

‘prā, and so on, are termed upasarga when used with a verb’

Note that Kaśikā lists prādayah and upasargāh kriyāyoge as two separate rules. The split listing is also intended to keep prādayah 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, Kaśikā (I: 594) believes that listing prādayah as a separate rule is intended to qualify the subsequent terms (prthag yogakaraṇam uttarasamjñēviśeṣaṇar-tham). In this way, a cādi word of 1.4.57 cannot be assigned the term upasarga.

The extension of the term upasarga to prā, and so on, is of consequence to examples such as these:

(a) pranāyakah ‘a country with no leader’
(b) pranāyakah ‘a good leader’

The prā 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 prā in (a) is not termed an upasarga, the n of pranāyakah cannot be changed to n, as is the case in (b). Obviously, (b) has its prā termed upasarga on the strength of its connection with the verb. Thus, (b) will be interpreted as:

yah prakarṣena nayati ‘he who leads well’

1.4.59 ukṣaṇā: kriyāyoge

upasargāh kriyāyoge
/hupasargāh 1/3 kriyāyoge 7/1 = kriyāyā yogah (śaś. tat.); tasmin =
kriyāyoge/
(prādayah # 58)
prādayah kriyāyoge upasargasamajnā 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’
parināyati ‘he marries’
praṇāyakah ‘he who leads’
parināyakah ‘he who marries’

1. Some say that, since items termed upasarga are used regularly (avyabhicāritvā) 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) praṅgato nāyako śmād deśāt ‘a country from where the leader has departed’

has a parallel string, praṇāyako deśāḥ, where pra is not termed upasarga because it is not related to the action of leading (nāyana). Instead, it is related to the action of departing (gaman). Thus, pra could only be termed upasarga in connection with the action of ‘going’ and not with ‘leading’. Consequently, the n of praṇāyakah cannot be replaced with n, as has been shown in my notes for the preceding rule. Contrary to this, the n of praṇāyakah ‘a good leader’ has been replaced by n because its pra has been termed upasarga, specific to the verbal root denoting the action of nāyana.

SCOPE: 3.3.92 upasarga ghoḥ kih

1.4.60 gatiḥ

gatiś ca
/gatiḥ 1/1 ca Ø/
(kriyāyoge # 58, prādayah # 57)
gatisamajnākāś 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 anantarah. Furthermore, it is derived by introducing affix KtiC after gam by rule 3.3.174 kīcktau ca samjñāyām. Note, however, that the application of rule 6.4.39 na kīcī dirghasya 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 kvijhaloh khitī.

The ca of this rule is used to facilitate samjñāsamāveśa 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 samjñāsamāveśa, rule 1.4.1 ākāśārād ekā samjñā 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 anuvrtti 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 anuvrtti of both the terms. This is because items assigned concurrently should also be applied, or dropped, concurrently. (See Paribhāṣā 18: ekayogamiristānaṃ 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 pranītām, which derives from pra + ni + 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 n by rule 8.4.14 upasargād asamāse 'piñopadesasya. The pra would then, on the strength of being termed a gati, be assigned the udātta accent by rule 6.2.49 gatir anantarah. 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 ūri in ūri syāt, the s of as ‘to be’ in syāt could not be replaced with s by rule 8.3.87 upasargapradurbhyām.... 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 gati 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 kugati-prādayaḥ 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 anantarah read with 6.2.45 kte ca.

(iii) Given the string yat prakaroti, where karoti ends in a ūṇ (3.4.78 tiptasaḥ...) and occurs after a non-ūṇ pra termed gati, rule 8.1.28 tiratāṁ would demand sarvanīghāta ‘total anudātta’ of karoti. But rule 8.1.66 yadvṛttān nityām 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 _guna_ retains its _udātta_ because of being an affix per rule 3.1.3 _adyudāttaś ca_, read with 3.1.1 _prayayah_.

(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 _Phitṣūtra_ (81): _upasargaś cābhivarjam_. Instead, _pra_ is assigned the _anudātta_ accent by rule 8.1.71 _tiṇī codāttavati_, on the strength of its occurrence before an item which ended in _tiṉ_ and contained an _udātta_. Obviously, _pra_ is occurring before _karoti_, which ends in _tiṉ_ and has the _udātta_ accent of the augment _u_ turned _o_ via _guna_.

**SCOPE:** 2.2.18 _kugati prādayaḥ_

### 1.4.61  कृदिविद्वारयत्र

\[\text{ūryādicvidācāsa ca}\]
\[\text{ǐ/ūryādicvidācaḥ 1/3 = ǔrī ādir yeṣāṃ te (bv.); Ļūryādayaś ca cviś ca ṣaḍa ca}\]
\[= \text{ūryādicvidācāḥ (dv. with internal bv.); ca Ṧ}]
\[(\text{gatiḥ } = 60, \text{ kriyāyoge } = 59, \text{ nipātāḥ } = 56)\]

\[\text{ūryādayaś sabdāḥ cyavitā ḍaḷantāś ca kriyāyoge gatisamjñā bhavanti}\]

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 _DāC_ (5.4.57 _avyaktānukaranād..._) are termed _gati_ when they are used with a _kriyā_ 'verb'.

**EXAMPLES:**

- _ūrikṛtya_ 'after having accepted'
- _ūrikṛtām_ 'accepted'
- _yad ūrikaroti_ 'that which he accepts'
- _urariṅkṛtya_ 'after having promised'
- _urariṅkṛtām_ 'promised'
- _yad urariṅkaroti_ 'that which he promises'
- _śukliṅkṛtya_ 'after having made something white'
- _śukliṅkṛtām_ 'made white'
- _yac chukliṅkaroti_ 'that which he makes white'
- _pata-pataṅkṛtya_ 'after having made the _pata-pata_ noise'
- _pata-pataṅkṛtām_ 'the _pata-pata_ noise'
- _yat pata-pataṅkaroti_ 'the _pata-pata_ noise which he makes'

1. Note that affixes _Cvi_ and _DāC_ 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 (sāhacaraya) with items ending in Cul and Dāc, ūrī, etc., must also be assigned the term gati in association with kr̥, bhū, and as. Note that affix Cul is introduced to denote abhūtatadbhāva (5.4.50 abhūtatad...) ‘the state of becoming something which it was not’. Thus, śukliṅkṛtya would mean that ‘something was made white which it was not’. Similarly, Dāc is introduced by rule 5.4.57 arvaktānukaranāṇaḥ.

2. The purpose of assigning the term gati to items such as ūrī, śukli and paṭapatā, of uṝikṛtya, śukliṅkṛtya, and paṭapatākṛtya, is to facilitate the formation of compounds by rule 2.2.18 kugatiṃprādayah. Furthermore, for the reason that ūrī, śukli and paṭapatā have been assigned the term gati, the Ktvā of uṝikṛ + Ktvā, śukliṅkṛ + Ktvā, and paṭapatākṛ + Ktvā will be replaced by LyāP as per rule 7.1.37 samāse’anañapūrve lyāp. This would then give the right derivatives, such as uṝikṛtya, śukliṅkṛtya, and paṭapatākṛtya. Note in this connection that tUK is ruled with reference to kr̥ by rule 6.1.71 hrasvasya ... tuk, and in accordance with rule 1.1.46 ādyantau ākitaus is introduced at the end of kr̥. Thus, śukliṅkṛ + Ktvā → śukliṅkṛ + (Ktvā → LyāP) → śukliṅkṛ + tUK + LyāP → śukliṅkṛ + t + ya = śukliṅkṛtya.

1.4.62 अनुकरण चारनित्यर्थ
anukaraṇam cāniśitarām
/anukaraṇam 1/1 ca 0 anītiśitarām 1/1 = iti paro yasmāt tat (bv.); na iti param = anītiśitarām (nañ. tat. with internal bv.)/
(gatiḥ # 60, kriyāyoge # 59, nipātāḥ # 56)
anukaraṇam anītiśitarām kriyāyoge gatisamjñāṃ 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 kugatiṃprādayah.

1.4.63 आदरानादारयोः सदसती
ādaránādarayoḥ sadasati
/ādaránādarayoḥ 7/2 (itar. dv.); sad-asatī 1/2 (itar. dv.)/
(gatiḥ # 60, kriyāyoge # 59, nipātāḥ # 56)
ādaránādarayor yatākramatmaṃ sadasac chabdau gatisamjñau 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 भूषणे

bhūṣane ‘lam
/bhūṣane 7/1 alam 0/
(gatiḥ # 60, kriyāyoge # 59, nipātāḥ # 56)

bhūṣane yo’ lam śabdāḥ sa gatisamjñāno bhavati

The word alam, a nipāta, is termed gati when it is used with a kriyā ‘verb’ and denotes bhūṣaṇa ‘ornamentation’.

**EXAMPLES:**

- alamkṛtya ‘after having ornamented’
- alamkṛtam ‘ornamented’
- yad alamkaroti ‘the thing which he is ornamenting...’

1. The word alam is an indeclinable (aryaya), and is used in the sense of pratiśedha ‘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 alamkṛtya ‘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) alam bhuktvā odanam 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 अन्तरपित्रवे

antar aparigraha
/antar 1/1 aparigraha 7/1 (nañ. tat.)/
(gatiḥ # 60, kriyāyoge # 59, nipātāḥ # 56)

antar sabdo parigraha’rthe gatisamjñāno bhavati

The word antarah is termed gati when it is used with a kriyā ‘verb’ and denotes aparigraha ‘rejection, decline’.
Examples:

antarahatya 'after having rejected'
antarahatam 'rejected'
yad antarhanti 'the thing which they reject...

1. The word antah is used in the sense of locus (adhikarana), characterized as madhya 'inside' or 'in between'. It is also used in the sense of parigraha 'to accept something as one's own' (svikarana). This rule assigns the term gati to antah when it is not used in the sense of parigraha. The assignment of gati can facilitate the formation of a compound such as antarahatya, where LyåP and tUK have also been introduced, as in urikrtya of 1.4.61 uryadicvi.... The n of han is deleted by 6.4.38 vā hyapi. 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 antarnayati, where the n of nayati is replaced with n on the strength of the term upasarga, even though antarnayati does not entail compound formation.

1.4.66 कलोमनस्त्रूद्वाप्रतिपृतिधाते
kanemanasi śraddhāpratigātē
gatih # 60, kriyāyoge # 59, nipātāh # 56
kanē šabdo manas šabdaś ca śraddhāpratigātē gatisamjñau bhavatah
The words kanē and manas are termed gati when they are used with kriyā and denote śraddhāpratigātā 'cessation of desire'.

Examples:

kanēhatya payah pibati 'he drinks milk to his heart's content'
manohatya payah pibati 'id.'

1. Note that kanē, a nipāta, is similar (pratirūpaka) to a locative form, and is used here in the sense of the excellence of desire (abhilāṣātisaya). This is the only way it can imply the pratigātā 'cessation' of śraddhā 'desire'. The word manah, because of its association (śāhacarya) with kanē, should be similarly understood.

1.4.67 पुरोज्जवल्ल।
puro' vyayam
gatih # 60, kriyāyoge # 59, nipātāh # 56
asipratyangañātā purah śabdo' vyayam sa gatisamjñāṃ bhavati
The indeclinable, purah, 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 *aś* after the word *pūrva* 'prior, east', by rule 5.3.39 *pūrvādhārāvārā..., where *pūrva* also gets replaced by *pura*. It receives the term *avaya* by rule 1.1.38 *taddhitaś cāsar-
vakvibhaktiḥ*. 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 अस्तम्

*astam ca*

(*avaya # 67, gati # 60, kriyāyoga # 59, nipātā # 56*)

*astamśabdo makārīnto* 'vyaya man anupalabdham varitate, sa gatisamjño bhavati'

The indeclinable, *astam*, is termed *gati* when it is used with a *kriyā*
verb'.

EXAMPLES:

*astamgatiya saviśā purar udeți* 'the sun rises again after setting'
*astamgātānum dhanāṇi* 'gone are the riches'
*yad astam gacchati* 'that which goes down'

1. The *ca* in this rule is used to carry the word *avaya* from the preceding rule. This, in turn, facilitates the proper interpretation of *astam*. In the absence of the qualifier *avaya*, *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 गत्यर्थवदेशु

*accha gatyarthavadesu*

(*avaya # 67, gati # 60, kriyāyoga # 59, nipātā # 56*)

*accha śabdo* 'yam avayam abhīśabdasāyāthe varitate, sa gatyarthesu dhātuṣu
*vadatam ca gatisamjño 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:

*acchagatiya* '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'
acchaditam '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 अदोनुपदेषे
ado' nupadesē
ladaḥ 1/1 anupadesē 7/1 (nañ., tat.,)
(gatiḥ # 60, kriyāyoge # 59, nipātāḥ # 56)
adoḥ śabdas tyadādiṣu pathyate, so' nupadesē gatisamjñō bhavati
The word adoḥ 'that' is termed gati when it is used with kriyā 'verb' and denotes anupadesa 'independent thinking'.

Examples:

adoḥkṛtya 'after having thought'
adoḥkṛtram 'having thought'
yad adoḥkaroti 'that which he thinks'

1. The word anupadesa refers to the meaning of adoḥ. If a person does something in consultation with, or on the advice of, another person, the said consultation or advice may be termed upadesa. 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, adoḥkṛtya would literally mean 'after having thought independently'.

1.4.71 तिरोन्तर्द्धः
tiro'ntarddhau
/tirah θ antaruddhau 7/1/
(gatiḥ # 60, kriyāyoge # 59, nipātāḥ # 56)
antaruddhau tirah śabdo gatisamjñō bhavati
The word tirah is termed gati when it is used with a kriyā 'verb' and denotes antrddhi 'hiding'.

Examples:

tirobhūya 'after having disappeared'
tirobhūtam 'disappeared'
yat tirobhavati 'that which disappears'
1. The word *tirah* 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. *Kāśiķa* cites *tiro bhūtvā sthitah* 'he stayed after having moved to one side', and glosses this *tirah* as *pārśvam* 'side'.

1.4.72 विभाषा कृति

**vibhāṣā kṛṇi**

/vibhāṣā 1/1 kṛṇi 7/1/

(antarddhau # 71, gatiḥ # 60, kriyāyoge # 59, nipāṭāḥ # 56)

*tirah* sadbah karotau parato vibhāṣā gatisamjñā bhavati

The word *tirah* optionally is termed *gati* when it is used with **DukṛN** 'to do, make' and denotes *antarddhi* 'hiding'.

**EXAMPLES:**

*tirahkṛtya* 'after having hidden'
*tiraskṛtya* 'id.'
*tiras kṛtam* 'hidden'
*yat tiras karoti* 'that which he hides'
*tirah kṛtvā* 'after having hidden'
*tiras kṛtvā* 'id.'

1. This rule is an instance of *prāptavibhāsa* 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) *tirahkṛtya* 'after having hidden'
(b) *tirah kṛtvā* 'id.'

The second example is derived under the option of not assigning the term *gati* to *tirah*. Note also that these two examples will each have an additional optional form depending on whether or not the option of replacing *visarga* with *ś* is accepted. Thus, *tirah kṛtyalākṛtya* (gati); *tirah kṛtvālākṛtya* (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 उपाजेश्वरे

**upāje**'nvāje

(vibhāṣā kṛṇi # 72, gatiḥ # 60, kriyāyoge # 59, nipāṭāḥ # 56)

**upāje**'nvāje sabdau (vibhāṣā kṛṇi # 72, gatisamjñā bhavat)

The words *upāje* and *anvāje* optionally are termed *gati* when they are used with **DukṛN**.

**EXAMPLES:**

*upājekṛtya* 'having helped the weak'
1. The words *upāje* and *anvāje* are used here in the sense of supporting someone weak (*durbalasya sāmarthyādāhāne*). 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 साक्षात्प्रभृतिनि च
sāksātprabhṛtinī ca
/sāksāt prabhṛtiṁ yeśām (bv.); ťāṇi; ca ū/
(vibhāṣā kṛṇi # 72, gatiḥ # 60, kriyāyoge # 59, nipātāh # 56)
sāksātprabhṛtinī sabdarūpāni kṛṇi vibhāṣā gatisamjñāni bhavanti

Items enumerated in the list headed by *sāksāt* ‘manifestly’ are optionally termed *gati* when they are used with *Dukṛṇ* ‘to do, make’.

**Examples:**

- sāksāṭkṛtya ‘having visualized something’
- sāksāṭkṛtvā ‘id.’
- mithyākṛtya ‘having mispronounced something’
- mithyā kṛtvā ‘id.’

1. The *ca* of this rule is used to bring *vibhāṣā kṛṇi* from the preceding rule. The list headed by *sāksāt* ‘manifestly’ consists of nearly two dozen items. A ṛāttika (*Mbh.* II: 452) on this rule claims that the assignment of the term *gati* to items enumerated in the list headed by *sāksāt* should be made only when they are used in the sense of the affix *CvI* (5.4.50 abhūtata etc.). The sense of *CvI* is ‘the state of becoming something which it was not’. Thus, an example such as *sāksāṭkṛtya* 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:

- *asāksāṭbhūtam yadā sāksāt kriyate tadā gatisamjñā yathā syāt*
  ‘when that which was not manifest is made manifest the term *gati*, as provided for by this rule, applies’
- *kim tu sāksāṭbhūtasya pratyaksabhāvam upagatasyaiva sato yo’ nyo viśeṣaḥ kācicī 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 cūi, from rule 1.4.61 ūryādicvidācāsa ca, and artha from 1.4.69 accha gatyarthavadeśu. The anuvṛtti of these elements will, of course, be that of maṇḍūkaaplutī ‘frog’s leaping’. Otherwise, the option provided for by this rule will have to be constrained to the meaning of Cūl 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 ūryādicvidācāsa ca. The same will be made optional by this rule if items did not end in affix Cūl, but were used in the sense of Cūl.

1.4.75 अन्त्याधान उरसिमस्ति

anatyādhāna urasimanasi
/anatyādhāne 7/1 (nañ. tat.); urasimanasi 1/2 (utar. dv.)/
(vibhāsa krñi # 72, gatiḥ # 60, kriyāyoge # 59, nipātāh # 56)
anatyādhāne urasimanasi sābdau vibhāṣā krñi gatiṣaṁjñau bhavataḥ

The words urasi and manasi optionally are termed gati when they are used with DUkrN and atyādhāna ‘to place close to, embrace’ is not denoted.

EXAMPLES:

urasī kṛtya ‘having completely comprehended’
urasī kṛtya ‘id.’
manasi kṛtya ‘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 Kāśka explains atyādhāna as upaśleṣaṇa ‘embracing, clinging close to’. The lack of atyādhāna denoted by urasi and manasi is explained by Nyāsa as ‘to closely adhere to, to firmly resolve (niścātya), to fully comprehend (abhyanpaganjąya)’. It is because of denoting atyādhāna that

(a) urasi kṛtvā pāṇiṁ sete ‘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 LyāP in place of Ktvā.

1.4.76 मध्ये पदे निवाचने च

madhye pade nivacane ca
/madhye pade nivacane 1/1 (deleted) ca m/
/(anatyādhāne # 75, vibhāṣā krñi # 72, gatiḥ # 60, kriyāyoge # 59,
nipātāh # 56)
madhye, pade, nivacane' ity ete śabdā anatyaḍhāne vibhāṣā krṇi gatisamajñān bhaveṇti

The words madhye, pade, and nivacane optionally are termed gati when they are used with Dukṛṇ 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 of anatyaḍhāna from the preceding rule. The anuvṛtti of vibhāṣā krṇi further restricts the usage to the context of an action denoted by Dukṛṇ. 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 Dukṛṇ.

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. 1: 609) clearly states that this is not locative (tte nipātanād ekārṇatataṁ na paṇar eṣā saṁti). 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 suṣpo dhātuprātiṣṭhāpayah) after the formation of the compound. This, as Nyāsa ad Kāśikā (1: 609) observes, is mainly because Pāṇini cites the forms in the rule as madhye, pade and nivacane (uccāraṇasāmarthyaḥ saṁtyayāḥ samāse' puṣṭī bhavaṭi). The word nivacana is combined to form an avayyibhāva compound to denote constraint (niyamana).

1.4.77 नित्यं हस्ते पाणावषयमने

nityaṁ haste pāṇau upayamane

hityam ō haste 7/1 pāṇau 7/1 upayamane 7/1

(kṛṇi # 72, gatiḥ # 60, kriyāyoge # 59, nipātāh # 56)
haste, pāṇau ity etau śabdau krṇi nityaṁ gatisamajñānau bhavataḥ upayamane

The words haste and pāṇau obligatorily are termed gati when they are used with Dukṛṇ 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 *bhāryākarana* or *dārakarman* 'to accept someone as wife'. Others say that *upayamana* simply means 'to accept' (*svikarana*). The meaning of *dārakarman* then has to be inferred.

1.4.78 **प्राधं बन्धने**

**prādhvam bandhane**

/prādhvam @ bandhane 7/1/

(nityam # 77, kṛṇi # 72, gatiḥ # 60, kriyāyoge # 59, nipātāḥ # 56)

prādhvam śabdaḥ kṛṇi nityān gatisamjñāno bhavati

The word *prādhvam* obligatorily is termed *gati* when it is used with DUkrN to denote *bandhana* 'tying'.

**EXAMPLE:**

*prādhvamkṛtya* '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 *saptami* ('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 **जीविकोपनिषदवौपये**

*jīvikopaniṣadāv auṣpamyey*

/jīvikopaniṣadāv 1/2 (itar. dv.); auṣpamyey 7/1/

(nityam # 77, kṛṇi # 72, gatiḥ # 60, kriyāyoge # 59, nipātāḥ # 56)

*jīvikā, upaniṣad* ity ētu śabdau auṣpame ye viśaye kṛṇi gatisamjñāau bhavataḥ

The words *jīvikā* and *upaniṣad* obligatorily are termed *gati* when they are used with DUkrN and auṣpmya '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 DUkrN and serve as a standard of comparison (*auṣpamā*). 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 प्राप्यातोः

*te prāg dhātoḥ*
*te 1/3 prāk 0 dhātoḥ 5/1*
*te gatyupasargasamjñakāh dhātoḥ prāk prayuktavayāḥ*

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 (*anantarā*) 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 परेढः

*chandasi pare' pi*
*ichandasi 7/1 pare 7/1 api 0*
*(te dhātoḥ # 80)*
*chandasi viṣaye gatyupasargasamjñakāh pare' pi pūrve' pi prayuktavayāḥ*

Items termed *gati* and *upasarga* may be preposed or postposed to a verbal root in the Veda.

EXAMPLES:

*yaḥi ni hastinā 'he overpowers by means of his elephant'*
*nīyaḥi hastinā 'id.'*
*ha. 'i ni muṣṭinā 'he subdues by felling with his fists'*
*nihanti muṣṭinā 'id.'*

1. The use of *ni* before or after *yaḥi* or *hanti* in these examples is self-explanatory.

1.4.82 व्यवहिताः

*vyavahitāḥ ca*
*vyavahitāḥ 1/3 ca 0/*
*vyavahitāḥ ca gatyupasargasamjñakāḥ chandasi ārājante*

Items termed *gati* and *upasarga* are also seen interrupted in the Veda.

EXAMPLES:

*āyahi 'come'*
*ā mandraivindra haribhiryāhi mayūraromabhiḥ 'O Indra, come by fast horses which have the colour of the peacock feather'*

1. Our first example, *āyahi*, illustrates the way in which *āN*, an *upasarga*, is preplaced to the root *yā* 'to go'. In the second example, however, the
same āN 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 āN are used before hr? That is, sam or ut is used before the verb root with interruption. Commentators explain that interruption by elements of similar class (tulyajātiyaka) 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 (vijātiyaka). 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?'

nānāntare; 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 कर्मप्रवक्तनीया:

karmapravacaniyāh
/karmapravacaniyāh 1/3/
yān ita ārdhvaṁ anukramiṣyāmaḥ karmapravacaniyasaṃjñāḥ te veditavyāḥ
What follows are termed karmapravacaniya.

1. The Mahābhāṣya (II: 456-57) presents an interesting discussion about items termed karmapravacaniya, which I reproduce as follows:
kimartham mahāti samjñā kriyate 'For what purpose is this long term used?'
anvarthasamjñā yathā vijñāyeta 'So that it is comprehended as denoting its etymological sense."
karmaprotkavanah karmapravacaniyā iti 'Thus: those which denoted an action are termed karmapravacaniya.'
ke punah karma protkavanah 'What, then, are those which denoted an action?'
ye sampratī kriyām nāhuḥ 'Those which are not denoting any action now.'
ke ca sampratī kriyām nāhuḥ 'What are those which are not denoting any action now?'
ye' prayujyamānasya kriyām āhus te karmapravacaniyāḥ 'Those which denote the action of that which is not used are termed karma-pravacaniya'.

The Aṣṭādhyāyī of Pāṇini 1.4.83
The word *karmaprvacaniya* is derived by introducing affix *aniyaR* to denote agent (*kṛtr*) by rule 3.1.96 *taryattaryāniyaraḥ*. Since *aniyaR* is a non-*tiN* 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 *aniyaR* is construed with past (*bhūta*; cf. 3.2.84 *bhūte*), although rule 3.3.113 *kṛtyalyuto bahulum* also attests to some diverse interpretations. The word *karma* is used here in the sense of action. It is for this reason that *karmaprvacaniya* is interpreted as having the sense ‘that which denoted action in the past’. By inference, it is also understood that a *karmaprvacaniya* does not denote any action at the current time. What, then, is the denotatum of a *karmaprvacaniya*?

Bhārtṛhari (VP, II, 204: 322-23) presents the denotatum of a *karmaprvacaniya* as follows:

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kṛtyāyā dyotako nāyam na sambandhasya vācakāh/
nāpi kriyāpādākṣepī sambandhasya tu bhedakāh //
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‘A *karmaprvacaniya* 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 (*bheda*) a particular relationship.’

Note that a distinction is being maintained between the words *dyotaka/vācaka* ‘that which expresses or denotes’ and *bheda* ‘distinguisher’. A *karmaprvacaniya* distinguishes an action by serving as a characteristic mark (*lakṣana*) for something special about that action. It is in this sense that Puṇyārāja (VP, II, 199: 317) defines *karmaprvacaniya* as a cause (*hetu*) which distinguishes a particular relatum (*sambandhaviśeṣa*) additionally brought (*upajana*) to a particular action (*kriyaviśeṣa*). One of the most celebrated sentences illustrating the function of a *karmaprvacaniya* is

(a) *sākalasya samhitāṁ anu pravarsat* ‘it rained right after the chanting of the Samhitā of Sākalya’

The *anu* of this sentence is a *karmaprvacaniya* because it does not denote any particular action. Compare it with the *anu* of

(b) *anubhūyate kambalāḥ* ‘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 (*kriyāpādābhavāt*). 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 *saśthī* of *sākalyasya*. For, *samhitāṁ* is required to be put in the *dvitiya* ‘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 *karmaprvacaniya*, does in

(c) *prādeśam uśparīlikhati* ‘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) prādeśam 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 samhitā and pravarsaṇa 'rain', for that residual relation (śeṣasambandha) is being expressed by the dvitiyā of samhitā. It is therefore clear that a special relationship (sambhandhaviśeṣa) 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 samhitā and pravarsaṇa. The means for bringing this specialty is the action of niṣamana, here the completion of the action of chanting. A karmapravacaniya such as anu thus distinguishes a special relationship. The basic purpose of assigning the term karmapravacaniya is to facilitate the introduction of dvitiyā after an item used in connection with it (2.3.8 karmapravacaniyayukte dvitiyā). Sentence (a) therefore has dvitiyā introduced after samhitā used in connection with anu. The introduction of the term karmapravacaniya, 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 karmapravacaniya will now share the samjñāsāmāvesa by themselves.

**SCOPE:** 2.3.8 karma pravacaniyayukte dvitiyā.

1.4.84 अनुरलासने
anur laksane
/anuḥ 1/1 laksane 7/1/
(karmapravacanīyāḥ # 83, nipātāḥ # 56)

anuśabbo laksane dyotye karmapravacanīyasamjño bhavati

The term karmapravacaniya is assigned to anu when laksana 'characteristic mark' is denoted.

**EXAMPLE:**

śākalyasya samhītām anu prāvarṣat 'it rained right after the chanting of the Samhitā of Śākalya'

1. The word anu is assigned the term karmapravacaniya by this rule under the condition of the denotatum of laksana 'characteristic mark, symbol'. This is also included as one of the conditions for the assignment of the term karmapravacaniya again to anu by rule 1.4.90 laksanet-tambhūtakhyāna... This being the case, either this rule should not be stated, or the word laksana should be excluded from rule 1.4.90. Kāśi (I: 616) explains that this rule assigns the term karmapravacaniya to anu only when hetu 'cause, means' is denoted (hetuvartham 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...laksyate' uena tal lakṣaṇam = ciham jñāpakaṁ, karaṇam api niyataṁ kāryavāṣeśavatīhetuvād lakṣaṇam bhavati 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 lakṣanetthambhūtākhyāna... is what commentators call jñāpakalakṣaṇa 'indicatory mark'. Let us consider the following sentences:

(a) śākalyasya sukrtaṁ samhitām anunīśamya devo prāvarṣat 'the god (cloud, Indra) caused the rain after having heard the well-performed recitation of the Samhitā of Śākalya'

(b) śākalyasya samhitām anu prāvarṣat 'id.'

(c) vrksam anu vidyotate vidyut 'the lightning emanates from the tree'.

Note that the recitation of the Samhitā of Śākalya is the hetu 'cause' for the effect (hetumat) which has been identified as rain. The anu of sentence (a) is not a karmapravacaniya; it is an upasarga denoting the action of niśamana 'perceiving, hearing'. The anu of sentence (b) is a karmapravacaniya, 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 hetuhetumadbhava 'the relationship between the cause and effect'. The anu of sentence (c) is also a karmapravacaniya, but what it marks is not the hetuhetumadbhava but lakṣyalakṣaṇabhava 'the relationship between the mark and what it marks off' in general. Thus anu in (c) implies that vrksa '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, vrksa acts as the jñāpakalakṣaṇa 'indicatory mark' of vidyotana 'lightning'.

You may also recall here my comments about anu of sentence (b) denoting hetuhetumadbhava as a karmapravacaniya. The recitation of the samhitā is hetu 'cause'. If this rule did not assign the term karmapravacaniya to anu, rule 2.3.23 hetau would assign triyā 'third triplet of sUP' after samhitā. It is to block the application of rule 2.3.23 in favour of introducing dvitiyā after samhitā by rule 2.3.8 karmapravacaniya.yukte dvitiyā that this rule is necessary.
The term *karmapravacaniya* is assigned to *anu* when the sense of *ṛitiya* ‘third triplet of *SU*P’ is denoted.

**Examples:**

* nadim anvavasitā senā ‘the army is camping along the river’
  *parvatam anvavasitā senā ‘the army is camping by the mountain’

1. The denotatum (*arthā*) of *ṛitiya* implied by this rule is called *sahārtha* ‘the meaning of *saha* (with)’, as is attested by rule 2.3.19 *sahayukte* pradhāne. Given the first example,
  * nadim anvavasitā senā ‘the army is camping along the river’
  *anu* is assigned the term *karmapravacaniya*, as what is denoted here is *sāhiya* ‘togetherness’.

1.4.86 हीने च

    * hindu ca*  
    *hindu 7/1 ca 0/1*  
    *(anu# 84, karmapravacaniya# 83, nipāta# 56)*  
    *hindu dyotye* ‘yan *anu* karma pravacanīyasamjño bhavati*  

The term *karmapravacaniya* is also assigned to *anu* when *hindu* ‘less, inferior’ is denoted.

**Examples:**

* anuṣākaṭāyanam vaiyākaranāḥ ‘all the grammarians are inferior to Śākaṭāyana’
  * anuvājunāḥ yoddhāraḥ ‘all the warriors are inferior to Arjuna’

1. The word *hindu* is explained here as ‘inferior, less’, relative to *uktṛṣṭa* ‘superior’. It is therefore implied that the term *karmapravacaniya* is assigned in the context of denoting ‘inferior’ relative to ‘superior’. It also follows from this that *anu* will be termed *karmapravacaniya* only when used in connection with an item denoting ‘superior’. Thus, in the sentence *anuvājunāḥ yoddhāraḥ* ‘all the warriors are inferior to Arjuna’, *anu* is assigned the term *karmapravacaniya* on account of being used with Arjuna, who is superior to all the other warriors.

1.4.87 उपोधिके च

    * upo’ dhike ca*  
    *upah 1/1 adhike 7/1 ca 0/1*  
    *(hindu # 86, karmapravacaniya# 83, nipāta# 56)*  
    *upasaabdah adhike hindu ca dyotye karmapravacaniyasamjño bhavati*  

The term *karmapravacaniya* is also assigned to *upa* when *adhika* ‘more’ or *hindu* ‘less, inferior’ is denoted.
EXAMPLES:

upakhāryām dronah ‘a kāri is bigger than a drona’
upaniskse kārṣāpanam ‘a nīṣka is bigger than a kārṣāpana’
upāsākātyāyanam vaiyākaraṇāḥ ‘all grammarians are inferior to Śāktaśāya’

1. The ca is used in this rule to bring hīne from the preceding rule. Thus, the term karma-pravacaniya 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) upāsākātyāyanam vaiyākaraṇāḥ ‘all grammarians are inferior to Śāktaśāya’
(b) upakhāryām dronah ‘a kāri is bigger than a drona’
Sentence (a) uses upa in connection with Śāktaśāya, a ‘superior’ grammarian relative to others whose inferiority is being denoted. Similarly, upa is used in (b) in connection with kāri ‘a measure of weight’, whose larger capacity is denoted relative to the smaller capacity of a drona. The sāptami ‘seventh triplet of sUP’ is introduced after kāri to denote ‘more’ (adhika) by rule 2.3.9 yasmād adhimāṃ yasya.... Of course, 2.3.8 will introduce dvitiyā, as it does after śāktaśāya, when the denotatum is ‘inferior’ (hīna).

1.4.88 अपपरिवर्जन

apapari varjane
lapapari 1/2 (ūtar. dv.); varjane 7/1
(karma-pravacaniyaḥ # 83, nipātāḥ # 56)
‘apapari sābdau varjane dyọte karma-pravacaniyasamjñau bhavataḥ
The term karma-pravacaniya is assigned to apā and pari when varjana ‘exclusion’ is denoted.

EXAMPLES:

apā trigarttebhyyo vṛṣṭo devah ‘the god rained around but not in Trigartta’
pari pari trigarttebhyyo vṛṣṭo devah ‘id.’

1. This rule assigns the term karma-pravacaniya to apā and pari when varjana ‘exclusion’ is denoted. Kāśīkā explains varjana as prakṛteṇa sambandhīnā kasyacit anabhīsambandhaḥ ‘non-relation of something with that which is being set forth by a sentence’. Consider, for example, the second sentence given above:
pari pari trigarttebhyyo vṛṣṭo devah
where pari is termed karma-pravacaniya 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 apāpāriśhikḥ introduces pañcamī
‘fifth triplet of sUP’, as opposed to dvitiyā, after trigartta. The reduplication of pari is ordered by rule 8.1.5 parer varjane under the condition of exclusion (varjana).

1.4.89 आङ भव्यदाववने
āṅ maryādāvacane
/āṅ 1/1 maryādāvacane 7/1/
(karmapravacaniyāḥ # 83, nipātān # 56)
āṅ ity esa śabdo maryādāvacane karmapravacaniyasamjño bhavati
The term karmapravacaniya is assigned to āṅ when maryādā ‘extent, spatial limit’ is denoted.

EXAMPLES:
ā pāṭaliputraḥ vṛṣṭo devaḥ ‘the god rained up to and including Pāṭaliputra’
ā kumāram yaśāḥ pāṇineḥ ‘the fame of Pāṇini extends even to the young’
ā sāmkāśyāḥ ‘up to and including Sāmkāśya’
ā mathurāyāḥ ‘up to and including Mathurā’

1. This rule sets the condition of maryādāvacana ‘denotation of limit’ for āṅ to be termed karmapravacaniya. 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 bahuvrihi, with the paraphrase maryādā iti etad vacanam yatra śūtre ‘the śūtra in which the word maryādā is stated’. This will refer to rule 2.1.13 āṅ maryādābhividhyoh, 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 pāṭaliputraḥ vṛṣṭo devaḥ
can thus be interpreted as meaning ‘the god rained up to and including Pāṭaliputra’. The paṅcamī here is also introduced by 2.3.10 paṅcamy....

1.4.90 लक्षणंतथं चूतरात्मकायनां विषयार्थं प्रतिपर्यन्त:
lakṣaṇetthambḥūtākhyānabhāgaviśpāsau pratiparyanavah
/ lakṣaṇettha...viśpāsau 7/3 = lakṣaṇam ca iṭhambhūtākhyānam ca bhāgas ca viśpā ca = lakṣaṇettha...viśpāḥ (itar. dv.), tāsu; pratiparyanavah 1/3 (itar. dv.)
(karmapravacaniyāḥ # 83, nipātān # 56)
lakṣane, iṭhambhūtākhyāne, bhāge, viśpāyāṃ ca viṣayabhūtāyāṃ ‘prati, pari, anu’ ity ete karmapravacaniyasamjñā bhavanti
The term karmaprabhavacanīya is assigned to prati, pari and anu when lakṣaṇa 'characteristic mark, symbol', itthambhūṭākhyāna 'characterizing x as y', bhāga 'share', or viṣṇā 'pervasion' is denoted.

EXAMPLES:

vrksam prati vidyotate vidyut 'lightning flashes on the tree'
vrksam pari vidyotate vidyut 'id.'
vrksam anu vidyotate vidyut 'id.'
sādhur devadatto mātaram prati 'Devadatta is nice to his mother'
sādhur devadatto mātaram pari 'id.'
sādhur devadatto mātaram anu 'id.'
yad atra mām prati syāt 'whatever be my share in this'
yad atra mām pari syāt 'id.'
yad atra mām anu syāt 'id.'
vrksam vrksam prati śiñečati 'he waters every tree'
vrksam vrksam pari śiñečati 'id.'
vrksam vrksam anu śiñečati 'id.'

1. This rule assigns the term karmaprabhavacanīya to prati, pari, and anu when lakṣaṇa 'mark'; itthambhūṭākhyāna 'stating about something thus qualified where the antecedent of 'thus' is determined by the context'; bhāga 'one's rightful share'; or viṣṇā '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 viṣṇā. Instead, the sense of viṣṇā is inferred from the reduplicated use of vrksa, and so on, in sentences such as:

(a) vrksam vrksam prati vidyotate vidyut 'lightning emanates from each and every tree'

Refer to my discussion under rule 1.4.84 anur lakṣane, 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 itthambhūṭākhyāna 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 (viśeṣana). Thus, itthambhūṭā, with bhūṭa meaning prāptah '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 mātaram prati 'Devadatta is nice to his mother'

Recollect my remarks in connection with the tree (vrksa) 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 viśayavisayisambandha ‘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 karmaḥpravacanīya word prati denotes this very relationship.

The underlying relationships in the examples given for bhāga ‘share’ and viśpā ‘pervasion, entity’ 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) vṛksāṃ vṛksāṃ prati śiṅcati ‘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 (svikarana). Similarly, the ‘means-goal’ (sādhyasādhanabhāva) relationship in (d) results from the act of ‘watering’ (sekakriya), which is to be accomplished (sādhyā). The karmaḥpravacanīya prati in both of these sentences denotes this relationship.

Note, however, that viśpā per se is not denoted by prati, as that happens to be inferred from the reduplicated use of vṛksā.

The purpose of assigning the term karmaḥpravacanīya in examples like (d) is not to facilitate the introduction of the accusative nominal ending (dvitiyā). For, vṛksa will be the object of watering, and will therefore get the accusative introduced by rule 2.3.2 karmanī dvitiyā. The purpose of assigning the term karmaḥpravacanīya here is to block the application of rule 8.3.65 upasargat samitiśvati... This rule requires a replacement by s 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) odanam pariśiṅcati ‘he is soaking the rice in water’

The s of the verbal root śiṅc here occurs after the i of the preverb pari, and consequently gets replaced by s. A karmaḥpravacanīya designation of prati would not facilitate the s-replacement in prati śiṅcati of (d).

1.4.91 अधिप्राप्तग्नेः

abhir abhāge
labhiḥ 1/1 abhāge 7/1 (naṅ. tat.)
(lakṣanetthambhūtākhyānabhāgaviśpāṣu # 90, karmaḥpravacanīyāḥ # 83, niśpatīḥ # 56)
lakṣaṇādīśo eva bhāgvarjiteṣu abhiḥ karmaḥpravacanīya samjño bhavati
The term karmaḥpravacanīya is assigned to abhi when lakṣaṇa, itthambhūtākhyāna, or viśpā, but not bhāga, is denoted.
Examples:

vr̥ksam abhi vidyotāte vidyut ‘the lightning flashess on the tree’
sādhur devadatto mātaram abhi Devadatta is nice to his mother’
vr̥ksam abhi sīncati ‘he waters the whole tree’

1. This rule assigns the term karma-pravacaniyā to abhi under the semantic conditions of lakṣana, itthambhubākhya, or viṣṇu, 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 mamābhisyat tad diyatām ‘let me have what is my share in this’

What is in focus here is the verbal form abhisyāī, 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 allopah. Furthermore, since abhi, in the absence of the assignment of the term karma-pravacaniyā, is still termed an upasarga, rule 8.3.87 upasarga-prādurbhyām astir yac parah becomes applicable. This rule requires the replacement of s of as by ṣ, if s 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) lakṣaṇaṇetthāmbhubākhyaṇaḥvīṣṇu abhiḥ
(ii) pratiṣṭhā bhāge ca
(iii) anur lakṣaṇaṭṭhyārthaḥ ca
(iv) hine
(v) uṭpo’ 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 (aṅkaralāghava).

1.4.92 प्रतिः: प्रतिनिधिप्रतिद्वित्योः:

pratiḥ pratiniḍhipratidānaḥ
/pratiḥ 1/1 pratiniḍhipratidānaḥ 7/2 = pratiniḍhiḥ ca pratidānam ca
(itar. du.); tayoḥ/
(karma-pravacaniyāḥ # 83, nipātāḥ # 56)
pratiniḍhiṣṭaye pratidānāvāsaye ca pratiḥ karma-pravacaniyāsaṃjña
bhavati

The term karma-pravacaniyā is assigned to prati when pratiniḍhi ‘representative, proxy’ or pratidāna ‘exchange’ are denoted.

Examples:

māṣan asmai tilebhyaḥ prati yacchati ‘he is giving him mungo beans in exchange for sesame’
The words pratinidhi and pratidāna are explained as follows:

pratinidhī = 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 tathāyakaraṇāya pratinidhiyate upādiṣyate sa pratinidhiḥ) The function of the substitute thus becomes the imitation (anukarana) of what the principal may have done. Accordingly, prati denotes this special relationship, characterized as anukāryānukarana.

The word pratidāna is explained as pratiniryātanam ‘giving something in return for something received’. Thus:

(a) tilān grhitvā māśān 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 (uttamamudhamarṇa-bhāva).

1.4.93 अधिपरी अनर्थको

adhipari anarthakau
(adhipari 1/2 (itar. dv.), anarthakau 1/2 (nañ. tat))
(karmapracacaniyaḥ # 83, nipātaḥ # 56)
adhipari śabdau anarthakau (anarthāntaravācinau) karmapracaca niyasamjñau bhavataḥ
The term karmapracacaniyā is assigned to adhi and pari when they are synonymous.

EXAMPLES:

kuto’ dhy āgacchati ‘where is he coming from?’
kuto pari 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 vṛyākaraṇam ‘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 anarthāntaravāc ‘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 *adhyā 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 *karma-pravacaniya*. 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 *karma-pravacaniya* 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 *karma-pravacaniya* does not facilitate the introduction of *dvūtīyā* by 2.3.8 *karma-pravacaniyayukte...* Instead, in view of *upadavibhaktaḥ kārakavinbhaktir 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 *pañcamyaśas tasil*.

1.4.94 सू: पूजायाम्

*suh pūjāyām*

/suh 1/1 pūjāyām 7/1/

(karma-pravacaniyāḥ # 83, nipātāḥ # 56)

susabdah pūjāyām arthe karma-pravacaniyasyaṃjño bhavati

The term *karma-pravacaniya* is assigned to *su* when *pūjā* ‘respect, praise’ is denoted.

**Examples:**

susiktam bhavatā ‘O, Sir, how well you have watered’

sustutam bhavatā ‘O, Sir, what a prayer’

1. Note that in the absence of the assignment of the term *karma-pravacaniya* 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 *siktaṃ* by 5 (8.3.65 *upasargat*... ) and

(ii) the meaning of *susiktaṃ* would then involve contempt (*kṣepa*).

Thus, *susiktaṃ 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 *karma-pravacaniya* is intended as praise for the agent of watering.

1.4.95 अतिरिक्तिक्रमणेः

*atir atikramane ca*

/atiḥ 1/1 atikramaṇe 7/1 ca 0/1

(karma-pravacaniyāḥ # 83, nipātāḥ # 56)

atiśabdaḥ atikramane pūjāyām ca karma-pravacaniyasyaṃjño bhavati

The term *karma-pravacaniya* is assigned to *ati* when *atikramaṇa* ‘excel-ling’ or *pūjā* ‘praise’ is denoted.
EXAMPLES:

ati siktaṁ bhavatā ‘O, Sir, how excellently you have watered’
ati sutaṁ bhavatā ‘O, Sir, what excellent praise’

1. The ca of this rule brings forth pājā ‘praise’. As a result, ati can be called a karma pravacaniya when praise, as well as atikramaṇa ‘excellence’ are both expressed. Consider the following example:
(a) ati siktaṁ 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 अधि: पदार्थसंबंधान्ववसर्गवांसपूज्वेषु

अपि पदार्थसंबंधान्ववसर्गांसपूज्वेषु

| apiḥ padārthasamabhāvanānvyavasargagarhāsamuccayēṣu
| (padārthasamabhāvanānvyavasargagarhāsamuccayēṣu
| /apiḥ 1/1 padārtha...samuccayēṣu 7/1 (ūtar. dv.)/
| (karma pravacanīyāḥ # 83, nīpāth # 56)
| padārthe samabhāvane, anvavasarge, garhāyām, samuccaye ca vartamānah
| apiḥ karma pravacanīyasamijnī bhavati

The term karma pravacaniya is assigned to api when it denotes padārtha, samabhāvane, anvavasargena, garhā, and samuccayē.

EXAMPLES:

sarpiṣo’ pi syāt ‘there should be some ghee too’
mahāḍvāno’ pi syāt ‘there should be some honey too’
api sīcen mūlakasahasram ‘he may be able to water even a thousand radish plants’
api stuvad rājānam ‘he may praise even a king’
api sīca, api stuh ‘water or praise as you please’
dhīg jālmam devadattama api sīcet palāṇḍum, api stuvad 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 = padāntarasāyāpyuyamānasyārthaḥ ‘the meaning of a word not explicitly used but implicitly assumed’
(ii) sambhāvāna = adhikārthavacakānaṇa śa tēpratigātāvīśkaraṇāḥ ‘indicating someone’s competence in something by means of exaggeration’
(iii) anvavasarga = kāmacārābhyanujñānam ‘permitting someone to do things as he wishes’
(iv) garhā = nīndā ‘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 *Kāśi* I: 627: *svapadārthagrahane svasambandhipadārthagrahane vā padārthagrahanam anarthakam syāt.*) As a result, the word *padārtha* is interpreted as meaning ‘the sense of a word implied’. In the first of the above examples, (*sarpīṣo* ‘*pi* syāt), the word *api* is used to denote the scarcity of *sarpīs* ‘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 *śaṣṭhī* after *sarpīs*. A *dvitiyā* ending cannot be introduced after *sarpīs*, since it cannot be relatable to *api*. What, then, is relatable to *api*? It is the drop (*bindu*) or measure (*mātṛā*) of *sarpīs* that is relatable. Why can *mātṛā* not be explicitly used with *dvitiyā*? Because the assignment of the term *karmacārvacanīya* will not then be possible. It is assigned when the sense of a word is not made explicit.

The second example (*api śīncena 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 śīncena api stuhī ‘water or praise as you please’.

Lastly, the sense of *nindā* is similarly implied by Devadatta’s watering of the *palāndu* ‘onions’ or praising the *uṣāla*, ‘a very low-caste śūdra’.

The ‘either-or’ relation, given as option in connection with *anuvāvasarga*, can be understood as ‘and’ (*ca*) in connection with *samuccaya* ‘collection’.

1.4.97 अधिरीम्ये

*aubhir śavare*

*śadhyā 1/1 śavare 7/1/1*

(*karmacārvacanīyāḥ # 83, nipātāḥ # 56*)

*śavaraḥ svāmi, su ca svam āpeksate tad ayaṁ svasvāmisambandhe karma-

pravacanīyasamjñā bhavati*

The term *karmacārvacanīya* is assigned to *adhi* when it denotes *śavara* ‘lord, master’.

**Examples:**

*adhi brahmadatte paṇcālaḥ* ‘the Paṇcāla country is under Brahmadatta’

*adhi paṇcāleṣu brahmadattaḥ* ‘Brahmadatta is the ruler of the Paṇcāla country’

1. Since the word *śavara* means *svāmin* ‘lord’, the *karmacārvacanīya* designation of *adhi* must be conditioned by *svasvāmisambandha* ‘owner-owned relationship’. Since such a relationship involves two (*dvīṣṭha*), the *saptami* ‘seventh triplet of *ṣUΠ*’ ordered by 2.3.9 *yasmād adhikam yasya-

ceṣvaraṃ unānaṃ...* 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 svāsvāmisambandha.

1.4.98 विभासवृति

vibhāṣā क्रमः
/vibhāṣā 1/1 kṛṇi 7/1/ (adhiḥ # 97, karmapravacinīyāḥ # 83, nipātāḥ # 56)
adhiḥ karotau vibhāṣā karmapravacinīyasamjñā bhavati

The term karmapravacaniya is optionally assigned to adhi when it is used with Đukṛṇ.

EXAMPLE:

yad atra māṃ adhi kariṣyati ‘if he wins over me here...’

1. This rule makes the assignment of the term karmapravacaniya optional in the case of adhi when it is used with Đukṛṇ, ‘to do, make’. Note that when the option of assigning the term karmapravacaniya is not accepted, adhi will be assigned the term gati. That, as a result, would require anudāta accent by rule 8.1.71 tinī codāttavati. The assignment of the term karmapravacaniya thus blocks the anudāta accent ordered by rule 8.1.71.

1.4.99 ल: परस्यापदम

lah parasmaipadam
/lah 6/1 parasmaipadam 1/1/
lādesāḥ parasmaipadasamjñā 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. LAT ‘present’ (3.2.123 vartamāne lat)
2. LUṆ ‘immediate past’ (3.2.110 luṆ)
3. LIT ‘perfect’ (3.2.115 parokṣe lit)
4. LAN ‘imperfect’ (3.2.111 anadyatane lan)
5. LUT ‘first future’ (3.3.15 anadyatane lut)
6. LRT ‘general future’ (3.3.12 abhijñāvacane lṛt)
7. LOT ‘imperative’ (3.3.162 lot ca)
8. LRN ‘conditional’ (3.3.139 liṅnimitte lṛṇāyaśīpattau)
9. LIṆ ‘optative’ (3.3.161 vidhīnīmantrasamantaṇādhiṣṭā...)
10. LEȚ ‘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 (kartr) or object (karman). They are introduced after an intransitive (akarmaka) root to denote either an agent or bhāva ('root-sense'); 3.4.69 lak karmanī ca bhāve cākārmekabhīyāḥ. The following two rules are also important in this connection:

3.4.77 lasya 'in place of LA'
3.4.78 tīptasjhiśipasthastā... '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 tīptasjhiśipasthastā... Commentators generally refer to these replacements of LA with the abbreviated term tiN (1.4.101 tiNat tīrni tīrni...).

The word lah is interpreted as ending in sasthi 'genitive' denoting sthāna 'place' (1.1.49 saṣṭhisāsthāneyogā). That is, lah is not interpreted as ending in the nominative (prathamā). A nominative interpretation would assign the term parasmaiṣpadā to the lakāra themselves. This is certainly not desired (iṣṭe). A genitive interpretation would make it possible for us to infer ādeṣā 'replacement' from 'in place of LA'. This accords with rules 3.4.77 lasya and 3.4.78 tīptasjhiśipasthastā....

With this rule, Pāṇini assigns the term parasmaiṣpadā 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 samjñā, which would not permit the class-inclusion (samjñāsamjñāvesa) of the terms parasmaiṣpadā and ātmanepadā.

The purpose of assigning the term parasmaiṣpadā to the replacements of LA is, among other things, to condition changes in presuffixal bases (āṅga) by rule 7.2.1 sici vṛddhiḥ parasmaiṣpadēsu, etc.

SCOPE: 7.2.1 sici vṛddhiḥ parasmaiṣpadēsu

1.4.100 तानाञ्याभावेऽपदम्

1.4.100 -

tānānāvā ātmanepadām
/tānānau 1/2 (itar. div.), ātmanepadām 1/1/
(lah # 99)
tānānayor ātmanepadasamjñā vīdhīyate

Replacements of LA denoted by taN (ta, ātām, jha, etc.; cf. 3.4.78 tīptasjhiśipasthastā...) and also those denoted by āna (ŚaṇaC and KāṇaC; cf. 3.2.124 laṭāh satrśānacāv aprathamāsamāṇādhikaranē; 3.2.106 laṭāh 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 ŚaṇaC and KāṇaC. A reference to affixes ŚaṇaN (3.2.128 puṇyajoh śānan) and CānaŚ (3.2.129
tācchālīvavayovacana...) 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. 1: 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 anudāttānīta ātmanepadam

### 1.4.101 तिन्नीविन्नी विन्नी प्रथमद्वियोत्पत्तम्:

tinās tinī tinī prathamadhyamottamāh

/tināh 6/1 tinī 1/3 tinī 1/3 prathamamadhyamottamāh 1/3 = prathamaś ca madhyamaś ca uttamaś ca (var. dv.)/

parasmaipadeṣu trayastrikāḥ yathākramam prathamamadhyamottama-samjñā bhavanti, ātmanepadeṣu api trayastrikāḥ prathamamadhyamottama-samjñā bhavanti

The triplets of tiN (3.4.78 tiptajasihisipthasta...) in both parasmaipada and ātmanepada are termed respectively prathama ‘third person’, madhyama ‘second person’, and uttama ‘first person’.

**EXAMPLES:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>parasmaipada</th>
<th>prathama</th>
<th>madhyama</th>
<th>uttama</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tiP</td>
<td>tas</td>
<td>jhi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>siP</td>
<td>thas</td>
<td>tha</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>miP</td>
<td>vas</td>
<td>mas</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ātmanepada</th>
<th>prathama</th>
<th>madhyama</th>
<th>uttama</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ta</td>
<td>ātām</td>
<td>jha</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>thās</td>
<td>āṭhās</td>
<td>dhvam</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iT</td>
<td>vaḥi</td>
<td>mahiN</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 parasmai{pada and ātmanepada makes class-inclusion (saṁyāsama{lvesa) possible. Thus, where parasmai{pada will be blocked by ātmanepada on the one hand, prathama, madhyama and uttama will not be able to block either the parasmai{pada or the ātmanepada on the other.

SCOPE: 1.4.108 sexe prathamah

1.4.102 तान्थेर्कत्वनविधत्वनाबुधवनाथेकः:

tāny ekavacanadvivacanabahuvacanāny ekaśaḥ
/tāni 1/3 eka...vacanāni 1/3 (itar. dv.); ekaśaḥ 1/1
(tiṇas trini trini # 101)
tāny ekavacanadvivacanabahuvacanasamjñāṇany 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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>parasmai{pada ‘active’</th>
<th>ātmanepada ‘middle’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>eka</td>
<td>dvi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>prathama (III) tiś</td>
<td>tas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>madhyama (II) siP</td>
<td>thas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>uttama (I)    miP</td>
<td>vas</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

SCOPE: 1.4.21 bahuṣu bahuvacanam

1.4.103 सूप:

supaḥ
/supaḥ 1/1/
(ekavacana...ekaśaḥ # 102, trini trini # 101)
supa ca trini trini padāni ekaśa ekavacanadvivacanabahuvacanasamjñāni bhavanti

Individual members of each triplet of sUP (4.1.2 svavaj...) also are termed ekavacana, dvivacana, and bahuvacana respectively.

EXAMPLES:

sŪ ‘singular’
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 svaujasmautchaštābhyām...). 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 विभक्ति

vibhaktis ca
vibhaktih 1/1 ca Θ /
(supaḥ #103, ekaśah 102, tiṇas trīni trīni 101)
trīni trīni vibhaktisamjñāś ca bhavanti, supas tiṇaś 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 samjñāsamāvēsa 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 युम्बुद्धयुप्ते समानाधिकरणे स्थानिन्यपि मध्यमः
yuṣmadād upapade samāṇādhihkarāṇe sthānīny api madhyamah
/yuṣmadād 7/1 upapade 7/1 samāṇādhihkarāṇe 7/1 sthānini 7/1 api Θ
madhyamah 1/1/
yuṣmadād upapade sati vyavahite cāryavahite sati samāṇādhihkarāṇe
(samanābhidheyē tulyakārahe) sthānini prayuṣyamāne' prayuṣyamāne' 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:

tvam pacasi 'you are cooking'
 pacasi 'id.'
yuvām pacathāh 'you (dual) are cooking'
 pacathāh 'id.'
yāyam 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 usmady upapade ‘when usmad ‘you’ is the co-occurring word’ and samānādhihikaraṇe ‘when usmad is co-referential (samānādhihikaraṇa) with the denotatum of LA’. Consider the following sentences:

(a) tvam pacasi ‘you are cooking’
(b) pacasi ‘id.’

The first sentence has employed siP, a replacement of LAT, to denote kartr ‘agent’. The pronominal form tvam is the nominative singular of the second personal pronoun usmad. It has employed the nominative singular ending sū 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 usmad, and LAT replaced by siP, are co-referential. It is because of their co-referentiality that usmad 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 sthānīny 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 usmad, sharing the co-referentialship with the denotatum of LA. The force of api in sthānīny api is to indicate the ‘implicit assumption of usmad in contradistinction with its explicit use’.

Note that a co-referentiality with LA may entail the denotatum of agent (kartr), object (karman), or root-sense (bhava). However, for purposes of this rule, the co-referentiality between usmad 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:

trividham cābhidheyaṁ lakārānāṁ bhavah karma kartā ca; tatra dravyavācinoḥ usmadasmadora bhāvavācinā lāntena samānādhihikaranyāsam-
bhavāt 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 usmad/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 मन्यतेलत्तम एकावच्च

prahāse ca manyoapade manyater uttama ekavac ca

(prahāse 7/1 ca 0 manyoapade 7/1 = manyatir upapadatmasya (bv.), tasmin; manyateh 5/1 uttamah 1/1 ekavat 0 ca 0/
(madhyaṃah # 105)

prahāse gamyamāne manyoapade dhātor madhyamapuruṣo bhavati man-
yateś 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 odanam bhokṣyase iti bhuktaḥ so’ tithihhiḥ ‘you think you will eat rice, the guests have already eaten it’
ehi manye rathena yāṣyasi yātas tena te pītā ‘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. madhyamottamayōḥ prāptayōḥ uttamaṃadhyamau vidhiyete) with the following counter-example:

(a) ehi manyase odanam 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 yāṣyasi yātas tena te pītā ‘you think you will go by the chariot, your father has already gone with it’

The verbal form yāṣyasi, 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 yāṣyāmi yātas tena te pītā ‘you think “I will go by the chariot”, your father has already gone with it’

1.4.107 अस्मदुत्तमः

asmady uttamaḥ
/asmadi 7/1 uttamaḥ 1/1/

(upapade samanādhihkarane sthāniny api # 105)

asmady upapade samanābhidheyate prayujyamat pari aprayujyamat pari uttamaṃapuruṣo 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:

*ahām paccāmī 'I am cooking'*
*paccāmī 'id.'*
*āvām paccāvaḥ 'we (dual) are cooking'*
*paccāvaḥ 'id.'*
*vayam paccāmah 'we (pl.) are cooking'*
*paccāmah '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 yusmady upapade...), asmad too can be either explicitly used or implicitly assumed. Thus, *ahām paccāmī 'I am cooking' could simply be stated as paccāmī '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) *paccasi paccāmī ca 'you and I are cooking'*
(b) *tvām ca ahām ca paccāvaḥ 'you and I are both cooking'*
(c) *āvām paccāvaḥ 'we (you and I) are cooking'*

The question is summed up by Nyāsa as: *yadā yuṣmadasmadī dve apy ete upapade stāh tadā kathāṃ bhavitavam '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 tyādādīni sarvair nityam: cf. Mbh. II: 170) *tyādādīnāṃ sāmānyarthatvāt retainsthe dual paccāvaḥ.* 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 vās in paccāvaḥ, 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 samāṇādhikarane upapade na stāh tatra śeṣe prathamapuruṣo bhavati

The prathama 'third triplet of parasmaiipada and atmanepada' 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 anyah '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 yusmad 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 yusmad 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) taṁ tatra vasatāḥ 'they (two) live there'
(d) te tatra vasanti 'they live there'

1.4.109 परः संनिकर्षः संहिता
parah samnikarṣah samhitā
/parah 1/1 samnikarṣah 1/1 samhitā 1/1/
paro yah samnikarṣah sa samhitāsamyāno bhavati
Maximum proximity between sounds is termed samhitā.

EXAMPLES:

dadhy atra 'there is yogurt here'
madhv atra 'there is honey here'

1. The word para is used here in the sense of atisaya 'extremity'. Commentators interpret samhitā as prayāsatti and gloss the latter as avyabhicārisanvikarṣah 'uninterrupted proximity'. The hiatus (vyavadhāna) between two sound segments (varṇa), constituting the context of samhitā, is regarded as equal to the duration (kāla) of one half mora (ardhamātra). The purpose of assigning the term samhitā, is to facilitate operations conditioned by rules such as 6.1.72 samhitāyām. 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 samhitā. Rule 6.1.77 iko yan aci could then apply to order the i changed into y to yield dadhy atra 'there is yogurt here'.

SCOPE: 6.1.72 samhitāyām

1.4.110 विरामोज्ज्वसानयः
virāmo'vasānam
/virāmo 1/1 avasānam 1/1/
virāmo' vasānasamjño bhavati
A cessation of speech (virāma) is termed avasāna.

EXAMPLES:

dadhi 'yogurt'
madhu 'honey'
vrksah 'tree'
plakṣah 'a plakṣa tree'

1. The word virāma, as commentators point out, can be derived in three different ways:

(i) \( \text{virati} = \text{virāmah} ' \text{cessation of speech is termed virāma} \)

(ii) \( \text{viramya'te} \ nena = \text{virāmah} ' \text{that by means of which cessation of speech is accomplished} \)

(iii) \( \text{viramya'te} \ smin = \text{virāmah} ' \text{that in (the vicinity of) which the cessation of speech takes place} \)

All of the three interpretations entail the derivation of virāma by introducing affix \( \text{GHaN} \) after the verbal root \( \text{ram}U \), used with the preverb \( \text{vi} \). The first two interpretations are given by the Kāśikā (I: 642). The last comes from the Bālamanaṇanāma (ad SK, I: 39) of Vāsudeva Dīksita. The first interpretation treats the denotatum of \( \text{GHaN} \) as bhāva 'root-sense', as opposed to the second which treats it as karaṇa 'instrument, means'. The last interpretation accepts the denotatum of \( \text{GHaN} \) to be locus of vicinity (sāmīpādiśhikaraṇa).

These interpretations have their consequences. For example, the first would assign the term avasāṇa 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 rāmah from rāma + \( r \) to understand the implications of these interpretations. Rule 8.3.15 kharavasāṇayor visarjaniyāh requires that \( r \) be replaced with \( h \), either before a consonant denoted by the abbreviatory term \( kh^hR \) (Śs, 11-13), or before avasāṇa. The first interpretation, since it does not assign the term avasāṇa to the last sound segment before the cessation of speech, will have no problem replacing \( r \) with \( h \). For, absence of articulation, or a sound denoted by \( kh^hR \), 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 avasāṇa. This is made possible by interpreting the replacement condition of rule 8.3.15 kharavasāṇayor visarjaniyāh as 'when it constitutes avasāṇa, or a consonant denoted by the abbreviatory term \( kh^hR \) follows'.

The Kāśikā, in its \( \text{vṛtti} \), follows the first interpretation as far as rule 8.3.15 kharavasāṇayor visarjaniyāh is concerned. However, in the case of rules such as 8.4.56 vāvasāne and 8.4.57 anopagrhyasyāmūnasīkāh, 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 kharavasāṇayor visarjaniyāh
Derivational History of Examples

INTRODUCTORY REMARKS

The derivational history of the examples presented here is based on traditional sources: mostly the Rūpavatāra of Dharmakīrti; Padamañjarī of Haradatta; Nyāsa of Jinendrabuddhi; Prakriyākaumudi of Rāmacandra; Prakriyāsarasvata of Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭā; Paribhāṣenduśekhara of Nāgesa-bhaṭṭā; Siddhāntakaumudi of Bhāṭṭoji Dīkṣīṭa; and the Tattvabodhini 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) īt-deletion

This abbreviation symbolizes the process of assigning the term īt 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 (vīkarāna). These attachments do not form any real part of the items to which they are affixed; they are termed īt 'destined to go away'; and they are subsequently deleted at a single stroke by 1.3.9 tasya lopah. However, they are employed to perform certain very important functions. For example, an īt can be employed to block certain operations: G or ṇ in an affix block the application of guṇa (see 1.1.5 kniti ca). An īt can be manipulated to facilitate the introduction of a grammatical element: ṇ is added to facilitate the introduction of both the ātmanepada and parasmaipada endings (1.3.72 svaritañitaḥ kartrabhī...).

An īt such as ṇ also may facilitate the introduction of ātmanepada endings alone (1.3.12 anudāttañita ātmanepadam). An īt can facilitate, block, or
specify the accentuation of a grammatical element. Consider, for example, 3.1.4 anudāttau suppitaus, 6.1.185 iti svaritam, and 6.1.197 niṇyādir niṇyam, where P, T, N, and N 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 T as an it is introduced at the beginning of an element, while one marked with K is introduced at the end (1.1.64 adyantu taksitaus). 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 upadeśa' 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 tasmā
'a t, s, or m at the end of a vibhakti is not termed an it'
1.3.5 adīrṇītudavah
'an initial Ṛ, Ṭ, and D of an item in upadeśa is termed it'
1.3.6 saḥ pratyayasya
'the initial S of an affix in upadeśa is termed it'
1.3.7 cuṭū
'the initial cU (palatal stops and nasal) or tU (retroflex stops and nasal) of an affix in upadeśa is termed it'
1.3.8 laśaku ataddhite
'the initial L, Š, and kU (velar stops and nasal) of a non-taddhita affix in upadeśa is termed it'
1.3.9 tasya lopah
'there is disappearance of that which is termed it'
(2) sUP-selection

Pāṇini formulates 1.4.14 suptināntam padam whereby a fully derived word is defined as one which ends in either a sUP or tiN. Note that sUP is an abbreviatory term denoting a class of twenty-one nominal endings listed by 1.4.2 svaujas....

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ekavacana (sing)</th>
<th>dvivacana (dual)</th>
<th>bahuvacana (plur)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>pratnamā (nominative)</td>
<td>sU</td>
<td>au</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dvitiyā (accusative)</td>
<td>am</td>
<td>auT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tṛtiyā (instrumental)</td>
<td>Tā</td>
<td>bhyām</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>caturthi (dative)</td>
<td>Ne</td>
<td>bhyām</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pañcami (ablative)</td>
<td>Nas</td>
<td>bhyām</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>śaṣṭhi (genitive)</td>
<td>Nas</td>
<td>os</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>saptami (locative)</td>
<td>Ni</td>
<td>os</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 nyāp-prātipadikāt
4.1.2 svaujas... #
1.2.45 arthavad adhātur...
1.4.103 supha
1.4.104 vibhaktiś ca
1.4.22 dvayekayor...
2.3.1 anabhihīte
2.3.2 karmāṇi dvitiyā #
1.4.49 kartur ṛṣitaṭaśam karma

These rules help select an accusative ending, namely the singular am, after the nominal stem odana 'rice' in devadatta odanam 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 (dvitiya) is used to denote the object (karmāṇi), 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 Aśṭādhyāyī 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 supodhātuprātipadikayoh
‘a sUP of a dātu (verb root) or prātipadika (nominal stem) is replaced with LUK (deletion)’

2.4.82 avayād āp sūpah
‘a sUP, or an āP (feminine affix), occurring after an avyaya (indeclinable) is replaced with LUK’

2.4.83 nāvayajihāvād ato paṇcamyāḥ
‘a sUP occurring after an avayajihāva (indeclinable compound) is not replaced with LUK when the compound ends in a; instead it is replaced by am, though not when it is paṇcamī (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 vibhaktis 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 taṁnāv āṭmaneipadam
‘a replacement of LA denoted by taN or āna (3.2.124 laṭaḥ satrśānacāv...) is termed āṭmaneipada (middle)’

1.4.101 śastrāṇi śrīrni prathamamadhyamottamāḥ
‘each triad of tiN, in each set of parasmaipada and āṭmaneipada, is termed prathama (third person), madhyama (second person), and utama (first person) respectively.’
1.4.102 tāny ekavacanad dvivacanabahuvacanāny ēkaśāḥ
'elements of individual tiN triads are each termed ekavacana (singular),
dvivacana (dual), and bahuvacana (plural) respectively'

1.4.104 vihbaktī ca
'individual elements in tiN triads are each termed vihbakti'
The classification of the tiN replacements of LA is thus as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>parasmaiṇḍa</th>
<th>ekavacana</th>
<th>dvivacana</th>
<th>bahuvacana</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>prathama</td>
<td>tiP</td>
<td>tas</td>
<td>jhi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>madhyama</td>
<td>siP</td>
<td>thas</td>
<td>tha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>uttama</td>
<td>miP</td>
<td>vas</td>
<td>mas</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ātmanepada</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>prathama</td>
<td>ta</td>
<td>ātām</td>
<td>jha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>madhyama</td>
<td>thās</td>
<td>āthām</td>
<td>dhvam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>uttama</td>
<td>iṬ</td>
<td>vahi</td>
<td>mahīṇa</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This classification itself suggests that all kinds of rules have to be retrieved
to form the total context of tiN selection. Additional terms and rules will
also be applicable. For example, 3.4.113 tiṁśīt sārvadhātukam states that a
siN affix is termed sārvadhātuka. This and similar rules have consequences
for tiN selection. In the first derivations I have shown the selection of tiN
affixes in detail. Subsequently I have used the abbreviation tiN-selection
for this process.

5) śr-ārṣa
The following two rules also occur frequently in the derivations:

8.2.66 sasajūśa ruḥ
'the pada-final s as well as the s of sajūś is replaced with rū'

8.3.15 kharavadānmayor visarjaniyāḥ
'r is replaced with ārṣa (ḥ) before a consonant denoted by khR (ś, 11-13),
or before avasāna (pause)'

Clearly 1.4.110 virāmo ṽasānām, which defines avasāna, will be brought
close to the context of these applications. I have indicated this very com-
mon change by the term s-ārṣa, though I also use r-ārṣa for the change of r to h.

6) dviva 'doubling'
Certain roots go through doubling, under the requirements of rules
such as the following:

6.1.8 līṭi dhātor anābhyaśasya
'a root not already doubled is doubled when līṭ (perfect; 3.2.15 parokṣe
līṭ) follows'

6.1.9 sāṇyaṅah
'a root which ends in saN (3.1.7 dhātoḥ samānakartkād...) or yaN (3.1.22
dhetor ekaca...) and is not already doubled is doubled'
6.1.10 slau
'a root not already doubled is doubled when SLU (2.4.75 juhotyadibhyah...) follows'
6.1.11 cani
'a root not already doubled is doubled when CaN (3.1.18 nisridrubhya kartari can) follows'

What is doubled in all these cases is the part of the root constituted by the first vowel (ekaca; 6.1.1 ekaco 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 ajader dvitivyasya). The first of the two reduplicated units is called abhyasa (6.1.4 purvo bhyasah), while both are termed abhyasta (6.1.5 ubhe abhyastam). The purpose of assigning the term abhyasa is to facilitate the application of rules such as 7.4.58 atra lopo bhyasasya and 6.1.60 haladi sasah, 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 abhyasa and abhyasta, and operations conditioned by the term abhyasa.

(7) Variable reference (VR)

Panthini 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 samartha nam prathamad va
'a tadhdita affix is introduced after the first among syntactically related words'

4.1.92 tasyapatyam
'the descendant of X'

Note that the second rule introduces the affix aN 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 apatya 'the offspring of Upagu'. More importantly, one would be able to reconstruct the posited string for the derivation of aupagavah as upagu + Nas + apatya + sU.

Let us also examine the following two rules.

3.1.92 tatro supadam saptamistham
'that which is specified with saptami (seventh triad of sUP) in the rules of the domain of 3.1.91 dhato is termed an upapada (co-occurring word)'

3.2.1 karma any an
'affix aN is introduced after a verbal root when a word denoting karma co-occurs'
Derivational History of Examples

Note that the word karmanā 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 suptiṇantam padam) denoting the object. The second element has to be a verbal root. The completed string could be, for example: kumbha + ām + kr, where the genitive ām denotes object. A string such as kumbha + ām + kṛ + a (N → ∅) will ultimately yield kumbhakāra, para-phrased as kumbhānām kartā ‘the maker of pots’. Incidentally, affix aN, since it is a non-tiN, is termed kṛt (3.1.93 kṛd ātiṇ) 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 ādāic

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. auṇḍgavāh
   (a) upagū

1.2.45 arthavad...
4.1.1 nyāp-pratīpadikāḥ
4.1.2 svauj... (3.1.1-2) # 1.4.103 supaḥ, 1.4.104 vibhaktiś ca
1.4.22 dvekayor...
2.3.50 śaśṭhi seṣe

= upagū + Nās

Similarly, one can also derive apatya + sū, where sū is introduced by 2.3.46 pratīpadikārtha.... Now we have a string of pada (see 1.4.14 suptiṇantam padam): upagū + Nās + apatya + sū. This string can yield upagor apatyaṃ and auṇḍgavāh depending on what operational steps are followed. Both forms can be used as alternants without any difference in meaning. Our example (1) auṇḍgavāh is derived by introducing the affix aN after upagū + Nās where aN expresses apatya ‘offspring’.
Note here that this affix aN is introduced after upagu + Ñas in order to denote apartha 'offspring'. Any attempt to show two syntactically related pada, with one being constituted by apartha + sUlt, is done purely for pedagogical purposes. Actually apartha + sUlt is inferred on the strength of rules such as 4.1.92 tasyapatym. This observation also holds for some subsequent derivations, such as (5) śāliyam where an attempt has been made to show the derivation of bhava + sUlt.

(b) upagu + Ñas

4.1.82 samarthānām prathamād vā (3.1.1-1, 4.1.76 taddhitāḥ)

4.1.92 tasyapatym (4.1.83 prāg divyato'ṇ) # VR

= upagu + Ñas + aN

(c) upagu + Ñas + aN

1.3.3 halantyam

1.3.9 tasya lopaḥ

= upagu + Ñas + a

Note that 1.3.8 lašaku ataddhite can also apply to define the Ñ of Ñas as an ů. Consequently Ñ should also get deleted by 1.3.9. However I have not shown this because, shortly, 2.4.71 will delete the total affix Ñas 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 Ñ solely for reasons of economy; the application of a rule (śāstrapravṛtti) should not ordinarily be blocked in this way.

(d) upagu + Ñas + a

1.2.46 kṛttaddhitasamāsās ca (1.2.45 arthavad...)

2.4.71 supodhāturātibhipadikayoh (2.4.58 nyāksatriyā...tuk...)

= upagu + (Ñas → Æ) + 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 taddhiteśvacām ādeḥ (7.2.114 mrjer vṛddhiḥ) #

1.1.1 vṛddhir ādaic, 1.1.50 sthāne’ntaratamaḥ

= (u → au) pagu + a

= auṣpagu + a

Rules 1.3.3 through 1.3.8 assign the term ů 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 ů by ‘ū-deletion’, for which see introductory remarks to the appendix.

(f) auṣpagu + a
1.4.18 yaci bham
6.4.129 bhasya
6.4.146 or guṇah # 1.1.2 adeṅ guṇah, 1.1.50 sthāne’ ntaratamaḥ
= aupag (u → o) + a
= aupago + a

(g) aupago + a

1.4.109 paraḥ samnikarṣaḥ samhitā
6.1.72 samhitāyām
6.1.78 eco 'yava yāvah # 1.1.50 sthāne’ ntaratamaḥ
= aupag (o → au) + a
= aupagava

(h) aupagava

4.1.1 nyāp prātipadikāt
4.1.2 svaujas... (SUP) (3.1.1-2 prayayah, paraś ca) # 1.4.103 supaḥ, 1.4.104 vibhaktiś ca, 1.4.22 dvēkayor dvivacanaikavacane, 2.3.46 prātipadikārthahalihaparimāna-vacanamātre prathamā
= aupagava + sŪ

(i) aupagava + sŪ
it-deletion
= aupagava + s

(j) aupagava + s

1.4.13 yasmāt...aṅgaṁ
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 suptināntam padam
8.2.16 padasya
8.2.66 sasajūṣo ruḥ
= aupagava + rŪ

(l) aupagava + rŪ
it-deletion
= aupagava + r

(m) aupagava + r

8.3.15 kharaṇasānayor visarjanīyaḥ # 1.4.110 virāmo’ vasānam
= aupagava + (r → ṛḥ)
= aupagavah

The change of s → rŪ → ṛḥ is also very frequent, I shall henceforth indicate this by s-visarga.
One can similarly derive (2) aupamanyavyah from (upamanyu + Ñas + aN + sU).

(3) āśvalāyanaḥ
   (a) āśvala
       follow step (a) of (1) aupagavah
   (b) āśvala + Ñas
       same as (1) aupagavah except for the affix aN not being introduced after āśvala + Ñas; instead its exception phaK is introduced by 4.1.99 naḍādibhyo phak.
       = āśvala + Ñas + phak # VR
   (c-d) āśvala + Ñas + phaK
       as in (1) aupagavah
       = āśvala + pha
   (e) āśvala + pha
       1.4.13 yasmāt...
       6.4.1 aṅgasya
       7.1.2 āyaṇeyinīiyāḥ phāḍhakha...
       = āśvala
       (pha → āyana) # 1.3.10 yathāsāmkhya...
   (f) āśvala + āyana
       1.4.18 yaci bham
       6.4.129 bhasya
       6.4.148 yasyeti ca
       = āśval(a → θ) + āyana
       = āśval + āyana
   (g) āśval + āyana
       7.2.118 kiti ca # 7.2.117 tadṛdhiteśvacām...
       7.2.114 mrjer... # 1.1.1 vṛddhir āḍaic
       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 (itiκa + Ñas + phak) + sU.
(5) śāliyaḥ
   (a) śālā
       1.2.45 arthavad...
       4.1.1 nyāp-pratipadikāt
       4.1.2 svaujas... # 1.4.103 supah, 1.4.104 vibhaktiś ca, 1.4.22 dvekayor...
       1.4.45 ādhāro’ dhikaraṇam
       2.3.36 saptamy adhikaraṇe ca
       = śālā + Ñī
Similarly one may derive bhava + sŪ, where sŪ is introduced by 2.3.46 prātipadikārtha.... Now we have a string of pada (see 1.4.14 suptihantam padam): śālā + ņi + bhava + sŪ. This string can yield śālāyām bhavaḥ or śāliyah depending on what operations are followed. Both forms can be used as alternants without any difference in meaning. Our example (5) śāliyah is derived by introducing the affix cha after śālā + ņi, where cha expresses 'that which obtains or is located there'.

(b) śālā + ņi

4.1.82 samarthā... (3.1.1-2, 4.1.76 taddhitaḥ)
4.1.92 tasyāpatyam
4.3.53 tatra bhavaḥ # VR
4.2.113 vrddhacchah # 1.1.73
   vrddhir yasya..., 1.1.1 vrddhir ādaic

= śālā + ņi + cha

(c) śālā + ņi + cha

sUP-deletion

= śālā + cha

(d) śālā + cha

i-deletion

= śālā + a

(e) śālā + a

1.4.13 yasmāt...
6.4.1 āṅgasya
7.1.2 āyaneśūyiyaḥ... # 1.3.10 yathāsaṃkhyaya...

= śālā + ī + a

(f) śālā + ī + a

1.4.18 yaci bham
6.4.129 bhāsya
6.4.148 yasyeti ca # 1.1.60 adarsanam...

= śal (a → Ø) + ī + a

= śāliya

(g) śāliya

śāliyah

follow steps (h) through (m) of (l)

The initial vrddhi vowel (ā) of śālā is considered atadbhāvita 'nonderived'. One can follow the same steps to derive (6) māliyah from (māla + ņas + cha) + sŪ.

1.1.2 adeṅ gunāḥ

The purpose of this sūtra is to explain what the term guna means when it is encountered in the grammar.

(7) taritā

(a) tr
1.3.1 bhūvādayo dhātavah
3.1.91 dhātoḥ
3.1.93 kṛd atiḥ
3.1.95 kṛtyāḥ
3.1.114 ārdhadhātukam ṣeṣaḥ
3.1.133 ṇvurtcāu
= tṛ + tṛC

(b) tṛ + tṛC
iṭ-deletion.
= tṛ + tṛ

(c) tṛ + tṛ
1.4.13 yasmaḥ...
6.4.1 aṅgasya
7.2.35 ārdhadhātukasyed ṣvalādeḥ
1.1.46 ādyantau ṭakītau
= tṛ + iṛ + tṛ

(d) tṛ + iṛ + tṛ
iṭ-deletion
= tṛ + i + tṛ

(e) tṛ + i + tṛ
7.3.84 sārvedhātukārdhadhātukayoh (7.3.82 mider guṇaḥ)
# 1.1.2 adeṇ guṇaḥ, 1.1.3 iko guṇaḥ..., 1.1.51 uraṇ
raparāḥ
= t(ṛ → ar) + i + tṛ
= tār + i + tṛ

(f) tār + i + tṛ
as in steps (b, i) of (1)
= tariṛ + sū

(g) tariṛ + sū
1.4.13 yasmaḥ
6.4.1 aṅgasya
7.1.94 rduṣaṃspuḥ (7.1.93 anan sau) # 1.1.53 nīc ca
= tari(ṛ → anAN) + sū
= tariṇa + s

(h) tariṇa + s
1.1.43 suṇaṇāparameter (1.1.42 śi sarvanāmaṇasthānam)
6.4.8 sarvanāmaṇasteḥ # 1.1.65 alo’ ntyāḥ, 1.2.27
ukālo’j hrava...
= tari(a → a)n + s
= tariṇa + s

(i) tariṇa + s
1.2.41 aprkta...
6.1.68 halhaṇbhṛyo dirghā...

The Aṣṭādhyāyī of Pāṇini
\[ = \text{taritān} + (s \rightarrow \emptyset) \]
\[ = \text{taritān} \]

\( j\) \text{taritān}

1.4.14 \text{suptiṇantam padam} # 1.1.62 pratyayalope...
8.1.16 \text{padasya}
8.2.27 \text{nalopah prātipadikāntasya}
\[ = \text{taritā}(n \rightarrow \emptyset) \]
\[ = \text{taritā} \]

One can also derive (8) \text{cetā} from \text{cIŅ} + \text{tṛC}, to which steps (c) and (d) of (7) do not apply, mostly because 7.2.10 \text{ekāc...} does not permit \text{iT}-placement. The other steps are the same. Similarly (9) \text{stotā} can be derived from \text{ṣṭuŅ} + \text{tṛC = stotṛ} + sŪ.

(10) \text{pacanti}

(a) \text{DUPacĂŚ}

\[ \text{it-deletion} \]
\[ = \text{pac} \]

(b) \text{pac}

3.1.91 \text{dhāloḥ}
3.2.123 \text{vartamāne laṭ}
3.4.69 \text{laḥ karmanī ca...}(3.4.68 kartari)
\[ = \text{pac} + \text{LAT} \]

Note here that I am not showing the \text{it-deletion in} \text{LAT} as it will soon be replaced.

(c) \text{pac + LAT}

3.4.77 \text{lasya}
3.4.78 \text{tiptasjhi... # 1.4.99 laḥ paraśmaipadam, 1.4.101 tiṇāstrini..., 1.4.102 tāṇy ekavacana..., 1.4.104 vibhaktiś ca, 1.4.23 bahuṣu... # sUP-selection}
\[ = \text{pac} + (\text{LAT} \rightarrow \text{jhi}) \]
\[ = \text{pac} + \text{jhi} \]

(d) \text{pac + jhi}

3.4.113 \text{tiṇīt sārvadhātukam}
3.1.68 \text{kartari śap}
\[ = \text{pac} + \text{ŚaP} + \text{jhi} \]

(e) \text{pac + ŠaP + jhi}

\[ \text{it-deletion} \]
\[ = \text{pac} + a + \text{jhi} \]

(f) \text{pac + a + jhi}

1.4.13 \text{yasmāt...}
6.4.1 \text{aṅgasya}
7.1.3 \text{jho'ntaḥ}
\[ = \text{pac} + a + (\text{jh} \rightarrow \text{ant}) i \]
\[ = \text{pac} + a + \text{anti} \]
(g) pac + a + anti
   1.4.109 parah samnikarṣah saṃhitā
   6.1.97 ato guṇe (6.1.96 usyapadāntā; note that
   6.4.101 akhaḥ savarne dirghaḥ cannot apply) #
   1.1.2 adeṇ guṇaḥ
   = pac + (a + a → a)nti
   = pacanti

(h) pacanti
   1.4.14 suptiṇantam 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 sārvadhātukārdhādhātukayoḥ (7.3.82 mider
   guṇah) # 1.1.2 adeṇ guṇaḥ, 1.1.50 sthāne'...
   = j(i → e) + a + anti
   = je + a + anti

(i) je + a + anti
   1.4.109 parah samnikarṣah saṃhitā
   6.1.72 saṃhitāyāṁ
   6.1.78 eco' yavēyēvāḥ # 1.3.10 yathāsamkhya...
   = 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 suptiṇantam padam)
   = jayanti

(12) pace
   (a-b) DUpacĀŚ
      follow (a) and (b) of (10)
      = pac + LAT

(c) pac + LAT
   3.4.77 lasya
   3.4.78 tiptāṣhi... # 1.4.99 laḥ parasmaipadam, 1.4.100
tānānāv atmanepadam # 1.3.72 svaritaṇitaḥ...,
   1.4.101 tiṇas..., 1.4.102 tāny ekavacana...,
   1.4.104 vibhaktiś ca, 1.4.108 śese prathahmaḥ,
   1.4.22 dvekayor... # tiN-selection
   = pac + iT

(d) pac + iT
it-deletion

= pac + i

(e) pac + i

follow steps (d-e) of (10)

= pac + a + i

(f) pac + a + i

3.4.79 tit atmanepadanam tere # 1.1.64 aco'ntyadi ti

= pac + a + (i + e \rightarrow e)

= pac + a + e

(g) pac + a + e

follow steps (g-h) of (10)

= pac + (a + e \rightarrow e)

= pace

1.1.3 iko gunavrddhi

(13) tarati

(a) tṛ

same as (b) of (10)

= tṛ + LAT

(b) tṛ + LAT

same as (c) of (10) except that 1.4.21 bahuṣu bahuvacanam does not apply here; instead 1.4.22 dvekayor-duvacanai-kavacane applies, and hence LAT is replaced by tiP.

= tṛ + (LAT \rightarrow tiP)

= tṛ + tiP \# tiN-selection

(c) tṛ + tiP

it-deletion

= tṛ + ti

(d) tṛ + ti

same as (d-e) of (10)

(e) tṛ + a + ti

1.4.13 yasmāt

6.4.1 aṅgasya

7.3.84 sāravāhārādhadhātuṣkṣayoh (7.3.82 mider guṇah)

# 1.1.2 adeś guṇah, 1.1.3 iko guṇavrddhi

1.1.50 sthāne..., 1.1.51 uraṇ raparāḥ

= t(tṛ → ar) + a + ti

= tar + a + ti

(f) tar + a + ti

1.4.14 suptiṇaṅtaṃ padam

= tarati

The derivation of (14) nayati and (15) bhavati is very similar. The root in nayati is ıtIN, to which, after the deletion of N (1.3.3 halantyam, 1.3.9 tasya lopah), 6.1.65 no nah applies. As a consequence the initial ıt of the root is
replaced by \( n: (n \to n)i = ni \). Both \( ni \) of (14) and \( bh\ddot{u} \) of (15) follow steps (a) through (e) of tarati to yield:

(14) \( n(i \to e) + a + ti = ne + a + ti \).

(15) \( bh(\ddot{u} \to o) + a + ti = bho + a + ti \).

In addition, 6.1.78 eco' yavāyāvah causes the \( e \) and \( o \) of (14) and (15) to be replaced by \( ay \) and \( av \):

(14) \( n(e \to ay) + a + ti \)
\[ = n + ay + a + ti \]
\[ = nayati; \]

(15) \( bh(o \to av) + a + ti \)
\[ = bhav + a + ti \]
\[ = bhavati \]

(16) akārṣṭit

(a) \( DUkṛN \)

it-deletion

\[ = kṛ \]

3.1.91 \( dhātoḥ \) (3.1.1-2 pratyayah, paraś ca)

3.2.84 \( bhūte \)

3.2.110 \( LUÑ \)

3.4.69 \( lah karmaṇi... \)
\[ = kṛ + LUÑ \]

(b) \( kṛ + LUÑ \)

3.1.43 \( cli luñi \)
\[ = kṛ + CLI + LUÑ \]

3.1.44 \( cleh sic \)
\[ = kṛ + (CLI \to sIC) + LUÑ \]
\[ = kṛ + sIC + LUÑ \]

(c) \( kṛ + sIC + LUÑ \)

it-deletion
\[ = kṛ + s + LUÑ \]

(d) \( kṛ + s + LUÑ \)

3.4.77 \( lasya \)

3.4.78 \( tiptasji... \) # 1.4.99 laḥ parasmaipadam, and so on, which facilitate tiñ selection
\[ = kṛ + s + (LUÑ \to tiP) \]
\[ = it-deletion \]
\[ = kṛ + s + ti \]

(e) \( kṛ + s + ti \)

3.4.100 \( itaś ca \)
\[ = kṛ + s + ti(i \to \emptyset) \]
\[ = kṛ + s + t \]

3.4.113 \( tiṁśit saṟvadhā... \) 3.4.114 ārdhadhār̥tukam...

(f) \( kṛ + s + t \)

1.4.13 \( yasmāt... \)
6.4.1 anāgasya
6.4.71 luṅkaṇa... # 1.1.46 adyantau...
   = a₁T + kṝ + s + t
   = iₘ-deletion
   = a + kṝ + s + t

(g) a + kṝ + s + t

7.2.1 sivi vṛddhiḥ... # 1.1.1 vṛddhir ādaic, 1.1.3 iko
gunavṛddhi, 1.1.50 sthāne..., 1.1.51 ur an raparāḥ
   = a + kār + s + t

(h) a + kār + s + t

Note here that 7.2.35 ārdadhātuka... cannot apply to assign the augment i₁T
to s since kṝN is marked with anudatta, and hence, 7.2.10 ekāc upadeśe...
will not permit it.

1.2.41 aproktā...
7.3.96 astīsico āprktē... # 1.1.46 adyantau tākitau
   = a + kār + s + i₁T + t
   = iₘ-deletion
   = a + kār + s + i + t
1.4.14 suptīṁantam padam
8.1.16 padasya
8.3.59 ādesaṁpratyayoh
   = a + kār + (s → s) + i + t
   = a + kār + s + i + t
   = akāṛṣīt

One can similarly derive:

(17) akāṛṣīt, from a₁T + hṝN + sīC + i₁T + tiP,
(18) acāsiṁt, from a₁T + ciN + sīC + i₁T + tiP, and
(19) anaisiṁt, from a₁T + nīN + sīC + i₁T + tiP

where the initial n of the root is replaced by n by 6.1.65 nonāḥ, as in (14)
nayati.

Examples (20) alāvīt, and (21) astāvīt are slightly different.

(20) alāvīt
   (a-g) laṅN
     same as steps (a) through (g) of (16)
     = a + lau + s + t

(h) a + lau + s + t

7.2.35 ārdadhātukasya... # 1.1.46 adyantau tākitau
   a + lau + i₁T + s + t
   iₘ-deletion
   = a + lau + i + s + t

(i) a + lau + i + s + t

same as the application of 7.3.96 astīsico... at step (h) of
(16) akāṛṣīt
   = a + lau + i + s + i(T → Θ) + t
(j) \( a + lau + i + s + i + t \)
   1.4.14  supitihantam padam
   8.2.16  padasya
   8.2.18  \( \ddot{u} \ddot{u} \)
   \[ = a + lau + i + (s \rightarrow \emptyset) + i + t \]

(k) \( a + lau + i + i + t \)
   6.1.72  samhitayam \# 1.4.109 parah samnikarsah...
   6.1.78  eco\'yavayvah \# 1.1.50 sthane...
   \[ = a + (lau \rightarrow \ddot{a}v) + i + i + t \]
   \[ = a + \ddot{l}av + i + i + t \]

(l) \( a + \ddot{l}av + i + i + t \)
   6.1.101  a\(\dot{h}\) savarne dirghah
   \[ = a + \ddot{l}av + (i + i \rightarrow \ddot{t}) + t \]
   \[ = a + \ddot{l}av + i + t \]
   \[ = alavit \]

Note that 6.1.101 applied here only because 8.2.28 \( \ddot{u} \ddot{u} \) deleted the intervocalic \( s \) from the string at step (i). According to 8.2.28 \( puvratrasiddham \), 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 \( * \text{alaviti} \) would result, 8.2.28 is not considered as suspended in this context. For details concerning this, refer to the varti\(\acute{a}ka \) on this rule: svilopa ekadesa sviddho vacyah 'the deletion of \( s /C \) is to be stated as sviddha when ekadesa is to be performed'.

Example (21) astavit derives from \( aT + stuN + \dot{i}T + s/C + \dot{i}T + tiP \) according to the same steps as (20) alavit.

1.1.4 na dh\(\ddot{a}\)tulopa \( \ddot{a} \)rdhadh\(\ddot{a}\)tuke

(22) lokuva\(\ddot{h} \)
   (a) l\(\ddot{u}\)N
      \( \begin{align*} \text{it-deletion} \hfill \\
      & = \ddot{u} \hfill 
   \end{align*} \)

   (b) l\(\ddot{u} \)
      3.1.22  dh\(\ddot{a}\)tor ek\(\ddot{a}co...ya\(\ddot{n} \) (3.1.1 pratyaya\(\ddot{h}, 3.1.2 para\acute{s} ca \)
      \[ = \ddot{u} + yaN \]
      \( \begin{align*} \text{it-deletion} \hfill \\
      & = \ddot{u} + ya \hfill 
   \end{align*} \)

   (c) l\(\ddot{u} \) + ya
      6.1.1  ek\(\ddot{a}co \) due prathamasya
      6.1.4  p\(\ddot{u}r\)uv\(\ddot{o} \)bhyyasa\(\ddot{h} \)
      \[ = \ddot{u}y + \ddot{u}y + a \# dvitva \]

   (d) \( \ddot{u}y + \ddot{u}y + a \)
      1.4.13  yasm\(\ddot{a}\)t...
6.1.4 aṅgasya
7.4.60 halāḍī śesāḥ (7.4.58 atra lopo' bhyāsasya)
   = lā(γ → Θ) + lāy + a
   = lā + lāy + a

(e) lā + lāy + a

7.4.82 guṇo yaṅlukoh # 1.1.2 adeṅ guṇah, 1.1.3 iko..., 1.1.50 sthāne...
   = l(ā → o) + lāy + a
   = lo + lāy + a
   = lolūya

(f) lolūya

3.1.32 sanādyantā dhātavah
3.1.91 dhātoḥ
3.1.93 kṛd atiṅ
3.1.134 nandigrahī...lyuninyacaḥ
   = lolūya + aC
3.4.114 ārdhadhātukam śesāḥ
   it-deletion
   = lolūya + a

(g) lolūya + a

2.4.74 yaṅo' ci ca # 1.1.61 pratyayasya...
   = lolū(ya → Θ) + a
   = lolū + a

Note here that lolūya was termed a root by 3.1.32 sanādyantā dhātavah. 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) lotā + a

1.4.13 yasmāt...
6.4.1 aṅgasya
7.3.84 sarvadhātukārdhadhātukayoḥ (7.3.82 mider guṇah)

Note here that 7.3.84 requires that the ā of lotā (an āṅga) 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 śnuḍhātu... # 1.1.53 nic ca
   = lol(ū → uvĀN) + a
   it-deletion
   = lol + uv + a
   = loluva

(j) loluva

 s-visarga
 = loluvah
To derive (23) *popuvah* from *pūN*, follow the same pattern as in (22) *loluvah*.

(24) *marimrjah*

(a) *mrjÜS*

same as steps (a) through (d) of (22) *loluvah*

\[ mṛ + mrj + ya \]

(b) *mr + mrj + ya*

7.4.66 urat # 1.1.51 uraṇ raparāṇ

\[ m(r → ar) + mrj + ya \]

\[ mar + mrj + ya \]

(c) *mar + mrj + ya*

7.4.60 halādi šeṣān
ever # dvitva

7.4.90 rīḍipadhasya ca # 1.1.46 ādyantu tuṣita
ever deletion

\[ ma + riK + mrj + ya \]

\[ ma + ri + mrj + ya \]

\[ marimrjya \]

(d) *marimrjya*

same as steps (f) through (g) of (22) *loluvah*

\[ marimrjya + a(C → θ) \]

\[ marimrj(ya → θ) + a \]

Here again the *ya* of the root is deleted under the conditions of the following ārdhadhātuka affix.

\[ marimrj + a \]

(e) *marimrj + a*

1.4.13 yasmāt...

6.4.1 aṅgasya

7.2.114 mrjṛ vṛddhī # 1.1.1 vṛddhir ādaic, 1.1.3 iko
guṇavrddhi, 1.1.4 na dhātulopa...

Rule 7.2.114 requires that *r(ik)* of *marimrj* (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 *marimrjya* (the root).

\[ marimrj + a \]

\[ marimrj \]

\[ s-visarga \]

\[ marimrjah \]

The derivation of (25) *sarīsrpaḥ* is almost identical. It differs from (24) in that, in *marimrjah*, 1.1.4 blocked the *vṛddhi* replacement, while in *sarīsrpaḥ*, 1.1.4 blocks guṇa replacement ordered by 7.3.86 puganta....

1.1.5 *kṣiti ca*

(26) *citaḥ*
(a) ci\(\tilde{\text{n}}\)

\[ \text{it-deletion} \]
\[ = \text{ci} \]

(b) \(\text{ci}\)

\begin{align*}
3.1.91 & \text{ dhātoḥ} \\
3.1.93 & \text{ kṛd aṭṭāḥ} \\
3.2.84 & \text{ bhūte} \\
3.2.102 & \text{ niṣṭhā} \# 1.1.25 \text{ ktaktavatū niṣṭhā} \\
\end{align*}
\[ = \text{ci} + \text{Kta} \]

\[ \text{it-deletion} \]
\[ = \text{ci} + \text{ta} \]

(c) \(\text{ci} + \text{ta}\)

\begin{align*}
1.4.13 & \text{ yasmāḥ...} \\
6.4.1 & \text{ anāgasya} \\
\end{align*}

Note that 7.2.35 ardhaḥāṭukasya... cannot apply since \(\text{ci}\(\tilde{\text{n}}\)\) is amudāṭa and thus \(i\(\tilde{t}\)\) will be blocked by 7.2.10 ekāc...; also see step (h) of (16) akāṛṣṭā. Similarly 7.3.84 sārvadhāṭukārdhāṭukayoḥ would require a guṇa replacement for the \(i\(\tilde{K}\)\) of \(\text{ci}\); this however will be blocked by 1.1.5, since affix \(\text{Kta}\) which conditions this replacement is marked by \(K\).
\[ = \text{ci}\(\text{a}\)\]

(d) \(\text{ci}\(\text{a}\) + s\(\text{U}\)\)

\[ \text{s-visarga} \]
\[ = \text{ci}\(\text{a}\)\]

Similar steps can be followed to derive:

(27) \(\text{stuṭaḥ}\), from \(\text{stu}\(\text{n}\) + \text{Kta}\) + s\(\text{U}\);

(28) \(\text{bhi} \text{naḥ}\), from \(\text{bhidIR} + \text{Kta}\) + s\(\text{U}\), and

(29) \(\text{mrṣṭaḥ}\), from \(\text{mrjUS} + \text{Kta}\) + s\(\text{U}\).

In (27), the root-initial \(ṣ\) is changed to \(s\) by 6.1.64 dhātvādeḥ śaḥ saḥ. This in turn causes the following \(t\) to be replaced by \(t\). Note that the root-initial \(ṣ\) of \(\text{stu}\(\text{n}\)\) caused the following \(t\) to become \(t\). When this \(ṣ\) is changed to \(s\), the change of \(t\) into \(t\), which the \(ṣ\) conditioned, must also be undone (see the Paribhāṣā 56: nimitāpāye naimittikasyāpyapāyah). Similarly in (28), both the \(d\) and \(t\) of bhid + ta are changed to \(n\) by 8.2.42 radābhyaṁ niṣṭhāto na pūrvasya ca dāḥ. Thus \((\text{bhī}(d \to n) + (t \to n) + a) + s\(\text{U}\) = bhīna + s\(\text{U}\) = bhīnaḥ. Unlike (26), where guṇa is blocked before an affix marked with \(K\), (29) \(\text{mrṣṭaḥ}\) illustrates the blocking of a vrddhi replacement ordered by 7.2.114 mrjv vrddhiḥ. In addition the \(j\) of mrj + ta is changed to \(ṣ\) by 8.2.36 vrāśca-bhrasj...: mr\(j\) (\(j \to s\)) + ta. Later the \(t\) of mrṣ + ta is changed to \(t\) by 8.4.41 sṭuṇa sṭuḥ, yielding: mrṣ + (\(t \to t\)) + a = mrṣṭa. Finally mrṣṭa + s\(\text{U}\) will yield mrṣṭaḥ.

(30) \(\text{ciṭavān}\)

(a) \(\text{ci}\(\text{n}\)\)

same as in (26) \(\text{ciṭaḥ}\)
(b) $ci$
   same as in (26) $ci\hat{a}$, except for the affix which is $Kl\hat{a}v\hat{a}tU$ instead of $Kl\hat{a}$
   $= ci + Kl\hat{a}v\hat{a}tU$
   it-deletion
   $= ci + tavat$

(c) $ci + tavat$
   
   1.4.13 $yasmāt$...
   6.4.1 $āṅgasya$

   Here again the $g长征a$ replacement of $i$ in $ci$ is blocked because $Kl\hat{a}v\hat{a}tU$ is marked with $K$.
   $= ci + tavat$
   $= citavat$

(d) $citavat$
   
   1.2.46 $kṛttadhitasamāsāś ca$
   4.1.1 $nyāpprātipadikāt$
   4.1.2 $svaujas$...
   $= citavat + sÜ$
   it-deletion
   $= citavat + s$

(e) $citavat + s$
   
   1.1.42 $suḍ anāpumsakasya$
   1.4.13 $yasmāt$...
   6.4.1 $āṅgasya$
   6.4.14 $atvasantasya... # 1.1.64 alo’antyāt$
   $= citav(a → ā)t + s$
   $= citavāt + s$

(f) $citavāt + s$
   
   7.1.70 $ugidacām... # 1.1.46 midaco’ntyāt paraḥ$
   $= citavā + nÜM + t + s$
   it-deletion
   $= citavān + t + s$

(g) $citavān + t + s$
   
   1.2.41 $āpṛkta$...
   6.1.68 $haṁtyābbehyo$...
   $= citavān + t + (s → θ)$
   $= citavān + t$
   $= citavānt$

(h) $citavānt$
   
   1.4.14 $suptyānantam padam$
   8.1.16 $padasya$
   8.2.23 $samyogāntasya lopaḥ # 1.1.7 halo’nantarā$
   $= citavān(t → θ)$
   $= citavān$
Derivational History of Examples

The same derivational pattern can be followed to derive:

(31) stutavān, from (studd + ktavatU) + sū;
(32) bhinnavān from (bhidd + ktavatU) + sū; and
(33) mṛṣṭavān, from (mṛjūs + ktavatU) + sū.

For certain phonological changes in these examples, see the derivation of (27) stutah, (28) bhinnah, and (29) mṛṣṭah at the end of (26) citah.

(34) cinutah

(a) ciN

\[ \text{it-deletion} \]

= \[ ci \]

(b) ci

\[ \text{same as steps (b), (c), and (d) of (10) pacanti;} \] however in this case 3.4.78 tiptasjhi... will yield tas (see 1.4.22 dvekayor...), and at step (d), 3.1.73 svādibhyah śnuḥ will assign Šnu instead of Šap. Thus:

\[ 3.1.73 \quad \text{svādibhyah śnuḥ} \]

\[ = \quad \text{ci + tas} \]

\[ 3.1.73 \quad \text{svādibhyah śnuḥ} \]

\[ = \quad \text{ci + Šnu + tas} \]

\[ \text{it-deletion} \]

= \[ ci + nu + tas \]

(c) ci + nu + tas

\[ 1.4.13 \quad \text{yasmāt} \]

\[ 6.4.1 \quad \text{āṅgasya} \]

\[ 7.3.84 \quad \text{sārvadhātukārdhadhātukayoḥ} \# 1.1.5 \text{knitti ca} \]

\[ 1.2.4 \quad \text{sārvadhātukam apit} \]

= \[ ci + nu + tas \]

= \[ cinutas \]

(d) ci + nu + tas

\[ \text{s-visarga} \]

= \[ cinutaḥ \]

It is interesting to note here that 1.4.13 yasmāt pratyayavidhis tadādi... will assign the term āṅga to both ci, and ci + nu. That is, ci will be named an āṅga with reference to the sārvadhātuka affix (3.4.114 tiṁsit sārvadhātukam) nu, while ci + nu will be named an āṅga 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 āṅga.

The objection could be raised here that the term āṅga 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 knitti ca is invoked to block the guṇa substitutions ordered by 7.3.84. One can argue here that since the affixes
Šnu and tas which condition these substitutions are not marked with K, G, or N, 1.1.5 is not qualified to block the application of 7.3.84. However this argument does not hold since 1.2.4 sārvadhatukam api states that any sārvadhatuka affix not marked with P is treated as if it were marked with N. This latter rule clearly applies to Šnu and tas since they are both sārvadhatuka 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) ciN

\[ \text{it-deletion} \]
\[ = \text{ci} \]

(b) ci

same as steps (b) and (c) of (10) pacanti

\[ = \text{ci + (LAT} \rightarrow \text{jhi)} \]
\[ = \text{ci + jhi} \]

(c) ci + jhi

similar to step (d) of (34) cinutaḥ

\[ = \text{ci + nu + jhi} \]

(d) ci + nu + jhi

similar to step (f) of (10) pacanti

\[ = \text{ci + nu + (jh} \rightarrow \text{ant) i} \]
\[ = \text{ci + nu + anti} \]

(e) ci + nu + anti

6.4.87 huśnuvoḥ sārvadhatuke (6.4.81 ino yan)

\[ = \text{ci + n(u} \rightarrow \text{v) + anti} \]
\[ = \text{cinu + anti} \]

(f) cinv + anti

1.4.14 suptīnantam padam

\[ = \text{cinvanti} \]

Example (36) mrjantī is similarly derived. The placement of LAT, its replacement by jhi, and the subsequent replacement of jh by antı, is the same. However mrj receives the augment SaP, which is deleted by 2.4.72 ādiprabhṛtibhyo... mrj + (SaP → Ø) + anti = mrjantī. Note here that 1.1.5, read with 1.2.4, will block the vṛddhi of r ordered by 7.2.114 mrjer vṛddhiḥ.

(37) jīṣnuḥ

(a) ji

1.3.1 bhūvādayo...
3.1.91 dhātōḥ
3.1.93 kṛḍ atīn
3.2.139 glājisthaśca gīnuḥ
\[ = ji + \text{Gsnu} \]
\[ \text{it-deletion} \]
\[ = ji + \text{snu} \]
\[ 3.4.114 \text{ärdhadhātu} \text{ka} \text{m śeṣa} \text{ḥ} \]

(b) \[ ji + \text{snu} \]
\[ 1.4.13 \text{yasmāt...} \]
\[ 6.4.1 \text{āṅgasya} \]
\[ 7.2.35 \text{ärdhadhā} \text{tu} \text{kasya} \text{ḥ} \text{... (blocked here by 7.2.110 ekāc...)} \]
\[ 7.3.84 \text{sārvadhadhātu} \text{ārdhadhā} \text{tu} \text{kaya} \text{ḥ} \text{# 1.1.5 kniti ca} \]
\[ = ji + \text{snu} \]
\[ = ji\text{snu} \]

(c) \[ ji\text{snu} \]
\[ s\text{UP-selection (sŪ)} \]
\[ \text{it-deletion} \]
\[ = ji\text{snu} + s \]

(d) \[ ji\text{snu} + s \]
\[ s\text{-visarga} \]
\[ = ji\text{snu}ū \]

(e) \[ ji\text{snu}ū \]
\[ 1.4.14 \text{suptiṅanta} \text{m padam} \]
\[ 8.1.16 \text{padasya} \]
\[ 8.3.59 \text{ādesa} \text{pratyayōḥ} \]
\[ = ji(s → s) nuh \]
\[ = ji\text{snu}ū \]
\[ 8.4.41 \text{ṣṭunā} \text{ṣṭu} \text{ḥ} \]
\[ = ji\text{s(n → n)} u\text{ḥ} \]
\[ = ji\text{snu}ū \]

A similar pattern is followed in deriving (38) bhūṣnuḥ from (bhū + Gsnu) + sŪ. The augment it\text{I}', however, is blocked by 7.2.11 śruṣyakāh kitī.

1.1.6 didhi\text{ve}vi\text{ṭ}ām

(39) ádidhyanam

(a) \[ āN-ádhīhīN \]
\[ \text{same as step (a) of (26) citah} \]
\[ \text{it-deletion} \]
\[ ā-ádhīhi \]
\[ = ádidhi \]

(b) \[ ádidhi \]
\[ 3.1.91 \text{dhāto} \text{ḥ} \]
\[ 3.1.93 \text{kṛd atiḥ} \]
\[ 3.3.115 \text{bhu} \text{ṣ ca (3.3.114 nāpuṁsaka bhāve...)} \]
\[ 3.4.114 \text{ārdhadhātu} \text{ka} \text{m śeṣa} \text{ḥ} \]
\[ = ádidhi + LyuT' \]
it-deletion

\[ \text{idhi} + yu \]

(c) \text{idhi} + yu

\begin{align*}
1.4.13 & \quad \text{yasmāt...} \\
6.4.1 & \quad \text{āṅgasya} \\
7.1.1 & \quad \text{yu}v\text{or anākau} \# 1.3.1 \text{yathāsaṁkhyam...} \\
= & \quad \text{idhi} + (\text{yu} \to \text{ana})
\end{align*}

Rule 7.3.84 sārvadhātukārda... demands a γuṇa substitute for the i of dhī which will be blocked by 1.1.6 didhi...

\[ \text{idhi} + \text{ana} \]

(d) \text{idhi} + ana

\begin{align*}
6.4.77 & \quad \text{aci śnudhātu... (cannot apply because of 6.4.82)} \\
= & \quad \text{idhī (i} \to \text{y)} \text{ana} \\
= & \quad \text{ididhyana}
\end{align*}

(e) \text{ididhyana}

\begin{align*}
& \quad \text{SUP-selection (sŪ)} \\
& \quad \text{it-deletion} \\
= & \quad \text{ididhyana} + s
\end{align*}

(f) \text{ididhyana} + s

\begin{align*}
7.1.24 & \quad \text{ato} ' m \\
= & \quad \text{ididhyana} + (s \to am) \\
= & \quad \text{ididhyana} + am
\end{align*}

(g) \text{ididhyana} + am

\begin{align*}
6.1.7 & \quad \text{samhitāyām} \# 1.4.109 \text{pah saṁnikarṣah...} \\
6.1.104 & \quad \text{ami pūrvaḥ} \\
= & \quad \text{ididhyana} + (a \to \emptyset) m \\
= & \quad \text{ididhyanam}
\end{align*}

(h) \text{ididhyanam}

\begin{align*}
1.4.14 & \quad \text{suptiṁantam padam} \\
= & \quad \text{ididhyanam}
\end{align*}

One can similarly derive (40) āvertyanam from (āN-vevIN + LyuT) + sŪ.

(41) ádīdhyakaḥ

(a) áN-didhiIN

same as step (a) of (26) citāḥ

\[ \text{idhi} \]

(b) ádīdhi

\begin{align*}
3.1.91 & \quad \text{dhātoḥ} \\
3.1.133 & \quad \text{nuvīcāu} \\
= & \quad \text{idhi} + \text{NvulL} \\
& \quad \text{it-deletion} \\
= & \quad \text{idhi} + vu
\end{align*}

(c) ádīdhi + vu

\begin{align*}
1.4.13 & \quad \text{yasmāt...}
\end{align*}
6.4.1 āṅgasya
7.1.1 yuvor anākau # 1.3.10 yathāsamkhya...
    = āḍidhi + (vu → aka)
    = āḍidhi + aka
(d) āḍidhi + aka
    7.2.115 aco’ niṇīti orders ṣṛddhi for the i in āḍiḥi, but
    1.1.6 blocks it
    = āḍidhi + aka
(e) āḍidhi + aka
    same as step (d) of (39) āḍidyanaṃ
    = āḍidh (i → y) aka
    = āḍidyaka
(f) āḍidyaka
    sUP-selection (sŪ)
    it-deletion
    s-visarga
    = āḍidyakaḥ

The derivation of (42) āvevyakaḥ is not different from (41).

(43) kanitā
(a) kaṇā
    it-deletion
    = kaṇ
(b) kaṇ
    3.1.91 dhātoḥ
    3.4.69 laḥ karmaṇī ca...
    3.3.15 anadyatane lūṭ
    = kaṇ + LUT
    3.1.33 syatāsi lṛuṣoḥ # 1.3.10 yathāsamkhya...
    = kaṇ + tās + LUT
(c) kaṇ + tās + LUT
    same as steps (b) and (c) of (13) tarati
    = kaṇ + tās + (LUT → tiP)
    it-deletion
    = kaṇ + tās + ti
(d) kaṇ + tās + ti
    2.4.85 lūṭaḥ prathamasya ḍāraurasah # 1.3.10 yathā-
    samkhya...
    = kaṇ + tās + (ti → Dā)
    it-deletion
    = kaṇ + tās + ā
(e) kaṇ + tās + ā
    1.4.13 yasmāt...
    6.4.1 āṅgasya
    7.2.35 ārdhadhātukasya... # 1.1.46 ādyantau...
$it$-deletion

\[ = kaṇ + i + tās + ṛ \]

(f) \[ kaṇ + i + tās + ṛ \]

6.4.143 $teh$ # 1.1.64 $aco$'ntyādiṭi

\[ = kaṇ + i + t(ās \rightarrow \emptyset) + ṛ \]

At this stage, 7.3.86 $puγantalaghūpadha$... would require that the penultimate short vowel $i$ of the $aṅga$ ($kaṇit$) be replaced by a $guna$ vowel. Rule 1.1.6 blocks this $guna$ substitution.

Also note that 6.4.143 $teh$ 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 $D$. Our present input cannot be termed a $bha$, although it is followed by affix (D)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 īṭi) 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 $D$ becomes meaningless (vyartha). It is for this reason that Kāśīkā remarks:

\[
\text{ḍity abhasyāpy anubandhasāmarthyā ṭilopo bhavati}
\]

‘deletion of īṭi, under the condition of a following affix marked with $D$, is carried on the strength of the īṭi; that is, $D$, even though the input happens to be a non-$bha$.‘

\[ = kaṇ + i + t + ṛ \]

\[ = kaṇitā \]

Similar steps can be followed to derive (44) $raṇitā$ from $raṇĀ + LŪṬ$.

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 $tulyāśya$..., a vowel and a consonant should not be treated as homogeneous.

(45) $dandrahastah$

Given a string $danda + hasta$, rule 1.1.9 can allow the final $a$ of $danda$ to be termed homogeneous with the initial $h$ of $hasta$. Their point of articulation ($sthāna$) is $kaṇtha$, and their manner of articulation ($prayatna$) is $vivrta$. If rule 1.1.10 does not block this $savarṇa$ assignment, rule 6.1.101 $akaḥ$ $savarne dirḡhaḥ$ would have to replace both $a$ and $h$ by a long vowel: $dandā(a + h \rightarrow ā)sta = *dandāsta$, a wrong form.

(46) $vaippāśo matsyaḥ$

(a) $vīpāś$

similar to steps (a) through (d) of (5) $Śāliyah$, except for the affix which, in this case is $aN$

$it$-deletion

\[ = vīpāś + a \]
(b) vipāś + a

7.2.117 taddhīte vacām ādeḥ # 1.1.1 vrddhir ādavc, 1.1.50 sthāne...

= ν(i → ai) pāś + 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 taddhīta 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 savāna. Now, ś is also similar in point and manner of articulation with i. They are both palatal (tālārya) and closed (samaṛta). 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 savāna 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 (sŪ)
i- deletion
s-usarga

= vaipāśaḥ

(47) anaḍuham carma

(a) anaḍuḥ

same as steps (a) through (d) of (5) sāliyāḥ, except for the affix, which in this case is aN, ruled by 4.3.154 prāṇirajātādibhyo ’n

i- deletion

anaḍuḥ + a

(b) anaḍuḥ + 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) dandaḥastah

= anaḍuha
(c) *anaḍuha*

$sUP$-selection ($sU$)

*it*-deletion

$\text{anaḍuha} + s$

(d) *anaḍuha* + $s$

same as steps (f) through (h) of (39)

$\text{āḍidhyanam}$

$\text{anaḍuham}$

1.1.11 *iddūded dvivacanam 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 itī*

(a) *agnī*

\[\begin{align*}
1.2.45 & \quad \text{arthatavād...} \\
4.1.1 & \quad \text{niyāpprātipadikāt} \\
4.1.2 & \quad \text{svavajas... # 1.4.103 supaḥ, 1.4.104 vibhaktiś ca,} \\
& \quad 1.4.22 \text{dvekayor...} \\
2.3.46 & \quad \text{prātipadikārtha...} \\
\end{align*}\]

$\text{agnī} + \text{au}$

(b) *agnī* + *au*

\[\begin{align*}
6.1.72 & \quad \text{samhitāyām} \\
6.1.102 & \quad \text{prathamayoḥ pūrvavastavānḥ} \\
= & \quad \text{agnī (i + au → i)} \\
= & \quad \text{agnī}
\end{align*}\]

(c) *agnī*

\[\begin{align*}
1.4.14 & \quad \text{suptīnantam padam} \\
= & \quad \text{agnī}
\end{align*}\]

Given the string *agnī* + *iti*, 6.1.101 *akaḥ savarṇe dīrghaḥ* may apply to order a single long-vowel replacement in place of the *i* of *agnī* and *i* of *iti*. However 6.1.125 *plau̇tragṛhyā aś cī nīyam* will block this long-vowel replacement on the grounds that the *i* of *agnī* is a *pragṛhya* vowel.

\[\begin{align*}
= & \quad \text{agnī} + \text{iti} \\
= & \quad \text{agnī itī}
\end{align*}\]

(49) *pace ti itī*

(a) $\text{DU}^{\text{pac}}\text{ĀS}$

same as steps (a) and (b) of (10) *pacanti*

$\text{pac} + \text{LAT}$

(b) $\text{pac} + \text{LAT}$

\[\begin{align*}
3.4.77 & \quad \text{lasya} \\
3.4.78 & \quad \text{tiptajhi... # 1.4.99 laḥ parasmaipadam, 1.4.100} \\
& \quad \text{tañāνāvātmane-padam # 1.3.72 svarītaṇītah} \\
& \quad \text{kariṇaḥ dhiṣṭiḥprāya...} \\
1.4.22 & \quad \text{dvekayor...}
\end{align*}\]
1.4.101 tiṇastrīṇi...
1.4.102 tāṇyeśvārana... # 1.4.104 vibhatitiṣ ca
= pac + (LAT → ātām)
= pac + ātām

(c) pac + ātām
same as step (d) of (10) pacanti
= pac + (Ś → Ø) a (P → Ø) + ātām
= pac + a + ātām (after it-deletion)

(d) pac + a + ātām
1.4.13 yasmāt...
6.4.1 anāgasya
7.2.81 āto niśah # 1.2.4 sārvadhātukam apit
= pac + a + (a → iy) tām
= pac + a + iy + tām

(e) pac + a + iy + tāṃ
6.1.66 lopo vyor vali
= pac + a + iy → Ø + tāṃ
= pac + a + i + tāṃ

(f) pac + a + i + tām
1.1.64 aco’ntyādi ti
3.4.79 tīt ātmanepadānām...
= pac + a + i + t(āṃ → e)
= pac + a + i + te

(g) pac + a + i + te
6.1.72 saṃhitāyām
6.1.87 āḍgūnaḥ # 1 1.2 adeṅ guṇaḥ, 1.1.50 sthāne...
= pac + (a + i → e) + te
= pacete

(h) pacete
1.4.14 suptiṁantam padam
= pacete

Given the string pacete + iti, 6.1.78 eco’yaṇāyāvah might apply to replace the final e of pacete by ay. However, as in the previous example, 6.1.125 pluta-pragṛhyā... blocks it.

Example (50) pacete iti follows the same derivational history, except that it is derived from pac + ŚaP + āṭām, where LAT is replaced by the second person dual ending āṭām.

(51) mālī iti
(a) mālā
same as step (a) of (48) agnī iti
= mālā + au

(b) mālā + au
1.4.13 yasmāt...
6.4.1 anāgasya
7.1.18  aviṇāpah # 1.1.55 anekālṣīt sarvasya
  = mālā + (au → Śī)
  = mālā + Śī

e) mālā + Śī
  it-deletion
  = mālā + ī

d) mālā + ī
  6.1.72  saṃhitāyām
  6.1.87  ād guṇah # 1.1.2 adeṇ guṇah
  = māl(ā + ī → e)
  = māle

(e) māle
  1.4.14  suptiñantam padam
  = māle

Given the string māle + īī, 6.1.78 eco' yaavāyavah becomes applicable. If 6.1.125 plutapragṛhyā... does not block the application of 6.1.78 on the grounds that the ē in māle is a pragrṛhya, a wrong form *māl(e → ay)ī = *mālayī would result.
  = māle + īī
  = māle īī

1.1.12 adaso māt

The purpose of this rule is to extend the designation pragrṛhya to ī and ū when they occur after the m of adas. In all the examples cited under this rule, yN replacement (see 6.1.77 iko yaṃ aci) of these vowels is blocked by 6.1.125 plutapragṛhyā....

52) ami atra

(a) adas
  1.2.45  arthavad...
  4.1.1  niyāppṛtipadikāt
  4.1.2  svaujas... # 1.4.103 suṇah, 1.4.105 vibhaktiś ca,
       1.4.21  bahusu 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  tyadādīnāmah # 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...
= \( ada + (as \rightarrow \text{Śi}) \)
= \( ada + \text{Śi} \)
i-t-deletion
= \( ada + i \)

(e) \( ada + i \)

6.1.72 \( \text{samhitāyām} \)
6.1.87 \( \text{ād guṇah} \# 1.1.2 \text{ader guṇah} \)
= \( ad(a + i \rightarrow e) \)
= \( ade \)

(f) \( ade \)

1.4.14 \( \text{suptiñaṇam padam} \)
8.2.80 \( \text{adaso' ser dādūdomah} \)
= \( a(d \rightarrow m)e \)
= \( ame \)
8.2.81 \( \text{eta īd bahuvacane} \)
= \( am(e \rightarrow i) \)
= \( amī \)

Given the string \( amī + atra \), 6.1.77 \( iko \; yān \; aci \) may apply to yield a wrong form: \( am(ī \rightarrow y) + atra = *amyatra \). However, if the \( i \) 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 \( *amāṣate, *amavatra, \) and \( *amvāṣate \) 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 \( dvye kayor... \)
= \( adas + au \)

(b) \( adas + au \)

same as steps (b) and (c) of (52) \( amī \)
= \( ada(s \rightarrow a) + au \)
= \( ada + a + au \), as in step (c) of \( amī \)
= \( ad(a + a \rightarrow a) + au \)
= \( ada + au \)

(c) \( ada + au \)

6.1.88 \( \text{vṛddhir eci} \# 1.1.1 \text{vṛddhir ādaic} \)
= \( ad(a + au \rightarrow au) \)
= \( adau \)

Note here that 6.1.102 \( prathamayoḥ \; pūrvasavāryaḥ \) was blocked by 6.1.104 \( nādicii. \)
= \( adau \)

(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 pragrhyā to ū, and consequently the application of 6.1.77 iko yan aci will be blocked by 6.1.125 pluta pragrhyā aci nityam.

1.1.13 se
(54) asme indrābrhaspati
   (a) asmad
       1.2.45 arthavad...
       4.1.1 nyāpprātipadikāt
       4.1.2 svaujas...
       sUP-selection (bhyas)
       = asmad + bhyas
   (b) asmad + bhyas
       1.4.13 yasmāt...
       6.4.1 anāgasya
       7.1.30 bhyaso’ bhyam
       = asmad + (bhyas → abhyam)
       = asmad + abhyam
   (c) asmad + abhyam
       7.2.90 sese lopaḥ
       = asm(ad → Θ) + abhyam
       = asm + abhyam
   (d) asm + abhyam
       7.1.39 supām suluk pūrvasavarnā... ≠ 1.1.55 anekālṣit
       sarvasya
       = asm + (abhyam → Še)
       it-deletion
       = asm + e
   (e) asme
       1.4.14 suptīnantam padam

Given the string asme + indrābrhaspati, the e of asme will be termed pragrhyā, 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 yusme, tve and me.

(55) yusme
   (a) yusmad
       1.2.45 arthavad...
       4.1.1 nyāpprātipadikāt
       4.1.2 svaujas...
sUP-selection
1.4.23  bahusū bahuvacanam
2.3.50  saṣṭhi śese
= 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 → Še)
it-deletion
= yuṣm + e
= yuṣme

Note that, as in (54) if any word beginning with a vowel followed yuṣme, 1.1.13 Še would assign the term praṃṛhya, and 6.1.125 pluta praṃṛhya... would block sandhi.

(56) tve
(a) yuṣmad
As in earlier derivations; what is different here is the sUP-selection of the ablative singular NaśI; one could also select Še, though the resultant form would still be tve
= yuṣmad + NaśI

(b) yuṣmad + NaśI
1.4.13  yasmāt...
6.4.1  aṅgasya
7.2.97  tvamāvekavacane (7.2.91 maparyantasya)
= (yuṣm → tva) + ad + NaśI
7.2.90  śese lopah
= tva + (ad → ∅) + NaśI
= tva + NaśI

(c) tva + NaśI
7.1.39  supām...
= tva + (NaśI → Še)
it-deletion
= tva + e

(d) tva + e
6.1.97  aṭo guṇe
= tv(a + e → e)
= tve

(e) tve
1.4.14  suṣṭiṇantam padam
= tve
One can similarly derive (57) me from asmad + ṇasI where asm will be replaced by ma (7.2.97 tvamāvekavacane) and ad will be deleted (7.1.39 supām...). The Se replacement for ṇasI and subsequent derivation of me from ma + ṇasI is the same as in (56) tve.

1.1.20 dádhāghu adāp
(58) pranidadāti

(a) DUDāN

\[ \text{it-deletion} \]
\[ = \text{dā} \]

(b) dā

\[ \text{same as steps (a) through (d) of (13) tarati} \]
\[ = \text{dā + a + ti} \]

(c) dā + a + ti

\[ 2.4.75 \text{ juyotyādibhyah śluḥ # 1.1.61 pratyayasya...} \]
\[ = \text{dā + (a → Θ) + ti} \]
\[ = \text{dā + ti} \]

(d) dā + ti

\[ 6.1.10 \text{ slau (6.1.1 ekāco due prathamasya)} \]
\[ = \text{dā + dā + ti} \]
\[ 6.1.4 \text{ pūrvo' bhyaśah} \]
\[ = \text{dā + dā + ti} \]

(e) dā + dā + ti

\[ 1.4.13 \text{ yasmāt...} \]
\[ 6.4.1 \text{ anāgya} \]
\[ 7.4.59 \text{ hrasvaḥ} \]
\[ = \text{d(ā → a) + dā + ti} \]
\[ = \text{da + dā + ti} \]

(f) da + dā + ti

\[ 1.4.14 \text{ supāntam padam} \]
\[ = \text{dadāti} \]

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 n. The form will thus become: pra + (n → n)i + dadāti = pranidadāti.

The same derivational steps can be followed in deriving (59) pranidadhāti from DUDhāN 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) pranidāti

(a) DUDāN

\[ \text{same as step (a) of (58) pranidadāti} \]
\[ = \text{dā} \]
(b) dā
Same as steps (a) through (c), and (e) through (j) of (7) taritā; step (d) of taritā is not applicable here

\[ = \text{dātā} \]
\[ = \text{pra + ni + dātā} \]
\[ 8.4.17 \text{ nergadanada...} \]
\[ = \text{pra + (n → n)i + dātā} \]
\[ = \text{pranidātā} \]

(61) pranidyati
(a) do
same as steps (a) through (d) of (13) tarati

\[ = \text{do + ŠaP + ti} \]

(b) \text{do + ŠaP + ti}

\[ 3.1.69 \text{ divādibhyah śyan} \]
\[ = \text{do + (ŠaP → ŠyaN) + ti} \]
\[ = \text{do + ŠyaN + ti} \]
\[ \text{it-deletion} \]
\[ = \text{do + ya + ti} \]

(c) \text{do + ya + ti}

\[ 1.4.13 \text{ yasmāi...} \]
\[ 6.4.1 \text{ aṅgasya} \]
\[ 7.3.71 \text{ otaḥ śyani # 1.1.52 alo’ntyasya} \]

\[ = \text{d(o → θ) + ya + ti} \]
\[ = \text{dyati} \]

(d) pra + ni + dyati

\[ 1.1.20 \text{ dādhā...} \]
\[ 8.4.17 \text{ nergada...} \]

\[ = \text{pra + (n → n)i + dyati} \]
\[ = \text{pranidyati} \]

(62) pranidayate

(a) deN

\[ , \text{it-deletion} \]
\[ \text{de} \]

(b) de
Similar to steps (b) and (c) of (49) pācete; however in this case 1.3.12 anudāttatītah... introduces āmanepada endings obligatorily; in addition, by tiN-selection we select the ending ta

\[ = \text{de + ŠaP + ta.} \]
\[ \text{it-deletion} \]
\[ = \text{de + a + ta} \]

(c) de + a + ta

Same as step (f) of (49) pācete

\[ = \text{de + a + t(a → e)} \]
\( = \text{de} + a + \text{te} \)

(d) \( \text{de} + a + \text{te} \)

6.1.78 \( \text{eco'yavāyāvah} \)
1.3.10 \( \text{yathāsamkhya...} \)

\( = d(e \rightarrow ay) + a + \text{te} \)

\( = \text{dayate} \)

(e) \( \text{pra} + ni + \text{dayate} \)

8.4.17 \( \text{nergada...} \)

\( = \text{pra} + (n \rightarrow ni) + \text{dayate} \)

\( = \text{pranidayate} \)

In order to derive (63) \( \text{pranidhayati} \) from \( \text{dheT} \) used with the preverbs \( \text{pra} + ni \), follow steps (a) through (e) of (13) \( \text{tarati} \). This will yield: \( \text{dhe} + a + ti \), to which 6.1.68 \( \text{eco'yavāyāvah} \) will apply. Thus: \( dh(e \rightarrow ay) + a + ti = \text{pra} + ni + \text{dhayati} \). By 8.4.17 \( \text{nergadananda...} \), \( \text{pra} + ni + \text{dhayati} = \text{pranidhayati} \).

1.1.21 \( \text{ādyanantavad ekasmin} \)

(64) \( \text{ābhyām} \)

(a) \( \text{idam} \)

1.2.45 \( \text{arthavad...} \)
4.1.1 \( \text{nyāpprātipadikāt...} \)
4.1.2 \( \text{svaujas...} \)

\( sUP\)-selection

Since \( \text{ābhyām} \) 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 \( \text{dhruvam...} \)
1.4.32 \( \text{karmanā...} \)
1.4.42 \( \text{sādhakatamam} \)
2.3.28 \( \text{apādāne...} \)
2.3.13 \( \text{caturthī...} \)
2.3.18 \( \text{kartṛkaranayos...} \)

\( = \text{idam + bhyām} \)

(b) \( \text{idam + bhyām} \)

1.4.13 \( \text{yasmāt...} \)
6.4.1 \( \text{angasya} \)
7.2.102 \( \text{tyadādināmaḥ} \)

\( = \text{idam(m \rightarrow a) + bhyām} \)

\( = \text{idam + a + bhyām} \)

(c) \( \text{ida} + a + \text{bhyām} \)

6.1.97 \( \text{ato guṇe # 1.1.2 adeṅ guṇaḥ} \)

\( = \text{idam} + \text{a + bhyām} \)

\( = \text{idam + bhyām} \)
(d) ida + bhyām

7.2.113 hali lopaḥ
= (id → ∅)a + bhyām
= a + bhyām

(e) a + bhyām

7.3.102 suṣṭica
= (a → ā) + bhyām
= ābhyām

(f) ābhyām

1.4.14 suṣṭiṇantaṁ padam
= ābhyām

1.1.22 taraptamapau ghaḥ

(65) kumāriyārā

(a) kumārī

1.2.45 arthavād...
4.1.1 nyāpprātipadiṅkāt
4.1.76 taddhitāḥ
5.3.57 dvivacanavibhajyo...
= kumārī + taraP

(b) kumārī + taraP

it-deletion
= kumārī + tara(P → ∅)
= kumārī + tara
= kumārītara

(c) kumāritara

1.2.46 kṛttaddhitā...
4.1.1 nyāpprātipadiṅkāt
4.1.3 striyām
4.1.4 ajādyataṁ śāp
= kumāritara + TāP
= it-deletion
= kumāritara + ā

(d) kumāritara + ā

6.1.101 akah savarṇe dīrghaḥ
= kumāritara (a + ā → ā)
= kumārītārā

(e) kumāritārā

6.3.43 gharūpakalpa...# 1.1.22 taraptamapau ghaḥ
= kumārī (i → i) tarā
= kumārītārā

Examples such as (66) brāhmaṇītārā, (67) kumāritamā (from kumārī + tamaP + TāP) and (68) brāhmaṇītalamā follow the same pattern of derivation.
The last two are examples of \textit{tamaP} ruled by 5.3.55 \textit{atistāyane tamabiśṭhanau}. It should be remembered here that these examples are cited in the nominative singular. For placement of s\textit{U} after these feminine forms ending in \textit{TāP}, follow \textit{sUP}-selection and \textit{i-t} deletion. Rule 6.1.68 \textit{haliyābhīyo}... will then apply to delete the s. Thus, for example, \textit{kumāritarā} + s, by 6.1.68 becomes \textit{kumāritarā} + (s \rightarrow \emptyset) = \textit{kumāritarā}. Rule 1.4.14 \textit{suptiḥantaṃ padam} will assign the term \textit{padu}.

1.1.23 \textit{bahuganavatudati samkhya}

(69) \textit{bahukṛtvah}

\begin{enumerate}
  \item \textbf{(a) \textit{bahu + Jas}}
    \begin{enumerate}
      \item 4.1.76 taddhitaḥ
      \item 5.4.17 samkhyaḥ... # 1.2.23 bahugana...
    \end{enumerate}
    = \textit{bahu + Jas + kṛtvasUś}

    Note that Pāṇinisiyaś generally accept that taddhita affixes are introduced after a \textit{pada} (substantia taddhitoḥpattih). It is for this reason that \textit{Jas} 'nomina-
    tive plural' is introduced after \textit{bahu}.

  \item \textbf{(b) \textit{bahu + Jas + kṛtvasUś}}
    
    \begin{enumerate}
      \item \textit{i-t} deletion
    \end{enumerate}
    = \textit{bahu + Jas + kṛtvas}
    \item 2.4.71 suṇo dhātu...
    \item = \textit{bahu + (Jas \rightarrow \emptyset) + kṛtvas}
    \item = \textit{bahukṛtvas}

  \item \textbf{(c) \textit{bahukṛtvas}}
    \begin{enumerate}
      \item \textit{sUP}-selection (s\textit{U})
    \end{enumerate}
    \textit{i-t} deletion
    = \textit{bahukṛtvas + s}

  \item \textbf{(d) \textit{bahukṛtvas + s}}
    \begin{enumerate}
      \item 1.1.38 taddhitaś...
      \item 2.4.82 avayād...
    \end{enumerate}
    = \textit{bahukṛtvas + (s \rightarrow \emptyset)}
    \item = \textit{bahukṛtvas}

  \item \textbf{(e) \textit{bahukṛtvas}}
    \begin{enumerate}
      \item s-visarga
    \end{enumerate}
    = \textit{bahukṛtvaḥ}

\end{enumerate}

(70) \textit{katikṛtvah}

\begin{enumerate}
  \item \textbf{(a) \textit{kim + s\textit{U}}}
    \begin{enumerate}
      \item 4.1.76 taddhitaḥ
      \item 5.2:41 kimah samkhya...
    \end{enumerate}
    = \textit{kim + s\textit{U} + āti}

  \item \textbf{(b) \textit{kim + s\textit{U} + Dati}}
    \begin{enumerate}
      \item \textit{i-t} deletion
    \end{enumerate}
    = \textit{kim + s\textit{U} + ati}
\end{enumerate}
(c) kim + sŪ + ati
   same as (b) of (69) baḥukṛtvāḥ
   = kim + (sŪ → Ø) + ati
   = kim + ati

(d) kim + ati
   6.4.143 teḥ
   = k(im → Ø) + ati
   = kati

(e) kati
   same as in (69) baḥukṛtvāḥ
   = kati kṛtvāḥ

Similar steps are to be followed in deriving (71) gaṇakṛtvāḥ from (gaṇa + kṛtvāsŪC) + sŪ. Example (72) tāvat kṛtvāḥ is slightly more complex since it entails first deriving tāvat from tad + sŪ + vatūP, and then deriving tāvat kṛtvāḥ from tāvat + kṛtvāsŪC + sŪ.

(72) tāvat kṛtvāḥ
(a) tad
   1.2.45 arthavad... (sUP-selection and it-deletion)
   = tad + s

(b) tad + s
   4.1.76 taddhitāḥ
   5.2.39 yattadelebhyaḥ parimāṇe vatup
   = tad + s + vatūP
   it-deletion
   = tad + s + vat

(c) tad + s + vat
   1.1.27 sarvādini 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 samhitāyām
   6.1.101 aṅ kāṅ savarne... # 1.1.9 tulyāsya...
   = t(a + ā → ā) + s + vat
   = tā + s + vat

(e) tā + s + vat
   1.2.46 kṛtaddhitā...
   2.4.71 supo dhātu...
   = tā + (s → Ø) + vat
   = tā + vat
   = tāvat

Once tāvat is derived, the remaining steps are as in (69) baḥukṛtvāḥ.

(73) baḥudhā
(a) \textit{bahu}

1.2.45 arthavād...
1.1.23 bahugāna...
4.1.1 nyāp-prātipadikāt
4.1.76 taddhilāḥ
5.3.42 saṃkhyaśā...

= \textit{bahu + dhā}

(b) \textit{bahu} + \textit{dhā}

same as in steps (c) and (d) of (69) \textit{bahukṛtvāḥ}

= \textit{bahudhā}

Similar steps should be followed to derive (74) \textit{gaṇadhā}, (75) \textit{kātīdhā}
(from \textit{kim} + \textit{Dāti} → \textit{kāti}; \textit{kāti} + \textit{dhā}) and (76) \textit{tāvaddhā} (from \textit{tad} + \textit{s} + \textit{vat} → \textit{tāvat}, \textit{tāvat} + \textit{dhā}). Given the string \textit{tāvat} + \textit{dhā} + \textit{sū}, rule 8.4.53 \textit{jhalām}
jaś jhaśi applies to change \textit{tāva} (t → d) + \textit{dhā} = \textit{tāvaddhā}. The \textit{sū} after all
these items are selected and deleted according to the usual patterns.

(77) \textit{bahukaḥ}

(a) \textit{bahu}

As in (a) of (73) \textit{bahudhā} except that 5.3.42 is blocked in
favour of 5.1.22 samkhyaśā atiśa...\textit{kan}:

= \textit{bahu} + \textit{ka(N → θ)}
= \textit{bahu} + \textit{ka}

(b) \textit{bahuka}

\textit{sūp}-selection (\textit{sū})
\textit{it}-deletion

= \textit{bahuka} + \textit{s}
\textit{r}-visarga

= \textit{bahukaḥ}

Similar steps can be followed to derive (78) \textit{gaṅakaḥ} from (\textit{gaṇa} + \textit{kaN})
+ \textit{sū}; (79) \textit{tāvaḥ} from \textit{tad} + \textit{vat} = \textit{tāvat}, (\textit{tāvat} + \textit{kaN}) + \textit{sū}; and (80)
\textit{katiḥ} from \textit{kim} + \textit{Dāti} = \textit{kati}, (\textit{kati} + \textit{kaN}) + \textit{sū}.

(81) \textit{bahuṣaḥ}

(a) \textit{bahu}

As in previous rules, with the addition of 5.4.43
samkhyaśākavacanāc ca viśāyām:

= \textit{bahu} + \textit{sas}

(b) \textit{bahu} + \textit{sas}

same as steps (c) and (d) of (69) \textit{bahukṛtvāḥ}

= \textit{bahu} + \textit{sas} + (\textit{sū} → \textit{θ})
= \textit{bahu} + \textit{sas}

(c) \textit{bahuṣaśas}

\textit{s}-visarga

= \textit{bahuṣaḥ}
Similar steps can be followed to derive (82) ganiśah from (gani + śas) + sū; and (83) tāvacchaḥ from tad + vat = tāvat, (tāvat + śas) + sū. Two additional rules apply to tāvat + śas. Rule 8.4.40 sto ścunā ścuh causes the final t of tāvat to become c and 8.4.68 śascho' ti changes the ś of śas into ch. Thus tāval(t → c) + (s → ch)as = tāvacchas.

1.1.24 śnāntā śat
(84) śat tiṣṭhantī

(a) śas

1.2.45 arthavad... #
1.1.24 śnāntā śat
4.1.1 nyāp-prātipadiḥ
4.1.2 svauj... # 1.4.103 supaḥ
1.4.104 vibhaktiś ca
1.4.21 bahuśu bahuvacanam
2.3.46 prātipadikārtha...

= śas + Jāś

(b) śas + Jāś
sUP-deletion

= śas

(c) śas

1.4.14 suptīñantaṃ padam # 1.1.62 pratyayalopa...
8.2.39 jhalāṃ jaśo'nte

= sa(s → d)
8.4.56 vā' vasāne
sa(d → t)

= śat

The derivation of śat in (85) śat paśya is largely the same. However, the ending which is introduced after śat and then subsequently deleted is accusative plural Śas. Rule 1.4.49 karturīṣatamatāṃ karma assigns the term karman 'object', which is then expressed by dvitiyā (accusative) introduced by 2.3.2 karmanī dvitiyā.

The derivation of the nominative or accusative plural (86) paṇca, (87) sapta, (88) nava, and (89) duṣa is straightforward. The endings Jāś (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 lopah prātipadikāntasya. For example, paṇcan, by 2.3.46 becomes paṇcan + Jāś; 7.1.22 deletes the Jāś, yielding paṇcan, which by 8.2.7 becomes paṇca(n → θ) = paṇca.

1.1.25 daṇī 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 *jasah śi*);
(ii) the dative singular *ñe* is replaced by *smāi* (7.1.14 *sarvanāmnaḥ smai*);
(iii) the ablative singular *nāst* is replaced by *smāt* (7.1.15 *nasiṃyoh smāsminau*); and
(iv) the locative singular *ni* is replaced by *smin* (7.1.15 *nasiṃyoh...*).

Similarly *ām*, if introduced after a pronominal and occurring after an *aṅga* ending in *a*, receives the augment *suT* (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 *avyayasarvanāmnaḥ akac*).

(92) *sarvaḥ*

(a) *sarva*

1.2.45  *arthavad... # sUP- selection*

   *it-deletion; s-visarga*

   = *sarvaḥ*

(93) *sarvaṇa*

(a) *sarva*

1.2.45  *arthavad...*

4.1.1  *nāyāprātiśpadikāt*

4.1.2  *svaūj... (sUP-selection)*

   = *sarva + au(T → θ)*

(b) *sarva + au*

1.1.27  *sarvādiṇi sarvanāmāṇi*

6.1.88  *vṛddhibeci # 1.1.1 vṛddhīr...*

   = *sarv(a + au → au)*

   = *sarvaṇa*

Note that given the sequence *a + au* of *sarv(a + au)*, 6.1.102 *prathamayoḥ pūrvasavarnṇaḥ* 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 ste₁ (a) of (4) *ṣaṭ*

   = *sarva + Jas*

(b) *sarva + Jas*

1.1.27  *sarvādiṇi...*
Derivational History of Examples

1.4.13 yasmāt...
6.4.1 āṁgasya
7.1.17 yasah śī # 1.1.55 anekālṣit sarvasya
    = sarva + (jas → Šī)
    = sarva + Šī

(c) sarva + Šī
    it- deletion
    = sarva + i

(d) sarva + i
    6.1.72 samhitāyām
    6.1.87 ādgunah # 1.1.2 adeṅ gunah
    = sarv(a + i → e)
    = sarve

(95) sarvasmai
(a) sarva
    1.1.27 sarvādīni sarvanāmanī
e    1.2.45 arthavad...
e    4.1.1 nyāpprātipadikāt
e    4.1.2 svauj... (ṣUP-selection)
e    2.3.13 caturthi sampradāne
    = sarva + Ńe

(b) sarva + Ńe
    1.4.13 yasmāt...
    6.4.1 āṁgasya
    7.1.14 sarvanāṁnah smai # 1.1.55 anekālṣit sarvasya
    = sarva + (Ńe → smai)
    = sarva + smai
    = sarvasmai

(96) sarvasmāt
(a) sarva
    1.1.27 sarvādīni...
    1.2.45 arthavad...
    4.1.1 svauj... (ṣUP-selection)
    2.3.28 apādāne paṅcamī
e    = sarva + Ńasī
e

(b) sarva + Ńasī
e    1.4.13 yasmāt...
    6.4.1 āṁgasya
    7.1.15 ņasīnyoh smātsminau
    = sarva + (Ńasī → smāt)
e    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 Nī by 2.3.36 saptaṁ dhikaraṇe ca. Thus at (a) the string will be sarva + Nī. Steps (b) and (c) are similar to those of (96) sarvasmāt. However since the ending is Nī and not Nūs, 7.1.15 will replace it with smin. This will yield sarva + (Nī → 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) sarvesām

(a) sarva

1.1.27 sarvādini...
1.2.45 arthavad...
4.1.1 nyāppṛatipadikāt
4.1.2 svauj... (sUP-selection)
2.3.50 saṣṭhi seṣe

= sarva + ām

(b) sarva + ām

1.4.13 yasmāt...
6.4.1 āṅgasya
7.1.52 āmi sarvanāmnaḥ suṭ # 1.1.46 ādyantau ṭakitaui

= sarva + sŪT + ām

(c) sarva + sŪT + ām

iṭ-deletion

= sarva + s + ām

(d) sarva + s + ām

7.3.103 bahuvacane... # 1.1.52 alo' ntyasya

= saru(a → eT) + s + ām
= sarv + e + s + ām

= sarve + sām

(e) sarve + sām

1.4.14 suptiṁnantam padam
8.3.59 ādesa pratyayok

= sarve + (s → s) ām
= sarvesām

(99) sarvakāḥ

(a) sarva

1.1.27 sarvādini...
1.2.45 arthavad...
4.1.1 nyāppṛatipadikāt
4.1.76 tadāhitāḥ
5.3.71 ayayasa sarvanāmnām akac prāk ṭeḥ # 1.1.64 aco' ntyādi ṭi
= sarv + akaC + a  
  \( i^t \)-deletion  
= sarva + aka + a  

(b) sarv + aka + a  
   \[ 6.1.72 \text{ samhitayam} \]  
   \[ 6.1.97 \text{ ato gu}nce \]  
= sarv + ak(\( a + a \to a \))  
= sarvaka  

(c) sarvaka  
\( s^U \)-selection (\( s^U \)) and \( s \)-visarga  
= sarvaka + \( s^U \)  
= sarvakah  

Forms of (100) vi\( \tilde{\text{v}} \)\( \text{\textit{va}} \) follows the derivational patterns of sarva.  

1.1.28 vibh\( \tilde{\text{a}} \)\( \text{\textit{s}} \)\( \text{\textit{a}} \) diksam\( \text{\textit{a}} \)se bahuvrihai  

The purpose of this rule is to provide for the optional assignment of the term sarvan\( \text{\textit{am}} \) to bahuvrihi compounds which are derived by combining constituents denoting \( d\text{\textit{i}} \)\( \text{\textit{s}} \) 'direction'. Rule 1.1.29 na bahuvrihai obligatorily denies this term assignment. This means that bahuvrihi compounds with constituents denoting \( d\text{\textit{i}} \) will have two forms: one where the option of term assignment sarvan\( \text{\textit{am}} \) is taken and the other where the obligatory prohibition is accepted from 1.1.29. Thus either (101) uttarap\( \text{\textit{ur}} \)vas\( \text{\textit{yai}} \) or (102) uttarap\( \text{\textit{ur}} \)v\( \text{\textit{yai}} \), and either (103) daksina\( \text{\textit{p}} \)\( \text{\textit{ur}} \)vas\( \text{\textit{yai}} \) or (104) daksina\( \text{\textit{p}} \)\( \text{\textit{ur}} \)vas\( \text{\textit{yai}} \) are possible.  

(101) uttarap\( \text{\textit{ur}} \)vas\( \text{\textit{yai}} \)  
(a) uttar\( \text{\textit{a}} \)  
\( s^U \)-deletion  
= uttar\( \text{\textit{a}} \) + \( \text{\textit{N}} \)\( \text{\textit{as}} \); similarly, p\( \text{\textit{ur}} \)v\( \text{\textit{a}} \) + \( \text{\textit{N}} \)\( \text{\textit{as}} \)  

(b) uttar\( \text{\textit{a}} \) + \( \text{\textit{N}} \)\( \text{\textit{as}} \) + p\( \text{\textit{ur}} \)v\( \text{\textit{a}} \) + \( \text{\textit{N}} \)\( \text{\textit{as}} \)  
   \[ 2.1.1 \text{ samarthah padavidhihi} \]  
   \[ 2.2.23 \text{ se}so bahuvrihihi \]  
   \[ 2.2.24 \text{ anekam anyapadarthe} \]  
   \[ 2.2.26 \text{ dinnamany antarale} \]  
= uttar\( \text{\textit{a}} \) + \( \text{\textit{N}} \)\( \text{\textit{as}} \) + p\( \text{\textit{ur}} \)v\( \text{\textit{a}} \) + \( \text{\textit{N}} \)\( \text{\textit{as}} \)  

(c) uttar\( \text{\textit{a}} \) + \( \text{\textit{N}} \)\( \text{\textit{as}} \) + p\( \text{\textit{ur}} \)v\( \text{\textit{a}} \) + \( \text{\textit{N}} \)\( \text{\textit{as}} \)  
\( s^U \)-deletion  
= uttar\( \text{\textit{a}} \) + p\( \text{\textit{ur}} \)v\( \text{\textit{a}} \)  

(d) uttarap\( \text{\textit{ur}} \)v\( \text{\textit{a}} \)  
   \[ 1.1.29 \text{ vibh\( \tilde{\text{a}} \)\( \text{\textit{s}} \)\( \text{\textit{a}} \) diksam\( \text{\textit{a}} \)se} \ldots \]  
= uttarap\( \text{\textit{ur}} \)v\( \text{\textit{a}} \)  

(e) uttarap\( \text{\textit{ur}} \)v\( \text{\textit{a}} \)  
\( v\text{. sarvanamno vrttim\( \text{\textit{m}} \)tre p\( \text{\textit{um}} \)vadbh\( \text{\textit{a}} \)v\( \text{\textit{a}} \)v\( \text{\textit{a}} \)v\)h}  
(masculine transformation, namely, shortening, of the initial constituent)
= uttar(ā → a)pūrvā
= uttarapūrvā

(f) uttarapūrvā

4.1.1  nyāp-prātipadikāt, and so on, as in (a) of (95)
sarvasmaī
= uttarapūrvā + ņe
it-deletion
= uttarapūrvā + e

(g) uttarapūrvā + e

1.4.13  yasmāt...
6.4.1  anāgya
7.3.114  sarvanāmnāḥ syāḥ hrasvaḥ ca # 1.1.46 ādyantau
 takitu
= uttarapūrv(ā → a) + syāT + e
= uttarapūrvā + syāT + e
it-deletion
= uttarapūrvā + syā + e

(h) uttarapūrvā + syā + e

6.1.72  saṁhitāyām
6.1.88  vṛddhiyerci # 1.1.1 vṛddhir...
= uttarapūrvā + sy(ā + e → ai)
= uttarapūrvā + syai
= uttarapūrvasyai

(i) uttarapūrvasyai

1.4.14  suptiṁantar 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  anāgya
7.3.113  yād āpāḥ
= uttarapūrvā + yāT + e

(c) uttarapūrvā + yāT + 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) *daksinapūrvasyai* and (104) *daksinapūrvōyai*. 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 bahuvrihau*

(105) *priyaviśvāya*

(a) *priya, viśva*

selection and placement of nominative plural *Jas* after both *priya* and *viśva* follows (a) of (84) *ṣat*

= *priya + Jas + viśva + Jas*

same as (b) of (101) *uttarapūrvasyai* with the exception of 2.2.26 *dīṇāmāṇy*...

*SUP-deletion*

= *priyaviśva*

(b) *priyaviśva*

same as step (f) of (101) *uttarapūrvasyai*

= *priyaviśva + Ṛe*

(c) *priyaviśva + Ṛe*

1.4.13 *yasmāt...*

6.4.1 *aṅgasya*

Note that since *priyaviśva* cannot be assigned the term *sarvanāman*, 7.1.14 *sarvanāmṇāḥ smai* cannot replace Ṛe by smai; instead 7.1.33 *ṛer yah* applies.

= *priyaviśva + (Ṛe → ya)*

= *priyaviśva + ya*

(d) *priyaviśva + ya*

7.3.102 *supi ca*

= *priyaviśva(a → ā) + ya*

= *priyaviśvāya*

(e) *priyaviśvāya*

1.4.14 *suptiṇantam padam*

= *priyaviśvāya*

Similarly, *priya + au + ubha + au → priya + ubha; priya + ubha* (6.1.87 *ṣad guṇah) = *priy(a + u → o)bha; priyobha + Ṛe = (106) priyobhayāya*. Also *dvī + au + anya + au → dvī + anya; dvī + anya* (6.1.77 *iko yan aci) = *dv(i → y) + anya; dvanyā + Ṛe = (107) dvanyāya*. Rule 6.1.77 also applies in deriving (108) *tryanyāya from tri + Jas + anya + Jas*. These examples show how Ṛe cannot be replaced by smai without assigning the term *sarvanāman*.

Examples such as (109) *tvatkapīryaḥ* and (110) *matskapīryaḥ* are given to show how affix *akaC* (see (99) *sarvakah*) cannot be introduced after items not termed *sarvanāman*. 
Our final example (111) vastrāntarasanañtarāh 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 dr̄avyāya and tryāya. Since anya is termed sarvanāman, it qualifies for first placement in the compound in accordance with vārttika 1 of 2.2.35 saṃtami.... 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 vipratisedeḥ param 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 saṅdham param vipratisedeḥ, may be resolved by 1.4.2 indicates that vipratisedeḥ param kāryam does not apply merely to a conflict between rules, but also governs two words within the same rule.

1.1.30 tṛtiyāsanaśe
(112) māsapūrvāya
(a) māsa, pūrva

selection and placement of instrumental singular Tā after māsa and nominative singular sU after pūrva by sUP-selection

= māsa + Tā + pūrva + sU
(b) māsa + Tā + pūrva + sU

2.1.1 samarthāḥ
2.1.3 prāk kadaśrat...
2.1.22 tatpuruṣaḥ
2.1.31 pūrvasadṛśa...
2.2.30 upasarjanam pūrvam # 1.2.43 prathama...

= māsa + Tā + pūrva + sU
(c) māsa + Tā + pūrva + sU

sUP-deletion

= māsa + pūrva
(d) masapūrvāya

same as (c) through (f) of (105) priyaviśvāya

= māsapūrvāya + Ne

= māsapūrva

(113) samvatsarapūrvāya follows the same pattern

The derivation of (114) dr̄yapūrvāya and (115) tryapūrvāya is more complicated, since it involves three derivational levels:

(i) deriving dr̄yaha and tryaha by compounding (dvi + au + ahan + au) and (tri + fas + ahan + fas);

(ii) deriving dr̄yapūrva and tryapūrva by compounding (dr̄yaha + Tā + pūrva + sU) and (tryaha + Tā + pūrva + sU); and,
(iii) deriving dvṛahapūrṇāya and tryahapūrṇāya from (dvṛahapūrva + ṇe) and (tryahapūrva + ṇe).

(114) dvṛahapūrṇāya

(a) dvi, ahan

4.1.1    nyāp-ṛātipadikat

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) māsapūrṇāya

2.1.51   tadḍhiārthottara...

= dvi + au + ahan + au

sUP-deletion

= dvi + ahan

(c) dvi + ahan

4.1.1    nyāp-ṛātipadikat...

4.1.76    tadḍhiāh

5.4.91    rājāhah sakhibhyāṣaṭaṃ

= dvi + ahan + TaC

(d) dvi + ahan + TaC

iṭ-deletion

= dvi + ahan + a

(e) dvi + ahan + a

5.4.88    ahno’ hna etebhyāṇ

5.4.89    na samkhyaḍeh...

= dvi + ahan + a

(f) dvi + ahan + a

1.4.13    yasmāt...

6.4.1     aṅgasya

6.4.145   ahnaśaktahoreva # 1.1.64 aco’ ntyādi ti

= dvi + ah(an→Ø) + a

= dvi + ah + a

(g) dvi + ah + a

6.1.72    samhitāyāṃ

6.1.77    iko yaṇaḥ aci # 1.3.10 yathā...

= dvi(i→y) + ah + a

= dvy + ah + a

= dvyaḥa

(h) dvṛaha, pūrva

same as (a) through (d) of (112) māsapūrṇāya

= dvṛaha + Ta, pūrva + sŪ

= dvṛaha + pūrva

= dvṛahapūrva

= dvṛahapūrva + ēn

= dvṛahapūrṇāya
(115) tryahapūrvaya is similarly derived.

(116) māsena pūrvaya 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 latpurusā compound. Similarly (117) tryakā kṛtam and (118) mayakā kṛtam are cited as analyzed forms corresponding to their instrumental latpurusā 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 dvandvāh) compound.

(119) pūrvaparānām

(a) pūrva, para

same as (a) of (51) amī
t = pūrva + Jas, para + Jas

(b) pūrva + Jas, para + Jas

same as (b) and (c) of (101) uttarapūrvasyai, excluding 2.2.26 diinnāma...

t = pūrvapara

(c) pūrvapara

same as (a) of (98) sarvesām;

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) sarvesām cannot apply.

\[ 1.4.13 \text{ yasmāt}... \]

6.4.1 aṅgasya

\[ 7.1.54 \text{ hrasvanadyāpo nūṣ # 1.1.46 ādayantau takitau} \]

t = pūrvapara + nŪT + ām

(d) pūrvapara + nŪT + ām

it-deletion

t = pūrvapara + n + ām

(e) pūrvapara + n + ām

6.4.3 nāmī
t = pūrvapar(a → ā) + n + ām
t = pūrvaparā + n + ām
t = pūrvaparān + ām

(f) pūrvaparān + ām

\[ 1.4.14 \text{ suptaṅnantam padam} \]

8.1.16 padasya

\[ 8.4.2 aṭ kūpvāh numvavāye’ṛi \]

\[ = pūrvaparā (n → ṇ) + ām \]

\[ = pūrvaparānām \]
Similarly, one can also derive (120) katarakatamānām from (katara + Jas + katama + Jas) + ām. Rule 8.4.2 at kuvān... cannot apply here.

1.1.32 vibhāsā jasi

(121) katarakatamae can be derived like (94) sarve as follows.

(a) (katara + Jas + katama + Jas)
   = katarakatama, as in (119) pūrvaparānām

(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) katarakatamāh
(a) katarakatama + (j → Φ) as
   = katarakatama + as

   6.1.72  samhitāyām
   6.1.102  prathamayoh pūrvasavarṇaḥ
   = katarakatam (a + a → ā)s
   = katarakatamās

(c) katarakatamās
    r-visarga
    = katarakatamāh

As I have already noted under 1.1.27 sarvādini..., the assignment of the term sarvanāman will cause Jas to be replaced by Śi (7.1.17 jasāḥ śī). In the absence of this term assignment, Jas cannot be replaced by Śi and forms like katarakatamāh will result. For (123) katarakatamakāh, see (1) under the translation of this rule.

1.1.33 prathama-carama-taya-alpa-ardha-katipaya-nemās 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 prathama, and so on, from prathama + (jas → Śi), 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) katarakatamāh. Forms such as dvitaye/dvityayaḥ, trtaye/trttyayaḥ (122 a-d) derive from dvitaya + Jas and trtaya + Jas where nominal stems dvitaya and trtaya are complex. They are derived by introducing the taddhita (4.1.76 taddhitāḥ) affix (3.1.1 pratyayāh) -tayaP (5.2.42 samkhyaśya avayave tayapa) after (3.1.2 paras ca) dvi and tri. Thus: dvi + taya (P → Φ), tr + taya (P → Φ) = dvitaya, trtaya. Now one can introduce Jas to derive dvitaye/dvityayāḥ, trtaye/trttyayaḥ from dvitaya + Jas, trtaya + Jas.

1.1.34 pūrvaparāvārādaksinottarāpārādharāṇi vyavasthāyām asamjñāyām

1.1.35 svan ajñātīdhanākhyāyām

1.1.36 antaram bahiryo-pasamvyānayāh
Examples cited under these rules follow the derivational patterns of the preceding two rules.

1.1.38 \( \text{taddhitās cāsarvavibhaktīḥ} \)

This rule extends the assignment of the term \( \text{aryyā} \) to include in addition those items which end in a \( \text{taddhita} \) (4.1.76 \( \text{taddhitāḥ} \)), affix and after which not all \( \text{vibhakti} \) can be introduced.

(124) \( \text{tataḥ} \)

(a) \( \text{tad} \)

\[ \text{same as (a) of (96) sarvasmāt} \]
\[ = \text{tad} + \text{NāśI} \]

(b) \( \text{tad} + \text{NāśI} \)

4.1.76 \( \text{taddhitāḥ} \)

5.3.7 \( \text{pāncamyās tasīl} \) (5.3.1 \( \text{prāgdiśo vibhaktīḥ} \))

\[ = \text{tad} + \text{NāśI} + \text{tas} \]

\[ \text{it-deletion} \]

\[ = \text{tad} + \text{NāśI} + \text{tas} \]

(c) \( \text{tad} + \text{NāśI} + \text{tas} \)

\( sŪP\)-deletion

\[ = \text{tad} + \text{tas} \]

(d) \( \text{tad} + \text{tas} \)

1.4.13 \( \text{yasmāt}... \)

7.2.102 \( \text{tyādādināmaḥ} \) # 1.1.52 \( \text{alo'ntyāt}... \)

\[ = \text{ta} \) \( (d \rightarrow a) \) + \text{tas} \]

\[ = \text{ta} + a + \text{tas} \]

(e) \( \text{ta} + a + \text{tas} \)

6.1.72 \( \text{saṃhītāyām} \)

6.1.97 \( \text{alo guṇe} \) # 1.1.2 \( \text{adeṅ guṇanā} \)

\[ = t \) \( (a + a \rightarrow a) + \text{tas} \]

\[ = \text{tatas} \]

\[ \text{r-visarga} \]

\[ = \text{tataḥ} \]

Follow similar steps to derive (125) \( \text{yataḥ} \) from \( (\text{yat} + \text{NāśI} + \text{tas}IL) + sŪ \).

(126) \( \text{tatra} \)

(a) \( \text{tad} \)

\[ \text{same as (97) sarvasmin} \]

\[ = \text{tad} + \text{Nī} \]

(b) \( \text{tad} + \text{Nī} \)

4.1.76 \( \text{taddhitāḥ} \)

5.3.10 \( \text{saptamās tral} \) (5.3.1 \( \text{prāgdiśo vibhaktīḥ} \))

\[ = \text{tad} + \text{Nī} + \text{tra}L \]

\[ \text{it-deletion} \]

\[ = \text{tad} + \text{Nī} + \text{tra} \]
(c) tad + ṇi + tra
   same as (c-d) of (124) tataḥ
   = ta (d → θ) + (ṅi → θ) + tra
   = ta + tra
   = tatra

(d) tatra
   same as (g) of (124) tataḥ, plus 1.4.14 suptīnantam padam
   = tatra + (sŪ → θ)
   = tatra

(127) yatra will follow the same pattern.

(128) tadā

(a) tad
   same as (126) tatra
   = tad + ṇi

(b) tad + ṇi
   4.1.76 taddhitāḥ
   5.3.15 sarvaikānya... (5.3.1 prāgdiśo vibhaktih)
   = tad + ṇi + dā

(c) tad + ṇi + dā
   same as (c), (d), and (g) of (124) tataḥ, plus 1.4.14
   suptīnantam padam
   = ta(d → θ) + (ṅi → θ) + dā
   = tadā + (sŪ → θ)
   = tadā

The derivation of (129) yadā from (yad + ṇi + dā) + sŪ is similar to tadā;
(130) sadā and (131) sarvadā are not different either.

1.1.39 kṛnmejantaḥ
‘132) vakṣe rāyāḥ

(a) vac
   3.1.91 dhātoḥ
   3.1.93 kṛd aṭiṁ
   3.4.9 tumarthe sesenase...
   = vac + se

(b) vac + se
   1.2.46 kṛttadhitā...
   4.1.1 nyāp...
   4.1.2 svauj...(sUP-selection)
   = vac + se + sŪ

(c) vac + se + sŪ (sUP-deletion)
   = vac + se

(d) vac + se
   1.4.14 suptīnantam padam
   8.2.30 coḥ kuḥ # 1.1.50 sthāne...
The word rāyah in vakṣe rāyah is derived by introducing the accusative plural affix (3.1.1 ṽrātyaḥḥ) śas (4.1.2 svauj...) after (3.1.2 paraś ca) the nominal stem (1.2.45 arthavaḥ,..., 4.1.1 nyāp...) rai. Thus: rai + (S → Ø) as = rai + as. Rule 6.1.78 eco' yavāyāvah will then replace ai by āy: r(ai → āy) + as = rāyas. The replacement rāya(s → rU → h) 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 drē 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) iN

3.1.91 dhātoḥ

5.4.9 1 tumarthe...

= i(N → Ø) + se(N → Ø)

= i + se

(b) i + se

1.4.13 yasmāt...

6.4.1 aṅgasya

7.3.84 sārvadhātuk... # 1.1.2 adev guṇah

= (i → e) + se

= eṣe

(c) eṣe

same as (c) and (e) of (132) vakṣe rāyah

= e(s → ā) e

= eṣe

In deriving jīvase, affix aṣe is introduced after the verbal root jīv. Thus: jīv + aṣe = (134) jīvase. Similarly, drṣ(IR → Ø) + KeN = (135) drē. 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) svāduṁkāram bhuṅkite

This is an upapadasāmasa, a compound which is derived by combining two rada, svāduṁ and kāra + am, where one is in construction with the other. Furthermore kāra + am is derived by introducing affix (3.1.1 ṽrātyaḥḥ) NamUL, a kṛt (3.1.93 kṛd atīn) affix ending in m, after (3.1.2 paraś ca) the verbal root (3.1.91 dhātoḥ) DUKṛN (3.4.25 karmay akrasé
kr̥yah...). Note that the following three conditions must be met before NamUL can be introduced:

(i) $DUkrN$ must have an upapada, specifically svādum, in construction with it (3.4.26 svādumi namul; svādum is known as an upapada by its locative ending, as stated by 3.1.92 tatropapadam sapta-mistham);

(ii) $DUkrN$ must denote prior action (3.4.21 samānakartikayoh pūrvakāle) in relation to a subsequent action; and

(iii) $DUkrN$ 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 $DUkrN$ with which it is in construction. This sentence also involves two actions, where one, denoted by $DUkrN$, is prior to the other one denoted by bhuj ‘to consume’. Finally they have the same third personal singular agent. The derivation of svādumkāram is as follows.

(a) $svādum + (DU \rightarrow \emptyset) kṛ(\emptyset \rightarrow \emptyset)$
   $= svādum + kṛ$

(b) $svādum + kṛ$
   3.1.91 dhātoḥ
   3.1.92 tatropapadam...
   3.1.93 kṛd atiṁ
   3.4.26 svādumi namul (3.4.21 samāna..., 3.4.25 karmany...)
   $= svādum + kṛ + NamUL$
   it-deletion
   $= svādum + kṛ + am$

(c) $svādum + kṛ + am$
   1.4.13 yasmai...
   6.4.1 aṅgasya
   7.2.115 aco’ññiti # 1.1.51 ur aṁ rāparaḥ
   $= svādum + k(ṛ \rightarrow ār) + am$
   $= svādum + kār + am$
   $= svādum + kāram$

(d) $svādum + kāram$
   2.2.19 upapadām atiṁ
   2.2.20 amaivāryayena # 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 svādumkāram.

(e) svādumkāram
   4.1.1 nyāp...
   4.1.2 svauj... (sŪP-selection)
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= svādumkāram + sū

(f) svādumkāram + sū
   sūP-deletion
   = svādumkāram

(g) svādumkāram
   1.4.14 suptiñantam padam
   1.1.62 pratyalope...
   8.1.5 padasya
   8.3.24 na ścāpadantasya jhali (8.3.24 mo’ nusvārah)
   = svādu(m → m) kārām
   = svādumkāram

Similar steps are to be followed in deriving (137) sampannamkāram... from sampannam + ĐukṛN + ṚamUL, and (138) lavanamkāram... from lavanam + ĐukṛN + ṚamUL. Note here that the affix ṚamUL is still introduced by 3.4.26 svādum... even though upapada such as sampanna and lavena are not mentioned in this rule. This is possible only because we consider svādu of 3.4.26 as representing its synonyms sampanna and lavena also. Since Pāṇini lists the base svādu as svādum, sampanna and lavena will also have to be treated as sampannam and (138) lavanam.

There are three more kṛt affixes which end in m: KamUL (3.4.12 śaki Ṛamkulamalau), KHamUN (3.4.25 karmany ākrośe kṛṇaḥ khamun), and tumUN (3.4.65 śaka...tumun). Their examples will be discussed under later rules.

1.1.40 ktvātosunkasunāḥ

This rule assigns the term avaya to items which end in kṛt affixes Ktvā (3.4.21 samānakarṭakayoḥ pūrvakāle), tosUN (3.4.16 bhāvalakṣaṇe sthen...tosun), and KasUN (3.4.17 sṛṣṭipadoḥ kasun).

(139) kṛtvā
   (a) ĐukṛN
      it-deletion
      = kṛ
      1.3.1 bhūvādayo...
      3.1.91 dhātoḥ
      3.1.91 kṛd atin
      3.4.21 samānakarṭkayoḥ pūrvakāle
      3.4.114 ārdhadhātukanāḥ śeṣaḥ
      = kṛ + Ktvā
      it-deletion
      = kṛtvā

   (b) kṛtvā
      1.2.46 kṛttaddhita...
      sūP-selection
Derivational History of Examples

\[ \text{= krtvā + sŪ} \]
\[ \text{sŪP-deletion} \]
\[ \text{= krtvā} \]
\[ 1.4.14 \text{ suptiniantsam padam} \]
\[ \text{= krtvā} \]

Similarly (140) krtvā may be derived from (kṛṣṇ + Ktvā) + sŪ. Also note that the affix Ktvā is ārdhadhātuka by 3.4.114 ārdhadhātukam śeṣah. As a consequence, 7.2.35 ārdhadhātukasyed vaṇḍeḥ may order the augment iṛ. This, however, will be blocked by 7.2.10 ekāc... In the same way, 7.3.84 sārwavdhātukārdhva... may require a guna substitute in the place of the r of kr or kṛ. This again will be blocked by 1.1.5 kniti ca, since Ktvā is marked with K.

(141) udetoḥ

as in purā sūryasyodetor ādheyaha

(a) \[ \text{ut } i(N \rightarrow \emptyset) = ut \ i \]

\[ 1.4.58 \text{ prādayaḥ...} \]
\[ 3.1.91 \text{ dhātoḥ} \]
\[ 3.1.93 \text{ kṛd atiṇ} \]
\[ 3.4.16 \text{ bhāvalakṣaṇe...} \]
\[ 3.4.114 \text{ ārdhadhātukam śeṣah} \]
\[ \text{= ut + i + tos(UN → \emptyset)} \]
\[ \text{= ut + i + tos} \]

(b) \[ \text{ut + i + itos} \]

\[ 1.4.13 \text{ yasmāt...} \]
\[ 6.4.1 \text{ anāgasya} \]
\[ 7.3.84 \text{ sārwavdhātukārdhva... # 1.1.2 adeṇ guṇah} \]
\[ \text{= ut + (i → e) + tos} \]
\[ \text{= ut + e + tos} \]
\[ \text{= utetos} \]

(c) \[ \text{utetos} \]

same as (b) of (139) krtvā, plus

\[ 8.1.16 \text{ padasya} \]
\[ 8.2.39 \text{ jhalām jāso'nte # 1.1.50 sthāne...} \]
\[ \text{= ut + e = tos} \]
\[ \text{= ut(t → d) + e + tos} \]
\[ \text{= utetos} \]

(d) \[ \text{udetoḥ} \]

\[ \text{s-visarga} \]
\[ \text{= udetoḥ} \]

Given the string sūryasya + udetoḥ, 6.1.87 ād guṇah (read with 6.1.72 samhitāyām and 1.1.2 adeṇ guṇah) will apply. Thus: sūryasya(a + u → o)detoh = sūryasyodetoḥ. Furthermore, since sūryasyodetoḥ occurs before ādheyaha
as in *pura sūryasyodetoḥ ādheyah*, the visarga (ʰ) of sūryasyadetoḥ will have to be replaced by ʰ. Thus: sūryasyodeto (ʰ → ʰ) ādheyah = sūryasyodetoḥ ādheyah.

(142) visṛpo

as in *pura krūrasya visṛpo virapśin*

(a) visṛp(LR → θ)

= vi + sṛp

Same as in (141) udetoh, except that the affix is KasUN, ruled by 3.4.17 srpiṛdoh hasun.

= u-deletion

= vi + sṛp + as

= visṛpas

(b) visṛpas

same as step (b) of (139) Ṙṭtvā

visṛpas + (sU → θ)

= visṛpas

(c) visṛpas

8.1.16 padasya

8.2.66 sasajuso ruḥ

= visṛpa(s → r(U → θ))

= visṛpar

(d) visṛpar

8.3.15 kharavasānayor...

= r-visarga

= visṛpah

Note here that the ʰ of visṛpar changes into ʰ 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 ʰ but not into visarga (ʰ) since it is followed by v of virapśin. As a result, 6.1.114 hasi ca will apply to yield: visṛp (a → u) + virapśin. Rule 6.1.87 ād gunaḥ will then change the u into o:visṛp (u → o) + virapśin = visṛpo virapśin.

Similarly, one can derive ātṛdaḥ of (143) *pura jatṛbhya ātṛdaḥ* from (a + tṛdIR + KasUN) + sU where ātṛdas will yield ātṛda (s → r → h) = ātṛdaḥ.

1.1.41 avayābhāvās ca

(144) pratyaggni

as in pratyagnim śalabhāḥ patanti

(145) upāgni

as in upāgnim śalabhāḥ patanti

The analyzed forms for deriving these compounds are:

(144) agni + oṃ + prati + sU

(145) agni + ṇas + upa + sU

where sU is introduced after prati and upa for heuristic purposes.
Rule 2.1.6 avyayam vibhakti... allows the compounding of the indeclinable upa with a syntactically related (2.1.1 samarthaḥ...) pada (1.4.14 suptiṁantarāṃ padaṁ) when it (upa) denotes samiṇa ‘proximate’. Similarly prati, when denoting abhimukhiya ‘facing’, is combined with a syntactically related pada denoting lakṣaṇa ‘mark, characteristic’. The combination yields agni + Nas + upa + sU. Rule 2.2.30 upasarjanaṁ pūrvaṁ 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 prāthamā nirdīṣṭam... 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 + sU and prati + sU 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 + sU + agni + Nas and prati + sU + agni + am.

Rule 1.2.46 will term these strings a pratiṁpadika ‘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 ūkah savarne dirghaṁ will become up(a → ā)gni = upāgni. Similarly 6.1.77 ikō yan aci will apply to prati + agni to yield prati(i → y)agni = pratyagni. Given nominal stems such as upāgni and pratyagni, nominal endings can be introduced after them by 4.1.2 svau..., and so on. Because the compounds will also be termed avyaya by 1.1.41 avyayibhāvast ca, the nominal endings will eventually be deleted by 2.4.82 avyayād āpsuṭah.

For further examples, consider (146) upāgnimukhaṁ, (147) pratyag-nimukhaṁ, (148) upapayaḥkāraḥ, and (149) upapayaḥkāmaḥ; also see my comments under 1.1.41.

1.1.42 ūi sarvanāmasthānam

(150) kuṇḍāmi

(a) kuṇḍa = kuṇḍa + a

(b) kuṇḍa + as

1.4.13 yasmat...
6.4.1 anagasya
7.1.20 āsahasah ūi # 1.1.55 anekālśit sarvasya = kuṇḍa + (as → ūi)

(c) kuṇḍa + i

7.1.72 napūmsakasya jhal acaḥ # 1.1.47 midaco’ ntyāt parah = kuṇḍa + n(UM → Ø) + i

= kuṇḍa + n + i
(d) \( kūḍa + n + i \)
\[
\text{6.4.8} \text{sarvanāmasthāne cāsambuddhau} \\
= kūḍ(a → ā) + n + i \\
= kūḍāni
\]

(e) \( kūḍāni \)
\[
\text{1.4.14} \text{ suptaśantam padam} \\
= kūḍāni
\]
Similar steps are to be followed in deriving (151) \( dādhiṇi \), (152) \( mādhiṇi \), (153) \( trapāṇi \), and (154) \( jatūni \). The \( n \) of \( trapāṇi \) will be changed into \( \eta \) at step (e) by 8.4.2 \( aṭkupvān num \ldots \). This will yield: \( trapū (n + \eta) i = trapāṇi \).

1.1.43 \text{sud anapumsakasya}

(155) \( rājā \)

(a) \( rājan \)
\[
\text{1.2.45} \text{ arthavad... # sŪP selection} \\
= rājan + s
\]

(b) \( rājan + s \)
\[
\text{1.4.13} \text{ yasmāt...} \\
\text{6.4.1} \text{ aṅgasya, plus \( (h-j) \) of (7) taritā} \\
= rāj(a → ā)n + s \\
= rājā + (s → \emptyset) \\
= rājā(n → \emptyset) \\
= rājā
\]

(156) \( rājānau \)

(a), \( rājan \)
\[
\text{same as (a) of (93) sarvau} \\
= rajan + au
\]

(b) \( rājan + au \)
\[
\text{same as (h) of (7) taritā} \\
= rāj(a → ā)n + au \\
= rājānau
\]

(157) \( rājānah \)

(a) \( rājan \)
\[
\text{same as (a) of (84) saṭ} \\
= rājan + as
\]

(b) \( rājan + as \)
\[
\text{same as (h) of (7) taritā} \\
= rāj(a → ā)n + as \\
= rājānas \\
= s-visarga \\
= rājānah
\]

(158) \( rājānam \)

(a) \( rājan \)
same as (a) of (48) agni iti, except that the selected ending is am and there is no it-deletion
= rājan + am

(b) rājan + am
same as (h) of (7) tariā
= rāj(a → ā)m + am
= rājānam

(159) rājānau
(a) rājan
same as (a) of (48) agni iti
= rājan + au

(b) rājan + au
same as (b-c) of (156) rājānau
= rājānau

1.1.44 na veti vibhāṣā
(160) suśāva
(a) Tuośvi
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 lah 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 lah parasmaipadam
3.4.82 parasmaipadānām... (3.4.81 liṭah...) # 1.3.10 yathā...
= śvi + (ti → NaL)
= śvi + a

(e) śvi + a
6.1.30 vibhāṣā śveḥ # 1.1.44 na veti vibhāṣā, 1.1.45 ig yanah...
1.3.10 yathāsamkhya... 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...
\[ = s(v \rightarrow u) i + a \]
\[ = su + i + a \]

(f) \( su + i + a \)

6.1.108 \( \text{samprasāranāca} \)
\[ = s(u + i \rightarrow u) + a \]
\[ = su + a \]

(g) \( su + a \)

6.1.1 \( \text{ekāco} \) dve...
6.1.8 \( \text{liṅti dhātor anabhyāsasya} \) # 1.1.59 \( dvirvacane'ci \)
\[ = su + su + a \]

(h) \( su + su + a \)

1.4.13 \( \text{yasmāt...} \)
6.4.1 \( \text{aṅgasya} \)
7.2.115 \( \text{aco'ṛṇiti} \) # 1.1.1 \( vṛddhir...1.1.3 \) \( iko gūnavrddhi, \)
\[ 1.1.50 \text{sthāne'ntaratamaḥ} \]
\[ = su + s(u \rightarrow au) + a \]
\[ = su + sau + a \]

(i) \( su + sau + a \)

6.1.72 \( \text{samhitāyām} \)
6.1.78 \( \text{eco'yaśāvāvah} \) # 1.3.10 \( \text{yathāsamyākhyā...} \)
\[ = su + s(au \rightarrow āv) + a \]
\[ = su + sav + a \]
\[ = susāva \]

(j) \( susāva \)

1.4.14 \( \text{suptiṁantam padam} \)
\[ = susāva \]

(161) \( śiśvāya \)

(a-i) \( śvi \)

Similar to (a-d) and (g-i) of (160) \( susāva \); note that (e-f) do not apply here as they are related to the option offered by 6.1.30.

\( \approx \)

(a-c) \[ = śvi + (LI \rightarrow ti(P \rightarrow Θ)) \]
\( (d) \) \[ = śvi + (ti \rightarrow (N \rightarrow Θ) a(L \rightarrow Θ)) \]
\( (g) \) \[ = śvi + śvi + a \]
\( (h) \) \[ = śvi + śv (i \rightarrow ai) + a \]
\( (i) \) \[ = śvi + śv (ai \rightarrow āy) + a \]
\[ = śviśvāya \]

(j) \( śviśvāya \)

7.4.60 \( \text{halādi śeṣaḥ}; \) (note that this rule can also be applied to the result of (h))
\[ = s(v \rightarrow Θ) \) isvāya \]
\[ = śiśvāya \]
(k) šīsvāya
  1.4.14 suptiṇantam padam
  = šīsvāya

(162) šusuvatuḥ
  (a) TÜOŚvi
      Similar to (a-b) of (160) šusāva
      = śvi + LIT
  (b) śvi + LIT
      Same as (c) of (160) šusāva, except that here we select
      the third person dual ending tas.
      = śvi + tas
  (c) śvi + tas
      Similar to (d) of (160) šusāva, 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) šusāva
      = ś(u → u) + i + atus (step e)
      = šu + i + atus
      = ś(u + i → u) + atus (step f)
      = šu + atus
      Note here that atus (the replacement for LIT) is consi-
      dered as if it were marked with K (1.2.5 asamyoḍāl liṭ
      kit). As a consequence, 1.1.5 kūti ca will block the gunḍa
      which would otherwise obtain by 7.3.84 sārva...
  (e) šu + atus
      same as (g) of (160) šusāva
      šu + šu + atus
  (f) šu + śu + atus
      1.4.13 yusmāt...
      6.4.1  anagasya
      6.4.77 aci śudhāṭubhrvām... # 1.1.53 nī ca
      = śu + ś(u → uvAṆ) + atus
      = šusuv + atus
      = šusuvatus
  (g) šusuvatus
      s-visarga
      šusuvatuḥ

(163) śīsvīyatuḥ
      This is an alternate form of šusuvatuḥ which results when the option
      offered by 6.1.30 vībhāṣā 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 → θ) iśvi + atus = śiśvi + atus. Furthermore, similar to (j) of (162) śuśuvatuḥ, the final i of śiśvi + atus will get the replacement iyAÑ. Thus: śiśv(i → iyAÑ) + atus = śiśviy + atus. Now the s of śiśviyatus can be changed into h via s-visarga.

1.1.46 ādyantau ṭakitau

(164) bhīṣayate

as in munḍo bhīṣayate

(a) ṅibhi

   it-deletion

   = bhī

(b) bhī

   1.3.1 bhūvādayo...
   3.1.22 ḍhātor...
   3.1.25 satyāpa...nic
   3.1.26 hetumati ca

   = bhī + (N → θ)i(c → θ)

   = bhī + i

   1.4.13 yasmāt...
   6.4.1 āṅgasya

   7.3.40 hetubhye sūk # 1.1.46 ādyantau ṭakitau. Note here that 1.1.49 saṣṭhī sthāneyogā cannot make sUK replace bhī; instead, sUK must be introduced as the final element of bhī since sUK is marked with K.

   = (bhī + s(UK → θ)) + i

   = bhīṣ + i

   = bhīṣ + i

(c) bhīṣi

   3.1.32 sanādyantā ḍhātavaḥ
   3.1.91 ḍhātoḥ, and so on, as in (a-b) of (49) pacete. Note, however, that ātmanēpada (1.4.100 taṁnaṁvā...) affix ta (third person singular) is introduced by 1.3.68 bhīṣmyor hetubhaye and not by 1.3.72 svaritaṁtaḥ...

   = bhīṣi + (LĀT → ta)

   = bhīṣi + ta

(d) bhīṣi + ta

   same as (d) of (10) pacanti

   3.4.113 tiṁśit sārvadhātukam
   3.4.114 ārdhadhātukam śeṣāḥ
3.4.79 $tīt$ ātmanepadānāṃ te re $\# 1.1.64$ aco īntyādi $tī$
$= bhṛṣi + a + t(a → e)$
$= bhṛṣi + a + te$

(f) $bhṛṣi + a + te$

1.4.13 yasmāi...
6.4.1 anāgasyā
7.3.84 sārvadhātukārdhādhātukayoh $\# 1.1.2$ adeñ
guṇah, 1.1.3 īko guṇavrddhi
$= bhṛṣ(i → e) + a + te$
$= bhṛṣe + a + te$

(g) $bhṛṣe + a + te$

6.1.72 saṃhītāyām
6.1.78 eco’yaṇāyāvah $\# 1.3.10$ yathāsāmkhyaya...
$= bhṛṣ(e → ay) + a + te$
$= bhṛṣay + a + te$
$= bhṛṣaya + te$
1.4.14 suptīnāntam padam
$= bhṛṣayate$

1.1.47 midaco’ntyāt paraḥ
165) viruṇaddhi

(a) vi-rudh
$= virudh$

(b) virudh

same as (a-d) of (13) tarati
$= virudh + (LAT → tiP)$
$= virudh + ti(P → θ)$
$= virudh + ti$

(c) virudh + ti

3.1.78 rudhādibhyah śnam $\# 1.1.47$ midaco’ntyāt paraḥ,
1.1.21 ādyantaravad ekasmin
$= viru + ŚnaM + dh + ti$
$it$-deletion
$= virunadh + ti$

(d) virunadh + ti

1.4.14 suptīnāntam padam
8.1.16 padasya
8.4.2 aṭkubvāṁ...
$= viru(n → n)adh + ti$

(e) viruṇadh + ti

8.2.40 jhaṣastatho...
\[= \text{virunadh } + (t \rightarrow dh) i\]
\[= \text{virunadh } + dh + i\]

(f) \[\text{virunadh } + dh + i\]
\[8.4.53 \ jhalam \ ja \ jhai\]
\[= \text{viruna}(dh \rightarrow d) + dh + i\]
\[= \text{virunaddhi}\]

(166) \textit{muncati}

(a) \[\text{muc}(LR \rightarrow \emptyset) = \text{muc}\]

(b) \[\text{muc}\]
\[\text{same as (a-d) of (13) tarati}\]
\[= \text{muc } + (LAT \rightarrow ti(P \rightarrow \emptyset))\]
\[= \text{muc } + ti\]

d) \[\text{muc } + ti\]
\[3.1.77 \ \text{tudadibhyah } sa\]
\[= \text{muc } + Sa + ti\]
\[\text{it-deletion}\]
\[= \text{muc } + a + ti\]

e) \[\text{munc } + a + ti\]
\[1.4.13 \ \text{yasm\={a}...}\]
\[6.4.1 \ \text{a\=ngasya}\]
\[7.1.59 \ \text{se mucad\=in\=am } \# \ 1.1.47 \text{ midaco’nty\=at parah}\]
\[= \text{mu } + nUM + c + a + ti\]
\[\text{it-deletion}\]
\[= \text{munc } + a + ti\]

(f) \[\text{mun\c } + a + ti\]
\[1.4.14 \ \text{suptinanta\=m padam}\]
\[8.1.16 \ \text{padasya}\]
\[8.3.24 \ \text{na\=s\c\=apad\=antasya jhali}\]
\[= \text{mu}(n \rightarrow m)c + a + ti\]
\[= \text{mun\c } + a + ti\]

(167) \textit{payami}\=si

(a) \[\text{payas}\]
\[\text{similar to (a-c) of (150) kun\=dani}\]
\[= \text{paya } + nUM + s + i \# \ 1.1.47 \text{ midaco...}\]
\[\text{it-deletion}\]
\[\text{paya } + n + s + i\]

(b) \[\text{paya } + n + s + i\]
\[1.4.13 \ \text{yasm\={a}...}\]
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  suptīrṇantam padam
    8.3.24  naścāpadantasya...
    = payā + (n → m) + s + i
    = payāṁsi

1.1.49  saṣṭhi sthāneyogā
(168) bhavitā
(a) as
    same as (a-b) of (7) taritā
    = as + tṛ
d: 2.4.52  aster bhūḥ # 1.1.55 unekālsit sarvasya
    = (as → bhū) + tṛ
    = bhū + tṛ
(c) bhū + tṛ
    same as (e) of (7) tarita
(d) bhū + i + tṛ
    7.3.84  sārvadhātukārthda... # 1.1.50 sthāne...
    1.1.3  iko gunavṛddhi
    = bh(ū → o) + i + tṛ
    = bho + i + tṛ
e: śho + i + tṛ
    6.1.78  eco yavāyāvah # 1.3.10 yathāśāṃkhyā...
    = bh(o → au) + i + tṛ
    = bhav + i + tṛ
    = bhavitṛ
g: bhavitṛ
    same as (f-j) of (7) tarita
    bhavitṛ + sū
    bhavitā

(169) vaktā

This example is similarly derived from (vac + tṛ) + sū where vac is a replacement of brūṇ ‘to speak’. Note here that, unlike (c) of (7) taritā, 7.2.35 does not apply to introduce iT. The string remains vactr. Given the string vac + sū, (f-j) of (7) taritā will yield vactā, to which 8.2.30 cōh kuḥ will apply. The result will be vac(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 brũN. The roots will be replaced by bhũ and vac. Given the string bhũ + tum(UN → 0), rule application similar to (c-e) if (168) bhavita will occur. Thus: bhũ + tum → bhũ + i(T → 0) + tum; bhũ + i + tum → bh(u → 0) + i + tum; bh(o → av) + i + tum = bhavitaum.

Unlike bhavitaum, vaktum does not involve iT. Given the string vac + tum + sU, 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 avayād... Items ending in tumUN are termed indeclinable by 1.1.39 kṛṇ mejaatāḥ.

In deriving (172) bhavitavyam and (173) vaktavyam, we introduce the affix tavyaT by 3.1.96 tavyattavyānīyaraḥ. Given the strings as + tavya(T → 0) and brũ + tavya(T → 0), the roots will be replaced by bhũ and vac. The resultant strings from bhũ + tavya and vac + tavya will be bh(u → 0 → av) + i + tavya = bhavitavya and vactavya. They will be termed nominal stems by 1.2.46 kṛttaddhisamāsā ca and sU can then be introduced after them by 4.1.2 svaṇjeru. Rule 7.1.24 ato’ m will then replace the sU by am. This will yield bhavita vyā + am and vactavya + am, where the c of vactavya + am will be replaced by k by 8.2.30 coh kuh. Rule 6.1.97 ato gume 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’ ntaratamah
(174) vātanḍayānudatāḥ

(a) vatanḍa

\[\text{same as (a-b) of (1) aupagavaḥ, plus 4.1.108}\]
\[vatanḍāc ca\]
\[= vatanḍa + Ṇas + yaN\]

(b) vatanḍa + Ṇas + yaN

\[\text{same as (c-d) of (1) aupagavaḥ, plus 4.1.13 striyām}\]
\[4.1.109 luk striyām\]
\[= vatanḍa + (Ṇas → 0) + yaN\]
\[= vatanḍa + (yaN → 0)\]
\[= vatanḍa\]

(c) vatanḍa

\[4.1.73 \text{ śārṅgaravādyañor}\ldots\]
\[= vatanḍa + NiN\]
\[= i\text{-deletion}\]
\[= vatanḍa + i\]

(d) vatanḍa + i

\[1.4.18 \text{ yāc i bham}\]
\[6.4.129 \text{ bhasya}\]
\[6.4.148 \text{ yasyeti ca}\]
\[ = \text{vataṇḍī} (a \to \emptyset) + i \]
\[ = \text{vataṇḍi} \]

Given the strings \text{vataṇḍī} + s\text{Ū} + yuvati + s\text{Ū}, 2.1.65 \text{poṭāyuvaristotka...} will allow the compound formation. After the assignment of the terms \text{samāsa ‘compound’} and \text{prātipadika (1.2.46 kr̥taddhita...)}, 2.4.71 \text{su}pō \text{dhātu} will delete the endings. The result will be \text{vataṇḍiyuvati}, to which 6.3.42 \text{pumvat...} applies. This rule requires a feminine form which occurs in a \text{karmadāraya-tatpuruṣa (1.2.42 tatpuruṣaḥ) compound} and does not end in \text{u} to be replaced by a corresponding masculine form in usage. Thus \text{vataṇḍī} has to be replaced by its corresponding masculine form. Since it cannot be replaced by \text{vataṇḍa} as the latter does not signify \text{apatyā ‘offspring’}, one would select \text{vataṇḍya}. This form is approved by 1.1.50 \text{sthāne...} because it is similar to \text{vataṇḍi} in signification. The final form of the compound will thus become: \text{(vataṇḍī \to vataṇḍya) yuvati = vataṇḍayuvarati, which by sUP-selection, \textit{i}-deletion, and s-visarga yields vataṇḍayuvaratiḥ.}

(175) \text{amuṣmai}

(a) \text{adas}

\[
\text{same as (a-b) of (95) sarvasmai}
\]
\[
= \text{adas + Ńe}
\]
\[
= \text{adas + (Še \to smai)}
\]
\[
= \text{adas + smai}
\]

(b) \text{adas + smai}

\[
\text{same as (c) of (52) amī}
\]
\[
= \text{ada(s \to a) + smai}
\]
\[
= \text{ada + a + smai}
\]

(c) \text{ada + a + smai}

\[
\text{same as (c) of (64) ābhṛyām}
\]
\[
= \text{ad(a + a \to a) + smai}
\]
\[
= \text{ada + smai}
\]

(d) \text{ada + smai}

\[
\text{same as 8.2.20 adaso... at (g) of (52) amī}
\]
\[
= \text{a(d \to m) (a \to u) + smai}
\]
\[
= \text{amu + smai}
\]

(e) \text{amu + smai}

\[
8.3.59 \text{ ādeśapratyayoh}
\]
\[
= \text{amu + (s \to ū)smai}
\]
\[
= \text{amu + smai}
\]
\[
= \text{amuṣmai}
\]

(176) \text{amūbhṛyāṃ}

The steps outlined below are followed to derive \text{amūbhṛyāṃ} from \text{adas + bhr̥yām.}

(a) steps (a), (c), and (e) of (64) \text{ābhṛyām}
(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 → ā) + bhyām
    = amūbhyām

Note here that 8.2.80 adaso... orders ū as a substitute. As ū is denoted by
aN (1.1.69 anudd...), it can also represent its long or extra-long counter-
parts. In (175) amuṣmai, we selected a short ū because the substituendum
was short a; that is, we decided on the basis of similarity in duration. In
amūbhyām, again we selected ā because of the similarity in duration.

1.1.51 ur an raṇparah

For deriving (177) kartā from (DUkṛN + trC) + sŪ, and (178) hārtā
from (krN + trC) + sŪ, follow, first (a-b), and then (e-j) of (7) tārā. These
steps will yield kartā and hārtā, to which 8.4.46 aco raḥābhyām āve must
apply. Thus: kar (t → ā)ā = kartā, and har(t → ū)ā = hārtā.

(179) kirati and (180) girati are derived from kṛ + Ša + (LAT → tiP) and
gṛ + Ša + (LAT → tiP) according to (b-d) of (166) muṇcati. Given the strings
kṛ + a + ti and gṛ + a + ti, 7.1.100 rt id dhātuh will order i as a substitute for
r. Since i is a substitute denoted by aN, 1.1.51 will cause it to be followed
by r. Thus: k (r → ir) + a + ti = kirati, and g (r → ir) + a + ti = girati.

(181) dvaimātūraḥ

Given a string of two syntactically related words, dvi + os and mātr + os,
where os is genitive dual, 2.1.51 tadhitārthottara... will allow compound
formation.

(a) dvi + os + mātr + os
    2.1.51 tadhitārtha...
    = dvi + os + mātr + os
    1.2.46 kṛttaddhita...
    2.4.71 supo dhātus...
    = dvi (os → 0) + mātr (os → 0)
    = dvimātr

(b) dvimātr
    4.1.1 ṇyāp...
    4.1.92 tasyāpattyam
4.1.115 māturūt...
  = dvimāṭr + a (N → Θ) # 1.1.52 alo' ntyasya
  = dvimāṭr + (r → u) + a # 1.1.51 ur an rāparaḥ
  = dvimāṭur + a

Note that in addition to introducing affix aN, 4.1.115 also introduces u as a substitute for māṭr. However u can only replace the final sound (aL) of māṭr, 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 r, and also since the substitute is a sound denoted by aN, 1.1.51 ur an rāparaḥ applies. The result is: dvimāṭ (r → ur) = dvimāṭur.

(c) dvimāṭur + a

  same as (e) of (1) aupagavah
  = dv (i → ai) māṭur + a
  = dvaimāṭura

Follow (h-m) of (1) aupagavah to derive dvaimāṭuraḥ from dvaimāṭura + sŪ. Similar rule applications on (tri + ām + māṭr + ām) + sŪ will produce (182) traṁāṭuraḥ.

1.1.52 alo' ntyasya

(183) paṅcagonih

This example is derived from ((paṅcan + bhis + goṇi + bhis) + ThaK) + sŪ, where paṅcan + bhis + goṇi + bhis are combined by rules similar to (181) dvaimāṭuraḥ. Affix ThaK is introduced after paṅcagonih by 5.1.37 tena kṛitam and 5.1.19 ārhadago..., the n of paṅcagonih having been deleted by 8.2.7 na lopaḥ prātipadikāntasya. Affix ThaK itself gets deleted by 5.1.28 adhyārdhahāturva...(# 2.1.52 samkhyāpuruṣo dvīguḥ). However at the same time, 1.2.49 luktaddhitaluki requires the deletion of i, the feminine affix, in paṅcagonih. This is blocked by 1.2.50 id goṇyāḥ, which orders i as a substitute. Similar to the replacement of r by u in (181) dvaimāṭuraḥ, i can only replace the final sound of goṇi. Consequently we get: paṅcagoni (i → i) = paṅcagonih. The nominative singular form paṅcagonih derives from paṅcagonih + sŪ by s-visarga. The same set of rules apply in deriving (184) dāsa-gōnih.

1.1.53 nīc ca

(185) hotāpōtārau

This is a dvandva (2.2.29 cārthe dvandvah) compound derived by combining hotṛ + sŪ and potṛ + sŪ. After the assignment of the term prātipadika by 1.2.46 kṛitaddhita..., 2.4.71 supo dhātu... will delete the endings: hotṛ + (sŪ → Θ + potṛ + (sŪ → Θ) = hotṛ potṛ. Rule 6.3.23 rto vidvēṣyoni... will now apply to introduce ānAN to hotṛ. It is obvious that ānAN is anekāl 'consisting of more than one aL', and hence 1.1.54 anekālṣit sarvasya may demand that ānAN replace hotṛ. However, since ānAN is marked with N, it can only
replace the final sound \( r \) of hotṛ. Thus: hot \( (r \rightarrow ān (ĀN \rightarrow \emptyset)) \) potṛ becomes hotānpotr. The \( n \) of hotānpotr will be deleted by 8.2.7 na lopah....Given the string hotāpotr + au, 1.1.43 sud anapumsakasya will assign the term sarvanāmāsthāna. Consequently, in the āṅga section (6.4.1 āṅgasya), 7.3.110 ṛto nīsarvanāmāsthānāyoh will require a guṇa substitude of the āṅga ending in \( r \). With reference to 1.1.2 adeṅ guṇaḥ and 1.1.51 ur aṛ raparāḥ, we will get hotāpot \( (r \rightarrow ar) + au = hotāpotarau \). The \( a \) of hotāpotar is lengthened by 6.4.11 aptṛntṛc.... The result is: hotāpot \( (a \rightarrow ā)r + au = hotāpotārau \). Similarly, \( (māṭ + sū + pūr + sū) + au \) will yield (186) māṭāpitarau.

Note here that (187) jīvatāt, in both jīvatād bhavān and jīvatāt tvam. is derived from jīv + LOT, where LOT is replaced by ti (P \( \rightarrow \emptyset \)), and ŚaP is introduced after jīv. Given the string jīv + a + ti, 3.4.86 eruḥ applies to yield: jīv + a + t \( (i \rightarrow u) = jīvatu \). Rule 7.1.35 tuhyostātaṅ now introduces tātāN as a substitute for tu. Since tātāN is marked with \( N \), it should replace the \( u \) of tu (see 1.1.53 nīc ca). However that is not the case. Instead tāt(ĀN \( \rightarrow \emptyset \)) replaces tu in toto in view of 1.1.55 anekākārit sarvasya. The resultant form is: jīva(tu \( \rightarrow tāt) = jīvatāt \).

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 vipratisedhe....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) hotāpotarau where ānāN is marked with \( N \) 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 sāvakāsa 'with scope of application'. In case of hotāpotarau, ānāN is marked with \( N \) in order to block guṇa or vrddhi (see 1.1.5 kṛiti ca); instead, it is marked with \( N \) 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 (sarvādēṣa) is the scope of \( N \) in ānāN. It will make 1.1.53 anavakāsa 'without any scope' if we did not allow it to block the sarvādēṣa. As far as jīvatāt is concerned, tātāN independently has scope for blocking guṇa and vrddhi. 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 bhāḥ, 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 pañcamū 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) āśīnāḥ

(a) āś

1.3.1 bhūvādayo...
3.1.91 dhātoḥ
3.2.123 varttamāne laṭ
3.4.69 laḥ karmanī...
= āś + LAT

(b) āś + LAT

1.3.12 anudāttanitaḥ ātmanepadam
1.4.100 taṭānāv ātmanepadam
3.4.124 latāḥ śatā-śanacāv... # 1.1.55 anekāl...
= āś + (LAT → ŚānaC)
it-deletion
āś + āṇa

(c) āś + āṇa

3.4.113 tinītī śārvadhātukam
3.1.68 karttāri śap
= āś + ŚaP + āṇa
2.4.72 adśprabhṛtybhyaḥ śapah
= āś + (ŚaP → Ø) + āṇa
= āś + āṇa

(d) āś + āṇa

1.4.13 yasmāt...
6.4.1 aṅgasya
7.2.83 id āśaḥ # 1.1.67 tasmād ity uttarasya
1.1.54 ādeḥ parasya

Note here that 7.2.83 orders the substitute i with reference to āś in the ablative. In view of 1.1.67, this substitute will be construed as applicable to ān of āś + āṇ. However, taking 1.1.54 into consideration, we resolve that i is ruled as a substitute for ā only. Thus: āś + (ā → i) na = āśīnāḥ.

(e) āśīnāḥ

sUP-selection; s-visargo;
= āśīnāḥ

(189) dvīpam

(a) dvī + au + oṣ + Jas

2.1.1 samarthah...
2.1.3 prāk kaḍārat...
2.1.4 saha supā
2.2.23 śeṣo bahuvrīhiḥ
2.2.24 anekam anyapadārthe
= dvi + au + ap + Jas
1.2.46 kṛtaddhita..
2.4.71 supo dhātu...
= dvi(au → Θ) + ap + (jas → Θ)
= dvi + ap

(b) dvi + ap

4.1.1 ṛṇāp...
4.1.76 taddhitāḥ
5.4.68 samāsāntāḥ
5.4.74 ṛkpūrabdhūḥ...
= dviap + a

(c) dviap + a

6.3.97 duvantarupasarge...
= 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 samhitāyām
6.1.101 aṁaḥ savarne dirghaḥ
= dvi(i + i → i)pa
= dvi pa

(e) dviipa

follow (e-h) of (39) adīdhyanam
= dviipa + (sū → am)
= dviip(a + a → a)m
= dviipam

Similar rules apply in deriving (190) antarīpam from (antar + sū + ap + Jas + a) + sū, and (191) samīpam from (sam + sū + ap + Jas + a) + sū.

1.1.55 anekāśit sarvasya

The derivations of (168) bhavītā, (170) bhavitum, and (172) bhavitaryam have already been given under 1.1.49 saṣṭhi 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
Derivational History of Examples

(150) kunḍâni under 1.1.42 śi sarvanāmsthānam. Given the string kunḍa + Jas, 7.1.20 jāssasah śī 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 ādeso’ nālvidhau

1. The replacement of a root (dhātu) is treated like a root; see the derivations of (168) bhavītā, (169) vaktā, and so on under 1.1.49 saṣṭhī sthāneyogā. In these examples, 2.4.52 aster bhūḥ and 2.4.53 bruvoḥ vacih cause replacement of the verbal roots as by bhū and brū by vac. When it comes to introducing affixes trC and tavyaT by 3.1.133 nundṝcau and 3.1.96 tavyat-tavyāniyaraḥ, we encounter a problem. These rules are contained in the domain of 3.1.91 dhātoḥ, and as a result, affixes trC 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) ābhyaṁ where the selected sUP is instrumental singular Tā

= kim + (T → Ø) ā (it-deletion)

= kim + ā

(b) kim + ā

1.4.13 yasmāt...
6.4.1 aṅgasya
7.2.103 kimah kah

= (kim → ka) + ā

= ka + ā

(c) ka + ā

7.1.12 ṭāhasiḥasā...  # 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 samhitāyām
6.1.87 ād guṇah  # 1.1.2 adeṅ guṇah

= k(a + i → e) + na

= ke + na

= kena

(193) kābhyaṁ is derived from kim + bhyām, where kim is replaced by ka. Also see the derivation of (64) ābhyaṁ. The same replacement occurs in
deriving (194) kaih 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 ecı 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 kaih.

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 DUKṛN + Ktvā (see (139 kṛtvā)), 2.2.18 kugaiiprādayāḥ allows pra to be combined with ktvā. The result is: prakṛtvā. Rule 7.1.37 samāse' naṁ pūrv... introduces LyaP as a substitute for ktvā. The string becomes: prakṛ (tvā → (L → Ø) ya (P → Ø) = prakṛ + ya. Rule 6.1.71 hrasvasya piti kṛti tuḥ now introduces the augment tUK. As a result we get prakṛ + t(UK → Ø) + 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 kṛtaddhitasamāsās ca.

4. The replacement of an avyaya ‘indeclinable’ is treated like an avyaya.

Given the string prakṛtya + sŪ, 2.4.82 avyayād āp supaḥ applies and deletes sŪ, mainly for the reason that sŪ is ruled after an indeclinable. Rule 1.1.40 ktvātosunkasunah 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, sŪ 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 sŪ.

Follow similar steps to derive (196) prakṛtya from (pra + (hṛN + (Ktvā → LyaP)) + sŪ.

5. The replacement of a taddhita (4.1.76 taddhitāḥ) affix is treated like a taddhita.

(197) dādhi

(a) dādhi

same as (a) of (5) sāliyāḥ

= dādhi + Ni

(b) dādhi + Ni

4.1.76 taddhitāḥ
4.1.82 samarthānām...
4.2.16 samskrtaṃ bhaksāḥ
4.2.18 dadhnaṣṭḥak

= dādhi + Ni + THaK
(c) $\text{dadhi} + \text{Ni} + \text{THaK}$

same as (c) of (5) $\text{sāliyah}$

$= \text{dadhi} + (\text{Ni} \rightarrow \emptyset) + \text{THaK}$

$= \text{dadhi} + \text{THaK}$

(d) $\text{dadhi} + \text{THaK}$

7.2.118 $\text{kiti ca} \# 1.1.56 \text{sthānivad...}$

1.1.1 $\text{vrddhir ādaic}$

$= \overline{d}(a \rightarrow \text{ā}dhi) + \text{THaK}$

$= \text{dādhi} + \text{THaK}$

(e) $\text{dādhi} + \text{THaK}$

1.4.13 $\text{yasmāt...}$

6.4.1 $\text{aṅgasya}$

7.3.50 $\text{ṭhasyekhaḥ}$

$= \text{dādhi} + (\text{THaK} \rightarrow \text{ika})$

$= \text{dādhi} + \text{ika}$

(f) $\text{dādhi} + \text{ika}$

same as (f) of (5) $\text{sāliyah}$

$= \overline{dādhi}(i \rightarrow \emptyset) + \text{ika}$

$= \text{dādhi}a$ $+$ $\overline{i}$

$= \text{dādhi} + \text{ika}$

(g) $\text{dādhi}a$

same as (e-h) of (39) $\text{ādīdhyanam}$

$= \text{dādhi}a + (sU \rightarrow \text{am})$

$= \overline{dādhi}a(a + a \rightarrow a)$

$= \text{dādhi}a$ $+$ $\overline{a}$

Note here that 1.1.56 must be invoked in order to insure that a substitute, $\text{ika}a$, is treated like its substituendum, $\text{THaK}$. Our derivate $\text{dādhi}a$ cannot be termed a $\text{prātipadika}$ by 1.2.46 $\text{kṛttaddhitasamāsās ca}$ unless it ends in a $\text{taddhita}$ affix. But $\text{ika}a$ is only the substitute of such an affix. Since 1.1.56 allows us to treat the substitute like the substituendum, however, the $\text{prātipadika}$ may still be assigned.

(198) $\text{adyatānaṃ}$

(a) $\text{adya}$

1.2.45 $\text{arthavadd...}$

4.1.1 $\text{tiyāp...}$

4.1.76 $\text{taddhitāḥ}$

4.3.23 $\text{sāyaṅciram...}$

$= \text{adya} + \text{tUT} + \text{Tyu}$

$t$-deletion

$= \text{adya} + t + \text{yu}$

Note here that 4.3.23 introduces the affix $\text{Tyu}$ along with its augment $tUT$ as part of concurrent operations.

(b) $\text{adya} + t + \text{yu}$

1.4.13 $\text{yasmāt...}$

6.4.12 $\text{aṅgasya}$
7.1.1 \textit{yuvor anākau} $\neq 1.3.10$ yathā...

$= \textit{adya} + t + (yuv \rightarrow \textit{ana})$

$= \textit{adya} + t + \textit{ana}$

$= \textit{adyatana}$

(c) \textit{adyatana}

same as (e-h) of (39) āḍīḍhyanyam

$= \textit{adyatana} + (sU \rightarrow \textit{am})$

$= \textit{adyatan}(a \rightarrow \emptyset) + \textit{am}$

$= \textit{adyatanam}$

Note here that \textit{adyatana} ends in \textit{ana}, which in turn is a replacement of the taddhita affix (T)y. Rule 1.2.46 kṛttaddhita... cannot assign the term prātipadika to \textit{adyatana} unless 1.1.56 allows the \textit{ana} of \textit{adyatana} to be treated as a taddhita affix.

6. The replacement of a $sU\bar{P}$ is treated like a $s\bar{U}P$.

(199) vrḵsāya

(200) plaksāya

Follow (c-f) of (104) priyaviśvāya. Note, however, that unless the substitute ya is treated like ṇe (a $s\bar{U}P$), 7.3.102 supi ca cannot allow the short a of vrḵsa to be changed into long ā.

7. The replacement of a tiṉ is treated like a tiṉ.

(201) akurutāṁ

(a) $(\bar{DT} \rightarrow \emptyset) kṛ (\bar{N} \rightarrow \emptyset)$

$kṛ$

1.3.1 bhūvādasya...

3.1.91 dhātoḥ

3.2.84 bhūte

3.2.111 anadyatane

3.4.69 lāk karmāṇi...

$= kṛ + \textit{LAN}$

(b) $kṛ + \textit{LAN}$

3.4.77 lasya

3.4.78 tiptasji... # tiṉ-selection.

$= kṛ(\textit{LAN} \rightarrow \textit{tas})$

$kṛ + \textit{tas}$

3.4.113 tiṁśīt sārvadhātukam

(c) $kṛ + \textit{tas}$

same as (d) of (10) pacanti, plus 3.1.79 tanādikṛṇ...

$= kṛ + u + \textit{tas}$

(d) $kṛ + u + \textit{tas}$

3.4.101 tasthasthamipām... # 1.3.10 yathāsāmkhya...

$= kṛ + u (\textit{tas} \rightarrow \textit{tām})$

$= kṛ + u + \textit{tām}$
Derivational History of Examples

(e) \( k'r + u + t'am \)

same as \((f-g)\) of (16) ax\(r\)sit
\[
= a(T \rightarrow \emptyset) + k'r + u + t'am
\]
\[
= a + k'r + u + t'am
\]

(f) \( a + k'r + u + t'am \)

7.3.84 s\(a\)vd\(h\)at\(k\)\(a\)rdha... \# 1.1.2
\[
\text{ade\(n\) gu\(n\)h, 1.1.51 ur an rapara\(h\)}
\]
\[
= a + k(r \rightarrow ar) + u + t'am
\]
\[
= a + kar + u + t'am
\]

(g) \( a + kar + u + t'am \)

6.4.110 at ut s\(a\)vd\(h\)at\(u\)ke

\[
= a + k(a \rightarrow u)r + u + t'am
\]

Note here that this replacement of \(a\) by \(u\) must meet three conditions:

(a) \(a\) should be part of an an\(g\)a constituted by \(k'r\),

(b) this an\(g\)a should also terminate in the affix \(u\), and

(c) the an\(g\)a as a whole should be followed by a s\(a\)vd\(h\)at\(u\)ka affix.

We clearly see that our an\(g\)a, \(a + kar + u\), meets conditions \((a)\) and \((b)\). It does not, however, meet condition \((c)\), as the following affix \(t'am\) is neither a \(t'i\(N\) nor an affix marked with \(S\) (see 3.4.113 ti\(n\)\(i\)t s\(a\)vd\(h\)at\(u\)kam).

But, as \(t'am\) is a replacement of a \(t'i\(N\) affix tas, which in turn is a s\(a\)vd\(h\)at\(u\)ka, we can say that, in view of 1.1.56, \(t'am\) is a s\(a\)vd\(h\)at\(u\)ka. Now replacement condition \((c)\) can be met and \(a\) can be replaced by \(u\).

\[
= a + k(a \rightarrow u)r + u + t'am
\]
\[
= akur\(t'am\)
\]

8. The replacement of a pada (1.4.14 supti\(n\)ant\(a\)m padam) is treated like a pada.

(202) vas as in gr\(a\)mo vah svam

This entire sentence is derived from the string: gr\(a\)ma + s\(U\) + yu\(sm\)ad + \(a\)m + sv\(a\) + s\(U\), where yu\(sm\)ad + \(a\)m yields yu\(sm\)akam, which in turn is replaced by vas (8.1.21 bahuvacanasaya vasnasau). Given the string: gr\(a\)ma + (s\(U\) \(\rightarrow h\)) + vas + sv\(a\) + (s\(U\) \(\rightarrow am\)) = gr\(a\)m (ah \(\rightarrow o\)) + vas + sv(a + a \(\rightarrow a\))

\[
m = gr\(a\)mo vas svam, 8.2.66 sasaj\(u\)so ru\(h\) is applied. According to this rule, the s of a pada is replaced by r\(U\). In our string yu\(sm\)akam is a pada, vas is not. By invoking 1.1.56, vas can be treated as a pada to yield va(s \(\rightarrow r\(U\) \(\rightarrow h\)) = vah.

Similarly, in (203) gr\(a\)mo na\(h\) svam, na\(h\) is a replacement of asm\(a\)kam ‘genitive plural of asmad’.

(a) al\(a\) vidhih ‘operation which obtains because of aL’

Our example (204) mah\(a\)ras\(k\)\(a\)s\(k\)\(a\) is derived from (mah\(a\)t + s\(U\) + ur\(a\)s + s\(U\) + T\(a\), where mah\(a\)t + s\(U\) + ur\(a\)s + s\(U\) form a bahuvr\(h\)i compound (see 208 dyuk\(a\)m\(a\)h). Given the compound mah\(a\)t + ur\(a\)s, 6.3.46 \(a\)nmah\(a\)hata\(h\)... \(\#\) 1.1.52 alo’nt\(a\)s\(a\) will replace t of mah\(a\)t by \(a\) and s of ur\(a\)s will be changed into h via s-visarga. This will give us maha + \(a\) + urah, after which 5.4.151
uraḥ prabhrtibhyah... would introduce the samāśānta (5.4.68 samāśāntāḥ) affix ka(P → Φ) = ka. The instrumental singular Ṭā will then be introduced after maha + ā + urah + ka. Rule 6.1.101 ṛakah savarne... and 6.1.87 ḍad gunah will alternately apply on maha + ā + urah ka + Ṭā. The result will be: mah(a + ā → ā) + urah + ka + Ṭā = mahā + urah + ka + Ṭā and mah(ā + u → o) rah + ka + Ṭā = mahoraḥ + ka + Ṭā. The ending Ṭā will be replaced by ina by 7.1.12 āhāsasi.... Also 8.3.38 so' padādau will replace the visarga of urah by s. Thus mahoraḥ + ka + (Ṭā → ina) = mahoraḥ + ka + ina and mahora(h → 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 h ruled by 8.3.38 so' padādau) is treated as if it were h, then 8.4.2 aṭkūppvāḥ... will cause the n of ina to be replaced by n. This would result in the derivation of an unacceptable form *mahoraskena. But since 1.1.56 does not find any scope here, everything is in order.

(b) alah vidhīḥ 'operation obtaining on an item occurring after aL'

(205) dyauḥ

Given the string div + s(Ū → Φ), the v of div will be replaced by au by 7.1.84 div au (♯ 1.1.52 alo' niṣṭiyaśa). If au is treated as if it were v, the s, occurring after di(v → au) + s = dīau + s, would have to be deleted. This would result in an undesired form. Looking at the ablative in 6.1.88 halayābbhyah..., we can say that the operation of deleting s is occurring after aL. As a result, we cannot invoke 1.1.56 sthānāvāḥ... Once au is not treated as v, di + au + s will first yield d(i → y) + au + s = dyau + s (6.1.77 iko yam aci), and then by s-visarga, dyauḥ.

A similar interpretation and resultant blocking of 6.1.88 is involved in deriving (206) pānthāḥ from pathin + sŪ and (207) saḥ from tad + sŪ.

(206) pānthāḥ

(a) pathin

4.1.2 svauj... (SUP-selection)
= pathin + sŪ
  iit-deletion
= pathin + s

(b) pathin + s

1.4.13: yasmāt...
6.4.1 anāgasya
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 halayābbhyah... The operation to be performed in that case would be the deletion of s.

(c) pathi + ā + s

1.1.43 sud anapumṣakasya
7.1.76 iyo' t...
7.1.87 tho nīnah
= path(i → a) + ā + s
Derivalional History of Examples

\[ = \text{pa}(\text{th} \rightarrow \text{nth}) + a + \ddot{a} + s \]
\[ = \text{panth} + a + \ddot{a} + s \]

(d) \( \text{panth} + a + \ddot{a} + s \)
\[ 6.1.101 \quad \text{akaḥ savarne dīrghaḥ} \]
\[ = \text{panth} + (a + \ddot{a} \rightarrow \ddot{a}) + s \]
\[ = \text{panth} + \ddot{a} + s \]
\[ = \text{panthā} + s \]

(c) \( \text{panthā} + s \)
\[ s\text{-visarga} \]
\[ = \text{panthāḥ} \]

(207) \( saḥ \)
(a) \( \text{ta} + sU \)
\[ 7.2.102 \quad \text{tyādādīnāmah} \# 1.1.52 \quad \text{alo'ntyasya} \]
\[ = \text{ta}(d \rightarrow a) + s \]
\[ = \text{ta} + a + s \]

(b) \( \text{ta} + a + s \)
\[ 7.2.106 \quad \text{taḍaḥ saḥ...} \]
\[ = (\text{ta} \rightarrow \text{sa}) + a + s \]
\[ = \text{sa} + a + s \]

Refer here to my note concerning the application of
\[ 6.1.68 \quad \text{hātīyābbhyah...} \]
in (b) of (206) \( \text{panthāḥ} \).

(c) \( \text{sa} + a + s \)
\[ 6.1.97 \quad \text{ato gune} \]
\[ s(a + a \rightarrow a) + s \]
\[ = sa + s \]
\[ = sas \]

(d) \( \text{sas} \)
\[ s\text{-visarga} \]
\[ = saḥ \]

(c) \( \text{alaḥ vidhīḥ 'operation obtaining in place of aL'} \)

(208) \( \text{duḥkāmah} \)

Given a string of two syntactically related \( \text{pada, div + ṇi and kāma} + sU \)
the following rules apply.

(a) \( \text{div} + ṇi + kāma + sU \)
\[ 2.1.1 \quad \text{samarthāḥ...} \]
\[ 2.1.3 \quad \text{prāk...} \]
\[ 2.1.4 \quad \text{saha supā} \]
\[ 2.2.24 \quad \text{anekam...} \]
\[ = \text{div} + ṇi + kāma + sU \]

(b) \( \text{div} + ṇi + kāma + sU \)
\[ 1.2.46 \quad \text{kṛttaddhiita...} \]
\[ 2.4.71 \quad \text{ṣuṇo dhātu...} \]
\[ = \text{div} + (ṇi \rightarrow θ) + kāma + (sU \rightarrow θ) \]
= div + kāma
= divkāma

(c) divkāma

4.1.2 svauj... (sUP-selection)
  it-deletion
  = divkāma + s(U → Θ)

(d) divkāma + s

6.1.131 div ut # 1.1.52 alo'ntyasya
  = di(v → u) kāma + s
  = divkāma + s

(e) divkāma + s

6.1.72 samhitāyām
  6.1.77 iko yanaci
  = 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 → Θ) 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) aupagavah
  = s-visarga
  = dyukāmah

(g) ali vidhih 'operation obtaining when aL follows'

(209) ka iṣṭaḥ

Given the string kim + sU iṣṭa + sU, where i of iṣṭa is a replacement of y (see note 2 under 1.1.45 iḥ yanah...), first, 7.2.103 kimaḥ kah will replace kim by ka. Rule 8.2.66 sasajusruḥ will then replace sU by rU. If the i replacement of y in iṣṭa is treated as if it were i, our resultant string ka + r + iṣṭa + sU will be subject to the application of 6.1.114 hasi 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 hasi ca attests to the fact that an aL-vidhī is obtaining with reference to a following aL denoted by kṣ. 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 = kaya + iṣṭaḥ = ka(y → Θ) + iṣṭaḥ = ka iṣṭaḥ. Note that iṣṭa + sU will yield iṣṭaḥ.

1.1.57 acaḥ parasmin pūrvavidhau

(210) pātayati

Given the string pātu + NiC, where the causative affix NiC is introduced after a prātipadika (1.2.46 arthavad...) by the strength of the vārttika (vt.)
ta$karo$ti $ta$da$ca$te (ad 3:1.25 sa$tya$pa...), the $u$ of $pa$tu + $\(N \rightarrow \emptyset\)$i($C \rightarrow \emptyset$) = $\emptyset$, $i$ is deleted at the strength of another $v$.$i$. na$\tilde{v}$i$\tilde{v}$ha$va$t prati$pa$da$ka$sa$na (ad 6.4.115 $te$h). $H$is yields $pa$tu($u \rightarrow \emptyset$) + $i$ = $\emptyset$ + $i$. Rule 7.2.116 $a$ta upa$da$ha$sha$ may now become applicable here. $H$his rule would require a vr$\ddhi$ replacement for the penultimate vowel ($a$) of our an$\dd$ga $pa$ti. However 1.1.57 intervenes. $H$is states that the $a$ of $pa$ti cannot be termed upa$da$ha (1.1.65 $alo'$ nt$\dd$at $p$ir$\dd$va... because the zero replacement of $u$ of $pa$tu will have to be treated as if it were $u$. $T$here are two reasons for this:

(a) the zero replacement of $u$ was conditioned by a following item ($NiC$), and

(b) the vr$\ddhi$ replacement obtains for a preceding item.

Thus, for all practical purposes, the zero replacement of $u$ will be considered as if it were $u$. $H$i$.$ $W$his will make $t$ the upa$da$ha of $pa$ti. Obviously $t$ cannot be replaced by vr$\ddhi$, since $t$ is not denoted by $iK$ (1.1.3 $iKo$...). The vr$\ddhi$ is blocked.

$T$here is another reason why 1.1.57 must be formulated. As I have already pointed out under (c) of 1.1.56 st$\dd$hi$n$va$, a genitive interpretation of al-$vi$di is possible. $A$ccording to this, when an operation obtains 'in place of al,' 'a substitute cannot be treated like the substituendum. $G$iven this, the zero replacement of $u$ in $pa$tu cannot be treated like $u$, and hence, $a$ cannot be denied the assignment of the term upa$da$ha. $H$is will clear the way for vr$\ddhi$ of $a$ which, in turn, will eventually lead to a wrong form $\ast p$at$\dd$ya$ti$. But 1.1.57 prevents it.

Turning back to the derivation of $pat$at$\dd$ya$ti$, we end up with a causal form $pa$ti + $i$ = $\dd$ati, which is termed a dh$\dd$tu 'root' by 3.1.32 san$\dd$dyant$\dd$ti... For deriving $\dd$at$\dd$ya$ti$ from $pa$ti, follow steps similar to (14) nayati and (15) bhavati.

(211) avad$\dd$hi$\dd$.

This example is derived from $aT + han + sIC + iT + tiP$, where the verbal root han is replaced by vad$\dd$ha by 2.3.43 luti ca. For other details, refer to the derivation of (16) ak$\dd$r$\dd$ti, and so on. Given the string $a + vad$\dd$ha + $s + i + t$, 6.4.48 ato lopa$h$ will delete the $a$ of vad$\dd$ha under the condition of s($IC$), an $\dd$rddhad$\dd$hatu$ka$ affix. $N$ow the $a$ of vad$\dd$ha in the new string $a + vad$\dd$ha + $s + i + t$ may become an object of vr$\ddhi$ replacement by 7.2.7 ato hal$\dd$der... $H$owever, for purposes of this replacement, the an$\dd$ga (in this case, a-$vd$ad$\dd$), must terminate in a consonant. Under the provisions of 1.1.57 aca$h$ parasmin..., a-$vd$ad$\dd$ can still be treated as if it ended in a. $T$his is possible because the $a$ of vad$\dd$ha was deleted under the condition of the following s($IC$), and this vr$\ddhi$ replacement is obtaining on a preceding item. The vr$\ddhi$ is again blocked. The resultant form will be avad$\dd$hi$\dd$.

(212) bahukha$\dd$tvaka$h$.

This example is derived from bahukha$\dd$tvaka$h + s$U$, where the base is a bahukha$\dd$rihi compound termed a nominal stem. The compound results by
combining bahvī + Jas + khatvā + Jas according to 2.2.24 anekam anyapadārthē. The nominative plural endings are deleted after the compound formation. The resultant form bahvikhātvā is further subjected to masculine transformation (see (102) uttaratūrvasyai; also (174) vāndayayatā) by 6.3.34 strīyāḥ pumavad.... The result is bahukhatvā, after which 5.4.154 śesāḍ vibhāṣā introduces the samāśānta affix kaP. Given the string bahukhatvā + ka, 7.4.15 āpa... ’nyatārasāyam causes the anāga-final ā to be replaced by short a. The form now becomes bahukhatvā(ā → a) + ka = bahukhatvaka. Rule 6.2.175 bahor nañvat... states that when bahu signifies the plurality of the following constituent of a bahuvrihi compound, the accent of such a following constituent should be assigned according to rules stated for constituents which follow naN. In other words, because bahu is signifying the plurality of khatvā, the accent of khatvā, particularly the a of khatvā, should be determined on the basis of 6.2.174 hrasvānte.... This rule assigns accent to forms which follow naN. It states that the vowel which is prior to the final vowel of an item is assigned udāṭha ‘high’ accent, if that item both follows naN and also terminates in a short vowel.

If we follow 6.2.174 hrasvānte... in assigning an accent to the non-final a of khatvā (in bahukhatva), a will be udāṭta. However 1.1.56 will cause the final short vowel of khatvā to be treated as long. This will block the udāṭta accent of the a of kha on the grounds that khatvā no longer terminates in a short vowel. This brings into play 6.2.173 kapi pūrvam, according to which the udāṭta accent should be assigned to the final a of bahukhatvā. 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 udāṭta occurs with reference to the following kaP, the final short a of khatvā 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 udāṭta accent to the final a of bahukhatvā.

The other accents of bahukhatvaka are as follows: a, u, a as in bahukha are anuddāṭta ‘low’ (see 6.1.158 anuddāṭtām padam ekavatram; and the a of ka is svarita ‘circumflex’ (see 8.4.66 udāttānudāttasya...). Thus: bahukhatvaka.

1.1.58 na padāntadvirvacana...
(a) padānta-vidhi
(213) kau śaṭah

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 stah is derived from as + LAT, where LAT is replaced by the third-person dual ending tas, and the augment Sap is introduced after the root. This yields as + Sap + tas. Rule 2.4.72 adisprabhrtihyah... causes the deletion of Sap. Given the string as + tas, 6.4.111 śnasor al lopah applies to delete the a of as. The final s of stas becomes h by s-visarga. It should be remembered here that the deletion of the a in as was caused by the sārvadhatuka (3.4.113 tiṅśit...) affix tas, treated as if it were marked with N (see 1.2.4 sārvadhatukam apit).

If we have the string kau + stah, 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 unaccept able form *k(au → āv) + stah = *kāustah. 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 *kāustah. 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 stah. 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 yan aci will apply. The result will be incorrect forms such as *yānysanti and *kānysanti.

(b) dvirvacana-vidhi
(217) daddhy atra

Given the string daddhi + atra, 6.1.77 iko yan aci will apply. The result will be daddhi(i → y) + atra = daddhy 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 daddhi + atra will be daddhhyatra, which after the application of 8.4.53 jhalām jaś jhasi, becomes da(dh → d)hyatra = daddhhyatra. Similar problems are encountered in deriving (218) maddhvatra and (219) sudhvyarpasyaḥ from madhu + atra and sudhi + upāsyāḥ.

(c) vare-vidhi
(220) yāyāvaraḥ
(a) yā
1.3.1 bhūvādayo...
3.1.22 dhātor ekāco...
= yā + ya(Ñ → 0) # dvītva
= yā + ya

(b) yā + ya
6.1.1 ekāco dice...
6.1.4 pūrvo' bhūṣaḥ
6.1.9 sany añoh
= yā + yā + ya

(c) yā + yā + ya
1.4.13 yasmāt...
6.4.1 anāgsya
7.4.59 hrasvah
= y(a → a) + yā + ya
= ya + yā + ya
= yāyāya

(d) yāyāya
7.4.83 dirgho' kitarḥ
= y(a → a) yāya
= yāyāya

(e) yāyāya
3.1.32 sanādyantā...
3.1.91 dhātoḥ
3.2.17 yaś ca yah
3.4.114 ārdhadhātukam śeṣaḥ
= yāyāya + vara (C → 0)
= yāyāva + vara

(f) yāyāya + vara
1.4.13 yasmāt...
6.4.1 anāgsya
6.4.46 ārdhadhātuke
6.4.48 ato lopah
= yāyāy (a → 0) + vara
= yāyāy + vara

(g) yāyāy + vara
6.1.64 lopop vyor vali
= yāyā(y → 0) + vara
= yāyā + vara

Given the string yāyā + vara, the following takes place:
(a) If the zero replacement of the a of yaN is treated as a, this string will be viewed as yāyā + a + vara. Now, 6.4.64 ato lopa iṣi ca can apply to delete the a of yā. The result will be *yāy(a → 0) + vara = *yāyvara.
(b) the alā vidhi interpretation will block treatment, of zero as a. This in turn blocks the above mentioned deletion of a.
(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 sU and s-visarga yields yāyāvarah.

(d) ya-lopa vidhi

(221) kaṇḍūṭiḥ

(a) kaṇḍū(Ṇ → Θ)

1.3.1 bhūvādayo...
3.1.22 dhātor...
3.1.27 kaṇvādibhyo...
= kaṇḍū + ya(k → Θ)
= kaṇḍū + ya
3.1.32 sanādyantā...
= kaṇḍūya

(b) kaṇḍūya

3.1.91 dhātōḥ
3.3.174 kīktīt ca...
= kaṇḍūya + (K → Θ) ti(G → Θ)
= kaṇḍūya + ti

(c) kaṇḍūya + ti

3.4.114 ārdhadhātukam...
1.4.13 yasmāt...
6.4.1 aṅgaśya
6.4.46 ārdhadhātuke
6.4.48 ato lopaḥ
= kaṇḍūya (a → Θ) + ti
= kaṇḍūya + ti

(d) kaṇḍū + ti

6.1.66 lopo vyor vali
= kaṇḍū(y → Θ) + 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 lopo vyor vali to delete y.

The final form of the example derived from kaṇḍūti + sU = kaṇḍūṭiḥ via s-visarga.

Also note that the explanation given here under (1)-(3) is also applicable to the deletion of v in (220) yāyāvarah.
(e) svara-vidhi

(222) cikirṣakah

(a) \( (DU \rightarrow \emptyset) kṛ (\bar{N} \rightarrow \emptyset) \)

\[
\begin{align*}
kṛ & : 1.3.1 \text{ bhūvādayo...} \\
    & : 3.1.7 \text{ dhātoḥ} \\
    = & kṛ + sa(\bar{N} \rightarrow \emptyset) \\
    = & kṛ + sa
\end{align*}
\]

(b) \( kṛ + sa \)

\[
\begin{align*}
3.4.114 & \text{ ārdhadhātukam...} \\
1.4.13 & \text{ yasmāt...} \\
6.4.1 & \text{ aṅgasya} \\
7.2.35 & \text{ ārdhadhātukasyed...}, \text{ blocked because of 7.2.10 ekāc...} \\
7.3.84 & \text{ sārvadhātukārdha... blocked because 1.2.9 iko jhāl will allow the jhL-initial saN to be treated as marked with K, and thus 1.1.5 kniṭi ca will intervene.}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
= & kṛ + sa
\end{align*}
\]

(c) \( kṛ + sa \)

\[
\begin{align*}
7.1.100 & \text{ ṛta id dhātoḥ \# 1.1.51 uraṇ...} \\
= & k(r \rightarrow ir) + sa \\
= & kir + sa
\end{align*}
\]

(d) \( kir + sa \)

\[
\begin{align*}
6.1.9 & \text{ sany añoh (6.1.1 ekāc o dve...} \\
6.1.4 & \text{ pūrvo bhṛyāsah) \# dvitva} \\
= & kir + kir + sa
\end{align*}
\]

(e) \( kir + kir + sa \)

\[
\begin{align*}
7.4.62 & \text{ kuhoś cuḥ \# 1.1.50 sthāne...} \\
= & (k \rightarrow c)i + kir + sa \\
= & ci + kir + sa
\end{align*}
\]

(f) \( ci + kir + sa \)

\[
\begin{align*}
8.2.77 & \text{ hali ca} \\
= & ci + k(i \rightarrow i)r + sa \\
= & ci + kir + sa \\
8.1.59 & \text{ ādesa pratyayoh} \\
= & ci + kir + (s \rightarrow s)a \\
= & ci + kir + sa \\
= & cikirṣa
\end{align*}
\]

(g) cikirṣa

\[
\begin{align*}
3.1.32 & \text{ sanādyantā...} \\
3.1.91 & \text{ dhātoḥ} \\
3.1.133 & \text{ nṛṇaḥ} \\
= & cikirṣa + (N \rightarrow \emptyset) vu (L \rightarrow \emptyset) \\
= & cikirṣa + vu \\
3.4.114 & \text{ ārdhadhātukam...}
\end{align*}
\]

(h) cikirṣa + vu

\[
\begin{align*}
1.4.13 & \text{ yasmāt...} \\
6.4.1 & \text{ aṅgasya}
\end{align*}
\]
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 udāṭṭa accent to i 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 ṇyuL).

2. But if the zero replacement of a is treated like a, the udāṭṭa 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 sthāṇivat... will block the udāṭṭa 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 udāṭṭa.

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 udāṭṭa accent to i of cikīrṣaka.

Similar explanations can be given in assigning the udāṭṭa accent to i of (223) jihīrṣakah, which is derived from hṛN + saN + ṇyuL.

(f) savarna-vidhi(g) anusvāra-vidhi

(224) śindhi

(a) sīṣ(LR → θ)

    1.3.1 bhūvādayo...

    sīṣ

    3.1.91 dhātoḥ

    3.3.162 lot ca

    = sīṣ + LOT

(b) sīṣ + LOT

    3.4.77 lasya # tiN-selection

    = sīṣ + (LOT → siP)

    it-deletion

    = sīṣ + si

(c) sīṣ + si

    3.1.78 rudhādibhyah... # 1.1.47 midaco’ntyāṭ paraḥ

    = sī + (Ś → θ)na(M → θ) + ś + si

    = sī + na + ś + si

(d) sī + na + ś + si

    3.4.87 ser hy apic ca

    = sī + na + ś + (si → hi)
= \( \text{si} + \text{na} + \varsigma + \text{hi} \)

Note here that even though \( \text{hi} \) is a replacement of an affix marked with \( P \), it is not allowed to be treated as such.

(e) \( \text{si} + \text{na} + \varsigma + \text{hi} \)

\[
\begin{align*}
1.4.13 & \quad \text{yasmāt...} \\
6.4.1 & \quad \text{āṅgasya} \\
6.4.111 & \quad \text{śnasor al lopah} # \ 1.2.4 \text{ sārvadvāhātukam apit} \\
= & \quad \text{si} + n(a \to \emptyset) + \varsigma + \text{hi} \\
= & \quad \text{si} + n + \varsigma + \text{hi}
\end{align*}
\]

(f) \( \text{si} + n + \varsigma + \text{hi} \)

\[
\begin{align*}
6.4.101 & \quad \text{hujhalbhyo her dhiḥ} \\
= & \quad \text{si} + n + \varsigma + (\text{hi} \to \text{dhi}) \\
= & \quad \text{si} + n + \varsigma + \text{dhi}
\end{align*}
\]

(g) \( \text{si} + n + \varsigma + \text{dhi} \)

\[
\begin{align*}
1.4.14 & \quad \text{suptiṇantam padam} \\
8.4.41 & \quad \text{stunā śtuḥ} \\
= & \quad \text{si} + n + \varsigma + (\text{dh} \to \text{ḍh}) \ i \\
= & \quad \text{si} + n + \varsigma + \text{dhi}
\end{align*}
\]

(h) \( \text{si} + n + \varsigma + \text{dhi} \)

\[
\begin{align*}
8.4.53 & \quad \text{jhalāṁ jaś jhasi} # \ 1.1.50 \text{ sthāne...} \\
= & \quad \text{si} + n + (\varsigma \to \text{d}) + \text{dhi} \\
= & \quad \text{si} + n + \text{d} + \text{dhi}
\end{align*}
\]

(i) \( \text{si} + n + \text{d} + \text{dhi} \)

\[
\begin{align*}
8.4.65 & \quad \text{jharo jhari savarṇe} \\
= & \quad \text{si} + n + (\text{d} \to \emptyset) + \text{dhi} \\
= & \quad \text{si} + n + \emptyset + \text{dhi}
\end{align*}
\]

(j) \( \text{si} + n + \emptyset + \text{dhi} \)

\[
\begin{align*}
8.3.24 & \quad \text{naścāpādantaśya} \\
= & \quad \text{si} + (n \to \text{m}) + \emptyset + \text{dhi}
\end{align*}
\]

Note here that the \( a \) of \((S)na(M)\) 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 \( a \).hL). 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) \( \text{si} + m + \text{dhi} \)

\[
\begin{align*}
8.4.58 & \quad \text{anusvārasya yayi parasavarnah} \\
= & \quad \text{si} + (m \to \text{n}) + \text{dhi}
\end{align*}
\]

This homogeneous replacement is possible only when \( yY \) follows. Again if the zero replacement of \( a \) (of \( SnaM) \) 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 śīndhi.

(225) śīndhi

A similar example is śīndhi, derived from pīsLR + LOT. There is yet another example, (226) śiṣanti, which is derived from śisLR + (LĀT → 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 + [slot] + ant. Again, the n will be changed into anusvāra. The form would become śīṃṣanti. 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 śīṃṣanti is provided to make it clear that anusvāra and savarṇa operations can be considered independently in applying 1.1.58.

(g) dirgha-vidhi

(227) pratidīvānā

(a) pratidīvan

1.2.45 arthavad...
4.1.1 nyāp...
4.1.2 svauj... # SUP-selection
= pratidīvan + Tā
i-Deletion
= pratidīvan + ā

(b) pratidīvan + ā

1.4.13 yasmāt...
1.4.18 yaci bham
6.4.1 aṅgasya
6.4.129 bhasya
6.4.134 allo po’ naḥ # 1.1.65 alo’ ntyāt...
= pratidū(ā → ∅) n + ā
= pratidū + ∅ + n + ā

(c) pratidīv + ∅ + n + ā

1.4.14 suptīnantam padam
8.2.77 hali ca
1.1.58 na padānta...
= pratid(i → i)v + ∅ + n + ā
= pratidīvānā

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 dirgha-vidhi.
Similar problems will have to be overcome in deriving (228) \textit{pratidivne} from \textit{pratidivn} + \textit{Ne}.

(h) \textit{jś-vidhi} \\
(229) \textit{sagdhih} \\
(a) \textit{ad}

\begin{align*}
1.3.1 & \quad \text{bhūvādayo...} \\
2.4.39 & \quad \text{bahulum...} \\
= (ad \rightarrow \text{ghas}(LR \rightarrow \emptyset)) \\
= \text{ghas}
\end{align*}

(b) \textit{ghas}

\begin{align*}
3.1.91 & \quad \text{dhātoh} \# 1.1.56 \text{sthanivad...} \\
3.3.94 & \quad \text{striyām ktn} \\
= \text{ghas} + (K \rightarrow \emptyset) t (N \rightarrow \emptyset) \\
= \text{ghas} + ti
\end{align*}

(c) \textit{ghas} + \textit{ti}

\begin{align*}
1.4.13 & \quad \text{yasmāt...} \\
6.4.1 & \quad \text{aṅgasya} \\
6.4.100 & \quad \text{ghasibhasor hali} \# 1.1.65 \text{alo'ntyāt...} \\
= \text{gh}(a \rightarrow \emptyset)s + ti \\
= \text{gh} + \emptyset + s + ti
\end{align*}

(d) \textit{gh} + \emptyset + s + ti

\begin{align*}
1.4.14 & \quad \text{suptiñantam padam} \\
8.1.16 & \quad \text{padasya} \\
8.2.26 & \quad \text{jhalo jhali} \\
= \text{gh} + \emptyset + (s \rightarrow \emptyset) + ti \\
= \text{gh} + \emptyset + \emptyset + ti
\end{align*}

(e) \textit{gh} + \emptyset + \emptyset + ti

\begin{align*}
8.2.40 & \quad \text{jhaṣastathor dho' dhāḥ} \\
= \text{gh} + \emptyset + \emptyset + (t \rightarrow dh)i \\
= \text{gh} + \emptyset + \emptyset + dhi
\end{align*}

(f) \textit{gh} + \emptyset + \emptyset + dhi

\begin{align*}
8.4.53 & \quad \text{jhalām jaś jhasi} \\
= (\text{gh} \rightarrow g) + \emptyset + \emptyset + dhi
\end{align*}

Remember here that \textit{gh} (a \textit{jhL}) cannot be replaced by \textit{g} (a \textit{jŚ}) unless \textit{dh} (a \textit{jhŚ}) follows. Unless the zero replacement of the \textit{a} of \textit{gha} is disallowed from being treated as \textit{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 (\textit{jŚ-vidhi}). The form remains \textit{g} + \emptyset + \emptyset + dhi = \textit{g}dhi, which, after placement of \textit{sU}, becomes \textit{g}dhi + \textit{sU}.

Given a string of two \textit{pada}, \textit{gdhi} + \textit{sU} and \textit{samānā} + \textit{sU}, 2.1.58 \textit{pūrva}... will combine them to yield a \textit{karmadhāraya} \textit{tatpurusava} compound \textit{samānā} + \textit{sU} + \textit{gdhi} + \textit{sU}. The endings of this string will be deleted (2.4.71 \textit{supo dhātu}...) after the compound is named a \textit{prātipadika} (1.2.46 \textit{krtaddhita}...).
In addition, 6.3.42 *pumvatkarmanadhāraya*... would require a masculine transformation of the samānā of samānāgḍhi. Rule 6.3.84 *chandasya*... will then replace samānā by sa. The resultant form will be *sagdhi*, after which sū can be introduced to derive sagdhiḥ.

(230) **babdhām**

(a) **bhas**

steps similar to (a-b) of (224) *śīndhi*

= bhas + (LOT → tas)
= bhas + tas

(b) **bhas + tas**

3.4.85 loṭo laṅvat
3.4.101 tāsthastha..., see (d) of (201) akurutām

= bhas + (tas → tām)
= bhas + tām

(c) **bhas + tām**

same as (d) of (10) *pacanti*, plus
2.4.74 jhuṭyādibhyah śluḥ # 1.1.61 pratyayasya...

bhas + SaP + tām

bhas + (SaP → Ø) + tām

bhas + Ø + tām

(d) **bhas + Ø + tām**

6.1.10 ślu (6.1.1 ekāco dve...) # dvitva

= bhas + bhas + Ø + tām

6.1.4 pūrvo bhyaśaḥ

(e) **bhas + bhas + Ø + tām**

1.4.13 yasmāt...

6.4.1 aṅgasya
7.4.60 halādi ṣeṣaḥ

= bha (s → Ø + bhas + Ø + tām)
= bha + Ø + bhas + Ø + tām

(f) **bha + Ø + bhas + Ø + tām**

1.4.14 suptiṇantam 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
\[ \text{= } ba + bh + \emptyset + \text{\textit{t\text{\textae}}}m \]

(i) \( ba + bh + \emptyset + \text{\textit{t\text{\textae}}}m \)
8.2.40 \( \text{\textit{jha\text{\textae}}statho} \)...
\( ba + bh + \emptyset + (t \rightarrow dh)\text{\textae}m \)
\( = ba + bh + \emptyset + \text{\textit{dh\text{\textae}}}m \)

(j) \( ba + bh + \emptyset + \text{\textit{d\text{\textae}}}m \)
8.4.53 \( \text{\textit{jhal\text{\textae}}m j\text{\textae}s jha\text{\textae}si} \)
\( = ba + (bh \rightarrow b) + \emptyset + \text{\textit{d\text{\textae}}}m \)
\( = \text{\textit{bab\text{\textae}}}d\text{\textae}m \)

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) \textit{sagdhi}h.

(i) \textit{c\textit{\textae}R-vidhi}

(231) \textit{jaksatu}h

(a) \( \text{\textit{ad}} \)
\( \text{same as (a) of (162) \textit{\textit{s\text{\textae}sva}vatu}h} \)
\( = \text{\textit{ad}} + \text{\textit{LIT}} \)

(b) \( \text{\textit{ad}} + \text{\textit{LIT}} \)
3.4.115 \( \text{\textit{lit} ca} \)
2.4.35 \( \text{\textit{\textae}rdh\text{\textae}dh\text{\textae}t\text{\textae}urre} \)
2.4.40 \( \text{\textit{li}t\text{\textae} any\text{\textae}t\text{\textae}ras\text{\textae}y\text{\textae}m} \)
\( = (\text{\textit{ad}} \rightarrow \text{\textit{ghasLRT}}) + \text{\textit{LIT}} \)
\( \text{i\textit{t}-deletion} \)
\( = \text{\textit{ghas}} + \text{\textit{LIT}} \)

(c) \( \text{\textit{ghas}} + \text{\textit{LIT}} \)
\( \text{same as (a-b) of (162) \textit{\textit{s\text{\textae}sva}vatu}h} \)
\( = \text{\textit{ghas}} + (\text{\textit{LIT}} \rightarrow \text{\textit{tas}}) \)
\( = \text{\textit{ghas}} + (\text{\textit{tas}} \rightarrow \text{\textit{atus}}) \)
\( = \text{\textit{ghas}} + \text{\textit{atus}} \)

(d) \( \text{\textit{ghas}} + \text{\textit{atus}} \)
1.2.5 \( \text{\textit{\textit{z\text{\textae}myog\text{\textae}l}}} \)...
1.4.23 \( \text{\textit{yasm\text{\textae}l}} \)...
6.4.1 \( \text{\textit{\textit{an\text{\textae}gas}y\text{\textae}}} \)
6.4.100 \( \text{\textit{\textit{gha}s\text{\textae}h\text{\textae}so}r} \)...
\( = \text{\textit{gh}}(a \rightarrow \emptyset)s + \text{\textit{atus}} \)
\( = \text{\textit{gh}} + \emptyset + s + \text{\textit{atus}} \)

(e) \( \text{\textit{gh}} + \emptyset + s + \text{\textit{atus}} \)
6.1.8 \( \text{\textit{li}t\text{\textae} dh\text{\textae}tor} \)...(6.1.1 \textit{ek\text{\textae}co dve}...) \# 1.1.59
\( \text{\textit{dv\text{\textae}rvacan}e'} \text{\textit{ci}} \)
\( = \text{\textit{ghas}} + \text{\textit{gh}} + \emptyset + s + \text{\textit{atus}} \)

(f) \( \text{\textit{ghas}} + \text{\textit{gh}} + \emptyset + s + \text{\textit{atus}} \)
6.1.4 \( \text{\textit{p\text{\textae}r\text{\textae}vo'} b\text{\textae}\text{\textae}y\text{\textae}sa}h} \)
7.4.60 \( \text{\textit{hal\text{\textae}di} \text{\textit{s\text{\textae}sa}h}} \)
\( = \text{\textit{gha}}(s \rightarrow \emptyset) + \text{\textit{gh}} + \emptyset + s + \text{\textit{atus}} \)
7.4.62 \( \text{\textit{kuh\text{\textae}o}s \text{\textit{cu}h}} \)
\( = \text{\textit{jha}} + \text{\textit{gh}} + \emptyset + s + \text{\textit{atus}} \)
(g) \( jha + gh + \emptyset + s + atus \)
  1.4.14  \textit{suptinam} \textit{padam} \\
  8.1.16  \textit{padasya} \\
  8.4.54  \textit{abhyase} \textit{carca} \\
  = (jh \rightarrow j)a + gh + \emptyset + s + atus \\

(h) \( ja + gh + \emptyset + s + atus \)
  8.4.55  \textit{khari} \textit{ca} \\
  = ja + (gh \rightarrow k) + \emptyset + 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) \( ja + k + \emptyset + s + atus \)
  8.3.60  \textit{sasivasighas}... \\
  ja + k + \emptyset + (s \rightarrow s) + atus \\
  = \textit{jakataus} \\

(j) \( jakatatus \)
  \( s \)-\textit{visarga} \\
  = \textit{jakatutah} \\

Similar problems occur in deriving (232) \textit{jakatuh} according to the same pattern.

(233) \textit{akshan}

(a) \( ad \)
  same as (a) of (16) \textit{akarstit} \\
  = \textit{ad} + \textit{LU\tilde{n}} \\

(b) \( ad + LU\tilde{n} \)
  same as (b) of (231) \textit{jakatuh} \\
  = (ad \rightarrow \textit{ghasLR}) + LU\tilde{n} \\
  = \textit{ghas} + LU\tilde{n} \\

(c) \( \textit{ghas} + LU\tilde{n} \)
  same as (c-f) of (10) \textit{pacanti} \\
  \textit{ghas} + CLI + LU\tilde{n} \\

(d) \( \textit{ghas} + CLI + LU\tilde{n} \)
  same as (c-f) of (10) \textit{pacanti} \\
  = \textit{ghas} + CLI + (LU\tilde{n} \rightarrow jhi) \\
  = \textit{ghas} + CLI + (jh \rightarrow \textit{ant}) i \\
  = \textit{ghas} + CLI + \textit{ant} \\

(e) \( \textit{ghas} + CLI + \textit{anti} \)
  3.4.100  \textit{ita\tilde{c}} \textit{ca} \\
  = \textit{ghas} + CLI + \textit{ant}(i \rightarrow \emptyset) \\
  = \textit{ghas} + CLI + \textit{ant}
(f) ghas + CLI + ant
   2.4.80  mantre....
   ghas + (CLI → 0) + ant
   ghas + ant

(g) ghas + ant
   same as (f) of (16) akārṣit
   = a(T → 0) + ghas + ant

(h) a + ghas + ant
   1.4.13  yasmāt...
   6.4.100 ghasibhasor...# 1.2.4 sārvadhātukam...
   = a + gh(a → 0)s + ant
   = a + gh + s + ant

(i) a + gh + s + ant
   1.4.14  suptiṇantam padam
   8.1.16  padasya
   8.2.23  samyogāntasya...
   = a + gh + s + an(t → 0)
   = 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  sāsiwasighasi...
   = a + k + (s → s) + an
   = a + k + s + an
   = aksan

1.1.59 dvirvacane’ ci

Examples such as (234)/(235) papatuḥ/papuḥ, (236)/(237) jaghnatuḥ/jaghnahu, and (238)/(239) cakratuḥ/cakruḥ are derived by introducing LIṬ (3.4.115 liṭ ca) after pā, han and kr, and replacing it first by tasjhi (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 dhāt̄or...# 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 asamyogāl...
\[ pā + p(ā → Θ) + atus \]
\[ pā + p(ā → Θ) + us \]

Given the strings \( pā + p + Θ + atus/pā + p + Θ + us \), \( pā \) will be termed abhyāsa by 6.1.4 pūrvo’bhyaśaḥ to clear the way for its ā to be shortened by 7.4.59 hrasvāḥ. For deriving (234) papatuḥ/ (235) papuḥ from papatus/papus, apply s-visarga.

(236) jaghnuṭuḥ/(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
\[ 6.4.1 \text{ anāgasya} \]
\[ 6.4.98 \text{ gamahana...# 1.1.65 alo’ntyāt...} \]
\[ = h(a → Θ) + h + n + atus/ \]
\[ h(a → Θ) + h + n + us \]
7.3.55 abhyāsāca # 6.1.4 pūrvo’bhyaśaḥ
\[ = ha + (h → gh) + Θ + n + atus/ \]
\[ ha + (h → gh) + Θ + n + us \]
8.4.54 abhyāse carca
\[ (h → j) a + gh + n + atus/ \]
\[ (h → j) a + gh + n + us \]
\[ = ja + gh + n + atus/ja + gh + n + us \]
\[ s-visarga \]
\[ = jaghnutus/jaghnuḥ \]

(238) cakruptuḥ/(239) cakruḥ

These involve yN replacement. Thus, given the strings \( kr + atus/kr + us \), 6.1.77 iko yaṇ aci will apply. The results will be \( k(r → r) + atus/k (r → r) + us = kr + atus/kr + us \). Note here that doubling cannot take effect unless 1.1.59 dvirvacane...allows r (the replacement of the vowel r) to be treated as having the form r. As a result, \( kr + atus/kr + us \) will be treated as if it were \( kr + atus/kr + us \). The strings will become \( kr + kr + atus/kr + kr + us \) after doubling. The rest of the rule application are as follows.

\( kr + kr + atus/kr + kr + us \)
\[ 6.4.1 \text{ anāgasya} \]
7.4.66 urat # 6.1.4 pūrvo’bhyaśaḥ, 1.1.50 uraṇ raparāḥ
\[ = k(r → ar) + kr + atus/ \]
\[ k(r → ar) + kr + us \]
7.4.60 halādi šeṣaḥ
\[ = ka(r → Θ) + kr + atus/ \]
\[ ka(r → Θ) + kr + us \]
7.4.62  kuhoś cuh
= (k → c) a + kr + atus /
  (k → c) a + kr + us
= cakratus/cakruss
  s-visarga
= cakratuh/cakruh

(240) āṭṭat
(a) āṭ
  1.3.1 bhūvādayo...
  3.1.91 dhātoḥ
  3.1.26 hetumāri ⊆
= aṭ + (N → Ө)i(C → Ө)
= aṭ + i

(b) āṭ + i
  6.4.1 aṅgasya # 1.4.13 yasmāt...
  7.2.116 atū upadāyāḥ # 1.1.1 vrddhir adaic, 1.1.65 alo'
= (a → ā) t + i
= āṭ + i
= āṭṭi

(c) āṭṭi
  3.1.32 sanādyantā...
  3.1.91 dhātoḥ
  3.2.110 hūn (3.2.84 bhūte)
= āṭṭi + LUN
  3.4.77 lasya
  3.4.78 tiptas... # tiN-selection
= āṭṭi + t

(d) āṭṭi + t
  3.1.48 nisridru...
= āṭṭi + (C → Ө)a(N → Ө) + t
= āṭṭi + a + t

(e) āṭṭi + a + t
  3.4.100 itaś ca
= āṭṭi + a + t(i → Ө),
= āṭṭi + a + t

(f) āṭṭi + a + t
  6.4.1 aṅgasya
  6.4.51 ner aniṭī
= āṭ (i → Ө) + a + t
= āṭ + Ө + a + i

(g) āṭ + Ө + a + t
  7.4.1 nāu caḥ...
= (ā → a) t + Ө + a + t
= āṭ + Ө + a + t
(h) \( aṭ + \emptyset + a + t \)

6.1.1 ekāco...
6.1.2 ajāder...
6.1.11 caṇī

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:

\[
= a + ō + t + a + t
\]

(i) \( a + ō + t + a + t \)

6.4.72 āḍajādīnām \# 1.1.45 ādyantau ṭakita

\[
= ā(T \rightarrow \emptyset) + a + ō + t + a + t
\]
\[
= ā + a + ō + t + a + t
\]

(j) \( ā + a + ō + t + a + t \)

6.1.72 saṃhitāyām...
6.1.90 ātas ca

\[
= āti + a
\]

(241) nināya/(242) nināya

(a) \( ṇIN \)

placement of \( LIṬ \) and its replacement first by \( miP \) and then by \( NaL \)

\[
= ṇi(N \rightarrow \emptyset) + (N \rightarrow \emptyset)a(L \rightarrow \emptyset)
\]
\[
= ŋ + a
\]

6.1.63 ŋo nah

\[
= (n \rightarrow n)i + a
\]
\[
= ŋ + a
\]

(b) \( ŋ + a \)

1.4.13 yasmāt...
6.4.1 aṅgasya
7.1.91 naḷuttamo īva
7.3.84 sārvadhāktukārdha...

\[
= n(ī \rightarrow e) + a
\]
\[
= ne + a
\]

Note here that 7.1.91 is an optional rule. That is, it allows the affix \( NaL \) to be treated as if marked with \( N \) only optionally. Our string \( ne + a \) results by applying guṇa replacement. This is only possible when we do not treat \( NaL \) as marked with \( N \). As opposed to this, and also under the option of 7.1.91, if we did treat \( NaL \) as marked with \( N \), 7.3.84 sārva... will not apply on \( ŋ + a \). Instead 7.2.115 aośi niṃti will apply. The result will be a \( vrddhi \) replacement for \( i \). Thus: \( n(ī \rightarrow āi) + a = nāi + a \).

Turning back to deriving nināya/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 \( ŋ + a \) resolves the difficulty.
This yields: \(ni + ne + a/ni + nai + a\), to which 6.1.75 eko’yavāvah can then apply. The result will be: \(ni + n(e \to ay) + a/ni + n(ai \to ay) + a = ninaya/ninaya\). Rule 7.4.59 hrasvah changes the ni of root to ni.

For deriving (243) lulavā/(244) lulāva from \(lu + LIṬ\), follow the same pattern.

(245) pacaran

(a) \((DU)\) pac (Āṣ)

\[
\begin{align*}
1.3.1 & \quad bhuvādayo... \\
3.1.91 & \quad dhātoh \\
3.3.161 & \quad vidhinimantraṇa... # 3.4.69 laḥ karmani...
\end{align*}
\]

\quad pac + LIṆ

(b) pac + LIṆ

similar to \((c-e)\) of (10) pacanti except that here the selected ending is third person plural ātmanepada jha

\[
= \text{pac} + (LIṆ → jha)
\]

\[
= \text{pac} + ŠaP + jha
\]

\quad it-deletion

\[
= \text{pac} + a + jha
\]

(c) pac + a + jha

\[
3.4.102 \quad liṅah... # 1.1.46 ādyantau...
= \text{pac} + a + sīy(UT → Θ) + jha
= \text{pac} + a + sīy + jha
\]

(d) pac + a + sīy + jha

\[
3.4.105 \quad jhasya ran
\]

\[
\text{pac} + a + sīy + (jha → ran)
\]

\[
\text{pac} + a + sīy + ran
\]

(e) pac + a + sīy + ran

\[
1.4.13 \quad yasmāt...
6.4.1 \quad āṅgasya
7.2.79 \quad liṅah salopo...
\]

\[
= \text{pac} + a + (s → Θ)iṇy + ran # 1.1.60 adarśanam...
= \text{pac} + a + iṇy + ran
\]

(f) pac + a + iṇy + ran

\[
6.1.55 \quad lopo vyr vali # 1.1.60 adarśanam...
\]

\[
= \text{pac} + a + i(y → Θ) + ran
\]

\[
= \text{pac} + a + i + ran
\]

(g) pac + a + i + ran

\[
6.1.87 \quad ād guṇah # 1.1.2 adeṅ guṇah
\]

\[
= \text{pac} + (a + i → e) + ran
= \text{pac} + e + ran
= \text{pacēran}
\]

1.1.60 adarśanam lopah

(246) gaudheraḥ
(a) godhā + āl
same as (a-b) of (1) aupagavah, plus 4.1.129 godhāyā
dhrak
= godhā + āl + dhrak

(b) goana + āl + dhrak
same as (c-d) of (1) aupagavah
godhā + dhra

(c) godhā + dhra
1.4.13 yasmāt...
6.4.1 āṅgasya
7.1.2 āyane-yi...
= godhā + (dh → ey)ra
= godhā + ey + ra

(d) godhā + ey + ra
7.2.118 kit ca # 1.1.1 urddhir ādaic
= g(o → au)dhā + ey + ra
= gaudha + ey + ra

(e) gaudhā + ey + ra
6.4.148 yasyeti ca # 1.1.60 adarśanam...
= gaudh(a → θ) + ey + ra
= gaudh + ey + ra

(f) gaudh + ey + ra
6.1.66 lopo vyor vali # 1.1.60 adarśanam...
= gaudh + e(y → θ) + ra
= gaudhera

(g) gaudhera
sUP-selection
it-deletion
s-visarga
= gaudherah

(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 → θ) = jīv + radānu. The v of jīv is deleted by 6.1.66 lopo vyor vali, of course with reference to 1.1.60 adarśanam…: ji(v → θ) + radānu = jīradānu. The application of sUP-selection, it-deletion, and s-visarga then yields jīradānuḥ.

(248) āśremāṇam
This example is also derived by introducing an Uṇ-ādi affix after the verb root sriuU used with the preverb āN:
ā(N → θ + sriu(U → θ) = āsriu
āsriu + Un-ādi affix man(IN → θ) = āsriu + man.

Given the string āsriu + man, 7.3.86 pugantalaghūpadhasya (# 1.4.13 yasmāt..., 6.4.1 āṅgasya) will order a guṇa replacement for i: āsr(i → e).
\( v + \text{man} = \text{asrev} + \text{man}. \) Rule 6.1.66 \( \text{lōpo vyor vali} \) will delete the \( v \). The resultant base \( \text{āsre}(v \rightarrow \emptyset) + \text{man} = \text{āsre} + \text{man} \) will be termed a nominal stem (\text{prātipadika}) by 1.2.46 \( \text{kr̥taddhita} \). Finally, to \( \text{āśreman} \) will be introduced the accusative singular ending \( \text{am} \) (4.1.1-4.1.2 \( \text{ṇyāp} \), \text{svauj}, and so on). The following two rules then apply to \( \text{āśreman} + \text{am} \):

(a) 6.4.8 \( \text{sarvanāmāstāne} \) (# 1.4.13 \( \text{yasmāt} \), 6.4.1 \( \text{āṅgasya} \), 1.1.42 \( \text{su} \) \text{ṇ anapumsaksasya} \) where we get \( \text{āśre}(a \rightarrow \text{ā})n + \text{am} \)

(b) 8.4.27 \( \text{aṭ kup} \) (# 1.4.14 \( \text{suptiṅnantam padam} \) which changes dental \( n \) into retroflex \( ɳ \). Thus: \( \text{āśre}n(\eta \rightarrow \eta) + \text{am} = \text{āśre}n\text{ām} \).

1.1.61 \( \text{pratyayasya lukuślulupah} \)

(249) \( \text{atti} \)

The word \( \text{atti} \) is derived from \( \text{ad} + \text{ṢaP} + \text{tiP} \) with \( \text{ṢaP} \) having been deleted by 2.4.72 \( \text{adiprabhytibhyah} \). Thus: \( \text{ad} + (\text{ṢaP} \rightarrow \emptyset) + \text{ti}(P \rightarrow \emptyset) = \text{ad} + \text{ti} \). The \( d \) is changed into \( t \) by 8.4.55 \( \text{khari ca} \). As a consequence, \( a(d \rightarrow t) + \text{ti} = \text{atti} \). Note here that the deletion of \( \text{ṢaP} \) was accomplished by using the term \( \text{LUK} \).

(250) \( \text{juhoti} \)

The word \( \text{juhoti} \) is derived from \( \text{hu} + \text{ṢaP} + \text{tiP} \), where \( \text{ṢaP} \) is deleted by using the term \( \text{ṢLU} \). Given the string \( \text{hu} + \text{ti} \), the following rules apply.

(a) \( \text{hu} + \text{ti} \)

\[ \begin{align*}
6.1.10 & \quad \text{šlau} (6.1.1 \text{ekāco}) \\
& \quad # \text{dvitva} \\
& \quad = \text{hu} + \text{hu} + \text{ti}
\end{align*} \]

(b) \( \text{hu} + \text{hu} + \text{ti} \)

\[ \begin{align*}
6.1.4 & \quad \text{pūrvō bhyaśah} \\
7.4.62 & \quad \text{kuhoś cuḥ} (1.4.13 \text{yasmāt}, 6.4.1 \text{āṅgasya}) \\
& \quad = (\text{hu} \rightarrow \text{juhu}) + \text{hu} + \text{ti} \\
& \quad = \text{juh} + \text{hu} + \text{ti}
\end{align*} \]

(c) \( \text{juhu} + \text{hu} + \text{ti} \)

\[ \begin{align*}
8.4.54 & \quad \text{abhyaśe carca} \\
& \quad (\text{jh} \rightarrow \text{j})\text{hu} + \text{hu} + \text{ti} \\
& \quad \text{ju} + \text{hu} + \text{ti}
\end{align*} \]

(d) \( \text{ju} + \text{hu} + \text{ti} \)

\[ \begin{align*}
7.3.84 & \quad \text{sārvadhātu} \ldots # 1.1.2 \text{adeṅ guṇah} \\
& \quad = \text{ju} + \text{h(u} \rightarrow \text{o}) + \text{ti} \\
& \quad = \text{juhoti}
\end{align*} \]

(251) \( \text{varanāh} \)

(a) \( \text{varana} \)

placement of genitive plural ending \( \text{ām} \) with reference to 4.1.1 \( \text{ṇyāp} \), and so on

\[ = \text{varana} + \text{ām} \]

(b) \( \text{varana} + \text{ām} \)

\[ 4.1.82 \quad \text{samarthānām} \ldots (\text{VR}) \]
4.1.83 \( \text{prāgdiyato} \text{n} \)
4.2.70 \( \text{adīrabhava} \text{v ca} \)
\[ = \text{varaṇa} + \text{ām} + a\text{N} \]
(c) \( \text{varaṇa} + \text{ām} + a\text{N} \)
1.2.46 \( \text{kṛttaddhita}... \)
2.471 \( \text{supo}... \)
\[ = \text{varaṇa} + (\text{ām} \to \emptyset) + a \]
\[ = \text{varaṇa} + a\text{N} \]
(d) \( \text{varaṇa} + a\text{N} \)
4.3.82 \( \text{varanādibhyas} \text{ca} \)
\[ = \text{varaṇa} + (a\text{N} \to \emptyset) \]
\[ = \text{varaṇa} \]
(e) \( \text{varaṇa} \)
4.1.1 \( \text{niyāp}... \)
4.1.2 \( \text{suasj}... \# \text{sUP-selection} \)
\[ = \text{varaṇa} + \text{Jas} \]

Note here that \( \text{Jas} \) (the plural) alone should be considered the proper ending after \( \text{varaṇa} \) in order to denote the sense implied by the \( \text{taddhita} \) affix \( a\text{N} \). The syntactically related \( \text{pada} \), \( \text{varaṇa} + \text{ām} \) had a plural sense. Hence in view of 1.2.51 \( \text{lupi yakta} \text{v ad�yaktivacane} \), the number and gender of the original, of \( \text{varaṇa} + \text{ām} \), must be restored when the \( \text{taddhita} \) affix is deleted by involving \( \text{LUP} \). Also note that since the deletion has been accomplished by means of \( \text{LUP} \), operations such as \( \text{vṛddhi} \) replacement conditioned by the affix and obtaining on the \( \text{āṅga} \) do not apply.

(f) \( \text{varaṇa} + (J \to \emptyset)\text{s as} \)
6.1.104 \( \text{prathamayoh}... \)
\[ = \text{varaṇ} (a + a \to \text{ā}) s \]
\[ = s-\text{visarga} \]
\[ = \text{varaṇāḥ} \]

1.1.62 \( \text{pratyayalopa pratyayalakṣaṇam} \)
(252) \text{agnicit} 
(a) \text{ciN} 
1.3.1 \( \text{bhūvādayo}... \)
3.1.91 \( \text{dhātoḥ} \)
3.1.92 \( \text{tataropadama}... (3.2.84 bhūte, 3.2.86 karmaṇi..., 3.2.87 ...kvip} (\text{VR}) \)
3.2.91 \( \text{agnau ceh} \)

Rule 3.2.91 \( \text{agnau ceh} \) is contained in the domain of 3.2.84 \( \text{bhūte} \); therefore by 3.2.91, \( \text{KoIP} \) will be introduced when \( \text{bhūta} \) is being denoted. A question may be raised here concerning 3.2.76 \( \text{kvip ca} \), which in general introduces \( \text{KoIP} \) after a root co-occurring with any conjoined \( \text{pada} \). In view of this, why cannot \( \text{KoIP} \) 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 KuIP when agni + am is co-occurring with ciN. Here is how the restriction works.

(a) This KuIP is introduced only when bhūta is introduced. If present or future are being denoted, it cannot be introduced.

(b) This KuIP can only be introduced after ci co-occurring with agni + am. That is, if the root is not ci, KuIP cannot be introduced. Thus, agnim bhṛtavān = agnihāraḥ has to be derived from agni + am bhṛ + aN, and not KuIP.

(c) Also when the upapada is different, KuIP cannot be introduced. Thus iṣṭikāś citavān = *iṣṭikācit has to be derived with aN. The form *iṣṭikācit is wrong. The correct aN derivation would be iṣṭikācāyah.

(d) Since KuIP 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 KuIP after ciN we could start the derivation of agnicīt with the string agni + am + ciN. However this process is less revealing. Instead, I prefer to start with ciN 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 + ciN 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 ciN before we reach 3.2.91. Starting with agni + am + ciN means taking a lot for granted.

(b) agni + am + ci (N \rightarrow \emptyset) + (K \rightarrow \emptyset)viP \rightarrow \emptyset

= agni + am + ci + v

2.2.19 upapadam atiṅ (2.2.17 nityam..., 2.1.22
tatpuruṣah, 2.1.4 saha supā, 2.1.3 prāk...) (VR)

= agni + am + ci + v

1.2.46 kṛttaddhita...

2.4.71 supo...

= agni + (am \rightarrow \emptyset) + ci + v

= agni + ci + v

(c) agni + ci + v

1.2.41 aprkta...

6.1.67 ver aprktasya

= agni + ci +(v \rightarrow \emptyset)

= agni + ci

= agnici

6.1.71 hrasvasapiti...# 1.1.62 pratyayalope..., 1.1.45
adyantarau
\[ \text{agnicit} + t (UK \rightarrow \emptyset) \]
\[ = \text{agnicit} \]

Note here that the introduction of tUK is conditioned by the presence of a following kr̥t 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.

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<table>
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<tr>
<td>(e) agnicit</td>
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<td>= agnicit + s (U \rightarrow \emptyset) # it-deletion</td>
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<td>= agnicit + (s \rightarrow \emptyset)</td>
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<td>(g) agnicit</td>
<td>1.4.14 suptiṇantam padam</td>
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<td># 1.1.62 pratyayalope...</td>
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<td>= agnicit</td>
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(253) somasut

Similar steps are to be followed in deriving somasut from Suñ + KviP, where 3.2.90 some suñah helps reconstruct the co-occurring pada soma + am and the root initial ɣ is replaced by s by 6.1.64 dhātuvādeḥ.

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 ti. These examples are formal (rūpendhāraṇa), as opposed to paceti and pacethe which are functional (kāryodhāraṇa). A functional example requires the assignment of the term ti 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) paceti/(255) pacethe

See the appendix under 1.1.11 ḍuddet...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 ti and consequently replaced by e.

1.1.65 alo'ntyāt pūrvavupadhā

All the examples cited under this rule are given in the root form. As formal examples they illustrate that a (in pac, path); i (in bhid, chid), u (in
budh, rudh) and \( \tau \) (in \( \text{vṛṭ, vrddh} \)) are penultimate (\( \text{upadhā} \)). As functional examples, they indicate that stems like pāca, pāṭhaka, bhedaka, chedaka, varttaka, varuddhaka, and so on, are derived by introducing affixes after them where, consequent upon the assignment of the term \( \text{upadhā} \) to \( i, u \), and \( \tau \), replacement operations such as \( \text{vṛddhi} \) (in pāca, pāṭhaka) by (7.2.116 \( \text{ata upadhāyāḥ} \)) and \( \text{guna} \) (in the rest of the examples by, 7.3.86 
\( \text{pugantalaghūpadhasya} \)), have taken place.

1.1.72 \( \text{yena vidhis tadantasya} \)
(256) cayah
(257) jayah
(258) ayaḥ

These examples are derived by introducing affix \( aC \) after verbal roots \( ci\text{ī} 't\text{o select, pick, arrange}', ji 't\text{o conquer}', and \( i\text{N} 't\text{o go}' \). Rule 3.3.56 \text{erac} introduces this affix by referring to these roots with \( i \). In view of 1.1.72 \( \text{yena vidhis...} \), this \( i \) not only refers to roots like \( i (N) \) which it solely constitutes but also to roots like \( ci (N) \) 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 ārdhadhātukam śeṣāḥ. Similarly \( ci, ji, \) and \( i \) will be termed anga by 1.4.13 yasmāti... Rule 7.3.84 sārvadhātuka... will introduce \( \text{guna} \) in the place of \( i \) of all three aṅga. This will yield \( c(i \rightarrow e) + a = ce + a; j(i \rightarrow e) + a = je + a; \) and \( (i \rightarrow e) + a = e + a, \) which after the application of 6.1.78 eco' \( \text{yavāyāvah} \) will result in \( c(e \rightarrow ay) + a = caya; j(e \rightarrow ay) + a = jaya; \) and \( (e \rightarrow ay) + a = aya. \) These forms are termed nominal stems by 1.2.46 kṛttaddhita... and the introduction of \( sU \) by 4.1.1 nyāp... will ultimately yield: cayah, jayah, 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 yan aci which, if applied, would yield \( c(i \rightarrow y) + a = *cya; j(i \rightarrow y) + a = *jya; \) and \( (i \rightarrow y) + a = *ya. \) 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 aṅgam baliṣyāḥ 'an operation relative to an aṅga is more powerful than one relative to a vārṇa (sound)'.

1.1.74 \( \text{tyadādini ca} \)

Most of the examples cited under this rule are easy to derive. For example (259) \( \text{tyadiyam} \) is the nominative singular neuter form of \( \text{tyadiya} \), where the base is complex. It is derived by first introducing affix \( \text{Ñas} \) to \( \text{tyad} \) (as in \( a \) of (1) auptagavah). The resultant string \( \text{tyad + Ñas} \) is termed \( \text{vṛddha} \) to enable it to receive affix \( \text{CHa} \). For rules required for deriving \( \text{tyadiya} \) from \( \text{tyad + Ñas} + \text{CHa} \), see the relevant steps of (5) sāliyah. For rules required for deriving \( \text{tyadiam} \) from \( \text{tyadiya} \), see \( (e-h) \) of (39) aśīṭhyanam. Similar rules apply in deriving all the other examples except for (260) madiyam (261) mādāyaniḥ, and (262) tvūdāyaniḥ, where asm and yuṣm of \( \text{asmad} \) and
yusmad are replaced by ma and tva as provided by 7.2.98 pratyayot-
tarapadayos ca. Given the string (asm → ma) ad + ṇas + Cha, rule application
similar to (5) śāliyah will give us: ma + ad + iyā. Rule 6.1.97 ato gune will
then apply to yield: m(a + a → a) + d + iyā. Affix PHiN rather than CHa is
introduced after both yusmad + ṇas and asmad + ṇas (see 4.1.157 udīcan
vṛddhād agotrāh) to derive tvādāyanīh and mādāyanīh where, in addition to
the replacement of yusm and asm by tva and ma, and the application of
6.1.97 ato gune, 7.1.2 āyaneyī...must also apply. This rule replaces the PH
part of PHiN by āyan. This result of all the rule applications is as follows:

(yusm → tva)ad + ṇas → tva + ad + ṇas (7.2.98 pratyayo...) = tv(a +
a → a) d + ṇas → tvad + ṇas (6.1.97 ato...) = tvad + (ṇas → ∅)
PHiN → tvad + PHiN (2.4.71 supo...) = tvad + (PH → āyan) + i
(ṇ → ∅) → tvad + āyan + i (7.1.2 āyan...) = tv (a → ā)d + āyan + i =
tvādāyani; tvādāyani + sU = tvādāyanīh

Except for a replacement of asm by ma of asmad, mādāyanīh follows
the same pattern.

1.1.75 eẖ prācām deśe
(263) eṇpacanīyaḥ, (264) bhokajatiyaḥ, (265) gonardiyāḥ

Examples such as eṇpavacaniyaḥ, bhokajatiyaḥ, and gonardiyāḥ are
derived exactly like (5) śāliyah. The only significant difference which exists
in the derivation of these forms as compared with that of (5) śāliyah is the
way in which these bases are termed vṛddha. In (5) śāliyah, 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 eṇ. Of course they must also meet the semantic condition of
denoting an Eastern country.

1.2.1 gāṅkutādibhyo’ ninniṁi
(266) adhyagīṣṭa
(267) adhyagīṣṭām
(268) adhyagīṣata.

The above examples are derived by introducing the abstract suffix LUN
after the verbal root iN used with the preverb adhi.

(a) adhi + iN

same as (a) of (16) akāṛṣit

= adhi + iN + LUN

(b) adhi + iN + LUN

2.4.50 vibhāṣā lṛṇaluḥ

= adhi + (iN → gāN) + LUN

it-deletion

= adhi + gā + LUN

(c) adhi + gā + LUN

same as (b-c) of (16) akāṛṣit
\[(\text{step } b) = \text{adhi} + \text{gā} + \text{CLI} + \text{LUÑ} \]
\[(\text{step } c) = \text{adhi} + \text{gā} + (\text{CLI} \rightarrow \text{iC}) + \text{LUÑ} \]
\[(d) \quad \text{adhi} + \text{gā} + s\text{IC} + \text{LUÑ} \]

\[
\begin{align*}
3.4.77 & \quad \text{lasya; 3.4.78 tiptas...#} \\
1.3.12 & \quad \text{anudātañitaḥ ātmanepadam} \\
1.4.99 & \quad \text{laḥ parasmatipadam} \\
1.1.100 & \quad \text{tañānāv ātmanepadarr} \\
= & \quad \text{adhi} + \text{gā} + s(\text{iC} \rightarrow \Theta) + (\text{LUÑ} \rightarrow \text{ta}) \\
= & \quad \text{adhi} + ζā + s + \text{ta} \\
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
(e) \quad \text{adhi} + \text{gā} + s + \text{ta} \\
1.4.13 & \quad \text{yasmāt...} \\
6.4.1 & \quad \text{aṅgasya} \\
6.4.66 & \quad \text{ghumāsthāga... # 1.2.1} \\
& \quad \text{gāṅkuṭādi...}, 1.1.51 \text{alo’ ntasya} \\
= & \quad \text{adhi} + g(ā \rightarrow i) + s + \text{ta} \\
= & \quad \text{adhi} + gī + s + \text{ta} \\
\end{align*}
\]

Note here that 6.4.66 \text{ghumāsthāga...} allows \text{ā} of \text{gā} to be replaced by \text{i} under the conditions that: \(a\) \text{gā} was followed by an affix marked with \(\overline{N}\); and \(b\) that this affix also began with a consonant. Our affix \text{sIC} can meet \(b\) but not \(a\). Rule 1.2.1 \text{gāṅkuṭādi...} lets \text{sIC} be treated as marked with \(\overline{N}\). This, in turn, enables \text{sIC} to meet condition \(a\) and facilitate the application of 6.4.66 \text{ghumāsthāga...}.

\[
\begin{align*}
(f) \quad \text{adhi} + \text{gī} + s + \text{ta} \\
6.4.71 & \quad \text{luṅlaṇ... # 1.1.46 ādyantau ṭakitau} \\
= & \quad \text{adhi} + a \ (T \rightarrow \Theta) + gī + s + \text{ta} \\
= & \quad \text{adhi} + a + gī + s + \text{ta} \\
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
(g) \quad \text{adhi} + a + \text{gī} + s + \text{ta} \\
6.1.77 & \quad \text{iko yañ aci} \\
= & \quad \text{adh}(i \rightarrow y) + a + gī + s + \text{ta} \\
= & \quad \text{adhya} + gī + s + \text{ta} \\
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
(h) \quad \text{adhya} + \text{gī} + s + \text{ta} \\
1.4.14 & \quad \text{suptiñantam padam} \\
8.3.59 & \quad \text{ādeśa pratyayoh} \\
= & \quad \text{adhya} + gī + (s \rightarrow ś) + \text{ta} \\
8.4.41 & \quad \text{ṣṭunā ṣṭuḥ} \\
= & \quad \text{adhya} + gī + s \ (t \rightarrow t) \ a \\
= & \quad \text{adhya} + gī + s + \text{ta} \\
= & \quad \text{adhyaśāt} \\
\end{align*}
\]

The remaining two examples (267) \text{adhyaśātām} and (268) \text{adhyaśātā} are very similar to (266) \text{adhyaśāt}. They differ as follows:

\((a)\) At step \((d)\) \text{LUÑ} will be replaced by \text{ātām} in \text{adhyaśātām} and by \text{jha} in \text{adhyaśātā};
Given the string *adhī + gā + s + jha*, 7.1.5 *ātmāpeade...* will replace *jh* by *at*: *adhī + gā + s + (jh → at) a = adhī + 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).

Affix *sC* cannot be deleted in these examples, mostly because of the absence of a following *jL*.

(269) *kuṭītā, (270) kuṭītum,* and (271) *kuṭītavyam* are derived like (168) *bhaviṭā, (170) bhaviṭum,* and (172) *bhaviṭavyam*. The same is true for (272) *utpūṣṭā, (273) utpūṣṭum,* and (274) *utpūṣṭavyam*. However, in the derivation of these examples, affixes *tC, tumUN,* and *tavyaT* are treated as marked with *N*. As a consequence, 7.3.86 *puganta...* cannot introduce a *guna* replacement for the penultimate *u* of the *anga kut + tr, utput + tr,* and so on. The *guna* replacement in (168) *bhaviṭā,* and so on, was not blocked by 1.1.5 *khitī ca* because *tC, tumUN,* and *tavyaT* were not treated there as marked with *K*.

1.2.2 *vija it*
(275) *udviṣītā*
(276) *udviṣītum*
(277) *udviṣītavyam*

These forms are derived by introducing affixes *tC, tumUN,* and *tavyaT* after the verbal root *Ovījī* used with the preverb *ut*. Refer to the preceding group of derivations for details of rule applications.

1.2.3 *vibhāṣor noḥ*
(278) *prornuviṭā*
(279) *prornaviṭā*

These optional forms are both derived from *(pra + uṇu + i + tr) + sŪ.* As is obvious, *pra + uṇu* yields *prornu,* where the *a* of *pra* and initial *u* of *uṇu* are replaced by a single *guna* vowel *o* (see 6.1.97 *ato gune*). Given the string *prornu + i + tr,* the *u* of *prornu* will either be replaced by its *guna* counterpart *o* or else be replaced by *uṇAṇ,* depending on whether or not *i + tr* is treated as marked with *N*. This is the option which 1.2.3 provides.

When *i + tr* is not treated as marked with *N, 7.3.84 sāravadhātukār-dhadhātukayoh* applies. This yields *prorn(u → o) + i + tr = prorn(o → av) + i + tr = prornaviṭ,* as in (168) *bhaviṭā.* If *i + tr* is treated as marked with *N, 1.1.5 khitī ca* will block the *guna* and therefore also the *av* replacement. This will cause the *u* of *prornu* to be replaced by *uṇAṇ* with reference to 6.4.77 *acismudāḥ...* read with 1.1.53 *nic ca.* Thus: *prorn (u → uṇ Aṇ) + i + tr − prornaviṭ.*

Follow steps similar to *bhaviṭ + sŪ* of (168) *bhaviṭā* to derive *prornaviṭā* and *prornaviṭā* from *prornaviṭ + sŪ* and *prornaviṭ + sŪ.*

1.2.4 *sāravadhātukam apiṭ*
(280) *kurutāḥ*
(a) $DUkrN$

\[ \text{it-deletion} \]
\[ = kṛ \]
\[ \text{same as in (34) cimutah} \]

(b) $kṛ + tas$

3.1.79 \text{tanādi...} \]
\[ = kṛ + u + tas \]

(c) $kṛ + u + tas$

1.4.13 \text{yasmāl...} \]
6.4.1 \text{aṅgasya} \]
7.3.84 \text{sārvadhātukārdha... # 1.1.51 uraṇ raparāḥ} \]
\[ = k(r \rightarrow ar) + u + tas \]
\[ = kṛ + u + tas \]

(d) $kar + u + tas$

6.4.110 \text{ata ut sārvadhātuke} \]
\[ = k(a \rightarrow u)r + u + tas \]
\[ = kurutas \]
\[ s\text{-visarga} \]
\[ = kurtataḥ \]

Note here that 7.3.84 sārvadhātuka...cannot apply to replace $u$ or $kar + u + tas$ by its corresponding guna vowel o. This is because the affix $tas$ is a sārvadhātuka not marked with $P$. As such it can be treated as marked with $N$ and guna will be blocked by 1.1.5 kniti ca.

(281) kurvanti is derived from $kr + Śap + jhi$. It differs from (280) only in its selection of tiN, 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 yan aci, which will produce kur + ($u \rightarrow v$) + anti = kurvanti.

1.2.5 asamyogāl līṭ kit

(282) bibhidatuḥ
(283) bibhiduḥ
(284) cicchidatuḥ
(285) cicchiduḥ
(286) ījātuḥ
(287) ījūḥ

These sets are derived like (234) papatuḥ and (235) papaḥ. Thus, given a string such as bhid + $LIT$, $LIT$ will be replaced by atus or us. These being sārvadhātuka (3.4.113 tiṇsit sārvadhātukam) affixes, 7.3.84 would require a guna replacement for the i of bhid or chid. Rule 1.1.5 kniti ca will block this guna replacement at the strength of 1.2.5 asamyogāl...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 sesaḥ, 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 *ciechidatuḥ* and *ciechiduḥ*, 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 *stōs cunāḥ...* becomes *c*. This produces *ci(t → c) + chid + atus* and *ci(t → c) + chid + us = ciechidatus/ciechidus*. Deriving *iṭatuḥ* and *iṭuh* involves *samprasāraṇa* (see 1.1.45 *ig yanāḥ samprasāraṇam*). Given the strings *yaj + atus* and *yaj + us*, 6.1.15 *vacisvaapi...* 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 *samprasāraṇaḥ 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 *akaho savarne...* will apply to the result of the application of 7.4.60 *halādi śeṣah*. Thus: *ij + atus/ij + us → ij + ij + atus/ij + ij + us (dvitva); ij + ij + atus/ij + ij + us → i + i + ij + atus/i + ij + us* (by 7.4.60); and *i + ij + atus/i + ij + us → iṭatus/iṭus* (by 6.1.101).

1.2.6 *indihavatibhyāṁ ca*

(288) *idheśamidhe* as in *putra idhe atharvaṇah* and *samidhe dasyuhantam*

The root here is (*N → Θ*) *indh* (*I → Θ*) = *indh*, used in the second example with the preverb *sam*. Given the string *indh + LIT*, *LIT* is replaced by *ta* (see (d) of 266) *adhyaṭṭa*). The *ta* in turn is replaced by *eS* by 3.4.81 *liṭastajha...* Rule 1.2.6 allows us to treat *eS* as marked with *K*. As a result, 6.4.24 *amiditāṁ...* deletes the *n* of the root. After reduplication (*dvitva*) and subsequent deletion of the first *dh*, the string becomes *i(dh → Θ) + e = i + idh + e*. Rule 6.1.101 *akaho savarne...* now applies to yield (*i + i = i*) *dh + e = idhe*. Similar rule applications yield *samidhe* from *sam + indh + e*.

(289) *bahuva*

(a) *bhū*

Same as (a) of the many *LIT* examples already derived

= *bhū + LIT*

(b) *bhū + LIT*

*LIT* replaced by *NaL* (by 3.4.82 *parasmaipadānāṁ...*; also see (234) *paṇṭhe*, and so on)

= *bhū + (LIT → tiP; tiP → NaL) iṭ-deletion*

= *bhū + a*

(c) *bhū + a*

1.4.13 *yasmāt...*

6.4.1 *aṅgasya*

6.4.88 *bhuvoh...

1.1.46 *aṅganau ṭakitaun*

= *bhū + vUK + a iṭ-deletion*

= *bhū + v + a*
(d) bhū + v + a
   dvitva as in (282) bibhidatuh
   = bhū + bhū + v + a

(e) bhū + bhū + v + a
   7.4.59  hravah
   = bh(u → u) + bhū + v + a
   = bhu + bhū + v + a
   7.4.73  bhavater aḥ
   = bh(?url → a) + bhū + v + a
   = bha + bhū + v + a

(f) bha + bhū + v + a
   1.4.14  suptinantaḥ padam
   8.1.16  padasya
   8.4.53  abhyāse carca
   = (bh → b) a + bhū + v + a
   = bha + bhū + v + a
   = babhūva

Deriving (290) babhūvittha 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) babhūvittha.

The purpose of treating a replacement of LIṬ as marked with K is to block a guna or vrddhi replacement ordered by rules such as 7.3.84 sārvadhātuka... or 7.2.115 acoʿñniti.

1.2.7  mṛḍmṛd...
(291)  mṛḍitvā
(292)  mṛḍitva
(293)  guhitvā
(294)  kusitvā
(295)  klisitvā
(296)  uditvā
(297)  uṣitvā

These examples are all derived by introducing the affix Ktvā (3.4.21 samāna kartākayoḥ) after their respective roots. Since Ktvā is neither marked with Š nor denoted by tiN, it will be assigned the term ārdhadhātuka (3.4.113 tinṣit sārvadhātukam; 3.4.114 ārdhadhātukam śesaḥ). This will result in the introduction of augment iṬ, as shown in (290) babhūvittha. 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) iṣatuh and (286) iṣuh. The final example requires an additional rule application. Given the string us + i + tvā, 8.3.60 śāsitvasighas... will replace the s by ś. Thus: usitvā → uṣītvā.

It is interesting to note that 1.2.18 na ktvā set does not permit a Ktvā used with iT to be treated as marked with K. As a result, guna replacements ordered by, for example, 7.3.86 pugantalaghūpadha..., cannot be blocked by 1.1.5 kūti ca. The present rule 1.2.7 provides for the blocking of such guna 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 guḍh, kuṣ, or klīś. Rule 1.2.7 treats Ktvā as marked with K obligatorily.

All the derived bases, mṛḍītvā, mṛḍītvā, and so on, will be termed avyaya 'indectible' by 1.4.40 ktvāsūn... This will cause the deletion of sU introduced after them (see 2.4.82 avyayād...).

1.2.8 rudavidamuş...
(298) rūdītvā
(299) vidītvā
(300) muṣītvā

These can be derived similarly to (291) mṛḍītvā, and so on. The derivation of (301) grahītvā, (302) sūptīvā, and (303) ṭṛṣṭīvā entails some additional rule applications. Thus: given the string grah + iT + Ktvā, 6.1.16 grahiy... will order samprasāraṇa (1.1.45 ig yaṇah...). The result will be: g(r → r) ah + iT + Ktvā = grah + i + tvā, which after the replacement of its sequence r + a by r, as in (285) iṣatuh, yields grh + i + tvā. The final form grhītvā is derived after the application of 7.2.37 graho' liṭi, whereby the short i is replaced by long i. This long i replacement is not relevant for sūptīvā and ṭṛṣṭīvā, as these do not involve the augment iT (see 7.2.10 ekāc...). Furthermore, in deriving ṭṛṣṭīvā, 8.2.36 vraś ca... replaces the ch of ṭṛch + tvā by ś Rule 8.4.41 śtuṇā stuh later replaces the t by t to yield ṭṛ(ch → ś) + (t → t) vā = ṭṛṣṭvā.

(304) ruruḍāṣati
   (a) rud(1R → 0)
       it-deletion
       rud

       1.3.1 bhūvādayo...
       3.1.7 dhāōḥ...(3.1.1-3.1.2 pratyayah-paraś ca)
       = rud + saN
       it-deletion
       = rud + sa
(b) *rud + sa*

3.4.114 ārdhadhātukam śesah
1.4.13 yasmāt...
6.4.1 āṅgasya
7.2.35 ārdhadhātukasya... # 1.1.45 ādyantau...
= *rud + iT + sa*

*it-deletion*

= *rud + i + sa*

Note that 7.3.86 *puganta...* cannot apply here to introduce a *guna* 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 *khiti ca* will block the *guna*.

(c) *rud + i + sa*

6.1.9 sanyanoḥ (6.1.1 ekāco dve...)  
= *rud + rud + i + sa # dvitva*

(d) *rud + rud + isa*

6.1.4 pārvo’bhāsah
7.4.60 halādi śesah
= *ru (d → Θ) + rud + i + su*

= *rurudisa*

(e) *rurudisa*

3.1.32 sanādy..., plus relevant rules concerning placement of *LAT, tiP, and SaP*, as in (11) *jayati*

= *rurudisaati*

(f) *rurudisaati*

6.1.97 ato gune
= *rurudis (a + a → a) + ti*

= *rurudisati*

(g) *rurudisati*

1.4.14 suptiṇantam padam
8.3.59 ādēsa pratyayoh
= *rurudi (s → ś) ati*

= *rurudisati*

One can similarly derive (305) *vividisati* and (306) *mumuṣisati* from *vid + saN* and *muṣ + saN*. The derivational histories of (307) *jighrksati*, (308) *suṣuptasi*, and (309) *pircchisati* are slightly more complex since, in addition to *dvitva*, they also involve *samprasāraṇa*. Unlike the purpose of blocking *guna* or *vrddhi* replacement, as in (304) *rurudisati*, 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 *iT* (7.2.12 *sani grahaguhōś ca*).

(307) *jighrksati*
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(a) \text{gra}h
same as in (304) \text{rurudi}ṣati
= \text{gra}h + \text{sa}

(b) \text{gra}h + \text{sa}
6.1.16 \text{gra}hiṣyā... # 1.2.8 \text{rudavida}..
= g(r \rightarrow r) ah + sa
= \text{gra}h + \text{sa}
6.1.108 samprasāraṇāc ca
= g(r(a \rightarrow \emptyset)h + sa
= \text{gra}h + \text{sa}

(c) \text{gra}h + \text{sa}
# dvitva
= \text{gra}h + \text{gra}h + \text{sa}

(d) \text{gra}h + \text{gra}h + \text{sa}
7.4.66 urat # 1.1.51 uraṇ ṛaparati
= g(r \rightarrow ar)h + \text{gra}h + \text{sa}
= \text{gar}h + \text{gra}h + \text{sa}

(e) \text{gra}r + \text{gra}h + \text{sa}
7.4.62 kuhoṣ cuḥ
7.4.60 halādi śeṣah
= (g \rightarrow j) arh + \text{gra}h + \text{sa} (7.4.62)
= ja(rh \rightarrow \emptyset) + \text{gra}h + \text{sa} (7.4.60)
= ja + \text{gra}h + \text{sa}

(f) ja + \text{gra}h + \text{sa}
7.4.79 sanyataḥ
= j(a \rightarrow i) + \text{gra}h + \text{sa}
= ji + \text{gra}h + \text{sa}

(g) ji + \text{gra}h + \text{sa}
8.2.31 ho dhah
= ji + \text{gra}h(\rightarrow dh) + \text{sa}
= jigrdh + \text{sa}

(h) jigrdh + \text{sa}
8.2.37 ekāco baśo...
= ji(g \rightarrow gh)r̥dh + \text{sa}
= jigr̥dh + \text{sa}

(i) jigr̥dh + \text{sa}
8.2.51 sadhoḥ kah si
= jigr(r̥dh \rightarrow k) + \text{sa}
= jigrk + \text{sa}

(j) jigrk + \text{sa}
8.3.59 ādesā pratyayoh
= jigrk + (s \rightarrow s)a
= jigrkṣa
(k) jighrksa

3.1.32 sanādyantā dhātavaḥ, plus rules relating to 

LAT, tiP, and SaP 

= jighrksati

Similar rules apply in deriving (308) susupsati and (309) piprechisati. I shall now show some important rule applications in their derivational history.

(308) susupsati

(a) swap

affix saN and samprasāraṇa (6.1.15 vacisvapi...)

= s (v → u)ap + sa

(b) swap + sa

6.1.108 samprasāraṇāc ca

= su(a → θ)p + sa

= sup + sa

(c) sup + sa

dvitva followed by 7.4.40

halādi śeṣah

= sup + sup + sa

= su(p → θ) + sup + sa

= su + sup + sa

= susupsa

(d) susupsa

same as (e g) of (303) rurudisati

= susupsati

If one followed similar rule applications to derive (309) piprechisati from prach + sa, (b) would yield prch + sa which, after reduplication, becomes brch + prch + sa. One must follow (d-f) of (307) jighrksati to get: prch + prch + sa, which will then be changed as follows:

prch + prch + sa → p(r → ar) ch + prch + sa = parch + prch + sa; pa(rch → θ) + prch + sa = pa + prch + sa.

Note here that 7.4.62 kuhoś cuh of (e) of (307) jighrksati is not pertinent to this derivation: pa + prch + sa → p(a → i) + prch + sa = pi + prch + sa. Two augments will now be introduced to pi + prch + sa

(a) pi + prch + sa

7.2.75 kiraś ca... # 1.1.46 ādyantau...

= pi + prch + IT + sa

it-deletion

= pi + prch + i + sa

(b) pi + prch + i + sa

7.1.13 che ca

= pi + pr + tUK + ch + i + sa
Derivational History of Examples

it-deletion

= pipṛtchiswa

The outcome of (b) will be termed a root by 3.1.32 sanādyantā....which, after the placement of LAT, tiP, and SaP will yield pipṛtchiswa. Rule 8.5.39 ādeśa pratyayoh will replace s by ʂ. An additional application of 8.4.40 stōś cunā....will further replace t by c. Thus we will get:

pipṛtchiswa → pipṛtchis(ʂ → ʂ)ai = pipṛtchiswa;

pipr(t → c) chiṣati = pipṛrcchiswa

1.2.9 iko jhal

(310) cicitṣati

This example is derived from ciN + sa where 7.2.10 ekāc....blocks the introduction of iT. Rule 7.3.84 sārvadhatukārdha....is also blocked from introducing the guṇa replacement for i mainly by 1.1.5 kniti 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 ci + ci + sa. Rule 6.1.4 pūrvo bhīyāsah assigns the term abhyāsā to the first ci, which consequently gets its long i replaced by a short i (7.4.59 hrasvaḥ). The remaining rule applications on ciciṣa for deriving cicitṣati offer nothing new.

(311) tuṣṭuṣati

Parallel to ci + ci + sa, stū + sa will yield stū + stū + sa. At this stage an exception to 7.4.60 halādi ṣeṣāḥ, namely 7.4.61 šār pūrvāḥ...., applies to delete the initial s. The string becomes tu + stū + sa, which after the shortening of the first ū, yields the root tuṣṭuṣa. Given the string tuṣṭuṣa + a + ti, arrived at by placing LAT, tiP, and SaP, the following rules apply:

8.3.59 ādeśa pratyayoh

= tuṣṭu(s → ʂ)a + a + ti

= tuṣṭuṣa + a + ti

8.3.61 stauṭi...

= tu(s → ʂ)ṭuṣa + a + ti

= tuṣṭuṣa + a + ti

8.4.41 śṭuṇā śtuḥ

= tuṣṭ(t → ū)ṣa + a + ti

= tuṣṭuṣa + a + ti

6.1.97 ato guṇe

= tuṣṭuṣ(a + a → a) + ti

= tuṣṭuṣati

For deriving (312) cicḗrṣati, first derive the root cicḗrsa as in (222) cicḗrṣakāḥ, and then introduce LAT, tiP, and SaP.

1.2.10 halāntāc ca

(313) bibhitisati

Given the string bhid + bhid + sa (after the placement of saN and dvitiya), the first d is deleted by 7.4.60 halādi ṣeṣāḥ: bhii(d → ∅) + bhid + sa = bhi +
bhīd + 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 bhīd is replaced by t. The resultant string bibhutsa will be termed a root after which LAṬ, tiP, and ŠaP can be introduced to derive bibhīsati.

(314) bubhutsa

This example entails deriving bubhutsa as a root from budh + saN. After dvitva followed by 7.4.60 halāḍī šesāḥ, 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 liṅscāv...

(315) bhītsīṣṭa

(a) bhīd

1.3.1 bhūvādayo...
3.1.91 dhātoḥ
3.3.173 āśiṣi liṅloṭau
= bhīd + LIÑ
(b) bhīd + LIÑ

3.4.102 liṅaḥ sīyut # 1.1.46 ādyantau...
= bhīd + sīy(UT → θ) + LIÑ
= bhīd + sīy + LIÑ
(c) bhīd + sīy + LIÑ

3.4.77 lasya
3.4.78 tiptāṣṣihi # 1.4.99 laḥ..., and so on; # 1.3.72 svaritaṇaṭaḥ...
= bhīd + sīy + (LIÑ → ta)
= bhīd + sīy + ta
(d) bhīd + sīy + ta

3.4.107 suṭ tithoḥ # 1.4.46 ādyantau...
= bhīd + sīy + s(UT → θ) + ta
= bhīd + sīy + s + ta
(e) bhīd + sīy + s + ta

3.4.116 liṅāsīṣi
6.1.66 lopo vyor vali
= bhīd + sī(y → θ) + s + ta
= bhīd + sī + s + ta
(f) bhīd + sī + s + ta

8.3.59 ādeśa pratāyoh
= bhīd + sī + (s → ṣ) + ta
= bhīd + sī + ṣ + ta
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(g) \( bhid + sī + ṣ + ta \)

\[ \text{8.4.55} \quad khari ca \]
\[ = bhī(d \rightarrow t) + sī + ṣ + ta \]
\[ = bhī + sī + ṣ + ta \]

(h) \( bhī + sī + ṣ + ta \)

\[ \text{8.4.41} \quad śūnā śtuḥ \]
\[ = bhī + sī + ṣ + (t \rightarrow ṭa) \]
\[ = bhīṭīṣṭa \]

Deriving (316) \( bhūtiṣṭa \) from \( budh + sīy + ta \) involves, in addition to the appropriate rule applications from (315) \( bhūtiṣṭa \), 8.2.37 \( ekāco... \), which replaces the \( b \) of \( budh \) by \( bh \).

(317) \( abhīṭta \)

(a) \( bhīḍ \)

same as (a-d) of (265) \( adhyāgaṣṭa \)
\[ = a + bhīḍ + s + ta \]

(b) \( a + bhīḍ + s + ta \)

\[ \text{8.2.26} \quad jhalo jhalī \]
\[ = a + bhīḍ + (s \rightarrow \emptyset) + ta \]
\[ = a + bhīḍ + ta \]

(c) \( a + bhīḍ + ta \)

\[ \text{8.4.55} \quad khari ca \]
\[ = a + bhī(d \rightarrow t) + ta \]
\[ = abhīṭta \]

One can similarly derive (318) \( abuddha \) where, given the string \( a + budh + (s \rightarrow \emptyset) + ta \), 8.2.40 \( jhaṣṭatathar... \) will replace \( t \) by \( dh \). Thus: \( a + budh + (t \rightarrow dh) a = a + budh + dha \). Rule 8.4.53 \( jhalom jas... \) introduces an additional change: \( a + bu(dh \rightarrow d) + dha = abuddha \).

1.2.12 \( uṣ ca \)

(319) \( kṛṣṭīṣṭa \)

(320) \( hṛṣṭīṣṭa \)

These examples are derived from \( kṛ + sīṛüt + sīC + LīN \) and \( hṛ + sīṛūṭ + sīC + LīN \), where \( LīN \) in both cases is replaced by the third person singular \( āṭmanepada \) suffix \( ta \). The \( s \) of both \( sīṛūṭ \) and \( sīC \) is changed to \( ṣ \) by 8.3.59 \( ādeśa pratyayoh \). The \( t \) of \( ta \) is also replaced by \( ṭ \) by 8.4.41 \( śūnā śtuḥ \). For other details of these derivations see (315) \( bhūtiṣṭa \), and so on.

(321) \( akṛṭa \)

(322) \( aḥṛṭa \)

These forms are derived from \( aTr + kṛ + sīC + ta \) and \( aTr + hṛ + sīC + ta \), where \( sīC \) is a replacement of \( CLI \) (3.1.44 \( cleh sic \)) and \( ta \) is third person singular \( āṭmanepada \) suffix replacing \( LūN \). Rule 8.2.27 \( hrasvād aṅgāt \) causes the deletion of \( sīC \). See (317) \( abhīṭta \), (266) \( adhyāgaṣṭa \), and so on for other derivational details.
1.2.13 vā gamah
(323) samgamsiṣṭa
(324) samgasiṣṭa

Both these examples are derived from sam + gam + siyṛṭ + sṛṭ + ta (see (315)bhisṣṭa for further details). The ātmānepada affix, here ta, has been introduced to replace LIŅ with reference to 1.3.29 samgamyṛcch... Since 1.2.13 vā gamah assigns the Kīt status to sIČ 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) samgasiṣṭa, where the m of gam will be deleted by 6.4.37 anudāt-topadesa... mainly because sIČ will be treated as marked with K, and
(b) samgamsiṣṭa, 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 Kīt status to sIČ would not permit its deletion, will be replaced by anusvāra (m) by 8.3.24 nās cāpadānasya āhāli.

The third person singular ātmānepada forms of sam + gam in LUŅ are optionally (325) samagata and (326) samagamsta. Both are derived from sam + aṛṭ + gam + sIČ + ta (see (317) abhittā, and so on, for other details). The Kīt status of sIČ will cause the deletion of m of gam in samagata: its absence will save this m from being deleted in (326) samagamsta. 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 sIČ. Thus given the string sam + aṛṭ + gam + sIČ + 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 sIČ simply because the affix will now be occurring after an āṅga, namely sam + a + ga, terminating in a short vowel (see 8.2.27 hrasvād āṅgāt). The same sIČ is retained in (326) samagamsta, where the āṅga 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 LUŅ forms of han are derived from āN + aṛṭ + han + sIČ + LUŅ where the verbal root han is used with the preverb āN, and LUŅ, as a result, must be replaced by appropriate ātmānepada terminations (see 1.3.28 āno yamahanah). Augment sIČ is deleted by 8.2.27 hrasvād āṅgāt as in (321) akṛta. However, sIČ cannot be deleted in (328) āhasātām and (329) āhasata, because given the strings ā + a + ha + s + ātām and ā + a + ha + a + ata, sIČ will no longer be followed by jhL, which is one of the conditions for such a deletion (see also (267) adhyāgisiṣṭām and (268) adhyāgisiṣṭata). The initial sequence a + a in both examples will be replaced by ā in view of 6.1.101 acaḥ savarne dirghaḥ.
1.2.15 yamo gandhane
1 2.16 vibhāso-pa-yamane
(330) udāyata
(331) udāyasātām
(332) udāyasāta

The derivational history of these forms is very similar to that of the preceding examples. They derive from \( ut + \hat{a}N + aT + yam + sIC + LU\hat{N} \), where \( LU\hat{N} \) 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) upāymasta, and so on (see 1.2.16 vibhāso-pa-yamane). However, since sIC in upa + a + yam + sIC + (LU\hat{N} → ta) is treated as marked with K only optionally, upāyata will have an alternant form upāymasta. For derivational details, see (325) samagata and (326) samagamsta. The Kit status of sIC in upāyata will cause the deletion of the \( m \) of yam. Furthermore sIC will also be deleted (see (327) āhata). In case of upāymasta, both \( m \) and sIC will be retained. In addition, \( m \) will be further replaced by anusvāra (\( m \)) (see 8.3.24 naś cāpadāntasya jhali). The ātmanepada endings which replace LU\hat{N} in the above examples are ordered by 1.3.56 upādyamah svakarane.

1.2.17 sthāghvor ic ca
(335) upāśhita
(336) upāśhīsātām
(337) upāśhīsāta

These forms derive from upa + \( \hat{a}N + aT + \text{sthā} + sIC + LU\hat{N} \) where \( LU\hat{N} \), of course, is replaced by third person ātmanepada terminations. These derivations differ slightly from other LU\hat{N} examples in the following manner:

(a) the root final \( \hat{a} \) of sūnā is replaced by short \( i \) under the direction of the present rule, and

(b) the \( s \) of sIC in the second and third examples is replaced by \( s \) by 8.3.59 ādesa pratyayoh.

Note that unless \( \hat{a} \) is changed into \( i \), \( s \) of sIC cannot be replaced by \( s \). Thus, for example, upa + \( \hat{a}N + aT + \text{sthā} + sIC + ta \) becomes up\( (a + \hat{a} → \hat{a}) + a + \text{sth}(\hat{a} → i) + (sIC → \emptyset) + ta = upā + a + sthi + ta \). This will finally yield up\( (a + a → \hat{a}) + sthi + ta = upāśhita \).

(338) adita
(339) adhita

These forms are derived from the strings \( aT + dā + LU\hat{N} \) and \( aT + dhā + LU\hat{N} \). 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 adaNA, the \( \hat{a} \) of these roots is replaced by \( i \) by 1.2.17. Thus: \( a + d(\hat{a} → i) + (sIC → \emptyset) + ta = adita \), 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 seṣ
devitvā
evartitvā

These forms are derived by introducing affix (3.1.1 pratyayah) Ktvā (3.4.21 samānakarthyayaḥ purvakāle) after (3.1.2 paraś ca) the verbal roots div ‘to play’ and vrī ‘to turn, behave’ (3.1.91 dhātoḥ). It should be remembered here that Ktvā is a Kī affix and if, in view of this rule, its Kī status is not blocked, 1.1.5 kniti ca would not allow the guṇa replacement for the penultimate root vowels i and r. This would yield a set of wrong forms: *devitvā and *vartitvā. However, if a Ktvā affix, which receives the augment iT, is allowed to be treated as not marked with K, 1.1.5 kniti ca cannot block the guṇa. Thus the purpose of treating a Ktvā used with iT as not marked with K is to allow the guṇa (7.3.84 sārva...), as is illustrated by div + iT + Ktvā = d(i → e) + i + tvā = devitvā, and so on. For the relevant derivational details of such examples, see under 1.2.7 mr̥ṇmṛḍ....

1.2.19 niṣṭhā sīṁsvidimidi...

(342) śyātah
(343) prasveditāḥ
(344) prameditāḥ
(345) praksveditāḥ
(346) pradharsitāḥ

These forms are derived by introducing the niṣṭhā affix (1.1.26 kṣaktavatū niṣṭhā) Kta after the cited roots. Except for the verbal root sīN ‘to sleep, recline’, all the other roots are used with preverb pra. Thus, given the root sī, 3.4.72 gatyarthākarmaka... can introduce affix Kta. The result will be: sī + (K → Θ) ta = sī + ta. Affix ta will be termed ārdhadhātuka by 3.4.114 ārdhadhātukam śeṣah. This will invoke the application of 7.3.84 sārvaḥ dhātukārdha... which, in turn, will demand a guṇa replacement for the i of sī, the anā. Rule 1.1.5 kniti 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 kṣaktavatū niṣṭhā), and is occurring after sī, 1.2.19 will treat Kta as an affix not marked with K. This will then rule out the possibility of 1.1.5 kniti ca blocking the guṇa. The result will be: s(i → e) + ta. Affix ta can now receive the augment iT at its beginning (1.1.46 adyanatau ṭakītāu) as required by 7.2.35 ārdhadhātukasyed.... The resultant string, śe + iT(Θ → Θ) + ta = śe + i + ta, will yield the nominal stem (1.2.46 kṛttaddhitā...) śyātā after 6.1.78 eco yavāyāvah applies. By s-visarga, sāyātā + sū yields śyātāḥ. Note that in all the other examples, Kta has been introduced by 3.4.71 ādikarmanī... 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) citāḥ under 1.1.5 kniti ca.

Examples such as (347) śayātāvān, (348) prasveditāvān, (349) prameditāvān, (350) praksveditāvān, and (351) pradharsitāvān 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 Ktā and Ktavatū being niṣṭhā, and also because they cannot be treated as marked with K, any guṇa replacement for the penultimate vowel of an anāg in the above examples cannot be blocked by 1.1.5 knīti ca (also see (c) of (30) citavān). Except for (347) sāyitavān, where the guṇa substitute is ordered by 7.3.84 sārvaḍhātukārdhadhātukayoh, 7.3.86 puganta... orders guṇa for the remaining examples.

1.2.20 mṛṣaṣ tītikṣāyām
(352) marsitah
(353) marsitavān

These examples follow derivational patterns similar to those discussed in the preceding rule.

1.2.21 uḍupadhād...
(354) dyutitām / (355) dyotitam
(356) pradyutitah / (357) pradyotitah
(358) muditām / (359) moditam
(360) pramuditah / (361) pramoditah

Forms in the above sets are optional. They illustrate an instance where affix Ktā which, although marked with K, is treated as such only optionally. This gives rise to forms like (354) dyutitām where, given the string dyut + (K → 0)ta = dyot + ta, one treats Ktā as marked with K. As a consequence, the penultimate u of the anāg dyut does not get replaced by its guṇa counterpart. That is, 7.3.86 puganta... is blocked by 1.1.5 knīti ca. On the other hand, if one does not treat Ktā as marked with K, 1.1.5 knīti 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 + tal/yot + ta, 7.2.35 ārdhadhātukasyey... will introduce augment iT to the initial position (1.1.46 ādyantau taitau) of the ārdhadhātuka (3.4.114 ārdhadhātukam āṣah) affix ta. The result will be a nominal stem (1.2.46 kṛt-taddhitasamaśā ca) : dyutītādyotitā after which one can add sU to derive (354) dyutitām / (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 pūñah ktvā ca
(362) paviṭaḥ
(363) paviṭavān
(364) paviṭvā

The first two examples are derived similarly to (342) sāyitaḥ and (347) sāyitavān. The guṇa in these examples comes in place of ū. Our last example (364) paviṭvā derives from pūN + Ktvā where three operations become applicable:
(a) guna replacement for the ū of the aṅga;
(b) introduction of the augment iT to Ktvā; and
(c) the av replacement for the o of po + i + tvā by 6.1.78 eco’yavāyāvah.

For details of the placement of the affix Ktvā, refer to the derivations under 1.2.7 mr̥dmyr̥d... For particular details of the preceding operations, see (342) śayitaḥ.

1.2.23 nopadḥāi...
(365) grathitvā / (366) granhitvā
(367) śrathitvā / (368) śrān̥hitvā
(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) granhitvā. Placement of Ktvā and introduction of iT is accomplished by following the rules as already discussed in previous examples.

1.2.24 vaṁcitvāṇcy ṛtaś ca
(371) vaṁcitvā
(372) vaṁcitvā
(373) luṁcitvā
(374) lucitvā
(375) rtitvā
(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 vaṁcitvā/luṁcitvā. In case of rt, the purpose of denying Kit status is to allow the guna replacement for i. These derivations are similar to those cited under the previous rule. However, note that, in case of vaṁcitvā/vacitvā and luṁcitvā/lucitvā, the augment iT is introduced by 7.2.56 udito vā.

1.2.25 trśimṛṣikṛsēh...
(377) trśitvā / (378) tarśitvā
(379) mr̥śitvā / (380) marśitvā
(381) krśitvā / (382) karśitvā

The purpose of denying Kit status here is to allow the guna replacement for the penultimate vowel of the aṅga. Thus the guna in, for example, (378) tarśitvā is not blocked by 1.1.5 khūtī ca. On the other hand, (377) trśitvā, and so on, illustrate instances where non denial of Kit status blocks guna.

1.2.26 ralo vyapadhād...
(383) dyutitvā / (384) dyotitvā
Derivational History of Examples

(385) likhitvā / (386) lekhitvā
(387) didyutisate / (388) didyotisate
(389) litikhiṣati / (390) telikhiṣati

The first two sets of examples illustrate how, depending on whether or not \textit{Ktu} is treated as \textit{Kit}, \textit{guna} of \textit{u} or \textit{i} is allowed or blocked. The next two sets illustrate instances of the affix \textit{saN} being allowed or denied the \textit{Kit} status. Accordingly, where \textit{saN} is denied \textit{Kit} status, \textit{guna} replacement for the penultimate vowel of the \textit{aṅga} — in the present cases, \textit{didyut} and \textit{liṅkh} — cannot be blocked by 1.1.5 \textit{kniṭi ca}. In the event that \textit{saN} is treated as \textit{Kit}, there will be no \textit{guna}. For example given the string \textit{dy} + \textit{dyut} + \textit{sa}, 7.3.86 \textit{puganta}... would require the replacement of \textit{u} by \textit{o}. This can be blocked if, under the provisions of the present rule, \textit{sa} is treated as \textit{Kit}. The result will be \textit{dydyu} + \textit{sa}. However, if \textit{sa} is not treated as \textit{Kit}, 1.1.5 \textit{kniṭi ca} cannot block 7.3.86 \textit{puganta}... and the result will be \textit{dydyo} + \textit{sa}.

Details of deriving (383) \textit{dyutītuvā} / (384) \textit{dyotītuvā} have already been discussed under previous rules. For deriving the examples which involve \textit{saN}, refer to the derivation of (304) \textit{rurudīṣati} under 1.2.8 \textit{rudvīdi}.... The optional application of 7.3.86 \textit{puganta}... which is not pertinent there is explained prior to step (c). With regard to (387) \textit{didyutisate} / (388) \textit{didyotisate}, also remember the following:

(a) given the strings \textit{dy} + \textit{dyut} + \textit{i} + \textit{sa} and \textit{dy} + \textit{dyot} + \textit{i} + \textit{sa}, parallel to (d) of (304) \textit{rurudīṣati}, 7.4.67 \textit{dyutīsvapyoḥ}... will replace the first \textit{y} of the strings by the corresponding \textit{samprasārana} vowel \textit{i}, and

(b) the \textit{LATA} after the derived roots \textit{didyutiṣa} / \textit{didyotiṣa} will be replaced by the third person singular \textit{ātmanepada} ending.

1.2.27 \textit{ukālo} \textit{ijhrasvādīrghapūtaḥ}

(391) \textit{dadhi}

(392) \textit{madhu}

Both \textit{i} and \textit{u} in these examples have the duration of one mora (\textit{mātrā}). Given the strings \textit{dadhi} + \textit{chatram} and \textit{madhu} + \textit{chatram}, 6.1.71 \textit{che ca} will introduce the augment \textit{tUK} at the end (1.1.46 \textit{ādyantau}...) of the short (\textit{hrasva}) \textit{i} and \textit{u}. This will yield:

\begin{align*}
\textit{dadhi} + t(\text{UK} \to \emptyset) + \textit{chatram} &= \textit{dadhi} + t + \textit{chatram}, \text{ and} \\
\textit{madhu} + t(\text{UK} \to \emptyset) + \textit{chatram} &= \textit{madhu} + t + \textit{chatram}.
\end{align*}

Rule 8.4.40 \textit{stoh ścunā ścuḥ} will later replace the \textit{t} by \textit{c} to yield:

\begin{align*}
\textit{dadhi} + (t \to c) + \textit{chatram} &= \textit{dadhicchatram}, \text{ and} \\
\textit{madhu} + (t \to c) + \textit{chatram} &= \textit{madhucchatram}.
\end{align*}

(393) \textit{kumāri}

(394) \textit{gaurī}

Given the strings \textit{kumārī} + \textit{sU} and \textit{gaurī} + \textit{sU}, 1.2.27 will assign the term \textit{saṅgha} to the long \textit{i}, which will then cause the deletion of \textit{sU} by 6.1.66 \textit{hānyābhīyo}.... The result will be:
kumārī + (sŪ → θ) = kumārī, and
gaurī + (sŪ → θ) = gaurī.

(395) devadattā atra nvasi

Given the string devadatta + sŪ, where sŪ is introduced to denote sambo-
dhana 'address' (2.3.47 samodbhane ca), 8.2.105 anantasyāpi prāṇakhyanayoh
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 ruḥ), which in turn will be replaced by r (8.3.17
bhbhago...). Finally r will be deleted by 8.3.19 lopah sākalyasya to yield:

devadattā + (sŪ → rū → r → θ) = 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 (f) aupagavah. The purpose of this rule is to explain that short, long, and
extra-long substitutes only replace vowels.

1.2.29 uccair udāṭṭaḥ

(399) ye

(a) yad

1.2.45 arthavade...
4.1.1  nyāp...
4.1.2  svavajas... # sŪP-selection
        it-deletion

= yad + (f → θ)as
= yad + as

(b) yad + as

1.4.13 yasmāt...
6.4.1  angasya...
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 jasah śi # 1.1.55 anekāl...

= ya + (as → Śi)
Derivational History of Examples

it-deletion

= ya + i

(e) ya + i

6.1.87 ād guṇaḥ
= y(a + i → e)
= ye

This derivational history does not account for accentuation. According to Phāṭṣūtra 1 phīṣo' ntodāṭṭaḥ, the final vowel of a stem is treated as udāṭta. Rule 1.2.29 explains what udāṭta is. Rule 3.1.4 anudāṭṭau suppitau makes the a of Jas an anudāṭṭa, a term which is defined by 1.2.30. Thus, given the string yad + as, the a of yad will be udāṭta as opposed to the anudāṭṭa a of Jas. When as is replaced by Śi, the accent of as, namely anudāṭta, is automatically transferred to Śi on the strength of 1.1.56 sthāniṇvad.... Similarly, given the string ya + i, where a + i gets replaced by e, 8.2.5 ekadeśa... will assign the udāṭta sukuś to e. Remember that e is a single replacement for a + i where a is udāṭta and i is anudāṭṭa.

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 nicair anudāṭṭaḥ

(402) tvā, sam, sima, and nema are all anudāṭṭa by Phāṭṣūtra 78 tvasamasmiantemey anuccāṇi

Thus: tvā, sama, sima, and nema.

(403) namaste rudra nilakaṇṭha sahasrākṣa

The te of namaste is a replacement for tubhyam ordered by 8.1.22 te maya.... It is also anudāṭṭa by 8.1.17 anudāṭṭam.... All the other pada, namely rudra nilakaṇṭha 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 anudāṭṭa. Thus: namaste rudra nilakaṇṭha sahasrākṣa.

The dative singular tubhyam, of which te is a replacement is derived from yusmad + Ne, where (N)e is the singular member of the fourth triplet of sUP. Rule 7.2.95 tubhyam... will order tubhyam as a replacement for that part of the āngha (1.4.13 yasmāt...) which extends up to and includes m. That is, yusm of yusmad + Ne will be replaced by tubhyam, yielding tubhyam + ad + Ne. Rule 7.2.90 sēṣe lopah will delete ad, and 7.1.28 ne prathamayor amādeśaḥ will replace Ne by am. Given the string tubhyam + (ad → Ø) + (Ne → am) = tubhyam + am, 6.1.107 ami pūrvavah will apply to yield: tubhyam(a + a → a)m = tubhyam.

1.2.31 samāhāraḥ svarūpāḥ

(404) šikhyam

(405) kanyā
Both of these words end in *svarita* by *phiśūtra* 76 *tīyaśikya*... The remaining accentuations will follow 6.1.158 *anudāttam*... whereby the *i* of *śikya* and *a* of *kanyā* will be marked *anudātta*.

(406) *sāmanyāḥ*

This word underlies *sāman + sū*, where the affix *ya*T is introduced after *sāman* by 4.4.98 *tatra sādhuh*. Given the string *sāman + Nī + ya*(T→∅) + *sū* = *sāmanyā + sū*, we can easily derive *sāmanyāḥ*. As for accentuation, *ya*T 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 + Nī*, where *Nī* is locative singular (*sampiṣekavacaṇa*) introduced by 4.1.2 *svauj*... Rule 5.3.12 *kimo’t* introduces the affix *a*T. Given the string *kim + (N→∅) + a* (T→∅) = *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 *sū* can be introduced by 4.1.2 *svauj*...  

Given the string *kima + sū*, first 7.2.105 *kvāti* will replace *kim* by *kva*, and then 6.4.148 *yasyeta ca* will delete the *a* of *kva*. This will yield (*kim→kva*) + *a + sū* = *kva + a + sū*, and *kv(a→∅) + a + sū* = *kva + sū*. The *sū* itself will be deleted by 2.4.82 *avayād*... 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 *a*T (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 *phiśūtra* 1. Finally the *a* of *kva* will retain its *svarita* accent. Thus: *kva*.

1.2.41 *aprkt ēkāl praṭiyayāḥ*

(408) gṛṭasaṃprk

(a) gṛṭa

1.2.45 *arthavād*...

4.1.1 *nyāp*

4.1.2 *svauj*... # *sū*-selection

*it*-deletion

2.3.2 *karmaṇi*... # 1.4.49 *kartur*...

= gṛṭa + am

(b) gṛṭa + am + sprś

(b1) sprś

1.3.1 *bhūvādayo*...

3.1.91 *dhaṭoḥ*

3.1.92 *tatropapadam*...

3.2.58 *sprśo*...

= sprś + (K→∅)v(IN→∅) # *it*-deletion

= sprś + v

(c) gṛṭa + am + sprś + v

1.4.41 *aprktā*...

6.1.65 *ver aprktasya*
= ghṛta + am + sprś + (v → θ)
= ghṛta + am + sprś

(d) ghṛta + am + sprś

1.2.46 kṛttaddhita...
2.4.71 supo...
= ghṛta + (am → θ) + sprś
= ghṛtasprś

(e) ghṛtasprś

4.1.1 nyāp...
4.1.2 svauj... # sUP-selection
it-deletion
= ghṛtasprś + s (U → θ)
= ghṛtasprś + s

(f) ghṛtasprś + s

8.2.62 kūnpratyā... # 1.1.50 sthāne...
= ghṛtaspr (ś → k) + s
= ghṛtasprk + s

(g) ghṛtasprk + s

1.2.41 aprkta...
6.1.66 halinyā...
= ghṛtasprk + (s → θ)
= ghṛtasprk

(409) arddhabhĀk
(410) pādabhĀk

These examples derive from arddha + am + bhaj + NvI and pāda + am + bhaj + NvI, where the affix NvI 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 upadhāyāh. This yields arddha + am + bhaj + v. The v of NvI is deleted by 6.1.66 halinyā... on the strength of the term aprkta. 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 sU after arddhabhāj and subsequently delete it, as in (408) ghṛtasprk. The j of arddhabhāj will be replaced by g by 8.2.30 cohkuh. 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 tatpurusah...
(411) paramarājyam
(412) uttamarājyam
(413) pācakavṛndārikā
Rule 1.2.42 tatpuruṣah ... assigns the term karmadhāraya to a tatpuruṣa compound which has its constituents in syntactic coordination with rājya + sŪ. The same can be said of the relation between pācikā + sŪ and vṛṇḍārikā + sŪ. The purpose of 1.2.42 is to explain what a karmadhāraya tatpuruṣa is. Thus, given a syntactically related string of two coordinate peda, parama + sŪ + rājya + sŪ, 2.1.57 vīseṣaṇam... will allow a tatpuruṣa (2.1.22 tatpuruṣah) compound (2.1.4 samāsah). Rule 1.2.46 kṛtaddhiha... will assign the term prātipadika and consequently 2.4.71 supo... will delete the two sŪ. The result will be parama + (sŪ → Ø) + rājya + (sŪ → Ø) = paramarājya, a karmadhāraya tatpuruṣa compound termed nominal stem.

It should be noted that the term vīseṣaṇam ‘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 prathama...). Rule 2.2.30 upasarjanaṁ pūrvaṁ will now require a pada termed upasarjana to be placed first in a compound. Given the nominal stem paramarājya, one can derive paramarājyaṁ by introducing sŪ and following (f) of (39) ādīḥyanam. 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 uttararājyaṁ.

(143) pācakavṛṇḍārikā

The derivational history of this compound is slightly different. The underlying string of syntactically coordinate pada is pācikā + sŪ + vṛṇḍārikā + sŪ. This tatpuruṣa compound is allowed by 2.1.62 vṛṇḍāraka..., while 1.2.42 assigns the term karmadhāraya. Given the compound pācikāvṛṇḍārikā, 6.3.42 puṁval... would require masculine transformation of pācikā. The form now becomes pācakavṛṇḍārikā. The nominative singular sŪ introduced after this stem will be deleted as in (409) ardhaṁbāk.

1.2.43 prathama...

(144) kastaśritah
(145) śaṅkulākhaṇḍah
(146) yūpadāru
(147) vrkabhayam
(148) rājaṃpuruṣah
(149) aksāsauṇḍah

The above examples derive from the following strings.

(144) (kāṣṭha + am + śrīta + sū) + sū
(145) (śaṅkula + ṭā + khaṇḍa + sū) + sū
(146) (yūpa + ṇe + dāru + sū) + sū
(147) (vrka + Nāsī + bhaya + sū) + sū
(418) \( \text{rājan} + \text{Nas} + \text{puruṣa} + s\text{Ū} \) + s\text{Ū}

(419) \( \text{aṅka} + \text{Nī} + \text{śaṅda} + s\text{Ū} \) + s\text{Ū}

These are all tātpuruṣa compounds where the first constituent pada ends in the second (dvitiya), third (tritiya), fourth (caturthi), fifth (pañcamī), sixth (saṣṭhī), or seventh (saṃstamī) singular triplet of s\text{Ū}P respectively. The present rule defines upasarjana as a compound constituent which is referred to by prathama (first triplet of s\text{Ū}P) 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 dvitiya...
(415) 2.1.29 tritiya...
(416) 2.1.35 caturthi
(417) 2.1.36 pañcamī
g
gn
(418) 2.2.8 saṣṭhī
g
g
(419) 2.1.39 saṃstamī

Since the constituents in question end in dvitiya, and so on, and also since they have been referred to by the terms dvitiya, and so on in prathama (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 kaṣṭaṣrīta, and so on, and not, for example, as *śrītaṣaṣṭa.

The endings within parentheses will be deleted by 2.4.7! upo... once the compound strings are termed pratiṣṭhāna ‘nominal stem’ by 1.2.46 kṛttadhi... One can now introduce s\text{Ū} after these nominal stems and derive kaṣṭaṣrītaḥ, saṅkulāḥandah, rāja-puruṣaḥ, and aṅka-aṅmandaḥ by s-visarga. The n of rājan-puruṣa + s\text{Ū} is deleted by 8.2.7 na lopaḥ....

Our other two examples, (416) yūpadāru and (417) vrkabhaya are similarly derived. However vrkabhaya + s\text{Ū} yields the form vrkabhaya as in (f) of (39) adīdhyānam, while the s\text{Ū} of yūpadāru + s\text{Ū} is deleted by 7.1.23 svamor na pumāsināt.

1.2.44 ekavibhakti...

(420) niṣkauśāmbhi
(421) niśvāraṇāsīh

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 niṣkauśāmbhi may be analysed as niṣkraṇtaḥ kauśāmbhyā, niṣkraṇtam kauśāmbhyā, niṣkraṇtena kauśāmbhyā, and so on, where kauśāmbhi will always be in the ablative. On the other hand, niṣkraṇta could be used with diverse endings. According to this, kauśāmbi will be termed upasarjana but cannot be placed first.
The underlying string for the compound is \( \text{nir} + sU + \text{kausāmbi} + \text{NasI} \), which after compound formation ruled by the \text{vārttika nirādāyah}... (see 2.2.18 \text{kugati}...), yields \text{nirkausāmbi}. Although 1.2.44 blocks \text{kausāmbi} from being placed first in the compound, it enables it to undergo the shortening of its final vowel by 1.2.48 \text{gostriyor}... This can be regarded as the function of the term \text{upsarjana} as far as \text{kausāmbi} is concerned. Given the string \text{nirkausāmbi}, \( sU \) may be introduced. This should give the form \text{nirkausāmbiḥ}. However, in this process there are two additional rule applications. Rule 8.3.15 \text{khara}... replaces the \( r \) of \( \text{nir} \) by \( \text{visarga} (h) \), and 8.3.42 \text{idupadh}... replaces this \( \text{visarga} \) by \( s \). Thus: \( \text{ni}(r \rightarrow h)\text{kausāmbiḥ} \rightarrow \text{ni}(h \rightarrow s) \text{kausāmbiḥ} = \text{niskausāmbiḥ} \). Note that these last two rules do not apply to the \( \text{nir} \) of (421) \text{nirvārāṇasīh}.

1.2.45 \text{arthavad}...

(422) \text{dīthah}
(423) \text{kapithah}
(424) \text{kundaṃ}
(425) \text{piśham}

These examples are derived by introducing \( sU \) after the nominal stems \( dīthah \), \( kapitha \), \( kundaṃ \), and \( piśha \). For deriving \( dūthah\) and \( kapithah \) from \( dīthah \) + \( sU \) and \( kapitha \) + \( sU \), follow (h-m) of (1) \( \text{auṣpavah} \); for deriving \( kundaṃ \) and \( piśham \) from \( kundaṃ + sU \) and \( piśha + sU \), follow (f) of (39) \( \text{ādīhyaṇam} \).

1.2.46 \text{kṛttaddhita}...

(426) \text{kārakah}
(427) \text{hārakah}

\( \text{kartaḥ} \) see (177) under 1.1.51 \text{uraṇ}...

\( \text{hartta} \) see (178) under 1.1.51 \text{uraṇ}...

\( \text{auṣpavah} \) see (1) under 1.1.1 \text{vṛddhir}...

(428) \text{kāpatavaḥ} see (1) \( \text{auṣpavah} \) for deriving it from \( \text{kapaṭu} + \text{Nas} + \text{apaya} + sU \)

(419) \text{rāṇapuruṣaḥ} see (419) under 1.2.43 \text{prathāma}...

(429) \text{brāhmāṇakambalaḥ} see (419) \( \text{rāṇapuruṣaḥ} \) for deriving it from \( \text{brāhmāṇa} + \text{Nas} + \text{kambala} + sU \)

Example (426) \text{kārakah} is derived from \( \text{DUKṛN} + \text{NvuL} \), which will yield \( \text{kṛ} + \text{vu} \) after \( ıt \)-deletion... This \( \text{kṛt} \) (3.1.93 \text{kṛd aṭin}) affix (3.1.1 \text{pratyayaḥ}) \( \text{NvuL} \) is introduced after (3.1.2 \text{paraś ca}) the root (3.1.91 \text{ḍhātoḥ}) by 3.1.133 \( \text{nvrṭcāu} \) to denote agent (3.4.67 \text{karttari kṛt}). Given the string \( \text{kṛ} + \text{vu}, \text{vu} \) will be replaced by \( \text{aka} \) because of being part of an affix following the anāga \( \text{kṛ} \) (see 7.1.1 \text{yuvor anāka}; also, 1.3.10 \text{yāthā}...). The resultant string \( \text{kṛ(vu → aka)} = \text{kṛ} + \text{aka} \) will be subject to the application of 7.2.115 \text{aco'innit} whereby, with reference to 1.1.51 \text{uraṇ}..., \( ıt \) will be replaced by \( \text{vṛddhi} \). Thus we get \( \text{kṛ( → ār)} + \text{aka} = \text{kāraka} \). The word \text{kārakah} is derived from \( \text{kāraka} + sU \) by \( s\)-\text{visarga}. Similar rules apply in deriving (427) \text{hārakah} from \( \text{hṛN} + \text{NvuL} \) + \( sU \).
1.2.47 hrasvo...
(430) atiri kumam
(431) atinu kulam

See notes one and two under 1.1.48 ec igh.... For deriving kulum from kula + sū, see (f) of (39) ādihyanam.
1.2.48 gostriyor...
(432) citragu
(433) śabalaguh

These examples are derived from (citrā + Jas + go + Jas) + sū and (śabalā + Jas + go + Jas) + sū, where 2.2.24 anekam anyapadarthe allows a bahuvrīhi (2.2.23 śeṣo bahuvrīhiḥ) compound. After the assignment of the term prātipadika (1.2.46 kṛtaddhita...) 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 yathāsamkhya.... Thus we get: citr(ā → a)g(o → u) = citragu and śabal(ā → a) g(o → u) = śabalaguh. Now sū can be added to these stems to derive citraguḥ and śabalaguh.
(434) niśkauśāmbih see under 1.2.44 ekavibhatti...
(435) nirvārānasih see under 1.2.44 ekavibhatti...
(436) atikhaṭvah
(437) atimālaḥ

These examples are derived similarly to the preceding two. Given the strings ati + sū + mālā + am and ati + sū + 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) paṇicendraḥ
(439) daśendraḥ
(440) paṇaśaśkulih
(441) paṇaśaśkulam
(442) āmalakam
(443) baḍaram
(444) kuvalam

Example (438) paṇicendraḥ is derived by combining paṇcan + Jas + indrāni + Jas by 2.1.50 taddhitārtha... under the condition of further taddhita affixation. Given the string paṇcan + Jas + indrāni + Jas, the resultant dvigu (2.1.52 saṃkhyā...) compound, after deletion of the two nominative plurals Jas, will be: paṇcanindrāṇi. Rule 1.2.46 kṛtaddhita... will assign the term prātipadika and 8.2.7 na lopaḥ... will delete the n of paṇcan. In addition, 6.1.87 ād' gunāḥ will order a guna (1.1.2 adeḥ...) replacement for the
sequence $a + i$ of \( \text{pañca} \text{indrañi} \). The result will be \( \text{pañcendrāñi} \). What follows next is the \text{taddhita} affixation which conditions the \text{dīvīgu} compound. In order to fully understand the impact of \( \text{LUK} \) — deletion in this example, however, one must understand the derivational details of \( \text{indrañi} \), the final constituent of the \text{dīvīgu}.

\( \text{indrañi} \)

\[ (a) \text{indra} \]

\[
1.2.45 \text{ arthavad...}
\]

\[
4.1.1 \text{ ṯyāp...}
\]

\[
4.1.3 \text{ striyām}
\]

\[
4.1.49 \text{ indra...ānuk \# 1.1.46 ādyantau...}
\]

\[
= \text{indra} + (\text{N} \rightarrow \text{Ø})i (\text{S} \rightarrow \text{Ø}) \# \text{i}-deletion
\]

\[
= \text{indra} + i
\]

\[
= \text{indra} + ān(\text{UK} \rightarrow \text{Ø}) + i \# \text{i}-deletion
\]

\[
= \text{indra} + ān + i
\]

\[ (b) \text{indra} + ān + i \]

\[
8.4.2 \text{ ātkup...}
\]

\[
= \text{indra} + ā(n \rightarrow n) + i
\]

\[
= \text{indra} + ān + i
\]

\[ (c) \text{indra} + ān + i \]

\[
6.1.101 \text{ akah savarne...}
\]

\[
= \text{indr}(a + ā \rightarrow ā)n + i
\]

\[
= \text{indrāni}
\]

Going back to the derivation of \( \text{pañcendra} \) from \( \text{pañcendrāni} \), we introduce the \text{taddhita} (4.1.76 \text{taddhitaḥ}) affix \( aN \) to \( \text{pañcendrāni} \) (see 4.2.24 \text{sāsya devatā}). This affix subsequently gets deleted by 4.1.88 \text{dvigor}.... However, the resultant form at this step is not \( \text{pañcendrāni} + (aN \rightarrow \text{Ø}) = \text{pañcendra} \) as one might expect; instead the form is \( \text{pañcendra} \).

Since \( aN \) is a \text{taddhita} affix whose deletion is accomplished by \( \text{LUK} \), 1.2.49 makes the deletion of the feminine affix (\( \text{N} \) $i$ (\$) obligatory. This should yield $^{*}\text{pañcendrān}$ rather than \( \text{pañcendra} \). Pāṇiniyas here invoke \text{paribhāsa} 86: \text{sanniyogaśtānām anyatarāpāye ubhayor apy śāvah,} 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 (\( \text{UK} \)) took place at the same time as the feminine affix (\( \text{N} \) $i$ (\$). If (\( \text{N} \) $i$ (\$) is removed, ān(\( \text{UK} \)) must also be removed. Thus the original base which received (\( \text{N} \) $i$ (\$) and ān(\( \text{UK} \)), namely \( \text{indra} \), is restored. This is how we get \( \text{pañcendra} \), the stem which yields \( \text{pañcendraḥ} \) after the introduction of \( sU \).

Similar rules apply in deriving (439) \( \text{dāsendraḥ} \).

(440) \( \text{pañca} \text{saśkulī} / (441) \text{pañca} \text{saśkula} \)

The compound \( \text{pañca} \text{saśkulī} \) is derived from \( \text{pañcan} + \text{bhis} + \text{saśkuli} + \text{bhis} \) similarly to the derivation of \( \text{pañcendrāni} \). However the \text{taddhita} affix
introduced after pañcaśaśkuli is \( T\text{Ha}K \), denoting ‘purchased by’ (see 5.1.37 tena kriyam). Given the string pañcaśaśkuli + \( T\text{Ha}K \), 5.1.28 adhyārdha... will delete \( T\text{Ha}K \) by LUK, since pañcaśaśkuli is a dvigu (2.1.52 samkhyā...) denoting a samayā ‘name’. As in pañcendrāni, once the taddhita affix is removed by LUK, the feminine affix \( \text{NiS} \) which was introduced after śaśkula by 4.1.41 śidgaurādibhyah must also be removed. This will yield pañcaśaśkula, after which s\( \text{U} \) can be added to derive pañcaśaśkulum as in (f) of (39) ādīdhyanam.

(442) āmalakaṃ
This example is derived from āmalaka + s\( \text{U} \) where āmalaka, the stem, is derived by first introducing the feminine affix \( \text{NiS} \) to āmalaka (4.1.41 śidgaurā...) and then introducing the taddhita affix \( \text{mayaT} \) (4.3.144 nityam, # 1.1.73 vṛddhīr..., 1.1.1 vṛddhīr...) after āmalakī + \( \text{Nas} \). Since \( \text{mayaT} \) gets deleted by 4.3.163 phale luk, 1.2.49 also requires the deletion of \( \text{NiS} \). Thus: āmalaka + \( \text{NiS} = \) āmalakī, with the final a of āmalaka being deleted by 6.4.148 yasyeti ca; āmalakī + \( \text{Nas} + \text{mayaT} = \) āmalakī + (\( \text{Nas} \rightarrow \emptyset \); see 2.4.71 supo...) + (\( \text{mayaT} \rightarrow \emptyset \) = āmalaka; āmalaka + s\( \text{U} \) = āmalakam.

(443) badaram
(444) kuvalam
The affix \( \text{mayaT} \) is introduced to denote vikāra ‘modification, product’. Affix \( \text{aN} \) is similarly introduced by 4.3.140 anudāttād... after badarī and kuvalī, both ending in \( \text{NiS} \). The remaining rule applications are similar to āmalakam.

1.2.50 id gonyāh
(183) pañcagoniḥ see under 1.1.52 alo’ ntyasya
(184) dasagoniḥ see under 1.1.52 alo’ ntyasya
1.2.51 lupi yakītavad...

(445) pañcālāh
(446) magadāhāh
(447) masyāh
(448) anīgāh
(449) suhmāh
(450) punḍrāh
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 + \( \text{Nas} \) is to be derived, and then the affix \( \text{aN} \) is to be introduced after it to denote offspring (see (1) aupaṅgavah). Given the string pañcāla + \( \text{Nas} + \text{aN} \), 4.1.174 te tadrājāḥ will assign the term tadrājā to \( \text{aN} \). Consequently, 2.4.62 tadrājasya will delete it by LUK. \( \text{Nas} \) will also be deleted by 2.4.71 supo...

The second affix which is introduced to pañcāla, the new base, is a\( \text{aN} \), 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 nivāsah). Note that aN is added after pañcāla + ām, a genitive plural. Given the string pañcāla + ām + aN, ām will be deleted by 2.4.71 supo... and aN will be deleted by 4.2.80 janapade lup. This yields pañcāla, a prātipadika (1.2.46 kṛttadhitā...) after which fas (nominative plural) is introduced to derive pañcālāḥ as follows.

(a) pañcāla + \(f \rightarrow \emptyset\) as # it-deletion
   = pañcāla + as

(b) pañcāla + as

   6.1.100 prathamayoh...
   = pañcāla(a + a → ā)s
   = pañcālās

(c) pañcālās
   s-visarga
   = pañcālāḥ

It should be noted here that pañcāla must denote masculine plural as the tuddhīta affix aN 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 tuddhīta affix is aN, introduced by 4.1.170 ōvṛṇ... to denote ‘many offspring’. The remaining rule applications are identical to pañcālāḥ.

1.2.52 viśeṣanānāṁ 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 godاور adūrabhavo grāmaḥ ‘a village near two ponds’, one may introduce the affix aN after goda + os to denote ‘located not far from’ (4.2.70 adūra...). Incidentally, os is the genitive dual introduced after goda ‘pond’. Affix aN is deleted by 4.2.82 varanādi... and os by 2.4.71 supo... Thus: goda + os + aN → goda → os + (aN → \(\emptyset\)) = goda + (os → \(\emptyset\)) = 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 aN was accomplished by LUP.

Given the string goda + au where au is nominative dual, 6.1.102 prathamayoh... 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 aśisyaṁ...
(452) āpaḥ
Derivational History of Examples

(a) \( ap \)

1.2.45  arthavad...

4.1.1  ny\( \ddot{a} \)...

4.1.2  svauj... # sUP-selection and so on

2.3.46  pr\( \ddot{a} \)tipadik\( \ddot{a} \)rtha...

1.4.21  bahu\( \dot{u} \)s buhuvaca\( \ddot{n} \)am

\[ = ap + (j \rightarrow 0) \text{as} # \text{it-deletion} \]

\[ = ap + as \]

(b) \( ap + as \)

6.4.111  aptrn...

\[ = (a \rightarrow \ddot{a})p + as \]

\[ = \ddot{a}p + as \]

(c) \( \ddot{a}p + as \)

s-visarga

\[ = \ddot{a}p\ddot{a} \]

(453) d\( \ddot{a} \)r\( \ddot{a} \)h

This form is derived from d\( \ddot{a} \)r\( \ddot{a} \) + (j \rightarrow 0) as = d\( \ddot{a} \)r\( \ddot{a} \) + as where the sequence \( \ddot{a} + a \) is replaced by \( \ddot{a} \) by 6.1.98 a\( \ddot{a} \)h savar\( \ddot{e} \)... The resultant form, d\( \ddot{a} \)r(\( \ddot{a} + a \rightarrow \ddot{a} \))s = d\( \ddot{a} \)r\( \ddot{a} \)s will undergo s-visarga to yield d\( \ddot{a} \)r\( \ddot{a} \)h. Similar rules apply in deriving (454) sikat\( \ddot{a} \)h and (455) varya\( \ddot{a} \)h from sikat\( \ddot{a} \)a + Jas and var\( \ddot{s} \)a + Jas.

(456) grhr\( \ddot{a} \)h

This example derives from gr\( \ddot{h} \)a + (j \rightarrow 0) as = gr\( \ddot{h} \)a + as where the sequence a + a is replaced by a single long vowel homogeneous with the preceding one (6.1.102 prathamayoh...). The application of s-visarga on gr\( \ddot{h} \)as yields grhr\( \ddot{h} \)a.

1.2.59 asmado...

(457) aham brav\( \ddot{\imath} \)mi

(458) \( \ddot{a} \)v\( \ddot{a} \)m br\( \ddot{u} \)va\( \ddot{h} \)

(458) v\( \ddot{a} \)ya\( \ddot{m} \) br\( \ddot{\imath} \)mah

(460) aham

(a) asmad

1.2.45  arthavad...

4.1.1  ny\( \ddot{a} \)p...

4.1.2  svauj... # sUP-selection

it-deletion

\[ = \text{asmad} + s(\ddot{U} \rightarrow \emptyset) \]

\[ = \text{asmad} + s \]

(b) \( \text{asmad} + s \)

1.4.13  yasm\( \ddot{\imath} \)t...

6.4.1  a\( \ddot{\imath} \)ng\( \ddot{a} \)s

7.1.128  ne prathamayor am

\[ = \text{asmad} (s \rightarrow \text{am}) \]

\[ = \text{asmad} + \text{am} \]
(c) **asmad + am**

7.2.91  \( \text{ma paryantasya} \)

\[ (\text{asm} \rightarrow \text{aha}) \text{ ad} + \text{am} \]

\[ \text{aha} + \text{ad} + \text{am} \]

(d) **aha + ad + am**

7.2.90  \( \text{šeše lopah} \)

\[ \text{aha} + a(d \rightarrow \emptyset) + \text{am} \]

\[ \text{aha} + a + \text{am} \]

(e) **aha + a + am**

6.1.97  \( \text{ato guñe } \# 1.1.2 \text{ adeh gunah} \)

\[ \text{ah}(a + a \rightarrow a) + \text{am} \]

\[ \text{aha} + \text{am} \]

(f) **aha + am**

6.1.107  \( \text{ami pūrvah} \)

\[ \text{ah}(a + a \rightarrow a) \text{ m} \]

\[ \text{aham} \]

(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  \( \text{prathomā...} \)

\[ \text{āv}(a \rightarrow ā) + \text{am} \]

\[ \text{āvā} + \text{am} \]

(b) **āvā + am**

6.1.107 \( \text{ami pūrvah} \)

\[ \text{āv} + (ā + a \rightarrow ā) \text{ m} \]

\[ \text{āvām} \]

(459) **vayam**

This example is derived from **asmad + Jas** where asm is replaced by vaya with reference to 7.2.93 yuvāvau jasi. The remaining steps are similar to **aham**.

(457) **brāvīmi**

This example underlies brūṇ ‘to speak’ and is derived from brū(\( N \rightarrow \emptyset \)) + SaP + mi where mi is a replacement for LAT. Since the root is listed in the ad class, SaP is deleted by 2.4.72 adi... Given the string brū + mi, 7.3.93 bruva īṭ introduces augment ī(ṭ) at the end of brū (1.1.46 ādyaṇtau...). The resultant string brū + ī + mi is subject to guna and av replacement of o as in (15) bhavati and (e) of (13) tarati.

(460) **brūvah**

(461) **brūmah**

apply to term the final t of āt an īṭ. This may eventually lead to the deletion as in (a) of (462) vrksāt, plus 2.3.46 prātipadikārtha...
These examples are derived from brūña + ŠaP + LAT, where LAT is replaced by vas in brīvah and mas in brūmah. These derivations are straightforward. After the deletion of ŠaP, all that remains is s-visarga to change brīvas and brūmas into brīvah and brūmah.

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 tusmāh
(462) vrksāt
   (a) vrksa
      1.2.45 arthavād...
      1.4.24 dhruvam
      = vrksa

   (b) vrksa
      4.1.1 nyāp...
      4.1.2 svauj... # sUP-selection
      = vrksa + NasI

   (c) vrksa + NasI
      1.4.13 yasmāt
      6.4.1 aṅgasya
      7.1.12 tānasiṅas... # 1.3.10 yathā...
      = vrksa + (NasI → āt)
      = vrksa + āt

Rule 7.1.12 requires that the instrumental, ablative, and genitive singular endings Tā, NasI, and Nas be replaced by in, āt, and sya when they occur after an aṅga ending in a. Given the string vrksa + āt, 1.3.3 halantyam may apply to term the final t of ān at āt. This may eventually lead to the deletion of t by 1.3.9 tasya lopah. However, since NasI is termed a vibhakti by 1.4.103-4 supah-vibhaktī ca, and also since 1.1.56 sthānivad... extends this designation to āt, 1.3.4 blocks the īt designation of īt of āt.

   (d) vrksa + āt
      6.1.70 samhitāyām
      6.1.102 aṅh savarne dirghāh
      = vrks(a + ā → ā)t
      = vrksāt

Similar rules apply in deriving (463) plaksāt from plakṣa + NasI.

(464) brāhmaṇāḥ
   (a) brāhmaṇa
      as in (a) of (462) vrksāt, plus 2.3.46 prātipadikārtha...
      = brāhmaṇa + Jas

   (b) brāhmaṇa + Jas
it-deletion

= brāhmaṇa + as

See the explanation in (c) of (462) vrksāt for the reason why the s of as cannot be termed an it and hence is deleted.

(c) brāhmaṇa + as

6.1.70 samhitāyām
6.1.102 prathamayoh pūrvasavarnāḥ

= brāhmaṇa(a + a → ā)s
= brāhmu.ā + 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 bahusū... 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, SaP can be introduced to yield pac + a + tas pacataḥ by s-visarga.

One may similarly derive (466) pacataḥ from pac + a + thas, where thas, the second person dual parasmaipada ending, replaces LAT.

(467) apacatām

(a) DUpacĀṣ

as in (a) of (10) pacanti, plus the non-it rules of (a) of (16) akārsit

= pac + LAN

(b) pac + LAÑ

as in (d) of (16) akārsit

= pac + (LAÑ→ tas)

# 1.4.22 dvekayor...

= pac + tas

(c) pac + tas

3.4.101 tasthanamipāṁ...
1.3.10 yathāsaṁkhya...

= pac + (tas → tāṁ)
= pac + tāṁ

(d) pac + tāṁ

as in (d) of (10) pacanti, but tāṁ may be treated as a tiÑ only by 1.2.56 sthānivad...

= pac + SaP + tāṁ
= pac + a + tāṁ

(e) pac + a + tāṁ

as in (f) of (16) akārsit

= aT + pac + a + tāṁ∗

it-deletion
Derivational History of Examples

\[ = a + \text{pac} + a + \text{tām} \]

\[(f) \ a + \text{pac} + a + \text{tām}\]

1.4.14 \textit{suptiñantaṃ padam} = \textit{apacatām}

1.3.5 \textit{ādir niṭudavaḥ}

(468) \textit{minnaḥ}

(469) \textit{dhṛṣṭaḥ}

(470) \textit{kṣvīṇṇaḥ}

(471) \textit{iddhaḥ}

These examples are derived from:

(468) \textit{Nīmidā} + \textit{Kta} + \textit{sŪ}

(469) \textit{NīdhṛṣĀ} + \textit{Kta} + \textit{sŪ}

(470) \textit{Nīkṣvidā} + \textit{Kta} + \textit{sŪ}

(471) \textit{Nīindhī} + \textit{Kta} + \textit{sŪ}

All these examples involve \textit{Nī} as a root-initial \textit{ī} which is deleted by 1.3.9 \textit{taśya lopaḥ}. The final \textit{Ā} and \textit{I} are also deleted. For placement of \textit{Kta}, see (b) of (26) \textit{citāḥ}. However, note that 3.2.187 \textit{niṭaḥ ktaḥ} introduced the affix to denote the present tense. Also note that, as in (c) of (26) \textit{citāḥ}, the augment \textit{iṭ}, as well as \textit{guna}, will be blocked by 7.2.16 \textit{ādūtaś ca} and 1.1.5 \textit{kniṭi ca}. Given the string \textit{mid} + \textit{ta}, 8.2.42 \textit{radābhyaṃ}... will replace both \textit{d} and \textit{t} by \textit{n}: \textit{mi(dn)} + (\textit{t} → \textit{n}) \textit{a} = \textit{minna}. Similar phonological operations relevant to the other examples are as follows.

(469) \textit{dhṛṣ} + \textit{ta}

8.4.41 \textit{sṭunā śtuḥ}

\[ = \textit{dhṛṣ} + (t → t) a \]

\[ = \textit{dhṛṣṭa} \]

(470) \textit{kṣvid} + \textit{ta}

8.2.42 \textit{radābhyaṃ}...

\[ = kṣvi(d → n) + (t → n) a \]

\[ = kṣvin + na \]

8.4.2 \textit{āṭkupvāṇaḥ}...

\[ = kṣvi (n → n) + (n → n) a \]

\[ = kṣvīṇṇa \]

(471) \textit{indh} + \textit{ta}

6.4.24 \textit{aniditām}...

\[ = i(n → θ) dh + ta \]

\[ = idh + ta \]

8.2.40 \textit{jhaṣasta}...

\[ = idh + (t → dh) a \]

\[ = idh + dha \]

8.4.53 \textit{jhalām}...

\[ = i(dh → d) + dha \]

\[ = iddha \]
To derive (468) minnāḥ, and the others, from minna + sū, and so on, follow (d) of (26) cītah.

(472) vepathuḥ

(473) svayathuḥ

The above examples are derived from (TUveṣū + athuC) + sū and (TUoṣī + athuC) + sū, where TU and the nasalized vowels are termed it by 1.3.5 ādir... and 1.3.2 upadeśi... 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 tvātaḥ thuc. The āñal C of athuC is deleted by 1.3.9 tasya lopaḥ for being an it (1.3.3 hauṇyam). This yields vep + athu = vepathuḥ, which is a pṛātipadika (1.2.46 krtaṭṭhitai...) since it ends in a kṛt (3.1.93 kṛt atiṁ). Since athuC is termed an ārdhadhātuka (3.4.114 ārdhadhātukam...), not being a tiN nor being marked with Ś (3.4.113 tiṃśi...), 7.3.84 sārvadhātuka... applies in the aṅga domain (1.4.13 yasmāt..., 6.4.1 aṅgasya). However, only ṣvii + athu qualifies for guṇa application:

\[ \text{ṣvii + athu} = 7.3.84 \text{sārvadhātuka...} \]
\[ \text{# 1.1.12 adeṅ guṇāḥ} \]
\[ = \text{ṣv(e → e) + athu} \]
\[ = \text{ṣve + athu} \]

Given the string sve + athu, 6.1.78 eco’yaṇāyāvah applies to yield: s[e → ay] + athu = svayathuḥ. The placement of sū after both vepathu and svayathu yields vepathuḥ and svayathuḥ by s-visarga.

(474) paktrimam

(475) uptrimam

(476) ktrtrimam

These examples involve roots such as DUpaccō, ‘to cook’, DUvaṇā, ‘to sow’, and DUkrN, ‘to do, make’ which all have initial DU as an it. As the initial TU in the preceding examples allowed the introduction of athuC, DU allows the introduction of Ktri:

(a) DUpaccō

\[ \text{it-deletion} \]
\[ = \text{pac} \]

(b) pac

\[ 1.3.1 \text{ bhūvādayoḥ...} \]
\[ 3.1.91 \text{ dhātoḥ} \]
\[ 3.3.88 \text{ tiṅtaḥ kтриḥ} \]
\[ = \text{pac + Ktri} \]
\[ \text{it-deletion} \]
\[ = \text{pac + tri} \]

(c) pac + tri

\[ 8.2.30 \text{ coḥ kuḥ} \]
\[ 1.1.50 \text{ sthāne...} \]
\[ = \text{pa (c → k) + tri} \]
\[ = \text{paktri} \]
(d) paktrī
   1.2.46  kr̥ttaddhita...
   4.1.1   nyāp...
   4.4.20  khet mam nityam
   = paktrī + maP
       "-deletion
   = paktrī + ma
   = paktrīma

(e) paktrimā
   as in (e-f) of (39) adīdhyanam
   = paktrimām

Similar rules apply in deriving kr̥trimā and uptrimā. Note, however,
that given the form vaprīma, 6.1.15 vacisvapi... requires the samprasaṛana
(1.1.45 ig yanah) of the initial v. Thus: (v → u) aprīma = vaprīma. Rule
6.1.108 samprasaṛanać ca then orders a single replacement of u for the
initial ua: (ua → u)priṃa = upriṃa.

1.3.6 saḥ pratayasya
   (477) nartaka

        (a) nṛt
          1.3.1  bhūvādayo...
          1.3.2  upadeśe...
          1.3.9  tasya lopah
          = nṛt

        (b) nṛt
          3.1.91  dhātoḥ
          3.1.145  śilpinī śuvuṅ
          = nṛt + Śuvuṅ

        (c) nṛt + Śuvuṅ
            "-deletion
            = nṛt + vu

        (d) nṛt + vu
          1.4.13  yasmāt...
          6.4.1   anāgasya
          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 guṇah, 1.1.51 ur an...
          = n(t → ar)t + aka
          = nartaka

(f) nartaka
   1.2.46  kr̥ttaddhita...
   4.1.1   nyāp...
4.1.41  śidgaurādibhyaḥ
= nartaka + Ńiṣ

(g) nartaka + Ńiṣ
it-deletion
nartaka + i

(h) nartaka + i
1.4.18  yaci bham
6.4.148  yasyeti ca
= nartak (a → θ) + i
= nartaki

(i) nartaki
8.4.46  aco rahābhyām...
1.4.17  svādiṣu...
8.1.16  padasya
= nar(t → tt) aki
= nartaki

Similar rules apply in deriving (478) rajakī from raṇīĀ + Švun + Ņiṣ. Note, however, that the nasal of raṇīĀ is deleted by a vārttika on 6.4.24 aniditām... (cf. rajakarajana...).

1.3.7 cutū

(479) kauṇājāryanāḥ
This example is derived from kuṇja + Ńas + phaK in a manner similar to (3) āśvalāyanaḥ. However, before an operation similar to (h) of (3) āśvalāyanaḥ may be carried out, 5.3.113 vrātacphaṇor... applies.

kauṇājayan
5.3.113 vrātacphaṇor...
= kauṇājayan + Ŋya
it-deletion
= kauṇājāryanāḥ

brāhmaṇāḥ
See (464) under 1.3.4 nu vibhaktau....

(480) śaṇḍikyaḥ
This example is derived similarly to many of the taddhīta derivations already given. The underlying string is śaṇḍika + sŪ, after which the taddhīta affix Ŋya (4.3.92 śaṇḍikādibhyaḥ...) is added to denote abhijana ‘country’ 4.3.90 abhijanaś ca). Given the string śaṇḍika, + sU + Ŋya, deletion of Ū, Ň, and the final a of śaṇḍika, together with the vrātīdhī 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  tatrapadam...
3.2.16  careṣṭaḥ
= car + Ta

Note here that Ta cannot be introduced after car unless kuru + sŪ, a pada, is referred to by saptami 'seventh triplet of sUP', which here is adhikaraṇa of 3.2.15 adhikarane...

(c) kuru + sUP + car + Ta
   iit-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  kṛttaddnita...
   2.4.71  supo...
   = kuru(sUP → ∅) cara
   = kurucara

(f) kurucara
   4.1.1  nīyāp...
   4.1.15  tiḍḍha...
   = kurucara + NiP
   = kurucara + i

Note here that the initial iit of the Ta in which kurucara terminates facilitates the introduction of NiP.

(g) kurucara + i as in (h) of (477) naritaksi
   = kurucara(a → ∅) + i
   = kurucarī

The same rules apply in deriving (482) madracari.

(483) upasaraṇaḥ
(484) mandurajah

The base upasara is an avayibhāva (2.1.5 avayibhāvaḥ) compound (samāsa # 2.1.3 prāk...) ruled by 2.1.6 avayam... The affix Dā is introduced after jān 'to be born', come into existence' by 3.2.97 saptamyaṃ janer dāḥ under conditions similar to (481) kurucari. Thus we get upasara + Ni + jān + Dā, where Ni is introduced after upasara according to the pattern of (5) sāliyaḥ.

(a) upasara + Ni + jān + Dā
   1.4.13  yasmāt...
   1.4.1  āṅgasya
   6.4.143  teh
   = upasara + Ni + j(an → ∅) + Dā
   = upasara + Ni + j + Dā
Note that an was deleted mostly on the strength of Da being marked with D.

(b) upasara + ̄Ni + j + a
    as in (c-e) of (481) kurucari
    s-visarga
    = upasarajah

One may similarly derive (484) mandurajah from mandura + ̄Ni + jan + Da + sU. However, before applying rules as in (b) of (483) upasarajah, one must apply 6.3.61 ŋvpo... to replace the long vowel of mandura by short a. This application also implies that the base mandura is derived from mandura + ̄aP where ̄aP is a feminine suffix.

(485) ānnah

This example is derived by introducing the taddhita (4.1.76 taddhītāḥ) affix Na (4.4.85 annānnaḥ) after a syntactically related pada ending in dvitiyā 'second triplet of sU' and underlying the stem anna 'food'. The dvitiyā after anna is introduced by 2.3.2 karmanī dvitiyā to denote karman 'object' (1.4.49 kartur īpsita...). Given the string anna + am + Na, 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 taddhitēv...). Thus we get (a → ā)nna + am + (N → 0) a = ānna + am + a. This full string is termed a prātipadika (1.2.46 kṛttaddhita...) and 2.4.71 svpo... deletes its am. The new string, ānna + a, is subject to the application of 6.4.148 yasyeti ca as in (h) of (477) narttāki: ānn(a → 0) + a = ānna. The final form ānnah is derived from ānna + sU by s-visarga.

1.3.8 laśakv ataddhite

(486) cayanam

(a) ciN
    as in (a) of (26) citaḥ
    = ci

(b) ci
    1.3.1 bhūvādayo...
    3.1.91 dhātoḥ
    3.1.95 kṛtyāḥ
    3.3.115 lyūt ca
    = ci + LyuT

(c) ci + LyuT
    as in (g) of (477) narttāki
    = ci + yu

(d) ci + yu
    as in (d) of (477) narttāki
    = ci + (yu → ana)
    = ci + ana
(e) \( ci + ana \)
\[ = c(i \rightarrow e) + ana \]
\[ = c(e \rightarrow ay) + ana \]
\[ = cayana \]

(f) \( cayana \)
\[ \text{as in } (e-f) \text{ of (39) } adidhyanam \]
\[ = cayana + (s\bar{U} \rightarrow am) \]
\[ = cayan(a + a \rightarrow a)m \]
\[ = cayanam \]

Similar rules apply in deriving (487) \( jayanam \) from \( ji + LyuT \).

(15) \( bhavati \)
See under 1.1.3.

(488) \( pacati \)
See (13) \( tarati \). Note, however, that (e) is not applicable here.

(489) \( bhuktah \)

(490) \( bhuktav\=an \)
See my notes under 1.1.26 \( ktavat\=u \).

(491) \( priyamvadah \)

(a) \( priya \)
\[ = priya + am \]

(b) \( vcd\=\bar{A} \)
\[ \text{it-deletion} \]
\[ = vad \]

(c) \( vad \)
\[ = vad + KH\alpha C \]
\[ \text{Note here that } KH\alpha C \text{ cannot be introduced after } vad \text{ unless there is a} \]
\[ \text{co-occurring } pada \text{ denoting object and underlying } priya \text{ or } va\=sa. \]

(d) \( priya + am + vad + KH\alpha C \)
\[ \text{it-deletion} \]
\[ = priya + am + vad + a \]

(e) \( priya + am + vad + a \)
\[ \text{same as (d-e) of (481) } kurucari \]
\[ \text{as } priyavada \]
(f) \textit{priyavada}

1.4.13 vasmāt...
6.4.1 āṅgasya
6.3.65 arurviṣad... # 1.1.46 midaco...

= \textit{priya} (mUM)vada
= \textit{priyamvada}

(g) \textit{priyamvada}

s-visarga, except that here 8.2.34 naścāpādāntasya jhali replaces the \textit{m} with anusvāra (\textit{m})

= \textit{priya} (m \rightarrow n)vada + (s\textit{Ū} \rightarrow \textit{ḥ})
= \textit{priyamvadah}

Similar rules apply in deriving (492) \textit{vaśamvadah} from (vaśa + am + vadā + KHaC) + s\textit{Ū}

(37) jśnuḥ

(38) bhūṣnuḥ

See derivations (37) and (38).

(493) \textit{bhaṅguram}

This example is derived by introducing the affix (3.1.1 pratyayah) G\textit{Hura}C (3.2.161 bhaṅjabhāsa...) after (3.1.2 paraś ca) the verbal root (1.3.1 bhūvādayo..., 3.1.91 dhaśoḥ) bhaṅj\textit{A} to denote the action denoted by these verbs as the nature (śila) of their agent. Given the string bhaṅj\textit{A} + G\textit{Hura}C, \textit{i}t-deletion will yield bhaṅj + ura, which will be subject to rule application in the \textit{anāga} (1.4.13 vasmāt..., 6.4.1 āṅgasya) domain. There, with reference to 1.1.50 sthāne..., 7.3.52 cajoḥ ku ghinyatoh will apply to replace the \textit{j} by \textit{g}; bhaṅ(j \rightarrow g) + ura = bhaṅgura. Once bhaṅgura is termed a prātipadika (1.2.46 kṛttaddhi...) and s\textit{Ū} is introduced (4.1.1 nṝj..., 4.1.2 svauj...), 7.1.24 ato' \textit{m} will replace s\textit{Ū} by \textit{am}. The nasal of bhaṅgura + \textit{am} will be replaced first by anusvāra (\textit{m}) by 8.3.24 naś cāpādāntasya..., and then by \textit{n} by 8.4.57 anusvārasya... Thus, we get bha (n \rightarrow m)gura + am \rightarrow bha(m \rightarrow n)gura = bhaṅgura + am. Finally, 6.1.107 am pūrvah will apply to yield bhaṅgur(a + a \rightarrow a)m = bhaṅguram.

(462) vṛksāt

See under 1.3.4 na vibhaktu...

(494) vṛkṣasya

This example is derived by introducing the genitive singular \textit{Nas} after the nominal stem vṛksa by 2.3.50 saśṭhī seṣe. Other rules relating to the selection of \textit{Nas} present no problem. As in (462) vṛksāt, 7.1.12 tāṇasi... replaces as by sya to yield vṛksa + (Nas \rightarrow sya) = vṛkṣasya.

(495) glāye

(a) glai

as in (a-b) of (10) pacanti

= glai + LAT
Note that LAT is introduced after glai to denote bhāva ‘root sense’ (3.4.69 laḥ karmai…).

(b) glai + LAT

3.4.77 lasya
3.4.78 tiptasjhi # 1.4.99 laḥ parasmaipadam, 1.4.100 taṅāṅav āṭmanepadam, 1.4.101 tiṇas… # tiṆ-
selection
= glai + (LAT → ta)
= glai + te

c) glai + ta

3.4.79 tiṭ āṭmanepadānām… # 1.1.64 aco’ntyādi ti
= glai + t(a → e)
= glai + te

d) glai + te

3.4.113 tiṅsīt sārvadhātukam
3.1.67 sārvadhātuke yak
= glai + yaK + te
it-deletion
= glai + ya + te

e) glai + ya + te

6.1.45 ādec upadesē...
= 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 ṇīṣvaṇ, the following rules apply.

(e) svap + ya + te

6.1.15 vacisvapi… # 1.1.45 ig yanah...
= s(v → u)ap + ya + te
= svap + ya + te

(f) svap + ya + te

6.1.108 samprasyāranāc ca
= s(u + a → u) p + ya + te
= supyate

Examples (498) kriyate and (499) hriyate are similarly derived from DUkrN + yaK + ta and hrN + yaK + ta. However, in both these derivations, the aṅga (1.4.13 yasmāt…, 6.4.1 aṅgasya) final r is replaced by riN by 7.4.28 riṅ saya….

Thus:

k(r → ri) (N → ø) + ya(K → ø) + t(a → e)
= kri + ya + te
= kriyate

h(r → ri) (N → ø) + ya(K → ø) + t(a → e)
\[ = hri + ya + te \]
\[ = hriyate \]

1.3.14 kartari karma vyatihihāre

(500) vyatilunate
(501) vyatipunate

Both lūN and pūN are used here with the preverbs vi and ati. Given the string \( vi + ati + lū \), placement of \( LAT \) and its replacement by tiN 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) ātmapada is introduced by 1.3.14 karttari...

Thus: \( vi + ati + lū + \text{(LAT } \rightarrow \text{jha)} = vi + ati + lū + jha \)

(d) \( vi + ati + lū + jha \)

\[ 3.4.113 \text{ tinśit...} \]
\[ 3.1.67 \text{ kartari śap} \]
\[ 3.1.81 \text{ krayādibhyāh śnā} \]
\[ = vi + ati + lū + Śnā + jha \]
\[ \text{ūt-deletion} \]
\[ = vi + ati + lū + nā + jha \]

(e) \( vi + ati + lū + nā + jha \)

\[ 1.4.13 \text{ yasmāt...} \]
\[ 6.4.1 \text{ angasya} \]
\[ 7.1.5 \text{ ātmanepadeśu...} \]
\[ = vi + ati + lū + nā + (jh } \rightarrow \text{ at)a} \]
\[ = vi + ati + lū + nā + at + a \]

(f) \( vi + ati + lū + nā + at + a \)

\[ 7.3.80 \text{ pūḍinām...} \]
\[ = vi + ati + l(ū } \rightarrow \text{ u) + nā + at + a} \]
\[ = vi + ati + lu + nā + at + a \]

(g) \( vi + ati + lu + nā + at + a \)

\[ 6.4.112 \text{ snābhyaśas...} \]
\[ = vi + ati + lu + n(ā } \rightarrow \text{ θ) + at + a} \]
\[ = vi + ati + lun + at + a \]

(h) \( vi + ati + lun + at + a \)

\[ \text{as in (c) of (495) glāyate} \]
\[ = vi + ati + lun + at + e \]

(i) \( vi + ati + lun + at + e \)

\[ 6.1.77 \text{ iko yān aci # 1.3.10 yathā...} \]
\[ = vi + ati + lun + at + e \]
\[ = vy + ati + lun + at + e \]
\[ = vyatilunate \]

The same rules apply in deriving (502) vyatipunate.
(503) vyatigacchanti

This example is derived from vi + ati + gam + SaP + jhi where the root gaml. 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 isugami... # 1.1.51 alo' ntyasa). 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 yan aci

\[ = v(i \rightarrow y)ati + ga + t + ch + a + jhi \]

After the replacement of the jh of jhi by ant as in (10) pacanti. 8.4.40 stoš cunā ścuh will apply: vyati + ga + (t \rightarrow 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: vyatigaccha(a + a → a)anti = vyatigacchanti.

Example (504) vyatisarpanti is derived from vi + ati + srpl, + SaP + jhi = vyati + srp + anti, where the r undergoes guṇa (1.1.2 adēn guñah) by 7.3.36 puganta... Thus: vyati + s(r → ar)p + anti = vyatisarpanti.

Example (505) vyatihmsanti is similarly derived from vi + ati + hisl + (LAT → 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 śnānallopah. Similarly 6.4.11 śnasor... deletes the a of na. Thus we get vi + ati + hi + na + (n → ⊥) + s + jhi → 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' nusvārṇ will replace the n by anusvāra (m): vyati + hi(n → m)s + anti = vyatihmsanti.

Example (506) vyatigneanti is derived from vi + ati + han + SaP + jhi, where SaP is introduced by 3.1.68 karttari śap. Since han belongs to the ad class, SaP must be deleted by 2.4.72 adīprabhṛti... Given the string vi + ati + han + jhi, 6.4.98 gahamana... 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 shāne...). 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 vyatigneanti.

1.3.16 itaretarānyonyopapadāc ca

(507) vyatilunanti

This example is derived in the same way as (500) vyatilunate, except that here LAT 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 viṣāḥ
dviṣate
(nivīṣate)
nivīṣante

Example (508) nivīṣate is derived from nivīṣ + LAT where LAT is replaced by the third person singular ātmanepada ending ta as in (b-c) of (495) glāyate. The tudādi root viṣ here is used with the preverb ni. Given the string nivīṣ + ta, 3.1.77 tudādibhyah... will introduce Śa. For deriving nivīṣate from nivīṣ + Śa + ta, apply rules similar to (a) of (491) glāyate. Thus: nivīṣ + a + t(a → e) = nivīṣate.

Example (509) nivīṣante is similarly derived from nivīṣ + Śa + jha where jha is a third person plural ātmanepada replacement for LAT. 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 kriyāḥ
(parikrīṇīte)
(vikrīṇīte)
(avakrīṇīte)

Example (510) parikrīṇīte is derived from parikrī + LAT where DUkrīN is used with the preverb pari. The LAT is replaced by the third person singular ātmanepada ending ta. Given the string parikrī + ta, 3.1.80 kryādibhyah... 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 i haḥ aghoḥ # 1.1.52 alo’ntyasya
    = parikrī + n(ā → i) + te
    = parikrī + nī + te

(c) parikrīṇīte
    1.4.14 supitīn...
    8.4.2 at kupān...
    = parikrī(n → n)iṭe
    = 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 viparābhāyāṁ jēḥ
  (513) viśayate
  (514) parājyate

These examples are derived from viji + LAT and parāji + LAT, where vi and parā are preverbs. In both cases, LAT is replaced by the third person singular atmanepada ending ta which eventually yields te as in (b-d) of (495) qlāyate. The two bases before te will finally become viśayate and parājyate exactly in the same manner as jaya before anti in (11) jayanti.

1.3.20 āno do’nāvyavihareṇe
  (515) ādatte

This form is derived from āḍā + LAT, where DUDāN is used with the preverb āN. Given the string āḍā + LAT, the third person singular atmanepada ending ta will replace LAT and will, as usual, be replaced by te. The following steps then apply.

(a) āḍā + te
    as in (c-d) of (230) babdhām
    = āḍā + (ŚaP → Ø) + te
    = āḍā + te (step c)
    = āḍā + dā + te (step d)

(b) āḍā + dā + te
    1.4.13 yasmāt...
    6.4.1 anāgasya
    6.4.112 śnābhyaś...
    = āḍā + d(ā → Ø) + te
    = āḍā + d + te

(c) āḍā + d + te
    7.4.59 hrasvah
    = āḍ(ā → a) + d + te
    = āḍa + d + te

(d) āḍa + d + te
    1.4.14 suptin...
    8.4.55 kharī ca
    = āḍa + (d → t) + te
    = ādatte

1.3.21 kṛdo’ nusamparībhyaś ca

(516) anukrīdate
(517) saṃkrīdate
(518) parikrīdate
(519) ākrīdate
The ātmanepada endings are introduced by this rule when kriḍR is used with the preverbs anu, sam, pari, or āN. Given the preverb-root sequences anukriḍ, samkriḍ, parikriḍ, and ākriḍ, LAT will be introduced. After LAT is replaced by the third person singular ātmanepada ending (ta → te), SaP is introduced. This yields anukriḍ + a + te = anukriḍate, parikriḍate, and ākriḍate. With samkriḍate, two further rules apply. Rule 8.3.24 naś cāpadāntasya ... replaces the m of sam with anusvāra (m), and 8.4.57 anusvārasya ... replaces the anusvāra (m) with n. Thus: samkriḍ + a + te = samkriḍate → saṅkriḍate.

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 + sU, where sam, an upasarga, is assigned the terms nipāta and avyaya. The sU 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: saṅkriḍate/samkriḍate. The same process applies to (520) santisthate (see the following rule).

1.3.22 samavapravibhyah sthaḥ
(520) santisthate
(521) avatisthate
(522) vitisthate
(523) atisthate

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) + SaP + te santisthā + 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) saṅkriḍate. Thus: sa(m → m → n)tiṣṭha + te = santisthate. 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' nūrdhvakarmanī
tiṣṭhate

Here sthā is used with the preverb ut. For the details of derivation, see the examples under 1.3.22.

1.3.25 upānmantrakaraṇe
upatisthate

The root sthā is used with the preverb upe; the derivation follows the pattern shown under 1.3.22.
1.3.27 ūdvibhyāṃ tapah

(527) uttapate
(528) viṭapate

These examples are derived from uttap + ŠaP + (ta → te) and viṭap + ŠaP + (ta → te), where tapā to be hot' is used with the preverbs ut and vi.

1.3.28 ānu yamahanāḥ

(529) āyachate
(530) āyachete
(531) āyachante
(532) āhare
(533) āghnāte
(534) āghnate

Example (529) āyachate is derived from āyam + ŠaP + (ta → te), where yamā to give' is used with the preverb āṉ, and yam yields the form yacch as in (503) rvaṭigačchanti. Thus: āyam(m → ch) + a + te = āyam(ch → cch) + a + te = āyachate.

(530) āyachete

(a) āyam + LAT

LAT is replaced by the third person dual atmanepada ending ātāṁ
= āyam + ātāṁ

(b) āyam + ātāṁ

introduction of ŠaP; tiN-selection
īt-deletion
= āyam + a + ātāṁ

(c) āyam + a + ātāṁ

3.4.79 tit atmanepadānāṁ... # 1.1.64 aco'ntyādi tī
taxam + a + āt(atām → e)
= āyam + a + āte

(d) āyam + a + āte

1.4.13 yasmāt...
6.4.1 aṅgasya
7.2.81 āto īṭāḥ
= āyam + a + (ā → iy)te
= āyam + a + āte

(f) āyam + a + iyle

7.3.77 iṣugami... # 1.1.54 alo'...
= āya(m → ch) + a + iyle
= āyach + a + iyle

(g) āyach + a + iyle

6.1.64 lopo vyor...
= āyach + a + i(y → 0)te
= āyach + a + ite
\( \text{(h) } \text{āyach} + a + \text{ite} \\
6.1.87 \text{ād } \text{gunah}; 6.1.73 \text{che } \text{ca} \\
= \text{āyach} + (a + i \rightarrow e)\text{te} \\
= \text{āya} + t + ch + \text{ite} \\
\text{(i) } \text{āyatch + ete} \\
1.4.14 \text{suptin...} \\
8.4.40 \text{stoś cunā śruḥ} \\
= \text{āya}(t \rightarrow e)ch + \text{ite} \\
= \text{āyachette} \)

(531) \text{āyachante}

This example is derived from \text{āyam + LAT}, where LAT is replaced by the third person plural \text{ātmanepada} ending jha, which finally yields ante as in (c) of (495) glāyate and (f) of (10) pacanti. Given the string \text{āyam} + a + ante, follow (e-g) of (529) \text{āyachate}. This will yield \text{āyatch} + a + ante. An application of rules from (g) of (10) pacanti will yield \text{āyatch} + (a + a \rightarrow a)nte = \text{āyatch + ante}. Now follow (i) of \text{āyachate} to arrive at \text{āyachante}.

(532) \text{āhate}

Given the string \text{āN} + \text{han} + LAT, where \text{āN} is a preverb, LAT will be replaced by the third person singular \text{ātmanepada} ending ta. The resulting \text{āhan} + ta, will receive \text{SaP}, which will be deleted by 2.4.72 \text{adiprabhrtibhyah...: āhan} + \text{SaP} \rightarrow \text{∅} + \text{ta} = \text{āhan} + \text{ta}. The ta will yield te as usual, and the n of \text{han} will be deleted by 6.4.37 \text{anudāttipadesa...}. This will yield: \text{āha}(n \rightarrow \text{∅}) + t(a \rightarrow e) = \text{āha} + te = \text{āhate}.

(533) \text{āghnāte}

Given the string \text{āhan} + LAT, LAT will be replaced by the third person dual \text{ātmanepada} ending ātām, and \text{SaP} will be introduced and then deleted. Follow (d) of (530) \text{āyachete} to arrive at \text{āhan} + āte. To derive \text{āghnāte} from \text{āhan} + āte, apply 6.4.98 \text{gamaḥana...} and 7.3.54 \text{ho hante} as in (506) \text{vyatigahvant}. This will yield: \text{āha}(a \rightarrow \text{∅})n + āte = ā(h \rightarrow gh)n + āte = \text{āghnāte}.

(534) \text{āghnate}

This example involves replacing the LAT of \text{āhan} + LAT by the third person plural \text{ātmanepada} ending jha. After \text{SaP} has been introduced and deleted, apply rules as in (e) and (h) of (500) \text{vyatilunate}. This will yield \text{āhan} + (jh \rightarrow at)a \rightarrow \text{āhan} + at(a \rightarrow e) = \text{āhan} + atc. The deletion of the penultimate a of \text{han} and the replacement of h by gh follows the same rule applications as in (533) \text{āghnāte}. Thus: \text{āh}(a \rightarrow \text{∅})n + atc \rightarrow ā(h \rightarrow gh)n + ate = \text{āghnate}.

1.3.29 \text{samo gamyṛcchibhyām}

(535) \text{sangacchate}

(536) \text{samyccchate}

The first example is derived from \text{samgam + LAT}, where \text{gamL} is used with the preverb \text{sam}. As in other examples, LAT 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, SaP will be introduced, and operations specific to gam will be carried out. For these operations, see (e), (g), and (i) of (529) əyacchate. These rule applications will yield samgacch + a + te. A further rule application similar to (a-b) of (517) saṅkrīdate will change the m of sam to ŋ. The result will be sa(m → m → ŋ)gacch + a + te = saṅgacchate.

The underlying string for (536) saṅrccchate is sam + rccch + Ša + ta, where sam is a preverb and ta is the replacement for LAT. Since the root belongs to the tud class, Ša is introduced before ta (3.1.77 tudādi...). Deriving saṅrccchate from sam + rccch + a + ta only entails the replacement of the a of ta by e (see 3.4.79 ōt ātmanepadānāṃ...).

1.3.30 nisamupavibhyo hvaḥ
(537) nihvayate
(538) saṅhvayate
(539) upahvayate
(540) vihvayate

All these examples are derived from hvaN + LAT used with the preverbs ni, sam, upa, or vi. The third person singular ātmanepada ending ta replaces LAT in all cases. Given the string ni + hva + ta, SaP 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 nihve(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) saṅkrīdate are also required.

1.3.31 sparuddhāyāṁ āṇah
(541) āhvayate

See (537) nihvayate for deriving this example from āN + hvaN + LAT

1.3.32 gandhanāvākṣeṇapaṇasevanasaḥṣasikyaprayatiṣṇapraṇakathānapayogesaḥ
kṛiḥah
(542) utkurute
(543) udākurute
(544) upakurute
(545) prakurute
(546) upaskurute

These examples are all derived by introducing the affix LAT after DUkrN used with the preverb ut, ut + āN, upa, or pra. LAT 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, ū will be introduced in place of SaP because the root belongs to the tanādi class (see 3.1.79 tanādikrī...). The resulting string will undergo operations similar to (c-d) of (279) kurulaḥ. Similar rules apply to (544) upakurute and (545) prakurute. (543) udākurute and (546) upaskurute, however, are slightly
different. Given the string \( ut + aN + kr + LAT \), the \( t \) of \( ut \) will be replaced by \( d \) by 8.2.39 jhalam jasao... Now \( udā + kr + LAT \) will yield \( udākurute \). Given the string \( upa + kurute \), to derive \( upaskurute \), 8.1.139 \( upāt pratiyatna \)... will apply to introduce the augment \( sUT \). Thus: \( upa + s(UT \rightarrow \emptyset) + kurute = upaskurute \). Also note that the genitive \( Nās \) of \( udakasya \) and \( guḍasya \) is introduced to denote the object (see 2.3.53 kriyā pratiyatme).

1.3.33 adheḥ prasahane

547 adhikara

(a) \( adhi + D\)ukrN

\( i \)-deletion

\( = adhikr \)

(b) \( adhikr \)

1.3.1 bhuvādayo...

3.1.91 dhatoh

3.2.115 parokṣe liṭ

\( = adhikr + LIṬ \)

(c) \( adhikr + LT \)

as in (b) of (495) gläyate, except that atmanepada is intruded by 1.3.33 adheḥ

\( = adhikr + (LIṬ \rightarrow ta) \)

\( = adhikr + ta \)

(d) \( adhikr + ta \)

3.4.81 liṭastajhayor... \# 1.1.55 anekāl...

\( = adhikr + (ta \rightarrow eŚ) \)

\( i \)-deletion

\( = adhikr + e \)

(e) \( adhikr + e \)

6.1.8 liṭi dhātor... \# 1.5.59 dvirvacane...

\( = adhikr + kr + e \)

(f) \( adhikr + kr + e \)

\( = 6.1.77 iko yan aci \)

\( = adhikr + k(r \rightarrow r)) + e \)

\( = adhikr + kr + e \)

(g) \( adhikr + kr + e \)

1.4.13 yasmāt

6.4.1 anāgasya

7.4.66 urāt \# 1.5.51 uran...

\( = adhik(\rightarrow ar) + kr + e \)

\( = adhikar + kre \)

(h) \( adhikar + kre \)

7.4.60 halādi...

\( adhika(\rightarrow \emptyset) + kre \)

\( = adhika + kre \)
(i) adhika + krr

7.4.62 kuaš cuh
= adhi(k → c)u + krr
= adhikar

Note here that 3.1.79 tanādībhṛyaḥ...cannot introduce the vikaraṇa u, as the ūN replacement of LIT, namely te, will be deprived of the designation sārvadhātuka by 3.4.115 lit ca.

1.3.34 veḥ śabdakarmaṇah

(548) vikurute

This example derives from vi + DU'kṛN + LAT, where vi is a preverb. The present rule orders LAT to be replaced by the ātmanepada ending ta. Given the string vi + kr + ta apply rules as in (b) of (280) kurutaḥ and (c) of (495) glāyate. This will yield: vi + kr + ta → vi + kr + u + ta → vi + kr + u + te. You may now apply rules similar to (c-d) of (280) kurutaḥ to derive vikurute.

1.1.35 akarmahāc ca

(549) vikurvate

This is a plural form corresponding to (548) vikurute. It is derived by replacing LAT of vi + kr + LAT by the third person plural ātmanepada ending jha. Given the string vi + kr + jha, u will be introduced as in (548) vikurute. After the application of rules as in (c) of (495) glāyate and (e) of (501) vyātipunata, the string will be: vi + kr + u + jha → vi + kr + u + jh(a → e) → vi + kr + u + (jh → at)e. One may now apply the rules as in (c-d) of (280) kurutaḥ to derive vi + k (r → ar) + u + ate = vi + k(a → u)r + u + ate = vi + kur + u + ate. Rule 6.1.77 iko yan acī now applies to yield vi + kur + (u → v) + ate = vikurvate.

1.3.36 sammananāitaṇjanācāryakaraṇaṇajñānabhūtivigānaṇavayasyu nityāḥ

(550) nayate
(551) upanayate
(552) vinayate

All of these examples derive from niN + LAT, where in upanayate and vinayate the root is used with a preverb. As usual LAT will be replaced, here by the third person singular ātmanepada ending ta which will then yield te. For deriving nayate, upanayate, and vinayate from ni + te, upa + ni + te, and vi + ni + 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 ū by n.

1.3.38 vṛttisargaṭiyanesu kramāḥ

(553) kramate
(554) kramante

The underlying strings for these examples are kramU + SaP + ta and kramU + SaP + jha, where ta and jha are replacements for LAT. 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 upaparābhyaṁ
(555) upakramate
(556) parākramate

These derivations are similar to (553) kramate, except that kramU is used here with the preverbs upa and parā.

1.3.40 āṅ udgamanê
(557) ākramate
(558) ākramante

The root kramU is used here with the preverb āN. The rest of the derivation is similar to (553) kramate or (554) kramante.

1.3.41 veḥ pādaviharaṇe
(559) viκramate

The underlying string is vi + kramU + LAT, where vi is a preverb. Except that ātmanepada is introduced by 1.3.41, this derivation does not offer anything new.

1.3.42 propābhyaṁ samarthaḥbhyaṁ
(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 kramU + SaP + tiP under the option offered by 1.3.43.

1.3.44 apahnave jñāḥ
(563) apajānite

The underlying string is apa + jñā + LAT, where apa is a preverb and 1.3.44 introduces the ātmanepada ending ta as a replacement for LAT. The remaining rule applications are as follows.

(a) apa + jñā + ta

3.1.81 kryādibhyah...

= apa + jñā + Saā + ta

= deletion

= apa + jñā + nā + ta

(b) apā + jñā + nā + ta

3.4.79 ūti ātmanepadānām...
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= apa + jñā + nā + t(a → e)
= apa + jñā + nā + te

c) apa + jñā + nā + te
   1.4.13 yasmāl...
   6.4.1 anāgasya
   7.3.79 jñājanor...
   = apa + (jñā → jā) + nā + te
   = apa + jā + nā + te

(d) apa + jā + nā + te
   6.4.113 i hal... # 1.2.4 sārvadhā...
   = apa + jā + n(ā → i) + te
   = apajāñite

1.3.45 akarmakaça ca

(564) jāñite

This example is included in (563) apajāñite.

1.3.46 sampratibhāyam anādhyāne under 1.3.44 apahnaive jñāḥ.

(565) sañjāñite

(566) pratijāñite

Except that ātmanepada is ruled by 1.3.46 after jñā used with the preverb sam or prati, deriving jāñite should not pose any problem. Note that sam + jāñite requires rule applications as in (a-b) of (517) sāṅkriđate to yield sañjāñite.

1.3.47 bhāṣanopasambhāṣājñānayatnavimatyupamantraṇeṣu vadaḥ

(567) vadate

(568) upavadaṭte

(569) vivadante

These forms are derived similarly to (553) kramate, (556) upakramate, and (554) kramante.

1.3.48 vyaktaśeśam samucaraṇe

(570) sampravadaṭte

This example is derived in the same way as (554) kramante. Also see (a-b) of (517) sāṅkriđate.

1.3.49 anor akarmakāṭ

(571) annavadaṭte

This example is derived according to the same pattern as (553) kramate.

1.3.50 vibhāṣā vipralāpe

(572) vipravadaṭte

(573) vipravadaṇṭi

Note that vadA 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 graha
(574) avagirate
(575) avagirete
(576) avagirante

These examples are derived by introducing LAT after gr used with the preverb ava. The replacements for LAT are ta, ātām, and jha respectively. Given the strings ava + gr + ta, and so on, 3.1.77 tudādictyah ṣaḥ will introduce the augment ṣa. The sequence avagir 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 samah pratijnāne
(577) saṅgirate

This example is derived similarly to (574) avagirate, except that it also entails applications of rules given under (a-b) of (517) saṅkriḍate.

1.3.53 adascharah sakarmakāt
(578) uccarate

Except for the application of 8.4.40 stoī cūṇā ścuḥ, which replaces the t of the preverb ut with c, deriving uccarate from ut + car + ŠaP + (LAT → ta → te) presents no difficulty.

1.3.54 samas trīyāyuktāt
(579) saṅcarate

Apply (a-b) of (517) saṅkriḍate to the m of sam + car + a + te.

1.3.55 đaṇḍaśca sā cec caturthyaṁthe
(580) samprayacchate

The root yamĀ 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) saṅkriḍate.

1.3.56 upād yamah svakaranē
(581) upayacchate

Apply the pattern for (529) āyacchate to upa + yamĀ + LAT.

1.3.57 jnāśrumyāṛśāṁ sanah
(582) jijñāsate
(583) śuṣrūṣate
(584) susmūṛṣate
(585) didrksate
(582) jijñāsate
(a) jñā

as in (c) of (304) rurudisati
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(b) \( jñā + jñā + sa \)

\[ \begin{align*}
7.4.59 & \quad \text{hrasvah} \\
= jñ(ā \rightarrow a) + jñā + sa \\
= jñā + jñā + sa
\end{align*} \]

(c) \( jñā + jña + sa \)

\[ \begin{align*}
7.4.60 & \quad \text{halādi śeṣah} \\
= j(ū \rightarrow θ)a + jñā + sa \\
= ja + jñā + sa
\end{align*} \]

(d) \( ja + jñā + sa \)

\[ \begin{align*}
7.4.79 & \quad \text{sany atah} \\
= j(a \rightarrow i) + jñā + sa \\
= jjñāsa
\end{align*} \]

(e) \( jjñāsa \)

3.1.32 \( \text{sanādyantā...}, \) plus the relevant rules for deriving \( jjñāsa + \text{LAT}, \) which will yield \( jjñāsa + \text{SaP} + ta \) where \( ta \) is third person singular ātmanepada

The remaining operations are similar to (553) kramate.

Example (583) \( āsūrūṣate \) is derived in a similar manner, except that (d) is not applicable here. Note further that the s of the affix \( saN \) in \( āsūrūṣate \) will be replaced by \( s \) by 8.3.59 \( ādeśa \) \( \text{pratyayoh} \). Incidentally, given the string \( śru + sa \), two operations should obtain: the introduction of augment \( iT \) by 7.2.35 \( ārdhadhātukasya... \), and \( guṇa \) by 7.3.84 \( sārvadhātuka... \). However, these operations are blocked by 7.2.11 \(  śrūkaḥ... \) and 1.2.9 \( iko jhal \) respectively.

(584) \( susmūṛṣate \)

(a) \( smṛ \)

as in (a) of (303) \( rurudīṣati \)

\[ smṛ + sa \]

(b) \( smṛ + sa \)

\[ \begin{align*}
1.4.13 & \quad \text{yasmāi...} \\
6.4.1 & \quad \text{anāgya} \\
7.1.101 & \quad \text{ud oṣṭhyapūrvasya \# 1.1.51 uraṇ raparaḥ} \\
= smar + sa
\end{align*} \]

(c) \( smar + sa \)

\[ \begin{align*}
8.2.77 & \quad \text{hali ca} \\
= sm(a \rightarrow ū)r + sa \\
= smūr + sa
\end{align*} \]

(d) \( smūr + sa \)

as in (c) of (304) \( rurudīṣati \) and (b) of (586) \( jjñāsate \)

\[ \begin{align*}
= smūr + smūr + sa \\
= sm(ū \rightarrow u)r + smūr + sa \\
= smur + smur + sa
\end{align*} \]
(e) $smur + smur + sa$

\[ 7.4.61 \quad \text{s}ar \ p\u{u}rv\=a\h \ldots \]
\[ = s(m \rightarrow \emptyset)u(r \rightarrow \emptyset) + smur + sa \]
\[ = susm\=ursa \]

(f) $susm\=ursa$

as in (e) of (586) jijn\=asate, also note that the $s$ of $sa$ is replaced by $\hat{s}$ by 8.3.59 $\acute{a}desa\ldots$

\[ = susm\=ur\=sa \]

(585) $did\=rk\=sate$

(a) $dr\=sIR$

$it$-deletion

as in (a) of (304) rurud\=isati

\[ = dr\=s + sa \]

Note that the $guna$ application of 7.3.84 $s\=arva\ldots$ will be blocked by 1.1.5 $k\=init ca$.

(b) $dr\=s + sa$

as in (a) of (586) jijn\=asate

\[ = dr\=s + dr\=s + sa \]

(c) $dr\=s + dr\=s + sa$

\[ 7.4.66 \quad \text{urat} \# 1.1.51 \quad \text{uran rapara\=h} \]
\[ = d(r \rightarrow ar)\=s + dr\=s + sa \]
\[ = dar\=s + dr\=s + sa \]

(d) $dar\=s + dr\=s + sa$

as in (c) of (582) jijn\=asate

\[ = da(r\=s \rightarrow \emptyset) + dr\=s + sa \]
\[ = da + dr\=s + sa \]

(e) $da + dr\=s + sa$

as in (d) of (582) jijn\=asate

\[ = d(a \rightarrow i) + dr\=s + sa \]
\[ = di + dr\=s + sa \]

(f) $di + dr\=s + sa$

\[ 8.2.39 \quad \text{vra\=sjabhr\=as} \ldots \]
\[ = di + dr (s \rightarrow \hat{s}) + sa \]
\[ = di + d\=r\=s + sa \]

(g) $di + d\=r\=s + sa$

\[ 8.2.41 \quad \text{sa\=dhop} \ldots \]
\[ = di + dr (s \rightarrow k) + sa \]
\[ = di + d\=rk + sa \]

(h) $di + d\=rk + sa$

\[ 8.3.59 \quad \acute{a}desa \ pra\=tyayoh \]
\[ = di + d\=rk + (s \rightarrow \hat{s})a \]
\[ = did\=rk\=sa \]

(i) $did\=rk\=sa$

\[ 3.1.32 \quad \text{san\=adyant\=a} \ldots \] plus rules for $LAT$, $ta$, $SaP$, and
so on.

= dūrṣate

1.3.58 nānor jñāḥ
(586) anuyājñāsatī

This example derives like (582) jijāsate, except that the present rule
does not allow ātmanepada. Consequently LAT is replaced by tiP. The root
is used here with the preverb anu.

1.3.59 pratyābhikhāṃ śrūvaḥ
(587) pratīśuṣrūsati
(588) āśuṣrūsati

The root is used with preverbs prati and āN. Except for LAT being
replaced by tiP, all the other operations are similar to (586) śuṣrūsate.

1.3.60 śadeḥ śītāḥ
(589) śiyate
(590) śiyete
(591) śiyante

These examples are derived from śadI, by introducing LAT and replac-
ing it by the third person ātmanepada suffixes ta, ātām, and jha. Since the
root is tuddādi, Śa will be introduced by 3.1.77 tudādyabhah....In addition the
root itself will be replaced by śiy (see 7.3.38 pāgṛādhaṃ....). Given the
strings śiy + a + ta, and so on, follow the patterns of (529) āyacchate, (530)
āyacchate, and (531) āyacchante respectively for further operations.

1.3.61 mriyater lūṇīṇoṣ ca
(592) amṛta
(593) mṛśiṣṭa
(594) mriyate
(595) mriyete
(596) mriyante

To derive (592) amṛta, follow the directions given for (321) akṛta.
To derive (593) mṛśiṣṭa, follow the directions given for (319) kṛṣṭīṣṭa.

Examples (594) mriyate, (595) mriyete, and (596) mriyante are derived
from mṛN + LAT, where LAT 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 tudādyabhah.... Following the application of 3.4.79 tit
ātmanepadānāṃ..., whereby tu yields te, our string mṛ + a + (ta → te) under-
goes the following operations.

(a) mṛ + a + te

7.4.28 riṅ saya...

= m(r → ri(N → θ)) + a + te

= mṛi + 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
= mriya(a + a → a) + te
= mriyate

For deriving (595) mriyeta and (596) mriyante from mr + LAT, where mr will yield mriya and LAT will be replaced by ātām and jha, see (530) ājacchete and (531) ājacchante for additional rule applications.

1.3.62  pūrvaiva...

(597) āsisīṣate

(598) śiśāyāṣate

These examples are derived from ās + saN and śi + saN respectively. After the augment i\textit{T} is introduced (7.2.35 ārdha...), dvītva takes place. Given the string ās + i\textit{T} + saN, 6.1.2 ajaḍer... 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 āsisīṣate can then be derived from āsisīsa + LAT following the pattern of (584) śusmūṛṣate. The other example is similarly derived from śi\textit{N} + saN, where after the augment i\textit{T} is introduced, the root is doubled. Thus: śi + i + sa = śi + śi + i + sa. The first ī is shortened (7.4.79 hrasaḥ), 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 = śiśāyisa. One can now derive śiśāyāṣate from śiśāyisa + LAT, where the s of saN has been replaced by s 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 + LAT, where the root is used with the preverb ni, and LAT is replaced by ta.

The next example is derived from niviś + saN. Doubling produces niviś + viś + sa, where the first s will be deleted by 7.4.60 halādi... Given the string niviś(ś → θ) + viś + sa, rules similar to steps (f-i) of (585) didṛṣkṣate will apply to yield nivivikṣate.

(601)  ācikramṣate

This example is derived by introducing the affix saN to ākram, where kram\textit{U} is used with the preverb āN. Given the string ākram + sa, dvītva will produce ākra + kram + sa, which after the application of 7.4.60 halādi... and 7.4.79 sany atah will produce: āk(r → θ) a + kram + sa → āk(a → i) + kram + sa = āki + kram + sa, as in (c-d) of (582) ājñāṣate. The k of āki will be replaced by c by 7.4.62 kuhoś cuh. 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 ácikramaṇa will take LAT, which will then be replaced by ta to yield ácikramaṇate.

1.3.63 āmpratayavat...
(602) ikṣāṇacakre
(603) ihāṇacakre
(a) ikṣ
   as in (b) of (160) śuśāva
   = ikṣ + LAT

(b) ikṣ + LAT
   3.1.36 ijādeś ca... # 1.4.11 samyoge...
   = ikṣ + ām + LAT

(c) ikṣ + ām + LAT
   2.4.81 āmah
   = ikṣ + ām + (LAT → θ)
   = ikṣ + ām

(d) ikṣ + ām
   1.2.45 arthavad...
   4.1.1 nyāp...
   4.1.2 svauj... # sUP-selection (sŪ)
   = ikṣ + ām + sŪ

(e) ikṣ + ām + sŪ
   1.1.39 kṛn mejantaḥ
   2.4.82 avayād... # sUP-deletion
   = ikṣ + ām + (sŪ → θ)
   = ikṣ + ām

(f) ikṣ + ām
   3.1.40 kṛṇcā...
   = ikṣām + kṛ

(g) ikṣām + kṛ
   as in (b) of (160) śuśāva
   = ikṣām + kṛ + LAT

(h) ikṣām + kṛ + LAT
   3.4.77 lasya
   3.4.78 tiptas...
   1.3.63 āmpratayaya... # 1.1.61 pratayasya
   = ikṣām + kṛ + (LAT → ta)

(i) ikṣām + kṛ + ta
   3.4.81 liṭastajha... # # 1.1.55 anekāl...
   = ikṣām + kṛ + (ta → es)
   = ikṣām + kṛ + e(s → θ)
   = ikṣām + kṛ + e

(j) ikṣām + kṛ + e
   6.1.77 iko... # 1.4.10 yathā...
The Āṣṭādhyāyī of Pāṇini

\[ = iksām + k (r \rightarrow r) + e \]
\[ = iksām + kr + e \]

\[(k) iksām + kr + e \]
6.1.8 lii... # 1.1.59 dvirvacane...
\[ = iksām + kr + kr + e \]

\[(l) iksām + kr + kr + e \]
6.1.4 pūrvo’ bhīyāsah
7.4.66 urat # 1.1.51 uran raśparah
\[ = iksām + kar + kr + e \]

\[(m) iksām + kar + kr + e \]
7.4.60 halādi sēsah
\[ = iksām + ka(r \rightarrow \emptyset) + kr + e \]
\[ = iksām + ka + kr + e \]

\[(n) iksām + ka + kr + e \]
7.4.62 kuoś cuḥ
\[ = iksām (k \rightarrow c)a + kr + e \]
\[ = iksām + ca + kr + e \]

\[(o) iksām + ca + kr + e \]
8.3.23 mo’ nusvārah
\[ = iksām(m \rightarrow m) + cakre \]
8.4.58 anusvārasya...
\[ = iksām(m \rightarrow n) + cakre \]
\[ = iksāṁcakre \]

(603) ihāṇcakre

Follow the same derivational pattern to derive this example from ihā + LIT. However, note that the term guru, at (c), is assigned by 1.4.12 dirghām ca.

1.3.64 propābhyaṁ...

(604) prayunjke

(a) pra + yuṣyI
\[ i̧-deletion \]
\[ = prayuj \]

(b) prayuj
3.4.77 lasya
3.4.78 tiptas... # 1.4.101 tiṇas... and so on
1.3.64 propābhyaṁ...
\[ = prayuj + ta \]

(c) prayuj + ta
3.1.78 rudhādi... # 1.1.47 midaco...
\[ = prayu + (Ś \rightarrow \emptyset)na(M \rightarrow \emptyset) + j + ta \# i̧ deletion \]
\[ = prayu + na + j + ta \]

(d) prayu + na + j + ta
1.4.13 yasmāt...
6.4.1 aṅgasya
6.4.111 snasor...
= prayu + n(a → Ø) + j + ta
= prayu + n + j + ta

(e) prayu + n + j + ta
8.2.30 coh kuḥ # 1.1.50 sthāne...
= prayun + (j → g) + ta
= prayun + g + ta

(f) prayun + g + ta
8.4.55 khari ca
= prayun + (g → k) + ta
= prayun + k + ta

(g) prayun + k + ta
8.3.24 naś cāpadāntasya...
= prayu(n → m) + k + ta
= prayu + m + k + ta

(h) prayu + m + k + ta
8.4.58 anusvārasya...
= prayu + (m → n) + k + ta
= prayunṭa

Consequently the átmanepada ta will yield te as has been shown in many previous examples. Thus: prayunṭa → prayunṭe.

1.3.65 samh kṣṇuvaḥ
(605) samkṣṇute

This example derives from sam + kṣu + LAT, where LAT is replaced by átmanepada third person singular ta. The augment SaP will be deleted by 2.4.72 aditprabhṛṭibhyah. There is nothing new in deriving samkṣṇute from sam + kṣu + ta. The m will be replaced by m by 8.3.24 naś cāpadāntasya.

(606) samkṣṇuvate

This example also derives from samkṣṇu + LAT. However, LAT is replaced by átmanepada third person dual átām which yields āte as in (c) of (529) āyacchete. Given the string samkṣṇu + āte, SaP will be introduced and deleted. Rule 6.4.77 aci śna... will then apply to yield samkṣṇ(u → uv)āte = samkṣṇuvate. Again, m will be replaced by m.

(607) samkṣṇuvate

This example is derived from samkṣṇu + LAT, where LAT is replaced by third person plural átmanepada jha. After the deletion of ŠaP, jh of jha will be replaced by at by 7.1.5 átmanepadesv.... Given the string samkṣṇu + (jh → at) a = samkṣṇu + ata, 6.4.77 aci śnu... will replace the u of the root by uvAN. This will produce samkṣṇ(u → uva) + ata = samkṣṇuv + ata, which yields samkṣṇuvate by the familiar procedure.

1.3.66 bhuja'navane
(608) bhunṭkte
This example is derived like (604) prayuṅkte.

(609) bhuṇjate

This example is derived from bhuj + LAT, where LAT gets replaced by ātām. As in the earlier example, ŚnaM will be added. Given the string bhuj + ŚnaM + ātām = bhunaj + ātām, follow (d) of (604) prayuṅkte to get bhunjate.

1.3.67 ṇer anau...

(610) ārohayate

(a) āN + ruh

\[ \text{it-deletion} \]
\[ = \text{āruh} \]

(b) āruh

3.1.26  hetumatī ca

\[ = \text{āruh} + NiC \]
\[ \text{it-deletion} \]
\[ = \text{āruh} + i \]

(c) āruh + i

3.1.32  sanādyantā..

3.1.91  dhātoḥ

3.2.123  vartamāne laṭ

\[ = \text{āruh} + i + \text{LAT} \]

(d) āruh + i + LAT

\[ = \text{āruh} + i + (\text{LAT} \rightarrow ta) \]

1.3.67  ṇer...

\[ = \text{āruh} + i + ŚaP + ta \]
\[ \text{it-deletion} \]
\[ = \text{āruh} + i + a + (ta \rightarrow te) \]
as in many previous examples

(e) āruh + i + a + te

1.3.13  yasmāṭ...

6.4.1  anagasya

7.3.84  śarvadhātuko... # 1.1.2 adeṅ guṇaḥ

\[ = \text{āruh} + (i \rightarrow e) + a + te \]
\[ = \text{āruh} + e + a + te \]

(f) āruh + e + a + te

7.3.86  puganta...

\[ = \text{ār}(u \rightarrow o)h + e + a + te \]
\[ = \text{āroh} + e + a + te \]

(g) āroh + e + a + te

6.1.78  eco’yaṉāyāvaḥ

\[ = \text{āroh} + (e \rightarrow ay) + a + te \]
\[ = \text{ārohayate} \]
Derivational History of Examples

(611) *upasiṇcati*

This example is derived from *upa* + *ṣicĀ* + *LAT*, where *upa* is a preverb. The initial *s* of the root is replaced by *s* by 6.1.64 *dhātvādeḥ*. Given the string *upasic* + *LAT*, *LAT* is replaced by *jhi*, with *Sa* 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) *muṇcati* and (f-h) of (10) *pacanti*.

(612) *upasecayate*

This example is derived from *upa* + *sic* + *NiC* where *s* 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* + *NiC*) + *LAT*, where the *guṇo* of *r* will be *ar* in consonance with 1.1.51 *ur an raparah*. The remaining operations are similar to (610) *ārohayate*.

1.3.68 *bhīsmyor...*

*bhīsayate*

See derivation (164).

(615) *vismāpayate*

(a) *vi* + *smiN*

\[ \text{it-deletion} \]
\[ = \text{vismi} \]

(b) *vismi*

\[ \text{vismi} + \text{NiC} \text{ as in (b) of (610) } \text{ārohayate} \]
\[ = \text{vismi} + i \]

(c) *vismi* + *i*

\[ 6.1.57 \text{ nityāṁ smayateḥ} \]
\[ = \text{vism}(i \rightarrow a) + i \]
\[ = \text{visma} + i \]

(d) *visma* + *i*

\[ 7.3.36 \text{ arthīri...} \]
\[ = \text{visma} + pUK + i \]

\[ \text{it-deletion} \]
\[ = \text{vismāpi} \]

(e) *vismāpi*

\[ \text{vismāpi} + \text{LAT} \text{ and the relevant rules as in (610) } \]
\[ \text{ārohayate} \]
\[ = \text{vismāpayate} \]

1.3.69 *grdhivaṇcyoh...*

(616) *gardhayate*
This example derives from \((gṛdh₁ + NiC) + LAT \rightarrow gṛdh + i + ta\) as in (614) ārśayate. Similar rules apply in deriving (617) vaṅcayate from \((vaṅcU + NiC) + LAT\).

1.3.70 liyāh sammānana...

(618) ālāpaye
(619) ullāpaye

These examples derive from \((āN + liN + NiC) + LAT\) and \((ut + liN + NiC) + LAT\), where \(liN\) is used with the preverbs \(āN\) and \(ut\). The derivations are similar to (615) vismāpayate, except that, in ullāpaye, the \(t\) of \(ut + lāpaya\) is replaced by \(l\) by 8.4.60 tor \(lī\), and the \(i\) of \(lī\) is replaced by \(ā\) by 6.1.51 vibhāṣa....

1.3.71 mithyopapadāt...

(620) kārayate

This example is derived from \((DUkṛN + NiC) + LAT + kr + i + LAT\), where \(kr + i\) will produce \(kār + i\) in consonance with 7.2.115 acōʾnīni read with 1.1.1 \(vṛddhīr...\) and 1.1.51 urāṇ ruparāh. To derive kārayate from kāri + LAT, follow the derivation pattern of the earlier examples.

1.3.72 swaritaṅśitaḥ...

(621) yajate
(622) pacate
(623) sumute
(624) kurute

The first two examples derive from \(yaj + LAT\) and \(pac + LAT\), where \(LAT\) 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) ukurute. Our third example, sumute, is derived from suN + LAT, where the root initial \(ṣ\) is replaced by \(s\) (6.1.62 dhātvadeh...). The remaining rule applications are similar to (34) cīnumat, except that \(LAT\) in the present example is replaced by \(ta\). Thus: \(su + nu + (LAT \rightarrow ta) \rightarrow su + ru + ta \rightarrow sumute\).

1.3.74 nicaś ca

kārayate

See (620) under 1.3.71 mithyopapadāt....

1.3.75 samud...

(625) samyacchate
(626) udhyacchate

See the derivations of (529) āyacchate, and so on, under 1.3.28.

1.3.77 vibhāṣopapadena...

(627) karoti
This example derives from \(DUkrN + LAT\), where \(LAT\) is replaced by \(tiP\) by 3.4.78 \(ti\)p\(\ldots\) and \(u\) is introduced after \(kr\) by 3.1.79 \(tan\ldots\). Given the string \(kr + u + ti\), \(r\) will be replaced by its \(guna\) counterpart \(ar\) (7.3.84 \(s\)\(a\)rvadh\(\dot{a}\)t\(\grave{u}\)ka, read with 1.1.51 \(ura\lfloor\ldots\)) because \(u\) is an \(\acute{a}\)rdh\(\dot{a}\)dh\(\hat{a}\)\(\grave{u}\)\(\hat{a}\)\(\acute{u}\)\(\grave{u}\)\(\dot{a}\)\(\grave{u}\)\(\grave{u}\)\(\grave{u}\)ka\(\ldots\)). Given the resultant string \(kar + u + ti\), \(u\) will undergo the same \(guna\) application. Thus: \(kar + (u \rightarrow o) + ti = karoti\). However, this time the conditioning suffix is \(ti\), a \(s\)\(a\)rvadh\(\dot{a}\)\(\grave{u}\)\(\hat{a}\)\(\acute{u}\)\(\acute{u}\)\(\grave{u}\)\(\acute{u}\)\(\grave{u}\)ka (3.4.113 \(ti\)\(\dot{n}\)\(\grave{u}\)\(\dot{i}\)\(\ldots\)).

1.3.78 \(\dot{se}\)\(\acute{u}\)\(\acute{u}\)\(\grave{u}\)\(\dot{a}\)... 
(628) \(\acute{u}\)\(\grave{u}\)\(\dot{a}\)ti 
(629) \(\acute{v}\)\(\acute{u}\)\(\grave{u}\)ti 
(630) \(\grave{p}\)\(r\)\(a\)\(v\)\(\dot{i}\)\(\grave{u}\)\(\dot{i}\)\(\dot{a}\) 
(631) \(\grave{\acute{a}}\)\(v\)\(\dot{i}\)\(\grave{u}\)\(\dot{i}\) 

Examples (628) \(\acute{u}\)\(\grave{u}\)\(\dot{a}\)ti and (629) \(\acute{v}\)\(\acute{u}\)\(\grave{u}\)ti are derived from \(\acute{y}\)\(\acute{a}\) + \(LAT\) and \(\acute{v}\)\(\acute{a}\) + \(LAT\) where \(LAT\) is replaced by \(tiP\). Since \(\acute{y}\)\(\acute{a}\) and \(\acute{v}\)\(\acute{a}\) are \(ad\dot{a}\)\(\acute{d}\)\(\grave{u}\)\(\dot{i}\), 2.4.72 \(ad\)\(\acute{i}\)\(p\)\(\acute{r}\)\(\acute{b}\)\(\grave{r}\)\(\dot{r}\)\(\grave{r}\)\(\grave{r}\)... \(S\)\(a\)\(P\).

The other two examples use the preverbs \(pra\) and \(\dot{a}\)\(\grave{u}\) before the root. Since the root belongs to the \(tul\dot{a}\)\(\acute{d}\)\(\acute{d}\)\(\grave{u}\)\(\grave{u}\)\(\acute{y}\)\(\grave{u}\) class, \(S\)\(a\) will be introduced by 3.1.77 \(tul\dot{a}\)\(d\)\(b\)\(h\)\(y\)\(a\)h... Thus: \(pr\)\(a\)\(v\)\(i\)\(\acute{s}\) + (\(LAT\) \(\rightarrow tiP\)) \(\rightarrow pr\)\(a\)\(v\)\(i\)\(\acute{s}\) (\(S\) \(\rightarrow \emptyset\) a + (P \(\rightarrow \emptyset\)) + ti = \(pr\)\(a\)\(v\)\(i\)\(\acute{s}\)\(a\)ti.

1.3.79 \(anup\)\(a\)\(r\)\(\acute{a}\)\(b\)\(h\)\(y\)\(\acute{a}\)m... 
(632) \(a\)\(n\)\(u\)\(k\)\(a\)\(r\)\(o\)\(t\)i 
(633) \(p\)\(a\)\(r\)\(\acute{a}\)\(k\)\(a\)\(r\)\(o\)\(t\)i 

The root \(DUkrN\) is used here with the preverbs \(anu\) and \(par\)\(\grave{a}\). See (627) \(kar\)\(o\)\(t\)i for other details.

1.3.80 \(a\)\(b\)\(h\)\(i\)\(p\)\(r\)\(a\)\(t\)y... 
(634) \(a\)\(b\)\(h\)\(i\)\(k\)\(i\)\(s\)\(i\)\(p\)\(a\)\(t\)i 
(635) \(p\)\(r\)\(a\)\(t\)\(i\)\(k\)\(i\)\(s\)\(i\)\(p\)\(a\)\(t\)i 
(636) \(a\)\(t\)\(i\)\(k\)\(i\)\(s\)\(i\)\(p\)\(a\)\(t\)i 

The root \(ksip\)\(\dot{A}\) is used with preverbs \(a\)\(v\)\(h\)i, \(pr\)\(a\)\(t\)i, and \(a\)\(t\)i. The derivational details are similar to (630) \(pr\)\(a\)\(v\)\(i\)\(\acute{s}\)\(a\)ti.

1.3.81 \(p\)\(r\)\(\acute{a}\)\(\acute{d}\) \(v\)\(a\)\(h\)\(\acute{a}\) 
(637) \(p\)\(r\)\(v\)\(a\)\(h\)\(a\)\(t\)i 
(638) \(p\)\(r\)\(v\)\(a\)\(h\)\(a\)\(t\)\(a\)\(t\) 
(639) \(p\)\(r\)\(v\)\(a\)\(h\)\(a\)\(n\)\(t\)i 

The root \(v\)\(a\)\(h\)\(\dot{A}\) is used with the preverb \(pra\). The remaining operations are similar to (10) \(pa\)\(c\)\(a\)\(t\)i, and so on.

1.3.82 \(p\)\(a\)\(r\)\(e\) \(m\)\(r\)\(\acute{s}\)\(a\)h 
(640) \(p\)\(a\)\(r\)\(i\)\(m\)\(\acute{r}\)\(y\)\(a\)\(t\)i 
(641) \(p\)\(a\)\(r\)\(i\)\(m\)\(\acute{r}\)\(y\)\(a\)\(t\)\(a\)\(t\) 
(642) \(p\)\(a\)\(r\)\(i\)\(m\)\(\acute{r}\)\(y\)\(a\)\(n\)\(t\)i
The root mṛṣṭū ‘to endure’ is used with the preverb pari. The derivations are similar to (10) pacati, and so on.

1.3.83 vyāñparibhyo...
(643) viramati
(644) āramati
(645) pariramati

The root ramū is used with preverbs vi, āN, and pari. All these examples derive from viram + ŠaP + (LAT → tiP), and so on.

1.3.84 upāc ca
(646) uparamati

This example is derived from uparam + ŠaP + (LAT → 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 LAT is replaced by ta. Thus: uparam + ŠaP + (LAT → ta → te) = uparamate.

1.3.86 budhayudha...
(648) bodhayati
(649) yodhayati
(650) nāsrayati
(651) janayati
(652) adhyāpayati
(653) prāvayati
(654) dūvayati
(655) sūvayati

The first two examples derive from budh + NiC + LAT, and yudh + NiC LAT as in (610) ārohayate. However, there is a marked difference here. Affix LAT is not replaced by āmanepada ta, as should be the case in consonance with 1.3.74 niçaś ca. In all these examples, 1.3.86 allows parasmaipada ti to replace LAT.

The third example derives from (naś + NiC) + LAT, where the initial n of the root is replaced by n by 6.1.65 no naḥ. The initial a of naś + i undergoes vṛddhi as in (620) kārayate. The root nāsaya is produced by following the pattern of (610) ārohayate. The present rule will assign a parasmaipada ti replacement for LAT. The next example (651) janayati is similarly derived, with the vṛddhi of a in jan + NiC being blocked by 7.3.35 janivadhyaś ca.

(652) adhyāpayati
(a) adhi + iN

it-deletion
Derivational History of Examples

\[ (b) \text{adhi} + i \]
\[ \text{adhi} + i + \text{NiC}, \text{as in the previous examples} \]
\[ \text{it-deletion} \]
\[ = \text{adhi} + i + i \]

\[ (c) \text{adhi} + i + i \]
\[ 7.2.115 \text{aco'īnūti} \# 1.1.1 \text{vrddhīr...} \]
\[ = \text{adhi} + (i \rightarrow ai) + i \]
\[ = \text{adhi} + ai + i \]

\[ (d) \text{adhi} + ai + i \]
\[ 6.1.48 \text{krīnjinām...} \]
\[ = \text{adhi} + (ai \rightarrow ā) + i \]
\[ = \text{adhi} + ā + i \]

\[ (e) \text{udhi} + ā + i \]
\[ 6.1.77 \text{iko...} \]
\[ = \text{adh}(i \rightarrow y) + ā + i \]
\[ = \text{adhīyā + i} \]

\[ (f) \text{adhyā + i} \]
\[ 7.3.36 \text{artīhīrī...} \]
\[ = \text{adhīyā + pUK + i} \]
\[ \text{it-deletion} \]
\[ = \text{adhīyā + p + i} \]
\[ = \text{adhīyāpi} \]

To derive \text{adhīyāpayati} from \text{adhīyāpi} + \text{LAT}, select \text{tiP} as a replacement of \text{LA} and then apply the relevant rules as in (648) \text{bodhayati}.

(653) \text{prāvayati}

This example derives from \( (\text{pru} + \text{NiC}) + \text{LAT} \), where given the string \text{pru} + i, u is replaced by \text{vrddhi au} (7.1.115 \text{aco...}) and \text{au} is replaced by \text{āv} (6.1.78 \text{eco...}). This yields \( \text{pr}(u \rightarrow \text{au} \rightarrow \text{āv}) + i = \text{prāvi} \), to which \text{LAT} may be introduced. The remaining rule applications are similar to the earlier examples.

Examples (654) \text{drāvayati} and (655) \text{srāvayati} are similarly derived from \( (\text{dru} + \text{NiC}) + \text{LAT} \) and \( (\text{sru} + \text{NiC}) + \text{LAT} \).

1.3.87 \text{nigaraṇa...}

(656) \text{nigārayati}

This example follows (620) \text{kārayate}, except that \text{LAT} is replaced here by \text{parasmaipada ti}.

(657) \text{āśayati}

This example is derived from \( \text{āśā + NiC} \rightarrow \text{āś} + i \rightarrow \text{āś} + i + \text{LAT} \rightarrow \text{āś} + i + \text{tiP} \), according to the familiar pattern.

(658) \text{bhōjayati}
This example is derived from bhuj + NiC → bhuj + i → bhoj + i → bhoj + i + LAT → bhoj + i + tiP, and so on.

(659) calayati

This example is derived from call + NiC → cal + i → cāl + i → cāl + i + LAT → 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 mitām hrasvah.

(660) copayati

This example is derived similarly to (658) bhojayati from (cupĀ + NiC) + LAT.

(661) kampayati

This example is derived similarly to (659) calayati.

1.3.88 anāv...

(662) āste

This example is derived from āsĀ + LAT where LAT is replaced by ātmanepada ta. Given the string ās + ta, ŠaP will be added and subsequently deleted by 2.4.72 adiprabhṛti.... Finally ās + ta will yield āste.

(663) āsasayati;

This example is derived from (āsĀ + NiC) + LAT where LAT is replaced by tiP.

(664) ṭete

This example is derived from ṛīN + LAT similarly to āste. Note, however, that ī of ṛī will be replaced by e, its guṇa, by 7.3.84 sārodhātukārdha....

(665) ṛāyayati

This example is derived similarly to (653) prāvayati, except that given the string ṛī + 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 ṛāyī. The rules are the same as in (653) prāvayati.

1.3.89 na pād...

(666) pāyayate

This example derives from pā + NiC where the augment yUK (7.3.37 sācchā...) is introduced at the end (1.1.46 ādyantau...) of pā. Given the string pā + yUK + i = pāyī, LAT is introduced. The present rule will not allow parasmatpada replacement for LAT. Consequently LAT will be replaced by ātmanepada ta. Follow the usual pattern to derive pāyayate from pāyī + ŠaP + ta.

(667) damayate

This example derives from damU + NiC → dami +(LAT → ta) = dami + ta. The vṛddhi of the a of dam will occur; however, the resultant ā will be shortened by 6.4.92 mitām hrasvah. 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 \( (aN + yam\bar{A} + NiC) + LAT \), where \( aN \) is a preverb and given the string \( ayam + i \), a of \( yam \) is replaced by \( vrddhi \bar{a} \). There is nothing new in deriving \( ayamayate \) from \( ayam + (LAT \rightarrow ta) \).

(669) \( ayasayate \)

This example derives from \( (aN + yas\bar{U} + NiC) + LAT \) as in the previous case.

(670) \( parimohayate \)

This example is derived like (658) \( bhijayate \), except that the root \( muh\bar{A} \) is used here with the preverb \( pari \).

(671) \( rocayate \)

This example is derived similarly to (658) \( bhijayate \) though with \( LAT \rightarrow te \).

(672) \( nartayate \)

This example is derived from \( (nr\bar{t}l + NiC) + LAT \), where \( r \) undergoes \( guna \). See (614) \( dar\bar{s}ayate \) for other details. For the doubling of the \( t \), see (475) \( narttaki \).

(673) \( v\bar{a}dayate \)

This example is derived from \( vad\bar{A} + NiC \), where \( a \) undergoes \( vrddhi \) by 7.2.116 \( ata \ u\bar{p}ad\bar{h}ay\bar{a}h \). Thus: \( vad + i \rightarrow v\bar{a}d + i = v\bar{a}d \). Deriving \( v\bar{a}dayate \) from \( v\bar{a}d + (LAT \rightarrow ta) \) offers nothing new.

(674) \( v\bar{a}sayate \)

This example is derived from \( (v\bar{a}s\bar{A} + NiC) + LAT \) according to the pattern of the previous example.

1.3.90 \( v\bar{a} k\bar{y}as\bar{a}h \)

(675) \( lohit\bar{y}ayati \)

(676) \( lohit\bar{y}ayate \)

(677) \( pa\bar{t}apat\bar{a}yati \)

(678) \( pa\bar{t}apat\bar{a}yate \)

The first two examples are derived from \( lohit\bar{y}ya + LAT \), where \( lohit\bar{y}ya \) is a derived root (3.1.32 \( san\bar{a}dy \ldots \)) ending in \( K\bar{y}a\bar{S} \), a \( san\bar{a}d \) affix. \( K\bar{y}a\bar{S} \) has been introduced after \( lohit\bar{a} + s\bar{U} \) by 3.1.13 \( lohit\bar{a}d \ldots \). Thus: \( lohit\bar{a} + s\bar{U} + K\bar{y}a\bar{S} \rightarrow lohit\bar{a} + s\bar{U} + ya \). Rule 3.1.32 assigns the term \( dh\bar{a}tu \) and consequently 2.4.71 \( su\bar{p}o \ldots \) deletes the \( s\bar{U} \). This yields \( lohit\bar{a} + (s\bar{U} \rightarrow \emptyset) + ya = lohit\bar{y}ya \). Given the string \( lohit\bar{y}ya + \bar{S}aP + (LAT \rightarrow t\bar{i}P) = lohit\bar{y}ya + a + ti \), 7.4.25 \( ak\bar{r}t \ldots \) replaces the first \( a \) of \( lohit\bar{y}ya + a \) with \( \bar{a} \). Finally 6.1.97 \( guna \) applies to yield \( lohit\bar{y}ya(a + a \rightarrow a) + ti = lohit\bar{y}yati \). In (676) \( lohit\bar{y}ayate \), \( LAT \) is replaced by \( \bar{a}t\bar{m}a\bar{e}p\bar{a}da \ \( ta \).

The second pair of examples derives for \( pa\bar{t}apat\bar{a}ya + LAT \), where \( pa\bar{t}apat\bar{a}ya \) again is a derived root. It is derived as follows.

(a) \( pa\bar{t}a \)

1.2.45 \( arthavad \ldots \)

4.1.1 \( ny\bar{a}p \ldots \)

5.4.57 \( avyakt\bar{a}nu \ldots \ # 8.1.12 \( prak\bar{a}r \ldots \)
\[= \text{paṭat} + \text{DaC} \# \text{dvitiva}\]
\[= \text{paṭat} + \text{paṭat} + \text{DaC}\]
\[= \text{paṭat} + \text{paṭat} + \text{ā}\]

The doubling of paṭat is ordered in relation to DaC by the vārttika daći deva bhavataḥ on 8.1.12 prakāre....

(b) \[= \text{paṭat} + \text{paṭat} + \text{ā}\]

8.1.2 tasya...

The second paṭat is termed āmreṇita, and so, in view of a vārttika on 6.1.100 nityam āmreṇite, we get paṭat(t → Θ) + paṭat + ā.

(c) \[= \text{paṭa} + \text{paṭat} + \text{ā}\]

1.4.18 yaci bham
6.4.145 teh
\[= \text{paṭa} + \text{pat(at → Θ)} + \text{ā}\]
\[= \text{paṭapatā}\]

(d) \[= \text{paṭapatā}\]

follow the pattern of lohitāyat to derive paṭapatā + Kyaṣ → paṭapatāyate → paṭapatāya + LAT → paṭapatāyate

and paṭapatāyate

1.3.91 dyudbhya...

(679) vyadyutat
(680) vyadyotiṣṭa

The first example derives from vidyutā + LUṆ, where dyutā 'to be illuminated' is used with the preverb vi. Given the string vidyut + CLI + LUṆ, as in (16) akārṣīt, LUṆ will be replaced by tiP. Furthermore instead of SIC replacing CLI, 3.1.55 puṣāḍi... will require that CLI be replaced by aN. Since aN is marked with N̄, there will be no guna for the u of vidyut. Thus: vidyut + (CLI → a(N̄ → Θ)) + ti(P → Θ) = vidyut + a + ti. As in (f) of (266) adhyagiṣṭa, aT may now be introduced. This will produce vi + aT + dyut + a + ti. Rule 3.4.100 itas ca will now delete the i of ti as in (e) of (16) akārṣīt, and 6.1.77 iko yan aci will replace the i of vi with y. Thus: vi + a + dyut + a + t(i → Θ) = vi + a + dyut + a + t → v(i → y) + a + dyut + a + t = vyadyutat.

The second example also is derived from vidyut + LUṆ. However, given the string vidyut + CLI + LUṆ, CLI is replaced by SIC and LUṆ by ta as in (c-d) of (266) adhyagiṣṭa. After the introduction of aT, the string will by vi + a + dyut + s + ta. Rule 7.2.35 ārdhadhātukasya... will introduce iT as in (h) of (20) alāvīt and 6.1.77 iko yan 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) adhyagiṣṭa to derive vyadyotiṣṭa.

(681) alūḥatt
(682) alothiṣṭa

These examples are derived similarly to the preceding ones.
1.3.92 vṛdbhyah syasanoḥ

(683) vartsyati
(684) avartsyati
(685) vivṛtsati
(686) vartsīyate
(687) avartsīyata
(688) vivartsīate
(689) vartsīyati
(690) avartsīyata
(691) vivṛtsati
(692) varddhisyata
(693) vivarddhīsyate

Example (683) vartsyati derives from vṛtU + LRT, where 3.3.13 lṛt śeṣe ca introduces LRT which is replaced by tīp. Rule 3.1.33 syātāsi... will require that affix sya be introduced before LRT. This will produce vṛt + sya + tī. Rule 7.2.35 will require iT, but that will be blocked by 7.2.59 na vṛdbhya.... Rule 7.3.86 puganta... will order guna of the penultimate r of vṛt. Thus: v(r → ar)t + sya + tī = vartsyati. One can similarly derive the alternate (689) vartsīyati from vṛdhU + LRT, where dh of the root gets replaced by t.

(684) avartsyat

This example derives from vṛtU + LRN, where LRN is introduced by 3.3.139 limnimitte.... After LRN is replaced by tīp and sya is introduced, the result will be vṛt + sya + tī. One may now introduce aT, apply guna, and delete the i of i as in (16) akāṛṣīt and many other examples. Thus: aT + v(r → ar)t + sya + t(i → θ) = avartsyat. Similar rules apply in deriving (691) avartsīyata from vṛdhU + LRN.

(685) vṛ-ṛtsati

This example derives from (vṛt + saN) + LAT, where by following (a-f) of (584) didṛksate, vivṛt + sa will be produced. Deriving vivṛtsati from vivṛtsa + LAT offers nothing new. Note here that 1.2.10 halantāc ca will be instrumental in blocking guna of r. Similar rules apply in deriving (691) vartsīyatsa from (vṛdhU + saN) + LAT.

(686) vartsyate

This example derives from vṛtU + LRT, where LRT gets replaced by ątmanepada ta. Given the string vṛt + ta, sya and iT will be introduced as in vartsyati and vṛadyatīsta. The result will be vṛt + sya + ta → vṛt + iT + sya + ta = vṛt + i + sya + ta. After the guna of r and the changing of ta to te, the s of sya will be replaced by ş. Thus: v(r → ar)t + i + (s → ş)yta + (ta → te) = vartsīyate. Note here that iT cannot be blocked as in (683) vartsyati. One may similarly derive vardhhisyate from vṛdhU + LRT.

(687) avartsīyata

This example is derived from vṛtU + LRN similarly to (684) avartsyati. Affix LRN here optionally is replaced by ta. The remaining operations (sya, iT, aT, guna of r, and s → ş) offer nothing new.
(688) vivartisate

This example derives from \(\text{vṛt} + \text{sAN}\) + \(\text{LAT}\) as in \(\text{vivrṣati}\). However, in this example \(\text{LAT}\) optionally gets replaced by \(\text{ātmanepada te}\). Also \(\text{iT},\) \(\text{guna}\) of \(r\), and change of \(s \rightarrow s\) occur. For details, see the preceding examples.

The examples derived from \(\text{vṛdhU}\) are quite similar.

1.3.93 \(\text{luti ca kṛpah}\)

(694) \(\text{kalptā}\)

(695) \(\text{kalptārau}\)

(696) \(\text{kalptārah}\)

These three examples are derived from \(\text{kṛpU} + \text{LUT}\) as follows.

(a) \(\text{kṛpU}\)

\(\text{it-deletion}\)

\(= \text{kṛp}\)

(b) \(\text{kṛp}\)

1.3.1 \(\text{bhūvādayo...}\)

3.1.91 \(\text{dhiātoḥ}\)

3.3.15 \(\text{anadyatane lut}\)

\(= \text{kṛp} + \text{LUT}\)

(c) \(\text{kṛp} + \text{LUT}\)

3.4.77 \(\text{lasya}\)

3.4.78 \(\text{tiptas...}\)

2.4.85 \(\text{lutaḥ...}\)

\(= \text{kṛp} + (\text{LUT} \rightarrow \text{Dā})\)

\(\text{it-deletion}\)

\(= \text{kṛp} = \bar{o}\)

(d) \(\text{kṛp} + \bar{a}\)

3.1.33 \(\text{syatāsi...}\)

\(= \text{kṛp} + \text{tās} + \bar{a}\)

(e) \(\text{kṛp} + \text{tās} + \bar{a}\)

1.4.13 \(\text{yasmāt...}\)

6.4.1 \(\text{aṅgasya}\)

6.4.143 \(\text{ṭēḥ} \# 1.1.64 \text{aco'ntyādi...}\)

\(= \text{kṛp} + t(\text{tās} \rightarrow \emptyset) + \bar{a}\)

\(= \text{kṛp} + \text{tā}\)

(f) \(\text{kṛp} + \text{tā}\)

7.3.84 \(\text{sārvadhātuka...}\)

\(= k(r \rightarrow ar)p + \text{tā}\)

\(= \text{karp} + \text{tā}\)

(g) \(\text{karp} + \text{tā}\)

8.2.18 \(\text{kṛpo rolah}\)

\(= ka(r \rightarrow l)p + \text{tā}\)

\(= \text{kalptā}\)
Examples (695) kalptārau and (696) kalptāraḥ are derived by replacing \(LU_T\) 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 \(krp + tā + rau\) and \(krp + tā + ras\). The remaining rule applications are similar. Note, however, that \(iT\) will be blocked by 7.2.10 \ekāca\, ..., and the final s of \(kalptāras\) will yield \(h\) by s-visarga.

The other examples follow the derivational pattern of those under 1.3.92 \vydbhyah\, ... and many previous rules.

1.4.1 ā kadārād 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 aden gurah), where tṛC is introduced by 3.1.133 ṛuval tṛcau. Given the string bhid (IR → it-deletion) + tṛ, rule 1.4.10 hrasvam laghu assigns the term laghu to the short i of bhid. This, in turn, necessitates the guna (1.1.2) replacement for the penultimate (upadhā cf. 1.1.65 alo' nyāt pārva upadhā) laghu vowel i of the anṛga (1.4.13 yasmāt... ) bhid. This yields bh(i → e)ḍ + 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) śiksā
(700) bhiksā

These examples illustrate the scope of the technical term guru (1.4.11 samyoge guru), whereby a hrasva ‘short’ vowel is termed guru before a conjunct (samyoga). Thus, for the reason that the short i of both śiks and bhiks is followed by the conjunct ks, i will be assigned the term guru. These examples are derived from śiksā + sū and bhiksā + sū, where śiks and bhiksā are feminine forms ending in ṭāP. Given the roots śiks and bhiks, i will be termed guru. Consequently, rule 3.3.103 gurōś ca halāḥ will introduce affix (3.1.1 pratayah) a after (3.1.2 paraś ca) a verb root (3.1.91 dhāloth) which terminates in a consonant (hL cf. Śs, 5-14) and contains a guru vowel (gurumāṇ). This is, of course, provided that the derivate is to signify feminine, or bhāva ‘root-sense’, or a kāraka other than kartr.

Needless to say, śiks and bhiks meet these requirements. The resultant forms śiks + a = śiksā and bhiks + a = bhiksā are assigned the term prātipadā (1.2.46 kṛtdhātmāsās ca), since they end in an affix termed kṛt (3.1.9 kṛt ati). Rule 4.1.4 ayaḍyataś tāp then introduces affix Tāp after a nominal stem (4.1.1 nyāp-prātipadikāt) belonging to the list headed by aja ‘goat’, or ending in a. Note that affix Tāp is introduced to denote feminine (4.1.3 striyām). This yields siksā + ā which, after the application of 6.1.101 akāḥ savarne dirghāḥ, yields siksā + ā = śiksā.
1.4.2 *vipratisedhe param kāryam
(701) vrksābhyaṃ
(702) plaksābhyaṃ
(703) vrksēṣu
(704) plaksēṣu
(705) vrksēbhyāḥ
(706) plaksēbhyāḥ

Our first example (701) vrksābhyaṃ is derived by introducing the fourth (caturthi) or fifth (pañcami) dual (dvivacana) nominal ending (vibhakti) bhyāṃ (4.1.2 svaujas...) after the nominal stem (pratīpadika) vrksa, to denote either the dative (sampradāna; 1.4.32 karmanā yaṃ abhipraiti sa sampradānam) or ablative (apādāna; 1.4.24 dhruvam apāye pādānam). Given the string vrksa + bhyāṃ, rule 7.3.102 supi ca, read with 7.3.101 aito dirgho yañi, would require the lengthening of the final a of the anāga (1.4.13 yasmāt...; 6.4.1 anāgasya); i.e., vrksa. Thus we get: vrks(a → ā) + bhyāṃ = vrksā + bhyāṃ = vrksābhyaṃ. Our next example (702) plaksābhyaṃ is similarly derived from plaksā + bhyāṃ.

The next example, (703) vrksēṣu which is the locative plural of vrksa, is derived by introducing the seventh (saṃptami) plural (bhavacana) ending stP after vrksa to denote ‘locus’ (adhiśārana). Given the string vrksa + su, rule 7.3.103 bhavacane jhaly et would require that the anāga-final a be replaced with e. Thus, we get vrks(a → e) + su = vrkse + su. The s of su will subsequently be replaced with ū, and we will then have vrkse + (s → ū)u = vrksēṣu. Similar rules apply to derive plaksēṣu from plaksā + su.

The last two, (705) vrksēbhyāḥ and (706) plaksēbhyāḥ, are the dative or ablative plural forms of vrksa and plaksā. Given the string vrksa + bhyaś, rules 7.3.102 supi ca and 7.3.103 bhavacane jhaly et will both become equally applicable. The result could be either vrks(a → ā) + bhyaś = *vrksābhyaśa, or vrks ((a → e) + bhyaś = vrksēbhyaśa. Obviously, *vrksābhyaśa is wrong.

Rule 1.4.2 requires a situation of conflict (*vipratisedha) between two rules of equal strength (tulyābala). A major requirement for proving that two rules are equal in strength is that the rules must have their valid scope of application elsewhere (anyatras). Note here that (701) vrksābhyaṃ and (702) plaksābhyaṃ illustrate instances where 7.3.102 supi ca finds its scope, independently of the situation of conflict with 7.3.103 bhavacane jhaly et. Similarly, 7.3.103 finds its valid scope independently of the situation of conflict with 7.3.102 supi ca in (705) vrksēbhyāḥ and (707) plaksēbhyāḥ. Given the fact that these two rules have their independent scope of application elsewhere, one must invoke rule 1.4.2 *vipratisedhe... to resolve the conflict in deriving (705) vrksēbhyāḥ and (706) plaksēbhyāḥ. Accordingly, rule 7.3.103 bhavacane jhaly et will block the application of 7.3.102 supi ca, as 7.2.103 is subsequent to 7.2.102. Thus, vrksa + bhyaś and plaksā + bhyaś could only
yield vṛkṣa + bhyaś and plakṣa + bhyaś. The s of bhyaś will go through r-visarga and we will get: vṛkṣa + bhyaś(s → ṭ) = vṛkṣebhyaḥ. Similarly, one can derive (706) plakṣebhyaḥ.

1.4.3 yū stryākhyau nadi
(707) kumārī
dlā ḫa
(708) gaurī
de bhyaśa
(709) lakṣmīḥ
de bhyaśa
(710) sāṅgaravī
de bhyaśa
(711) brahmabandhīḥ
de bhyaśa
(712) yavāgīḥ
de bhyaśa

The first set of four examples have their derived feminine bases, i.e., kumārī; gaurī; lakṣmīḥ; and sāṅgaravī, ending in ī. The second set of two examples, i.e., brahmabandhīḥ and yavāgīḥ, have bases ending in ū. The first two examples, (kumārī; gaurī) are derived by introducing the feminine (4.1.3 strīyām) affixes (3.1.1 pratyayaḥ) NīP and NīS (4.1.20 vayasi prthame; 4.1.141 sid gaurā... after (3.1.2 paras ca) the nominal stems (prātipadika cf. 1.2.45 arthavād...; 4.1.1 nyāp-prātipadikāḥ) kumārā and gaurā. Given the strings kumārā + NīP = kumārā + i and gaurā + NīS = gaurā + i, rule 6.1.68 yasyeti ca would delete the a of kumārā and gaurā (āṅga (1.4.13 yasmāt...) and bhā (1.4.18 yaci bhām)). In addition, these forms are occurring before the feminine affixes constituted by i. This will yield the forms kumārī and gaurī, after which sŪ, the nominative singular ending, can be introduced by rule 4.1.2 svaujas..., read with 4.1.1 nyāp-prātipadikāḥ.

Of course, other rules relating to the selection of sUP will be brought into focus. Given the strings kumārī + s(Ū → 0) = kumārī + s, and gaurī + s(Ū → 0) = gaurī + s, the s is termed aprktā (1.2.47 aprktā ekāl pratyayaḥ) and is deleted by 6.1.68 halnyābhya.... The two words kumārī and gaurī still qualify to be called a pada (1.4.14 suptiṇantam padaṃ), even though their affix has been deleted (1.1.62 pratyayalophe pratyayalakṣaṇam). Note that these examples have been cited in connection with the assignment of the term nadi. They have not been mentioned in the derivation, nor has the purpose of assigning them been shown. Commentators class such examples as rūpodāharana ‘examples illustrating a form refered to by a term’ and contrast them with, for example, kāryodāharana, which illustrates the function of the term assignment. Obviously, kumārī and gaurī are examples illustrating the form to which the term nadi may be applicable.

Our example (709) lakṣmīḥ is also an instance of rūpodāharana. Thus, lakṣmīḥ is derived from lakṣmī + sŪ, where lakṣmī, the base, is derived by introducing the Unādi affix i (Unādi 448 lakṣer muṭ ca) after the verbal root lakṣ ‘appearance, mark’. Note that the Unādi affix is introduced along with the augment mUT. That is, lakṣ + (mUT → m) + i = lakṣ + m + i = lakṣmī. Rule 1.2.45 kṛṣṭaddhitasamāśaḥ ca assigns the term prātipadika, as lakṣmī is
derived by introducing a kṛt affix after a verbal root. Given the string 
lakṣmī + sŪ = lakṣmī + s, rule 6.1.68 halāyabhya... cannot delete s, as lakṣmī does not end in a feminine affix marked with ā or ō. This clears the way for s-visarga: lakṣmī + (s = ō) = lakṣmīḥ.

Our next example (710) sārīgaraṇī is derived by introducing the feminine affix NiN after the nominal stem sārīgaraṇa (4.1.73 sārīgaraṇād yaḥo niṇ). Given the string sārīgaraṇa + (Ni → ō)i(N → ō) = sārīgaraṇa + 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 + ūN, where ūN is a feminine affix introduced after brahmabandhu, a complex nominal stem denoting ‘humans’ (manusyaśaśi; 4.1.66 Unāśaḥ), rule 6.1.101 akāḥ savarne dirgaḥ will apply. Thus, brahmabandhu + ū(N → ō) = brahmabandhu + ū = brahmabandhū. Affix āguC is introduced after the verbal root yū ‘to mix’ by the Unāśi rule 3.81 sryuvacibhuya’ nyuṣājgūjākmucah. Given the string yū + āgu (C → ō), ū of yū, an anāga (1.4.13 yasmāt...) termed bha (1.4.18 yaci bham), will be replaced by its gūṇa (1.1.2 adeḥ gūṇah) counterpart o (6.4.146 or gūṇah). Now rule 6.1.78 eco’ yavāgyāḥ applies to y(ū → o) + āgu = yo + āgu to yield y(o → av) + āgu = yav + āgu = yavāgūḥ. Deriving brahmabandhūḥ from brahmabandhū + sŪ, and yavāgūḥ from yavāgū + sŪ 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 nādi could be applicable. For a functional illustration (kāryodāharana) of the assignment of the term nādi, consider the dative singular forms of the preceding examples, such as kumārīyai, the dative singular form of (707) kumārī. We begin with the string kumārī + (N → ‘ie = kumārī + e, where Ne is the fourth triplet (caturthi) singular (ekavacana) nominal ending introduced after kumārī, a form ending in the feminine affix NiN (4.1.1 nyāp-prātipadikāt). The nominal ending (vibhakti) Ne is introduced by 4.1.2 svaujas..., though its selection is made on the basis of its function to denote sampradāna (2.3.13 caturthi sampradāne). Now let us return to kumārī + e, where rule 1.4.3 yuṣṭyākyayau nādi assigns the term nādi to kumārī because it ends in ī and denotes feminine. Rule 7.3.112 ān nadyāḥ, in the aṅga (1.4.13 yasmāt...) domain (6.4.1 aṅgasya), will then introduce the augment (āgama) āT. This will give us: kumārī + ā(T → ō) + e = kumārī + ā + e. Note that since āT is marked with ā, rule 1.1.46 ādyantau ākitaū will regulate the introduction of āT before e. Subsequent to this, but still with reference to āT conditioned by the term nādi, rule 6.1.87 āgaś ca will order a single (ekha) vṛddhi (1.1.1 vṛddhir ādaic) replacement (ādeśa) in place of both the ā of āT and the e of the nominal ending. The result will be: kumārī(ā + e → ai) = kumārī + ai. Rule 6.1.77 iko yan aci will now apply to yield: kumār(ī → y) + ai = kumāry + ai = kumāryai. Note that operations relative to āT are the results of the assignment of the term nādi.
1.4.4 neyauvañsthānāv astṛī
(713) he śrī
drīh
(714) he bhrūh

These examples are in the vocative (sambodhana), where he is an indeclinable (ayava). They are derived from śrī + sū and bhrū + sū, similar to lakṣmī and brahmarandhūh, which are derived from lakṣmī + sū and brahmarandhūh + sū respectively. Both śrī and bhrū are forms for which a replacement (ādeśa) in iyān and uvān is respectively ordered by rule 6.4.77 aciṣnudhātubhravām... It is in this sense that śrī and bhrū and forms similar to them are termed the substituenda (sthānām) of iyān and uvān.

The application of rule 6.4.77 results in the derivation of forms such as sryau ‘nominative dual’, sryāh ‘nominative plural’, and, in the case of bhrū, bhruwau ‘nominative dual’, and bhruwah ‘nominative plural’, etc. If the assignment of the term nadi is not blocked in the case of śrī and bhrū, or in the case of a form covered by this rule, wrong forms will result. That is, rule 7.3.107 ambārthanadyor hrasvah would order a short replacement for the long ī and ū of śrī and bhrū.

1.4.5 vāmī
drīm
(715) śrīyām
(716) śrīnām
(717) bhruvām
(718) bhrūnām

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 nadi results in two forms in each set. Given the string śrī + ām, where ām (genitive plural) is introduced after śrī (sū selection), rule 7.1.54 hrasvanadyāyānuṭ orders the augment nUT on the strength of the assignment of the term nadi. Note that augment nUT 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 adyantau takita, n(UT → ə) is introduced at the beginning of ām, thereby yielding śrī + (n + ām) = śrī + nām. The n of nām is replaced by n by rule 8.4.1 rasābhīyām no nāh samānapade. The same rule application will result in the derivation of (718) bhrūnām.

Clearly, the introduction of the augment nUT and the subsequent replacement of n by n 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 nadi is not accepted, the genitive plural forms of śrī and bhrū will be sryām and bhruvām. That is, the ī and ū of śrī and bhrū will be replaced by iy and uv respectively. The result will be: sr(i → iy) + ām and bhr(ū → uv) + ām = sryām and bhruvām. This will be accomplished by rule 6.4.77 aciṣnudhātu...
1.4.6 "niti hrasvaś ca
(719) kṛtai
(720) kṛtaye
(721) dhenuai
(722) dheneve
(723) śrīyai
(724) śrye
(725) bhruvai
(726) bhruve

Note that in each of the above four sets, both forms are alternate dative
singualrs. That is, kṛṭī + ㄴe, dhenu + ㄴe, śrī + ㄴe and bhru + ㄹe have each
yielded two forms, depending on whether or not the option of assigning
the term nadi was accepted. Of course, ㄴe is the dative singular ending
(refer to the derivation of kumāryai under rule 1.4.3, above).

If the option of assigning the term nadi is accepted, the first of the above
eamples in each set will be derived. Given the string kṛṭī + (N → 0)e = kṛṭī +
e, and the fact that the term nadi is assigned, rule 7.3.112 will introduce
āT. Thus: kṛṭī + Addon(T → 0) + e. The ā and e will then be replaced by a single
vṛddhi vowel, ai. This will give: kṛṭī + (ā + e → ai) = kṛṭī + ai. Finally, the
i of kṛṭī will be replaced by y.

For details of these derivational steps and relevant rules, see the deriva-
tion of kumāryai. Practically the same rule applications will give forms such
as (721) dhenuai. Note that accepting the option of assigning the term nadi
will result in the introduction of āT, single vṛddhi replacement and the
substitution of i/u by y/v. This takes care of the derivation of the first
eample in each set.

The second examples are those where the option of assigning the term
nadi has not been taken. This would cause the application of rule 1.4.7
šeśo ghy asakhi, whereby the term ghi will be assigned. Given the string kṛṭī
+ e, where kṛṭī is assigned the term ghi, rule 7.3.111 gher niti will assign
guna, thereby yielding: kṛṭi (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’yaṉayāvah. Thus: kṛte(ay → e) + e and dhen(o → av) + e =
kṛtaye and dheneve. This shows that refusing the
option of assigning the term nadi results in the assignment of the terms ghi
and guna along with a replacement in ayav. 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 i/ü.

This brings us to the question of possible results in the case of the exam-
plles of this rule where the option of assigning the term nadi is not
accepted, and where long i/ü are involved. Those examples are (723) śrīyai
and (725) bhruvai. Given the string śrī +e and bhru + e, where the term nadi
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is not assigned, the ī and ū will be replaced by iyAN and uwAN. That is: śr(ī → iy(AN → ∅) + e = śriy + e = śriye; and bhr(ū → uw (AN → ∅) + e = bhruw + e = bhruwē. The rule that orders the iyAN and uwAN replacement is again 6.4.7 aciśnuhātu.

1.4.7 seśo ghy asahki

(727) agnaye
(728) sakhye
(729) vāyave
(730) sakhyuh
(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 + Tā. Given the string sakhi + (T → ∅) ā = sakhi + ā, rule 6.1.77 iko yan aci will replace the i with y, thus yielding sakhi (i → y) + ā = sakhyā. Note that had sakhi been allowed to be termed ghi, rule 7.3.120 ānu nātriyaṁ would have required the instrumental singular ending (T)ā to be replaced by nā. This would have resulted in the wrong form *sakhi nā. 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 (T)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 niṇi cannot order the replacement of the i of sakhi + (N → ∅)e by the corresponding guṇa vowel e. Thus, assigning the term ghi serves the purpose of facilitating the application of 7.3.111 gher niṇi.

The following example, (730) sakhyuh, 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 Nasī, ablative singular, or Nas, genitive singular. The i of sakhi will be replaced by y by rule 6.1.77 iko yan aci. Rule 6.1.112 khyāt parasya would further require that the a of as be replaced by u. This would yield: sakhi(i → y) + (a → u)s = sakhy + us. Finally, s-visarga will yield sakhyu(s → r → h) = sakhyuh. Note that, if ghi had been assigned to sakhi, 7.3.111 gher niṇi would also have required guṇa.

Our last example (732) sakhyau is a locative singular form underlying sakhi + Ni. The i of (N → ∅)i is replaced by au. Rule 6.1.77 iko yan aci can now replace the i of sakhi to produce sakhi(i → y) + au = sakhyau. Note that
the replacement of the locative singular  фигуры by au is made possible by denying sakhi the assignment of the terms nadi or ghi.

1.4.8 patih samasa eva
(733) prajapatina
(734) prajapataye
(735) pati
(736) patye

The word prajapatina : the instrumental singular of prajapati. It is a compound (samasa) termed nominal stem (pratiadika) underlying prajapati + Tā. Given prajapati + (T→Θ)ā = prajapati + 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 āno nā striyām will require that ā be replaced by nā. The result will be prajapati + (ā → nā) = prajapati + nā = prajapatina. 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 prajapati is derived from prajā + Nas + pati + sŪ, where prajā + Nas which is a pada (1.4.14 suptinātīnam padam)--ends in the genitive (saṣṭhi; 2.3.50 saṣṭhi sese). It is syntactically related (samartha; 2.1.1 samarthaḥ padavidhiḥ) to pati + sŪ, another pada ending in the nominative. The compound (2.1.3 prāk kādārāt samāsah) is a tatpurusā (2.1.22 tatpurusah) ordered by 2.2.8 saṣṭhi, whereby a nominal pada ending in the genitive can be combined with a syntactically related nominal pada (2.1.4 saha supā). The word saṣṭhi, in rule 2.2.8 saṣṭhi which allows the compound formation, is used in the nominative (prathama). Consequently, in view of rule 1.2.43 prathama nirdiṣṭa samasa upasarjanam, an item specified by the nominative in a rule which allows compound formation is termed upasarjana 'secondary'. Such an item is prajā + Nas, as the saṣṭhi of 2.2.8 specifies a pada which is in the genitive. This being the case, 2.2.30 upasarjanam pūrvam will order that the item which is termed upasarjana be placed first in the item in the compound. The result is: prajā + Nas + pati + sŪ.

Since it is now a samasa 'compound', this item can be termed a nominal stem (pratiadika). Rule 2.4.71 supo dhātupratiadikayoh will therefore delete the sŪP, (in this case Nas and sŪ) which forms part of the nominal stem. Now we have: prajā + (Nas → Θ) + pati + (sŪ → Θ) = prajā + pati = prajapati.

Note that 4.1.2 read with 4.1.1 can here introduce the nominal ending, such as Tā, to derive prajapatina. 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 prajapati will be masculine, in accordance with the second member pati (2.4.26 paravat lingam dvandvatatpurusayoh).
Example (734) prajāpataye is derived like (720) kṛtaye, from prajāpati + (N → Ø) e.

The last two, (735) patyā and (736) patyē, 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) patyē, tā: instrumental and dative singular forms. That is, given the string pati + (i → Ø)ā, ā cannot be replaced by nā. This is because pati cannot be called ghi. Instead, rule 6.1.77 iko yan aci will apply to yield: pati(i → y) + ā = paty + ā = patyā. The derivation of (736) patyē from pati + (N → Ø)e involves the same rule application. Thus we get: pati(i → y) + e = paty + e = patyē.

1.4.9 saṣṭhiyuktas’ chandasi vā
(737) pataye

patyē (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 (saṣṭhi). Thus we have (737) pataye and (736) patyē, derived from pati + (N)e, under the condition that these occur together with words such as kuluṅcānām, a genitive derived from kuluṅca + ām. Of course, the genitive nominal ending ām, a plural, is introduced after kuluṅca, by 4.1.2 svaujas..., taking into consideration also rules such as: 2.3.50 saṣṭhi seše; 1.4.21 bahusū bhuvacanam, etc. Augment nUT is introduced to ām occurring after an aṅga (1.4.13 yasmā...), in this case kuluṅca, which ends in a short (hrasva) vowel. The rule which introduces this nUT is 7.1.54 hrasva nadyāpo nū, which is contained in the domain of 6.4.1 aṅgasya, and also takes the anuvṛtti of 7.1.52 āmi sarvanāmnā sa. In view of rule 1.1.46 ādyantau tāktu, this will give: kuluṅca + n(UT → Ø) + ām = kuluṅca + n + ām = kuluṅca + nām. Rule 6.4.3 nāmi can now introduce a long replacement for the short final vowel of an aṅga occurring before nām. Thus, kuluṅc(a → ā) + nām = kuluṅcā + nām = kuluṅcānām.

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 patyē.

1.4.10 hrasvaṁ laghu
bhettā
cchetā (already derived as (697) and (698) under rule 1.4.1.

(738) acikarat
(739) aṣṭharat
(738) acikarat
(a) DUKrN

After ū-deletion follow steps similar to (a) of (240) ātiḥat. This will give kṛ + i.
(b) \( k\bar{r} + i \)

Follow rules similar to step (f) of (201) \( akurut\dot{a}m \). The result will be \( k(r \to ar) + i = kar + i \)

(c) \( kar + i \)

Follow step (l) through (g) of (240) \( \dot{a}ti\dot{t}a \)

\[
= k(a \to \bar{a})r + i = k\bar{a}r + i \\
= kar + i \\
= kar + a + t
\]

(d) \( kar + a + t \)

\[
6.1.1 \quad ek\ddot{a}co... \\
6.1.11 \quad ca\ddot{n}i \\
1.1.59 \quad dvir vacane' ci (also refer to Mbh. I: ad 1.1.58 \\
\quad nau krtam... \\
= k\bar{r} + kar + a + t
\]

(e) \( k\bar{r} + kar + a + t \)

\[
6.1.4 \quad purvo' bh\ddot{a}sa\ddot{a}h \\
7.4.66 \quad urat \# \\
\# 1.4.13 \quad yasm\ddot{a}i... \\
\# 1.1.50 \quad uran rapara\ddot{a}h \\
= k(r \to ar) + kar + a + t \\
= kar + kar + a + t
\]

(f) \( kar + kar + a + t \)

\[
7.4.60 \quad hal\ddot{a}di \dot{e}s\ddot{a}\ddot{a}h \\
= ka (r \to \emptyset) + kar + a + t \\
= ka + kar + a + t
\]

(g) \( ka + kar + a + t \)

\[
7.4.62 \quad kuho\ddot{s} cu\ddot{u}h \# 1.4.50 sth\ddot{a}ne... \\
\quad \quad \quad k (\to c)a + kar + a + t \\
\quad = ca + kar + a + t
\]

(h) \( ca + kar + a + t \)

\[
6.4.71 \quad lu\ddot{h}la\ddot{n}... \# 1.1.46 adyantarau... \\
\quad = a(T \to \emptyset) + ca + kar + a + t \\
\quad = a + ca + kar + a + t \\
\quad = a + ca + kar + a + t
\]

(i) \( a + ca + kar + a + t \)

\[
7.4.93 \quad sanval laghu... \\
7.4.79 \quad sany atah \\
= a + c(a \to i) + kar + a + t \\
= a + ci + kar + a + t
\]

(j) \( a + ci + kar + a + t \)

\[
7.4.94 \quad dirgho lagho\ddot{h} \\
= a + c(i \to \bar{i}) + kar + a + t \\
= a + \bar{i} + kar + a + t \\
= acikarat
\]
Similar rules will apply in deriving (739) ajiharat from ḥṛṇ + NiC. Note, however, that given the string ha + har + a + t, parallel to the results at step (f) of acikarat, rule 7.4.62 kuhōś cuh 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) acikarat.

1.4.11 samyoge guru
(740) kuṇḍā
(741) kuṇḍā
śikṣā
bhiksā Derived under 1.4.1 as (699) and (700)

Our first example (740) kuṇḍā is derived from the verbal root kuḍl as follows:

(a) kuḍl

1.3.1 bhūvādayo dhātabah
1.3.2 upadeśa' j anusnāsika it
1.3.9 tasya lopah
= kuḍl (I → 0)
= kuḍ

(b) kuḍ

7.1.58 idito num dhātoḥ
1.1.47 mid aco'ntyāt paraḥ
= ku + nUM + ñ (it-deletion)
= ku + n(UM → 0) + ñ
= ku + n + ñ
= kuṇḍ

(c) kuṇḍ

1.1.7 halo' anantarā samyogah
1.4.11 samyoge guru
3.1.93 dhātoḥ
3.3.103 gurōś ca halaḥ
= kuṇḍ + a
= kuṇḍa

(d) kuṇḍa

1.2.46 kṛtaddhita...
4.1.1 śvāp-prātipadikāt
4.1.3 striyām
4.1.4 ajādy-ataś tāp
kuṇḍa + ṭāp → it-deletion
kuṇḍa + (ṭ → 0)a (P → 0)
= kuṇḍa + ā

(e) kuṇḍa + ā

6.1.101 akeś savarne dīrghaḥ
= Kund (a + ā → ā)
= Kundā

(f) Kundā

4.1.1 nyāp-pratipadikāt
4.1.2 svaujas..., # sūp-placement
= Kundā + sū

(g) Kundā + sū

6.1.68 halāyābbhṛyo...
= Kundā + (sū → θ)
= Kundā

(h) Kundā

1.4.14 suptīnantam padam
8.1.16 padasya
8.3.24 naś cāpadāntasya jhari
= ku (n → m) dā
= Kundā

(i) Kundā

8.4.58 anusvārasya yayi parasavaṇṇah
= ku (m → n) dā
= Kundā

Note that the basic function of the assignment of the term guru in case of the u of Kund (see steps (b) and (c) above) is to enable Kund to receive the suffix a. The fact that a short vowel (hrasva), in the present case u, is occurring before a samyoga (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) Kundā from hudi.

1.4.12 dirghaṁ ca
ikesāṅcakre
ihāṅcakre

These derivations are given under (602) and (603) with reference to rule 1.3.63 āṁ prayāyaḥvat.... Note that the assignment of the term dirgha to a short vowel occurring before a samyoga ‘conjunct’ allows samijñā-samāveśa ‘class-inclusion’, which otherwise would not have been possible in this domain of ekasamijñā. 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 yasmat prayāyavidhis...
kartā
kartā (Derived under 1.1.51 as (177) and (178)).

(742) karisyati
(743) harisyati
(744) akarisyat
aupagavah (Derived under 1.1.1 as (1)).

kāpātavah (Derived as (428) under 1.2.46).

(742) karisyati

(a) $DU_kT\bar{N}$

$\text{it-deletion}$

$= k\bar{r}$

Follow the derivational steps of (683) vartsyati

(b) $k\bar{r} + sya + ti$

7.2.10 ekāc upadeśe
7.2.35 ārddhadhātukasyeṣ vaḷādeḥ
7.2.70 rddhanoh sye

# 1.1.46 ādyantau...

$= k\bar{r} + iT + sya + ti$

$= k\bar{r} + i(T \rightarrow \emptyset) + sya + ti$

(c) $k\bar{r} + isya + ti$

7.3.84 sārvadhātuhārdadhātukayoh

$= k(\bar{r} \rightarrow ar) + isya + ti$

$= kar + isya + ti$

(d) $kar + isya + ti$

8.3.59 ādesaṣpratyayoh

$= kar + i(s \rightarrow \bar{s} (ya)) + ti$

$= kar + isya + ti$

$= karisyati$

One can similarly derive (743) harisyati. Note that the immediate effect of the assignment of the term aṅga, in the above examples, is to allow the gūṇa by rule 7.3.84 sārvadhātukārddha.... Additionally, the term aṅga is instrumental in the introduction of the augment $iT$ by 7.2.70 rddhanoh...

(744) akarisyat

(a) $(DU \rightarrow \emptyset) k\bar{r}(\bar{N} \rightarrow \emptyset)$

$= k\bar{r} 1.3.1 bhūvādavyo...
3.1.1-2 pratyayah-parāṣ ca
3.1.91 dhātoḥ
3.3.139 liṁnimitte lṛṇ kriyātipattau
3.3.156 hetuhetumator lṁ
3.3.140 bhūte ca

$= k\bar{r} + LR\bar{N}$

(b) $k\bar{r} + LR\bar{N}$

3.1.33 syatāsi lṛluṭoḥ

$= k\bar{r} + sya + LR\bar{N}$

(c) $k\bar{r} + sya + LR\bar{N}$

1.4.13 yasmāt...
6.4.1 aṅgasya
6.4.71  ṛuṭīñ...
   = a (T → Ø) + kṛ + sya + LRÑ
   = a + kṛ + sya + LRÑ

(d)  a + kṛ + sya + LRÑ
   3.4.77  lasya
   3.4.78  tiptasjhi... # tīN-selection
   = a + kṛ + sya +(LRÑ → tīP → Ø)
   = a + kṛ + sya + tī

(e)  a + kṛ + sya + tī
   3.4.100  ītas ca
   = a + kṛ + sya + t(i → Ø)
   = a + kṛ + sya + t

(f)  a + kṛ + sya + t
   Follow steps (b), (c), and (d) of (742)
   kariṣyaṭi
   = a + kṛ + iT + sya + t
   = a + kar + i + sya + t
   = a + kar + i +(s → s) ya + t
   = akariṣyaṭ

Note that the function of the assignment of the term aṅga is again as outlined earlier in connection with (742) kariṣyaṭi. The function of the assignment of this term could also be a replacement in vrddhi, as will be clear from the derivational history of (1) aupagavah and (428) kāpaṭavah. Incidentally, (428) kāpaṭavah will derive exactly as aupagavah, except for the fact that it will start with kapaṭu + /MIT + aN and that when the vrddhi rule (see step (e) of (1) aupagavah) applies, the a of kapaṭu will be replaced with ă to yield: kopaṭu + a.

1.4.14  suptiṇantam padam
(745)  brāhmaṇāḥ
      pačanti (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 sŪP and the second in a tīN. The derivation of (10) pačanti has already been provided.

(a)  brāhmaṇa
    sŪP-placement
    = brāhmaṇa + (i → Ø)as
    = brāhmaṇa + as

(b)  brāhmaṇa + as
    6.1.102  prathmayoh pūrvasavarnāḥ
    = brāhmaṇ (a + a → ā)s
    = brāhmaṇās

Note here that rules 6.1.97 aṭo gune and 6.1.101 aṁaḥ savarne dirghaḥ both become applicable to the context of this derivation at step (b). Rule 6.1.97
ato gune 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 (nīyam), one would expect 6.1.97 ato gune to block not only 6.1.101 akaḥ savarne... 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) brāhmaṇīs

\[ s-\text{visarga} \]
\[ = \text{brāhmaṇā} (s \to r(U \to \emptyset) \to h) \]
\[ = \text{brāhmaṇāḥ} \]

1.4.15 nah kye

(746) rājīyati

(747) rājayate

(748) varmāyati

(749) varmāyate

(746) rājīyati

(a) rajan

\[ s-\text{UP-selection (2.3.1 karmanī dvitiyā)} \]
\[ = \text{rajan} + am \]

(b) rājan + am

3.1.1 pratyayah, 3.1.2 paraś ca
3.1.8 supa ātmanah kyac
\[ = \text{rajan} + am + (K \to \emptyset) ya(C \to \emptyset) \]
\[ = \text{rajan} + am + ya \]

(c) rājan + am + ya

3.1.32 sanādyantā dhātavaḥ
2.4.71 supo dhātuprātīpadyatayoḥ
\[ = \text{rajan} + (am \to LUK-deletion) + ya \]
\[ = \text{rajan} + ya \]

(d) rājan + ya

1.4.15 nah kye
8.2.7 na lopaḥ prātipadikāntasya
\[ = \text{raja}(n \to LOPA-deletion) + ya \]
\[ + \text{raja} + ya \]

(e) rāja + ya

6.4.1 anāgasya
7.4.33 kyacī ca
\[ = \text{raji}(a \to i) + ya \]
\[ = \text{rajiya} \]

(f) rājīya

LA-placement, tiN-selection
= rājīya + LA
= rājīya + ti(P → Θ)
= rājīya + ti

(g) rājīya + ti
3.4.113 tiṁsit sārvadhātukam
3.1.68 karttari šap
= rājīya +(Ś → Θ)a(P → Θ) + ti

(h) rājīya + a + ti
6.1.97 ato gune
= rājīya(a + a → a) + ti
= rājīya ti

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) rājīyatē is derived by introducing affix KyaN by rule 3.1.11 karttuh kyaḥ salōsc a after rājan + sŪ. Given the string rājan + ya, (after it-deletion and sŪ-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 angasya 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) rājīyatē will apply, though the selected tiN 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 anudāttanītaḥ... The a + a of rājāya + a + ta will again be replaced by a, as in step (h) of (746) rājīyatē.

Our last two examples (748) varmāyatē and (749) varmāyatē are optional forms derived from varman + sŪ + KyaS, where KyaS 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 kyaṣah makes the introduction of parasmatipada ending optional. It is for this reason that we get two examples.

1.4.16 siti ca
(750) bhavadiyāh
(751) ūrnāyuh
(752) ṭtvīyah
(750) bhavat 'iyah

(a) bhavat
    # sŪP-selection; 2.3.50 saṃsthī seśe
    = bhavat + ṇas

(b) bhavat + ṇaS
    # 4.1.82 samarthānom prathamād vā
    4.2.114 bhavataṣ thakchasau #
1.1.73  tyadādini ca
= bhavat + ānas + cha(S → Θ)
= bhavat + ānas + cha

(c) bhavat + ānas + cha
   sŪP-deletion
   (2.4.71 supo dhātu...)
   # 1.2.46  kṛttaddhita...
   = bhavat + (ānas → Θ) + cha
   = bhavat + cha

(d) bhavat + cha
   1.4.13  yasmāt...
   6.4.1  aṅgasya
   7.1.2  āyaneśinīiyiḥ...
   = bhavat + (cha → īya) # 1.3.10  yathāsāmkhyām...
   = bhavat + īya

Note here that bhavat can also be qualified for the assignment of the term bha by 1.4.18 yaci bhām; but since chaS is a situ ‘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 ekasamjñā and only one term will apply. It would appear that the conflict should be resolved by rule 1.4.2 vipraśitēdhe param 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 vipraśitēdhe... 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 nīya ‘obligatory’. That is, if the term pada is not assigned to bhavat + cha and similar examples, rule 1.4.16 sitī ca would become vacuous (vyarthā). It is for this reason that a conflict entailing a nīya rule such as this is not accepted as involving tulyabalatā. Hence, that conflict falls outside the sphere of 1.4.2 vipraśitēdhe....

(e) bhavat + īya
   1.4.16  sitī ca
   8.1.16  padasya
   8.2.39  jhālam jaśo’nte
   = bhava (t → d) + īya
   = bhavadiya

(f) bhavadiya
   1.2.46  kṛttaddhita...
   4.1.1  nyāp-pratipadikāt
   4.1.2  svaujas...; sŪP-selection
= bhavadiya + sŪ
    it-deletion; s-visarga
= bhavadiya + s (U → ø)
= bhavadiya + (s → h)
= bhavadaiyah

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 asvāsty asminn āti matap) after ūrṇā + sŪ. Subsequent to it-deletion of the S of yuS, and the sUP-deletion similar to (750) bhavadiyah, the form will be: ūrṇa + yu = ūrṇāyu. The application of rules as in step (f) of (750) bhavadiyah will yield ūrṇāyuḥ.

Note in this connection that because the assignment of the term bha was blocked by pada of 1.4.16 sīti ca, rule 6.4.148 yasyeti ca could not delete the ā of ūrṇā + yu.

(752) rtviyah

(a) rtu

    sUP-selection
    2.3.50 saṣṭhi šeṣe
    = rtu + Ñas

(b) rtu + Ñas

    4.1.82 samarthānāṁ...
    5.1.105 rtor ān
    5.1.106 chandasi ghas
    = rtu + Ñas + ghas

(c) rtu + Ñas + ghas

Follow steps (c), (d), and (f) of (750) bhavadiyah with the understanding that at step (d), gha will be replaced by iya. This will yield: rtu + iya which, after the application of 6.1.77 iko yan aci will yield:

    = rt (u → v) + iya
    = rtviya

One can now apply step (f) of (750) bhavadiyah to derive rtviyah. Note that because the assignment of the term bha was blocked by pada, rule 6.4.146 or guṇah does not become applicable. That is, there is no occasion for the guṇa replacement of the u of rtu. This could result in the derivation of a wrong form: rt(u → o → av) + iya = *rtaviya.

1.4.17 svādīsu asarvanāmahāne

(753) rājabhyaṁ

(754) rājabhīḥ
(755) rājatvam
(756) rājatā
(757) rājataraḥ
(758) rājatamaḥ
(759) rājānau
(760) rājānah

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 sU, introduced after rājan through the process of sU-selection), the n will be deleted, as in (746) rājīyati. The s of bhis will go through s-visarga before one gets rājabhīḥ.

Both (755) rājatvam and (756) rājatā are derived by introducing affixes tva and taL by rule 5.1.118 tasya bhāvas tvālau after rājan + Nas. Given the strings rājan + Nas + tva and rājan + Nas + taL, the Nas and n will be deleted, as has been shown earlier. Given the string rāja + tva = rājatva, sU can be introduced according to the process of sU-selection. Rule 7.1.24 ato' am will then apply to yield: rājatva, + (s → am) = rājatvā + am. The final a of rājatvā 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 TāP. Given the string rāja + ta, after Nas, n and the L of the taL have been deleted; rājata is defined as a nominal stem by 1.2.46 kṛttaddhitasamāśa ca. Affix TāP can now be introduced to derive rājatā from rājata + (T → 0)ā(P → 0) = rājatā + ā. Given the string rājata + ā, 6.1.101 akāḥ savarne...will apply to yield: rājat (a + ā → ā) = rājatā. Now one can apply the sU-selection to introduce sU after rājatā. Given the string rājatā + s, rule 6.1.66 halīyāḥ...will delete the s, thereby yielding: rājatā + (s → 0) = 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 dvivacanavibhājayopade... and 5.3.55 atiśāyane tamab... Given the strings rājan + taraP and rājan + tamaP, i-t-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) rājānah 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 sarvanāmāsthaṇa, i.e. the first five sU endings, is not involved. Therefore, in deriving rājānau and rājānah from rājan + aU(T → 0) 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 sarvanāmāsthaṇe... under the condition of sarvanāmāsthaṇa.
1.4.18 yaci bhām
(761) gārgyāḥ
(762) vātsyāḥ
(763) dākṣiḥ
(764) plāksīḥ
(765) gārgayāḥ
(761) gārgyāḥ

(a) gargā

sUP-selection

= gargā + ṇās
4.1.76 taddhitāḥ
4.1.82 samarthānāṁ
4.1.92 tasyāpātyam
4.1.93 eko gotre
4.1.98 gotre kurjādibhyaś...
4.1.105 gargādibhyaḥ yaṁ

= gargā + ṇās + yaN
= gargā + ṇās + ya(Ν → θ)
= garg + ṇās + ya

(b) gargā + ṇās + ya

sUP-selection as in step (c) of (750)
bhavadīyāḥ

= gargā + (ṇās → θ) + ya

= gargā + ya

(c) gargā + ya

1.4.13 yasmāḥ
1.4.18 yaci bhām
6.4.148 yasyeti ca

= garg(a → θ) + ya

= garg + ya

(d) garg + ya

7.1.118 kitī ca # 1.1.1 vrddhir...

= g(a → ā) ṛg + ya

= gārg + ya

= gārgya

(e) gārgya

1.2.46 kṛttaddhitā...
4.1.1 śyāp-prātipadikāt
4.1.2 svaujas... (sUP-selection)

= gārgya + sU (it-deletion)

= gārgya + s → s-visarga

= gārgya + (s → h)

= gārgyaḥ
The rest of the examples are similarly derived by adding *Nas* and the appropriate *taḍḍhita* affix after *vatsa, daksā* and *plaksā*. Note, however, that (762) *vāṣyaḥ* will exactly follow the derivational history of *gārgyaḥ*. The other two examples will receive their *taḍḍhita* affix *iN* from rule 4.1.95 *ata iṇi* to denote a young (*yuvan, 4.1.163 jīvati tu vamśye 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) *udaśvītvan ghoṣaḥ*

(767) *vidyutvān balāhakaḥ*

(768) *payasvī*

(769) *yasasvī*

(766) *udaśvītvan*

(a) *udaśvīt*

1.2.45 *arthavat...; 4.1.1 nyāp-prātipadiṅktā*  
4.1.2 *svayjas...; sUP-selection*  
= *udaśvīt + sŪ*

(b) *udaśvīt + sU*

4.1.76 *taḍḍhitāḥ*  
5.2.94 *tadasāṭṣty āṣmin ni matup*  
= *udaśvīt + sŪ + matUP*  
*it-deletion*  
*sUP-deletion (2.4.71 supodhātu...)*  
= *udaśvīt + sŪ + mat(UP → θ)*  
= *udaśvīt + (sŪ → θ) + mat*  
= *udaśvīt + mat*

(c) *udaśvīt + mat*

8.2.10 *jahayaḥ*  
= *udaśvīt + (m → v)at*  
= *udaśvīt + vat*  
= *udaśvīt-vat*

(d) *udaśvīt-vat*

Follow steps (d) through (h) of (30),  
*citavan*  
= *udaśvītvan*

Note that the assignment of the term *pada*, which was available from rule 1.4.17 *svādiṣva asarvanāma-sthāne*, 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 *udaśvītvan* by *d* vide rule 8.2.39 *jalām jasa'nte*. Our next example (767) *vidyutvān* is derived from *vidyut + sū + mat* following the same derivational history.
(768) ṭhayasvi
(a) ṭhayas
    same as (a) of (766) uḍaśvitvān
    = ṭhayas + sU
(b) ṭhayas + sU
    same as (766) uḍaśvitvān (step except that affix vinl is
    introduced to denote the sense of matU by rule
    5.2.121 asmāyāmedhāsrajo...
    = ṭhayas + sU + vinl
    it-deletion; sup-deletion
    = ṭhayas + sU + vin(l → ∅)
    = ṭhayas + (sU → ∅) + vin
    = ṭhayas + vin
    = ṭhayasvin
(c) ṭhayasvin
    1.2.46 kṛttaddhita...
    4.1.1 īṇya-prātipadikā
t
    4.1.2 svaujas... (sUP-selecition)
    = ṭhayasvin + sU
    it-deletion
    = ṭhayasvin + s
(d) ṭhayasvin + s
    1.4.13 yasmāt...
    6.4.1 aṅgasya
    6.4.13 sau ca
    = ṭhayasvi(i → i)m
    = ṭhayasvin + s
(e) ṭhayasvin + s
    6.1.66 halīyābbhyo...
    = ṭhayasvin + (s → ∅)
    = ṭhayasvin
(f) ṭhayasvin
    1.4.14 suptīnantam...
    8.1.16 paḍasya
    8.2.7 na lopah...
    = ṭhayasvi(n → ∅)
    = ṭhayasvi

Note here that given the string ṭhayas + s + vinl, 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) yaśavi is similarly derived from (yaśas + sU + vinl) + sU.
1.4.20 ayasmayādiṇi chandasi
(770) ayasmayam niṁma
(771) ayasmāyāṇī pāṭrāṇī
(772) sa sūṣṭhāh sa ṛkuṭā gaṇena

Note that for the application for rule 1.4.20 ayasmāyāṇī..., ayasmayam, ayasmāyāṇī and ṛkuṭā are the only relevant words in the above examples.

(770) ayasmayam
(a) ayas

\[ s\text{UP}-\text{selection}; \text{2.3.50 śaṣṭhi śese} \]
\[ = \text{ayas} + \text{Nas} \]

(b) ayas + ṇas

\[ 4.1.76 \ taddhitāḥ \]
\[ 4.1.82 \ samarthānām prathamād vā \]
\[ 4.3.134 \ tasya vikāraḥ \]
\[ 4.3.150 \ dṛyacaś chandasi \]
\[ = \text{ayas} + \text{Nas} + \text{maya}(\text{i}-\text{deletion}) \]
\[ = \text{ayas} + \text{Nas} + \text{maya}(\text{T} \rightarrow \emptyset) \text{(s\text{UP}-\text{deletion})} \]
\[ = \text{ayas} + (\text{Nas} \rightarrow \emptyset) + \text{maya} \]
\[ = \text{ayas} + \text{maya} \]
\[ = \text{ayasmaya} \]

(c) ayasmaya

\[ s\text{UP}-\text{selection} \]
\[ = \text{ayasmaya} + s\text{Ü} \]

(d) ayasmaya + s\text{Ü}

Follow rule applications similar to those of rājatva + s\text{Ü} 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) ayasmāyāṇī

(a) ayasmaya derived similarly to the preceding example.

(b) ayasmaya same as the preceding example, though with the s\text{UP}-selection yielding:

\[ = \text{ayasmaya} + \text{Jas} \]

(c) ayasmaya + Jas

\[ 1.4.13 \ yasmāt... \]
\[ 6.4.1 \ sṛṣgaṣya \]
\[ 7.1.20 \ jaśasiṣoḥ śi \]
\[ = \text{ayasmaya} + (\text{Jas} \rightarrow \text{Śi}) \]
\[ = \text{ayasmaya} + \text{Śi} \rightarrow \text{i}-\text{deletion} \]
\[ = \text{ayasmaya} + (\text{Ś} \rightarrow \emptyset)i \]

(d) ayasmaya + i

\[ 1.1.42 \ sī sarvanāmasthānam \]
\[ 7.1.72 \ nāṇuṃsakasya jāl acaḥ \]
\# \[ 1.1.47 \ mid aco’ntyāt parah \]
\[ = \text{ayasmaya} + n\text{ÜM} + i \text{(i}-\text{deletion}) \]
\[\text{ayasmaya} + n(\text{UM} \to \emptyset) + i\]
\[\text{ayasmaya} + ni\]
\[6.4.8 \quad \text{sarvanāmasthāne cāsambuddhau}\]
\[= \text{ayasmay (a} \to \text{ā)} + ni\]
\[= \text{ayasmayāni}\]

(772) \(\text{rkvatā}\)

(a) \(rc\)

same as steps (a) through (d) of (766) \(\text{udaśītvān}\)

\[= rc + vat\]
\[= rkvat\]

(b) \(rcvat\)

\(sUP\)-selection

\[= rkvat + Ṭā (uī-deletion)\]
\[= rkvat + ā\]

(c) \(rcvat + ā\)

1.4.20 \(\text{ayasmayādīni...}\)
8.1.16 \(\text{padasya}\)
8.2.30 \(\text{coḥ kuh}\)
\[= r(\text{c} \to \text{k})vat + ā\]
\[= rkvat + ā\]
\[= rkvatā\]

Note that (772) \(\text{rkvatā}\) is assigned both the terms \(\text{pada}\) and \(\text{bha}\). This goes against the general practice, since it is contrary to the requirement of \(\text{ekasamjñā}\). Jinendrabuddi (\textit{Nyāsa} ad Kāś I:525) states as follows:

\(\text{sādhutvavidhāne tu esa doṣo na bhavati, tadd hi keśāncid bhasamjñā vidhīyate padasamjñākānām; keśāncid ubhayasamjñākānām; tasmāt sādhutvam eva yuktām}\)

'The question (of \(\text{ekasamjñā}\)) does not interfere when one is to show the correct derivation. It is therefore that an item assigned the term \(\text{pada}\) is assigned the term \(\text{bha}\); sometimes both the terms are assigned. Consequently, what is appropriate is the correct derivation (\(\text{sabdāsādhutvā}\)).'

Looking at the example on hand, we find that the term \(\text{bha}\) is also assigned. It is because of the assignment of this term that it becomes possible to block rule 8.2.39 \(\text{jalām jaśō} \text{nīte}\). Thus, assigning \(\text{bha}\) prevents the derivation of a wrong form: \(r(\text{k} \to \text{j})vata = *rjvata\). It is for this reason that class-inclusion (\(\text{samjñā-samāveśa}\)) of \(\text{pada}\) and \(\text{bha}\) is allowed here.

1.4.21 \(\text{bahuṣu bahuvacanam}\)
(773) \(\text{brāhmaṇāḥ paṭhanti}\)

These derivations are both simple. The first word has already been derived as example (745). For the second word, follow the derivation of (10) \(\text{pacanti}\) (beginning, of course, with the verbal root \(\text{pathĀ}\)).
1.4.22 dvēkaṇor dvivacanaiktavacane
(774) brāhmaṇau pacataḥ
(775) brāhmaṇah 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 āpāye' pādānam
(776) grāmād āgačchati
(777) parvatād avarohati
(778) sārthād hīnah
(779) rathāt patitah

The function of rule 1.4.24 dhruvam āpāye' pādānam is to assign the term apādāna to items such as grāma, parvata, sārtha, and ratha, which denote something dhrūva ‘fixed’ with reference to an action (kriyā) entailing āpāya ‘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 pāncaṁi. For the derivation of the ablative forms, follow steps similar to (462) vrksāt.

1.4.25 bhī-trārthānām bhayahetuḥ
(780) caurebhyo bibheti
(781) caurebhyaṁ 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) caurebhyaṁ from caura + bhyaṁ, follow the derivational history of (705) vrksebhyaṁ.

1.4.32 karmanā yam abhiprāti sa sampradānam
(783) māṇavakāya bhikṣām dadāti
(784) upādhyāyaṁ gām 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 caturthi sampradāne will allow the use of caturthi ‘the fourth sUP-triād’. For example, upādhyāya is termed sampradāna and upādhyāyaṁ is the dative singular form derived from upādhyāya + ņe. Rule 7.2.18 ņer yah will replace the ņe 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 + (Ne → ya) = upādhyāya(a → a) + ya = upādhyāya.

Note that from here on up to the end of the kāraka section (1.4.55 tatprayojake...) 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 Kāśhā. 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 upasargāh kriyāyoge

(785) pranayati
(786) parinayati
(787) pranāyakah
(788) parināyakah

The first two examples are derived from pra + ni + LAT and pari + ni + LAT where LAT replaced by tiP and SaP 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 ni to be replaced with n. The same n replacement is also taking place in the following examples, which are derived from pra + ni + vu and pari + ni + vu similar to (426) kārakah.

Note, however, that these involve an additional rule-application. That is, at the step similar to (426) kārakah where rule 7.2.115 aco ‘śniti applies, these strings will yield: pra + (ni - ai) + aka = pra + naj + aka and pari + naj + aka. Given this, rule 6.1.7. ‘yavaśāvah will apply to yield: pra + n(ai → aıy) + aka = pra + nāy + aka = pranāyaka. Similarly one will arrive at pari + nāy + aka = parināyaka. Given the strings pranāyaka + sŪ and parināyaka + sŪ, it is easy to derive pranāyakah and parināyakah with the understanding that because of the assignment of the term upasarga to pra and pari the n will again be replaced with n by rule 8.4.14 upasargād....

Note in connection with the function of this rule that, in examples like pranāyako deśah, the n cannot be replaced by n as the pra of pranāyakah is not associated with the action denoted by ni ‘to lead’. Instead, it is relatable to gam ‘to go’ as the paraphrase of pranāyako deśah (pragatu 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 kugatiṃḍādayah.

(789) prakṛtam

This example is derived from pra + sU + kṛta + sU where kṛta is derived similar to cita of (26) citah. 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 svuajas... Given the string prakṛta + sU, rules 7.1.24 ato’m and 6.1.97 ato gune will apply similar to (755) rājatvam. This will yield: prakṛta + (sU → am) = prakṛta(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 gaitṛ anantaraḥ read with 6.2.45 hte ca.

(790) yat prakaroti

Note that prakaroti is derived from pra + (DU → Ø) kṛ) N → Ø) = pra + kṛ + LAT where LAT is replaced by ti(P → Ø) and u is introduced after kṛ by rule 3.1.79 tanādikṛṇhyā uḥ. Given the string pra + kṛ + u + ti, kṛ goes through guna 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 guna for the u under the condition of ti. This gives us: pra + kar + (u → Ø) + 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 Phāṣṭāra 81: upasargaś caḥhivarjam. But because of the assignment of the term gati, rule 8.1.71 tini codāttavati assigned low pitch (anudātta) to pra, especially since it was occurring before a form ending in tiN 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 anudāttaṃ... and 8.4.66 udāttād anudāttasya svāriṇaḥ.

1.4.61 uryādīcvidācaś ca
(791) ūriktva
(792) ūrikṛtam
(793) yad ūrikaroti
(794) urarikṛtya
(795) urarikṛtam
(796) yad urarikaroti
(797) śuklikṛtya
(798) śuklikṛtam
(799) patapañkṛtya
(800) patapañkṛtam
(801) yat patapañkaroti
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 ārī and urari. The consequences of assigning the term gati are similar to the preceding examples.

(797) sukliktṛya
(a) sukla + kr

4.1.1 nyāp-prātipādikāt
4.1.76 taddhitāḥ
5.4.50 abhūtatad...
= sukla + Cvl + kr = īt-deletion
= sukla + v + kr

(b) sukla + v + kr

1.4.13 yasmāt...
6.4.1 anāgasya
7.4.37 asya cvau
= sukla(a → ī) + v + kr
= sukli + v + kr

(c) sukli + v + kr

1.2.41 aprkta ekālpratyayāḥ
6.1.65 ver aprktasya
= sukli + (v → 0) + kr
= sukli + kr

It should not now be difficult to derive sukliktṛya according to the pattern of (195) prakṛtya. Note, however, that sukli gets the designation of gati by the present rule because it ends in Cvl. The fact that the sukli is preplaced to the root kr 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) patapāṭākṛtya
(800) patapāṭākṛtam
(801) yat patapāṭākaroti

There is nothing new in these examples except that one has first to derive patapāṭā similar to the patapāṭā of (678) patapāṭāyate. 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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