The Aṣṭādhyāyī of Pāṇini

Volume III

English Translation of Adhyāyas Two and Three
with Sanskrit Text, Transliteration, Word-Boundary,
Anuvṛtti, Vṛtti, Explanatory Notes,
Derivational History of Examples, and Indices.

Rama Nath Sharma
This volume of the Āṣṭādhyāyī of Pāṇini contains English translation of adhyāyas two and three. It includes Sanskrit text of individual sūtras with their transliteration, word-boundaries, indication of inflectional endings and formation of compounds. Each sūtra is also furnished with anuvṛtti, vṛtti, examples, detailed explanatory notes, and complete derivational history of examples cited by the Kāśikāvṛtti.

Explanatory notes are presented to facilitate proper understanding of individual sūtras, especially in view of their formulation, interpretation, application and relative placement. An attempt has been made to sort out and explain pertinent issues, as raised and discussed by major commentaries. The appendix contains over 1000 examples with complete derivational history and discussions relevant to the Pāṇinian grammatical system.

This volume is the third of a planned six volume study. The fourth, fifth and sixth volumes of the series will cover the sūtras of adhyāyas four-five, six and seven-eight, respectively.
THE AŚṬĀDHYĀYĪ OF PĀṆINI

VOLUME III

ENGLISH TRANSLATION OF
ADHYĀYAS TWO AND THREE WITH SANSKRIT TEXT,
TRANSLITERATION, WORD-BOUNDARY, ANUVṛTTI, VRṬTI,
EXPLANATORY NOTES, DERIVATIONAL HISTORY OF
EXAMPLES, AND INDICES.

RAMA NATH SHARMA

University of Hawai'i

Munshiram Manoharlal Publishers Pvt Ltd
For my guru
Dr. O.L. Chavarria-Aguilar
and my gurupatnī
Mrs. Frances Chavarria-Aguilar
with love and respect
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Preface

The present is the third of a planned five-volume study on the Aṣṭādhyāyī of Pāṇini. It also constitutes the second of the four translation volumes of the sūtrapāṭha of Pāṇini, with Sanskrit text, transliteration, word-boundary, anuvṛtti, vṛtti, English translation, examples, explanatory notes, derivations, and appendices. This volume contains the English translation of adhyāyas two and three of the Aṣṭādhyāyī. The fourth and fifth volumes of this series will include the English translation of adhyāyas four-five, and six-seven-eight, respectively.

I have, as usual, relied very heavily upon the traditional commentaries for sorting out and explaining issues relevant to the formulation, interpretation, ordering, and application of individual rules. These commentaries also form the basis for derivational details. I have already referenced them in the preface of my earlier volume. In addition to works already mentioned, I have benefited most from the English translation of the Vyākaraṇa-mahābhāṣya of Patañjali, made by S.D. Joshi in collaboration with J.A.F. Roodbergen. The Vyākaraṇa-candrodāya of Charudeva Shastri, and the Hindi translation with notes of the Laghukāumudī made by Bhimasen Shastri, again proved very helpful.

The format in which I present the contents of this volume is not different from volume two of this study. The tone of my discussion still remains traditional. While I carefully follow the specific issues raised in the commentaries which they consider pertinent to the proper understanding of individual rules, I quite often take detours. Some of my remarks, made under these situations, may appear to be unnecessary. I still make them to enhance cultural understanding, and to show the richness and variety of the commentarial literature.

The format of the appendix, in presenting derivational history of examples is, this time, switched to the narrative style. I have presented a detailed introduction to derivational types discussed in this volume with hopes of minimizing repetition. Frequent cross-referencing to derivational details of the earlier volume has also helped in this endeavor. The appendix is still very long; it could not be helped simply because it includes over one thousand derivations.

I fully realize the extremely complex nature of the form and content of the Aṣṭādhyāyī. I am also aware of my own limitations due to which
I may have made mistakes. I shall greatly appreciate comments from my reader in this regard.

I must express my deep sense of indebtedness to authors of works I have regularly consulted. My brother Narendra and Pandit Ramaprasad Tripathi, both of the Sampurnanand Sanskrit University at Varanasi, have always been very generous in giving of their time. Professor George Cardona has read the translation of the second adhyāya, and has made some very insightful comments.

The University of Hawai‘i, especially through its Department of Indo-Pacific Languages, its Research Council, and Research Relations, has been very generous in supporting my research endeavors with grants. The American Institute of Indian Studies still remains the major funding agency to support this entire project. I am grateful for their continued support. My student researchers, Julie Trott, Abigail Brown, and Chris Bopp, deserve special thanks. It is their perseverance and dedication, with special credit to Chris’ knowledge of computer programs, which enabled me to produce this volume.

Rama Nath Sharma

University of Hawai‘i
Honolulu, U.S.A.
21 March 1994
Abbreviations

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Adhyāya Two

2.1.1. समर्थ: पदविचि:

samarthah padavidhiḥ
/śamarthah 1/1 padavidhiḥ 1/1 = padānāṃ vidhiḥ (śaṣ. tat)/
yaḥ kaścid iha śāstre padavidhiḥ śrūyate sa sarvāḥ samartho veditavyaḥ’
An operation (vidhi) concerning fully inflected words (pada) is to be syntactically related (samartha).

EXAMPLES:

kaśṭaśrītah ‘he who has fallen upon grief’
saṅkulaṅkhaṇḍaḥ ‘split into pieces by a saṅkula (nutcracker)’
yuṣpadāruṇah ‘wood for ritual post’
vṛkṣabhayam ‘fear of wolf’
rājapurūṣah ‘king’s man’
akṣasāvṇḍaḥ ‘skilled at the game of dice’

1. Pāṇini formulates this metarule (paribhāṣā) to govern the process of integrating two or more fully inflected and syntactically related (samartha) pada (1.4.14 suptīnantaṃ pada). He calls the process padavidhi, and constrains it with the word samarthā ‘capable, fit’. A question arises as to whether sāmarthya ‘fitness, capability’ should be treated as the condition for the pada which are to be integrated, or as the condition for the process itself. Before we attempt to answer this, however, a general remark about padavidhi is in order.

Commentators recognize padavidhi as a cover term for the syntactic operation generally known as vyṛti ‘integration’. There are four basic types of integration: samāsa, ‘compound’; kṛt, formation of items ending in suffixes termed kṛt (3.1.93 kṛt atiṇ); taddhita, formation of items ending in suffixes termed taddhita (4.1.76 taddhitāh); and saN, formation of items ending in suffixes termed saN, etc. (3.1.7 dhātoḥ karmanah.....).

The forms resulting from the integration of the first three types are termed prātipadika ‘nominal stem’ (1.2.46 kṛt-taddhitasamāsāś ca). The result of the fourth major type of integration is termed dhātu ‘verb root’ (3.1.32 saṇādyantā dhātavah). Some commentators also include ekaśeṣa ‘a process whereby only one of two or more phonetically similar or dissimilar pada terminating in the same nominal ending is retained’ (1.2.64 sarūpaṇāṃ ekaśeṣa ekadībhaktau), and parāṇgavadbhāva ‘a process whereby one pada is treated as part of the following for purposes of accentuation’ (2.1.2 suḥ āmantrite parāṁ gavat svare) as part of padavidhi. But because the condition of sāmarthya does not operate in these last two cases in the same way
as it does in the previous four, I would be inclined to treat ekaśēsa and 
parāṅgavadbhāva as peripheral instances of padavidhi. I shall now return 
to explaining the condition of sāmartṛya, especially as it has been 
interpreted with reference to compound-formation.

In accordance with the provisions of rule 2.1.4 saha supā, a compound 
can be treated as the result of combining two (or more) syntactically 
related (samartha) nominal pada. Thus, rājapuruṣa is a compound termed 
nominal stem (prātipadiṇa), derived by combining two syntactically related 
pada: rājan + ṇas and puruṣa + sū. The first pada terminates in the 
genitive and the second in the nominative. This compound is optional. 
That is, given the string of two pada, rājan + ṇas puruṣa + sū, one may 
integrate them to yield the compound-base rājapuruṣa, or one may derive 
the string rājñāh puruṣah ‘the man of the king’. The tradition terms the un-
compounded string (in the present case rājñāh puruṣah) as the vigrāhavākya 
‘analyzed form’ of the compound rājapuruṣah. A distinction is also made 
between the vigrāhavākya per se, and the string which underlies the deri-
vation of both the vigrāhavākya and the compound. Thus, rājan + ṇas 
puruṣa + sū is the underlying string from which one derives both the 
compound and its uncompounded counterpart. The tradition calls this 
underlying string alaukika-vigrāhavākya, an analyzed form which is not 
part of regular usage. This opposed to the laukika-vigrāhavākya, in the 
present case rājñāh puruṣah, which is available in usage.

Kāśikā explains the term samartha as śakta ‘capable, fit.’ It further adds 
that which is capable of expressing the meaning of the analyzed form 
(vigrāhavākya) should be treated as samartha (Kāśikā on 2.1.1: vigrāha-
vākyaṁkāthābhidhīne yaḥ śaktaḥ sa samarthaḥ veditavyah). Given this, we can say 
that since rājapuruṣah is capable of expressing the meaning of rājñāh 
puruṣah, its analyzed form, it is samartha. This interpretation will lead one 
to believe that the sāmartṛya ‘fitness, capability’ condition relates to the 
compound. However, Kāśikā offers yet another interpretation. That is, 
that the condition of sāmartṛya directly relates to syntactically related 
pada which undergo the process of integration. This way, it is the constitu-
tuent units of a compound which will be treated as samartha. As far as the 
compound is concerned, it can still be treated as samartha, but only indi-
directly, because of its dependence upon the string of pada which share 
the condition of sāmartṛya (Kāśikā on 2.1.1: atha vā samarthapadāśrayatvat 
samarthah).

The sāmartṛya ‘fitness’ of the uncompounded strings is termed vyāpekṣā 
‘mutual expectancy’. This implies that mutual expectancy relation 
between meanings of two or more pada should be treated as the condi-
tion for their integration into a single unit. Two or more pada can be 
treated as sharing a mutual expectancy relationship via their meanings 
when one of them cannot be interpreted without the other. Thus, rājñāh
is a qualifier (viśeṣaṇa) which cannot be interpreted without the qualified pada (viśeyya) puruṣah. It is also apparent from this that puruṣah is the principal pada (pradhāna), as opposed to rājāh, which is secondary (upa-sarjana). To sum up, vyāpekaṣā is the sāmartya characteristic of the constituents of a compound. The sāmartya of the integrated units (such as compounds) has been assigned the term ekārthibhāva 'emergence of a single integrated meaning'. Thus, rājapuruṣah is samarth because it denotes a single integrated meaning which has emerged as a result of integration.

Our example rājapuruṣah illustrates that two or more pada sharing a mutual expectancy relationship may be combined to yield a single integrated unit, provided such an integration also results in the emergence of a single integrated meaning. It should be remembered here that this 'emergence of a single integrated meaning' condition does not necessarily entail a one-to-one correspondence between the constituent meanings and the meaning which emerges out of integration. In the case of rājapuruṣah, one can say that since the compound is optional, and also since the compound string can be used as an alternant to the uncompounded string rājñah puruṣah with no difference in meaning, there is a one-to-one correspondence. However, not all emergent meanings equal the meanings of the non-integrated strings. Similarly, not all compounds can be used optionally with their uncompounded counterparts with no difference in meaning. This makes it important to add that, even though padavidhi requires the emergence of a single integrated meaning as a condition of fitness, the emergent meaning does not necessarily have to be identical with the meaning of the uncompounded string. For example, khaṭvārūḍhaḥ 'a person fit for contempt or censure, etc.' has a parallel string khaṭvāmārūḍhaḥ 'he who has climbed into a bed', which does not have the same meaning. Contrary to this, we can also find a compound which does not denote any derogatory meaning, even though a parallel uncompounded string does so. Thus we get dāśīputraḥ 'son of a maidservant' and dāśyāḥ putraḥ 'son of a bitch'.

In view of the preceding discussion, we can conclude that padavidhi is a syntactic operation which takes two or more fully inflected and syntactically related (samartha) pada and integrates them into a single unit, provided such an integration also results in the emergence of a single integrated meaning. Whether such an emergent meaning is similar or dissimilar to the meaning of the constituent units does not make any difference.

Furthermore, formation of compounds is allowed only when samārthya is of the type ekārthibhāva 'single integrated meaning'. That is, mere mutual expectancy of the type of vyāpekaṣā, with no resultant single integration of meaning, will not be allowed to yield a compound. Optional compounds
can be used optionally with their analyzed forms (vigrahavākya) in contradistinction to the obligatory (nitya) compounds, which are not allowed such facility.

Compounds are treated as one of the major types of vṛtti ‘integration’. An integration where the constituents of its parallel unintegrated string do not abandon their individual meanings is aptly termed ajahatsvārtha ‘that which does not abandon its own (constituent) meaning’. An integrated unit with meanings contrary to its constituent meanings is termed jahatsvārtha ‘that which has abandoned its (constituent) meaning’.

One obvious result of compound-formation is the general deletion of nominal endings of its constituent units. There are certain other operations which are performed subsequent to the process of integration. They generally relate to the order of the constituent units and the number, gender and accent of compounds. These operations and others, with their exceptions, will be discussed in the context of appropriate rules.

2.1.2 सुबामन्त्रिते पराइगवत्वे

sub āmantrite parāṅgavat svare
/ sup 1/1 āmantrite 7/1 parāṅgavat θ = parasya aṅgavat (ṣas. tat.);
svare 7/1/
subantam āmantrite parataḥ parasyāṅgavad bhavati svare
In matters of svara ‘accent’, a pada which ends in sUP (4.1.2 svaujas...) is treated as though part of the following pada provided this latter has been termed āmantrita (2.3.48 sa’ mantritam).

EXAMPLES:

kundena aṭan ‘O you wandering around with a bowl’
paraśunā vrścan ‘O you cutting with the ax’
madhrānām rājan ‘O king of Madra’
kāśmirānām rājan ‘O king of Kāśmira’

1. A pada (1.4.15 suptinatam padam) which ends in a sUP (4.1.2 svaujasmaut...) is treated as part of the pada which immediately follows it, provided this latter is an āmantrita ‘vocative’ (2.3.48 sa’ mantritam) and an operation concerning svara ‘accent’ is to be performed.

As indicated by the suffix vatUP in parāṅgavat, this is an extension (atidesa) rule. More specifically, it can be termed tādāmyātidesa ‘extension of sameness’, whereby characteristics of one thing can be extended to something else, relative of course to some particular purpose. This rule, for the specific purpose of accentuation, extends the property of sameness of nature (tatsvabhāvatva) to a pada which ends in a sUP, on the condition that this pada precedes a vocative (āmantrita).

The word aṅga is used here in its non-technical sense of ‘part’ (avayava).
Accordingly, when a preceding pada that ends in a sUP becomes part of a following āmantrita, it acquires the properties of an āmantrita insofar as accent is concerned. Rule 6.1.198 āmantritasya ca states that the initial (ādi) vowel of a vocative is marked with udāṭta ‘high pitch’. When a pada ending in a sUP and immediately preceding a vocative becomes part of the vocative, it qualifies for the same accent as that which would be available to a vocative. That is, the pada which has become part of a vocative will, as will the vocative, receive high pitch initially (ādyudāṭta).

It should be remembered in this context that, when a pada ending in a sUP becomes part of a vocative, both pada jointly become vocative where accent is concerned. Both words will be treated as one composite word; and, according to rule 6.1.198 āmantritasya ca, the initial vowel of the composite word (the word that ends in a sUP) will have high pitch (udāṭta). The vocative per se will not have high pitch on its initial vowel because, for purposes of accentuation, the vocative form will be constituted by the combination of both words.

For example, madrānāṁ rājan ‘O king of Madra’ is a sequence of two fully inflected words where the first, madrānāṁ, ends in a sUP, which is genitive. It is immediately followed by rājan, a pada termed āmantrita. Rule 6.1.198 āmantritasya ca would assign the udāṭta accent to the initial vowel of a vocative, which is in the absence of rule 2.1.2 sub āmantrite... will, in the present context, be rājan. However, under the provisions of rule 2.1.2 the vocative will be madrānāṁrājan, the total sequence. Consequently, the a of madrānāṁ, and not the ā of rājan, will receive the udāṭta accent. Thus, the result will be madrānāṁrājan.

In view of the preceding discussion, one can assume that the function of this rule is to enable a pada which ends in a sUP to obtain, as in the case of a vocative, the udāṭta accent on its initial vowel provided, of course, that the vocative immediately follows such a pada. The udāṭta accent would not be available if the vocative preceded the pada ending in a sUP, as is shown in the following example:

devadatta kundēnātan ‘O you, Devadatta, who are wandering with a bowl’

Here, the preceding vocative (devadatta) cannot be considered a part of kundēnātan, as far as the scope of 2.1.2 is concerned. To put it differently, kundena is a pada ending in a sUP, namely, tṛtiyā ‘third triplet of nominal ending’. As such, it can be treated as part of aṇān, a vocative immediately following it. The u of kundena will receive the udāṭta accent, as it will be the initial vowel of the extended vocative kundēnātan. This is the consequence of the condition of parāṅgavat ‘as if part of the subsequent’. The condition of svare ‘when an operation relative to accent’ rules out the treatment of a pada ending in a sUP as part of a following vocative,
when an operation relative to something other than accent is to be performed. That is, for the purpose of operations other than those relative to accent, the pada which ends in a sup and precedes a vocative will not be treated as part of that vocative.

Consider, for instance,

$kūpe sīncan 'O you, who are bathing in the water-well'

where, if $kūpe were to be treated as part of the vocative for an operation other than one dealing with accent, the s of sīncan would be changed into $s. It is said that only a pada ending in a sup can be treated as part of a following vocative. Thus, in examples, such as:

$pīdye pīdyamāna ‘I greet, O you who are grieving’,

$pīdye$, because it ends in a tīN, cannot be treated as part of pīdyamāna, the following vocative.

This rule is given under the scope of 2.1.1 samarthaḥ padavidhiḥ. Therefore, whenever a pada ending in a sup is to be treated as part of a following vocative, the condition of sāmarthya must be met.

2.1.3 प्रक्कादारसमासः:

prākkaḍārāt samāsāḥ
/ prāk ś kaḍārāt 5/1 samāsāḥ 1/1/
kaḍārasaṃśabdānāt prāg yānita ūrdhvam anukramiṣyāmas te samāsa-
samjñā veditavyāḥ

Items enumerated prior to 2.2.38 kaḍārāḥ karmadhāraye are termed samāsa ‘compound’.

EXAMPLE:

yathāvṛddham ‘whoever are old’ (2.1.7 yathā ‘śādrye) as in
yathāvṛddham brāhmaṇān āmantrayaṁsva ‘invite whatever brāhmaṇa are old’

1. This is an adhikāra ‘heading’ rule with its scope extending prior to rule 2.2.38 kaḍārāḥ karmadhāraye. That is, this rule introduces the term samāsa, which in turn should be carried up to rules prior to 2.2.38. Questions have been raised in the Mahābhāṣya (II: 562-63) about the purpose of including the word prāk ‘prior to’ in the rule. It is said that indicating the limit of the domain of rule 2.2.3 could hardly be the purpose, as that could easily have been accomplished by the ablative (paṃcamī) of kaḍārāt. What, then, could be the function of prāk? The Mahābhāṣya explains that prāk is used to facilitate samjñāsamāveśa ‘inclusion of names’. This is made necessary because rule 2.2.3 is contained within the scope of rule 1.4.1 ā kaḍārād ekā samjñā, which demands that only one term be used. Now, if
samjñāsamāvesa was not facilitated by the use of prāk, difficulties would arise. For example, rule 2.2.3 would introduce the term samāsa to every subsequent rule prior to 2.2.38. If there is another rule which introduces another term, then both terms cannot be used simultaneously (yugapad). They cannot even be used in turn (parśya). Besides, these two terms have their scope only within this section, and if they were unable to apply here they would become without scope (niravakāsa). A rule without scope would become vacuous (vyartha).

This ‘inclusion of names’ for terms (samjñāsamāvesa), in consonance with rule-splitting (yogavibhāga), is accomplished by treating prāk... ‘prior to...’ as the subject (uddeśya) parallel to samāsaḥ ‘compound’, its predicate (vidheya), in the first instance. Subsequently, for the assignment of the other terms, prāk samāsaḥ is treated as the subject parallel to, for example, avyayībhāvah, tatparāsah, etc., as the predicate. See my remarks under the following rule for further details of rule-splitting.

Consider an example from this section, where the terms samāsa (2.1.3) and avyayībhāva (2.1.5) will both become applicable. We know that 1.4.1 will not allow samjñāsamāvesa. These terms, and the rules which introduce them, have no scope of application elsewhere. They will become vacuous on account of being without scope (niravakāsa). It is to remove this difficulty and also to facilitate samjñāsamāvesa that prāk has been used in this rule. That is, by using prāk, Pāṇini indicates that within this domain a form termed samāsa can still be assigned another term such as avyayībhāva, etc. Of course, this is done through the delimitation of the domain (avadhidvāra), as prāk means ‘prior to’. Additionally, rule-splitting is manipulated to accomplish desired results (istasiddhyarham). Thus, a compound such as upakumbham ‘near the jar’ can be assigned both samāsa and avyayībhāva designations.

Scope: 1.1.30 tritiyāsamāse

2.1.4 सह सुप

saha supā
/saha ə supā 3/1/
(sup #2, samāsaḥ #3)
yad ita urdham anukramiyāmas tatra ‘sup saha supā’ ity upasthitam draṣṭavyam

A pada which ends in sup combines with a syntactically related pada ending in sup to yield a samāsa.

Example:

kaṣṭāśritaḥ ‘he who has fallen upon grief’ (2.1.24 dvitiyā...)

1. Note that commentators require the anuvṛtti of sup from rule 2.1.2
This makes the present rule read as sup saha supā. A question is raised as to why the word saha should be used explicitly in the rule. The instrumental ending in supā should itself account for the denotatum of saha, as is also the case elsewhere, in rules such as 1.2.65 vrddho yinā... Accordingly, saha cannot be taken merely to serve the function of indicating the meaning ‘with’.

The Mahābhāṣya (II: 567) stipulates that saha is yogāṅga ‘part of the rule’. That is, it is used to facilitate yogavibhāga ‘rule-splitting’. In this way, with the anuvṛtti of sup from rule 2.1.2 sub āmantrite..., rule 2.1.4 will read as sup saha supā and will be split into two rules as follows:

1. sup (samarthena) saha (samasyate) ‘a pada ending in a sUP is combined with a syntactically related pada’

2. sup (samarthena) supā saha (samasyate) ‘a pada ending in a sUP is combined with a syntactically related pada ending in a sUP’

The result of this combination will be given the designation samāsa by rule 2.1.3 prāk kaḍārāt samāsaḥ, as has been stipulated by samasyate in the paraphrase of each split rule. The condition of sāmarthya ‘syntactic relation’ derives from rule 2.1.1 samarthaḥ padavidhiḥ, as I have indicated by samarthena in the paraphrase of the split rule. The second split rule, above, will permit a compound where both constituent units end in a sUP. Conversely, the first split rule will permit a combination where one pada ends in a sUP, but the other does not. Patañjali cites examples such as anuvṛcalat ‘he moved afterwards’ and anuprāviṣat ‘he entered afterwards’. In these examples anu, an indeclinable which is technically required to end in sUP for purposes of compound-formation, is combined with vṛcalat and prāviṣat, which are forms ending in a tiN ‘verbal inflectional ending’. The purpose of rule-splitting, as indicated by the use of saha, is thus to permit the formation of compounds which would otherwise not be permitted by existing rules. Commentators also cite additional examples, such as punaranusuyūtam ‘newly tailored’ and punarniṣkrtaḥ ‘newly built’, as available in usages like the following:

(a) punaranusuyūtam vastram dayam ‘a newly tailored garment should be given’

(b) punarniṣkṛtaḥ rathāḥ ‘a newly built chariot’

The Mahābhāṣya (II: 565-67) goes into still finer interpretations and implications of this rule, which I do not discuss here. Note, however, that both of the above split-rules allow the formation of compounds separately. The first is viewed to allow compounds where a pada which ends in a sUP is treated as samartha because its base is samartha. Such constituents are called (samarthaprakṛtiḥ), in contrast with the other more general constituents which become samartha only when ending in a sUP. Both types of subanta constituents partake in the formation of compounds. A distinction between the two types of subanta often becomes consequential
for further operations, especially the introduction of subsequent nominal endings.

It is clear that this rule is an adhikāra, as it is carried along with the sup of rule 2.1.2 sub āmantrite to subsequent rules, either completely or in part, as the case may be. Since, however, this rule also allows the formation of compounds it should be considered as a vidhi ‘operational’ rule as well.

2.1.5 अव्ययिभावः:

āvyayibhāvah
āvyayibhāvah/Ι/Ι
(samāsah #3)
yānita ārdhvam anukramisyāmo vyayibhāvvasamjñās te veditavyāḥ
A samāsa enumerated hereafter is termed āvyayibhāva.

Example:

yathāvṛddham ‘who are old’ (2.1.7 yathā ‘sādrśye) as in
yathāvṛddham brāhmaṇān āmantrayasya ‘invite the brāhmaṇa who are old’

1. This rule is also an adhikāra, thereby delimiting the scope of compounds termed āvyayibhāva. The scope of this rule extends up to and including rule 2.1.21 anyapadrārthe ca.... It is stated that Pāṇini, by formulating a longer term such as āvyayibhāva, wishes to indicate that the term denotes its etymological meaning (anvartha) of anyayayam anyayam bhavati ‘that which was not an indeclinable (avyaya) becomes an indeclinable’. What purpose can be served by employing a term denoting its etymological meaning? Commentators explain that an indeclinable compound, as a general principle, has the meaning of its first constituent as principal (pradhāna). Yet this could hardly be the purpose of employing āvyayibhāva as a term interpretable in its etymological sense. This is because Pāṇini does not define his compound categories, with the possible exception of bahuvrihi (rule 2.2.24 anekam anyapadrārthe), on the basis of the prominence of constituent meanings. What else could be the purpose? It may be to operationally distinguish between indeclinables, in general, and those which became indeclinable by way of compound-formation. For, certain operations may become applicable to indeclinables in general; but there may be certain others which do not apply to indeclinables termed compounds. In this way, the use of the long term āvyayibhāva indicates restricted operational provisions available only to compounds.

Scope: 1.1.41 āvyayibhāvaś ca
2.1.6 अन्वयं विभक्तिसमीपसमृद्धायात्मकम्
राजायोगष्ठायायम्यस्मिनिन्द्रायायम्
समप्रासङ्गमयसामप्रासङ्गमयसामप्रासङ्गम
योगायेनान्यस्मिनिन्द्रायायम्

anuyayam vibhaktisamipasamdhibhiddhyarthaarthabhavatayyasampratisabadapsumudrabhavapashcadathanaupurvyayaugapadyasadarshyasamaptisakalyan-tavacaneshu

/ anuyayam 1/1 vibhakti...vacanesu 7/1 = vibhaktiś ca samipam ca
samyyadhīś ca vyrdhīś ca arthabhavaś ca atyayaś ca asampaṭiś ca sabdaprādudrabhavaś ca pāścāc ca yathā ca ānupūrvyam ca yaugapadyam ca
sādṛṣyam ca sampattiś ca sākalyam ca antaś ca = vibhakti...antaḥ (dv.),
te vacanāś ca = vibhakti...vacanāḥ, teṣu /
(sup #2, samāsah #3, saha supā #4, anuyayibhavaḥ #5)

vibhaktiyādiṣu artheṣu yad anuyayam tat samarthena subantena samasyate,
anuyayibhavaś ca samāsā bhavati

An anuyaya ‘indeclinable’ combines with a syntactically related pada ending in sup to yield a samāsa termed anuyayibhava provided the anuyaya denotes vibhakti ‘sense of a nominal ending’; samipā ‘proximity’;
samraydhī ‘prosperity’; vyrdhī ‘lack of prosperity’; arthabhava ‘scarcity’;
atyaya ‘lapse’; asampaṭi ‘inappropriateness for the occasion’; sabdaprā-
durbhava ‘initiation of a discourse’; pāścāt ‘after’; yathā ‘sense of
yathā; ānupūrvyā ‘one after the other, sequence’; yaugapadya ‘simul-
taneity’; sādṛṣya ‘similarity’; sampatti ‘propriety’; sākalya ‘entirety’;
and anta ‘limit’.

Examples:

adhistri ‘pertaining to women’
adhikumāri ‘pertaining to girls’
upakumbbham ‘near the pot’
upamanikham ‘near the waterjar’
sunadram ‘the prosperity of the people of Madra’
sunmagadham ‘the prosperity of the people of Magadha’
durgavaḍikam ‘the lack of prosperity of the Gavadikas’
duryavanam ‘the lack of prosperity of the Yavanas (Ionians)’
nirmāṇikam ‘absence of flies’
nirmasakam ‘absence of mosquitoes’
nirhinam ‘end of winter’
niḥśītam ‘end of winter’
atitaisṛkham ‘the time to wrap around taisṛkha (a wrap made in Tisṛkā)
has passed’
itpāṇini ‘the word Pāṇini is famous in the world’
tatpāṇini ‘id.’
anurathām pādātām ‘the infantry follows the chariots’
anurūpam ‘corresponding to the beauty, appropriate to the beauty’
pratyartham ‘relative to each and every meaning’
yathāśakti ‘not going beyond one’s strength or power’
anjusyeṣṭham pravīṣaṇtu bhavantah ‘please enter according to seniority’
sacakram dhehi ‘move alongside the cart as its wheels turn’
sakikhi ‘like a kikhi (jackal)’
sabrahma bābhravānām ‘the union of the descendants of Babhrū with the brahmaṇ’
saksatram ṣaḷaṅkāyanānām ‘the union worthy of the descendants of Śaṅkī with bravery’
satṛṇam abhyavaharati ‘he eats it along with the straw’
sabuṣam abhyavaharati ‘he eats it along with the chaff’
sāṅgava adhithe ‘he studies until he has studied the complete treatise on Agni’
seṣṭiṣṭusabandham adhithe ‘he studies until he has studied the treatise on animal sacrifice with desiderata (iṣṭi)’

1. Note that the process of forming a compound with an indeclinable entails introduction of a sUP after the indeclinable, even though we normally understand that an indeclinable is not used with any inflectional ending (vibhakti). Thus, a compound such as upakumbham is technically derived from the underlying string upa + sU kumbha + Nas, where the nominative singular ending sU is introduced after upa ‘near’. Rule 2.1.6 allows the formation of this compound because upa is used in the sense of samīpa ‘proximate’, and kumbha, ending in the genitive Nas, is syntactically related to it. This relation is based on the transposition (vyatīeya) of kumbha brought out (upajanita) by the meaning of upa ‘proximity’. The sU after upa is introduced by rule 2.3.46 prātipadikārtha... and, like the Nas of kumbha, is deleted by 2.4.71 supra dhātu-prātipadikayoḥ. The formation takes place after the derivation of the compound, under the condition of the assignment of the term prātipadika to the derivate compound. Rule 2.1.6 introduces the word avyaya in the nominative (prathamā). Accordingly, an element introduced with the nominative in a rule allowing the formation of a compound is termed upasarjana ‘secondary element’. This causes the placement of upa + sU initially in the compound string upa + sU kumbha + Nas, under the provision of rule 2.2.30 upasarjanaṃ pārvam. After the deletion of the endings the string becomes upakumbha. The compound can now be subjected to operations specific to samāsa, avyayībhāva and avyaya. I shall show these operations in the appendix, where full derivations of examples are provided. Suffice it to say, at this point, that an indeclinable can be combined with a syntactically related pada, so that it becomes itself a pada ending in a sUP. Of course, semantic conditions demanded by rules allowing compound-formation must also be met.

2. It is important to note that indeclinables are enumerated here with
their meanings as a condition which must be met before the compound-formation takes place. Furthermore, the second constituent must be syntactically related to the indeclinable constituent of the compound under consideration. I have tried to present these meaning conditions by translating them as closely as possible. However, some of them still need particular clarifications. Commentators have taken special pains to explain both the meaning conditions and the aspect of sāmarthya entailed by a given compound. For example, consider the following:

(a) The meaning of adhi in adhistri is vibhakti. Commentators explain vibhakti as 'that by means of which the meaning of a nominal stem (prātipadika) is distinguished: vibhajyate nayā prātipadikārtha iti. (PM ad Kāś 10:20). They further claim that what is indicated by vibhakti is indeed kārakašakti 'the power of a kāraka' (1.4.23 kārake) vibhaktisabdena kārakašaktivar abhidhiyate. (PM ad Kāś 10:20). Accordingly, the second constituent must end in a sUP denoting a kāraka. The saptaṁi 'seventh triplet of nominal ending' after strī 'woman' in the underlying string of the compound adhistri thus denotes adhikaraṇa (1.4.45) ādhāro dhikaraṇam, a kāraka.

(b) The compound sumadram has been permitted under the meaning condition of samṛddhi 'prosperity'. It is to be noted that, if the compound does not denote the prominence of this meaning, it will be a tatpuruṣa. That is, the form will be sumadṛāḥ 'the prosperous people of Madra'. An opposite meaning condition has been specified by vṛṛddhi 'lack of prosperity'. There has been argument as to why arthābhāva 'scarcity' itself cannot account for the cases specified by vṛṛddhi. Commentators agree that 'scarcity' is the nature of things, and that a compound having an indeclinable with the meaning vṛṛddhi can, therefore, be covered by arthābhāva. However, it is the second constituent of the compound whose 'scarcity' is denoted by compounds formed under the meaning condition of arthābhāva. Thus, nirmāśakaṃ denotes the absence of maśaka 'mosquitoes', the second member of the compound. Contrarily, durgavadyam, a compound formed under the meaning condition of vṛṛddhi, does not denote the 'scarcity' of the Gavadyas. Instead, it denotes the absence of their prosperity (ṛddhi).

(c) The word atayaya has been glossed as atikramā which, in turn, means 'non-existence'. Lack of existence can also be denoted by arthābhāva. However, arthābhāva can also cover instances where something never existed. Instances denoted by atayaya cover examples where something first existed, and then later lapsed into non-existence. Similarly, asamprati specifies an instance
where 'absence' is indicated with reference to current (varttamāna) time (kāla) only. Accordingly, the definition of atitaisṛkam can be paraphrased as 'absence of occasion at the current time for wrapping with the wraps made in Tisṛkā'. An absence denoted by arthābhāva could cover the absence over past, present and future: all the possible times. Thus, the ati in atitaisṛkam denotes nīdānim 'not at the current time'.

(d) The word śabdaprādurbhāva refers to the recurring utterance of a word, thereby implying that the denotatum of that word is very famous. For instance, itipāṇini and tatpāṇini mean 'the word Paṇini is famous in the world'.

(e) The word yathā has been used to indicate that an indeclinable combines when it has the sense of yathā (yathārtha). There are four meanings of the word yathā: yogyatā 'fitness, appropriateness'; vitpā 'all pervading'; padārthānativṛtti 'not going beyond'; and sādrśya 'similarity'. Thus, anurūpam means 'appropriate to one's beauty'; pratyartham means 'relative to each and every meaning'; and yathāsakti 'not going beyond one's capability'.

(f) The word sādrśya has been glossed as tulyatā 'equality'. An example of the compound is sakikhi 'like a jackal', where the indeclinable saha has been used in the sense of yathā. A question is raised, in connection with this, as to why compounds such as these cannot be covered under yathārtha (see (f), above). Nyāsa (II: 23) explains that, if the word sādrśya were not explicitly used, then a compound would have been permitted only when sādrśya was the principal (pradhāna) constituent, by way of being a qualified item (vīśeṣya). A compound such as sakikhi, where sādrśya, denoted by saha, is not pradhāna but is secondary (guṇībhūta), could therefore be ruled out.

(g) The word sampatti denotes 'something other than prosperity' (samṛddher anyah). If it did not, the compound could have been covered under the meaning condition of samṛdhī 'prosperity'. Actually, sampatti denotes anurūpātmabhāva 'fit, worthy, or deserving'.

(h) A question is raised concerning the separate statement of the meanings of sākalya 'entirety' and anta 'end, limit'. For, sākalya can itself account for anta. In fact, anta here means a limit which can be set within the entirety of a thing. That is why a sentence such as sāgny adhīte can be interpreted as 'he recites till the end of the Agni section and not beyond'. The end denoted under the meaning condition of sākalya would have included the entire treatise of which the section dealing with Agni is a part.
2.1.7 यथासद्र्ष्ये

yathā 'sādṛṣyē
yathā 0 asādṛṣyē 7/1 (nañ. tat.) /
(sup #2, samāsah #3, saha supā #4, avayāibhāvah #5, avayayam #6)
'yathā ity etad avayayam asādṛṣyē vartamānam supā saha samasyate,
avayāibhāvah ca samāso bhavati

The indeclinable yathā combines with a syntactically related pada ending in sup to yield a compound termed avayāibhāva provided sādṛṣyē 'similarity' is not denoted.

EXAMPLES:

yathā✈ṛddham brāhmaṇān āmantrayasva 'invite the brāhmaṇa who are old'
yathādhyāpakam āmantrayasva 'invite those who are the teachers'

1. Note that rule 2.1.6 avayayam vibhakti... already allows for the formation of a compound, where an indeclinable may have the meaning of yathā. The meanings of yathā covered by rule 2.1.6 include sādṛṣyē. Rule 2.1.7 prohibits the formation of a compound when yathā is used in the sense of sādṛṣyē. This creates some difficulty in understanding the purpose of rule 2.1.7, especially in view of the provisions made by 2.1.6. commentators disagree on the interpretation of rule 2.1.7 (see Joshi, 1969: 94-104).

A question arises whether this sūtra should be treated as vidhi 'operation', niyama 'restriction', or niṣedha 'negation'. Note that a rule is treated as negation only in the context of a positive provision that has been previously made. Since there is no such positive provision made by the previous rule for yathā, and used in the sense of something other than sādṛṣyē, this rule cannot be treated as a negation. The lack of a provision is also responsible for the treatment of this rule as a vidhi. For, this rule makes a provision which others have not yet made. This rule cannot be treated as a niyama because a restriction is imposed in view of some confusion with the scope of some other rule. Since rule 2.1.6. does not make any provision which may create a confusion with the scope of the present rule, the question of its status as a niyama should not arise. Besides, refer to the paribhāsa (109) vidhiniyamasamabhave vidhir eva jyāyān, whereby a vidhi interpretation is favored over a niyama should they both obtain in a single situation.

Nāgęśa, in his Laghuśabdenduśekhara discusses this rule in detail along with the proposal of rule-splitting and questions of the rule's dual status as a vidhi and pratiṣedha. I do not discuss this here, for lack of interest.
2.1.8 यावदवधारणे

यावद आवधारणे
/यावद व आवधारणे 7/1/
(sup #2, samāsaḥ #3, saha supra #4, avyayībhāvaḥ #5, avyayam #6)
‘यावद’ ity etad avyayam avadhāraṇe vartamānaṁ supā saha samasyate, avyayībhāvaḥ ca samāsa bhavati

The indeclinable yāvat combines with a syntactically related pada which ends in sUP to yield a compound termed avyayībhāva provided avadhāraṇa ‘delimiting, determining the extent, as many as...’ is denoted.

Example:

यावदादात्रम् brāhmaṇān āmantrayahasva ‘invite as many brāhmaṇa as there are pots’

1. The indeclinable yāvat is used in the sense of avadhāraṇa, glossed as iyattāpariccheda ‘determining the exact limit’. It is for this reason that a compound such as yāvadādātram, as in yāvadādātram brāhmaṇān āmantrayasya, is interpreted as ‘as many (brāhmaṇa) as there are pots’. Compounds such as yāvaddattam, as in yāvaddattam tāvad bhuktam ‘he ate as long as he was served the food’, are not permitted, since avadhāraṇa is not the sense of yāvat. Here, ‘as long as’ lacks a comparable fixed reference, such as we find in the case of ‘as many brāhmaṇa as there are pots’.

2.1.9 सुप्रतिना मात्रायोः

sup pratinā mātrārthe
/ sup 1/1 pratinā 3/1 mātrārthe 7/1 = mātrāyāḥ arthaḥ (ṣaṣ. tat.) /
(samāsaḥ #3, saha supra #4, avyayībhāvaḥ #5)
mātrārthe vartamānaṁ pratinā saha subantam samasyate, avyayībhāvaḥ ca samāsa bhavati

A pada which ends in sUP combines with prati to yield a compound termed avyayībhāva when prati denotes mātrā ‘a little bit’.

Examples:

asty atra kimcīt śākaprati ‘there is a little bit of vegetable here’
asty atra kimcīt sūpaprati ‘there is a little bit of soup here’

1. A question is raised as to why sUP is used in this rule, when it can be available from the anvṛtti of sUP from rule 2.1.2 sub āmantrite.... In Nyāsa ad Kāś (II: 25) it is stated that the sUP of 2.1.2 sub āmantrite... cannot be carried via anvṛtti, as it is associated with the anvṛtti of avyayam of 2.1.6 avyayam vibhakti.... Pāṇini here wants to drop the anvṛtti of avyayam, which could not be done without dropping the anvṛtti of sUP. For the
two are associated with each other, and if one is dropped the other must also be dropped. It is therefore in order to drop the anuvrtti of avyayam that sUP is used explicitly in this rule.

2. Note that under the provisions of this rule, a pada ending in a sUP combines with prati only when prati is used in the sense of mātrā. Kāśikā (II: 25) cites bindu ‘drop’, stoka ‘a bit’, or alpa ‘little’ as synonyms of mātrā. A counterexample such as vrksam prati would not yield a compound, as prati here is not used in the sense of mātrā.

2.1.10 अक्षासालाधापरिनाः परिणा

aksiśalākāsamkhyaḥ pariṇā
/ aksiśalākāsamkhyaḥ 1/3 (itar. dv.); pariṇā 3/1/
(samāsah #3, saha supā #4, avayayibhayāvah #5)
aksiśabadhaḥ, śalakāśabdaḥ, samkhyaśabdaḥ ca pariṇā saha samasyante,
avayayibhayāvah ca samāso bhavati

A pada which ends in sUP and contains aksi ‘dice’, śalakā ‘ivory stick’, or an item which denotes samkhya ‘a numeral’, combines with pari to yield a compound termed avayayibhaava.

EXAMPLES:

aksiśapari ‘missed by one die’
śalakāpari ‘missed by one ivory stick’
ekāpāri ‘missed by one’
dvipari ‘missed by two’
trīpāri ‘missed by three’
catuspāri ‘missed by four’

1. The compounds formed by this rule are used in the context of gambling (kitavyavahāra). The pada containing aksi ‘dice’ or śalakā ‘ivory stick’ are instrumental in the loss or win in the game. It is, therefore, understood that they will be used with triyā ‘third triplet of nominal ending’. The win or loss in a game of dice, for example, in pańcikā, a game played with five dice or ivory sticks, is indicated by how the dice fall. If they all fall either face down, or face up, the player wins. But if just one falls otherwise, the player loses.

2.1.11 विभाषा

vibhāṣā
/ vibhāṣā 1/1/
yad ita urdhvam anukramisyāmas tad vibhāṣā bhavati
What follows hereafter is vibhāṣā ‘optional’.

EXAMPLES:

See under subsequent rules.
1. This rule is introduced as *adhisthara*, whereby *vibhāsā* is carried to subsequent rules to indicate that compounds formed hereafter will be optional. That is, a compound such as *bahirgāram* ‘outside the village’ can optionally be used as an alternative to *bahir grāmat*, its analyzed form (*vigrabhavākya*). The introduction of this rule at this stage also indicates that compounds formed under the provisions of the preceding rules are obligatory (*nitya*). In other words, they have no analyzed form which can be used as their alternant. Note that *vibhāsā* carries up to 2.2.29 *cārthe dvandvāḥ*.

A question is raised against the formulation of this rule, especially in view of the formulation of rule 2.1.18 *pāre madhye ṛṣṭhyā vā*, where *vā* is used to denote optionality. That is, if *vā* in rule 2.1.18 can account for optionality, then this *vibhāsā* formulation is vacuous. Commentators explain that this is *mahāvibhāsā*, the general domain of option. This does not rule out the existence of particular domains within its scope. Rule 2.1.18 allows for the formation of the indeclinable (*avyayibhāva*) compounds such as *pāregāgam* and *madhyegaṅgam* parallel to *pāram gaṅgāyāḥ* and *madhyam gaṅgāyāḥ*. Such compounds are optional in the sense that they can be used parallel to their respective analyzed forms. This is the option which rule 2.1.11 *vibhāsā* provides. The *vā* of 2.1.18 provides for genitive compounds, such as, *gaṅgāpāram* and *gaṅgāmadhyam* parallel to *gaṅgāyāḥ pāram* and *gaṅgāyāḥ madhyam*, and optionally applies to *pāregāgam* and *madhyegaṅgam* their *avyayibhāva* counterparts. The *avyayibhāva* compound, in the absence of *vā*, and at the strength of its status as a particular provision (*uṣṇaviddhāna*), would have blocked the more general provision of the genitive *tatpurūṣa* compound. This explains the importance of rule 2.1.11 *vibhāsā*.

In summary, rule 2.1.11 provides for options between compounds and their analyzed forms, whereas other terms of options within this domain provide for options between the compounds themselves.

2.1.12 अपपरिबंधिन्यक्याव: पञ्चाय्या

*apaparibhāharaṅcavah āṇaṁcasya
/ apaparibhāharaṅcavah 1/3 = apa ca ṣari ca bahis ca aṅcuś ca (itar. dv.);
pañcamyā 3/11
(samāsaḥ #3, saha supā #4, avyayibhāvaḥ #5, sup #9, vibhāsā #11)
‘apa, pari, bahis, aṅcu’ ity ete subantāḥ, paṅcamyantena vibhāsā samasyante,
avyayibhāvas ca saṁśāsa bhavati

A *pada* which ends in *sUP* and contains *apa* ‘excluding’, *pari* ‘around’, *bahis* ‘outside’, or a form which ends in suffix *aṅcU*, optionally combines with a syntactically related *pada* ending in *paṅcamī* ‘fifth triplet of *sUP*’ to yield a compound termed *avyayibhāva*. 


EXAMPLES:

apatīrgarttamaṃ vṛṣṭo devaḥ 'it rained outside of Trigartta'
apa trīgartebyaḥ vṛṣṭo devaḥ 'id.'
paratīrgarttamaṃ vṛṣṭo devaḥ 'it rained around Trigartta'
pari trīgartebyaḥ vṛṣṭo devaḥ 'id.'
bahirgrāmam 'outside the village'
bahir gramāt 'id.'
prāggrāmam 'prior to, or east of, the village'
prāg gramāt 'id.'

1. Note that apa and pari are karmapravacāniya, denoting the sense of varjana 'exclusion, prohibition' (1.4.88 apapari varjane). Rule 2.3.10 paṇcamy apāṇparibhīṣṇa introduces paṇcamī 'fifth triplet of nominal endings' after a nominal stem used in conjunction with them. It is in this sense that we say that apa and pari govern paṇcamī. A similar provision of paṇcamī is also made for a nominal stem used in conjunction with añcU (2.3.29 anyārād...). However, there is no rule which makes such provision for paṇcamī for stems used in conjunction with bahis 'outside'. How, then, could bahis be combined with a pada which ends in paṇcamī? Since Pāṇini nevertheless uses paṇcamī we can make the following two inferences:

(i) That bahis combines only with a pada ending in paṇcamī, and that
(ii) Pāṇini’s explicit mention of paṇcamī in connection with bahis makes the provision for a nominal stem to end in paṇcamī (Mbh II: 575).

The word paṇcamī of this rule will become meaningless unless one of these inferences is accepted. For, paṇcamī has already been provided in the case of apa, pari, and añcU. If paṇcamī serves no purpose in connection with bahis, it becomes useless. The first inference (i) is acceptable only on the basis of meaning, as can also be attested by the general provision of rule 2.3.28 apādāne paṇcamī. This, as Kaiyaṭa observes, accounts for usages such as bahir gato grāmāt ‘he went out from the village’.

2.1.13 आय्यमयादास्मित्विद्यो:

ān maryādābhividhyoḥ
lān maryādābhividhyoḥ 7/2 = maryādā ca abhidhidhiḥ ca (itar.dv.); tayoḥ l
(samāśaḥ #3, saha supā #4, avayābhāvaḥ #5, sup #9, vibhāṣa #11, paṇcamyā #12)
'ān' ity etan maryādāyām abhindhau ca vartamānam paṇcamyantena saha vibhāṣa samasyate, avayābhāvas ca samāśo bhavati

Optionally āN combines with a syntactically related pada ending in paṇcamī to yield a compound termed avyayābhāva when āN denotes maryādā 'exclusive limit; up to, though not including'; and abhividhi 'inclusive limit; up to and including'.
Examples:

āpāṭaliputraṁ vṛṣṭo devah ‘it rained up to (but not including) Paṭaliputra’
ā pāṭaliputrād vṛṣṭo devah ‘id.’
ākumarām yaśah pānīneh ‘the fame of Pāṇini has reached even the young’
ā kumārebrhyo yaśah pānīneh ‘id.’

1. Note that āN is a karmanāpravacanīya when it denotes maryāda ‘extent, limit’ (1.4.89 ān maryādāvacane). It also governs paṅcamī (2.3.10 paṅcamy apāṃkāṁbhīḥ). Since āN is a karmanāpravacanīya only when it denotes maryāda, the expression maryādābhividhi should not be used in this rule.

The argument that abhidhīhi should be stated in the rule, since it cannot be inferred from rule 1.4.89 ān maryādāvacane, is unacceptable because maryāda ‘extent, limit’ is a general word which also includes the particular meaning of abhidhīhi ‘inclusive limit’. Why, then, did Pāṇini need to use maryādābhividhi in this rule? It was necessary so that even the slow-witted could easily understand. (Nyāsa ad Kāś 11: 30: tathāpi manda- dhiyāṁ sukhāvabodhanārtham maryādābhividhigrahaṇam.)

2.1.14 लक्षणेनाभििप्रति अभिमुख्ये

lakṣaṇenaḥ bhāpatri abhimukhye
l lakṣaṇena 3/1 abhiprati 1/2 (itar.dv.) abhimukhye 7/1
(samāsah #3, saha supā #4, avayayibhāvah #5, sup #9, vibhāṣa #11)
lakṣaṇavācinaḥ sahābhīpati śabdaṁ abhimukhye vartamānau vibhāṣā
samasyete, avayayibhāvas ca samāsā bhavati

Either abhi or prati may combine with a syntactically related pada which ends in sUP and denotes lakṣaṇa ‘characteristic mark’ to yield a compound termed avayayibhāva provided abhi or prati denotes abhimukhyā ‘towards, facing towards’.

Examples:

abhyagni śalabhāḥ patanti ‘the moths are falling towards the fire’
agnim abhi śalabhāḥ patanti ‘id.’
pratyagni śalabhāḥ patanti ‘id.’
agnim prati śalabhāḥ patanti ‘id.’

1. This rule allows for abhi and prati, when meaning abhimukhya ‘to face toward’, to combine with a pada ending in dvitiyā. Furthermore, this pada should also denote lakṣaṇa ‘a mark by which something is thus characterized’. The term karmanāpravacanīya is assigned to abhi and prati by rules 1.4.91 abhir... and 1.4.90 lakṣaṇetthambhūtākhyāna... respectively. Rule 2.3.8 karmanāpravacanīyayuktī... introduces dvitiyā ‘accusative’ after a nominal stem used in conjunction with abhi and prati. A compound such
as abhyagni salabhāh patanti ‘the moths are falling towards the fire’ will then have a parallel analyzed form agnim abhi. The word agni here serves as a lakṣaṇa, characterizing the place (desa) which, in turn, has become the locus (adhimarana) for the falling of the moths. The condition of ābhīmukhyā is also met, since the moths fall directly towards the fire. For further details on lakṣaṇa, see my comments under rules 1.4.84 anur lakṣaṇe and 1.4.90 lakṣaṇetthambhūtākhyāna....

2.1.15 अनुरोद्धस्याया

anur yatsamayā
\[ / anuḥ 1/1 yatsamayā \emptyset = yasya samayā (ṣaṭ. tat.) / \]
(samāsah #3, saha supā #4, avayyībhāvah #5, sup #9, vibhāṣā #11, lakṣaṇena #14)
anur yasya samipavācī tena lakṣaṇabhūtēna saha vibhāṣā samasyate

Optionally anu combines with a syntactically related pada which ends in sUP and denotes lakṣaṇa to yield a compound termed avayyībhāva provided anu denotes proximity with the denotatum of the above pada.

Examples:

anuvanam aśanir gataḥ ‘the thunderbolt passed close to the forest’
anu vanasya aśanir gataḥ ‘id.’

1. The word samayā denotes proximity (sāmīpya). The compound yatsamayā is analyzed as a genitive (ṣaṭhī) tatpurusa; and, read with anuḥ, it is interpreted as ‘that pada (which denotes lakṣaṇa) whose proximity anu denotes’. But how could the genitive ending be introduced after yad, when the same has been denied by a vārttika (Mbh II: 769)? Besides, even if one is able to justify ṣaṭhī, and not dvitiyā, is justified. They also explain how samayā, because it denotes ‘thing’ (sattva), cannot be called an avayaya ‘indeclinable’. Consequently, samayā not being an avayaya, the formation of the compound cannot be blocked by rule 2.2.11 pāraṇagunasuhitārtha.... This will happen because samayā is an indeclinable (avayaya). Commentators (PM and Nyāsa ad Kāś II: 31) take a lengthy route explaining how ṣaṭhī, and not dvitiyā, is justified. They also explain how samayā, because it denotes ‘thing’ (sattva), cannot be called an avayaya ‘indeclinable’. Consequently, samayā not being an avayaya, the formation of the compound cannot be blocked by rule 2.2.11. I omit the details of this argument for fear of expatiation. I also interpret yatsamayā as yam padartham samayā dyotyate ‘the thing which is denoted by samayā’ as has already been advocated by Bhaṭṭoji in his SK. This clearly supports the interpretation of yad in this rule as ending in the dvitiyā. I accept this interpretation because it is straightforward.

Note that rule 2.1.6 avayayam... may also account for the derivate of this rule, owing to the inclusion there of samīpa. However, the derivate in that instance will be an obligatory (nitya) compound, as opposed to the
optional one of this rule. Moreover, the denotatum of *samayā* in rule 2.1.6 *avyayam*... is slightly different from the one intended in the context of the present rule. This rule requires *samayā* to denote a meaning which gives prominence to the locus (*adhyātmanasākta*). Rule 2.1.6 *avyayam*... gives prominence to ‘proximity’ (*sāmīpya*). This becomes an additional reason for the formulation of this rule.

2.1.16 यस्य चायामः:

```
yasya cāyāmaḥ
c 6/1 ca 0 āyāmaḥ 1/1
(samāsaḥ #3, sāha supā #4, avyayībhāvaḥ #5, sup #9, vibhāsa #11,
lakṣaṇena #14, anuḥ #15)
 anur yasyāyāmadvāci tena lakṣaṇabhūtena sāha vibhāsa samasyate, avyayībhāvaḥ ca samāsa bhavati
```

Optionally *anu* combines with a syntactically related *pada* that ends in *sUP* and denotes *lakṣaṇa*, to yield a compound termed *avyayībhāva* when *anu* denotes the āyāma ‘length’ of the denotatum of this *pada*.

**Examples:**

```
anugāṅgam vārāṇasi ‘Vārāṇasi extends along the river Gaṅgā’
anu gāṅgāyāḥ vārāṇasi ‘id.’
anuyamanm mathurā ‘Mathurā extends along the river Yamunā’
anu yamunāyāḥ mathurā ‘id.’
```

1. This rule provides for the formation of a compound between *anu* and a *pada* whose āyāma *anu* denotes, and which serves as *lakṣaṇa*. Consider, for example, *anugāṅgam vārāṇasi* ‘Vārāṇasi extends along the river Gaṅgā as far as the river extends’, which has its parallel analyzed form *gāṅgāyāḥ anu*. Here, *gaṅgā* serves as *lakṣaṇa* to characterize the expanse of the city of Vārāṇasi. Why cannot the city itself be treated as *lakṣaṇa*, characterizing the expanse of the river? Because that which can serve as *lakṣaṇa* must also be famous. The city is, to say the least, relatively less famous than the river. The karmapravacaniya *anu* denotes the expanse of Gaṅgā which, in turn, characterizes the expanse of the city.

2.1.17 तिष्ठधुप्रवṛत्तिनि प्रवृत्तिः

```
tiṣṭhadguprabhṛti ca
l tiṣṭhadguprabhṛti 1/3 = tiṣṭhadguprabhṛti yeṣām tāni (b.v.); ca 0 /
(samāsaḥ #3, avyayībhāvaḥ #5)
tiṣṭhadguprabhṛtiḥ sabdarūpāṇi avyayībhāvasamjñākāni bhavanti
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Forms such as *tiṣṭhadgu*, etc., also are termed *avyayībhāva*.

**Examples:**

```
tiṣṭhadgu (kālah) ‘the time when the cows stand for milking’
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vahadgu (kālah) ‘the time when cows conceive or bulls plow’
khaleyavam ‘the time when the barley is on the threshing floor’
dandaṇḍi ‘fighting one another with sticks’

1. This is a nipātana ‘ad hoc’ rule, whereby Pāṇini enumerates compounds such as tiṣṭhadgu, etc. These compounds are considered as derived; that is, no rule other than this has been offered to show their derivational process. Particle ca has been used here in the defining (avadhāraṇa) sense of eva ‘alone, only’. Consequently, compounds enumerated in the list headed by tiṣṭhadgu alone should be formed. The use of ca in the sense of eva protects these examples from becoming part of other compounds. For instance, a compound such as *paramatiṣṭhadgukālah ‘the best time for milking cows’ is not permitted.

2.1.18 पारेमध्ये बाह्य वा

pāre madhye saṣṭhyā vā
lpāre, madhye (deleted 1/1) saṣṭhyā 3/1 vā θ/
(samāsaḥ #3, saha supā #4, avayābhāvah #5, sup #9, vibhāsā #11)
pāramadhyaśabdau saṣṭhyantena saha vibhāsā samasyete, avayābhāvah ca
samāso bhavati

Optionally pāre and madhye combine with a syntactically related pada ending in saṣṭhī to yield a compound termed avayābhāvah.

EXAMPLES:

pāregangom ‘across the river Gaṅgā’
pāram gangāyāḥ ‘id.’
madhyegangam ‘in the middle of the river Gaṅgā’
madhyam gangāyāḥ ‘id.’

1. Note that pāre and madhye are technically not words ending in the locative (saṣṭamā). Instead, they are given in the nominative (praṭhamā) with the endings deleted. This would then give the forms pāra and madhya. How is it that we are given the forms pāre and madhye? Commentators explain that pāra and madhya are terminated in e when they combine with a pada ending in the genitive (saṣṭhī). Of course, this terminal e replacement is ad hoc, and could only be justified via nipātana.

Commentators (Bālamanoramā ad SK) explain that this ad hoc provision for e is made to restrict the scope of such compounds to contexts where locative (saṣṭamā) meaning (saṣṭamyartha) is not possible. For, if one interprets the compound pāregangam as gangāyāḥ pāre, where pāre, a constituent ending in the locative (saṣṭamā), is to combine with gangāyāḥ, a constituent ending in the genitive (saṣṭhī), then rule 6.3.14 tatpuruse kṛti bahulam, on the basis of bahulam, could easily accomplish the non-deletion (aluk) of locative (saṣṭamā). Subsequent application of shortening (hrasvatva) of the
a of gaṅgā, and the replacement by am under the dictates of the assignment of the term napumśaka ‘neuter’, will produce the desired pāregangam. But this would make the ad hoc provision of e vacuous (vyarthā). Consequently, indication of the absence of locative meaning (saptamārthābhāva) is treated as the purpose of the terminal e (edantatva) in pāre and madhye.

2.1.19 संख्या वंशेन

samkhya vamsyena

/samkhya 1/1 vamsyena 3/1/

(samāsaḥ #3, saha supā #4, avyayībhāvaḥ #5, sup #9, vibhāsa #11)

vamsyavācīnā subantena saha samkhya samasyate, avyayībhāvaḥ ca samāso bhavati

A pada which denotes samkhya optionally combines with a syntactically related pada denoting vamsya ‘member of a lineage’ to yield a compound termed avyayībhāva.

Examples:

dvimuni ṣvaśākaraṇasya vamsyaḥ ‘there are two sages in the lineage of grammar’
trimuni ṣvaśākaraṇasya vamsyaḥ ‘there are three sages in the lineage of grammar’

1. The word vamsya has been explained as ‘born in the lineage’. It is a derivative of vamsa meaning ‘members of a lineage with similar characteristics derived either by birth or by learning’ (Kāś I: 36: vidyayā janmanā vṛ pāṇinīm ekaśaśa nasaṃvatāno vamsa ity abhidhiyate). Thus, ekavimsatih bhāradvājaṃ ‘the twenty-one descendants of Bharadvāja’, where bhāradvājaṃ denotes twenty-one descendants who were born in the lineage of Bharadvāja, parallel to ekavimsatiḥ bhāradvājaḥ. A grammarian is called vaiyākaraṇa because he studies vyākaraṇa ‘grammar’. Similarly, trimuni vyākaraṇasya... means that ‘there are three sages in the lineage of grammar’; namely, Pāṇini, Kātyāyana, and Patañjali, who are descendants in the lineage of grammar.

Note that when there is a desire to express non-difference (abheda-vivakṣa) between, for example, the science of grammar and its descendants, there obtains a syntactic coordination (samaññadhikaranya). The expression parallel to the compound becomes: trimuni vyākaranam..., which would then imply that the three sages themselves constitute what one calls grammar.

2.1.20 नदिभिष्क

nadibhiṣ ca

/sadibhiṣ 3/1 ca 3/1/

(samāsaḥ #3, saha supā #4, avyayībhāvaḥ #5, sup #9, vibhāsa #11, samkhya #19)
nadi vacanaṁ śabdaiṁ saṁkhyā samaśyate, avyayibhāvaś ca samāso bhavati

A pada which denotes saṁkhyā optionally combines with a syntactically related pada denoting nadi ‘river’ to yield a compound termed avyayibhāva.

EXAMPLES:

saptgangaṁ ‘seven streams of the river Gaṅgā’
dviyaṁunam ‘two streams of the river Yamunā’
paṁcanadam ‘the confluence of five rivers’
saptagodāvaram ‘seven streams of the river Godāvari’

1. The word nadi of nadibhīḥ is specified in the plural to indicate that it should be interpreted neither as a technical term (1.4.3 yūstryākhyau nadi), nor as a word representing its own form (1.1.68 svam rūpaṁ śabdasyaśabdasamijī). Instead, it should be interpreted as denoting its meaning alone. The compounds formed under the provision of this rule are desired in the sense of samāhāra ‘aggregation’. This is what the Mahābhāṣya states by samāhāre cāyaṁ isyate. Commentators explain that the ca is used in the delimiting sense of eva ‘alone, only’. This means that compounds covered by this rule are permitted only in the sense of aggregation.

2.1.21 अन्यपदार्थं च संज्ञायाम्

anya-padārthe ca samjñāyām
/ anya-падāртх ca samjñāyām

(samāsah #3, saha supā #4, avyayibhāvaḥ #5, sup #9, nadibhīḥ #20)
nadibhīḥ saha subantam anyapadārthe variamānāṁ samjñāyāṁ viṣaye samaśyate, avyayibhāvaś ca samāso bhavati

A pada which ends in sup combines with a syntactically related pada which denotes nadi to yield a compound termed avyayibhāva provided the compound denotes a name which is distinct from something denoted by its individual constituents.

EXAMPLES:

unmattagangaṁ ‘name of a place where the Gaṅgā flows tempestuously’
lohitagangaṁ ‘name of a place where the water of the Gaṅgā is red’
krṣṇagangaṁ ‘name of a place where the water of the Gaṅgā is black’
sanairgangam ‘name of a place where the Gaṅgā flows slowly’
1. The word *sanakahyā* is not carried to this rule, though *nadi* is. Note that *vibhāsa* is to be excluded from the context of this rule, because the compounds cannot be used optionally with their analyzed forms. Consequently, they are treated as *nitya* ‘obligatory’. That is, the analyzed form of the compound cannot be optionally used to denote the same meaning, which is what will be required if *vibhāsa* were accepted. For example, *unmattagaṅgam* is a compound parallel to which an analyzed form, *unmattā gaṅgā yasmin* ‘that in which the Gaṅgā flows tempestuously’, can be cited. But there is a difference in their meanings. The compound refers to a particular place where the Gaṅgā flows tempestuously. The analyzed form refers to any place where the Gaṅgā may flow tempestuously. It is for this reason that *anyapadārthe* ‘in the sense of something outside the constituency of the compound’ and *samjñāyām* ‘when a name’ are included as conditions in the wording of this rule.

Note further that the places named by the compounds do not necessarily have to have the state of the Gaṅgā, or its water, as characterized by their constituent meanings. What is important here is the name, and not the truth or the falsity of the characterization.

Scope: 6.3.14 *tatpurusē kṛti bahulam*

### 2.1.22 तत्पुरुषः

* *tatpuruṣah*
  / *tatpuruṣah 1/1*
  (sāmaśaḥ #3, saha supā #4, sup #9)

* *tatpuruṣah iti samjñā ‘dhikriyate prāg bahuviṃśe, yāṁ ita ārdhvaṃ anu-
  kramisyāmas tatpuruṣasamjñās te veditavyāḥ*

Compounds enumerated prior to 2.2.23 *sēso bahuviṃśiḥ* are termed *tatpuruṣa*.

**Example:**

*aśtaśrītaḥ* ‘he who has fallen upon grief’ (see 2.1.24 *dvitiyā...*)

### 2.1.23 द्विगुष

* *dviguṣ ca*
  / *dviguḥ 1/1 ca ō/*

* *dviguṣ ca samāsas tatpuruṣasamjñō bhavati*

A compound termed *dvigu* (2.1.52 *sankhyaśūrva dviguḥ*) is also termed *tatpuruṣa*.

**Examples:**

*pañcarājam* ‘a collection of five kings’
*daśarājam* ‘a collection of ten kings’
dvīyāhaḥ ‘a collection of two days’
tryāhaḥ ‘a collection of three days’
pañcagavam ‘a collection of five cows’
dāsaṅgavam ‘a collection of ten cows’

1. A question is raised about the desirability of formulating this rule. The purpose of this rule is to assign to a compound both the terms *tatpuruṣa* (2.1.22 *tatpuruṣah*) and *dvigu*. It is argued that assignment of the term *tatpuruṣa* could be automatically available, as this is the domain of *tatpuruṣa*. The term *dvigu* could also be assigned by rule 2.1.52 *saṃkhyāpūrṇo dviguḥ*. In this way, one does not require the present rule. However, its purpose is to save the *tatpuruṣa*, a general term (2.1.22), from being blocked by *dvigu*, a particular term (2.1.52). For, this is the domain of *ekasamijnā* where, unless otherwise specified, *saṃjñāsamāvesa* ‘inclusion of names’ may not be allowed. Bhaṭṭoja (SK II: 31) still maintains that this rule could be dispensed with. To do this, one simply has to read ca ‘and’ at the end of rule 2.1.52 *saṃkhyāpūrṇo dviguḥ*. But this might entail rulesplitting (yogavibhāga), such as *saṃkhyāpūrṇaḥ* and *dviguṣ ca*, so that application of the terms *tatpuruṣa* and *dvigu* one after the other (paryāya) can be avoided.

The *Mahābhāṣya* (II: 582) states that the term *tatpuruṣa* is needed for compounds such as *pañcagavam* ‘a collection of five cows’, so that, given the string *pañcago*, *samāsanta* affix (5.4.68 *samāsantaḥ*) TaC (5.4.92 gor ataddhitatuki) can be introduced. The compound is also to be called *dvigu*, formed in the sense of *saṃsāra* ‘collection’ (2.1.51 *taddhitārthottarapada...*), otherwise it could not be termed neuter (2.4.17 *sa napuṁsakam*). See the appendix, under this rule, for derivational details.

2.1.24 द्वितीया श्रीतत्तवपरितत्वगतात्तत्त्वसृष्टिप्रतिपादः:

\begin{align*}
\text{dvitiyā śrītattvaparitattvagatātyastaprāptāpannaiḥ} \\
/ \text{dvitiyā 1/1 śrītā...pannaiḥ 3/3 (itar. dv.)} / \\
(\text{samāsah} \#3, \text{saha supā} \#4, \text{sup} \#9, \text{vibhāsa} \#11, \text{tatpuruṣah} \#22) \\
\text{dvitiyānāṃ subantaṃ śrītācibhiḥ såha vibhāsaṃ samasyate, tatpuruṣaṃ ca samāsa bhavati}
\end{align*}

A *pada* ending in *dvitiyā* ‘second triplet of sUP’ optionally combines in a *tatpuruṣa* compound with a syntactically related *pada* ending in sUP and containing śrīta ‘resorted to, attained, fallen upon’, atita ‘gone through, over or beyond’, patita ‘fallen into’, gata ‘gone, departed’, atyasta ‘thrown beyond’, prāpta ‘reached, attained’, or āpanna ‘gotten to’.

**Examples:**

kaśṭāśritāḥ ‘he who has fallen upon grief’
narakaśritāḥ ‘he who has attained naraka (hell)’
kāntarātītah ‘he who has gone beyond the forest’
narakapatiḥ ‘he who has fallen into hell’
grāmagaṭah ‘he who has departed for the village’
tarāṅgāyastah ‘he who has been thrown beyond the waves’
tuḥinātyastah ‘he who has been thrown beyond the dew’
sukhatpṛāptah ‘he who has reached happiness’
sukhāpānnaḥ ‘he who has reached happiness’
duḥkkhāpānnaḥ ‘he who has gotten to unhappiness’

1. Note that sup and supā are carried over. The term dvitiya thus becomes a qualifier to the pada ending in sUP. Similarly, supā is read with śrīta, etc. Kāśika’s gloss reflects this: dvitiyāntam subantaṁ śrītdibhiḥ (subantaṁ) saha samasyate... ‘a pada which ends in dvitiya is combined with another pada containing śrīta, etc.’.

The Mahābhāṣya (II: 582–87) discusses the possibility of interpreting compounds such as kaśṭāṣrītah in two ways: as kaśṭam śrītam ‘grief-stricken’ and as kaśṭam śrītam yena ‘he by whom grief is resorted to’. The first interpretation yields a tatpurusa, as opposed to the second, which yields a bahuvrīhi. There is no difference in meaning; and, in following a bahuvrīhi interpretation, no problem of accentuation could be faced. On this basis, rule 2.1.24 could be rejected. Patañjali, however, does not reject the rule. He shows that a tatpurusa interpretation may have a different meaning, as compared with the bahuvrīhi. A bahuvrīhi interpretation, in contrast with a tatpurusa may not entail differences of meaning, or accent, in case of certain specific examples. It may, however, entail differences of both meaning and accent in case of many others. Besides, it may also require preplacement (pārvanipāta) of a constituent which otherwise would be required to be postplaced (paramipāta) in a tatpurusa interpretation. It is in view of these difficulties that rule 2.1.24 is to be accepted the way it is. I omit illustrative details in support of these observations for fear of expatiation. The Mahābhāṣya also accepts a vārttika whereby gamī and gāmi ‘goer’ should be included in the rule along with śrīta, etc., to facilitate the formation of grāmagamī/grāmagāmi ‘he who is to go to the village’. For further details on the discussion in the Mahābhāṣya see Joshi (1969: 151–64).

2.1.25 स्वयं तेन

svayam ktena
/ svayam o ktena 3/1/
(samāsah #3, saha supā #4, sup #9, vibhāsa #11, tatpuruṣah #22)
‘suyam’ ity etat subantaṁ kāntena saha vibhāsaṁ samasyate, tatpuruṣas ca samāso bhavati

Optionally svayam ‘oneself’ combines, in a tatpuruṣa compound, with a syntactically related pada which ends in sUP and contains a nominal stem terminated in Kta.
EXAMPLES:

svayamdhatuau padau ‘feet washed by oneself’
svayamvīlínam (ājyam) ‘the ghee which has melted by itself’

1. Commentators note that the word dvitiyā cannot be treated as carried here to qualify svayam; it is carried here for anuvṛtti in subsequent rules (uttararātha).

The purpose of allowing the formation of a compound between svayam and a pada which contains a nominal stem ending in Kta is aikapadya ‘(their) treatment as part of one word’ and aikasvārya ‘assignment of one accent’. For example, rule 6.1.223 samāsasya assigns the udātta accent on the final vowel of a compound. If a compound between svayam and dhauta is not permitted, the desired udātta accent could not be available to svayamdhatuau of svayamdhatuau padau.

2.1.26 खट्वा क्षेपे

khaṭvā kṣepe
1/1 kṣepe 7/1
(samāsah #3, saha supā #4, sup #9, vibhasā #11, tatpurusah #22, dvitiyā #24, ktena #25)
khaṭvāśabdo dvitiyāntah ktāntena saha kṣepe gamyamāne samasyate, tatpurusā ca samāso bhavati
A pada which ends in dvitiyā combines with a syntactically related pada terminated in sup and containing a stem which ends in Kta to yield a compound termed tatpurusā provided kṣepe ‘censure’ is denoted.

EXAMPLES:

khaṭvārūḍhah ‘a person deserving of contempt who climbs into the marriage bed without finishing his studies and getting the permission of his teacher’
khaṭvāplutaḥ ‘a person deserving of contempt because of following the wrong path’

1. A compound such as khaṭvārūḍhah is treated as obligatory (nitya) because the meaning of the compound is different from its corresponding uncompounded form khaṭvām ārūḍhah. The first denotes contempt (nindā), whereas the second simply refers to someone who has climbed into bed. This means two things: ‘censure’ is the meaning of the compound; and vibhasā is not to be read with this rule. Incidentally, khaṭvārūḍhah may also generally characterize a person who has gone on the wrong path (vimārgaprasthitā).
2.1.27 सामि

sāmi
l sāmi 0/
(samāsaḥ #3, saha supā #4, sup #9, vibhāsā #11, tatpuruṣaḥ #22,
ktena #25)
śāmy ity etad avayayam subantam ktāntena saha samasyate, tatpuruṣaś ca
samāso bhavati
The word sāmi ‘half’ is combined with a syntactically related pada
which ends in sUP and contains a stem ending in Kta to yield a
tatpuruṣa compound.

EXAMPLES:

sāmikṛtam ‘half done’
sāmiḍītam ‘half drunk’
sāmibhuktaṁ ‘half eaten’

1. Note that sāmi is an indeclinable meaning ‘half’ (arddha). The word
dvitiyā cannot be associated with sāmi, since the latter does not denote an
object. For, the power (śakti) to be an object (karma) requires a dravya
‘thing’ to serve as its locus (ādhāra). The purpose of forming a compound
with sāmi is again aikapadya and aikasvarya.

2.1.28 काला:

kālaḥ
l kālaḥ 1/3/
(samāsaḥ #3, saha supā #4, sup #9, vibhāsā #11, tatpuruṣaḥ #22,
dvitiyā #24, ktena #25)
kālavācinaḥ sabdā dvitiyāntāḥ ktāntena saha samasyante vibhāsā, tatpuruṣaḥ
csa samāsō bhavati
A pada which ends in dvitiyā and denotes time (kāla) optionally
combines with a syntactically related pada which ends in sUP and
contains a stem in Kta to yield a tatpuruṣa compound.

EXAMPLES:

aharaṭistā mūhūrttaḥ ‘the mūhūrta which have gone beyond the day’
rātryaṭistā mūhūrttaḥ ‘the mūhūrta which have gone beyond the night’
māsapramitaś candramāḥ ‘the new moon of pratipadā which has
started to measure the month by her shape’

1. The word kālaḥ does not entail svārūpavidhi ‘process of interpreting
a word as denoting its form only’, as would be required by rule 1.1.68
svām rūpaṃ sabdasya...The plural in kālaḥ is thus also not restrictive.

Note that this, as well as the subsequent rule, could have been jointly
formulated as कालः अत्यन्तसंयोगे. This would have been economical, also, in view of the additional saving of ca used in the subsequent rule. This, however, would have restricted the new rule to applying only when the condition of अत्यन्तसंयोगे ‘total connection’ was met. A separate formulation of rule 2.1.28 allows a pada which denotes time to combine with a pada containing Kta without the restriction of अत्यन्तसंयोगे. Besides, the anuvṛtti of Kta is inoperative in the case of the subsequent rule.

For example, a compound such as रात्रिसंक्रान्तः can be formed by combining (रात्रिः + am + संक्रान्त + सू) where रात्रिः + am denotes time and ends in dvitiyā. Similarly, संक्रान्त + सू contains संक्रान्त, which ends in the affix Kta. The compound can be used as a modifier to specific महूर्त्ता denoting a measure of time, each measure being equal to forty-eight minutes. These महूर्त्ता are six in number. They are called caracara ‘transient’, and they ascend at some time in the night during the winter, or during the day in the summer. Another compound, मासप्रमिताः, is used here as a modifier of the moon, which has just started to measure the passage of the month by her shape. Note that neither the महूर्त्ता of the first example, nor the moon of the second, have an uninterrupted or continuous connection with the night, or with the month. As opposed to this, compounds formed under the subsequent rule will not be limited to the constituency of a form containing Kta, but will be limited by the condition of continuous connection.

2.1.29 अत्यन्तसंयोगे च

atyantasyamyo ge ca
(atyantasyamyo ge 7/1 = atyantah samyogah (karm.), tasmin; ca €/)
(samāsah #3, saha sup #4, sup #9, vibhāsa #11, tatpurusah #22, dvitiyī #24, kālāh #28)
kālavācinaḥ śabdā dvitiyāntā atyantasyamyo ge gamyamāne supā sahu
samasyante vibhāsā, tatpuruṣaś ca samāśo bhavati

A pada which ends in dvitiyā and denotes time optionally combines with a syntactically related pada terminated in sUP to yield a tatpuruṣa compound also when atyantasyamyo ge ‘continuous connection’ is denoted.

Examples:

muhūrttasukham ‘happiness for one full muhūrtta’
sarvaratāra kalyāṇī ‘one whole blissful night’
sarvarātrasobhanā ‘one whole beautiful night’

1. The word ktena is not carried to this rule, so that the constituency of the compound is not limited to a pada which underlies a stem ending in Kta. However, the condition of a pada which ends in dvitiyā and denotes
time still obtains. Furthermore, there must be continuous connection with the word which denotes time, and with the denotatum of the second constituent. Thus, *muhūrttasukham* denotes a happiness extending through the total duration of a *muhūrtta*.

2.1.30 तृतीया तत्क्रूर्ताधेन गुणवचने

`tṛtiyā tatkrārthena guṇavacanena`

\[
/ tṛtiyā 1/1 tatkrā (deleted 3/1) = tena kṛtam (tr. tat.) arthena 3/1; 
guṇavacanena 3/1 = guṇayuktavān vacanah (up. tat.)./ 
(samāsah #3, saha supā #4, sup #9, vibhāṣā #11, tatpurusah #22) 
tritiyāntam subantaṃ guṇavacanenārthaśabdena ca sāha samasyate, 
tatpurusās ca samāso bhavati
\]

A *pada* which ends in *tṛtiyā* 'third triplet of *sUP*', optionally combines in a *tatpurusa* compound with a syntactically related *pada* which ends in *sUP*, and either (i) denotes a quality produced by the denotatum of the *pada* ending in *tṛtiyā*, or (ii) contains *artha*.

**Examples:**

śāṅkulaḥkhanḍah ‘split into pieces by a śāṅkulā (nutcracker)’
kiritkanaḥ ‘a person who has but one eye due to the charge of a boar’
dhānvyūrthaḥ ‘wealth derived from grain’

1. This rule allows the combination of a *pada* which ends in *tṛtiyā* with another *pada* which denotes quality (*guṇavacana*), or contains *artha* ‘purpose; possession, wealth’ provided that the quality denoted by the second constituent is caused by the denotatum of the one ending in *tṛtiyā*. Thus, we get examples such as:

śāṅkulaḥkhanḍah ‘split into pieces by a śāṅkulā (nutcracker)’

where śāṅkulā ends in *tṛtiyā*, and khanḍah denotes the quality of split into pieces produced by the nutcracker. Similarly, a compound such as the second of the above examples

kiritkanaḥ ‘a person who has but one eye due to the charge of a boar’

is permissible since kiri, the boar, is the producer of the quality of being one-eyed. However, aksṇākānahaḥ ‘one-eyed’ would not be permissible under this rule, because aksi ‘eye’ could not be accepted as producing the quality of being one-eyed.

The *Mahābhāṣya* (II: 589–91) discusses the implications of the words *takrārthena* and *guṇavacanena*. First of all, the constituency of the compound formed under this rule must entail causal relationship. Secondly, this relationship is not produced by the *pada* ending in *tṛtiyā*. Instead, it is the denotatum of the *pada* ending in *tṛtiyā* that produces the quality which, in turn, resides in the denotatum of the other *pada*. Thus, the causal
relationship is produced via the meaning (arthadvāraka). For example, the denotatum of śankulayā, a pada ending in triyā, is karaṇa 'instrument', the cause of the quality of khanḍana 'splitting' which now resides in the denotatum of khandā 'piece'. The word tatkṛta of tatkṛtārthena is also important. Obviously tadb 'that' refers to the pada ending in triyā; kṛta means 'made, done'. But since the causal relationship is mediated by the denotatum of the pada ending in triyā, tatkṛta should mean 'made by the action of the denotatum of the pada ending in triyā'. This brings the word guṇavacanena 'that which has guṇa 'quality' as its denotatum (vacana)’ into focus, insofar as its meaning is concerned. Thus, khandā initially denoted the quality of khanḍana 'splitting'; but it now denotes the substance (dravya) with khandagūṇa 'something modified with the quality caused by splitting'.

A question has also been raised in the Mahābhāṣya about the use of the word artha; for the sense of artha should become available even without its explicit use. The rule should therefore have been formulated as: triyā tatkṛtena guṇavacanena. This, however, is rejected by Patañjali. It is further argued that, if artha is to be retained for clarity, why can it not be used with triyā also? This would require the rule to be formulated as: triyārthena tatkṛtārthena guṇavacanena. Patañjali does not accept this either. Instead, he says that the word artha is used here to facilitate rule-splitting (yogavipāga). Thus, there will be two rules: triyā tatkṛtena and triyā arthena. The second split rule will enable us to account for compounds where a word which ends in triyā combines to form a tatpurusa compound with a word containing artha. In this way, we get examples like:

dhānyena arthah = dhānyārthah 'money derived from dhānya (grain)'

This rule-splitting would also make the explicit use of the word artha in the following rule unnecessary. Incidentally, treatment of arthena of tatkṛtārthena as separate from tatkṛta in the wording of this rule via yogavipāga leaves tatkṛta as used without a nominal ending. Commentators explain that tatkṛta is used here with a deleted instrumental ending (luptatṛtiyākam).

2.1.31 पूर्वसद्यासाधमोर्नान्यायकलहिनिपुणमिश्रत्वस्थः:

पूर्वसद्यासाधामोर्नान्यायकलहिनिपुणमिश्रत्वस्थः

| pūrvasadvārasamonārthakalakahaniṣnadnaśaskṇāiḥ |
| pūrvasadvārasaṇaśaskṇāiḥ 3/1 (itar. dv.) |
| (samāsah #3, saha supā #4, sup #9, vibhāṣa #11, tatpurusaḥ #22, triyā #30) |

'pūrva, sadṛṣa, sama, unārtha, kalaha, nipuṇa, miśra, ślaksṇa' etaiḥ saha triyāntam samasyate, tatpurusaḥ ca samāso bhavati

A pada which ends in triyā optionally combines with a syntactically related pada which ends in sup to yield a tatpurusa compound

Examples:

māsapūrvah ‘earlier by a month’
saṃvatsaraṇapūrvah ‘earlier by a year’
mātrṣadrśah ‘like his/her mother’
pitrṣadrśah ‘like his/her father’
mātrṣamah ‘same as his/her mother’
pitrṣamah ‘same as his/her father’
māṣonam ‘less by a measure of weight’
māṣavikalam ‘id.’
kāṛṣpāṇonam ‘less by a gold or silver coin (kāṛṣpāṇa)’
kāṛṣpāṇavikalam ‘id.’
aśikalahaḥ ‘quarrel by sword’
vākkalahaḥ ‘quarrel by word’
vāgnipuṇah ‘skilled at words’
ācāranipuṇah ‘skilled at how to behave’
guḍamaśrāḥ ‘mixed with jaggery’
tilamaśrāḥ ‘mixed with sesame’
ācāraślaksṇaḥ ‘polite in behavior’

1. Note that the inclusion of the word artha in this rule has been rejected by Patañjali. Kaiyāṭa (Joshi 1969: 180) thinks that artha should be retained in this rule, not to form a compound independently, but to be read with ūna to specify a compound formation with ūna and its synonyms (ūnārtha). But Kaiyāṭa accepts that this purpose can be served, even without using the word artha explicitly. For, a word can denote itself as well as its synonyms, without the use of artha. This brings reference to rule 6.2.152 ūnārthakalaham... which, according to Mīmāṃsaka (1974: 95), includes the word artha to indicate the desirability of compound formations with the synonyms of ūna. This, claims Mīmāṃsaka, is Pāṇini’s intent. The use of the word artha, he argues, will become vacuous if this interpretation is not accepted.

The validity of the word artha as part of this rule can only serve one purpose: artha is to be jointly read with ūna to denote ūnārtha, ‘ūna, and items which denote the sense of ūna’. This will allow compounds such as māsonaḥ and māṣavikalaḥ, where in the second example vikala is a synonym of ūna. If Patañjali’s rejection of the word artha in this rule is accepted, these compounds can still be derived under the provisions of the preceding rule, with their corresponding analyzed forms māṣeṇa kṛto ūnahaḥ and māṣeṇa kṛto vikalahaḥ. In this case, ūna also becomes unnecessary in this rule.
Finally, the word artha can be associated here only with āna. For Pāṇini explicitly states the synonym of sama as sadṛśa in this rule. Thus, artha cannot be associated with others.

Note that sama and sadṛśa form a compound with a pada ending in trīyā, on the grounds that trīyā, in connection with them, is already provided for by rule 2.3.72 tulyārthair.... Such a trīyā is, however, unavailable in connection with the other items. How could they be combined? Kāśikā states that such a trīyā would be made available to them on the authority of this rule.

2.1.32 कर्त्ताकरणे कृता बहुलम्

kartṛkaraṇe kṛtá bahulam
1 kartṛkaraṇe 7/1 = kartā ca karaṇam ca (sam. dv.), tasmi; kṛtá 3/1 bahulam 1/1
(samāsāḥ #3, saha supā #4, sup #9, tatpuruṣaḥ #22, trīyā #30)
kartari karaṇe ca yā trīyā tadantam kṛdantena saha samasyate bahulam, tatpuruṣaś ca samāso bhavati
A pada which ends in trīyā and denotes either kartṛ ‘agent’ or karaṇa ‘instrument’ variously (bahulam) combines with a syntactically related pada which ends in sUP and contains a krt to form a tatpuruṣa compound.

EXAMPLES:

arihataḥ ‘killed by snakebite’
navanirbhinnah ‘split open by nails’
paraśucchinah ‘cut by an axe’

1. Kātyāyana (Mbh II: 593) suggests that kṛtá ‘with a word containing an item which ends in a kṛt affix’ should be replaced with ktena ‘with a word which contains an item ending in a kṛt affix, namely Kta’. If kṛtá is retained in this rule, ktena must also be used. In this way, kṛtá can modify ktena to denote ‘with a word which contains an item ending in a kṛt affix, namely Kta’. This modifier function of kṛt will be nothing but ‘decorative’ (uparaṇjaka) anyway, since affix Kta is a kṛt (3.1.93 kṛd atin). Paṇijali concludes that ktena should not be used, because the very use of bahulam can account for the limitation of the compound formation with a pada which underlies an item ending in affix Kta. Incidentally, bahulam ‘variously’ refers to the characteristic application of a rule, such that it sometimes applies, sometimes applies only optionally, and sometimes does not apply at all. Thus, as Kāśikā points out, it becomes a way to explain violations of diverse kinds which cannot be accounted for by precise statements (sarvopādhi-vyabhicārārtham).
2.1.33 कृत्यादिकार्थवचने

kṛtayādhi kārthavacane

/ kṛtyāḥ 3/3 adhikārthavacane 7/1 = arthasya vacanam (sas. tat.) =
arthavacanam, adhikam ca tad arthavacanam ca = adhikārthavacanam
(karm. with int. saṣ. tat.), tasmin /

(samāsah #3, saha supā #4, sup #9, vibhāṣā #11, tatpuruṣaḥ #22,
tṛtyā #30, kārtyakarane #32)
kārtyakaranaṁ yā tṛtyā tadantam subantam kṛtyāḥ saha samasyate ' dhi-
kārthavacane gāmyamāne vibhāṣā

A pada which ends in tṛtyā, and denotes either kārtya or karaṇa,
only combines in a tatpuruṣa compound with a syntactically
related pada which ends in sūp and contains a kṛtya derivate provided
adhikārthavacana 'exaggerating' is understood.

Examples:

kākapeyā nadi 'a river so full that even a crow sitting on its bank can
drink water' or 'a river so low that even a crow can drink it up'
śvalaheyaḥ kūpah 'a waterwell full to its brim so that even a dog can
lap its water' or 'a waterwell with so little water that even a dog can
lap it dry'

1. This rule provides for a word which ends in tṛtyā to be optionally
combined with a word which contains an item ending in a kṛtya (3.1.95
kṛtyāḥ) affix, provided the word which ends in tṛtyā denotes kārtya or
caraṇa, and the compound derived denotes adhikārtha 'exaggeration'.
The word adhikārthavacana means 'statement of praise (stuti) or censure
(nindā) made by inventing qualities or faults'. Consequently, a compound
such as kākapeyā as in kākapeyā nadi, can denote both praise or censure: in
the examples given below, the first denotes praise, and the second, censure.

pūrṇatoṣyā nadi...kāhair api sakyā pātum 'a river so full...even the crows
can drink water' (praise)
alpatoyā nadi...kāhair api sakyā pātum 'a river with so little water...
even a crow could drink it up' (censure)

2.1.34 अङ्कन व्याख्यानम्

annena vyāñjanam

/ annena 3/1 vyāñjanam 1/1/

(samāsah #3, saha supā #4, sup #9, vibhāṣā #11, tatpuruṣaḥ #22,
tṛtyā #30).
vyāñjanavāci tṛtyāntam annavācinā subantena saha samasyate vibhāṣā,
tatpuruṣāś ca samāso bhavati

A pada which ends in tṛtyā and denotes vyāñjana 'condiments;
things which are added to make food taste good' optionally combines, in a tatpurusa compound, with a syntactically related pada which ends in a sUP and denotes anna 'an article of food'.

EXAMPLES:

dadhyodanaḥ `rice mixed with yogurt'
kṣiraudanaḥ `rice mixed with milk'

1. This rule allows for the formation of a tatpurusa compound, where one constituent ends in triyā and another underlies a word which denotes anna 'food, grain', provided the former denotes vyāñjana `flavoring ingredient'. Kāśīkā explains that anna and vyāñjana, in this context, refer to things that are samskārya `to be flavored' and samskāraka `that which flavors' respectively. Note that the action of flavoring samskāra) forms the basis for the sāmarthya relationship that obtains between anna and vyāñjana. An example such as dadhyodanaḥ is consequently explained as dadhna upasiktah odanah `rice mixed with yogurt', where the action of upasaka `flavoring, soaking' qualifies rice, though is not denoted by a constituent word of the compound. This is what Kāśīkā implies by vṛttau kriyāyā antarbhāvāḥ..... `on account of the inherence of action in integration'. For example, upasaka denotes the inhered action in the example discussed.

2.1.35 पक्ष्येकया मिश्रीकरणाय

bhaksyaṇa mīśrikaraṇaṃ
/ bhaksyaṇa 3/1 mīśrikaraṇaṃ 1/1/
(samāsah #3, saha supā #4, sup #9, vibhāsā #11, tatpurusah #22, triyā #30)
mīśrikaraṇavācī triyāntam bhaksyavācīnā subantena samasyate, tatpurusāś ca samāso bhavati

A pada which ends in triyā and denotes bhaksya 'something edible' optionally combines, in a tatpurusa compound with a syntactically related pada which ends in sUP and denotes mīśrikaraṇa 'admixture'.

EXAMPLES:

guḍadadhanaḥ `rice crisps mixed with jaggery
guḍapruthukahaḥ parched rice mixed with jaggery.

1. This rule allows for the formation of a tatpurusa compound, where one constituent ends in triyā and another underlies a word which denotes something edible (bhaksya) provided the former denotes mīśrikaraṇa 'admixture'. The word bhaksya is explained by Kāśīkā as anything solid (khara) or soft (viśada) which, in turn, could be eaten by chewing (hamu calana: PM ad Kāśkā). A detailed discussion ensues in the Mahābhāṣya (II: 595–97) concerning the sāmarthya relationship between the constituents of compounds covered by this rule. It is argued that such a
relationship does not obtain here, mainly because the constituents are kāraka denoted by samskārya and samśkāraka. For sāmarthya obtains only between a kāraka and its related action (kriyā). It does not obtain between kāraka themselves. To further strengthen the argument, an analogy is used of a ladder (niśrayanā) and its rungs (kāśtha). It is said that the rungs, since they are joined (yukta) to the two vertical parts, are qualified as sharing a sāmarthya relationship with them. They cannot be said to be samartha with each other, since they are not joined to each other. This same argument could be applied to kāraka. Consequently, a compound formed with consituents without sāmarthya should be treated as asamartha 'semantically lacking integration'.

It is first suggested that this impaired sāmarthya could be restored on the authority of the formulation of the rules themselves. This solution, however, would rule out many other examples for which such an authority is not available. It is suggested, therefore, that a new rule should be formulated with the following interpretation:

A word containing a compound base which ends in Kta where its first constituent ends in trīyā is combined with another....

A rule formulated with its content as summarized above would require a two step compound formation to yield example dadhyodanah:

(1) dadhnā upasiktah = dadhyupasiktah
(2) dadhyaupasiktah odanah = dadhyodanah

Obviously, such a rule formation would also require the deletion of upasika +sU, the middle constituent (madhyamapadalopa); and it would have to be included in the section of rules dealing with compounds formed of syntactically coordinated (samānādhihāraṇa) constituents. Examples such as gudadhānāh of the present rule can also be derived, parallel to its analyzed form gudasamsṛṣṭāh dhānāh, where dhānā denotes 'parched grains'. This view, however, has been abandoned, since the specification of deletion of internal constituents would prove an endless process.

2.1.36 चतुर्थी तद्वर्त्तीतलितिसृष्टाः:
caturthi tadarthārthabalihitasukharakṣṭaṁ
/ caturthi 1/1 tadarthārtham....rakṣṭaṁ 3/1 = tasmai idam = tadartham (caṭṭat), tadartham ca arthas ca baliś ca hitas ca sukham ca rakṣitaṁ ca = tadarthārthabalihitasukharakṣṭaṁ (itar. dv with in caṭṭat), taiḥ/ (samāṣaḥ #3, saha supā #4, sup #9, vibhāṣā #11, tatpuruṣaḥ #22)
'tadartha, artha, bali, hita, sukha, rakṣita' ity etaiḥ saha caturthyantam samasyate, tatpuruṣaṁ ca samāso bhavati
A pada which ends in caturthi 'fourth triplet of sUP' optionally combines, in a tatpuruṣa compound, with a syntactically related pada
which ends in s\textit{UP} and denotes \textit{tadartha} ‘a thing intended for what is denoted by the constituent in caturthi’, or contains nominal stems \textit{artha} ‘purpose’, \textit{bali} ‘sacrificial offering’, \textit{hita} ‘beneficial’, \textit{sukha} ‘pleasure’, or \textit{rakṣita} ‘reserved, protected’.

\textbf{Examples:}

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textit{yūpadārūḥ} ‘wood intended for making a sacrificial post’
  \item \textit{kūndalakirīnayam} ‘gold intended for making earrings’
  \item \textit{brāhmaṇārthaṃ paṇḍaḥ} ‘milk intended for the brāhmaṇa’
  \item \textit{brāhmaṇārtham yavāgūḥ} ‘barley gruel intended for the brāhmaṇa’
  \item \textit{kuberabaliḥ} ‘sacrificial offering intended for Kubera, the guardian of wealth’
  \item \textit{mahārajaṇabaliḥ} ‘sacrificial offering intended for Indra’
  \item \textit{gohitam} ‘beneficial for the cows’
  \item \textit{aśvahitam} ‘beneficial for the horses’
  \item \textit{gosukham} ‘for the pleasure of the cows’
  \item \textit{aśvasukham} ‘for the pleasure of the horses’
  \item \textit{goraṇsitam} ‘reserved for the cows’
  \item \textit{aśvarakṣitam} ‘reserved for the horses’
\end{itemize}

1. \textit{Kāśi}kā explains that compounds entailing \textit{tādarthya} ‘meant for the sake of the denotatum of a word which ends in caturthi’ are limited to constituents where the word ending in caturthi denotes modification (vikāra) of some material (prakṛti) denoted by the second constituent. Thus we get \textit{kūndalaya hiranyam}, where \textit{kūndala}, ending in caturthi, denotes vikāra of hiranyya ‘gold’ (constituting the second constituent). Limiting tādarthya compounds of this rule to prakṛti-vikāra contexts is required so that a compound like \textit{*raṇdanasthālī}, parallel to raṇdanāyaa sthāli ‘pot meant for the sake of cooking’ can be blocked. Besides, if one accepts the general context of such compounds as tādarthya, then specific mention of bali ‘ritual oblation’ and hita ‘beneficial to’ becomes redundant, since tādarthya is already inhered there. This, in turn, becomes a mark (liṅga) for restricting tādarthya examples to prakṛti-vikāra contexts.

The use of the word \textit{artha} is again made to inform that the compounds formed are obligatory (nitya). For this reason, the analyzed form (vṛga-havākya) of a compound such as brāhmaṇārtham of brāhmaṇārtham paṇḍaḥ must be furnished by means of a word outside the constituency of the compound (aśvapada). The statement is necessary since vibhāṣā ‘optionally’ is carried here. Additionally, obligatory compounds with \textit{artha} entail usage in all three genders (sarvalingatā). That is, these compounds are allowed to be used in accordance with the gender of entities they qualify. It is necessary to make such a provision in view of rule 2.4.26 \textit{paraval liṅgam dvandvatatpurusayoh}, which assigns the gender of a tatpuruṣa
compound to be similar to the gender of its following constituent. Thus, \( \text{brāhmaṇārtahāḥ sūpah} \) (masculine), \( \text{brāhmaṇārtahām payāḥ} \) (neuter), and \( \text{brāhmaṇārtahā yavāgāḥ} \) (feminine) all get covered.

2.1.37 पञ्चमी प्रथमेन

\( \text{pañcamī bhayena} \)
\( / \text{pañcamī } 1/1 \text{ bhayena } 3/1 / \)
\( (\text{samāsah } #3, \text{saha } sūp #4, \text{sūp } #9, \text{vibhāśā } #11, \text{tatpurusah } #22) \)
\( \text{pañcamyantam subtantam bhayaśabdena subtantena } \text{saha } \text{samasyate vibhāśā, tatpuruṣaś ca samāśo bhavati} \)

A \( \text{pada} \) which ends in \( \text{pañcamī} \) ‘fifth triplet of \text{sUP}’ optionally combines, in a \text{tatpuruṣa} compound, with a syntactically related \( \text{pada} \) which ends in \text{sUP} and contains \( \text{bhaya} \) ‘fear’.

**Examples:**

\( \text{vrkabhayam} \) ‘fear of a wolf’
\( \text{caurabhayam} \) ‘fear of a thief’
\( \text{dasyubhayam} \) ‘fear of a bandit’

1. It has been suggested in the \( \text{Mahābhāṣya} \) (II: 605) that \( \text{bhīta} \) ‘frightened’, \( \text{bhīti} \) ‘fear’ and \( \text{bhī} \) ‘id.’ must also be stated in the rule. In this way, compounds such as \( \text{vrkabhītah} \) ‘frightened of a wolf’, \( \text{vrkabhītīh} \) ‘fear of a wolf’ and \( \text{vrkabhīh} \) ‘id.’ could be accounted for. This modification is desired, especially when one interprets the word \( \text{bhaya} \) in this rule as denoting its form (\text{svarūpa}) only. But a modification of this rule to include the synonyms of \( \text{bhaya} \) may also entail some undesired compounds. One such example, parallel to \( \text{vrkāṭ trāsah} \), is \( \text{vrkāṭrāsah} \), where \( \text{trāsa} \) is a synonym of \( \text{bhaya} \). Yet another proposal seeks compounds to be formed with \( \text{bhaya}, \text{nirgata} \) ‘gone outside of’, and \( \text{jugups} \) ‘disgusted with’. Consequently, this proposal seeks to reformulate the rule as \( \text{pañcamī bhayanirgatajugupsabhīh} \).

2.1.38 अपेत्योपदमू्रकपतितपत्रप्रमृत्यस्तर्लप्यशः:

\( \text{apetāpoḍhamuktaapatitāpatrastair alpaśah} \)
\( / \text{apetāpoḍha...patrastaiḥ } 3/3 = (\text{itar. dv.}) \text{ alpaśah } \emptyset / \)
\( (\text{samāsah } #3, \text{saha } sūp #4, \text{sūp } #9, \text{vibhāśā } #11, \text{tatpurusah } #22, \text{pañcamī } #37) \)

\( \text{‘apeta, apodha, muktas, patita, apatrasa’ ity etaiḥ } \text{saha } \text{pañcamyantam samasyate, tatpuruṣaś ca samāśo bhavati; ‘alpaśah’ iti samāsasyālpaviṣayatāṁ ācaśte} \)

A \( \text{pada} \) ending in \( \text{pañcamī} \) optionally combines, in a \text{tatpuruṣa} compound of limited frequency (\text{alpaśah}), with a syntactically related \( \text{pada} \) which ends in \text{sUP} and contains \( \text{apeta} \) ‘removed, gone away’, \( \text{apodha} \) ‘carried away, removed’, \( \text{muktas} \) ‘released, freed’, \( \text{patita} \) ‘fallen’, or \( \text{apatrasa} \) ‘scared of’.
EXAMPLES:

sukhāpetaḥ 'removed from happiness'
kālpamāpaṛddhatāḥ 'removed from (lacking) imagination'
cakramuktāḥ 'freed from the wheel'
svargapatiṇāḥ 'fallen from heaven'
taraṅgāpatrastāḥ 'frightened by waves'

1. The word alpaśaḥ is included in the wording of this rule to indicate that only a limited number of words with pañcamī should be combined. This allows compound formations parallel to prāśātāt Patriciaḥ 'fallen off the rooftop' and bhajanād apatrastāḥ 'thrown away from food' to be ruled out.

2.1.39 स्तोकांतिक्तदुरार्थक्रचर्या चेन

stokāntikadūrārthakṛcchraṇi ktena
/ stokāntika...kṛcchraṇi 1/3 = stokaś ca antikaś ca dūras ca = stokāntika-
dūrāḥ (itar. dv.), stokāntikadūrās te' rthāḥ yeśām te = stokāntikadūr-
rthās (bv.), stokāntikadūrārthās ca kṛcchraṇ ca, tāni = stokāntika...
kṛcchraṇi (itar. dv. with int. bv.); ktena 3/1
(samāsah #3, saha supā #4, sup #9, vibhāṣā #11, tatpuruṣaḥ #22,
pañcamī #37)
'stoka, antika, dūra' ity evam arthāḥ sabdāḥ kṛcchraśabdaś ca
pañcamyantāḥ kāntena saha samasyante, tatpuruṣaḥ ca saṃaśo bhavati
A pada which ends in pañcamī and contains kṛcchra 'trouble, difficulty'
or stems which denote stoka 'a bit', antika'near, proximate', or dūra
'far', optionally combines in a tatpuruṣa compound with a syntac-
tically related pada which ends in sUP and contains Kta.

EXAMPLES:

stokānmuktaḥ 'freed by a slight margin'
antikādāgataḥ 'arrived from a nearby place'
abhyaśādāgataḥ 'id.'
dūrādāgataḥ 'arrived from a faraway place'
viprakṛṣṭādāgataḥ 'id.'
krīcchraṃmuktaḥ 'released with difficulty'
krīcchrāllabdādhaḥ 'obtained with difficulty'

1. Note that rule 6.3.2 pañcamyāḥ stokādibhyāḥ will not permit the
deletion of nominal endings of these compounds.

2.1.40 सप्तमी शीष्ये:

saptamī saunḍaiḥ
/ saptamī 1/1 saunḍaiḥ 3/3/
(samāsah #3, saha supā #4, sup #9, vibhāṣā #11, tatpuruṣaḥ #22)
saptamantarī saunḍādibhiḥ saha samasyate, tatpuruṣaḥ ca saṃaśo bhavati
A pada which ends in saptamī 'seventh triplet of sUP' optionally
combines in a *tatpurusa* compound with a syntactically related *pada* which ends in *sUP* and contains *saunḍa* 'cunning, skilled' etc.

**Examples:**

- *aksāsaunḍaḥ* ‘he who is skilled or cunning at the game of dice’
- *aksākitavaḥ* ‘id.’
- *aksādhūrttaḥ* ‘he who cheats at the game of dice’

1. The *Mahābhāṣya* (II: 604) discusses the question of whether the plural in *saunḍaiḥ* is to be interpreted as referring to items listed in the *gana* 'group' headed by *saunḍa*, or solely to its own plural form. The lack of the word *ādi* 'beginning with, etc.', which makes a reference to the *gana*, raises this question. The *Mahābhāṣya* concludes that a reference to the *gana* is desired. This, in turn, will facilitate the formation of compounds with the synonyms of *saunḍa*. The plural in *saunḍaiḥ* itself can account for all this. Consider the example *aksākitavaḥ*, where *kitava* is a synonym of *saunḍa*.

2.1.41 *सिद्धाःशुकपकवांतनायः ca

\[\text{siddhaḥ, śuka, pakva, bandha} \text{ ity etaiḥ saha saptamanyantam samasyate, tatpurusas ca samāso bhavati}\]

A *pada* which ends in *saptami* optionally combines in a *tatpurusa* compound with a syntactically related *pada* which ends in *sUP* and contains *siddha* 'established, made', *śuka* 'dried', *pakva* 'cooked, ripe', or *bandha* 'tied, bound'.

**Examples:**

- *sāṃkāśyasiddhaḥ* 'made or known in Sāṃkāśya'
- *kāmpilyasiddhaḥ* 'made or known in Kāmpilya'
- *ātapaśūkṣaḥ* 'dried in the sun'
- *chāyāśūkṣaḥ* 'dried in the shade'
- *sthālitapakvaḥ* 'cooked in a sthāli (vessel)'
- *kumbhítapakvaḥ* 'cooked in a small earthen pitcher'
- *cakrabandhaḥ* 'tied with a wheel'

2.1.42 *व्याक्षेन कष्ये

\[\text{dhvānikaṇṣeṇa kṣepe}\]

\[\text{dhvānikaṇṣeṇa 3/1 kṣepe 7/1}\]

\[\text{(samāsaḥ }#3, \text{ saha supā }#4, \text{ sup }#9, \text{ vibhāśā }#11, \text{ tatpurusāḥ }#22, \text{ saptami }#40)\]
dhvānksavācinā saha saptamantam subantam samasyate, tatpurusas ca samāso bhavati kṣepa gamyamāne

A pada ending in saptamī optionally combines in a tatpurusā compound with a syntactically related pada which ends in sūpa and contains dhvānksa ‘crow’ or its synonyms, provided contempt (kṣepa) is denoted.

Examples:

tīrthadhvānksah ‘fickle as a crow in a holy place’
tīrthakākah ‘id.’

1. The word dhvānksa ‘crow’ is treated here as referring to its synonyms as well. Thus, compounds such as tīrthakākah carī also be derived. A student who lacks diligence in his studies, and thus does not stay long at the teacher’s, is often given this name. Obviously, the teacher’s place is a tīrtha ‘holy place’.

2.1.43 कृत्यायारणे

kṛtyaṁ rna
/kṛtyaiḥ 3/3 rna 7/1/
(samāsaḥ #3, saha sūpa #4, sūp #9, vibhāsa #11, tatpuruṣaḥ #22, saptamī #40)
kṛtyapratyayāntaiḥ saha saptamantam samasyate, tatpuruṣas ca samāso bhavati, rna gamyamāne

A pada which ends in saptamī combines, in a tatpuruṣa compound, with a syntactically related pada which ends in sūpa and contains a stem in kṛtya (3.1.97 aco yat) provided rna ‘debt’ is denoted.

Examples:

māsadeyam ‘a debt which is to be repaid in a month’
samvatsarasadeyam ‘a debt which is to be repaid in a year’
tryahadeyam ‘a debt which is to be repaid in three days’

1. Kātyāyana (Mbh II: 605) proposes a modification of this rule as follows: kṛtyair niyoγe yatā ‘a word ending in saptamī combines with a word which contains an item ending in the kṛtya affix (3.1.95 kṛtyāḥ) yaT (3.1.97 aco yat), provided the compound denotes obligation (niyoγa)’. The condition of niyoγa is required to cover examples like pūrvāṇegeyam ‘a chant one is obligated to make in the morning’. The condition of yatā will restrict the constituency of compounds to where the other member contains a derivate in yaT. Consequently, *pūrvāṇedātavyā (bhūksā) ‘aims given in the morning’, etc., will be blocked. Patañjali rejects the condition of niyoγa on the grounds that rna, when accepted as used in a much more generalized sense of something one must necessarily do (āvāṣyaka), will account for it. He does, however, accept the condition of yaT, possibly to block compound formation parallel to pūrvāṇe dātavyā bhūksā. But the problem of
the validity of this condition still remains. *PM* and *Nyāsa* ad *Kāśikā* both state that the *anuvṛtti* of *alpaśāh* ‘in a limited manner’ from 2.1.38 could account for what *yatā* does. Incidentally, the non-deletion of *saptami* in the above examples is accomplished by rule 6.3.13 *tatpuruse kṛti bahulam*. The compounds covered by this rule are also treated as obligatory (*nīya*).

2.1.44 संज्ञायाम्

    samjñāyām

    / samjñāyāṃ 7/1/

    (samāsaḥ #3, saha supā #4, sup #9, tatpuruṣaḥ #22, saptamī #40)

    samjñāyāṃ viṣaye saptamyaṃtāṃ supā saha samasyate, tatpuruṣaś ca samāso bhavati

    A *pada* ending in *saptamī* combines in a *tatpuruṣa* compound with a syntactically related *pada* which ends in *sUP* provided the compound denotes a *samjñā* ‘name’.

**Examples:**

* aranyetilakāḥ ‘wild sesame’
* aranyemāṣāḥ ‘wild beans’
* vanekimśukāḥ ‘wild Kimśuka flowers’

1. The condition of *samjñā* requires that compounds so formed denote a name. Since an analyzed form cannot denote a name, the compounds should be accepted as obligatory (*nīya*). For example, *aranyemāṣāḥ* means ‘wild beans growing in the forest’. The analyzed form *aranye māṣāḥ* may mean ‘there are Mung beans growing in the forest’. The non-deletion of *saptamī* is accomplished by 6.3.9 *halantāt saptamyaḥ*.

2.1.45 केनाहोरात्रावयवया:

    ktenāhorātrāryayavāh

    / kten 3/1 ahorātrāvayayavāḥ 1/3 = ahaś ca rātriś ca = ahorātrau (dv.),

    tayor avayavāḥ (ṣaṣ. tat. with int. dv.) /

    (samāsaḥ #3, saha supā #4, sup #9, vibhāṣā #11, tatpuruṣaḥ #22, saptamī #40)

    aharavayavāḥ rātryavayavāś ca saptamyaṃtāḥ kāntenā saha samasyate,

    tatpuruṣaś ca samāso bhavati

    A *pada* which ends in *saptamī* and denotes a part of day or night optionally combines, in a *tatpuruṣa* compound, with a syntactically related *pada* ending in *sUP* and containing a stem in *Kta*.

**Examples:**

* pūrvāḥnākṛtam ‘that which was done in the first part of the day’
* pūrvarātrākṛtam ‘that which was done in the first part of the night’
* aparāḥnākṛtam ‘that which was done in the second part of the day’
* apararātrākṛtam ‘that which was done in the second part of the night’
1. The word *avayava* 'part' is included in this rule to block the formation of compounds parallel to *rātrau kṛtam* 'that which was done in the night', where *rātri* 'night' denotes entirety (*kārsṇya*) and not *avayava*.

2.1.46 तत्र

* tatra
  / tatra 01/
  (samāsah #3, saha suṇā #4, suṇ #9, vibhāṣā #11, tatpuruṣaḥ #22, saṃtaṃ #40, ktena #45)
  *‘tatra’ ity etat saṃtaṃyantam kāntena saha samasyate, tatpuruṣaś ca samāso bhavati*

A *pada* constituted by *tatra* optionally combines in a *tatpuruṣa* compound with a syntactically related *pada* which ends in *sUP* and contains a stem in *Kia*.

**Examples:**

* tatrabhuktaṁ ‘eaten there’
  * tatrakṛtaṁ ‘made or done there’
  * tatrāpiṇaṁ ‘drunk there’

1. This rule is required for covering examples such as *tatrakṛtaṁ* ‘done there’, where *tatra* does not end in *saṃtaṃ*. Instead, it is a derivate of *tad* ‘that’ formed with the affix *traL* (5.3.10 *saṃtaṃyāś traL*) to denote the sense of *saṃtaṃ*. This is why the word *saṃtaṃ* carried via anuvṛtti must be interpreted as denoting not its form (*tacchabda*), but its characteristic feature (*dharma*), namely, the denotation of locus (*adhikaraṇa*). The purpose of forming such compounds is *aikasvarya* and *aikapadya* (see note under 2.1.25).

2.1.47 क्षेपे

* kṣepe
  / kṣepe 7/1/
  (samāsah #3, saha suṇā #4, suṇ #9, vibhāṣā #11, tatpuruṣaḥ #22, saṃtaṃ #40, ktena #45)
  * kṣepe gamyamāne saṃtaṃyantam kāntena saha samasyate, tatpuruṣaś ca samāso bhavati*

A *pada* which ends in *saṃtaṃ* combines, in a *tatpuruṣa* compound, with a syntactically related *pada* ending in *sUP* provided *kṣepa* ‘contempt’ is denoted.

**Examples:**

* avataptenakulasthitam tava etat ‘this conduct of yours (i.e running around with no respect for duty) is like that of a mongoose running about on hot ground’*
udakeviṣīrṇam tava etat ‘this conduct of yours is as if going down the drain’

pravāhemūtritam tava etat ‘this conduct of yours is as if urinating in running water’

1. Note that the meaning of kṣepa derives here from kāryeṣu anavas-thitātā ‘lack of stability or concentration’ leading to failure (nisphalatā). The non-deletion of saptamī is accomplished by 6.3.14 tatpuruse kṛti bahulam. The last two examples attest to the belief that defecating or urinating in water is a contemptible act. Incidentally, these compounds are treated as obligatory (nitiya) on account of the meaning condition of kṣepa.

2.1.48 पत्रेशमितादयः

pātresamitādayaḥ ca

1/3 = pātresamita ādir yesāṃ (bhv.); ca Θ /

(samāsaḥ #3, sāha sūpa #4, sūp #9, vibhāṣā #11, tatpuruṣaḥ #22, saptamī #40, kṣepa #47)

pātresamitādayaḥ sabdās tatpuruṣasamjñā bhavanti, kṣepa gamyamāne

Items enumerated in the list headed by pātresamita also are termed tatpuruṣa when kṣepa is denoted.

Examples:

pātresamitāḥ ‘those who gather around only when food is served’

pātrebaḥulāḥ ‘those who are variously around at the time when food is served’

udarakrīmīḥ ‘worm in the belly, i.e., low person’

kūpākaccagahaḥ ‘a tortoise in a waterwell, i.e., narrow-minded’

kūpacarīṇahāḥ ‘powder in a waterwell, i.e., insignificant’

avatākacchaphaḥ ‘a tortoise in a hole, i.e., narrow-minded’

1. The words pātresamita, etc., are listed as part of a larger gana headed by yuktārohin (6.2.81 yuktārohyādayaḥ ca). This extracted short listing is consequently treated as ākritigana, an enumeration with limited membership with the possibility of addition. The compounds covered by this rule derive as cited in the list. That is, their formation is ad hoc (nipātana). Heuristically, though, an example like pātresamita can be explained as formed of a word ending in saptamī, with another underlying item ending in Kta. Because they are included in the list headed by yuktārohin, these compounds will be assigned uḍāta on their first (ādi) vowel by rule 6.2.81 yuktā...).

The particle ca is used, here, in the sense of eva ‘alone, only’, so that larger compounds parallel to, for example, paramāḥ pātresamitāḥ ‘those who are extremely parasitical’, can be blocked. The denotatum of ca also indicates the meaning of compounds to be that of contempt.
2.1.49 पूर्वकालैकसर्वजन्तपुराणनवकेलन: समानाधिकरण

पूर्वकालैकसर्वार्जपर्याप्तनानवकेललेश समानाधिकरणन

/ पूर्वकालैकसर्वार्जपर्याप्तनानवकेललेश 1/3 (ितर. द्व.); समानाधिकरणन 3/11

(समासः #3, शाह सुपा #4, शुपा #9, विभासा #11, तत्परुसः #22)
पूर्वकालै. 'क्ष, सर्वा, जरात्र, पूर्णा, नवा, केवला' इत्येते सुबंताः
समानाधिकरणन शुपा शाह समायाने, तत्परुसः सा समासः भवाति
A pada which ends in sUP and contains a stem that either denotes पूर्वकालै. 'something which naturally precedes another' or is con- stituted by 'क्ष 'one', 'सर्वा 'all', 'जरात्र 'aged', 'पूर्णा 'ancient, old',

'नवा 'new', or 'केवला 'only', optionally combines in a tatpurusa compound with a syntactically related coreferential pada which ends in sUP.

Examples:

- snātānuliptaḥ 'he who first bathed then anointed'
- krṣṭasamikṛtam 'he who ploughed the field first then leveled it'
- ekabhikṣā 'one and only alm'
- ekāsāti 'one and only garment'
- sarvadevāḥ 'all the gods'
- sarvanamanāyaḥ 'all men'
- jaraddhasti 'an old elephant'
- jaradgrśṭīḥ 'an old cow which delivered only once'
- pūrāṇān̄n̄am 'old grain'
- pūrāṇāvasatham 'an old dwelling'
- navānnam 'newly harvested grain'
- kevalānnam 'only grain'

1. The word समानाधिकरणया 'coreferentiality, syntactic coordination' is explained by Kāśikā as 'the process whereby an item which has varying meanings (bhīmna- pavr̥tthinimitta) is integrated (vṛttī) with another item to denote a single meaning (bhīnnapavr̥tthinimittasya śabdasya ekasminn arthe vṛttih sāmānādhikaranyaya). This will obviously restrict the reference of items cited in this rule to their form only. That is, compounds with their synonyms will be blocked. Kāśikā adds, however, that in the case of पूर्वकालै, the reference is made via meaning (arthadvāraka). Thus, a word which denotes पूर्वकालै 'prior time' can be combined with a word which denotes other time (aparākāla). This will yield examples such as snātānubhūktah 'one who has bathed, then eaten', where the action of bathing (snāna) is performed prior to the action of eating (bhojana). It is clear that snāna and bhojana have their own contextual usages, even though in snātānubhūktah they both denote a single meaning, i.e., the same person. How does one understand that पूर्वकालै should be interpreted as given
via meaning? One understands this on the basis that items such as pūrva-
kāla can be fully comprehended only in relation to items such as aparaka-
lā: they refer to relative things.

2. Note that compounds covered by this rule can also be formed in
view of provisions made by rule 2.1.59 viśeṣaṇam..., where a qualifier
constituent (viṣeṣaṇa) is required to be preplaced, as is specified by
viṣeṣaṇam in the nominative (1.2.43 prathamā...). This rule also provides
for preplacement, though with a difference. This preplacement is ordered
in view of the possibility of postplacement (paranipātā). That is, its provi-
sion of preplacement is restrictive in view of some possible postplace-
ment. For example, snātāṃśaḥanūlīptaḥ is interpreted as pūrvam snātāḥ paścād
anuliptaḥ, where ‘bathing’ qualifies ‘anointing’. But one may also wish
to speak of this relationship as reversed which, in turn, would require
postplacement of what is required to be preplaced. It is to prevent com-
pound formations which involve such reversals, with resultant postplace-
ment of qualifiers, that this rule is formulated.

2.1.50 दिकसंख्ये संज्ञायाम्

diksamkhye samjñāyām
/ diksamkhye 1/2 (itar. dv.); samjñāyām 7/1/
(samāsah #3, saha suṇā #4, sup #9, tattpurusah #22, samānādhikaraṇena #49)
digvācinaḥ śabdāḥ sāmkhyaḥ ca samānādhikaraṇena subantaṇa saha
samasyante, tattpurusāḥ ca samāso bhavati, samjñāyām viśaye

A pada which ends in sUP and signifies dīś ‘direction’ or sāṃkhyaḥ
‘number’ combines, in a tattpurusa compound, with a syntactically
related coreferential pada which ends in sUP provided the compo-
und denotes a sāṃjñā ‘name’.

Examples:

pūrveṣukāmaśamī ‘east Iṣuṅkāmaśamī’
apāreṣukāmaśamī ‘west Iṣuṅkāmaśamī’
pāṅcāmṛah ‘name of a village’
saptarṣayāh ‘name of a galaxy; Great Bear’

2.1.51 तद्वितीयार्थोर्तप्तसमाहारे च
taddhātur∂hottarapadasmāhāre ca
/ taddhātur∂hottarapadasmāhāre 7/1 = taddhātur thaś ca uttarapadam ca
samāhāras ca (itar. dv.), tasmin; ca 0 /
(samāsah #3, saha suṇā #4, sup #9, vībhāṣā #11, tattpurusah #22,
samānādhikaraṇena #49, diksamkhya #49)
taddhāturthe viśaye uttarapade ca parataḥ samāhārē ca bhīdheyē
diksamkhya
suṇā saha samasyete, tattpurusāḥ ca samāso bhavati
A \textit{pada} which ends in \textit{SUP} and contains a stem denoting \textit{dīś} or \textit{samkhya} optionally combines, in a \textit{tatpurusa} compound, with a syntactically related coreferential \textit{pada} which ends in \textit{SUP} when either the meaning of a \textit{taddhita} (4.1.76 \textit{taddhitāḥ}) affix finds its scope, a third \textit{pada} is to follow, or \textit{samāhāra} ‘collection, grouping’ is to be denoted.

\textbf{Examples:}

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textit{paurvaśālaḥ} ‘that which is located in the eastern hall’
  \item \textit{āparaśālaḥ} ‘that which is located in the western hall’
  \item \textit{pūrvaśālāprīyāḥ} ‘he to whom the eastern hall is dear’
  \item \textit{aparaśālāprīyāḥ} ‘he to whom the western hall is dear’
  \item \textit{pañcanāpīthī} ‘related to five barbers’
  \item \textit{pañcakapālaḥ} ‘a ritual oblation prepared in five bowls’
  \item \textit{pañcagavadhanāḥ} ‘he who possesses five cows as his wealth’
  \item \textit{daśagavadhanāḥ} ‘he who possesses ten cows as his wealth’
  \item \textit{pañcakumārī} ‘a group of five girls’
  \item \textit{daśakumārī} ‘a group of ten girls’
\end{itemize}

1. The words \textit{samāṇadhi-karaṇena} and \textit{diṣsamkhya} are carried to this rule. The word \textit{taddhitārthottarapatadasamāhāre} is interpreted as a \textit{dvandva} of \textit{samāhāra} ‘grouping’ type, with the constituents \textit{taddhitārthe}, \textit{uttarapade}, and \textit{samāhāre}, all ending in \textit{saptamī}. Obviously, this rule allows for compounds in three categories:

\begin{itemize}
  \item (i) \textit{taddhitārthe}, where a word denoting direction or number is combined with another word in syntactic coordination, provided the sense of \textit{taddhita} affix finds its scope;
  \item (ii) \textit{uttarapade}, where a word which denotes direction or number is combined with another word in syntactic coordination provided there follows still another word; and
  \item (iii) \textit{samāhāre}, where a word which denotes direction or number is combined with another in syntactic coordination provided that the meaning of \textit{samāhāra} is to be denoted.
\end{itemize}

The \textit{saptamī} in (i) is interpreted as that of domain (\textit{viṣaya}). It cannot be interpreted as denoting ‘when the sense of a \textit{taddhita} is to be denoted’. For, examples like \textit{pañcanaāpīthī} cannot qualify for the introduction of a \textit{taddhita}. The sense of a \textit{taddhita} would already be included in the compound. Under the \textit{viṣayasaptamī} interpretation, the compound will be allowed in anticipation of the denotation, via introduction of a \textit{taddhita} affix.

Consider the derivation of \textit{paurvaśālaḥ} from \textit{pūrvā} + \textit{Ni śālā} + \textit{Ni}, the two constituents which are in syntactic coordination. The compound is permitted on the understanding that a \textit{taddhita} affix, such as \textit{aNi} (4.2.107
dikpūrvaṇaṁ. ), will subsequently be introduced to denote the sense of ‘located there’: pūrva + ī + sālā + ī → pūrvaśālā; pūrvaśālā + āṅ → paurvaśāla; paurvaśāla + sū → paurvaśālāḥ. The denotation of the taddhita affix via āṅ is treated as bhāvin ‘to take place subsequently’. In view of mutual dependency (anyonyāśrayatva), this appears problematic. That is, the compound cannot be formed if the sense of a taddhita affix is not denoted; and the taddhita affix cannot denote its sense unless it is introduced after the compound. Both of these conditions are impossible to satisfy at the same time. It is to resolve this difficulty that the sense of the taddhita affix is considered as bhāvin. This interpretation is possible only when saptamī in taddhitārthā is interpreted as denoting the domain (viṣaya).

The saptamī in uttarapade is viewed as parasaptamī, whereby we get the following interpretation:

A word which denotes diś or saṃkhya is combined with a word in syntactic coordination provided there is another word which follows.

Clearly, the condition of uttarapade makes the compound with diś and saṃkhya as part of a larger compound. Thus, pūrvaśālāpriyah is a bahuṇhi compound formed from pūrva + sū + sālā + sū + priya + sū, where an internal tatpurusa with the first two constituents is formed under the condition of the third. The compound must be formed in this manner, so that udāta accent at the end (antadāta) (of sālā) can be accomplished before priya + sū. This kind of tatpurusa, internal to a bahuṇhi compound, is obligatory (nīya). Thus, given the string pañcan + Jas + go + Jas + dhana + sū, a bahuṇhi parallel to pañca gāvo dhanam asya ‘he who possesses five cows as his wealth’ is formed. Subsequently, pañcan + Jas + go + Jas forms a tatpurusa. This alone would allow the introduction of the affix TaC (5.4.92 gor ataddhitāluki) to yield pañcan + Jas + go + Jas + TaC → pañcagaco + a. A wrong from *pañcagodhana would result in the absence of TaC. It is evident that a bahuṇhi that anticipates an internal obligatory tatpurusa is to be formed first. Of course, the internal tatpurusa will be formed subsequently. A dvandva internal to a bahuṇhi, such as vāgdṛṣada-priyah ‘he who likes speech and stone’ from vāk + sū + dṛṣad + sū + priya + sū, is similarly formed.

It is stated that a compound that entails saṃahāra is not possible with a constituent which denotes diś ‘direction’. For, a saṃahāra is a group of items with varying denotata, as is possible in the case of numbers which distinguish them. The scope of the denotata of diś is fixed (pratimiyata).

Questions have also been raised about the word saṃahāra itself. It can have two interpretations:

(i) samaharanah samahāraḥ ‘the action of grouping together is called samahāra’

(ii) samahriyata iti samahāraḥ ‘that which is grouped...’
The choice of action (i) or object (ii) meaning when deriving samāhāra has its consequences. For example, the object interpretation would create problems in the derivation of pañcakumāri ‘a group of five girls’, where the meaning of kumāri ‘girl’ is principal. The rule which assigns compound formation (2.1.51) does not cite the constituent represented by kumāri in the nominative. This qualifies kumāri to be used with various endings. As a result, neither rule 1.2.43 prathamā... nor 1.2.44 ekavibhakti cāpūrvanipāte can term kumāri an upasarjana. Not being an upasarjana, kumāri in pañcakumāri cannot have its final long vowel replaced with a short vowel (1.2.48 goṣṭīyore upasarjanasyā).

Similarly, one cannot derive pañcakhaṭvī ‘a group of five cots’ parallel to pañca khaṭvāh samāḥtāh. Note that pañcakhaṭvī is optional to neuter pañca-khaṭvam. A lack of assignment of the term upasarjana to khaṭvā would block its ā, to be replaced with a. This, in turn, would block the introduction of feminine affix NiP by 4.1.21 dvigoḥ. Commentators thus favor the first (i) interpretation over the second (ii).

2.1.52 संख्यापूर्वो हि:।

sāmkhyāpūrva dviguḥ
/ sāmkhyāpūrvaḥ 1/1 = sāmkhya pūrvā yasmāt (bv.); dviguḥ 1/1/
‘taddhītārthottaratapasamāhāre ca’ ity atra yaḥ sāmkhyāpūrvaḥ samāsah sa
dvigusamjño bhavati

A compound (formed by 2.1.51 taddhītārth...) when it begins with a constituent denoting sāmkhya ‘number’ is termed dvigu.

Examples:

pañcakapālāḥ ‘a ritual oblation of food prepared in five bowls’
daśakapālāḥ ‘a ritual oblation prepared in ten bowls’
pañcānāvapriyāḥ ‘he to whom five boats are dear’
pañcamūli ‘a bunch of five radishes’

1. A compound with constituents in syntactic coordination, formed under the provisions of the preceding rule, is termed dvigu if its first constituent denotes number. Our present rule thus becomes a residue (śeṣā) of rule 2.1.51. Note that Paribhāṣā 61 states that a provision made for an operation (vidhi) or its negation (pratīṣedha) applies to that which is most immediate (anantarasya vidhir bhavati pratīṣedho vā). Consequently, compounds with number constituents covered by the preceding rule alone are referenced here. However, a reference to compounds formed by rules 2.1.49, 2.1.50, and 2.1.51, which together form the context (prakarana) of compounds with constituents in syntactic coordination (sāmānādhiśakaranya), cannot be ruled out. A reference to compounds allowed thus far in general can also be accepted here; but this would result in all kinds of problems.

For example, an avyayābhāva compound such as dvimuni ‘two sages’ would then be termed dvigu, necessitating original accent for its first
constituent by 6.2.29 igantakāla.... The Mahābhāṣya (II: 617) discusses this and the other two interpretations, with examples and counter-examples. The final view favors only those compounds which are formed by rule 2.1.51. See the appendix for derivational details.

2.1.53 कुसितानि कुस्तने:

kutsitāni kutsanaih
/ kutsitāni 1/3 kutsanaih 3/3/
(samāsah #3, saha supā #4, sup #9, vibhāṣā #11, tatpurusah #22,
samānādhikaraṇena #49)
kutsitavācini subantāni kutsanavacanaih subantaiḥ saha samasyante,
tatpurusāḥ ca samāso bhavati

A pada which ends in sUP and signifies kutsa 'object of contempt' optionally combines, in a tatpurusa compound, with a syntactically related coreferential pada which ends in sUP and signifies kutsa 'contempt'.

EXAMPLES:

vaiyākaraṇaḥkhasūciḥ 'a grammarian who, when asked a question, does not know the answer and stares at the sky'
yājñikakitavah 'a priest who cheats, for money, by performing the ritual for someone not qualified'
mīmāṃsaḥkadurduṛḍāh 'a ritualist (mīmāṃsaka) who does not know what he argues about'

1. Note that the words kutsa and kutsana, which specify the constituency of compounds covered by this rule, are both given in plural. This indicates that reference is being made to their synonyms and not to their form. The use of plural thus blocks interpretations exclusive to word-forms (svārūpāvidhi) kutsa and kutsana. Note that what is censured in these compounds is the reason for which they are used (pravṛttinimitta). Thus, vaiyākaraṇaḥkhasūciḥ is 'a grammarian who, when asked a question, does not know the answer and stares at the sky'. That is, he is slow-witted (nispratibha). What is censured here is not grammar itself, but the grammarian's lack of intelligence, which constitutes the cause for the use of the expression. A compound such as vaiyākaraṇaḥcauraḥ 'grammarian crook' therefore cannot be permitted by the present rule. For it is the grammarian's property of being a crook and not his property of being a grammarian which is censured.

2.1.54 पापाणके कुसिते:

pāpāṇake kutsitaiḥ
/ pāpāṇake 1/2 = pāpam ca anakam ca (itar. dv.); kutsitaiḥ 3/3/
(samāsah #3, saha supā #4, sup #9, vibhāṣā #11, tatpurusah #22,
samānādhikaraṇena #49, kutsanaih #53)
‘pāpa, anāka’ ete subante kutsitavacanaiḥ saha samasyete, tatpuruṣaḥ ca samāso bhavati

A pada which ends in sUP and contains pāpa ‘low, wicked’ or anāka ‘contemptible’ optionally combines in a tatpuruṣa compound with a syntactically related coreferential pada which ends in sUP and signifies the object of disrespect.

Examples:

pāpanāpitah ‘a wicked barber’
pāpakulālah ‘a wicked potter’
anakanāpitah ‘a contemptible barber’
anakakulālah ‘a contemptible potter’

1. A question is raised as to why compounds with pāpa and anāka cannot be accounted for by the preceding rule. It is explained that pāpa and anāka denote kutsana, and hence will not be placed first in the compound if they happen to be covered by rule 2.1.53. A reference to kutsana in tṛtiyā (as opposed to prathamā) will block the upasarjana designation required for preplacement (pūrvaṇipāta). Our present rule makes pūrvani-pāta possible. It can thus be also treated as an exception to the preceding rule. How did Pāṇini come to state kutsitaiḥ explicitly, when he could have done without by using anuvṛtti? Jinendrabuddhi thinks that the explicit mention of kutsitaiḥ was made for the sake of clarity (vīspaṭṭārtham).

2.1.55 उपमानानि सामान्यवचने:

upamānāni sāmānyavacanaiḥ
1 upamānāni 1/3 sāmānyavacanaiḥ 1/1/
(samāsah #3, saha supā #4, sup #9, vibhāṣā #11, tatpuruṣaḥ #22, samānādhikaraṇena #49)

A pada which ends in sUP and denotes upamāna ‘standard of comparison’ optionally combines, in a tatpuruṣa compound, with a syntactically related coreferential pada which ends in sUP and denotes a common quality.

Examples:

śastrīyāmā devadattā ‘Devadatta’s daughter is as black as a śastrī (a small, black knife)’
kumudaśyenī ‘white as a water lily’
haṃsagadgadā ‘a woman with a sweet, soft voice’

1. This rule allows the formation of a compound between a word which denotes upamāna ‘standard of comparison’ and another denoting a common property (sāmānyavacana). shared with the thing compared
(upameya). The word sāmānyavacana refers to items which denote properties common to the upamāna and the upameya. The word ṣastraśyāma 'black as a knife' of ṣastraśyāma devadattā 'Devadatta's daughter is as black as a ṣastra' serves as a celebrated example. Here, ṣastra, which denotes upamāna, is combined with ṣyāma 'black', which denotes the property of blackness common to both the knife and the daughter of Devadatta, the upameya. The word ṣyāma denotes a quality or a thing possessed of that quality (guṇavacana). How can it be considered as sāmānyavacana? Commentators inform us that a qualifier becomes sāmānyavacana when, after having denoted the quality, it finds its locus in the thing it qualified. The word ṣastra is famous as having the quality of ṣyāmatva 'blackness'; having denoted blackness, ṣyāmatva now resides in the daughter of Devadatta it qualified.

Further questions have been raised about the validity of forming such compounds. For example, the word ṣastra relates to ṣastra, whereas ṣyāma relates to devadattā. Consequently, because of the lack of sāmānādhikaranaya ‘coreferentiality’, the compound cannot be allowed. It is said that this is no problem. Since upamāna and upameya are two different entities, words which denote them will entail vaiyadhikaranaya ‘reference to different loci’. A compound between items which denote varying loci can be permitted on the strength of this rule itself (vacanasāmartya). Or, one can say that ṣastra also refers to devadattā on the basis of tādharmya ‘shared characteristics’ constituted by the quality of blackness (ṣyāmagunatva).

2. This rule, along with the following, is formulated to facilitate the preplacement (pūrvavipilā) of constituents serving as those which are qualified (viśesya). A statement to this effect becomes necessary in view of situations where both constituents can be used as qualified elements the way one wishes (kāmācāra).

2.1.56 उपामितं व्याघ्रातिरं: सामान्यप्रयोगे

upamitaṃ vyāghrādibhiḥ sāmānyapravoge
l upamitam 1/1 vyāghrādibhiḥ 3/3 sāmānyapravoge 7/1 = na prayogah = aprayogah (nañ. tat.), sāmānyasya aprayogah = sāmānyapravoge (ṣaṣ. tat.), tasmin l
(samāsaḥ #3, saha supā #4, sup #9, vibhāṣā #11, tatpuruṣaḥ #22, sāmānādhikaranena #49)

upameyavācī subantam vyāghrādibhiḥ sāmarthyād upamānāvavacanaḥ saha samasyate, tatpuruṣaś ca samāso bhavati, na cet sāmānyavācī śabdah pratyuje

A pada which ends in sUP and signifies upameya ‘object to be compared’ optionally combines, in a tatpuruṣa compound, with a syntactically related coreferential pada which ends in sUP and contains items enumerated in the list headed by vyāghra ‘tiger’, provided a word which denotes common quality is not used.
Examples:

puruṣavyāghrah 'a man like a tiger'
puruṣasimhah 'a man like a lion'

1. A word denoting a thing compared (upameya) can be combined with another word which contains an item listed in the set headed by vyāghra 'tiger', provided a word denoting their common property is not used. The common property referenced here in connection with upamāna and upamita is bravery, etc. (sauryādi). A compound is not permitted by this rule when a word denoting a common property is used. This rule facilitates the preplacement (pūrvanipāta) of puruṣa 'man' in puruṣavyāghrah 'man like a tiger', which would have been placed subsequent to vyāghra had the compound been formed by 2.1.57 viśeṣanam viśeṣyena bahulam. Kāśikā states that this rule is formulated to facilitate the preplacement of a viśeṣya 'qualified'. Note that the compound puruṣavyāghrah, parallel to puruṣo vyāghra iva sūrah, is not permitted, since sūrah denotes the property common to puruṣa and vyāghra. The compound is permitted parallel to puruṣo vyāghra iva instead.

2.1.57 विशेषणं विशेषणं बहुलम्

viśeṣanam viśeṣyena bahulam
/ viśeṣanam 1/1 viśeṣyena 3/1 bahulam 1/1
(samāsah #3, saha supā #4, sup #9, tatpuruṣaḥ #22, samānādhi-karanena #49)
višeṣanavyācī subantam višeṣyavyācinā subantena saha bahulam samasyate,
tatpuruṣaḥ ca samaso bhavati

A pada which ends in sUP and denotes a qualifying property (višeṣana-vācī) variously combines, in a tatpuruṣa compound, with a syntactically related coreferential pada which ends in sUP and denotes the object so qualified.

Examples:

nilotpalam ‘blue lotus’
raktotpalam ‘red lotus’
krṣṇasarpaḥ ‘black snake (cobra)’
lohitāśāliḥ ‘red rice’

1. This rule allows for the formation of tatpuruṣa compounds where both of the constituents are syntactic coordinates, but one denotes a qualifier (višeṣana) and the other a qualified (višeṣya). Thus, we get examples like krṣṇasarpaḥ ‘black snake’, where krṣṇa is a qualifier to sarpa. The compound is formed parallel to krṣṇaś cāsau sarpaś ca ‘that which is black as well as is a snake’.
Kāśikā explains viśeṣaṇa and viśeṣya as bhedaṁa ‘distinguisher’ and bhedaṁya ‘distinguished’. It is argued (Mbh (11: 627) that, given the word krṣṇa, one understands the quality ‘blackness’ in general. Similarly, given the word sarpa, one understands the thing named sarpa in general. However, given krṣṇasarpaḥ, the quality of blackness is particularized to the one available in the black snake; the denotatum of snake is particularized now to the context of blackness. In this way, both krṣṇa and sarpa can serve as qualifiers and qualifieds. This being the case, the term upasarjana cannot be assigned to one over the other. Which, then, should be placed first in the compound? That which does not denote a substance (dravya). Obviously, upasarjana is here interpreted in its etymological sense of ‘subordinate’ (aprädhaṇa). Further questions have been raised as to why the meaning of dravya should be treated as principal. A dravya does not abandon its locus, unlike guna, which may or may not reside in its locus. Besides, a guna needs dravya to serve as its locus.

The word bahulam is included here to allow freedom from all specifications. For example, a compound is here allowed to be optional, whereas with bahulam in the rule it could also be obligatory. Thus, we get nilotpalam, parallel to nilam utpalam ‘blue lotus’. But we get krṣṇasarpaḥ ‘black snake’ and lohitasaḷiḥ ‘red rice’ as obligatory compounds, and we do not get a compound parallel to rāmo jāmadagnyaḥ ‘Rāma, the son of Jāmadagni’. The use of bahulam, thus, means that the compound may apply, it may not apply, or it may apply only obligatorily.

2.1.58 पूर्वप्राप्तप्रथामचार्यसमानसत्त्मणध्ययमवीराश्च
pūrvāparaprathamacaramajaghanyamasānamadhyamadhyamavīrāś ca
/pūrva...vīrāḥ 1/3 (itar. dv.); ca 0 /
(samāsah #3, saha suṣā #4, sup #9, vibhāṣā #11, tātpuruṣa #22,
samānādhiḥkaraṇaḥ #49, viśeṣaṇam viśeṣeyena #57)
‘pūrva, apara, prathama, carama, jaghanya, samāna, madhya, madhyama,
vīra’ ity ete subantāḥ samānādhiḥkaraṇena suṣā saha samasyante, tat-
puruṣaḥ ca samāso bhavati

A pada which ends in sUP, denotes a distinguishing quality and contains pūrva ‘former’, apara ‘later, next’, prathama ‘first, foremost’, carama, ’last’, jaghanya, ’low, last’ samāna ‘similar, same’, madhya ‘intermediate’, madhyama ‘moderate, middle’, or vīra ‘brave, heroic’ optionally combines with a syntactically related coreferential pada which ends in sUP and denotes the object so qualified.

Examples:

pūrvapuruṣaḥ ‘ancestor, former person’
aparapuruṣaḥ ‘descendant, later person’
prathampuruṣaḥ ‘foremost person, third person’
caramaṇapuruṣaḥ ‘last person’
jaghanyapuruṣaḥ ‘person of the lowest class’
samāṇapuruṣaḥ ‘similar (same) person’
madhyapuruṣaḥ ‘person-in-the-middle’
madhyamapuruṣaḥ ‘average person, second person’
virāpuruṣaḥ ‘brave person, hero’

1. The examples covered by this rule can be accounted for by the preceding rule. For the constituency of compounds here still relates to viśeṣa-vaśeṣya ‘qualifier-qualified’. Why then is this rule formed? For expatiation (prapañca) of the scope of the preceding rule. Commentators explain that the word bahulam ‘variously’ does not specify ‘how variously’. A rule such as this offers some particulars concerning the context of the preceding rule. It is in this sense that this rule is an expatiation (prapañca), relative to the preceding one.

2.1.59 आण्यादय: कृतादिभि:

śreṇyādayaḥ krtādibhiḥ
śreṇyādayaḥ 1/3 = śreṇī ādir yeṣām (bu.); krtādibhiḥ 1/3 = kṛta ādir yeṣām (bu.)
(samāsāḥ #3, saha supā #4, vibhāṣā #11, tatpuruṣaḥ #22, samānādhikaraṇaḥ #49)
śreṇyādayaḥ subantāḥ krtādibhiḥ samānādhiṅkaraṇaśah saha samasyante,
tatpuruṣaś ca saṃāśo bhavati
A pada which ends in sU and contains śreṇī ‘an order, or group of traders or artisans’, etc., optionally combines in a tatpuruṣa compound with a syntactically related coreferential pada which ends in sU and contains kṛta ‘made, done’.

Examples:

śreṇikṛtāḥ ‘a group formed from those who were not in a group’
ekakṛtāḥ ‘arranged together as one’

1. This rule references the constituency of its compounds by enumeration. The first list, specified by śreṇyādayaḥ ‘items listed in the group headed by śreṇī’, is a gaṇapātha (GP) listing. The second is what is generally referred to as ākrītigana, a gaṇa listing which is open-ended and serves only illustrative purposes. Thus, kṛtādibhiḥ refers to items such as kṛta ‘made’ and the like, which one can find in the usage. It is stated by a vārttika on this rule that items such as śreṇī ‘group’ are to be treated as used in the sense of affix CuI (cavyarthā). Commentators identify the sense of CuI as abhūtatadadbha ‘that which became something which it previously was not’. Hence, śreṇī refers to a group of people who earn their livelihood by pursuing a common profession or business (PM ad Kāś II: 80: ekena śilpena panyena vai ye jīvanti teṣāṁ samūhaḥ). With the addition of the
abhūtatadbhāva sense of *Cvi*, the meaning of śrenī would thus become: ‘a grouping of people earning their livelihood by pursuing a common profession or business, who were not previously grouped’. Note that the word ādī in śrenyādayaḥ accordingly means vyavasthā or prakāra ‘specific type’; śrenyādayaḥ would therefore mean śrenī, and the like, available in usage.

2.1.60 केन नवीशिष्टेनानं

ktena nañviśiṣṭena anañ
ktena 3/1 nañviśiṣṭena 3/1 = nañ eva viśiṣṭo yasmin (bv.), tena; anañ 1/1 = na vidyate nañ yasmin (bv.) /
(samāsah #3, sāha supā #4, sup #9, vibhāṣā #11, tatpuruṣaḥ #22, samānādhikaraṇena #49)
nañviśiṣṭena ktāntena samānādhikaraṇena sāha anañ ktāntaṁ samasyate, tatpuruṣaṁ ca samāso bhavati

A pada which ends in *sUP*, contains a stem in *Kta* and does not contain naN ‘not’ optionally combines in a tatpuruṣa compound with a syntactically related coreferential pada which ends in *sUP* and is rendered distinct only by naN.

**Examples:**

kṛtākṛtam ‘partly done, partly not done’
bhuktābhuktam ‘partly eaten, partly not eaten’
pitāpitam ‘partly drunk, partly not drunk’

1. The word viśiṣṭa is used here in the sense of *adhika*, which can sometimes give the sense of avadhāraṇa ‘specific delimitation’, as in devadatto yajñadattat svādhāyena viśiṣṭah ‘Devadatta excels Yajñadatta by study’. This sentence thus implies that Devadatta and Yajñadatta differ only in respect of studying. Their other qualities remain the same. Sometimes, however, *adhika* may mean the opposite of non-delimitation (niravadhāraṇa). This preceding sentence can also give one the impression that Devadatta and Yajñadatta are different as far as study goes; whether or not their other qualities are similar is left without any specificity. The meaning of *avadhāraṇa* or *niravadhāraṇa* has to be determined on the basis of context, since the form of the sentence happens to be the same. In the context of this rule, a word containing a non-ncN item which ends in affix *Kta* is combined with another word in syntactic coordination, provided this latter also contains an item which ends in *Kta*, and is distinguished (viśiṣṭa) from the former by means of naN.

Let us take the example of *kṛtākṛtam*, where the two constituents are kṛtam and akṛtam. They both contain forms ending in the suffix *Kta*, such that one (kṛta) is distinguished from the other (akṛta) only on the basis of the negative naN. It is this sense of sāvadhāraṇa ‘with delimitation’ which is implied here by the use of nañviśiṣṭa ‘that which has been distinguished by naN’. Obviously, the difference between the two constituents has to be
minimally identifiable to the difference of naN. But what of examples like uditānuditam ‘partly spoken, partly unspoken’, where a word containing a Kta (udita) is combined with another syntactically coordinate word which contains Kta (anudita) and is distinguished by naN? The derivation of anudita entails the introduction of the augment nUT, in addition to naN. Thus, the difference between uditā and anudita is not limited only to naN. Commentators say (see PM ad Kāś) that the introduction of nUT forms part of the qualification by naN. That is, a naN derivate such as anudita is obligatorily going to have the introduction of nUT. In this sense, anudita is still minimally different from uditā. The naN alone, especially since it also conditions nUT, is responsible for the difference. The compound will thus be permitted.

What does a compound like kṛtākṛtam denote? How could one thing be called ‘made’ and at the same time ‘not made’? One can understand the meaning of this compound by transferring the quality of the ‘unmade’ part to the whole. Thus, a part ‘unmade’ will render the whole, in a manner of speaking, ‘unmade’. After all, a son can be called a ‘non-son’ (aputra) for failing to do something for which he may be called a ‘son’ (putra).

As an expatiation of bahūlam of 2.1.57 two vārttika are offered in the Mahābhāṣya (II: 638): (i) that compounds like kṛtāpakṛtam ‘done, though badly’, etc., should be enumerated; (ii) that examples such as gatapratyāgamataṃ ‘went out to go to place X, though returned without reaching there’, etc., should also be enumerated. Patañjalī proposes to account for these examples by replacing the meaning condition of naNviśiṣṭena by anān kīntena kriyāvisamāptau ‘with a non-naN word containing Kta when the sense is that of lack of properly completing the action’. See Mbh (ibid.).

2.1.61 सन्महत्यासनोत्तरमोक्षः पौज्यमान:  

sanmahatparamottamotkrstuḥ pūjyamānaiḥ  
\[\text{san...krstuḥ 1/3 (itar. dv.); pūjyamānaiḥ 3/3/} \]
(samāsah #3, saha絮ā #4,絮 #9, vibhāṣā #11, tatpuruṣaḥ #22, samānādhikaranaṇena #49)

‘sat, mahat, parama, uttama, utkṛṣṭa’ ite pūjyamānaiḥ saha samasyante,  
tatpuruṣaḥ ca samāso bhavati  

A pada which ends in sUP and contains sat ‘true, wise, good’, mahat ‘great’, parama ‘best’, uttama ‘excellent’, or ukṛṣṭa ‘excellent’ optionally combines, in a tatpuruṣa compound, with a syntactically related coreferential pada which ends in sUP and denotes one deserving of respect or praise.

Examples:

satpuruṣaḥ ‘a wise man’
mahāpuruṣaḥ 'a great man'  
parama-puruṣaḥ 'the best man'  
uttama-puruṣaḥ 'an excellent man'  
uttānapuruṣaḥ 'an excellent man'

1. The word pūjamānah conditions the use of sat, etc., in the sense of praise (pūja). If this were not so, how else could praise be denoted in an example like mahāpuruṣaḥ 'a great man', where puruṣa simply means 'man'? The word sat, by 3.2.127 tau sat, cannot refer to an item ending in affixes ŚatR and ŚanaC. For, they do not denote praise. Further, how do compounds such as mahodadhiḥ 'a great ocean' and mahādramah 'a great tree' come to be formed? There is no praise involved in them. The compound simply states the fact of the great expanse of the ocean or the unusual height of the tree. Such compounds can be formed by 2.1.57 viśeṣanām viśeyena bahulam. Or, the word bahulam could be carried here from that rule.

2.1.62 vrndāraka (g)kunjaraḥ: pūjamānaḥ

vrndārakanāgakunjāraḥ pūjamānam
vrndārakanāgakunjāraḥ 3/3 = (itar. dv.); pūjamānam 1/1
(samāsah #3, saha supā #4, sup #9, vibhasa #11, tatpuruṣaḥ #22, samānādhikaranaṇena #49)
'vrndāraka, nāga, kuṇjara ity etaiḥ pūjamānāvāci subantam samasyate, tatpuruṣaḥ ca samāsa bhavati
A pada which ends in sUP and denotes someone deserving of respect or praise combines, in a tatpuruṣa compound, with a syntactically related coreferential pada which ends in sUP and contains vrndāraka 'excellent; beautiful', nāga 'snake; the best of any kind', or kuṇjara 'elephant; the most prominent kind'.

Examples:

govrndārakaḥ 'an excellent ox; a beautiful cow'
āsvavrndārakaḥ 'an excellent horse'
gonāgaḥ 'excellent cow'
āsvanāgaḥ 'excellent horse'
gokuṇjaraḥ 'a cow of quality'
āsvakuṇjaraḥ 'a horse of quality'

1. A word which denotes 'he who ought to be praised' is combined with a word constituted by vrndāraka, nāga, and kuṇjara. The very use of pūjamānam 'ought to be praised' makes one expect that vrndāraka, nāga, and kuṇjara would denote praise (pūja). Words such as vrndāraka and kuṇjara, as well as nāga, denote the class (jāti) of deva 'gods' and gaja 'elephants', respectively. The question of pūja 'praise' would not arise if
they did not serve as upamāna ‘standard of comparison’. Since vyāghra, etc., are given as part of āktigāna, where vrṇḍāraka, etc., can also be included, rule 2.1.56 upamitaṃ vyāghrādibhiḥ..., itself, can account for the examples of this rule. Why, then, is this rule needed? So that the compound is permitted only when praise (pūja), and not nindā ‘reproach’, is denoted.

2.1.63 कतरकतामौ जातिपरिप्रशः

katarakatamau jātiparipraśne
/ katarakatamau 1/2 (itar. dv.); jātiparipraśne 7/1 = jāteḥ paripaśnah
(śaś. tat.), tasmin /
(samāsah #3, saha supā #4, sup #9, vibhāṣā #11, tatpuruṣaḥ #22,
samānādhikaraṇena #49)
katarakatamau jātiparipraśne vartamānau samarthena supā saha
samasyete, tatpuruṣaḥ ca samāso bhavati
A pada which ends in sup, contains katarā ‘which one of two’ or
kattama ‘who one of many’, and denotes jāti ‘class’ about which
questions are asked, optionally combines in a tatpuruṣa compound
with a syntactically related coreferential pada.

Examples:

katarakatāṭhaḥ ‘who is the Kaṭha of these two’
kattamaṭhaḥ ‘who is the Kaṭha among these people’
katarakālāṭpaḥ ‘who is the Kālāpa of these two’
kattamaḳālāṭpaḥ ‘who is the Kālāpa among these people’

1. This rule allows for the formation of a compound of words consti-
tuted by katarā ‘who of the two’ and kattama ‘who of the many’ with words
in syntactic coordination with them when katarā and kattama are questioning
about a class (jātiparipraśna). How is it that the words katarā and kattama
must be qualified with jātiparipraśna? Is this meaning not already under-
stood? Such a qualification is necessary because katarā and kattama may be
used in questioning something other than a class. Consider, for example,
the following sentences:

(i) kataro bhavator devadattaḥ ‘which one of you is Devadatta?’
(ii) katamo bhavatām devadattaḥ ‘who among you is Devadatta?’

2.1.64 फि क्षेपे

kim kṣepe
/ kim 1/1 kṣepe 7/2/
(samāsah #3, saha supā #4, sup #9, vibhāṣā #11, tatpuruṣaḥ #22,
samānādhikaraṇena #49)
‘kim’ ity etat kṣepe gamyaṁe supā saha samasyate, tatpuruṣaḥ ca samāso
bhavati
A *pada* which ends in *sUP* and contains *kim* ‘who, what, which’ optionally combines with a syntactically related coreferential *pada* which ends in *sUP* provided *kṣepa* ‘contempt’ is denoted.

**Examples:**

kimrājā ‘a worthless king’
kimsakha ‘a worthless friend’
kimgauh ‘a worthless cow’

1. Rule 5.4.70 *kimah kṣepa* blocks the introduction of any *samāsānta* (5.4.68 *samāsāntāḥ*) affix after compounds covered by this rule.

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2.1.65 *Poṣṭasyocaitosokakatipayaegrṣtidhenusāvehadvāskayanipravaktr-srotiyādhyāpakadhūrtair jātiḥ*

1/ poṭā...dhūrtaiḥ 1/3 = poṭā ca yuvatiṣ ca stokaṣ ca katipayam ca grṣtiṣ ca dhenuṣ ca vaṣā ca vehad ca vaṣkayaniiḥ ca pravaktra ca srotiyasa ca adhyāpakaṣ ca dhūrtaiṣ ca = poṭā...dhūrtaiḥ (itar. dv.), taiḥ; jātiḥ 1/1
(samāsāḥ #3, saha supa #4, sup #9, vibhāṣā #11, tatpurusāḥ #22, samānādhikaraṇena #49)

poṭādbhiḥ saha jātivāci subantāṃ samasyate, tatpurusāḥ ca samāso bhavati

A *pada* which ends in *sUP* and denotes *jāti* ‘class’ optionally combines in a *tatpuruṣa* compound with a syntactically related coreferential *pada* which ends in *sUP* and contains any of the following:

poṭā ‘a hermaphrodite’
yuvati ‘young female’
stoka ‘a little’
katipaya ‘several, some, so many’
grṣti ‘a cow which has delivered only once’
dhenu ‘a cow which has recently delivered’
vaṣā ‘a barren cow’
vehat ‘a cow that miscarries’
vaṣkayaniiḥ ‘a cow with a young calf’
pravaktra ‘an expounder, announcer’
srotiyā ‘learned in the Veda, conversant with sacred knowledge’
adhyāpaka ‘teacher’
dhūrtai ‘cunning, crafty’

**Examples:**

ibhapoṭā ‘young female elephant’
ibhuryuvaṭiḥ ‘a young female elephant’
agnistokah ‘a little fire’
udaśīṇkatipayam ‘some buttermilk’
gogṛṣṭiḥ ‘a cow which has delivered only once’
godhenuḥ 'a cow which has recently delivered'
govaśā 'a barren cow'
govēhat 'a cow that miscarries'
govaśkayāṇi 'a cow with a young calf'
kāthapraṇavaṭā 'a Kātha who is an expounder'
kāthaśrutiya 'a Kātha who is learned in the Veda'
kathādhyāpakaḥ 'a Kātha who is a teacher'
kathadhūrtaḥ 'a Kātha who is crafty (skilled)'

1. This rule allows the optional formation of compounds between a word which denotes jāti 'class' and a word in syntactic coordination containing poṭā, etc. Words denoting jāti are referenced as qualifieds (viśeṣya) as against poṭā, etc., which are given as adjectives (viśeṣaṇa). The formation of these compounds can be accomplished by 2.1.57 viśeṣaṇam viśeṣyena..., though poṭā, etc., must in that case be preplaced. The compounds covered by this rule require the adjectives to be postposed.

2.1.66 प्रशांसार्थकेतुः

praśaṃsāvacanaiḥ ca

| praśaṃsāvacanaiḥ | 3/3 ca ṃ | (samāsah #3, saha supā #4, sup #9, vibhāśā #11, tatpuruṣāḥ #22, samānādhikaranena #49, jāṭih #65)

jātivāci subantam praśaṃsāvacanaiḥ saha samasyate, tatpuruṣaḥ ca samāso bhavati

A pada which ends in sUP and denotes jāti optionally combines in a tatpuruṣa compound with a syntactically related coreferential pada which ends in sUP and denotes praśaṃsā 'praise'.

Examples:

gopraṃkāṇḍam 'an excellent cow'
asvapraṃkāṇḍam 'an excellent horse'
gomatāllikā 'an excellent bull'
asvamatałlikā 'an excellent horse'
gomacarcikā 'an excellent cow'
asvamacarcikā 'an excellent horse'

1. This rule allows the formation of compounds of words which denote jāti with words in syntactic coordination denoting praśaṃsā 'praise'. There are three ways to denote praise (praśaṃsāvacana);

(i) A word denoting jāti may denote praise when used for something else (parārthe prayujamānāḥ praśaṃsām ācakṣate). Thus, simho devadattaḥ 'Devadatta is a lion'.

(ii) Sometimes a qualifier-qualified relation (guṇaguruṇī) results in praise.
Thus, ramanīyo grāmaḥ 'a beautiful village'.

(iii) On occasion, certain words conventionally denote praise. Thus, gomatallikaḥ 'an excellent cow'.

The word vacana in this rule is used so that compounds with conventional meaning (iii) alone should be formed with this rule. That is, examples from (i) will be ruled out. Furthermore, compounds which by convention (rūḍhi) denote praise are used in their own respective genders: they do not change for the gender of the others. Thus, aśvamatallikā 'an excellent horse', where metallikaḥ does not change for the masculine 'horse' (aśva).

2.1.67 युवा खलतिपलितवलिनजसरीथिः:

yuvākhalatipalitavalinajaratibhiḥ
/ yuvā...jaratibhiḥ 3/3 (itar. dv.)/
(samāsah #3, saka supā #4, sup #9, vibhāsā #11, tatpurusah #22, samānādhikaranaḥ #49)
khalatyādibhiḥ samānādhikaranaiḥ saka yuvāsabdaiḥ samasyate, tat-

purusā ca samāso bhavati

A pada which ends in sUP and contains yuvā 'young' optionally combines, in a tatpurusa compound, with a syntactically related coreferential pada which ends in sUP and contains any of the following:

khalati 'bald'

palita 'greyhaired'

valina 'wrinkled'

jarati 'aged, old (female)'

Examples:

yuvākhalatih 'a young man who has gone bald'
yuvākhalati 'a young woman who has gone bald'
yuvāpalitāh 'a young man who has gone grey'
yuvāpalitā 'a young woman who has gone grey'
yuvāvalināh 'a young man who has wrinkled'
yuvāvalinā 'a young woman who has wrinkled'
yuvājaraṇ 'a young man who looks old'
yuvājaraṭi 'a young woman who looks old'

1. Note that the word yuvā 'young' is used in the masculine whereas the word jarati 'old' is used in the feminine. The formation of compounds obtains under the condition of syntactic coordination (sāmānādhikaranyā). But yuvā, masculine, and jarati, feminine, cannot share syntactic coordination. Their meanings are also diametrically opposed. Commentators inform us that, by using jarati in feminine, Pāṇini wants to indicate the paribhāṣā (72): prātipadicagrahaṇe lingaviśiṣṭasyāpi grahaṇam 'reference to a particular nominal stem also includes reference to its particular genders. One can thus infer yuvā jaraṇ as well as yuvatīr jaratī
from yuvā jarati. Incidentally, the opposition of meaning between yuvā and jarati can be reconciled by the fact that someone may look old even in youth, due to malnutrition, etc. Thus, the referent of yuvā or jarati is not limited to masculine or feminine only. Others find problems with the exact interpretation of the paribhāṣā just cited. For example, a reference to a particular gender may be available if the reference is made by the nominal stem. Can reference to the masculine be made by the reference of the stem jarat in the feminine? It probably cannot. Kaiyaṭa (see Mimāṃsaka 1974: 155) therefore proposes jaradbhīḥ as another reading for jaratibhiḥ.

2. See note (2) under rule 2.1.55 upāmānāni sāmānyavacanaṅī for an additional explanation of the formulation of this rule, especially since compounds covered by the current rule may also be formed under provisions of rule 2.1.57 viśeṣanam...

2.1.68 कृत्यतुल्याख्या अजात्या

kṛtyatulyākhyā ajātyā
1/ kṛtyatulyākhyā 1/1 = tulyasya ākhyā = nūlyākhyā (ṣaś. tat.), kṛtyaś ca tulyākhyā ca (itār. dv. with int. tat.); ajātyā 1/1
(samāsāḥ #3, saha supā #4, sup #9, vibhāṣā #11, tatpuruṣaḥ #22, samānādhikaraṇena #49)

A pada which ends in sUP, and contains either a stem in kṛtya or a stem synonymous with tulya ‘equal, similar’, optionally combines, in a tatpurusa compound, with a syntactically related coreferential pada which ends in sUP and does not denote jāti ‘class’.

Examples:

bhijoṣṇam ‘warm food’
bhijyalavanam ‘salty food’
pāṇiyaśītam ‘cold drink’
tulyaśvetah ‘equally white’
tulyamahān ‘equally great’
sadrśaśvetah ‘equally white’
sadrśamahān ‘equally great’

1. This rule allows for a word which contains an item ending in a kṛtya (3.1.95 kṛtyaḥ) suffix, or a word constituted by tulya ‘equal’ or its synonym, to combine in a tatpurusa compound with another word in syntactic coordination, provided this latter does not denote jāti ‘class’. We thus get examples like bhijoṣṇam ‘warm food’, tulyaśvetah ‘equally white’, and sadrśaśvetah ‘id.’ A compound parallel to bhiojya odanaḥ will not be permitted by this rule, simply because odanaḥ ‘rice’ denotes jāti.

The word ākhyā ‘denotation’ is included so that tulya is not treated as denoting its form (svaṛūpa) only. The word kṛtya, itself, does not denote
its form only. By its association (sāhacarya), tulya should also not be restricted in this way.

Words such as uṣṇam in bhṛjyoṣṇam are qualifiers (guṇavācaka). As such, and especially in the absence of the present rule, they will be placed first in the compound (2.1.57 višeṣaṇam...). This rule thus facilitates their post-placement (paranipāta). Note that compounds such as tulyamahān can be formed by 2.1.61 sanmahat.... However, this rule will be preferred over 2.1.61 for the reason that it is subsequent (paratvāt). Rule 1.4.2 vi-pratiṣedhe paraṁ kāryam will facilitate this. Observe that sāvakāśatva ‘valid scope of application elsewhere’ of rules in conflict is one of the conditions of tulyabalaṭā ‘equal strength of rules in conflict’ which rule 1.4.2 implies. Our present rule is sāvakāśa in examples like tulyaśvetah ‘equally white’, while rule 2.1.61 has its valid scope in examples like mahāpuruṣah ‘great man’. The other condition of tulyabalaṭā, i.e., simultaneous (yugapad) application of two rules in a single context, entails examples such as tulya-mahān, where rules 2.1.61 sanmahat... and 2.1.68 kṛtyatulyākhya... become applicable at the same time. Incidentally, tulya in tulyaśvetah denotes the sense of equality (tulyārtha), whereas mahat in mahāpuruṣah denotes inequality (atulyārtha).

2.1.69 वर्णो वर्णोन

varṇo varṇena
/ varṇaḥ 1/1 varṇena 3/1/
(samāsah #3, saha supā #4, sup #9, vibhāṣā #11, tatpuruṣah #22, samānādhi-karaṇena #49)
varṇaviṣeṣavācic subantaṃ varṇaviṣeṣavācinā subantena samāṃdhi-karaṇena saha samasyate, tatpuruṣaḥ ca samāso bhavati
A pada which ends in sUP and denotes varṇa ‘color’ optionally combines, in a tatpuruṣa compound, with a syntactically related coreferential pada which ends in sUP and denotes varṇa.

EXAMPLES:

kṛṣṇasāraṅgaḥ ‘black and (at the same time) variegated’
lohitasāraṅgaḥ ‘red and (at the same time) variegated’
kṛṣṇasaṅbalaḥ ‘black and (at the same time) brindled’
lohitasabalaḥ ‘red and (at the same time) brindled’

1. The word varṇa in both its occurrences is to be interpreted as denoting ‘a particular word for color’. In addition, both compound constituents must be in syntactic coordination (sāmānādhikaraṇa). Thus, we get the example kṛṣṇasaṅbalaḥ ‘black and (at the same time) brindled’, or ‘variegated black’, where kṛṣṇa is in syntactic coordination with sabalaḥ ‘variegated’, by way of (dvāreṇa) being the pari (avayava) present in the whole (samudāya) constituted by variegation.
2.1.70 कुमार: श्रमणादिभि:

kumārah śramaṇādibhiḥ
l/kumāraḥ 1/1 śramaṇādibhiḥ 3/3/
(samāsah #3, saха suपā #4, sup #9, vibhāśā #11, tatpuruṣaḥ #22, samānādhikaranena #49)

kumāraśābdāḥ śramaṇādibhiḥ saха samasyate, tatpuruṣaḥ ca samāso bhavati
A pada which ends in sUP and contains the stem kumāra ‘boy’ optionally combines, in a tatpuruṣa compound, with a syntactically related coreferential pada which ends in sUP and contains a stem enumerated in the list headed by śramaṇa ‘ascetic’.

EXAMPLES:

kumāraśramaṇā ‘a female ascetic who is still young’
kumārādhyāpakāḥ ‘a teacher who is still very young’

1. Note that śramaṇā ‘female ascetic, hard-working’, etc., are given in the feminine. Consequently, their compounds should be formed with the corresponding feminine constituent kumārī. This is necessitated because kumāra is given in the masculine. See (Pbh 72) prātipadi-kagrahaṇe... for details. Also refer to note 1 under rule 2.1.67 yuvā khalati....

2.1.71 चतुष्पादो गर्भिणया

catuspādo garbhīnyā
l/catuspādaḥ 1/1 = catvāraḥ pādā yeśām (bu.), te; garbhīnyā 3/1/
(samāsah #3, saха suपā #4, sup #9, vibhāśā #11, tatpuruṣaḥ #22, samānādhikaranena #49)
catuspād vācinaḥ subantā garbhiniśabdāna samasyante, tatpuruṣaḥ ca samāso bhavati
A pada which ends in sUP and denotes a catuspād ‘quadruped’ optionally combines, in a tatpuruṣa compound, with a syntactically related coreferential pada constituted by garbhīni ‘pregnant’.

EXAMPLES:

gogarbhīni ‘a pregnant cow’
ajāgarbhīni ‘a pregnant goat’

2.1.72 मयूरव्यंसकाद्यश्च

mayūravyāmsakādayaś ca
l/mayūravyāmsakādayaḥ 1/3 = ‘mayūravyāmsaka’ ādīr yeśām (bu.), te; ca 0 /
(samāsah #3, saха suपā #4, sup #9, vibhāśā #11, tatpuruṣaḥ #22, samānādhikaranena #49)
mayūravyāmsakādayaḥ śabdās tatpuruṣasamajñā bhavanti
Items enumerated in the list headed by \textit{mayūravyamśaka} ‘as cunning as a peacock’ are also termed \textit{tatpuruṣa}.

\textbf{Examples:}

\begin{quote}
\textit{mayūravyamśakaḥ} ‘as cunning as a peacock’
\textit{chāṭravyamśakaḥ} ‘as cunning as a student’
\textit{kāmbojamunḍaḥ} ‘one whose shaven head is like the head of a resident of Kamboja’
\textit{yavanamunḍaḥ} ‘one whose shaven head is like the head of a Yavana (Ionian)’
\end{quote}

1. This rule allows for the formation of compounds such as \textit{mayūravyamśakaḥ} by \textit{nipātana} ‘ad hoc’. The word \textit{ca} is used in the sense of \textit{avadhārana}, exact delimitation of the scope. That is, no further compounds such as \textit{paramamayūravyamśakaḥ} would be permitted. Note that words such as \textit{vyamśaka} qualify for post-placement (\textit{paranipāta}) on the strength of this rule. This is true of all the other examples including \textit{yavanamunḍaḥ} ‘one whose shaven head is like the head of a Yavana (Ionian)’. Examples such as \textit{hastegṛhyā} will qualify for \textit{LyaP} by 7.3.37 \textit{samāso’ naṁ-pūrve ktyo īyap}. Elsewhere, \textit{haste gṛhitvā} ‘after having grabbed in the hand’ and \textit{punar datvā} ‘after having given again’ would entail \textit{Ktvā} as usual.

2.2.1 \textbf{पृवापराधरोत्तरमेकाकाधिकरणे}

\begin{quote}
pūrvāparādharottaram ekadesīnā ekādhikaranē
\end{quote}

\begin{quote}
/ pūrvāparādharottaram 1/1 = pūrvaṁ ca aparaṁ ca adharam ca
uttaram ca (sam. dv.); ekadesīnā 3/1 = ekadeso 'syāsti
(karm.), tena; ekādhikaranē 7/1 = ekam ca tad adhikaraṇam ca (karm.).
tasmin /

(samāsah #2.1.3, saha supā #2.1.4, sup #2.1.9, vibhāṣā #2.1.11,
tatpuruṣaḥ #2.1.22)

avayavirācīnā subantena saha pūrva, apara, adhara, uttaraśabdāḥ
sāmarthyaḥ ekadesavacanāḥ samasyante, tatpuruṣaḥ ca samāso bhavati
A pada which ends in \textit{sUP} and contains \textit{pūrva} ‘fore’, \textit{apara} ‘back’, \textit{adhara} ‘lower’, or \textit{uttara} ‘upper' optionally combines, in a \textit{tatturuṣa} compound, with a syntactically related \textit{pada} which ends in \textit{sUP} and refers to a single substance (\textit{ekādhikarana}) with parts (\textit{ekadesīn}).

\textbf{Examples:}

\begin{quote}
pūrvakāyāḥ ‘the front of the body’
aparakāyāḥ ‘the back of the body’
adharakāyāḥ ‘the lower part of the body’
uttarakāyāḥ ‘the upper part of the body’
\end{quote}

1. \textit{Kāśikā} explains the word \textit{ekadesīn} as \textit{avayavin} ‘that which has parts;
a whole'. Because they are syntactically related (samarthā) with items denoting an ekadesin, pūrva 'front', etc., are treated as denoting parts (ekadesa-vacana). Besides, if pūrva, etc., are not treated as denoting parts, the second constituent of the compound referred to here as denoting a whole makes no sense. For, a part (ekadesa) necessarily implies a corresponding whole (ekadesin). It is for this reason that a generalized reference with pūrva, etc., is interpreted as having been made in the particular sense of a part. The word ekādhikaraṇa has been used here as a qualifier (viṣeṣana) to ekadesin, thereby giving the sense of 'that which is one, and is, at the same time, also the substratum, i.e., substance (ekam ced adhikaraṇam ekadravyam ekadeśi bhavati). This is what Nyāsa calls ekasamkhyaṇiśitaṁ dravyam 'a thing qualified by the number one'.

Since an ekadesin serves as the locus or substratum for its parts, the saptami is acceptable in ekādhikaraṇe. But to accept the qualifier status of ekādhikaraṇa on the one hand, and the instrumental which denotes the qualified in the word on the other, is problematic. The syntactic coordination (sāmāṇādhikaraṇya) necessary for items termed qualifier-qualified (viṣeṣana-viṣeya) thus becomes impaired. Jinendra (Nyāsa ad Kāś II: 96) suggests that saptami in ekādhikaraṇe is used in the sense of trīyā (ekādhikaraṇa ity atra trīyārttha evaisā saptami). It is not a saptami introduced by 2.3.36 saptamy adhikaraṇe ca (na saptamy adhikaraṇe ca ity anena).

Note that the constituency of compounds covered by this rule entails avayavāvayavisambandha ‘part-whole relationship’. This may occasion the use of śaṣṭhī ‘genitive’ after items denoting a whole (ekadesin). Additionally, such a compound should then be covered by 2.2.8 śaṣṭhī. Kāśikā states that the formulation of this rule constitutes an exception (apavāda) to genitive compound (śaṣṭhisamāsāpavādo ‘yam yogah).

The condition of ekadesinā will not permit a compound parallel to pūrvaṃ nābhēḥ kāyasya ‘part of the body prior to the navel’, where nābhi is used in the ablative (paṇcami) to denote avadhi ‘limit’ marked by association with dis ‘direction’. The navel thus cannot be called ekadesin. Similarly, ekadesitva ‘partness’ must also be qualified by ekatva ‘singularity’. A compound parallel to pūrvaṃ chātrānāṃ ‘the front of the students’ cannot therefore be permitted, since even though the group can serve as eka-deśa, the students are many.

2.2.2 अर्थ नूपृक्षकम्

ardham napumṣakam
/ ardham 1/1 napumṣakam 1/1/
(samāsah #2.1.3, saha supā #2.1.4, sup #2.1.9, vibhāsā #2.1.11, tatpuruṣaḥ #2.1.22, ekadesinākādhihikaraṇaḥ #1)
‘ardham’ ity etad napumṣakam ekadesinākādhihikaraṇena samasyate, tatpuruṣaḥ ca samāso bhavati
A pada which contains ardha ‘half’ in neuter optionally combines, in a tatpurusa compound, with a syntactically related pada which ends in sup and refers to a single substance with parts.

Examples:

ardhapippali ‘half of a pepper’
arthakośātaki ‘half of a squash’

1. Note that the words ekadesinā and ekādhikarane are carried. This obviously limits the compound constituency in a way similar to that of the preceding rule, though with a qualification. Kāśikā informs us that ardham ‘exact half’ is to be interpreted here as āviśṭaś̄riṅgha ‘fixed gender; neuter’. The word ardha in neuter is invariably used in the sense of an exact half. The question of gender in this context becomes pertinent, since a word denoting part (avayava) will normally be expected to take the gender of the whole whose part it denotes (abhidheya). A word denoting part thus can be seen in all the three genders; but the part which consists of the exact half of the whole will, in the present case, have to be in neuter.

A compound with ardham is permitted when it is used in the neuter, consequent upon denoting an exact half. This again is an exception to the genitive compound, where we get an example such as ardhapippali, parallel to ardham pippalyāḥ. Incidentally, ardhapippali is a feminine in consonance with pippali, the second constituent of the compound (2.4.26 paravat liṅgaṃ dvandvatatpurusasyaḥ). It does not go through the shortening (hrasva) of its final i, since pippali is not an upasaranā (cf. 1.2.43 prathamā-nirdiṣṭa samāsa upasaranām; 1.2.48 gostriyor upasaranasya).

Note that the condition of napumṣakam rules the compound grāmārdhah, parallel to grāmasya ardhaḥ, out of the scope of this rule. For ardha ‘half’, nere, denotes ‘part, section’ (khaṇḍa), as opposed to an ‘exact half’ (samāṁsa). The condition of ekadesinā blocks the formation of a compound between ardham and devadattaḥ of ardham paśor devadattasya ‘half of Devadatta’s cattle’. For, devadatta is the owner (svāmin) and hence is anekadesin ‘residing in more than one locus’ in relation to the cattle he owns. Contrarily, paśuḥ ‘cattle’, because it has a single locus, can be viewed as an ekadesin in a compound, such as, ardha paśuḥ. A compound parallel to ardham pippalinām will not be permitted either, since pippali is plural and violates the condition of ekādhikaraṇe.

2.2.3 द्वितीयतीयाचतुर्थनृत्यगणन्यान्तरस्याम्

dvitiyaṭṭhyacaturthaturyāny anyatarasyāṃ
/ dvitiya...turyāṇi 1/3 (itar. du.); anyatarasyāṃ Ø /
(samāṣaḥ #2.1.3, saha supā #2.1.4, sup #2.1.9, vibhāṣā #2.1.11,
tatpurusah #2.1.22, ekadesinākādhikarane #1)
dvitiyādīni śabdārūpāṇi ekadeśinaikādhikaranena sahānyatarasyūm samasyante, tatpurusāṣ ca samāso bhavati

A pada which ends in sUP and contains dvitiya 'second', tṛtiya 'third', caturtha 'fourth', or turya 'fourth' optionally combines, in a tatpurusa compound, with a syntactically related pada which ends in sUP and refers to a single substance with parts.

**Examples:**

dvitiyabhikṣa 'second portion of alms'
bhikṣādviṭṭiyam 'id.'
tṛtiyabhikṣa 'third portion of alms'
bhikṣātṛtiṭiyam 'id.'
caturthabhikṣa 'fourth portion of alms'
bhikṣācaturtham 'id.'
turyabhikṣa 'fourth portion of alms'
bhikṣāturyam 'id.'

1. This rule also forms an exception to the genitive compounds. However, since Pāṇini uses anyatarasyaṃ 'optionally', a genitive compound can also be allowed additionally. The restriction of pūraṇaguna... (2.2.11) does not apply here, because of the use of anyatarasyaṃ. Thus, we get dvitiyabhikṣa, parallel to dvitiyaṃ bhikṣāyāḥ, 'second portion of alms'. A genitive compound under the provision of anyatarasyaṃ will be bhikṣādviṭṭiyam. See note 2 under 2.1.18 pāre madhye saṣṭhiyā vā on how rule 2.1.11 vibhāṣa interacts with anyatarasyaṃ of this rule.

It is stated that a compound with turiya, in addition to turya, is desired. Thus, turiyabhikṣa, parallel to turiyaṃ bhikṣāyāḥ, or bhikṣāturiyaṃ.

Note that, given dvitiyaṃ bhikṣāyā bhikṣukasya, bhikṣuka cannot be combined with dvitiyaṃ, since it does not denote the ekadesīṃ. Similarly, the plural of bhikṣāṇāṃ in dvitiyaṃ bhikṣāṇāṃ will violate the condition of ekādhikaraṇa. Compounds parallel to these strings will, thus, not be permitted.

2.2.4 प्राप्तापन्न च हिन्दीयया

prāptāpanne ca dvitiyayā

1/ prāptāpanne 1/2 (itar. dv.); ca 0 dvitiyayā 3/1/
(samāsāḥ #2.1.3, saha supā #2.1.4, sup #2.1.9, vibhāṣa #2.1.11, tatpurusāḥ #2.1.22, anyatarasyaṃ #3)

‘prāpta, āpanna’ ity etau dvitiyāntena saha samasyete, tatpurusaṣ ca samāso bhavati

A pada which ends in sUP and contains prāpta ‘obtained’ or apānna ‘reached’ optionally combines, in a tatpurusa compound, with a syntactically related pada which ends in dvitiyā ‘second triplet of sUP’.
2.2.4  Adhyāya Two: Pāda Two

Examples:

prāptajīvikāḥ 'he who has obtained his livelihood'
jīvikāprāptāḥ 'id.'
āpannaajīvikāḥ 'he who has reached (attained) his livelihood'
jīvikāāpannahāḥ 'id.'

1. Note that ekaideśinā and ekādhikaranē are not carried here, because they are incompatible. The compound formation allowed by this rule is limited to the constituency of prāpta and āpanna, along with a word in dvitiyā 'accusative'. Obviously, the provision of this rule may be treated as an exception to 2.1.24 dvitiyāśritāta.... But anyatarasyām will again permit the formation of compounds specific to rule 2.1.24. Thus, this rule allows prāptajīvikāḥ, parallel to jīvikāprāptāḥ of 2.1.24. The word jīvikā will be termed upasārjana by 1.2.44 ekavībhakti.... Consequently, its long ā will be replaced with short (1.2.48 gostriyor...). How is it that prāptajīvikāḥ is not assigned feminine gender according to jīvikā (cf. 2.4.26 paraval liṅgam dvandva...)? An exception to gender in accordance with the following constituent is made by the Mahābhāṣya (see vt. I, under 2.4.26 dvigu-prāptāpānālam...). Refer, also, to the Mahābhāṣya under this rule for a much finer interpretation of this rule, especially in view of the derivation of prāptajīvikā, a compound parallel to jīvikām prāptā stri 'a woman who has obtained her livelihood'.

2.2.5  काल: परिमाणिन

kālaḥ parimāṇinā
| kālaḥ 1/3 parimāṇinā 3/1 |
(samāsah #2.1.3, saha supā #2.1.4, sup #2.1.9, vibhāṣā #2.1.11,
tatpuruṣah #2.1.22)
parimāṇavācina subantena saha sāmarthyāt parimāṇavacanāḥ
kālasabdāḥ samasyante, tatpuruṣaḥ ca samāśo bhavati
A pada which ends in sUP and contains a stem denoting kāla 'time, duration' optionally combines in a tatpuruṣa compound with a pada ending in sUP and containing a stem denoting parimāṇin 'item to be measured'.

Examples:

māsaśajātāḥ 'born a month ago'
sāṃsvatsarajātāḥ 'born a year ago'
dvayahajātāḥ 'born two days ago'
tryahajātāḥ 'born three days ago'

1. This rule limits the constituency of its examples to parimāṇaparimāni-
sambandha 'measure-measured relationship'. The word parimāṇin thus
refers to the thing which may be measured. Based on the necessary condition of sāmarthya between that which denotes a parimāṇin and that which denotes time (kāla), we conclude that the latter denotes the measure (parimāṇa). Accordingly, a word which denotes time becomes the measure of that which is measured (parimāṇin). The parimāṇaparimāni-sambandha would naturally require the use of genitive after the item which denotes parimāṇin. More particularly, a compound with parimāṇin in genitive may become the subject of genitive compound (saṅhisamāsa).

A genitive compound formed under 2.2.8 śaṣṭhi would yield the form *jātamāsah, where the constituent ending in genitive will have to be pre-placed. This rule favors the form māsajātah, with the preplacement of the non-genitive constituent māsah. It is in this sense that the present rule is treated as an exception to 2.2.8. Commentators also note that māsa-jātah can also be derived as a bahuvrihi compound, parallel to māso jātaḥ asya 'he of whom one month has passed', with practically no difference of meaning or accent.

It is argued that a person born (jātaḥ) does not necessarily become parimāṇin with reference to the month (māsa), a measure of time (parimāṇa). If this were so, a compound such as māsajātah, parallel to māso jātasya, would not be permitted. The discrepancy, however, is reconciled by the fact that the function of an item such as māsa, as a measure of time, can only be understood in connection with items such as jātaḥ, the relative parimāṇin.

2.2.6 नन्

nañ
/ nañ 0 /
(samāsah #2.1.3, saha supā #2.1.4, sup #2.1.9, vibhāṣā #2.1.11, tatpurusā #2.1.22)
nañ samarthena subantena saha samasyate, tatpuruṣaḥ ca samāso bhavati
A pada constituted by nañ 'not' optionally combines, in a tatpuruṣa compound, with a syntactically related pada which ends in sUP.

EXAMPLES:

abrāhmaṇaḥ 'a non-Brāhmaṇa'
avṛṣalaḥ 'a non-Vṛṣala'

1. The Mahābhāṣya (II: 666-76) discusses in detail the logico-semantic implications of negation in general, and of a negative (na) compound in particular. The example discussed is abrāhmaṇa of abrāhmaṇam ānaya 'bring him who is not a brāhmaṇa'. Questions have been raised about the person who will be brought in response to the command. Will he be a brāhmaṇa? Why not? After all, it is a tatpuruṣa compound, where the meaning
of the second constituent is principal (pradhāna). But, in compliance with the command, he who is brought is not a brāhmaṇa. This contradicts the view that the meaning of the second constituent is principal in a tatpuruṣa compound. Is it, then, possible for us to accept that it is the meaning of naN, the first constituent, which is principal in such a case? This possibility will also encounter problems. Firstly, naN is an indeclinable. Therefore, the compound must also be termed an indeclinable (avyayībhāva).

Secondly, the relation between the constituents is that of qualifier-qualified (viśeṣa-viśeṣya) nature. The na denotes non-existence in general (asatsāmāṇya). Given the phrase, abrāhmaṇaḥ ksatriyaḥ, difficulty of interpretation will arise. The sense intended is that the ksatriya is similar, though not identical, to a brāhmaṇa. That is, he is brāhmaṇa bhinnā tad (brāhmaṇa) saḍṛṣa 'not a brāhmaṇa, although he is similar to one'. The asatsāmāṇya interpretation will reduce the saḍṛṣya ‘similarity’ to non-existence.

A third proposal, to accept abrāhmaṇaḥ as a compound with the prominence of the meaning of something outside the constituency of the compound, is also made. This, too, runs into problems, owing mainly to the negative meaning of naN in relation to brāhaṇa. That is, the saḍṛṣya ‘similarity’ meaning cannot be established. Besides, the question of forming a karmadhāraya with two constituents in syntactic coordination, as opposed to a bahuvrihi, would also arise.

The Mahābhāṣya accepts the prominence of the meaning of the second constituent brāhmaṇa, with the stipulation that na denotes asatsāmāṇya ‘non-existence in general’ and brāhmaṇa denotes ‘non-existence of an aspect of Brāhmaṇaness (brāhmaṇatva) in particular’. The particular aspect of brāhmaṇatva recognized with asatsāmāṇya is brāhmaṇatva by birth. In this way, a qualifier-qualified relationship resulting in sāmāṇādhi karanyā ‘syntactic coordination’ can be established. Thus, na brāhmaṇaḥ = brāhmaṇaḥ = brāhmaṇaḥ bhinnāh ksatriyaḥ brāhmaṇasadṛṣaḥ = abrāhmaṇaḥ. The similarity established between a brāhmaṇa and a ksatriya may be a fair complexion (gaura varṇa); ritual conduct (śucyācāra); brown (piṅgala) eyes; and golden hair (kapilakesa). The difference (bheda) thus constituted could be birth (jāti). The difficulty of brāhmaṇa denoting ‘non-existence of an aspect of brāhmaṇatva’ has been recognized as the secondary meaning of the word brāhmaṇa. A primary meaning would be ‘brāhmaṇatva by birth’. In a negative compound such as abrāhmaṇaḥ, brāhmaṇa denotes the non-existence of its primary meaning. That is, brāhmaṇa is used in the sense of brāhmaṇasadṛṣa. This sense, however, could be brought about only when brāhmaṇa is used with naN. Consequently, naN becomes the revealer (dyotaka) of this meaning. For further details see Joshi (1973: 70–105). Also recall my notes under rule 1.2.45 arthavadadhātuḥ....

The denotata of naN are explained in six ways, as follows:

(i) saḍṛṣya ‘similarity, resemblance’ as in abrāhmaṇaḥ
(ii) abhāva 'lack, non-existence', as in ajñāna 'lack of knowledge'
(iii) bheda 'difference' as in apātaḥ 'something other than cloth'
(iv) alīptā 'smallness', as in anudarā kanyā 'a girl with no belly; with a very slender waist'
(v) aprāśasīya 'unpraiseworthy', as in akālah 'inopportune time'
(vi) virodha 'opposition', as in anītīh 'immorality'

Bālamannoramā and Tatvabodhini ad SK explain abrāhmaṇaḥ as āropitabrāhmaṇaḥ, an impostor, where imposition (āropitavā) becomes the meaning of naN. This meaning, incidentally, is covered by (i) above.

2.2.7 इष्टकृता

İṣad akṛta
/ İṣat 0 akṛta 3/1/
(samāsah #2.1.3, saha supā #2.1.4, sup #2.1.9, vibhāṣā #2.1.11, tatpurusāḥ #2.1.22)
‘İṣat’ ity ayam śabdo kṛdantena supā saha samasyate, tatpurusāḥ ca samāso bhavati

A pada which contains İṣat ‘a little, slight’ optionally combines, in a tatpurusā compound, with a syntactically related pada which ends in sUP but does not contain a stem in kṛt.

Examples:

İṣatkaḍāraḥ 'slight yellow'
İṣatpingalāḥ 'id.'

1. A proposal has been made in the Mahābhāṣya (II: 677) to read guṇavacananena 'with that which denotes quality' in place of akṛta. That is, İṣat should be combined with a word which ends in a sUP, and denotes a quality. Such a specification is needed to block a compound parallel to İṣad gārgyāḥ 'slightly Gārgya', where gārgyāḥ contains a base which ends in the taddhita affix yaN.

2.2.8 षष्ठी

ṣaṣṭhī
/ ṣaṣṭhī 1/1/
(samāsah #2.1.3, saha supā #2.1.4, sup #2.1.9, vibhāṣā #2.1.11, tatpurusāḥ #2.1.22)
ṣaṣṭhyantam subantam samarthena subantena saha samasyate, tatpurusaḥ ca samāso bhavati

A pada which ends in ṣaṣṭhī 'sixth triplet of sUP' optionally combines, in a tatpurusa compound, with a syntactically related pada which ends in sUP.
2.2.8

Adhyāya Two: Pāda Two

Examples:

rājapuruṣah 'king's man'
brāhmaṇaṅkambalāh 'brāhmaṇa's blanket'

1. This rule allows the formation of compounds between a word ending in genitive (saṣṭhī) and another which may be syntactically related to it. However, because its genitive constituent is not qualified, the rule obviously becomes much wider in application. An effort will subsequently be made to restrict this scope by rules such as 2.2.10 na nirdhārane, 2.2.12 ktena ca pājāyām, 2.2.13 adhikaraṇaṇavācinā ca, and 2.2.14 karmanī ca, etc.

Rule 2.2.10 na nirdhārane has an extra restriction in the form of a vārttika. It is stated that a genitive introduced by enumerating specific bases (prati-padavidhāna) should also not be permitted to combine in a tatpuruṣa compound. This vārttika has been accepted as the reason for stating another vārttika. This happens to be the first vārttika of the present rule. It requires a specification whereby a genitive, introduced in connection with a word containing a derivate in kṛt, is allowed to form a tatpuruṣa compound. Such a specification would appear to be useless, given the already wider scope of this rule; but it would seem perfectly logical in view of the restriction of 2.2.10. That is, vārttika one, under 2.2.10, denies formation of a compound where a genitive may have been introduced by any rule other than 2.3.50 saṣṭhī sēṣe. If such a restriction is accepted, then compounds such as idhmapravaścana 'that by means of which one cuts the wood' could never be derived. For, the genitive in idhmasya has been introduced by rule 2.3.65 kartṛkarmanoh kṛti, in connection with its use with pravaścanah, a derivate ending in kṛt. To facilitate the formation of idhmapravaścana, vārttika one under this rule must be stated. Moreover, it must also be stated to cancel the prohibition issued by vārttika of 2.2.10. It is in this sense that commentators accept the vārttika of this rule as the purastādapakarṣa 'retraction'.

2.2.9 याजकादिभिः

yājakādibhiḥ ca
1 yājakādibhiḥ 3/3 = yājaka ādir yeṣāṁ (bv.), te; ca. 0 /
(samāsaḥ #2.1.3, saka supā #2.1.4, sup #2.1.9, vibhāṣā #2.1.11, tatpuruṣaḥ #2.1.22, saṣṭhī #8)
yājakādibhiḥ saka saṣṭhī samasyāte tatpurusā ca samāso bhavati

A pada which ends in saṣṭhī optionally combines, in a tatpuruṣa compound, with a syntactically related pada which contains a stem enumerated in the list headed by yājaka 'sacrificer'.

Examples:

brāhmaṇayaajasakaḥ 'the sacrificing priest of a brāhmaṇa'
ksatriyaajasakaḥ 'the sacrificing priest of a ksatriya'
1. A compound allowed by this rule could have been easily covered by the preceding rule. As such, this rule should not be formulated. Kāśikā states that examples such as brāhmaṇayājakaḥ, etc., could not be derived in view of the restriction laid down by rule 2.2.16 karttari ca. For, suffix aka, i.e., Nvul, in yājaka is introduced to denote kartr. This rule, then, is given as a reinforcement (pratiprasava) of the provision of the preceding rule, obviously in view of an impending prohibition (anyena nivartitasya punah pravṛtyabhyanujñānam).

It is stated that the use of ca in this rule is intended for gathering aspects of application not covered by specific rules (anuktasamuccaya). Consider, for example, the compound candanagandhaḥ ‘fragrance of sandalwood’ parallel to candanasya gandhas, which could not be permitted because of the formulation of rule 2.2.11 pūranāgurussahitārthā.... A provision for compounds such as these, with a constituent denoting quality (guna) and the other ending in genitive, is made by yet another vārttika under this rule: tatthaiś ca guntaiḥ.... This vārttika restricts the quality words to those which may be perceived as tatthā ‘within that’. The word tat, because of its proximity with guna in the vārttika, is interpreted as having guna itself as its antecedent. Thus, tattha will be interpreted as ‘that (quality) which is located within itself’.

It is noted in connection with this that a quality is always perceived as having a substance (dravya) as its locus (adhāra). How, then, could guna be stated to be located within itself? Commentators explain that certain qualities are perceived with words, only as extracted from their substance (śabdena dravyān niśṛṣṭā eva prayāyante). Thus, gandha in candanasya gandhaḥ is perceived as a quality separate from its substance, the sandalwood. It is a quality which is always perceived in appositional (vyadhi karṇa) relationship with its substance; it is not perceived as subservient (uparaṇyaka) to the substance. There are certain other qualities, such as the whiteness (śuklata) in śuklaḥ pataḥ ‘the white cloth’, which can be perceived as being one with the substance. That is why one gets the syntactic coordination (sāmāṇādhi karanya). Similar syntactic coordination is not available in the case of candanasya gandhaḥ: that is, candanaṁ gandhaḥ is out of the question. Note, however, that in the case of śuklaḥ pataḥ, pataśya śuklaḥ is also available. In other words, ‘whiteness’ is a quality which can be perceived in both ways: either in the sāmāṇādhi karana or the vyadhi karana relationship with its substance. A compound which entails vyadhi karana (perception of the quality alone) is permitted by the vārttika in question.

This also brings up the question of compound formation parallel to balākāyāḥ śauklayām ‘the whiteness of the crane’. A compound parallel to this string is not permitted, since the quality of whiteness is not tattha. Note that whether or not a quality can be treated as tattha is based only on meaning (arthisya ca tatthatvam aśriyata iti: see Pradīpa of Kaiyāṭa ad
Mbh II: 679). It is the condition of *tatsthavata* that also rules out the formation of compounds with the qualifiers of these quality words. Thus, *ṭīroṇa* in *gṛtasya ṭīroṇa gandhah* ‘the strong smell of ghee’ cannot be combined.

2.2.10 न विन्यार्ये

*na nirdhāraṇe
na 0 nirdhāraṇe 7/1*

(samāsah #2.1.3, saha supā #2.1.4, sup #2.1.9, tatpuruṣah #2.1.22, saṣṭhi #8)

*nirdhāraṇe yā saṣṭhi sā na samasyate*

A *pada* which ends in *saṣṭhi* and denotes *nirdhāraṇa* ‘setting apart, singling out’ does not combine in a *tatpuruṣa* compound with a syntactically related *pada* which ends in *sUP*.

Examples:

*ksatriyo manuṣyānām śūratamah* ‘a ksatriya is bravest among men’

*kṛṣṇā gavām sampannakṣiratamā* ‘the black one among cows is richest in milk’

*dhāvam adhvagānām śīhramatah* ‘he who runs is the fastest among those who go by the road’

1. The word *nirdhāraṇa* has been explained by the *Kāśikāvṛtti* as singling out one part from among many, of a whole based upon class, quality, or action (*jātipuṣṭikriyābhīḥ samudāyād ekadeśasya pṛthak karaṇam nirdhāram)*. For example, consider *manuṣyānām ksatriyā śūratamah* ‘a ksatriya is bravest among men’, where, from among many groups (*samudāya*) of men, a single group of men is singled out as the bravest, owing to its quality (*guna*) of bravery. Note that it is the part of a whole which is here singled out on the basis of its quality, etc. *Kāśikā* uses the word *ekadeśa* ‘part’ to signify the entity thus singled out. See Joshi (1973: 141) for details on removing possible difficulties in this explanation. Note also that the genitive which specifies *nirdhāraṇa* is introduced by rule 2.3.41 *yataḥ ca nirdhāraṇam*. Also refer to my notes under 2.2.8, concerning the implications of the *vārttika* under this rule.

2.2.11 पूर्णगुणसहितानुपासिद्धाध्यक्षत्ववस्मानाधिकरणेः

*pūraṇagunasyasuhitārthhasadaviyasyatavasamanādṛhikaraṇena
pūraṇa...karaṇena 3/1 = pūraṇam ca guṇaḥ ca suhitārthāḥ
(suhoṭo ṛtho yeṣām (br.)) ca sat ca avyayaḥ ca tavyaḥ ca samānādṛhikaraṇaṃ
c(a sam. dv.), tena /
(samāsah #2.1.3, saha supā #2.1.4, sup #2.1.9, tatpuruṣah #2.1.22, saṣṭhi #8, na #10)
*pūraṇa, guṇa, suhitārtha, sad, avyaya, tavya, samānādṛhikaraṇa* ity etaiḥ saha saṣṭhi na samasyate
A pada which ends in saṣṭhi does not combine, in a tatpurusa compound, with a pada which ends in sUP and entails one of the following: pūrana 'a stem which ends in a pūrana suffix (ordinal number; 5.2.48 tasya pūrane, etc.)'
guna 'a stem which denotes quality'
suhitārtha 'a stem which denotes satisfaction'
sat 'a stem which ends in affixes termed sat'
avyaya 'an indeclinable'
tavya 'a stem which ends in tavyaT suffix'
samānādhikarana 'item in syntactic coordination'

ExamplEs:
chāṭrānām pañcamah 'fifth among the students'
chāṭrānām dasamah 'tenth among the students'
balākāyāḥ sauklyam 'the whiteness of the crane'
kākasya kārṣṇyam 'the blackness of the crow'
phalānām trēptah 'satisfaction of fruits'
brāhmaṇasya kurvāṇah 'while doing some work of a brāhmaṇa'
brāhmaṇasya kurvāṇah 'id.'
brāhmaṇasya kṛtvā 'after having done the work of a brāhmaṇa'
brāhmaṇasya hṛtvā 'id.'
brāhmaṇasya kartavyam 'worth doing for a brāhmaṇa'
rājñah pātaliputrakasya 'of the king of Pātaliputra'
pāṇineḥ sūtrakārasya 'of Pāṇini, the composer of the sūtra'

1. The word pūranaṁ gunasuhitārtha is a dvandva compound where artha, occurring at its end, must be associated with each one of its constituents (cf. dvandvānte śrīyamānāṁ padaṁ pratyekam abhisambhitaye). Consequently, the word guna will be considered here as gunārthe 'that which is used in the sense of quality'. In this way, the word guna will not denote only its form (1.1.68 svam rūpam...), nor will it denote the vowels a, e, and o, based on the paribhāṣā (9) kṛtrimākṛtrimayoh kṛtrimena kāryasampratyañah.

There is a detailed discussion on the word guna itself in the Mahābhāṣya. It has been explained as referring to two types of qualifiers: gunāvacana 'words which denote quality'; and guṇopasarjanadraṇyavacin 'words which denote a substance qualified by quality'. The first type has been defined as a quality which inheres to a substance (dravya), but which can also be removed from it (sattve niviṣate paīti). This kind of guna is considered as essentially different from the substance. Qualities such as rūpa 'color' and śabda 'sound' are examples. The second type refers to qualities which can be expressed in all genders, like śuklaḥ in śuklaḥ paṭah 'white cloth'; śuklaṁ vastram 'white garment'; and śukla śāti 'white garment'. These are possible because of the use of the quality word in accordance with the word which denotes substance.
Rule 2.2.11 blocks the formation of compounds with both types of quality words. Thus, kākasya kārṣṇyam ‘the blackness of the crow’ cannot yield *kākakārṣṇyam. Similarly, brāhmaṇasasya sūklāḥ in brāhmaṇasasya sūklāḥ dantāḥ ‘the white teeth of the brāhmaṇa’ cannot yield a compound, since the genitive in brāhmaṇasasya is not introduced based upon dantāḥ ‘teeth’. Instead, sūklāḥ modifies dantāḥ, and by context one understands that sūklāḥ refers to dantāḥ. That is, sūklāḥ by itself becomes the substratum (ādhāra) of the quality sūklatva ‘whiteness’. The genitive in brāhmaṇasasya is introduced in relation to sūklāḥ. Consequently, brāhmaṇasasya sūklāḥ cannot yield a compound such as *brāhmaṇasasūklāḥ. Also see my note under rule 2.2.9. Joshi (1972: 144-47) presents a very detailed discussion on this aspect of the word guṇa. Commentators also note that the negation (pratīṣedha) of quality (guṇa) words in relation to compounds covered by this rule is not universal (nītya).

Note that samkhya ‘number’ can also be treated as a guṇa word. This being the case, compounds such as govimśatiḥ ‘score of cows’ should not be permitted. It is argued that examples such as niṣkāsatam ‘a hundred Niśka’ are indicators (jñāpaka) for the understanding that compounds with samkhya are not blocked (cf. 5.2.119 satasahasrāntāca ca niṣkāḥ). How else could one talk about niṣka terminating in sata or sahasra?

The genitive in examples such as balākāyāḥ sāuklyam obtains in the sense of guṇagūrīn ‘quality and that which inheres it’. Rule 2.3.50 sāsthi śeṣe will introduce this genitive. The genitive in examples such as brāhmaṇasasya kṛtvā will be introduced by 2.3.71 kṛtyāṇāṁ karttari vā.

Note that examples such as phalānāṁ suhitaḥ entail a genitive which is introduced to denote karana ‘means’. Similarly, the genitive in brāhmaṇasasya kurvan is not introduced in relation to, for instance, the pot (ghaṭa), as in brāhmaṇasasya ghaṭam kurvan ‘making the pot of the brāhmaṇa’. The word kurvan denotes the servant (kīṅkara).

A compound with an indeclinable (avyaya) is blocked only when the indeclinable ends in a kṛt affix. This becomes known from the use of the word avyaya between the affixes saṁ and tārya, which are both kṛt. This will thus not block the formation of a compound such as vyksopari, parallel to vyksasopari of vyksasopari kākas tiṣṭhati ‘there is a crow sitting on the tree’.

2.2.12 केन च पुजायाम्

ktena ca pūjāyām
\( \text{ktena 3/1 ca 0 pūjāyām 7/1;} \)
\( \text{(samāsah \#2.1.3, soha supā \#2.1.4, sup \#2.1.9, tatpurusah \#2.1.22, sāsthi \#8, na \#10)} \)
\( \text{kto yah pūjāyām vihitas tena sāsthi na samasyate} \)

A pada which ends in sāsthi also does not combine, in a tatpurusa compound, with a syntactically related pada which ends in sup, contains a stem in Kta and denotes pūjā ‘honoring’.
Examples:

rājñām mataḥ 'honored by kings'
rājñām buddhaḥ 'known by kings'
rājñām pūjitaḥ 'honored by kings'

1. Note that pūjā here refers to rule 3.2.188 matibuddhipūjā.... Similarly, the word kta is used in this instance to symbolize the provisions of the rule. Consequently, kta should be interpreted here as referring to all instances of kta introduced by rule 3.2.188, and not only to that which denotes the sense of pūjā 'praise'. The word pūjā thus becomes an upalaksāna 'mark' for the operational provisions of rule 3.2.188.

2.2.13 अधिकरणवाचिना च

adhikaraṇavācīnā ca
I adhikaraṇavācīnā 3/1 ca 0 /
(samāsah #2.1.3, saha supā #2.1.4, sup #2.1.9, tatpurusah # 2.1.22,
śaṣṭhi #8, na # 10, ktena # 12)
adhikaraṇavācīnā ktena śaṣṭhi na samasyate
A pada which ends in śaṣṭhi does not combine, in a tatpurusā compound, with a syntactically related pada which ends in sUP, contains a Kta and denotes adhikaraṇa 'locus'.

Examples:

idam esāṃ yātām 'this is their path of going'
idam esāṃ bhūtam 'this is their place of eating'

1. The word adhikaraṇa, like the word pūjā in the preceding rule, refers to rule 3.4.76 kto 'dhikaraṇe.... Here, Kta again becomes an upalaksāna 'mark'. The blocking of compounds with a constituent in Kta is thus limited to the Kta introduced by rule 3.4.76.

2.2.14 कर्मणि च

karmanī ca
I karmanī 7/1 ca 0 /
(samāsah #2.1.3, saha supā #2.1.4, sup #2.1.9, tatpurusah #2.1.22,
śaṣṭhi #8, na #10)
karmāṇi ca yā śaṣṭhi sā na samasyate
A pada which ends in śaṣṭhi and denotes karman 'object' also does not combine, in a tatpurusā compound, with a syntactically related pada which ends in sUP.

Examples:

gavām doḥaḥ 'milking of cows'
āśceya gavāṃ doho 'gopālakena 'it is a surprise to see the non-cowherd milking the cow'
odonasya bhojanam ‘eating of rice’ as in
rocate odanasya bhojanam devadattena ‘eating of rice pleases Devadatta’

1. The word *kṣena* is not carried here. The word *karmaṇa* therefore qualifies *ṣaṣṭhi*. But the *ṣaṣṭhi* intended here is one which is specific to 2.3.66 *ubhabhāṣāpayatu karmaṇi*. Thus, a compound between odanasya bhojanam in rocate me devadattena odanasya bhojanam ‘I like Devadatta’s eating of rice’ will not be permitted, since the genitive in odanasya is introduced by rule 2.3.66 to denote karmaṇa ‘object’. The prohibition of a genitive denoting kartr, which is to follow, also becomes an indicator that karman in this rule refers to rule 2.3.66. In this way, compounds such as idhmapravaścanaḥ, where *idhma* entails a genitive denoting karman (and LyuT denotes karana) cannot be blocked.

2.2.15 त्राजकाभ्यां कर्त्तरि

trajakābhyaṁ karttari
/ trajakābhyaṁ 3/2 karttari 7/1/
(samāsaḥ #2.1.3, saha supā #2.1.4, sup #2.1.9, tatpurusah #2.1.22,
ṣaṣṭhi #8, na #10, karmaṇi #2.2.14)
karttari trajakābhyaṁ (karttari yau trajakau tāḥhyāṁ) karmaṇi (yā) ṣaṣṭhi
(sā) na samasyate

A pada which ends in ṣaṣṭhi and denotes karman does not combine, in a tatpurusa compound, with a syntactically related pada which ends in sUP, contains a stem in trC or aha, and denotes kartr.

**Examples:**

*apām sraṣṭā* ‘producer of water’
*purām bhettā* ‘destroyer of cities’
*odanasya bhojakaḥ* ‘eater of rice’
*saktunāṁ pāyakah* ‘drinker of saṅtu (powdered roasted grain mixed with water)’

1. Bhaṭṭoṣiṇi Dikṣita (SK II: 52-54) interprets rules 2.2.15 and 2.2.16 differently from the Kāśkā. According to him these sūtra have the following meanings:

**2.2.15** A pada in ṣaṣṭhi does not combine in a tatpuruṣa compound with a pada which contains a stem in trC or aha and denotes agent (kartr).

**2.2.16** A pada in ṣaṣṭhi which denotes agent does not combine in a tatpuruṣa compound with a pada which contains a stem in aha.

The above interpretations are based on two important considerations.

(i) Bhaṭṭoṣiṇi does not treat karttari as an adjective of ṣaṣṭhi in rule 2.2.15.

(ii) Bhaṭṭoṣiṇi treats karttari as an adjective of ṣaṣṭhi in 2.2.16 but drops trC as part of the rule. He does not treat trC as being carried from 2.2.15.
As is apparent from the vṛtti and the translation, Kāśīkā treats karttari as an adjective of ṣaṣṭhi in 2.2.15. Further, it treats karttari as an adjective of trjakau in 2.2.16. Obviously, Kāśīkā retains trC in the interpretation of 2.2.16 carried from 2.2.15.

Bhaṭṭośi argues that since ṣaṣṭhi is an anuvṛtti element, while trjakau is expressly mentioned in rule 2.2.15, karttari should qualify trjakau. Apparently, Kāśīkā disagrees. But, as Kāśīkā points out, there are problems in its own interpretation. Although Kāśīkā interprets karttari as an adjective to ṣaṣṭhi, there are no examples given for such a ṣaṣṭhi denoting agent and being syntactically relatable to a pada containing trC. Such examples simply do not exist. But such examples may be available if ṣaṣṭhi is not constrained by the qualifier karttari. This is what Bhaṭṭośi is advocating. This leads him to accept karttari as an adjective of trC and aka. But since trC obligatorily denotes agent, to further qualify it with karttari only amounts to stating the most obvious. This is the drawback which kāśīkā realizes in stating that karttari does not qualify trC and, because of its association (sāhacarya), aka. But Kāśīkā should then drop trC from the rule, as there are no examples. Kāśīkā states that trC should be retained here for anuvṛtti in later rules. If Bhaṭṭośi accepts the anuvṛtti of trC in 2.2.16, he will face the same problem of a lack of examples that Kāśīkā faces in 2.2.15. It is for this reason that Bhaṭṭośi qualifies ṣaṣṭhi by karttari in 2.2.16. To avoid further problems, he does not accept the anuvṛtti of trC in 2.2.16.

Bhaṭṭośi’s position seems to be stronger, since he can offer an example for trC in 2.2.15 by not allowing karttari to qualify ṣaṣṭhi. Because he does not accept the anuvṛtti of trC in 2.2.16, he can afford to qualify ṣaṣṭhi with karttari there. That way he need not even postulate, as Kāśīkā does, that trC is intended in 2.2.15 for anuvṛtti in subsequent rules.

Dropping the anuvṛtti of trC also has consequences for rule 2.2.17 nityam kriḍājīvikayoḥ, whereby an obligatory compound is ordered for a pada which ends in ṣaṣṭhi provided the resulting compound denotes kriḍā ‘sport’ or jīvikā ‘livelihood’. If one does not accept the anuvṛtti of trC in 2.2.16, as Bhaṭṭośi does not, the ṣaṣṭhi will combine only with a pada which contains a stem in aka. Bhaṭṭośi does not have to accept the anuvṛtti of trC in 2.2.17 because there are no compounds with trC and ṣaṣṭhi that could denote kriḍā or jīvikā. Again, Bhaṭṭośi’s is the stronger position, especially when Kāśīkā carries the anuvṛttis of trC, but fails to give any examples because they simply do not exist.

The above discussion is based on the positions taken by Kāśīkā and Bhaṭṭośi’s Śabdakaustubha. Since I have already presented the views of Kāśīkā in detail, I cite only the statements from the Śabdakaustubha:

praṭhamasūtre kartṛgṛhaṇam trjakayor eva viśeṣaṇam yuktam, tayoḥ śrutatvāt, na tu ṣaṣṭhyāḥ. evam ca trijuttārātha ity api na kalpyam. akasa-yaiva cottaṭraṁanuvṛttir na tu trčah, asambhavāt. tathā ca sūtadvayasya
vyatāsenārtha utita iti. vāmanastu—ake jīvikārthe iti sūtre ‘ake iti kim’ ramanīyakarttēti jīvikāyaām trcaṃ pratīdājahāra.... ‘the citation of kartṛ in the first rule is made to qualify trC and aka; this position is appropriate, since trC and aka are expressly mentioned in the rule, and the saṣṭhī is not. This way, one does not have to postulate that trC is used in the rule for anuvṛtti in subsequent rules. For, that is impossible (in view of the lack of examples). Consequently, it is only appropriate to be interpreted conversely (vyatāsena). Vāmana, indeed, offered an example under rule ake jīvikārthe by asking ‘why ake?’...’

The fact that Vāmana, the co-author of Kāśikā, gave ramanīyakarttā ‘he who beautifies’ as an example denoting jīvikā ‘livelhood’ in rule 6.2.73 ake jīvikārthe, adds another dimension to the controversy surrounding the interpretation of 2.2.15–2.2.17. Note that Kāśikā admits that examples for 2.2.17 with trC do not exist. How, then, does Kāśikā give an example in 6.2.73? Traditionalists may excuse this contradiction on the basis that Jayāditya wrote the Kāśikāvṛtti on 2.2.15–2.2.17, while Vāmana wrote the one on 6.2.73. Such differences are not uncommon for two authors. But even if one does not accept this explanation and still treats Kāśikā’s position as weak, there is something else that casts serious doubt on Bhaṭṭoja’s position. Bhaṭṭoja’s position looks stronger until one reads his Siddhāntakaumudi on 6.2.73. Surprisingly, Bhaṭṭoja uses the same example, ramanīyakarttā, which Vāmana puts forward. This places Bhaṭṭoja in a very awkward situation. The question becomes this: how could he argue on the basis of the absence of examples of trC in 2.2.17 in his Saṃdākaustubha, and yet give an example in his Siddhāntakaumudi? His troubles are compounded because, if he does not accept the anuvṛtti of trC in 2.2.17, then the example cited in SK (ad 6.2.73) cannot be derived. Thus, he is making contradictory statements in his two works. To top it all, it seems, he has copied Vāmana’s example (ramanīyakarttā), as Vāmana happens to be the earlier of the two.

2. Note that Kāśikā’s interpretation of rules 2.2.15–2.2.16 is against the Mahābhāṣya. This, then, generally becomes the basis for rejecting Kāśikā’s interpretation. The Mahābhāṣya (II: 685) accepts that karmanī, from rule 2.2.14, is carried as a qualifier of saṣṭhī in 2.2.15. The karttāri of 2.2.15 then qualifies trC and aka. In this way, rule 2.2.15 is interpreted as: ‘a pada which ends in saṣṭhī and denotes karman does not combine in a tatpuruṣa compound with a syntactically related pada which ends in sUP, contains a stem in trC or aka, and denotes kartṛ’. This will block compounds such as apāh sraṣṭā, (cited by Kāśikā under 2.2.16), where the genitive in apāh is introduced to denote karman by rule 2.3.65 kartṛ- karmanoḥ kṛti.
A similarly different interpretation of rule 2.2.16 will make karttari a qualifier to its saṣṭhī, thereby rendering the interpretation of the rule as: 'a pada which ends in saṣṭhī and denotes kartr additionally does not combine in a tatpurusā compound with a syntactically related pada which ends in sUP and contains a stem in aka'. This will then cover examples such as bhavataḥ śāyikā, which the Kāśikā cites under rule 2.2.15. Pāṇinīyas generally prefer this converse (vyatyasta) interpretation of rules 2.2.15–2.2.16.

I have interpreted rules 2.2.15–2.2.16 in a way similar to that in the SK of Bhaṭṭoji Diṅśita, while knowing full well that his position also has its flaws. His position, however, happens to be in consonance with the Mahābhāṣya. Moreover, Kāśikā’s position is very difficult to defend. I have switched about the examples of Kāśikā to suit this preferred interpretation of rules 2.2.15–2.2.16.

2.2.16 कर्त्तरी च

karttari ca
/ karttari 7/1 ca Ø /
(samāsah #2.1.3, sāha supā #2.1.4, sup #2.1.9, tatpurusāḥ #2.1.22, saṣṭhī #8, na #10, aka #15)
karttari (yā) saṣṭhī (sā) akena na samasyate
A pada which ends in saṣṭhī and denotes kartr additionally does not combine, in a tatpurusā compound, with a syntactically related pada which ends in sUP and contains a stem in aka.

EXAMPLES:

bhavataḥ śāyikā ‘your turn for sleeping’
bhavataḥ āśikā ‘your turn for sitting’

1. Note that, according to Kāśikā, karttari ‘when denoting kartr’ should be treated as qualifying aka only. For, trC is always introduced to denote kartr. That is, it never abandons (vyabhicarati) its kartr denotatum. However, aka can sometimes denote agent (kartr), while on other occasions it can denote bhāva ‘root sense’. Since a qualifier-qualified (viṣeṣaṇa- višeṣya) relationship obtains only when a qualifier may be able to abandon the qualified, (which happens to be the case with aka), aka alone should be qualified with karttari.

2.2.17 नित्यं क्रिडाजीविकः

nityam krīḍājīvikayoh
/ nityam Ø krīḍājīvikayoh 1/2 (itar. dv.) /
(samāsah #2.1.3, sāha supā #2.1.4, sup #2.1.9, tatpurusāḥ #2.1.22, saṣṭhī #8, aka #15)
kṛīḍāyām jīvikāyāṃ ca nityam saṣṭhī akena samasyate, tatpurusāsaḥ ca samāso bhavati
A *pada* which ends in śaṣṭhī obligatorily combines, in a *tatpurūsa* compound, with a syntactically related *pada* which ends in sūP and contains aka provided kṛiḍā ‘sport’ or jīvikā ‘livelihood’ is denoted.

**Examples:**

uddālakapuspabhañjikā ‘a sport in which the uddālaka flowers are crushed’

vāranauspapracāyikā ‘a sport in which the vārana flowers are gathered’

dantalekhakaḥ ‘a person who makes his living by painting teeth’

nakhalekhaḥ ‘a person who makes his living by painting nails’

1. The word *nitya* in this rule serves two purposes:

   (i) it makes the anuvṛtti of vibhāsa unnecessary for itself, as well as for other subsequent rules, and;

   (ii) it also stops the anuvṛtti of na ‘not’ on grounds of incompatibility with its own provisions.

Compounds covered by this rule are obligatory, since their analyzed forms will not be able to denote their intended meanings. Note that the compounds could have been allowed by rule 2.2.8 śaṣṭhī. However, this rule is needed so that the compounds could be allowed as obligatory in the case of kṛiḍā. Observe also in this connection that *Nvul*, in examples such as uddālakapuspabhañjikā, is introduced by rule 3.3.109 saṃjñāyām with the anuvṛtti of 3.3.108 rogākhyaṇāṃ *nvl* bahulam. Now, an analyzed form of such compounds cannot denote kṛiḍā. Consequently, vibhāsa must be dropped. This is what nityam accomplishes in the case of kṛiḍā. A compound in the case of jīvikā would not be allowed by rule 2.2.15 *ṭjakābhyaṃ karttari*. Thus, this rule becomes necessary for making such a compound obligatorily available.

2.2.18 कुज्यित्रप्रादयां:

kugatiprādayāḥ

1/ kugatiprādayāḥ 1/3 = pra ādir yeśām te prādayāḥ (bv.), kuś ca gatiś ca prādayāś ca = kugatiprādayāḥ (itar. dv. with int. bv.) /

(samāsah #2.1.3, saha supā #2.1.4, sup #2.1.9, tatpurṣaḥ #2.1.22, nityam #17)

kugatiprādayāḥ samarthena śabdāntareṇa saha nityāṃ samasyante, tatpurṣaḥ ca samāso bhavati

Items such as ku ‘bad’, or those which are either termed gati (1.4.60 gatiś ca), or else are listed in the set headed by pra (1.4.58 prādayāḥ). obligatorily combine in a tatpurṣa compound with another syntactic ally related word.

**Examples:**

kupuruṣaḥ ‘an evil person’

urārikṣam ‘that which has been accepted’
duspuruṣah 'a wicked person'  
supuruṣah 'a gentleman'  
atipuruṣah 'id.'  
āpingalāḥ 'a little reddish-brown'

1. A question has been raised about the use of the word prādi with gati. Note that pra, etc., are the items to which the term gati applies (1.4.60 gatī ca). Commentators explain that pra, etc., are termed gati in connection with their usage with verbs. This rule uses pra, etc. to indicate their non-usage with verbs. That is, this rule allows the formation of compounds with pra, etc., whether they are relatable to verbs or not. When they are relatable to verbs, they will be combined on the strength of being gati. When they are not relatable to verbs, they can still be combined on the strength of the explicit statement of pra, etc. It is with this specific meaning of pra, etc., that vārttika I is introduced to block their combination when they have been termed a karmaprapvacaniya.

2. The word ku is interpreted as an indeclinable because of its citation in association with (sāhacarya) items termed gati, etc. It can further be treated as an indeclinable because it does not decline for gender (linga) or number (samkhyā). An interpretation of ku as denoting prthiḥ 'earth' is, thus, ruled out. Note in connection with this that rule 1.1.37 svarādīnipālām avyayam assigns the term avyaya to those items which (i) are listed in the group headed by svar; or (ii) have been termed nipāta. Our indeclinable word ku is not included in either assignment.

3. Note that a compound with pra, etc., even when they are not termed gati as denoted by prādi, is still a very generalized provision. This may lead to undesired compounds. It is to restrict the scope of these compounds that a series of vārttika (Mbh II: 688-90) have been introduced. For example:

(a) pra, etc., should combine with a syntactically related pada which ends in the nominative (prathamā) in the sense of gata, etc. Thus, we get prācāryaḥ 'he who has excelled an ācārya'.

(b) ati, etc., are combined with a syntactically related pada which ends in dvitiyā in the sense of krānta. Thus, we get atimālā 'that which has excelled the garland'.

(c) ava, etc., are combined with a syntactically related pada which ends in tṛtiyā in the sense of kruṣṭa. Thus, we get avahokilaḥ 'that which has been heralded by the cuckoo; spring'.

(d) pari, etc., are combined with a pada which ends in caturthī in the sense of glāna 'disgusted, weary'. Thus, we get paryadhyaṇanah 'weary of studying'.

(e) nir, etc., are combined with a syntactically related pada which ends in paṇcami in the sense of krānta. Thus, we get niṣkauśāmbiḥ 'gone outside of kauśāmbi'.

2.2.19 उपपदमतिष्ठ

उपपदम अतिन
/ उपपदम 1/1 अति 1/1 (नाय. तत.) /
(samāsah #2.1.3, saha supā #2.1.4, sup #2.1.9, tatpuruṣah #2.1.22,
nityam #17)

उपपदम atiṇaṃ samarthena śabdāntareṇa saha samasyate nityam,
tatpuruṣaḥ ca samāṣa bhavati

An upapada (3.1.92 tatropapadam saaptamishtham) which does not end in tīN (3.1.78 tiptas...) obligatorily combines, in a tatpuruṣa compound, with a syntactically related item.

Examples:

kumbhakāraḥ ‘maker of pots’
nagarakāraḥ ‘builder of cities’
asvakṛtī ‘she who has been purchased with horses’
dhanakṛtī ‘she who has been purchased with wealth’

1. Note that the vṛtti does not include the word pada as a qualifier to the syntactically related item combining with items termed upapada, etc. This is in view of the paribhāṣā (76) gatikārakopapadānām krdbhiḥ saha samāsavacanam prāk subutpatteḥ ‘a compound of items termed gati, upapada’, or those which denote a kāraka with an item terminated in a kṛt affix, is formed prior to the introduction of a sUP’.

Take, for instance, a compound between kumbha + ṇas and kāra. Here, kāra is derived by introducing the kṛt affix aN after the verbal root DukṛN, under the condition of the cooccurring pada (upapada; 3.1.92 tatropapadam saaptamishtham), namely kumbha + ṇas, which denotes karman ‘object’. That is, an obligatory compound kumbhakāra is formed from kumbha + ṇas + kāra, where kāra is a nominal stem (1.2.46 kṛttaddhitasaṃsās ca) terminated in the kṛt affix aN. The paribhāṣā requires that kumbha + ṇas be combined prior to any sUP which is introduced after kāra. Commentators explain that, without accepting this paribhāṣā, one would run into problems in deriving forms such as vyāghṛī ‘tigress’, or asvakṛtī ‘she who was purchased with horses’, etc. Refer to this paribhāṣā in the Paribhāṣenduśekhara of Nāgēṣa for details. Such a mode of combination also applies to gati compounds of 2.2.18.

Note, however, that combining a kṛt derivate prior to the introduction of a sUP is basically a strategy to arrive at the desired derivate. Considering this, Jinendra (Nyāsa ad Kāśikā II: 123) adds: na hy anena sarvatra... prāk subutpatteḥ samāṣa bhavati. kim tarhi? kvacid evevastaviṣaye. ‘paribhāṣā (76) does not dictate the formation of a compound prior to the introduction of sUP in all instances. It does so only in instances where desired’.

How do we know this? By the optionally required
non-deletion of saptamī under the provision of rule 6.3.14 tatpuruṣe kṛti bahulam.

It is in view of this paribhāṣā, and the related strategy that supā ‘...with a pada ending in sUP (2.1.4)’, is not treated as valid here.

2.2.20 अपैवाच्येन

amaivāvayayena
I amā 3/1 eva 0 avayenāl
(samāsah #2.1.3, saha supā #2.1.4, sup #2.1.9, tatpuruṣaḥ #2.1.22,
upapadam #19)
avayenopapadasya yaḥ samāso so’ maiva bhavati, nānyena

When an upapada is to be combined, in a tatpuruṣa compound, with an avyaya ‘indeclinable’, the avyaya must be one which ends in am.

Examples:

svādumkāram bhūṅkte ‘he eats food after making it savoury, tasty’
lavamanumkāram bhūṅkte ‘he eats food after making it salty’

1. This rule provides for the formation of a compound with an upapada and an indeclinable, with the restriction that the latter ended in am alone. We thus get examples such as svādumkāram, as in svādumkāram bhūṅkte, where the indeclinable in question is kāram. Such a compound was already available under the provisions of the preceding rule. Why, then, should we also have this rule? If one argues that it is formulated to restrict the compound (niyama) to instances of indeclinables ending in am, then what could possibly be the function of eva ‘alone, only’? The word eva cannot be included simply for restriction, as provision for something which is already available serves a restrictive purpose. The eva, then, should be interpreted as serving the special restrictive function as follows:

‘a conjoined word (upapada) under the provision of this rule should combine with an indeclinable ending in am, provided also that am is introduced by a rule exactly as its related conjoined pada (tulyavidhānam)’

Nyāsa (ad Kāś II: 125) explains this tulyavidhāna as involving two necessary conditions:

(i) am has to be the one and only affix introduced by a rule, and
(ii) the conjoined pada (upapada) which forms a constituent under the provisions of this rule should also be the conjoined pada specified for the introduction of that am: (yena vākyenāmeva pratayyo vidhiyate na tu pratayayāntaram, tena yad upapadam nirdhiyate tad amaiva tulyavidhānam, tasyaiva samāso yathā syāt...).

Thus, the use of eva is to ensure (avadhārana) the desired results (iṣṭa).
Consider the counter-example *agre bhukvā* ‘having eaten first’, which is an optional form to *agre bhojam* approved by rule 3.4.24 *vibhāṣā* *grepras-thamapūrvaseṣu*. A compound parallel to *agre bhojam* cannot be permitted by this rule, since *am* of *bhojam* is introduced by rule 3.4.24, which also introduces *tumUN*. The *am* of our examples is introduced by 3.4.26 *svādumi*.... The word *avyaya* is used here just for clarity (*spaśṭārtham*).

2.2.21 तृत्तियांप्रभृष्टिः अन्यतरस्यांः

तृत्तियांप्रभृष्टिः अन्यतरस्यांः

/ tṛtiyāprabhṛtiṁ anṛtaryāṁ

(samāśāḥ #2.1.3, saha supā #2.1.4, sup #2.1.9, tatpurusāḥ #2.1.22,

upāpadam #19, amaivāvyayena #20)

‘upāpadamasatraśiṣyāṁ’ ity atāḥ prabhṛtiyāṁ upāpadāṇi tāny amaivāvyayena

sabānyataramāṁ samasyante, tatpurusāṁ ca samāśo bhavati

An *upāpada* which is referenced by rules 3.4.47 *upadāmsā*... through

3.4.64 *anvacyā*... optionally combines in a *tatpurusā* compound with

an *avyaya* which terminates in *am*.

**EXAMPLES:**

mūlaṇakopadāṁsaṁ bhūṅkte ‘he eats while taking a bite of a radish’

mūlaṇekāṇa upadāmsāṁ bhūṅkte ‘id.’

uccaiḥkāram ācaste ‘he speaks aloud’

1. The word *anṛtaryāṁ* is used here to counter the *anuvṛtti* of *nityaṁ*

‘obligatorily’ and *eva* ‘alone’, mostly because what they provide will run
counter to the provision of this rule. That *anṛtaryāṁ* ‘optionally’ is the
opposite of *nityaṁ* is obvious. The provision of *eva* relates to *tulyavidhāna*,
as I have already explained in my notes under the previous rule. That
provision is made optional in this rule. That is, *am*, for the purposes of
this rule, does not have to be introduced exclusively by a rule. This rule
would also permit the formation of a compound with *am*, which may
have been introduced by a rule in addition to some other affix. The
option offered by *anṛtaryāṁ* is technically referred to as *prāptāprāpta*.
It is *prāpta* ‘available’ with reference to *am* entailing *tulyavidhāna* (3.4.47
*upadāmsās*...); it is *aprapta* elsewhere.

Thus, 3.4.47 allows the compound mūlaṇako padāṁsaṁ, where *am* refers
to affix *NamUL* exclusively introduced by rule 3.4.47 *upadāmsās*.... As
opposed to this, consider *nicaikṛitya* ‘softly’ and *nicaikāram* ‘id.’, where a
compound is permitted with *Ktvā* and *NamUL*, both introduced by the
single rule 3.4.59 *avyaye* *yathāḥbhīpatēkhyāne*.... Obviously, *tulyavidhāna*
would not have permitted these two compounds.

2. The word tṛtiyāprabhṛtīṁ specifies *upāpada* referenced in rules

3.4.47 *upadāmsās tṛtiyāṁ to 3.4.53 dvitiyāvāṁ ca.*
2.2.22 क्त्वा च

ktvā ca
/ kvā 3/1 ca θ /
(samasah #2.1.3, saha supā #2.1.4, sup #2.1.9, tatpuruṣaḥ #2.1.22, tṛtiyāprabhrīṇy anyatarasyām #21)
tvā prayayena saha tṛtiyāprabhrīṇy upadāṇi anyatarasyām samasyante, tatpuruṣaḥ ca samāso bhavati

An upadāna which is referred to by rules 3.4.47 upadaṃśa... through 3.4.64 anvacyā... also combines optionally, in a tatpuruṣa compound, with a form ending in Ktvā.

EXAMPLES:

uccaiḥkṛtya ‘having raised (the voice)’
uccaiḥ kṛtvā ‘id.‘

1. Note that the preceding rule allowed the formation of a compound only with am. This rule additionally allows the formation of compounds with ktvā. The ktvā in this context has to be one introduced by rule 3.4.59 avyaye.... The example uccaiḥkṛtāram of rule 2.2.21 is parallel to uccaiḥkṛtya of this rule. Incidentally, ktvā, in view of the context, is treated as ending in tṛtiyā ‘instrumental’.

2.2.23 शेसो बहुव्रीहि:

śeṣo bahuvrīhiḥ
/ śeṣah 1/1 bahuvrīhiḥ 1/1
śeṣah samāso bahuvrīhisamjño bhavati

The remainder is termed bahuvrihi.

EXAMPLES:

citraguh ‘he who owns brindled cows’
śabalguh ‘id.’

1. Questions have been raised about the exact referent of the word śeṣa. The Mahābhāṣya (II: 698) discusses three possibilities as follows:
(i) śeṣa refers to the remainder of the words with reference to which no compound formation has yet been specified;
(ii) śeṣa refers to the remainder of word meanings with reference to which no compound formation has yet been specified; and
(iii) śeṣa refers to the remainder of the compound types already specified.

The Mahābhāṣya offers yet another interpretation of śeṣa. It is said that compound formation of constituents terminating in different nominal endings has been specified by earlier rules. The only nominal ending
that has not yet been specified for the formation of compounds is the nominative (prathamā). It is clear from the discussion, and from some related vārttika, that none of the above interpretations is free of problems. If, however, one focuses on the context itself, one finds that a generalized referent for ṣeṣa is not hard to comprehend. Thus, ṣeṣa refers to ‘that which is other than that which has already been stated’ (upayuktād anyah). What has already been stated is: the formation of compounds avayi-bhāva and tatpuruṣa with specific constituency and meanings. The word ṣeṣa then refers to a non-avayiḥ-bhāva/non-tatpuruṣa compound formed with constituents and meanings yet to be stated.

2.2.24 अनेकमन्यपदपर्यः

aṇekam aṇyapadārthe
/ aṇekam 1/1 (naṅ. tat.); aṇyapadārthe 7/1 = anyac cāsau padam (karm.), aṇyapadasya arthāḥ (ṣaṣ. tat. with int. karm.), tasmin /
(samāśaḥ #2.1.3, saha supā #2.1.4, sup #2.1.9, vibhāṣā #2.1.11, bahuvrihiḥ #23)
aṇekam subantam aṇyapadārthe vartamānaṁ samasyate, bahuvrihiḥ ca samāśo bhavati

Many syntactically related pada which end in sUP optionally combine, in a bahuvrihi compound, when the compound denotes the meaning of something other than its own constituents.

Examples:

prāptodako grāmah ‘a village to which water has reached’
prāptam udakam yam grāmam ‘id.’
udharatho naḍvān ‘a bullock by whom a chariot has been pulled’
udho rotho yena ‘he by whom a chariot has been pulled’
upahṛtapāsā rudrah ‘Rudra to whom an animal has been offered sacrificially’
upahṛtaḥ paśur yasmai ‘id.’
uddhṛtaudanā sthāli ‘a pot from which rice is lifted’
uddhṛta odano yasyāḥ ‘id.’
citraqur devadattaḥ ‘Devadatta is one who owns brindled cows’
citra gāvo yasya ‘(Devadatta is) one who owns brindled cows’
virapuruṣako grāmah ‘a village in which there are brave men’
virah puruṣā yasmin ‘(a village) in which there are brave men’

1. This rule provides for the formation of compounds with two or more constituents, provided the meaning expressed by the compound is that of something outside its constituency. The word aṇekam ‘more than one’ is in the nominative used as a qualifier to sUP (in the nominative carried from 2.1.2 sub āmantrite...). Because of its use in the nominative
(prathama), anekam cannot be treated as a modifier to supa in the instrumental carried from rule 2.1.4 saha supa.

The purpose of using the word anekam is clearly to allow for the compound formation of more than two constituents. In the absence of anekam, a bahuvrihi could not be allowed with multiple (bahi) constituency. Commentators cite the following verse as an example of bahuvrihi with multiple constituency:

susūkṣmajaṭakeśaṇa sugajājinavāsasā /
purī parvatarājasya kuto hetor vivāhitā ||

‘how come the daughter of the king of the mountains was married to the one who wears a fine lock of matted hair, and has beautiful elephant-hide for clothing’

Note that susūkṣmajaṭakeśaṇa is a bahuvrihi compound with an internal bahuvrihi, together totalling a constituency of four words. It can therefore be analyzed as suṣṭhu sūkṣmā jaṭā yeṣu te susūkṣmajaṭāḥ; tādṛśāḥ keśā asya iti susūkṣmajaṭakeśāḥ. The four can also be combined in a direct bahuvrihi with the analyzed form such as suṣṭhu sūkṣmā jaṭāḥ keśā asya iti.

The word anyapadārthe, used as a qualifier of bahuvrihi compounds, can also serve as a distinguisher for the domain of tatpurusā compounds. That is, the presence of the qualifier determines the meaning of a bahuvrihi compound as that of something outside its constituency. A lack of this qualifier, such as one finds in the case of a tatpurusā, will distinguish the domain of a tatpurusā from that of a bahuvrihi.

There are several vārttika to this rule in the Mahābhāṣya (II: 701-19). Consider, for example, the following:

(a) A statement should be made that bahuvrihi should be formed out of constituents in syntactic coordination (sāmānādhikaranya), and not out of constituents with different loci (vyadhikarana). A compound such as pañcabhuktaḥ, of pañcabhir bhuktamsasya, would denote a different sense.

(b) A bahuvrihi formed of indeclinable constituents should also be stated to cover uccairmukhaḥ 'he who has a raised forehead', etc.

(c) A bahuvrihi should be stated to be formed of constituents where the first word is in the locative, or denotes a standard of comparison (upamāna), and where a subsequent word also gets deleted. Thus, we get kaṇṭhekaḷaḥ 'he in whose throat is blackness', parallel to kaṇṭhe sthitah kālo yasya.

(d) A bahuvrihi with deletion of a subsequent word should also be stated, for instances where the first constituent ends in the genitive and denotes collection or modification. Thus, suväpañālakāraḥ, parallel to suväpanaṣya vikāro' laṅkāro' sya 'he whose ornament is the modification (made) of gold'.
(e) A compound with constituents which denote existence, used with naN, with optional deletion of a subsequent word, should also be stated. This gives examples such as: avidyamānaputraḥ ‘he whose son is not’, or aputraḥ, parallel to avidyamānah putro yasya, where vidyamāna can undergo optional deletion.

(f) Compounds such as astikṣirā, with asti, a particle, as in astikṣirā brāhmaṇī ‘a brāhmaṇa woman with milk’, should be stated.

Kāśikā states that a bahuvrihi compound is formed with its denotatum as the denotatum of any one of the nominal endings (vibhakti), except for the nominative (Kāś II: 128: prathamāṁram ekam varjaśitvā sarvesu vibhaktyartheṣu bahuvrihir bhavati). This, in turn, becomes the interpretation of the word anyapadārtha, used in this rule in the locative. Obviously, the sense of the nominal ending is treated as principal in a pada, as compared with that of its base (prakṛti). As such, it is the denotatum of the nominal ending which is associated with the meaning condition of anyapadārthe. Thus, prāptam udakam yam grāmam has a parallel bahuvrihi in prāptodakah of prāptodaka grāmah ‘a village to which water has reached’. Similar examples are available for other meanings: udharaṇaḥ, upahṛtapāṣū, uddhṛtaudanā, citraṇaḥ, and virapatuṣakah, parallel to uncompound forms such as udho ratho yena ‘he by whom a chariot has been pulled’; uddhṛta odano yasyāḥ ‘a pot from which rice is lifted’; upahṛta paśur yasmāi ‘Rudra to whom an animal has been offered sacrificially’; citra gāvo yasya ‘(Devadatta) is one who owns brindled cows’; and vīraḥ puruṣā yasmin ‘(a village) in which there are brave men’, respectively.

Note that the variable relative pronoun yad ‘that’, used as yam, yena, yasmāi, yasyāḥ, yasya, and yasmin, denotes the sense of the nominal endings dvītyā, trītyā, caturthī, pañcami, śaṣṭhi, and saptamī respectively. The antecedent of these variables constitutes the denotatum of the compounds in questions. It is in this sense that commentators state that a bahuvrihi denotes the sense of every nominal ending, except for the nominative. Kāśikā offers the counter-example vrṣte deve gataḥ ‘he went as it rained’, where the sense of the nominative, i.e., prātipadārtha ‘nominal stem notion’, does not become the sense of the compound mostly because of lack of usage (anabhidhāna). That is, a compound such as *vrṣṭadeva is not permitted, since it cannot denote the sense of vrṣte deve.

2.2.25 संख्यायायाज्ञाताः स्थानारूढाधिकसंख्याः: संख्योऽये

sāmkhyayā ‘avyayāsannādūrādhiṣaṃkhyāḥ samkhyeye
/ sāmkhyayā 3/1 avyayāsannādūrādhiṣaṃkhyāḥ 1/3 = avyayaṁ ca āsanna ca adūra ca adhiṣa ca samkhyā ca (ītā. dv.); samkhyeye 7/1 (samāsah #2.1.3, sāha supā #2.1.4, sup #2.1.9, vibhāṣā #2.1.11, bahuvrihiḥ #23)
A *pāda* which ends in *sUP* and contains an *avyaya*, or *āsanna* 'proximate', *adūra* 'not far, near', *adhika* 'more', or *saṁkhyā* 'number', optionally combines in a *bahuvihi* compound with a *pāda* which ends in *sUP* and contains *saṁkhyā* denoting a thing counted (saṁkhyeya).

**Examples:**

*upadaśāḥ* 'those which are near to the ten already counted'

*upavimśāḥ* 'those which are near to the twenty already counted'

*āsannadasāḥ* 'id.'

*āsannavimśāḥ* 'id.'

*adhikadasāḥ* 'those which are more than the ten already counted'

*adhikavimśāḥ* 'those which are more than the twenty already counted'

*dvitrāḥ* 'two or three things'

*tricaturāḥ* 'three or four things'

1. This rule allows for the formation of a *bahuvihi* compound with a number word used in the sense of a thing counted. The other constituent could either be an indeclinable, or any one of the enumerated items. Thus, we get a compound such as *upadaśāḥ* 'that which is proximate to ten; either nine or eleven'. It is argued that such a compound could still be formed by rule 2.1.6 *avyayaṁ vibhaktisamīpa*.... But the compound would be an *avyayibhāva*, and it, too, would have the meaning of its first constituent as prominent. The meanings, however, would be different. The *bahuvihi* would denote the *saṁkhyeya*, the sense in which its first member would be used. The *avyayibhāva* would denote proximity (*sāmipyā*). The *bahuvihi* thus denotes the thing which is proximate (*samīpin*), as opposed to the *avyayibhāva* which denotes proximity (*sāmipyā*). Thus, an *avyayibhāva* compound such as *upadasa* can still be formed, though the meaning will be that of proximity.

### 2.2.26 दिन्नमानान्तरालार्ले

*dīnnāmāny antarālē*

\[ dīnnāmāni 1/3 = diśāṇn nāmāni (sā. tat.); antarāle 7/1 \]

(samaśha #2.1.3, saha supā #2.1.4, sup #2.1.9, vībhāṣā #2.1.11. bahuvihiḥ #23)

*dīnnāmāni subantāmī antarāle vācyē samasyante, bahuvihiḥ ca samāso bhavatī* A *pāda* which ends in *sUP* and denotes *diś* 'direction: east, west, etc.' optionally combines in a *bahuvihi* compound with a *pāda* which ends in *sUP* and denotes *diś* provided the compound means antarāla 'intermediate direction'.
Examples:

dakṣiṇapārvā ‘south-eastern direction’
pūrvottārā ‘north-eastern direction’
uttarapaścimā ‘north-western direction’
paścimadakṣiṇā ‘south-western direction’

1. This rule allows the compound formation of words denoting directional names, provided the resultant compound denotes an intermediate point (antarāla). Obviously, antarāla is a meaning which belongs to a word outside the constituency (anypadārtha) of the derivate, therefore rule 2.2.24 anekam anypadārthe could itself allow the compound formation. Why, then, have this rule? The Mahābhāṣya (II: 725-27) discusses various details of this aspect of the problem (see Joshi 1974: 117-33). Haradatta (PM ad Kāśikā II: 136) states that this rule is required so that bahuvrihi compounds, with words which denote directional names, can be formed even in the following three cases:

(i) when their denotatum is something other than that of matUP;
(ii) when their denotatum is similar to that of the nominative (prathamā); and
(iii) when their constituents entail lack of syntactic coordination (vaiyadhikaranya).

For example, a compound such as citraguḥ ‘he who possesses brindled cows’ entails ‘possession’ which, in turn, happens to be the denotatum of affix matUP. This rule may be necessary for forming bahuvrihi where the sense of matUP is not involved. I have already indicated in my notes under 2.2.23 ēsō bahuvrihiḥ and 2.2.24 anekam anypadārthe that those rules may permit the formation of bahuvrihi only when the constituents are in syntactic coordination, or when the derivate denotes the sense of any nominal ending other than that of the nominative. This rule again may permit such compound formations. This is basically the point made by Haradatta.

2. The word nāma ‘name’ is used in this rule to emphasize that a constituent, fit to form a compound under the provisions of this rule, must not only denote ‘direction’ but must do it ‘primarily’. That is, it should denote a directional name as a rūḍhi ‘conventional practice’, and not as yaugika ‘derivationally arrived at’. Examples cited more often for directional names in this category are aindrī ‘east’ and kauberī ‘north’, which denote directions only derivationally, and by inference. The words really refer to that which pertains to Indra, or Kubera, respectively.

2.2.27 तत्र तेनेदमि सरुपे

tatra tenedam iti sarūpe
/ tatra 0 tena 3/1 idam 1/1 iti 0 sarūpe 1/2/
(samāsah #2.1.3, saha supā #2.1.4, sup #2.1.9, vibhāsā #2.1.11, bahuvrīhī #23)
tatreti saptamyante sarūpe pada teneti ca trīyānte idam etasminn arthe samasyete, bahuvrīhiś ca samāso bhavati
A pada which ends either in saptamī or trīyā optionally combines, in a bahuvrīhi compound, with an identical pada where the compound denotes iti ‘thus’.

Examples:

keśākeśi ‘a fight where one seized the other’s hair’
daṇḍādaṇḍī ‘a fight where one attacked the other with a stick’
musulāmusali ‘a fight where one attacked the other with a club’

1. The word tatra is here treated as ending in locative (saptamī; 5.3.10 saptamyās tatrā). The word tena is obviously an instrumental (trīyā). The word sarūpe is to be read with both. That is, a pada which ends in the locative, or one ending in the instrumental, combines to form a bahuvrīhi compound with another identical (sarūpa) pada which ends in the locative or instrumental. The word idam, used with iti ‘thus’, provides for the meaning of the derivate compound. First of all, the word iti would rule out any reference to the form (svarūpa). Secondly, it would be used with words in the locative or instrumental, to clearly figure out the meaning of the compounds in question. Thus, tena idam iti, where iti does not refer to the word-forms tena idam, can be interpreted as ‘that by means of which this...’. These compounds, because of the force of iti, will therefore express the desired meanings (vivākṣārtha). Note that examples such as keśākeśi and daṇḍādaṇḍī are used in the context of fights and, as such, entail reciprocity (paraspara) in fights (praharana). This sense of reciprocal attack is outside the constituency of the compound (anyapadārtha) anyway.

Note that the compound constituents end with the same endings, and have identical forms. This occasions the use of ekaśeṣa ‘retention of only one’ (cf. 1.2.64 sarūpānām ekaśeṣa ekavibhaktau). The ekaśeṣa is blocked on the strength of the formulation of this rule, itself.

2.2.28 तेन सहेति तुल्यःयोगे

tena saheti tulyayoge
/ tena 3/1 saha 0 iti 0 tulyayoge 7/1 = tulyāś cāsau yogaś ca (karm. tat.),
tasmin /
(samāsah #2.1.3, saha supā #2.1.4, sup #2.1.9, vibhāsā #2.1.11, bahuvrīhī #23)
‘saha’ ity etac chabdaraṇpam tulyayoge vartamānanam ‘tena’ ity trīyānt-
enā saha samasyate, bahuvrīhiś ca samāso bhavati
A *pada* constituted by *saha* ‘with’ optionally combines, in a *bahuvarīhi* compound, with a *pada* which ends in *tṛtiyā* provided the referents of both have the same relation to the action.

**Examples:**

*saputraḥ* (āgataḥ) ‘he came with his son’
*sacchātraḥ* (āgataḥ) ‘he came with his student’
*sakarmakaraḥ* (āgataḥ) ‘he came with his servant’

1. Note that *saha* is an indeclinable (*avyaya*), and that it can combine with a word which ends in *tṛtiyā* provided it is also used in the sense of *tulyayoga* ‘identical connection’. A *saha* is treated as occurring in *tulyayoga* when there happen to be two or more entities related with a common action. Thus, *patreṇa sahāgataḥ pītā* ‘the father came with the son’, where both the father and the son are equally related with the action of coming (āgamana). They are so marked by the use of *saha*. A compound such as *saputraḥ* cannot be formed with relevant constituents from: *sahaiva dasabhir putair bhāram vahati gardabhi* ‘the female donkey is carrying the load, even when she has ten sons’. The sense here is that of presence (*vidyamānaṇa*) and not of the connection of the sons with the action of carrying. It is stated, though, that the condition of *tulyayoga* is limited in effect (*prāyika*). That is, it cannot cover everything (*asarvavīśaya*). Failure to demand this condition would facilitate the formation of compounds such as *sakarmakaḥ* ‘that which has an object’, *salomakah* ‘he who has hair’, etc., which do not share the condition of *tulyayoga*.

### 2.2.29 चार्थे द्वाधः:

*cārthe dvandvah*

/ cārthe 7/1 = cena (kṛtaḥ) arthāḥ (saṣ. tat.), tasmin; dvandvah 1/1/

(samāsaḥ #2.1.3, saha supā #2.1.4, sup #2.1.9, vibhāśā #2.1.11, anekam #24)

anekam subantam cārthe vartamānām samasyate, dvandvasamjñaś ca samāso bhavati

Two or more *pada* which end in *sUP* optionally combine with each other, in a *dvandva* compound, in the sense of *ca* ‘and’.

**Examples:**

*plakṣa nyagrodhau* ‘a *plakṣa* and a *nyagrodha* tree’
*dhavakhadrapalāśah* ‘*dhava*, *khadira*, and *palāśa* trees’
*vāktvacam* ‘speech and skin’

1. This rule allows the formation of *dvandva* compounds under the meaning condition of *cārtha* ‘sense of *ca*’. The *ca* is a particle generally
meaning ‘and’. Since not all meanings generalized as ‘and’ can form a dvandva compound, a close look at the meaning of ca is necessary. Commentators recognize four types of meaning of ca, as follows:

(i) samuccaya ‘collection’, where mutually independent items are brought together simply on the basis of their relation to some common factor. For example, consider:

\[
\text{ahararaha na yamano gamaśvam puruśam paśum} \\
\text{vaiveśvato na tṛpyaśi surāyā iva durmadi} \]

‘Unsatisfied even when he is carrying off cows, horses, men, and animals, day in and day out, Yama (the god of death) is like an alcoholic who is never satiated by drinking liquor’. Here, cows, horses, etc., are mutually independent, though they are brought into close relation by the single action of nayana ‘carrying off’. The samuccaya sense is so obvious that ca does not need to be explicitly used (PM ad Kāśikā: yadā parasparanirapekṣāḥ padārthā ekasmin pratisambandhīm samuccīyante tadā samuccayah... atra naya-tikriyām ekasyāṁ gavādīnām samuccayah). This sense of samuccaya can also be found in rājñō gauś cāśvaś ca ‘the king’s cow and horse’, and raktah paṭaḥ kunḍalam ca ‘the red cloth and the earring’.

(ii) anvācaya ‘aggregation’, where an independent item is made dependent in conformity with another principal item (pradhāna). Consider, for example, bho baṭo, bhikṣūm ata gāṃ cânāya ‘O, child, go the rounds and collect alms; also the cow’. Here, bringing alms is principal, and bringing the cow is secondary. The person commanded will primarily perform the begging of alms; if, perchance, while doing so he sees the cow, he will also bring that. He will not, however, put any special effort into bringing the cow.

Note that a dvandva compound is not permitted for instances where the ca means samuccaya and anvācaya. This is because the condition of sāmarthyā ‘syntactico-semantic relation’ lacks items which can be brought together. Items in samuccaya remain independent of each other (nirapekṣā), whereas in anvācaya there obtains the dependence of the secondary item upon the primary. This is what causes the impairment of the condition of sāmarthyā (cf. 2.2.1 samarthāḥ padavidhiḥ).

(iii) itaretarayoga ‘one joined with the other’, where two items are brought close to each other via their mutual expectancy to a third. Thus, itaretarayoga becomes like a subtype of samuccaya and anvācaya. However, a difference does exist. The two items in itaretarayoga are both principal, though share a mutual expectancy relationship in regard to the third. Consider the example devadattayaññadattabhīyāṁ idaṃ kāryam ‘this is to be done by Devadatta and Yajñadatta’, where devadatta and yajñadatta are independent
of each other, but are brought close via the action of doing a particular thing; they are mutually related via this action.

(iv) samāhāra ‘grouping’, where one group of things is brought together with another group of things via something else. Such grouping causes individual differences to become subservient to the force which brings them together. Consider, for example, chatropānaham ‘the umbrella and the shoes’, where chatra ‘umbrella’ and upānaha ‘shoes’ are independent things, but are brought together via their location in each other’s proximity (samhati).

A dvandva compound with the last two instances (iii-iv) is permitted, since the sāmarthya relationship between the constituents is not impaired.

2.2.30 उपसर्जनें पूर्वम्

upasarjanam pūrvam
/ upasarjanam 1/1 pūrvam 1/1/
(samāsah #2.1.3)

upasarjanasamjñakam samāse pūrvam prayoktavyam

A pada which is termed upasarjana (1.2.43 prathamā...) is placed first in a compound.

EXAMPLES:

kaṣṭāśritah (see 2.1.24 dvitiyā...)
śāmkulākhandah, etc. (see 2.1.30 tṛtiyā..., etc.)

1. It is stated that the word samāsah, carried from rule 2.1.3 prāk kaḍārāt samāsah, is transformed into samāse, its locative counterpart, so that it can be interpreted as ‘in a compound’. This contextually conditioned transposition of a nominal ending (vibhaktiviparināma) is not uncommon.

A constituent specified by the nominative (prathamā) in the rules which allow the formation of compounds is termed upasarjana. However, the word is used in its etymological sense (anvartha) of ‘secondary’ (1.2.43 prathamānirdiśtam samāsa...). Rule 2.2.30 requires that a constituent termed upasarjana be placed first (pūrvam) in the compound. For example, given the strings rājan + Ńas + puruṣa + sU, from whence derives the compound rājapuruṣa ‘king’s man’, rājan + Ńas is termed upasarjana because of rule 2.2.8 sasthi. That is, 2.2.8 allows the formation of a compound where one constituent ends in the genitive (sasthi) and another is a syntactically related word. The word sasthi in rule 2.2.8, which specifies constituents such as rājan + Ńas, is given in the nominative (prathamā). Consequently, rājan + Ńas is termed upasarjana and is placed first in the compound string rājan + Ńas + puruṣa + sU.

An objection is made to the formation of this rule, on the grounds that
no usage to the contrary of upasajana constituents is found. If everyone
uses the compounds in the correct order of constituent combination,
then the rule should not have been formed. It is stated, then, that a rule
such as this is required to block any wrong order of constituents (vipari-
taprayoga). The word pūrvaṃ is thus used to block any postplacement of a
constituent termed upasajana (Kāś: pūrvavacanam paraprayoga-nivṛtyartham).

2.2.31 राजदांताधिष्न परम्

rājadantādiṣu param
/ rājadantādiṣu 7/3 = rājadanta ādir yeṣām te (bv.), tasmin; param 1/1/
(upasajanan #30)

rājadantādiṣu param upasajananam prayoktavyam
A pada which is termed upasajana, with reference to compounds
enumerated in the list headed by rājadanta, is placed at the end.

Examples:

rājadantah ‘front tooth, king of teeth’
agrevaṇam ‘edge of the forest’

1. This rule heads the series of adjustments in the general rule of the
preplacement (pūrvanipāta) of a compound constituent termed upasajana.
The word rājadantādiṣu clearly refers to a list of compounds headed by
the compound rājadanta. Note that this rule simply states that an upasajana
is to be postplaced in the compounds of this specific list. This postplace-
ment can also be called nipātana ‘ad hoc’.

Note that the list headed by rājadanta contains two types of compounds:

(i) compounds which postplace constituents termed upasajana, and
thus become an exception to rule 2.2.30 upasajananam pūrvaṃ; and

(ii) compounds which postplace a constituent against a provision made
elsewhere, and thus form an exception to some other rule.

The ‘ad hoc’ nature of the formation of compounds contained in this list
is also emphasized by examples such as agrevaṇam ‘edge of the forest’,
where the locative of agra + Nī does not undergo deletion.

2.2.32 द्वन्द्वे शि

dvandvē ghi
/ dvandve 7/1 ghi 1/1/
(pūrvaṃ #31)
dvandvəsamāse ghyantam pūrvaṃ prayoktavyam
A pada which terminates in ghi (1.4.7 erset... is placed first in a
dvandva compound.
EXEMPLARY:

\textit{paṭuguptau} 'clever and secretive'
\textit{mṛduguptau} 'soft and secretive'

1. Note that the word \textit{pūrvaḥ}, of rule 2.2.30 upasārjanam pūrvaḥ, now becomes valid. It was not retained in the preceding rule because of its incompatibility with \textit{param}. This rule with \textit{pūrvaḥ} thus provides for the preplacement of a constituent of a \textit{dvandva} compound which ends in \textit{ghi} (1.4.7 śeso ghy asakhi). The constituents of a \textit{dvandva} compound are treated as equal. In this way, the question of principal (\textit{pradhnā}) or secondary (\textit{upasārjana}) does not arise. It is to determine the order of these principal constituents that this rule is formulated. In other words, this rule is formulated so that, in cases of doubt or of provisions indicating otherwise, a particular ruling could be obtained.

What about a \textit{dvandva} compound with more than one constituent termed \textit{ghi}? The rule of preplacement applies to only one constituent. Thus, we get \textit{hariguruharāḥ} or \textit{hariharagurāvah}, where \textit{hari} and \textit{guru} are two constituents termed \textit{ghi}. The restriction of preplacement will apply to only one (here \textit{hari}) and not to \textit{guru}, relative to \textit{hara}. It is for this reason that \textit{hari} is preplaced, though \textit{guru} and \textit{hara} could be switched.

2.2.33 \textbf{अजायदत्तम्}

\begin{verbatim}
ajādyadantam
\end{verbatim}

\begin{verbatim}
/ ajādyadantam 1/1 = ac ādir yasya tat = ajādiḥ (bv.), ad ante yasya tat (bv.), ajādi cādaḥ adantam ca = ajādyadantam (karm. tat.) /
(pūrvaḥ #30, dvandva #32)
ajādyadantam sabdarūpaṃ dvandve samāṣe pūrvaṃ prayoktavyam
A \textit{pada} which begins with \textit{aC} (a vowel) and ends in \textit{aT} (a; cf. 1.1.70 taparas...) is placed first in a \textit{dvandva} compound.

EXAMPLES:

\begin{verbatim}
ustūrakharam 'a camel and a donkey'
ustūrasāsakam 'a camel and a rabbit'
\end{verbatim}

1. Note that rules 2.2.30 and 2.2.32 determine the order of placement of a given constituent by means of the technical terms upasārjana and \textit{ghi}. Rule 2.2.31 does the same by means of enumeration (\textit{parigānana}). Our present rule determines the order by specifying the initial (ādi) and the final (anta) sound segments of the constituent. Thus, our rule requires that a constituent beginning with a vowel (\textit{aC}) and terminating in \textit{aT} (a; 1.1.70 taparas tatkālasya) is to be placed first in a \textit{dvandva} compound.

The provision of this rule is not free of problems. Additionally, one may find a conflict of this rule with rule 2.2.32 \textit{dvandva ghi}. Consider the
examples indrāgni ‘Indra and Agni’ and indravāyu ‘Indra and Vāyu’, where indra begins with a vowel and ends with a. Similarly, agni and vāyu end in i and u, respectively. These last two qualify for preplacement under the provisions of rule 2.2.32. But indra qualifies for preplacement under the present rule. There is clearly a conflict here. The tradition invokes rule 1.4.2 vipratisedhe param kāryam, and rules in favor of the subsequent provision. This is how indra comes to be preplaced.

2.2.34 अत्याच तर्म

\[ alpāc taram \]

\[
/ alpāc taram 1/1 = alpo ‘c yasmin tat (bv.), anayor atiśāyane alpāc = alpāc taram /
\]

(dvandve #32, pūrvam #30)

alpāc taram šadbārāpaṃ dvandve samāse pūrvam prayoktavyam

A pada which contains fewer aC (vowels) is placed first in a dvandva compound.

Examples:

dhavakhadirapalāśāḥ ‘dhava, khadira, and palāśā trees’
šāṅkhaṭṭudubhūvinā ‘conch-shell, bugle, and vinā (a string instrument)’
vīṇāśāṅkhaṭṭudubhayāḥ ‘vīṇā, conch-shell, and bugle’

1. This rule provides for preplacement on the basis of a fewer number of vowels in a given constituent. However, there are very many problems with this provision. Consider the series of vārttika given under this rule:

(i) rtunakṣatrāṇām ānupūrvyaṇa samānākṣarāṇām pūrvanipāto vaktavyaḥ
‘preplacement should be stated for constituents which denote a prior season (ṛtu) or constellation (nakṣatra), and consist of an equal number of syllables (samānākṣara)’
Thus: citrāsvāti ‘the constellations citrā and svāti’

(ii) laghwakṣaraṃ ca pūrvam nipatatīti vaktavyam
‘it should be stated that a constituent consisting of a short syllable is also preplaced’
Thus: śaraśādam ‘reed and weed’.

(iii) abhyarhitam ca pūrvam nipatatīti vaktavyam
‘it should be stated that a constituent denoting someone worthy of respect (abhyarhitas) is also preplaced’
Thus: mātāpitarau ‘mother and father’, where the question of which parent is worthier of respect is resolved, according to canonical tradition, in favor of the mother (mātā).

(iv) vānānām ānupūrvvyena pūrvanipātaḥ
‘constituents which denote vāna ‘caste group’ should be preplaced in accordance with their relative order’
Thus: brāhmaṇaṁ kṣatriyaṁ brāhmaṇa, kṣatriya, vaisya, and śūdra
Note that the consideration of an equal number of syllables is not applicable in this instance.

(v) bhrātuś ca jñāyasah pūrvinipāto vaktavyah
'preplacement should also be stated for the constituent which
denotes an older brother'
Thus: yudhiṣṭhirārjunau 'Yudhiṣṭhira and Arjuna'

(vi) saṃkhyāya alpiyasyah pūrvinipāto vaktavyah
'preplacement of a constituent which denotes a smaller number
should be stated'
Thus: dvitrāḥ 'two and three'

2.2.35 सप्तमीविशेषणे बहुरिहाः
saptamīvīśeṣaṇe bahuvrihau
/ saptamīvīśeṣaṇe 1/2 (dv.) bahuvrihau 7/1/
(pūrvaṁ #30)
saptamyaṁtaṁ viśeṣaṇam ca bahuvrihisamāse pūrvaṁ prayoktavyam
A pada which ends in saptamī or denotes a qualifier (viśeṣaṇa) is
placed first in a bahuvrihi compound.

Examples:
kanṭhekālaḥ 'he in whose throat is blackness'
urasilomā 'he who has hair on his chest'
citraγuḥ 'he who owns brindled cows'
sabalaγuḥ 'id.'

1. If one understands the meaning of compounds in terms of principal
and secondary constituents, with the further stipulation that the sec-
dondary constituent will be placed first, then the constituents of a bahuvrihi
compound will all qualify for the status of upasajana. For, the meaning
of something outside of the constituency is principal in a bahuvrihi com-
pound. A problematic situation arises, since all constituents obviously
cannot be placed first. This rule resolves some of the problems. It
provides that a bahuvrihi constituent which either ends in locative, or is a
qualifier, is placed first. Thus, kanṭhe and citra in kanṭhekālaḥ and citraguḥ
are placed first, on account of ending in locative, or of being a qualifier.
Further adjustments are provided by vārttiṇa relative to the preplace-
ment of constituents in a bahuvrihi compound. For example, preplacement
is also required of pronouns (sarvanāma) and numeral (saṃkhyā). Thus,
sarvaśvetāḥ 'all-white' and dvyanyāh 'he for whom there are two
others', etc.
2.2.36 निष्ठ

निष्ठा
/ nīṣṭhā 1/1/
(pūrvam #30, bahuvrīhau #35)
निष्ठानं च बहुव्रीहिसमासे पūरवम प्रयोक्तवयम
A pada which contains a stem in nīṣṭhā (3.2.102 nīṣṭhā) is placed first in a bahuvrīhi compound.

EXAMPLES:

kṛtakaṭaḥ ‘he who has already finished making the mat’
bhikṣitabhiṣiḥ ‘he who has already received alms’

1. A proposal for postplacement is made by a vārtīka in connection with those nīṣṭhā constituents which occur with items denoting jāti ‘class’, kāla, ‘time’ and suκha ‘pleasure’. Thus, we get śāṅgajagdhi ‘she who ate Mung beans’, māsaḥaṭṭaḥ ‘he since whose birth a month has elapsed’, and suκhajāṭaḥ ‘he who has achieved happiness’.

2.2.37 बहुव्रीहिन्यादिव्र

vā “hitāgnyādiṣu
/ vāḥ āhitāgnyādiṣu 7/3 = āhitāgniḥ ādir yēsām (bv.), teṣu
(pūrvam #30, bahuvrīhau #35, nīṣṭhā #36)
āhitāgnyādiṣu nīṣṭhāntaṃ pūrvam vā prayoktavyam
A pada which contains a stem in nīṣṭhā and is enumerated under the list headed by āhitāgni is only optionally placed first in a bahuvrīhi compound.

EXAMPLES:

āgniḥ ‘he who has lighted the ritual fire’
āhitāgniḥ ‘id.’
jātaputraḥ ‘he who has a son born’
putrajāṭaḥ ‘id.’

2.2.38 कादर: कर्मधारये

kādārāḥ karmadhāraye
/ kādārāḥ 1/3 karmadhāraye 7/1/
(pūrvam #30, vā #37)
kādārādayaḥ śabdāḥ karmadhāraye samāse vā pūrvam prayoktavyam
A pada which contains kādāra ‘yellow, etc.’ only optionally is placed first in a karmadhāraya compound.
2.3.1 अनिधिले

anabhīhite

‘anabhīhite’ anukte anirdiṣṭe karmādau vibhaktir bhavati

(A nominal ending occurs only) when (what it expresses is) not expressed by some other means.

Examples:

kaṭāṃ karoti ‘he is making a mat’
grāmam gacchati ‘he is going to the village’
kiṃyaṃ kaṭaḥ ‘a mat is being made’
śatyah ‘a thing bought for a hundred’
satikāḥ ‘id.’

prāptadaka grāmāḥ ‘a village to which water has reached’

1. The word anabhīhite is used here in the sense of anukta ‘not stated’ or anirdiṣṭa ‘not specified’. The Kāśikā calls it a governing rule (adhikāra) which, in turn, means that rules dealing with the introduction of nominal endings (vibhakti) must take this sūtra into consideration.

2. The purpose of this sūtra is to specify conditions under which a particular nominal ending can be introduced. Thus, rule 2.3.2 karmaṇi dvitiyā, read with rule 2.3.1 anabhīhite, specifies that dvitiyā ‘second triplet of nominal ending’ can be introduced after a nominal stem (prātipadika) to express karman ‘object’ (1.4.49 kartur ḥpitataman karma), when the same has not already been expressed by some other means. That is, if karman has already been expressed, it should not be expressed again by means of nominal endings. Rule 2.3.1, therefore, serves as a constraint for the introduction of nominal endings. It allows the introduction of nominal endings only when their denotatum has not already been expressed by some other means. Commentators specify by enumeration (parigāhana) the following four ways in which the denotatum of a nominal ending can be expressed elsewhere:

(i) affixes denoted by the abbreviatory term tiN (3.4.78 tiptasjhi...);
(ii) affixes termed kṛt (3.1.93 kṛd atin);
(iii) affixes termed taddhita (4.1.76 taddhitāḥ); and
(iv) items termed samāsa ‘compound’ (2.1.3 prāk kaśārāt...).

These four ways of expression can be illustrated by the use of examples (a)-(e), below:

(a) devadatta odanam pacati ‘Devadatta is cooking rice’
This sentence expresses the agent *(kārtṛ)* by means of the verbal ending *tiN*. As a result *devadatta*, the named agent, is put in the nominative, expressing nothing but the notion of the nominal stem *(prātipadikārtha; 2.3.46 prātipadikārtha...)*. Since the *karmaṇ* of the action denoted by the verbal root *pac* ‘to cook’ remains unexpressed, *am*, the second triplet of nominal ending, has been introduced after *odana* to express it.

(b) *devadattena odanaḥ pacyate* ‘rice is being cooked by Devadatta’

Sentence (b) expresses the object by means of the verbal ending *te*. This necessitates the introduction of the nominative after *odana* to express the nominal stem notion. But since the agent remains unexpressed, *tṛiyā* ‘third triplet of nominal ending’, *Tā*, has been introduced after *devadatta* to express it.

The above two examples show how an agent or object expressed otherwise cannot again be expressed by means of nominal endings.

(c) *devadattena kataḥ kṛtaḥ* ‘a mat was made by Devadatta’

Sentence (c) expresses the object by means of the *kṛ* affix *Kta* in *kṛtaḥ*. Consequently, *kata* ‘mat’ is used in the nominative, where nothing but the nominal stem notion is expressed. The third triplet, *Tā*, has been introduced after *devadatta* to express agent.

(d) *satyo śvah* ‘a horse bought for a hundred’

The object is expressed in sentence (d) by means of the *taddhiita* affix *yāT* (5.1.21 *śatāc ca...*).

(e) *prāptodako grāmaḥ* ‘a village to which water has reached’

In sentence (e), the object is expressed by means of a compound. The compound *prāptodakah* ‘that to which water has reached’ is a *bahuvaśīhi* (2.2.24 *aṇekam anyapadārthe*), where the object of reaching has already been expressed. This explains why *grāma* ‘village’ has been put in the nominative.

It should be clear from the preceding examples, and their explanations, that the denotata of nominal endings can be expressed by diverse means. A nominal ending is used to express its denotatum if, and only if, the same has not already been expressed by something else.

3. The function of rule 2.3.1 can also be viewed as establishing an interdependency among rules expressing *kāraka* or non-*kāraka* relations. Thus, the introduction of nominal endings is dependent upon the information whether or not their denotatum has already been expressed by some other means. Such information is necessary to avoid duplication in expressing a *kāraka* or non-*kāraka* relation. In addition, if a denotatum can be expressed by diverse means, strings employing those diverse means can be said to be relatable to each other.

A constraint, in the form of rule 2.3.1 *anabhihite*, underscores this aspect of relatability among structures expressing similar denotata.
Thus, sentence (a) is related to sentence (b) in the sense that (b) is the passive counterpart of (a). Their derivations start with a common string:

\[ \text{devadatta (kartr) + odana (karman) + kr + LAT}. \]

The derivation then branches off in two directions, depending on what kind of verbal ending is selected to replace \( \text{LAT} \).

Note in this connection that affixes referred to as \( \text{LA} \), of which \( \text{LAT} \) is one, are introduced after a transitive root when either agent or object is to be expressed. They are introduced after an intransitive root when either agent or \( \text{bhāva} \) 'root-sense' is to be expressed (3.4.69 \( \text{lah} \) \( \text{karman} \) \( \text{ca} \)...). Furthermore, these abstract suffixes are eventually replaced, generally by the verbal endings referred to as \( \text{tiN} \). It is at the level of the selection of \( \text{tiN} \) that a decision must be made, whether \( \text{tiN} \) should be expressing agent, object, or \( \text{bhāva} \). Once this decision has been made, and a proper \( \text{tiN} \) has been selected, the further selection of nominal endings can be made. Similar relatability also exists between structures expressing \( \text{kāraka} \) or non-\( \text{kāraka} \) relations through diverse means.

4. The negative particle \( \text{naN} \) 'not', and therefore the present rule (\( \text{anabhīhitē} \)), has been interpreted in two ways:

(i) as \( \text{prasajya} \), where the negative particle is construed with the verb; and

(ii) as \( \text{paryudāsa} \), where the same has been construed with a noun.

Rule 2.3.2 \( \text{karmanī dvitiyā} \), etc., when read with 2.3.1 \( \text{anabhīhitē} \), can thus receive the following two interpretations:

(i) \( \text{anabhīhitē karmanī dvitiyā na bhavati 'a dvitiyā 'second triplet of nominal ending' does not occur when karman 'object' is expressed otherwise'} \)

(ii) \( \text{anabhīhitē karmanī dvitiyā bhavati 'a dvitiyā occurs when karman is not expressed otherwise'} \)

The first interpretation construes the negative particle \( \text{naN} \) with the verb \( \text{bhavati} \), and thus renders the status of rule 2.3.2 restrictive (\( \text{pratisēda} \)). The second interpretation construes the negative particle \( \text{naN} \) with the noun \( \text{karman} \), and consequently renders the status of 2.3.2 operational (\( \text{vidhī} \)). The \( \text{Mbh} \) (II: 764-65) has discussed these interpretations in connection with this example:

(f) \( \text{prāsāda āste 'he is sitting on the roof of the palace'} \)

Here, \( \text{prāsāda} \) 'palace' has been placed in \( \text{saptami} \) 'seventh triplet of \( \text{sUP} \)'. Now, this \( \text{saptami} \) has been introduced to denote \( \text{adhikaraṇa} \) 'locus', which is also the denotatum of affix \( \text{GHaN} \), introduced after \( \text{pra} \) + \( \text{sad} \) to derive \( \text{prāsāda} \). It can be argued that, if the locus has already been expressed by \( \text{GHaN} \) in \( \text{prāsāda} \), the introduction of \( \text{saptami} \) to denote locus again will make no sense. The \( \text{paryudāsa} \) interpretation allows the introduction of \( \text{Ni} \), the locative singular ending, to denote the locus of \( \text{ās} \) 'to sit' which
still remains to be expressed. That is, äste, the verb form, has not already expressed it. Besides, GHaN expresses the locus of sad. It should also be noted that rules 2.3.2, etc., are basically operational in nature; hence, a paryudāsa interpretation is favored.

2.3.2 कर्मणि द्वितीया

karmanि dvitiyā
\ karmāni 7/1/ dvitiyā 1/1/
(anabhihite #1)
karmāni kārake yā samkhya tatra dvitiyā vibhaktir bhavati
A dvitiyā occurs when kārman is not expressed otherwise.

EXAMPLES:

kaṭam karoti ‘he is making a mat’
gṛamaṁ gacchati ‘he is going to the village’

1. This rule, read with 2.3.1 anabhihite, states that dvitiyā (am, auT, Šas) can occur after a nominal stem to express kārman (1.4.49 kartur īpsitatamaṁ karma), provided the kārman has not already been expressed by some other means. In the notes under the previous rule, I have already illustrated instances where kārman has been expressed by means of something other than a nominal ending.

In the first of the above examples (kaṭam karoti) am, the accusative singular ending, has been introduced after kaṭa to express the object of the action denoted by the verbal root kr ‘to make’. This introduction of am was made possible by the fact that there was nothing in the sentence that expressed the object in question. The verbal ending ti, in karoti, is expressing the agent.

2. Note that dvitiyā, etc., are terms assigned to the triplet of nominal endings which Pāṇini accepts from the earlier grammarians. Additionally, the word kārman has been used in the Aṣṭādhyāyī, in the sense of both an action (kriyā) and an object. Of course, in rule 2.3.2 kārman is used in the sense of object, as defined by rules 1.4.49 kartur īpsitatamaṁ karma, etc.

3. The Kāśikā states that a samkhya ‘number’ is also expressed with the nominal endings. That is, the am in kaṭam, in addition to expressing the object, also expresses the singular number. Further, Kāśikā takes samkhya as the principal denotatum, and uses kārman as its qualifier: karmāni kārake yā samkhya tatra dvitiyā ‘dvitiyā occurs when a number, having its locus in the participant named object, is to be expressed, providing the same has not already been expressed otherwise’.

Bhaṭṭoji (SK 1: 600) simply says: anukte karmāni dvitiyā syāt ‘dvitiyā occurs to express kārman when it is not expressed otherwise’. Note that
Bhaṭṭoji does not mention *saṃkhya* here. That is, according to him, the denotatum of *dvitiyā* is a *karman* which has not been expressed otherwise.

The *Mahābhāṣya* discusses the question of the denotatum of nominal endings. According to one view, number (*saṃkhya*) is the denotatum of nominal endings, while the other regards nominal endings as generally denoting a *kāraka*. A discussion of these two views is necessitated by rules such as 1.4.21 *bahuṣu bahuvacanam*, which states that a plural ending is to be introduced to denote plurality (*bahuṣṭva*). This establishes that number could indeed be the denotatum of nominal endings. When a nominal ending is selected, rules such as 1.4.21 are brought close to the context of rules such as the present one (2.3.2). These two rules, read with 2.3.1 *anabhīhite*, will then specify that:

*anabhīhite karṇaṇi dvitiyā bahuṣu bahuvacanam* ‘second plural triplet of nominal ending is introduced when the multiplicity of *karman* is not already expressed otherwise’

If one takes the view that number is principal (*pradhāna*), and *kāraka* is secondary (*gauṇa*), number becomes the denotatum of nominal endings. As we have seen, *Kāśīkā* takes *saṃkhya* as *pradhāna*, whereas SK treats *kāraka* as *pradhāna*. For a detailed explication of these views, consult the *Mbh* (II: 752–69) where, on the basis of the view that *kāraka* is the denotatum of nominal endings, rule 2.3.1 is also shown to be unnecessary.

4. The *Mbh* (II: 770) states in a *slokavārttika* that *dvitiyā* is also introduced after a nominal stem, cooccurring with *ubhayataḥ* ‘on both sides’; *sarvataḥ* ‘on all sides’; *dhīk* ‘interjection denoting censure’; *uparyupari* ‘high above’; and *adhyadhi* ‘down below’, etc. Thus, we get the following sentences:

(a) *ubhayataḥ grāmam* ‘on both sides of the village’
(b) *sarvataḥ grāmam* ‘on all sides of the village’
(c) *dhīk devadatta* ‘shame on you, Devadatta!’
(d) *uparyupari grāmam* ‘high above the village’
(e) *adhyadhi grāmam* ‘down below the village’
(f) *adho’ dho grāmam* ‘id.’

2.3.3 तृतीया च होशक्षण्डन्दसि

*tṛtiyā ca hoś chandasi*
\[ tṛtiyā 1/1 ca 0 hoḥ 6/1 chandasi 7/1 \]
(karṇaṇi dvitiyā #2, anabhīhite#1)

chandasi viṣaye juhoteh karṇaṇi kārake tṛtiyā vibhaktir bhavanti, dvitiyā ca
A tṛtiyā ‘third triplet of sUP’ also occurs optionally to *dvitiyā* in the Vedic when *karman* of *hu* ‘to call; to perform a ritual sacrifice’ is not expressed otherwise.
Examples:

yatavāgāgnihotram juhoti `he is offering an oblation of yavāgū (barley gruel) to the agnihotra (a kind of ritual fire)'
yavāgūm agnihotram juhoti `id.'

1. This rule introduces tṛtiyā, in addition to dvitiyā, in those Vedic usages where the karman of the action denoted by the verbal root hu is to be expressed. Obviously, this rule will allow two forms, as shown in the examples above.

Note that, in the first sentence, yavāgū is put in tṛtiyā, and agnihotra in dvitiyā, whereas in the second they are both put in dvitiyā. The meaning, of course, is that someone is offering a ritual oblation of barley gruel, and anticipating that Agni will be the goal.

2.3.4 Antarāntareṇṇaḥ

antarāntareṇa yuke
antarāntareṇa 3/1 = antara ca antareṇa ca (itar. dv.);
antarāntareṇa yuktah (tr. tat.), tasmin; yuke 7/1 (dvitiyā #2)
antara ca antareṇa sabdau nipātau gṛhyate ābhyaṁ yoge dvitiyā vibhaktir bhavati

A dvitiyā occurs when antara `in between' and antareṇa `without' are in use.

Examples:

antarā tvāṁ ca māṁ ca kamanḍaluh `in between you and me is the kamanḍalu (water pot)'
antareṇa puruṣakāraṁ na kimcil labhyate `nothing is gained without diligent effort'

1. This rule allows the introduction of dvitiyā, after a nominal stem cooccurring with the particles antara and antareṇa. Commentators explain that antara, the particle, should not be confused with antara, the feminine derivative ending in the affix TāP. Similarly, antareṇa is not to be mistaken for the instrumental singular of antara; it, too, is a particle. We know this by association (sāhacarya). Since antareṇa is cited in this rule in association with antara, an indeclinable, it is evident that antareṇa should also be understood as an indeclinable. The idea of association also applies in the case of antara used with antareṇa. Again, as antareṇa is not a form ending in the affix TāP, antara should not be interpreted as ending in TāP. Reasoning based on association has its parallels as well. For instance, because association demands similarity of class, one understands guru-bhārgavaṇu as meaning `Jupiter and Sun', and not `the teacher and Paraśurāma, the son of Jamadagni'. In the same manner, antara and antareṇa must both be interpreted as nipāta, indeclinables.
2. This rule introduces *dvitiyā* as an exception to *saṣṭhī* ‘sixth triplet of nominal ending; genitive’. If this rule was not formulated, a sentence such as *antarā tvām ca mām ca kamanḍaluḥ*, (above), where *yuṣmad* ‘you’ and *asmad* ‘I’ have been used in the accusative, would be rendered as *antarā tvā ca mama ca kamanḍaluḥ*. That is, *yuṣmad* and *asmad* would qualify for residual (*śeṣa*) genitive (*saṣṭhī*) by rule 2.3.50 *saṣṭhī* *śeṣe*. This rule is, therefore, an exception to genitive.

2.3.5 **कालाध्वनोरत्यानसंयोगे**

*kālādhvanor aṭyantasamyoge

1/kālādhvanoh 7/2 (itär. dv.) aṭyantasamyoge 7/1 = aṭyantam samyogah (karm. tat.), tasmin 1

(dvitiyā #2)
kālaśabadhīyō dhvaśabadhyāś ca dvitiyā vibhaktir bhavati aṭyantasamyoge gymnāmāne

A *dvitiyā* occurs after stems denoting *kāla* ‘(measure of) time’ or *adhvan* ‘(measure of) path, road’ when *atyantasamyoga* ‘continuous connection’ is signified.

**Examples:**

*māsam adhīte* ‘he studies for one whole month’

*samvatsaram adhīte* ‘he studies for one whole year’

*māsam kalyāṇī* ‘this whole month is beneficial’

*samvatsaram kalyāṇī* ‘this whole year is beneficial’

*kroṣam adhīte* ‘he studies the entire distance of a *kroṣa* (two miles)’

*yojanam adhīte* ‘he studies the entire distance of a *yojana* (nine miles)’

*kroṣam kuṭilā nadi* ‘the river is full of bends for the entire distance of a *kroṣa*’

1. This rule allows the introduction of *dvitiyā* after a nominal stem denoting *kāla* or *adhvan*, providing continuous connection (*atyantasamyoga*) with some action (*kriyā*), thing (*dravya*), or quality (*guna*) is denoted.

2. Note that this introduction of *dvitiyā* is made directly, and not via the assignment of the *kāraka* termed *karman*. If the latter were the case, this rule would not be required; for rule 2.3.2 *karmanī dvitiyā* would introduce the ending. This direct introduction of *dvitiyā* causes some problems, especially in connection with intransitive verbs like *āśe*. Consider the following sentences:

(a) *devadattaḥ māsam āste* ‘Devadatta stays for a month’

(b) *devadattena māsam āsyate* ‘id.’

The word *māsam*, in both of these sentences, will be used with *dvitiyā*, because *māsa* denotes time, and its continued connection with the action
denoted by ās is being expressed. The verbal form in (a) is expressing the agent, while in (b) it is expressing the action (bhāva). This is in accordance with the specification of 3.4.69 lah karmani..., whereby we learn that a LA suffix, (of which te in sentence (b) is a replacement), is introduced after an intransitive verb root when either action or agent is to be denoted. Since in sentence (b) the agent remains unexpressed by the verbal form, devadatta is used with tṛitiyā (2.3.18 kartkaranayos tṛitiyā).

Now consider the following sentence:

(c) devadatītena māsaḥ āsyate

Sentence (c) is attested by the Mahābhāṣya. The te in this sentence is expressing the object (karman). That is why māsaḥ is in the nominative which, in turn, is expressing nothing but the nominal stem notion (prāṭipadikārtha). But te, which expresses the object in (c), is a replacement of LA introduced after ās, an intransitive (akarmaka) verb. As such, LA could only be introduced to denote either the agent or the action. How could a replacement of LA, introduced after an intransitive verb, express an object? Besides, rule 2.3.5 explicitly requires māsa to be put in dvitiyā. Given this, sentence (c) looks ungrammatical.

It is to account for sentences like (c) that Kātyāyana has written a vārttika (Mbh II: 774): aytantasanyoge karmavād lādyartham ‘for purposes of denotation by means of LA, etc., words denoting kāla and adhvam should be treated as if they were karman’. If accepted, this vārttika would account for the introduction of LA where its replacement in te could denote karman. Thus, māsa would be used with dvitiyā in an active sentence, where the verb would express the agent. In a passive sentence such as (c), māsa would express the nominal stem notion, while karman would be expressed by the verbal form. Note that under this interpretation, dvitiyā would be introduced by 2.3.2 karmani dvitiyā. Rule 2.3.5 would therefore not be required at all. But there are still problems in accepting the vārttika. For example, how is one to derive a sentence like

(d) āsyate māsaḥ ‘a month is spent sitting’

Actually, this sentence can be derived by accepting the verb as intransitive, and subsequently introducing LA to denote bhāva ‘action’. However, the status of karman, assigned by the vārttika to māsa, remains to be considered. It would not allow māsa be put in the nominative. Accordingly, if one wants to express action with the verb, the sentence should be

(e) *āsyate māsam

which is ungrammatical. To allow the derivation of (d), as opposed to (e), the wording of the vārttika must be brought into focus. The vārttika uses affix vat after karman, thereby implying that an item denoting kāla or adhvāna is to be treated as though it were karman. The vārttika does not rule out the possibility of their not being termed non-karman; for vat
marks *ātideśa* ‘transfer to some entity of something which it did not possess’. This does not mean that what the entity possessed prior to the transfer no longer exists. Consider the following sentence:

\[ (f) \text{ bhraḥmaṇavat kṣatriye vartṭiavyam ‘one should treat a kṣatriya like a \textit{brahmana}.} \]

This injunction does not imply that a *kṣatriya* ceases to be a *kṣatriya*, simply because he is to be treated like a *brahmana*. Similarly, words denoting time and space can be treated like *karman*, though they will not on that account cease to be non-*karman*. When one does not wish to treat a word denoting time or space as *karman*, *māsa* in (d) can be put in the nominative. The question of a wrong derivation, such as (e), would not arise, since the *vārttika* makes rule 2.3.5 unnecessary.

Patañjali, however, refuses to accept the *vārttika*. He also recommends that the present rule (2.3.5) should be retained. But if he chooses to retain the *sūtra* and reject the *vārttika*, he cannot account for sentence (c). That is, he cannot establish that the verb *ās* is transitive; nor can he establish it as intransitive. For sentences such as

\[ (c) \text{ devadattena māsaḥ āsyate} \]

*ās* must be established as transitive. But if one has taken Patañjali's position, rejecting the *vārttika* and accepting the *sūtra* as stated, *māsaḥ* must be used with *dvitiyā*; in which case the result would be:

\[ (b) \text{ devadattena māsam āsyate} \]

Furthermore, the question of treating *ās* as intransitive is not the only difficulty. It is also important that *dvitiyā* be introduced via the assignment of the term *karman*. Even with the intransitive view, one still cannot derive (c), where *māsaḥ* may be put in the nominative. That is, if one retains *sūtra* 2.3.5, whereby only *dvitiyā* could be introduced after *māsa*, the derivation would not be possible. Attempts have been made to accommodate sentence (c) by interpreting *akarmaka* ‘intransitive’ and *sakarmaka* ‘transitive’ in various ways. But there is no satisfactory solution to the problem unless the *vārttika* is accepted. See Joshi (1976: 70–79) for further details.

2. Recall the statement that this *sūtra* would no longer be required if the above-mentioned *vārttika* were accepted, and that the *karman* status of words denoting time and space were extended. But note also that the introduction of *dvitiyā* would thus be made by means of rule 2.3.2 *karmani dvitiyī*. This, in turn, would cover only those instances where continuous connection with action was being expressed. Instances like

\[ (g) \text{ krośam kuṭilā nadi ‘the river is crooked for the entire length of one mile} \]

cannot be covered, since what obtains here is a continuous connection between a word denoting time, and a word denoting quality (*guna*).
The same goes for continuous connection involving a word denoting *dravya* ‘thing’. For this, rule 2.3.5 must be retained as formulated.

### 2.3.6 अपवर्गे त्रिया

*apavarge tr̥iyā*

\( / \text{apavarge} \) \(’\text{tr̥iyā} \) \(1/1 \)

(\( \text{kālādhvanor atyantasamyoge \#5} \))

*apavarge gamyamāne kālādhvanor atyantasamyoge tr̥iyā vibhaktir bhavati*

A tr̥iyā occurs after stems denoting *kāla* or *adhvan* when both *atyantasamyoga* and *apavarga* ‘accomplishment’ are signified.

**Examples:**

*māsenānuvāko dhītaḥ* ‘he studied and accomplished the understanding of the *anuvāka* (a group of particular Vedic hymns) in one month’

*samvatsarenānuvāko dhītaḥ* ‘he studied and accomplished the understanding of the *anuvāka* in one year’

*krosenānuvāko dhītaḥ* ‘he studied and accomplished the understanding of the *anuvāka* in two miles’

*yojanenānuvāko dhītaḥ* ‘he studied and accomplished the understanding of the *anuvāka* in nine miles’

1. This rule introduces tr̥iyā, instead of dvitiyā made available by rule 2.3.5. It is constrained by an additional requirement of *apavarga* ‘accomplishment’. Compare the following sentences:

(a) māsam adhīto nūvākhaḥ ‘he read the *anuvāka* for a month’

(b) māsenādhīto nūvākhaḥ ‘he read the *anuvāka* for a month and fully understood it’

Sentence (a) must retain dvitiyā after māsa if it is to denote that the person simply read the *anuvāka*, though he did not understand it. Sentence (b) uses tr̥iyā to make the accomplishment known.

### 2.3.7 सप्तमीप्रथमो वक्रकमध्ये

*saptamiṃpaṇcamayau kāramadhye*

\( / \text{saptamiṃpaṇcamayau} \) \(1/2 \) (ītar. dv.) kāramadhye \(7/1 = kāramayor madhyah (śaś. tat.), tasmin / \)

(\( \text{kālādhvanoh \#5} \))

kāramayor madhye yau kālādhvanau tābyām saptamiṃpaṇcamayau vibhaktī bhavatāḥ

A saptami seventh triplet of *sUP* or paṇcamī ‘fifth triplet of *sUP*’ occurs after stems denoting *kāla* or *adhvan* when a span of time or distance between two kāraka is signified.
Examples:

adya bhūtvā devadatto ḍvayahe bhoktā ‘having eaten today, Devadatta will eat after two days’
adya bhūtvā devadatto ḍvyaḥād bhoktā ‘id.’
ihastrō’ yam āśāsah krośe laksyaṁ viddhyati ‘sitting here, this archer pierces his target up to a distance of two miles’
ihastrō’ yam āśāsah krośāl laksyaṁ viddhyati ‘id.’

1. This rule introduces saptamī or pañcamī after an item which denotes time and space, providing they intervene between two kāraka ‘participants in an action’. Consider the above examples, where the third and fourth illustrate the usages of saptamī and pañcamī respectively. In these sentences, the word krośa intervenes between two kāraka; it denotes the space between the archer (āśāsah), who is the agent of vyadh ‘to pierce’, and his target (laksya), which is the object of vyadh.

The first two examples present some difficulty. They can possibly not meet the condition that the word denoting time should occur between two kāraka. These sentences have bhūtvā, which represents a prior action in relation to the subsequent action, again denoted by bhuj ‘to consume’. This being the case, affix Ktoā has been introduced under the condition that the agent of the prior action, as well as that of the subsequent action, should be the same (3.4.21 samānakartṛkayoh pūrvakāle).

Devadatta is that same agent, and, consequently, the condition of having two participants is not met. In both sentences, ḍvahan, a word denoting time, intervenes between the same participant.

Commentators explain that the word kāraka in 2.3.7 should not be interpreted as meaning kāraka per se. Instead, it should be interpreted to mean the power (śakti) of a kāraka. Thus, devadatta is the locus of the power which, in turn, qualifies him to become the agent. Since the power that brings about the action of consuming today is different from that which enables the agent to accomplish the action two days later, ḍvahan can be treated as occurring between two participants.

2. Another problem of interpretation has been raised in connection with saptamīpañcamīyau…. Commentators warn us against interpreting the introduction of saptamī and pañcamī in accordance with the rule of yathāsaṁkhya (1.3.10 yathāsaṁkhyam anuđesah samānām). In other words, one should not introduce saptamī after items denoting kāla, and should not introduce pañcamī after items denoting adhvān. This is based on the understanding that kāla and adhvān have been enumerated in a set in a given order, to which another set constituted by saptamī and pañcamī corresponds. Kāśikā refers to rule 1.3.11 svāritenādhikārah, and states that equivalencies based upon order of enumeration are assigned only where svārīta ‘circumflex accent’ is intended. Rule 2.3.7 lacks this intended svārīta.
2.3.8 कर्मप्रवचनीययुक्ते द्वितिया

karmapracaninayuktadvitīyā
/karmapracaninayuktta 7/1 = karmapracaninayair yuktaḥ (tr. tat.),
tasmin; dvitīyā 1/1/
karmapracaninayair yukte dvitīyā vibhaktir bhavati

A dvitīyā occurs after a nominal stem used in conjunction with a karmapracanināya (1.4.83 karma...).

EXAMPLES:

śākalyasya sanhitām anu prāvarṣat ‘it rained after the chanting of the sanhitā of Śākalya’
āgaṇṭyaṃ anu asinccat prajāḥ ‘it rained over the people after chanting of the sanhitā of Agastyā’

1. The word anu is termed karmapracanināya by rule 1.4.84 anur lakṣaṇe, when it is used in the sense of lakṣaṇe ‘mark, symbol’. In the first example, śākalyasya sanhitām anu prāvarṣat, anu is used as a mark for the rain to follow the chanting.

2.3.9 यस्मादविदिः यस्य वेदवचनं तत्र सप्तमी

yasmād adhikam yasya cēṣvarvacanam tatra saptamī
dvā yasmād 5/1 adhikam 5/1 yasya 6/1 caō īṣvarvacanam 1/1 tatra 0
saptamī 1/1/
(karmapracaninayukte #8)
yasmād adhikam yasya cēṣvarvacanam karmapracanināyair yukte tatra
saptamī vibhaktir bhavati

A saptamī occurs after that which is conjoined with a karmapracanināya and which refers, either to a thing (e.g., ḷārī) than which something else (e.g., dṛṇa) is greater, or to a people whose lordship is being expressed.

EXAMPLES:

uṇa khārīyam dṛṇaḥ ‘a dṛṇa is more than a khārī’
uṇa niṣke kārṣāpaṇam ‘a kārṣāpaṇa is more than a niṣka’
adhi paṇcālaśu brahmadattaḥ ‘Brahmadatta rules over the Paṇcālas’

1. This rule introduces saptamī, as opposed to dvitīyā, after a nominal stem which cooccurs with a karmapracanināya, and which denotes either something more than its denotatum, or its lordly position or ownership (īṣvarvacana). Note that the term īṣvarvacana is interpreted here in two ways, based upon the fact that lordship or ownership are relative notions. That is, both the thing owned (svam) and the owner (svāmin) are mutually expectant. Thus, an item denoting something owned can also be used, with
saptami, as an item denoting the owner. Such an item is most obviously provided for by this rule.

The following sentences exemplify this point:
(a) adhi brahmadatte pañcālāh
(b) adhi pañcāleṣu brahmadattaḥ

Here, the saptami is to be used in turn (paryāya), and not simultaneously (yugapad) after both items. Both denote a thing owned, or the owner; and, of course, both cooccur with a karma-pravacaniya. This rule, as indicated earlier, forms an exception to dvitiyā introduced by the preceding rule.

Items cooccurring with a karma-pravacaniya, where saptami is required, and where there is to be denoted something more than the denotatum of the items concerned, present no problem. Thus, in the example

upakhāryām dronaḥ

the measure of weight called drona is described as more than another measure of weight, called khāri. In this case, khāri is to be put in saptami, as it occurs with upa (a karma-pravacaniya; 1.4.87 upo’ dhike ca) and it denotes a measure of weight compared with which drona is greater.

2.3.10 प्रतिनिधिप्रतिदाने च यस्मात

pañcamy apāṇparibhiḥ
/(pañcamy 1/1 apāṇparibhiḥ 3/1 (itar.dv.)/) (karma-pravacaniya-yayukte # 8)
‘upa, ān, pari’ ity etaiḥ karma-pravacaniyair yoge pañcamī vibhaktir bhvati
A pañcamī occurs after an item in conjunction with the karma-pravacaniya apa, āN, or pari.

Examples:

apa trigarttebhya vrṣṭo devaḥ ‘it rained up to, though excluding, Trigartta’
ā pāṭaliputro vrṣṭo devaḥ ‘it rained up to Pāṭaliputra’
pari pari trigarttebhya vrṣṭo devaḥ ‘it rained around Trigartta’

1. The karma-pravacaniya designation of apa and pari is allowed by rule 1.4.88 apa pari varjane. Rule 1.4.89 ān maryādāvacane assigns the term karma-pravacaniya to āN. Since these term-assignments are constrained by specific semantic conditions, one ought to consult these rules when interpreting the examples.

2.3.11 प्रतिनिधिप्रतिदाने च यस्मात
A *pañcamī* also occurs after that which is both conjoined with a *karmapracacaniya* and either serves as one for whom someone else is a substitute (*pratinidhi*), or denotes a thing for which something else is given in exchange (*pratidāna*).

**Examples:**

*abhimanyur arjunataḥ prati* ‘Abhimanyu is the substitute for Arjuna’
*pradyumno vāsudevataḥ prati* ‘Pradyumna is the substitute for Vāsudeva’
*māsān asmai tilebhyaḥ prati yacchati* ‘he is giving him the Mung beans in exchange for the sesame’

1. This rule introduces *pañcamī* after a nominal stem which cooccurs with a *karmapracacaniya*, under the condition that either *pratinidhi* ‘substitute’, or *pratidāna* ‘thing for which something else is given in exchange’, is being denoted. In the examples cited, Arjuna, for whom Abhimanyu serves as a substitute, cooccurs with *prati*, a *karmapracacaniya* demanding *pañcamī*. Similarly, *tila* is used with *pancamī*, as *māsa* are given in return for them.

2.3.12 गत्यर्थकर्मणि द्वितीयचतुर्थाः चेष्टायामनन्तनः

*gatyarthakarmanī dvitiyācaturthāau cēṣṭāyām anadhvanī*  
/ gatyarthakarmanī 7/1 = gatir artho yēṣām te = gatyarthāḥ (bv.), gatyarthāṁ karma = gatyarthakarma (śaţ. tat.), tasmin (śaţ. tat. with internal bv.) dvitiyācaturthāau 1/2 cēṣṭāyām 7/1 anadhvanī 7/1/  
(anabhīhitā #1)

*gatyarthānāṁ dhātānāṁ cēṣṭākriyānāṁ (paścpanakriyānāṁ) karmanī kārake' dhvavarjite dvitiyācaturthāau bhavataḥ*

Either *dvitiyā* or *caturthī* ‘fourth triplet of sUP’ occurs to express the object of a verb of movement (*gaṭī*), provided that the object is not expressed otherwise, that it is not *adhvan*, and that the action involves actual movement (*cēṣṭā*).

**Examples:**

*grāmāṁ gačcati* ‘he goes to the village’
*grāmāya gačcati* ‘id.’
*grāmāṁ vrajaṭi* ‘id.’
*grāmāya vrajaṭi* ‘id.’

1. This rule introduces *dvitiyā* and *caturthī*, after a nominal stem, to express the *karman* of an action denoted by a root having the signification of *gaṭī* ‘going’, providing

(i) the *karman* is not characterized by *adhvan* ‘road’, and
(ii) the action entails *cēṣṭā* ‘physical effort’.
Note that this optional introduction of dvitiyā and caturthi is made in the context of an action and object which are both special. Thus, action must be denoted by a root having the signification of gati. This will allow the first two examples given above. It will not, however, allow of a sentence like:

(a) odanam pacati
Here, the action denoted by pac ‘to cook’ does not signify gati ‘going’. The act of going must also involve physical effort (cesṭā) so that a sentence such as

(b) manasā pātaliputraṁ gacchati ‘he is mentally going to Pātaliputra’
can be excluded from the scope of this sūtra. Finally, the action does not necessarily have to be denoted by gam ‘to go’. Any one of the synonyms of gam can denote the action. As a result, the action denoted by the verbal root gam in the preceding sentences can also be denoted by vraj ‘to wander’. Thus we get the following sentences:

(c) grāmaṁ vrajati
(d) grāmāya vrajati
(e) manasā pātaliputraṁ vrajati
Note that the object, like the action, is also constrained. For example, it cannot be identified as adhvan ‘road’, or a word synonymous with it. This would exclude such sentences as

(f) panthānam gacchati
(g) pathe gacchati

Two questions arise in this connection: how do we know that the excluded object is not only adhvan but also its synonym? And what forms the basis for excluding sentence (g) from the scope of this rule?

The first question is raised because 1.1.68 svam rūpaṁ sabdasya... demands that a word cited in this grammar must denote its form only. Haradatta (PM ad Kāś II: 165) explains that, since anadhvan ‘non-adhvan’ is used with saptami, and is construed as a modifier to karman (also in saptami), Pāṇini’s specification by means of anadhvan is basically semantic. Besides, the form of the word adhvan cannot serve as an object here. Only what is denoted by the form can participate as an object (saptamiṁinirdēśe hy anadhvanī karmanīty anvayāḥ. nānadhvaniḥ prakṛter ity artha eva karma nādhaśabdah; tenādhtvaparyāye’ pi caturthā vaktavyā). Furthermore, if Pāṇini intended adhvan to denote its form only, he would have put it in the nominative.

Commentators explain that sentence (g) is excluded from the scope of this rule because of semantic restriction. That is, when someone is already on the road and is traversing (āsthita) it, an object signified by adhvan or its synonym will not be allowed by this rule to be used with caturthi. When, for example, someone is lost and wishes to approach the right road from the wrong, the use of caturthi is correct. Thus, sentence
(g) entails an object which is denoted as the road to be approached, and not that already being traversed. (Kāś II: 165: āsthitapratisedhas ceyam vijñeyah. āsthitah = samprāptaḥ, ākranta ucyate. yatra tu utpathena panthānaṃ gacchati, tatra bhavitvayam eva caturthayā: pathe gacchati). Note that to disallow caturthī, in accordance with the semantic constraint just explained, does not mean the disallowing of dvitiyā, which will in any event be ruled by 2.3.2 karmanī dvitiyā.

2. A question is raised as to why dvitiyā is to be expressly mentioned in this rule, when it could easily have been carried from 2.3.2. If the intent was to introduce caturthī as an optional form to dvitiyā, the rule should simply have been formulated as gatyarthakaranāṇi caturthī vā ‘optionally caturthī when the object of an action signifying ‘gati’ is to be denoted’. Actually, dvitiyā is expressly mentioned to allow the blocking of a rule which could prevent the use of dvitiyā as an exception. To block the rule which blocks dvitiyā (bādhakābādhana) is, therefore, the purpose of explicitly mentioning dvitiyā.

Kāśikā cites two examples:

(h) grāmam gantā ‘goer of the village’
(i) grāmāya gantā ‘id.’

In example (h), dvitiyā is introduced by this rule object. Rule 2.3.2 cannot introduce dvitiyā after grāma in (h), because grāma is co-occurring with gantā, a kṛt-derivate (3.4.67 kartāri kṛt) ending in trC (3.1.133 nvintrcāu). Rule 2.3.65 kartykarmanoḥ kṛti allows the introduction of saṣṭhi ‘genitive’ to denote the object in such instances. Thus, sentence (h) should be read as

(j) grāmasya gantā

Here, rule 2.3.12 disallows the application of 2.3.65 which, in turn, blocks 2.3.2. This bādhayabādhakābhāva can also be explained as the optional blocking of dvitiyā by caturthī in this rule, versus the blocking of 2.3.2 by 2.3.65.

3. A question is further raised in connection with the use of gatyarthakaranāṇi. Why did not Pāṇini simply use gatyikaranāṇi ‘when the object of an action denoted by a root signifying gati is to be expressed’? By using gatyarthakaranāṇi, Pāṇini wishes to indicate that rule 2.3.12 does not apply where gati may be the meaning of an action entailing physical effort only through the association of something else. Thus, in a sentence such as

(k) striyam gacchati ‘he is fornicating with the woman’

One gets this meaning only through the association of the word stri ‘woman’.

2.3.13 चतुर्थी य संप्रदाने

caturthi sampradāne

/ caturthi 1/1 sampradāne 7/1/
(anabhīhīte #1)
sampradāne kārake caturthī vibhaktir bhavati
A caturthī occurs to express sampradāna when it is not expressed otherwise.

EXAMPLES:

upādhyāyāya gāṃ dadāti ‘he gives a cow to the teacher’
māṇavakāya bhikṣāṃ dadāti ‘he gives alms to the boy’
devadattāya rocate ‘it is pleasing to Devadatta’
puspebhīyāḥ sṛṇhayati ‘he longs for the flowers’

1. This rule introduces caturthī to denote sampradāna ‘dative’. The assignment of the term sampradāna in the first two examples, upādhyāyāya gāṃ dadāti and māṇavakāya bhikṣāṃ dadāti, has been made by 1.4.32 karmanā yam abhipraśati sa sampradānam. Rules 1.4.33 rucyarthānāṃ priyamānāḥ and 1.4.37 sṛṇher ṭipsātalḥ assign the term sampradāna in the last two examples, devadattāya rocate and puspebhīyāḥ sṛṇhayati, respectively.

2.3.14 क्रियारूढपदस्य च कर्माणि स्थानिनः:
kriyārūḍhopadasya ca karmani sthānīnaḥ
/ kriyārūḍhopadasya 6/1 = kriyārūḍhā kriyā upapadām yasya (dhatuh) (bv. with final pada deleted), tasya; ca 0 karmani 7/1 sthānīnaḥ 6/1/
(caturthī #13, anabhīhīte #1)
kriyārūḍhopadasya ca sthānino’ prayujyamānasya dhātoḥ
karmanī kārake caturthī vibhaktir bhavati
A caturthī occurs to express the object of a verb which, though not actually used in a sentence, denotes an action for which another (expressed) action is intended, provided also that such an object is not otherwise expressed.

EXAMPLES:
edhebhīyo vrajati ‘he is going in order to bring some firewood’
puspebhīyo vrajati ‘he is going in order to bring some flowers’

1. This rule introduces caturthī to denote the object of an action, denoted by a root, conjoined with another root which denotes an action intended for the former, providing this intended action is not explicitly stated. Consider the following sentence:

(a) puspnāy āhartum vrajati ‘he is going to fetch flowers’
The action here is denoted by vraj ‘to go’, and is intended for the implied action of fetching (āhartum) flowers. Rule 2.3.13 cannot introduce caturthī to denote the object of āḥr ‘to fetch’, because the sense of the action denoted by it is explicitly stated in the sentence by āhartum, a form ending in tumUN (3.4.21 samānakartrkayoh...). Here, 2.3.2 introduces dvitiyā after puspa ‘flower’ to denote the object. But consider
(b) puṣpabhya vrajati ‘id.’
where the object is being expressed by caturthī, as the action denoted by āhṛ is not explicitly stated in the sentence, and where vraj denotes an action intended for it.

2. The term upapada ‘conjoined, cooccurring pada’ has been defined by 3.1.92 tatropapadam saṭamistham ‘that which has been referred to by saṭam in the domain of 3.1.91 dhātoḥ is an upapada’. The expression kriyārthopapadasya of this rule thus refers to rule 3.3.10 tumunṇvulau kriyāyām kriyārthāyām, where the words kriyāyām kriyārthāyām end in locative and specify an upapada.

A question may be raised here about Pāṇini’s use of kriyārthopapadasya. Why did he use it to introduce caturthī, when he could easily have introduced caturthī by 2.3.36 caturthī tadarthaṁ...? The reason is obvious. The caturthī introduced by this rule must denote the object of an action denoted by a form ending in tumUN, though not explicitly stated in the sentence. Consider the example

(c) praviṣa (grhan) piṇḍīṁ (bhakṣaya) ‘enter the house and eat rice-balls’
where the action of entering the house is intended for the purpose of eating rice-balls. But since bhakṣaya is a form ending in LOT, and not in tumUN, we cannot get the form of

d) praviṣa piṇḍyas
That is, we cannot use caturthī after piṇḍī by this rule, even if we delete bhakṣaya from the sentence. Moreover, a form ending in LOT cannot denote kriyārthopapada, as LOT is not introduced in that sense.

3. The word sthānin is also used, traditionally, to denote that which is not explicitly stated but implicitly assumed (PM ad Kāś II: 168: yatra gamyate cārtho na ca prayujyate sabdāḥ sa sthāṇi ‘a sthānin is also that whose meaning is comprehended though the word is not used’). This is, of course, a practice in the Pāṇinian parlance.

2.3.15 तुपर्यः भाववचनात्
tumarthāc ca bhāvavacanat
\[
\text{tumarthāt 5/1 = tumunaḥ artha ivārtha yasya sa tumarthaḥ (bu.), tasmāt ca}
\]
\[
\text{0 bhāvavacanāt 5/1 =bhāvasya vacanam (saṣ. tat.), tasmāt /}
\]
\[
\text{(kriyārthopapadasya ca karnaṇī sthāninaḥ #14, caturthī #13, ana-}
\]
\[
\text{bhihite #1)}
\]
\[
tumarthabhihavacanapratyayāntāt prātipadikāc caturthī vibhaktir bhavati
\]
A caturthī occurs after a nominal stem which terminates in an affix that denotes action and is synonymous with tumuN.

Examples:

pākāya vrajati ‘he is going to do the cooking’
tyāgāya vrajati ‘he is going to abandon’
bhūtaye vrajati ‘he is going for prosperity’
sampattaye vrajati ‘he is going for wealth’

1. This rule introduces caturthī after a nominal stem which ends in an affix denoting action (bhāva), similar to the denotatum of tumUN.

By the expression bhāvavacanāt, Pāṇini refers to rules of the domain of 3.3.18 bhāve. His use of the word tumarthaḥ ‘similar to the meaning of tumUN’ refers to rule 3.3.11 bhāvavacanās ca. whereby suffixes such as GHaN are introduced under the condition of a future action intended by another action. According to rule 2.3.15, caturthī should be introduced after a stem ending in the suffix introduced by 3.3.11.

Once again, one may ask why caturthī cannot be introduced by 2.3.36 caturthī tadarthārtha.... The answer is that, in an example like the first, (pākṛṣya vrajati), the sense of ‘for the purpose of that...’ would already be expressed by the suffix GHaN of pāka ‘cooking’. This being the case, caturthī cannot be introduced by 2.3.36. Furthermore, only prathamā ‘nominative’ can be introduced after pāka to denote its nominal stem notion (prātipadikārtha). To remove this difficulty, we must have rule 2.3.15 to introduce caturthī.

Note also that bhāvavacanāt requires that the stem after which caturthī is to be introduced should denote bhāva. Consequently, caturthī cannot be introduced, for example, after kāraka of kārako vrajati ‘the one who will do is going’. Here, affix NvUL in kāraka is denoting karty ‘agent’. Besides, according to this rule, tādarthya is related to the meaning of the root and not to that of the agent.

Another question has also been the subject of discussion. Why cannot kriyārthopadasya be carried from the earlier rule, and be used as a qualifier to bhāvavacanāt? If this were done, tumartha would not be required to be stated. The fact that kriyārthopadasya ends in the genitive, and bhāvavacanāt in the ablative, should pose no problem, since the genitive of kriyārthopadasya can be changed to ablative so that it can serve as a qualifier to bhāvavacanāt. However, kriyārthopada could only serve as a qualifier to the root, and not to a form ending in an affix denoting bhāva, similar to tumUN; therefore tumartha must be stated in this rule. Note that kriyārthopada refers to a root denoting future action intended by another action.

2.3.16 नमःक्रियार्थपदपादयस्य

namahaḥsvastivāhāsvadhālamvasadyogāc ca
/ namah...yogāt 5/1 = namaś ca svasti ca svāhā ca svadhā ca alam ca
vaṣaṣ ca = namah...vaṣaṣ (dv.), tair yogaha = namah...yogaḥ (śaṣ. tat. with
internal dv.), tasmāt ca 0/
(caturthī #13)
‘namah, svasti, svāhā, svadhā, alaṃ. vaśat’ ity etair yoge caturthī vibhaktir bhavati

A caturthī occurs after items in conjunction with namas ‘obeisance’; svasti ‘well-being’; svāhā, svadhā, and vaśat ‘calls symbolizing obeisance accompanied by ritual oblation’; or alaṃ ‘enough, equal to’.

EXAMPLES:

namo devebhyaḥ ‘our obeisance to the gods’
svasti praṭābhyaḥ ‘our blessings for the children’
svāhā’ gnaye ‘our obeisance to Agni’
svadhā pitṛbhyaḥ ‘ritual oblations for our forefathers’
alam mallo mallāya ‘this wrestler is equal to the other one’
vaśat indrāya ‘ritual oblations for Indra’

1. This sūtra introduces caturthī after a nominal stem which is used in conjunction with namas, etc. The word yoge (as in yoge of this rule) is derived from yuj ‘to join, yoke’ used with the suffix GHaN to denote karman ‘object’. This being the case, caturthī is to be introduced after a stem which is used in conjunction with namas, etc. All the stems enumerated in this sūtra are indeclinables (avyaya).

2. The use of the word ca in this rule is also significant. Normally, ca is used to gather something which is not already stated (anuktasamuccaya). But there is nothing additional here that needs to be gathered. Hence, the ca, according to the commentators, is for the reassignment (punar-vidhāna) of caturthī. The sense of ca here is thus eva ‘only’. That is, caturthī alone should be used in accordance with the specifications of this rule. For example, rule 2.3.73 caturthī caśiṣṭ... introduces śaṣṭhī when benediction (āśih) is being denoted. That is, in a sentence, such as:

(a) svasti gobhya bhūyāt ‘may the cows be happy’

one would expect śaṣṭhī after go ‘cow’. But, because of the use of ca in the present rule, caturthī alone can be used.

3. It is claimed by upapadaṇbhaṇdayaḥ kāraṇābhaktir baliyāsī (cf. paribhaṣā 103 of Nāgęśa’s Paribhaṣendusekha) that a rule which introduces a vibhakti, with reference to a kāraṇa, is more powerful than a rule which introduces it with reference to a conjoined (upa) pada. The caturthī here is introduced under the condition of conjoined pada such as namah, etc. Whenever there is a conflict between a rule introducing a vibhakti with reference to a kāraṇa and another rule introducing a vibhakti with reference to a conjoined pada, the rule which introduces the vibhakti with reference to a kāraṇa prevails. Consider the following sentence:

(b) namasyati devān ‘he is bowing down to the gods’

The word deva ‘god’ is used here with dvitiyā, by rule 2.3.2, with reference
to karman. Thus, dvitiyā is a kāraka-vibhakti. A caturthī introduced by this rule will be blocked because it is conditioned by the conjoined pada: nāmas. Thus.

(c) *namasyati devāya ‘id.’
will not be permitted.

2.3.17 पन्यकर्षण्यनादे विभाषाः प्राणिषु

manyakarmany anādare vibhāṣā’ prāṇiṣu
/ manyakarmanī 7/1 = manyateḥ karma (śaṣ. tat.), tasmin; anādare 7/1
vibhāṣā 1/1 aprāniṣu 7/1/
(caturthī #13, anabhihite #1)
manyakarmanī prānivarjite vibhāṣā caturthī vibhaktir bhavati anādare
gamyamāne

A caturthī optionally occurs to express the object of manā ‘to consider, treat’ provided that such an object is not expressed otherwise, that it does not denote prānin ‘living being’, and that disrespect is expressed.

EXAMPLES:

na tvā trṇam manye ‘I do not consider you so much as even a blade of grass’
na tvā trṇāya manye ‘id.’
na tvā busam manye ‘I do not consider you as even chaff’
na tvā busāya manye ‘id.’

1. This rule optionally introduces caturthī to denote a non-living (aprānin) object of manā, when anādara ‘disrespect’ is being denoted. Obviously, when the option of denoting such an object by caturthī is not taken, dvitiyā will be introduced by 2.3.2.

Consider the second of the above examples (na tvā trṇāya manye). Why is nōṣmad ‘you’, as the object of man ‘to treat’, put in caturthī? First of all, yusmad denotes a living being. Secondly, the karman should also denote disrespect; and in the example, it is not the person, but the straw, which is associated with disrespect.

2. How are we to know which manā is intended by the rule? The manā of the root-class tanādi ‘tanū, etc.’, or that of the class of divādi ‘div, etc.’? The manā in this rule must refer to the root of the tanādi class, as Pāṇini makes the reference by using manya (man used with the augment ŚyaN of the tanādi class).

2.3.18 कर्त्तकरणयोस्तुतीया

kartoṣkaraṇayos tryiyā
/ kartṛkaraṇayoḥ 7/2 tryiyā 1/1/
(anabhihite #1)
\textit{karāṇe ca kārake trīyā vibhaktir bhavati}

A \textit{trīyā} occurs to express \textit{kartr} and \textit{karāṇa} when they are not expressed otherwise.

\textbf{Examples:}

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textit{devadattena krtam} ‘made by Devadatta’
  \item \textit{yajñadattena bhuktam} ‘eaten by Yajñadatta’
  \item \textit{dātreṇa lunāti} ‘he is cutting with a sickle’
  \item \textit{pāraśūnā chinatt} ‘he is cutting with an ax’
\end{itemize}

1. This rule introduces \textit{trīyā} to denote \textit{kartr} and \textit{karāṇa} ‘instrument’. For details of the assignment of these terms, refer to 1.4.54 \textit{svalantraḥ karttā} and 1.4.42 \textit{sādhakatamam karanam}, respectively.

\subsection*{2.3.19 सहयुक्तेप्रधानेः}

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textit{sahayukte pradhāne}
  \item \textit{sahayukte 7/1 apradhāne 7/1/}
  \item \textit{(trīyā #18)}
  \item \textit{sahārthena yukte pradhāne trīyā vibhaktir bhavati}
\end{itemize}

A \textit{trīyā} occurs after stems which denote \textit{apradhāna} ‘secondary’ and are used in conjunction with \textit{saha} ‘with’ or its synonyms.

\textbf{Examples:}

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textit{putreṇa sahāgataḥ pitā} ‘the father came with the son’
  \item \textit{putreṇa saha gomān pitā} ‘the father is going with the son’
\end{itemize}

1. This rule introduces \textit{trīyā} after a nominal stem which denotes non-principal (\textit{apradhāna}), and is used in conjunction with an item having the signification of \textit{saha}.

Pāṇini could have formulated the rule as \textit{sahena apradhāne}. That is, \textit{yukte} could have been left out, being accounted for by \textit{sahena} ‘with \textit{saha}’

That way, this rule-formulation would have been similar to 2.3.32 \textit{prthag-vinā-nānābhīs}.... Pāṇini, however, did not formulate the rule following the pattern of 2.3.32. He did not do so because, by using \textit{yukte}, he wanted to indicate that \textit{saha} represented not only itself, but also its synonyms, such as \textit{sākam}, \textit{sārdham}, and so on.

2. The status \textit{pradhāna} ‘principal’ or \textit{apradhāna} ‘non-principal’ should be decided on the basis of direct or indirect relatability with action. Consider the first example, \textit{putreṇa sahāgataḥ pitā}, where both father and son, since they come together, are relatable to the action of coming. Of the two, the father is principal because he can be directly related to the action. The son can be related to the action only indirectly, through accompaniment (\textit{sāhitya}). Or, to put it differently, the idea of the son’s relatability to the action comes through interpretation (\textit{artha}). As opposed
to this, the father's relatability to the action is direct: it comes directly from the form (sādā). Needless to say, relatability based only upon interpretation is non-principal.

3. Commentators indicate that when the sense of accompaniment is understood, as opposed to being explicitly stated by means of sāha or one of its synonyms, tṛtiyā could still be used. Pāṇini himself has used it in rule 1.2.65 vṛddha yuṇā tallakṣaṇaś ced eva viśeṣah, where yuṇā is used in tṛtiyā without the use of sāha.

2.3.20 येनांगविकारः

yena 3/1 aṅgavikāraḥ 1/1 (saś. tat.) /
(tṛtiyā #18)
yenāngaṇa viṇṭenāṅgaṇo vikāro lakṣyate tatas tṛtiyā vibhaktir bhavati
A tṛtiyā occurs after a stem which denotes an aṅga ‘limb’ which is marked by deformity.

Examples:

aṅkṣṇā kāṇah ‘deformed by (the loss of) an eye’
pādana khaṇṭah ‘deformed by (the loss of) a foot’

1. This rule introduces tṛtiyā after a nominal stem which denotes aṅga ‘part, limb’ and marks a deformity (vikāra) of the aṅgin ‘whole, body’. The aṅgin is here denoted by an aṅga, a taddhita (4.1.76 taddhitāḥ) derivative, where affix aC is introduced after aṅga ‘part’ by 5.2.126 arśādibhyo... to denote the sense of matUP (4.2.67 tad asminn astīti...). The derived form is still an aṅga. The part itself is referred to by the variable yena ‘that by which’...

Why should we have the condition that a deformed part should denote the deformity of its whole? Where the deformity of the part itself is to be denoted, tṛtiyā cannot be used. Compare the two sentences below, for example:

(a) aṅki kāṇam asya ‘he has but one eye’
(b) aṅkṣṇā kāṇah ‘he is but one-eyed’

2.3.21 इत्थमभूतलक्षणे

itthambhūtalakṣaṇe
/ itthambhūtalakṣaṇe 7/1 (saś. tat.), tasmin /
(tṛtiyā #18)
kamcita prakāraḥ prāptah itthambhūtaḥ, tasya lakṣaṇam itthambhūtalakṣaṇam, tatas tṛtiyā vibhakti bhavati
A tṛtiyā occurs after a stem when ‘the state just reached’ is marked.
Examples:

\[\text{a} \text{pi bhavān kamaṇḍalunā chātram adṛkṣīt ‘did you see a student with a kamaṇḍalu’}\]
\[\text{a} \text{pi bhavān śīkhāyā parivrājakam adṛkṣīt ‘did you see a wandering ascetic with a top (śīkhā)’}\]

1. This rule introduces \text{trtiyā} after a nominal stem which stands for a characteristic mark (lakṣaṇa) distinguishing the particular (prakāra) from the general. The word \text{ithaṃbhūta} is derived by introducing affix \text{thamU} (5.3.24 \text{idamas thamuḥ}) after \text{idam ‘this} to denote \text{prakāra ‘particular’} (as distinguished from ‘general’). The word \text{bhūta of ithaṃbhūta is explained as prāpta ‘reached, obtained’. Thus, if a word serves as a characteristic mark distinguishing the particular from the general, \text{trtiyā} should be used.

For example, consider

(a) \text{jaṭābhīs tāpasaḥ ‘he is an ascetic, as marked by his matted hair’}

Here, \text{jaṭā ‘matted hair} serves as a mark distinguishing him as an ascetic, a particular kind of man, from other men in general. Refer to my notes under 1.4.90 \text{lakṣaṇatthambhūtākhyāna... for additional details.}

2.3.22 संज्ञोन्वयतस्यां करणिः

\text{samjñō nyāyārasyaṃ karmanī}
\text{/ samjñāḥ 6/1 anyatarasyām 7/1 karmanī 7/1/}
\text{(trtiyā #18, anabhīhite #1)}
\text{samprūvasya jānāteḥ karmanī kārake anyatarasyāṃ trtiyā vibhaktir bhavati}

A \text{trtiyā} optionally occurs to express the object of \text{jñā ‘to know}, used with the preverb \text{sam, when the same is not expressed otherwise.}

Examples:

\[\text{pitrā samjānīte ‘he recognizes his father’}\]
\[\text{pitaram samjānīte ‘id.’}\]
\[\text{mātrā samjānīte ‘he recognizes his mother’}\]
\[\text{mātaram samjānīte ‘id.’}\]

1. This rule introduces \text{trtiyā}, as an option to \text{dvitiyā} of 2.3.2 karmanī \text{dvitiyā}, to denote the object of \text{jñā ‘to know, understand, recognize’, used with the preverb sam.}

Note that 1.4.43 \text{sampratibhyāṃ anādhyaṇe introduces ātmanepada ‘middle’ after samjñā, a replacement for LA, under the condition that ādhyāna ‘wistful remembrance; to miss’ is not denoted. Consider the first two examples above. These sentences do not denote ādhyāna. If that were}
the case, parasmaipada 'active' endings would have been introduced after
the verb, to yield:

(a) pitṛa sanjānāti 'he misses his father'
(b) pitaram sanjānāti 'id.'

But there is a further complication in connection with this. Rule 2.3.52
adhīgarthadāyasām karmani introduces saṣṭhī 'genitive' to express the
karman of, among other things, an action denoted by a verbal root which
has the signification of adhi-iK 'to remember'. Thus, in (a) and (b), we
would be required to use saṣṭhī in place of dvitiyā or tritiyā. The sentence
would thus read:

(c) pituh samjānāti

Obviously, a situation of conflict obtains between 2.3.22 and 2.3.52.
Rule 1.4.2 vipratisedhe param kāryam will thus be invoked to resolve the
conflict in favor of the introduction of saṣṭhī by 2.3.52.

Note further that, irrespective of whether or not ādhyāna is expressed,
a karman in connection with a form which ends in a kṛ affix will be denoted
by saṣṭhī as required by rule 2.3.65 kartṛkarmaṇaḥ kṛti. Again, 1.4.2 will
resolve the conflict in favor of 2.3.65, the subsequent rule. A sentence
such as

(d) mātuḥ samjātā 'the mother was remembered'

would come under the scope of 2.3.65.

2.3.23 हेतू

heten
/ hetau 7/1/
(tritiyā #18)
hetuvācinas tritiyā vibhaktir bhavati
A tritiyā occurs after a stem which denotes hetu 'cause'.

Examples:

dhanena kulam 'a clan prospers by wealth'
kanayā sokah 'grief comes by having a daughter'
vidyāyā yaśah 'fame comes by knowledge'

1. This rule introduces tritiyā to express hetu 'cause'. The word hetu in
this rule is not to be confused with the technical term hetu defined by
rule 1.4.55 tatprayojaḥ hetuś ca 'the causal agent of kartṛ is additionally
termed hetu'. The hetu of this rule is the non-technical word of popular
(lauktika) usage which denotes 'cause'. This rule would become useless if
hetu were to be interpreted here as technical, for 2.3.18 kartṛkaranayos
tritiyā could then easily account for tritiyā. Kāśīkā explains the non-technical
hetu as 'that which is capable of bringing about results' (phalasādhanayogyah
padārtho loke hetur ucyate). However, this can also be said of karaṇa ‘instrument’, as defined by rule 1.4.42 sādhakatanaṃ karaṇam: ‘karaṇa is that which participates in an action as the most effective means’.

Compare Bhartrhari (VP III: 25–26, 138–141):

\[
\begin{align*}
dravyādi\text{vīṣayyo hetuḥ karaṇam niyatakriyam } & \\
karttā kartrantarāpekaṁ kriyāyāṁ hetur isyatēll
\end{align*}
\]

‘substance (dravya) forms the scope of hetu ‘cause’, as opposed to a kāraka ‘participant’, which is restricted to action (kriyā). An agent depending upon another agent to accomplish an action is also called hetu’

\[
\begin{align*}
kriyāyai karaṇam tasya dṛṣṭaḥ pratinidhis tathā & \\
hetvarthā tu kriyā tasmāna sa pratinidhiyate //
\end{align*}
\]

‘karaṇa is for the sake of action and it is seen substituted. Since action is dependent upon hetu, hetu cannot be substituted’

The above two kārikā of Bhartrhari view hetu as the cause or purpose of an action, as opposed to karaṇa which is a participant in an action. Instrument is thus dependent upon action which, in turn, is dependent upon hetu. A karaṇa is to be designated by an action, and is to be brought to participate by an agent. When the designated means is not available for use in accomplishing the action, another means can serve as a substitute. A karaṇa can, therefore, be substituted. However, this is not true of hetu.

Bhartrhari also recognizes another distinction between karaṇa and hetu. He regards karaṇa as dependent upon vyāpāra, intermediate action. Thus, if parasu ‘axe’ is to serve as karaṇa for splitting wood, (denoted by bhid ‘to split’), there must be some intermediate actions; such as raising the axe (udyamana), and bringing it down (nipātana). Such intermediate actions are not required for hetu.

2.3.24 अकर्त्तार्यणे पद्धति

akarttary āne paṇcamī
da karttari 7/1 āne 7/1 paṇcamī 1/1
(hetaū #23)
karttrvarjitaṃ yad āne hetus tataḥ paṇcamī vibhaktur bhavati

A paṇcamī occurs after a stem which signifies āne ‘debt’ provided āne serves as a hetu other than kartt ‘agent’.

Examples:

śatād baddhaḥ ‘he was bound because of the debt of a hundred’
sahasrād baddhaḥ ‘he was bound because of the debt of a thousand’

1. This rule introduces paṇcamī after a nominal stem standing for a debt (āne) and serving as hetu, though not as kartt. Note that a āne serving
as hetu can be termed kārtṛ by rule 1.4.55 tatprayojaka hetuś ca. Given the nature of rule 1.4.55, one can safely assume that an example for hetu termed kārtṛ will be available only when a causal action is being denoted. For, hetu termed agent becomes the prompter agent of a causative sentence:

(a) satena adhāmarṇaḥ uttamarṇena bandhitah 'the debtor was imprisoned by the creditor because of the debt of a hundred'

Here sata, the amount of debt, is a cause which is termed hetu because it serves as an instigator (prayājaka) for the kārtṛ, (the creditor), to have the debtor imprisoned. It is clear that sata, a hetu termed kārtṛ, cannot be used with pañcamī according to the present rule. In a non-causal sentence, however, sata (denoting a debt) can be put in pañcamī:

(b) satād baddhaḥ 'he was imprisoned because of (the unpaid debt of) a hundred'.

2.3.25 विभाषा गुणेषुऽख्रियापम्

vibhāṣā guṇeḥ strīyām
l vibhāṣā 1/1 guṇe 7/1 astriyām 7/1/
(pañcamī #24, hetau #23)
guṇe hetāv astriyinge vibhāṣā pañcamī vibhaktir bhavati
A pañcamī optionally occurs after a non-feminine stem which denotes hetu as well as guṇa ‘quality’.

EXAMPLES:

jādyād baddhaḥ ‘he was caught on account of his foolishness’
jādyena baddhaḥ ‘id.’
pāṇḍityān muktah ‘he was freed on account of his wisdom’
pāṇḍityena muktah ‘id.’

1. This rule makes the pañcamī introduced by the preceding rule optional, on the condition that hetu denotes a quality (guṇa) and is not feminine. For instance, jādyā ‘foolishness’, in the first of the above examples, is non-feminine and a quality, thus fulfilling the condition.

If the option of pañcamī is not taken, ṭṛṭīyā can be used, as in the second example.

Note that if the word standing for hetu is feminine, or denotes anything other than a quality, pañcamī cannot be ruled. Thus:

(a) buddhyā muktah ‘he was saved because of his intelligence’
(d) dhanena kulaḥ ‘a family respected because of wealth’

2.3.26 बष्ठी हेतुप्रयोगे

ṣaṣṭhi hetuprayoge
l ṣaṣṭhi 1/1 hetuprayoge 7/1 (ṣaṣ. tat.), tasmin /
(hetau #23)
hetuśabdasya prayoge hetau dyotye saṣṭhi vibhaktir bhavati
A saṣṭhi occurs after a stem which denotes ‘cause’ when hetu itself is used in conjunction.

Example:

annasya hetor vasati ‘he lives here because of food’

1. Note that this rule requires a nominal stem to constitute the cause and also to cooccur with hetu. Thus, in a sentence such as the above example, anna represents the cause for which someone lives in a certain place. This stem is also used with hetu, thereby ensuring the use of saṣṭhi after anna. The saṣṭhi after the nominal stem hetu is introduced under the condition of coreferentiality (sāmānādhikaranyā) with anna.

2.3.27 सर्वनामप्रतीति च

sarvanāmnās trtiyā ca
/ sarvanāmnaḥ 6/1 trtiyā 1/1 ca 0 /
(saṣṭhi hetuprayoge #26, hetu #23)
sarvanāmno hetuśabdasya prayoge hetau dyotye trtiyā vibhaktir bhavati
A trtiyā, as well as saṣṭhi, occurs after a pronominal stem which denotes ‘cause’ when hetu itself is used in conjunction.

Examples:

kasya hetor vasati ‘what is the reason for his living here’
kena hetunā vasati ‘id.’

yasya hetor vasati ‘the reason he lives here...’
yena hetunā vasati ‘id.’

1. This rule introduces trtiyā, in addition to the saṣṭhi, after a pronominal stem which is used with hetu itself, and of course when hetu is to be denoted. Consider the second of the examples, kena hetunā vasati, parallel to

(a) kasya hetunā vasati ‘id.’

Here, the pronominal stem kim ‘who, what’ is used with hetu, in trtiyā and saṣṭhi respectively. The trtiyā and saṣṭhi after hetu are introduced under the condition of its coreferentiality with kim. The Mahābhāṣya (II: 797) observes that practically any nominal ending can be seen as denoting hetu when a pronominal is used coreferentially with hetu, itself. Furthermore, the synonyms of hetu, such as kārana, nimitta, prayojana, etc., can also be used in place of hetu in these sentences.

Consider the following sentences, where nimitta is used in the nominal endings dvitiyā through saptamī:

(b) kim nimittam vasati
(c) kena nimittena vasati
(d) kasmai nimittāya vasati
(e) kasmān nimittād vasati
(f) kasya nimittasya vasati
(g) kasmin nimitte vasati

2.3.28 अपदाने पञ्चमी

apādāne pañcamī
da apādāne 7/1 pañcamī 1/1/
(anabhihite #1)
apādāne kārake pañcamī vibhaktir bhavati
A pañcamī occurs after a nominal stem when apādana (1.4.24
drhuvam...) is not expressed otherwise.

EXAMPLES:

gramād āgacchati 'he is coming from the village'
parvatād avarohati 'he is climbing down the mountain'
vṛkebhyo bibheti 'he is afraid of wolves'
adhyayanat parājayate 'he is weary of studying'

1. This rule introduces pañcamī after a nominal stem to denote apādana
'ablative' as defined by rules 1.4.24 through 1.4.31.

2.3.29 अन्यारादितरत्सदिल्लिणध्यक्षतरपदाधिष्ठितः

anyārāditararttredikṣabdānčūttarapadājāhīyukte
/ anyā...yukte 7/1 = anyaś ca ārāc ca itaraś ca rte ca dikṣabdaś ca ančūttara-
 padaś ca āc ca āhi ca = anyārāditararttredikṣabdānčūttarapadājāhayaḥ
(itar. dv.), taś ca yuktah (trṭ. tat.), tasmin /
(pañcamī #28)
'anya, ārāt, itara, rte, dikṣabda, ančūttarapada, āc, āhi' ity eitair yoge
pañcamī vibhaktir bhavati
A pañcamī occurs after stems in construction with the following:
anya ‘other, different’
ārāt ‘far, near’
itara ‘the one other than’
rtē ‘without’
dikṣabda ‘a directional name’
ančūttarapada ‘a directional name which has anca ‘bend’ as its final
member’
āca ‘a stem terminating in affix āca (5.3.36 daksīṇād...)’
āhi ‘a stem terminating in affix āhi (5.3.37 āhi ca dūre)’

EXAMPLES:

anyo devadattāt ‘someone different from Devadatta’
bhinnno devadattāt ‘id.’
ārād devadattāt ‘far from Devadatta’
ārād yajñadattāt ‘near Yajñadatta’
itrao devadattāt ‘someone other than Devadatta’
ṛte devadattāt ‘without Devadatta’
pūrvo grāmāt parvataḥ ‘the mountain is east of the village’
uttaro grīśmāt vasantāt ‘summer comes after spring’
prag grāmāt ‘to the east of the village’
pratyag grāmāt ‘to the west of the village’
dakṣiṇā grāmāt ‘to the south of the village’
uttara grāmāt ‘to the north of the village’
dakṣiṇāhi grāmāt ‘in the far south of the village’
uttarāhi grāmāt ‘in the far north of the village’

1. This rule introduces pañcamī after a nominal stem used with anya, etc. The word anya ‘other’ is used to represent itself as well as its synonyms, such as bhinna, itara, etc. If this were accepted, why does Pāṇini use itara again in this rule? Bhatṭoja (SK I: 665) explains that the mention of itara in this rule is just for expatiation (prapañca). However, Kāśikā seems to make a finer distinction between the meanings of anya and itara: it explains itara as referring to someone in oppositional relation to someone else specified (nirdīśyamānasya pratiyogī). Nyāsa seems to agree with the Kāśikā when it gives the example:

(a) devadattāh śūrah, itarāh kātarah ‘Devadatta is brave, the other one is a coward’

which is meant to show that the referent of itara is a person in oppositional relation to Devadatta. But Haradatta observes that the interpretation of Kāśikā is questionable (cintya).

2. The word ārāt denotes dūra ‘far’ or antika ‘near’, and thus qualifies a stem used in connection with it to optionally choose saṣṭhī instead of pañcamī.

3. The word ṛte is an indeclinable meaning ‘without’.

4. The word diś is used in this rule with the word sabda, perhaps to indicate, thereby, that usages where diś ‘direction’ is used to denote location (deśa) or time (kāla) are also covered by this rule. Consider the following sentences:

(b) pūrvo grāmāt parvataḥ ‘the mountain is before the village’ and
(c) pūrvo grīśmād vasantaḥ ‘spring is prior to summer’

Here, grāma and grīśma, used with pūrva, can qualify for pañcamī even though pūrva, a word denoting direction, is used to denote location and time.

2.3.30 शुद्ध्यतसुर्ध्यत्त्रयेन

saṣṭhy atasarthatpratyayena
\[
/{/\text{sa}}\text{ṣṭhī}\ 1/1\ \text{atasarthatratrayayena}\ 3/1 = \text{ataso'}\ \text{rthah}\ \text{atasarthah} (\text{saṣ. tat.}), \text{ atasarthe pratyayaḥ} = \text{atasartha- pratyayaḥ} (\text{sap. tat.}),\ \text{tena} /\text{ atasarthena pratyayena yuktə saṣṭhī vibhaktir bhavati}
\]

A \text{saṣṭhī} occurs after a stem used in conjunction with a nominal stem terminated in an affix which has the sense of \text{atasUC} (5.3.28 \text{dakṣiṇottarābhyyām}...).

**EXAMPLES:**

- \text{dakṣiṇato grāmasya} ‘in the south of the village’
- \text{uttarato grāmasya} ‘in the north of the village’
- \text{pūrastād grāmasya} ‘toward the east of the village’
- \text{upari grāmasya} ‘above the village’
- \text{uparistād grāmasya} ‘id.’

2.3.31 \text{एनपा द्वितिया}

\text{enapā dvitiyā}

\text{/enapā 3/1 dvitiyā 1/1/}

\text{enapā yuktə dvitiyā vibhaktir bhavati}

A \text{dvitiyā} occurs after a stem used in conjunction with another stem which ends in affix \text{enap} (5.3.35 \text{enab}...).

**EXAMPLES:**

- \text{dakṣiṇena grāmam} ‘not far in the south of the village’
- \text{uttareṇa grāmam} ‘not far in the north of the village’

1. The word \text{enapā} refers to rule 5.3.35 \text{enab anyatarasyām adūre}..., whereby affix \text{enap} is optionally introduced after \text{uttara} ‘north, upper’; \text{adhara} ‘lower, below’; and \text{dakṣiṇa} ‘south, right’, when what is denoted is not far (dūra). The sense of \text{enap} is given as the same as that of \text{astāti} (cf. 5.3.26 \text{dikṣabdehyā}...).

2. Note that \text{Kāśikā} cites these two examples:

(a) \text{dakṣiṇena grāmasya} ‘by the south of the village’

(b) \text{uttareṇa grāmasya} ‘by the north of the village’

whereby \text{saṣṭhī} is also shown as a desired option for the \text{dvitiyā} (\text{saṣṭhy api isyate} ‘genitive is also desired’). But \text{Kāśikā} also states that rule 2.3.31 is formulated in view of the genitive (\text{saṣṭhī}) which would have been available from the preceding rule. Does rule 2.3.31 in fact introduce \text{dvitiyā} to block the \text{saṣṭhī} made available by the preceding rule? It does, according to \text{Kāśikā’s} statement: \text{pūrveṇa saṣṭhyām prāptāyām vacanam} ‘this statement is made in view of the genitive made available by the preceding rule’. However, one quickly becomes doubtful when \text{Kāśikā adds} that \text{saṣṭhī} is also desired (iṣṭa); for how could the desired results be obtained? \text{Kāśikā} suggests splitting (\text{yogavibhāga}) this rule into two parts, in addition to
carrying śaṣṭhī from the previous rule, as a solution. If we follow this suggestion we will get two rules:

(i) enapā śaṣṭhī ‘śaṣṭhī occurs...’; and
(ii) enapā dvitiyā ‘dvitiyā occurs...’.

3. The Mahābhāṣya does not discuss this rule. However, Nāgęśa (Udyota ad Mbh II: 802), in connection with a vārttika, observes that rule 2.3.31 precedes rule 2.3.30 in the order of rules in the Aṣṭādhyāyī available to Patañjali. If this is accepted, then the question of carrying śaṣṭhī does not arise. Nāgęśa also criticizes Kāśikā’s attempt at yogavibhāga as questionable (cintya). Yudisthira Mīmāṃsaka (Mbh III: 340) states that Nāgęśa’s claim, concerning the changed order of the sūtra and according to the Mahābhāṣya, is perhaps based on the vārttika’s words dvitiyāśaṣṭhyoh. Nāgęśa thinks that, in accordance with the specification for fewer vowels (cf. 2.2.34 alpāc taram), śaṣṭhī should have been used first in dvitiyāśaṣṭhyoh. Since it is not, claims Mīmāṃsaka, Nāgęśa assumes that it suggests the reversal in order of 2.3.31 enapā dvitiyā and 2.3.30 śaṣṭhyarthā... in the Mahābhāṣya. Mīmāṃsaka considers Nāgęśa’s claim to be questionable, and states that the order of constituency in dvitiyāśaṣṭhyoh is, after all, numerical.

2.3.32 पृथाबिनानाभिविस्तृतियांग्नवतस्याय

prthagvinānānābhish tṛtiyā’ nyatarasyām
/ prthagvinānānābhish 3/3 (itar. dv.) tṛtiyā 1/1 anyatarasyām 7/1/
(paṇcamī #28)
‘prthak, vinā, nānā’ ity etair yoge tṛtiyā vibhaktir bhavati, anyatarasyām paṇcamī ca

A tṛtiyā optionally occurs to paṇcamī after a stem in conjunction with prthak ‘separate’; vinā ‘without, separate’; or nānā ‘separate’.

EXAMPLES:

prthag devadatena ‘separate from, or except for Devadatta’
prthag devadattāt ‘id.’
vinā devadatena ‘id.’
vinā devadattāt ‘id.’
nānā devadatena ‘id.’
nānā devadattāt ‘id.’

1. Note that, to account for usages of dvitiyā such as those in the following verse, or prthag devadattam parallel to its own example, the Kāśikā suggests yogavibhāga ‘rule-splitting’ in addition to carrying dvitiyā from the previous rule:

vinā vātaṃ vinā varṣaṃ vidyutprāpatanāṃ vinā /
vinā hastikṛtān doṣān kenemau pāṭitau drumau //
'what, other than a storm, rainstorm, lightning, or an elephant’s mischief, caused these two trees to fall?'
The Mahābhāṣya does not approve of the anuvṛtti of dvitiyā; and even less does it approve of the yogavibhāga.

2.3.33 करणे च सोकात्यकृत्यकतिपयासत्त्ववचनस्य

karaṇe ca stokālpakṛcchrakatipayasyāsattvavacanasasya
| karaṇe 7/1 ca 0 stokālpakṛcchrakatipayasya 6/1 (sam. div.), asattvavacanasasya 6/1 (nañ. tat.) |

(pañcamī #28, triyā #27, anabhīhite #1)
'stoka, alpa, kṛcchra, katipaya' ity etebhyo 'sattvavacanebhyah karaṇe kārake' nyatārasyāṁ triyā bhavati

A triyā optionally occurs to pañcamī to express karaṇa ‘instrument’ after stoka ‘a little’; alpa ‘a little’; kṛcchra ‘difficult’; or katipaya ‘a few’ provided they do not denote sattva ‘substance’, and karaṇa is not expressed otherwise.

Examples:

stokān muktah ‘just about freed’
stokena muktah ‘id.’
alpān muktah ‘id.’
alpena muktah ‘id.’
kṛcchrān muktah ‘freed with difficulty’
kṛcchrēna muktah ‘id.’
katipayān muktah ‘freed by a few’
katipayēna muktah ‘id.’

1. This rule introduces triyā to denote karaṇa after stoka, alpa, kṛcchra, and katipaya when they do not denote sattva ‘substance’. The option of introducing triyā to denote karaṇa is, in fact, already available by rule 2.3.18 kartr̥karaṇayos.... This rule, however, introduces triyā as an option to pañcamī, as it is understood by the anuvṛtti of pañcamī (2.3.28 apādāne pañcamī) and triyā anayatarasyām (2.33.32 prthigvinā...). Thus, pañcamī is ruled as an option to triyā of 2.3.18 which, in turn, is made optional to triyā of this rule. Of course, a condition that sattva ‘substance’ is not the denotatum of stoka, etc., is imposed. The result is examples like those above.

2. The word asattvavacana ‘not signifying substance’ is important here. A thing can denote ‘substance’ and can serve as karaṇa in an action because it participates as the means. A substance may be viewed as possessing certain qualities (gūṇa) or properties (dharma). Thus we get examples such as the following:

(a) stokena viṣenā hataḥ ‘he was killed by a bit of poison’

In the example above, viṣa is sattva, possessing the property of being only a little bit in quantity; it serves as the karaṇa of killing, though qualified by stoka. That is, viṣa serves as karaṇa, denoting a substance
serving as locus (āśraya) of the quality stoka. Both the sattva and its dharma are thus inseparable (abhinna). It is in this sense that we claim that the denotatum of stoka is viṣa. When both the dharma and dharmin are said to be abhinna, the dharma denotes dharmin (sattva). In such instances, this rule will not apply. The tṛtiyā after both stoka and viṣa in sentence (a) has been introduced by 2.3.18.

Now recall two of the examples given at the beginning of this note:

(b) stokāṁ muktah ‘just about freed’
(c) stokena muktah ‘id.’

Here, pañcamī and tṛtiyā are introduced after stoka by this rule. Though stoka denotes quality in (b) and (c), it does not denote sattva as it does in (a).

It follows from the preceding discussion that stoka denotes quality, though it can be used without denoting sattva as its locus. In sentences (b) and (c) it refers to effort (āyāsa) which is not sattva, but serves as karaṇa in accomplishing the action denoted by muc ‘to release, set free’. Jinendrabuddhi (Nyāsa ad Kāśikā II: 190) sums it up as follows:

‘when a word which denotes dharma ‘property’ is spoken of as participating in an action as karaṇa without denoting its dharmin, the thing which serves as its locus, it is then treated as not denoting sattva. A word like stoka qualifies for this status when it does not represent the thing whose property of smallness it denotes’

Note that stoka, etc., do not denote sattva when used as a qualifier to an action (kriyāviṣeṣaṇa), as action (kriyā) does not denote sattva. Remember in this context that an action is brought to accomplishment (sādhyatva), and a root therefore denotes an action which is in the state of being accomplished (sādhyamānavasthā). Thus, consider these examples:

(d) calati ‘he is moving’
(e) calanam karoti ‘he is (in the state of) doing (accomplishing) the act of walking’
(f) stokam calanam karoti ‘he is doing a little bit of walking’

The first example, (d), can be rephrased as the second, (e). A qualifier like stoka, to the action denoted by catana, will be termed karman ‘object’ in a sentence such as (f); so it is important for the purposes of this rule that a qualifier (such as stoka) should denote not only asattva ‘non-substance’, but also karaṇa (PM ad Kāśikā II: 90). This is also the significance of using karaṇa in this rule.

3. The words stoka, etc., are synonymous, yet they have been mentioned separately to block other synonyms from coming under the scope of this rule. Consequently, this rule will not permit sentences like:

(g) mātrayā muktah ‘he became free with little effort’ to avail themselves of optional pañcamī.
2.3.34 "Durāntikārthaḥ saṣṭhy anyatarasyām

\[\text{dūra} \text{ saṣṭhī } \text{antika} \text{ anyatarasyām}\]

\[\text{ca}\] \text{ca}\]
\[\text{dūra} \text{ saṣṭhī}\]
\[\text{antika}\]
\[\text{anyatarasyām}\]
\[\text{1/1}\]
\[\text{7/1}\]

(pañcamī #28)

\[\text{dūra} \text{ saṣṭhī} \text{ antika}\]
\[\text{anyatarasyām}\]
\[\text{1/1}\]
\[\text{7/1}\]

A saṣṭhī optionally occurs after pañcamī after a stem used in conjunction with dūra ‘far’, antika ‘near’, or their synonyms.

**Examples:**

\[\text{dūra} \text{ grāmāt ‘away from the village’}\]
\[\text{dūra} \text{ grāmasya ‘id.’}\]
\[\text{viprakṛṣṭān grāmāt ‘id.’}\]
\[\text{viprakṛṣṭān grāmasya ‘id.’}\]
\[\text{antikaḥ grāmāt ‘near the village’}\]
\[\text{antikaḥ grāmasya ‘id.’}\]
\[\text{abhyāsāṃ grāmāt ‘id.’}\]
\[\text{abhyāsāṃ grāmasya ‘id.’}\]

1. This rule introduces saṣṭhī as an optional form to pañcamī after nominal stems used in conjunction with forms which have the signification of dūra ‘far’ and antika ‘near’. Note that the word anyatarasyām is understood from the preceding rule; Pāṇini perhaps should not have explicitly stated it again in this rule. However, remember that not only anyatarasyām, but also pañcamī and trīyā were understood in the preceding rule. This being the case, the saṣṭhī introduced by this rule would have become optional to both trīyā and pañcamī. It is to block trīyā that Pāṇini explicitly uses anyatarasyām in this rule. Furthermore, if trīyā were to be an optional form, this would have been accomplished by the anyatarasyām of the earlier rule, since both are carried to that rule from 2.3.32 prthag.... The anyatarasyām of this rule would therefore be useless if pañcamī, alone, were not intended as an option to saṣṭhī (Nyāsa II: 191).

2.3.35 "Durāntikārthebhhyo dvitiyā ca

\[\text{dūra} \text{ trīyā} \text{ dvitiyā}\]
\[\text{ca}\]
\[\text{dūra} \text{ trīyā}\]
\[\text{5/3}\]
\[\text{dvitiyā} \text{1/1}\]
\[\text{0/1}\]

(trīyā #33, pañcamī #28)

\[\text{dūra} \text{ trīyā} \text{ dvitiyā} \text{ vibhaktir bhavati, cakārāt pañcamī}\]
\[\text{trīyāpi samucciyate}\]

A dvitiyā, as well as pañcamī or trīyā, optionally occurs after dūra, antika, or their synonyms.
Examples:

dūraya grāmasya ‘far from the village’
dūraya grāmasya ‘id.’
dūraya grāmasya ‘id.’
antikām grāmasya ‘near the village’
antikām grāmasya ‘id.’
antikām grāmasya ‘id.’

1. This rule introduces dvitiyā, in addition to pañcamī and tṛtiyā, after stems which denote the sense of dūra and antika. The use of the word ca makes it possible for both pañcamī and tṛtiyā to be carried via anuvṛtti. Note that tṛtiyā was specifically blocked in the preceding rule by the inclusion of the word anyatarasyām. No such inclusion blocks it here. So, tṛtiyā is also carried on the strength of the recurrence of pañcamī (Nyāsa II: 192: tad anuvṛttisāmarthiyāt tṛtiyāpi samucciyate iti caṅkārena). Besides, if pañcamī, alone, were intended to be carried here, anyatarasyām should have been carried from the preceding rule for the purpose. For this reason, there was actually no need to have ca in this rule.

2. Note that dūra, antika, and their synonyms can take dvitiyā, tṛtiyā and pañcamī only when they are not used as qualifiers. If they are used as qualifiers, they must take the endings of their qualifieds.

2.3.36 सप्तमाधिकरणं च

saptamā adhikaraṇe ca

/ saptamī 1/1 adhikaraṇe 7/1 ca 0/1
(durāntikārthebhyaḥ #35, anabhihite #1)
saptamī vibhaktir bhavaty adhikaraṇe kārake, cakārād durāntikārthebhyaḥ ca

A saptamī occurs after a nominal stem when adhikaraṇa ‘locus’ is not expressed otherwise; additionally, it occurs after dūra, antika, or their synonyms.

Examples:

kate āste ‘he is sitting on the mat’
sakaṭe āste ‘he is sitting in the cart’
sthāyāṃ pacati ‘he is cooking in the pot’
dūre grāmasya ‘far from the village’
antike grāmasya ‘near the village’

1. This rule allows for the occurrence of saptamī after nominal stems to denote adhikaraṇa when the same is not expressed otherwise. This saptamī also occurs after stems which denotes dūra and antika, as is specified by the use of ca in the formulation of the rule. Note also that the preceding rule allows for the introduction of dvitiyā after dūra and antika,
in addition to trīyā and pañcamī. That is, either one of these four endings (dvitiyā, trīyā, pañcamī, and saptamī) can alternately be used after stems which have the denotata of dūra and antika.

The following vārttika (Mbh II: 805–6) have been discussed with a view to expanding the scope of this rule:

(i) sādhu-asādhpur yogo ca saptamī vaktavyā

‘saptamī should also be stated to occur after a stem used with sādhu ‘nice’ and asādhu ‘not nice’
Example: sādhu devadatto mātari, asādhu pitari ‘Devadatta is nice with his mother, and not so nice with his father’

(ii) kārakārhāṇām ca kārakatve

‘saptamī should also be stated to occur after a stem used with that which qualifies to be a kāraka and becomes a kāraka’
Example: rddheṣu bhunījānesu daridrā āsate ‘the poor watch while the rich eat’

Note in this example that the rich, on account of their wealth, are capable of becoming an agent. The word daridra ‘poor’ is to be used with saptamī when the agency of the rich is actually denoted.

(iii) akārakārhāṇām cākārakatve

‘saptamī also occurs after that which is neither capable of becoming a kāraka, nor is used as one’
Example: daridrēṣu āśīrēṣu rddhā bhunījate ‘the rich eat while the poor sit’

(iv) tad vipāryaye ca

‘saptamī is to be also stated when contraposition (viparāsyā) of the same is denoted’
Example: rddheṣu āśīrēṣu daridrā bhunījate ‘the poor eat while the rich sit’

Note here that the contraposition is intended in relation to that which is capable of becoming a kāraka, but does not become one, and vice-versa.

(v) nimittāt karmasamyogyo saptamī vaktavyā

‘saptamī should also be stated to occur after a stem which denotes nimitta ‘cause, purpose’ used with an object (karman)’
Example: carmani dvipinan hanti dantayor hanti kuñjaram // kēśeṣu camarim hanti śīmī puṣkalako hataḥ // ‘they kill a tiger for the hide; an elephant for the tusk; a wild cow for the hair of its tail; and a deer (puṣkalaka) for its musk’

2.3.37 यस्य च भावेन भावलक्षणाम

yasya ca bhāvena bhāvalakṣaṇam
// yasya 6/1 ca 0 bhāvena 3/1 bhāvalakṣaṇam 1/1 (ṣaś. tat.) /
(saptamī #36)
yasya ca kriyā kriyāntaram lakṣyate tato bhāvavataḥ saptamī vibhaktir bhavati

A saptamī occurs after a stem whose implied action characterizes another action.

EXAMPLES:

gosū duhyamānāśu gataḥ 'he left when the cows were being milked'
dugdhāsv āgataḥ 'he returned when the cows were (already) milked'
agnīṣu hūyamānēśu gataḥ 'he left when oblations were being offered to the ritual fire'
hutesu āgataḥ 'he returned when oblations were (already) offered to the ritual fire'

1. This rule introduces saptamī after the nominal stem which implies the bhāva 'action', and characterizes another bhāva. The word bhāva 'action' here should be interpreted differently from kriyā 'action'. This is because an action is a composite of several actions. For, an 'action', when not specified otherwise, denotes a process. This is the case with kriyā, which does indeed denote an action with process; that is, an action in the process of being brought to completion (sādhyā). Once this action is brought to completion, it becomes siddha 'accomplished'. In the present rule, the word bhāva denotes an action which is siddha, and not an action which is sādhyā, denoted by a verb root (dhātu).

Kāśikā glosses bhāva as kriyā, and further paraphrases the rule as follows:

yasya ca bhāvena = yasya ca kriyā kriyāntaram lakṣyate tato bhāvavataḥ saptamī vibhaktir bhavati

'that by whose implied action another action is characterized (marked);
saptamī is introduced after that which implies the bhāva 'action'

If bhāva and kriyā are not intended here to denote the same thing, why did Kāśikā gloss bhāva as kriyā in this rule? Did the authors of Kāśikā miss the distinction? One must conclude that they did not. Their paraphrase of the rule itself is sufficient to bring out the distinction. They say: tato bhāvavataḥ saptamī 'seventh triplet of nominal ending is to be introduced after that nominal stem which implies an action'. Now, both bhāva and kriyā have 'action' as their central meaning. The difference between an action denoted by a root, and an action denoted by a nominal stem, is one of sādhyā and siddha. Since this rule introduces the ending after a nominal stem which implies an action, the action of the nominal stem can be recognized as bhāva. Moreover, the action denoted by a nominal stem is always an action which is siddha. This is why the authors of the Kāśikā deemed it unnecessary to make an explicit statement about the difference between bhāva and kriyā. The problem, however, is not yet resolved.
2. The action which the nominal stem implies, and the further action which this inhered action characterizes, do not have to be already accomplished (siddha). The important point is that one action must characterize another. Moreover, the action that a nominal stem implies has to be known (jñāta), or famous (prasiddha). If it is not famous, then it may not qualify to characterize another action.

For instance, the first example under this rule is:

(a) goṣu duḥyamānasu gataḥ ‘he left when the cows were being milked’
where the action of milking (denoted by duḥ) is known. The action of leaving (denoted by the root gam) is characterized by that of milking. However, the question of process, as noted earlier, is not actually crucial. Obviously, in (a) the action of milking was still in process when the person left. But this was not necessary; the milking could even have been accomplished. Thus, we get the alternative sentence:

(b) goṣu dugdhasu gataḥ ‘he left when the cows had already been milked’

The same can be said of the characterized action. What is important to remember in this context is that one action serves as the characteristic mark for the timing of the other action. The action that serves as a mark is known or famous, while the further action, the timing of which is characterized, is unknown (anirjñāta).

Speaking technically, Pāṇini uses the variable yad ‘that’ in the genitive. As such, it signifies the locus of action. The nominal stem which implies an action which characterizes another action must be either an agent or object, the locus of the action concerned. Sentence (a) is an example where the object of milking, the cow, serves as the locus of action which characterizes another action. An example where the locus of action is agent is:

(c) brāhmaṇesu adhiṣṭanesu gataḥ ‘he went when the brāhmaṇa were chanting’.

2.3.38 शास्थि चानादरे

śaṣṭhi cānādare
/ śaṣṭhi 1/1 ca θ anādare 7/1 (nañ. tat.) /
(yasya ca bhāvena bhāvalakaśanām #37, saṃtām #36)
anādarādhike bhāvalakaśane bhāvavataḥ śaṣṭhisaptmyau vibhakti
bhavataḥ
A śaṣṭhi also occurs after a stem whose implied action characterizes another action provided anādara ‘disrespect’ is denoted.

Examples:

rudatāḥ prāvarājīt ‘not paying any attention to the crying relatives, he became a wandering ascetic’
rudatī prāvarājīt ‘id.’
krosatāḥ právṛājīt ‘not paying any attention to the angry relatives, he became a wandering ascetic’
krosati právṛājīt ‘id.’

1. This rule introduces șaṣṭhī as an option to saptamī provided anādara ‘disrespect’ is denoted. Note that anādara is used with reference to the locus of the action characterized, as can be seen in the examples given above.

2.3.39 șvāmīśvarādhīpatidāyādasākṣipratibhūprasūtaī ca
/ svāmī...prasūtaīḥ 3/3 = svāmī ca iśvaraś ca adhipatiś ca dāyādaś ca
sākṣi ca pratibhūś ca prasūtaī ca = svāmī...prasūtāḥ (itar. du.), tāih; ca 0 /
(saṣṭhī #38, saptamī #36)
‘svāmin, iśvara, adhipati, dāyāda, sākṣin, pratibhū, prasūta’ ity etair yoge
saṣṭhisaptamyau vibhakti bhavataḥ

A șaṣṭhī, as well as a saptamī, occurs after a stem used in conjunction with svāmin ‘master, owner’; iśvara ‘lord, master’; adhipati ‘ruler, master’; dāyāda ‘heir’; sākṣin ‘witness’; pratibhū ‘guarantor’; or prasūta ‘offspring’.

Examples:

gavām svāmī ‘owner of cows’
gośu svāmī ‘id.’
gavām iśvaraḥ ‘id.’
gośu iśvaraḥ ‘id.’
gavām adhipatiḥ ‘id.’
gośu adhipatiḥ ‘id.’
gavām dāyādaḥ ‘he who inherits cows’
gośu dāyādaḥ ‘id.’
gavām sākṣi ‘witness of cows’
gośu sākṣi ‘id.’
gavām pratibhūḥ ‘guarantor of cows’
gośu pratibhūḥ ‘id.’
gavām prasūtaḥ ‘offspring of cows’
gośu prasūtaḥ ‘id.’

1. This rule introduces both șaṣṭhī and saptamī after a nominal stem used in conjunction with svāmin, etc. The force of ca makes it possible for both endings to be carried. This rule is required so that saptamī can be made an option to șaṣṭhī, (which, however, would have been available in any case from rule 2.3.50 șaṣṭhī seṣe).

Note also that svāmin, etc., are all synonymous. Why did not Pāṇini use one of these with artha ‘meaning’ to account for the others, as he does in
so many other cases? He avoided doing this in order to ensure that only
the cited synonyms came under the scope of this rule. In other words, he
did not want the totality of possible synonyms to be included. Thus, since
rājā has not been cited even though it is a synonym, a sentence like
the following,

(a) grāmasya rājā ‘the king of the village’,
will not be allowed to have an optional form, such as

(b) grāme rājā

where grāma could be used in saptamī. It, therefore, becomes clear that
this rule is required, more to allow an optional saptamī than to allow
ṣaṣṭhī.

2.3.40 आयुत्कप्तुक्षालापाः चासेवायाम

āyuktakusālābhyaṁ cāsēvāyām
/ āyuktakusālābhyaṁ 3/2 (itar. dv.) ca ū cāsēvāyām 7/2/
(ṣaṣṭhī #38, saptamī #36)
āyuktah vyāpāritah, kuśalah nipuṇah tābhyaṁ yoge āsēvāyāṁ ganya-
mānāyāṁ saṣṭhīsaptamyaun vibhakti bhaṅgataḥ

A ṣaṣṭhī, as well as a saptamī, occurs after a stem used in conjunction
with āyukta ‘delegated, appointed’ or kuśala ‘skilled’ provided āsēvā
‘diligence’ is denoted.

Examples:

āyuktah kaṭakaranaṁ ‘one who is entrusted with (and diligently
involved in) making a mat’
āyuktah kaṭakarane ‘id.’
kuśalah kaṭakaranaṁ ‘one who is skilled at (and diligently involved in)
making a mat’
kuśalah kaṭakarane ‘id.’

1. This rule introduces ṣaṣṭhī and saptamī after nominal stems used
with āyukta ‘delegated, appointed’ and kuśala ‘skilled’ when āsēvā ‘diligence’
is denoted. Thus we get examples such as the pairs above.

Note that the locative after kaṭakarana ‘mat-making’ would, in any case,
be available on account of its serving as the domain of āyuktatā ‘de-
legation’ and nipuṇatā ‘skill’. The rule is required more for the optional
ṣaṣṭhī (Nyāsa ad Kāśīka II: 197: āyuktatā nipuṇatā ca kaṭāḍikaranaṁvīṣayaiveti
saptamyaun eva prāptāyām pakṣe ṣaṣṭhīvidhahnāṁrthanam vacanam).

2.3.41 यात्त्र निधरीयम्

yataṁ ca nirdhāraṇam
/ yataṁ ū ca ū nirdhāraṇam 1/1/
(ṣaṣṭhī #38, saptamī #36)
yato nirdhāraṇam tataḥ saṣṭhiṣaptamau vibhakti bhavataḥ
A saṣṭhi or saptamī also occurs after a stem which denotes many, from amongst which one is singled out.

**Examples:**

manusyaṇāṁ ksatriyāḥ śūratamāḥ ‘the ksatriya is bravest among men’
manusyeṣu ksatriyāḥ śūratamāḥ ‘id.’
gavāṁ krṣṇā sampannakṣiratamā ‘the black among cows is richest in milk’
gosu krṣṇā sampannakṣiratamā ‘id.’
adhyagānāṁ dhāvantaḥ sīghratamāḥ ‘those who run are the fastest among those who go by the road’

1. This rule introduces saṣṭhi and saptamī after that stem which denotes a group, or whole, from which a part is singled out on the basis of jāti ‘class’; guṇa ‘quality’; and kriyā ‘action’. The above examples illustrate this point.

2. Nyāsa (Kāśikā II: 197) observes that this rule is simply an expatiation (prapañca). If the part is contained within the whole, the whole would serve as the locus, and hence saptamī could easily be ruled by 2.3.35 saptamī adhikaraṇe ca. The saṣṭhi, too, can be accounted for by 2.3.50 saṣṭhi śeṣe, on the grounds that there obtains a part and whole relationship (avayaavāvayavibhāva):

kimarthanāḥ punar idam. yaśata nirdhāryamāno’ vayavaḥ samudāyāntar-bhūtaḥ; tatra yadā samudāyādhikaraṇatvam vivaksyate tadā saptamī siddhi-veti... yadā tu avayaavāvayavisambandhas tadā saṣṭhi... satyaṃ etat; pra-paçaṅcārthāṃ vacanam.

**2.3.42 पञ्चमी विभक्ते**

paçaṅcāmi vibhakte
1/ paçaṅcāmi 1/1 vibhakte 7/1/
(yataś ca nirdhāraṇam #41)
yasmin nirdhāraṇāśraye vibhaktam asyāsti tataḥ paçaṅcāmi vibhakti bhavati
A paçaṅcāmi occurs after a stem which denotes something from which something different is distinguished.

**Examples:**

māthurāḥ pāṭaliputrakebhyaḥ sukumāratarāḥ ‘the people of Mathurā are more youthful than the people of Pāṭaliputra’
māthurāḥ pāṭaliputrakebhyaḥ ādhyatrarāḥ ‘the people of Mathurā are more prosperous than the people of Pāṭaliputra’

1. This rule introduces paçaṅcāmi after a nominal stem which denotes something from which something different is distinguished. For instance,
in the first example, the people of Mathurā are set apart from those of Pātaliputra; the two groups of people are shown to be different, lacking in similarity.

Note the following sentence:
(a) goṣu kṛṣṇā saṃpakkṣiratamā ‘the black among cows is richest in milk’

Here, go will not qualify for paṅcamī because the cows, both black and non-black, are not completely separable. A black cow is still part of the same larger herd, comprising black and non-black cows. Thus, the previous rule (2.3.41) covers instances where a part is singled out from the whole, but is not considered to be separate from it. The present rule covers other instances, where two entities are regarded as distinct.

Nyāsa observes that, once again, this rule is an effort to expati ate. Clearly, a thing set apart denotes movement away, and therefore paṅcamī can be ruled by 2.3.28 apādāne paṅcamī, read with 1.4.24 dhruvam....

2.3.43 साधुनिपुनाध्याय पाल्लायिन सत्त्याप्ते:

sādhunipūnābhāyām arcāyām saṃtamy apratēḥ
/ sādhunipūnābhāyām 3/1 (itar. dv.) arcāyām 7/1 saṃtami 1/1 apratēh 6/1
‘sādhu, nipuṇa’ ity etābhāyām yoge’ arcāyām gamyamānāyām saṃtami
vibhakār bhavati

A saṃtami occurs after a stem used in conjunction with sādhu ‘good, well-behaved’ or nipuṇa ‘kind, skilled’ provided prati is not in use and arcā ‘respect’ is denoted.

Examples:

mātari sādhuḥ ‘he is good to his mother’
pitari sādhuḥ ‘he is good to his father’
mātari nipuṇah ‘he is kind to his mother’
pitari nipuṇah ‘he is kind to his father’

1. This rule introduces saṃtami after a nominal stem used with sādhu or nipuṇa provided arcā is denoted and prati is not used. The semantic condition with reference to arcā disallows saṃtami where, for example, a statement of fact (tatvākathana) is made. Thus:
(a) sādhur bhṛtyo rājñaḥ ‘the good servant of the king’.

2. The formal condition of apratēḥ ‘when prati is not used’ disallows the use of saṃtami in mātaram of a sentence such as:
(b) sādhur devadatto mātaram prati ‘Devadatta is good to his mother’.

2.3.44 प्रसिद्धस्तुकाञ्चां तृतीया च

prasitotsukābhāyām tṛtiyā ca
1. This rule additionally introduces tritiyā after a nominal stem used with prasita and utsaka. The Kāśikā explains prasita as yas tatra nityam evāvabaddhah ‘he who is always preoccupied with something’. Note that prasita can also mean ‘dazzling white’; although, because of the association (sahacarya) of utsaka, it too is interpreted as denoting an action.

1. This rule introduces tritiyā and saptami after a nominal stem which denotes nakṣatra and ends in LUP. The use of the word LUP in saptami refers to rules 4.2.3 nakṣatreṇa yuktah kālaḥ and 4.2.4 lub aviśeṣe, where the first rule introduces affix aN after a word denoting nakṣatra ‘constellation’ provided its time of conjunction with the moon is to be denoted. The second rule (4.2.4) deletes the affix when no additional specification
is being made. Thus, one expects to derive \textit{pausyah} by introducing affix \textit{aNy} after \textit{pusya}, a constellation, to denote the time of its conjunction with the moon. Rule 4.2.4 deletes the affix on the grounds that no further specification relative to the conjunction, or any additional information, is furnished.

To return to our present rule, we find that the condition of ‘no additional specification’ is also valid here. That is, the stem after which \textit{tṛṭiyā} and \textit{saptamī} are to be introduced should not only stand for a constellation, but also for a general time-frame in which the moon enters the constellation, when no specific information is given in addition. It would thus be possible to derive \textit{pusyah}, and not the expected \textit{pausyah}, by introducing affix \textit{aNy} to denote a general time-frame for the lunar conjunction with the constellation Puṣya. Note that, given the string \textit{pusya + aNy}, the affix will subsequently be deleted by 4.2.4 \textit{lub aviseṣe}. This, in turn, will block the \textit{vṛddhi} replacement in \textit{au} for the \textit{u} of \textit{pusya}. It is in this sense that we say that one expects to derive \textit{pausya}, but one ends up with \textit{pusya}.

2. This rule is required more for \textit{tṛṭiyā} than for \textit{saptamī}, since \textit{saptamī} could have been introduced by 2.3.35 \textit{saptamy}.

2.3.46 \textit{Prātipadikārthālingoparimāṇavacanamātre prathamā}

\begin{verbatim}
prātipadikārthālingoparimāṇavacanamātre prathamā
\end{verbatim}

\textit{prātipadikārthālingoparimāṇavacanamātre prathamā}

\textit{prātipadikārthālingoparimāṇavacanamātre prathamā}

A \textit{prathamā} ‘first triplet of \textit{sUP}’ occurs when only \textit{prātipadikārthā} ‘meaning of the stem, stem notion’; \textit{liṅga} ‘gender’; \textit{parimāṇa} ‘measure’; or \textit{vacana} ‘number’ is to be expressed.

\textbf{Examples:}

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textit{uccaīh} ‘high up’
  \item \textit{nīcāīh} ‘low down’
  \item \textit{kumārī} ‘girl’
  \item \textit{ṛṣkṣaḥ} ‘tree’
  \item \textit{dronaḥ} ‘a measure of weight’
  \item \textit{kārī} ‘id.’
  \item \textit{ekāḥ} ‘one’
  \item \textit{dvau} ‘two’
  \item \textit{bahavaḥ} ‘many’
\end{itemize}
1. This rule introduces prathamā to denote only the nominal stem notion (prātipadikārtha), gender (linga), measure (parimāna) and number (samkhya). The formulation of the rule needs some explanation. The expression prātipadikārthalingaparimānaṇavacanamātre specifies the meaning condition under which prathamā can be introduced. The word mātra denotes avadhāraṇa ‘exclusion’ and is used at the end of a dvandva compound (namely, prātipadikārthalingaparimānaṇavacanam). Since an item used at the end of a dvandva compound is associated with each of its constituents (dvandānte śṛṣṭyaṁañāḥ pratyekam abhisambadhyate), mātra is read with each of the constituents. As a result, we get the meaning: nominal stem notion only; gender only; measure only; and number only.

This interpretation, however, runs into problems. The prathamā can only express the nominal stem notion in the case of an indeclinable base, such as uccaih ‘high up’; nīcāiḥ ‘low down’, etc. Elsewhere, number and gender are expressed concurrently with the nominal stem notion. Thus, the nominative singular ending sU in the word kṛṣṇah expresses both masculine gender and singular number; but it also expresses the meaning of the nominal stem. Clearly, this is why prathamā in kṛṣṇah cannot be said to denote only the sense of the nominal stem, gender, or number. Yet the wording of the rule seems to demand the expression of just one sense: either that of the nominal stem, that of the gender, or that of the number.

To end the confusion, commentators explain that, since the meaning of the nominal stem is to be expressed in any event, this is done by prathamā. The expression of gender, measure, or number is additional. That is, prathamā is introduced when nothing but nominal stem notion, or nominal stem notion plus gender, measure, or number is to be denoted. Accordingly, we get examples of indeclinables (avṛgya) where nothing but the nominal stem notion is to be expressed. Words such as kumāri ‘girl’, vṛksah ‘tree’, and kandaṁ ‘fire-pit, bowl’ denote, in addition to their stem notion, the gender: feminine, masculine, or neuter. They are all cited here in the singular, and thus their prathamā also denotes number (vacana). If, however, separate mention of vacana as the denotatum of prathamā is not made on this account, nominal stems eka ‘one’, dvi ‘two’ and bahu ‘many’ would not qualify for the introduction of prathamā.

An example of prathamā denoting parimāna ‘measure’ is given as drona. By using prathamā after drona, one also expresses the sense of measure in addition to the nominal stem notion. That is, the relationship obtaining between that which measures (paricchedaka) and that which is measured (paricchedya) is expressed in addition to the stem-notion.

This rule has been extensively discussed, with the main focus of contention on what could be the meaning of a nominal stem. Patañjali
(II: 809–18) indicates that svārtha ‘stem-notion’; dravya ‘concrete thing’; linga ‘gender’; samkhyā ‘number’; and kāraka are five meanings of the nominal stem. This is what has been referred to as ‘nominal stem’. If Patañjali’s view is accepted, then the separate mention of gender and number in this rule becomes useless. Kaiyāṭa argues that, kāraka is the denotatum of vibhakti ‘nominal ending’ and should therefore be excluded from the stem notion. Others could argue against the inclusion of gender and number as well.

This leaves svārtha and dravya as the two denotata of a nominal stem. It is for this reason that Bhaṭṭoji characterizes prātipadikārtha as niyata-pasthítikah ‘that which is invariably denoted when the nominal stem is cited’. Kāśikā glosses prātipadikārtha as sattā ‘being’. Nyāsa, however, finds certain problems with this approach. It points out that, if sattā refers to jāti, the consequence would be the exclusion of vyakti ‘individual, particular’. In this case, devadatta, et al., will not qualify, since they are particular individuals. The condition of ‘being’ would also exclude items such as ākāśakusuma ‘sky-flower’, simply because they cannot be said to exist. Nyāsa concludes that the meaning of a nominal stem should be ‘comprehended without reference to any other thing’. Kāśikā, incidentally, uses the word sattā just as an upalakṣaṇa, a distinguisher which distinguishes even when absent (avidyamāna).

2.3.47 संबोधने �

sambodhane ca
/ sambodhane 7/1 ca 0 /
(prathamā #46)
sambodhane ca prathamā vibhaktir bhavati
A prathamā also occurs after a stem when sambodhana ‘address’ is to be expressed.

Examples:

he devadatta ‘O Devadatta!’
he devadattau ‘O, two Devadattas’
he devadattāḥ ‘O, many Devadattas’

1. This rule allows the use of prathamā to also denote sambodhana, glossed as abhimukhikarana ‘to attract someone’s attention, to address’. Further, note that the meaning of sambodhana will be denoted by prathamā in addition to the meaning of the nominal stem.

2.3.48 सांस्कृतिति

sā’ mantritam
/ sā 1/1 āmantritam 1/1/
(sambodhane #47, prathamā #46)
sambodhane yā prathamā tadantam śabdarūpam āmantritasāṁjñāṁ bhavati
A form which ends in prathamā and denotes sambodhana is termed āmantrita
Examples are as outlined under the preceding rule.

1. This rule assigns the term āmantrita to a form which ends in prathamā and denotes sambodhana.

2. It is generally accepted that an affix cited in the grammar denotes a form that ends in that affix (1.1.72 yena vidhis...). Patañjali (Mbh II: 361) indicates that an affix denotes its form only when the affix is cited in a rule which assigns a term. If this were not the case, Pāṇini would not have had to use antam explicitly in 1.4.14 suptiṇantam padam.

Rule 2.3.48 uses sā, referring to prathamā, and it assigns the term āmantrita. What should be considered as the meaning of this rule? Should prathamā, sU, au, Jas, or a form ending in it, be termed āmantrita? Jinet-drabuddhi says that, if Pāṇini intended the term to be assigned to the form of prathamā alone, he should have used sambodhana. He would not then have needed the term āmantrita. But since he uses āmantrita, the term must have some special purpose. The purpose is perhaps for sā to refer to a form which ends in prathamā and denotes sambodhana.

3. The purpose of including the term āmantrita is also to assign the udātta accent, by rule 6.1.198 āmantritasya ca to the initial vowel of a form which ends in prathamā and denotes sambodhana. Under certain other conditions, it is manipulated to assign blanket anudātta (8.1.19 āmantritasya ca). Similarly, this term assignment also makes it possible for a vocative turned āmantrita to be treated as non-existent in matters of the assignment of accent to a following word.

Scope: 8.1.72 āmantritam pūrvam avidyamānavat

2.3.49 एकवचनं सम्बुद्धि:

ekavacanam sambuddhiḥ
/ ekavacanam 1/1 sambuddhiḥ 1/1/
(āmantritam # 48, prathamā # 46)
āmantrita prathamāyā yat ekavacanam tat sambuddhisāṁjñāṁ bhavati
A singular āmantrita is termed sambuddhi.

Examples:

he pātō 'O, clever one!'  
he devadatta 'O, Devadatta!'

1. This rule assigns the term sambuddhi to the singular ending sU of prathamā termed āmantrita. Two interrelated questions arise in connection
with this. Firstly, why is the term sambuddhi not assigned here to a form which ends in SU? And secondly, why did Pāṇini not use SU instead of ekavacana?

Pāṇini uses ekavacana to indicate that, in this rule, sambuddhi should be assigned to the affix itself, and not to a form which ends in it. Otherwise, as in the previous rule, a form ending in nominative singular termed āmantrita would qualify for the assignment of the term. This point is also applicable to the second of the above questions; for if Pāṇini had used SU instead of ekavacana, no special directions would have been given concerning the assignment of the term sambuddhi, except for the wrong assignment of the term to a nominative singular.

Consider the string paṭu + SU of he paṭo, where SU is termed sambuddhi: rule 7.3.108 hrasvasya guṇah, read with 7.3.106 sambuddhau ca, will order guṇa for the final u of paṭu (The same would be the case with the final i of agni + SU of he agne 'O, Agni!'). The SU could then be deleted by rule 6.1.69 eṁ hrasvāt sambuddeḥ.

Scope: 6.1.69 eṁ hrasvāt sambuddeḥ

2.3.50 चास्ती रूपे

शास्ती शेṣे
/शास्ती 1/1 शेṣे 7/1/

A āṣṭhi occurs after a nominal stem when the remainder (śeṣa) is to be expressed.

EXAMPLES:

raṁṇaḥ puruṣasya gṛham ‘the house of the servant of the king’
paśoh pādaḥ ‘foot of an animal’
pituh putraḥ ‘son of a father’

1. This rule introduces āṣṭhi after a nominal stem to denote that which remains (śeṣa) to be stated. The word śeṣa has been explained as referring to those meanings not already specified by rules such as 2.3.2 karmani dvīṣṭya, etc., and 2.3.46 prātipadikārtha.... Thus, any meaning which does not come within the scope of those rules, beginning with 2.3.2 and up to and including 2.3.46, should be treated as the denotatum of āṣṭhi (referred to here by śeṣa). These meanings are identified as svavāmi-sambandha ‘owner-owned relation’, etc. Note that sambandha entails dual locus (dvīṣṭha), yet it is denoted by āṣṭhi, introduced after a stem which denotes the qualifier (vīṣeṣana) and not the qualified (vīṣeyya). The latter is principal (pradhāna), as opposed to the qualifier which is subsidiary (gauna). For details, see Jinendrabuddhi’s Nyāsa ad Kāśikā, under rule 2.3.50).
2.3.51 ज्ञेयविदर्शस्य करणे

\[ jñā' vidarthasya karaṇe \]
\[ / jñā 6/1 vidarthasya 6/1 = vido' rthaḥ = vidarthāḥ (śaṣ. tat.), na vidarthāḥ (nañ. tat.), tasya; karaṇe 7/1/ \]
\[ (saṣṭhi #50) \]
\[ jānāter avidarthasya ajñānārthasya karaṇe kārake saṣṭhi vibhaktir bhavati \]

A saṣṭhi occurs after a stem to express, as a remainder, the karaṇa of jñā when not used in the sense ‘to know’.

**Examples:**

- sarpiṣo jānīte ‘he offers the ritual oblation thinking it is ghee’
- madhuno jānīte ‘he offers the ritual oblation thinking it is honey’

1. The expression ‘not used in the sense ‘to know’’, qualifying jñā, needs some explanation. The normal sense of the root jñā is that of knowing. However, in sentences such as the first example, above, the root is used not in the sense ‘to know’, but in that of proceeding with an action with (or without) a certain supposition. For instance, one proceeds with the ritual oblation treating some other substance as if it were ghee. Here, jñā means ‘to proceed, engage in’, but to do so on the basis of false knowledge or of a misapprehension. Conversely, if one were to proceed with the ritual actually using ghee, jñā would still refer to that proceeding, but without any such misapprehension being implied.

2.3.52 अधिगर्भद्वेशां कर्मणि

\[ adhīgarthadayesāṁ karmāni \]
\[ / adhīgarthadayesām 6/3 = adhīgartho yesāṁ dhātunām te adhīgarthāḥ \]
\[ (bu.), adhīgarthāś ca dayāś ca iś ca = adhīgarthadayesāḥ (itar. dv.), teśāṁ; \]
\[ karmāni 7/1/ \]
\[ (saṣṭhi śese #50) \]
\[ adhīgarthāḥ = smaraṇārthāḥ, ‘dayadānagatirakṣanesu’, iś aśvarye \]
\[ eteśāṁ karmāni kārake śeṣatvena vivakṣite saṣṭhi vibhaktir bhavati \]

A saṣṭhi occurs after a stem to express, as a remainder, the karaṇa of verbs which denote the sense of adhik (adhī + iK) ‘to remember’; dayĀ ‘to give, feel pity, protect, move’; and iś ‘to rule’.

**Examples:**

- mātur adhyeti ‘he remembers his mother’
- māṭuḥ smarati ‘id.’
- sarpiṣo dayate ‘he gives the ghee’
- sarpiṣa iṣṭe ‘he controls the ghee’
- madhuna iṣṭe ‘he controls the honey’
1. This rule allows for the introduction of  

\( \text{ṣaśṭhi} \) to denote the object of verbal roots which have the signification of  

\( \text{adhī} + iK \) ‘to remember’ when the same is to be expressed as the remainder. Note that  

\( \text{dvitiyā} \) can express the  

\( \text{karman} \) when it is not expressed otherwise (2.3.2  

\( \text{karmani dvitiyā} \)). When the same object is to be expressed as a remainder of 2.3.2  

\( \text{karmani dvitiyā} \), 2.3.52  

\( \text{adhīgartha...} \) can be applied to introduce  

\( \text{ṣaśṭhi} \). Thus, we get the first two examples shown above, which we shall call (a) and (b). A sentence such as:

\( \text{(c) smṛtā mātā tena} \) ‘the mother was remembered by him’ expresses the object of  

\( \text{smṛ} \) by the verb. Consequently,  

\( \text{mātā} \) cannot be used with  

\( \text{dvitiyā} \). Rule 2.3.52  

\( \text{adhīgartha...} \) thus illustrates two levels of constraints. Level one constrains the introduction of  

\( \text{dvitiyā} \), with reference to 2.3.2  

\( \text{karmani dvitiyā} \), and to any other means outside the domain of 2.3.1  

\( \text{anabhihīte} \) whereby  

\( \text{karman} \) could be expressed. Sentences (a) and (c) will be covered by this dependency in selection of the means of expressing an object. Conversely, level two constraint will operate within the domain of 2.3.1  

\( \text{anabhihīte} \). That is, if the option of expressing the object is available to rule 2.3.2  

\( \text{karmani dvitiyā} \), under the condition of 2.3.1  

\( \text{anabhihīte} \), then that option could be taken by 2.3.2. If 2.3.2 takes the option, the  

\( \text{karman} \) will be expressed by  

\( \text{dvitiyā} \), as in  

\( \text{mātaram} \). If, however, the option is not taken, the object can then be expressed as the remainder (\( \text{ṣeṣa} \)) by rule 2.3.52  

\( \text{adhīgartha...} \), thereby yielding sentence (b) as an alternative.

2. Note that rules 2.3.51  

\( \text{jñō’ vidarthaṣya karaṇe} \) through 2.3.64  

\( \text{kṛtvō’ rtha-prayoge...} \) form a set, where  

\( \text{ṣaśṭhi} \) is introduced with reference to the enumeration of specific stems. It is for this reason that the  

\( \text{ṣaśṭhi} \) is called  

\( \text{pratipadavidhānāṣaśṭhi} \) ‘a genitive introduced with reference to specific words’. It is to be remembered that the  

\( \text{Mahābhāṣya} \) (II: 681) does not allow the formation of a compound with a constituent in  

\( \text{ṣaśṭhi} \) introduced by a rule of this set. Instead, the compounds with a genitive constituent are permitted when the genitive happens to be marked with ‘remainder’ (\( \text{ṣeṣalakṣanā; cf. 2.3.50 ṣaśṭhi ṣeṣe} \)). Thus,  

\( \text{ṣeṣalakṣanā} \), as opposed to the  

\( \text{pratipadavidhānā} \), forms the second type of genitive. A third type is called  

\( \text{kṛdyogā} \), ‘that which is introduced in conjunction with an item which ends in a  

\( \text{kṛt} \) affix’. Rule 2.3.65  

\( \text{kartṛ karmanoh kṛti} \) forms a set by itself, whereby  

\( \text{kṛdyogā ṣaśṭhi} \) is introduced. A fourth type of  

\( \text{ṣaśṭhi} \), in contradistinction to the preceding three, which are taken together as forming a single group, is called  

\( \text{sthāneyogā} \) (see my note under rule 1.1.49  

\( \text{ṣaśṭhi sthāneyogā} \)).

2.3.53  

\( \text{कृष्ण: प्रतिपत्ति} \)

\( \text{kṛṇah pratiyatne} \)

/  

\( \text{kṛṇaḥ 6/1 pratiyatne 7/1} /\)

(karmani #52,  

\( \text{ṣaśṭhi ṣeṣe #50} \))
karoteḥ karaṇaṁ kārake śesatvena vivakṣite pratiyatne ganyamāne sāṣṭhi vibhaktir bhavati

A sāṣṭhi occurs after a stem to express the karman of DUkrN 'to do, make' when it is expressed as a remainder and pratiyatna 'introducing a new quality to something' is denoted.

Example:

edho dakasyopaskurute 'the burning wood introduces new quality to water'

1. The word pratiyatna has been glossed by Kāśikā as guṇantarādhānāṃ 'bringing about another quality'. Thus, in the above example, edha (masculine) or edhas (neuter), meaning firewood, is credited with bringing a new quality to water (daka or tudaka). For the purpose of this example, edha and daka are treated as the bases after which nominative and genitive are introduced to yield edhaḥ and dakasya.

This rule also requires that the condition of sēṣa be fulfilled, in case one wishes to introduce the genitive to denote karman. That is, 2.3.2 could also denote the karman, thereby yielding the sentence edho dakam upaskurute. If 2.3.53 is preferred, with the desire to express karman via śesatva, the form would then be edho dakasyopaskurute.

Note also in connection with this that, given the meaning condition of pratiyatna, rule 1.3.32 gandhanāvākṣepanasevanasāhasikyapra(ti)yatna... introduces atmanepada as a replacement of LAT and occurs after the verbal root kr, used with the preverb upa. This same meaning condition also causes rule 6.1.138 upāt pratiyatna...to introduce the augment sUT before the k of verbal root kr, used with upa, to yield upaskr.

2.3.54 स्वाधिनतां भाववचनानामज्ञे:

rujārthānām bhāvavaccanānām ajvareḥ
/ rujārthānām 6/3 = rujā artho yesām (bv.) bhāvavaccanānām 6/3 = bhāvo vacanah yesām (bv.), tesām ajvareḥ 6/1 = na jvariḥ = ajvariḥ (nañ. tat.), tasya /

(karman #52, sāṣṭhi śeṣe #50)

rujārthānām dhātunām bhāvavaccanānām bhāvakartṛkānām jvariwrjiti-
tanām karmanī kārake śesatvena vivakṣite sāṣṭhi vibhaktir bhavati

A sāṣṭhi occurs to express the karman of roots which denote the meaning of ruj 'to break, to afflict' provided that jvari 'to have fever' is not one of the roots; that action denoted by these roots has an agent which denotes bhāva 'action'; and that karman, itself, is expressed as a remainder.

Examples:

caurasya rujati rogaḥ 'the disease afflicts the thief'
caurasyāmārayatī āmayaḥ 'id.'
1. Here, śaṣṭhi is introduced to denote the object of roots, excluding jvari, which have the meaning of ruj and have an agent which denotes their own action. The rule requires two conditions:

(i) that the action denoted by the root must be synonymous with the action denoted by ruj, with the exception of jvari; and

(ii) that this action, though in the state of being accomplished (sādhya-mānāvasthā), must be denoted by a nominal which serves as the agent and in an already accomplished state (siddhāvasthā).

The object must, of course, be expressed as a remainder.

Consider the first example:

(a) caurasya rujati rogaḥ ‘the disease is afflicting the thief’

The agent of ruj in this sentence is roga ‘disease’, derived by introducing affix GHaN after the verbal root ruj. The word roga constitutes the agent of the action; thus, it denotes bhāva in an already accomplished state. The thief (caura) is the object of the sentence, which for the purposes of this rule is opted to be expressed as a remainder. If this option of expressing the object was not accepted, rule 2.3.2 karmanī dvitīyā would have applied to yield:

(b) cauram rujati rogaḥ ‘id.’

For a detailed discussion of the difference between an action in the state of being accomplished, as opposed to one already accomplished, see my note under rule 2.3.37 yasya ca bhāvena bhāvalakṣanam.

2.3.55 आशिषिः नाथः:

āśiṣi nāthah
I āśiṣi 7/1 nāthah 6/1
(karmanī #52, śaṣṭhi seṣe #50)

‘nādṛt, nāṭṛt, yācchāpatāpaśvārāśīṣṣu’ pathyate, tasyāśiḥ kriyasya karmanī kārake śeṣatvena vivakṣite śaṣṭhi vibhaktir bhavati

A śaṣṭhi occurs to express the karman of nāthR when it denotes āśiḥ ‘benediction’, and karman itself is expressed as a remainder.

Examples:

sarpīṣo nāthate ‘he wishes for the blessing of ghee’
madhuno nāthate ‘he wishes for the blessing of honey’

1. This rule introduces śaṣṭhi to denote the object of nāthR when the root is used in the sense of āśiḥ, as shown in the above examples. Note that āśiḥ is glossed as yācṇā ‘to pray for, beg’. Furthermore, śaṣṭhi is available when one wishes to express the karman as seṣa. Otherwise, dvitīyā can be used.

Jinendrabuddhi (Nyāsa ad Kāś: 2.3.55) explains that āśiḥ is denoted in
the examples, by the wish for ghee which one does not have, and is expressed as the prayer ‘May there be ghee (or honey) for me!’ (sarpīr yasya nāsty ato rthīvād āśaste saḥ, sarpīr me bhūyād iti).

2.3.56 जासिनिरप्राणनात्क्राथथापिसः हिमःयाम

\[ \text{jāsiniṃprāhaṇāntakrāthathapisāṃ himsāyām} \]
\[ \text{/ jāsini...pīsaḥ 6/3 = jāsī ca niprahaṇam ca nātaḥ ca krāthas ca pīsaḥ ca=} \]
\[ \text{jāsini...pīsaḥ (itar. div.), tesām himsāyām 7/1/1} \]
\[ \text{(karmāṇi #52, saṣṭhī sewe #50)} \]

‘jāsi, niprahaṇa, nāta, krātha, pīs ity etesaṃ dvātunām himsākriyānām karmāṇi kārake saṣṭhī vibhaktir bhavati

A saṣṭhī occurs after a nominal stem to express, as a remainder, the object of an action denoted by the verbal roots jasU ‘to wish harm to, to torment’ and han ‘to smite’, used with the preverbs ni and pra, nāṭ ‘to injure’ and krāth and pīs, they mean ‘to wish harm to’.

**EXAMPLES:**

caurasyojāsayati ‘he is beating the thief’
caurasya niprahanti ‘they are beating the thief’
caurasya nihanti ‘id.’
caurasya prahanti ‘id.’
caurasya prañihanti ‘id.’
caurasyonnātayati ‘he is torturing the thief’
caurasyotkṛāthayati ‘id.’
caurasya pinaṣṭi ‘id.’

1. This rule allows the denotation of the object of the selected verbs under the meaning condition of himsā provided the same is to be denoted as a remainder. In the absence of taking the option of expressing the object as a remainder, dvitiyā, by 2.3.2 karmanī dvitīyā, will obtain.

Note that jāsi does not refer here to the causal form of jasU. Instead, it refers to the jasU ‘to wish harm to, to torment’ of the cur-ādi class, which, when used with the preverb ud, gives the sense of himsā. Similarly, han is referenced here as used with the preverbs ni and pra. Kāśikā informs us that han can be used with these preverbs in three different ways:

(i) in the form of samghāta, jointly in the order of enumeration as nipra-han;
(ii) in the vigrahīta form, separately as ni-han, pra-han; or
(iii) in the viparyastā form, conversely in the order of enumeration as pra-ni-han.

The words samghāta, vigrahīta, and viparyastā thus technically explain the manner in which these preverbs are used with han. The verbal root
nat is also required to denote the meaning of himsā, which it does when used with the preverb ud. The verbal root krath belongs to the bhvādi class, enumerated in its subset headed by ghat 'to strive'. Roots belonging to the ghatādi group, which total fifty-five, are treated as marked with M. This, in turn, causes the shortening of their vrddhi vowels before the causal suffix NiC.

Pāṇini refers to krath by its vrddhi form krāth, because, under the Mit treatment just mentioned, it will lack the vrddhi. That is, he does not want krath to undergo shortening of its vrddhi vowel before the causative NiC. Note that he also cites jasU and natA as jāsi and nāṭA; again, this is intended to ensure that the option of denoting the karman of these roots as a remainder is available only when they are used in these modified forms. Consider the following examples:

(a) caurasya ujjāsanam 'the torturing of the thief'
(b) caurasya unnāṭanam 'id.'
(c) caurasya krāthanam 'id.'

Here, we find the modified usage of the roots. But compare
(d) cauram ajījasat 'he tortured the thief'

where sasthī could not be introduced to denote the object because the root is not available in the form of jās. Needless to say, the object in this instance must be expressed with dūtiyā. Nyāsa clarifies the issue as follows:

atra hikāro dhātunirdeśārthāh krtaḥ, 'ikśtipau dhātunirdeśe' iti. yady evam, jāsiy akāraḥ katham śṛyate. ucyate-ākāram uccārya vikṛtanirdeśaḥ krtaḥ; vikṛtanirdeśas tu yatrasyaśat dūpaṁ bhavati tatraiva yathā syād anyatra mā bhūd: dasyum ajījasad iti

'Here i (in jasi) has been used to refer to the root in accordance with the convention 'ikśtipau dhātunirdeśe'. If it is so, how do we come to have the ā in jāsi? It is stated that Pāṇini, by reading the ā instead of a, made a reference to the modified form jās of the root. By this he indicated that what is stated by this rule obtains only where the root is available in the modified form. Thus, the rule will not apply in the case of: dasyum ajījasat 'he tortured the bandit'.

2. Note also that sasthī can be introduced only in the context of the roots enumerated by this rule. A root such as hims, though it signifies 'to harm', does not come under the stipulation of this rule. A sentence like:

(e) cauram hinsati 'he kills the thief'

therefore cannot have the genitive to express the object.

2.3.57 यथोऽपि: समिर्थयोः:

vyavahṛpanoḥ samarthayoh
// vyavahṛpanoḥ 6/2 samarthayoh 6/2/
(karmanī #52, sasthī seṣe #50)
vyavahr, paṇa’ ity etayoḥ smarthayoḥ samānārthayoḥ karanī kārake śaṣṭhi vibhaktir bhavati
A śaṣṭhi occurs to express the karman of vyavahr ‘to conduct’ and paṇ ‘to bargain’ when they are used synonymously.

EXAMPLES:

śatasya vyavaharati ‘he is bartering or trading with a hundred’
sahasrasya vyavaharati ‘he is bartering or trading with a thousand’
śatasya paṇate ‘he is bargaining with a hundred’
sahasrasya paṇate ‘he is bargaining with a thousand’

1. This rule introduces śaṣṭhi to express the object of the action denoted by verbal root hr used with the preverbs vi and ava, and also by the verbal root paṇ when used with a signification similar to that of hr. The above two roots become synonymous when they denote ‘gambling’ and ‘barter’. They then become the concern of this rule. The samartha ‘same meaning’ condition is necessary, since these roots can also signify other meanings. Thus, in the following sentences

(a) brāhma paṇāyaite ‘he praises the brāhmaṇa’
(b) salākam vyavaharati ‘he is counting the dice’

the same roots have been used in the sense of praise (stuti) and counting (gaṇana) respectively. Thus, no genitive obtains.

A question may be raised about the word samartha. After the compound-formation, why was not the long vowel (dīrgha) sandhi applied to yield samārtha? Commentators indicate that the sequence a + a was subjected to a single replacement (ekādeśa), similar to the subsequent (pararūpa) a, by the vārttika: sakandhvaḍiṣu pararūpaṁ vācyam.

2.3.58 दिवसतदर्थस्य
divas tadarthasya
/ dīvast 6/1 tadarthasya 6/1 = sah artho yasya = tadarthāḥ (śaṭ.tat), tasya /
(karmanī #52, śaṣṭhi śeṣe #50, anabhihite #1)
vyavahṛpaṇismānārthasya divyateḥ karmanī śaṣṭhi vibhaktir bhavati
A śaṣṭhi occurs to express the karman of div ‘to play’ when it denotes a meaning similar to that of vyavahr ‘to gamble’ and paṇ ‘to barter’.

EXAMPLES:

śatasya divyati ‘he is gambling with a hundred’
sahasrasya divyati ‘he is gambling with a thousand’

1. This rule introduces śaṣṭhi to denote the object of the action denoted by div ‘to play’ used in the sense of ‘gamble’ and ‘barter’.
A question is raised as to why this rule should be stated separately from the preceding one. That is, verbal root div, synonymously used with vyavahr and pan, could very easily have been accommodated by the wording of the preceding rule. Kāśīkā states that a split rule is required so that only div could be associated with the provision of 2.3.59 vibhāsopasarge. If div were given as part of the preceding rule, all the roots would have become applicable in the context of rule 2.3.59. A separate formulation of this rule with div is thus uttarārtha ‘for the sake of that which follows’.

The word tad ‘that’ is a variable which refers to the verbal roots vyavahr and pan and, when read with arthasya and divah, gives the required interpretation: ‘the object of the action denoted by div when used in the sense of vyavahr and pan’. This condition of tadarthasya rules out genitive after brāhmaṇa in the example.

(a) brāhmaṇam divyati ‘he praises the brāhmaṇa’
where div is used in the sense of stuti ‘praise’.

2.3.59 विभासोपसर्गे

vibhāsopasarge
/ vibhāsā 1/1 upasarge 7/1
(divas tadarthasya #58, karmani #52, saṣṭ hi seṣe #50, anabhihite #1)
upasarge sati divas tadarthasya karmani kārake vibhāsā saṣṭhi vibhaktir bhavati
A saṣṭhi optionally occurs to express the karman of div when it is used with a preverb and it denotes a meaning similar to that of vyavahr and pan.

EXAMPLES:

śatasya pratidivyati ‘he is gambling with a hundred’
śataṁ pratidivyati ‘id.’
sahasrasya pratidivyati ‘he is gambling with a thousand’
sahasreṇa pragdvivyati ‘id.’

1. This rule makes optional the obligatory provision of saṣṭhi of rule 2.3.58, when div is used with a preverb. If the option is not taken, dvitiyā will obtain.

2.3.60 द्वितीया ब्राह्मणे

dvitiyā brāhmaṇe
/ dvitiyā 11 brāhmaṇe 7/1
(divas tadarthasya #58, karmani #52, saṣṭ hi seṣe #50, anabhihite #1)
brāhmaṇavisaye prayoge divas tadarthasya karmani kārake dvitiyā vibhaktir bhavati
A dvitiyā occurs in the Brāhmaṇa to express the karman of div when this root is used with a meaning similar to that of vyavahār and pañ provided the karman is not expressed otherwise.

Example:

gāmasya tadahah sabhāyam diviyeyuh ‘they should stake a cow for him in the gambling hall that day’ (Mait Saṃ 1.6.11.56)

1. This rule is required to block the śaṭṭhī which would otherwise obtain to denote the object of div, used without a preverb. Of course, the dvitiyā is relatable only to usage in the Brāhmaṇa. Haradatta (PM ad Kaśika II: 220) explains that what is referred to here by the term Brāhmaṇa is really the Satapathabrāhmaṇa.

2.3.61 प्रेयस्यब्रुवर्यो देवतासमप्रदाने

presyabruvor haviṣo devatāsampradāne
| presyabrūvo 6/2 (itar. dv.) haviṣaḥ 6/1 devatāsampradāne 7/1 =
| devatā sampradānam yasya (kv.), tasmin |
| (brāhmaṇe #60, karmanī #52, śaṭṭhī seize #50, anabhihite #1) |
| presyabrūvor haviṣaḥ karmanah śaṭṭhī vibhaktīr bhavati devatā sampradāne sati |

A śaṭṭhī occurs in the Brāhmaṇa to express the karman of praiṣ ‘to send forth, utter’ and brū ‘to utter’, when the karman stands for a ritual oblation offered to a deity and is not expressed otherwise.

Examples:

agnaye chāgasya haviṣo vapāyā medasaḥ presya ‘offer the ritual oblation of goat, fat and marrow to Agni’ (KŚ 6.6.26)
agnaye chāgasya haviṣo vapāyā medasaḥ nubruhī ‘make a pledge of the ritual oblation of goat, fat and marrow to Agni’ (KŚ 6.6.26)

1. Kaśika indicates that iṣya refers to the divādi root iṣĀ ‘to go’. Furthermore, only its use in LOT, and that only in the second person singular, is intended by this rule. That the iṣĀ of divādi is intended is made clear by the use of SyāN in (presya). Because of sāhacarya ‘association’, brū is understood to be similarly constrained.

2.3.62 चतुर्थयर्थिः बहुलं छन्दसि

caturthyarthe bahulaṁ chandasi
| caturthyarthe 7/1 bahulaṁ 1/1 chandasi 7/1 |
| (śaṭṭhī seize #50) |
| chandasi viṣaye caturthyarthe śaṭṭhī vibhaktīr bhavati bahulam |

A śaṭṭhī variously occurs in the sense of caturthī ‘fourth triplet of sUP’ in the Veda.
2.3.63 Adhyāya Two: Pāda Three

Examples:

- puruṣāmṛgaś candramasaḥ ‘...to the moon,
a male deer’ (Vāj 24.35)
- puruṣāmṛgam candramase ‘id.’
- godhā kālakā dārvāgḥātaste vanaspatinām ‘to the god of vegetation, a
lizard, kālaka bird, and dārvāghaṭa’ (Vāj 24.35)
- godhā kālakā dārvāgḥātaste vanaspatibhyah ‘id.’

2.3.63 यजेश करणे

yajeś ca karane
/ yajeh 1/1 ca ो karane 7/1/
(bahulam chandasi #62, saṣṭhi seṣe #50, anabhihite #1)
yajer dhātoḥ karane kārake chandasi bahulam saṣṭhi vibhaktir bhavati
A saṣṭhi also variously occurs in the Veda to express the karaṇa of
yajA when it is not expressed otherwise.

Examples:

- ghṛtasya yajate ‘he performs the ritual sacrifice with ghee’ (Sat
4.4.2.4)
- ghṛtena yajate ‘id.’
- somasya yajate ‘he performs the ritual sacrifice with soma’ (Sat
4.4.2.5)
- somena yajate ‘id.’

2.3.64 कृत्यार्थप्रयोगे कालेशिकरणे

kr.tvō’ rthaprayoge kāle’ dhikarane
/ kr.tvō’ rthaprayoge 7/1 kr.tvaso’ rthah = kr.tvō’ rthah (saṣ. tat.), kr.tvō’ rtha
eva artho yeṣāṁ te = kr.tvō’ rthah (bv.), kr.tvō’ rthasya prayogah = kr.tvō’
rtaprayogah (saṣ. tat. with int. bv.), tasmin; kāle 7/1 adhikarane 7/1/
(saṣṭhi seṣe #50, anabhihite#1)
kr.tvō’ rthānām prayāyānām prayoge kāle’ dhikarane saṣṭhi vibhaktir
bhavati
A saṣṭhi occurs to express adhikaraṇa ‘locus’ after a stem which
denotes time (kāla) and is used in conjunction with a word which
ends in an affix having the sense of kṛtvās UC (5.4.17 samkhyaḥ...),
provided adhikaraṇa is not expressed otherwise.

Examples:

- pañca kr.tvō’ hno bhūṅkte ‘he eats five times a day’
- dvīrahno’ dhīte ‘he studies twice a day’
2.3.65 कर्मवृत्तार्थवर्णांतः क्रृति

कर्मवर्णातः क्रृति

कर्मवर्णातः क्रृति

 kartṛśa karmakṛtaḥ 7/2 kṛti 7/1
(śaṣṭhī 3aśe #50, anabhīhite#1)

kṛtprayoge karttari karmāṇi ca śaṣṭhī vibhaktir bhavati

A śaṣṭhī occurs after a stem to express kartṛ and karmāṇa, when the stem is used in conjunction with an item which ends in kṛt (2.1.93 kṛt atin), and when kartṛ and karmāṇa are not expressed otherwise.

Examples:

bhavatāḥ sāyikaḥ ‘your turn to sleep’
bhavataḥ āsikāḥ ‘your turn to sit’
apām sraṣṭāḥ ‘producer of water’
prām bhettāḥ ‘destroyer of cities’

1. Note that the condition of kṛt ‘when used in conjunction with an item which ends in a kṛt’ is required so that a kartṛ or karmāṇa is not expressed with a genitive occurring after a stem used in conjunction with an item which ends in a taddhīta (4.1.76 taddhītaḥ). The kartṛ or karmāṇa, if expressed with the genitive, must be related with the action denoted by the root underlying the item which ends in kṛt. In the absence of this blocking function of kṛt, in connection with the denotation of kartṛ and karmāṇa of the action which underlies a taddhīta derivate, the use of kṛt would become useless. For, only two types of affixes (tiN and kṛt) are introduced after a verbal root in relation to whose action one talks about the expression of kartṛ and karmāṇa. Rule 2.3.69 na lokānyayaniśṭhāṇ... does not allow the genitive to express the kartṛ or karmāṇa in conjunction with an item which ends in a tiN. This leaves only those items which may end in a kṛt. To retain kṛt in the rule to perform any function other than blocking the genitive in relation to an item which ends in a taddhīta would be to state the most obvious. Thus, given the sentence

(a) kṛtapuruṇā kāṭah ‘he who has already made the mat; he who is experienced in mat-making’

the word kṛtapuruṇā is derived by introducing affix iṇ after kṛtapuruṇa, by rule 5.2.87 sa pūrvāc ca, a compound. Note that the affix Kta in kṛta of kṛtapuruṇā denotes bhāva, thereby leaving the object yet to be expressed. But since it is part of a taddhīta derivate its expression by the genitive under the provisions of this rule must be negated.

2.3.66 उभयप्राप्तां क्रमणि

ubhayaprāptaṁ karaṇaṁ

ubhayaprāptaṁ 7/1 = ubhayoh praṭīḥ yasmin saḥ (ba.), tasmin karaṇaṁ 7/1/
(kṛti #65, saṣṭhī seṣe #50, abhīhitē #1)
ubhayoh prāptir yasmin kṛti so' yam ubhayaprāptih; tatra karmay eva
saṣṭhī nibhaktīr bhavati
A saṣṭhī occurs to express only the karmā, when both kārtr and
carmā, if not expressed otherwise, are to be expressed by intro-
ducing saṣṭhī after stems used in conjunction with an item ending in
kṛt.

EXAMPLES:

dāsaryo gavām dohō gopālakena 'it is a surprise to see the non-cowherd
milking the cow'
rocare me odanasya bhojanam devadattenā 'Devadatta's eating of rice
pleases me'

1. This rule is necessitated in view of the diversity of the denotata of a
kṛt affix. For example, a kṛt can be introduced to denote agent, object, or
bhāva. In the case of instances where a kṛt expresses an agent, genitive by
this rule could express the object, and vice versa. But what if a kṛt denotes
bhāva, rather than either the agent or the object? This rule provides for
the genitive under those circumstances to express only the karmā.

Consider the first example, above. Here, dohaḥ, a derivative of duh 'to
milk', expresses action by means of the kṛt affix GHaN. This clearly leaves
the object, as well as the agent, of duh unexpressed. The present rule intro-
duces genitive to express the karmā after go 'cow', instead of after ago-
pālaka 'one who is not a cowherd'. The kārtr is then expressed by tritiyā
introduced after agopālaka.

The Mahābhārata (II: 836) discusses a vārttika whereby a genitive under
these circumstances may be allowed to denote kārtr. This exception is
made in view of a kṛt derivate which ends in affixes aka or a used in the
feminine. Thus, consider the sentence

(a) cicirsā devadattasya katasya 'Devadatta's desire of making a mat'
where cicirsā contains a feminine base which ends in TaP. This feminine
base underlies cicirsā, a kṛt base derived by introducing affix a by rule
3.3.102 a pratayāt. Incidentally, cicirsā, after which affix a is introduced,
is a derivate ending in saN (3.1.7 dhātoḥ karmānḥ...). Under the pro-
vision of the vārttiika, the genitive can then express both the agent and
the object, as is obvious from the genitive in devadattasya (the agent) and
katasya (the object).

An additional vārttiika under this same rule further modifies the scope
of these feminine derivates and the denotation of the agent by genitive.
Consequently, a genitive can be used to express the agent only optionally
where the feminine contains a base ending in an affix other than aka or
a. Thus, we get two versions of the sentence below:
(b) vicitrā hi sūtrasya kṛtiḥ pānineḥ 'ingenious indeed is the making of
the sūtra by Pāṇini'

(c) vicitrā hi sūtrasya kṛtiḥ pānineṁā 'id.'

Here, pānineḥ, ending in the genitive, optionally expresses the object;
while pānineṁā, the instrumental, expresses the agent. The feminine form
kṛti is derived by introducing the kṛt affix KtiN after the verbal root kṛ.

2.3.67 कस्य च वर्त्तमाने

ktasya ca vartamāne
/ ktasya 6/1 ca 0 vartamāne 7/1/
(ṣaṣṭhi śeṣe #50)
ktasya vartamānakālavihitasya prayoge ṣaṣṭhi vibhaktir bhavati
A ṣaṣṭhi occurs, to express kartṛ and karman, after a stem used in
conjunction with an item which ends in Kta and denotes vartamāna
'current time'.

EXAMPLES:

rajanām mataḥ 'honored by kings'
rajanām pujitah 'id.'

1. Note that mata and pujita in the above examples are items which
end in affix Kia. This affix is introduced in the sense of vartamāna by
rule 3.2.188 matibuddhi..... The word rajaṁ is thus put in the genitive
plural, made available by this rule under the condition of cooccurrence
with an item which ends in Kta.

A question is raised as to why one should have this rule, when its pro-
vision can be made available by rule 2.3.65 kartṛkarnaṁoḥ kṛti. After all,
Kta is a kṛt affix. It is said that this rule is necessary to provide for the
genitive, which otherwise would be blocked by rule 2.3.69 na lokāvyaya-
niṣṭhā..... Affix Kta is also assigned the term niṣṭhā by rule 1.1.26
ktaktavatā niṣṭhā.

2.3.68 अधिकरणवाचिनि

adhikaraṇavācinaṁ ca
/ adhikaraṇavācinah 6/1 ca 0 /
(ktasya #67, ṣaṣṭhi śeṣe #50)
‘kto’ dhikaraṇe ca' vaksyati, tasya prayoge ṣaṣṭhi vibhaktir bhavati
A ṣaṣṭhi occurs after a stem in conjunction with an item which ends
in Kta (3.4.76 kto’ dhikaraṇe) and denotes adhikaraṇa.

EXAMPLES:

idam eṣāṁ āsitam 'this is where they sit'
idam eṣāṁ sāyitam 'this is where they recline'
1. This is again an effort to make available the provision of genitive, which could otherwise be denied by the following rule.

2.3.69 न लोकायतनिधारकस्तथूतनामः

na lokāvyayaniṣṭhākhalarthatṛṇām
/ na ṯ lokāvyayaniṣṭhākhalarthatṛṇām 6/3 = khalo rthaḥ = khalarthah,
khalartha eva artho yesām te = khalarthāḥ (bv.), laś ca uś ca ukaś ca
avayavam ca niṣṭhā ca khalarthaś ca tṛṇ ca = lokāvyayaniṣṭhākhalarthatṛṇa
(itar. dv.), tesaṁ /
(ṣaṣṭhi ṣeṣe#50)
'la, u, uka, avayav, niṣṭhā, khalartha, tṛṇ' ity eteṣām prayoge ṛṣṭhi vibhaktir
na bhavati
A ṣaṣṭhi does not occur to denote karta and karman after a stem used
in conjunction with any of the following:
(i)  la: 'the replacements of LA, in ŚatR, ŚānaC, (3.2.124 laṭah...),
KānaC (3.2.106 līṭah kānaj vā), KvasU (3.2.107 kvasūs ca), Ki and
Kin (3.2.171 adṛg...);
(ii) u: 'an item which ends in affix u (3.2.168 sanāsamsabhikṣa uḥ)';
(iii) uka: 'an item which ends in affix ukaN (3.2.154 lasapata...');
(iv) avayav 'an indeclinable';
(v) niṣṭhā: 'an item which ends in affixes Kta or KtavatU (3.2.102 niṣṭhā)';
(vi) khalartha: 'an item ending in an affix which denotes the sense of
KHaL (3.3.126 iṣad...'); and
(vii) tṛṇ: 'an item which ends in affixes introduced by rules 3.2.124
laṭah... through 3.3.69 tṛṇ'.

Examples:

odontōm pecan 'cooking the rice'
odontōm pecamānah 'id.'
odontōm pecānah 'he cooked the rice'
odontōm pecivān 'id.'
papiḥ somam '...drank the Soma'
dadirgaḥ '...gave away cattle'
kotam cikṛṣuh 'he who is wishing to make a mat'
odanom buhukṣuḥ 'he who desires to eat rice'
āgāmukam vāraṇasim rakṣa dhuh 'people say that even the demons
wish to come to Vāraṇasi for release'
kotam krtvā 'having made the mat'
odanom bhuktvā 'having eaten the rice'
odanom bhuktvān 'he ate the rice'
devadattena krtam 'made by Devadatta'
iṣatkaro kotāh bhavatā 'it is easy for you to make the mat'
iṣatkānavi somo bhavatā 'it is easy for you to drink Soma'
somam pavamānāh 'ritually purifying the Soma'
nadām āghnānāh 'beating the dancer'
kartā katān 'he who will make the mat'
vaditā janāpavādān 'he who will be saying bad things about people'

1. This rule disallows the introduction of śaṣṭhī, to denote kartṛ and karman, after a nominal stem used in conjunction with the following:
   (i) a replacement of LA;
   (ii) a form which ends in the affix u;
   (iii) a form which ends in ukaN;
   (iv) an indeclinable;
   (v) a form which ends in an affix termed niṣṭhā;
   (vi) a form ending in the affixes which have the signification of KHar;
   and
   (vii) a form which ends in affix trN.

   The compound base lokāvyaṁaniśthākhalarthatṛn may be broken down as follows: loka + avyayā + niṣṭhā + khalarthā + trn. The first item, loka, is still a complex form underlying (u + uka) + la. That is, u and uka are joined to form a dvandva compound (ūkau) and its base (ūka) is then combined with la. Thus, u + uka = āuka; la + āuka = loka. If one combines u + la first, u will then have to be placed first in the resultant compound, because u has the minimum number of vowels as compared with la. The result will then be: ula. If one now combines uka, the result will be ukala.

   Commentators indicate that LA-replacements refer here to affixes ŚatR, ŚānaC (3.2.124 latāḥ satṛśānacāv aprathamāsamānādhikaraṇe), KānaC (3.2.106 liṭāḥ kānaj vā), KvasU (3.2.107 kvasus ca), Ki, and Kin (3.2.171 adṛgaharahana...). Affixes u and uka refer to rules 3.2.168 saṁśaṁbhikṣa uḥ and 3.2.154 lasapatapada...ukaN, whereby affixes u and ukaN are introduced.

2. The Mahābhāṣya (II: 839-40) discusses certain vārttika in connection with the negotiations of this rule. For example, a negation of genitive, relative to uka, is not applicable in the context of verbal root kam in the Classical (bhāṣā) language (uκaapraṇiṣedehe bhāṣāyām apraṇiṣedhah). We thus get examples such as this:
   (a) dāśyāḥ kāmukāḥ 'lustful towards the maidservant'

   Furthermore, in the context of the negotiation of genitive relative to an indeclinable, items which end in affixes tosUN (3.4.16 bhāvalakṣanena...) and kāsUN (3.4.13 īśvare...) should be stated as exceptions. This will provide an example like:
   (b) purā śūrasyodeteḥ 'before the rising of the sun' (KS 8.3)

   The word trn here is interpreted as an abbreviatory term (pratyāhāra: trN) formed by the tr of the Śatṛ of 3.2.124 latāḥ satṛśānacāv... and the N of 3.3.69 trn. This interpretation, however, would require that śaṣṭhī be
negated in the context of ṣatṛ only optionally. This will give the parallel examples:

(c) cauram dvisan 'hitting the thief'
(d) caurasya dvisan 'id.'

2.3.70 अकेनोपविषयदाहाम्ययोः:

akenor bhavisyadādhamarnyayoh
1 akenoh 6/2 akaś ca in ca = akenau (itar. dv.), tayoḥ; bhavisyadā-
dhamarnyayoh 7/2 = bhavisyac ca ādhamarnyam ca = bhavisyadā-
dhamarnye (itar. dv.), tayoḥ /
(na #69, saṣṭhi ṣeṣe #50, anabhihite #1)
akasya bhavisyati kāle vihitasya, inas tu bhavisyati cādhamarnyeye ca vihitasya
prayoge saṣṭhi vibhaktir na bhavati
A saṣṭhi does not occur to express the karman of those verbs which
contain items terminated in affixes aka, or in, to denote future, or
future in addition to ādhamarnya ‘debt’, respectively.

EXAMPLES:

kaṭam kārako vrjaṇti ‘he who will make the mat is going’
odanam bhojako vrjaṇti ‘he who will eat the rice is going’
grāmam gāmi ‘he is the one who will go to the village’
grāmam gāmi ‘id.’
śatam dāyi ‘he is the one who will pay back the debt of a hundred’
śahasram dāyī ‘he is the one who will pay back the debt of a thousand’

1. This rule disallows saṣṭhi after a nominal stem used in conjunction
with a form which ends in aka or inl, and denotes either future, or future
and ādhamarnya, respectively. Note that this rule enumerates a set of two
affixes denoting a corresponding set of two meanings. The question is:
can one treat the denotatum of aka as future, and the denotatum of inl
as ādhamarnya? Or, should one treat both the meanings as the denotata
of both the suffixes?

First of all, the assignment of meanings should not be made in terms
of the order of enumeration (samikhyāta). Secondly, ake is found only
denoting ‘future’, while inl is found denoting both ‘future’ and ādha-
marnya. We may therefore conclude that ‘future’ alone is the denotatum
of ake in this rule. In the case of inl, as attested by usage, both the mean-
ings obtain (MBh II: 840-41). In order to arrive at this interpretation,
Patañjali suggests that we resort to yogavibhāga. Consequently, the rule
will be split into two as follows:

(i) akasya bhavisyati: ‘...in conjunction with a form ending in ake when
‘future’ is being denoted’

(ii) ina ādhamarnye: ‘...in conjunction with inl when ‘future’ and
ādhamarnya are being denoted’
2. Note that because of the meaning condition of ‘future’, only those instances of aki will be considered valid where aki denotes ‘future’. Thus, a reference to rules 3.3.10 tumun-ṇvulau... and 7.1.1 yuvor anākau is obvious in the case of forms which end in aki. Affix inI refers here to both inI and NinI: one is an Unādi affix introduced by 3.2.3 bhavisya-ti gamyādayaḥ, and the other is introduced by 3.3.170 āvaśyakādhamarmayayor....

Two examples of this are respectively:
(a) grāmaṇaṃ gāmi ‘he is the one who will go to the village’
(b) satam dāyi ‘he is the one who will pay back the debt of a hundred’

2.3.71 कृत्याणं कार्त्तिर वा

kṛtyānām karttari vā
/ kṛtyānām 6/3 karttari 7/1 vā 0 /
(saṣṭhi śese #50, anabhīhitē#1)
kṛtyānām prayoge karttari vā saṣṭhi vibhaktir bhavati, na karmanī
da saṣṭhi optionally occurs to express kātṛ, and not karman, when an item which ends in a kṛtya affix is used in conjunction.

EXAMpLES:

bhavataḥ kātaḥ kartavyaḥ ‘the mat should be made by you’
bhavataḥ kātaḥ kartavyaḥ ‘id.’

1. This rule introduces saṣṭhi optionally to denote kātṛ, and not karman, after a nominal stem which is used in construction with an item ending in an affix termed kṛtya (3.1.95 kṛtyāḥ). In other words, this rule makes the obligatory provision of 2.3.65 kāryakarmanoḥ kṛti optional. Consider, for example, the following sentence:

(a) geyo māṇavakāh sāmnām ‘the boy is the chanter of the Śāmān hymn’
where geyah contains geya which, in turn, is derived by introducing affix yaT (3.4.68 bhavyageya...) to optionally denote kātṛ. In sentence (a) then, geyah denotes the agent. That being the case, the object remains unexpressed. Rule 2.3.65 kāryakarmanoḥ kṛti can now introduce saṣṭhi to denote the object after sāmn. Note that this rule makes an optional provision; hence, it might be assumed that its prohibition of karman coming under the purview of this rule is also optional. But this assumption would have been correct only if karttari had not been used in this rule. That is, the obligatory provision of 2.3.65 becomes optional only when the denotatum is kātṛ and not when it is karman.

The Mahābhāṣya (II: 841) suggests yogavibhāga ‘rule-splitting’ for the present rule, whereby two rules can be obtained:
(i) kṛtyānām and
(ii) karttari vā.
Furthermore, kṛtyānām will have the anuvṛtti of ubhayaprāptau karmanī
from rule 2.3.66 ubhaya-prāptau karmanī, and that of na from 2.3.69 na lokāryaya.... The two rules will then read:

(i) kṛtyānāṁ ubhaya-prāptau karmanī na ‘a śaṣṭhī does not occur to denote karte or karman after a nominal stem used in conjunction with a form which ends in an affix termed kṛtya’

(ii) karttare vā ‘a śaṣṭhī optionally occurs to denote karte after a nominal stem used in conjunction with an item which ends in an affix termed kṛtya’

Pāṇini considers yogavibhāga necessary to account for the optional śaṣṭhī which denotes agent in sentences such as:

(b) netavyāḥ vṛajam gāvah kṛṣṇasya ‘Krṣṇa will take the cows to the grazing pasture’

Note that netavya is a form which ends in tavyaT, a kṛtya suffix. While kṛṣṇa can qualify for śaṣṭhī to denote agent by blocking the provision of 2.3.66 ubhaya-prāptau karmanī, the word vṛaja will also qualify for genitive under the provision of rule 2.3.65 karte-karmanoh kṛtī. However, this would give the wrong result: *netavyāḥ vṛajasya gāvah kṛṣṇasya

If yogavibhāga is accepted, the first rule will block the denotation of both karte and karman by means of optional śaṣṭhī. The second rule allows the optional śaṣṭhī to denote karte. Thus, we have sentence (c) parallel to (b):

(c) netavyāḥ vṛajam gāvah kṛṣṇena.

2.3.72 tulyārthaṁ atulopamābhyāṁ trīyāṁ nyatarasyām

/ tulyārthaiḥ 3/3 tulyāḥ artho yesam te tulyārthāḥ (bv.),
taih, atulopamābhyām 3/2 tulā ca upamā ca = tulopame (itr. dv.), na tulopame = atulopame (nañ. tat.), tābhyaṁ; trīyā 1/1 anyatarasyām 7/1

(śaṣṭhī sese #50)

tulyārthaiḥ śabdair yoge trīyā vibhaktir bhavaty anyatarasyām; pakṣe śaṣṭhī ca, tulopamāśabdau varjayitvā

A trīyā optionally occurs when a synonym of tulya ‘equal, identical’ other than tulā or upamā is used in conjunction, and the relation to be expressed is that of ‘remainder’.

EXAMPLES:

tulya devadattena ‘equal to Devadatta’
tulya devadattasya ‘id.’
sadrśo devadattena ‘id.’
sadrśo devadattasya ‘id.’

1. This rule introduces trīyā as an option to śaṣṭhī, after a nominal stem used in conjunction with a word which has the signification of tulya ‘equal’, and is other than tulā and upamā.
Note that Pāṇini did not have to use the word artha with tulya to indicate items having the sense of tulya, since he uses tulyarthā in the plural. If he meant just the form, he should have used the singular, as is his normal practice. Since he uses the plural, there must be some special purpose. What could that be? The purpose is to accept only those synonyms of tulya which could qualify as synonymous without any cooccurrence condition. Because of this cooccurrence exclusion, forms such as iva will not be treated as valid. Thus, in the example

(a) gavā i va gavayāḥ ‘a cow is like any other cow’

iva denotes synonymity with tulya; but the same is conditioned by the occurrence of gavayāḥ. That is, consider a sequence such as this:

yatā X, tathā Y ‘the way X, the same way Y’

Here, tathā Y governs the use of i va.

A sentence such as

(b) pitṛtulyāḥ prājñāyāḥ ‘equal to his father in intelligence’

will also be blocked from having saṣṭhī after prājñā ‘intelligent’, as the speaker wishes to indicate prājñā either as hetu ‘cause’ or as karāṇa ‘means’. This being the case, only tṛṣṭiyā can be introduced.

2. Pāṇini’s inclusion of the word anyatarasyām in this rule may seem a useless exercise, since the earlier rule already has vā. Why was vā not carried to denote optionality instead? This question is pertinent, because both vā and anyatarasyām denote optionality. Commentators add here that anyatarasyām has been used so that it can be carried to the next rule. If vā had been carried instead, tṛṣṭiyā would also have been carried, due to its association with vā. Thus, Pāṇini used anyatarasyām to block the anuvṛtti of tṛṣṭiyā from the following rules.

2.3.73 चतुर्थी चारिश्चायर्याध्यमद्रात्तसङ्कारात्माध्यति:

caturthī cāsiṣyāyuṣyamadrabhadraṣuṣakahārthahitaiḥ
/ caturthī 1/1 ca 0 aśiṣi 7/1 āyuṣya...hitaiḥ 3/3 = āyuṣyaṁ ca madraś ca bhadrāṣ ca kuṣalaḥ ca sukhārthāḥ ca hitaḥ = āyuṣya...hitaiḥ (itar. dv.),
taiḥ /

(saṣṭhī-seṣe #50)

aśiṣi gamyaṁamāṇāyām ‘āyuṣya, madra, bhadra, kuṣala, sukha, artha, hita’ ity etair yoge caturthi vibhaktir bhavati; cakāro víkālpānukarṣaṇ-ārthah

A caturthī optionally occurs after a stem when items having the signification of āyuṣya ‘longevity’; madra ‘joy’; bhadra ‘good fortune’; kuṣala ‘well-being’; sukha ‘comfort, happiness’; artha ‘prosperity’; or hita ‘benefit’ are used in conjunction and benediction is expressed as a remainder.
2.4.1 Adhyāya Two: Pāda Three

Examples:

āyusyaṁ devadattāya bhūyāt 'may Devadatta live long'
āyusyaṁ devadattasya bhūyāt 'id.'
madram devadattāyo bhūyāt 'may Devadatta be happy'
madram devadattasya bhūyāt 'id.'
bhadram devadattāya bhūyāt 'may Devadatta enjoy good fortune'
bhadram devadattasya bhūyāt 'id.'
kuśalaṁ devadattāya bhūyāt 'may Devadatta remain well'
kuśalaṁ devadattasya bhūyāt 'id.'
sukham devadattāya bhūyāt 'may Devadatta be happy'
sukham devadattasya bhūyāt 'id.'
artho devadattāya bhūyāt 'may Devadatta be prosperous'
artho devadattasya bhūyāt 'id.'
hitam devadattāya bhūyāt 'may things be beneficial for Devadatta'
hitam devadattasya bhūyāt 'id.'

1. This rule introduces catuṛthī as an option to saṣṭhī after a nominal stem used in conjunction with āyusya 'longevity', etc., when āśīḥ 'benediction' is to be denoted. The ca in this rule is used to carry anyatārasyāṁ 'optionally'. Since catuṛthī is being introduced optionally, in the event that this option is not taken, saṣṭhī will be the choice.

2.4.1 द्विगुरे क्वचनम्

dvīgur ekavacanam
/ dvīgur 1/1 ekavacanam 1/1/
dvīgur samāsaḥ ekavacanam bhavati
A dvīgur compound has the denotatum of one.

Examples:

paṇcapūli 'a bundle of five bunches'
daṇapūli 'a bundle of ten bunches'

1. A question is raised (MBH II: 846) concerning the need for this rule. It is argued that since dvīgur is here intended as one formed with the sense of samāhāra 'grouping', and since a grouping of more than one thing is by nature singular (ekavacana), this rule is not necessary.

It is proposed that this rule should be formulated so that a samāhāra can denote singular. This is necessary, because number is denoted with reference to each and every substance (draiva), and also because a dvīgur entails syntactic coordination with sāṃkhyā 'number'. If number is to be introduced with reference to each and every substance, then a compound, such as paṇcapūli of paṇcapūliyaṁ sōbhanaṁ 'this beautiful bundle of five bunches', should have plural ending. A singular could
be gotten only with some special effort (yatna). Our present rule does just that.

However, there is yet another problem. The singular in iyam ‘this’, an iterant (anuprayoga), or subsequent referent for pañcapūli, could not qualify for singular; the affix which has been introduced to denote singular in pañcapūli is conditioned by the fact that pañcapūli is a dvigu compound. The singular in iyam becomes questionable, since it is not even a compound.

Commentators propose that the word ekavacanam in this rule should be interpreted, not in its technical (pāribhāṣika), but in its non-technical sense. Rule 2.4.1 would give the following meaning if ekavacanam is interpreted in its technical sense:

’an affix termed ekavacant occurs after a nominal stem when the sense of one is denoted’

The non-technical sense of ekavacanam would give this meaning:

‘a dvigu is treated as denoting the sense of one’

This interpretation first analyzes the compound ekavacanam as a genitive tatpurusa: ekasya vacanam ‘denotation of one’. Secondly, it relies on the etymological (anvartha) interpretation of the word. Thirdly, as is obvious from the translation of this rule, the meaning is ātideśika ‘extensional’ in nature. This being the case, the singular comes by way of extension, and not by way of each and every substance. The problem of the syntactic coordination of dvigu with saṃkhya is also removed. That is, if pañcapūli, a samāhāra-dvigu, is treated as having the denotation of one, then its anuprayoga ‘iterant’ (such as iyam) also gets the singular. Incidentally, the ṣaṣṭhi in ekasya vacanam denotes vācyavācakabhāva ‘signified-signifier relationship’.

The dvigu in this rule must be interpreted as samāhāra-dvigu. The taddhitārtha-dvigu, also covered by rule 2.1.51 taddhitārthottarapadāsamāhāre ca, must be excluded from the reference of dvigu here. If it is not, examples such as pañcasu kapaleṣu sanskritā / / sanskritau / / sanskritā = pañcakapālaḥ / pañcakapāla / pañcakapālaḥ will result. Nyāsa (ad Kāśikā II: 238) observes that the ca of the following rule, when brought close to the dvigu of this rule, will give the sense of avadāhārana ‘exact delimitation’. That is, a dvigu denotes the sense of one only in samāhāra. Consequently, a dvigu is here treated as meaning samāhāradvigu.

The word samāhāra itself has been interpreted in two ways (for an explanation of which see my notes under rule 2.1.51 taddhitārthottarapada...). If the object of interpretation of samāhāra is favored, then khaṭvā ‘cot’ in pañcakhaṭvāḥ cannot be referenced with prathamaḥ ‘nominative’, nor can it be referred to with a fixed nominal ending (ekaviḥakti). Consequently, khaṭvā cannot be termed an upasarjana which, in turn, will not facilitate
the shortening of its final ā to yield khatvaḥ. An object interpretation would require the introduction of nominal endings in accordance with the term 'object' (karman). Thus, pañcapūli, in an object interpretation of samāhāra, would denote the five bunches to be grouped. The endings will accordingly be introduced in syntactic coordination with the object. The action interpretation of samāhāra would denote the meaning of a group (samūha) in which the individual entities thus grouped would have lost their individual identities. (cf. PM ad Kāś II: 239: tiṁhitāvayavabhedaḥ saṁharuṇaḥ samāhāraḥ...).

Commentators (BM ad SK II: 70-71) state that a karman interpretation of affix GHaN in samāhāra is preferred to justify the formulation of rule 2.4.1 dvigur ekavacanam. Thus, a karman interpretation would give prominence to the items grouped in a samāhāradvigu compound. The compound then requires a dual or plural ending in accord with the number of items involved. Rule 2.4.1. dvigur... will intervene at this time to extend the singular denotatum instead. A compound such a pañcapūli will be extended the denotatum of singular in the wake of the possibility of plural.

An action interpretation of samāhāra would render rule 2.4.1 dvigur... unnecessary. For, in that case, a compound such as pañcapūli, would automatically get singular based on the fact that action is obligatorily singular.

2.4.2

dvandvaś ca prāṇitūryasenāṅgānām
/ dvandvaḥ 1/1 ca 0 prāṇitūryasenāṅgānām 6/3 = prāṇī ca tūryaś ca
  senā ca = prāṇitūryasenāḥ (dv.), teśām aṅgāni = prāṇitūryasenāṅgāni (bv.
  with int. dv.); teśām /
  (ekavacanam # 1)
  prāṇyaṅgānām dvandva ekavad bhavati, tathā tūryāṅgānām
  senāṅgānām ca

A dvandva compound with constituents which denote body parts of
a living being; players of a musical instrument; or a division of the
army, has the denotatum of one.

Examples:

paṇipādam ‘hands and feet’
śirogrivaṃ ‘head and neck’
mārdangikapāṇavikam ‘the Mṛdaṅga and Paṇava drummers’
viṇāvādakaparivādakam ‘the Viṇā and Parivādinī players’
rathikaśvāroham ‘the charioteers and the cavalry’
rathikapāḍātām ‘the charioteers and the infantry’
1. The word aṅga in this rule is read at the end of the dvandva compound prāṇitūrasyenā. Consequently, aṅga will be read with each of the constituents of this compound (cf. dvandvānte śṛṣṭamāñam pratyekam abhisambadhyyate: ‘An item cited at the end of a dvandva compound is to be read with each one of its constituents.’). The word aṅga is read in the plural, thus giving the interpretation of individual constituents as prāṇyaṅgānāṁ dvandvāḥ, etc. A singular reading will yield the constituents as prāṇyaṅgasya dvandvāḥ, etc. This will occasion the use of singular, as opposed to the plural. A split reading of this rule, with individual constituents read with aṅga in plural, will yield three sentences:

(a) prāṇyaṅgānāṁ dvandvāḥ (ekavad bhavati) ‘a dvandva with constituents which denote ‘the body parts of living beings’ is treated as denoting the sense of one’

(b) tāryaṅgānāṁ dvandvāḥ... ‘a dvandva compound with constituents which denote ‘the players of musical instruments’...’

(c) senaṅgānāṁ dvandvāḥ... ‘a dvandva compound with constituents which denote ‘divisions of the army’...’

Note that a dvandva compound is permitted in the two senses of samāhāra and itaretarayoga (see my notes under 2.2.29 cārthe dvandvāḥ). An itaretarayoga of prāṇyaṅga, etc., is ruled out because the negation of dadhipayas, etc., stated in 2.4.14, would then become vacuous (vyarthā). For, a negation made in the absence of a positive provision is useless.

2.4.3 Anuvāde caranānām

anuvāde caraṇānām
/ anuvāde 7/1 caraṇānām 6/3/
(ekavacanam #1, dvandvāḥ #2)
caraṇānāṁ dvandvā ekavad bhavati anuvāde gamyamāne
A dvandvā compound with constituents which denote different branches of the Vedas has the denotatum of one provided anuvāda ‘recitation’ alone is denoted.

Examples:

udagāt kāṭhakālāpam ‘the Kāṭha and the Kālāpa prospered with their recitation’
pratyāṣṭhāt kāṭhakauthumanam ‘the Kāṭha and Kauthuma attained fame with their recitation’

1. The word caraṇa is explained as denoting various branches (śākhā) of the Vedas. It may also indirectly refer to people subscribing to those branches (PM ad Kaś 11: 242: caraṇaśabdah kāṭhakālāpādiṣu śākhābhedesu mukhyah, tad adhyāyiyiṣu puruṣesu gauṇah). This rule allows for ekavudhāvya
'treating something as denoting the sense of one', in the context of anuvāda 'recitation or interpretation based on information from elsewhere'. For example, udgāt kāṭhakālāpām, the first of the above examples, means that the Kaṭha and the Kalāpa prospered. The fact that this information is based on some indirect source is important for ekavadbhāva of this rule. A counter-example, udghuh kāṭhakālāpāh ‘id.’, is thus offered to show that the information is not based on an indirect source, but on the observance of first recitation.

2.4.4 अध्ययुक्तमुन्युपसकम्

adhvaryukratu r anapumṣakam
/ adhvaryukratuh 1/1 = adhvaryoh (sambandhi) kratuḥ (ṣaṣ. tat.);
anapumṣakam 1/1 (naṇ. tat.) /
(ekavacanan #1, dvandvah #2)
adhvaryukratuvācināṁ śabdānāṁ anapumṣakalingānām dvandva ekavad bhavati

A dvandva compound with non-neuter constituents which denote the ritual sacrifices of Yajurveda has the denotatum of one.

Examples:

arkāśvamedham ‘the ritual sacrifices of Arka and Aśvamedha’
sāyāhnātirātram ‘the ritual sacrifices of Śayāhna and Ātirātra’

1. The word adhvaryu primarily means a rtvij ‘priest at a sacrifice’. It is here interpreted as meaning the Yajurveda, a secondary meaning, because its primary meaning will only fit in a context when the adhvaryu becomes a qualifier (viśeṣaṇa) to kratu ‘ritual sacrifice’. This is not possible here. The word adhvaryukratuh thus specifies the constituency of the compound via its constituent meanings. The translation is therefore: ‘a dvandva compound...which denotes the ritual sacrifices of Yajurveda...’. Incidentally, kratu has been used in the technical sense of a Soma sacrifice of the Yajurveda. It thus cannot refer to the sacrifices of Yajurveda in general. Kāśikā offers darśapaurnāmāsau ‘the Darśa and Paurnāmāsa sacrifices of the Yajurveda’ as a counter-example.

2.4.5 अध्ययनतोविप्रकृष्टात्मानायाम्

adhyaṇyanato viprakṛṣṭākhyānāṁ
/ adhyayanaṇaṇaḥ 8/8 viprakṛṣṭākhyānāṁ 6/3 = aviprakṛṣṭā ākhyā yesām (naṇ. tat.), teṣām/
(ekavacananam #1, dvandvah #2)
adhyayanena nimittaṃ yeṣāṃ avipraṅkṣṭā pratyāsannaḥ ākhyā teṣāṃ
dvandva ekavad bhavati

A dvandva compound with constituents which denote close proximity for the reason of study has the denotatum of one.

Example:

padakramakam ‘the person who has studied both the pada and the krama arrangements of Vedic recitation’
kramakavārttiṃkam ‘the person who has studied both the krama arrangement and the vārttiṃka’

1. This rule allows ekavadbhāva for dvandva compounds with constituents which denote proximity to each other. The proximity, however, is to be established by their relative importance or the order in which they are to be studied. Thus, the first example, padakramakam, establishes close proximity between the pada and the krama arrangements of recitation. A padapātha recitation may also be easier than its corresponding kramapātha recitation. Such a proximity is not available between the grammarian and the ritualist of, for example, yājñikavaiyākaraṇau, where ekavadbhāva is not permitted.

2.4.6 जातिप्रतिनिधिणाय

jāṭiḥ aprāṇinām
/ jāṭiḥ 1/1 aprāṇinām 6/3/ (ekavacanam #1, dvandvāḥ #2)

jāṭivācinām sabdānām dvandva ekavad bhavati prāṇino varjayaṭvā
A dvandva compound with constituents which denote class names (jāṭi) other than those of living beings has the denotatum of one.

Examples:

ārāśastrī ‘an awl and a black knife’
dhānāśaṅkuliḥ ‘parched rice and deep fried bread’

1. This rule extends ekavadbhāva to a dvandva compound which may have the constituency of words which denote jāti. An exception in the form of aprāṇinām is also furnished with the intended interpretation of the negative as paryudāsa (see my note under rule 2.3.1 for details). This negation blocks the ekavadbhāva to a dvandva compound such as

(a) rūparasagandhasparśāḥ ‘form, taste, smell, and touch’

where it is the jāti of quality (guna), and not that of a dravya ‘thing’, that is denoted. This negation will also block ekavadbhāva in compounds such as

(b) gamanākuṇcanaaprasāraṇāni ‘moving, contracting, and expanding’

where what is denoted is a class of actions. Note that
(c) brāhmaṇaṇkṣatriyabhiṣūdvṛh
would be denied ekavadbhāva, for the obvious reason that it denotes classes of living beings. An example such as
(d) nandanañpāṇcajanau ‘Krṣṇa’s sword and conch’
would be disqualified for ekavadbhāva because it denotes the names of things, not of classes of things.

2.4.7 विशिष्टलिङ्गे नदी देशोऽप्रामा:

viśiṣṭalinya nadi deśo 'grāmāṁ
/ viśiṣṭalinya 1/1 = viśiṣṭo bhinnō liṅgo yasya (bv.); nadi 1/1 deśaḥ 1/1 agrāmāṁ 1/3/
(ekavacanam #1, dvandvaḥ #2)
viśiṣṭalinyaṁ = bhinnalinyaṁ nadīvaśicinām sabdānam deśavāśicinām
cā grāmavarjītānāṁ dvandva ekavadbhava

A dvandva compound with constituents of different genders which denote names of rivers and places, but not of villages, has the denotatum of one.

Examples:

gaṅgāśonāṁ ‘the rivers Gaṅgā and Ṣoṇa’
kurukurukṣetram ‘the country of the Kuruś, and Kurukṣetra’

1. The word viśiṣṭa is used here in the sense of bheda ‘difference’. Consequently, the word bhinnalinyaṁ means ‘of those with different genders’. Note that, because of the negation of agrāmāṁ, the words nadi and deśa are not treated as denoting their forms.

The words nadi and deśa are not specified by means of a compound. This is done to block the ekavadbhāva in those dvandva compounds which may have mixed (vratikīrṇa) constituents; that is, compounds which may have one constituent denoting nadi and another which denotes deśa, (as opposed to all constituents which denote either nadi or deśa). If one wished to put nadi and deśa in the form of a compound, what kind of a compound would that be? Would it be a samāhāra, or an itaretarayoga? If a samāhāra, then it should be neuter, by rule 2.4.17 sa napuṁsakam; if an itaretarayoga, then there will be an occasion for dual (dvivacana). The specification is therefore made without putting them in a compound. This means that a dvandva compound allowed for ekavadbhāva must have its constituents denoting either nadi or deśa, but not both.

2.4.8 श्रुतजननव:
kṣudrajantavaḥ
/ kṣudrajantavaḥ 1/2 /
(ekavacanam #1, dvandvaḥ #2)
ksudrajantuvācināṁ dvandva ekavad bhavati
A dvandva compound with constituents which denote small creatures has the denotatum of one.

EXAMPLES:

damśamaśakam ‘a bedbug and a mosquito’
yūkālikṣam ‘a louse and a nit’

1. Note that the word ksudra is used in varying senses. It can, for example, refer to a miserly person (krpana); to a person who may be of low birth (jāti; śudra) or of low character (śilahīna); or to a person who may have a deformed limb (āngahīna; cf. Nyāsa ad Kāś II: 250; also refer to 4.1.131 ksudrābhyo vā). The word is also used to denote small size or amount (apacitaparimāṇā). In the context of jantu, it is interpreted as follows:

    ksudrajantur anasthi syād atha vā ksudra eva yah /
    sataṁ vā prasrtau yesāṁ kecid ā nakulaṁ api /
    ‘a ksudrajantu is either without bones, or simply little; it is also those creatures of whom a hundred can fill one hand; some even characterize it as creatures up to the size of the mongoose’

Obviously, ksudra read in association with jantu refers, in general, to creatures of insignificant size.

2.4.9 येषां च विरोधः शास्त्रिकः:

yesāṁ ca virodhaḥ śāsvatikāḥ
/ yesāṁ 6/3 ca 0 virodhaḥ 1/1 śāsvatikāḥ 1/1/
(ekavacanam #1, dvandvah #2)

yesāṁ śāsvatikāḥ virodhas tadvācināṁ sabdānāṁ dvandva ekavad bhavati
A dvandva compound with constituents which denote natural antipathy has the denotatum of one.

EXAMPLES:

ahinakulam ‘snake and mongoose’
mārjāramūṣakam ‘cat and mouse’

1. The force of the particle ca in the formulation of this rule is to demarcate exact meaning (avadhāraṇa). That is, ekavadbhāva becomes applicable only to those compounds whose constituents denote animals with a permanent antipathy towards each other. By inference, then, this rule provides for obligatory ekavadbhāva when the particular meaning condition (of antipathy) is met.

2.4.10 शुद्रानाम अनिरवसितानाम

śudrānāṁ aniravasitānāṁ
2.4.11 Adhyāya Two: Pāda Four

\[ \text{sūdrānām} \ 6/3 \ anirvāsatānām \ 6/3 = \text{na nirvāsatāḥ} = \text{anirvāsatāḥ (naṅ. tat.)}, \text{teśām} / \]
\[ \text{(ekavacanām #1, dvandvāḥ #2)} \]
A dvandva compound with constituents which denote non-outcast (anirvāsita) sūdra has the denotatum of one.

**Examples:**

- takṣāyaskāram ‘a carpenter and a blacksmith’
- rajakatantuvāyam ‘a washerman and a weaver’

1. The word nirvāsita has been explained as:

\[ \text{yair bhukte pātram samskārenāpi na śudhyati} \ ‘\text{those whose eating from a pot makes its purification impossible even by means of rituals}’ \]

Note that ritual purity here refers to cleaning a pot with ash, or heating it in fire. This rule, as translated, entails constituents which denote those sūdra who are non-outcast, in that they are not of the nirvāsita category.

2.4.11 गावस्वप्रबह्ष्टिनि च

- gavāsvaprabhṛtini ca
- gavāsvaprabhṛtini 1/3 = gavāsvam prabhṛti yesāṁ tāni (bv.); ca 0 /
- (ekavacanam #1, dvandvāḥ #2)
- gavāsvaprabhṛtini kṛtaikavadbhāvāni dvandvarūpāṇi sādhūni bhavanti

A dvandva compound enumerated in the list headed by gavāsvam ‘cows and horses’ also has the denotatum of one.

**Examples:**

- gavāsvam ‘cows and horses’
- gavāsvikam ‘cows and sheep’

1. This rule is by nature ‘ad hoc’ (nipātana). It thus does not extend the denotatum of one to the compounds, but simply states them as given by enumeration. Many of the items contained in the list headed by gavāsvam form an exception to rule 2.4.12 vibhāṣā..., which makes the provision of ekavadbhāva optional.

2.4.12 विभाṣा वृक्षमुग्ततुण्डादनासूकुण्डनधिष्ठानपुर्वातःशकुणायांशकुण्डस्तवपुर्वातःपारादरोत्तरानाम्

- vibhāṣā vrksamṛgatṛṇadhānyavayājanaapashakunyāsvaḍavadvapūrvā- parādharottarānām
- vibhāṣā 1/1 vrksa...ottarānām 6/3 (ītār. dv.) /
- (ekavacanam #1, dvandvāḥ #2)
- ‘vrksa, mṛga, trṣa, dhānā, vyānjana, paśu, śakuni, aśvavādava, pūrvāpara, adharottara’ ity eteśāṃ dvandvo vibhāṣaikavady bhavati
A *dvandva* compound optionally has the denotatum of one when its constituents denote *vrkṣa* ‘tree’; *mrga* ‘deer’; *ṭṛṇa* ‘straw’; *dhānya* ‘grain’; *vyaṅjana* ‘condiments’; *paśu* ‘domestic animal’; *śakuni* ‘bird’; *aśvavedaṇa* ‘horses and mares’; *pūrvāpara* ‘first and last; preceding and following’; and *adharottara* ‘lower and upper’.

**Examples:**

*plakṣanyagrodham* ‘Plakṣa and Nyagrodha trees’
*plakṣanyagrodau* ‘id.’
*rurupṛṣatam* ‘Ruru and spotted deer’
*rurupṛṣatāḥ* ‘id.’
*kusakāsam* ‘reeds and weeds’
*kusakāsāḥ* ‘id.’
*vrihiyavam* ‘rice and barley’
*vrihiyavāḥ* ‘id.’
*dadhihrītam* ‘yogurt and ghee’
*dadhihrītāḥ* ‘id.’
*gomahīṣam* ‘cows and water-buffaloes’
*gomahīṣāḥ* ‘id.’
*tītirakapiṇjalam* ‘partridges and heathcocks’
*tītirakapiṇjalāḥ* ‘id.’
*aśvavedavam* ‘horses and mares’
*aśvavedavau* ‘id.’
*pūrvāpara* ‘first and last’
*pūrvāpāre* ‘id.’
*adharottaram* ‘lower and upper’
*adharottare* ‘id.’

1. The words *vrkṣa*, etc., all qualify the word *dvandva* individually, thereby yielding the meaning:

‘a *dvandva* compound with constituents which denote *vrkṣa* ‘tree’ etc.’

Commentators inform us that *vrkṣa*, etc., do not refer to their general categories, but to a specific tree, and so on. Thus, what is intended here is a *dvandva* compound with its constituents denoting something specific. Note that the required constituency would also rule out the synonyms of the specific words enumerated; for a *dvandva* compound entails *cārtha* ‘the sense of ‘and’ (ca)’ which, in turn, entails *bhinnārthaṭā* 'meaning distinction’. Such a meaning distinction is not possible in the case of *paryāya* ‘synonyms’.

A further question is also raised in connection with this. Why could the constituency not be defined in terms of the general and the particular, as is the case with the example
(a) govalīvardam 'cows and bullocks'
where go is a general term and valīarda ‘bullock’ is a corresponding particular? It is said that such usages are not available (anabhidhānāt). That is, one does not get examples such as
(b) vrksadhavam 'trees and Dhava trees'
How, then, is example (a) to be explained? It is true that go refers to the general category of 'cattle'. When used in association with 'bullock' (valīorda), however, go must mean gavi 'cow'. The compound govalīvardam can thus be explained without difficulty.

A compound with constituents which denote vrksamṛgatnadhanāya qualifies for ekavadbhāva obligatorily by rule 2.4.6 jātir aprāṇinām. The present rule makes that provision optional. In the case of the other compounds listed by this rule, no other rule provides for ekavadbhāva. The provision is further made optional. In this way, the option becomes prāptāprāpta 'made available which it was not'.

Why is the word mrga 'deer' used in this rule, when it could easily have been covered by pasu 'animal'? The word mrga is used to indicate that the dvandva compound, to which is extended ekavadbhāva under the provisions of this rule, must have its constituents belonging to the same class (tubājātīyā). Thus, ekavadbhāva would be blocked in the case of compounds where the constituency involves animals of different classes. A separate reference to aśvavaḍava is made to block ekavadbhāva, where synonyms may have been used. A compound such as aśvavaḍave would not, therefore, qualify. It is also stated (PM ad Kāś. II: 256) that aśvavaḍava is cited for application by specific citation (pratipadavidhāna). Consequently, in view of ekavadbhāva of this rule, aśvavaḍavavu, a masculine dual, will be blocked in favor of aśvavaḍavam, a singular neuter.

2.4.13 विप्रतिष्ठितम् चानधिकरणवाचि

vipratiṣiddham cānadhikaranavācī
/ vipratiṣiddham 1/1 ca 0 anadhikaranavācī 1/1 = adhikaranam vakti =
adhikaranavācī, na adhikaranavācī = anadhikaranavācī (nañ. tat.) /
(ekavacanam #1, dvandvaḥ #2, vibhāṣā #12)
vipratiṣiddhārthānām śabdānām anadhikaranavācinaṁ adhvayavācinaṁ
dvandva ekavad bhavati
A dvandva compound with constituents which denote opposite meanings, excluding adhikaraṇa 'thing, material object', optionally has the denotatum of one.

Examples:
śiṭosṇam 'cold and hot'
śiṭosṇe 'id.'
sukhaduhkham 'happiness and grief'
sukhaduhkhe 'id.'
jivitamaraṇam 'life and death'
jivitamarane 'id.'

1. The word vipratisiddha is explained as parasparaviruddha 'one opposed to the other', further qualified by anadhikaranavaci 'not having the denotatum of adhikaraṇa'. Commentators state that adhikaraṇa here does not denote its technical meaning of 'locus' (ādharā). Instead, it denotes 'a thing' (dravya). Our rule thus refers to a compound where the constituents do not denote a thing or a material object. The ca of this rule is used to bring vibhāṣā from the previous rule. Consequently, we get alternate forms, such as the last pair of examples, above: jīvitamaraṇam and jīvitamarane, where both mean ‘life and death’ but the second is a dual.

2.4.14 न दधिपयादिनि

na dadhipayaādini
/ na 0 dadhipayaādini 1/3 /
(ekacanam #1, dvandvah #2)
dadhipayaādini sabdarūpāṇi naikavad bhavanti

A dvandva compound enumerated in the list headed by dadhipayasi ‘yogurt and milk’ does not have the denotatum of one.

Examples:

dadhipayasi ‘yogurt and milk’
sarpirmadhuni ‘ghee and honey’
madhusarpisi ‘honey and ghee’

1. This rule starts the negation of ekavadbhava, as related to the provisions made thus far. Consider, for example, dadhipayasi, a compound which is denied the extension of ekavadbhava made available by rule 2.4.12 vibhāṣā.... The option of ekavadbhava was available on account of the constituents denoting vyāñjana ‘condiments’. Kāśkā cites the two additional examples (above), where ekavadbhava is blocked on account of the denotation of vyāñjana.

2.4.15 अधिकरणातावते च

adhikaraṇaitāvattve ca
/ adhikaraṇātāvattve 7/1 = etāvato bhāvah = etāvattvam, adhikaraṇasya etāvattvam (saṣ. tat.), tasmin /
(ekavacanam #1, dvandvah #2, na #14)
adhikaraṇasyaitāvattve parimāne gamyamāne dvandvo naikavad bhavati

A dvandva compound with constituents which denote a measure, or quantity of a thing, does not have the denotatum of one.
2.4.16  Adhyāya Two: Pāda Four

Examples:

daśa dantoṣṭhāḥ ‘ten sets of teeth and lips’
daśa mārdāṅgikapāṇāvikāḥ ‘groups of ten Mṛdaṅga and Paṇava drummers’

1. This rule disallows ekavadbhāva to a compound which denotes the extent (etāvattva) of things. As a consequence, ekavadbhāva is not available to examples, such as daśa dantoṣṭhāḥ, where daśa denotes the extent.

2.4.16 विधासामीपे

vibhāṣā samīpe
/ vibhāṣā 1/1 samīpe 7/1 /
(ekavacanam #1, dvandvāḥ #2, adhikaraṇaitāvattve #15)
adhikaraṇaitāvattvasya samīpe vibhāṣā dvandva ekavad bhavati

A dvandva compound with constituents which denote an approximate measure, or extent of a thing, optionally has the denotatum of one.

Examples:

upadosām dantoṣtham ‘approximately ten (nine or eleven) sets of teeth and lips’
upadosā dantoṣṭhāḥ ‘id.’
upadosām mārdāṅgikapāṇāvikām ‘groups of approximately ten (nine or eleven) Mṛdaṅga and Paṇava drummers’
upadosā mārdāṅgikapāṇāvikāḥ ‘id.’

1. This rule extends ekavadbhāva optionally to a compound which denotes an approximate measure. While the preceding rule denied ekavadbhāva, with reference to the denotation of extent in general, this rule gives us optional forms such as those listed in pairs above. An extent in the proximity of ten could be either nine (nava) or eleven (ekādaśa). Note that an indeclinable may form either an avyayibhāva (2.1.6 avyayam vibhakti...), or a bahuvrīhi compound (2.2.25 samkhyaśvavayyāsannā...) with another constituent denoting samkhya ‘number’. A compound with ekavadbhāva was interpreted as an avyayibhāva, since a corresponding bahuvrīhi would denote the sense of ‘many’.

2.4.17 स नपुषकम्

sa napumṣakam
/ sah 1/1 napumṣakam 1/1 /
yasyāyaṃ ekavadbhāvo vihitah sa napumṣakalingo bhavati dvigur
dvandvaś ca

A dvigu or a dvandva compound which has the denotatum of one is neuter.
Examples:

pañcagavam 'a group of five cows'
daśagavam 'a group of ten cows'
pāṇīpādam 'hands and feet'
sīrogrīvam 'head and neck'

1. A compound which has thus received ekavadbhāva is neuter (napumśa). What is the referent of saḥ 'that'? It is that which has received ekavadbhāva. What has received ekavadbhāva? A compound termed dvigū or dvandva.

Note that this rule is introduced as an exception to the stipulation of paravallīngata 'assignment of gender to a compound in consonance with its following constituent' (cf. 2.4.26 paraval liṅgaṁ dvandvatatpuruṣayoh). Furthermore, in the context of a dvandva with ekavadbhāva, neuter becomes obligatory (niśya). In the case of a dvigū, it is not obligatory. This is shown by, for example, the NiP of

(a) pañcakhaṭvī 'a group of five cots'
which is parallel to pañcakhaṭvam.

Consider, also, the vārttika relative to gender under the present rule.

For instance:

akārāntottarāpadō dvigūḥ striyāṁ bhāṣyate 'a dvigū with its subsequent member ending in a is stated in feminine'

Accordingly, we get examples such as

(b) pañcapūli 'a bundle of five bunches'

2.4.18 अवयवीपावश

avayabhāvaḥ ca

/ avayabhāvaḥ 1/1 ca 0 /
(napumśakam #17)

avayabhāvaḥ ca samāso napumśakaliṅga bhavati
An avayabhāva compound is also neuter in gender.

Examples:

adhistri 'pertaining to women'
unmattagaṅgam 'a place where the Gaṅgā flows tempestuously'

1. This rule becomes necessary in view of rule 2.4.26 paraval liṅgaṁ dvandvatatpuruṣayoh, whereby a dvandva and a tatpuruṣa is assigned gender in accordance with that of its following constituent. The meaning of the initial constituent is prominent in an avayabhāva, for which no rule is formulated. The gender of a bahuviḥi, because its denotatum falls outside its constituency, is assigned in accordance with something else. This
rule, therefore, is required to assign gender to the avyayibhāva compounds. The ca is generally used to bring something which has not been stated (anuktasamuccaya) into a rule: in this instance, the purpose of ca is to include the assignment of gender to an avyayibhāva.

This rule must be stated so that an avyayibhāva compound, such as adhistri, may not be assigned feminine. This possible assignment of feminine, in accordance with its subsequent constituent, will also be in consonance with the denotatum of the compound. The compound may end up with assignment of no gender whatsoever if one relies on the prominence of the indeclinable adhi. Similarly, in the absence of this rule, masculine gender may become available to the second example, unmattagaṅgam, on the basis of the fact that it denotes a place.

Note that the assignment of neuter by this rule to an avyayibhāva facilitates the short replacement of its long final vowel by rule 1.2.47 hrasvo napumsake prātipadikasya. Thus, we get a shortening of i and ā in adhistri and unmattagaṅgam.

2.4.19 तत्पुरुषोऽज्ञातकर्मधारयः:

tatpuruṣo' naṅkarmadhārayah
/ tatpuruṣaḥ 1/1 anaṅkarmadhārayaḥ 1/1 = naṅ ca karmadhārayaś ca = naṅkarmadhārayaḥ (sam. dv.), na naṅkarmadhārayaḥ = anaṅkarmadhārayaḥ (naṅ. tat.) /
(napumsakam #17)

naṅsaṃāsaṃ karmadhārayaṃ ca varjayitvā anyas tatpuruṣo napumśa-kaliṅgo bhavatīty etad adhiṛtam veditavyam, yad ita ārdhvaṃ anukramiṣyāmas tatra

A tatpuruṣa compound which is neither a naṅ nor a karmadhāraya is neuter in gender.

Examples:

brāhmaṇasenam 'the army of brāhmaṇa soldiers'
brāhmaṇasena 'id.'

1. The word anaṅkarmadhārayaḥ is interpreted as 'that tatpuruṣa in which there is no naṅ is karmadhāraya' (anaṅkarmadhārayau na vidyete yasmiṃs tatpuruse). Obviously, the compound is a bahuvrihi with an internal dvandva constituted by anaṅkarmadhārayau.

Questions have been raised concerning the type of the dvandva compound underlying anaṅkarmadhārayaḥ. If it is samāhara, then the compound should be assigned the neuter gender (napumsaka); if it is itaretara, then the number should be dual (dvivacana). Commentators say that both types, on the strength of the usage found in the sūtra (sautratvāt), will be
correct. After all, the sūtra are like the Vedas, where contraposition of number and gender is not hard to find:

Nyāsa ad Kaśikā (II: 264): ‘...nirdeśasya sautratvād ubhayathāpy adoṣaḥ; tathā hi chandovat sūtraṇī bhavantīti...’.

2. This rule is given as an adhikāra, and hence is carried through rules 2.4.25 vibhāṣā.... Consider the two examples, above, which are versions of a tatpuruṣa compound which is neither naN nor karmadhāraya. The present rule assigns neuter, later to be made optional by rule 2.4.25 vibhāṣā....

Note that a general qualifier, such as tatpuruṣaḥ, is required so that neuter cannot be assigned to a bahuvrīhi compound like the following:

(a) dṛḍhasenaḥ 'the king whose army is strong'

A similar qualification of tatpuruṣaḥ by anaN and karmadhārayaḥ is also needed to block neuter to, for example,

(b) asenā 'a no good army'

which is a naN, and

(c) paramasenā 'an excellent army'

which is a karmadhāraya.

2.4.20 संज्ञायं कथोशीनरेशु

samjñāyāṁ kanthośinareśu
/ samjñāyāṁ 7/1 kanthā 1/1 uśīnareśu 7/3 /
(naṇpumṣakam #17, tatpuruṣo' naṇkarmadhārayaḥ #19)

samjñāyāṁ viṣaye kanthāntas tatpuruṣo naṇpumṣakaliṅgo bhavati, sā cet kanthā uśīnareśu bhavati

A tatpuruṣa compound which is neither a naN nor a karmadhāraya, and which ends in kanthā 'a locality', is neuter in gender provided the compound denotes the name of a place in the region called Uśīnara.

EXAMPLE:

sauṣamikantham 'the city of the descendants of Suśama'
āhvarakantham 'the city of the descendants of Ahvara'

1. The word kanthā is used here as a qualifier (viṣeṣaṇa) to tatpuruṣa. Accordingly, and also in view of tadantavidhi 'the process of interpreting a word as denoting something which ends in it', kanthā will be interpreted as a tatpuruṣa compound which has kanthā as its final constituent.

2.4.21 उपजोपक्रमं तदाध्याचिच्छासायामः

upajñopakramam tadādhyācikhyāsāyāṁ
/ upajñopakramam 1/1 = upajñāyate 'sau upajñā, upakramyate 'sau
upakramaḥ, upajñā ca upakramaś ca = upajñopakramam (sam. dv.);
tadādyācikhyāsāyām 7/1 = ākhyātum icchā = ācikhyāsā, tayoh(upajñopakramayoḥ) ādīh = tadādīh (saṣ. tat.), tadādeḥ ācikhyāsā = tadādyācikhyāsā (saṣ. tat.), tasyām /
(napumṣakam #17, tatpuruṣo’ naṅkarmadhārayaḥ #19)
upajñā ca upakramaś ca upajñopakramam, tadantās tatpuruṣo napumṣakalīṅgo bhavati tadādyācikhyāsāyām

A tatpuruṣa compound which is neither a naṉ nor a karmadhāraya, and which ends in upajñā ‘ingenuity’ or upakrama ‘initiative’, is neuter in gender when the compound denotes the first person who used his ingenuity or who initiated something.

Examples:

pañiny upajñām akālakāṃ vyāhdṛaṇām ‘a grammar with no (definition of) kāla ‘time, tense’ is the creation of Pāṇini’s ingenuity’
nandopakramāṇi mānāni ‘the standard measure of weight was first started by Nanda’

1. The words upajñā and upakrama are interpreted as ‘ingenuity’ and ‘initiation’, respectively. A tatpuruṣa compound ending in upajñā or upakrama is assigned neuter gender when the beginning of either is desired as the denotatum. Thus, in the first example, the ingenuity of Pāṇini has innovated a grammar without a section on kāla ‘tense’. A similar innovation (of standard weights) is credited to Nanda in the second example.

2.4.22 छाया बाहुल्ये

chāyā bāhulye
/ chāyā 1/1 bāhulye 7/1 /
(napumṣakam #17, tatpuruṣo’ naṅkarmadhārayaḥ #19)
chāyāntas tatpuruṣo napumṣakalīṅgo bhavati bāhulye gamyamāne
A tatpuruṣa compound which is neither a naṉ nor a karmadhāraya, and which ends in chāyā ‘shadow’, is neuter in gender provided the compound denotes bāhulya ‘abundance’.

Examples:

śalabhacchāyam ‘a thick cloud of locusts’
iksucchāyam ‘an abundance of sugar cane’

1. Note that a tatpuruṣa compound which ends in chāyā is optionally assigned neuter by rule 2.4.25 vibhāṣā.... This rule makes that optional provision obligatory when, of course, bāhulya ‘abundance’ is also denoted. This bāhulya, however, is relative to the meaning of the first constituent, as in the examples, where the abundance of locusts and sugar cane is expressed.
2.4.23 सभा राजामनुष्यपूर्वः

sabhā rāja' manusya-pūrva
/ sabhā 1/1 rāja' manusya-pūrva 1/1 = na manusyaḥ = amanusyaḥ (nañ. tat.), rāja ca amanusyaḥ ca rājāmanusyaḥ (utar. dvy.), rāja' manusyaḥ pūrvaṃ yasyāḥ sā = rāja' manusya-pūrva sabhā (dv.) /
(napuṃsakam #17, tatpuruṣo' naṅkarmadhārayaḥ #19)
sabhāntas tatpuruṣo napuṃsakalingo bhavati sā cet sabhā rāja-pūrva, amanusya-pūrva ca bhavati

A tatpuruṣa compound which is neither a naṅ nor a karmadhāraya, and which ends in sabhā 'assembly hall', is neuter in gender provided sabhā is preceded either by a synonym of rāja 'king' or by a constituent which denotes amanusya 'non-human'.

Examples:

inasabhaṃ 'the king's council'
rakṣasabhaṃ 'the assembly of demons'

1. Note that the word rāja 'king', qualifying sabhā 'assembly hall', is interpreted as denoting only its synonyms (Kāś: paryāyavacanasyayāvesyate). Refer to my note 2(c) under rule 1.1.68 svam rūpaṃ sabdaṃ... for an account of the implications of a vārttika in connection with the application of this rule.

Note here that a word which denotes a particular king would also disqualify a compound from being assigned neuter. For example, one would not get:

* candraguptasabhaṃ 'the assembly hall of King Candragupta'

The restriction of amanusya would favor examples such as the second, above; but it would rule out something like:

* devadattasabhaṃ 'the assembly hall of Devadatta'

The word sabhā, as is already shown in the translation, is to be read here in the sense of śālā 'hall'.

2.4.24 अशाला च
asālā ca
/ aśālā 1/1 ca θ /
(napuṃsakam # 17, tatpuruṣo' naṅkarmadhārayaḥ #19, sabhā #23)
asālā ca yā sabhā tadantastatpuruṣo napuṃsakalingo bhavati

A tatpuruṣa compound which is neither a naṅ nor a karmadhāraya, and which ends in sabhā 'assembly hall', is neuter in gender provided sabhā does not denote śālā 'house'.
EXAMPLES:

strisabhām ‘gathering of women’
dāsisabhām ‘gathering of maids’

1. This rule requires that the word sabhā should be interpreted in a sense other than that of śālā ‘hall’. Kāśīkā clearly states that sabhā, for purposes of the present rule, is to be treated as denoting samghāta ‘assembly, gathering’. Thus, a tatpurūṣa compound such as

(a) anāthasabhā ‘hall of orphans, orphanage’

could not be assigned neuter, as opposed to feminine, since sabhā is not used in the sense of ‘gathering’. Nor could it qualify for neuter under the previous rule, on account of the negation of amanusyapūrvā.

2.4.25 विभाषा सेनासुराचायाशालानिश्चानाम्

vibhāsā senāsūrācchāyahāsālānīśānām
/ vibhāsā 1/1 senā...niśānām 6/3 = senā ca surā ca chāyā ca śālā ca niśā
cā = senāsūrācchāyahāsālānīśāh (itar. duv.), tāsām /
(napumṣakam #17, tatpurūṣo’ naṅkarmadhārayah #19)
‘senā, surā, chāyā, śālā, niśā’ ity evam antas tatpuruṣo napumṣakaliṅgo
bhavati vibhāsā

A tatpurūṣa compound which is neither a naṅ nor a karmadhāraya, and which ends in senā ‘army’; surā ‘liquor’; chāyā ‘shadow’; śālā ‘house, hall’; or niśā ‘night’, is optionally neuter in gender.

EXAMPLES:

brāhmaṇasenām ‘an army of brāhmaṇa’
brāhmaṇasenā ‘id.’
yavasurām ‘liquor made from barley’
yavasurā ‘id.’
kudāyacchāyam ‘shadow of the wall’
kudāyacchāyā ‘id.’
gosālam ‘cowhouse’
gosālā ‘id.’
svaniśam ‘night of the dogs’
svaniśā ‘id.’

1. Note that tatpuruṣah, in the nominative, and carried from 2.2.19, is here transformed into saṣṭhī ‘genitive’. Read with napumṣakam it yields the meaning:

senādyaṁ tatpuruṣānāṁ napumṣakatvam ‘neuterness of the tatpuruṣa compounds ending in the constituents senā, etc.’

Kāśīkā offers only a straightforward interpretation in the vṛttī.

The vibhāsa ‘optional provision’ of this rule is treated as aprāpta ‘that
which was not available", because neuter (napumśaka) was not available to
the compounds under discussion from any earlier rule.

2. The word chāyā is included here with the understanding that bāhubya
‘abundance’ will not be the intended meaning. If this were so, the obliga-
tory provision, made via the semantic restriction of 2.4.22 chāyā bāhubye,
would then become vacuous.

3. Nyāsa explains the compound (and ninth example, above) śvaniśam
as ‘the night in which the dogs howl around wildly’. Haradatta, perhaps
on the basis of the Śābarabhāṣya (to which Bhaṭṭoji also subscribes), says
that śvaniśam refers to the fourteenth night (caturḍaśī) of the dark fortnight
(kṛṣṇapakṣa) when, according to tradition, the dogs fast (PM ad Kāś II:
269: yasyāṃ niśāyāṃ śvāna upavasanti sā śvaniśam ity ucyate. sā punah kṛṣṇa-
caturḍaśī tasyāṃ hi śvāna upavasanti prasiddhiḥ).

2.4.26 परवल्लिङ्ग इत्यत्तपुरुषः:

paraval lingam dvandvatatpurasyoh
\| paravat \# lingam 1/1 dvandvatatpurasyoh 6/2 /
parasya yal lingam tadh bhavati dvandvasya tatpurusașya ca
A dvandva or a tatpuruṣa compound is similar to its final constituent
in gender.

Examples:

kukkuṭamayūryau ‘a rooster and a peahen’
mayūrikukkuṭau ‘a peahen and a rooster’
arddhapippali ‘half of a pepper’
arddhakośātaki ‘half of a kośātaki fruit’
arddhanakharanaṇjani ‘half of the nail polish’

1. Nyāsa (ad Kāś II: 269) gives a very straightforward explanation of
the aspects of this rule’s formulation. I summarize this in the following
paragraphs:

A dvandva compound is said to have the meaning of each of its con-
stituents as principal (pradhāna). This rule makes a restrictive provision
(niyama) of gender, in accordance with the following constituent of the
compound, where the constituency entails differing genders. The compo-
und cannot be assigned differing genders either simultaneously
(yugapad), or in turn (paryyāya). Also note that neuter (napumśaka) has
already been extended to instances of samāhāra-dvandva. The present
rule thus extends gender in accordance with the gender of the following
constituent, relative to the dvandva compound of itaretarayoga type.

A tatpuruṣa compound may have the meaning of either its initial or its
final constituent as principal. Thus, we get examples such as the third,
above, which is arddhapippali ‘half of a pepper’. Here, the meaning of the
first constituent is principal. However, in a word like:
(a) rājakumāri ‘the daughter of the king’
the principal meaning resides in the following constituent. Nyāsa observes that, in view of this, the assignment of gender in accordance with that of the following constituent, in compounds where the meaning of the following constituent is principal, becomes useless; such a compound will in any case have the required gender. This rule, therefore, provides for the extension of gender, in consonance with that of the following constituent, in instances where a tatpurusa compound may have the meaning of its initial constituent as principal.

The ekadesisamāsa (2.2.1 pūrvāparādhārottaram...) is basically the focus of this rule in the case of tatpurusa. The word dvandvatatpurusayoh is interpreted as genitive (saṣṭhi) dual, as opposed to locative (saptami). A locative interpretation would make the pada preceding an item specified by locative the focus of operation (cf. 1.1.66 tasminn iti nirdiṣṭe...). The pada specified by locative for the purposes of the application of this rule would be the following constituent of a dvandva or a tatpurusa compound. The focus of the extension of gender operation would therefore become the preceding constituent. Applied to an example such as the second above, (mayūrikukkuṭau), this would cause the deletion of the feminine suffix of mayūrī ‘peahen’. A tatpurusa compound, as in arddhapippali, would also then demand transfer of feminine to arddha, which is neuter.

Thus, dvandvatatpurusayoh is interpreted as genitive, with the result that the compound itself becomes the focus of the operation of gender extension. The extension of an operation, or the lack of it, relative to the preceding constituent, is avoided in this way. Since the extension of gender relates to the compound, an iterant (anuprayoga), such as idam, would also qualify for the same gender. Consider

(b) kukkuṭamayūryāv ime
(c) mayūrikukkuṭāv imāu
where ime and imāu, in feminine and masculine respectively, are iterants of their corresponding compounds.

Further questions have arisen concerning the true meaning of paraval liṅgam. It has been asked whether the reference of liṅga is made to the form (śabda) which denotes the gender one understands, or to the meaning. Commentators agree upon the latter answer, that it is the meaning which is made the focus of extension in paraval liṅgam. Reference to the form would entail the notion of an affix denoting the gender. This would cause the introduction of the affix denoting gender in accordance with the following constituent. That affix would then have to be introduced after (3.1.2 paraś ca); and this would create confusion.

2.4.27 पूर्ववद्वाद्वीपः
pūrvavad aśvavaḍavau
\( \text{pūrvavat} \emptyset \text{aśvavaḍavau} 1/2 \)  
apaśvavaḍavyoh pūrvaval lingam bhavati  
A dvandva compound of aśva ‘stallion’ and vaḍava ‘mare’ is similar to its first constituent in gender.

**Example:**

aśvavaḍavau ‘a stallion and a mare’

1. This rule extends gender to a compound, particularly aśvavaḍava, in accordance with the gender of its initial constituent. Note that aśva ‘stallion’ will dictate the gender of the compound. Consequently, we get the masculine dual in the example aśvavaḍavau above. Recall that the denotatum of singular was optionally extended to dvandva compounds with constituents which denote animals (paśudvandva) by rule 2.4.12 viśhāśa vrkṣamratnadhānaya. Obviously, the provisions of the present rule will be accepted where the former option is not. For, the paśudvandva to which the option of singular applies would be neuter by rule 2.4.17 sa napuṃsakam.

This rule thus forms an exception to the preceding one. It also forms the residue, via this extension of gender, of rules 2.4.12 viśhāśa vrkṣamratnadhānaya... and 2.4.17 sa napuṃsakam.

2.4.28 हेमन्तशिस्तिरावहोत्रेत्रे च छन्दसिः

hemantaśiśirāv ahorātre ca chandasi  
1/ hemantaśiśirau 1/2 ahorātre 1/2 ca \emptyset chandasi 7/1 /  
(pūrvavad #27)  
‘hemantaśiśirau, ahorātre’ ity etayoḥ chandasi viṣaye pūrvaval lingam bhavati  
A dvandva compound of hemanta ‘autumn’ and śiśira ‘winter’, or of ahan ‘day’ and rātri ‘night’, is similar to its first constituent in gender, in the Vedic.

**Examples:**

hemantaśiśirau ‘autumn and winter’  
ahorātre ‘day and night’

1. This rule forms an exception to paravalīṅgatā, or gender in accordance with the gender of the following constituent (2.4.26 paravalīṅgam...), especially in the context of the Vedic. Thus, we get the first example, where hemanta is masculine and śiśira is neuter. In the absence of the provision of this rule, the compound would have been neuter. A similar explanation can be given for the second example, ahorātre, where the compound is extended neuter in accordance with its initial constituent ahan, which is neuter, as opposed to the feminine rātri.
2.4.29 रात्रिकहाः पुण्यसि

रात्रिकहाः पुण्यसि
 /* rātraś ca ahnaś ca ahaś ca (itar. dv.); puṃsi 7/1 */
(kṛtasaṃsāntānāṁ nirdeśāḥ) ‘rātra, ahna, aha’ ity puṃsi bhāsyante

A compound with rātra, ahna, or aha as its final constituent is masculine in gender.

Examples:

dvīrāṭraḥ ‘a time span consisting of two nights’
trīrāṭraḥ ‘a time span consisting of three nights’
catīrāṭraḥ ‘a time span consisting of four nights’
purvāḥnāḥ ‘forenoon’
aparāḥnāḥ ‘afternoon’
madhyaḥnāḥ ‘midday’
dvayahāḥ ‘a time span of two days’
tryahāḥ ‘a time span of three days’

1. Again, this rule is an exception to paravaliṅgā of 2.4.26. For example, given the compounds (listed above) dvīrāṭraḥ and madhyaḥnāḥ, rule 2.4.26 paravāl linga... would require the former to be feminine and the latter, neuter, in accordance with the respective genders of rātri and ahan.

Note that this rule specifies rātra, ahna, and aha not by their base forms, but by their forms derived after the introduction of the samāśaṇa affixes (Kāś: kṛtasaṃsāntānāṁ nirdeśāḥ). For example, dvīrāṭra is a samāhāra-dvīg̐u derived from the string
dvi + au + rātri + au
by 2.1.51 taddhiṭārtha..., and parallel to the sentence
dve rātri samāhīte ‘the two nights grouped’

Given the form dvīrāṭri, the samāśaṇa affix aC will be introduced by rule 5.4.87 ahaḥ sarvaikadesa... The i of dvīrāṭri will subsequently be deleted by 6.4.148 yasyeti ca. Our present rule will then extend the masculine, whereby
dvīrāṭri(i → ⊥) + a(⊥ → ⊥) = dvīrāṭr + a = dvīrāṭra
will yield the form dvīrāṭraḥ.

2.4.30 अपथं नपुषकमः

apatham naṃpuṣakam
 /* apatham 1/1 naṃpuṣakam 1/1 */
apathaśabdo naṃpuṣakaliṅgo bhavati

The naṅ-tatpuruṣa apatha ‘a path not fit to be followed’ is neuter in gender.

Examples:
apatham idaṁ ‘this is a path not fit to be followed’
apathāṇī gāhate mūḍhah ‘only an idiot follows a wrong path’
1. The word *apatha* is specified here as ending in the *samāśānta* affix *aC*. That is, this extension of neuter constitutes an exception to the masculine only with reference to the negative of *pathīn* 'path, road', used with a *samāśānta* suffix. Note in connection with this that a *samāśānta* affix after a compound constituent, such as *pathīn* used with *naN*, is optionally blocked by rule 5.4.72 *patho vibhāṣā*. Thus, if the option of the *samāśānta* affix were availed, then rule 6.4.74 *rkpurabdhuh*... would introduce affix *aC*. This, in turn, would yield *apatha*, which, in accordance with the provision of the present rule, will be extended neuter. If the option of the *samāśānta* affix is not taken, the derivate would be masculine (*apanthāh*), as opposed to the neuter *apatham*.

### 2.4.31 अध्वर्ण: पुंसि च

*arddharcāḥ pumṣi ca*
\[\text{/ arddharcāḥ 1/3 pumṣi 7/1 ca 0 /} \]
(napumsakam #30)
*arddharcādayaḥ śabdāḥ pumṣi napumsake ca bhāyante*

Items enumerated in the list headed by *arddharca* 'half a hymn' are both neuter and masculine in gender.

#### EXAMPLES:

* arddharcaḥ 'half a hymn'
* arddharcāṁ 'id.'
* gomayāḥ 'cow-dung'
* gomayam 'id.'

1. This rule optionally extends masculine to the neuter in case of items contained in the list headed by *arddharca* 'half a hymn'. Kaśikā remarks that this extension of gender is made with reference to the forms of the enumerated compounds, although there may be some where the gender is established on the basis of the meaning. For example, *padma* and *saṅkha*, which denote *nidhi* 'treasure', are masculine. They are, however, both masculine and neuter when used in the sense of ‘lotus’:

*śabdārūpāśrayā ceyam dvilingatā kvacid arthabhedenaṇāpi vyavatiṣṭhate, yathā padmaśaṅkhāśabdau nidhivācakau pumālingau jalaie ubhayaliṅgau*

### 2.4.32 इदमःनववेदोर्जुननुदत्तसुतीबादी

* idamo ‘nvādeśe ‘śanudāttas tṛtyādau*
\[\text{/ idamaḥ 6/1 anvādeśe 7/1 aś 1/1 anudāṭtaḥ 1/1 tṛtyādau 7/1 /} \]
*ādeśaḥ = kathanam, anvādeśaḥ = anukathanam; idamo ‘nvādeśa-viṣayasyāśādeśo bhavaty anudāttas tṛtyādau vibhaktau parataḥ*

The word *idam* ‘this’ is replaced by *anudātta* ‘high-pitched’ *aś* when
it is followed by nominal endings beginning with \textit{tritiyā}, and when it occurs as part of an \textit{anvādeśa} ‘a tagged statement; a statement which follows’.

\textbf{Examples:}

\begin{quote}
\textit{ābhyaṁ cāṭrābhyaṁ rātrir adhītā, atho ābhyaṁ aharapy adhitam} ‘these two students studied the whole night and then they studied the whole day’
\textit{asmāi cāṭrāya kambalam dehi, atho asmāi śājakam api dehi} ‘give a blanket to this student and also give him a loincloth’
\end{quote}

1. The word \textit{ādeśa} has been glossed by \textit{Kāśikā} as \textit{kathanam} ‘a statement’; \textit{anvādeśa} thus becomes \textit{anukathanam} ‘a tagged statement’. This rule orders \textit{idam} to be replaced with \textit{aś}, with the further stipulation that \textit{aś} be \textit{anudātta}. In the first of the above examples, the words \textit{ābhyaṁ aharapy adhitam} will be treated as \textit{anvādeśa}. The word \textit{ābhyaṁ} entails the replacement of \textit{idam} by \textit{aś}:

\begin{quote}
idam + bhyaṁ = (idam \rightarrow aś) + bhyaṁ = a + bhyaṁ = ābhyaṁ
\end{quote}

Note that the replacement of \textit{idam} by \textit{aś} is total, because \textit{aś} is marked with \textit{Ś} (1.1.55 \textit{anekālśit sarvasya}). Furthermore, whether \textit{aś} replaces \textit{idam} or not, the derivate will be unaffected, except in case of its accent and when 5.3.7 \textit{avayyasarvanāmnā...} has applied. Given the form \textit{ābhyaṁ}, where \textit{idam} has been replaced by \textit{aś}, \textit{ā} will be \textit{anudātta}. In the absence of \textit{anvādeśa}, the nominal ending will not be \textit{anudātta}. It will have to be marked \textit{udātta} by 6.1.171 \textit{ūdidaspadādya...}, since it occurs after a base which is marked \textit{anudātta} at the end (\textit{antodātta}).

2.4.33 \textit{एतदब्रतासतसोखतसी चानुदाताते}

\begin{quote}
etadas tratasos tratasau cānudāttau
/ etadaḥ 6/1 tratasoh 7/2 = tras ca taś ca = tratasau (itar. du.), tayoḥ; tratasau 1/2 ca \emptyset anudāttau 1/2 /
(anvādeśe, anudāttah #32)
etado ‘nvādeśavisayasyāśādeśo bhavaty anudāttas tratasoh parataḥ; tau cāpi tratasāv anudāttau bhavataḥ
\end{quote}

The word \textit{etad} ‘this’ is replaced by \textit{anudātta} \textit{aś} when it occurs as part of \textit{anvādeśa} and is followed by affixes \textit{traL} (5.3.10 \textit{saptamyā...}) or \textit{tasIL} (5.3.7 \textit{pañcamyā...}), which, in turn, also become \textit{anudātta}.

\textbf{Examples:}

\begin{quote}
etasmin grāme sukhām vasāmahaḥ, atho atra yuktā adhīmahe ‘we live happily in this village and thus let us study diligently here’
etasmāc cāṭrāc chando ‘dhiśva, atho ato vrākaraṇam api adhīśva ‘study Veda from this student and also study grammar from him’.
\end{quote}
1. Note that \textit{idam} is not carried in this rule, for reasons of incompatibility with \textit{etad}. It will, however, be valid in the next rule, as will \textit{etad}. Furthermore, \textit{atra} and \textit{ato} (\textit{atas}) are replacements for \textit{etasmin} and \textit{etasmāt} respectively.

The present rule orders three operations simultaneously (\textit{yugapad}): the replacement of \textit{aSa} for \textit{etad}; the \textit{anudātta} accent for \textit{aSa}; and further \textit{anudātta} accent for affixes \textit{traL} (5.3.10 saptamāyās \textit{tral}) and \textit{tasiL} (5.3.7 pañcamyāś \textit{tasil}).

\textbf{2.4.34 द्वितीयादैस्तवन:}

\textit{dvitiyātaussu enah} \\
/ \textit{dvitiyātaussu 7/3 = dvitiyā ca tā ca os ca = dvitiyātausaḥ (itar. dv.),} \\
\textit{teṣu; enah 1/1 /} \\
(idamo \textit{‘nvādeśe anudāttaḥ #32, etadāḥ #33}) \\
dvitiyā, tā, os ity eteṣu parata idametador anvādeśavisayayor enaśabda \\
ādeśo bhavati anudāttaḥ \\

The words \textit{idam} and \textit{etad} are replaced by \textit{anudātta ena} when they occur as part of \textit{anvādeśa} and are followed by \textit{dvitiyā} ‘second triplet of \textit{sUP}'; \textit{Tā} ‘singular third triplet of \textit{sUP}'; or os ‘dual sixth or seventh triplet of \textit{sUP}'.

\textbf{Examples:}

\textit{imam} chāṭtram chandam adhyāpaya, atho enam vyākaraṇam adhyāpaya \\
‘teach Veda to this student and also teach him grammar’ \\
anena chāṭtreṇa rātrir adhiṭā, atho enenaḥar aṣṭo adhitam ‘this student \\
studied the whole night and he also studied the whole day’ \\
anayoḥ chāṭtreeṇāḥ sobhanam śīlam, atho enayoh prabhūyaḥ svam ‘these \\
two students have very nice conduct and thus also have a lot of \\
wealth’

1. Note that \textit{idamah} is carried via \textit{anuvṛttī}, frequently called \textit{mandaḥkapluti} ‘frog's leap'.

\textbf{2.4.35 आर्धधातुके}

\textit{ārdhadhātuke} \\
/ \textit{ārdhadhātuke 7/1 /} \\
‘ārdhadhātuke' ity adhikārō yam, ‘nyakṣattrīyārṣaṇītaḥ' iti yāvat; yad ita \\
ārdhvim anukramisyāmas tad ārdhadhātuke veditavyam \\
When an ārdhadhātuka (3.4.114 ārdhadhātukam śeṣaḥ) ..

\textbf{Examples:}

\textit{bhavyam} ‘ought to be brought about’ \\
\textit{praveyam} ‘ought to be woven’ \\
\textit{ākhyeyam} ‘ought to be told’
1. This rule is given as an adhikāra, governing rule enumerated prior to 2.4.58 nyakṣatriyā.... Commentators indicate that the locative here is to be interpreted as visāyasaptamī 'locative of domain', whereby operational provisions made by rules contained within this domain will become applicable, in anticipation of the domain of ārdhadhātuka being presented at some later stage. That is, when an ārdhadhātuka finds its scope. Kāśikā makes the distinction between 'replacement in anticipation of an affix' as opposed to 'when an ārdhadhātuka affix follows'. This is done by using the words visāye and parataḥ respectively. The distinction, for reasons of readability, consistency, and style, may not always be maintained in the English translation of the rules. Explanatory notes and relevant derivational details will, however, be provided to clear up any confusion.

Now consider, for example,

(a) vadhyaṭ ‘may he kill...’

which is third person singular of LIN denoting benediction. Here, verbal root han is replaced with vadha under the provisions of rule 2.4.42 hano vadha liṇī. A minimum paraphrase of the aforementioned rule, read with the anuvṛtti of ārdhadhātuke of the present rule, will be as follows:

haner vadha liṇī ārdhadhātuke ‘vadha (comes as a replacement) in place of han when an ārdhadhātuka (replacement of) LIN finds its scope’

A parasaptamī, as opposed to a visāyasaptamī, interpretation would require the paraphrase to be:

‘vadha (comes as a replacement) in place of han when an ārdhadhātuka (replacement of) LIN follows’

This being the case, a vadha replacement of han will not be realized unless LIN is introduced after han (3.4.116 liṇāśiṣi), and is subsequently replaced with the third personal singular parasmaipada ending tiP (3.4.76 lasya; 3.4.77 tiptaṣṭhi...). That is, han cannot be replaced with vadha unless tiP, an ārdhadhātuka affix by 3.4.116 liṇāśiṣi, follows.

According to the commentators, this replacement operation is desired to be applied in anticipation of the ārdhadhātuka affix to be introduced later. For this, take as an example the derivation of the first example listed under the present rule:

\[ (as \rightarrow bhū) + yaT) \] + sU

where rule 2.4.52 aster bhūḥ orders bhū as a replacement for as ‘to be’. Rule 3.1.97 aco yat introduces suffix yaT after a verbal root ending in a vowel (aC). Obviously, yaT cannot be introduced after as, since it ends in a consonant. However, if bhū comes as a replacement, in anticipation of the subsequent introduction of yaT, everything will be in order. Rule 1.1.56 sthamivad ādeśo ‘natvidhau will enable bhū to be treated as as, the verb root it replaced.
If one waits for the replacement to take place after the introduction of the suffix, wrong forms will result. Let us now introduce affix NyaT after as, for which it can qualify on account of its ending in a consonant. Given the string

\[ \text{as} + \text{NyaT} \]

where bhū replaces as, we get:

\[ \text{bhū} + \text{NyaT} \]

The ū of bhū will then undergo vṛddhi, and we will eventually get the wrong form *bhāvyam. Similarly,

\[ \text{bru} + \text{yaT} \]

will yield

\[ (\text{bru} \rightarrow \text{vac}) + \text{yaT} \]

where vac will be ordered as a replacement for bru. A wrong form (*vacyam) will thus result:

\[ (\text{vac} + \text{ya}) + sU \rightarrow \text{vac} + \text{ya} + (sU \rightarrow \text{am}) = \text{vac} + y (a + a \rightarrow a)m = *\text{vacyam} \]

2.4.36 अदो जिधल्यक्ष्य किति

ado jagdhir lyap ti kitī
/ adah 6/1 jagdhīḥ 1/1 lyap (deleted 7/1) ti 7/1 / kitī 7/1 /
(ārdhadḥātuke #35)
ado jagdhir ādesō bhavati lyapī paratah, takārādau ca kitī prayaye
The word ad is replaced by jagdhī when Lyap (7.1.3 samāse...),
or an ārdhadḥātuka affix beginning with t and marked with K, follows.

Examples:

pra jagdhyaḥ 'having eaten properly'
vi jagdhyaḥ 'having eaten specially'
ja dagdhāḥ 'eaten'
ja dagdhavān 'he ate'

1. The i at the end of the substitute jagdhī is for the sake of pronunciation (uccāraṇārtha). (Note in connection with this that, in the English translation of this and subsequent rules, 'word' means 'the form of the word cited'.) The substitute is thus jagdhī. A question is raised as to why the rule must state Lyap, when its purpose can be served by ti kitī 'when an ārdhadḥātuka affix beginning with t and marked with K follows'.

Let us consider the derivation of pra jagdhya, which contains the verbal root ad, after which the absolutive suffix Ktvā has been introduced by 3.4.21 samānakartṛkāyoh..... Rule 2.2.18 kugati-prādayah orders an obligatory compound in the case of pra jagdhya, where pra, an item in the list headed by pra, combines with the resultant form of ad + Ktvā. Rule
7.1.37 sama' nañpurve kto byap requires that Ktva be replaced with LyaP. Note that the replacement of Ktva by LyaP, by rule 7.1.37, could still be available on the grounds that Ktva is an affix marked with K and beginning with t. Thus, LyaP should not have been stated in the rule on hand. But Panini states it; therefore, it must have some special purpose to serve.

Commentators (MBh II: 873) think that LyaP is used to indicate (jñāpanārtha) that an externally conditioned (bahiraṅga) LyaP blocks the application of an internally conditioned (antarāṅga) operation. Note that the replacement of ad by jagdh is an internally conditioned operation, and hence should apply first, as compared with the application of the replacement of Ktva by LyaP. The following verse from the Mahabhasya sums up the function of the retention of LyaP:

jagdhau siddhe' ntaranātvāt tikititi byab ucyate
jñāpayaty antarāṅgānām byāpā bhavati bādhānam

'an explicit mention of LyaP, even when its purpose can be accomplished by the internally conditioned (antarāṅga) replacement of ad by jagdh before a t-initial affix marked with K, is to indicate that LyaP can block internally conditioned operations.'

2.4.37 लुङ्सनोदशस्त्र

luṅsanor ghas|
luṅsanoh 7/2 ghas| 1/1 /
(ārdhaḥātuke #35, adah #36)
luṇi sani ca parato 'do ghasā ādeso bhavati

The word ad is replaced by ghas, when an ārdhaḥātuka replacement of LUN 'aorist', or affix saN, is to follow.

EXAMPLES:

aghasat 'he ate'
aghasatām 'they (two) ate'
aghasan 'they ate'
jighatsati 'he wishes to eat'
jighatsatah 'they (two) wish to eat'
jighatsanti 'they wish to eat'

1. The purpose of marking the replacement of ad by L is to facilitate the introduction of aN as a replacement for CLI before LUN (cf. 3.1.55 pūṣādityutādīrātāh...). For details, refer to the derivation of the example aghasat in the appendix under this rule.

2.4.38 गहनापोष

ghañnapoṣ ca
ghañnapoh 7/2 = ghañ ca ap ca (itar. dv.), tayoḥ; ca ṣ /

(ārdhadhātuke # 35, adaḥ # 36, ghasI # 37)
ghaṅ api ca parato 'do ghasI ādeśo bhavati
The word ad is replaced by ghasI when ārdhadhātuka affixes GHaN (3.3.18 bhāve) and aP (3.3.59 upasarge...) follow.

EXAMPLES:

ghāsah 'food'
praghasah 'voracious'

2.4.39 बहुलां छन्दसिः

bahunāṃ chandasi
/ bahulan 1/1 chandasi 7/1 /
(ārdhadhātuke # 35, adaḥ # 36, ghasI # 37, ghaṅapoḥ # 38)
chandasi viśaye bahulan ado ghasI ādeśo bhavati
The word ad is replaced by ghasI, in the Vedic variously, when ārdhadhātuka affixes GHaN and aP follow.

EXAMPLES:

ghastān nūnam ‘they two just ate
sagdhīḥ ‘common meal’

1. The word bahulan has been explained as follows:

kvaciḥ pravṛttih kvacīd apravṛttih
kvacīd vibhāsa kvacīd anyad eva /
vidher vidhānam bahudhā samīkṣya
caṭur-viḍham bāhulakam vaddantī //
‘after having carefully scrutinized the operational provisions’ bāhu-
laka ‘variously’ is stated as: sometimes application; sometimes lack of application; sometimes application only optionally; and on occasion yet something else’

In view of this explanation, the propriety of using bahulan is questioned, especially as anyatarasyāṃ ‘optionally’ is used in the subsequent rule. If bahulan can also be construed as an operation entailing optionality, then bahulan itself should have been carried to the subsequent rule. This would have made the use of anyatarasyāṃ unnecessary there. Alternatively, Pāṇini should have used anyatarasyāṃ here, and have carried the same term to the following rule.

Commentators state that the bāhulaka entails the necessity of applying, not applying, applying only optionally, or otherwise, a rule without which the desired form cannot be obtained. The notion of optionality expressed by anyatarasyāṃ is also considered necessary, but it is systematic as opposed to the ad hoc (nipātana) nature of the notion of bāhulaka.
Besides, Pāṇini does not accept *bahulam* and *anyatarasyām* as synonymous, as is demonstrated by his use of *anyatarasyām* in the next rule.

2.4.40 लित्य anyatarasyām

\[\text{lyi} \ 7/1 \ \text{anyatarasyām} \ 7/1 \]

(ārdhadhātuke # 35, adaḥ # 36, ghaśl # 37)

\[\text{liṭi} \ \text{parato adō 'nyatarasyām ghaśl āḍeśa bhavati}\]

The word *ad* optionally is replaced by *ghasī*, when an *ardhadhātuka* replacement of *LIṬ* 'perfect' follows.

**Examples:**

\[āda 'he ate'\]
\[jaghaśa 'id.'\]
\[ādatu 'they two ate'\]
\[jakṣatuh 'id.'\]
\[āduh 'they ate'\]
\[jakṣuḥ 'id.'\]

2.4.41 वेनो वयी:

\[veño vayiḥ\]

\[veṇaḥ 6/1 \ vayih 1/1 \]

(ārdhadhātuke # 35, lyi anyatarasyām # 40)

\[veño vayir āḍeśa bhavati anyatarasyām liṭi parataḥ\]

The word *veN* 'to weave' optionally is replaced by *vayIH* when an *ārdhadhātuka* replacement of *LIṬ* follows.

**Examples:**

\[uvāya 'he wove'\]
\[ūyatuh 'they two wove'\]
\[ūvatuh 'id.'\]
\[ūyuh 'they wove'\]
\[ūvuh 'id.'\]

2.4.42 हनो वध लिनि

\[hano vadha liṇī\]

\[haṇah 6/1 \ vadha 1/1 (deleted) liṇī 7/1 \]

(ārdhadhātuke # 35)

\[hanter dhator vadha ity ayam āḍeśa bhavati liṇī parata ārdhadhātuke\]

The word *han* 'to kill' is replaced by *vadha* when an *ārdhadhātuka* replacement of *LIŅ* 'precative' follows.
EXAMPLES:

vadhyāt ‘may he kill’
vadhyāstām ‘may they two kill’
vadhyāsuḥ ‘may they kill’

1. Note that the replacement of han is given as vadha, an adanta ‘that which ends in a’. Jinendrabuddhi (Nyāsa ad Kāś II: 289) observes that ‘it is the style of Pāṇini to cite replacements which end in a consonant with (final) i for ease of pronunciation, as jagdh in jagdhīḥ (2.4.36 ado jagdhīr...); a lack of marking vadhi with i, as opposed to a, is to indicate that the replacement is ākāraṇta ‘that which ends in a’. There are two consequences of having the replacement ending in a:
   
   (i) no blocking of iT, and
   (ii) the blocking of urddhi, which would otherwise be available by rule 7.2.3 vaddvraja....

Consider, for example, the derivation of avadhīt ‘he killed’, at the stage of avadh + s + t. Here rule 7.2.10 ekāc upadeše... is unable to block the introduction of the augment iT, mainly because vadha, the replacement given as ending in a, is not constituted by a single vowel. This a is deleted later by 6.4.48 ato lopah.

2.4.43 तृढ़ि च

lūni ca
lūni 7/1 ca ∅ /
(ārdhadhātuke #35, hano vadha #42)
lūni ca parato hano vadha ity ayaṁ ādeśo bhavati

The word han is also replaced by vadha when an ārdhadhātuka replacement of LUṆ follows.

EXAMPLES:

avadhīt ‘he killed’
avadhīstām ‘they two killed’
avadhīsuḥ ‘they killed’

1. Why did Pāṇini not make the replacement provision of this rule along with that of the previous one? This would have saved him one rule. He did not formulate a joint rule because, in that case, LIṆ and LUṆ would both be part of the rule. This would create problems with the provision of rule 2.4.44 ātmanepadeṣu..., where the anuvṛtti of LUṆ alone is valid. A joint formulation with LIṆ and LUṆ both as part of a single rule would demand the anuvṛtti of both in rule 2.4.44 ātmane-adeṣu..... For, items introduced simultaneously must be dropped, or carried together via anuvṛtti.
Besides, if LIṆ were carried to 2.4.44 consequent upon a joint formulation, the obligatory provision of 2.4.42 hanō vadha līṇi would become optional in the context of LIṆ. It is to block this undesired result that Pāṇini chose to formulate rules 2.4.42 hanō vadha līṇi and 2.4.43 lūṇī ca separately.

2.4.44 आत्मनेपदेशुन्यतरस्याम्

ātmānepadeśu anyatarasāyām
l/ ātmānepadeśu 7/3 anyatarasāyām 7/1 l/
(ārdhadhātuke # 35, hanō vadha # 42)
ātmānepadeśu parato hanō lūṇī anyatarasāyām vadha ity uyaṃ ādeśo bhavati

The word han optionally is replaced by vadha when an ārdhadhātuka replacement of LIṆ termed ātmānepada follows.

**Examples:**

āvadhiṣṭa ‘he killed’
āhata ‘id.’
āvadhiṣṭātām ‘they two killed’
āhasātām ‘id.’
āvadhiṣṭāta ‘they killed’
āhasāta ‘id.’

1. This rule provides for optional replacement, as opposed to the obligatory replacement made available by the preceding rule. Of course, the context of this optional provision is marked by ātmānepada.

2.4.45 इनो गा लुष्कि

inō gā lūṇī
l/ ināh 6/1 gā 1/1 lūṇī 7/1 l/
(ārdhadhātuke # 35)
‘ināh gā’ ity uyaṃ ādeśo bhavati lūṇī parataḥ

The word iN ‘to go’ is replaced by gā when an ārdhadhātuka replacement of LIṆ follows.

**Examples:**

agāt ‘he went’
agāyi bhavatā ‘you went’

1. What is the purpose of again stating LIṆ, when it has already been given in the preceding rule? This LIṆ must be unqualified (aviśeṣa). It should therefore be construed as obligatory, as opposed to the optional LIṆ of the preceding rule. Additionally, its context is not constrained by
ātmanepada. The purpose of LUÑ here is thus to drop the anuvṛtti of ātmanepadeśu anyatarasyām.

2.4.46 नौ गमिरबोधने

\[\text{nau gamir abodhane}
\]
\[\text{/nau 7/1 gamih 1/1 abodhane 7/1 /}
\]
(ārdhadhātuke # 35, inah # 45)

\[\text{nau parata ino} \text{ bodhanārthaśya gamir ādēso bhavati}
\]

The word \text{iN} is replaced by \text{gami} when it is followed by the ārdhadhātuka affix \text{NiC} and does not denote bodhana ‘understanding’.

**Examples:**

\text{gamayati} ‘he has him go’
\text{gamayataḥ} ‘they two have him go’
\text{gamayanti} ‘they have him go’

1. It is obvious, from the use of \text{nau}, that \text{gami} is stated here as a non-causal replacement for \text{iN}. The \text{i} of \text{gami} is then used to facilitate the pronunciation.

Note that the explicit use of \text{LUÑ} in the previous rule, as opposed to bringing it via anuvṛtti, has consequences for this rule. I have already stated in my note under 2.4.45 that Pāṇini uses \text{LUÑ} explicitly to get rid of ātmanepada and anyatarasyām. This being the case, \text{gami} will here replace \text{iN} before \text{NiC} in both ātmanepada and parasmaipada. Additionally, this replacement will be obligatory, since anyatarasyām is also dropped.

The condition of abodhane ‘when not used in the sense of understanding’ is imposed so that \text{gami} cannot replace \text{iN} in derivates like pratyāyayati ‘...makes one understand’.

2.4.47 सनिच

\[\text{sani ca}
\]
\[\text{/sani 7/1 ca 0 /}
\]
(ārdhadhātuke # 35, inah # 45, gamir abodhane # 46)

\[\text{sani parata ino} \text{ bodhanārthaśya gamir ādēso bhavati}
\]

The word \text{iN} is replaced by \text{gami} when an ārdhadhātuka saN follows and \text{iN} does not denote bodhana.

**Examples:**

\text{jigamiśati} ‘he wishes to go’
\text{jigamiśataḥ} ‘they two wish to go’
\text{jigamiśanti} ‘they wish to go’

1. A split rule is stated separately from the preceding rule to facilitate the subsequent (uttarārtha). That is, if this rule were not stated separately,
then the subsequent rule would have been forced to have the anuvṛtti of both nāu and sani. The anuvṛtti of nāu is undesired for the subsequent rule.

Note that saN is qualified for the assignment of the term ārdhadhātuka only when it is introduced by rules beginning with 3.1.7 dhātoḥ.... That is, a saN introduced by rules 3.1.5 and 3.1.6 is excluded.

2.4.48 इनास

iṇaś ca
/ iṇaḥ 6/1 ca Ø /
(ārdhadhātuke # 35, gamih # 46, sani # 47)
iṇaś ca sani parato gamir ādeśo bhavati
The word iN 'to study' is also replaced by gamI when an ārdhadhātuka saN follows.

Examples:

adhiṣṭigāṁsate 'he wishes to study'
adhiṣṭigāṃsete 'they two wish to study'
adhiṣṭigāṁsante 'they wish to study'

2.4.49 गाँ लिति

gān liṭi
/ gān 1/1 liṭi 7/1 /
(ārdhadhātuke # 35, iṇaḥ # 48)
gānādeśo bhavatiṅo liṭi parataḥ
The word iN is replaced by gāN when an ārdhadhātuka replacement of LIT is to follow.

Examples:

adhiṣṭige 'he studied'
adhiṣṭigāte 'they two studied'
adhiṣṭigire 'they studied'

1. Note that this replacement would be applicable in anticipation of the LIT affix, in a way similar to that of some rules already stated in the beginning of the ārdhadhātuke section, headed by 2.4.35 ārdhadhātuke. The replacement is marked with N to facilitate the introduction of ātmane-pada endings in place of LIT.

An objection is made to the marking of gā with N, especially when the ātmane-pada affixes may be easily obtained by treating gā as iN, the root it replaced. Now, iN is marked with N; hence, gā when treated as iN will automatically be marked with N. Commentators say that gā is still marked with N, to indicate that, in rule 1.2.1 gāṇkutaḍi..., gāN is to be interpreted as this very replacement. For details of consequences relative to gā, as
marked with $N$, refer to my notes and derivations under rule 1.2.1. Also see derivations of examples cited here in the appendix.

2.4.50 विभा्षा सूचनाओऽः

\[
\text{vibhāśā īnīrṇoḥ}
\]
\[
/ \text{vibhāśā} /1/1 \text{īnīrṇoḥ} 7/2 /
\]
\[
(ārdhadhātuke \# 35, īnāḥ \# 48, gān \# 49)
\]
\[
lūni īrṇi ca āparata āno vibhāśā gān ādeśo bhavati
\]
The word ī$N$ is replaced by gā$N$ when an ārdhadhātuka replacement of LUN or LR$N$ is to follow.

**Examples:**

- adhyagīṣṭa ‘he studied’
- adhyaiṣṭa ‘id.’
- adhyagīṣṭām ‘they two studied’
- adhaisāṭām ‘id.’
- adhyagīṣṭata ‘they studied’
- adhyaiṣṭata ‘id.’
- adhyagīṣṭyata ‘he will study’
- adhyaiṣṭyata ‘id.’
- adhyagīṣṭetām ‘they two will study’
- adhyaiṣṭetām ‘id.’
- adhyagīṣṭyanta ‘they will study’
- adhyaiṣṭyanta ‘id.’

1. Note that the use of vibhāśā ensures a set of two optional forms. When the option of replacing ī$N$ with gā$N$ is accepted, rule 1.2.1 gānkutādi... becomes applicable. That is, gā$N$ is extended the status of being marked with $N$. This means that the root will have its final vowel replaced by ī$T$ (6.4.66 ghumāsthāgāpā...). Furthermore, rules relative to guna (8.2.27 hrasvād aṅgāt); the augment ā$T$ (6.4.72 ād ajādīnām); and a single vṛddhi replacement (6.1.88 ātās ca) will be blocked. Conversely, in the event that the option of replacing ī$N$ with gā$N$ is chosen, ī$T$ will be blocked through guna, and ā$T$ and a single vṛddhi replacement will become available. See the appendix for derivational details.

2.4.51 गौ च संश्चयोः

\[
\text{ṇau ca samścaṇoḥ}
\]
\[
/ \text{ṇau} 7/1 ca \text{ṣ} \text{samścaṇoḥ} 7/2 = \text{san ca caṅ ca = samścaṇau} \text{ (itar. dv.)},
\]
\[
tayōḥ /
(ārdhadhātuke # 35, iṅah # 48, gāṅ # 49, vibhāsā # 50)

nau sanāpare caṃpare ca parata ina vibhāsā gāṅ ādeso bhavati

The word iṅ optionally is replaced by gāṅ when it is followed by a NiC which is followed by saN and caṅ (3.1.48 niśridrusru-bhyaḥ...).

**Examples:**

adhijīgāpasiṭi ‘he wishes to teach’
adhyātipayasiṭi ‘id.’
adhyājigaṇṭi ‘he taught’
adhyāpiṇat ‘id.’

1. Note that the parasaptami ‘that which marks the right condition of an operation’ in Ni (of nau) is to be interpreted relative to the verbal root iṅ. This will yield the interpretation ‘when NiC follows iṅ’. By contrast, the parasaptami given in saṃścaṅhoḥ is to be interpreted relative to NiC. This will result in the following interpretation: ‘when saN and caṅ follow NiC’.

2.4.52 अस्तेन्द्रः:

aster bhūḥ
| as asteh 5/1 bhūḥ 1/1 |
(ārdhadhātuke # 35)
aster āhātor bhū ity ayam ādeso bhavati ārdhadhātuke

The word as is replaced by bhū when an ārdhadhātuka affix is to follow.

**Examples:**

bhavītā ‘he will become’
bhavitum ‘in order to become’
bhavitavyam ‘ought to become’

1. This rule allows for the replacement with bhū of as when LIṬ is to find its scope. The replacement is, however, blocked when as is used subsequently (anuprayukta) in examples such as ihāmāsa ‘he strove’. How is this to be ascertained? From the use of the abbreviatory term krN in rule 3.1.40 krścānuprayujyate liṭi, which refers to roots kr, bhū, and as. The abbreviatory term itself is formed by taking the kr of 5.4.40 krśbhavastiyoge... and joining it with the N of rule 5.4.58 krśo dviṭiyatṛiṇya.... If as is to be replaced with bhū when as is used subsequently, the use of the abbreviatory symbol krN would become vacuous (vṛyarthā).
2.4.53 ब्रुवो वचिः:


\[ \text{bruvō vaciḥ} \]

/ bruvāḥ 6/1 vaciḥ 1/1 /

(ārdhadhātuke # 35)

\[ \text{bruvō vacir ādeśo bhavati ārdhadhātuke viṣaye} \]

The word \( \text{bruN} \) 'to speak' is replaced by \( \text{vacI} \) when an ārdhadhātuka affix is to follow.

**Examples:**

\[ \text{vaktā 'speaker'} \]

\[ \text{vaktum 'in order to speak'} \]

\[ \text{vaktavyam 'ought to be spoken'} \]

1. The final i of \( \text{vacI} \) is used, once again, for ease of articulation (uccāraṇārtha). Note also that \( \text{bruN} \) is marked with \( \text{N} \), and ātmanepada will therefore be available to it when, of course, the fruit of the action is to accrue to the agent (1.3.72 svaritaṇītaḥ kartrabhiprāye...). This ātmanepada will be available via sthānivadbhāva of 1 1.56 sthānivad ādeśo'... when \( \text{bruN} \) is replaced with \( \text{vacI} \).

2.4.54 चक्षिणः: ख्यातः

\[ \text{caksiṇaḥ khyāṇ} \]

/ caksiṇaḥ 6/1 khyāṇ 1/1 /

(ārdhadhātuke # 35)

\[ \text{caksiṇaḥ khyāṇ ādeśo bhavat ārdhadhātuke viṣaye} \]

The word \( \text{caksiN} \) 'to speak, relate' is replaced with \( \text{khyāN} \) when an ārdhadhātuka affix is to follow.

**Examples:**

\[ \text{ākhyātā 'he who will relate'} \]

\[ \text{ākhyātum 'in order to relate'} \]

\[ \text{ākhyātavyam 'ought to be related'} \]

1. My remarks under the notes of previous rule concerning ātmanepada via sthānivadbhāva (1.1.56 sthānivad ādeśo' nālvidhau) remain pertinent to the replacement \( \text{khyāN} \) of the present rule. Kāśikā makes the following statement:

\[ \text{sthānivadbhāvena nityam ātmanepadām na bhavati ŋakārāṇubandhasāratanāśamathyāt} \]

'on account of the \( \text{N} \) as an \( \text{it} \) (in \( \text{khyāN} \)), the obligatory ātmanepada (on the strength of \( \text{N} \) as an \( \text{it} \) in \( \text{caksiN} \)) via sthānivadbhāva does not apply'
That is, Pāṇini marks the replacement khyā with 以习近平 as an it so that, via sthānivadbhāva, khyāN may still be considered a verbal root similar to caksiN. Thus, khyāN will be qualified to receive atmanepada under the provision of rule 1.3.72 svaritaṇītaḥ.... But the same sthānivadbhāva must also require that khyā be treated as marked with 以习近平, in consonance with the root caksiN which it replaces. Consequent upon this, rule 1.3.12 amudāttānīta atmanepadam would require atmanepada. Pāṇini first blocks the obligatory atmanepada of 1.3.12, and then makes it available under the condition of rule 1.3.27 svaritaṇītaḥ....

2.4.55 वा लिति

vā liṭi

/ vā 0 liṭi 7/1 /

(ārdhadhātuke #35, caksiṇaḥ khyāN #54)
liṭi paraṇaṃ caksiṇaḥ khyāN ādeśō va bhavati

The word caksiN optionally is replaced by khyāN when an ārdhadhātuka replacement of LIṬ follows.

EXAMPLES:

ācakhyau ‘he related’
ācacakṣe ‘id.’
ācakhyatuh ‘they two related’
ācacakṣate ‘id.’
ācakhyuh ‘they related’
ācacakṣire ‘id.’

1. This rule simply makes the obligatory replacement of caksiN by khyāN in the context of LIṬ.

2.4.56 अज्ञायव्ययो:

ajer vy aghanapoh

l ajēh 6/1 vi 1/1 aghanapoḥ 7/2 = ghaṇ ca ap ca = ghaṇapau (itār. dv.), na ghaṇapau = aghanapau (naṇ. tat), tayōh l

(ārdhadhātuke #35, vā #55)
ajer dhātoḥ ‘vi’ ity ayam ādeśō bhavaty ārdhadhātuke parato ghaṇapau varjayitvā

The word ajA ‘to move, lead’ is replaced by vi when an ārdhadhātuka affix other than GHaN (3.3.18 bhāve) or ap (3.3.69 samudor ajāḥ...) follows.

EXAMPLES:

pravayaniyay ‘fit for leading’
pravāyakah ‘he who leads or conducts’

1. Note that the replacement provided by this rule does not become effective before the affixes GHaN (3.3.18 bhāve) and ap (3.3.69 samudor ajah...). This is necessary so that forms such as samāja ‘society’ and saṃaja ‘herd’ can be derived. In this connection, however, a vārttika (Mbh II: 880) demands that a similar restriction should also apply when affix KyaP follows. This would make possible the derivation of saṃajyā ‘meeting, fame’. It is also proposed that the provision should be made optional before an ārdhadhātuka affix which begins with a consonant and is denoted by the abbreviatory term vaL (‘all consonants except y’; Śs 5-14). This would allow the derivation of examples such as follows, parallel to pravetā.

(a) prājitā ‘one who carries, sets in motion’

2.4.57 वा यो

vā you
/ vāḥ 1/1 yau 7/1 /
(ārdhadhātuke #35, ajer vī #56)
yau parabhūte ajer vā ‘vī ity ayam ādeśo bhavati

The word ajA optionally is replaced by vī when an ārdhadhātuka replacement of LyuT (3.3.117 karaṇa...) follows.

Examples:

pravayano daṇḍah ‘a stick or goad (for leading)’
prājano daṇḍah ‘id.’
pravayanam ānaya ‘bring the stick or goad (for leading)’
prājanam ānaya ‘id.’

1. Note that yu is used as a cover term for affixes KHyuN (3.2.56 ādhya...), TyuL (4.3.23 sāyam...), yuC (3.2.148 calana...), Lyu (3.1.134 nandigraha...), and LyuT (3.3.113 kṛtya...). The context of our present rule requires yu to refer here only to LyuT.

2.4.58 प्रक्षत्रियार्थिलो यूनि लुगरिणिः:

nyaksatriyārśaṇito yūni lug anिनोऽ
/ nyaksatriyārśaṇitaḥ 5/1 = 5 it yasya sa śit (bv.), nyas ca ksatriya ca ārśa ca ni ca = nyaksatriyārśaṇit (sam. dv. with int. bv.); yūni 7/1 luk 1/1 anिनोऽ 6/2 = an ca in ca (itār. dv.), tayoh /
nyantāt ksatriyagotṛad ārśad niita ca pararay anिनोर yūni lug bhavati

Affixes aN and iN are deleted by LUK when they denote yuvan ‘young descendant’ and occur after:
(i) nyā 'a form which ends in affix Nya' (4.1.151 kurvādibhyo nyah),
(ii) ksatriya 'a form which denotes a gotra (grandson on) descendant of
a ksatriya',
(iii) ārṣa 'a form which denotes a gotra descendant of a rṣi (sage)', or
(iv) nīt 'a form which ends in a gotra affix marked with N'.

**Examples:**

kauravyaḥ pītā 'descendant of Kuru'
kauravyaḥ putraḥ 'grandson of Kuru'
śvāphalkaḥ pītā 'descendant of Śvāphalka'
śvāphalkaḥ putraḥ 'grandson of Śvāphalka'
vāsiṣṭhaḥ pītā ‘descendant of Vāsiṣṭha’
vāsiṣṭhaḥ putraḥ ‘grandson of Vāsiṣṭha’
baidh pītā ‘descendant of Bida’
baidh putraḥ ‘grandson of Bida’
taikāyanīḥ pītā ‘descendant of Tikā’
taikāyanīḥ putraḥ ‘grandson of Tikā’.

1. This rule heads the section of deletion by means of LUK (1.1.61 pratyayasya lukṣlulupah). This term deletes affixes, with the further stipulation that operations characteristic of an affix do not apply in relation to an āṅga, when the deletion has been accomplished by means of an item which contains a LU (1.1.63 na humatāṅgasya). Additionally, we learn from rules 1.2.49 luk taddhitaluki and 1.2.51 lupi yuktavad vyaktivacane that when a taddhita is deleted by means of LUK, the feminine of an upasarjana ‘secondary’ element is also dropped. However, the original number and gender is still applicable to a taddhita derivate when the affix has been deleted by means of LUK.

Our present rule identifies the conditions under which affixes aNy (4.1.92 tasyāpatyam) and iNy (4.1.95 ata iṁ) may be deleted by LUK. The semantic condition common to all the contexts of this deletion is the denotation of yuvan ‘a descendant with his elders still alive’ (4.1.163 jīvatī tu vanśye yuvā).

See the appendix for derivational details.

2.4.59 पैलादिभ्या

pailādibhyā sa
/ pailādibhyā 5/3 = paila ādīr yeṣāṁ te (bh.); ca 0 /
(yūnī luk # 58)
‘paila’ ity evam ādibhyā sa yuvapratyayasya lug bhavati
A yuvan affix also is deleted by LUK when it occurs after items enumerated in the list headed by paila.
Examples:

pailah ṁitā ‘descendant of Pīlā’
pailah ṁutraḥ ‘grandson of Pīlā’

1. Affix aN is introduced after pilā (4.1.118 pilāyā vā) to denote a gotra (4.1.162 apatyam pautraprabhṛti gotram) descendant. The resultant form receives affix phiN by rule 4.1.156 ano duryakah, to denote a young gotra descendant. Our present rule deletes this affix phiN by means of LUK. See the appendix for derivational details.

The other derivates of the paila group entail items ending in affix iN. The deletion of phaK, introduced after them to denote ‘young gotra descendant’ (4.1.101. yanīnaś ca), is accomplished by the following rule. The derivational details of relevant examples can be found in the appendix, under the preceding and subsequent rules.

2.4.60 इनः प्राचार्यः
inah pracām
l inah 6/1 pracām 6/3/
(yūni luk #58)
gotre ya iṅ tadantād’ yuvapratyayasya lug bhavati

A yuvaṇ affix is deleted by LUK when it occurs after an item which terminates in iN and denotes the gotra descendants of Easterners.

Examples:

pāṇnāgārīḥ ṁitā ‘a gotra descendant of Pannāgāra’
pāṇnāgārīḥ ṁutraḥ ‘a young gotra descendant of Pannāgāra’

2.4.61 न तैलवालिष्ठ:
na taulvalibhyāḥ
l na 0 taulvalibhyāḥ 5/3 /
(yūni luk # 58)
taulvalyādibhyāḥ parasya yuvapratyayasya lug na bhavati

A yuvaṇ affix is not deleted by LUK when it occurs after items which denote gotra and are enumerated in the list headed by taulvali.

Examples:

taulvaliḥ ṁitā ‘a gotra descendant of Tulvala’
taulvalōyanaḥ ṁutraḥ ‘a young gotra descendant of Tulvala’

1. The word taulvalōyanaḥ denotes the young descendant of Tulvala, and is derived by introducing affix phaK (4.1.101 yanīnaś ca) after
taulvali. As is true of many previous examples, the references to
derivatives are furnished by citation of the gaña listings. Obviously, taulvali
heads the list of items enumerated in the GP. All such items will
normally receive gotra affix iN, after which rule 4.1.101 yaṇiṇoṣ ca will
introduce phaK.

2.4.62 तद्राज्या बहुम् तेनावृत्तियां

\[\text{tadrājasya bahuṣu tenaivāstriyām}\]
\[\text{I tadrājasya 6/1 bahuṣu 7/3 tena 3/1 eva 0 astriyām 7/1 I}\]
(luk #58)
‘te tadrājāḥ’, ‘ṇyādayas tadrājā’ ity vakyatī, tasya tadrājasamjñāsya
pratyayasya bahuṣu vartamānasyaāstrīlingasya lug bhavati, tenaiva cet
tadrājena kṛtam bahutvaṁ bhavati

The tadrāja (4.1.174 te tadrājāḥ, 5.3.119 ṇyādayas...) affix of a base
which denotes ‘plurality’ (bahu) is deleted by LUK provided that
‘plurality’ relates to the meaning of the affix, and the base is not
used in the feminine.

Examples:

aṅgāḥ ‘the princes of Aṅga’
vaṅgāḥ ‘the princes of Vaṅga’

1. This rule provides for the deletion of an affix termed tadrāja
(4.1.117 te tadrājāḥ) when it occurs after a non-feminine base which
denotes the sense of ‘plurality’ in relation to the meaning of the affix.
Thus, affix aN is introduced after the syntactically related nominal
base aṅga ‘a prince of Aṅga’, a base which ends in aN. If one wishes
to derive the ‘many princes of Aṅga’ from aṅga + ās, where aṅga,
a base not used in the feminine, has the denotatum of ‘plurality’
relative to the meaning of aN, aṅga must lose affix aN via LUK-deletion.
Consequently, we will get: (aṅga + aN → aṅga) + ās = aṅgāḥ. Note
that aṅga not only loses its aN, but also its initial vrddhi. This is in
consonance with paribhāsa: nīmītaśyāpāye naimittikasyāpy apāyah,
whereby ‘the effect of a cause (naimittika) must also be removed at the
time when the cause is removed’. Needless to say, the vrddhi of a was
conditioned by affix aN introduced after the nominal stem aṅga termi-
ninated in ās (4.1.82 samarthānāṃ prathamād vā).

2. Questions have been raised about the correct interpretation of
this rule, which I discuss here, in view of the following paraphrase
of Kāśikā:

\[\text{tadrājasamjñāsya pratyayasya bahuṣu vartamānasyaāstrīlingasya lug}\]
bhavati tenaiva cet tadrājena kṛtam bahutvam bhavati ‘a non-feminine affix termed tadrāja is deleted by LUK when it denotes ‘plurality’ provided ‘plurality’ is conditioned by the affix itself’

The preceding reference is a very literal translation of the paraphrase of Kāśikā. It does not make use of the process of tadantavidhi, whereby a form is interpreted as denoting something which may end in it. That is, it does not interpret tadrājasamājñasya pratyayasya as ‘a form which ends in an affix termed tadrāja’. This leads to acceptance of bahuṣu and asriliṅgasya as modifiers to the affix. Commentators prefer an interpretation based on tadantavidhi, whereby bahuṣu and asriliṅgasya become modifiers to the form (nominal base) which ends in an affix termed tadrāja. Some might object to this interpretation by noting that if tadrājasya is interpreted as tadrājāntasya ‘that which ends in a tadrāja affix’, deletion by LUK may also become applicable to that which ended in the affix. This, however, is not accurate. For, rule 1.1.61 pratyayasya lukṣṭulupah specifically restricts LUK to the context of affixal deletion. Thus, bahuṣu is treated as a qualifier to the base, and not the affix.

Note that the use of the word eva in tenaiva requires that the scope of ‘plurality’ be limited to the denotatum of the affix, itself. It is because of this restriction that aṅgāḥ still denotes ‘many princes of Aṅga’. That is, it does not denote something as ‘many Aṅgas’. It is in this sense that Kāśikā states tenaiva cet tadrājena kṛtam bahutvam bhavati ‘...provided the ‘multiplicity’ is caused by the affix termed tadrāja, itself’. Incidentally, the term tadrāja applies to affixes introduced by rules 4.1.168 janapada... through 4.1.173 sālvāyava....

2.4.63 यस्कादिभ्यो गोत्रे

yaskaḥ 'gotra descendants of Yaska'
labhyaḥ 'gotra descendants of Labhya'
1. This rule requires the deletion of affix \( a\nu \), introduced under the condition of plurality (\( bahutva \)) by rule 4.1.112 \( \text{śivādibhyo} \) \( \eta \). Thus, \( a\nu \) itself causes the plurality.

2.4.64 यण्डोशः

\( yañañ\̄no\̄s ca \)

\( / yañañ\̄no\̄h 6/2 = yañ ca añ ca (itar. dv.), tayoh; ca \( \theta \) / \)

(luk \# 58, bahuṣu tenaivāstriyām \# 62, gotre \# 63)

\( yañ\̄no \ 'ha\̄s ca gotrapratayasya bahuṣu vartamānasyāstrilīṅgasya lug bhavati \)

The gotra affixes \( Ya\̄N \) and \( a\nuN \) which denote ‘plurality’ are deleted by \( LUK \), provided that ‘plurality’ relates to the meaning of the affix, and the base is not used in the feminine.

**Examples:**

- gargāḥ ‘male gotra descendants of Garga’
- bidāḥ ‘male gotra descendants of Bida’

1. Note that rule 4.1.104 \( anṛṣyānantarye \ldots \) introduces affix \( a\nuN \) after \( bida \), etc. Once this affix is deleted, the \( vrddhi \) conditioned by this affix (\( tanni\text{mittaka} \)) is also removed. Thus, we will get forms such as \( bidāḥ \).

2.4.65 अत्रिप्रसृलवसिष्ठकोतमाविश्वरोपः

\( atri\̄bhṛgukutsavsāsiṅthagotamāṅgirobhyās ca \)

\( / atri...āṅgivorbhyaḥ 5/3 = atri ca bhṛguś ca kūtaś ca vasiṣṭhaś ca gotamaś ca aṅgiraś ca = atri...aṅgīraśah (itar. dv.), tebhyah; ca \( \theta \) / \)

(luk \# 58, bahuṣu tenaivāstriyām \# 62, gotre \# 63)

\( atri\̄bhṛgukutsariasya gotrapratayasya bahuṣu lug bhavati \)

A gotra affix which occurs as part of a base derived from \( atri, bhṛgu, kūta, vasiṣṭha, gotama \) or \( aṅgiraś, \) and denotes ‘plurality’ is also deleted by \( LUK \) provided that ‘plurality’ relates to the meaning of the affix, and the base is not used in the feminine.

**Examples:**

- atrayāḥ ‘gotra descendants of Atri’
- bhṛgavāḥ ‘gotra descendants of Bhṛgu’
- kūtsāḥ ‘gotra descendants of Kutsa’
- vasiṣṭhāḥ ‘gotra descendants of Vasiṣṭha’
- gotamāḥ ‘gotra descendants of Gotama’
- aṅgīrasaḥ ‘gotra descendants of Aṅgiras’

1. Note that affix \( dhaK \) is introduced to denote ‘young gotra descendant’ after \( atri \) by rule 4.1.122 \( itaś cāniṇāh, \) where plurality is also caused
by the affix. Our present rule deletes this affix to facilitate the derivation of atrayah. The remaining bases (bhrgu, etc.) get affix aNy by rule 4.1.114 rṣyandhaka... and, after the deletion of the affix, yield forms such as bhrgavaḥ, etc. Incidentally, rule 7.3.109 jasi ca orders guna in bhrgavaḥ. Forms unaffected by this deletion, like the singular and dual of atrī + ḍhaK, will yield ātreyah, ātreyau, and so on, where vṛddhi will be retained.

2.4.66 Bāhuca Iṣaḥ: Prācyabharteṣu

bāhvaca iṇaḥ prācyabharteṣu
1 bāhvacaḥ 5/1 iṇaḥ 6/1 prācyabharteṣu 7/3 
(luk # 58, bahuṣu tenaiwa # 62, gotre # 63)
bāhvacaḥ prātipadikād ya iṇ vihitāḥ prācyagotre bharata gotre ca vartate,
tasya bahuṣu lug bhavati

The gotra affix iṇ, which occurs as part of a polysyllabic base used to denote ‘plurality’ of the gotra descendants of the prācyas ‘eastern’ and bharata people, is deleted by LUK, provided ‘plurality’ relates to the meaning of the affix.

EXAMPLES:

pānāgārāḥ ‘gotra descendants of Pānāgāra’
mantharaśaṇaḥ ‘gotra descendants of Māntharaśaṇa’
yudhiṣṭhirāḥ ‘gotra descendants of Yudhiṣṭhira’
arjunāḥ ‘gotra descendants of Arjuna’

1. This rule deletes affix iṇ (4.1.95 ata iṇ) which denotes the many gotra descendants of the prācyas and bharatas people. It does so, however, only when the base after which the affix is introduced is polysyllabic (bāhvac). Obviously, pānāgāra and yudhiṣṭhira are polysyllabic bases, and yield the forms pānāgārāḥ and yudhiṣṭhirāḥ under the provisions of this rule. In the absence of the affixal deletion in singular and dual, as well as in situations where the bases are not polysyllabic, forms such as pānāgāriḥ and vaikayaḥ result.

Haradatta (PM ad Kāś II: 311) remarks that prācyabharaṇa of prācyabharteṣu is a dvandva compound formed with prācyas and bharatas. Here, prācyas denotes ‘general’ (sāmānyas) and bharata denotes ‘particular’ (vāśās). This compound could be justified by the maxim gobalivardas: ‘cows and the bullock, a particular within that general class’ (prācyabharteṣu iti dvandvas tu sāmānyaviguṣavācinar gobalivardanyayeneti bhāvaḥ).

A question is raised as to why bharata should be made a part of the rule, when its denotatum is already included in prācyas. Kāśikā (II: 311) states that bharata is mentioned separately here to indicate that prācyas, used elsewhere, will exclude the denotation of bharata (cf. bharatāḥ prācyā eva; teṣām puṇar grahaṇam jñāpanārtham—anyatra prag grahaṇe bharata-
graññanaṁ na bhavatīti; tenā 'īñah prācāṁ iti bharatānāṁ yuvapratyayasya lug na bhavati). Consequently, there is no LUK-deletion applicable to bharata derivates under the provisions of rule 2.4.60 īñah prācāṁ. We thus get ārjuniḥ and ārjunāyanah for, respectively, the father and son gotra descendants of Arjuna.

2.4.67 गोपवनादिघ्यः

na gopavanādibhyah
/ na ō gopavanādibhyah 5/3 =gopavana ādir yesaṁ te gopavanādayah
(bv.), tebhyaḥ /
(luk # 58, bahuṣu tenaiwa # 62, gotre # 63)
gopavanādibhyah parasya prayayasya lug na bhavati
A gotra affix occurring after gopavana, etc., used in the plural, is not deleted by LUK when 'plurality' is denoted relative to the meaning of the affix.

Examples:

gauśavanāḥ 'gotra descendants of Gopavana'
śaigravāḥ 'gotra descendants of Śigru'

1. This rule forms an exception to the LUK applicable to affix aṉ introduced by rule 4.1.104 anṛṣyāṇantarye.... The deletion by LUK is ordered by rule 2.4.64 yañānōś ca, where the sense of 'plurality' relative to the meaning of the affix is still the attendant situation. Note also that the gopavanādi gana is a sublisting contained within the larger listing of the bidādi group. The resultant form, under the provisions of this rule, will be the first example

gaupavanāḥ 'gotra descendants of Gopavana'
where the affix, as well as the vṛddhi, is retained.

2.4.68 तिकित्ववादिघ्यः इत्ये

tikākātavādibhyo dvandve
/ tikākātavādibhyah 5/3 = tikaś ca kitavaś ca = tikākātavau (itar. dv.), ādiś ca ādiś ca = ādi, tau ādi yesaṁ te = tikākātavādayah (bv. with int. dv.),
tebhyaḥ; dvandve 7/1 /
(luk # 58, bahuṣu tenaiवात्रyāṁ # 62, gotre # 63)
tikādibhyah kitāvādibhyas ca dvandve gotrapratyayasya bahuṣu lug bhavati
A gotra affix which occurs as part of a dvandva compound that is used to denote 'plurality', and which is composed of constituents enumerated in the lists headed by tika and kitava, is deleted by LUK when 'plurality' relates to the meaning of the affix.
EXAMPLES:

tikakitavāh ‘gotra’ descendants of Tika and Kitava’
vaṅkharabhanḍīrathāh ‘gotra’ descendants of Vaṅkhara and Bhanḍīratha’

1. This rule allows for the deletion of affixes iṅ (4.1.95 ata iṅ) and phiṅ (4.1.154 tikādhīyāh...). Note that dvandva (2.2.29 cārthe dvandvāh), and the denotation of plurality relative to the meaning of the affix, are the two conditions for deletion to occur.

2.4.69 उपाकादिन्योज्यतारस्यापमशेत

upakādibhyo ‘nyatarasyām advandve
/ upakādibhyāh 5/3 (bv.); anyatarasyām 7/1 advandve 7/1 (nañ. tat.) /
(luk # 58, bahuṣu tenaiवāstriyām # 62, gotre # 63)
‘upaka’ ity evam ādhībhyaḥ parasya gotrapratyayasya bahuṣu lug bhavati
anyatarasyām dvandve cādvandve ca

A gotra affix which occurs after upaka, etc., and which denotes ‘plurality’, whether individually or as part of a dvandva compound, is optionally deleted by LUK when ‘plurality’ relates to the meaning of the affix.

EXAMPLES:

upakāh ‘gotra’ descendants of Upaka
aupakāyanāh ‘id.’
lamakāh ‘gotra’ descendants of Lamaka
lāmakāyanāh ‘id.’

1. The word advandve is used here to facilitate the discontinuation of the domain of dvandve. That is, it is not used to disallow the optional LUK under the condition of the lack of a dvandva compound. It is simply used to state that in situations of non-dvandva, the deletion is optional in the context of the bases denoted by upakādi. Obviously, two sets of forms, one with dvandva (such as upakalamakāh), and one without (such as upakāh), will result where the option of dvandva is available.

2.4.70 आगस्त्यकाण्डिन्योगरगतिकाण्डिनम्

āgastyakaṇḍīnayayor agastikauṇḍinac
/ āgastyakaṇḍīnayoh 6/2 (itar. dv.) agastikauṇḍinac 1/1 = āgastī ca
kauṇḍinac ca (sam. dv.) /
(luk # 58, bahuṣu tenaiवāstriyām # 62, gotre # 63)
āgastyakaṇḍīnayor anō yānaś ca bahuṣu lug bhavati, pariśiṣṭasya
ca prakṛtiḥhāgasya yathāsamkhyaṃ ‘agastikauṇḍinac’ ity etāv ādrēṣau
bhavataḥ
A gotra affix (aN or yaN) which occurs as part of āgastya or kuṇḍinya and which denotes ‘plurality’ is deleted by LUK when ‘plurality’ relates to the meaning of the affix; the resultant bases are replaced by agasti and kuṇḍinaC respectively.

**Examples:**

agastayaḥ ‘gotra descendants of Agasta’
kuṇḍināḥ ‘gotra descendants of Kuṇḍin’

1. This rule does not only provide for the LUK-deletion of affixes aN (4.1.114 rṣyandhaka...) and yaN (4.1.105 gargaḍi...). It also states that the bases āgastya and kuṇḍini, which result from the affixal deletion, should be replaced by agasti and kuṇḍinaC respectively. This will yield examples such as the two given above. The C of the replacement kuṇḍinaC is intended for accent. The word kuṇḍini is marked udātta in the middle (madhyodātta). Its replacement (kuṇḍinaC) will therefore also receive udātta on its middle i.

### 2.4.71 सुपो धातुप्रतिपदिकवोः:

supo dhātu-prātipadikayoḥ
I supah 6/1 dhātu-prātipadikayoh 6/2 = dhātuś ca prātipadikaś ca = dhātu-prātipadike (itar. dv.), tayoḥ I
(luk # 58)

supo vibhakter dhātusamjñāyāḥ prātipadikasamjñāyāś ca lug bhavati
A sUP (4.1.2 svaujas...) which occurs as part of a dhātu ‘root’ or a prātipadika ‘nominal stem’ is deleted by LUK.

**Examples:**

putrīyati ‘he wishes a son for himself’
rājaputraḥ ‘king’s son, prince’

1. Kāśīka (II: 316) invokes paribhāṣā (PŚ: 90) tadantargatās tad-grahāneṇa gṛhyante in connection with the interpretation of this rule. This paribhāṣā allows a variable to refer also to something contained within it. The terms dhātu and prātipadika could, therefore, also apply to items contained within them. If this paribhāṣā were not accepted, problems would arise in relation to the sUP contained, for instance, in putrīya. This is a verbal root which is derived from the string

putra + am + KyaC

(3.1.8 supah āmanah kyac), where rule 7.4.33 kyaci ca replaces the final a of putra with i, to yield:

putr + i + (K → θ) ya + (C → θ).

The resultant unit

putrī + am + ya
is termed dhātu by 3.1.32 sanādyantā dhātavah. Our present rule then applies to delete the am to yield putriya.

However, if one interprets the dual ending in dhātusprātipadikayoh as locative (saśtamī), a problem could arise in deleting am by the present rule. The locative, then, could only denote upāśleṣa ‘proximity’. This being the case, rule 2.4.71 would become applicable only to, for example, instances such as the sU of vṛkṣa + sU, where sU must remain in the proximity of the nominal stem vṛkṣa. Alternatively, if a genitive dual interpretation is accepted within the stipulation of the paribhāṣā # 90, everything will be in order. That is, deletion of a sUP then does not have to be conditioned by the proximity with a nominal stem.

The paribhāṣā is especially necessary so that a sUP, such as am, contained within a root like

putri + am + ya,

could still be recognized as separate from the group (samudāya) for purposes of this deletion. For, a part (avayava) contained within a group may also qualify for the term applicable to the group: samudāyeṣu hi pravṛttāh śabdāh avayavesv api varattante. The nominal ending thus can be termed either a nominal stem, or a verbal root. This will obviously create further problems in deleting the sUP.

2.4.72 अदिप्रभृत्तिया: शयः

adiprabṛttibhyah śaṇah
/ adiprabṛttibhyah 5/3 = adiprabṛtti yesāṃ te = adiprabṛttāyaḥ (bv.),
tebhyah; śaṇah 6/1 /
(luk # 58)
adiprabṛttibhyā uttarasya śaṇo lug bhavati

Affix SaP (3.1.68 karitāri...) is deleted by LUK when it occurs after roots enumerated in the list headed by adA ‘to eat’.

Examples:

atti ‘he eats’
hanti ‘they kill’

2.4.73 बहुलं चन्दसि

bahulaṃ chandasi
/ bahulaṃ 1/1 chandasi 7/1 /
(luk # 58, adiprabṛttibhyah śaṇah # 72)
chandasi viśaye śaṇo bahulaṃ lug bhavati

Affix SaP is variously deleted by LUK in the Vedic when it occurs after roots enumerated in the list headed by adA.


**Examples:**

\( \text{vr̥tra m hanati} \) ‘he kills Vṛtra’
\( \text{ahih sayate} \) ‘the snake reclines’
\( \text{trādhvaṃ no devāḥ} \) ‘O gods, protect us’

1. Note that \text{bahulam} ‘variously’ means that a given provision, such as the deletion of \text{SaP}, applies irregularly.

#### 2.4.74 **चक्षुप्रधि: पुन:***

\( \text{yaño } \text{ci ca} \)
\( / \text{yañaḥ} 6/1 \text{aci} 7/1 \text{ca } 0 / \)
\( (\text{luk } \# 58, \text{bahulam} \text{chandasi } \# 73) \)
\( \text{yaño lug bhavati aci pratyaye parataḥ; cakāreṇa bahulagrahāṇam anukṛṣyate, na tu chandasīti} \)

Affix \text{yaN} (\text{3.1.22 dhātora...) is variously deleted by \text{LUK} when affix \text{aC} (\text{3.1.134 nandigrahi...}) follows.

**Examples:**

\( \text{lalūvaḥ} \) ‘he who cuts again and again’
\( \text{popuvaḥ} \) ‘he who wipes again and again’
\( \text{sākuni ko lālapitī} \) ‘the bird hunter speaks again and again’
\( \text{dundubhir vāvadīti} \) ‘the drum is sounding again and again’

1. The \text{ca} of this rule is used to attract \text{bahulam}, and not \text{chandasi}. Consequently, affix \text{yaN} is variously deleted in both the Vedic and Classical languages (\text{bhāṣā}). By \text{bahulam}, we understand that deletion or the lack of it obtains where it is desired, or undesired, respectively. The \text{aC} refers to affix \text{aC}, not to the abbreviatory term \text{aC} which denotes vowels. It is for this reason that the \text{Kāśikā} in its gloss uses \text{aC-pratyaye}. It is also stated that, because of \text{bahulam}, deletion may become applicable to \text{yaN} occurring even before a non-\text{aC} affix. Obviously, this all constitutes some further expatiation of the notion of \text{bahulam}.

#### 2.4.75 **ज्ञोत्यावाच्य: स्तु:***

\( \text{juhotyādibhyah śluḥ} \)
\( / \text{juhotyādibhyah} 5/3 = \text{juhoti ādir yešām te} = \text{juhotyādayah (bu.), tebhyaḥ; śluḥ 1/1 /} \)
\( (\text{sapāḥ } \# 72) \)
\( \text{juhotyādibhya uttārasya sapāḥ śluḥ bhavati} \)

Affix \text{SaP} is deleted by \text{SLU} when it occurs after roots enumerated in the list headed by \text{hu} ‘to call; to perform a ritual sacrifice’.
EXAMPLES:

juhoti ‘he performs the ritual’

bibharti ‘he provides for...

1. This rule only carries the anuvṛtti of SaP, and not of yaṉ. Additionally, SaP is replaced by ŚLU to thereby cause reduplication (dvitva) by 6.1.10 ślav.

2.4.76 बहुलं छन्दसिः

bahulam chandasi

/ bahulam 1/1 chandasi 7/1 /

(sapah #72, juhotaśibhyah śluḥ #75)

chandasi viśaye bahulam sapah śkur bhavati

Affix SaP is variously deleted by ŚLU in the Vedic when it occurs after roots enumerated in the list headed by hu.

EXAMPLES:

dāṭi priyāṇi ‘he gives pleasant things’
dhāṭi priyāṇi ‘he holds pleasant things’

1. Here again bahulam implies yatrotkam tatra na bhavati anyatrāpi bhavati ‘it does not apply where provided for but does apply elsewhere’. That is, it does not apply after roots belonging to the class headed by hu ‘to call’, while elsewhere it does apply.

2.4.77 गातिस्थायुपाभृथ्यथ: सिच: परस्मैपदेः

gātiṣṭhāghupābhūthbhyaḥ sicāḥ parasmai-padesu

/ gāti...bhyaḥ 5/3 = gātiṣṭ ca sthāṣ ca ghuṣ ca pāṣ ca bhūṣ ca = gātiṣṭhāghupābhūthbhyaḥ (itar. dv.), tebhyaḥ; sicāḥ 6/1 parasmai-padesu 7/3 /

(luk # 58)

‘gāti sthā, ghu, pā, bhū’ ity etebhyah parasya sico lug bhavati parasmai-padesu

Affix sīC (3.1.44 cleh sic) is deleted by LUK when it occurs after gā ‘to go’, sthā ‘to stand’, ghu ‘roots termed ghu’. (cf. 1.1.20 dādhāghu adāp), pā ‘to drink’, or bhū ‘to be, become’, and a parasmai-pada (1.4.99 laḥ paras...) affix follows.

EXAMPLES:

agāt ‘he went’

asthāt ‘he stayed’

adāt ‘he gave’

adhāt ‘he held’

apāt ‘he drank’

abhūt ‘it became...’
1. Note that only LUK, and not ŠLU, is carried to this rule. Additionally, gāti refers to the replacement gā of verbal root iNy ‘to go’, as is provided for by rule 2.4.45 ino gā luṣi. It is further stated that pā refers to pib ‘to drink’. The term ghu is assigned by rule 1.1.20 dādhāghu adāp. Finally, LUK obtains only in parasmaiṃpada ‘active’.

2.4.78 विभाषा प्रशेत्ताप्चासः:

vibhāṣā ghrādhetṣācchāsaḥ
/ vibhāṣā 1/1 ghrādhetṣācchāsaḥ 5/1 = ghrās ca dhet ca sāś ca chāś ca sāś
cā = ghrādhetṣācchāsam (sam. dv.), tasmāt /
(luk # 58, sicaḥ parasmaiṃpadesu # 77)
‘ghrā, dhet, sā, chā, sā ity eteyha uttarasya sicaḥ parasmaiṃpadesu vibhāṣā
lug bhavati
Affix sīC optionally is deleted by LUK when it occurs after ghrā ‘to
smell’, dhet ‘to suck, drink’, sā (so) ‘to pare’, chā (cho) ‘to cut’, or sā
(so) ‘to destroy’, and a parasmaiṃpada affix follows.

EXAMPLES:

aghṛat ‘he smelled’
aghṛasit ‘id.’
adḥāt ‘he sucked’
adḥāsit ‘id.’
asāt ‘he pared’
asāsit ‘id.’
acḥāt ‘he cut’
acḥāsit ‘id.’
asāt ‘he destroyed’
asāsit ‘id.’

1. Note that verbal root dhet is assigned the term ghu. As such, it already
had the deletion of sīC made obligatorily available (prāpta) by the preceding
rule. Our present rule makes that obligatory provision optional. In case
of the other cited roots, no provisions have previously been made available
(aprāpta). This rule makes it optionally available. See the appendix for
derivational details.

2.4.79 तनाधियस्तत्तत्तसः:

tanādibhyas tathāsoḥ
/ tanādibhyah 5/3 = tan ādir yeṣāṃ te = tanādayah (bv.), tebhīyaḥ; tathāsoḥ
7/2 = taś ca thāś ca = tathāsau (itar. dv.), tayoh /
(luk # 58, sicaḥ parasmaiṃpadesu # 77, vibhāṣā # 78)
tanādibhya uttarasya sicaḥ tathāsoḥ parato vibhāṣā lug bhavati
Affix ści optionally is deleted by LUK when it occurs after roots enumerated in the class headed by tanu ‘to expand’, and when affixes ta ‘third person singular ātmanepada’ and thās ‘second person singular ātmanepada’ follow.

**Examples:**

- atata ‘he expanded’
- ataniśṭa ‘id.’
- atathāh ‘you expanded’
- ataniśṭhāh ‘id.’

1. Note that the earlier rules have this deletion taking place in the active. This rule, however, requires the deletion before middle affixes ta and thās. Affix ta, because of its association (sahacarya) here with thās, refers to ātmanepada ‘middle’. See the appendix for derivational details.

**2.4.80 मन्त्रे घसहवरणा सूर्यदक्षगतांगमिनिन्दो लेते:**

mantre ghasahvaraṇaśāvrdahādvrcṛgamijanibhyo leḥ
l mantere 7/1 ghasa...janibhyah 5/3 = ghasaś ca hvarāś ca nāśaś ca vr ca
dahaś ca ac ca vrj ca kṛ ca gamīś ca janiś ca = ghasahvara...janayāh
(itar. dv.), tebhyaḥ; leḥ 6/1 /
(luk # 58)
mantraviśaye ‘ghasa, hvara, nāśa, vr, daha, āt, vṛc, kṛ, gami, jani’ ity
etebhya uttarasya ler lug bhavati

Affix LI (CLI; 3.1.43 clī lunī) is deleted by LUK in the Vedic when it occurs after ghasā. ‘to eat’, hvr ‘to be crooked’, nāśā ‘to be destroyed’, vrj to ‘choose, cover’, dah ‘to burn’, āT ‘roots which end in ā’, vṛcā ‘to avoid’, Dukṛṇ to ‘make, do’, gamī ‘to go’, or janī ‘to be born’.

**Examples:**

- aksan pitarō mīmadanta pitarāḥ (Tai Sam1.8.5.3) ‘our forefathers ate the ritual oblation and were pleased’
- mā hvarṁitrasya tvā (Tai Sam 1.1.4.1) ‘you should not have acted deceitfully toward friends’
- dhūrtiḥ praṇāṁ martyasya (RV 1.18.3) ‘...destruction brought by humans’
- surucr vena āvah (Vāj 13.3) ‘the glowing sun illuminated (covered) the universe’
- ādhak (RV 6.61.14) ‘...has burnt’
- āprā dyāvāṣṭhivi antarikṣam (RV 1.115.1) ‘...filled the sky, earth, and horizon with its rays’
- parā varg bhārabhrdvyathā (RV 8.75.12) ‘...threw like one who carries loads’
akran ‘they made’
agman ‘they went’
aţnata vā asya dantaḥ (Ait 7.14.2) ‘his teeth had not then appeared’

1. The word mantra is used here as an upalāśana ‘indicator, mark’ for chandās ‘Vedic in general’. Jinendrabuddhi (Nyāsa ad Kāś 1I: 325-26) raises the question of using LI when sIC is already in use. The LI here refers to CLI which, in turn, is substituted by sIC (3.1.44 cleh sic). It is stated that LI is mentioned for subsequent rules. Additionally, it is used here to indicate that operations relative to sIC provided, for example, by rule 6.1.187 ādiḥ sico nyatarasyām, are not carried. See the appendix for derivational details.

2.4.81 आम:

āmah
l/āmah 5/1/
(luṛ # 58, leh # 80)
āmah parasya ler luk bhavati
Affix LI(LIṬ) is deleted by LUK when it occurs after affix ām (3.1.35 kāspraty...).

Examples:

ihāmcakre ‘he exerted...’
ūhāmcakre ‘he reasoned...’
ikśāmcakre ‘he desired...’

1. Note that āmah refers to affix ām which, in turn, is introduced after verbal root īhA ‘to strive’ by rule 3.1.36 ījādeś ca..., under the condition of a following affix, namely LIṬ. This also means that LI, carried from the preceding rule, is now making the reference to LIṬ. A reference to CLI, as in the previous rule, would not make sense here. Derivational details are given under rule 1.1.63 ampratayavat....

2.4.82 अवयवादापुप:

avayād āpsupah
l/avayāt 5/1 āpsupah 6/1 = āp ca sup ca = āpsup (sam. dv.), tasya l
(luṛ # 58)
avayād uttarsayāpah supaś ca lug bhavati
Affixes āP (ṬāP, ḌāP, ČāP; feminine affixes, cf. 4.1.3 striyām) and sUP are deleted by LUK when they occur after an avyaya ‘indeclinable’.

Examples:

tatra śālāyām ‘there in the house’
yatra śālāyām ‘in the house where...’
kṛtvā 'having made'
hitvā 'having impelled'

1. The word tatra and yatra are derived by introducing affix traL after specific bases ending in saptamī 'seventh triad of sUP' (5.3.10 saptamīyās...). Kāśīka offers the first example

	atra śālāyām 'there in the house'

where tatra ends in traL and is termed an avyaya (1.1.38 taddhitaś čā...). The term 'indeclinable' is available to tatra on the strength of its being a form ending in a taddhita. The word śālā ends in the feminine affix TāP and is modified by tatra. Because it is a qualifier (viśeṣaṇa), the affix must also end in feminine, like śālā, which is the qualified (viśeṣya). This requires the introduction of TāP after tatra, which our present rule deletes by LUK. Similarly, sUP affixes introduced after nominal stems termed avyaya are also deleted. A case in point could be the avayābhāva compound which is termed an avyaya, as well as a nominal stem (1.2.45 kṛtad- dhitasamāśaś ca). The details of a deletion of sUP after an avayābhāva compound are to be found under relevant rules.

2.4.83 नावयायिभावादतोऽस्पर्यवधया:

nāvayāyībhāvād ato 'm tu apañcamyāḥ

/ na θ avayāyībhāvāt 5/1 atah 5/1 am 1/1 tu θ apañcamyāḥ 6/1 = na pañcamī = apañcamī (nañ. tat.), tasyāḥ /

(luk # 58, avayāyād āpsupaḥ# 82)

adantād avayāyībhāvād uttarasya supo na lug bhavati, amādeśas tu tasya supo bhavaty apañcamyāḥ

A sUP which occurs after an avayāyībhāva compound ending in aT (a; 1.1.70 taparas...) is not deleted; instead, sUP is replaced by am provided it is not a pañcamī 'fifth triplet of sUP'.

EXAMPLES:

upakumbham tiṣṭhati ‘... is sitting near the pitcher’
upakumbham paśya ‘... see near the pitcher’

1. This rule makes two provisions:
(i) for the negation (pratishedha) of the LUK-deletion of a sUP which occurs after an avayāyībhāva compound ending in a; and
(ii) for the replacement by am of that same sUP, except when it is an ablative (pañcamī).

The rule, therefore, forms an exception to that which precedes it. It also requires that two operations should be performed simultaneously (yugapad). Further, we are dealing with a negative as well as a positive
provision. If both provisions are given in the form of a single rule problems may occur. For instance, an am replacement may also be negated, on account of its association with the negation of LUK-deletion.

The Mahābhāṣya (III: 902-3) discusses the proposal to split this rule into two (yogavibhāga), as follows.

(i) nāvyayībhāvād atāḥ... ‘deletion by means of LUK of a sūp which occurs after an avyayībhāva compound ending in a does not take place...’

(ii) am tv apañcamyāḥ ‘a sūp which occurs after an avyayībhāva compound ending in a which is not a pañcamī is replaced by am’

This arrangement separates the two provisions of the rule. The negation of apañcamyāḥ in this split interpretation is read in the context of paribhāṣā 62:

anantarasya vidhir vā bhavati pratiṣedha vā ‘an operation (vidhi) or negation (pratiṣedha) applies to that which is most immediate (anantara).’

The Mahābhāṣya, however, rejects the proposed rule-splitting, saying that tu, itself, will account for this. In what way? This word tu ‘indeed’ would become restrictive (nīyāmaka), and would mean:
‘pañcamī’...ablative’ indeed will not be replaced by am’.

Note that Kāśikā, perhaps for the sake of clarity, puts the vr̥tti of this rule into two sentences:

adantād avyayībhāvād uttarasya supo na lug bhavati /
amādesas tu tasya supo bhavaty apañcamyāḥ/!

2.4.84 तृतीयासपष्टमयोऽवहुलम्

tritiyāśaptamyor bahulam
/ tritiyāśaptamoyoh 6/2 tritiyā ca saptamī ca = tritiyāśaptamayo (itar. dv.),
tayoh; bahulam 1/1 /
(nāvyayībhāvād ato ‘m tv apañcamyāḥ # 83)
tritiyāśaptamory vibhektyor bahulam ambhāvo bhavati
A tritiyā or saptamī is variously replaced by am when it occurs after an avyayībhāva compound which ends in a.

Examples:

upakhumbhena kṛtam ‘made near the pitcher’
upakumbhāṃ kṛtam ‘id.’
upakumbe nihehi ‘place it near the pitcher’
upakumbhāṃ nihehi ‘id.’

1. Note that rule 2.4.83 nāvyayībhāvād... provides for an obligatory
replacement of a nominal ending by am after an avayibhāva compound. It offers am by way of negating the deletion of an ending by LUK. The present rule makes the obligatory provision of am ‘various’ (bahulam). As a consequence am may or may not replace the triyā or saptamī which occurs at the end of an avayibhāva compound ending in a. Note that am was offered by the previous rule to block the LUK-deletion. The same will happen here. That is, if am does not replace an ending, deletion will not apply. Thus, we get examples like the first pair given above.

2.4.85 लुतः प्रथमस्य ब्रतरसः

\[ \text{lutaḥ prathamsya dāraurasah} \]
\[ / \text{lutaḥ 6/1 prathamsya 6/1 dāraurasah} = \text{dāś ca rauś ca raś ca (itar. dv.)/} \]
\[ \text{luḍādeśasya prathamaiparūṣasya parasmaipadasyātmānepadasya ca ‘dā, rau, ras’ ity ete ādēśā bhavanti yathāsamkhyaṃ} \]

The third person tiś-replacements of LUT (3.3.15 anadyatane...) are replaced by Dā, rau, and ras, respectively.

**Examples:**

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{kartā ‘he will make’} \\
\text{kartārau ‘they two will make’} \\
\text{kartārah ‘they will make’} \\
\text{adhyetā ‘he will study’} \\
\text{adhyetārau ‘they two will study’} \\
\text{adhyetārah ‘they will study’}
\end{align*}
\]

1. Our rule concerns the third personal (prathama; 1.4.101 tiṇa-strinitrīṇi...) replacements of LUT (3.3.15 anadyatane lut), which are tiP, tas, and jhi of parasmaipada (1.4.99 tāḥ parasmaipadam); and ta, ātāṃ, and jha of ātmānepada (1.4.100 taṇāṇāv ātmānepadam). The rule here requires that these should be replaced by Dā, rau, and ras. Obviously, such replacement entails six substitutes for three substituenda. The assignment of equivalency in terms of the order of enumeration (samkhyaśānudeśa; 1.3.10 yathāsamkhyam anudeśāḥ samānām) is ruled out because of the unequal number of the corresponding substituenda. Equivalency has therefore to be assigned by the most immediate context (ānantarya) of meaning (artha). This happens to be the singular, dual, and plural in each category of parasmaipada and ātmānepada. That is, the same three replacements will replace the singular, dual, and plural elements in the categories of parasmaipada and ātmānepada. Rule 1.3.10 regulates equivalency within the single categories of parasmaipada and ātmānepada. Thus, Dā, rau, and ras replace tiP, tas, and jhi respectively in parasmaipada. Similarly, they replace ta, ātāṃ, and jha in ātmānepada.
Adhyāya Three

3.1.1 प्रत्ययः

pratyayah
/pratyayah 1/1/
pratyayaśabdah samjñātvenādhikriyate
An affix...

Examples:

karttavyām ‘that which should be done’
kāraniyām ‘that which is to be done’

1. This is an adhikāra, and as such, pratyayah, a name (samjñā), carries to all rules through the end of book five (adhyāya). Consequently, all items introduced in this domain, within specified contexts, will be termed pratyaya. An exact specification as to what qualifies assignment of the term pratyaya within this domain follows. But first, it is important to understand the nature of this term.

The term pratyaya is introduced by way of an adhikāra so assignment of the term, as well as operations relative to it, can be accomplished with economy (lāghava). It would, obviously, be prolix (gaurava) if individual rules were formulated to assign the term pratyaya each time a pratyaya was introduced. The reason, simply put, is that the samjñā is one and the name bearers (samjñin) many; there is hardly a shared, or common, feature by which assignment of the term can easily be made. Hence, it is not possible, for example, to formulate a rule similar to 1.1.73 vrddhir yasyācām ādis tad vrddham, whereby assignment of the term pratyaya could be made following the pattern of the term vrddha.

Formulating a general rule sap pratyayah to assign the term pratyaya to items denoted by the abbreviatory term sap would not be successful. For it is not, necessarily, an accurate assumption that our abbreviation sap is formed by joining the sa of 3.1.7 dhatoh samānakaṁtrkād icchāyāṁ vā san and the P of 5.4.151 urah prabhṛṣṭibhyah kap. For example, consider rules 3.1.34 sib bahulam leti and 3.1.106 vadaḥ sup kyāp ca, etc. If one were to operate in accordance with pratyāśatti-nyāya, the maxim of proximity, the P of sap would be interpreted as that of the siP in 3.1.34 sib bahulam leti. It is, therefore, argued that the maxim of pervasion, or extended limit (vyāpti), should be accepted. Consequently, the P would be interpreted as the P of tanaP (7.1.45 taptanapta...). However, this mode of assignment for the term pratyaya will just not work. For, there are many other P used as it.
2. Commentators identify two types of meanings: laukika, the general meaning obtained from usage; and śāstriya, the meaning one gets both by the process of concurrent presence (anvaya) and concurrent absence (vyatireka). This second is called the technical (śāstriya) meaning as it is only valid within the realm of grammar. Pāṇini assigns certain meanings to affixes which can be discerned by comparing forms through the technique of anvaya and vyatireka. The idea is to compare forms and assign meaning differentials to corresponding units of formal differences.

The term pratyaśa can be treated as used in its traditional etymological sense (anvarthasamjña) of ‘that by means of which meaning is made comprehensible’ (pratiyanty anena artham). This also includes instances where the particular meaning of an affix is left without any specification (anirdiśta). Such affixes must then be interpreted as denoting svārtha, the sense of the base after which they are introduced (anirdiśtaḥ pratyaśaḥ svārthe bhavanti).

The preceding discussion begs the question as to whether or not a vikaraṇa such as Śap (3.1.68 kartari śap), or an āgama ‘augment’ such as aT can be assigned the term pratyaśa. It can be argued, here, that since such affixes are not assigned any meaning they should not qualify for the term. This argument is countered, however, on grounds that traditionally when they have not been assigned any particular meaning, they denote svārtha. This assumption qualifies them for the assignment of the term pratyaśa.

The tradition treats āgama, a term which Pāṇini did not use, as secondary elements (guṇībhūta). That is, āgama are introduced to items as their initial (ādi), final (antya), or inserted elements, depending on whether they are marked with T, K, or M, respectively (1.1.46 ādyantau...; 1.1.47 mid acō' ntyāt paraḥ). Refer also to the Phbh. (12): yadāgamaś tadguṇībhūtaś tadgrahaṇena gṛhyante whereby a reference to an āgama is to be made by that whose part it has become. This then implies that an āgama can be called an affix only when it becomes the part of an affix. Assignment of the term will apply only to the larger unit which includes the āgama, and not the āgama per say. Thus, an āgama, from this viewpoint, is not an affix. In contrast, vikaraṇas have been accepted as affixes as is obvious from their operational contexts. Moreover, an affix is generally introduced (vidhīyate) with reference to a dātuka (3.1.91 dātoḥ), or a prātipadika (4.1.1 nyāp-prātipadikāt), its subject (uddesya). That is, an affix constitutes the predicate (vidhaya) in relation to its base. Such a relationship is not possible in case of an āgama. A vikaraṇa, such as ŚaP (3.1.68 kartari śap), can be introduced under the condition of the assignment of the technical term sārvadhātuka (3.4.113 tīnīt sārvadhātukam), relative to a dātuka, with operational consequences. We already know that items denoted by the abbreviatory term tiN are termed affixes. The association of tiN with śit
(in rule 3.4.113), referring to items such as SaP, also qualifies SaP, etc., to be similarly called affixes. Rule 3.1.93 kṛd atiṅ, indeed, assigns the term kṛt to affixes other than those denoted by the abbreviatory term tiṅ. Pāṇini, again, does not use the term vikarāna.

Scope: 1.1.62 pratyaayalope pratyaayalaksanam, etc.

3.1.2 परश

paraś ca
śparah 1/1 ca Θ/
(pratyayah #1)
paraś ca sa bhavati dhātor vā prātipadikād vā yah pratyayasaṃjñāḥ

And that which is termed an affix occurs subsequently....

Examples:

kartiṣayam ‘that which should be done’
tattirīyam ‘a treatise composed by Tittiri’

1. This rule is also an adhihāra. Or else, it can be interpreted as a paribhāṣā. For rule 3.1.2, when joined with rule 3.1.1, yields the following interpretation:

‘that which is assigned the term pratya occurs subsequently...’

If one treats rule 3.1.2 as an adhihāra then one also has to accept that it is carried to each and every rule (pratīyogam upatiṣṭhate) of the domain headed by rule 3.1.1 pratya. A paribhāṣā interpretation would enable it to sit in one place (ekadesaṣṭha), though at the same time be applicable throughout the domain (sarvatra śāstre vyāpīryate) like a lamp placed in one place yet capable of illuminating the entire room (sarvaṁ veśnam abhiṣvayati). It, however, does not have to be carried to each and every rule of the domain (na tu pratīyogam upatiṣṭhate). If it is an interpretive provision (paribhāṣā), then it must also have a characteristic mark (liṅga). Of course, the characteristic mark, in this case, is the assignment of the term pratya itself.

The purpose of ca, when it does not function to bring anything unstated close to a given context (anuktamasuccaya), is avadhāraṇa ‘delimitation, exact specification’. Consequently, we understand that what is assigned the term pratya occurs only after a root (dhātu), or a nominal stem (prātipadika). Incidentally, since dhātu is generally identified as ‘that which denotes an action’, an affix can be introduced after anything that denotes action. This way, a pada which ends in a tiṅ can also qualify for the introduction of an affix. Similarly, a pada which ends in a sUP along with items which may end in feminine affixes (4.1.1 nyāp-prātipadikāt), would also qualify for the introduction of an affix. This obligatory requirement of subsequent occurrence may not restrict an unādi affix to occur only subsequently because of bahulam ‘variously’ of 3.3.1 unādayo bahulam.
With the condition of paratva no longer obligatory, the unādi affixes can be preposed, postposed, or even infixed.

3.1.3 आधुदत्तक

ādyudāttaś ca
/ādyudāttaḥ 1/1 = ādir udātto yasya (bv.); ca 0/
(pratyayāḥ #1, paraś ca #2)
ādyudāttaś ca bhavati yah pratyayasyaṁjñāḥ

That which is termed an affix, and occurs subsequently, is high-pitched initially.

Examples:

karttavyāṁ
taṭṭtiriyāṁ

3.1.4 अनुदत्तो सुपिताते

anudāttau suppitaue
/anudāttau 1/2 suppitaue 1/2/
(pratyayāḥ #1, paraś ca #2)
supaḥ pitaś ca pratyayānudātta bhavanti

That which is termed an affix, occurs subsequently, and is denoted by supaḥ (svaujas ...), 1.4.103 supaḥ, or is marked with P as an it, is low-pitched initially.

Examples:

dṛṣadāu 'nom. du. of dṛṣad 'pebble'
dṛṣadāḥ 'nom. plural ...'
pacāti 'he is cooking'
pathāti 'he is reading, reciting'

1. This rule constitutes an exception to the preceding one. That is, what the preceding rule made unavailable (aprāpta) is made available (prāpta) here by the present rule. The supaḥ, in this rule, refers to the pratyahāra 'abbreviatory term' supaḥ, which denotes nominal endings (4.1.2 svaujas ...). Why can it not be interpreted as the locative plural (saptamī bahuvacana) supaḥ? In that case, the anudātta accent would thus become available to it automatically on the basis of the inclusion of pit within this rule. To make a specific provision for anudātta by means of a locative (saptamī) would thus become unnecessary. Therefore, the interpretation of supaḥ as the suP of locative plural would just not make any sense. The last two examples illustrate accent as conditioned by affix tiP which, obviously, is an item marked with P (Piṭ).
3.1.5 गुप्तिक्रिय: सन्

guptijkidbhyaḥ san
/guptijkidbhyaḥ 5/3 (dv.) / san 1/1 /
(pratyayaḥ # 1, paraś ca # 2)
'gupa gothane, tīja niśāne, kita nivāse' etebhyo dhātubhyaḥ san prayayo bhavati

Affix saN occurs after verbal roots gupA ‘to protect, preserve, hide’, tijA ‘to sharpen’ and kita ‘to dwell, to perceive’.

EXAMPLES:

jugupsate ‘he censures, despises...’
titiksate ‘he forbears, endures...’
cikitsate ‘he cures (a disease)...’

1. Note that this rule does not specify the semantic condition under which affix saN is to be introduced. It is generally believed that affixes which are not assigned a particular meaning are treated as denoting the sense of their bases (anirdeśṭāḥ prayāyāḥ svārthe bhavanti). A vārttika (cf. Kāśikā under this rule) states that saN is desired when the derivates denote ninda ‘censure’, kṣamā ‘forgiving’, and vyādhitratikāra ‘curing diseases’. Haradatta (PM ad Kāśikā) calls this meaning qualification non-universal (prāyikam etad upādhivacanam). Nyāsa states that ninda, etc., indeed constitute the denotata of saN. This can be ascertained by employing the technique of anvaya ‘concurrent presence’ and vyatireka ‘concurrent absence’. Thus, given jugupsate and gopayati ‘hides’, a comparison marked by the presence of saN in the first, and its absence in the second, also corresponds to the presence and absence of the meaning of ninda, etc. This difference in meaning is to be attributed to saN. Incidentally, affix San is to be introduced after specified verbal roots used with meanings discussed here. Elsewhere, these roots will take their regular forms, gopayati, etc.

2. Commentators explain that introduction of saN here, as well as in the next rule, is made with reference to individual roots, and not with the express mention of dhātoḥ ‘after a verbal root’. It is for this reason that this saN is not assigned the term ārdhadhātuka by rule 3.4.114 ārdhadhātukam... As a consequence, saN cannot condition the introduction of augment it by rule 7.2.35 ārdhadhātukasyaḥ valādeḥ. This absence of it constitutes the major operational difference between the saN of these two rules and the saN which is introduced by rules 3.1.7 dhātoḥ..., etc. Kāśikā claims that the anudātta vowel in gupA ‘to hide’, etc., as an it, is intended for ātmanepada endings by rule 1.3.12 anudāttaṇita ātmanepadam. It is because anudātta is an it that gupA, here, could not refer to ‘gupA ‘be agitated’ or ‘gupU ‘to preserve, protect’.
3.1.6 मानबधदानन्यो दीर्घाध्यास्य

मानबधदानन्यो दीर्घाध्यास्या
/ māṇ...sāṁbhyāḥ 5/3 dirghāḥ 1/1 ca ∅ abhyāsasya 6/1/
(pratayāyah # 1, paraś ca # 2, san # 5)
'māṇa pūjāyām, badha bandhane, dāna avakhaṇḍane, śāna avatejane’ ity etebhyo dhātu bhāyaḥ san pratayayo bhavati,
abhyāsasya cekārasya dīṛghādēśo bhavati

Affix saN occurs after verbal roots māṇA ‘to honor, respect’, badha ‘to bind, tie’, dāṇA ‘to split, cut in pieces’ and sāṇA ‘to sharpen’; in addition, long ī replaces the short i of the abhyāsa ‘reduplicated syllable’.

Examples:

māṁṣate ‘he investigates...’
bibhatsate ‘he detests...’
dīṁṣate ‘he straightens out...’
sīṁsate ‘he sharpens...’

1. Note that out of the four verbal roots māṇA, badha, dāṇA, and sāṇA, the first two are marked with anudātta as their it. The last two are marked with svarita as an it. Consequently, the first two get the ātmane pada endings by rule 1.3.12 anudāttaṇīta atmanepadam as opposed to the last two which get ātmane pada by rule 1.3.72 svaritaṇītaḥ kartrabhirprāye... It is obvious that this rule orders two operations: the introduction of saN and the long -ī replacement for the short -i of the reduplicated syllable. The saN again is intended under specific semantic conditions. Thus, it is introduced after māṇA in the sense of ‘desire to know’ (jijnāśā); after badha when the sense is vairūpya ‘ugliness, disgust’; and after sāṇA when the sense is tikṣṇī-karana ‘sharpening’.

Kāśikā proposes that ‘vā’ of the following rule should be read as part of this rule. This makes the introduction of saN optional and hence, māṇayati, bādhayati, dānayati and niśānayati are derived parallel to forms in saN.

3.1.7 धातोः कर्मण्: समानकर्त्ताकादिकायां वा

dhātoḥ karmanah samānakartṛkād ichāyāṃ vā
/ dhātoḥ 5/1 karmanah 6/1 samānakartṛkāt 5/1 = samānah kartā yasya
tasmāt (bv.); icchāyām 7/1 vā ∅
(pratayāyah # 1, paraś ca # 2, san # 5)
iṣikarma yo dhātor iṣṭāniva samānakartṛkāḥ tasmād icchāyām arthe vā san
pratayayo bhavati

Affix saN optionally occurs to denote icchā ‘wish’ after roots which underlie the object of, and share the same agent with, is ‘to wish’.
Examples:

cikīraṭi ‘he wishes to do’

jihirṣati ‘he wishes to carry away’

1. Note that dhātoḥ ‘after a verbal root’, karmāṇaḥ ‘after that which is an object’, and samānakarthkāṭ ‘after that which has its agent similar to the agent of’ are all presented with paṇcamī ‘the fifth triad of nominal ending’. The semantic condition of icchāyām ‘in the sense of ‘to wish’ is given in the locative (saptamī). The above translation shows the object in syntactic coordination (sāmānādhikaranya) with the verbal root which, in turn, denotes action. Recall that object (karma) is defined by rule 1.4.49 kartur īpsitamāṃ karma, a participant in an action which the agent most desires to reach. How could the participant most desired by the agent, as interpreted by way of his action, be constituted by a dhātu which denotes that action? For, a karma is a participant in the action which the root denotes. Commentators explain that dhātvartha, the sense of a root, can constitute karma, but the sense cannot be constituted by the word-form dhātu. Pāṇini’s use of karmāṇaḥ as a modifier to dhātu, thus, refers to the object constituted by the sense of dhātu. The karma public ‘objectness’ and samānakarthyakatva ‘same agentness’ of the sense of the root (dhātvartha) is extended to the dhātu ‘root’ by way of its meaning (arthadvaḍa). Since artha ‘meaning’ constitutes the object and shares the identical agent, that which denotes artha, namely dhātu, by extension, can also be treated as such. Consider for example, rule 2.4.2 dvandvaḥ ca... where prāṇyaṅga ‘part of a living organism’ is also treated as the organism which it denotes it (cf. Nyāsa ad Kāśīka II:347: artho dvāram upāyo yasya tad arthadvāram iti. arthasya karmaśvāt samānakarthyakatvā ca tad vacanaḥ πi dhāṭur artha-


dharmopacārāt karmaśaṃānakarthyakās...) Sense, thus, becomes the means for the transference of karma public and samānakarthyakatva to the root which denotes it. This may appear to be problematic, but meaning is the only way for karmāṇaḥ and samānakarthkāṭ to become modifiers (viśeṣaṇa) to dhātu in this context.

2. Why should Pāṇini explicitly state dhātoḥ in the rule where the same could be easily understood through the use of karmāṇaḥ and samānakarthkāṭ? Commentators explain two special purposes for the explicit use of dhātoḥ in this rule:

(a) so that saN can not be introduced after a verbal root used with a preverb (upastra, and (b) so that saN can be assigned the term ārdhadhātuka under the provisions of rule 3.4.114 ārdhadhātuḥaṃ śeṣāḥ. Kāśīka explains the first of these functions with the example prācikīraṭa parallel to prakartum aichat ‘...wished to do’ where saN is to be introduced after kr and not after pra+ kr, kr used with the preverb pra. There would obviously be some derivational problems if one introduced saN after prakr.
First, *pra* of *prakṛ* would qualify for doubling (*dvitva*). Secondly, a *saN*-derivate with *prakṛ* would qualify to receive affixes *LAṬ*, etc., consequent upon the assignment of the term *dhātu* by rule 3.1.32 *sanādyantā dhātavaḥ*. Given these operations, especially before affix *LUṆ*, the preverb would become part of the *aṅga* (1.4.13 *yasmaḥ pratyayahvidhis*...). Consequently, augment *āIT* would have to be introduced to it. The resultant derivate would be incorrect, with the augment preposed to the formal unit termed an *aṅga*.

To understand the second purpose served by the explicit use of *dhātoḥ* in this rule, one can contrast it with the introduction of *saN* covered by the preceding two rules. No explicit mention of *dhātoḥ* in the preceding two rules, explain the commentators, blocks the assignment of the term *ārdhadhātuka* to their *saN*. In contrast, the assignment of the term *ārdhadhātuka* should only be made to that *saN* which is introduced with the explicit mention of *dhātoḥ*. This perhaps follows from the fact that rule 3.4.114 *ārdhadhātukam*..., which assigns the term *ārdhadhātuka*, is contained in the domain of 3.1.91 *dhātoḥ* (cf. Nyāsa ad Kāśikā II:351 *ārdhadhātukam seṣaḥ ity anena dhātor ity evam dhātuśabdam uccārya vāhitasya pratyayośārdhadhātukasamajñāvādhāhanāt. iha dhātor ity eva sano vidhānam ity ārdhadhātukasamajñā bhavati ‘because the assignment of the term *ārdhadhātuka* to an affix is made by rule 3.4.114 *ārdhadhātukam seṣaḥ* through explicit use of the word *dhātoḥ*, here, too, the term *ārdhadhātuka* can only be assigned at the strength of the introduction of *saN* with the explicit mention of *dhātoḥ*).

How do we know that the consequence of introducing affix *saN* with the explicit mention of the term *dhātu* is limited to the assignment of the term *ārdhadhātuka*? It is stated that assignment of the term *ārdhadhātuka* and its relative effect is the only difference seen between the derivates of this rule and those of the preceding two rules. Because this term *ārdhadhātuka* is available to the derivates under this rule, they receive the augment *iIT* (7.2.35 *ārdhadhātukasyeś valādeḥ*). Obviously, this augment is lacking in the derivates of the preceding rules.

3. The conditions of *karmanah* and *saṃṇakartoḥkāt* are given so that, for example, *saN* could not be introduced to produce a derivāte parallel to *gamanena icchati* ‘...he wishes by means of his action of going’. The *trīyā* in *gamanena* expresses *karana*. The condition of *saṃṇakartoḥkāt* is required so that a *saN* derivate parallel to *bhajanam icchati* of *devadattaśya bhajanam icchati yajñadattaḥ* ‘Yajñadatta wishes for Devadatta to eat’ is blocked on grounds that the agent of *y* ‘to wish’ and *bhajana* ‘eating’ are not the same.

4. There are two interesting *vārttika* (*Mbh. III:40-45*) under this rule whereby a provision is made so that: (a) *saN* can be introduced when mere *āsāmkā* ‘fear, suspicion, premonition’ is expressed, and (b) *saN*
can not be introduced after a form which already ends in saN. Consider the following examples:

(i) pipatīṣati kūlam 'the embankment is about to fall'
(ii) śūṣa mumūrṣati 'the dog is about to die'
(iii) cikīrśitum icchati ‘...wishes to wish to do’

The first two examples illustrate āsāmkā. These sentences can literally be translated as: ‘the embankment wishes to fall’ and ‘the dog wishes to die’ respectively. Commentators (Nyāsa ad Kāś. II:351-52) note that, in the instance of the embankment (kūla), āsāmkā seems to be the logical meaning since kūla, for reasons of being inanimate, lacks the faculty of wishing. We have to additionally invoke the āsāmkā meaning in case of sentence (ii) where, although the dog is animate, and may be spoken of as being capable of wishing, the desire to live is so strong that someone’s desire to die is hard to believe.

5. Note that the restriction illustrated by sentence (iii) relative to the second vārttika can be shown to be also valid in case of at least three kinds of affixes. Consider the following verse (Mbh. III:45):

śaiśikān matubarthīyāc
chaiśiko matubarthikāh/
sarūpah prayayo neṣṭah
sannanān na san isyatell/

‘a śaiśika affix similar in form is not to be introduced after items which end in a śaiśika (a taddhita affix introduced in the sense of something other than what has already been stated by rules prior to 4.2.92 seṣe), or one that denotes the sense of matUP (possession; cf. 4.2.94 tad asyāsty asminn iti matup) ; a saN is also not desired after a form which ends in saN’

3.1.8 सूप आलमः क्याचः

supa ātmahān kyac
/supah 5/1 ātmanah 6/1 kyac 1/1/
(ʻpratyayah #1, ṭaraś ca #2, karmanah, icchāyām, vā #7)
isikarmanah esitum ātmasambadhinaḥ subantād icchāyām arthe
vā kyac prayayo bhavati
Affix kyaC optionally occurs to denote icchā after a pada which ends in sUP and denotes the object of one’s own wish.

Examples:

putriyati ‘he wishes a son for himself’

1. As is obvious from the vṛtti of this rule, both karmanah and icchāyām vā are carried. This rule allows for the introduction of affix KyaC after a
pada which ends in a sUP. This pada ending in a sUP is qualified, as was dhātoh in the preceding rule, by karmanah. Consequently, the pada after which KyaC is to be introduced is to constitute the object of īs ‘to wish’. Furthermore, ātmanah ‘one’s own’ is interpreted as denoting the object of the wish by the agent of īs. Again the derivate is optional. Thus, putrīyati, a derivate in KyaC introduced after putra + am, a pada which ends in a sUP and constitutes the object of īs, can be used alternately with ātmanah putram icchati ‘he wishes a son for himself’.

Note that the condition of supah is included so that KyaC can be introduced after a pada. Obviously, supa is here interpreted as denoting a form which ends in a sUP (subantāti). This is possible in view of the Paribhāṣā (24): pratyayagrahaṇe tadantā grāhyāḥ. Of course, the two conditions of karmanah and iccāyām vā must also be met. It is further stated that the condition of sUP is included so that *mahāputrīyati parallel to mahāntam putram icchati ‘...wishes a great son...’ could not be derived by introducing KyaC after a sentence (vākya). Note, however, that mahāputrīyati can still be derived parallel to the string mahāputram icchati by first combining mahat + sU + putra + sU to yield mahāputra and then providing mahāputra + am for this introduction of KyaC.

The condition of ātmanah runs parallel to samānakarītkāt of the preceding rule. The condition of samānakarītkatva ‘identical agent’ makes it possible for the object denoted by karmanah to be wished for by somebody else (parārtha). The introduction of a new condition in ātmanah not only clearly demarcates the domains of saN and KyaC but also facilitates the cancellation of the condition of samānakarītkatva. KyaC is to be introduced not only after a pada which ends in a sUP, but also when the object of wish is not intended for somebody else (parārtha). Thus, rājīnaḥ putram icchati ‘...wishes a son for the king’ does not qualify for KyaC to produce *rājaputrīyati.

2. Affix KyaC is marked with K so that reference to it can be made by the kye of 1.4.15 nah kye. That is, given the provision that an item ending in n alone be termed a pada when an affix marked with K follows, KyaC, if not marked with K, would be excluded. Consequently, in rājīyati ‘...acts as if he were a king’ derived from rājan + am + KyaC, n could not be deleted by rule 8.2.7 na lopah prātipadikāntasya.

The C as an it in KyaC is used to distinguish it from KyaN and KyaŚ. It is also used to facilitate sāmānya-graṇhaṇa, a general reference to all three affixes KyaC, KyaN and KyaŚ, with a single term. Supposing this reference was made by use of the term Kit, Kya without C could not be included as a referent along with KyaN and KyaŚ. For, these two would have two it-elements as opposed to the single it of Kya. It is to save the general reference from being impaired (sāmānyagraṇhaṇavighātā) that C is used as an it in KyaC. The idea that C of KyaC is used to obtain udātta
accent is an undesirable one. Besides, this accent can be easily made available at the strength of the assignment of the term dhātu to the item ending in KyaC, or the term pratyaya to Kya (3.1.3 ādyudāttas ca) itself.

3. A vārttika prohibits the introduction of KyaC parallel to idam icchatī 'he wishes for it' and uccaic icchatī 'he wishes for something loudly' where the first involves a nominal stem ending in -m and the second an indeclinable (avyaya).

3.1.9 काम्यच

kāmyac ca
/kāmyac 1/1 ca 0/1
(pratyayā #1, paraś ca #2, karmanah, icchāyām vā #7, supah, āmanah #8)
Affix kāmyac, too, optionally occurs to denote icchā after a pada which ends in a sUP and denotes the object of one's (own) desire.

EXAMPLES:

putrakāmyati ‘he wishes a son for himself’
vastrakāmyati ‘he wishes clothes for himself’

1. The question is raised as to why this rule was not formulated as: supa ātmanah kyackāmyacau, thereby collapsing this, as well as the preceding rule, into one. After all, KyaC and kāmyac are both introduced after a pada which ends in a sUP (subanta). In addition to being economical, this would eliminate the need for ca in this rule. But apparently, Pāṇini saw a problem in introducing both suffixes by means of one rule. First of all, if the affixes were given as part of one rule, they would both qualify for anuvṛtti in the subsequent rule. Note that only KyaC is required to be carried subsequently (uttaratra). In addition, k of kāmyac is not considered an it. Had it been so, it would invoke the application of rules 1.3.8 laśakv ataddhīte and 1.3.9 tasya lopah. Therefore, to treat the k of kāmyac as an it would serve no purpose. This, again, would have occasioned the separate mention of the two affixes.

3.1.10 उपमानादाचारे

upamānād ācāre
/upamānāt 5/1 ācāre 7/1/
(pratyayā #1, paraś ca #2, karmanah, vā #7, supah, kyac #8)
upamānāt karmanah subantaad ācāre’ rthe vā kyac pratyayo bhavati
Affix KyaC optionally occurs to denote ācāra ‘conduct, treatment’ after a pada which ends in a sUP and denotes an upamāna ‘object of comparison’.


**Examples:**

*putriyati chaṭram* 'he treats the student as his son'

*prāvāriyati kambalam* 'he treats (uses) the blanket as an upper garment'

1. It should be clear from our discussion of rule-splitting (yogavibhāga) under the preceding rule that *KyaC* alone is carried over. Furthermore, since the sense of the affix is stated to be the action denoted by *ācāra*, the object (*karman*) is to be determined accordingly. That is, the affix is introduced after a *pada* which denotes the object of *ācāra* and also serves as an *upamāna* 'standard of comparison'. In this sense the object is determined via the affixal meaning denoted by the action. For example, *putram iva ācarati chaṭram ācāryah* 'the teacher treats the student as his own son' where *putra* 'son' is the standard of comparison and the student is the thing compared (*upamita*). Consequently, after *putra + am*, the *upamāna*, affix *KyaC* can optionally be introduced to denote the sense of *ācāra* which in this case happens to be the action underlying *ācarati*, the verbal *pada*. The object status of the *upamāna* is determined here via the meaning of the affix similar to the action denoted by the verb.

2. A *vārttika* under this rule states that *KyaC* can also be used after a *pada* which denotes *adhikaranā* 'locus'. Thus, we get: *prāśādiyati kutyām* 'he treats (enjoys living in) the hut as if (he were living in) a palace'. This *vārttika* is necessary because, similar to the *upameya*, the thing compared (*kutyām*), one also expects the *upamāna*, the standard of comparison (*prāśāda*), to end in *saptami*, the seventh triad of *sUP*. But were this the case, it would make it impossible for *prāśāda* to still denote the object since *saptami* generally denotes locus (*adhikaranā*). It is to accommodate usage such as the preceding, as well as ones such as *kutiṣyati prāśade* 'treats (feels the comforts of) living in a palace as (the discomforts of) living in a hut', that this *vārttika* is required.

Note that *Kāśikā* uses *kudyē* in place of *kutyām* in the above example. *Haradatta* (*PM ad Kāś. II: 361*) cites *kutyām* as the appropriate reading (cf. *kutyām iti tu yuktah pāthah*). I have accepted *kutyām* mostly because it is in consonance with the *Mahābhāṣya*.

3. Also see note 2 under the next rule.

3.1.11 कर्त्तु: क्यः सलोपः

*karttuḥ kyaṁ salopaś ca*

*kaṁ karttuḥ 5/1 kyaṁ 1/1 salopaḥ 1/1 ca 0/*

(*pratyayah #1, paraś ca #2, vā #7, supah #8, upamānād ācāre #10*)

*upamānāt karttuḥ subantād ācāre' rthe vā kyaṁ pratyayo bhavati, sakārasya ca lopo bhavati*
Affix *Kyaṇ* optionally occurs to denote *ācāra* after a *pada* which ends in a *sUP* and denotes an agent serving as an *upamāna*; in addition, the final -s of the nominal stem (*prātipadika*) is deleted.

**Examples:**

*śyenāyate kākaḥ* ‘the crow appears (behaves) as if it were a falcon’

*pusharāyate kumudāḥ* ‘the lily appears like a blue lotus’

*payāyate (takram)* -s ‘the buttermilk appears, or tastes like, milk’

*payasyate (takram)* ‘id’

1. This rule, unlike the general pattern, provides for two operations (*kārya*) to take place simultaneously (*yugaspad*). Thus, we find that affix *Kyaṇ* is introduced after a *pada* which ends in a *sUP* (in the present case a nominative), denotes the agent of *ācāra*, and additionally serves as a standard of comparison (*upamāna*). Note that *ācāra* is carried here to ensure that the agency of the thing serving as *upamāna* be restricted to the action denoted by *ācāra*. We also find that the rule also requires deletion of the final -s of the nominal stem. Since both operations are given at the same time, one may expect them to apply at the same time. That is, where one applies, so must the other. Therefore, one would assume that *Kyaṇ* should be introduced only when there is a nominal stem which ends in -s, which thereby enables the application of its deletion. This interpretation, however, is incorrect. The *Mahābhāṣya* (III: 56-57) observes that *Kyaṇ* is given as the principal provision (*pradhānanśīṣṭa*) in contrast with the deletion of -s which is secondary (*anvācayāśīṣṭa*). It is as if a person who, when ordered ṣrāme bhaiṣaṁ cara devadattam cānaya ‘go beg for food in the village; also bring Devadatta’, goes to the village and primarily begs for food though secondarily, brings Devadatta (if he can find him). That is, one would introduce *Kyaṇ* with the understanding that one must also delete -s if it occurs.

2. *Nyāsa ad Kāś.* (II: 361) observes that the *ca* of this rule is used for the sake of *anvācaya* ‘secondary provision’. This will offer two interpretations:

(i) *kartuḥ kyaṇ bhavati sarvatra* ‘affix *Kyaṇ* occurs universally after a *pada* which denotes *kartṛ*...’

(ii) *yatra tv asti sakāras itra tasyāpi lopah* ‘a final -s, if there is one, is deleted in the process’

Interpretation of *ca* as *samuccaya* ‘aggregation’ implies that one entity anticipates the presence of the other. More directly, both operations are considered to be primarily provided. This means that where one applies the other must also apply. Or, when two strictly simultaneous provisions are made, one in the absence of the other gets cancelled. Conversely,
an interpretation of ca as anvācaya maintains that KyaN can be introduced irrespective of whether or not deletion of -s occurs. For, here KyaN is the primary provision.

Now consider some examples:

(iii) payāyate takram ‘the buttermilk appears (tastes) like milk’
where given the string payas + sU’ + KyaN, this rule deletes the final -s of the nominal stem payas ‘milk’. However, consider

(iv) śyenāyate kākah ‘the crow appears (behaves) as if it were a falcon’
where though KyaN is introduced, there is no s-deletion. This is because śena ‘falcon’ does not end in -s. For, Kāśikā clearly states:

    anvācayaśiṣṭah salopāḥ tad abhāve’ pi kyaṁ bhavaty eva ‘-s-deletion is provided for secondarily; (therefore) even in its absence, KyaN must be introduced’.

3. Note that vā ‘or not; optionally’ carried from rule 3.1.7 dhātoḥ...
makes the introduction of KyaN optional, and since KyaN is associated with the deletion of -s, the deletion of -s becomes optional as well. However, looking at the vārttika (Mbh. III: 58) ojasoparasaraṁ nityam payasas tu vibhaśayā, we find that the deletion of -s is obligatory (nitya) in case of ojas ‘vigour’ and apsaras ‘celestial beauty.’ This contrasts with the case of payas where -s-deletion is optional. We assume from this discrepancy that the optional s-deletion made available by vā is a vyavasthitavibhāṣā ‘fixed option’. Such options are limited to selected forms only. This explains that we must have ojāyate and apsarāyate with deletion of -s required, and yet can also derive forms such as payōyate and payasyate, where the option for s-deletion applies.

Note that karttuḥ, in the context of s-deletion, must be interpreted as ending in the genitive (saśṭhi) denoting ‘in place of’ (sthānaśaśṭhi). This genitive, read with 1.1.52 alo’ ntyasya, will identify the locus of the operation of s-deletion; the -s which is to be deleted has to be the final (antya). For example, it is the final -s of payas, as opposed to the penultimate s, similar to one as in himsa, which becomes the object of deletion.

4. An additional vārttika under this rule provides for optional introduction of affix KvIP after avagalbha ‘dare-devil’, klība ‘coward, impotent’ and hōda ‘insulting’. Affix KyaN can be introduced if the option of KvIP is not accepted. Forms such as avagalbha, etc., are given as ending in affix aC via rule 3.1.33 nandigrahīpacaḍi.... As a consequence, the status of anumāsikatva ‘nasality’ and anudāttatva ‘low-pitch’ is brought to avagalbha with reference to its aC. The aC, which occurs before KvIP, is deleted by 6.4.48 aito lopaḥ. The introduction of the ātmanepada affix after avagalbha, etc., will thus be ensured by anudāṭta (1.3.12 anudattāṇita...), subsequent to the introduction of KvIP. Actually, ātmanepada, can still be available to
these forms simply because they are cited with anudātta to begin with. The introduction of affix KviP, a kṛt (3.1.93 kṛd atii), does not result in the assignment of the term prātipadika under the provision of rule 1.2.46 kṛtaddhitasamāsās ca. For, that would block the introduction of the verbal inflectional endings, tīNi. Needless to say, tīNi can only be introduced, as a replacement of LA, after items termed dhātu. The authority on which the application of 1.2.46 kṛtaddhitasamāsās ca is blocked in the case of items which end in KviP lies within the statement kivibanta dhātutvam na jahati (cf. Udyota ad Mbh. V: 62).

The purpose of citing avagalbhα, etc., as ending in aC is to make them anekāc ‘that which consists of more than one vowel’. This, in turn, will block the application of the vārttika ad 3.1.35 kāspratyād..., kāspraghaṇe ca kās upasamkhhyānam (Mbh. III:114). The forms, because they end in an affix, will still qualify for the introduction of ām thereby yielding derivatives such as avagalbhāṃcakre, etc. Note that the status of anekāctva ‘more-than-one vowelness’ is not determined by consideration of the root along with the preverb. The optional introduction of KviP secures the introduction of ām. The result is a variety of forms such as: gālbhate (with no aC, no KviP), avagalbhate (with aC and KviP); avagalbhāyate (with aC and KyaN), and avagalbhāṃcakre (with aC, KviP and ām).

3.1.12 पुषादिष्ठ पुष्यत्वेन्द्रपञ्च हल:

bhṛśādibhyo bhuvy acver lopāś ca halah
/bhṛśādibhyah 5/1 bhuvih 7/1 acvek 5/1 lopah 1/1 ca ∅
halah 6/1/
(pratyayah #1, paraś ca #2, vā #7, kyaś #11)
‘bhṛśa’ ity evam ādibhyah prātipadibhyah cavyante bhuvih bhavaty arthe kyaś pratyayo bhavati, halantānāṃ ca lopah
Affix KyaN optionally occurs to denote the sense of bhū ‘be, become’ after nominal stems enumerated in the list headed by bhṛśa ‘bountiful, bright’ when those stems do not end in affix Kvi; in addition, any final consonant (hal) of the stem is replaced by zero.

Examples:

bhṛśāyate ‘what was less becomes bountiful’
sighrāyate ‘he, who was slow, becomes fast’
unmanāyate ‘he, who was not interested, becomes interested’

1. This rule provides for the introduction of affix KyaN as its principal (pradhāna) provision. It also allows the deletion of the final consonant of a nominal stem as a secondary provision (anvācaya). Thus, KyaN will be introduced irrespective of the deletion of a final consonant. This affix is
introduced in the sense of ācāra under the provisions of the preceding rule. It is introduced here to denote the sense of bhu ‘to become’.

2. Why is it necessary to state the negation (pratiṣedha) of acveḥ ‘when not ending in affix Cuv’. The stipulation, here, is that rule 5.4.50 abhūtatadbhāve kṛbhvastiyoge..., read with a corresponding vārttīka (Mbh. III:60), introduces affix Cuv in the sense of abhūtatadbhāva ‘the sense of becoming something which it previously was not’. Logically, affix KyaN cannot be introduced after a form to denote abhūtatadbhāva because that would be redundant. It is stated that the negation would become vacuous (vyarthā) if KyaN were introduced after a form which ended in Cuv. Or conversely, if Cuv were introduced after a word enumerated under the list headed by bhrṣa. By stating acveḥ, Pāṇini accepts that items listed in the set headed by bhrṣa may or may not be used with Cuv. Affix KyaN is introduced after that which does not end in Cuv.

3. Note that forms which belong to the bhrṣādi list, and do not end in Cuv, not only qualify for the introduction of KyaN but also constitute an exception to 5.4.50 kṛbhvastiyoge.... A form in Cuv, because it denotes abhūtatadbhāva (even if it belongs to the bhrṣādi class), is blocked from receiving KyaN since it already expresses the sense of the affix to be introduced. Therefore, it would follow that acveḥ should not have been stated. However, Pāṇini states acveḥ in order to inform us that forms which end in KyaN are similar (sadrṣa) to those ending in Cuv. The word acveḥ, or its naN ‘negative particle’, is interpreted as paryudāsa and gives the sense of tadbhinnatatsadrṣa ‘similarly dissimilar’ (cf. my notes under 1.2.45 arthavād...). Obviously, the similarity between forms ending in KyaN with those ending in Cuv is based on meaning (arthā), not form (sabda). It is because of the abhūtatadbhāva meaning via the paryudāsa interpretation of the negation in acveḥ that kva divā bhrṣa bhavanti ye rātrau bhrṣāh ‘what becomes of the bright stars of the night during the day?’ does not have a corresponding KyaN derivate. In this example, it is because of bhrṣa, which here means nakṣatra ‘star’. Affix KyaN is thus introduced to denote the sense of bhavati after items enumerated in the list headed by bhrṣa within the context of abhūtatadbhāva.

Note, also, that if an item is cited in the list headed by bhrṣa with a prefix, only the form without the prefix qualifies for the introduction of the affix. This allows for forms such as unmanāyate, where augment āT is introduced with reference to an aṅga (1.4.13 yasmāt...) which does not include a prefix (anupasyṣṭa).

3.1.13 लोहितदिदिष्टम्यः क्याष

lohitādiḍiḥbhyāḥ kyaṣ
/lohitādiḍiḥbhyāḥ 5/3 kyaṣ 1/1/
(pratyayāḥ #1, paraś ca #2, vā #7, bhuvi acveḥ #12)
lohitādibhyo dājantebhyaḥ ca bhavaty arthe kyaś pratayo bhavati
Affix KyaŚ optionally occurs to denote the sense of bhū 'to be, become' after a non-CuI nominal stem enumerated in the list headed by lohita 'red', and also after an item which ends in affix DāC (5.4.57 avyaktānukaraṇād...).

EXAMPLES:

\'(lohitāyatī 'that which was not red becomes red'
lohitāyate 'id.'
paṭapaṭāyatī '... makes paṭapaṭa noise'
paṭapaṭāyate 'id.'

1. This rule introduces affix KyaŚ after items cited in the list headed by lohita, and also after those which end in affix DāC (5.4.57 avyaktānukaraṇād...). Of course, abhūtatadbhāva, the condition which governs meaning, as well as the restriction of acevḥ, is still valid here.

The Mahābhāṣya (III:366) suggests that the rule should have been formulated only as lohitādājibhyaḥ kyaś thereby reducing lohitādi to lohita. This, apparently, is because there is no gana 'listing of stems in groups' known as lohitādi. Affix KyaŚ, as opposed to KyaN, is selected so that parasmaipada affixes can optionally be introduced after these items in accordance with the provision of rule 1.3.90 vā kyaśah.

Kāśikā recognizes the lohitādi as an ākṛtigana. This kind of listing is in general open-ended, and in particular includes a limited number of items. Thus, lohitādi according to the Kāśikā, is a gana with a possibility for addition when one finds forms which share operational features common to forms already on the list. Kāśikā, indirectly, admits, that some of the words which belong to the bhrṣādi group may also be found in the lohitādi list. Similarly, some of the lohitādi words may be found under the bhrṣādi list. Those of the lohitādi listed under the bhrṣādi, says Kāśikā, must end in KyaN. Those of the bhrṣādi listed in the lohitādi will take KyaŚ.

2. The Paribhāṣā (72) prātipadikagrahane lingaviśṭasyāpi grahaṇam 'a citation made by means of a prātipadika 'nominal stem' also includes references to corresponding forms in different genders'. This enables lohini, the feminine counterpart of lohita, also to qualify for the introduction of KyaŚ.

3. I have already explained that the K of KyaŚ is intended as an it for generally referencing this affix along with KyaC and KyaN. For example, consider rule 1.4.15 nah kye where a general reference to these affixes is made by means of K. Note, also, that KyaŚ makes the optional introduction of parasmaipada with the ātmanepada (1.3.90 vā kyaśah) possible. Thus we get: lohitāyatī; lohitāyate.
4. There are forms such as *nīdrā* ‘sleep’, etc., which are treated as part of the *lohitādi* group. Now, *nīdrā* refers to a property (*dharma*) as opposed to a thing (*dṛṣṭvya; dharmin*) which other *lohitādi* stems denote. Commentators indicate that, for the purpose of introducing *Kyaś* (*kyaśvīḍhi*), stems such as *nīdrā* are treated as if denoting a thing. This is natural given the denotational power of words (*śabdāsaktisvabhāva*). Accordingly, usages such as *nīdrāyate*, parallel to *anīdrāvān nīdrāvān bhavati* ‘he who did not feel sleepy earlier is feeling so now,’ can be accounted for.

3.1.14 कष्टायक्रमणे

*kaṣṭāya kramaṇe*

/kaṣṭāya 4/1 kramaṇe 7/1

(*pratyayah #1 paraś ca #2, vá #7, kyaṁ #11*)

*kaṣṭaśabdāc caturthīsamarthāt kramaṇe’ rthe’ nārjave kyāṁ pratyayo bhavati*

Affix *Kyaṇ* optionally occurs to denote *kramaṇa* ‘striving, moving’ after a syntactically related *pada* which underlies *kaṣṭa* ‘suffering, wrong, wicked’, and ends in *caturthī* ‘fourth triplet of nominal ending’.

**Examples:**

*kaṣṭāya* ‘...is moving with wicked intentions’

1. Note that *kaṣṭa* specifies the left context for the introduction of affix *Kyaṇ*. Commentators explain that *kaṣṭa* is specified in *caturthī* so that *Kyaṇ* can not be introduced after *kaṣṭa* used with any other nominal ending. This *caturthī* enables *kaṣṭa* to be syntactico-semantically relatable (*sāṅgatārtha*) with *kramaṇa*, the meaning condition for affix *Kyaṇ*. The word *kramaṇa* in the context of this rule means *anārjava* ‘crookedness; wickedness’. Incidentally, it is *Kyaṇ*, and not the *Kyaś*, which is carried via *anuvṛtti*. We know this from the mark of *svarita* which is available only with *Kyaṇ* (cf. Nyāsa ad Kāś. kyaṁ eva svaritavāt). Besides, *Kyaṇ* is desired also for *ātmanepada*.

2. *A vārttika* (Mbh. III:367) states that *Kyaṇ*, in addition to *kaṣṭa*, should also be introduced after *sattra, kakṣa, kṛcchra* and *gahana* to denote *pāpacikīrśa* ‘desire to commit a sinful act’. *Kyaṇ* cannot be introduced in its general sense (*sāmānyārtha*) of *kramaṇa* commonly paraphrased as *pādaviharaṇa* ‘treading along’. Consequently, as *Nyāsa* puts it: *anārjagavalakṣaṇam yat kramaṇaṃ tatraiva pratyayah* ‘the affix should be introduced only where *kramaṇa* is characterized by *anārjava* ‘crookedness’.

3.1.15 कर्मणो रोमङ्खतपोभ्यां वर्तिचरोः

*karmaṇo romanthatapobhyāṁ vartticaroḥ*
karmanah 5/1 romanthatapobhyam 5/2 vartticaroh 7/2!
(pratayah #1, paraś ca #2, vā #7, kyan #11)
romanthasaabdāt tapahśabdāc ca karmano yathākramaṁ vartticaror
arthayoh kyan pratayo bhavati.
Affix kyan optionally occurs after romantha ‘chewing the cud’, and
tapas ‘penance, austerity’ when these end in dvitiyā ‘the
second triad of SUP’ and denote the object of vartti ‘to repeat’ and
cara ‘to observe, perform’ respectively.

EXAMPLES:

romanthāyate gauḥ ‘the cow is chewing the cud’
tapasyati ‘he observes austerity’

1. The Mahābhāṣya (III: 68) explains romantha as mantha ‘chewing’
something udgīrṇa ‘thrown out’ or nigīrṇa ‘passed out as waste’.
2. The word karmanah is interpreted as ending in the ablative (pañcamī),
on account of its syntactic coordination (sāmānādhihkaranya) with romanthatapobhyam,
and forms the left context for the introduction of affix Kyan. Since romanthatapobhyam is given in the ablative dual (dvivacana ),
it should also follow that karmanah be given in the dual. It is given in the
singular (ekvacana) since it modifies romanthatapobhyam, a compound
with two constituents where each yields separate sentences of interpretat
romantham varrtayati ‘...is chewing the cud’ and tapas carati ‘...is
practicing penance’. Obviously, romantha and tapas are karman of actions
denoted by vartti ‘to cause to turn’ and car ‘to wander’. Incidentally,
parallel to romanthāyate gauḥ, one would also expect the ātmanepada
ending rather than the parasmaipada in tapasyati tapah. The ātmanepada
is appropriate, here, because affix Kyan is marked with N as an it. An iṣṭi of
the Mahābhāṣya provides for the parasmaipada ending after tapas.

The Mahābhāṣya makes yet another proposal requiring that the sense
of vartti be qualified with hanucalana ‘jaw movement’. It implies that kiṭo
romantham varrtayati ‘the insect is rolling up the ball of feces’ could not
qualify for a parallel Kyan derivate. For, obviously, ‘rolling up’ does not
entail ‘jaw movement’. The affix is clearly introduced after a pada which
constitutes the object of the action denoted by romantha ‘chewing the
cud’. The romantha of the counter-example kiṭo romantham varttyayati, does
not entail any such action.

3.1.16 बाष्पोश्माभ्याम udvaman
/bāsposmabhyaṁ udvaman 5/2 udvaman 7/1/
(pratayah #1, paraś ca #2, vā #7, kyan #11, karmanah #15)
bāspasābdād uṣmāśabdāc ca karmano udvaman ’r the kyan
pratyayo bhavati
Affix KyaN optionally occurs to denote udamana ‘emission’ after a pada which contains bāspa ‘vapor, steam’ and āṣman ‘heat’ when these nominals end in dvitiyā to denote object.

**Examples:**

bāṣpāyaye kūpāḥ ‘the waterwell emits vapor’
āṣmāyate ‘...emits steam’.

1. A vārttika which provides KyaN after phena ‘foam’ is also given under this rule to account for phenāyate parallel to phenam udamati ‘...emits foam’.

### 3.1.17 शब्दवैपर्यायनकला प्रकृतमेख्य: करणे

śabdavairakalabhakraṇavameghebhyaḥ karanaḥ
śabdaḥ... meghebhyaḥ 5/3 karanaḥ 7/1
(pratyayaḥ #1, paraś ca #2, vā #7, kyaṇ #11, karmaṇaḥ #15)
śabda, vaira, kalaha, abhra, kāṇva, megha’ ity ete bhyaḥ karanaḥ karoty arthe kyaṇ pratyato bhavati


**Examples:**

śabdāyate ‘...makes noise’
vairāyate ‘...becomes hostile’
kalahāyate ‘...quarrels’
abhṛāyate ‘...causes the clouds to form’
kāṇvāyate ‘...commits a sinful act’
meghaṁyate āṣmā ‘the heat creates clouds’

1. The word karaṇa of karana is interpreted here as meaning ‘action’, and should not be confused with the kāraka named karana as per 1.4.42 sādhakaśramaḥ. To interpret karana as denoting the kāraka would bring the sense of affix KyaN in direct conflict with the karman ‘object’ denoted by the base after which the affix is introduced to denote karana.

Note that forms such as śabdāyati would derive from śabda + am + NiC where NiC will be introduced after śabda + am to denote the sense of karoti ‘...does’. This, of course, will happen when the option of KyaN is not availed.

2. A vārttika also provides for the introduction of affix KyaN after sudina ‘happy days’, durdina ‘sad days’ and nihāra ‘fog’ to account for sudināyate, durdināyate, and nihārāyate. The Amarakośa explains durdina as meghācchanna ‘an overcast day’.
sukhādibhyah kartṛvedanāyām
lsukhādibhyah 5/3 kartṛ (deleted 6/1) vedanāyām 7/1
(pratayāyah #1, paraś ca #2, vā #7, kyaṁ #11, karmanāḥ #15)
'sukha' ity evam ādibhyah karmabhyo vedanāyām arthe' nubhave
kyaṁ pratayā y bhavati, vedayitus cet kartṛḥ sambandhini
sukhādīni bhavanti

Affix KyaNy optionally occurs after nominal stems enumerated in
the list headed by Sukha 'pleasure, happiness' provided the derivate
denotes agent's own experience (kartrvedanā).

Examples:

sukhāyate devadattaḥ 'Devadatta experiences pleasure'
duḥkhāyate devadattaḥ 'Devadatta experiences grief'

1. This rule introduces affix KyaNy to denote vedanā 'experience' after
a pada which is constituted by sukha, etc., and denotes karman provided
vedanā is relatable to the agent's own experience of joy, etc. That is, KyaNy
is to be introduced after a pada which constitutes the object of the agent's
own experience. Thus, sukhyate of sukhyate devadattaḥ is derived by
introducing KyaNy after sukha + am which is the object of Devadatta's
experience. This explains why the rule has kartṛ. One must also note that
kartṛ qualifies sukha, etc. That is, it does not qualify vedanā. For, if it
qualified vedanā, devadattasya sukham vedayate prasādhakaḥ 'the attendant
of Devadatta experiences his (Devadatta's) joy' would also come under
the purview of this rule. After all, prasādhaka, here, is the agent of
vedanā as is Devadatta. However, *sukhyate prasādhako devadattasya will be
blocked because what is experienced is not the 'joy' of the 'attendant',
the agent of vedanā. But there still is a problem. If kartṛ is not a modifier
to vedanā then the sāmarthya 'syntactic connection' between them is
impaired. This will not permit the compound kartrvedanā.

Nyāsa (II:375) observes that compound formation must be valid
because Pāṇini, himself, uses it in the rule (sautravāt). Or, one can accept
that kartṛ is used with deleted genitive (luptasaṣṭhīka). This preference
would not subscribe to the formation of a compound with kartṛ and
vedanā as constituents (sautravān nirdeśasya saty api asāmarthye samāso
bhavaty adosaḥ. atha vā, asamāsa eva, saṣṭhyās tu aśravaṇaṃ 'supāṃ suluk'
iti luptavāt). Note that accepting the compound based on its usage in the
śūtra (sautravāt) is conducive to economy (lāghava). A proposal with the
ad hoc (nipātana) deletion of saṣṭhi is prolix (gaurava).

The genitive in kartṛḥ, as a modifier to sukha, etc., has to be inter-
preted to denote āśrayāśrayin 'locus and object of locus' relation. This
way, the agent becomes the locus (āśraya) where the object of locus
(āśrayin), such as sukha, etc., are located.
3.1.19 नमोविरविश्राद: क्यत्र
namotivirvishridaḥ kyac
/namotivirvishridaḥ 5/1 kyac 1/1/
(pratyayah #1, paraś ca #2, vā #7, karmanah #15, karaṇe #17)
‘namas, varivas, citraṁ ity etehyā vā kyac pratyayo bhavati, karaṇaviśeṣe
puṣjadau
Affix KyaC optionally occurs to denote karaṇe ‘doing’ after padas
which underlie namas ‘salutation’, varivas ‘honor, service’ or
citraṁ ‘wonder’, and end in dvitiyā to express the object of doing.

Examples:

namasyati devān ‘he offers salutations to the gods’
varivasyati gurūn ‘he honors teachers’
citrīyate ‘...causes to wonder...’

1. The word karaṇe is still carried. Although it refers to action in
general (sāmānya), it is interpreted in this rule in the sense of particular
actions such as puṣja ‘worship’, etc. This particular meaning contrasts
with the general meaning, but is not difficult to obtain knowing the
denotational power of words (sabdasaktisvabhāva). Contextually, namas
‘obeissance’ also relates to the action of paying respect which is denoted by
puṣja. Likewise, interpretations of varivas and citra are not
hard to determine. Thus, varivas relates to the action denoted by
paricaryā ‘serving, nursing’ where as citra relates to āscaryā ‘astonishment’.

2. Commentators cite namasyati gurūn ‘he pays obeissance to his
teacher’ as an example for namas. They, however, question the use of
dvitiyā ‘second triplet of nominal ending’ after guru ‘teacher’ especially in
view of caturthi ‘fourth triplet of nominal ending’ already provided for
by rule 2.3.16 namah svastisvabhā... This rule requires the use of caturthi
when words such as namah, svasti, svāhā, etc., are in construction. Thus
our example sentence should instead be: namasyati gurubhyah. It is stated
that the word namas, in namasyati gurūn, is used secondarily (guṇībhūta)
to the meaning of affix (pratyayārtha) KyaN. This would leave namas
with practically no signification at all (anarthaka). Rule 2.3.16 cites namas
with its primary signification of obeissance. It is therefore not anarthaka
in rule 2.3.16. According to the Paribhāṣā (15) arthavat grahaṇe nānar-
thakasya ‘when a citation is made with reference to something with
signification, this does not include reference to any corresponding non-
significant citation’. This way, caturthi should not be used in namasyati
gurūn.

Yet another way out is suggested by treating namasyati gurūn as the
paraphrase of namaskāreṇa puṣjayati gurūn, where namaskāra becomes the
means by which one worships the teacher. The tṛtiyā in namaskāreṇa
as well as the dvitiya in gurūn thus denote the kāraka namely karaṇa and karman respectively. The caturthi of rule 2.3.16 is a nominal ending (vibhakti) required because of a conjoined condition (upapada) of nāmas, etc. This caturthi is thus an upapada-vibhakti, a nominal ending which is introduced based on a specific cooccurrence condition. This invokes the Paribhāṣā (103) upapadavibhakteḥ kārakavibhaktī bāliyasī whereby a nominal ending introduced relative to a kāraka is treated as stronger than one introduced relative to a conjoined condition. This way, the dvitiya in namasyati gurūn will block the caturthi which would have otherwise obtained.

3. Commentators explain that the N of citraṇah is intended to secure ātmānepada in citriyate and is contrasted with parasmaipada of *citriyati. The N would automatically invoke rule 1.3.12 anudattānita ātmānepadam. Note that citriyate may be interpreted as denoting either ‘X is astonished’, or ‘X causes Y to be astonished’. Some prefer the causal meaning over the non-causal.

3.1.20 पुच्छभाण्डवराणि

puccabhāṇḍavacīvarāṇ niṁ
/pruccabhāṇḍavacīvarāt 5/1 niṁ 1/1/
(pratyayah #1, paraś ca #2, vā #7, karaṇaḥ #15, karaṇe #17)
‘pucca bhāṇḍa cīvāra’ ity ete bhavyo niṁ pratyayo bhavati karaṇaviṣeṣa
Affix NiN optionally occurs to denote karaṇa after a pada which contains pučcha ‘tail’, bhāṇḍa ‘pot’ or cīvāra ‘rags’, a monk’s robe and denotes the object of doing.

Examples:

utpucchayate gauḥ ‘the cow tosses its tail upward’
sambhāṇḍayate ‘he arranges the pots in a pile’
saṃcīvārayate bhikṣuḥ ‘the monk obtains or wears the cīvāra’

1. The word karaṇe is still carried. This rule then introduces affix NiN after pucca, bhāṇḍa, and cīvāra which end in dvitiya and denote karman.

The word karaṇa of karaṇe is again interpreted as denoting a particular action (karaṇaviṣeṣa). There are several iṣṭi whereby Kāśikā outlines the meanings relative to the three bases identified in the rule. Thus, a NiN derivate of pucca used with the preverbs ud and pari would signify ‘hurling up’ and ‘hurling around’ the tail (cf. puçchād udasane paryasane vā). Thus we get: utpucchayate/paripucchayate gauḥ ‘the cow is hurling up/hurling around its tail’, respectively. We similarly get sambhāṇḍayate and saṃcīvārayate from nominals such as bhāṇḍa and cīvāra in the sense of ‘collecting pots’ and ‘procuring or wearing rags’ respectively. These
isti thus assign the meanings of samācayana ‘collecting’ and arjana ‘procuring’ or paridhāna ‘wearing’ to NiN in the above contexts.

2. The N of the affix is used for general reference (sāmānyagrahānārtha). Refer for example to rule 6.4.51 ner anīṭi where N is used to invoke reference to affixes with N as an it. The N of the affix, as usual, is used for ātmanepada. This is why puccha, etc., cannot be read as part of the items in the subsequent rule. The endings required in the rule are prasmaipada.

Note, also, that because these newly derived roots inhere their objects, they are considered intransitives (akarmaka).

3.1.21 युक्तमिश्रितस्वस्तक्षणाविभक्तवाक्यालकलकृतदस्तोथ्यो गिताः

mūṣḍamiśraślaksṇalavānaratavastrahalakalakṛtatūstebyo nīc
/mūṇḍa...tūstebyah 5/3 nīc 1/1/
(pratyāyah #1, paraś ca #2, vā #7, karmanah #15, karane #17)
‘mūṇḍa, miśra, ślaksṇa, lavaṇa, vṛata, vastra, hala, kala, krta, tuṣṭa’ ity etebhyo karane nīc pratyayo bhavati


Examples:

mūṇḍayati ‘he shaves head’
miśrayati ‘he mixes something with something else’
ślaksṇayati ‘he smooths...’
lavaṇayati ‘he makes something salty’
po yo vṛtayati ‘he observes the ritual vow to subsist on milk’
samvṛtayati ‘he covers with or wears a garment’
halayati ‘he takes a big plow’
kalayati ‘he picks a bud or die’
krtyayati ‘he accepts a favor, or holds a die’
vitūṣṭayati keśān ‘he combs, or cleans his hair’

1. Jinendrabuddhi (Nyāsa ad Kāṣ. II:377) recalls that the formulation of rule 3.2.21 mūṇḍamiśra... where the condition of karane is nothing but an expiation (prapāṇa) of a couple of gaṇasūtra. With this rule Pāṇini provides for something which is already made available by the gaṇasūtra: prātipadikād dhāṭvarthe bahulam iṣṭhavaca ca ‘affix NiC variously occurs after a nominal stem (prātipadi) to denote the sense of the verbal root.... Why does he do that? Apparently, out of his compassion (anugraha) for the slow-witted (cf. mandabuddhinām anugrahāya).
Why did Paññini not include the examples of this rule under rule
3.1.25 satyāpapāśa...? Because this rule involves some examples where
introduction of NiC will be blocked due to the impairment of the
required syntactic-semantic condition (sāmarthya).

This gaṇasūtra is cited as part of the curādi group of roots along with
the following:

tat karoti tad ācāste ‘affix NiC occurs after a nominal stem in the
sense of ‘...makes, or does that’, or ‘...says that’

Of course, ‘that’ is a variable, and the use of the present tense (in karoti
and ācāste) is just for illustration (nidarsana). That is, use of NiC occurring
after a nominal stem with the above two meanings is not restricted to
the current time (varttamāna) only.

The meaning of the action in connection with munḍa, mīśra, ślaksṇa,
and lavaṇa can be easily comprehended. Kāśikā informs, however, that a
NiC derivate of vrata could denote bhojana ‘consuming’, or ‘refraining
from consuming’ (tannivṛtti ). Thus, we get payo vratayati ‘... is drinking
milk, or refraining from drinking it’; and vrṣalaṁmaṇa vratayati ‘...refrains
from eating food offered by a lowly untouchable’.

3.1.22 धातोरकाचो हलादे: क्रियासमभिहरे यशः

dhātor ekāco halādeḥ kriyāsamabhihāre yaṁ
Idhātoḥ 5/1 ekācaḥ 5/1 = ekoc yasmin sa (bv.), tasmāt; halādeḥ 5/1 = hal
ādir yasya sa = halādeḥ (bv.) tasmāt;
kriyāsamabhihāre 7/1 yaṁ 1/1,
(pratyayah #1, paraś ca #2, vā #7)
ekāj yo dhātur halādeḥ kriyāsamabhihāre vartate tasmād yaṁ
pratyayo bhavati

Affix yaN optionally occurs after a monosyllabic verbal root
beginning with a consonant when kriyāsamabhihāra ‘repetitious or
intense action’ is denoted.

Examples:

pāpacayate ‘cooks repeatedly’
yāyajyate ‘repeatedly performs ritual sacrifice’
jājvalyate ‘illummates or burns intensely’

1. This rule introduces affix yaN after a verbal root which begins with a
consonant (halādi), consists of a single vowel (ekāc), and is used to denote
the intensity or frequency of an action (kriyāsamabhihāra). The word
(kriyāsamabhihāra) has been explained as (paunahpunya) ‘intensity, or repeti-
tion of an action, or bhṛśārtha ‘signification of abundance, multiplicity’.
Thus, punah punah pacati ‘...cooks again and again’ yields a corresponding
yaN-derivative pāpacayate. Haradatta (PM ad Kāś II:380) sums up an
interesting distinction between bhṛśārtha and paunahṣṭuṇya, the two interpretations of kriyāsamaṁsabhiḥhāra, as follows:

...pradhānakriyāṇāṁ paunahṣṭuṇyaṁ samabhiḥhāraḥ... avayavakriyāṇāṁ bhṛśārthatā samabhiḥhāraḥ ‘repetition of the principal action is kriyāsamaṁsabhiḥhāra; in the case of secondary actions, it is their multiplicity which is termed samabhiḥhāra’. Note that Indian grammarians consider a given action to be a composite of several actions such that the principal among them is identified with the fruit of the action. Thus, verbal root pac denotes the act of cooking while the fruit of this action is known as viklitti ‘softening’. The act of cooking rice (tandula), for example, is considered as a composite of several actions, such as ‘washing the rice’, ‘preparing the fire’, ‘putting rice in the pot’, ‘placing the pot on the stove’, and ‘increasing or decreasing the heat’, etc. These, ultimately, lead to the realization of the principal action called viklitti. This is what the verbal root pac denotes. Nyāsa recognizes the meaning of kriyāsamaṁsabhiḥhāra in the context of secondary actions as phalātireka ‘exuberance in the fruit of action’.

2. The word dhātu (of dhātoḥ) must be stated so that introduction of affix yaN does not obtain after a verbal root used with a preverb. If dhātu were intended in this rule to refer to a word-form which simply denoted an action (kriyā), then the rule need not have used dhātu explicitly. This purpose of dhātoḥ could easily be served by the context of kriyāsamaṁsabhiḥhāra. For, one talks about kriyāsamaṁsabhiḥhāra only in the context of an action which, in turn, is denoted by a verbal root, used with or without a preverb (upasarga). Pāṇini, by explicit use of the word dhātoḥ, indicates that yaN should be introduced after a non-prefixed (anupasṛṣṭa) verbal root. This is desired for operational reasons such as non-doubling of the preverb, etc. I have already explained this under 3.1.7 dhātoḥ karmāṇaḥ.... But this could hardly be the main purpose of explicitly using the word dhātoḥ. The assignment of the term ārddhadhātuka by rule 3.4.114 ārddhadhātukam śesāḥ is the primary reason. For, in the absence of the assignment of this term operations relative to rules such as 2.4.53 bruvo vaciḥ cannot apply.

Note that dhātoḥ is qualified here with halādi ‘that which has a consonant at its beginning’ so that yaN can not be introduced after iks ‘to see’, a root obviously beginning with a vowel. The word ekāc constitutes another qualification which blocks the introduction of yaN after roots such as jāgr ‘to wake up’, which consists of more than one vowel. Incidentally, ekāc, like halādeḥ, must also be interpreted as a bahuvrihi compound as I have already shown here in connection with the text of this rule. That is, it should not be interpreted as a tatpurūṣa.

Note further that a vārttika enumerates a list of verbal roots after which yaN is introduced, even though the roots violate the conditions of halādi or of ekāc, or of both.
3.1.23 नियम कौटिल्ये गतो

nityam kauṭilye gatau
nityam 1/1 kauṭilye 7/1 gatau 7/1
(pratyayaḥ #1, paraś ca #2, dhātoḥ, yaṁ #22)
gativaṇnad dhātoḥ kauṭilye ganyamāne nityam yaṁ pratyayo bhavati
Affix yaN obligatorily occurs after a verbal root with the signification of gati ‘movement’, provided kauṭilya ‘crookedness’ is denoted.

EXAMPLES:

cānkramyate ‘walks in a crooked way’
dandramyate ‘moves in a crooked way’

1. This rule introduces affix yaN obligatorily (nityam) after a verbal root with the signification of gati ‘motion’ provided that kauṭilya ‘crookedness’ is denoted. The word gatau thus becomes a modifier to the base, i.e., dhātu, with the interpretation: gatyartho varttamānād dhātoḥ ‘after a verbal root used with the signification of motion’. Obviously, affix yaN is used here in the sense of something other than kriyāsamaṁbhīhāra. The affix must also be obligatorily introduced to account for the fact that there is no usage parallel to the yaN-derivate which could express the desired meaning. But this is paradoxical. Why does one have to account for a parallel expression when that expression is already non-existent? The word nitya then must have some other purpose for its use. Kāśikā states that nitya is used here to clearly demarcate the scope (viṣayani-yamārtha). That is, yaN must be introduced after a verbal root which signifies gati with accompanying kauṭilya. That is, yaN should occur after a verbal root with the meaning of gati only when kauṭilya is denoted. It should never be introduced when kriyāsamaṁbhīhāra is signified. Haradatta thinks that the formulation of the sūtra (without nitya) itself should be sufficient. For, the preceding rule introduces yaN after roots in general where as this one introduces it after a class of roots in particular. The qualification of kauṭilye would constitute an exception to kriyāsamaṁbhīhāra. Thus, by takrakaunḍiniṁyāyōya (cf. vol. I, p.15 ff.), kriyāsamaṁbhīhāra will be blocked. Haradatta concludes that the use of nitya is thus questionable (cintya).

Why did Pāṇini use nityam when its purpose could have been served by invoking takrakaunḍiniṁyāyōya? Tattvabodhini (ad SK III:470) claims that the explicit use of nityam is made to show that takrakaunḍiniṁyāyōya is not universally valid. The paraphrase of SK presents the meaning and scope of this rule as follows:

gatyarthāt kauṭilya eva yaṁ syān na tu kriyāsamaṁbhīhāre
‘affix yaN should occur after a verbal root with the signification of gati when kautilya, and not when kriyåsamabhåhåra, is denoted’

Obviously, Bhaṭṭoji interprets nityam as used in the sense of ‘only’ (eva). The Mahåbhåṣya maintains that the analyzed form of a derivate such as caṅkramyate does not denote kriyåsamabhåhåra. Consequently, yaN cannot be used in that sense anyway. This, in turn, makes the use of the word nityam unnecessary, as is also true in connection with bhåvågarhå of the following rule.

3.1.24 लुपसद्वरजपजनद्रशायै धावार्हयाप
lupasadacarajapajabhadasagribhya bhåvågarhåyåm
lupa...gribhyåh 5/3 bhåvågarhåyåm 7/1/
(pratyayaḥ #1, paraś ca #2, dhåtoḥ, yaN #22, nityam #23)
‘lup sad car jåp jabh gī ity etebhya bhåvågarhåyåṁ yaN pratyayo bhavati
Affix yaN obligatorily occurs after verbal roots lupÅ ‘to break, cut’ sadÅ ‘to sit’, carÅ ‘to move, walk’, jåpÅ ‘to chant’, jabhÅ ‘to yawn’, dah ‘to burn’ and gī ‘to swallow’ only when bhåvågarhå ‘contempt for action’ is denoted.

EXAMPLES:

lolutpyate ‘...cuts, breaks in a contemptible manner
såsadatyate ‘...sits in a contemptible manner’
cançuryate ‘...walks, moves in a contemptible manner’
jañjapyate ‘...chants in a contemptible manner’
jañjabhyate ‘...yawns in a contemptible manner’
dandahyate ‘...he burns in a contemptible manner’
dandaśyate ‘...he bites in a contemptible manner’
nijegilyate ‘...he swallows in a contemptible manner’

1. This rule introduces affix yaN after a select number of roots when bhåvågarhå ‘censure of the action denoted by the root’ is denoted. This rule also carries the word nityam thereby, again, meaning: yaN is to be introduced after these roots only when bhåvågarhå is to be denoted. The use of nitya, then, becomes a means to demarcate the exact scope of the denotation of yaN. Thus, lolutpyate denotes the censurable manner in which someone is carrying out the action of chedana ‘cutting’.

Kåśikå cites the counter-example sådhu jåpati ‘...is chanting beautifully’ to show that yaN can not be introduced when the root-sense is being praised. Similarly, mantram jåpati vrśalå ‘the lowly untouchable is chanting the hymns’ can not qualify for a parallel derivate in yaN because what is censured is a vrśala, the means (sådhana), and not the action (bhåva).

Haradatta explains the counter-example as sådhanågarhå since a śûdra, let alone a vrśala, does not have the right to chant the Vedic hymns. The
right (adhikāra) is here the means by which the śūdra could accomplish
the act. When an action cannot be accomplished because there is a lack
of proper means, the action becomes subject to censure. There are
severe pronouncements against a śūdra chanting the hymns: śūdrasya
vedam upaśrṇvatras trpaṇjatubhyām śrotapratiṣuṇaṃ; uccāraṇe jīhvāccedah,
dhārane tu śaśirabhenedah ‘should a śāśira be found listening to the chanting
of a Vedic hymn, his ears should be filled with hot lead and lac; should
he be found studying the Veda, his tongue should be chopped off;
and should he be found internalizing it he is to be dismembered’.

3.1.25 सत्यापाःस्थरुपाविनात्लकोलकापरामतवर्णवर्णवृण्डचुरङ्गविष्यो णिच

satyāpapāsvarūpaviniṭulakaslokesnellomaṃvatavacavarmavarnacūrnacūrādibhyo
nīc
/satyāpa...curādibhyāḥ 1/1 nīc 1/1/
(pratyayah #1, paraś ca #2, dhātoḥ #22)
satyādibhyāḥ cūrnāparyantebhhyāḥ, curādibhyāḥ ca nīc pratyayo bhavati

Affix NiC occurs after nominal stems satya ‘truth, pāsa ‘snare’, rūpa
‘army’, loma ‘hair on the body’, tvac ‘skin’, varma ‘protective armor’,
and ārṇa ‘powder’; it also occurs after verbal roots belonging to the class headed by cur ‘to steal’.

Examples:

satyāpayati ‘he speaks the truth’
vipāsayati ‘he frees from a snare’
rūpayati ‘he brings into form, sees’
upaviniyayati ‘he sings to the accompaniment of the viniṅ (lute)’
anutulayati ‘he makes swabs from cotton and straw’
upaslokayati ‘he praises or sings by chanting a verse’
abhiṣenayati ‘he attacks with an army’
anulomayati ‘he massages to clear the roots of the hair’
tvacayati ‘he pinches’
avacūrnayati ‘he sprinkles powdered medicine on the wound’
corayati ‘he steals...’
cintayati ‘he worries; thinks...’

1. This rule introduces affix NiC after two sets of forms: (i) after the
twelve items enumerated which begin with satyāpa, etc., and (ii) after
roots listed in the group headed by cur ‘to steal’. The word satyāpA carries
its final A just for the sake of pronunciation (uccārāyārtha). Furthermore,
satyāpA is treated as derived by the introduction of āpUK, an augment
(āgama), to satya. Thus, satya + āp(UK → θ) = satyāp. Pāṇini makes
the citation as satyāpA. A proposal in the Mahābhāṣya states that the introduction of āpUK must be stated in connection with artha, satya, and veda. As far as satyāpa is concerned, the āpUK has to come via nīpātana ‘ad hoc’ as Pāṇini provides for. It is because of āpUK that no deletion of ṭi (1.1.64 aco’ ntyādi ṭi) by 6.4.155 teh is applicable.

Note, in connection with this, that rule 6.4.155 teh deletes the ṭi part of an aṅga before affixes iṣṭhaN, etc., by the gaṇasūtra: prātipadikād dhātvartthahabulam iṣṭhavac ca ‘operations similar to affix iṣṭhaN take place variously after a nominal stem when the sense of the root is to be denoted’. The derivate could thus have been accomplished. But along with teh application, ṭi-deletion would become applicable. Additionally, as is the case with all iṣṭhaN (5.3.55 atīśāyane tamaṭiśthahana) derivates, masculine transformation (pumvadbhāva; 6.3.34 striyāḥ pumvad bhāṣitapumskād...) also applies. However, masculine transformation is also blocked in the context of āpUK.

The tradition believes that NiC after a nominal stem is introduced in two senses of tat karoti ‘...does or makes that’, or tad ācaṣṭe ‘...says that’. Thus we get: satyāpayati parallel to satyam ācaṣṭe ‘...speaks the truth’. Perhaps, commentators explain the particular meanings of the cited formations because the sense of tat karoti and tad ācaṣṭe often becomes rather difficult to clearly establish. My glosses of relevant examples are an effort toward capturing the instances in which the commentators think these derivates are used. Haradatta (PM ad Kāś 11:386-87) states that the distinction between meanings is based on generalizations. This does not rule out usages in other more specific meanings.

In contrast, note that in the case of curādi roots, the sense of affix NiC has to be the root-sense (svārtha) as no meaning has been specified (nirdiṣṭa) in this context.

2. The N of affix NiC is given as an it for vṛddhi by rule 7.2.115 aco’ nimiti. The C as an it is given to secure the final (anta) high pitch (udātta) by rule 6.1.163 citah.

3.1.26 हेतुमति च

hetumati ca

Hetumati 7/1 ca 0/

(pratayaya #1, paraś ca #2, dhātoḥ #22, nic #25)

hetor vyāpārah hetumān, tasminn abhidheye dhātor nicpratayayo bhavati

Affix NiC occurs after verbal roots when hetumat ‘causal action’ is expressed.

Examples:

katam kārayati ‘he has someone make the mat’

odanam pācayati ‘he has someone cook the rice’
1. This rule introduces affix *NiC after a verbal root when causal action is expressed. The word *hetu is used in this grammar in both the sense of cause (*nimitta) and as the causal agent (*hetu). Thus, we have rule 1.4.55 *tatprayojaka *hetuś ca whereby the instigator (*prayojaka) of an independent agent is additionally termed *hetu. This, obviously, has derivational consequences. Consider, for example, the sentence *devadatto *yajñadattena *taṇḍulam *pācayati ‘Devadatta has Yajñadatta cook the rice’ where Devadatta is prompting Yajñadatta to cook the rice. Yajñadatta is still the independent agent (*svatantrakartr; 1.4.54 *svatantraḥ *karttā) though with a qualification. He is now being prompted by Devadatta. In this context, Devadatta is the prompter or causal agent. He is an agent independent of the action of prompting. He, therefore, is assigned the additional term *hetu. Rule 3.1.26 *hetumati ca requires the introduction of affix *NiC when the activity of agent termed *hetu is to be expressed.

Commentators caution that the condition of *hetumati should not be interpreted as meaning ‘causal agent’ per se. It should instead be interpreted as denoting the characteristic action (*vyāpāra) of instigation (*prerāṇa). Thus, the action of instigation characteristic of the causal agent (*prayojakavyāpāra) is the denotatum of *hetumati.

Let us understand this in view of the derivation of *pācayati. This verbal form is derived from *pac + (N → θ)ᵢ(C → θ), where rule 3.1.26 introduces *NiC. This yields *pāci, a verbal root (*dhātu; 3.1.32 sanādyantā *dhātavah) after which 3.2.123 varttamāne *laṭ introduces affix *LAṬ. Note that *LA affixes are introduced after a transitive root when either the agent or the object is to be denoted; they are introduced after an intransitive root when either the agent or the root-sense (*bhāva) is to be denoted (3.4.69 *lah karmanī ca bhāve cākarmakebhiyah). Coming back to the context of *pāci + *LAṬ, we replace *LAṬ with *ti(*P → θ) as per rules 3.4.77 *lasya and 3.4.78 *tiptasjaḥ. This *ti is selected to denote the agent of *pāci, i.e., the causal agent Devadatta. But this agent is also termed *hetu by rule 1.4.55 *tatprayojakaka. Affix *NiC, introduced by 3.1.26 *hetumati ca, is intended to denote this *hetumati, i.e., the action (*vyāpāra) of instigation (*prerāṇa). The prompted agent, in this case Yajñadatta, will then have to be denoted by *trtiyā ‘third triplet of nominal endings’ introduced by rule 2.3.18 *kṛtyakaranayos *trtiyā. For, the causal agent is denoted by the verb. I have omitted some derivational details which can be found in the appendix.

3.1.27 कष्णवादिघ्यो यक

*kaṇḍvādibhyo yak
*kaṇḍvādibhyah 5/3 yak 1/1
(pratyayah #1, *paraś ca #2, *dhātoḥ #22)
'kāṇḍūṇī' ity evaṁ ādibhyo yakṣ pratyayo bhavati
Affix yaka occurs after verbal roots enumerated in the list headed by kāṇḍūṇī 'to scratch' to denote bhāva 'root sense'.

Examples:

kāṇḍūyati 'he scratches...'
kāṇḍūyate 'id.'
mantūyati 'he offends...'
mantūyate 'id.'

1. This rule introduces affix yaka after items enumerated in the list headed by kāṇḍūṇī 'to itch, scratch'. These items are treated as both a dhātu and a prātipadika. What then should we accept here as the base for affix yaka? The Mahābhāṣya states that yaka should be introduced after dhātu because dhātu is here provided for by the context (cf. 3.1.22 dhātor ekāco...). Besides, the K of yaka as an it is used here to block guṇa. If yaka were to be introduced after a nominal stem, K as an it for the affix becomes useless. For, the guṇa which is to be blocked by the it obtains before an affix introduced only after a verbal root.

What makes us understand that kāṇḍū, etc., can also be nominal stems? Pāṇini indicates this usage by citing kāṇḍū, etc. with a built-in long vowel. For, the long vowel, say the ū of kāṇḍūṇī, could easily be implemented by the application of rule 7.4.25 akṛṭसārvadāḥtukayor dirghaḥ. Pāṇini, thus, did not jump the derivational process without a specific purpose in mind. The Mahābhāṣya (III:101) sums up the preceding explanation with the following verse:

dhāturprakaraṇād dhātoḥ,
kasya cāṣaṇjanād api
āha cāyam imam dirghaṁ,
manye dhātur vibhāṣitam//

2. The ū of kāṇḍūṅī, and the like, is intended for the selection of the āṭmanepada (1.3.12 svaritaṇītaḥ...).

3. In the absence of any meaning specification, yaka should be introduced to denote svārtha, the sense of the root itself. Bhottōji (SK III:544) states that yaka is introduced obligatorily (nūyam) after these roots when dhātvartha 'root-sense' is denoted. The word kāṇḍū is explained as gātra-vikarṣaṇa 'scratching' while mantūṅī is paraphrased as aparādha 'guilt, crime'. Similar meaning specifications are also available for others.

4. Items such as magadhā, sukha, duḥkha, etc., which are read with a final a, undergo through its deletion (6.4.48 aṭo lopah). This yields forms such as magadhyati, sukhya, and duḥkhya, etc. This list also includes items such as lōṭ and lēṭ which are independent word- forms, and should not be confused with the abstract suffixes LOT and LET. This distinction
is only logical in view of the nature of the items enumerated. The list is not an enumeration of affixes. Thus, because of their association (sāhacaryā) with other non-affixes, loṭ and leṭ will be treated as non-affixal units meaning ‘shine’ and ‘a bit’ respectively.

5. When affix yaK is not introduced, kandū, etc., can be treated as nominal stems. Affixes such as KoliP, etc., can thus be introduced to derive kandūḥ, kandūth ‘itching’, etc., where sU is introduced after kandū and kandāti subsequent to the deletion of KoliP. These derivates of KoliP are treated as feminine.

3.1.28 गुप्तधप्वचिपिपांनिपिपिपियाह अयः

\[
guptādhāpavacchipanipanibhyā āyah \\
\text{l}guptādhāpavacchipanipanibhyāh 5/3 āyah 1/1 \\
\text{pratayayh} \#1, \text{paraś ca} \#2, \text{dhatoh} \#22,
\]

‘gupt...pava’ ity etebhyo dhatubhyā āya pratayayo bhavati

Affix āya occurs to denote root-sense after verbal roots gupū ‘to protect, preserve’, dhūpa ‘to heat, fumigate, torture’, vicchī ‘to move toward, approach’, paṇI ‘to praise’ and paṇI ‘to praise’.

EXAMPES:

\[
gopāyati ‘he preserves, protects...’ \\
dhūpāyati ‘he heats, fumigates...’ \\
vicchāyati ‘he moves toward...’ \\
paṇāyati ‘he praisess...’ \\
paṇāyati ‘id.’
\]

1. Affix āya, in the absence of a particular specification of meaning (arthatirdeśābhāvū) again denotes svārtha ‘root-sense’. I have tried to capture the specific meanings of the roots in question in the translation. There are two meanings generally assigned to paṇ, namely ‘to barter’ and ‘to praise’ (stuti). The ‘praise’ meaning is accepted, here, because of the associated listing of this root with paṇ, which also means ‘to praise’.

Note that vicchī has been enumerated in the group of roots headed by tud. On this basis, its āya-derivatives will take the augment Sā (3.1.77 tudādibhyāh...) and not SaP.

2. Note that paṇā and paṇā have an anudātta vowel as their it. As such they are qualified for the introduction of the ātmanepada affixes. But their derivates in āya do not receive the ātmanepada affixes. That is, forms such as gopāyate are not correct. Kāśikā adds that these newly derived roots do not take ātmanepada affixes since they are altogether different roots. But what about their being marked with an anudātta vowel? Does that marking not become vacuous (vyarthā)? On the contrary, the mark (linga), in this case the anudātta vowel as an it, has already
performed its function (*kṛtakārya*) in connection with roots which did not terminate in affix āya. The question of a mark becoming vacuous arises in view of the *Paribhāṣā* (cf. PS 107.) *avayavesv acaritārtham liṅgam samudāyaśya viśesaśkaṃ bhavati* 'a mark made on a part qualifies the derived whole (*samudāya*) if it has yet to accomplish what it was used for'.

3.1.29 चतुर्वर्तयः

\(rt\)er āyaṁ
\(rteḥ 5/1 āyaṅ 1/1/
\(pratayah \#1, paraś ca \#2, dhātoḥ \#22\)
\(rter īyaṅ pratayayo bhavati\)
Affix īyaṅ occurs to denote root-sense after verbal root \(rtU\) ‘to hate’.

**Example:**

\(rtiẏate\) ‘he hates...’

1. This verbal root is treated as *sautra* because it is only available in the *sūtra*. That is, it is not available in the listing of roots of the *Dhātupāṭha* (*DP*). *Kāśikā* informs that this root is used in the sense of ‘censure, despise’ (*ghṛṇā*). In the absence of any specific meaning given for īyaṅ, dhātvartha ‘root-sense’ becomes the denotation of the affix. The root, according to some (*eke*), may also mean *kṛpā* ‘compassion, mercy’ though in the context on hand it is ‘to despise’.

2. A question is raised as to why Pāṇini did not formulate the rule as *ṛteś chaḥ*, thereby deriving *rtiẏate* via īy as a replacement for affix *cha* by 7.1.2 ṣavaneṇiṇī... *Kāśikā* explains that Pāṇini preferred to introduce īyaṅ to indicate (*jñāpanārtha*) that 7.1.2 does not apply in case of affixes introduced after a verbal root.

Note that the root is here interpreted as ending in the consonant t. It should not be treated as ending in i. For, if Pāṇini intended the root to end in i he would not have specified the affix with a long īyaṅ. The short i of īyaṅ would have produced the long ī of the derivates through *savarnādirgha* ‘homogenous long vowel replacement’.

3.1.30 कमेरिणः

\(kamer niṅ\)
\(kameḥ 5/1 niṅ 1/1/
\(pratayah \#1, paraś ca \#2, dhātoḥ \#22\)
\(kamer dhātov niṅ pratayayo bhavati\)
Affix Niṅ occurs to denote root-sense after verbal root *kamu* ‘to wish’.
EXAMPLE:

kāmayate ‘he wishes for...; loves...’

1. The $N$ of affix $NiN$ is to facilitate $vṛddhi$ by rule 7.2.116 $ata$ $upādhyāyah$. The $N$, as usual, conditions the selection of $ātmanepada$. The resultant form, i.e., kāmi, becomes a verbal root in view of 3.1.32 sanādyantā $dhātavah$.

3.1.31 आययदय आर्थिधातुके वा

āyādaya ārddhadhātuke vā
{lāyādayah 1/3 ārddhadhātuke 7/1 vā 0/1
(pratayyah #1; paraś ca #2)
ārddhadhātukavivase ārddhadhātukavivakṣāyām āyādayah pratayā vā bhavanti

Affixes āya, etc., optionally occur after a verbal root when an ārddhadhātuka affix (3.1.114 ārddhadhātukam əsəh) is to follow.

EXAMPLES:

gopta ‘he who will protect’
goptyita ‘id.’
artiti ‘he who will hate’
titiyita ‘id.’
kamitita ‘he who will love’
kāmayitita ‘id.’

1. This rule makes the introduction of three preceding affixes, āya, īyaN, and NiN, optional when one anticipates the introduction of an ārddhadhātuka (3.4.114 ārddhadhātukam...) affix. The basis for introduction of an affix in anticipation lays in an interpretation of the locative of ārddhadhātuke as visayasaṃpamī ‘locative of domain’. This locative here cannot be interpreted as parasaptamī, a locative specifying the right context for an operation to obtain on what precedes. For, that would require the ārddhadhātuka affix to be already in place after the root. That is, an affix termed ārddhadhātuka would have to be introduced prior to āya, etc. This would create problems. For example, consider the feminine base gupti derived by introducing affix KtiN (3.3.94 striyām ktin) after gup where the option of introducing āya from this rule is not accepted. There are no derivational problems in this case. However, given the string gup + KtiN, if one introduces affix āya under the condition of the ārddhadhātuka affix Ktin, an undesired form gopti would result. That is, given gup + āya + ti, ya will be deleted in view of rules 6.1.66 $ato$ lopaḥ and 6.4.48 lopo vyor valih. The desired form goptī, a feminine optional to gupti, is derived by introducing āya in anticipation of the ārddhadhātuka affix a of 3.3.102 a pratayāt. Thus we have:

goptya + a → goptīya
Note that the *guna* in *gupti* is blocked by the *KtiN*. The same cannot be blocked in case of *gopāyā*. The optional introduction of affixes *āya*, etc., would have become obligatory had this rule not been formulated. This way, it is possible to select desired affixes. Thus, in the above illustration, *KtiN* is dropped in anticipation of the *ārdhadhātu* affix *a* when *āya* is introduced to derive a feminine form. Refer to the appendix for derivational details; cf. *PM* (ad *Kāśi* II:406) for a finer interpretation of *saptamī* in *ārdhadhātuke* of this rule.

3.1.32 सनाध्यान्ता धातवः:

*sanādyantā dhātavaḥ*

/sanādyantāḥ 1/3 dhātavaḥ 1/3/

*sanādyantāḥ samudāyā dhātusamjñā bhavanti*

Forms which end in affixes *SaN*, etc., are termed *dhātu* ‘verbal root’.

**Examples:**

- *cikīṛṣati* ‘he wishes to do’
- *putriyati* ‘he wishes a son for himself’
- *putrakhāmyati* ‘id.’

1. *Kāśi* explains *sanādyantāḥ* in two steps as follows:

   (a) *san ādir yeśām te sanādayāḥ* ‘items which are enumerated with *saN* at their beginning are called *sanādayāḥ*’

   (b) *sanādayo* ‘nte yeśām te sanādyantāḥ* ‘items in whose final position affixes *saN*, etc., occur are called *sanādyanta*.’

The (b) above is thus a *tadgunasamvijnāna* interpretation of the *bahuvihari* compound underlying *sanādyantāḥ*, where *anta* is treated as a constituent which denotes an *avayava* ‘part of a whole’. As such, *sanādyantāḥ* could be paraphrased as: *sanādayo* ‘nte *yeśām samudāyānām* ‘those composites which have affixes *saN*, etc., as their final element’. A *tadgunasamvijnānabahuvihari* entails construing one of its constituents with the verb.

The word *dhātu*, here, refers to the technical term *dhātu* (*svāruṇapadārthaka*). It does not refer to, for example, its usual denotata referred to by rule 1.3.1 *bhūvādayo dhātavaḥ*. If it did refer to *bhū*, etc., here, this term assignment would not make any sense.

2. Note that affixes *saN*, etc., are referenced here in the context of term assignment (*samjñāvidhi*). This way, as has been illustrated in connection with rule 1.4.14 *supṭānantam padam*, the *Paribhāṣā* (28) *samjñāvidhau pratyayagrahaṇe taddantagrahaṇam nāsti* finds its scope. Since this rule relates to an operation relative to a term (*samjñā*) entailing affixes (*pratyaya*), items which may end in affixes referenced here may be thrown out of the scope of this rule. That is, items which end in affixes *saN*, etc., will
not qualify for assignment of the term dhātu. It is to indicate that tadantavidhi is desired in the context of this assignment of the term dhātu that the word anta is explicitly used in this rule. It is argued, however, that with the explicit introduction of the word anta in rule 1.4.14 suptinantam padam, Pāṇini already exhausted any further application (kṛtapravrttivighāta) of this unique method of tadantavidhi. Commentators refute this interpretation by saying that the use of the word anta again in this rule simply makes the reinforcement (pratiprasava) of that tadantavidhi application. This also clears the way for the assignment of the term dhātu to those forms which not only begin with the base after which the affix is introduced but also those which end in it. Consequently, given devadattaś cikṛṣati, the term dhātu cannot be assigned to the form which begins with devadatta and ends in affix saN.

3. A question is further raised as to why this term assignment of dhātu was not formulated as sanādyantāś ca and placed immediately after 1.3.1 bhūvādayo dhātavaḥ, a rule which also assigns the same term. This way, the word dhātavaḥ would not have to be repeated. Commentators explain that this could not be possible. Such a formulation would have lacked clarity with regard to the exact specification of desired affixes. With the rule formulated the way it is, and also sequenced where it is, one clearly understands sanādi as referring to the eleven (twelve if KviP is also included) affixes (saN, KyaC, kāmyaC, KyaN, KyaŚ, NīN, NīC, yaN, yaK, āya, īyaN) enumerated in the list headed by saN. It may further be argued, in view of economy and contextual proximity, to leave the rule the way it is but to have 1.3.1 follow it with a rephrased reading bhūvādayas ca.

However, commentators also see problems with this set of formulation. They say that this order would enable the term dhātu to be assigned to only those bhū, etc., which terminated in affixes saN, etc. Consequently, verbal roots gup, etc., would still qualify for the term but many other forms would be excluded. It is, therefore, suggested to leave the rule the way it is.

4. The function of this term assignment is to bring the derivates of this rule functionally on a par with items referred to by rule 1.3.1 bhūvādayo. .... Consequently, the derivates of this rule also qualify for the introduction of affixes, and subsequent operations, in the domain of rule 3.1.91 dhātoḥ.

3.1.33 स्यतासि लुतोऽः:

syatāsī lūtoḥ

/syatāsī 1/2 = syaś ca tāsīś ca (itar. dv.); lūtoḥ 7/2 = lṛ ca luṭ ca (itar. dv.)/

(pratayayah #1, paraś ca #2, dhātoḥ #22)
The Aṣṭādhyāyī of Pāṇini

3.1.33

\[
\text{lr-\text{rūpa\text{m}}} \text{uters\text{rānubandh\text{a}}} \text{m sāmānyam eva, tasmin \text{\textit{lu}ti ca parato dhātor}} \\
\text{yathāsām} \text{\textit{kh\text{yam} syatāsī pratyayau bhavatah}}
\]

Affixes \textit{sya} and \textit{tāsI} respectively occur after verbal roots when \textit{LR} and \textit{LUT} follow.

\textbf{Examples:}

\textit{kariṣyati} ‘...will make or do tomorrow’
\textit{akariṣyat} ‘...made or did yesterday’
\textit{svāḥ kartā} ‘...will make or do tomorrow’
\textit{mantā} ‘...will think’

1. The word \textit{LRT} is interpreted, here, as referring to both the \textit{LRT} and \textit{LRN} affixes. Dropping the \textit{ī} to thereby make a general reference by means of \textit{LR}, also serves another purpose. Note that \textit{LRT}, \textit{LRN} and \textit{LUT}, three affixes form the right context for the introduction of two affixes \textit{sya} and \textit{tāsI}. That is, there are three conditioning factors (\textit{nimitta}) for two conditioned elements (\textit{nimittin}). Obviously, this impairs assignment of equivalencies in accordance with the number of elements enumerated (\textit{sāmkhya\textit{tānu}ndeśa; 1.3.10 yathāsām} \textit{kh\text{yam}...}). Commentators explain that, in making a common reference with \textit{LR} to \textit{LRT} and \textit{LRN}, Pāṇini saves the \textit{sāmkhya\textit{tānu}ndeśa} from impairment. As such, \textit{sya} can be introduced when replacement of either a \textit{LRT} or \textit{LRN} follows. Similarly, \textit{tāsI} can be introduced when a replacement of \textit{LUT} follows.

2. Note, also, that \textit{tāsI} is given with a final \textit{I} which \textit{Kāśikā} (in the section supposedly written by Jayāditya) identifies as an \textit{ī}. The purpose of this \textit{ī} is to block the deletion of \textit{n} in, for example, \textit{mantā}, which is briefly derived as follows:

\[
\begin{align*}
(a) & \quad \text{man} + \text{ (LUT} \rightarrow \text{ta} \rightarrow \text{Dā) = man} + \text{ā} \\
(b) & \quad \text{man} + \text{tās(I} \rightarrow \text{∅) + ā} \rightarrow \text{man} + \text{tās} + \text{ā} \\
(c) & \quad \text{man} + \text{t(ās} \rightarrow \text{∅) + ā} \rightarrow \text{man} + \text{t} + \text{ā} (6.4.143 \text{ṭēh}) \\
(d) & \quad \text{man} + \text{t} + \text{ā} \rightarrow 6.4.24 \text{aniditām hal...} \\
& \quad \text{mā (n} \rightarrow \text{∅) t} + \text{ā} = \text{*matā}
\end{align*}
\]

I have omitted here the initial details of this derivation. Refer to the derivation of \textit{pāṭhi} and \textit{kaṇi} in the appendix of rule 1.1.6 \textit{didhīvevītām} for further details.

Note that the deletion of \textit{n} in (d) will obtain because (I)ā, a substitute of \textit{LUT} via \textit{ta} (2.4.85 \textit{luṭaḥ prathamasya...}), is treated as if marked with \textit{N} by 1.2.4 \textit{sārvadhātukam api}. For, the aṅga, i.e., \textit{man} + \textit{t}, will not be able to meet the condition of \textit{anidita} ‘that which does not have \textit{i} as an \textit{ī}' of 6.4.24 \textit{aniditām...}. Thus, the application of rule 6.4.24 \textit{aniditām hal...} is blocked by treating the \textit{tāsI} of \textit{mantāsI} as marked with \textit{I} as an \textit{ī}. Vāmana, the co-author of the \textit{Kāśikā}, treats the final \textit{I} of \textit{tāsI} as added simply for ease of articulation (\textit{uccāraṇa}; cf. Vāmana under rule 7.1.58 \textit{idito num...}).
Nyāsa (III: 410–11) hastens to add that Vāmana’s statement does not constitute a conflict between the co-authors. Actually, the n which is the object of this deletion must also be the penultimate (upadhā; 1.1.65 alo’ ntyāt pūrva...). Note that rule 6.4.24 anidītāṁ hal... is contained in the section headed by 6.4.22 asiddhavād atrābhāt. This rule makes the application of a sūtra suspended (asiddha) in view of the application of any other rule prior to rule 6.4.129 bhasya. In view of this, the application of rule 6.4.24 renders the application of rule 6.4.143 teh without scope. This means that the output of step (c), as far as rule 6.4.24 was concerned, will still be: man + tās + ā. That is, n which 6.4.24 would ordinarily delete, no longer constitutes the penultimate segment of the presuffixal base (aṅga). Consequently, the question of the deletion of n, as well as the addition of I as an it to tās, will not arise. It is with this understanding that Vāmana says that the I is used for ease of articulation.

Vāmana’s view is tenable only if one does not accept that the deletion of ti can be accomplished at the strength of the dit (D as an it) status of an item even when lacking the assignment of the term bha (cf. Mbh. IV: 783: dity abhasyāpi anubandhakaraṇa-sāmarthyāt). I do not offer any additional detail on this for fear of expatiation. Note, however, that taking recourse to the dit status for the application of rule 6.4.143 teh is a fairly general practice in the Pāṇinian parlance. Consequently, the i of tāsi is treated as facilitating pronunciation. Refer to the derivation of bhavītā, etc., under rule 1.1.49 śaṭṭhī... for derivational details.

Some claim that without the I as an it, it would be impossible to save the s of tāsi from being designated as an it by 1.3.3 halantyam. Consequently, rule 1.3.9 tasya lopaḥ would delete the s. Therefore, I is used to save the s from deletion. This view should be abandoned. What could possibly be the purpose of assigning the term it to s? A s as an it may invoke the assignment of the term pada by rule 1.4.16 sitī ca. But this will create difficulty in connection with the derivation of forms such as hantā ‘he who will kill’ where 8.2.7 nalopaḥ... would then demand the deletion of n.

3. Note that the tradition accepts sya, etc., as an exception to ŚaP (3.1.68 kartari śa).

3.1.34 तिथिये लेति

sib bahulaṃ leṭi
/sip 1/1 bahulaṃ 1/1 leṭi 7/1/
(pratayah #1, paraś ca #2, dhātoḥ #22)

Affix sIP occurs variously after a verbal root when LET follows.

Examples:

jośiṣat ‘may he make us happy’
tāriṣat ‘may he move ahead’

1. This rule, on account of being marked with bahulam, applies variously. That is, sometimes it applies, at others it does not; sometimes it applies only optionally, yet, on occasion, it applies in an entirely different manner. Of course, it applies when LET (3.4.7 liñarthe leṣ) follows. Note that LET usages are exclusive to the Vedic. The I of sIF is used to facilitate pronunciation whereas its P as an it intended for proper accentuation (3.1.4 anudāttau suppitau).

3.1.35 कास्रतयाद्वपदन्वे लिटि

kāspratayād ām amantre liṭi
/kaśpratayāt 5/1 ām 1/1 amantre 7/1 liṭi 7/1/ (pratayāyah 1, paraś ca #2, dhātoḥ #22)
‘kāṣ’ śabdakutsayaṁ tataḥ pratayānteḥhyaḥ ca dhāṭubhya āṁ
pratayayo bhavati liṭi paraṁo’ mantraviṣayeye

Affix ām occurs after kāṣR ‘to cough’ and roots which end in an affix, provided LIT follows and the usage is not the Mantra part of the Vedic.

EXAMPLES:

kāṣāṇacakre ‘he coughed’
loliyāṇacakre ‘he cut repeatedly’

1. The word ṭratayya is, here, used to refer to affixes san, etc. Consequently, and also in consonance with the Paribhāṣā (24) ṭratayagrahaṇaṁ..., ṭratayya denotes items ending in affixes san, etc. (sannantebhyaḥ). This, in turn, becomes a qualifier to dhātu as this is the domain of dhātu. This yields the following interpretation:

...pratayānteḥhya ḍhāṭubhya... ‘...after verbal roots ending in affixes san, etc.,’

Thus, affix ām is to be introduced after verbal root kāṣR, or after verbal roots which end in affixes san, etc.

The negation of amantre entails viṣayasaptamī ‘locative of domain, topic’. It is not an instance of parasaptamī, the locative which forms the right context for an operation to take place on what precedes. A viṣayasaptamī interpretation of the negation of amantre will reduce the scope of application of this rule to bhāṣa ‘classical Sanskrit’ and the brāhmaṇa. The word mantra (cf. PM ad Kāṣ. II:414) refers to the three Vedas: r̥k, yajus and sāman where atharva is treated as included within the first two. Why did Pāṇini not use chandaṁ as is his general practice? The use of chandaṁ would exclude the brāhmaṇa usages from the scope of this rule. Thus, mantra is used here to bring brāhmaṇa usages within the scope of this rule additionally with those of the bhāṣa ‘classical Sanskrit’.
The \( \text{ām} \) cannot be deleted by the joint application of 1.3.3 \textit{halantyam} and 1.3.9 \textit{tasya lopah}. Note that such a deletion would be vacuous (\textit{vyartha}) because of lack of any definite purpose (\textit{phalābhape}). The single purpose for which \( M \) is made an \( it \) is to facilitate the application of rule 1.1.47 \textit{mid aco' ntyat parah}. This rule allows for the introduction of an item marked with \( M \) as an \( it \) after the final vowel of the item for which the specification is made. Our rule on hand, does not require invoking 1.1.47 \textit{mid aco...}. Rule 3.1.1 \textit{pratyayah} and 3.1.2 \textit{paraś ca} will govern the situation here. Furthermore, \( \text{ām} \) is introduced after \( kās \) (by this rule) and \( ās \) (by 3.1.37 \textit{dayāyāsaś ca}). If \( m \) of \( \text{ām} \) was an \( it \) then \( ā \) will have to be introduced after the long vowel of \( kās \) and \( ās \). This produces \( kā + ā + s = kās \) and \( ā + ā + s = ās \), the same form. Why introduce \( ā(M) \) when the desired form can be gotten without introducing it? That the introduction of \( \text{ām} \) is not futile becomes an indication (\textit{jñāpaka}) for not treating the \( M \) of \( \text{ām} \) as an \( it \).

2. A \textit{vārttika} under this rule proposes that \( \text{ām} \) should be stated to occur also after polysyllabic (\textit{anēkāc}) roots so that \textit{cūlumpāñcakāra} ‘he fondled...’ and \textit{daridrāñcakāra} ‘he became poor or displayed poor taste’, etc., can be accounted for. This proposal also requires \textit{anēkācāh} ‘that which consists of more than one vowel’ to replace \textit{pratyayā} of this rule.

Note, in connection with this, that \( \text{ām} \) is a \textit{kṛt} affix (3.1.93 \textit{kṛd atiśīn}) termed \textit{ārddhadhātuka} (3.4.114 \textit{ārddhadhātukam}...). Forms which end in \( \text{ām} \) are termed nominal stem by rule 1.2.46 \textit{ṛttaddhita}.... But the nominal endings introduced after an item which ends in \( \text{ām} \) are deleted by 2.4.82 \textit{arṇyād āp supah}. Such items are termed \textit{arṇyāya} on account of being \textit{kṛdanta} terminating in -\textit{m} (1.1.38 \textit{kṛn mejantāh}).

Also note that rule 3.1.40 \textit{kṛṇcāmuprayuṣyate}... will provide for the tagged (\textit{anuprayuktā}) verbal roots \textit{kṛ}, \textit{bhū} and \textit{ās} before \textit{LIT}. This \textit{LIT}, however, is deleted by 2.4.81 \textit{āmah}. Normally, one would expect \textit{ātmanepada-parasa przedpa} affixes to replace the \textit{LA-affixes} as is provided for by rule 3.4.78 \textit{tiptāṣhipi...} read with 3.4.77 \textit{lasya} . But in an example such as \textit{iḥāncakre, LIT} gets deleted and \textit{ātmanepada} ending -\textit{ta} is introduced as a replacement for a freshly introduced \textit{LIT} after forms which end in -\textit{ām}.

3.1.36 \textit{इजादेश गुर्मतोऽनुरूचः}:

\textit{ijādeś ca gurumato 'ṛccchaḥ}
\textit{ijādeḥ 5/1 ca 0 gurumataḥ 5/1 anṛccchaḥ 5/1/}
(\textit{pratyayah #1, paraś ca #2, dhātoḥ #22, ām, amantre, liṭi #35})
\textit{ijādir yo dhātur gurumān ṛcchativarjitas tasmāc ca liṭi parata ām pratyayo bhavati}

Affix \( \text{ām} \) occurs after a verbal root which begins with \textit{iC} (\textit{i, u, r, l, e, o, a, au}; \textit{Śs} 1-4) and contains a guru vowel (1.4.11 \textit{samyoge}...),
though is not ēcch 'to go', provided LIṬ follows and the usage is not from the Mantra part of the Vedic.

**Examples:**

*īhāṅcakre* 'he tried'
*ūhāṅcakre* 'he reasoned about'

1. This rule provides for ām after a verbal root which begins with iC and has a guru vowel, but is not constituted by ēcch. Other conditions remain the same. It is interesting to note that a vowel denoted by iC can satisfy both the conditions of īdī and gurumān. Why did Pāṇini not state just the condition of gurumān? That would qualify verbal roots takṣ, and rakṣ for the introduction of ām, an undesired situation in view of their derivates namely tataksa and raraṣa. This rule requires that the root which begins with iC (īdī) must also be gurumān; that which contains a vowel termed guru.

2. A vārttika, obviously to account for forms such as prorṃunāva ‘...covered properly’, demands that verbal root ēṛnuṆ ‘to cover’ should be treated as an exception.

3.1.37 दयायासः

dayāyāsā ca
/dayāyāsah 5/1 = dayā sa ca ayaś ca = dayāyās tasmāt (sam. dv.); ca 0/
(pratyayaḥ #1, paraś ca #2, dhātaḥ #22, ām, amantere, liṭi #35)
‘daya-aya-āsa’ ity etebhyaś ca liṭi paraśa ām pratyayo bhavati

Affix ām also occurs after verbal roots dayA ‘to give, to go, to protect’, ayA ‘to go’ and āsA ‘to sit’ provided LIṬ follows and the usage is not from the Mantra part of the Vedic.

**Examples:**

*dayāṅcakre* 'he protected'
*palāyāṅcakre* 'he ran away'
*āsāṅcakre* 'he sat down'

1. Verbal roots ayA and āsA are explained as signifying gati ‘movement’ and upaveśana ‘sitting’ respectively. However, dayA is explained as signifying dāna ‘giving’, gati as well as rakṣaṇa ‘protection’. This rule introduces affix ām under the condition of a following LIṬ. Given ṃparā + ay + ām + caṅkre where verbal root ayA is used with the preverb ṃparā, the -r of ṃparā gets replaced with -l by 8.2.19 upasarga...

3.1.38 उषाविद्याग्र्षोऽयतरस्याम्

uṣavidajāgrṛbhyo 'nyatarasyām
Examples:

ōṣāṇcaṇkāra 'he burned'
uvoṣa 'id.'
vidāṇcaṇkāra 'he perceived'
viveda 'id.'
jāgarāṇcaṇkāra 'he woke up'
jajāgāra 'id.'

1. This rule makes the introduction of ām optional after the three verbal roots cited as above. Note that vidA is interpreted as active (parasmaipada), signifying jñāna 'knowledge', because of its association with uṣA and jāgr which are active. That is, vidA is neither interpreted as the middle (ātmanepada) root meaning 'to exist, think', nor as active-middle (ubhayapadi) with the signification 'to gain, benefit'. Furthermore, because of its association with jāgr which is an adādi root, it is treated, here, as belonging to the adādi group of roots. The final A with vid is used so that the penultimate guna can be blocked. Note, however, that citation of vidA with its final A is restricted only to the context of affix ām. That is, absence of guna is only applicable in the context of the following ām.

Examples:

bibhāṇcaṇkāra 'he became frightened'
bibhāya ‘id.’
jihrayāṇcākāra ‘he became ashamed’
jihrāya ‘id.’
bibhārāṇcākāra ‘he provided for’
babhāra ‘id.’
juhavāṇcākāra ‘he offered ritual oblation’
juhāva ‘id.’

1. This rule not only optionally introduces affix ām before LIT occurring after the roots cited, but also orders an additional operation similar to that with ŚLU (śuvat). This additional operation results into reduplication (dvitva) by rule 6.1.10 śau, and a replacement in - i (itva; 7.4.76 bhīhīrīhīnām...). Note that śuvat contains affix vatī ruled, in view of rule 5.1.116 tatra tasyeva, after a syntactically related pada which ends in locative (saptam), particularly tatra, as the variable tad in rule 5.1.116 suggests. This pada, of course, is śau + ṇi which with vatī, yields the interpretation śau iva ‘as if when ŚLU follows’. Obviously, śuvat marks an extension (atīda) of an operational type (kāryātīda). If this extension is not ordered, reduplication, for the reason of ām intervening between the root and LIT, will be blocked. Similarly, itva also would not obtain.

3.1.40 कृष्णानुप्रयुज्यते लिति

krī cānuprayuyate liṭi
lkṛṇ 1/1 ca 0 anuprayuyate (form in tiṇ) liṭi 7/1/
(pratyayaḥ #1, paraś ca #2, dhātoḥ #22, ām #35)
ām pratyayasya paścāt krī anuprayuyate liṭi parataḥ.
Verbal roots denoted by the abbreviatory term krī occur after an item which ends in affix ām when LIT follows.

EXAMPLES:

pācayāṇcākāra ‘he cooked’
pācayāmbabhūva ‘id.’
pācayāmāsa ‘id.’

1. Commentators explain that krī does not, here, refer to the single root Dukṛṇ. Instead, it is an abbreviatory term formed with kr of rule 5.4.50 kṛbhvāstīyoge... and the ṇ of 5.4.58 kṛñō dvitiyaṭtiya... (cf. Mbh. III:122: kṛṇ iti nedaṁ dhātugrahaṇam; kim tarhi? pratyāhāragrahaṇam. kva sannivīśjanāṁ pratyāhārāḥ? kṛbhvāstīyoge ity atah prabhṛty akrṇo ṇakārāt). The abbreviatory term should technically denote four roots, i.e., kr, bhū, as, and pad, used with the preverb sam. However, the first three verbs denote generalized action, and their LIT forms are tagged after items which terminate in ām introduced after roots denoting particular actions. Since verbal root pad, used with the preverb sam, does not denote a
generalized action, its derivate in LIT can not be tagged (SK III: 57: teṣām kriyāsāmānyavācītvād āṃprakṛtīnāṃ viśeṣavācītvā tadārthayaḥ abhedanāvayaḥ; sampadis tu prayāhāreṇtarbhūto’ḥ ananvītārthatvān na prayujyate). Note, also, that as, in the context of this rule, cannot be replaced with bhū (2.4.52 aster bhūḥ). For, if Pāṇini intended this replacement, he would not have included bhū in 5.4.50 kṛbhvastiyoge.... Besides, he could have formulated this rule simply as kṛbhvanuprayujyate iti.

3.1.41 विदांकुर्वत्वत्वप्रत्यतरस्यां

vidāṃkurvantu ity anyatarasyām
/vidāṃkurvantu (form ending in tiNama) iti 0 anyatarasyām 7/1/
vidāṃkurvantu ity etad anyatarasyām nipātyate
The form vidāṃkurvantu is optionally derived by nipātana.

Examples:

vidāṃkurvantu ‘let them know’
vidantu ‘id.’

1. This is an ad hoc (nipātana) rule which provides for vidāṃkurvantu, a form of the verbal root vidā ending in -ām and tagged with kṛ terminating in LOT. We know that the tagged form of kṛ, bhū, and as are only available in LIT. The first ad hoc provision of this rule is to provide for the tagged forms also in LOT. We thus get: vid + LOT. Secondly, this rule, again by nipātana, blocks the guṇa before ām. Thirdly, this rule provides for the deletion of LOT to produce vidām. Finally, a LOT form of kṛ, bhū, or as will be tagged, again, under the ad hoc provision of this rule (cf. SK III:289 vetter lety ām guṇābhāvo loto luk loḍantakaroty anuprayogaś ca va nipātyate).

It should be noted here, that in the absence of availing the option of tagging a form of kṛ, bhū, or as in LOT, the resultant form will be vidantu.

2. Pāṇini cites only one form vidāṃkurvantu, a third person plural, perhaps because of its greater frequency. This, however, does not rule out the existence of other forms. The use of iti in the rule is, perhaps, made to indicate just that.

3.1.42 अभ्युत्सादयार्पणायन्तिक्षणायोर्यथायामःपावयांक्रियादः विदामक्रियाधिकतidades

abhyaṃsādayāṃprajananyāntiṣṭikṣṇayaṃramayāmakaḥpāvayaṃkriyād vidāma-
krami iti chandasi
/abhyaṃsādayām...ramayāmakaḥ 1/1 pāvayaṃkriyād vidāmakram (forms
ending in tiNama) iti 0 chandasi 7/1/
(anyatarasyām #41)
‘abhyaṃsādayām’ ity evam ādayaṃ chandasi viṣaye nyatarasyaṃ nipātyante
Forms such as, abhyutsādayāmakah, prajanāyāmakah, cikayāmakah, ramayāmakah, pāvayāṃkriyāt and vidāmakran are derived optionally by nipātana when the usage is Vedic.

**Examples:**

abhyutsādayāmakah 'x had y sit on top of...
prajanāyāmakah 'x brought about the existence of...
cikayāmakah 'x had y arrange...
ramayāmakah 'x had y play around...
pāvayāṃkriyāt 'may x have y purified...
vidāmakran 'x attained the knowledge of...

1. This rule optionally provides for ad hoc formations such as abhyutsādayāmakah, prajanāyāmakah, cikayāmakah, ramayāmakah, pāvayāṃkriyāt, and vidāmakran. The akāh of the rule, obviously, has to be read at the end of each one of the cited forms: abhyutsādayām, etc. Here, as also is the case with the previous rule, nipātana provides for diverse operations. For example, verbal roots sad, jan and ram (sadI, janI, ramU) are treated as ending in NiC. Given jani, rami and sadi, used with relevant preverbs, ām is introduced under the condition of the following LUN. The akāh, of course, is tagged subsequently. The vṛddhi, for example, in abhyutsādayāmakah is also availed by nipātana. Verbal root ciN in cikayāmakah receives ām before LUN but doubling (dvitva) and replacement of e by k (kutva) is availed by nipātana. The i of NiC in ciki goes through guna (e) and its subsequent ay replacement, again by nipātana. The next derivate pāvayāṃkriyāt also has ām. After the NiC form of pūN, ām is introduced before LIN. The LUN form of kr, i.e., kriyāt, is also subsequently tagged. Our final derivate vidāmakran receives ām before LUN after vida. The guna of i, in vid, is blocked by nipātana and akran is subsequently tagged.

Note that derivational details, such as those above, are provided to show that what Pāṇini provides, is ad hoc; citation of fully derived forms automatically rules out any need toward furnishing derivational details.

Note, also, that parallel to these ad hoc forms in the Vedic, we find abhyudasāsadat, prajijanat, acāsīt, arīramat, pāvīt and avediṣuḥ in the classical language. Check the appendix for derivational details.

3.1.43 चित लुङि

ci luṇi
/lu/ (1/1 deleted) luṇi 7/11
(pratyayah #1, paraś ca #2, dhātoh #22)
3.1.44 Adhyāya Three: Pāda One

\[ \text{dhātōś cīh pratyayo bhavati lūni parataḥ} \]
Affix CLI occurs after a verbal root when \( \text{LUÑ} \) follows.

**Examples:**

See under subsequent rules for examples.

1. This rule provides for the introduction of affix CLI after a root when \( \text{LUÑ} \) follows. Note that in addition to the anuvṛtti of 3.1.1 pratyayah, 3.1.2 paraś ca, etc., this rule also gets the anuvṛtti of dhātoḥ from 3.1.22 dhātōr ekāco... Kāśikā states that I in CLI is for ease of pronunciation. Obviously, a sequence of \( C \) and \( l \) will be hard to pronounce without a vowel. Refer to my notes under the following rule for additional details. The \( C \) is used as an \( ī \) for final \( udātta \) accent by 6.1.163 citāḥ. The \( C \) is assigned the term \( ī \) by 1.3.7 cuṭū. Our present rule is an exception to rules 3.1.68 kartaṛi ṣap, etc., whereby the vikaṇaṇa, namely ŚaP, etc., are introduced.

3.1.44 चत्रः सिंहः

\[ \text{cīh sic} \]
\[ \text{cīh 6/1 sic 1/1} \]
\[ (lūni #43) \]
\[ \text{cīh sij ādeśo bhavati} \]
Affix CLI is replaced with sIČ after a verbal root when \( \text{LUÑ} \) follows.

**Examples:**

\[ \text{akāṛṣīt 'he made something'} \]
\[ \text{ahāṛṣīt 'he carried something'} \]

1. This rule introduces sIČ as a replacement for CLI where, according to Kāśikā, \( ī \) is used to facilitate pronunciation. The \( C \) is used, as previously, for accent. Bhaṭṭoṇi, in consonance with the Mahābhāṣya, accepts \( ī \) as an \( ī \). This position is necessary so that the deletion of the penultimate -n of the root, for example in amāṃsta ‘he knew’, can be blocked. Thus, given a\( īT \) + man + sIČ + ta → amans + ta, rule 6.4.24 aniditāṃ hala... becomes applicable. This rule will delete -n unless its introduction is conditioned by \( ī \) as an \( ī \). The \( n \) of amāṃsta is saved from deletion since \( ī \) in sIČ is an \( ī \). An additional condition of Ňīt required for the application of 6.4.24 is met by treating ta as if it were Ňīt (1.2.4 sārvadhātukam aṣṭi).

Kāśikā, apparently, does not accept this interpretation. How else can Kāśikā block the deletion of \( n \)? By taking recourse to an indication (jñāpaka)
from rule 1.2.14 hanaḥ sic which extends to sīC occurring after han the status of hit 'marked with K as an it'. Kāśikā maintains that this extension of status as hit serves as a jñāpaka. It indicates that the deletion (lopa) of a penultimate (upadhā) sound of an item which ends in sīC (sijanta) does not take place.

A question as to why sīC had to be marked with C as an it becomes pertinent here. For, since a replacement of CLI, it would already be treated as marked with C. Commentators explain that C is retained in the replacement to secure the anudātta accent (6.1.163 citaḥ) which otherwise could become unavailable. Besides, if sīC was not marked with C rule 2.4.80 mantle ghasahva... would have to state ser luk instead of ler luk. This would cause the application of rule 6.1.187 aḍitaś ca whereby an optional initial high-pitch (ādyudātta) accent will be made available. A reference to sīC without C especially as seḥ will create other problems also (cf. SK and Tattvabodhini under this rule).

Note that Pāṇini provides for CLI as a general affix before LUN. He, subsequently, replaces it with sīC to which Kṣa, etc., form an exception. Why did Pāṇini not introduce sīC in general (utsarga) before LUN, and make Kṣa, etc., its exception. This would have made the introduction of CLI unnecessary. Commentators explain that sīC is intervened by CLI so that anīṭah of the subsequent rule can be construed as a qualifier to CLI. For, in its absence, anīṭah may be construed as a qualifier to the verbal root (dātoḥ). The following is the interpretation of rule 3.1.45 where anīṭah is treated as a qualifier to CLI:

śalanto yo dātoḥ iguṇadhas tasmāt parasya celḥ anīṭah kṣa ādeśo bhavati ‘Kṣa comes in place of CLI when it is used without it after a verbal root which...’

If anīṭ were made a qualifier to dātoḥ instead, then Kṣa could not be used in place of a CLI which occurs after a root that is anīṭ. For example, aghuṣatva from guhū + LUN, where CLI is replaced with Kṣa, cannot be derived. For, verbal root guhū is used with it. If one considers it as anīṭ on account of its ū as an it then Kṣa will have to be introduced obligatorily over sī. Note in this connection that rule 7.2.44 svarātisūtīṣūyat... introduces it to an affix occurring after verbal root guhū. This partial anīṭ status of the root gets cancelled by the equally partial it status. It is thus desired to let anīṭ modify CLI. This way, Kṣa will replace CLI optionally when it is anīṭ; elsewhere, it will be replaced with sīC. See PM and Nyāsa ad Kāś. (II: 429-30) for further details.

But the anīṭ status of CLI will be held up in the derivation. For example, sīC will be blocked by Kṣa because this latter is an exception in view of the Paribhāṣā (cf. PS. 64): prakalpya cāpavādaviṣayam utsargah bhiniviṣate. The
Kṣa will be held up until iṭ is available to CLĪ only to be blocked by 7.2.10 ekācā upadeśe. Now the anīt status of CLĪ will be established.

3.1.45 शनं ह्रुपापदिन्तः कसः

śala igupadāḥ anītah kṣah
īṣalāḥ 5/1 igupadāḥ 5/1 anītah 5/1 kṣah 1/1/
(dhātoḥ #22, lūni #43, cleḥ #44)
śalanto yo dhātur igupadhas tasmāt parasya cler anītah kṣa ādeśo bhavati
Kṣa replaces CLĪ before LUṆ when CLĪ occurs without iṭ after a verbal root which terminates in ŚL (ś., ś., s, h; cf. Śs. 13-14) and has an iK (i, u, r, l, Śs. 1-2) in its penultimate (upadhā) position.

EXAMPLES:

adhukṣat ‘he milked (the cow)’
aliṣat ‘he licked (the milk)’

1. This rule is an exception to the śīC replacement of CLĪ. The K is made an iṭ to block the guna of the short penultimate vowel (laghāpadha-guna). Note that K is not intended to block urddhi. For, that will obtain only with śīC. For additional details refer to note #2 under the previous rule. Also refer to derivations under this rule in the appendix.

3.1.46 विलय आलिङ्गने

śliṣ ālingane
ślisah 5/1 ālingane 7/1/
(dhātoḥ #22, lūni #43, cleḥ #44, kṣah #45)
śiṣer dhātor alīnganakriyāvacanāt parasya cleḥ kṣa ādeśo bhavati
Kṣa occurs in place of affix CLĪ after verbal root śliṣA when LUṆ follows and ālingana ‘embracing’ is expressed.

EXAMPLE:

āśliṣat kanyāṁ devadattadh ‘Devadatta embraced the girl’

1. The nature of this rule is restrictive (niyama). That is, it restricts the introduction of Kṣa as a replacement for CLĪ after verbal root śliṣ only when ālingana ‘embracing’ is denoted.

Note that verbal root śliṣ is enumerated in the list headed by puṣ ‘to nourish’. Consequently, it must have its CLĪ replaced with aṆ in view of rule 3.1.55 puṣādiyutādi.... The restrictive provision of Kṣa, as a replacement for CLĪ made by this rule, seems out of order. For, only that provision is accepted as restrictive which happens to be made against an already existing positive provision (cf. PŚ 20: siddhe sati ārambho niyamāya bhavati).
Since no such provision has been made, the replacement in aNy blocks the replacement in Kṣa. This is the difficulty.

A proposal for a split interpretation (yogavibhāga) of the rule is, therefore, made to resolve this difficulty. The following are the two split-rules:

(a) ślisah (read with Kṣa of the preceding rule) ‘Kṣa occurs in place of sIC occurring after verbal root ślish’ and

(b) āliṅgane ksa ‘Kṣa occurs in place of sIC occurring after verbal root ślish only when āliṅgana is denoted’.

The conflict can thus be removed. For, the split interpretation enables the first rule to make a positive provision for Kṣa which can then be restricted in the context of āliṅgana.

Note, however, that the preceding resolution of the difficulty also has its own problem. That is, the restrictive provision of Kṣa may also block the provision of CiNy of 3.1.66 ciṇ bhāvakarmanoḥ the way it blocks the provision of aNy of rule 3.1.55 puṣādi... Consequently, samāślesi of samāślesi kanyā devadatta ‘the girl was hugged by Devadatta’ cannot be derived. Commentators explain that since a prior exception (purastapavāda) can only block the most immediately available subsequent provision, and not any other provision made thereafter, Kṣa should only be able to block aNy. The blocking of CiNy can, thus, be averted in view of Paribhāṣā (PŚ 60): purastapavādā anantarān vidhiṁ bādhante nottarān. Commentators also suggest another alternative. They say that Kṣa made available by this rule will be negated by the subsequent rule. Once Kṣa is blocked, sIC and aNy, for example in deriving adṛṣat, or adrākṣit ‘he saw’, can be made available by rule 3.1.57 īrito vā. This, also, would not affect the CiNy of 3.1.66 Ciṇ bhāvakarmanoḥ.

3.1.47 न दृष्टः:

na ḍṛṣaḥ
na ṯ ḍṛṣaḥ 5/1/
(dhātoḥ #22, lūṇi #43, cēḥ #44, ksah #45)
ḍṛṣer dhātoḥ parasya cēḥ ksādeśa na bhavati
Kṣa does not occur in place of CLI after verbal root ḍṛṣIR ‘to see’ when LUN follows.

Examples:

adṛṣat ‘he saw...’
adṛākṣit ‘id.’

3.1.48 निश्रिद्रसूपम्: कर्तृरि चढ़

nīśridrusrubhyaḥ kartari ca
/nīśridrusrubhyaḥ 5/3 kartari 7/1 caṇ 1/1/
(dhātoḥ #22, lũi #43, cleḥ #44)
nyantebhyo dhātubhyah 'sṛ-dru-sru' ity etebhyas ca parasya cleś caṇādeśo
bhavatī kartvācānicī lũi parataḥ
CaN occurs in place of affix CLI after verbal roots ending in Ni, or after śri 'to serve', dru 'to move' and sru 'to drip', when LUN which denotes katrī follows.

EXAMPLES:

acikarat 'he had someone made something...'
aśīharat 'he had someone take something away...'
aśīśriyat 'he served...'
adudruvat 'he went away'
asusruvat 'it dripped, or flowed'

1. This rule introduces CaN, as an exception to sIC, the replacement for CLI, after two sets of verbal roots: (a) those which terminate in Ni, and (b) those which are constituted by śri, dru and sru provided LUN, which follows, denotes kartṛ.

Note that ni here makes a generalized reference to both affixes NiC and NiN (3.1.31 āyādayaḥ ...). The C of affix CaN is used to distinguish it from affix aN of 3.1.52 asyatvākta... Consequently, 6.1.12 caṇi does not include any reference to aN. The aN derivates thus are not subject to reduplication. The ē of caN as an it is intended to block guṇa or vṛddhi (cf. 1.1.5 kōṇi ca).

Note also that śri is a root which can take both the active (parasmāipada) as well as middle (ātmanepada) endings. Thus we will get two forms: āśīśriyat / āśīśriyata. The condition of kartari rules out passives such as:

akārayīśātām kaṭau devadattena ‘two mats were caused to be made by Devadatta’

where sIC comes as a replacement for LIŅ.

2. A vārttika under this rule requires that verbal root kaml should also be cited along with śri, dru and sru. But what is the purpose of making this provision when kaml, after receiving NiN from 3.1.30 kamer niṇ, would automatically get caN? The enumeration is required so that caN can be made available to kaml even when it does not receive NiN. Thus, consider acakamata 'he loved' as opposed to acikamata 'id' where the second example entails the introduction of NiN. Refer to 7.4.93 saṃval laghuni..., etc., for the option of NiN in connection with affix caN.

3.1.49 विभाषा देक्तः

vibhāṣā dhetṣṭryoh
Caṅ optionally occurs in place of affix CLI after verbal roots dheṛT ‘to suck, drink’ and TUOśvi ‘to go, grow’ when LUN which denotes kartṛ follows.

Examples:

- adadhat ‘he suckled...’
- adhāt ‘id.’
- adhāsīt ‘id.’
- aśivīyat ‘he grew...’
- aśvat ‘id.’
- aśvayit ‘id.’

1. This rule makes the Caṅ replacement of CLI optional in case of verbal roots dheṛT and TUOśvi. Obviously, when the option of Caṅ is not availed, CLI will be replaced with sīC. This sīC will be deleted via LUK by rule 2.4.78 vibhāṣā... Since the deletion of sīC is also optional, there will be two forms as is illustrated by adhāt and adhāsīt. Note, in connection with this, that TUOśvi is also qualified to receive aṅ as a replacement for CLI, by rule 3.1.58 jiṛ stambhumrucumlucu.... Obviously, for TUOśvi, we get three possibilities:

   (a) sīC by 3.1.44 cleḥ sic,
   (b) Caṅ optionally to sīC by 3.1.49 vibhāṣā dheṛśvyoh, and
   (c) aṅ optionally to sīC by rule 3.1.58 jiṛ stambhumrucumlucu...

   Of course, all the options covered by this rule will obtain only when LUN is used to denote kartṛ, since kartari from the preceding rule continues.

3.1.50 गुपेश्चन्दसि

- gupeś chandasi
- gupeḥ 5/1 chandasi 5/1

(dhātoḥ #22, luṇī #43, cleḥ #44, kartari #48, vibhāṣā #49)

Caṅ also occurs in place of affix CLI after verbal root gupl ‘to protect, preserve’, when the usage is Vedic and LUN which denotes kartṛ follows.

Examples:

- īmān no mitrāvarṇau grhānajāgupatam
‘Mitra and Varuṇa protected these houses of ours’
agauptam ‘he protected…’
agopiṣṭam ‘id.’
agopāyiṣṭam ‘id.’

1. This rule makes the CaN replacement of CLI optional for verbal root gupū in Vedic. Kāśīka states that this gupū should be treated as a root which does not terminate in affix āya (of 3.1.28 gupūdhūpa...). Obviously, gupū, when terminated with āya, will be treated as a different verbal root. Thus, we get the following forms:
   (a) ajūgupatam where the option of CaN is availed in accordance with this rule;
   (b) agauptam where the available sīc replacement of CLI is accepted with the understanding that Sīc will be deleted by 8.2.26 jhalojhali;
   (c) agopiṣṭam where, on account of gupū being marked with ū as an it, rule 7.2.44 svaratisūti... will optionally introduce the augment īṭ. Rule 7.2.4 neći will then block the vṛddhi in favor of penultimate guṇa of the short (laghūpadha) vowel.
   (d) agopāyiṣṭam where sīc occurs after gupū terminating in āya and receiving īṭ.

Of course, these provisions are given with reference to the Vedic. The CaN form is not available in the classical language. Refer to the appendix for derivational details.

3.1.51 नौनयतिध्वनयत्स्तेलर्द्वयतिध्वनिः:

nonayatidhvanayatyelayatyardayatibhyah
Ina ṧ śnayatidhvanayatyelayatyardayatibhyah 5/3 (itar. dv.)
(dhātoḥ # 22, luṇi # 43, cleḥ # 44, kartari # 48, vibhāṣā # 49, chandasi # 50)
‘ūna parihāṇe, dhvana śabde, ila prerane, arda gatau yācane ca’ ity ete bhaya
(dhātubhyo nyantebhyah pārvaṇa cleś caṇi ṭrāpte chandasi viṣayena bhavati
CaN does not occur in place of affix CLI after verbal roots unA ‘to decrease, lessen’, dhvana ‘to sound’, ila ‘to send’ or arda ‘to go, beg’, when the usage is Vedic, the roots are used with ṇi, and LUN which denotes kṛty follows.

Examples:

ūnaiḥ ‘...has decreased’
dhvanaīt ‘...has sounded’
aīlayaiḥ ‘...has sent’
arddayit ‘...has begged’
1. The option of a CaN replacement for CLI in the Vedic is hereby blocked in case of the causal (NIC) forms of verbal roots ṛṇa, dhvana, ilA and ardA. This rule is, thus, an exception to rule 3.1.48 niśridru... That is, in the Vedic usages of the specified roots, sIC, as opposed to CaN, will replace CLI. Affix CaN will replace CLI in the classical language. Consequently, this leads to reduplication by 6.1.11 cañ. The parallel classical forms will be: auninat, adidhvanat, ailat, and ārdidat.

3.1.52 अस्यतिवाक्तिक्षमातिथयोः

asyativaktikhātyāthbhino
/asyativaktikhātyāthbhah 5/1 aṁ 1/1/
(dhātoḥ #22, luṇi #43, cleh #44, kartari #48)
‘asu kṣepane, vaca paribhāṣane, brūṇ ādeśo vā; khyā prakathane caksiniādeśo vā’ ity etetyah parasya cler anādeśo bhavati kartṛvacini luṇi parataḥ
Affix CLI is replaced with aN after verbal roots asU ‘to toss, throw’, vacA ‘to speak’ or khyā ‘to relate, tell’ when LUN which denotes kartṛ follows.

EXAMPLES:

paryāsthata ‘...has tossed...around...’
avocat ‘...has spoken...’
ākhyaṭ ‘...has declared...’

1. Note that asyati, on account of being used with the vikaraṇa ŚyaN, refers to asU ‘to throw, hurl’, a divādi root. The remaining two forms refer to the verbal roots vac ‘to speak’ and khyā though with a qualification. Verbal root vac as well as the vac replacement of brūṇ ‘to speak’ are both referenced here by vakti. However, khyā only refers to the khyāN replacement of cakṣīN (2.4.54 caksiniḥ khyāṇi). It does not, here, refer to verbal root khyā ‘to speak’.

2. This rule offers aN as an exception to CaN to replace CLI when LUN which denotes kartṛ follows.

Since as is a verbal root of the divādi group, also contained in the subgroup of puṣādi (3.1.55 puṣādi...), aN is available to it automatically. Why this inclusion of asU in this rule? It is stated that this inclusion is to enable as to qualify for ātmānapada endings. Rule 3.1.55 allows for only the parasmaipaDa. Note that paryāsthata is a derivate with the third singular ātmānapada ending -ta.

3.1.53 लिपिसिचिह्वा

lipisicihvaṣ ca
\lipisicivhā 5/1 ca Ø
(dhātoh #22, luṣi #43, cleh #44, kartari #48, an #52)
‘lipa upadehe, sica kṣarane hveṅ sparddhāyām’ ity etebhyaś
ca parasya cler aṇādeśo bhavati
Affix CLI is replaced with aN also after verbal roots lipA ‘to coat, smear’, sicA ‘to pour out, sprinkle’ or hveṅ ‘to challenge’ when LUN which denotes kartṛ follows.

Examples:

alipat ‘he coated something with...’
asicat ‘he watered...’
āhvat ‘he challenged...’

1. This rule separately provides for caN as a replacement for CLI after verbal roots lipA, sicA and hveṅ. Why didn’t Pāṇini not include these roots in the preceding rule? So that only this aN is made optional under the condition of an ātmanepada affix following these three roots. A combined listing would have brought all the roots under the purview of rule 3.1.54 ātmanepadesu...which makes such optional provision. The first two roots, i.e., lipA and sicA, receive ātmanepada by 1.3.12 svaritaṇītāḥ...because of a svarita vowel as their it; hveṅ recieves ātmanepada because it has N as an it.

3.1.54 Ātmanepadesvānyatarasyām
ātmanepadesu anyatarasyām
lātmanepadesu 7/3 anyatarasyām 7/1
(dhātoh #22, luṣi #43, cleh #44, kartari #48, an #52, lipisicivhā #53)
lipisicivhva ātmanepadesu parataś cler aṇādeśo bhavati anyatarasyām
Affix CLI is optionally replaced with aN after verbal roots lipA, sicA and hveṅ, when an atmanepada replacement of LUN which denotes kartṛ (1.4.100 tānāṇāv ātmanepadām) follows.

Examples:

alipata ‘he coated something with...’
alipta ‘id.’
asicata ‘he sprinkled...’
askita ‘id.’
āhvat ‘he challenged...’
āhvāsta ‘id.’

1. See my note under the preceding rule.
3.1.55 पुषादित्युतद्यिताः परस्मापदे

\[ pūṣādīdityutadityitaḥ parasmaipadeṣu \]
\[ /pūṣādīdityutadityitaḥ 5/1 parasmaipadeṣu 7/1 / \]
(dhātoḥ #22, luni #43, cleḥ #44, kartari #48, aṁ #52)
\[ pūṣādībhyaḥ dyutādibhyāḥ īḍidibhyaś ca dhātubhyāḥ parasya cleḥ parasmaipa-

dadeṣu parato' nādeṣo bhavati

Affix CLI is replaced with aN after verbal roots enumerated in the groups headed by pūṣA ‘to nourish, thrive’ and dyutA ‘to shine,’ and after roots which have L as their it, when a parasmaipada (1.4.100 laḥ parasmaipadam) replacement of LUṆ which denotes kartṛ follows.

EXAMPLES:

\[ a puṣat ‘...nourished, or... thrived...’ \]
\[ adyutat ‘... shined...’ \]
\[ agamat ‘...went...’ \]
\[ aśakat ‘... became capable...’ \]

1. The word pūṣādi ‘pūṣA, etc.’ may refer to sets of roots classified in all four groups; the bhvādi, divādi, kṛyādi and curādi. This may create confusion. However, pūṣādi cannot refer to bhvādi because dyutādi is a subsection of it. That is, since Pāṇini makes a separate mention of dyutādi, pūṣādi must be other than that of its own class bhvādi.

This establishes dyutādi as bhvādi. Could pūṣādi be interpreted here as referring to the kṛyādi class of roots? It can not. For, there will thus be only four roots pūṣA ‘to prosper’, muṣA ‘to steal’, khacA ‘to reappear’ and grahA ‘to hold’. Pāṇini would have been better off by marking them with L as an it. This way, he would not have needed to state pūṣādi. By deduction then pūṣādi must be interpreted to refer to a subgroup of divādi. The context also favors this interpretation, and repeating asU marked with ŚyaN in 3.1.52 asyati... further strengthens this position.

Why does Pāṇini not mark pūṣādi and dyutādi also with L? This way, he does not have to make a three-way mention of these roots. Besides, aN in place of CLI could then be introduced in a much more straightforward manner. Nyāsa states that it will create problems. For, there are several roots within this pūṣādi type, now proposed to be marked with L as an it, which are also marked with U or A as an it. As such, operations relative to 7.2.56 udito vā and 7.2.16 āditaś ca may be blocked on account of L as an it. The dyutādi verbs could also not be cited with L as an it.

The pūṣādi group within divādi contains roots beginning with pūṣA through grdhU ‘to wish’. The dyutādi within the bhvādi class contains roots beginning with dyutA ‘to glow, shine’ through kṛpU ‘to be capable’.
3.1.56 सर्विषास्यार्थिभ्यः

sarttiśāstyarttibhyā ca
/sarttiśāstyarttibhyā 5/3 ca 0/
(dhātoḥ #22, luni #43, cleh #44, kartari #48, aṁ #52, parasmaipadesu #55)
'sṛ gatau, sāsu anuśīṣau, ṛ gatau' ity etebhyāḥ parasya cler aṁādeśo bhavati
Affix CLI is replaced with aN after verbal roots sṛ 'to move, go', sāsU 'to instruct' and ṛ 'to go' when a parasmaipada replacement of LÜN which denotes kartaṛ follows.

EXAMPLES:

asarat 'it moved...'
asishaṭ 'he instructed...'
ārat 'he went...'

1. The purpose of stating this rule separately is to enable specified roots to receive aN as a replacement for their CLI. Then, Pāṇini, indeed, should have formulated rule 3.1.55 as puṣādi...sarttiśāstyarttibhyā ca paras-
maipadesu. That way, he would have saved one rule. But that formulation could provide for aN only when a parasmaipada affix followed. This rule, on account of its separate formulation, enables the cited roots to receive aN as a replacement for CLI also when an ātmaneipada affix follows. In the absence of this special provision, the effort (yatna), made in formu-
lating this rule separately becomes vacuous (vyartha). What is the purpose of the ca? So that parasmaipada can still be made available to subsequent rules.

2. Bhāṭṭoji informs us (SK III: 218-19) that, on account of their association (sahacarya) with sās, cited here with its deleted vikaraṇa ṣaP (3.1.68 kartari ṣaP), sṛ and ṛ should also be interpreted as belonging to the class where the vikaraṇa gets deleted. Verbal roots sṛ and ṛ are thus not interpreted as belonging to the bhvādi class. Instead, they are interpreted as juhotyādi, roots where the vikaraṇa gets deleted by 2.4.75 juhotyādibhyāḥ śluḥ. Also see PM ad Kāśikā (II: 442).

3.1.57 इसिते वा

irito vā
/iritāḥ 5/1 vā 0/
(dhātoḥ #22, luni #43, cleh #44, kartari #48, aṁ #52, parasmaipadesu #55)
irito dhātoḥ parasya cler aṁādeśo vā bhavati
Affix CLI is optionally replaced with aN after verbal roots marked
with *IR* as an *it* when a *parasmaipada* replacement of *LUN* which denotes *karti* follows.

**Examples:**

*abhidat* ‘he split something’

*abhaisiti* ‘id.’

*acchidat* ‘he cut something’

*acchaisiti* ‘id.’

1. The replacement in *aN* for *CLI* is made optional in case of roots which have *IR* as an *it*. The assignment of the term *it* to *I* and *R* of *IR* should be made separately by rules 1.3.2 *upadesa*... and 1.3.3 *halantyam*. For, there is no single rule whereby *IR* can be assigned the term. Note also that the *atmanepada* endings can be introduced at the strength of the *svarita* vowel *I* as an *it* (1.3.72 *svaritaññitaḥ* *kartrabhiprāyey...*).

2. Note that *sIC* will replace *CLI* if the option of *aN* is not accepted. Obviously, this will lead to operations such as the introduction of *iT* (*idāgama; 7.3.96 astisico...*), a replacement in *vṛddhi* characterized by the final consonant (*halantalakṣanā; 7.2.3 vadavraja ...*) of the presuffixal base (*aṅga*), etc. Refer to the appendix for derivational details.

**3.1.58 ज्वञ्जयोपायायुर्तुद्योगेन्त्रस्यविविधम्**

*jṛṣṭambhumrucumlucugruçugluñcuvśibhyas ca*

*jṛṣṭasta... śvibhyas 5/3 = (itar.dv.); ca 0/1*

*(dhātoḥ #22, luñi #43, cleh #44. kartari #48, an #22, parasmaipadesu #55, vā #57)*

*jṛṣvayohānau, stambhu sautro dhātuh, mrucu mlocu gatyarthau, grucu glucu steyakarane, gluñcu śasja gatau, tuosvī gativrddhyoh’ ity etebhyo dhātubhyah parasya cler vā aṅādēso bhavati*

Affix *CLI* is also optionally replaced with *aN* after verbal roots *jṛṣA* ‘to waste away, grow old’, *stambhU* ‘to stop’, *mrucU* and *mlocU* ‘to go, move’, *grucU* and *glucU* ‘to steal’, *gluñcU* ‘to move, go’, and *TUOśnī* ‘to go, grow’, when a *parasmaipada* replacement of *LUN* which denotes *karti* follows.

**Examples:**

*ajarat* ‘he wasted away, ...grew old’

*ajarit* ‘id.’

*astabhat* ‘he stopped...’

*astambhit* ‘id.’
amrucat 'he moved'
amrocit 'he moved'
amlucat 'he stole'
amlocit 'id.'
agrucat 'he stole...'
agrocit 'id.'
aglucat 'id.'
aglocit 'id.'
agluńcat 'he went...'
agluńcit 'id.'
asvat 'he grew...'
asvayit 'id.'
asśviyat 'id.'

1. This rule provides for aN as an optional replacement to sīC for CLI after the eight verbs enumerated here. The anuvṛtti of cleh, ān, and vā, all three, is valid here. Commentators state that, even though glućU and gluńcU both are cited, there are only three forms one needs to account. That is, aglucat, aglocit of glućU, and agluńcit of gluńcU. But using only one of the roots in the rule can refer to both, and hence, can account for all the three forms. For example, a reference made with glućU will yield two of its own forms: aglucat and aglocit, with aN and sīC respectively. A third form, i.e., agluńcit, will be derived with sīC relative to gluńcU. A reference made with gluńcU similarly yields two of its own forms, i.e., aglucat and agluńcit. The third form aglocit will be derived with sīC relative to glučU. Kāśāk claims meaning difference (arthabhedā) as the basis for dual citation. Hardatta (PM ad Kāś. II:444) claims that the arthabhedā theory of dual citation goes against Patañjali's position of anekārthatvād dhātiṇām arthabheda na prəyoyaka ubhayośadānasya 'semantic difference of verbal roots based on the multiplicity of meaning should not constitute the basis for the citation by means of both'. Besides, Padamañjari emphatically rejects the proposal of using only one verb to refer to both by saying: idam bhāsyaviruddham 'this is against the position of the Mahābhāṣya'. Some (kṣiti) further claim that non-deletion of ṅ in agluńcat is assured on the very basis of dual citation (see Kāśāk II:444). Kāśāk remarks that stambhU, as a root, is only attested by the usage of the Pāṇinian rule (sautra).
'kr mr dr ruhi' ity etebhyaḥ parasya cleś chandasi viṣaye' nādeśo bhavati
Affix CLI is replaced with aN after verbal roots DUkṛN 'to do, make', mṛN 'to die', dr 'to tear apart' and rhuA 'to grow', when the usage is Vedic and a parasmaipada replacement of LŨN which denotes kartṛ follows.

EXAMPLES:

akarat '...made'
amarat '...died'
adarat '...ripped apart...
pavatam āruhat 'climbed up the mountain'

1. This aN replacement of CLI is Vedic. The first three verbs receive aN as against sīC. Verbal root ruh receives aN against Ksa of rule 3.1.45 sala igupadhāḥ.... Note that parasmaipada in amarat is made available by 3.1.85 vyatayo bahulam. For, mṛN should receive ātmanepada based upon its N as an it (13.1.12 anuvattānita...). We get forms such as akāṛit, amṛta, adārit and arukṣat in the Classical language.

3.1.60 बिणं ते पदः:

cin te padah
l/cin 1/1 te 7/1 padah 5/1
(dhātoḥ #22, luṇi #43, cleḥ #44, kartari #48)
pada gatau asmād dhātoḥ parasya cleś cin ādeśo bhavati
CIN occurs in place of affix CLI after verbal root padA 'to go' when the ta replacement of LŨN which denotes kartṛ follows.

EXAMPLES:

udapādi sasyam 'he cultivated the young crop'
samapādi bhairṣam 'he procured food from charity'

1. The ta is the third singular middle (ātmanepada) suffix. It can not be interpreted here as referring to the ta-replacement of the second personal active (parasmaipada) suffix (cf. 3.4.101 tāsthasthamāpām...) because verbal root padA is only used in the ātmanepada. Note that, in case of the third plural middle ending jha, rule 7.1.5 ātmanepadeṣv... will introduce at as a replacement to yield uḍapatsata 'they pulled out...'.

2. Pāṇini did not intend vā to be carried to this rule. For, he uses anyatarasyām in the next rule. That is, he would not have stated anyatarasyām in the next rule if vā were already available via anuvṛtti from this rule.

3.1.61 दीपजनबुधपृतितिविभयाविभयोन्यतरस्याम्
dīpajanabudhpaṁritītipāyibhyo nyatarasyām
Cīṇ optionally occurs in place of affix CLI after verbal roots dipī ‘to shine’, janī ‘to be born’, budhā ‘to know, perceive’, pūrī ‘to overfill’, tāyR ‘to stretch’ and Opyāyī ‘to grow’ when the ta replacement of LUN which denotes kartṛ follows.

Examples:

adīpi ‘it shined...’
adīpiṣṭa ‘id.’
ajāni ‘...was born...’
ajāniṣṭa ‘id.’
abodhi ‘he perceived...’
abuddha ‘id.’
apārī ‘it overfilled...’
apārīṣṭa ‘id.’
atāyī ‘it stretched...’
atāyīṣṭa ‘id.’
apyāyī ‘it grew...’
apyāyīṣṭa ‘id.’

1. This provision of Cīṇ to replace sīC is, once again, made for the selected verbal roots under the condition of the third singular ātmanepada suffix-ta. Furthermore, Cīṇ is made optional only when ta denotes agent (kartṛ). For, when the ta replacement of LUN denotes bhāva (3.4.69 laḥ karmāṇi...), rule 3.1.66 cīṇ bhāvakarmaṇoḥ will obligatorily demand Cīṇ. Verbal roots janī and budhā are not interpreted as accepting the parasmatpada affixes because of their association (sāhacarya) in this rule with roots which accept the ātmanepada affixes. Of course, the option is available only when ta denotes agent.

3.1.62 अच: कर्मकर्तरि

acaḥ karmakartari
/acāḥ 5/1 karmakartari 7/1/
(dhātoḥ #22, luni #43, cleḥ #44, cīṇ, te #60, anyatarasyām #61)
ajāntād dhātoḥ cleḥ karmakartari taśabde ṭarataś cīṇ ādeso bhavati
Cīṇ optionally occurs in place of affix CLI after verbal roots which end in aC (a vowel) when the ta replacement of LUN which denotes karmakartṛ ‘object treated as agent’ follows.
EXAMPLES:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{akāri kaṭah svayam eva} & \text{ 'the mat (was) made (by) itself'} \\
\text{akṛtah kaṭah svayam eva} & \text{ 'id.'} \\
\text{ālāvī kedārah svayam eva} & \text{ 'the harvest got harvested by itself'} \\
\text{ālāviśṭa kedārah svayam eva} & \text{ 'id.'}
\end{align*}
\]

1. This rule allows for an optional replacement of CiN when ta follows roots which terminate in a vowel. However, note that ta must, in this context, denote an object turned agent (karmakartṛ). An object becomes agent when, relative to its action, one wishes to express it as the agent on account of its extreme conduciveness toward accomplishing that action. For example, consider the following sentences.

(a) devadattaḥ kaṭam akarot 'Devadatta made the mat'
(b) akāri kaṭo devadattena 'the mat was made by Devadatta'
(c) akāri kaṭah svayam eva 'the mat (was) made (by) itself'

The first sentence is active where the verb expresses the agent by means of the third singular verbal ending ti. Devadatta, of course, is the agent of making the mat. The second sentence expresses the object kaṭa 'mat' by the verbal form, and the agent, by the instrumental singular ending in (b) Devadattena. The third sentence again expresses the agent with the verb, but this agent is object turned agent. That is, the speaker wishes to express the extreme facility with which, for example, the material, as if by itself, turned into a mat. This is the reason why kaṭa is put in the nominative to express the nominal stem notion only. See also my discussion of karmakartṛ under rule 3.1.87 karmavat... for additional details.

An object is extended the status of an agent by rule 3.1.87 karmavat karmāṇāṃ tulyakriyāḥ. Consequently, operations relative to rule 3.1.66 cin bhāvakarmāṇoh become available. Note, however, that this provision for CiN replacement of CLI under rule 3.1.66 is obligatory (nītya). Our present rule (3.1.62) makes it optional. Since the option is made in view of what was already made available by 3.1.87 karmavat..., this rule entails the prāptavibhāṣā type of option. The verbs expressing karmakartṛ will receive the ātmānepada endings by rule 1.3.13 bhāvakarmāṇoh. If the option of CiN is not accepted, derivates will involve a replacement in sīC. The anuvṛtti of karmakartṛ covers rules up to 3.1.65.

3.1.63 दुहाः

duhaś ca
/duhaś 5/1 ca 0/
(dhātoḥ #22, luṇi #43, celi #44, cin, te #60 anyatarasyām #61, karmakartari #62)
duha parpāraṇe asmāt parasya cleś cin ādeśo bhavaty anyatarasyām
Cīṇ also optionally occurs in place of CLI after verbal root duḥA 'to milk' when the ta replacement of LUN which denotes karmakartṛ follows.

Examples:

adohi gauḥ svayam eva 'the cow milked itself'
adugdha gauḥ svayam eva 'id.'
adohi gaur gopālakena 'the cow was milked by the cowherd'

1. This rule provides, again optionally, a replacement in Cīṇ for CLI after verbal root duḥ. This type of option is technically known as aprāpta-vibhāṣā; an option made available which it was previously not. That is, what rule 3.1.89 duḥsnumamāṃ yakṣināu obligatorily denies to duḥ is optionally available to it by this rule. Of course, the conditions of ta and karma-kartṛ still apply. Consider the following sentences:

(a) adoхи gaur gopālakena
    'the cow was milked by the cowherd'
(b) adoхи gauह Svayam eva
    'the cow (was) milked (by) itself'

where adoхи in (a) expresses the object as opposed to the object-turried agent of (b). The Cīṇ replacement in case of the straight karman in (a) is obligatory (nītya), whereas it is optional in (b). If, however, this option is not availed, rule 3.1.45 śala igupadhdād... will provide for Kṣa to yield (c) adugdha gauḥ svayam eva parallel to (b).

3.1.64 न रूढः:

na rudhaḥ
/na ṃ rudhaḥ 5/1
(dhātoḥ #22, luni #43, cleḥ #44, cin, te #60, anyatarasyām #61, karmakartari #62)
rudhir āvarane asmāt parasya cleḥ karmakartari cin ādeśo na bhavati
Cīṇ does not optionally occur in place of affix CLI after verbal root rudhIR 'to obstruct' when the ta replacement of LUN which denotes karmakartṛ follows.

Example:

anvāvāuddha gauḥ svayam eva 'the cow stopped by itself'

1. This rule blocks the Cīṇ replacement for CLI after verbal root rudhIR 'to obstruct'. Note that this negation is applicable to the positive provision made by rule 3.1.87 karmavat karmanā tulyakriyāḥ.
3.1.65 tapo' nutāpe ca
/lapaḥ 5/ anutāpe 7/ ca 0/
(dhātoḥ #22, luṇi #43, cleḥ #44, cin, te #60, karmakartari #62, na #64)

tapa sālāpe asmāt parasya cles cin ādeśo na bhavati karmakartary anutāpe ca

CiN does not occur in place of affix CLI after verbal root tapA 'to heat, be hot' when the ta replacement of LUÑ denotes karmakartṛ, or anutāpa 'repentance' is signified.

Examples:

atapta tapas tāpasah 'the ascetic observed the penance'
anvavāatapta pāpena karmanā 'he repented for his sinful acts'

1. This rule again blocks the CiN replacement for CLI after verbal root tapA 'to observe penance, be hot', and additionally also when anutāpa 'repentance' is denoted. Consider the following sentences:

(a) atapta tapas tāpasah
   'the penance tormented the ascetic'
(b) atapta tapas tāpasah
   'the ascetic observed the penance'
(c) anvavāatapta pāpena karmanā
   '...repented (was tormented by) the sinful deed'

Note that (a) and (b) list the same sentence with different interpretations. Sentence (a) implies that the observance of penance (tapas) with its characteristic marks such as fasting (upavāsa), etc., tormented the ascetic (tāpasa). Obviously, the penance is the agent (karti) of tormenting the ascetic (karmān). Sentence (b) implies that the ascetic (karti) with his desire to achieve heaven (svarga) observed the penance (karmān) willfully enduring all the torment in the process. In this instance, tapas, as Jinendra-buddhi observes, is used in the sense of special knowledge (jñānaviśeṣa) leading toward enlightenment. Sentence (b) alone constitutes an example of karmakartṛ in view of this rule.

Sentence (c) implies that someone repented some sinful acts he earlier performed. Verbal root tapA used with the preverb anu is, here, treated as intransitive and denotes the sense of repentance. The instrumental ending in pāpena is used to denote the hetu 'cause' of repentance. The ta of atapta denotes the action (bhāva). Or else, pāpa could also be treated as the agent where ta would denote the object, i.e., the sinner, thereby implying the sinner was haunted by the sinful deed. The word pāpa can thus be interpreted here in the sense of both the 'sinner' as well as the 'sin'.
3.1.66 विषय भावकर्मणोऽ

\[\begin{align*}
cin\ bhāvakarmanoḥ \\
/\text{cin}\ 1/1\ bhāvakarmanoḥ 7/2/ \\
(\text{dhātoḥ} \#22, \text{tunī} \#43, \text{cleh} \#44, \text{te} \#60) \\
\text{dhātoḥ parasya cleh cin ādeso bhavati bhāve karmanī taśabde parataḥ}
\end{align*}\]

\(\text{CiN}\) occurs in place of affix \(\text{CLI}\) after a verbal root when the \(\text{ta}\) replacement of \(\text{LUN}\) which denotes \(\text{bhāva} ‘root-sense’ or \text{karman ‘object}’ follows.

**Examples:**

- \text{aśāyi bhavatā ‘you slept’}
- \text{akāri kaṭo devadattenā ‘a mat was made by Devadatta’}
- \text{ahāri bhāro yajñadattenā ‘the load was carried by Yajñadatta’}

1. A question is raised regarding the explicit use of \(\text{CiN}\) when the same have been made available via \text{anuvṛtti} from rule 3.1.60 \(\text{cin te padaḥ}\). This rule uses \(\text{CiN}\) explicitly because \(\text{cin}\) of 3.1.60 is associated with \text{anyatarasyām} ‘optionally’ of 3.1.61 \text{dipajanabudha...}, and its subsequent negation (\text{nīśedha}) by \text{na} of 3.1.64 \text{na rudhaḥ}. If \(\text{CiN}\) of 3.1.60 \(\text{cin te padaḥ}\) is carried via \text{anuvṛtti}, \text{anyatarasyām} and \text{na}, on account of association (\text{sāhacarya}), must also be carried.

But \text{anyatarasyām} could automatically be blocked by \text{na} since negation only obtains when a provision (such as the one made by \text{anyatarasyām}) already exists (\text{prāptipūrvakatvāc ca nīśedhaya}). But since the provision of \(\text{CiN}\), before a \text{ta} which denotes \text{bhāva} and \text{karman} is not made previously, the question of carrying \text{na} to negate it also does not arise. Thus, the \text{anuvṛtti} of \text{anyatarasyām} and \text{na} will automatically be blocked. That is, \(\text{CiN}\) could still be carried. But note that \(\text{CiN}\) of 3.1.60 \(\text{cin te padaḥ}\) is used within the context of \text{kartari}. Our present rule requires \(\text{CiN}\) in the context of \text{bhāva} and \text{karman}. This still could not justify the explicit use of \(\text{CiN}\) as \text{bhāvakarmanoḥ} would counter \text{kartari}. Why, then, is \(\text{CiN}\) used explicitly? It is used for clarity (\text{vispaśārtham}). Or else, an explicit use of \(\text{CiN}\) is made out of compassion for the slow-witted (\text{mandadhiyam anuṣṭhitum}).

For a detailed explanation of \text{bhāva} and \text{karman}, see my notes under rules 1.3.67 \text{ner anau...}, 1.4.49 \text{kartur īpsitamatam...} See relevant examples in the appendix for derivational details.

3.1.67 सार्वविधातुके यथः

\[\begin{align*}
\text{sārvadhātuke yak} \\
/\text{sārvadhātuke} 7/1\ yah 1/1 \\
(\text{pratyayah} \#1, \text{paraś ca} \#2, \text{dhātoḥ} \#22, \text{bhāvakarmanoḥ} \#66)
\end{align*}\]
bhāvakarmavācini sārvadhātuke parataḥ dhātor yak pratyayo bhavati
Affix yaK occurs after a verbal root when a sārvadhātuka (3.4.113 tiṅsit...) affix which denotes bhāva or karman follows.

EXAMPLES:

āsyate bhavatā ‘you are seated’
krīyate kāṭah ‘a mat is being made’
gamyate grāmaḥ ‘the village is gone to’

1. This rule introduces affix yaK after a verbal root when a sārvadhātuka (3.4.113 tiṅsit sārvadhātukam) affix which denotes bhāva ‘root sense’ and karman ‘object’ follows. Obviously, bhāvakarnaṇoḥ, carried from the preceding rule, is used as a qualifier (viśeṣa) to sārvadhātuka. How come this rule was not formulated as bhāvakarnaṇayoh with the following interpretation: bhāvakarnaṇayoh (abhidheyayoh) sārvadhātuke (parataḥ) yak pratyayo bhavati ‘affix yaK occurs after a verbal root before a following sārvadhātuka affix when bhāva and karman are denoted?’ This formulation could not be made because, in this grammar (śāstṛ), it is only at the strength of the sārvadhātuka that the denotation of bhāva and karman is comprehended. How do we know this? From rule 3.4.69 laḥ karmanī..., where it is the replacement of LA (3.4.113 tiṅsit sārvadhātukam), a sārvadhātuka, which makes the denotation known? This question is raised in view of deciding whether bhāva and karman were the denotata of the sārvadhātuka affix, or of yaK, the vikarana.

2. A vārttika (Mbh. III: 146) states that karmakartr should also be mentioned as a nimitta ‘condition’ for the introduction of yaK. But since that could be accomplished automatically by the extension of karmavat of 3.1.87 karmavat..., karmakartr should not be mentioned in this rule. But 3.1.68 kartari ṣap will block it on the basis of vipraṭiṣeṭda (1.4.6 vipraṭiṣedhe....). That is, 3.1.67 sārvadhātuke yaK will find its scope in connection with the denotation of straight (śuddha) karman as in pacyata odanaḥ ‘the rice is being cooked’. Rule 3.1.68 kartari ṣap will find its independent scope in sentences like odanaḥ pacati ‘the rice is cooking’. In the context of karmakartr, karma and kartṛ will both be simultaneously applicable. Rule 3.1.68 will thus block 3.1.67 on the basis of being subsequent (paratva). It is suggested by the vārttika that karmakartr should be stated in the rule. The Mahābhāṣya rejects the vārttika on grounds that yaK obtains in the context of karmakartr. Besides, blocking by ṢaP entails śāstratideśa, extension of a rule, whereas yaK of 3.1.87 is an instance of kāryatideśa, the extension of an operation. This makes the provision of kāryatideśa which introduces yaK more powerful than the śāstratideśa provision of ṢaP. Consequently, the 3.1.87 provision for yaK will win in the conflict. Thus, we get pacyata odanaḥ svayam eva ‘the rice is cooking by itself’.
3. The $K$ of $yaK$ is used as an $it$ to block $guna$ and $vrdh$hi, and to facilitate $samprasarana$. For example, given $bh$u $+ yaK + ta = bhuyate$, rule 7.3.84 $svarvadhatukaraddhadhatukayoh$ is blocked from introducing $guna$ for $u$ of $bh$u. Similarly, given $mrj + yaK + ta = mrjyate$, rule 7.3.114 $mrjer vrdh$hih is blocked from introducing $vrdh$hi for the $r$ of $mrj$. The $K$ of $yaK$ also facilitates the $samprasarana$, for example in $ijyate$, by rule 6.1.15 $vacisvapiyajadinam kiti$ where $K$ forms the right context.

3.1.68 कर्तरी शाप

$kartari$ $sap$

/kartari 7/1 $sap$ 1/1/

(pratyayah $\#1$, paras ca $\#2$, dhato $\#22$, svarvadhatuke $\#67$)

$kartvarcini$ svarvadhatuke parato dhato $\#3$ prayayo bhavati

Affix $SaP$ occurs after a verbal root when a $svarvadhatuka$ affix which denotes kart$r$ ‘agent’ follows.

**EXAMPLES:**

$pa\tilde{a}ta$ ‘he reads or recites’
$ap\tilde{a}hat$ ‘he read or recited’

1. Note that $P$ as an $it$, in affix $SaP$, is intended for accent ($svaram$; 3.1.3 anudattau suppotau). The $S$ as an $it$ facilitates the assignment of the term $svarvadhatuka$ (3.4.113 $ti\tilde{n}it$ $svarvadhatukam$). The same applies to the $S$ of $SyaN$, etc.

3.1.69 दिवादिश्यः स्यान्

$div\tilde{a}dibhyah $syan$

/l$div\tilde{a}dibhyah $5/3$ syan 1/1/

(pratyayah $\#1$, paras ca $\#2$, dhato $\#22$, svarvadhatuke $\#67$, kartari $\#68$)

‘div’$ity evam $\tilde{a}dibhyo dh\tilde{a}tubhyah $syan$ prayayo bhavati

Affix $SyaN$ occurs after verbal roots enumerated in the class headed by $div$ ‘to play’ when a $svarvadhatuka$ affix which denotes kart$r$ follows.

**EXAMPLES:**

$divyati$ ‘he is playing’
$s\tilde{i}vyati$ ‘he is sewing’

1. This rule constitutes an exception to the preceding rule. The $N$ as an $it$ in $SyaN$ is intended for accent. Thus, by rule 6.1.191 $\tilde{n}$it$y\tilde{a}$dir $nityam$, we get an obligatory high-pitch accent ($\tilde{a}dyudatta$) initially.
3.1.70 वा प्राशस्याप्रभासःप्रभाषकमुक्तप्रसङ्गित्विभावः

vā bhrāśañabhaśabhramukramuklamutrasitrutilasaḥ
īvā ū bhrāśa... lasaḥ 5/1
(pratyayaḥ #1, paraś ca #2, dhātuh #22, sārvadhātuke #67, kartari #68, śyān #69)
‘tubhrāśtubhlāśybhramukramuklamutrasitrutilaśa’ ity etebhyo vā śyān pratyayo bhavati
Affix ŚyaN optionally occurs after verbal roots TUbhrāsR ‘to shine, glitter’ TUbhlāśR ‘to shine, glitter’, bhramU ‘to wander, rove’, kramU ‘to walk’, klamU ‘to be tired or exhausted’, trasI ‘to be afraid, scared’, truṣṭi ‘to break, split, tear’ and las ‘to shine’ when a sārvadhātuka affix which denotes kartṛ follows.

Examples:

bhrāśate ‘it shines, glitters’
bhrāśaye ‘id.’
bhlāśate ‘id.’
bhlāśaye ‘id.’
bhramati ‘he wanders around’
bhrāmyati ‘id.’
krāmati ‘he walks’
krāmyati ‘id.’
klāmati ‘he becomes tired’
klāmyati ‘id.’
trasati ‘he is afraid of...’
trasyati ‘id.’
truṣṭati ‘he breaks...’
trutyati ‘id.’
lasati ‘it shines...’
lasyati ‘id.’

1. Note that bhram denotes both bhram ‘to wander’, a root of the bhū class (bhūd), and bhram ‘to move’, a root of the div class (divādi). The divādi bhram yields bhramyati with ŚyaN where lengthening (dirgha) of the root vowel is ordered by 7.3.74 śamām aṣṭānāṁ dirghaḥ śyāni. The ṢaP forms of both divādi as well as bhūdi are the same: bhramati. We will also get two additional forms: bhramyatī and bhṛmyati where the first is the ŚyaN form of the bhūdi root. The second, with the lengthened vowel, is the derivate of the divādi root. The dirgha by 7.3.74 is not applicable to bhūdi. Verbal roots kram and tras are listed in the divādi group as against truṣṭi which is tudādi. The other verbal roots are all bhūdi.

2. Note that the vā of the rule denotes the option (vibhāṣā) of the ubhaya-yatra type. That is, the option is available in both instances: where it was
previously available (prāpta), and where it was not (aprāpta). For example, bhram, klam and tras already have ŚyaN because of their membership in the divādi class. Verbal root truj has ŚyaN available on account of its being a tudādi root. The bhvādi roots are provided the option which was previously unavailable. In case of the divādi roots, the ŚyaN was available obligatorily (nitya).

3.1.71 यसोःनृपसर्गात

yasō 'nupasargāt
yasāḥ 5/1 anupasargāt 5/1/
(pratyayah #1, paraś ca #2, dhātoḥ #22, sārvadhātuke #67, kartari #68, śyan #69, vā #70)
yaso’ nupasargād vā śyan pratyayo bhavati

Affix ŚyaN occurs optionally after verbal root yasU ‘to strive’ used without a preverb when a sārvadhātuka affix which denotes kartṛ follows.

Examples:

yasati ‘he strives’
ysasyati ‘id.’

1. Note that yasU is a divādi root. Consequently, it will obligatorily have ŚyaN. This rule makes the provision optional when the root is used without a preverb (upasarga). Note, also, that the following rule provides for this optional introduction of ŚyaN after yasU when used with the preverb sam. Thus we get: samyasyati with ŚyaN, and samyatasati with ŠaP. This optional provision of ŚyaN made for yasU when used with the preverb sam is restrictive (niyama) in nature. That is, ŚyaN is optional to ŠaP, in case of yasU, only when the root is used with the preverb sam.

3.1.72 सृष्टिसः

saṁyasaś ca
saṁyasāh 5/1 ca ṣ\( o 1\)/
(pratyayah #1, paraś ca #2, dhātoḥ #22, sārvadhātuke #67, kartari #68, śyan #69, vā #70)
samśāvācs ca yaser vā śyan pratyayo bhavati

Affix ŚyaN optionally occurs after verbal root yasU used with the preverb sam when a sārvadhātuka affix which denotes kartṛ follows.

Examples:

samyasyati ‘he strives...’
samyasati ‘id.’
1. The ca of this rule brings vā from the preceding rule. Why is yasU explicitly stated in the rule when it could have been made available via anuvṛtti? So that there is no confusion about some other verb (dhātvantarā-śamkā). The reader may think that yasU, since it is not carried from the anuvṛtti, refers, here, to some other verb. That is, the rule should have been stated as samah with yasU carried via anuvṛtti. However, this is not acceptable, since samah may then be misinterpreted as yielding the meaning: ‘after the verbal roots śamA and śtamA’. This reference to roots by samah could be made possible because of the discontinuation of yasU. The rule therefore must make explicit reference to yasU. For, this does not cause any confusion.

3.1.73 स्वादिभ्य: शृः

śvādibhyah śnuḥ
śvādibhyah 5/3 śnuḥ 1/1
(pratyāyah #1, paraś ca #2, dhātoḥ #22, sārvadhātuke #67, kartari #68)
śruvah śnupratya bhavati śruvah ‘śṛ’ITY ayam ādeśo bhavati
Affix Śnu occurs after verbal roots enumerated in the class headed by śuN ‘to press out, squeeze’ when a sārvadhātuka affix which denotes kartṛ follows.

Examples:

sunoti ‘he presses out (the Soma)’

1. This rule introduces Śnu, an exception to ŚaP, after verbal roots of the svādi group. Note that in the derivation of sunoti, the u of the root does not undergo guṇa since rule 1.2.4 sārvadhātukam api blocks it via extending Śnu the status of being marked with N. The guṇa of u in Śnu could not be blocked before the sārvadhātuka affix tiP since it is marked with P as it. Needless to say, 1.2.4 cannot extend the Nīt status to tiP. The Ś of Śnu is intended as an i for the assignment of the term sārvadhātuka by 3.4.113 tiṁūtī sārvadhātukam.

3.1.74 शृः च

śruvah śṛ ca
śruvah 5/1 śṛ (deleted 1/1) ca Ø
(pratyāyah #1, paraś ca #2, dhātoḥ #22, sārvadhātuke #67, kartari #68, śnuḥ #73)
śruvah śnupratya bhavati śruvah ‘śṛ’ ity ayam ādeśo bhavati
Affix Śnu occurs after verbal root śru ‘to hear’ when a sārvadhātuka affix which denotes kartṛ follows; in addition, śru is replaced by śṛ.

Examples:

śṛṇoti ‘he hears...’
śṛṇutah ‘they two hear...’
śṛṇvantī ‘they (plural) hear...’

1. This rule introduces two things:
(a) Śnu after verbal root śṛṇu, and
(b) śṛ as a replacement for śṛṇu.

Verbal root śṛṇu, because it is a bhvādi root, only qualifies for ŚaP. This rule provides for Śnu. Again, this is an exception to ŚaP. Note that these two provisions are both made in conjunction so that the śṛ replacement for śṛṇu is not applicable in connection with some other affix. The word-form śṛṇvah is interpreted as ending in pañcamī in consonance with the context of the introduction of an affix (pratyayavidhi). When related to the context of the replacement of śṛṇu with śṛ, it will be read as ending in genitive (saṣṭhī) to denote ‘in place of’.

3.1.75 अक्षोञ्ज्ञातरस्याम्

akṣo’ nyatarasyām
lakṣāḥ 5/1 anyatarasyām 7/1
(pratyayāḥ #1, paraś ca #2, dhātoḥ #22, sārvadhātuke #67, kartari #68, śnuḥ #73)
akṣo’ nyatarasyām śnu pratyayo bhavati

Affix Śnu optionally occurs after verbal root akṣū ‘to pervade’ when a sārvadhātuka affix which denotes kartṛ follows.

EXAMPLES:

akṣṇoti ‘he pervades...
akṣati ‘id.’

1. Verbal root akṣū is again a bhvādi root. Consequently, it does not have Śnu available to it. This rule provides the option of Śnu against ŚaP. Thus, on account of making something available which previously was not, this rule illustrates an instance of aprāptavibhāṣā.

3.1.76 तनुकरणे तक्षः:

tanukarane takṣaḥ
ltanukarane 7/1 takṣaḥ 5/1
(pratyayāḥ #1, paraś ca #2, dhātoḥ #22, sārvadhātuke #67, kartari #68, śnuḥ #73, anyatarasyāṃ #75)
takṣaḥ tanukarane vartamāṇād anyatarasyāṃ śnu pratyayo bhavati

Affix Śnu optionally occurs after verbal root takṣū when it signifies tanukarana ‘to reduce by planning’ and a sārvadhātuka affix which denotes kartṛ follows.
Examples:

takṣṇoti kāṣṭham 'he planes the wood'
takṣati kāṣṭham 'id.'

1. This, again, is a bhvādi root. The tanukaraṇa qualifier is used to indicate that the verb can be used in more than one sense. The optional provision of Śnu is made only when takṣū is used in the sense of tanukaraṇa.

3.1.77 tuḍādibhyah śaḥ

/tuḍādibhyah 5/3 śaḥ 1/1/
(pratyayah #1, paraś ca #2, dhātoḥ #22, sārvadhātuke #67, kartari #68)
tuḍādibhyo dhātubhyah śaḥ pratyayo bhavati

Affix Śa occurs after verbal roots enumerated in the class headed by tuḍA 'to hurt, torment' when a sārvadhātuka affix which denotes kartṛ follows.

Examples:

tuḍati 'he torments'

nuḍati 'he moves, investigates, or pushes...'

1. Here, again, Śa is used to block SaP.

3.1.78 ruḍhādibhyah śnam

/ruḍhādibhyah 5/3 śnam 1/1/
(pratyayah #1, paraś ca #2, dhātoḥ #22, sārvadhātuke #67, kartari #68)

ruḍhādibhyo dhātubhyah śnam pratyayo bhavati

Affix ŚnaM occurs after verbal roots enumerated in the class headed by ruḍhIR 'to hold down, round up' when a sārvadhātuka affix which denotes kartṛ follows.

Examples:

ruṇaddhi 'he holds down, or rounds up...'

bhinatti 'he splits...'

1. Note that the Ś of ŚnaM is not intended here as an it to facilitate assignment of the term sārvadhātuka (3.4.113 tiṇśi...). Instead, it is treated as an it to qualify na so that rule 6.4.23 śnān nalopah can be interpreted as: '...deletion of na occurring after the na qualified with Ś'. Obviously, na, qualified with Ś, here relates to ŚnaM. Rule 6.4.111 śnāsor al lopah entails the same. The Ś is not an it for the assignment of the term
sārvadhātuka, since operations relative to this term assignment (deletion of a (allopā); guṇa; and introduction of iṭ (idāgama, etc.) do not obtain in case of the rudhādi roots.

The M of ŚnaM is intended here as an it to locate the place of operation (deśaviddhyarthaka). That is, given M as an it, ŚnaM is introduced after the last among the vowels of an item (1.1.47 mid aco' ntyāt parah).

3.1.79 तनादिकृष्ण्यः उः:

tanādikṛṣṇhya uḥ
tanādikṛṣṇhyah 5/3 uḥ 1/1/
(pratyayah #1, paraś ca #2, dhātoḥ #22, sārvadhātuke #67, kartari #68)
tanādibhyo dhātubhyah kṛṣṇaś ca u pratyayo bhavati

Affix u occurs after verbal roots enumerated in the class headed by tanU 'to stretch, expand' and also after verbal root kṛN 'to make, do' when a sārvadhātuka affix which denotes kartṛ follows.

EXAMPLES:

tanoti 'he stretches...'
karoṭi 'he makes...'

1. Note that Pāṇini refers to kṛN separately from the tanādi roots. This gives rise to the speculation that either (a) he did not consider kṛN as a root of the tanādi class, or (b) he intended something special in connection with kṛN. These speculations are valid since kṛN is now available as part of the tanādi group. The Mahābhāṣya (III:156) rejects kṛN as part of the rule because Pataňjali also accepts kṛN as the root of the tanādi class. Bhaṭṭoji Dikṣita (SK III: 289) states that by mentioning kṛN separately Pāṇini indicates the irregularity of operations relative to gaṇa 'listing of items in classes'. He argues that the derivation of viśvuset is made possible because of this irregularity. That is, verbal root śvas, used with the preverb vi, should have lost its ŚaP on account of being an adādi root (2.4.72 adiprabhṛtibhyah śapaḥ). That ŚaP was not deleted is explained by the irregular nature of operations relative to gaṇa.

Kāśikā states that kṛN is mentioned separately from tanādi so that any other operation relative to tanādi will not apply to kṛN. That is, no other operation characteristic of the tanādi verbs, other than one covered by this rule, applies to kṛN (tanādipāthād eva uprataye siddhe karoter upādānam niyamārtham. anyattanādikāryaṁ mā bhūd iti). In case of kṛN, the optional LUK- deletion of ŠIC made available to the tanādi roots by rule 2.4.79 tanādibhyas tathāsoḥ will be blocked.

3.1.80 धिन्निक्रिय्योर a ca

dhinṇikṛṇyor a ca
Affix \( u \) occurs after verbal roots \( \text{dhinv} \) 'to please, satisfy, or to be pleased, be satisfied' and \( \text{krnv} \) 'to hurt, injure' when a \( \text{sārvadhātuka} \) affix which denotes \( \text{kart}\) follows; in addition, the final sound segment of the root is replaced with \( a \).

**Examples:**

\begin{itemize}
  \item \( \text{dhinot} \) 'he is happy'
  \item \( \text{krn} \) 'he hurts...'
\end{itemize}

1. This rule orders two operations in conjunction: affix \( u \), and a final replacement in \( -a \) for verbs. Note that both of these roots are \( \text{bhvādi} \). Hence, they have \( \text{ŚaP} \) available to them. This rule provides for \( u \).

That is, given \( \text{dh} + nUM + v + tiP = \text{dhinv} + tiP \), \( u \) is ordered along with the final replacement in \( -a \). This yields: \( \text{dhin} \) (\( v \rightarrow a \)) + \( u \) + \( tiP \) = \( \text{dhin} + u + ti \) where \( a \) is deleted by 6.4.48 \( \text{ato lopaḥ} \). A question is raised as to why the short penultimate vowels of the \( \text{āṅga} \) do not undergo \( \text{guna} \) by 7.3.86 \( \text{pugantalanghūpadhasya ca} \). Rule 1.1.57 \( \text{acaḥ parasmin pārvavidhau} \) states that a replacement of \( aC \) (vowel), conditioned by a subsequent element, is treated as what it replaced when an operation on what precedes is to be performed. That is, the string, for purposes of the \( \text{guna}-\text{replacement} \) of the short penultimate vowel (\( \text{laghūpadha-guna} \)), will still be: \( \text{dhinv} + u + ti \). As a result, rule 7.3.86 does not find a short vowel in the penultimate position for its application.

### 3.1.81 क्यादिच्यः श्रा

\( \text{kryādibhyah śnā} \)

\( /\text{kryādibhyah 5/1 śnā 1/1/} \)

(\( \text{pratyayah} \) #1, \( \text{paraś ca} \) #2, \( \text{dhātoḥ} \) #22, \( \text{sārvadhātuke} \) #67, \( \text{kartari} \) #68)

\( \text{kryādibhyo dhātubhyah śnā} \) \( \text{pratyayo bhavati} \)

Affix \( Śnā \) occurs after verbal roots enumerated in the class headed by \( DU\text{krN} \) 'to buy, barter' when a \( \text{sārvadhātuka} \) affix which denotes \( \text{kart}\) follows.

**Examples:**

\begin{itemize}
  \item \( \text{krināti} \) 'he purchases...'
  \item \( \text{krinītāḥ} \) 'they two purchase...'
\end{itemize}

1. This, again, is an exception to the \( \text{ŚaP} \) though the \( S \) of \( Śnā \),
similar to that of ŚaP, is intended as an it for the assignment of the term sārvadhātuka.

3.1.82 सत्त्वस्तुस्तुमभुक्षुक्षुण्युक्ष्य, सुन्द्र शङ्कु
stambhustumbhuskambhuskambhuskuṅbhyaḥ śnuś ca
/stambhu...skuṅbhyaḥ 5/3 śnuḥ 1/1 ca 0/
(pratyayah #1, paraś ca #2, dhātoḥ #22, sārvadhātuke #67, kartari #68, snā #81)
ādyāś catvāro dhātavah sautrāḥ ‘skuṅ āpravaṇe’ ity etebhyaḥ śnā pratyayo bhavati

Affix śnā, as well as śnu, occurs after verbal roots stambhU, stumbhU, skambhU, skumbhU ‘to stop, block or restrain’ and skuṅ ‘to jump, cover’ when a sārvadhātuka affix which denotes kartṛ follows.

EXAMPLES:

stabhāti ‘he stops...’
stabhāti ‘id.’
stubhnāti ‘id.’
stubhnāti ‘id.’
skabhāti ‘id.’
skabhāti ‘id.’
skunāti ‘id.’
skunāti ‘id.’
skunāti ‘he jumps; covers...’
skunāti ‘id.’

1. The first four verbal roots are sautra, as attested by their use within the rules. The ca in the rule is used to bring Śnā. This means, that both Śnā as well as Śnu are made available to these roots. Note, however, that the two applications are to take place in turn (paryaya). Wrong forms will result if they are introduced simultaneously (yugapad).

Because of the sautra nature of most of the roots, and also because of their association here with Śnā and Śnu, one may infer that the operational scope of these roots is limited to Śnā and Śnu only. This, however, is not true. These roots avail general operational scope (sāmānyaviṣayatā) at the strength of their citation with U as an it. As a result, they receive Ktvā, and the optional iT by rule 7.2.56 udīto vā. Similarly, in niṣṭhā (1.1.26 ktaktavatā niṣṭhā), rule 7.2.15 yasya vibhāṣā blocks iT. Note that the penultimate -n of these roots is also deleted by rule 6.4.24 aniditāṁ hala...

3.1.83 हल: हः शानस्थ्री

halāḥ śnāḥ śānajhau
The Aṣṭādhyāyi of Pāṇini

3.1.84

\( \text{hala} \#5/1 \text{ snah} \#6/1 \text{ sanac} \#1/1 \text{ hau} \#7/1/ \)
\( \text{(pratyayah } \#1, \text{ paraś ca } \#2, \text{ dhātoḥ } \#22) \)
\( \text{hala uttarasya śna pratyayasya śanaj ādeśo bhavati hau parataḥ} \)
Affix Śna is replaced by ŚanaC if Śna occurs after a verbal root which ends in \( hL \) (a consonant) and \( hi \) (a replacement of the second person singular active ending \( siP \); cf. 3.4.87 \( ser \ \text{hyā...} \)) follows.

Example:

\( \text{muṣāṇa ratnāni ‘you steal the jewels’} \)

1. Kāśikā states that Śnah in this rule is included to clearly mark what ŚanaC will replace (sthāninirdeśa). In the absence of śnah, there will be confusion as to whether Śna was also carried to the context of the replacement by ŚanaC.

A question is raised as to why ŚanaC is to be marked with \( S \) as an \( it \) when the same can be made available via sthānivadbhāva (1.1.56 sthānivad ādeśo nakvidham). Haradatta (PM ad Kāśikā III: 460) is against this duplication since ŚanaC will receive its Śit status on account of being a replacement for Śna. Nyāsa (ad Kāśikā III: 460-61) states that the explicit \( S \) marking of ŚanaC is intended so that when Śna is introduced variously (bahulam; 3.1.85 vyatAYo bahulam), ŚanaC can still replace it. Thus, given the string mid + (Śna → ŚanaC) = mid + āna, we get midāna. This also blocks the application of 7.3.82 mider guṇāḥ. Otherwise, similar to the derivation of medhyati, we will end up with medāna, a wrong form. For how Haradatta accounts for the blocking of guṇa in midāna, and also for additional purposes for which \( S \) as an \( it \) in ŚanaC is to be restated, see PM and Nyāsa ad Kāśikā under this rule.

3.1.84 छन्दसिस शाक्यजयि

\( \text{chandasi śayaj aṭip} \)
\( \text{chandasi } 7/1 \text{ śayac } 1/1 \text{ aṭip } 0/ \)
\( \text{chandasi viṣaye śnah śayaj ādeśo bhavati, śanaj aṭip} \)

Śna, in the Vedic, is replaced with ŚayaC and ŚanaC, when it occurs after a verbal root ending in a consonant (hal) and hi follows.

Examples:

\( \text{grhbhāya jihvayā madhu ‘take with your tongue the sweet (Soma)’} \)
\( \text{badhāna paśum ‘you kill the animal’} \)

3.1.85 व्ययो बहुलम्

\( \text{vyatAYo bahulam} \)
\( \text{vyatyayah } 1/1 \text{ bahulam } 1/1/ \)
\( \text{(chandasi } \#84) \)
There are, in the Vedic, diverse variations from the rules.

**Examples:**

- bhedati ‘...shatters...
- marati ‘...dies’
- nesatu ‘may he lead’
- tamusema ‘may we go across’

1. This rule is formulated to indicate that rules relative to these *vikarana* apply variously in the Vedic. The word *vyataya* is explained as going against the rules (*vyatigamana*). The word *bahulam* ‘variously’ is used to indicate that a given *vikarana* may also be found introduced in consonance with a given rule. Similarly, many different operations contrary to the rules can be accomplished with *bahulam*. The contradiction of a given rule may entail introduction of *SaP* where *SnaM* is expected. An example is *bhedati*. Similarly, *marati* illustrates how *SaP* is introduced in place of *Sa*. In addition, the *parasmaipada* ending is also introduced via *vyataya* in *marati*. Now consider *nesatu* and *tarusema* where the first is derived from *ni + siP + SaP + tu*, and the second from *ti + u + siP + SaP + ti + mas*. The first string has two personal endings, as compared to the second which has three. The second also has two *vikarana*, i.e., *u* and *SaP*, in contrast with the single *SaP* of the first.

3.1.86 लिन्याशिष्य्राणः

- *liiny aśisy an*
- /liin/ 7/1 aśisi 7/1 an 1/1/
  (pratyayah #1, paraśca #2, dhātoḥ #22)
- aśisi visaye yo liin tasmin paraśa Chandasi visaye’ in pratyayo bhavati

In Vedic, *aṅ* occurs after verbal roots when *Liṅ* which denotes aśiḥ ‘benediction’ follows.

**Examples:**

- upashtheyam ‘may I resolve...’
- upageyam ‘may I sing...’
- gamema ‘may we go...’
- vocema ‘may we speak...’
- videyam ‘may I know...’
- śakeyam ‘may I be able to...’
- āruheyam ‘may I ascend to...’

1. This rule introduces affix *aṅ* when, in the Vedic, affix *Liṅ* which denotes benediction (3.3.173 aśiśi liṅloṭau) follows. This is an exception
to ŚaP. Affix LIÑ is assigned the term sārvadhātuka by rule 3.4.117 chandasy ubhayathā. Kāśīkā states that this rule is applicable only in the context of verbal roots sthā ‘to stand’, gā ‘to sing’, gam ‘to go’, vac ‘to speak’, vid ‘to know’, śak ‘to be able to’ and ruh ‘to grow’. Note that a vārttika proposes that, in the case of the verbal root drṣ ‘to see’, aK, and not aÑ, should be the affix. This is needed for the derivation of drṣeyam where, because of the Kit status of aK, guṇa which obtains because of aÑ by rule 7.4.16 rddṣo ‘ni guṇah, could be blocked.

3.1.87 कर्मबलकर्मणा तुल्यक्रियाः

karmavat karanā tulyakriyāḥ
/karmavat 0 karanā 3/1 tulyakriyāḥ 1/1/
karanā kriyā karma, karmasthayā kriyayā tulyakriyāḥ karttā karmavat
bhavati

When the kartr of a given kriyā ‘action’ behaves in the same way as does a karman ‘object’, the kartr is treated as if it were the karman.

Examples:

bhidyate kāṣṭham suyam eva ‘the wood is splitting by itself’
abhedi kāṣṭham ‘the wood split’
kārisyate kāṭah suyam eva ‘the mat will make itself’

1. This is an extension rule (atideśa) whereby an operation (kārya) is extended (atidīṣyate) to an entity for which it previously did not qualify. This type of atideśa is called kāryātideśa ‘extension of an operation’. Affix vatI in karmavat is ruled in consonance with 5.1.115 tena tulyam... It is not ruled in view of 5.1.116 tatra tasyeva as is known from the nominative (prathamā) of tulyakriyāḥ. If it were, Pāṇini would have used tulyakriyā either as tulyakriye in the locative (saptamī), or as tulyakriyasya in the genitive (saṣṭhī). Note that the use of the variable tad ‘that’ in the two rules, 5.1.115 and 5.1.116, as in many taddhita and non-taddhita rules, requires that its referents be reconstructed in accordance with the nominal endings of the variable in the rule.

2. The word tulya denotes the sense of similar (sadṛśa). ‘The compound tulyakriyāḥ is interpreted as ‘that which has its action similar to...’. It would seem, the word karman, in this sense, is interpreted in its non-technical meaning of kriyā ‘action’. But this way, karanā tulyakriyāḥ would yield the interpretation: kriyayā tulyā kriyā yasya ‘that which has its action similar to an action’. This does not make any sense. Therefore, it may be better to interpret karman as sādhana ‘means’, i.e., a kāraka ‘participant’. This, then, will be its technical interpretation. But that may also create a problem when interpreting karmavat karanā tulyakriyāḥ. The karman ‘object’ and kriyā ‘action’ are two different things. The first
has *dravya*, a thing, as its locus whereas the second does not. How could there be a similarity between the object, a *sādhana*, with that which is to be accomplished (*sādhya*) via its participation. It is, therefore, suggested that this similarity be established on the basis of the action located in the *sādhana*, the object. Now karman of *karmanā tulyakriyāḥ* can primarily denote the action located within it (*tatscha*). Its *sādhana* denotatum becomes secondary (*gauṇa*). That is, *karma* becomes *karmasthakriyāvācī* ‘that which denotes the action located within the object’. It is for this reason that *Kāśikā* glosses *karmanā tulyakriyāḥ* as *karmasthāyā kriyayā tulyakriyāḥ* ‘that which has its action similar to the action located within the object’. The word *tulyakriyāḥ* becomes the qualifier (*vīśeṣaṇa*) to the agent (*kartr̥*).

There are two participants *karman* and *kartr̥* involved here. For a kartr̥ to be treated as if karman, the action of the kartr̥ should be identical with the action located in the object. In view of this, *Kāśikā* paraphrases the rule as: *yasmīn karmanī kartr̥bhūte* ‘pi tadvat kriyā lakṣyate yathā karmanī sa kartā karmavat bhavati’ ‘an agent is treated as if it was an object when its action is similar to the action located in the object prior to its turning into an agent’. The similarity of the action demanded by this rule implies that (a) an object has turned agent, and (b) that the action of this object turned agent is similar to the action for which it served as the locus before turning agent. An agent can be treated as if it is an object if the action remains the same even when the object has turned agent.

3. Commentators make a distinction between *kriyā* ‘action’ and *bhāva* ‘root-sense’ where the first is *sādhya* ‘to be accomplished by the participants’ and the second has already been accomplished (*siddha*). An action can be viewed as located in its object *karmasthakriyāka*. The root-sense (*bhāva*) with its object as locus can be called *karmasthabhāvaka*. An action which has its agent as locus is termed *kartr̥sthaśriyā*. This term contrasts with the *kartr̥sthaśhāvaka*, where the agent is viewed as the locus of *bhāva*.

Let us consider the following sentences:

1. *devadattah kāṣṭham bhinaṭti* ‘Devadatta splits the firewood’
2. *agnih ghaṭam pacati* ‘the fire cooks the earthen jar’
3. *devadatto grāmam gacchati* ‘Devadatta goes to the village’
4. *devadatta āste* ‘Devadatta sits’

The action, ‘to split’ (*dvidhābhavana*) denoted by *bhid*, is located in the object (*karman*) here identified as the *kāṣṭha*. The action denoted by *bhid* is thus *karmasthakriyā*. The *bhāva* of the accomplished action, denoted by *paṭi*, is located in its object *ghaṭa* ‘jar’. Sentences (3) and (4) similarly illustrate instances of actions called *kartr̥sthakriyā* and *kartr̥sthabhāvaka*. Commentators characterize the differences between *bhāva* and *kriyā* by *aparispandanasādhanaśādhyo dhātvartho bhāvaḥ bhāvaḥ* ‘bhāva is that which is
accomplished without movement serving as the means'. In contrast, kriyā is accomplished as saparispandanasādhanasādhyā with movement serving as the means. The treatment of an agent as if it were an object (karma-vadbhāva) is generally limited to actions of the karmasthakriyā and karmasthābhāvaka type. Consider now the following sentences:

(5) kāṣṭhaṁ bhidyate svayam eva 'the firewood splits by itself'
(6) kāṣṭhena bhidyate svayam eva 'id.'

If we compare sentences (1) and (5) we find that kāṣṭha is the object in (1) and the agent in (5). That is, the same object has turned agent in sentences (5) and (6). The ya in bhidyate is introduced by 3.1.67 sārvadhātuke yak under the condition of te which denotes the object (karman). It is for this reason that kāṣṭham in the nominative denotes the nominal stem notion (pratītipadiśrītha). If one wishes to denote bhāva with the LA affix introduced after the verbal root, one will then have to denote the agent with the nominal ending as is the case in (6). The instrumental after kāṣṭha denotes kartr. For further details of the notion of an object turned agent, see my detailed comments under rule 1.3.67 āṇaḥ sva yat...

Note that karmavadbhāva has certain operational consequences. For example, it entails the application of rule 1.3.13 bhāvakaṁaṇaḥ whereby ātmāpada affixes are introduced as replacements for the LA affixes. It also entails the application of 3.1.67 sārvadhātuke yak whereby affix yaK is introduced.

4. Now consider rule 6.4.62 syasitśyutātātāh bhāvakarmaṇaḥ... which extends operations similar to CiN (ciṇvadbhāva) in connection with a set of roots. That is, certain operations become applicable to an aṅga similar to those when affix CiN follows. The Mahābhāṣya (ad IV: 739) sums up operations relative to ciṇvadbhāva as follows:

ciṇvad vrddhir yuk ca hanteś ca ghatvam
dīrghaḥ saktokto yopitāṁ vā ciṇītīl
iṣ caśiddhas tena me luptate nīr
nityās cāyam valnimitto vibhātīl/
vrddhi, augment yuk yuK, the gh replacement for han, and the optional lengthening of those marked with M, obtain here in ciṇvadbhāva as they do when CiN follows; the iṬ available through ciṇvadbhāva is asiddha 'suspended' because of being ābhīya (6.4.22 asiddhavad atrā' bhāt); hence, Ni gets deleted (6.4.21 āṇi iṇi); this iṬ is obligatory (nitya) as opposed to the valādi iṭ (7.3.35 ārdhadhātuksaya...) which is anitya 'non-obligatory’

The following are the major operations resulting out of ciṇvadbhāva:

(7) Rules 7.2.115 acōṇiṇi and 7.2.116 aṭa upadhaśyāḥ order vrddhi conditioned by an affix marked by N as an iṬ.

(8) Rule 7.3.33 aṭo yuk cinktyoḥ orders the introduction of augment yuK to roots which terminate in ā.
(9) Since affix CiN is marked with N, rule 7.3.54 ho hanter... applies to replace the h of han with gh.

(10) Rule 6.4.93 cināmular dīrgho nyatarasyām also orders optional lengthening of short penultimate vowels of an aṅga marked with M. Refer to the appendix for derivational details.

3.1.88 तपस्तय: कर्मकलेख

tapasāpaḥ karmakasyaiva
/tapasāpaḥ 6/1 karmakasya 6/6 eva Θ/
(karmavat #87)
tapa santāpe asya karttā karmavad bhavati, sa ca tapaḥ karmakasya nānya-karmakasya

The kārtṛ of an action denoted by tapaḥ is to be treated as karman only when the object in question is tapaḥ 'austerity, penance'.

EXAMPLES:

tapyate tapas tāpasah 'the ascetic observes penance'
atapta tapis tāpasah 'the ascetic observed penance'

1. This rule allows for treatment of the agent of the verbal root tapaḥ as an object, if and only if, the action denoted by the root constitutes tapas 'penance' alone as its object. Obviously, if tapaḥ is to be the object, the notion of karmasthakriya, where karmavadbhāva was permitted by the previous rule, would not be valid here. For, tapas cannot serve as the locus of the action denoted by the root. This rule thus provides for karmavadbhāva which previously was unavailable. This rule does not carry 'karmanah tulyakriyāḥ', since the anuvṛtti would require the similarity of actions (kriyāśādrśya). This rule, however, offers an instance of dissimilarity of actions (kriyāvaisādrśya). Consider, for example, the following sentences:

(1) upavāsāni tapāmsi tāpasam tapanti 'austerities such as fasting, etc., torment the ascetic'

(2) tāpasah tapas tapyate svargōya 'the ascetic observes penance for attaining heaven'

(3) tapyate tapas tāpasah 'id.'

The first sentence denotes an action whereby practice of austerities results in suffering. The second does not entail suffering. It entails earning merits (punyārjana) which will enable the ascetic to reach heaven. The third of course denotes the same action as (2). Both (2) and (3) represent sentences where karmavadbhāva has applied. Instances such as (4) uttapati suvarṇaṃ suvarṇakāraḥ kuṇḍalābhyām 'the goldsmith is heating up the gold for (making) earrings' would not qualify for karmavadbhāva since the object here is gold (suvarṇa).
3.1.89 न दुहस्नुमां यक्षणौ

na duhasnumamāṁ yakṣinau
ina ∅ duhasnumam 1/2 yakṣinau 1/2/
karmavat #87
‘duha snu nam’ ity eteṣāṁ karmakartari yakṣinau karmavadbhāvāpadiṣṭau
na bhavataḥ
Affixes yaK and CiN do not occur after verbal roots duh ‘to milk’,
snu ‘to drip’ and nam ‘to bend’ when their kartṛ is treated as karman.

EXAMPLES:

dugdhe gauḥ ‘the cow yields milk’
prasnu te sōnatam ‘the blood drips’
namate daṇḍaḥ ‘the stick bends’

1. This rule negates the provisions of yaK and CiN made available via
the process of karmavadbhāwa. That is, out of the four basic operations
made available via karmavadbhāwa, only āṭmanepada and cinvadbhāva
are allowed in situations where these verbs occur. This has been
provided for only those aṅga which end in a vowel. This requirement
disqualifies duh and nam. Thus, cinvadbhāva is only available to snu. As
far as the restriction of CiN is concerned, duh will still optionally receive
it from rule 3.1.63 duhaś ca. Thus, only yaK is denied to duh by this rule.

Note that negation of yaK makes ŚaP available unless otherwise stated.
The negation of CiN results in the introduction of sJC. For further details
of these and other operational consequences, see the appendix.

2. It has been suggested via vārttika proposals to extend this negation
of yaK and CiN to roots which are causal (NiC; 3.1.26 hetumati ca). Additionally,
the negation should be extended to śrānta ‘to loosen’, grantha ‘to bind, compose’, and brūN ‘to speak’, as well as to intransitive roots
qualified for āṭmanepada terminations. This will account for kārayate
kataḥ svayam eva ‘the mat is caused to be made by itself’, brūte ślokah
svayam eva ‘the verse is being recited by itself’, and vikurvate saṁdhavah
svayam eva ‘the horses gallop beautifully by themselves’, etc.

3.1.90 कुतिरजौ: प्राचार मद्य परस्मैपदे च

kusirajoh prācām śyan parasmai padam ca
Ikusirajoh 6/2 prācām 6/3 śyan 1/1 parasmai padam 1/1 ca ∅/
kuṣa niśkarse raṇja ráge anayor dhātuvoh karmakartari prācām ācāryānāṁ
matena śyan pratayayo bhavatī parasmai padam ca
According to Eastern grammarians, affix ŚyaN, as well as a following
parasmai pada, may occur after verbal roots kuṣA ‘to drag (out)’ and
raṇjA ‘to color, dye’ when their kartṛ is treated as if it were karman.
Examples:

kṣyati pādah svayam eva 'the foot is dragging by itself'
rajyati vastrām svayam eva 'the cloth is dyeing by itself'

1. This rule is an exception to the yaK and ātmanepada made available under the provisions of 3.1.85 karmavat karmanā tulyakriyāḥ, etc. The use of the word prācām, in the opinion of the Eastern grammarians, is simply used for showing variation or option. It cannot be interpreted here as denoting respect (pājā) to the Eastern grammarians since that will not allow option. In this view, ŚyaN and parasmaipada endings are to be used as opposed to the yaK and ātmanepada. The difference in the derivates parallel to the use of yaK and ŚyaN is mainly in the area of augment nUM and the accent. Thus, in case of ŚyaN, augment nUM is obligatory (nitya) by rule 7.1.81 sapṣyanor nityam. The initial udātta 'high-pitch' accent is also obtained on account of ŚyaN being marked with N. In case of yaK, the nUM becomes optional by 7.1.80 āc chīnadyor num, and yaK alone is marked with the initial high-pitch.

3.1.91 धातोः:

dhātoḥ
/dhātoḥ 5/1

dhātor ity ayam adhikāra veditavyah ā tṛtyādhīāyaparīsamātēḥ
After a verbal root...

Examples:

karttaṇyam 'that which should be done'
karaṇiyam 'that which is to be done'

1. This is a governing rule (adhipāra) which extends as far as the end of book three. Affixes introduced within this domain are to be introduced 'after a verbal root'. A question is raised as to why dhātoḥ is explicitly stated when it can be brought via anuvṛtti from rule 3.1.22 dhātor ekācō.... Kāśikā states that dhātoḥ is explicitly stated as a heading (adhipāra) so that terms kṛt and upapada do not apply outside this domain. For example, if it were not made a separate domain containing 3.1.92 tatropapadaṃ saatamīstham, the word upapada could also apply in the previous contexts. Consequently, given 3.1.43 cli lūni, one would interpret it as: 'CLI occurs when LUN is conjoined with it'. Similar problems arise when assigning the term kṛt as per rule 3.1.93 kṛd atīn. Affixes introduced in the previous sections would also have qualified for assignment of this term. This would lead further to the assignment of the term prātipadika (cf. 1.2.46 kṛttaddhitasamāsāṣ ca) and the introduction of affixes termed sUP (4.1.2 svaujasmau... within the domain of rule 4.1.1 iyāp-prātipadikāt...). Of course, this would result in undesired derivations.
A third purpose for the explicit mention of dhātoḥ is to block assignment of the term ārdhadhātuka outside this domain. For, if the term is not blocked, examples such a juguptsate would qualify for augment iT by 7.2.35 ārdhadhātukasyeṇ valādeḥ. Blocking the interaction of rules not included in the domain of 3.1.91 dhātoḥ with those characterizing ‘vā’ sarūpavidhiḥ’ of rule 3.1.94 vā sarūpo... is an additional purpose for explicit use of ‘dhātoḥ’.

3.1.92 तत्रोपपदे सप्तमीस्थम

tatropapadam saptamīstham
/tatra ō upapadam 1/1 saptamīstham 1/1/
(dhātoḥ # 91)
tatraitasmin dhātvadhikāre tṛiye yat saptamīnirdiṣṭaṁ tad upapadasamjñāṁ bhavati

That which is specified here (in this domain of rule 3.1.91 dhātoḥ) by means of saptami ‘seventh triplet of nominal endings’ is termed an upapada ‘a word which occurs in conjunction’ with another word.

EXAMPLE: .

kumbhakāraḥ ‘potmaker’

1. The word saptamistha is explained as saptamyā nirdiṣṭaṁ ‘that which has been specified by means of saptami’. The term upapada ‘conjoined word’ applies only to that word which has been specified with the use of the locative ending in the domain of 3.1.91 dhātoḥ. Thus, upapada is a name (samjñā) applicable to a pada that ends in the locative, its nominatum (samjñin). The word stha is used so that a specification made by means of saptami can be interpreted as ‘that which ends in saptami’. If stha were not used in the rule, Paribhāṣā (28) samjñāvidhau pratyayagrahane tadvatavādhir nāsti would impose an interpretation that blocks tadvatavidhi ‘interpretation of X as ending in Y if Y specifies X, and is also an affix.’ The stated paribhāṣā disallows tadvatavidhi in the context of the assignment of a name. Assignment of the term upapada is characterized by the use of saptami relative to a rule (sautra) and is, thus, universally valid in this domain. Consider 3.2.1 karmayā an, where karmāṇi is specified by means of saptami. This rule, when read with 3.1.92, is interpreted as: affix aN occurs after a verbal root when ‘that which ends in this rule in saptami, occurs with the root as an upapada’. What is given here in saptami is karan ‘object’. Consequently, we learn that affix aN is introduced when ‘an upapada which denotes karan (as per specification of 3.1.92 tatropapadam...) is used in conjunction with the verbal root.’

It is also stated that normally samjñā are meant for economy. Why does Pāṇini use the long term upapada? So an etymological interpretation can
be made: upoccāritam padam upapadam 'that which is spoken nearby is termed upapada'. Here, the word pada, itself, is to be interpreted in its etymological sense: padyate gamyate artho yena 'that by means of which meaning is comprehended'. The technical interpretation of pada (1.4.14 sustinantam padam) 'that which ends in a sUP, or tiN', will demand the conjoined word to end in sUP before compound formation can take place. This is the expatiation (prapaña) of the Paribhāṣā (76): gati kārakopapadānam... whereby the compound formation of an upapada and an item ending in a kṛt affix is required to take place prior to the introduction of sUP. This, obviously, brings the requirements of the samartha-paribhāṣā (2.1.1 samarthaḥ padavidhiḥ) close to this context via specification of the term upapada.

3.1.93 क्रडितिः

kṛd atiṁ
kṛ 1/1 atiṁ 1/1
(pratyayāḥ #1, dhātoḥ #91, tatra #92)
asmin dhātvadhiśre tinvarjītaḥ pratyayāḥ kṛt samjño bhavati
A non-tiN (3.4.78 tiptas...) affix is termed kṛt.

EXAMPLES:

karttavayam 'that which should be done'
karaṇiyam 'that which is to be done'

1. One major purpose for assigning the term kṛt to non-tiN affixes is to qualify their derivatives for the assignment of the term prātipadika 'nominal stem' by rule 1.2.46 kṛtadhitā...... This will eventually lead to operational provisions made for nominal stems in the domain of 4.1.1 iVyāp.....

3.1.94 वापस्तूर्णिप्रियायां

vā' sarūpo striyām
vā 0 asarūpaḥ 1/1 astriyām 7/1
(pratyayāḥ #1, dhātoḥ #91, tatra #92)
asmin dhātvadhiśre samānarūpaḥ pratyayo' pavādo vā bādhako bhavati
sryadhiśravāvhitāpratyayāṃ varjyāivā
A formally different (asarūpa) affix, introduced by an exception rule in this domain of dhātoḥ, optionally blocks the introduction of its general counterpart except when the affix relates to the domain of rules which allow the derivation of feminine forms.

EXAMPLES:

vikṣepakah 'trouble(maker)'
vikṣeptā 'id.'
vikṣiṇah ‘id.’
chikṣī ‘desire to do’
jīhī ‘desire to carry, fetch’

1. This paribhāṣā is important because an exception which (a) belongs to the domain of 3.1.91 dhātoḥ, (b) is not relative to a rule contained in the subdomain of 3.3.94, and (c) is constituted by an affix dissimilar in form, optionally blocks its general counterpart. Note that all three conditions must be met to qualify for optional blocking. Thus, rule 3.1.133 νυλτεου introduces affixes 逆行 and 逆行 as part of a general provision. Rule 3.1.135 ऒऽपह्याप्रिकितह introduces affix Ka as an exception. Both of these rules, given in the domain of 3.1.91, introduce affixes which are dissimilar in form (सरुप) and do not belong to the subdomain of rule 3.3.94 श्रीभम्म कति. Given this, affix Ka optionally blocks affixes 逆行 and 逆行. Note that the application of a general rule is normally blocked by its exception. Rule 3.1.94 provides for optional blocking. Furthermore, formal similarity of the affixes, or lack of it, should be determined independently of their it. Consider the following rules:

3.1.97 aco yat ‘affix yaT occurs after a verbal root which terminates in a vowel...’
3.1.124 धापते yat ‘affix यत occurs after a verbal root which ends in r (short or long) or a consonant’

This first is a general rule to which the second is an exception. Affixes yaT and यत, given in the domain of 3.1.91 dhātoḥ, do not belong to its subdomain headed by rule 3.3.94 श्रीभम्म कति. However, the formal difference between these affixes is zero. That is, they are not dissimilar (सरुप) in form. Consequently, यत will obligatorily block yaT.

Now consider the following rules:

3.3.94 श्रीभम्म कति ‘affix KtiN occurs after a verbal root when action is denoted in feminine’
3.3.102 a pratyayāt ‘affix a occurs after a verbal root which terminates in an affix, and when action is denoted in feminine.

Obviously, these two rules are both contained in the subdomain headed by 3.1.94 श्रीभम्म.... Affixes KtiN and a are dissimilar in form, yet a, as an exception, will obligatorily block its general counterpart KtiN. The nature of this obligatory blocking by a rule of the subdomain of 3.1.91 dhātoḥ can also be understood by analyzing the provision of rule 3.1.94 वा’ सरुपो’ श्रीभम्म itself.

Rule 3.1.94 makes the following provisions:
(i) a formally dissimilar affix ruled as an exception in the domain of 3.1.91 dhātoḥ blocks its general counterpart only optionally, and
(ii) what is provided for by 3.1.94 vā’ sarūpa... in the preceding statement (i) is not valid in connection with rules contained in the sub-domain headed by 3.3.94 striyām ktin.

The provision for optional blocking, available for formally dissimilar affixes, and introduced in the general domain of 3.1.91 dhātoḥ, is obligatorily denied its particular subdomain of 3.3.94 striyām ktin.

2. It should be remembered, in the context of rule 3.3.94, that the tradition notes some exceptions to its provision commonly referred to as vā’ sarūpavidhi. Consider these three exceptions:

(a) tācchilīkesu vā’ sarūpavidhir nāsti ‘the process of ‘vā’ sarūpa’ does not apply to rules relative to affixes generally known as tacchilika (3.2.134 ākves..., etc.).

(b) ktkaluttumukhalasthesu vā’ sarūpavidhir nāsti ‘the process of ‘vā’ sarūpa’ does not apply to rules relative to affixes Kta (1.1.26 ktaktavatī...), LyuT (3.3.113 kṛtyalyuṭo...), tumUN (3.3.10 tumunyuvulau...), as well as those which may have the signification of KHaL (3.4.70 tayor eva...’)

(c) lāḍēsesu vā’ sarūpavidhir nāsti ‘the process of ‘vā’ sarūpa’ does not apply relative to affixes (3.4.78 tiptasji..., etc.) which come in place of LA’

The implications of these preceding have been explained at appropriate places in the appendix.

3.1.95 कृत्या:

kṛtyāḥ
/kṛtyāḥ 1/3/

(pratyayah #1, paraś ca #2, dhātoḥ #91)

nvultcau iti vakṣyati, prāg etasmān nvalsamśabdāṇād yān ita ārdhavam anuκramisyāmah kṛtyasamjñakās te veditavyāḥ

Affixes introduced hereafter are termed kṛtya.

Example:

Refer to relevant rules subsequently.

1. Note that Kāśikā reads the sūtra as kṛtyāḥ prāṇ nvulaḥ. Kaiyaṭa (Pradiṣṣa ad Mbh. III: 200) informs that the sūtra was formulated simply as kṛtyāḥ. Haradatta explains that prāṇ nvulaḥ was further added by the authors of the Kāśikā. Obviously, Kāśikā’s addition is intended to clearly demarcate the extent (avadhī) to which this adhikāra carries (adhikriyate). The scope of this rule extends up to 3.1.133 nvultcau. But why could the scope not be interpreted as extending up to 3.3.108 rogākhyāyām nvul bahulam. This could not be accepted as the ‘extent’ (avadhī) since 3.3.169 arhe kṛtyatrcas ca makes the reference to trC separately from kṛtya. Similarly, a separate
mention of \textit{NuvuL} without \textit{trC} in rule 3.3.108 \textit{rogākhāyām}... should not be treated as marking the extent of the scope of this rule. In view of this, 3.1.133 \textit{nuvultrcau} is accepted as marking the extent. If this is how an extent could be correctly understood, then \textit{prān nusulah} need not be stated explicitly with the rule. This is what Haradatta means when he says that the rule is simply formulated as \textit{kṛtyāh} by Pāṇini (\textit{PM} ad Kāśikā III: 495: ‘kṛtyāh’ etad eva paśhitam sūtrakāreṇa).

2. Kāśikā cites rules 2.1.33 \textit{kṛtyaik adhikārthavacane} and 2.3.71 \textit{kṛyānām karatari vā, etc.}, to explain the operational scope of the term \textit{kṛtya} (3.1.91 kṛd atiñ). The first rule illustrates how a \textit{tatpurusā} compound can be formed with a constituent termed \textit{kṛtya}. The second illustrates the optional use of \textit{saṣṭhī} to denote the agent in conjunction with an item which ends in affixes termed \textit{kṛtya}.

3.1.96 

\textbf{तव्यतब्यानीयः:}

\begin{itemize}
\item \textit{tavyattavyāⁿiyāraḥ}
\item \textit{tavyattavyāⁿiyāraḥ 1/3/}
\item (pratyayāh #1, praś ca #2, dhātoḥ #91)
\item dhātus tavyat tavya anīyar ity ete pratyayā bhave
\item Affixes tavya, tavya\textit{T} and anīya\textit{R} occur after verbal roots.
\end{itemize}

\textbf{Examples:}

\begin{itemize}
\item \textit{karttavyāṃ} ‘that which should be done’
\item \textit{karaṇīyāṃ} ‘that which is to be done’
\end{itemize}

1. The \textit{T} of \textit{tavyaT} and the \textit{R} of \textit{anīya\textit{R}} are given as \textit{it} for the purpose of accent (\textit{svarārtha}). Thus, the \textit{ya} of \textit{tavya} is marked \textit{svarita} in accordance with rule 6.1.179 \textit{tit svartatam}. Rule 6.1.211 \textit{upottamaṁ riti} similarly requires that \textit{anīya} be marked \textit{udātta} in the middle (\textit{madhyodātta}). Note, here, that \textit{tavya} is marked \textit{udātta} initially, in accordance with 3.1.3 \textit{ādyudāttaś ca}.

2. There are two \textit{vārītikas} under this rule. The first states that affix \textit{tavya\textit{T}} also occurs to denote \textit{karṭ} after verbal root \textit{vas} ‘to dwell’; additionally, the affix is considered to be marked with \textit{N}. This latter provision facilitates \textit{vrddhi} in deriving \textit{vastavyaḥ} ‘the resident of...’. It is suggested that the \textit{vārtiika} is unnecessary since 3.3.113 \textit{kṛtyalogyuḥ bahulaṃ} provides for this.

The second \textit{vārtiika} requires the addition of affix \textit{Kelima\textit{R}} to this rule. This enables usage such as \textit{bhiderimāni kāṣṭhāni} ‘the firewood splits...’. Kāśikā further adds that \textit{Kelima\textit{R}} is also intended in the context of \textit{karmakarṭa} ‘object turned agent’. The Mahābhāṣya illustrates \textit{Kelima\textit{R}} only in the context of the straight (\textit{suddhā}) \textit{karmān}. It is suggested that this \textit{vārtiika} is also not required since 3.3.113 \textit{kṛtyalogyuḥ bahulaṃ} could also account for \textit{Kelima\textit{R}}.
3.1.97 अचो यत्

\textit{aco yat}
\textit{lacakā 5/1 yat 1/1/}
\textit{(pratayah #1, paraś ca #2, dhātoḥ #91)}
\textit{ajantād dhātor yat prayayo bhavati}

Affix \textit{yaT} occurs after a verbal root which ends in \textit{aC} (vowel; cf. Śs 1–4).

**Examples:**

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textit{geyam} 'that which is to be sung'
  \item \textit{peyam} 'that which is to be drunk'
  \item \textit{jeyam} 'that which is to be won'
\end{itemize}

1. The \textit{T} as an \textit{it} in affix \textit{yaT} is intended for the initial high-pitch accent (ādyudātta) of the derivate by rule 6.1.213 \textit{yato' navah}.

What is the purpose of stating 'after roots which end in a vowel'? One can easily understand this from the fact that affix \textit{NyaT} is introduced after roots ending in a consonant (3.1.124 \textit{ṭhalor nyat}). A simple deduction could account for \textit{yaT} after roots which terminate in a vowel. Kāśikā informs that \textit{acah} 'after...ending in a vowel' is included so that a root which initially ended in a vowel, but does not do so at a later derivational stage, can also qualify for \textit{yaT}. Thus, consider the derivation of \textit{ditsyam} 'that which is wished to be cut' and \textit{dhitsyam} 'that which is wished to be held' from verbal roots \textit{dā} 'to cut' and \textit{dhā} 'to hold' used with affix \textit{saN}, to yield the forms \textit{dits} and \textit{dhits} after the deletion of the final -\textit{a} by rule 6.4.48 \textit{ato lopah}. If \textit{NyaT} were to be introduced, thinking that the root ended in a consonant, rule 6.1.185 \textit{tit svaritam} would order the \textit{svarita} accent. This would result in a wrong derivation. The correct derivation requires the initial high-pitch ruled by 6.1.213 under the condition of \textit{yaT}. This, however, is acceptable only when one thinks that the deletion of the final -\textit{a} took place prior to the introduction of suffix \textit{yaT}. Since the deletion of the final -\textit{a} by 6.4.48 \textit{ato lopah} requires an \textit{ārdhadhātuka} affix to follow, -\textit{a} cannot be deleted prior to the introduction of \textit{yaT}. Thus, to say that \textit{acah} is used for the purpose of accommodating roots which previously ended in \textit{aC}, but which do not now, is not acceptable. What, then, is the purpose of explicitly stating \textit{acah}? None other than: \textit{vispaśārtham} 'for clarity'.

\textit{Nyāsa} discovers yet another twist to this conclusion. What if one deletes \textit{a} with the assumption that an \textit{ārdhadhātuka} affix will find its scope even when it does not follow at the time of the deletion? In that case, one will have to interpret the locative of \textit{ārdhadhātuke}, which forms the condition of deletion, as \textit{viṣayasaaptami} 'locative of domain'. The introduction of \textit{yaT} will then be accomplished after a root which previously ended in \textit{a} but
did not end at the time of the affixal introduction. But this will still be accepted as partially (pāksika) true. That is, true if one accomplishes the deletion under the assumed scope of an affix termed ārdhadhātuka. Not so if the deletion is accomplished under the condition of an ārdhadhātuka affix which follows.

2. It has been suggested by a vārttika that verbal roots tak ‘to fly’, sas ‘to leap’, cat ‘to ask’, yat ‘to strive’ and jan ‘to be born’ should also be mentioned so that, by the introduction of yaT, we can get takyam, etc. Note that these roots all end in a consonant, and hence normally, affix NyaT should be introduced after them. However, their correct derivation must involve yaT. This makes the vārttika necessary.

Yet another vārttika proposes that yaT not only be optionally introduced after the verbal root han ‘to kill’, but han should also be replaced with vadhā. This is to account for vadhyam ‘he who is to be killed’ used optionally with ghātyam, a derivate of NyaT.

3.1.98 पोखुड़पात्

por adupadhāt
/por 5/1 adupadhāt 5/1/
(pratyayah #1, paras ca #2, dhātah #91, yat #97)
pavargāntād dhātor akāropadhāt yat pratyayo bhavati
Affix yaT occurs after a verbal root which ends in pU (p, ph, b, bh, m; cf. 1.1.69 aṇudit...) and has an aT (1.1.70 taparas...) in its upadhā ‘penultimate position’(1.1.65 alo’ ntyāt pūrva upadhā).

Examples:

ṣaptyam ‘that which is to be cursed’
labhhyam ‘that which is to be attained’
jayam ‘that which is to be chanted’

1. This rule provides for the introduction of affix yaT after a verbal root which ends in pU (p, ph, b, bh, m) and also has a in its penultimate position. The taparakarana of aT in adupadhāt is intended to specify the vowel quality -a in consonance with 1.1.70 taparas tathālasya.

Consequently, a root such as āp to obtain’ which ends in p, but which has a long ā in its penultimate position, does not qualify for the introduction of affix yaT. It must therefore take affix NyaT to derive āpyam ‘that which is to be obtained’.

2. Note that the formulation of this rule in many ways constitutes an exception to affix NyaT. Rule 3.1.124 thalor nyat provides for the introduction of affix NyaT after verbal roots which terminate in a consonant. The context of the introduction of NyaT is similar to this context characterized
by \textit{poh} ‘after that which ends in \textit{p}, \textit{ph}, \textit{b}, \textit{bh}, \textit{m}. These labial stops, along with their corresponding nasal \textit{m}, are consonants. The condition of \textit{poh}, when not satisfied, results in the introduction of affix \textit{NyaT} after roots which end in a consonant other than ones denoted by \textit{pU}, and which also have \textit{a} in their \textit{upadāhā}. Thus we will get \textit{NyaT} derivates such as \textit{pākyam} ‘that which is to be cooked’ and \textit{vākyam} ‘that which is to be spoken; a sentence’. This is why our present rule has the condition of \textit{poh}.

The next condition, characterized as \textit{adupadhāt} ‘after that which has \textit{a} as next to its last sound’, is required to again block affix \textit{NyaT}. Consider, thus, the examples \textit{gopyam} ‘that which is to be concealed’ and \textit{kopyam} ‘to be angry about’, derived with \textit{NyaT} introduced after verbal roots \textit{gup} ‘to conceal, preserve’ and \textit{kup} ‘to be angry’, respectively. These examples are assigned \textit{svarita} accent by rule 6.1.185 \textit{tit svaritam}. The \textit{yaT} derivates of our present rule will get the initial high pitch accent by 6.2.213 \textit{yato} \textit{nāvah}. Incidentally, \textit{gup} has been glossed by commentators as denoting \textit{gopanakutsana} ‘to conceal, censure’ and \textit{vyākulaśaṛpaṇa} ‘to agitate’. Their membership in varying classes and the assignment of \textit{ātmanepada-parasmapi-pada} affixes is not crucial to the context of this rule.

3.1.99 सकिसाहोः

\textit{sakisahōs ca}
\textit{sakisahō 6/2 ca 0/1}
\textit{(pratyayah \#1, paraś ca \#2, dhātoḥ \#91)}
\textit{‘sakhā śaktāu, saha marṣaṇe,’}
\textit{anayor dhātvur yat pratyayo bhavati}
\textit{Affix \textit{yaT} also occurs after verbal roots \textit{sakL} ‘to be strong, capable’ and \textit{sahA} ‘to endure, forgive’.

\textbf{Examples:}
\textit{sakyam} ‘possible to do’
\textit{sahyam} ‘endurable’

3.1.100 गदददचरयमञ्जनुपसर्गोः

\textit{gadadacarayamaś cānupasarge}
\textit{gadadacarayamaḥ 5/1 ca 0 anupasarge 7/1}
\textit{(pratyayah \#1, paraś ca \#2, dhātoḥ \#91, yat \#97)}
\textit{‘gada vyaktāyāṁ vāci, madi harse, cara gatibhakṣanayoh, yama uparame’}
\textit{iti etetyāś cānupasargingbhya yat pratyayo bhavati}
\textit{Affix \textit{yaT} also occurs after verbal roots \textit{gadA} ‘to speak’, \textit{madA} ‘to rejoice, be drunk’, \textit{carA} ‘to move, eat’ and \textit{yamA} ‘to sustain, hold, control’ when no \textit{upasarga} ‘preverb’ is used.}
EXAMPLES:

- gadyam ‘that which is worth speaking’
- madyam ‘that which is worth being happy about’
- caryam ‘that which is worth eating’
- yamyam ‘that which is controllable’

1. This rule forms an exception to NyaT of 3.1.124 ṭhalor nyat. Note that verbal root yam is included in this rule to restrict it from receiving yaT, though only when used without a preverb. Affix yaT is already available to yam, when used with a preverb, from rule 3.1.98 por adupadhā.

2. Note that anupasarge which ends in the locative (saptami) is interpreted here as anupasargebhyaḥ ‘after those... which do not have any preverb present’ (avidyamānaparsegebhyaḥ). This interpretation clearly construes the locative (saptami) of anupasarge as an ablative (pañcamī). How could the saptami be interpreted as pañcamī? By transposing saptami with pañcamī in consonance with the context.

Why can the saptami of anupasarge not be interpreted as characterizing an upapada in view of rule 3.1.92 tatropapadam...? This, as well as the paryudāsa and prasajya interpretation of naN ‘negative’ with possible consequences, has been discussed in the commentaries which I omit here for lack of interest.

3.1.101 अवध्यपण्यवर्गम् गर्ह्यपाणितत्वाविरोधेषु

avadya-parṇa-varyā garhṛyapāṇita-vṛtyānirôdhesu
lāvadya-parṇa-varyā 1/1 garhṛyapāṇita-vṛtyānirôdhesu 1/3/
(pratīyayaḥ #1, paraś ca #2, dhātoḥ #91, yataḥ #97)
‘avadya, panyā, varyā’ ity ete śabdā nipātyante, ‘garhṛya, paniṭavya, anirodha’
ity etesu arthayeḥ yathāśaṁkhyam

Affix yaT occurs in the derivation of avadya, panyā and varyā when they denote garhṛya ‘fit for censure’, paniṭavya ‘fit to be purchased’ and anirodha ‘to be unrestrained’ respectively.

EXAMPLES:

- avadyam pāpam ‘a sin fit to be censured’
- panyā kambalahaḥ ‘a blanket fit to be purchased’
- panyā gauḥ ‘a cow fit to be purchased’
- sateṇa varyā kanyā ‘a girl worthy to be aspired by hundreds of suitors’

1. This rule offers, by nipātana, three derivates avadya, panyā and varyā used with yaT to denote garhṛya, panyā and anirodha respectively. The final word is derived in the feminine from verbal root व्र ‘to choose’. In a sense, other than anirodha, affix KyaP is to be chosen for व्र
(3.1.109 etistuśās...). Kṣyap is available after vad by rule 3.1.106 vadaḥ supi kyap. Verbal root paṇ is qualified for NyaT by 3.1.124 ṯalor nyat. Our present rule provides for yaT.

3.1.102 वह्यं करणम्

vahyam karaṇam
ivahyam 1/1 karaṇam 1/1
(pratyayah #1, paraś ca #2, dhātoḥ #91, yat #97)
vaher dhātoḥ karaṇe yat nipātyate

Affix yaT occurs after verbal root vahA ‘to carry’ to derive vahya by nipātana when karaṇa ‘means, instrument’ (1.4.42 sādhakatamam...) is denoted.

EXAMPLE:

vahyam śakaṭam ‘a cart by means of which things are carried’

1. Note that kṛtya affixes are introduced to denote bhāva and karman only (3.4.70 tayor eva kṛtyaktakahlaṁrthaḥ). This rule provides for yaT by nipātana with an additional requirement that the derivate denote karaṇa ‘instrument’ (1.4.42 sādhaka...).

3.1.103 अर्यं: स्वामिवाययो:

aryah svāmivaiśayayoḥ
/aryah 1/1 svāmivaiśayayoḥ 7/2/
(pratyayah #1, paraś ca #2, dhātoḥ #91, yat #97)
ṛ gatau asmān nyati prāpte svāmivaiśayor abhidheyayor yat pratyayo nipātyate

Affix yaT occurs after verbal root ṛ ‘to go’ to derive arya by nipātana when the derivate denotes svāmin ‘lord, master’ or vaiśya ‘trader; person of the Vaiśya caste’.

EXAMPLES:

aryah svāmi ‘a respectable master’
aryo vaiśyaḥ ‘a respectable Vaiśya’

1. This rule, again, provides for yaT, rather than NyaT, by way of nipātana, to derive aryaḥ with the denotata of svāmī and vaiśya. The word aryaḥ of this rule is treated as two for purposes of accent. The one, derived with the denotatum of vaiśya, should be marked high-pitched initially. We know this from the Phūśātra (17) aryasya svāmyākhyaḥyāṁ especially at the strength of the word ākhyā ‘denotation’. The arya with the denotation of ‘master’ will be marked high-pitched finally (antodattā).
3.1.104 उपसर्गां काल्या प्रजने

_upasaryā kālyā prajane_
\_upasaryā 1/1 kālyā 1/1 prajane 7/1_

(pratayah #1, paraś ca #2, dhātoḥ #91, yat #97)
‘upasaryā’ ity nipātyate kālyā cet prajane bhavati

Affix yaT occurs after verbal root upasṛ ‘to approach’ to derive upasaryā by nipātana when kālyā prajane ‘she who has approached the time fit for first breeding’ is denoted.

**Examples:**

_upasaryā gauḥ ‘a cow which has approached the time fit for its first breeding’_

_upasaryā vaḍavā ‘a mare which has approached the time fit for its first breeding’_

1. This rule provides for the ad hoc derivation of upasaryā, obviously a feminine, with the introduction of affix yaT after verbal root sṛ used with the preverb upa. The word kālyā means ‘she who has approached the time for...’. The word prajana is used in the sense of ‘first impregnation’ (prathmagarbhaṅgṛahaṇam).

3.1.105 अजर्य संगतम्

_ajaryam samgatam_
\_ajaryam 1/1 samgatam 1/1_

(pratayah #1, paraś ca #2, dhātoḥ #91, yat #97)
‘ajaryam’ ity nipātyate samgatam ced bhavati

Affix yaT occurs by nipātana after verbal root jṛṣa ‘to waste away, decay’ used with naN ‘not’ to derive ajarya ‘imperishable’ when samgata ‘friendship’ is denoted.

**Example:**

_ajaryam no’ stu samgatam ‘may our friendship remain imperishable’._

1. This rule provides for the ad hoc derivation of ajarya with yaT in the sense of samgamanam ‘companionship’. Affix yaT is here used with the denotation of an agent by nipātana. Of course, being a kṛtya, it can only denote bhāva or karman. Because it denotes kartr, yaT forms an exception to trC. A parallel trC derivate would be ajaritā as in ajaritā kambalāḥ ‘a fairly new blanket.’

3.1.106 वद: सुपि क्यप्ति

_vadah supi kyaṃ ca_
\_vadah 5/1 supi 7/1 kyaṃ 1/1 ca 0/1_
(pratyayah #1, paraś ca #2, dhātoḥ #91, yat #97,
anupasarge #100)
vader dhātoḥ subante upapade anupasarge kyap pratyayo bhavati cakārād
yac ca
Affix KyaP occurs after verbal root vadA 'to speak' used without a preverb when a pada (1.1.14 suptiṇatam padam) which ends in sUP (4.1.2 svaujasmauṭ...) occurs in conjunction.

EXAMPLES:

brahmodyam ‘a discussion about the Brahman (creator); the recitation of the Vedas’
brahmavadyam ‘id.’
satyodyam ‘the speaking of truth’

1. Note that vad is interpreted, here, as used without a preverb because anupasarge is carried. The word supi, since it ends in the locative (saptami) dictates, the cooccurrence condition of a word ending in sUP (3.1.92 tatropapadam saptamīsthām; also see 1.1.72 yena vidhis tadantasya). The ca is used to optionally provide for affix yaT. We will thus get two forms: one with KyaP and the other with yaT.

3.1.107 भुवो भावे

bhuvao bhāve
/bhuvah 5/1 bhavē 7/1/
(pratyayah # 1, paraś ca # 2, dhātoḥ # 91, anupasarge # 100, supi,
kyap # 106)

bhāvater bhāve kyap pratyayo bhavati
Affix KyaP occurs to denote bhāva ‘root-sence’ after verbal root bhū ‘to be, become’ used without a preverb when a pada which ends in sUP occurs in conjunction.

EXAMPLES:

brahmabhūyam gataḥ ‘became one with the Brahman (creator);
passed away’
brahmavatam gataḥ ‘id.’
devabhūyam gataḥ ‘became one with the gods; passed away’
devaṇam gataḥ ‘id.’

1. This rule provides for KyaP to denote bhāva ‘root-sence’ after verbal root bhū under the conditions of both anupasarge and supi. Of course, yaT is not carried here.

2. Kāśikā states that the word bhāve is used here for anuvṛtti in the subsequent (uttarārthu) rule. As for as this rule is concerned, KyaP cannot denote anything other than bhāva. Consequently, bhāve should not be
stated in the rule. How do we know that KyaP in this rule cannot denote anything other than bhāva. From the fact that kṛtya affixes denote bhāva and karmāṇa (3.4.70 tayor eva...); and in case of bhū, an intransitive (akarmaka) without the use of any preverb (upasarga), the question of the denotation of karmāṇa does not arise.

3.1.108 हनस्त च

hanas ta ca
lhanah 5/1 ta (deleted nominative) caθ₁
(pratayah #1, paraś ca # 2, dhātōh #91, anupasargē #100, supi kyāp#106, bhāve #107)
hanter dhātōh subanta upapade' nupasarge bhāve kyāp pratāyayō bhavati takāraś cāntādesaḥ
Affix KyaP occurs to denote bhāva after verbal root han 'to kill' used without a preverb, when a pada which ends in sUP occurs in conjunction; additionally, t comes in place of the root final n.

Examples:

brahmahatya 'the killing of a brāhmaṇa'  
asvahatya 'the killing of a horse'

1. This rule carries anupasargē, supi and bhāve, and introduces affix KyaP. Additionally, the rule orders -t as a replacement for the final -n of han (cf. 1.1.52 alo' ntyasya).

3.1.109 एतितुसुस्वर्द्जुसः क्याप

etistuśāsvurdṛjusāḥ kyāp
letistuśāsvurdṛjusāḥ 5/1 kyāp 1/1/
(pratayah #1, paraś ca #2, dhātōh #91, kyāp #106)
et, stu, sās, vr, dr, juṣ ity etebhyah kyāp pratāyayō bhavati
Affix KyaP occurs after verbal roots iN 'to go', stu 'to praise, sās 'to instruct', vṛN 'to choose', drN 'to honor' and juṣI 'to enjoy'.

Examples:

ityah 'that which is to be gone to'
stutyah 'he who is to be praised'
siṣyah 'he who is to be instructed; a student'
vṛtyah 'that which is to be selected'
adṛtyah 'he who is to be honored'
jusyaḥ 'that which is to be enjoyed'

1. Note that anupasargē, supi and bhāve are not carried here. For, KyaP is here introduced after a root in general (sāmānya).
A question is raised as to why KyaP is to be stated in the rule when it is already available from anvartti. Commentators explain that KyaP is stated here to serve a restrictive purpose (niyamártha). It does not allow this rule to be blocked by any other rule of this section in the context of the enumerated verbs. Thus, KyaP is cited to block a rule which might otherwise block the application of this rule (bádhakabádhana). For example, it blocks the NyaT of 3.1.125 or āvaśyake in the derivation of avaśyastutuyah 'he who is definitely to be praised'.

Note that vṛ in this rule refers to verbal root vṛṇ ‘to choose’ and not to vṛṇ ‘to praise, serve’. Similarly, eti refers to verbal root iṇ ‘to go’, and not iṇ ‘to study’ which normally occurs with the preverb adhi.

2. A vārttiaka proposes the optional introduction of KyaP after verbal roots śaṃs, duḥ and guḥ to derive śaṃsyam, dohyam and gohyam parallel to sasyam ‘that which to be praised’, duhyam ‘that which is to be milked’ and guhyam ‘that which is to be hidden’. The glossed examples are derived with yaT.

Yet another vārttiaka mentions that KyaP should be introduced after verbal root añj ‘to anoint’ used with the preverb añ when the denotation is a name (samjñā). This should account for añyam ‘clarified butter’.

3.1.110 महयाख्यायिन्यसंग्रहे:

ṛduṇpadhāc cāklpīcteḥ

(ṛduṇpadhāt 5/1 ca ṣa klpīcte 5/11)

(pratyaśaḥ #1, paraś ca #2, dhātoḥ #91, kyāp #106)

ṛkṛnopadhāc ca dhātoḥ kyāp pratyaśo bhavati klpīctī varjāyitvā

Affix KyaP also occurs after a verbal root which, with the exception of klī ‘to be able to’ and cṛṭ ‘to hurt’, has r in its upadhā (1.1.65 ala’ ntyātpūrva...).

Examples:

vartyam ‘that which is to be observed’
vṛddhyam ‘that which is to be grown’

1. Note that taparākaraṇa (1.1.70 taparas tathālaya) in rT is intended so that only the short -r is specified for the penultimate position of a root. Thus, it excludes kṛtA ‘to chant’ which derives kīrtam ‘that which is to be chanted’.

2. A vārttiaka proposes for verbal root sṛj ‘to create’ to receive NyaT when the same is used in conjunction with a word which contains pānu ‘hand’. This derives pāṇisargyā of pāṇisargyā raṭjjuh ‘a rope to be made by twisting with the hands’. NyaT is also provided after sṛj used with the preverbs sam and ava to derive samavasargyā ‘that (feminine) who is to be abandoned’.
3.1.111 ईच खनः

\[i\) ca khanah
\[i) 1/1 \theta khanah 5/1/
(pratyayah #1, para\(ca\) #2, dh\(\text{o}\)\(h\) #91, kya\(p\) #106)
khana\(r\) dh\(\text{a}\)\(t\)h kya\(p\) pratyayo bhavati\(k\)\(a\)\(ra\)\(s\) c\(\text{a}\)\(nt\)\(\text{a}\)\(de\)\(s\)\(\text{a}\)
Affix Kya\(P\) occurs after verbal root khan\(U\) 'to dig'; in addition, the root-final \(n\) is replaced by \(i\).

Examples:

kheyam 'that which is to be dug'

1. Commentators debate whether the long \(i\) as a replacement is justified. For, to derive kheyam, one must apply rule 6.1.87 \(a\)\(d\) gu\(n\)ah which, given the string kha + \(i\) + Kya\(P\), orders a single gu\(n\)a replacement \(e\) in place of both a + \(i\). This gu\(n\)a replacement is applicable even when the -n of the root is replaced with a short -i. This leads us to question why Pāṇini should order a long replacement when a short is easier to pronounce (supa\(tha\)), and which does not create any problem in derivation.

It is stated that the long replacement is specified in the composite (präś\(\text{liṣt}\)a) form of \(i\) which results out of a sequence of \(i\) + \(i\) subsequent to the application of 6.1.101 ak\(a\)h savarne dir\(\text{g\(h\)a\}h\). The first -\(i\) is intended as a replacement for the -\(n\), whereas the second is required to block a rule which otherwise may block the provision of this rule (bādhakabā\(d\)hanār\(t\)ha). What is blocked here is rule 6.4.41 ye vi\(b\)hāṣ\(ā\) which may order long -a to replace the final sound segment of the root. I omit any further details for reasons of the complexity of arguments.

3.1.112 भृजोरसंज्ञायम्

\[bhṛ\(n\)o' sam\(j\)nāyām
\[bhṛ\(n\)a\(h\) 5/1 asam\(j\)nāyām 7/1/
(pratyayah #1, para\(\text{ca}\) #2, dh\(\text{a}\)\(t\)h #91, kya\(p\) #106)
bhṛ\(n\)or dh\(\text{a}\)\(t\)or asam\(j\)nāyām vi\(s\)\(\text{a}\)\(ye\) kya\(p\) pratyayo bhavati
Affix Kya\(P\) occurs after verbal root bhṛ\(N\) 'to provide for' when sam\(j\)nā 'name' is not denoted.

Example:

bhṛ\(t\)ya\(h\) karmaka\(r\)a\(h\) 'the servants who are to be provided for'

1. This rule provides for the derivation of bhṛ\(t\)ya\(h\) 'those who are to be provided for; servants' under the condition of asam\(j\)nā 'no name'. If one wishes to derive, for example bhā\(r\)ya, the name of a kṣatriya, one must introduce affix Nya\(T\).

2. A vārttika makes the Kya\(P\) optional, however, when the root is used with the preverb sam. This yields dual forms: sambhṛ\(t\)ya\(h\)/sambhā\(r\)ya\(h\)
where the condition of asamjñā still persists. Haradatta (PM ad Kaśikā III: 508) states that the optional provision of the vārttika is prāptavibhāsā. That is, KyaP was formerly obligatory. The vārttika now provides for it optionally.

3.1.113 

pratijñer vibhāsā
mrjeh 5/1 vibhāsā 1/1
(pratayah #1, paraś ca #2, dhātoḥ #91, kyap #106)

Affix KyaP occurs optionally after verbal root mrjŪ ‘to wipe, cleanse’.

EXAMPLES:

parimṛtyah ‘that which is to be cleansed’
parimārgyaḥ ‘id.’

1. The optional provision of this rule is recognized as prāptavibhāsā. For, this rule makes the obligatory provision of 3.1.110 rudpahāc... optional. Note that mrj had the obligatory KyaP available to it on account of its penultimate r. The option parallel to KyaP will entail NyaT.

3.1.114 

rājasūyasūryamṛṣodyarucyakupṣapacyāvyathyāḥ
rājasūya...vyathyāḥ 1/3/
(pratayah #1, paraś ca #2, dhātoḥ #91, kyap #106)

Affix KyaP occurs in the derivation of rājasūya, sūrya, mṛṣodya, rucya, kupya, kṛṣṭapacya, avyathyāya ity ete śabdāḥ kyapi nipātyante

EXAMPLES:

rājasūyah ‘a great ritual sacrifice performed at the time of the coronation of a king.’
sūryah ‘sun’
mṛṣodyam ‘untruth’
ruçgam ‘that which is pleasing’
kupyaṃ ‘that which is to be hidden’
kṛṣṭapacyaḥ ‘vegetation which dries up easily after the field has been plowed’
avyathyāya ‘he who does not become anguished’

1. This rule presents seven derivates of KyaP by nipātana. They not only involve KyaP by nipātana but also entail diverse operations which
would otherwise not obtain. Thus, in deriving rājasūya, nipātana also provides for the lack of tUK and the lengthening (dīrgha) of the u of the root. Similarly, kupyam entails the introduction of KyaP in the context of a name (sāmīnā) along with devoicing (aghoṣatva) of the root-initial g. This derivate, thus, underlies the verbal root gup. As the glosses of the above derivates suggest, they are diversely derived to denote sāmīnā ‘name’, asāmīnā ‘non-name’, kartṛ ‘agent’, and karman ‘object’.

3.1.115 भिद्योद्धयो नदे

bhidyoddhyau nade

/bhidyoddhyau 1/2 nade 7/1/

(pratyayah #1, paraś ca #2, dhātoḥ #91, kyaP 106)

bhider ujjheś ca kyab nipātyate nade’ bhidheyā

Affix KyaP occurs by nipātana in the derivation of bhidya and uddhya when nāda ‘river’ is denoted as the agent.

EXAMPLES:

bhidyāḥ ‘a river which undercuts its banks’

uddhyāḥ ‘a river which washes its banks’

1. These two derivates are listed separately from the examples of the preceding rule because of difference in their meaning condition as specified by nade.

3.1.116 पुष्यसिद्ध्यो नक्षत्रे

pusyasiddhyau nakṣatre

/pusyasiddhyau 7/2 nakṣatre 7/1/

(pratyayah #1, paraś ca #2, dhātoḥ #91, kyaP #106)

pusēḥ siddheś cādhikarane kyab nipātyate nakṣatre’ bhidheyā

Affix KyaP occurs after verbal roots puṣA ‘to thrive’ and sidhu ‘to succeed’, to derive puṣya and sidhṛya by nipātana, when the derivates denote nakṣatra ‘constellation’.

EXAMPLES:

puṣya ‘name of the eighth constellation’

siddṛya ‘id.’

1. This rule offers two ad hoc derivates of KyaP under the meaning condition of nakṣatra. In this context KyaP denotes the locus (adhikarana) of moon (candra).

3.1.117 विपुष्यविनियाजित्या मुञ्जकालकहलिष्व

vipūyaviniyājityā muṇjakalkahalīṣu

/vipūyaviniyājityāh 1/3 muṇjakalkahalīṣu 7/3/
vīpēya, viniya, jītya ity ete sabdā nipātyante yathāsāmkhyāṁ muñja, kalka, 
hali ity eteṣu artheṣu bodhyeṣu
Affix KyaP occurs after a verbal root to derive vīpēya, viniya and 
jītya by nipātana when muñja ‘reed’, kalka ‘sediment’ and hala ‘plow’ 
are denoted respectively.

**Examples:**

- vīpēya muñjaḥ ‘muñja, a particular reed, which is to be processed for 
making...’
- viniyaḥ kalkaḥ ‘medicinal sediment to be removed’
- jītya haliḥ ‘a big board used for levelling the field after plowing’

1. This rule offers three ad hoc derivates vīpēya, viniya and jītya with 
their corresponding denotation of muñja, kalka and hala. Note that 
the underlying roots, because they end in a vowel, qualify to receive yaT by 
3.1.97 aco yat. The yaT derivates, which denote something outside the 
meaning condition of this rule, will be: vīpēya ‘that which is to be thoroughly 
cleaned’, vineya ‘that which is to be removed’ and jeyya ‘that which is to be 
won’.

3.1:118 प्रतिपिप्यां ग्रहेन्द्रच

pratyapibhyāṁ graheṇḍra chandasi
/pratyapibhyām 5/2 graheṇḍra 7/1/
(pratayāh #1, paraś ca #2, dhātoḥ #91, kyap #106)
‘praty apiḥ ity evam purvād graheṇ kyap pratyayo bhavati chandasi viṣaye
Affix KyaP occurs in the Vedic after verbal root grahl ‘to hold, 
seize, accept’ when the root is used with the preverbs prati and api.

**Examples:**

- mātasya na pratigrhyam ‘(a gift) not to be accepted from an arrogant 
person’
- tasminnāpi grhyam ‘(a gift) thus not to be accepted...’

1. This rule accounts for Vedic usages pratigrhyam and apiṃgrhyam parallel 
to classical usages pratigrāhyam and apiṃgrāhyam. The Vedic derivates 
involve samprasārana (6.1.16 grahijāvayi...). The compound-formation 
between api, prati, and grāhyam is in accordance with rule 2.2.18 kugati-
prādayāh.

3.1.119 पदाविरिभायपक्षेऽः

padāsvairibhāyāpaksyeṣu ca
/padāsvairibhāyāpaksyeṣu 7/3 ca 0/
(pratyayah #1, paras ca #2, dhātoh #91, kyaph #106)
pade' svairini bāhyāyām pakte cārthe graher dhātoh kyaph pratyayo bhavati
Affix Kyap also occurs after verbal root grahl when the derivates denote pada ‘word’, asvairī ‘not independent’, bāhyā ‘gone outside’ and paksya ‘partisan’.

Examples:

pragṛhyam padam ‘a pada termed pragṛhya’ (1.1.11 idūded...)
avagṛhyam padam ‘a pada with the contracted a (avagraha)’
ghṛyakā ime ‘these are not independent’
grāmaṇagṛhyā senā ‘an army on the outside of the village’
nagaraṇagṛhyā senā ‘an army on the outside of the city’
vāsudevaṇagṛhyāh ‘those who are on Vāsudeva’s side’

1. This rule provides for Kyap after verbal root grahl when the derivates denote pada, asvairī, bāhyā and paksya. Note that bāhyā is given in the feminine. It does not, however, mean, by extension, that bāhyah or bāhyam (masculine, neuter) are not permitted.

3.1.120 विभाषाकृत्योः:

vibhāṣā kṛtvah
/vibhāṣā 1/1 kṛtvah 6/2/
(pratyayah #1, paras ca #2, dhātoh #91, kyaph #106)
kṛtvam viṣeṣ ca vibhāṣā kyaph pratyayo bhavati
Affix Kyap optionally occurs after verbal roots DUkṛN ‘to do, make’ and viṣU ‘to rain’.

Examples:

kṛtyam ‘that which is to be done’
kāryam ‘id.’
viṣyam ‘that which is to be showered upon’
varsyam ‘id.’

1. This rule makes the optional provision for Kyap after verbal roots kṛ and viṣ. Note that kṛ would have qualified for affix NyaT of 3.1.124 thalor nyat. Affix Kyap could have been obligatorily available to viṣ on account of its penultimate r. This rule makes both of these provisions optional to Kyap.

3.1.121 युग्यच पत्रे

eygyam ca patre
/eygyam 1/1 ca 0 patre 7/1/
(pratyayah #1, paras ca #2, dhātoh #91, kyaph #106)
eygyam iti nipātyate patraṁ ced bhavati
Affix *KyaP* occurs after verbal root *yuj* to derive *yugyam* by *nipātana* when the derivate denotes *patra* ‘cart, conveyance’.

**Examples:**

* yugyo gauḥ ‘that to which a bull is yoked; a cart’
* yugyo śvaḥ ‘that to which a horse is yoked; a cart’

1. This rule offers the *KyaP* derivate *yugya* in the sense of conveyance (vāhana) by *nipātana*. The *j* of *yuj* is changed to *g* also by *nipātana*.

3.1.122 अमावसयत्वतरसायम्

amāvasyad anyatarasyām
/lamāvasyat 1/1 anyatarasyām 7/1/
(pratyayah #1, paraś ca #2, dhātoḥ #91)
/amāsabdaḥ sahāthe vartate, tasmin uṣṭape vaser dhātoḥ kāle/ dhikaraṇe nyat pratyayo bhavati, tatra anyatarasyām vṛddhyabhāvo nipātyate

Affix *NyaT* optionally occurs after verbal root *vas* to derive amāvasyā by *nipātana*.

**Examples:**

* amāvasyā ‘the time when sun and moon are in conjunction’
* amāvāsyā ‘id.’

1. This rule offers *amāvasyā* as an option to *amāvāsyā* via the ad hoc provision of *nipātana*. The word *amāvasyā* brings *amāvāsyā* as the focus of *anyatarasyām* on the basis of the *Paribhāṣā* (38) ekadesaviṁ tama ananyavat ‘that which is modified in part does not become a different whole’. A reference to *amāvāsyā* should also bring *amāvāsyā* close to that context accordingly.

3.1.123 छन्दसी निष्टर्क्यादेवहुयाप्रणियोध्योक्ष्ययमायतयःधवाक्यहयाक्ष्यान्यदेवयोपावपृज्ञयाप्रतियोज्यास्ताह्योपायपुष्पादनः

chandasi niṣṭarkyadevahūyapraṇiyoṃtoccheryamaryastādyādhvākhyakhanyayadvayayaparīṣaṃ yabrahmavādyabhāyastāvyopacāyaḥ iṃ[thāni]lchandasi 7/1 niṣṭarkya...prādiṃ 1/3/
(pratyayah #1, paraś ca #2, dhātoḥ #91)
iṣṭarkyādayah sabāś chandasi vīṣaye nipātyante

Forms such as niṣṭarkya, etc., are derived in the Vedic by *nipātana*.

**Examples:**

* niṣṭarkyaṃ cinvita paśukāmaḥ ‘one who wishes for the wealth of animals should arrange the (ritual) fire on viṣṭavarya bricks’
* devahūyāḥ ‘invocation to gods’
praniyaḥ ‘fit to be carried’
unniyaḥ ‘fit to be carried up high’
ucchisyaḥ ‘fit to be abandoned’
mariyaḥ ‘fit to die’
staryā ‘fit to be spread’
dhvaryaḥ ‘fit to be bent’
khanyah ‘fit to be dug’
khānyāḥ ‘id.’
devayajyaḥ ‘ritual sacrifice fit for the gods’
āprccchyaḥ ‘fit to be asked’
pratisviyaḥ ‘fit to be sewn’
brahmavādyah ‘a discussion about Brahman’
bhāvyah ‘fit to exist’
stavyah ‘fit to be praised’
upacāyyapṛdham ‘gold fit to be collected’

1. This rule offers a series of ad hoc derivations with affixes KyaP, NyaT, and yaT. Obviously, regular rules would otherwise have made these derivations impossible. For example, in case of niśṭarkya, the root kṛt, used with nis, would have qualified for NyaT. This rule allows for KyaP. There is also the transposition (viparyaya) of the root-final t with its initial k again by nipātana. This same nipātana is also responsible for the s of nis to change to s. Similarly, affix NyaT, as well as a replacement in āy (āyādeśa), will also be made available to upacāyya, again by nipātana. The following verse sums it up:

niśṭarkya vyatayam vidyān nisah satvam nipātanaḥ
nyadāyādeśa ity etāu upacāyye nipātitaḥ

Similar nipātana provisions are made in connection with other derivates. The following verse specifies individual derivates with affixes and verbal roots:

nyad ekasmāc caturbhyaḥ kyap caturbhyaś ca yato vidhiḥ
nyad ekasmād yaśabdaś ca dvau kyapau nyad vidhiś catuḥ
‘affix NyaT occurs after one verbal root (niśṭarkya); KyaP and yaT after four each (devahūya through khanyā respectively); and NyaT and ya in one each (khanyā and devayajya); KyaP twice (in āprccchya, pratisvīya); and NyaT again four times (in brahmavādyā, etc.)’

3.1.124 शास्त्रविद्यायम्

thalor nyat
/thaloh 6/1 nyat 1/1/
(pratayah #1, paras ca #2, dhātoḥ #91)
vartāntād dhātor halantāc ca nyat pratayayo bhavati
Affix NyaT occurs after a verbal root which ends in r or in a consonant.

**Examples:**

- kāryam 'that which is to be done'
- hāryam 'that which is to be carried'
- dhāryam 'that which is to be held'
- vākyam 'that which is to be said'
- pākyam 'that which is to be cooked'

1. Note that the śaṣṭhi of rhaloh is used in the sense of pañcamī which is required to mark the left context for introduction of the affix.

3.1.125 **ओरावश्यके**

*or āvaśyake*

loḥ 5/1 āvaśyake 7/1/

(pratyayah #1, paraś ca #2, dhātoḥ #91, nyat #124)

uvanāntād dhātor nyat pratyayo bhavaty āvaśyake dyotye

Affix NyaT occurs after a verbal root which ends in u when āvaśyaka 'necessary, urgent' is denoted.

**Examples:**

- lāryam 'that which is to be cut'
- pāvyam 'that which is to cleansed'

1. Note that oḥ refers to roots ending in u (1.1.72 yena vidhis tadantasya). The NyaT of this rule becomes an exception to the yaT of 3.1.97 aco yat. See further details in the appendix.

3.1.126 **आस्त्युवपिपिलिपिधिपिच्छश्च**

āsuyuvapīrpipliṇṭipitāpićamāś ca

lāsuyu...camah 5/1 ca 0/

(pratyayah #1, paraś ca #2, dhātoḥ #91, nyat #124)

āṇpūrvāḥ sunoteh yu, vapi, rapi, lapi, trapi, cam ity etebhyaś ca nyat pratyayo bhavati

Affix NyaT also occurs after verbal roots śūN 'to press out', used with the preverb aN, yu 'to mix', DUvapA 'to sow', rApA and lapA 'to speak', trapUS 'to be ashamed' and camU 'to sip'.

**Examples:**

- āsāvryam 'fit to be fermented'
- yāvryam 'fit to be mixed'
- vāpyam fit to be sown'
rāpyam ‘fit to be spoken’
lāpyam ‘id.’
trāpyam ‘fit to be ashamed about’
ācāmyam ‘fit to be sipped or consumed’

1. The derivates covered by this rule constitute exceptions to rules 3.1.97 acō yat and 3.1.98 por adupadhāt. Verbal root śuN is intended to be used with the preverb āN. The yu ‘to mix’ should not be confused with yuN ‘to tie’. A reference to yuN will be blocked because ‘yu’ is given without any it. The ca is used to account for what may have been left out (anukta-samuccayārtha). A case in point is: dābhyam ‘that which is to be cleansed’ derived from dabhī.

3.1.127 अनाययोनिते

ānāyyo nitye
lānāyyah 1/1 anitye 7/1/
(pratyayah #1, paraś ca #2, dhātoḥ #91, nyat #124)
ānāyyah iti nipātyate nitye bhidheye
Affix Nyat occurs to derive ānāyyah by nipātana when the derivate denotes anitya ‘impermanence, non-eternal’.

EXAMPLES:

ānāyyo dakṣināgniḥ ‘the dakṣināgni, one of the three ritual fires, is called ānāyyah’

1. The word ānāyya is derived by nipātana with Nyat introduced after verbal root niN ‘to lead’ used with the preverb āN. The word itself denotes dakṣināgni ‘the southern fire’, though it is not the real dakṣināgni. Instead, it is the fire which is brought from the gārhapatiya fire to ritually ignite the dakṣināgni fire. The dakṣināgni is called anitya ‘impermanent’ since its source or place is not definite. Besides, it is not kept burning all the time.

Note that when the fire is brought from a source other than the gārhapatiya, the derivate will be āneya. The dakṣināgni can also be ignited by bringing the fire from the house of a vaiśya, or bhrāstra ‘commercial place where grains are roasted’.

2. The replacement in āya for ai of n(i→ai) + ya is made possible by nipātana.

3.1.128 प्रणाययोसंमताः

pranāyyo’ sammatau
/pranāyyah 1/1 asammatau 7/1/
(pratyayah #1, paraś ca #2, dhātoḥ #91, nyat #124)
pranāyyah iti nipātyate’ sammatav abhidheye
Affix NyaT occurs to derive pranāyya by nipātana when asammati 'disapproval' is denoted.

EXAMPLES:

pranāyyaḥ ‘thief’

1. This rule provides for the ad hoc derivation of pranāyya from pranīN when the meaning is asammati. Thus we get: pranāyya of pranāyyaḥ chaurah ‘the thief; the one who is to be censured’. The regular form parallel to this nipātana will be praneya ‘tractable’ derived with ya.

2. The word pranāyya is also used in the sense of ‘disciple, initiate’ (antevāsi) where the usage is conditioned by the semantic condition of lack of desire for results. Thus, we get the following in the Kāśikā:

jyeṣṭhāya putrāya pitā brahma prabrasyāntevasīn, nānyasmī kasmīcaneti ‘the father should initiate the oldest son, the one who is closeby, the disciple, with the single syllable mantra om which symbolizes brahma ‘the supreme being’ and not to just anybody’

The word asammati, in this preceding context, means abhilāśa ‘desire’ (niṣkāmataya), in the absence of which (tadabhāvena), with lack of desire serving as means, one becomes antevāsi. It is therefore proper (yujjate) to offer initiation to that closeby initiate (tasmai pranāyyaṁ antevāsīn) who, with no desire for results (niṣkāmāya), strives to obtain mokṣa ‘release’ (mokṣārtham yatamāṇāya).

3.1.129 पाय्यसान्नामाणिकायधाया मानहविनिवाससामिभेनीषु

pāyyasānantānyanikāyyadhāyya mānahavīnuṁvasāsāmidheniṣu
/pāyya...dhāyya 1/3 māna...sāmidheniṣu 7/3/
(prayayah #1, paraś ca #2, dhātoḥ #91, nyat #124)
pāyyādayah śabdā nipātyante yathāsamkhyam māne, haviṣih, nivāse, sāmidhenyam cābhīdheyāyām

Affix NyaT occurs to derive pāyya, sānnāya, nikāyya and dhīyyā by nipātana when the derivatives denote māna ‘standard measure’, havi ‘ritual oblation of food’, nivāsa ‘place of residence’ and sāmidheni ‘a particular hymn’ respectively.

EXAMPLES:

pāyyam ‘any standard measure of weight’
sānnāyam ‘ritual oblation of food’
nikāyyah ‘place of residence’
dhīyāyā ‘the sāmidheni hymn’

1. This rule offers the ad hoc derivation of four forms pāyya, sānnāyya, nikāyya, and dhīyāyā respectively in the sense of māna ‘standard of measure’,
havi 'ritual oblation of food', nivāsa 'dwelling', and sāmidheni 'a hymn of the Ṛgveda'.

Note that all these examples would have qualified for affix yaT since their roots end in vowels. Pāṇini chose to state them as derived by nipātana since there are diverse operational things for which the roots, even with NyaT, would not qualify. The safest course for him was then to cite the forms as derived.

Consider for example pāyya derived from: mā (N→θ) + (N→θ) ya(T→θ)→mā + ya, where affix NyaT occurs after verbal root māN 'to measure' via nipātana. In order for this string to derive pāyya, the root-initial m is to be replaced with p again by nipātana. Furthermore, rule 7.3.33 āto yuk has to introduce the augment yUK. This will then yield: (m→p) ā + (y (UK→θ) + ya → pā + y + ya = pāyya. The c of ciN is similarly replaced with k in the ad hoc derivation of nikāyya. Furthermore, there is i → ai (uyddhi) which subsequently produces ai → āy. Thus, ni + ci(N→θ) = nici(c→k)(i→ai) + (N→θ)ya(T→θ) = nik(ai→āy) + ya = nikāyya. Similar derivational situations are found in other examples.

3.1.130 क्रतौ कुण्डपाल्यसंचायो

kratau kundāpāyasamcāyyau
kratau 7/1 kundāpāyasamcāyyau 1/2/ (pratayar # 1, paraś ca # 2, dhātoh # 91, nyat # 124) .
kundāpāyya samcāyya ity etau sabdau nipāytete kratāv abhidhēye
Affixes yaT and NyaT occur by nipātana to derive kundāpāyya and samcāyya when the derivates denote kratu 'sacrifice'.

EXAMPLES:

kundāpāyyāḥ 'a ritual sacrifice in which Soma is drunk from a bowl'
samcāyyāḥ 'a ritual sacrifice in which Soma is pressed out'

1. This rule offers kundāpāyya and samcāyya to denote specific ritual sacrifices, again by nipātana. The word kundāpāyya is said to have been derived by the introduction of affix yaT, in the sense of locus (adhikarana), after verbal root pā 'to drink' under the condition of a cooccurring word which underlies kunda and ends in the instrumental (tritiya). Our next example samcāyya could have been derived similarly by the introduction of affix NyaT after verbal root ciN used with the preverb sam. Affix yaT, in the first example, is intended for accent by 6.1.213 yato 'nāvah. Of course, NyaT would bring 6.1.185 tit svaratam for accentuation.

If a particular ritual sacrifice is not denoted, derivates parallel to these ad hoc ones will be kundāpānām 'to drink out of a pitcher or bowl' and samceyāḥ 'to be gathered, arranged'.
3.1.131 अग्नो परिचायकोपचायकसमूहः:

agnau paricaāyopaicaāyasamūhyāḥ
lagnau 71/1 paricāyya...samūhyāḥ 1/3/
(pratyayah #1, paraś ca #2, dhātoḥ #91, n yat #124)
paricāyya-upacāyya-samūhya ity ete sābdā nipātyante a gnāv abhidhaye
Affix NyaT occurs after verbal root ciN to derive paricaāya, upacāyya
and samūhya by nipātana when agni ‘fire’ is denoted.

EXAMPLES:

paricaāyāḥ ‘a place where the ritual fire is placed’
upacāyāḥ ‘a fire which has gone through ritual purification’
samūhyām cinvīta paśukāmaḥ ‘one who wishes for wealth of cattles
should arrange the ritual fire’

1. Our three ad hoc derivates paricaāya, upacāyya and samūhya are
derived with the denotatum of agni ‘fire’. Elsewhere, the forms will be
pariceyam ‘to be collected from all sides’, upaceyam ‘to be heaped up’, and
samvāhyam ‘to be carried’.

The first word paricaāya is derived from pari + ci by the introduction
of affix NyaT where i->ai->āy also comes via nipātana. Thus, paric
(i→ai→āy) + (N→∅) ya (T→∅) = paricāy + ya = paricāyāya. Our second
example is similar to the first. The third samūhya is derived from verbal
root vah used with the preverb sam. This root, because it ends in a con-
sonant, is already qualified for NyaT. Why do we, then, have to bring
NyaT via nipātana? Note that vah also undergoes samprasārana (1.1.45 ig
yanah samprasāranam) in the ad hoc derivation which would otherwise be
blocked because NyaT is not marked with K (akit). Furthermore, the a of
vah is replaced with its long counterpart (dirgha) ā which would other-
wise not be available under the provisions of 6.4.2 halah. Thus, all func-
tions come via nipātana.

3.1.132 विभागितिबो च

cityāngnicitye ca
/cityāngnicitye 1/2 ca ∅/
(pratyayah #1, paraś ca #2, dhātoḥ #91, a gnau #131)
cityāshabdo’ gnicityā sābdas ca nipatyete
Affixes KyaP and ya occur by nipātana to also derive citya and agni-
cityā, respectively when agni is denoted.

EXAMPLES:

cityaḥ ‘fire of the funeral pyre’
agnicityā ‘heaping or arranging fire’
1. This rule offers citya and agnicitya, both derived by nipatana, with affixes KyaP and ya denoting karman and bhava respectively. The augment tUK in citya is ordered by 6.1.69 hrasvasya... Our next example, agnicitya, entails affix ya introduced under the cooccurrence condition of agni. The augment tUK, as well as no guna for -i, comes via nipatana. Because of the introduction of ya by nipatana, this derivate gets the final high-pitch (antodatta) by 3.1.3 adyudatta ca. Note that NyaT would bring svarita to the affix by 6.1.185 tit svaritam.

2. Note that Kasika and Nyasa both seem to accept these ad hoc derivations by means of affix ya. Haradatta clearly states that citya is derived with KyaP, an exception to yaT, to denote the object (karman) here given as agni. This, in turn, causes the derivate to be marked with the udatta accent initially. The second example is derived with ya to denote bhava ‘action’. Haradatta states that deriving the second example with KyaP would not have required the introduction of tUK, but then there would have been problem with the accent. It is therefore to secure the final udatta accent that the second example is derived with ya.

Should we then accept that the authors of Kasika and Nyasa are wrong? Perhaps not. First of all, these derivations are ad hoc. That is, anything is possible. Secondly, what is specified by them as yakara ‘the ya’ may refer to both KyaP and ya. It is just that these authors did not feel it necessary to provide any additional details of the derivation of citya.

3.1.133 न्वूल्ट्रेाउँ

न्वूल्ट्रेाउँ

हन्वूल्ट्रेाउँ 1/2/

(प्रत्ययाः #1, परास ca #2, धातह #91)

सर्वधातुभयो न्वूल्ट्रेाउँ प्रत्ययाँ bhavatah

Affixes NvuL and trC occur after verbal roots.

Examples:

kārakah ‘he who is the doer’
karttā ‘id.’
hārakah ‘he who fetches’
harttā ‘id.’

1. This rule introduces affixes NvuL and trC after roots in general. Since both the affixes cannot be introduced concurrently, they are to be introduced in turn (pravya). The C of trC is not used for accent. For, that is automatically accounted for by the affixal accentuation (pratyayasvara; 3.1.3 adyudatta ca). Thus, C is instead intended to distinguish (bheda) trC from trN (3.2.135 trN). A reference with tr without any it could denote both trC and trN as in rules 5.3.59 tuś chandasi and 6.4.154 tur iṣṭhemyasu.
3.1.134 नन्दीग्रहिपज्जज्जीयो लयुणितत्त्वः

*nandigrahapacidibhyo lyuninycakah
*nandigrahapacidibhyah 5/3 lyuninycakah 1/3/
(pratayah #1, paraś ca #2, dhātoḥ #91)
nandyādibhyo lyūḥ, grahādibhyo nīnih, pacādibhyo’c pratayā bhavanti
Affixes Lyu, NinI and aC occur after verbal roots enumerated in the
groups headed by *nandi ‘to please’, *grahI ‘to take, accept’ and *pac ‘to
cook’ respectively.

Examples:

*nandanah ‘he who is pleasing; a son’
*vāsanah ‘that which chirps; a bird’
*grāhi ‘he who accepts or holds’
*utsāhi ‘enthusiast’
*svapacaḥ ‘he who eats a dog; a person of the very low untouch-
able śūdra caste’

1. This rule introduces three affixes after three corresponding verbal
groups. The assignment of the three affixes to their corresponding verbal
groups is made in view of rule 1.3.10 yathāsamkhyaṃ... The word ādi has
to be read with each constituent of the dvandva compound nandigrahapacah
(dvandvānte śrūyānamāṃ pratayēkaṃ abhisambadhyate). Consequently, we get
the interpretation: *nandi, etc., *grahi, etc., and *paci, etc. Note that these
roots are not referenced here as listed in the DP. Instead, they are
abstracted from the listing of nominal stems in the GP. Thus, given
*nandanah, one can abstract the verbal root *TUnadī ‘to please; prosper’,
etc. (see Kāś: nandigrahapacādayas ca na dhātupāḥataḥ sanniviśā gṛhyante,
kiṃ tarhi; *nandana ramana’ ity evam ādīṣu prātipadiyakanēśv a菩提 Animated ye
pāthyaṃte te nirdiṣyante). See the appendix for derivational details.

3.1.135 ज्ञापकप्रतिकरें: कः

*iguṇadhaṇāprakirṇah kah
*iguṇadhaṇāprakirṇah 5/1 kah 1/1/
(pratayah #1, paraś ca #2, dhātoḥ #91)
*iguṇadhebhyo jānāteḥ prīnāteḥ kirateḥ ca kaprayaṃyo bhavati
Affix Ka occurs after verbal roots which have an iK (i, u, r, l; Śs.
1-2) in their upadhā; and after jnā ‘to know’, prīṇ ‘to please’ and kṛ
‘to scatter’.

Examples:

*vikṣiptah ‘he who makes trouble’
vilikhaḥ ‘he who writes’
budhaḥ ‘he who knows’
krśah 'he who is thin'
priyah 'he who endears'
kirah 'he who scatters'

1. This rule introduces affix Ka after verbal roots jñā, priN and kr, or after any verb which may have a vowel denoted by the abbreviatory term iK (Śs 1–2) in its penultimate (upadhā) position. The K as an i in Ka is used to block guṇa. Kāśikā informs that deva ‘god’, seva ‘service’ and mēsa ‘ram’ should not be treated as derived with Ka. They should be treated as part of pacādi of 3.1.135. Note in this connection that pacādi is treated as an open-ended ākrtigana. See the appendix for derivational details.

3.1.136 आत्मारोपसगे

ātasa copasargē
lātah 5/1 ca 0 upasargē 7/1/
(pratyayāḥ #1, paraś ca #2, dhātoḥ #91, kah #135)
akārvāntebhyo dhātubhya upasargē upapade kaprattyayā bhavati
Affix Ka also occurs after verbal roots which end in ā (cf. 1.1.70 taparas tatkālasya) when the root cooccurs with a pada constituted by an upasarga ‘preverb’.

Examples:

prastahā 'mountain'
suglahā 'very weary'
sumlaha 'very despondent'

1. This rule again introduces affix Ka, though requires that the roots end in -ā and cooccur with a word constituted by an upasarga ‘prefix’. Note that affix Ka is introduced here as an exception to affix Ny of 3.1.141 śyādvadhāsr...

3.1.137 पाल्प्राप्याशेदुः: श:

pāghṛdhmādhetdrśah sah
/pāghṛdhmādhetdrśah 5/3, sah 1/1/
(pratyayāḥ #1, paraś ca #2, dhātoḥ #91, upasargē #136)
pādibhyo dhātubhya upasargē upapade śaprattyayo bhavati
Affix Ša occurs after verbal roots pā ‘to drink’, ghrā ‘to smell’, dhmā ‘to blow, beat’, dheT ‘to suck’ and drś ‘to see’ when the roots cooccur with a pada constituted by an upasarga.

Examples:

utpipah 'he who picks up and drinks'
vipipah 'he who drinks in a typically bad manner'
ujjighraḥ 'he who smells something'
vidhāraḥ 'he who blows against something'
udālohaḥ ‘he who blows or beats something’
udālohaḥ ‘he who drinks’
viddhaḥ ‘he who drinks in a typically bad manner’
upasayaḥ ‘he who looks up’
viṣayaḥ ‘he who looks in a typically bad manner’

1. This rule introduces affix Śa after verbal roots pā, ghrā, dhmā, dheT, and ḍrī. Other conditions remain similar to the preceding rule. The first four, since they yield a form terminated in -ā, are allowed Śa as opposed to Ka or Na. The last verbal root has r in its penultimate position, and hence qualifies for Ka by 3.1.135 igupadh...

2. Kāśiṇī informs that some, which also includes the Mbh., do not accept the anuvṛtti of upasarga in this rule. In that case, we will not get Śa. For example, ḍrī will then have the Ka-derivate: paśyaḥ ‘he who sees’.

The Ś of the affix is intended as an it for assignment of the term sārvadhātu (3.4.113 tinśit...).

A vārttika prohibits ghrā to avail Śa when the derivate is to denote a name. Obviously, what is in focus is vyāghraḥ ‘tiger’.

3.1.138 अनुपसगर्गल्लिल्लविन्दधानिरिपरिबद्धेजिजितिसाधितिसाहित्य

anupasargal limpavindadhārīpārivedyudejicitisāhībhyaś ca
lanupasargāt 5/1 limp...sāhībhyaḥ 5/3 ca ṃ/1
(pratyayaḥ #1, paraś ca #2, dhātoḥ #91, śa #138)
anupasargebhyo limpādibhyah saṃpratyayo bhavati

Affix Śa occurs after verbal roots limpA ‘to coat, smear’, vindA ‘to acquire’, dhāri ‘to cause to hold; carry’, pāri ‘to cause to cross, go over’, vedī ‘to inform, proclaim’, udeji ‘to shake’, ceti ‘to cause to become aware, perceive’ and sāhi ‘to endure, support’, when used without an upasarga.

Examples:

limpāḥ ‘he who coats x with y’
vindāḥ ‘he who acquires’
dhārayaḥ ‘he who holds, bears’
pārayaḥ ‘he who crosses over’
vedayaḥ ‘he who informs, knows’
udejayaḥ ‘he who shakes, disturbs’
cetayaḥ ‘he who revives someone’
sātayaḥ ‘he who makes one happy; supporter’
sāhayaḥ ‘he who endures’
1. This rule introduces affix Ša after specified roots when they are used without preverbs. Pāṇini refers to limp and vind with nUM. The derivations must start with the augmented forms. The other roots are either curādi, or are here intended to end in NiC. The last two verbal roots are attested on the authority of the rules (sautra).

2. A vārttika proposes the introduction of Ša also after limp when it is used with the preverb ni. The intended derivate is nilimpaḥ ‘name of a deity; cow’. There is yet another vārttika which proposes the introduction of Ša after vind when it is used with go to derive the proper noun govinda ‘Krṣṇa’.

3.1.139 ददातिदधायोर्विभासा

\[\text{dadātidadhāyōr vibhāṣā} \]
\[/\text{dadātidadhāyōh} 5/2 \text{vibhāṣā} 1/1/ \]
\[(\text{pratayah} \# 1, \text{paraś ca} \# 2, \text{dhātoḥ} \# 91, \text{saḥ} \# 137, \text{anupasargat} \# 138)\]
\[\text{dāno dhānaś ca vibhāṣā sapratayaya bhavati}\]

Affix Ša optionally occurs after verbal roots DūdāN ‘to give’ and DUDhāN ‘to hold’, when used without an upasarga.

**Examples:**

\[\text{dadāḥ ‘he who gives’} \]
\[\text{dāyaḥ ‘donor; inheritance’} \]
\[\text{dadhaḥ ‘he who holds, bears’} \]
\[\text{dhāyaḥ ‘he who supports’} \]

1. This rule optionally introduces affix Ša after verbal roots DUDāN and DUDhāN when they are not used with any preverbs. Note that Ṛa was obligatorily available to these roots by rule 3.1.141 syādvyadhā... at the strength of their final -ā. This rule makes that provision optional. When used with preverbs these roots will receive Ka by 3.1.136 ātaś copasarge.

3.1.140 ज्वलितिकसांतेब्योऽणः

\[\text{jvalitikasantebhyo’ṇaḥ} \]
\[/\text{jvalitikasantebhyah} 5/3 an ṣ 1/1/ \]
\[(\text{pratayah} \# 1, \text{paraś ca} \# 2, \text{dhātoḥ} \# 91, \text{anupasargat} \# 138, \text{vibhāṣā} \# 139)\]
\[\text{jvala diptau ity evam ādibhyo dhātubhyah kasa gatau ity evam antebhyo vibhāṣā napratayayo bhavati}\]

Affix Ṛa optionally occurs after verbal roots enumerated in the set which begins with jvalA ‘to be aflame, to glow’ and ends with kasa ‘to go’ when the roots are not used with an upasarga.
Examples:

jvalah 'burning, glowing'
jvālah 'id.'
calāh 'moving'
cālah 'id.'

1. This rule introduces affix Na after the set of verbal roots of the bhuādi which begins with jval and terminates with kas. The conditions of anunāpasargāt and vibhāṣā also carry. That is, when the option of Na is not accepted, affix aC will apply (3.1.134 nandigrahīpacād...).

3.1.141 स्यात्याधार्स्म्यसर्वतःव्यवसायवहृतिलिखिताःपञ्चसंस्काराः

śyādyadhārśrusamsravatīnasvāvatāhrlihasliṣaśvasaś ca
śyād...svasaḥ 5/1 ca 0/1
(pratyayāḥ # 1, paraś ca # 2, dhātoḥ # 91, ṇah # 141)
śyaín ākārāntebhyāḥ ca dhātubhyāḥ, vyaḍha, āsrū, saṃsrū, aṭiṇ, avasa
avahṛ, liha, śiṣa, svasa ity ete bhavyaś ca ṇapratyayo bhavati
Affix Na also occurs after the following:

(a) verbal root śyaín 'to go, move',
(b) roots which end in -ā,
(c) verbal root vyaḍha 'to pierce', used with the preverb saṃ,
(d) verbal root iṇ 'to go' used with the preverb aṭi,
(e) verbal root ṣo 'to finish' and, hr 'to take, carry' used with the preverb ava, and
(f) verbal roots liḥ 'to lick', śiṣ 'to embrace', and śvas 'to breathe'.

Examples:

avaśyaḥ 'frost, dew'
pratisaśyaḥ 'cold, flu'
dāyaḥ 'inheritance'
dhāyaḥ 'id.'
vyaḍhaḥ 'hunter'
āsrāvaḥ 'that which oozes; wound'
saṃsrāvaḥ 'that which flows; oozes'
atyāyaḥ 'transgression, cruelty'
avasaḥ 'completion'
avahāraḥ 'taking away; stealing'
lehaḥ 'licking'
ślesaḥ 'embracing'
śvasaḥ 'breathing'

1. This rule does not carry anunāpasargāt and vibhāṣā. Affix Na is introduced here after verbal root śyaín, or roots which end in aT (1.1.70
taparas takālasya), i.e., dā and dhā. It is also introduced after verbal roots vyadh and srū used with the preverb āN, iN used with the preverb ati, so and hr used with the preverb ava, and lih, sliṣ and svas. Note that restrictions relative to the use of the preverbs apply only where stated. Elsewhere, the affix can be introduced after verbal roots used with or without any other preverb.

2. A question is raised as to why śyaīN, which yields a form in ā (6.1.45 ādeca upadeśe...), is to be specified. The specification of āT ‘after roots ending in -ā’ is sufficient to handle it. Kāśikā states that this separate mention is made for the purpose of blocking a rule which may block this provision (bādhakabādhanārtha). That is, it is to block the particular (viśeṣa) provision of Ka made by 3.1.136 ātaś copasarge which otherwise would have blocked the general (sāmānyā) affix Na.

3.1.142 द्वौरोनुपासर्गः

dunyor anupasarge
Idunyor 6/2 anupasarge 7/11
(pratayah #1, paraś ca #2, dhātoḥ #91, nāḥ #140)
dunoter nayateś canupasarge nāprayayo bhavati
Affix Na occurs after verbal roots Tudu ‘to heat, burn’ and nīN ‘to lead’ when not used with a preverb.

Examples:

dāvah ‘that which burns; forest fire’
nāyah ‘one who leads’

1. Note that verbal roots du and nīN yield the forms pradavah ‘burning’ and pranayah ‘love’ with affix aC introduced after them under the provision of rule 3.1.134 nandigrahi... Of course, the roots will then be used with the preverb pra.

3.1.143 विभाषा प्रहः

vibhāṣā grahah
/vibhāṣā 1/1 grahah 1/1/
(pratayah #1, paraś ca #2, dhātoḥ #91, nāḥ #140)
vibhāṣā graher dhātoḥ nāḥ pratayayo bhavati
Affix Na occurs optionally after verbal root grahl ‘to accept, take’.

Example:

grahah ‘he who grabs; crocodile’

1. This rule provides for optional Na after verbal root grah. This option is made against the aC of 3.1.134 nadigrahi... Commentators inform
that this special type of option is *vyavasthita-vibhāṣā* ‘fixed option’. Consequently, they explain the special meaning in which the option is available. For example, *grāhāḥ* is obligatorily derived when *jalacara* ‘that which moves in water; crocodile, shark, etc.’ is the denotatum. In the context of planets, the form must be: *grahāḥ*.

A *vārttika* suggests that *bhavaḥ* ‘state’, as opposed to *bhavah* ‘existence’, should be similarly derived.

3.1.144 गेहे कः

*gehe kah*

/gehe 7/1 kah 1/1/

(pratyayah #1, paraś ca #2, dhātoḥ #91, grahah #143)

grahāḥ dhātoḥ kah pratyayo bhavati gehe kartari

Affix *Ka* occurs after verbal root *grahī* ‘to seize’ when *geha* ‘abode’ is denoted as the agent.

**Examples:**

*grham* ‘that which holds the grains, etc.; house’

*grhāḥ* ‘wife’

1. This rule offers affix *Ka* to derive forms denoting *grha* ‘home’ as agent. Note that agent, in terms of meaning, becomes the qualifier to the meaning of the affix. It is not a cooccurring word (*upaṇḍa*). This gives us: *grham* ‘home’; *grhāḥ* ‘wife’; and *grhāni* ‘homes’ where the masculine plural form denotes wife.

3.1.145 शिल्पिनि चुन

*śilpīni śun*

/śilpīni 7/1 śun 1/1/

(pratyayah #1, paraś ca #2, dhātoḥ #91)

dhātoḥ śun pratyayo bhavati śilpīni kartari

Affix *śun* occurs after verbal roots when *śilpin* ‘artisan’ is denoted as the agent.

**Examples:**

*narattakah* ‘dancer’

*khanakah* ‘digger’

*rajaṇakah* ‘washerman; one who dyes clothes’

1. This rule introduces affix *śun* after roots when the derivate denotes an artist agent. Here again *śilpīni* is a qualifier to the meaning of the affix. It does not denote cooccurrence as 3.1.92 *taṭropapadam*... would have it.
The $s$ is intended as an it so that these derivates can get $NiS$ (4.1.41 $sidgura...$) to denote their feminine counterparts.

A $vārttika$ under this rule proposes that $śvun$ should be restricted to verbal roots $nrī$ ‘to dance’, $khanī$ ‘to dig’ and $raṇī$ ‘to color’. This will give: $nartakah$, $khanakah$ and $rajakah$. The corresponding feminine forms with $NiS$ are: $nartaki$, $khanaki$ and $rajaki$. A statement is also desired about the loss of the nasal of $raṇj$.

3.1.146 गाथनि

gas thakan
//gah 5/1 thakan 1/1/
(pratyaśh #1, $para ś ca #2$, dhātoḥ #91, $śilpini #145$)
$gāyate śthakan pratyayo bhavati $śilpini kartari
Affix $thakaN$ occurs after verbal root $gai$ ‘to sing’ when $śilpin$ is denoted as the agent.

EXAMPLES:

gāthakah ‘singer’
gāthikā ‘female singer’

1. Note that reference to verbal root $gā$ is made after subjecting it through the deletion of $ā$ by rule 6.4.64 $ālo lopah$.

3.1.147 प्युदच

$nyuṭ ca$
//nyuṭ 1/1 ca 0/
(pratyaśh #1, $para ś ca #2$, dhātoḥ #91, $gah #146$)
$gāyater nyuṭ pratyayo bhavati $śilpini kartari
Affix $NyuT$ also occurs after $gai$ when $śilpin$ is denoted as the agent.

EXAMPLES:

gāyanah ‘singer’
gāyanī ‘female singer’

1. Obviously, this rule introduces a parallel derivation in the form of $gāyanah$. This, as compared with the results of the preceding rule, is an alternant to $gāyakah$. The $ca$ is used here to bring $gah$ from the preceding rule. Since affix $NyuT$ is marked with $T$ as an it, rule 4.1.5 $tiḍḍhānaṇ...$ will rule $NiP$ for deriving the corresponding feminine form $gāyani$ ‘a female singer’.

The $ca$ is used to assure the subsequent anuvṛtti of $NyuT$, though not of $thakaN$. If $thakaN$ was meant to be carried, the preceding rule would have been formulated as: go $nyuṭthakanau$.  

3.1.148 हंस प्रीहिकाल्योः:

ḥañ ca vṛihikālayoh
ḥañ 5/1 ca 0 vṛihikālayoh 7/2/
(pratyayah #1, paraś ca #2, dhātoḥ #91, nyut#147)
jahātēr jihāteś ca dhāto nyut prayayo bhavati vṛihau kāle ca kartari

Affix NyuT occurs after verbal roots OhāK ‘to abandon’ and OhāN ‘to go’ when vṛih ‘rice’ and kāla ‘time’, respectively, are denoted as agents.

EXAMPLES:

ḥāyanāḥ ‘a variety of rice’
ḥāyanaḥ ‘a year’

1. Affix NyuT is also introduced after specified verbal roots when the derivatives denote vṛih ‘rice’ and kāla ‘time’ as agents. As is obvious from my translation, ḥañ refers to the introduction of affix NyuT after both the verbal roots OhāK and OhāN. Of course, they both share the form ḥa after the deletion of their i. The ca is here used to bring NyuT. As usual, vṛihikālayoh is an adjective to the agent, and not the cooccurrence condition marked by the locative as per 3.1.92 tatropapadam...

3.1.149 प्रसूतयः समाभिहारे दुः

prastūvah samabhīhāre vun
/prastūvah 5/3 samabhīhāre 7/1 vun 1/1/
(pratyayah # 1, paraś ca # 2, dhātoḥ # 91)

Affix vun occurs after verbal roots pruN ‘to go’, sr ‘to crawl’ and lūN ‘to cut’ when samabhīhāra ‘doing well’ is denoted.

EXAMPLES:

sarakah ‘he who crawls well’
avakah ‘he who cuts well’

1. This rule introduces affix vun after verbal roots pruN, sr, and lūN when the derivate denotes samabhīhāra ‘properly performed action’. Note that samabhīhāra elsewhere may mean ‘repetition’. Kāśikā clearly states that here the meaning is to be accepted as sādhukārītva ‘doing something well’. Obviously, sādhukārītva is the inferential meaning based on repetition. After all, people develop skills to do things beautifully after repeatedly doing them.

3.1.150 आशिषिः च

āśiṣi ca
/āśiṣi 7/1 ca 0/
(pratyayah #1, paraś ca #2, dhātoḥ #91, vun #149)
āśiḥ gamyamānāyāṃ dhātumātrād vun pratyayo bhavati
Affix vun also occurs after verbal roots when āśiḥ is denoted.

Examples:

jīvatāt ‘may he live long’
jīvakaḥ ‘id.’
nandatāt ‘may he be happy’
nandakaḥ ‘id.’

1. This rule allows for the introduction of affix vun after roots in general when ‘benediction’ (āśiḥ) is denoted. The ca is used here to bring vun. The word āśiḥ itself denotes a prayer with an underlying action. The denotatum of the affix is an agent. It is for this reason that we interpret the action denoted by the verb as an object of prayer for the agent. Thus, we get nandakaḥ ‘may he who rejoices rejoice’ and jīvakaḥ ‘may he who lives live for long’.

3.2.1 कर्मण्यातः

karmāṇya
/karmaṇi 7/1 aṅ 1/1/  
(pratyayah #3.1.1, paraś ca 3.1.2, dhātoḥ 3.1.91)
sarvatra karmany upapade dhātor aṅ pratyayo bhavati
Affix aṇ occurs after a verbal root when the root cooccurs with a pada (1.4.14 suptināntaṃ padam) which denotes karmāṇa ‘object’.

Examples:

kumbhakāraḥ ‘maker of pots’
nagarakāraḥ ‘architect’
kāṇḍalāvaḥ ‘one who cuts a branch’
saralāvaḥ ‘one who cuts the weeds’
vedādhyāyaḥ ‘one who studies the Vedas’
carcāpāraḥ ‘one who studies the carcāpātha
(Vedic recitation with repetition of words)’

1. Note that karmaṇi, in view of rule 3.1.92 tatropapadam saptaamistham,
must be interpreted as the conjoined word (upapada) which denotes karman ‘object’. Since Pāṇini uses ‘asabdasamjña’ in 1.1.68 svam rūpaṃ śabdasyāśabdasamjña, karman must be interpreted, here, as denoting object. Thus, for the introduction of affix aṇ after verbal root DUktN,
we must have a conjoined word which denotes object. Let us say that the word which denotes the object contains kumbha, a nominal stem. In order for this to form a word and denote an object, we must introduce a nominal ending (sUP). Accusative (dviśyā) is normally introduced after a
nominal stem to denote an object. In case of kumbha, it has to be a genitive (śaṣṭhi), since the derivate is anticipated to cooccur with an item ending in a kṛt affix. Rule 2.3.65 kāṭkarmaṇoḥ kṛtī thus rules genitive. This yields: kumbha + ām. Verbal root DUkrN will now qualify to receive affix aN leading to the derivation of kāra.

There is an interdependency between the introduction of an affix after a verbal root, and the introduction of the nominal ending after a stem to derive the word which constitutes an upapada. Rule 3.2.1 cannot introduce affix aN unless there is a cooccurring word with the denotatum of object. Rule 2.3.65 kāṭkarmaṇoḥ,..., which introduces genitive after a prātipadika ‘nominal stem’ to denote the object, requires the coocurrence of a derivate ending in a kṛt affix. That is, aN cannot be introduced unless genitive is introduced; the genitive could not be introduced unless aN was introduced. What is the way out of this itaretarāśrayadoṣa ‘fault stemming out of mutual dependency’?. The coocurrence of the kṛt-derivate has to be at least mentally (buddhyā) accepted. This clears the way for introduction of the nominal ending to denote karmaṇi. Note that the locative of karmaṇi in 3.2.1, at the strength of 3.1.92 tatropapadām saptamistham, already approves the coocurrence of the anticipated kṛt-derivate with another derivate which denotes an object. Thus, the coocurrence of the kṛt-derivate has to be assumed prior to the introduction of a nominal ending denoting karmaṇa.

Note that such compounds are obligatory (nītya). Their analysed forms simply serve the heuristic purpose of making their meanings clear. Derivations can proceed even with the simple inference of prātipadika (+karmaṇi) dhātu (+aN). That is, the karmaṇa of rule 3.2.1 karmaṇy aṇ in the locative yields the following meaning when read with rule 3.1.92 tatropapadām...

‘the kṛt affix aN occurs after a verbal root (dhātoḥ) when it (the root) cooccurs with a word denoting karmaṇa’.

Whether that karmaṇa is denoted at some point with a genitive, or an accusative, is not crucial for the derivate in kṛt on hand. It is for this reason that Varadarāja assumes kumbha + am as the upapada. This assumption of an accusative of the upapada is made based on the express mention of karmaṇi in the wording of this rule. Besides, it is more directly relatable to the karmaṇa of 2.3.2 karmaṇi dvitiyā. The fact still remains though that a majority of scholars favor the genitive ending with the upapada.

The tradition also believes that given the derived string: kumbha + ām + kāra, where kāra is a kṛt-derivate in aN, rule 2.2.19 upapadām atiṇ allows the compound formation even before a sUP is introduced after kāra (cf. PS): gatikārakopadānām kṛdbhīḥ saha samāsvacanaṃ prāk sub-utpatteḥ ‘an item denoting gati (1.4.60 gatiś ca), kāraka (1.4.23 kārake), and
upapada (3.1.92 tatropapad... is combined with a syntactically related item ending in a kṣṇ prior to the introduction of a sUP)).

2. Refer to my discussion of the types of karman discussed under 1.4.49 kartur īpsitatamām karma. Kāśīkā illustrates this rule with examples of nirvartya, vikārya, and prāpya, all the three types of karman. This is done simply to refute observations of some that aN-derivates entail only that object which is defined by rule 1.4.49. Still others say that only two karman, nirvartya and vikārya, are to be covered. That the prāpya is not covered is known by the statement of Kātyāyana where he makes a provision only for the two. For an instance of the prāpya-karman of vedādhyāyah ‘Vedic recital’, he says that special mention must be made. There are no instances of prāpyakarman with aN parallel to grāmaṃ gacchati ‘...goes to the village’, ādityam paśyati ‘...sees the sun’, and himavantaṃ śrotri ‘listens to the Himālaya’, because of a lack of usage (anabhidhānāt).

The nature of prāpyakarman itself is believed to be the reason of lack of usage. For, it is not brought into existence from some previous state of non-existence like the nirvartyakarman of kumbham karoti ‘...makes a pot’. Nor is it brought forth with some modification from some previous state of existence like the vikāryakarman of kāndam lunāti ‘...is cutting the log (into pieces).’ It simply denotes its relationship with the action: ‘the object of...’.

3. A vārttika proposes that in case of sīlI, kāmI, bhaksI and ācarI, a provision should be made for affix Na. Additionally, the derivates should have the original accent of their first constituent. This will enable the derivation of māṁsāsilāḥ ‘he whose nature is to eat meat’, māṁsakāmāḥ ‘he whose nature is to desire meat’, and kalyānacakāraḥ ‘he whose nature is to do good’. These derivates are recommended with Na in view of their feminine counterparts. A derivate in aN requires NīP in its corresponding feminine. The Na requires TāP in its feminine. Thus, it is to facilitate the correct feminine māṁsāsīlā, etc., in addition to proper accent, that māṁsāsīla, etc., is to be derived with Na.

The derivation of sukhapratīkṣāḥ ‘he whose nature is to endure a great deal’ also requires Na for obtaining the correct feminine derivate sukhapratīkṣā.

3.2.2 ḫvavāmaṣ

hūvāmaṣ ca
[/huvāmāhaḥ 5/1 ca 0
(/pratyayāḥ #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91)
‘hveṇ sparddhāyāṁ śabde ca, veṇ tantusantāne, māṇ māne’ ity etebhyaś ca karmany upopade’ n pratyayo bhavati .

Affix aN also occurs after verbal roots hveṇ ‘to call out’, veṇ ‘to weave’ and māṇ ‘to measure’ when the roots cooccur with a pada which denotes karman.
Examples:
svargāvāyāḥ ‘one who calls out to heaven’
tantrāvāyāḥ ‘a weaver’
dhānayāmāyaḥ ‘one who weighs grains’

1. It becomes clear from the ā-final (ḥvā, vā, mā) reference to hveN ‘to call’, veN ‘to weave’ and māN ‘to measure’ that this rule is a prior exception (purastāpavāda) to the following. That is, these roots take aN as opposed to the Ka of the following rule, which is required of roots that end in ā. Note that rule 7.3.33 ātō yuku cinkrtōḥ introduces augment yUK after a verbal root which ends in -ā before a following krt affix marked with N or M. The roots of this rule thus qualify for yUK, which is not possible under the provision of the next rule.

3.2.3 आतोऽपसर्गेण कः:

ātō’ nupasarga kah
lātāḥ 5/1 anupasarga 7/1 = avidyamāna upasargo yasya asau (bv.),
tasmin; kah 1/1/
(pratyayāḥ #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, karmāṇi #1)
ākārāntebhyo nupasargenthyāḥ karmāṇy upapade kapratyayo bhavati
Affix Ka occurs after verbal roots ending in ā when they are used without preverbs, and cooccur with a pada which denotes karman.

Examples:
purṣnitrām ‘that which protects the back’
angulitrām ‘that which protects fingers; gloves’

1. This constitutes an exception to aN, and concerns roots terminated in -ā used without preverbs (upasarga). Affix aN will be introduced instead when the roots are used with preverbs. Thus, gosandāyāḥ ‘he who properly makes the gift of a cow’ is a counter-example where dā is used with the preverb sam.

3.2.4 सूपि खः:

supti sthāḥ
/supti 7/1 sthāḥ 5/1/
(pratyayāḥ #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, kah #3)
subanta upapade tiṣṭhatēḥ kapratyayo bhavati
Affix Ka occurs after verbal root sthā ‘to stand’ when the root cooccurs with a pada which ends in sUP.

Examples:
samanstāh ‘one who lives under normal conditions; happy’
viśamanstāh ‘one who lives under abnormal conditions; unhappy’
1. This rule introduces affix Ka after a verbal root when used in conjunction with a pada ending in sUP. The word karmaṇi is dropped since it cannot make any sense used with sthā, which is intransitive (akarmaṇa). Besides, supi 'when a pada ending in sUP' specifies a much more generalized cooccurrence condition.

2. There is a proposal to interpret this rule via yogavibhāga 'rule-splitting' as follows:

(a) supi where ātah is carried to yield the interpretation, 'affix Ka is introduced after verbal roots which end in ā and occur in conjunction with a pada which ends in sUP';

(b) sthāś ca where ātah is not carried since sthā ends in ā. This yields the interpretation, 'affix Ka is introduced after verbal root sthā when it is used in conjunction with a word ending in sUP'.

What is the purpose of this yogavibhāga? And why make a reference to sthā separately from roots which end in -ā? Isn't sthā contained in the class of these roots? Commentators explain that the first split rule accounts for Ka where agent (karta) is denoted. The second accounts for instances where bhāva 'root-sence' is denoted. If special effort is not made, the affix could only be interpreted as denoting bhāva. For, an affix with no specification of its meaning denotes the sense of its base (cf. Ps 123: anidhistah pratayā bhāve bhavanti).

The word dvipaḥ denotes an 'elephant' characterized as: dvābhyām (aṅgābhīyaṃ) pibati 'he who drinks with two limbs'. Clearly, affix Ka here denotes the agent of drinking. As opposed to this, ākhūṭṭhaḥ (ākhūnām utthānam) 'the swarming of rats' denotes bhāva.

3. Kāśikā states that, from here on, both karmaṇi and supi should be carried. Derivatives which contain a transitive verbal root will be read with the cooccurrence condition of karmaṇi. Others, otherwise, would have the condition of supi.

### 3.2.5 तुद्दशोकवे: परिम्रजापुदोः:

- tudṣāṣokayoh prayimrājanudoh
- /tudṣāṣokayoh 7/2 prayimrājanudoh 6/2/
- (prayayauḥ #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, kah #3)
- tudṣāṣokayoh karmanor upapadayoḥ prayimrājanudoh dhātvoh kapurtyayo bhavati

Affix Ka occurs after verbal roots mṛjū 'to cleanse', used with the preverb pari, as well as after ṬUnudI 'to move', used with the preverb apa, when the roots cooccur with a pada which contains tunda 'belly, navel' and soka 'grief' as karman respectively.

### Examples:

- tudaparimapra ame 'the lazy one is sitting here'
- sōkāpanudah putting jatāh 'a son, the remover of grief, is born'
1. This rule allows for the introduction of affix Ka after verbal roots mrj and nud used with pari and apa respectively. The cooccurrence condition is specified by tunda and šoka which constitute the pada which denotes object (karmani). Thus we get the above examples.

A vārttika states that tundaparimrjatholic be limited to denoting the meaning of ‘lazy; he who sits idly doing nothing but cleaning his navel’. The word šokāpanudah should similarly be limited to denoting ‘someone who brings happiness’. This is to be stated in view of šokāpanodah, a derivate of aN, meaning: ‘one who (by explaining, for example, the impermanence (anityatā) of this world), removes grief by removing attachment, but who does not bring any joy’. In contrast, the ‘son’ (putra), not only removes the grief by removing the state of sonlessness but also brings joy.

An additional vārttika proposes that mūlavibhuja ‘chariot’, nakhamucabow, kākaguha ‘sesame’ and kumuda ‘white water lily’ be derived with affix Ka by nipātana.

3.2.6 ते वक्तः:

pre dājñah
lpre 7/1 dājñah 5/1/
(pratayah #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.9, karmani #1, kah #3)
daddāler jñātēs ca dhātoḥ preṇopasṛṣṭāt karmany upapade katpratyayo bhavati
Affix Ka occurs after verbal roots DUāN ‘to give’ and jnā ‘to know’ when they are used with the preverb pra and cooccur with a pada which denotes karman.

EXAMPLES:

sarvaspradah ‘he who gives everything’
patsiprajñah ‘he who knows the roads very well’

1. This rule requires introduction of affix Ka after verbal roots dā ‘to give’ and jnā ‘to know’ used with the preverb pra. Note that roots terminated in -a, and used without any preverbs, are already provided with affix Ka (2.3.3 āto’ nupasarge kah). This rule starts the introduction of affixes where roots could be used with preverbs. In the absence of this rule, the roots could have qualified for aN. In this sense, this rule is an exception to the rule which introduces aN. The cooccurrence condition is still constituted by a word denoting karman.

3.2.7 समि क्षयः:

sami khyah
lsami 7/1 khyah 5/1/
(pratayah #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, karmani #1, kah #3)
sampurvaḥ khyi ity etasmād dhātoḥ karmany upapade katpratyayo bhavati
Affix *Ka* occurs after verbal root *khyāN* 'to relate, tell', used with the preverb *sam*, when the root cooccurs with a *pada* which denotes *karman*.

**Examples:**

*gosamkhyaḥ* 'he who counts the cows'

1. This rule offers nothing new as compared with the preceding one. Note, however, that *khyā* here denotes the replacement *khyāN* of *caksiN* 'to relate' (2.4.54 *caksiṇah* *khyāN*).

3.2.8 गापोष्टक

*gāpoṣṭak*

*/gāpoḥ* 6/2 /tak 1/1/  
(*pratyayah* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *karmanī* #1, *anupasarge* #3)

*gāyateḥ pibateḥ ca dhātoḥ karmanī upapade* 'nupasarge taḥ pratyayo bhavati

Affix *TaK* occurs after verbal roots gai 'to sing' and pā 'to drink' used without a preverb when the roots cooccur with a *pada* which denotes *karman*.

**Examples:**

*sakragah* 'he who sings the praises of Indra'

*sāmagaḥ* 'he who recites the Sāmaveda'

*surāpah* 'he who drinks liquor'

1. This rule carries both *‘karmanī’* as well as *‘anupasarge’*. The *K* as an *it* in the affix facilitates application of rule 6.4.64 *āto lopa*... The *T* conditions the feminine derivate to end in *NyP* (4.1.15 *ṭīḍḍhāṇaṁ*...).

2. A *vārttika* proposes for affix *TaK* to be introduced after *pā* 'to drink', and *surā* and *śidhu* 'liquor' to constitute its cooccurring objects. Thus, we get *surāpah* 'he who drinks liquor', *surāpī* 'she who drinks liquor'. Similarly, *śidhupah* and *śidhupī*. Note that if *pā* means 'to protect' then *TaK* cannot be used. Thus, we get: *surāpā* 'one who protects the liquor'. Similarly, if the object is not constituted by *surā*, the form will be different. This is illustrated by the difference in the feminine form: *kṣīrapā brāhmaṇī* 'a *brāhmaṇa* (widow) woman subsisting on milk'. The feminine is *kṣīrapā* parallel to *surāpī*. Consider the following where feminine is formed variously:

*yā brāhmaṇī (surāpī/surāpā) bhavati nainām devāh patilokāṁ nayantī 'gods do not reunite a *brāhmaṇa* woman with her husband after death if she drinks liquor'.

3.2.9 हरतेरनुयमानेव

*harater anudyamane* 'c

*/haraterh* 5/1 anudyamane 7/1 ac 1/1/
Affix $aC$ occurs after verbal root $hrN$ 'to carry, fetch' when it cooccurs with a $pada$ which denotes $karman$ and $anudyamana$ 'lack of effort' is signified.

**Examples:**

- $aṁśaharaḥ$ 'he who receives a share'
- $rikthaharaḥ$ 'he who inherits wealth'

1. This rule introduces affix $aC$ after verbal root $hrN$ when it is used without a preverb, and cooccurs with a $pada$ denoting an object, provided $udyamana$ 'to lift or hurl' is not expressed. This affix constitutes an exception to $aN$. Thus, we get: $bhārāharaḥ$ 'porter' in $aN$ as opposed to $aṁśaharaḥ$ in $aC$.

2. A $vārttika$ enumerates some cooccurrence conditions under which $grah$ 'to grab' should be allowed affix $aC$. Thus, we get: $saktigrahaḥ$ 'he who holds a spear', $lāṅgalagrahaḥ$ 'plough-man', $aṅkuṣagrahaḥ$ 'the elephant trainer', $yaṣṭigrahaḥ$ 'an ascetic with a shaft', and $dhanurgrahaḥ$ 'an archer', etc. Another $vārttika$ advocates the derivation of $sūträgraḥah$ 'holder of the thread; one who wears the sacred thread', also from $aC$ under the specific meaning condition of 'holding'. Elsewhere, we get the form: $sūṭraḍāhah$ 'he who brings or produces the thread'.
3.2.11 अनि ताचिल्ये

अनि ताचिल्ये
लानि 7/1 ताचिल्ये 7/1
(प्रतयायः #3.1.1, पराः #3.1.2, धातोः #3.1.91, कर्माणि #1, हरातेः ac #9)
अन्नपूर्वः हरातेः कर्माणि उपपदे c प्रतया भवाति ताचिल्ये
गम्यमाते

Affix aC occurs after verbal root ह्रतः used with the preverb अन when the root cooccurs with a pada which denotes karman and the derivate denotes tācchilya ‘natural inclination; characteristic nature’.

Examples:

पुष्पाहराह ‘he whose nature is to bring flowers’
पहलाहराह ‘he whose nature is to bring fruits’

1. This rule requires the introduction of aC after ह्रतः when it is used with the preverb अन, cooccurs with a word denoting an object, and ताचिल्या is denoted by the derivate. Thus, we get पुष्पाहराह ‘he whose nature is to bring flowers’. The sense of ताचिल्या is, here, explained by काशिकाः as: पुष्पाद्याहराने वस्थुविको पहलापेक्षा प्रवृत्तत्तथा ‘he whose involvement in fetching the flowers, etc., is natural; without any expectation of results’. Elsewhere, we get: भाराहराह ‘he who carries the load for wages’.

3.2.12 अर्हः

अर्हः
लार्हः 5/1
(प्रतयायः #3.1.1, पराः #3.1.2, धातोः #3.1.91, कर्माणि #1, ac #9)
‘अर्हः पुजयायम् अस्माद धातोः कर्माणि उपपदे c प्रतया भवाति

Affix aC occurs after verbal root अर्हः ‘to deserve’ when the root cooccurs with a pada which denotes karman.

Examples:

पुजार्ह ह ‘she who deserves respect’

1. This rule allows for aC after अर्हः cooccurring with a word which denotes karman. It is an exception to the aन, and the corresponding derivates differ in the feminine. Thus we get derivates such as पुजार्ह ह. It is because of affix aC that feminine affix ताP is introduced by 4.1.4 ajādyataś ताप. The aन derivate will entail निप by 4.1.15 तिद्धानाः...
Derivation of the masculine form does not offer anything special with reference to the selection of affixes.

3.2.13 साम्बकरण्यो: रामिजपोः:

stambakarnayoḥ ramijapoh
|stambakarnayoḥ 7/2 ramijapoh 6/2|
(pratyayah #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.9, supi #4, ac #9)
'samba, karna' ity etayoḥ subantayor upaṇadayor yathāsamkhyaṃ
ramijapor dhātvor ac pratyayo bhavati

Affix aC occurs after verbal roots ramA 'to sport' and japa 'to whisper, chant' when the roots cooccur with a nominal pada which contains stamba 'grass' and karna 'ear' respectively.

EXAMPLES:

stamberamaḥ 'one who finds joy in playing with the pile of grass; elephant'
karṇejapah 'one who whispers in the ear; fault-finder'

1. Note that stamba and karna do not here constitute the pada which denotes karman. For, ramI 'to play' is intransitive (akarmaka) and japa 'to mutter, chant' has sabda 'noise' as its only object. This is why supi is selected, as opposed to karmani, to refer to the cooccurring word. Both stamba and karna should end in the locative (saptami). Thus we get stamberamaḥ 'one who finds joy in playing with the pile of grass; an elepant' and karṇejapah 'fault-finder, slanderer'.

3.2.14 शमी धातो: संज्ञायम्

śami dhātoḥ samjñāyām
|śami 7/1 dhātoḥ 5/1 samjñāyām 7/1|
(pratyayah #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, ac #9)
śamy upaṇadāvā dhātumātrāt samjñāyām viṣaye 'c pratyayo bhavati

Affix aC occurs after a verbal root used in conjunction with a nominal pada which contains sam 'to be tranquil, beneficial' and the derivate signifies a samjñā 'name'.

EXAMPLES:

śaṃkaraṇā nāma privrājikā 'a wandering female ascetic named Śaṃkaraṇā'
śaṃkaraṇā nāma sakunikā 'a bird named Śaṃkaraṇā'

1. This rule introduces affix aC after verbal roots in general when sam constitutes the cooccurring word, and the derivate is to denote a name (samjñā). Thus we get: śaṃkaraḥ 'Lord Śiva'. Why did Pāṇini use the word
dhātoḥ again? This is to indicate that whenever there is a rule which may block introduction of aC, that rule should be blocked by aC instead (bādhakabādhanārtha). For example, consider rule 3.2.20 krñoe hetutācchilyānulomyeṣu which introduces affix Ta after verbal root krN when the cooccurring object denotes hetu ‘cause’, tācchilīya ‘characteristic nature’, and ānulomya ‘amiability’. Now, if one wants to derive śamkara ‘he whose nature it is to do good’, rule 3.2.20 would become applicable. The purpose of restating dhātoḥ in our present rule is to block affix Ta in favor of aC. Thus, Śamkara will invariably be derived by aC. That is, all other things being equal, the consequence of blocking Ta by aC can be seen in the feminine derivate parallel to śamkara, the aC-derivate. The feminine form is derived by the introduction of affix TaP (4.1.14 ajādy...). That is, the form will be śamkarā, and not śamkari, a derivate in NiP (4.1.15 tīḍdhānaṇ... parallel to the masculine derivate in Ta derived by 3.2.20 krñoe hetu...

3.2.15 अधिकरणे शेते:

adhikaraṇe śetē
dadhikaraṇe 7/1 śetē 5/11
(pratyayaḥ #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, supi #4, ac #9)
śetēr dhātōr adhikaraṇe subanta upapade’ c pratyayo bhavati
Affix aC occurs after verbal root siN ‘to recline’ when the root cooccurs with a nominal pada which denotes adhikaraṇa ‘locus’.

Examples:

khaṇayaḥ ‘one who reclines in the sky; bird’
garttaṣayaḥ ‘one who reclines in a hollow’

1. The pada which satisfies the cooccurrence condition must, here, be inferred as supi, since karman cannot make sense on account of the intransitive (akarmaka) si ‘to recline, sleep’. The meaning condition of adhikaraṇe further makes it possible to infer that the cooccurring word ends in the locative (saptami). Thus we get khe = ākāśe sete = khaṇayaḥ.

2. There are four vṛttika under this rule which, in one way or the other, propose the introduction of affix aC when the cooccurrence condition of adhikaraṇa is not met. Consequently, we get pārśva ‘side’ in the derivation of pārśvaṣayaḥ ‘one who sleeps on his sides’. Similarly, we get uḍaraṣayaḥ ‘he who sleeps on his belly’ and prṣṭhaṣayaḥ ‘he who sleeps on his back’. Yet another vṛttika proposes the derivation of utṭānaṣayaḥ ‘he who sleeps facing up’ and avamūrdhāṣayaḥ ‘he who sleeps face-down’. The first vṛttika implies that the cooccurring word ends in the instrumental. The second implies that it ended in the nominative. Refer to the Mahābhāṣya for further details.
3.2.16 चरेष्टः:

careṣṭah
/careṛ 5/1 ṭaḥ 1/1/
(pratayah #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, supi #4,
adhikarane #15)
carater dhātor adhikarane subanta upapade ṭapratyayo bhavati
Affix Ṭa occurs after verbal root car ‘to wander’ when the root cooccurs with a pada which ends in sUP and denotes locus (adhikarana).

EXAMPLES:

kurucarāḥ 'he who wanders in the country of the Kurus'
kurucari 'she who wanders in the country of the Kurus'

1. This rule carries adhikarane from the preceding rule. Consequently, affix Ṭa is introduced after car. Of course, the cooccurring word which ends in the locative (saptami) will denote adhikarana. Thus we get kurucari = kuruṣu carati yā sā 'she who wanders in the country of the Kurus'. The new affix Ṭa, as opposed to aC, is intended for the feminine derivate in NīP (4.1.15 tiḍḍhāṇaṁ...). The masculine in both cases would be kurucarāḥ. However, the feminine in the absence of Ṭa would have been kurucarā, a derivate in ṬāP by 4.1.4 ajādyatas...

3.2.17 पिक्षासेनादयेषु च

bhikṣāsenādāyesu ca
/bhikṣāsenādāyesu 7/3 ca 0/1
(pratayah #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91,
supi # 4, careṣ taḥ # 16)
‘bhikṣā, senā, ādāya’ ity etesūpapadesu carer dhātos ṭapratyayo bhavati
Affix Ṭa occurs after verbal root car when the root cooccurs with a nominal pada which contains bhikṣā ‘alms’, senā ‘army’ and ādāya ‘having obtained, brought’.

EXAMPLES:

bhikṣācararāḥ ‘one who begs for alms’
senācararāḥ ‘one who joins the army; soldier’
ādāyacararāḥ ‘one who, after having obtained something, eats, or departs’

1. This rule again introduces affix Ṭa, but not in the sense of adhikarana. Furthermore, it enumerates items such as bhikṣā ‘alms’, senā ‘army’ and ādāya ‘having brought’ which must constitute the cooccurring words
ending in **sUP. For example, we get bhiksām carati = bhikṣācarah ‘a beggar; he who earns alms’ and senām carati = senācaraḥ ‘a soldier; he who joins or visits the army’. Obviously, these two are in consonance with karmanī, which forms the cooccurrence condition. The third ādāyacaraḥ has ādāya constituting the cooccurring word. It is a derivate in **LyāP (7.1.37 samāse’ narnāpurve kro ṭyaḥ) that denotes prior time (pūrvakāla). That is, it does not meet the condition of denoting an object. It is stated that ādāya would, here, denote the object at the strength of the Pāṇinian citation (**uccāraṇa-sāmarthya). Consequently, ādayācaraḥ is explained as: ‘one who, after having obtained something, eats, or departs’.

3.2.18 पुरुषसहस्राः सर्त्तेः:

\[ \text{puro’ grato’ greśu sartteḥ} \]
\[ /puro’ grato’ greśu 7/3 sartteḥ 5/1/ \]
\[ (\text{pratyayaḥ #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, ṭa #16} \]
\[ \text{‘puras, agratas, agra’ ity etesūpapadesu sartter dhātoṣ ṭa pratyayo bhavatī} \]

Affix ṭa occurs after verbal root sṛ ‘to crawl, move’ when the root cooccurs with a nominal pada which contains puras, agratas or agré ‘front’.

**Examples:**

\[ \text{puraḥsaraḥ ‘he who goes ahead; messenger’} \]
\[ \text{agrataḥsaraḥ ‘id.; leader’} \]
\[ \text{agresaraḥ ‘id.’} \]

1. This rule introduces affix ṭa after verbal root sṛ when it is used with a cooccurring word constituted by puraḥ, agrataḥ and agré. The form agré is given, by way of nipātana, to ensure the derivation of agresaraḥ.

3.2.19 पुरुषां कर्तिर

\[ \text{pūrve kartari} \]
\[ /pūrve 7/1 kartari 7/1/ \]
\[ (\text{pratyayaḥ #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, supi #4, ṭaḥ #16, sartteḥ #18} \]
\[ \text{pūrvasabde kartrvāciny upapade sartter dhātoṣ ṭapratyayo bhavatī} \]

Affix ṭā occurs after verbal root sṛ when the root cooccurs with a nominal pada which contains pūrva as kartr ‘agent’.

**Examples:**

\[ \text{pūrvasaraḥ ‘one who goes first’} \]
1. This rule introduces affix ɿa after verbal root sr used in conjunction with pūrva as the agent. An example in point is: pūrvasarah. This derivate should be contrasted with pūrvasārah ‘he who moves to the Eastern country’, parallel to pūrvadesām sarati, a derivate in aN where the cooccurring word denotes an object.

3.2.20 ख्र्याश्चध्वाहर्वत्तदुरुष्ण्

krñö hetutācchilyānulomyēṣu
| krñāḥ 5/1 hetutācchilyānulomyēṣu 7/3|
(pratyayah #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.9, karmani #1, ɿa #16)
karmany upapade karoter dhātos ṭaprapyayo bhavati hetau tācchilīye
ānulomyē ca gamyamāne

Affix ɿa occurs after verbal root DUkṛN when the root cooccurs with a pada which denotes karman, and the derivate denote hetu ‘cause’, tācchilīya or ānulomya ‘amiability, favorableness’.

EXAMPLES:

śokakarī ‘that which causes grief’
yāsaskarī ‘that which brings fame’
śrāddhakarāḥ ‘one who performs the śrāddha (ritual offering for the dead)’
arthakarāḥ ‘that which brings riches’
praiṣakarāḥ ‘one who does as ordered’
vacanakarāḥ ‘he who does as is told’

1. This rule introduces affix ɿa after verbal root DUkṛN; under the condition of a conjoined karman, when the derivate denotes hetu ‘cause’, tācchilīya ‘characteristic nature’, and ānulomya ‘amiability’. Thus we get: yāsakarī vidyā ‘knowledge which is hetu (the cause) behind fame’, arthakarāḥ ‘he whose nature is to earn money’, and vacanakarāḥ putraḥ ‘a son who does what is asked of him’ respectively. Note that affix aN (2.3.1 karmany an) must be introduced outside these meanings.

3.2.21 दिवाविभाविनिश्चांप्रभाभास्तत्ततांतदिबहुनादीकिरिकिरिकिलिपिबिलथर्मकोच्चाक्र्र्यस्य-र्याष्वाध्वाध्वादददरुष्ण्

divāvibhāvinishāpaprabhābadhāsvarāntanāntadibahunāndikirikirikīlipiśabdaśabdhahbhakti kartṛcitakśetrasamkhyājaṅghābāhāvaharyattaddhanwararussu
ldivā...arussu 7/3|
(pratyayah #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.9, karmani #1, supi #4, ɿa #16, krñāḥ #20)
divādisūṣūpapadeṣu karoter dhītos ṭaprapyayo bhavati

Affix ɿa occurs after verbal root DUkṛN when the root cooccurs with a nominal pada which contains one of the following:
divā 'day', vibhā 'illumination', niśā 'night', prabhā 'light', bhāsa 'illumination', anta 'end', ananta 'endless', ādi 'beginning', bahu 'many, much', nāndi 'benediction', kim 'what', līpi 'script', lībi 'script', bali 'ritual oblation', bhakti 'devotion', kārtṛ 'doer', cītra 'colorful, picture', kṣetra 'field', samkhya 'numerals', jaṅghā 'thigh', bāhu 'arm', ahaṇ 'day', yad 'that which (relative pronoun)', tād 'that which', dhanus 'bow' or arus 'wound'.

Examples:

divākaraḥ 'sun'

vibhākaraḥ 'id.'

niśākaraḥ 'moon'

bhāsakaraḥ 'sun'

antakaraḥ '...one who brings something to an end; death'

anantakaraḥ 'he who does endless things'

ādikaraḥ 'one who begins; creator; founder'

bahuksaraḥ 'one who does so many things'

nāndikaraḥ 'he who recites the invocation'

kīmikaraḥ 'servant'

līpiṣaḥ 'copier'

labhikaraḥ 'id.'

baliṣaḥ 'one who offers ritual oblation'

bhaktikaraḥ 'devotee'

kārtṛkaraḥ 'agent of doing'

cītraṣaḥ 'maker of colorful objects; painter'

kṣetraṣaḥ 'farmer'

ekaṣaḥ 'one who does only one thing at a time'

jaṅghaṣaḥ 'runner; courier'

bahuṣaḥ 'laborer; brave'

ahaskaraḥ 'sun'

yatikaraḥ 'he who does what is needed'

tatikaraḥ 'he who does only what he is told'

dhanuṣkaraḥ 'bow-maker; archer'

arukaḥ 'wound'

1. Note that this rule introduces affix ṭa after verbal root DUKTā outside contexts covered by the preceding rule. Furthermore, the cooccurring words of this rule may or may not denote an object. This necessitates that both karmāṇi as well as supi be carried here. Which one is to be associated with a given derivate depends on whether or not the item cited in this rule can constitute an object. For example, since the word divā 'during the day' primarily denotes adhikaraṇa 'locus', its use in the derivation is to be made relative to the cooccurrence denoted by supi. Note, however, that the denotation of object by divā, in connection with DUKTā, is not
impossible to comprehend. The remaining items can constitute the object. Thus, prabhām karoti = prabhākaraḥ 'that which brings out light; Sun', etc.

2. Commentators inform that the word bhāskara is indicated, here, as having -s by nipātana. That is, the -s does not change to visarga via r (rutva-visarga). See the appendix for other derivational details.

3. A vārttika under this rule states that affix aC is to be introduced after DUklN when the root cooccurs with kim ‘what’, yad ‘that which’, tad ‘that’ and bahu ‘many’. This statement is necessary so that feminine derives, parallel to the masculine in aC, can be formed with affix TāP (4.1.4 ajādyataḥ tāP). Note that a derivate which terminates in Ta is required to take the feminine affix NiP in view of 4.1.15 tīḍhānaṇ...
Affix $Ta$ does not occur after verbal root $DUkrNi$ when the root co-occurs with a nominal $pada$ with $śabda$ 'word', $śloka$ 'verse of praise', $kalaha$ 'quarrel', $gāthā$ 'story', $vairā' enmity', $cātu$ 'sycophant', $sūtra$ 'a rule', $mantra$ 'a mantra' or $pada$ 'word' as $karman$.

**Examples:**

- $śabdkārāḥ$ 'grammarian'
- $ślokākārāḥ$ 'he who writes verses of praise; poet'
- $kalahakārāḥ$ 'he who quarrels'
- $gāthākārāḥ$ 'writer of a story'
- $vairākārāḥ$ 'enemy'
- $cātukārāḥ$ 'sycophant'
- $sūtrakārāḥ$ 'he who formulates rules'
- $mantrakārāḥ$ 'he to whom a mantra is revealed; sage'
- $padakārāḥ$ 'he who divides the $sāṃhitā$ text into the $pada$ text'

1. Note that the negation of this rule is aimed against the positive provision of affix $Ta$ made available after verbal root $DUkrNi$ by rule 3.2.20 $krīṇo hetu...$. Rule 3.2.1 $karmany an$ will now introduce the general (autsargika) affix $aN$ in these contexts where $Ta$ is negated.

### 3.2.24 सम्ब्कृतोतिनि

$stambaśakrto ri$

$stambaśakrot$ $7/2$ in $1/1$

(pratyayaḥ #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, karmani #1, krṇah #20)

'stamba, śakṛ' ity etayoḥ karmanor upapadayor in pratyayo bhavati

Affix $iN$ occurs after verbal root $DUkrNi$ when the root co-occurs with a nominal $pada$ which contains $stamba$ 'bundle of grass' and $śakṛ$ 'excrement' as $karman$.

**Examples:**

- $stambakāriḥ$ 'bundle of grass; paddy'
- $śakṛthakriḥ$ 'one which excretes all the time; a calf'

1. This rule introduces affix $iN$ after verbal root $DUkrNi$ when $stamba$ and $śakṛ$ constitute the cooccurring objects. A $vārtti$ka under this rule proposes that such derivates should be limited to denoting the sense of paddy ($urīhi$) and calf ($vatsa$). For, elsewhere, the derivates will entail $aN$ with forms such as $stambakārāḥ$ 'sheaf-maker' and $śakṛthakārāḥ$ 'he who excretes'.

### 3.2.25 हरतेś्वरित्तिनाथयोः पशो

$harater dṛśtināthayoh paśau$
**Examples:**

- *dṛtiharīḥ pāśuḥ* ‘an animal carrying a big leather bag full of water’
- *nāthaharīḥ pāśuḥ* ‘an animal carrying its master’

1. Affix *iN* is also introduced after verbal root *hṛ* when the cooccurring object is constituted by *dṛti* and *nātha*, and the derivate denotes an animal agent. Thus, *nāthahariḥ* denotes an animal which carries its master. Outside the meaning condition of an animal, the derivate have to be derived with affix *aN* as in *nāthahāraḥ* ‘he who carries his master’.

**Examples:**

- *phalegrahīḥ* ‘that which bears fruit; tree’
- *ātmambhāriḥ* ‘he who provides for his own self; self-centered’

1. This rule introduces affix *iN* after *grah* and *bhṛṇ* by means of *nipātana* to derive *phalegrahīḥ* ‘that which holds (beers) fruit; tree’ and *ātmambhāriḥ* ‘he who provides for himself’. The first example entails the cooccurrence of *phala* ‘fruit’ with its termination in *e* both by *nipātana*. Similarly, the cooccurrence of *ātman* with the augment *mUM* is also accomplished via *nipātana* in the second example.

2. Commentators state that *ca* is used here to bring something which may have remained unstated (*anuktasamuccayārtha*). Thus, we also get: *kukṣimbhāriḥ* and *udarambhāriḥ* meaning ‘he whose preoccupation is always to fill his belly’
3.2.27 छन्दसि वनसनारक्षिमथाम्

\textit{chandasi vanasanarakṣimatham}

\textit{/chandasi 7/1 vanasanarakṣimatham 6/3/}

(pratayah #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, karmanī #1, in #24)

‘vāna ṣaṇa sambhaktau, rakṣa pālane, matha viłoḍane’ ity etebhyah
karmany upapade chandasi viśaye in pratayo bhavati

Affix \textit{iN} occurs, in the Vedic, after verbal roots \textit{vanā} and \textit{ṣaṇā} ‘to respect, win’, \textit{raksā} ‘to protect’ and \textit{manthā} ‘to churn’ when the roots cooccur with a nominal \textit{pada} which denotes \textit{karman}.

\textbf{Examples:}

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textit{brāhmaṇaṇavanīm}... ‘...honoring a brāhmaṇa...’
  \item \textit{gosanīm}... ‘...winning a cow...’
  \item \textit{pāthiraṃśī}... ‘... protector of the road...’
  \item \textit{hāvīṛmatthinām}... ‘...the ritual oblation of food churned out...’
\end{itemize}

3.2.28 \textbf{एज़े:} खाश्

\textit{ejiḥ khaś}

\textit{/ejiḥ 5/1 khaś 1/1/}

(pratayah #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, karmanī #1)

‘ejī kampane’ ity āsmād nyantāḥ karmany upapade khaś pratayo bhavati

Affix \textit{KHaŚ} occurs after verbal root \textit{ejī} ‘to tremble’, used with \textit{NiC} ‘causative’, when the root cooccurs with a nominal \textit{pada} which denotes \textit{karman}.

\textbf{Examples:}

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textit{āṅgamaṇjayaḥ} ‘he who causes limbs to tremble with fear’
  \item \textit{janamaṇjayaḥ} ‘he who causes people to tremble with fear’
\end{itemize}

1. Note that affix \textit{KHaŚ} is marked with two elements of \textit{i}: \textit{KH} and \textit{Ś}.

The first is intended for the introduction of augment \textit{mUM} by rule 6.3.66 \textit{arurdvīsad...}; the second is needed to facilitate the assignment of the term \textit{sārvadhātuka} by 3.4.113 \textit{tiṅṣit,...}. The verbal root is specified as \textit{ejī} which refers to the causal form (\textit{nyanta}) of \textit{ejī} ‘to tremble’.

2. A \textit{vārttika} under this rule proposes the introduction of affix \textit{KHaŚ} after verbal roots \textit{ajā} ‘to go’, \textit{dheT} ‘to suck’, \textit{tud} ‘to torment’ and \textit{OhāK} ‘to abandon’ when they are used with cooccurring words constituted by \textit{vāta} ‘wind’, \textit{ṣuni} ‘female dog’, \textit{tila} ‘sesame’ and \textit{ṣarḍha} ‘flatus’ respectively. Thus we get: \textit{vātamajāḥ} ‘the deer which move with the swiftness of wind’, \textit{ṣunindhayaḥ} ‘those which suckle at the breast of a female dog; puppies’, \textit{tilantudāḥ} ‘those who crush the sesame for oil; oilmen’ and \textit{ṣarḍhaṇjāhāḥ} (\textit{māśāḥ}) ‘the Mung beans which cause excessive gas’.
3.2.29 नासिकास्तनयोध्यांवेते:

नासिकास्तनयोर धमाधेतोह
nāsīkāstanayoh 7/2 dhāmādhētoh 6/2/
(pratyayah #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoh #3.1.91, karmāṇi #1, khaś #28)
nāsīkāstanayoh karmāṇy upapadayor dhmādhetor dhātvoh khaś pratyayo bhavati

Affix KHaŚ occurs after verbal roots dhmā ‘to blow, beat’ and dheT ‘to suckle, drink’ when the roots cooccur with a nominal pada which contains nāsīkā ‘nose’ and stana ‘breast’ as karmān.

EXAMPLES:

nāsikandhamah ‘he who blows through his nose’

nāsikandhayah ‘he who drinks through his nose’

stanandhayah ‘one who suckles at the breast...; an infant’

1. This rule allows for the introduction of affix KHaŚ after verbal roots dhmā and dheT when they cooccur with objects constituted by nāsīkā and stana.

Note that nāsikāstana of nāsīkāstanayoh does not follow the rule of constituent ordering specified for such compounds. That is, it does not prepose stana as rule 2.2.34 alpāc taram would demand on the basis of comparatively fewer vowels in stana. This transposition in order consequently indicates that the principle of yathāsamkhya (1.3.10 yathāsamkhyam...) is not desired in connection with the assignment of equivalency of cooccurring words and the verbs of this rule. That is, the rule should not be interpreted as meaning that ‘KHaŚ’ is introduced after dhmā and dheT when nāsīkā and stana constitute the cooccurring words’. In fact, stana constitutes a cooccurring word only in the context of dheT. On the other hand, nāsīkā appears in the context of both the verbs.

2. The feminine derivate parallel to stanandhayah is derived as stanandhayi with affix NiP as per rule 4.1.15 ṭiddhāyaṇ... at the strength of T as an it in the verb.

3.2.30 नादिमुष्ट्योऽ

nāḍīmuṣṭyos ca

/ṇāḍīmuṣṭyoh 7/2 ca θ /

(pratyayah #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoh #3.1.91, karmāṇi #1, khaś #28, dhmādhetoh #29)

Affix KHaŚ occurs after verbal roots dhmā and dheT when the roots also cooccur with a nominal pada which contains nāḍi ‘tube, vein’ and muṣṭi ‘fist’ as karmān.
EXAMPLES:

nāḍindhamah ‘he who blows through a tube’
musṭindhamah ‘he who blows through his fist’
nāḍindhayah ‘he who drinks through a tube’
musṭindhayah ‘he who suckles at the breast through his fist; an infant’

1. Here again the assignment of equivalency of cooccurring words and verbal roots dhmā and dheT is not made according to the order of enumeration (sāmkhyātānudeśa) for reasons similar to those discussed in connection with the preceding rule.

2. Particle ca is again used to facilitate the derivation of forms for which no statement is made (anuktasamuccayarthā). This way, we can account for the derivates of KHaŚ such as ghaṭindhamah ‘he who blows through a pitcher’, ghaṭindhayah ‘he who drinks from a pitcher’, khārin-
dhamah ‘kettle drummer’, khārinhayah ‘he who drinks from a kettle’, vātandhamah and vātandhayah ‘mountain’.

3.2.31 उदि कूले रुजिवाहोः:

udi kūle rujivahoh
\( \text{/udi 7/1 kūle 7/1 rujivahoh 6/2/} \)
\( \text{(pratyayoh #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, karmanī #1, khas #28)} \)
‘rujo bhaṅge, vaha praṁpe’ ity etābhyaṁ utpūrvābhyaṁ kūle karmanya
upapade khaś pratyayo bhavati

Affix KHaŚ occurs after verbal roots ruj ‘to break, shatter’ and vahA ‘to carry’, used with the preverb ud, when the roots cooccur with a nominal pada which contains kūla ‘bank’ as karman.

EXAMPLES:

kūlamudrujah ‘that which breaks the embankment; a chariot, or river’
kūlamudvahah ‘the river which washes away the embankment’

1. This rule introduces affix KHaŚ after verbal roots ruj and vah used with the preverb ud when they cooccur with a word constituted by kūla ‘edge’ denoting karman ‘object’. Thus we get kūlamudrujah. Note that udi, when interpreted as locative, cannot qualify for cooccurrence condition. It must therefore serve the function of indicating the use of the preverb ud with the verb.

3.2.32 वहाब्रें लिहः:

vahābre lihaḥ
\( \text{/vahābhere 7/1 lihaḥ 5/1/} \)
(pratayayā #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, karmanī #1, khaś #28)
‘vaha, abhra’ ity etayoḥ karmanor upapadayoh liher dhātoḥ khaś pratayayo bhavati
Affix KHaŚ occurs after verbal root lihA ‘to lick’ when the root co-
occurr with a nominal pada which contains vaha ‘shoulder’ and
abhra ‘cloud’ as karman.

EXAMPLES:

vahamlīhah gauḥ ‘that which licks its yoke-hurt shoulders; an ox’
abhramlīhah ‘that which reaches the clouds; a palace, or winds that
carry the clouds’

1. This rule introduces affix KHaŚ after verbal root lih when vaha and
abhra constitute the cooccurring objects. Thus, we get: vahamlīhah and
abhramlīhah.

3.2.33 परिमाने पत्चः:

parimāne pacaḥ
/prarimāne 7/1 pacaḥ 5/1/
(pratyayā #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, karmanī #1, khaś
#28)
parimāne karmany upapade paceḥ ‘khaś pratayayo bhavati
Affix KHaŚ occurs after verbal root DU’pacAŚ ‘to cook’ when the
root cooccurs with a nominal pada which denotes parimāna ‘a measure’
as karman.

EXAMPLES:

prasthampacā sthāli ‘a pot big enough for cooking food equal in
weight to a prastha’
dronampacah ‘a pot big enough for cooking food equal in weight to
da droma’
khārimpacah katāhah ‘a kettle which is big enough for cooking food
equal in weight to a khāri’

1. This rule introduces affix KHaŚ when what constitutes the cooccurring
object denotes parimāna ‘measure’. Thus, prasthampacā (sthāli) denotes a
pot which is big enough for cooking something equal in weight to a prastha.
Note that a prastha equals one-fourth of the weight of a droma which itself
is one-sixteenth of a khāri. A khāri could be close to 150 kilograms in
weight.
3.2.34 मितनखेच

mitanakhe ca
/mitanakhe 7/1 ca 0/
(pratyayah #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, karmanī #1, khaś #28, pacah #33)
‘mita, nakha’ ity etayoḥ karmanor upapadayoḥ paceḥ khaś pratyayo bhavati
Affix KHaŚ also occurs after verbal root DUpacAŚ when the root cooccurs with a nominal pada which contains mita ‘measured, limited’ and nakha ‘nails’ as karman.

EXAMPLES:

mitampacā brāhmaṇī ‘a brāhmaṇa woman who cooks very limited amount of food’
nakhampacā yavāgūḥ ‘barley gruel so hot that could burn the nails’

1. This rule carries the anvṛtti of pac, and introduces affix KHaŚ to derive the stated examples when mita and nakha constitute the cooccurring objects.

3.2.35 विध्वरुसोस:

vidhvarusos tudah
/vidhvarusoh 7/2 tudah 5/1/
(pratyayah #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, karmanī #1, khaś #28)
‘vidhu, arus’ ity etayoḥ karmanor upapadayoḥ tuder dhātoḥ khaś pratyayo bhavati
Affix KHaŚ occurs after verbal root tud ‘to torment’ when the root cooccurs with a nominal pada which contains vidhu ‘moon’ and arus ‘wound’ as karman.

EXAMPLES:

vidhutudah rāhuḥ ‘Rāhu (one of the moon’s nodes) which, according to mythology, torments (eclipses) the moon’
aranutudah ‘an acutely painful wound’

3.2.36 असूयवल्लथोद्वृत्तिपोः:

asūyvalāṭayor drṣītapoh
/asūyvalāṭayoh 7/2 drṣītapoh 6/2/
(pratyayah #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, karmanī #1, khaś #28)
‘asūrya, lalāṭa’ ity etayoḥ karmanor upapadayoḥ drṣītapor dhātoḥ khaś pratyayo bhavati
Affix $KHaŚ$ occurs after verbal roots $drśIR$ ‘to see’ and $tapA$ ‘to heat, be hot’ when the roots cooccur with a nominal $pada$ which contains $asūrya$ ‘not... sun’ and $lalāṭa$ ‘forehead’ respectively as $karmā$.

**Examples:**

$asūryampaśyā rājadārāḥ$ ‘women of the royalty who do not even see the sun let alone any other man’

$lalāṭantapāḥ sūryah$ ‘that which burns the forehead; blazing sun’

1. This rule introduces affix $KHaŚ$ after verbal roots $drśIR$ and $tapA$ when they cooccur with an object constituted by forms such as $asūrya$ and $lalāṭa$ ‘forehead’ respectively. Thus $asūryampaśyā rājadārāḥ$. Note that $asūrya$ entails $naN$ ‘negation’ of $darśana$ ‘seeing’ denoted by $drśIR$ which gets replaced with $paśya$ (7.3.78 $pāghrā...$). Affix $KHaŚ$ cannot be introduced if the negation related to Sun ($sūrya$). Thus, $naN$ negates the verb and not the noun Sun. The compound lacks $sāmarthya$ ‘fitness’ based on syntactico-semantic relation, and hence, its formation is allowed only at the strength of this rule.

3.2.37 उग्रमपस्येरम्मदपाणिन्धिमाशः

$ugrampasyerammadapāṇīndhamāś ca$

/ugram...dhamāḥ 1/3 ca ō/

(āpratyahā #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, khaś #28)

‘ugrampasya, irammada, pāṇīndhama’ ity ete śabdā nipātyante

Affix $KHaŚ$ also occurs after verbal roots in the derivation of $ugrampasya$, $irammada$ and $pāṇīndhama$ by nipātyata.

**Examples:**

$ugrampasyaḥ$ ‘he who is fierce looking’

$irammadaḥ$ ‘one who takes delight in drinking; Agni; lightning in the clouds’

$pāṇīndhamaḥ$ ‘a road which is traversed while clapping to ward off animals, snakes, etc.; a lonely, dark road’

1. This rule derives $ugrampasya$, $irammada$, and $pāṇīndhama$. This last has been explained by Haradatta ($PM$ ad $Kāś$ II:566) as: $yesu gadchadbhiḥ sarpaḍyapanodāya pāṇayo dhmāyante ‘a road while traversing which one claps hands to ward off snakes, etc.’

3.2.38 प्रियवशे वद: खच्

$priyavāse vadaḥ khac$

/priyavāse 7/1 vadaḥ 5/1 khac 1/1/
The Aṣṭādhyāyī of Pāṇini

(pratyayāḥ #3.1., paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, karmani #1)
'priya, vaśa' ity etayoh karmanor upapadayor vader dhātoḥ khac pratyayo bhavati

Affix KHaC occurs after verbal root vadā when the root cooccurs with a pada which contains priya ‘dear’ and vaśa ‘obedient, submissive’ as karman.

EXAMPLES:

priyāṃvadaḥ 'he who speaks dear'
vaśāṃvadaḥ 'obedient, submissive'

1. This rule introduces affix KHaC after verbal root vad ‘to speak’ when it cooccurs with an object constituted by priya and vaśa. The KH of this affix as an it is intended for the augment mUM (6.3.67 arurdviṣad...). Its C is used as an it to distinguish it from any other affix (viṣeṣanārtha). Thus, consider 6.4.94 khaci hrasvaḥ, where affix KHaC qualified with C distinguishes itself from KHaŚ.

2. A question is raised as to why examples covered by this rule cannot be derived by KHaŚ instead. This will save the trouble of having an additional affix. It is stated that a different affix, i.e., KHaC, is intended more for the derivates of subsequent rules (pratyayāntarakaṇaḥam uttarārtham). For example, in the derivates of the next rule, KHaC facilitates the shortening of the long vowel (6.4.94 khaci hrasvaḥ) and the deletion of NiC. If the affix is formulated more for the purpose of the subsequent rules then why formulate it here (iha karane kim prayojanam)? For purposes of indicating (jñāpanārtham) that it can be applicable elsewhere also. This way, one does not have to make a statement that KHaC obtains also when a nominal pada cooccurs with gam in the derivation of mitaṅgamo hasti 'slow-moving; elephant'.

3. Note that vihaṅgaḥ / vihaṅgamah 'bird' and bhujāṅgaḥ / bhujāṅgamah that which moves crookedly; snake' are also stated as derived by nipātana (see vārttikas under this rule).

3.2.39 द्विसत्तरयोस्यापेप:

dviṣatparayoḥ tāpeḥ
/dviṣatparayoḥ 7/2 tāpeḥ 7/1

(pratyayāḥ #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, karmani #1, khac #38)

dviṣatparayoḥ karmanor upapadayaś tāpor dhātoḥ khac pratyayo bhavati

Affix KHaC occurs after verbal root tāpi when the root cooccurs with a pada which contains dviṣat ‘enemy’ and para ‘others’ as karman.
EXAMPLES:

dviṣantapah ‘he who torments the enemies’
parantapah ‘he who torments others (enemies)’

1. Verbal root tāpi is interpreted here as ending in NiC. That is, affix KHaC is introduced only after the causal form of tapA ‘be hot’. Thus, we get dviṣantapah and parantapah. Note that tāpeh thus could be interpreted as referring to the causal (NiC) form of the bhvādi root tapA as well as the curādi, which is causal anyway.

Note that affix aNy, and not KHaC, is to be introduced when dviṣat ends in the feminine and constitutes the cooccurring word denoting object. Thus, dviṣatim tāpayati = dviṣalitāpah ‘he who tortures women’.

3.2.40 वाचि यमो प्रते

vāci yamo vrate
/lvāci 7/1 yamaḥ 5/1 vrate 7/1/ (pratyayah #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, karmanī #1, khac #38) vākṣabde karmany upapade yamer dhātoḥ khac pratyayo bavati vrate gamyāmāne

Affix KHaC occurs after verbal root yama ‘to curb, suppress’ when the root cooccurs with a pada which contains vāk as karman and the derivate denotes vrata ‘ritual vow’.

EXAMPLES:

vācanyama āste ‘here he is, having taken a ritual vow of not speaking’

1. This rule introduces affix KHaC after verbal root yam when it is used with vāk ‘speech’ as karman and the derivate is to denote vrata. The word vrata is explained as sāstre vihitaḥ niyamaḥ ‘conduct in consonance with the prescriptions of religious treatises’. Thus, vācanyama āste. Note that if the meaning is not ‘vrata’ the derivate will entail aNy. That is, it will be vāgyāmaḥ ‘he whose voice is restrained for some reason or the other’.

3.2.41 पु:सर्ववोदपिरिन्दो:

pūhsarvayoh dārisahoh
/lpūhsarvayoh 7/2 dārisahoh 6/2/ (pratyayah # 3.1.1, paraś ca # 3.1.2, dhātoḥ # 3.1.91, karmanī # 1, khac # 38)
‘pur, sarva’ ity etayoḥ karmanor upapadayor yathāsaṃkhyaṃ dārisahor dhātoḥ khac pratyayo bhavati

Affix KHaC occurs after verbal roots dāri ‘to split’ and sahA ‘to
endure' when the roots cooccur with a *pada* which contains *pur* or *sarva* 'all' as *karman*, respectively.

**Examples:**

*purandaraḥ* 'he who rips the cities apart; Indra'  
*sarvamsahāḥ* 'he who endures everything; a king'

1. This rule introduces affix *KHaC* after verbal roots *dāri* and *ṣah* 'to endure' when they are used with cooccurring objects *pur* and *sarva* respectively. Thus we get: *purandaraḥ* and *sarvamsahaḥ rājā*. Kāśikā suggests that *bhagandaraḥ* 'fistula in the anus' should also be derived by introduction of *KHaC* with *bhaga* as the cooccurring object of *dāri*.

### 3.2.42 सर्वकूलाभ्रकारिशेषु कषः:

*sarvakulābhṛakarīṣeṣu kaṣaḥ*  
/sarvakulābhṛakarīṣeṣu 7/3 kaṣaḥ 5/1/  
(pratyayaḥ #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, karmani #1, khac #38)  
*sarva, kūla, abhra, kariṣa ity eteṣūpapadeṣu kaṣer dhātoḥ khac pratyayo bhavati*

Affix *KHaC* occurs after verbal root *kaṣa* 'to scratch, scrape, injure' when the root cooccurs with a *pada* which contains *sarva, kūla, abhra* or *kariṣa* 'cowdung' as *karman*.

**Examples:**

*sarvamkaṣaḥ khalaḥ* 'a wicked person who destroys everything'  
*kūlaṁkaṣaṇa nadiḥ* 'a river which scrapes its banks'  
*abhramkaṣaṇa giriḥ* 'a mountain which is so high that it reaches the clouds'  
*kāriṣamkaṣaṇa vātyāḥ* 'a whirlwind strong enough to blow away the cowdung'.

### 3.2.43 मेघर्तिपथेषु कृषः:

*meghaṁpatheṣu kṛṇaḥ*  
/meghaṁpatheṣu 7/3 kṛṇaḥ 5/1/  
(pratyayaḥ #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, karmani#1, khac #38)  
*megha, rti, bhaya ity eteṣu karmasūpapadeṣu kṛṇaḥ khac pratyayo bhavati*

Affix *KHaC* occurs after verbal root *DUrN* when it cooccurs with a *pada* which contains *megha* 'cloud', *rti* 'misfortune' or *bhaya* 'fear' as *karman*. 
3.2.44 Adhyāya Three: Pāda Two

Examples:

meghamkaraḥ ‘that which causes clouds to form’
ṛtimkaraḥ ‘that which is unfortunate’
bhayamkaraḥ ‘that which causes fear’

1. Note that abhayānkaraḥ ‘he who removes fear’ is also derived with KHaC when DUKTI cooccurs with abhaya, which denotes object.

3.2.44 क्षेमप्रिययमद्रे च

kṣemapriyamadreṇa ca
/kṣemapriyamadre 7/1 an 1/1 ca Ø/
(pratyayah # 3.1.1, paraś ca # 3.1.2, dhātoḥ # 3.1.91, khac # 38, krṇāḥ # 43)
kṣema, priya, madra’ ity eteṣu karmasūpaḍadeṣu karoter an pratyayo bhavati cakārāṭ khac ca
Affix aN, as well as KHaC, occurs after verbal root DUKTI when it cooccurs with a pada which contains kṣema ‘well-being’, priya, or madra ‘joy’, as karman.

Examples:

kṣemakārah ‘that which is beneficent; propitious’
kṣemamkārah ‘id.’
priyakārah ‘he who does things which are dear’
priyamkārah ‘id.’
madrakārah ‘he who does what brings joy’
madramkārah ‘id.’

1. Note that Pāṇini could have formulated the rule as: kṣemapriyamadre va ‘affix KHaC is introduced optionally...’. But note that he, instead, used aN to indicate that the option is available for aN against KHaC, and no other affix. This would, then, rule out the Ta of rule 3.2.20 krṇo tācchila... Blocking affix Ta would automatically lead to blocking the introduction of NiP (4.1.15 ṭīḍḍhāṇaḥ...) in the case of corresponding feminine derivates. For, the choice of the feminine affix is conditioned by T as an it in the affix. Thus we get a derivate such as: alpārambhāh kṣemakārāḥ ‘small beginnings bring prosperity’ as opposed to *kṣemakāri.

3.2.45 आसिते पुष्यः करणभावयोः:

āśite bhuvah karaṇabhāvayoh
/āśite 7/1 bhuvah 5/1 karaṇabhāvayoh 7/2/
(pratyayah # 3.1.1, paraś ca # 3.1.2, dhātoḥ # 3.1.91, supi # 4, khac # 38)
āśitaśābele subante upapade bhavater dhātoḥ karane bhāve cārthe khac pratyayo bhavati
Affix KHaC occurs to denote karaṇa ‘instrument’, or bhāva ‘root-sense’, after verbal root bhū when the root cooccurs with a pada which ends in sUP and contains āśīta ‘he who has eaten to his satisfaction’.

**Examples:**

āśītambhavaḥ odanaḥ ‘a variety of rice which pleases the appetite’  
āśītambhavam varattate ‘it is the state of eating to one’s satisfaction’

1. This rule would require supi to constitute the cooccurrence condition, since verbal root bhū ‘to be’ is intransitive (akarmaka).

3.2.46 संज्ञायां प्रत्ययसहितपदिधिपदेन:  

samjñāyām bhṛtrvṛjīdhārisahitapidamaḥ  
/samjñāyām 7/1 bhṛtrvṛjīdhārisahitapidamaḥ 5/1  
(pratyayaḥ #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, karmani #1, khac #38)  
‘bhr, tr, vr, ji, dhāri sake, təpi, dama’ ity etebhyo dhātubhyah samjñāyām viśaye khac pratyayo bhavati

Affix KHaC occurs after verbal roots bhṛN ‘to provide’, trN ‘to float’, vrN ‘to choose’, ji ‘to win’, dhāri ‘to hold’, sahA ‘to endure’, tapA ‘to be hot’ or damA ‘to control’ when the roots cooccur with a pada which ends in a sUP and the derivate denotes a samjñā ‘name’.

**Examples:**

viśvambharā vasundharā ‘the earth which provides for everyone’  
rathantaram sāma ‘a particular recital of the Sāmaveda’  
patimvarā kanyā ‘a girl who is about to choose her husband’  
śatrunjayo hastī ‘an elephant who conquers the enemy’  
yugandharā parvataḥ ‘a mountain’  
śatrumahā ‘a person who can face his enemies’  
śatrumahā ‘a person who torments his enemies’  
arindamah ‘a person who crushes his enemies’

1. Note that both ‘karmani’, as well as ‘supi’, constitute the cooccurrence condition, depending on the derivate on hand. Nyāsa (ad Kāś III:571) explains it as follows:

samjñāsabdā hi dvividhā bhavanti kecid avayavārthānugatāḥ, yathā saptaparṇa iti; kecit tu viparītāḥ tailapāyikā iti. tad iha yatrāvayavārthānugamo’ sti viśvambharah, śatruṇtapa ityādiṣu, tatra karmanīti sambadhyaśe; yatra tu avayavārthānugamo nāsti, yathā rathantaram sāma, tatra vyut-patyartham supītī sambadhyaśe: rathena tāratīti rathe tāratīti vā ‘names
indeed are of two types: some follow the meaning of their constituents as in saptaparna ‘that which has seven leaves’; some such as tailapāyi kah do just the opposite. Consequently here, where the meaning of the derivate such as viśvambharah follows the constituency, ‘karman’ is related to the derivational context as the cooccurring pada; in examples such as rathantaram sāma where the derivate does not follow the constituent meaning, ‘supi’ is related…’.

2. Note, that outside the meaning of samija, affix aN should apply to derive examples such as kuṭumbabhāraḥ (kuṭumbam bibharti) ‘he who provides for his family’.

3.2.47 गम्य


gamaśca
/gamāś 5/1 ça 01/

(pratayah #3.1.1, paras ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, supi #4, khaç #38, samijaayam #46)

gamer dhātoḥ supi upapade samijaayam viṣaye khac prataya bhavati

Affix KHaC also occurs after verbal root gam when the root cooccurs with a pada which ends in sUP and the derivate denotes a samija.

EXAMPLE:

sutamgamah ‘name of a sage’

3.2.48 अन्तात्यन्ताध्वदुरापापसर्वांतेः दः

antātyantādhvadūrapāpārasvānteṣu daḥ
/antā...sarvānteṣu 7/3 daḥ 1/11/

(pratayah #3.1.1, paras ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, karman #1, gamah #47)

‘anta, atyanta, adhvan, dūra, pāra, sarva, ananta’ ity eteṣu karman-sūpapadeṣu gamer ḍapratyayo bhavati

Affix Da occurs after verbal root gam when the root cooccurs with a pada which contains anta ‘end’, atyanta ‘excessive’, adhvan ‘path, road’, dūra ‘far’, pāra, ‘across, the other side’, sarva or ananta ‘endless’ as karman.

EXAMPLES:

antagah ‘he who keeps going until the end’
atyantagah ‘he who goes very fast’
adhvagah ‘he who traverses the road; a traveller’
dūragah ‘he who goes very far’
pāragah ‘he who has crossed over’
sarvagah ‘he who goes everywhere’
anantagah ‘he who goes to infinity’
1. Note that ‘samjñāyāṃ’ is not carried here. The T, as an it, is intended to facilitate the deletion of ti (6.4.143 teh; 1.1.62 acne’ ntyādi ti). There is a problem here. The ti-deletion applies to an item which has been assigned the term bha. These derivates should not entail this term-assignment. That is, the application of ti-deletion becomes questionable. It, however, still applies at the very strength of the D of the affix as an it. The D conditions ti-deletion in rule 6.4.143 teh. If ti-deletion does not apply to these examples, making D as an it would become vacuous (vyartha). Also see the Mahābhāṣya (ad 6.4.143 teh; dhīty abhasyāpi anubandhakaraṇasāmarthāyāt).

2. Note that the Mbh. (III: 236–37) also considers some vārttikas under this rule for deriving pannagah ‘that which goes while creeping’; sarvatragah ‘he who goes everywhere; omnipresent’, uragah ‘snake; that which moves by means of its chest’; sugah ‘that which is easily accessible’; dhuragah ‘that which is not easily accessible; fort’; and nirghah ‘country’.

3.2.49 आशिषिह हन:  

āśiṣi hanah  
/lāśiṣi 7/1 hanah 5/1/  
(pravayah #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, karman #1, dhaḥ #48)  
āśiṣi gamyāmānyāṃ hanter dhātoḥ karmany upapade ṣapratyayo bhavati

Affix Da occurs after verbal root han ‘to kill’ when it cooccurs with a pada which denotes karman and āśiḥ ‘blessing’ is signified.

Example:

śatruhah ‘may he be the killer of his enemies’

1. Affix aN applies to derive forms such as śatruhātah ‘he who kills the enemy’ when, contrary to the context of this rule, āśiḥ ‘benediction’ is not denoted. There are some vārttika proposals under this rule to provide for forms as follows:

(a) dārvāghātah ‘wood-pecker’: derived by introducing affix aN after han used with the preverb aN provided dāru ‘wood’ constitutes the object and the derivate denotes a name;

(b) aN is introduced also when cāru cooccurs with han, used with the preverb aN to derive cārvāghātah ‘he who plays well on a musical instrument’, optionally with cārvāghātah ‘id.’;

(c) affix aN is also introduced after verbal root han to derive varnasamghātah/varnasamghātah ‘inventory of sounds, or letters’ when the root is used with the preverb sam, and the cooccurring word denotes object.

Note that all these derivates entail a replacement in t for their final.
This replacement is obligatory in case of the derivate of (a), though optional in cases of (b) and (c).

3.2.50 अपे कलेषतमसोः:

ape kleśatamasoh
lape 7/1 kleśatamasoh 7/2/
(pratyayah #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, karnaṇi #1, dhaḥ #48, hanah #49)
apaṇuvād hanteḥ kleśatamasoh karmanor upapadayor ṇapratrayo bhavati

Affix  śro occurs after verbal root han used with the preverb apa when the root cooccurs with a pada which contains kleṣa ‘suffering’ or tamas ‘darkness’ as karman.

EXAMPLES:

kleśāpaṇah putrāḥ ‘a son who removes suffering’
tamopaṇah sūryāḥ ‘the sun which removes darkness’

1. The derivate of this rule relate to ‘non-benedictive’ meanings. Verbal root han is required here to be used with the preverb apa. The benedictive meaning is available from the preceding rule, itself.

3.2.51 कुमारशीर्षयोणि:

kumāraśirṣayor niniḥ
/kumāraśirṣayoh 7/2 niniḥ 1/1/
(pratyayah #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, karnaṇi #1, hanah #49)
‘kumāra, śirṣa’ ity etayor upapadayoh hanter niniḥ pratyayo bhavati

Affix NinI occurs after verbal root han when the root cooccurs with a pada which contains kumāra ‘boy, prince’, śirṣa ‘head’ as karman.

EXAMPLES:

kumāraghāṭi ‘a child-killer; killer of a prince’
śirṣagṛṭhi ‘a killer who kills by beheading’

1. Note that śirṣa, from śiras, is derived by nipātana. It should not be confused relative to rule 6.1.60 śirṣaṇ chandasi, which is limited to the Vedic. Besides, the latter reference is made with śirṣan ending in -n. What we find here is a form ending in -a (śirṣa).

The final I as an  it in NinI is intended to protect its n from being deleted by 1.3.3 halantaṃ-1.3.9 tasya lopah. The N, of course, is intended to facilitate vṛddhi. Refer to the appendix for derivational details.
Note that rule 3.2.78 *supy ajātau nīnīs tācchīlya* would account for examples of this rule if it was not for the condition of *tācchīlya*. This rule, then, must apply to examples where the context does not include *tācchīlya*.

3.2.52 लक्षणे जायापतयोष्ट्क

 lakṣaṇe jāyāpatyōṣa तक
/ lakṣaṇe 7/1 jāyāpatyōṣa 7/2 तक 1/1/
(pratayāyah #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, karmanī #1,
hanah #49)
hanter jāyāpatyōṣa karmanor upapadayar lakṣaṇavati kartari तक pratayayo bhavati
Affix *Tak* occurs after verbal root *han* when the root cooccurs with a *pada* which contains jāyā ‘wife’ or pati ‘husband’ as karman and the derivate denotes a *karmr* thus characterized.

**Examples:**

jāyāghno brāhmaṇaḥ ‘a brāhmaṇa who kills his wife’
patighnī vrṣali ‘a vrṣali (low-caste woman) who killed her husband’

1. This rule introduces affix *TaK* when *han* cooccurs with an object constituted by jāyā and pati provided the derivate characterized an agent. Thus, we get the example: jāyāghnāḥ as in jāyāghno brāhmaṇaḥ where jāyāghnāḥ ‘killer of the wife’ characterizes a brāhmaṇa. The *K* as an *it* facilitates the penultimate deletion (*upadhālopā*) of *a* by rule 6.4.98 gama-hana... The *T* as an *it* facilitates the introduction of affix *NiP* in feminine derivates (4.1.15 ūḍḍhāṇaī...), such as patighnī of patighnī vrṣali.

3.2.53 अपनुष्कर्तकः च

amanusyaḥ kārtṛke ca
/amanusyaḥ kārtṛke 7/1 ca 0/
(pratayāyah #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, karmanī #1,
hanah #49, ṭak #52)
amanusyaḥ kārtṛke vartamānāḥ hanter dhātoḥ karmanv upapade तक
pratayayo bhavati
Affix *TaK* also occurs after verbal root *han* when the root cooccurs with a *pada* which denotes karman and the derivate denotes a non-human *karmr* thus characterized.

**Examples:**

jāyāghnas tilokālakah ‘a mole on the husband characterizing the death of his wife’
patighnī pānirekhā ‘a line on the wife’s palm characterizing the death of her husband’
ślesmaghn̄aṁ madhu ‘honey, the cough-killer’
pittaghn̄aṁ gḥrtam ‘ghee, the killer of bile’

1. This rule conditions the introduction of affix TaK after han by requiring its agent to be amanusya ‘non-human’. Thus, we get patighn̄i of patighn̄i pāṇirekha, where the agent of han is ‘the line in the palm’. One can similarly see madhu ‘honey’, a non-human agent, the killer of cough in ślesmaghn̄aṁ madhu.

Note that karmanī still constitutes the cooccurrence condition. The word amanusya kārtiṣka can not be treated as a qualifier to the cooccurring karman because to do so would not make any sense.

3.2.54 शत्रू हतिकपाटयो:
śaktau hastikapāṭayoh
śaktau 7/1 hastikapāṭayoh 7/2
(pratyaṇaḥ #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, karmanī #1, hanah #49, tak #52)
śaktau gamyamāṇāyāṁ hastikapāṭayoh karmanor upapadayor hantes tak pratyaṇo bhavati

Affix TaK occurs after verbal root han when the root cooccurs with a pada which denotes hasti ‘elephant’ or kapāṭa ‘door’ as karman and the derivate denotes sakti ‘strength’.

EXAMPLES:

hastighnāḥ manusyaḥ ‘a man strong enough to kill an elephant’
kapāṭaghnaḥ cauraḥ ‘a thief strong enough to break the door open’

1. This rule allows for the introduction of TaK after han even when it has a human agent. Thus, we get kapāṭaghnaḥ as in kapāṭaghnaḥ cauraḥ ‘one who is capable of breaking doors; a thief’.

3.2.55 पाणिघटादग्निशिल्पिनि
pāṇighatādaghau śīlpini
/pāṇighatādaghau 1/2 śīlpini 7/1/
(pratyaṇaḥ #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, karmanī #1)
pāṇigha, tādaghā ‘ity etau sabdau nipātyete śīlpini kartari

Forms such as pāṇigha and tādaghā are derived by nipātana when śūpī ‘artisan’ is denoted as kartṛ.

EXAMPLES:

pāṇighaḥ ‘a drummer; he who plays by using his hand’
tādaghah ‘a blacksmith who makes things by pounding’
1. This rule allows for the *ad hoc* (nipātana) derivation of *pānighaḥ* and *tādaghah* with the introduction of affix *Ka* after *han* cooccuring with the object *pāni* 'hand' and *tāda* 'beating'. The deletion of the penultimate *a* of *han*, as well as the replacement of *h* with *gh*, is accomplished via *nipātana*. Note that when the derivates do not denote an artisan (*śilpi*), they take the forms: *pānighataḥ* 'hitting with fists; boxing', *tādaghātaḥ* 'hammering'.

A *vārttika* also proposes the listing of *rājaghah* ‘killer of a king’ under this rule.

### 3.2.56 आध्यामकारानांसिद्धान्तमतायपेक्षा व्यर्थरुपायम् कृषि: करणे ख्यान्

*ādhyasubhagasthulapalitanagḥandhapriyeṣu cvyarthesu acvau kṛṇaḥ karaṇe khyun*

*ādhyasubhagasthulapalitanagnāndhapriyeṣu 7/3 cvyarthesu 7/3 acvau 7/1 kṛṇaḥ 5/1 karaṇe 7/1 khyun 1/1/*

(pratyayaḥ #3.1.1, paras ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.2.91, karman #1)

*ādhyādiṣu karmasūpapadesu cvyarthesu acvyanteṣu karoṭe dhātoḥ karaṇe kārake khyun pratyayo bhavati*

Affix *KHyuN* occurs to denote *karaṇa* (1.4.42 sādhakatamam karaṇam) after verbal root *DUkṛṇ* when the root cooccurs with a *pada* which denotes *karaṇam* and contains *ādhyā* ‘rich’, *subhaga* ‘charming, beneficent’, *sthūla* 'big, huge', *palita* 'old', *nagna* 'naked', *andha* 'blind' or *priya* 'dear', provided these preceding denote the sense of, but do not end in, affix *CvI*.

**Examples:**

*ādhyamkaraṇam* ‘that which makes one rich’

subhagamkaraṇam ‘that which makes one charming’

sthūlaṃkaraṇam ‘that which makes one huge’

palitamkaraṇam ‘that which makes one old’

nagnamkaraṇam ‘that which makes one naked’

andhamkaraṇam ‘that which makes one blind’

priyamkaraṇam ‘that which makes one dear to someone’

1. This rule introduces affix *KHyuN* after verbal root *DUkṛṇ* when it cooccurs with an object which is constituted by *ādhyā*, etc., and denotes the sense of, but does not end in, *CvI* (5.4.50 abhūtatadbhāve...). Additionally, the derivate has to denote *karaṇa* 1.4.42 sādhakatamam karaṇam). Thus we get:

*ādhyamkaraṇam* ‘that by means of which one becomes prosperous which he was previously not’, etc.

1. Note that rule 5.4.50 abhūtatadbhāve introduces *CvI* in the sense of abhūtatadbhāva. But this sense can be expressed even without the introduction of affix *CvI*. This is what is intended by the negation of *acvau*
'when not ending in affix Cus'. Consequently; ādhyākavranta anena 'that by means of which one is made prosperous' cannot qualify for KHyuN. That is, ādhyā ends in affix Cus. A counter example for where ādhyā is neither used in Cus, nor denotes the sense of Cus, is ādhyāṃ tailena kavranti 'they anoint (him) with oil'. Here again KHyuN is not permitted.

3.2.57 कर्तरि शुष्क: खिणमुञ्चवुद्रो

kartari bhuvah khisnukhuñkañau
kartari 7/1 bhuvah 5/1 khisnukhuñkañau 1/2
(pratayayah #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, supi #4, ādhyā...
priyesu cvartheṣu avan #56)
ādhyādisu subanteṣu padadeśu cvartheṣu acvanteṣu bhavater dhātoḥ kartari
kārake 'khisuc, khukañ' ity etau pratayau bhavaṭah
Affixes KHisnuC and KHucaN occur to denote kartṛ after verbal root bhū when the root cooccurs with a pada which ends in SUP and contains ādhyā 'rich', subhaga 'charming', sthūla 'huge', palita 'old', nagna 'naked', andha 'blind' or priya 'dear' provided these preceding denote the sense of, but do not end in, affix Cus.

EXAMPLES:

ādhyāmbhaviṣṇuḥ 'one who becomes rich'
ādhyāmbhāvukā 'id.'
subhagabhaviṣṇuḥ 'one who becomes charming'
subhagabhāvukā 'id.'
sthūlambhaviṣṇuḥ 'one who becomes huge'
sthūlabhāvukā 'id.'
palitabhaviṣṇuḥ 'one who becomes old'
palitabhāvukā 'id.'
nagnabhaviṣṇuḥ 'one who becomes naked'
nagnabhāvukā 'id.'
andhabhaviṣṇuḥ 'one who becomes blind'
andhabhāvukā 'id.'
priyabhabhaviṣṇuḥ 'one who becomes dear'
priyabhāvukā 'id.'

1. This rule introduces affixes KHisnuC and KHucaN after verbal root bhū 'to be' under circumstances similar to the preceding rule except that, here, the derivate denotes kartṛ. Obviously, the use of kartari in this rule cancels the karaṇe of the earlier rule. Why did Pāṇini have to use kartari to cancel karaṇa when he could have accomplished this just by leaving karaṇa without svarita accent. That way, the anuvṛtti of karaṇa would have been dropped. Commentators explain that dropping karaṇa without dropping ādhyā, etc., which are also
associated with it, may create confusion. Normally, one would expect the cancellation of both karana and adhyya, etc. Besides, kartari is required for subsequent rules.

Note that KH, as an i in both affixes, is intended for the augmentmUM (6.3.67 arurdvisad...). The C of KHṣṇuC is intended for accent (6.1.163 citah). The N of KHukaN is intended for vrddhi (7.2.115 aco’āṇīti).

3.2.58 सुशोभलके विवर

sprśo’ nudake kvin
/lprśah 5/1 anudake 7/1 kvin 1/1/
(pratyayah #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, supi #4)
sprśer dhātor anudake subanta upapade kvin pratayyo bhavati
Affix KuIN occurs after verbal root sprś ‘to touch’ when the root cooccurs with a pada which ends in sUP but does not contain udaka ‘water’.

EXAMPLES:

ghrtasprk ‘he who touches ghee’
mantrasprk ‘he who touches by means of a mantra’
jalasprk ‘he who touches by means of water’

1. It is stated that supi should, here, be accepted as constituting the cooccurring word. But this goes against the normal practice of accepting karmani as the cooccurring word when the verbal root is transitive. The karmani condition is not accepted since kartari is carried from the preceding rule, and also since the cooccurring words are diverse in nature. Thus, we can get the kartṛ meaning of the derivate via either a cooccurring word denoting an object, or via a word denoting instrument. Consider ghrtasprk = ghrtam sprṣati as an example of the first in contrast with mantra-sprk = mantraṇa sprṣati, an example for the second. It is thus better to accept supi. Besides, the kartṛ-dotenatum of the derivate is easily established on the basis of 3.4.67 kartari kṛt.

The N of KuIN is used to distinguish it from KuIP, etc., as in rules 8.2.62 kvin pratyayasya... The K of KuIN is intended for blocking guna and vrddhi. The I of the affix, along with its v, is intended to qualify 6.1.67 ver aprktasya whereby a more general reference can be made.

3.2.59 र्वविन्दद्वाकसस्तवियुज्योगस्थितिः च

ṛtvigdadhrksragdigusvigaṇcauṣvakruṇcām ca
/ṛtvig...kruṇcām-6/3 (itar. dv.); ca θl/
(pratyayah #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, supi #4, kvin #58)
Adhyāya Three: Pāda Two

ṛtvigādayah pāṇca śabdāḥ kvinpratayāntā nipātyante, apare trayo dhātavo nirdiṣyante

Affix KviN occurs by nipātana in the derivation of ṛtvik, dadhrk, srak, dik, and uṣṇik; in addition, it occurs after verbal roots anvC ‘to bend’, yujI ‘to join, yoke’ and kruṅC ‘to be crooked’, when the roots cooccur with a pada which ends in a sUP.

Examples:

ṛtvik ‘a priest; he who performs ritual sacrifices regularly’
dadhrk ‘brave’
srak ‘garland’
dik ‘direction’
uṣṇik ‘a meter with seven syllables in a quarter’
prāṇ ‘east’
pratyaṅ ‘west’
udāṅ ‘north’
yuṅ ‘one who joins x with y’
aśvayuk ‘he who yokes the horse (to a cart)’
kruṅ ‘one who is crooked; a crane’

1. The first five words beginning with ṛtvik are derived via nipātana with KviN. The next three derivates are given specific to their roots. For an example of what is ad hoc in the first five examples, and how the derivates relative to the three roots derive, see the appendix.

3.2.60 यदाधिष्ठि दृशोज्जालोचने कन्छ

tyadādīsu dṛśo’ nālocane kaṇ ca
ltyadādīsu 7/3 dṛśāh 5/1 anālocāne 7/1 kaṇ 1/1 ca 0/1
(pratyayāh #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, supi #4, kvin #58)
tyadādīṣāpapadesu dṛśer dhātor anālocane’ rthe vartamānāt kaṇ pratayayo bhavati, cakārāt kvin ca

Affix Kaṉ, as well as KviN, occurs after verbal root dṛṣIR ‘to see’ when the root cooccurs with a nominal pada which contains tyad ‘that’, etc., and ālōcana ‘seeing’ is not denoted.

Examples:

tyāḍṛk ‘like that’
tyāḍṛṣah ‘id.’
tāḍṛk ‘id.’
tāḍṛṣah ‘id.’
yāḍṛk ‘like the one which...’
yāḍṛṣah ‘id.’
vedavit ‘he who knows the Veda’
pravít ‘he who knows things well’
brahmavit ‘he who knows about the Brahman’
käśṭhabhít ‘he who splits the wood’
prabhit ‘he who splits (wood) very well’
rajjuçchid ‘he who cuts the ropes’
pracchid ‘he who cuts (the ropes) very well’
satrujit ‘he who conquers the enemy’
prajit ‘he who wins well’
señānih ‘commander of the army’
prañih ‘he who leads well’
grāmanñih ‘the leader of the village’
agranñih ‘he who leads’
rāñ ‘he who is full of splendor’
samrāñ ‘emperor’

1. This rule allows for both affixes Kañ and Kvín after verbal root drśIR when it occurs with tyad ‘that’, etc., and the derivate does not denote ‘to see’. The derivate of this rule are semantically treated as rüdra ‘conventional’. Consequently, there is no ‘action of seeing’ entailed albeit the presence of drśIR. A vārttika under this rule proposes to expand the scope of this rule to account for examples such as: sadṛk / sadṛṣah ‘similar’; and anyādṛk / anyādṛṣah ‘like something else’. A further proposal states that affix Ksa is also introduced after drśIR. This will account for yādṛṣah / tādṛṣah / anyādṛṣah / kidṛṣah. Obviously, the examples covered by the two vārttika proposals entail samāna ‘similar’ and anya ‘other’ as upapada.

2. The N of Kañ is used as an it to distinguish it from affixes, such as THaK and THaN, especially relative to the formation of the feminine. Consider for example rule 4.1.15 īḍātanañ... 

3. Note that alocana of anālocana is explained as ‘perception by means of eyes’. The word anālocana should then refer to ‘lack of perception by means of eyes’. However, this rule implies the negation of ‘perception in general’ no matter what means is employed in the process (cf. PM ad Kāś. II:884: alocanam caṣkussādhanam vijñānam iti, iha tu jñānamātraṃ pratisedham manyate). Indeed in the contextual meaning of darśana ‘seeing (and thereby perceiving)’, affix aN will apply to derive examples such as taādarṣah parallel to the analysis tam paṣyati ‘he who sees him’.

3.2.61 सत्सृद्विस्रुधुहयजविद्विभद्विभिधजचिराजाजुपसर्णिक्षिपतिक्षिप
satsādviśadruhadvayajavidadbhidvidbhidjajinirajām upasarge’ pi kvip
lsatsādviśa...rājām 6/3 upasarge 7/1 api 0 kvip 1/1/
(pratayayah #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, supi #4)
sadādhibhyo dhātubhyah subante upapade upasarge’ pi, anupasarge’ pi kvip
pratayayo bhavati
Affix KoIP occurs after verbal roots ṣatk ‘to sit’, sūN ‘to give birth to’, dvisA ‘to hate’, drṳhA ‘to be hostile’, drṳhA ‘to milk’, yujIR ‘to join, yoke’, āvidA ‘to know, become, to consider’, bhidIR ‘to split’, chidIR ‘to cut’, ji ‘to win’, niN ‘to lead’ and rājR ‘to shine’ when the roots are used with or without preverbs, and cooccur with a pada which ends in a sUP.

EXAMPLES:

śucisat ‘he who resides in purity; Brahman’
antarikṣasat ‘he who resides in the sky’
upasat ‘he who sits near’
andasūḥ ‘that which lays eggs’
śatāsūḥ ‘that which gives birth to a hundred...’
prayāt ‘one who brings about; parents’
mitradiṇī ‘one who is hostile to a friend’
mitradiṛuk ‘id.’
pradniṇ ‘enemy’
pradhruka ‘id.’
godhuk ‘he who milks cows’
pradhuk ‘he who milks (cows) very well’
asvayuk ‘he who yokes the horse’
prayuk ‘he who yokes (the horse) very well’

1. The word supi constitutes the cooccurrence condition for reasons similar to rule 3.3.58 sprsō’ nudake... Consequently, karmania is not associated as the cooccurring word. The word upasarge’ pi, because of the locative in upasarg, requires care in interpretation. If it was given in the ablative (pañcam), it could have been interpreted as a qualifier to the verbal roots. The interpretation then would have been: ‘affix...occurs after verbal roots...when used with (or without) a preverb’.

2. The locative ending considers upasarga, or its absence, as forming, in addition to supi, the cooccurrence condition. But the additional specification of upasarge’ pi, for purposes of the cooccurrence condition, is not necessary since supi, itself, would account for this. After all, the preverbs will be treated as ending in sUP for purposes of forming the cooccurring word. Why should we have upasarge’ pi in addition to supi? Commentators state that the explicit use of upasarga is made for indicating (jñāpa-kārtha) that elsewhere in the preceding sections, whenever supi forms the cooccurrence condition, it does not include upasarga. Consider for example 3.1.106 vadaḥ supi kyap ca, where supi constitutes the cooccurrence condition. This supi, as indicated by the explicit use of upasarga in our present rule, will not include upasarga as a cooccurring word which ends in sUP. But this is hardly acceptable as the purpose, since anupasarge is carried
from rule 3.1.100 gadamadacarayamaś cānupasargē. If the purpose of upasargē, in this rule, is to block the inclusion of upasargē elsewhere, then one does not need anupasargē from anuvṛtti in 3.1.106. Thus, the indicatory function (jñāpakārtha) of upasargē as stated is not acceptable. What, then, is upasargē’ pi used for? Simply for clarification (vīśpāṭārtham). If this were not acceptable, then anupasargē would be dropped from the anuvṛtti in rules where supī constitutes the cooccurrence condition. Still others say the indicatory function of upasargē’ pi is intended to block upasargē from inclusion in rule 3.2.58 sṛṣo' nudake. This way, upasṛśati and samsṛśati are blocked from yielding parallel derivates in KviN.

2. Note that sū, here, refers to adādi root sūN ‘to give birth to’, and not to verbal root tṣū ‘to inspire’ of tudādi. The association (sāhacarya) in the listing of bhaj with dviṣa determines it. However, yuja of the rule must include reference to both yujIR ‘to join’ and yujA ‘to concentrate’. A reference with vīda must include the three verbal roots: vīda ‘to know’, vīda ‘to be, exist’ and vīda ‘to consider, think’. It cannot, however, include reference to vīdI. ‘to gain’, since vīd of this rule is cited as ending in -a (akāranta). Consequently, it can only refer to roots which are specified as ending in -a.

3.2.62 Bhajo śīv:

_bhajo nviḥ
/bhajah 5/1 nviḥ 1/1/
(pratyayāḥ #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, supī #4, upasargē’ pi #61)
bhajer dhātoḥ subanta upapade upasargē’ pi anupasargē’ pi nviprayayo bhavati

Affix _NvI_ occurs after verbal root bhajA used with or without a preverb, when the root cooccurs with a pada which ends in a sUP.

Examples:

ardhabhāk ‘he who has one half of a share’
prabhāk ‘a division, fraction’

1. Note that upasargē and supī are both carried here. The _N_ of _NvI_ is intended as an _it_ for _vṛddhi_. The _I_, used with the _v_, is intended as an _it_ for facilitating a general reference to 6.1.67 _vṛṣṭtasya_.

3.2.63 Chandasi sahāḥ:

_chandasi sahāḥ
/chanḍasi 7/1 sahāḥ 5/1/
(pratyayāḥ #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, supī #4, upasargē #61, nviḥ #62)
chanḍasi viṣaye saher dhātoḥ subanta upapade nviprayayo bhavati
Affix नुष occurs, in the Vedic, after verbal root शह ‘to endure’ when the root cooccurs with a pada which ends in a sUP.

**Examples:**

jalasaṭ ‘one who conquers waters’

turasaṭ ‘one who overpowers the mighty; Indra’

1. Haradatta (PM ad Kāś. II:588) informs that an example such as प्रतनासात ‘victorious’, in the classical language, is questionable (cintya).

### वाहस

**वाहस ca**

/vahāḥ 5/1 ca 0/

(pratyayah #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, supi #4, ṇvih #62, chandasi #63)

vaher dhātoḥ chandasi viṣaye subanta upapade ṇvīpratyayo bhavati

Affix नुṣ also occurs, in the Vedic, after verbal root vahA when the root cooccurs with a pada which ends in a sUP.

**Examples:**

prāṣṭhavat ‘one who carries the heaviest of weights’

dityavat ‘one who carried two years; a two year old steer’

1. Note that a separate listing of वाहस ca is necessary to block sahaḥ from carrying to subsequent rules. If reference to both sah and vah was made together in the preceding rule, then both roots would have qualified for anuvṛti. The split listing of rule (yogavibhāga) enables only vah to be carried subsequently (uttarārtha).

### कव्यपरिशपूर्णपृष्ठेषु ज्युत

**kavyaparīṣapūrīṣyesu ṇyut**

/kavyaparīṣapūrīṣyesu 7/3 ṇyut 1/1/

(pratyayah #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, supi #4, chandasi #63, vahah #64)

‘kavya, ṇūrīsa, purīṣya’ ity etesūpapadeśu chandasi viṣaye vaher dhātor ṇyut pratyayo bhavati

Affix ṇyuT occurs, in the Vedic, after verbal root vahA when the root cooccurs with a nominal pada which contains kavya ‘ritual oblation of food for the dead’, purīṣa ‘human waste’ or purīṣya ‘id.’

**Examples:**

kavyavāhānāḥ pitṛnām ‘he who carries ritual oblation of food to the ancestors’
pūrīṣavāhānaḥ ‘one who removes ordure’
pūrīṣavāhānaḥ ‘id.’

1. This rule provides for affix NyuT against NvI, which was already available. The N, as an it, is intended for accent as well as vrddhi (6.1.197 nīṇyādir nityam; 7.2.115 acore ṅṇṛ iti). The T, as an it, is intended to secure the feminine affix NiP (4.1.15 tiḍḍhāna...). The yu of this affix is replaced with aκa of rule 7.1.1 yuvor anākau.

3.2.66 हव्यः पादम्

havye’ nantahpādam
havye 7/1 anantahpādam 1/1/
(parayah # 3.1.1, parāś ca # 3.1.2, dhātoḥ # 3.1.91, supi # 4,
chandasi #63, vahah #64, nyut #65)
havyaśabdē upapade chandasi viśaye vaher dhātor ṅyṝḥ pratayo bhavati,
anantahpādam ced vahir vartate
Affix NyuT occurs, in the Vedic, after verbal root vahA when the root cooccurs with a nominal pada which contains havya ‘ritual oblation of food’ and the derivate does not occur in the middle of a pāda ‘quarter’.

Example:

agniś ca havya vā hanaḥ ‘Agni, the one who carries ritual oblation of food to the gods’

1. Note that antahpādam is interpreted as a qualifier (viśeṣaṇa) to the derivate with vah. The word antah is similar to madhyah ‘in the middle’ semantically. The word pādah is interpreted as a quarter of a hymn, because of the anuvṛtti of chandasi. The compound antahpādam could be viewed as an indeclinable (avayaivahāva) allowed by 2.1.6 avyayam...in the sense of vibhakti (locus within). Thus, anantahpādam is interpreted as ‘not located in the middle of the quarter (of a hymn)’. If vah is (included in a derivate) used in the middle of a quarter, then affix NvI is used as is clear from the counter-example: havyaṁagnirajah śita nāh.

3.2.67 जनसनखनक्रममो विद्य

janasanakhanakramagamo vīt
/ljana...gamar 5/1 vīt 1/1/
(parayah #3.1.1, parāś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, supi #4, chandasi #63,
vahah #64, nyut #65)
janādibhyaḥ dhātubhyaḥ subanta upapade chandasi viśaye vīt pratayo bhavati
Affix \(uT\) occurs, in the Vedic, after verbal roots \(jana\) ‘to be born’, \(san\) ‘to give’, \(khan\) ‘to dig’, \(kram\) ‘to step’ and \(gam\) ‘to go’ when the roots cooccur with a \(pada\) which ends in a \(sUP\).

**Examples:**

- \(abjāh\) ‘born in water’
- \(gajāh\) ‘born in earth’
- \(gosā\) ‘winner of cows’
- \(vilakāh\) ‘a burrower’
- \(kūpakāh\) ‘well-digger’
- \(dādhikrāh\) ‘(Agni) who receives milk’
- \(agrigā\) \(uvnētrṇām\) ‘the leader...’

1. Note that this rule carries the \(anuvṛtti\) of \(chandasi\), \(upasarge\), and \(supi\). Verbal roots \(jana\) and \(san\) make references to the sets of two verbs each: \(jana\) ‘to give birth to’; \(jan\) ‘to be born’; and \(san\) ‘to give’ or \(san\) ‘to worship’.

The \(T\) of the affix is intended as an \(i\) to block a general reference to any affix with \(uT\) (cf. 6.1.67 \(ver aprkṭasya\)). Note that in the absence of \(T\), \(uI\), in view of 6.1.67 \(ver aprkṭasya\), would not refer to just one affix. Further, \(uI\) is also intended to function as a qualifier in rules such as 6.4.41 \(vidvanor\)....

3.2.68 अदेवन्ने

\(ado\) ‘nanne
\(lado\) 5/1 \(ananne\) 7/1/
\(pratyayah \#3.1.1, paras ca \#3.1.2, dhātōh \#3.1.91, supi \#4, viṣ \#67)
\(ader dhātōr ananne supy upapade viṣ pratyayo bhavati\)

Affix \(uT\) occurs after verbal root \(ad\) ‘to consume’ when the root cooccurs with a \(pada\) which ends in a \(sUP\) and does not contain \(anna\) ‘food’.

**Examples:**

- \(āmāt\) ‘one who eats raw food’
- \(sasyāt\) ‘one who eats vegetables’

1. Note that \(chandasi\) no longer carries; \(supi\) constitutes the cooccurring word, and the affix is still \(uT\).

3.2.69 क्रयेचे

\(kravye ca\)
\(kravye 7/1 ca 0/1\)
(pratyayah #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, supi #4, viṭ #67, adah #68)
kravyāśabde upapade ader dhātor viṭ pratyayo bhavati
Affix viṬ also occurs after verbal root ad when the root cooccurs with a pada which ends in a sUP and contains kravya 'meat'.

Example:

kravyāt 'one who eats raw meat'

1. It is stated in the Mahābāṣya that this rule is separately formed to indicate that vā' sarūpavidhi does not apply here. That is, affix aN is not applicable. But if it were the case, how would kravyādah 'eater of cooked meat' be derived? It is noted that kravyādah does not involve kravyāt of this rule. Instead, kravyāda is derived by introducing affix aN under the cooccurrence condition of kṛtavikṛta, a listing in the pṛṣodarādi class (6.3.109 pṛṣodarādini yathopadistām), which gets the form of kravya (Kāś.: kṛtavikṛtaśabde upapade an, tasya ca pṛṣodarādi-pāthāt kravyabhāvah). Our present derivate means 'the eater of raw flesh; carnivorous'. The derivate which ends in aN, i.e., kravyādah, signifies 'the eater of cooked meat'.

3.2.70 तु: क्रमः पद्ध

duhaḥ kab ghaśca
/duhaḥ 6/1 kap 1/1 ghaḥ 1/1 ca 0/
(pratyayah #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, supi #4)
duhet dhātoḥ supi upapade kap pratyayo bhavati, ghaḥāraś cāntadesāh
Affix viṬ occurs after verbal root duh 'to milk' when the root cooccurs with a pada which ends in a sUP; in addition, the final h of the root is replaced by gh.

Examples:

kāmadughā dhenuḥ 'a cow which grants all desires; a cow which yields as much milk as one desires'
dharmadughā 'a cow which is milked only for religious purposes'

3.2.71 प्रेम छेत्यव्यावहस्यसुरोंदासी विन्न

mantiatre śvetavahokthaśasṛuṣadghōṣo nyin
/mantiatre 7/1 śvetae...śruṣadghōṣā 5/1 nyin 1/1/
(pratyayah #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, supi #4)
śvetavaha, ukthaśas, puroḍāṣa ity etebhya nyin pratyayo bhavati manti
viṣayē
Affix NvIN occurs, in the Mantra by nipātana, after verbal roots vah 'to carry', śams 'to praise', and dāś 'to give' when they cooccur
with a nominal \textit{pada} which contains \textit{śveta} ‘white’, \textit{ukthā} ‘hymns’, and \textit{puras} ‘in front of’ to derive \textit{śvetavaḥ, ukthāsas} and \textit{purodāś} respectively.

\textbf{Examples:}

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textit{śvetavaḥ indrāḥ} ‘Indra; the one whom white horses carry’
  \item \textit{ukthāśā yajamānāḥ} ‘a ritual sacrificer who chants praises with the hymns of the \textit{Sāmaveda}’
  \item \textit{purodāḥ} ‘ritual oblation of food’
\end{itemize}

1. The word \textit{mantra} refers to the \textit{mantra} literature only. It does not, for example, refer to the \textit{brāhmaṇas}, which constitute expositions of the \textit{mantra} (cf. \textit{Nyāsa} ad \textit{Kāśikā} III:593: \textit{na hi mantragrahaṇena brāhmaṇaṁ grhyate; tasya granthāntaratvāḥ; mantravyākhyāne granthaviśeṣe brāhmaṇaṁ-sabdo varṇate, na tu mantra}). Also refer to \textit{amantra} in rule 3.1.35 \textit{kāspratyayād}....

Although it is enough to say that the examples of this rule are derived with affix \textit{NvIN} via \textit{nīpātana}, see some additional details in the appendix.

3.2.72 \textbf{अते वकः:}

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textit{ave yajah}
  \item \textit{ave} \textit{7/1 yajah} \textit{5/1}/
  \item (pratyayah \#3.1.1, \textit{paraś ca} \#3.1.2, dhātoḥ \#3.1.91, mantra, \textit{nvin} \#71)
  \item \textit{ave upapade yajer dhātor \textit{nvin} pratyayo bhavati mantra viṣaye}
\end{itemize}

Affix \textit{NvIN} occurs in the \textit{Mantra} after verbal root \textit{yajA} ‘to perform a ritual sacrifice’ when the root cooccurs with a nominal \textit{pada} constituted by \textit{ava}.

\textbf{Example:}

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textit{tvāṁ yājñe vāruṇasyāvayaḥ asi}
  \item ‘you are the priest of Varuṇa at the sacrifice’
\end{itemize}

1. This rule, seemingly, should have been made part of the preceding rule. A separate rule (\textit{yogavibhāga}) became necessary so that the \textit{anuvṛtti} of \textit{śvetavaha}, etc.’ could be blocked. For, they would have to be carried to the subsequent rule if \textit{ave yajah} were made part of the preceding rule. Besides, that could have only allowed the \textit{anuvṛtti} of \textit{yaj} used with the preverb \textit{ava}. The \textit{anuvṛtti} of \textit{yaj} alone is required in the rule which follows. \textit{Kāśikā} rightly remarks that a split formulation (\textit{yogavibhāga}) of this rule is intended for the subsequent rule (\textit{uttarārtha}).

3.2.73 \textbf{किपुरे हन्दसि}

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textit{vij upe chandasi}
  \item \textit{vij} \textit{1/1 upe} \textit{7/1 chandasi} \textit{7/1}/
\end{itemize}
(pratayāh #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, yajah #72)

ʿupa upapade yajeś chandasi viṣaye vic pratayayo bhavati

Affix vilC occurs in the Vedic after verbal root 'yajA when the root cooccurs with a nominal pada which contains upa.

EXAMPLES:

upayaḍbhīr ėrdhvam vahanti ‘they carry it up by means of chanting of upayati (eleven small sections of the mantras of the Yajurveda)’

1. Note that carrying mantra could not have accounted for the forms which chandasi does. A reference with chandasi includes mantra as well as ‘brāhmaṇa’.

But why to formulate this rule when rule 3.2.75 anyebhyo...could account for what this rule does. That rule already includes ‘vij’, ‘chandasi’, and the reference to ‘yaj’. Commentators explain that this rule is ‘restrictive’ (niyama) in purpose. What is the restriction? The derivates of this rule are limited to the Vedic. Classical Sanskrit usages are, thus, ruled out.

The C is made an it to facilitate reference with 6.1.67 ver aprktasya. Absence of C as an it will leave the affix with only one it. Consequently, 6.1.67 ver aprktasya will refer to only one affix vil, and not also to KviP, etc.

3.2.74 आतो मनिन्कवनिब्वनिपश्च

āto maninkvanivaniipaś ca
lātah 5/1 maninkvanivaniipaḥ 1/3 ca 0 /
(pratayāh #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ ’#3.1.91, supi #4, vic chandasi #73)
ākārāntebhyaḥ dhātubhyaḥ supy upapade chandasi viṣaye manin, kvanip, vanip ity ite pratayāḥ bhavanti

Affixes manIN, KvanIP and vanIP, in addition to vilC, occur in the Vedic, after verbal roots which end in ā, used with or without any preverb, and cooccur with a pada ending in a sUP.

EXAMPLES:

sudāmā ‘he who gives generously’
asvattāmā ‘one who stands like a horse’
sudhīvā ‘he who dresses well’
supīvā ‘he who drinks well’
bhūṛdāvā ‘he who gives generously’
ghrapāvā ‘he who drinks ghee (clarified butter)’
kīlālapāḥ ‘he who drinks Kīlā (sweet beverage)’
subhāmyāḥ ‘he who walks gracefully’

1. Note that chandasi, supi and upasarge’ pi are carried via anuvṛtti. The ca is used in this rule to facilitate the anuvṛtti of vilC. Thus, vilC can also be
introduced. The N as an it in manIN is for initial high-pitch (ādyudātta). The P of KvanIP and vanIP is used as an it for anudātta accent (3.1.4 anudāttau suppitaft). The | as an it is uccāranārtha ‘for ease of articulation’.

3.2.75 अनेवेश्येपि दृष्यन्ते

anyebhyo’ pi drśyante
lanyebhyah 5/1 api O drśyante (a pada ending in tiÑ)/
(pratyayah #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, vic #73, maninkvanibvanipah #74)
anyebhyo’ pi dhātubhyo’ anākārāntebhyo ‘manin, kvanip, vanip’ ity ete
pratyayā drśyante, vic ca
Affixes manIN, KvanIP and vanIP, along with uIC, are seen to occur also after roots other than those which end in ā.

Examples:

susarma ‘great destroyer (of sins)’
prātaritvā ‘he who goes in the morning’
vijāvā ‘he who brings into being’
agregāvā ‘he who goes first’
rēdasī ‘one who injures...’

1. Note that chandasi is discontinued. Commentators explain that api is used to indicate diverse violations of operational rules (sarvopādhivyabhicārārtha). It here refers particularly to the status of roots used with or without any preverb.

The word drśyante ‘are seen’ keeps open the list of derivates. That is, one ought to search what other usages can be found. When found they should be treated as correct. Note that the use of api as well as anyebhyaḥ does not mean that the said affixes occur after any verb. This leaves no control, since earlier specifications would then not make any sense. It would be illogical to say that affixes X, Y, Z occur after verbal roots ending in ā, and then to add subsequently that they can occur after any verbal root. It is, therefore, suggested by Kāśikā that anyebhyaḥ means anākārāntebhyaḥ ‘those which do not end in -ā’. Our earlier rule relates to the Vedic but this one deals also with the classical language (bhāṣā).

3.2.76 बिज्यप्च

kup ca
/kup 1/1 ca 0/
(pratyayah #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, supi #4, upasarge’pi #61)
sarvadhātubhyah sopapadebhhyo nirūpapadebhyaś ca chandasi bhāṣāyāṃ ca
kup pratyayo bhavati
Affix \textit{KvIP} also occurs after a verbal root, used with or without a preverb, when the root cooccurs with a \textit{pada} which ends in a \textit{sUP}.

\textbf{Examples:}

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textit{ukhāsrat} ‘that which falls off a pot’
  \item \textit{parṇadhavat} ‘that which causes leaves to fall’
  \item \textit{vāhābhrat} ‘that which falls off a vehicle’
\end{itemize}

1. This rule introduces affix \textit{KvIP} after verbal roots in general whether they are used: with or without a preverb, and in the Vedic, or in the Classical language.

3.2.77 खः कः

\textit{sthāḥ ka ca}\texttt{\footnote{5/1 ka (1/1 deleted) ca \emptyset}}

\textit{(pratyayah #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, supi #4, upasargē ‘pi #61)}

\textit{‘sthā’ ity etasmād dhātoḥ supy upapade kah pratyayo bhavati, kvip ca}

Affix \textit{Ka}, and \textit{KvIP} as well, occurs after verbal root \textit{sthā} ‘to stand’ used with or without a preverb, when this root cooccurs with a \textit{pada} which ends in a \textit{sUP}.

\textbf{Examples:}

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textit{samsthāḥ} ‘one who is living happily’
  \item \textit{samsthāḥ} ‘those who are living happily’
\end{itemize}

1. Note that ‘\textit{supi}’ and ‘\textit{upasargē ‘pi}’ are both relevant here. Affix \textit{Ka} is introduced by this rule in addition to \textit{KvIP}. This of course is understood from the use of \textit{ca ‘and’}. Affix \textit{Ka} is used, in this rule, without a nominal ending (\textit{avibhaktikanirdeśa}). Otherwise, the rule should have been: \ldots \textit{kaś ca}.

It is stated that this rule should not have been formed, because affixes \textit{Ka} and \textit{KvIP} could have been made available by rules 3.2.4 \textit{supi sthāḥ}, and 3.2.75 \textit{anyebhyo ‘pi}\ldots respectively. It is argued that rule 3.2.14 \textit{samī dhātoḥ samjñāyām} will become applicable because of the inclusion of the word ‘\textit{dhātoḥ}’. Thus, affix \textit{aC} may also qualify to block affixes \textit{Ka} and \textit{KvIP} via 3.1.94 \textit{vā sarūpo ‘striyām}. Our present rule is thus stated separately to block a rule which may, in turn, qualify to block it (\textit{bādhakabā-dhanārtha}). Affixes \textit{Ka} and \textit{KvIP} block \textit{aC} in such instances of conflict.

3.2.78 सुप्त्वातौ जिनिस्ताल्ल्ये

\textit{supy ajātāu niñis tácchīlye}\texttt{\footnote{7/1 ajātāu 7/1 niñih 1/1 tácchīlye 7/1}}

\textit{(pratyayah #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91)}
Ajātivācini subanta upapade tāccihyle gamyamāne dhātor nīnih pratyayo bhavati

Affix Nīnī occurs to denote tāccihyla ‘one’s nature’ after verbal roots used in conjunction with a pada which ends in a sUP and does not denote jāti ‘class’.

Examples:

uṣṇabhoji ‘he whose nature is to eat warm food’
śītaḥbhōji ‘he whose nature is to eat cold food’

1. Note that ‘suṣṭi’ of this rule could have been easily obtained via anuvṛtti from the preceding rule. However, explicit mention of it becomes necessary because ‘suṣṭi’ of the preceding rule is also associated with ‘upasaṅg. Therefore, dropping ‘upasaṅg’ requires explicit use of ‘suṣṭi’. Bhaṭṭoji (SK IV: 75) observes as follows:

ihā vṛtti-kāreṇopasargabhinna eva suṣṭi nīnir iti vyākhyāya ‘utpratibhyaṁ āṇi sartter upasaṃkhyaṇam’ iti pāṭhitaṁ. Haradattamādhavādhiṣ ca tad evānusṛṭtam. etac ca bhāṣyavirodhād upesyaṁ. prasiddhaś copasarga‘ pit nīniḥ...

‘here, the author of the Kāśikāvṛtti, explained ‘nīnir without ‘upasaṅg’, and subsequently stated utpratibhyaṁ’... This same interpretation is followed by Haradatta and Madhava, etc. However, because this interpretation is contrary to the Mahābhāṣya, it should be neglected. Indeed, nīnir is common in the context of upasaṅg.’

Kāśikā, since it does not accept the anuvṛtti of upasaṅg, lists an iṣṭi which provides for Nīnī after verbal root sr, used with the preverb āN and preceded by ud and prati. The examples are: udāsārinyah and pratyā-sārinyah. The purpose of stating suṣṭi when it is already available from the anuvṛtti, in view of the Mahābhāṣya and SK, seems to provide for Nīnī, also, when the root is used with preverbs.

3.1.79 kartaryupamāne

kartaryupamāne
/kartari 7/1 upamāne 7/1/

(pratyayah #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, nīniḥ #78)
kartṛvācini upamāna upapade dhātor nīniḥ pratyayo bhavati

Affix Nīnī occurs after verbal roots when they occur in conjunction with a pada which denotes upamāna ‘object of comparison’ as kartṛ ‘agent’.
Examples:

\textit{uṣṭrakrośī} ‘one who makes noise like a camel’
\textit{dvāṅksarāvī} ‘one who makes noise like a crow’

1. This rule introduces affix \textit{NinI} after a verbal root cooccurring with a \textit{pada} which denotes \textit{kārtṛ} constituted by an \textit{upamāna} ‘standard of comparison’. That is, the cooccurring agent becomes the standard of comparison for the agent denoted by the derivate. Consider \textit{dhvāṅksarāvī} ‘the person who (agent of the derivate) makes the shrill cry like a crow (the cooccurring agent).

This, along with the subsequent rule, makes a provision for \textit{NinI} outside the meaning conditions of the preceding rule.

3.2.80 व्राते

\textit{vrate}
\textit{vrate} 7/1
\textit{(pratyayāḥ} #3.1.1, \textit{paraś ca} #3.1.2, \textit{dhātoḥ} #3.1.91, \textit{supī} #4, \textit{niniḥ} #78)
\textit{vrate} ganyamāṇe subanta \textit{upapade dhātor niniḥ pratyayo bhavati}

Affix \textit{NinI} occurs after a verbal root when the root cooccurs with a \textit{pada} which ends in a \textit{sUP} and the derivate denotes \textit{vrate} ‘ritual vow’.

Example:

\textit{sthāṇḍilaśāyī} ‘he who has taken a vow to sleep on the bare ground’
\textit{aśrāddhabhoji} ‘he who has taken a vow not to eat at the \textit{srāddha} (ritual oblation of food offered to the dead)’

3.2.81 बहुलमाधिक्ष्ये

\textit{bahulamābhikṣyaye}
\textit{bahulam} l/1 ābhikṣyaye 7/1
\textit{(pratyayāḥ} #3.1.1, \textit{paraś ca} #3.1.2, \textit{dhātoḥ} #3.1.91, \textit{supī} #4, \textit{niniḥ} #78)
\textit{abhiṣṣyaye} ganyamāṇe dhātor bahulam niniḥ pratyayo bhavati

Affix \textit{NinI} occurs variously after verbal roots when they cooccur with a \textit{pada} which ends in a \textit{sUP} and, when ābhikṣyā ‘to do something over and over again’ is denoted.

Examples:

\textit{kaṣṭāpyāyino gāndhārāḥ} ‘the residents of Gāndhāra who repeatedly drink \textit{kaṣṭāya} (herbal juice) in order to stay healthy’
\textit{kṣīrāpyāyino uśīnarāḥ} ‘the residents of \textit{Uśīnara} who repeatedly drink milk’
1. The word ābhikṣṇya is explained as pauṇahṛṇya 'to do something over and over again', and thus, constitutes an exception to the semantic condition of rule 3.2.78 supy ajātau... The use of 'bhaṇulam' makes it clear that elsewhere, for example in kulmāsakñādaḥ 'he who eats only boiled food', NinI does not apply.

3.2.82 मनः

manah
/manah 5/1/
(pratayah #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, supi #4, niniḥ #78)
manyateḥ subanta upapade niniḥ pratयyo bhavati,
Affix NinI occurs after verbal root manA 'to think' when the root cooccurs with a pada which ends in a sUP.

Examples:

darśanīyaṃṇaḥ 'he who considers something worth seeing'
sobhanamāṇaḥ 'he who considers something beautiful'

1. Commentators explain that man, here, refers to the verbal root manA 'to think', a divādi root, as opposed to the manU 'to know, understand' of the tanādi group. The derivatives of this rule do not create any problem because of this distinction in roots. However, problems could arise because of a difference in the vikaraṇa.

Note that the object of man which constitutes the cooccurrence condition should not be the same as the agent of the derivate. Thus, surūpaṃṇaḥ means 'he who considers someone else as handsome'. The next rule accounts for examples where the object as well as the agent are the same.

3.2.83 आत्ममाः ख्याय

ātmamāṇaḥ khaśca
/ātmamāṇa 7/1 khaś 1/1 ca 0/1
(pratayah #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, supi #4, niniḥ #78, manah #82)
ātmamāṇaḥ varttamāṇāṇā manyateḥ supy upapade khaś pratayaḥ bhavati
Affix KHaŚ, as well as NinI, occurs after verbal root manA when the root cooccurs with a pada which ends in a sUP and the derivate denotes ātmamāna 'thinking about one's own self'

Examples:

darśanīyammanyaḥ 'he who thinks about himself as (handsome and hence,) worth seeing'
darśanīyaṃṇaḥ 'id.'
panḍitamanyah 'he who thinks about himself as a scholar'
panḍitamāni 'id.'

3.2.84 चूले

bhūte
/lbhūte 7/1/
(pratayah #3.1.1 paraś ca #3.1.2 dhātoḥ #3.1.91)
'bhūte' ity adhikāraḥ 'vartamāne laṭ' iti yāvad yad ita ārdham anukramisyāmaḥ 'bhūte' ity evāṃ veditavyam
An affix, hereafter, occurs after a verbal root when the action is denoted in the past (bhūta).

EXAMPLES:

agniṣṭomayājī 'he who has performed the ritual sacrifice of agniṣṭoma
as a means for going to heaven'

1. This is a governing rule extending prior to rule 3.2.123 vartamāne
laṭ. The denotatum of the affixes to be introduced hereafter will be
'past'. But this past must relate to the sense of the root after which a
given affix is introduced.

3.2.85 करणे यजः:

karaṇe yajāḥ
/lkaraṇe 7/1 yajāḥ 5/1/
(pratayah#3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, niniḥ #78, bhūte
#84)
yajater dhātoḥ karaṇa upapade niniḥ pratayo bhavati bhūte
Affix Nini occurs after verbal root yajA used in conjunction with a
pada which ends in a sUP and signifies karaṇa ‘instrument’,
provided action is denoted in the past.

EXAMPLE:

agniṣṭomayājī

1. This rule carries the anuvṛtti of Nini. It is stated that KHaŚ is not
carried, since it is not marked with svarita. The rule, therefore, intro-
duces Nini after verbal root yajA 'to perform ritual sacrifice' when the
coccurring word denotes karaṇa, and the action is located in the past.
Thus we get: agniṣṭomayājī 'he who performed the ritual sacrifice by
means of agniṣṭoma'. But agniṣṭoma, being the ritual itself, cannot be ac-
cepted as karaṇa. How could one perform the agniṣṭoma, the object of yaj,
by means of (karaṇa), again the agniṣṭoma¿. Besides, how could the
denotation of both be made concurrently. Commentators offer lengthy
explanations for the sacrificer’s feeling (bhāvanā) of reaching heaven by means of the merits of agniṣṭoma. That is, when a person performs the ritual sacrifice of agniṣṭoma, he is motivated by svargakāmo agniṣṭomena yajeta ‘one wishing for heaven should sacrifice by means of agniṣṭoma’. This way, the general action of bringing about the goal of reaching heaven becomes the karaṇa to the particular action of performing the agniṣṭoma, the object of yaj.

3.2.86 कर्मणि हनः:

karmāṇi hanaḥ

/karmāṇi 7/1 hanaḥ 5/1/

(pratyayaḥ #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, nīṁhiḥ #78, bhūte #84)

karmanye upapade hanter dhātor nīṁhiḥ pratyayo bhavati bhūte kāle

Affix NīṁI occurs after verbal root han ‘to kill’ when the root cooccurs with a pada which ends in a sUP to denote karman ‘object’ and the action is denoted in the past.

Examples:

pitṛvyaghāṭī ‘he who killed his paternal uncle’
mātulaghāṭī ‘he who killed his maternal uncle’

1. Kāśikā states that the derivates should also involve the meaning of kutsā ‘censure’. The Mahābhāṣya does not say anything about this though such a meaning is not difficult to comprehend based on the denotational power of words (sabdāśaktisvābhāvya). Thus, we get pitṛvyaghāṭī ‘he who killed his paternal uncle’ parallel to the analyzed form pitṛvyam hatavān ‘he killed his paternal uncle’. Kāśikā’s intent to make the meaning of censure as a condition is not against the denotational power of the derivate. One would comprehend kutsā ‘censure’ even if it is not stated. It is for this reason that we do not get a derivate parallel to the analyzed form: caurām hatavān ‘he killed the thief’. For, killing a thief may not deserve censure.

3.2.87 ब्रह्माध्यक्षोद्वृत्तेऽविवप्पः

brahmabhūnavṛtresu kvip

/brahmabhūnavṛtresu 7/3 kvip 1/1/

(pratyayaḥ #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, bhūte #84, karmāṇi hanaḥ #86)

brahmādiśu karmasūpapadesu hanter dhātoḥ kvip pratyayo bhavati bhūte

Affix KvIP occurs after verbal root han when the root cooccurs
with a pada which contains brahma ‘brāhmaṇa’, bhrūṇa ‘foetus’ and vrtra ‘a demon’ as karman and the action is denoted in the past.

Examples:

brahmahā ‘he who killed a brāhmaṇa’
bhrūṇahā ‘he who killed a foetus’
vrtrahā ‘Indra, who killed the demon Vṛtra’

1. Why should we have this rule since rule 3.2.76 kvip ca can already accomplish what this rule is intended to do? Kāśikā states that this rule is needed to underline some restrictions (niyamārtham). That is, this rule restricts the conjoined words (upapada), verbal root (dhatu), tense (kāla) and the scope of the affix (pratyayaviśaya). The Mahābhāṣya (III: 254–55) speaks about two restrictions. First that affix Kvip should be introduced after verbal root han, only when the conjoined words are constituted by brahma, bhrūṇa and vrtra. This will block examples such as purusam hatavān = purusahā with KvIP. Secondly, this KvIP, introduced after han together with the restriction of conjoined words, only applies with reference to past action. The Mahābhāṣya does not accept the other two restrictions stated by Kāśikā. Nāgēśa (Udyota ad Pradīpa) states that: brahmādiṣu haner eva bhūte kvib bhavati, brahmādiṣu hanteḥ kvib bhūta eva... niyamadvayam nābhuyupagatam ‘affix KvIP occurs only after verbal root han...; only when the action is located in the past... these two restrictions were not accepted’. Obviously, there must be usages refuting the claims of other restrictions.

3.2.88 बहुलं छन्दसि

bahulaṃ chandasi
/bahulaṃ 1/1 chandasi 1/1/
(pratyayah #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, bhūte #84, karmanī, hanāḥ #86, kvip #87)
chandasi viśaye upapadāntare ’pi hanter bahulaṃ kvip pratyayo bhavati
Affix KvIP occurs variously in the Vedic after verbal root han when the action is denoted in the past.

Example:

mātyahā saptamam narkam praviṣet ‘may the one who killed his mother lay in the seventh hell’

1. It is stated that bahulam ‘variously’ is used in view of restrictions of the preceding rule. Kāśikā states that the restriction of upapada has been
compromised with the use of māтри in māтриḥā of māтриḥā saptaṃam narakaṃ pratviṣaṭ. The use of māтри as the conjoined karman can be justified only at the strength of bahulaṃ.

3.2.89  सुकर्मपापमानतपुन्येषु क्रियः:

sukarmapāpamanaṇtrapunyesu kṛṇāḥ
/ukarma...punyesu 7/3 kṛṇāḥ 5/1/
(pratyayāḥ #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, bhūte #84, karmanī #86, kuṭip #87)
svādiṣu karmasūpadesu karoter dhātoḥ kuṭip pratyayo bhavati

Affix KuIP occurs after verbal root DUKrtN when the root cooccurs with a nominal pada which contains su ‘good’, karma ‘act, deed’, pāpa ‘sin’, mantra ‘a mantra’ or punya ‘merit’ as karman and the action is denoted in the past.

EXAMPLES:

sukṛt ‘he who has done something well’
karmakṛt ‘he who has done the work’
pāpakṛt ‘he who has done a sinful deed’
mantrakṛt ‘he to whom a mantra has been revealed’
punyakṛt ‘he who has earned merit’

1. Kāśikā states that the three restrictions of kāla ‘time’, upapada ‘cooccurring word’, and pratyaya ‘affix’ also apply in the context of this rule. The restriction of dhātu is not valid since other roots can form part of the derivates.

Note that because the restriction of kāla demands the introduction of affix KuIP, karma kṛtavān ‘he did the work’ cannot qualify for aN to derive karmakāraḥ. That is, affix aN cannot be introduced when the action is denoted in the past. Because of the restriction of upapada as outlined by specific nominal bases, mantram adhitavān = mantrādhyāyah ‘he who studied the Mantra’ gets aN alone. That is, KuIP can only be introduced after verbal root kr used in conjunction with su, etc. Similarly, because of the restriction of pratyaya, KuIP is valid in the context of the past (bhūta). That is, mantram karoti kariyati vā will be qualified only for aN. The derivative ending in KuIP, i.e., mantrakṛt, cannot be used when the action is denoted at the current or the future time.

3.2.90  सोमे सुनान:

some suñāḥ
/some 7/1 suñāḥ 5/1/
(pratyayāḥ #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, bhūte #84, karmanī #86, kuṭip #87)
some karmany upapade sunoter dhātoḥ kvip pratyayo bhavati
Affix Kvip occurs after verbal root śUN when the root cooccurs with a pada which contains soma as karmā and the action is denoted in the past.

**Example:**

somasut ‘he who pressed out Soma’

1. Kāśikā claims that all four restrictions of kāla, upapada, pratyaya and dhātu are operative here as well as in the subsequent rule. Thus, consider (PM ad Kāś):

(a) bhūtakālasya kvipi niyatatvāt somam sutavān somasāva ity an na bhavati ‘because affix Kvip is to occur when the action is denoted in the past, aŅ cannot be introduced to derive somasāvaḥ parallel to the analyzed form: somam sutavān ‘he pressed out the Soma’;

(b) dhātoḥ soma evopapada niyatatvāt surām sutavān surāsāva ity aṉ eva bhavati ‘because soma alone forms the upapada, affix aŅ alone occurs in surāsāvaḥ parallel to the analyzed form: surām sutavān ‘he distilled the liquor’;

(c) ...dhātau niyatatvāt somam kṛitavān somakrīr iti kvib na bhavati ‘because of the restriction on verbal root suṉ, somakṛīḥ does not qualify for affix Kvip, against aṉ, to derive it parallel to the analyzed form somam kṛitavān ‘he purchased Soma’;

(d) kvipo bhūte niyatatvāt somam sunoti sosyati vēti vivakṣayām kvib na bhavati ‘because Kvip is restricted to past alone, one’s desire to say, ‘he presses out the Soma; ... will press it out’ does not entail Kvip against aṉ’.

3.2.91 अग्नि चे:

agnau ceh
lagnau 7/2 ceh 5/1
(pratyayah #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, bhūte #84, karmāṇi #86, kvip #87)
agnau karmany upapade cinoter dhātoḥ kvip pratyayo bhavati
Affix Kvip occurs after verbal root ciṉ when the root cooccurs with agni ‘fire’ as karmā and the action is denoted in the past.

**Example:**

agnicīt ‘he who heaped the ritual fire’

3.2.92 कर्मण्यान्याख्याम

karmany agnyākhyāyām
3.2.93  

Adhyāya Three: Pāda Two

/karmany 7/1 agn yakhyāyām 7/1/  
(pratayah #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, karmani #86, kvip #87, ceh #91)  
karmany upapade cinoteḥ karmany eva kārahe kvip pratayyo bhavati  
agn yakhyāyām  

Affix KvIP occurs to denote karman after verbal root ciN when the root cooccurs with a pada which denotes karman.

Examples:

śyenacit ‘a ritual fire (place) arranged in the shape of a falcon’  
kankacit ‘a ritual fire (place) arranged in the shape of a heron’

1. Note that ‘ceh’ and ‘karmani’ are carried from the preceding rule. The second karmani, which is explicitly stated in the rule, is intended to regulate the meaning of the affix. Thus, affix KvIP of this rule should be introduced only when karman is the denotation of the derivate. Thus, we get śyenacit parallel to the analysed form syena iva ciyate ‘that which is arranged like (the form of ) a falcon’ as opposed to syena iva citavān ‘he arranged like a falcon’.

2. The word ‘ākhyā’ is used to specify the particular traditional meaning (rūḍhi) of the derivate. Thus, it is not the general traditional meaning of ‘fire’ but the special conventional meaning of ‘arranging bricks (iṣṭakācayah) to prepare the special receptacle for one of the three ritual fires, āvahaniya, in the shape of a falcon’. Commentators hasten to add here that this meaning is denoted only by the form which results by the combination (samudāya) of dhātu ‘root’, upapada ‘cooccurring word’ and pratayya ‘affix’.

3.2.93 कर्मोनितिपित्त्वः:

karmaninir vikriyaḥ  
/karmani 7/1 iniḥ 1/1 vikriyaḥ 5/2/  
(pratayah #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, bhūte #84)  
vipūrvat krīnātṛ dhātor ‘ini’ pratayyaś bhavati  

Affix inl occurs after verbal root kriN ‘to barter, buy’, used with the preverb vi, when the root cooccurs with a pada which denotes karman and the action is denoted in the past.

Examples:

somavikrayi ‘he who sold Soma’  
rasavikrayi ‘he who sold liquor’

1. The explicit use of the word karmani is intended again for special meaning. Nyāsa characterizes it as follows: yat karma kriyāsambandham
anubhavati karttuḥ kutsām āvahati tat kutsānimittam karma yathā syād... ‘a karman which, while being associated with the action, brings kutsā to the agent; that object, the cause of kutsā, is (intended to be denoted here)’. Thus, we get rasavikrayī ‘the one who sells liquor’ where liquor, the object, when associated with the action of selling, brings kutsā to the agent, the person who sells’. But why not carry karmāṇi by anuvṛtti from the preceding rule where it also denotes a special meaning? To do so would bring a special meaning which is not desired here. Explicitly stating ‘karmāṇi’, thus, blocks the undesired meaning of ‘karman’ of the preceding rule.

3.2.94 दूरे: कवनिधि

\[ \text{drṣeḥ kvanip} \]
\[ /\text{drṣeḥ 5/1 kvanip 1/1/} \]
\[ (\text{pratyayāḥ #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, bhūte #84, karmāṇi #86}) \]
\[ \text{drṣer dhātoḥ karmany upapade kvanip pratyayo bhavati} \]

Affix KvanIP occurs after verbal root drṣIR when the root cooccurs with a pada which denotes karman and the action is denoted in the past.

**EXAMPLES:**

merudṛśva ‘he who has seen Meru’
paralokاردṛśव ‘he who has seen the world beyond’

1. Note that KvanIP is already available to drṣIR from 3.2.75 anyebhyo pi... What, then, is the purpose of this rule? The purpose is to block the occurrence of other affixes (pratyāntaranāṃśūntartham) such as manIN and aN.

3.2.95 राजनि युधिक्रम:  

\[ \text{rājani yudhikrṇah} \]
\[ /\text{rājani 7/1 yudhikrṇah 5/1/} \]
\[ (\text{pratyayāḥ #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.9, bhūte #84, karmāṇi #86, kvanip #94}) \]
\[ \text{rājanṣabde karmany upapade yudhyateḥ karoteś ca kvanip pratyayo bhavati} \]

Affix KvanIP occurs after verbal roots yudh ‘to fight’ and Dukṛṇ ‘to do, make’ when the roots cooccur with a pada which denotes karman and the action is denoted in the past.

**EXAMPLES:**

rājayudhvā ‘he who had the king fight’
rājakṛśtvā ‘he who made someone the king’
1. Note that *yuddh* is generally treated as intransitive (*akarmaka*). This goes against the requirement that it be conjoined with an object (*karman*). Commentators explain that *yuddh* is used here with *antarbhāvītanyarthā*, inhered causal meaning. Thus, it is a transitive (*sakarmaka*) verbal root.

3.2.96 सहे च

sahe ca
lsahe 7/1 ca 0/1
(pratayah #3.1.1, paras ca #3.1.2, dhātoh #3.1.91, bhūte #84, kvanip #94, yudhikriñā #95)

sahe sabde copapade yudhikriñor dhātvoḥ kvanip pratayo bhavati

Affix *KvanIP* also occurs after verbal roots *yuddh* and *DUktN* when the roots cooccur with a nominal *pada* which contains *saha* ‘with’ and the action is denoted in the past.

**Examples:**

sahayudhvā ‘he who fought along with someone else’
sahakrtvā ‘he who did something along with someone else’

1. Note that *saha*, as an *upapada*, is not modified here with *karman* ‘object’, since it denotes ‘non-thing’ (*astvavacana*). That is, *saha* cannot denote an object.

3.297 साप्तम्यां जनेरि:

saptamyām janer dāh
lsaaptamyām 7/1 janeḥ 5/1 dāḥ 1/1
(pratayah #3.1.1, paras ca #3.1.2, dhātoh #3.1.91, bhūte #84)
saptamyante upapade janer dhātotor dāḥ pratayo bhavati

Affix *Da* occurs after verbal root *janA* ‘to be born’ when the root cooccurs with a *pada* which ends in *saptami* ‘seventh triplet of nominal endings’ and when the action is denoted in the past.

**Examples:**

upasarrajāḥ ‘he who was born by first impregnation’
mandurajāḥ ‘he who was born in a stable’

1. Note that *saptami* of *saptamyām* denotes the locative nominal ending. This makes the *pratayahagrahava-paribhāṣā* (*Pbh. 24*) apply to yield the interpretation ‘that which ends in a locative nominal ending’. This explanation is necessary in view of 1.1.68 *svam rūpaṁ sabdasya...*, and 3.1.92 *tropapadāṃ...*.
2. Note that the deletion of a ī (1.1.64 aco' ntyādi ī), even when it is part of a non-bha (1.4.18 yaci bham), is made possible at the strength of D as an it in the affix (cf. Mbh. ad 6.4.143 ṛṣi: ṛṣyāṭpy anubandha-karaṇasāmarthyāt).

3.2.98 पञ्चलाम्यभाजतो

pañcamyāṃ ajātau
/pratyayāḥ #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, bhūte #84, janer āha #97/

pañcamyante upapade jātivārjite janer āha pratyayo bhavati

Affix Da occurs after verbal root janA when the root cooccurs with a pada which ends in pañcamī ‘fifth triplet of nominal endings’ and signifies something other than a jāti ‘class’ provided the action is denoted in the past.

Examples:

buddhijhaḥ ‘that which had its source in intelligence’
samskārajah ‘that which had its source in the samskāra (habits)’
duhkhajah ‘that which had its source in grief’

3.2.99 उपसर्गः च संज्ञायां

upasarge ca s sacrificīyāṃ
/upasarge 7/1 ca 0 s sacrificīyāṃ 7/1/

(pratyayāḥ #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, bhūte #84, janer āha #97)

upasarge cōppade janer āha pratyayo bhavati

Affix Da also occurs after verbal root janA when the root cooccurs with a nominal pada which contains a preverb and the derivate denotes a samjñā ‘name’.

Example:

aṭhe mānavi praṣīḥ ‘this, thus, is the progeny of Manu’

1. Note that the denotation of name (samjñā) should be made by the form which results out of the combination of dhātu, upapada and pratyaya. That is, samjñā cannot be accepted as the meaning of any one of these elements individually.

3.2.100 अनौ कर्मणि

ānau karmanī
/ānau 7/1 karmanī 7/1/
Example:

pumānujaḥ 'he who was born after a brother'
stryanujaḥ 'he who was born after a sister'

1. Note that verbal root janI will become transitive when used with the preverb anu. We also find that anu is used in the locative. This raises the question why anu, based on its specification in the locative, cannot be treated as an upapada? See the explanation given under 2.3.31 udi kule rujivahoh.

3.2.101 अन्यथा दृष्यते

Anyesu api drisyate
Tanyesu 7/3 api ṭ drisyate (verbal pada)/
(pratyayaḥ #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, bhūte #84, janer daḥ #97)
Anyesu api upapadesu kārakesu janer daḥ pratyayo drisyate
Affix Da is also seen to occur after verbal root janA when the root cooccurs with items other than those specified, and the action is denoted in the past.

Examples:

ajah 'unborn'
ajījaḥ 'brāhmaṇaḥ; twice-born'
brahmaṇajo dharmah 'a dharma which originated with a brahmaṇa'
ksatriyajam yuddham 'a fight which originated with a ksatriya'
abhijah 'he who was born'
parijah keśah 'hairs which grow all over'
anuḥah 'born after; younger brother'
parikhā 'that which has been dug all around'; a moat'
ākha 'pond'

1. This rule recalls the introduction of affix Da after verbal root janI used with conjoined words of varying denotata. Thus, it has been stated that when the conjoined word is constituted by pañcamī (2.3.98), Da comes after janI provided the upapada does not denote jāti. But this rule offers brahmaṇaja and ksatriyaja in brahmaṇajo dharmah, etc. It has been
additionally stated that $\Delta a$ is introduced after $janI$ when a preverb constitutes an $upapada$ and a name is denoted by the derivant (3.2.99). Our present rule offers examples where the derivates denote something other than a name ($samjñā$). Thus, we get $abhijāh$ and $parijāh$. Similarly, it has been stated (3.2.99 $anau$ $karman$) that when $janI$ is used with the preverb $anu$, $karman$ must be denoted by the $upapada$. This rule offers examples such as $anujāh$ where the $upapada$ is not a $karman$.

2. The word $apī$ has already been explained (3.2.75 anyebhyyo’ $pi$...) to be responsible for many violations of operational rules ($sarupādhiyabhicitarrātham$). This allows $\Delta a$ to also occur after other roots ($dhātvanta$), as well as under the condition of other $kāraka$ ($kārakānte’ $pi$). Thus, we get examples such as $parikāh$ and $ākhā$ from $khanU$ ‘to dig’.

3.2.102 निष्ठा

निष्ठा

/niṣṭhā 1/1/

(pratyayāḥ #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, bhūte #84)

निष्ठासम्यनकाह pratyayo bhūte bhavatī

An affix termed $niṣṭhā$ (1.1.26 $ktkatavatu$ $niṣṭhā$) occurs after a verbal root when the action is denoted in the past.

EXAMPLES:

$kṛtam$ ‘that which has already been done’

$kṛtvān$ ‘he did...’

$bhūktam$ ‘that which has already been consumed’

$bhūktavān$ ‘he ate...’

1. Commentators note, here, the problem of $itaretarāśraya$ ‘mutual dependency’. They note that this rule introduces affixes which have been termed $niṣṭhā$. But there is a problem in understanding how those affixes could be termed $niṣṭhā$, since they have not yet been introduced? To remove such a conflict, commentators note that assignment of the term $niṣṭhā$ would be comprehended as taking place later ($bhāvinīsamjñā vijñāyate$). That is: that which is subsequently termed $niṣṭhā$ is introduced when the action is located in the past ($bhūta$). Note that the term $niṣṭhā$ (1.1.26 $ktkatavatu$ $niṣṭhā$) is assigned to affixes $Kta$ and $KtavatU$. Affix $Kta$ is used to denote $bhāva$ ‘root-sense’ and $karman$ ‘object’ (3.4.70 $tayor$ $eva$ $kṛtyaktakhalarthāḥ$) as opposed to $KtavatU$, which is used to denote $kartr$ ‘agent’ (3.4.67 $kartarī$ $kṛt$).

2. A $vārttika$ under this rule proposes that a $niṣṭhā$ affix should also be stated when the onset of an action ($ādikarman$) is denoted. It is stated that the initial stages of actions could not entail their own past. This makes
introduction of nistiḥā impossible. The vārttika, by using ādikarmanī ‘when the onset of an action is denoted’, refers to rule 3.2.187 nītah ktāḥ whereby nistiḥā affix Kta is introduced when the action is located within current time. Thus, we get prakṛtaḥ kātam devadattaḥ ‘Devadatta started making the mat’, etc. Refer also to rule 3.4.71 ādikarmanī...

3.2.103 suṣājōṅśvānīṇip

suṣajōṅ 6/2 śvānīp 1/1
(pratyayāḥ #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, bhūte #84)

sunoter yajates ca śvānīp pratyayo bhavati

Affix Śvānip occurs after verbal roots suN and yaj when the action is denoted in the past.

EXAMPLES:

sutvā ‘... pressed out the Soma’
yajvā‘... performed the ritual sacrifice’

3.2.104 jīṛṭṭāṭṭtn

jīṛyatār atṛn
jlīṛyateḥ 5/1 atṛn 1/1
(pratyayāḥ #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, bhūte #84)

jīṛyatār atṛn pratyayo bhavati bhūte

Affix atRN occurs after verbal root jṛṣ ‘to grow old, death’ when the action is denoted in the past.

EXAMPLE:

jaran ‘old, aged’

1. Note that affix atRN obviously forms an exception to affixes termed nistiḥā. As such they can be blocked only optionally, as has been provided for by rule 3.1.94 vā’ sarūpo’ striyām. That is, forms such as jīṛṇah and jīṛṇavān which are derivatives of affixes assigned the term nistiḥā, can still be used optionally with jaran. The R as an i in atRN facilitates the introduction of augment nUM (7.1.70 ugd acām...). The N as an i it is intended for initial high-pitch (ādyudātta) accent.

3.2.105 chaṇḍasi śīṭḍ

chaṇḍasi liṭ
lchaṇḍasi 7/1 liṭ 1/1
(pratyayāḥ #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, bhūte #84)
chaṇḍasi viṣaye dhātore liṭ pratyayo bhavati bhūte
Affix *LIT* occurs after a verbal root in the Vedic when the action is denoted in the past.

**Examples:**

*a*ḥaṁ *sūryaṁ ubhayatō dadarśa* ‘I saw the sun from both sides of it’
*a*ḥaṁ *dvāvapṛthīvī ātātāna* ‘I encompassed both heaven and earth’

1. A question is raised about the formulation of this rule. It is argued that this rule is redundant; what it accomplishes can be accomplished by rule 3.4.61 *chandasi* *tuṇḍaṇlitāh*. However, 3.4.61 introduces *LIT* under the conditions of related actions (*dhātusambandha*) and anyatarasyām ‘optionally’. Our present rule introduces affix *LIT* after verbal roots in general with no strings of *dhātusambandha* and anyatarasyām attached. Thus we get: *a*ḥaṁ *sūryaṁ ubhayatō dadarśa* and *a*ḥaṁ *dvāvapṛthīvī ātātāna*.

### 3.2.106 लिट: कानज़ वा

*litah kānaj vā*

*litah 6/1 kānac 1/1 vā Ø/*

(pratayah #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, bhūte #84, chandasi #105)

chandasi viṣaye *litah kānaj ādeso bhavati*

*KānaC* optionally comes in place of affix *LIT* in the Vedic when the action is denoted in the past.

**Examples:**

*aṅgiraṁ cikyāṇaḥ* ‘he heaped the ritual fire’

*somaṁ susvūṇaḥ* ‘he presssed out the Soma’

*varuṇaṁ susvūṇaḥ* ‘he distilled the liquor’

1. This rule introduces affix *KānaC* as a replacement for *LIT* in the Vedic. The *K* of the affix is intended as an *it* to facilitate operations specific to an item assigned the status of *Kit* (1.2.1 *gāṅkujādibhaya*...). The *C* is intended for the final high-pitch (*antrodāta*) of 6.1.160 *citah*. This, as well as affix *KṛṣṇaU* of the next rule, denotes *kartiṇ* via *sthānivadbhāva* (1.1.56 *sthānivad...*; 3.4.67 *kartari kṛt*; 3.1.91 *kṛd atīṇ*). Affix *KānaC* is termed *ātmanepada* by rule 1.4.99 *taṇānāv* ... This adds another dimension to the use of *KānaC*. That is, it should be restricted to the replacement of *LIT* only when the root after which *LIT* is introduced qualifies for *ātmanepada*.

Note that *litah* is used in this rule in the genitive (*saṣṭhī*) to indicate that it is the *sthāni* ‘item to be replaced’ (1.1.49 *saṣṭhī sthāneyogā*). Why did Pāṇini not bring *liṭ* via *anuvṛtti* from the preceding rule? The fact that we want *liṭ* here in the genitive, as opposed to the nominative (*prathamā*)
which the *anuvṛtti* provides, should not pose any problem. For, we have ample instances of transposition of nominal endings (*vibhaktiviparināma*) to suit the context. Thus, the nominative of *liṅ* can be changed to read as genitive in the context of rule 3.2.106. This will also be economical, since *liṅ* in the genitive does not have to be explicitly stated in this rule. *Kāśikā* states that an explicit mention of *LIṬ* is intended to inform that *KānaC* and *KvaśU* are also replacements of *LIṬ* of 3.2.115 *parokṣe liṅ*. Haradatta does not agree with this position. He states that *LIṬ* is explicitly mentioned in this rule so that there is no confusion about the status of *KānaC* and *KvaśU*. That is, he, following the *Mahābhāṣya*, believes that, in the absence of *liṅah, KānaC* and *KvaśU* will be treated as independent affixes. They will be treated as replacements of *LIṬ* in view of the present formulation. Haradatta also takes recourse to the *paribhāṣā* (*PŚ*. 62): *anantarasya vidhir bhavati pratisedho vā ‘an operation, or corresponding negation, is limited to the most immediate’. This prohibits *KānaC* and *KvaśU* from being replacements for *LIṬ* of rule 3.2.115 *parokṣe liṅ*. Refer also to my notes under rule 3.2.108 *bhāṣāyam*.

3.2.107 *KvaśU*

*kvaśuṣ ca
/kvaśuḥ 1/1 ca ∅/ (pratyayah #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhatoh #3.1.91, bhūte #84, chandasi liṅah, vā #105–6)
chandasi liṅah kvaśuṣ ädeśo bhavati
KvaśU comes optionally in place of *LIṬ* in the Vedic when the action is denoted in the past.

**Examples:**

jakṣivān ‘...ate’
papivān ‘...drank’

1. Note that *KvaśU* is termed *parasmaipada* by 1.4.98 *laḥ parasmaipadam*. Consequently, it should be introduced as a replacement of *LIṬ* only after a verbal root which qualifies to receive *parasmaipada* endings.

2. A question is raised as to why *KvaśU* is introduced as a replacement separately from *KānaC*. Why did Pāṇini not combine the provision of this rule with that of the preceding? Commentators say that a separate rule-formulation was necessary to block the *anuvṛtti* of *KānaC* in the subsequent rule. If both were given as part of a single rule, then when one was carried the other would also have carried.

3.2.108 *bhāṣāyam sadavasaśruvah*
/bhaśṣyām 7/1 sadavasāṣruvaḥ 5/1/
(pratayayaḥ #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, liṭaḥ, vā #106, kvasu #107)
'sada, vasa, śru' ity etebhyah parasya liṭo bhāṣṣyāṃ viṣaye (vā) kvasur ādeśo bhavati
Affix LIT is optionally replaced with KvasU in the Classical language when LIT occurs after verbal roots sadA 'to sit', vasA 'to dwell' and śru 'to hear' and the action is denoted in the past.

EXAMPLES:

upasedivān kautsah pāṇīnīm 'Kautsa was subservient to Pāṇīni'
upāsadat... 'id.'
anūsivān kautsah pāṇīnīm
'Kautsa lived subsequently to Pāṇīni'
anavavāsit... 'id.'
upāṣuṣruvaṇ kautsah pāṇīnīm
'Kautsa heard about Pāṇīni...'
upāśrouṣit... 'id.'

1. Note that the Kāśikāvṛtti interprets this rule differently from others as follows:

'sada, vasa, śru' ity etebhaḥ parasya liṭo bhāṣṣyāṃ viṣaye vā kvasur ādeśo bhavati 'KvasU optionally comes in place of LIT', in the Classical language, when LIT occurs after verbal roots 'sada, vasa and śru to denote the action in the past'

Note that affix LIT, in this section, is introduced only in the Vedic to denote the sense of general past (bhūta). That is, LIT is not introduced after verbal roots to denote general past in the Classical language. Kāśikā therefore states that since Pāṇīni introduces the replacement, and since the replacement would become vacuous if there were no sthāṇi, an item to be replaced, we must assume that LIT is given as the sthāṇi by way of the specification of its replacement. Kāśikā thus treats the introduction of LIT as understood. This now clears the way for KvasU to optionally replace LIT.

Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita (SK: IV:114) interprets this rule differently:

sadādibhyo bhūtasāmānye bhāṣṣyāṃ liḍ vā syāt, tasya ca nityaṃ kvasuḥ 'affix LIT optionally is introduced to denote 'past in general' after verbal root sada, etc., when the usage is classical; and KvasU obligatorily comes in place of LIT'

Vāsudeva Dīkṣita (ad SK IV:114) explains Bhaṭṭoji's position as follows:
It is clear from the preceding discussion that the Kāśikā differs with the Mahābhāṣya. Commentators such as Haradatta and Nāgęṣa accept that affix LIT is introduced here optionally in the sense of general past after three particular verbs of the classical language. Elsewhere, in the classical language, then, we will get affix LUN, which has been introduced to denote past in general. Rule 3.2.108 introduces KvasU as a replacement for LIT which denotes general past and is optionally introduced after the three verbal roots of the classical language. Since the word vā ‘optionally’, in this interpretation, is to be related to LIT, KvasU will become the obligatory replacement of LIT. This position of Haradatta was also accepted by Bhāṭṭoji. Haradatta advises that ‘Kāśikā’s interpretation of this rule should be restructured to reflect this correct interpretation (vṛttigrantho) pi asmīn evārthe yojaniyāh). To sum up, Kāśikā makes a logical deduction that LIT is introduced in the Classical language after the cited verbs with the signification of general past. Affix KvasU then optionally replaces it. Others accept that both LIT and KvasU are introduced by this rule. Affix LIT is introduced optionally but is replaced obligatorily by KvasU. I omit details of how the Mahābhāṣya, Haradatta, and Nāgęṣa offer interpretations which make Kāśikā’s interpretation unacceptable. Although I chose to translate the rule in view of the Kāśikā, I put the vā of the vṛtti in parenthesis to indicate the difference of interpretation.

3.2.109 **उपेयिवङ्गनानुष्ठाननूनानम्नः**

\*upayivāṇvānanucānas ca
\*upayivān-anāsvān-anucānah 1/3 ca Θ/!

(pratyayah #3.1.1, paraś #3.1.2, dhātoh #3.1.91, bhute #84, liṭah, vā #106)

‘upayivāṇ, anāsvāṇ, anucāṇ’ ity ete sābdā nipātyante
Forms such as upayivāṇ, anāsvāṇ and anucāṇ are derived by nipātana.

**Examples:**

- upayivāṇ ‘he reached there’
- anāsvāṇ ‘he did not eat’
- anucāṇ ‘he did not speak’

1. Note that the examples under this rule are given as derived by
nipātana. It is not, therefore, relevant to explain their derivational processes. However, check the appendix for some ad hoc applications.

The word vā is carried here. Consequently, in the opinion of the Kāśikā, KvasU will be optional. In the opinion of others, LIṬ, ruled in the sense of general past, will become optional. See notes under the preceding rule.

3.2.110 लुङ्च

luṅ
luṅ 1/1
(pratyayah #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, bhūte #84)

bhūte’ rthe varttamāṇād dhātor luṅ prayayo bhavati
Affix LUÑ occurs after a verbal root when the action is denoted in the past.

EXAMPLES:

akārsit ‘he made...’
hārṣit ‘he carried something away’

1. This rule introduces affix LUÑ after a verbal root when the action is denoted in the past (bhūta). The N as an it is intended for qualification in rules such as 3.4.99 nityaṁ nitaḥ. The U is also used for qualification (viśeṣanārthah), though in rules such as 6.4.71 luṅlanārṇikṣv aḍ udāttah, whereby aṬ, an augment marked with udāttā, is introduced to an aṅga (1.4.13 yasmāt...) before LUÑ, etc.

3.2.111 अनध्यतनेवल्छ

anadyatane laṅ
/anadyatane 7/1 laṅ 1/1
(pratyayah #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, bhūte #84)

avidyamāṇādyatane bhūte’ rthe varttamāṇād dhātor laṅ prayayo bhavati
Affix LAÑ occurs after a verbal root when the action is denoted in a past which is non-current (anadyatana bhūta).

EXAMPLES:

akarot ‘he made...’
aharat ‘he took away’

1. The word anadyatana, used here as qualifier to bhūta, is a bahuvrīhi compound with the analyzed form: avidyamāno dyatano yasmin ‘that (a past) within which no current time is present’. Commentators show how a tatpurusa interpretation causes problems. For example, the affix would become applicable in adya hyo vā abhukṣmahi ‘we ate today or yesterday?’.
This sentence obviously involves a combination of opposites: current and non-current. This meaning is gotten by the paryudāsa interpretation of anadyatana: adyatanaṁ anyah ‘something other than the current’. A prasajya interpretation of anadyatana with the analysis, adyatane na bhavati ‘not when the current’ will also be problematic. For, this interpretation will allow LUN when the action is denoted in past in general. Our rule requires LUN here with the exception of the current past (anadyatanabhūta). Note that LAN cannot apply where even a trace of ‘today’ is found. The tatpurusa interpretation based on the paryudāsa or prasajya interpretation of anadyatana = adyatanaṁ yah anyah or adyatane na bhavati is thus rejected.

Nyāsa (ad Kāśikā II: 624) explains adyatana as follows:

dīvasaḥ sakalo’ tīkrāntaḥ yātre caturtho yāma āgāminyāḥ ca prathamo yāmah ‘the time constituted by the entire day, the fourth quarter of the night before, and the first quarter of the night to come’.

If a person, in reply to the question ‘where did you stay’, answers ‘I stayed right here’, then he should use his reply either in LUN or in LAN. If he stayed, and slept, during the first three quarters of the previous night and woke up in its last quarter, he should use LAN as: aham atrāvātsam. For, the three quarters of the last night will constitute anadyatana for him. If the man asked did not have even a wink of sleep in all the four quarters of the past night then to denote the sense of ‘continuous non-sleeping’ (jāgaraṇānantaon) one should use LUN as: aham atrāvāsam ‘I stayed right here’. This is a vārttika proposal in the Mahābhāṣya under the preceding rule.

A vārttika proposes the use of LAN when some popular episode of the past, which has not been witnessed by any living person, is presented as witnessed by the relator (parokṣe ca lokavijñāte prayoktur darśanaviṣaye laṁ vaktaṁ). Thus, we get: arunad yavanaḥ sāketam ‘the Yavana enforced a siege on the Sāketa’.

3.2.112 अभिज्ञावचने लूठ

abhiṣāvacane lṛṭ
/abhiṣāvacane 7/1 lṛṭ 1/1

(pratayah #3.1.1, paras ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, bhūte #84, anadyatane #111)

abhiṣāvacane upapade bhūtanadyatane lṛṭ pratayato bhavati

Affix LRT occurs after a verbal root when the root cooccurs with a nominal pada which denotes abhiṣā ‘recollection’, and when the action is denoted in a non-current past.

Example:

abhiṣāni devadatta kaśmireṣu vatsyāmah ‘remember Devadatta, when we lived in Kaśmīra’
1. This constitutes an exception to \textit{LA\text{N}}. The word \textit{abhijñā} has been explained as ‘recollection’ (\textit{smṛtī}). The \textit{saptamī} in \textit{abhijñāvacane} indicates that a statement of recollection should constitute the cooccurring word (\textit{upapada}). Thus, we get a sentence such as \textit{abhijñānāsi devadatta kaśmīreṣu vatsyāmaḥ} where \textit{LRT} has been introduced to denote a past which is non-current (anadyatana).

2. The word \textit{vacana} in \textit{abhijñāvacana} has been used to facilitate the synonyms (\textit{paryāya}) of \textit{abhijñā} to qualify as the cooccurring word. Thus, \textit{abhijñānāsi} of the example sentence could be replaced with \textit{smarasi}, \textit{buddhyase}, \textit{cetayase}, etc., with no effect on the use of \textit{LRT}. A rule which uses \textit{abhijñā} without \textit{vacana} would be interpreted to specify the condition as: ‘when \textit{abhijñā} itself constitutes the cooccurring word’.

3.2.113 न यदि

\begin{verbatim}
na yadi
\end{verbatim}

3.2.114 विभाज्य साकांक्षे

\begin{verbatim}
vibhāṣā sākāṅkṣe
\end{verbatim}

\textbf{Examples:}

\begin{verbatim}
abhijñānāsi devadatta yat kaśmīreṣu avasāmaḥ
‘remember, Devadatta, that we lived in Kaśmir’
\end{verbatim}

\begin{verbatim}
vibhāṣā sākāṅkṣe
\end{verbatim}

\textbf{Examples:}

\begin{verbatim}
abhijñānāsi devadatta kaśmīreṣu vatsyāmas tatraudanam bhoksāmahe
\end{verbatim}
'remember, Devadatta, when we lived in Kaśmīra and ate rice there'

abhijānāsi devadatta yat kaśmīresu vatsyāmaḥ, yat tatraudanaṁ bhokṣyāmahe
'remember, Devadatta, that we lived in Kaśmīra and ate rice there'

1. Commentators interpret this rule to be an instance of ubhayatra-vibhāsā. That is, this rule provides for something which was available (prāpta); at the same time it also provides for something which was unavailable (aprāpta). Affix LRT is available by rule 3.2.114 abhijñāvacane...

It is made unavailable by the negation of rule 3.2.115 na yadi. Our present rule provides LRT, optionally, with or without the use of yad in the co-occurring word, provided the speaker expects to add more information. Thus, LRT is used in vatsyāmaḥ of abhijānāsi devadatta (yat) kaśmīresu vatsyāmas tatraudanaṁ bhokṣyāmahe 'remember Devadatta, we lived in Kaśmīra and ate rice there'. Note that bhokṣyāmahe takes LAN, since the provision of LRT is optional. Conversely, we can get abhijānāsi devadatta, kaśmīresv avasāma, yat tatraudanaṁ abhunījamahi where yad is used and the first verb is used in LAN.

Kāśikā explains sākāṅka as lakṣyalakṣanayoh sambandhe prayoktur ākāṅka 'expectancy on part of the speaker about the relationship between the action forming the goal and that which marks that goal'. In the sentences cited, vāsa 'stay' marks the goal of bhojana 'eating'. The speaker in these sentences expects to inform about this relationship.

3.2.115 परोक्षे लिद

parokṣe liś
d/parokṣe 7/1 liś 1/1/
(pratyayah #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoh #3.1.91, bhūte #84, anadyatane #111)
bhūtānadyatanaḥparokṣe' rthe varttamanād dhātor liś pratyayo bhavati
Affix LIT occurs after a verbal root when an unwitnessed (parokṣa) action which is not current (anadyatana) is denoted in the past (bhūta).

EXAMPLES:

cakāra 'he made...'
jahāra 'he took away...'

1. Note that both anadyatane and bhūte are carried. They are further modified by parokṣe of this rule to mean: 'in the sense of an action located in a past which is not related with today, nor has been witnessed by the
speaker'. The Mahābhāṣya raises the question of defining this past in terms of a time-frame though leaves the reader to decide for himself. Two things become clear in the discussion: (a) the past of this rule has nothing to do with (the elapsed time of) today, and (b) parokṣa could simply be understood as 'that which remains beyond the power of sensory perception of the speaker'. Thus, parokṣabhūta of the anadyatana type could refer to a time-frame encompassing time-immemorial to the last minute of the third quarter of the last night.

2. A vārttika proposes that LIṬ is to be used irrespective of parokṣa and anadyatana when an action is located in the past and apahnaṇa 'denial' is denoted. Thus, someone asked: kaliṅgeṣu sthito 'have you been to the country of Kaliṅga?' An answer such as: nāham dakṣināpatham praviveśa 'I did not venture into the South of the country' with LIṬ is justified at the strength of the denial of past action.

3.2.116 इशायातेव च

haṣaśvator laṅ ca
laṅ 1/1 ca Ø/
(pratyayah #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, bhūte #84, anadyatane #111, parokṣe liṭ #115)
haṣaśvatayor upopadayor laṅ pratyayo bhavati cacārāli liṭ ca
Affix LAṆ, and LIṬ as well, occurs after a verbal root when the root cooccurs with ha and śaśvata and an unwitnessed action which is not current is denoted in the past.

Examples:

iti hākarot 'thus he did with resolve'
iti ha cacāra 'id.'
śaśvad akarot 'he always did it'
śaśvac cacāra 'id.'

1. This rule introduces affix LAṆ, additionally to LIṬ, to denote the sense of an unwitnessed non-current past when the root cooccurs with ha and śaśvata. Thus, we get akarot with LAṆ parallel to cacāra with LIṬ.

3.2.117 प्रस्ते चासन्त्रकाले

praśne cāsannakāle
praśne 7/1 ca Ø cāsannakāle 7/1
(pratyayah #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, bhūte #84, anadyatane #111, parokṣe, liṭ #115, laṅ #116)
cāsannakāle prcchayamāne bhūtādyatanaparokṣe' rthe varttamāṇād dhātoḥ
laṅliṭau bhavataḥ
Affixes $LAÑ$ and $LIT$ occur after a verbal root when a question is asked about an action of the recent past which is not current, and which was not witnessed by anyone.

**Examples:**

$agacchad devadattah$ ‘did Devadatta leave?’

$jagāma devadattah$ ‘id.’

$ayajad devadattah$ ‘did Devadatta perform the ritual sacrifice?’

$īyāja devadattah$ ‘id.’

1. This rule introduces both $LAÑ$ and $LIT$ after a verbal root when a question is asked about some unwitnessed action of a non-current past of relatively recent time. Thus, consider $agacchad devadattah / jagāma devadattah$ ‘did Devadatta leave?’. Note that $jagāma devadattah$ ‘Devadatta left’, with $jagāma$, a form of $LIT$, cannot be used optionally with $LAÑ$ in the answer. But what is āsanna ‘proximate, recent, or immediate’? How proximate or immediate to the current day must it be? There is no specification to be exact though normally a time-frame of five years is acceptable to the logicians (naiyāyika).

Why must the derivate involve a question relative to recent times? So that bhavantam prachāmi ‘I ask you sir!’, jaghāna kāṃsaṁ kita vāsudevah ‘did Vāsudeva indeed kill Kāṃsa’ could not come under the purview of this rule. Note that the question is being asked about the killing of Kāṃsa (kāṃsavadha) which cannot be accepted as recent (āsannakālika).

3.2.118 लद से

*lat sme*

*laṭ 1/1 sme 7/11*

*(pratyayah #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, bhūte #84, anadyatane #111, parokṣe #115)*

$smaśabda upapade bhūtānadyatana parokṣe laṭ pratyayo bhavati*

Affix LAT occurs after a verbal root when the root cooccurs with sma, and when an action which is not current, and which was not witnessed by anyone, is denoted in the past.

**Example:**

$nādena sama purādhīyate$ ‘they studied holding the (burning) reed in their hands (for light)’

1. This is an exception to the $LIT$ of 3.2.115 parokṣe līṭ. Some, according to Haradatta, explain the example sentence as:

$purā kalpe nādākhyam trāṇaviśeṣam haste gṛhitvā adhiyānā adhiyāte sama ‘the students studied in the ancient times with nāda, a particular reed, in their hands’.
3.2.119 अपरोक्षे च

aparokṣe ca
l.aparokṣe 7/1 ca ō/
(pratyayah #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, bhūte #84, anadyatane #111, lat, sme #118)
aparokṣe ca bhūtānadyatane’ rthe varttamānād dhātoḥ sma upapade lat ṭrātyayo bhavati

Affix LAT also occurs after a verbal root when the root cooccurs with sma, and when an action which is not current, but which may have been witnessed by someone, is denoted in the past.

Examples:

evaṁ sma pitā bravīti ‘thus my father used to speak’
iti smopādhyāyaḥ kathayati ‘thus my teacher used to say’

1. The preceding rule allows for LAT when the root cooccurs with sma, and when the action, which may have been witnessed, is located in the non-current past. This rule allows for LAT even when the action is not of the unwitnessed type.

2. A question is raised against the formulation of this rule. It is argued that dropping the anuvṛtti of parokṣe in the preceding rule would have made the derivation of both the parokṣa and aparokṣa derivates possible. This would have saved the formulation of this rule. Commentators explain that dropping the anuvṛtti of parokṣe in the preceding rule would have also resulted in the suspension of the anuvṛtti of anadyatane. This, in turn, is not desired.

3.2.120 ननौ प्रश्तप्रतिवचने

nanau prṣṭaprativačane
/nanau 7/1 prṣṭaprativačane 7/1/
(pratyayah #3.1.1 paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, bhūte #84, lat #118)
nanuśabda upapade praśnapūrvake pratiwačane bhūte’ rthe lat pratyayo bhavati

Affix LAT occurs after a verbal root when the root cooccurs with nanu and response to a question about an action in the past is denoted.

Examples:

akārṣih kaṭaṁ devadatta ‘Devadatta, did you make the mat?’
nanu karomi bhoh 'indeed I made (it)'
avocas tatra kincid devadatta 'Devadatta, did you say something there?'
nanu bravimi bhoh 'indeed I did'

1. Note that 'anadyatana' and 'parokṣa' are not carried. That is, this rule allows affix LAT in the sense of past in general. The conditions are: that 'nanu' should cooccur with the verbal root, and that what the derivate denotes constitutes the answer to a question. Thus, someone asked: akārṣīḥ katam? 'did you make the mat'. The answer will include LAT: nanu karomi bhoh 'yes, I did'.

3.2.121 नवोविर्यावः
nanvoh vibhāsā
/nanvoh 7/2 vibhāsā 1/1/
(pratyayah #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, bhūte #84, lat #118, prṣṭaprativacane #120)
nasāde nuśade copapade prṣṭaprativacane vibhāsā lat pratyayo bhavati bhūte
Affix LAT optionally occurs after a verbal root which cooccurs with na and nu and response to a question about an action in the past is denoted.

Examples:

akārṣīḥ katam devadatta 'Devadatta, did you make the mat?'
na karomi bhoh 'I did not make (it)'
nākārṣam 'id.'
ahaṃ nu karomi 'indeed I made (it)'
ahaṃ nvaṅkārṣam 'id.'

1. This rule makes the provision of the preceding rule optional in the context of na and nu when they constitute the conjoined word. Both 'bhūte' and 'prṣṭaprativacane' are carried. Thus, we get the following:

Question : akārṣīḥ katam devadatta 'did you make the mat Devadatta?'
Answer : na karomi bhoh 'I did not make it'; nākārṣam 'id.'; ahaṃ nu karomi 'indeed I made it'

3.2.122 पुरि लुङ्च चासे
puri luṅ cāsme
/puri 7/1 luṅ 1/1 ca 0 asme 7/1/
(pratyayah #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2 dhātoḥ #3.1.91, bhūte,
anadyatane #111, laṭ #118, vibhāsā #121)
‘purā’ śabda upaṇade smaśabdavarjite bhūtānadyatane’ rthe vibhāsā luṁ
pratyayo bhavati laṭ ca
Affix LUṆ occurs, optionally with LAṬ, after a verbal root which
coccurrents with purā, and is not used in conjunction with sma,
provided the action is denoted in a past which is not current.

Examples:

vasantiha purā chāṭrāḥ ‘students lived here earlier’
avātsuḥ purā chāṭrāḥ ‘students lived (here) earlier’
avasann iha purā chāṭrāḥ ‘students lived here earlier’
uṣur iha purā chāṭrāḥ ‘I hear that students lived here earlier’

1. Note that the word anadyatane is carried via maṇḍūkapluti. This rule
offers LUṆ after a verbal root when purā ‘once upon a time; previously’
forms the coccurrents word and sma is not used. Of course, the action
has to be located in the past of the non-current time. The derivate is
again optional to LAṬ. If, however, the option of LUṆ and LAṬ are not
accepted, LIT and LAN can be introduced. Note that LIT will be introduced
by 3.2.115 parokṣe liṭ. Thus we get the following four sentences:

(a) vasantiha purā chāṭrāḥ (LAṬ) ‘students lived here earlier’
(b) avātsuḥ purā chāṭrāḥ (LUṆ) ‘id.’
(c) avasann iha purā chāṭrāḥ (LAṆ) ‘id.’
(d) uṣur iha purā chāṭrāḥ (LIT) ‘I hear that students lived here
earlier’

The first three sentences mean the same thing. The fourth implies that
the speaker has not witnessed the action by himself. This is explained by
the requirement of 3.4.115 parokṣe liṭ.

3.2.123 वर्त्तमाने लट

varrtamāne laṭ
/√varrtamāne 7/1 laṭ 1/1/
(pratyayaḥ #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91)
varrtamāne’ rthe varrtamānād dhātor laṭ pratyayo bhavati
Affix LAṬ occurs after a verbal root when the action is denoted at
the current time (varrtamāna).

Examples:

bhavati ‘...becomes’
pacati ‘...cooks’
patatī ‘reads, recites’
3.2.124 लट: शतुशानवाचप्रथमासप्रधानाधिकरणे

laṭaḥ śatśānacāv aprathamāsamanādhikarane
/lāṭaḥ 6/1 śatśānacau 1/2 aprathamāsamanādhikarane 7/1/
(pratyayah #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, varttamāne #123)
laṭaḥ śatśānakāv ity etāv ādesau bhavataḥ aprathamāntenā cet tasya
samanādhikaranyam bhavati

Affixes SatR and ŠanaC occur after a verbal root in place of LAṬ when the action is denoted at the current time, and when LAṬ is not coreferential with a pada which ends in the nominative (prathamā).

Examples:

pacantam devadattam paśya ‘see Devadatta cooking’
pacamānaṃ devadattam paśya ‘id.’
pacatā kṛtam ‘(it was) done by one who was cooking’

1. The word aprathamā equates with na prathamā. It is a naN-tatpuruṣa compound where the negative particle naN interpreted as paryudāsa = tadbhinna-tatsadrśa ‘that which is different from X but is also similar to it’. Thus, aprathamā is interpreted as ‘that which is different from prathamā but is also similar to it’. The compound aprathamā thus denotes the nominal endings dvitiyā ‘accusative’, etc., which are different from the nominative (prathamā) but also share similarities because of their membership in the same class of nominal endings. The denotatum of aprathamā as ‘that which is different from but is also similar to the prathamā’ is modified in view of the interpretive maxim (cf. Paribhāṣā. 24) pratyayagrahaṇe tadantasya grahaṇam ‘specification by means of an affix refers to that which ends in that affix’. Consequently, aprathamā is interpreted as: ‘that which does not end in prathamā but ends in something similar to it’.

2. The word samānādhikaranyah is explained as a bahuvrihi compound meaning: samānam = abhinnaṃ adhikaranyam vacyaṃ yasya ‘that whose denotatum is identical to the denotatum of...’. When samānādhikaranyah is modified by aprathamā and is put in the locative as a compound-base forming the syntactico-semantic condition for the replacement operation of this rule, it is interpreted as: ‘when the denotatum of LAṬ is identical with the denotatum of a form which ends in a nominal ending other than the nominative’. The entire expression thus outlines the syntactico-semantic condition required of the form which ends in LAṬ. If the condition is met, LAṬ can be replaced with SatR or ŠanaC, where Š is used as an it to facilitate the introduction of affixes ŠaP, etc. This operation is
consequent upon assignment of the term sārvadhātuka (3.4.113 tiṁśī
tsārvadhātuka). Let us examine the following sentences:

1. devadatta odanaṁ pacati 'Devadatta is cooking rice'
2. aham devadattam paśyāmi 'I see Devadatta'
3. aham odanaṁ pacantam devadattam paśyāmi 'I see Devadatta
   cooking rice'

Note that the first two sentences do not entail any coreferentiality of
the type on hand. The third entails a coreferential relationship between
Devadatta and pacant. Given the string pac + LAT + devadatta + am,
LAT can be replaced with ŚatR or ŚānaC if the denotatum of this LAT is
similar to the denotatum of a word which ends in a nominal ending
other than the nominative. If devadatta + am, which ends in dvitiyā, has
the same denotatum as the LAT, then LAT can be replaced with ŚatR or
ŚānaC. What is the denotatum of LAT? Rule 3.4.69 laḥ karmāṇi ca bhāve
cakarmekebhyaḥ explains that LA denotes agent (karte) and object (karman)
after a transitive root (sakarmaka); it denotes the agent and root-sense
(bhāva) after an intransitive (akarmaka) root. The am after devadatta + am
is understandably introduced to denote the karman. If the LAT denotes
karman, then it can be replaced with ŚatR or ŚānaC.

Note that the coreferentiality between the denotata of words such as
devadattam and the LAT in pac + LAT must be determined in view of the
action. For example, the karman denoted by am of devadatta + am could
be coreferential with the karman denoted by the LAT of pac + LAT, if and
only if, they are karman in relation to the same action. Thus, sentence
(3) has Devadatta as the object of seeing; pacantam denotes the same
object. However, pacantam does not denote odanan which constitutes the
object of pac, a different action.

Note, in addition, that a LAT denotes karte, bhāva, or karman not by
itself, but by its replacements (ādeśā). Thus, to say that pac + LAT in
sentence (3) denotes karman is technically incorrect. Actually, this karman
could be denoted by affixes ŚatR and ŚānaC, or by a verbal ending which
comes as a replacement. How, then, should the coreferentiality of LAT
with a word which ends in a nominal ending other than prathamā be
understood? Commentators state that the property (dharma) of denoting
coreferentiality is to be transferred to the replacement of LAT for pur-
pouses of its replacements with ŚatR and ŚānaC. That is, it has to be
imagined. For additional details relative to the replacement, see the
appendix.

Note that sometimes we also find a replacement in affixes ŚatR
or ŚānaC when the denotatum of LAT is coreferential with the denotatum
of a pada which ends in the nominative. Kāśikā states that LAT is again used
in the rule just to indicate this. This purpose is aptly called: adhikavidhāna
'that which is more than what a rule in question could provide for'. Thus we get the sentence: san brāhmaṇaḥ '... is a brāhmaṇa'.

3. Kāśīka further informs that some interpret the rule with the anuvṛtti of vibhāṣa from 3.2.121 nanvora vibhāṣā in order to explain the coreferentiality of LAT with a word which ends in prathama. The rule thus becomes vyavasthitavibhāṣā in the sense that (a) SatR and SānaC obligatorily replace LAT when it is coreferential with a word which ends in a nominal ending other than prathama, and (b) SatR and SānaC replace LAT optionally when the coreferentiality obtains between LAT and a word which ends in prathama. This all is to somehow account for usages entailing coreferentiality with nominative which goes against the rule.

Note additionally that SatR and SānaC, for reasons of being constituted by more than one sound segment, and also for being marked with Ś, replace LAT in its entirety (sarvādeśa).

3.2.125 सम्बोधने च

sambodhane ca
>sambodhane 7/1 ca 0/
(pratayayah #3.1.1, paras ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, varttamāne #123, lataḥ satrśānacau #124)
sambodhane ca viśaye lataḥ satrśānacau pratayau bhavataḥ
Affixes SatR and SānaC occur after a verbal root in place of LAT also when sambodhane ‘address’ is denoted in relation to an action located at the current time.

EXAMPLES:

he pacan ‘o, you, the cooking one’
he pacamāna ‘id.’

1. This rule orders the replacement by SatR and SānaC under the constraint of coreferentiality with prathama though this prathamā should be introduced to denote sambodhana (2.3.47 sambodhane ca).

3.2.126 लक्षणहेतो: क्रियायाः

lakṣaṇahetvoh kriyāyāḥ
>lakṣaṇahetvoh 7/2 kriyāyāh 6/1/
(pratayayah #3.1.1, paras ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, varttamāne #123, lataḥ satrśānacau #124)
lakṣana hetau ca the varttamānād dhātoḥ parasya lataḥ satrśānacān ādēṣau bhavataḥ, tva cel lakṣaṇahetukriyāviśayau bhavataḥ
Affixes SatR and SānaC occur after a verbal root in place of LAT when the action denoted by the root constitutes a lakṣana ‘characteristic mark’, or hetu ‘cause’, of some other action.
EXAMPLES:

śayānā bhūjate yavanāh ‘the Ionians eat while reclining’
arjayan vasati ‘he is living here in order to earn money’
adhiyāno vasati ‘he is living here in order to study’

1. This rule introduces ŠatR and ŠānaC in place of LAT when the action denoted by the root marks or characterizes another action, or serves as the hetu ‘cause’ of the same. Thus, consider:

(a) śayānā bhūjate yavanāh ‘the Ionians eat while reclining’
(b) tiṣṭhan mūrtyatī yavanah ‘the Ionian urinates while standing
(c) adhiyāno vasati vārāṇasyāṃ ‘he stays in Vārāṇasi for the purpose of studying’

Affix ŠatR replaces LAT after sthā ‘to stand’ in sentence (b) since the action denoted by this root characterizes the way the Ionians ‘urinate’. The first sentence introduces ŠānaC as a replacement for LAT after verbal root stīN ‘to recline’ since the action denoted by this root characterizes the way the Ionians eat. Sentence (c) explains how adhiyānah, a derivate of adhi + i + LAT where LAT is replaced with ŠānaC, constitutes the hetu ‘cause, reason’ for the action of ‘staying’ denoted by verbal root vas ‘to dwell’.

3.2.127 तौ सत्

tau sat
/ltau 1/2 sat 1/1/
tau šatśānacau satsamjñau bhavatah

Affixes ŠatR and ŠānaC are termed sat.

EXAMPLES:

brāhmaṇasya kuryan ‘while doing the work of a brāhmaṇa...’
brāhmaṇasya kariyjan ‘id.’
brāhmaṇasya kariṣyamānāḥ ‘id.’

1. This rule assigns the term sat to affixes ŠatR and ŠānaC both. The word tau thus refers to ŠatR and ŠānaC. But such a reference requires that Šat and ŠānaC be given in the dual as šatśānacau. Since such a dual form cannot be gotten via anuvṛtti from the preceding rule, reference to these two affixes by means of tau becomes problematic. Commentators explain that tau is used here to make a direct reference to the dual form of these affixes found in rule 3.2.124 laṭāḥ šatśānacau... For, we get the most generalized reference to the two affixes in that rule. Our term sat could be assigned only to the ŠatR and ŠānaC replacements of LAT with reference to the current (varthamāna) action if the dual form šatśānacau of the earlier rule is not treated as the focus of reference for tau. It could not be applicable, for example, to the replacements of LRT (3.3.14 lṛṭāḥ
sad vā). The idea is to indicate Śatṛ and ŚānaC by tau in their unqualified forms.

The purpose of assigning the term sat is to facilitate the application of rules such as 2.2.11 pūrṇagunasyuhṣiṣṭaḥ... whereby a pada which ends in genitive is blocked from forming a compound. Consider also rule 3.3.14 brtah sad vā whereby Satṛ and ŚānaC are introduced as replacements for LRT.

3.2.128 पूर्वोऽत्र: शासन
Pūrvoḥ sat 1/1
/ pūrvoḥ 6/2 śāsana 1/1
(pratyayoh #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, vartamāne #123)
Pūrvoḥ yajeś ca dhātoḥ śāsan pratyayoh bhavati

Affix ŚānaN occurs after verbal roots pūN ‘to cleanse’ and yajA ‘to sacrifice’ when the action is denoted at the current time.

EXAMPLES:

pavamānah ‘that which purifies; Agni’

yajamānah ‘he who performs the ritual sacrifice’

1. Note that ŚānaN is not a replacement of LA. Instead, it is an independent affix like NyaL and trC, etc. Commentators explain that treating this affix as a replacement of LAT will be problematic. For example, introduction of this affix as a replacement of LAT will become optional in view of the provisions of vā”sarūpavadihi (3.1.94 vā”sarūpo...). Thus, yajate and pavate will also become optional to yajamānah and pavamānah. This, at least to some, may not create any problem since it is stated that the provisions of vā”sarūpavadihi are not applicable to the replacements of LA. The optional yajate and pavate can thus be blocked. But if one still treats the affix as a replacement of LAT then the affix will also have to denote a ‘means’ (sādhanā) as is provided for by rule 3.4.69 laḥ karmāṇi ca bhāve cākarmakahbhāyaḥ. This may lead further to the problems of assignment of the terms parasmatipada and ātmanepada, and accentuation. It is to remove these difficulties that this affix is not treated as a replacement. It is, instead, used as a kṛt affix to denote the agent in accordance with the provision of 3.4.67 kartari kṛt. The formulation of rule 3.2.127 tau sat to intervene between this rule and those dealing with Satṛ and ŚānaC as replacements of LA constitutes the evidence for ŚānaN to be accepted as an independent affix.

3.2.129 तञ्चीत्यवययोवचनशक्तिसु चानास
tācchilyayavayavacananākṣṭiṣu cānāś
tācchilya...saktiṣu 7/3 cānas 1/1
(pratyayah #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91)

Affix CānaŚ occurs after a verbal root to denote tācchilya ‘one's nature’, vaya ‘age’ or sakti ‘capability’ when the action is denoted at the current time

**Examples:**

katiha munḍayamānāḥ ‘how many are here with shaven heads’
katiha bhūṣayamānāḥ ‘how many here are well-dressed’
katiha kavacāṃ paryasyamānāḥ ‘how many here are wearing protective armor’
katiha śikhandāṃ vahamānāḥ ‘how many here have a topknot’
katiha nighnānāḥ ‘how many here are killers’
katiha pacamānāḥ ‘how many here are cooks’

1. Note that the word ‘vacana’ is not required in the rule. For, the affix can be introduced to denote age (vaya) even without ‘vacana’ as in 3.2.10 vayaśi ca. Haradatta (Kāśikā II: 646) explains that the word vacana is used for clarity (vispaṭārtham). Nyāsa treats it as a variation (vaicityra) in style.

Note that CānaŚ again is an independent affix. The fact that CānaŚ is not a replacement of LAT also removes the restriction of ātmanepada imposed upon the affix by 1.4.100 tanānāv ātmanepadam. Thus, CānaŚ can also be used after roots where parasmaipada is allowed.

### 3.2.130 ध्रुव्यमेतः श्रत्रक्रृत्विनिः

iṅḍhāryoḥ satraṅkrčchriṇi
liṅḍhāryoḥ 5/2 satr 1/1 (deleted) akṛčchriṇi 7/1

(pratyayah #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, varāntāne #123)
nīno dhāřeṇ ca dhātvoh satraṅkrčayo bhavati akṛčchriṇi kartari

Affix ŚatR occurs after verbal roots iN ‘to go’ and dhāri ‘to hold’ when the agent accomplishes the action at the current time with no difficulty.

**Examples:**

adhiṃpan pārāyaṇam ‘someone studying the Pārāyaṇa with no difficulty at all’
dhārayan upaniṣadam ‘someone comprehending the Upaniṣad with no difficulty at all’

1. The word akṛčchra is explained as sukhaśādyah ‘that which is accomplished with ease’. The word adṛčchriṇi modified with kartari yields the
following meaning: 'when the sense of the root denoted is easy to accomplish by the agent' (sukhasādhyo yasya kartrur dhātvarthah).

Verbal root dhārī, a causal form of dhṛ 'to hold', means 'to hold' in the sense of comprehending something with the facility to explain and recall. Thus, dhārayan upaniṣadām equates with akṛcchreṇa upaniṣadām dhārayati 'he (the agent) is able to comprehend the Upaniṣad with the facility of explaining and recalling it'. As opposed to this, consider the sentence: kṛcchreṇa vyākaraṇam dhārayati 'he is able to comprehend grammar with difficulty'.

Note that Ṣatṛ was not available to verbal roots iN 'to go' and dhārī 'to hold', in causitive. The first verb is required to receive an ātmanepada affix on account of its N as an i. The second can also receive the same if the fruit of its action accrues to its agent (1.3.72 svarītaṇītaḥ kartrabhīṣpṛye...). This rule, instead, makes Ṣatṛ available after both the verbal roots.

3.2.131 धिनेविने

dviṣo mitre
/duviṣah 5/1 amitrā 7/1/
(prayāyaḥ #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, varttamāne #123)
amicī kartari dviser dhātoḥ satpratyayo bhavati
Affix Ṣatṛ occurs after verbal root dviṣ 'to hate' when the agent of a current action is denoted as 'enemy'.

EXAMPLES:

dviṣan ‘...the one who is hating’
dviṣantaun ‘...the two who are...’
dviṣantah ‘...the many who...’

1. Note that the word amitra ‘non-friend’ is traditionally used in the sense of an enemy (satu). Otherwise, the affix may also become applicable in: dvēṣī bhāryā patim ‘the wife is jealous of her husband’.

3.2.132 सुधे व्यञ्जने

suño yajñasyaṃyoge
/ṣunaḥ 5/1 yajñasyaṃyoge 7/1/
(prayāyaḥ #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, varttamāne #123)
yajñasyayukte bhīṣave varttamāṇāt sunoter dhātoḥ satpratyayo bhavati
Affix Ṣatṛ occurs after verbal root suN ‘to press out’ when a current action is denoted in relation to a yajña 'ritual sacrifice'.

EXAMPLE:

sarve sunvantah ‘everyone participates at the ritual of pressing out the Soma...’
1. The word *yajñasanyoga* denotes the object associated with the ritual sacrifice. The intended object of association is the agent or the sacrificer. There are two types of sacrificers: *yājaka* 'the priest who performs the ritual' and *yajaka* 'he for whose welfare the ritual is performed'. The rule should have been simply formed as 'suño yajñē'. The word *sanyoge* restricts the association of the ritual to the principal agent (*yajaka*) only. *Kāśikā* thus states that the word *sanyoga* is used to restrict the usage to the *yajaka*'s association alone.

### 3.2.133 अहः : प्रशंसायाम्

*aṁha praśamsāyām*

*arhaḥ praśamsāyām l*aṁhaḥ 5/1 praśamsāyām 7/1*

(pratayāḥ #3.1.1, paras ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, varttamāne #123) arhater dhātoḥ praśamsāyāṁ satrpratyaya bhavati

Affix *SatR* occurs after verbal root *arha* 'to deserve' when praise is denoted at the current time.

**Examples:**

*arhaṁ iha bhavāṁ vidyām 'you, sir, deserve knowledge here’*

*arhaṁ iha bhavāṁ pūjām ‘you, sir, deserve praise here’*

### 3.2.134 आ वेत्तेत्तिष्ठितार्द्धसतसाधुकारिनुषु

*a kves tacchilataddharmatatsādhukarīṣu*

*lāṁh 0 kveḥ 5/1 tacchilataddharmatatsādhukarīṣu 7/3*

*a etasmāt kvip saṁśabdād yānita ārddhavam anukramisyāmas tacchiladiśu kartṛṣu te veditavāh*

Affixes introduced as far as *kveḥ* (3.2.77 bhrājabhās...) occur after a verbal root to denote a *kartṛ* 'agent' who performs an action because of his nature (*śīla*), sense of duty (*dharma*), or skill (*śādhukārī*).

**Example:**

To be given under appropriate rules

1. This rule enumerates three semantic conditions under which affixes prior to rule 3.2.177 bhrājabhāsadhvīdyut... are to be used. The *lāṁh* of *ā* indicates *abhividhi* 'inclusive limit'. As a consequence, *KvIP* should also be treated as denoting these meanings.

*Pāṇini* uses *tad* 'that' as a variable in all three semantic conditions. What could be the antecedent of this variable? It must refer to *dhātu* because this is the domain of *dhātu*. But given the word *śīla* 'the characteristic habit, conduct' read with *tad*, reference to the *śīla* of a verbal root
does not make any sense. However, śīla refers to the śīla of the agent (kārya) since derivates denote agent (3.4.67 kārta kṛt). Commentators explain that the word-form dhātu cannot be associated with items such as śīla, etc. Consequently, dhātu refers to its denotatum, the action, which is to be associated with śīla, etc., of the agent which the derivates denote. Thus, tucchilāḥ would be interpreted as a bahuvrihi compound parallel to the analyzed form: tad (dhātvarthāḥ) śīlo yasya ‘he whose characteristic nature is what the verbal root denotes’. Similarly, taddharma and tattādhukārī will be interpreted as: ‘he whose conduct is what the root denotes’ and ‘he who does well what the root denotes’ respectively.

3.2.135 तृण

tṛṇ

(Pratyayaḥ #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2 dhātoḥ #3.1.91, vartta-māne #123, tucchilataddharmatatsādhukārīsu #134)

Sarvadhātubhyas tṛṇ pratyayo bhavati tucchilādisu kārtṛṣu

Affix tṛṇ occurs after verbal roots to denote a kāṛa who performs an action at the current time because of his nature, sense of duty, or skill.

Examples:

kārtā haṭān ‘he whose nature it is to make mats’

vaditā janāpavādān ‘he whose nature is to spread malicious gossip’

mudayitārah śraviṣṭhāyanā bhavanti vadhūm ādham ‘the śraviṣṭhāyanās have the heads of their brides shaven’

annam apaharitāra āhvarakah bhavanti śrāddhe sīdhē ‘the āhvarakah (outcasts) steal the ritual oblation of food as soon as the ritual is completed’

3.2.136 अलक्रणिनिराक्रणप्रजनोपज्ञोत्सवसुधासहस्यहरि इत्यर्थ

alamkṛṇinirākṛṇaprajapratapatumadarucaiyapratrapavāturudhusahacara īśnuC

alamkṛṇi...ahacaraḥ 5/1 īśnuC 1/1

(Pratyayaḥ #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, vartta-māne #123, tucchilataddharmatatsādhukārīsu 7/3)

Affix īśnuC occurs after the following verbal roots when the kāṛa performs an action at the current time because of his nature, sense of duty, or skill:

a) ĮUkṛṭN when used with alam, or the preverbs nir and āN
(b) janA 'to be born' used with the preverb pra
(c) DU'paca$ 'to cook'
(d) pat 'to fall'
(e) madI 'to be joyous' used with the preverb ud
(f) rucA 'to shine'
(g) trapUS 'to be abashed' used with the preverbs apa
(h) vrtU 'to turn'
(i) vrjhU 'to grow'
(j) rahA 'to endure'

EXAMPLES:

alamkariśnuḥ 'he whose nature is to decorate (things)'
nirākariśnuḥ 'he whose nature is to repudiate'
prajaniśnuḥ 'he who is good at producing'
upacariśnuḥ 'he who is good at cooking'
upatariśnuḥ 'he whose nature is to go higher up'
umadariśnuḥ 'he whose nature is to be mad'
rociśnuḥ 'shining'
apatracariśnuḥ 'he whose nature is not to be abashed'
varttariśnuḥ 'revolving'
vardhariśnuḥ 'growing'
sahariśnuḥ 'enduring, brave'
cariśnuḥ 'he whose nature is to wander about'

See the appendix for derivational details.

3.2.137 पेरेण्द्रकसि

नेष्ठ चंडासी
/नेष 5/1 चंडासी 7/1/
(pratayaḥ #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, varttamāne #123, tacchilataddharmatatsādhukārisu #134, iṣṇuc #136)
ṇyantād dhātoḥ chandasi viṣaye tacchilādisu kartṛsu Ḭṣṇuc pratayo bhavati

Affix iṣṇuc occurs in the Vedic to denote kartṛ after a verbal root which ends in NiC when the agent brings about an action at the current time because of his nature, sense of duty, or skill.

EXAMPLES:

dṛṣadāṃ dhārayiśṇavah 'those who carry the stones...'
vṛudhāḥpārayiśṇavah 'those who nurture the plants'
3.2.138 पुजयः

bhūvaś ca
/bhūvah 5/1 ca ∅/

(pratayah #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, varttamāne #123, tacchilataddharmatatsādhukāriśu #134, īṣṇuc #136, chandasi #137) bhavater dhātoḥ chandasi viṣaye tachchilādiśu īṣṇuc pratayah bhavati

Affix īṣṇuc also occurs in the Vedic to denote kartr after verbal root bhū when the agent performs the action at the current time because of his nature, sense of duty, or skill.

Example:

bhaviṣṇuḥ ‘that which is to come into existence’

1. Why did Pāṇini not formulate the preceding rule, to include the provision of the present rule, as: ‘nibhūbhyyām ca’? A separate rule is formulated so that only bhū is carried in the subsequent rule. A joint formulation would also have required the anuvṛtti of NiC.

Kāśikā states that the use of ca is made to account for roots not covered thus far (anuktasamuccaya). Thus, we get bhṛajīṣṇuḥ of bhṛajīṣṇunā lohitacandanena. Note that this root gets KuP (3.2.177 bhṛajabhās...) in the classical language. The derivate bhṛajīṣṇuḥ could thus be accounted for by ca. Note that the Mahābhāṣya does not state this form.

3.2.139 म्लाजिष्ठयः कस्तुः:

gläjīsthāś ca ksnuḥ
/gläjīsthāḥ 5/1 ca ∅ ksnuḥ 1/1/

(pratayah #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, varttamāne #123, tacchilataddharmatatsādhukāriśu #134, bhūvah #138)
‘glā, ji, sthā’ ity etebhyaḥ dhātubhyaḥ cakārād bhuvāś ca tachchilādiśu ksnuḥ pratyayo bhavati

Affix Ksnu occurs to denote kartr after verbal roots glai ‘to be weary’, ji ‘to win’, sthā ‘to stand’, and bhū ‘to be’ when the agent performs the action at the current time because of his nature, sense of duty or skill.

Examples:

gläsnuḥ ‘he whose nature is to be weary’
jiṣṇuḥ ‘he whose nature is to win’
sthāsnuḥ ‘he whose nature is to be firm’
bhūṣnuḥ ‘that which is to be’
1. Note that ‘chandasi’ no longer continues. The $k$ of the affix is actually $g$ changed to $k$ because of sandhi. Here is how the Mahābhāṣya illustrates it:

$$kṣor gītvān na sthā īkāraḥ knitor itvaśasanāti

guṇābhāvas triṣu smāryah śryuko' niṭtvam gakov itoh//$$

‘because of the $G$ as an $i$ in $Gṣnu$, no -i replaces the ā of sthā (6.4.66 ghumāstha…);

for that replacement is allowed only before an affix marked with $K$
and $N$ as an $i$;

the $G$ is also included in $kniti ca$ (1.1.5) so that $guṇa$ is blocked; the $G$
is also included in 7.2.11 śrνyakah $kiti$ consequent upon which the $iT$
is blocked before an affix marked with $G$ and $K'$

Also see the discussion under rule 1.1.5 $kniti ca$.

3.2.140 त्रसिग्रधिद्हिःशिक्षिपेः कुः:

trasigṛdhidhrṣiksipēh knuh
/trasigṛdhidhrṣiksipēh 5/ knuh //

(pratyayah #3.1.1, $paraś ca$ #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, varttamāne #123,
tacchilataddharmatatsādhukāriṣu #134)
trasādibhyo dhātubhyas tacchīlādiṣu knuh pratyayo bhavati

Affix $Knu$ occurs to denote karṭṛ after verbal roots trasA ‘to be terrified’, grdhU ‘to be greedy’, ṚIdhṛṣA ‘to dare’ and $kṣipA$ ‘to hurl’ when the agent brings about the action at the current time because of his nature, sense of duty or skill.

Examples:

trasnuḥ ‘terrified’
grdhnuḥ ‘greedy’
dhrṣnuḥ ‘daring’
$kṣipnuḥ$ ‘he who throws’

3.2.141 शमित्वाष्ट्रयो चिनुन्

śaṁ ity aṣṭābhyo ghinuṇ
/śaṁ 5/ (deleted); iti 0 aṣṭābhyah 5/3 ghinuṇ 1/1

(pratyayah #3.1.1, $paraś ca$ #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, varttamāne #123,
tacchilataddharmatatsādhukāriṣu #134).
śaṁādibhyo dhātubhyo’ stābhyas tacchīlādiṣu ghinuṇ pratyayo bhavati

Affix $GHinU Nicholson$ occurs to denote karṭṛ after the eight verbal roots which begin with śaṁA ‘to be calm’ when the agent performs the action at the current time because of his nature, sense of duty, or skill.
3.2.141  Adhyāya Three: Pāda Two

**Examples:**

- samī ‘calm’
- tamī ‘desirous’
- damī ‘taming, controlling’
- śramī ‘hard-working’
- bhramī ‘roaming, whirling’
- klāmi ‘tired’
- kṣamī ‘forgiving’
- pramāḍī ‘careless’
- ummāḍī ‘crazy’

1. The word iti, as is clear from the enumeration of the eight roots, is used here in the sense of adī ‘beginning’. The GH of GHI  UN is used as an it so that the final e, j of a root can be replaced with k, g before an affix marked with GH (7.3.52 cae kū gihnyato). Kāśikā states that the U is used for ease of articulation (uccāranārītha). The Mahābhāṣya does not accept that it is introduced for ease of articulation. Instead, it treats it as an it. This is valid in view of forms śaminītara and śaminītara where the shortening of i is optionally conditioned by U as an it. Kāśikā accepts the shortening as obligatory (nīya). For details, see PM and Nyāsa ad Kāśikā on this rule. The N is an it for vṛddhi.

3.2.142 सम्प्रचानुरूढाण्यमाण्यसंपरिसंस्थितसंज्ञानांलिपिदृष्टनिर्देशनविवेचनसंस्कृतसंस्कृतनिर्देशनसंस्कृतसंस्कृतनिर्देशनसंस्कृतसंस्कृतनिर्देशनसंस्कृतसंस्कृतनिर्देशनसंस्कृतसंस्कृतनिर्देशनसंस्कृतसंस्कृतनिर्देशनसंस्कृतसंस्कृतनिर्देशनसंस्कृतसंस्कृतनिर्देशनसंस्कृतसंस्कृतनिर्देशनसंस्कृतसंस्कृतनिर्देशनसंस्कृतसंस्कृतनिर्देशनसंस्कृतसंस्कृतनिर्देशनसंस्कृतसंस्कृतनिर्देशनसंस्कृतसंस्कृतनिर्देशनसंस्कृतसंस्कृतनिर्देशनसंस्कृतसंस्कृतनिर्देशनसंस्कृतसंस्कृतनिर्देशनसंस्कृतसंस्कृतनिर्देशनसंस्कृतसंस्कृतनिर्देशनसंस्कृतसंस्कृतनिर्देशनसंस्कृतसंस्कृतनिर्देशनसंस्कृतसंस्कृतनिर्देशनसंस्कृतसंस्कृतनिर्देशन।

-sampṛcānurudhāṇyamāṇyasaaparīṣasamṣṭjaparidevisamjvaraparikṣipaparīṣaṇapariveṣapariparimahusādadvīdruhaduhayujākriḍadvīcacya-parayabha-parameterpoḍaramcūbhyāhanaś ca

/pratyaya #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātO #3.1.91, vartlamāne #123,
tacchīlataddharmatatsādhukārīsu #134, ghiṇu #141/
sampṛcādibhye dhātubhypo ghinu bhovati tacchīlado

Affix GHI  UN occurs after the following verbal roots to denote a kartṛ who performs the action at the current time because of his nature, sense of duty, or skill:

(a) ‘preč’ ‘to contact’ used with the preverb san (a rudādī parasmai-pada root.)

(b) ‘rudhīR’ ‘to cover’ used with the preverb anu (a rudādī root qualified to take both āṭmanepada as well as parasmai-pada endings),

(c) ‘yamA’ ‘to be weary, desist’ used with aāN (a bhvādī parasmai-pada root),

(d) ‘yasU’ ‘to strive’ used with aāN (a divādī parasmai-pada root),

(e) ‘sr’ ‘to go’ used with the preverb pari (a bhvādī parasmai-pada root),

(f) ‘srā’ ‘to release’, used with the preverb sam (a divādī āṭmanepada root),
(g) ‘devR ‘lament’ used with the preverb pari (a bhvādi ātmanepada root),

(h) ‘jvarA ‘to be sick’ used with the preverb sam (a bhvādi parasmaipada root),

(i) ‘kṣipA ‘to hurl, inspire’ used with the preverb (a tudādi parasmai-padaātmanepada), or (divādi parasmaipada root),

(j) ‘ratA ‘to cram’ used with the preverb pari (a bhvādi parasmaipada root),

(k) ‘vadĀ ‘to speak’ used with the preverb pari (a bhvādi parasmaipada root),

(l) ‘dahĀ ‘to burn’ used with the preverb pari (a bhvādi parasmaipada root),

(m) ‘muhĀ ‘to be confused’ used with the preverb pari (a divādi parasmaipada root),

(n) ‘duṣĀ ‘to modify, spoil’ used with the preverb pari (a divādi parasmaipada root),

(o) ‘diviA ‘to dislike’ (an adādi root used in both ātmanepadaparasmaipada),

(p) ‘druhĀ ‘to hurt’ (a divādi parasmaipada root),

(q) ‘duhA ‘to fill, milk’ (an adādi both ātmanepada-parasmaipada root),

(r) ‘yujIr ‘to join’ or ‘yujA ‘to concentrate’ (rudhādi ātmanepada-parasmaipada, or divādi ātmanepada),

(s) ‘krīdR ‘to play’ used with the preverb āN (a bhvādi parasmaipada root),

(t) ‘vijIr ‘to separate’ used with the preverb vi (a rudhādi ātmanepada-parasmaipada root),

(u) ‘tyajA ‘to deteriorate, be old’ (a bhvādi parasmaipada root),

(v) ‘rājA ‘to color, be in love’ (a divādi ātmanepada-parasmaipada root),

(w) ‘bhaqA ‘to serve’ (a bhvādi root in both ātmanepada-parasmaipada),

(x) ‘carA ‘to wander’ used with the preverb ati (a bhvādi parasmaipada root),

(y) ‘carA and ‘muṣA ‘to steal’ used with the preverb apa (both kṛyādi parasmaipada roots),

(z) ‘hanA ‘to kill’ used with the preverb abhi and āN (an adādi parasmaipada root).

Examples:

samparki ‘he who makes contact; is related’
anurodhī ‘he who requests, insists, or complains’
āyāmi ‘one who expands, or restraints’
āyāsi ‘one who strives’
parisāri ‘one who moves around, or is present everywhere’
saṃsargi ‘one who is joined, or is in contact, with...’
paridevī ‘he who laments, or grieves’
sanjvārī 'one who is afflicted with very high fever'
parikṣepī 'one who scatters things around'
parirāṭi 'one who rotes outloud,
parivādī 'one who is skilled at speaking; talkative'
paridāhi 'that which burns'
parimohī 'one who is infatuated'
doṣi 'guilty'
dveṣī 'one who wishes harm to'
drohi 'one who wishes to injure'
dohī 'one who milks the cows'
yogi 'a yogi; one who is in union with...'
ākṛdī 'one who is playful'
viveki 'one who is capable of telling the right from the wrong'
tyāgī 'one who abandons; a renunciate'
rāgī 'one who is attached'
bhāgī 'he who has a share'
atīcārī 'one who transgresses; a wanderer'
apacārī 'he whose conduct is immoral'
āmoṣi 'he who steals'
abhyāghātī 'he who attacks to kill'

3.2.143 दौ कथलसकऽक्यामः:

vau kaśasakatthathasrambhah
lau 7/1 kaśasakatthathasrambhah 5/1/
(prathyapha #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, varttamāne #123,
tacchilataddharmatatsādhukāriṣu #134, ghinun #141)
'kaśa hiṃsārthāḥ lasa śleṣakṛiṇanayoh, kattha ślāghāyām, srambhau viś-
vāse' ity etebhyo dhātubhyo viśabda upapade ghinun pratyayo bhavati
Affix GHinU occurs to denote kartṛ after verbal roots kaśA 'to hurt', lasA 'to embrace, sport', kattha 'to praise, boast' and srambhU 'to trust', used in conjunction with vi, when the agent performs the action at the current time because of his nature, sense of duty, or skill.

Examples:

vikāsī 'one who hurts someone'
vilāsī 'one who pursues sensual pleasures'
vikaththī 'one who brags about himself'
vissrambhī 'one who is trustful'

3.2.144 अपे च लधः:
apē ca lasaḥ
lape 7/1 ca Ž lasaḥ 5/1/
(pratayah #3.1.1 paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, varttamāne #123, tacchilataddharmatatsādhukāriṣu #134, ghinuṇā #141, vau #143)

‘laṣa’ kāṁtav asmād dhātor apa upapade cakāraḥ vau ca ghinunas bhavati

Affix G HinUṇ occurs to denote kartṛ after verbal root laṣa ‘to wish, shine’, used in conjunction with api and vi, when the agent performs the action at the current time because of his nature, sense of duty, or skill.

EXAMPLES:

 apalāṣi ‘greedy, thirsty’
 vilāṣi ‘id.’

3.2.145 प्र े लपस्य द्रुमाधवासः:

praprasyadrumathavadavasaḥ

/prapra 7/1 lapasyadrumathavadavasaḥ 5/1

(pratayah #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, varttamāne #123, tacchilataddharmatatsādhurūriṣu #134, ghinun #141)

‘pra’ upapade lapādibhyo ghinunas bhavati

Affix G HinUṇ occurs to denote kartṛ after verbal roots lapA ‘to speak aloud’, sr, dru ‘to move’, mathA ‘to churn’, vada ‘to speak’, and vasA ‘to dwell’, used in conjunction with pra, when the agent performs the action at the current time because of his nature, sense of duty, or skill.

EXAMPLES:

 pralāpi ‘one who shoots off his mouth’
 prasārī ‘one that expands or flows’
 pradrāvi ‘one who runs away; fugitive’
 pramāthī ‘tormenting’
 pravādi ‘one who reports’
 pravāṣi ‘one who lives away from his native place’

1. Note that ‘vasA’ in this rule refers to one which means ‘to dwell’, not to the ‘vasA’ to cover’.

3.2.146 निन्दहिंसकलशवानविनाशपरिक्ष्यपरिस्परिपरिपरिवर्द्याधिक्यो वुञ्

nindahīṃsaśākhiśhādavinaśaparikṣyaparirparipariparivardhyābhāṣyasya vun

/nindā...sūṇaḥ 1/1 (sam. dv.); vun 1/1

(pratayah #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, varttamāne #123, tacchilataddharmatatsādhukāriṣu #134)

nindādibhyo dhātubhyas tacchilādiṣu kartṛṣu vun pratayayo bhavati

Affix vun occurs to denote kartṛ after verbal roots nindA ‘to re-proach’, himsA ‘to injure’, kliṣA ‘to suffer’ and khādṛ ‘to consume,
eat'; naśā 'to be lost' used with the causal suffix NiC and the preverb vi; kripA and raṭA used with the preverb pari; bhāśA 'to speak' used with the preverbs vi and āN; and asūyA 'to find fault'; when the agent performs the action at the current time because of his nature, sense of duty, or skill.

Examples:

nindakah 'he who reproaches'
himsakah 'he who causes injury'
khādakah 'he who eats'
vināśakah 'he who destroys'
pariksepatakah 'he who hurls things all around'
parivātakah 'he who cries out loud; one who shouts'
parivādakah 'he who reproaches'
asūyakah 'he whose nature is to find fault in the qualities of others'

1. Note that ninda...asūyakah enumerates the bases after which affix vuN is to be introduced. This enumeration, however, is given in the nominative as opposed to ablative (paimcami) which is a common practice to mark the left context in relation to which something is to be introduced. Commentators explain that this nominative is to be read as used in the sense of ablative.

It is stated that affix NvuL (3.1.133 nvantrcmau) alone could have accounted for the derivates of this rule. The derivates of NvuL do not differ in form with those of vuN. There is also no difference in accentuation except in case of asūyakah which, because of its N as an it, requires that the initial syllable of its base be marked with udātta (6.1.197 śvityādir nityam). A derive of NvuL, because of its L as an it, requires the syllable which precedes the affix to be marked with udātta (6.1.193 lit). Pāṇini then should have formulated this rule just for asūyakah. He would have left the other examples within the scope of NvuL. But there is still a problem. Pāṇini introduces affix tṛN in the sense of tacchila, etc. (3.2.135 tṛn). This, as well as NvuL and tṛC, would also become available in addition to vuN in view of 3.1.94 vā" sarūpo' striyām. This further suggests that Pāṇini should not have introduced affix vuN after ninda, etc. But he still did it. Commentators state that this was done to indicate that 'tṛC, etc., do not apply via vā" sarūpa in the context of tacchila, etc.' (cf. Kāś. tacchilikesu vā' sarūpanyāyena trādāyana na bhavanti).

devikrūṣoḥ copasarge
/devikrūṣoh 612 ca @ upasarge 711/
(pratyayah #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, varttamāne #123, tacchilataddharmatatsādhuḥkāriṣu #134, vuñ #146)
devayateh kruṣeś copasarge upapade vun pratyayo bhavati
Affix vun also occurs to denote karty after verbal roots divA ‘to play’
and kruṣA ‘to cry out’, when they are used in conjunction with a
preverb and when the agent performs the action at the current
time because of his nature, sense of duty, or skill.

Examples:

ādevakah ‘he who plays; mourns; gambles’
paridevakah ‘id.’
ākrośakah ‘he who cries out loud; one who approaches in anger’
parikośakah ‘id.’

1. Note that verbal root div, here, denotes both the divādi ‘divU’ ‘to
play’ and the curādi ‘divU’ ‘to coo’. The curādi root will receive NiC from
3.1.26 hetumati ca.

3.2.148 चलनशब्दार्थाधिकर्मकालावुच

calanashabdhārthād akarmakād yuc

calanashabdhārthā 5/1 akarmakāt 5/1 yuc 1/1
(pratayah #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2 dhātoḥ #3.1.91, varttamāne #123,
tacchilataddharmatatsadhukāriṣu #134)
calanārthebhyaḥ sabdārthebhyās cākarmakebhyo dhātubhyas tacchilādiṣu
kartṛṣu yuc pratyayo bhavati
Affix yuC occurs to denote kartṛ after intransitive verbal roots
signifying calana ‘movement’ and śabda ‘noise’ when the agent per-
forms the action at the current time because of his nature, sense of
duty, or skill.

Examples:

calanah ‘he who goes’
copanah ‘he who crawls, creeps’
śabdanah ‘he who makes noise’
ravanah ‘he who roars; cries’

3.2.149 अनुदात्तेत्यहलादेः:
anudattetaḥ ca halādeḥ
lanudattetaḥ 5/1 ca 0 halādeḥ 5/1
(pratayah #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, varttamāne #123,
tacchilataddharmatatsadhukāriṣu #134, akarmakāt yuc #148)
anudatted yo dhātah halādir akarmakaḥ tataś ca yuc pratyayo bhavati
Affix yuC also occurs to denote kartṛ after an intransitive verbal
root which begins with a consonant, is marked with anudatta
‘low-pitch’ as an it, and whose agent performs the action at the
current time because of his nature, sense of duty, or skill.
EXAMPLES:

varttanah 'that which exists'
varddhanaḥ 'he who is growing'

1. Note that ādi in halādi is used to block tadantavidhi (1.1.73 yena-
vidhis...) whereby, in the absence of ādi, the verbal roots would have
been interpreted as ending in a consonant. The use of ādi gives the
desired interpretation: 'beginning with a consonant'.

3.2.150 जूतवक्तीमयाद्वयसुगृहिज्ञवलशुलचलपतपतः:

jucaṅkramyaadandramyasṛṣgrdhijvalaśucalasaśapatapadah
liuca...padah 5/11
(pratyayah #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, varttamāne #123,
tacchilataddharmatatāṃdūkāriṣu #134, yuc #148)
juprabhrtyibhyo dhātubhyo yuc pratyayo bhavati tacchilādiṣu kartṛṣu
Affix yuC occurs to denote kartṛ after verbal roots jucA 'to go,
move', caṅkram 'to walk, move crookedly', dandram 'to walk', sṛ 'to
crawl, move', grdhU 'to be greedy', jvalA 'to burn brightly, shine',
śucA 'to be sad, worry', laṣA 'to wish', pataḥ 'to fall' and padA 'to step',
when the agent performs the action at the current time because of
his nature, sense of duty, or skill.

EXAMPLES:

javanah 'fast-moving; a horse'
caṅkrmanah 'one who wanders around; one who walks crookedly'
dandramanah 'id'.
saranah 'flowing, moving'
garddhanaḥ 'greedy'
jvalanaḥ 'shining, glowing'
śocanaḥ 'sad, worrying'
lasaṇaḥ 'greedy'
patanaḥ 'falling'
padanah 'moving, walking'

1. Note that ju is a sautra root 'attested by the sūtra'. Some say it denotes
'movement' though others claim that it denotes 'moving with speed'. The
next two roots, caṅkramya and dandramya, have been derived with affix
yaN (3.1.23 nītām kauṭīlye gatau).

Note that verbal roots ju, caṅkramya, dandramya, etc., all denote 'move-
ment' (calana). Verbal root padA is marked with anudātta as an it and also
begins with a consonant. Consequently, these roots would have
qualified for yuC automatically under the provisions of the preceding two
rules. Why did Pāṇini have to formulate this separate rule? Kāśikā states
that a separate mention is made because the derivates of this rule derive with the introduction of affix after transitive (sakarmaka) roots. The use of \( \text{padA} \) makes this known. \( \text{Kāśikā} \) further states that others (this also includes the author of the \( \text{Mahābhāṣya} \)) consider the use of \( \text{padA} \) as indicating the validity of \( \text{paribhāṣa} \): (68) \( \text{tacchilikeṣu vā sarūpa vidhir nātī.} \) Thus, in deriving \( \text{alamkariṣṇuḥ} \), affix \( \text{ṣnuC} \) is introduced after \( \text{alamkṛN} \). If the said \( \text{paribhāṣa} \) was valid in case of \( \text{tacchilika} \) derivates then affix \( \text{ṭṛN} \) could have been introduced to derive \( *\text{alamkartā} \), a wrong derivate. Thus, the general (\( \text{utsarga} \)) \( \text{ṭṛN} \) is blocked by the particular \( \text{ṣnuUC} \). But since \( \text{Paṇini} \) has already made known the inapplicability of the provisions of 3.1.94 \( \text{vā sarūpo striyām} \) in rule 3.2.146 \( \text{nindahiṃsaklisā} \)...by introduction of \( \text{vāN} \) when \( \text{NnuL} \) could have accomplished the derivates, why does he repeat the same inapplicability here by use of \( \text{padA} \). It is stated that the inapplicability shown earlier covers the situation where a \( \text{tacchilika} \) and a \( \text{non-tacchilika} \) rule-interaction may be involved. This indication is made here to show that \( \text{vā sarūpāvidhi} \) does not apply even when two interacting rules are both \( \text{tacchilika} \). The two rules in focus are 3.2.149 and 3.2.154 \( \text{laśapatapatadasthā} \)... There are additional details of this \( \text{jñāpaka} \) which I omit for lack of interest. \( \text{Kāśikā} \) calls the \( \text{jñāpaka} \) as \( \text{prāyika} \), not universally valid. That is, one can find forms such as \( \text{gantā} \) where \( \text{ṭṛN} \) finds its scope as against the \( \text{ukaN} \) of rule 3.2.154 \( \text{laśapatapada} \)

### 3.2.151 कृधमण्डार्थेभ्याः

\[ \text{krudhamanḍārthebhyaś ca} \]
\[ /\text{krudhamanḍārthebhyaḥ 5/3 ca 9/1} /\]
\[ (\text{pratyayaḥ #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, varttamāne #123, tachhilataddharmatatsādhukāriśu #134, yuc #148}) \]
\[ \text{‘krudha kope, madī bhūṣāyām’ ity etad arthebhyaś ca dhātubhyo yuc pratyayo bhavati} \]

Affix \( \text{yuc} \) also occurs to denote \( \text{kartr} \) after verbal roots \( \text{krudhA} \) ‘to be angry’ and \( \text{madī} \) ‘to adorn’ when the agent performs the action at the current time because of his nature, sense of duty, or skill.

**Examples:**

- \( \text{krodhanah} \) ‘irascible’
- \( \text{roṣanah} \) ‘id.’
- \( \text{manḍanah} \) ‘decorating’
- \( \text{bhūṣanah} \) ‘decorating’

1. Here again, in the absence of the mention of some specific affix, \( \text{ṭṛN} \) is supposed to be blocked. That is, \( \text{ṣnuC} \) blocks \( \text{ṭṛN} \). Note that this \( \text{ṣnuC} \) cannot be introduced after \( \text{alamkṛN} \) against the provision of 3.2.136 \( \text{alamkṛśu...} \)
3.2.152 नयः:

\[ \text{na yaḥ} \]
\[ /\text{na ṣṭ yaḥ 5/1/} \]
\[ (\text{pratyayāḥ #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.9, varttamāne #123, tācchilataddharmatatsādhukāriṣu #134, yuc #148}) \]
\[ \text{yākārāṇiād dhāt̄or yuc pratyayo na bhavati} \]
Affix yuC does not occur after a verbal root which terminates in य.

EXAMPLES:

\[ \text{knūyitā ‘one who makes noise’} \]
\[ \text{kmāyitā ‘one who shakes’} \]

1. The negation of yuC makes it possible for the introduction of affix \( ττN \) after the roots concerned.

3.2.153 सुदादिष्ट्वेक्षण

\[ \text{sūddadipadiṣṭṣaś ca} \]
\[ /\text{sūddadipadiṣṭṣaḥ 5/1 ca ṣṭ/} \]
\[ (\text{pratyayāḥ #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, varttamāne #123, tācchilataddharmatatsādhukāriṣu #134, yuc #148, na #152}) \]
\[ \text{‘sūda, dīpa, dikṣa, ity etebhyaś ca yuc pratyayo na bhavati} \]
Affix yuC also does not occur after verbal roots śūḍa ‘to drip’, dīpa ‘to shine’ and dikṣa ‘to initiate’.

EXAMPLES:

\[ \text{suditā ‘dripping’} \]
\[ \text{dīpitā ‘shining’} \]
\[ \text{dikṣitā ‘an initiate’} \]

1. This rule negates affix yuC in case of three roots ‘śūḍa’, ‘dīpa’ and ‘dikṣa’. That is, affix yuC will be blocked by this negation in favor of ττN. However, in case of dīpa, this could have been accomplished by rule 3.2.167 namikampī... Thus, the inclusion of dīpa for negating yuC is vacuous. If it is said that dīpa is included to indicate the inapplicability of ‘vā sarūpa’ to \( \text{tācchilika} \) provisions, then that, too, has been indicated by earlier rules (3.2.146 nindahimṣa... and 3.2.150 jucankrāmya...). Besides, the ‘inapplicability’ provision is not universally valid. If it were universally valid, then affix ra (of 3.2.167 namikampī...) would have already blocked yuC. So what is the purpose of this negation here? Examples under 3.2.149 anudāttet... and 3.2.167 namikampī... as contrasted by kamanāhakmṛā yuvatīḥ ‘beautiful maiden’ show the \( \text{prāṣṭhika} \) nature of the ‘vā sarūpa’ inapplicability. That is, even in case of tācchilika affixes, 3.1.94 vā sarūpa... may find its scope. Consequently, an affix which is given as an exception (apavāda) and is not similar in form with its corresponding general
(utsarga) affix blocks the general affix optionally. Thus, we get kamrā as opposed to kamanā.

2. If affix yuC is blocked by this negation after sūdA, how could one derive madhusūdana ‘the killer of the demon Madhu; Kṛṣṇa’ and ripusūdana ‘the killer of the enemies’? One possible way would be to accept that the provisions of this negation are not obligatory (nītya). That is, one can find yuC after sūdA in some instances. How do we know this? From the fact that this rule negates yuC separately from the preceding rule. It would have been easier to collapse the negations of both the rules together. The split negation thus indicates that the negation is not obligatory. Another possible way to derive madhusūdana, etc., is to treat them as forming part of the nandīyādi group of rule 3.1.134 nandigrahi.... They could thus be derived with the introduction of affix Lyu. There is yet another way: derive it by LyuT of 3.3.113 kṛtyallyuto bahulam.

3.2.154 प्राचीनपद्यायुगोपतमणमपन्नन्त इक्षु

laṣapatapadasthābhūvṛṣahanakamagamaṣṭbhya ukān
/laṣa...ṣṭbhyaḥ 5/1 ukān 1/3/ (pratyaśaḥ #3.1.1, paraśa #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, varittamāne #123, tachilataddharmatatsādhūkāriṣu #134)
laṣādibhyo dhātubhyas tachilādīṣu kartṛṣu ukān pratayo bhavati
Affix ukān occurs to denote kartṛ after verbal roots laṣA ‘to shine’, paṭA ‘to fall’, padA ‘to step’, sthā ‘to stand’, bhū ‘to be, become’, vṛṣU ‘to rain’, hanA ‘to kill’, kammU ‘to desire’, gani ‘to go’ and śṛ ‘to hurt’ when the agent performs the action at the current time because of his nature, sense of duty or skill.

Examples:

apalāṣukaṁ vṛṣalasaṅgatam ‘it is not desirable to be friends with a Vṛṣala’
prapātukā garbhā bhavanti ‘fetuses have a tendency to abort’.
upapādakam sattvam ‘... substance comes into existence’
upasthāyutā enaṁ paśavo bhavanti
‘...animals approach him...’
prabhāvukam annam bhavati ‘food is effective (for health)’
pravarsukāḥ parjanyāḥ ‘clouds are the ones who rain’
āghātukāṃ pākalikasya mūtram ‘the urine of an elephant (when touched or smelled) has a tendency to kill’
kāmukā enaṁ striyo bhavanti ‘women become desirous of him’
āgāmuṇaṁ vāraṇaṁ rakaṣa āhūh ‘even a demon is said to be desirous of coming to Vāraṇaśi (for release)’
kīṁśārukaṁ tikṣṇam āhuh ‘an arrow is said to be piercing’
1. Note that rule 3.2.144 ape ca lasah introduces affix GHinUN, and this rule introduces affix ukaN. This rule is applicable via ‘vā sarūpadhi’, the negation of which in case of the tacchilika affixes has to be treated as not universal. Thus, we get a derivate such as apalāsi, parallel to apalāṣuka, of this rule.

3.2.155 जलपाख्याकृततालुङ्गरिनः sākan
jalpabhikṣakutālunṭavṛñah sākan
/jalpabhikṣakutālunṭavṛñah 5/1 sākan 1/1/
(pratyayaḥ #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2 dhātoḥ #3.1.91, varttamāne #123,
tacchilataddharmatatsādhukāriṣu #134)
jalpādibhuyo dhātubhyas tacchilādiṣu kartṛṣu sākan pratayo bhavati
Affix ŚakaN occurs to denote kartṛ after verbal roots jalpA ‘to speak’, bhikṣA ‘to beg’, kuttA ‘to cut, censure’, luntA ‘to steal’ and vrN ‘to be shattered’ when the agent performs the action at the current time because of his nature, sense of duty, or skill.

Examples:
jalpākah ‘talkative’
bhikṣākah ‘beggar’
kuttākah ‘one who cuts’
luntākah ‘one who robs’
varākah ‘miserable’

1. Note that verbal root jalpA ‘to talk’ is intransitive, and as such, rule 3.2.148 calana... applies to introduce affix yuC. Verbal root bhikṣA is also subject to the introduction of yuC by 3.2.149 anudātteta... Affix īṣuC is similarly available to verbal roots kuttA and luntA by rule 3.2.137 nes chandasi. Verbal root vrN has affix kiṇiN available to it by rule 3.2.171 ādṛgamahajanaḥ... Affix ŚakaN constitutes an exception to all these affixes. Its S as an it is intended to facilitate the feminine derivates in Niṣ by rule 4.1.41 sigaurādibhayaḥ ca.

3.2.156 प्रजोरिनि:
prajoriniḥ
/prajoh 5/1 iniḥ 1/1/
(pratyayaḥ #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91. varttamāne #123,
tacchilataddharmatatsādhukāriṣu #134)
prapārvāj javateḥ tacchilādiṣu kartṛṣu iniḥ pratayo bhavati
Affix iniḥ occurs to denote kartṛ after verbal root ju ‘to run’ used with the preverb pra, when the agent performs the action at the current time because of his nature, sense of duty or skill.
EXAMPLES:

prājavi 'runner, courier'
prājavinau 'id.' (nom. dual)

1. It is stated that the n of inI is saved from deletion by 1.3.3 halantyām read with 1.3.9 tasā yopāḥ because of I as an it. Note that affix yuC is already available to ju by 3.2.150 jucaṇkramya.... This rule, however, makes inI available when the root is used with the preverb pra.

3.2.157 जिद्यक्षीत्रिविश्वमयाव्यावस्थापरिबंध्यप्रसूध्य

jidyakṣītiuśrīṇavamāvyathābhhyamaṁparibhūprasūdbhyaś ca
jidyakṣī...prasūdbhyaḥ 5/3 ca 0/
(pratayaḥ #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhāoth #3.1.91, varttamāne #123,
tacchilataddharmatatsādhukāriṣu #134, iniḥ #156)

jiprabhrthiḥbhikaḥ dhātrohiṁ iniḥ pratayaṁ bhavati tacchilādiṣu karṣu
Affix inI also occurs to denote kartr after verbal roots ji, drīṇī 'to respect', kṣī 'to destroy, be wasted', sīṭī 'to serve' used with the preverb vi, inī 'to go' used with the preverb aṭī; ṭuvaṁ 'to vomit', vyathaṁ 'to torment' used with naṅī 'not', amā 'to be sick' used with the preverb abhi, bhū used with the preverb pari, and sū 'to inspire' used with the preverb pra, when the agent performs the action at the current time because of his nature, sense of duty, or skill.

EXAMPLES:

jayi 'one who wins'
dari 'one who respects'
kṣayi 'one who is destroyed'
viśrayi 'one who serves'
attyayi 'one who transgresses'
vasī 'one who throws up'
avyathi 'one who does not become tormented'
abhymī 'one who is sick'
paribhavi 'one who humiliates someone'
prasavi 'one who inspires'

1. Note that a reference with kṣī denotes both 'kṣī' 'to deteriorate' and 'kṣī' 'to dwell'. At the same time, prasū refers to the verbal root sū 'to inspire', and not to sūṅī 'to give birth to'.
‘sprhā ʾipsāyām, grha grahaṇe, pata gatau, daya dānagatiraśaṇeṣu, drā kutṣāyām gatau nīpūrvas tatpūrvas’ ca, tado nakārāntā ca nīpātyate; ṛdāhān śrātpūrvvaḥ ity etabhyās tacchilādiṣu kartrṣu āluc prayayo bhavati

Affix āluc occurs to denote kartr after verbal roots sprhī ‘to desire’, grhi ‘to take’, pati ‘to move’, dayi ‘to give, move, protect’, and drā ‘to despise; go’ used with the preverbs ni and tad, as well as, ṚudhāN ‘to hold, place’ used with śrat, when the agent performs the action at the current time because of his nature, sense of duty, or skill.

**Examples:**

sprhayāluḥ ‘one who desires’
grhayāluḥ ‘one whose nature is to receive or take’
patayāluḥ ‘one who has a tendency to fall’
dayāluḥ ‘compassionate’
nidrāluḥ ‘one who sleeps too much’
tandrāluḥ ‘one who is lazy’
śraddhāluḥ ‘respectful’

1. Note that the first three of these seven roots are read in the curādi group with -a at the end. This -a is deleted by 6.4.48 ato lopah consequent upon which there is no guṇa and urddhi. Note that the d of tad in tad-drā is changed into -n by nīpātana.

A vārttika under this rule advocates that śiN should also be enumerated here so that sāyāluḥ ‘sleepy’ can, also, be derived.

3.2.159 दाधेद्विसिद्वद्वयोः:

dādhēśisidāsadāraḥ

/da...sadā 5/1 ruḥ 1/1/

(pratīyahā #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoh #3.1.91, vartamāne #123, tacchilataddharmatatsādhukāriṣu #134, āluc #158)

dā, dheṭiṣi, sāda, sādaḥ ‘ity etahyā ruḥprayayo bhavati

Affix āluc occurs to denote kartr after verbal roots ṚudāN, dheT, sīN ‘to tie, bind’, sādī ‘to sharpen, fall’ and sādi ‘to sit’ when the agent performs the action at the current time because of his nature, sense of duty, or skill.

**Examples:**

dāruḥ ‘one who gives; generous’
dhārur vaṭo mātaram ‘a child who suckles at the breasts of his mother’
seruḥ ‘one who ties’
sadruruḥ ‘one who sharpens, falls’
sadruruḥ ‘one who sits or rests’
1. Note that 'dā' here refers to all the three roots which yield a form in dā. Thus, we have Dragging ‘to give’, do ‘to split’ and deN ‘to preserve, protect’. Note that dāNy and dāP are excluded from this reference.

3.2.160 सुपकिन्द्र: क्षरथ

srghasyadah kmarac
lsṛghasyadah 5/1 kmarac 1/1
(pratyayah #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, varttamāne #123,
tacchilaataddharmatatsādhukāriṣu #134)
'st, gasi, ad' ity etebhuy dhātubhyah tacchilādiṣu kartṛṣu varttamāne kāle
kmarac pratyayo bhavati
Affix Kmarac occurs to denote kartṛ after verbal roots sṛ ‘to flow’,
ghasI and adA ‘to eat’ when the agent performs the action at the
current time because of his nature, sense of duty, or skill.

Examples:

srmarah ‘one who moves well; a kind of deer’
ghasmarah ‘one whose nature is to eat; gluttonous’
admarah ‘id.’

1. Note that ghasl is a separate base from ad though they are both
used in the same sense of 'consuming'. The K of Kmarac blocks guna.

3.2.161 भाजेसमिदो घुरच

bhañjabhāsamidah ghurac
/lbhañjabhāsamidah 5/1 ghurac 1/1
(pratyayah #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, varttamāne #123,
tacchilaataddharmatatsādhukāriṣu #134)
'bhañja, bhāsa mida' ity etebhyo ghurac pratyayo bhavati tacchilādiṣu kartṛṣu
Affix GHoraC occurs to denote kartṛ after verbal roots bhañjA ‘to
 crush, break’, bhāṣR ‘to shine’ and N1midA ‘to be oily, fat' when the
agent performs the action at the current time because of his nature,
sense of duty, or skill.

Examples:

bhaṅguram kastham ‘wood which has the natural tendency to split,
fragile’
bhāṣuram jyotiḥ ‘flame which is naturally shining; luminous’
medurah paṣuḥ ‘a fat animal’

1. Note that rule 7.3.52 caelho ku... brings about a replacement in k/g
for the cf of a root before an affix marked with GH. Obviously, GHoraC
is one of those affixes. Commentators inform that because of the natural
denotational power of words (sabdaśaktisvābhāvyāt), we find derivates of
bhañjA which denote karmakartṛ 'object termed agent' (cf. 3.1.87 karmavat...).
3.2.162 विदिभिदिचित्रे: कुरच

vidibhidichideḥ kurac
\(\text{vidibhidichideḥ} \ 5/1 \ \text{kurac} \ 1/1\)
(pratyayah #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1., dhāotoḥ #3.1.91, varttamāne #123,
tacchilataddharmanatādihukāriśu #134)
vidādībhyo dhātubhyāḥ tacchilādiṣu kartṛṣu kurac pratyayo bhavatī

Affix KuraC occurs to denote kartṛ after verbal roots vidA ‘to know’,
bhidIR ‘to split’ and chidIR ‘to cut’ when the agent performs the
action at the current time because of his nature, sense of duty, or skill.

**Examples:**

vidurāḥ panditāḥ ‘a scholar is one who knows’
bhiduraṁ kāṣṭham ‘wood which has the natural tendency to split’
chidurā rajjuḥ ‘rope which has the natural tendency to break’

1. Commentators explain that vid here does not denote lābha ‘gain’. It
is here used in the sense ‘to know’. We also get the denotatum of karma-
kartṛ in connection with bhid and chid. Note that Jñānendra Sarasvatī in
his Tattvabodhini ad SK (IV : 129) states, in the context of at least chid, that
Kāśikā’s claim of karmakartṛ denotation is not correct. Jñānendra informs
that naitad bhāṣye ḍṛṣṭam ‘this has not been seen in the bhāṣya’. Some inter-
pret this to mean that Kāśikā’s interpretation contradicts Patañjali’s.
Note, however, that this rule has not been discussed in the Mahābhāṣya.

2. Kāśikā proposes the introduction of affix KuraC after verbal root
vyadhA, along with samprasārana, to derive vidhurāḥ ‘widower’.

3.2.163 इन्नासिसर्तिभ्यः कवरप

innaśisartibhyah kvarap
\(\text{innaśisartibhyah} \ 5/3 \ \text{kvarap} \ 1/1\)
(pratyayah #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhāotoḥ #3.1.91, varttamāne #123,
tacchilataddharmanatādihukāriśu #134)
‘in, naś, ji, sartti ity etebhyo dhātubhyas tacchilādiṣu kartṛṣu kvarap
pratyayo bhavatī

Affix KvaraP occurs to denote kartṛ after verbal roots iN ‘to go’, naś
‘to be lost, destroyed’, ji ‘to win’ and sr ‘to move, crawl’ when the
agent performs the action at the current time because of his nature,
sense of duty, or skill.

**Examples:**

itvarah ‘one whose nature is to wander’
itvari ‘id.’ (feminine)
naśvarah ‘perishable’
aśvari ‘id.’ (feminine)
jitvarah 'he whose nature is to win'
jitvari 'id.'
sṛtvarah 'one whose nature is to wander'
sṛtvari 'id.' (feminine)

1. Note that P as an it in Kvarap is intended for the introduction of augment tUK (tugāgama) by 6.1.71 hrasvaya... The K, again, is to block guna.

3.2.164 गतरथः

gatvaras ca
/gavarah 1/1 ca θ/
(pratyayah #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, varttamāne #123, tacchilataddharmatatsādhukāriṣu #134)
'gatvara' iti nipātyate, gamer anunāśikalopah kvarap pratyayaś ca
Affix Kvarap also occurs to denote kartṛ after verbal root gam 'to go'
in the derivation of gatvara by nipātana.

EXAMPLES:

gatvarah 'one whose nature is to wander'
gatvari 'id.' (feminine)

1. Note that the -m of gam in gatvarah/gatvari is deleted by nipātana. The feminine is formed with NiP in view of rule 4.1.15 tiḍḍhānaṁ...

3.2.165 जागरुकः

jāgarukah
/jāgarukah 1/1/
(pratyayah #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, vrttamāne #123, tacchilataddharmatatsādhukāriṣu #134)
jāgartoṛ ukah pratyayo bhavati tacchilādiṣu kartṛṣu
Affix ukā occurs to denote kartṛ after verbal root jāgr 'to be awake' when the agent performs the action at the current time because of his nature, sense of duty, or skill.

EXAMPLE:

jāgarukah 'awake, alert'

3.2.166 यज्ञपद्सात्रः यकः

yajayapadaśāṁ yaṇah
/yajayapadaśām 6/3 yaṇah/
(pratyayah #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, varttamāne #123, tacchilataddharmatatsādhukāriṣu #134)
yajūdīnāṃ yañantānāṃ ūkah pratayo bhavati tacchilādiṣu kartṛṣu
Affix ūka occurs to denote kartṛ after verbal roots yajā ‘to sacrifice’,
jaṇa ‘to whisper’ and daśa ‘to bite’ when the agent performs the
action because of his nature, sense of duty, or skill.

Examples:
yāyajūkah ‘he whose nature is to perform ritual sacrifices’
jaṇaṇajūkah ‘he whose nature is to chant inaudibly’
dandaśūkah ‘he whose nature is to bite; a snake’

3.2.167 नमिक्षिम्पिस्यायसकामहिस्तिपो र:

namikampisyajasakamaḥmahāśrīpo raḥ
/nami...dipah 5/1 raḥ 1/1/
(pratyayah #3.1., paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, varttamāne #123,
tacchilāṭdharmatatsādhukārīṣu #134)
namyādhibhyo dhātubhyas tacchilādiṣu kartṛṣu raḥ pratayo bhavati
Affix ra occurs to denote kartṛ after verbal roots namī ‘to bend’, kapīl
‘to shake, move’, sminī ‘to smile’, jasū ‘to set free; be exhausted’ used
with naṇ ‘not’, kamū ‘to shine’ and hisī ‘to injure, hurt’ when the
agent performs the action at the current time because of his nature,
sense of duty, or skill.

Examples:
namram kāṣṭham ‘a wood which is soft’
kamprā sākhā ‘the branch of a tree which naturally shakes in the wind’
smeram mukham ‘a face which smiles’
ajasraṃ juhoti ‘one who performs ritual sacrifices incessantly’
kamrā yuvatīḥ ‘a young woman who is beautiful’
himśro dasūḥ ‘a bandit who is fierce by nature’
dīpram kāṣṭham ‘a wood which is burning’

1. Refer to my notes on 3.2.153 sūdādippadīkṣas ca. The derivate of
jasū, ajasram, should denote kriyāśātya ‘continuous action’.

3.2.168 सनासंसौभिक्षः उ:

sanāśamsabhikṣa uḥ
/sanāśamsabhikṣah 5/1 uḥ 1/1/
(pratyayah #3.1., paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, varttamāne #123,
tacchilāṭdharmatatsādhukārīṣu #134)
sannantebhyo dhātubhya āśamses ca tacchilādiṣu kartṛṣu uḥ pratayo
bhavati
Affix u occurs to denote kartṛ either after verbal roots which end in
affix saṇ, or after sams ‘to desire’ used with the preverb adī, and
bhikṣa ‘to beg’, when the agent performs the action at the current time because of his nature, sense of duty, or skill.

Examples:

cikīṛṣuḥ ‘one who wishes to make something’
jīhīṛṣuḥ ‘one who wishes to take something away’
āśaṃṣuḥ ‘he whose nature is to wish well’
bhikṣuḥ ‘one whose nature is to beg; beggar’

1. Note that saN here does not refer to a verbal root such as saNU ‘to give’. It refers, instead, to the form which ends in affix saN. Besides, a reference to saNU would not make any sense. Verbal root sāms used with the preverb aN refers to sāms which denotes ‘wish’. This interpretation is possible because the reference is made, here, with aN. Thus, sāms does not denote stuti ‘praise’.

3.2.169 विन्दुरिच्छ:

vindur icchuḥ
/vinduḥ 1/1 icchuḥ 1/1/
(pratayāh #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, varttamāne #123, tachilataddharmatatsādhukāriṣu #134, uḥ #168)
vider numāgama ivaḥ chatvam ukāraś ca nipātyate taciḥlādiṣu kartṛṣu
Affix u occurs to denote kartṛ after verbal roots vidA ‘to know’ and is ‘to wish’ in the derivation of vindu and icchu by nipātana.

Examples:

vinduḥ ‘one who knows’
icchuḥ ‘desirous’

1. Note that these two derivates are given as derived by the ad hoc process of nipātana. The introduction of affix u; the augment nUM (in vinduḥ); and the change of s to ch in icchuḥ is accomplished by nipātana.

3.2.170 क्याचचन्दसि

Kyāc chandasi
/Kyāt 5/1 chandasi 7/1/
(pratayāh #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, varttamāne #123, tachilataddharmatatsādhukāriṣu #134, uḥ #168)
kya-pratayāntād dhātoṣ chandasi visaye taciḥlādiṣu kartṛṣu ukārapratyayo bhavati
Affix u occurs to denote kartṛ in the Vedic after verbal roots which end in affix Kya (3.1.8 suṣa ātmanah kyac) when the agent performs the action at the current time because of his nature, sense of duty, or skill.
Examples:

mitrayuh ‘one who wishes for a friend’
samsvedayuh ‘one who perspires’
sumnayuh ‘one who wishes for comfort’

1. Note that the reference with ‘Kya’ in ‘kyā’ is made to refer to affixes KyaC, KyaS and KyaN in general. Haradatta (PM ad Kāśīkā II: 670) informs that affix u should also be introduced after forms which end in affix yaK. Such an inference can be made on the basis of the reference by Kya itself. After all, Kya refers to affixes which all have K as their it, and which condition the assignment of the term dhātu by rule 3.1.32 Sanādyantā.... Affix yaK is no different from them in this respect. An example for a derivate in u with a base which ends in affix yaK could be: bhuranyuh (in dual) ‘an epithet of the Aśvins’.

3.2.171 आद्रगमहहोतः किकितो लिद् च

ādrgamahanajanaḥ kikinau liś ca
śādrgamahanajanaḥ 5/1/1 kikinau 1/2 liś 1/1 ca 0/
(parayuoḥ #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dḥātoḥ #3.1.91, varttamāne #123,
tacchilataddharmatatsādhukāriṣu # 134, chandasi # 170)
ākāraṇtebhyaḥ tvaṁaṇtebhyaḥ ca ‘gama, hana, jana’ ity etebhyaḥ chandasi
viṣaye tacchilādiṣu kikinau prayayaau bhavataḥ, liḍvac ca tāu bhavataḥ.
Affixes Ki and Kin occur to denote kartṛ in the Vedic after verbal roots which end in āT (1.1.70 taparas...) or r, and after gamA, hanA and janA as well, when the agent performs the action at the current time because of his nature, sense of duty, or skill; in addition, Ki and Kin are treated as if they were LIṬ.

Examples:

papiś somam ‘one who drinks the Soma’
dadirgāḥ ‘one who gives a cow’
jagmir yuvā ‘the young man who leaves’
jaghnir vrtram ‘the killer of Vṛtra’
janjir bijan ‘one who makes the seed sprout’

1. The LIṬ of this rule is interpreted as denoting the sense of liṭvat ‘as if ending in LIṬ’. This is clearly an atideśa ‘extension’ interpretation. Nyāsa (ad Kāśīkā II: 671) explains that ‘words used in the sense of some other words denote the sense of affix vatI even without its use’. Thus, given simho māṇavakah ‘the boy is like a lion’, one understands the sense of tulya ‘like’ without the use of vatI. Similarly to this, we can interpret LIṬ to denote the sense of ‘like an item which ends in affix LIṬ’. This is clearly intended to allow operations similar to LIṬ in case of items which
end in affixes Ki and KIN. This obviously is an extension of the operational type (kāryātideśa). Consequently, operations such as doubling (dvitva), etc., will apply. See the derivations in the appendix. There is practically no formal difference in the two types of derivates except for accent.

2. A proposal is made to make the application of affixes Ki and KIN after all the verbal roots. This proposal is based on usages which entail other verbs. Separate proposals are also made to account for forms such as dadhiḥ ‘he who holds’, cakriḥ ‘he who makes’, etc., by introducing these affixes in the classical usage. Some forms are also proposed to be derived by introduction of these affixes after bases which end in affix yaN. See the Mahābhāṣya under this rule for details.

3.2.172 खपितिसोनिनिन

svapitśor najin
/svapitśoh 6/2 najin 1/1/

(pratyayāh #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, varttamāne #123, tācchilataddharmatādūkhāriśu #134)
svapēs tṛṣēs ca tācchilādiśu kartṛṣu najin pratyayo bhavati

Affix najIN occurs to denote kartṛ after verbal roots Nīsvap ‘to sleep’ and Nītṛṣā ‘to be thirsty’ when the agent performs the action at the current time because of his nature, sense of duty, or skill.

Examples:

svapnak ‘he whose nature is to sleep a lot’
tṛṣṇāk ‘he who is always thirsty’

3.2.173 श्रवंयोरुरः

śrvandyor āruḥ
/shrvandyoḥ 6/2 āruḥ 1/1/

(pratyayāh #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, varttamāne #123, tācchilataddharmatādūkhāriśu #134)
śṛ, vadi ity elābhhyām dhātubhyām tācchilādiśu kartṛṣu āruḥ pratyayo bhavati

Affix āru occurs to denote kartṛ after verbal roots śṛ ‘to hurt’ and vadl ‘to pay obeisance, praise’ when the agent performs the action at the current time because of his nature, sense of duty, or skill.

Examples:

śarāruḥ ‘one who hurts; wicked’
vandāruḥ ‘one whose nature is to praise; a bard’

1. Note that śṛ has ākuN available to it from 3.2.154 lasapapatapa... Similar provision of yuC is also available to vand by rule 3.2.149 anudāttetaś ca... This rule simply provides for āru.
3.2.174 भिय: क्रुक्लुकानो

bhīyah kruklukanau
/bhīyah 5/1 kruklukanau 1/2/
/pratyayāh #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, varttamāne #123, tacchilataddharmatatsādhukāriṣu #134/
‘nībhi bhaye asmād dhātoḥ tacchilādiṣu kartṛṣu kruklukanau prayayau bhavataḥ

Affixes Kr and KLuKaN occur to denote kartṛ after verbal root Niibhi ‘to fear’ when the agent performs the action at the current time because of his nature, sense of duty, or skill.

EXAMPLES:

bhīruḥ ‘a coward; a bear’
bhīlukah ‘id.’

1. A proposal is also made by a vārttika to derive bhīrukaḥ by introducing affix KruKaN after verbal root Niibhi.

3.2.175 स्थेषभासपिसकसो वरच

stheśabhāsapisakaso varac
/sthēśabhāsapisakasah 5/1 varac 1/1/
/pratyayāh #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, varttamāne #123, tacchilataddharmatatsādhukāriṣu #134/
‘sthā gatiniḥttau, īṣa aiśvare, bhāṣr diḥtau, pisṛ, pesṛ gatau, kasa gatau’ ity etebhyaṣo tacchilādiṣu kartṛṣu varac prayayao bhavati

Affix varaC occurs to denote kartṛ after verbal roots sthā, īṣa ‘to govern’, bhāṣR, pisR ‘to move, crawl’ and kasa ‘to move’ when the agent performs the action at the current time because of his nature, sense of duty, or skill.

EXAMPLES:

sthāvarah ‘that which is stationary by nature’
īṣvarah ‘lord’
bhāṣvarah ‘that which is shining by nature; sun’
pesvarah ‘that which moves or destroys’
vikasvarah ‘that which opens, expands; blossoming

3.2.176 यश्न यः:

yaś ca yaṁaḥ
/yaḥ 1/1 ca ṣa yaṁaḥ 1/1/
/pratyayāh #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, varttamāne #123, tacchilataddharmatatsādhukāriṣu #134, varac #175/
‘ya prāpne’ asmād yaṁantāt tacchilādiṣu kartṛṣu varac prayayao bhavati
Affix *varaṇ* also occurs to denote *kārtṛ* after verbal roots *yā* 'to go' terminated in affix *yaṇ* when the agent performs the action at the current time because of his nature, sense of duty, or skill.

**Example:**

*yāyāvaraṇ* 'a gypsy'

3.2.177 **प्राज्ञासधुरुदुर्वर्ज्यावस्तुवः: विवर्ण**

*bhrājaḥ-bhāsadhurvidyutorjiprajgrāvastuvah kuṭip*

/bhrāja...stuvah 5/1 kuṭip 1/1/

(pratyayaḥ #3.1.1, paraśa #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, varttamāne #123, tacchilataddharmatatsādhukāriṣu #134)

*bhrājādibhyaḥ dhātubhyas tacchilādiṣu kartrṣu kuṭip pratyayo bhavati*

Affix *kuṭip* occurs to denote *kārtṛ* after verbal roots *bhrājṛ* and *bhāsṛ* 'to shine', *turVī, thurVī*, and *durVī* 'to hurt, injure', *dyuT* 'to shine', *ūryA* 'to be strong', *pr* 'to fill', *ju* 'to move' and *stuvṇ* 'to praise', used with *grāva*, when the agent performs the action at the current time because of his nature, sense of duty, or skill.

**Examples:**

*vibhrāṭ* 'shining'

*bhāḥ* 'shine; light'

*dhūḥ* 'hurting; yoke, weight'

*vidyut* 'lightning'

*ūṛk* 'power, energy'

*pāḥ* 'that which fills'

*grāvastut* 'stone-worshipper'

1. Note that *kuṭip* could be made available to these roots by 3.2.76 *kuṭip ca* read with 3.2.75 *anyebhyaḥ* *pi drśyate*. This reintroduction of *kuṭip* is nothing but the expatiation (*prapañca*) of the interpretation that *vā* *sarāpaviddhi* does not apply in case of *tacchilika* affixes, and that this interpretation is not universally valid (*prāyika*).

3.2.178 **अनयेयोऽपि दृश्यते**

*anyebhyo* *pi drśyate*

/anyebhyaḥ 5/3 api 0 drśyate (verbal pada)/

(pratyayaḥ #3.1.1, paraśa #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, varttamāne #123, tacchilataddharmatatsādhukāriṣu #134, kuṭip #177)

*anyebhyaḥ* *pi dhātubhyas tacchilikeṣu kuṭip pratyayo bhavati*

Affix *kuṭip* also occurs to denote *kārtṛ* after other verbal roots when the agent performs the action at the current time because of his nature, sense of duty, or skill.
3.2.179 Adhyāya Three: Pāda Two

Examples:

*yuk* ‘that which binds’
*chit* ‘that which cuts or pierces’
*bhid* ‘that which splits’

1. Commentators state that ‘drṣyate’ is not required. For, ‘anyebhyo’ *pi* itself can account for everything. They add, however, that ‘drṣyate’ is used to facilitate or block certain operations generally not available to these derivates. Lengthening (dīrgha), doubling (dvīrvacana), samprasāraṇa, or lack of it, can be cited as some examples. Refer to derivational details in the appendix.

3.2.179 चूँकः संज्ञानरूपः:

bhuvah saṁjñāntarayoh
/ bhuvah 5/1 saṁjñāntarayoh 7/2/
(pratyayah #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, varttamāne #123,
kvip #177)

bhavater dhātoḥ saṁjñāyāṁ antare ca gamyamāne kvip pratyayo bhavati

Affix *KuP* occurs after verbal root *bhū* when *saṁjñā* ‘name’ or antara ‘intermediary’ is denoted.’

Examples:

*vibhūḥ* ‘a name’
*prabhūḥ* ‘a guarantor’

3.2.180 विप्रसंभयो उससंज्ञायाम्

viprasambhyo dvasaṁjñāyāṁ
/viprasambhyah 5/3 du 1/1 asaṁjñāyāṁ 7/1/
(pratyayah #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, varttamāne #123,
bhuvah #179)
‘vi, pra, sam’ ity evam pūrvāḥ bhavater dhātoḥ dvipratyayo bhavati, na cet
saṁjñā gamyate

Affix *Du* occurs after verbal root *bhū* used with the preverbs *vi, pra* and *sam*, when the action is located in the present and *saṁjñā* is not denoted.

Examples:

*vibhuh* ‘all-pervading’
*prabhuḥ* ‘lord’
*sambhuḥ* ‘one who comes into existence’

1. A vārttika also proposes to derive *mitadṛuḥ* ‘he who has the least compassion’, etc., with affix *DU*. The word *sambhuḥ* is to be similarly
derived though in this case the root is treated as causal with a built in sense of NīC. Thus, we get śaṁ = sukhaṁ bhāvyati = sambhuḥ ‘he who brings about the experience of joy’.

3.2.181 ध: कर्मणि छन्

dhah karmāṇi śtran
/dhah 5/1 karmāṇi 7/1 śtran 1/1/
(pratyayah #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, varttamāne #123)
dhayate dadhāteś ca karmāṇi kārake śtran pratyayo bhavati

Affix ŚtraN occurs to denote karman ‘object’ after verbal root dhā when the action is denoted at the current time.

Example:

dhātṛi ‘a wet-nurse; nurse’

1. Note that karmāṇi does not here refer to a conjoined word (upapada) which denotes karman. For, if that was the desired interpretation, Pāṇini would have put this rule in the section of 3.2.1 karmay aṇ. This would have saved him the use of ‘karmāṇi’. But this would have still entailed the explicit use of śtran in the next rule. What is so good about this economy (lāghava)? Well, using śtran is certainly more economical than karmāṇi. To sum up, karmāṇi outlines karman as the meaning of the affix.

Note that the S of ŚtraN is used as an it to facilitate the introduction of the feminine affix NīS by rule 4.1.41 śidgaurādibhyas ca.

3.2.182 दामङ्गसयुजस्तलुदसिसिमिहपथदशः: करणे

dāmnīśaṣayuyujastutudasisiṃhapatadaśanahāḥ karane
/dāmnī...nahah 5/1 karane 7/1/
(pratyayah #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, varttamāne #123, śtran #181)
‘dāp, niṁ ṣasu, yu, yujir, ṣṭuṇ, tuda, śiṅ, śicir, miha, paṭl, daṇṇ, naḥ’ ity etebhyo dhāṭubhayaḥ karane kārake śtran pratyayo bhavati

Affix ŚtraN occurs to denote karana ‘instrument’ after verbal roots dāp ‘to cut’, niṇ ‘to lead’, ṣaṣU ‘to hurt’, yu ‘to join’, yujIR ‘to bind, yoke’, ṣṭuṇ ‘to praise’, tuda ‘to torment’, niṇ ‘to tie, bind’, śicIR ‘to sprinkle’, mihA ‘to water’, paṭl ‘to fall’, daṇṇ ‘to bite’ and naḥA ‘to tie’ when the action is denoted at the current time.

Examples:

dātram ‘that by which one cuts; a sickle’
netram ‘eye’
ṣaṭtram ‘weapon’
yotram ‘a rope by which one fastens the yoke’
yokram ‘id.’
5. Note that dāp here refers only to the verbal root dāp ‘to cut’, and not to all verbal roots which yield a form in ‘dā’, as discussed in connection with rule 1.1.20 dādhāghv adāp. The reason is simply lack of usage (anabhīdhāna). The word karāṇe, again, refers to the meaning of the affix, and not to any cooccurrence condition.

2. Note that rule 3.2.142 samprcānurudhā… makes the reference to verbal root raṇja with deleted nasal. This, in turn, was treated as an indication that the derivate, for example rāgī, would lose the ī. How come the same does not apply in case of verbal root damś in deriving damśtrā? Well, the derivate is listed in the ajādi group of nominals (cf. 4.1.4 ajādyatās tāp) which, in turn, attests to the non-deletion of the nasal.

The ū is, again, intended for the feminine. Note, however, that after its deletion by 1.3.9 tasya lopah, read with 1.3.6 saḥ pratyayasya, the -t of affix ŚtraN is replaced with -t. This happens in view of the paribhāṣā nimit-tāpāye naimittikasyāpy apāyāḥ ‘the effect must also be removed when the cause is removed’ (cf. Pbh. 87: Sanniyogaśāstānam…). The ū was responsible for the t to change into -t; the ū must also be removed in favor of -t when ū is gone.

3.2.183 हलसुकरयो: पुवः:

halasūkarayoḥ puvaḥ
/halasūkarayoḥ 7/2 puvaḥ 5/1/
(pratyayah #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, varttamāne #123, śtra #181, karāṇe #182)
’pū’ iti puṇṇuṇos sāmānyena grahaṇaṁ asmād dhātoḥ karāṇe kārake śtra pratyayo bhavati

Affix ŚtraN occurs to denote karāṇa after verbal root pū when the karāṇa is part of a hala ‘plough’ or sūkara ‘pig’ and the action is denoted at the current time.

Examples:

halasya potram ‘the front end of a plough’
sūkarasya potram ‘the front end of a pig’s face’
1. Note that ‘pū’ in this rule refers to verbal roots ‘pūṇ’ and ‘pūṇ’ both. The genitive in ‘halasūkaraṇayoh’ is interpreted to denote ‘part’ (a vyayāva). The word karane, again, does not set any cooccurrence condition.

3.2.184 अतिलमुसुकाग्रसहवर इनः:

arttilūdhūṣukhanasahacara itraḥ
/artyt...carāḥ 5/1 itraḥ 1/1/
(pratyayāh #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, varttamāne #123, karāṇe #182)

‘r, lūṇ, dhū, śū, khanu, saha, cara gatibhakṣaṇoyoh’ ity etebhyo dhātubhyah
karāṇe kārake itra pratyayo bhavati

Affix itra occurs to denote karāṇa after verbal roots ‘to go’, lūṇ ‘to cut’, dhū ‘to shake’, śū ‘to inspire’, khanU ‘to dig’, sahA ‘to endure’ and carA ‘to wander, consume’ when the action is denoted at the current time.

Examples:

aritram ‘an oar’
lavitram ‘a knife’
dhavitram ‘a fan’
savitram ‘inspirer’
khanitrām ‘an instrument for digging; a spade’
sahitram ‘endurance’
caritram ‘conduct’

1. Note that dhū and śū refer only to dhū and śū ‘to inspire’, since they have been cited without any it. They, thus, do not refer to ‘dhūN’, ‘śuN’ and ‘śuN’, etc. (cf. Paribhāṣa (82) niranubandhakagrahane na sānubandhakasya).

3.2.185 पुवः सेञ्जयायम्

puvaḥ samjñaśyāṃ
/puvaḥ 5/1 samjñaśyāṃ 7/1/
(pratyayāḥ #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, varttamāne #123, karāṇe #182, itraḥ #184)
pavate& dhātoḥ karāṇe kārake itrapratyayo bhavati, samudāyena cet samjña gamyate

Affix itra occurs to denote kartr after verbal root pū where samjña ‘a name’ is signified and the action is denoted at the current time.

Examples:

darbhaḥ pavitram ‘darbha, a kind of grass which serves as a means of ritual purification’
barhiṣ pavitram ‘(a ring of) darbha which serves as a means of ritual purification’
1. The referents of 'pū' here are similar to that of rule 3.2.183 hala-sukarayoh...

3.2.186 कार्तीरिचविदिवतयोः:

kartari carsidevatayoh
/kartari 7/1 ca गर्तीरिचविदिवतयोः 7/2/
(pratyayah #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, varttamāne #123, karaṇe #182, itraḥ #184, puvah #185)
puvah karaṇe kartari ca itrapratyayo bhavati rṣidevatayor yathā-saṁkhyam sambandhaḥ, rṣau karaṇe devatāyāṁ kartari

Affix itra occurs after verbal root pū to denote karaṇa when the signification is rṣi 'a Vedic hymn'; and to denote kartṛ when the signification is devatā 'god', provided the action is expressed at the current time.

EXAMPLES:

pavitro yam ṛṣih 'a Vedic hymn which serves as a means of ritual purification'
agniḥ pavitraṁ sa mā punātu 'Agni is sacred, may he purify me'
vāyuḥ somāh sūrya indraḥ pavitraṁ te mā punantu 'Vāyu, Soma, and Indra are sacred, may they purify me'

1. Note that ca is used, here, to bring both 'pū' as well as 'karaṇe'. Additionally, 'karaṇa' and 'kartṛ' share the equivalency relationship with 'ṛṣi' and 'devatā' in the order of their enumeration (1.3.10 yathā-saṁkhyam...). That is, affix itra denotes karaṇa when the derivate denotes a ṛṣi. It denotes kartṛ when the derivate denotes devatā. Thus, we get pavitra 'the sage who is most instrumental in ritually purifying something'. The same affix in pavitra can denote kartṛ when the derivate is pavitra as in agniḥ pavitraṁ sa mā punātu 'Agni is sacred; may Agni purify me'.

3.2.187 जीतः कः:

ṇīṭāḥ ktaḥ
/ṇīṭāḥ 5/1 ktaḥ 1/1/
(pratyayah #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, varttamāne #123)
ṇīto dhātor varttamāne rthe ktapratyayo bhavati

Affix Kta occurs after a verbal root with ā as an it when current action is expressed.

EXAMPLES:

minnah 'oily, fat'
kṣvinnah 'a word said while sneezing'
dhṛṭāḥ 'daring'
1. Note that Kta is an affix termed niśṭhā (1.1.26 ktaktavatā niśṭhā). As such, rule 3.2.102 niśṭhā introduces it when the action denoted by the roots is to be located in the past (3.2.84 bhūte). This rule allows the introduction of affix Kta after verbal roots marked with N as an it even though the action signified by their roots is denoted at the current time. Thus, what was not available, relative to a current action, is made available to some select roots.

3.2.188 मतिबुद्धिपुज्यर्थेय्यास्

matibuddhipujārthebhya ś ca
imatibuddhipujārthebhyaḥ 5/3 ca 0/
(pratyayah # 3.1.1, paraś ca # 3.1.2, dhātah # 3.1.91, varttamāne # 123, kta # 18
‘matiḥ icchā, buddhiḥ jñānam, pūjā satkārah’ ity etad arthebhya ś ca dhātubhyo varttamāne’ rthe kta pratyayo bhavati

Affix Kta occurs after verbal roots which have the signification of mati ‘wish, intent’, buddhi ‘knowledge, perception’ and pūjā ‘reverence’ when the action is denoted at the current time.

Examples:

rājñāṁ matah ‘the king’s intent’
rājñāṁ istah ‘the king’s wish’
rājñāṁ buddhah ‘the king’s knowledge’
rājñāṁ jñātah ‘id.’
rājñāṁ pūjītah ‘revered by the king’
rājñāṁ arcitah ‘id.’

1. Obviously, the scope of the preceding rule is extended in connection with roots which have the signification of mati, buddhi, and pūjā. The ca, as commentators claim, is used for inclusion of derivates unaccounted for. The following verse enumerates quite a few of them:

śilīto rakṣitah ksānta ōkruśo juṣṭa ity api
ruṣṭaś ca ruṣītaś cobbhāv abhivṛāṛtā ity api/
hrṣatatuṣṭau tathā kāṇtas tathobhau samyatojyatau
kaşṭam bhavisyatīty āhur amṛtaḥ pūrvavat smṛtaḥ/

3.3.1 उच्छदयो बहुलम्

unādayo bahulam
/unādayah 1/3 bahulam 1/1/
(pratayāh #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, varttamāne #3.2.123)
unādayah pratyayā varttamāne' rthe samjñāyām viṣaye bahulam bhavanti

Affixes uN, etc., occur variously after verbal roots when the action is denoted at the current time.

EXAMPLES:

kāruḥ 'doer; artisan'
vāyuḥ 'wind'
pāyuḥ 'anus'
jāyuḥ 'an effective medicine; victorious'
māyuḥ 'choler (one of the cardinal humors of the body); sun'
svāduḥ 'tasty food'
sādhuḥ 'a well-disposed person'
āśuḥ 'one who moves fast'

1. This rule introduces affixes generally known as uN, etc. (unādi). It is believed in the Pāṇinian tradition that there were two versions of the unādisūtra listing: a larger one with ten quarters (daśapādi) and a shorter one (pañcapādi) with five quarters. The first rule of the pañcapādi version introduces affix uN. A claim is made that the unādi affixes number well over three hundred. The tradition recognizes items derived by the use of the unādi affixes as nominal stems.

The adherents of Pāṇini do not believe in the theory that all nominals are derived from verbal roots through affixation. Pāṇini presents some aspects of derivation simply to show that an effort can still be made. Or else, it is his way of showing respect to grammarians, such as Yāska and Śākaṭāyana, who believed that all nominals are derived from verbal roots via affixal processes.

2. The word bahulam is explained in four ways: (a) it implies the application (pravṛtti) of a given rule in some cases, (b) it also implies the non-application of the same rule in other cases, (c) in still other cases, it indicates the same rule applies only optionally (vibhāṣā) and (d) there may be additional aspects of diverse application. The following summarizes these four interpretations of the notion of bāhulaka:

kvacit pravṛttiḥ kvacid apravṛttiḥ
kvacid vibhāṣā kvacid anyad eva
vidher vidhānam bahudhā samikṣya,
caturvidham bāhulakam vadarnti/
'sometimes application; at times the lack of the same; sometimes the application is only optional; yet on occasions still differently indeed; after having properly analyzed its multifarious application they speak of these four types of bāhulaka'

The Mahābhāṣya states the nature of bāhulaka, especially in case of the uṇādi affixes as follows:

bāhulakaṁ prakṛtes tanudṛṣṭeḥ,
prāyasamuccayanād api teṣāṁ/
kāryasaśeṣāvidheś ca tad uktam,
naigamarūḍhībhavam hi susādhulī/
nāma ca dhātujam āha nirukte,
vyaśkaraṇe śaṅkaṭasya ca tokam/
yan na padārthaviśeṣasamuttham,
pratyayataḥ prakṛteś ca tad uhyamī
the bāhulaka is stated with reference to a limited number of bases: the affixes have similarly been cited non-universally; it is for this reason that bāhulaka is stated with operations still unaccounted for; bāhulaka also accounts for the correctness of the many Vedic and colloquial names. A nominal in the Nirukta, as well as in the grammar of Sākaṭāyana, is stated to have been derived from the verb; that which is not stated as derived by means of verbal bases and affixes must be researched for its derivation.'

The Mahābhāṣya offers some further insights into these derivates:

sāṃjñāsu dhāturuṇāni pratyāś ca tatah pārel
kāryād vidyād anūbandham etac chaśtram uṇādīṣulī
the verbal forms when deriving names; affixes introduced after verbal roots; an it to be determined by lack of an operation such as guṇa; these which have not been stated elsewhere should form as the standard when inferring the derivation of uṇādi'

Kāśikā, in the paraphrase (vṛtti) of rule 3.3.1 uṇādayo..., states that 'varttamaṇe' and 'sāṃjñāyām' are both carried here. They yield the understanding, when read with bāhulam, that the uṇādi affixes occur after verbal roots to derive names when the action is denoted at the current time. They can also be seen where they may not be provided for. Some affixes which are not stated at all may have to be ascertained from usage.

3.3.2 प्रौढेष्यपि दृश्यन्ते

bhūte' pī drśyante
/bhūte 7/1 api ṭī drśyante (verbal pada/
(pratyāyah #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, unādayah #1)
bhūte kāle' ṣṭunādayah prayayā dvīyante
Affixes uṆ, etc., also are seen to occur after verbal roots when the
action is located in the past.

Examples:

vartma 'that which has been traversed; a road'
carma 'that which has been lived in; skin'
bhasma 'that which remained after burning; ash'

1. This rule informs that unādi affixes are also seen when the action is
located in the past. The word dvīyante attests to the usage (prayoga) as
evidence. Obviously, bhūta is contrasted, here, with vartamāna 'current
time' of the preceding rule.

3.3.3 भविष्यति गायदयः:

bhaviṣyati gamyādayah
/bhaviṣyati (verbal pada) gamyādayah 1/3/
(pratyāyah #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, unādayah #1)
bhaviṣyati kāle gamyādayah śabdāḥ sādhavo bhavanti
Affixes uṆ, etc., occur in the derivation of gami ‘one who will go’,
etc. when the action is denoted in the future (bhaviṣyati).

Examples:

gami grāmam ‘one who will go to the village’
āgāmi ‘that which will come’
prasthāyi ‘one who will depart’
pratirodhi ‘one who will oppose’
pratibodhi ‘one who will awake’
pratiyodhi ‘one who will fight against’
pratīyogī ‘one who will compete; an adversary’
āyāyi ‘one which will come’
bhāvī ‘that which will happen’

1. This rule provides for unādi affixes to be used when the action may
be located at a future time. The provision is made in connection with a
group of derivates such as gami ‘he who will go’. Note that ‘future’ is to
be regarded as signification for the affix only. That is, the base does not
have any future meaning. Additionally, this future must be abstracted
from usages as encountered; it should not be treated as given in a gene-
ralized manner. That is, the scope of unādi in the past and future is very
limited.
2. A vārttika in the Mahābhāṣya states that, the way this rule stands, usages which entail anadyatana-bhaviyat ‘future not pertaining to the current day’ cannot be accounted for. That is, it can only account for general future (LRT), without any qualification at all. Hence, to accommodate usages of gamī, etc., where the denotata entails anadyatana aspect of future (LUT), the vārttika should be stated. Thus, śvo gamī grāmam ‘he will go to the village tomorrow’. If no vārttika provision is made, the rule can only account for general future.

3.3.4 यावत्पुरानिपातयोर्लात्

yāvatpurānipātayor lāt
/yaṭpurānipātayoh 7/2 lāt 1/1/
(pratyayah #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, bhaviyati #3)
yāvatpurāsadayor nipātayor upapadayor bhaviyati kāle dhātor lāt
pratyayo bhavati
Affix LUT occurs after a verbal root when the root cooccurs with the particles (nipāta) yāvat and purā and the action is denoted in the future.

Examples:

yāavad bhuṁkte ‘he surely will eat’
purā bhuṁkte ‘id.’

1. This rule allows for the introduction of LUT after verbal roots which occur with the particles yāvat ‘definitely’ and purā ‘id.’. Note that yāvat and purā not only have to be interpreted as particles, but they must also be restricted to the meanings outlined. The word nipāta is used in the rule to exclude, for example, yāvat ‘as long as’, the relative which corresponds to its correlative tāvat ‘...that long’ and purā, ‘the instrumental singular of pur ‘village’

3.3.5 विभाषणकदाकहं:

vibhāṣā kadaṅkarhyoh
/vibhāṣā 1/1 kadaṅkarhyoh 7/2/
(pratyayah #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, bhaviyati #3,
lāt #4)
‘kadaṅ, karhi’ ity etayor upapadayor vibhāṣā bhaviyati kāle dhātor lāt
pratyayo bhavati
Affix LUT optionally occurs after a verbal root when the root cooccurs with kadaṅ and karhi and the action is located in the future.

Examples:

kadaṅ bhuṁkte ‘when will he eat’
kadā bhokṣyate ‘id.’
kadā bhoktā ‘id.’
karhi bhūṅkte ‘id.’
karhi bhokṣyate ‘id.’
karhi bhoktā ‘id.’

1. Commentators explain that the option of LAT is made available against both LRT ‘general future’ as well as LUT ‘first future’. Such a statement is necessary since bhavisyati, which is carried here, denotes the sense of future in general, excluding that which relates to the current day (adyatana). It is for this reason that Kāśikā outlines two forms parallel to one of LAT made available by this rule. That is, bhūṅkte of LAT against bhokṣyase of LRT and bhoktā of LUT. The option, of course, enables LAT to denote future.

3.3.6 किमृत्ते लिप्सायाम्

kimūtte lipsāyām
kimūtte 7/1 lipsāyām 7/1
(pratyayah #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, bhavisyati #3, lat #4, vibhāṣā #5)
kimūtte upapade lipsāyām bhavisyati kāle dhātor vibhāṣā lat pratyayo bhavati

Affix LAT optionally occurs after a verbal root used in conjunction with kimūtte ‘a form of kim; what’, katara ‘which one of the two’ and katama ‘which one of the many’ when the derivate signifies lipsā ‘desire to obtain, solicitation’ and the action is denoted in the future.

EXAMPLES:

kaṃ bhaṇvanto bhojayanti ‘who will you feed, sir?’
kaṃ bhaṇvanto bhojayitrāh ‘id.’
kataro bhikṣaṃ dāsyati ‘who among these two will give the alms?’
kataro bhikṣaṃ dādati ‘id.’
kataro bhikṣaṃ dātā ‘id.’
katamo bhikṣaṃ dāsyati ‘who among these many will give the alms?’
katamo bhikṣaṃ dādati ‘id.’
katamo bhikṣaṃ dātā ‘id.’

1. The word kim used with vṛtta refers to the inflectional possibilities of the nominal base kim ‘what, which’. Thus, kimūttam refers to ‘kim ending in a sUP’. Kāśikā informs that forms of kim which end in affixes Ḍatara and ḍatama are, also, to be treated as applicable in this context.
The word *lipsā* denotes *labdhum icchā* ‘desire to obtain’. Thus, affix *LAT* can be optionally introduced against *LRT* and *LUT* when *kim*, or a form of it, is used with the verbal root provided *lipsā* is denoted in relation to a future action. Note also that the *Mahābhāṣya* (cf. Śaṅdenduṣekhara of Nāgāsa ad 8.1.66 *yaduttān nityam*) implies the *anuvṛtti* of *kadā* and *karhi* in this rule from the preceding. *Kāśikā* does not do so.

3.3.7 लिप्यामानसिद्धां स

*lipsyamānasiddhau ca*
/lipsyamānasiddhau 7/1 ca Ø/

*(pratyayah #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, bhavisyati #3, lat #4, vibhāṣā #5)*

*lipsyamānasiddhau ganeṃamānāyāṃ bhavisyati kāle dhātor*  
vibhāṣā lat pratyayo bhavati

Affix *LAT*, also, optionally occurs to denote a future action after a verbal root when an accomplishment is conditioned by a wish fulfilled.

*Examples:*

*yo bhaktam dadāti sa svargam gacchati* ‘he who gives rice goes to heaven’
*yo bhaktam dāṣyati sa svargam gamisyati* ‘he who will give rice will go to heaven’
*yo bhāktam dātā sa svargam gantā* ‘id.’

1. This rule allows for the introduction of *LAT*, optionally to *LRT* and *LUT* when accomplishment of something is indicated by what is desired to be obtained. For example, someone wishing for a bowl of rice may say: *yo bhaktam dadāti sa svargam gacchati* ‘he who gives rice will go to heaven’. This sentence will use *LAT* as an option to *LRT* and *LUT*, since the speaker indicates the accomplishment of going to heaven by the fulfillment of his desire for rice. But why is this rule formulated when *lipsā* of the preceding rule could still accommodate the derivates of this rule? This rule is stated separately because *kimvṛtta* is not required here as the cooccurrence condition. But as this optional rule, in the absence of specification of *kimvṛtta*, could apply to the situation of both *kimvṛtta* as well as non-*kimvṛtta*, mention of *kimvṛtta* in the earlier rule would similarly account for situations of non-*kimvṛtta*. This rule, thus, should not be stated, since it seemingly is redundant. Its purpose, nevertheless, becomes apparent when one notes that the earlier rule allows for the option only when *kimvṛtta* cooccurs.

3.3.8 लोदर्थलक्षणेः स

*nodorthalakṣane ca*
Affix LAT also occurs optionally after a verbal root when the action denoted by the root characterizes some other action with the signification of LOT ‘imperative’ (3.3.162 lot ca).

**EXAMPLES:**

upādyāyaḥ ced āgacchati atha tvam vyākaraṇam adhiśva ‘if the teacher comes, you should study grammar’

upādyāyaḥ ced āgamisyati atha tvam vyākaraṇam adhiśva ‘id.’

upādyāyaḥ ced āgantō atha tvam vyākaraṇam adhiśva ‘id.’

1. The word loḍarthaḷakṣaṇe ‘when used with a signification characterized by the meaning of LOT’ becomes the qualifier to the verbal root. The ‘meaning of LOT’ is explained as praśādi ‘command, etc.’, where ādi ‘etc.’ refers to meanings such as vidhi ‘that which is to be done’, nimantraṇa ‘invitation’, etc. (3.3.161 vidhinimantraṇāmantraṇa...).

Note that the derivates of the present rule occur in conditional sentences as is marked by cet ‘if’. The action of ‘going’, denoted by āgacchati, anticipates the signification of LOT by the action denoted by adhiśva. This LAT is optional to LRT and LUT as is known by the next two sentences of the examples.

3.3.9 लिङ्ग चोर्थ्यपौहृत्तिके

liṅ cordhvamauhūrttike

liṅ 1/1 ca ə ṭurdhvamauhūrttike 7/1 = muhūrtaḥ uṛddhvam = uṛddhvamauhūrttam (pañc. tat.); uṛddhvamauhūrtte bhavam = uṛddhvamauhūrttikam, tasmiṃ/

(pratayah #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, bhaviṣyati #3, lat #4, vibhāṣā #5, loḍarthaḷakṣaṇe #8)

uṛddhvamauhūrttike bhaviṣyati kāle loḍarthaḷakṣaṇārthe vartamānaḥ dhātor vibhāṣā liṅ pratayahāv bhavati

Affix LIÑ ‘optative’, as well as LOT, optionally occurs after a verbal root when the action denoted by the root characterizes another action with the signification of LOT and future time exceeds by a muhūrtta ‘fortyeight minutes’.

**EXAMPLES:**

upari muhūrttasya upādyāyaḥ ced āgacchad atha tvam vyākaraṇam
adhiśva ‘if the teacher comes after a muḥūṛta, you should study grammar’

upari muḥūṛttaśa upādhyāyaś ced āgacchati atha tvam vyākaraṇam adhiśva ‘id.’

upari muḥūṛttaśa upādhyāyaś ced āgamiṣyati atha tvam vyākaraṇam adhiśva ‘id.’

upari muḥūṛttaśa upādhyāyaś ced āgantā atha tvam vyākaraṇam adhiśva ‘id’.

1. Note that ‘bhavisyati’, ‘vibhāṣa’, and ‘loḍarthalakṣaṇe’ are all carried here. The word bhavisyati is further modified by urḍhvamauḥūṛtike ‘when the future beyond a period slightly over three quarters of an hour (muḥūṛta) is denoted’. But ‘slightly over three quarters of an hour’ of what time? Nyāsa explains that urḍhvamauḥūṛtike is used to denote a time proximate to the present (urḍhvamauḥūṛtikāḥ cāyaṁ vartamānasya pratyāsanne varttate). The word urḍhvamauḥūṛtika in itself is an ad hoc (nipātana) compound, attested at the strength of the Pāṇinian usage of this rule. The ca of this rule also brings the anuvṛtti of LAT. Consequently, we will get four forms: one of LIN and one each of LRT, LUT and LAT.

3.3.10 तुमुङ्गुलै त्रियाणां क्रियाधारणां

tumunṇvulau kriyāyāṁ kriyārthāyāṁ
/tumunṇvulau 1/2 kriyāyāṁ 7/1 kriyārthāyāṁ 7/1/
(pratyayah #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, bhavisyati #3)
kriyārthāyāṁ kriyāyāṁ upapade dhātor bhavisyati kāle tumunṇvulau pratyayāau bhavataḥ

Affixes tunUN and NvulL occur to denote future after a verbal root which is used in conjunction with an action intended for the future action.

Examples:

bhoktum vrajati ‘he is going for the purpose of eating’
bhojako vrajati ‘id.’

1. Note that ‘bhavisyati’ is still carried. The word kriyāyāṁ kriyārthāyāṁ ‘action intended for the sake of another action’ forms the cooccurrence condition. Thus, bhoktum of bhoktum vrajati involves the introduction of affix tunUN after verbal root bhuj ‘to consume’ under the condition of its cooccurrence with the action denoted by verbal root vraj ‘to go’. Verbal root vraj can be recognized here as denoting ‘an action undertaken for the sake of the action denoted by bhuj’. Obviously, the action denoted by bhuj will take place in the future. The artha in kriyārthāyāṁ denotes prayojana ‘purpose’.
The conditions of kriyāyām and kriyārthāyām must both be met. Thus, bhikṣiya ity asya jatāḥ ‘he has matted hair so that he can receive alms’ will not qualify. The word jatā does not denote any action. It is simply a cooccurring word intended for the sake of the action of receiving alms (bhikṣikriyā). Similarly, dhāvatas te patisyati danḍaḥ ‘as soon as you run, your stick will fall’ will also not qualify for tumUN. What we get in dhāvataḥ, here, is an upapada denoting action, and not an action for the sake of another action. After all, the man is not running so that the fall of the stick could take place.

2. A question is raised as to why Nvul is to be restated in this rule when rule 3.1.133 nvulṛcau already provides for it. Pāṇini lists Nvul separately from trC to indicate that this Nvul cannot be used optionally with trC, Lyu, Nii, or aC, etc., as may be the case under the provision of rule 3.1.94 vā’ sarūpo’ striyām. Note that the use of this Nvul, as opposed to that of 3.1.133 nvulṛcau, is also different in other ways. For example, consider the following sentences which employ both the Nvul affixes:

(a) odanasya bhojako yāti ‘he who will eat rice is going’
(b) odanam bhojako yāti ‘he is going for eating rice’

The first sentence has bhojaka derived by rule 3.1.133 nvulṛcau as opposed to the second which derives under the provision of this rule. Affix Nvul in both (a-b) denotes the agent (kṛty); the genitive and accusative of odana similarly denote the object. Rule 2.3.65 kṛtykarmāṇoh kṛty would have required genetive to denote the karman in (b). But that is blocked by 2.3.70 akenor bhavisyad adhamaryayoh in favor of 2.3.2 karmanī dvitiyā. Sentence (a) still gets genitive to denote the object. This constitutes one basic difference between the two Nvul rules. Of course, this Nvul also has kriyārthakriyā and bhavisyati as attending situations. Note that affix Nvul denotes kṛty in view of rule 3.4.67 kṛtari kṛty read with 3.1.93 kṛty atin. Affix tumUN is responsible for assignment of the term avaya to its derivatives in view of rule 1.1.39 kṛty mejantah. A derivate of tumUN will still be called an item ending in kṛty. But can this derivate still denote kṛty? No. A kṛdanta termed avaya denotes bhāva ‘root-sense’. The Mahābhāṣya (ad 3.4.9 tumarthesesena...) states that avayakṛto bhāve bhavanti ‘a form which ends in a kṛty (kṛdanta) affix, and is termed indeclinable (avaya), denotes ‘root-sense’ (bhāva).

Note that this introduction of tumUN does not require the condition of samānakartṛkau ‘identical agent’. That is, the agent denoted by the action of the root after which this rule introduces tumUN does not have to be identical with the agent of action denoted by the root which underlies the conjoined word. The agent of bhoktum does not have to be identical with the agent of vrajati in the sentence bhoktum vrajati ‘he is going for eating’. Bhaṭṭoji and other grammarians state that samānakartṛkau, though not explicitly stated, still should form a valid condition. That is
they rule out the introduction of tumUN in the absence of the identical agent condition. Consequently, the condition of identical agent becomes the norm for these examples. This may be the reason why Pāṇini did not state it here explicitly. But why did he then state it in 3.3.158 samānakartṛkṣuḥ... May be he should have stated it here too. For an example of the violation of identical agent condition, see the following from Kālidāsa (Abhijñāna: VI:22):

\[ \text{vāśpaś ca na dadāty enām draṣṭum citragatām aṭi 'and the vapor (caused by tears rolling down my eyes) would not even let me see her in the picture'} \]

The agent of drś ‘to see’ underlying draṣṭum, a form ending in tumUN, is different from the agent of dā ‘to give’ in dadāti. Scholars have gathered many other exceptions, for which see Bhimasena Shastri (Laghusiddhāntakaumudi III:180).

3.3.11 भाववचनान्तर

\[ \text{bhāavavacanās ca} \]
\[ \text{/bhāavavacanāḥ 1/3 ca 0/1} \]
\[ (\text{pratyayah #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, bhavisyati #3, kriyāyāṁ kriyārthāyāṁ #10}) \]
\[ \text{bhāavavacanāḥ pratyayā bhavisyatikāle kriyāyāṁ upaśade kriyārthāyāṁ bhavanti} \]

Affixes which have the signification of bhāva ‘root-sense’ (3.3.8 bhāve) also occur after a verbal root used in conjunction with an action intended for some future action.

**Examples:**

\[ \text{pākāya vrajati ‘he is going for the purpose of cooking’} \]
\[ \text{bhūtaye vrajati ‘he is going for the purpose of acquiring wealth’} \]
\[ \text{puṣṭaye vrajati ‘he is going for the purpose of nourishment’} \]

1. This rule introduces an affix with the denotatum of bhāva after a verbal root when the action is denoted in the future, and the root is joined with another root which denotes an action intended for the future action. Commentators explain bhāavavacanāt as referring to affixes which denote bhāva, and are given in the domain of 3.3.18 bhāve. If this were correct then we would not need this rule. For, 3.3.18 bhāve, itself, can account for what this rule does. Commentators explain that the provisions of 3.1.94 vā sarūpoḥ striyāṁ do not become applicable in case of tumUN (see my note under 3.1.94). Consequently, tumUN would have obligatorily blocked any other affix with the denotatum of bhāva. It is for this reason that we must have this rule. Also see note (2) under the next rule.
But why do we have to use vacanāt? Why can we not simply have bhāve? It is stated that by using 'vacanāt' we get this special meaning: affixes which have been introduced in the sense of bhāva occur in the manner of those which denote bhāva (Nīṣa ad Kāśikā III:15: bhāve ye vihitāḥ pratyayās te tathā bhavanti yathā bhāvasya vācakā bhavanti). What does it mean? It means that they occur following the manner in which they are specified. That is, vacanāt of bhāvavacanāt drastically restricts the bases after which affixes, in view of rule 3.3.10 bhāvavacanās ca, will be introduced under the cooccurrence condition of an action intended for another action. They could be only those bases which have been enumerated in the context of the introduction of affixes in the domain of 3.3.18 bhāve with their specific conditions. This clearly rules out any mixing (vyatikara) of specifications with regard to bases and their qualifications.

For example, 3.3.56 er ac specifies that affix aC be introduced only after a verbal root which ends in i (short/long). Similarly, affix GAñ is introduced after verbal root cañ with the semantic qualification of hastādāna 'obtaining by hand', further restricted by asyete 'when not related to stealing'. This is what is meant by the denotation of bhāva, in accordance with specific qualifications, as invoked by the use of vacanāt in this rule.

3.3.12 अण कर्मणि च

aṇ karmani ca
iṇ 1/1 karmanī 71 ca Θ/1
(pratyayā #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, bhavisyati #3, kriyā- yāṃ kriyārthāyāṃ #10)
dhātor aṇ pratyayo bhavati bhavisyati kāle karmāny upadade kriyāyāṃ ca kriyārthāyāṃ

Affix aN occurs after a verbal root used in conjunction with a pada which denotes karman when the root also cooccurs with an action intended for some future action.

Examples:

kāndalāvo vrajati 'he is going for the purpose of cutting a branch'
asvadāyo vrajati 'he is going for making the gift a horse'
godāyo vrajati 'he is going for making the gift a cow'
kambaladāyo vrajati 'he is going for the purpose of giving away blankets'

1. The ca of this rule is used to indicate sanniṣyoga 'concurrent application' of the conditions of kriyāyāṃ kriyārthāyāṃ and karmanī. If this ca were not used, application in purīṣyoga would obtain. Consequently, aN could be introduced when the condition of kriyārthakriyā was met. Similarly, aN could also be introduced when the condition of karman,
but not of kriyārthakriyā, was met. The force of ca is to make both conditions apply concurrently. Consider for example aśvadāyo vrajati ‘he is going in order to make the gift of a horse’, where aśvadāyaḥ is derived by introducing affix aNy after verbal root dā under the cooccurrence condition of aśva + Ńas which, in turn, denotes the karman of ‘giving’. At the same time, the action of going, denoted by verbal root vraj, is taking place for the sake of the action of ‘giving the horse’ denoted by dā used with aśva + Ńas, its object.

2. Note that rule 3.2.1 karmaly aṅ introduces aNy in general (utsarga). The same is blocked by ṇvul of 3.3.10 tumunvulau..., an exception (apavāda), at the strength of the indication (jñāpaka) that ‘vā’ sarūpavidhi’ does not apply there. Our present rule reintroduces aNy which, because it constitutes an exception (apavāda), blocks ṇvul which, in turn, blocked the earlier aNy. This second aNy also blocks affixes such as Ka, etc. (kādi; 3.2.3 āto’ nupasarge kah, 3.2.8 gāpoṣ ṭak, etc.), for reasons of its placement subsequently (paratva; 1.4.2 vipraṭiṣedhe...; see Nyāsa ad Kāś. on interaction of rules in relation to paratva). Note that, in the context of the introduction of ṇvul by rule 3.3.10 tumunvulau..., affixes trC, etc., did not become applicable because the provision of ‘vā’ sarūpavidhi’ does not extend to their application. This rule comes within the scope of ‘vā’ sarūpavidhi’, hence, in situations where this aNy obtains, ṇvul of 3.3.10 tumunvulau... also obtains by way of exception. Thus we get: edhān āhārako vrajati ‘he is going to bring the firewood’.

3.3.13 लङ्क शेषे च

lṛt śeṣa ca
lṛt 1/1 śeṣe 7/1 ca ōl
(pratyayaḥ #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.91, bhavisyati #3,
 kriyāyāṁ kriyārthāyāṁ #10)
śeṣe suddhe bhavisyati kāle ca kārāt kriyāyāṁ copapade kriyārthāyāṁ dhātor
lṛt pratyayo bhavati

Affix LRT occurs after a verbal root when a future action, or a concurrent action intended for the future action, is denoted.

EXAMPLES:

karisyati ‘he will do’
karisyāṁiti vrajati
‘I will do it’ thus he goes

1. Note that ‘bhavisyati’ is still carried. The word śeṣa ‘remainder’ is used so that affix LRT can also be introduced in a context other than that which has kriyārthakriyā as an upapada. This context has been identified simply as ‘bhavisyati’ ‘future’. Thus, this rule will introduce LRT where
future alone is denoted. Additionally, it will introduce LRT after a verbal root also when the root cooccurs with an action intended for the future action. Consider karisyati where ‘future’ is denoted under the provision of sēse as opposed to karisyāmiti vrajati where LRT is introduced under the cooccurrence condition of vraj which, in turn, denotes an action intended for the action of doing something in the future.

3.3.14 ल्लो: सहा

lṛṭah sad vā
lṛṭah 6/1 sat 1/1 vā ṯḥ/
(pratyayah #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, bhavisyati #3, kriyā-yaṃ kriyārthāyāṃ #10 sēse #13)
lṛṭah sthāne satsamjñau satṛśānacau vā bhavataḥ

An affix which is termed sat (3.2.127 tau sat; ŚatR and ŚānaC) optionally comes after a verbal root in place of LRT when a future action, or a concurrent action intended for the future action, is denoted.

Examples:

karisyantam devadattam paśya ‘see Devadatta who will do it’
kariṣyānām devadattam paśya ‘id.’
he kariṣyan ‘O you, who will do (it)’
he kariṣyānāma ‘id.’
arjāsyānāno vasati ‘he lives (here) in order that he will earn’

1. This rule optionally introduces affixes termed sat (3.2.127 tau sat) as replacements for LRT. Rule 3.2.124 lāṭah satṛśānacāv aprathamāsamānādikarane introduces the two affixes, ŚatR and ŚānaC, under the condition of coreferentiality (sāmanādikaranya) with a word which terminates in a nominal ending other than the nominative (aprathama). The option of this present rule is interpreted as vṛavastiḥvitavibhāṣa ‘fixed option’ ascertained based upon available usage. This kind of an option sometimes applies obligatorily (nitya), sometimes optionally, and yet on still other occasions both ways. Consequently, the replacement with ŚatR and ŚānaC is obligatory when coreferentiality with a word which ends in the nominative is not involved. The replacement will become optional when coreferentiality with a word which ends in the nominative obtains.

Consider the following examples:

(a) karisyantam devadattam paśya (ŚatR) ‘see Devadatta who will...’
(b) karisyānān devadattam paśya (ŚānaC) ‘id.’
(c) he kariṣyan ‘O! you! who will do’
(d) he kariṣyānāma ‘id.’
(e) arjāsyān vasati ‘he lives here so that he will make a living’
(f) arjayisyamāṇo vasati ‘id.’
(g) śayisyanto bhokṣyante yavanāḥ ‘the Ionians will be eating while reclining’
(h) śayisyamāṇa bhokṣyante yavanāḥ ‘id.’

The above sentences, in sets of two, show instances of the replacement of \textit{LRT} with \textit{SatR} and \textit{ŚānaC} respectively. These above options are obligatory. Thus, the first two sentences illustrate the use of \textit{SatR} and \textit{ŚānaC} to replace \textit{LRT}, where the derivate is not coreferential with any word in \textit{prathamā}. The second set (c-d) offers examples in \textit{sambodhāna} ‘address’ (3.2.125 \textit{sambodhane ca}). The third (e-f) set offers examples where \textit{hetu} ‘cause, purpose’ conditions the replacement (3.2.126 \textit{lakṣaṇahetvoḥ kriyāyāḥ}). The last two sentences (g-h) illustrate replacements under the condition of an action which characterizes another action (\textit{lakṣaṇa}). These are all instances where Pāṇini intended \textit{SatR} and \textit{ŚānaC} obligatorily. For optional replacements, where coreferentiality with a word ending in the nominative obtains, consider \textit{kariṣyati} / \textit{kariṣyate devadattāḥ} ‘Devadatta will do’ parallel to \textit{kariṣyan} or \textit{kariṣyamāṇa devadattāḥ}.

These replacements also become available obligatorily, relative to an affix (\textit{pratyaya}) or a following word (\textit{uttarapada}). Thus we get: \textit{kariṣyataḥ} and \textit{kariṣyamāṇiḥ} ‘the male offspring of he who will do’ parallel to \textit{kariṣyato} \textit{apatyam}; and \textit{kariṣyadv bhaktih} and \textit{kariṣyamāṇabhaktih} ‘this is the devotion of one who will do’ parallel to \textit{kariṣyato bhaktih}.

2. Explicit mention of \textit{lṛṭah} ‘in place of \textit{LRT}’ is made to specify that affixes termed \textit{sat} come as replacements, and not independently, after a root. Thus, \textit{lṛṭah} specifies the item to be replaced (\textit{sthāninirdesa}).

3.3.15 अनन्तरते लूट

\begin{verbatim}
anadyatane lut
\end{verbatim}
\begin{verbatim}
/anadyatane 7/1 lut 1/1/
(\textit{pratyaya} #3.1.1, \textit{paraś ca} #3.1.2, \textit{dhātoḥ} #3.1.91, \textit{bhaviṣyati} #3)
\textit{bhaviṣyadanadyatane} \textit{rthे} varttamānād dhātore lut \textit{pratyayo bhavati}
\end{verbatim}

Affix \textit{LUT} occurs after a verbal root when a future action which is not current is denoted.

**Examples:**

\begin{verbatim}
śvaṁ kartā ‘he will do (it) tomorrow’
śvo bhoktā ‘he will eat tomorrow’
\end{verbatim}

1. This rule is an exception to \textit{LRT} since ‘\textit{bhaviṣyati}’ is also carried. The word \textit{anadyatana} is interpreted as a \textit{bahuṇrīhi} compound with the paraphrase: \textit{adya bhāvo nāṣṭy asminn iti} ‘that in which there is no sense of today’. Consequently, \textit{anadyatana} read with \textit{bhaviṣyati} will yield the interpretation:
when the action is denoted in the future with no sense of today'. The word 'bhavisyatI' refers to future in general and thus relates to the context of affix LRT. Affix LUT will now denote 'future' but without any reference to the futurity of the current day. This is the force of anadyatane. A bahuvrihi interpretation of anadyatane will rule out the introduction of LUT in a context where mixing of 'today with tomorrow' may be involved. Thus, adya sva vā bhavisyatI 'it will happen today, or tomorrow' will obligatorily have LRT.

2. A vārttika in the Mahābhāṣya proposes that LUT (śastani) should be used in the sense of LRT (bhavisyatyarthe) when paridevana ‘complaint, lamentation’ is denoted. Thus, iyāṃ nu kādā gantā, yaivam pādo nidadhāti ‘when will she, the one who sets her foot this way (very slowly), reach there?’; ayaṃ kādā dhyetā, ya evam anabhiyuktah ‘when will he, the one who is so inattentive, be able to study anything’.

3.3.16 पदरुजविशाप्रसा घञ

padarujavisasprasā apprehend
\padarujavisasprasā 5/1 ghanā 1/1/
(pratyakah #3.1.1, para ca #3.1.2, dhāto #3.1.91)
padādhībhīyo dhātubhīhyo ghanā pratyayō bhavati

Affix GHaN occurs after verbal roots padA ‘to step’, rujA ‘to be sick’, viśA ‘to enter’, and sprāI ‘to touch’.

EXAMPLES:

pādaḥ ‘foot’
rogaḥ ‘disease’
veśaḥ ‘one who enters’

1. Note that ‘bhavisyatI’ is no longer carried in this rule. Thus, affixes introduced hereafter could refer to all tenses. A derivate which terminates in GHaN will denote kartṛ by 3.4.67 kartari kart. In the example pādaḥ ‘foot’ which is analysed as: padyate ‘so that which goes’, the feet serve as means (karana) more than anything else. It is for this reason that commentators add: karana is denoted here by way of kartṛ based upon the speaker’s desire to speak about it as the agent (karanaṣya kartrtvena vivakṣa).

A vārttika approves the derivation of sparśaḥ ‘that which afflicts’ with GHaN when the meaning is illness (upatāpa). The word sparśaḥ, in the sense of ‘touch’, is derived through the introduction of affix aC by 3.1.134 nandigrahipacādībhīyo... The aC-derivate sparśaḥ receives the high-pitch accent at the end (antodāta). The accent with GHaN will be high-pitch initially (ādyudāta). The GH, as an i in GHaN, is used to facilitate kutva ‘replacement with k, etc.’ by rule 7.3.52 caiōh ku ghinyatoḥ. The N as
as an *it* is used to facilitate *vṛddhi*, as well as, initial high-pitch (*ādyudātta*; 6.1.197 *nīnyādir...*) accent.

3.3.17 स्तिरे

ṣṛ sthīre
/ṣṛ (deleted 5/1) sthīre 7/1/
(pratyāyah #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, ghaṇ #16)
saṁter dhātoḥ sthīre kartāri ghaṇ pratyayo bhavati
Affix GHaN occurs after verbal root ṣṛ to denote a stable agent.

EXAMPLES:

*candanasāraḥ* ‘essence of sandalwood’
*khadirasāraḥ* ‘essence of catechu’

1. Note that ṣṛ is referenced, here, without the ablative (*pañcamī*), and thereby makes the specification (*nirdeśa*) without a nominal ending (*avibhakti*). The word *sthīra*, which outlines the semantic condition, is treated as a qualifier to the agent. That is, affix GHaN will denote the agent modified by *sthīra* ‘fixed, stable’. It is thus not a cooccurrence condition marked by locative of 3.1.92 *tatropapadam...* The word *sthīra*, itself, is explained as *kālantarasthāyī* ‘that which remains static through intervals of time; longlasting’. The word ṣṛ makes reference to both verbal roots ṣṛ and ṛ, which are synonymous in the sense ‘to go’.

3.3.18 भावे

bhāve
/bhāve 7/1/
(pratyāyah #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, ghaṇ #16)
bhāve vācye dhātor ghaṇ pratyayo bhavati
Affix GHaN occurs after a verbal root when bhāva ‘root-sense’ is denoted.

EXAMPLES:

*paktih* ‘cooking’
*pakvam* ‘id.’
*pacanam* ‘id.’
*pākah* ‘id.; nom. singular’
*pākau* ‘nom. dual’
*pākah* ‘nom. plural’

1. The word ‘bhāve’ specifies the scope of affix GHaN, and is, itself, derived by introduction of this affix after verbal root bhū ‘to be’. Can this
limit the introduction of affix \textit{GHa}N only to the action denoted by \textit{bhū}? Obviously not, since the idea is to make the affix available after roots in general.

2. The specification of this rule anticipates affix \textit{GHa}N to denote \textit{bhāva} 'root sense, action'. But 'action' is characteristically the denotatum of verbal roots. How could an affix denote the same? Commentators explain that it is the property of the action denoted by the root that becomes the denotatum of affix \textit{GHa}N. Actions may be spoken of as having two properties: that of being yet to be accomplished (\textit{sādhya\textbar{tā}}) and that of having been accomplished (\textit{siddhatā}). Affix \textit{GHa}N denotes \textit{bhāva} in the sense of denoting the property of the root-sense termed \textit{siddhatā}. This also enables the 'root-sense' (\textit{dhat\textbar{vartha}}) to now relate to number and gender. For, it is more like a thing (\textit{dravya}). Remember, however, in this context that Pāṇini's use of 'bhāve' in masculine singular is not \textit{tantra} 'principal'. That is, it is not technically restrictive of derivates to be used only in masculine singular. Thus, derivates which denote \textit{bhāva} can be also related with genders other than masculine, and numbers other than singular. Consider for example the derivation of \textit{paktih}, \textit{pacanam}, on the one hand, and of \textit{pākau} and \textit{pākāh}, on the other.

3.3.19 अकार्तिर च कारके संज्ञायाम्

\textit{akartari ca kārake samjñāyām}
\textit{(akartari 7/1 ca θ kārake 7/1 samjñāyām 7/1)}
\textit{(pratyayāḥ #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhatōḥ #3.1.01, ghaṇī #16)}
\textit{kartvārjite kārake samjñāyām viśāye dhator ghaṇ pṛatyayo bhavati}

Affix \textit{GHa}N occurs after a verbal root to denote a \textit{kāraka} other than \textit{kartṛ} when the derivate denotes a \textit{samjñā} 'name'.

**Examples:**

- \textit{prāsah} 'that which people hurl; a spear'
- \textit{prasevah} 'that which people stitch; a sack'
- \textit{āhāraḥ} 'that from which one receives nourishment; food'

1. This rule introduces affix \textit{GHa}N to denote a \textit{kāraka} other than \textit{kartṛ} provided the derivate denotes a name (\textit{samjñā}). Thus we get:

   (a) \textit{prāsah} = \textit{prāsyanti tam prāsah} 'that which people hurl; spear'
   (b) \textit{prasevah} = \textit{prāsīyanti tam} 'that which people stitch up; a sack'
   (c) \textit{āhāraḥ} = \textit{āharanti rasam yasmāt} 'that from which people derive nourishment; food'

1. The word \textit{akartari} is interpreted as the negative \textit{tatpurusa} compound of the \textit{paryudāsa} type. Given this, the negative of \textit{akartari} will be interpreted as negating something different from, though still similar to (\textit{tadbhin-natatsadṛśa}), a \textit{kartṛ}. That is, \textit{na}N will negate \textit{kartṛ} and yet, together with
kartr, will still specify the kāraka condition. This meaning cannot be derived, under the prasajya interpretation, without special efforts. It is argued that the use of ‘kārake’ of this rule is unnecessary, since a paryudāsa interpretation will automatically account for it. That is, akartari, itself, enables the affix to be introduced in the sense of something similar to, though not, exactly the kartṛ. The referent of ‘something other than, but similar to a kartṛ’ is clearly a kāraka other than a kartṛ. The word ‘kārake’ of this rule is thus used for clarity.

Commentators accept ‘rule-splitting’ (yogavibhāga) as the special effort by which one gets the prasajya meaning of negation in akartari thereby leading to the desired interpretation of the rule. Thus, we get two sentences: samijnāyāṃ ghaṇ bhavati ‘affix GHaN occurs when the derivate denotes samijnā;’ kartari tu na bhavati ‘affix GHaN, however, does not occur when kartṛ is denoted’. But an objection is raised against the first sentence. Since the sense of the affix is not specified by the first sentence, the affix will denote the ‘sense of its base, the root’. How could it then denote a kāraka other than an agent? It is to remove this difficulty in the prasajya interpretation that ‘kārake’ is used here. For further details of the two types of negation, see my notes under rule 1.4.17 svādīṣu...

The ca of this rule is displaced, as regards its order, relative to samijnāyāṃ. Commentators explain that this may leave some possibility for usage where samijnā is not denoted by the derivate. Thus, we get labhaḥ ‘gain’ in ko bhavatā labho labdhaḥ ‘what gain was made by you sir?’

3.3.20 परिमाणाखायां सर्वेभ्यः:

parimāṇākhāyāṁ sarvebhyaḥ
/parimāṇākhāyām 7/1 sarvebhyaḥ 5/3/
(pratayah #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, ghaṇ #16, bhāve #18, akartari ca kārake samijnāyāṃ #19)
parimāṇākhāyām gamyamānāyāṁ sarvebhyaḥ dhātubhyaḥ ghaṇ pratyayo bhavati
Affix GHaN occurs after verbal roots in general to denote bhava, and a kāraka other than kartṛ, when the derivate denotes a measure of weight.

Examples:

tanḍulanieśṭaḥ ‘one heaped measure of rice’
sūrpaniśṭeśaḥ ‘two winnowing basketfuls of...’

1. This rule allows for the introduction of affix GHaN after verbal roots in general when the derivate denotes some measure of weight other than conventional. The word ākhyā is used, here, to reject the
conventional measures of weight such as prastha, drona, etc. Clearly then, the word parimāṇa is used more in its derivational sense of ‘distinguishing one measure of anything from another’. What accomplishes this distinction becomes the means by which those measures are distinguished. Thus, we get nicāyah in tāndulanicāyah parallel to ekas tāndulanānām nichāyah ‘one heap of rice of some measure’. My use of ‘of some measure’ shows how one (eka), the numeral, measures the ‘heap’, as opposed to the prastha or drona. For, in the latter case, we must use ‘one heap of rice equal to the measure of a prastha or drona’. Thus, the use of ākhyā rules out any conventional measure of weight. Similarly, one can get nispāvau as in dvau śārpanispāvau where two, the number of winnowing baskets measures the grain.

2. Note that nicāyah could have become the derivational subject of 3.3.56 er ac whereby affix aC is introduced after a verbal root terminated in i. The rest of the conditions of ‘akartari ca kārake, bhāve, etc.’ are the same. Our present rule thus forms an exception to 3.3.56 er ac. It also forms an exception to rule 3.3.57 rdor ap, whereby affix aP is introduced after verbal roots which ends in r and u. Our second example, nispāvau | nispāvau, could have qualified for 3.3.57 which is blocked. Obviously, the paribhāsa of ‘prior exceptions block the most immediately available operational provisions, and not those available subsequently (purastāpavādān) does not apply here. For, this rule blocks aC as well as aP. This, again, may be the dictate of ‘sarvebhyaḥ’ of this rule. However, one must understand that this affix cannot block the affixes which are to be introduced to denote bhāva in the domain of 3.3.94 striyām kti (ghañanukramanam ajapar viṣaye, stripratṛayāḥ tu na bāḍhyante). Kāśīkā states clearly that GHaN is provided where aC and aP would otherwise find their scope. But how do we know this? It is understood from the pañcamī ‘ablative’ of sarvebhyaḥ which becomes coreferential with dhātoḥ, and thus indicates the exception (apavāda) relative to the formal-base (prakṛtyāśraya). The exception denoted by sarvebhyaḥ is thus not relative to meaning (arthāśraya). Hence, feminine affixes are not blocked. If, however, Pāṇini intended this rule to be an exception relative to the meaning, he would have used sarva ‘all’ in the locative plural as sarvasmin. Obviously, 3.3.94 striyām kti entails specifications relative to meaning. Thus we get KūN in ekā tilocchittih ‘one heap of sesame’, etc.

3. A vārttika also provides for the introduction of affix GHaN in the sense of agent after verbal roots dṛ ‘to split’ and jṛ ‘to be old’ when they are used in NiC. This vārttika additionally provides for the LUK-deletion of NiC. Thus we get: dārāḥ = dārayanti te ‘wife; she who causes the split among brothers’, and jārāḥ = jarayanti te ‘lovers of married women; those who cause a woman to become old’. Note that dārāḥ obligatorily is plural
masculine. The word jāra has been explained as praschannapatiḥ ‘secret husband’ or upapatiḥ ‘other husband’.

3.3.21 इनास

iṇaś cāiṇaḥ 5/1 ca 0/1
(pratyayaḥ #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, ghaṇ #16, bhāve #18, akartari ca kārake samjñāyāṁ #19)
iṇo dhātora ghaṇ pratyayo bhavati

Affix GHaN occurs after verbal root iN ‘to study’ to denote bhāva, and a kāraka other than kartr, when the derivate denotes a name.

EXAMPLES:

adhyāyāḥ ‘a lesson; chapter of a treatise’
upādhyāyāḥ ‘he from whom one studies; a teacher’

1. This rule introduces affix GHaN after verbal root iN ‘to study’ as an exception to affix aC of rule 3.3.56 er ac. Note that aC would have become available to iN for reason that it ends in -i. Thus we get GHaN after iN used with the preverb adhi to yield upādhyāyāḥ, ‘he from whom one studies’. Affix GHaN, obviously, denotes apādāna ‘ablative’, which is in consonance with 1.4.29 ākhyātopayoge. One can similarly derive adhyāyāḥ, though GHaN would then denote the karman ‘object’ of studying.

A feminine counterpart of the derivate in GHaN, according to a værttika, is formed in this case with NiS optionally with TāP. This yields two forms: upādhyāyī and upādhyāyā ‘a female teacher’. Note that the word which signifies ‘the wife of the teacher’ is to be obligatorily derived by introduction of affix NiS by rule 4.1.48 puṃyogād ākhyāyāṁ. This same rule will introduce NiS in case of upādhyāyī, meaning ‘the female teacher’. Obviously, upādhyāyī thus may mean two things: ‘the female teacher’ and ‘the wife of the teacher’. Perhaps it is to disambiguate this that augment ānUK is optionally introduced to derive upādhyāya (ānUK) + NiS = upādhyāyāni. This provision of ānUK is made by a værttika:

upādhyāyamāṇātulabhīyām vā ‘optionally after upādhyāya and mātula ‘mother’s brother’. Now one, preferably, can use upādhyāyāni, rather than upādhyāyī, if one wishes to make sure that the listener will not interpret upādhyāyī to mean ‘the female teacher’.

A værttika also provides for GHaN after verbal root śr ‘to injure’ and vrN ‘to select’ to derive śarāḥ meaning vāyuḥ ‘wind’, varṇaḥ ‘color’, and niuvṛttaṃ ‘that by means of which one covers the body; covering’. The
denotatum of GHaN in these instances is karana. Thus, vayuh ‘wind; that by means of which something (like a leaf) falls; varna ‘color; that by means of which something is made colorful (citrikarana); and nivrtam ‘covering; that by means of which one covers one’s body to protect from cold, etc.’ The Mahabhasya uses the following to illustrate the meaning of nivrtam in nisara:

gaur ivaktanisara praeyena isihe krsah ‘he who remains with his body uncovered like that of a cow in winter is usually feeble’.

3.3.22 उपसर्गे स्वः:

upasargere ruvaḥ
/upasarger 7/1 ruvaḥ 5/1/
( pratayayah #3.1.1, paras ca #3.1.2, dhatoḥ #3.1.91, akartari ca kārake samjñāyam #19)
upasargere upapade rautehr ḍhātor ghaṇ pratyayo bhavati
Affix GHaN occurs after verbal root ru ‘to make noise’ to denote bhūva, and a kāraka other than kartṛ, when the root cooccurs with a nominal pada which contains a preverb and the derivate denotes a name.

Examples:

samṛavah ‘noise’
uparavah ‘id.’
viravah ‘id.’

1. This again is an exception to affix aP available from 3.3.57 ṛḍor aP. The same is true about the subsequent rule where aP is already available to specified roots because they end in -u. Both of these rules have cooccurrence conditions constituted by a preverb. Note that samyavah of the next rule is explained by Haradatta (PM ad Kāśikā) as a deepfried bread stuffed with a lentil paste mixed with jaggery and cumin seed, etc.

3.3.23 सम्युधुवः:

samy yudruvdvah
/sami 7/1 yudruvdvah 5/1/
( pratayayah #3.1.1. paras ca #3.1.2, dhatoḥ #3.1.91, ghaṇ #16, bhāve #18, akartari ca kārake samjñāyam #19)
samy upapade ‘yu, dru, du’ ity etebhyo dhātubhyo ghaṇ pratyayo bhavati
Affix GHaN occurs after verbal roots yu ‘to mix’, dru ‘to move; drip’ and du ‘to burn; be afflicted’ to denote bhūva and a kāraka other than kartṛ, when the root cooccurs with a nominal pada which contains sam and the derivate denotes a name.
Examples:

\[\text{sanyāvah} \text{ 'a kind of pudding'}\]
\[\text{sandrāvah} \text{ 'running'}\]
\[\text{sandāvah} \text{ 'id.'}\]

3.3.24 **श्रीमीमवेर्युपसर्गोऽनुपासर्गम्**

\[\text{śrīnībhuvyo 'nupasargē} \text{ anupasargē 7/1}\]
\[\text{(pratyayāḥ #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, ghaṅ #16, bhāve #18, akartari ca kārake samjñāyām #19)}\]

\[\text{śri, ni, bhū 'ity etetbhyo dhātubhypo 'nupasargebhypo ghaṅ pratyayo bhavati}\]

Affix \(GHaN\) occurs after verbal roots śri 'to go', niN 'to lead' and bhū 'to be, become' to denote bhāva, and a kāraka other than kārtv, when the root is not used with a preverb and the derivate denotes a name.

Examples:

\[\text{śrāyāh 'shelter'}\]
\[\text{nāyāh (that by) means (of which one leads)}\]
\[\text{bhāvah 'existence; condition'}\]

1. This rule constitutes an exception to both affixes aC and aP. Kāśikā paraphrases 'anupasargē' in the locative as 'anupasargēbhyaḥ' in the ablative just to show that the saptamī of 'anupasargē' is used in the sense of pāñcamī. A question is raised as to why we get prabhāvah 'splendour, power' as opposed to prabhāvah in prabhāvo rājñāh 'the power of the king'. It is explained that prabhāvah is derived by combining pra and bhāvah, a GHaN-derivate, to yield a prādi compound. Thus, in prabhāvah, GHaN is not used after verbal root bhū conjoined with the preverb pra. The word anupasarga of anupasargēbhyaḥ is interpreted as a bahuvrīhi with the analyzed form: avidyamāna upasarga esām 'those whose preverb does not appear'. Why do we get nāyāh as opposed to nāyāh in rājñō nāyāh 'the rule of the king'? Affix GHaN should have been chosen over aC because verbal root niN is used without a preverb. Affix aC, however, has been chosen because of the bāhulaka 'variously' provision of 3.3.13 kṛtyalyuto bāhulam.

3.3.25 वौ क्षुरुवा:

\[\text{vau kṣuśruvah}\]
\[\text{vau 7/1 kṣuśruvah 5/1}\]
\[\text{(pratyayāḥ #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, ghaṅ #16, bhāve #18, akartari ca kārake samjñāyām #19)}\]
vau upapade 'kṣu śru' ity etābhyaṃ dhātubhyaṃ ghaṇ pratyayo bhavati
Affix GHaN occurs after verbal roots ṬUkṣu 'to sneeze; make noise' and śru 'to move' to denote bhāva, and a kāraka other than kartṛ, when the roots cooccur with a nominal pada which contains vi and the derivate denotes a name.

EXAMPLES:

vikṣāvah 'noise'
viśrāvah 'flow; fame'

1. This rule is again an exception to aP (3.3.57 ṛdor ap). For, the roots end in u. Note that vi forms the cooccurrence condition. Elsewhere, the derivates will be kṣavah 'sneezing' and śravah 'ear'.

3.3.26 अवोदोरिनिः:

avodor niyah
lavodh 7/2 niyah 5/1
(pratyayaḥ #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, ghaṇ #16, bhāve #18, akartari ca kārake samjñāyām #19)
'ava, ut' ity etayor upapadayor nayater dhātor ghaṇ pratyayo bhavati
Affix GHaN occurs after verbal root niN to denote bhāva, and a kāraka other than kartṛ, when the root cooccurs with a pada which contains ava and ud and the derivate denotes a name.

EXAMPLES:

avanāyāh 'the act of falling down; downfall'
unnāyāh 'elevation; prosperity'

1. How come affix GHaN is not used to derive unnayāh of unnayah-padārthānām 'abundance of things' when niN is used with the preverb ud. This is again because of affix aC introduced under the provision of bāhulaka of 3.3.113 kṛtyalyuto bahulam.

3.3.27 प्रे हुसलब्यः:

pre drustusruvah
/pra 7/1 drustusruvah 5/1
(pratyayaḥ #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, ghaṇ #16, bhāve #18, akartari ca kārake samjñāyām #19)
prasābda upapade 'dru, stu, sru' ity etebhyo dhātubhya ghaṇ pratyayo bhavati
Affix GHaN occurs after verbal roots dru 'to run', stu 'to praise', and sru 'to move' to denote bhāva, and a kāraka other than kartṛ, when the roots cooccur with a nominal pada which contains pra and the derivate denotes a name.
Examples:

pradrávah ‘running; flight’
prstávah ‘occasion; proposal of praise’
prasrávah ‘flow; dripping; urination’

1. Forms such as drávah ‘fluid’, stávah ‘praise’ and srávah ‘flow’ will be derived by introducing affix aP when pra is not the cooccurring condition.

3.3.28 निरभ्योऽपूवोऽ:

nirabhýoh púlvoḥ
/nirabhhyah 7/2 púlvoḥ 6/2/

(pratyayah #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhátoḥ #3.1.91, ghañ #16, bháve #18, akartari ca kárake samjñāyām #19)
nirabhípúrvayoḥ púlvoṛ dhátor ghañ pratyayo bhavati
Affix GHaÑ occurs after verbal roots pü ‘to cleanse’ and lûN ‘to cut’ to denote bháva, and a káraka other than kartṛ, when the roots co-occur with a nominal pada which contains nis and abhi respectively and the derivate denotes a name.

Examples:

nispávah ‘cleaning; particular kind of lentil; winnowed grain’
abhilávah ‘cutting; harvesting’

1. A reference with pü is made, here, to both verbal roots pûN ‘cleanse, purify’ and pûN ‘id’. Commentators explain that the preverb should be associated with the cited roots in accordance with the order of enumeration (yathásamkhya; 1.3.10 yathásamkhya anudeśaḥ…). That is, nis should be used with pûN and pûN, as opposed to abhi, which is to be used with lûN. We will get pavaḥ ‘cleansing, winnowing’ and lavah ‘harvesting, mowing’ by introduction of affix aP (3.3.57 rdor ap) when nis and abhi are not used.

3.3.29 उज्योऽः:

unnýor graḥ
/unnýoh 7/2 graḥ 5/1/

(pratyayah #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhátoḥ #3.1.91, ghañ #16, bháve #18, akartari ca kárake samjñāyām #19)
unnýor upāpadayoḥ ‘gr’ ity etasamād dhátor ghañ pratyayo bhavati
Affix GHaÑ occurs after verbal root gr ‘to make noise; to swallow’ to denote bháva, and a káraka other than kartṛ, when the root cooccurs with a nominal pada which contains ud and ni and the derivate denotes a name.
3.3.30 Adhyāya Three: Pāda Three

**Examples:**

udgārah samudrasya ‘the roaring of the sea’
nigāro devadattasya ‘Devadatta’s eating’

1. Note that grah makes reference to both verbal roots gr ‘to utter’ and gṛ ‘to swallow’. Thus, we get udgārah samudrasya ‘the roaring of the sea’ and nigāro devadattasya ‘eating of Devadatta’. Elsewhere, we will get garah to denote ‘swallowing’ by introduction of affix aP.

3.3.30 कृ धान्ये

kṛ dhānaye

/kṛ/ (deleted 5/1) dhānaye 7/1/

(pratyayah #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, ghañ #16, bhāve #18, akartari ca kārake samjñāyām #19, unnyoḥ #29)

‘kṛ’ ity etasmād dhātor unnyor upapadayor ghañ pratayayo bhavati dhānayaśya caḥ dhātvartho bhavati

Affix GHaN occurs after verbal root kṛ ‘to scatter’ to denote bhāva, and a kāraka other than kartr, when the root cooccurs with a nominal pada which contains ud and ni and the derivate denotes the name of a grain.

**Examples:**

utkāro dhānyasya ‘winnowing of grains’
nikāro dhānyasya ‘id.’

1. Note that ‘unnyoh’ is carried here so that utkāraḥ and nikāraḥ can be derived with ud and ni. The word dhānya is used to qualify the meaning of the derivate. It should not be treated as denoting the sense of the base (prakṛtyarthā), or affix (pratayārtha). Since the scope of the derivate is recognized with dhānya, kṛ is interpreted as denoting vikṣēpa ‘to scatter’, and not himsā ‘to harm’. Besides, a GHaN-derivate with kṛ denoting himsā is not available in usage. Thus we get utkāraḥ ‘winnowing’ and nikāraḥ ‘id.’. Elsewhere, we get utkaraḥ and nikaraḥ as in bhaikṣyotkaraḥ ‘heap of alms’ and puspānikarāḥ ‘heap of flowers’.

3.3.31 यज्ञ समि स्तुवः

yajñe sami stuvaḥ

/yajñe/ 7/1 sami 7/1 stuvaḥ 5/1/

(pratyayah #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, ghañ #16, akartari ca kārake samjñāyām #19)

yajñaviṣaye prayoge sampoṛvāt stauter ghañ pratayayo bhavati

Affix GHaN occurs after verbal root śtuN ‘to praise’ to denote bhāva, and a kāraka other than kartr, when the root is used with
the preverb *sam* and the derivate denotes a name relative to some ritual.

**Example:**

*samstāvaś chandogānāṃ* ‘a place where, having been assembled, the chanters (*chandogāḥ*) chant the hymns of praise’

1. Note that *samstāvah* denotes a place at a ritual where the *brāhmaṇa* jointly sit and chant the hymns (sameta stuvanti yasmin deśe chandogāḥ sa deśaḥ ‘samstāvah’...). Obviously, the place becomes a means by serving as the locus of chanting at the ritual (*adhikaraṇa-sādhanatva*). Elsewhere, in a non-ritual context, we will get *samstavah* as in *samstavaś chātrayoh* ‘mutual praises of two students’.

3.3.32 प्रेक्षायणेः

*pre strī’ yajñe
lpreh 7/1 strīḥ 5/1 ayajñe 7/1/*

(pratayah #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, ghāṇ #16, bhāve #18, akartṛ ca kāraκe samjñāyām #19)

‘stīn ācchādane’ asmād dhātoḥ prasabde upapade ghaṇ prtyayo bhavati, na ced yajñaviṣayāḥ prayogo bhavati

Affix *GHaN* occurs after verbal root *stīN* ‘to shade; cover’ to denote *bhāva*, and a *kāraka* other than *kartṛ*, when the root cooccurs with a nominal *pada* which contains *pra* and the derivate denotes a name not related to a ritual.

**Example:**

*sāṅkhaprastārah* ‘a spread of conch shells’

1. Note that, in the context of *yajña*, the derivate will be *prastaraḥ* as in *barhisprastaraḥ* ‘a bed of Kuśa grass’.

3.3.33 प्रथनेवावशब्दे

*prathane vāv asabde
lprathane 7/1 vau 7/1 asabde 7/1/*

(pratayah #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, ghāṇ #16, bhāve #18, akartṛ ca kāraκe samjñāyām #19, strīḥ #32)

‘stīn ācchādane’ asmād dhātōr viśabda upapade ghaṇ pratyayo bhavati prathane gamyamāne, tace prathanam śabdaviṣayam na bhavati

Affix *GHaN* occurs after verbal root *stīN* to denote *bhāva*, and a *kāraka* other than *kartṛ*, when the root cooccurs with a *pada* which contains *vi* and the derivate denotes *prathana* ‘spreading out, expanse’ not related to *śabda* ‘speech’.
Example:

*paṭasya viśāraḥ* 'spreading of clothes'

1. This rule introduces *GHaN* under the meaning condition of 'expanse (length or width)' provided this meaning is not related to *sābda* 'speech'. Thus we get: *viśāraḥ* in *paṭasya viśāraḥ* 'the length of the cloth'. Consider *trṇavistarāḥ* 'a bundle of grass' and *vistarō vacasām* 'proximity of words', where the first lacks the meaning of 'expanse', and the second relates to the 'expanse' of words.

3.3.34 छन्दोनाम्नि ca

*chandonaṁni ca*

/chedonaṁni 7/1 ca 0/1

(pratayah #3.3.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, ghaṅ #16, bhāve #18, akartari ca kārake saṁjñāyām #19, straḥ #32, vau #33)

*vipūrvaḥ trṇāteḥ chandonaṁni ghaṅ pratayo bhavati*

Affix *GHaN* occurs after verbal root *stṛN* to denote *bhāva*, and a *kāraka* other than *kartṛ*, when the root is used with the preverb *vi* and the derivate denotes the name of a meter.

Examples:

*viṣṭārapāṅktiḥ* 'that in which the syllables are spread out; name of a Vedic meter'

*viṣṭārabhrati* 'id.'

1. This rule again introduces *GHaN* after verbal root *stṛN* used with the preverb *vi*, though under a different meaning condition. The word *chandonaṁni* 'in denoting the name of a meter' forms this condition. The word *chandas* does not refer, here, to the mantra or brāhmaṇa literature. We understand this from the explicit use of the word *nāman* 'name'. Note, additionally, that the locative (*saptamī*) in *chandonaṁni* denotes *adhikaṇaṇa* 'locus'. That is, the name of the meter is not the word which terminates in affix *GHaN*. Instead, the derivate in *GHaN* forms part of a larger unit which denotes the name of a meter. Thus, the larger structure becomes the locus (*avayavin* 'whole') for the part (*avayava*), as is *viṣṭārabhrati*, a compound, for *viṣṭāra*, a constituent terminated in *GHaN*.

3.3.35 उदि ग्रह:  

*udi grahaḥ*

/udī 7/1 grahaḥ 5/1/

(pratayah #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, ghaṅ #16, bhāve #18, akartari ca kārake saṁjñāyām #19)
udy upapade graher dhātor ghaṅ pratyayo bhavati
Affix GHaN occurs after verbal root grahA ‘to seize’ to denote bhāva, and a kāraka other than kartr, when the root cooccurs with a nominal pada which contains ud.

EXAMPLE:

udgrāhāḥ ‘lifting up’

1. This, again, is an exception to affix aP of rule 3.3.58 grahavrdr.....

3.3.36 समि मुष्टाः

sami muṣṭau
/sami 7/1 muṣṭau 7/1/
(pratayah #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, ghaṅ #16, bhāve #18, akartari ca kārake samjñāyām #19, grahah #35)
samy upapade graher dhātor ghaṅ bhavati muṣṭiṣyaś ced dhātvartho bhavati
Affix GHaN occurs after verbal root grahA ‘to seize’ used in conjunction with sam when the derive denotes bhāva and a kāraka other than kartr relative to muṣṭi ‘fist’.

EXAMPLES:

aho, mallasya samgrāhāḥ ‘Wow! the look at the firmness of the grip of the wrestler’
aho, muṣṭikasya samgrāhāḥ ‘id.’

1. Note that muṣṭau ‘in the context of fist’ refers to the action. The word ‘fist’ could refer to ‘fistful of something’ where the meaning will be parimāṇa ‘measure’. It can also refer to a particular formation of fingers (aṅguliniṁ racanāviśeṣah) as in muṣṭinā hanti ‘... killing him by punching’. We cannot accept ‘measure’ as the reference here because we already have its provision made under rule 3.3.20 parimāṇākhyāyāṁ sarvebhyaḥ. This rule, therefore, derives forms in the context of the second meaning: aho mallasya samgrāhyāḥ. Elsewhere, we will get: samgraho dhānyasya ‘the collection of grains’.

3.3.37 परिन्योगीतिप्रचारप्रेषयो:

parinyor niṇor dyūtābhreṣayoh
/parinyoh 7/2 niṇoh 6/2 dyūtābhreṣayoh 7/2/
(pratayah #3.1.1; paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, ghaṅ #16, bhāve #18, akartari ca kārake samjñāyām #19)
pariśabde niśabde copapade yathāsaṁkhyāṁ niya inaś ca dhātor ghaṅ pratyayo bhavati
Affix G\(Ha\tilde{n}\) occurs after verbal roots \(ni\tilde{N}\) 'to lead' and \(i\tilde{N}\) 'to go' to denote bh\(\tilde{a}va\), and a k\(\tilde{a}raka\) other than kartr, when the roots cooccur with a nominal pada which contains pari and ni respectively and their derivates denote dy\(\tilde{u}ta\) 'gambling' and abh\(\tilde{r}e\tilde{sa}\) 'propriety' respectively.

**Examples:**

parin\(\tilde{a}yena\) \(s\tilde{a}r\tilde{a}n\) hanti 'he throws the dice after moving about'
eso' tra ny\(\tilde{a}yah\) 'this is what is proper here'

1. This rule allows for ni used with pari to receive G\(Ha\tilde{n}\) in the context of gambling, and for i\(\tilde{N}\) used with ni to receive G\(Ha\tilde{n}\) in the context of conduct not contrary to the norm. Our rule thus assigns the conditions of cooccurrence and context in accordance with the order of enumeration (1.3.10 yath\(\tilde{a}\)sa\(\tilde{m}\)khyam...). Elsewhere, we find parin\(\tilde{a}yah\) 'wedding' and ny\(\tilde{a}yah\) 'destruction', both derivates of a\(\tilde{C}\).

3.3.38 पराभुनुपत्याय इणः:

par\(\tilde{a}\)v anup\(\tilde{a}t\)yaya i\(\tilde{a}\)nah
\(\tilde{p}r\tilde{a}\)rat 7/1 anup\(\tilde{a}\)tyaye 7/1 i\(\tilde{a}\)nah 5/1
(pratyay\(\tilde{a}\) #3.1.1, \(\tilde{p}r\tilde{a}\)\(\tilde{r}\)ca #3.1.2, dh\(\tilde{a}\)t\(\tilde{h}\) #3.1.91, g\(\tilde{h}\)\(\tilde{a}\)n #16, bh\(\tilde{a}\)\(\tilde{v}\)e #18, ak\(\tilde{a}\)r\(\tilde{t}\)ri ca k\(\tilde{a}\)\(\tilde{r}\)\(\tilde{a}\) k\(\tilde{a}\)\(\tilde{r}\)a\(\tilde{k}\) sam\(\tilde{\i}\)n\(\tilde{a}\)y\(\tilde{\i}\)\(\tilde{y}\)\(\tilde{\i}\)m #19)
pari\(\tilde{s}\)\(\tilde{a}\)\(\tilde{b}\)\(\tilde{a}\)\(\tilde{d}\)a up\(\tilde{a}\)pa\(\tilde{d}\)e \(\tilde{i}\)\(\tilde{n}\)o dh\(\tilde{a}\)\(\tilde{t}\)\(\tilde{h}\)\(\tilde{o}\)r g\(\tilde{h}\)\(\tilde{a}\)n \(\tilde{p}\)\(\tilde{r}\)\(\tilde{t}\)r\(\tilde{a}\)\(\tilde{y}\)\(\tilde{a}\)\(\tilde{y}\)o bh\(\tilde{\i}\)\(\tilde{v}\)a\(\tilde{t}\)i, anup\(\tilde{a}\)tyaye gam\(\tilde{y}\)am\(\tilde{a}\)\(\tilde{n}\)e

Affix G\(Ha\tilde{n}\) occurs after verbal root i\(\tilde{N}\) to denote bh\(\tilde{a}\)\(\tilde{v}\)a, and a k\(\tilde{a}\)\(\tilde{r}\)\(\tilde{a}\)\(\tilde{k}\) other than kartr, when the root cooccurs with a nominal pada which contains pari and the derivate denotes anup\(\tilde{a}\)tyaya 'succession, turn, order'.

**Examples:**

tava\(\tilde{a}\) \(\tilde{p}\)\(\tilde{r}\)\(\tilde{a}\)\(\tilde{y}\)\(\tilde{a}\)h 'your turn'
mama\(\tilde{a}\) \(\tilde{p}\)\(\tilde{r}\)\(\tilde{a}\)\(\tilde{y}\)\(\tilde{a}\)h 'my turn'

1. This rule introduces G\(Ha\tilde{n}\) after verbal root i\(\tilde{N}\) when used in conjunction with pari provided the context is anup\(\tilde{a}\)tyaya 'not transgressing order or succession'. In the absence of this context, the derivate will be \(p\)\(\tilde{r}\)\(\tilde{a}\)\(\tilde{y}\)\(\tilde{a}\)h as in k\(\tilde{a}\)\(\tilde{l}\)\(\tilde{a}\)\(\tilde{s}\)ya \(p\)\(\tilde{r}\)\(\tilde{a}\)\(\tilde{y}\)\(\tilde{a}\)h 'lapse of time', again a derivate in a\(\tilde{C}\).

3.3.39 व्युपयो: शेतेत: पयाचि

\(v\)\(\tilde{u}\)\(\tilde{p}\)\(\tilde{a}\)\(\tilde{y}\)\(\tilde{a}\)h \(\tilde{s}\)\(\tilde{t}\)\(\tilde{e}\)\(\tilde{h}\) \(p\)\(\tilde{a}\)\(\tilde{r}\)\(\tilde{a}\)\(\tilde{y}\)\(\tilde{a}\)h
\(v\)\(\tilde{u}\)\(\tilde{p}\)\(\tilde{a}\)\(\tilde{y}\)\(\tilde{a}\)h 7/2 \(\tilde{s}\)\(\tilde{t}\)\(\tilde{e}\)\(\tilde{h}\) 5/1 \(p\)\(\tilde{a}\)\(\tilde{r}\)\(\tilde{a}\)\(\tilde{y}\)\(\tilde{a}\)h 7/1
(pratyay\(\tilde{a}\) #3.1.1, \(\tilde{p}r\tilde{a}\)\(\tilde{r}\)\(\tilde{c}\)a #3.1.2, dh\(\tilde{a}\)\(\tilde{t}\)\(\tilde{h}\) #3.1.91, g\(\tilde{h}\)\(\tilde{a}\)\(\tilde{n}\) #16, bh\(\tilde{a}\)\(\tilde{v}\)e #18, ak\(\tilde{a}\)\(\tilde{r}\)\(\tilde{t}\)\(\tilde{r}\)\(\tilde{i}\) ca k\(\tilde{a}\)\(\tilde{r}\)\(\tilde{a}\) k\(\tilde{a}\)\(\tilde{r}\)\(\tilde{a}\) k\(\tilde{a}\)\(\tilde{r}\)e sam\(\tilde{\i}\)n\(\tilde{a}\)y\(\tilde{\i}\)\(\tilde{y}\)\(\tilde{\i}\)m #19)
‘vi upa’ ity etayor upapadayoh seter dhātor ghaṅ bhavati, paryāye gamyamāne
Affix GHaN occurs after verbal root śīṅ ‘to recline’ to denote bhāva,
and a kāraka other than kartṛ, when the root cooccurs with a
nominal pada which contains vi and upa and the derivate denotes
paryāya ‘order, turn’.

EXAMPLES:

tava viśāyah ‘your turn to sleep’
mama viśāyah ‘my turn to sleep’
tava rājopasāyah ‘your turn to sleep near the king’

1. This rule introduces GHaN after verbal root śīṅ ‘to recline, sleep’
when it cooccurs with vi and upa, and the context is that of paryāya ‘turn’.
Why is paryāya to be stated explicitly when the previous rule uses anupātyaya
in the same sense? That is, why not bring anupātyaya from the preceding
rule via anuvṛtti instead of using paryāye? Commentators explain that the
use of an additional form brings additional meaning to the application of
the rule. It gives the rule the strength to block a rule which otherwise
might block it (bādhakabādhanārtha). For example, when the context of
paryāya entails abhīvidhi ‘inclusive extent’, this rule can be blocked by rule
3.3.44 abhīvidhau bhāve inuṣ. The use of paryāye indicates that muN of
3.3.44 is blocked by the GHaN of this rule.

3.3.40 हस्ताधाने चेसस्ये

hastādāne cer asteye
hastādāne 7/1 ceh 5/1 asteye 7/1/
(pratyayah #3.1.1, paraśa #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, ghaṅ #16, bhāve #18,
akartari ca kārake samjñāyām #19)
hastādāne gamyamāne cinoter dhātor ghaṅ pratyayo bhavati, na cet steyam
bhavati
Affix GHaN occurs after verbal root aiN ‘to heap’ to denote bhāva,
and a kāraka other than kartṛ when the action involves use of hands,
but does not entail stealing.

EXAMPLES:

puspapracaṇāyah ‘picking the flowers (by hand)’
phalapracaṇāyah ‘picking fruits (by hand)’

1. This rule introduces GHaN in the context of ‘bringing something
by means of hands; picking up, plucking’ provided ‘stealing’ (steyā) is not
denoted. The word hastādana denotes proximity with the object (hastā-
dānagrahaṇena pratyāsattir ādeyasya lakṣyate). That is, where hands are
enough to accomplish the action of bringing, and no other means are
expected to be employed. It is for this reason that Kāśikā offers a counter-example in vrksāśikhare phalapracayam karoti ‘he is picking fruits from top of the tree (by means of a pole, etc.).’ Obviously, the fruits are not within easy reach of the hands of the person picking them.

3.3.41 निवासविदितिः निवासपसांप्रदायकनेप्रदेशः कः

nivāsacittiśāriropasamādūnāsva ādeś ca kah
/nivāsa...dhāneṣu 7/3 ādeḥ 6/1 ca 0 kah 1/1/
(pratyayah #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, ghaṇ #16, bhāve #18,
akartari ca kārake samjñāyām #19, ceh #40)
‘nivasanty asminn iti nivāsaḥ, ciyate’ sau cith, pānyādi samudāyah śārīraṁ,
rāśikaraṇam upasamādūhānam’ eteṣu artheṣu cino ter ghaṇ pratyayo bhavati,
dhātor ādeś ca kakāra ādeśaḥ

Affix GHaN occurs after verbal root ciN to denote bhāva, and a kāraka other than kartṛ, when the derivate denotes nivāsa ‘dwelling’, citi ‘that which is gathered’, śārīra ‘body’ or upasamādūhāna ‘heap, pile’; in addition, the initial c of the root is replaced by k.

EXAMPLES:

cikhallinikāyah ‘the dwellings of Cikhallis’
ākāyam agnim cinvita ‘one should arrange the funeral pyre the size of the body’
anityakāyah ‘the body which is impermanent’
mahāgomayanikāyah ‘a big pile of cow dung’

1. This rule allows for two operations: the introduction of affix GHaN when the derivate denotes nivāsa, citi, śārīra and upasamādūhāna; and the replacement of the initial c of the root by k. Note that upasamādūhāna denotes the action of piling up things which may be scattered around. Thus we get mahāgomayanikāyah ‘a big pile of cow dung made by picking it up from around the place’. It is for this reason that we get cayah ‘collection’ as in mahān kāsthani ca cayah ‘a huge bundle of firewood’, where the meaning is bahutva ‘multiplicity’ as opposed to upasamādūhāna.

3.3.42 संघे जानौत्तराध्ये

sanghe cānauttārādhaye
/l/sanghe 7/1 ca 0 anauttarādharye 7/1/
(pratyayah #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, ghaṇ #16, bhāve #19,
akartari ca kārake samjñāyām #19, ceh #40, adeś ca kah #41)
sanghe vācyo cino ter dhātor ghaṇ pratyayo bhavati ādeś ca kah

Affix GHaN occurs after verbal root ciN to denote bhāva, and a kāraka other than kartṛ, when the derivate denotes a sangha
‘assembly of people’, with no hierarchical arrangement; in addition, the initial $c$ of the root is replaced by $k$.

**Examples:**

bhikṣukanikāyah ‘the assembly of beggars’  
brāhmaṇinikāyah ‘the assembly of brahmānas’  
vaiyākaraṇanikāyah ‘the assembly of grammarians’

1. The word samṛgha has been explained as prañinām samudāyah ‘group of living beings’. As the Kāśikā states, people can be grouped on the basis of two things: either by subscribing to a common religious faith, or by being part of a relative hierarchy (auttarādhyāya). The paryudāsa negation in anauttarādhyāye limits the scope of this rule to the first kind of samṛgha. Thus, we get vaiyākaraṇanikāyah ‘association, school, or assembly of grammarians’. Kāśikā also offers two counter-examples: sūkaranicāyah ‘drove of hogs’ and pramānasamuccāyah ‘the collection of proofs’. The first, however, could only qualify as a counter-example when the hogs are lying on their backs suckling at their mother’s breasts. Elsewhere, in the state of being seated together, they could also qualify as a samṛgha. The second counter-example simply shows an assembly of non-living entities.

3.3.43 कर्मव्यतिहारे पट्टी खियाप्

karmavyatihāre patta śrīyāṃ  
karmavyatihāre 7/1 nac 1/1 śrīyāṃ 7/1  
(pratyayah #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, ghaṅ #16,  
bhāve #18, akartari ca kārake samjñāyām #19)  
karmavyatihāre ṣayamāne dhātor nac pratyayo bhavati strīlinge  
vācaye, tace ca bhāve  
Affix NāC occurs after a verbal root to denote bhāva when the derivate ends in the feminine and denotes karmavyatihāra ‘reciprocity of action’.

**Examples:**

vyāvakroṣṭi ‘reciprocal cursing or joking’  
vyāvākṣēkhī ‘reciprocal writing’  
vyāvahāśi varttate ‘there is shared laughter…’

1. The word karmavyatihāra has been explained as ‘reciprocity or exchange’ of an action (karman). Obviously, the word karman does not refer to the kāraka termed karman (cf. 1.3.14 kartari karmavyatihāre... for additional details). The affix denotes bhāva and the derivate is to be feminine. Note that because of the dominance of action in ‘reciprocity or exchange’ that the denotatum of a kāraka other than kartr is simply not possible. It is
for this reason that 'akartari ca kārake' is not read with the rule. The C as an it, in this affix, is intended to distinguish this affix from the others. Refer to rule 5.4.14 nacah striyām anī, where affix NaC is used to qualify the base after which affix aN is introduced. The C, thus, is not intended for the final high-pitch (antodātta).

A question is raised as to why this rule should be formulated separately from the domain of 3.3.94 striyām k tin. For it would seem to be more logical to place this rule there. It is stated that this rule is placed outside the domain of 3.3.94 striyām k tin in order to block what otherwise might have blocked (bādhakabādhānārtha) this rule. Thus, in the domain of rule 3.3.94 striyām k tin, an exception obligatorily blocks its related general rule. If our present rule were placed in the domain of 3.3.94, rules which could block 3.3.94 could also block it. Pāṇini, by placing this rule outside of the domain of 3.3.94, takes it outside the reach of blocking by those rules.

Consider for example vyāvacorī and vyāvacarcā where the first contains verbal root cur ‘to steal’ and the second contains carc ‘to study’. The first would have qualified for affix vuC of rule 3.3.107 nyāsastraṇtho yuc on account of its treatment as ending in NiC. The second would have similarly qualified for affix aN by rule 3.3.105 cintipūjikathī... The resultant forms would have been: coranā ‘stealing’ and carcā or carcanā ‘studying’. This would have blocked the derivation of vyāvacorī and vyāvacarcā by yielding *vyāvacoranā and *vyāvacarcanā as parallel forms. Placing rule 3.3.43 karmavayathāre... outside of 3.3.94 striyām k tin makes the derivation of desired forms possible. Note that there are instances where affix NaC, though technically given, does not apply. Consider vyatikṣā and vyatihā ‘reciprocal wish; and reciprocal effort’, where affix a (3.3.103 gusōś ca halāḥ), and not NaC, is employed. But now consider vyātukṣī ‘throwing water at each other’ where, even though the scope approves affix a, NaC applies. How do we get these mutually opposite applications? Consider rule 3.3.113 krīyālūto bahulam, especially the ramification of the term ‘bahulam’.

3.3.44 अभिविध्व भव इत्युप

abhividhau bhāva inuṇ
abhividhau 7/1 bhāve 7/1 inuṇ 1/1/
(pratyayah #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91)
abhividhau gamyamāne dhator bhāve inuṇ pratyayo bhavati
Affix inUṆ occurs after a verbal root to denote bhāva when the derivate denotes abhividihi ‘extent, limit’.

EXAMPLES:

sānkūṭinam ‘burning all around’
sāmrāvinam 'noise all around'
sāmrāvinam varttate 'water is flowing all around'

1. This rule introduces affix inUN to denote bhāva 'root-sense' when the derivate denotes abhīvidhi 'all pervasiveness'. The word abhīvidhi has been aptly explained by Kāśīkā as 'total connection with action and quality' (kriyāgūndābhīyām kārtṣyena sambandhāḥ). Thus, we get sāṃkūṭīnam 'burning all-around' and sāmrāvinam 'noise all-around' implying that the action of 'burning' and 'sounding' are all pervasive. The u of inUN is used to facilitate pronunciation (uccāraṇārtha).

Note that derivates which end in inUN further receive affix aN by rule 5.1.15 an inuṇah to denote the sense of their bases (svārtha). The introduction of aN takes place under the condition of the base qualified (viśṣta) with sam, where sam is termed gati (1.4.60 gatiś ca).

A question is raised in the Mahābhāṣya against the explicit use of bhāve, especially when it could have been understood from 3.3.18 bhāve. Besides, the derivates, here, can only denote bhāva. The context would not permit the denotation of a kāraka. So why explicitly state bhāve when it is obvious? The explicit use of bhāve is made to block the application of va' sarūpavidhi, i.e., optional blocking of a general rule by its formally dissimilar exception. For example, rule 3.3.18 bhāve introduces affix GHaN in relation to which inuN, of our present rule, is a formally dissimilar exception. If va' sarūpa finds its scope here, inuN can only optionally block the application of GHaN. The explicit mention of bhāve indicates that the blocking is obligatory. Similarly, affix Kta of 3.3.114 napuṃsake bhāve ktaḥ, used with affix inUN, is also ruled out based upon the explicit mention of bhāve in this rule.

The derivates of inUN are neuter by nature (svabhāvataḥ). A non-inclusion of GHaN or Kta amounts to the general non-inclusion of any other affix in this context of inUN. This position is correct, though the inclusion of affix LyuT in the context of inUN is desired, since we find examples such as saṃkūṭanam. How would one account for this? Recourse must now be taken to the 'bahulam' of 3.3.113 kṛtyaḥbu ṭo bahulam.

3.3.45 आक्रोजेत्याक्योऽयः:

ākroṣe' vanyor grahaḥ
lākroṣe 7/1 avanyoh 7/2 grahaḥ 5/1/
(pratyayaḥ #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, ghaṇ #16, bhāve #18, akartari ca kārake samjñāyām #19)

'ava, ni' ity etayor upapadayar graher dhātor ghaṇ pratyayo bhavati
Affix GHaN occurs after verbal root grahA 'to seize' to denote bhāva, and a kāraka other than kartṛ, when the root cooccurs with a nominal pada which contains ava and ni and the derivate denotes ākroṣa 'scolding, cursing'.
EXAMPLES:

avagrāho hanta te vrśala bhūyāt ‘may you land in misery, oh, vrśala’
nigrāho hanta te vrśala bhūyāt ‘may you land in jail, oh, vrśala’

1. This rule introduces affix GHaN after verbal root grah ‘to hold, grab’ when the rule cooccurs with ‘ava’ and ‘ni’ and the derivate denotes ākrośa ‘anger, cursing’. A question is raised as to why inUN, which is most immediately associated with this context, cannot be accepted as carried in place of GHaN. Commentators explain that affix GHaN is treated as carried, here, since it can be more logically related to the context. Some say that what is carried is normally marked with the svarita accent. Affix GHaN is carried, since it is marked with svarita, for purposes of anuvṛtti. Affix inUN cannot be accepted as carried because of the lack of its svarita mark.

The word ākrośah has been explained as sapanam ‘cursing’. Haradatta (PM:113:45) explains sapanam as aniṣṭāsamanam ‘hoping for something undesired to happen’. Consequently, our two examples, avagrāhah and nigrāhah, are explained as abhībhavaḥ ‘downfall’ and nirodhah ‘incarceration’. Elsewhere, we will find derivatives such as avagrāhah ‘splitting’ and nigrāhah ‘restraint’, both derived with affix aP(cf. 3.3.58 grāhavidṛ...).

3.3.46 प्रेलिपायम्

pre lipsāyām
/pre 7/1 lipsāyām 7/1
(pratyaayah #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, ghaṅ #16, bhāve #18, akartari ca kārake samjñāyām #19, grahaḥ #45)
prasābādā upapade graher dhātor ghaṅ pratya yo bhavati
Affix GHaN occurs after verbal root grahA to denote bhāva, and a kāraka other than kartr, when the root cooccurs with a nominal pada which contains pra and the derivate denotes lipsā ‘desire to obtain; greed’.

EXAMPLES:

pātra-pragrāhena carati bhikṣuh pindārthi ‘the beggar desirous of rice-balls wanders about carrying a bowl’
sruvapragrāhena carati dviho daksīnārthi ‘a brāhmaṇa desirous of receiving a monetary gift at the ritual wanders about carrying a ritual ladle’

1. This rule is an exception to rule 3.3.58 grahavidṛ... which assigns affix aP. The pātra in pātra-grāha as well as the sruvā ‘ritual ladle’ in sruva-pragrāha, serve as characteristic marks for the bhikṣu and the dviṣa. Thus, pātra-pragrāhena carati bhikṣuh pindārthi and sruvapragnāhena carati dviṣa
dakṣinārthi. We get pragrahah, as in pragho devadattasya ‘the arrogance of Devadatta’, if the condition of lipsā is not met.

3.3.47 परा यज्ञे

para u yajñe
/para u 7/1 yajñe 7/1/
(pratyayah #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, ghaṅ #16, bhāve #18, akartari ca kārake samjñāyām #19, grahah #45)
pariṣabda upapade graher ghaṅ pratyayo bhavatī

Affix GHaṅ occurs after verbal root grahA to denote bhāva, and a kāraka other than kartr, when the root cooccurs with a nominal pada which contains pari and the derivate is related to ritual sacrifice (yajña).

EXAMPLES:

uttaraparigrāhah ‘northern side of the fire altar at the ritual sacrifice named dārsāpaurṇamāsā’
adharaparigrāhah ‘southern side of the fire altar at the ritual sacrifice named dārsāpaurṇamāsā’

1. Note that parigrāhah refers to svikaraṇa ‘determination’ of the sacrificial altar (vedideśa) by means of sphya ‘a sword-shaped piece of wood’. This rule forms an exception to aP in the context of yajña ‘ritual sacrifice’. Elsewhere, the derivate will be parigrahah as in parigrahō devadattasya ‘Devadatta’s firm resolve’.

3.3.48 नौ व धान्ये

nau vṛ dhānye
/nau 7/1 vṛ (deleted 5/1) dhānye 7/1/
(pratyayah #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, ghaṅ #16, bhāve #18, akarttri ca kārake samjñāyām #19)
niṣabde upapade ‘vṛ’ ity etasmād dhātor dhānyaviśeṣe’ bhidheye ghaṅ pratyayo bhavatī

Affix GHaṅ occurs after verbal root vṛ (vṛN ‘to cover’; vṛN ‘to chose, select’) to denote bhāva, and a kāraka other than kartr, when the root cooccurs with a nominal pada which contains ni and the derivate denotes dhānya ‘grains’.

EXAMPLE:

nīvārā nāma vṛihayo bhavantī ‘nīvāra are, wild rice’

1. This rule introduces GHaṅ in the context of dhānya ‘grains’. This again is an exception to aP (cf. 3.3.57 rdor ap). The reference by vṛ is intended to be made to both vṛN and vṛN ‘to cover’. Note that this rule specifies
the semantic scope of its derivates as dhānya 'grain' in general. But the example illustrates 'dhānya' in particular. Thus, nīvāra refers to a particular kind of rice. Kāśikā states that the semantic context is indeed grains in particular (dhānyavāsēśa).

A derivate outside the semantic scope of dhānya will be nīvarā as in nīvarā kanyā 'a girl of distinction; an unmarried girl'.

3.3.49 उदि अयतिौतिपुद्वुः:

udi śrayatiyaupūtya
/udi 7/1 śrayatiyaupūtya 5/1/
(pratyayah #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, ghaṅ #16, bhāve #18, akartari ca kārake samjñāyām #19)
ucchabda upapade śrayatyādibhyo ghaṅ pratyayo bhavati

Affix GHaṅ occurs after verbal roots sri 'to go, resort to', yu 'to mix', pu 'to cleanse' and dru 'to go, melt' to denote bhāva, and a kāraka other than kārtr, when the roots cooccur with a nominal pada which contains ud.

Examples:

ucchrayaḥ 'flight'
udvayavah 'mixing'
upiṇavah 'purification (of sacrificial utensils)'
uddravah 'flight'

1. This rule is an exception to aP of 3.3.57 ṛdor ap, and to aC of 3.3.56 er ac in the case of sri.

2. How would one explain the derivation of samucchrayaḥ as used in the Vālmikīya-rāmāyanam: patanēnta samucchrayaḥ 'the rise (of evil) to the top ends in the downfall'. This can be treated as optionally derived with aC in view of vibhāṣā carried from the following rule. How can 'vibhāṣā' be brought in this reverse fashion of anuvṛtti? It will be in consonance with the maxim (nyāya) known as simhāvalokita 'the glancing back of the lion'. This option (vibhāṣā) has then to be interpreted as vyavasthita-vibhāṣā 'fixed-option' so that it does not become applicable in other cases. If this 'lion-like glancing back of vibhāṣā' of the fixed type is not acceptable, one can always invoke 3.3.113 kṛtyalyuto bahulam.

3.3.50 विभाषाःक्रस्तुः:

vibhāṣā "ni rupluwoḥ
′vibhāṣā 1/1 āṇi 7/1 rupluwoḥ 6/2/
(pratyayah #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, ghaṅ #16, bhāve #18, akartari ca kārake samjñāyām #19)
āṇy upapade ruatēh plavateś ca vibhāṣā ghaṅ pratyayo bhavati
Affix GHaN optionally occurs after verbal roots ru ‘to cry’ and plu ‘to float’ to denote bhāva, and a kāraka other than kartr, when the roots cooccur with a nominal pada which contains āN.

Examples:

āravah ‘noise; howling’
āravah ‘id.’
āplavah ‘bathing; flooding’
āplavah ‘id.’

1. This rule introduces affix GHaN optionally to affix aP of 3.3.57 ṛdor ap when verbal roots ru ‘to roar’ and plu ‘to float’ cooccur with āN, and when the derivate denotes bhāva and a kāraka other than kartr. Thus we get āravah ‘roaring noise’ and āplavah ‘big splash; bathing’ parallel to āravah and āplavah. Note that GHaN is made optional in contrast to the obligatory GHaN made available by rule 3.3.22 upasarge ruvaḥ.

3.3.51 अवे घरो वर्षप्रतिविधे

ave graho varṣapratibandhe
lave 7/1 grahaḥ 5/1 varṣapratibandhe 7/1
(pratyayah #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, ghaṇ #16, bhāve #18, akartari ca kārake samjñāyām #19, vibhāṣā #50)
‘ava’ utapade graher dhātor ghaṇ pratyayo bhavati vibhāṣā varṣapratibandhe bhidheye

Affix GHaN optionally occurs after verbal root grahA to denote bhāva, and a kāraka other than kartr, when the root cooccurs with a nominal pada which contains ava and the derivate denotes varṣapratibandha ‘lack of rain in season’.

Examples:

avagrāho devasya ‘absence of rain; drought’
avagraho devasya ‘id.’

1. Note that varṣapratibandha is explained as ‘absence of rain, for some reason or the other, even when the time for it has approached’ (prāpta-kālasya varṣasya kutācin nimittād abhāvah). Thus we get: avagrāho devasya/ avagrāho devasya ‘god’s holding back of the rains’. Note that ‘for some reason or the other’ may refer to ‘sinful deeds of the people of the area’.

3.3.52 प्रे वणिजाम्

/pre vanijām
/l/pre 7/ vanijām 6/3/
(pratayyah # 3.1.1, paraś ca # 3.1.2, dhātoḥ # 3.1.91, ghaṇ # 16, bhāve # 18, akartari ca kārake samjñāyām # 19, vibhāṣā # 50, grahaḥ # 51)
prasadabda upapade graher dhātor vibhāṣā ghaṇ pratyayo bhavati
Affix GHaN optionally occurs after verbal root grahA to denote bhāva, and a kāraka other than kartr, when the root cooccurs with a nominal pada which contains pra and the derivate signifies relation to a vanik ‘merchant, trader’.

EXAMPLES:

tulāprāgrāheṇa carati vanik ‘the merchant travelling about with a scale’
tulāpragraheṇa carati vanik ‘id.’

1. This rule introduces affix GHaN optionally to aP of 3.3.58 grahavṛdd... when verbal root grah cooccurs with pra and the derivate denotes something relative to vanik. Of course, the affix will be introduced with the denotatum of bhāva and a kāraka other than kartr. Thus we get, tulāprāgrāheṇa carati or tulāpragraheṇa carati ‘the trader is wandering holding the strings of the scale’. Note that the trader is not central to the meaning of the derivate. It is the ‘holding of the weighing scale by its insert strings’ which is in focus. The meaning, though, is characterized by the association of the trader. If this association is lacking, one would find examples such as pragrahah as in pragraho devadattasya ‘Devadatta’s grip.’.

3.3.53 रङ्गौ च

raśmav ca
/raśmav 7/1 ca Ø/
(pratayyah # 3.1.1, paraś ca # 3.1.2, dhātoḥ # 3.1.91, ghaṇ # 16, bhāve # 18, akartari ca kārake samjñāyām # 19, vibhāṣā # 50, grahaḥ # 51, pre # 52)
prasadabda upapade graher dhātor vibhāṣā ghaṇ pratyayo bhavati raśmiś cet pratyāntenābhidhiyate
Affix GHaN, also, optionally occurs after verbal root grahA to denote bhāva, and a kāraka other than kartr, when the root cooccurs with a nominal pada which contains pra and the derivate denotes raśmi ‘rein’.

EXAMPLES:

pragrahah ‘that by means of which animals are tethered; rein’
pragrāhah ‘id.’

1. Note that although the word raśmi has a rather general scope of meaning, given the nature of the derivatives, it is interpreted in the sense of rajju ‘rope, string’, used for restraining purposes.
3.3.54 व्रोनेतराञ्जने

vrnote acchādane
/vrnoteh 5/1 acchādane 7/1/
(pratyaya #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, ghaṃ #16, bhāve #18, akartari ca kārake samjñāyām #19, vibhāṣā #50, pre #52)

praśabda upapade vrnote dhātor vibhāṣā ghaṃ pratyayo bhavati pratyayāntena ced acchādanaviśeṣa ucyate

Affix GHaN optionally occurs after verbal root vrN ‘to cover’ to denote bhāva, and a kāraka other than kartṛ, when the root cooccurs with a nominal pada which contains pra and the derivate denotes acchādana ‘covering; attire’.

Examples:

praṇvrhāh ‘cloak; shawl’
pravrhaḥ ‘id.’

1. This rule extends the option to verbal root vrN ‘to cover’ in the context of the derivational meaning of acchādana ‘covering’. Here again the scope of ‘covering’ is wider, though the usage is restricted to a particular kind of covering, such as a ‘cloak’. This rule is optional to 3.3.58 grahavrdr... which introduces affix aP. Note that vr, unlike rule 3.3.48 nau vr dhānye, excludes any reference to vrN. In fact, Pāṇini refers to this root, here, with the augment Śnu simply to cancel the reference to vrN. Outside the meaning of ‘covering’, we get pravarā as in pravarā gauḥ ‘an excellent cow’.

3.3.55 परी व्रोज्जनाने

parau bhuvō vajñāne
/parau 7/1 bhuvah 5/1 avajñāne 7/1/
(pratyaya #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, ghaṃ #16, bhāve #18, akartari ca kārake samjñāyām #19, vibhāṣā #50)

pariśabda upapade bhavater dhātor ghaṃ pratyayo bhavati avajñāne gamyamāne

Affix GHaN optionally occurs after verbal root bhū to denote bhāva, and a kāraka other than kartṛ, when the root cooccurs with a nominal pada which contains pari and the derivate denotes avajñāna ‘disrespect, insult’.

Examples:

paribhāvah ‘disrespect’
paribhavah ‘id.’

1. Note that ‘vibhāṣā’ is carried, and the derivate meaning is characterized with avajñāna glossed as asathāra ‘insult, neglect’. Elsewhere, paribhava would mean sarvato bhavanam ‘existing all around; surrounding’.
3.3.56 एष्या

er ac
leṣ 5/1 ap 1/1
(parayayah #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, bhāve #18, akartari ca kārake samjñāyāṁ #19)
ivaṁśata dhātor bhāve akartari ca kārake samjñāyāṁ ac prayayo bhavati
Affix aC occurs after a verbal root which ends in i when the derivate denotes bhāva and a kāraka other than kartṛ.

EXAMPLES:

cayah 'arranging, picking; heap'
ayah 'going, knowledge'
jayah 'winning; victory'
ksayah 'wasting away; waste'

1. This rule introduces affix aC after a verbal root which ends in i, and when bhāva and a kāraka other than kartṛ is denoted. This is an exception to GHaN. The C as an it is intended to distinguish affix aC (viṣesānārtha) from, for example, affix aP in rule 6.2.144 thāthaghaṁ...

2. A vārttika proposes that bhaya 'fear', etc., should be enumerated as derived from verbal root bhī 'to fear', etc., by introduction of affix aC. This accounts for examples such as bhayam and varṣam 'rain'. The vārttika is necessary so that affix Kta, etc., can be blocked in the context of these neuter forms.

Yet another vārttika proposes that, in the Vedic, javah and savah are to be derived by affix aC introduced after verbal root ju, a root attested by the Aṣṭādhyāyi (sautra) though unavailable elsewhere, and verbal root śuṁ 'to press out'. This vārttika proposal is made against affix aP of the following rule which would otherwise be applicable. Note, in connection with this, that derivates of aC or aP would not differ in form. They would, however, differ in accent. Thus, the derivate of aP will get the initial high-pitch (ādyudātta) as against the final high-pitch (antodātta) of the derivate of aC.

3.3.57 श्लोकः

īdor ap
īdoh 5/1 ap 1/1
(parayayah #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, ghaṁ #16, bhāve #18, akartari ca kārake samjñāyāṁ #19)
īhārantebhya uvarṇāntebhyaś ca ap prayayo bhavati
Affix aP occurs after verbal roots which end in ḫ or u when the derivate denotes bhāva, and a kāraka other than kartṛ.
Examples:

karah ‘scattering’
garah ‘poison’
ṣarah ‘arrow’
yañah ‘barley’
stañah ‘praise’
lavah ‘harvesting’
pañah ‘winnowing’

1. This again is an exception to GHaN. The P as an it in aP is intended to secure the low-pitch (anudatta) as per rule 3.1.4 anudattau supptitau. Note that the form ṭd followed by uh to yield the constituent word ṭduh, which occurs in the ablative as ṭdoḥ, has some interesting perspectives. First of all, its -d is actually t, thereby making the reference by ṭt of ṭduh subject to interpretation of rule 1.1.70 ṯaparasa tatkālasa. Thus, ṭ, here, refers only to roots which end in long -t. Secondly, since u refers to roots which end in u both short or long, and is not constrained, we understand that ṯaparakaṇa (see my note under 1.1.70) does not carry the interpretation: ṯadh apī paras ṯaparāḥ ‘ṯapara is also that which occurs after t’. Thirdly, the -t of ṯaparakaṇa is given as -d for ease of articulation (mukhaskhārtha). Fourthly, the dvandva compound of the samāhāra type in ṭduh is given in the masculine at the authority of this sūtra itself. Finally, ṭdoḥ is genitive, and not the pañcamī ‘ablative’, which is what would be required of an item that constitutes the left context for the introduction of an affix. Here, the genitive is used in the sense of ablative (pañcamyarthe ṣaṣṭha).

3.3.58 prahvādṛṇiṣṭigamaś ca
grah...gamah 5/1 ca Ø/
(pratayah #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, bhāve #18, akartari ca kārake samjñāyām #19, ap #57)
grahādibhyo dhātubhavyo p prataya bhavati
Affix aP occurs after verbal roots grahA, vr ‘to choose, cover’, dr ‘to respect’, ciN used with the preverb nis, and gam, when the derivate denotes bhāva, and a kāraka other than kartṛ.

Examples:

grahah ‘a planet’,
darah ‘splitting, caving in; fear’
varah ‘boon, blessing’
niścayah ‘resolve’
gamah ‘trip, march’
1. This rule introduces affix aP, as an exception to GHaÑ, after verbal roots grah, vṛ (vṛN as well vṛN), dr 'to respect' and gam. Affix aP is introduced as an exception to aC in case of verbal root ci used with nir or nis. Of course, in this case, the forms will be similar though the accent will differ. Note that verbal root vṛ refers to both vṛN and vṛN as preverb nis could be interpreted as referring to both nir and nis. The nir reference may create problems. It is therefore safer to accept nis. The derivate of niści with aP constitutes an exception to the accentuation of 6.2.144 thāthagañañaktāj... The accent in niścañah is, thus, high-pitch in the middle (madhyodatta) as opposed to the antodatta ‘final high-pitch’ in case of aC. A middle high-pitch has the designation kṛt as its basis.

2. A vārttika proposes the inclusion, also, of vaśaḥ ‘obedient’ and ranaḥ ‘battle’ in the list of aC-derivates. Yet another vārttika proposes the introduction of affix Ka in the sense of the denotatum of GHaÑ after verbal roots sthā ‘to stand’, snā ‘to bathe’, pā ‘to drink’, vyadh ‘to torment’ and han ‘to kill’. This is to account for examples such as: prasthāḥ ‘mountain top’, prasnaḥ ‘a kettledrum to store water for bathing’, prapaḥ ‘roadside stalls where travellers are offered drinking water’, āvidhaḥ ‘an instrument for piercing’, vighnah ‘obstacle’ and āyudham ‘weapon; instrument for fighting’.

3.3.59 उपसर्गः:

upasarge' dāh
/ upasarge 7/1 adaḥ 5/1/
(pratyayah #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.9, bhāve #18, akartari ca kārake samjñāyām #19, aṇ #57)
upasarga upapade ader dhātor ap pratyayo bhavati

Affix aP occurs after verbal root aD to ‘to consume’ to denote bhāva, and a kāraka other than kṛt, when the root cooccurs with a nominal pada which contains a preverb.

Examples:

vighhasaḥ ‘half-chewed morsel’
prasnaḥ ‘a glutton’

1. Affix aP is also to be treated as an exception to GHaÑ in this as well as the subsequent rule. Note that ad is replaced with ghasI, by rule 2.4.38 ghañaapos ca. A question is asked as to why Pāṇini did not introduce the affix after ghasI? That way, he could have eliminated one (replacement) operation. True. But it would create problems elsewhere. For example, rule 3.3.60 nau na ca would then also introduce Na after ghasI.. Refer-to nyādaḥ under the following rule. The word ghāṣah ‘grass; that which is consumed’ is given as a counter-example, where ad is used without a preverb.
3.3.60 नौ ण च

nau na ca
l/nau 7/1 na (deleted 1/1) ca Ø/
(pratyayah #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, bhāve #18, akartari ca kārake sanjñāyām #19, ap #57, adaḥ)
niṣabdā upapade ader dhātor naḥ pratyayo bhavati, cakārād ap ca
Affix Na, as well as aP, occurs after verbal root adA to denote bhāva, and a kāraka other than kartṛ, when the root cooccurs with a nominal pada which contains ni.

EXAMPLES:

nyādaḥ ‘eating’

nighasaḥ ‘id.’

1. This rule allows the introduction of both affixes Na and aP when ad cooccurs with ni. Verbal root ad could not be replaced with ghasI, in the first example.

3.3.61 व्याधजपोरनुपसर्गे

vyadhajapor anupasarge
l/vyadhajapor 6/2 anupasarge 7/1/
(pratyayah #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, bhāve #18, akartari ca kārake sanjñāyām #19, ap #57)
‘vyadh, japa’ ity etayor anupasargayor ap pratyayo bhavati
Affix aP occurs after verbal roots vyadhA ‘to pierce’ and japA ‘to mutter’ when the roots are not used with a preverb, and when the derivate denotes bhāva and a kāraka other than kartṛ.

EXAMPLES:

vyadhah ‘wound’

japah ‘muttering’

1. This rule introduces affix aP as an exception to GHaN when verbal roots vyadh and jap are not used with a preverb. For, with preverbs we would get derivatives such as aryadhā ‘piercing’ and upajāpā ‘revealing a secret’, derivates of GHaN ending in the feminine affix ṬāP. Note that the saṣṭhi ‘genitive’ in vyajapoh is used in the sense of pañcamī ‘ablative’. The negation in anupasarge is prasajya whereby we get the interpretation that the affix is introduced only when the verbal roots are used alone (kevalābhīyām bhavati). Haradatta (PM ad Kā. III: 53) advises that the vṛtti of this rule is to be similarly interpreted. That is, what is negated is the use of the verbs with preverbs. The cooccurring words are also ruled out since they are not specified.
3.3.62 स्वनहसोर्वा

svanahasor vā
isvanahasoh 6/2 vā ṧō
dhātoh #3.1.91, bhāve #18, akartari
cakārake samjñāyām #19, ap #57, anupasarge #61)
svanahasor anupasargayor vā ap pratya yo bhavatī

Affix aP optionally occurs after verbal roots svana ‘to sound’ and
has ‘to laugh’ when the roots are not used with a preverb and the
derivate denotes bhāva, and a kāraka other than kartṛ.

Examples:

svanaḥ ‘sound, noise’
svānah ‘id.’
hasaḥ ‘laugher’
hāsaḥ ‘id.’

1. Note that anupasarge is still carried. Here, again, we find śaṣṭhi in
the sense of pañcamī. Thus, svanaḥ ca hasaḥ ca, tayoh = svanahasoh. The
rule makes an optional provision for aP against GHaN (3.3.18 bhāve). In
connection with the preverbs, affix GHaN alone is to be introduced.
Thus, we get: prahāsaḥ ‘wild laugher’. Rule 7.2.116 ata upadhāyaḥ orders
vṛddhi in case of derivatives of GHaN.

3.3.63 यम: समुपानिनिविश्च

yamah samupañiniṣu ca
lyamah 5/1 samupañiniṣu 7/3 ca ṧō
dhātoh #3.1.91, bhāve #18, akartari
cakārake samjñāyām #19, ap #57, anupasarge #61, vā #62)
’sam, up, ni, vi’ ity eteṣuṣpaṇadeṣu anupasarge’ pi yamer vā ap pratya yo bhavatī

Affix aP optionally occurs after verbal root yamA ‘to reach, give’ to
denote bhāva, and a kāraka other than kartṛ, when the root is used
with or without a preverb, or cooccurs with or without a nominal
pada which contains sam, up, ni and vi.

Examples:

samyaṃah ‘restraint’
sam(yā)mah ‘id.’
upayamah ‘marriage’
upayāmah ‘id.’
niyamah ‘restrictive rule’
niyāmah ‘id.’
vīyamah ‘curb; distress’
viyāmaḥ ‘id.’
yamaḥ ‘restraint, discipline’
yāmaḥ ‘id.’

1. Note that anupasarge and vā are still carried. This means there will be two derivational possibilities in case of aP: one when verbal root yam cooccurs with sam, up, ni, vi, and the other when it is used alone. Thus we get five forms: samyamaḥ, upayamaḥ, niyamaḥ, viyamaḥ, and yamaḥ. Since affix aP is optionally introduced with GHaN, we will also get five parallel derivates in GHaN. Thus, samyāmaḥ, upayāmaḥ, niyāmaḥ, viyāmaḥ, and yāmaḥ. The derivation of yamaḥ and yāmaḥ, without any preverb, is made possible because of the particle ca which brings ‘anupasarge’ close to the context of this rule.

3.3.64 नौ गदनदपथवस्यनः:

nau gadanadapāthasvanah
l/nau 7/1 gadanadapāthasvanah 5/1 (sam. dv.)/
(pratayah #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, bhāve #18, akartari ca kārake samjñāyāṃ #19, aP #57, vā #62)
niśabda upāpade ‘gada, nada, paṭha, svana’ ity ete bhūyo dhātubhyo vā aP pratayo bhavati

Affix aP optionally occurs after verbal roots gadA ‘to speak’, nadA ‘to sound’, paṭha ‘to read, recite’ and svana ‘to sound’, to denote bhāva, and a kāraka other than kartr, when the roots cooccur with or without a nominal pada which contains ni.

Examples:

nigadā ‘a lecture’
nigādā ‘id.’
ninadā ‘noise’
ninādā ‘id.’
nipāṭhā ‘reading, reciting’
nipāṭhā ‘id.’
nisvanā ‘noise’
nisvānā ‘id.’

1. The use of ni cancels the use of any other preverb in this context. Consequently, we get eight forms in two sets of four each for aP and GHaN.

3.3.65 क्वानो विनायामं च

kvāno viṇāyāṃ ca
/kvāno 5/1 viṇāyāṃ 7/1 ca 0/
(pratyayah #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, bhāve #18, akartari ca kārake samjñāyāṃ #19, ap #57, anuṇaśaṅge #61, vā #62, nau #64) kvanate dhotar nipūrvād anuṇasṛgāc ca vīṇāyāṃ vā ap pratyayo bhavati
Affix aP optionally occurs after verbal root kvanah ‘to jingle’, whether it is used with ni, or no preverb at all, when bhāva, and a kāraka other than kartr, is denoted; or when the derivate relates to vīṇā ‘a stringed musical instrument’.

**Examples:**

nikvanah ‘sound; tone’
nikvāṇah ‘id.’
kvanah ‘id.’
kvaṇah ‘id.’
kalyāṇakvanah vīṇā ‘the sound of a vīṇā which is soothing’

1. Note that nau, vā, and anuṇaśaṅge are carried here. This means that verbal root kvan will receive the affix when it cooccurs with ni. It will also receive the affix when it is used without a preverb. Of course, the affix will be aP optionally introduced with GHaN. Thus we get kvanah, nikvanah as a derivate for aP as opposed to kvāṇah and nikvāṇah which are examples of GHaN. The Amarakośa considers these all synonymous.

2. This rule also makes an optional provision for affixes aP and GHaN in the context of vīṇā. Since a general provision for such affixation is already made in the context of ni, the additional provision made with ‘vīṇāyāṃ’ must relate to contexts other than ni. This, then, accounts for examples such as: kalyāṇaprakvanā vīṇā / kalyāṇaprakvānā vīṇā ‘a beautiful sounding Viṇā’.

3.3.66 नित्य वण: परिमाणे

* nityam paṇah parimāṇe
  /nityam 0 paṇah 5/1 parimāṇe 7/1/
  (pratyayah #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, bhāve #18, akartari ca kārake samjñāyāṃ #19, ap #57)
  ‘paṇa vyavahāre stutau ca’ asmād dhātor nityam ap pratyayo bhavati
  parimāṇe gamyamāṇe
Affix aP obligatorily occurs after verbal root paṇa ‘to barter; praise’ when bhāva, and a kāraka other than kartr is denoted, and the derivate signifies parimāṇa ‘a measure of weight’.

**Examples:**

mālakapaṇah ‘a specific measure of radish for sale’
sākapaṇah ‘a specific measure of leafy vegetables for sale’
1. This rule provides for the obligatory introduction of affix \textit{aP} after verbal root \textit{paṇA} ‘to barter, praise’ when a measured quantity (\textit{parimāṇa}) is denoted. Thus we get: \textit{mūlakaṇṇaḥ} and \textit{sākaṇṇaḥ}. A counter-example in \textit{paṇaḥ} ‘barter’ is offered in case the meaning of ‘measured quantity’ (\textit{parimāṇa}) is not denoted.

Needless to say, the word \textit{nitya} ‘obligatorily’ is used, here, to cancel \textit{vā} ‘optionally’

3.3.67 \textbf{मदोञ्जुपसर्गे}

\textit{mado' nupasarge}
\textit{madoḥ 5/1 anupasarge 7/1/}

(pratyayaḥ #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, bhāve #18, akartari ca kārake samjñāyām #19, ap #57)

mader dhātor anupasargād ap pratyayo bhavati

Affix \textit{aP} occurs after verbal root \textit{mado} ‘to be excited; intoxicated’ when it is used without a preverb and the derivate denotes \textit{bhāva} and a \textit{kāraṇa} other than \textit{kartr}.

\textbf{Examples:}

\textit{vidyāmadoḥ} ‘arrogant pride of knowledge’
\textit{dhanamadoḥ} ‘pride of money’

1. This \textit{aP} is an exception to \textit{GHaN} in the context of verbal root \textit{mado} when used without a preverb. Thus we get \textit{vidyāmadoḥ}, where the compound is allowed by rule 2.1.32 \textit{kartṛkaraṇe kṛtā bahulam}. A proposal is discussed with reference to the order and formulation of rules 3.3.66, 3.3.67 and 3.3.68. That is: why not formulate the next rule as \textit{nityamadah pramadasammadau harse paṇaḥ parimāṇe} and place it after 3.3.65 \textit{kvaṇo}. ... This way, \textit{anupasarge} in rule 3.3.67 would not have to be stated and the new formulation would also be more economical. Haradatta (\textit{PM ad Kāśīka} III: 55) states that the new formulation cannot rule out the association of \textit{anupasarge} within the context of \textit{paṇaḥ parimāṇa}. The present formulation of rule 3.3.67 with the explicit use of \textit{anupasarge} clearly rules out such an association. For, if this association were intended, Pāṇini would not have explicitly stated \textit{anupasarge} in this rule. Consequently, in the context of \textit{parimāṇa}, affix \textit{aP} could also be made possible after verbal root \textit{paṇA}, coocurring with a preverb. Haradatta also criticizes (\textit{ad Kāśīka} III: 55) the view (see \textit{Nyāsa}) that rule 3.3.67 \textit{mado' nupasarge} is formulated and placed as such to indicate the irregularity (\textit{anityatva}) of its provision. The \textit{anityatva} proposal makes possible the derivation of \textit{madoḥ}. Haradatta finds this opinion (\textit{apara āha}; see \textit{Nyāsa} on this rule) as untrustworthy (\textit{nāptabhāsitam}).
3.3.68 प्रमदसम्मदे हृष्डे

pramadasammadau harse
/pramadasammadau 7/2 harse 7/1/
(pratyayah #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ, bhāve #18, akartari ca
kārake samjñāyām #19, ap #57)
‘pramada, sammada’ ity etau śabdau nipātyete harse’ bhidheyē
Affix aP occurs in the derivation of pramada and sammada by
nipātana when the derivates denote harsa ‘joy’.

EXAMPLES:

kanyānāṁ pramadah ‘the joy of the girls’
kokilānāṁ sammadah ‘the joyful cooing of the cuckoo’

1. This rule proposes the ad hoc (nipātana) derivation of pramada and
sammada in the context of joy (harsa). Pāṇini chose not to derive these
forms because the derivates involve a meaning which is more conven-
tional (rūḍhi) than derivational. The condition of ‘joy’ is given in view of
counter-examples such as pramādah ‘carelessness, error’ and sammādah
‘frenzy’.

3.3.69 समुदोरज: पशुपति:

samudor ajah paśuṣu
/samudor 7/2 ajah 5/1 paśuṣu 7/3/
(pratyayah #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, bhāve #18, akartari
cā kārake samjñāyām #19, ap #57)
samudor uapaḍayor ajater dhātoḥ paśuvīṣaye dhātvarthe ap pratyayo
bhavati
Affix aP occurs after verbal root ajA ‘to go’ to denote bhāva, and a
kāraka other than kartṛ, when the root cooccurs with a nominal pada
which contains sam and ud and the derivate refers to a group of
animals.

EXAMPLES:

samajah paśūnām ‘a herd of animals’
udajah paśūnām ‘the herding’

1. This rule introduces affix aP, an exception to GHaN, to signify
root-sense (bhāva) after verbal root ajA ‘to go, wander’ when it cooccurs
with sam and ud; and the context relates to paśu ‘animal’. No further
specification of the sense of the root is necessary, since ajA used with sam
in the context of animals means samudāya ‘herd’. It similarly denotes
prerāṇa ‘directing, driving’ when used with ud. Thus we get: samajah and
udajah paśūnām in the meanings stated. We also get the derivates of
GHaN, such as, samājo brāhmaṇānāṁ ‘the assembly of brāhmaṇas’ and udājahā kṣatriyānāṁ ‘the drive of the kṣatriyas’.

3.3.70 अक्षेणुऽवलहः:

akṣēṣu glahāḥ
lakṣēṣu 7/3 glahāḥ 1/1
(pratyayah #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, bhāve #18, akartari ca kārake samjñāyāṁ #19, ap #57)
‘glahāḥ’ iti nipātyate aksaviṣayaś ced dhātvartho bhavati
Affix aP occurs after verbal root graha to derive glahāḥ, by nipātana, when the action relates to aksa ‘die’.

EXAMPLE:

akṣasya glahāḥ ‘a throw of dice’

1. Our example glahāḥ as in aksasya glahāḥ is a nipātana. This ad hoc derivation is needed because graha with aP can only derive grahaḥ. Since the affix is still aP, this rule contributes by nipātana the change of r into l of graha. Of course, this occurs within the context of (gambling with) dice.

Still others propose that the root here is glahI. The derivate glahāḥ of aP is, thus, contrasted with the GHaN derivate glāhāḥ. Haradatta (PM ad Kāśikā III: 56) explains that others accept akṣēṣu as referring to ‘the stake at the game of dice’.

3.3.71 प्रजने सर्तेहः:

prajane sartteḥ
/prajane 7/1 sartteḥ 5/1
(pratyayah #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.9, bhāve #18, akartari ca kārake samjñāyāṁ #19, ap #57)
sartter dhātor prajane viṣaye aP pratyayo bhavati
Affix aP occurs after verbal root sṛ ‘to move’ to denote bhāva, and a kāraka other than kartṛ, when the derivate refers to prajana ‘first impregnation’.

EXAMPLES:

gavām upasaraḥ ‘first servicing of the cows’
paśūnāṁ upasaraḥ ‘first servicing of the animals’

1. Kāśikā explains the example gavām upasaraḥ as strīgaviṣu pumgavānāṁ varbhādhānāya prathamam upasaraṇam ‘the first move of a male cow toward impregnating a female cow’. Refer also to 3.1.104 upasaryāḥ kālyā prajane.

3.3.72 ह: समप्रसारणं च नयापविषु

hvaḥ samprasāraṇam ca nyabhyapaviṣu
Adhyāya Three: Pāda Three

ṁvah 5/1 samprāsāraṇam 1/1 ca ṛ nyabhupaviṣu 7/3/ 
(pratyayah #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.9, bhāve #18, akartari ca kārake samjñāyām #19, ap #57) 
‘ni, abhi, up, vi ity etesāpapadesu hvayater dhātoḥ samprāsāraṇam ap pratyayaś ca bhavati 
Affix ap occurs after verbal root ṛvēN ‘to call out’ to denote bhāva, and a kāraka other than kartṛ, when the root cooccurs with a nominal pada which contains ni, abhi, upa and vi. In addition, ṛvēN undergoes samprāsāraṇa (1.1.45 ig yañāḥ samprāsāraṇam).

Examples:

nihavah ‘invocation, praying’
abhihavah ‘id.’
upahavah ‘invitation’
vihavah ‘calling’

1. This, again, is an exception to GHaN. The condition of cooccurrence is restricted to these four preverbs especially in view of prahvāyah, a derivate in GHaN, meaning ‘a summons’.

3.3.73 आङ्ग युद्धे

āṇi yuddhe
/āṇi 7/1 yuddhe 7/1/
(pratyayah #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, akartari ca kārake samjñāyām #19, ap #57, ṛvah samprārāṇam #72)
āṇi upapade hvayater dhātoḥ samprāsāraṇam, ap pratyayaś ca bhavati yuddhe’ bhidheyē 
Affix ap occurs after verbal root ṛvēN to denote bhāva, and a kāraka other than kartṛ, when the root cooccurs with a nominal pada which contains āN and the derivate relates to yuddha ‘battle’.

Example:

āhvahah ‘the place where challenges are made; battlefields’

1. Note that, outside the context of yuddha, we will get āhvāyaḥ ‘calling, inviting’, a GHaN form.

3.3.74 निपानमहावः

nipānam āhavah
/nipānam 1/1 āhavah 1/1/
(pratyayah #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.9, akartari ca kārake samjñāyām #19, ap #57, ṛvah samprāsāraṇam #72)
āṇpūrvasya hvayater dhātoḥ samprāsāraṇam, ap pratyayah vṛddhiś ca nipātyate, nipānam ced abhidheyaṃ bhavati
Affix \( aP \) occurs after verbal root \( hveN \) to derive \( āhāvah \) by \( nipātana \) when the root is used with the preverb \( āN \) and the derivate denotes \( nipānam \) ‘trough’. In addition, \( hveN \) undergoes \( samprasāraṇa \).

**EXAMPLE:**

\( āhāvah paśūnām \) ‘the place where animals are brought for water; a trough’

1. Note that the cooccurring \( āN \), along with the \( samprasāraṇa \) and \( vrddhi \), is provided via \( nipātana \). Since the derivation is presented via \( nipātana \), there is no need to even suggest any derivational steps.

### 3.3.75 आवेरूपसर्गस्य

\( bhāve \)’ \( nuṇaśargasya \)

/\( bhāve 7/1 anuṇaśargasya 6/1/ \)

(\( pratyayaḥ \#3.1.1, \( paraś ca \#3.1.2, \( dhātoḥ \#3.1.91, \( aP \#57, \( hvaḥ \)

\( samprasāraṇaṃ \#72 \)

\( anuṇaśargasya \( hvaṇaṭeḥ \) \( samprasāraṇaṃ, \) \( aP \) \( pratyayaḥ \) \( ca \) \( bhavati \) \( bhāve \’ bhidheye \)

Affix \( aP \) occurs after verbal root \( hveN \) to denote \( bhāva \) when the root is not used with any preverb. In addition, \( hveN \) goes through \( samprasāraṇa \).

**EXAMPLE:**

\( havah \) ‘calling’

1. Note that \( bhāve \) is used here to get rid of the \( anuvṛtti \) of ‘akartari ca kārake samjñāyām’ (\( bhāvagrahaṇaṃ ‘akartari ca kārake samjñāyām’ ity asya nirāśārthaṃ \)). Why is the explicit mention of \( bhāve \) not interpreted here as intended for blocking ‘\( vā \) sarūpavidhi’ similar to the situation of rule 3.3.44 \( abhividhau bhāve inuṇ. \) It is not interpreted as such, because there is no formally dissimilar (\( asarūpa \) affix to be blocked.

Nyāsa (ad Kāśikā III: 58) brings to our attention yet another objection to \( bhāve \). It argues that \( bhāve \) should not be stated at all. Of the two meaning conditions of ‘\( bhāve \)’ and ‘akartari ca kārake samjñāyām’, the second can be easily ruled out on the basis of a lack of relevant examples. This will clearly leave ‘\( bhāve \)’ to constitute the meaning condition. There is, thus, no point stating that ‘\( bhāve \)’ is included in order to get rid of \( akartari ca kārake samjñāyām \). Nyāsa agrees that Pāṇini, nevertheless, states ‘\( bhāve \)’ out of compassion for the slow-witted (\( mandabuddhinām anugrahāya \)).
3.3.76 हनक्ष वर्ण:

hanaś ca vadhah
hanaḥ 5/1 ca 0 vadhah 1/1
(pratayah #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, ap #57, bhāve' nupasargasya #75)
hanter dhātor anupasarge bhāve ap pratayo bhavati, tatsanniyogena ca vadhādesāḥ, sa cāntodāttah
Affix aP also occurs after verbal root hanA ‘to kill’, not used with a preverb, when the derivate denotes bhāva. In addition, han is replaced by vadhā.

EXAMPLES:

vadhaś corānām ‘the killing of thieves’
vadho dasyūnām ‘the killing of bandits’

1. Note that both ‘bhāve’ and ‘anupasargasya’ are carried. Although verbal root han is given in the ablative (pañcamī), ‘anupasargasya’ will still have to be read with it as a modifier. The replacement in vadhā for han is also intended on account of contextual proximity. The replacement is intended as antodāttā ‘high pitched at the end’. Thus, with an anudāttā (3.1.4 anudāttau suppūtau) aP in the following position, the final -a of vadhā is deleted, by rule 6.4.68 ato lopah, with practically no change in meaning with ghātaḥ.

Commentators explain that the ca in this rule is intentionally put in the middle to indicate that GHAṆ can also be introduced parallel to aP in the sense of bhāva. This would account for ghātaḥ ‘killing’, a GHAṆ derivate signifying bhāva.

3.3.77 पूर्णघन:

mūrttau ghanaḥ
/mūrttau 7/1 ghanaḥ 1/1
(pratayah #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, bhāve #18, akartari ca kārake samjñāyām #19, ap #57, hanah #76)
mūrttāv abhidheyayām hanter ap pratayo bhavati ghanaṁ cādesāḥ
Affix aP occurs after verbal root hanA to be replaced concurrently with ghana when the derivate denotes mūrti ‘hardness, solidity’.

EXAMPLES:

abhraghanaḥ ‘the thickness of clouds’
dadhīghanaḥ ‘the thickness of yogurt’

1. This rule introduces affix aP after han when the derivate denotes mūrti ‘solidity, thickness’. Thus we get abhraghanaḥ, a genitive tatpurusā compound which denotes abhrasya kāthinyam ‘the thickness of clouds’.
One would similarly find dadhīghanah ‘the thickness of yogurt’ where the qualified element (dharmin; dadhi) is denoted by the quality (dharma; ghanam), just as śuklah ‘white’ may denote paṭah ‘cloth’ containing the quality. The root at the same time gets replaced with ghana.

3.3.78 अन्तरघाणो देशे

antarghanah dēṣe
/antarghanah 1/1 dēṣe ’7/1/

(pratyayaḥ #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dātoḥ #3.1.91, bhāve #18, akartari ca kārake samjñāyām #19, ap #57, ghanaḥ #77)

Antāh-purūvād hanter ap pratayo bhavati, ghanādesaḥ ca bhavati dēṣe’ bhidheyē
ingaffix aP occurs after verbal root hanA, to be concurrently replaced with ghana, when the root is used with the preverb antar and the derivate signifies dēṣa ‘country; a particular area’.

EXAMPLE:

antarghanah ‘name of region in the Vāhika country’

1. This rule introduces affix aP after verbal root han when the root is used with antar, and the derivate denotes the name of a country (deṣa). This clearly brings ‘akartari ca kārake...’ close to the context of this rule. Our rule additionally provides ghana as a replacement, via nipātana, for han. Thus, we get antarghanah, the name of a region...(samjñibhūto vāhikeṣu desaviśeṣah). Some read the name with ṇ as antarghanah, which is also acceptable (tad api grāhyam). In the absence of the signification of the name of a country, the derivate will be: antarghāṭah ‘slaughter house’.

3.3.79 अगारीकदे ये प्रश्न: प्रश्नांकश

agārāikadeṣe praghāṇah praghāṇaś ca
/agārāikadeṣe 7/1 praghāṇah 1/1 praghāṇah 1/1 ca Ø/1

(pratyayaḥ #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dātoḥ #3.1.91, bhāve #18, akartari ca kārake samjñāyām #19, ap #57, hanah #76, ghanaḥ #78)

prapūrvasya hanter ‘praghāṇa, praghāṇa’ ity etau sabdau nipātyete agāraikadeṣe vācyē
ingaffix aP, and GHaN as well, occurs after verbal root hanA, to be concurrently replaced with ghana, when the root is used with the preverb pra to derive praghāṇa and praghāṇa respectively, via nipātana, to designate ‘part of the house’.

EXAMPLES:

praghāṇah ‘porch, portico’
praghāṇaḥ ‘id.’
1. The words praghanaḥ and praghānaḥ are derived by means of nipātana by introducing affix aP after han used with pra, where han also gets replaced with ghanā. For reasons similar to the preceding rule, ‘akartari ca kārake samjñāyām’ is also brought close to the context of this rule. For, the derivates denote agāraikadesa ‘a part of the house’. Thus, we get: praghanaḥ and praghānaḥ generally explained as: dvāraprakōṣṭho vāhyah ‘the outer area to the entrance of the house’. Elsewhere, we will get praghātaḥ ‘killing’.

3.3.80

udghano’ tyādhānam
/udghanaḥ 1/1 atyādhānam 1/1/
(pratayāyah #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, akartari ca kārake samjñāyām #19, ap #57, hanah #76, ghanah #77)

utpurvasya hanter udghana iti nipātyate, atyādhānam ced bhavati
Affix aP occurs after verbal root hanA, to be concurrently replaced with ghanā, when the root is used with the preverb ud to derive udghana, by nipātana, and the derivate designates atyādhāna ‘workbench, support’.

Example:

udghanaḥ ‘a carpenter’s workbench; a chopping block’

1. This rule offers an additional ad hoc form: udghanaḥ, obviously with aP introduced after han used with ud. The ghanā replacement is also given. Since the derivate denotes a name, ‘akartari ca kārake...’ is also understood. Kāśikā explains udghanaḥ as: yasmin kāṣṭhe sthāpayītvā anyāni kāṣṭhāni taksyante ‘that piece of wood on which other woods are plained’. The condition of atyādhāna can thus be explained as constituting the supporting base on which something is placed. The derivate outside of this meaning will be udghātaḥ ‘beginning’.

3.3.81

apaghano’ aṅgam
/apaghanaḥ 1/1 aṅgam 1/1/
(pratayāyah #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, bhāve #18, akartari ca kārake samjñāyām #19, ap #57, hanah #76, ghanah #77)
apapūrvasya hanter apaghana iti nipātyate aṅgam ced bhavati
Affix aP occurs after verbal root hanA, to be further replaced with ghanā to derive apaghana by nipātana, when the root is used with the preverb apa and the derivate denotes aṅga ‘limb’.
Example:

*apaghanah* ‘a limb’

1. *Kaśikā* states that *āṅga* here means either a hand or foot. Elsewhere, the derivate will be *apaghātah* ‘killing’.

### 3.3.82 करणे ज्योविष्ट्वः

*karane yovidrusu*

/karane 7/1 ayovidrusu 7/3/

(pratyayah #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, aṅ #57, hanah #76, ghanah #77)

‘āyas, vi, dru’ ity eteṣūpapadesu hanter dhātoḥ karane kārake’ p pratyayo bhavati, ghanādesaḥ ca

Affix aP occurs after verbal root *hanA*, to be further replaced with *ghana*, when the root cooccurs with a nominal *pada* which contains *āyas, vi* and *dru*, and the derivate denotes *karaṇa* ‘instrument’.

Examples:

*ayoghanah* ‘a steel hammer’
*vīghanah* ‘id.’
*drughanah* ‘an axe’

1. Note that *drughanah* is also found as *drughanah*.

### 3.3.83 सम्बे क च

*stambe ka ca*

/stambe 7/1 ka (deleted 1/1) ca Ø/

(pratyayah #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, aṅ #57, hanah #76, ghanah #77, karane #82)

stambaśabda upapade karane kārake hanteḥ kah pratyayo bhavati cakārād aṅ, tatra ghanādesaḥ

Affix *Ka*, as well as aP, occurs after verbal root *hanA*, to be further replaced with *ghana*, when the root cooccurs with a nominal *pada* which contains *stamba* and the derivate denotes *karaṇa*.

Examples:

*stambaghnah* ‘a sickle’
*stambaghanah* ‘id.’

1. Elsewhere, in the context of a non-*karaṇa* denotatum, we get *stambaghātah* ‘the cutting of grass’, a derivate in *GHaN* which denotes *bhāva*. 
3.3.84 परो घ:

parau ghaḥ
/parau 7/1 ghaḥ 1/1/
(pratayah #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, ap #57, hanah #76, karaṇe #82)
pariśabda upapade hanter dhātor ap pratayo bhavati karaṇe kārake ghāśabdaś cādeśaḥ

Affix aP occurs after verbal root hanA, to be further replaced with gha, when the root cooccurs with a nominal pada which contains pari and the derivate denotes karaṇa.

EXAMPLES:

parighah ‘that by means of which one strikes; a club’
palighah ‘id.’

1. Note that the r of parighah is optionally replaced with l by 8.2.22 paraś ca....

3.3.85 उपप्राकृते

upaghnā āśraye
/upāghnah 1/1 āśraye 7/1/
(pratayah #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, bhāve #18, akartari ca kārake samjñāyām #19, ap #57, hanah #76, ghanah #77, karaṇe #82)
upapūrvasya hanter ap prataya upadhālopaś ca nipātyate, āśrayaśabdaḥ sāmiḥyaṃ pratyasattim lakṣyati

Affix aP occurs by nipātana after verbal root hanA, with further replacement by gha and deletion of its upadhā (1.1.65 alo’ ntyāt pūrva upadhā), when it is used with the preverb upa and the derivate denotes āśraya ‘vicinity, proximity’.

EXAMPLES:

parvatopaghnah ‘in the vicinity of the mountain; foothills’
grāmaopaghnah ‘in the vicinity of the village’

1. The word āśraya denotes ‘shelter’ by way of sāmiḥya ‘proximity’. Thus we get parvatopaghnah ‘that which is near the mountain’. Affix aP, along with the cooccurring condition of upa, and the deletion of the penultimate a of han, are all given by nipātana.

3.3.86 संहोद्वृत गणप्रशस्योः

samghodghau ganapraśamsayoh
/samghodghau ganapraśamsayoh 7/2/
(pratayah #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, bhāve #18, akartari ca kārake samjñāyām #19, ap #57, hanah #76)
samudor upapadayor hanter dhātor ap pratyaya bhavati, tilopa ghatvam ca nipātyate, yathāsaṃkhyaṃ gane’ bhidheye
prasāṃsāyām ganyamānāyām

Affix aP occurs after verbal root hanA when the root cooccurs with a nominal pada which contains sat and ud to derive samgha and udgha by nipātana, provided the derivates denote ganā ‘group’ and prasamsā ‘praise’, respectively.

EXAMPLES:

samghaḥ pasūnām ‘herd of animals’
udgho manusyañām ‘praiseworthy among men’

1. Note that the deletion of ti, i.e., an, of han (1.1.63 aco nyādi ti), and the gh replacement for h, is accomplished via nipātana. Elsewhere, we will get a derivate in GHaN such as samghātah ‘union’. The sam and upa derivates denote ganā and prasamsā, respectively, in view of rule 1.3.10 yathāsaṃkhyaṃ...

3.3.87 निघो निमितम्

nigho nimitam
/nighaḥ 1/1 nimitam 1/1/
(pratyayah #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, bhāve #18,
akartari ca kārake samānyām #19, ap #57, hanah #76)

‘nigha’ iti nipūrvād hanter ap pratyaya tilopaghatvam ca nipātyate, nimitam ced abhidheyam bhavati

Affix aP occurs after verbal root hanA when the root is used with the preverb ni to derive nighā by nipātana, provided the derivate denotes nimita ‘having equal dimension all around’.

EXAMPLES:

nighā vrksāh ‘trees of equal dimension’
nighāḥ sālayāh ‘a paddy equal in height’

1. The provision of this rule, again by nipātana, is similar to the preceding. The deletion of ti (tilopa) and replacement in gh (ghatva), is also valid here. The verb is to be used with the preverb ni, and the derivative meaning has to be nimita. It is explained as sarvatah ārhatah pariṇāhataś ca tulyah ‘that which is equal on all sides in height and breadth’. Thus the examples: nighā vrksāh ‘trees equally tall and wide’ and nighāḥ sālayāh ‘rice paddies of equal height’. Elsewhere, we get nighātah ‘striking a blow’, a derivate in GHaN.

3.3.88 द्वित: वित्र: ले:

dviṭaḥ ktriḥ
Idvītah 5/1 krītah 1/1
(Pratyāyah #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, bhāve #18)
Dvītah dhātoḥ krītah pratyayo bhavati
Affix Kri occurs to denote bhāva after a verbal root marked with DU as an it.

Examples:
paktrimam ‘cooked; ripened’
uptrimam ‘sown’
krtrimam ‘artificial’

1. This rule allows for the introduction of affix Kri after a root which has DU as an it and when bhāva is denoted. Affix Kri, because of its own derivational nature, is used to denote bhāva, and cannot be construed alone. For, rule 4.4.20 kīr man nityam obligatorily (nityam) introduces affix maP after a word which ends in affix Kri. The sense of affix maP is nivṛttā ‘completed’. Thus paktrimam denotes ‘fully cooked’. It is in this sense that a derivate in Kri can not be interpreted separately from a derivate in maP (kevalo na prayujyate).

2. The roots with DU as an it are illustrated here as DUpacAṣ ‘to cook’, DUvap ‘to sow’ and DUkrN ‘to do, make’. The K of Kri is used to block gūṇa or urddhi. The derivates go through sambhāsaṇa via rule 6.1.15 vācvinayādānām...

3.3.89 द्वियोक्ष्युर्च

tvihō thuc
Idvītah 5/1 athuc 1/1
(Pratyāyah #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, bhāve #18, akartari ca kārake sāṃjñāyām #19)
Tvitor dhātor athuc pratyayo bhavati bhavādau
Affix athuC occurs after a verbal root marked with TU as an it when bhāva, and a kāraka other than a kartṛ, is denoted.

Examples:
vepathuh ‘trembling’
svayathuh ‘swelling’
kṣavathuh ‘coughing, sneezing’

1. This rule refers to roots which have TU as their it. Affix athuC is again introduced to denote bhāva, etc. One can treat this as an exception to GHaN. Affix GHaN cannot obtain via vā’ sarūpavidhi, since the usages simply do not exist. This observation of Nyāsa is contrary to Haradatta’s claim in the PM according to which a GHaN derivate parallel to athuC via vā’ sarūpavidhi is found. The ca of affix athuC is intended as an it for accent (svarārtha).
3.3.90 वज्याच्याच्याविच्छ्फ्फक्करक्षेऽनः

yajayācayatavicchapraccharakṣo nañ
l/yaj...rakṣaḥ 5/1 (sam. dv.); nañ 1/1
(pratyayaḥ #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, bhāve #18, akartari
cā kārake samjñāyām #19)
yajādibhyo dhātubhyo nañ pratyayo bhavati

Affix nañ occurs after verbal roots yajA, yācA ‘to ask for’, yatA ‘to
strive, exert’, vicchA ‘to go; shine’, pracchA ‘to ask’ and rakṣA ‘to protect,
preserve’ when bhāva or a kāraka other than kartṛ is denoted.

Examples:

yajñah ‘ritual sacrifice’
yācā ‘solicitation’
yatnāh ‘effort’
viśnāh ‘questioning’
rakṣnāh ‘protection; preservation’

1. This rule accepts ‘bhāve’ and ‘akartari ca kārake...’ as the denotatum
of affix nañ. The N as an it is intended to block gūna or vrddhi, as the case
may be (1.1.5 kniti ca). Note that, except for the derivate of yāc, all the
others are masculine. Affix GHaN also finds its scope at the strength of
the vā’ sarūpavidhi, depending on usages such as yāgaḥ parallel to yajñah.
The derivate of yāc, i.e., yācā, is feminine where its nañ is an exception
to affix a of 3.3.103 gurōś ca halah. The vā’ sarūpavidhi is blocked here at
the strength of 3.3.113 kṛtyalyuto bahulan. The lack of samprasārana
(1.1.45 ig yanāḥ), in the case of praśna (cf. 6.1.16 grahiyāvāyi...), even
when there is a following affix marked with N, can be only explained by
citing the precedent of rule 3.3.177 praśne cāsanna....

3.3.91 खण्डनः

svapo nan’
/lsvapah 5/1 nan 1/1/
(pratyayaḥ #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, bhāve #18)

Affix nañ occurs after verbal root NīṣvaP ‘to sleep’ when the derivate
denotes bhāva.

Example:

svapnāh ‘dreaming; a dream’

1. This rule offers svapna as a derivate with the signification of bhāva.
It is, thus, an exception to GHaN. The N as an it in nañ is intended to
secure initial high-pitch (ādyudāta) by rule 6.1.197 ńiṇityādir nityām.
3.3.92 उपसर्ग घो: कि:

\text{upasargē} \text{ ghoh kih}
\text{/upasargē 7/1 ghoh 5/1 kih 1/1/}
\text{(pratyayāḥ #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, bhāve #18, akartari ca kārake saṁjñāyām #19)}

\text{upasargē upapade ghusamjñakebhya dhātribhyo kih pratyayo bhavati}

Affix \text{Ki} occurs after verbal roots termed \text{ghu} (1.1.20 ḍāḍhāghv ādāp) when the roots cooccur with a nominal \text{pada} which contains a pre-verb and the derivate denotes \text{bhāva}, and a \text{kāraka} other than \text{kartṛ}.

\text{EXAMPLES:}

\text{pradihiḥ 'giving; a gift'}
\text{pradhiḥ 'outer edge of a wheel, rim'}
\text{antardhiḥ 'hiding, disappearing'}

1. Note that the ablative \text{ghoh} qualifies \text{dhātoḥ}, thereby yielding the interpretation ‘after verbal roots termed \text{ghu}’.

The rule still carries ‘\text{bhāve}’ and ‘\text{akartari ca kārake saṁjñāyām}’. Consequently, affix \text{Ki} will be introduced to denote \text{bhāva}, and a \text{kāraka} other than a \text{kartṛ}. The roots, of course, have to be those termed \text{ghu} (1.1.20 ḍāḍhā ghv ādāp). The \text{K}, as an \text{it} in \text{Ki}, is intended to facilitate the deletion of \text{ā} by 6.4.64 āto lopa iti ca. Thus we get: \text{antardhiḥ 'hiding'} from \text{antardhā + Ki}, for which see the appendix.

3.3.93 कर्मण्यविकारणे च

\text{karmany adhikaraṇe ca}
\text{/karmāṇi 7/1 adhikaraṇe 7/1 ca Ø/}
\text{(pratyayāḥ #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, ghoh, kih #92)}
\text{karmany upapade ghusamjñakebhya dhātribhyaḥ kih pratyayo bhavati adhikaraṇe kāraka}

Affix \text{Ki} also occurs after verbal roots termed \text{ghu} when the roots cooccur with a nominal \text{pada} which denotes \text{karman} and the derivate denotes \text{adhikarana}.

\text{EXAMPLES:}

\text{jaladhiḥ 'that where water is held; ocean'}
\text{śaradhiḥ 'that where arrows are placed; quiver'}

1. The word ‘\text{ghoh}’ still carries to qualify ‘\text{dhātoḥ}’. Note that both \text{karmāṇi} and \text{adhikaraṇe} are given in \text{saptami 'seventh triad of sUP'}. We understand from Pāṇinian practice, that the denotata of affixes is provided by the use of \text{saptami}. We also know, from rule 3.1.92 tatropapadum
saptamistham, that an item placed in sapta, within the domain of 3.1.91 dhato, characterizes an upapada 'conjoined word'. Obviously, both karan and adhikarana cannot constitute an upapada; nor can they constitute the denotatum of affix Ki (pratyayarth). We must take recourse to vyakhyana 'interpretation of the learned' in order to find which one of the two denotes upapada. Commentators agree that karan constitutes an upapada. This leaves adhikarana to characterize the denotatum of Ki. The word adhikarana is explicitly stated to rule out the introduction of this affix in the sense of bhava, or kara, etc. The ca of the rule is used to attract (anukarshanartha) Ki from the preceding rule.

3.3.94 सियाम तिन्

striyam ktin
Istriyam 7/1 ktin 1/1/
(pratyayah #3.1.1, para# #3.1.2, dhato #3.1.91, bhave #18, akartari ca kara samjnayam #19)
strilinge bhave davatu dhato ktin pratyayo bhaavati

Affix KtiN occurs after a verbal root when bhave, and a kara other than kart, is denoted in the feminine.

Examples:

krtih 'action, creation'
citih 'gathering, heaping'
matih 'comprehension, thinking'

1. This rule introduces affix KtiN to denote bhava and a kara other than kart. Obviously, bhave and akartari ca kara samjnayam become valid in this context. Affix KtiN is an exception to affixes aC, aP and GhaN. It is an exception to aC (3.3.56 er ac) when introduced after a verbal root ending in i. It is an exception to aP when introduced after a verbal root which ends in u or r (3.3.57 ved aP). Elsewhere, affix KtiN constitutes an exception to GHaN (3.3.18 bhave). Also note, in connection with this, that vah sarupavidhi (3.1.94 vah sarupo striyam) is not valid here.

2. A varrtika proposes that KtiN should also be introduced to derive forms such as aptih 'gain', etc., from verbal roots aP 'to gain', etc. This list of roots, referred to here by aP, etc., is not enumerated. That is, one has to determine the membership in this list of aP, etc., by following the usages (Kas: abadaya pryogato nusarattvayah). Thus we get forms such as: aptih 'gain', radhih 'accomplishment', labdhih 'gain', dipthih 'glow' from aP 'to gain', radh 'to accomplish', labh 'to obtain', and dip 'to glow'.

An additional varrtika manipulates KtiN to accommodate usages such as srutih 'that by means of which one hears; ear', istih 'that by means of which one performs rituals; a ritual sacrifice', and stuti 'that by means of
which one pleases someone; praise, prayer'. These derivates all denote karana.

A vārttika also proposes that forms such as glānih ‘exhaustion’, mlānih ‘weariness’, jyānih ‘aging’ and hānih ‘loss’ should be derived with affix Ni, introduced after verbal roots glāi ‘to be weary’, mlai ‘id.’, jyā ‘to be old’ and hā ‘to abandon’ respectively.

Yet another vārttika states that affix KtiN also occurs after roots which end in ī, or those such as lūN ‘to cut’, etc., to derive forms such as kīrṇih ‘scattering’, girṇih ‘praise’, and lūṇih ‘cutting’, etc. In addition, the vārttika extends to affix KtiN the treatment of niṣṭhā in order to enable its derivates to avail the change of their ī into n. Thus, given the string (kī→kir→kīr) + (K→∅)i = kīr + ti, rule 8.2.42 radāḥbhyaṁ... will replace the ī with n to yield kīrṇih, which results in kīrṇih. See further details relative to the examples in the appendix. There are two more vārttika which deal with sampat ‘prosperity’, vipat ‘distress’ and pratipat ‘access’, etc. The first proposes the introduction, and subsequent deletion, of KvitP to derive these forms. The second proposes that affix KtiN be introduced after them to derive sampatti, vipatti, and pratipatti.

3.3.95 स्थागापपचो भावे

sthāgāpapacho bhāve
/
sthāgāpapacah 5/1 bhāve 7/1/

(pratyayah #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, striyāṁ ktn #94)

sthādibhyo dhātubhyāḥ striśinge bhāve ktn pratyayo bhavati

Affix KtiN occurs after verbal roots sthā ‘to stand’, gā ‘to sing’, pā ‘to drink’ and pac ‘to cook’ when the derivate denotes bhāva ‘action’ in the feminine.

Examples:

prasthitih ‘a trip, journey’
udgātih ‘singing of the hymns of the Sāmaveda; loud singing’
samgātih ‘singing’
prapītih ‘drinking; receptacle for water’
sampītih ‘drinking together’
pākītih ‘cooking’

1. This rule introduces affix KtiN to denote bhāva in the feminine after verbal roots sthā ‘to stand’, gā ‘to sing’, pā ‘to drink’ and pac ‘to cook’. The pā here should not be interpreted as referring to ṭā ‘to protect’. Of course, gā can also refer to verbal root gāN ‘to go’.

Note that bhāve is restated to counter any other meaning conditions, such as ‘akartari ca kārake’. Commentators explain that affix KtiN in this
rule serves the function of blocking an exception (*apavādasya bādhakahāḥ*). That is, it blocks the application of affix *aṅ* which happens to be an exception to the general affix *GHañ*. Affix *aṅ* is available to verbal roots *sthā*, etc., by rule 3.3.106 *ātaś copasarge*. It is available to verbal root *pac*, based on its status as *sit*, by rule 3.3.104 *śidbhidādibhyo*.... Why does it not block the application of 3.3.110 *vibhāṣā*..., which makes the optional provision of affix *iṅ* parallel to *Nyuv* of rule 3.3.109 *samjñāyām*? It is stated that *KtiN* cannot block *iṅ*, since *KtiN* happens to be a prior exception (*purastā-pavāda*). Consequently, it can only block the most immediately available provision, and not the one which is subsequent (cf. *pbh.*: *purastāpavāda anantarān vidhīn bādhante nottarān*). Thus, *KtiN* cannot be made available to block the application of *iṅ*.

3.3.96 मन्त्रे व्रेष्टप्पमनविविप्पी उदातः

*mantra vrēṣṭapatamanavidabhūvīrā udāṭtāh*  
/ *mantra 7/1 vrēṣe...vīrāḥ 1/3 (itar. du.); udāṭtāḥ 1/1/  
( *pratyayaḥ #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhatoh #3.1.91, striyām ktin #94, bhāve #95)  
*mantra viṣaye vrādibhyo dhātubhyah ktin pratyayo bhavati, udāṭtāh*.

Affix *KtiN*, marked with *udāṭtā* 'high-pitch', occurs in the mantra literature after verbal roots *vrṣU* 'to rain', *iṣU* 'to wish', *DUpacAṣ* 'to cook', *manA* 'to think', *vidA* 'to know', *bhū* 'to be, become', *vī* 'to go' and *rā* 'to give, bring' when the derivates denote the action (*bhāva*) in the feminine.

**Examples:**

*vrṣṭih* 'rain'
*iṣṭih* 'wish; sacrifice'
*paktih* 'cooking'
*matih* 'thinking'
*vīṭtih* 'knowing'
*bhūtih* 'being, becoming'
*vīṭih* 'going; enjoying'
*rātih* 'giving'

1. The provisions of this rule are limited to the mantra section of the Vedic literature. Our rule, additionally, provides for affix *KtiN* to be marked with *udāṭtā* 'high pitch'. Note, in connection with this, that rule 6.1.197 *nīnityādir*... provides *udāṭtā* accent initially for a derivate which ends in affix *KtiN*. Obviously, that derivate, in accordance with the provision of the *udāṭtā* of this rule, will become *antodāṭtā*.

3.3.97 उत्तत्रूतज्ञूतिसतिसतित्तिशिकीतियत्वम्

*ūtiyūṭijūṭisāthethikīrttayaś ca*
Forms such as āti, yūti, jūti, sāti, heti and kīrtti are derived to denote action in the feminine by nipātana with their final vowel marked udātta.

Examples:

ātiḥ ‘preserving; sport’
yūtiḥ ‘joining, yoking, partaking’
jūtiḥ ‘running; speeding’
sātiḥ ‘destruction’
hetiḥ ‘weapon’
kīrttiḥ ‘fame’

1. This rule provides for the ad hoc derivation (nipātana) of the forms āti, etc. Note, however, that it is not much the derivation by affix Kāṇ, that the route of nipātana is followed. Instead, it is the antudatta ‘final high-pitch’ accent for which one must take recourse to nipātana. There are some additional applications for which one also resorts to nipātana. Thus, we get the lengthening of the root-vowel in yūti and jūti. Other derivational problems in which nipātana must be invoked are not hard to comprehend. Besides, one is not obligated to provide for such details anyway.

3.3.98 व्रजयाजोरब्धेवक्यप

vrajayajor bhāve kyap
/lvrajayajor 6/2 bhāve 7/1 kyap 1/1/
(pratyayaḥ #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, strīyām ktin #94, udāttaḥ #96)
vrajayajor dhātovoh strīlinge bhāve kyap pratyayo bhavati

Affix KyaP, marked with udātta, occurs after verbal roots vrajA ‘to go, wander’ and yajA ‘to sacrifice’ when the derivates denote action in the feminine.

Examples:

vrajāya ‘wandering about’
ijyā ‘worshipping, sacrificing’

1. Note that the word udātta is carried here. Does this cancel the anudātta accent available to affix KyaP by rule 3.1.4 anudāttau suppitau? Yes, but not at the strength of its availability, which in turn is due to the pith status
of KyaP. The K of KyaP, thus, does not bring the anudatta accent simply for udatta to cancel it. The express mention of udatta will rule out any other accessional provision. It is for this reason that commentators regard the pit status of KyaP as intended for subsequent rule (uttararthas). The P of KyaP there enables rule 6.1.71 hrusvasya pitri krti tuk to introduce the augment tUK (Kāś: pitkaraṇam uttaratra tugartham). Note that ijjā of this rule has to go through samprasāraṇa by rule 6.1.15 vacisvapīyajādinām... The KyaP of this rule is an exception to KtiN.

3.3.99 संज्ञायां समजनिषदनिपतमनविद्वृजीप्रमिणः:

sanjñāyāṁ samajaniṣadanipatamananvīdenaṇiṣīniḥbhṛṇiḥah
/samjñāyāṁ 7/1 sama...niḥah 5/1 (sam. dv.)/
(pratyaṣayā #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, akartari ca kārake
sanjñāyām #19, strīyāṁ ktin #94, bhāve #95, udāttaḥ #96 kyaḥ #97)
samajādibhyo dhātubhyāḥ kyaḥ pratyaṣayō bhavti udāttaḥ, sanjñāyāṁ viṣaye
Affix KyaP, marked with udatta, occurs after verbal roots ajA ‘to go’
used with the preverb sam, sad ‘to sit, rest’ and pat ‘to fall’ used with
the preverb ni, and manA ‘to think’, vidA ‘to know’, suN ‘to press out’,
śiN ‘to recline’ and bhṛtiN ‘to provide’ when bhāve and a kāraka other
than kārtṛ is denoted in the feminine and the derivate denotes a
name.

Examples:

samajyā ‘assembly, gathering’
nisadyā ‘a seat; marketplace’
nipatya ‘slippery place; battlefield’
manyā (matyā) ‘thinking; the veins of the neck’
vidyā ‘knowing; knowledge’
sutyā ‘the time when Soma is pressed out’
śayyā ‘bed’
bhṛtyā ‘wages; female servant’
itya ‘means of transportation; palanquin; guiding light’

1. Note that bhāve of 3.3.95 sthāgāpāpaco bhāve is not carried. The rule
thus introduces affix KyaP after samaj, nisad, nipat, man, vid, suN, śiN and
bhṛtiN to denote bhāva, when the name of a kāraka other than kārtṛ is denoted
in the feminine. The fact that bhāve is not carried, even though derivates
denote ‘action’, does not create a problem, since this denotation of bhāva
‘action’ is not technical by way of the adhiṅkāra. Instead, it is the denotation
via the meaning of the derivates and attested by usage. The word
udātta is still carried for purposes of accentuation. Thus we get samajyā
‘that where people assemble; an assembly’, nisadyā ‘that in which one
reclines; a bed', nipatyā 'the ground where people fall; slippery ground', etc. Note that these examples denote names as well as adhikaraṇa, a kāraṇa other than karta. Additionally, by way of the derivates, they also denote the action of gathering, reclining or falling. Examples such as manyā, vidyā and ityā, etc. denote karaṇa 'instrument'.

A question is raised as to why this rule must use samjñāyām when the same could be available by the anuvṛtti of akartari ca kārake samjñāyām'? It is stated that the samjñāyām of the anuvṛtti is associated with 'akartari ca kāraka'. Consequently, affix KyaP would be available to samaj, etc., only when the name of a kāraka other than karta was denoted. It would not be available to the name of a kāraka other than karta which also denotes bhāva. It is for this reason that samjñāyām is restated (see Nyāsa ad Kāś III: 73: tasmād bhāve' pā samjñām eva yathā syād ity evam artham punah samjñāgraṇānām).

3.3.100 क्रिया: र च

krīṇāḥ 5/1 śa ca
\krīṇāḥ 5/1 śa (deleted 1/1) ca 0/
(pratayāh #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātōḥ #3.1.91, akartari ca kārake samjñāyām #19, striyām kti #94, bhāve #95, udāttāḥ #96 kyaP #97)
karoṭer dhātōḥ striyāṁ kti pratayayo bhavati
Affix Śa, and KyaP marked with udātta as well, occurs after verbal root DUKRīṇ 'to do, make' when the action is denoted in the feminine.

Examples:

krīyā ‘action, creation’
krīyā ‘id.’
kṛiti ‘id.’

1. The function of ca is to optionally enable the application of affix KyaP. Thus, we optionally get affix Śa with KyaP. Commentators state that affix KtiN should also be made optionally available with KyaP and Śa. In order to facilitate this, recourse is taken to yogavibhāga whereby a two-way split of this rule is made:

(i) krīṇāḥ kyaP bhavati 'affix KyaP occurs after verbal root KRīṇ...
(ii) krīṇāḥ Śa ca 'affix Śa, additionally with KtiN (on account of ca), also occurs after KRīṇ'

This yields three forms: one each with affixes KyaP, Śa and KtiN as in krītyā, krīyā and krīti respectively. Note that in the absence of yogavibhāga, ca could be relatable to KyaP only. This will leave out KtiN forms.

2. Note that when affix Śa is introduced to denote bhāva, rules 3.1.67 sārvadhātuke yāk and 7.4.28 riṇ śyagliṅkṣu will apply. The first will introduce
yaK, whereas the second will replace the final short ī of the root with riN. The Š is given as īt in Ša to block guna via its status as marked with N by 1.2.4 sārvadhatukam apit. Obviously, Š as an īt is also responsible for the assignment of the term sārvadhatuka to Ša by 3.4.113 tiṁśit sārvadhatukam. Affix yaK will be blocked in cases where Ša is introduced to denote the name of a kāraka other than kārti (akārti ca kārake samjñāyām). However, riN must still be introduced to replace īt, though under the condition of affix Ša, itself. That is, under the condition that Ša followed kr. Now rule 6.4.77 aci śnuḍhātubhruvām...will replace the i of ni by iyAń. Refer to the appendix for additional details.

3.3.101 Ḫa

icchā

/iccā 1/1/

(pratyayah #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, striyāṁ ktin #94, bhāve #95, saḥ #101)

Affix Ša occurs after verbal root iṣU in the derivation of icchā by nipātana when the derivate denotes the action in the feminine.

EXAMPLE:

icchā ‘wishing’

1. This rule derives icchā to denote bhāva in the feminine by nipātana with affix Ša. The non-introduction of yaK is provided for by nipātana. See additional details for deriving icchā from iṣ + Ša with no yaK in the appendix.

2. A vārttika under this rule states that parisaryā ‘wandering about’, paricaryā ‘service’, mṛgayā ‘hunting’ and aṭāyā ‘roaming about’ should also be derived with Ša via nipātana. The words parisaryā and paricaryā are derived from pariṣ and pariṣcar with affix Ša and yaK. The first example also entails guna (as opposed to the lack of it), all by nipātana. I have already stated that because of the Šit status of Ša, which makes it Nīt in view of 1.3.4 sārvadhatukam..., guna should not apply. Of course, with nipātana anything can happen. For, if it was not for nipātana, a of mṛga would have been deleted by 6.4.48 aṭo lopaḥ. Our last example, aṭāyā, is derived from aṭ + Ša → aṭ + yaK + Ša = aṭ + ya + a where t of aṭ goes through doubling (dvirvacana) with y of yaK. Given aṭy + aṭy + a + a, the first y is deleted, and the second a will be lengthened to yield: aṭ (y → Θ) (a → ā) + aṭy + a = aṭāṭya. Finally, aṭāṭya will be derived with affix TaP. Of course, everything happens by nipātana. There is yet another vārttika under this rule which proposes the ad hoc derivation of jāgarām ‘to remain awake’ and jāgarayām where the first will be derived with affix a and the second with Ša along with yaK.
3.3.102 अ प्रत्ययाल्

$a$ pratayat

1a (deleted 1/1) pratayat 5/1

(pratayath #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, striyāṁ ktin #94, bhāve #95)

pratayānteḥbhayo dhātubhyah striyāṁ akārah pratayayo bhavati

Affix $a$ occurs after roots which end in an affix when derivates denote action in the feminine.

EXAMPLES:

cikīrṣā ‘desire to do’
jihīrṣā ‘desire to take away’
puttrīyā ‘desire for having a son of one’s own’
putrakāmyā ‘id.’
lolūyā ‘desire to cut over and over again’
kandūyā ‘itching’

1. This rule introduces affix $a$ after roots terminated in affixes provided action is denoted in the feminine. Obviously, the input for this rule would be constituted by roots defined by rule 3.1.32 sanādyantā dhātavaḥ. This rule forms an exception to KtiN. Additionally, affix $a$ enables derivates such as cikīrṣā ‘desire to do’, etc., to be termed prātipadika by rule 1.2.46 kṛtaddhitasamāsāḥ ca. This, in turn, enables them to receive feminine affix TāP and nominal endings.

2. Note that the $a$ of this rule ($a$ pratayat) is used without a nominal ending. Technically speaking, the form should have been $a$h, ending in the nominative singular as per the Pāñinian practice. Some still consider the wording of the rule to be: $a$h pratayat.

3.3.103 गुरोष्ठ हलन:

guroṣ ca halah

/guroḥ 5/1 ca 0 halah 1/1/

(pratayath #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, striyāṁ ktin #94, bhāve #95, a #102)

halanto yo dhātur gurumān tataḥ striyāṁ akārah pratayayo bhavati

Affix $a$ occurs after a verbal root which ends in a consonant and contains a long vowel termed guru (1.4.11 samyoge guru) when the derivate signifies action in the feminine.

EXAMPLES:

kunḍā ‘burning; an adultress’
hundā ‘attacking; a tigress’
ihā ‘effort, wishing’
iḥā ‘argumentation’

1. Note that this is the domain of dhātu, and as such, guru and hal are to be treated as qualifiers (viśeṣaṇa) to dhātu ‘verbal root’. It is for this reason that Kāśikā paraphrases the rule as: halanto yo dhātur gurumān tatah... ‘after that root which is halanta ‘ends in a consonant’ and is gurumān ‘contains a guru vowel’. But how does the Kāśikā get the meaning of gurumān when the rule simply states guru? It is possible to interpret guru as gurumān, because there is no root which ends in a consonant (halanta) termed guru. The term guru always applies to a vowel which is part of something. That something, in this context, has to be the dhātu ‘verbal root’ terminated in a consonant. Thus, it is via abhedopacāra ‘assumed non-difference’ of that which is guru, and that which contains it (gurumān), that Kāśikā interprets guru as gurumān.

There is still another question. Why is the paraphrase not worded by switching around the two qualifiers gurumān and halanta? That is, why is the paraphrase not given as: gurvanto yo dhātur halvān ‘after a verbal root which ends in a guru vowel and contains a consonant’. This transposition (viparyaya) of qualifiers is not desired as is indicated by the use of cestā ‘strife’ and aśamsā ‘expectation’ in rules 2.3.12 gatyarthakarmanī dvitiyācaturthya... and 3.3.134 aśamsāyāṁ bhūtavac ca. Note that both of these words are derived with affix a, and their roots do not end in a guru vowel.

3.3.104 विद्धिद्वादिब्योऽः
śidbhidādibhyo ā
śidbhidādibhyāḥ 5/3 aṁ 1/1/
(pratyayah #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, striyāṁ ktin #94,
bhāve #95)
śidbhyaḥ bhidādibhyāḥ ca striyāṁ aṁ pratyayo bhavati
Affix aN occurs after verbal roots either marked with § as an it, or enumerated in the list headed by bhidIR ‘to split’, when the derivate denotes the action in the feminine.

Examples:
jarā ‘old age’
trapā ‘shame, shyness’
bhidā ‘splitting’
chidā ‘cutting’

1. Note that bhidā, etc., refer to the ganaṇapātha (GP) listing containing nominal stems which end in affix aN. This raises a problem. Should affix aN of this rule be introduced after items referenced here as bhidā, etc.,
which already end in $aN$? The answer must be in the negative. For, bhidā, etc., are nominal stems which already end in affix $aN$. Our present rule requires the introduction of affix $aN$ after verbal roots. What then is the problem? If we interpret that $aN$ is to be introduced after verbal roots bhid ‘to split’, etc., to derive bhidā, etc., then the listing of fully derived forms in the GP, becomes vacuous (vyartha). If, on the other hand, one refers to the GP, as Pāṇini does here, the introduction of the affix for derivation becomes vacuous. It is therefore suggested that rather of these is vacuous. They both, especially the introduction of the affix, are given so that there is no doubt (asandeha) about the derivational process or correctness of the forms. Thus, the GP listing is given so that one understands that only listed items are correct. The introduction of affix $aN$ is specified so that one does not consider the derivation of bhidā, etc., to have taken place, for example, with the introduction of affix Ka of rule 3.1.135 igupadhaiṇāprikiṇaḥ kaḥ.

3.3.105 विनिमयिकाधिकुणिविर्णिः

$\text{cintipūıkāthikumbicarcaś ca}
\text{\hspace{50pt}/cintipūıkāthikumbicarcaḥ 5/1 ca 0/}
\text{(pratyayaḥ \#3.1.1, paraś ca \#3.1.2, dhāton \#3.1.91, striyāṃ ktin \#94,
\hspace{30pt}bhāve \#95, aṅ \#104)}$
\text{\hspace{30pt}‘citi, pūji, kathi, kumbi, carca’ ebhyo dhātubhyo yuci}
prāpte striyāṃ aṅ pratyayo bhavati

Affix $aN$ also occurs after verbal roots citi ‘to think’, pūji ‘to worship, respect’, kathi ‘to relate, tell’, kumbi ‘to cover’ and carca ‘to learn, discuss’ when the derivates denote the action in the feminine.

EXAMPLES:

$cintā$ ‘thinking, worrying’
$pūjā$ ‘worship’
$kathā$ ‘story’
$kumbā$ ‘a slip made of heavy material; periphery of a sacrificial place’
carcā ‘recitation, reading’

1. Note that this rule contains verbal roots which belong to the cūrādi group. Since they are all treated as ending in the causal affix NiC, they qualify for the introduction of affix yuC. This rule, for reasons of introducing affix $aN$ instead, may be treated as a prior exception to rule 3.3.107 nyāsāśrantho yuc. But since this rule also contains ca, $aN$ is to be optionally introduced with yuC. Thus we get the $aN$-derivate cintā parallel to the yuC-derivate cintanā.
3.3.106 आत्मोपसर्गे

ātaś copasarge
lātaḥ 5/1 ca ṣ upasarge 7/1/
(pratayāh #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, striyāṃ ktiṃ #94, bhāve #95, an #104)

ākārānte bhavyo dhātebhya upasarge upapade striyāṃ an pratayay bhavati
Affix aN occurs after verbal roots which end in ā when the roots cooccur with a nominal pada which contains a preverb and the derivatives denote the action in the feminine.

EXAMPLES:

pradā ‘a gift’
upadā ‘id.’
pradhā ‘placing, establishing’
upadhā ‘id.’

1. This rule introduces affix aN after roots which terminate in ā, and are used in conjunction with an upasarga ‘preverb’. Of course, action in the feminine has to be the denotatum. Consequently, affix aN becomes an exception to KtIN. Thus we get pradā ‘gift’, upadā ‘id.’ etc.

A vārttika proposes the derivation of śraddhā ‘respect’ and antarādhā ‘hiding’, with śrat and antar treated as an upasarga ‘preverb’ forming an upapada. Note that śrat and antar are indeclinables (avyaya) which, for purposes of the derivation of the two forms, have to be treated as preverbs. The word antarādhā, used with affix Ki, can also have an alternate form, antarāddhi.

3.3.107 व्यासाश्रान्तो युक्त

nyāsaśrantha yuc
lāyāsaśranthah 5/1 yuc 1/1/
(pratayāh #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, samjjñāyāṃ #19, striyāṃ ktiṃ #94, bhāve #98)
nyante bhavyo dhātebhyaḥ āsa, srantha ity etābhyaḥ ca striyāṃ yuc pratayay bhavati
Affix yuC occurs after verbal roots which end in NiC (3.1.26 hetumāti ca), and after āsA ‘to sit’ and śrantha ‘to loosen, relax’, when the derivate denotes the action in the feminine.

EXAMPLES:

kāraṇā ‘to have something done’
hāraṇā ‘to have something taken away’
āsanā ‘to have someone sit’
śranthanā ‘to loosen; be relaxed’
1. Note that the *NiC*-derivatives of this rule will form an exception to suffix *a* of 3.3.102 *a* *prayayāt*. The derivatives of *ās* 'to sit' and *śrānth* 'to loosen, release, be happy' will derive without *NiC*, and hence, not treated as entailing *yuC* as an exception to *a*.

There are the following *vārttika* proposals under this rule:

(a) suffix *yuC* is to be introduced after verbal roots *ghaṭṭa* 'to move', *vandA* 'to praise' and *vidA* 'to perceive' to derive *ghaṭṭanā* 'shaking', *vandanā* 'praise' and *vedanā* 'perception, information';

(b) suffix *yuC* is to be introduced to derive *adhyēsanā* 'entreating, soliciting' and *anvesanā* 'inquiry, search' from *iṣ* when the derivate does not denote 'desire';

(c) *yuC* can optionally be used with *KtiN* after *iṣ* used with the pre-verb *pari* to derive *paryēsanā* 'thorough search'. The optional *KtiN* derivate will be: *pariṣṭiḥ*, where, because of the *K* of the affix, no *guna* will apply.

3.3.108 रोगाध्यायः णुलः बहुलम्

*rogākhyāyām nvul bahulam*

*/rogākhyāyām 7/1 nvul 1/1 bahulam 1/1*

(*prayayah #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, striyām ktin #94, bhāve #98*)

*rogākhyāyām gamyamānāyām dhātor bahulam nvul prayayō bhavati*

Affix *Nvul* occurs variously after a verbal root to denote action in the feminine when the derivate denotes the name of a disease.

**Examples:**

*pracchārdikā* 'vomiting'

*pravāhikā* 'diarrhea'

*vicārikā* 'itching'

1. This rule, for reasons of *bahulam*, can be accepted as an exception to all rules. Affix *Nvul* thus is introduced variously when the denotatum is a 'disease' (*roga*). Thus we get *pracchārdikā* 'vomiting', etc. However, *Nvul*, at the strength of *bahulam*, may not apply in some other examples. Consider *śiroṛttiḥ* 'headache' which derives from *KtiN*.

There are a series of *vārttika* under this rule which provide for diverse derivates as follows:

(a) introduction of affix *Nvul* to indicate the meaning of a root as in *āśikā* 'eating' and *śāyikā* 'reclining';

(b) introduction of affixes *iK*, *ŚaP* and *tiP* to specify verbal roots as in *śiṣpah*;

(c) introduction of affix *kāra* to merely indicate a sound-segment (*varṇa*) as in *akāraḥ* 'the sound-segment a' and *ikāraḥ* 'the sound-segment i'.
(d) introduction of affix *ipha when the denotatum of *r as a sound-segment is intended as in *repha ‘the sound-segment *r’;
(e) introduction of affix *cha after *matvartha with the deletion of its final -a to form *matvarthiya ‘relative to that which has the sense of *matUP’;
(f) introduction of affix *iN after verbal roots *aj, etc., to derive *ājih ‘fighting’, etc.;
(g) introduction of affix *iK after *krṣ ‘to draw’, etc., to derive *krṣih ‘ploughing, farming’, etc.

3.3.109 संज्ञायः

samjñāyām
/samjñāyām/7/1/
(pratyayah #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dātoḥ #3.1.91, striyām ktin #94, bhāve #98, nāvul #108)
samjñāyām viśaye dātoḥ nāvul pratyayo bhavati
Affix *Nvul occurs after a verbal root when the action is denoted as a samjñā ‘name’ in the feminine.

Examples:

uddālakapuspabhaṇjika ‘a sport in which the uddālaka flowers are crushed’
varaṇapuspapracāyikā ‘a sport in which the varaṇa flowers are gathered’
abhyaṣakhādikā ‘a game in which one competes by eating deep-fried breads’
ācōsakhādikā ‘a game in which one competes by eating while suckling’
sālabhaṇjikā ‘a game in which one competes by plucking the flowers of the sāla tree’
tālabhaṇjikā ‘a game in which one competes by plucking palm flowers’

1. This rule introduces affix *Nvul also after a verbal root when samjñā ‘name’ is denoted. Thus we get the examples: uddālakapuspabhaṇjikā, varaṇapuspapracāyikā, abhyaṣakhādikā, etc. All examples entail a genitive tatpurusa compound obligatorily allowed by 2.2.17 nityam krīḍājīvikaḥ. Note further that the genitive itself is ruled by 2.3.65 kartvkarmanāḥ kṛti.

3.3.110 विभाषाध्यायः

vibhāṣā₁ khyānaparipraśnayor in ca
/vibhāṣā₁ 1/ākhyānaparipraśnayoh 7/2 in 1/1 ca 0/
(pratyayah #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dātoḥ #3.1.91, striyām ktin #94, bhāve #98, nāvul #108)
parīpraśne ākhyāne ca gāmyamāne dhātor iñ pratya yo bhavati

Affix iṅ optionally occurs after a verbal root to denote the action in the feminine when the derivate relates to ākhyāna ‘answer’ or parīpraśna ‘question’.

**EXAMPLES:**

kā tvam kārim akārśih ‘what work did you do?’
kām kriyām akārśih ‘id.’
kām kṛtyām akārśih ‘id.’
kām kṛtim akārśih ‘id.’
sarvām kārim akārśam ‘I did all the work’
sarvām kārim akārśam ‘id.’
sarvām kriyām akārśam ‘id.’
sarvām kṛtyām akārśam ‘id.’
sarvām kṛtim akārśam ‘id.’

1. This rule optionally introduces affix iṅ with other relevant affixes after a verbal root when question (parīpraśna) and answer (ākhyāna) is denoted. The use of ca also brings affix NvuL to the context of this rule. Thus, there will be two examples: one with iṅ and the other with NvuL. Additionally, there may be more. Thus consider the following sentences:

   (i) kām tvam kārim akārśih ‘what work did you do?’
   (ii) kām kārikām akārśih ‘id.’
   (iii) kām kriyām akārśih ‘id.’
   (iv) kām kṛtyām akārśih ‘id.’
   (v) kām kṛtim akārśih ‘id.’

The above sentences entail affixes iṅ, NvuL, Ša, KyaP, and KtiN respectively. The same can be stated for the other set of sentences. As far as this rule is concerned, iṅ is introduced, additionally, and is used with NvuL which, in turn, becomes optional to other affixes. The word vibhāṣā thus refers to the other affixes which may become applicable. Affix Ša, additionally, used with KyaP, in the above examples, is provided by rule 3.3.100 kriñāḥ ša ca. The KtiN is obtained by a split interpretation (yogavibhāga) of the same.

Why does Pāṇini place ākhyāna ‘answer’ before parīpraśna ‘question’ in the rule? One would normally expect question to come first. The ordering of these two words is given for technical reason in view of rule 2.2.34 alpāc taram. This rule requires preplacement of a compound constituent with fewer vowels.

3.3.111 पर्यायायोर्गतितिषु पद्वृच्छ


tvāyārharṇotpattiṣu nivuc
/paryāyārharṇotpattiṣu 7/3 nivuc 1/1/
(pratyayah #3.1.1, paras ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, striyām kti #94, bhāve #98, vibhāsa #110)

paryāyāhārṇotpattisy artheṣu dhātor navuc pratyayo bhavant
Affix NyuC optionally occurs to denote the action in the feminine when the derivate signifies paryāya ‘turn’, arha ‘deserving’, rṇa ‘debt’ or utpatti ‘production’.

Examples:

bhavataḥ śāyikā ‘your (polite) turn to sleep’
bhavato’ gragrāsikā ‘your (polite) turn to eat first’
arhaṭi bhavān ikṣubhāṣikām ‘you (polite) deserve to eat the sugarcane’
ikṣubhāṣikām me dhārayasi ‘you owe me the opportunity to eat the sugarcane’
odanabhojikām me dhārayasi ‘you owe me a meal of rice’
payahpāyikām me dhārayasi ‘you owe me a drink of milk’
ikṣubhāṣikām me udāpādi ‘an opportunity for me to eat the sugarcane is produced…’
odanabhojikām me udāpādi ‘an opportunity for me to eat a meal of rice is produced…’
payahpāyikām me udāpādi ‘an opportunity for me to have a drink of milk is produced…’

1. This rule optionally introduces affix NyuC to NyuL when the derivate denotes a feminine action relative to paryāya, arha, rṇa, and utpatti. Note that there is no formal difference between the derivatives of NyuL and NyuC. However, there is a difference in their accent (svara). A NyuL derivate will have an udātta accent on the syllable which precedes the affix in view of the L as an it in the affix (6.1.193 itī). The NyuC derivate will, on account of its C as an it, get udātta accent at its final syllable (antodātta).

2. Note further, that the derivates of this rule, because of their special meaning constraints, form an exception to affixes KtiN and a, etc.

3.3.112 आकरोशे नन्यनि:

ākroṣe nañi anih
lākroṣe 7/1 nañi 7/1 anih 1/1/
(pratyayah #3.1.1, paras ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91,
akartari ca kārake sāmjñāyām #19, striyām #94, bhāve #98)
Affix ani occurs after a verbal root used in conjunction with nañ ‘not’ to denote the action in the feminine when ākroṣa ‘cursing’ is denoted.

Example:

akaraṁis te vṛṣala bhūyat ‘may misfortune befall you, oh, vṛṣala’
1. This rule introduces affix *ani* as an exception to *KtiN*, etc., under the semantic condition of *akrośa* provided also that the root is used in conjunction with the negative particle *naN*.

3.3.113 कृयालयो बहुलम्

\[
kṛtyaluyatḥ bahulam
/kṛtyaluyatḥ 1/3 bahulam 1/1/
\]

(pratyayanā #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91)

Affixes termed *kṛtya* (3.1.95 kṛtyāḥ) and *LyuT* occur after verbal roots to denote diverse meanings.

**Examples:**

snāṇīyam cūrṇam ‘sandal paste fit to be used when bathing’

dāṇīya brāhmaṇaḥ ‘a brāhmaṇa fit to be given a gift’

rājabhajanaḥ sālayaḥ ‘rice fit for the dinner of the king’

rājācchādanaiṃ vāsāmsi ‘clothing fit to be worn by the king’

1. Note that *bhāve* and *akartari ca kārake* are no longer carried. The *bahulam* of this rule qualifies its affixes termed *kṛtya* and *LyuT* to be used with diverse denotata. That is, they can also be used outside the meaning conditions where they have been introduced (yatra vihitād tato’ nyatāpi bhavanti). Thus, affixes termed *kṛtya* (3.1.95 kṛtyāḥ) have been introduced to denote *bhāva* ‘root-sense’ or *karman* ‘object’ (3.4.70 tayor eva kṛtyakhalartāh). Additionally, they can be used to denote other *kāraka*, in view of the provisions of this rule. Consider, for example, the following:

(i) snāṇīyam cūrṇam

(ii) dāṇīyo vipraḥ

where the *kṛtya* affix *aniyaR* is used to denote karana ‘instrument’ and sampradāna ‘dative’ respectively. Rules 3.3.115 *lyuT ca* and 3.3.117 karanaḥdikaranayos ca introduce *lyuT* to denote *bhāva* and *karaṇa* and adhikaraṇa respectively. However, in view of this rule, one can also get *LyuT* when the denotatum is *karman* and *apādāna* as in *apasecanam* ‘that which is watered badly’ and prapatanam ‘the point from whence something falls’. Other violations, which result out of *bahulam*, can also be cited. For example, affix *Nvul* is introduced to denote kartr ‘agent’. But it can be found to denote karman in pādahārakah ‘that which is carried by feet’. This is a violation of 3.4.67 kartari kṛt.

3.3.114 नपुंसकेः भावे कतः:

napumṣake bhāve ktaḥ
/napumṣake 7/1 bhāve 7/1 ktaḥ 1/1/
(pratyayah #3.1.1, paris ca #3.1.2, dhato #3.1.91)
napumsakalinge bhave dhato kta pratyayo bhavati

Affix Kta occurs after a verbal root when the action is denoted in the neuter (napumsaka).

Examples:

*hasitam* ‘laughter’
*sahitam* ‘endurance’
*jalpitam* ‘talking’

1. A question is raised against the explicit use of bhave especially since Kta can denote bhava in view of 3.4.70 tayor eva ktya...? But that rule makes its provision only in the context of bhuta ‘past’. This rule introduces affix Kta in a general frame of time, and in the neuter (napumsaka). Some say that this rule is needed so that affix Kta can also be introduced to denote bhava after the intransitive verbal root, in a manner similar to the derivation of odanasya khojanam and odanasya pakhah with affix GHaN after verbal root pac. Note that this interpretation is based on the understanding that 3.4.70 tayor eva... will not allow a derivate which denotes bhava after a transitive root. Furthermore, if affix Kta, in this analysis, were introduced after a transitive verbal root to denote bhava, then what nominal ending should be introduced to denote karman ‘object’? The answer has to be: the genitive marked by a conjoined word which ends in a krt affix (krdyogalakṣanā). But this is problematic. Rule 2.3.69 na lokāvyayanisthā...blocks the introduction of such a genitive provided by rule 2.3.65 krtkarmanoḥ kṛti. For, affix Kta brings assignment of the term niṣṭhā (1.1.28 kṭaktavatū niṣṭhā). This difficulty can be removed by accepting the view that such a blocking cannot be applicable to the domain of rule 3.3.114 napumsake... For, Panini would not, then, have formulated this rule. In summary, this rule introduces Kta to denote bhava in neuter after intransitive verbal roots.

3.3.115 त्युत्

lyut ca
/lyut 1/1 ca Ø/

(pratyayah #3.1.1, paris ca #3.1.2, dhato #3.1.91, napumsake bhave #114)
napumsakalinge bhave dhator lyut pratyayo bhavati

Affix Lyut also occurs after a verbal root when the action is denoted in the neuter.

Examples:

*hasananam* chātrasya ‘the laughter of the student’
*sobhanam* ‘beautiful’
japanaṁ ‘talking’
sayanam ‘sleeping’
āsanam ‘seat’

1. This rule, additionally, introduces affix LyuT to Kta with the denotatum as stated in the earlier rule. Why were the two rules not read as one? The split-rule presentation is necessary because of the subsequent rule. The next rule requires only the anuvṛtti of LyuT. If the two rules were presented as one then Kta would also carry to the next rule.

3.3.116 कर्मणि च भवेन संस्पर्शानि कर्मणि: शारीरसुखम्

karmanī ca yena saṃspṛṣṭat karṭuḥ śarīrasukhaṁ
karmanī 7/1 ca 0 yena 3/1 saṃspṛṣṭat 5/1 karṭuḥ 6/1 śarīrasukhaṁ 1/1
(pratyaṇah #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, napūṁsake bhāve
#114, lyuṭ #115)
yena karmanā saṃspṛṣṭamānasya karṭuḥ śarīrasukham utpadyate tasmin
karmaney upapade dhātore napūṁsakaliṅge bhāve lyuṭ pratyaṇyo bhavati
Affix LyuT occurs after a verbal root to denote an action in the neuter when the root co-occurs with a nominal pada which denotes karman and the agent derives physical pleasure from contacting the object.

EXAMPLES:

payahpānanam sukham ‘drinking of milk is comforting’
odayahbojanam sukham ‘eating of rice is comforting’

1. This rule introduces affix LyuT after a verbal root to denote an action in the neuter when it is used in conjunction with a pada which denotes an object, and when the agent of the sentence finds physical (as opposed to mental) happiness by means of touching the object. A question is raised as to why this rule should be stated when its provisions could easily be covered by the preceding rule. Commentators explain that a separate rule is necessary so that, by specifying the condition of the conjoined word which denotes an object, an obligatory upapada compound can be formed. Thus, odayahbojanam is odanabhojanam sukham is an upapada compound where odana + ṇas constitutes the conjoined pada which denotes object. The preceding rule cannot derive this kind of compound to denote action in the neuter. The same is true about the next example payahpānam. It is argued that these examples, with their actions of ‘consuming’ and ‘drinking’, cannot satisfy the condition of saṃspṛṣṭa ‘touch’. The word saṃspṛṣṭa is here used to underline the fact that such formations are to be blocked in the context where the agent does not have any physical contact with the object. Consider the following counter-examples:

(a) agnikūṇḍasyopāsanam sukham ‘it is a joy to sit by the fireside’
(b) tūlikāyā uthānam sukhām 'it is a joy to wake up in a bed with a mattress filled with cotton'  
(c) guruḥ snāpanam sukhām 'it is a joy to assist the teacher in bathing'  
(d) pūtrasya pariśvaṇijanam sukhām 'embracing the son brings joy'

Sentence (a) illustrates that the condition of samāshpaś (physical contact) is not met there. Of course, proximity does not entail any contact. Sentence (b) does not meet the condition of the object which forms the conjoined word. It is clear that the word tūlikāyā in the ablative denotes apādaṇa. The next sentence entails guru as the object, and not the agent, of the action denoted by snāpanam. Finally, the last example illustrates that the embrace offers mental joy (mānasī pritiḥ) rather than the physical.

### 3.3.117 करणाधिकरणयोग्य

karanādhikaraṇayōṣ ca  
karanādhikaraṇayōḥ 7/2 ca 0/1  
(pratyayah #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātōḥ #3.1.91, luyt #115)  
karane adhikarane ca kārake dhātor luyt pratyayo bhavati

Affix LyuT also occurs after a verbal root when the derivate denotes karana, or adhikarana.

**Examples:**

idhmapravaścanaḥ ‘that by means of which one cuts; an axe’  
palāṣaśātanaḥ ‘that by means of which one cuts the palāsa tree’  
godohāni ‘(pot) used for milking the cow’  
saktuddānie ‘(pot) in which saktu is stored’

### 3.3.118 पूंसिसंज्ञायां च: प्रायेण

pumsi samajnāyāṃ ghaḥ prāyena  
pumsi 7/1 samajnāyāṃ 7/1 ghaḥ 1/1 prāyena 1/1/  
(pratyayah #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātōḥ #3.1.91, karanādhikaraṇayōḥ  
#117)  
pulliṅgayaḥ karanādhikaraṇayor abhidheyayor dhātor ghaḥ pratyayo  
bhavati samudāyena ceti samjña gamyate

Affix GHa generally occurs after a verbal root when the derivate names a karaṇa or adhikarana in the masculine.

**Examples:**

dantacchadah ‘that which covers the teeth; lips’  
uraśchadah patah ‘that which covers the chest; a garment’  
akaraḥ ‘the place where they arrive to work; a mine’  
ālavaḥ ‘the place where one settles down; home’

1. This rule introduces affix GHa after a verbal root to denote karaṇa, or adhikarana, when the derivate is to denote a name in the masculine.
The karaṇa and adhikaraṇa thus become the denotata of the affix. The word prāyena is used so that application of this rule does not become absolute (Kāś.: prāyagrahaṇam akārteṣyārtham). The three conditions: pumsi, samjñāyām and prāyena distinguish this rule from the preceding.

3.3.119 गोचरसंचरवहजयजयाजपणनिगमादः
gocarasamcārvahavyajāyajājanigamāś ca
aptic...nigamāḥ 1/3 (itar. dv.); ca śl
(pratyayaḥ #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhatoh #3.1.91, karaṇàdhi-
karaṇayoḥ #117, pumsi samjñāyām ghah #119)
gocarādayah śabdā ghapratyayāntā nipātyante pūrvasmin evārthe
Affix GHa occurs in the derivation, by nipātana, of goocara, samcara,
vaha, vrahā, vyaja, āpāna and nigama, when the derivate names a
karaṇa, or adhikaraṇa, in the masculine.

Examples:

gocarah ‘grazing field for cows’
samcaraḥ ‘that by which one goes; road, path’
vahah ‘that by means of which one goes; a vehicle, conveyance’
vrajah ‘that by means of which one moves’
vyajah ‘that by means of which one moves the air; a fan’
āpaṇah ‘the place where they come to barter; marketplace’
nigamah ‘the place which one enters; marketplace; the Vedas’

1. This rule provides for goocara, etc., in the sense of karaṇa and adhi-
karaṇa, as is the case with the previous rule. The derivates of this rule are
given as ad hoc (nipātana) so that they can be kept out of the scope of rule
3.3.121 ṇalaś ca. For, all these derivates entail a verbal root which ends in
a consonant. This rule can also be treated as a prior exception (purastā-
pavāda) to the GHaN of rule 3.3.121 ṇalaś ca. A derivate such as vyajah is
able to block the application of rule 2.4.56 ajer vyajah..., essentially because of
nipātana. Rule 2.4.56 provides vi as a replacement for verbal root aj
before an āṛddhadhātuka affix other than GHaN and aP.

The ca of the rule is used to bring something not stated (anuktasamuc-
cayārtha) within the scope of this rule. This may cover examples, such as,
kaṣah and nikasaḥ ‘touchstone’ which otherwise would have involved
GhaN. But these examples could easily be covered by the previous
rule. Why do we have to have this rule? This rule is stated because its
examples are given as ad hoc. This is not the case with either the pre-
vious, or the following rule, which assigns GHaN. These rules both
involve examples with fairly straightforward derivational meanings:
karaṇa and adhikaraṇa.
3.3.120 अवे तृस्त्रोधज्ञः

avo trstoro ghan
lavo 7/1 trstroh 6/2 ghan 1/1/
(pratyayah #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, karaṇādhikaraṇayoh #117, puṃsi samjñāyāṁ prāyena ghan #119)
‘ava’ upapade tarates trṇāteś ca dhātoḥ karaṇādhikaraṇayoh samjñāyāṁ ghan pratyayo bhavati
Affix GHaN occurs generally after verbal roots tṛ-to float’ and stṛ ‘to spread’ when the roots cooccur with a nominal pada which contains ava and the derivate denotes the name of a karaṇa, or an adhikaraṇa in the masculine.

Examples:

avatāraḥ ‘that by means of which one comes down; incarnation; steps of a pond’
avastāraḥ ‘that by means of which one covers; tent; curtain’

This is an exception to GHa of the preceding rule. The word prāyena is also carried here. Consequently, some derivatives may denote a karaṇa or adhikaraṇa, but not a name (samjñā). This also attests to the observation of Kāśka that prāyena ‘generally’ could be applicable to ‘all’ conditions (kārtyena) of a rule which includes it. The N of GHaN is intended for vṛddhi (cf. 7.2.114 mṛjer vṛddhiḥ) as well as for accent (svaśṛtha). A replacement in kU (kutva) by rule 7.3.52 cajoh kughinyaḥ, under the condition of affixal GH is applicable only subsequently (uttaratra; see Kāś. ad this rule).

3.3.121 हलाद

halas ca
llhalah 5/1 ca ∅/
(pratyayah #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, karaṇādhikaraṇayoh #117, puṃsi samjñāyāṁ prāyena #118, ghaṇ #120)
halanād dhātoḥ karaṇādhikaraṇayor ghan pratyayo bhavati
Affix GHaN generally occurs after a verbal root also when the root ends in a hL (consonant; Śs. 5-14) and the derivate names a karaṇa or adhikaraṇa in the masculine.

Examples:

lekhah ‘that in which one inscribes; writing’
vedaḥ ‘that by which one knows; the vedas’
veśṭah ‘that which is entered into; tent; garment’
bandhaḥ ‘that which obstructs; obstruction’
mārgaḥ ‘that on which one seeks; road’
apamārgah ‘that by which something is removed; a particular plant used for curing diseases’
vīmārgah ‘a particular tree; broôm’

1. This rule can be treated as an exception to the preceding GHa rules. For, it carries all three conditions of karandhikaranayoh, punsi and samjñāyāyam prāyena. The derivates of this rule entail vrddhi and kutva.

3.3.122 अध्याययोगोद्वयसंसरासारासरावाचास्त्र

adhāyāyanyāyodavasamhārādhārāvāyāś ca
dhāyāya...vāyāh 1/3 (itar. dv.) ca 0/1
(pratyayaḥ #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, karanddhi-
karanayoh #117, punsi samjñāyāyam prāyena #118, ghaṅ #120)
adhāyādayaḥ sabdāh ghaṅanātā nipātyante

Affix GHaN occurs, by nipātana, in the derivation of adhāyāya, nyāya, udyāva, samhāra, ādhāra, and āvāya when the derivate names a karaṇa, or adhikaraṇa in the masculine.

EXAMPLES:

adhāyāyaḥ ‘that in which one studies; a chapter, book’
nyāyāḥ ‘that by which one is guided; rule, law; precept’
udyāvah ‘that with which something else is mixed; mixture’
samhāraḥ ‘that by which something is destroyed’
ādhāraḥ ‘that in which something is held; locus’
āvāyāḥ ‘that where weaving is done’

1. This ad hoc provision is in consonance with a derivation in GHaN. The problem that GHaN is made available to roots which terminated in a consonant is no problem at all. The ad hoc provision is made so that roots not terminated in a consonant (ahalatha) can also qualify for the introduction of the affix. Our ad hoc derivates underlie roots which do not terminate in a consonant.

The ca of this rule can, again, be treated as used to account for something not stated (anuktasamuccaya). Consider for example avahāraḥ ‘removal’. Haradatta (PM ad Kāś.) states that the author of the vṛtti has, indeed, found an ingenious way to account for avahāraḥ, which, otherwise, is accounted for by vārttika.

3.3.123 उदाँकुञ्जकः

udaṇko ‘udake
ludaṇkaḥ 1/1 anudake 7/1/
(parasyaḥ #3.1.1 paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, karanddhi-
karanayoh #117, punsi samjñāyāyam prāyena #118, ghaṅ #120)
‘udaṇka iti nipātate, anudakaviṣayaś ced dhātvartho bhavati
Affix GHaN occurs in the derivation of _udaṅka_ by _nipātana_ provided the action does not relate to water and the derivate names _a karana_, or _adhikarana_, in the masculine.

**Example:**

_tailodaṅkaḥ_ 'oil-can made of hide'

1. This rule, again, provides for a derivate via _nipātana_. A separate rule to account for what could have been accounted for by rule 3.3.121 is made necessary in view of the condition of _anudake_ 'when the denotatum is not water'.

3.3.124 जालमानायः:

_jālamānāyaḥ_

_jālam_ 1/1 _ānāyaḥ_ 1/1/

(pratyayah #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, karanādhikaranayoh #117, pumṣi samjñāyāṁ prāyeṇa #118, ghaṅ #120)

_'ānāyaḥ_' iti _nipātyate_, jālam _cet_ _tad_ _bhavati_

Affix GHaN occurs, by _nipātana_, in the derivation of _ānāyaḥ_ when the derivate denotes 'snare, fishing net'.

**Examples:**

_ānāyo matsyānām_ 'fishing net'
_ānāyo mṛgāṇām_ 'snare for catching deer'

3.3.125 खनो घः

_khano gha ca_

_ikhanaḥ_ 5/1 _gha_ (deleted 1/1) _ca_ 0 /

(pratyayah #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, karanādhikaranayoh #117, pumṣi samjñāyāṁ prāyeṇa #118, ghaṅ #120)

_khanater dhātoḥ karanādhikaranayor ghaḥ pratyayo bhavati_, cakāryād ghaṅ _ca_

Affix GHa, as well as GHaN, occurs after verbal root _khaṇā_ when the derivate names _a karana_, or _adhikarana_ in the masculine.

**Examples:**

_akhanaḥ_ 'that by means of which, or where, one digs; a spade; mine'
_ākhānah_ 'id.'

1. The inclusion of _ca_ in the rule is made so that GHaN can also be optionally introduced to GHa. Derivates of GHaN, as usual, will involve _vṛddhi_ by rule 7.2.116 _ata_ _upadhāyāḥ_.

3.3.126 इश्दुःसू त्वृ कृणाकृणार्थेशु खलः

_isadduḥsusu kṛcchrākṛcchrārtheśu khal_
/iṣadduḥṣuṣu 7/3 (itar. dv.); kṛcchārthaṣu 7/3 (bv. with int. dv.); khal 1/1/
(pratyayaḥ #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91)
‘iṣat, dus, su’ iṣy etesuṣapadesu kṛcchārkaṁkṛcchārthaṣu dhātoḥ khal pratyayo bhavati
Affix KHaL occurs after a verbal root when the root cooccurs with a
nominal pada which contains iṣat, dus, or su when the derivate
meaning is qualified with krcchra ‘difficult’ and akṛcchra ‘easy’.

**Examples:**

iṣatkarō bhavatā kaṭāḥ ‘the mat is easy for you to make’
duṣkarāḥ ‘difficult to make or do’
sukarāḥ ‘easy to make or do’
iṣadbhojāḥ ‘easy (pleasant) to eat’
durbhnojāḥ ‘difficult to eat’
subhojāḥ ‘easy (pleasant) to eat’

1. Note that this rule lists the three cooccurring elements with two
generalized meanings of kṛcchra and akṛcchra. How do we know which meaning is
related to what upapada? We know from usage that iṣat and su do not occur
in the sense of kṛcchra. Similarly, duḥ does not occur when the context is related
to akṛcchra. This will restrict iṣat and su to the meaning condition of
akṛcchra, as opposed to dus, which will be restricted to the condition of kṛcchra.

Note that affix KHaL has been provided by rule 3.4.70 tayor eva...in
the sense of bhāva and karman. The KH as an i in the affix is not intended,
here, for khītikārya ‘operations relative to an item marked with KH as an
it’, as per rule 6.3.66 khīty anavayayasya. For, khītikārya is given there in the
context of items other than indeclinables (anavayaya). Of course, dus, etc.,
are indeclinables. Why is this affix then marked with KH as an it? To
facilitate the introduction of augment mUM in subsequent cases. Thus,
affix KHaL is subsequently introduced even when a non-
indeclinable forms an upapada. Augment mUM is facilitated there via the application
of rule 6.3.67 arudviṣadajantasya.... The L as an it is, of course, intended
to assure the udātta accent on what precedes the affix (cf. 6.1.193 līti).

3.3.127 कर्त्तर्कर्मणोि काहुक्रिऩोि

kartaḥkarmaṇoi ca bhūkṛnōि
kartaḥkarmaṇoi 7/2 ca bhu kṛnōि 6/2/
(pratyayaḥ #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, iṣadduḥṣuṣu kṛcch-
rākṛcchārthaṣu khal #126)

bhavateḥ karoteś ca dhātor yathāsāṁkhyam kartari karmāṇi copapade cakārād
iṣaddāṣuṣu ca khal pratyayo bhavati

Affix KHaL also occurs after verbal roots bhū and DUKrN when the
roots, in addition to iṣat, dus, and su, cooccur with a nominal pada
which denotes kartaḥ and karman respectively and the derivate
meaning is qualified with kṛcchra and akṛcchra.
Examples:

\textit{iśadādhyaṁbhavam bhavatā} ‘you (polite) are to be rich with ease’
\textit{duraṛdhyaṁbhavam} ‘difficult to be rich’
\textit{iśadāḍhyaṁkaraḥ} ‘easy to be made rich’
\textit{svāḍhyāṁkaro devadatto bhavatā} ‘it is easy for you to make Devadatta rich’

1. This rule provides for the introduction of affix \textit{KHaL} after verbal roots \textit{bhū} and \textit{kṛ} when they cooccur with a \textit{pada} which denotes \textit{kartṛ} and \textit{karman} respectively. Thus, \textit{kartṛ} and \textit{karman} are not given here as the denotata of the affix. They are given as \textit{upapada}. The \textit{ca} is used so that \textit{iṣat, dus} and \textit{su} can also be part of the cooccurrence condition.

A \textit{vārttika} under this rule suggests that \textit{kartṛ} and \textit{karman}, used here as part of the cooccurrence condition, should be treated as if they ended in \textit{CVI}. This will bring the sense of ‘that which became something it previously was not’ (\textit{abhūtatadbhāva}) close to the meaning of the derivates.

3.3.128 आतो युच्य

\textit{āto yuc}
\textit{lāṭḥ 5/1 yuc 1/1/}
\textit{(pratyayaḥ #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, iśadduḥsusū kṛcchra kṛcchṛāṁrāṁrāṁrāṁ # 126)}
\textit{kṛcchṛāṁrāṁrāṁrāṁrāṁ iśadādiśüpapadesu ākārāntebhyo dhātubhyo yuc pratyayo bhavatī}

Affix \textit{yuC} occurs after verbal roots when they end in \textit{ā}, and cooccur with a nominal \textit{pada} which contains \textit{iṣat, dus}, and \textit{su}, provided the derivate meaning is qualified with \textit{kṛcchra} and \textit{akṛcchra}.

Examples:

\textit{iṣatpānāḥ} \textit{somo bhavatā} ‘it is easy for you to drink Soma’
\textit{duspānāḥ} ‘difficult to drink’
\textit{supānāḥ} ‘easy to drink’
\textit{iśaddāṇo gaur bhavatā} ‘it is easy for you to make the gift of a cow’
\textit{durḍānāḥ} ‘difficult to give’
\textit{suḍānāḥ} ‘easy to give’

1. This rule introduces affix \textit{yuC}, an affix with its denotatum similar to \textit{KHaL} (\textit{khartha}), when \textit{iṣat, dus} and \textit{su} occur with the verbal roots terminated in \textit{a}. Affix \textit{yuC} is, thus, an exception to \textit{KHaL}. Note that rule 7.1.1 \textit{yuvor anākau} orders the \textit{yu} to be replaced with \textit{ana}. Given the example, \textit{iṣatpānāḥ} \textit{somo bhavatā} ‘Soma is easy for you to drink’, \textit{bhavat ‘you’ must be put in the instrumental to denote the agent, because affix \textit{yuC} in \textit{iṣatpānāḥ} denotes \textit{karman}. Affix \textit{yuC}, thus, forms an exception to \textit{KHaL}, though shares similar denotata.
3.3.129 छन्दसि गत्यर्थवृत्तः:

chandasi gatyarthebhyaḥ

chandasi 7/1 gatyarthebhyaḥ 5/3/

(pratyayaḥ #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, āśaddhusu kṛcch-

rākṛcchrārthēṣu #126, yuc #128)

āśaddhusu kṛcchrākṛcchrārtheṣuśūpapadaśu gatyarthebhyaḥ dhātubhyaś chandasi

viṣaye yuc pratyayo bhavati

Affix yuC occurs, in the Vedic, after verbal roots with the signification of gati ‘motion’ when the roots cooccur with a nominal pada which contains īṣat, dus, and su and the derivate meaning is qualified with kṛcchra and akṛcchra.

Examples:

sūpasadano’ gniḥ ‘Agni, the one who is easy to reach’
sūpasadanam antarikṣam ‘the world, in between (the earth and the heaven) is easy to reach’

3.3.130 अन्येऽयोज्यं दृश्यते

anyehyo’ pi drṣyate

lanyehhyaḥ 5/3 api ṭi drṣyate (verbal pada)/

(pratyayaḥ #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, āśaddhusu kṛcch-

rākṛcchrārtheṣu #126, yuc #128, chandasi #129)

anyehyo’ pi dhātubhya gatyarthebhyaś chandasi viṣaye yuc pratyayo bhavati

Affix yuC also is seen to occur, in the Vedic, after verbal roots signifying something other than gati when the roots cooccur with a nominal pada’ which contains īṣat, dus and su and the derivate meaning is qualified with kṛcchra or akṛcchra.

Examples:

sudohanām akṛṇod... gām ‘... made it easy to milk...’

suvedanām akṛṇod... gām ‘... made it easy to find...’

3.3.131 वर्त्तमानसामीये वर्त्तमानवत्ता

vartamānasāmīpye vartamānavaṇavā
vartamānasāmīpye 7/1 vartamānavaṇavā ṭi ṭaḥ

(pratyayaḥ #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91)

vartamānasamīpe bhūte bhavisyati ca vartamāṇād dhātor vartamānavaṇa

pratyrāyā bhavanti

Affixes which denote the action at the current time optionally occur after a verbal root when the action is denoted at a time proximate to the current.
EXAMPLES:

kadā devadatta āgato 'si ‘when did you come, Devadatta!’
ayam āgacchāmi ‘I am coming now’
āgacchāntam eva māṁ viddhi ‘consider me just arriving’
ayam āgāmam ‘I just arrived’
eso’ smy āgataḥ ‘here I have arrived’
kadā devadatta gamisyasi ‘when will you go Devadatta!’
esa gacchāmi ‘here I go’
gacchāntam eva māṁ viddhi ‘consider me gone’
esa gamisyāmi ‘here I go’
gantāsmi ‘id.’

1. This rule optionally allows for a verbal root whose action is located at a time proximate to vartamāna ‘current time’ to receive affixes similar to those whose action is located at the current time. The phrase vartamāna-sāmityye ‘in the proximity of the current time’ is interpreted as referring to ‘past’ or ‘future’ proximate to the current time. The vatl of vartamāna-vat clearly marks the rule as an extension (atidesā). Pāṇini uses vatl to ensure that all instances of vartamāna do not come under the scope of this rule. What then should be accepted as the scope of this extension? Commentators note, that only those instances where the action is conditioned by vartamāne should come under the scope of this rule. The reference, here, is to the specification of rule 3.2.123 vartamāne lat. This clearly establishes the scope of the extension up to, and including, rule 3.3.1 unādayo bahulam. But still caution must be used. Consider 3.2.128 pāṇiyajoh... which introduces ŚānaN, parallel to LAT when the action is located at the current time. This affix cannot optionally be used when the relative action is located in the past or future. It is for this reason that vatl is used in the rule.

Consider now the following sentences:

(a) devadatta kadā’ gato ‘si ‘when did you arrive Devadatta?’
(b) ayam āgacchāmi ‘I arrived just now’
(c) āgacchāntam eva māṁ viddhi ‘consider me arrived’
(d) ayam āgāmam ‘I have just arrived’
(e) eso’ smi āgataḥ ‘here I am’
(f) esa āgatavān ‘id.’
(g) kadā gamisyasi ‘when will you go?’
(h) esa gacchāmi ‘I (will) go now’
(i) gacchāntam eva māṁ viddhi ‘consider me gone’
(j) esa gamisyāmi ‘I (will) go right now’
(k) esa gantāsmi ‘consider me gone’

Sentences (b–e) and (h–i) constitute answers to the questions posed by sentences (a) and (g) respectively. Sentences (b) and (h) manipulate the
replacements of LAT to locate answers for an action in the past and
future. The SatR of (c) and (i) in āgacchāntam and gacchāntam do the same.
Similar observations can be made about other affixal usages. Sentences
(d), (f), and (i) manipulate the past. Similarly, one can find the future also
employed to answer the questions.

3.3.132 आशंसायं भूतवच

āsamsāyāṃ bhūtavac ca
lāśamsāyāṃ 7/1 bhūtavat 0 ca 0/
(pratyayāḥ #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, vartamānavād
vā #131)
bhavisyati kāle āsamsāyāṃ gamyamānāyāṃ dhātor vā bhūtavat pratyayā
bhavantī

Affixes which denote past action also optionally occur after a verbal
root when āśamsā ‘expectation’ is expressed.

Examples:

upādhyāyaś ced āgamat vyākaraṇam adhyāgīṃsahi ‘if the teacher came,
we will study grammar’
upādhyāyaś ced āgataḥ vyākaraṇam adhitavantaḥ ‘id.’
upādhyāyaś ced āgacchāti vyākaraṇam adhīmahe ‘id.’
upādhyāyaś ced āgamiṣyati vyākaraṇam adhyāṣyāmahe ‘id.’

1. Note that vā ‘optionally’ still carries. The condition of vartamāna-
sāmīpye, however, is dropped. The condition of āśamsā, in the context of
this rule, has been explained as: aprāptasya priyārthasya prāptum icchā
‘desire to obtain something dear’. Obviously, future becomes the scope
of the action denoted by āśamsā. Note that, the wish may be expressed at
the current time but its attainment falls within the scope of future. This
rule provides for the introduction of affixes similar to the past and
present in the context of an action located in the future. The ca of the
rule brings vartamāna close to the context of this rule. Let us examine
the following:

(a) upādhyāyaś ced (āgamat) (āgataḥ), (āgacchāti), (āgamiṣyati); ete vyā-
karaṇam (adhyāgīṃsahi), (adhitavantaḥ), (adhīmahe), adhyāṣyāmahe ‘if
the teacher comes we will study grammar’

Note that āgamat and adhyāgīṃsahi are forms of LUN which locate the
action in the past in general. Forms such as āgataḥ and adhitavantaḥ
similarly employ the niṣṭhā (1.1.25 ktaktaṭavati niṣṭhā). The present affixes
will yield forms such as āgacchāti and adhīmahe with LAT. The option of
future provides forms, such as, āgamiṣyati and adhyāṣyāmahe.

Commentators explain that since the rule uses bhūtavat, with its de-
notatum as bhūtasāmānyā ‘general past’, LUN alone should come under
the scope of this rule. Thus, proposals for locating particular past actions via affixes \textit{LAN} (3.2.111 anadyatane lañ) and \textit{LIT} (3.2.115 parokše lîñ) must fall outside the scope of this rule. Kāśīkā states that affixes \textit{LAN} and \textit{LIT} cannot be allowed because they denote a particular past (bhūtaviśeṣa), as against the general past (bhūtasāmānaya), which forms the basis for the extension in this rule (sāmānyātiṣeṣe viśeṣānatidesāl laññilītau na bhavatah).

3.3.133 क्षिप्रवचने लूढः

\textit{kṣipravacane līñ}

\textit{līñ 1/1 līñ 1/1}

(pratyayaḥ #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, āśamsāyāṃ #132)

\textit{kṣipravacana upapade āśamsāyāṃ ganyamānāyāṃ dhātor līñ pratyaya bhavati}

Affix \textit{LRT} occurs after a verbal root used in conjunction with a nominal \textit{pada} which signifies \textit{kṣipram} ‘quickly’ provided āśamsā is expressed.

EXAMPLES:

\begin{quote}
upādhyāyaḥ cet kṣipram āgamisyati, kṣipram vyākaraṇam adhyeśyāmahe ‘if the teacher comes quickly, we will quickly study the grammar’
\end{quote}

1. Derivates of this rule form an exception to the condition of bhūtavac ca of the preceding rule. The word \textit{vacana} in \textit{kṣipravacana} is used so that synonyms of \textit{kṣipra} can also be included in the cooccurrence condition. That is, \textit{kṣipra} is not limited here to denoting its form only (svarūpa 1.1.68 svamī rūpaṃ...).

If this rule were to form an exception to the preceding, then Pāṇini should have formulated this rule simply as: \textit{na kṣipravacane} ‘but not when \textit{kṣipra}, or its synonyms, occur in conjunction with the verbal root’. Once the provision of the preceding rule was negated āśamsā could have automatically made the introduction of \textit{LRT} ‘general future’. For, āśamsā necessarily entails future. Commentators explain that a negative formulation of this rule would not be able to block the introduction of \textit{LUT}, which also denotes future. It is to keep \textit{LUT} out of the scope of this rule that Pāṇini formulates our present rule with the explicit mention of \textit{LRT}.

3.3.134 आशंसावचने लिङ्गः

\textit{āśamsāvacane liṅ}

\textit{liṅ 1/1}

(pratyayaḥ #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.3.91)

\textit{āśamsā yenocaye tad āśamsāvacanaṃ tasminn upapade dhātor liṅ pratyaya bhavati}
Affix L(IN occurs after a verbal root used in conjunction with a pada which denotes āsamsā.

**Example:**

_upādhyāyaś ced āgacchet āsamse yukto’ dhīyiya ‘if the teacher comes, I hope you will study diligently’_

1. This rule introduces affix L(IN after roots which cooccur with a word which denotes āsamsā. Note that, āsamsā necessarily entails future, and as such, the provisions of this rule could have been covered by rule 3.3.132 āsamsāyām bhūtavac ca. A separate rule is formulated, however, to block the introduction of affixes introduced in consonance with bhūtavac ca of 3.3.132. Note that, affixes similar to the past (bhūta) are optionally introduced to the future under the āsamsā provisions of rule 3.3.132. This rule simply introduces L(IN. Besides, this rule requires the denotation of āsamsā via its cooccurrence condition.

Kāśikā brings out an interesting aspect of rule formulation with the example; āsamse kṣipram adhiyīya ‘I hope you will learn fast’. It is stated that this example entails vipratiṣedha ‘conflict among two rules of equal strength’. That is, in addition to this present, the preceding rule also becomes applicable to this example. Consider the following examples which illustrate equal strength (tulyabalatā):

(a) _kṣipram vyākaranam adhyeyāmahe ‘we will quickly study grammar’_
(b) _āsamse yukto’ adhiyīya ‘I hope you will study diligently’_
(c) _āsamse kṣipram adhiyīya ‘I hope you will learn fast’_

It is stated that sentence (a) falls within the scope of rule 3.3.133, at the strength of the condition of kṣipra. Consequently, affix LRT is introduced after verbal root adhi-i. Sentence (b) illustrates that affix LI(N must be used because of the cooccurrence condition of āsamsā. Since rules 3.3.133 and 3.3.134 both have their separate scope of application elsewhere, they are sāvakāśa. They both become applicable in case of sentence (c) since both the conditions of kṣipra and āsamsā are met. The example is derived with the introduction of affix L(IN, based upon resolution of the conflict in favor of the subsequent rule (paratva; 1.4.2 vipratiṣedhe param kāryam).

3.3.135 नानदयतनवत् क्रियाप्रबंधनसामीपियोऽः:

nānadyatanavat kriyāprabandhasāmīpyayoh
/nānadyatanavat ś kriyāprabandhasāmīpyayoh 7/2 (itar. dv.)/
(pratyayāḥ #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91)
anadyatanavat pratyayavidhir na bhavati kriyāprabandhe sāmīpye ca gamyamāne

Affixes which occur to denote the action at a non-current time
do not occur after a verbal root when kriyā-prabandha ‘uninterrupted action’ and sāmiṇya ‘immediate time’ is denoted.

EXAMPLES:

yāvajjīvam bhṛśam annam adāt ‘as long as he lived he gave food’
...bhṛśam annam dāsyati ‘...he will always give food’

yāvajjīvam putro dhāyāpiṭat ‘as long as he lived he taught his son’
yāvajjīvam adhyāpaṇasiyati ‘he will teach as long as he lives’

ye’ yam parunamāsya atikrāntā etasyām upādhyāyo gnin ādhita ‘on the full moon that has just passed, the teacher consecrated the ritual fires’

ye’ yam parunamāsya atikrāntā etasyām upādhyāyo somenāyaṣṭa ‘on the full moon that has just passed, the teacher performed the Soma sacrifice’

ye’ yam paunmāsya atikrāntā etasyām upādhyāyo gām adita ‘on the full moon that has just passed, the teacher made the gift of a cow’

ye’ yam amāvāsyā gāmānī, etasyām upādhyāyo gām adita ‘on this coming night of the (lunar) new moon, the teacher will consecrate the ritual fires’

ye’ yam parunmāsya atikrāntā, etasyām upādhyāyo somena yakṣyate ‘on this coming night of the (lunar) new moon, the teacher will perform the Soma sacrifice’

ye’ yam amāvāsyā” gāmānī, etasyām upādhyāyo gām dāsyate ‘on this coming night of the (lunar) new moon, the teacher will make gift of a cow’

1. This rule negates affixal operations similar to those which obtain in the context of anadyatana ‘not relative to the current day’ when continuity (prabandha) and proximity (sāmiṇya) are expressed. Consider the following examples for illustration:

(a) yāvajjīvam bhṛśam annam adāt ‘he kept giving food generously as long as he lived’

(b) yāvajjīvam bhṛśam annam dāsyati ‘he will keep giving food generously as long as he lives’

(c) yeyam paunmāsya atikrāntā etasyām upādhyāyo agnīn ādhita somenāyaṣṭa gām adita ‘on the full-moon which just passed the teacher consecrated the ritual fire, performed the Soma sacrifice, and made the gift of a cow’

(d) yeyam amāvāsyā” gāmānī etasyām upādhyāyo' gnin adhāsyate somena yakṣyate ‘on the night of this coming new moon the teacher will consecrate the ritual fire and perform the Soma sacrifice’

The first two sentences illustrate the condition of continuity (kriyā-prabandha), whereas the next two illustrate proximity (sāmiṇya). The word yāvajjīvam in the first two examples denotes the continuity of the action of giving away food. Words such as yeyam...atikrāntā...etasyām and
yeyam amāvāsyā” gāminī...etasyām clearly indicate that the said sacrificial actions outlined in these sentences were performed, or will be performed, at a time not pertaining to today, but not very distant either. The negation of anadyatanaṇavat demands that affixes introduced with reference to an action pertaining to today will be blocked. There are two affixes LAṆ ‘past imperfect’ and LUT ‘first or immediate future’ which have been introduced by 3.2.111 anadyatane laṅ and 3.3.15 anadyatane lut respectively when a past or future action is not located relative to the current day. Our present rule blocks the introduction of these affixes under the conditions of kriyāprabandha and sāmīpya. The rule instead requires the introduction of affixes LUṆ and LRṬ which denote general past and future respectively, as per rules 3.2.110 luṅ and 3.3.13 lrṭ seṣe ca.

The Mahābhāṣya questions the propriety of using double negatives (niṣedhāvāya) in nānadyatanaṇavat = na + an + adyanavāvat ‘not similar to that which is not pertaining to the current day’. It is argued that this rule blocks the application of LAṬ, LAṆ and LUT. A suggested formulation of the siṣṭa as anadyatanaṇavat can be able to block only LAṬ. The desired blocking of LAṆ and LUT cannot be accomplished. Thus, the rule must negate anadyatana, as opposed to adyatana, in order to subsequently negate the introduction of LAN and LUT, in addition to LAṬ. Note, in connection with this, that rules 3.2.111 anadyatane laṅ and 3.3.15 anadyatane lut both explicitly state the condition of anadyatana. It is to negate LAN and LUT that anadyatana must also be negated.

3.3.136 भविष्यति मयादाँवनेज्वरसिन्

bhavisyati maryādāvacane’ varasmin
/bhavisyati (verbal pada) maryādāvacane 7/1 avarasmin 7/1/
(pratyayah #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, nānadyatanaṇavat #135)
bhavisyati kāle mayādāvacane saty avarasmin pravibhāge anadyatanaṇavat pratyayavidhir na bhavati

Affixes which occur after a verbal root to denote the action at a non-current time do not occur to denote a future action when the anterior side of a maryādā ‘limit, extent’ is expressed.

Examples:

yo’ yam adhvā gantavya āpāṭaliputraṭaṁ tasya yaṁ avaran kauśāṃbyās tatra dūr odanam bhokṣyāmahe ‘this road which extends up to Pāṭaliputra, on its anterior side before Kauśāṃbi we will eat rice twice’

yo’ yam adhvā gantavya āpāṭaliputraṭaṁ tasya yaṁ avaran kauśāṃbyās tatra sakūn pāṣyāmaḥ ‘this road which extends up to Pāṭaliputra, on its anterior side before Kauśāṃbi we will drink saktu’
1. This rule, again, blocks operations similar to those which obtain when the action is denoted at a time other than the current. This blocking occurs under the cooccurrence condition of a word which denotes maryādā ‘extent’, with reference to a prior segment (avara). Note that, anadyatanavat is, alone, carried from the preceding rule. The condition of bhaviṣyatī is used to block the non-current past (bhūtānadyatanā) affix LĀṆ. The rule will now only block the LUT which pertains to the non-current future. The general future affix LRT will find scope of application once affix LUT is blocked. The condition of maryādā-vacana, further qualified with avarasmin, is required to block the introduction of LRT with reference to the extent relative to a succeeding segment. Consider for example the following sentence:

(a) yo’ yam adhvā gantavya āpāṭaliputrāt tasya yat param kauśāmbyās tatra dvirodanam bhokṣyāmahe ‘we will eat rice twice on our way to Pāṭaliputra in the segment of the road subsequent to Kauśāmbī’

Affix LRT cannot be introduced, here, after verbal root bhuj, because the act of eating takes place with reference to a subsequent section of the road to Pāṭaliputra. Consider this next sentence, where LRT is used with reference to an extent relative to the prior segment of the spatial unit:

(b) yo’ yam adhvā gantavya āpāṭaliputrāt tasya yad avarāṇ kauśāmbyās tatra dvirodanam bhokṣyāmahe ‘we will eat rice twice on our way to Pāṭaliputra in the segment of the road prior to Kauśāmbī’

The specification of extent (maryādā) in this rule is given relative to a segment (desa) of a larger spatial unit. Thus ‘the road to Pāṭaliputra’ is one complete spatial unit of which the subsequent segment is marked by Kauśāmbī in sentence (a). This cannot qualify for the use of LRT. Sentence (b) illustrates the spatial unit marked by the city of Kauśāmbī as ‘the prior segment of the spatial unit marked by Pāṭaliputra’. This sentence rightly uses affix LRT.

3.3.137 कालविधागे चान्हृरात्राणात्

kālavibhāge cānahorātrānām
lkālavibhāge 7/1 ca θ anahorātrānām 6/3/
(pratyayah #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, nānadyatanavat #135, bhaviṣyatī maryādāvacane’ varasmin #136) kālamanaryādavibhāge saty avarasmin pravibhāge bhaviṣyatī kāle anadyatanapratyayavidhir na bhavati

Affixes which occur after a verbal root to denote the action at a non-current time do not occur to denote a future action when the anterior part of a temporal limit is denoted with no reference to day and night.
EXAMPLES:

yo' yanm samvatsara āgāmī tatra yad avaram 
āgrahāyanyās tatra yuktā adhyesyāmahe ‘this coming year, during the 
time prior to the full moon of agrahāyana (the ninth lunar month) 
we will study diligently’
ye’ yanm samvatsara āgāmī tatra yad avaram āgrahāyanyās tatraudanam 
bhokṣyāmahe ‘this coming year, during... we will eat rice’

1. This rule, again, blocks operations parallel to an action located in the 
future, though not pertaining to the future of the current day (adya-
tana). Since this rule defines the extent with reference to the prior segment 
of a unit of time (kāla), the determination of extent in the preceding 
rule must refer to a spatial unit. The condition of anahorātrāṇām is 
significant, because in its absence, the preceding rule easily have accounted for 
the negation. The use of anahorātrāṇām extends the scope of the negation to 
specification of the prior segment of an extent via units such as ahorātra 
‘day and night’. Kāśikā emphasizes that an extent marked by even the 
touch of ahorātra will become the subject of this negation. Consider the 
following sentences for illustration:

(a) yo’ yanm māsa āgāmī tasya yo’ varah pañcadasarātras tatra yuktā adhye-
tāsmahe ‘we will study diligently during the first fifteen nights 
(fortnight) of the next month’
(b) yo’ yanm triṃsadṛātra āgāmī tasya yo’ varo’ rddhamasaḥ.. we will study 
diligently during the first half-month of the coming thirty nights
(c) yo’ yanm triṃsad ahorātra āgāmī tasya yo’ varah pañcadasarātras 
tatra... ‘we will study diligently during the first fifteen of the 
coming thirty nights’

Note that, because of the inclusion of ahorātra, the negation applies no 
matter how the extent of the first half of the month is defined.

Commentators note that the formulation of this rule separately from 
the preceding cannot be justified by the use of anahorātrāṇām. They state 
‘hat the provision of this rule could still be made by the preceding rule if 
anahorātrāṇām was read in it: bhaviṣyati marylādāvacane’ varasminn ahorā-
trāṇām. Pāṇini, nonetheless, formulates two rules (yogavībhāga) so that 
the subsequent rule can receive the negation only in the context of an 
extent defined with reference to time (kāla). An extent marked in 
relation to a unit of space would, thus, not qualify in the context of the 
subsequent rule.

3.3.138 परस्मिन् विभाशा

parasmin vibhāsā

/parasmin 7/1 vibhāsā 1/1/
(pratyayak #3.1.1, paras ca #3.1.2, dhato #3.1.91, 
nanadayanavat #135, bhavisyati maryadavacane #136, 
kalahibhage cahnahoratrana #137) 
kalaharyadbhage sati bhavisyati kale parasmin pravibhage vibhasa 
anadayanavat pratyayavidhir na bhavati, na ced ahortrasambhandhi 
pravibhageha

Affixes which occur after a verbal root to denote the action at a 
non-current time optionally do not occur to denote a future action 
when the posterior part of a temporal limit is denoted with no 
reference to day and night.

EXAMPLES:

yo' yaṁ samvatarsa āgāmi tasya yat paramāgraḥāyanyās tatra yuktā 
adhyetamahā 'this coming year, in the part posterior to the full 
moon of agrahāyaṇa, we will study diligently'

yo' yaṁ samvatarsa āgāmi tasya yat paramāgraḥāyanyās tatra yuktā adhyet-
tāmahe 'id.'

yo' yaṁ samvatarsa āgāmi tasya yat paramāgraḥāyanyās tatra saktun pās-
yāmahe 'this coming year, in the part posterior to the moon of agra-
hāyaṇa, we will drink saktu

yo' yaṁ samvatarsa āgāmi tasya yat paramāgraḥāyanyās tatra saktun pātāismahe 'id.'

1. This rule makes the negative provision of the preceding rule 
optional in the context of a future action, relative to an extent determined 
by the subsequent (parasmin) segment of a unit of time. Of course, the 
condition of anahoratrana is also valid. This will offer a set of two optional 
examples as follows:

(a) yo' yaṁ samvatarsa āgāmi tatra yat paramāgraḥāyanyās tatra yuktā 
adhyetāmahe 'we will diligently study during that part of the 
coming year which will be subsequent to the full-moon of the 
month of agrahāyana'

(b) yo' yaṁ samvatarsa...tatra yuktā adhyetāmahe 'id.'

Note that, adhyetāmahe of sentence (a) uses the general future affix 
LRT as opposed to the LUT denoting the non-current (anadyatana) future, 
in adhyetāmahe of sentence (b). Since this rule carries all except avarasmin 
of the preceding rule, restrictions relative to bhavisyati maryadavacane and 
kalahibhage cahnahoratrana still apply. Refer to Kāśikā for a detailed list-
ing of specific counter-examples.

3.3.139 लिन्निनित्ते तृत क्रियातिपत्ते

liinnimitte lṛṇ kriyātipattau
llinnimitte 7/1 lṛṇ 1/1 kriyātipattau 7/1/
(pratyayah #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, bhaviṣyati #136) 
liṅnimitte bhaviṣyatikāle tṛṇa pratayo bhavatī kriyātipattau satyām

Affix LRN occurs after a verbal root to denote a future action provided conditions of LIŃ obtain and completion of the action is not denoted.

**EXAMPLES:**

dakṣiṇena ced āyāsyān na śakaṭam paryābhaviṣyat ‘if he came by the southern road, the cart will not overturn’
abhokṣyata bhavāṅ gṛhṭena yadi matsamīpe āgamisyat ‘if you came near me, you will have food with ghee’

1. This rule introduces affix LRÑ, conditioned by LIÑ, when kriyātipatti ‘non-completion’ of a future action is denoted. Rule 3.3.156 hetuhetumator liṅ identifies the conditions of LIÑ as hetu ‘cause’ and hetumat ‘effect’.

Consider now the following sentence:

(a) dakṣiṇena ced āyāsyān na śakaṭam paryābhaviṣyat

Notice that ‘going by the right side of the road’ forms the cause (nimitta) for the effect: ‘no overturning of the cart’. But since the driver (for some reason or the other as we already know) will not go by the right side of the road, the cart cannot be saved from overturning. This is what kriyātipatti ‘non-coming about, or non-completion’ of an action means.

The ‘cause-effect’ relationship is recognized as hetuhetumadarbhāva. Kāśikā states that the speaker uses sentences with a full understanding of the characteristic mark (liṅga; the hetu) along with that which is characterized (liṅgī; the hetumat). The non-completion of the action is comprehended from some other source (liṅgalīṅge buddhāya tadatipattīṃ ca pramāṇāntarād avagamyā vaktā vākyāṃ prayuṅkte).

Consider thus this next sentence:

(b) yadi kamalakam āhavīṣyaṇa na śakaṭam paryābhaviṣyat ‘if he calls Kamalaka (for help), the cart will not overturn’

This sentence denotes the future scope of the non-completion of the action of ‘calling out’ (āhavāṇa), the cause (hetu), and ‘overturning (paryābhavana)’, the effect (hetumat; hetuhetumator āhavānaparyābhavanayor bhaviṣyat-kālavaiṣyayor atipattir ito vākyād avagamyate).

2. A question is raised with regard to the explicit mention of the word kriyā in this rule. It is said that atipatti would itself denote the sense of kriyātipatti because this is the domain of dhātoḥ. Thus, the rule might well have been formulated simply as: liṅnimitte kṛṇatipattau. But this could have occasioned serious interpretational problems. That is, because of the presence of liṅnimitta, atipatti could be interpreted as that of liṅnimitta. It is for this reason that kriyā must be stated in this rule.
3.3.140 पूते च

bhūte ca
/bhūte 7/ ca Ø/
(pratyayah #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, liinnimite lṛṇ kriyāti-pattau #139)
bhūte ca kāle liinnimite kriyātipattau satyām lṛṇ pratayo bhavati

Affix LRṆ also occurs after a verbal root to denote the action in the past when conditions of LIN obtain and completion of action is not expressed.

Examples:

drṣṭo mayā bhavatputro' mnārthi caṅkramyamāṇah, aparās ca dvijo brāhmaṇ-ārthi, yadi sa tena drṣṭo' bhavisyat tadā' bhokṣyata, na tu bhuktavāṁ, anyena pathā sa gataḥ 'I saw your son wandering about for food; the other person I saw was a brāhmaṇa looking for a brāhmaṇa to feed; if your son would have been seen by the brāhmaṇa then he could have eaten, but he could not eat as he went the other way'

1. This rule, read in toto with the preceding rule, extends the introduction of LRṆ when the action is located in the past (bhūta). Our example sentence above has yadi sa tena drṣṭo' bhavisyat 'if your son would have been seen by him' as the hetu and tadā abhokṣyata 'then your son would have been fed' as the hetumat. The non-completion of the action is: na drṣṭah 'the son was not seen', and na tu bhuktavāṁ 'indeed, did not eat'. The sentence uses drṣṭo mayā bhavatputro' mnārthi...brāhmaṇārthi to clearly establish the action in the past.

3.3.141 वॉतायोḥ:

votāpyoh
/lvā Ø utāpyoh 7/2/
(pratyayah #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, liinnimite lṛṇ kriyātipattau #139, bhūte #140)
‘utāpyoh samarthayor lṛṇ’ iti vakṣyati, prāg etasmāt
sūtrāvadher yad ita ārdhvaṁ anukramiṣyāmas tatra bhūte liinnimite kriyātipattau lṛṇ vā bhavatity etad adhikṛtam bhavati

Affix LRṆ optionally occurs after a verbal root, prior to 3.3.152 utāpyoh..., to denote the action in the past when conditions of LIN obtain and completion of action is not expressed.

Examples:

kathañ nāma tatra bhavān vrṣalam aṣṭājayisyat 'how come you, sir, have a vrṣala perform the sacrifice'
1. Note that the wording of this rule underlies: \( vā + aN + utāpyoh = \) votāpyoh. The use of \( a (N→\emptyset) \) is made to indicate the extent (maryādā) though not of the inclusive (abhīvidhi) type. Thus, what is stated up to, but not including, rule 3.3.152 utāpyoh samarthayor līn entails the optional introduction of affix \( LRN \) under the condition of \( LI\)N when non-coming about of an action in the past is expressed. Obviously, this rule is an adhikāra. A rule which is not relatible to \( LI\)N cannot come under the scope of this rule, since the provision of \( LRN \) is made optional, here, with \( LI\)N.

3.3.142 गहरायं लडपिन्यासोः:

\[
\begin{align*}
garhāyām & \text{lād a[pjātvoh} \\
/\text{garhāyām 7/l la[t 1/1 a[pjātvoh 7/2/} \\
(\text{pratyayāḥ #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91)} \\
garhāyām gunyamānāyām a[pjātvor upapadāyor dhātor la[t pratyayo bhavati
\end{align*}
\]

Affix \( LAT \) occurs after a verbal root used in conjunction with a nominal \textit{pada} which contains \textit{api} and \textit{jātu} when \textit{garhā} ‘censure’ is denoted.

**Examples:**

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{api tatra bhavān vrṣalām yājayati ‘how come you, sir, have a vrṣalā perform the sacrifice’} \\
\text{jātu tatra bhavān vrṣalām yājayati garhāmahe, aho anyāyyam etat ‘you, sir, have a vrṣalā perform the sacrifice; I despise that, oh, it is improper’}
\end{align*}
\]

1. Note that affix \( LAT \) is introduced by 3.2.123 \textit{vartamāne la[t} when the action is located at the current time. This rule is formulated so that \( LAT \) can also be used in the past and future. Of course, when the cooccurrence condition of \textit{api} and \textit{jātu} is met, along with the condition of \textit{garhā}. We see in our examples that performing a sacrifice for a lowly untouchable (\textit{vrṣalā}) is an act to be censured.

Kāśikā states that this rule comes into conflict with other rules which introduce affixes \( LN/L\), in the past, and \( LU/L\) in the future. This conflict is resolved in favor of the introduction of affix \( LAT \), in view of the present rule, and based on \textit{paratva} of 1.4.2 \textit{vipratisēdhe}. The Mahā-bhāṣya considers the introduction of \( LAT \) with reference to the condition of \textit{garhā} as meaningless. For, the completion of the action for which someone is to be censured is still not stated. If one gets the meaning of censure in the sentence, one gets it from \textit{tāccīlya} ‘characteristic habit, or inclination’. Thus, a person may be inclined toward doing things which may be perceived as done for the sake of the ritual sacrifice for the \textit{vrṣalā}. This action can be accepted as if the agent performed the sacrifice for the \textit{vrṣalā}. This will rule out the past as well as the future. Affix\textit{"LAT}
can be introduced as usual in the temporal sense of the current action. The discussion in the Mahābhāṣya also implies that such an interpretation will allow the replacement of LAT with affixes ŚatR and ŚanaC. Patañjali concludes that the formulation of our present rule is defective.

Note that affix LRN cannot be optionally introduced, here, with LAT, since the provisions of this rule do not entail hetuhetumadbhāva.

3.3.143 विभाषा कथम लिङ्क च

vibhāṣā kathami liṅ ca
\(/vibhāṣā 1/1 kathami 7/1 liṅ 1/1 ca \(\emptyset)\)
(pratyayah #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, garhāyām lat #142)
katham sābā upapade garhāyām gamyamānāyām dhātor liṅ pratyayo bhavaṁ
Affix LIÑ, and LAT as well, optionally occurs after a verbal root when the root cooccurs with a nominal pada which contains katham and garhā is expressed.

Examples:

katham nāma tatra bhavān vrṣalam yājayet
katham nāma tatra bhavān vrṣalam yājayati
katham nāma tatra bhavān vrṣalam yājayisyati
katham nāma tatra bhavān vrṣalam yājayitā
katham nāma tatra bhavān vrṣalam ayājayat
katham nāma tatra bhavān vrṣalam yājāyāncakāra

1. This rule allows for introduction of affix LIÑ, and LAT as well, provided the verbal root occurs in conjunction with katham 'how come?', and garhā is denoted. Note that, the word vibhāṣā is not used; here, optionally to provide for affix LAT. For, that can be easily recieved from ca 'and'. Actually, vibhaṣā is used, here, to provide for LIÑ, as well as LAT, used with other LA affixes as the case may be. Consider the following sentences for illustration:

(a) katham nāma tatra bhavān vrṣalam yājayet 'how come sir, you perform the sacrifice for a vrṣala?'
(b) katham...yājayati 'how come... is performing...'
(c) katham...yājayisyati 'how come...will perform...'
(d) katham...yājayitā 'id.'
(e) katham...ayājayat 'how come...performed...'
(f) katham...yājāyāncakāra 'id.'

Note that sentences (a) and (b) illustrate the provisions of this rule, as per the use of LIÑ and LAT via ca 'and'. The remaining sentences involve affixes of the past and future as an option to LIÑ and LAT.

2. Usages which may entail kriyātipatti in the context of hetuhetumadbhāva, and with the scope of the action in the past (bhūta), will optionally use
LR\text{N} together with LA\text{N}. Thus, compare sentence (a) with the following sentence (g):

(g) \textit{katham nāma tatra bhavān vr̥salam ayājaisyat} ‘how come you performed the sacrifice for the \textit{vr̥sala} sir?’

Note, however, that when the action which involves kriyātipatti has the scope of future, then LR\text{N} will have to be used obligatorily (nityam).

\textbf{Examples:}

\begin{align*}
ko \ nāma \ vr̥sa\textit{lo} \ yam \ tatra \ bhavān \ yājayet & \text{‘who, sir, is this \textit{vr̥sala} for whom you have performed the sacrifice?’} \\
ko \ nāma \ vr̥sa\textit{lo} \ yam \ tatra \ bhavān \ vr̥sam \ yājayisati & \text{‘who, sir, is this \textit{vr̥sala} for whom you have performed the sacrifice’} \\
kataro nāma \ vr̥sa\textit{lo} \ yam \ tatra \ bhavān \ vr̥sam \ yājayet & \text{‘which indeed, sir, is this \textit{vr̥sala} for whom you have performed the sacrifice’}
\end{align*}

1. Note that garhāyāṁ still carries. The anuvṛtti of vibhāśa is dropped. This rule, thus, provides for the introduction of affixes LI\text{N} or LRT when the root cooccurs with a word constituted by kim ‘who, what’ (kimvṛttta). The word vṛttta of kimvṛttta refers to the paradigmatic form of kim, which also includes forms with affixes Datar and Dātam. The explicit use of LI\text{N} in this rule is made so that the anuvṛtti of LAT from the preceding rule based on its association (sāhacaryā) with LI\text{N} can be blocked. The use of LRT, alone, in addition to LI\text{N}, is clearly made to exclude any other LA affix. This provision of LI\text{N} and LRT consequently becomes an exception to all LA affixes.

The use of LR\text{N}, however, becomes optional when ‘non-completion’ of a past action relative to hetuhetumaddhāva is expressed. The future of this type, of course, will use LR\text{N} obligatorily. Also see notes under the preceding rule.
'kimvrtte copapade' navakālpatyamarsayor dhātor liṅkτau pratyayau bhavataḥ. Affixes LIṉ and LRṬ occur after a verbal root even when the root does not cooccur with a nominal pada which contains kim provided anavakālpti 'incredibility' or amāṛṣa 'intolerance' is expressed.

**EXAMPLES:**

nāvakalpayāmi, na saṃbhāvāyāmi, na śraddhe, tatra bhavān nāma vrṣalaṃ yājayet 'I do not believe, imagine, nor respect that you, sir, may have a vrṣala perform the sacrifice'

nāvakalpayāmi, na saṃbhāvāyāmi, na śraddhe, tatra bhavān nāma vrṣalaṃ yājayisyati 'I do not believe, imagine, nor respect that you, sir, will have a vrṣala perform the sacrifice'

na marsayāmi tatra bhavān vrṣalaṃ yājayet 'I do not tolerate that you, sir, may have a vrṣala perform the sacrifice'

na marsayāmi tatra bhavān vrṣalaṃ yājayisyati 'I do not tolerate that you, sir, will have a vrṣala perform the sacrifice'

1. This rule provides for introduction of affixes LRṉ and LRṬ after both verbal roots which cooccur with a form of kim, or those which do not, provided, of course, anavakālpti 'incredibility' (asambhāvanā) and amāṛṣa 'intolerance' (aksamā) are denoted. The order of constituents in anavakālptyamarṣa is not in consonance with rules. That is, amāṛṣa should have been placed first because it contains fewer vowels than the other constituent anavakālptī (2.2.34 alpāctaram). By not following the technical provision, Pāṇini makes it known that, in the context of this rule, assignment of an equal number of elements to two sets does not follow saṃkhyātānudeśa (1.3.10 yathāsaṃkhyam...), order of enumeration. That is, given the introduction of two affixes LIṉ and LRṬ under the condition of anavakālptī and amāṛṣa, one should not, following the provision of rule 1.3.10 yathāsaṃkhyam..., think that: 'affix LIṉ is to be introduced when anavakālptī is denoted'; and 'affix LRṬ is to be introduced when amāṛṣa is denoted'.

Note that, the non-completion of a past action under the condition of hetuhetumadbhāva will be optionally denoted by LRṉ. That provision will become obligatory in case of the non-completion of a future action:

nāvakalpayāmi tatra bhavān nāma vrṣalaṃ ayājayisyat.

3.3.146 दक्षिणात्यस्थितं ल्

kimkīlāṭyarthesu lṛṭ
kimkīlāṭyarthesu 7/3 lṛṭ 1/1/
(pratyayah #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, anavakālptyamarṣayoh #145)

kimkīlāṭyarthesūpapadesu anavakālptyamarṣayor dhātor lṛṭ pratyayo bhavati
Affix LRT occurs after a verbal root used in conjunction with kimkila, or a pada which may have the signification of asti, when anavaklpti or amarśa is expressed.

**Examples:**

kimkila nāma tatra bhavān vṛṣalaṁ yājayisyati na śraddhe na marṣayāmi ‘I do not respect or tolerate that you, sir, may have a vṛṣala perform the sacrifice’
asti nāma tatra bhavān vṛṣalaṁ yājayisyati na śraddhe na marṣayāmi ‘id.’
bhavati nāma tatra bhavān vṛṣalaṁ yājayisyati na śraddhe na marṣayāmi ‘id.’
vidyote nāma tatra bhavān vṛṣalaṁ yājayisyati na śraddhe na marṣayāmi ‘id.’

1. This rule introduces affix LRT under the cooccurrence condition of kimkila ‘a particle which denotes anger’, or a word with the signification of asti ‘existence’, i.e., asti, bhavati, or vidyate, provided anavaklpti and amarśa are expressed. Thus, we get: (kimkila), asti, bhavati, or vidyate bhavān vṛṣalaṁ yājayisyati ‘Oh, how shameful, indeed, is your performing the sacrifice for the lowly untouchable’. The provision of this rule forms an exception to affix LHN of the earlier rule.

Affix LRN cannot be used, here, since there is no condition of hetuhetumadbhāva.

### 3.3.147 जातयदोर लिन

jātuyador līn
\( /jātuyadoḥ 7/2 līn 1/1/\)
(pratyayah #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, anavaklptyarmanśayoh #145)

‘jātu, yad’ ity etayor upapadayor anavaklptyarmanśayor gamyamānayor dhātor līn pratyayō bhavati

Affix LHN occurs after a verbal root which cooccurs with jātu and yad when anavaklpti or amarśa is expressed.

**Examples:**

jātu tatra bhavān vṛṣalaṁ yājayet na śraddhe, na marṣayāmi
yan nāma tatra bhavān vṛṣalaṁ yājayet

1. This is an exception to LRT, outlined under the cooccurrence condition formed by jātu ‘perhaps’ and yad ‘that which...’. A vārttika recommends that yadā, and yadi should also be included under items which form the cooccurrence condition. The rule, itself, introduces LHN as an exception to the LRT of rule 3.4.145 anavaklptyarmanśayor....

### 3.3.148 यःचयात्रयोः:

yaccayatrayoḥ
The Aṣṭādhyāyī of Pāṇini

Examples:

yacca tatra bhavān vṛṣalaṁ yājyayet na śraddhe, na marṣayāmi ‘I do not respect, and cannot not tolerate, that you sir, may have a vṛṣala perform the sacrifice.’
yatra tatra bhavān vṛṣalaṁ yājyayet na śraddhe, na marṣayāmi ‘id.’

1. This rule introduces affix LIŇ similar to the preceding rule, though under the cooccurrence condition constituted by yacca ‘and that which’, and yatra ‘and the place where’. Why did Pāṇini not state the cooccurrence condition of this rule as part of the preceding rule? This would have saved him a rule. Commentators observe that a separate rule (yogavibhāga) is needed so that only yacca and yatra can be carried to the subsequent rule. A joint listing of rules would have required carrying the entire listing of cooccurrence conditions.

2. Note that in the context of general past with ‘non-completion’ (kriyātipatti), affix LRŇ can also be introduced. In the case of future, LRŇ is introduced obligatorily.

3. Note that yacca and yatra, the two cooccurring words, cannot be associated with the two conditions of anavaklpti and amarṣa, as per the principle of saṃkhyaṭānudeśa (1.3.10 yathāsaṃkhyaṃ...)

3.3.149 गर्हायां च
garhāyāṁ ca
/garhāyām 7/1 ca 0/
(pratyayah #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, liṅ #147, yaccayatrayoh #148)
’yacca, yatra’ ity etayor upapadayor dhātor liṅ pratayayo bhavati garhāyāṁ gamyamāṇāyāṁ
Affix LIŇ also occurs after a verbal root used in conjunction with yacca and yatra when garhā is expressed.

Examples:

yacca tatra bhavān vṛṣalaṁ yājyayet rddho vṛddhaḥ san brāhmaṇaḥ, garhāmahe, aho, anyāyyam etat ‘I despise that you, sir, a wealthy old brāhmaṇa, will have a vṛṣala perform the sacrifice; this, indeed, is improper’
yatra tatra bhavān vṛṣalāṁ yājāyet rddho vṛiddhāḥ san brāhmaṇaḥ, garhāmaha, aho, anyāyaṁ etat ‘id.’

1. Note that anavakālpttyamarṣayoh is not carried here. The cooccurrence condition of yacca and yatra, in addition to LĪN, is still valid. The LĪN provision of this rule, under the cooccurrence condition of yacca and yatra, and coupled with the denotatum of garhā, constitutes an exception to the other LA affixes. The optional and obligatory provisions of LRN, under the condition of kriyātipatti in the past and future, will obtain as usual.

3.3.150 चित्रीकरणे च
citrīkaraṇe ca
l/citrīkaraṇe 7/1 ca 0/1
(pratyayah #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, līn #147, yaccayatrayoh #148)
yaccayatrayor uراضयाś citrīkaraṇe gamyamaṇe dhātora līn pratayaḥ bhavati
Affix LĪN also occurs after a verbal root used in conjunction with yacca and yatra when citrīkaraṇa ‘astonishment’ is expressed.

EXAMPLES:

yacca tatra bhavān vṛṣalāṁ yājāyet, āścaryam etat ‘it is astonishing that you, sir, will have a vṛṣala perform the sacrifice’
yatra tatra bhavān vṛṣalāṁ yājāyet, āścaryam etat ‘id.’

1. The provision of this rule is similar to the preceding, except that citrīkaraṇa ‘astonishment’ replaces garhā as the meaning condition. Under the condition of kriyātipatti, LRN is applicable to past and future actions as indicated earlier.

3.3.151 शेषे लृक्षयते
śēse lṛkṛd ayādau
l/śēse 7/1 lṛkṛ 1/1 ayādau 7/1
(pratyayah #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, citrīkaraṇe #150)
śēse uراضade citrīkaraṇe gamyamaṇe dhātora lṛkṛ pratayaḥ bhavati
Affix LRT occurs after a verbal root used in conjunction with an item other than yacca and yatra. with additional exception of yadi, when citrīkaraṇa is denoted.

EXAMPLES:

āścaryam citram addhutam andho nāma parvatam āroṣyati, badhiro nāma vyākaraṇam adhyēsyate ‘it is astonishing, indeed, that a blind one will climb the mountain, a deaf one will study the grammar’
1. Commentators state that the word śesa ‘remainder’ is used here in relation to yacca and yatra. Thus, \textit{LR}_T is used when yacca and yatra are not used as \textit{upapada} provided ‘astonishment’ is denoted. Of course, \textit{yadi} is also excluded. Why can we not accept the residual scope of this rule in relation to \textit{citrikāraṇe}. This will then permit yacca and yatra to form the cooccurrence condition, but rule out the denotatum of ‘astonishment’. Commentators state that \textit{citrikāraṇe} is marked with \textit{svarita}, and hence must be carried to our present rule. Conversely, yacca and yatra should not be carried to this rule, since they are not marked with \textit{svarita}. This introduction of \textit{LR}_T is also explained as an exception to all other \textit{LA} affixes. Affix \textit{LI}_N cannot be introduced either, because of an absence of \textit{hetuhetumadbhāva}.

3.3.152 उत्तापोऽसमर्थयोऽलिनः

\textit{utāpyoh samarthayor lin}
\textit{/utāpyoh 7/2 samarthayoh 7/2 lin 1/1}
\textit{(pratyayah \#3.1.1, paraś ca \#3.1.2, dhātoḥ \#3.1.91)}
\textit{‘uta, api’ ity etayoh samarthatyor upapadayor dhātior lin pratyayo bhavati}

Affix \textit{LI}_N occurs after a verbal root used in conjunction with \textit{uta} and \textit{api}, provided they mean the same thing.

\textbf{Examples:}

- \textit{uta kuryāt} ‘yes, he may do’
- \textit{api kuryāt} ‘id.’
- \textit{utādhiyāta} ‘yes, he may read’
- \textit{apyadhiyāta} ‘id.’

1. Note that \textit{uta} and \textit{api} are synonymous when denoting the sense ‘yes indeed (bādham).’ The following sentences illustrate how \textit{LI}_N cannot be introduced because of lack of synonymity between \textit{uta} and \textit{api}:

   \begin{enumerate}
   \item \textit{uta dandah patisyati} ‘is the stick going to fall?’
   \item \textit{api dvāram dhāsyati} ‘he is closing the door, I hope’
   \end{enumerate}

   The first sentence uses \textit{uta} as an interrogative function word. The second uses \textit{api} in association with \textit{dhā} in the sense ‘to close’.

   The provision of this rule, again, constitutes an exception to all other \textit{LA} affixes. Furthermore, the \textit{anuvṛtī} of 3.3.114 \textit{votāpyoh} is no longer valid. Consequently, the optional introduction of \textit{LR}_N, relative to ‘non-completion’ of a past action under the condition of \textit{hetuhetumadbhāva}, no longer remains optional. From here on, it will become obligatory (\textit{nitya}), as has been the case with a future action.

3.3.153 कामप्रवेदनेष्कृच्छिति

\textit{kāmapravedaneṣ kacciti}
**Examples:**

kāmo me bhuṇjīta bhavān ‘it is my wish that you eat’
abhilāso me bhuṇjīta bhavān ‘id.’

1. Kāśikā glosses kāmapravedana as svābhīprāyāviṣkaraṇam ‘revealing one’s intent’. The exclusion of kaccit as an upapada is necessary, since it expresses hope. Consider kaccid jīvati te mātā kaccid jīvati te pītā ‘(I hope) your mother, and your father as well, are alive’ which is offered as a counter-example. Obviously, it may create problems of interpretation.

3.3.154 सम्प्रावेशेतुलिपित चेत्त सिद्धाप्रयोगे

sambhāvane’ alam iti cet siddhāprayoge
lsambhāvane’ 7/1 alam 0 iti 0 cet 0 siddhāprayoge 7/1/
(pratyayah #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, liṅ #152)

sambhāvane’ rthe vartamāṇād dhātor liṅ pratyayo bhavati siddhaś ced alamo’ prayogah

Affix LIṅ occurs after a verbal root denoting an action that entails sambhāvana ‘possibility’ provided the sense of alam ‘capability’ is expressed implicitly.

**Examples:**

api śirasā parvatam bhindyāt ‘he can break a mountain with his head’
api drona pākaṁ bhuṇjīta ‘he can eat a droma of food’

1. Note that the condition of siddhāprayoge requires that a given meaning be expressed without use of the word explicitly. The word siddhāprayoge is used, here, as the qualifier to alam to thus yield the meaning: ‘when the sense of alam is denoted without its explicit use’. Consider the following sentences:

(a) api parvatam śirasā bhindyāt ‘it is fully expected that he will break the mountain with his head’

(b) viḍēṣasthāyi devadatta prayeṇa gamiṣyati grāmam ‘I expect that Devadatta, who is living away, will some day return to the village’

(c) alam devadatto hastinam haniṣyati ‘Devadatta is capable of killing the elephant’

The first sentence expresses the expectation that someone is capable (alam) of breaking the mountain with his head. The capability of bringing
about the expected action, though, is expressed here without the explicit use of the word *alam*. Affix *LIN* is thus rightly used after verbal root *bhid* ‘to split’. The expectation of sentence (b) lacks the expression of Devadatta’s capability to return to the village. This is why *LIN* is not introduced with *gam*. Sentence (c) does not qualify for the introduction of *LIN* because of the explicit use of *alam*.

3.3.155 विभाषा धातौ सम्भावनवचनेवदि

*vibhāṣā dhātau sambhāvanavacane yadi*

/vibhāṣā 1/1 dhātau 7/1 sambhāvanavacane 7/1 ayadi 7/1/

(pratīyaḥ #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, liñ #152, sambhāvane’

lam iti cet siddhāprayoge #154)

sambhāvanavacane dhātāv upapade yacchadbavārjite dhātor vibhāṣā liñ

pratyayo bhavati

Affix *LIN* optionally occurs after a verbal root used in conjunction with a root which signifies *sambhāvana* when *yad* ‘that which...’ is not used and the sense of *alam* is implicit.

**Examples:**

sambhāvayāmi bhuñjīta bhavān ‘I expect that you will eat’

sambhāvayāmi bhokṣyate bhavān ‘id.’

avakalpPAYāmi bhuñjīta bhavān ‘I presume that you will eat’

avakalpPAYāmi bhokṣyate bhavān ‘id.’

1. This rule makes the obligatory provision of the preceding rule optional in connection with a verbal root cooccurring with some other root which signifies *sambhāvana* provided *yad* is not used, and capability is denoted without the explicit use of *alam*. Thus, the examples: *(sambhāvayāmi) / (avakalpPAYāmi) (bhokṣyate) / (bhuñjīta) bhavān* ‘I expect sir! that you are capable of eating’, where *bhokṣyate* and *bhuñjīta* are optional forms in the context of *sambhāvayāmi* and *avakalpPAYāmi* and denote ‘expectation’. Of course, the sense of *alam* is understood.

3.3.156 नेतुहेतुस्ततोतिनिः

*hetuhetumator liñ*

/hetuhetumatoḥ 7/2 = hetuṣ ca hetumac ca = hetumati, tayoḥ (itar. du.); liñ 1/1/

(pratīyaḥ #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, vibhāṣā #155)

hetubhūte hetumati cārthe vartamānād dhātor liñ pratīya bhavati

Affix *LIN* optionally occurs after a verbal root when *hetu* ‘cause’ and *hetumat* ‘effect’ are denoted.

**Examples:**

dakṣiṇena ced yāyāt na śakataṁ paryābhavet ‘the cart will not overturn
if he goes by the right side of the road'
dakṣiṇena cet yāsya tati na śakaṭam paryābhavisyati ‘id.’

1. Since the provision of this rule is optional, one can also find the use of LRT parallel to LIŅ:
(a) dakṣiṇena ced yāyān na śakaṭam paryābhavet
(b) dakṣiṇena ced yāsya tati na śakaṭam paryābhavisyati

A sentence such as hantīti palāyate ‘...runs away because he is killing’ cannot qualify for LIŅ since both hanti and palāyate are given in the present. Note that iti is used in the sense of hetu, recognized here as hanana. The action of ‘running away’ is the effect (hetumāt).

A restatement of LIŅ when it is already available from the anuvrtti is made so that the context of this usage can be limited to the future only.

3.3.157 इच्छार्थेशु लिन्लोठे
icchārtheṣu liṅloṭau
/icchārtheṣu 7/1 liṅloṭau 1/2 /
(pratyayah #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91)
icchārtheṣu dhātuṣūpapadeṣu dhātoḥ liṅloṭau pratyau bhavataḥ

Affixes LIŅ and LOT occur after a verbal root used in conjunction with the other which has the signification of īṣ ‘to wish’.

EXAMPLES:
icchāmi bhunjita bhavān ‘it is my wish that you please eat’
icchāmi bhunktāṁ bhavān ‘id.’
kāmaye bhunjita bhavān ‘id.’
kāmaye bhunktāṁ bhavān ‘id.’

1. The specific use of LIŅ, along with LUT, is made so that this optional provision can be treated as an exception to all other LA affixes (sarvalakśāṇām apavādah).

3.3.158 समानविन्दुकु तमुन
samānakartrkeṣu tumun
/samānakartrkeṣu 7/3 tumun 1/1 /
(pratyayah #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, icchārtheṣu #157)
icchārtheṣu dhātuṣu samānakartrkeṣūpapadeṣu dhātos tumun pratyayo bhavati

Affix tumUN occurs after a verbal root used in conjunction with the other which has the signification of īṣ, provided both actions share the same kartr ‘agent’.

EXAMPLES:
icchati bhoktum ‘he wishes to eat’
kāmayate bhuktum ‘id.’
vāṇchati bhuktum ‘id.’
vaṣṭi bhuktum ‘id.’

1. Note that the identical agent condition is given in relation to the base after which affix tumUN is introduced. Thus, tumUN cannot be introduced after verbal root bhuj ‘to consume’ in *devadattam bhuktum icchati yajnavaltah ‘Yajñadatta wishes Devadatta to eat’ because is does not have Devadatta as its agent. The correct sentence should be: devadattam bhujjānām icchati yajnavaltah.

A question is raised as to why icchan karoti cannot avail tumUN to yield icchan kartum? After all, the cooccurrence condition is met along with the condition of identical agents. However, sentences, such as, icchan kartum do not occur in usage at all. The grammar does not have to account for something which does not exist.

3.3.159 लिङ्क च

liṅ ca
\(\text{liṅ} \ 1/1 \ ca \ Θ/\)
(pratyayah \#3.1.1, paraś ca \#3.1.2, dhātoḥ \#3.1.91, icchārtheṣu \#157, samānakartiṣeṣu \#158)
icchārtheṣu samānakartiṣeṣu dhātuṣūpapadeṣu dhātor liṅ pratyayo bhavati
Affix LIṅ also occurs after a verbal root used in conjunction with the other which has the signification of is provided both actions share the same kartṛ.

Examples:

bhunājiteticchati ‘he wishes that you eat’
adhiṣṭiteticchati ‘id.’

1. This rule is stated separately from the preceding so that, in the subsequent rule, only LIṅ (and no tumUN) can be carried. Thus, split-formulation (yogavibhāga) is intended for what follows (yogavibhāga uttarārtham).

3.3.160 हृद्दार्थ्यो विभासा कर्तपाने

icchārthebhyo vibhāṣā vartamāne
\(\text{icchārthebhyāḥ} \ 5/3 \ vibhāṣā \ 1/1 \ vartamāne \ 7/1/\)
(pratyayah \#3.1.1, paraś ca \#3.1.2, dhātoḥ \#3.1.91, liṅ \#159)
icchārthebhyo dhātubhyo vartamāne kāle vibhāṣā liṅ pratyayo bhavati
Affix LIṅ optionally occurs after verbal roots with the signification of is when the action is denoted at the current time.
Examples:

icchē "he wishes..."
icchatī "id."
kāmayate "id."
kāmayeta "id."

1. This optional provision of L(IN is made in view of 3.2.123 vartamaṇe lāt. That is, we will get two forms: icchē, as well as, icchatī.

3.3.161 विधिनिमित्तानामान्तरणाथिषासनप्राप्तनेवस्तु लिङ

vidhinimāntrānāmanaṇādhīṣṭāsamprāsānaprārthanaṇu liṅ

\( \text{vidhi...prārthanaṇu liṅ} /7/3 \) (itar. dv.); liṅ 1/1/

(pratyayaḥ #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91)

vidhyādyartheṣu dhātor liṅ pratyayo bhavati

Affix L(IN occurs after a verbal root when vidhi ‘command, injunction’, nīmaṇtraṇa ‘invitation’, āmaṇtraṇa ‘polite address, pro forma invitation’, adhiṣṭa ‘polite wish, solicitation’, samprāsṇa ‘proper question’, and prārthana ‘request, prayer’ is denoted.

Examples:

kaṭam kuryā ‘he should make the mat’
grāmaḥ bhavān āgacchē ‘you, sir, should come to the village’
iha bhavān bhūṣjīta ‘you, sir, please eat here’
iha bhavān āṣita ‘you, sir, please sit here’
adhiçchāmo bhavantam māṇavakam bhavān upanayet ‘it is my earnest wish that you please perform the initiation of my son’
kim nu khala bho vyākaraṇam adhiṣṭyā ‘should I study grammar’
bhavati me prārthana vṛyākaraṇam adhiṣṭyā ‘it is my request that I should study grammar’

1. This rule introduces affix L(IN after a verbal root when vidhi, nīmaṇtraṇa, āmaṇtraṇa, adhiṣṭa, sampraṇa and prārthana are denoted. Note that the first four meanings all entail instigation of some sort or the other. Separate mention of particular words is simply an expatiation (praṇaśca) of the same. There have been some efforts to differentiate these meanings. Thus, vidhi is to be used in the context of a command issued to someone younger, or someone who is an employee. Conversely, adhiṣṭa may entail a situation where one entreats an elder, or respectable person, to do something. Commentators explain this with satkāraṇpūrvako vyāpāraḥ which is mostly approaching one’s elders, for example, a teacher, in order to request them to do something. A difference between nīmaṇtraṇa and āmaṇtraṇa is made on the basis of kāmacāra ‘doing as one pleases’. That is, āmaṇtraṇa can be seen as an invitation which a person
can decline without any (ritual) consequences. A nimantraṇa is glossed as niyogakarana, something one is delegated (and may be obliged) to do. This clearly rules out ‘doing as one pleases’ (kāmacāra-karanaṃ). The scope of these meanings can be summarized as command, request, and deliberation. Commentators have also discussed the following four questions in connection with these meanings:

(a) Are vidhi, etc., the meanings of the base (prakṛtyarthā) after which affix LIŅ is to be introduced?
(b) Are these meanings to be accepted as the meaning of the affix (pratyārtha)?
(c) Are these meanings to be accepted as modifiers to the meaning of the base (prakṛtyarthaviśeṣaṇaṇa)?
(d) Are these meanings to be accepted as modifiers to the meaning of the affix (pratyayārthaviśeṣaṇa)?

The second view is unacceptable, since LIŅ could, then, only be introduced when the bases which denote these meanings are used. Thus, we will only get vidadhyaṭ, nimantrayet, āmantrayet, adhiśeṣet, sampracchet, and prārthayet. The (e) above is also not acceptable, since there is no additional meaning that one gets by modifying the base-meanings with vidhi, etc. The first view must also be unacceptable. For, vidhi, etc., could then become the denotators of the affixal meanings of bhāva ‘action’, kārtr ‘agent’, and karman ‘object’. Commentators accept the fourth view whereby vidhi, etc., are accepted as the modifiers of the affixal meanings.

This rule, again, is treated as an exception to the introduction of all LA affixes.

3.3.162 लोट्

loṭ ca
loṭ 1/1 ca Ø
(pratyaśaḥ #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, vidhinimantraṇa... prārthāneśu #161)
loṭ pratyaśo bhavati dhātor vidhyādiṣv arthēsu
Affix LOT also occurs after a verbal root when vidhi, nimantraṇa, āmantraṇa, samprāśna and prārthanā are denoted.

Examples:

kaṭam tāvad bhavān karotu ‘in the meantime, you please make the mat’
grāmatm bhavān āgacchatu ‘you please come to the village’
amutra bhavān āstām ‘you please sit there’
amutra bhavān bhunktām ‘you please eat there’
iha bhavān bhunktām ‘id’
adhiśeṣāmo bhavantaṁ māṇavakaṁ bhavān adhyāpayatu ‘it is my wish that you please teach my son’
This split-rule (yogavibhāga) is made so that in the subsequent rule only \( LOT \) can be carried. A joint formulation of this rule with the earlier one would make the anuvṛtti of \( LIN \) required.

**Examples:**

- bhavatā kaṭāḥ karanīyāḥ ‘the mat should be made by you’
- bhavatā kaṭāḥ kartavīyāḥ ‘id.’
- bhavatā kaṭāḥ kṛtyāḥ ‘id.’
- karotu kaṭāṃ bhavān iha preṣītāḥ ‘I commission you to please make the mat’
- karotu kaṭāṃ bhavān atisṛṣṭāḥ ‘I grant you permission to make the mat’
- bhavatāḥ prāptakālaḥ kaṭakarane ‘It is time for you to make the mat’

1. This rule introduces kṛtya affixes after a verbal root when praṣa, atisarga, and prāptakāla are denoted. The ca of this rule is used so that \( LOT \) can be carried from the preceding rule. Thus, \( LOT \) becomes an option to the provision of this rule. Consider thus the following examples:

   (a) bhavatā kaṭāḥ (karanīyāḥ, kartavīyāḥ, kṛtyāḥ, or kāryāḥ) ‘the mat should be made by you’
   (b) karotu kaṭāṃ bhavān iha preṣītāḥ ‘please make the mat here as commissioned’
   (c) karotu kaṭāṃ bhavān atisṛṣṭāḥ ‘please make the mat as you are asked’
   (d) bhavatāḥ prāptakālaḥ kaṭakarane ‘the time for you to make the mat has arrived’

The first sentence illustrates the option of four affixes: anīya\(R \), tavya\(T \) (3.1.96 \( tavyattavyānīyāraḥ \)), Kya\(P \) (3.1.120 \( vibhāṣa kīrṣṭoh \)), and Nyā\(T \) (3.1.124 \( ṭhalor nyat \)) respectively. Sentences (b–d) illustrate the optional
LOT with reference to the meaning conditions of prāśa, atisarga, and prāptakāla.

Why must we provide for the introduction of the kṛtya, here? Are they not covered already to denote bhāva and karmāna (3.4.70 tayor eva...)? Besides, introduction in the specific context of prāśa, etc., is included within the general context of bhāva and karmāna. Thus, kṛtyāḥ should not be stated in the rule. The argument that kṛtyāḥ is used so that the specific provision of LOT will block the general provision of the kṛtya affixes will not hold. For, the provision of vā' sarūpavidhi (3.1.94 va' sarūpo' striyām) will not let that happen. Pāṇini still reads kṛtyāḥ in this sūtra to indicate that the provisions of vā' sarūpavidhir nāvaśyaṁ bhavati.

3.3.164 लिङ्गः चोध्यमोहृतिके

līṅ cordinghavamauḥurtitte
līṅ 1/1 ca ṭī ūrdhvamauḥurtitte 7/1
(pratyayah #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, praisātisargaḥprāptakāleṣu #163)
priṣadīsu gamyamānēṣu ēṛddhvamauḥurtitte' the vartamānād dhātor
līṅ pratyayo bhavati cākārād yathāprātaṃ ca
Affix LĪṆ, and kṛtya and LOT as well, occurs after a verbal root when prāśa, atisarga and prāptakāla are denoted with reference to a unit of future time exceeding a muhūrtta.

Examples:

upari muhūrttasya bhavataḥ khalu kāṭaḥ karitavyaḥ ‘the mat should be made by you after a muhūrtta’
upari muhūrttasya bhavataḥ khalu kāṭaḥ karniṣyaḥ ‘id.’
upari muhūrttasya bhavataḥ khalu kāṭaḥ kāryaḥ ‘id.’
bhavān khalu kāṭam kuryāḥ ‘you should indeed make the mat’
bhavān khalu kāṭam karotu ‘id.’
bhavān iha preṣitaḥ ‘you have been commissioned...’
bhavān atiṣṭaḥ ‘id.’
bhavān prāptakālalāḥ kaṭakarāne ‘your time... has come’

1. This rule introduces affix LĪṆ, in addition to the kṛtya affixes and LOT, provided prāśa, atisarga, and prāptakāla are denoted relative to a period of time over a muhūrtta ‘forty-eight minutes’.

3.3.165 स्मे लोऽ

sme lot
/sme 7/1 lot 1/1/
(pratyayah #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, praśātisarga-prāptakaśeṣu #163 urydhvamauhūrttike #164)
smāśabda upapade praśādiṣu gamyamāṇeṣu urydhvamauhūrttike ṛthe vartta-māṇād dhātor loṭ pratyayo bhavatī
Affix LOT occurs after a verbal root used in conjunction with sma when praśā, atisarga and prāptakāla are denoted with reference to a unit of future time exceeding a muhūrtta.

**Examples:**

ūrdhvam muhūrttād bhavān kaṭam karotu sma ‘you should please make the mat after a muhūrtta’
ūrdhvam muhūrttād bhavān grāmām gacchatu sma ‘you should please go to the village after a muhūrtta’
ūrdhvam muhūrttād bhavān māṇavakam adhyāpayatu sma ‘you should please teach (my) son after a muhūrtta’

1. This rule introduces affix LOT under the cooccurrence condition of sma as an exception to LIN and the kṛṣya affixes of rule 3.1.163 praśātisarga.... The anuvṛtti of praśā...kāla and urydhvamauhūrttike is still valid.

3.3.166 अधिष्ठेच

adhiṣṭe ca
ladhiṣṭe 7/1 ca 0/1
(pratyayah #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, sme loṭ #165)
smāśabda upapade’ dhīṣte dhātor loṭ pratyayo bhavatī
Affix LOT also occurs after a verbal root used in conjunction with sma when adhiṣṭa is denoted.

**Examples:**

āṅga sma rājan māṇavakam adhyāpayā ‘O king, please teach (my) son’
āṅga sma rājann aganihotram juhudhi ‘O king, please perform the Agnihotra’

1. This rule introduces affix LOT, as an exception to LIN of rule 3.3.161 vidhinimtanādhiṣṭa... provided the root occurs in conjunction with sma, and adhiṣṭa ‘request’ is denoted. Thus we get: āṅga sma rājan māṇavakam adhyāpayā ‘I most respectfully request you O king! to kindly teach my son’.

3.3.167 कालसमयवेळासु तुमुन

kālasamayavelāsu tumun
kālasamayavelāsu 7/3 tumun 1/1
(pratyayah #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91)
kālaḍaśupapadesu dhātos tumun pratyayo bhavatī
Affix tumUN occurs after a verbal root used in conjunction with a nominal pada which contains kāla, samaya or velā.

**Examples:**

kālo bhoktum 'it is time to eat'

samayah khaṇu snānabhojane sevītum 'it is time now to attend to bathing and eating'

velā bhoktum 'it is time to eat'

1. A question is raised as to why this rule was not formulated simply as kālādiṣu tumun. That is, why use samaya and velā when they are synonymous with kāla 'time'. Pāṇini uses all three instead to indicate that synonyms of kāla can also form an upapada. The inclusion of only three, rather than all, synonyms of kāla should be treated as illustrative only. That is, words such as ṣvasara, etc., can also qualify to form an upapada.

3.3.168 लिङ्ग वदि

liṅ yadi

//liṅ 1/1 yadi 7/1/

(pratayayah #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, kālasamayavelāsu #167)

yacchabde upapade kālādiṣu dhātor liṅ pratayo bhavati

Affix LIÑ occurs after a verbal root when the root cooccurs with a nominal pada which contains kāla, samaya, or velā and yad is used.

**Examples:**

kālo yad bhuṇḍita bhavān 'it is time for you to eat'

samayo yad bhuṇḍita bhavān 'id.'

velā yad bhuṇḍita bhavān 'id.'

1. This rule introduces affix LIÑ under the cooccurrence condition of yad 'that which...' in addition to kāla, etc. This clearly is an exception to the tumUN of the preceding rule.

3.3.169 ओन्न कृत्यत्वचक्ष

arhe kṛtyatṛcaś ca

/arhe 7/1 kṛtyatṛcaḥ 1/3 ca 0/

(pratayayah #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, liṅ #168)

arhe kartari vācye gamyāme vā dhātoḥ kṛtyatṛcaḥ pratayā bhavanti cakārāl liṅ ca

Affixes kṛtya and trC, and LIÑ as well, occur after a verbal root when the agent is denoted as deserving.
Examples:

bhavatā khalu kanyā vodhavāyā 'you indeed deserve to marry the girl'
bhavatā khalu kanyā váhyā 'id.'
bhavatā khalu kanyā vahaniyā 'id.'
bhavatā khalu kanyā vodhā 'id.'
bhavān khalu kanyāṃ vahet 'id.'
bhavān khalu kanyāṃ arhet 'id.'

1. The ca of the rule is used to further facilitate the introduction of LIÑ. Thus there will be three types of examples:

(a) bhavatā khalu kanyā vodhavāyā
(b) bhavān khalu kanyāyā vodhā
(c) bhavān khalu kanyāṃ vahet

These sentences illustrate the usage of affixes tavya (kṛtya), trC, and LIÑ respectively.

A question is raised against the introduction of affixes kṛtya and trC by this rule. It is argued that these affixes could be made available in the specific context of yogyatā ‘fitness’ in the same manner as they are made available elsewhere in more generalized contexts. But what if affix LIÑ, which is also made available here, blocks the general provision of kṛtya and trC via vā’ sarūpa of rule 3.1.94 vā’ sarūpo’ striyām?. That is evenmore the reason why mention of kṛtya and trC becomes necessary. For, vā’ sarū- padhi does not regularly apply in the context of rules subsequent to the domain of rule 3.3.94 striyām ktin.

3.3.170 आवास्यकाधमान्ययोग्यां

āvasyakādhamarnyayor niniḥ
lāvasyakādhamarnyayoḥ 7/2 niniḥ 1/1/
(pratyayaḥ #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91)
avaśyambhāvavīṣiṣṭe ādhamarnyavīṣiṣṭe ca kartari vācye dhātor niniḥ
pratyayo bhavati
Affix Nini occurs after a verbal root when the agent performs the action out of necessity (āvasyaka), or indebtedness (ādhamarnya).

Examples:

avaśyankāri 'he who is sure to do'
satamādāyi 'he who owes someone a hundred'

1. Note that the conditions of 'necessity' and 'indebtedness' qualify the karte which, in turn, becomes the denotatum of the affix (pratayārtha- viśesanam). They cannot be accepted here as specifying a cooccurrence (upapada) condition.
3.3.171 कृत्याः

kṛtyāḥ ca
(kṛtyāḥ 1/3 ca Θ)
(pratayayah #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, āvaśyakāḥdharmayayoh #170)
kṛtyasamjñakāś ca pratayā āvaśyakāḥdhamarneyayor upādhibhūtayor dhātor bhavanti

Affixes termed kṛtya also occur after a verbal root when the action is qualified by āvaśyaka or ādhamaryā.

Examples:

bhavatā khalu āvaśyam kaṭah katurvayah ‘the mat should be made by you’
bhavatā khalu āvaśyam kaṭah karanīṣyah ‘id.’
bhavatā khalu āvaśyam kaṭah kāryah ‘id.’
bhavatā khalu āvaśyam kaṭah kṛtyah ‘id.’
bhavatā śataṁ dātvayam ‘the debt of the hundred should be paid by you’
bhavatā sahasraṁ deyam ‘the debt of the thousand should be paid by you’

1. This rule additionally provides for kṛtya affixes used with NinI under contexts similar to the preceding rule. An objection is made against the inclusion of the kṛtya affixes in this context by a separate rule. It is argued that rules already available for the introduction of kṛtya affixes can account for this instance also. But, in the absence of this rule, they could be blocked by the specific provision of NinI of the last rule. This cannot happen because kṛtya affixes are introduced to denote bhāva and karman (3.4.70 tavār eva...); affix NinI is employed to denote the agent. Counter arguments state that a kṛtya can also denote an agent as is the case (though optionally via nipātana) in rule 3.4.68 bhavagyapravacan.... The rule thus must include kṛtya in the context of NinI.

3.3.172 शकि लिङ्चि

śakī līṅ ca
(śakī 7/1 līṅ 1/1 ca Θ)
(pratayayah #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, kṛtyāḥ #171)
śaknotyarthopādhike dhātvartithe līṅ pratayaya bhavati ca kāraṇā kṛtyāḥ ca

Affix LIN, and those termed kṛtya as well, occur after a verbal root when the action is qualified with śak ‘to be able’.

Examples:

bhavatā khalu bhāro vodhavyah ‘you can indeed carry the load’
bhavatā khalu bhāro vahaniyaḥ ‘id.’
bhavatā khala bhāro vāhyah ‘id.’
bhavān khala bhāram vahet ‘id.’
bhavān tha saktah ‘you, sir, are able to do this’

1. This rule introduces affix LI\(N\), in addition to the \(krtya\), when the capability of the agent is expressed in relation to the action. The word \(saki\) is thus a qualifier for the action denoted by the root. Commentators notice that the inclusion of \(krtya\) affixes in this context by \(ca\) is made in view of an otherwise impeding blocking by \(LI\(N\) (Kāś.: sāmānyavihitānām punar vacanām liñā bādhā mā bhut ‘a restatement of the general \(krtya\) affixes is made so that they can not be blocked by \(LI\(N\))).

3.3.173 असिषि लिनोत्

\(āsīṣi\) liṅloṭau
\(liṅloṭau 7/1\)
\(pratyayāḥ \#3.1.1, paraś ca \#3.1.2, dhātoḥ \#3.1.91\)
\(āsīrviśiṣṭe\) ‘the vartta-māṇḍ dhātor liṅloṭau pratyayau bhavatāḥ

Affixes \(LI\(N\) and \(LOT\) occur after a verbal root when the action is qualified with \(āsīh\) ‘benediction, blessing’.

EXAMPLE:

ciрам jīvatu bhavān ‘may you live long’

1. This rule introduces affixes \(LI\(N\) and \(LOT\) when benediction (\(āsīh\)) is denoted. The word \(āsīh\) is here used as a modifier to the base after which these affixes must be introduced (\(prakṛtyarthaviśeṣanām\)). That is, action denoted by the verbal root must be modified by benediction. Thus, consider the example sentences where \(ciрам\) ‘long’ modifies the action denoted by jīv ‘to live’.

A counter-example to it will be: \(ciрам jīvati devadattah\) ‘Devadatta is living a long life’. Why can \(LI\(N\) not be brought to the context of this rule by the use of \(ca\)? Explicit mention of \(LI\(N\) is necessary so that the anuvṛtti of \(krtya\), as a result of its association (sāhacarya) with \(LI\(N\) in the earlier rule, can be blocked.

3.3.174 कित्क्ततौ च संज्ञाप्य

\(kticktau ca sameñāyāyām\)
\(kticktau 1/2 ca \(\emptyset\) sameñāyāyām 7/1\)
\(pratyayāḥ \#3.1.1, paraś ca \#3.1.2, dhātoḥ \#3.1.91, āsīṣi \#173\)
\(āsīṣi viṣaye dhātoḥ kтикtau pratyayau bhavatāḥ samudāyena cet sameñā gamyate\)

Affixes \(KtiC\) and \(Kta\) occur after a verbal root when the action is qualified with \(āsīh\) and the derivate denotes a name (sameñā).
EXAMPLES:

\[\text{tāṇuṭāt tantih `may he weave; a weaver'}
\]
\[\text{sanuṭāt sātiḥ `may it happen; wealth or gift'}
\]
\[\text{bhavatāt bhūtiḥ `prosperity, success'}
\]
\[\text{manuṭāt mantih `respect'}
\]
\[\text{devā enam deyāsur devadattaḥ `Devadatta (may gods give him...)'}
\]

1. This rule introduces affixes \(\text{KtiC}\) and \(\text{Kta}\), still within the scope of \(\text{āśiḥ}\) provided the derivate denotes a name (\(\text{samjñā}\)). Thus we have \(\text{Kta}\) used to derive \(\text{devadattaḥ}\) parallel to \(\text{devā enam deyāsuḥ}\ `may the gods give him, i.e., Devadatta'}. An example for \(\text{KtiC}\) is \(\text{tantih `weaver'}\) parallel to \(\text{tāṇuṭāt `may he weave'}\).

   Note that the \(\text{C}\) as an \(\text{it}\) in \(\text{KtiC}\) is to distinguish (\(\text{viśeṣaṇārtha}\)) it from \(\text{KtiN}\) in rules such as \(6.4.39\ \text{na kti ci dirghasya}\). Furthermore, \(\text{Kta}\) is a general affix to which this \(\text{KtiC}\) could have formed an exception, had this rule not included \(\text{Kta}\) along with \(\text{KtiC}\). It is, therefore, an effort to save \(\text{Kta}\) from being blocked by \(\text{KtiC}\) that this rule provides for \(\text{Kta}\).

3.3.175 माणि लुङ

\[\text{māni luṅ}
\]
\[\text{/māni 7/1 luṅ 1/1/}
\]
\[\text{(pratyayah #3.1.1, paras ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, āśiḥ #173)}
\]
\[\text{māny upāpade dhator luṅ pratyayo bhavati}
\]

Affix \(\text{LUṅ}\) occurs after a verbal root which cooccurs with \(\text{māN}\).

EXAMPLES:

\[\text{mā kārṣīt `let him not do (it)'}
\]
\[\text{mā hārṣīt `let him not take (it) away'}
\]

1. This provision of \(\text{LUṅ}\) is treated as an exception to all \(\text{LA}\) affixes (\(\text{sarvalakāraṇām apavādaḥ}\)). That is, one must use affix \(\text{LUṅ}\), and \(\text{LUṅ}\) alone, after a verbal root when it is used in conjunction with \(\text{māN}\).

3.3.176 स्मोत्तरे लाङ च

\[\text{smottare laṅ ca}
\]
\[\text{/smottare 7/1 laṅ 1/1 ca Ø/}
\]
\[\text{(pratyayah #3.1.1, paras ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, māni #175)}
\]
\[\text{smaśabadottare māny upāpade dhātor laṅ pratyayo bhavati}
\]
\[\text{cakārāl luṅ ca}
\]

Affix \(\text{LAṅ}\), and \(\text{LUṅ}\) as well, occurs after a verbal root which cooccurs with \(\text{māN}\) and is followed by \(\text{smā}\.\)
3.4.1 Adhyāya Three: Pāda Four

**Examples:**

mā sma karot 'let him not make…'
mā sma kārṣṭi 'id.'
mā sma harot 'let him not take away…'
mā sma hārṣṭi 'id.'

1. This rule introduces affix LAṆ, optionally to LUṆ, when sma follows a verbal root, and māṆ is used in conjunction with the same. Affix LUṆ is brought to the context of this rule by means of ca.

3.4.1 धातुसंबंध्ये प्रत्ययः:

**Examples:**

agniṣṭomayājy asya putro janitā 'he who will perform the Agniṣṭoma will have a son born'
krtaḥ kaṭah śvo bhavitā '(we will talk) tomorrow about the making of the mat’

1. Commentators explain that the word dhātusambandha means dhātvarthasambandha 'relationship between the action denoted by verbal roots'. This implies, then, that dhatu is here interpreted to mean dhātvartha 'sense of root'. Such an interpretation is made possible via transference (upacāra) of meaning (abhidheya) to the form (abhidhāna). That is, the form dhatu, which ordinarily denotes verbal roots ‘bhū, etc.’ (bhūḍi), is here treated as secondary (gaṇa) to its meaning (dhātvartha). The word dhatu is further interpreted as plural (bahuvacana), to yield the interpretation ‘relationship between the actions denoted by verbal roots’, because ‘relationship’ (sambandha) is a concept with multiple loci (anekādhishthāna).

How can one characterize the relationship between the meaning of roots? Commentators identify the relationship as viṣeṣanaviṣeṣya ‘qualifier-qualified’. They also note that, since the denotatum of the word which ends in a tīṆ is central to the meaning of a sentence, and also since a modified element (viṣeṣya) is principal (pradhāna) in relation to the modifier (viṣeṣaṇa), which is secondary (gaṇa), a relationship expressed by the word ending in a sUP is secondary. That is, a relation expressed by a sUP in terms of a kāraka is secondary to the relation expressed in terms of an action (kriyā). In view of this, the Nyāsa notes: sarvatra tiṇarthavācyo’rtho viṣeṣayaḥ subanta-vācyas tu viṣeṣaṇam 'the meaning denoted by a word which ends in a tīṆ
always refers to that which is 'modified', rather than to that which is 'modifier', which is denoted by the word which ends in a sUP. Consider agniṣṭomayāji, a word which ends in a sUP, where the denotatum of past (bhūta) which not only modifies the meaning of janitā, a modified word ending in tiN, but also abandons the 'past' for the 'future' of janitā, the principal word.

Kāśīkā further elaborates with ayathākāloktā api pratyaśā sādhavvo bhavanti 'suffixes introduced in the tenses other than those assigned to them are also treated as correct'. Consider again agniṣṭomayāji asya putro janitā, where agniṣṭomayājīn is derived by introducing affix NinI by rule 3.2.85 karaṇe yajah with the denotatum of past (bhūta). In contrast, janitā entails LUT with the denotatum of a future (bhavisyati) not pertaining to today (anadyatana). The past of agniṣṭomayājīn when related with the future of janitā denotes future. For this reason, what was intended to have the sense of 'he who performed the agniṣṭomā sacrifice' will now take the sense of 'he who will perform the agniṣṭomā sacrifice in the future'. That is, the 'future' denotatum of NinI, in association with the future of janitā, can here be treated as correct. The second example also entails 'past' as the denotatum of niṣṭhā in kṛtaḥ; bhavītā of course entails 'future'. The 'past' of Kta thus denotes the 'future' in association with the 'future' of bhavītā. Note that if the 'past' of NinI in agniṣṭomayājīn is rigidly interpreted as 'past', the futurity of the sacrifice cannot be comprehended.

A question is also raised as to why 'past' is required to denote 'future'. Why is 'future' not required to denote 'past'? That is, why is a transposition (viparyaya) of the tenses not comprehended? Such a transposition is not possible, because only the tense of the modifier can be changed to that of the modified. The modifier follows the modified, and not the other way around. Haradatta (PM ad Kāśīkā III: 141) is thus correct: pradhānānurodhena guṇasya kālaparityāgaḥ 'the secondary element, the modifier, abandons its tense under the dictates of the modified, the primary element'. The principal element or the modified, i.e. janitā, thus can not abandon its tense in favor of agniṣṭomayājīn, the modifier, or secondary element. That is, we can get only the following interpretation:

(i) so' sya putro janitā yo' agniṣṭomena yaśā 'a son will be born to him who performs the sacrifice by means of Agniṣṭomā'

This sentence is synonymous with our first example, given the understanding that NinI abandons its 'past' for the 'future' of janitā as indicated by yaśā of sentence (i).

2. A question is raised against the explicit use of the word pratyaśā in the rule, especially when it can easily be received via anuvṛtti. Commentators state that the earlier pratyaśā (carried from 3.1.1 pratyaśā) is associated with 'dhātu'. As a consequence, only those affixes which are introduced after a verbal root come under the scope of this rule. The word 'pratyaśā' is explicitly stated so that an affix such as a taddhita (4.1.76


3.4.2 Adhyāya Three: Pāda Four

\[ \text{taddhitāḥ}, \text{ which is not introduced after a verbal root, can also be treated as correct in instances where it denotes a tense other than the one for which it is specified. Consider the following examples:} \]

(ii) \( \text{gōmān āsīt} \) ‘he is the one who owned cows’

(iii) \( \text{gōmān bhavītā} \) ‘he is the one who will own cows’

Note that \( \text{gōmān} \) has affix \( \text{matUP} \), a \( \text{taddhita} \), introduced by rule 5.2.94 \( \text{tad asyāty} \)… in the sense of present (\text{vartamāna}). Used with āsīt of the ‘past’ and bhavītā of the ‘future’ it will still be treated as correct in denoting ‘past’ and ‘future’. It is to allow for diverse affixes, that the word ‘\text{pratyaya}’ is explicitly stated in this rule.

3.4.2 क्रियासमभिहरो लोद लोदे हिस्वे वा च तद्वमो:

\[
\text{kriyāśamabhihāre lot loto hisvau vā ca tadhvamoh}
\]

\[
lkriyāśamabhihāre 7/1 = samabhihavanāṃ samabhihāraḥ; kriyāyah samabhīhāraḥ (saṣ. tat.), tasmin; lot 1/1 loṭah 6/1 hisvau 1/2 = hi ca sva ca (itar. dv.);
\]

\[
vā θ ca θ tadhvamoh 6/2 = ta ca dhvam ca (itar. dv.), tayoh (dhaṭusambandhe #1)
\]

\[
samabhihāraviśṣṭakriyāvacanād dhātor lōt pratyayo bhavati sarveṣu kāleṣu; tasya ca lōto hi, sva ity etāv ādesau bhavatāḥ, tadhvambhāvinās tu vā bhavatāḥ.
\]

Affix \( \text{LOT} \) occurs after a verbal root when repeated or excessive action (\text{kriyāśamabhihāra}) is denoted; this \( \text{LOT} \) is replaced with \( \text{hi} \) and \( \text{sva} \) obligatorily, and with \( \text{ta} \) and \( \text{dhvam} \) optionally.

Examples:

\[
lunihi lunihi ity ayaṃ lunāti ‘you cut, you cut,’ thus ‘he cuts repeatedly’
\]

\[
lunihi lunihi ity eva aham lunāmi ‘you cut, you cut,’ thus ‘I cut repeatedly’
\]

\[
lunihi lunihi ity eva ayaṃ alāvīt ‘you cut, you cut,’ thus ‘he cut repeatedly’
\]

\[
lunihi lunihi ity eva ayaṃ laviṣyati ‘you cut, you cut,’ thus ‘he will cut repeatedly’
\]

1. Commentators explain that this \( \text{LOT} \) is an exception to all \( \text{LA} \)-affixes. For example, it is introduced under the condition of \text{kriyāśamabhihāra}, an action which is performed either excessively, or over and over again. The root after which the \( \text{LOT} \) is to be introduced does not, by itself, denote \text{kriyāśamabhihāra}. For this reason, Kāśikā uses the expression: \text{samabhihāraviśṭakriyāvacanāt} ‘\( \text{LOT} \) occurs after a root which denotes an action qualified by repetition…’. The repetition of verbal forms, such as \text{lunihi lunihi} ‘you cut and cut...’, makes the denotatum of \text{kriyāśamabhihāra} possible. That is, someone commanded someone, “you cut (it)”. Consequently, “he cuts it again and again”. Furthermore, there is no temporal restriction to the use of \( \text{LOT} \), which is why Kāśikā adds: \text{lot pratyayo bhavati sarveṣu kāleṣu} ‘affix \( \text{LOT} \) occurs in all tenses’. Refer to the first two sentences
of the example. These are in the present tense as opposed to the third and fourth, which are used in past and future respectively.

2. Note that this LOT, unlike other LA-affixes, is not assigned its replacements from the eighteen tiN-affixes of the two sets of parasmaiDpada ‘active’ and atmanepada ‘middle’. Instead, Pāṇini orders hi and sva as two obligatory replacements. The first is a replacement for the second person singular parasmaiDpada ‘active’ ending si, by rule 3.4.87 ser hy apic ca. The second refers to the second person singular atmanepada ‘middle’ ending thās, which gets replaced with se, by rule 3.4.80 thāsas se. This se ultimately yields the form sva by rule 3.4.91 svabhāya vāmau. Note that both hi and sva are replacements relative to LOT. Since hi and sva are replacements for parasmaiDpada and atmanepada endings respectively, we conclude that hi and sva are also parasmaiDpada and atmanepada replacements. But we cannot accept that they are to be limited also to second person and singular usages. For this reason the Mahābhāṣya states: hīsva sarvesaṃ puruṣanāṃ sarvesaṃ ca vacanānāṃ āyate ‘hi and sva are intended for any person, or number’. Consequently, hi is a replacement covering the three persons and three numbers of parasmaiDpada LOT. The same function is assigned for the representation of atmanepada by sva in all three persons and numbers.

In which sense is affix LOT introduced? It could not be kriyāsamabhīhāra, since that forms the condition for the introduction of LOT. The sense of LOT, in the absence of any explicit statement to the contrary, and in consonance with anirdśārthā pratyayā bhāve bhavanti ‘affixes enumerated with no specific meaning should be introduced to denote bhāva’, must be accepted as bhāva ‘root-sense’. The replacements of LOT in hi and sva thus also denote bhāva.

This rule also introduces ta and dhvam as two replacements for LOT, though only optionally (vā). The ta, here, refers to the replacement in ta for thas, the second person dual parasmaiDpada ending of rule 3.4.101 tathasthamipāṃ tāntantāmah. Thus, ta becomes a parasmaiDpada replacement as opposed to dhvam, which is clearly an atmanepada second personal plural ending.

Note that in the above sentences kriyāsamabhīhāra is denoted via doubling the verb form (cf. Mbh. kriyāsamabhīhāre dvē bhavatah). What follows these doubled up second personal forms that denote kriyāsamabhīhāra is a tagged statement (anupprayoga), which is rendered in different persons and tenses. It is in this sense that the provisions of this rule go beyond imperative (LOT).

3. This rule is interpreted as split into several sentences (yogavībhāga) for interpretation. Vāsudeva Dīkṣita (Bālamanaṃṭhā ad SK III: 650) illustrates these following sentences:

(a) kriyāsamabhīhāra (viśīṣṭakriyāvṛttam) dhātor lot ‘affix LOT is introduced after a verbal root which denotes an action qualified by repetition’
(b) lotō hisvau ‘hi and sva replace LOT’
(c) lotō lotō hisvau ‘hi and sva, which replace LOT’, are treated as LOT’
(d) vā ca tadhvamoh ‘ta and dhvam optionally replace LOT’

The third sentence in this split interpretation is consequential. For, it implies the transfer of the characteristics of LOT to hi and sva. Commentators explain that this transfer is necessary to bring the parasmaipada, āṭmanepada, and tiN designations to hi and sva. Note that replacements for LA affixes are termed parasmaipada (1.4.99 laḥ parasmaipadam). A subset of these replacements, i.e. taN, is termed āṭmanepada (1.4. taṇāṇāv...). Note also that sva is not a member of the abbreviatory term taN. Consequently, it does not qualify for assignment of the term āṭmanepada. A transfer of the characteristic properties of LOT to hi and sva makes the assignment of the said terms possible. For this one must have the anvṛtti of LOT in the third sentence as a qualifier to hisvau. In view of 1.4.14 suptaṁ sanastam padam, such an extension of characteristic properties is necessary for assignment of the term pada to the derivates.

3.4.3 समुच्चये/ब्यतरक्षाम्

samuccaye’ nyatarasyām
/samuccaye 7/1 anyatarasyām 0/
(pratyayā #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, dhātusambandhe #1, lotō lotō hisvau vā ca tadhvamoh #2)
samucciyamāṇakriyāvacanād dhātor anyatarasyām lot pratiyayo bhavati
Affix LOT optionally occurs after verbal roots which signify an array of related actions; hi and sva obligatorily replace this LOT and ta and dhvam replace it optionally.

Examples:

bhṛāṭram aṭa maṭham aṭa khadūram aṭa sthāłyapidām aṭet eva aym aṭati; ...imāv aṭataḥ; ...ime aṭantī ‘go to the place where they roast grains; go to the place of the ascetics; go to the room and as far as to the cleaning place of the pots’; ...thus he goes; thus those two are going; thus they all are going’
chando’ dhīṣva vyākaranam adhiṣva niruktam adhiṣvety eva aham adhiṣye; ...āvām adhiṣeva; ...vayam adhiṣmahe ‘study the Vedas, study grammar, study the Nirukta,’ thus I study; ...thus we study; ...thus we all study’
chando’ adhiṣve vyākaranam adhiṣe niruktam adhiṣe ity eva tvam adhiṣe; ...yuvām adhiṣye ‘study the Vedas, study grammar, study the Nirukta,’ thus you study; ...thus you two study; ...thus you all study’

1. The word samuccaya has been explained as an ‘array’ or ‘multitude’ of actions. LOT is thus to be introduced after each verbal root
which forms part of the signification that constitutes an array of actions. Therefore, it is not introduced after a single verbal root which signifies a multitude of actions. It is, instead, introduced after each root which forms a part of the many roots that signify an array of actions. Note that merely lining up verbal roots to signify an array of actions does not merit the introduction of LOT. Rather, it is the relationship that obtains among the actions denoted by the lined up roots that qualifies the introduction of LOT. What, then, makes the listing of roots related in actions? The actions are related via common participants (sādhana; or kāraka). Thus, a single kāraka, termed agent, performs all actions outlined in the above examples. The actions thus become related via their participant, the agent. Compare (PM ad Kaś III: 149): ekasmin sādhane yā kriyāḥ samucciyante tadbhāvajña dhātubhyah pratyaya ity arthāḥ ‘thus the affix is introduced after roots which signify actions that are put together relative to a single participant’.

Note that this rule illustrates the difference between samabhihāra and samuccaya in relation to action (kriyā). The first could mean: repetition of an action (paunahpurnya), or excessive performance of an action (bhrāśārtha). In contrast, samuccaya necessarily entails more than one action. That is, samabhihāra is possible in case of even a single action, whereas samuccaya obligatorily entails more than one action.

2. Note that the consequence of an optional introduction of LOT results in the introduction of other LA-affixes. These are of course, optionally introduced with LOT. See the last example for illustration, where LAT has been introduced optionally with LOT of the second example. Like the earlier rule LOT is not limited to imperative only. It can be used in all three tenses. Of course, the tagged verbal root indicates the varying tenses. The optional LA affixes are introduced after roots forming part of the array of actions. Thus we get:

(a) chando’ dhīṣva vyākaraṇaṁ adhiṣva...
(b) chando’ adhiṣṭe vyākaraṇaṁ adhiṣṭe...

where the first optionally introduces LOT to LAT, for example, of the second. The tagged sentences can be used in all three tenses. This is what it means to accept LOT as ruled in all tenses.

One must also remember, here, that LOT of the lined up actions obligatorily can be replaced with hi and sva. Of course, ta and dhvam replace it only optionally.

3.4.4 यथाविध्यन्यप्रयोगः पूर्वसम्म

yathāvidhy anuprayogah pūrvasmin
/yathāvidhi ṭa anuprayogah 1/1/
(dhātoḥ #91)
pūrvasmin loḍvidhāne yathāvidhy anuprayogo bhavati
A tag, in case of the preceding provision, must be in line with that after which LOT occurs.

EXAMPLES:

lunihi lunihity evāyam lunāti ‘you cut, you cut,’ thus ‘he cuts’
adhiśvādhiśvety evāyam adhīte ‘you study, you study,’ thus ‘he studies’

1. Note that this rule is not formulated to state that a tag sentence is used. For, that is already available by the fact that LOT is introduced under the condition of a relationship between root meanings. A relation between root-meanings cannot be available unless more than one roots are used one after the other. Rather, this rule is formulated to emphasize that the tag sentence must also have the same root as the one after which LOT was introduced. This is what yathāvidhi means in this context. It also becomes clear that anuprayoga is not used in the sense of paścādhibhāvin ‘that which follows in a sequence’. It means ‘in accordance with what precedes’. Thus, given the above two example sentences, where affix LOT is used after verbal roots lū ‘to cut’ and adhi-i ‘to study’ respectively, we get the tag sentences such as evāyam lunāti and evāyam adhīte or evāyam chinatti ‘thus he cuts’ and evāyam paṭhati ‘thus he recites’. Note that verbal roots chid and paṭh may be used synonymously with lū and adhi-i.

The word pūrvasmin ‘in case of the preceding provision’ refers to the introduction of LOT by rule 3.1.2 kriyāsamabhīhāre..., and hence is used for clarity (vispāstārtham). Note that the following rule (3.4.5 samuccaye’ sāmāṇyavacanasya) accounts for the nature of the tag sentence, relative to rule 3.4.3 samuccaye’ nyatarasyām. Thus, even if pūrvasmin were not there, this rule would be interpreted relative to rule 3.4.2. That is, this rule would apply outside the scope of samuccaya anyway. The idea that a particular verbal root is to be used in the tag sentence is derived through exclusion of the general action required for the tag sentences of the samuccaya. A tag, in case of more than one action, must use a root of generalized nature. Elsewhere, as is the case relative to the provisions of rule 3.4.2 kriyāsamabhīhāre..., only particular roots should be used. Obviously, such roots must be those after which LOT occurs.

If it is understood that the provision of rule 3.4.5 samuccaye... facilitates the understanding elsewhere that, in the case of kriyāsamabhīhāra, the same root is used, then pūrvasmin and yathāvidhi should not be used in this rule. For, 3.4.5 can easily make the scope of 3.4.2 understood. May be rule 3.4.4 should not even be formulated. We already know, in connection with this, that pūrvasmin is used for clarity. Inclusion of yathāvidhi in the rule is also needed because sentences such as lunihi lunihi ity evāyam lunāti can also be rendered as: ayaṁ luniṭi luniḥi iti. That is,
a tag sentence can also precede. It thus becomes necessary to state that what is used as a tag must be in accord with the particular verb after which LOT is introduced.

3.4.5 समुच्चये सामान्यवचनस्य

samuccaye sāmānyavacanasya
/samuccaye 7/1 sāmānyavacanasya 6/1 = ucyate anena iti vacanam;
sāmānyasya vacanam (saṣ. tat.)/
(dhātoḥ #3.1.91, anuprayoge #4)
dvitiye loṅvidhāne samuccaye sāmānyavacanasya dhātor anuprayogah kartavyaḥ
A tag relative to verbal roots after which Lot occurs under the condition of smuccaya must denote a common action.

EXAMPLES:

odanam bhungṣva saktūṁ pibā dhānā khādety evāyam abhyavaharati
‘eat rice, drink the powdered parched gram diluted in water, eat the parched rice’, thus he consumes’.

1. This rule provides for a common verbal root in case of a tag used in sentences where the introduction of LOT is provided for by rule 3.4.3 samuccaye’ nyatarasyaṁ. Our example thus provides for abhyavaharā as the action which is synonymous with bhuj ‘to consume’, pā ‘to drink’, and khād ‘to eat’. The use of a single common verbal root is also economical (lāghava), as opposed to the repetition of each one of the preceding verbs. Note however that, this notion of economy is not much respected in the Classical language (see Kāś : lāghavam ca laukike śabdavavahāre nādriyate).

3.4.6 छन्दसि लुइलिवलितः

chandasi luṇilaṇītaḥ
/lchandasi 7/1 luṇilaṇītaḥ 1/3 = luṇ ca laṅ ca liṭ ca (itar. dv.)/
(pratyayāḥ #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, dhātusambandhe #1, anyatarasyām #3)
chandasi viṣaye dhātusambandhe sarveṣu luṇilaṇītaḥ pratyayā bhavanti
Affixes LUṆ, LAṆ and LIT optionally occur in the Vedic to denote any time when the sense of roots is related.

EXAMPLES:

śakalāṅguṣṭhako ‘karat ‘he divides (it) in parts to the size of the thumb’
aḥam tebhyo ‘karera namāḥ ‘I pay my obeisance to them’
agnimadya hotāramavṛṣṭīyaṁ yajamānaḥ ‘this sacrificer chooses Agni as his priest today’
3.4.7 Adhyāya Three: Pāda Four

adyā māṃśārṇa ‘...dies today’
adya mṛiyate ‘id.’

1. Note that LUṆ ‘aorist’, LAṆ ‘imperfect’ and LIṬ ‘perfect’ are, here, introduced in diverse tenses. This introduction is interpreted as optional on the basis that anyatarasyām is carried from rule 3.4.3 via maṇḍūkapluti ‘frog’s leap’. That is, these affixes are optionally allowed with other LA-affixes. Consequently, their scope of application becomes much more generalized. For example, akarati and akaram of the first two sentences are LUṆ- derivates used in the sense of LAṬ. That is, past is used in the sense of the present. The third sentence uses LAṆ, denoting past imperfect, in place of LAṬ. The next sentence uses LIṬ instead of LAṬ as is shown by mṛiyate.

2. Recall that such widening of the scope of these LA-affixes is given in the context of related actions. Haradatta (PM ad Kaś III:153) perhaps rightly remarks that: udākaraṇeṣu dhātusambandho mṛgyaḥ ‘the connection between actions denoted by roots of these examples should be investigated’. Obviously, it is a difficult situation. To what is the sense of the root kṛ in akaram relatable?

3.4.7 लिनर्थेः लेद्

liṅarthe leṭ
liṅarthe 7/1 = liṅo’ rthah liṅarthah (saṣ. taṭ.), tasmin; leṭ 1/1/
(pratyayah #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoh #3.1.91, anyatarasyām #3, chandasi #6)
yatra liṅ vidhiyate tatra chandasi viśaye’ nyatarasyām leṭ pratyayo bhavati
Affix LET optionally occurs in the sense of LIṆ in the Vedic.

EXAM pLES:

joṣṭāṭ ‘let him enjoy...’
tārīṣat ‘let him stretch out’
patāṭi viḍyut ‘let the lightning strike’

1. Note that affix LIṆ ‘optative’ is generally used in the sense of vidhi ‘prompting’, etc., (3.3.161 vidhinīmaṇtrana...). The forms of LET ‘subjunctive’ refer exclusively to the Vedic language.

3.4.8 उपसामवादशचक्षोऽ

upasamvādāśaṅkayoś ca
upasamvādāśaṅkayoḥ 7/2 ca Ø/
(pratyayah #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoh #3.1.91, chandasi #6, leṭ #7)
upasamvāde āśaṅkāyāṁ ca gamyamānāyāṁ chandasi viśaye leṭ pratyayo bhavati
Affix \textit{LET} also occurs after a root in the Vedic when \textit{upasamvāda} ‘contractual agreement’ and \textit{āsāṅkā} ‘apprehension’ are denoted.

\textbf{Examples:}

\begin{itemize}
\item \textit{ahameva paśūnāmīśai} ‘indeed, I am the lord of the cattles’
\item \textit{madagrā eva vu grāhā gr̥ḥyāntaḥ} ‘...should accept the pot with Soma’
\item \textit{nejjāṁ māyaṁ yam narakaṁ paṭāṁ} ‘...may fall into hell because of wicked deeds’
\end{itemize}

1. Note that this provision of \textit{LET} is made in the sense of \textit{LIŅ}. It could not have been made available through the previous \textit{sūtra as anyatarasyām} made that provision optional. This provision, hence, is obligatory (\textit{nitya}).

\textit{Kāśikā} explains \textit{upasamvāda} as \textit{paribhāṣanām}; \textit{kartavye paṇabandhaḥ} ‘a verbal agreement regulating certain transactions’. The word \textit{āsāṅkā} has been explained as a logical deduction of apprehension in view of certain actions (\textit{kāraṇataḥ kāryānusaranām tarka upreśa}). \textit{Kāśikā} further illustrates \textit{upasamvāda} by the following:

\begin{itemize}
\item \textit{yadi me bhavān idāṁ kuryād aham api bhavate idāṁ dāsyāmi} ‘should you do this for me sir! I shall also give you this’
\end{itemize}

The last sentence of the examples illustrates \textit{āsāṅkā}, where it is feared that committing some bad deed will logically lead to a fall into hell.

\subsection*{3.4.9 \textbf{तुम्भलेस्ते सेतुसारासेतुसेकसेतुधारोधर्णक्रमक्षे कृष्णश्रीशालायत्वात्वेवदृढ़तेन:}}

\begin{itemize}
\item \textit{tumarthe sesenaseasenasekasekadhyaiadhyainkadhyainśadhyaiśadhy} \textit{tavaitvaśtvaśtvāvenah}
\item \textit{ltumarthe 7/1 = tumuno’ rthaḥ = tumarthaḥ (ṣaṣ. tat.), tasmin; sesenasea...}
\item \textit{tavaitvaśtvaśtvāvenah 1/3 (itar. dv.)}
\item \textit{(pratayāyah #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.19.1, chandasi #6)}
\end{itemize}


\textbf{Examples:}

\begin{itemize}
\item \textit{vakṣe rāyah} ‘...naming the wealth’
\item \textit{tā vām ese} ‘...for going...’
\item \textit{jīvase} ‘...for living...’
\item \textit{prése} ‘...for sending...’
\item \textit{śrīyase} ‘...for beauty...’
\item \textit{kāmamupacāradhyai} ‘...for approaching...’
\item \textit{āhuvaḍhyai} ‘...for invoking...’
\item \textit{śrīyadhyai} ‘...for prosperity...’
\end{itemize}
vāyave pibāḍhyai ‘...for swallowing the wind...
rädhāsah saha māḍōyaḍhyai ‘... for exhilaration by ritual oblation of food...
pātavai ‘... for drinking...
sūtāve ‘...for birthing...
gantarī ‘...for going...
karṭave ‘...for doing...
kartave ‘...for fetching...

1. Note that affix tumUN is introduced after verbal roots under diverse conditions of kriyārthaṃkriyā ‘an action intended for another’ (3.3.11 tumunṇuṇvulau...), samāna-karṭṛkavitva ‘same agent’ (3.3.158 samāna-karṭṛkeṣu...), upadā ‘conjoined words’ (3.3.167 kāla...; 3.4.65 sahaḍhyāṣa...; 3.4.66 paryāpiṭi...). What does tumUN denote in these rules? There is no clear specification available. One can argue, here, that since affix tumUN is introduced after verbal roots (3.1.91 dhātoḥ), and also since it is not an affix denoted by the abbreviatory term stīN, it should be treated as a kṛt (3.1.93 kṛt atiṇ). This, in turn, would qualify tumUN to denote agent (kartr) as per rule 3.4.67 kartari kṛt. Commentators oppose this line of reasoning about the denotatum of affix tumUN. They claim that if tumUN were to denote agent, then Pāṇini need not have explicitly used the expression tumarthe ‘in the sense of affix tumUN’. For, again, why state the obvious? Since Pāṇini does state the obvious, then doing so must have some special purpose. That special purpose is to bring tumUN within the sphere of affixes whose denotata is not specifically stated (anirdeśaṇa). Once this is accepted, the denotatum of tumUN no longer remains doubtful. For, affixes introduced with no specification of meaning (anirdeśaṇa) denote the sense of the bases (bhāve) after which they occur. Since tumUN is introduced after a verbal root, its denotatum must be accepted as ‘sense of the root (dhātrvathā / bhāva)

2. Note that the formal difference between these fifteen affixes can be explained in terms of their īs: N, K, Ṣ, and Ū. These ī cause a difference of accentuation (svara) in their respective derivates. Additionally, the Ū causes lack of guna. The following illustrates the distribution, based on their difference in īt, of these affixes in five sets:

(i) se, seN, Kse
(ii) ase, aseN, KaseN
(iii) adhyai, adhyaiN, Kadhyaï, KadhyaïN, Ṣadhyaï, ṢadhyaïN
(iv) tāvai
(v) tave, taveN

The N as an īt is intended for the obligatory initial high-pitch (ādyudatta) of 6.1.191 īṇityādir nityam. Elsewhere, rule 3.1.3 ādyudattaś ca will control the affixal accent. The Ū will also block guna.
3.4.10 प्रये रोहिष्ये अवयथिष्ये

prayai rohiṣyai avyathisyai
/prayai o rohiṣyai o avyathisyai o/
(pratyayah #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, chandasi #6, tumarthe #9)
prayai rohiṣyai avyathisyai ity ete śabdā nipātyante chandasi viṣaye
The words: prayai 'to proceed', rohiṣyai 'to climb', and avyathisyai 'for not being weary' are derived by nipātana in the Vedic.

EXAMPLES:

prayai 'to proceed'
apām ośādhiṇām rohiṣyai 'water for vegetation'
avyathisyai 'for not being weary'

3.4.11 द्रोषे विख्ये च

drṣe vikhye ca
/dṛṣe o vikhye o ca o/
(pratyayah #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, chandasi #6, tumarthe #9)
dṛṣe vikhye ity etau chandasi viṣaye nipātyete
The words: dṛṣe 'to see' and vikhye 'to see, behold' are derived in the Vedic by nipātana in the sense of tumUN.

EXAMPLES:

dṛṣe viśvāyāṁ sūryam 'the sun is for us all to see'
vikhye tvā harāmi 'I fetch this for you to see'

3.4.12 शाकि नामुलकमुलौ

śaca nāmulkamulau
/lśa 7/1 nāmulkamulau 1/2/
(pratyayah #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, chandasi #6, tumarthe #9)
śaknotau dhātāv upapade chandasi viṣaye tumarthe dhātos nāmulkamul ity
etau pratyayau bhavataḥ
Affixes NamUL and KamUL occur in the Vedic to denote the sense of tumUN after a verbal root used in conjunction with śak 'to be able to'.

EXAMPLES:
	nāṃ va devā vībhājam nāṣaknuvan 'the gods were not able to divide
Agni'
apalupaṁ nāṣaknuvan '...were not able to split'
1. Note that the \( N \) in \( \text{NamUL} \) is an it used to introduce \( \text{vṛddhi} \) (7.2.115 \( \text{aco'ṇitī} \)); the purpose of \( K \) is to block \( \text{guna} \) or \( \text{vṛddhi} \) in \( \text{NamUL} \) (1.1.5 \( \text{kīnī ca} \)). The \( L \) of both the affixes is an it, used for accentuation (6.1.193 \( \text{liit} \)).

3.4.13 इवारे तोसुकसुनै

\[
\text{iśvare tosukasunau} \\
\text{iśvare 7/1 tosukasunau 1/2/} \\
\text{(pratyayah \#3.1.1, paraś ca \#3.1.2, dhātoḥ \#3.1.91, chandasi \#6, tumarthe \#9)} \\
\text{iśvaraśabda upapade chandasi viṣaye tumarthe dhātos tosukasunpratyayau bhavataḥ} \\
\text{Affixes tosUN and KasUN occur to denote the sense of tumUN in the Vedic after a verbal root used in conjunction with the word iśvara 'lord, master'.}
\]

**EXAMPLES:**

\[
\text{iśvaro' bhicaritoḥ 'the lord is capable of enchanting'} \\
\text{iśvaro viśukhaḥ '...god is to write...'} \\
\text{iśvaro viśṛdhaḥ '...god is to provide'}
\]

1. Note that assignment of the term \( \text{avyaya} \) to the derivates is by rule 1.1.39 \( \text{ktvāto...} \). The \( K \) as an it in KasUN is used to block any \( \text{guna} \), or \( \text{vṛddhi} \).

3.4.14 कृत्याः तवेकेकेनयितनः:

\[
\text{kṛtyārthe tavaikenkenyatvanah} \\
\text{/kṛtyārthe 7/1 (ṣaś. tat.) tavaikenkenyatvanah 1/3 (itar. dv.)/} \\
\text{(pratyayah \#3.1.1, paraś ca \#3.1.2, dhātoḥ \#3.1.91, chandasi \#6)} \\
\text{Affixes tava, Ken, Kenya, and tvaN occur after verbal roots in the Vedic to denote the sense of affixes termed kṛtya (3.1.95 kṛtyāh).}
\]

**EXAMPLES:**

\[
\text{anvētavai '...is to be pursued'} \\
\text{paridhātavai '...is to be worn'} \\
\text{nāvagāhe '...is not to be immersed into'} \\
\text{didṛkṣeyah '...is wished to be seen'} \\
\text{karvā havijh '...ritual oblation is to be prepared'}
\]

1. Note that the kṛtya affixes mentioned here are introduced in the sense of bhāva 'root-sense', and karman 'object', for which see 3.4.70 tayor eva kṛtya.... A kṛtya affix introduced after a transitive verbal root generally denotes karman; that which is introduced after an intransitive root denotes bhāva. The assignment of the term \( \text{avyaya} \) to the derivates is made by rule 1.1.39 \( \text{kṛn mejantah} \).

Note that affix tava is also introduced under rule 3.4.9 tumarthe....
Obviously, that tavai was introduced in the sense of tumUN. This rule introduces tavai in the sense of a krtya affix. It is further stated that a krtya affix can also be found used in the sense of an agent (kartr) as in rule 3.4.68 bhaarayageya... A krtya affix can also be found used in the sense of karana (cf. 3.1.102 vahyah karanaṃ). Since Pāṇini explicitly uses krtya to indicate the denotata, we must here infer a reference to rule 3.4.70 tayor... For, the word krtya is also explicitly stated there.

3.4.15 अवचक्षे च

avacaksē ca
/lavacaksē ṣ ca ṣ/ (pratyayah #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, chandasi #6, kṛtya- ārthe #14)
avapūrvac caksīna eṣ pratyayo nipātyate
Affix eṣ occurs in the Vedic to denote the sense of a krtya affix after verbal root caksIN, used with the preverb ava, to derive avacaksē by nipātana.

Example:

nāvacaksē ‘...is not to look down upon’

1. Note that the ṣ of eṣ is intended here for the assignment of the term sārvadhātuka by 3.4.113 tiṣṭ sārvadhātukam. This is necessary to block the introduction of khyāN, which is conditioned by an ārdhadhātuka affix as per rule 2.4.54 caksīnāḥ khyāṇ.

3.4.16 भावलक्षणे स्खेण्क्रविधिविधिविद्विनिभासस्तोत्र

bhāvalaksane sthenkrivadicaruhutamijanibhyas tosun
/bhāvalaksane 7/1 sthen...bhyah 5/3 (itar. du.), tosun 1/1/ (pratyayah #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, chandasi #6, tumarthe #9)
bhavo lakṣyate yena tasminn arthe vartamānēbhyaḥ sthādibhyo dhātubhyas chandasi viṣaye tumarthe tosun pratyayo bhavati
Affix tosUN occurs in the Vedic to denote the sense of tumUN after verbal roots sthā ‘to stay, stand’, iN ‘to go’, kr ‘to do’, uad ‘to speak’, car ‘to wander, move’, hu ‘to offer ritual oblation, call’, tam ‘to be weary’ and jan ‘to be born’, provided these roots characterize some other action.

Examples:

āśāṃsthätôr vēdyāṁ sidanti (KS 11.6) ‘they are sitting till the end’
/purā sūryasyodetor ādheyah (KS 8.3) ‘the ritual fire should be arranged before the rise of Sun’
purā vatsānām apākartoḥ (KS 31.15) ‘before the arrival of those who remove the calves away from the cows’

purā pravatūdor agnau prahotavyam ‘the ritual oblation should be offered to the fire before the finish of the chanting’

purā pracarītorāgīnīdhiṣṭīye hotavyam ‘the ritual oblation should be offered before the priest finishes the chanting’

ā hotor apramattas tiṣṭhätī ‘...stays on till the end of the ritual oblation’

ā tamitor āśita ‘stayed on till he (wished, or) became weary’

kāmam ā vijāntītoḥ... ‘...the wish for producing...’

1. Note that the roots after which affix tosUN is to be introduced must characterize an action. To interpret bhāvalakṣaṇa as a qualifier to the root, i.e., ‘when action is expressed’, can be misleading. The word bhāvalakṣaṇa can be explained as: ‘that by which bhāva ‘action’ is characterized’. But the roots denote action anyway. The present rule finds its scope when a root which denotes an action characterizes another action denoted by another root.

3.4.17 यथिष्ठते: कसुन्

srpitṛdoḥ kasun

Iṣrpirṛdoḥ 5/2 kasun 1/1

(pratyayāh #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, chandasi #6, tumarthe #9, bhāvalakṣaṇa #16)

srpitṛdoḥ dhātvor bhāvalakṣaṇoḥ rathe vartamānayaḥ chandasi viṣaye tumarthe kasun pratyaya bhavati

Affix KasUN occurs in the Vedic to denote the sense of tumUN after verbal roots srp ‘to crawl’ and tṛd ‘to pierce, harm’ when the roots characterize some other action.

Examples:

purā krurasyā visṛpo virapśin (Tait Sam 1.1.9.3) ‘before the cruel one gets away’

purā jatrībhūya aṭṛdāḥ ‘before the neck is pierced to bleeding’

1. Note that the provision of KasUN, with K as an it, is made as usual to block any guna or vṛddhi.

3.4.18 अलंकाराः: प्रतिवेदयोः: प्राचां क्वा

alamkhalvoh pratisedhayoh prācām ktvā

alamkhalvoh 7/2 pratisedhayoh 7/2 prācām 6/3 ktvā θ/

(pratyayāh #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91)

‘alam, khaliu ity etayoḥ pratisedhavacīnoh upapadoṣor dhātor ktvā pratyayo bhavati prācām ācāryāṇāṁ matena

alam, khaliu ity etayoḥ pratisedhavacīnoh upapadoṣor dhātor ācāryāṇaṁ matena
According to the Eastern grammarians, affix *Ktvā* occurs after verbal roots used in conjunction with *alam* and *khalu* when prohibition (*pratiśeha*) is denoted.

**Examples:**

*alam uktvā* ‘do not speak’
*khalūktvā* ‘id.’

1. Note that a reference by *prācām* ‘of the Easterners’ marks the optional forms (*vibhāṣā*). Thus, in the opinion of others, *alam uktvā* will have a form such as *alam vacanena* as an option. Obviously, others will not use *Ktvā*.

3.4.19 उदीचां मान्ये व्यतिहारे

*udicām māno vyatihāre*
*lunicām 6/3 mānah 5/1 vyatihāre 7/1/

(*pratyayah #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhatoh #3.1.91, ktvā #18*)

*māno dhatōr vyatihāre* vantamānād *udicām acāryānām* matena *ktvā pratyayo bhavati*

According to Northern grammarians, affix *Ktvā* occurs after verbal root *māN* ‘to exchange, barter’ when reciprocity is denoted.

**Example:**

*apamitya yācate* ‘first begs, then exchanges’

1. Note that rule 3.4.21 *samānakartṛkayoḥ...* introduces *Ktvā* after a verbal root which denotes a prior action. In the opinion of the Northerners, this rule, though optionally, provides for *Ktvā* without this condition. That is, *Ktvā* may be used here after a root which denotes a subsequent action. Thus, the beggar first begs, then exchanges the alms with another beggar. A form optional to the Northerners will be *yācitvā apamayate*, where *Ktvā* is introduced after *yāc*, a root which denotes a prior action subsequent to which the action of ‘exchange’ takes place. If one still wants to believe that *Ktvā* must always be used with a root which denotes prior action, the sentence *apamitya yācate* should be interpreted as: ‘he first exchanges what he has begged and then goes begging again’. But this meaning could be accomplished through rule 3.4.21 *samānakartṛkayoḥ...* Thus, one questions the purpose of this rule.

2. Note also that the root referenced here is: *mēN*. The cited form, *māN*, results as a replacement of the original *e* by *ā* before the *Ktvā* suffix under the provision of rule 6.1.45 *ādeca upadeśe’ sīti*. Citation of the root, with its replacement in *ā*, indicates that a root does not lose its status as ending in *īC* (*e, ai, o, au*) provided it is used with an *it* (cf. *nāmubhandhakṛtam aneyantatvam*). See rule 1.1.20 *dādhāhyu adāp* for further details.
3.4.20 परावरयोगे च

परावरयोगे ca
/परावरयोगे 7/1 = paraś ca avaraś ca parāvarau, tābhyāṃ yogah (tr. tat with int. dv.); ca θ/ (pratyayah #3.1.1., paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, ktvā #18)
pareṇa pūrvasya yoge gamyamāṇe avareṇa ca parasya dhātoḥ ktvā pratyayo bhavati

Affix Ktvā also occurs after a verbal root when location relative to para ‘subsequent’ and avara ‘prior’ is denoted.

EXAMPLES:

aprāpya nadiṃ parvataḥ sthitāḥ ‘the mountain is located prior to the river’
atikramya tu parvataṃ nadiḥ sthitā ‘the river is located beyond the mountain’

1. Note that avara ‘prior’ and para ‘subsequent’ are relative terms. That is, one is used with the expectation of the other. Since the relative terms are very definite in their connotation, citation of para and avara can also bring back para and पुरवा. Note that the Kāśikā glosses the rule with ...gamyamāṇe... Consequently, the relative notion of para and avara does not have to be explicitly stated. This relationship between para and avara is understood. Thus the first sentence literally means ‘the mountain is located at the place where the river has not yet been reached’. The second sentence literally means ‘the river is located at the place one has reached by going beyond the mountain’. The first sentence has the mountain (parvata) qualified by its connection with the river, which is subsequently located (परानादियोगेन parvato viśeṣate). The second example has the river qualified by the mountain, which is located previously to it.

3.4.21 समानकर्त्तकयोः पूर्वकाले

samanakartiḥkayoh pūrvakāle
/samanakartiḥkayoh 7/2 pūrvakāle 7/1/ (pratyayah #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, ktvā #18)
samānah kartā yavor dhātvarthayos tatra pūrvakāle dhātvarthe vartāmānād dhātoḥ ktvā pratyayo bhavati

Affix Ktvā occurs after a verbal root which denotes a prior action relative to some subsequent action provided both actions share the same agent.

EXAMPLES:

bhuktvā vrajati ‘he goes after having eaten’
pītvā vrajati ‘he goes after having drunk’
1. This rule introduces affix *Ktvā* after a root which denotes a prior action and shares the same agent with some subsequent action. Note that the sharing of the same agent is specified with reference not to the verbal roots but to their denotata, the action. Consider thus the following sentence:

(a) *snātvā khādati* ‘...eats after having bathed’

where the actions denoted by *snā* ‘bathe’ and *khād* ‘to eat’ share the same third person singular agent. Note also that *Ktvā* is introduced after *snā* because the action denoted by *snā* happens to be prior to the action denoted by *khād*.

2. Commentators also relate this connection to the notion of *kāraka* as the power (*śakti*) of an action (*kriyā*), which is considered to reside in a given locus (*ādhāra*). Now consider the following sentence:

(b) *devadatto grāmād āgatyā snānam kṛtvā dugdham pītvā sukhenā svapiti* ‘Devadatta is sleeping happily after having come from the village, bathed and having drunk milk’

One can easily see that this complex sentence entails four actions denoted by *āgam* ‘to come’, *snā* ‘to bathe’, *pā* ‘to drink’ and *svap* ‘to sleep’ respectively. These actions all have a third persons singular *kartya* as their power which, in turn, has *devadatta* as its locus (*śaktyādhāra*).

It is generally believed that a set of two actions such that one is located prior in time (*pūrvakāla*) with reference to the other will have two different sets of powers. That is, the action located at a prior time with reference to one located subsequently will not share similar *kārakaśakti*. This being the case, the condition of *samānakartṛkataṃ* as laid down by this rule becomes impossible to meet. Therefore, it is impossible to introduce affix *Ktvā* after a verbal root which denotes a prior action in relation to a subsequent one. Commentators explain that this rule, while stating the condition of *samānakartṛkataṃ*, does not specify any distinction (*bheda*) between the power (*śakti*) of an action termed *kāraka*, i.e., *kartya*, and the locus of the power (*śaktyādhāra*), for example, *devadatta*. Consequently, a single locus of power (such as *devadatta*) can be spoken of as being related to all the other actions. The condition of *samānakartṛkataṃ* as stated by this rule can still be treated as valid.

3. Some argue that the dual of *samānakartṛkayoh* is also consequential. That is, this dual is chosen to restrict the number of actions relative to the introduction of affix *Ktvā* to two: one to be located at a prior time relative to another located at a subsequent time. Commentators state that the dual of *samānakartṛkayoh* cannot be accepted, here, as *pradhāna* ‘principal’. For, this rule makes its provision by treating action (*kriyā*) as principal. This action is only specified, here, as twofold in terms of time: *pūrvakāla* ‘prior time’and *uttarakāla* ‘subsequent time’. Our rule thus makes its provision with reference to two variables: coreferentiality
(samānakartṛkātvā), and location of action in time (pūrvaparakālatva). It
does not limit the number of actions located at a prior time to one as far
as the introduction of Ktvā is concerned. The question of limiting the
number of actions located at some subsequent time falls outside the
scope of this rule. It also does not have any control over the order of roots
denoting prior action. That is, one can have either (c) or (d) as follows:

(c) snātvā bhūktvā pītvā vrajaṭi, or
(d) pītvā bhūktvā snātvā vrajaṭi.

One may sequence them differently as desired. However, given the
denotational power of words and some culturally preferred sequence
of actions, preference of order may be imposed. Thus,

(e) snātvā bhūktvā pītvā svapitī may be a preferred sequence of actions.

4. Note that a sentence such as:

(f) bhūktavatī bhāmmane gacchati devadattaḥ would not qualify for Ktvā
after bhujī ‘to consume’ because there is no identical agent.

A sentence such as:

(g) vrajaṭi jalpaṭi ca ‘....goes and mutters as well’
is similarly out of the scope of this rule, since the two actions entail yauga-
padyya ‘simultaneity’. But what about sentence (h):

(h) āsyam vyādāya svapitī ‘... sleeps with mouth open’, or,
(i) cakṣuḥ samālaya hasati ‘... laughs with his eyes closed’?

These sentences do involve the introduction of Ktvā, though the actions
denoted by the roots after which the affix is introduced do not denote
prior location in time (pūrvakālatā). Instead, the actions of ‘sleeping’ and
‘opening’ as well as those of ‘closing’ and ‘laughing’ occur at the same
time. Or, when one occurs the other one also occurs. A vārttiha is proposed
to account for these usages.

3.4.22 अधिप्रशस्त शुमुः च

ābhikṣṇye namul ca
labhikṣṇye 7/1 namul 1/1 ca Ø

(pratyayaḥ #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, ktvā #18, samāna-
kartrkayoh pūrvakāle #21)
abhikṣṇyavrūśīste rthe vartamānāḥ dhātor namul pratyayo bhavati,
cakārāt ktvā ca

Affix NamUL, as well as Ktvā, occurs after a verbal root which denotes
a prior action and shares the same agent with a subsequent action
provided abhikṣṇya ‘repetition’ is expressed.

Examples:

bhjojām bhjojām vrajaṭi ‘he goes having eaten and eaten’
bhūktvā bhūktvā vrajaṭi ‘id.’
pāyah pāyah vrajati ‘he goes having drunk and drunk
pītvā pītvā vrajati ‘id’.

1. Note that the preceding rule also carries here in full. That is, the provisions of this rule are applicable to an action located at a prior time, in relation to an action located at a subsequent time, provided both the actions share the same agent. The word ābhikṣṇya is explained here as paunah paunya ‘over and over again’, and is additionally treated as a qualifier (viśesāna) to the sense of the root after which affix ŅamUL, optionally with Ktvā, is to be introduced. The word ābhikṣṇya is here used in the sense of ‘repetition’ (viśpā) which, in turn, is expressed by doubling the derivates (cf. 8.1.4 nityaśīpāyoh). Thus, bhojam bhojam vrajati ‘..., eats, eats, and goes’ or bhuktvā bhuktvā vrajati ‘id’.

3.4.23 न यथानन्क्षे
na yady anāṅkṣe
/na θ yadi θ anāṅkṣe 7/1/
(pratyayāḥ #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, ktvā #18, samānakiṛtyayoh pūrvakāle #21, namul #22)
yacchabda upapade dhātoḥ ktvānamulau pratyayau na bhavato
nāṅkṣe vācy
Affixes Ktvā and ŅamUL do not occur after a verbal root which cooccurs with yad and denotes a prior action sharing the same agent with a subsequent action when ābhikṣṇya is expressed and āṅkṣā ‘expectancy’ relative to some third action is not signified.

EXAMPLES:

yad ayam bhunkte tataḥ pacati ‘he repeatedly cooks and eats...’
yad ayam adhitē tataḥ sete ‘he repeatedly reads and sleeps’

1. This rule blocks the introduction of affixes Ktvā and ŅamUL after a verbal root whose action is located prior to some relatively subsequent action provided yad ‘that’ cooccurs with it, and the sentence with the central meaning of these prior and subsequent actions is not dependent upon any third action for completion of its sense. Consider for example the following sentence:

(a) yad ayam bhuktvā vrajati adhitā eva tataḥ param
‘he indeed studies when he goes after eating’,
where yad is in conjunction with verbal root bhuj ‘to consume’ denoting a prior action in relation to the subsequent action denoted by vraj ‘to go’. The structural unit containing the two sets of prior and subsequent actions is thus derived as: yad ayam bhuktvā vrajati ‘that he goes after having eaten...’ But this unit is not able to denote a complete meaning. Instead, it is dependent upon adhitā eva tataḥ param ‘certainly studies afterwards’
for the expression of any complete meaning. It is in this sense that the first sentential unit is dependent (sāhāṅka) upon the second for completion of its sense. Consider now this following sentence:

(b) yad ayam bhunikte tataḥ pacati 'he repeatedly eats then cooks'
where the sentential unit containing the prior and subsequent actions is not dependent upon any third action to express a complete meaning. But Ktvā and NamUL are still not allowed, since bhuj cooccurs with yad.

2. Note that the negation of this rule also extends to provisions made by the previous rule because of the context of pūrvakālatva and Ktvā. Jīnendrabuddhi rightly remarks (Nyāsa ad Kāś. under this rule): pūrvakāla-prakaranā-pekṣayā pratiṣedhah kriyate tasmād yuktah pūrvasūtravihítasyāpi pratiṣedhah 'since the negation is made in relation to the context of an action located at a prior time, it is, therefore, only appropriate that it extend also to the provision of the preceding rule'.

3.4.24 विभाषाप्रथमपूर्णेक०

vibhāṣā’gre prathamapaśrīvēṣu

vibhāṣā 1/1 agre-prathamapaśrīvēṣu 7/11

(pratyayāḥ #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, ktvā #18, samānakartṛkayoḥ pūrvakāle #21, namul #22)

‘agre, prathamam, pūrva’ ity etesūpāpadesu samānakartṛkayoḥ pūrvakāle dhātoḥ ktvānamamalau pratyayau vibhāṣā bhavataḥ

Affixes Ktvā and NamUL optionally occur after a verbal root which denotes a prior action, and shares the same agent with a subsequent action, provided the root which denotes prior action occurs with agre ‘ahead of’, prathamam ‘first’ or pūrva ‘prior to’.

Examples:

agre bhōjaṁ vṛajati ‘having eaten ahead he goes’
agre bhuktvā vṛajati ‘id.’
prathamam bhōjaṁ vṛajati ‘having eaten first he goes’
prathamam bhuktvā vṛajati ‘id.’
pūrvaṁ bhōjaṁ vṛajati ‘id.’
pūrvaṁ bhuktvā vṛajati ‘id.’
agre bhunikte tato vṛajati ‘id.’

1. This rule optionally negates the provisions of the previous rule when a verbal root which denotes a prior action in relation to some subsequent action, with which it also shares the same agent, cooccurs with agre, prathamam, and pūrva. Note that this optional negation is made available in view of a previously non-existent provision. This option is called aprāptavihāṣā. This cannot be called prāptavihāṣā, since vibhāṣā must be related to a rule which makes provisions relative to both affixes Ktvā and
NamUL at the same time. The provision made by rule 3.4.22 ābhikṣṇye ṇamul ca is only partial.

The anuvṛtti of ābhikṣṇye is dropped, here; because the option provided for by this rule would then have become related to the preceding rule. But ābhikṣṇya is also related with rule 3.4.22 from whence it is carried to the preceding rule. Commentators explain that an explicit mention of vibhāṣā in this rule indicates that affixes LAT, etc., can also be optionally introduced to affixes Ktvā and ṇamUL of this rule. If ābhikṣṇye were carried here, then LAT, etc., could not be introduced parallel to Ktvā and ṇamUL. For, sentences with LAT, etc., parallel to Ktvā and ṇamUL, do not obtain when ābhikṣṇya is denoted. That is, agre bhūṅkte bhūṅkte tato vrajati ‘first he eats and eats and then goes’ cannot be used parallel to a sentence with Ktvā. What is intended is for agre bhūṅtvā vrajatil agre bhojam vrajati, optionally to occur with agre bhūṅkte tato vrajati, where no ābhikṣṇya is involved.

3.4.25 कर्मण्याक्रोषे क्रृष्ण: खमुत्

karmanyā ākroṣe kraṇah khamuni
ikarmanī 7/1 ākroṣe 7/1 kraṇah 5/1 khamuni 1/1
(pratayah #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, samānakartṛkayoḥ pūvakālē #21)

Affix KHamUN occurs after verbal root kraṇ which denotes a prior action, and shares the same agent with a subsequent action, provided it cooccurs with a pada that signifies karm and ākrośa ‘insult, abuse’ is expressed.

EXAMPLES:

corāṁkāram ākrośati ‘he is a thief, thus he shouts in anger’
coro’ si, dasyur asi ity ākrośati ‘you are a thief, you are a bandit, thus he shouts in anger’

1. Note that the condition of pūrvakālatva, and of samānakartṛkatva as well, is still valid. Thus, we get:

corāṁkāram ākrośati ‘he angrily shouts that someone is a thief’,

where calling someone a thief is simply for the purpose of expressing anger rather than to iterate that someone is really a thief.

The KH as an it in the affix facilitates the introduction of augment mUM by rule 6.3.65 arurdviṣad....

3.4.26 स्वादुम् गामुल्

svādumi ṇamul
/svādumi 7/1 ṇamul 1/1/
Adhyāya Three: Pāda Four

(prayāyāḥ #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, samānakartrkayoh pūrvakāle #21, kṛṇah #2)
svādvartheśupapadesu kṛṇo namul prayayo bhavati
Affix NamUL occurs after verbal root kṛN when it denotes a prior action, and shares the same agent with a subsequent action, provided KṛN is also used with an item that signifies svādu ‘delectable’.

EXAMPLES:

svādumkāram bhūṅkte ‘having made his food delectable, he eats’
sampannamkāram bhūṅkte ‘having made his food rich, he eats’
lavānaṃkāram bhūṅkте ‘having made his food salty, he eats’

1. Note that samānakartrkayoh pūrvakāle and kṛṇah are both carried here. The word svādum, though used in saptamī ‘locative’, does not restrict the conjoined word (upapada) to svādu ‘palatable’ alone. Instead, it refers to a conjoined form with the meaning of svādu. Thus, this rule introduces affix NamUL after verbal root kṛN, when it denotes a prior action relative to some subsequent action with which it also shares the same agent, provided that kṛN also cooccurs with a pada which has the signification of svādu ‘palatable’. How do we know that svādu is to be interpreted here as denoting its meaning, and not its form (sabda; cf. 1.1.68 svam rūpaṃ ...)? Nyāsa (ad Kāś.) explains this as follows:

arthaparayatvā tu nirdeśasyāvicchinnācaryaparamparayopadesād vijnāyate
‘that this specification is made in view of meaning is from teachers to students through the continued tradition’.

Acceptance of this view, entailing a specification of meaning, also makes it possible for the synonyms of svādu to constitute the conjoined pada. Thus we get examples such as lavānaṃkāram bhūṅkte parallel to svādumkāram bhūṅkte, where lavānanām is used synonymously with svādum.

2. Note that svādu in the specification of this rule is given as svādum, a form which ends in -m (mānta). This -m is, indeed, ad hoc (nipātana). Why did Pāṇini not formulate the rule simply as svādau ca, thereby introducing KHamUN to enable the cooccurring word with svādu to end in -m? Given svādu + kṛ + KHamUN, rule 6.3.67 arurduṣad... would bring the augment mUM to svādu. This, in turn, would enable svādu to end in -m. Besides, it would also have been more economical.

Commentators say that KHamUN, indeed, brings mānta ‘ending in -m’ status to svādu, but is not trouble free. For, rule 4.1.44 voto guṇavacanāt then occasions the introduction of affix NiS. This would, obviously, yield undesired results. A specification with built in ad hoc -m, as the existing rule provides, rules out the introduction of NiS, since the cause (nimitta) for such an introduction is then removed. Besides, it is not
necessarily true that an introduction of KHəmUN always leads to the introduction of m via mUM. For rule 6.3.67 also has a built-in exception of ana-vayasya ‘...not of that which is an indeclinable’. This blocks the mānta status of svādu, interpreted to end in affix Cvl. For it is then an indeclinable (avayya). Thus, introducing KHəmUN would, in some cases, occasion the introduction of the feminine affix NiŚ. Yet, in still other cases, it cannot secure the mānta status.Introducing KHəmUN, with the ad hoc mānta status, restricts this clearly for the purpose of indeclinables which end in affix Cvl. This, in turn, occasions the application of rule 7.4.26 evau ca, whereby a long vowel is introduced. Starting the application of this rule with affix NamUL, along with the ad hoc -m, saves the derivatives from problematic operations. Additionally, in view of the principle of vā’ sarūpa, one can also find examples such as svādum kṛtvā bhūṅkte ‘...eats after having made something palatable’, where Ktvā can be introduced parallel to NamUL.

3. Kāśikā states that these affixes are all introduced with the denotata of bhāva ‘root-sense’. However, if this is the situation, then why is the instrumental ending (tṛṭiya) not introduced after devadatta in the sentence:

devadattaḥ svādunākaraṃ bhūṅkte?

For, affix NamUL denotes bhāva; tṛṭiya must be introduced to express the agent. Kāśikā states that, since no distinction in this section is maintained between the power, or kāraka, of an action and its locus, the Ktvā has already expressed the agent. If this were not the case, the condition of samānakarticatva, which forms the basis for the introduction of Ktvā, would be impaired (cf. my notes under rule 3.4.21 samānakarticayoh...). It thus becomes unnecessary to introduce tṛṭiya after devadatta to express the agent. The Mahābhāṣya discusses such questions in detail under this rule. The conclusion there is to view two types of actions in the case of the examples on hand: the main action (pradhānakriyā), and the secondary action (guṇakriyā). The action of making something palatable is a secondary action in relation to the action denoted by eating (bhuj). The distinction between actions also applies to the powers of these actions, i.e., the kāraka. The expression of a kāraka relationship by the main action enables the secondary action to have its own such kāraka automatically expressed. That is, the expression of kartṛ by te of bhūṅkte, the main action, renders the agent of the action denoted by kṛ of svāduṃ kṛtvā automatically expressed. This idea, of expression of the kāraka relative to the principal and the secondary. actions of these examples, has been explained as follows:

anuprasyaṇyamānād dhātor yasmin kārake lādayo vihitās tatraivāvyayakṛto’
pi bhavanti ‘the kāraka relations, which are expressed by the IA
affixes of roots which denote tagged actions, are the same as those of actions underlying indeclinables derived by affixes termed kṛt.'

Note that the Kāśikā takes recourse to bhāva as the expression of affixes in the tumUN domain (tumarthādhiśāra), along with the idea to keep the coreferentiality condition of agents intact, to arrive at the same interpretation. The idea of the principal and subsequent actions, along with the idea of the denotation of their powers, is voiced very systematically by the following two verses of Bhartṛhari:

pradhānetarayor yatra dravyasya kriyayoh prthak
śaktir guṇāśrayā tatra pradhānam anuruddhyate ||
pradhānavisayā saktih pratyayenābhidhihyate
yadā guṇe tādā tadvad anuktāpi pratiḥyate ||

'the power of a secondary action follows the power of the primary action when a single thing has two such actions; when the power of the principle action is expressed by the (replacement of the LA) affix, the power of the secondary action is treated as also expressed'

3.4.27 अन्यथैतिथिकत्वाभिः सिद्धार्पयोग्येः

anyathāitvān katham itthamsu siddhāprayaogaś cet
aanyathāitvān katham itthamsu 7/3 siddhāprayaogaḥ 1/1 cet 01
(pratyayāḥ #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, krṇāḥ #25,
āṇamul #26)

anyathādīṣūpapadesu krṇo āṇamul pratyayo bhavati, siddhāprayaogaś cet
karoṭer bhavati

Affix NamUL occurs after verbal root kṛṇ when it is used with anyathā ‘otherwise’, evam ‘this way’, katham ‘how, like what’, or ittham ‘like this’, provided a non-use (apurva) of kṛṇ is also valid (siddha).

EXAMPLES:

anyathākāram bhunkte ‘he eats his food improperly'
anyathā bhunkte ‘id.’
evamkāram bhunkte ‘he eats his food like this’
kathamkāram bhunkte ‘he eats his food like what’
itthamkāram bhunkte ‘he eats his food like this’
ittham bhunkte ‘id.’

1. This rule allows for the introduction of affix NamUL after kṛ when it occurs in conjunction with items such as anyathā, evam, and katham, etc., provided, the non-use (apurva) of kṛ is established (siddha). Thus, examples such as anyathā bhunkte and anyathākāram bhunkte would mean the same thing. That is, kāram does not contribute anything different to the meaning than what anyathā, itself, can accomplish. Consider now the counter-example:
anyathā kṛtvā śiro bhūnte ‘he eats having turned his face in the other
direction’,

where NamUL cannot be introduced because the non-use of kṛ is not
established. That is, deletion of kṛ would impair the meaning.

3.4.28 यथातथावयोरसूयाप्रतिवचने

yathātathayor asūyāprativacane
l/yathātathayoh 7/2 asūyāprativacane 7/1
(pratyayaḥ #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, kṛṇah #25, nāmul
#26, siddhāprayogaś cet #27)
yathātathāsabdayer upapadayoh kṛṇo nāmul pratyayo bhavati, asūyāprati-
vacane gamyamāne

Affix NamUL occurs after verbal root kṛṇ when it is used with yathā
‘the way in which’ and tathā ‘that way’, provided non-use of kṛṇ is
also valid and a response against asūyā ‘fault-finding’ is expressed.

EXAMPLES:

yathākāram aham bhoksey tathākāram aham, kim tavānena ‘I eat the way
I do, what does this have to do with you’

yathākṛtvā’ ham śiro bhokseye, kim tavānena ‘I eat by keeping my head
the way I do, what does this have to do with you’

1. This rule introduces affix NamUL after verbal root kṛ when
non-use of the root is valid provided, further, that the words yathā and
tathā are used in conjunction, and the ‘response against finding fault’
(asūyāprativacana) is expressed. Thus, we get an example such as:

yathākāram aham bhoksey tathākāram aham, kim tavānena ‘I eat the way
I do; what does this have to do with you’

Note that the person spoken to must have earlier tried to find fault with
the eating manner of the speaker of this sentence, which constitutes a
response. Now consider this:

yathā kṛtvā’ ham bhokseye tathā tvam drakṣyasi ‘you will see the way I eat’,
where NamUL cannot be introduced because the sentence does not con-
stitute a response to an expressed fault. The following sentence shows
how NamUL can still not be introduced in the absence of the established
meaning of kṛ:

yathā kṛtvā’ ham śiro bhokseye kim tavānena ‘what does how I turn my
head and eat have to do with you’

Incidentally, the word asūyā is explained as finding faults with someone’s
qualities (gunesu dosāvishkaranaṃ).
3.4.29 कर्मणि दृश्विदोहः सākalye
/karmanīi dṛśvīdoh sākalye

(pratyayah #3.1.1, paraś #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, namul #26)
karmany upaṇade sākalyaviśiṣṭe' rthe dṛśvīdor dhātvor namul pratyayo bhavati

Affix NamUL occurs after verbal roots dṛśIR 'to see' and vidA 'to know' when they are used with a pada which denotes karman and is qualified by sākalya 'entirety'.

EXAMPLES:

kanyādarśaṁ varayati 'every girl he sees he chooses for a wife'
brāhmaṇavedaṁ bhojayati 'he feeds every brāhmaṇa he knows'

1. This rule introduces affix NamUL, after verbal roots dṛśIR 'to see', and vid 'to know' when they are used in conjunction with a word which denotes karman and is qualified with sākalya 'entirety'. Consider, thus, the sentence:

brāhmaṇavedaṁ bhojayati

which can be paraphrased as:

yam yam brāhmaṇaṁ jānāti labhate vicārayati vā tān sarvān bhojayati 'he feeds all the brāhmaṇa that he knows, could think of, or find'.

Note that the preceding sentences basically denote the brāhmaṇa, the object of feeding (bhujī), in their entirety (sākalya). It is in this sense that the commentators discuss the notion of sākalyaviśiṣṭārtha 'meaning qualified by entirety'. Affix NamUL is thus introduced under the meaning condition of a conjoined word which denotes an object in its entirety. That is, if the brāhmaṇa, the objects of feeding, were not to be fed in their entirety, the affix could not have been introduced. Now consider the counter-example:

brāhmaṇaṁ dṛśtvā bhojayati 'he feeds a brāhmaṇa when he sees one',

where feeding a single brāhmaṇa when seen, obviously, goes against the notion of 'entirety'. The affix, consequently, cannot be allowed here.

3.4.30 यावति विन्द्रजीवयो:

yāvati vindajīvayoh
/yāvati 7/1 vindajīvayoh 6/2/

(pratyayah #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, namul #26)
yāvacchabda upaṇade vindater jīvate ca namul pratyayo bhavati
Affix नामल occurs after verbal roots विल ‘to gain, profit’ and जीव ‘to be alive’ when they are used in conjunction with यावत ‘as much as; as long as’.

**Examples:**

यावद वेदम भुङ्कते ‘he eats as long as he gets’
यावज जीवम अधिते ‘he studies as long as he lives’

1. Note that what is specified here with विंदा is verbal root विल’. How do we know this? We know this because the न of विंदा has its source in the introduction of augment नुम by rule 7.1.59 शेमुकादिनाम. No other similar root gets this augment.

### 3.4.31 चर्मदरयोऽ: पूः:

चर्मदरयोऽ पुरेह
\[\text{Pratyahāra:} #3.1.1, \text{Varga:} #3.1.2, \text{Dhātuvarga:} #3.1.91, \text{Nām:} #26, \text{Karman:} #29\]

चर्मदरयोऽ कर्माणि उपापदायोऽ पुरयाते नामुल प्रतययो भवाति
Affix नामल occurs after verbal root पुरी ‘to cause to fill’ when it is used in conjunction with a पदa which denotes कर्म and contains carman ‘skin, hide’ or udara ‘belly’.

**Examples:**

चर्मपुराम स्त्राति ‘he spreads the hide to the extent it can cover...
उदारपुराम भुङ्कते ‘he eats until his belly is full’

1. This rule introduces affix नामल after verbal root पुरी ‘to fill’. The specification by पुरेह ‘after verbal root पुरी implies the causative root. For, a non-causal पुरी ‘be full’ cannot be transitive, and hence will not qualify to be used in the context of this rule. The words carman and udara constitute the cooccurrence condition. Thus, we get: udārapūram bhūṅkate ‘he eats until his belly is full’.

### 3.4.32 वर्षप्रमाण अलोपाः कायायतारयाः

वर्षप्रमाणा उलोपास कायायतारयाः
\[\text{Pratyahāra:} #3.1.1, \text{Varga:} #3.1.2, \text{Dhātuvarga:} #3.1.91, \text{Nām:} #26, \text{Karman:} #29, \text{Purēh:} #31\]

पुरयाते धातोर नामुल प्रतययो भवाति, उलोपास काया पुरयाते अन्यतारयाः भवाति, समुदायेना च वर्षायस्य प्रमाणानाम गमयते
Affix नामल occurs after verbal root पुरी when it is used with a पदa which denotes कर्म and when वर्षप्रमाणा ‘measure of rain’ is expressed; in addition, the उ of पुरी, is optionally deleted.
Examples:

gospadapūram vṛṣṭo devah 'it rained enough to fill up the hoof-print of a cow'
gospadapram vṛṣṭo devah 'id.'
sitāpūram vṛṣṭo devah 'it rained enough to fill up a furrow'
sitāpraṁ vṛṣṭo devah 'id.'

1. This rule not only introduces affix ṇamUL, but also orders an additional operation, though only optionally. The verbal root is still pūri. The cooccurrence condition of an object is still valid. The optional operation, in addition to the introduction of the affix, is the deletion of the long ū of the root. Of course, these operations both apply only when the derivate denotes 'the extent of rain' (vṛṣṭapramāṇa). Thus, we get the sentences such as:

gospadapūram vṛṣṭo devah 'it rained as much as could fill up the footprints of cows'
gospadapraṁ vṛṣṭo devah 'id.'

where the second sentence shows the optional deletion of ū.

2. There is a very detailed proposal refuting the provision of the optional deletion of ū in the Mahābhāṣya. The discussion centers around the introduction of affix Ka by rule 3.2.3 āto 'nupasarge kaḥ, to thereby derive a form which is identical in form, meaning, and accent with the derivate in ṇamUL. I skip, here, the details of this refutation, as well as that of the additional considerations for introduction of affix GHaṈ.

3.4.33 चेले क्लोणे:

celē knopēh
/cele 7/1 knopēh 5/1/
(pratyayah #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, namul #26, karmanī #29, vṛṣṭapramāṇa #32)

'knūyī sābde undane ca' asmān nyantād dhātoś celārtheśu karmasu upapadesu namul pratyayō bhavati, vṛṣṭapramāṇe gamyamāne
Affix ṇamUL occurs after verbal root knopi 'to cause to be wet' when it is used with a pada which signifies cela 'clothing' as karman, and when the derivate expresses a measure of rain.

Examples:

celaknopam vṛṣṭo devah 'it rained enough to make the clothes wet'
vastraknopam vṛṣṭo devah 'id.'
vasanaknopam vṛṣṭo devah 'id.'

1. This rule introduces affix ṇamUL after verbal root knūYī, used with NiC, to denote the sense of 'making something wet' provided an
object which denotes cela ‘clothes’ is used in conjunction, and ‘extent of rain’ is also denoted. The specification of the verbal root is made with the inclusion of the augment pUK. This, in turn, becomes the basis for interpreting the use of the root in the causative with affix NiC. For, pUK can be introduced to knāyī by rule 7.3.36 ar... rūhāli... only when it ends in NiC. Thus we get examples such as:

celaknopam vrśto devaḥ ‘it rained enough to cause the clothes to be wet’

3.4.34 निमुलसमुलयः: कषः:

nimūlasamūlayoh kaṣah
/nimūlasamūlayoh 7/2 (itar. dv.); kaṣah 5/1/
(pratyayaḥ #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, ṣamul #26, karnāṇī #29)
nimūla-samūla-śabdanyoh karmavācīny upapadanyoh kaṣer dhātor ṣamul
pratayo bhavati
Affix NamUL occurs after verbal root kaṣA ‘to scrape, rub’ when it is used in conjunction with a pada which denotes a karman constituted by nimūla ‘without roots’ and samūla ‘with roots’.

EXAMPLES:

nimūlakāṣam kaṣati ‘removes (a plant) without the roots’
samūlakāṣam kaṣati ‘removes (a plant) with the roots’

1. Note that our examples nimūlakāṣam and samūlakāṣam, which denote the object of kaṣA and both also include kāso, a derivate of kaṣA, the same action. How come the action is stated twice? Is there a difference in these actions? Actually, these actions are both the same. The action denoted by kaṣA is repeated in view of the provision of rule 3.4.46 kaṣādiṣu yathāvidhī anuprayog ah. Commentators explain samūlakāṣam kaṣati as saha múlena kaṣanam kārōti ‘accomplishes the action of cutting along with the roots’. This is how all examples are to be understood in this entire section. It is stated that these same actions can be viewed as used in a qualifier-qualified (viśeṣa-viśeṣya) relationship where one action is general (sāmānya) as opposed to the other which is particular (viśeṣa). This way, the same action (dhātvartha) can also be viewed as different (PM ad Kāś. III:178. ekṣayaiva dhātvarthasya sāmānyaviśeṣabhāvena bhede sati viśeṣānviveṣabhāvah). Note further that the condition of sāmān-kartkātvā ‘single agentness’ is still valid in this section.

3.4.35 शुष्कचुर्रूक्रेषु पिषः:

śūṣkacūṇarūkṛṣevi piṣah-
/śūṣkacūṇarūkṛṣevi 7/3 (itar. clv.); piṣah 5/1/
(pratyayaḥ 3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, ṣamul #26, karnāṇī #29)
suskhadiṣu karmavacisupadesu piper dhātor namul pratyayo bhavati
Affix ŃamUL occurs after verbal root pisl. ‘to grind to powder’ when
it is used in conjunction with a pada which denotes a karman with
the signification of suska ‘dried’, ciṛṇa ‘powdered’, and rūkṣa ‘coarse’.

EXAMPLES:

suskapesam pinaṣṭi ‘...grinds something dry to powder’
ciṛṇapesam pinaṣṭi ‘...grinds something (already split into small pieces)
to powder’
rūkṣapesam pinaṣṭi ‘grinds something coarse to powder’

3.4.36 समूलकृत्तीवेशु हनकृत्ताः

samulākṛṭṭajīvesu hankṛṇgraḥah
/samulākṛṭṭajīvesu 7/3 hankṛṇgraḥah 5/1

(pratyayah #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, namul #26,
karmāṇi #29)
’samula, akṛṭa, jīva’ ity eteṣu sadeṣu karmasūrapadesu yathāsanākhyāṃ
‘han, drṇ, graha’ ity eteṣāṃ dhāṭṭubhyāḥ namul pratyayo bhavati
Affix ŃamUL occurs after verbal roots han ‘to kill’, kṛṇ ‘to do’ and
graha ‘to hold’ when they are used with a pada which denotes karman
and correspondingly, is constituted by samula ‘including the root’,
akṛṭa ‘not done’ and jīva ‘living being’.

EXAMPLES:

samulaghātāṃ hanti ‘he destroys completely, roots and all’
akṛṭkāram karoti ‘he does something done never before’
jivagrāham graṇṇāti ‘he seizes him alive’

3.4.37 करणे हन:

karaṇe hanah
/karaṇe 7/1 hanah 5/1

(pratyayah #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, namul #26)
karaṇe upapade hanter dhātor namul pratyayo bhavati
Affix ŃamUL occurs after verbal root han when it is used with a
pada which denotes karaṇa.

EXAMPLES:

pāṇīghataṃ vedim hanti ‘he strikes the sacrificial altar with his hand’
pādaghātaṃ bhānim hanti ‘he stamps the earth’

1. This rule again introduces affix ŃamUL after the verbal root han,
though this time under the cooccurrence condition of an instrument
(karaṇa).
3.4.38 सेहने पिष:  

*snehane piṣaḥ*  
/śnehanē 7/1 piṣaḥ 5/1/  
(pratyayaḥ #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, namul #26, karaṇe #37)  
snehana-vācini karaṇe upapade piṣer dhātoḥ namul pratyayo bhavati  
Affix NamUL occurs after verbal root piṣ, when it is used in conjunction with a pada which denotes karaṇa with the signification of snehana ‘lubricating, smoothing’.

**Examples:**

udapeśaṁ pinaśṭi ‘grinds something with water’  
tailapeśaṁ pinaśṭi ‘grinds something with oil’

1. Note that affix NamUL is introduced here under the cooccurrence condition of snehana, that by means of which something is lubricated, or smoothed. Thus snehana here serves as the karaṇa for accomplishing the action of grinding something to powder. Haradatta (PM ad Kaś III:180) states snehana of this rule is interpreted as specifying meaning, and not the cooccurrence (upapada) condition. Thus, snehana means snehanavācin ‘that which signifies lubricating, or smoothing’. If snehana specifies meaning then how do we know that karaṇa constitutes an upapada? By vyākhyāna ‘explanations of the learned’, and through the meaning of the word snehana = snihyate yena tat snehanam ‘that by means of which something is lubricated, or smoothed’. This condition of snehana could not be included in 3.4.35 ṕuskačūrṇa... because affix NamUL is introduced there under the meaning condition of karman. Here, of course, it is being introduced under the meaning condition of karaṇa.

3.4.39 हस्ते वर्त्राधोऽ:  

*haste vartṣagrahoḥ*  
/haste 7/1 vartṣagrahoḥ 6/2/  
(pratyayaḥ #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, namul #26, karaṇe #37)  
hastavācini karaṇe upapade vartayate grhyate ca namul pratyayo bhavati  
Affix NamUL occurs after verbal roots varti ‘to cause to turn’ and graha ‘to seize’ when they are used with a pada which denotes karaṇa and is constituted by stems which signify hasta ‘hand’.

**Examples:**

hastavartaṁ vartayati ‘he turns something with his hand’  
karaṇavartaṁ vartayati ‘id.’  
pāṇivartaṁ vartayati ‘id.’
hastagrāham gṛhnāti ‘he seizes or accepts with his hand’
karaṇgrāham gṛhnāti ‘id.’

1. This rule introduces affix NamUL after the causal form of verbal roots vṛt, and also after verbal root grāh provided a word which denotes ‘hand’ (hasta) as instrument (karaṇa) occurs in conjunction with them. This interpretation clearly accepts the word hasta as referring to stems having the signification of ‘hand’. The specification is semantic (arthanirdeśa). Thus, we get examples such as:

(a) hastavarttam varttayati and
(b) pāṇivarttam varttayati parallel to:
(c) hastena varttayati ‘rolls up something with hands into a ball’, and
(d) pāṇinā varttayati ‘id.’

3.4.40 से पुषः

sve puṣah
l/sve 7/1 puṣah 5/1
(pratyayaḥ #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, namul #26,
karaṇe #37)
svavācini karaṇe upapade puṣer dhātor namul pratyaya bhavati
Affix NamUL occurs after verbal root puṣA ‘to nourish, thrive’ when it is used with a pada which denotes karaṇa and is constituted by a stem which signifies sva ‘one’s own’.

Examples:

svapoṣam puṣnāti ‘he thrives on his own’
ātmapoṣam puṣnāti ‘id.’
pitrpoṣam puṣnāti ‘he thrives on account of his father’
mātrpoṣam puṣnāti ‘he thrives on account of his mother’

1. The word sva is used, here, in the sense of its meanings such as: ātmīya ‘one’s own’, jñāti ‘relation’, and dhanā ‘property’.

3.4.41 अधिकरणे बन्धः

adhikaraṇe bandhah
l/adhikaraṇe 7/1 bandhah 1/1
(pratyayaḥ #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, namul #26)
adhikaraṇavācīnī upapade badhnāter namul pratyaya bhavati
Affix NamUL occurs after verbal root bandh ‘to bind’ when it cooccurs with a pada which denotes adhikaraṇa ‘locus’.

Examples:

cakrabandham badhnāti ‘he ties... to a wheel’
kūṭabandham badhnāti ‘he ties... to a post’
3.4.42 संज्ञायाम्

\( \text{samjn\={a}y\=a}m \)
\( \text{/samjn\={a}y\=a}m \ 7/1/ \)
(\( \text{pratyaya} \#3.1.1, \text{para} \#3.1.2, \text{dh\=ato} \#3.1.91, \text{\=n}amul \#26, \text{bandha} \#41 \))
\( \text{samjn\={a}y\=a}m \  \text{visaye badhn\=ater dh\=ator \=namul pratyayo bhavati} \)

Affix \( \text{NamUL} \) occurs after verbal root \( \text{bandh} \) when the derivate denotes a \( \text{samjn\={a}} \) ‘name’.

**Examples:**

\( \text{krau\=\=ncabandham badhn\=ati} \) ‘he is tying the krau\=\=ncabandha (name of a knot shaped like a heron)’
\( \text{may\=\=rik\=abandham badhn\=ati} \) ‘he is tying the may\=\=rik\=abandha (name of a knot shaped like a peahen)’
\( \text{a\=\=tt\=alik\=abandham baddha} \) ‘he was tied by the a\=\=tt\=alik\=abandha (name of a knot shaped like a palace)’

1. This rule introduces affix \( \text{NamUL} \) under the meaning condition of a name (\( \text{samjn\={a}} \)). Unlike the preceding rule, it is not conditioned by locus (\( \text{adhikara}n\=a) \). Thus, the example, \( \text{cakrabandham badhn\=ati} \), of the previous rule would treat \( \text{cakra} \) ‘wheel’ as the locus to which something or someone will be tied. In contrast, our present rule provides for \( \text{may\=\=rik\=abandham badhn\=ati} \) ‘he ties someone with a knot called May\=\=rik\=a (Peahen)’. This rule is clearly formulated to accommodate non-locus (\( \text{anadhikara}n\=a) \) examples with name (\( \text{samjn\={a}} \)) as denotata.

3.4.43 कर्तर्जीवपुरुषोऽन्नेनमिषिवहः

\( \text{kartr} \ \text{ji\=\=vapuru\=\=sayor na\=\=sivahoh} \)
\( \text{/kartr} \ 7/2 \ \text{ji\=\=vapuru\=\=sayoh} \ 7/2 \ \text{na\=\=sivahoh} \ 6/2/ \)
(\( \text{pratyaya} \#3.1.1, \text{para} \#3.1.2, \text{dh\=ato} \#3.1.91, \text{\=n}amul \#26 \))
\( \text{ji\=\=vapuru\=\=sayor kart\=\=r\=vcinor upapadayor yath\=\=s\=amkhy\=a\=m na\=\=sivahor dh\=\=t\=ovor \=namul pratyayo bhavati} \)

Affix \( \text{NamUL} \) occurs after verbal roots \( \text{na\=\=s} \) ‘to disappear’ and \( \text{va\=\=hA} \) ‘to carry’ when they are used with a \( \text{pada} \) which denotes \( \text{kartr} \) and contains \( \text{j\=\=iva} \) and \( \text{puru\=\=sa} \) ‘man, person’, respectively.

**Examples:**

\( \text{j\=\=ivan\=a\=sam na\=\=s\=yati} \) ‘that which lives dies’
\( \text{puru\=\=sav\=\=a\=h\=am va\=\=hati} \) ‘the man is carrying a man’

1. This rule begins the introduction of affix \( \text{NamUL} \) under the co-occurrence condition of \( \text{kartr} \) when verbal roots \( \text{na\=\=s} \) and \( \text{va\=\=h} \) are conjoined with \( \text{j\=\=iva} \) and \( \text{puru\=\=sa} \), respectively. Thus we get:
(a) jīvanāśaṁ naśyaṁ ‘...perishes with destruction of life’
(b) puruṣavāhāṁ vahati ‘the man carries the load of a man’

The condition of a kartṛ as an upapada will rule out derivates parallel to jīvena naśyaḥ ‘... destroyed by life’ and puruṣenodhaḥ ‘... carried by a man’.

3.4.44 उद्वेष शूषपूरोऽ

उद्वेषे शूषपूरोऽ
उद्वेषे 7/1 सूषपूरोऽ 5/2 (ितारं, ।)
(pratyayah #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, namul #26, kartroḥ #43)

उद्वेषशब्दे कर्त्रवृः सुषमे उपादे सूषपूरोऽ धातवो नमुल प्रत्ययो भवति

Affix NamUL occurs after verbal roots susl ‘to be dry’ and pur ‘to fill up’ when they cooccur with a pada which denotes kartṛ and contains urdhva ‘upright’.

EXAMPLES:

उद्वेषशोभ्यु शूषये विषा ‘the tree dries up while standing upright’
उद्वेषपुरप्रसुऽ पुर्याते ‘...is filled up to the brim’

3.4.45 उपमाने कर्मणि च

उपमाने कर्मणि ca
उपमाने 7/1 कर्मणि 7/1 ca 0/1
(pratyayah #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, namul #26, kartroḥ #43)

उपमाने कर्मण् उपादे काकाः कर्तरी धातोर नमुल प्रत्ययो भवति

Affix NamUL occurs after a verbal root used in conjunction with a pada which denotes a karman, and kartṛ as well, as an upamāna ‘object of comparison’.

EXAMPLES:

 ghṛtaṁ niḥitaṁ jalaṁ
 ‘the water is preserved as if it was clarified butter (ghṛta)’
ajakaṁ naśyaḥ
 ‘...was wasted away like a goat’

3.4.46 कषादिशु यथाविधयनुप्रयोगः

कषादिशु यथाविध्य अनुप्रयोगः
कषादिशु 7/3 यथाविध्य 0 अनुप्रयोगः 1/1
(pratyayah #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, namul #26, kartroḥ #43)

‘nimūlasamūlayah’ ity etad ārābhya kaṣādayah, eteṣu yathāvidhy anuprayogo bhavati
A tag in case of verbal roots enumerated beginning with kaṣā 'to scrape' (3.4.34 nimūlasamūlayoh kaṣah) must be in line with the root which ends in ṇamUL.

**Example:**

nimūlakāsaṃ kasati 'he cuts down to the root'

1. This rule is restrictive (niyama) in nature. It requires that a tag (anuprayoga) in connection with roots headed by kaṣ must be in consonance with (yathāvīdhi) that of a root which ends in ṇamUL. Consider for example the sentence:

ajakanāsaṃ naṣṭah '...was wasted away like a goat',

where affix ṇaṃUL is introduced after verbal root naṣ. Our present rule requires that if affix NamUL is introduced after verbal roots such as kaṣ, etc., such verbs, alone, should also be used as a tag. The verb form naṣyatī represents the tag which under the dictates of the present rule is in accordance with the naṣ of ajakanāsaṃ after which affix ṇamUL is introduced.

3.4.47 **Upadeśasūtīyaṇaṃ**

upadaṃśas tṛtiyāyaṃ
/lupadaṃśah 5/1 tṛtiyāyaṃ 7/1/
(pratyayah #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, ṇamul #26)
‘daṃśa daśane’ asmād dhātor upapūrvat tṛtiyānta upapade ṇamul pratyayo bhavati

Affix ṇaṃUL occurs after verbal root daṃśa 'to bite', used with the preverb upa, when it occurs with a pada which ends in tṛtiyā 'third triplet of sUPE.

**Examples:**

mūlakopadaṃśam bhunkte 'he eats his food taking a bite of radish'
ārdrikopadaṃśam bhunkte 'he eats his food taking a bite of ginger-root'

1. This rule introduces affix ṇaṃUL after verbal root daṃś 'to bite' used with the preverb upa provided a word which ends in the instrumental (tṛtiyā) forms the upapada. Thus, we get the example:

mūlakopadaṃśam bhunkte

where the object of bhuj 'to eat' is the morsel of radish turned into such by means of the bites (upadaṃśa). Bites thus serve as the means whereby the object radish, now turned into morsels, is consumed.

The compound formation of derivates such as upadaṃśa with the co-occurring words which denote karaṇa is optional as provided for by rule 2.2.21 tṛtiyāprabhṛtīny....
Note also that, in this entire section of नामुल, rule 3.1.94 वा शर्पो शृण्यम would also apply. That is, affix क्तव would also apply to derive optional forms such as मुलकेनोपदास्या भूइक्ते, parallel to the derivates of नामुल.

3.4.48 हिसार्थानौं च समानकर्मकाणाप्य

हिसार्थानां म समानकर्मकानां
हिसार्थानां 6/3 म समानकर्मकानां 6/3/ (प्रत्यय#6.1.1, पारा#6.1.2, धात्र#6.1.91, नामुल#26, त्रियायम#47)
हिसार्थानां धातुनां अनुप्रयोगाधितुनां समानकर्मकानां त्रियान्ता उपापादेन नामुल प्रत्ययो भवति

Affix नामुल occurs after those verbal roots which signify हिसार्थ ‘injury, killing’, and share the same object (कर्म) with roots subsequently used as a tag, provided they cooccur with a पदा which ends in त्रियान्ता.

Examples:

dांधोपाग्हातां गाह धातायती ‘he wards off the cows by hitting with a stick’
dांधोताधाम गाह धातायती ‘id.’

1. This rule provides for the introduction of affix नामुल, still under the cooccurrence condition of a word which ends in त्रियान्त, though with some additional conditions. The root after which affix नामुल is to be introduced must meet the following three conditions:

(a) it must denote an action with the signification of हिसार्थ,
(b) it must occur with a tagged root, and
(c) it must share an identical object with the tagged action.

Consider the following example:

dांधोग्हातां गाह धातायती ‘he wards off the cows with the blow of a stick’,

where the action underlying उपाग्हाता is synonymous with the action denoted by the tagged verbal form धातायती. Why should we have the condition of actions sharing identical objects? Observe the following:

cवुरां दांधोनोपाधात्या गोपालको गाह धातायती ‘having beaten up the thief with the stick the cowherd is now hitting the cows’,

where the absence of an ‘identical object’ does not permit the introduction of नामुल.

3.4.49 सततः चौपिन्रुद्धर्थकारः

सपत्यायं चोपपिन्धरुद्धकारः
सपत्यायं 7/4 म स उपपिन्धरुद्धकारः 5/4
(pratyayah #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, namul #26, tṛtiyāyām #47)

upapūrvēvah pridarudhakarṣēbhyaḥ saptamyaṁta upapade cakārāt tṛtiyāṁta upapade namul pratyayo bhavati

Affix ṇamUL occurs after verbal roots pīḍA ‘to press’, rudhA ‘to obstruct, ward off’ and kṛṣA ‘to drag, plough’ when used with the preverb upa, and in conjunction with a pada which ends in saptamī ‘the seventh triplet of sUP’ or tṛtiyā.

EXAMPLES:

pārśvopapāḍam śete ‘he sleeps lying on his side’
vrajo-parodhaṁ gāh sthāpayati ‘he keeps the cows restrained in the cowpen’
pāṇyapakarṣam dhānāh samgrhaṁti ‘he collects grains picking up by hand’

1. This rule introduces affix ṇamUL after three cited verbal roots, all used with the preverb upa, when cooccurring with a word which ends in the locative (saptamī) or tṛtiyā. Note that the use of ca enables karṇa to also form the cooccurrence condition, parallel to saptamī, thereby yielding two derivates for each verbal root. A compound such as pārśvopapāḍam is made optional by rule 2.2.21 tṛtiyāprabhṛty anyatarasyāṁ. Consequently, there will be two optional forms parallel to pārśvopapāḍam. That is, we have two optional forms: pārśvayor upapāḍam and pārśvābhyaṁ upapāḍam, where the first takes the option of saptamī as opposed to the tṛtiyā of the second.

The word upa of the rule must be associated with all three verbal roots. Commentators indicate that the three verbal roots first form a dvandva compound of the samāhara type with the form pridarudhakarṣa. This subsequently combines with upapūrvah ‘that which has a preceding upa’, where upapūrvah would further undergo the deletion (lopa) of its second component word (utarapada), yielding upapīdarudhakarṣa. Incidentally, verbal root kṛṣ, because of specification with the a of Saṇp, and along with the guna of r in karṣah, will be interpreted here to belong to the class of roots headed by tud ‘to torment’.

3.4.50 समासत्तो

samāsattau
/samāsattau 7/1/

(pratyayah #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, namul #26, tṛtiyāyām #47, saptamyaṁ #49)

samāsattau gamyamāṇāyāṁ tṛtyāsaptamyt prapadayor dhātorṇamul pratyayo bhavati
Affix *NamUL* occurs after a verbal root used in conjunction with a *pada* which ends in *saptami* or *tritiya*, provided the derivate denotes *samāsatti* `proximity, contiguity`.

**Examples:**

*kesāgrāhāṃ yuddhyante* `they are fighting by grabbing each other’s hair`
*hasāgrāhāṃ yuddhyante* `they are fighting by holding each other’s hands`

1. This rule introduces affix *NamUL* after a verbal root which co-occurs with a *pada* which ends either in the ‘instrumental’, or in the ‘locative’ provided the derivate denotes *samāsatti* `close proximity’. Thus we get:

*hasāgrāhāṃ yuddhyante* `they are fighting by siezing one another with hands`,

where the on-set of fight (*yuddhasamrambha*) brings the fighters in close proximity to one another.

3.4.51 प्रमाणे च

**प्रमाणे ca**

/ptramānē 7/1 ca 01/  
(pratyayah #3.1.1, parāś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, namul #26, triti-yāyām #47, saptamyām #49)  

**प्रमाणे ganyamāne tritiyāsaptamyor upapadayor dhātor namul pratayo bhavati**

Affix *NamUL* also occurs after a verbal root which cooccurs with a *pada* ending in *tritiya* or *saptami*, provided *pramāṇa* `measure of length` is expressed.

**Examples:**

*dvayaṅguloṭkāraṁ khaṇḍikāṁ chinatti* `he cuts a piece of wood into pieces equal in measure to the width of two fingers`
*tryaṅguloṭkāraṁ khaṇḍikāṁ chinatti* `he cuts a piece of wood into pieces equal in measure to the width of three fingers`

1. Our compound *dvayaṅguloṭkāraṁ* is explained with parallel strings such as: *dvayaṅgule utkāraṁ* and *dvayaṅgulenotkāraṁ*. The word *pramāṇa* is treated as a synonym of *dairghya* `length`.

3.4.52 अपदाने परिप्रेयेयायम्

**apādāne parīpsāyām**

/apādāne 7/1 parīpsāyām 7/1/  
(pratyayah #3.1.1, parāś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, namul #26)
parīpsāyām gamyamānēyām apādāna upapade dhātor namul pratyayo bhavati
Affix ṇamUL occurs after a verbal root used in conjunction with a pada which denotes apādāna ‘ablative’, provided parīpsā ‘haste’ is signified.

EXAMPLES:

śayyotthāyam dhāvati ‘he rises from the bed and runs’
bhrāṣṭrāpakaram apūpān bhakṣayati ‘he eats the cakes straight from the oven’

1. Note that the condition of parīpsā would rule out a ṇamUL formation corresponding to āsanād utthāya gacchati ‘...rises from his seat and goes’. Affix Ktvā is employed in utthāya because of lack of ‘haste’. Our cited examples signify haste. The first indicates that the man is in such a hurry that he does not even care to wash his face, etc. The second indicates that someone is so hungry that he cannot wait for a plate to eat from; he cannot even wait for the cakes to cool off.

3.4.53 द्वितीयायां च
dvitiyāyām ca
\dvitiyāyām 7/1 ca 0/
(pratyayah #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, namul #26, parīpsāyām #52)
dvitiyānta upapade parīpsāyām gamyamānēyām dhātor namul pratyayo bhavati
Affix NamUL also occurs after a verbal root used in conjunction with a pada which ends in dvitiyā ‘accusative’, provided parīpsā ‘haste’ is signified.

EXAMPLES:
yāṣṭigrāham yuddhyante ‘they grab a stick and fight’
loṣṭagrāham yuddhyante ‘they pick up a lump of clay and fight’

1. Note that dvitiyā is here used as an option to both saptamī and tṛtīyā. The condition of ‘haste’ is still operative. Thus, the fighters of our example sentences are in such a haste to fight that they do not bother taking an appropriate weapon to fight.

3.4.54 स्वांगेष्ठुवे
svānge’ dhruve
\svānge 7/1 adhruve 7/1 = na dhruve (naṅ, tat,)
(pratyayah #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2 dhātoḥ #3.1.91, namul #26, dvitiyāyām #53)
adhruve svāṅgavāciny dvitiyānta upapade dhātor namul pratyayo bhavati
Affix NamUL occurs after a verbal root used in conjunction with a pada which ends in dvitiyā and denotes one’s own (sva) non-vital (adhruva) body-part (āṅga).

**Examples:**

aksiṇikāṇām jālpati ‘he mutters having closed his eyes’
bhrūvikṣeṇām kathayati ‘he speaks having raised his eyebrows’

1. Note that the compound is still optional. The condition of adhruve as a qualification to svāṅge is explained as ‘that by losing which one does not die’ (Kāś. yasmin aṅge chinne’ pi prāṇī na mriyate tad adhruvam). A counter-example is offered in utkṣiṇya śīram kathayati ‘he narrates something having moved his head on sides’ where śīras ‘head’ is a vital part of the body. This example thus has Ktvā as opposed to NamUL.

**3.4.55 परिक्रियायमाने च**

parikrāśyaśām āca
|parikrāśyaśām 7/1 ca 0/1
(pratyayaḥ #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, namuḥ #26, dvitiyāyām #53, svāṅge #54)
parikrāśyāśām svāṅgavācini dvitiyānta upaṇade dhātor nāmuḥ prayāyaḥ bhavati

Affix NamUL also occurs after a verbal root used in conjunction with a pada which ends in dvitiyā and denotes one’s body-part totally afflicted with the action.

**Examples:**

urakaḥpēṣam yudhyante ‘they fight crushing their rib cages’
śiraḥpēṣam yudhyante ‘they fight crushing their heads’

1. This rule accounts for usages which may involve a vital body-part (dhravat; see Kāś. III:188: dhruvārtho’ yam ārambhah).

**3.4.56 विश्विश्विपिपिदिकत्वं व्यायामानात्यव्यायामानोऽः**

viṣipatiṃśadiskandāṃ vyāpyamānāsevyamānayoḥ
|viṣipatiṃśadiskandāṃ 6/3 (itar. dv.); vyāpyamānāsevyamānayoḥ 7/3 (itar. dv.)|
(pratyayaḥ #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, namuḥ #26, dvitiyāyām #53)
dvitiyānte upaṇade viṣyādibhyo dhātubhyo nāmuḥ prayāyaḥ bhavati

Affix NamUL occurs after verbal roots viṣ ‘to enter’, pad ‘to fall’, pad ‘to move’, and skand ‘to leap’ when the roots are used in conjunction with a pada which ends in dvitiyā, provided vyāpyamāna ‘that which totally pervades’ and āsevā ‘successive connection’ are signified.
EXAMPLES:

gēhānuprapātām āste 'he enters each and every house, and stays'; 'he enters a house time and again, and stays'

gēhānuprapātām āste 'id.'

gēhānuprapādām āste 'id'

gēhāvavakandām āste 'jumping from house to house he stays'; 'jumping time and again to a house he stays'

1. The words vyāpyamāna and āsevā are explained as characteristics of dravya 'thing' and kriyā 'action' respectively. Kāśikā explains vyāpti as: viśyādibhir kriyābhir anavayena padārthānām sambandhāḥ 'total connection of things with the action denoted by roots such as viś, etc.' The word āsevā refers to viśpā 'each and every; total absorption; repetition, etc.' of an action.

   Note that in the absence of a compound, we will get two forms one each for vyāpti and āsevā. Thus, the first example will have two parallel sentences where either a nominal, or a verbal form, is repeated to denote viśpā (8.1.4 nityām viśpayoh):

   (i) gehām gehām anupraveṣam āste
   (ii) gehām anupraveṣam anupraveṣam āste

   Similar sentences can be formed parallel to other examples. This repetition, i.e., gehām gehām; anupraveṣam anupraveṣam, is not allowed in case of the formation of a compound.

   What is the purpose of formulating this rule? If one argues that this rule is formulated to include the condition of āsevā then that is not valid; since āsevā and ābhikṣṇya are the same things, and affix NāmUL is already introduced under the meaning condition of ābhikṣṇya by rule 3.4.22 ābhikṣṇye nāmul ca. Is this rule formulated to block Ktvā by NāmUL? No, since Ktvā is not desired to be blocked. The rule is formulated to facilitate the formation of an optional compound under the cooccurrence condition of a pada which ends in dvitiyā (cf. Kāś.: nanu ābhikṣṇye nāmul viha eva, āsevā cābhikṣṇyam eva, kimartham punar āsevāyāṃ nāmul ucyate? ktvāniyantvārtham iti ceta; na; īṣṭatvā tasya. dvitiyopaśadārtham tarhi vacanam: upapadasamāsāh pakṣe yathā syāt).

3.4.57 अस्यतिर्थो: क्रियान्तरे कालेशु

asatyāṣṭo kriyāntare kālēṣu
(asyatīrṣoḥ 6/2 (itar. dv.); kriyāntare 7/1 kālēṣu 7/3)
(pratayaḥ #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, nāmul #26, dvitiyāyam #53)

kriyāntare dhātvarthe vartamanābhyām asyatīrṣibhyyāṃ dvitiyāntesu kālavāciṣṣapadeṣu nāmul pratayo bhavati
Affix NamUL occurs after verbal roots asU 'to hurl' and trṣA 'to be thirsty' when the roots denote an interval between actions, and co-occur with a pada which ends in dviṭiyā with the signification of kāla 'time'.

**Examples:**

dvyaḥātṝyasam gāh pāyayati ‘...has the cattles drink water at an interval of two days’
dvyaḥam atyāsam gāh pāyayati ‘id.’
dvyaḥatatsaṁ gāh pāyayati ‘id.’
dvyaḥam tarsaṁ gāh pāyayati ‘id.’

1. Kāśikā explains the examples as meaning adya pāyayitvā dvyaḥam atikramaṇa punah pāyayitīti arthah ‘it means that someone has the cows drink water today; and then has them drink again after two days’. That is, the actions denoted by aty-as and trṣ, i.e., atyasana and tarsaṇa, set, the action of drinking water by the cows, apart by two days. The word antara in kriyāntare thus denotes vyavadhāna ‘hiatus’.

3.4.58 नाम्यादिशिमहोः:

nāmny ādiśigrahoḥ
lnāmni 7/1 ādiśigrahoḥ 6/2 (itar. dv.)/
(pratyayāḥ #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, nāmul #26, dviṭiyāyām #53)
nāmasaṁde dvitiyānta upapade ādiśer graheś ca dhātor nāmul pratyayo bhavati

Affix NamUL occurs after verbal roots diś ‘to permit’ used with the preverb āN, and grah ‘to seize’, when the roots cooccur with a pada which ends in dviṭiyā and denotes a name (nāman).

**Examples:**

nāmādeśam ācaṣte ‘...announces by calling out the name
nāmagrāhaṃ ācaṣte ‘id.’

3.4.59 अय्येत्याहिष्ठितात्मायां कृतं: क्तवाणमूली

aryaye’ yathābhīpitākhhyāne kṛṇaḥ ktvaṇamulau
lavyaye 7/1 ayathābhīpitākhhyāne 7/1 = na yathābhīpitam = ayathābhīpitam; ayathābhīpitasya ākhyānam = ayathābhīpitākhhyānam (śa.s. tat. with an internal naṇ); tasmin; kṛṇaḥ 5/1 ktvaṇamulau 1/2/
(pratyayāḥ #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91)
aryaya upapade’ yathābhīpitākhhyāne gamyamaṇe karoteḥ ktvaṇamulau pratyayau bhavataḥ

Affixes Ktvā and NamUL occur atter verbal root krN ‘to do, make’,
used in conjunction with a pada constituted by an anvaya 'indeclinable',
provided ayathabhripeta ‘not as one expects’ is signified.

EXAMPLES:

brāhmaṇa putras te jāṭah, kim tarhi vrṣala nīcaiḥkṛtyācakṣe; nīcaiḥ
kṛtvā...; nīcaiḥkāram... ‘a son of yours is born O Brāhmaṇa!; how
come you are announcing it in such a low voice O Vṛṣala!’
brāhmaṇa kanyā te garbhini, kim tarhi vrṣala uccaiḥkṛtyācakṣe; uccaiḥ kṛtvā...
uccaiḥkāram... ‘your daughter has become pregnant O Brāhmaṇa!;
how come you are announcing it in such a high voice O Vṛṣala!’

1. This rule allows for optional Ktvā and NamUL formations. Thus,
we get four forms: uccaiḥ kṛtvā, uccaiḥkṛtya, and nīcaiḥ kāram and
nīcaiḥkāram, where the second form in each set of Ktvā and NamUL is
gotten from optional compound formation allowed by rules 2.2.22 ktvā ca
and 2.2.21 trīyāprabhṛtīnī... respectively.
The word ayathabhripetākhyāna is explained as na yad yad abhipretam
istam tasya ākhyānam ‘statement of things (in a manner) which is not
desired’. Thus, announcing the birth of a son in a low voice is highly
undesired; announcing the pregnancy of the daughter in a loud voice
is equally undesired.

2. Why do we have to have Ktvā mentioned in this rule when we
already have it available through vā sarūpavidhī in this entire section?
Affix Ktvā is specifically mentioned here to facilitate the formation of
compound by rule 2.2.22 ktvā ca. But why do we have to mention NamUL
again in this section of NamUL? So that NamUL could be brought on a
par with Ktvā since 2.2.22 ktvā ca also contains 2.2.21 trīyāprabhṛtīnī....
This also enables the subsequent anuvṛtti of both Ktvā and NamUL.

3.4.60 तिर्याचपावर्गः

tiryacy apavargē
tiryci 7/1 apavargē 7/1

(pratyayaḥ 3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhāto #3.1.91, kṛṇāḥ ktvānamulau
#59)
tiryak śabde upapade kṛṇāḥ ktvānamulau pratyaya bhavataḥ apavargē
gamyamāne

Affixes Ktvā and NamUL occur after verbal root kṛN to do, make’,
junction with a pada constituted by tiryac ‘oblique’, when apavarga
‘completion’ is signified.

EXAMPLES:
tiryakṛkṛtya gataḥ ‘...went after having completed the work...’
tiryak kṛtvā gataḥ ‘id.’
tiryakkāram gataḥ ‘id.’

1. The formation of compound is optional as has already been explained under the previous rule.

3.4.61 खाद्येऽतस्त्रयः कुण्डोऽः:

svāṅge taspratyaye kṛbhvoh
/svāṅge 7/1 taspratyaaye 7/1 kṛbhvoh 5/2/
(pratayayaḥ #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, ktvāṇamula#59)
taspratyaie svāṅgaśācany upapade karoter bhavateś ca dhātoḥ ktvāṇamula
pratayaya bhavataḥ

Affixes Ktvā and NamUL occur after verbal roots kr̥ṇ and bhū used in conjunction with a pada which contains a stem that ends in affix tasl (5.4.45 apādāne cā...) and denotes ‘one’s limb’.

EXAMPLES:

mukhataḥkṛtya gataḥ ‘he left with his face toward...’:
mukhataḥkṛtav gataḥ ‘id.’
mukhataḥkāram gataḥ ‘id.’
prṣṭhatobhūya gataḥ ‘he turned his back and left’
prṣṭhatobhūtvā gataḥ ‘id.’
prṣṭhatobhāvam gataḥ ‘id.’

1. This rule introduces affixes Ktvā and NamUL after verbal roots kr̥ and bhū occurring in conjunction with a pada which terminates in affix tasl (5.4.45 apādāne...) and denotes svāṅga ‘one’s own limb’. Note that the introduction of these affixes does not follow yathāsambhāya ‘application in consonance with the number of elements in referenced sets’. That is, one should not understand Ktvā and NamUL to be introduced after verbal roots kr̥ and bhū respectively. This is known from the interpretation of the learned (vyākhyāna).

Note that an example such as mukhataḥkṛtya gataḥ ‘...left with his face toward...’ entails both conditions of svāṅga as well as termination in affix tasl. The following sentences illustrate counter-examples to these conditions:

(a) sarvataḥ kṛtvā gataḥ ‘left having finished the work completely’
(b) mukhiḥkṛtya gataḥ ‘that which was not facing, left...’
(c) mukhataḥ kṛtvā gataḥ

where the first example does not contain ‘one’s own limb’; the second entails affix Cvl, as opposed to tasl; and the third has tas as the verb, as opposed to an affix.

The compound-formation in relevant examples of this rule is regulated similar to the provisions of rule 3.4.59 avyaye yathābhiḥprētākhyāne....
3.4.62 नाधार्थप्रतयेच्यादेः

nādhārtha-pratyaśe cuyarthe
/naṭhārtha-pratyaśe 7/1 cuyarthe 7/1/
(pratyaśaḥ #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, kvān̄amulau #59,
kr̥bhvoḥ #61)
nādhārtha-pratyaśe sabde cuyartha upapade kr̥bhvoḥ dhātoḥ kvān̄amulau
pratyaśaḥ bhavataḥ

Affixes Ktvā and NāmUL occur after verbal roots kr̥N and bhū when they cooccur with a pada which ends in an affix with the signification of nā, or dhā and denote the sense of affix Cvḷ.

Examples:

nānākṛtvā gataḥ ‘after having made something manifold which it was previously not, he left’
nānākṛtya gataḥ ‘id.’
nānakāram gataḥ ‘id.’
vinākṛtya gataḥ ‘having abandoned it he left’
vinākṛtvā gataḥ ‘id.’
vinākāram gataḥ ‘id.’
nānābhūya gataḥ ‘it became many which it was previously not’
nānābhūtvā gataḥ ‘id.’
nānābhūvam gataḥ ‘id.’
vinābhūya gataḥ ‘it went without becoming what it was not; it went having remained the same’
vinābhūtvā gataḥ ‘id.’
vinābhūvam gataḥ ‘id.’

1. This rule allows for the introduction of affixes Ktvā and NāmUL after verbal roots kr̥ and bhū when they occur in conjunction with words ending in affixes which have the signification of nā (5.2.27 vinaṅbhyaḥ...) and dhā (5.3.42 san̄khyaḥ...), provided the same also denotes the sense of Cvḷ (5.4.50 abhūtata...).

The sense of Cvḷ is explained as abhūtatadbhāve ‘the sense of something becoming something which it previously was not’. Consider the following illustrations:

(a) nānākṛtvā gataḥ ‘he left after making something manifold which it was previously not’
(b) nānākṛtyagataḥ ‘id.’
(c) nānakāram gataḥ ‘id.’
(d) anānā nānā kṛtvā gataḥ ‘id.’
(e) dvīdhā kṛtvā gataḥ ‘he left after splitting something in two’
(f) dvīdhākṛtya gataḥ ‘id.’
(g) dvīdhākāram gataḥ ‘id.’
Note that the words nānā and dvīdhā end in the affixes nā and dhā, which denote the sense of ‘variety’ and ‘splitting in two’, respectively. That is, they denote ‘multiplicity’ and ‘splitting in two’ which previously was not the case. The meaning of Cūr can be better understood by example (d) which is a paraphrase of (a-c). The three examples in two sets (of a-c, and e-g) each give a non-compound form of Ktvā parallel to its compound counterpart and followed by the form in NamUL. Rule 2.2.22 ktvā ca again provides for the optional compound.

The condition that words such as nānā and dvīdhā must end in affixes which have the sense of nā, or dhā is important, because it means that examples such as hiruk kṛtvā gatah ‘...left without making...’, or ‘prthak kṛtvā gatah ‘...left having set aside...’ can be kept out of the scope of this rule.

A question is raised as to why Pāṇini had to state ‘when ending in affixes which have the signification of nā and dhā’. Why did he simply not say ‘when ending in affixes nā and dhā? A formulation via ‘affixal meaning’ is favored to accommodate forms which denote the sense of dhā, but end in an affix other than dhā. Rules 5.4.42 saṃkhyaḥ... through 5.3.45 dvīryoś ca introduce affixes dhā, dhyaṁUṆ, and dhamUṆ with same signification. This specification of meaning is not crucial in case of nā since no other affix is used to denote its sense. Why do we then have the specification of nā made as ‘nā-pratyayārtha? Because of its association (sāhacarya) with dhārtha.

3.4.63 तुष्णिम् धुवः:

tuṣṇīmi bhuvah
ltuṣṇīmi 7/1 bhuvah 5/1
(pratyayah #3.1.1 paraś ca #3.1.2 dhātoḥ #3.1.91 ktvāṇamulau
#12)
tuṣṇimśabda upaśade bhavater dhātoḥ ktvāṇamulau pratyayau bhavataḥ
Affixes Ktvā and NamUL occur after verbal root bhū when it co-
occurs with an indeclinable pada constituted by tuṣṇim ‘silent’.

EXAMPLES:

tuṣṇīmbhūya ‘having become silent’
tuṣṇīmbhūtvā ‘id.’
tuṣṇīmbhāvam ‘id.’

1. A question is raised as to why bhū should be explicitly stated in this rule when it is already available via anuvṛtti from rule 3.1.61 svānte tas-
pratyayae kṛbhvoḥ. It is said that bhū in that rule is associated with kr, hence, carrying bhū via anuvṛtti would have also meant carrying kr. It is to drop
kr that bhū is explicitly stated in this rule.
The option of compounds is available from rules 2.2.21 \textit{trīyāprabhṛtī} \textit{anyatarasyām} and 2.2.22 \textit{Ktvā ca}.

3.4.64 \textbf{अन्वच्छन्नुलोच्ये}

\begin{itemize}
  \item anvacy ānulomye
  \item \textit{tavruci} 7/1 ānulomye 7/1
\end{itemize}

(pratyayā #3.1.1 \textit{paraś ca} #3.1.2 dhātoh #3.1.91 ktvānāmālau # 12)

\begin{itemize}
  \item anvakaśabda upapade bhavater dhātor ānulomye ktvānāmālau bhavatoḥ
\end{itemize}

Affixes \textit{Ktvā} and \textit{NamUL} occur after verbal root \textit{bhū} to be, become when it cooccurs with an indeclinable \textit{pada} constituted by \textit{anvak} 'favorably' providing the derivate denotes \textit{ānulomya} 'conduciveness'.

\textbf{Examples:}

\begin{itemize}
  \item anvagbhūtvā”ste 'he remains a servant'
  \item anvagbhūyāste 'id.'
  \item anvagbhāvam āste 'id.'
\end{itemize}

1. The word \textit{ānulomya} is explained as \textit{anulomātā} 'favorability', \textit{anukūlātva} 'conduciveness' and \textit{paracittanuvidhāna} 'acting in conformity with someone else's wishes'.

3.4.65 \textbf{शकध्रुषजनिग्रहृतप्रत्योगक्रमसहायत्यथेषु तुपुन्}

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textit{sakadhrṣajnāglāghaṭarabhalabhakramasahāhrāstyartheṣu tumun}
  \item \textit{isesṣā...artheṣu 7/3 (itar. dv.); tumun 1/1}
\end{itemize}

(pratyayāh #3.1.1, \textit{paraś ca} #3.1.2, dhātoh #3.1.91)

\begin{itemize}
  \item sakādiśupapadesu astyartheṣu vā dhātumātrit tumun pratayo bhavati
\end{itemize}

Affix \textit{tumUN} occurs after a verbal root used in conjunction with \textit{sakA} 'to be able', \textit{dhṛṣA} 'to be bold, daring', \textit{jñā 'to know'}, \textit{glai 'to be weary'}, \textit{ghaṭA 'to strive'}, \textit{rabhA 'to begin'}, \textit{labhA 'to obtain'}, \textit{kramA 'to stride'}, \textit{sahA 'to endure'}, \textit{arhA 'to deserve'}, and with a root which has the signification of \textit{asti} 'to be, become'.

\textbf{Examples:}

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textit{saknoti bhoktum} 'he is able to eat'
  \item \textit{dhṛṣnoti bhoktum} 'he dares to eat'
  \item \textit{jānāṭi bhoktum} 'he knows how to eat'
  \item \textit{glāyati bhoktum} 'he becomes weary of eating'
  \item \textit{ghaṭate bhoktum} 'he strives to eat'
  \item \textit{ārabhate bhoktum} 'he begins to eat'
  \item \textit{labhate bhoktum} 'he obtains food for eating'
  \item \textit{prakramate bhoktum} 'he starts to eat'
  \item \textit{sahate bhoktum} 'he endures eating'
  \item \textit{arhati bhoktum} 'he deserves to eat'
\end{itemize}
asti bhoktum 'there is food here'
bhavati bhoktum 'id.'
vidyate bhoktum 'id.'

1. This rule introduces affix tumUN after a verbal root used in conjunction with sak 'to be able to', eic., or with a root with the signification of as 'to be'. One wonders why Panini has to reintroduce tumUN when it is already available to verbal roots in general (3.3.10 tumunyvulau...). Commentators say that this earlier provision is made under the cooccurrence condition of kriyarthakriyā 'an action intended for another action'. Our present Rule provides for the introduction of affix tumUN without this requirement. Thus, we get:

saknoti bhoktum '...is able to eat',

where the action denoted by bhuj is not intended by the action denoted by saknoti.

Note that the meanings of individual examples can be generalized as: competence, ability (yogatā), incompetence, inability (aṣakti), skill (pravinya), or possibility (sambhava), depending on what kind of root is selected for the introduction of tumUN. These meanings, thus, can be determined by the context.

3.4.66 पर्याप्तविचन्द्रस्तुलमयश्च

purāṇītvasacaneśu alamartheśu
/prūṇāṇītvasacaneśu 7/3 alamartheśu 7/3/
(pratyayāḥ #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, tumun #65)
pūrṇāṇītvasaceśu alamartheśupapaḍeśu dhātos tumun pratyayo bhavati

Affix tumUN occurs after a verbal root used in conjunction with a pada which has the signification of alam 'sufficient, enough' qualified with paryāpti 'abundance, competence'.

EXAMPLES:

paryāpti bhoktum 'he is capable of eating...'
alam bhoktum 'id.'
bhoktum pārayati 'id.'

1. This rule introduces affix tumUN after a verbal root used in conjunction with a word which has the sense of alam and denotes paryāpti 'abundance, capability'. Thus consider:

alam kṛtvā 'enough with doing it, or do not do it',

where affix Kṛtvā is introduced by rule 3.4.18 alamkhalvoh.... The sentence obviously does not satisfy the additional qualification of paryāpti. The sense of paryāpti can be recognized either as 'abundance' or as 'capability'.
A sentence such as *alam bhoktum* satisfies the requirement, and can thus be interpreted either in the sense of ‘abundance of food’, or in the sense of ‘the capability of the person who is eating’.

3.4.67 कर्तरी कृत

_kartari kṛt

/kartari 7/1 kṛt 1/1’

(*pratyayah #3.1.1; paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91*)

_kṛtsanāṃkāh prāyāyah kartari kārake bhavanti_

Affixes termed *kṛt* (3.1.93 *kṛd atīn*) occur to denote *karaṭ* ‘agent’.

**Examples:**

_kāraṅkāh* ‘he who does’

_nandanaḥ* ‘he who pleases’

_grāhi* ‘he who seize’

_pacah* ‘he who cooks’

1. This rule specifies the denotatum of affixes termed *kṛt* (3.1.93 *kṛd atīn*). The nature of this rule is explained as residual (*śeṣa*). That is, an affix termed *kṛt* will denote an agent (*karaṭ*) unless otherwise provided for by some other rule. Consider for example rule 3.2.56 ādhyasubhaga... which introduces affix *KHvUṬ* to denote the sense of *karaṇa* ‘instrument’. A residual status of rule 3.1.67 kartari *kṛt* also assigns it the status of a general rule (*sāmānya*) destined to be blocked by any particular rule (*višeṣa*), such as rule 3.4.56 ādhyasubhaga.... This rule thus provides for an affix termed *kṛt* to denote *karaṭ*, unless already stated otherwise. Affixes introduced by rules such as 3.1.133 *nvultreau* will thus denote *karaṭ* as provided for by this rule.

3.4.68 प्रायोगप्रचारणीयोपस्तानीयांख्यात्वायमात्वाय

_bhavyageyapravacaniyopasthāniyaṃjanyāplāvyāpātyā vā

/bhavya...pātyāḥ 1/3 (itar. duv.); vā ṣū/

(*pratyayah #3.1.1, kṛt #67*)

_bhavyādayah śabdāḥ kartari vā nipātyante_

Words such as *bhavya, geya, pravacaniya, upasthāniya, janyā, plāvyā*, and *pātyā* are derived by *nipātana* to optionally denote *karaṭ*.

**Examples:**

_bhavyaḥ* ‘that which comes into existence; existence’

geyaḥ ‘he who sings; that which is sung’

_pravacaniyaḥ* ‘he who explicates; that which is explicated’

_upasthāniyaḥ* ‘he who stays near; he nearby whom one stays’

_janyāḥ* ‘he who comes into being’
janyam ‘that which is brought into existence’
āplāvyah ‘he who immerses’
āplāvyam ‘that which is immersed’
āpātyam ‘one who assails’
āpātyam ‘that which is assailed’

1. Note that affixes termed kṛtya, Kta, or those which may have the signification of KHaL, denote bhāva ‘root-sense’ when they occur after an intransitive root. They, however, denote karman ‘object’ when they occur after a transitive root as is provided for by rule 3.4.70 tayor eva.... Our present rule makes an optional provision of kartr available to all roots underlying bhavya, etc. That is, rule 3.4.70 will assign the signification of karman, or bhāva optionally to the denotatum of kartr of this rule. In the case of intransitive roots, the option of kartr will be made against the provision of bhāva. It will be made against the provision of karman in case of a transitive verbal root. Consider for example the following sentences for illustration:

(a) pravacaniyō guruḥ svādhyāyasya ‘the teacher, the one who is to explain the Veda’
(b) pravacaniyō gurunā svādhyāyah ‘the teacher by who the Veda is to be explained’,

where sentence (a) expresses the agent (guru) by means of affix aniyaR. Consequently, the nominative (prathamā) of guruḥ expresses just the stem notion (prātipadikārtha). The object of the action denoted by pravac, i.e., svādhyāya, is expressed by the genitive (saṁthī), as per rule 2.3.65 kartrkaranoh....

The word guru in the next example is in the instrumental to express the agent, as opposed to the object which is now expressed by aniyaR of pravacaniyāh.

3.4:69 लः कर्मणि च पावे चाकर्मकेष्यः:

lah karmanī ca bhāve cākarmakebhyaḥ
| Ilah 1/3 karmanī 7/1 ca ∅ bhāve 7/1 ca ∅ akarmakebhyaḥ 5/3/ |
| (dhātoḥ #3.1.91, kartari #67) |
| lakāraḥ karmanī kārake bhavanti cakārāt kartari bhavanti; akarmakebhyo dhātubhyo bhāve bhavanti, cakārāt kartari ca |
LA affixes occur after transitive verbal roots to denote karman or kartr; they also occur after intransitive verbal roots to denote kartr or bhāva.

Examples:

gamyate grāmo devadattena ‘the village is gone to by Devadatta’
gacchati grāmam devadattah ‘Devadatta is going to the village’
āsyate devadattena ‘Devadatta is sitting’
āste devadattaḥ ‘id.’

1. The word laḥ is, here, interpreted as the nominative plural of l which is used here to refer to LA affixes in general. An ablative, or genitive singular interpretation of laḥ would cause serious interpretational problems. Additionally, for l to be able to refer to such affixes in general, it must also be used here without any of the it elements.

Note that the word ca ‘and’ is used twice. This splits the rule into two as follows:

(a) laḥ karnaṇi kartari ca ‘LA affixes occur to denote karnaṇ, and kartṛ as well, after roots which are transitive (sakarmaka);
(b) laḥ bhāve kartari cākarmakebhyaḥ ‘LA affixes occur to denote bhāva ‘root-sense, and kartṛ as well, after verbal roots which are intransitive (akarmaka).

The first ca brings kartari from the preceding rule close to the context of interpretation (a). The second ca brings the same kartari close to the context of interpretation (b). The use of akarmaka ‘intransitive’, in contradistinction with sakarmaka, automatically provides the context of sakarmaka to the preceding interpretation. Interpretation (b) for reasons of having akarmakebhyaḥ in the plural as a modifier (viṣeṣana) of dhātoḥ also requires transposition of number (vacanaviparināma) in the anuvṛtti. That is, the word dhātoḥ will be read, here, as dhātubhyah. The preceding interpretation makes it impossible for the LA affixes to denote bhāva after transitive roots. This is made clear by the explicit use of akarmakebhyaḥ.

2. Note that rule 3.4.67 kartari kṛt introduces affixes termed kṛt to denote kartṛ. Rule 3.1.93 kṛd atiin assigns the term kṛt to affixes other than those denoted by the abbreviatory term tiN. The term kṛt, obviously, also becomes available to the ten abstract LA affixes. Consequently, and in consonance with the specification of rule 3.4.67 kartari kṛt, a LA affix can only be introduced with the denotatum of kartṛ. The formulation of rule 3.4.69 laḥ karnaṇi… thus becomes necessary. Assignment of the term kṛt to LA has further consequences. For instance, affixes termed LA can either be replaced with tiN (tiṅbhāvi; 3.4.77 tiptsjhi…), or by some other (non-tiN; atiṅbhāvi) affix. A tiN replacement of LA, for the reason of being a non-kṛt, only qualifies for denoting bhāva and karnaṇ. A non-tiN replacement of LA, on the other hand, qualifies for denoting the kartṛ. Rule 3.4.69 adds significantly towards the resolution of this difficulty.

Consider now the following sentences for illustration:

c) gamyate grāmo devadattena ‘the village is gone to by Devadatta’
d) gacchati grāmaṁ devadattah ‘Devadatta is going to the village’
e) āsyate devadattena ‘Devadatta stays…’
f) āste devadattah ‘id.’
(g) devadattena odano bhujyate ‘the rice is eaten by Devadatta’
(h) devadattena bhujyate ‘Devadatta is eating’

Sentences (c) and (d) express the object and agent by tūṇ replacements of affix \( \text{LAT} \). Since the object is expressed by \( \text{ta} \) of \( \text{gamyate} \) in (c), the agent must be expressed with \( \text{tritiyā} \) (2.3.18 kartṛkaraṇaṇayos...). Additionally, grāma must be used with the nominative (prathamā) just to express the nominal stem notion (prātipadikārtha) as the object is already expressed by the verbal form. Contrary to this, sentence (d) expresses the agent with \( \text{ti} \). This causes devadatta to be used with the nominative to express merely its nominal stem-notion. The object, since it is not expressed by the verb, must now be expressed with the use of the accusative (dvitiyā; 2.3.2 karmani dvitiyā). Sentence (e) expresses its agent with the instrumental ending (tritiyā); its verb, on account of being intransitive, expresses bhāva ‘root-sense’. Sentence (f) expresses the agent by means of the verbal ending. Sentence (g) expresses its object and agent similar to sentence (c). However, note that in sentence (h), the verb still expresses the object.

One cannot interpret, here, the expression of bhāva to be parallel to āsyaṭe of sentence (e). This is precisely because of the explicit statement of akarmakebhayaḥ in the rule. This is also the basis for stating that bhāva cannot be expressed by LA which occurs after a transitive (sakarmaka) verbal root.

3. An action as the meaning of a verbal root has two aspects: its fruit or result (phala), and its process (vyāparā).

Let us consider the following sentence for illustration:

(i) devadattaḥ sthālīyām pacaty odanam agnīnā ‘Devadatta is cooking rice in the pot by means of fire’

The action of cooking as a process entails procuring rice, firewood, fire, pot and water; washing the rice in the pot, adding water, and putting the pot on the stove follows. But this can only happen with the assumption that the fire is already made. All these actions are treated as inhered in the principal action which we understand as ‘cooking’, the denotatum of pac. But what happens when this process of cooking is completed? We find that the rice-grains have acquired the quality termed softening (viklitti). This is what the grammarians call the result of an action. The locus of the action in the preceding sentence is the pot; the locus of the softening is the rice, the object; the locus of the process (vyāpāra) is devadatta, the agent. A verbal root is treated as sakarmaka ‘transitive’ if its action entails different loci for its process and result. All other verbal roots will be treated as akarmaka. Obviously, verbal root pac is sakarmaka.

3.4.70 तयोरेऽव कृत्यक्तखलर्थाः:

\( \text{tayor eva kṛtyaktakhalarthāḥ} \)
Affixes termed \( kṛtya \) (3.1.91 \( kṛtyāḥ \)), and those which have the signification of \( Kta \) (3.3.114 \( napumsake... \)) and \( KHaL \) (3.3.126 \( īṣaddhusu... \)), occur to denote only \( bhāva \) or \( karman \).

**Examples:**

- \( karttavyaḥ kaṭo bhavataḥ \) ‘the mat should be made by you’
- \( āsitavyaṃ bhavatā \) ‘you should sit’
- \( kṛtaḥ kaṭo bhavataḥ \) ‘the mat was made by you’
- \( āsitaṃ bhavatā \) ‘you sat down’
- \( īṣatkaroc kaṭam bhavataḥ \) ‘the mat is easy for you to make’
- \( īṣadādhyambhavam bhavataḥ \) ‘you (polite) are to be rich with ease’

1. This rule assigns the denotata of \( bhāva \) and \( karman \) to \( kṛtya \) (3.1.95 \( kṛtyāḥ \)), \( Kta \) (1.1.26 \( ktaktavatū niśṭhāḥ \)), as well as to those affixes which have the signification of \( KHaL \). The word \( eva \) ‘alone’ is used to exclude \( kartari \) of the preceding rules from being effective here. Thus, \( bhāva \) and \( karman \), alone, are to be treated as the denotata of specified affixes. Let us consider some examples:

   (a) \( karttavyaḥ kaṭo bhavatā \) ‘a mat should be made by you’
   (b) \( śayitavyaṃ bhavatā \) ‘you must recline’
   (c) \( kṛtaḥ kaṭo bhavatā \) ‘a mat is made by you’
   (d) \( śayitaṃ bhavatā \) ‘you have reclined’
   (e) \( īṣatkaroc kaṭo bhavataḥ \) ‘the mat is easy for you to make rightaway’
   (f) \( īṣad ādhyambhavo bhavatā \) ‘it is easy for you to be rich rightaway’,

where the first two sentences express \( karman \) and \( bhāva \), respectively by their \( kṛtya \) affix \( tavyaT \). The next two sentences manipulate affix \( Kta \) to denote, again, the \( karman \) and \( bhāva \) notions. The last set of two sentences manipulates the affix \( KHaL \), and again denotes \( karman \) and \( bhāva \) respectively.

\( Kāśikā \) states that, since \( bhāve cākarmakebhyaḥ \) is still carried, these affixes cannot denote \( bhāva \) in case of a transitive (\( sakarmaka \)) verbal root.

3.4.71 आदिकर्मणि क्रः कार्तौर्च

- \( ādikarmani ktaḥ kartari ca \)
- \( ādikarmani 7/1 ktaḥ 1/1 kartari 7/1 ca 0/1 \)

(\( pratyayah #3.1.1 karmani bhāve cākarmakebhyaḥ #69 \))

Affix \( Kta \) which occurs to denote the onset of an action denotes \( kartṛ \) as well.
EXAMPLES:

prakṛtaḥ katuṁ devadattah ‘Devadatta started to make the mat’
prakṛtaḥ kato devadattena ‘id.’
prakṛtam devadattena ‘id.’

1. Note that the word karman of karmanī is not used in the sense of the technical term karman ‘object’. It is, instead, used in the more general sense of ‘action’ which when qualified with ādi means ‘onset of an action’. The compound ādikarma is thus interpreted as a karmadhāraya-tatpurusa compound with the analysed form: ādhīkūṭah kriyākṣanah ‘that which is the initial moment of an action’. Note that Kta is a niśṭhā suffix introduced within the specification of bhūte (3.2.84) ‘when the action denoted by the verb is located in the past’. This is the reason that the ‘onset of an action’ which forms part of the condition of this rule, is to be further specified as: ‘the onset of an action located in the past’. Our rule can be explained as: affix Kta introduced after a verbal root, with reference to the onset of an action in the past, denotes agent; because of the ca, it additionally can denote bhava and karman. Note that the preceding rule provides for Kta to denote bhava and karman as explained. This rule extends the denotatum of kartṛ in the case of Kta used with the specification of ādikarma. Consider now the following sentences:

(a) prakṛtaḥ katuṁ devadattah ‘Devadatta started making a mat’
(b) prakṛtaḥ katu devadattena ‘a mat was started being made by Devadatta’
(c) prakṛtam devadattena ‘it was begun by Devadatta’,

where the first sentence has devadatta in the nominative to express the nominal stem-notion (pratiyakāra) because the agent is already expressed by the Kta of prakṛtaḥ. Sentence (b) must use the instrumental ending (tritiya) to express the agent because the Kta of prakṛtaḥ now expresses the object. This explains why katuḥ must be used with the nominative to denote the nominal stem-notion. Sentence (c) denotes bhava with the Kta of prakṛtaḥ. Consequently, devadatta must be used with the instrumental to denote the agent. Note that pra in all these sentences can be treated as denoting ‘the onset of the action’. The denotatum of bhava, as we have already seen, is not possible in the context of an action which is denoted by a transitive root. This raises a question against the status of the verbal root used in prakṛtaḥ of sentence (c). Commentators explain that Kta denotes bhava with reference to the verbal root treated as intransitive because of an unexpressed object. Haradatta (Padamaṇjari ad Kāśikā III: 208) states it as follows:

atra karmano’ vivakṣitavena dhātor akarmakād bhava eva ktaḥ ‘affix Kta is introduced here to denote bhava alone because the verbal root becomes intransitive for lack of an intent to denote the object’
3.4.72 गत्यार्थकर्मकालिकाःसिद्धासास्तिसनरुहाजीरतिथ्याः
gatyārthakarmakaśśiṣṭhāsāsavajanaruhajīrtyātībhyaṃ ca
gatyārthāḥ...jīrtyātibhyāḥ 5/3 ca 0/
(pratayah #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātōh #3.1.91, karmanī bhāve
cakarmakebhyaṁ #69, kartari #71)
gatyārthēbhyaḥ dhātubhyo karmakebhyaḥ śiśādibhyāḥ ca yah ktaḥ sa kartari
bhavati, cakārād yathāprāptāṁ ca bhāvakarmanāḥ
Affix Kta occurs to denote kṛtī, bhāva and karman, after intransitive verbal roots which have the signification of gati ‘motion’, and also after verbal roots śiśā ‘to embrace’, śīṇ ‘to recline’, sthā ‘to stand’, āṣā ‘to sit’, vasā ‘to dwell’, janā ‘to be born’, ruḥā ‘to grow’, and jī ‘to become old, be wasted away’.

EXAMPLES:

gato devadatto grāmam ‘Devadatta went to the village’
gato devadattena grāmāḥ ‘id.’
gataṃ devadattena ‘Devadatta went’

glāno bhavān ‘sir, you are sad’
glānaṁ bhavatā ‘id.’

āsīto bhavān ‘sir, you are seated’
āsītam bhavatā ‘id.’

upāśiṣṭo gurūṃ bhavān ‘sir, you embraced the teacher’
upāśiṣṭo gurūr bhavatā ‘sir, the teacher was embraced by you’
upāśiṣṭam bhavatā ‘sir, you embraced…’

upāsāyito gurūṃ bhavān ‘sir, you reclined near the teacher’
upāsāyito gurūr bhavatā ‘id.’

upāsāyitam gurūṃ bhavān ‘sir, you reclined…’

upāsthito gurūṃ bhavān ‘sir, you appeared before the teacher’
upāsthito gurūr bhavatā ‘id.’

upāsthitam bhavatā ‘sir, you appeared’

upāsīto gurūṃ bhavān ‘sir, you worshipped your teacher’
upāsīto gurūr bhavatā ‘sir, the teacher was worshipped by you’
upāsītam bhavatā ‘sir, you worshipped…’

anūśīto gurūṃ bhavān ‘sir, you lived near the teacher’
anūśīto gurūr bhavatā ‘id.’

anūśītam bhavatā ‘sir, you lived…’

anujāto māṇavakumāṇavikām ‘the boy was born after the girl’
anujātā māṇavakena māṇavikā ‘id.’

anujātām māṇavakena ‘the boy was born after…’

āruḍho vrksam bhavān ‘you climbed the tree sir!’
āruḍham vrksaḥ bhavatā ‘the tree was climbed by you sir’
āruḍham bhavatā ‘sir, you climbed…’
anujirno vrśalim devadattah ‘Devadatta made the vrśali, the lowly śūdra woman battered’
anujirnā vrśalī devadattena ‘id.’
anujirnām devadattena ‘Devadatta battered…’

1. Note that the rule also uses ca ‘and’, consequent upon which affix Kta can also be used to denote bhāva and karman. Consider the following set of examples for illustration:

(a) gato devadatto grāmam ‘Devadatta went to the village’
(b) gato devadattena grāmaḥ ‘the village was gone to by Devadatta’
(c) gataṃ devadattena ‘Devadatta is gone’

Note that affix Kta in sentence (c) denotes bhāva, as opposed to the karman of sentence (b). This is the reason why devadatta, the agent, is expressed by trītyā in both the sentences. Since the object in sentence (b) is already expressed by Kta, grāma must be used with the nominative to denote the nominal stem-notion. Sentence (a) must use dvītyā with grāma to denote the object, since affix Kta there denotes the agent. It is for this reason that devadatta is used in the nominative to express the stem-notion. Note that the same verb is used in all these sentences. It is treated in the first two sentences as transitive (sakarmaka). It cannot be treated as such in sentence (c). For, in the absence of the desire to specify the object it will be treated as intransitive (see my notes under 3.4.70).

Refer also to my earlier statement about the impossibility of the denotation of bhāva by an affix introduced after a transitive verbal root. Verbal roots such as śliśā, etc., are specifically enumerated in this rule because, with the use of a preverb, they become transitive (cf. Kāśikā III: 209: śliśādayas sopasargakās sakarmakā bhavanti, tadartham eṣām upādānam). Otherwise, they would have qualified for the provision of this rule on the basis of their intransitivity.

3.4.73 दासगोघ्नौ समप्रदाने

dāṣagōghnau sampradāne
/daśagōghnau 1/2 sampradāne 7/1/
dāṣagōghnau śabdau sampradāne kārake nipaṭyete

Forms such as dāša and goghna are derived by nipātana when they are to denote sampradāna ‘dative’.

Examples:

dāśaḥ ‘he to whom something is given’
goghnaḥ ‘a guest for whom one kills a cow’

1. This rule allows for affixes aC (3.1.134 nandidrahi…), or TaK (3.2.8 gāpoṣtak) to denote sampradāna ‘dative’, by the process of nipātana, with
words such as dāśah ‘he to whom a gift is made’, or goghnah ‘he for whom a cow is killed’. The word dāśah is analysed as dāśantı tasmı ‘he to whom a gift is made’, and is derived by the introduction of affix aC. The word goghnah is similarly derived by introducing affix Īak by nipätana with the analysed form: āgatāya tasmı dātam gāṁ ghnantı ‘a guest for whom they kill a cow in offering’. This word does not mean ‘the killer of a cow’ such as a cāndāla ‘the very lowly untouchable outcast’, etc. The affixes employed here should denote kartṛ by 3.1.93 kartari kṛt. This rule makes an ad hoc provision for dative.

2. The word goghnah means a guest deserving of madhuparka ‘a ritual welcome with the offering of yogurt (dadhı), ghee (sarpī), water (jala), honey (kṣaudrā), and sugar (sitā). The offering thus entails two cow products (vikāra). It is unacceptable to many, and at least debatable, whether they really killed a cow in honor of a special guest. Those not subscribing to the killing of a cow interpretation read the word goghnah to mean ‘a guest for whom cow products were made as welcoming offerings’. The root han in this interpretation must mean gati ‘movement’ as opposed to himsā ‘killing’. The gati meaning of han is further interpretable as jñāna ‘knowing’, gamana ‘going’, or prāpti ‘attaining’. The gati meaning of han in goghnah can thus be claimed to be prāpti ‘attaining’. The word go ‘cow’, itself, on the authority of the Nirukta (II.5), can be interpreted as ‘cow product’ (govikāra). This, then, allows the meaning of goghnah to be in line with the belief that cows were not killed.

3.4.74 भीमादयोपदाने

bhīmādayo pādāne
/bhīmādayaḥ 1/3 apādāne 7/1/
bhīmādayaḥ sābdā apādāne nipātyante

The words bhīma ‘frightening’, etc., derive via nipātana when apādāna ‘ablative’ is denoted.

EXAMPLES:

bhīmaḥ ‘he who people fear’
bhayānakah ‘id.’
bhiṣmah ‘id.’

1. The words listed as bhīma ‘frightening’, etc., are derivates of unādi ‘uN etc.’ affixes. This ad hoc provision is against the provision of 3.1.93 kartari kṛt.

3.4.75 ताथ्यामन्योपणादयः:

tābhyaṁ anyatronādayah
/taḥhyaṁ 5/2 anyatra 0 unālayaḥ 1/1/
3.4.76 Adhyāya Three: Pāda Four

(pratyayaḥ #3.1.1)
unādāyaḥ sabdāḥ tābhyām apādānasampadānābhyām anyatra kārake bhavanti
Affixes uṇ, etc., also occur outside of the denotata of dative (sampadāna) and ablative (apādāna).

Examples:

krṣih ‘farming; that which is tilled’
tantuh ‘thread; that which is stretched’

1. This rule makes a provision for the uṇādi affixes to denote other kāraka in addition to sampadāna and apādāna for whom provisions have already been made. The words tābhyām anyatra, obviously, refer to the context ‘other than the denotational context of dative and ablative’. The word tābhyām is basically used to bring close the context of sampadāna. The apādāna would have been available even without tābhyām.

3.4.76 कौटियिकरणे च द्रौपदिप्रत्यवसानर्थेः:

kto' dhikaraṇe ca dhrauvyaagatipratyasānārthebhyaḥ
ktō 1/1 adhikaraṇe 7/1 ca 0/
dhrauvyaagatipratyasānārthebhyaḥ 5/3/
(pratyayaḥ #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91)
dhrauvyaagatipratyasānārthebhyo yah kto vihitah so' dhikaraṇe bhavati
cakārād yathāprāptam ca

Affix Kta ‘occurs after verbal roots which signify dhrauvya ‘to remain fixed’, gati ‘motion’ and pratyasāna ‘eating, consuming’ to additionally denote adhikaranā ‘locus’.

Examples:

āsito devadattah ‘Devadatta is seated’
āsitam tena ‘he is seated’
idam esām āsitam ‘this is their place of sitting’
yāto devadatta grāmam ‘Devadatta went to the village’
yātām devadattena ‘Devadatta went’
bhukta odano devadattena ‘Devadatta ate rice’
devadattena bhuktem ‘Devadatta ate’
idam esāṁ bhuktam ‘this is their food’

1. This rule provides for affix Kta to occur after verbal roots which have the signification of dhrauvya intransitive (stative) action’, gati ‘movement’, and pratyasāna ‘eating’ to denote adhikaranā ‘locus’. Note that because ca is stated in the rule, the denotata of bhāva, karman, or kārt, where applicable, will additionally still apply. The following outlines actions with possible denotata of Kta:
(a) intransitive (stative) actions: adhikaraṇa, kartr, and bhāva;
(b) actions with the signification of movement: adhikaraṇa, kartr, karman, and bhāva;
(c) actions with the signification of eating: adhikaraṇa, karman, and bhāva

That is, affix Kta, depending on the nature of an action, may denote adhikaraṇa, additionally with bhāva, karman and kartr.

The following examples illustrate the four denotata of affix Kta introduced after verbal roots which have the signification of gati:

(d) yāto devadatto grāmam (kartr) 'Devadatta went to the village'
(e) yāto devadattena grāmāḥ (karman) 'the village was gone byDevadatta'

(f) yātām devadattena (bhāva) 'Devadatta is gone'
(g) idam ēsām yātām (adhikaraṇa) 'this is their place for sitting'

The denotata of Kta with other verbal roots can be similarly illustrated. Note that the genitive (saṣṭhi) in ēsām is ruled by 2.3.68 adhikaraṇavācinnāś ca under the cooccurrence condition of Kta which denotes adhikaraṇa.

3.4.77 लय

lasya
/lasya 6/1/
In place of LA...

1. Note that l is, here, used to denote the ten abstract affixes LAṬ, etc., in general. The expression la includes a for ease of articulation. The word la, used in the genitive, is interpreted as the sthānin 'an item to be replaced' (1.1.49 saṣṭhi sthāneyogā). The rule is also an adhikāra 'heading', thereby implying that it will be carried to all rules contained within its domain. Pāṇini enumerates ten abstract LA affixes with distinguishing it-elements (anubandhaviṣṭāḥ), and specific temporal or other meanings (arthaviṣeṣe kālaviṣeṣe ca).

3.4.78 तिप्तसञ्जितिसिद्धिसन्दर्भसघमस्थानसारांत्यमिकिष्ठिष्ठिष्ठिष्ठिष्ठिष्ठि

tiptasjihisīpstasyahmivasmastātāṁjhatāsāthāṁdhvamīdvahimahi
/lṭp...mahin 1/1/
(pratyayah #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, lasya #77)

lasya tibādaya ādesā bhavanti
Affixes tiP, tas, jhi, siP, thas, tha, miP, vas, mas, ta, ātām, jha, thās, āthām, dhvam, iT, vahi and mahiN occur in place of LA

EXAMPLES:

pacatu 'he cooks'
pacataḥ 'they two cook'
pacantī 'they (plural) cook’, etc.

1. This rule introduces a set of eighteen verbal endings indicated by the abbreviatory term tiN. They are classed in two sets of parasmaipada 'active' and ātmanepada 'middle' with reference to three numbers and persons in each set as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>parasmaipada:</th>
<th>singular</th>
<th>dual</th>
<th>plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>IIIrd pers.</td>
<td>tip</td>
<td>tas</td>
<td>jhi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IIInd Pers.</td>
<td>siP</td>
<td>thas</td>
<td>tha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IInd Pers.</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>IIIrd Pers.</td>
<td>ta</td>
<td>ātam</td>
<td>jha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IIInd Pers.</td>
<td>thās</td>
<td>āthām</td>
<td>dhvam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IInd Pers.</td>
<td>iT</td>
<td>vahi</td>
<td>mahiN</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note that these endings are also called vibhakti (1.4.104 vibhaktiś ca). The assignment of the terms parasmaipada and ātmanepada are made by rules 1.4.99 laḥ parasmaipadam, etc. A further classification on the basis of prathama 'third', madhyama 'second', and uttama 'first' persons in each set is ordered by rule 1.4.101 triniḥ... Finally, each set is classified into three numbers: ekavacana 'singular', dvīvacana 'dual', and bahuvacana 'plural'.

The P in tiP is for accent, as per 3.1.4 anudattau suppitau. The T of iT is used as an it for specification via rules such as 3.4.106 iTo' t. It is not used, here, to indicate the place (deśa) with reference to an operation (vidhi), such as rule 1.1.46 ādyantau ṭakītau provides for. The question arises obviously because of two operational interpretations of genitive (śaṣṭhī) which are pertinent here, namely śhānaśaṣṭhī 'genitive denoting the relation: in place of’ and avayavaśaṣṭhī ‘genitive denoting some part of a whole’. All other tiN replacements of la are brought via the first interpretation of genitive meaning ‘in place of’. It is certainly odd to interpret the introduction of iT relative to the ‘part of a whole’ relationship. There is no reason for seventeen of the affixes to be introduced based on one meaning, and just one based on the other. The N of mahiN is simply to facilitate the formation of the abbreviatory term tiN. Why can this N not be interpreted as given to block guṇa, or vṛddhi, similar to the rules such as 1.1.5 kniti ca? Because that purpose could easily be served by rule 1.1.4 sārvadhātukam aṁit.

3.4.79 द्वि आत्मनेवदानं ते

тиत आत्मनेपदानं तेरे

(litah 6/1 ātmanepaddānām 6/3 teh 6/1 e (deleted 1/1)
(pratyayaḥ #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, lasya #77)
The Āṣṭādhyāyī of Pāṇini

3.4.80

\[ \text{ti} \text{to lakārasya sthāne yāny ātmanepadāni teśām ter ekārādeśo bhavati} \]

The \text{ti} (1.1.64 aco'ntyādi...) of an ātmanepada (1.4.100 taṃnāṇav...) replacement of a LA, marked with T, is replaced by e.

**Examples:**

To be provided under appropriate rules.

1. This rule provides a replacement in e for the \text{ti} part of an ātmanepada ending which replaces the LA affixes marked with T. There are six LA affixes which have T as an it: LAT, LIṬ, LUT, LRT, LET, and LOT. The term \text{ti} is assigned by rule 1.1.63 aco'ntyādi \text{ti} to that part of an item which is constituted by the last of its vowels. Thus, ta, the third person singular ātmanepada replacement of a LAT affix, such as LAT, will be replaced with te. But rule 1.1.64 assigns the term \text{ti} with reference to the last among the vowels of a form. The ātmanepada ending has just one vowel. For purposes of this operation, as well as the assignment of the term \text{ti}, a form consisting of a single vowel will be treated as constituting itself as its last vowel.

3.4.80 \text{वास: से}

\text{thāṣaḥ se}
\text{thāṣaḥ 6/1 se (deleted 1/1)/}
\text{(lasya #77, \text{tiṭaḥ #79})}

\[ \text{ti} \text{to lakārasya sthāne yas thās tasya sthāne se ādeśo bhavati} \]

The \text{thās}, a replacement for a LA affix marked with T, is replaced by se.

**Examples:**

\text{pacase 'you are cooking'}
\text{paksyaṣe 'you will cook'}

1. This rule orders a replacement in se for affix \text{thās}, replacement which occurs in place of a LA marked with T. Why did Pāṇini not provide for this replacement with the formulation: \text{thaḥ sa 'the th of an ātmanepada-replacement of a LA affix marked with T is replaced with sa'?} The sa could later yield se via the application of the preceding rule. This formulation could have been economical. But this would also have applied in case of the \text{th} of āthām, which is not desired.

3.4.81 \text{लिटासैल्यकोशिर्यथेत}

\text{liṭas tajhayor eśirec }
\text{liṭaḥ 6/1 tajhayoh 6/2 eśirec 1/1/}
\text{lidādeśayos tajhayor yathāṣamkhyaṃ 'eś iroc’ ity etāv ādeśau bhavatāḥ}
The *ta* and *jha* which replace *Līt* are replaced by *eS* and *ireC* respectively.

**Examples:**

*pece* 'third person singular middle perfect'
*pecāte* 'third person dual middle perfect'
*pecire* 'third person plural middle perfect'

1. This rule provides for *eS* and *ireC* as replacements for affixes *ta* and *jha* respectively when they occur in place of *Līt*. The *S* of *eS* is used as an *i* for *sarbādeśa* 'total replacement' in view of 1.1.55 *anekālīśit sarvasya*. The *C* of *ireC* is used as an *i* to provide for the *udātta* accent as per rule 6.1.163 *citāḥ*.

3.4.82 परस्मैपदानां नालतुस्थलभुक्तमण्डलम्:

*parasmaiṇḍānāṁ nālattusāthalathusāṇḍalamāḥ*

/*parasmaiṇḍānāṁ nāl...māḥ 1/3 (itar. du.)/

(litāḥ #81)*

*līdēsāṇāṁ parasmaiṇḍāsāmjayāṇāṁ yathāśaṃkhyam tibādīṇāṁ*

*nālādayo navādeśā bhavanti*

*NāL, atus, us, thāL, athus, a, NāL, va and ma come in place of the parasmaiṇḍā replacements of *Līt*.

**Examples:**

*paṇāca* 'third person singular active perfect'
*pecatuḥ* 'third person dual active perfect'
*pecuh* 'third person plural active perfect'

1. Note that this rule carries the *anuvṛtti* of *litāḥ*. Consequently, the nine affixes *NāL, atus, us; thāL, athus, a; and NāL, va, ma* come in place of the nine parasmaiṇḍa replacements of *Līt*, namely *tip, tas, jhi; siP, thas, thā; and miP, vas, mas*, respectively. Since these nine replacements are enumerated for an equal nine parasmaiṇḍa replacements of *Līt*, 1.3.10 *yathāsamkhyaṁ...* will assign equivalency in the order of enumeration. Thus, *tip, tas, jhi*, will be replaced by *NāL, atus, and us*, respectively. Other equivalents can similarly be determined.

2. Commentators agree that these affixes replace the parasmaiṇḍa replacements of *Līt* in toto (*sarbādeśa*). The question of a total, or partial, replacement arises in view of rules 1.1.51 *alo’ nyāsya* and 1.1.54 *anekālīśit sarvasya*. The first rule requires that a replacement specified for an item given in the genitive should replace only the last sound segment of that item. The second rule states that if the replacement consists of more than one sound segments, and is marked with *s* as an *i*, it should
replace the item in toto. Remember in connection with this, that treatment of an item consisting of more than one sound segment is determined irrespective of the ā elements. The N and L of NaL are both ā. Consequently, a, the real replacement, cannot be treated as consisting of more than one sound segment. Since the condition of anekāltvā ‘more than one sound segmentness’ is not met, tiP cannot be replaced by NaL in toto. Instead, NaL should replace only the final sound segment of tiP, namely -i. This would produce wrong forms, as the desired form can only be derived by total replacement (sarvādeśa). Commentators explain that NaL should be treated as consisting of more than one al based on its ā elements. These elements should be treated as part of NaL, thereby giving it the status of containing more than one al ‘sound segment’ till the time rule 1.3.7 cuṭū does not term them ā, and 1.3.9 tasya lopaḥ does not delete them. Affix NaL can be treated as consisting of more than one al at the time of replacement. For, rule 1.3.7 cuṭū can find NaL only after NaL has replaced tiP. The reason is simple. Rule 1.3.7 cuṭū assigns the term ā to the denotata of cU and tU occurring at the beginning of an affix (pratyaya). The term pratyaya cannot be assigned to NaL unless it has replaced tiP. For, NaL will be called an affix via sthānivadbhāva ‘treating the substitute as if it was like the substituendum’. Once NaL has replaced tiP in toto, there is no problem in 1.3.7 and 1.3.9 applying to delete the ā elements.

A similar question is raised against the second personal plural ending tha getting a replacement in a. This replacement, again, does not consist of more than one sound segment. Consequently, it should come under the purview of rule 1.1.54 alo’ nyāya. Commentators again use their ingenuity, and explain that the a is not just a single sound segment a. Instead, it is a combination of a sequence of a+a, where rule 6.1.91 alo gune subsequently orders a single replacement in place of both. If one accepts that tha is replaced with a sequence of a+a then the condition anekāltvā is met, and a can replace tha in toto. The moral is that: all these substitutes replace their substituenda in toto.

Note, incidentally, that N is an ā so that 7.2.115 acor āṇiti can order operations such as the vrddhi, and the like. The L of NaL is treated as an ā to facilitate operations specific to accentuation as per rule 6.1.187 līti.

3.4.83 विदो लाते वा

vido laṭo vā
l/vidah 5/1 laṭah 6/1 vā Øt
(dhātoḥ #3.1.91, parasmaipaḍānāṃ nālatususthalathusانगवामāḥ #82)
‘vida jānē’ asmād dhātoḥ paresāṃ laḍādeśāṃ parasmaipaḍānāṃ nālādayo nava vikalpenādeśā bhavanti
NaL, etc., optionally and respectively occur in place of the parasmaipada replacements of LAT which occur after verbal root vidA ‘to know’.

EXAMPLES:

veda ‘third person singular present indicative active’
vetti ‘id.’
vidatuḥ ‘third person dual present indicative active’
vittiḥ ‘id.’
viduḥ ‘third person plural present indicative active’
vidanti ‘id.’

1. This rule makes provisions of the preceding rule optional in case of parasmaipada replacements of LAT which occur after verbal root vidA ‘to know’. How do we know that the specified root is not the one that means ‘to exist’ (sattā), ‘to think’ (vicāra), or ‘to gain’ (lābha)? We know this from the fact that roots with the first two meanings do not allow active (parasmaipada) endings. The root with the last meaning is also ruled out because viduḥ, of the rule, is specified in pañcamī ‘ablative’. As a result, and also in consonance with rule 1.1.66 tasmād ity uttarasya, the replacements of LAT, in order for this rule to apply, must occur directly after the verbal root. If we accept the root to be vid ‘to gain’, the root, and endings, will be intervened by the augment nUM ruled by 7.1.59 śe mucādināṃ.

Obviously, because of the optional nature of this rule, there will be two sets of examples: one with replacements in NaL, etc., and the other in tiP, etc.

3.4.84 हुव: पञ्चानामातिः आहो हुव:

bruvaḥ pañcānāṃ aditāḥ āho bruvaḥ
bruvaḥ 5/1 pañcānāṃ 6/3 aditāḥ 0 āhāḥ 1/1 bruvaḥ 6/1/
(pratyayah #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, parasmaipadānāṃ
ālatusūsthalaśthusaśaṅtavāḥ #82, laṭo vā #83)
bruvaḥ parasya laṭah parasmaipadānāṃ pañcānāṃ ādībhūtānāṃ
ālādaya ādesā bhavanti
NaL, etc., occur optionally and respectively, after verbal root brū ‘to speak’, in place of the first five replacements of LAT, with the additional provision that āh replaces brū.

EXAMPLES:

āhāhāhātuh āhūḥ
āttha āhāthuḥ ‘he speaks, etc.’
1. This rule carries the anuvṛtti of both parasmaipadānāṁ as well as of laṭo vā. It provides for a replacement in NaL, etc., for the parasmaipada replacements of LAT, though in a limited manner. It allows for only the first five parasmaipada replacements of LAT, i.e., tiP, tas, jhi, siP, and thas, to be replaced with the first five elements enumerated beginning with NaL, etc. Here again, the elements will replace items in accordance with the principle of yathāsamanikhyā ‘assignment of equivalence in order of enumeration’. Note, also, that since verbal root brū also gets replaced with āh, this replacement must also be carried out, along with the replacement in NaL, etc. For, operations provided in conjunction must also be performed, or rejected, in conjunction (sanniyogaśiṣṭānāṁ saha vā pravrīṭtāḥ saha vā nivrūṭtiḥ).

2. Note that the word ādīṭaḥ is used to clearly specify the referents of the five replacements. They should accordingly be counted, beginning with the first (ādīṭaḥ). Why did Pāṇini have to repeat brūvah? To make it clear that brū will constitute the sthāni ‘item to be replaced’ for āh, the substitute (ādeśa). The first brūvah is in the ablative (pāṇcamī), and as such, it cannot serve as a sthānī since a sthānī is specified in the genitive (saṣṭhī). The specification of the sthānī is also required to limit the replacement by āh to the context of parasmaipada affixes.

3.4.85 लोटो लाववतः

loṭo laivas
loṭah 6/1 laivas Ø/
loṭo laivas kāryām bhavati
Affix LOT is treated as if it were LAÑ.

Examples:

pacatām ‘third person dual imperative active’
pacatām ‘second person dual imperative active’
pacata ‘second person plural imperative active’
pacāva ‘first person dual imperative active’
pacāma ‘first person plural imperative active’

1. Note that laivas ‘similar to LAÑ’ marks an extension (ataśeśa). That is, this rule extends the operations applicable to LAÑ to LOT. If it were not for this extension, replacements such as tām, tam, ta, and am, ordered respectively for tas, thas, tha, and miP, and replacement of a LA suffix marked with ā as an it (3.4.101 tathasthamipām…), would not be made available to replacements of LOT.

2. Note, also, that rule 3.4.99 nityam āttaḥ requires an obligatory (nitya) deletion of the s of the first personal dual endings (vas, mas) which replaces a LA marked with ā. This deletion of -s will also be available to the two replacements of LOT at the strength of the extensional (ātideśika) provision of this rule.
A question is raised as to why some other provisions made for a LA affix marked with ň do not apply to replacements of LOT in consonance with this extension. For examples of what should, but does not, apply see rules 3.4.108 jher jus, and 3.4.111 lañañ śakaṭāyanasyaiwa. Kaśkhā states that vā from rule 3.4.83 vido laññ vā is carried to this rule to restrict its provision to vyashtitavibhāṣā. That is, the option will be available in a limited and specific manner. This, in turn, accounts for the non-application of the provisions of the two rules just cited.

3.4.86 एकुः:

er uḥ
leñ 6/1 uḥ 1/1
(lotah #85)
loḍāḍeśānām ikārasya ukārādeśo bhavati
The i of affixes which replace LOT is replaced by u.

EXAMPLES:

pacatu ‘third person singular imperative active’
pacaintu ‘third person plural imperative active’

1. This rule provides for u to replace the i of a replacement of LOT. Consider thus affixes ti and jhi whose i is replaced with u, as in bhavatu and bhavantu ‘may he,...they, become’, when they replace LOT. How come the i of siP and miP, second and third person singular replacements of LOT, does not get replaced with u? Rules 3.4.87 ser hy apic ca, and 3.4.89 mer nih make different provisions for them.

3.4.87 सेविप्च्च

ser hy apic ca
/leñ 6/1 hi (deleted 1/1) apit 1/1 ca 0/
(lotah #85)
loḍādeśasya seḥ ‘hi’ ity ayayam ādeśo bhavati, apic ca bhavati
A siP replacement of LOT is replaced by hi and is treated as though not marked with P.

EXAMPLES:

lunihi ‘second person singular imperative active of lū (to cut)’
rādhnuhi ‘id. of rādha (to achieve).’

1. This rule provides for two concurrent operations: a replacement in hi for the si of a replacement of LOT; and treatment of hi as if it was not marked with P as an ň. This subsequent provision is made in view of the pīt status of hi which is automatically available on the basis of sthāṇivadbhāva
'treatment of a replacement as if it were the item it replaced'. The second provision is, thus, restrictive.

2. This restrictive provision has some noteworthy consequences. For example, in the event of a negation of the pit status of hi, rule 1.2.4 sārvadhatum apit is now free to accord hi the status of being marked with ā. This status of ā blocks the application of guna. It similarly facilitates the application of rule 6.4.113 i haly aghoh, whereby i is ordered as replacement for the ā of Snā followed by a sārvadhatuka affix marked with K, or ā.

3.4.88 बाचकन्दसि

vā chandasi
/val / chandasi 7/1/
(loṭāḥ #85, ser hy apit #87)
lādeśas chandasi visaye hisābdo vā' pid bhavati

The hi replacement of a siP which occurs in place of LOT, in the Vedic, is optionally treated as though not marked with P.

Examples:

prīṇāhi '2nd person singular imperative active of prīN (to please)'
prīṇthi 'id.'

1. This rule makes the otherwise obligatory provision of the preceding rule optional in the context of the Vedic.

3.4.89 मेन्यः:

mer niḥ
/mer / niḥ 1/1/
(loṭāḥ #85)
loḍādeśasya mer nir ādeśo bhavati

A miP replacement of LOT is replaced by ni.

Examples:

pacāṇi '1st person singular imperative active of pac'
paṭhami id. 'id. of paṭh'

1. This constitutes an exception to the provisions of rule 3.4.85 loco laṅvat, and 3.4.86 eruḥ. That is, the mi replacement of LOT does not have its i replaced with u as rule 3.4.86 would have it. Similarly, this mi cannot be replaced with am as rule 3.4.101 tathastha... would have it. Finally, the i of mi is also immune from deletion by 3.4.101 itaś ca as rule 3.4.85 loco laṅvat would, otherwise, have it.

3.4.90 आभेलः:

ām etah
lām 1/1 etah 6/1/
(loṭah #85)
loṭsambandhīna ekārasya 'ām' ity ayam ādēśo bhavati
A replacement in eT (1.1.70 taparas...), relative to LOT, is
replaced by ām.

EXAMPLES:

pacatām '3rd person singular imperative middle of pac'
pacetām '3rd person dual imperative middle of pac'
pacantām '3rd person plural imperative middle of pac'

1. Note that loṭah is still carried. This rule provides for an e relative
to a replacement of LOT to be replaced with ām. Recall that rule 3.4.79 ti
ātmaneṣadānām... provides for a replacement in e specifically for the ti
part of a replacement of a LA suffix marked with t. This rule provides ām
instead. Our present rule can thus be cited as an exception to rule 3.4.79.

2. A question is raised as to the relationship between the e and affix
LOT. The relationship can be identified as that of a '.qualifier' (viṣeṣāṇa)
and a 'qualified' (viṣeṣya). There can be two possibilities: (a) e is the
qualifier to LOT, or (b) LOT is a qualifier to e. The first interpretation
would entail tadaṇtavidhī which, in turn, would provide only ām in place
of a replacement of LOT which ended in e. It is for this reason that the
second interpretation is accepted. This interpretation will not entail
tadaṇtavidhī, because e will now become principal (pradhīna), since it is
now the qualified.

3.4.91 सवाह्यां वामो

savābhyāṁ vāmau
/savābhyaṁ 5/2 vāmau 1/2/
(loṭah #85, etah #90)
sakāravakārabhyāṁ uttarasya loṭsambandhīna ekārasya yathā-samkhyāṁ
'va, am' ity etāv ādēśau bhavataḥ
A replacement in eT, relative to LOT, when it occurs after s or v is
replaced by va and am, respectively.

EXAMPLES:

pacasva ‘2nd person singular imperative middle of pac’
pacadhvam ‘2nd person plural imperative middle’

1. This rule constitutes an exception to the preceding. For, it requires
replacing the e of a replacement of LOT by va and am if e occurs after s
and v respectively. Consider for example pacasva, where e happens to be
the e of se, a replacement of thās (3.4.80 thāsaḥ se) ordered for LOT.
3.4.92 आक्षेपमय चिन्त

\[\text{अङ्कुम सत्यमा पिचि}\]
\[\text{ल/अङ्कुम सत्यमा ६/१ पिचि १/१ सा ठी/}\]
\[\text{(लोता, #85)}\]
\[\text{लोक्षवसन्धिना सत्यस्तित् सां हवन, सा सत्यमपरुषमह सि हवनि}\]

A first person replacement, relative to LOT, receives the augment \(\tilde{a}T\) which also is treated as though marked with \(P\).

**Examples:**

- karavānī '1st person singular imperative active of \(\text{क्रीन}^N\)
- karvāva '1st person dual imperative active of \(\text{क्रीन}^N\)
- karavāmā '1st person plural imperative active of \(\text{क्रीन}^N\)
- karavai '1st person singular imperative middle of \(\text{क्रीन}^N\)
- karavāvahai '1st person dual imperative middle of \(\text{क्रीन}^N\)
- karvāmahai '1st person plural imperative middle of \(\text{क्रीन}^N\)

1. This rule introduces augment \(\tilde{a}T\) to first personal replacements relative to LOT. Additionally, the rule extends the status of \(\text{पित}\) 'that which has \(P\) as an 'it' to the first personal affixes. Why is the \(\text{पित}\) status not extended to the augment itself? That would not make any sense (nirarthakaṭatvat). For, the \(\text{पित}\) status can either bring the anudātta accent, or it can cause guna or vṛddhi. The anudātta accent is automatically applicable to \(\tilde{a}T\) since it is an augment. The guna or vṛddhi applications would not concern \(\tilde{a}T\) since, not being a pratyaya, it cannot condition them. The status of \(\text{पित}\) is thus not assigned to \(\tilde{a}T\). It is assigned, instead, to the replacement of LOT basically to counter nidvadhāvā of 1.2.4 sāravadhātkam apit, and thereby, to facilitate the application of guna and vṛddhi. See other derivational details in the appendix.

3.4.93 एत ए

\[\text{एत ए} \]
\[\text{/एतह ६/१ (deleted १/१)/}\]
\[\text{(लोता, #85, सत्यस्तिता #९२)}\]
\[\text{लोक्षवसन्धिना एकारस्या एकारादेशो हवनि}\]

A replacement in \(\tilde{e}T\) relative to the first personal replacement of \(\text{LOT}\) is replaced by \(\text{ai}\).

**Examples:**

- karavai 'first person singular...
- karavāvahai 'first person dual...
- karavāmahai 'first person plural...
1. This rule allows ai to replace e of a replacement of LOT. This is an exception to ām, ruled by 3.4.90 ām etah.

3.4.94 लेतार्जर्य

leṭo’ dāṭau
/leṭah 6/1 aḍāṭau 1/2/
leṭo aḍāṭāgamau bhavataḥ paryāyena
Augments aT and āT are introduced, in turn (paryāyena), to affixes which replace LET.

EXAMPLES:

joṣīṣat ‘may he be happy’
tārīṣat ‘may he go across...’
mandiṣat ‘may be happy’
pāṭāti vidiyut ‘the lightning strikes...’

1. This rule introduces two augments (āgama), aT and āT, relative to a single replacement of affix LET. Are these augments both to be introduced simultaneously (yugapad)? Absolutely not. For, as they are both marked with T, and as per rule 1.1.46 adyaṃtau taṇitaun, they will both have to be introduced at the beginning of the affix which replaces LET. It is impossible to make both of them initial to the single element concurrently. Obviously, the augments have to be introduced in turn (paryāyena).

3.4.95 आत ऐ

āta ai
/ātaḥ 6/1 ai (deleted 1/1)/
(letaḥ #94)
leṣantabdhina ākārasya aikārūdeśo bhavati
A replacement in āT (1.1.70 taṇaras...), relative to LET, is replaced by ai.

EXAMPLES:

mantrayaite ‘3rd person dual subjunctive middle of mantri’
mantrayaithe ‘2nd person dual subjunctive middle of mantri’

1. This rule orders ai as a replacement for ā, relative to a replacement of LET. This replacement is applicable to the ā of the two affixes ātām, third person dual, and āthām, second person dual, of ātmanepada.

3.4.96 वाईतोन्यत्र

vaito’ nyatra
/
\[v\bar{a} \emptyset \text{etāḥ} \ 6/1 \text{anyatra} \ \emptyset/\]
(\text{leetāḥ} \ #94, ai \ #95)
\text{letṣambandhina ekārasya vā aikārādeśo bhavati anyatra}
A replacement in āT, relative to \text{LET}, elsewhere, is optionally replaced by ai.

\text{EXAMPLES:}

\begin{align*}
\text{aham eva paśūnām īśai} \\
\text{madāgrā eva vo grahā gṛhyāntāi}
\end{align*}

1. The word \text{anyatra} 'elsewhere' is used, here, relative to the preceding rule. That is, a replacement in ai for ā of a replacement of \text{LET} should apply outside the scope of the preceding rule. This statement becomes necessary to exclude the application of this rule in the derivation of forms such as \text{mantrayaite}. See additional details in the appendix.

\text{3.4.97 इत्तेष लोप: परस्रैपदेशु}

\begin{align*}
\text{itāḥ ca lopaḥ parasmaipadeśu} \\
\text{itāḥ 6/1 ca } \emptyset \text{ lopaḥ 1/1 parasmaipadeśu 7/3/} \\
(\text{leetāḥ} \ #94, vā \ #96)
\end{align*}
\text{letṣambandhina ikārasya parasmaipadaviśayasya vā lopo bhavati}
The iT (1.1.70 taparas...) of a parasmaipada replacement, relative to \text{LET}, is optionally deleted by \text{LOPA} (1.1.60 adarśanam...).

\text{EXAMPLES:}

\begin{align*}
\text{josīṣat} \\
\text{tārīṣat} \\
\text{manḍīṣat}
\end{align*}

1. This rule orders for an optional deletion of the i of a parasmaipada replacement of \text{LET}.

\text{3.4.98 स उत्तमस्य}

\begin{align*}
\text{sa uttamaśya} \\
(\text{leetāḥ} \ #94, vā \ #95, lopaḥ parasmaipadeśu \ #97)
\end{align*}
\text{letṣambandhina uttamaipuruśasya sakārasya vā lopo bhavati}
The s of the first person replacement, relative to \text{LET}, is optionally deleted by \text{LOPA}.

\text{EXAMPLES:}

\begin{align*}
\text{karavāval/karavāvah} \\
\text{karavāmal/karavāmah}
\end{align*}

1. This rule provides for optional deletion of the s of a replacement of
LET in the first (uttama) person. The word uttama is, obviously, used so that this deletion does not become applicable in other persons.

3.4.99 नित्यं नित्यः
nityam ītaḥ
/nityam 1/1 ītaḥ 6/1/
(lasya #77, lopah #97, sa uttamasya #98)
īto lakārasya ya uttamas tasya nityam sakārasya lopo bhavati
The s of the first person replacement of a LA affix, marked with īN, is obligatorily deleted by LOPA.

Examples:
apacāva ‘first person dual imperfect active of pac’
apacāma ‘first person plural imperfect active of pac’

1. This rule requires obligatory deletion of the s of first personal replacements for those LA affixes which may be marked with īN. The word nitya is used so that the anuvṛtti of vā is suspended. Note that the anuvṛtti of LET is also suspended.

3.4.100 इत्यथ
ītaś ca
/ītaḥ 6/1 ca Ø/
(lasya #77, lopah parasmaipadeśu #97, nityam ītaḥ #99)
īl lakārasambandhīna ikārasya nityam lopo bhavati
The iIT (1.1.70 taparas...), relative to a replacement of LA marked with īN, is also deleted obligatorily by LOPA.

Examples:
apacat ‘3rd singular active form of pac in LAÑ’
apākṣit ‘3rd singular active form of pac in LUN’

1. This rule requires obligatory deletion of the i of a replacement of a LA affix marked with īN. Thus, consider the derivation of apacat ‘he cooked’ from pac + LAÑ, where the LA affix gets replaced with the third person singular active ending ī. The final i of the affix gets deleted by this rule. Note that the deletion is not applicable to the i of a replacement affix termed ātmānepada. For, parasmaipada is carried here.

3.4.101 तत्तत्तत्तमाति तांतततात्तमाति
tastasthamipām tāṃtāṃtāmah
/tastasthamipām 6/3 tāṃtāṃtāmah/
(lasya #77, ītaḥ #99)
The Aṣṭādhyāyī of Pāṇini

3.4.102

nil lakārasambandhināṁ caturṇāṁ yathāsamkhyām tāmādaya ādesā bhavanti
The *tas, thas, tha* and *miP* replacements for *LA*, marked with *N*, are
obligatorily replaced by *tām, tam, ta* and *am*, respectively.

**Examples:**

*apacatām*
*apacatam*
*apacata*
*apacam*

1. This rule enumerates four replacements for an equal number of
earlier replacements of a *LA* affix marked with *N*. Thus, this rule offers
tām, tam, ta, and *am* as replacements for *tas, thas, tha*, and *miP*, third
person dual, second person dual and plural, and first person singular
parasmaipada *‘active’* endings, respectively. The assignment of equivalency
between the two sets of four forms are made on the basis of the order of
enumeration in corresponding sets, as per rule 1.3.10 *yathāsamkhyām*....
Thus, tām will replace *tas*, tam will replace *thas*, and so on. The examples
of *pac*, listed above, all relate to *LAN*.

3.4.102 णिकं: सियुद्ध

*liinaḥ sīyuṭ*
*līnaḥ 6/1 sīyuṭ 1/1*
*līnādesānāṁ sīyuṭ āgamo bhavati*
A replacement of *LIṆ* receives the augment *sīyUT*.

**Examples:**

*paceta*
*paceyātām*
*paceran*

1. This rule introduces augment *sīyUT* to the replacements of affix
*LIṆ*. Note that this is a general rule (*sāmānya*) to which the next rule is an
exception. Since the next rule introduces *yāsUT* as the augment for the
replacements of *LIṆ* in the *parasmaipada*, *sīyUT* must be introduced only
to the ātmaneṇa replacements of *LIṆ*. The cited examples illustrate the
forms of *pac*.

2. The *T*, as an *it* in both *sīyUT* and *yāsUT*, is intended to indicate the
place where the augments will be introduced (*desāvīddhyarthā*). The *U*, in
both cases, is intended for pronunciation.

3.4.103 ्यासुतः परस्मैपदेशुद्धतो डिप्च

*yāsuṭ parasmaipadeśūdātto ṃic ca*
/yāṣuṭ 1/1 parasmaipadeśu 7/3 udāṭtaḥ 1/1 niṭ 1/1 ca θ/ (liṅah #102)

parasmaipadaviṣayasya liṅo yāsuḍ āgamo bhavati, sa codātto bhavati, niṭ ca

A parasmaipada replacement of LIṆ receives the augment yāṣuṭ, which is treated as udāṭta ‘high-pitched’ and is marked with ṇ.

EXAMPLES:

kuryāt
kuryātām
kuryuh

1. As stated in the preceding notes, yāṣuṭ is an augment introduced to the parasmaipada replacements of LIṆ. This rule also makes two additional provisions: yasuṭ is treated as marked udāṭta, as opposed to the general udāṭta applicable to the augments (cf. PM and Kāś). Additionally, yāṣuṭ is treated as marked with ṇ as its it.

2. Note that an augment becomes part of item for which it is specified (yadāgamā guṇibhūtās tadgraṇaṇena gṛhyante). That is, if yāṣuṭ is to be introduced to a replacement of a LA affix, marked with ṇ as its it, the replacement will also qualify for the status as niṭ. Now, if an augment becomes part of the item for which it is specified, yāṣuṭ will also become part of the replacement marked with ṇ. That is, via the item to which it is introduced, yāṣuṭ will also be treated as marked with ṇ. What then is the purpose of restating the niṭ status? The purpose is to indicate (jñāpanārtham) that replacements of LA affixes are not considered as marked with ṇ at the strength of those affixes (see Kāśikā under this rule: lakārāśrayantvam ādesānām na bhavati and the derivational details of acinavam and akaravam for details). They qualify for treatment as marked with ṇ, rather at the strength of being replacements. Incidentally, examples cited under this rule here are IIIrd person singular, dual, and plural of krñ.

3.4.104 किदाशिषि

kidāśi
/kiṭ 1/1 āśi 7/1/ (liṅah #102, yasuṭ parasmaipadesūdāṭtaḥ #103)

āśi yo liṅ taṣya yāsuḍ āgamo bhavati, sa codāṭtaḥ kudvad bhavati

A parasmaipada replacement of LIṆ which denotes āśi ‘benediction’ receives the augment yāṣuṭ which is treated as udāṭta, and is marked with K.

EXAMPLES:

īṣyāt
isyātām
isyāsuh
jāgāyāt
jāgārayāstām
jāgārayāsuh

1. This rule extends the status of *kit* to the *parasmaipada* replacements of *LIÑ* introduced in the context of benediction (*āśīs*). Note that the *kit* status is extended to the affix, and not to the augment. For, that will not serve any purpose (*prayojanābhāvāt*). This *kit* status facilitates *samprasārana* by rule 6.1.15 *vacīsvapīyajādīnām*... in case of verbal roots *vac* 'to speak', *svap* 'to sleep', and *yaj* 'to perform a ritual sacrifice' for which see the appendix. The *kit* status also facilitates the application of *guna* in examples, such as *jāgārayāt*, as shown in the appendix. Note that elsewhere in examples, such as *vācyāt*, which does not denote benediction, *vac* does not go through *samprasārana*. Incidentally, cited examples illustrate IIIrd person singular, dual, and plural forms of verbal roots *iṣ* 'to wish' and *jāgr* 'to be awake'.

3.4.105 झस्य रान्

*jhasya* ran

*līñah* #102

*jhasya* līñādeśasya ran ādeśo bhavanti

The *jha* replacement of *LIÑ* is replaced by *ran*.

**Examples:**

pacaran

yajeran

kṛṣiran

1. This rule introduces *ran* to replace the *jha* replacement of *LIÑ*. This may also be treated as an exception to 7.1.3 *jho* 'ntah which requires the *jh* of an affix to replaced with *ant*. Note that the *n* of *ran* is saved from the assignment of the term *i*, and consequent deletion by rule 1.3.9 *tasya lopah*, by rule 1.3.3 *halantīyam*, because of rule 1.3.4 *na vibhaktau*... Obviously, the *n* of *ran* is part of an inflectional ending (*vi-bhakti*).

3.4.106 इत्

*iṭo* 't

*līñah* 6/1 at 1/1/

(līñah #102)
liṅādeśasya itah ‘at’ ity ayam ādeśo bhavati
The $iT$ replacement of $LIŅ$ is replaced by $aT$ (1.1.70 taparas...).

EXAMPLES:

paceya
yajeya
kṛṣīya
kṛṣīya

1. This rule introduces $aT$ as a replacement for the $iT$, first person singular (ātmaneśpada) replacement of $LIŅ$. Commentators explain this $T$ does not qualify for being saved from the assignment of the term it as per rule 1.3.4 na vibhaktau.... For, this $T$ is only used for ease of articulation (mukhasukhārtham).

2. Note that the $iT$ of this rule cannot be interpreted to refer to the augment $iT$. For, when specifications are made by means of items with signification, those with no signification are ruled out (cf. arthavād grahanē nānarthakasya). The cited examples are forms of verbal roots pac and kṛ.

3.4.107 सूत विधो:

sūt titihō
tl/sūt 1/1 titihō 6/2/1
(līnah #102)
liṁsambandhinōs takārathakārayoh suḍ āgamo bhavati
The $t$ and $th$ of a replacement, relative to $LIŅ$, receive the augment $sUT$.

EXAMPLES:

kṛṣīṣṭa
kṛṣīyāstām
kṛṣīṣṭāh
kṛṣīyāsthām

1. This rule introduces augment $sUT$ to the $ti$ and $th$ relative to a replacement of $LIŅ$. The $i$ of $ti$ is just for ease of articulation. Obviously $t$ and $th$ together, and without the intervening $i$, will be very difficult to pronounce. The introduction of this augment makes affixes ta, ātām, thās and āthām take the forms: sta, āstām, sthās, and āsthās respectively. Note that $sUT$ cannot be accepted here as an exception to $siyUT$. For, they both have different scopes. Augment $siyUT$ is specified for $LIŅ$, as opposed to the $sUT$ which is specified for the $t$ and $th$ of $LIŅ$. These two augments can now both be accommodated in the context of $LIŅ$. The examples are all forms of verbal root kṛ.
3.4.108 ज्हरः

jher jus
/jhe\ 6/1 jus 1/1/
(lia\#102)
liṅādesasya jher jus ādeśo bhavati
The jhi replacement of LIÑ is replaced by Jus.

EXAMPLES:

paceyuḥ
yajeyuḥ

1. This rule introduces Jus to replace the third personal plural parasmaipada replacement of LIÑ. Again, this can be treated as an exception to 7.1.3 jho' ni\#ah. This replacement will be valid for both kinds of LIÑ, i.e., vidhiliin of 3.3.161 vidhinimantraṇāmantraṇā... and aśīḥ of 3.3.175 aśīṣi liṅlo\#au.

3.4.109 सिजभयः

sijabhya\#astavidibhyas ca
/sijabhya\#astavidibhyas 5/3 (itar. dv.) ca \#0/
(lasya \#77, ni\#a\# 79, jher jus \#108)
sicah parasya abhyastamjñākebhyo vetteś cotta\#arya jher jus ādeśo bhavati
A jhi which occurs after sIC, or after that which is termed abhyasta, or else, after verbal root vid, is replaced with Jus.

EXAMPLES:

akārsuḥ
abhiva\#uḥ
aviduḥ

1. This rule begins provisions not related to LIÑ (ali\#artha). It offers Jus as a replacement for jhi when the same occurs either after sIC, or after an item termed abhyasta, or else after the verbal root vid 'to know'. Special mention of vid, and items termed abhyasta, separate from sIC, is made to exclude sIC. Note that this replacement is applicable only in the context of LA affixes marked with N as their it. Commentators state that ni\#a\# is carried here from rule 3.4.99 via ma\#dåkap\#uti to facilitate this interpretation. Thus, this replacement is not available in the context of LA affixes marked with T as their it. Separate mention of abhyasta and vid enables this replacement to also apply in the context of LUÑ. Recall that sIC is applicable in LUÑ (cf. 3.1.43 lu\#i and 3.1.44 cle\# sic).

Note that verbal root vid is here specified without its vikara\#a. It can then be interpreted differently. However, vid, meaning sattā 'existence',
is out since it would permit only ātmanepada endings. Of course, jhi is not ātmanepada. Verbal root vid, meaning lābha ‘gain’, is also out since its vikarana comes in between the root and jhi. This rule will not permit the replacement if an intervention of this sort occurs. It is, therefore, recommended to interpret vid meaning jñāna, since its vikarana gets deleted by LUK, and there is close proximity between the verbal root and jhi.

3.4.110 आत:  

ātah  
lātah 5/1/  
(jher jus #108, sicaḥ #109)  
sica ākārāntāc ca parasya jher jussadeso bhavati  
The jhi which occurs after sIC, and also after a verbal root ending in ā, is replaced by Jus.

Examples:  

aduh  
aduhah  
astuhuḥ

1. This rule offers a restriction (niyama). It states that if there is to be a Jus replacement for jhi occurring after sIC, it should be effective only after a verbal root which ends in ā. How could jhi be found after a verbal root ending in ā, and at the same time, after sIC. For, the root and jhi will be intervened by sIC.

Commentators state that sicaḥ, carried from the preceding rule, here means ‘after sIC which has gone through deletion by LUK’. If the reference is to a deleted sIC, then how could one satisfy the condition of the replacement? That is, how can one meet the condition that jhi to be replaced by Jus is occurring after sIC? By the provisions of rule 1.1.62 pratyayalope pratyayalakṣaṇam ‘operations relative to an affix obtain even when the affix gets deleted’. This rule thus applies only where the verbal root ends in ā and there occurs the deletion of sIC by LUK. See derivational details in the appendix.

Note that ū of ātah is for ease of articulation (mukhasukhārtha). The cited examples are forms of verbal roots dā, dhā and sthā for which see the appendix.

3.4.111 लक्ष: शाक्तायनस्येव  

lānah śākaṭāyanasyaiva  
lānah 6/1 śākaṭāyanaśya 6/1 ēva ṭ/  
(jher jus #108, ātah #110)
ākārāntād uttarasya laṅāḍēsasya jher jūsāḍēso bhavati, śākaṭāyanaśyā-
cāryasya matena

In the opinion of Śākaṭāyana, the jhi replacement of LAÑ which
occurs after a verbal root which ends in ā is replaced by Jus.

**Examples:**

*ayuḥ*

*ayān*

1. This rule states that a jhi replacement of LAÑ which occurs after a
verbal root ending in ā, can also be replaced with Jus only in the opinion
of the grammarian Śākaṭāyana. Obviously, in the opinion of others the
replacement will not take place. It is, thus, an optional provision. The
examples are optional forms of verbal root yā ‘to go’.

2. A question is raised here against explicitly using the word laṁah in
the rule. For, even without its explicit use Jus can obtain in place of the
jhi replacement of LAÑ, at the strength of nītah available from the
ainvṛtti. Commentators state that an explicit mention of LAÑ becomes
necessary so that the provision of this rule can be stopped from becoming
available to extensional LAÑ. That is, the LOT, which gets treated as if it
were LAÑ by rule 3.4.85 loto laṁvat, cannot qualify for the provisions of
this rule.

**3.4.112 द्विष्ट**

dviśaś ca

/dviśah 5/1 ca 0/

(jher jus # 108 laṁah śākaṭāyanaśyaiva # 111)

dviśaḥ. parasya laṅāḍēsasya jher jūsāḍēso bhavati śākaṭāyanaśyācāryasya
matena

The jhi-replacement of LAÑ which occurs after verbal root dviś ‘to
harm’ is also replaced with Jus in the opinion of Śākaṭāyana.

**Examples:**

*dviśuḥ* ‘they wished to harm’

dviśan ‘id.’

1. The SaP after verbal root dviś is deleted by rule 2.4.72 adipurabṛtibhyah
śapah.

**3.4.113 तिन्सिसारवदाहातुकम्**

tiṅśisārvadāḥātukam

/tiṅśit 1/1 sārvadāḥātukam 1/1/

(pratyayah #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91)
tiṁah śitaś ca pratayayah sārvadhātukasamjñā bhavanti

Affixes denoted by the abbreviatory term tiṉ (3.4.78 tiptasjhi...), and affixes marked with Š as an it, are termed sārvadhātuka.

Examples:

bhavati
nayati
pavamānaḥ
yajamānaḥ

1. This rule assigns the term sārvadhātuka to those affixes which are introduced after a verbal root, and are either denoted by the abbreviatory term tiṉ, or are marked with a Š as their it. The assignment of the term sārvadhātuka facilitates the introduction of affixes such as ŚaP (3.1.68 kartari śap), etc., which, in turn, enable the application of guṇa as per rule 7.3.84 sārvadhātukārdhā... The same assignment of the term can also facilitate the introduction of augment iṬ in the case of verbal roots which belong to the class headed by rudh ‘to obstruct’. Other operations relative to the assignment of the term sārvadhātuka are not hard to find. See the appendix for further details. Examples cited as above are LAT and ŚānaC forms of verbal roots bhū, nī, pū and yaj.

3.4.114 आर्धधातुकं शेषः:

ārdhadhātukam śeṣaḥ
/ārdhadhātukam 1/1 śeṣaḥ 1/1/
(pratayayah #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91)
tiṁah śitaś ca varjayitvā’ nyah pratayayah seṣo dhātusamśabdananena vihita ārdhadhātukasamjñāno bhavati

An affix which occurs after a dhātu but is not a sārvadhātuka is termed an ārdhadhātuka.

Examples:

lavita
lavitum
lavitavyam

1. This rule assigns the term ārdhadhātuka to those affixes which are introduced after a verbal root, and are neither marked with Š as their it, nor are denoted by the abbreviatory term tiṉ. That is, a non-Śit, or non-tiṉ affix introduced after a verbal root will be termed ārdhadhātuka. Our examples illustrate affixes trC, tumUN and tavyaT after verbal root lūṉ ‘to cut’.

Commentators state that this term assignment must be made only in those contexts where the affix which conditions the term-assignment is
introduced after a verbal root with the explicit mention of dhātoḥ. It is for this reason that affixes introduced within the domain of 3.1.91 dhātoḥ, alone, qualify for the assignment of this term. For example, affix saN introduced by 3.1.5 guptikādhibhyāh san cannot qualify for the assignment of the term ārdhadhātuka, since its introduction has been made by stating the roots, and not dhātoḥ `after the verbal root’. Obviously, lack of term-assignment blocks operations relative to the term.

The assignment of the term ārdhadhātuka also facilitates the operation of gūna, as has already been noted in connection with the preceding rule (cf. 7.3.84 sārvadhātukārdha...). It also facilitates the introduction of augment iṬ, as is clear from the provisions of rule 7.2.35 ārdhadhātukasyed...). The word šeṣa is used so that this term can apply to the exclusion of the affixes covered by the preceding rule.

3.4.115 लित ca

liṭ ca
liṭ 1/1 ca Ø/
(ārdhadhātukam #114)
liḍāḍeśas tiṅ ārdhadhātukasamjño bhavati
A tiṅ replacement of LIṬ also is termed ārdhadhātuka.

EXAMPLES:

pecitha
sēkitha
jagle
mamle

1. The examples illustrate the forms of verbal roots pac ‘to cook’, śak ‘to be able to’, glai ‘to be weary’ and mlai ‘to be sad’. The rule offers an exception to the assignment of the term sārvadhātuka of rule 3.4.113 tinṣit... Thus, a tiṅ which replaces LIṬ is termed ārdhadhātuka. Commentators observe, here, that the use of šeṣa in the preceding rule excludes class inclusion (samjñāsamāveśa). That is, šeṣaḥ blocks the assignment of the two terms sārvadhātuka and ārdhadhātuka to a single entity such as one denoted by tiṅ. There is no such indication in case of our present rule. Why cannot both terms be made applicable to the tiṅ replacements of LIṬ? After all, outside of the domain of one term (ekasamjñā), two terms can be applied to a single entity. It is not difficult to see how assignment of both terms to a single entity could create difficulty. How can one indicate that class inclusion of terms is not intended here? By bringing eva ‘alone’ from rule 3.4.111 lañāḥ..., whereby we understand that ārdhadhātuka, alone (eva) should be assigned to the tiṅ replacement of LIṬ. This is how bringing eva results into a restrictive (niyama) interpretation of this rule.
3.4.116 तिनाशिि

lināśi
līn 1/1 aśiś 7/1/
(ārddhadhātukam #114)
aśiṇ viṣaye yo līn sa ārddhadhātukasamjño bhavati
A tīṇ replacement of LIŅ which denotes aśiṇ ‘benediction’ is termed ārddhadhātuka.

EXAMPLES:

laviśiṣṭa ‘may you cut’
paviśiṣṭa ‘may you purify’

1. This rule assigns the term ārddhadhātuka also to a LIŅ which denotes benediction (3.3.173 aśiṇ ..). This constitutes an exception to the assignment of the term sārvadhātuka, of rule 3.4.113 tīṇiṣṭ.... A class-inclusion (sanjñāsamāveśa) of these terms can again be blocked by bringing eva from rule 3.4.111 lāṇah....

3.4.117 छन्दसुप्रभवा

chandasy ubhayathā
lchandasi 7/1 ubhayathā ṯ/
chandasi viṣaye ubhayathā bhavati sārvadhātukam ārddhadhātukam ca
An affix in the Vedic may be termed either way.

EXAMPLES:

vardhanu
svastaye
viśrṇvire
somam indrāya sunvire
upastheyāma

1. This rule constitutes an expatiation (prapaṇca) of 3.1.85 vyatyayo bahulam. That is, in the Vedic, one can find all kinds of instances contrary to the provisions stated for the assignment of the terms sārvadhātuka and ārddhadhātuka. Thus, the term ārddhadhātuka may not be applied in favor of sārvadhātuka, and vice versa. One can also find assignment of these two terms both in a single word, and regardless of any existing provision for individual assignments. Assignment of both terms of course is contrary to the provisions made. These exceptions are made so that operations relative to assignment of these terms can be availed. Refer to the appendix for further details concerning derivational implications of cited examples.
A question is raised as to why the exceptional application of the terms sārvadhātuka and ārddhadhātuka are not understood, here, to be restricted to the context of replacements for *LIÑ*? Why must one accept this application as relevant to the provisions of the entire section which deals with the assignment of these terms? Commentators state that the entire section dealing with assignment of these terms is to be understood based on usages which are not limited to replacements of *LIÑ*. 
APPENDIX
Derivational History of Examples

INTRODUCTORY REMARKS

The second and third adhyāya of the Aṣṭādhyāyī deal with the following major operational provisions:

1. Derivation of compounds (2.1.3 prāk kaḍārāt samāsah)
2. Derivation of pada ending in sUP (1.4.14 suptiṇantam...)
3. Derivation of pada ending in tiN (3.4.78 tiptasjhi...)
4. Derivation of verbal roots ending in affixes saN, etc. (3.1.32 sanādyantā dhātavah)
5. Derivation of nominal stems ending in affixes termed kṛt (1.4.46 kṛttaddhitasamāsāḥ ca)

1. Derivation of Compounds

Pāṇini presents the derivation of compounds in the domain of 2.1.3 prāk kaḍārāt samāsah subject to the condition of sāmarthya ‘fitness, capability’ as underlined by rule 2.1.1 samarthah padavidhiḥ. This condition has been explained in detail in the Mahābhāṣya; also see my notes under this rule. Note that rule 2.1.3 prāk kaḍārāt... heads a domain which includes rules upto and including 2.2.38 kaḍārāḥ karmadhāraye. The formation of a compound takes place under specific provisions of rules read with 2.1.4 saha supā. That is, a pada ending in sUP is combined with another pada ending in sUP provided they both are syntactico-semantically related, and hence, qualified to be integrated into a compound. Integration has thus been described as a process whereby two or more syntactico-semantically related nominal pada are combined to yield a formal unit with a single integrated meaning (ekārthībhāva). My notes under individual rules furnish qualifying details.

The domain of compound-formation with its individual subdomains is as follows:

2.1.1 samarthah padavidhiḥ
2.1.3 prāk kaḍārāt samāsah
2.1.4 saha supā
2.1.5 avayībhāvaḥ through
2.1.21 anyapadārthe ca samjñāyām;
2.1.22 tatpuruṣah through
2.2.22 kvā ca;
2.2.23 bahuvihiḥ through
2.2.28 tene saheti tulyayoge;
2.2.29 cārthe dvandvah
The above recognizes avyayabhāva, tatpurusa, bahuvrihi, and dvandva as four types of compounds. Rules 1.2.42 tatpurusah samāṇādhikaranah karmadhārayah and 2.1.28 samkhyaśpūrvo dviguḥ recognize two subtypes of tatpurusaha. Rule 2.1.11 vibhāṣā adds another dimension to the description of compounds. That is, compounds specified after this rule are treated as optional unless stated otherwise. They are used parallel to their analyzed form (vṛighavākyya). Thus, a compound such as rājaḥpurusah ‘king’s man’ can be used optionally with its analyzed form rājnah purusah with no difference in meaning. These two units are considered as alternants because they derive from the same underlying string: rājan + Naḥ puruṣa + sU.

The following is a summary of operations performed relative to the formation of compounds:

(a) sU/-deletion
Deletion (LOPA) of nominal endings (sU) contained within compound derivates termed prātipadika ‘nominal stem’ (1.2.46 kṛttaddhi-śamāśāś ca) via express mention of LUK by rule 2.4.71 supo dhātuprātipadikayoḥ.

(b) Order of constituents
The constituents of a compound are arranged in a particular order as per specifications of rules such as 2.2.30 upasaranam pārvaṃ. This rule demands that a constituent termed upasaraṇa be placed first in a compound. Rule 1.2.43 prathamānirdiṣṭa samāśa upasaraṇam assigns the term upasaraṇa to that constituent of a compound which has been specified with the nominative (prathama) by the rule which allows the formation.

(c) Assignment of number and gender
It is only logical to assign number (vacana) and gender (liṅga) to a derived compound since its underlying constituents may vary in this respect. Rules which assign number and gender to compounds are also contained in the fourth quarter of adhyāya two. Here are a few major rules dealing with the assignment of number and gender:

2.4.1 dviguḥ ekacaranaṃ
‘a compound termed dvigu has the denotatum of one’

2.4.17 sa napuṃsakam
‘a dvigu or dvandva compound with the denotatum of one (ekacarana) is assigned with neuter (napuṃsakā)’

2.4.26 praravalo liṅgaḥ dvandvatapuruṣayoh
‘the gender of a dvandva and tatpurusah compound is assigned similar to the constituent which follows’

It must also be noted in connection with the assignment of gender to compounds that, in case of karmadhāraya and bahuvrihi compounds, a feminine form is replaced by its corresponding masculine as, for example, is provided by rule 6.3.33 striyāḥ bhāṣitapumskād..., etc. Obviously, these
rules must also have consequences for the derivation of compounds. I have used the word ‘masculine transformation’ parallel to the traditional *punvadhaṇa* to show this replacement of a feminine by a corresponding masculine.

(d) Non-deletion of *sUP* via *LUK*

It has already been stated that affixes denoted by *sUP*, when forming part of a compound string, are deleted by *LUK* as per rule 2.4.71 *supo dhātuḥprātipadikayoh*. There are, however, certain compounds which do not permit the deletion of their *sUP*. A provision for non-deletion of *sUP* (*aluk*) is made by rules contained within the domain of 6.3.1 *alug uttarapade*. This rule, for reasons of not allowing *sUP*-deletion, constitutes an exception to rule 2.4.71 *supo dhātuḥprātipadikayoh*. A compound string must also check rules which may block *LUK*-deletion of *sUP*.

(e) Introduction of affixes

Note that certain compound strings are subjected to operations relative to the introduction of affixes in the domain of 5.4.68 *samāsāntāḥ*. This affixation may also subject the resultant strings to operations in the domain of rule 6.4.1 *āṅgasya*.

(f) Accentuation (*svara*)

Assignment of accent through the application of rules contained in the domain headed by 6.1.223 *samāsasya* can be accepted as the last operation relative to the derivation of compounds. But since rules of the entire second quarter (*pada*) of *adhyāya* six constitute an exception to rule 6.2.223 *samāsasya* they must also be consulted in the context of the assignment of accent.

Rules contained within the domain outlined by 2.1.1 *samarthah padavidhiḥ* through 2.2.38 *kaḍārāḥ karmadhāraye* define the main domain of compound formation. All other rules brought close to the context of compound-derivation must be treated as part of an extended domain. Operations which I have just outlined proceed more or less in the order shown. One must, however be prepared for some specific exceptions. They will of course be noted at appropriate places.

All compound strings are termed nominal stem (*prātipadika*) after which they qualify for operations relative to the domain of rule 4.1.1 *niyāp-prātipadikāt* and 4.1.2 *svaujasmauṭ*... etc.

2. *Derivation of pada ending in sUP*

A *pada* has generally been defined as a form ending in an affix denoted by the abbreviatory term *sUP*, or *tuN*. A *sUP* is introduced after a nominal stem, or an item ending in feminine affixes *Nī* and *āP*, to derive a nominal *pada*. The third quarter of *adhyāya* two of the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* discusses conditions under which one can introduce the *sUP* affixes. Rule 4.1.2 *svaujasmauṭ*... enumerates a set of twenty-one affixes abbreviated
as sUP and grouped in seven triplets (trik) of three elements each. Individual triplets have been termed prathamā 'first', dvitiyā 'second', etc. The three elements of each individual triplet is termed ekavacana 'singular', dvivacana 'dual', and bahuvacana 'plural' respectively. The introduction of these sUP affixes after a nominal stem is regulated by rule 2.3.1 anabhihite 'when not already expressed'. That is, a sUP affix cannot be introduced when its denotatum has already been expressed by some other means.

The sUP affixes denote diverse kāraka and non-kāraka relations. The kāraka, in turn, have been discussed in the domain of rule 1.4.23 kārake. It is imperative that a selection of sUP must necessarily involve rules of the kāraka section. I shall refer to it as the process of sUP-selection. Once the placement of these affixes has taken place the derivational process becomes largely automatic. I shall explain only a few important derivations of nominal pada. Refer to the explanatory details of nominals already derived in the appendix of volume II.

3. Derivation of pada ending in tiN

Rule 3.4.77-78 lasya; tiptajhispithas... introduce a set of eighteen elements denoted by the abbreviatory term tiN to replace what are generally referred to as the abstract LA affixes. A LA affix is introduced after a transitive verbal root to denote either kārtr 'agent', or karmān 'object'. It is introduced after an intransitive verbal root to denote kārtr and bhāva 'root-sense' (3.4.69 laḥ karmāṇi ca bhāve cākarmacēbhyaḥ). The tiN elements which replace a LA are classified into two sets of ātmanēpada and parasmaiṇāpada where each set contains three triplets of three elements. Each triplet is termed prathama 'third', madhyama 'second', and uttama 'first' persons. Each element of individual triplets is termed singular (ekavacana), dual (dvivacana), and plural (bahuvacana) respectively. I have already explained in detail many derivations entailing these affixes in volume II. The process of selecting a tiN affix has also been discussed at the beginning of the appendix there.

4. Derivation of verbal roots ending in affixes saN, etc.

Parallel to the derivation of complex nominal stems such as samāsa 'compound', and derivatives which end in affixes kṛt (3.1.93 kṛd atīn), or taddhita (4.1.76 taddhitāḥ), Pāṇini also provides for the derivation of complex verbal roots ending in affixes headed by saN (3.1.32 sanādyantā dhātavah). That is, derivatives ending in affixes enumerated beginning with saN are termed dhātu 'verbal root'. These affixes are: saN (3.1.5 guptjhidbhyaḥ... through 3.1.7 dhātuh karmāṇah...); KyaC (3.1.8 supā ātmanah kyaḥ); kāmayaC (3.1.9 kāmyac ca); KyaN (3.1.11 karttuḥ kyaṁ...); KyaS (3.1.13 lohitādi...); KyaC (3.1.19 namoṣvarivaso...); NiN (3.1.20 pucchabhāṇḍa...); NiC (3.1.21 munḍamīṣra...); yaN (3.1.22 dhātor...), yaK (3.1.27 kaṇvādibhyo...); āya (3.1.28 gupūdhū...); iyaN (3.1.29 rter...); and
NÍÑ (3.1.30 kamer NÍÑ). Rule 3.1.32 sanādyantā dhātavah assigns the term dhātu 'verbal root' to forms which end in these affixes. The derivates are then qualified for operations in the domain of 3.1.91 dhātoḥ.

5. Derivation of nominal stems ending in kṛt

The domain of these derivates is headed by 3.1.91 dhātoḥ in addition to the following:

3.1.92 tatropapadaṁ saptamīstham
'that which is specified in this domain of dhātoḥ with saptami is termed an upapada 'cooccurring word'

3.1.93 kṛd atīṁ
'an affix which is not denoted by the abbreviatory term tīÑ is termed kṛt'

3.1.94 vā sarūpo strīyām
'a formally dissimilar affix which constitutes an exception in this domain of dhātoḥ blocks its general counterpart only optionally except when both rules form part of the domain of strīyām (3.3.94 strīyām)'

3.1.95 kṛtyāḥ
'affixes introduced hereafter (prior to 3.1.133 Ṇvulṭīcau) are termed kṛtya'

Rules 3.1.93 kṛd atīṁ and 3.1.95 kṛtyāḥ do not assign the terms kṛt and kṛtya to two sets of different affixes. Instead kṛtya affixes form a subset of kṛt. That is, affixes introduced in the subdomain of 3.1.95 kṛtyāḥ will be assigned both the terms. Elsewhere, in this domain of 3.1.91 dhātoḥ, affixes, other than those denoted by the abbreviatory term tīÑ, will be assigned the single term kṛt. The class-inclusion of the terms kṛtya within kṛt enables the kṛtya derivates to be assigned the term prātipadika 'nominal stem' by rule 1.2.46 kṛttaddhitasamāsās ca.

Rule 3.1.92 tatropapadaṁ saptamīstham offers a cooccurrence condition by means of the term upapada 'cooccurring, or conjoined word'. The term is given a definition by means of the mark of saptami. That is, an upapada is a word which is specified by the locative (saṇṭami) nominal ending of an operational rule within the domain of 3.1.91 dhātoḥ. The cooccurring word thus forms the left context for the introduction of an affix in this domain. Now consider the following rule:

3.2.1 karmany aṅ
'affix aṅ occurs after a verbal root which cooccurs with a pada 'word' denoting karman 'object'

A nominal stem such as kumbhakāra is derived by introducing affix aṅ after verbal root DŪkrN 'to do, make' under the cooccurrence condition of the word kumbhānām terminating in genitive (saṇṭhī: kumbha + ām), and denoting object (karman). Rule 3.1.92 tatropapadam... joined with
rule 3.2.1 karmany an explains that affix an can be introduced after a verbal root only when a word denoting karman cooccurs. The locative (saptami) of karmani in rule 3.2.1 karmany an thus is a mark for bringing close to its context the specification of rule 3.1.92. Consequently, kumbha + ām, an upapada denoting object (karman) constitutes the condition for the introduction of affix an after verbal root krN.

Rule 3.1.94 vā' sarūpo strīyām makes an interesting proposal, especially in view of rule-interaction. It is generally believed that an exception (apavāda) blocks its general counterpart (utsarga) obligatorily. But this obligatory blocking by an exception is made optional with the following specifications:

(i) the exception and general relationship must be shared by affixes of the domain of 3.1.91 dhātoḥ;</p>

(ii) the affixes relative to this proposal must be dissimilar in form (asarūpa); and

(iii) the affixes (exception and the general both) must be enumerated outside the scope of rule 3.3.94 strīyām kthin.

If a set of two affixes such that one is an exception to the other, a general, meets all these three conditions, the exception will block its general counterpart only optionally. This practically negates the notion of obligatory blocking by an exception. There is a fairly large number of rule-interaction within this domain which comes under the scope of rule 3.1.94. The tradition uses the term vā' sarūpavidhi to characterize this blocking.

The preceding has been an introduction to the operational provisions made by rules of adhyāya two and three. This will serve as reference for quickly understanding the perspective of derivational details which follow.

Examples as usual have been numbered in the order of their occurrence in the text. Since the derivational history of a great number of examples relating to the operational scope of these two adhyāya has already been presented in the first two volumes of this study, our choice of derivations will be guided by necessity, and desire to avoid duplication. It is therefore not unreasonable to expect frequent references to similar derivations, derivational steps, or explanations, already presented. The format of our presentation is largely narrative. However, derivational steps or explanations are offered by way of complementing explanatory notes presented under individual rules.

**DERIVATIONAL HISTORY OF EXAMPLES**

2.1.1 samarthāḥ padavidhīḥ

Examples under this rule are furnished to explain the condition of sāmarthya 'fitness to combine in a compound', in the absence of which
formation of compounds will be blocked. Consider for illustration the following:

(a) paśya devadatta kaśtam
śrīlo viṣṇumitra gurukulam
'see the misery Devadatta! Viṣṇumitra has taken recourse to the teachers' house'

(b) kiṃ tvam kariyasi śaṅkulaṇā
khaṇḍo devadatta upalena
'what will you do with the nutcracker Devadatta! it is already split by the cow dung-cake'

(c) gaccha tvam yūpāya dāru devadattasya gehe
'you go for fetching the ritual post; the log is in Devadatta's house'

(d) bhāryā rājñāḥ puruṣo devadattasya
'the wife of the king; man of Devadatta'

These examples each entail a set of two pada such as kaśtam / śrītaḥ; śaṅkulaṇā / khaṇḍaḥ; yūpāya / dāruḥ; and rājñāḥ / puruṣaḥ. They are identical with those which may share syntactico-semantic relationship, and sub sequently, combine to yield compounds such as kaśtaśrītaḥ; śaṅkula khaṇḍaḥ; yūpadāruḥ; and rája puruṣaḥ. In strings (a) through (d) we find that the syntactico-semantic relationship between words such as yūpāya dāruḥ is impaired. For, yūpāya 'for the ritual post' is relatable to the injunction of 'you go for fetching the ritual post' than to 'the log' of 'the log is in Devadatta's house'. Similar impairment of sāmartya relationship can also be witnessed in other examples. It is because of the lack of syntactico-semantic relation (sāmartya) between elements of a given string that formation of a given compound is blocked.

2.1.2 sub āmantrite parāṅgavat svare
This rule allows a word ending in a sUP to be treated as part of the following word provided this latter is termed an āmantrita (2.3.48 sămantritam). This purpose of 'treating the former as part of the subsequent' (parāṅgavadbhāva) is accent (svara). Consider the following two examples:

(1) kundena aṭan
(2) paraśunā vrścan

where aṭan and vrścan are two pada ending in the nominative (prathamā) denoting sambodhana 'address'. Rule 2.3.48 sămantritam assigns the term āmantrita to the nominative singular denoting address. Now consider the following rules:

1.2.39 svaritāt saṃhitāyām anudāttānām
'every anudāta which occurs after a svarita is replaced by ekāṣruti 'monotone' in saṃhitāpātha 'recitation of the Veda with phonetic changes as effected by sandhi rules'
6.1.158 anudāttam padam ekavarjham
‘a pada, except for its one syllable (for which an udātta ‘high-pitch’, or svarita ‘circumflex’ may be made available) is marked anudātta ‘low-pitched’

6.1.192 āmantritasya ca
‘the initial (ā) of an item termed āmantrita is also marked with udātta’

8.1.19 āmantritasya ca
‘and that which is termed an āmantrita, and occurs subsequently to another pada, is also marked anudātta provided it does not occur at the beginning of a quarter (pada) verse’

8.4.66 udāttād anudāttasya svaritah
‘a svarita comes in place of an anudātta when it occurs after an anudātta’

Given the string kunḍena aṭan the preceding word kunḍena will be treated as part of the following word aṭan because of the assignment of the term āmantrita. The word aṭan of the string would be subject to the application of rule 8.1.19 āmantritasya ca which will mark it with the single accent anudātta in toto (svarānudātta). But our present rule intervenes. That is, what rule 8.1.19 sees as a string of two words, i.e., an āmantrita following a non-āmantrita, is treated as one word for purposes of accentuation. Rule 8.1.19 cannot apply unless the string consisted of two words. This occasions the application of rule 6.1.92 āmantritasya ca of the sixth adhyāya (ṣaṭṭhika) whereby the initial syllable of the single word kunḍenāṭan is assigned the udātta accent. The ku of kunḍena, treated as part of the larger word kunḍenāṭan, for purposes of accent, is marked udātta. Rule 6.1.158 anudāttam padam ekavarjham now assigns anudātta accent to all syllables except the ku. However, rule 8.4.65 udāttānudāttasya... requires that de of kunḍe be marked with svarita. Rule 1.2.39 svaritā... will now assign ekaśrutī after the svarita of de.

Similar explanations also apply in case of the term āmantrita when assigned to vrścan of paraśunā vrścan. The consequence of paraṅgavad-bhāva, ‘treating a preceding word as part of the following āmantrita’ is similar to kunḍena aṭan. Thus we get: kunḍena aṭan and paraśunā vrścan.

2.1.3 prāk kāḍārāt...-2.1.5 avyayaṃ vibhakti...
Refer to subsequent rules for relevant examples.

2.1.6 avyayaṃ vibhaktisamīpasamīddhi...

This rule allows for an indeclinable (forming a pada by ending in a sUP as per 2.1.4 saha supā) to combine with any other pada, again ending in a sUP, providing they both were syntactico-semantically related. Note that the word avyaya is specified in this rule with the nominative (prathamā). Consequently, the indeclinable pada will be termed an upasarjana (1.2.43 prathamā...), and will be placed first in the compound (2.2.30 upasarjanam pūrvam).
Derivational History of Examples

This rule specifies vibhakti, etc., as denotational conditions which must be met prior to the formation of individual compounds. It is for this reason that the word vacana ‘denotation’ must be used with each one of the words such as vibhakti which specify individual semantic conditions. The derivational history of examples given under this rule is not very different from many already discussed elsewhere. Let us list some of the examples:

(3) adhistri
(4) upakumbham
(5) sumagadham
(6) durgavadiham
(7) nirmaksikam
(8) attaistrikam
(9) ittipani
(10) anuratham
(11) anurupam
(12) pratyartham
(13) anujyeśtham

Our example (3) adhistri is derived from strī + ṇī + adhi + sU where adhi is an indeclinable denoting vibhakti which conditions the use of saptami ‘locative’ after strī. Note that the order of elements in the string strī + ṇī + adhi + sU must be changed to: adhi + sU + strī + sU. This preplacement of the secondary constituent of the compound is ordered at the strength of the assignment of the term upasarjana to the pada constituted by adhi + sU. Rule 1.2.43 prathamā... assigns the term upasarjana to that constituent of a compound which has been referenced with the nominative (prathamā; in the present case avyayam) in the rule which allows the formation of the compound on hand. Rule 2.2.30 upasarjanam pūrvaṃ orders the preplacement. Rule 1.2.46 kṛtaddhitasamāśā ca assigns the term prātipadika ‘nominal stem’ after which 2.4.72 supo dhātu... orders the deletion of nominal endings by LUK. The resultant compound is assigned the term napumsaka ‘neuter’ by rule 2.4.18 avyayibhāvaś ca read with 2.4.17 sa napumsakam. The assignment of the term napumsaka is consequential. For example, in case of adhistri, which yields the string adhistri + sU after the application of 4.1.2 svauj..., the long final vowel of strī is replaced with short -i as per 1.2.47 hrasvo napumsake prātipadikasya. This will give us: adhistri + sU which will subsequently have its sUP deleted by LUK as per rule 2.4.82 avyayādāp supah.

The preceding offers a string of operations guided mainly by the assignment of the terms upasarjana, samāsa, avyayibhāva, avyaya, prātipadika, and napumsaka. Thus, upasarjana orders preplacement. It may offer some other operation elsewhere. The assignment of the term samāsa leads to
the assignment of the term prātipadika which, in turn, causes the deletion of sUP. The assignment of the term avyayibhāva leads to the assignment of the term avyaya which then causes the assignment of the term napumsaka. We have further witnessed how a napumsaka causes the shortening of the long vowel. Similarly, we also see how the sU after adhistri is dropped at the strength of the assignment of the term avyaya. One can easily see a dependency relationship between the assignment of the terms and consequent operations. Additionally, one must also note the hierarchy of operations relative to the hierarchy of terms assigned. For example, samāsa, avyayaibhāva, avyaya, napumsaka, and prātipadika entail class-inclusion of terms (saṁjñāsamāvesa). Operations conditioned by these terms must also follow the relative order in which the terms are assigned. (See pp. 193—99 of volume one for a systematic discussion of this and other details relative to the derivation of compounds in general, and avyayibhāva in particular. Refer also to the derivation of (144) prayagni, and (145) upāgni in the appendix of volume II, pp. 376–77). These derivations have a lot common with adhistri and upakumbham where this latter is derived from upa + sU + kumbha + ā. Note that upa is used here in the sense of sāmipya ‘proximity’ relative to the pot (kumbha). This explains why we must have the genitive ās after kumbha. Recall that rule 2.4.82 avyayādāp... deletes the sUP introduced after an avyayibhāva compound termed avyaya. However, if the compound termed avyaya terminates in a then a sU, except for a pañcamī ‘fifth triplet of nominal ending’, is replaced with am, in accordance with rule 2.4.83 nāvyayibhāva... Given the string upakumbha + am where sU is replaced with am, rule 6.1.107 ami pūrvah will order a single a-replacement for the sequence of two. Thus, upakumbh (a+a→a) m = upakumbham. Derivates such as (4-6) and (10-13) entail this replacement of their sUP by am. Obviously, they also entail the application of rule 6.1.107 ami pūrvah. Examples (7-8) entail shortening of their final long vowel ā. It is not difficult to derive the rest of the examples in view of derivational details already furnished. The remaining examples involve an indeclinable pada with su, dur, nir, ati, and prati, or anu, used with specified meanings. Incidentally, given the string prati + artham rule 6.1.77 iko yan aci applies after the deletion of the nominal endings. This, in turn, produces prati(i→y)artham = (13) pratyartham.

2.1.9 sup pratinī...-2.1.10 aksa...parinā

Note that the indeclinables of these two rules are not specified with nominative (prathamā). Consequently, their preplacement, due mainly to a lack of assignment of the term upas arjana, cannot be accomplished. Thus we get examples such as: (14) sūpaprati and (15) aksapari where prati and pari are postposed in the compound. The nominal endings introduced after these compound bases will be deleted by LUK of rule 2.4.82 avyayādāp supaḥ.
2.1.12 aparibhāraṅcavaḥ pāṇcamyā

Note that because of the anuvṛtti of vibhāṣā there will be two sets of examples: (16)/(17) aparītrgartam/āpa trīgartebhayāḥ; (18)/(19) pārtrītrgartam/ pari trīgartebhayāḥ; and (20)/(21) bahirgrāmam/bahir grāmāt. The pāṇcamī, in case of āpa and pari, is provided for by rule 2.3.10 pāṇcamy apānparibhīḥ at the strength of their designation as karmapracacanīya by rule 1.4.88 aparī parī varjane. The pāṇcamī of bahis must be obtained at the strength of the Pāñчинian usage of this rule. The singular ablative ending Ānīṣa, given the string such as bahisgrāma + Ānīṣa is replaced by āt by rule 7.1.12 tañasinasaṁśinātśyāḥ. The s of bahis will be replaced with r by 8.2.66 sasjuṣo ruḥ.

2.1.14 lakṣaṇenābhiprati ābhimukhye

This rule again will yield two sets of examples: (22)/(23) abhyagnim/agnim abhi and pratyaagnim/agnim prati. I have already shown the derivation of pratyaagnim (see vol. I, pp. 376-77). Note that abhi and prati are termed karmapracacanīya by rules 1.4.91 abhir abḥāge and 1.4.90 lakṣaṇet- thambhutākhyaṇa... respectively. The accusative nominal ending (dvitiyā) is ruled by 2.3.8 karmapracacanīyayukte dvitiyā.

2.1.17 tiṣṭhadguprabhṛtini ca

Examples such as (24) tiṣṭhadgau, (25) vahadgau, (26) khaleyavam, (27) āyatigavam 'the time when the cows return from grazing', and (28) lūyamānayavam 'the time when the barley is harvested', etc., are all taken straight from the GP. The assignment of the term avivāyibhāva is ad hoc (nipātana). These examples must be handled via nipātana, since operationally their constituents will not qualify for yielding the avivāyibhāva compounds. Thus, tiṣṭhadgau has its first constituent derived from sthā + LAT where LAT is replaced with ŚatR. The o of its go is replaced with u (a short counterpart of o) by rule 1.2.48 goṣṭiyor upasarjanasya. Example (25) vahadgau is not different. While (26) khaleyavam illustrates how the locative (saptamī) in khale is retained via nipātana (27) involves the lack of pumvadbhāva. Additionally, this latter example entails the introduction of samāsānta (5.4.68 samāsāntā) affix TaC. Finally, (28) lūyamānayavam requires that LAT be replaced with SānaC again by nipātana.

2.1.18 pāre madhye sāṣṭhyā vā

This rule offers the combination of pāra and madhye with a pada ending in genitive (sāṣṭhi) to yield an avivāyibhāva compound optionally to a genitive tatpurusa. It is in this sense that the provision of this rule is treated as an exception to the rule which allows the formation of the genitive tatpurusa compound. Thus we will get (29) pāregaṅgam and (30) madhyegaṅgam parallel to pāre gaṅgāyāḥ and madhye gaṅgāyāḥ where pāre and madhye are retained as ending in e via nipātana at the strength of the citation of the rule. The genitive tatpurusa compounds will be (31) gaṅgāpāram and (32) gaṅgāmadhyam parallel to the strings: pāram gaṅgāyāḥ
and madhyam gaṅgāyāḥ. Note that vā ‘optionally’ is employed in the rule to provide for the avyayibhāva compound optionally to the genitive tatpuruṣa. The larger domain of option (mahāvibhāṣā; 2.1.11 vibhāṣā) provided for the parallel analyzed forms (vigrahaṁvāya) in relation to both the avyayibhāva and tatpuruṣa compounds. The vā of this rule provides for the genitive tatpuruṣa compound optionally to avyayibhāva.

2.1.23 dviguṣ ca

Note that (33) paṅcarājī and (34) daśarājī are very similar in derivation to (35) dyayahā and (36) tryahā which I have already derived as part of (114) dyayhapūrvāya and (115) tryahapūrvāya (cf. vol. I, pp. 367-68). These compounds are allowed by 2.1.51 taddhitārthottarapurṣada.... They are assigned the term dvigu by rule 2.1.52 saṁkhyāpūrvo dviguḥ. Given the compound string paṅcarājan, rule 5.4.91 rājāha... will introduce affix TaC. The resultant string paṅcaraśjan + (Ta)C = paṅcaraśjana will lose its tī (the form na constituted by the last vowel; 1.1.64 aco’ ntyādi ṭī) as per 6.4.144 nas taddhite read with 6.4.143 teh. This will produce: paṅcaraśja (na→∅) = paṅcaraśjā. Since a dvigu compound with its following constituent ending in a is treated as feminine, rule 4.1.21 dvigaḥ (in view of the statement akāṛintottarapurṣado dviguḥ striyām bhāṣyate) introduces affix NiS. Given the string paṅcaraśja + i (after it-deletion) the a before the feminine affix i will be deleted by 6.4.148 yasyeti ca. The next example (34) daśarājī is similarly derived. The n of paṅcan and daśan in these examples is deleted by 8.2.7 na lophaḥ prātipadiḥkāntasya.

Note that (37) paṅcagavam and (38) daśagavam with their bases paṅcagava (cf. (61) paṅcagavadhanaḥ under rule 2.1.51 taddhitārthottarapurṣada...)) and daśagava deriving from: paṅcago + TaC and daśago + TaC, after the application of 6.1.78 eco’ yavayāvah do not permit the feminine affix Niś even though the bases terminate in a. The samāśānta affix is introduced by 5.4.92 gor ataddhitaluki. The compounds are assigned neuter gender as per rule 2.4.17 sa ṇapumsakam. Recall that this assignment of gender is mediated by ekavadbhāva ‘treating something as denoting one’ of 2.4.1 dvigu ekavacanam. Of course, the term dvigu is assigned by rule 2.1.10 saṁkhyā....

2.1.24 dvitiyā śrītātīta...

This rule allows for compounds where a pada ending in accusative (dvitiyā) is combined with another pada constituted by śrīta, etc. Thus, ‘from kaṣṭa + am + śrīta + sU, kāntāra + am + atīta + sU, naraka + am + patīta + sU, grāma + am + gata + sU, tarāṅga + am + atyasta + sU, sukha + am + prāpta + sU, and sukha + am + āpanna + sU, we derive (39) kaṣṭaśṛītah, (40) kāntārātītaḥ, (41) narakaśatītaḥ, (42) grāmagnātah, (43) tarāṅgāyā斯塔ḥ, (44) sukhaśṛītah, and (45) sukhaśṛītaḥ. Note that (40), (43), and (45) also involve the application of rule 6.1.101 akāḥ savarne... which, after the formation of the compound, and the subsequent deletion
of $s_U$, orders the sequence $a+a$ at the junction of the two combined bases to be replaced with a single long $\dot{a}$.

Note that a tatpurusa compound is assigned gender in accordance with its subsequent constituent. Since all such constituents are here used as modifiers to a masculine noun these compounds will all be assigned masculine. They can also be interpreted as bahuvrihi though there will then be a difference in accent. Commentators do not accept the bahuvrihi interpretation. The accents for examples (39) and (42) is controlled by rule 6.2.47 ahīne dvitiyā which is an exception to 6.2.144 thāthaghaṅkta... which, in turn, regulates the accents of other examples. Rule 6.2.47 demands the retention of the original accent of the first constituent (pūrvapadapratīṣṭīvara). Thus, kṣatśrista will retain the udātta accent of the final syllable (antodātta) of kṣasti. Rule 6.2.144 assigns udātta accent to the final syllable of a constituent terminating in affixes tha, atha, GHaN, Kta, etc. provided what precedes them is either a gati, kāraka, or an upapada. This rule thus marks the compound as antodātta. Many compounds including kṣatśristaḥ, rājaśpuruṣaḥ, and yūpadāruḥ have been derived (pp. 447-50) in volume II.

2.1.27 sāmi

This rule provides for examples such as (46) sāmiṁrtam and (47) sāmiṁpitam where sāmi is an indeclinable. One of the purposes of forming a compound with sāmi is to get a single udātta accent (aikaśvarya) on the final syllable. In the absence of the compound-formation sāmi and pitam will both have udātta accent on their final syllables. The compound, of course, will have a single udātta as: sāmiṁrtam.

2.1.28 atyantasamanye ca

Note that our example (48) sarvarātraṅkalyāṇi entails two step compounds. That is, one has to first derive sarvarātra, and then use it with dvitiyā 'accusative' to combine with kalyāṇī + $s_U$. A compound between sarvā + $s_U$ + rātri + $s_U$ is permitted by rule 2.1.49 pūrvakālaikasvarva.... This will yield sarvarātri where rule 6.3.41 punvavat karmadhāraya... will replace sarvā with sarvā, its masculine counterpart. Given the tatpurusa compound sarvarātri rule 5.4.87 ahaḥ sarvaikadeśa... will introduce the samāsānta affix aC which subsequently will lead to the deletion of i by 6.4.148 yasyeti ca. This will give us: sarvarātr(i→∅) + a = sarvarātr + a = sarvarātra. One can now form the string sarvarātra + am to combine it with kalyāṇī + $s_U$. Of course, the resultant compound will be: sarvarātrakalyāṇi, a compound of the dvitiyā-tatpuruṣa type with an internal tatpuruṣa compound of the samānādhikaraṇa 'coreferential' type.

2.1.29 tṛtiyā tatkṛtyārtheṇa...

Note that (49) śāṅkulākhaṇḍaḥ and (50) kirikāṇaḥ are derived from śāṅkula + ṭa + khaṇḍa + $s_U$, and kiri + ṭa + kāna + $s_U$ under the condition that the quality denoted by khaṇḍa + $s_U$ and kāna + $s_U$ is produced
by the pada which ends in triya. How do khaṇḍa and kāṇa denote quality? Actually, affix MatUP is introduced after khaṇḍa and kāṇa to denote the sense of ‘that which has ‘splitting’ or ‘one-eyedness’ as its quality (khaṇḍakāṇa guṇo’ syāsti).’ Affix MatUP is introduced, and is subsequently deleted, by two vārttika proposed under rule 5.2.94 tad asyāsti.... The words khaṇḍa and kāṇa cannot denote quality unless they denote substance (dravya). For, a quality resides in the substance. These words can denote quality residing in a substance once MatUP is introduced. For, then they start denoting a thing qualified with the quality of khaṇḍana and kāṇatva. The compound kirikāṇāḥ will thus mean: a person qualified with the state of being one-eyed, a quality produced by the charge of a boar.

2.1.38 stokāntikadūrārthačchāṛṇi klena

This rule offers examples where LUK-deletion of pañcamī ‘fifth triplet of sUP’ is blocked by rule 6.3.2 pañcamyā stokādibhyah. As a result we get (51) stokānmuktah from stoka + ṚnasI + muktah + sU → stoka + ṚnasI + muktah + (sU → θ) = stoka + ṚnasI + muktah → stoka + āt + muktah = stokātmuktah. Note that ṚnasI, when blocked from deletion, is replaced with āt (cf. rule 7.1.12 ṭaṇasi...). Given the compound string stokātmuktah one can introduce sU to derive stokānmuktaḥ via sUP-selection and r-visarga (see vol. II, pp. 319-20). The t of stokāt will be first replaced with ṛ, and then by n to produce stokānmuktaḥ by the application of 8.2.39 jhalām... and 8.4.44 yaro’ nunāsike... respectively. The derivation of (52) dūrādāgataḥ follows the same pattern.

Notice that because of the non-deletion of the nominal ending pañcamī there is no obvious difference between the compound and its parallel analyzed form. What then is the purpose of forming a compound. First of all the compound is allowed in the context of special meanings. Secondly, the compound formation allows for the string of two words to be joined together. This is what is known as aikapadya. Finally, the compound allows for a single udatta accent at the final syllable. This is what is known as aikasvarya ‘single-accentness’.

I have shown the derivation of stokānmuktaḥ from the underlying stoka + ṚnasI + muktah + sU for clarity. The tradition here invokes the paribhāṣā: gatikāraṇaśaṃ padānāṃ kṛdbhiḥ saha samāvavacanaṃ prak śubhatpatteḥ thereby demanding that the underlying string be: stoka + ṚnasI + muktah since muktah is a derivate ending in affix kṛt. This way sUP introduced after muktah will not have to be deleted.

2.1.50 diksamkhye samjñaīyam

Examples such as (53) pūrvesukāmaśami, (54) pañcāmrāḥ, and (55) saptarasayah are derived from pūrvā + sU + isukāmaśami + sU, pañcāmrāḥ + Jas + āmra + Jas, and saptan + Jas + ṛṣi + Jas parallél to pūrvā cāsau isukāmaśami ca, pañcāca te āmrāḥ, and sapta ca te ṛṣayah. The compound is additionally termed karmadharaya by rule 1.2.42 takpurūṣaḥ samānādhikaranāh....
The endings as usual will be deleted after the formation of the compound. The $n$ of $pāncan$ and $saptan$ will be deleted by 8.2.7 $nālopaḥ$...

Given the string $prüf + iṣukāmasami$, and $sapt + ṛṣi$, rule 6.1.84 $āḍ $gunaḥ will order a single $guna$ replacement in place of the two vowels at the junction of constituent bases of the compound. Thus, we get $prüf (a + i → e) iṣukāmasamī = pūrveśukāmasamī$, and $sapt (a + ṛ → ar)ṣi = saptarṣi$.

2.1.51 $taddhitāṛthtarapadasamāhāre ca$

(56) paurvasālaḥ
(57) āparaśālaḥ
(58) pūrvasālāpriyāḥ
(59) āparaśālāpriyāḥ
(60) pāncanāpītiḥ
(61) pāncagavadhanāḥ
(62) pāncagavam
(63) pāncapūli
(64) pāncakumāri
(65) paurvasālaḥ

The first example is derived by combining the two syntactically related words $prüfā + Āṇi$ and $sālā + Āṇi$ into a tatpurusa compound with the understanding that a taddhita affix will be subsequently introduced. Note that the introduction of the taddhita affix cannot take place unless we have a nominal stem (pratipadika). We cannot have a nominal stem unless we first form a compound and let 1.2.46 $kṛtadvitasamāsāś ca$ assign the term nominal stem. We are thus caught in the difficulty (doṣa) technically known as $itaretarāśraya$. It is to remove this difficulty that a tatpurusa compound is formed by 2.1.51 $taddhitāṛthtarapada$... in anticipation of the introduction of a taddhita affix. The locative of taddhitāṛte is interpreted as viṣayasaptamī ‘locative of domain’ to facilitate this procedure. The compound base, after the LUK-deletion of Āṇi, will be: $prüfāsalā$.

The application of $pumavadbhāva$ ‘masculine transformation’ (6.3.33 striyām... read with the statement of the Mahābhāṣya: sarvanāmo vṛttimātre $pumavadbhāvaḥ ad 2.2.26 diināmānī...$) will yield:

$pūr(vā → a) + sālā = pūrvaśālā$.

Rule 4.2.107$ dikprüfvispadād...$ will now introduce the residual (śaśika; 4.2.91 śēse) taddhita (4.1.76 taddhitāḥ) affix (3.1.1 pratīyayaḥ) Āṇa after (paraś ca) the nominal stem (4.1.1 niyāp-pratītipadikā...). The resultant string will be: $prüfvaśālā + (Āṇ → Ø) a = pūrvaśālā + a$. The assignment of the terms anga (1.4.13 yasmāt...), bha (1.4.18 yaci bham), etc., will occasion the application of rules 7.2.117 taddhitēsvacām... and 6.4.148 yaśeyti ca to yield: $p(u → au)rvāsal(ā → Ø) + a = pauṛvaśalā + a = pauṛvaśāla$, again a nominal stem by rule 1.2.46 $kṛtadvita$. Deriving $pauṛvaśālaḥ$ via sUP-selecion, and s-visarga is not difficult. Similar application of rules will
derive (57) āparaśālah. These two examples illustrate the taddhitārthe aspect of our present rule.

Deriving (58) pūrvaśālāpriyāh ‘he to whom eastern hall is dear’ entails a bahuvrīhi formation of three constituents (tripadabahuvrīhi): pūrva + sU + śālā + sU + priyā + sU meaning pūrva śālā priyā yasya. This bahuvrīhi of three constituents is interpreted as containing a subtype of the tatpuruṣa compound termed karmadhāraya (1.2.24 tatpuruṣah samānādhihkarayanah...) namely pūrvaśālā. The formation of the bahuvrīhi is allowed by 2.1.24 anekam anyapādārthe though the karmadhāraya-tatpuruṣa between pūrva + sU and śālā + sU is allowed by rule 2.1.51 taddhitārthottarapada... under the condition of uttarapade, the following constituent, i.e., priyā + sU. A tatpuruṣa compound termed karmadhāraya is required also to block the retention of the original accent of the base of the initial constituent (pūrvaśālāpriyāh) in a bahuvrīhi (cf. 6.2.1 bahuvrīhau prakṛtyā pūrvaśālā). The karmadhāraya will occasion the application of rule 6.1.217 samāsasya whereby the final ā of pūrvaśālā will be marked udāta. Thus, the purpose of forming a tatpuruṣa compound is mainly to ensure the final high pitch accent (antodāta) on the last constituent of the compound. Or, to let rule 6.2.1 bahuvrīhau... to be blocked by rule 6.1.217 samāsasya. The bahuvrīhi will have priyā as the final constituent, and hence, the desired accent cannot be gotten. Furthermore, the antodāta of pūrvaśālā will also occasion the application of other accent rules such as 6.1.151 anudāttam padam..., 8.4.65 udāttānudāttayoh whereby the bahuvrīhi will have the accent as follows: pūrvaśālāpriyāh. Similar rules will apply in deriving (59) āparaśālāpriyāh. These two examples illustrate the condition of uttarapade of rule 2.1.51.

An example of samāhāra with a directional word (dikṣābda) is not possible. Compounds such as (60) pāñcanāpitiḥ and (61) pāñcagavadvahanah illustrate instances of taddhitārthe and uttarapade respectively with a constituent denoting number (saṃkhyā). These again are bahuvrīhi compounds with three constituents.

(60) pāñcanāpitiḥ
(61) pāñcagavadvahanah
(62) pāñcagavam

Our first example derives from pāñcan + ām + nāpita + ām with the expectation that a compound will be formed in anticipation of the scope of a taddhita suffix iN introduced to denote an āpatya ‘offspring’ by rule 4.1.95 ata iN. This will yield the compound-base pāñcanāpita with the deletion, first of its sUP, and subsequently of the n of pāñcan (8.2.7 nalopaḥ prātipadikāntasya), after which we will get affix iN in view of the assignment of the term prātipadika by rule 1.2.46 kṛttaddhitasamāsāḥ ca. This will produce pāñca(n → θ) + nāpita + i(N → θ) = pāñcanāpita + i
which, after the application of \textit{vṛddhi}, as explained earlier in connection with the derivation of (56) \textit{paurvāsālāh}, will yield: \textit{pāṇcanāpita} + i. Rule 6.4.148 \textit{yasyeti ca}, as explained in (56) \textit{paurvāsālāh}, will delete the final \textit{a} of \textit{nāpita} to yield: \textit{pāṇca} + nāpī (a \rightarrow 0) + i = \textit{pāṇcanāpītī}. To derive \textit{pāṇcanāpītī} by subsequently introducing \textit{sU} and applying \textit{s- visarga} is not problematic at all.

Example (61) \textit{pāṇcagavadhānāh} contains the string: \textit{pāṇcan} + \textit{Jas} + go + \textit{Jas} + dhana + \textit{sU} for deriving a \textit{tripada-bahuvihi} ‘a bahuvihi compound with three constituents’ where \textit{pāṇcan} + \textit{Jas} + go + \textit{Jas} forms an internal \textit{tatturuṣa} termed \textit{dvigu} on account of having a number word as its initial constituent (2.1.52 \textit{saṃkhya-pūruṣo dviguḥ}). If one simply wants to derive a \textit{samāhāra} ‘grouping, collection’ type of \textit{dvigu}, the form will be: \textit{pāṇcagavam} (cf. example (37) under rule 2.1.23), a neuter (\textit{napumsaka}; 2.4.17 \textit{sa napumsakam}). Note that the \textit{samāhāra-dvigu} base \textit{pāṇcanga} goes through the deletion of its \textit{n}. Rule 5.4.92 \textit{gor ataddhiyatuki} introduces the \textit{samāśānta} affix \textit{TaC} to yield: \textit{pāṇcago} + a. Our form \textit{pāṇcagava} derives by application of 6.1.78 \textit{eco} ‘yavāyāvah. Affix \textit{sU} introduced after the neuter nominal stem \textit{pāṇcagava} will be replaced with \textit{am} by rule 7.1.23 \textit{ato} ‘m. Given the string \textit{pāṇcagava} + (\textit{sU} \rightarrow \textit{am}) = \textit{pāṇcagava} + \textit{am}, rule 6.1.107 \textit{ami pūrvaḥ} will apply to yield: \textit{pāṇcagav} (a+a \rightarrow a) \textit{m} = \textit{pāṇcagavam}. One can also refer to \textit{dvigu} derivates such as (438) \textit{pāṇcendrāh}, (440) \textit{pāṇcaśāskinil}, (441) \textit{pāṇcaśāskulam}, and \textit{pāṇcagonil} in the appendix of volume II for additional details.

Recall that \textit{pāṇcagava} forms part of (61) \textit{pāṇcagavadhānāh}, a \textit{tripada-bahuvihi} where the introduction of a \textit{samāśānta} affix becomes obligatory (\textit{nitya}). For, \textit{vibhāṣā} still carries, and in the context of the following word (\textit{uttaraṇapade}, an optional \textit{tatturuṣa}, such as \textit{pāṇcago}, would otherwise yield a \textit{bahuvihi} compound with three constituents: \textit{pāṇcagodhadhānāh}.

Examples (62) \textit{pāṇcapāli} and (63) \textit{pāṇcakumāri} are derived as \textit{samāhāra-dvigu} similar to \textit{pāṇcagavam}. Given the string \textit{pāṇcan} + \textit{ām} + \textit{pūla} + \textit{ām} parallel to the analyzed form (\textit{vigraha-vākya}) \textit{pāṇcānām pūlānām samāhārah} ‘a collection, or grouping of five bunches’ the resultant compound will be: \textit{pāṇcapāla}. This, in turn, will receive the feminine affix \textit{NiP} by rule 4.1.21 \textit{dvigoh} for reasons that a \textit{dvigu} compound terminating in \textit{a} is used in the feminine (cf. \textit{vt}: \textit{akhāṇottaratapadā dviguh striyām bhāṣyate ad 2.4.17 \textit{sa napumsakam}). The final \textit{a} of \textit{pāṇcapāla}, before \textit{NiP}, will be deleted by 6.4.148 \textit{yasyeti ca}. Thus: \textit{pāṇcapāl}(a \rightarrow 0) + i = \textit{pāṇcapāli}.

Example (63) \textit{pāṇcakumāri} contains \textit{pāṇcan} + \textit{ām} + \textit{kumāri} + \textit{ām} whereby we get \textit{pāṇcakumāri} after \textit{sU}-deletion, and the extension of singular number (\textit{ekavadbhaśa}; 2.1.41 \textit{dvigur ekavacanaṃ}, and neuter gender (\textit{napumsaka}; 2.4.17 \textit{sa napumsakam}). Rule 1.2.47 \textit{hrasvo napumsake...} then orders the long \textit{i} of \textit{kumāri} replaced with the short to yield: \textit{pāṇcakumār} (i \rightarrow i) = \textit{pāṇcakumāri}
A nominal ending such as the nominative singular sU introduced after pañcakumārī will be deleted by rule 7.1.23 svamor napumsakāt.

2.1.52 sāṃkhyaśāturva dviguḥ

We have already seen how a dvigu such as pañcapāli is derived. Our example (64) pañcakapāḷaha derives from pañcan + suP + kapāla + suP under the taddhītārthe condition of the preceding rule. The compound base pañcakapāla is assigned the name dvigu, and receives the taddhita affix aN in the sense of sanskritam by 4.2.15 sanskritam bhaksāḥ. Affix aN is subsequently deleted by rule 4.1.88 dvigor lug anapatye for reasons of occurring after a dvigu and being a taddhita with no denotatum of apatyā ‘offspring’. One can also derive (65) pañcanauvapriyāḥ under the condition of uttarapade, i.e., priya + sU. Our dvigu compound pañcanau will receive the samāsānāta affix TaC by rule 5.4.99 nāvo dvigoh. Rule 6.1.78 eco’ yavāyavāḥ will replace the au of nau with āv before the a (of TaC) to yield: pañcan (au→āv) + a = pañcanāvā. The rest of the rule applications are similar to examples already discussed in the preceding rule.

2.1.60 sannmahatparamottamottṛṣṭāḥ

Example (66) mahāpuruṣāḥ is derived from mahat + sU + puruṣa + sU where, given mahatpuruṣa, rule 6.3.46 āṃmahataḥ samānā... introduces āT (āṭva) as a replacement for the final sound segment of mahat (cf. 1.1.52 aḷo’ ntyasya). Thus, maha (t→ā)puruṣa = mahā (a+ā→ā)puruṣa = mahāpuruṣa.

2.1.67 yuvākhalatipalitavalinajaratibhiḥ

Note that the feminine in jaratī does not restrict the formation of such compounds to feminine only. Thus we not only get (67) yuvajaratī from yuvati + sU + jaratī + sU and (68) yuvakhalati from yuvati + sU + khalatī + sU, but also yuvajaran and yuvakhalatiḥ, etc. The derivational process does not offer any difficulty. The n of yuvan will be deleted by 8.2.7 nalopaḥ prātipadikāntasya. The feminine examples will also have yuva through puṃvadbhāva of 6.3.42 puṃvad karmadhāraya....

2.1.68 kṛtyatulyākhya ajatyā
tīrtha

Examples such as (69) bhojyoṣṇam and (70) pāṇiyaṣṭam have bhojya and pāṇiya derived from verbal roots bhuj ‘to consume’ and pā ‘to drink’ with the introduction of the kṛtya affixes NyaT (3.1.124 ṭhalor...) and aniyaR (3.1.96 tavayattavyāniyarah).

2.1.70 kumāraḥ śramaṇādibhiḥ

Note that one of the purposes of formulating this rule is to facilitate the preplacement of kumāra. The listing of nominals headed by śramaṇā includes both masculine as well as feminine forms. For reasons of coreferentiality (sāṃnāḍhikaranya) kumāra is interpreted as specifying both kumāra and kumārī. Thus, feminine bases of the list will be combined with kumārī and the masculine will have both the choices (...ye tu puṃliṅgāḥ tair ubhayathā). Example (71) kumāraśramaṇaḥ entails puṃvadbhāva again by 6.3.42 puṃvat karmadhāraya....
2.2.4 prāptāpanne ca dvitiyāyā
This rule offers two sets of optional examples:
(72) prāptajīvikaḥ / (73) jīvikāprāptah
(74) āpannajīvikaḥ / (75) jīvikāpañnah

The second example in each set is a dvitiyā- tatpuruṣa formed optionally to the first by this rule. Note also that the second example has jīvikā as the first constituent in the compound. This is made possible by assigning to jīvikā the term upasarjana by rule 1.2.44 ekavibhakti cāpūrvanipāte. This also causes the shortening of the long ā of jīvikā by rule 1.2.48 gostriyor upasarjanasya as in prāptajīvikaḥ. The first example of each set will have prāpta and āpanna as initial constituent.

2.2.5 kālāḥ parimāṇīnā
Examples such as (76) dvahajātah, (77) tryahajātah, and (78) samvatsarajātah are like genitive tatpuruṣa compounds parallel to dvayahāḥ jātasya, tryahāḥ jātasya, and samvatsaraḥ jātasya respectively. For, their constituency entails parimānāparimāṇi-sambandha 'measure-measured' relationship.
Thus, a person born (parimāṇi) is measured by a word denoting time (kālā), the measure (parimāṇa). The genitive in these examples obviously obtains after the word which denotes parimāṇin.

Note that dvayahāḥ and tryahāḥ are samāhāradvandva compounds parallel to dvayor ahonoh samāhāraḥ 'a collection of two days' and tryayor ahonoh samāhāraḥ 'a collection of three days'. Given the strings: dvihān and trihān, rule 5.4.91 rājāhahasahibhya... introduces the samāsānta affix TaC. The result becomes: dvihān + (T→0) a (C→0) = dvi + ahan + a, and tri + ahan + a. Rule 6.4.145 ahaṣ... now applies to delete the i (1.1.64 ac) ntyādi i part of ahan of both the examples (cf. examples (35-36) under 2.1.23 dviguś ca). This yields: dvi + ah (an→0) a and tri + ah (an→0) + a which after the application of 6.1.77 iko yān aci will produce: dv (i→y) ah + a = dvayaḥ and tr (i→y) ah + a = tryaḥa respectively. Note in this connection that ahan is not replaced with ahna because of the negation of rule 5.4.89 na samkhya....

2.2.6 naN
The derivation of the negative tatpuruṣa compounds is fairly straightforward. However, the following rule-applications must be noted:
(a) 6.3.73 nañopā nañnah
‘the n of naN is deleted before a following word (uttarapade)’
(b) 6.3.74 tasmān nuñ aci
‘n (UT) is introduced to that which follows the deletion and begins with a vowel (aC)’

Examples (79) abrahmañnah and (80) anasvaḥ parallel to na brāhmaṇaḥ and na aśvaḥ are given here to illustrate the application of the two rules just cited. A compound string such as na + brāhmaṇa will go through
the deletion of the $n$ reducing the string to: $a + brāhmaṇa = abhrāmaṇa$ where the $(b)$ above will not apply because brāhmaṇa does not begin with a vowel. It will however, apply in case of a string such as $(n→0)a + aśva = n + aśva$. This will entail the introduction of augment $nUT$ to aśva at the beginning because of the $T$ as an $it$ (1.1.46 ādyantaū ṭakītāu). Thus, $a + n (UT→0) + aśva = anaśva$.

2.2.15 trjakābhyaṃ kartari

Rules 2.2.15 through 2.2.17 have been interpreted differently by the Kāśikā and the SK. Since I have accepted the position of the SK I have also switched the examples. Thus we get examples (81) apām sraṣṭā (82) purām bhettā, (83) vajrasya bharttā, and (84) saktūnām pāyakah under this rule.

Note that sraṣṭā, bhettā, and bharttā are all derivates of trC (3.1.133 puvrtcau) containing the strings srj + trC, bhid + trC and bhr + trC. Refer to derivation (697) bhettā in volume II for specific details. Deriving sraṣṭā from srj + trC entails some additional rule application. Rule 6.1.58 srjdṛṣṭḥ will introduce augment $a(M)$ to yield: srj + a + j + trj; a subsequent application of 6.1.77 iko yan acī will produce $s(r→r) + a + j + tr$. Rule 8.2.36 vrasca... will replace j by s which, in turn, cause the replacement of t of tr by i via the application of rule 8.4.41 ṣṭunā ṣṭuh. We will now have $s + ra + s + tr$. I have not shown here the application of rules on affix trC. One can easily find that in derivations of cetā, bhettā, and chettā in volume II.

Note that the derivation of bharttā entails guṇa similarly to bhṛttā. The derivations of apām and purām, genitive plurals denoting an object, from ap + ām and pur+ām, is straightforward. The derivation of pāyakah in saktūnām pāyakah entails the introduction of affix NvuL. It also requires the application of rule 7.3.33 āto yuk... which will introduce yUK to yield: pā + y + vu. For deriving pāyaka from this string apply 7.1.1 yuwor.... Thus, $pā+y+(vu→aka) = pāyaka + sU = pāyakah$. Incidentally, the word saktūnām is derived from saktu + ām where rule 7.1.54 hrasvaṇaḍyāpa nuķ introduces $n (UT→0)$ to yield: saktu + n + ām. Rule 6.4.3 nāmi will now apply to replace the short u of saktu with its long counterpart to produce: sakt (u→ū)n + ām = saktūnām.

The $m$ of saktūnām, as well as that of purām, etc., will be replaced with anusvāra by rule 8.3.23 mo’ nusvārāḥ before a consonant such as the $p$ of pāyakah.

2.2.16 kartari ca

Examples such as (85) bhavataḥ śayikā and (86) bhavata āsikā also form an exception to the formation of genitive tatpurūṣa compound. Note that śayikā and āsikā are both derived by introducing affixes NvuC and ṬāP. Thus, affix NvuC is introduced after $si(N→0)$ to yield $si + vu$ which, through the application of rule 7.1.1 yuwor anākau (with 1.4.13 yasmāt...;
6.4.1 aṅgasya) becomes: sī + (vṛ₂→aka) = sī + aka. The string becomes sī(i→ai) + aka = sāi + aka after vṛddhi by rule 7.2.115 acō’ niṇiti. Rule 6.1.75 eco’ yavāyāvah then applies to yield: sī(ai→āy) + aka = sāy + aka = sāyaka, a nominal stem (1.2.46 kṛttaddhita...) terminating in a kṛ affix. Feminine affix TāP is now introduced by rule 4.1.4 ajādyatās tāp under the domain of 4.1.3 striyām read with 4.1.1 nyāpṛātipadikā. The a before k of sāyaka + ā is replaced with i by rule 7.3.44 pratyayasthāt.... This will produce sāy(a→i)ka + ā from whence we ultimately get: sāyikā. One can similarly derive āsikā. The genitive in bhavataḥ derives from bhavat + Nas which produces bhavataḥ through s→r→ visarga.

2.2.17 nityam kṛidājīvikayoḥ

Examples such as (87) uddālaka-puspabhaṅjikā and (88) vāraṇa-puspapracāyikā illustrate the genitive tatpurusa with the meaning of sport (kṛidā). Examples such as (89) dantalekhakaḥ and (90) nakkelekhakaḥ are cited for jīvikā ‘livelihood’. Both uddālaka-puspabhaṅjikā and vāraṇa-puspapracāyikā entail kṛt derivates (bhaṅjikā; pracāyikā) in feminine. Thus, bhaṅjikā derives from bhaṅj + ṇuvaL = bhaṅj + aka. The rest of the application of rules to derive bhaṅjikā from this string is similar to sāyikā. Remember, however, that affix ṇuvaL is introduced with the denotatum of name (sāmjña) by rule 3.3.109 saṃjñāyām. Furthermore, bhaṅjikā + sU combines with puṣpa + ām to yield: puṣpabhaṅjikā which is then combined with uddālaka + ām to produce uddālaka-puspabhaṅjikā. This last is allowed by rule 2.2.28 saṣṭhi. Similar rules apply in deriving vāraṇa-puspapracāyikā where pracāyikā derives from ciN used with the preverb pra. Given pra + ci + (vṛ₂→aka), rule 7.2.115 acō’ niṇiti orders vṛddhi to produce: pra+c(i→ai)+aka. The ai is then replaced with āy through the application of 6.1.75 eco’ yavāyāvah, to yield: pra+c(ai→āy)+ aka = pracāyaka. Deriving pracāyikā from pracāyaka + TāP does not offer anything new. Our examples dantalekhakaḥ and nakkelekhakaḥ both entail lekhakaḥ derived from likh + ṇuvaL where ṇuvaL gets replaced with aka. Of course, i of likh goes through the gama replacement e (7.3.86 pugantalaghūpadhasya ca). Both nakha and danta of the examples will be constituting a pada in the genitive as: danta + ām and nakha + ām.

2.2.18 kugati-prādayayāḥ

This rule covers examples of compound formation generally known as prādisamāsā. Examples such as (91) kupuruṣaḥ and (92) duspuruṣaḥ are easy to derive. The s of dus in duspuruṣaḥ is replaced with s by 8.3.41 idudupadhasya cāpratrayasya. Refer to the appendix of volume II for derivation of compound forms such as urikṛtam and urikṛtya.

There are quite a few vārthikā under this rule which also provide for compounds such as (93) atimālaḥ, (94) alaṃkumāriḥ, (95) niskausāmbiḥ and (96) nīrvarānasāḥ. These examples have been fully derived in the appendix of volume II. The derivation of alaṃkumāriḥ proceeds from kumāri + sU +
alam + sU where kūmārī is termed an upasarjana by 1.2.44 ekavibhakti cāpūrvanipāte. The final long ī of kumārī will be replaced with short by 1.2.48 gostriyor upasarjanasya. Given alamkumārī the m will be replaced with anusvāra by 8.3.23 mo’ nusvāraḥ to yield: alamkumārī. Deriving alamkumārīḥ via introduction of sU and subsequent rutvavisarga should not pose any difficulty.

2.2.19 upapaślam atin

One of the most celebrated examples of upapadasamāsa is (97) kumbha-kārah. The derivation contains the string kumbha + ām + kāra + sU though with a reminder that such a compound should be formed prior to the introduction of the nominal endings (cf. PŚ (76): gatikāra-kopadānām kṛdbhīḥ saha samāsavacanam prāk subutpatēh). The genitive of kumbha + ām is inferred as denoting an object (karnaṇa) through the variable reference of 3.2.1 karmany an read with rule 3.1.92 tatropapadan saptamitham.

Rule 3.2.1 karmany an introduces affix aN to derive kāra via vṛddhi by rule 7.2.115 aco’ nīti. Thus: (kr + a (N→θ) = k (r→ār) + a = kāra.

Examples such as (98) aśvakṛiti and (99) dhanakṛiti contains the strings: aś⊥ + Tā + kṛita + sU and dhana + Tā + kṛita + sU. Kāśikā uses example (98) to illustrate how, if the compounds are formed after introducing the sUP, the introduction of NīS will be blocked. The compound formation is allowed by 2.1.32 kartikaraṇe kṛta bahalam. Given the compound form aśvakṛita, rule 4.1.50 kṛitat karaṇapūrvat will introduce affix NīS. Rule 6.4.148 yasyet ca will apply on aśvakṛita + (N→θ)i(S→θ) to delete the final a of aśvakṛita(a→θ), a form termed bha, under the following ī. This will produce the compound base aśvakṛiti after which a sU may be introduced only for deletion by 6.1.66 haiṇyābhyo....

2.2.24 anekam anyapadārthe ... 2.2.25 samkhyaṣyai...

Refer to many examples of bahuvrīhi derivates in the appendix. For a typical bahuvrīhi such as citraguh parallel to citrā gāvo yasya 'he who owns brindled cows' refer to derivation (432) there.

Examples such as (100) upapadasāḥ parallel to daśāṇāṃ samiṣe ye 'those which are in the vicinity of ten' contain a string such as: up + sU + daśan + ām where a bahuvrīhi compound is ordered by this rule. The resultant form upapadaśan (after sUP-deletion) receives the saṃsānta affix DaC by 5.4.73 bahuvrīhau samkhyeye.... This yields upapadaśan + (D→θ)a(C→θ) = upapadaśan + a where the anīga-final an is deleted by 6.4.143 tēh. The compound base upapada + a = upapadaśa can now take the nominative plural ending Jas where, after it-deletion of J, rule 6.1.102 prathamayaḥ pūrvasavarnāḥ orders pūrvasavarnādirgha, a homogenous long vowel replacement similar to the first. That is: upapadaśa + (J→θ) as = upapadaś (a+a→ā) s = upapadaśa. The preceding form produces upapadaśaḥ through rutva-visarga.
Similar rule application is required for deriving (101) upavimśāh parallel to viṁśateḥ samīpe ye. Note, however, that rule 6.4.142 ti viṁśater diti will delete the ti of viṁśati. Rule 6.1.97 ato gune will apply on upavimśa + a to produce upavimśa via parasavarṇadīrgha, a long vowel replacement similar to the following vowel of a sequence. One can similarly also derive (102) āsannadaśāh and (103) adūradaśāh, etc. Deriving (104) dvitrāh from dvitr(i→θ) + DaC + Jas through ti-deletion of dvitrī, etc., is not problematic. An example such as (105) tricaturāh receives affix aC as opposed to DaC in view of the proposal of the vārtdika (ad 5.4.73 bahuvrihau...); caturro’ cprakarane tryupābhyaṁ upasamkhyaṇam. This introduction of affix aC also facilitates the non-deletion of the ti part by rule 6.4.143 teḥ.

2.2.30 upasarjananam pūrvam

It is very easy to understand the derivational consequences of this as well as the following rules from the details of compound derivations already discussed. Refer to particular examples such as akszasaunḍāh, śaṅkulākhaṇḍadāh, and rājapuruṣadāh, etc., in the appendix of volume II.

2.3.1 anabhihite...2.3.73 caturthi cāsīṣya...

Note that these rules mostly relate to conditions under which a nominal ending denoted by the abbreviatory term sUP (4.1.2 savaµjasmauṃ...) can be introduced after a nominal stem (1.2.45 arthavaddadhātur...; 1.2.46 kṛttaddhita...) to derive nominal pada ‘word’. I have already shown the derivation of numerous nominal-words in the appendix of volume II. Quite a few such derivates will be derived in the next two volumes. I have therefore not shown any derivations here.

2.4.3 anuvāde caraṇanām

Examples such as (106) udagāt and (107) pratyāsthāt as in udagāt kāṭhakālāpam and pratyāsthāt kāṭhakauṭhukam are LUN derivate of verbal root ṝN, used with the preverb ud, and sthā used with the preverb prati, respectively. These derivations in many ways follow the patterns of numerous LUN derivate already derived in the appendix of volume II. Refer to akariṣyat, aciṣkarat, acapiṣit, and afiṣharat, etc., for general operations relative to LUN. Note that sIC of these examples will be deleted by rule 2.4.77 gāṭiṣṭhā-. This will leave: ud+a+i+t where i will be replaced with gā by 2.4.45 ino gā luni.

2.4.5 adhyayanato ‘viprakṛṣṭa...

Examples such as (108) padakakramakam entails the introduction of affix vinN by rule 4.2.61 kramādābhya vin after both pada and krama to derive padakā and kramaka. Affix thaK is similarly introduced after vr̥tti to derive (109) vārtdika by rule 4.2.60 kratākāṭādi-... Follow the derivation of (197) dādhikam in the appendix of volume II to derive vārtdika from vr̥tti + thaK.
2.4.11 gavāśvaprabhṝtini ca

Note that examples such as (110) gavāśvam are listed in the GP with ekavaddhāva 'treatment as if singular'. One can understand though that the dvandva compound can be allowed by rule 2.2.29 cārthe dvandvāh in addition to the avaN replacement for o of go by 6.1.119 avaṅ sptōṭāyanasya to yield gavāśvam. Other examples should be similarly understood.

2.4.29 rātrāhnāḥḥ pumpi

Note that examples (111) dvirātrah, (112) trirātrah, and (113) catirātrah are derived by combining dvi, tri and catur with rātri, ahaṇa and aha in view of 2.1.51 taddhitārthotlarapada.... Rule 5.4.87 ahaṇ sarvaika... introduces the samāśānta affix aC. Rule 6.4.148 yasyeti ca will as usual delete the bha-final i, or a. Our present rule assigns masculine to compound bases terminating in the samāśānta affix (cf. Kāś: krtasamāśāntānām nirdesal). This assignment of gender is necessary in view of paravallīṅgata 'assignment of gender in consonance with the gender of the following constituent' which may obtain due to rātri (feminine) and ahaṇa (neuter).

Note that catirātrah entails the application of 8.3.14 ro rī whereby the r of catur is deleted. The u of catu is replaced with ū to yield caturātra via the application of rule 6.3.111 dhralope pūrvasya....

An example such as (114) pūrvāḥḥ is derived by combining pūrva + sU ahan + Naṣ by rule 2.2.1 pūrvaparāḥdharottara.... A combined base pūrva + ahan receives the samāśānta affix TaC by 5.4.91 rātrāha.... Rule 5.4.88 ahno' hna etebyahā orders the ahan of pūrva + ahan + (T)a(C) to be replaced with ahaṇa. Rule 6.4.148 yasyeti ca deletes the final a of ahaṇa before the a of TaC to yield: pūrva + ahan + a = pūrvāḥna. One can derive pūrvāḥna from pūrvāḥna + sU via rutva-visarga where the n of pūrvāḥna will be replaced with ṇ by rule 8.4.7 ahno' adantāt. Similar rules apply in deriving (115) aparvāḥna and (116) madhyāḥna where this last example does not get its n replaced with ṇ because of the lack of a preceding r.

2.4.36 ado jagdhīr lyapti kitī

This rule allows a replacement in jagdh for verbal root ad ‘to consume’ to derive (117) prajagdhya, (118) vijagdhyā, (119) jagdhā, and (120) jagdhavān. Our first example has verbal root ad used with the preverb pra. The affix occurring after ad is LyaP for which see the derivation of (195) prakrtya in the appendix of volume II. The application of this rule will produce: pra + (a → jagdh) + (L→∅) ya (P→∅) = prajagdhya. Example (118) vij-gdhya follows the same pattern.

Example (119) jagdhā is derived by introducing the niṣṭhā suffix Kta (1.1.28 kta avavatā niṣṭhā; 3.2.102 niṣṭhā) after verbal root ad. Given the replacement in jagdh for ad we get: (a → jagdh) + (K→∅) tā = jagdh + tā. The t of tā is replaced with dh by rule 8.2.40 jhaṣasthathor.... The final dh of jagdh of jagdh + dha will then be replaced with d by rule 8.4.53 jhālām jaḥ jhāṣi. This will produce jag(dh→d) + dha = jagdh + dha on which rule
8.4.65 ḣaro ḣari savarne applies. The result is: (d→∅) + dha = jagda; a nominal stem after which sU can be introduced to derive jagdhāḥ through rutva-visarga.

Refer to the derivation of (30) citavān in the appendix of volume II for deriving jagdhavān. Note that some operations relative to the change of t→dh, dḥ→d, and d→∅ as explained in case of jagdhāḥ will also be applicable on (ad→jagdḥ) + (K→∅) tava (U→∅) = jagdḥ + tavaṭ.

2.4.37 ṭrṇaṇor ghasī

This rule introduces ghasī, as a replacement for ad to derive forms such as (121) aghasat, (122) aghasatām, (123) aghasan, and (124) jighatsati, (125) jighatsaṭh, (126) jighatsanti. These derivations are not very different from the many LUN and saN derivations already discussed in the appendix of volume II. Verbal root ad will be replaced with ghasī(∅→∅) before affixes LUN and saN(∅→∅). For arriving at the string aT + ghas + CLI + t refer to the derivation of (18) acaisīṭ in the appendix of volume II. The CLI will then be replaced with a (N→∅) by rule 3.1.55 puśādīdyutādī... on account of L as an āt. This will produce: a + ghas + a + t = aghasat. Note that the augment aT has been introduced here by rule 6.4.71 lūnlānṭīn... This introduction of the augment must be done subsequent upon the replacement of ad by ghasī. For, ad begins with a vowel, and consequently, 6.4.72 ād ajādīnām may introduce the augment aT. This obviously will produce the wrong form aghasat. This introduction of aT can be blocked if ghasī replaced ad first. Refer to the derivation of (467) apacatām (appendix vol. II) for deriving (122) aghasatām. Of course, keeping in mind the replacement relative to this rule. Deriving (123) aghasan from aT + ghas + a + (jh→ant) should not be problematic. Rule 6.1.97 ato gune will order a single replacement in place of the vocalic sequence a + a to yield: aghas + ant. The t of the sequence nt will be deleted by 8.2.23 samyogāntasya lopaḥ.

The next set of three examples all entail affix saN and subsequent doubling (dvīva) for which refer to derivation (304) ruṛudīṣati in the appendix of volume II. Note that doubling will take place after the replacement in ghasī. This will produce: ghas + ghas + sa where sa will be termed an ārdḍhadhātukā by 3.4.114 ārdḍhadhātukam... This will occasion the introduction of augment tT by rule 7.2.35 ārdḍhadhātukasyed... which, in turn, will be blocked by rule 7.2.10 ekāc upadeśa... Note that doubling and the application of rule 7.4.60 halādi seṣṭāḥ will produce ghas(s→∅) + ghas + sa. Rule 7.4.62 kuhōs cuḥ now applies to yield: (gh→jh) a + ghas + sa = jha + ghas + sa. Rule 8.4.54 abhyāse car ca will further, replace the jh with j to produce ja + ghas + sa. The a of ja will then be replaced with i under the provision of rule 7.4.79 saṇy atah. Rule 7.4.49 saḥ syārdḍhaḥ... will now replace the s of ghas in ji + ghas + sa with t to produce: ji + ghat + sa = jighatsa, a verbal root by 3.1.32 sanādyantā... One can easily
derive jighatsati from jighatsa + ŠaP + (LAT → tiP) where the sequence a+a will again be replaced with a by 6.1.96 ato gune. Examples (125) jighatsa and (126) jighatsanti can be derived similarly to pacatah and pacanti (cf. appendix of volume II) from jighatsa + LAT.

2.4.40 lity anyatarasyām

Refer to derivations (231) jaksatuh and (232) jakshuh in the appendix of volume II. Examples such as (127) ādatuh and (128) āduh are optional with no replacement of ad by ghas. Examples such as (129) jaghāsa and (130) āda are also optional where jaghāsa is derived with the replacement for ad in ghas. These derivations both start with ad + a where a is a replacement of tiP which in itself is a replacement of LAT. Doubling and deletion by 7.4.60 halādi... will produce the two strings as follows: gha + ghas + a and a + ad + a. The first will produce jaghas + a after changes similar to jighatsati. Note, however, that ja does not change into ji in this case. The penultimate a of jaghas of jaghas + a will be lengthened by rule 7.2.116 atu upadhāyah to produce jagh(a→ā)s + a = jaghāsa. Our optional string a + ad + a will be subject to the application of rule 7.4.70 atā ādeh. This will replace the first a with ā. Rule 7.2.116 atu upadhāyah will now apply on ā + ad + a to produce ā + ād + a. Finally, rule 6.1.101 akah savarnē dirghah will replace the sequence ā+ā to produce (ā+ā→ād) + a = āda.

2.4.41 veño’ nyatarasyām

This rule accounts for the optional LIT examples of veN such as (131) uvāya, (132) uvatuḥ, (133) īvyuh, and (134) iyuṭuḥ and (135) īvyuh. All these derivations begin with ve(N→∅) + LIT where LIT gets replaced with tiP, etc., only to be further replaced with NaL, atus and us of 3.4.82 parasmaipadānām.... Note, however, that our present rule orders the replacement vay for veN before the ārdhāṭtuka affix LIT. The parasmaipada replacements such as NaL, etc., will follow. Our string vay + (tiP→∅) → (N→∅)a(L→∅)) = vay + a will go through the application of doubling, śamprasāraṇa (6.1.17 lity abhyāsasyobhayesām) and 7.4.60 halādi... to yield: vay + vay + a = va + vay + a = (v→uvay + vay + a) = uvay + a. Rule 7.2.116 atu upadhāyah now yields uv(a→ā)y + a = uvāya.

Our next form uvatuḥ is derived from vay + atus where atus is the replacement for the third person dual parasmaipada ending tas. The y of vay + atus escapes the samprasāraṇa available from rule 6.1.16 grahiyāvayi.... Instead, it is replaced with v to change the string to vav + a by rule 6.1.39 vas cānnychatarasyām. The processes of doubling, the samprasāraṇa of the initial va and halādiye sa will now produce u + uv + atus. The desired form uvatuḥ can then be produced by the application of savarnadīrgha (6.1.101 akah savarnē...) and rutvā-visarga. Note here that v as a replacement for the y of vay by rule 6.1.39 vas cānnychatarasyām kiti is optional. In the absence of availing that option we will get iyuṭuḥ parallel to uvatuḥ. We
will also end up with two optional forms ūvuh and ūyuh deriving from vay + us in the plural where us is a parasmaipada replacement for LIT via jhi.

Note further that the provisions of rule 2.4.41 veño vayi are also optional. If this option is not availed we will get (136) vavau, (137) vavatuḥ and (138) vavuḥ. The root-final e in all these three examples is replaced with ā with reference to rule 6.1.45 adeca upadeṣe.... The a of NaL in vā + (LIT→NaL) = vā + a is replaced with au by 7.1.34 āta au nalah. The final a of vā is then deleted by 6.4.64 āto lopa īti ca. The samprasarāṇa is here blocked by rule 6.1.40 veṇāḥ. This should facilitate the derivation of these forms with no difficulty.

2.4.42 hano vadha lini

Examples such as (139) vadhyāt, (140) vadhyāstām, and (141) vadhyāsuh involve vadha as the replacement for verbal root han before affix LIN introduced as per rule 3.3.173 āśiṣi linloṭau. The resultant string (han→vadha) + (LIN→ti(P→∅)) = vadha + ti receives yāsUT as the augment by rule 3.4.103 yāsūt parasmaipade.... This will produce vadha + yās + t. Rule 3.4.100 itaś ca will as usual delete the i of ti. The final a of vadha of the resultant string vadha + yās + t will be deleted by rule 6.4.48 ato lopah. This will produce vadha(a→∅) + yās + t where an application of rule 8.2.29 skoh samyogādyor... deletes the s to yield: vadha + yā(s→∅) + t = vadhyāt.

The derivation of vadhyāstām from (han→vadha) + (LIN→tas) = vadha + yās (UT→∅) + tas =vadhyās + tas is easy. The tas is here replaced with tām to produce vadhyāstām by rule 3.4.101 tasthasthamipām.... The plural form vadhyāsuh is similarly derived from vadha + yās + jhi where rule 3.4.108 jhe, jus orders (f→∅)us to replace jhi to produce: vadha + yās + us. An application of rules as shown will turn vadha + yās + us into vadhyāsuh.

2.4.43 luṇi ca

Refer to the derivation of (211) avadhīt in the appendix of volume II. Examples (142) avadhīstām and (143) avadhīsuh are third personal dual and plural forms containing: avadh (a→∅) + i + s + tas = avadh + i + s + tas and avadh + i + s + jhi where tas and jhi are dual and plural third personal replacements for LIN. Our tas gets replaced with tām to yield: avadh + i + s + tām where rule 8.3.59 ādēsapratyayoh orders the s to be replaced with t. This, in turn, will cause the application of rule 8.4.41 sṭunā śṭuh whereby t of tām will be replaced with t. Thus, avadhīs(s→s) + (tās→tām)) = avadhīstām. The plural form avadhīsuh entails an additional application of rule 3.4.109 sijabhastya... whereby the jhi of avadhīs + jhi is replaced with jus to derive avadhīs+ u(s→r→h) = avadhīsuh via rutva-visarga.

2.4.45 inō gā luṇi

This rule replaces verbal root i(N→∅) with gā to derive the LUN-
derivatives (144) agāt and (145) agāyi. The first is derived from \( aT + gā + ti \) where \( tiP \) replaces \( LUN \). The \( i \) of \( ti \) is deleted by 3.4.100 itaś ca and the \( aT \) augment is introduced as usual by rule 6.4.71 luṅlāṅtṛṇa.... Note that this derivation will also involve the introduction CLI and its replacement with sIC. The sIC of the resultant string \( a+gā+s+t \) will be deleted by 2.4.77 gātisthā.... The next example agāyi derives from \( a(T) + (iN→gā) + (C)i(N) + t \) where 3.1.66 cin bhāvakarmanoḥ introduces CīN. Our string \( a+gā+i \) receives the augment yUK by rule 7.3.33 āto yuk cin.... It finally goes through the deletion of its \( t \) by rule 6.4.104 cīno luk.

2.4.47 sani ca

Our examples (146) jigamīṣati is saN-derivative of verbal root \( iN \). This rule turns \( i + sa \) into \( gam + sa \) which through doubling produces \( gam + gam + sa \). The application of rule 7.4.60 halādī... yields \( ga + gam + sa \). The \( iT \) will be introduced by rule 7.2.35 ārdhadhātukasyed.... Additionally, \( ga + gam + (i(T→Ø) + sa \) will have the \( a \) of \( ga \) replaced with \( i \) by 7.4.79 sany atāḥ. This will give us gigamisa where 7.4.62 kuhoś cuḥ will turn the initial \( g \) into \( j \). Rule 8.3.59 ādeśa pratayayoh will replace the \( s \) with \( ś \). Thus, \( J(a→i)+gam+i+(s→ja = jigamīṣa. I have here shown only the partial derivation of jigamīṣatī which derives from \( (i→gam) + sa(N)) + LAT \).

Refer to the derivations of similar saN-derivatives such as (304) rurudiṣati, (305) vividiṣati, (307) jighṛkṣati, (309) pīprchiṣati and (312) cikṛṣati, etc., in the appendix of volume II for systematic derivational details in steps. Deriving (147) jagamīṣatāḥ and (148) jagamīṣanti with \( tas \) and \( jhi \) as replacements for \( LAT \) should not pose any difficulty.

2.4.48 īnaś ca

Our example (149) adhijigāmsate entails the saN-derivative of verbal root \( iN \) used with the preverb adhi. Given \( adhijigam + sa + LAT \) where \( adhijigam \) is produced after replacing \( iN \) with \( gam \) and performing operations such as doubling, cutva, and itva (such as: \( (g→j)(a→i)gam \) before \( saN \). The second \( a \) of \( adhijigam \) goes through ātvā 'replacement in ā' of rule 6.4.16 ajjanagaṃm sani. The \( m \) of \( adhijiga(a→ā)m + sa \) is replaced with anusvāra by 8.3.24 naścāpādāntasya.... This will yield adhijigāmsa which, when followed by \( LAT \), will produce adhijigāmsate similarly to many third person singular ātmanepada forms already derived. The same can be said about deriving the third personal dual and plural examples (150) adhijigāmsete and (151) adhijigāmsante with the ātmanepada endings replacing \( LAT \).

2.4.49 gān liṭī

The three examples under this rule again are third person personal forms of ātmanepada: (152) adhijage, (153) adhijagāte and (154) adhijagire. The first form derives from \( adhi(i→gā) + (LAT→ta) \). The \( ta \) is subsequently replaced with \( eS \) by rule 3.4.81 litastajhayor.... The \( a \) of \( gā \) is deleted by rule 6.4.64 ātō lopa itī ca. This produces \( g(ā→Ø) + (ta→e(S→Ø)) = g + e \) which, read with the preverb \( adhi \), will be: \( adhi + g + e \). Note that doubling takes
place without the preverb. The doubling is allowed by rule 6.1.8 līṭī dhātōr anābhīyāsasya with sthānivadbhāva ‘treating the substitute as if it was the substituendum’ facilitated by 1.1.59 dvīrvacane’ ci. This will produce adhīgā + g + e. The shortening (hrasva; 7.4.59 hrasvaḥ ) of ā of adhīgā followed by the cutvā of g→j will produce adhī(g→j)(ā→a)ge = adhijage. Refer to earlier derivational details for specific rule application relative to doubling (dvitvā). The next example adhijagāte derives from adhijag + āte where the dual ātmanepada ending ātām goes through the replacement of its Ī (1.1.64 aco’ ntyādi ī) by e by rule 3.4.79 ītī ātmanepadānānīn...:

Our last example adhijagire involves the replacement of third personal plural ātmanepada ending jha with ireC in view of rule 3.4.81 līṭastajhayor... to yield adhijag + ire (C→∅) = adhijagire.
2.4.50 vibhāṣā luvitrṇōh

Refer to derivations (266) adhyāgīṣṭa, (267) adhyāgīṣṭām, and (268) adhyāgīṣṭa in the appendix (pp. 425–27) of volume II. The derivation of (155) adhyāṣṭa, (156) adhyāṣṭām and (157) adhyāṣṭa is optional to the preceding. The root i in this case is not replaced with gā. Given adhi+i, the root gets the augment āT (6.4.72 ād ajādinām). Rule 7.3.84 sārvadhātukārdhadhātukayoh will apply on adhi + ā (T→∅) + i + ষ + ī to require guna of i to produce: adhi+i+e+s+ta. Rule 6.1.90 ātaś ca will replace the sequence e+s with a single vrddhi vowel ai. Rule 6.1.77 iko yan āci will now apply on adhi+i+ai+s+ta to produce adhyāṣṭa via replacing the i of adhi with y. The derivation of adhyāṣṭām begins with adhyais + ātam where LUN is replaced with the third person dual ātmanepada ending ātam. The plural form adhyāṣṭa is easy to derive with reference to adhyāgīṣṭa.

The following is a select list of two sets of LRN derivates:

(158) adhyāgīṣyata, (159) adhyāgīṣyetām, (160) adhyāgīṣyanta; and (161) adhyāisyata, (162) adhyāisyetām, (163) adhyāisyanta.

The first example (158) adhyāgīṣyata derives from the string adhi+ aT+(i→gā)+(LRN→ta) where LRN has been introduced by rule 3.3.139 linnimītā... Rule 3.3.13 syatāsī... introduces affix sya after the gāN replacement of i to produce: adhi + a + gā + sya + ta. Rule 6.4.66 ghumāsthā... (read with 1.2.1 gāṅkuṭādi...) will then replace the ā of gā with ī. This will produce: adhī + a + gī + sya + ta. Rule 6.1.77 iko yan āci will replace the i of adhi with y; and 8.3.59 ādesaprīṭayayayoh will change the s of sya with s. Thus: adhī(i→y) + a + gī + (s→s)sya + ta = adhyāgīṣyata. An optional form to this will be (161) adhyāisyata deriving from adhi + āT + i + sya + ta where āT will be the augment because the root, in the absence of a replacement in gāN, will still be ajādi ‘vowel-initial’. Other details such as single vrddhi replacement ai for ā + i; the y replacement for the i of adhi, and the s→s change in sya are easy to understand. The dual form (159) adhyāgisyetām derives from adhyāgīṣya + ātām where the ā of ātām gets
replaced with iy of rule 7.2.81 ato nitaḥ. Rule 6.1.87 ād guṇah then applies on adhyāgyiṣya + (ā—iy) tām = adhyāgyiṣya + iy + tām to produce: adhyāgyiṣya (a+i→e) y + tām where 6.1.66 lopo vyor vali will delete the second y. Thus: adhyāgyiṣye(y→θ) + tām = adhyāgyiṣyetām. Note that the form adhyāgyiṣya, which I cite here, before atām is just for convenience. One has to arrive at the derivation of that form gradually through step by step procedures beginning with iN + LRN, etc. Follow similar procedures to derive other examples.

2.4.51 nau ca saṃścaṇoh
This rule orders gāN as an optional replacement for iN relative to (164) adhījigāpayaṇati, (165) adhyātpayaṇati, (166) adhyājigapataḥ and (167) adhyāpīpatat.

The first example derives from (adhi + (i(N→θ)→gā)) + (N→θ)(C→θ)) + sa (N→θ))) where 3.1.26 hetumati ca first introduces affix NiC. The result of this, i.e., i+i used with adhi, is termed a verbal root by 3.1.32 sanādyantā.... Affix saN is introduced by rule 3.1.7 dhātong karmaṇaḥ...after adhi+ gā +i where our present rule replaces i with gā. Augment pUK is then introduced to the root by rule 7.3.36 artthriṅviri... to yield: adhi + gā + p(UK→θ) + i + sa. Rule 7.2.35 āṛḍdhāḥṭukasyed... to yield: adhi + introduce i(T=θ) before the āṛḍdhāḥṭukā affix sa: adhi+gā + p + i + i + sa. The operation of doubling will now take place under the provision of rule 6.1.9 sanyāṇoh read with 6.1.1 ekāco dove.... Note that doubling will affect gāp to produce: adhi + gāp + gāp + i + i + sa. That is, augment pUK will be treated as part of the verbal root for purposes of doubling. This same, as usual, will not be true of the preverb adhi. The application of rules 6.1.4 pūrvō bhīyāṣaḥ and 7.4.60 halādi śeṣaḥ will change the string to: adhi + gā(p→θ) + gāp + i + i + sa. Rule 7.4.62 kuhōs cuh will cause cutva of the g of gā to yield:ādhīhi + (g→j)a + gāp + i + i + sa. Rule 7.4.79 sany atah apply itva whereby we get: adhi + j(ā→i) + gāp + i + i + sa = adhījigāpi + i + sa. Rule 7.3.84 sārvadāḥṭukārdhāḥṭukāyoh will order guṇa for the final i of adhījigāpi to produce adhījigāpe which, in turn, will yield adhījigāp(e→ay) + i + sa, through the application of 6.1.78 eco’ yavo’ yavoḥ. Our resultant string adhījigāpayi(s→s)a = adhījigāpaya (through the application of 8.3.59 ādesaṃprayayayoh) will still be a termed a verbal root by 3.1.32 sanādyantā dhālavaḥ. Consequently, LAT→tiP, and ŚaP introduced after adhījigāpayi will produce adhījigāpayi.

We will have (165) adhyātpayaṇati if the option of gā replacement of verbal root i is not availed. It will produce the verbal root adhyātpayaṇa from the basic string: adhi + i + i + sa. Affix NiC will condition the i of the root to be replaced with its vrddhi counterpart ai via 7.2.115 aco’ niṣṭii. Rule 6.1.48 kriṇināṃ...will then order a as a replacement (ātva) to yield: adhi + āpi + i + sa. The application of guṇa and its replacement in ay, similar to the preceding example, will produce: adhi + āpayaṇa. The next
form adhi + ā + pi + payiśa will be produced through doubling under the provisions of rules 6.1.2 ajāder dvitiyasya read with 1.1.59 dvirvacane' ci. This doubling would involve rūpātideśa whereby its result will be: pi + pay. Finally, adhi(i→y) + āpiyasi = adhyāpiyasi will produce: adhyāpi-

payisati similar to the preceding example.

Form (166) adhyājīgapat is a LŪN derivate of verbal root iN used with the preverb adhi, and the causative suffix NiC. The i of adhi + i + NiC is replaced with gā to produce: (adhi + (i→gā)) + (N→(Cθ)) = adhi + gā + i. Rule 3.2.10 luni introduces affix LŪN to realize: adhi + gā + i + LŪN = adhi + gā + i + LŪN. Two additional rule applications (3.1.43 cli luni and 3.1.48 niṣridrusryabhya... ) will change the string to: adhi + gā + i + (Cθ) a (N→θ) + i LŪN = adhi + gā + i + a + LŪN. Rule 3.4.78 tiptaśjihisāthastha...read with 3.4.77 lasya will, of course, replace LŪN with ti(P→θ) to yield adhi + gā + i + a + ti. A subsequent application of rule 3.4.100 itaś ca will reduce the ti to t. The string will now be adhi + gā + i + a + t. Rule 7.3.36 arthihrvīliriknīyi...will again introduce the augment pUK subsequent to which the i, i.e., NiC, will be deleted by rule 6.4.51 ner aniti. This will produce: adhi + gāp + a + t where the ā of gāp, the penultimate sound of an aṅga before affix CaN, will be replaced with its short counterpart by rule 7.4.1 nau caṇy upaḍhāyāḥ...Our string will now become adhi + gāp + a + t. Doubling and related applications will produce adhi + (g→j) a (p→θ) + gāp + a + t = adhi + ja + gāp + a + t where saṃvādhhāva 'extending operations characteristic to affix saN' will further cause the application of rules 7.4.79 sanyataḥ and 7.4.93 saṃvāllaghumi caṇpare.... This will cause itva 'replacement in i' whereby we get: adhi + j (a→i) + gāp + a + t = adhi + ji + gāp + a + t. Rule 7.4.94 dirghoḥ laghoḥ will then replace the short i of ji with long to yield adhi + ji + gāp + a + t. Our string adhi + ji + gāp + a will still be termed an aṅga (1.4.13 yasmāt pratyaśavādinhi...) whereby rule 6.4.71 lūnīlāṇiṇ...will introduce the augment a(T→θ). The resultant string adhi + a + ji + gāp + a + t will be subject to the application of rule 6.1.77 iko yaṇ aci whereby the i of adhi will be replaced with y to produce adhyājīgapat.

An optional form such as (167) adhyāpipat will be derived in the absence of not availing the option of replacing iN with gā. The initial string adhi + iN + NiC = adhi + i + i will as usual go through vṛddhi, ātva (6.1.48 kriṇ nau...), and introduction of pUK to produce adhi + (i→ai→āt) + p + i. Operations such as the introduction of LŪN, CLI, CaN, the deletion of NiC (niłopa), and shortening of the ā of adhi + āp will produce: adhi + ap + a + t. Doubling is here performed via rūpātideśa of 1.1.59 dvirvacane' ci because the application of 6.1.11 caṇi read with 6.1.2 ajāder dvitiyasya will not be possible. For, the p is not a vowel. The rūpātideśa-dvitva will change the string to adhi + api + p + a + t. Rule 6.4.72 ādajādīnām...will introduce the augment
at which, after the application of 6.1.77 iko yañ aci and 6.1.90 atasi ca, will produce adhi + at + api + p + a + t = adh (i->y) + at (T->θ) + api + p + a + t = adhy + (at+a->ā) pi + pa + t = adhyāpit.

2.4.53 bruvo vacih

The ātmanepada derivates (168) uce and (169) vakṣyate derive from (bru->vac) + (LIT->ta)) and (bru->vac) + (LRT->ta)). Our first string vac + ta goes through the replacement in eθ for its ta (3.4.81 li̱astajhayor...) followed by the samprasāraṇa of rule 6.1.15 vacisvaṇi.... This produces the uc + e which through doubling (dvitva) and related operations becomes (u(c->θ) uc + e). An application of savarnadīrgha will finally produce (u+u->u)uc + e = uce.

Deriving (169) vakṣyate from (vac + (LRT->ta)) will require the introduction of sya of 3.1.33 syatasi...followed by ta->te of 3.4.79 tiṣṭā atmanepadāṇāṁ.... The resultant string vac + sya + te will go through kutva of c by 8.2.30 coh kuṛ. The new output vak + sva + t + (e) will become vak + (s->s)va + te = vakṣyate after the application of rule 8.3.59 ādeśa prátaṇyayoḥ.

2.4.55 vā liṭi

Examples (170) acakhyau, (171) acakhyatulu, (172) acakhyuḥ; and (173) acacakṣe, (174) acacaksate, (175) acacaksire illustrate the optional replacement of caksIN by khyāN (2.4.54 caksinah khyān). The first set of three examples are accepted by taking the option of replacement. The next set obviously does not accept the optional replacement. Example (170) acakhyau is derived from at + (caks->khyā) + (LIT->tiP)) where tiP gets further replaced with NaL of 3.4.82 parasmaipadāṇāṁ.... Rule 6.1.8 liṭi dhátor anabhyaśasya will apply to produce at + ca + khyā. Rule 7.1.34 atat au naḷah will then apply to replace a of (N)a(L) with au: at + ca + khyā + (a->au) = at + ca + khyā + au. An application of rule 6.1.88 vṛddhiresi will introduce a single vṛddhi replacement to finally produce: acakhy(a + au->au) = acakhyau.

Follow additional rule application similar to papatuḥ and papuḥ (appendix of volume II) to derive acakhyatulu and acakhyuḥ. The remaining three examples do not involve the replacement in khyāN. Their derivation is very similar to (153) adhiṣakāte and (154) adhiṣāgire given under rule 2.4.49 garē liṭi.

2.4.56 ajer vy aghanapoh

Examples such as (176) pravetā, (177) prajitā, etc., will follow the pattern of (168) bhavītā and (170) bhavītum derived under rule 1.1.49 saṣṭhi sthāneyogā (cf. appendix of volume II). Remember, however, that derivates with a replacement in vi will not be allowed the introduction of augment iT (cf. 7.2.10 ekāc upadeśe...). Thus, we will get pravetā through guṇa by rule 7.3.84 sārvadhā-tukārdhadhātrakṣyoh. We will, of course, get: prājītā if the root is not replaced with vi. The derivation will also involve introduction of iT but no guṇa.

2.4.58 nyakṣatriyārśaṇīto
A derivate such as (178) kauravyah could mean both ‘a father who is the offspring of Kuru’ as well as ‘a son, or younger offspring such as a grandson, of Kuru’ depending on what taddhita affix (relative to what base) has been manipulated for the derivation. Thus, kauravyah can be derived from kuru + Ñas by introducing affix Nya of 4.1.151 kurupañibh�yo... read within the domain of 4.1.91 tasyāpatyam. An ‘offspring’ (apatya) such as ‘a grandson, and so on’ is assigned the term gotra (4.1.162 apatyam pauraprābhṛti gotram). Affix Nya thus denotes a gotra descendant. Rule 1.4.18 yaci bham will assign the term bha to kuru of kuru + Ñas + (Ñ→Ø)ya. Rule 2.4.71 supo dhātuprátipādikayoh will, as usual, delete the Ñas. Our string kuru + y will change to kuru(→u) + y and next through gūna of 6.4.146 or gūṇaḥ: and next to k(u→au)ro + y through vṛddhi of 7.2.117 taddhīteṣu acām ādeḥ. Rule 6.1.79 vānto yi pratayaye will then apply to bring about kau(ō→au) + y = kauravya + sU→ kauravyah. This derivate will denote a descendant such as a grandson’, etc. A derivate of the same form though with the denotation of a gotra-descendant (son of a grandson, etc.; 4.1.163 jīvati tu vasāye yuvā) can be derived with affix iÑ (4.1.95 ati iñ) introduced after kauravya. This iÑ-derivate will still be kauravya because 2.4.58 nyākṣātriyaṛṣa... will subsequently delete the affix. That is, (kauravya + (iÑ→Ø)) + sU)) = kauravyah.

One can similarly derive (179) śvāphalkaḥ from śvaphalka + aN of 4.1.114 ṛṣyandhaka... A similar form derived with iÑ will denote ṣvāphata ‘young grandson etc.’ as opposed to the gotṛāptya ‘grandson, etc.’. Other such examples can be easily derived by following the derivational pattern of many taddhita derivate of volume II.

2.4.62 tadrājasya bahuṣu tenaiवāstrijām

Example such (180) āṅgāh derives from āṅga + Ñas + aN where aN is introduced by rule 4.1.170 dvyānaṁagadha... to denote ‘many male descendants’. The affix is termed tadrāja by 4.1.174 te tadrājāḥ. Our present rule (2.4.62 tadrājasya...) deletes aN. The resultant derivate, after LUK-deletion of Ñas by 2.4.71 supo dhātu..., will still be āṅga. One can now introduce the nominative plural ending Jas to derive āṅgāḥ via pūrvasavarṇadarṣa (6.1.102 prathamayoh pūrvasaVaṇarṣaḥ) and ruti-visarga. Note that this derivational option with the deletion of affix aN is made available masculine plural. The singular and dual masculine forms will still be āṅgāḥ and āṅgau with vṛddhi and no-deletion of aN.

2.4.70 āgastyaakaunḍīnyayor agastikuṇḍinac

This rule provides for LUK-deletion of affixes aN and yaÑ when their denotata is ‘many’. It also allows for agasti and kuṇḍinaC to replace agasta and kuṇḍini. Obviously, derivates with one or two (non-plural) denotata will not involve affixal deletion, or stated replacements. Thus, we will get (181) agastayah derived from agastya + Ñas + aN (4.1.114 ṛṣyandhaka...). The deletion of affix aN as with the concurrent replacement will produce
agasti, a new derivate. One can easily derive agastayah from agasti + (f→e) as via guna by 7.3.109 jasi ca, and the ay replacement of the resultant e by 6.1.78 eco' yavaayava. Thus, agast(i→ay) + as = agastay + a(s→a(r(U→0))) = agastayah. Here again, the singular and dual derivates will still be āgastayah and āgastayau with no affixal deletion, or replacement permitted.

Similar rules apply in deriving (182) kunđināh from kunđina + (f→0)as. This derivation begins with kunđini + ñas + yaN where rule 4.1.105 gargādibhyo... introduces affix yaN. Our present rule deletes the affix and introduces kunđina (C→0) as a replacement for kunđini. The final derivate kunđināh can then be derived from kunđina + Jas. Once again kaunđinyah and kaunđinyau will be the derivates in nominative singular and dual with no deletion of affix yaN and no replacement in kunđinaC.

2.4.71 supo dhātuprāṭipadikayoh

Our example (183) putriyati derives from putriya + LAT where putriya, a verbal root ending in affix (K→0)ya(C→0)) introduced after putra + am by rule 3.1.8 supa ātmanaḥ... The am of putra + am + ya is deleted by our present rule consequent upon the assignment of the term dhātu by 3.1.32 sanādyantā.... The a of putra is replaced with i by rule 7.4.33 kyaci ca to produce putriya, a verbal root after which (LAT→ti(P) and (Ś)a(P) can be introduced. Thus, putriya + a + t = putriyati where 6.1.97 ato guñe replaces the vocalic sequence a+a with a.

Since numerous derivations involving the LUK-deletion of sUP by this rule have already been explained in the appendix of this and volume II, no further efforts will be made to explain the operational aspects of this rule.

2.4.72 adīprabhrtibhyāḥ śapah

Example (184) dveṣṭi derives from dviṣ + ŠaP + tiP where our present rule deletes ŠaP. An application of guna yields dvi(i→e)ś + ti = dves + ti which after the application of rule 8.4.41 śtanā stūḥ produces dves + (t→t) = dveṣṭi.

2.4.74 yaño’ ci ca

Note that the derivational details of lotuvah and popuvaḥ have already been presented in the appendix of volume II. Example (185) pāpaṭhitī derives from path + (yaN→0) where this rule orders the LUK-deletion of affix yaN. Operations relative to doubling will apply on path to produce path + path→ pa + path = pa + path where 7.4.83 dirgho' kitah will order the lengthening of the duplicated syllable: p(a→ā) + path = pāpath, a verbal root by 3.1.32 sanādyantā dhātavah. The resultant string pāpath + ŠaP + t(P) will be subject to LUK-deletion of ŠaP whereby we will get: pāpath + ti. Rule 7.3.94 yaño vā will then introduce i(T→0) to produce pāpath + i + ti = pāpaṭhitī. Similar application of rules will derive (186) lālapati 'chirps again and again' and (187) vāvaditi from verbal roots lap and vad.
2.4.75 juhotyādibhyah śluḥ

Note that juhoti has already been derived as example (250) in the appendix of volume II. Deriving (188) bibharti from (bhṛ + *(SaP→ŠLU-deletion)) + ti(P→Ø)) is not very difficult given numerous other derivations involving doubling. Doubling will produce bhṛ + bhṛ + ti which, in turn, produces bhar + bhṛ + ti via the application of rule 7.4.66 ur at read with 1.1.51 ur añ raparāḥ. The resultant string (bhṛ(r→ar) + bhṛ + ti will produce bhur(r→Ø) + bhṛ + ti after the application of 7.4.60 halādi śeṣaḥ. Rule 7.4.76 bhṛṇām it orders itva whereby we get: bh(a→i) + bhṛ + ti. This string goes through the application of rule 8.4.54 abhyāse car ca whereby its initial bh is changed to b to produce (bh→b)i + bhṛ + ti. The guna replacement ar for the r of bhṛ by rule 7.3.84 sārvadhātukārdhādhaḥtukayoh can easily produce bi + bh(r→ar) + ti = bi + bhar + ti = bibharti.

Our next example (189) nenekti is similarly derived from (nij(IR→Ø) + ŠaP + ti(P)) where this rule again applies the deletion. The root-initial n is changed to n by 6.1.65 no naḥ. Doubling and halādi-śeṣa applies after this to produce nij(j→Ø) + nij + ti which, through the application of 7.4.75 nijām trayā..., becomes n(i→e) + nij + ti = ne + nij + ti. The laghūpadhaguna application of rule 7.3.86 pugantalahaghūpadhasya ca changes this preceding string into: ne + n(i→e)j + ti. Deriving nenekti from ne + nej + ti will need the application of kutva ‘a replacement in sounds denoted by ku’ (8.2.30 coh kuh) and cartva ‘a replacement in sounds denoted by the abbreviatory term cR’ (8.4.55 khar ca). Thus: ne + ne(j→g) + ti = ne + ne(g→k) + ti = nenekti.

2.4.76 bahulam chandasi

Examples (190) dāṭi and (191) dhāṭi derive from dā + (LAT→tiP) and dhā + (LAT→tiP) where no ŠLU applies to the ŠaP of these roots. Instead, the deletion takes place by LUK. A lack of ŠLU also results into no doubling by 6.1.10 śluḥ. The derivation thus becomes very straightforward. Note that these roots belong to the juhotyādi class; and as such, doubling, etc., should have applied. But they do not at the strength of bahulam.

The same effect of bahulam enables the application of doubling, etc., where there is no scope. Consider now the example (192) vivaṣṭi which derives from vaṣ + ti(P). We get the example (193) vaṣṭi in the classical language where ŠaP goes through deletion by LUK. Our example in the Vedic at the strength of bahulam enables the verbal root vaṣ to go through dvitva ‘doubling’ even though it does not belong to the juhotyādi class. It is a root of the adādi class which has its ŠaP go through ŠLU at the strength of bahulam. This of course will occasion the application of operations relative to doubling. The result will be: vaṣ + vaṣ + ti = va + vaṣ + ti. The bahulam provision of this rule will also provide for the itva of va to produce v(a→i) + vaṣ + ti = vi + vaṣ + ti. The s of the string will be changed
to ʂ to produce vi + vaʂ + ti by the application of rule 8.2.36 vraścabhrasja.... The t of ti will then be changed to ṭ by rule 8.4.41 stūnā stuh to produce vivas + (t→t)i = vivaṣṭi.

Similar rule applications will produce (194) vivakti through subsequent kutva of viva(c→k)ti.

2.4.79 tanādībhautasthāsah

This rule provides for sets of optional derivates such as (195) atata and (196) ataniṣṭa; and (197) atathāh and (198) ataniṣṭhāh from tan + sIC + ta and tan + sIC + thās, each resulting into two forms depending on whether or not the option of deleting sIC is availed. Thus, with the augment a(T→Ø) and deletion of sIC we will get the ta form a + tan + ta. It will produce atan(→Ø) + ta through the deletion of n by 6.4.37 anudāttopadesa.... Of course, the atmaneppada will be introduced by 1.3.72 svartanātīnaḥ.... A non-deletion option of sIC would give a parallel form ataniṣṭa from a + tan + i(T→Ø) + s(IC→Ø) + ta where the s of sIC will be replaced with ʂ (satva) of 8.3.59 ādēsa pratyayayōḥ. Further application of stūvya by 8.4.41 stūnā stuh will produce a + tan + i + ʂ + (t→t)a = ataniṣṭa. Deriving atathāh and ataniṣṭhāh offer nothing new except for the rutva-visarga.

2.4.80 mantre ghasahvaranaṣavṛdhādād...

Refer to derivation (233) aksan in the appendix of volume II. Example (199) mā hvaḥ derives from hvr + LUN where affix LUN is introduced after verbal root hvr cooccurring with mā(N→Ø) by rule 3.3.175 māni lūn. Note that CLI of mā hvr + (LUN→ti(P→Ø)) will be deleted by our present rule. Rule 3.4.100 ṭaṣ ca will get as usual delete the i of ti. The introduction of augment aT will be blocked by rule by 6.4.74 na mānyoge. The string with these applications will become: mā hvr + t(i→Ø) = mā hvr + t. The guṇa application of 7.3.84 sārvadhātukārdṛdaḥ..., read with 1.1.5 uraṇ rāparah, will produce mā hv(r→ar) + t = mā hvar + t. The t will now be deleted by 6.1.68 halihyābhhyo... to yield mā + hvar = mā hvar which through rutva-visarga will produce mā hva(r→ḥ) = mā hvaḥ.

Our next derivate (200) praṇaṇi as in praṇaṇi martṛyasya is again a LUN derivate of verbal root naṣ used with pra where the n of the root has been replaced with n by rule 6.1.65 no naḥ. Note, however, that after the deletion of CLI; blocking of aT because of the cooccurrence condition of māN in the full mantra of which praṇaṇi is a part; and the deletion of i as well as of t of ti; rule 8.4.14 upasargād asamāse' pi will again order the n to replace the n of pra + naṣ to produce pra + naṣ. The final s of the string will go through kutva of rule 8.2.39 jhalām jaśo' nte whereby we will get pra + na(ʒ→g). This resultant g will be finally changed into n to yield pra + na(g→n) = praṇaṇi of praṇaṇi māṛyasya by rule 8.4.45 yaro' mūnāsīke....

The next derivate (201) āvahḥ derives from ā(N→Ø) + vr(N→Ø) = āvr + tiP similarly to hvaḥ of mā hvaḥ. Note that because of an absence of the cooccurrence of māN, the augment aT cannot be blocked here. Thus, we
will get \(a + a(T\rightarrow\emptyset) + \nu_r\) via savarnadigaha. Other derivational details are same as in hvah.

The next example (202) dhak is a derivative of dah where LUN has been replaced with the second person singular parasmaipada ending, si(P\rightarrow\emptyset). Of course, this example will be derived with the blocking of the augment \(aT\) because of the cooccurrence of māN. If the root is treated as occurring with āN then the form will be ādhak where the initial long ā will be gotten through savarnadigaha of \(a + a(T\rightarrow\emptyset)\) similarly to āvah. I shall now return to the derivation of dhak from dah + si similarly to the other examples. The si as well as CLI will also be deleted here. The h of the remaining dah will be replaced with gh to produce: da(h\rightarrow gh) via the application of 8.2.32 dāder dhātor ghah. The d of the resultant dagh will further be replaced with dh via the application of rule 8.2.37 ekāco baśo jhasantasasya. The form will now be \((d\rightarrow dh)a + gh = dha + gh\). The final gh will be first replaced with g (8.2.39 jhalām jaśo nte); and then with k by rule 8.4.56 vāvasānē. This will give us dha(gh\rightarrow g\rightarrow k) = dhak. Since this last rule application is optional one can still retain dhag as the derivative.

One can similarly derive (203 āprāh as a derivative of verbal root prā used with the preverb āN where LUN gets replaced with siP additionally to the introduction of the augment aT. Our string āN + aT + prā + siP will as usual produce āprās where contrary to the preceding example the deletion of s is not undertaken. The desired form āprāh is then gotten via ruttavisarga.

Deriving (204) parāvark from parā + ν(t\rightarrow ar)j + t(i\rightarrow Θ)) = parā + a(T\rightarrow Θ) + varj a (t\rightarrow Θ) = par(a+a) = parā + var(j\rightarrow g\rightarrow k)) = parāvark should not be difficult to comprehend. The guna application in ν(t\rightarrow ar)j + ti is that of the laghūpadha type.

The next two examples (205) akran, and (206) agman are both third person plural LUN-derivates where jhi comes as its replacement after verbal roots kr, and gam. Our third example (207) ajñata, a derivate of verbal root jan, entails the replacement of its LUN by the third person plural ātāmanepada ending jha. All these examples also entail the deletion of CLI (by this rule) and the introduction of augment aT. The jh gets replaced with ant of 7.1.3 jho' ntah and the i of ant is as usual gets deleted. The t of akr + ant will go through its deletion by 8.2.23 samyogāntasya lopah. Rule 6.1.77 iko yan aci will apply on akr + an to produce ak(r\rightarrow r) + an = akran. Example (206) agman is relatively easier to derive. Rule 6.4.98 gamahanaajana... applies on ajan + jha to delete the penultimate a of jan whereby we get: aj + n + jh. The jh at the end of the string gets replaced with ata to yield aj + n + (jh\rightarrow at)a = aj + n + ata via the application of rule 7.1.5 ātānepadesv.... This string aj + n + ata will now go through the ścutva of 8.4.40 stoś cunā ścuh to yield: aj + (n\rightarrow ņ) + ata = ajñata.
3.1.3 ādyudāṭtaś ca

This rule is formulated by way of providing accent for items introduced as affixes. An example such as (207) kartavṛyaṁ is derived by introducing affix (3.1.1 pratyayah) tavyaT (3.1.96 tavyattavyaṁniyāraḥ) after (3.1.2 paraś ca) verbal root (DU)kṛ(ṇ) via the application of guna of ō by rule 7.3.84 sārvadhāturṛddhadhātukayoh read with 1.1.51 ur an raparaḥ. Thus, k(ṛ→ar) + tavya(T→θ) = kar + tavya, which will be termed a nominal stem (1.2.46 kṛtaddhitasamāsāś ca), and consequently, will receive affix sU (4.1.2 svaujasmaut...). This sU, however, will be replaced with am by rule 7.1.24 aīo‘m to produce kartavya + (sU→am) = kartavya + am. An application of rule 6.1.107 ami pūrvah will change the string kartavya + am into kartavya(a+a→a)m = kartavyam. One can also optionally apply rule 8.4.46 aco rahābhīyaḥ due for doubling up the i in kartavyam to produce kartavyam. But this still is not the complete story.

Our present rule is an accent rule. It assigns the udāṭta accent on the initial syllable of the affix. Thus, tavyaT will be marked udāṭta initially as shown. The final accentuation of kartavyam will have to wait for provisions of rules 6.1.158 anudāṭṭam padam ekavarjam (read with the Mbh. statement sati śiṣṭasvāro baliyān) and 8.4.66 udāṭtād anudāṭṭasya svaritaḥ to furnish the final accent as kartavyām.

Example (208) taittirīyaṁ derives from tittiri + ṭā + cha(N→θ) where the taddhita (4.1.76 taddhitāḥ) affix chaN has been introduced after tittiri + ṭā through the variable reference of the affixal denotatum of tena próktam 'stated/promulgated by X' (4.1.101 tena próktam). The affix is introduced by rule 4.3.102 tittirivaratantu.... The ch of tittiri + cha is replaced with iy to produce tittiri + iy + a under the provisions of rule 7.1.2 āyaneśi- niyīyaḥ.... Our final form taittirīya will be produced by the applications of rule 7.2.117 taddhīteṣv acām ādeḥ and 6.4.148 yasyeti ca. The first rule will order the uvācā substitute ai for the first i of tittiri where as the second will delete its last i. Thus, t(i→ai)tittiri(i→θ) + iyya = taittiri + iyya = taittirīya. The nominative singular ending sU introduced after the nominal stem taittirīya will produce taittirīya similarly to kartavyam though again with a little detail on the accentuation.

The replacement iy will be marked udāṭta via the sthānivadbhāva provision of rule 1.1.56 sthānivad ādeśo’ntaḥ. This will set aside the accent of the base as per the satiśiṣṭasvāra provision made by the statement of the Mbh. under rule 6.1.158 anudāṭṭam.... The final accent is again determined as shown in case of the earlier example as: taittirīyaṁ. Note that the base tittiri is itself marked udāṭta at its final i (antodāṭta) by Phīṣṭūtra 1: phiso’nta udāṭṭah.

3.1.4 anudāṭṭau supputau

This again is an accent rule whereby affixes denoted by the abbreviatory term sUP, or those marked with P as their āt, are marked anudāṭta.
Our first example (209) draṣadaṇḍ derives from draṣad + au where draṣad is a nominal stem (1.2.46 kṛta+dhitasamāsā+ ca) terminating in the unāḍi affix ad(ī→ō). This affix is introduced after verbal root dṛ where s(UK→ō) is also introduced as an augment. Thus, draṣ + ad = draṣad. I do not show here the detailed derivation since bāhulaka is also involved with the unāḍi derivatives. Affix au is of course the nominative dual introduced after draṣad. This ending in view of our present rule will be marked anu-dāṭa with the understanding that the final accent of draṣadau will be decided in view of 8.4.66 udāṭṭād anudāṭtasya svarītaḥ as follows: draṣadāu.

The nominative plural form (210) draṣadāḥ can be similarly derived from draṣad + (J→ō)as = draṣad + a (s→r→h)) via placement of Jas and rutva-visarga.

I have already shown the derivation of pacati (as derivation (488) in the appendix of volume II). I shall here explain only its accentuation. Rule 6.1.162 dhātoḥ will assign the udāṭta accent to the a of verbal root pac. The two affixal elements, tiP and ṣaP, of the underlying string pac + tiP = pac + ṣaP + tiP, will both, in view of our present rule, be marked with anudāṭta. For, they are both marked with P as their īt. The result is: pac + a + ti. The a will then be changed to svarīta by 8.4.66 udāṭṭād anudāṭtasya svarītaḥ. Rule 1.2.39 svarītaḥ samhitāyām will then intervene to assign ekaśrutī ‘monotone’ to the īt to produce the final accent as: pacāti. The same goes for examples such as paṭhāti.

3.1.5 guptijākiḥbhyaḥ san

I have already discussed the derivational history of numerous saN-derivatīs. Deriving (211) jugupsate and (212) titiksate from gup + sa and tit + sa should not pose any difficulty. For example, doubling and halādiśeṣa will produce: gu + gup + sa and ti + tit + sa. The initial g of gup + gup + sa will be replaced with j via cutva of 7.4.62 kuoś cuḥ. Thus, (g→j)u + gup + sa = jugupsa. The j of our string ti + tit + sa will go through kutva under the application of rule 8.2.30 coḥ kuoḥ. The result of this rule application, i.e., ti + ti(j→g) + sa, is processed by rule 8.4.55 khari ca to produce: ti + ti(g→k) + sa. Finally, the s of titik + sa will be replaced with ṣ to produce the verbal root ti + tik + (s→ṣ)a = titikaḥ by rule 8.3.59 āḍeṣapratyayayaḥ. Deriving jugupsate and titiksate from jugupsa + LAT and titikaḥ + LAT where LAT gets replaced with the third person singular ātmāneṇopada ending ta is fairly straightforward.

Note that the saN introduced by this rule does not qualify for the assignment of the term āṛddhadhatuḥka by rule 3.4.114 āṛddhadhatukam śeṣaḥ mostly because it has not been introduced with the direct specification of dhātoḥ as is the case with the saN introduced, for example, by rule 3.1.7 dhātoḥ karmajāḥ.... Consequently, there is no introduction of augment iT in case of (211) jugupsate.

3.1.6 mānbadhadāṁśānbhyo...
Our examples (213) mīmāṃsate, (214) bibhatsate, (215) didāṃsate, and (216) śīśāṃsate all entail a corresponding long vowel replacement for the vowel of their reduplicated syllable (abhyāsa). This constitutes an additional provision made by rule 2.1.6 māṇbadhadān.... The first example contains the verbal root mīmāṃsa which, in turn, derives from mān + sa. We will get the string mā + mān + sa after doubling (dvitva) and halādi-ṣesa. Rule 7.4.59 hrasaṭaḥ will require the shortening of mā to produce: mā(a→a) + mān + sa which with the application of itva by 7.4.79 sany atah: mā(a→i) + mān + sa. Our present rule will now order the long vowel replacement for the short i of mi to produce: mā(i→i) + mān + sa = mīmāṃsa. An introduction of LAT and related operations will derive mīmāṃsate. Similar application of rules are also involved in deriving didāṃsate. Note, however, 8.3.24 naś cāpadāntasya jhali orders the n to be replaced with the anusvāra in all cases except for (214) bibhatsate. This example derives from badh + sa which, through doubling and related operations including the lengthening of this rule, will produce bī + badh + sa. Rule 8.2.37 ekāco baso ḷhas...will now apply to replace the b of badh with bh. That is, bī + (b→bh)ad + sa = bibhadh + sa. Rule 8.4.55 khara ca will now apply to yield: bibha(dh→t) + sa = bibhatsa. Affix LAT replaced with the third singular ātmanepada ending ta after bibhatsa can easily produce bibhatsate.

3.1.15 karmano romanthatatapobhyām...

Deriving (217) romanṭhayate and (218) tapasyati from romanta + am + KyaN and tapas + am + KyaN follows the pattern of many similar derivations already shown in the appendix of the earlier volume. Rule 7.4.25 akṛtsārdhāṭrakayor dirghaḥ will order the lengthening of the final a of romanṭha(a→ā) + am + ya. The am as usual will be deleted by 2.4.71 supodhātu...after the assignment of the term dhātu. The Ŝ as an it will require the selection of an ātmanepada (1.3.12 anudāttiniātmanepada) ending ta after romanṭhayate to derive romanṭhayate. Note that tapasya will be used with the parasmaipada ending ti in view of the vārttika: tapasah parasmaipadāṃ ca.

The derivational history of the following derives in KyaC is also similar. The KyaC will require the selection of parasmaipada endings as opposed to the ātmanepada of KyaN.

3.1.22 dātār ekāco halādeḥ kriyāsmabhihāre...

Examples (219) pāpyate, (220) yāyajyate, (221) jvājalyate and (222) dediptyate derive from verbal roots pac, yaj, jval and dipi with the introduction of affix yaN where its Ŝit status will as usual require the LAT to be replaced with ātmanepada. Apply, on pac + ya(N→Θ), rules similar to (185) pāpyatiḥ for deriving pāpya after which LAT→ta→te, ŠaP, and a single guna-replacement like the following (pararūpa) by 6.1.97 atō guye will derive pāpyate. Similar rules will apply in deriving yāyajyate. Note that the application of 6.1.15 vacisvapiyajādīnām... whereby sampradāraṇa may become applicable in case of yāyajyate is blocked because of the lack
of the Kit status of affix yaN. Example (222) dedipiya te entails the application of guna (d(t→e)) + dip + ya by 7.4.82 guno yaNlukoh.

3.1.23 nityam kautilye gatau

Example (223) caNkramanye derives from kram + yaN which after doubling and related operations produces ka + kram + ya. An application of 7.4.62 ruhoN c uh applies c u tv a to yield (k→c)a + kram + ya = ca + kram + ya. Augment nUK is now introduced to change the string to ca + n (UK→θ) + kramya. This n as usual will be replaced with anusvarā by 8.3.24 naś cāpadāntasya.... A further application of rule 8.4.58 anusvārasya yayi parasavarnah on the resultant string cam + kram + ya will replace the anusvāra with n to produce: caNkramya. The final derivate caNkramanye can now be derived very easily. Similar rules will apply in deriving (224) dandramyate from dram + yaN.

3.1.24 lupaSadacaraJayapajabhadaha...

Our example (225) lulyate can be easily derived from lup + yaN through doubling, halādišeṣa, and subsequent guna of the abhyāsa by 6.1.9 sanyānoN. The result will be a verbal root: lup + ya (N→θ) = (lup→lu) + lup + ya = l(u→o) + luy + ya = luluypa. An introduction of LAT→ta with subsequent application of relevant rules will produce: luluypate.

The derivation of (226) sāsadyate from sad + yaN entails lenghtening of the a of the abhyāsa by 7.4.83 dirgho' kitiḥ. The resultant root sāsadya will receive LAT to derive sāsadyate. Our example (227) caNcūryate requires the augment nUK to derive: ca + n(UK→θ) + car + ya = ca + n + car + ya after doubling and subsequent halādišeṣa. The a of car occurring subsequent to the abhyāsa will be replaced with u by rule 7.4.88 utparasyatāh. This will produce ca + n + c (a→u)r + ya = cancurya. This u will now be lengthened by 8.2.77 hali ca to derive canc(u→u)urya, again a verbal root. Introduction of LAT→(a→e) with the subsequent addition of (S→θ)a (P→θ) will yield cancūryate. The n→m→n change to arrive at ca (n→m→n)cūryate = caNcūryate involves the application of rules similar to the last step of (223) caNkramyate.

The derivation of (228) jaNjapya te involves similar rule application except that nUK is here introduced by 7.4.86 jaNjabhadahadahadabhaNja.... Similar rules will apply in deriving examples such as (229) jaNjabhyate, (230) dandahyate, and (231) dandaṣyate. This last example will have the deletion of its first m by rule 6.4.24 aniditām hal... at the derivational stage of doubling prior to halādišeṣa as follows: da(m→θ)s + dams + ya = das + dams + ya. One can now apply halādišeṣa, nUK, and other rules as indicated to derive dandaṣyate.

The derivational history of (232) njegilyate entails the application of itva of rule 7.1.100 rt id dhātoN in the aṅga section (6.4.1 aṅgasya; 1.4.13 yasmāt prayayavidhis...). This replacement of r of gr + ya(N→θ) = gr + ya will produce g (r→ir) + ya as per 1.1.51 ur an raparāh. Our string gir + ya
will produce $gi + gir + ya$ through doubling and related operations. The cutva of 7.4.62 kuhō sūh followed by the guna of the abhyāśa by 7.4.82 guno yañulukoh will produce: $(g \rightarrow j)i + gir + ya = j(i \rightarrow e) + gir + ya = je + gir + ya$. The $r$ of gir will go through a replacement in $i$ (latva) by 8.2.20 gro yani. Thus, jegir(r→l)ya = jegilya, a verbal root. Our example derives from (nijegilya + (LAT→t(a→e))) where verbal root jegilya is used with the preverb ni.

3.1.25 satyāpapāśavānātūla...

Note that the final a in satyāp(a) is to facilitate pronunciation (uccāranārtha). The derivate satyāp entails the introduction of augment āpUK by nipātana. An introduction of affix $(N \rightarrow \emptyset)i(C \rightarrow \emptyset)$ will produce satyāpi which will be assigned the term dhātu by 3.1.32 sanādyantā dhātavāh. Our next example (233) satyāpayati can be derived from satyāpi + (LAT→ti (P→∅) = satyāpi + ti where rule 7.3.84 sārvadhātukārdha... will cause the guna of i before $(S \rightarrow \emptyset)a(P \rightarrow \emptyset)$, a sārvadhātuka (3.1.113 tīnīsi...), to produce satyāp (i→e) + a + ti. Rule 6.1.78 eco’ yavāyvāh will now replace the resultant e with ay to derive satyāp(e→ay) + a + ti = satyāpayati. All the other nominal stems will similarly derive (234) uṣṭāpayati (with the root used with vi), (235) rūpayati, (236) upavīnayati (with the root used with upa), (237) anutūlayati (with the root used with anu), (238) upāślokatayati (with the root used with upa), (239) abhiṣenayati (with the root used with abhi), (240) anulomayati (with the root used with anu), (241) tvacayati, (242) samvarmayati (with the root used with sam), (243) varṇayati, and (244) avacūrṇayati (with the root used with ava). Note that stems such as tvaca which are given with the final a will go through the deletion of this a before affix NiC by rule 6.4.155 teḥ. A feminine stem such as senā will go through punvadbhāva.

The verbal derivate of the class headed by cur, etc., pose no difficulty. For example, (245) corayati derives from cur + $(N \rightarrow \emptyset)i(C \rightarrow \emptyset) = cur + i = c(u \rightarrow o)r + i = cori where the laghūpadhaguna ‘guna-replacement for the short penultimate vowel’ of the root is ordered by 7.3.86 pugantalaghūpadhasya ca. The resultant derivate of NiC will all be reassigned the term dhātu by 3.1.32 sanādyantā dhātavāh so that LAT can be introduced. Our string cori + LAT should subsequently produce corayati similarly to the guna and e→ay replacement of (233) satyāpayati.

3.1.28 gupūḍhūpavichipanipanibhya āyah

Examples such as (246) gopāyati, (247) dhūpāyati, (248) vicchāyati, (249) panaḥyati and (250) panāyati do not pose any derivational problems. The first gopāyati will entail laghūpadhaguna similarly to corayati of the earlier rule. I omit here the details of deriving gopāyati from gopāya, the resultant dhātu via placement of LAT→tiP and related operations.

3.1.30 kamer niň

Deriving (251) kāmayate from kāmi + (LAT→t(a→e) = kāmi + te is not
problematic. The vrddh in $k(a\rightarrow ām) + (N\rightarrow θ)i(N\rightarrow θ) = kām + i = kāmi$ is accomplished by 7.2.116 ata upadhāyāḥ because of the $N$ as an it in the affix. This, of course, brings an ātmanepada affix as a replacement for $LATE$ by rule 1.3.12 anudattanita....

3.1.31 āyādāya ārddhadhātuke vā

Our example (252) goptā is a $LUT$-derivate (3.3.15 anadyatane luf) of verbal root guṣ where, given guṣ + $LUT$, affix āya became available from rule 3.1.28 gupūdhūpavivchi.... This rule optionally blocks this introduction of āya. Follow the derivational history of (43) kaṇitā (in the appendix of volume II) to derive goptā from guṣ + $LUT$. Remember, however, that verbal root guṣ is marked with $U$ as an it. This, under the provisions of rule 7.2.44 svaratītītīsīyati..., will cause the optional introduction of augment $iT$. Our example goptā does not avail the option of introducing $iT$. But if one avails this option, the example parallel to goptā will be (253) goptā.

A third form (254) goptāyitā will be derived from guṣ + āya = goptāya; and goptāya + $LUT$ where goptāya will be the newly derived verbal root. Deriving goptāya from guṣ + āya through guṇa of $u$ under the condition of the ārddhadhātuka affix āya is not problematic. Deriving goptāyitā from goptāya + tās (refer to the derivation of kaṇitā in the appendix of volume II) entails the introduction of $iT$ by rule 7.2.35 ārddhadhātukasyed.... The $a$ of āya is deleted by 6.4.48 ato lopāḥ. Thus, goptāy(a→θ) + i(T→θ) + tās = goptāyitā.

Similar rules will apply in deriving (255) artitā from rt + $LUT$ where the īyaN option of rule 3.1.29 rter īyaṁ is not availed. An option to introduce īyaN will derive (256) rtiyitā from rt + īya + iT + tās where the $a$ of īya will be deleted similarly to that of āya. Parallel derivations such as (257) kamitā and (258) kāmaitā can be made from kam + tās and kam + iT + īya + tās depending on whether the option of $N$N is accepted. The vrddhī of kam in kāmaitā with the option of $N$N will be accomplished by rule 7.2.116 ata upadhāyāḥ.

3.1.33 syātāśi lṛṭuṭh

Refer again to (43) kaṇitā in the appendix of volume II for deriving (259) mantā and (260) samgantā from man + tās + (D)ā and samgām + tās + (D)ā. The $m$ of gam will go through parasaṣṭariṇa application of rule 8.4.58 anusvārasya yayī parasaṣṭararṇaḥ.

3.1.34 sib bahulam leti

The derivation of (261) jāśīṣat begins with juṣ + $LET$ where affix $LET$ is introduced by rule 3.4.7 līnarthē let. Augment aT is introduced by 7.2.35 ārddhadhātukasyed... to produce: juṣ + i(T→θ) + $LET$ which after the tiP replacement of $LET$ becomes: juṣ + i + ti. Our present rule then introduces s(IP→θ) to realize: juṣ + i + s + ti. A subsequent application of rule 3.4.94 letō' dātav introduces a(T→θ) to $LET$ to yield juṣ + i + s + a + ti.
Rule 3.4.94 iśā ca lopāḥ parasmaiṇḍeṣu will then delete the i of ti to produce āuṣ + i + s + a + t (i→θ) = āuṣ + i + s + a + t. The application of guṇa (7.2.35 sārvadātukārdhā...) followed by the s→ṣ replacement of 8.3.59 ādeṣa pratayayoh will finally produce j(ṽ→o)ṣ + i + (s→ṣ) + a + t = joṣiṣat. Note further that the parasmaiṇḍa of this example is ad hoc justifiable via 3.1.85 vyatayo bahulam.

Similar rules derive (262) tāriṣat from ṭr where the a of taṛ + i + s + a + t after the guṇa of the root-vowel will be replaced with ā to produce: t(a→ā)r + i + s + a + t = tāriṣat. This replacement by ā is also ad hoc justifiable via 3.1.85 vyatayo bahulam. Affix sLP, with reference to a vārttika proposal (ad this rule; sib bahulaṁ chandasi ṇiṭi), can be variously treated as if marked with ṇ as an iṭ. This can facilitate virddhi by 7.2.115 aco’ ṇiṭi. Thus, t(ṛ→āṛ) + s... = tāriṣat.

Deriving (263) manḍiṣat from maddI + LET entails the introduction of augment nUM by rule 7.1.58 idito num dhātōḥ. This will turn the string initially into ma (n (UM→θ)d +s + t). Subsequent operational steps will realize manḍi + i + (s→ṣ) + a + t = manḍiṣat. Here again the parasmaiṇḍa justifiable via vyataya.

3.1.38 uṣavidajāgṛbhyo’ nyataryayāṁ

This rule allows for the optional introduction of affix ām after verbal roots uṣA, vida, and jāgr. I have already shown many such derivations though with cakre for which see the appendix of volume II under rule 1.3.63 āmpratayavat... This rule requires the use of (264) cakrā, a parasmaiṇḍa of kr used here as an iterant (anupravega) as opposed to its ātmaneṇa form cakre. For, these roots are parasmaiṇḍa. Thus, kr + LIT→ t(P→θ) = kr + ti where ti is replaced with (N→θ)a(L→θ) of 3.4.82 parasmaiṇḍānām ṇalatusus.... Rule 6.1.8 liṭi dhātor anabhīṣasya now applies doubling (dvitva) to produce: kr + kṛ. Rule 7.4.66 ur at then orders a as a replacement for r which becomes ar in view of rule 1.1.51 uraṇ raṇarahaḥ. The string now becomes k(r→ar) + kṛ + a = kara + kṛ + a. This string becomes ca + kṛ + a through the r-deletion of kar via halādiṣesa, and the cutva of 7.4.62 kuhoś cuḥ. Thus: ka (r→θ) ṭ + kṛ + a = (k→c)a + kṛ + a = ca + kṛ + a. Rule 7.2.115 aco’ niṭi subsequently applies vyṛddhi to bring about ca + k(r→āṛ) + a = cakrā. Deriving (265) oṣāṅcakrā, (266) vidāṅcakrā, and (257) jāgarāṅcakrā through the introduction of ām after uṣ, vida and jāgr is not very difficult. The first and the third derivate would entail (laghūpaṭha)guna. Thus, (u→o)ṣ + ām + cakrā = oṣāṅcakrā, etc. Verbal root vīḍa has been specified, through ad hoc (nipātana) as ending in a (adanta). This a is deleted by 6.4.48 ato lopāḥ. The question of laghūpaṭhadguna in case of vid + ām does not arise because the deleted a becomes present through sthāni-vadbhāva. This rules out the presence of an iK in the penultimate position, a requirement for the application of laghūpaṭhadguna. The other rule applications are not hard to comprehend.
3.1.39 bhūribhrūhuvām...

This rule transfers operations similar to ŚLU, i.e., doubling by 6.1.10 ślau, and itva by 7.4.76 bhṛṇām it. Examples (267) bhībhayāncakāra(268) bibhāya; (269) jihrayāncakāra(270) jihraṣ and (271) juhavāncakāra(272) jihraṣ illustrate this.

Our first example bibhāyanca kāra is derived from bhī + LIT where LIT getstak deleted; and an option of ām is accepted. Given bhī + ām + kr + Nal, the string goes through doubling to produce bhī + bhī + ām.... I omit here the details of deriving cakāra to avoid duplication. After the itva of 7.4.76 bhṛṇām it followed by the application of 8.4.54 abhyāse cara we get: bh(i→i) + bhī + ām = (bh→b)i + bhī + ām = bi + bhī + ām. Deriving bhībhayāncakāra from bi + bhī + ā + cakāra is easy. Rule 7.3.84 sārvadhātukārdadhadhātukyoḥ offers guṇa producing bi + bh (i→e) + ām... which, in turn, produces bi + bh (e→ay) + ām... through the application of 6.1.78 eco’ yavāyāvah. Thus, bi + bhay + ām + cakāra = bibhāyanca kāra where 8.3.23 mo’ nusvārah changes the m of ām to m. The anusvāra, similar to the last step of (223) cankrāmyate becomes n. A string such as bhī + LIT where the option of ām is not accepted will produce bhī + a from bhī + (N)aL = bhī + bhī + a = bh(i→i) + bhī + a = (bh→b)+ bibhāya = bi + bhī + a.

An application of vrddhi (7.2.115 acō’ ōṇītī) followed by āy as its replacement by 6.1.78 eco’ yavāyāvah will produce: bi + bh(ai→ai) + a = bi + bh(ai→ai) + a = bibhāya.

Similar rules apply in deriving jihrayāncakāra and jihraṣ from hrī + hrī + ām + LIT and hrī + (LIT→uP→Nal where the h of the duplicated syllable changes first into jh and then into j via the application of rules 7.4.62 kuḥs cuḥ and 8.4.54 abhyāse cara respectively. Incidentally, the non-initial r of hrī, the duplicated syllable, cannot be retained due to special interpretation of the compound halādi of rule 7.4.60 halādi šeṣaḥ. Other examples follow similar derivational history.

3.1.40 kṛtcānuprayānyate līti

This rule, by interpretation, provides for the iterant, or tagged phrase, also to be constituted by verbal roots bhū and as in addition to kr. An example for these new itarants is furnished as (273) pācayāmbbhūva and (274) pācayāmāsa. Deriving āsa of pācayāmāsa from ās + Nal is not very difficult. Doubling and related operations will produce a(s→θ) + as + (N→θ) a (L→θ) = a + as + a the first a will be lengthened by 7.4.70 ata ādeh. Rule 6.1.101 akah savarne dirghaḥ will then apply to produce (a→ā) + as + a = (ā+a = ā)s + a = āsa.

The derivation begins with bhūva + (LIT→uP→Nal) = bhū + a where 6.4.88 bhuvā vug luitōtoh orders the introduction of vUK. This changes the string to bhū + vUK + a = bhūv + a. Doubling and halādišesa will produce bhū(v→θ) + bhū + a = bhūv + bhūv + a. Rule 7.4.59 hrasvāḥ orders the short counterpart for the long vowel of bhū only to be subsequently replaced with a by rule 7.4.73 bhavaterah. Thus, bh(i→u) + bhūv
+ a = bh(u→a) + bhūv + a = bha + bhūv + a. Rule 8.4.54 abhyāse carca finally produces (bh→b)a + bhūv + a = ba + bhūv + a = babhūva by replacing the bh of bha with b. It should be easier now to understand the derivation of pācayāṃbhbhūva our complete example.

3.1.41 vidāṅkurvantu ity anyatarasyām

Let us derive first kuvantu of (275) vidāṅkurvantu. The derivation begins with verbal root kr + (LOT→jhi) where jh further gets replaced with ant to produce kr + (jh→ant)i = kr + aniti by rule 7.1.3 jho'ntaḥ. Rule 3.1.79 tanādikṛṣṭhīya uh then introduces the vikaraṇa u after which the i of aniti is replaced with u of 3.4.86 eruḥ. Thus, kr + u + anit = kr + u + anit(i→u) = kr + u + anitu. A further application of guna by 7.3.84 sārvadhātukārddhadhātukayoḥ read with 1.1.51 ur an ṛaparāḥ will produce k (t→ar) + u + anitu = kur + u + anitu. This string will then go through utva of rule 6.4.110 ata ut sārvadhātuke to yield k(a→u)r + u + anitu = kuru + anitu. Rule 6.1.77 iko yan aci will finally produce kuv(u→u) + anitu = kuvantu.

Let us now return to vidāṅkurvantu where, given vid + LOT, affix an is introduced via nipātana to produce vid + ṛām + LOT. Blocking the application of laghūpādhaṅguna of rule 7.3.86 pugantalaghiṣṭapada..., in vid before ṛām, is again accomplished via nipātana. The deletion of LOT and, the tagged LOT in kuvantu, further emphasizes the ad hoc nature of this derivation. These remarks relative to application of rules in deriving forms such as vidāṅkurvantu are made only for explanatory purposes. The derivatives under nipātana need not be furnished any derivational details.

Our string vid + LOT, in the absence of this optional ad hoc introduction of ṛām, will derive the regular form vidantu.

3.1.42 abhyutsādayāṃprajānāyāṃcikāyāṃ...chandasi

This rule again makes optional ad hoc provisions relative to the Vedic usages. The examples in the classical language will still be (276) abhyudasi- sadat, etc., derived from sad + NiC + LUÑ where abhi and ud are preverbs used with verbal root sadL. Follow derivational steps similarly to (240) āṭīrāta in the appendix of volume II till you derive: abhi + ut + sād + i + (C)a(N) + (LUÑ→ti(P)). Rule 6.4.51 ner anitā then applies to delete the i of NiC. A subsequent application of rule 7.4.1 nau cāny upadhitāḥ on abhi + ut + sād + (i→θ) + a + ti will change the string to abhi + ut + s(a→a)d + a + ti = abhi + ut + sad + a + ti. The i of ti will be finally deleted by 3.4.100 itaś ca.

Doubling and halādiśesa will produce: abhi + ut + sa(d→θ) + sad + a + ti(i→θ). The itva of sa by 7.4.79 sanyataḥ via sanvadhāvaya followed by the lengthening of the resultant i of sa→i = s(i→i) by 7.4.94 dirgho laghoḥ will produce: abhi + ut + s + sad + a + t. Note here that doubling does not apply to the preverbs as is clear from numerous derivations already explained. I have carried the preverbs just for explanatory purposes; also for keeping track of the full derivational string. Incidentally, I should
also have brought rule 6.4.71 luṅkāṅkṛṇ...whereby augment a(T)'will be introduced to the root. This will change the string to: abhi + ut + sī + sad + a + ti = abhi + ut + a(T) + sī + sad + a + t. Refer to the derivational history of (240) āṭiṭat (volume II) and (166) adhyājīgāpas, under rule 2.4.51 ṇau ca...for systematic application of rules.

Note, however, that the i of abhi will be replaced with y through the application of 6.1.77 iko yan aci. The s of sad will be similarly replaced with s via the application of rule 8.3.59 ādesaprātayayāḥ. Thus, abh (i→y) + ud + a + sī + (s→s)ad + a + t = abhy + ud + a + sī + sad + a + t = abhyud + asīsadat = abhyudasiṣadat.

3.1.45 sala āguṇpadhād anīṭah kṣaṁ

Our examples (277) adhukṣat and (278) alikṣat are LUṆ-derivatives of duḥ and liḥ. The underlying strings as usual are: a(T→θ) + duḥ + · (LUṆ→tiP→t) = a + duḥ + CLI + t where this rule introduces Kṣa as a replacement for CLI. The resultant string, i.e., a + duḥ + (CLI→(K→θ)sa + t = a + duḥ + sa + t goes through the application of rule 8.2.32 dāder dhātor ghāḥ whereby the h of duḥ is replaced with gh. The d of du(h→gh) is also replaced with dh by rule 8.2.37 ekāco bāso bhaṣ... This changes the string to a + du(h→gh) + sa + t = a + (d→dh)ugh + sa + t. The gh is then replaced with k by rule 8.4.55 khari ca to produce a + dh(uh→k) + sa + t = adhuk + sat. The s of the string will then be replaced with s to realize adhuk + (s→s) at = adhukṣat by 8.3.59 ādesaprātayayāḥ. Note that the root was subject to the application of laghūpadaḥaguna (7.3.86 pugantałaghūpadaḥas yoga ca) which was blocked by 1.1.5 kniṭi ca. Similar application of rules will derive (278) alikṣat. Note, however, that the h of liḥ is replaced with dh by 8.2.31 ho dhāḥ. The dh is then replaced with k by rule 8.2.41 saḍḥoh kah si.

3.1.47 na drśaṁ

This rule does not allow the Kṣa-replacement for the CLI occurring after dhIR 'to see'. Rule 3.1.57 irito vā applies instead to optionally introduce a(N). The string at this stage will be a + drś + (CLI→a(N) + t = a + drś + a + t. Note that a(N replaces CLI at the strength of IR as an it in the root. The r of the root does not go through laghūpadaḥaguna before a(N because 1.1.5 kniṭi ca blocks it. The guṇa instead is brought about by 7.4.16 ydrśo' nī guṇaḥ. Thus, a + d(r→ar)š + a + t = (279) adarśat.

It should be remembered that 3.4.100 irito vā provides a(N as a replacement for CLI only optionally. Affix s(IC→θ) will replace CLI in the situation where the option of a(N is not availed. The string at this stage will be a + drś + s + t. Rule 6.1.58 sṛjдрśor... then will insert aM after dr to produce a + dr + a(M→θ) + s + s + t. Rule 7.1.77 iko yan aci applies at this stage to change the string to a + d(r→r) + a + š + s + t = adra + š + s + t. Rule 7.2.3 vādavrajahalantasyācaḥ will subsequently cause vṛddhi
whereby we will get $adr(a \rightarrow \overline{a}) + s + s + t$. Rule 7.3.96 astisico' $prkte$ will then introduce $i(T \rightarrow \emptyset)$ to produce $adr\bar{a} + s + s + i + t$. Rule 8.2.36 vrascarprasajasyaj will further replace the $s$ with $\overline{s}$. The resultant string, i.e., $adr\bar{a} + s + i + t$ will go through the application of rule 8.2.41 sādhoḥ kah si whereby its $s$ will be changed to $k$. This will produce $adr\bar{a} (s \rightarrow k) + s + i + t = adr\bar{a}k + si$. The application of rule 8.3.59 ādesapratyayayoh is needed to change $s$ into $\overline{s}$ to finally produce $adr\bar{a}k + (s \rightarrow \overline{s}) + i\overline{t} = (280) adr\bar{a}k\overline{si}$.

3.1.47 niśridrusrubhyaḥ kartatri ca

Refer to the appendix under rule 1.4.10 hrasvaṃ laghu for deriving acīkaraṇ and ajīkaraṇ. Example (281) aśiṣriy āt also derives with CaN as a replacement for CLI. Doubling (by 6.1.11 caṇi), haladisēṣa, introduction of aT (aḍāgama), and tiP will produce $a (T \rightarrow \emptyset) + sī + sī + a + t$. Rule 6.4.77 acīśnudhātu will then introduce iyAN to realize: aśiṣr(i→iy(AN→\emptyset) + a + t = aśiṣrīya. Similar derivational steps have to be followed to derive (282) asusruvat and (283) adudruvat where rule 6.4.77 acīśnudhātu..., in these cases, introduces the replacement uvAN.

3.1.49 vibhāṣā dheś트vōh

This rule introduces caN as a replacement for CLI only optionally. Thus, we will get two forms (284) adadhat and (285) adhāt where (285) illustrates the optional deletion of sIC. We will get (286) adhāsit parallēl to adhāt if the optional deletion of sIC is not undertaken. Note that adadhat is derived from aT + dhā + dhā + (CLI→ca(N) + t where the e of verbal root dhe(T) goes through a replacement in ā (ātva) by rule 6.1.45 ādeca upadesē.... Doubling, and other operations are similar to the many examples already given. The ā of the root dhā will be deleted by rule 6.4.64 ātō lopa itī ca under the condition of the ārdṭhadhātuka affix caN marked with ā. The resultant string, i.e., $a + dhā + dh (a \rightarrow \emptyset) + a + t$, will have its dhā go through shortening of ā by rule 7.4.59 hrasvaḥ. This will give us $a + dh(ā→a) + dh + a + t = a + dhā + dh + a + t$ where dh will go through a replacement in d (jaśtvā; 8.4.54 abhyāse car ca). The result will be $a + (dh→d)a + dh + a + t = adadhāt$. A parallel form adhāt can be derived by taking the optional sIC as a replacement for caN. This sIC, however, will be deleted, though optionally, by rule 2.4.78 vibhāṣā ghrudhēt.... We will thus get $a + dhā + (CLI→sIC) + t$. If the LUK-deletion of sIC is not opted then we will get adhāsit from $a + dhā + sIC + iT + t$ similarly to adāvīti for which see the appendix under rule 1.1.2 adēn gūṇah. Rule 7.2.73 yamaramanana... will introduce sAK prior to the $i(T)$ of 7.2.35 ārdṭhadhātukasyeḥ valādeḥ. Thus, $a + dhā + s(AK) + s(IC) + i(T) + i(T) + t = adhā + s + s + i + t$. The s of the sIC will be eventually deleted by 8.2.28 īt ītī. Rule 6.1.101 akāḥ savarne...will then apply to realize $a + dhā + s + (i + i = i) + t = adhāsīt$.

Deriving (287) aśiṣriy āt from aT + śvi + śvi + caN + t entails iyAN after doubling and related rule applications. A replacement in aN for CLI as
opposed to the present CaN will produce (288) aśvat from aT + śv + aN + t. Note that the aN is introduced by 3.1.58 jīstambhumrūcumlucu.... The final i of the root will be replaced with a by rule 7.4.18 śvayater ah. The result will be: a + śv (i→a) + a + t = aśv + a + a + t. Finally, rule 6.1.96 ato gune will finally bring the single vowel substitute to derive aśv(a+a→ā) t = aśvat.

Yet another optional form (289) aśvāyīt can be derived if the optional replacement aN is not accepted. This will bring in sIC. Refer to the derivational history of alāvit under 1.1.2 adēṇa gūṇaḥ; also that of (286) adhāsīt. Note that the vrddhi application of 7.2.1 sici vrddhiḥ parasmaipadesu is blocked by 7.2.5 hmyantakṣaṇaśvava... An application of gūṇa by rule 7.3.84 sārvadhātukārddhātukayoh...followed by the ay replacement of 6.1.78 eco' yavāvāvah will produce: a + śv (i→e→ay) + i + s + i + t. The deletion of s and savarradīrgha will produce aśvāyīt similarly to (286) adhāsīt.

3.1.50 gupēś chandasi

Examples (290) ajūgupatam and (291) agauptam, (292) agopīṣṭam, and (293) agopōṣṭam illustrate the provisions of this rule. The first, ajūgupatam, derives from gup + (CLI→CaN) + LUṬ →thas where this rule provides CaN as a replacement for CLI and LUṬ is replaced with the second person dual parasmaipada ending thas in related operations, as well as the augment aT. Doubling, halādīśeṣa, cutva of g and the introduction of aT produces a + (g→j)u + gup + a + thas = a + ju + gup + a + thas. The second personal thas has to be replaced with tam as is required by rule 3.4.101 tasthastamipām.... The short u of the abhyāsa, i.e., ju, will subsequently be replaced with its long counterpart due to rule 6.1.7 tuṣāḍinām dirgho bhṛyāsasya. The result will thus be a + jū + gup + a + (thas→tam) = ajūgupatam.

Example (291) agauptam derives by replacing CLI with sIC obviously in the absence of replacing the same with CaN. This will produce the initial string as a + gup + s (IC→0) + (LUṬ→thas→tam)) = a + gup + tam. Note that the introduction of iT (idāgama) as per rule 7.2.35 ārddhātukasyed... is optionally not accepted here as per rule 7.2.44 svāratisūti.... Rule 7.2.3 vadavrjavahalantasyācaḥ then orders vrddhi for the u of gup to produce a + g(u→au)̷ + tam = agauptam.

Example (292) agopīṣṭam derives from a + gup + i + s + tam where the optional iT of rule 7.2.44 svāratisūti...is availed. The vrddhi which was available from 7.2.3 vadavrjavahalantasyācaḥ is blocked by 7.2.4 neṭi. Instead, we see the application of laghūpadhaguna whereby we get a + g(u→o)̷ + i + s + tam. Our final form agopīṣṭam will be produced via the applications of rules 8.3.59 ādesa pratyayayoh and 8.4.41 stūnā stūh as follows: agopi(s→s) + (t→tam) = agopīṣṭam.

The next example (293) agopōṣṭam contains verbal root gopōya derived from gup + āya where affix āya is optionally introduced by 3.1.31 āyādaya ārddhātukē vā and laghūpadhaguna applies to produce g(u→o)̷ + āya =
gopāya. An introduction of LUṈ, followed by the sIC-replacement for CLI as well as the introduction of aT will produce a + gup + s + tam where tam is again a replacement of LUṈ via thas. The vṛddhi similarly to the preceding example became available but in this case was blocked by 7.2.4 neṭi. Rule 7.2.35 ārdhadhātuḥasyaḥ...will introduce iT where, given a + gopāya + i(T) + s + tam, the a of gopāya will be deleted by 6.4.4(8) ato lopaḥ. We will thus have a + gopāy + i + s + tam which through the application of 8.3.59 ādesatpratyayayoḥ and 8.4.41 śṭunā śṭuh becomes a + ġopāy + i + (s→ṣ) + tam = a + gopāy + i + s + (t→t)am = agopāyisṭām.

3.1.52 asatyavaktikhāṭibhyo’ṅ

Example (294) paryāsthata derives from as + (CLI→aṈ) + (LUṈ→ ta) where our present rule orders CaṈ as a replacement for CLI and LUṈ gets replaced with the third person singular ātmanepada ending ta as per the vt: upasargāṇa asatpratyayaḥ... ad rule 1.3.30 nisamupavibhyoh.... Of course, verbal root as ‘to throw’ is here used with the preverb pari. The augment in this case is aT of 6.4.72 ād ajāśinām.... This produces pari. + ā (T→0) + as + a(N→0) + ta where 7.4.17 asyates thuk introduces th(UK). The resultant string, i.e., pari + ā + as + th + a + ta, will go through yanădeśa and savarṇadīrgha to produce: pari(→y) + (a+a→a)s + th + a + ta = paryāsthata.

Example (295) paryāsthetām is third person dual where LUṈ is replaced with ātām. Rule 7.2.81 āto nītaḥ applies on the string such as paryāsth + a + ātām to replace the ā of ātām with iy. The result becomes paryāsth + iy + ātām. Rule 6.1.66 lopo vyor vali deletes the y subsequent to which 6.1.87 ād gunāḥ applies to yield paryāsth + a + iy(→0) + ātām = paryāsth(+ (a+i= e) + ātām = paryāsthetām.

Examples (296) avocat, (297) avocatām, and (298) avocan; or (299) akhyat, can be similarly derived. The first, avocat derives from aT + vac + CLI→ aṈ + (LUṈ→iP→t)) = a + vac + a + t. Rule 7.4.20 vaca um, read with 1.1.47 mad ac' nyātā parah, introduces uM to yield a + va + u(M→ θ) + a + va + u + c + a + t. Rule 6.1.87 ād gunāḥ will finally produce a + v(a+u→o)c + a + t = avocat. The derivational history of avocatām does not offer anything new except for tām coming as a substitute for tas by 3.4.101 tātasthasthāmīpām.... Deriving avocan from aT + vac + aṈ + (LUṈ→(jh→ant))i = a + vac + a + anti is not very difficult. The final i is deleted by 3.4.100 itaś ca, and the t is dropped by 8.2.23 sanyogāntasya lopaḥ. Thus, a + (vac→va + u)c + a + (jh→ant(→0) = a + v(a+u→o)c + a + an(t→0) = avoca + an. Rule 6.1.97 ato gune will replace the sequence a+a with a as avoc (a+a→a)n = avocan. Our last form akhyat contains the verbal root khyā used with the preverb aṈ. Thus, it derives from aṈ + aT + khyā + LUṈ→iP→t = ā + a + khyā + t where the ā of khyā is deleted by 6.4.64 āto lopa īti ca to yield ā + a + khy(ā→0) + a + t. An application of 6.1.101 akah savarne dirghāḥ finally produces (ā+a = ā)khy + a + t = ākhyat.
3.1.53 tipisíchivas ca

Deriving (300) alipat from aT + lip + aN + (LUÑ→tiP) and (301) asicat from aT + sic + aN + (LUÑ→tiP) is easy. Remember, however, that the laghùpadhaguna available from 7.3.86 puganta laghùpadhasya ca is blocked by 1.1.5 knitä ca. The initial ś of the root in asicat is replaced with s by 6.1.64 dhâtvādeh.... Example (301) āhvat derives like ākhyat from aN + aT + hve (N→∅) + aN + tiP where the e of hve goes through a replacement in ā (ātva) by rule 6.1.45 ādecap upadesa.... The deletion of this resultant ā as well as the savarnadīrgha replacement for (ā+a=ā)+ hv(ā→∅) + a + t = āhvat is same as in ākhyat.

3.1.54 ātmanepadesva anyatarasyām

Deriving ātmanepada forms such as (302) alipata, (303) alipta; (304) asicata, (305) asikta; and (306) ahvata, (307) ahvāsta entails the introduction of ātmanepada affixes by rule 1.3.72 svaratāntah kartrabhiprāye.... It also entails optionally replacing CLI with either aN of this rule, or sIC of 3.1.44 cleh sic. Thus, alipata derives from aT + lip + (CLI→aN) + (LUÑ→ta). This preceding can also adopt an optional form alipta when CLI is instead replaced with sIC. Rule 8.2.26 jhalō jhalī will then delete the sIC. Similar rules apply in deriving asicata and asikta with an additional rule application of c by k (kutva) of rule 8.2.30 coh kuh. Note here that rule 8.2.26 jhalō jhalī which deletes sIC is contained in the tripādī; and hence, is treated as suspended (asiddha) in view of rule 7.3.86 pugantalaghùpadhasya ca. That is, rule 7.3.86 will demand laghùpadhaguna. This, however, will be blocked by 1.2.11 liṃsīcāv ātmanepadesav based on the extension (atideśa) of kitva, status with K as an it. The hveN forms are not difficult to derive especially in view of the preceding derivates.

3.1.56 sarthaśṣṭytartībhyaś ca

The derivational history of (308) asarat begins similarly to asicata though entails guna by 7.4.16 ṛṭṛṣā śiṇgunāḥ read with 1.1.51 ur an raparaḥ. The guna of rule 7.3.84 sārvadhatukārddhadhatukayoḥ will be blocked by 1.1.5 knitä ca. Similar rules apply in deriving ārat where āT is introduced as the augment by rule 6.4.72 ād ajādīnām. Deriving (309) aṣiṣat entails the application of two rules: 6.4.34 śāṣa id anhaloh and 8.3.60 sāsivasighasīnām.... The first rule causes a replacement in i (itva) for the ā in the upadhā of the root. The second replaces the s of the root with ś.

3.1.57 irītō vā

One can also derive (310) abhidat, and (311) acchidat similar to examples of the preceding rule. Note, however, in case of acchidat, that given aT + chid + aN + t, augment tUK will be introduced by rule 6.1.73 che ca. The resultant string a + t + chid + a + t will go through ścutva of rule 8.4.40 stoh ścunā ścuḥ to produce a + (t→c) + chid + a + t = acchidat.

Our optional forms such as (312) abhaisit, and (313) acchaisit derive with the option of sIC. Thus, given aT + tUK + chid + (CLI→sIC) + t
similarly to the preceding examples, rule 7.3.96 \textit{astisico' aprkte} will introduce \textit{iT} whereby we will get: \( a + t + \text{chid} + s + i(T\rightarrow\emptyset) + t \). This rule-application will be followed by that of 7.2.3 \textit{vadavrajahalantasyācārah} whereby we will get \textit{uṛddhi} of the \( i \) of \textit{chid} marked by the terminal consonant (\textit{halan-talaksanā}). The resultant string, i.e., \( a+t+ch(i\rightarrow ai)d+s+i+t \), will go through the application of 8.4.55 \textit{khari ca} which requires a replacement in \textit{caR} (\textit{cari\text{v}a}). Thus, we get \( a+t+chai (d\rightarrow t)+si\tilde{t}+acchaitsit \) where I have not shown steps common with the preceding derivatives.

3.1.60 \textit{cīṇ te padaḥ}

An example such as (314) \textit{udapādi} derives from \( ud + aT + pad + CiN + ta \) where \textit{CiN} is a replacement of \textit{CLI} and \textit{ta} is third singular \textit{ātmānepada} denoting an agent. The \textit{ta} is deleted by 6.4.104 \textit{cīṇo lūk}. The \textit{uṛddhi} is, of course, ordered by 7.2.116 \textit{ata upadāyāḥ}.

3.1.63 \textit{duḥaś ca}

Our example (315) \textit{adōhi} derives from \( aT + duh + (\textit{CLI}\rightarrow\textit{CiN}) + LU N \rightarrow ta \) through the deletion of the obligatory \textit{ta} denoting object, and, of course, \textit{guna}. We get (316) \textit{adugdha} from \( aT + duh + (\textit{CLI}\rightarrow\textit{Ksa}) + (LU N \rightarrow ta) \) where \textit{Ksa} replaces \textit{CLI} by rule 3.1.45 \textit{sala igupa}.... This \textit{Ksa}, however, is deleted by 7.2.73 \textit{lūg vā}.... The resultant string \textit{aduh + ta} will produce \textit{adugdha} via the application of rules 8.2.32 \textit{dāder dhātor ghaḥ}, 8.2.40 \textit{jhaśas tathor}..., and 8.4.53 \textit{jhalām jaś jhaśi} whereby we get the series of replacements. Thus, while the first rule changes the \( h \) of \textit{duh} into \textit{gh}, the second replaces the \( t \) of \textit{ta} with \textit{dh}. Finally, the third rule applies on \textit{adugh + dha} to realize \textit{adug(gh→g) + dha = adugdha}.

3.1.64 \textit{na rudhaḥ}

Example (317) \textit{anuvāruduḍha} derives from \( anu + ava + aT + rudh + (\textit{CLI}\rightarrow\textit{siC}\rightarrow\emptyset) + (LU N \rightarrow ta) \) where \textit{siC} is deleted by 8.2.26 \textit{jhalo jhali}. The \textit{t} of \textit{ta} will be replaced with \textit{dh} by rule 8.2.40 \textit{jhaśastathor}....; the \textit{dh} of \textit{rudh} will similarly be replaced with \textit{d} by rule 8.4.52 \textit{jhalām}.... Thus we get \( anu + ava + a + ru(dh\rightarrow d) + (t\rightarrow dh)a = an(u\rightarrow v) + av(a+a\rightarrow a) + rudder = anuvāruddha \) additionally through \textit{yaN} and \textit{savaṇādirgha}. Note that the consequence of blocking \textit{CiN} as a replacement for \textit{CLI} is to introduce \textit{siC} which gets deleted by 8.2.26 \textit{jhalo jhali}. Examples such as (318) \textit{atāpta} and (319) \textit{anuvātāpta} given under the following rule can be similarly derived.

3.1.66 \textit{cīṇbhuva karmanoḥ}/3.1.67 \textit{sārvadhātuke yak}

The derivation of (320) \textit{aṅkārī} from \( aT + kr + (\textit{CLI}\rightarrow\textit{CiN}) + ta \) via \textit{uṛddhi} by 7.2.115 \textit{aco' तिन्दी} is not difficult. Examples such as (321) \textit{āsyate}, (322) \textit{sāisyate} and (323) \textit{gāmyate} with the introduction of \textit{yaK} under the condition of a following affix termed \textit{sārvadhātuka} (3.4.113 \textit{tiṁśīt}...) does not pose much of a problem. Thus, given \( ā + LAT\rightarrow ta \) where \textit{LAT} is introduced to denote \textit{bhāva} ‘root-sense’ and subsequently gets replaced with the third person singular \textit{ātmānepada} ending \textit{ta}, our present rule introduces \textit{ya(K→∅)} to produce \( ā + ya + ta \). Our final form \textit{āsyate} is derived by replacing the
a of ta by e under the provisions of rule 3.4.79 ṭit ātmanepadāṇām.... The other forms can be similarly derived. Remember, however, that, in case of sayyate, the final vowel of verbal root sī gets replaced with ayAN of rule 7.4.22 ayaṁ yi kīṇi. Thus, s(i→ay) + ya + te = sayyate. An example such as kriyate manipulates the LA affix to denote the object. See the appendix under rule 1.3.13 bhāvakaramaṇoḥ for deriving kriyate and similar other forms.

3.1.68 karttari śap

Refer to the appendix under rule 1.1.2 adeṅ gunaḥ for deriving bhavati and pacati.

3.1.69 divādibhyah śyan

Examples such as (324) divyati or (325) sīvyati can be derived by introducing (S→θ)ya(N→θ) as opposed to SaP before tiP. Remember that the s of sīU ‘to sew’ is as usual replaced with s by rule 6.1.64 dhātvadeḥ ṣaḥ saḥ. The laghūpadhaguna of i is blocked because of the status of this affix as pit (1.2.4 sārvadhātukam apit). This penultimate (upadhā) i is replaced with its long counterpart under the provision of rule 8.2.77 hali ca.

3.1.70 vā bhrāsabhlāsabhramuklamutrasitrutilaṣaḥ

Deriving the optional (ŚyaN / SaP) sets of examples for roots specified by this rule is not very difficult. Let us just consider the two examples: (326) bhrāṣate, and (327) bhrāṣyate. An application of rules 7.3.74-75 samām astānām..., śhvivaṃkumucām..., and 7.3.76 kramaḥ paraśmaiṃpadesu order vrddhi in case of bhram, klam, and kram, etc. In case of the derivates of truṭ we will have to introduce Śa optionally with ŚyaN since the root belongs to the tudādi class.

3.1.73 svādibhyah.../3.1.74 śrūvah śr ca

Deriving (328) sunoti and (329) sinoti from suN + (LAT→tiP) and siN+ (LAT→tiP) with subsequent introduction of Śnu entails guna by 7.3.84 sārvadhātukarṇḍadāhātukayoḥ before tiP. The root-initial s will be replaced with s of 6.1.64 dhātvadeḥ.... The initial guna is blocked for reasons similar to the derivation of (324) divyati.

Examples such as (330) śrṇotī, (331) śrṇutaḥ, and (332) śrṇvanti derive from śru + LAT where the root is replaced with śṛ. The LAT is replaced with tiP, tas, or jhi as desired. The first example entails guna where as the second and third do not. The third, however, entails yaN, i.e., śṛṇ(u→v) + anti. The n of Śnu is replaced with n by rule 8.4.2 aṅkuṇāṃ.... Incidentally, be advised that by providing for a replacement in śṛ simultaneously with the introduction of affix Śnu, Pāṇini wants to emphasize that elsewhere in the context of some other affix this replacement will not be allowed.

3.1.77 tudādibhyah saḥ

Note in connection with the derivation of (333) tudati and (334) nudati from tud + LAT and nud + LAT that the S as an it in the affix is intended for the assignment of the term sārvadhātuka by 3.1.113 tinśit sārvadhātukam. This will enable affix Śa also to be treated as if marked with N as an it. For, rule 1.2.4 sārvadhātukam apit will view it as a sārvadhātuka affix not marked with P (apit).
3.1.78 rudhādibhyah śnam

Examples (335) ruṇaddhi and (336) bhīnattī derive from (rudh(IR→∅) + LAT) and bhīd(IR→∅) + LAT where this rule introduces ŚnaM under the condition of the following tiP replacement of LAT. The string at this stage is: ru+ na + dh + ti and bhī + na + d + ti. Notice that the M as an it in ŚnaM is used for specifying the locus of operation (desaśādhyārtha). Consequently, the affix is introduced after the last among the vowels of the roots in consonance with rule 1.1.47 mid aco' ntyāt paraḥ. Refer to the derivation of (146) viruṇaddhi under the appendix of this rule (1.1.47) for additional details. Note also that rules 8.2.40 jhaśastathor... and 8.4.53 jhalām jaś... are not valid in the context of bhī + na + d + ti. Instead, the d of bhīd is replaced with t by rule 8.4.55 khari ca.

3.1.80 dhinvikṛṣṇyor a ca

Examples (337) dhinoti and (338) kṛṣṇoti derive from dhīn (v→a) + u + (LAT→tiP) and kṛṣṇ(v→a) + u + (LAT→tiP) where this rule introduces u under the condition of the following ti. It also requires the root-final v to be replaced with a. Note that these roots belong to the bhvādi class, and hence qualify for ŚaP. This rule makes a provision for u instead. Rule 6.4.48 ato lopaḥ then deletes the root-final substitute a. The resultant strings dhīn + u + ti and kṛṣṇ + u + ti go through guṇa as per 7.3.84 sārvadārkkārdhadātukayoḥ. It is stated that the n of nUM in kṛṇī is replaced with n at the strength of a vārttika (ad 8.4.1 vārṇāc ceti vāktavyam).

Note that the roots are actually dhīvul and kṛṇul. But since Pāṇini specifies them as dhimul and kṛṇul, we understand that they come with the augment nUM attached to them at the outset.

3.1.81 krıyādibhyah śnā

Examples such as (339) kṛṇāti and (340) prīṇāti derive from (ṣU→∅)kṛṇ(N→∅) + (LAT→tiP) and prīṇ(N→∅) + (LAT→tiP) where this rule introduces Śnā to yield kṛ + nā + ti and prī + nā + ti. Rule 8.4.2 atkupvām... will finally replace the n of nā with n to derive kṛṇāti and prīṇāti. Note that the corresponding dual forms (341) kṛṇītaḥ and (342) prīṇītaḥ will have to go through the application of itva of rule 6.4.113 i haly aghoḥ whereby the ā of nā will be replaced with i. Of course, the s of the dual ending tas will also go through rutva-visarga.

3.1.82 stambhustumbhukambhukumbhushkunoibhyah śnūs ca

Note that the nasal (aunānāsīka) m of the root will be deleted by 6.4.24 anitām hala upadāhyāḥ.... Examples such as (343) stavhnāti, with (Ś→∅)nā), and (344) stavhīnɔti with (Ś→∅)nu and guṇa, are not difficult to derive. The U of the roots is of course an it.

3.1.83 halah śnāh śaṇaj hau

This rule requires that Śnā occurring after a verbal root terminating in a consonant be replaced with ŚaṇaC when hi follows. Thus, given mūs + LOT→si(P→∅) where LOT is introduced by 3.3.162 lot ca, the second person singular replacement of LOT is subsequently replaced with hi by
3.4.87 ser hy apic ca. It is with the string at the stage of mus + nā + hi that our present rule introduces (S→θ)āna(C→θ) as a replacement for nā. This yields mus + āna + hi where hi is subsequently deleted by rule 6.4.105 ato heh. Rule 8.4.2 athufvām... finally replaces the n of āna with n to produce (345) musānā. Similar rules will derive (346) puṣāṇa from puṣ + LOT ṭ.

3.1.86 līni āsiṣy anī

Examples such as (347) upastheyam derive from upa + sthā + LIN where affix LIN is introduced after verbal root sthā used with the preverb upa by rule 3.3.173 āsiṣi linlo̱tau. The affix is further replaced with the first personal ending miP of 3.4.78 tūptaṣjhī.... This yields upa + sthā + mi(P). This string goes through the application of rules 3.4.101 tastaḥ-sthamipām...and 3.4.103 yāsuṭ parasmatipadesu...whereby mi(P) is replaced with am, and augment yāsUT is attached. Thus we get upa + sthā + (mi(P)→am) = upa + sthā + yās (UT→θ) + am. Our present rule introduces aN at this stage to realize upa + sthā + a(N→θ) + yās + am. It is interesting to note that a replacement of affix LIN is assigned the term ārdādhāṭhāuka by rule 3.4.116 lin āsiṣi. The same replacement can also be assigned the term sārvadhāṭhūka by the ‘either-or’ (ubhayathā) provision of rule 3.4.117 chandasya ubhayathā in case of the Vedic language. The am replacement of LIN via miP is here accepted as sārvadhāṭhūka to facilitate the application of rules 7.2.79 līnath salopo’ nantyasya and 7.2.80 ato ye yāh whereby first the s of yās is deleted. The yā is then replaced with iy. Thus we get upa + sthā + a + yās(s→θ) + am = upa + sthā + a + (yā→iy) + am = upa + sthā + a + iy + am. The ā of sthā will then be deleted by rule 6.4.64 ato lopa īti ca under the condition of the following aN. The resultant string upa + sth(a→θ) + a + iy + am will go through the application of a single guna replacement for its sequence a+i as per rule 6.1.87 ād guṇāḥ. Thus, upa + sth + (a+i→e)iy + am = upastheyam.

An example such as (348) upageyam can be similarly derived from upa + gai + LIN where rule 6.1.45 ādeca upadesē...will order ā as a replacement (ātvā) for the ai of verbal root gai ‘to sing’.

A third example, (349) gamema, can be derived from gam + LIN where LIN gets replaced with the first person plural parasmatipada ending mas. The string will be expanded to gam + (yā→iy)(s→θ) + a + mas, similarly to (347) upastheyam. The s of mas will be deleted by rule 3.4.99 nityam nītah. The y will also be deleted by 6.1.66 lopo vyor vali. The rest should pose no problem.

An example for verbal root vac is given as (350) vocema which, in turn, can be derived similarly to gamema. Note, however, that given vac +a + yās + mas, rule 7.4.20 vaca um will introduce uM to vac. Rule 1.1.47 mid aco’ ntyāt parah would demand that u(M→θ) be introduced to vac after its a. This will yield va + u + c + a + yās + mas. Rule applications relative to yāsUT will produce va + u + c + a + iy + mas. A two-fold application of rule 6.1.87 ād guṇāḥ will be required to realize v (a+u→o) + c + (a+i→e)
+ mas = vocey + mas. The deletions relative to the s of mas and y of vocey will follow the pattern of gamema to finally produce vocema.

Additional examples such as (351) videyam, (352) sakeyam and (353) āruheyam are similarly derived by introducing affix LIN after specified verbal roots used with or without any preverbs as desired.

3.1.87 karmavat karmanā tulyakriyāḥ

Note that (354) abhedi derives similarly to (315) adohi. The derivation of adugdha has already been discussed under rule 3.1.63 duhaś ca. The derivation of (355) kāriṣyate follows in many ways the derivation of karisyati for which see example (742) under the appendix of rule 1.4.13 yasmāt pratiyayavidhis.... Treating an agent as if an object (karmavadbhāva) entails performing operations similarly to CiN (cinvatārtya). That is, introducing sya and iṭ by rule 6.4.62 syasicsīyut...; and applying vṛddhi by 7.2.115 aco’ āñiti. Thus, kr + (LRT→t(a→e)) = kr + te = kr + i + sya + te = k(r→ār) + i + sya + te = kār + i + (s→ṣ)ya + te = kāriṣyate. The ātmanepada in this example has been introduced by rule 1.3.13 bhāvakarmanoḥ.

3.1.89 na duhsnumamāṃ yakicīṇau

Example (356) duḍghera derives from duḥ + (LAT→t(a→e)) where ta, the third person singular ātmanepada replacement of LAT, is additionally required to go through the e replacement (etva; 3.4.79 ṭī ti ātmanepadānā...) of its ti (1.1.64 aco’ niyādi ti). Refer to the derivational details of (316) adugdha for the application of rules relative to the h of duḥ and t of te to finally derive duḍghera. Note, however, that affix SaP will be introduced by 3.1.68 kartāri sap in the event of yaK being negated for duḥ by the present rule. The sap will subsequently be deleted by rule 2.4.72 adīprabhātibhyah.... Of course, ātmanepada will be introduced by 1.3.13 bhāvakarmanoḥ.

Example (357) prasmatre similarly derives from pra + snu + (LAT→t(a→e)) = prasnū + te. Our next example (358) prāsnuṣṭa is a LUṆ-derivate of verbal root snu, used with the preverb pra, where this present rule blocks CiN as a replacement for CLI. Thus, given pra + aT + snu + (CLI→sIc) + (LUṆ→ta)) = pra + a + snu + s + ta, guṇa, satva (8.3.59 ādesā pratyayayoḥ), śuṭuva (8.4.44 śuṇā śuṭuḥ) and savarṇadīrgha (6.1.101 akāh savarne diṛghah) will produce prāsnuṣṭa as follows:

pra + a + sn(u→o) + s + ta (guṇa) = pra + a + sno + (s→ṣ) + ta (satva) = pra + a + sno + ṣ + (t→ṭ)a (ṣuṭuva) = ṣr(a+ṣ→ā) + sno + ṣ + ta (savarṇadīrgha) = prāsnuṣṭa.

Yet another example (359) prāṣnāviṣṭa derives from pra + a + snu + iT + sIc + (LUṆ→ta) where the option of cinvatārtya as provided for by rule 6.4.62 syasicsīyut...is availed. The vṛddhi by 7.2.115 aco’ āñiti will apply to produce pra + a + sn(u→a) + i + s + ta. A replacement in āv for au by 6.1.78 eco’ yavāyāvah will realize pra + a + sn(au→āv) + i + s + ta = pra + a + snāv + i + s + ta. An application of satva, śuṭuva, and savarṇadīrgha will produce prāṣnāviṣṭa.

The derivatives of nam such as (360) namate and (361) anamsta are
derived similarly from nam + ta and aT + nam + sIC + ta where the first
derivate is denied yaK and hence is thus left with ŠaP. The second derivate is
denied CIN, and hence is left with sIC. The m of a + nam + s + ta is
replaced with anusvāra by rule 8.3.23 mo' nusvārah.

3.1.97 aco yat

This rule introduces affix yaT after roots ending in vowels. We thus
get examples (362) geym from gai + yaT, (363) peyam from pā + yaT,
(364) ceyam from ciN + yaT, and (365) jeyam from ji + yaT. Note that the ai
of gai goes through ātva of rule 6.1.45 ādēca upadeśa.... Rule 6.4.65 īd yati
then applies on g(ai→ā) + ya(T→θ) = gā + ya to replace the final ā of
the aṅga (1.4.13 yasmāt pratyayavidhis...) with ī (itva) under the condition
of affix yat, an ārddhadhātuka (3.4.114 ārddhadhātukam āsah).... The nominal
stem g(ai→i) + ya = g + (i→e) + ya = g + e + ya =geya can now be derived
via the application of ēm by 7.3.84 sārvadhātukārdadhātukayoh. A
nominal ending sU (4.1.2 svāyasamau...) introduced after the nominal
stem (1.2.46 kritaddhitasamāsās ca) geya will be subsequently replaced with
am of 7.1.24 ato'm to produce geya + (sU→am) = geya + am. An application
of 6.1.107 ami pūrvah will then order a single substitute (ekādesā), similar
to preceding (pūrvvarūpa) in form, to replace the vocalic sequence of a +
a. We thus get geya(a + a→a)m = geya. Other examples can be similarly
derived through the application of ēm before yaT. Note though that affix
yaT will be termed kṛtya (3.1.95 kṛtyah) consequent upon which it
can only denote bhāva and karmā as per 3.4.70 tayor eva kṛtya.... The
denotation of kartṛ 'agent' as per 3.4.67 kartari kṛt will thus not be available
to it.

3.1.106 vadaḥ supi kyaḥ ca

Example (366) brahmodyam contains the nominal stem brahmodya
which, in turn, derives from brahman + Ņas + vad + Kṣap where Ņas
denotes object (karmā). Incidentally, brahman + Ņas gets its n deleted by
rule 8.2.7 nalopah prātipādikāntasya. Rule 6.1.15 vacīsvapiyajñi... requires
the samprasāraṇa of the v of vad. We thus get brahma (n→θ) + Ņas +
(v→u)ad + (K→θ)ya(P→θ) = brahma + Ņas + uad + ya. Rule 6.1.108
samprasāraṇaḥ ca will then apply to replace the sequence u+a with u thereby
to produce brahma + Ņas + ud + ya = brahma + Ņas + udyā. Rule 2.2.19
upapadām atiṁ will then order the formation of an upapada compound
subsequent to which Ņas will be deleted by 2.4.71 supo dhātuprātipādikayoh;
The resultant string brahmadya will go through a single ēm-replacement
in o by rule 6.1.87 ēm ēm for its sequence a+u to produce
brahm(a+u→o)dyā = brahmodya. The final example brahmodyam will be
derived from brahmodya + sU similarly to (362) geya from geya + sU.
Note that the upapada compound is allowed with reference to the paribh:
gatikāra kopapādānaḥ kṛdbhīḥ saha samāsavacanam prāk subūtpatthē. Refer
to my discussion of this under the text and appendix of rule 2.2.19.
A derivate such as (367) brahmavadyam which contains the nominal stem brahmavadya will be derived parallel to brahmodyam if the option of introducing affix yaT, as opposed to KyaP, is accepted. Similar rules will apply in deriving optional examples such as (368) satyodyam and (369) satyavadyam.

3.1.109 etistusāsvardrjusah

Deriving forms such as (370) ityāh from (i + KyaP + sU)), (371) stutyāh from (stu + KyaP + sU)), etc., entails the introduction of augment iUK by rule 6.1.71 hrasvasya piti.... An example such as (372) sīṣyāh will be derived from (sās + KyaP + sU)) where the penultimate ā will go through a replacement in i (itva) by rule 6.4.34 sās idáñhaloḥ. The s of the resultant string s(a→i)s + ya will go through satva of rule 8.3.60 sāsivasighasīnām... to produce: sī(s→ṣ)ya)) = sīṣya, the nominal stem after which sU will be introduced.

3.1.113 mrjver vibhāsā

A set of optional examples such as (373) parimṛjayah and (374) parimārgyāh will derive from (pari + mṛj + KyaP + sU)) and (pari + mṛj + NyaT + sU)) since affix KyaP is here introduced optionally to NyaT of 3.1.124 ṭhalor nyat. This optional provision of KyaP was obligatorily available to verbal root mṛj because of being ṭudupadaḥ. Now the KyaP becomes optional. The derivational history of parimṛjayah with KyaP is straightforward. Deriving parimārgyāh entails vrddhi (parim(ṛ→ār)j...) by 7.2.11 mrjver vrddhiḥ followed by kutva (parimār(j→g)... of rule 7.3.53 cajoḥ ku....

3.1.120 vibhāsā kṛṛṣoh

Each verbal root will have a set of optional derivates where the option will be relative to affixes KyaP and NyaT. Refer to the derivational details of ityāh for deriving the nominal stem kṛtya of (375) kṛtyam. Follow the final steps of (362) geyam for deriving kṛtyam from kṛtya + sU. Example (376) kāryam contains the nominal stem kārya which, in turn, derives from (kṛ + NyaT + sU)) through vrddhi of 7.2.115 aco’ ṭniti.

3.1.124 ṭhalor nyat

Note that derivates ending in affix NyaT such as kāryam where the root ends in r will be subject to the application of vrddhi by rule 7.2.115 aco’ ṭniti. Derivates with NyaT introduced after verbal roots ending in a consonant will go through vrddhi of rule 7.2.116 ata upadhāyāḥ. Examples such as (377) vākyam and (378) pākyam will go through kutva as per rule 7.3.52 cajoḥ ku....

3.1.126 āsuyuwapirapipalipcamaś ca

The NyaT derives such as (379) āsāvṛya, and (380) yāvṛya contain āsāvṛya + sU and yāvṛya + sU. Deriving āsāvṛya from ā(N→θ) + (s→s)u + (N)ya(T) = āsu + ya where āN is a preverb and the root-initial ś is replaced with s of 6.1.64 dhātvādēḥ... of course requires vrddhi. However, note that
given āsā + ya, rule 6.1.80 dhātos tannimitasyaiva will apply to produce āsā + v + ya = āsāvya. Other examples such as (381) vāpyam, etc., will just involve vrddhi as per rules mentioned in connection with the derivates of preceding rule.

3.1.134 nandigrāhāpacādhīyo lyanīnyacah

Our example (382) nandanaḥ contains nandana + sU where nandana derives from (TU→θ)nada(Ī→θ) + (L→θ)yus) = nad + yu. Rule 7.1.58 idito num dhātoḥ introduces augment n(UM→θ) to produce na + n + d + yu. The yu of the affix will be replaced with ana of 7.1.1 yuvor anākau. The n before d is also replaced with anusvāra of rule 8.3.24 naś cāpaddāntasya whereby we get na + (n→m) + d + ana. The anusvāra is then changed back to n as per parasavarṇa of 8.4.58 anusvāryasya yayi parasavarṇaḥ. It is advised by a vārtīka under this rule that nad should receive affix Lyu only after having received NiC from 3.1.26 hetumati ca. This NiC will also be deleted by 6.4.51 ner anīti.

Example (383) grāhi contains the nominal stem grāhin derived by introducing affix Niṁl after grah. Rule 7.2.116 atā upadāhyāḥ will then cause vrddhi to produce the nominal stem gr(a→ā)h + in = grāhin. Deriving grāhi from grāhin + sU entails the deletions of n (by 8.2.7 na lopaḥ...) and sU (by 6.1.68 haliyābhīyos...). The short i of grāhi is replaced with its long counterpart by rule 6.4.13 sau ca.

An example such as (384) pacah derives from (pac + aC) = paca + sU) via further application of rutva-visarga.

3.1.135 igupadhajñāprikiroh

Example (385) vikṣipah derived from (vi + kṣip + (K→θ)a) + sU = (vikṣip + a) + sU) where vi is a preverb and the guṇa of i is blocked at the strength of the Kit status of the affix (kitvād guṇābhāvah). A derive of jnā such as (386) jñaha entails the deletion of ā (ālopa) by 6.4.64 āto lopa iś ca. A similar derivation of (387) priyah from prī(Ñ→θ) + a) + sU)) entails iyAN as a replacement for the i of prī as per rule 6.4.77 acīsnudhāṣu.... Rule 7.1.100 īta id dhātoḥ similarly orders i as a replacement for the ī of kī in deriving (388) kiraḥ. Note that the replacement becomes ir (raparaḥ) in view of rule 1.151 ur an raparāḥ.

3.1.136 ātaś copasarge

Examples such as (389) prasthah, (390) suglah, and (391) sumlah contain stems which derive by introducing affix Ka after verbal roots sthā, glai, and mlai used in conjunction with pra and su. Note that the ai of glai and mlai will go through a replacement in ā (ātva) by rule 6.1.45 ādeca upadesē.... For deletion of ā to arrive at the desired form refer to ālopa of (386) jñaha.

3.1.137 pāghrādhrmdhēdhrśah

Examples such as (391) utpyah, (392) ujjighrah, (393) uddhamah, (394) uddhayah, and (395) utpasyah contain stems which derive by introducing affix Sa after verbal roots pā, ghrā, dhmā and dheT whether used in
conjunction with a preverb. These examples all have the cooccurrence condition of ud. Thus, given ud + pā + (S→Θ)a = ud + pā + a, rule 3.4.67 kartari śap will introduce (S)a(P) to produce ud + pā + a + a. The root will then be replaced with pib by rule 7.3.78 pāγhrādhmāstāḥ... We will thus get ud + pib + a + a which through the application of rule 6.1.97 ato guñe will produce ud + pib + (a+a→a) = ud + pib + a = utpibā. Note that the d of ud will be changed to t by cartva of rule 8.4.55 khari ca. Deriving utpibā from utpibā + sU is easy. The other roots, except for dheT, will also get their replacements such as jighr, dhām, and pas by the same rule under similar condition of a following SaP. Deriving ujjighrāh will also entail cartva. All other rules are similar to utpibā. Deriving uddhayāḥ from ud + dhe(T→Θ) + a + a = ud + dhe + a + a also involves pararūpā whereby we get ud + dhe + (a+a→a). A replacement in ay (ayādesā) for the e of dhe by 6.1.78 eco γavāyāvah will finally produce ud + dh(e→ay)a = uddhayā, a nominal stem after which sU can be introduced to derive uddhayāḥ. Note that examples can also be derived without accepting the cooccurrence condition of the preverbs.

3.1.138 anupasargāl limpavindadhāripārīvedyudejicetisāhīhiyās ca

Examples such as (396) limpāh derive from līp + (S)a + (S)a where the first Sa is the vikaraṇa of the tudādi group of roots introduced as per 3.1.77 tudādibhayāḥ.... A further introduction of nUM by 7.1.59 se mucādīmām produces lī + n(UM→Θ)p + a + a = līnp + a + a which through anusvāra and parasavarṇa (cf. 8.3.24 naś cāpadāntasya; 8.4.58 anusvārasya yayi parasavarṇaḥ) ultimately derives limpa. An introduction of sU and subsequent rutva-visarga yields limpāh. Similar rules apply in deriving (397) vindah.

An example such as (398) dhārayaḥ derives from dhāraya + sU where dhāraya is a nominal stem derived by introducing affix Sa after verbal root dhāri, a NiC derivate of dhṛN. The resultant string dhāri + SaP + Sa = dhāri + a + a will go through guṇa (7.3.84 sāvadāhautkārdhda...) and ayādesā (6.1.78 eco γavāyāvah) to produce dhāri(e→ay)a + a = dhāraya + a. Deriving dhāraya from dhāraya(a+a→a) via pararūpā is easy. Similar rule applications are needed to derive (399) pārayaḥ from pr + NiC = pāri + Sa and (400) udejayaḥ from ud + ejR + NiC = udeji + Sa. The remaining roots, except for sāti, will receive their NiC from 3.1.25 satyāpa...curādibhyo nic for deriving (401) vedayaḥ, (402) cetayaḥ, and (403) sāhayāḥ. This last example will be derived from sāti + SaP + Sa where verbal root sāti is treated as sautra ‘attested only by the sūtra’.

3.1.139 dadātidadhātyor vibhāṣā

This rule produces an optional set of two examples (405) dadaḥ, (406) dāyah; and (407) dadhaḥ, (408) dāyah for verbal roots DUDāN and DUDhāN. Note that a SaP introduced before affix Sa will be deleted by 2.4.75 juhotyādibhyah... This will lead to doubling whereby we will get dā + dā + a. A short a will replace the long a of the reduplicated syllable
(abhyaśa) dā by rule 7.4.59 hrasvah. This will be followed by the deletion of ā (āllopā) thereby to yield d(ā→a) + dā + a = da + d(ā→θ) + a = dada. Now one can derive dadaḥ from dada + sU. Our optional example dāyah derives from dā + Na = dā + yUK + Na where Na is introduced optionally to Sa by rule 3.1.141 śādvyaḍhāsru.... The yUK is subsequently introduced by 7.3.33 āto yukcinktriṇḥ.

One can similarly derive dhāyah. Deriving dadhah would entail the application of 8.4.54 abhyāse car ca whereby the dh of the reduplicated syllable (abhyāsa; at the stage when the string is: dha + dh + a) will be replaced with a to produce (dh→d)a + dh + a = dadha.

3.1.141 śādvyaḍhāsrasmsrvatīṇa...

Deriving (409) avaśyāya from avaśyāya + sU entails the introduction of affix Na after verbal root sāyaN used in conjunction with ava. An application of ātva of 6.1.45 ādeca upadeśe... followed by the introduction of yUK will produce ava + ś(y(ai→ā))(N) + (N)a = ava + śāy + y(UK) + a = avaśyāya. Deriving avaśyāyaḥ with the introduction of sU and rutva-visarga is easy.

Deriving (410) āśrāvah from ā(N→θ) + sru + (N)a = a + sru + a entails vṛddhi by 7.2.115 aco' ūnīti. An application of 6.1.78 eco' yavāyāvah will then replace the au by āv: a + sr(u→au→āv) + a = āśrāvah) + sU = āśrāvah)

3.1.146 gas thakan

Example (411) gāthikā derives from gai + thaka(N→θ) through ātva: g(ai→ā) + thaka = gā + thaka = gāthaka. Rule 4.1.4 ajādyataś tāp then introduces the feminine affix TāP. The ātva application of rule 7.3.44 pratyayasthākāt... and the savarṇadīrgha of 6.1.101 finally produces gāth (a→i)ka + (T→θ)ā(P→θ) = gāthik(a + ā→ā) = gāthikā. Affix sU introduced after gāthikā will be subsequently deleted by 6.1.68 hātīyābbhyo....

3.1.147 nyuṭ ca

Example (412) gāyani derives from gai + (N)yu(T) + ņīP)) where ātva again applies. This gives us (g(ai→ā) + yu = gā + yu. Rule 7.3.33 āto yukcinktriṇḥ then introduces yUK whereby the string becomes gā + y(UK→θ) + yu. The yu will finally be replaced with ana of rule 7.1.1 yuvar anākau. Τhus, gā + y + yu→ana = gāyana. This nominal stem will then receive the feminine affix (N)i(P) of rule 4.1.15 tīḍḍhāṇaṁ.... Rule 6.4.148 yasyeti ca will order the deletion of the final a of gāyana to produce: gāyan(a→θ) + i = gāyani. The nominal ending sU introduced after gāyani will again be deleted.

3.2.1 karmāṇi an

Refer to derivational details of (97) kumbhakāraḥ and (136) svādūṃkāram under the appendices of rules 2.2.19 upapadam atīṇ and 1.1.39 kṛnmejantah respectively for a general idea on deriving the examples of this rule. Example (413) vedādyāyaḥ contains the string veda + Šas + (adhi+iN) + aN
where adhi + i + a derives adhyāya through vṛddhi (7.2.115 aco’ ūṇiti) and āyādeśa (6.1.78 eco’ yavāyavāh). Thus, adhi + (e→ai) + a = adhi + (ai→ āya) + a. An application of 6.1.77 iko yan aci would as usual turn adhi + āy + a into adhyāya via adh(i→ y) + āy + a. The accusative plural after veda will as usual be deleted after the formation of the compound vedaḥhyāya where 6.1.101 akah savarne dirghaḥ has also applied on ved(a + a→ō) dhyāya).

3.2.2 huvāvāmās ca

Note that (414) putrahvāyah and (415) tantuvāyah are derivates of verbal roots huvēN and veN which will go through ātva before a(N). Our present rule specifies them with ātva. Rule 7.3.33 āto yuṅkṛtoh will introduce yUK to realize hv(e→ā) + a = hvā + y(UK→θ) + a = ’hvāya. Deriving putrahvāyah from (putra + am + hvāya) + sU is not any difficult. Similar rules apply in deriving tantuvāyah.

3.2.3 āto’ nupasargē kah

Examples (416) godah and (417) kambaladah also derive with the cooccurring condition of an object though with the introduction of affix Ka after verbal root dā. The ā of dā, as in many other derivates to follow, will be subsequently deleted by 6.4.64 āto lopa īti ca. All other operations are similar to other derivatives. Same sets of rules can derive (418) pārsṇitrām by introducing affix Ka after verbal root trā under the cooccurrence condition of the object constituted by pārsṇi. Note that pārsṇitra + sU will yield pārsṇitrām via the application of rules 7.1.24 āto’ m and 6.1.107 amī pūrvah. Thus, pārsṇitra + (sU→ am) = pārsṇitr(a + a→a)m = pārsṇitrām.

3.2.8 gāpoṣ tak

Note that verbal roots gā and pā as usual will be subjected to the deletion of their ā (ālopa). Examples such as (419) śakrāgah and (420) sāmagah, will have their feminine forms derived by affix ŦιP (4.1.15 ŦīĎhānaṇ...) at the strength of the Ŧī status of affix ŦaK. Examples such as (421) surāpah and (420) surāpī, a feminine, can be similarly derived.

3.2.13 stambakarnayoh ramijapoh

Note that examples (422) stamberarah and (423) karnejapah entail the non-deletion (aluk) of their saṃpaṭi by rule 6.3.9 halantāt saṃpaṭamyāh.

3.2.14 saṃi dhātoḥ saṃjñāyām

Deriving (424) śānkaraḥ from śānkara + sU where affix aC is introduced after verbal root kr, under the cooccurrence condition of the indeclinable (avaya) saṃ entails gūna of r. Of course, additionally to the change of m to anusvāra (8.3.28 mo’ nusvārah) and that of anusvāra to parasavarṇa form of n (8.4.54 anusvārasya yayo parasavarṇaḥ). The derivation of (425) sāmbhavah would not only entail gūna but also avādēśa. Thus, saṃ + bh (u→o→av) + aC = sa (m→m)bhaṇa = śāmbhavā where m will be replaced with the anusvāra. Deriving (426) sānvadah is easy.

3.2.21 divāvibhānisaṃprabhbhākārāntād...

Note that (427) divākaraḥ and (428) vibhākaraḥ, etc., offer nothing new
in their derivation. Deriving (429) ahaskarāḥ requires a replacement in r
for the n of ahan by 8.2.69 roś suṣṭi. This r will then go through a replacement
in visarga by 8.3.15 kharavasāṇayor.... Finally, the visarga itself will be
replaced with s by 8.3.46 atah kṛkamikamsa.... The derivation of (431)
aruskaraḥ will entail replacing the s of arus with ś (śatva) by rule 8.3.45
niyam samāse.... The derivation of (432) dhanuskaraḥ offers nothing new.

3.2.28 eje khaś

The derivation of (433) aṅgamejayaḥ begins with the introduction of
affix KHASY after the NiC form eji of verbal root ejR 'to tremble' where eji
will still be a root in view of rule 3.1.32 sanādyantā dhātavaḥ. Note that eji
+ (KH→∅)a(∅→∅) will also receive (∅→∅)a(P→∅) to produce eji + a + a
which, through the application of gūṇa (7.3.84 sārvadhātukārdha...) will
become eji(e→e) + a + a = eje + a + a. Remember that aṅga will also be
part of the string after the formation of the compound, and the sUP-deletion
of am. Rule 6.3.67 arurviṣad...will now introduce m (UM→∅) to aṅga
under the condition of the following eje + a + a which ends in an affix
marked with KH as an īt. This will produce aṅgam + eje + a + a = aṅgameje
+ a + a. The ayādesa of 6.1.78 eco' yavāyāvah will then produce aṅgamej
(e→ay) + a + a. Finally, the pararūpa application of rule 6.1.97 aṭo guṇe
will realize aṅgamejaya+(a+a→a) = aṅgamejaya. Similar rules apply in
deriving the nominal stem janamejaya of (434) janamejayaḥ.

3.2.29 nāśikāstanayor...

Examples such as (435) nāśikandhamah entails the application of rule
7.3.78 pāghrādhmāsthā... whereby dhmā is replaced with dham. The resultant
string thus becomes nāśikā + dham + a. The long ā of nāśikā is replaced
with short by 6.3.66 khity anāvyayasya. The augment mUM, and subsequent
anusvāra and parasavarṇa applications will eventually derive the nominal
stem nāsikā(a→a) + m + dham + a = nāsikama + dhama =nāsikam(m→m→n)
+ dhama = nāśikandhama. Note that example (436) nāśikandhayaḥ involves
the ayādesa of the e of dhet. The derivation of (437) stanandhayah is not
different either. Note, however, that, to derive a parallel feminine form
(438) stanandhayi, one has to introduce NiP by 4.1.15 tiḍḍhaṇaṇī....

3.2.35 vidhuvruṣos tudaḥ

Note that the parasavarṇa replacement of m of the string vidhu + m
(UM→∅) + tud + a = vidhu (m→m) + tuda = vidhu (m→m) + tuda =
(439) vidhunudahā by rule 8.4.59 vā padāntasya is optional. The same applies
to (440) aruntuḍaḥ.

3.2.39 dviṣatparayos tāpeḥ

Note that (441) dviṣantapah and (442) parantapah also entail rule
applications similar to the preceding examples. The root tāp is here used as ending
in NiC. Thus, the introduction of KHaC after tāp + i, where vṛddhi is caused
by 7.2.115 aco' ūnīti, produces tāp + i + a. The introduction of m (UM) to
dviṣat will realize the string dviṣa + m + t + tāp + i + a. Affix NiC will
subsequently be deleted by 6.4.51 ner aniñi. The penultimate long vowel of tëp will be shortened under the condition of the following KHaC by 6.4.94 khaci hravah. The string will now become dvīṣam + tëp + (i→θ) + a = dvīṣam + t(a→a)p + a = dvīṣam + tapa. The final t of dvīṣam will be deleted by 8.2.23 samyogāntasya lopah. One can now apply the anusvāra and parasavarṇa to derive the nominal stem dvīṣantapah. Similar rules apply in deriving parantarapah.

3.2.44 kṣemaPriyamadreṇaṇ ca

Deriving examples (443) kṣemakāraḥ optionally to (444) kṣemamākaraḥ is not very complex. Remember that suffix aN will condition vrddhi (as in kāraḥ) in contrast to KHaC which will introduce mUM. Similar rules apply in deriving (445) priyakāraḥ and (446) priyamākaraḥ.

3.2.48 antātyantādvādārapāra...

Examples such as (447) antagah, (448) atyantagah, and (449) adhvaqah, etc., entail the deletion of the ti of gam, i.e., am, under the condition of the Dūt status of affix Da (cf. Kāś. ad 6.4.143 teḥ: dītyabhāṣyāpy anubandhakarasyāmarthāyaḥ tilolo bhavai). An example such as (450)  satruhaḥ of the following rule will also entail similar deletion.

3.2.50 ape klesatamasoḥ

The derivatives of affix Da such as (451) klesāpahah and (452) tamopahah will again involve the deletion of the ti (an) of apahan. Deriving klesāpaha from klesā + apah + a involves savarnādigha. Deriving tamopaha from tamas + apah + a involves rutva of s by 8.2.66 sasajūṣo ruḥ. Rule 6.1.113 ato ror aplustād aplusteḥ then applies on tamar + apaha to replace the r with u. This occasions the application of rule 6.1.87 ād guṇah whereby the sequence a+u of tam(a+u)+apaha is replaced with a single guṇa vowel o. The resultant tamo + apah requires the pūrvarūpa-ekādeśa ‘single substitute similar to the first’ of 6.1.109 eiñah pādāntād ati in place of the sequence o+a. Thus we get tam(o+a→o)paha = tamopaha.

3.2.51 kumāraśīrṣayor ṛnih

Example (453) kumāraghāṭī derives from kumāraghātin + sU where ghātin derives by introducing affix Nini after verbal root han under the cooccurrence condition of kumāra + am, a pada denoting an object. The h of han will be replaced with gh before in (7.3.54 ho hanter...) thereby producing kumāra + ghan + in. The n of ghan will then be replaced with t by rule 7.3.32 hanasto’ cint.... The resultant string, kumāra + gha(n→t) + in = kumāra + ghat + in will now go through the vrddhi of the penultimate a by 7.2.116 ata upadhāyāḥ to realize kumāra + gha(a→ā)t + in = kumāraghātin. Deriving kumāraghāṭi from kumāraghātin + s(U→θ) entails (i→i) by 6.4.13 sau ca. That is, kumāraghāt (i→i)n + s = kumāraghātin + s. Rule 6.1.68 halīyābbhaya... will delete the s followed by the deletion of n by 8.2.7 naloḥ prātipadikāntasya. We will thus get kumāraghātin + (s→θ) = kumāraghāṭī(θ→θ) = kumāraghāṭī.
An example such as (454) śīrṣaghātī can be similarly derived with the understanding that śīrṣa gets replaced with śīrṣa by this very rule.

3.2.52 lakṣane jaṁāpatays taṅk

The examples of this rule entail the deletion of the penultimate part of han (6.4.98 gamahana...) thereby producing jāyā + h(a→θ)n + a = jāyāhna. The h of the string will be replaced with gh by rule 7.3.54 ho hanṣṭer...to produce jāyā(h→gh)na. The nominative (prathamā) singular sU can now be introduced to derive (455) jāyāghnah. Similar rules will apply in deriving (456) patighṇi though via the introduction of the feminine affix NiP after patighna. The tu status of Taṅk will facilitate the introduction of NiP by 4.1.15 ṭīḍdhānaṅ... .

3.2.56 ādhyaśubhagasthūlapalita...

The derivation of examples such as (457) ādhyaṁkaranaṁ, (458) subha-gaṁkaranaṁ, (459) sthūlaṁkaranaṁ, etc., are similar to the derivation of other affixes marked with KH as it. One can refer to the derivation of (433) aṅgamejyaḥ, etc., where the introduction of mUM is a must. The kṛ + KHYuN sequence will produce karana through the ana replacement for the yu of the affix. The n will then be replaced with n by rule 8.4.1 rasābhyaṁ no nāḥ... . The derivation of ādhyaṁkaranaṁ from ādhyaṁkarana + sU will follow rule-application similar to pārṣṇitra + sU of (418) pārṣṇitram.

3.2.58 sprśo' nudaṅ ke kviṅ

An example such as (460) mantrasṛṅk is derived by introducing affix KuIN after verbal root sprś used in conjunction with a pada ending in sUP though not constituted by the nominal stem udaka. Rule 6.1.67 ver aprktasya will delete the affixal v to produce mantra + Tā + sprś + (v→θ). The Tā will also be deleted after the formation of the compound mantrasṛṅ. The string mantrasṛṅ + (U→θ) will have its affixal s deleted by 6.1.68 haliyābbhyo... . The s of mantrasṛṅ will go through kutva of 8.2.62 kviṅ pratayayasya read with 1.1.50 sthāne' ntaratamaḥ. The resultant string, i.e., mantrasṛṅ(s→kh) = mantrasṛṅkh will go through the applications of two rules. Rule 8.2.39 jhalāṁ jaśo' nte will require replacing the kh with g. Rule 8.4.56 vāvasāne will provide k as an optional replacement for the resultant g. Thus, mantrasṛṅ(s→kh→g→k) = mantrasṛṅk.

Similar set of rules apply in deriving (461) jalasṛṅk. Refer to (II: 446-47) for the full derivational history of ghṛtasṛṅk.

3.2.59 ṛtvigadhrksrādgīg...

Note that (462) ṛtvik, (463) dadṛṅk, (464) sraṅk, (465) dik, and (466) uṣṇik are derived with affix KuIN via nipātana. The first example ṛtvik derives from yaj + KuIN = yaj + (v→θ) = yaj where yaj will go through samprāśraṇa of 6.1.15 vacisvapiyaj...to yield (y→i)yaj→i(a→θ)yj = ij. Note here that ij will be the final part of the compound ṛtvij since KuIN was introduced after verbal root yaj under the coocurrence condition of a
nominal word constituted by ṛtu. Deriving ṛtwik from ṛ(u→v)iṣ = ṛvi (j→g→k = ṛtwik) entails the application of 6.1.77 ikō yan aci followed by relevant rules at the end of (456) mantrasprk. Deriving dadvṛk entails doubling (dvitiya) of dhṛṣ before KuIN via nipātana. That is, dhṛṣ + dhṛṣ + KuIN→dhṛṣ(σ→θ) + dhṛṣ + (v→θ) = dh(τ→a) + dhṛṣ = (dh→d)a + dhṛṣ = dadhṛṣ(s→k). Refer to many examples where rule application relative to doubling has already been explained. The r of dhṛ is replaced with a by 7.4.66 ur at. Other examples can also be similarly derived via nipātana.

The derivation of (467) pṛān from pra + aṅc + KuIN will produce pṛānc + KuIN through 6.1.101 akaḥ savarne.... The ṅ will be deleted by 6.4.24 aniditàm hala.... The (v of) KuIN will be deleted as explained. Given a string such as pṛāc + sU, rule 7.1.70 ugidacām sarvanāmasthānā... will introduce nUM to change the string to pṛā + n(UM→θ) + c + s. The affixal s will again be deleted. The c will be deleted by 8.2.23 samyogāntasya lopah. The result of this rule application pṛān + (c→θ) + (s→θ) = pṛān will now go through kutva of 8.2.62 kunpratyayasya kuh whereby we get the final derivate pṛā(n→ṅ) = pṛān. Similar rules will derive (468) pratyān from prati + (aṅc + v) = prati + aṅ = prati(s→v)an. Using ud + aṅc + v will derive (469) udān. Note that in deriving (470) kruṅ from kruṅc + v = kruṅ(n→θ) = kruṅ(nUM)c = krunc + s, parallel to pṛā+ nUM + c + s of (468) pṛān, krunc does not lose its penultimate n because of nipātana.

3.2.60 tyādādiśu dṛśo' nālocane kāṅ ca

Deriving optional forms such as (470) tyādṛk by introducing affix KuIN after verbal root dṛś used in conjunction with a nominal pada constituted by tyad where tyad would lose its final sound segment d before the nominal ending under the provision of rule 7.2.102 tyādināmaha. The resultant string after the formation of compound will be: tyad + dṛś + KuIN. A derivate with the coocurrence condition of lad, i.e., (471) tādṛk, will similarly yield the string ta + dṛś + KuIN. A replacement in ā (ātve) of rule 6.3.91 ā sarvanāmnah will then apply to change the strings to: ty(a→ā) + dṛś + v, and t(a→ā) + dṛś + v. The application of kutva of 8.2.62 kunpratyayasya along with the deletion of the s of sUP as shown in earlier examples will produce tyādṛk and tādṛk.

Examples (472) tyādṛṣah and (473) tādṛṣah involve the introduction of affix Kaṅ, optionally to KuIN, after verbal root dṛś. They, however, will lack kutva as is the case with KuIN. Consequently, the derivate will be tyādṛṣ + (K→θ)a(N→θ) = tyādṛṣa; and tādṛṣa. Operations relative to sUP-selection, and rutva-visarga will ultimately realize tyādṛṣah and tādṛṣah. Similar rules will apply in deriving (474) yādṛk and (475) yādṛṣah with the conjoined word yad.

3.2.61 satśudviṣadruhadihauyuj...kuip

Note that affix KuIP will be deleted in toto. The resultant compounds
under the cooccurrence conditions of _vedi_, _śuci_, and _antarikṣa_ will subsequently go through _SUP_-selection, and deletion, to derive (476) _vediṣat_, (477) _śuciṣat_, and (478) _antarikṣasat_. The initial _s_ of the verbal root _ṣad₁_ will be replaced with _s_ by rule 6.1.64 _dhātvādēḥ_ _saḥ saḥ_. The _s_ comes back as a replacement for the _s_ of _vediṣat_ and _śuciṣat_ through the application of 8.3.106 _pūrvapadāt_. The final _t_ of the examples is an optional replacement for _d_ under the provision of rule 8.4.56 _vāvasāne_.

Deriving (479) _aṇḍasūḥ_ and (480) _śatasūḥ_ with _KuIN_ introduced after verbal root _sū_ used in conjunction with a _pada_ constituted by _aṇḍa_ and _ṣata_ is easy. Verbal roots _dvīs_, _druḥ_ and _duḥ_, through the introduction of affix _KuIP_ under the cooccurrence condition of a nominal _pada_ constituted by _mitra_, and _go_ will yield derivates such as (481) _mitradvīt_, (482) _mitradhruk_, (483) _godhruk_, and (484) _godhuk_. Note that the _s_ of _mitradvīs_ will get a replacement in _d_ by rule 8.2.39 _jhalām_ _jaśo'nte_. The _d_ will then get replaced by _t_ with the application of 8.4.56 _vāvasāne_. The _h_ of _mitradruḥ_ will be first replaced with _gh_ of rule 8.2.33 _vā druhamuḥ_. An application of rule 8.2.37 _ekācō bhāso bhāṣ..._ will replace the _d_ of _druḥ_ with _dh_. The string will now be _mitra(d→dh)r(u(h→gh))) = mitradhrugh_. The final _gh_ will then go through the application of rules 8.2.39 _jhalām_ _jaśo'nte_ and 8.4.56 _vāvasāne_ to produce _mitradhrugu_(_gh→g) = mitradhrugu(_g→k) = mitradhruk_. Examples (483) _godhruk_ and (484) _godhuk_ will require similar rule applications. The _h_ of _duḥ_ will be replaced with _gh_ by rule 8.2.32 _dāder dhātor ghaḥ_. Examples of _yuj_, such as (485) _aśvayuk_ and (486) _prayuk_, will receive their final _k_ as a replacement for _g_ (8.4.56 _vāvasāne_), which earlier replaced the _j_ of _yuj_ through the _kutva_ of rule 8.2.30 _coh kuḥ_. The rest of the examples can be similarly derived. Remember though that the _v_ replacement for the _n_ of (487) _grāmanīḥ_ and (488) _prāṇīḥ_ comes via _nipātana_.

3.2.62 _bhajc nviḥ_

Refer to the derivation of _ardhabhāk_ (II: 447) for the application of this rule.

3.2.63 _chandas sahah_

An example such as (489) _turāṣāṭ_ is derived by introducing affix _NvI_ after verbal root _sah_ under the cooccurrence condition of a _pada_ constituted by _tura_. Note that _tura_ will receive a replacement in _ā_ for its final _a_ by 6.3.137 _anyeṣam api dṛśyate_. The _a_ of _sah_ will also go through _vṛddhi_ before _NvI_ as per 7.2.115 _aco' śniti_. The _h_ of the resultant _turāsāḥ_ will go through _ḍhatva_ of 8.2.31 _ḥo ḍhaḥ_. This will produce _turāśaḥ_. An application of 8.2.39 _jhalām_ _jaśo'nte_ followed by that of 8.4.56 _vāvasāne_ will produce: _turāsā(d→t) = turāṣāṭ_. The _s_ of _turāṣāṭ_ will be replaced with _s_ by rule 8.3.56 _sahēḥ sādāḥ saḥ_.

3.2.67 _janasanakhanakramagamo vīṭ_

The derivation of (490) _abjāḥ_ requires the introduction of affix _vI<T_
under the cooccurrence condition of a pada constituted by ap. Deriving abjāh from (ap+jan)sU), where affix viT is deleted by 6.1.67 ver aprktaśya, entails replacing the root-final n or m by ā (ātva; cf. 6.4.41 viśvanor...). The resultant (ap + ja + ā) + sU) will go through the application of 6.1.101 akāh svarne... The p of ap + j(a+ā→ā) = sU) = ap + ā + sU will be replaced with b by 8.2.39 jhalām jaśo’nte. Deriving abjāh from abjā + sU requires rutva-visarga. Similar rules apply in deriving (491) gośāh with verbal root san where its s is replaced with ś by rule 8.3.108 sanoter anāh. An example such as (492) agregāh entails non-deletion of the locative ending (saaptami) as per the bāhulaka of 6.3.14 tatpuruse kṛti bāhulam.

3.2.68 ado’ nannel/3.2.69 kravye ca

Examples (493) āmāt, (494) sasyāt, and (495) kravyāt derive from āma + am + ad + viT, sasya + am + ad + viT, and kropy + am + ad + viT where viT is as usual deleted by rule 6.1.67 ver aprktaśya. The ātva of āma, etc., followed by savaynadirgīha will derive āmāt, sasyāt and kravyāt. Rule 6.1.67 halinyābbhyo... will delete the sU introduced after these derivates.

3.2.70 duhah kab ghaś ca

Deriving (496) kāmadughā and (497) dharmadughā from kāma + am + duh + Ka and dharma + am + duh + Ka entails replacing the h of duh with gh (ghatva) as per rule 8.2.32 dāder dhātor ghaḥ. Affix TāP (4.1.4 ajādyatas tāP) will be subsequently introduced after kāmadughā and dharmadughā to denote feminine. The sU introduced after the feminine derivates will be deleted by 6.1.67 halinyābbhyo....

3.2.71 mantre śvetavahokthasāpurodāā śvin

Example such as (498) śvetavāh, and (499) ukthasāh derive from (śveta + Tā + vah + NoIN + sU)) and (uktha + Tā + saṃs + NoIN + sU)) where the instrumental ending Tā denotes agent (kartr) in the first example, and instrument (karanā) in the second. Note that the second example can also have the cooccurring pada with the denotatum of karanam 'object'. Affix NoIN, in these examples, is replaced with DaŚ as per the vārttika: śvetavahādānatm das padaśya ca under this rule. The application of yet another vārttika: dīty abhasyāpi ter lopaḥ (ad 6.4.14 atvasantasya cādhatoḥ) will change the string to śvetavah + (D→∅)as)) = śvetav(ah→∅) + as = śvetav + as = śvetavas. The introduction of sU followed by the long vowel replacement of 6.4.14 atvasantasya... will produce śvetavas + s(U) = śvetav(a→ā)s + s(U) = śvetavās + s(U). Rule 6.1.67 halinyābbhyo... will as usual delete the sU, and rutva-visarga will produce śvetavā(ś→r→h) = śvetavā. The next example can also be similarly derived. Note, however, that the nasal of the root is deleted by nipātana. One can also derive (500) purodāh where affix NoIN is introduced after verbal root dasī(∃) under the cooccurrence condition of a nominal pada constituted by puras. Note that puras will be changed to puro as per the applications of rules 8.2.66 sasajuso ruh, 6.1.113 ato ror aplutād..., and 6.1.87 ād guṇah.
Thus: $pura(s \rightarrow r \rightarrow u = pur(a + u \rightarrow o))$. The string $pur(as \rightarrow o) + dāś + NuIN\rightarrow(D)as$ will subsequently produce $purodāś + as + sU$ where the $d$ of the root will be replaced with $d$ through nipātana. The resultant string, i.e. $purodāś + as$ will, as in the preceding example, go through the tilopa as well as of the $sU$ to finally derive $purodāō$.

3.2.72 ave yajah

A long vowel replacement for the $a$ of yaj followed by the $D$as-replacement for $NuIN$ of $(avayaj + NuIN) + sU$) will ultimately produce (501) āvayāḥ.

3.2.73 vījupe chandasi

Deriving (502) upayat from upayaj + vīC will entail the total deletion of the affix followed by the $s$-replacement for the $j$ of yaj by rule 8.2.36 vraścabhrasja.... This $s$ will further be replaced with $d$ (8.2.39 jhalām jasōnte). One can optionally derive upayat from upayad + (sU→∅) = upayad by applying 8.4.56 vāvasāne.

3.2.74 abo maninkvanibvanīpaś ca

This rule allows, in the Vedic, the introduction of affixes manIN, KvanIP, and vanIP additionally to vīC after verbal roots ending in ā. This explains why we have examples of dā, sthā, dhā and pā as in (503) sudāmā, (504) aśvatthāmā, (505) sudhīvā, (506) suṣīvā, and (507) bhūridāvā, etc.

Our first example sudāmā contains (su + dā + manIN) + sU = sudāman + s where rule 6.4.8 sarvanāmahsthāne cāsam buddhau orders the lengthening of the penultimate vowel of the anga. Thus: sudām (a→ā)n + sU = sudāmān + sU. The deletion of n will be accomplished by 8.2.7 nalopah.... The s(U) as usual will be deleted by 6.1.67 halīyābbhīyo....

The derivation of aśvatthāmā parallel to aśva iva tiṣṭhati contains (aśva + sU + sthā + manIN) + sU) where, because of its listing in the group of nominals known as prṣodara, etc., aśvatthāman must go through the t-replacement for its $s$ to produce aśvathāman (cf. 6.3.109 prṣodarādīni yathopadiśṭam). The rest of the derivation remains similar to the preceding examples.

The derivation of sudhīvan and suṣīvan requires a replacement in ī (ītva) for the ā of the roots as per rule 6.4.66 ghumāsthāgāpā.... Our last example, bhūridāvā, derives similarly from bhūridāvan + sU where the affix introduced after dā happens to be vanIP.

3.2.76 kvip ca

Example (508) ukhāsrat derives with the introduction of affix KvIP after verbal root srāms under the cooccurrence condition of ukhā. The affix is as usual deleted. The nasal of ukhāsrams + sU is also deleted by 6.4.24 animitām hala upadhā.... The final s of ukhāsras, will after the deletion of sU, be replaced with $d$ in view of 8.2.72 vāsurasansudhāmsu.... The resultant form ukhāsrad can now be changed into ukhāsrat via the t-replacement for its final $d$ as per rule 8.4.56 vāvasāne.
Similar rules will apply in deriving (509) parṇadhvat.

Example (510) vāhābhrat derives by introducing affix KuI after verbal root bhramś ‘to fall down’ under the cooccurrence condition of vāha. The ś of vāhabhrat, subsequently to the deletion of the nasal of the root, will be replaced with ś by rule 8.2.36 vraścabhrasṛṣṭṛjy... The resultant vāhabhras, of course after the deletion of sU, will receive the d→ṭ replacement for its final ś to produce vāhabhrat similarly to (502) upayat. The lengthening of the a of vāha in vāhabhra to realize vāhābhrat is accounted for by 3.2.75 anyesām api drṣyante.

3.2.77 sthāḥ kā ca

An example such as (511) śaṃsthāḥ derives by introducing affix Ka after verbal root sthā used in conjunction with the indeclinable pada śaṃ where, given, šaṃsthā + a, rule 6.4.64 āto lopa īti ca deletes the long ā. Finally, śaṃsthā + s will produce šaṃsthāḥ through rutu-visarga. A parallel derivate with affix KuI will be (512) šaṃsthāḥ.

3.2.78 supy ajātāu nīnaś tācchīlye

Deriving examples such as (513) uṣṇabhōjī, and (514) śītabhōjī from underlying strings such as (uṣṇa + bhuj + Ninīl + sU, and (śīta + bhuj + Ninīl + sU)) entail guṇa whereby we get uṣṇa + bh(u→o)j + in. The rest of the rules are similar to (455) kumāraghāti.

3.2.81 bahulam ābhikṣyate

Deriving (514) kāasyapāyinaḥ and (515) kṣīrapāyinaḥ from kāasyapāyin + Jas and kṣīrapāyin + Jas where the nominal stems kāasyapāyin and kṣīrapāyin entail the introduction of affix Ninī after verbal root pā under the cooccurrence condition of the nominal pada constituted by kāṣāya and kṣīra respectively. The introduction of yUK (7.3.33 āto yuk cinkṛtoḥ) followed by rutuavisarga and the n-replacement (nātva) are subsequently required operations to realize the derivates. Thus: kāasyapāyin + (J→θ)as) = kāasyapāyina(s→h) = kāasyapāyin(a→η)aḥ = kāasyapāyinaḥ. The next example also follows similar rule application.

3.2.83 ātmamāne khaś ca

This rule introduces affixes KHaS and Ninī to optionally derive (516) darśaniyammanyah and (517) darśaniyamāni. The Ninī form as usual entails the penultimate vṛddhi in man + in => mānin. Deriving darśaniyamāni from darśaniyamānin + sU does not offer anything new. Deriving darśaniyammanyah from darśaniyamannya + sU involves the introduction of affix KHaS after verbal root man under the cooccurrence condition of a nominal pada constituted by darśaniya. A string such as darśaniya + man + (KH→θ)a(S→θ) = darśaniya + man + a will receive ŚyaN because the root belongs to the divādi class (3.1.69 divādibhyah śyan). The introduction of augment mUM by 6.3.67 arurudviṣat... will be next. Thus: darśaniya + man + ya + a = darśaniya + m(UM→θ) + man + ya + a = darśaniyamannya + a. Rule 6.1.97 āto guṇe will finally produce the nominal stem
Daršanīammannya which after the introduction of sU and subsequent rutva-visarga will produce daršaniyammannyaḥ. Additional examples such as (518) pāṇḍitamannyaḥ and (519) pāṇḍitamāṇi can be similarly derived.

3.2.85 karaṇe yajah|3.2.86 karmanī hanah

Examples under these rules require the cooccurrence condition of karaṇa 'instrument' and karman 'object' respectively for the introduction of affix Nin after verbal roots yaj and han. Thus, we get (520) agniṣṭomayājī and (521) mātulaghāṭī. Refer to (455) kumāraghāṭi for derivational details of the second example.

3.2.87 brahmabhṛṅavṛtresu kvip

Examples such as (522) brahmaḥ, (523) bhṛṅahā and (523) vṛtragā involve the deletion of n, and lengthening (6.4.13 sau ca) similar to (455) kumāraghāṭī.

3.2.89 sukarmapāṇamantrāpunyēsu kṛṇah

Deriving examples such as (524) sukṛṭ, (525) karmakṛṭ, (526) mantrakṛṭ and (527) punyakṛṭ by introducing affix KovP after verbal root kṛ under the cooccurrence condition of a pada constituted by su, etc., requires augment tUK by 6.1.71 hrasvasya pīti kṛṭi.... Thus: sukṛ + (KovP→∅) + t(UK) = sukṛṭ, etc.

3.2.90 some suṇah|3.2.91 agnau ceh

See derivations (252) agnīcit and (253) somasut (II: 421-23) under the appendix of rule 1.1.62 pratyayalope pratyaya....

3.2.93 karnaṇinirvikriyaḥ
3.2.94 drṣeḥ kvanip
3.2.95 rājani yudhikṛṇah
3.2.96 sahe ca

The derivation of (528) somavikrayī, (529) rasavikrayi and (530) madyavikrayi requires the introduction of affix in after verbal root kṛñ used with the preverb vi under the cooccurrence condition of a pada which ends in sUP and denotes an object. Thus, soma + am + vi + kṛ + in will go through sUP-deletion, guṇa (7.3.84 sārvadhātukārdha...) and ayādesa (6.1.78 eco' yavāyavāḥ) to produce somavikr(i→e→ə) + in = somavikrayin. The derivation of somavikrayin from somavikrayin + sU is not very different from derivates such as (455) kumāraghāṭi which require n-deletion (nudopa), and lengthening (dīrghatva), etc. The same applies to other such derivates.

Deriving (531) vārṇaṇasidṛṣvā by introducing affix KvanIP after verbal root diṣIR, used with vārṇaṇi serving as its karman, will also require the deletion of n of vārṇaṇasidṛṣvan + sU. The lengthening of a at the end to produce vārṇaṇasidṛṣvā before sU will be accomplished by 6.4.8 sarvanāmasthāne.... The sU, of course, will be deleted. Similar set of rules will apply in deriving (532) paralokadrśvā and (533) pāṭaliputraadrśvā. Examples (534) rājajyudhvā, (535) rājakṛtvā; and (536) sahajyudhvā, and
(537) sahakṛtvā are different only in terms of specific conditions of cooccurrence.

3.2.97 saptamīm janer dāh

The derivation of (538) upasarajah and (539) mandurajah requires the introduction of affix Da after verbal root jan under the cooccurrence condition of a nominal pada ending in the locative (saptami). Thus: upasara + Ni + jan + (D→θ)a = upasara + jan + a after the deletion of Ni. Note that upasarajana of upasarajana + sU goes through the deletion of its tī (1.1.64 aco' ntyādi tī) eventhough it is not a bha in view of 6.4.143 teh (cf. Mbh. ad this rule: dīty abhassāpy anubandhakaranasāmarthyaḥ). Deriving upasaraj(an→θ)a + s(U→θ) = upasarajah parallel to upasare jātaḥ 'born out of the first pregnancy' through rutva-visarga offers nothing new. Same rules will apply in deriving mandurajah from (mandurā + Ni + jan + Da) + sU) parallel to mandurāyām jātaḥ 'born in a stable'. Note that the a of mandurā is shortened by 6.3.63 nyāpoḥ samjñā....

3.2.102 niṣṭhā

Refer to the appendix of rule 1.1.5 kniti ca for derivational details of examples cited under this rule.

3.2.103 suyajor īvanip

Deriving (540) sutvā by introducing affix (N)van(IP) after verbal root suN first requires the replacement by s of the root-initial s by rule 6.1.64 dhātvadeh sah sah. Secondly, given su + van, rule 6.1.71 hrasvasya pītā kṛtā tuk introduces the augment tUK. Deriving sutvā from sutvan + sU offers nothing new. Similar rules with the exception of tUK apply in deriving yajvā.

3.2.104 jiriyater aṭrṇ

Example (541) jaran is derived by introducing affix at(RN) after verbal root jī where the final ṛ of the root goes through guna to produce j(ī→ar) + at(RN→θ) = jar + at. Rule 7.1.70 ugidacām sarvanāmasthāne dhatōḥ introduces augment nUM to jara + sU to produce jara(n(UM→θ)t + sU. The deletion of sU, and also that of the final t of the conjunct (sam-yogāntalopa) yields jaran. The nominative dual and plural forms of jaran, i.e., (542) jarantau and (543) jarantah, can be similarly accomplished from jara + au and jara + (f→θ) as via the application of nUM and (in case of the plural) rutva-visarga.

3.2.105 chandasi liṭ

Our example (544) ātataṇa is derived by introducing affix LIT (and subsequently replacing it with NaL as per 3.4.82 parasmaipadānām na...) after verbal root tan(U→θ) used with the preverb ā(Ν→θ). Doubling and related operations such as halādiśeṣa will produce ā + ta + tan + a where 7.2.116 ata upadhāyāḥ will order vṛddhi to realize āta + t(a→ā)n + a = ātataṇa. The derivation of (545) dadarṣā from dr + drṣ + a is not difficult. Refer to examples with doubling and other similar operations for further rule application.
3.2.106 liṭaḥ kāṇaj vā

Examples such as (545) cikyānāḥ and (546) susuvāṇaḥ derive from ci + ci + aña and su + su + aña where verbal roots ci(N) and su (with its initial s replaced with s) go through doubling of 6.1.8 liti dhātor... and LIT gets replaced with KānaC. The string ci + ci + aña will go through the application 7.3.58 vibhāṣa ceh whereby we will get ci + (c→k)i + aña = ci + ki + aña. Rule 6.1.71 aciśnudhātu... will then have its iyaN blocked in favor of the yaN of 6.4.82 eranekāco’ sanyoga.... Thus: ci + k(i→y) + aña = cikyāna. Deriving cikyānāḥ from cikyāna + sU is easy. Similar rules apply in deriving susuvāṇaḥ where the second s is a replacement of s by 8.3.59 ādeśapratyayayoh and the n is a replacement for the n of aña as per rule 8.4.2 atkupvānum...

3.2.107 kvasu ca

Examples such as (547) jakṣivān and (548) papiṇān derive from (ad + LIT) +sU and (pā + LIT) + sU where LIT is replaced with (K)vās(U). Rule 2.4.40 liti anyatarasayām then orders ghas as a replacement for ad to change the string to (ad→ghas) + (LIT→vas) = ghas + vas. Doubling and related operations will produce gha + ghas + vas where 7.2.76 vasvekaJay... will then introduce i(T): gha + ghas +i + vas. The penultimate a of the aṅga will then be deleted by 6.4.100 ghasibhasor hali to yield gha + gh (a→0)s + i + vas. Rule 8.4.55 khari ca will replace the remaining gh with k. The s of gha + ks + i + vas will go through a replacement in s (satva) whereby we get gha + k(s→s) + i + vas = jakṣi + vas. The initial gh of the string will change into j (cartva) via jh (cutva) through the application of rules 7.4.62 kuhoś cuh and 8.4.54 abhyāse car ca. See the derivational history of (30) citavān under the appendix of 1.1.5 kniti ca for details of how (gh→jh→j)ah(gh→k(s→sivas) + sU)) will finally produce jakṣivān.

Deriving papiṇān from (pā + pā + vas) + sU is comparatively easier. The ā before vas will be deleted by 6.4.64 āto lopa āti ca. Augment iṬ will also be introduced here to produce pā + p + i + vas through the facility of rāpātidesa ‘extension of form’ of rule 1.1.59 dvirvacane‘ ci. Finally, the ā of pā in pā + p + i + vas will go through shortening (hrasva) by 7.4.59 hrasvaḥ. Deriving papiṇān from papiṇas + sU again requires reference to the derivation of citavān as mentioned.

3.2.108 bhāṣyāṁ sadavasaṣṭvah

This rule makes the replacement of KvasU optional in case of these three verbs relative to the classical usage. An example such as (549) upasedivān will thus derive from (upa + sad + sad + i + vas) + sU) similarly with reference to rules of the preceding examples. Note, however, that the root is used with the preverb upa which, as usual, will not be part of doubling. Rule 6.4.120 ata ekahālambhye... will then delete the first sad and order e as a replacement (etva) thereby changing the string to upa + (sad→0) + s(a→e)d + i + vas = upa + sed + i + vas = upasedivas.
The long vowel replacement (dirgha) for the short (hrasva) of vas in upasedivas will be ordered by rule 6.4.10 sānmahataḥ samyogasya. Following the derivational patterns of the preceding examples will produce upasedivān from upasedivas + sU. Forms such as (550) upāṣadat derive similarly to (300) alipat where aN replaces CLī by 3.1.55 paṣādi.... The derivation of (551) upāṣidat requires that sad be replaced with sīd before SaP by 7.3.78 pāghrādhmāsthaḥ... to produce upa + a(T) + (sad→sīd) + (Ś)a(P) + t = upa + a + sīd + a + t. An application of savarṇādirgha (6.1.101 acoh savarṇe...) will finally produce up(a+a→ā) + sīd + a + t = upāṣidat. Yet another example (552) upasasāda can be derived by introducing affix LIṬ after verbal root sad used with the preverb upa where the LIṬ will be introduced by 3.2.115 parokṣe liṭ. The tiP which will replace LIṬ of upa + sad + LIṬ will be further replaced with NaL of 3.4.82 parasmai-padarām.... Doubling and related operations will then follow to produce upa + sa + sad + a. Rule 7.2.116 ata upaṭhāyāḥ will produce the final derivate by ordering the vṛddhi-replacement for the penultimate a. Thus, upasas(a→ā)d + a = upasasāda.

The derivation of (553) anuṣivān proceeds with the introduction of KvasU after verbal root vas used with the preverb anu. Rule 6.1.15 vacisvāpi... then orders samprasāranaḥ which also causes the deletion of a of vas. This will produce anu + us + vas. Doubling, halādiṣeṣa, and iṬ will then apply to realize anu + u + us + i + vas where rule 8.3.60 sāśivasīghas... further orders s as a replacement for s of us. This will give us anu + u + us + i + vas = anuṣivas via savarṇādirgha. Affix su can now be introduced to derive anuṣivān from anuṣivas + sU.

The derivation of (554) anuvāṭsit is in many ways similar to the derivation of (20) ālāvī in the appendix of volume II. The vṛddhi is accomplished in this example by 7.2.3 vadavrajāhala.... The t of anuvāt in anuvāṭsit is replaced for s in view of rule 7.4.49 saḥ syārdhadhātuке. Rule 7.3.96 asticos’ prkte introduces the augment i(T) for which see the derivation of (16) akāṛṣit again in the appendix of volume II. Note that the introduction of iṬ is blocked by rule 7.2.10 ekāc upadeṣe....

The derivation of (555) anuvāṣat form anu + aT + vas + LUN is not very different from the many LUN-derivates already explained. Deriving (556) anuvāṣa from anu + u + v(a→ā)s + a entails replacing LIṬ with NaL via tiP as in (552) upasasāda. The application of samprasāranaḥ and related operations will finally produce the derivate.

The derivation of (557) upasuṣravān requires the introduction of KvasU after verbal root śru used with the preverb upa. Doubling and other operations similar to the derivates of the preceding rule will also apply. The derivation of (558) upāṣraṣṭit, a derivate in LUN, is similar to that of (16) akāṛṣit (cf. appendix of volume II). Example (559) upaṣuṣrāva, a derivate in LIṬ, offers nothing new.
The derivation of (560) aṣṭnot proceeds with śru + LAN which, after the śṛ replacement for śru by 3.1.74 śruvaḥ..., and the introduction of the vikaraṇa Śnu, receives aT. This yields a(T) + śṛ + Śnu + (LAN→tiP→t) = a + śṛ + nu + t. Note that the guṇa of r of śṛ before Śnu is blocked at the strength of 1.2.4 sārvadhatukam aṇu. However, the guṇa for the u of Śnu before tiP cannot be blocked. Thus, we get aśṛ + n(u→o) + t which after the n as a replacement for its n (vātva; vide the vārttiṣka: tvārṇāntasya nātvam vācyam) produces aṣṭnot.

3.2.109 upeyīvānanāśvānanicānas ca

Deriving (561) upeyīvān from upa + i + (LIT→KvasU) with subsequent doubling will produce upa + i + i + vas. The reduplicate i will go through lengthening (dīṛgha) as per rule 7.4.69 dīṛgha iṇāh kiti. This rule allows a replacement in yaN for the i of upa + (i→i) + i + vas = upa + i + (i→y) + vas via nipātana since i occurs before a consonant. The resultant string upa + i + y + vas will receive iT as per rule 7.2.67 vasvekāj... This will give us upa + i + y + i(T) + vas = upa + i + yi + vas. Rule 6.1.87 ād guṇah will finally produce up(a+i→e) + yi + vas = upeyivas from which one can easily derive upeyīvān following the derivational pattern of other derivates in KvasU.

Now consider the optional derivates such as (562) upāgāt from upa + i + (CLI→sīC→θ) + (LUΝ→tiP→t) = upa + i + t; (563) upaīt from upa + i + (LUΝ→tiP→t) = upa + i + t; and (564) upēyāya from upa + (LIT→tiP→(N)a(L) = upa + i + a. Our first example upāgāt will require verbal root i to be replaced with gā as per rule 2.4.45 īna gā luni. The sīC is deleted by 2.4.77 gāṭisthāghopā.... The string will receive ā(T) (6.4.72 ād ajādinām) whereby we will get upa + ā + gā + t = upāgāt through savarṇadīṛgha. Note that the i of tiP is deleted by 3.4.100 itaś ca.

The second example will also receive āT though its SaP will be deleted by 7.4.72 adiprabhṛtībhyaḥ.... A single vrddhi replacement ordered for the sequence ā+i by rule 6.1.90 ātaś ca will give us upa(ā+i = ai) + t = upa + ai + t. A second single vrddhi replacement will then be ordered by 6.1.88 vrddhir eci whereby the sequence a + ai of upa + ai + t will be replaced with ai to finally derive up(a + ai = ai) = upaīt.

The derivation of upēyāya entails (LIT→tiP→NaL) after i ‘to go’, used with the preverb upa, whereby we get upa + i + a. Rule 7.2.115 aco’ niti then orders vrddhi for i which gives us upa + (i→ai) + a = upa + ai + a. Rule 6.1.78 eco’ yavāyāvaḥ then orders āy as a replacement for ai to produce: upa + āy + a. Rule 6.4.78 abhyāsasyaśavartne read with 1.1.53 niḥ ca will introduce iyAN to change the string to upa + iy(AN→θ) + āy + a = upa + iy + āy + a. The final form will be realized by the application of rule 6.1.87 ād guṇah. Thus: up(a+i = e)iy + āy + a = upēyāya.

Yet another derivate of KvasU is cited here as (565) anāsvān parallel to na aśvān. The derivate contains as + KvasU which ultimately produces
āśvān from āśvas + sU. Note that doubling and related operations will produce a(ā→∅) + āś + vas = a + āś + vas. The initial sequence a+a will go through the single guṇa replacement in a of 6.1.87 ād guṇaḥ. The result will be (a+a→a)ā + vas = āś + vas. Rule 7.4.70 ata ādeh will then order the lengthening of a to give us (a→ā)ā + vas = āśvas. The introduction of augment iI by rule 7.2.67 vasvekāj... is blocked here by our present rule via its provision of niṇātana. Follow the derivation of KuavU examples to derive anāśvān from anāśvas + sU where the base in itself is a negative (nāN) tatpurusa compound. Note that the n of na(N→∅) + āśvas is deleted by 6.3.73 nalopo naṇaḥ. The resultant string will then receive the augment nu(T→∅) by rule 6.3.74 tasmān nuḍ aci. This will give us (n→∅)a + āśvas = a + n(U→∅) + āśvas = anāśvas, the nominal base after which sU will be introduced to derive anāśvān.

Our next example (566) nāśīt is again a negative tatpurusa compound where given na + āśīt rule 6.1.101 akah savarne dirghaḥ applies to yield n(a+a→ā)āśīt. Our example āśīt contains the string ā(T) + āś + i(T) + (CLI→sIc→∅)) + (LUN→i(→∅(P→∅))) = āś + t where augment i(T→∅) is introduced by 7.3.96 astisico ‘ṛkṣte. This will be followed by the deletion of sIc by rule 8.2.28 ṭi ṭī. The details of elements of the string are similar to other derivates already derived. The application of a single vṛddhi replacement in ā by rule 6.1.90 āṭas ca will then produce: (ā + a→ā)āśī + ī + t = āśīt.

One can also derive (567) nāśnāt parallel to na āśnāt which also entails the augment āT and the vihara Na as per 3.1.81 kṛyādbhyaḥ śnā. A derivate of LIṬ such as (568) nāśa can also be derived from a + āś + (LIṬ→(tiP→N)a(L)) = a + āś + a. This string will first go through vṛddhi of the upadhā of the verbal root: a + (a→ā)āś + a (7.2.116 ata upadhāyaḥ); the next vṛddhi will apply to the reduplicate (abhyaśa): (a→ā) + āś + a = ā + āśa (7.4.70 ata ādeh). An application of savarnadirgha will produce (ā+a = ā)āś + a = āśa. The application of savarnadirgha is also required on the string na + āśa after the negative tatpurusa compound.

The derivation of (569) anuvocat entails the replacement of brū by vac (2.4.53 bruvo vaciḥ) given anu + brū + LUN. Refer to the derivation of (296) avocat for further details. Note that anu + avocat yields anuvocat via the application of 6.1.77 iko yan aci. A LAN derive such as (570) anuvabraviḥ is derived from anu + a(T) + brū + (Ś)a(P) + tiP where rule 7.3.93 bruva ṭi introduces i(T). This SaP is deleted by 2.4.72 adi prabhyyaḥ... to give us anu + a + brū + ī + t(i→∅) = anu + a + brū + ī + t. An application of guna (7.3.84 sārvadhatukārdhādhatukāyoh) followed by a replacement in av by rule 6.1.78 eco’ yavāyavah will produce: anu + a + br(u→o→av) + ī + t = anu + a + brav + ī + t. Rule 6.1.77 iko yan aci will then apply on anu to produce: an(u→v) + a + brav + ī + t = anv + a + brav + ī + t = anuvabraviḥ.
Refer to the derivational history of (131) uvāya for deriving (571) anūvāca from anv + vac + Līt.

3.2.110 luī/3.2.111 anadyatane laīn

Refer to the derivation of akārsit and ahārsit under the appendix of 1.1.1 vṛddhir ādaic. One can also refer to the LAN-derivative (201) akurutām (vol. II: 396–97) for specific details of deriving (572) akarot and (573) aharat which contain a(T) + kr +u + tip and a(T) + hṛ + (ŚaP + tiP) respectively. The derivation of akarot requires the guṇa of both r→ar and u→o to produce a + k(r→ar) + (u→o) + t = akarot. Our next example requires the guṇa of r. Thus: a + h(r→ar) + a + t = aharat.

3.2.112 abhijāvacane lṛṭ

The derivation of (574) vatsyāmāḥ proceeds from vas + sya + mas similarly to the underlying string of (742) karisyati (vol. II: 509–10) which differs only in the selection of tiP as opposed to the first personal dual vas of the example on hand. Rule 7.4.49 saḥ syārdhadhāttuke will replace the s of vas with t to produce va(s→t) + sya + mas. The final a of vatsya will go through lengthening (dirgha) via the application of rule 7.3.101 ato dirgho yañī. Thus: vatsy(a→ā) + mas = vatsyāmas. A subsequent application of rutva-visarga will finally derive vatsyāma(s→r→h) = vatsyāmah.

3.2.113 na yadi

A derivate such as (575) avasāma will derive from a(T) + vas + ŚaP + mas where vas will be a replacement for LAN of 3.2.111 anadyatane laīn. The final derivate will be realized via lengthening as in the preceding example followed by the deletion of the s of mas by 3.4.99 nityaṁ īntaḥ.

3.2.114 vibhāṣā śākānke

An example such as (576) bhokṣyāmahe derives from bhuj + sya + mahi where maha(N) is a first personal plural ātmanepada replacement for LRT. The root vowel u will go through the guṇa of its penultimate vowel (laghūpadhaguna). Rule 3.4.79 ōṭ ātmanepadānām ṭer e will as usual produce bhuj + sya + maha(i→e) = bhuj + sya + maha. The j will then change to k through g as per the kutva and cartva of rules 8.2.30 coḥ kuḥ and 8.4.55 khari ca respectively. The s of bhuj(j→g→k) + sya + maha will then go through satva of 8.3.59 ādesaţaprasyasoh. This in addition to the lengthening of the a of sya will produce bhok + (s→ṣ)y(a→ā) + maha = bhokṣyāmahe.

An optional example in LUṆ, i.e. (577) abhuṇḍjmahi, derives from a(T) + bhuj + (LUṆ→mahi) where 3.1.78 rudhādibhyah śnam introduces (Ś)naḥ(M) after the u of bhuj on account of M as an it (1.1.47 midaco' ntyāt parah). The a of na in a + bhug + na + j + maha will be deleted by 6.4.111 śnasor al loṇah to produce a + bhun(a→0)j + maha = abhuṇḍj + maha. Rules 8.3.24 naś cāpadāntasya jhali and 8.4.58 anusvārasya yayi parasavarṇaḥ will now derive abhu(n→m→ṇ)jj + maha = abhuṇḍjmahi.
3.2.115 parokṣe liṅ

Refer to the appendix of rule 1.1.58 na padāntadvirvacana... where I have explained the derivation of (231) jāksatuḥ and (232) jāksuḥ. Similar rules apply in deriving (578) cakāra and (579) jahāra from kṛ + LIṬ and ḫṛ + LIṬ where LIṬ will have to be replaced with NaL and ḫ of the root will go through vṛddhi. One can similarly derive (580) vīlalāpa from vi + lap + (LIṬ→NaL) = vi + la + lap + a = vīla(a→ā)p + a = vīlalāpa through doubling, halādiśeṣa, and dirgaha. The same is true of (581) jagāma from ga + gam + a where the g of reduplicate ga additionally gets replaced with j.

3.2.117 praśne cāsannakāle

The derivation (582) iyāja from ya + yaj + (LIṬ→NaL) requires doubling. Additionally, the reduplicated syllable ya goes through sam-prasāraṇa, and the deletion of a, to produce: (y→i)(a→θ) + yaj + a = i + yaj + a which through dirgaha of the a of iyaj produces iy(a→ā)j + a = iyāja. Note that (583) jaghāna can also be similarly derived from han + (LIṬ→tiP→NaL) which after doubling and halādiśeṣa will produce ha + han + a. The cutva in jh of rule 7.4.62 kuhōs cuh followed by the j replacement of jh by 8.4.54 abyāse car ca will change the string to (h→jh→j)a + han + a. Rule 7.3.54 ho hanter... will then order the h of han to be replaced with gh for reason that NaL is marked with N as an it. Deriving jaghāna from ja + (h→gh)an + a = ja + ghan + a will just require the vṛddhi of the penultimate (upadhā) vowel a by 7.2.116 ata upadhāyāḥ.

3.2.119 aparokṣe ca

The derivation of (584) ahūyāpātika as in adhyāpātyati sma begins with adhyāpi for deriving which refer to (167) adhyāpīpat. The introduction of LAT→tiP and ŠaP followed by guṇa of i and subsequent replacement in ay will produce adhyāp(i→e→ay) + a + ti = adhyāpāyati. The derivation of (585) bravīti from brū + ŠaP + LAT→tiP entails the introduction of i(T (7.3.93 brvva iṭ) whereby we get brū + i + i. Note that ŠaP is deleted by 2.4.72 adi prabhṛtibhyah. For the remaining application of guṇa of the ā of brū and its subsequent replacement in av refer to the derivation of (570) anvavravīt.

3.2.121 nanvōr vibhāṣā

Refer to the derivation of (16) akāṛṣṭ (vol. II, 332–33) for deriving (586) akāṛṣaṃ which differs from the former in respect of miP as a replacement for LUN. Note that rule 3.4.101 tasthashamipām... will subsequently replace miP with am.

3.2.122 pūrī lūn cāsme

Our example (586) avātsuḥ derives from a(T) + vas + s(IC) + (LUN→jhi) where jhi subsequently gets replaced with (j)us of 3.4.109 sijabhystavidbhyaś ca. The s of vas will be replaced with t by 7.4.49 saḥ
syārdhadhātuke and its a will go through vṛddhi by 7.2.3 vadvrajaḥalantarasyācaḥ. Thus, \( a + v(a→ā)(s→t) + s + us = avātsu(s→r→h) = avātsuḥ. \) Refer to the derivational history of ḥuṭh (vol. II: 428–29) for deriving (587) ṛuṣṭh from vṛs + (LIT→jḥī→Jus) through doubling, sanprasāraṇa and other related operations. Note that rule 8.3.60 sāsvasīgahinām... will replace the s of ṛuṣ in ṛuṣ + us with s. The application of rutva-visarga will finally produce uṣū(s→h) = uṣuḥ.

3.2.124 ṛaṭṭāḥ śatīśānavā ṛaprathamāsāmanāndhikarane

An example such as (589) pacantam contains pacat + am where pacat is derived from pac + (Ś)a(P) + LAT. The LAT in this example is replaced with ŚatŘ. Rule 6.1.97 ato guṇe will finally produce the nominal stem pac + (a+a→a)t = pacat. The final form pacantam will be derived by the introduction of nUM by rule 7.1.70 uggacām sarvanāmasthāne. Thus: pacat(n(UM→θ) + t + am = pacantam. The nominative/vocative singular form of pacat will be derived form pacat + sU where nUM will be introduced to derive pacant + sU. Rule 6.1.68 halīvābbhyo... will as usual delete sU. The final t of pacant will then be deleted to produce pacant(t→θ) = (590) pacan by 8.2.23 samyogāntasya lopaḥ. A replacement in (Ś)āna(C) for LAT followed by the introduction of m(UK) by rule 7.2.82 āne muk will similarly produce the nominal stem pac + a + m + āna = pacamāna. The subsequent introduction of am after pacamāna together with the application of 6.1.107 amī pūrvah will then realize pacamān (a+a→a)m=(591) pacamānam. Deriving (592) pacatā, the instrumental singular of pacat, from pacat, + (T)ā is easy. The instrumental singular of pacamāna from pacamāna + (T)ā requires that Tā be replaced with ina by rule 7.1.12 ṭanasiśāmināntsyāḥ. Rule 6.1.87 ād guṇaḥ then applies on pacamāna + ina to produce pacamān(a+i→e)na = pacamānena. Another derivate with āna is (593) vidyamānaḥ derived from (vid + (Ś)y(a(N) + m(UK→θ) + (LAT→āna = vidyamāna) + sU)) = vidyamānah. One can similarly derive (594) adhyānaḥ from adhyāna + sU where the nominal stem adhyāna entails a replacement in āna for LAT after verbal root i used with the preverb adhi. Thus, adhi + i + (LAT→āna) = adhi + āna through savānādhīgha. Rule 6.4.77 aci śudhāṭubhṛvām... will then introduce iyaN to produce adhi + iy(ANh) + āna. An application again of savānādīgha will realize adhyāna which after the introduction of sU will derive adhyānah.

The derivation of (595) juḥvat entails the deletion of ŠaP of hu + hu + ŠaP + (LAT→ŚatŘ) where ŠaP gets subsequently deleted by 2.4.75 juhōtābhibhyā śtuḥ. Refer to the derivation of (250) juhoti (vol. II: 420) for how the h of the reduplicate syllable is replaced with j in (h→j)u + hu + at = ju + hu + at. The u of hu will go through yaN of 6.4.87 huśnuvoh sārvaḥdātuke to finally realize ju + h(u→ν) + at = juḥvat.

The derivation of (596) śayānah contains the string śi (N→θ) +
(SaP→∅) + (LAT→ŚānaC) = ī + āna where SaP gets deleted by 2.4.72 adiprabhṛtibhyah.... The ī of the verbal root goes through guṇa and the corresponding replacement in ay by rules 7.4.21 śīnāḥ sārvadhātuke... and 6.1.78 eco' yavāyāvah. Thus we get s(ī→e→ay) + āna = śayāna, a nominal stem after which the nominative plural ending Jas can be introduced to derive śayānāḥ. Rule 6.1.102 prathamayoh pūrvasavarnāḥ will order a single long vowel replacement for both the final a of śayāna and the initial a of as to produce śayān(a+a→ā)s = śayānas. This last will produce śayānāḥ through rūtva-visarga of the final s.

Note that (597) tiṣṭhantah derives from tiṣṭhat + (J)as where tiṣṭh is a replacement of sthā by rule 7.3.78 pāghrā.... The introduction of n(UM) followed by rūtva-visarga should produce tiṣṭh + at + as = tiṣṭhant + as = tiṣṭhanta(s→r→h) = tiṣṭhantah.

3.2.127 tau sat

The derivation of (598) kariṣyan proceeds with kr + LRT similarly to (742) kariṣyati for which see the appendix under rule 1.4.13 yasmāt... (vol. II: p. 510). Deriving kariṣyan from kariṣya + at on the pattern of kariṣyati should not be problematic since kariṣya is common to them. Given kariṣya + at where at is the SatR replacement for LRT, rule 6.1.97 ato guṇe will then apply to produce kariṣya(a+a→a)t = kariṣyat. The introduction of nUM, and deletion of t at the end of the conjunct (samyoga), will yield kariṣyan. Of course, the sU will again go through deletion.

Deriving (599) kurvan from kr + (LAT→(S)at(R)) = kr + u + at entails guṇa by 7.3.84 sārvadhātukārthadhātukayoh before u of 3.1.79 tanādikṛḍha-bhyabhya.... The a of kr(r→ar) + u + at = kar + a + at will go through a replacement in u (utva) by rule 6.4.110 ata ut sārvadhātuke. The resultant string, i.e., k(a→u)r + u + at = kur + u + at, will produce kur + (u→v)at = kurvat through the application of rule 6.1.77 iko yaṉ aci. Our final derive kurvan should then derive from kurvat + sU.

Derive (600) kurvānāḥ from kr + u + (Ś) + āna (C) where the operations similar to the preceding example will produce kurvāna. The n of the base will go through a replacement in n and the s of sU will go through rūtva-visarga. Deriving (601) kariṣyaṁānāḥ from kariṣya + āna will entail the introduction of mUK, ṅatva, and rūtva-visarga of the s of sU.

3.2.129 tācchīla-vayuvacanaśaktiṣu cānaś

The root after which affix (C)āna(Ś) is introduced as a replacement for LAT to derive (602) muṇḍayamānāḥ is muṇḍi. The NiC will of course be introduced by 3.1.21 muṇḍamāśra.... We will get muṇḍi(ī→e→ay) + (Ś)(aP) + (LAT→āna) = muṇḍay + a + āna via the familiar process of guṇa and its replacement in ay. Rule 7.2.82 āne muk will then introduce m(UK) to realize muṇḍay a + m + āna = muṇḍayamāna. An introduction of the nominative plural Jas followed by the single long replacement (pūrvasa-varnadīrgha) of rule 6.1.102 prathamayoh pūrvasavarnāḥ will produce
munḍayamāṇa + (j→∅)as = munḍayamān(a+a→ā)as = munḍayamānās. The final derivate will just require an application of rutva-visarga.

One can similarly derive (603) bhūṣayamānāh from bhūṣ + NiC = bhūṣi + LAT = bhūṣi + a + āna. Note, however, that given bhūṣayamānāh rule 8.4.2 ātkupvānnum...will change the n to n. Yet another example such as (604) paraṣyamānāh where ŚyaN is introduced after verbal root as used with pari is not difficult to derive. The i of pari goes through its replacement in y and mUK is again introduced before āna. Similar rules apply in deriving (605) vahamānāh and (606) pacamānāh. The derivation of (607) nighnānāh from ni + han + ŚaP + (LAT → CānaŚ) entails two deletions: the deletion of ŚaP by 2.4.72 adīprabhṛtibhyo...; followed by the deletion of the penultimate (upadā) a of nihān by rule 6.4.98 gamahanajana...at the strength of CānaŚ, a sārvadhātuka affix not marked with P as it, being treated as if marked with N (1.2.4 sārvadhātukam api). The h of nihān + āna will be replaced with gh to realize: ni(h→gh)n + āna via rule 7.3.54 ho hanter...read with 1.1.50 sthāne ntaratamaḥ. Our final derivate nighnānāh will be derived from nighnāna + (j)as similar to the forms already discussed.

3.2.130 āndhārtyoh śatrakṛccrini

The derivation of (608) adhiyān proceeds from adhi + i + ŚaP + (LAT → ŚatR) where, subsequent to the deletion of ŚaP by 2.4.72 adīprabhṛtibhyah..., savarṇadīrgha of i + i followed by the introduction of nUM will produce adhi(i+i→i) + a + n + t = adhiyant. The introduction and deletion of sU followed by the deletion of the final t of the conjunct will realize adhiyān. The derivation of (609) dhāryān requires the use of dhārī a derivate of dhṛ terminating in affix NiC. Operations such as guṇa and subsequent replacement in ay will produce dhārī(i→e→ay) + a + at where a is technically the vikarana Śa of rule 3.1.77 tudādibhyah...

3.2.131 suño yajñasamyoğe

The derivation of (610) sunvantah proceeds with suN + Śnu + (LAT→at) where, given su + nu + at, the root-initial s gets replaced with s (6.1.64 dhātvādeḥ...). Rule 6.4.87 hūṣūvvoḥ sārvadhātuke will then apply to bring: su + n(u→v) + at. The introduction of nUM and fas to subsequently derive sunvantah through rutva-visarga does not offer anything new.

3.2.132 trṇ

Note that karttā has already been derived as derivation (177) under the appendix of volume II(p. 388). The next example (611) vāditā derives from vad + s(T) + tr for which see (7) tātiśā in the appendix of volume II under rule 1.1.2 adēṅ guṇah. The derivation of (612) munḍayitārakah begins with munḍi + i + tr + (j)as where the first i is technically affix NiC introduced by 3.1.21 munḍa... Note that the a of munḍa before the causal NiC will be deleted by a vārṭtika proposal under 6.5.155 teḥ. The guṇa of i (7.3.84
sārvadhātukārdha...; 3.4.114 ārdhadhātukām...) and subsequent replacement of e in ay will produce mūnd(i →e→ay)i + ṛ = mūṇḍayitr. The final form will be derived from mūṇḍayitr + (j) as through the vṛddhi of ṛ and rutva-visarga as: mūṇḍayitr(ṛ→ār)a(s→h)) = mūṇḍayitārah)).

3.2.136 alanśkrinirākṛṣṇopapratapartonmada...iṣṇuc

The derivation of (613) alanśkarisṇuḥ contains (alanśkr + iṣṇuc) + sU where ṛ of alanśkr goes through guṇa. The s of sU of course goes through rutva-visarga. Examples such as (614) nirākariṣṇuḥ similarly derive from nir + aṅ + kr + iṣṇuc + sU)). Other examples such as (615) sahiṣṇuḥ and (616) cariṣṇuḥ, etc., may not meet the necessary condition for guṇa.

3.2.137 neś chandasi

The derivation of (617) dhārayiṣṇavaḥ and (618) pārayiṣṇavaḥ contains (dhāri + iṣṇuc) + (j) as and (pāri + iṣṇuc) + (j) as where the roots before iṣṇuc terminate in NiC. It is also for this reason that the i of NiC gets replaced with ay by rule 6.4.55 ayaśmantāl... Thus we get dhāri(i→ay) + iṣṇu + as = dhārayiṣṇu + as. One can similarly get pārayiṣṇu + as. An application of guṇa by 7.3.109 jasi ca followed by the av replacement for the resultant e will produce dhārayiṣna(ṛ→o→av) + as = dhārayiṣṇavas. The application of rutva-visarga will provide dhārayiṣṇavaḥ. The same applies in case of pārayiṣṇavaḥ.

3.2.141 samityāstābhyo ghinun

Our example (619) śam contains šam + in(U→Θ) where the vṛddhi of 7.2.116 ata upadhāyāḥ is blocked by rule 7.3.34 nodāttopadesasya.... Rule 6.4.13 sau ca then orders the long replacement for the short penultimate i to produce šamin. The sU after the base will be deleted by 6.1.68 halisyaḥbhayo.... The n also goes through deletion though by 8.2.7 nalopah prátiṣṭhānatiṣya. Similar derivational history is shared by (620) tam, (621) dam and (622) bhram, etc. The derivation of unmādi additionally requires the change of the d of ud into n by 8.4.45 yaro' nunāsike....

3.2.142 sampṛcānarudhānyamāravasasamrṣaj...

The derivation of examples (623) samparki, (624) rāgī and (625) tyāgī, etc., entails kutva of 7.3.52 cajoḥ ku ghinyatoḥ. The nasal of raṅj is treated as deleted via nipātana at the strength of its citation in this rule. Other examples can be similarly derived via the application of operations such as vṛddhi, etc. Note that some examples will have the vṛddhi of the penultimate vowel by rule 7.2.116 ata upadhāyāḥ. Others such as (626) parisārī will have vṛddhi by 7.2.115 aci' ṅṇiti. Example (623) samparki will similarly have the guṇa of the penultimate vowel (laghūpatdhaguna).

3.2.146 nindahimsakliṣakhāda...vun

Note that rule 7.1.1 yuvor anākau replaces the vuo with aca. Thus we get nindaka + sU = (627) nindakaḥ, (628) himsakah, and (629) khādakah, etc. Verbal roots niḍI and hisI get the forms nind and hims through the nUM of 7.1.58 idito num dhātoḥ. Roots such as vad and (ṛ→n)aś will receive vuN
while ending in \( NiC \). This \( NiC \) would subsequently be deleted by 6.4.51 \( \text{ner anitti} \). The deletion of the final \( a \) of \( asũya \) in (630) \( asũyaka\h \) is accomplished by 6.4.48 \( \text{ato lopah} \).

3.2.148 calanašaabdārthād akarmakād yuc
Note that rule 7.1.1 \( yuvor anāka\u \) will replace affix \( yu(C) \) with \( \text{ana} \). Thus, given \( ru + yu \), rule 7.3.84 \( sārvadhātukārdhadha \)… would require \( guṇa: r(u→o) + (yu→ana) \). The \( o \) will subsequently be replaced with \( av \) by 6.1.78 \( \text{eco} \)'yauũyauha\h. The final derivate (631) \( ravaṇaḥ \) will derive from \( ravaṇa + sU \) where \( n \) will be replaced with \( ŋ \) and \( s \) will go through \( \text{rutva-visarga} \). The \( n→n \) change will take place in view of 8.4.1 \( raśāhyyāṁ no ŋah \).… Additional examples such as (632) \( calanaḥ \), (633) \( copanaḥ \) and (634) \( śabdanaḥ \) can be similarly derived through \( guṇa \) (in (633)), and \( \text{rutva-visarga} \).

3.2.150 jucānkrāmyadandramyasrgṛdhijvalaśucalaśupatapadaḥ
The derivation of (635) \( javanaḥ \) from \( ju + yu(C) \) follows the pattern of (631) \( ravaṇaḥ \). Refer to the derivation of verbal roots (223) \( caṇkra\m \) and (224) \( dandrāmya \) after which \( yu(C) \) will be introduced to derive (636) \( caṇkramanaḥ \) and (637) \( dandramanaḥ \). The root-final \( ya \) is deleted by 6.4.49 \( yasa \) \( ha\h \). Changes such as \( (yu→ana), n→n \) \( (nātva) \), and \( \text{rutva-visarga} \) are not hard to accomplish.

3.2.152 na yah/3.2.153 sūdādīpadikṣaś ca
The derivational history of examples (638) \( knũyita\h , (639) ksmāyita\h , (640) sūdita\h , and (641) δiṇita\h \) follows the pattern of \( trN \) derivates already explained under rule 3.2.135 \( trn \). Affix \( trN (3.2.135 \( trn \) \) is introduced after cited roots when this rule blocks the introduction of \( yUC \).

3.2.154 laśapatapadasthābhūvṛṣahana…ukañ
Examples such as (642) \( apalāṣukam \) , (643) \( prapātukāḥ \) , (644) \( kāmukāḥ \) , and (645) \( āgāmukāḥ \) , and (646) \( upasthāyu\kāḥ \) , etc. , all entail \( vrddhi \) before \( ukaN \) conditioned by \( N \). Our last example requires the introduction of \( yUK \) by rule 7.3.33 \( āto yuk ciṅkrto\h \).

3.2.155 ṣaḷpaḥiṣakuttaṭalūvantvṝṇah sākan
The derivation of (647) \( jalpākāḥ \) , etc. , from \( (jalp + (S)āka(N)) + sU )) \) , etc. , is straightforward. However, deriving (648) \( varākah \) requires \( guṇa \) of the penultimate \( r \). Note that the \( S \) as an \( it \) in the affix conditions the introduction of feminine affix \( NiS (4.1.41 \( śid gaurāhdbhyāsa\h ca \) ) in deriving examples such as (649) \( varākī \).

3.2.156 prajor inīh
The derivation of (650) \( prajavi \) with \( inI \) proceeds with \( pra + ju + in \) which produces \( prajavin \) through \( guṇa \) and subsequent replacement in \( av \). Our string \( prajavin + sU \) entails the lengthening of \( i \) by 6.4.13 \( sau ca \) to realize \( prajav(i→i)n \). Refer to (619) \( sâmī \) for details relative to the deletion of \( n \) and \( sU \).
3.2.157 jiḍṛksiviśrīnvamāvyathābhyaṣaṇ.

The derivation of examples (651) jayī form ji + inI, (652) dari from dr + inI, (653) atayī from ati + i + inI, (654) paribhāvī from pari + bhū + inI and (655) prasavī from pra + sū + inI entails guṇa and corresponding replacement in ay or av. The last example also requires s as a replacement for the root-initial s as per 6.1.64 dhātvādeh sah sah.

3.2.158 spṛhigṛhipatiyinidrāṇdrāśraddhābhyaṣaṇa āluc

The first three roots—spṛha, grha and pata are enumerated as curaṇi group of roots terminating in a. Consequently, their forms with affix NiC will be: spṛha + i, grha + i and pata + i. This root-final a is deleted by 6.4.48 āto lopah thereby yielding spṛhi, grhi and pati after which affix āluC is to be introduced. The first two strings may have rule 7.3.86 pugantalahūpadhāṣaṇa ca apply to cause guṇa of their penultimate r. The last example similarly may be a candidate for vṛddhi of its penultimate vowel by rule 7.2.116.ata upadhāyāḥ. This guṇa and vṛddhi, however, is blocked at the strength of sthāṁvāddhāva which makes the deleted a as if part of the string. Thus, there will be no penultimate vowel to which guṇa and vṛddhi could apply. Rule 6.4.55 ayāmantha...will then order ay as a replacement for the root-final i thereby yielding spṛh(i→ay) + ālu = spṛhayālu. The introduction of sU followed by vṛuṭa-visarga will derive the final form (656) spṛhayāluḥ. Similar rules apply in deriving (657) gṛhayāluḥ and (658) patayāluḥ.

3.2.159 dādeśiśisadasado ruh/2.3.160 sṛghasadyaḥ...

Deriving (659) dāruḥ from (dā + ru) + sU; (660) dārūḥ from (dhe(T) + ru) + sU; (661) seruḥ from (si + ru) + sU; (662) sadruḥ from (sad+ ru) + sU; and (663) sadruḥ from sad + ru + sU through guṇa (in (661)) and vṛuṭa-visarga in general is not difficult. Note, however, that the dhā of dhe(T) is obtained as a replacement for the root-final e from rule 6.1.45 ādeca upadeśe....

Examples of KmaraC such as (664) sṛmarah, (665) ghasmarah and (666) admarah are derived without guṇa because of the K as the affixal it (cf. 1.1.5 kniṭi ca).

3.2.161 bhaṅjabhāsasamido ghurac

Refer to the derivation of (493) bhaṅguram in the appendix (pp. 465–66) of volume II. Other examples are easy to derive.

3.2.163 iṅnaśisartibhyah kvarap/3.2.164 gatvaraṣ ca

Note that guṇa will be as usual blocked because of 1.2.5 kniṭi ca. Rule 6.1.71 hrasvasya piti kṛti...will introduce tUK to i + (K)vara(P) to derive (i + t(UK) + vara) + sU = (667) itvarah. Deriving (668) itvari would require the introduction of the feminine affix NiS of rule 4.1.15 āddhānāṇaḥ.... Similar rules will apply in deriving (669) jītvarah/ (670) jītvari; (671) ṣṭvarah/ (672) ṣṭvari. Note that (673) nasvarah/ (674) nasvari do not qualify for tUK. The iʔ in these examples is blocked by rule 7.2.8 ned vāsikrīti.

Note that rule 3.2.164 itself provides for the deletion of the am of gam via (nipātana) to facilitate the derivation of (674) gatvarah and (675) gatvari.
3.2.166 yajajapadasām yaṇah

Follow the derivation pattern of (218) sāsadyate under rule 3.1.24 luptasadacarajapa... to derive yāyaja. Similar derivations under that rule are to be followed to derive jaṇjapya and dandaśya. Rule 6.4.49 yasya halah will subsequently delete the ya of ya(N̄) to produce yāya(ya→θ) + ūka = yayajāka. Similar deletion of ya also occurs in other examples. Deriving (676) yayajākah, (677) jaṇjapūkah, and (678) dandaśūkah with the introduction of sU and rutva-visarga is easy.

3.2.168 sanāsamsabhiṣka uṣ/3.2.169 binduricchuh

Refer to the derivation of (222) cikīrṣakah and (223) jihīrṣakah to derive verbal roots cikīrṣa and jihīrṣa. These roots are required so that affix u can be introduced by this rule to derive (cikīrṣ(a→θ) + u) + sU = (679) cikīrṣuh. The root-final a will be deleted by rule 6.4.48 ato lopaḥ. Similar rules apply in deriving (680) jihīrṣuh. Example (681) āśāmsuh derives from (āsas(I) + u) + sU)) where nUM is introduced after the last vowel of the root at the strength of its I as an it (7.1.58 idito num dhātoḥ). Deriving (682) bhiksuh from (bhiks + u) + sU)) is straightforward.

Our next examples, i.e. (683) binduḥ and (684) icchuḥ, entail the introduction of nUM to vid; and the ch as a replacement for the s of ics both via nipātana. Rule 6.1.73 che ca introduces l(UK→θ) which through the application of 8.4.40 stōś cunā ścuh produces i(s→ch) + u = i(t)ch + u = i(t→c)ch + u = icchu.

3.2.171 ādṛgamahanajanah kikinau liṭ ca

The derivation of (685) papih proceeds with pā + Ki(N→θ) where rule 6.4.64 ato lopa iṭ ca deletes the final ā of the root. Doubling by 6.1.8 liti dhātor...in view of rule 1.1.58 dvirvacane ci via treating affixes Ki or KN as if they were LIT produces pā + p + i. Rule 7.4.59 hrsvah read with 6.1.4 pūrvo bhīsah will replace the long vowel of pā with its corresponding short to realize p(ā→a) + p + i = papi. The placement of sU followed by rutva-visarga will produce papih. Similar rules will apply in deriving (686) dadih from dā.

The derivation of (687) taturih procedes with ṭ + Ki where the root-final ṭ is replaced with u in view of 7.1.103 bahulam chandasi read with 1.1.51 ur an rapanah. This will give ṭ→tur + i. Doubling, and the application of 7.4.66 ur at read again with 1.1.51 will yield t(ṭ→ar) + tur + i = tar + tur + i. An application of 7.4.60 halādi sēsah will reduce the string to ta(r→θ) + tur + i = taturi which, through sU and rutva-visarga will produce taturih. Similar rules will apply in deriving (688) jagurih from jāgr.

The derivation of (688) jagmih from gam + Ki also entails doubling and related operation whereby we get ga + gam + i. The g of the re-duplicate ga will be replaced with j of rule 7.4.62 kuoś cuh. The penultimate a of ja + gam will then be deleted by 6.4.98 gamahanajana... to
produce $ja + g(a→\emptyset)m + i = jagmi$. Similar rules apply in deriving (689) jagñih and (690) jajñih from han + Ki and jñā + Ki.

3.2.172 svapitṛṣor najin

The derivation of (691) svapnak proceeds with svap + naj(IN→\emptyset) where the application of kutva (8.2.30 coḥ kuḥ) and cartva (8.4.56 vāvastāne) derives the nominal stem as svapna(j→g→k) = svapnak. The sU of svapnak + s(U) will then be deleted by 6.1.68 halāṇbhhyo... Deriving (692) trṣṇak from (trṣ + naj) + ūU entails replacing the $n$ of the affix with $\eta$ by 8.4.1 rasāhṛtyām no naḥ....

3.2.177 bhrājabhāsadurvidyutorji...kvip

The derivation of (702) pūḥ from ($pṛ + KuIP$) + ūU entails a re-derived by introducing affix KuIP after preverb root bhrāj(R→\emptyset) used with the preverb vi. Rule 6.1.68 halāṇbhhyo...read with 6.1.67 ver aprktasya subsequently deletes the affix. The $sU$ of vibhrāj + ūU will also be deleted leaving vibhrāj. The terminal $j$ of the string will be replaced with $i$ through the application of rule 8.2.36 vrascahrasjastj...read with 1.1.52 alo’ ntyasya. The $i$ is further replaced with $d$ to derive vibhrāḍ through the application of rule 8.2.39 jhalāṃ jaśō’ nte. An optional application of 8.4.56 vāvastāne can then be availed to replace the final $d$ with $t$ to derive vibhrāṭ.

The nominative dual and plural forms (694) vibhrājau and (695) vibhrājah derive by introducting au and (J)as. Example (696) bhāḥ derives via rutva-visarga of the final $s$ of bhāḥ after the deletion of KuIP and ūU. The dual and plural forms (696) bhāsau and (697) bhāsah are easy to derive. Deriving (698) vidyut from (vidyut + KuIP) + ūU)) is easy. The derivation of (699) ūrk entails the kutva and jaśtvā of the final $j$ of ūr(j→g→k) as per rules 8.2.30 coḥ kuḥ and 8.4.56 vāvastāne. The corresponding dual and plural forms (700) ūrjau and (701) ūrjaḥ are easy to derive.

The derivation of (702) pūḥ from ($p + KuIP$) + ūU entails a replacement in $u$ (utva) followed by its lengthening as per rules 7.1.102 ud oṣṭhāpūrvasya and 8.2.76 vruv upadhāyā dirgha... Note that utva will be followed by $r$ (rapara; 1.4.151 $ur an raparaha$). Thus, $p(ṛ→ur + KuIP = p(u→u)r) + (KuIP→\emptyset) = pūr + (sU→\emptyset) = pūr(r→h) = pūḥ$.

3.2.178 anyebhyo’pi drṣyate

Deriving (703) yuk from (yuj + KuIP) + ūU additionally requires the $j→g→k$ replacement as explained in connection with (699) ūrk. Deriving (704) chūt and (705) bhūt from (chūd + KuIP) + ūU just requires the change of the root-final $d$ to $t$ by 8.4.56 vāvastāne.

3.2.180 viprasambhṛyo āu asamjñāyām

Deriving (706) vībhū from (vībhū + (D→\emptyset)u) + ūU via rutva-visarga first requires the deletion of the root- final $i$ by $dīty abhāsyāpi$,... a proposal under rule 6.4.143 teḥ in the Mahābhāṣya. Similar rules apply in deriving (707) prabhūḥ and (708) sambhūḥ.
3.2.181 dhaḥ karmani śtran

Note that the $S$ of affix Śtra$N$ is given as an $it$ to facilitate the introduction of the feminine affix Ni$i$ by rule 4.1.41 śid gaurādibhyaś ca. One can derive (709) dhāṭrī from (dhā + tra) + (Ni$i$) + sU where the $t$ of the affix will change to $t$ because of the deletion of its $S$ as an $it$. Note that the $S$ serves as a condition for the change of $t$ to $t$ in Śtra$N$. The affixal form will always be realized as tra after the deletion of $S$. The final a of dhātra before i of Ni$i$ will be deleted to derive dhāṭrī by rule 6.4.148 yasyeti ca. A similar form will also result if one used verbal root dhe$T$ where 6.1.45 ādēca uṭpadeśe... will replace the final e of the root with ā.

3.2.182 dāmnīśasayuyuyujustutudasi...

The derivation of (710) meḍhraḥ proceeds with m$h$ + tra where laghūpadhaguna (7.3.86 pugantalāgḥapadhasya ca) and the dh replacement for h (8.2.31 ho dhah) follows to realize m(i→ef)(h→dh) + tra = meḍh + tra. Rule 8.2.40 jhaṣastathordho' dhah then replaces the t of tra with dh. We thus get meḍh + (t→dh)ra = meḍh + dhra. The dh is then replaced with dh in view of 8.4.41 sṭunā sṭuḥ. The dh of meḍh in m€dh + (dh→dh)ra = meḍh + dhra is then deleted by 8.3.13 dho dhe lopaḥ. This gives us me (dh→Ø) + dhra = meḍhra. One can similarly derive (711) yoktram through guṇa and kutva. Note that rule 7.1.24 ato’m will replace the sU with am after yoktra. Rule 6.1.107 ami pūrvaḥ will then apply on yoktra + am to realize yoktr(a+a→a)m = yoktram. Deriving (712) dātram, (713) stotram, (714) tottram, (715) netram and (716) śastraṃ requires similar rule applications. Note that (717) dāmśṭrā derives with TāP instead of Ni$i$.

Deriving (718) naddhran from nah + tra requires the application of rules 8.2.34 na ho dhah to produce na(h→dh) + tra = nadh + tra. Rule 8.2.40 jhaṣastathordho' dhah will then apply to realize nadh + (t→dh)ra = nadh + dhra. The final form of the nominal stem naddhrana will be derived after the application of rule 8.4.53 jhalaṃ jaś jhāṣi. Thus, na(dh→d) + dhram = naddhran. Note that the introduction of i$T$ in case of roots such as sas, etc., is blocked by 7.2.9 tituratathasī...

3.2.188 matibuddhipūjārthebhyaś ca

Note that (719) mataḥ of rājñaṃ mataḥ is derived from mata + sU where mata contains man + (K)ta. Rule 7.2.10 ekāca uṭpadeśe...will block the introduction of i$T$ subsequent to which the n will be deleted by 6.4.37 anudāttopadesa.... Incidentally, the formation of a compound between rājan + Nas and mata + sU is disallowed by 2.2.12 ktena ca pūjāyām. The genitive of rājan + Nas will be introduced by 2.3.67 kṣaya ca vartamāne. Follow applications similar to nadh + tra of (718) naddhran to derive (720) buddhaḥ from (budh + (K)ta) + sU). The derivation of (721) pūjitaḥ would require the introduction of i(T) by 7.2.35 ārdhadhāstukasyed.... Similar rules apply in deriving (722) arcitaḥ. Note, however, that these
roots will have the forms puji and arci if they are accepted as curādi. Their final i will then have to be deleted by rule 6.4.52 niśṭhāyāṃ seti.

3.3.5 vibhāsā kadākarhyoth

This rule allows for the derivation of LAT forms optional to LRT and LUT. The derivation of (723) bhunkte begins with bhuj + (LAT→ta) where LAT gets replaced with ta. Rule 3.4.79 ḥī ṣeṭāmanpadānām ṭer e then replaces the a of ta with e. Rule 3.1.78 rudhādibhyathān śnam then introduces śnam to produce bhu + (Ś)na(M) + j + t(a→e) = bhu + n + j + te. The j of bhu becomes k via g through the application of rules 8.2.30 cōh kuh and 8.4.54 kharī ca. This will give bhu + n + (j→g→k) + te = bhu + n + k + te. The n will then be replaced with n via anuvāra as per rules 8.3.24 naś cāpaḍāntasya jhalī and 8.4.54 anuvārasya yāyī parasavarnāḥ. Thus, bhu(n→m→n) + k + te = bhunkte (cf. prayunkte of 1.3.64 for missing details).

The derivation of (724) bhoksate begins with bhuj + LRT where LRT gets replaced with ta. The ta itself yields to te as is the case with bhunkte. Our string bhuj + te will go through gunā of 7.3.84 sārvadhātukārdhādaḥātukayoḥ. The resultant string, i.e., bh(u→o)j + te, will receive sys of 3.1.33 stayāsi.... The result will be bhaj + sys + te. The j→g→k will also be applicable here. The s of sys will go through a replacement in s (satura) by rule 8.3.59 aśeśapratyayayoḥ. Thus, bho(j→g→k) + sys + te = bhok + (s→s)ya + te = bhoksate.

The derivation of (725) bhokta begins with bhuj + (LUT→ti(P)) = bhuj + tā where 3.1.33 syatāsi... introduces tās to change the string to bhuj + tās + tā. The ti will subsequently be replaced with Dā of rule 2.4.85 lutah prathamasya.... This will yield bhuj + tās + (D→∅)ā = bhuj + tās + ā. A vārttika ad rule 6.4.143 teh (cf. dityaśāpy anubandhakarana...) will then delete the ās (cf. 1.1.64 aco' ntyādi ti) of tās whereby we get bhuj + t(ās→∅) + ā = bhuj + tā. An application of guna on u followed by the j→g→k similarly to the preceding examples will produce bh(u→o)(j→g→k) + tā = bhokta.

3.3.6 kimvrtte lipsāyām

Examples (726) bhojayanti derives from bhuj + NiC + SaP + jhi where jh of jhi gets replaced with ant of 7.1.3 jho'ntah. The application of guna on the u of bhuj under the condition of the ārdhadhātuka affix NiC will produce bh(u→o)ji + a +anti = bhoji + a + anti. The i will then be replaced with its guna counterpart e under the condition of the sārvadhānka affix SaP. The resultant e of bhoji(i→e) + a + anti = bhoji + a + anti will go through its replacement in ay thereby to produce bhoj(e→ay) + a + anti. Rule 6.1.97 ato gune will then replace the sequence of a + a with a single a to produce bhajay + (a+a→a) ni = bhloysanti.

The derivation of (727) bhojayitāraḥ proceeds with bhuj + NiC = bhoji + LUT→jhi = bhoji + tās + jhi = bhoji + tās + a + jhi. The jhi of our string will be replaced with ras of 2.4.85 lutah prathamasya.... The
introduction of i(T) by 7.2.35 ārdhadhātukasyeḥ... followed by guna of i with subsequent ay will produce bhoj(i→e→ay) + i + tās + ras = bhojayitās + ras. The s of tās will then be deleted by rule 7.4.51 ri ca. The application of rutva-visarga on the resultant string bhojayitā(s→θ) + ras will produce bhojayitāra(s→r→h) = bhojayitāraḥ.

The derivation of (728) dadāti begins with dā + (LAT→ti(P)) which after the introduction, and deletion via ŠLU (2.4.75 juhotyādibhyah...), of ŠaP, requires doubling as well as the shortening of the reduplicate. Thus, dā + ti = dā + (ŠaP→θ) + ti = dā + dā + ti = d(ā→a) + dā + ti = dadāti. Note that the shortening of the reduplicate (dā) is accomplished by rule 7.4.59 hrasvāḥ. The derivation of (729) dātā from dā + LUT follows relevant rules similar to (725) bhoktā. Deriving (730) dāṣyati from dā + sya + ti offers nothing new.

3.3.8 laḍarthalakṣane ca

The derivation of (731) āgacchati contains āgam + (Š)a(P) + (LAT→ti(P)) = āgam + a + ti where 7.3.77 iṣugamiyamāṃ chaḥ introduces ch as a replacement for the final m of āgam. Rule 6.1.73 che ca then introduces the augment tUK to produce āga (m→ch) + a + ti = āga(t(UK→θ)ch) + a + ti = āgatc + a + ti. Rule 8.4.40 stoh ścunā ścuh then orders c as a replacement for t to produce āga(t→c)ch + a + ti = āgacchati. The derivation of (732) āgamisyati contains āgam + iT + sya + ti where ti is a replacement for LRT and iT has been introduced by 7.2.58 gamer it parasmaipadeśu. The s of sya in āgam + i + sya + ti will subsequently be replaced with s to realize āgamisyati by 8.3.59 āḍeṣapratyayayoḥ. Our last example (733) gantā derives similarly to (725) bhoktā obviously with no j→g→k change. The m of āgam changes to n (8.4.54 anusvārasya...) via anusvāra (8.3.23 mo’ nusvāra) to realize ga(m→m→n→n)tā = gantā.

Example (734) adhiṣ̐va derives form adhi + i + (ŠaP→θ) + (LOT→sva) where ŠaP gets deleted by 2.4.72 adīprabhṛti... and LOT gets replaced with the second person singular ātmanepada ending thās. This thās of adhi + i + thās subsequently gets replaced with se of rule 3.4.80 thāsah se. But then the e of se is also replaced with va by rule 3.4.90 savābyāṃ vāmau. Thus, adhi + i + (thās→s(e→va)) = adhi + i + sva. The vocalic sequence i + i will have a long replacement to yield adhi(i+i→i) + sva = adhiṣ̐va. The s will then be replaced with s in view of 8.3.59 āḍeṣapratyayayoḥ.

3.3.9 līn cordhavanauḥūrttike

The derivation of (735) āgacchet entails the introduction of affix LIÑ after verbal root gam used with the preverb ā. The LIÑ will be replaced with the third personal parasmaipada ending tiP to give us: āgam + ti. The root āgam will yield the form āgacch similar to (731) āgacchati. The parasmaipada replacement ti of āgacch + (Š)a(P) + ti = āgacch + a + ti will then receive the augments yās(UT) and s(UT) of rules 3.4.103 yāṣuṭ
and 3.4.107 sūṭ tihōḥ to produce: āgacch + a + yās (UṬ→∅) + s(UṬ→∅) + t = āgacch + a + yās + s + t. The i of t is then be deleted by 3.4.100 itaś ca. The resultant string, āgacch + a + yās + s + t gets the yā replaced with iy by rule 7.2.80 ato yeyah. This gives us āgacch + a + (yā→iy)y + s + t = āgacch + a + iy + s + s + t which then suffers the loss of y and the two s segments on account of rules 6.1.66 lopo vyor vali and 7.2.79 liṇah salopo' nantyasya. The result will be: āgacch + a + i (y→∅) (s→∅) + (s→∅) + t = āgacch + a + i + t. Rule 6.1.87 ād guṇah will derive the final derivate as āgacch + (a+i→e) + t = āgacch + e + t = āgacchet.

3.3.16 padarūvajīvaśasprō ghaṇ

The derivation of (736) pādaḥ and (737) roghaḥ from pad + (GH)na(∅) = (pad + a) + sU entails vrddhi of a of pad (7.2.115 aco' niniti) followed by the rutva-visarga of s(U). The derivation of roghaḥ entails guna of the short penultimate (laghūpada) u of roj before the ārdhadvātaka affix GHaN. The j of roj also gets replaced with g via kutva of 7.3.52 cajoḥ ku ghinyatoḥ. Similar rules apply in deriving (738) vesah.

3.3.20 pariṃmaṇākhyāyāṃ sarvebhyaḥ

3.3.21 itaś ca

The derivation of (739) niṣpāvah entails introducing GHaN after pū used with nir where nir + pū + a goes through the s replacement for the r of nir via visarga in view of rules 8.3.15 kharavasānayor...and 8.3.41 idudupadhasya.... Thus, ni(r→h→s)pū + a = niṣpū + a. The ṛ will then go through vrddhi (7.2.115 aco' niniti...) in au with the corresponding replacement in āu (6.1.78 eco' yavāyāvah). This will give us the nominal stem niṣp(ū→āu) + a = niṣpāva after which sU can be introduced to derive niṣpāvah. A derivate of kṛ such as (740) kāraḥ just requires vrddhi, one of the two characteristic operations applicable to the derivate of GHaN. Note that the other operation is kutva by 7.3.52 cajoḥ ku ghinyatoḥ. I shall, from here on, not derive any derivate in GHaN unless it entails some additional operations. The nominative dual forms of these two derivates, i.e., (741) niṣpāvau and (742) kārau, would require the placement of the dual ending au.

Examples (743) adhyāyah and (744) upādhyāyah are similarly derived from adhi + i + a and upa + adhi + i + a where upa and adhi yield upādhi through savarṇadīrgha. The application of vrddhi and subsequent replacement in āy will produce adhi + (i→ai→āy) + a and upādhi + (i→ai→āy) + a. Rule 6.1.77 iko yan aci will then apply to derive adhi(i→y)āy + a = adhyāya and upādhi(i→y)āy + a = upādhyāya.

3.3.26 avodor niyaḥ

Deriving (745) unnāyah requires the introduction of affix GHaN after verbal root ni used in conjunction with a pada constituted by ud. The usual vrddhi and āy replacement will produce nāya. A compound formation of ut + sU + nāya will yield utnāya where the t will be replaced with n by
8.4.45 yaro' nunāsike.... Thus, \( u(t \rightarrow n) + nāya = unnāya + sU = \Rightarrow unnāyah. \) Similar rules apply in deriving (746) avanāyah.

3.3.38 \( \text{parin} \text{ýi} \rightarrow \text{ai} \rightarrow \text{āy} \) + a = \( \text{parin} \text{ñ} \text{y}a + (Tā) \) is replaced with \( y \) through the application of rule 8.4.14 upasargād asamāse'.pi.... Thus, \( \text{pari} \text{n} \text{y} \rightarrow \text{āy} \) + (ā \rightarrow ina) = \( \text{parin} \text{n} \text{y} \text{a} + i = e \) ina = (747) pariñāyena.

3.3.43 \( \text{karm} \text{avat} \text{ih} \rightarrow \text{n} \rightarrow \text{str} \rightarrow \text{y} \rightarrow \text{ām} \) 

The first example (748) vyāvakrośi is derived by introducing affix \( NAc \) after verbal root \( kruś \) combined with \( vi \) and \( ava \) via rule 2.2.18 kugati-prādayaḥ where 6.1.77 \( \text{iko y} \rightarrow \text{a} \) \( \text{aci} \) replaces the \( i \) of \( vi \) with \( y \) and the root goes through the guna of its penultimate vowel. This produces \( v(i \rightarrow y) + ava + kr(u \rightarrow o)j + (NaC) = vy + ava + kroś + a = vyavakrośa, \) a nominal stem after which affix \( aNa(5.4.14 \) načaḥ striyām) is to be introduced. This gives us \( vyavakrośa + a(\text{N} \rightarrow \emptyset) \). Note that rule 7.3.3 na vyābhyaṁ padānta... offers \( ai \) as an augment to the initial vowel of the string which is blocked by \( \text{vyddhi} \) of rule 7.2.117 taddhiteṣu acām ādeh. The result is: \( \text{vy}(a \rightarrow ā) \) vyakrośa + a = vyavakrośa + a. Rule 6.1.97 aṭo guṇe then applies to derive vyāvakroś(a+a→a) = vyavakrośa, still a nominal stem (1.2.46 krtaddhitasamāsāś ca) after which rule 4.1.15 tīḍhāṇaṁ...introduces \( NIP \). The final a of \( vyavakrośa + i \) is deleted by 6.4.148 yasteti ca whereby we get \( vyavakroś(a \rightarrow \emptyset) + i = vyāvakrośi. \) A subsequent placement and deletion of \( sUP \) by 6.1.68 halīṇyābbhyo...will finally derive vyavakrośi.

Similar rules apply in deriving (749) vyāvakekhi and (750) vyāvahāśī from \( vi + ava + likh + NAc \) and \( vi + ava + has + NAc \) where \( likh \) also goes through the application of laghūpadhaguna.

3.3.44 \( \text{abhivid} \rightarrow \text{hai} \rightarrow \text{bh} \rightarrow \text{āva} \rightarrow \text{in} \) 

Example (751) sāṃkūṭinam is derived by introducing affix \( inUN \) after verbal root \( kū \) combined with \( sam \) again by 2.2.18 kugati-prādayaḥ. Affix \( aN \) is then introduced after sāṃkūṭ + in = sāṃkūtin where sāṃkūtin + a(\( \text{N} \rightarrow \emptyset) = \text{sāṃkūṭin} \) + a is saved by 6.4.164 inanv anapatye from going through the deletion of \( in \) by rule 6.4.144 nas taddhite. The a of \( sam \) instead goes through \( \text{vyddhi} \) followed by the anusvāra of \( m \) by rules 7.2.117 taddhiteṣu acām...and 8.3.23 mo' nusvārah respectively. This will give us \( s(a \rightarrow ā(m \rightarrow m))kūṭin + a = sāṃkūṭina. \) The nominative singular ending \( sU \) introduced after sāṃkūṭiṇa will be replaced with \( am \) to realize sāṃkūṭiṇa + am which after the application of 6.1.97 aṭo guṇe will yield sāṃkūṭinam.

A derivate of \( inUN \) with verbal root \( ru \) combined with \( sam \) will be (752) sāmṛāvinam where the \( u \) of \( ru \) goes through \( \text{vyddhi} \ (7.2.115 aco' ṅñiū) \) and subsequent replacement in āv corresponding to \( au \). The \( am \) also replaces the \( sU \) additionally to the replacement of \( n \) by \( y \) in view of 8.4.2 aṭktupvān.... We thus get the final derivate \( sāmṛ(u \rightarrow au-āv)(n \rightarrow n)a + (sU \rightarrow am) = sāmṛāvin(a+a = a)m = sāmṛāvinam. \)
3.3.52 raśmav ca
3.3.53 vṛnnoter acchādane

The first rule offers (753) pragrāhah, a derivate in GHaN, optionally to (754) pragrāhah, a derivate in aP.

The second rule offers yet another GHaN derivate optionally to aP. We thus get (755) pravārah where the lengthening of the a of pra is ordered by 6.3.122 upasargasya ghaṇy amanusye bahulam. We will have a derivate such as (756) pravaraḥ if the option of GHaN is not accepted.

3.3.72 hvuḥ samprasāraṇaṃ ca...

This rule introduces affix aP after verbal root hveN used in conjunction with ni, abhi, upa, and vi to derive (757) nihava + sU→ nihavah, (758) abhihavah, (759) upahavah, and (760) vihavah. Note that verbal root hve(N) yields the form hvā through the application of rule 6.1.45 ādeca upadese. This rule also requires samprasāraṇa of the v of hvā in nih(u→u)a + a(P) = nihu + ā + a. Rule 6.1.108 samprasāraṇaḥ ca then applies to replace the sequence u + ā by u to realize nihu + a. An application of guṇaḥ followed by the av replacement for the resultant u will provide us with nih(u→o→au) + a = nihava. An introduction of sU and subsequent rutva-visarga will produce nihavah. Similar rules apply in deriving other examples.

3.3.88 dvitah ktri

Refer to the appendix of 1.3.5 ādīr niṭuṇavah for the derivational details of examples listed under this rule.

3.3.90 yajayācayataśatvaccharapraccharacakṣo naṁ

Examples such as (761) yajñah, (762) yācāḥ, (763) yatnāḥ, (764) viśnāḥ, (765) praśnāḥ, and (766) rakṣnāḥ derive from (yaj + na) + sU, (yāc + na) + (T)a + sU), (yat + na) + sU)), (vićch + na) + sU), (pracch + na) + sU), and (rakṣ + na) + sU). The first two examples require replacing the n of na with ṇ (ścutva) by rule 8.4.40 stoh ścuṇā ścuḥ. The second also requires the introduction of the feminine affix TāP (4.1.4 ajādyatās tāp). Our third example is easy to derive. The fourth and fifth require s as a replacement for the cch of the roots as per rule 6.4.19 cchvoh śud amunāsike to thereby yield ṣu(cch→sna and pra(cch→s))na. Deriving rakṣna from (rakṣ + na) + sU will subsequently require the replacement of n by ṇ as per rule 8.4.1 raśāḥyāṁ no naḥ...

3.3.92 upasargē ghoḥ kih
3.3.93 karmany adhihkarane ca

Note that the K of affix Ki is intended as an it to facilitate the deletion of the long ā of verbal roots dā and dhā by rule 6.4.64 āto lopa iti ca. Thus, we get dā + (K→0)i = d(ā→0) = di; dhā + (K)i = > dhi. Examples such as (767) pradhī, (768) pradhī, and (769) antardhī should now be easier to derive under the cooccurrence condition of pra, and antar; of course, with subsequent formation of compounds by 2.2.19 upapadam atiṁ and
introduction of $sU$ as well as *rutva-visarga*. Note, however, that *antar* is treated as an *upasarga* at the strength of a *vārttika* ad 1.1.65 *alo’n tyāt pūrva upadhā* (*antaḥ śabdasya...*). Similar rules apply in deriving (770) *jaladhiḥ* and (771) *śaradhiḥ*.

3.3.94 striyāṁ kṣī

3.3.95 sthāgāpāpacō bhāve

The derivation of (772) *kṛtiḥ*, (773) *citiḥ*, and (774) *matiḥ* from (*kṛ + (K→θ)ti(N→θ)) + $sU$), (*cī(Ñ) + (K)ti(N)) + $sU$, and *man + (K)ti(N)) + $sU$ is straightforward. Note, however, that the $n$ of *man* is deleted by 6.4.37 *anudāttrapadesa...* Additionally, rule 6.1.97 *ñnityādir nityam* assigns the initial *udāta* accent to the item ending in affix *KīN*. Rule 3.3.96 *mantra vṛṣasapacamanə* assigns, for usages in the mantra literature, the *udāta* accent to affix *KīN*. The *guna* of $r$ and $i$ in *kṛti* and *citi* is blocked at the strength of affix *KīN* marked with $K$ as an it (1.1.5 *kītī ca*).

The derivation of (775) *paktiḥ* requires the application of rule 8.2.30 *coh kuh* whereby the $c$ of *pac* is replaced with $k$. The derivation of (776) *prasthitih* requires the $i$ as a replacement (*itva*) for $ā$ of *prasthā* as per rule 7.4.40 *dyatisyatimāsthā...* This *itva*, in case of (777) *sāṃgitih*, is accomplished by 6.4.66 *ghumāsthāgāpā...* The same applies in case of (778) *prapīṭih* and (779) *sāmpīṭih*.

3.3.98 vrajajavajor bhāve kyā

3.3.99 sāmijñōyāṁ samajaniśadanipatamanavida...

Deriving (780) *vraja* from (*vraja + (K)ya(P)) + *TāP*)) + $sU$)) is not very difficult. The affix is *udātta*; hence, the accentuation will be: *vraja*.

The derivation of (781) *samaṇjā*, (782) *niṣadyā*, (783) *nīpātyā*, (784) *manya*, (785) *vidyā*, (786) *sūtyā*, (787) *śayā*, (788) *bhrtyā*, and (789) *ityā* also entails affixes *KyaP*, *TāP* and $sU$. Note that *sūtyā*, *bhrtyā* and *ityā* entail the introduction of *UK* (6.1.71 *hrasvasya piti kītī tuk*). Furthermore, the $i$ of $śi(N)$ is replaced with *ayaN* in deriving *ś(i→ay) + ya = śayya* on way to *śayya*.

3.3.100 kṛṇah śa ca

This rule would permit three derivates (790) *kriyā*, (791) *kṛtyā*, and (792) *kṛtiḥ* from (*kṛ + ya(K) + Ša + *TāP*)) + $sU$)), (*kṛ + (t(UK) + (K)ya(P) + *TāP*)) + $sU$)) and (*kṛ + (Kti(N)) + $sU$)) respectively. Note that the first derivate will have *yaK* introduced before affix *Śa* with its denotatum as *bhāva*. Of course, the *yaK* will be introduced by 3.1.67 *sārvadhātuke yak*. The $r + ya + a$ of the first example will have its $r$ replaced with *niN* of rule 7.4.28 *rin sayag linksu*. Thus, *k(r→ri) + ya + a* where 6.1.97 *ato gune* will apply to produce *kriy(a+a→a) = kriya*. Deriving *kriyā* with *TāP* through *savarnādirgha* and deletion of $sU$ should not be difficult. Note that *yaK* can also be introduced before *Śa* denoting *karman*. The
derivate will still be kriyā but the derivational path will differ. Thus, after the introduction of riN, rule 6.4.77 acišudhātu... read with 1.1.53 ्ñic ca will introduce iyAÑ to produce k(τ→τ(i→iyAÑ)) + a = kriya. This subsequently with TāP and sU will derive kriyā. The derivate in KyaP will receive tUK from rule 6.1.71 hravasyā puṭi kiti tuk to derive kṛtyā. The derivate in Kūñ can be justified at the strength of the statement of the Mahābhāṣya ad this rule.

3.3.101 aicchā

The derivation of (793) icchā from ṣ + Sa is blocked from receiving yaK (3.1.67 sārvadhātu ke ya) via nipātana. The ṣ of the root will receive ch followed by the introduction of augment tUK as per rules 7.3.77 isugamiyamām... and 6.1.73 che ca. Rule 8.4.40 stoh ścunā ścuh will then apply on i(σ→ch) + a = i(σ(UK→Θ)ch+ a = ičca + a to replace the t with c to produce i (τ→e)ch + a = icchā. The introduction of TāP and sU will then derive icchā.

3.3.102 a pratyahāt

Refer to the derivation of verbal roots cikīrṣa, etc., under rules dealing with affixes saN (3.1.7 dhātoḥ karmāṇah...), KyaC, and KāmyaC. The derivatives of this rule require the introduction of affix a after cikīrṣa, etc., where the root-final a will be deleted before affix a by rule 6.4.48 ato lopaḥ. Rule 1.2.46 kṛttaddhitasamāsāḥ ca will assign the term nominal stem (pratipadika) to cikīrṣa, etc., to enable the introduction of feminine affix TāP by 4.1.4 ajādyatas tāp. Thus, we will get (794) cikīrṣā, (795) jihīrṣā, (746) purāṇā, (797) purukāmyā, (798) loliyā, and (799) kandīyā.

3.3.104 sidhādibhyo' n

3.3.105 cintipūṣikathikumbicarcaḥ ca

The derivation of (800) jārā would require gunaḥ by rule 7.4.16 ṛdrśo'ni gunah read with 1.1.51 ur an raparaḥ to yield j(τ→ar) + a(N).

The roots of examples under rule 3.3.104 would all end in ́NiC which subsequently will be deleted by 6.4.51 ́ner aniti. This will give us derivatives such as (801) cintā, (802) pūjā, (803) kathā, (804) kumbā, and (805) carcā via TāP, savarṇad Dirgha (as in cinta + (T)a(P) = cinta(a+a→ā) = cintā), and the deletion of sU as in other examples. Note that cintā would also require the introduction of augment n(UM) by rule 7.1.58 idito num dhātoḥ to yield cint(NiC→Θ) + a = cint(n(UM)t + a = cintā.

An optional example (806) cintanā is also derived with the introduction of affix yu(C) optionally to aN. Rule 7.1.1 yuvar anākau will replace the yu with ana to yield cint + (yu→ana) = cintana. The introduction of TāP followed by the placement and deletion of sU as well as savarṇaDirgha will produce cintanā.

3.3.107 nyāsāsraṇtho yuc

Examples (807) kāraṇā and (808) hāraṇā require verbal roots kārī and hārī where affix NiC is introduced after kṛ and hṛ by rule 3.1.26 hetumati ca.
The \( r \) of the roots has gone through \( vṛddhi \) of 7.2.115 aco' \( ſ̣̄n̄i̯t̄i \) and the term \( dhātu \) is subsequently assigned by 3.1.32 sanādyantā.... The \( NiC \) before \( ūnu \) will again be deleted by rule 6.4.51 \( ūer \ anit̄i \). The \( n \) of \( kār(NiC→ \( \emptyset \) ) + \( ūnu→ana \) = \( kār + ana \) will be replaced with \( ū \) by rule 8.4.2 \( aṭkupvān̄ \). Examples such as (809) \( āsanā \) and (810) \( śrāntanā \) will of course be derived without roots ending in \( NiC \).

3.3.108 rogākhēyāṃ \( ūnu \) bāhulaṃ

The derivation of (811) prachardikā contains \( pra + chad + NiC + (N)\( ūnu(L) \) + \( ṭāP \) ) + \( sU \) where \( NiC \) is introduced by rule 3.1.25 satyēpa-pāṣarūpaviniṇā.... Follow rules similar to (85) śāyikā with the understanding that this example will require the introduction of \( tUK \) by 6.1.73 che \( ca \) followed by the c-replacement (ścutva) of 8.4.40 stōh ścunā ścuḥ. Our next example (812) pravāhikā will be similarly derived by introducing \( NiC \) after \( pra-vah \) by rule 3.1.26 hetumati \( ca \). The \( NiC \) in both these examples will be deleted by 6.4.51 \( ūer \ anit̄i \). Similar rules apply in deriving (813) vicarikā. The \( vU \) of \( ūnuL \) would of course be replaced with \( aka \) of 7.1.1 yuwar anākau.

The derivation of (814) śiro’ \( rtiḥ \) proceeds with the derivation of arttiḥ from \( ard + (K)ti(N) \) where 8.4.55 \( khari \ ca \) applies to produce \( ar(d→t) + ti = artti \), and 7.2.9 tituratraḥ... blocks the introduction of augment \( iT \). Our derive artti is then combined in a genitive tatpurusā compound with śiras where its \( s \) is replaced with \( r \) via 8.2.66 sasajuśo ruḥ. Rule 6.1.113 ather apolutād... then applies on śivar + artti to replace the \( r \) with \( u \) thereby producing śirau + artti. The application of 6.1.87 ād guṇah will then replace the sequence \( u + a \) with \( o \) to produce śir(a+u→o) + artti = śiro artti. Rule 6.1.109 eṇah padāntād ati will finally order \( o \) as a replacement for both \( o \) and \( a \) to produce śiro’ \( rtiḥ \). The introduction of \( sU \) followed by rutva-visarga will derive śiro’ \( rtiḥ \).

3.3.110 vibhāśākhyāñaparipraśmayor iṃ ca

This rule allows for i\( ū \) optionally with \( ūnuL \) with the understanding that, due to the inclusion of vibhāśā, other relevant affixes can also be introduced. Thus, consider these derivates where I also indicate their derivational strings:

(815) kārim from kr + i\( ū \) = kāri where \( vṛddhi \) is accomplished by 7.2.115 aco’ \( ſ̣̄n̄i̯t̄i \);

(816) kārikām from k(\( ū\→ār \)) + (\( ūnuL→aka \)) = kār + i(T) + aha + ṭāP where rules similar to (85) śāyikā apply to produce kārikā. The examples in sentences are given in the accusative for which the introduction of \( am \) and relevant operations have to be performed.

Refer to the derivation of additional examples under rules 3.3.94 striyāṃ kti\( n \) and 3.3.100 kṛṇah śa ca.

The derivation of examples with verbal root gan\( ā \) proceeds with its causal form gan\( ɪ \) since the root belongs to the curādi class. Note that the
final a of gana gets deleted by rule 6.4.48 ato lopaḥ. The vṛddhi of the penultimate a of gan cannot be accomplished by 7.2.116 ati upadhāyāḥ for reasons that the deleted a will become alive by sthānivadbhava ‘treating a replacement as if it was the item replaced’. Thus, vṛddhi cannot apply since the penultimate (upadhā) position will now be occupied by n, and not the a. The NiC itself gets deleted by 6.4.51 ner aniṭi.

3.3.112 ākroṣe naṇī aniṭi

Note that (817) akaraṇiḥ derives from naNi + kṛ + ani where r of the root goes through guṇa before ani to produce na + k(r→ar) + ani = na “+ karani. The n of na is deleted by 6.3.73 nalopo naṇah. The introduction of sU followed by rutva-visarga will produce akara(n→ni)(s(U→h)) = akaraṇiḥ where 8.4.2 añkupvānnum... will replace the n with n.

3.3.113 kṛtyaluyito bahulam

Note that deriving (818) snāniyam from (snā + aniya(R)) + sU)) and (819) dāniyam from (dā + aniya(R) + sU)) entails savarṇa- dirgha before the nominative singular ending sU.

The derivation of (820) aśpecanam from (aṣa + sic + LyuT) + sU), (821) avasraṇam from ava + śrāvī + LyuT) + sU, (822) rājabhojanāḥ from rājan + ṇas + bhojana + sU with bhojana deriving from bhuj + LyuT entails diverse significations. The first example requires guṇa. The second loses the i, i.e., (NiC), to 6.4.51 ner aniṭi and has the n replaced with n. The derivation of bhojana entails guṇa of u of bhuj followed by the formation of the genitive tatpurusa compound. Of course, the yu of LyuT is replaced with ana by 7.1.1 yuvor anākau. The sU of the first two examples goes through am for which see (751) sāṅkūṭinam. The nominative plural ending (j)as after rājabhojanā causes the long vowel replacement homogeneous with the preceding a of the sequence a+a at the end (pūrvasavanādirgha; 6.1.102 prathamayaḥ...). Finally, an application of rutva-visarga will derive rājabhojan(a+a→ā)(s→r→h) = rājabhojanāḥ.

3.3.116 karaṇiḥ ca yena sansparśāt...

3.3.117 karaṇādhikaraṇayos ca

The derivation of (823) odanabhojanam and (824) payahpānam requires the derivation of odanabhojana and payahpāna via the introduction of affix LyuT after verbal roots bhuj and pā used in conjunction with words constituted by odana and payas with the denotata of object (karma). The rutva-visarga of s of payas followed by the am replacement of the sU introduced after these obligatory compounds is not difficult to comprehend.

The derivation of (825) idhmapravaścanaḥ from idhma + ṇas + pravaraśca + sU, and of (826) palaśasatanaḥ from palaśa + ṇas + sātana + sU involves genitive tatpurusa compound. Note that the derivation of sātana proceeds with the causal form of the verbal root sad(L). Affix LyuT is then introduced after s(a→ā)d(L→0) + (N)u(C) = sādi. This NiC is, however, deleted by 6.4.51 ner aniṭi. The d of the root is replaced with t
by rule 7.3.42 sa der agatau taḥ. Thus, ṝa(d→t)(NyIc→∅) + (LyuT→ana) = ṣāṭana.

The derivation of (827) godohani and (828) saktudhānī again involves the genitive type of tatpurṣa compound though the derivatives will be denoting adhikaraṇa 'locus'. The resultant compound base godohana from go + ṇas + dohana + sU where dohana derives from ḍuḥ + (LyuT→ana) through guṇa then receives the feminine affix NyIP of 4.1.15 tiṛḍṭhāṇaṇī.... Thus, god(u→o)h + anā = godohana + (Ny)i(P) = godohani where the final a of godohana gets deleted by 6.4.148 yasyeti ca. The sU of godohani + sU will be subsequently deleted by 6.1.68 halinyābbhya.... Similar rules are applied in deriving saktudhānī.

3.3.118 puṇiśi samjñāyāṁ prāyena...

The derivation of (829) dantacchadāḥ and (830) urāśchadāḥ requires the introduction of affix GHa after verbal root Chad used with NyIc of 3.1.25 satyāpapāśarūpa.... Note further that chādi, the causal form of Chad, must also cooccur with the nominal pada constituted by danta and uras with the denotatum of karman. Thus, we get danta + ṇas + chādi + (GHa)a and uras + ṇas + chādi + (GHa)a where the penultimate a of chādi goes through shortening (hrasva) as per rule 6.4.96 chāder ghe‘ to danda... to produce ch(ā→a)di = chadi. The NyIc again gets deleted in view of 6.4.51 nera niṭi. Rule 6.1.73 che ca then introduces the augment t(UK) to danta to realize dantat + chada. Rule 8.4.40 stoh ścunā ścuḥ then subjects this t to be replaced with c whereby we get danta(t→c)chad + a = dantacchada. Note that urāśchadāḥ does not qualify for the introduction of tUK.

Deriving (831) ālayaḥ by introducing affix GHa after verbal root lī used with the preverb ṇ(ā(N→∅)) requires guṇa of i followed by the replacement of e in ay. Thus, we get āl(i→e→ay) + a = ālaya + s(U) = ālayaḥ.

3.3.120 ave strstor ghaṅ

3.3.121 halaś ca

The derivation of (832) avatārah from (avatr + (GHa)a(ṅ) + sU) and of (833) avastārah from avatr + (GHa)a(ṅ) + sU) requires the vrddhi (7.2.115 aco‘ ńiṇiti) of r followed by rutva-visarga of sU.

The vrddhi in deriving (834) vimārgaḥ from (vi + mṛj(ūṣ) + (GHa)a(ṅ) + sU) and (835) apāmārgaḥ from (apa + mṛj(ūṣ) + (GHa)a(ṅ) + sU) entails vrddhi of r as per rule 7.2.114 mṛjer vrddhiḥ. The resultant string vim(ṛ→ār)jj + a = vimārj + a would require that the short i of vi be replaced with long in view of rule 6.3.122 upasargasya ghaṇy.... The j of the resultant string v(i→i)mārj + a will then be replaced with g of 7.4.62 kuoś cuh to produce vimār(j→g) + a = vimārga. Similar rules will apply in deriving apāmārga. The final derivatives will now require sU and rutva-visarga.

3.3.123 udako’ nudake
The derivation of (836) tailodaṅkaḥ contains taila + ṇas + udaṅka where udaṅka derives by introducing affix GHaN after verbal root aṅc used with the preverb ud under the cooccurrence condition of a pada constituted by taila denoting object. The derivation requires kutva of 7.3.52 cajoḥ ku ghinyatoḥ. Thus, taila(纳斯→θ) + udaṅca→tailodaṅca (6.1.87 ṛd gunah); tailodaṅ(c→k)a = tailoda(n→m)ka (8.3.24 naś cāpa-
dāntasya...); tailoda(m→n)ka (8.4.58 anusvārasya yāyi parasavarṇaḥ).

3.3.127 kartṝkarmanoś ca bhūkṛṇoh

This rule derives examples with two conjoined pada simultaneously. Thus, (837) isadādhyaṁkaraḥ is derived by introducing affix KHaL after verbal root kr used in conjunction with two nominal pada constituted by iṣad and āḍhya with the denotatum of object. The same explanation can be forwarded for reconstructing the underlying string of (838) svāḍhyāṅkaraḥ. The derivation of (839) isadāḍhyāṁbhavaḥ, and (840) svāḍhyāṁbhavaḥ not only requires affix KHaL to be introduced after verbal root bhū but also requires the conjoined pada to denote kartṝ. The root vowels ṛ and ū undergo guna. The o of bhū→bho is replaced with av. The m in all these examples comes via the introduction of augment m(UM) of rule 6.3.67 arur dviṣat,... Rule 8.3.24 naś cāpadāntasya jhali then replaces the m with anusvāra.

3.3.131 vartamānasāmitye vartamānavaś vā
3.3.132 āśamsāyāṁ bhūtavac ca

I have already explained many derivates with LAT, ŚatR, Kta, LUN, LUT, and LRT. The derivates of these rules do not involve anything substantially different. The derivation of (841) āgamaṭ contains ā(ṇ) + a(T) + gam + CLI + t where the i of tī(P) gets deleted (3.4.100 itāś ca) and CLI is replaced with a(ṇ); 3.1.55 puśādi...) to derive ā + a + gam + a(N→θ) + (LUN→t(i→θ)). The savānādirgha of ā+a will produce: ā+a→ā + gam + a + t = āgamaṭ.

Derive (842) adhyāgīṣmahi similarly to adhyāgīṣta of rule 1.2.1 gāṅkūṭādi... (vol. II, 425-26). Of course, parallel to step (a) of adhyāgīṣta, one will have to select the first person plural ātmanepada ending mahi(N) to replace LUN of this example. The derivation of (843) āgataḥ from (āgam + (K)ta + s(U)) requires the deletion of the root-final m by rule 6.4.37 anudāṭtopadēṣa... before rutva-visarga. Derive (844) adhīmahe from adhi + i + (SaP→θ) + mahi(i→e) = adh(i+i→i) + mahe = adhīmahe. The deletion of ŠaP is accomplished by 2.4.72 adiprabhṛtibhyāḥ.... The e as a replacement (etva) for the i of mahi, of course, comes through the application of 3.4.79 Ŧī ātmanepadānāṃ fer e.

The derivation of (845) adhyēṣyāmahe contains the string adhi + i + sya + (LRT→mahi(i→e)) where sya is introduced in place of ŠaP before mahi. The root, i.e., i, goes through guna before affix sya, an ārdhadhātuka (7.3.84 sārvadhātukārdhadhātukayoh). The resultant string, i.e., adhi +
(i→e) + sya + mahe, then goes through the application of rules 6.1.77 iko yan aci and 7.3.101 ato dirgho yanı to produce: adhi(i→y) + e + sy(a→ā) + mahe = adhyesya mahe. The s is finally replaced with š by rule 8.3.59 ādesapratyayayoh.

3.3.134 āsamsāvacane liṅ

The derivation of (846) adhiyīya contains adhi + i + (LIĬ→siy(UT→θ) + i(T→θ) = adhi + i + siy + i) where rule 3.4.102 liṅḥ sīyuT introduces sīy(UT) before the first person singular replacement iT of LĬ. The i of iT is then replaced with a by rule 3.4.106 iṭo’ t. We thus get: adhi + i + sīy + a. Rule 7.2.79 liṅḥ sālopo...then deletes the s of sīy(UT) to produce: adhi + i + (s→θ)iyy + a = adhi + i + iyy. Verbal root i is then replaced with iy(AĬ→θ) to produce adhi + (i→iy) + iyy = adhi + iy + iy. The application of savarnadīrgha (6.1.101 aṅh savarne....) will finally produce: adhi(+i→i)y + iyy = adhiy + iy = adhiyīya.

3.3.135 nānadyatanavat kriyāprabandhasāṃśāpyayoh

Note that (847) adāt contains aT + dā + sīC + t, as in (144) agāt under rule 2.4.45 ino gā luṇi; and many similar examples already derived, where sīC gets deleted by 2.4.77 gāṭisthāghupābhūṭbhūṭhah....

The derivation of (848) adhyāpipat proceeds with adhi + i + i where suffix NiC is introduced (3.1.26 hetumatio ča) after verbal root iN used with the preverb adhi. The root is replaced with ā by rule 6.1.48 krīṇaṃām.... Augment pUK is then introduced by rule 7.3.36 artihrvirī... to produce adhi + (a→ā)p(UK→θ) + i = adhi + āp + i. Affixes LŬN and CLĬ are then introduced with reference to the derived root adhi + āp. Note that suffix LŬN is replaced with tī(└P) where the i of ti is deleted by 3.4.100 itaś ca. Affix CLĬ is also replaced with (C)a(N) of 3.1.48 niśriddrasūbhyah.... This gives us: adhi + āp + (CLĬ→(C)a(N)) + (LŬN→t→θ) = adhi + āp + a + t. Doubling of ā as per 6.1.2 ajāder dvitiyasya will produce adhi + āp + āp + a + t. Rule 6.4.72 āḍ ajādinām then introduces ā(T). The result is: adhi + ā(T→θ) + āp + āp + a + t = adhi + ā + āp + āp + a + t. An application of rule 6.1.90 āṭas ča will order a single vṛddhi replacement for the sequence of ā+ā thereby producing adhi + (ā + ā→ā)p + āp + a + t = adhi + āp + p(i→θ) + a + t = adhi + āp + p. The deletion of (N)i(C) by 6.4.51 ner aniṭi yields adhi + ā + p + p(i→θ) + a + t = adhi + āp + p. Which through the application of 6.1.77 āko yan aci becomes adhi(i→y) aṗipat = adhyāpipat. Note that I held the application of this last rule to facilitate proper understanding of the fact that doubling and the introduction of augment is undertaken without recognizing the existence of the preverbs.

The derivation of (849) ādhita requires the introduction of affix LŬN after verbal root dhā used with the preverb aN. Rule 1.2.17 sthāghvor ic ča also applies to replace the root-final ā with i to produce a(N→θ) + dh(ā→i) + LŬN = ādhī + LŬN. The introduction of a(T) and sīC
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(6.4.71 \textit{luṅkārtrī}...; 3.1.44 \textit{cēh \textit{sic}) precede the \textit{ātmanepada} replacement in \textit{ta} for \textit{LUN}. The resultant string, i.e., \textit{ā + a(\textit{T}) + dhī + sIC + ta}, loses its \textit{sIC} to 8.2.27 \textit{hrasvād \textit{āngāt}. The initial vocalic sequence of \textit{ā+a} will be replaced with \textit{ā} through \textit{savarnadīrgha}. One can similarly derive (850) \textit{adita} from \textit{a\textit{T} + dā + LUN}. The derivation of (851) \textit{ayaśṭa} contains \textit{a(\textit{T}) + yaj + sIC + ta} where \textit{sIC} gets deleted by rule 8.2.26 \textit{jhalo jhali}; and \textit{yaj} receives \textit{s} as a replacement for its final \textit{j} from rule 8.2.36 \textit{vraścabhra-sjaśrjamṛja}. This produces \textit{aya\textit{j}→\textit{s} + ta = ayaś + ta}. Rule 8.4.41 \textit{ṣṭunā \textit{ṣṭuḥ}} will finally replace the \textit{t} with \textit{t} to produce \textit{ayaś + (t→t)a = ayaśṭa}. The derivation of (852) \textit{ādhāsyate}, (853) \textit{yakṣyate} and (854) \textit{dāsyate} can be accomplished following relevant rules of (724) \textit{bhokṣyate} and other derivational patterns already explained.

3.3.136 \textit{bhavisyati} maryādadvacane\textit{vārasmin}

The derivation of (855) \textit{bhokṣyāmahe} contains \textit{bhuj + sya + (LRT→mahī)}, and also shares the \textit{j→g→k} as well as \textit{s→ṣ} change with (724) \textit{bhokṣyate}. The lengthening of the \textit{a} of \textit{bhokṣya} is accomplished by 7.3.101 \textit{ato dirgho yaṁ}. Example (856) \textit{paśyāmaḥ} is similarly derived from \textit{pā + sya + (LRT→mas)} where \textit{LRT} gets replaced with first person plural \textit{parasmatpada} ending \textit{mas}.

3.3.138 \textit{parasmin vibhāṣā}

The derivation of (857) \textit{adhīyetāsmahe} and \textit{pātāsmaḥ} contains \textit{adhi + i + tās + mahīN} and \textit{pā + tās + mas} where \textit{mahīN} and \textit{mas} are replacements for \textit{LRT}. Note that affix \textit{tās} has been introduced by 3.1.33 \textit{syatāsī īṛtūṭh}. The \textit{i} of \textit{mahīN} has gone through \textit{etva} of 3.4.79 \textit{ti ātmanepadānām} \textit{ṭer e}. Of course, \textit{adhi + i} yields \textit{adhi +(i→e) = adhi(i→y) + e = adhye} through \textit{guna} and \textit{y} replacing \textit{i}.

3.3.139 \textit{liṅnimitte lṛṇ kriyāti}pattau

Example (858) \textit{paryābhavisyat} contains the string \textit{parī + ā(\textit{N→0}) + a(\textit{T}) + bhū + i(\textit{T→0}) + sya + (LRN→t(i→0) = par(i→y)ā + (bhū→bho→bhav) + i + sya + t = paryābhav(s→ś)yat = paryābhavisyat} where \textit{i} of \textit{ti} is deleted by 3.4.100 \textit{ītās ěa}. The \textit{guna} of \textit{ū} in \textit{bhū} with subsequent replacement \textit{av} is accomplished by rules 7.3.87 \textit{sārvadātukārdha...} and 6.1.78 \textit{eco' yavāyāvah}. Example (858) \textit{āgamisyat} similarly derives from \textit{ā(\textit{N}) + a(\textit{T}) +gam + i(\textit{T}) + sya + t}. The derivation of (860) \textit{abhokṣyata} requires the underlying string \textit{a\textit{T} + bhuj + sya + ta} where \textit{LRN} is replaced with the third person singular \textit{ātmanepada} suffix \textit{ta}.

3.3.143 vibhāṣā kathami liṅ ca

Example (861) \textit{yājajayati} contains \textit{yājī + ŠaP + (LAT→ti(P) = yājī + a + ti} which, with \textit{guna} and subsequent replacement in \textit{ay} produces \textit{yājajayati}. A derive with \textit{LRT} will similarly be (862) \textit{yājayisyati} derivable from \textit{yājī + i(\textit{T}) + sya + ti}. Example (863) \textit{yājayet} contains \textit{yājī +ŠaP + yās(UT) + s(UT) + (LIŅ→ti)} similarly to (735) \textit{āgacchët}. The derivation of (864) \textit{bhavītā} is not very different from (43) \textit{kanyātā} for which see
vol. II, pp. 343-44. Remember, however, that the root here ends in affix NīC.

The derivation of (865) ayājayat contains the string (aṭ + yāj + (N)i(C) + (CLUD→CaN)) + (LUN→i(t→∅)) = a + yāj + i + a + t similarly to (738) acīkarat for which see (vol. II, pp. 506-08). Our present example will require the shortening of the long a of yāj followed by the deletion of NīC by rules 7.4.1 nau caṇi upadāḥ... and 6.4.51 ner anīti respectively. Doubling, etc., will then follow to derive the final derivate similar to acīkarat. Refer to derivations such as (257) jāgaraŋcakāra for deriving (866) yājayāṅcakāra from yāj + LīṬ.

3.3.151 seṣe tr̥ṇ yadau

Example (867) āroksyati contains āruh + sya + (LRT→ti) = āruh + sya + ti where 7.3.84 sārūdāḥādūradḥādūtākayoḥ orders guṇa of u in rūh to realize: āru(h→o)h + sya + ti. Rules 8.2.31 ho ḍhah and 8.2.41 ṣadāḥ kah śi then apply to replace h with k via ḍh. We thus get: āro (h→ḥ→k) + sya + ti = ārok + syati. The s of sya is finally replaced with s by rule 8.3.59 āḍesaṃpratāyayayoḥ to derive ārok(s→s)yati = āroksyati. Our next example (868) adhiyeyeśate similarly derives from adhi + i + sya + t(a→e).

3.3.153 kāmapravedanē...

The derivation of (869) bhunjita contains bhuj + (LIŅ→ta) where Śnam is introduced by 3.1.78 rudhādibhyah.... The resultant string, i.e., bhuj + na + j + ta, receives (s)i(y(UT)) and s(UT) with subsequent deletion of both the s segments similarly to (846) adhiyīya. This will yield: bhuj + n + j + iy + ta = bhunj + i + ta where y gets subsequently deleted by 6.1.66 lopo vyor vali. The n is replaced with its palatal counterpart via m per application of rules 8.3.24 naś cāpadāntasya... and 8.4.58 anusvārasya yai parasavarṇaḥ. Thus, bhun(n→m→n) + j + i(y→∅) + ta = bhunjita.

3.3.157 icchārthēṣu īṅloṭaū

Example (870) bhunktām also contains bhuj + n(a→∅) + j + ta = bhunj + ta where ta, for reasons of being a replacement of LOT, goes through the application of 3.4.79 tīt ōṭmanepadānām ṭer e to produce bhunj + t(a→e) = bhunj + te. This e is further replaced with ām by rule 3.4.90 ām etaḥ to yield bhunj + t(e→ām) = bhunj + tām. Refer to the derivation of (723) bhunkte for rules responsible for changing bhunj + tām into bhunj(j→g→k) + tām = bhun(n→m→n)k + tām = bhunktām.

3.3.158 samānakaṁtṛkešu tumun

3.3.159 liṅ ca

Example (871) bhoktum contains bhuj + tum(UN→∅) where j is also replaced with k via g as in the previous example. The derivation of (872) bhunjīya can be accomplished by following the derivation of (869) bhunjita where first person singular iT (as opposed to ta) replaces LIŅ. The i of iT is subsequently replaced with a (3.4.106 ihtō t) to yield bhunj + i y +
(i→a) = bhunjīya. Refer to the derivation of adhīyiya under rule 3.3.134 āsamsāvacane...

3.3.160 ičhārthebhyo vibhāśā vartamāne

Example (873) vaṣṭi derives from vaṣ + (SaP→θ) + (LAT→tī(P) = vaṣ + tī where SaP gets deleted because the root belongs to the adādi group (2.4.72 adīprabhārtibhyah...). The palatal спеш is then replaced with ś on account of 8.2.36 vrascahbrasja... The t then changes to ṭ through the application of 8.4.41 śuanā śuḥ. The derivation of (874) uṣyāt requires saṃprasāraṇa of rule 6.1.16 grahiyāvayi.... Thus, (va→va→uṣ) + (SaP→θ) + (LIN→t(i→θ) = uṣ + t. Refer to the derivation of (736) āgacchet for deriving uṣ + yā(s + s→θ) + t = uṣyāt where this example does not have its ā replaced with iy.

Example (875) kāmayate contains kāmidd + SaP + (LAT→t(a→e) = kāmi + a + te where kāmi ends in NiC which causes the vrddhi of its a. The ātmanepada affix ta replaces LAT and as usual yields te. The guna of i followed by the replacement of resultant e in ay is not difficult to comprehend. We thus get kāmi(i→e→ay) + a + te = kāmayate. Example (876) kāmayeta similarly contains kāmi + a + (LIN→ta) where the a of the ātmanepada ending does not go through e (etva) but the yā of yāsUṬ gets replaced with iy. This gives us: kāmi + a + yās + s + ta = kāmi + a + (yā→iy)s + s + ta = kāmi + a + iy + (s + s→θ) + ta = kām (i→e→ay) + a + iy + ta = kāmay + a + i(y→θ) + ta = kāmay + (a+i→e)) + ta = kāmayeta. Refer to (736) āgacchet for relevant details.

3.3.161 vidhinimantraṇamanaṭhradhiṣṭa...

3.3.162 lot ca

Example (877) kuryāt contains kṛ + u + (LIN→t(P)) = kṛ + u + yās + s + t(i→θ) where ṛ goes through its guna replacement in ar before the vi karanā u (3.1.79 tanādikṛṇii...). The a of ar is replaced with u as per 6.4.110 ata ut sārvadhatuṇa. This produces k(ṛ→ar + u...) = k(a→u)ṛ + u... = kūr + u + yās... similarly to (736) āgacchet. Note that the u of kur + u + yās... is deleted by 6.4.109 ye ca. The rest of the rules are similar to (736) āgacchet.

Example (878) adhyayai contains i + (SaP→θ) + (LOT→i(T)→e) where e comes as a replacement (etva) of the first person singular ātmanepada replacement of LOT as per rule 3.4.79 ṭi atmanepadānām.... This e, however, is further replaced with ai of rule 3.4.93 et ai. Augment āṬ is then introduced by rule 3.4.92 āḍ uttamasya pic ca to produce i + ā(T) + (e→ai) = i + ā + ai. Rule 6.1.90 āṭaś ca then orders a single vrddhi replacement for ā + ai to produce i + ai. The application of 7.3.84 sārvadhatuk... and 6.1.78 eco' yavāyāvah finally produce: (i→e→ay) + ai = ayai. Note that adhi + ayai produces adhyayai through the application of 6.1.77 iko yān aci.
3.3.163 praïsiatsargapräptakālesu kṛtyāś ca

Note that the kṛtya examples are given optionally to those of LOT. Example (879) karanīyah derives by introducing affix anīya (3.1.96 tattvāgranīyārah) after verbal root kṛ, i.e., ((kṛ + anīya) + sU, through guna, n→n (nātva; 8.4.2 aŚkupān...) and rutva-visarga. Example (880) kartavyāh is similarly derived from (kṛ + tavyaT) +sU. Examples (881) kṛtyah and (882) kāryah derive from (kṛ + KyaP) + sU and (kṛ + NyaT) + sU respectively. Affixes KyaP and NyaT are introduced here by rules 3.1.120 vibhāsā kṛtvāḥ and 3.1.124 ṣhalor nyat. Our derivates in KyaP lacks guna because of K; the NyaT derivate will require vṛddhi because of N (7.2.115 aco' niṣṭi). Rule 6.1.71 hrasvasya piti kṛti tuk introduce augment t(UK) in kṛtyāh. Deriving (883) karotu from kṛ + u + (LOT→ti) = kṛ + u + ti requires replacing the i of ti by u of 3.4.86 eruḥ followed by the guna of both r and u by 7.3.84 sārvadhatukārdradhatukayoḥ. This produces: h(r→ar) + (u→o) + (i→u) = karotu.

3.3.166 adhistete ca

Example (884) adhyāpaya contains adhyāpi + (Ś)a(P) + (LOT→ si(P)) where adhyāpi is derived similarly to the derived root in (167) adhyāpiṇat. The si is subsequently replaced with hi of 3.4.87 ser hy apic ca. Rule 6.4.105 aṭo heḥ, however, will delete the hi to produce adhyāp(i→e→ay) + a + (si→hi→θ) = adhyāpaya through guna and subsequent replacement in ay.

Follow the derivational patterns of (250) juhoti (vol. II, p. 420) to arrive at ju + hu + si, of (885) juḥudhi, from hu + (LOT→si). The si will again be replaced with hi similarly to the preceding example. Rule 6.4.101 hujhāyor he dhiḥ will then replace hi with dhi to produce ju + hu + (si→hi→dhi) = juḥudhi.

3.3.169 arhe kṛtyāś ca

Example (886) voḍhavyā is a feminine derivate in TāP (4.1.4 ajādyatās ūṭ) introduced after voḍhavya which, in turn, contains vah + tavya. The h of vah and the t of tavya are replaced with dh and dh by rules 8.2.31 ho ḍhah and 8.2.40 jhaṣastathor ḍḍho' ḍhah respectively. This gives us: va(h→dh) + (i→dh)a/l/ya = vaḍh + dhavya. The dh is then deleted by 8.3.13 ḍho ḍhe lopaḥ which, in turn, conditions the a of va(dh→θ) = vaḥ to change to o by rule 6.3.112 sahivahor od avartasya. We thus get v(a→o) + dhavya = vo + dhavya. Rule 8.4.41 ṛṭunā ṛṭuh finally replaces dh with ṛṭ to produce vo + (dh→ṛṭ)ayva = voḍhavya which with (T)ā(P) and subsequent addition of sU produces voḍhavyā. Refer to the derivation of (8) cetā under the appendix of rule 1.1.2 adeñ gunah to derive the trC derivate (887) voḍhā where the h of vah and the t of trC will also go through changes just noted for voḍhavya.

3.3.174 kītītīcāu ca samjñāyām

Examples such as (888) manthiḥ and (889) tantih contain man + (K)tih(C) + sU
and \(tan + (K)ti(C) + sU\) where the \(a\) of \(tan\) and \(man\) are saved from being replaced with the \(ā\) of rule 6.4.15 \(anunāsikasya kvijholah\)... at the strength of 6.4.39 \(na\ kti\)c.... The same holds in case of the deletion of their \(n\) by rule 6.4.37, \(anuḍāttopadesa\).... This, however, is blocked by 6.4.39 \(na\ kti\)c.... The application of \(rutva-visarga\) on the \(s\) of \(manti + s(U)\) and \(tanti + s(U)\) finally produces the desired derivate.

Note that (890) \(sāti\) similarly derives from \(san + ti + s(U)\) where the root-initial \(ṣ\) is replaced with \(s\) under the application of rule 6.1.64 \(dhātvādēḥ\) .... The \(ā\) of \(san + ti\) is replaced with \(ā\) by 6.4.45 \(sanaḥ\ kti\)c... to produce \(sa(n\rightarrowā) + ti + s(a + ā => ā) + ti = sāti\).

Similar rules apply in deriving (891) \(bhūti\). Example (892) \(dattāḥ\) derives from \(dā + (K)ta = dāta + s(U)\) where rule 7.4.46 \(do\ ghoḥ\) replaces \(dā\) with \(dād\). Rule 8.4.55 \(kharī ca\) then applies to produce \(dā(d\rightarrowdād) + ta = dāta(d\rightarrowt)a\) + \(ta = dattā\). The introduction of \(s(U)\) followed by \(rutva-visarga\) will produce \(dattāḥ\). The instrumental \(tatpurūsa\) compound \(devadattaḥ\) thus has \(datta\) as one of its constituents.

3.4.2 kriyāsamabhīhāre lot loto hisvau va ca taddhvanoh

Example (893) \(lunīhi\) derives from \(lū + (Ś)nā + (LOT\rightarrowhi)\) where \(LOT\) gets replaced with \(hi\), and the \(ā\) of \(nā\) gets replaced with \(i\) by rule 6.4.113 \(i\ haly aghoḥ\). This produces \(lū + n(ā\rightarrowi) + (LOT\rightarrowhi) = lū + nihi\). The \(ū\) of \(lū\) gets a short replacement per rule 7.3.80 \(pvādinām hrasvāḥ\) to produce \(l(ū\rightarrowu) + nihi = lunīhi\). The doubling in \(lunīhi\ lunīhi\) expresses repetition of the action (kriyāsamabhīhāra).

Note that \(alāvīt\) has already been derived as example (20, pp. 334-34) of volume II. Example (893) \(alāvīṣām\) entails the replacement of the third person dual \(tas\) by \(tām\) of rule 3.4.101 \(tasthasamipām\).... Thus, \(alāvīs + tām = alāvīṣām\) through \(s\rightarrowṣ\) and \(t\rightarrowč\) changes per rules 8.3.59 ādeaśaprayayayoḥ and 8.4.41 \(ṣṭunā ṣtuh\). The derivation of (842) \(alāvīṣāḥ\) entails replacing the third personal plural \(jhi\) by \(jus\) of 3.4.108 \(jher\ jus\). Thus, \(alāvīṣ(s\rightarrowṣ) + (jhi→(j)yus) = alāvīṣ) + u(s\rightarrowr→h) = alāvīṣāḥ\). The derivation of (894) \(adhiṣva\ involves \(adhi + i + (LOT\rightarrowsya) = adhiṣva\) through \(s\rightarrowṣ\) (\(satva\)) and similar long vowel replacement (\(savarnādrīgha\)).

3.4.6 chandasi bhiṇāṇālītāḥ

Example (895) \(akarat\) derives from \(a(T) + kr + (CLI→a(N))\) (\(LUN→t(i→∅) = a + kr + a + t\) through \(guna\) of \(t\) (7.4.16 \(ṛtṛṣo' iin\ gunah\); deletion of \(i\) of \(iP\) (3.4.100 \(itis ca\)); and \(aN\) as a replacement for \(CLI\) (3.1.59 \(krmidruruhi\)...). The derivation of (896) \(akaram\ contains a + kr + a + am\) where \(am\) is a replacement of \(mIP\), the first person singular replacement of \(LUN\) (3.4.101 \(tasthasamipām\)....). Rule 6.1.107 \(ami\ pūrvaḥ\ orders a single replacement for the sequence \(a+a\ of a + kar + a + (mi\rightarrowam) = akar + (a+a→am) = akaram\).

The derivation of (897) \(aṛṇīta\ proceeds with a (Ṭ) + viḥ(N) + (Ś)nā + ta where ī goes through shortening, and the ā of \(nā\) goes through the
replacement in i to produce avṛṇīta via the n→ṅ change brought about by 8.4.1 rasāḥhyām no nah....

Example (898) mamāra derives from mṛ(N) + (LIT→ti→(N)a(L)) where LIT is replaced with the active (parasmaipada) ending ti, subsequently NaL (3.4.82 parasmaipadānām nalatusus...) at the strength of 1.3.61 mriyater..., even when the root is marked with N to receive middle (ātmanepada) endings as per 1.3.12 anudāṭtaṇita ātmanepadam. The vrddhī of τ by 7.2.115 aco' niṇīti read with 1.1.51 ur an raparah produces m(r→ār) + a. Rule 6.1.8 līḍi dhātor... then causes doubling which, in turn, introduces mṛ to the string to realize mṛ + mār + a via treating mār still as mṛ in view of the sthāṇivadbhāva of 1.1.58 dvirvacane' ai. Rule 7.4.66 ur at then replaces τ with a to produce m(r→a) + mār + a = mamāra.

3.4.7 liṅarthelet

3.4.8 upasamvādayos ca

Refer to the appendix of 3.1.34 sīb bahulaṃ leti for derivational details of cited examples. Example (899) iśāi derives from iś + (LET→i(T)→e→ai) = iś + ai = iśai where the replacement of LET in i→e→ai is similarly to (878) adhyayāi. Note, however, that ai here is ordered by 3.4.96 vaito' nyatra. Our next example, i.e., (900) grhyāntai, similarly derives from grah + LET where (jḥ→ant)a (3.4.77 tiptasji; 7.1.3 jho' ntaḥ) replaces LET to realize grah + anta. Rule 3.1.67 sārvadhattuке yak then introduces ya(K) whereby the string becomes grah + ya + anta. The a of the ātmanepada ending ta will go through its replacement in e (etva). The root will then go through samprasaṛaṇa of rule 6.1.16 grahi- jjāvayi... to realize g(r→r)ah + ya + ant(a→e) = grah + ante. The vocalic sequence r+a, as usual, will be replaced with the r in view of rule 6.1.108 samprasaṛaṇāc ca. Rule 3.4.92 ād uttamasya pi ca then introduces ā(T) whereby we get grh + ya + ā + ante. The vocalic sequence ā+a is then replaced with ā by 6.1.90 ātaś ca to produce grh + ya + (ā+a→ā)nte = grh + ya + ānte. The e of ānte is also replaced with ai of rule 3.4.93 et ai to realize grhya + āntai where savarṇadīrgha finally realizes grhya(a+ ā→ā)ntai = grhyaṃtaī. Similar rules apply in deriving (901) ucyāntaik from vac + LET. Example (902) patāma derives from pat + (LET→mas) where mas gets replaced with ma of 3.4.82 parasmaipadānām.... The āt is here introduced by rule 3.4.94 letō' adātau.

3.4.9 tumarhte sesenase...taveṇi tavenaḥ

Many of the examples of this rule have been derived in this and the preceding volume. Example (903) preṣe contains pra + i + (K)se where pra is a preverb. The application of rule 8.3.59 ādeṣapratyayayoḥ and 6.1.87- ād gunāḥ produces pra + i + (s→s)a = pr(a+i→e)še = preṣe. Example (904) śrīyase contains śr(N) + (K)ase(N) where rule 6.4.77 aci śnudhāḥbhruvām... orders iy(Aṉ) as a replacement for the root-final i to yield: šr(i→iy)ase = śrīyase. The derivation of (905) āhuvadhyai contains ā + hu + (K)adhyai,
or \((K)\text{adhyai}(N)\) where 6.1.77 \(i\text{k}o\ yā\text{n} aci\) replaces \(u\) with \(v\). Note that (906) \(\text{pibadhyai}\) contains \(pā + (Ś)\text{adhyai}\) where rule 7.3.78 \(\text{pāghrādhmāsthāmnādān...}\) orders \(pā\) replaced with \(\text{pīb}\). Example (907) \(mādayā\text{dhyai}\) contains \(mādī + (Ś)\text{adhyain}\) where \(mādī\) is the causal form of \(mād\) ‘to be happy’ derived via \(N\text{ic}\) (3.1.26 \(\text{hetumati ca}\)) and subsequent \(\text{vṛddhi}\). The final derivative is produced from \(mādī + \text{adhyaiN}\) through \(\text{guna}\) and \(\text{ay}\) replacing \(e\).

3.4.10 \(\text{prayai rohīṣyai ayyathisyai}\)

Example (908) \(\text{prayai}\) is derived via \(\text{nīpātana}\) with the introduction of affix \(\text{Kai}\) after verbal root \(yā\) used with the preverb \(\text{pra}\). The \(ā\) of \(\text{pra} + yā + (K)\text{ai}\) is then deleted by 6.4.64 \(\text{āto lopa iṭi ca}\). The next two examples, (909) \(\text{rohīṣyai}\) and (910) \(\text{ayyathisyai}\), are derived form \(\text{ruh} + \text{isyai}\), through \(\text{guna}\), and \(nāN + \text{vyath} + \text{isyai}\). The \(sU\) introduced after these derivatives is deleted by 2.4.82 \(\text{ayyaya ṛḥṣuṭaḥ}\). The assignment of the term \(\text{ayyaya}\) is made at the strength of 1.1.39 \(kṛn mejantaḥ\).

3.4.12 \(\text{sāki namuṁkamula}\)

Examples (911) \(\text{ḍrēṣe}\) and (912) \(\text{vikhye}\) are derivatives of \((K)\text{se}\) introduced after verbal roots \(\text{ḍrīR}\) and \(\text{khyā}\), used with the preverb \(vī\) with the deletion of its \(ā\) similarly to (908) \(\text{prayai}\). Examples (913) \(\text{vibhājam}\) and (914) \(\text{apalupam}\) are derived from \(\text{vibhaj} + (N)\text{am(UL)}\) and \(\text{apaluj} + (K)\text{am(UL)}\) where the verbal roots are used with the preverbs \(vī\) and \(aṭa\). The first example entails \(\text{vṛddhi}\) conditioned by the \(N\) as per rule 7.2.115 \(\text{aco’ ṅiṭiū}\). The second example cannot undergo either \(\text{vṛddhi}\) or \(\text{guna}\) because of the \(K\) as an it in affix \(\text{KamUL}\). The deletion of \(sU\) in all these examples is conditioned by the assignment of the term \(\text{ayyaya}\) to them: the first two based on their ending in \(e\); the subsequent two based on their termination in \(m\).

3.4.14 \(\text{kṛtyārthe tavaihenkenyatvavanāḥ}\)

The derivation of (916) \(\text{didṛṣeṇyaḥ}\) begins with the derivation of its underlying root \(\text{didṛkṣa}\) from \(\text{ḍṛṣ} + \text{ḍṛṣ} + \text{sa(N)}\) through the introduction of affix \(\text{saN}\), doubling (\(\text{dvitva}\)), replacement in \(a\) followed by \(r\) (7.4.66 \(\text{ur at}; 1.1.51 \text{ur an raparāḥ}\)) and \(\text{halādīśesa}\) (7.4.60 \(\text{halādi}\)...). This produces \(\text{ḍṛṣ} + \text{ḍṛṣ} + \text{sa} \Rightarrow \text{ḍa} + \text{ḍṛṣ} + \text{sa}\). Rule 7.4.79 \(\text{sany atah}\) then orders \(i\) as a replacement for the \(a\) of \(\text{da}\) to produce \(\text{ḍ}(a→i) + \text{ḍṛṣ} + \text{sa} = \text{ḍi} + \text{ḍṛṣ}\). The \(ś\) is then replaced with \(k\) of rule 8.2.41 \(\text{ṣaḍoh kaḥ si}\) to produce \(\text{ḍi} + \text{ḍṛ(ś→k)} + \text{sa} = \text{didṛk} + \text{sa}\). Rule 8.3.59 \(\text{ādesapratayayayoh}\) then orders the \(s\) to be replaced with \(ś\). The resultant form, i.e., \(\text{didṛkṣa}\), is assigned the term \(\text{dhātu}\) by rule 3.1.32 \(\text{saṇādyantā dhātavaḥ}\).

3.4.11 \(\text{ḍṛṣe vikhye ca}\)

3.4.21 \(\text{samānakartkayoh pūrvakāle}\)

3.4.22 \(\text{ābhikṣnye namul ca}\)

The derivation of (917) \(\text{bhuktvā}\) and (918) \(\text{ṭīṭvā}\) derive from \(\text{bhuj} + (K)\text{tvā}\) and \(pā + (K)\text{tvā}\) where \(\text{kutva}\) entails \(j→g→k\) similar to (725) \(\text{bhoktā}\), and \(\text{ṭīṭvā}\) entails the replacement of \(ā\) with \(i\) by rule 6.4.66 \(\text{ghumāsthāpāpā...}\).

The derivatives of the next rule entail doubling of \(\text{bhojam}\) and \(\text{pāyam}\) as
in (919) bhajambhojam and (920) pâyampâyam. The individual forms are derived by introducing affix \((N)am(UL)\) after verbal roots bhuj and pă where \(u\) of bhuj goes through guna, and pă receives the augment \(y(\text{UK})\) of rule 7.3.33 ato yu: cin....

3.4.25 karmany akrose krñah khamun

3.4.26 svādumṇa namul

The derivation of (921) coramkāram and (922) dasyumkāram requires the introduction of affix \((KH)am(UN)\) after verbal root kr under the co-occurrence condition of a word constituted by cora and dasyu with the denotata of karman ‘object’. The derivation of kāra obviously requires vrddhi of \(r\) by 7.2.115 aco’ ūnīti. The am will be deleted via the formation of the compound. Note, however, that augment m(UM) will be introduced by rule 6.3.67 arurdviṣadajantasya... on account of the affixal \(KH\) as an it. Thus, cora + am + h(\(r\)→ár) + (KH)am(UN) = cora + (am→\(\emptyset\)) + kāram = cora + m(UM) + kāram = coramkāram. Similar application of rules will yield dasyumkāram. The \(m\)→\(m\) change will result due to rule 8.3.24 naś cāpadāntasya jhali.

The examples of the second rule have already been derived as (136) svādumkāram, (137) sampannamkāram, and (138) lavanaṃkāram under the appendix of volume II (pp. 372-74).

3.4.36 samulākṛta jīvesu...
3.4.37 karaṇe hanah
3.4.39 haste varttigrāhoḥ

The derivation of (923) samulaghātam contains (samūla + am + han + (N)am(UL) + sU)) similarly to (450) śirṣaghāti.

Examples (924) akṛtakāram and (925) jīvagrāham are similarly derived from (naUN + kr + Kīa = akṛta + am + kr + (N)am(UL) + sU)), and jīva + am + gra + (N)am(UL)) + sU)).

Deriving (926) pānighātam from pāni + bhīyām + han + (N)am(UL) + sU)) follows similar derivational patterns. The derivation of (927) hasta-varttam contains hasta + Tā + vartti + (Nam(UL) + sU)) where vartti is the causative form of vt ‘to turn’ ending in affix NiC. The NiC, however, is deleted subsequently by 6.4.51 Ner aniṣi.

3.3.47 upadāṃsas tṛṭṭiyāyām
3.4.48 himśārthānām ca samānākarmakānām

Deriving (928) mūlakopadaṃsam from mūlaka + Tā + upadāṃs + (N)am(UL) + sU)) is not very difficult especially in view of the preceding details. Example (929) ārd rakopadaṃsam is not different either. Note, however, that the derivatives of NamUL are in many ways parallel to the derivatives of Ktā. We will then also get forms such as (930) mūlakenopadaśya where the m of the root is deleted by rule 6.4.24 anidiṃ pa hala upadhāyāḥ. The nasal will also be deleted in (931) daṇḍenopahatya (6.4.37 anudāt-topadeśavana...) parallel to daṇḍopaghātam. Incidentally, upahatya of
daṇḍenopahatya also requires augment tUK of rule 6.1.71 hrasvasya piti kṛti tuk. The formation of compounds is allowed in all these instances by 2.2.21 triyā....

3.4.52 apādāne parīpsāyām

Examples such as (932) sāyyotthāyam and (933) randhrāpakarcām derive from sāyyā + Nāsl + ut + sthā + (N)am(UL) + sU)) and randhra + Nāsl + apakṛṣ + (N)am(UL) + sU)) where the s of the preverb sthā will be replaced with t by rule 8.4.60 udāḥ sthāstambhoh.... This th will be subsequently deleted by 8.4.65 jharo jhari savanrṇe. Note also that utthāyam also requires the introduction of yUK of rule 7.3.33 āto yuk cin.... The ā of sāyyā and the u of utthāyā are replaced with o by 6.1.87 ād guṇah.

3.4.61 svāṅge taspratayaye kṛbhvoḥ

Note that mukhataḥ of examples such as (934) mukhahakāram, (935) mukhatobhāyā, and (936) mukhatobhāvam entails the introduction of affix tasII of rule 5.4.45 apādāne cāhiyaruhoḥ. The s of mukhatas goes through rutva-visarga in mukhahakāram. The rU, however, is changed to u via rule 6.1.114 haś ca in cases of mukhatobhāya and mukhatobhāvam. The resultant sequence of, for example, mukhata(०→rU→u) = mukhat(a + u) is replaced with o to produce mukhatobhāya or mukhatobhāvam through the application of 6.1.87 ād guṇah.

3.4.68 bhavyageyaparvacaṇiṣyopasthānīyaśajanyāplāvyāpātyā vā

Our first example (937) bhavyaḥ derives from (bhū + yaT) + sU)) through guṇa and subsequent av replacement of o. Note that affix yaT is introduced by rule 3.1.97 aco yat. The av replacement for o comes from 6.1.80 dhātos tannimīttasyaiwa. A similar replacement in āv for the resultant vṛddhi in au of ā(N→Ø) + plu + (N)ya(T) is also ordered by this same rule to derive an example such as (938) āplāvyāḥ. The NyaT is introduced by rule 3.1.125 or āvaśyake. Examples (939) pravacaniśyaḥ and (940) upasthānīyaḥ entail the introduction of affix anīyaR (3.1.96 tavya-taryanīyāraḥ) after verbal roots vac and sthā used with the preverbs pra and upa.

3.4.72 gatyarthākarmakaślsāśīnsthāsavasā...

Note that (941) gataḥ derives from (gam + Kta) + sU)) where m is deleted by 6.4.37 anudāttopadesa.... Examples (942) glāna and (943) āsīta derive from glai + (K)ta and ās + (K)ta where the first receives a replacement in ā for the ai by rule 6.1.45 ādeca upadeśe...; the second receives the augment iT. Furthermore, gl(aī→ā) + ta = glā + ta will have the t replaced with n by 8.2.43 samyogāder.... Deriving (944) upasāśṭa from upasāś + (K)ta requires the t to be replaced with t by rule 8.4.41 śṭunā śṭuḥ. The derivation of (945) anūṣīta from anu + vas + (K)ta not only requires the introduction of iT by rule 7.2.52 vasati kṣudhor it but also samprasāraṇa and related operations on the va of vas by rule 6.1.15 vacisvapīyajādīnam.... We thus get anu + (v→u)as + i(T) + (K)ta = anu + usita = anūṣīta through
savarnadirgha. The s of anūsita is replaced with š in accordance with rule 8.3.60 sāsivasighasi....

The derivation of (946) āruḍhah from (āruh + (K)ta + sU)) requires the h to be replaced with dh and the t with dh through the applications of rules 8.2.31 ho ḍhah and 8.2.40 jhaṣasta.... The resultant āru(h→dh) + (t→dh)a = āruḍh + ḍha will then have its dh replaced with dh by 8.4.40 śūnā śṭūḥ. The first dh of āruḍh + ḍha will then be deleted by 8.3.13 ḍho ḍke lopaḥ subsequent to which rule 6.3.111 ḍhra lopo... will demand the u of āru(ḍh→θ) + ḍha to be replaced with ū to produce āruḍhā.

Example (947) anujirṇah contains (anu + jī + (K)ta + sU)) where jī is replaced with i followed by r by rule 7.1.101 ṱi id dhātoḥ read with 1.1.51 ur an raparaha. The t of anuj(ī→ir) + ta = anujir + ta is replaced first with n then by ṇ through the application of rules 8.2.42 radābhyaṁ...and 8.4.1 raśābhyaṁ.... The i of anujir + (t→n→ṇ)a = anujir + ṇa is then replaced with i by 8.2.77 hali ca to produce anujirṇah.

3.4.80 thāsah se

Example (948) pacase derives from pac + (Ś)a(P) + (LAT→ thās→se) where our present rule replaces thās with se. Example (949) pecīse from pac + (LIT→se) entails doubling where, given pa + pac + i(T) + se, pa gets deleted by 6.4.120 ata ekahalmadhye’ nādeśer līti, and s is replaced with s by rule 8.3.59 ādesapratyayayoh. The derivation of (950) paktāse contains pac + LUT→thās→se (3.3.15 anadyatane lut) where LUT is replaced with se via thās, and rule 3.1.33 syatāsi lṛutoḥ introduces tās to realize pac + tās + se. Note that the s of tās is subsequently deleted by 7.4.50 tasastyor lopaḥ to produce: pac + tā(s→θ) + se = pac + tāse. The c of pac will then go through its replacement in k (kutva; 8.2.30 coḥ kuh) to realize the final derivate as pa(c→k) + tāse = paktāse. The same kutva will also apply in case of (951) pakṣyase which contains the string pac + sya + (LRT→se). The s of pa(c→k) + sya + se will be replaced with s to realize pak + (s→s)ya + se = pakṣyase.

3.4.82 parasmaipadānām nalatususthalathusanaṇalvāmāh

Example (952) papāca derives from pa + pac + (N)a(L) via doubling where a of pac goes through vṛddhi of 7.2.116 aco’ niṁti... to produce: pa + p(a→ā)c + a = papāca. Examples such as (953) pecatuh, (954) pecuh, (955) pecitha, etc., in addition to doubling, also require the application of 6.4.120 ata ekahalmadhye... whereby the reduplicated element (abhyāsa) is deleted, and a of the root is replaced with e similarly to (949) pecīse. The derivation of (956) papaktha contains pa + pac + tha where c→k(kutva) is the only significant operation beyond doubling. Note here that 7.2.62 upadeśe’ tvataḥ cannot permit the introduction of iT.

3.4.84 bruvah paṅcānām ādita...

The derivation of examples such as āha, etc., has already been explained in the appendix of volume II. Example (957) āthha derives from brū +
(Ś)a(P) + si(P) = brū + a + si where our present rule replaces si with thal, brū gets replaced with āha and the h of āha is further replaced with th by rule 8.2.35 āhas thah. This gives us: (brū→ā(h→th) + (Ś)a(P)→θ) + (si→tha(L)) = āth + tha. The th of āth will be replaced with t to realize ā(th→t) + tha = ātha.

3.4.87 ser hy apic ca

Refer to the derivation of lunihi under rule 3.4.2 kriyāsamabhihāre.... Example (958) punihi will follow the same pattern. The derivation of (959) rādhnuhi will entail the introduction of the vikaraṇa Śnu since the root belongs to the svādi group (3.1.73 svādi bhāya śnu). Similar rules apply in deriving (960) takṣmuhi with the understanding that the n of nu is here changed to ṇ by 8.4.1 rasābyāṃ no ṇah....

3.4.92 āḍ uttamaṣya pita ca

The derivation of (961) karavani contains the string kr + u + ni where ni is a further replacement (3.4.89 mer niḥ) of the first person singular replacement of mi in itself a replacement of LAT, and the u is the vikaraṇa of the tanādi class (3.1.79 tanādi...). Rule 3.4.92 then introduces ā(T) to realize kr + u + ā + ni which then goes through the guṇa of ṭ under the condition of u. This produces k(ṭ→ar) + u + a + ni. The u will now be subject to the application of guṇa under the condition of āni thereby producing k(ṭ→ar) + (u→o) + āni = kar + o + āni. The replacement in av for o followed by the change of n to ṇ by 8.4.1 rasābyāṃ no ṇah... will finally realize kar + (o→av) + ā(n→n)i = karavani.

3.4.95 eta ai

Example (962) mantrayāte derives from mantri + (Ś)a(P) + (LET→āt(ām→e)) where mantri ends in affix NiC, LET is replaced with the third person dual ātmānepada ending ātām, and ām of ātām is further replaced with e (3.4.79 āt ātmānepadānām...) thereby yielding mantri + a + āte. The ā of āte is subjected to the application of our present rule whereby ā is replaced with ai. This gives us: mantri + a + (ā→ai)te = mantri + a + aite. The guṇa of i followed by the ay replacement of the resultant e will then produce: mantri(i→e→ay) + a + aite = mantrayāte + aite. An application of 6.1.88 vṛddhir eci will finally bring about mantray (a+ai→ai)te = mantrayāte.

Similar rules apply in deriving the second person dual (967) mantrayātthe from mantri + a + āthām. The derivation of (868) karavaithe and (960) karavaithe proceed with kr + u + ātām and kr + u + āthām where u, the vikaraṇa introduced by rule 3.1.79 tanādikṛni..., goes through guṇa and subsequent replacement of o by av.

3.4.97 sa uttamasya

3.4.98 nityāṃ nītāḥ

The derivation of (970) karavāva and (971) karavāma optionally to (972) karavavah and (973) karavāmah contains the strings kr + u + ā(T) +
(LAT→vas) and kr + u + ū(T) + (LAT→mah) where ūT is introduced by 3.4.94 leto aద. Here again both r and u go through guna, with av in case of u, to produce k(r→ar) + (u→o→av) + ū + vas = kar + av + ū + vas = karavāvas. Similar rules will apply to bring about: karavāmas. Our present rule will then offer the optional deletion of the final s to derive karavāva and karavāma. If, however, this option is not availed, the result will be karavāva(s→r→h) = karavāvah and karavāma(s→r→h) = karavāmah.

The derivation of (974) apacāva and (975) apacāma from a(T) + pac + (ā)ap(P) + (LAN→vas) = apaca + vas and a(T) + pac + (ā)ap(P) + (LAN→mas) = apaca + mas requires the deletion of the final s as obligatory (nitya). Thus, rule 3.4.99 nityam nityah will allow only one set of forms in the first person dual and plural. Rule 7.3.101 ato dirgho yañi finally applies to realize apac(a→ā) + va(s→θ) = apacāva. The plural is similarly derived as: apac(a→ā) + ma(s→θ) = apacāma.

3.4.100 itaś ca

Example (976) apākṣit contains a(T) + pac + s(IC) + ī(T) + (LUÑ→ti(P)) where our present rule deletes the i of īP; and īT is introduced by rule 7.3.96 astisico ṣṛkte. The introduction of aT and sIC should be easier to comprehend by now. The next stage in the derivation relates to the vrddhi of the a of pac (7.2.3 vadavrajahalantasyācaḥ) followed by the kutva of s (8.2.30 coh kuh). Thus, ap(a→ā)c + s + ī + t = apā(c→k) + s + ī = apākṣit. The s of apākṣit will then be replaced with ʃ to produce apāk(s→ʃ)it = apākṣit by rule 8.3.59 ādesa pratyayah.

3.4.101 tathasthamipāṁ täṃkāntamāh

The derivatives of LAN are not very difficult to derive. The examples of LUÑ need some explanation. For example, (977) apāktām contains a(T) + pac + (sIC→θ) + (LUÑ→tas→tām) = apac + tām where vrddhi and kutva change pac to pāk similarly to the earlier example, and sIC gets deleted by 8.2.26 jhalo jhali. We thus get: ap(a→ā) (c→k) + tām = apāktām. Other examples of LUÑ, i.e., (978) apāktam from a(T) + (pac→pāk) + (LUÑ→has→tam)) and (979) apāktta from a(T) + (pac→pāk) + (LUÑ→tha→ta)), follow similar application of rules. The derivation of (980) apākṣam from a(T) + (pac→pāk) + (s(IC)→ʃ)) + (LUÑ→mi(P)→am)) does not meet the conditions under which its s(IC) can be deleted: Consequently, the s of the string is retained with its subsequent replacement with ʃ.

3.4.102 liṅah sīyut

Examples (981) paceta, (982) paceyātām and (983) paceran derive from pac + (ā)ap(P) + LIÑ where LIÑ gets replaced with the third personal singular, dual, and plural ātmanepada endings ta, ātām and jha respectively. Our present rule introduces sīy(UṬ→θ) to the replacements of LIÑ although the s and y of sīy are deleted by rules 7.2.79 liṅah salopo... and
6.1.66 lopo vyor... respectively in the first example. An application of guna finally produces pac + (s→θ) (i→e) (y→θ) + ta = pac + e + ta = paceta. Note that yet another augment sUT is also introduced to the first example by rule 3.4.107 suṭ titoh. This again is deleted by the same rule which deletes the s of siy.

The deletion of y is not applicable in deriving paceyātām. The last example has its jha replaced with ran in addition to the deletions of s and y.

3.4.103 yāsūt parasaipaḍaśudātto ńic ca
3.4.104 kid āśiśi

Example (984) kuryāt contains kr + u + (LIÑ→ti) where ti loses its i to 3.4.100 itaś ca, and our present rule introduces yās(UṬ) to realize: kr + u + yā + τ(i→θ) = kur + u + yās + t. The u then causes the guna of r whereby we get k(τ→ar) + u + yā + i = kar + u + yāt. Rule 6.4.101 at ut sāraṇḍāṭiṣke now replaces the a of kar with u (utva) to produce k(au→u)r + u + yāt = kur + u + yāt. The u before yāt will then be deleted by 6.4.109 ye ca. We thus get: kur + (u→θ) + yāt = kuryāt. The derivation of (985) kuryātām requires that LIÑ be replaced with tas which, in turn, be replaced with tām of 3.4.101 tastaṭhamiśām.... This will give us kr + u + (LIÑ→tas →tām) from whence kuryātām can be derived similarly to the preceding example. Our next example, (986) kuryuḥ, contains kr + u + yās + us where us is a replacement of jha (3.4.108 jeṛ jus) which itself is a replacement of LIÑ. The application of guna and utva followed by the deletion of u similar to the preceding two examples will yield kur + (u→θ) + yās + us = kur + yās + us. The s is then deleted by 7.2.79 liṇah salopo' nantyaṣya to yield kur + yā + us. The vocalic sequence of ā + u will then have to be replaced with a single vowel similar to the following (para-savarṇa) as per 6.1.96 upṣ apadāntāt. Thus, kur + y(ā+u→u)ṣ = kuryuṣ. The application of rutva-visarga will now derive kuryuḥ.

Similar rules apply in deriving examples (987) isyāt, (988) isyāṭām and (989) isyāṣuḥ which are all derivates of iṣ in LIÑ denoting 'benediction (āśiśi). It must, however, be understood that the replacements of LIÑ in these examples are treated as marked with K as their i. This is for blocking any guna or vṛddhi. The deletion of s of yas in the first two examples is accomplished by 8.2.29 skōh samyogādyor.... The assignment of the term ārdhaḥāṭuka to LIÑ with the denotatum of ‘benediction’ blocks the introduction of Ša of 3.1.77 tudāśibhyāḥ sāḥ.

3.4.104 jhasya ran
3.4.105 ito’t

The derivation of (990) paceran contains pac + (Ś)a(P) + siy + jha where LIÑ gets replaced with ran via jha. The y and s will as usual be deleted by 6.1.66 lopo vyor vali and 7.2.79 liṇah salopo.... This will give us:
Derivational History of Examples

\[pac + a + (s\rightarrow\emptyset)i(y\rightarrow\emptyset) + (LI\tilde{N}\rightarrow jha\rightarrow ran)) = pac + a + i + ran\]

where 6.1.87 ʻad gunāh must apply to produce \(pac(a+i\rightarrow e) + ran = pac + e + ran\) = paceya.

Example (991) paceya contains \(pac + a + i\) + i(T) where i(T) is the first person singular ʻparasmaipada replacement of LI\tilde{N}, and siy(UT) again loses its s similarly to the preceding examples. Our present rule replaces i(T) with a whereby we get \(pac + a + iy + (i(T)\rightarrow a) = pac + a + iy + a\).

An application of 6.1.87 ʻad gunåh will finally produce \(pac + (a+i\rightarrow e)y + a = paceya\).

Deriving (992) kṛṣṭya from kṛ + siy + i(T)→a where i(T) is a replacement of LI\tilde{N}. The s of kṛ + siy + a has its s replaced with s.

3.4.107 suṭ titoho
3.4.108 jher jus

Refer to the derivation of (339) kṛṣṭya under the appendix of rule 1.2.12 ʻus ca. The remaining examples should be similarly derived. Note that these examples entail benefactive LI\tilde{N} where 1.2.12 ʻus ca conditions lack of guna.

Example (993) paceyuḥ contains \(pac + (Ś)a(P) + yās(UT) + (jha\rightarrow j(\text{us})) = pac + a + yās + us\) where rule 7.2.80 aṭo yeṭah will introduce iy in place of yā of yās to produce \(pac + a + (yā\rightarrow iy)s + us) = pac + a + iy + s + us\). The s as usual will be deleted by 7.2.79 līnāḥ saloṭo nantyasya. The final form will be realized by the application of single guna replacement (6.1.87 ʻad gunåh), on the vocalic sequence of a+i, and rutva-visarga on the final s. Thus, \(pac + (a+i\rightarrow e)y + u(s\rightarrow r\rightarrow h)) = paceyuḥ\). Similar rules apply in deriving (994) yeyeyuḥ.

3.4.109 sī ṣabhyaṣṭavibhīṇyaḥ ca

Examples (994) akāṛṣuḥ and (995) ahāṛṣuḥ are derived similarly to (1o) akāṛṣi and (17) ahāṛṣi explained under the appendix of rule 1.13 iko gunaṛgydhī. Note, however, that these derivatives require jhi to replace LI\tilde{N} which, in turn, will be replaced with us. Furthermore, rule 7.3.96 atisico’ pṛkte... will not apply in these examples. Thus, \(a + (kṛ→ār) + s + (jhi→us)) = akāṛ(s→s) + us = akāṛsu(s→r→h) = akāṛsu\).

The preceding examples illustrate the replacement in Jus for jhi occurring after sīC. Examples (996) abhibhayuḥ and (937) ajihrayuḥ entail this replacement after items termed abhyasta (6.1.5 ubhe abhyasta). The derivation of abhibhayuḥ begins with bhī + (SaP→ŚLU) + (LI\tilde{N}→jhi) where SaP is deleted by means of ŚLU, which, in turn, conditions doubling (dvītvā) to produce (bhi + bhi + jhi). The long i of the first bhi will be replaced with short by 7.4.59 krasvāḥ. The resultant string bh(i→i) + bhī + us then requires the application of 8.4.53 abhīṣe car ca whereby the bh of bhi is replaced with b to produce: (bh→b)i + bhī + jhi = bi + bhi + jhi. The introduction of aT and replacement of jhi by us follow to realize: aT + bhi + bhi + (jhi→us). Note that the output of doubling, i.e., bhī + bhī,
is assigned the term abhyāsta to facilitate the replacement of jhi by us. The 
guna (7.3.84 śāvaḍatukārdhadhātukayoḥ) of i followed by the av replacement 
(6.1.78 eko’ yavāyavah) for the resultant e will produce: a + bi + 
bh(i→e→ay) + us = abibhayus. The application of rutva-visarga will 
finally realize abibhāyu(s→r→h) = abibhāyuḥ.

The derivation of (998) ajihrayuḥ similarly realizes the string hrī + hrī 
+jhi = h(r→0)i + hrī + jhi = h(i→i) + hrī + (jhi→us) = a + hi + hrī + us 
after doubling, haladīśesa, shortening of i, introduction of aT and us 
replacement for jhi. This string will finally require the application of 
rules 7.4.62 kuhoś cuḥ and 8.4.54 abhyāse car ca to replace the h of hi with j 
via jh respectively. This will give us a + (h→jh→j)i + hrī + us which 
then goes through guna, e→ay, and rutva-visarga similar to the preceding 
example to derive ajihrayuḥ.

Example (999) ajāgāruḥ follows similar derivational pattern though 
with fewer rule application. For, the deletion of ṢaP in this example is 
accomplished by LUK of 2.4.72 adiprabhṛtibhyah... which would not 
permit doubling. Thus, aT + jāg(i→ar) + u(s→r→h)) = ajāgāruḥ 
through guna and rutva-visarga. Note that us cannot replace jhi unless jhi 
is occurring after a form which has been termed abhyāsta. The term abhyāsta 
cannot be assigned unless the root goes through doubling (dvitrva). It is to 
allow the replacement in us for jhi after verbal roots jāgr, and the like, 
that rule 6.1.6 jaksityādayaḥ sat is formulated. This rule assigns the term 
abhyāsta to six roots even without doubling. Similar rules apply in deriving 
(1000) aviduḥ.

3.4.110 ātah

The derivation of (1001) aduḥ contains a(T) + dā + (ṣīC→θ) + 
(LUṆ→jhi→us)) = a + dā + us. Rule 6.1.93 usyapadāntāt then applies to 
replace the root-final ā with u to produce ad(ā→u)s = adus whereby we 
get adu(s→r→h) = aduḥ through rutva-visarga. Similar rules apply in 
deriving (1002) adhuḥ from a + dhā + us, and (1003) asthuḥ from a + 
sthā + us.

3.4.111 laṇaḥ śākaṭayanaśaiva

Note that (1004) ayuḥ and (1005) avuḥ derive as optional forms of 
(1006) avān and (1007) avān from a(T) + yā + (ṢaP→θ) + (LUṆ→jhi)) = 
a + yā + jhi and a + vā + (jhi→us) respectively where 2.4.72 adiprabhṛtī-
byah... deletes the ṢaP. If, however, one does not accept the option 
favored by Śākaṭayana, the derivate would be ayān where jhi will be 
replaced with ant of 7.1.3 jho’ ntaḥ. The resultant string, i.e., ayā + 
(jh→ant)i = ayā + ant, will have the i deleted by 3.4.100 itaś ca thereby 
producing ayā + ant(i→θ) = ayā + ant. The application of 8.2.23 
samyogāntasya lopah will then delete the final t to derive ayā + an(t→θ) = 
ayā + an. The vocalic sequence ā + a will then be replaced with the single
long ā to produce ay(ā+a→ā)n = ayān through savarṇadīrgha. Same steps have to be followed to derive avān.

3.4.115 liṭ ca

Examples (1008) pecitha and (1009) sekitha contain pac + (LIT→siP→thāL)) = pac + tha and šak + tha where 3.4.82 parasmaṭpadānāṃ... replaces the LIT with thāL via the second personal parasmaṭpāda singular affix siP. Rule 3.4.115 liṭ ca assigns the term ārdhadhātukā to tha to facilitate the introduction of i(T) via 7.2.63 ṛto bhāradvājasya. But rule 6.1.8 liṭ dhātor... with operations relative to doubling must apply to derive pa + pac + tha which, with the introduction of i(T), will yield pa + pac + i + tha. Rule 6.4.121 thali ca seṭi now applies to delete the pa of doubling, and replace the a of pac under the condition of the following tha. The result is: (pa→∅) + p(a→e)c + i + tha = pacitha. Similar rules apply in deriving sekitha.

The derivation of (1010) jagle and (1011) mampyle contain glai + (LIT→ta) = glai + ta and mlai + ta where 3.4.81 liṭas tajhayor eśīrec orders ta replaced with e(S→∅) to yield glai + e. The root then receives ā as a replacement (6.1.45 ādeca upadeśe...) for its ai whereby we get gl(ai→ā) + e = glā + e. Doubling and related operations such as halādiśeṣa, and short-replacement (hrasva) for the long ā then produces glā + glā + e = gā + glā + e = g(ā→a) + glā + e = ga + glā + e. The ā of glā is then deleted by 6.4.64 āto plopa ṛti ca to realize: ga + gl(ā→∅) + e = ga + gle. The g of ga is then replaced with j by rule 7.4.62 kuhoś cuḥ to derive (g→j)a + gle = jagle. Similar rules will apply in deriving mampyle.

3.4.116 līnāiṣi

Example (1012) laviśṭa and (1013) paviṣṭa contain lū + i(T) + siy(U) + s(U) + (LIN→ta) and ṭū + i(T) + siy(U) + s(U) + ta similarly to (315) bhitaśṭa (vol. II, pp. 436-37) under the appendix of rule 1.2.11 līniscāv aṭmanepadeṣu. Note here that the assignment of the term ārdhadhātukā under the conditions of benedictive LIN enables the introduction of i(T) by 7.2.35 ārdhadhātukasyeṣaḥ valādeḥ. There are basically three operations, i.e., guna of the u of roots, subsequent replacement by av of the resultant o, and ṣ coming as a replacement for the two s elements of the string (8.3.59 ādesa-pratayayoh).

3.4.117 chandasya ubhayathā

Example (1014) vardhantu contains vardhi + (LOT→jhi→antu) where vardhi is derived by introducing affix NiC after vrdh through guna, and LOT is replaced with jhi which is subsequently replaced with ant by 7.1.3 jho' ntah. The i of jhi will be replaced with u by 3.4.86 er uḥ. The result will be: vardhi + anī(i→u) = vardhi + antu. The i of NiC is then deleted by 6.4.51 ār anitī to yield vardh(i→∅) + antu = vardhantu. The assignment of the term ārdhadhātukā causes the deletion of affix NiC.

Example (1015) svastaye contains (su+a+KīN+Nē) where affix
KtiN is introduced after verbal root as occurring with su to derive the nominal base s(u→v) + as + ti = svasti. The derivation of the dative form svastaye from svasti + (∈N→0)e requires the application of rule 1.4.7 ēṣo ghy asakhi whereby svasti is optionally assigned the term gḥi as opposed to nadi. Rule 7.3.111 gher niti applies as a result to allow for the guṇa of i to produce: svasti(i→e) + e = svaste + e. Rule 6.1.78 eco ‘yavayāvah will then replace the first e with ay to realize: svast(e→ay) + e = svastaye. Note that affix KtiN in svasti is to be termed āṛddhadhātuka by 3.4.114 āṛddhadhātukam šeṣāḥ but our present rule instead assigns the term sārvadhātuka thereby blocking bhū (2.4.52 aster bhūḥ) from replacing as. Additionally, the a of as is also not deleted by rule 6.4.111 śnasor al lopah on account of the lack of the assignment of the term ārdhadhātuka to affix KtiN.

Example (1016) viṣrṇvire derives from vi + (ṣru→ṣr) + (Ś)nu + LIT→jha→ire(C)) where LIT is replace with ireC via the third person plural ātmeneṣa suffix jha, and rule 3.1.74 śruvaḥ śr ca introduces the śr as a replacement for śru together with (Ś)nu. This explains why we get viṣr + nu + ire. Both u and n of nu then go through replacements in v (6.4.87 huṣṇuṇoh sārva...) and n (8.3.59 ādesaprtyayayoh) respectively. This gives us: viṣr + (nu→nu) + ire = viṣrṇvire. Note that blocking the assignment of the term ārdhadhātuka in favor of sārvadhātuka facilitates the viκaraṇa as well as the replacement of the root. The next example (1017) suvire similarly derives from verbal root ṣu→su (6.1.64 dhātvādeh...) where doubling by 6.1.8 liṣṭhātor cannot be accomplished because LIT does not occur directly after the root. It is, instead, intervened by Śnu which, in turn, is introduced at the strength of the assignment of the term sārvadhātuka. Lack of doubling thus can also be treated as the consequence of the provision of this rule. This provision of the sārvadhātuka, of course, goes against the ārdhadhātuka proposal of 3.4.116 kidāśi.

Our next example (1018) upastheyāma contains the string upa + sthā + yās(UT) + (LIN→mas) = upasthā + yās + mas where the assignment of the term ārdhadhātuka or sārvadhātuka is both made as a choice. Thus, the deletion of s of mas, by rule 7.2.79 liṇah salopo..., takes place at the strength of assigning the term sārvadhātuka (3.4.113 tiṇṣit...). The assignment of the term ārdhadhātuka by our present rule makes it possible for the ā of sthā to be replaced with e in view of rule 6.4.67 er liṇi. This is how we get: upasth(ā→e) + yā + mas(→0) = upastheyāma.
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