

# 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 *Aṣṭādhyāyī 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.



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VOLUME III

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*ADHYĀYAS* TWO AND THREE WITH SANSKRIT TEXT,  
TRANSLITERATION, WORD-BOUNDARY, *ANUVṚTTI*, *VRTTI*,  
EXPLANATORY NOTES, DERIVATIONAL HISTORY OF  
EXAMPLES, AND INDICES.

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*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-candrodaya* of Charudeva Shastri, and the Hindi translation with notes of the *Laghukaumudī* 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 Hawaii, 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.

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*21 March 1994*

# Abbreviations

abl	ablative
acc	accusative
<i>Ait</i>	<i>Aitareya-Brāhmaṇa</i>
<i>bv</i>	<i>bahuvrīhi</i>
<i>cat tat</i>	<i>caturthī-tatpuruṣa</i>
<i>DP</i>	<i>Dhātupāṭha</i>
dat	dative
du	dual
<i>dv</i>	<i>dvandva</i>
<i>dvi tat</i>	<i>dviṭyā-tatpuruṣa</i>
fem	feminine
<i>GP</i>	<i>Gaṇapāṭha</i>
gen	genitive
id	ibidem
inst	instrumental
int	internal
<i>itar dv</i>	<i>itaretara-dvandva</i>
<i>karm tat</i>	<i>karmadhāraya-tatpuruṣa</i>
<i>Kāś</i>	<i>Kāśikāvṛtti</i> of Vāmana-Jayāditya with <i>Padamañjarī</i> ( <i>PM</i> ) of Haradatta and the <i>Nyāsa</i> of Jinendrabuddhi
<i>LŚ</i>	<i>Laghuśabdenduśekhara</i> of Nāgeśa
loc	locative
<i>Mbh</i>	<i>Vyākaraṇamahābhāṣya</i> of Patañjali with the <i>Pradīpa</i> of Kaiyaṭa and the <i>Udyota</i> of Nāgeśa
masc	masculine
<i>nañ tat</i>	<i>nañ-tatpuruṣa</i>
neut	neuter
nom	nominative
<i>PM</i>	<i>Padamañjarī</i> of Haradatta <i>ad Kāśikāvṛtti</i> of Vāmana-Jayāditya
<i>PŚ</i>	<i>Paribhāṣenduśekhara</i> of Nāgeśa
<i>pbh</i>	<i>paribhāṣā</i>
<i>pañc</i>	<i>pañcamī</i>
<i>pañc tat</i>	<i>pañcamī-tatpuruṣa</i>
pl	plural
<i>RV</i>	<i>Ṛgveda</i>
<i>SK</i>	<i>Vaiyākaraṇasiddhāntakaumudī</i> of Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita with the <i>Bālamānoramā</i> of Vāsudeva Dīkṣita, and the <i>Tattvabodhinī</i> of Jñānendra Sarasvatī
<i>SP</i>	<i>Sūtrapāṭha</i>

<i>sam dv</i>	<i>samāhāra-dvandva</i>
<i>sap tat</i>	<i>saptamī-tatpuruṣa</i>
<i>sg/sing</i>	singular
<i>Śs</i>	<i>Śivasūtra</i>
<i>Śat</i>	<i>Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa</i>
<i>ṣaṣ</i>	<i>ṣaṣṭhī</i>
<i>ṣaṣ tat</i>	<i>ṣaṣṭhī-tatpuruṣa</i>
<i>Tai</i>	<i>Taittirīya-Brāhmaṇa</i>
<i>tat</i>	<i>tatpuruṣa</i>
<i>tṛ/tṛt</i>	<i>tṛtīyā</i>
<i>VP</i>	<i>Vākyapadīya</i> of Bhartṛhari with the commentary <i>Ambākartrī</i> of Paṇḍita Raghunātha Śarmā
<i>ut</i>	<i>vārttika</i>
<i>Vāj</i>	<i>Vājasaneyi-saṃhitā</i>
<i>voc</i>	vocative



## Adhyāya Two

### 2.1.1. समर्थः पदविधिः

*samarthaḥ padavidhiḥ*

*Isamarthaḥ 1/1 padavidhiḥ 1/1 = padānām vidhiḥ (ṣaṣ.tat)/*

*yaḥ kaścīd iha śāstre padavidhiḥ śrūyate sa sarvaḥ samartha veditavyaḥ'*

An operation (*vidhi*) concerning fully inflected words (*pada*) is to be syntactically related (*samartha*).

#### EXAMPLES:

*kaṣṭāśritah* 'he who has fallen upon grief'

*śaṅkulākhaṇḍah* 'split into pieces by a *śaṅkulā* (nutcracker)'

*yūpadāruḥ* 'wood for ritual post'

*vṛkabhayam* 'fear of wolf'

*rājapurusaḥ* 'king's man'

*akṣaśauṇḍah* '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 *suptiṅantam padam*). He calls the process *padavidhi*, and constrains it with the word *samartha* '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 *vṛtti* 'integration'. There are four basic types of integration: *samāsa*, 'compound'; *kṛt*, formation of items ending in suffixes termed *kṛt* (3.1.93 *kṛd atin*); *taddhita*, formation of items ending in suffixes termed *taddhita* (4.1.76 *taddhitāḥ*); 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 *sanādyantā dhātavaḥ*). 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 *sarūpāṇām ekaśeṣa ekavibhaktau*), and *parāṅgavadbhāva* 'a process whereby one *pada* is treated as part of the following for purposes of accentuation' (2.1.2 *sub āmantrite parāṅ gavāt 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 *ekaśeṣa* and *parāṅgavadbhāva* as peripheral instances of *padavidhi*. I shall now return to explaining the condition of *sāmarthya*, 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, *rājapurusa* is a compound termed nominal stem (*prātipadika*), 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 *rājapurusa*, or one may derive the string *rājñah puruṣah* ‘the man of the king’. The tradition terms the uncompounded string (in the present case *rājñah puruṣah*) as the *vigrahavākya* ‘analyzed form’ of the compound *rājapurusa*. A distinction is also made between the *vigrahavākya* per se, and the string which underlies the derivation of both the *vigrahavākya* 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-vigrahavākya*, an analyzed form which is not part of regular usage. This opposed to the *laukika-vigrahavākya*, in the present case *rājeñah 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 (*vigrahavākya*) should be treated as *samartha* (*Kāśikā* on 2.1.1: *vigrahavākyaṅvākyārthābhidhāne yaḥ śaktaḥ sa samartho vedītvyaḥ*). Given this, we can say that since *rājapurusa* is capable of expressing the meaning of *rājñah puruṣah*, its analyzed form, it is *samartha*. This interpretation will lead one to believe that the *sāmarthya* ‘fitness, capability’ condition relates to the compound. However, *Kāśikā* offers yet another interpretation. That is, that the condition of *sāmarthya* directly relates to syntactically related *pada* which undergo the process of integration. This way, it is the constituent 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 indirectly, because of its dependence upon the string of *pada* which share the condition of *sāmarthya* (*Kāśikā* on 2.1.1: *atha vā samarthapadāśrayatvāt samarthah*).

The *sāmarthya* ‘fitness’ of the uncompounded strings is termed *vyapekṣā* ‘mutual expectancy’. This implies that mutual expectancy relation between meanings of two or more *pada* should be treated as the condition 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, *rājñah*

is a qualifier (*viśeṣaṇa*) which cannot be interpreted without the qualified *pada* (*viśeṣya*) *puruṣaḥ*. It is also apparent from this that *puruṣaḥ* is the principal *pada* (*pradhāna*), as opposed to *rājñah*, which is secondary (*upa-sarjana*). To sum up, *vyapekṣā* is the *sāmarthya* characteristic of the constituents of a compound. The *sāmarthya* of the integrated units (such as compounds) has been assigned the term *ekārthībhāva* ‘emergence of a single integrated meaning’. Thus, *rājapurūṣaḥ* is *samartha* because it denotes a single integrated meaning which has emerged as a result of integration.

Our example *rājapurūṣaḥ* 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 *rājapurūṣaḥ*, 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 puruṣaḥ* 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 *khaṭvām-ārūḍhaḥ* ‘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 *dāsīputraḥ* ‘son of a maidservant’ and *dāsyaḥ 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 *sāmarthya* is of the type *ekārthībhāva* ‘single integrated meaning’. That is, mere mutual expectancy of the type of *vyapekṣā*, 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 *ajahatsvārthā* '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 पराङ्गवत्स्वरे

*sub āmantrite parāṅgavat svare*

*/ sup 1/1 āmantrite 7/1 parāṅgavat ∅ = 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 *sā' mantritam*).

#### EXAMPLES:

*kunḍena aṭan* 'O you wandering around with a bowl'  
*paraśunā vṛścan* 'O you cutting with the ax'  
*madrāṇām rājan* 'O king of Madra'  
*kāśmīrāṇām rājan* 'O king of Kāśmīra'

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

As indicated by the suffix *vatUP* in *parāṅgavat*, this is an extension (*atideśa*) rule. More specifically, it can be termed *tādātmyātideśa* '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 *udātta* ‘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 (*ādyudātta*).

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 (*udātta*). 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, *madrāṇām rājan* ‘O king of Madra’ is a sequence of two fully inflected words where the first, *madrāṇām*, 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 *udātta* accent to the initial vowel of a vocative, which 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 *madrāṇām rājan*, the total sequence. Consequently, the *a* of *madrāṇām*, and not the *ā* of *rājan*, will receive the *udātta* accent. Thus, the result will be *madrāṇām rājan*.

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 *udātta* accent on its initial vowel provided, of course, that the vocative immediately follows such a *pada*. The *udātta* accent would not be available if the vocative preceded the *pada* ending in a *sUP*, as is shown in the following example:

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

Here, the preceding vocative (*devadatta*) cannot be considered a part of *kuṇḍenāṭan*, as far as the scope of 2.1.2 is concerned. To put it differently, *kuṇḍena* is a *pada* ending in a *sUP*, namely, *trīyā* ‘third triplet of nominal ending’. As such, it can be treated as part of *aṭan*, a vocative immediately following it. The *u* of *kuṇḍena* will receive the *udātta* accent, as it will be the initial vowel of the extended vocative *kuṇḍenāṭan*. 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 siñcan* ‘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 *siñcan* would be changed into *ṣ*. 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:

*pīḍye pīḍyamāna* ‘I grieve, O you who are grieving’,

*pīḍye*, because it ends in a *tiN*, cannot be treated as part of *pīḍyamāna*, 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 प्राक्कारात्समासः

*prākkadārāt samāsaḥ*

/ *prāk* ० *kaḍārāt* 5/1 *samāsaḥ* 1/1/

*kaḍārasamśabdanāt 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* ‘*sādrśye*) as in

*yathāvṛddham brāhmaṇān āmantrayasva* ‘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 (*pañcamī*) 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

*saṃjñāsamāveśa* 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 (*paryāya*). Besides, these two terms have their scope only within this section, and if they were unable to apply here they would become without scope (*niravakāśa*). A rule without scope would become vacuous (*vyartha*).

This ‘inclusion of names’ for terms (*saṃjñāsamāveśa*), 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, *avyayībhāvaḥ*, *tatpuruṣaḥ*, 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 *saṃjñāsamāveśa*. These terms, and the rules which introduce them, have no scope of application elsewhere. They will become vacuous on account of being without scope (*niravakāśa*). It is to remove this difficulty and also to facilitate *saṃjñāsamāveśa* 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 (*iṣṭasiddhyartham*). Thus, a compound such as *upakumbham* ‘near the jar’ can be assigned both *samāsa* and *avyayībhāva* designations.

Scope: 1.1.30 *tr̥tīyāsamāse*

#### 2.1.4 सह सुपा

*saha supā*

/ saha ० supā 3/1/

(sup #2, samāsaḥ #3)

*yad ita ūrdhvam anukramiṣyāmas 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 *dvitīyā*...)

1. Note that commentators require the *anuvṛtti* of *sup* from rule 2.1.2

*sub āmantrite*.... 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 *vṛddho yūnā*.... 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 padaividhiḥ*, 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 *aṇuvyacalat* '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 *vyacalat* and *prāviṣat*, which are forms ending in a *tiṅ* '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 *punaranusyūtam* 'newly tailored' and *punarniṣkṛtaḥ* 'newly built', as available in usages like the following:

- (a) *punaranusyūtaṃ vastraṃ deyam* 'a newly tailored garment should be given'
- (b) *punarniṣkṛtaḥ rathaḥ* '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 (*samarthaprakṛtika*), 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 अव्ययीभावः

*avyayībhāvaḥ*

*avyayībhāvaḥ I/I*

(*samāsaḥ* #3)

*yānita ūrdhvam anukramisyāmo’ vyayībhāvasamjñās te veditavyāḥ*

A *samāsa* enumerated hereafter is termed *avyayībhāva*.

#### EXAMPLE:

*yathāvṛddham* ‘who are old’ (2.1.7 *yathā ‘sādrśye*) as in

*yathāvṛddham brāhmaṇān āmantrayasva* ‘invite the *brāhmaṇa* who are old’

1. This rule is also an *adhikāra*, thereby delimiting the scope of compounds termed *avyayībhāva*. The scope of this rule extends up to and including rule 2.1.21 *anyapadārthe ca...* It is stated that Pāṇini, by formulating a longer term such as *avyayībhāva*, wishes to indicate that the term denotes its etymological meaning (*anvārtha*) of *anavyayam avyayaṃ 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 *avyayībhāva* as a term interpretable in its etymological sense. This is because Pāṇini does not define his compound categories, with the possible exception of *bahuvrīhi* (rule 2.2.24 *anekam anyapadārthe*), 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 *avyayībhāva* indicates restricted operational provisions available only to compounds.

Scope: 1.1.41 *avyayībhāvaś ca*

2.1.6 अव्ययं विभक्तिसमीपसमृद्धिव्यर्थभावात्ययासम्प्रतिशब्दप्रादुर्भावपश्चाद्यथानुपूर्व्यं  
यौगपद्यसादृश्यसम्पत्तिसाकल्यान्तवचनेषु

*avyayam vibhaktisamīpasamṛddhivyṛddnyarthābhāvātyayāsampratiśabda-  
prādurbhāvapaścādyathānupūrvyayaugapadyasādrśyasampattisākalyān-  
tavacaneṣu*

*l avyayam 1/1 vibhakti...vacaneṣu 7/1 = vibhaktiś ca samīpaṃ ca  
samṛddhiś ca vyṛddhiś ca arthābhāvaś ca atyayaś ca asamprati ca śabda-  
prādurbhāvaś ca paścāc ca yathā ca ānupūrvyaṃ ca yaugapadyaṃ ca  
sādrśyaṃ ca sampattiś ca sākalyaṃ ca antaś ca = vibhakti...antāḥ (dv.),  
te vacanāś ca = vibhakti...vacanāḥ, teṣu l*

*(sup #2, samāsaḥ #3, saha supā #4, avyayībhāvaḥ #5)*

*vibhaktyādiṣv artheṣu yad avyayam tat samarthena subantena samasyate,  
avyayībhāvaś ca samāso bhavati*

An *avyaya* 'indeclinable' combines with a syntactically related *pada* ending in *sUP* to yield a *samāsa* termed *avyayībhāva* provided the *avyaya* denotes *vibhakti* 'sense of a nominal ending'; *samīpa* 'proximity'; *samṛddhi* 'prosperity'; *vyṛddhi* 'lack of prosperity'; *arthābhāva* 'scarcity'; *atyaya* 'lapse'; *asamprati* 'inappropriateness for the occasion'; *śabdaprādurbhāva* 'initiation of a discourse'; *paścāt* 'after'; *yathā* 'sense of *yathā*'; *ānupūrvya* 'one after the other, sequence'; *yaugapadya* 'simultaneity'; *sādrśya* 'similarity'; *sampatti* 'propriety'; *sākalya* 'entirety'; and *anta* 'limit'.

EXAMPLES:

*adhistri* 'pertaining to women'  
*adhikumāri* 'pertaining to girls'  
*upakumbham* 'near the pot'  
*upamaṇikam* 'near the waterjar'  
*sumadram* 'the prosperity of the people of Madra'  
*sumagadham* 'the prosperity of the people of Magadha'  
*durgavadikam* 'the lack of prosperity of the Gavadikas'  
*duryavanam* 'the lack of prosperity of the Yavanas (Ionians)'  
*nirmakṣikam* 'absence of flies'  
*nirmaśakam* 'absence of mosquitoes'  
*nirhimam* 'end of winter'  
*niḥśītam* 'end of winter'  
*atitaisṛkam* 'the time to wrap around *taisṛka* (a wrap made in *Tisṛkā*)  
has passed'  
*itipāṇini* 'the word Pāṇini is famous in the world'  
*tatpāṇini* 'id.'  
*anuratham pādātam* '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’  
*anjyueṣṭhaṃ pravīśantu bhavantaḥ* ‘please enter according to seniority’  
*sacakram dhehi* ‘move alongside the cart as its wheels turn’  
*sakikhi* ‘like a *kikhi* (jackal)’  
*sabrahma bābhraṇāṇām* ‘the union of the descendants of Babhru with  
the *brahman*’  
*sakṣatram śālaṅkāyanānām* ‘the union worthy of the descendants of  
Śālaṅki with bravery’  
*satṛṇam abhyavaharati* ‘he eats it along with the straw’  
*sabusam abhyavaharati* ‘he eats it along with the chaff’  
*sāgny adhīte* ‘he studies until he has studied the complete treatise  
on Agni’  
*seṣṭipaśubandham adhīte* ‘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 + sŪ kumbha + Ōnas*, 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 *Ōnas*, is syntactically related to it. This relation is based on the transposition (*vyatyaya*) of *kumbha* brought out (*upajanita*) by the meaning of *upa* ‘proximity’. The *sŪ* after *upa* is introduced by rule 2.3.46 *prātipadikārtha...* and, like the *Ōnas* of *kumbha*, is deleted by 2.4.71 *supo dhātuprātipadikayoḥ*. 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 + sŪ* initially in the compound string *upa + sŪ kumbha + Ōnas*, under the provision of rule 2.2.30 *upasarjanam pūrvam*. 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 *kārakaśakti* ‘the power of a *kāraka*’ (1.4.23 *kārake*) *vibhaktiśabdena kārakaśaktir abhidhīyate*. (PM ad Kāś 10:20). Accordingly, the second constituent must end in a *sUP* denoting a *kāraka*. The *saptamī* ‘seventh triplet of nominal ending’ after *strī* ‘woman’ in the underlying string of the compound *adhistri* thus denotes *adhikaraṇa* (1.4.45) *ādihāro*’ *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 *sumadrāḥ* ‘the prosperous people of Madra’. An opposite meaning condition has been specified by *vyṛddhi* ‘lack of prosperity’. There has been argument as to why *arthābhāva* ‘scarcity’ itself cannot account for the cases specified by *vyṛddhi*. Commentators agree that ‘scarcity’ is the nature of things, and that a compound having an indeclinable with the meaning *vyṛddhi* 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, *nirmaśakam* denotes the absence of *maśaka* ‘mosquitoes’, the second member of the compound. Contrarily, *durgavadikam*, a compound formed under the meaning condition of *vyṛddhi*, does not denote the ‘scarcity’ of the Gavadikas. Instead, it denotes the absence of their prosperity (*ṛddhi*).
- (c) The word *atyaya* has been glossed as *atikrama* 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 *atyaya* 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 *nedānīm* '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 Pāṇini 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'; *vīpsā* 'all pervading'; *padārthānavivṛtti* 'not going beyond'; and *sādrśya* 'similarity'. Thus, *anurūpam* means 'appropriate to one's beauty'; *pratyartham* means 'relative to each and every meaning'; and *yathāśakti* '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 (*viśeṣya*). A compound such as *sakikhi*, where *sādrśya*, denoted by *saha*, is not *pradhāna* but is secondary (*guṇibhūta*), 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 *samṛddhi* '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 adhite* 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 यथाऽसादृश्ये

*yathā* 'sādrśye

/ *yathā* ० *asādrśye* 7/1 (*nañ. tat.*) /

(*sup* #2, *samāsaḥ* #3, *saha supā* #4, *avyayībhāvaḥ* #5, *avyayam* #6)

'*yathā*' ity etad *avyayam asādrśye vartamānaṃ supā saha samasyate, avyayībhāvaś ca samāso bhavati*

The indeclinable *yathā* combines with a syntactically related *pada* ending in *sUP* to yield a compound termed *avyayībhāva* provided *sādrśya* 'similarity' is not denoted.

## EXAMPLES:

*yathāvṛddham brāhmaṇān āmantrayasva* 'invite the *brāhmaṇa* who are old'

*yathādhyāpakam āmantrayasva* 'invite those who are the teachers'

1. Note that rule 2.1.6 *avyayam 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 *sādrśya*. Rule 2.1.7 prohibits the formation of a compound when *yathā* is used in the sense of *sādrśya*. 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 *sādrśya*, 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 *paribhāṣā* (109) *vidhiniyamasambhave vidhir eva jyāyān*, whereby a *vidhi* interpretation is favored over a *niyama* should they both obtain in a single situation.

Nāgeśa, 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

*yāvad avadhāraṇe*

*/ yāvat 0 avadhāraṇe 7/1/*

(*sup* #2, *samāsaḥ* #3, *saha supā* #4, *avyayībhāvaḥ* #5, *avyayam* #6)

'*yāvat*' ity etad *avyayam avadhāraṇe vartamānaṃ supā saha samasyate, avyayībhāvaś ca samāso 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:

*yāvadamatram brāhmaṇān āmantrayasva* '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 *yāvadamatram*, as in *yāvadamatram brāhmaṇān āmantrayasva*, is interpreted as 'as many (*brāhmaṇa*) as there are pots'. Compounds such as *yāvaddattam*, as in *yāvad dattam 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 मात्रार्थे

*sup pratinā mātrārthe*

*/ sup 1/1 pratinā 3/1 mātrārthe 7/1 = mātrāyāḥ arthaḥ (ṣaṣ. tat.) /*

(*samāsaḥ* #3, *saha supā* #4, *avyayībhāvaḥ* #5)

*mātrārthe vartamānena pratinā saha subantaṃ samasyate, avyayībhāvaś ca samāso 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 kiṃcit śākaḥprati* 'there is a little bit of vegetable here'

*asty atra kiṃcit sūpaḥprati* '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 *anuvṛtti* 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 *anuvṛtti*, as it is associated with the *anuvṛtti* of *avyayam* of 2.1.6 *avyayam vibhakti*.... Pāṇini here wants to drop the *anuvṛtti* of *avyayam*, which could not be done without dropping the *anuvṛtti* 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 *anuvṛtti* 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 *vṛkṣam prati* would not yield a compound, as *prati* here is not used in the sense of *mātrā*.

### 2.1.10 अक्षशलाकासंख्याः परिणा

*akṣaśalākāsamkhyāḥ pariṇā*

*/ akṣaśalākāsamkhyāḥ 1/3 (itar. dv.); pariṇā 3/1/*

*(samāsaḥ #3, saha supā #4, avyayībhāvaḥ #5)*

*akṣaśabdaḥ, śalākāśabdaḥ, samkhyāśabdaś ca pariṇā saha samasyante, avyayībhāvaś ca samāso bhavati*

A *pada* which ends in *sUP* and contains *akṣa* ‘dice’, *śalākā* ‘ivory stick’, or an item which denotes *samkhyā* ‘a numeral’, combines with *pari* to yield a compound termed *avyayībhāva*.

#### EXAMPLES:

*akṣapari* ‘missed by one die’

*śalākāpari* ‘missed by one ivory stick’

*ekapari* ‘missed by one’

*dvipari* ‘missed by two’

*tripari* ‘missed by three’

*catuspari* ‘missed by four’

1. The compounds formed by this rule are used in the context of gambling (*kitavavyavahāra*). The *pada* containing *akṣa* ‘dice’ or *śalākā* ‘ivory stick’ are instrumental in the loss or win in the game. It is, therefore, understood that they will be used with *trītiyā* ‘third triplet of nominal ending’. The win or loss in a game of dice, for example, in *pañcīkā*, 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 ūrdhvam anukramiṣyāmas tad vibhāṣā bhavati*

What follows hereafter is *vibhāṣā* ‘optional’.

#### EXAMPLES:

See under subsequent rules.



1. This rule is introduced as *adhikāra*, whereby *vibhāṣā* is carried to subsequent rules to indicate that compounds formed hereafter will be optional. That is, a compound such as *bahirgrāmam* ‘outside the village’ can optionally be used as an alternative to *bahir grāmāt*, its analyzed form (*virabhavākya*). 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 *vibhāṣā* carries up to 2.2.29 *cārthe dvandvaḥ*.

A question is raised against the formulation of this rule, especially in view of the formulation of rule 2.1.18 *pāre madhye ṣaṣṭhyā vā*, where *vā* is used to denote optionality. That is, if *vā* in rule 2.1.18 can account for optionality, then this *vibhāṣā* formulation is vacuous. Commentators explain that this is *mahāvibhāṣā*, 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 (*avyayībhāva*) compounds such as *pāregaṅgam* and *madhyegaṅgam* parallel to *pāraṃ 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 *vibhāṣā* 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 *pāregaṅgam* and *madhyegaṅgam* their *avyayībhāva* counterparts. The *avyayībhāva* compound, in the absence of *vā*, and at the strength of its status as a particular provision (*viśeṣavidhāna*), would have blocked the more general provision of the genitive *taṭpuruṣa* compound. This explains the importance of rule 2.1.11 *vibhāṣā*.

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 अपपरिबहिरञ्जवः पञ्चम्या

*apaparibahirañcavaḥ pañcamyā*

/ *apaparibahirañcavaḥ* 1/3 = *apa ca pari ca bahis ca añcuś ca* (itar. dv.);

*pañcamyā* 3/1/

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

‘*apa, pari, bahis, añcu*’ ity ete subantāḥ *pañcamyante*na *vibhāṣā* samasyante, *avyayībhāvaś ca samāso bhavati*

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

## EXAMPLES:

*apatrigarttaṃ vṛṣṭo devaḥ* ‘it rained outside of Trigartta’  
*apa trigarthebhyo vṛṣṭo devaḥ* ‘id.’  
*paritrigarttaṃ vṛṣṭo devaḥ* ‘it rained around Trigartta’  
*pari trigarthebhyo 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 *karmapravacanīya*, denoting the sense of *varjana* ‘exclusion, prohibition’ (1.4.88 *apaparī varjane*). Rule 2.3.10 *pañcamy apānparibhiḥ* introduces *pañcamī* ‘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 *pañcamī*. A similar provision of *pañcamī* 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 *pañcamī* for stems used in conjunction with *bahis* ‘outside’. How, then, could *bahis* be combined with a *pada* which ends in *pañcamī*? Since Pāṇini nevertheless uses *pañcamī* we can make the following two inferences:

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

The word *pañcamī* of this rule will become meaningless unless one of these inferences is accepted. For, *pañcamī* has already been provided in the case of *apa*, *pari*, and *añcU*. If *pañcamī* 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.pañcamī*. This, as Kaiyaṭa observes, accounts for usages such as *bahir gato grāmāt* ‘he went out from the village’....

## 2.1.13 आङ्मर्यादाभिविध्योः

*āñ maryaḍābhividhyoḥ*  
*l āñ maryaḍābhividhyoḥ 7/2 = maryaḍā ca abhividhiś ca (itar.dv.); tayoḥ l*  
*(samāsaḥ #3, saha supā #4, avyayībhāvaḥ #5, sup #9, vibhāṣā #11,*  
*pañcamyā #12)*

‘*āñ*’ *ity etan maryaḍāyām abhividhau ca vartamānaṃ pañcamyanta saha vibhāṣā samasyate, avyayībhāvaś ca samāso bhavati*

Optionally *āñ* combines with a syntactically related *pada* ending in *pañcamī* to yield a compound termed *avyayībhāva* when *āñ* denotes *maryāḍā* ‘exclusive limit; up to, though not including’; and *abhividhi* ‘inclusive limit; up to and including’.

## EXAMPLES:

*āpāṭalīputraṃ vṛṣṭo devaḥ* ‘it rained up to (but not including) Pāṭali-putra’  
*ā pāṭalīputrād vṛṣṭo devaḥ* ‘id.’  
*ākumāraṃ yaśaḥ pāṇineḥ* ‘the fame of Pāṇini has reached even the young’  
*ā kumārebhyo yaśaḥ pāṇineḥ* ‘id.’

1. Note that *āÑ* is a *karmapravacanīya* when it denotes *maryādā* ‘extent, limit’ (1.4.89 *āñ maryādāvacaṇe*). It also governs *pañcamī* (2.3.10 *pañcamy apāñparibhiḥ*). Since *āÑ* is a *karmapravacanīya* only when it denotes *maryādā*, the expression *maryādābhividhi* should not be used in this rule.

The argument that *abhividhi* should be stated in the rule, since it cannot be inferred from rule 1.4.89 *āñ maryādāvacaṇe*, is unacceptable because *maryādā* ‘extent, limit’ is a general word which also includes the particular meaning of *abhividhi* ‘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 II: 30: tathāpi mandadhīyāṃ sukhāvabodhanārthaṃ maryādābhividhigrahaṇam.*)

## 2.1.14 लक्षणेनाभिप्रत्याभिमुख्ये

*lakṣaṇenābhipraty ābhimukhye*  
 / *lakṣaṇena 3/1 abhipratī 1/2 (itar.dv.) ābhimukhye 7/1/*  
 (*samāsaḥ #3, saha supā #4, avyayībhāvaḥ #5, sup #9, vibhāṣā #11*)  
*lakṣaṇavācīnā sahābhipratī śabdāv ābhimukhye vartamānau vibhāṣā samasyete, avyayībhāvaś ca samāso 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 *avyayībhāva* provided *abhi* or *prati* denotes *ābhimukhya* ‘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 *ābhimukhya* ‘to face toward’, to combine with a *pada* ending in *dvitīyā*. Furthermore, this *pada* should also denote *lakṣaṇa* ‘a mark by which something is thus characterized’. The term *karmapravacanīya* is assigned to *abhi* and *prati* by rules 1.4.91 *abhir...* and 1.4.90 *lakṣaṇetthambhūtākhyāna...* respectively. Rule 2.3.8 *karmapravacanīyayukte...* introduces *dvitīyā* ‘accusative’ after a nominal stem used in conjunction with *abhi* and *prati*. A compound such

as *abhyagni śalabhāḥ 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 (*deśa*) which, in turn, has become the locus (*adhikaraṇa*) for the falling of the moths. The condition of *ābhimukhya* 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 अनुर्यत्समया

*anur yatsamayā*

/ *anuh* 1/1 *yatsamayā* ∅ = *yasya samayā* (ṣaṣ. tat.) /

(*samāsaḥ* #3, *saha supā* #4, *avyayībhāvaḥ* #5, *sup* #9, *vibhāṣā* #11, *lakṣaṇena* #14)

*anur yasya samīpavācī tena lakṣaṇabhūtena saha vibhāṣā samasyate*

Optionally *anu* combines with a syntactically related *pada* which ends in *sUP* and denotes *lakṣaṇa* to yield a compound termed *avyayībhāva* 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 (*ṣaṣṭhī*) *tatpuruṣa*; and, read with *anuh*, 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 *ṣaṣṭhī*, the compound itself will be blocked by 2.2.11 *pūranagunaśuhitārtha....* This will happen because *samayā* is an indeclinable (*avyaya*). Commentators (*PM* and *Nyāsa* ad *Kāś* II: 31) take a lengthy route explaining how *ṣaṣṭhī*, and not *dvitīyā*, is justified. They also explain how *samayā*, because it denotes ‘thing’ (*sattva*), cannot be called an *avyaya* ‘indeclinable’. Consequently, *samayā* not being an *avyaya*, 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 padārtham samyā 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 *dvitīyā*. I accept this interpretation because it is straightforward.

Note that rule 2.1.6 *avyayam...* may also account for the derivatives 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 (*adhikaraṇasakti*). 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 cāyamaḥ*

/ *yasya* 6/1 *ca* ∅ *āyamaḥ* 1/1/

(*samāsaḥ* #3, *saha supā* #4, *avyayībhāvaḥ* #5, *sup* #9, *vibhāṣā* #11, *lakṣaṇena* #14, *anuh* #15)

*anur yasyāyāmaṁvācī tena lakṣaṇabhūtena saha vibhāṣā samasyate, avyayībhāvaś ca samāso 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:

*anugaṅgaṁ vārāṇasī* ‘Vārāṇasī extends along the river Gaṅgā’

*anu gaṅgāyāḥ vārāṇasī* ‘id.’

*anuyamunam 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, *anugaṅgaṁ vārāṇasī* ‘Vārāṇasī extends along the river Gaṅgā as far as the river extends’, which has its parallel analyzed form *gaṅgāyā anu*. Here, *gaṅgā* serves as *lakṣaṇa* to characterize the expanse of the city of Vārāṇasī. 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 *karmaṣṭhāna* *anu* denotes the expanse of Gaṅgā which, in turn, characterizes the expanse of the city.

### 2.1.17 तिष्ठद्गुप्रभृतीनि च

*tiṣṭhadguprabhṛtīni ca*

/ *tiṣṭhadguprabhṛtīni* 1/3 = *tiṣṭhadguprabhṛti yeṣāṁ tāni* (bv.); *ca* ∅ /

(*samāsaḥ* #3, *avyayībhāvaḥ* #5)

*tiṣṭhadguprabhṛtīni śabdarūpāṇi avyayībhāvasamjñakāni bhavanti*

Forms such as *tiṣṭhadgu*, etc., also are termed *avyayībhāva*.

#### EXAMPLES:

*tiṣṭhadgu* (*kālah*) ‘the time when the cows stand for milking’

*vahadgu* (*kālah*) ‘the time when cows conceive or bulls plow’  
*khaleyavam* ‘the time when the barley is on the threshing floor’  
*daṇḍādaṇḍi* ‘fighting one another with sticks’

1. This is a *nīpātana* ‘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 delimiting (*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 \**paramatiṣṭhadgu kālah* ‘the best time for milking cows’ is not permitted.

### 2.1.18 पारेमध्ये षष्ठ्या वा

*pāre madhye ṣaṣṭhyā vā*  
 / *pāre, madhye* (deleted 1/1) *ṣaṣṭhyā* 3/1 *vā* 0 /  
 (*samāsaḥ* #3, *saha supā* #4, *avyayībhāvaḥ* #5, *sup* #9, *vibhāṣā* #11)  
*pāramadhyāśabdau ṣaṣṭhyantena saha vibhāṣā samasyete, avyayībhāvaś ca samāso bhavati*

Optionally *pāre* and *madhye* combine with a syntactically related *pada* ending in *ṣaṣṭhī* to yield a compound termed *avyayībhāva*.

#### EXAMPLES:

*pāregaṅgam* ‘across the river Gaṅgā’  
*pāraṃ gaṅgāyāḥ* ‘id.’  
*madhyegaṅgam* ‘in the middle of the river Gaṅgā’  
*madhyaṃ gaṅgāyāḥ* ‘id.’

1. Note that *pāre* and *madhye* are technically not words ending in the locative (*saptamī*). Instead, they are given in the nominative (*prathamā*) 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 (*ṣaṣṭhī*). Of course, this terminal *e* replacement is ad hoc, and could only be justified via *nīpātana*.

Commentators (*Bālaṃanoramā* ad *SK*) explain that this ad hoc provision for *e* is made to restrict the scope of such compounds to contexts where locative (*saptamī*) meaning (*saptamyartha*) is not possible. For, if one interprets the compound *pāregaṅgam* as *gaṅgāyāḥ pāre*, where *pāre*, a constituent ending in the locative (*saptamī*), is to combine with *gaṅgāyāḥ*, a constituent ending in the genitive (*ṣaṣṭhī*), then rule 6.3.14 *taṭpuruṣe kṛti bahulam*, on the basis of *bahulam*, could easily accomplish the non-deletion (*aluk*) of locative (*saptamī*). Subsequent application of shortening (*hrasvatva*) of the

*ā* of *gaṅgā*, and the replacement by *am* under the dictates of the assignment of the term *napuṃsaka* ‘neuter’, will produce the desired *pāregaṅgam*. But this would make the ad hoc provision of *e* vacuous (*vyartha*). Consequently, indication of the absence of locative meaning (*saptamyarthābhāva*) is treated as the purpose of the terminal *e* (*edantatva*) in *pāre* and *madhye*.

### 2.1.19 संख्या वंशयेन

*saṃkhyā vaṃśyena*

/ *saṃkhyā* 1/1 *vaṃśyena* 3/1/

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

*vaṃśyavācīnā subantena saha saṃkhyā samasyate, avyayībhāvaś ca samāso bhavati*

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

#### EXAMPLES:

*dvimuni vyākaraṇasya vaṃśyau* ‘there are two sages in the lineage of grammar’

*trimuni vyākaraṇasya vaṃśyāḥ* ‘there are three sages in the lineage of grammar’

1. The word *vaṃśya* has been explained as ‘born in the lineage’. It is a derivative of *vaṃśa* meaning ‘members of a lineage with similar characteristics derived either by birth or by learning’ (*Kāś* II: 36: *vidyayā janmanā vā prāṇinām ekalakṣaṇasantāno vaṃśa ity abhidhīyate*). Thus, *ekaviṃśati bhāradvājāṃ* ‘the twenty-one descendants of Bharadvāja’, where *bhāradvājāṃ* denotes twenty-one descendants who were born in the lineage of Bharadvāja, parallel to *ekaviṃśatiḥ bhāradvājāḥ*. 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-vivakṣā*) between, for example, the science of grammar and its descendants, there obtains a syntactic coordination (*sāmānādhikarṇya*). The expression parallel to the compound becomes: *trimuni vyākaraṇam...*, which would then imply that the three sages themselves constitute what one calls grammar.

### 2.1.20 नदीभिश्च

*nadībhiś ca*

/ *nadībhiḥ* 3/1 *ca* 0/

(*samāsaḥ* #3, *saha supā* #4, *avyayībhāvaḥ* #5, *sup* #9, *vibhāṣā* #11, *saṃkhyā* #19)

*nadīvacanaiḥ śabdaiḥ saha saṃkhyā samasyate, avyayībhāvaś ca samāso bhavati*

A *pada* which denotes *saṃkhyā* optionally combines with a syntactically related *pada* denoting *nadī* 'river' to yield a compound termed *avyayībhāva*.

EXAMPLES:

*saptagaṅgam* 'seven streams of the river Gaṅgā'  
*dviyamunam* 'two streams of the river Yamunā'  
*pañcanadam* 'the confluence of five rivers'  
*saptagodāvaram* 'seven streams of the river Godāvarī'

1. The word *nadī* of *nadībhiḥ* is specified in the plural to indicate that it should be interpreted neither as a technical term (1.4.3 *yūstryākhyau nadī*), nor as a word representing its own form (1.1.68 *svam rūpaṃ śabdasyāśabdasaṃjñā*). 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 cāyam iṣyate*. 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 अन्यपदार्थे च संज्ञायाम्

*anyapadārthe ca saṃjñāyām*

*/ anyapadārthe 7/1 = anyañ padārtho yasya (bv.), tasmīn; ca ० saṃjñāyām 7/1/*

(*samāsaḥ* #3, *saha supā* #4, *avyayībhāvaḥ* #5, *sup* #9, *nadībhiḥ* #20)  
*nadībhiḥ saha subantam anyapadārthe vartamānaṃ saṃjñāyām viṣaye samasyate, avyayībhāvaś ca samāso bhavati*

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

EXAMPLES:

*unmattagaṅgam* 'name of a place where the Gaṅgā flows tempestuously'  
*lohitagaṅgam* 'name of a place where the water of the Gaṅgā is red'  
*kr̥ṣṇagaṅgam* 'name of a place where the water of the Gaṅgā is black'  
*śanairgaṅgam* 'name of a place where the Gaṅgā flows slowly'



1. The word *saṃkhyā* is not carried to this rule, though *nadī* is. Note that *vibhāṣā* 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 *vibhāṣā* 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 *saṃjñāyām* ‘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 *tatpuruṣe kṛti bahulam*

### 2.1.22 तत्पुरुषः

*tatpuruṣaḥ*

/ *tatpuruṣaḥ* 1/1/

(*samāsaḥ* #3, *saha supā* #4, *sup* #9)

*tatpuruṣaḥ iti saṃjñā* ‘*dhikriyate prāg bahuvrīheḥ, yān ita ūrdhvam anukramiṣyāmas tatpuruṣasaṃjñās te veditavyāḥ*

Compounds enumerated prior to 2.2.23 *śeṣo bahuvrīhiḥ* are termed *tatpuruṣa*.

#### EXAMPLE:

*kaṣṭhāśritaḥ* ‘he who has fallen upon grief’ (see 2.1.24 *dvitīyā*...)

### 2.1.23 द्विगुश्च

*dviguś ca*

/ *dviguḥ* 1/1 *ca* 0/

*dviguś ca samāsas tatpuruṣasaṃjño bhavati*

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

#### EXAMPLES:

*pañcarājam* ‘a collection of five kings’

*daśarājam* ‘a collection of ten kings’

*dvayah* ‘a collection of two days’  
*tryahah* ‘a collection of three days’  
*pañcagavam* ‘a collection of five cows’  
*daśagavam* ‘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 *saṃkhyāpūrvō dviguh*. 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 *ekasamjñā* where, unless otherwise specified, *saṃjñāsamāveśa* ‘inclusion of names’ may not be allowed. Bhaṭṭoji (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 *saṃkhyāpūrvō dviguh*. But this might entail rule-splitting (*yogavibhāga*), such as *saṃkhyāpūrvah* and *dviguś 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*, *samāsānta* affix (5.4.68 *samāsāntāḥ*) *ṬaC* (5.4.92 *gor ataddhitaluki*) can be introduced. The compound is also to be called *dvigu*, formed in the sense of *samāhāra* ‘collection’ (2.1.51 *taddhitārthottarapada...*), otherwise it could not be termed neuter (2.4.17 *sa napuṃsakam*). See the appendix, under this rule, for derivational details.

### 2.1.24 द्वितीया श्रितातीतपतितगतात्यस्तप्राप्तापन्नैः

*dvitīyā śritātītapatitagatātyastaprāptāpannaiḥ*

/ *dvitīyā* 1/1 *śritā...* *pannaiḥ* 3/3 (*itar. dv.*) /

(*samāsah* #3, *saha supā* #4, *sup* #9, *vibhāṣā* #11, *tatpuruṣah* #22)

*dvitīyāntam subantam śritādibhiḥ saha vibhāṣā samasyate, tatpuruṣas ca samāso bhavati*

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

#### EXAMPLES:

*kaṣṭaśritah* ‘he who has fallen upon grief’

*narakaśritah* ‘he who has attained *naraka* (hell)’

*kāntārātītaḥ* ‘he who has gone beyond the forest’  
*narakapatitaḥ* ‘he who has fallen into hell’  
*grāmagataḥ* ‘he who has departed for the village’  
*taraṅgātyastaḥ* ‘he who has been thrown beyond the waves’  
*tuhinātyastaḥ* ‘he who has been thrown beyond the dew’  
*sukhaprāptaḥ* ‘he who has reached happiness’  
*sukhāpannaḥ* ‘he who has reached happiness’  
*duḥkhāpannaḥ* ‘he who has gotten to unhappiness’

1. Note that *sup* and *supā* are carried over. The term *dvitīyā* thus becomes a qualifier to the *pada* ending in *sUP*. Similarly, *supā* is read with *śrita*, etc. *Kāśikā*’s gloss reflects this: *dvitīyāntaṃ subantaṃ śritādibhiḥ (subantaiḥ) saha samasyate...* ‘a *pada* which ends in *dvitīyā* is combined with another *pada* containing *śrita*, etc.’

The *Mahābhāṣya* (II: 582–87) discusses the possibility of interpreting compounds such as *kaṣṭaśritaḥ* in two ways: as *kaṣṭaṃ śritaḥ* ‘grief-stricken’ and as *kaṣṭaṃ śritaṃ yena* ‘he by whom grief is resorted to’. The first interpretation yields a *tatpuruṣa*, 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 *tatpuruṣa* interpretation may have a different meaning, as compared with the *bahuvrīhi*. A *bahuvrīhi* interpretation, in contrast with a *tatpuruṣa* 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 (*pūrvanipāta*) of a constituent which otherwise would be required to be post-placed (*paranipāta*) in a *tatpuruṣa* 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 *gāmī* ‘goer’ should be included in the rule along with *śrita*, etc., to facilitate the formation of *grāmagamī/grāmagāmī* ‘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

*svayaṃ ktena*

/ *svayaṃ* 0 *ktena* 3/1/

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

‘*svayaṃ*’ ity etat subantaṃ ktāntena saha vibhāṣā samasyate, *tatpuruṣaś ca samāso bhavati*

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

## EXAMPLES:

*svayaṃdhautau pādau* ‘feet washed by oneself’  
*svayaṃvilīnam (ājyam)* ‘the ghee which has melted by itself’

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

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 *aikasvarya* ‘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 *svayaṃdhauta* of *svayaṃdhautau pādau*.

## 2.1.26 खट्वा क्षेपे

*khaṭvā kṣepe*  
 / *khaṭvā 1/1 kṣepe 7/1/*  
 (*samāsaḥ* #3, *saha supā* #4, *sup* #9, *vibhāṣā* #11, *tatpuruṣaḥ* #22, *dvitīyā* #24, *ktena* #25)  
*khaṭvāśabdo dvitīyāntaḥ ktāntena saha kṣepe gamyamāne samasyate, tatpuruṣaś ca samāso bhavati*

A *pada* which ends in *dvitīyā* combines with a syntactically related *pada* terminated in *sUP* and containing a stem which ends in *Kta* to yield a compound termed *tatpuruṣa* provided *kṣepa* ‘censure’ is denoted.

## EXAMPLES:

*khaṭvārūḍhaḥ* ‘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 *khaṭvārūḍhaḥ* is treated as obligatory (*nitya*) because the meaning of the compound is different from its corresponding uncompounded form *khaṭvām ārūḍhaḥ*. 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 *vibhāṣā* is not to be read with this rule. Incidentally, *khaṭvārūḍhaḥ* may also generally characterize a person who has gone on the wrong path (*vimārgaprasthita*).

## 2.1.27 सामि

*sāmi*

*/ sāmi 0/*

(*samāsaḥ* #3, *saha supā* #4, *sup* #9, *vibhāṣā* #11, *tatpuruṣaḥ* #22, *ktena* #25)

'*sāmy*' *ity etad avyayaṃ subantaṃ 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'

*sāmiṭam* 'half drunk'

*sāmibhuktam* 'half eaten'

1. Note that *sāmi* is an indeclinable meaning 'half' (*ardha*). The word *dvitīyā* 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 कालाः

*kālāḥ*

*/ kālāḥ 1/3/*

(*samāsaḥ* #3, *saha supā* #4, *sup* #9, *vibhāṣā* #11, *tatpuruṣaḥ* #22, *dvitīyā* #24, *ktena* #25)

*kālāvācīnaḥ śabdā dvitīyāntāḥ ktāntena saha samasyante vibhāṣā, tatpuruṣaś ca samāso bhavati*

A *pada* which ends in *dvitīyā* 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:

*aharatisṛtā muhūrttāḥ* 'the *muhūrta* which have gone beyond the day'

*rātryatisṛtā muhūrttāḥ* 'the *muhūrta* which have gone beyond the night'

*māsapramītaś candramāḥ* 'the new moon of *pratipadā* which has started to measure the month by her shape'

1. The word *kālāḥ* does not entail *svarūpavidhi* 'process of interpreting a word as denoting its form only', as would be required by rule 1.1.68 *svaṃ rūpaṃ śabdasya....* The plural in *kālāḥ* is thus also not restrictive.

Note that this, as well as the subsequent rule, could have been jointly

formulated as *kālāḥ atyantasaṃyoge*. 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 *atyantasaṃyoga* ‘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 *atyantasaṃyoga*. Besides, the *anuvṛtti* of *Kta* is inoperative in the case of the subsequent rule.

For example, a compound such as *rātrisamkrāntāḥ* can be formed by combining (*rātri + am + samkrānta + sŪ*), where *rātri + am* denotes time and ends in *dvitīyā*. Similarly, *samkrānta + sŪ* contains *samkrānta*, which ends in the affix *Kta*. The compound can be used as a modifier to specific *muhūrta* denoting a measure of time, each measure being equal to forty-eight minutes. These *muhūrta* are six in number. They are called *carācara* ‘transient’, and they ascend at some time in the night during the winter, or during the day in the summer. Another compound, *māsapramitāḥ*, 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 *muhūrta* 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

*atyantasaṃyoge ca*

*l atyantasaṃyoge 7/1 = atyantaḥ saṃyogaḥ (karm.), tasmin; ca 0/*  
(*samāsaḥ #3, saha supā #4, sup #9, vibhāṣā #11, tatpuruṣaḥ #22, dvitīyā #24, kālāḥ #28*)

*kālavācīnaḥ śabdā dvitīyāntā atyantasaṃyoge gamyamāne supā saha samasyante vibhāṣā, tatpuruṣaś ca samāso bhavati*

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

#### EXAMPLES:

*muhūrttasukham* ‘happiness for one full *muhūrta*’  
*sarvarātra kalyāṇī* ‘one whole blissful night’  
*sarvarātraśobhanā* ‘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 *dvitīyā* 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 *muhūrta*.

### 2.1.30 तृतीया तत्कृतार्थेन गुणवचनेन

*tr̥tīyā tatkr̥tārthena guṇavacanena*  
 / *tr̥tīyā* 1/1 *tatkr̥ta* (deleted 3/1) = *tena kr̥tam* (*tr̥. tat.*) *arthena* 3/1;  
*guṇavacanena* 3/1 = *guṇayuktavān vacanaḥ* (*uṣ. tat.*)/  
 (*samāsaḥ* #3, *saha supā* #4, *sup* #9, *vibhāṣā* #11, *tatpuruṣaḥ* #22)  
*tr̥tīyāntaṃ subantaṃ guṇavacanenaṅr̥thaśabdena ca saha samasyate,*  
*tatpuruṣaś ca samāso bhavati*

A *pada* which ends in *tr̥tīya* ‘third triplet of *sUP*’, optionally combines in a *tatpuruṣa* 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 *tr̥tīyā*, or (ii) contains *artha*.

#### EXAMPLES:

*śaṅkulākhaṇḍaḥ* ‘split into pieces by a *śaṅkulā* (nutcracker)’  
*kirikāṇaḥ* ‘a person who has but one eye due to the charge of a boar’  
*dhānyārthaḥ* ‘wealth derived from grain’

1. This rule allows the combination of a *pada* which ends in *tr̥tīyā* 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 *tr̥tīyā*. Thus, we get examples such as:

*śaṅkulākhaṇḍaḥ* ‘split into pieces by a *śaṅkulā* (nutcracker)’

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

*kirikāṇaḥ* ‘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, *akṣṇākāṇaḥ* ‘one-eyed’ would not be permissible under this rule, because *akṣi* ‘eye’ could not be accepted as producing the quality of being one-eyed.

The *Mahābhāṣya* (II: 589–91) discusses the implications of the words *tatkr̥tārthena* 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 *tr̥tīyā*. Instead, it is the denotatum of the *pada* ending in *tr̥tīyā* 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 *śaṅkulayā*, a *pada* ending in *ṛtīyā*, is *karāṇa* ‘instrument’, the cause of the quality of *khaṇḍana* ‘splitting’ which now resides in the denotatum of *khaṇḍa* ‘piece’. The word *tatkṛta* of *tatkṛtārthena* is also important. Obviously *tad* ‘that’ refers to the *pada* ending in *ṛtīyā*; *kṛta* means ‘made, done’. But since the causal relationship is mediated by the denotatum of the *pada* ending in *ṛtīyā*, *tatkṛta* should mean ‘made by the action of the denotatum of the *pada* ending in *ṛtīyā*’. This brings the word *guṇavacanena* ‘that which has *guṇa* ‘quality’ as its denotatum (*vacana*)’ into focus, insofar as its meaning is concerned. Thus, *khaṇḍa* initially denoted the quality of *khaṇḍana* ‘splitting’; but it now denotes the substance (*dravya*) with *khaṇḍaguṇa* ‘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: *ṛtīyā 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 *ṛtīyā* also? This would require the rule to be formulated as: *ṛtīyārthena tatkṛtārthena guṇavacanena*. Patañjali does not accept this either. Instead, he says that the word *artha* is used here to facilitate rule-splitting (*yogavibhāga*). Thus, there will be two rules: *ṛtīyā tatkṛtena* and *ṛtīyā arthena*. The second split rule will enable us to account for compounds where a word which ends in *ṛtīyā* combines to form a *tatpuruṣa* compound with a word containing *artha*. In this way, we get examples like:

*dhānyena arthaḥ = dhānyārthaḥ* ‘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 *yogavibhāga* leaves *tatkṛta* as used without a nominal ending. Commentators explain that *tatkṛta* is used here with a deleted instrumental ending (*luptatṛtīyākam*).

### 2.1.31 पूर्वसदृशसमोनार्थकलहनिपुणमिश्रश्लक्ष्णैः

*pūrvasadrśasamonārthakalahanipuṇamiśraślakṣṇaiḥ*

*/ pūrvasadrśa...ślakṣṇaiḥ 3/1 (itar. dv.) /*

(*samāsaḥ* #3, *saha supā* #4, *sup* #9, *vibhāṣā* #11, *tatpuruṣaḥ* #22, *ṛtīyā* #30)

‘*pūrva*, *sadrśa*, *sama*, *ūnārtha*, *kalaha*, *nipuṇa*, *miśra*, *ślakṣṇa*’ *etaiḥ saha ṛtīyāntaṃ samasyate, tatpuruṣaś ca samāso bhavati*

A *pada* which ends in *ṛtīyā* optionally combines with a syntactically related *pada* which ends in *sUP* to yield a *tatpuruṣa* compound



provided the latter contains *pūrvā* ‘earlier, prior’, *sadr̥śa* ‘like’, *sama* ‘similar, same’, *ūna* ‘less’ and its synonyms, *kalaha* ‘quarrel’, *nīpūṇa* ‘skillful, adept’, *miśra* ‘mixed’, or *ślakṣṇa* ‘gentle, smooth’.

EXAMPLES:

*māsapūrvah* ‘earlier by a month’  
*saṃvatsarapūrvah* ‘earlier by a year’  
*māṭṛsadr̥śah* ‘like his/her mother’  
*pitṛsadr̥śah* ‘like his/her father’  
*māṭṛsamah* ‘same as his/her mother’  
*pitṛsamah* ‘same as his/her father’  
*māṣonam* ‘less by a measure of weight’  
*māṣavikalam* ‘id.’  
*kārṣāpaṇanam* ‘less by a gold or silver coin (*kārṣāpaṇa*)’  
*kārṣāpaṇavikalam* ‘id.’  
*āsikalahah* ‘quarrel by sword’  
*vākkalahah* ‘quarrel by word’  
*vāgnīpūṇah* ‘skilled at words’  
*ācāranīpūṇah* ‘skilled at how to behave’  
*guḍamiśrah* ‘mixed with jaggery’  
*tilamiśrah* ‘mixed with sesame’  
*ācāraślakṣṇah* ‘polite in behavior’

1. Note that the inclusion of the word *artha* in this rule has been rejected by Patañjali. Kaiyaṭa (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 Kaiyaṭa 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 *māṣonah* and *māṣavikalah*, 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 ūnah* and *māṣeṇa kṛto vikalah*. In this case, *ūna* also becomes unnecessary in this rule.

Finally, the word *artha* can be associated here only with *ūna*. For Pāṇini explicitly states the synonym of *sama* as *sadrśa* in this rule. Thus, *artha* cannot be associated with others.

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

### 2.1.32 कर्त्तृकरणे कृता बहुलम्

*karṭṛkaraṇe kṛtā bahulam*

*/ karṭṛkaraṇe 7/1 = kartā ca karaṇam ca (sam. dv.), tasmin; kṛtā 3/1 bahulam 1/1/*

*(samāsaḥ #3, saha supā #4, sup #9, tatpuruṣaḥ #22, ṛtīyā #30)*

*kartari karaṇe ca yā ṛtīyā tadantaṃ kṛdantena saha samasyate. bahulam, tatpuruṣas ca samāso bhavati*

A *pada* which ends in *ṛtīyā* and denotes either *karṭṛ* ‘agent’ or *karaṇa* ‘instrument’ variously (*bahulam*) combines with a syntactically related *pada* which ends in *sUP* and contains a *kṛt* to form a *tatpuruṣa* compound.

#### EXAMPLES:

*ahihataḥ* ‘killed by snakebite’

*nakhanirbhinnah* ‘split open by nails’

*paraśucchinnaḥ* ‘cut by an axe’

1. Kātyāyana (*Mbh* II: 593) suggests that *kṛtā* ‘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 *kṛtā* is retained in this rule, *ktena* must also be used. In this way, *kṛtā* 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’ (*uparañjaka*) anyway, since affix *Kta* is a *kṛt* (3.1.93 *kṛd atin*). Patañjali 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 कृत्यैरधिकार्थवचने

*kṛtyair adhikārthavacane*

*/ kṛtyaiḥ 3/3 adhikārthavacane 7/1 = arthasya vacanam (sas. tat.) = arthavacanam, adhiham ca tad arthavacanam ca = adhikārthavacanam (karm. with int. ṣaṣ. tat.), tasmin /*

*(samāsaḥ #3, saha supā #4, sup #9, vibhāṣā #11, tatpuruṣaḥ #22, ṛtīyā #30, karṭṛkaraṇe #32)*

*karṭṛkaraṇayor yā ṛtīyā tadantaṃ subantaṃ kṛtyaiḥ saha samasyate 'dhi-kārthavacane gamyamāne vibhāṣā*

A *pada* which ends in *ṛtīyā*, and denotes either *karṭṛ* or *karaṇa*, optionally combines in a *tatpuruṣa* compound with a syntactically related *pada* which ends in *sUP* and contains a *kṛtya* derivate provided *adhikārthavacana* 'exaggerating' is understood.

## EXAMPLES:

*kākaṭeyā nadī* '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'  
*śvālehyah kūpaḥ* '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 *ṛtīyā* 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 *ṛtīyā* denotes *karṭṛ* or *karaṇa*, 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 *kākaṭeyā* as in *kākaṭeyā nadī*, can denote both praise or censure: in the examples given below, the first denotes praise, and the second, censure.

*pūrṇatoyā nadī...kākair api śakyā pātum* 'a river so full...even the crows can drink water' (praise)

*alpatoyā nadi...kākair api śakyā pātum* 'a river with so little water... even a crow could drink it up' (censure)

## 2.1.34 अन्नेन व्यञ्जनम्

*annena vyañjanam*

*/ annena 3/1 vyañjanam 1/1/*

*(samāsaḥ #3, saha supā #4, sup #9, vibhāṣā #11, tatpuruṣaḥ #22, ṛtīyā #30).*

*vyañjanavāci ṛtīyāntaṃ annavācinā subantena saha samasyate vibhāṣā, tatpuruṣaś ca samāso bhavati*

A *pada* which ends in *ṛtīyā* and denotes *vyañjana* 'condiments;

things which are added to make food taste good' optionally combines, in a *tatpuruṣa* compound, with a syntactically related *pada* which ends in a *sUP* and denotes *anna* 'an article of food'.

EXAMPLES:

*dadhyodanaḥ* 'rice mixed with yogurt'  
*kṣīraudanaḥ* 'rice mixed with milk'

1. This rule allows for the formation of a *tatpuruṣa* compound, where one constituent ends in *ṛtīyā* and another underlies a word which denotes *anna* 'food, grain', provided the former denotes *vyañjana* 'flavoring ingredient'. *Kāśikā* explains that *anna* and *vyañjana*, in this context, refer to things that are *saṃskārya* 'to be flavored' and *saṃskāraka* 'that which flavors' respectively. Note that the action of flavoring (*saṃskāra*) forms the basis for the *sāmarthya* relationship that obtains between *anna* and *vyañjana*. An example such as *dadhyodanaḥ* is consequently explained as *dadhnā upasiktaḥ odanaḥ* 'rice mixed with yogurt', where the action of *upaseka* 'flavoring, soaking' qualifies rice, though is not denoted by a constituent word of the compound. This is what *Kāśikā* implies by *vṛttau kriyāyā antarbhāvāt.....* 'on account of the inherence of action in integration'. For example, *upaseka* denotes the inherited action in the example discussed.

2.1.35 भक्षयेण मिश्रीकरणम्

*bhaksyena miśrīkaraṇam*  
 / *bhaksyena 3/1 miśrīkaraṇam 1/1/*  
 (*samāsaḥ* #3, *saha supā* #4, *sup* #9, *vibhāṣā* #11, *tatpuruṣaḥ* #22, *ṛtīyā* #30)  
*miśrīkaraṇavāci ṛtīyāntaḥ bhaksyavācinā subantena samasyate, tatpuruṣas ca samāso bhavati*

A *pada* which ends in *ṛtīyā* and denotes *bhaksya* 'something edible' optionally combines, in a *tatpuruṣa* compound with a syntactically related *pada* which ends in *sUP* and denotes *miśrīkaraṇa* 'admixture'.

EXAMPLES:

*guḍadhānāḥ* 'rice crisps mixed with jaggery'  
*guḍapṛthukāḥ* 'parched rice mixed with jaggery'.

1. This rule allows for the formation of a *tatpuruṣa* compound, where one constituent ends in *ṛtīyā* and another underlies a word which denotes something edible (*bhaksya*) provided the former denotes *miśrīkaraṇa* 'admixture'. The word *bhaksya* is explained by *Kāśikā* as anything solid (*khara*) or soft (*viśada*) which, in turn, could be eaten by chewing (*hanu calana*: *PM ad Kāśikā*). 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 *kāra* denoted by *saṃskārya* and *saṃskāra*. For *sāmarthya* obtains only between a *kāra* and its related action (*kriyā*). It does not obtain between *kāra* themselves. To further strengthen the argument, an analogy is used of a ladder (*niśrayaṇi*) and its rungs (*kāṣṭha*). 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 *kāra*. Consequently, a compound formed with constituents 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 *ṭṛtīyā* is combined with another....

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

- (1) *dadhnā upasiktaḥ* = *dadhyupasiktaḥ*
- (2) *dadhyupasiktaḥ odanaḥ* = *dadhyodanaḥ*

Obviously, such a rule formation would also require the deletion of *upasikta* + *sU*, the middle constituent (*madhyama* *padalopa*); and it would have to be included in the section of rules dealing with compounds formed of syntactically coordinated (*samānādhikaraṇa*) constituents. Examples such as *gudadhānāḥ* of the present rule can also be derived, parallel to its analyzed form *gudasamsṛṣṭāḥ dhānāḥ*, where *dhāna* 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 तदर्थार्थबलिहितसुखरक्षितैः

*caturthi tadarthārthabalihitasukharakṣitaiḥ*  
 / *caturthī* 1/1 *tadarthārtha*....*rakṣitaiḥ* 3/1 = *tasmai idam* = *tadartham*  
 (*cattat*), *tadartham ca arthaś ca baliś ca hitaś ca sukhaṃ ca rakṣitaś ca* =  
*tadarthārthābalihitasukharakṣitāni* (*itar. dv* with in *cattat*), *taiḥ*/  
 (*samāsaḥ* #3, *saha supā* #4, *sup* #9, *vibhāṣā* #11, *tatpuruṣaḥ* #22)  
 ‘*tadartha, artha, bali, hita, sukha, rakṣita*’ *ity etaiḥ saha caturthyantam*  
*samasyate, tatpuruṣaś ca samāso bhavati*

A *pada* which ends in *caturthī* ‘fourth triplet of *sUP*’ optionally combines, in a *tatpuruṣa* compound, with a syntactically related *pada*

which ends in *sUP* and denotes *tadartha* 'a thing intended for what is denoted by the constituent in *caturthī*', or contains nominal stems *artha* 'purpose', *bali* 'sacrificial offering', *hita* 'beneficial', *sukha* 'pleasure', or *rakṣita* 'reserved, protected'.

EXAMPLES:

*yūpadāruḥ* 'wood intended for making a sacrificial post'  
*kuṇḍalahiranyam* 'gold intended for making earrings'  
*brāhmaṇārtham payaḥ* 'milk intended for the *brāhmaṇa*'  
*brāhmaṇārthā yavāgūḥ* 'barley gruel intended for the *brāhmaṇa*'  
*kuberabaliḥ* 'sacrificial offering intended for Kubera, the guardian of wealth'  
*mahārājabaliḥ* 'sacrificial offering intended for Indra'  
*gohitam* 'beneficial for the cows'  
*aśvahitam* 'beneficial for the horses'  
*gosukham* 'for the pleasure of the cows'  
*aśvasukham* 'for the pleasure of the horses'  
*gorakṣitam* 'reserved for the cows'  
*aśvarakṣitam* 'reserved for the horses'

1. *Kāśikā* explains that compounds entailing *tādarthya* 'meant for the sake of the denotatum of a word which ends in *caturthī*' are limited to constituents where the word ending in *caturthī* denotes modification (*vikāra*) of some material (*prakṛti*) denoted by the second constituent. Thus we get *kuṇḍalāya hiranyam*, where *kuṇḍala*, ending in *caturthī*, denotes *vikāra* of *hiranya* 'gold' (constituting the second constituent). Limiting *tādarthya* compounds of this rule to *prakṛti-vikāra* contexts is required so that a compound like *\*randhanasthālī*, parallel to *randhanāya sthālī* '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 *artha* is again made to inform that the compounds formed are obligatory (*nitya*). For this reason, the analyzed form (*vigra-havākya*) of a compound such as *brāhmaṇārtham* of *brāhmaṇārtham payaḥ* must be furnished by means of a word outside the constituency of the compound (*asvapada*). The statement is necessary since *vibhāṣā* 'optionally' is carried here. Additionally, obligatory compounds with *artha* entail usage in all three genders (*sarvaliṅgatā*). 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 *paraval liṅgam dvandvatatpuruṣayoḥ*, which assigns the gender of a *tatpuruṣa*

compound to be similar to the gender of its following constituent. Thus, *brāhmaṇārthaḥ sūpaḥ* (masculine), *brāhmaṇārthaṃ payaḥ* (neuter), and *brāhmaṇārthā yavāgūḥ* (feminine) all get covered.

### 2.1.37 पञ्चमी भयेन

*pañcamī bhayena*

/ *pañcamī* 1/1 *bhayena* 3/1/

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

*pañcamyantaṃ subantaṃ bhayaśabdena subantena saha samasyate vibhāṣā, tatpuruṣaś ca samāso bhavati*

A *pada* which ends in *pañcamī* ‘fifth triplet of *sUP*’ optionally combines, in a *tatpuruṣa* compound, with a syntactically related *pada* which ends in *sUP* and contains *bhaya* ‘fear’.

#### EXAMPLES:

*ṛkabhayam* ‘fear of a wolf’

*caurabayam* ‘fear of a thief’

*dasyubhayam* ‘fear of a bandit’

1. It has been suggested in the *Mahābhāṣya*: (II: 605) that *bhīta* ‘frightened’, *bhīti* ‘fear’ and *bhīḥ* ‘id.’ must also be stated in the rule. In this way, compounds such as *ṛkabhītaḥ* ‘frightened of a wolf’, *ṛkabhītiḥ* ‘fear of a wolf’ and *ṛkabhīḥ* ‘id.’ could be accounted for. This modification is desired, especially when one interprets the word *bhaya* in this rule as denoting its form (*svarūpa*) only. But a modification of this rule to include the synonyms of *bhaya* may also entail some undesired compounds. One such example, parallel to *ṛkāṭ trāsaḥ*, is *ṛkatrāsaḥ*, where *trāsa* is a synonym of *bhaya*. Yet another proposal seeks compounds to be formed with *bhaya*, *nirgata* ‘gone outside of’, and *jugupsu* ‘disgusted with’. Consequently, this proposal seeks to reformulate the rule as *pañcamī bhayanirgatajugupsuḥ*.

### 2.1.38 अपेतापोढमुक्तपतितापत्रस्तैरल्पशः

*apetāpoḍhamuktapatitāpatrastair alpaśaḥ*

/ *apetāpoḍha...patrastaiḥ* 3/3 = (*itar. dv.*) *alpaśaḥ* 0/

(*samāsaḥ* #3, *saha supā* #4, *sup* #9, *vibhāṣā* #11, *tatpuruṣaḥ* #22, *pañcamī* #37)

‘*apeta, apoḍha, mukta, patita, apatrasta*’ *ity etaiḥ saha pañcamyantaṃ samasyate, tatpuruṣaś ca samāso bhavati*; ‘*alpaśaḥ*’ *iti samāsasyālpaviṣayatām ācaṣṭe*

A *pada* ending in *pañcamī* optionally combines, in a *tatpuruṣa* compound of limited frequency (*alpaśaḥ*), with a syntactically related *pada* which ends in *sUP* and contains *apeta* ‘removed, gone away’, *apoḍha* ‘carried away, removed’, *mukta* ‘released, freed’, *patita* ‘fallen’, or *apatrasta* ‘scared of’.

## EXAMPLES:

*sukhāpetah* 'removed from happiness'  
*kalpanāpodhah* 'removed from (lacking) imagination'  
*cakramuktah* 'freed from the wheel'  
*svargapatitah* 'fallen from heaven'  
*taraṅgāpatrastah* 'frightened by waves'

1. The word *alpaśah* 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 *prāsādāt patitah* 'fallen off the rooftop' and *bhojanād apatrastah* 'thrown away from food' to be ruled out.

## 2.1.39 स्तोकात्तिकदूरार्थकृच्छ्राणि क्तेन

*stokāntikadūrārthakṛcchrāṇi ktena*  
 / *stokāntika...kṛcchrāṇi* 1/3 = *stokaś ca antikaś ca dūraś ca* = *stokāntika-*  
*dūrāḥ* (itar. dv.), *stokāntikadūrās te' rthāḥ yeṣāṃ te* = *stokāntikadū-*  
*rārthāḥ* (bv.), *stokāntikadūrārthās ca kṛcchraṃ ca, tāni* = *stokāntika...*  
*kṛcchrāṇi* (itar. dv. with int. bv.); *ktena* 3/1/  
 (samāśah #3, saha supā #4, sup #9, vibhāṣā #11, tatpuruṣah #22,  
 pañcamī #37)

'stoka, antika, dūra' ity evam arthāḥ śabdāḥ kṛcchraśabdaś ca  
 pañcamyantāḥ ktāntena saha samasyante, tatpuruṣaś ca samāso 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:

*stokānmuktah* 'freed by a slight margin'  
*antikādāgatah* 'arrived from a nearby place'  
*abhyāsādāgatah* 'id.'  
*dūrādāgatah* 'arrived from a faraway place'  
*viprakṛṣṭādāgatah* 'id.'  
*kṛcchrānmuktah* 'released with difficulty'  
*kṛcchrāllabddhah* 'obtained with difficulty'

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

## 2.1.40 सप्तमी शौण्डैः

*saptamī śauṇḍaiḥ*  
 / *saptamī* 1/1 *śauṇḍaiḥ* 3/3/  
 (samāśah #3, saha supā #4, sup #9, vibhāṣā #11, tatpuruṣah #22)  
*saptamyantaṃ śauṇḍādibhiḥ saha samasyate, tatpuruṣaś ca samāso bhavati*  
 A *pada* which ends in *saptamī* 'seventh triplet of *sUP*' optionally



combines in a *tatpuruṣa* compound with a syntactically related *pada* which ends in *sUP* and contains *śauṇḍa* ‘cunning, skilled’ etc.

EXAMPLES:

*akṣaśauṇḍaḥ* ‘he who is skilled or cunning at the game of dice’  
*akṣakitavaḥ* ‘id.’  
*akṣadhūrttaḥ* ‘he who cheats at the game of dice’

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

2.1.41 सिद्धशुष्कपक्वबन्धैश्च

*siddhaśuṣkapakvabandhaiś ca*  
*/ siddha...bandhaiḥ 3/3 (itar. dv.); ca 0 /*  
*(samāsaḥ #3, saha supā #4, sup #9, vibhāṣā #11, tatpuruṣaḥ #22, saptamī #40)*  
‘*siddha*, *śuṣka*, *pakva*, *bandha*’ *ity etaiḥ saha saptamyantaṃ samasyate, tatpuruṣaś ca samāso bhavati*  
A *pada* which ends in *saptamī* optionally combines in a *tatpuruṣa* compound with a syntactically related *pada* which ends in *sUP* and contains *siddha* ‘established, made’, *śuṣka* ‘dried’, *pakva* ‘cooked, ripe’, or *bandha* ‘tied, bound’.

EXAMPLES:

*sāṃkāśyasiddhaḥ* ‘made or known in Sāṃkāśya’  
*kāmpilyasiddhaḥ* ‘made or known in Kāmpilya’  
*ātapaśuṣkaḥ* ‘dried in the sun’  
*chāyāśuṣkaḥ* ‘dried in the shade’  
*sthālīpakvaḥ* ‘cooked in a *sthālī* (vessel)’  
*kumbhīpakvaḥ* ‘cooked in a small earthen pitcher’  
*cakrabandhaḥ* ‘tied with a wheel’

2.1.42 ध्वांक्षेण क्षेपे

*dhvāṅkṣeṇa kṣepe*  
*/ dhvāṅkṣeṇa 3/1 kṣepe 7/1/*  
*(samāsaḥ #3, saha supā #4, sup #9, vibhāṣā #11, tatpuruṣaḥ #22, saptamī #40)*

*dhvāṅkṣavācinā saha saptamyantaṃ subantaṃ samasyate, tatpuruṣaś ca samāso bhavati kṣepe gamyamāne*

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

EXAMPLES:

*tīrthadhvāṅkṣaḥ* ‘fickle as a crow in a holy place’  
*tīrthakākaḥ* ‘id.’

1. The word *dhvāṅkṣa* ‘crow’ is treated here as referring to its synonyms as well. Thus, compounds such as *tīrthakākaḥ* can 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 कृत्यैर्ऋणे

*krtyair ṛṇe*

*/ krtyaiḥ 3/3 ṛṇe 7/1/*

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

*krtyapratyayāntaiḥ saha saptamyantaṃ samasyate, tatpuruṣaś ca samāso bhavati, ṛṇe gamyamāne*

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

EXAMPLES:

*māsadeyam* ‘a debt which is to be repaid in a month’  
*saṃvatsaradeyam* ‘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: *krtyair niyoge yatā* ‘a word ending in *saptamī* combines with a word which contains an item ending in the *krtya* affix (3.1.95 *krtyāḥ*) *yaT* (3.1.97 *aco yat*), provided the compound denotes obligation (*niyoga*)’. The condition of *niyoga* is required to cover examples like *pūrvāhnegeyam* ‘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, *\*pūrvāhnedātavyā* (*bhikṣā*) ‘aims given in the morning’, etc., will be blocked. Patañjali rejects the condition of *niyoga* on the grounds that *ṛṇe*, when accepted as used in a much more generalized sense of something one must necessarily do (*āvaśyaka*), will account for it. He does, however, accept the condition of *yaT*, possibly to block compound formation parallel to *pūrvāhṇe dātavyā bhikṣā*. But the problem of

the validity of this condition still remains. *PM* and *Nyāsa ad Kāśikā* both state that the *anuvṛtti* of *alpaśaḥ* ‘in a limited manner’ from 2.1.38 could account for what *yatā* does. Incidentally, the non-deletion of *saptamī* in the above examples is accomplished by rule 6.3.13 *tatpuruṣe kṛti bahulam*. The compounds covered by this rule are also treated as obligatory (*nitya*).

#### 2.1.44 संज्ञायाम्

*saṃjñāyām*

/ *saṃjñāyām* 7/1/

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

*saṃjñāyām viṣaye saptamyantam 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 *saṃjñā* ‘name’.

#### EXAMPLES:

*aranyetilakāḥ* ‘wild sesame’

*aranyemāśāḥ* ‘wild beans’

*vanekiṃśukāḥ* ‘wild *Kiṃśuka* flowers’

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

#### 2.1.45 केनाहोरात्रावयवाः

*ktenāhorātrāvayavāḥ*

/ *ktena* 3/1 *ahorātrāvayavāḥ* 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 saptamyantāḥ ktāntena saha samasyante, 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:

*pūrvāḥṇakṛtam* ‘that which was done in the first part of the day’

*pūrvārātrakṛtam* ‘that which was done in the first part of the night’

*aparāḥṇakṛtam* ‘that which was done in the second part of the day’

*aparārātrakṛtam* ‘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 (*kārtsnya*) and not *avayava*.

### 2.1.46 तत्र

*tatra*

/ *tatra* ०/

(*samāsaḥ* #3, *saha supā* #4, *sup* #9, *vibhāṣā* #11, *tatpuruṣaḥ* #22, *saptamī* #40, *ktena* #45)

‘*tatra*’ ity etat *saptamyantaṃ ktāntena 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 *Kta*.

#### EXAMPLES:

*tatrabhuktam* ‘eaten there’

*tatrakṛtam* ‘made or done there’

*tatrapītam* ‘drunk there’

1. This rule is required for covering examples such as *tatrakṛtam* ‘done there’, where *tatra* does not end in *saptamī*. Instead, it is a derivate of *tad* ‘that’ formed with the affix *traL* (5.3.10 *saptamyās tral*) to denote the sense of *saptamī*. This is why the word *saptamī* 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/

(*samāsaḥ* #3, *saha supā* #4, *sup* #9, *vibhāṣā* #11, *tatpuruṣaḥ* #22, *saptamī* #40, *ktena* #45)

*kṣepe gamyamāne saptamyantaṃ ktāntena saha samasyate, tatpuruṣaś ca samāso bhavati*

A *pada* which ends in *saptamī* 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’

*udakeviśīrṇaṃ tava etat* ‘this conduct of yours is as if going down the drain’

*pravāhemūtritāṃ 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-thitatā* ‘lack of stability or concentration’ leading to failure (*niṣphalatā*). The non-deletion of *saptamī* is accomplished by 6.3.14 *tatpuruṣe 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 (*nitya*) on account of the meaning condition of *kṣepa*.

### 2.1.48 पात्रेसमितादयश्च

*pātresamitādayaś ca*

/ *pātresamitādayaḥ* 1/3 = *pātresamita ādir yeṣām* (bv.); *ca* 0 /

(*samāsaḥ* #3, *saha supā* #4, *sup* #9, *vibhāṣā* #11, *tatpuruṣaḥ* #22, *saptamī* #40, *kṣepe* #47)

*pātresamitādayaḥ śabdās tatpuruṣasaṃjñā bhavanti, kṣepe 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’

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

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

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

*kūpacūrṇakaḥ* ‘powder in a waterwell, i.e., insignificant’

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

1. The words *pātresamita*, etc., are listed as part of a larger *gaṇa* headed by *yuktārohin* (6.2.81 *yuktārohyādayaś ca*). This extracted short listing is consequently treated as *ākṛtigāṇa*, 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 *udātta* 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 पूर्वकालैकसर्वजरत्युराणनवकेवलाः समानाधिकरणेन

*pūrvakālaikasaruvaratpurāṇanavakevalāḥ samānādhikaraṇena*  
/ *pūrvakālaikasaruvaratpurāṇanavakevalāḥ* 1/3 (itar. dv.); *samānā-*  
*dhikaraṇena* 3/1/

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

'*pūrvakāla*, *eka*, *sarva*, *jarat*, *purāṇa*, *nava*, *kevala*' ity ete subantāḥ  
*samānādhikaraṇena supā saha samasyante, tatpuruṣaś ca samāso bhavati*

A *pada* which ends in *sUP* and contains a stem that either denotes *pūrvakāla* 'something which naturally precedes another' or is constituted by *eka* 'one', *sarva* 'all', *jarat* 'aged', *purāṇa* 'ancient, old', *nava* 'new', or *kevala* 'only', optionally combines in a *tatpuruṣa* compound with a syntactically related coreferential *pada* which ends in *sUP*.

## EXAMPLES:

- *snātānuliptaḥ* 'he who first bathed then anointed'
- kr̥ṣṭasamīkṛtam* 'he who ploughed the field first then leveled it'
- ekabhikṣā* 'one and only alm'
- ekaśāṭī* 'one and only garment'
- sarvadevāḥ* 'all the gods'
- sarvamanuṣyāḥ* 'all men'
- jaraddhastī* 'an old elephant'
- jaradgr̥ṣṭih* 'an old cow which delivered only once'
- purāṇānnam* 'old grain'
- purāṇāvasatham* 'an old dwelling'
- navānnam* 'newly harvested grain'
- kevalānnam* 'only grain'

1. The word *sāmānādhikaraṇya* 'coreferentiality, syntactic coordination' is explained by *Kāśikā* as 'the process whereby an item which has varying meanings (*bhinna-pravṛttinimitta*) is integrated (*vṛtti*) with another item to denote a single meaning (*bhinna-pravṛttinimittasya śabdasya ekasminn arthe vṛtṭih sāmānādhikaraṇyam*). 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 *pūrvakāla*, the reference is made via meaning (*arthadvāraka*). Thus, a word which denotes *pūrvakāla* 'prior time' can be combined with a word which denotes other time (*aparakāla*). This will yield examples such as *snātānubhuktaḥ* '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 *snātānubhuktaḥ* they both denote a single meaning, i.e., the same person. How does one understand that *pūrvakāla* should be interpreted as given

via meaning? One understands this on the basis that items such as *pūrvakāla* can be fully comprehended only in relation to items such as *aparākāla*: 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 (*viśeṣaṇa*) is required to be preplaced, as is specified by *viśeṣaṇam* 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 (*paranipāta*). That is, its provision of preplacement is restrictive in view of some possible postplacement. For example, *snātānuliptah* is interpreted as *pūrvam snātah paścād anuliptah*, 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 compound formations which involve such reversals, with resultant postplacement of qualifiers, that this rule is formulated.

### 2.1.50 दिक्संख्ये संज्ञायाम्

*dikṣaṃkhye saṃjñāyām*

/ *dikṣaṃkhye* 1/2 (*itar. dv.*); *saṃjñāyām* 7/1/

(*samāsaḥ* #3, *saha supā* #4, *sup* #9, *tatpuruṣaḥ* #22, *samānādhikaraṇena* #49)

*digvācinah śabdāḥ saṃkhyā ca samānādhikaraṇena subantena saha samasyante, tatpuruṣaś ca samāso bhavati, saṃjñāyām viśaye*

A *pada* which ends in *sUP* and signifies *diś* 'direction' or *saṃkhyā* 'number' combines, in a *tatpuruṣa* compound, with a syntactically related coreferential *pada* which ends in *sUP* provided the compound denotes a *saṃjñā* 'name'.

#### EXAMPLES:

*pūrvaeṣukāmaśamī* 'east Iṣukāmaśamī'

*apāreṣukāmaśamī* 'west Iṣukāmaśamī'

*pañcāmrāḥ* 'name of a village'

*saptarṣayah* 'name of a galaxy; Great Bear'

### 2.1.51 तद्धितार्थोत्तरपदसमाहारे च

*taddhitārthottarapadasamāhāre ca*

/ *taddhitārthottarapadasamāhāre* 7/1 = *taddhitārthaś ca uttarapadaṃ ca samāhāraś ca* (*itar. dv.*), *tasmin; ca* 0/1

(*samāsaḥ* #3, *saha supā* #4, *sup* #9, *vibhāṣā* #11, *tatpuruṣaḥ* #22, *samānādhikaraṇena* #49, *dikṣaṃkhye* #50)

*taddhitārthe viśaye uttarapade ca parataḥ samāhāre cābhidheye dikṣaṃkhye supā saha samasyete, tatpuruṣaś ca samāso bhavati*

A *pada* which ends in *sUP* and contains a stem denoting *diś* or *saṃkhyā* optionally combines, in a *tatpuruṣa* compound, with a syntactically related coreferential *pada* which ends in *sUP* when either the meaning of a *taddhita* (4.1.76 *taddhitāḥ*) affix finds its scope, a third *pada* is to follow, or *samāhāra* ‘collection, grouping’ is to be denoted.

EXAMPLES:

*paurvaśālah* ‘that which is located in the eastern hall’  
*āparaśālah* ‘that which is located in the western hall’  
*pūrvāśālāpriyaḥ* ‘he to whom the eastern hall is dear’  
*āparaśālāpriyaḥ* ‘he to whom the western hall is dear’  
*pāñcanāpitih* ‘related to five barbers’  
*pañcakapālah* ‘a ritual oblation prepared in five bowls’  
*pañcagavadhanaḥ* ‘he who possesses five cows as his wealth’  
*daśagavadhanaḥ* ‘he who possesses ten cows as his wealth’  
*pañcakumāri* ‘a group of five girls’  
*daśakumāri* ‘a group of ten girls’

1. The words *samānādhikaraṇena* and *diksaṃkhye* are carried to this rule. The word *taddhitārthottarapadasamāhāre* is interpreted as a *dvandva* of *samāhāra* ‘grouping’ type, with the constituents *taddhitārthe*, *uttarapade*, and *samāhāre*, all ending in *saptamī*. Obviously, this rule allows for compounds in three categories:

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

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

Consider the derivation of *paurvaśālah* from *pūrvā* + *Ñi śālā* + *Ñi*, the two constituents which are in syntactic coordination. The compound is permitted on the understanding that a *taddhita* affix, such as *aÑ* (4.2.107



*dikpūrvapadāt.* ), will subsequently be introduced to denote the sense of 'located there': *pūrvā + Ni + śālā + Ni* → *pūrvāśālā*; *pūrvāśālā + aÑ* → *paurvaśāla*; *paurvaśāla + sŪ* → *paurvaśālah*. The denotation of the *taddhita* affix via *aÑ* 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 *taddhitārthe* is interpreted as denoting the domain (*viśaya*).

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

A word which denotes *diś* or *saṃkhyā* 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 *saṃkhyā* as part of a larger compound. Thus, *pūrvāśālāpriyaḥ* is a *bahuvrīhi* compound formed from *pūrvā + sŪ + śālā + sŪ + priya + sŪ*, where an internal *tatpuruṣa* with the first two constituents is formed under the condition of the third. The compound must be formed in this manner, so that *udātta* accent at the end (*antodātta*) (of *śālā*) can be accomplished before *priya + sŪ*. This kind of *tatpuruṣa*, internal to a *bahuvrīhi* compound, is obligatory (*nitya*). Thus, given the string *pañcan + Jas + go + Jas + dhana + sŪ*, a *bahuvrīhi* parallel to *pañca gāvo dhanam asya* 'he who possesses five cows as his wealth' is formed. Subsequently, *pañcan + Jas + go + Jas* forms a *tatpuruṣa*. This alone would allow the introduction of the affix *ṬaC* (5.4.92 *gor ataddhitahuki*) to yield *pañcan + Jas + go + Jas + ṬaC* → *pañcago + a*. A wrong from *\*pañcagodhana* would result in the absence of *ṬaC*. It is evident that a *bahuvrīhi* that anticipates an internal obligatory *tatpuruṣa* is to be formed first. Of course, the internal *tatpuruṣa* will be formed subsequently. A *dvandva* internal to a *bahuvrīhi*, such as *vāgdṛṣadapriyaḥ* 'he who likes speech and stone' from *vāk + sŪ + dṛṣad + sŪ + priya + sŪ*, is similarly formed.

It is stated that a compound that entails *samāhāra* is not possible with a constituent which denotes *diś* 'direction'. For, a *samāhāra* 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 (*pratiniyata*).

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

- (i) *samāharaṇam samāhārah* 'the action of grouping together is called *samāhāra*'
- (ii) *samāhriyata iti samāhārah* '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 *pañcakumārī* ‘a group of five girls’, where the meaning of *kumārī* ‘girl’ is principal. The rule which assigns compound formation (2.1.51) does not cite the constituent represented by *kumārī* in the nominative. This qualifies *kumārī* to be used with various endings. As a result, neither rule 1.2.43 *prathamā...* nor 1.2.44 *ekavibhakti cāpūrvanipāte* can term *kumārī* an *upasarjana*. Not being an *upasarjana*, *kumārī* in *pañcakumārī* cannot have its final long vowel replaced with a short vowel (1.2.48 *gostriyor upasarjanasya*).

Similarly, one cannot derive *pañcakhaṭvī* ‘a group of five cots’ parallel to *pañca khaṭvāḥ samāhrtāḥ*. 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 *ÑiP* by 4.1.21 *dvigoḥ*. Commentators thus favor the first (i) interpretation over the second (ii).

### 2.1.52 संख्यापूर्वो द्विगुः

*saṃkhyāpūrvō dviguḥ*

*/ saṃkhyāpūrvāḥ 1/1 = saṃkhyā pūrvā yasmāt (bv.); dviguḥ 1/1/*

‘*taddhitārthottarapadasamāhāre ca*’ *ity atra yaḥ saṃkhyāpūrvāḥ samāsaḥ sa dvigusamjño bhavati*

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

#### EXAMPLES:

*pañcakapālah* ‘a ritual oblation of food prepared in five bowls’

*daśakapālah* ‘a ritual oblation prepared in ten bowls’

*pañcanāvapriyaḥ* ‘he to whom five boats are dear’

*pañcamūlī* ‘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 (*śeṣa*) of rule 2.1.51. Note that *Paribhāṣā* 61 states that a provision made for an operation (*vidhi*) or its negation (*pratiśedha*) applies to that which is most immediate (*anantarasya vidhir bhavati pratiśedho 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 (*prakaraṇa*) of compounds with constituents in syntactic coordination (*sāmānādhikaraṇya*), 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 *avyayībhāva* 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 कुत्सितानि कुत्सनैः

*kutsitāni kutsanaiḥ*

/ *kutsitāni* 1/3 *kutsanaiḥ* 3/3/

(*samāsaḥ* #3, *saha supā* #4, *sup* #9, *vibhāṣā* #11, *taṭpuruṣaḥ* #22, *samānādhikarānena* #49)

*kutsitavācīni subantāni kutsanavacanaiḥ subantaiḥ saha samasyante, taṭpuruṣaś ca samāso bhavati*

A *pada* which ends in *sUP* and signifies *kutsita* 'object of contempt' optionally combines, in a *taṭpuruṣa* compound, with a syntactically related coreferential *pada* which ends in *sUP* and signifies *kutsā* 'contempt'.

#### EXAMPLES:

*vaiyākaraṇakhasūciḥ* 'a grammarian who, when asked a question, does not know the answer and stares at the sky'

*yājñīkakitavaḥ* 'a priest who cheats, for money, by performing the ritual for someone not qualified'

*mīmāṃsakadurdurūḍhaḥ* 'a ritualist (*mīmāṃsaka*) who does not know what he argues about'

1. Note that the words *kutsita* 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 (*svarūpavidhi*) *kutsita* and *kutsana*. Note that what is censured in these compounds is the reason for which they are used (*pravṛttinimitta*). Thus, *vaiyākaraṇakhasūciḥ* is 'a grammarian who, when asked a question, does not know the answer and stares at the sky'. That is, he is slow-witted (*niṣpratibha*). 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 *vaiyākaraṇaścauraḥ* '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 कुत्सितैः

*pāpāṇake kutsitaiḥ*

/ *pāpāṇake* 1/2 = *pāpaṃ ca aṇakaṃ ca (itar. dv.)*; *kutsitaiḥ* 3/3/

(*samāsaḥ* #3, *saha supā* #4, *sup* #9, *vibhāṣā* #11, *taṭpuruṣaḥ* #22, *samānādhikarānena* #49, *kutsanaiḥ* #53)

'*pāpa*, *aṅaka*' ete subante kutsitavacanaiḥ saha samasyete, tatpuruṣaś ca samāso bhavati

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

EXAMPLES:

*pāpanāpitaḥ* 'a wicked barber'  
*pāpakulālah* 'a wicked potter'  
*aṅakanāpitaḥ* 'a contemptible barber'  
*aṅakakulālah* 'a contemptible potter'

1. A question is raised as to why compounds with *pāpa* and *aṅaka* cannot be accounted for by the preceding rule. It is explained that *pāpa* and *aṅaka* 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 *ṛtīyā* (as opposed to *prathamā*) will block the *upasarjana* designation required for preplacement (*pūrvanipāta*). Our present rule makes *pūrvanipāta* 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 (*vispaṣṭārtham*).

2.1.55 उपमानानि सामान्यवचनैः

*upamānāni sāmānyavacanaiḥ*  
 / *upamānāni* 1/3 *sāmānyavacanaiḥ* 1/1/  
 (samāsaḥ #3, saha supā #4, sup #9, vibhāṣā #11, tatpuruṣaḥ #22, samānādhikaraṇena #49)  
*upamānavācīni subantāni sāmānyavacanaiḥ subantaiḥ saha samasyante*,  
*tatpuruṣaś ca samāso bhavati*

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:

*śastrīśyāmā 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 *śastrīśyāmā* ‘black as a knife’ of *śastrīśyāmā devadattā* ‘Devadatta’s daughter is as black as a *śastrī*’ serves as a celebrated example. Here, *śastrī*, which denotes *upamāna*, is combined with *śyāmā* ‘black’, which denotes the property of blackness common to both the knife and the daughter of Devadatta, the *upameya*. The word *śyāmā* 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 *śastrī* is famous as having the quality of *śyāmatva* ‘blackness’; having denoted blackness, *śyāmatva* 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 *śastrī* relates to *śastrī*, whereas *śyāmā* relates to *devadattā*. Consequently, because of the lack of *sāmānādhikaraṇya* ‘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 *vaiyadhikaraṇya* ‘reference to different loci’. A compound between items which denote varying loci can be permitted on the strength of this rule itself (*vacanasāmārthya*). Or, one can say that *śastrī* also refers to *devadattā* on the basis of *tādharmya* ‘shared characteristics’ constituted by the quality of blackness (*śyāmaguṇatva*).

2. This rule, along with the following, is formulated to facilitate the preplacement (*pūrvanipāta*) of constituents serving as those which are qualified (*viśeṣya*). 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 उपमितं व्याघ्रादिभिः सामान्याप्रयोगे

*upamitaṃ vyāghrādibhiḥ sāmānyāprayoge*

*/ upamitam 1/1 vyāghrādibhiḥ 3/3 sāmānyāprayoge 7/1 = na prayogaḥ = aprayogaḥ (nañ. tat.), sāmānyasya aprayogaḥ = sāmānyāprayogaḥ (ṣaṣ. tat.), tasmīn /*

*(samāsaḥ #3, saha supā #4, sup #9, vibhāṣā #11, tatpuruṣaḥ #22, samānādhikaraṇena #49)*

*upameyavāci subantaṃ vyāghrādibhiḥ sāmārthyād upamānavacanaiḥ saha samasyate, tatpuruṣas ca samāso bhavati, na cet sāmānyavācī śabdaḥ prayujyate*

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:

*puruṣavyāghraḥ* ‘a man like a tiger’  
*puruṣasimhaḥ* ‘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. (*śauryādi*). 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 *puruṣavyāghraḥ* ‘man like a tiger’, which would have been placed subsequent to *vyāghra* had the compound been formed by 2.1.57 *viśeṣaṇam viśeṣyeṇa bahulam*. *Kāśikā* states that this rule is formulated to facilitate the preplacement of a *viśeṣya* ‘qualified’. Note that the compound *puruṣavyāghraḥ*, parallel to *puruṣo vyāghra iva śūraḥ*, is not permitted, since *śūraḥ* denotes the property common to *puruṣa* and *vyāghra*. The compound is permitted parallel to *puruṣo vyāghra iva* instead.

## 2.1.57 विशेषणं विशेष्येण बहुलम्

*viśeṣaṇam viśeṣyeṇa bahulam*  
 / *viśeṣaṇam* 1/1 *viśeṣyeṇa* 3/1 *bahulam* 1/1/  
 (*samāsaḥ* #3, *saha supā* #4, *sup* #9, *tatpuruṣaḥ* #22, *samānādhi-*  
*karaṇena* #49)  
*viśeṣaṇavācī subantaṁ viśeṣyavācinā subantena saha bahulam samasyate,*  
*tatpuruṣaś ca samaso bhavati*

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

## EXAMPLES:

*nīlotpalam* ‘blue lotus’  
*raktotpalam* ‘red lotus’  
*kṛṣṇasarpah* ‘black snake (cobra)’  
*lohitaśālih* ‘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 (*viśeṣaṇa*) and the other a qualified (*viśeṣya*). Thus, we get examples like *kṛṣṇasarpah* ‘black snake’, where *kṛṣṇa* is a qualifier to *sarpa*. The compound is formed parallel to *kṛṣṇaś cāsau sarpaś ca* ‘that which is black as well as is a snake’.

*Kāśikā* explains *viśeṣaṇa* and *viśeṣya* as *bhedaka* ‘distinguisher’ and *bhedya* ‘distinguished’. It is argued (*Mbh* (II: 627) that, given the word *kṛṣṇa*, one understands the quality ‘blackness’ in general. Similarly, given the word *sarpa*, one understands the thing named *sarpa* in general. However, given *kṛṣṇasarpah*, 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 *kṛṣṇa* 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’ (*apradhāna*). 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 *guṇa*, which may or may not reside in its locus. Besides, a *guṇa* 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 *nīlotpalam*, parallel to *nīlam utpalam* ‘blue lotus’. But we get *kṛṣṇasarpah* ‘black snake’ and *lohitaśāliḥ* ‘red rice’ as obligatory compounds, and we do not get a compound parallel to *rāmo jāmādagnyah* ‘Rāma, the son of Jamadagni’. The use of *bahulam*, thus, means that the compound may apply, it may not apply, or it may apply only obligatorily.

### 2.1.58 पूर्वपरप्रथमचरमजघन्यसमानमध्यमध्यमवीराश्च

*pūrvāparaprathamacaramajaghanyasamānamadhyamadhyamavīrās ca*  
/ *pūrvā...vīrāḥ* 1/3 (*itar. dv.*); *ca* 0 /  
(*samāsaḥ* #3, *saha supā* #4, *sup* #9, *vibhāṣā* #11, *tatpuruṣaḥ* #22,  
*samānādhikaraṇena* #49, *viśeṣaṇam viśeṣyena* #57)

‘*pūrvā, apara, prathama, carama, jaghanya, samāna, madhya, madhyama, vīra*’ *ity ete subantāḥ samānādhikaraṇena supā saha samasyante, tatpuruṣas ca samāso bhavati*

A *pada* which ends in *sUP*, denotes a distinguishing quality and contains *pūrvā* ‘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’  
*prathamupuruṣaḥ* ‘foremost person, third person’

*caramapurusaḥ* ‘last person’  
*jaghanyapurusaḥ* ‘person of the lowest class’  
*samānapurusaḥ* ‘similar (same) person’  
*madhyapurusaḥ* ‘person in the middle’  
*madhyamapurusaḥ* ‘average person, second person’  
*vīrapurusaḥ* ‘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 *viśeṣaṇa-viśeṣya* ‘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 श्रेण्यादयः कृतादिभिः

*śreṇyādayaḥ kṛtādibhiḥ*  
*/ śreṇyādayaḥ 1/3 = śreṇi ādir yeṣām (bv.); kṛtādibhiḥ 1/3 = kṛta ādir yeṣām (bv.) /*  
*(samāsaḥ #3, saha supā #4, vibhāṣā #11, tatpuruṣaḥ #22, samānādhikaraṇena #49)*  
*śreṇyādayaḥ subantāḥ kṛtādibhiḥ samānādhikaraṇaiḥ saha samasyante, tatpuruṣaś ca samāso bhavati*  
 A *pada* which ends in *sUP* and contains *śreṇi* ‘an order, or group of traders or artisans’, etc., optionally combines in a *tatpuruṣa* compound with a syntactically related coreferential *pada* which ends in *sUP* 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 *śreṇi*’, is a *gaṇapāṭha* (*GP*) listing. The second is what is generally referred to as *ākṛtigāṇa*, 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 *śreṇi* ‘group’ are to be treated as used in the sense of affix *CvI* (*cvyārtha*). Commentators identify the sense of *CvI* as *abhūtatadbhāva* ‘that which became something which it previously was not’. Hence, *śreṇi* refers to a group of people who earn their livelihood by pursuing a common profession or business (*PM* ad *Kāś* II: 80: *ekena śilpena paṇyena vā ye jīvanti teṣāṃ samūhaḥ*). With the addition of the



*abhūtatadbhāva* sense of *CvI*, the meaning of *śreṇi* 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 *ādi* in *śreṇyādayaḥ* accordingly means *vyavasthā* or *prakāra* 'specific type'; *śreṇyādayaḥ* would therefore mean *śreṇi*, and the like, available in usage.

### 2.1.60 केन नञ्विशिष्टेनानञ्

*ktena nañviśiṣṭena anañ*

/ *ktena* 3/1 *nañviśiṣṭena* 3/1 = *nañ eva viśiṣṭo yasmin (bv.)*, *tena*; *anañ* 1/1 = *na vidyate nañ yasmin (bv.)* /

(*samāsaḥ* #3, *saha supā* #4, *sup* #9, *vibhāṣā* #11, *tatpuruṣaḥ* #22, *samānādhikaraṇena* #49)

*nañviśiṣṭena ktāntena samānādhikaraṇena saha anañ ktāntaṃ samasyate*, *tatpuruṣaś ca samāso bhavati*

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

#### EXAMPLES:

*kṛtākṛtam* 'partly done, partly not done'

*bhuktābhuktam* 'partly eaten, partly not eaten'

*pītāpītam* '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 yajñadattāt svādhyāyena viśiṣṭaḥ* '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-*ncñ* 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 *nañ*.

Let us take the example of *kṛtākṛtam*, where the two constituents are *kṛtam* and *ākṛtam*. They both contain forms ending in the suffix *Kta*, such that one (*kṛta*) is distinguished from the other (*ākṛta*) only on the basis of the negative *nañ*. It is this sense of *sāvadhāraṇa* 'with delimitation' which is implied here by the use of *nañviśiṣṭa* 'that which has been distinguished by *nañ*'. Obviously, the difference between the two constituents has to be

minimally identifiable to the difference of *naÑ*. 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 *naÑ*? The derivation of *anudita* entails the introduction of the augment *nUṬ*, in addition to *naÑ*. Thus, the difference between *udita* and *anudita* is not limited only to *naÑ*. Commentators say (see *PM* ad *Kās*) that the introduction of *nUṬ* forms part of the qualification by *naÑ*. That is, a *naÑ* derivate such as *anudita* is obligatorily going to have the introduction of *nUṬ*. In this sense, *anudita* is still minimally different from *udita*. The *naÑ* alone, especially since it also conditions *nUṬ*, 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’ (*aṣṭra*) for failing to do something for which he may be called a ‘son’ (*ṣṭra*).

As an expatiation of *bahulam* 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 *gatapratyāgatam* ‘went out to go to place X, though returned without reaching there’, etc., should also be enumerated. Patañjali proposes to account for these examples by replacing the meaning condition of *nañvisiṣṭena* by *anañ ktāntena kriyāvisamāptau* ‘with a non-*naÑ* word containing *Kta* when the sense is that of lack of properly completing the action’. See *Mbh* (ibid.).

### 2.1.61 सन्महत्परमोत्तमोत्कृष्टः पूज्यमानैः

*sanmahatparamottamotkrṣṭāḥ pūjyamānaiḥ*

*/ san...krṣṭāḥ 1/3 (itar. dv.); pūjyamānaiḥ 3/3/*

(*samāsaḥ* #3, *saha supā* #4, *sup* #9, *vibhāṣā* #11, *tatpuruṣaḥ* #22, *samānādhikaraṇena* #49)

‘*sat*, *mahat*, *parama*, *uttama*, *utkrṣṭa*’ *ity ete pūjyamānaiḥ saha samasyante, tatpuruṣaś ca samāso bhavati*

A *pada* which ends in *sUP* and contains *sat* ‘true, wise, good’, *mahat* ‘great’, *parama* ‘best’, *uttama* ‘excellent’, or *utkrṣṭa* ‘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'  
*paramapuruṣaḥ* 'the best man'  
*uttamapuruṣaḥ* 'an excellent man'  
*utkr̥ṣṭapuruṣaḥ* 'an excellent man'

1. The word *pūjyamānaiḥ* conditions the use of *sat*, etc., in the sense of praise (*pūjā*). 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 *ŚānaC*. For, they do not denote praise. Further, how do compounds such as *mahodadhiḥ* 'a great ocean' and *mahādrumah* '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 *viśeṣaṇam viśeṣyena bahulam*. Or, the word *bahulam* could be carried here from that rule.

### 2.1.62 वृन्दारकनागकुञ्जरैः पूज्यमानम्

*vṛndāraṅganāgakuñjaraiḥ pūjyamānam*  
 / *vṛndāraṅganāgakuñjaraiḥ* 3/3 = (*itar. dv.*); *pūjyamānam* 1/1/  
 (*samāsaḥ* #3, *saha supā* #4, *sup* #9, *vibhāṣā* #11, *tatpuruṣaḥ* #22,  
*samānādhikaraṇena* #49)  
 'vṛndāraṅga, nāga, kuñjara' ity etaiḥ pūjyamānavāci subantaṃ samasyate,  
 tatpuruṣaś ca samāso 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 *vṛndāraṅga* 'excellent; beautiful', *nāga* 'snake; the best of any kind', or *kuñjara* 'elephant; the most prominent kind'.

#### EXAMPLES:

*govṛndāraṅgah* 'an excellent ox; a beautiful cow'  
*aśvavṛndāraṅgah* 'an excellent horse'  
*gonāgah* 'excellent cow'  
*aśvanāgah* 'excellent horse'  
*gokuñjarah* 'a cow of quality'  
*aśvakuñjarah* 'a horse of quality'

1. A word which denotes 'he who ought to be praised' is combined with a word constituted by *vṛndāraṅga*, *nāga*, and *kuñjara*. The very use of *pūjyamānam* 'ought to be praised' makes one expect that *vṛndāraṅga*, *nāga*, and *kuñjara* would denote praise (*pūjā*). Words such as *vṛndāraṅga* and *kuñjara*, as well as *nāga*, denote the class (*jāti*) of *deva* 'gods' and *gaja* 'elephants', respectively. The question of *pūjā* 'praise' would not arise if

they did not serve as *upamāna* ‘standard of comparison’. Since *vyāghra*, etc., are given as part of *ākṛtigāna*, where *vṛndāraka*, etc., can also be included, rule 2.1.56 *upamitam 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 (*pūjā*), and not *nindā* ‘reproach’, is denoted.

### 2.1.63 कतरकतमौ जातिपरिप्रश्ने

*katarakatamau jātiparipraśne*  
/ *katarakatamau* 1/2 (*itar. dv.*); *jātiparipraśne* 7/1 = *jāteḥ paripraśnaḥ*  
(*ṣaṣ. tat.*), *tasmin* /  
(*samāsaḥ* #3, *saha supā* #4, *sup* #9, *vibhāṣā* #11, *tatpuruṣaḥ* #22, *samānādhikaraṇena* #49)

*katarakatamau jātiparipraśne varttamānau samarthena supā saha samasyete, tatpuruṣaś ca samāso bhavati*

A *pada* which ends in *sUP*, contains *katara* ‘which one of two’ or *katama* ‘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:

*katarakaṭṭhaḥ* ‘who is the Kaṭṭha of these two’  
*katamakāṭṭhaḥ* ‘who is the Kaṭṭha among these people’  
*katarakālāpaḥ* ‘who is the Kālāpa of these two’  
*katamakālāpaḥ* ‘who is the Kālāpa among these people’

1. This rule allows for the formation of a compound of words constituted by *katara* ‘who of the two’ and *katama* ‘who of the many’ with words in syntactic coordination with them when *katara* and *katama* are questioning about a class (*jātiparipraśna*). How is it that the words *katara* and *katama* must be qualified with *jātiparipraśna*? Is this meaning not already understood? Such a qualification is necessary because *katara* and *katama* 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 किं क्षेपे

*kiṃ kṣepe*  
/ *kiṃ* 1/1 *kṣepe* 7/2/  
(*samāsaḥ* #3, *saha supā* #4, *sup* #9, *vibhāṣā* #11, *tatpuruṣaḥ* #22, *samānādhikaraṇena* #49)  
‘*kiṃ*’ *ity etat kṣepe gamyamāne supā saha samasyate, tatpuruṣaś 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’  
*kimsakhā* ‘a worthless friend’  
*kiṃgauḥ* ‘a worthless cow’

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

2.1.65 पोटायुवतिस्तोककतिपयगृष्टिधेनुवशावेहद्वक्त्रयणीप्रवक्तृश्रोत्रियाध्यापकधूर्तैर्जातिः

*poṭāyuvatistokakatipayagrṣṭidhenuvaśāvehadvaṣkayaṇīpravaktr-  
śrotriyādhyāpakadhūrtair jātiḥ*

*l poṭā...dhūrtaiḥ 1/3 = poṭā ca yuvatiś ca stokaś ca katipayam ca grṣṭiś ca  
dhenuś ca vaśā ca vehand ca vaṣkayaṇī ca pravaktā ca śrotriyaś ca adhyāpakaś  
ca dhūrtaś ca = poṭā...dhūrtāḥ (itar. dv.), taiḥ; jātiḥ 1/1/*

(*samāsaḥ* #3, *saha supā* #4, *sup* #9, *vibhāṣā* #11, *tatpuruṣaḥ* #22, *samānādhikaraṇena* #49)

*poṭādibhiḥ saha jātivāci subantaṃ samasyate, tatpuruṣaś 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’  
*grṣṭi* ‘a cow which has delivered only once’  
*dhenu* ‘a cow which has recently delivered’  
*vaśā* ‘a barren cow’  
*vemat* ‘a cow that miscarries’  
*vaṣkayaṇī* ‘a cow with a young calf’  
*pravaktr* ‘an expounder, announcer’  
*śrotriya* ‘learned in the Veda, conversant with sacred knowledge’  
*adhyāpaka* ‘teacher’  
*dhūrta* ‘cunning, crafty’

EXAMPLES:

*ibhapoṭā* ‘young female elephant’  
*ibhayuvatīḥ* ‘a young female elephant’  
*agnistokaḥ* ‘a little fire’  
*udaśvitkatipayam* ‘some buttermilk’  
*gogrṣṭiḥ* ‘a cow which has delivered only once’

*godhenuḥ* 'a cow which has recently delivered'  
*govaśā* 'a barren cow'  
*govehat* 'a cow that miscarries'  
*govāṣkayaṇī* 'a cow with a young calf'  
*kāṭhapravaktā* 'a Kāṭha who is an expounder'  
*kāṭhaśrotriya* 'a Kāṭha who is learned in the Veda'  
*kāṭhādhyāpakaḥ* 'a Kāṭha who is a teacher'  
*kāṭhadhūrtah* 'a Kāṭha 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 प्रशंसावचनैश्च

*praśamsāvacanaiś ca*  
*| praśamsāvacanaiḥ 3/3 ca 0 |*  
 (samāsaḥ #3, saha supā #4, sup #9, vibhāṣā #11, tatpuruṣaḥ #22,  
 samānādhikaraṇena #49, jātiḥ #65)  
*jātivāci subantaṃ praśamsāvacanaiḥ saha samasyate, tatpuruṣaś 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 *praśamsā* 'praise'.

#### EXAMPLES:

*goprakāṇḍam* 'an excellent cow'  
*aśvaparakāṇḍam* 'an excellent horse'  
*gomatallikā* 'an excellent bull'  
*aśvamatallikā* 'an excellent horse'  
*gomacarcikā* 'an excellent cow'  
*aśvamacarcikā* 'an excellent horse'

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

- (i) A word denoting *jāti* may denote praise when used for something else (*parārthe prayujyamānāḥ praśamsām ācakṣate*). Thus, *siṃho devadattaḥ* 'Devadatta is a lion'.
- (ii) Sometimes a qualifier-qualified relation (*guṇaguṇī*) results in praise.

Thus, *ramaṇīyo grāmaḥ* ‘a beautiful village’.

- (iii) On occasion, certain words conventionally denote praise. Thus, *gomatallikā* ‘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 *matallikā* does not change for the masculine ‘horse’ (*aśva*).

### 2.1.67 युवा खलतिपलितवलिनजरतीभिः

*yuvākhalatipalitavalinajaratībhiḥ*

/ yuvā...jaratībhiḥ 3/3 (itar. dv.) /

(*samāsaḥ* #3, *saha supā* #4, *sup* #9, *vibhāṣā* #11, *tatpuruṣaḥ* #22, *samānādhikaraṇena* #49)

*khalatīyādībhiḥ samānādhikaraṇaiḥ saha yuvaśabdaḥ samasyate, tatpuruṣaś ca samāso bhavati*

A *pada* which ends in *sUP* and contains *yuvā* ‘young’ optionally combines, in a *tatpuruṣa* compound, with a syntactically related co-referential *pada* which ends in *sUP* and contains any of the following:

*khalatī* ‘bald’

*palita* ‘greyhaired’

*valina* ‘wrinkled’

*jaratī* ‘aged, old (female)’

#### EXAMPLES:

*yuvakhalatīḥ* ‘a young man who has gone bald’

*yuvakhalatī* ‘a young woman who has gone bald’

*yuvapalitāḥ* ‘a young man who has gone grey’

*yuvapalitā* ‘a young woman who has gone grey’

*yuvavalināḥ* ‘a young man who has wrinkled’

*yuvavalinā* ‘a young woman who has wrinkled’

*yuvajaran* ‘a young man who looks old’

*yuvajaratī* ‘a young woman who looks old’

1. Note that the word *yuvā* ‘young’ is used in the masculine whereas the word *jaratī* ‘old’ is used in the feminine. The formation of compounds obtains under the condition of syntactic coordination (*sāmānādhikaraṇya*). But *yuvā*, masculine, and *jaratī*, feminine, cannot share syntactic coordination. Their meanings are also diametrically opposed. Commentators inform us that, by using *jaratī* in feminine, Pāṇini wants to indicate the *paribhāṣā* (72): *prātipadikagrahaṇe liṅgaviśiṣṭasyāpi grahaṇam* ‘reference to a particular nominal stem also includes reference to its particular genders. One can thus infer *yuvā jaran* as well as *yuvatir jaratī*

from *yuvā jaratī*. Incidentally, the opposition of meaning between *yuvā* and *jaratī* can be reconciled by the fact that someone may look old even in youth, due to malnutrition, etc. Thus, the referent of *yuvā* or *jaratī* 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 Mīmāṃsaka 1974: 155) therefore proposes *jaradbhiḥ* as another reading for *jaratībhiḥ*.

2. See note (2) under rule 2.1.55 *upāmānāni sāmānyavacanaiḥ* 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 *viśeṣaṇam...*

### 2.1.68 कृत्यतुल्याख्या अजात्या

*kr̥tyatulyākhyā ajātyā*

/ *kr̥tyatulyākhyā* 1/1 = *tulyasya ākhyā* = *tulyākhyā* (*ṣaṣ. tat.*), *kr̥tyas ca tulyākhyā ca* (*itar. dv. with int. tat.*); *īāty. 3/1/*

(*samāsaḥ* #3, *saha supā* #4, *sup* #9, *vibhāṣā* #11, *tatpuruṣaḥ* #22, *samānādhikaraṇena* #49)

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

#### EXAMPLES:

*bhojyoṣṇam* ‘warm food’

*bhojyalavaṇam* ‘salty food’

*pānīyaśītam* ‘cold drink’

*tulyaśvetah* ‘equally white’

*tulyamahān* ‘equally great’

*sadr̥śaśvetah* ‘equally white’

*sadr̥śamahān* ‘equally great’

1. This rule allows for a word which contains an item ending in a *kr̥tya* (3.1.95 *kr̥tyāḥ*) affix, or a word constituted by *tulya* ‘equal’ or its synonym, to combine in a *tatpuruṣa* compound with another word in syntactic coordination, provided this latter does not denote *jāti* ‘class’. We thus get examples like *bhojyoṣṇam* ‘warm food’, *tulyaśvetah* ‘equally white’, and *sadr̥śaśvetah* ‘id.’ A compound parallel to *bhojya 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 (*svarūpa*) only. The word *kr̥tya*, 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 *bhojyoṣṇam* 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 *viśeṣaṇam...*). 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-pratiśedhe paraṃ kāryam* will facilitate this. Observe that *sāvakāśatva* ‘valid scope of application elsewhere’ of rules in conflict is one of the conditions of *tulyabalatā* ‘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 *tulyabalatā*, i.e., simultaneous (*yugapad*) application of two rules in a single context, entails examples such as *tulyamahān*, where rules 2.1.61 *sanmahat...* and 2.1.68 *kr̥tyatulyākhyā...* 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 वर्णेन

*varṇo varṇena*

*/ varṇah 1/1 varṇena 3/1/*

(*samāsaḥ* #3, *saha supā* #4, *sup* #9, *vibhāṣā* #11, *tatpuruṣah* #22, *samānādhikaraṇena* #49)

*varṇaviśeṣavāci subantaṃ varṇaviśeṣavācinā subantena samānādhikaraṇena saha samasyate, tatpuruṣas 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:

*kr̥ṣṇasāraṅgaḥ* ‘black and (at the same time) variegated’

*lohitasāraṅgaḥ* ‘red and (at the same time) variegated’

*kr̥ṣṇaśabalaḥ* ‘black and (at the same time) brindled’

*lohitaśabalaḥ* ‘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 (*sāmānādhikaraṇya*). Thus, we get the example *kr̥ṣṇaśabalaḥ* ‘black and (at the same time) brindled’, or ‘variegated black’, where *kr̥ṣṇa* is in syntactic coordination with *śabalaḥ* ‘variegated’, by way of (*dvāreṇa*) being the part (*avayava*) present in the whole (*samudāya*) constituted by variegation.

## 2.1.70 कुमारः श्रमणादिभिः

*kumāraḥ śramaṇādibhiḥ*

*/ kumāraḥ 1/1 śramaṇādibhiḥ 3/3/*

(*samāsaḥ* #3, *saha supā* #4, *sup* #9, *vibhāṣā* #11, *tatpuruṣaḥ* #22, *samānādhikaraṇena* #49)

*kumāraśabdaḥ śramaṇādibhiḥ saha samasyate, tatpuruṣaś 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) *prātipadikagrahaṇe...* for details. Also refer to note 1 under rule 2.1.67 *yuvā khalati...*

## 2.1.71 चतुष्पादो गर्भिण्या

*catuspādo garbhinyā*

*/ catuspādaḥ 1/1 = catvāraḥ pādā yeṣām (bv.), te; garbhinyā 3/1/*

(*samāsaḥ* #3, *saha supā* #4, *sup* #9, *vibhāṣā* #11, *tatpuruṣaḥ* #22, *samānādhikaraṇena* #49)

*catuspād vācinaḥ subantā garbhinīśabdena samasyante, tatpuruṣaś 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 *garbhinī* ‘pregnant’.

## EXAMPLES:

*gogarbhinī* ‘a pregnant cow’

*ajāgarbhinī* ‘a pregnant goat’

## 2.1.72 मयूरव्यंसकादयश्च

*mayūravyaṃsakādayaś ca*

*/ mayūravyaṃsakādayaḥ 1/3 = ‘mayūravyaṃsaka’ ādir yeṣām (bv.), te; ca 0 /*

(*samāsaḥ* #3, *saha supā* #4, *sup* #9, *vibhāṣā* #11, *tatpuruṣaḥ* #22, *samānādhikaraṇena* #49)

*mayūravyaṃsakādayaḥ śabdās tatpuruṣasamjñā bhavanti*

Items enumerated in the list headed by *mayūravyaṃsaka* ‘as cunning as a peacock’ are also termed *tatpuruṣa*.

EXAMPLES:

*mayūravyaṃsakaḥ* ‘as cunning as a peacock’

*chātravyaṃsakaḥ* ‘as cunning as a student’

*kāmbōjamuṇḍaḥ* ‘one whose shaven head is like the head of a resident of Kamboja’

*yavanamuṇḍaḥ* ‘one whose shaven head is like the head of a Yavana (Ionian)’

1. This rule allows for the formation of compounds such as *mayūravyaṃsakaḥ* by *nipātana* ‘ad hoc’. The word *ca* is used in the sense of *avadhāraṇa*, exact delimitation of the scope. That is, no further compounds such as *\*paramamayūravyaṃsakaḥ* would be permitted. Note that words such as *vyāṃsaka* qualify for post-placement (*paranipāta*) on the strength of this rule. This is true of all the other examples including *yavanamuṇḍaḥ* ‘one whose shaven head is like the head of a Yavana (Ionian)’. Examples such as *hastegṛhya* will qualify for *LyaP* by 7.3.37 *samāso* ‘*nañ-pūrvē kṛvo lyap*. Elsewhere, *haste gṛhītvā* ‘after having grabbed in the hand’ and *punar datvā* ‘after having given again’ would entail *Ktvā* as usual.

2.2.1 पूर्वापराधरोत्तरमेकदेशिनैकाधिकरणे

*pūrvāparādharottaram ekadeśinā ekādhikaraṇe*

*/ pūrvāparādharottaram 1/1 = pūrvam ca aparam ca adharam ca*

*uttaram ca (sam. dv.); ekadeśinā 3/1 = ekadeśo ‘syāsti*

*(karm.), tena; ekādhikaraṇe 7/1 = ekam ca tad adhikaraṇam ca (karm.).*

*tasmīn /*

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

*avayavīvacinā subantena saha pūrva, apara, adhara, uttaraśabdāḥ sāmartyād ekadeśavacanāḥ samasyante, tatpuruṣaś ca samāso bhavati*

A *pada* which ends in *sUP* and contains *pūrva* ‘fore’, *apara* ‘back’, *adhara* ‘lower’, or *uttara* ‘upper’ optionally combines, in a *tatpuruṣa* compound, with a syntactically related *pada* which ends in *sUP* and refers to a single substance (*ekādhikaraṇa*) with parts (*ekadeśin*).

EXAMPLES:

*pūrvakāyaḥ* ‘the front of the body’

*aparakāyaḥ* ‘the back of the body’

*adharakāyaḥ* ‘the lower part of the body’

*uttarakāyaḥ* ‘the upper part of the body’

1. *Kāśikā* explains the word *ekadeśin* as *avayavin* ‘that which has parts’;

a whole'. Because they are syntactically related (*samartha*) with items denoting an *ekadeśin*, *pūrvā* 'front', etc., are treated as denoting parts (*ekadeśa-vacana*). Besides, if *pūrvā*, 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 (*ekadeśa*) necessarily implies a corresponding whole (*ekadeśin*). It is for this reason that a generalized reference with *pūrvā*, etc., is interpreted as having been made in the particular sense of a part. The word *ekādhikaraṇa* has been used here as a qualifier (*viśeṣaṇa*) to *ekadeśin*, thereby giving the sense of 'that which is one, and is, at the same time, also the substratum, i.e., substance (*ekaṃ ced adhikaraṇam ekadravyam ekadeśi bhavati*). This is what *Nyāsa* calls *ekasamkhyāviśiṣṭam dravyam* 'a thing qualified by the number one'.

Since an *ekadeśin* serves as the locus or substratum for its parts, the *saptamī* 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 (*sāmānādhikaraṇya*) necessary for items termed qualifier-qualified (*viśeṣaṇa-viśeṣya*) thus becomes impaired. Jinendra (*Nyāsa ad Kāś II: 96*) suggests that *saptamī* in *ekādhikaraṇe* is used in the sense of *ṭṭīyā* (*ekādhikaraṇa ity atra ṭṭīyārtha evaiṣā saptamī*). It is not a *saptamī* 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 *ṣaṣṭhī* 'genitive' after items denoting a whole (*ekadeśin*). Additionally, such a compound should then be covered by 2.2.8 *ṣaṣṭhī*. *Kāśikā* states that the formulation of this rule constitutes an exception (*apavāda*) to genitive compound (*ṣaṣṭhīsamāsāpavādo' yaṃ yogah*).

The condition of *ekadeśinā* will not permit a compound parallel to *pūrvam nābheḥ kāyasya* 'part of the body prior to the navel', where *nābhi* is used in the ablative (*pañcamī*) to denote *avadhi* 'limit' marked by association with *diś* 'direction'. The navel thus cannot be called *ekadeśin*. Similarly, *ekadeśitva* 'partness' must also be qualified by *ekatva* 'singularity'. A compound parallel to *pūrvam chātrāṇām* 'the front of the students' cannot therefore be permitted, since even though the group can serve as *ekadeśa*, the students are many.

## 2.2.2 अर्धं नपुंसकम्

*ardham napuṃsakam*

/ *ardham* 1/1 *napuṃsakam* 1/1/

(*samāsaḥ* #2.1.3, *saha supā* #2.1.4, *sup* #2.1.9, *vibhāṣā* #2.1.11, *tatpuruṣaḥ* #2.1.22, *ekadeśinaikādhikaraṇe* #1)

'*ardham*' ity etad *napuṃsakam ekadeśinaikādhikaraṇena samasyate, tatpuruṣaś ca samāso bhavati*

A *pada* which contains *ardha* ‘half’ in neuter optionally combines, in a *tatpuruṣa* compound, with a syntactically related *pada* which ends in *sUP* and refers to a single substance with parts.

/ EXAMPLES:

*ardhapippalī* ‘half of a pepper’  
*ardhakośātakī* ‘half of a squash’

1. Note that the words *ekadeśinā* and *ekādhikaraṇe* 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 *āviṣṭaliṅga* ‘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 *ardhapippalī*, parallel to *ardham pippalyāḥ*. Incidentally, *ardhapippalī* is a feminine in consonance with *pippalī*, the second constituent of the compound (2.4.26 *paravaḥ liṅgam dvandvatatpuruṣayoh*). It does not go through the shortening (*hrasva*) of its final *ī*, since *pippalī* is not an *upasarjana* (cf. 1.2.43 *prathamā-nirdiṣṭa samāsa upasarjanam*; 1.2.48 *gostriyor upasarjanasya*).

Note that the condition of *napuṃsakam* rules the compound *grāmārdhaḥ*, parallel to *grāmasya ardhaḥ*, out of the scope of this rule. For *ardha* ‘half’, here, denotes ‘part, section’ (*khaṇḍa*), as opposed to an ‘exact half’ (*samāṃśa*). The condition of *ekadeśinā* 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 *anekadeśin* ‘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 *ekadeśin* in a compound, such as, *ardhapaśuḥ*. A compound parallel to *ardham pippalīnām* will not be permitted either, since *pippalī* is plural and violates the condition of *ekādhikaraṇe*.

### 2.2.3 द्वितीयतृतीयचतुर्थतुर्याण्यन्यतरस्याम्

*dvitīyaṭṭrīyācaturthaturyāṇy anyatarasyām*  
 / *dvitīya...turyāṇi* 1/3 (*itar. dv.*); *anyatarasyām* 0 /  
 (*samāsaḥ* #2.1.3, *saha supā* #2.1.4, *sup* #2.1.9, *vibhāṣā* #2.1.11,  
*tatpuruṣaḥ* #2.1.22, *ekadeśinaikādhikaraṇe* #1)

*dvitīyādīni śabdarūpāṇi ekadeśinaikādhikaraṇena sahānyatarasyām samasyante, tatpuruṣaś ca samāso bhavati*

A *pada* which ends in *sUP* and contains *dvitīya* ‘second’, *tr̥tīya* ‘third’, *caturtha* ‘fourth’, or *turya* ‘fourth’ optionally combines, in a *tatpuruṣa* compound, with a syntactically related *pada* which ends in *sUP* and refers to a single substance with parts.

#### EXAMPLES:

*dvitīyabhikṣā* ‘second portion of alms’

*bhikṣādvitīyam* ‘id.’

*tr̥tīyabhikṣā* ‘third portion of alms’

*bhikṣātr̥tīyam* ‘id.’

*caturthabhikṣā* ‘fourth portion of alms’

*bhikṣācaturtham* ‘id.’

*turyabhikṣā* ‘fourth portion of alms’

*bhikṣāturyam* ‘id.’

1. This rule also forms an exception to the genitive compounds. However, since Pāṇini uses *anyatarasyām* ‘optionally’, a genitive compound can also be allowed additionally. The restriction of *pūraṇagūṇa...* (2.2.11) does not apply here, because of the use of *anyatarasyām*. Thus, we get *dvitīyabhikṣā*, parallel to *dvitīyaṃ bhikṣāyāḥ*, ‘second portion of alms’. A genitive compound under the provision of *anyatarasyām* will be *bhikṣādvitīyam*. See note 2 under 2.1.18 *pāre madhye ṣaṣṭhyā vā* on how rule 2.1.11 *vibhāṣā* interacts with *anyatarasyām* of this rule.

It is stated that a compound with *turīya*, in addition to *turya*, is desired. Thus, *turīyabhikṣā*, parallel to *turīyaṃ bhikṣāyāḥ*, or *bhikṣāturīyam*.

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

#### 2.2.4 प्राप्तापन्ने च द्वितीयया

*prāptāpanne ca dvitīyayā*

*/ prāptāpanne 1/2 (itar. dv.); ca ∅ dvitīyayā 3/1/*

(*samāsaḥ* #2.1.3, *saha supā* #2.1.4, *sup* #2.1.9, *vibhāṣā* #2.1.11, *tatpuruṣaḥ* #2.1.22, *anyatarasyām* #3)

‘*prāpta*, *āpanna*’ *ity etau dvitīyāntena saha samasyete, tatpuruṣaś ca samāso bhavati*

A *pada* which ends in *sUP* and contains *prāpta* ‘obtained’ or *āpanna* ‘reached’ optionally combines, in a *tatpuruṣa* compound, with a syntactically related *pada* which ends in *dvitīyā* ‘second triplet of *sUP*’.

## EXAMPLES:

*prāptajīvikah* 'he who has obtained his livelihood'  
*jīvikāprāptah* 'id.'  
*āpannajīvikah* 'he who has reached (attained) his livelihood'  
*jīvikāpannah* 'id.'

1. Note that *ekādeśinā* and *ekādhikarane* 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 *dvitīyā* 'accusative'. Obviously, the provision of this rule may be treated as an exception to 2.1.24 *dvitīyāsritātīta*.... But *anyatarasyām* will again permit the formation of compounds specific to rule 2.1.24. Thus, this rule allows *prāptajīvikah*, parallel to *jīvikāprāptah* of 2.1.24. The word *jīvikā* will be termed *upasarjana* by 1.2.44 *ekavibhakti*.... Consequently, its long *ā* will be replaced with short (1.2.48 *gostrīyor*...). How is it that *prāptajīvikah* is not assigned feminine gender according to *jīvikā* (cf. 2.4.26 *paraval līngam dvandva*...)? An exception to gender in accordance with the following constituent is made by the *Mahābhāṣya* (see *vt. I*, under 2.4.26 *dvigu-prāptāpannālam*...). 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 *jīvikāṃ prāptā stri* 'a woman who has obtained her livelihood'.

## 2.2.5 कालाः परिमाणिना

*kālāḥ parimāṇinā*  
 / *kālāḥ* 1/3 *parimāṇinā* 3/1/  
 (*samāsaḥ* #2.1.3, *saha supā* #2.1.4, *sup* #2.1.9, *vibhāṣā* #2.1.11,  
*tatpuruṣaḥ* #2.1.22)

*parimāṇavācīnā subantena saha sāmāthyāt parimāṇavacanāḥ*  
*kālasabdāḥ samasyante, tatpuruṣaś ca samāso 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:

*māsajātaḥ* 'born a month ago'  
*saṃvatsarajātaḥ* 'born a year ago'  
*dvayahajātaḥ* 'born two days ago'  
*tryajahajātaḥ* 'born three days ago'

1. This rule limits the constituency of its examples to *parimāṇaparimāṇi-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 *parimāṇaparimāṇi-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 (*ṣaṣṭhīsamāsa*).

A genitive compound formed under 2.2.8 *ṣaṣṭhī* would yield the form *\*jātamāsaḥ*, where the constituent ending in genitive will have to be preplaced. This rule favors the form *māsajātaḥ*, with the preplacement of the non-genitive constituent *māsaḥ*. It is in this sense that the present rule is treated as an exception to 2.2.8. Commentators also note that *māsajātaḥ* can also be derived as a *bahuvrīhi* 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 *māsajātaḥ*, 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 नञ्

*nañ*

/ *nañ* Ø /

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

*nañ samarthena subantena saha samasyate, tatpuruṣaś 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'

*avr̥ṣalaḥ* '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 *nañ*, the first constituent, which is principal in such a case? This possibility will also encounter problems. Firstly, *nañ* is an indeclinable. Therefore, the compound must also be termed an indeclinable (*avyayībhāva*).

Secondly, the relation between the constituents is that of qualifier-qualified (*viśeṣaṇa-viśeṣya*) nature. The *na* denotes non-existence in general (*asatsāmānya*). Given the phrase, *abrāhmaṇaḥ kṣatriyaḥ*, difficulty of interpretation will arise. The sense intended is that the *kṣatriya* is similar, though not identical, to a *brāhmaṇa*. That is, he is *brāhmaṇa bhinna tad (brāhmaṇa) sadṛśa* 'not a *brāhmaṇa*, although he is similar to one'. The *asatsāmānya* interpretation will reduce the *sādṛśya* '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 *nañ* in relation to *brāhmaṇa*. That is, the *sādṛśya* 'similarity' meaning cannot be established. Besides, the question of forming a *karmadhāraya* with two constituents in syntactic coordination, as opposed to a *bahuvrīhi*, would also arise.

The *Mahābhāṣya* accepts the prominence of the meaning of the second constituent *brāhmaṇa*, with the stipulation that *na* denotes *asatsāmānya* 'non-existence in general' and *brāhmaṇa* denotes 'non-existence of an aspect of Brāhmaṇaness (*brāhmaṇatva*) in particular'. The particular aspect of *brāhmaṇatva* recognized with *asatsāmānya* is *brāhmaṇatva* by birth. In this way, a qualifier-qualified relationship resulting in *sāmānādhikarānya* 'syntactic coordination' can be established. Thus, *na brāhmaṇaḥ = brāhmaṇaḥ = brāhmaṇaḥ bhinnaḥ kṣatriyaḥ brāhmaṇasadrśaḥ = abrāhmaṇaḥ*. The similarity established between a *brāhmaṇa* and a *kṣatriya* may be a fair complexion (*gaura varṇa*); ritual conduct (*śucyācāra*); brown (*piṅgala*) eyes; and golden hair (*kapilakeśa*). 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 *brāhmaṇasadrśa*. This sense, however, could be brought about only when *brāhmaṇa* is used with *nañ*. Consequently, *nañ* 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 *nañ* are explained in six ways, as follows:

(i) *sādṛśya* 'similarity, resemblance' as in *abrāhmaṇaḥ*

- (ii) *abhāva* ‘lack, non-existence’, as in *ajñāna* ‘lack of knowledge’
- (iii) *bheda* ‘difference’ as in *apaṭaḥ* ‘something other than cloth’
- (iv) *alpatā* ‘smallness’, as in *anudarā kanyā* ‘a girl with no belly; with a very slender waist’
- (v) *aprāśastya* ‘unpraiseworthiness,’ as in *akālah* ‘inopportune time’
- (vi) *virodha* ‘opposition’, as in *anītiḥ* ‘immorality’

*Bālamanoramā* and *Tattvabodhinī* ad *SK* explain *abrāhmaṇaḥ* as *āropita-brāhmaṇaḥ*, an impostor, where imposition (*āropitatva*) becomes the meaning of *nañ*. This meaning, incidentally, is covered by (i) above.

### 2.2.7 ईषदकृता

*īṣad akṛtā*

/ *īṣat* 0 *akṛtā* 3/1/

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

‘*īṣat*’ *ity ayaṃ śabdo*’ *kṛdantena supā saha samasyate, tatpuruṣaś ca samāso bhavati*

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

#### EXAMPLES:

*īṣatkadārah* ‘slight yellow’

*īṣatpiṅgalah* ‘id.’

1. A proposal has been made in the *Mahābhāṣya* (II: 677) to read *guṇavacanena* ‘with that which denotes quality’ in place of *akṛtā*. That is, *īṣat* 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 *īṣad gārgyaḥ* ‘slightly Gārgya’, where *gārgyaḥ* contains a base which ends in the *taddhita* affix *yañ*.

### 2.2.8 षष्ठी

*ṣaṣṭhī*

/ *ṣaṣṭhī* 1/1/

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

*ṣaṣṭhyantaṃ subantaṃ samarthena subantena saha samasyate, tatpuruṣaś ca samāso bhavati*

A *pada* which ends in *ṣaṣṭhī* ‘sixth triplet of *sUP*’ optionally combines, in a *tatpuruṣa* compound, with a syntactically related *pada* which ends in *sUP*.

## EXAMPLES:

*rājapuruṣaḥ* ‘king’s man’  
*brāhmaṇakambalaḥ* ‘brāhmaṇa’s blanket’

1. This rule allows the formation of compounds between a word ending in genitive (*śaṣṭhī*) 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 nirdhāraṇe*, 2.2.12 *ktena ca pūjāyām*, 2.2.13 *adhikaraṇavācinā ca*, and 2.2.14 *karmaṇi ca*, etc.

Rule 2.2.10 *na nirdhāraṇe* has an extra restriction in the form of a *vārttika*. It is stated that a genitive introduced by enumerating specific bases (*prati-padaividhāna*) 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 *śaṣṭhī śeṣe*. If such a restriction is accepted, then compounds such as *idhma-pravaścana* ‘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 *karṭṛkarmaṇoḥ kṛti*, in connection with its use with *pravaścanaḥ*, a derivate ending in *kṛt*. To facilitate the formation of *idhma-pravaścana*, *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 याजकादिभिश्च

*yājakādibhiḥ ca*  
 / *yājakādibhiḥ* 3/3 = *yājaka ādir yeṣāṃ* (bv.), *te*; *ca: 0* /  
 (*samāsaḥ* #2.1.3, *saha supā* #2.1.4, *sup* #2.1.9, *vibhāṣā*  
 #2.1.11, *tatpuruṣaḥ* #2.1.22, *śaṣṭhī* #8)  
*yājakādibhiḥ saha śaṣṭhī samasyate tatpuruṣaś ca samāso bhavati*

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

## EXAMPLES:

*brāhmaṇayājakaḥ* ‘the sacrificing priest of a brāhmaṇa’  
*kṣatriyayājakaḥ* ‘the sacrificing priest of a kṣatriya’

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 *karṭtari ca*. For, suffix *aka*, i.e., *ṆvuL*, 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 punaḥ pravṛtyabhyānujñānam*).

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 gandhaḥ*, which could not be permitted because of the formulation of rule 2.2.11 *pūranāgunasuhitārtha....* A provision for compounds such as these, with a constituent denoting quality (*guṇa*) and the other ending in genitive, is made by yet another *vārttika* under this rule: *tatsthaiś ca guṇaiḥ....* This *vārttika* restricts the quality words to those which may be perceived as *tatstha* ‘within that’. The word *tat*, because of its proximity with *guṇa* in the *vārttika*, is interpreted as having *guṇa* itself as its antecedent. Thus, *tatstha* 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 (*ādhāra*). How, then, could *guṇa* be stated to be located within itself? Commentators explain that certain qualities are perceived with words, only as extracted from their substance (*śabdena dravyān niṣkṛtā eva pratyāyante*). 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 (*vyadhikarṇa*) relationship with its substance; it is not perceived as subservient (*uparañjaka*) to the substance. There are certain other qualities, such as the whiteness (*śuklatva*) in *śuklaḥ paṭaḥ* ‘the white cloth’, which can be perceived as being one with the substance. That is why one gets the syntactic coordination (*sāmānādhikaraṇya*). Similar syntactic coordination is not available in the case of *candanasya gandhaḥ*: that is, *candanam gandhaḥ* is out of the question. Note, however, that in the case of *śuklaḥ paṭaḥ*, *paṭasya śuklaḥ* is also available. In other words, ‘whiteness’ is a quality which can be perceived in both ways: either in the *sāmānādhikaraṇa* or the *vyadhikaraṇa* relationship with its substance. A compound which entails *vyadhikaraṇa* (perception of the quality alone) is permitted by the *vārttika* in question.

This also brings up the question of compound formation parallel to *balākāyāḥ śauklyam* ‘the whiteness of the crane’. A compound parallel to this string is not permitted, since the quality of whiteness is not *tatstha*. Note that whether or not a quality can be treated as *tatstha* is based only on meaning (*arthasya ca tatsthatvam āsrīyata iti*: see *Pradīpa* of Kaiyaṭa ad

*Mbh* II: 679). It is the condition of *tatsthatva* that also rules out the formation of compounds with the qualifiers of these quality words. Thus, *tīvra* in *ghṛtasya tīvro gandhaḥ* ‘the strong smell of ghee’ cannot be combined.

### 2.2.10 न निर्धारणे

*na nirdhāraṇe*

/ na ० nirdhāraṇe 7/1/

(*samāsaḥ* #2.1.3, *saha supā* #2.1.4, *sup* #2.1.9, *tatpuruṣaḥ* #2.1.22, *śaṣṭhī* #8)

*nirdhāraṇe yā śaṣṭhī sā na samasyate*

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

#### EXAMPLES:

*kṣatriyo manuṣyāṇām śūratamaḥ* ‘a *kṣatriya* is bravest among men’

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

*dhāvann adhvagānām śīghratamaḥ* ‘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 (*jātiguṇakriyābhiḥ samudāyād ekadeśasya pṛthak karaṇam nirdhāraṇam*). For example, consider *manuṣyāṇām kṣatriyaḥ śūratamaḥ* ‘a *kṣatriya* 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 (*guṇa*) 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 *yataś ca nirdhāraṇam*. Also refer to my notes under 2.2.8, concerning the implications of the *vārttika* under this rule.

### 2.2.11 पूरणगुणसुहितार्थसदव्ययतव्यसमानाधिकरणेन

*pūraṇaguṇasuhitārthasadavyayataavyasamānādhikaraṇena*

/ pūraṇa...karaṇena 3/1 = pūraṇam ca guṇaś ca suhitārthāś

(*suhito* ‘rtho yeṣāṃ (bv.)’) *ca sat ca avyayaṃ ca tavyaś ca samānādhikaraṇam ca (sam. dv.), tena* /

(*samāsaḥ* #2.1.3, *saha supā* #2.1.4, *sup* #2.1.9, *tatpuruṣaḥ* #2.1.22, *śaṣṭhī* #8, *na* #10)

‘*pūraṇa, guṇa, suhitārtha, sad, avyaya, tavya, samānādhikaraṇa*’ *ity etaiḥ saha śaṣṭhī na samasyate*

A *pada* which ends in *ṣaṣṭhī* does not combine, in a *tatpuruṣa* compound, with a *pada* which ends in *sUP* and entails one of the following:  
*pūraṇa* ‘a stem which ends in a *pūraṇa* suffix (ordinal number; 5.2.48 *tasya pūraṇe*, etc.)’  
*guṇa* ‘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:

*chātrāṇām pañcamah* ‘fifth among the students’  
*chātrāṇām daśamah* ‘tenth among the students’  
*balākāyāḥ śauklyam* ‘the whiteness of the crane’  
*kākasya kārṣṇyam* ‘the blackness of the crow’  
*phalānām tṛptaḥ* ‘satisfaction of fruits’  
*brāhmaṇasya kurvan* ‘while doing some work of a *brāhmaṇa*’  
*brāhmaṇasya kurvāṇaḥ* ‘id.’  
*brāhmaṇasya kṛtvā* ‘after having done the work of a *brāhmaṇa*’  
*brāhmaṇasya ḥrtvā* ‘id.’  
*brāhmaṇasya kartavyam* ‘worth doing for a *brāhmaṇa*’  
*rājñāḥ pāṭaliputrakasya* ‘of the king of Pāṭaliputraka’  
*pāṇineḥ sūtrakārasya* ‘of Pāṇini, the composer of the *sūtra*’

1. The word *pūraṇaguṇasuhitārtha* is a *dvandva* compound where *artha*, occurring at its end, must be associated with each one of its constituents (cf. *dvandvānte śrūyamāṇam padaṃ pratyekam abhisambadhyate*). Consequently, the word *guṇa* will be considered here as *guṇārthe* ‘that which is used in the sense of quality’. In this way, the word *guṇa* 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) *kṛtrimākṛtrimayoḥ kṛtrimeṇa kāryasampratyayaḥ*.

There is a detailed discussion on the word *guṇa* itself in the *Mahābhāṣya*. It has been explained as referring to two types of qualifiers: *guṇavacana* ‘words which denote quality’; and *guṇopasarjanadravyavācin* ‘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 nivīṣate’ paiti*). This kind of *guṇa* 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 paṭaḥ* ‘white cloth’; *śuklam vastram* ‘white garment’; and *śuklā śāṭī* ‘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, *brāhmaṇasya śuklāḥ* in *brāhmaṇasya śuklāḥ dantāḥ* ‘the white teeth of the *brāhmaṇa*’ cannot yield a compound, since the genitive in *brāhmaṇasya* is not introduced based upon *dantāḥ* ‘teeth’. Instead, *śuklāḥ* modifies *dantāḥ*, and by context one understands that *śuklāḥ* refers to *dantāḥ*. That is, *śuklāḥ* by itself becomes the substratum (*ādhāra*) of the quality *śuklatva* ‘whiteness’. The genitive in *brāhmaṇasya* is introduced in relation to *śuklāḥ*. Consequently, *brāhmaṇasya śuklāḥ* cannot yield a compound such as *\*brāhmaṇasuklāḥ*. 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 (*pratiṣedha*) of quality (*guṇa*) words in relation to compounds covered by this rule is not universal (*nitya*).

Note that *saṃkhyā* ‘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 *niṣkaśatam* ‘a hundred Niṣka’ are indicators (*jñāpaka*) for the understanding that compounds with *saṃkhyā* are not blocked (cf. 5.2.119 *śatasahasrāntāc ca niṣkāt*). How else could one talk about *niṣka* terminating in *śata* or *sahasra*?

The genitive in examples such as *balākāyāḥ śauklyam* obtains in the sense of *guṇagunin* ‘quality and that which inheres it’. Rule 2.3.50 *śaṣṭhī śeṣe* will introduce this genitive. The genitive in examples such as *brāhmaṇasya kṛtvā* will be introduced by 2.3.71 *kṛtyānām karttari vā*.

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

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 *sat* and *tavya*, which are both *kṛt*. This will thus not block the formation of a compound such as *vṛkṣopari*, parallel to *vṛkṣasyopari* of *vṛkṣasyopari kākas tiṣṭhati* ‘there is a crow sitting on the tree’.

## 2.2.12 केन च पूजायाम्

*ktena ca pūjāyām*

/ ktena 3/1 ca ∅ pūjāyām 7/1/

(*samāsaḥ* #2.1.3, *saha supā* #2.1.4, *sup* #2.1.9, *tatpuruṣaḥ* #2.1.22, *śaṣṭhī* #8, *na* #10)

*kto yaḥ pūjāyām vihitas tena śaṣṭhī na samasyate*

A *pada* which ends in *śaṣṭhī* also does not combine, in a *tatpuruṣa* 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 *upalakṣaṇa* ‘mark’ for the operational provisions of rule 3.2.188.

## 2.2.13 अधिकरणवाचिना च

*adhikaraṇavācinā ca*  
 / *adhikaraṇavācinā* 3/1 *ca* ∅ /  
 (samāsaḥ #2.1.3, saha supā #2.1.4, sup #2.1.9, tatpuruṣaḥ # 2.1.22,  
 ṣaṣṭhī #8, na # 10, ktena # 12)  
*adhikaraṇavācinā ktena ṣaṣṭhī na samasyate*  
 A *pada* which ends in *ṣaṣṭhī* does not combine, in a *tatpuruṣa* compound, with a syntactically related *pada* which ends in *sUP*, contains a *Kta* and denotes *adhikaraṇa* ‘locus’.

## EXAMPLES:

*idaṃ eṣāṃ yātam* ‘this is their path of going’  
*idaṃ eṣāṃ bhuktam* ‘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 *upalakṣaṇa* ‘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

*karmaṇi ca*  
 / *karmaṇi* 7/1 *ca* ∅ /  
 (samāsaḥ #2.1.3, saha supā #2.1.4, sup #2.1.9, tatpuruṣaḥ #2.1.22,  
 ṣaṣṭhī #8, na #10)  
*karmaṇi ca yā ṣaṣṭhī sā na samasyate*  
 A *pada* which ends in *ṣaṣṭhī* and denotes *karman* ‘object’ also does not combine, in a *tatpuruṣa* compound, with a syntactically related *pada* which ends in *sUP*.

## EXAMPLES:

*gavāṃ dohaḥ* ‘milking of cows’  
*āścaryo gavāṃ doho* ‘*gopālakena* ‘it is a surprise to see the non-cowherd milking the cow’



*odanasya bhojanam* 'eating of rice' as in  
*rocate odanasya bhojanam devadattena* 'eating of rice pleases Devadatta'

1. The word *ktena* is not carried here. The word *karman* therefore qualifies *ṣaṣṭhī*. But the *ṣaṣṭhī* intended here is one which is specific to 2.3.66 *ubhayapṛāptau 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 *karman* 'object'. The prohibition of a genitive denoting *karṭṛ*, 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 *idhmaṣṭvaścanah*, where *idhma* entails a genitive denoting *karman* (and *LyuṬ* denotes *karana*) cannot be blocked.

### 2.2.15 तृजकाभ्यां कर्त्तरि

*trjakābhyām karttari*  
 / *trjakābhyām 3/2 karttari 7/1/*  
 (samāsaḥ #2.1.3, saha supā #2.1.4, sup #2.1.9, tatpuruṣaḥ #2.1.22,  
 ṣaṣṭhī #8, na #10, karmaṇi #2.2.14)  
*karttari trjakābhyām (karttari yau trjakau tābhyām) karmaṇi (yā) ṣaṣṭhī*  
 (sā) na samasyate

A *pada* which ends in *ṣaṣṭhī* 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 *karṭṛ*.

#### EXAMPLES:

*apām sraṣṭā* 'producer of water'  
*purām bhettā* 'destroyer of cities'  
*odanasya bhojakaḥ* 'eater of rice'  
*saktūnām pāyakaḥ* 'drinker of *saktu* (powdered roasted grain mixed with water)'

1. Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita (SK II: 52-54) interprets rules 2.2.15 and 2.2.16 differently from the *Kāśikā*. According to him these *sūtra* have the following meanings:

2.2.15 A *pada* in *ṣaṣṭhī* does not combine in a *tatpuruṣa* compound with a *pada* which contains a stem in *trC* or *aka* and denotes agent (*karṭṛ*).

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

The above interpretations are based on two important considerations.

- (i) Bhaṭṭoji does not treat *karttari* as an adjective of *ṣaṣṭhī* in rule 2.2.15.
- (ii) Bhaṭṭoji treats *karttari* as an adjective of *ṣaṣṭhī* 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, *Kāśikā* treats *karttari* as an adjective of *śaṣṭhī* in 2.2.15. Further, it treats *karttari* as an adjective of *trjakau* in 2.2.16. Obviously, *Kāśikā* retains *trC* in the interpretation of 2.2.16 carried from 2.2.15.

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

Bhaṭṭoji's position seems to be stronger, since he can offer an example for *trC* in 2.2.15 by not allowing *karttari* to qualify *śaṣṭhī*. Because he does not accept the *anuvṛtti* of *trC* in 2.2.16, he can afford to qualify *śaṣṭhī* with *karttari* there. That way he need not even postulate, as *Kāśikā* 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 krīḍājīvikayoḥ*, whereby an obligatory compound is ordered for a *pada* which ends in *śaṣṭhī* provided the resulting compound denotes *krīḍā* 'sport' or *jīvikā* 'livelihood'. If one does not accept the *anuvṛtti* of *trC* in 2.2.16, as Bhaṭṭoji does not, the *śaṣṭhī* will combine only with a *pada* which contains a stem in *aka*. Bhaṭṭoji does not have to accept the *anuvṛtti* of *trC* in 2.2.17 because there are no compounds with *trC* and *śaṣṭhī* that could denote *krīḍā* or *jīvikā*. Again, Bhaṭṭoji's is the stronger position, especially when *Kāśikā* carries the *anuvṛtti* of *trC*, but fails to give any examples because they simply do not exist.

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

*prathamāsūtre kartṛgrahaṇam trjakayor eva viśeṣaṇam yuktaṃ, tayoh śrutatvāt, na tu śaṣṭhyāḥ. evaṃ ca trjuttarārtha ity api na kalpyam. akas-yaiva cottaratrānuvṛttir na tu trcaḥ, asambhavāt. tathā ca sūtradvayasya*

*vyatyāsenārtha ucita iti. vāmanastu—ake jīvikārthe iti sūtre ‘ake iti kim’ ramaṇīyakartteti jīvikāyām tṛcam pratyudājahāra.... ‘the citation of kartṛ in the first rule is made to qualify tṛC and aka; this position is appropriate, since tṛC and aka are expressly mentioned in the rule, and the ṣaṣṭhī is not. This way, one does not have to postulate that tṛC 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 (vyatyāsenā). Vāmana, indeed, offered an example under rule ake jīvikārthe by asking ‘why ake?’....’*

The fact that Vāmana, the co-author of *Kāśikā*, gave *ramaṇīyakarttā* ‘he who beautifies’ as an example denoting *jīvikā* ‘livelihood’ 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 *tṛC* 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 Bhaṭṭoji’s position. Bhaṭṭoji’s position looks stronger until one reads his *Siddhāntakaumudī* on 6.2.73. Surprisingly, Bhaṭṭoji uses the same example, *ramaṇīyakarttā*, which Vāmana puts forward. This places Bhaṭṭoji in a very awkward situation. The question becomes this: how could he argue on the basis of the absence of examples of *tṛC* in 2.2.17 in his *Śabdakaustubha*, and yet give an example in his *Siddhāntakaumudī*? His troubles are compounded because, if he does not accept the *anuvṛtti* of *tṛC* 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 (*ramaṇīyakarttā*), 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 *karmaṇi*, from rule 2.2.14, is carried as a qualifier of *ṣaṣṭhī* in 2.2.15. The *karttari* of 2.2.15 then qualifies *tṛC* and *aka*. In this way, rule 2.2.15 is interpreted as: ‘a *pada* which ends in *ṣaṣṭhī* and denotes *karman* does not combine in a *tatpuruṣa* compound with a syntactically related *pada* which ends in *sUP*, contains a stem in *tṛC* or *aka*, and denotes *kartṛ*’. This will block compounds such as *apām sraṣṭā*, (cited by *Kāśikā* under 2.2.16), where the genitive in *apām* is introduced to denote *karman* by rule 2.3.65 *kartṛ-karmaṇoḥ kṛti*.

A similarly different interpretation of rule 2.2.16 will make *karttari* a qualifier to its *ṣaṣṭhī*, thereby rendering the interpretation of the rule as: ‘a *pada* which ends in *ṣaṣṭhī* and denotes *karṭṛ* additionally does not combine in a *tatpuruṣa* 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 Dīkṣita, 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 कर्त्तरि च

*karttari ca*

/ karttari 7/1 ca 0 /

(*samāsaḥ* #2.1.3, *saha supā* #2.1.4, *sup* #2.1.9, *tatpuruṣaḥ* #2.1.22, *ṣaṣṭhī* #8, *na* #10, *aka* #15)

*karttari* (*yā*) *ṣaṣṭhī* (*sā*) *akena na samasyate*

A *pada* which ends in *ṣaṣṭhī* and denotes *karṭṛ* additionally does not combine, in a *tatpuruṣa* compound, with a syntactically related *pada* which ends in *sUP* and contains a stem in *aka*.

#### EXAMPLES :

*bhavataḥ śāyikā* ‘your turn for sleeping’

*bhavataḥ āsikā* ‘your turn for sitting’

1. Note that, according to *Kāśikā*, *karttari* ‘when denoting *karṭṛ*’ should be treated as qualifying *aka* only. For, *tṛC* is always introduced to denote *karṭṛ*. That is, it never abandons (*vyabhicarati*) its *karṭṛ* denotatum. However, *aka* can sometimes denote agent (*karṭṛ*), while on other occasions it can denote *bhāva* ‘root sense’. Since a qualifier-qualified (*viśeṣaṇa-viśeṣya*) 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 क्रीडाजीविकयोः

*nityam kṛīḍājīvikayoḥ*

/ nityam 0 kṛīḍājīvikayoḥ 1/2 (itar. dv.) /

(*samāsaḥ* #2.1.3, *saha supā* #2.1.4, *sup* #2.1.9, *tatpuruṣaḥ* #2.1.22, *ṣaṣṭhī* #8, *aka* #15)

*kṛīḍāyām jīvikāyām ca nityam ṣaṣṭhī akena samasyate, tatpuruṣaś ca samāso bhavati*

A *pada* which ends in *ṣaṣṭhī* obligatorily combines, in a *tatpuruṣa* compound, with a syntactically related *pada* which ends in *sUP* and contains *aka* provided *krīḍā* ‘sport’ or *jīvikā* ‘livelihood’ is denoted.

EXAMPLES:

*uddālakaṣuṣpabhañjikā* ‘a sport in which the *uddālaka* flowers are crushed’

*vāraṇaṣuṣpapracāyikā* ‘a sport in which the *vāraṇa* flowers are gathered’

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

*nakhalekhakaḥ* ‘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 *vibhāṣā* 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 *ṣaṣṭhī*. However, this rule is needed so that the compounds could be allowed as obligatory in the case of *krīḍā*. Observe also in this connection that *ṆvuL*, in examples such as *uddālakaṣuṣpabhañjikā*, is introduced by rule 3.3.109 *sañjñāyām* with the *anuvṛtti* of 3.3.108 *rogākhyāyām ṅvul bahulam*. Now, an analyzed form of such compounds cannot denote *krīḍā*. Consequently, *vibhāṣa* must be dropped. This is what *nityam* accomplishes in the case of *krīḍā*. A compound in the case of *jīvikā* would not be allowed by rule 2.2.15 *trjakābhyaṃ karttari*. Thus, this rule becomes necessary for making such a compound obligatorily available.

2.2.18 कुगतिप्रादयः

*kugatiprādayaḥ*

/ *kugatiprādayaḥ* 1/3 = *pra ādir yeṣāṃ te prādayaḥ* (bv.), *kuś ca gatiś ca prādayaś ca* = *kugatiprādayaḥ* (itar. dv. with int. bv.) /

(*samāsaḥ* #2.1.3, *saha supā* #2.1.4, *sup* #2.1.9, *tatpuruṣaḥ* #2.1.22, *nityam* #17)

*kugatiprādayaḥ samarthena śabdāntareṇa saha nityaṃ samasyante, tatpuruṣaś 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 *prādayaḥ*), obligatorily combine in a *tatpuruṣa* compound with another syntactically related word.

EXAMPLES:

*kuṣpuruṣaḥ* ‘an evil person’

*urarīkṛtam* ‘that which has been accepted’

*duṣpuruṣaḥ* ‘a wicked person’  
*supuruṣaḥ* ‘a gentleman’  
*atipuruṣaḥ* ‘id.’  
*āpiṅgalaḥ* ‘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 *gatis 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 *karmapravacanīya*.

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 (*liṅga*) or number (*saṃkhyā*). An interpretation of *ku* as denoting *pr̥thivī* ‘earth’ is, thus, ruled out. Note in connection with this that rule 1.1.37 *svarādinipātam 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 *dvitīyā* 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 *tr̥tīyā* in the sense of *kruṣṭa*. Thus, we get *avakokilaḥ* ‘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 *paryadhyayanaḥ* ‘weary of studying’.
- (e) *nir*, etc., are combined with a syntactically related *pada* which ends in *pañcamī* in the sense of *krānta*. Thus, we get *niṣkauśāmbiḥ* ‘gone outside of *kauśāmbī*’.

## 2.2.19 उपपदमतिङ्

*upapadam atin*

*/ upapadam 1/1 atin 1/1 (nañ. tat.) /*

(*samāsaḥ* #2.1.3, *saha supā* #2.1.4, *sup* #2.1.9, *tatpuruṣaḥ* #2.1.22, *nityam* #17)

*upapadam atinantaṃ samarthena śabdāntareṇa saha samasyate nityam, tatpuruṣaś ca samāso bhavati*

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

## EXAMPLES:

*kumbhakāraḥ* ‘maker of pots’

*nagarakāraḥ* ‘builder of cities’

*aśvakṛtī* ‘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) *gatikāraḥkopapadānāṃ kṛdbhiḥ saha samāsavacanāṃ prāk subutpatteḥ* ‘a compound of items termed *gati*, *upapada*, or those which denote a *kāra* with an item terminated in a *kṛt* affix, is formed prior to the introduction of a *sUP*’.

Take, for instance, a compound between *kumbha* + *Ñas* and *kāra*. Here, *kāra* is derived by introducing the *kṛt* affix *aṅ* after the verbal root *Ḍukṛṅ*, under the condition of the cooccurring *pada* (*upapada*; 3.1.92 *tatropapadam saptamīstham*), namely *kumbha* + *Ñas*, which denotes *karman* ‘object’. That is, an obligatory compound *kumbhakāra* is formed from *kumbha* + *Ñas* + *kāra*, where *kāra* is a nominal stem (1.2.46 *kṛttaddhita-samāsāś ca*) terminated in the *kṛt* affix *aṅ*. The *paribhāṣā* requires that *kumbha* + *Ñas* 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 *vyāghrī* ‘tigress’, or *aśvakṛtī* ‘she who was purchased with horses’, etc. Refer to this *paribhāṣā* in the *Paribhāṣenduśekhara* of Nāgeśa 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 samāso bhavati. kiṃ tarhi? kvacid eveṣṭaviṣaye. ‘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 अमैवाव्ययेन

*amāvāvyayena*

*l amā 3/1 eva 0 avyayena*

(*samāsaḥ* #2.1.3, *saha supā* #2.1.4, *sup* #2.1.9, *tatpuruṣaḥ* #2.1.22, *upapadam* #19)

*avyayenopapadasya 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:

*svādumkāraṃ bhunkte* ‘he eats food after making it savoury, tasty’

*lavaṇaṃkāraṃ bhunkte* ‘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 *svādumkāraṃ*, as in *svādumkāraṃ bhunkte*, where the indeclinable in question is *kāraṃ*. 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 pratyayo vidhīyate na tu pratyayāntaram, tena yad upapadam nirdīśyate tad amaiva tulyavidhānam, tasyaiva samāso yathā syāt...*).

Thus, the use of *eva* is to ensure (*avadhāraṇa*) the desired results (*iṣṭa*).



Consider the counter-example *agre bhuktvā* ‘having eaten first’, which is an optional form to *agre bhojam* approved by rule 3.4.24 *vibhāṣā* ‘*greprathamapūrveṣu*. 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 (*spāṣṭārtham*).

### 2.2.21 तृतीयाप्रभृतीन्यन्यतरस्याम्

*ṛtīyāprabhṛtīny anyatarasyām*

/ *ṛtīyāprabhṛtīni* 1/3 *ṛtīyāprabhṛti yeṣām* (bv.); *anyatarasyām* 7/1/

(*samāsaḥ* #2.1.3, *saha supā* #2.1.4, *sup* #2.1.9, *tatpuruṣaḥ* #2.1.22, *upapadam* #19, *amaivāvyayena* #20)

‘*upadamśasṛtīyāyām*’ *ity atah prabhṛti yāny upapadāni tāny amaivāvyayena saḥanyatarasyām samasyante, tatpuruṣaś ca samāso bhavati*

An *upapada* which is referenced by rules 3.4.47 *upadamśa*... through 3.4.64 *anvacya*... optionally combines in a *tatpuruṣa* compound with an *avyaya* which terminates in *am*.

#### EXAMPLES:

*mūlakopadamśam bhunkte* ‘he eats while taking a bite of a radish’

*mūlakena upadamśam bhunkte* ‘id.’

*uccaiḥkāram ācaṣṭe* ‘he speaks aloud’

1. The word *anyatarasyām* is used here to counter the *anuvṛtti* of *nityam* ‘obligatorily’ and *eva* ‘alone’, mostly because what they provide will run counter to the provision of this rule. That *anyatarasyām* ‘optionally’ is the opposite of *nityam* 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 *anyatarasyām* is technically referred to as *prāptāprāpta*. It is *prāpta* ‘available’ with reference to *am* entailing *tulyavidhāna* (3.4.47 *upadamśas*...); it is *aprāpta* elsewhere.

Thus, 3.4.47 allows the compound *mūlakopadamśam*, where *am* refers to affix *ṆamUL* exclusively introduced by rule 3.4.47 *upadamśas*.... As opposed to this, consider *nīcaiḥkṛtya* ‘softly’ and *nīcaiḥkāram* ‘id.’, where a compound is permitted with *Ktvā* and *ṆamUL*, both introduced by the single rule 3.4.59 *avyaye*’ *yathābhipretākhyāne*.... Obviously, *tulyavidhāna* would not have permitted these two compounds.

2. The word *ṛtīyāprabhṛtīni* specifies *upapada* referenced in rules 3.4.47 *upadamśas ṛtīyām* to 3.4.53 *dvitīyāyām ca*.

## 2.2.22 क्त्वा च

*ktivā ca*

*/ktivā 3/1 ca 0/*

(*samāsaḥ* #2.1.3, *saha supā* #2.1.4, *sup* #2.1.9, *tatpuruṣaḥ* #2.1.22, *ṛtīyāprabḥrtīny anyatarasyām* #21)

*tvā pratyayena saha ṛtīyāprabḥrtīny upapadāni anyatarasyām samasyante, tatpuruṣaś ca samāso bhavati*

An *upapada* which is referred to by rules 3.4.47 *upadamśa...* 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 *ktivā*. The *ktivā* in this context has to be one introduced by rule 3.4.59 *avyaye...* The example *uccaiḥkāram* of rule 2.2.21 is parallel to *uccaiḥkṛtya* of this rule. Incidentally, *ktivā*, in view of the context, is treated as ending in *ṛtīyā* ‘instrumental’.

## 2.2.23 शेषो बहुव्रीहिः

*śeṣo bahuvrīhiḥ*

*/śeṣaḥ 1/1 bahuvrīhiḥ 1/1/*

*śeṣaḥ samāso bahuvrīhisamjño bhavati*

The remainder is termed *bahuvrīhi*.

## EXAMPLES:

*citraguḥ* ‘he who owns brindled cows’

*śabalaguḥ* ‘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 *śeṣa* is not hard to comprehend. Thus, *śeṣa* 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 *avyayībhāva* and *tatpuruṣa* with specific constituency and meanings. The word *śeṣa* then refers to a non-*avyayībhāva*/non-*tatpuruṣa* compound formed with constituents and meanings yet to be stated.

### 2.2.24 अनेकमन्यपदार्थे

*anekam anyapadārthe*

*/ anekam 1/1 (nañ. tat.); anyapadārthe 7/1 = anyac cāsau padam (karm.), anyapadasya arthaḥ (śaṣ. tat. with int. karm.), tasmin / (samāsaḥ #2.1.3, saha supā #2.1.4, sup #2.1.9, vibhāṣā #2.1.11, bahuvrīhiḥ #23)*

*anekaṃ subantaṃ anyapadārthe vartamānaṃ samasyate, bahuvrīhiś ca samāso bhavati*

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

#### EXAMPLES:

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

*prāptam udakam yam grāmam* ‘id.’

*ūḍharatho ‘naḍvān* ‘a bullock by whom a chariot has been pulled’

*ūḍho ratho yena* ‘he by whom a chariot has been pulled’

*upahr̥tapaśū rudraḥ* ‘Rudra to whom an animal has been offered sacrificially’

*upahr̥taḥ paśur yasmai* ‘id.’

*uddhr̥taudanā sthālī* ‘a pot from which rice is lifted’

*uddhr̥ta odano yasyāḥ* ‘id.’

*citrāgur devadattaḥ* ‘Devadatta is one who owns brindled cows’

*citrā gāvo yasya* ‘(Devadatta is) one who owns brindled cows’

*vīrapuruṣako grāmaḥ* ‘a village in which there are brave men’

*vīraḥ 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 *anekam* ‘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

(*prathamā*), *anekam* cannot be treated as a modifier to *supā* in the instrumental carried from rule 2.1.4 *saha supā*.

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 *bahuvrīhi* could not be allowed with multiple (*bahu*) constituency. Commentators cite the following verse as an example of *bahuvrīhi* with multiple constituency:

*susūkṣmajatakeśena sugajājīnavāsasā /  
putrī 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 *susūkṣmajatakeśena* is a *bahuvrīhi* compound with an internal *bahuvrīhi*, together totalling a constituency of four words. It can therefore be analyzed as *suṣṭhu sūkṣmā jaṭā yeṣu te susūkṣmajataḥ; tādrśāḥ keśā asya iti susūkṣmajatakeśaḥ*. The four can also be combined in a direct *bahuvrīhi* with the analyzed form such as *suṣṭhu sūkṣmā jaṭāḥ keśā asya iti*.

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

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 *bahuvrīhi* should be formed out of constituents in syntactic coordination (*sāmānādhikaraṇya*), and not out of constituents with different loci (*vyadhikaraṇa*). A compound such as *pañcabhuktaḥ*, of *pañcabhir bhuktam asya*, would denote a different sense.
- (b) A *bahuvrīhi* formed of indeclinable constituents should also be stated to cover *uccairmukhaḥ* ‘he who has a raised forehead’, etc.
- (c) A *bahuvrīhi* 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 *kaṇṭhekālaḥ* ‘he in whose throat is blackness’, parallel to *kaṇṭhe sthitaḥ kālo yasya*.
- (d) A *bahuvrīhi* 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, *suvarṇālaṃkāraḥ*, parallel to *suvarṇasya vikāro’ laṃkāro’ sya* ‘he whose ornament is the modification (made) of gold’.

- (e) A compound with constituents which denote existence, used with *nañ*, 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 *avidyamānaḥ putro yasya*, where *vidyamāna* can undergo optional deletion.
- (f) Compounds such as *astikṣīrā*, with *asti*, a particle, as in *astikṣīrā brāhmaṇī* ‘a brāhmaṇa woman with milk’, should be stated.

*Kāśikā* states that a *bahuvrīhi* compound is formed with its denotatum as the denotatum of any one of the nominal endings (*vibhakti*), except for the nominative (*Kāś* II: 128: *prathamārtham ekaṃ varjayitvā sarveṣu vibhaktyartheṣu bahuvrīhir 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 udakaṃ yaṃ grāmam* has a parallel *bahuvrīhi* in *prāptodakaḥ* of *prāptodako grāmaḥ* ‘a village to which water has reached’. Similar examples are available for other meanings: *ūḍharathaḥ*, *upahr̥tapaśū*, *uddhr̥taudanā*, *citraguḥ*, and *vīrapuruṣakaḥ*, parallel to uncompounded forms such as *ūḍho ratho yena* ‘he by whom a chariot has been pulled’; *uddhr̥ta odano yasyāḥ* ‘a pot from which rice is lifted’; *upahr̥ta paśur yasmai* ‘Rudra to whom an animal has been offered sacrificially’; *citrā gāvo yasya* ‘(Devadatta) is one who owns brindled cows’; and *vīrāḥ puruṣā yasmin* ‘(a village) in which there are brave men’, respectively.

Note that the variable relative pronoun *yad* ‘that’, used as *yaṃ*, *yena*, *yasmai*, *yasyāḥ*, *yasya*, and *yasmin*, denotes the sense of the nominal endings *dvitīyā*, *ṛtīyā*, *caturthī*, *pañcami*, *ṣaṣthī*, 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 *bahuvrīhi* denotes the sense of every nominal ending, except for the nominative. *Kāśikā* offers the counter-example *vṛṣṭe deve gataḥ* ‘he went as it rained’, where the sense of the nominative, i.e., *prātipadikārtha* ‘nominal stem notion’, does not become the sense of the compound mostly because of lack of usage (*anabhidhāna*). That is, a compound such as *\*vṛṣṭadeva* is not permitted, since it cannot denote the sense of *vṛṣṭe deve*.

### 2.2.25 संख्ययाऽव्ययासन्नादुराधिकसंख्याः संख्येये

*saṃkhyayā* ‘*vyayāsannādūrādhikasamkhyāḥ saṃkhyeye*  
/ *saṃkhyayā* 3/1 *avyayāsannādūrādhikasamkhyāḥ* 1/3 = *avyayaṃ ca āsannaś ca adūraś ca adhikaś ca saṃkhyā ca* (itar. dv.); *saṃkhyeye* 7/1/  
(*samāsaḥ* #2.1.3, *sahā supā* #2.1.4, *sup* #2.1.9, *vibhāṣā* #2.1.11, *bahuvrīhiḥ* #23)

*saṃkhyeye yā saṃkhyā varttate tayā sahāvyayāsannādūrādhikasamkhyāḥ samasyante, bahuvrīhiś ca samāso bhavati*

A *pada* which ends in *sUP* and contains an *avyaya*, or *āsanna* ‘proximate’, *adūra* ‘not far, near’, *adhika* ‘more’, or *saṃkhyā* ‘number’, optionally combines in a *bahuvrīhi* compound with a *pada* which ends in *sUP* and contains a *saṃkhyā* denoting a thing counted (*saṃkhyeya*).

#### EXAMPLES:

*upadaśāḥ* ‘those which are near to the ten already counted’

*upavimśāḥ* ‘those which are near to the twenty already counted’

*āsannadaśāḥ* ‘id.’

*āsannavimśāḥ* ‘id.’

*adhikadaśāḥ* ‘those which are more than the ten already counted’

*adhikavimśāḥ* ‘those which are more than the twenty already counted’

*dvitrāḥ* ‘two or three things’

*tricatorāḥ* ‘three or four things’

1. This rule allows for the formation of a *bahuvrīhi* 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 *avyayaṃ vibhaktisamīpa....* But the compound would be an *avyayībhāva*, and it, too, would have the meaning of its first constituent as prominent. The meanings, however, would be different. The *bahuvrīhi* would denote the *saṃkhyeya*, the sense in which its first member would be used. The *avyayībhāva* would denote proximity (*sāmīpya*). The *bahuvrīhi* thus denotes the thing which is proximate (*sāmīpin*), as opposed to the *avyayībhāva* which denotes proximity (*sāmīpya*). Thus, an *avyayībhāva* compound such as *upadaśa* can still be formed, though the meaning will be that of proximity.

#### 2.2.26 दिङ्नामान्यन्तराले

*dinnāmāny antarāle*

/ *dinnāmāni* 1/3 = *diśāṃ nāmāni* (ṣaṣ. tat.); *antarāle* 7/1/

(*samāsaḥ* #2.1.3, *saha supā* #2.1.4, *sup* #2.1.9, *vibhāṣā* #2.1.11. *bahuvrīhiḥ* #23)

*dinnāmāni subantāni antarāle vācye samasyante, bahuvrīhiś ca samāso bhavati*

A *pada* which ends in *sUP* and denotes *diś* ‘direction: east, west, etc.’ optionally combines in a *bahuvrīhi* compound with a *pada* which ends in *sUP* and denotes *diś* provided the compound means *antarāla* ‘intermediate direction’.

## EXAMPLES:

*dakṣiṇapūrvā* ‘south-eastern direction’  
*pūrvottarā* ‘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 (*anyapadārtha*) of the derivate, therefore rule 2.2.24 *anekam anyapadārthe* 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 *bahuvrīhi* 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 (*vaiyadhikarāṇya*).

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 *bahuvrīhi* where the sense of *matUP* is not involved. I have already indicated in my notes under 2.2.23 *śeṣo bahuvrīhiḥ* and 2.2.24 *anekam anyapadārthe* that those rules may permit the formation of *bahuvrīhi* 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 *rūdhi* ‘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 तेनेदमिति सरूपे

*tatra tenedam iti sarūpe*

/ tatra ० tena 3/1 idam 1/1 iti ० sarūpe 1/2/  
 (samāsaḥ #2.1.3, saha supā #2.1.4, sup #2.1.9, vibhāṣā #2.1.11,  
 bahuvrīhiḥ #23)

tatreṭi saptamyante sarūpe pade teneti ca ṛtīyānte idam etasminn arthe  
 samasyete, bahuvrīhiś ca samāso bhavati

A *pada* which ends either in *saptamī* or *ṛtīyā* 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'

*daṇḍādaṇḍi* 'a fight where one attacked the other with a stick'

*musalāmusali* '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 tral*). The word *tena* is obviously an instrumental (*ṛtīyā*). 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 (*vivakṣārtha*). Note that examples such as *keśākeśi* and *daṇḍādaṇḍi* are used in the context of fights and, as such, entail reciprocity (*paraspara*) in fights (*praharaṇa*). 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 *sarūpāṇām ekaśeṣa ekavibhaktau*). The *ekaśeṣa* is blocked on the strength of the formulation of this rule, itself.

#### 2.2.28 तेन सहेति तुल्ययोगे

*tena saheti tulyayoge*

/ tena 3/1 saha ० iti ० tulyayoge 7/1 = tulyaś cāsau yogaś ca (karm. tat.),  
 tasmin /

(samāsaḥ #2.1.3, saha supā #2.1.4, sup #2.1.9, vibhāṣā #2.1.11,  
 bahuvrīhiḥ #23)

'saha' ity etac chabdarūpaṃ tulyayoge vartamānaṃ 'tena' ity ṛtīyānt-  
 ena saha samasyate, bahuvrīhiś ca samāso bhavati



A *pada* constituted by *saha* ‘with’ optionally combines, in a *bahuvrīhi* compound, with a *pada* which ends in *ṛtīyā* 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 *ṛtīyā* 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, *putrena sahāgataḥ pitā* ‘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 daśabhir putrair bhāraṃ vahati gardabhī* ‘the female donkey is carrying the load, even when she has ten sons’. The sense here is that of presence (*vidyamānatā*) 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 (*asarvaviṣaya*). Failure to demand this condition would facilitate the formation of compounds such as *sakarmaka* ‘that which has an object’, *salomakaḥ* ‘he who has hair’, etc., which do not share the condition of *tulyayoga*.

2.2.29 चार्थे द्वन्द्वः

*cārthe dvandvaḥ*  
 / *cārthe* 7/1 = *cena* (*kṛtaḥ*) *arthaḥ* (*ṣaṣ. tat.*), *tasmin*; *dvandvaḥ* 1/1/  
 (*samāsaḥ* #2.1.3, *saha supā* #2.1.4, *sup* #2.1.9, *vibhāṣā* #2.1.11,  
*anekam* #24)  
*anekaṃ subantaṃ cārthe vartamānaṃ samasyate, dvandvasamjñāś 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:

*plakṣanyagrodhau* ‘a *plakṣa* and a *nyagrodha* tree’  
*dhavakhadirapalāsāḥ* ‘*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:

*aharahar nayamāno gāmaśvaṃ puruṣaṃ paśum /  
vaivasvato na tṛpyati surāyā iva durmadī //*

‘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 pratisambandhini samuccīyante tadā samuccayah... atra nayatikriyāyām ekasyām gavādīnām samuccayah*). This sense of *samuccaya* can also be found in *rājño gauś cāśvaś ca* ‘the king’s cow and horse’, and *raktaḥ paṭaḥ kuṇḍalam 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, bhikṣām aṭa gām cānaya* ‘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 *sāmarthya* ‘syntactico-semantic relation’ lacks items which can be brought together. Items in *samuccaya* remain independent of each other (*nirapekṣa*), whereas in *anvācaya* there obtains the dependence of the secondary item upon the primary. This is what causes the impairment of the condition of *sāmarthya* (cf. 2.2.1 *samarthaḥ 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 *deva-dattayajñadattābhyām 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 उपसर्जनं पूर्वम्

*upasarjanam pūrvam*

/ *upasarjanam* 1/1 *pūrvam* 1/1/

(*samāsaḥ* #2.1.3)

*upasarjanasamjñakam samāse pūrvam prayoktavyam*

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

#### EXAMPLES:

*kaṣṭāśritaḥ* (see 2.1.24 *dvitīyā*...)

*śamkulākhaṇḍaḥ*, etc. (see 2.1.30 *trītiyā*..., etc.)

1. It is stated that the word *samāsaḥ*, carried from rule 2.1.3 *prāk kadārāt samāsaḥ*, 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 (*vibhaktivipariṇāma*) 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 *prathamānirdiṣṭam samāsa*...). Rule 2.2.30 requires that a constituent termed *upasarjana* be placed first (*pūrvam*) in the compound. For example, given the strings *rājan* + *Ñas* + *puruṣa* + *sU*, from whence derives the compound *rājapuruṣa* ‘king’s man’, *rājan* + *Ñas* is termed *upasarjana* because of rule 2.2.8 *ṣaṣṭhī*. That is, 2.2.8 allows the formation of a compound where one constituent ends in the genitive (*ṣaṣṭhī*) and another is a syntactically related word. The word *ṣaṣṭhī* in rule 2.2.8, which specifies constituents such as *rājan* + *Ñas*, is given in the nominative (*prathamā*). Consequently, *rājan* + *Ñas* is termed *upasarjana* and is placed first in the compound string *rājan* + *Ñas* + *puruṣa* + *sU*.

An objection is made to the formation of this rule, on the grounds that

no usage to the contrary of *upasarjana* 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 (*viparītaprayoga*). The word *pūrvam* is thus used to block any postplacement of a constituent termed *upasarjana* (*Kāś: pūrvavacanam paraprayoga-nivṛtyartham*).

### 2.2.31 राजदन्तादिषु परम्

*rājadantādiṣu param*

*/ rājadantādiṣu 7/3 = rājadanta ādir yeṣāṃ te (bv.), tasmin; param 1/1/ (upasarjanam #30)*

*rājadantādiṣu param upasarjanam prayoktavyam*

A *pada* which is termed *upasarjana*, 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 *upasarjana*. The word *rājadantādiṣu* clearly refers to a list of compounds headed by the compound *rājadanta*. Note that this rule simply states that an *upasarjana* is to be postplaced in the compounds of this specific list. This postplacement 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 *upasarjana*, and thus become an exception to rule 2.2.30 *upasarjanam pūrvam*; 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* + *Ńi* does not undergo deletion.

### 2.2.32 द्वन्द्वे घि

*dvandve ghi*

*/ dvandve 7/1 ghi 1/1/*

*(pūrvam #31)*

*dvandvasamāse ghyantam pūrvam prayoktavyam*

A *pada* which terminates in *ghi* (1.4.7 *śeṣo...*) is placed first in a *dvandva* compound.

## EXAMPLES:

*paṭuguptau* ‘clever and secretive’

*mṛduguptau* ‘soft and secretive’

1. Note that the word *pūrvam*, of rule 2.2.30 *upasarjanaṃ pūrvam*, now becomes valid. It was not retained in the preceding rule because of its incompatibility with *param*. This rule with *pūrvam* thus provides for the preplacement of a constituent of a *dvandva* compound which ends in *ghi* (1.4.7 *śeṣo ghy asakhi*). The constituents of a *dvandva* compound are treated as equal. In this way, the question of principal (*pradhāna*) or secondary (*upasarjana*) 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 *dvandva* compound with more than one constituent termed *ghi*? The rule of preplacement applies to only one constituent. Thus, we get *hariguruharāḥ* or *hariharaguravaḥ*, where *hari* and *guru* are two constituents termed *ghi*. The restriction of preplacement will apply to only one (here *hari*) and not to *guru*, relative to *hara*. It is for this reason that *hari* is preplaced, though *guru* and *hara* could be switched.

## 2.2.33 अजाद्यदन्तम्

*ajādyadantam*

*/ ajādyadantam 1/1 = ac ādir yasya tat = ajādiḥ (bv.), ad ante yasya tat (bv.), ajādi cādaḥ adantaṃ ca = ajādyadantam (karm. tat.) /*

*(pūrvam #30, dvandve #32)*

*ajādyadantaṃ śabdarūpaṃ dvandve samāse pūrvam prayoktavyam*

A *pada* which begins with *aC* (a vowel) and ends in *aT* (*a*; cf. 1.1.70 *taparas...*) is placed first in a *dvandva* compound.

## EXAMPLES:

*uṣṭrakharam* ‘a camel and a donkey’

*uṣṭraśaśakam* ‘a camel and a rabbit’

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 *upasarjana* and *ghi*. Rule 2.2.31 does the same by means of enumeration (*pariganana*). 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 (*aC*) and terminating in *aT* (*a*; 1.1.70 *taparas tatkālasya*) is to be placed first in a *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 *dvandve ghi*. Consider the

examples *indrāgnī* ‘Indra and Agni’ and *indravāyū* ‘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 *vipraṭiṣedhe paraṃ kāryam*, and rules in favor of the subsequent provision. This is how *indra* comes to be preplaced.

### 2.2.34 अल्पाच्च त्रम्

*alpāc taram*

*/ alpāc taram 1/1 = alpo ‘c yasmin tat (bv.), anayor atisāyane alpāc = alpāc taram /*

*(dvandve #32, pūrvam #30)*

*alpāc taram śabdarūpaṃ dvandve samāse pūrvam prayoktavyam*

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

#### EXAMPLES:

*plakṣanyagrodhau* ‘a *plakṣa* and a *nyagrodha* tree’

*dhavakhadirapalāsāḥ* ‘*dhava*, *khadira*, and *palāśa* trees’

*śaṅkhadundubhivīṇā* ‘conch-shell, bugle, and *vīṇā* (a string instrument)’

*vīṇāśaṅkhadundubhayah* ‘*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) *ṛtunakṣatrāṇām ānupūrvyeṇa 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: *citrāsvātī* ‘the constellations *citrā* and *svātī*’

(ii) *laghvakṣaram 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 (*abhyarhita*) 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) *varnānām ānupūrvyeṇa pūrvanipātaḥ*

‘constituents which denote *varṇa* ‘caste group’ should be preplaced in accordance with their relative order’

Thus: *brāhmaṇakṣatriyabiṣūdrāḥ*

‘*brāhmaṇa, kṣatriya, vaiśya, and śūdra*’

Note that the consideration of an equal number of syllables is not applicable in this instance.

(v) *bhrātuś ca jyāyasaḥ pūrvanipāto vaktavyaḥ*

‘preplacement should also be stated for the constituent which denotes an older brother’

Thus: *yudhiṣṭhirārjunau* ‘Yudhiṣṭhira and Arjuna’

(vi) *saṃkhyāyā alpīyasyāḥ pūrvanipāto vaktavyaḥ*

‘preplacement of a constituent which denotes a smaller number should be stated’

Thus: *dvitrāḥ* ‘two and three’

### 2.2.35 सप्तमीविशेषणे बहुव्रीहौ

*saptamīviśeṣaṇe bahuvrīhau*

*/saptamīviśeṣaṇe 1/2 (dv.) bahuvrīhau 7/1/*

*(pūrvam #30)*

*saptamyantaṃ viśeṣaṇaṃ ca bahuvrīhisamāse pūrvam prayoktavyam*

A *pada* which ends in *saptamī* or denotes a qualifier (*viśeṣaṇa*) is placed first in a *bahuvrīhi* compound.

#### EXAMPLES:

*kaṇṭhekālah* ‘he in whose throat is blackness’

*urasilomā* ‘he who has hair on his chest’

*citraguḥ* ‘he who owns brindled cows’

*śabalaguḥ* ‘id.’

1. If one understands the meaning of compounds in terms of principal and secondary constituents, with the further stipulation that the secondary constituent will be placed first, then the constituents of a *bahuvrīhi* compound will all qualify for the status of *upasarjana*. For, the meaning of something outside of the constituency is principal in a *bahuvrīhi* compound. A problematic situation arises, since all constituents obviously cannot be placed first. This rule resolves some of the problems. It provides that a *bahuvrīhi* constituent which either ends in locative, or is a qualifier, is placed first. Thus, *kaṇṭhe* and *citrā* in *kaṇṭhekālah* and *citraguḥ* are placed first, on account of ending in locative, or of being a qualifier. Further adjustments are provided by *vārttika* relative to the preplacement of constituents in a *bahuvrīhi* compound. For example, preplacement is also required of pronouns (*sarvanāman*) and numeral (*saṃkhyā*). Thus, *sarvaśvetah* ‘all-white’ and *dvyanyaḥ* ‘he for whom there are two others’, etc.

## 2.2.36 निष्ठा

*niṣṭhā*

*/ niṣṭhā 1/1/*

*(pūrvam #30, bahuvrīhau #35)*

*niṣṭhāntam ca bahuvrīhisamāse pūrvam prayuktavyam*

A *pada* which contains a stem in *niṣṭhā* (3.2.102 *niṣṭhā*) is placed first in a *bahuvrīhi* compound.

## EXAMPLES:

*kṛtakataḥ* 'he who has already finished making the mat'  
*bhikṣitabhikṣiḥ* 'he who has already received alms'

1. A proposal for postplacement is made by a *vārttika* in connection with those *niṣṭhā* constituents which occur with items denoting *jāti* 'class', *kāla*, 'time' and *sukha* 'pleasure'. Thus, we get *sārṅgajagdhī* 'she who ate Mung beans', *māsajātaḥ* 'he since whose birth a month has elapsed', and *sukhajātaḥ* 'he who has achieved happiness'.

## 2.2.37 वाऽऽहिताग्न्यादिषु

*vā* "hitāgnyādiṣu

*/ vāṅ āhitāgnyādiṣu 7/3 = āhitāgniḥ ādir yeṣāṃ (bv.), teṣu*

*(pūrvam #30, bahuvrīhau #35, niṣṭhā #36)*

*āhitāgnyādiṣu niṣṭhāntam pūrvam vā prayuktavyam*

A *pada* which contains a stem in *niṣṭhā* and is enumerated under the list headed by *āhitāgni* is only optionally placed first in a *bahuvrīhi* compound.

## EXAMPLES:

*āgnyāhitaḥ* 'he who has lighted the ritual fire'  
*āhitāgniḥ* 'id.'  
*jātaputraḥ* 'he who has a son born'  
*putrajātaḥ* 'id.'

## 2.2.38 कडाराः कर्मधारये

*kaḍārāḥ karmadhāraye*

*/ kaḍārāḥ 1/3 karmadhāraye 7/1/*

*(pūrvam #30, vā #37)*

*kaḍārādayaḥ śabdāḥ karmadhāraye samāse vā pūrvam prayuktavyam*

A *pada* which contains *kaḍāra* 'yellow, etc.' only optionally is placed first in a *karmadhāraya* compound.



## EXAMPLES:

*kadārajaiminiḥ* ‘a pale Jaimini’  
*jaiminikadārah* ‘id.’

## 2.3.1 अनभिहिते

*anabhihite*

/ *anabhihite* 7/1/

‘*anabhihite*’ *anukte anirdiṣṭe karmādau vibhaktir bhavati*

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

## EXAMPLES:

*kaṣaṃ karoti* ‘he is making a mat’

*grāmaṃ gacchati* ‘he is going to the village’

*kriyate kaṣaḥ* ‘a mat is being made’

*śatyah* ‘a thing bought for a hundred’

*śatikaḥ* ‘id.’

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

1. The word *anabhihite* 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 dviṭīyā*, read with rule 2.3.1 *anabhihite*, specifies that *dviṭīyā* ‘second triplet of nominal ending’ can be introduced after a nominal stem (*prātipadika*) to express *karman* ‘object’ (1.4.49 *kartur īpsitatamaṃ 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 (*parigaṇana*) the following four ways in which the denotatum of a nominal ending can be expressed elsewhere:

(i) affixes denoted by the abbreviatory term *tiṅ* (3.4.78 *tiṅsajhi...*);

(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 kadārāt...*).

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

(a) *devadatta odanaṃ pacati* ‘Devadatta is cooking rice’

This sentence expresses the agent (*kartr*) by means of the verbal ending *tiÑ*. 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 *karman* 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, *ṭṛtīyā* ‘third triplet of nominal ending’, *Ṭā*, 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 kaṭaḥ kṛtaḥ* ‘a mat was made by Devadatta’

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

(d) *śatyo’ śvaḥ* ‘a horse bought for a hundred’

The object is expressed in sentence (d) by means of the *taddhita* affix *yaT* (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 *prāptodakaḥ* ‘that to which water has reached’ is a *bahuvrīhi* (2.2.24 *anekam 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:

*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 *LAT*.

Note in this connection that affixes referred to as *LA*, of which *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 *bhāva* 'root-sense' is to be expressed (3.4.69 *lah karmaṇi ca...*). Furthermore, these abstract suffixes are eventually replaced, generally by the verbal endings referred to as *tiÑ*. It is at the level of the selection of *tiÑ* that a decision must be made, whether *tiÑ* should be expressing agent, object, or *bhāva*. Once this decision has been made, and a proper *tiÑ* has been selected, the further selection of nominal endings can be made. Similar relatability also exists between structures expressing *kāraka* or non-*kāraka* relations through diverse means.

4. The negative particle *naÑ* 'not', and therefore the present rule (*anabhihite*), has been interpreted in two ways:

(i) as *prasajya*, where the negative particle is construed with the verb; and

(ii) as *paryudāsa*, where the same has been construed with a noun.

Rule 2.3.2 *karmaṇi dviṭiyā*, etc., when read with 2.3.1 *anabhihite*, can thus receive the following two interpretations:

(i) *anabhihite karmaṇi dviṭiyā na bhavati* 'a *dviṭiyā* 'second triplet of nominal ending' does not occur when *karman* 'object' is expressed otherwise'

(ii) *anabhihite karmaṇi dviṭiyā bhavati* 'a *dviṭiyā* occurs when *karman* is not expressed otherwise'

The first interpretation construes the negative particle *naÑ* with the verb *bhavati*, and thus renders the status of rule 2.3.2 restrictive (*pratiśedha*). The second interpretation construes the negative particle *naÑ* with the noun *karman*, and consequently renders the status of 2.3.2 operational (*vidhi*). The *Mbh* (II: 764-65) has discussed these interpretations in connection with this example:

(f) *prāsāda āste* 'he is sitting on the roof of the palace'

Here, *prāsāda* 'palace' has been placed in *saptamī* 'seventh triplet of *sUP*'. Now, this *saptamī* has been introduced to denote *adhikaraṇa* 'locus', which is also the denotatum of affix *GHaÑ*, introduced after *pra + sad* to derive *prāsāda*. It can be argued that, if the locus has already been expressed by *GHaÑ* in *prāsāda*, the introduction of *saptamī* to denote locus again will make no sense. The *paryudāsa* interpretation allows the introduction of *Ñi*, the locative singular ending, to denote the locus of *ās* 'to sit' which

still remains to be expressed. That is, *āste*, the verb form, has not already expressed it. Besides, *GHaÑ* 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

*karmaṇi dvitīyā*

/ *karmaṇi* 7/1/ *dvitīyā* 1/1/

(*anabhihite* #1)

*karmaṇi kārake yā samkhyā tatra dvitīyā vibhaktir bhavati*

A *dvitīyā* occurs when *karman* is not expressed otherwise.

#### EXAMPLES:

*kaṭam karoti* ‘he is making a mat’

*grāmaṃ gacchati* ‘he is going to the village’

1. This rule, read with 2.3.1 *anabhihite*, states that *dvitīyā* (*am*, *auT*, *Śas*) can occur after a nominal stem to express *karman* (1.4.49 *kartur īpsitatamaṃ karma*), provided the *karman* has not already been expressed by some other means. In the notes under the previous rule, I have already illustrated instances where *karman* 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 *dvitīyā*, etc., are terms assigned to the triplet of nominal endings which Pāṇini accepts from the earlier grammarians. Additionally, the word *karman* has been used in the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*, in the sense of both an action (*kriyā*) and an object. Of course, in rule 2.3.2 *karman* is used in the sense of object, as defined by rules 1.4.49 *kartur īpsitatamaṃ karma*, etc.

3. The *Kāśikā* states that a *samkhyā* ‘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 *samkhyā* as the principal denotatum, and uses *karman* as its qualifier: *karmaṇi kārake yā samkhyā tatra dvitīyā* ‘*dvitīyā* 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* I: 600) simply says: *anukte karmaṇi dvitīyā syāt* ‘*dvitīyā* occurs to express *karman* when it is not expressed otherwise’. Note that

Bhaṭṭoji does not mention *saṃkhyā* here. That is, according to him, the denotatum of *dvitīyā* 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 (*saṃkhyā*) 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 (*bahutva*). 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 *anabhihite*, will then specify that:

*anabhihite karmaṇi dvitīyā 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, *Kāśikā* takes *saṃkhyā* 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 *śloka-vārttika* that *dvitīyā* is also introduced after a nominal stem, cooccurring with *ubhayataḥ* ‘on both sides’; *sarvataḥ* ‘on all sides’; *dhik* ‘interjection denoting censure’; *uparyupari* ‘high above’; and *adhyadhi* ‘down below’, etc. Thus, we get the following sentences:

- (a) *ubhayato grāmam* ‘on both sides of the village’
- (b) *sarvato grāmam* ‘on all sides of the village’
- (c) *dhik 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 होश्छन्दसि

*tr̥tīyā ca hoś chandasi*

/ tr̥tīyā 1/1 ca Ø hoḥ 6/1 chandasi 7/1/

(*karmaṇi dvitīyā* #2, *anabhihite* #1)

*chandasi viṣaye juhoteḥ karmaṇi kārake tr̥tīya vibhaktir bhavanti, dvitīyā ca* A *tr̥tīyā* ‘third triplet of *sUP*’ also occurs optionally to *dvitīyā* in the Vedic when *karman* of *hu* ‘to call; to perform a ritual sacrifice’ is not expressed otherwise.

## EXAMPLES:

*yavāgvāgnihotraṃ juhōti* ‘he is offering an oblation of *yavāgū* (barley gruel) to the *agnihotra* (a kind of ritual fire)’  
*yavāgūm agnihotraṃ juhōti* ‘id.’

1. This rule introduces *ṛtīyā*, in addition to *dvitīyā*, 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 *ṛtīyā*, and *agnihotra* in *dvitīyā*, whereas in the second they are both put in *dvitīyā*. 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 अन्तराऽन्तरेणयुक्ते

*antarāntareṇa yukte*

*/ antarāntareṇa 3/1 = antarā ca antareṇa ca (itar. dv.);*

*antarāntareṇa yuktaḥ (ṛ. tat.), tasmin; yukte 7/1/ (dvitīyā #2)*

*antarā' ntareṇa śabdau nipātau gr̥hyete ābhyām yoge dvitīyā vibhaktiv bhavati*

A *dvitīyā* occurs when *antarā* ‘in between’ and *antareṇa* ‘without’ are in use.

## EXAMPLES:

*antarā tvām ca mām ca kamaṇḍaluḥ* ‘in between you and me is the *kamaṇḍalu* (water pot)’

*antareṇa puruṣakāraṃ na kiṃcil labhyate* ‘nothing is gained without diligent effort’

1. This rule allows the introduction of *dvitīyā*, after a nominal stem cooccurring with the particles *antarā* and *antareṇa*. Commentators explain that *antarā*, the particle, should not be confused with *antarā*, the feminine derivative ending in the affix *ṬāP*. 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 *antarā*, an indeclinable, it is evident that *antareṇa* should also be understood as an indeclinable. The idea of association also applies in the case of *antarā* used with *antareṇa*. Again, as *antareṇa* is not a form ending in the affix *ṬāP*, *antarā* should not be interpreted as ending in *ṬāP*. Reasoning based on association has its parallels as well. For instance, because association demands similarity of class, one understands *guru-bhārgavau* as meaning ‘Jupiter and Sun’, and not ‘the teacher and Paraśurāma, the son of Jamadagni’. In the same manner, *antarā* and *antareṇa* must both be interpreted as *nipāta*, indeclinables.

2. This rule introduces *dvitīyā* as an exception to *ṣaṣṭhī* ‘sixth triplet of nominal ending; genitive’. If this rule was not formulated, a sentence such as *antarā tvām ca mām ca kamaṇḍaluḥ*, (above), where *yuṣmad* ‘you’ and *asmad* ‘I’ have been used in the accusative, would be rendered as *antarā tava ca mama ca kamaṇḍaluḥ*. That is, *yuṣmad* and *asmad* would qualify for residual (*śeṣa*) genitive (*ṣaṣṭhī*) by rule 2.3.50 *ṣaṣṭhī śeṣe*. This rule is, therefore, an exception to genitive.

### 2.3.5 कालाध्वनोरत्यन्तसंयोगे

*kālādhvanor atyantasaṃyoge*

*/ kālādhvanoḥ 7/2 (itar. dv.) atyantasaṃyoge 7/1 = atyantam saṃyogaḥ*  
(*karm. tat.*), *tasmin /*

(*dvitīyā* #2)

*kālaśabdebhyo’ dhvaśabdebhyaś ca dvitīyā vibhaktir bhavati atyantasaṃyoge*  
*gamyamāne*

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

#### EXAMPLES:

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

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

*māsam kalyāṇi* ‘this whole month is beneficial’

*saṃvatsaram kalyāṇi* ‘this whole year is beneficial’

*krośam adhīte* ‘he studies the entire distance of a

*krośa* (two miles)’

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

*krośam kuṭilā nadī* ‘the river is full of bends for the entire distance of a *krośa*’

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

2. Note that this introduction of *dvitīyā* 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 *karmani dvitīyā* would introduce the ending. This direct introduction of *dvitīyā* causes some problems, especially in connection with intransitive verbs like *ās*. 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 *dvitīyā*, 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 *laḥ 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 *ṛtīyā* (2.3.18 *karṭṛkaraṇayoḥ ṛtīyā*).

Now consider the following sentence:

(c) *devadattena 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 (*prātipadikārtha*). 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 *dvitīyā*. Given this, sentence (c) looks ungrammatical.

It is to account for sentences like (c) that Kātyāyana has written a *vārttika* (*Mbh* II: 774): *atyantasamyoge karmaval lādyartham* ‘for purposes of denotation by means of *LA*, etc., words denoting *kāla* and *adhvan* 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 *dvitīyā* 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, *dvitīyā* would be introduced by 2.3.2 *karmani dvitīyā*. 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 *vatI* after *karman*, thereby implying that an item denoting *kāla* or *adhvan* 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 *vatI*



marks *atideśa* ‘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) *brāhmaṇavat kṣatriye varttitavyam* ‘one should treat a *kṣatriya* like a *brāhmaṇa*’

This injunction does not imply that a *kṣatriya* ceases to be a *kṣatriya*, simply because he is to be treated like a *brāhmaṇa*. 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) *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 *dvitīyā*; in which case the result would be:

(b) *devadattena māsam āsyate*

Furthermore, the question of treating *ās* as intransitive is not the only difficulty. It is also important that *dvitīyā* 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 *dvitīyā* 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 *dvitīyā* would thus be made by means of rule 2.3.2 *karmaṇi dvitīyā*. This, in turn, would cover only those instances where continuous connection with action was being expressed. Instances like

(g) *krośaṃ kuṭilā nadī* ‘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 (*guṇa*).

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 तृतीया

*apavarge tṛtīyā*

/ *apavarge* 7/1 *tṛtīyā* 1/1/

(*kālādhvanor atyantasaṃyoge* #5)

*apavarge gamyamāne kālādhvanor atyantasaṃyoge tṛtīyā vibhaktir bhavati*

A *tṛtīyā* occurs after stems denoting *kāla* or *adhvan* when both *atyantasaṃyoga* 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'

*saṃvatsareṇānuvāko' dhītaḥ* 'he studied and accomplished the understanding of the *anuvāka* in one year'

*krośenānuvāko' 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 *tṛtīyā*, instead of *dvitīyā* made available by rule 2.3.5. It is constrained by an additional requirement of *apavarga* 'accomplishment'. Compare the following sentences:

(a) *māsam adhīto' nuvāhkaḥ* 'he read the *anuvāka* for a month'

(b) *māsenādhīto' nuvākaḥ* 'he read the *anuvāka* for a month and fully understood it'

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

### 2.3.7 सप्तमीपञ्चम्यौ कारकमध्ये

*saptamīpañcamyau kārakamadhye*

/ *saptamīpañcamyau* 1/2 (*itar. dv.*) *kārakamadhye* 7/1 = *kārakayor madhyaḥ* (*ṣaṣ. tat.*), *tasmin* /

(*kālādhvanoḥ* #5)

*kārakayor madhye yau kālādhvanau tābhyāṃ saptamīpañcamyau vibhaktī bhavataḥ*

A *saptamī* seventh triplet of *sUP* or *pañcamī* '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 bhuktvā devadatto dvyaha bhoktā* ‘having eaten today, Devadatta will eat after two days’

*adya bhuktvā devadatto dvyahād bhoktā* ‘id.’

*ihastho’ yam iṣvāsaḥ krośe lakṣyaṃ viddhyati* ‘sitting here, this archer pierces his target up to a distance of two miles’

*ihastho’ yam iṣvāsaḥ krośāl lakṣyaṃ 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 (*iṣvāsaḥ*), who is the agent of *vyadh* ‘to pierce’, and his target (*lakṣya*), 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 *bhuktvā*, which represents a prior action in relation to the subsequent action, again denoted by *bhuj* ‘to consume’. This being the case, affix *Ktvā* 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 *samānakartṛkayoḥ pūrvakāle*). Devadatta is that same agent, and, consequently, the condition of having two participants is not met. In both sentences, *dvyahan*, 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, *dvyahan* can be treated as occurring between two participants.

2. Another problem of interpretation has been raised in connection with *saptamīpañcamyau*.... Commentators warn us against interpreting the introduction of *saptamī* and *pañcamī* in accordance with the rule of *yathāsamkhyā* (1.3.10 *yathāsamkhyāṃ anudeśaḥ samānām*). In other words, one should not introduce *saptamī* after items denoting *kāla*, and should not introduce *pañcamī* after items denoting *adhvan*. This is based on the understanding that *kāla* and *adhvan* 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 *svaritenādhikārah*, and states that equivalencies based upon order of enumeration are assigned only where *svarita* ‘circumflex accent’ is intended. Rule 2.3.7 lacks this intended *svarita*.

## 2.3.8 कर्मप्रवचनीययुक्ते द्वितीया

*karmapravacanīyayukte dvitīyā*

/ *karmapravacanīyayukte* 7/1 = *karmapravacanīyair yuktaḥ* (tr. tat.),  
*tasmin*; *dvitīyā* 1/1/

*karmapravacanīyair yukte dvitīyā vibhaktir bhavati*

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

## EXAMPLES:

*śākalyasya saṃhitām anu prāvarṣat* ‘it rained after the chanting of the *saṃhitā* of Śākalya’

*āgastyam anv asiñcat prajāḥ* ‘it rained over the people after chanting of the *saṃhitā* of Agastya’

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

## 2.3.9 यस्मादधिकं यस्य चेश्वरवचनं तत्र सप्तमी

*yasmād adhikam yasya ceśvaravacanam tatra saptamī*

/ *yasmād* 5/1 *adhikam* 5/1 *yasya* 6/1 *ca* 0 *iśvaravacanam* 1/1 *tatra* 0  
*saptamī* 1/1/

(*karmapravacanīyayukte* #8)

*yasmād adhikam yasya ceśvaravacanam karmapravacanīyair yukte tatra saptamī vibhaktir bhavati*

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

## EXAMPLES:

*upa khāryām droṇaḥ* ‘a *drona* is more than a *khāri*’

*upa niške kārṣāpaṇam* ‘a *kārṣāpaṇa* is more than a *niška*’

*adhi pañcāleṣu brahmadattaḥ* ‘Brahmadatta rules over the Pañcālas’

1. This rule introduces *saptamī*, as opposed to *dvitīyā*, after a nominal stem which cooccurs with a *karmapravacanīya*, and which denotes either something more than its denotatum, or its lordly position or ownership (*iśvaravacanātā*). Note that the term *iśvaravacana* 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

*saptamī*, 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 pañcālāḥ*

(b) *adhi pañcāleṣu brahmadattaḥ*

Here, the *saptamī* 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 *karmapravacanīya*. This rule, as indicated earlier, forms an exception to *dvitīyā* introduced by the preceding rule.

Items cooccurring with a *karmapravacanīya*, where *saptamī* 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

*upakhāryāṃ droṇaḥ*

the measure of weight called *droṇa* is described as more than another measure of weight, called *khāri*. In this case, *khāri* is to be put in *saptamī*, as it occurs with *upa* (a *karmapravacanīya*; 1.4.87 *upo' dhike ca*) and it denotes a measure of weight compared with which *droṇa* is greater.

### 2.3.10 पञ्चम्यपाङ्परिभिः

*pañcamy apāṅparibhiḥ*

/ *pañcamy* 1/1 *apāṅparibhiḥ* 3/1 (*itar.dv.*)/

(*karmapravacanīyayukte* # 8)

'*apa, ān, pari*' *ity etaiḥ karmapravacanīyair yoge pañcamī vibhaktir bhvati*

A *pañcamī* occurs after an item in conjunction with the *karma-pravacanīya* *apa, āN, or pari*.

#### EXAMPLES:

*apa trigarttebhyo vṛṣṭo devaḥ* 'it rained up to, though excluding, Trigartta'

*ā pāṭaliputrād vṛṣṭo devaḥ* 'it rained up to Pāṭaliputra'

*pari pari trigarttebhyo vṛṣṭo devaḥ* 'it rained around Trigartta'

1. The *karmapravacanīya* designation of *apa* and *pari* is allowed by rule 1.4.88 *apapari varjane*. Rule 1.4.89 *ān maryādāvacanē* assigns the term *karma-pravacanīya* 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 यस्मात्

*pratinihipratidāne ca yasmāt*

/ *pratinihipratidāne* 1/2 (*itar.dv.*) *ca* ∅ *yasmāt* 5/1/

(*pañcamī* # 10, *karmapravacanīyayukte* # 8)

*yasmāt pratinihīr yataś ca pratidānaṃ tatra karmapravacanīyayukte pañcamī vibhaktir bhavati*

A *pañcamī* also occurs after that which is both conjoined with a *karmappravacanīya* 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'

*māṣān 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 *karmappravacanīya*, 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 *karmappravacanīya* demanding *pañcamī*. Similarly, *tila* is used with *pañcamī*, as *māṣa* are given in return for them.

2.3.12 गत्यर्थकर्मणि द्वितीयाचतुर्थ्यौ चेष्टायामनध्वनि

*gatyarthakarmani dvitīyācaturthyau ceṣṭāyām anadhvani*  
 / *gatyarthakarmani* 7/1 = *gatir artho yeṣāṃ te* = *gatyarthāḥ* (bv.), *gatyarthānām karma* = *gatyarthakarma* (ṣaṣ. tat.), *tasmin* (ṣaṣ. tat. with internal bv.) *dvitīyācaturthyau* 1/2 *ceṣṭāyām* 7/1 *anadhvani* 7/1/

(*anabhihite* #1)

*gatyarthānām dhātūnām ceṣṭākriyānām* (*parispandanakriyānām*) *karmani kārake* 'dhvavarjite *dvitīyācaturthyau bhavataḥ*

Either *dvitīyā* or *caturthī* 'fourth triplet of sUP' occurs to express the object of a verb of movement (*gati*), provided that the object is not expressed otherwise, that it is not *adhvan*, and that the action involves actual movement (*ceṣṭā*).

EXAMPLES:

*grāmaṃ gacchati* 'he goes to the village'

*grāmāya gacchati* 'id.'

*grāmaṃ vrajati* 'id.'

*grāmāya vrajati* 'id.'

1. This rule introduces *dvitīyā* and *caturthī*, after a nominal stem, to express the *karman* of an action denoted by a root having the signification of *gati* 'going', providing

(i) the *karman* is not characterized by *adhvan* 'road', and

(ii) the action entails *ceṣṭā* 'physical effort'.

Note that this optional introduction of *dvitīyā* and *caturthī* 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 (*ceṣṭā*) so that a sentence such as

(b) *manasā pāṭaliputram gacchati* 'he is mentally going to Pāṭaliputra'

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) *grāmam vrajati*

(d) *grāmāya vrajati*

(e) *manasā pāṭaliputram 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 rūpam śabdasya...* demands that a word cited in this grammar must denote its form only. Haradatta (*PM ad Kās II: 165*) explains that, since *anadhvan* 'non-*adhvan*' is used with *saptamī*, and is construed as a modifier to *karman* (also in *saptamī*), Pāṇini's specification by means of *anadhvani* 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 (*saptamīnirdēse hy anadhvani karmanīty anvayah. nānadhvanah prakṛter ity artha eva karma nādhvaśabdah; tenādhvaparyāye' pi caturthī 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 *caturthī*. When, for example, someone is lost and wishes to approach the right road from the wrong, the use of *caturthī* 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: āsthitapraṭiṣedhas ceyam vijñeyayaḥ. āsthitah = samprāptah, ākrānta ucyate. yatra tu utpathena panthānam gacchati, tatra bhavitavyam eva caturthyā: pathe gacchati*). Note that to disallow *caturthī*, in accordance with the semantic constraint just explained, does not mean the disallowing of *dvitīyā*, which will in any event be ruled by 2.3.2 *karmaṇi dvitīyā*.

2. A question is raised as to why *dvitīyā* 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 *dvitīyā*, the rule should simply have been formulated as *gatyarthakarmaṇi caturthī vā* ‘optionally *caturthī* when the object of an action signifying ‘*gati*’ is to be denoted’. Actually, *dvitīyā* is expressly mentioned to allow the blocking of a rule which could prevent the use of *dvitīyā* as an exception. To block the rule which blocks *dvitīyā* (*bādhakabādhana*) is, therefore, the purpose of explicitly mentioning *dvitīyā*.

*Kāśikā* cites two examples:

(h) *grāmaṃ gantā* ‘goer of the village’

(i) *grāmāya gantā* ‘id.’

In example (h), *dvitīyā* is introduced by this rule to denote object. Rule 2.3.2 cannot introduce *dvitīyā* after *grāma* in (h), because *grāma* is co-occurring with *gantā*, a *kṛt*-derivate (3.4.67 *karttari kṛt*) ending in *ṛC* (3.1.133 *ṅvulṛcau*). Rule 2.3.65 *karṭṛkarmaṇoḥ kṛti* allows the introduction of *ṣaṣṭhī* ‘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 *bādhya**bādhakabhāva* can also be explained as the optional blocking of *dvitīyā* 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 *gatyarthakarmaṇi*. Why did not Pāṇini simply use *gaticarmaṇi* ‘when the object of an action denoted by a root signifying *gati* is to be expressed’? By using *gatyarthakarmaṇi*, 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) *striyaṃ gacchati* ‘he is fornicating with the woman’

*gati*, entailing physical effort, is not the direct meaning of the verbal root *gam*. One gets this meaning only through the association of the word *stri* ‘woman’.

### 2.3.13 चतुर्थी सम्प्रदाने

*caturthī sampradāne*

/ *caturthī 1/1 sampradāne 7/1/*



(*anabhihite* #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'

*puṣpebhyaḥ sṛḥayati* '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 abhipraiti sa sampradānam*. Rules 1.4.33 *rucyarthānām prīyamānaḥ* and 1.4.37 *sṛḥer īpsitaḥ* assign the term *sampradāna* in the last two examples, *devadattāya rocate* and *puṣpebhyaḥ sṛḥayati*, respectively.

2.3.14 क्रियार्थोपपदस्य च कर्मणि स्थानिनः

*kriyārthopapadasya ca karmani sthāninaḥ*

/ *kriyārthopapadasya* 6/1 = *kriyārthā kriyā upapadam yasya (dhātuḥ)* (*bv.*

with final *pada* deleted), *tasya*; *ca* ∅ *karmani* 7/1 *sthāninaḥ* 6/1/

(*caturthī* #13, *anabhihite* #1)

*kriyārthopapadasya ca sthānino* 'prayujyamānasya dhātoḥ

*karmani 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:

*edhebhyo vrajati* 'he is going in order to bring some firewood'

*puṣpebhyo 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) *puṣpāṇy 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 *āhr* '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 *samānakartṛkayoḥ...*). Here, 2.3.2 introduces *dviṭiyā* after *puṣpa* 'flower' to denote the object. But consider

(b) *puṣpebhyo vrajati* 'id.'

where the object is being expressed by *caturthī*, as the action denoted by *āhr* 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 saptamīstham* 'that which has been referred to by *saptamī* in the domain of 3.1.91 *dhātoḥ* is an *upapada*'. The expression *kriyārthopapadasya* of this rule thus refers to rule 3.3.10 *tumunṅvulau 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 tadarthārtha...*? 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) *praviśa (gṛham) piṇḍīm (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) *praviśa piṇḍyai*

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 *Kās* II: 168: *yatra gamyate cārtho na ca prayujyate śabdaḥ sa sthānī* '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 तुमर्थाच्च भाववचनात्

*tumarthāc ca bhāvavacanāt*

*/ tumarthāt 5/1 = tumunaḥ artha ivārtha yasya sa tumarthaḥ (bv.), tasmāt ca*

*∅ bhāvavacanāt 5/1 = bhāvasya vacanam (ṣaṣ. tat.), tasmāt /*

*(kriyārthopapadasya ca karmaṇi sthāninaḥ #14, caturthī #13, ana-*

*bhihite #1)*

*tumarthabhāvavacanapratyayāntāt 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 *bhāvavacanāś ca*, whereby suffixes such as *GHaÑ* 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, (*pākāya vrajati*), the sense of 'for the purpose of that...' would already be expressed by the suffix *GHaÑ* 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 *ṆvuL* in *kāraka* is denoting *karṭṛ* '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 *kriyārthopapadasya* 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 *kriyārthopapadasya* ends in the genitive, and *bhāvavacanāt* in the ablative, should pose no problem, since the genitive of *kriyārthopapadasya* can be changed to ablative so that it can serve as a qualifier to *bhāvavacanāt*. However, *kriyārthopapada* 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 *kriyārthopapada* refers to a root denoting future action intended by another action.

### 2.3.16 नमःस्वस्तिस्वाहास्वधालंघड्योगाच्च

*namaḥsvastisvāhāsvadhālaṅghaḍyogāc ca*  
*/ namaḥ...yogāt 5/1 = namaś ca svasti ca svāhā ca svadhā ca alaṅ ca*  
*vaṣaṭ ca = namaḥ...vaṣaṭ (dv.), tair yogah = namaḥ...yogaḥ (ṣaṣ. tat. with*  
*internal dv.), tasmāt ca 0/*  
*(caturthī #13)*

‘*namaḥ, svasti, svāhā, svadhā, alam, vaṣaṭ*’ *ity etair yoge caturthī vibhaktir bhavati*

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

EXAMPLES:

*namo devebhyah* ‘our obeisance to the gods’  
*svasti prajābhyah* ‘our blessings for the children’  
*svāhā gnaye* ‘our obeisance to Agni’  
*svadhā pitṛbhyah* ‘ritual oblations for our forefathers’  
*alam mallo mallāya* ‘this wrestler is equal to the other one’  
*vaṣaḍ indrāya* ‘ritual oblations for Indra’

1. This *sūtra* introduces *caturthī* after a nominal stem which is used in conjunction with *namas*, etc. The word *yoga* (as in *yoge* of this rule) is derived from *yuj* ‘to join, yoke’ used with the suffix *GHaÑ* 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 (*punarvidhāna*) 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 cāśiṣi...* introduces *ṣaṣṭhī* when benediction (*āśiḥ*) is being denoted. That is, in a sentence, such as:

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

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

3. It is claimed by *upapadavibhakteḥ kārakavibhaktir balīyasī* (cf. *paribhāṣā* 103 of Nāgeśa’s *Paribhāṣenduśekhara*) that a rule which introduces a *vibhakti*, with reference to a *kāraka*, 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 *namaḥ*, etc. Whenever there is a conflict between a rule introducing a *vibhakti* with reference to a *kāraka* and another rule introducing a *vibhakti* with reference to a conjoined *pada*, the rule which introduces the *vibhakti* with reference to a *kāraka* prevails. Consider the following sentence:

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

The word *deva* ‘god’ is used here with *dvitīyā*, by rule 2.3.2, with reference

to *karman*. Thus, *dvitīyā* is a *kāraka-vibhakti*. A *caturthī* introduced by this rule will be blocked because it is conditioned by the conjoined *pada*: *namas*. Thus,

(c) \**namasyati devāya* 'id.'  
will not be permitted.

### 2.3.17 मन्यकर्मण्यनादरे विभाषाऽप्राणिषु

*manyakarmany anādare vibhāṣā' prāṇiṣu*  
/ *manyakarmani* 7/1 = *manyateh karma* (ṣaṣ. tat.), *tasmin*; *anādare* 7/1  
*vibhāṣā* 1/1 *aprāṇiṣu* 7/1/  
(*caturthī* #13, *anabhihite* #1)  
*manyakarmani prāṇivarjite 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 *prāṇin* 'living being', and that disrespect is expressed.

#### EXAMPLES:

*na tvā trṇaṃ manye* 'I do not consider you so much as even a blade of grass'  
*na tvā trṇāya manye* 'id.'  
*na tvā busaṃ 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 (*aprāṇin*) object of *manĀ*, when *anādara* 'disrespect' is being denoted. Obviously, when the option of denoting such an object by *caturthī* is not taken, *dvitīyā* will be introduced by 2.3.2.

Consider the second of the above examples (*na tvā trṇāya manye*). Why is not *yusmad* '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 कर्त्तृकरणयोस्तृतीया

*karṭṛkaraṇayos tṛtīyā*  
/ *karṭṛkaraṇayoḥ* 7/2 *tṛtīyā* 1/1/  
(*anabhihite* #1)

*karttari karaṇe ca kārake tṛtīyā vibhaktir bhavati*

A *tṛtīyā* occurs to express *karṭṛ* and *karaṇa* when they are not expressed otherwise.

EXAMPLES:

*devadattena kṛtam* ‘made by Devadatta’  
*yajñadattena bhuktam* ‘eaten by Yajñadatta’  
*dātrena lunāti* ‘he is cutting with a sickle’  
*paraśunā chinatti* ‘he is cutting with an ax’

1. This rule introduces *tṛtīyā* to denote *karṭṛ* and *karaṇa* ‘instrument’. For details of the assignment of these terms, refer to 1.4.54 *svatantraḥ karttā* and 1.4.42 *sādhakatamaṃ karaṇam*, respectively.

2.3.19 सहयुक्तेऽप्रधाने

*sahayukte’ pradhāne*  
*/sahayukte 7/1 apradhāne 7/1/*  
*(tṛtīyā #18)*

*sahārthēna yukte’ pradhāne tṛtīyā vibhaktir bhavati*

A *tṛtīyā* occurs after stems which denote *apradhāna* ‘secondary’ and are used in conjunction with *saha* ‘with’ or its synonyms.

EXAMPLES:

*putreṇa sahāgataḥ pitā* ‘the father came with the son’  
*putreṇa saha gomān pitā* ‘the father is going with the son’

1. This rule introduces *tṛtīyā* after a nominal stem which denotes non-principal (*apradhāna*), and is used in conjunction with an item having the signification of *saha*.

Paṇini could have formulated the rule as *sahena apradhāne*. That is, *yukte* could have been left out, being accounted for by *sahena* ‘with *saha*’. That way, this rule-formulation would have been similar to 2.3.32 *prthag-vinā-nānābhis...* Pāṇini, however, did not formulate the rule following the pattern of 2.3.32. He did not do so because, by using *yukte*, he wanted to indicate that *saha* represented not only itself, but also its synonyms, such as *sākam*, *sārdham*, and so on.

2. The status *pradhāna* ‘principal’ or *apradhāna* ‘non-principal’ should be decided on the basis of direct or indirect relatability with action. Consider the first example, *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 (*sāhitya*). Or, to put it differently, the idea of the son’s relatability to the action comes through interpretation (*artha*). As opposed

to this, the father's relatability to the action is direct: it comes directly from the form (*śabda*). 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 *saha* or one of its synonyms, *ṛtīyā* could still be used. Pāṇini himself has used it in rule 1.2.65 *vrddho yūnā tallakṣaṇāś ced eva viśeṣaḥ*, where *yuvan* is used in *ṛtīyā* without the use of *saha*.

### 2.3.20 येनाङ्गविकारः

*yenāṅgavikārah*

/ *yena* 3/1 *aṅgavikārah* 1/1 (*ṣaṣ. tat.*) /

(*ṛtīyā* #18)

*yenāṅgena vikṛtenāṅgino vikāro lakṣyate tatas ṛtīyā vibhaktir bhavati*

A *ṛtīyā* occurs after a stem which denotes an *aṅga* 'limb' which is marked by deformity.

#### EXAMPLES:

*akṣṇā kāṇaḥ* 'deformed by (the loss of) an eye'

*pādena khañjah* 'deformed by (the loss of) a foot'

1. This rule introduces *ṛtīyā* 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, *ṛtīyā* cannot be used. Compare the two sentences below, for example:

(a) *akṣi kāṇam asya* 'he has but one eye'

(b) *akṣṇā kāṇaḥ* 'he is but one-eyed'

### 2.3.21 इत्यम्भूतलक्षणे

*itthambhūtalakṣaṇe*

/ *itthambhūtalakṣaṇe* 7/1 (*ṣaṣ. tat.*), *tasmin* /

(*ṛtīyā* #18)

*kamcit prakārah prāptaḥ itthambhūtaḥ, tasya lakṣaṇam itthambhūta-lakṣaṇam, tatas ṛtīyā vibhaktir bhavati*

A *ṛtīyā* occurs after a stem when 'the state just reached' is marked.

## EXAMPLES:

*api bhavān kamaṇḍalunā chātram adrākṣīt* ‘did you see a student with a kamaṇḍalu’

*api bhavān śikhayā parivrājakam adrākṣīt* ‘did you see a wandering ascetic with a top (śikhā)’

1. This rule introduces *ṛtīyā* after a nominal stem which stands for a characteristic mark (*lakṣaṇa*) distinguishing the particular (*prakāra*) from the general. The word *itthambhūta* is derived by introducing affix *thamU* (5.3.24 *idamas thamuh*) after *idam* ‘this’ to denote *prakāra* ‘particular’ (as distinguished from ‘general’). The word *bhūta* of *itthambhūta* is explained as *prāpta* ‘reached, obtained’. Thus, if a word serves as a characteristic mark distinguishing the particular from the general, *ṛtīyā* should be used.

For example, consider

(a) *jaṭābhis tāpasah* ‘he is an ascetic, as marked by his matted hair’

Here, *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 *lakṣaṇeṭthambhūtākhyāna...* for additional details.

## 2.3.22 संज्ञोऽन्यतरस्यां कर्मणि

*saṃjñō’ nyatarasyām karmaṇi*

*/ saṃjñāḥ 6/1 anyatarasyām 7/1 karmaṇi 7/1/*

(*ṛtīyā* #18, *anabhihite* #1)

*sampūrvasya jānāteḥ karmaṇi kārake anyatarasyām ṛtīyā vibhaktir bhavati*

A *ṛtīyā* optionally occurs to express the object of *jñā* ‘to know’, used with the preverb *sam*, when the same is not expressed otherwise.

## EXAMPLES:

*pitrā saṃjānīte* ‘he recognizes his father’

*pitaram saṃjānīte* ‘id.’

*mātrā saṃjānīte* ‘he recognizes his mother’

*mātaram saṃjānīte* ‘id.’

1. This rule introduces *ṛtīyā*, as an option to *dvitīyā* of 2.3.2 *karmaṇi dvitīyā*, to denote the object of *jñā* ‘to know, understand, recognize’, used with the preverb *sam*.

Note that 1.4.43 *saṃpratibhyām anādhyāne* introduces *ātmanepada* ‘middle’ after *saṃjñā*, 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) *pitṛā samjānāti* ‘he misses his father’

(b) *pitaram samjānāti* ‘id.’

But there is a further complication in connection with this. Rule 2.3.52 *adhīgarthadayeṣāṃ karmaṇi* introduces *ṣaṣṭhī* ‘genitive’ to express the *karman* of, among other things, an action denoted by a verbal root which has the signification of *adhī-iK* ‘to remember’. Thus, in (a) and (b), we would be required to use *ṣaṣṭhī* in place of *dvitīyā* or *ṛtīyā*. 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 *vipratīṣedhe param kāryam* will thus be invoked to resolve the conflict in favor of the introduction of *ṣaṣṭhī* 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 *kr̥t* affix will be denoted by *ṣaṣṭhī* as required by rule 2.3.65 *karṭṛkarmanoḥ kr̥ti*. Again, 1.4.2 will resolve the conflict in favor of 2.3.65, the subsequent rule. A sentence such as

(d) *mātuh samjātā* ‘the mother was remembered’  
would come under the scope of 2.3.65.

### 2.3.23 हेतौ

*hetau*

/ *hetau* 7/1/

(*ṛtīyā* #18)

*hetuvācīnas ṛtīyā vibhaktir bhavati*

A *ṛtīyā* occurs after a stem which denotes *hetu* ‘cause’.

#### EXAMPLES:

*dhanena kulam* ‘a clan prospers by wealth’

*kanyayā śokaḥ* ‘grief comes by having a daughter’

*vidyayā yaśaḥ* ‘fame comes by knowledge’

1. This rule introduces *ṛtīyā* 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 *tatprayojako hetuś ca* ‘the causal agent of *karṭṛ* is additionally termed *hetu*’. The *hetu* of this rule is the non-technical word of popular (*laukika*) usage which denotes ‘cause’. This rule would become useless if *hetu* were to be interpreted here as technical, for 2.3.18 *karṭṛkaranāyos ṛtīyā* could then easily account for *ṛtīyā*. *Kāśikā* explains the non-technical *hetu* as ‘that which is capable of bringing about results’ (*phalasādhanayogyah*)

*padārtho loka hetur ucyate*). However, this can also be said of *karaṇa* ‘instrument’, as defined by rule 1.4.42 *sādhakatamaṃ karaṇam*: ‘*karaṇa* is that which participates in an action as the most effective means’.

Compare Bhartṛhari (*VP* III: 25–26, 138–141):

*dravyādiviṣayo hetuḥ karaṇam niyatakriyam /*

*karttā kartrantarāpekṣaḥ kriyāyām hetur iṣyate //*

‘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*’

*kriyāyai karaṇam tasya drṣṭaḥ pratidinidhis tathā /*

*hetvarthā tu kriyā tasmān na sa pratidinidhīyate //*

‘*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 Bhartṛhari 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*.

Bhartṛhari also recognizes another distinction between *karaṇa* and *hetu*. He regards *karaṇa* as dependent upon *vyāpāra*, intermediate action. Thus, if *paraśu* ‘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 अकर्तर्युणे पञ्चमी

*akarttary ṛṇe pañcamī*

*/ akarttari 7/1 ṛṇe 7/1 pañcamī 1/1/*

(*hetau* #23)

*kartrvarjitam yad ṛṇam hetus tataḥ pañcamī vibhaktir bhavati*

A *pañcamī* occurs after a stem which signifies *ṛṇa* ‘debt’ provided *ṛṇa* serves as a *hetu* other than *kartr* ‘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 *pañcamī* after a nominal stem standing for a debt (*ṛṇa*) and serving as *hetu*, though not as *kartr*. Note that a *ṛṇa* serving

as *hetu* can be termed *kartr* by rule 1.4.55 *tatprayojako hetuś ca*. Given the nature of rule 1.4.55, one can safely assume that an example for *hetu* termed *kartr* will be available only when a causal action is being denoted. For, *hetu* termed agent becomes the prompter agent of a causative sentence:

- (a) *śatena adhamarṇaḥ uttamarṇena bandhitaḥ* ‘the debtor was imprisoned by the creditor because of the debt of a hundred’

Here *śata*, the amount of debt, is a cause which is termed *hetu* because it serves as an instigator (*prayojaka*) for the *kartr*, (the creditor), to have the debtor imprisoned. It is clear that *śata*, a *hetu* termed *kartr*, cannot be used with *pañcamī* according to the present rule. In a non-causal sentence, however, *śata* (denoting a debt) can be put in *pañcamī*:

- (b) *śatād baddhaḥ* ‘he was imprisoned because of (the unpaid debt of) a hundred’.

### 2.3.25 विभाषा गुणेऽस्त्रियाम्

*vibhāṣā guṇe’ striyām*

*/ vibhāṣā 1/1 guṇe 7/1 astriyām 7/1*

(*pañcamī* #24, *hetau* #23)

*guṇe hetāv astrīṅge 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 muktaḥ* ‘he was freed on account of his wisdom’

*pāṇḍityena muktaḥ* ‘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, *ṭṭīyā* 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 muktaḥ* ‘he was saved because of his intelligence’

- (d) *dhanena kulam* ‘a family respected because of wealth’

### 2.3.26 षष्ठी हेतुप्रयोगे

*ṣaṣṭhī hetuprayoge*

*/ ṣaṣṭhī 1/1 hetuprayoge 7/1 (ṣaṣ. tat.), tasmin /*

(*hetau* #23)

*hetuśabdasya prayoge hetau dyotye ṣaṣṭhī vibhaktir bhavati*

A *ṣaṣṭhī* 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 *ṣaṣṭhī* after *anna*. The *ṣaṣṭhī* after the nominal stem *hetu* is introduced under the condition of coreferentiality (*sāmānādhikaraṇya*) with *anna*.

### 2.3.27 सर्वनामस्तृतीया च

*sarvanāmnas tṛtīyā ca*

*/ sarvanāmnaḥ 6/1 tṛtīyā 1/1 ca 0 /*

(*ṣaṣṭhī hetuprayoge* #26, *hetu* #23)

*sarvanāmno hetuśabdasya prayoge hetau dyotye tṛtīyā vibhaktir bhavati*

A *tṛtīyā*, as well as *ṣaṣṭhī*, 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 *tṛtīyā*, in addition to the *ṣaṣṭhī*, 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 *tṛtīyā* and *ṣaṣṭhī* respectively. The *tṛtīyā* and *ṣaṣṭhī* 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 *kāraṇa*, *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 *dvitīyā* 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 अपादाने पञ्चमी

*apādāne pañcamī*

*/ apādāne 7/1 pañcamī 1/1/*

(*anabhihite* #1)

*apādāne kārake pañcamī vibhaktir bhavati*

A *pañcamī* occurs after a nominal stem when *apādāna* (1.4.24 *dhruvam...*) is not expressed otherwise.

#### EXAMPLES:

*gramād āgacchati* 'he is coming from the village'

*parvatād avarohati* 'he is climbing down the mountain'

*vṛkebhya bibheti* 'he is afraid of wolves'

*adhyayanāt parājayate* 'he is weary of studying'

1. This rule introduces *pañcamī* after a nominal stem to denote *apādāna* 'ablative' as defined by rules 1.4.24 through 1.4.31.

### 2.3.29 अन्यारादितरत्तेदिवशब्दाञ्चत्तरपदाजाहियुक्ते

*anyārāditararttedikśabdāñcūttarapadājāhiyukte*

*/ anyā...yukte 7/1 = anyas ca ārāc ca itaras ca ṛte ca dikśabdas ca añcūttarapadaś ca āc ca āhi ca = anyārāditararttedikśabdāñcūttarapadājāhayah*  
 (*itar. dv.*), *taiḥ yuktaḥ (ṛt. tat.)*, *tasmin* /

(*pañcamī* #28)

'*anya*, *ārāt*, *itara*, *ṛte*, *dikśabda*, *añcūttarapada*, *āc*, *āhi*' *ity etair 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'

*ṛte* 'without'

*dikśabda* 'a directional name'

*añcūttarapada* 'a directional name which has *añcU* 'bend' as its final member'

*āC* 'a stem terminating in affix *āC* (5.3.36 *dakṣiṇād...*)'

*āhi* 'a stem terminating in affix *āhi* (5.3.37 *āhi ca dūre*)'

#### EXAMPLES:

*anyo devadattāt* 'someone different from Devadatta'

*bhinno devadattāt* 'id.'  
*ārād devadattāt* 'far from Devadatta'  
*ārād yajñadattāt* 'near Yajñadatta'  
*itaro devadattāt* 'someone other than Devadatta'  
*ṛte devadattāt* 'without Devadatta'  
*pūrvō grāmāt parvataḥ* 'the mountain is east of the village'  
*uttaro grīṣmo vasantāt* 'summer comes after spring'  
*prāg grāmāt* 'to the east of the village'  
*pratyag grāmāt* 'to the west of the village'  
*dakṣiṇā grāmāt* 'to the south of the village'  
*uttarā 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? Bhaṭṭoji (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 (*nirdiśyamānasya pratiyogī*). *Nyāsa* seems to agree with the *Kāśikā* when it gives the example:

(a) *devadattaḥ sūraḥ, itaraḥ 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 *ṣaṣṭhī* instead of *pañcamī*.

3. The word *ṛte* is an indeclinable meaning 'without'.

4. The word *diś* is used in this rule with the word *śabda*, 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) *pūrvō grāmāt parvataḥ* 'the mountain is before the village' and

(c) *pūrvō grīṣmād vasantaḥ* 'spring is prior to summer'

Here, *grāma* and *grīṣma*, used with *pūrvā*, can qualify for *pañcamī* even though *pūrvā*, a word denoting direction, is used to denote location and time.

### 2.3.30 षष्ठ्यतसर्थप्रत्ययेन

*ṣaṣṭhy atasarthapratyayena*

*/ ṣaṣṭhī 1/1 atasarthaḥpratyayena 3/1 = ataso' rthaḥ atasarthaḥ (ṣaṣ. tat.), atasarthe pratyayah = atasartha- pratyayah (sap. tat.), tena / atasarthena pratyayena yukte ṣaṣṭhī vibhaktir bhavati*

A *ṣaṣṭhī* occurs after a stem used in conjunction with a nominal stem terminated in an affix which has the sense of *atasUC* (5.3.28 *dakṣiṇottarābhyām...*).

## EXAMPLES:

*dakṣiṇato grāmasya* 'in the south of the village'  
*uttarato grāmasya* 'in the north of the village'  
*ṣurastād grāmasya* 'toward the east of the village'  
*uṣari grāmasya* 'above the village'  
*uṣariṣṭād grāmasya* 'id.'

## 2.3.31 एनपा द्वितीया

*enapā dvitīyā*  
*/ enapā 3/1 dvitīyā 1/1/*  
*enapā yukte dvitīyā vibhaktir bhavati*

A *dvitīyā* occurs after a stem used in conjunction with another stem which ends in affix *enaP* (5.3.35 *enab...*).

## EXAMPLES:

*dakṣiṇena grāmam* 'not far in the south of the village'  
*uttareṇa grāmam* 'not far in the north of the village'

1. The word *enapā* refers to rule 5.3.35 *enab anyatarasyām adūre...*, whereby affix *enaP* is optionally introduced after *uttara* 'north, upper'; *adhara* 'lower, below'; and *dakṣiṇa* 'south, right', when what is denoted is not far (*dūra*). The sense of *enaP* is given as the same as that of *astāti* (cf. 5.3.26 *dikṣabdebhya...*).

2. Note that *Kāśikā* cites these two examples:

- (a) *dakṣiṇena grāmasya* 'by the south of the village'  
 (b) *uttareṇa grāmasya* 'by the north of the village'

whereby *ṣaṣṭhī* is also shown as a desired option for the *dvitīyā* (*ṣaṣṭhy api iṣyate* 'genitive is also desired'). But *Kāśikā* also states that rule 2.3.31 is formulated in view of the genitive (*ṣaṣṭhī*) which would have been available from the preceding rule. Does rule 2.3.31 in fact introduce *dvitīyā* to block the *ṣaṣṭhī* made available by the preceding rule? It does, according to *Kāśikā*'s statement: *pūrvēṇa ṣaṣṭhyām prāptāyām vacanam* 'this statement is made in view of the genitive made available by the preceding rule'. However, one quickly becomes doubtful when *Kāśikā* adds that *ṣaṣṭhī* is also desired (*iṣṭa*); for how could the desired results be obtained? *Kāśikā* suggests splitting (*yogavibhāga*) this rule into two parts, in addition to

carrying *ṣaṣṭhī* from the previous rule, as a solution. If we follow this suggestion we will get two rules:

(i) *enapā ṣaṣṭhī* ‘*ṣaṣṭhī* occurs...’; and

(ii) *enapā dvitīyā* ‘*dvitīyā* occurs...’.

3. The *Mahābhāṣya* does not discuss this rule. However, Nāgeśa (*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 *ṣaṣṭhī* does not arise. Nāgeśa also criticizes *Kāśikā*’s attempt at *yogavibhāga* as questionable (*cintya*). Yudiṣṭhira Mīmāṃsaka (*Mbh III: 340*) states that Nāgeśa’s claim, concerning the changed order of the *sūtra* and according to the *Mahābhāṣya*, is perhaps based on the *vārttika*’s words *dvitīyāṣaṣṭhyoḥ*. Nāgeśa thinks that, in accordance with the specification for fewer vowels (cf. 2.2.34 *alpāc taram*), *ṣaṣṭhī* should have been used first in *dvitīyā-ṣaṣṭhyoḥ*. Since it is not, claims Mīmāṃsaka, Nāgeśa assumes that it suggests the reversal in order of 2.3.31 *enapā dvitīyā* and 2.3.30 *ṣaṣṭhyartha...* in the *Mahābhāṣya*. Mīmāṃsaka considers Nāgeśa’s claim to be questionable, and states that the order of constituency in *dvitīyāṣaṣṭhyoḥ* is, after all, numerical.

### 2.3.32 पृथाग्विनानानाभिस्तृतीयाऽन्यतरस्याम्

*prthagvinānānābhis trtīyā*’ *nyatarasyām*

/ *prthagvinānānābhiḥ* 3/3 (*itar. dv.*) *trtīyā* 1/1 *anyatarasyām* 7/1/

(*pañcamī* #28)

‘*prthag*, *vinā*, *nānā*’ *ity etair yoge trtīyā vibhaktir bhavati, anyatarasyām pañcamī ca*

A *trtīyā* optionally occurs to *pañcamī* after a stem in conjunction with *prthag* ‘separate’; *vinā* ‘without, separate’; or *nānā* ‘separate’.

#### EXAMPLES:

*prthag devadattena* ‘separate from, or except for Devadatta’

*prthag devadattāt* ‘id.’

*vinā devadattena* ‘id.’

*vinā devadattāt* ‘id.’

*nānā devadattena* ‘id.’

*nānā devadattāt* ‘id.’

1. Note that, to account for usages of *dvitīyā* 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 *dvitīyā* from the previous rule:

*vinā vātaṃ vinā varṣaṃ vidyutprapatanaṃ vinā /*

*vinā hastikṛtān doṣān kenemau pātatau 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 *dvitīyā*; and even less does it approve of the *yogavibhāga*.

### 2.3.33 करणे च स्तोकाल्पकृच्छ्रकतिपयस्यासत्त्ववचनस्य

*karāṇe ca stokālpakṛcchrakatipayasyāsattvavacanasya*  
/ *karāṇe 7/1 ca stokālpakṛcchrakatipayasya 6/1 (sam. dv.), asattvavacanasya*  
6/1 (*nañ. tat.*) /

(*pañcamī* #28, *ṛtīyā* #27, *anabhihite* #1)

‘*stoka, alpa, kṛcchra, katipaya*’ *ity etebhyo*’ *sattvavacanebhyah karāṇe kāraṇe*’  
*nyatarasyām ṛtīyā bhavati*

A *ṛtīyā* optionally occurs to *pañcamī* to express *karāṇa* ‘instrument’ after *stoka* ‘a little’; *alpa* ‘a little’; *kṛcchra* ‘difficult’; or *katipaya* ‘a few’ provided they do not denote *sattva* ‘substance’, and *karāṇa* is not expressed otherwise.

#### EXAMPLES:

*stokān muktaḥ* ‘just about freed’  
*stokena muktaḥ* ‘id.’,  
*alpān muktaḥ* ‘id.’  
*alpena muktaḥ* ‘id.’  
*kṛcchrān muktaḥ* ‘freed with difficulty’  
*kṛcchreṇa muktaḥ* ‘id.’  
*katipayān muktaḥ* ‘freed by a few’  
*katipayena muktaḥ* ‘id.’

1. This rule introduces *ṛtīyā* to denote *karāṇa* after *stoka*, *alpa*, *kṛcchra*, and *katipaya* when they do not denote *sattva* ‘substance’. The option of introducing *ṛtīyā* to denote *karāṇa* is, in fact, already available by rule 2.3.18 *karṭṭkarāṇayos....* This rule, however, introduces *ṛtīyā* as an option to *pañcamī*, as it is understood by the *anuvṛtti* of *pañcamī* (2.3.28 *apādāne pañcamī*) and *ṛtīyā anyatarasyām* (2.3.32 *prthagvinā...*). Thus, *pañcamī* is ruled as an option to *ṛtīyā* of 2.3.18 which, in turn, is made optional to *ṛtīyā* 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 *karāṇa* in an action because it participates as the means. A substance may be viewed as possessing certain qualities (*guṇa*) or properties (*dharma*). Thus we get examples such as the following:

(a) *stokena viṣeṇa 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 *karāṇa* of killing, though qualified by *stoka*. That is, *viṣa* serves as *karāṇa*, 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 *ṛtīyā* 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) *stokān muktaḥ* ‘just about freed’
- (c) *stokena muktaḥ* ‘id.’

Here, *pañcamī* and *ṛtīyā* 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 also 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 *karana* 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 *karana* 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 (*kriyāviśeṣaṇa*), 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 (*sādhyamānāvasthā*). 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 *karana* (*PM ad Kāśikā* II: 90). This is also the significance of using *karana* 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 muktaḥ* ‘he became free with little effort’ to avail themselves of optional *pañcamī*.

## 2.3.34 दूरान्तिकार्थैः षष्ठ्यन्यतरस्याम्

*dūrāntikārthaiḥ ṣaṣṭhy anyatarāsyām*

*/ dūrāntikārthaiḥ 3/1 = dūraś ca antikaś ca = dūrantikau (itar. dv.),  
tau arthau yeṣām (bv. with internal dv.), taiḥ; ṣaṣṭhī 1/1 anyata-  
rasyām 7/1/*

(*pañcamī* #28)

*dūrāntikārthaiḥ śabdair yoge ṣaṣṭhī vibhaktir bhavati*

A *ṣaṣṭhī* optionally occurs to *pañcamī* after a stem used in conjunction with *dūra* 'far', *antika* 'near', or their synonyms.

## EXAMPLES:

*dūram grāmāt* 'away from the village'

*dūram grāmasya* 'id.'

*vīprakṛṣṭam grāmāt* 'id.'

*vīprakṛṣṭam grāmasya* 'id.'

*antikam grāmāt* 'near the village'

*antikam grāmasya* 'id.'

*abhyāśam grāmāt* 'id.'

*abhyāśam grāmasya* 'id.'

1. This rule introduces *ṣaṣṭhī* 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 *ṛtīyā* were understood in the preceding rule. This being the case, the *ṣaṣṭhī* introduced by this rule would have become optional to both *ṛtīyā* and *pañcamī*. It is to block *ṛtīyā* that Pāṇini explicitly uses *anyatarasyām* in this rule. Furthermore, if *ṛtīyā* 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 *ṣaṣṭhī* (*Nyāsa* II: 191).

## 2.3.35 दूरान्तिकार्थेभ्यो द्वितीया च

*dūrāntikārthebhyo dvitīyā ca*

*/ dūrāntikārthebhyaḥ 5/3 dvitīyā 1/1 ca 0/*

(*ṛtīyā* #33, *pañcamī* #28)

*dūrāntikārthebhyaḥ śabdebhyo dvitīyā vibhaktir bhavati, cakārāt pañcamī  
ṛtīyāpi samuccīyate*

A *dvitīyā*, as well as *pañcamī* or *ṛtīyā*, optionally occurs after *dūra*, *antika*, or their synonyms.

## EXAMPLES:

*dūraṃ grāmasya* ‘far from the village’  
*dūrād grāmasya* ‘id.’  
*dūreṇa grāmasya* ‘id.’  
*antikam grāmasya* ‘near the village’  
*antikād grāmasya* ‘id.’  
*antikenā grāmasya* ‘id.’

1. This rule introduces *dvitīyā*, in addition to *pañcamī* and *ṛtīyā*, after stems which denote the sense of *dūra* and *antika*. The use of the word *ca* makes it possible for both *pañcamī* and *ṛtīyā* to be carried via *anuvṛtti*. Note that *ṛtīyā* was specifically blocked in the preceding rule by the inclusion of the word *anyatarasyām*. No such inclusion blocks it here. So, *ṛtīyā* is also carried on the strength of the recurrence of *pañcamī* (*Nyāsa* II: 192: *tad anuvṛttisāmarthyāt ṛtīyāpi samuccīyate iti cakāreṇa*). 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 *dvitīyā*, *ṛtīyā* 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 सप्तम्यधिकरणे च

*saptamy adhikaraṇe ca*  
 / *saptamī* 1/1 *adhikaraṇe* 7/1 *ca* 0/  
 (*dūrāntikārthebhyaḥ* #35, *anabhihite* #1)  
*saptamī vibhaktir bhavaty adhikaraṇe kārake, cakārād dūrāntikārthebhyaś 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:

*kaṭe āste* ‘he is sitting on the mat’  
*śakaṭe āste* ‘he is sitting in the cart’  
*sthālyām 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 *dvitīyā* after *dūra* and *antika*,

in addition to *ṛtīyā* and *pañcamī*. That is, either one of these four endings (*dvitīyā*, *ṛtīyā*, *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) *sādhv-asādhuprayoge ca saptamī vaktavyā*

‘*saptamī* should also be stated to occur after a stem used with *sādhv* ‘nice’ and *asādhv* ‘not nice’

Example: *sādhur devadatto mātari*, *asādhur 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: *ṛddheṣu bhuñjāneṣu 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: *daridreṣu āsīneṣu ṛddhā bhuñjate* ‘the rich eat while the poor sit’

(iv) *tad viparyāse ca*

‘*saptamī* is to be also stated when contraposition (*viparāsyā*) of the same is denoted’

Example: *ṛddheṣu āsīneṣu daridrā bhuñjate* ‘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 karmasaṃyoge saptamī vaktavyā*

‘*saptamī* should also be stated to occur after a stem which denotes *nimitta* ‘cause, purpose’ used with an object (*karman*)’

Example: *carmaṇi dvīpinam hanti dantayor hanti kuñjaram // keṣeṣu camarīṃ hanti sīmni 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 भावलक्षणम्

*yasya ca bhāvena bhāvalakṣaṇam*

*/ yasya 6/1 ca ∅ bhāvena 3/1 bhāvalakṣaṇam 1/1 (ṣaṣ. tat.) /*

*(saptamī #36)*

*yasya ca kriyayā kriyāntaraṃ lakṣyate tato bhāvavataḥ saptamī vibhaktir bhavati*

A *saptamī* occurs after a stem whose implied action characterizes another action.

EXAMPLES:

*goṣu duhyamānāsu gataḥ* ‘he left when the cows were being milked’

*dugdhāsv āgataḥ* ‘he returned when the cows were (already) milked’

*agniṣu hūyamāneṣu gataḥ* ‘he left when oblations were being offered to the ritual fire’

*huteṣv 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 (*sādhya*). 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 *sādhya*, denoted by a verb root (*dhātu*).

*Kāśikā* glosses *bhāva* as *kriyā*, and further paraphrases the rule as follows:

*yasya ca bhāvena = yasya ca kriyayā kriyāntaraṃ 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 *sādhya* 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 (*prasiddhā*). 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 duhyamānāsu gataḥ* ‘he left when the cows were being milked’ where the action of milking (denoted by *duh*) 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 dugdhāsu 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) *brāhmaṇeṣu adhīyāneṣu gataḥ* ‘he went when the *brāhmaṇa* were chanting’.

### 2.3.38 षष्ठी चानादरे

*ṣaṣṭhī cānādare*

*/ ṣaṣṭhī 1/1 ca ∅ anādare 7/1 (nāñ. tat.) /*

(*yasya ca bhāvena bhāvalakṣaṇam #37, saptamī #36*)

*anādarādhike bhāvalakṣaṇe bhāvavataḥ ṣaṣṭhīsaptamyau vibhaktī bhavataḥ*

A *ṣaṣṭhī* also occurs after a stem whose implied action characterizes another action provided *anādara* ‘disrespect’ is denoted.

#### EXAMPLES:

*rudataḥ prāvrajīt* ‘not paying any attention to the crying relatives, he became a wandering ascetic’

*rudati prāvrajīt* ‘id.’

*krośataḥ prāvṛājīt* ‘not paying any attention to the angry relatives, he became a wandering ascetic’  
*krośati prāvṛājīt* ‘id.’

1. This rule introduces *ṣaṣṭhī* 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 स्वामीश्वराधिपतिदायादसाक्षिप्रतिभूप्रसूतैश्च

*svāmīśvarādhipatidāyādasākṣipratibhūprasūtaiś ca*  
*/ svāmī...prasūtaiḥ 3/3 = svāmī ca īśvaraś ca adhipatiś ca dāyādaś ca*  
*sākṣī ca pratibhūś ca prasūtaś ca = svāmī...prasūtāḥ (itar. dv.), taiḥ; ca 0 /*  
*(ṣaṣṭhī #38, saptamī #36)*

‘*svāmin, īśvara, adhipati, dāyāda, sākṣin, pratibhū, prasūta*’ ity etair yoge  
*ṣaṣṭhīsaptamyau vibhaktī bhavataḥ*

A *ṣaṣṭhī*, as well as a *saptamī*, occurs after a stem used in conjunction with *svāmin* ‘master, owner’; *īśvara* ‘lord, master’; *adhipati* ‘ruler, master’; *dāyāda* ‘heir’; *sākṣin* ‘witness’; *pratibhū* ‘guarantor’; or *prasūta* ‘offspring’.

#### EXAMPLES:

*gavāṃ svāmī* ‘owner of cows’  
*goṣu svāmī* ‘id.’  
*gavāṃ īśvaraḥ* ‘id.’  
*goṣu īśvaraḥ* ‘id.’  
*gavāṃ adhipatiḥ* ‘id.’  
*goṣu adhipatiḥ* ‘id.’  
*gavāṃ dāyādaḥ* ‘he who inherits cows’  
*goṣu dāyādaḥ* ‘id.’  
*gavāṃ sākṣī* ‘witness of cows’  
*goṣu sākṣī* ‘id.’  
*gavāṃ pratibhūḥ* ‘guarantor of cows’  
*goṣu pratibhūḥ* ‘id.’  
*gavāṃ prasūtāḥ* ‘offspring of cows’  
*goṣu prasūtāḥ* ‘id.’

1. This rule introduces both *ṣaṣṭhī* 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 *ṣaṣṭhī*, (which, however, would have been available in any case from rule 2.3.50 *ṣaṣṭhī śeṣe*).

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 आयुक्तकुशलाभ्यां चासेवायाम्

*āyuktakuśalābhyāṃ cāsevāyām*

*/ āyuktakuśalābhyām 3/2 (itar. dv.) ca ∅ āsevāyām 7/2/*

(*ṣaṣṭhī* #38, *saptamī* #36)

*āyuktaḥ vyāpāritaḥ, kuśalaḥ nipuṇaḥ tābhyāṃ yoge āsevāyāṃ gamyā-  
mānāyāṃ ṣaṣṭhīsaptamyau vibhaktī bhavataḥ*

A *ṣaṣṭhī*, as well as a *saptamī*, occurs after a stem used in conjunction with *āyukta* ‘delegated, appointed’ or *kuśala* ‘skilled’ provided *āsevā* ‘diligence’ is denoted.

#### EXAMPLES:

*āyuktaḥ kaṭakaraṇasya* ‘one who is entrusted with (and diligently involved in) making a mat’

*āyuktaḥ katakaraṇe* ‘id.’

*kuśalaḥ kaṭakaraṇasya* ‘one who is skilled at (and diligently involved in) making a mat’

*kuśalaḥ koṭakaraṇe* ‘id.’

1. This rule introduces *ṣaṣṭhī* and *saptamī* after nominal stems used with *āyukta* ‘delegated, appointed’ and *kuśala* ‘skilled’ when *āsevā* ‘diligence’ is denoted. Thus we get examples such as the pairs above.

Note that the locative after *kaṭakaraṇa* ‘mat-making’ would, in any case, be available on account of its serving as the domain of *āyuktatā* ‘delegation’ and *nipuṇatā* ‘skill’. The rule is required more for the optional *ṣaṣṭhī* (*Nyāsa ad Kāśikā* II: 197: *āyuktatā nipuṇatā ca kaṭādikaraṇaviṣayai veti saptamyām eva prāptāyām pakṣe ṣaṣṭhīvidhānārthaṃ vacanam*).

### 2.3.41 यतश्च निर्धारणम्

*yataś ca nirdhāraṇam*

*/ yataś ∅ ca ∅ nirdhāraṇam 1/1/*

(*ṣaṣṭhī* #38, *saptamī* #36)

*yato nirdhāraṇam tataḥ śaṣṭhī saptamī vibhaktī bhavataḥ*

A *śaṣṭhī* or *saptamī* also occurs after a stem which denotes many, from amongst which one is singled out.

#### EXAMPLES:

*manuṣyāṇām kṣatriyaḥ sūratamaḥ* ‘the *kṣatriya* is bravest among men’  
*manuṣyeṣu kṣatriyaḥ sūratamaḥ* ‘id.’

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

*goṣu kṛṣṇā sampannakṣīratamā* ‘id.’

*adhvānām dhāvantaḥ śīghratamāḥ* ‘those who run are the fastest among those who go by the road’

1. This rule introduces *śaṣṭhī* 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 *śaṣṭhī*, too, can be accounted for by 2.3.50 *śaṣṭhī śeṣe*, on the grounds that there obtains a part and whole relationship (*avayavāvayavibhāva*):

*kimarthaṃ punar idam. yāvatā nirdhāryamāṇo’ vayavaḥ samudāyāntar-  
 bhūtaḥ; tatra yadā samudāyādhikaraṇatvaṃ vivakṣyate tadā saptamī siddhai-  
 veti... yadā tv avayavāvayavisambandhas tadā śaṣṭhī... satyam etat; pra-  
 pañcārthaṃ vacanam.*

#### 2.3.42 पञ्चमी विभक्ते

*pañcamī vibhakte*

*/ pañcamī 1/1 vibhakte 7/1/*

(*yataś ca nirdhāraṇam #41*)

*yasmin nirdhāraṇāśraye vibhaktam asyāsti tataḥ pañcamī vibhaktir bhavati*  
 A *pañcamī* occurs after a stem which denotes something from which something different is distinguished.

#### EXAMPLES:

*māthurāḥ pāṭalīputrakebhyaḥ sukumāratarāḥ* ‘the people of Mathurā are more youthful than the people of Pāṭalīputra’

*māthurāḥ pāṭalīputrakebhyaḥ ādhyatarāḥ* ‘the people of Mathurā are more prosperous than the people of Pāṭalīputra’

1. This rule introduces *pañcamī* 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 Pāṭaliputra; the two groups of people are shown to be different, lacking in similarity.

Note the following sentence:

(a) *goṣu kṛṣṇā sampannakṣīratamā* ‘the black among cows is richest in milk’

Here, *go* will not qualify for *pañcamī* 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 expatiate. Clearly, a thing set apart denotes movement away, and therefore *pañcamī* can be ruled by 2.3.28 *apādāne pañcamī*, read with 1.4.24 *dhruvam....*

### 2.3.43 साधुनिपुणाभ्यामर्चायां सप्तम्यप्रतेः

*sādhunipuṇābhyām arcāyām saptamī aprateḥ*  
/ *sādhunipuṇābhyām 3/1 (itar. dv.) arcāyām 7/1 saptamī 1/1 aprateḥ 6/1/*  
‘*sādhu, nipuṇa*’ ity *etābhyām yoge*’ *rcāyām gamyamānāyām saptamī*  
*vibhaktir bhavati*

A *saptamī* 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 nipuṇaḥ* ‘he is kind to his mother’  
*pitari nipuṇaḥ* ‘he is kind to his father’

1. This rule introduces *saptamī* 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 *saptamī* where, for example, a statement of fact (*tatvakathana*) is made. Thus:

(a) *sādhur bhṛtyo rājñah* ‘the good servant of the king’.

2. The formal condition of *aprateḥ* ‘when *prati* is not used’ disallows the use of *saptamī* in *mātaram* of a sentence such as:

(b) *sādhur devadatto mātaram prati* ‘Devadatta is good to his mother’.

### 2.3.44 प्रसितोत्सुकाभ्यां तृतीया च

*prasitotsukābhyām tṛtīyā ca*

/ *prasitotsukābhyām* 3/2 = *prasitaś ca utsukaś ca* = *prasitotsukau* (itar. dv.),  
*tābhyām*; *ṛtīyā* 1/1 ca Ø/

(*saptamī* #36)

'*prasita*, *utsuka*' ity *etābhyām* yoge *ṛtīyā* vibhaktir bhavati cakārāt  
*saptamī* ca

A *ṛtīyā*, as well as *saptamī*, also occurs after a stem used in conjunction  
 with *prasita* 'preoccupied' or *utsuka* 'concerned, eager'.

#### EXAMPLES:

*keśaiḥ prasitaḥ* 'he who is preoccupied with his hair'

*keśeṣu prasitaḥ* 'id.'

*keśair utsukaḥ* 'he who is concerned about his hair'

*keśeṣu utsukaḥ* 'id.'

1. This rule additionally introduces *ṛtīyā* after a nominal stem used  
 with *prasita* and *utsuka*. The *Kāśikā* explains *prasita* as *yas tatra nityam*  
*evāvabaddhaḥ* 'he who is always preoccupied with something'. Note that  
*prasita* can also mean 'dazzling white'; although, because of the association  
 (*sāhacarya*) of *utsuka*, it too is interpreted as denoting an action.

#### 2.3.45 नक्षत्रे च लुपि

*nakṣatre ca lupi*

/ *nakṣatre* 7/1 ca Ø/ *lupi* 7/1/

(*ṛtīyā* #44, *saptamī* #36)

*lubantān nakṣatraśabdāt ṛtīyāsaptamyau vibhaktī bhavataḥ*

A *ṛtīyā*, as well as *saptamī*, also occurs after a stem which termi-  
 nates in *LUP* (1.1.61 *pratyayasya*; 4.2.4 *lub aviśeṣe*) and denotes  
*nakṣatra* 'constellation'.

#### EXAMPLES:

*puṣyeṇa pāyasam aśnīyāt* 'one should eat *pāyasa* (rice pudding) during  
 the constellation *puṣya*'

*puṣye pāyasam aśnīyāt* 'id.'

*maghābhiḥ palalaudanam aśnīyāt* 'one should eat *palalaudana* (sweet  
 rice) during the constellation *maghā*'

*maghāsu palalaudanam aśnīyāt* 'id.'

1. This rule introduces *ṛtīyā* and *saptamī* after a nominal stem which  
 denotes *nakṣatra* and ends in *LUP*. The use of the word *LUP* in *saptamī*  
 refers to rules 4.2.3 *nakṣatreṇa yuktaḥ kālah* and 4.2.4 *lub aviśeṣe*, where  
 the first rule introduces affix *aṅ* after a word denoting *nakṣatra* 'con-  
 stellation' 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 *paṣyaḥ* by introducing affix *aN* after *puṣya*, 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 *ṛtīyā* and *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 *puṣyaḥ*, and not the expected *paṣyaḥ*, by introducing affix *aN* to denote a general time-frame for the lunar conjunction with the constellation Puṣya. Note that, given the string *puṣya + aN*, the affix will subsequently be deleted by 4.2.4 *lub aviśeṣe*. This, in turn, will block the *ṛddhi* replacement in *au* for the *u* of *puṣya*. It is in this sense that we say that one expects to derive *paṣya*, but one ends up with *puṣya*.

2. This rule is required more for *ṛtīyā* than for *saptamī*, since *saptamī* could have been introduced by 2.3.35 *saptamy...*

### 2.3.46 प्रातिपदिकार्थलिङ्गपरिमाणवचनमात्रे प्रथमा

*prātipadikārthaliṅgaparimāṇavacanamātre prathamā*  
/ *prātipadikārtha...mātre 7/1 = prātipadikasya arthaḥ = prātipadi-*  
*kārthaḥ (ṣaṣ. tat.), prātipadikārthaś ca liṅgaṃ ca parimāṇaṃ ca*  
*vacanaṃ ca = prātipadikārtha...mātram (karm. tat.), tasmīn; prathamā*  
*1/1/*

*prātipadikārthamātre liṅgamātre parimāṇamātre vacanamātre prathamā*  
*vibhaktir bhavati*

A *prathamā* ‘first triplet of *sUP*’ occurs when only *prātipadikārtha* ‘meaning of the stem, stem notion’; *liṅga* ‘gender’; *parimāṇa* ‘measure’; or *vacana* ‘number’ is to be expressed.

#### EXAMPLES:

*uccaiḥ* ‘high up’  
*nīcaiḥ* ‘low down’  
*kumārī* ‘girl’  
*ṛkṣaḥ* ‘tree’  
*dronaḥ* ‘a measure of weight’  
*khārī* ‘id.’  
*ekaḥ* ‘one’  
*dvau* ‘two’  
*bahavaḥ* ‘many’

1. This rule introduces *prathamā* to denote only the nominal stem notion (*prātipadikārtha*), gender (*liṅga*), measure (*parimāṇa*) and number (*saṃkhyā*). The formulation of the rule needs some explanation. The expression *prātipadikārthaliṅgaparimāṇavacanamātre* 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, *prātipadikārthaliṅgaparimāṇavacanam*). Since an item used at the end of a *dvandva* compound is associated with each of its constituents (*dvandānte śrūyamāṇaḥ 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 *uccaiḥ* ‘high up’; *nīcaiḥ* ‘low down’, etc. Elsewhere, number and gender are expressed concurrently with the nominal stem notion. Thus, the nominative singular ending *sU* in the word *kṛṣṇaḥ* expresses both masculine gender and singular number; but it also expresses the meaning of the nominal stem. Clearly, this is why *prathamā* in *kṛṣṇaḥ* 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 (*avyaya*) where nothing but the nominal stem notion is to be expressed. Words such as *kumārī* ‘girl’, *vṛkṣaḥ* ‘tree’, and *kunḍam* ‘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 *parimāṇa* ‘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’; *liṅga* ‘gender’; *saṃkhyā* ‘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. Kaiyaṭa 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 *niyato-pasthitikaḥ* ‘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 सम्बोधने च

*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 *abhimukhīkaraṇa* ‘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 साऽऽमन्त्रितम्

*sā’ mantritām*

/ *sā* 1/1 *āmantritām* 1/1/

(*sambodhane* #47, *prathamā* #46)

*sambodhane yā prathamā tadantaṃ śābdarūpam āmantritasamjñam 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 *antaṃ* explicitly in 1.4.14 *suptinantaṃ padaṃ*.

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*? Jinen-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 *āmantritaṃ pūrvam avidyamānavat*

### 2.3.49 एकवचनं सम्बुद्धिः

*ekavacanam sambuddhiḥ*

*/ ekavacanam 1/1 sambuddhiḥ 1/1/*

(*āmantritam* # 48, *prathamā* # 46)

*āmantrita prathamāyā yad ekavacanam tat sambuddhisamjñam bhavati*

A singular *āmantrita* is termed *sambuddhi*.

#### EXAMPLES:

*he paṭo* '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 guṇaḥ*, 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 *eṅ hrasvāt sambuddeḥ*.

Scope: 6.1.69 *eṅ hrasvāt sambuddheḥ*

### 2.3.50 षष्ठी शेषे

*ṣaṣṭhī śeṣe*

*/ ṣaṣṭhī 1/1 śeṣe 7/1/*

A *ṣaṣṭhī* occurs after a nominal stem when the remainder (*śeṣa*) is to be expressed.

#### EXAMPLES:

*rājñāḥ puruṣasya gṛham* ‘the house of the servant of the king’

*paśoḥ pādaḥ* ‘foot of an animal’

*pituh putraḥ* ‘son of a father’

1. This rule introduces *ṣaṣṭhī* 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 dvitīyā*, 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 *ṣaṣṭhī* (referred to here by *śeṣa*). These meanings are identified as *svasvāmi-sambandha* ‘owner-owned relation’, etc. Note that *sambandha* entails dual locus (*dviṣṭha*), yet it is denoted by *ṣaṣṭhī*, introduced after a stem which denotes the qualifier (*viśeṣana*) and not the qualified (*viśeṣya*). 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 ज्ञो ऽविदर्थस्य करणे

*jñō' vidarthasya karaṇe*

*/ jñah 6/1 avidarthasya 6/1 = vido' rthah = vidarthah (ṣaṣ. tat.), na vidarthah (nañ. tat.), tasya; karaṇe 7/1/*

*(ṣaṣṭhī #50)*

*jānāter avidarthasya ajñānārthasya karaṇe kārake ṣaṣṭhī vibhaktir bhavati*

A *ṣaṣṭhī* occurs after a stem to express, as a remainder, the *karaṇa* of *jñā* when not used in the sense 'to know'.

## EXAMPLES:

*sarpiṣo jānāte* 'he offers the ritual oblation thinking it is ghee'

*madhuno jānāte* '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 अधीगर्थदयेशां कर्मणि

*adhīgarthadayeśāṃ karmaṇi*

*/ adhīgarthadayeśām 6/3 = adhīgartho yeśāṃ dhātūnām te adhīgarthāḥ (bv.), adhīgarthāś ca dayaś ca īś ca = adhīgarthadayeśah (itar. dv.), teśām; karmaṇi 7/1/*

*(ṣaṣṭhī śeṣe #50)*

*adhīgarthāḥ = smaraṇārthāḥ, 'dayadānagatirakṣaṇeṣu', īś aiśvārye eteśām karmaṇi kārake śeṣatvena vivakṣite ṣaṣṭhī vibhaktir bhavati*

A *ṣaṣṭhī* occurs after a stem to express, as a remainder, the *karmaṇi* of verbs which denote the sense of *adhīk* (*adhi* + *iK*) 'to remember'; *dayā* 'to give, feel pity, protect, move'; and *īś* 'to rule'.

## EXAMPLES:

*mātur adhyeti* 'he remembers his mother'

*mātuḥ smarati* 'id.'

*sarpiṣo dayate* 'he gives the ghee'

*sarpiṣa īśte* 'he controls the ghee'

*madhuna īśte* 'he controls the honey'

1. This rule allows for the introduction of *ṣaṣṭhī* to denote the object of verbal roots which have the signification of *adhi + iK* 'to remember' when the same is to be expressed as the remainder. Note that *dvitīyā* can express the *karman* when it is not expressed otherwise (2.3.2 *karmaṇi dvitīyā*). When the same object is to be expressed as a remainder of 2.3.2 *karmaṇi dvitīyā*, 2.3.52 *adhīgartha...* can be applied to introduce *ṣaṣṭhī*. Thus, we get the first two examples shown above, which we shall call (a) and (b). A sentence such as:

(c) *smṛtā mātā tena* 'the mother was remembered by him' expresses the object of *smṛ* by the verb. Consequently, *mātā* cannot be used with *dvitīyā*. Rule 2.3.52 *adhīgartha...* thus illustrates two levels of constraints. Level one constrains the introduction of *dvitīyā*, with reference to 2.3.2 *karmaṇi dvitīyā*, and to any other means outside the domain of 2.3.1 *anabhihite* whereby *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 *anabhihite*. That is, if the option of expressing the object is available to rule 2.3.2 *karmaṇi dvitīyā*, under the condition of 2.3.1 *anabhihite*, then that option could be taken by 2.3.2. If 2.3.2 takes the option, the *karman* will be expressed by *dvitīyā*, as in *mātaram*. If, however, the option is not taken, the object can then be expressed as the remainder (*śeṣa*) by rule 2.3.52 *adhīgartha...*, thereby yielding sentence (b) as an alternative.

2. Note that rules 2.3.51 *jño' vidarthasya karaṇe* through 2.3.64 *kṛtvo' rthaprayoge...* form a set, where *ṣaṣṭhī* is introduced with reference to the enumeration of specific stems. It is for this reason that the *ṣaṣṭhī* is called *pratīpadavidhānāṣaṣṭhī* 'a genitive introduced with reference to specific words'. It is to be remembered that the *Mahābhāṣya* (II: 681) does not allow the formation of a compound with a constituent in *ṣaṣṭhī* 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' (*śeṣalakṣaṇā*; cf. 2.3.50 *ṣaṣṭhī śeṣe*). Thus, *śeṣalakṣaṇā*, as opposed to the *pratīpadavidhānā*, forms the second type of genitive. A third type is called *kṛdyogā*, 'that which is introduced in conjunction with an item which ends in a *kṛt* affix'. Rule 2.3.65 *karṣṭr karmaṇoḥ kṛti* forms a set by itself, whereby *kṛdyogā ṣaṣṭhī* is introduced. A fourth type of *ṣaṣṭhī*, in contradistinction to the preceding three, which are taken together as forming a single group, is called *sthāneyogā* (see my note under rule 1.1.49 *ṣaṣṭhī sthāneyogā*).

### 2.3.53 कृजः प्रतियत्ने

*kr̥jāḥ pratiyatne*

/ *kr̥jāḥ* 6/1 *pratiyatne* 7/1/

(*karmaṇi* #52, *ṣaṣṭhī śeṣe* #50)

*karoteḥ karmaṇi kārake śeṣatvena vivakṣite pratiyatne gamyamāne ṣaṣṭhī vibhaktir bhavati*

A *ṣaṣṭhī* occurs after a stem to express the *karman* of *ḌUkrÑ* '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 *guṇāntarādhānam* '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 *udaka*). 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 *śeṣa* 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 *śeṣatva*, the form would then be *edho dakasyopaskurute*.

Note also in connection with this that, given the meaning condition of *pratiyatna*, rule 1.3.32 *gandhanāvākṣepaṇasevanasāhasikyapratiyatna...* introduces *ātmanepada* as a replacement of *LAṬ* 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 *sUṬ* before the *k* of verbal root *kr*, used with *upa*, to yield *upaskr*.

**2.3.54 रुजार्थानां भाववचनानामज्वरे:**

*rujārthānām bhāvavacanānām ajvareḥ*

*/ rujārthānām 6/3 = rujā artho yeṣām (bv.) bhāvavacanānām 6/3 = bhāvovacanah yeṣām (bv.), teṣām ajvareḥ 6/1 = na jvariḥ = ajvariḥ (nañ. tat.), tasya /*

(*karmaṇi* #52, *ṣaṣṭhī śeṣe* #50)

*rujārthānām dhātūnām bhāvavacanānām bhāvakarṭṛkānām jvarivarjitānām karmaṇi kārake śeṣatvena vivakṣite ṣaṣṭhī vibhaktir bhavati*

A *ṣaṣṭhī* 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'  
*caurasyāmayaty āmayah* 'id.'

1. Here, *ṣaṣṭhī* is introduced to denote the object of roots, excluding *jvāri*, 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 *jvāri*; and
- (ii) that this action, though in the state of being accomplished (*sādhyamānāvasthā*), 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 *GHaÑ* 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 *karmaṇi dvitīyā* would have applied to yield:

- (b) *cauraṃ 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 bhāvalakṣaṇam*.

### 2.3.55 आशिषि नाथः

*āśiṣi nāthaḥ*

/ *āśiṣi* 7/1 *nāthaḥ* 6/1

(*karmaṇi* #52, *ṣaṣṭhī śeṣe* #50)

‘*nādhr̥, nāthr̥, yācñāpatāpaiśvaryāśiḥṣu*’ *paṭhyate, tasyāśiḥ kriyasya karmaṇi kārake śeṣatvena vivakṣite ṣaṣṭhī vibhaktir bhavati*

A *ṣaṣṭhī* occurs to express the *karman* of *nāthR̥* when it denotes *āśiḥ* ‘benediction’, and *karman* itself is expressed as a remainder.

#### EXAMPLES:

*sarpiṣo nāthate* ‘he wishes for the blessing of ghee’

*madhuno nāthate* ‘he wishes for the blessing of honey’

1. This rule introduces *ṣaṣṭhī* to denote the object of *nāthR̥* when the root is used in the sense of *āśiḥ*, as shown in the above examples. Note that *āśiḥ* is glossed as *yācñā* ‘to pray for, beg’. Furthermore, *ṣaṣṭhī* is available when one wishes to express the *karman* as *śeṣa*. Otherwise, *dvitīyā* can be used.

Jinendrabuddhi (*Nyāsa ad Kās*: 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!' (*sarpir yasya nāsty ato' rthitvād āsāste sah, sarpir me bhūyād iti*).

### 2.3.56 जासिनिप्रहणनाटक्राथपिषां हिसायाम्

*jāsiniṣrahaṇanāṭakrāthapiṣāṃ hiṣāyām*

*/ jāsi...piṣāṃ 6/3 = jāsi ca niṣrahaṇaṃ ca nāṭaś ca krāthaś ca piṣ ca = jāsi...piṣāḥ (itar. div.), tesāṃ hiṣāyām 7/1/*

(*karmaṇi* #52, *ṣaṣṭhī śeṣe* #50)

*'jāsi, niṣrahaṇa, nāṭa, krātha, piṣ' ity etesāṃ dhātūnām hiṣākriyānām karmaṇi kārake ṣaṣṭhī vibhaktir bhavati*

A *ṣaṣṭhī* 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*, *naṭ* 'to injure' and *krāth* and *piṣ*, they mean 'to wish harm to'.

#### EXAMPLES:

*caurasyojjāsayati* 'he is beating the thief'

*caurasya niṣrahanti* 'they are beating the thief'

*caurasya nihanti* 'id.'

*caurasya prahanti* 'id.'

*caurasya praṇihanti* 'id.'

*caurasyonnāṭayati* 'he is torturing the thief'

*caurasyotkrāthayati* 'id.'

*caurasya pinaṣṭi* 'id.'

1. This rule allows the denotation of the object of the selected verbs under the meaning condition of *hiṣā* provided the same is to be denoted as a remainder. In the absence of taking the option of expressing the object as a remainder, *dvitīyā*, by 2.3.2 *karmaṇi 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 *hiṣā*. 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 *saṃghāta*, jointly in the order of enumeration as *niṣra-han*;
- (ii) in the *vigrahāta* form, separately as *ni-han*, *prahan*; or
- (iii) in the *viṣaryasta* form, conversely in the order of enumeration as *pra-ni- han*.

The words *saṃghāta*, *vigrahāta*, and *viṣaryasta* thus technically explain the manner in which these preverbs are used with *han*. The verbal root

*naṭ* 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 *ghaṭ* ‘to strive’. Roots belonging to the *ghaṭādi* group, which total fifty-five, are treated as marked with *M*. This, in turn, causes the shortening of their *vṛddhi* vowels before the causal suffix *ṆiC*.

Pāṇini refers to *krath* by its *vṛddhi* form *krāth*, because, under the *Mit* treatment just mentioned, it will lack the *vṛddhi*. That is, he does not want *krath* to undergo shortening of its *vṛddhi* vowel before the causative *ṆiC*. Note that he also cites *jasU* and *naṭA* 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 *ṣaṣṭhī* 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 *dvitīyā*. *Nyāsa* clarifies the issue as follows:

*atra hīkāro dhātunirdeśārthaḥ kṛtaḥ, ‘ikṣtipau dhātunirdeśe’ iti. yady evam, jāsitīy ākāraḥ kathaṃ śrūyate. ucyate-ākāram uccārya vikṛtanirdeśaḥ kṛtaḥ; vikṛtanirdeśas tu yatrasyaitad rūpaṃ bhavati tatraiva yathā syād anyatra mā bhūd: dasyum ajījasat iti*

‘Here *i* (in *jasī*) has been used to refer to the root in accordance with the convention ‘*ikṣtipau dhātunirdeśe*’. If it is so, how do we come to have the *ā* in *jāsī*? 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 *ṣaṣṭhī* 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 व्यवहृणोः समर्थयोः

*vyavahr̥ṇoḥ samarthayoḥ*  
/ *vyavahr̥ṇoḥ 6/2 samarthayoḥ 6/2/*  
(*karmani* #52, *ṣaṣṭhī śeṣe* #50)

*'vyavahṛ, paṇa' ity etayoḥ smarthayoḥ samānārthayoḥ karmaṇi kārake ṣaṣṭhī vibhaktir bhavati*

A *ṣaṣṭhī* occurs to express the *karman* of *vyavahṛ* '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 *ṣaṣṭhī* to express the object of the action denoted by verbal root *hṛ* used with the preverbs *vi* and *ava*, and also by the verbal root *paṇ* when used with a signification similar to that of *hṛ*. 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) *brāhṃ paṇāyate* 'he praises the *brāhmaṇa*'  
 (b) *śalākam 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*: *sakandhvādiṣu pararūpaṃ vācyam*.

2.3.58 दिवस्तदर्थस्य

*divas tadarthasya*

*/ divaḥ 6/1 tadarthasya 6/1 = saḥ artho yasya = tadarthaḥ (ṣaṣ.tat), tasya / (karmaṇi #52, ṣaṣṭhī śeṣe #50, anabhihite #1)*

*vyavahṛpaṇisamānārthasya dīvyateḥ karmaṇi ṣaṣṭhī vibhaktir bhavati*

A *ṣaṣṭhī* occurs to express the *karman* of *div* 'to play' when it denotes a meaning similar to that of *vyavahṛ* 'to gamble' and *paṇ* 'to barter'.

EXAMPLES:

*śatasya dīvyati* 'he is gambling with a hundred'  
*sahasrasya dīvyati* 'he is gambling with a thousand'

1. This rule introduces *ṣaṣṭhī* 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 *vyavahṛ* and *paṇ*, could very easily have been accommodated by the wording of the preceding rule. *Kāśikā* states that a split rule is required so that only *div* could be associated with the provision of 2.3.59 *vibhāṣo-pasarge*. 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 *vyavahṛ* and *paṇ* 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 *vyavahṛ* and *paṇ*' This condition of *tadarthasya* rules out genitive after *brāhmaṇa* in the example.

(a) *brāhmaṇam dīvyati* 'he praises the *brāhmaṇa*'  
where *div* is used in the sense of *stuti* 'praise'.

### 2.3.59 विभाषोपसर्गे

*vibhāṣopasarge*

/ *vibhāṣā* 1/1 *upasarge* 7/1

(*divas tadarthasya* #58, *karmaṇi* #52, *ṣaṣṭhī śeṣe* #50, *anabhihite* #1)

*upasarge sati divas tadarthasya karmaṇi kārake vibhāṣā ṣaṣṭhī vibhaktir bhavati*

A *ṣaṣṭhī* optionally occurs to express the *karman* of *div* when it is used with a preverb and it denotes a meaning similar to that of *vyavahṛ* and *paṇ*.

#### EXAMPLES:

*śatasya pratidīvyati* 'he is gambling with a hundred'

*śataṃ pratidīvyati* 'id.'

*sahasrasya pratidīvyati* 'he is gambling with a thousand'

*sahasreṇa pratidīvyati* 'id.'

1. This rule makes optional the obligatory provision of *ṣaṣṭhī* of rule 2.3.58, when *div* is used with a preverb. If the option is not taken, *dvitīyā* will obtain.

### 2.3.60 द्वितीया ब्राह्मणे

*dvitīyā brāhmaṇe*

/ *dvitīyā* 1/1 *brāhmaṇe* 7/1/1

(*divas tadarthasya* #58, *karmaṇi* #52, *ṣaṣṭhī śeṣe* #50, *anabhihite* #1)

*brāhmaṇaviṣaye prayoge divas tadarthasya karmaṇi kārake dvitīyā vibhaktir bhavati*

A *dvitīyā* occurs in the *Brāhmaṇa* to express the *karman* of *div* when this root is used with a meaning similar to that of *vyavahṛ* and *paṇ* provided the *karman* is not expressed otherwise.

EXAMPLE:

*gāmasya tadahaḥ sabhāyaṃ dīvyeyuḥ* ‘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 *ṣaṣṭhī* which would otherwise obtain to denote the object of *div*, used without a preverb. Of course, the *dvitīyā* is relatable only to usage in the *Brāhmaṇa*. Haradatta (*PM* ad *Kāśikā* II: 220) explains that what is referred to here by the term *Brāhmaṇa* is really the *Śatapathabrāhmaṇa*.

2.3.61 प्रेष्यब्रुवोर्हविषो देवतासम्प्रदाने

*presyabruvor haviṣo devatāsampradāne*  
/ *presyabruvoḥ* 6/2 (*itar. dv.*) *haviṣaḥ* 6/1 *devatāsampradāne* 7/1 =  
*devatā sampradānam yasya (bv.)*, *tasmin* /  
(*brāhmaṇe* #60, *karmaṇi* #52, *ṣaṣṭhī śeṣe* #50, *anabhihite* #1)  
*presyabruvor haviṣaḥ karmaṇaḥ ṣaṣṭhī vibhaktir bhavati devatā sampradāne*  
*sati*

A *ṣaṣṭhī* 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 medaso’ nubrūhi* ‘make a pledge of the ritual oblation of goat, fat and marrow to Agni’ (*KŚ* 6.6.26)

1. *Kāśikā* 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 *ŚyaN* in (*presya*). Because of *sāhacarya* ‘association’, *brū* is understood to be similarly constrained.

2.3.62 चतुर्थ्यर्थे बहुलं छन्दसि

*caturthyarthe bahulam chandasi*  
/ *caturthyarthe* 7/1 *bahulam* 1/1 *chandasi* 7/1/  
(*ṣaṣṭhī śeṣe* #50)

*chandasi viṣaye caturthyarthe ṣaṣṭhī vibhaktir bhavati bahulam*

A *ṣaṣṭhī* variously occurs in the sense of *caturthī* ‘fourth triplet of *sUP*’ in the Veda.

## EXAMPLES:

*puruṣamṛgaś candramasaḥ* ‘...to the moon,  
a male deer’ (Vāj 24.35)

*puruṣamṛgaṃ candramase* ‘id.’

*godhā kālakā dārvāghāṭaste vanaspatīnām* ‘to the god of vegetation, a  
lizard, kālaka bird, and dārvāghāṭa’ (Vāj 24.35)

*godhā kālakā dārvāghāṭaste vanaspatibhyaḥ* ‘id.’

## 2.3.63 यजेश्च करणे

*yajesh ca karane*

/ yajesh 1/1 ca 0 karane 7/1/

(bahulam chandasi #62, ṣaṣṭhī śeṣe #50, anabhihite #1)

*yajer dhātoḥ karane kārake chandasi bahulam ṣaṣṭhī vibhaktir bhavati*

A *ṣaṣṭhī* also variously occurs in the Veda to express the *karana* of  
*yajA* when it is not expressed otherwise.

## EXAMPLES:

*ghṛtasya yajate* ‘he performs the ritual sacrifice with ghee’ (Śat  
4.4.2.4)

*ghṛtena yajate* ‘id.’

*somasya yajate* ‘he performs the ritual sacrifice with soma’ (Śat  
4.4.2.5)

*somena yajate* ‘id.’

## 2.3.64 कृत्वोऽर्थप्रयोगे कालेऽधिकरणे

*kṛtvo’ rthaprayoge kāle’ dhikarane*

/ kṛtvo’ rthaprayoge 7/1 kṛtvaso’ rthaḥ = kṛtvo’ rthaḥ (ṣaṣ. tat.), kṛtvo’ rtha

eva artho yeṣām te = kṛtvo’ rthāḥ (bv.), kṛtvo’ rthasya prayogaḥ = kṛtvo’

rthaprayogaḥ (ṣaṣ. tat. with int. bv.), tasmin; kāle 7/1 adhikarane 7/1/

(ṣaṣṭhī śeṣe #50, anabhihite#1)

*kṛtvo’ rthānām pratyāyānām prayoge kāle’ dhikarane ṣaṣṭhī vibhaktir  
bhavati*

A *ṣaṣṭhī* occurs to express *adhikarana* ‘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 *kṛtvas UC* (5.4.17 *samkhyāyāḥ...*),  
provided *adhikarana* is not expressed otherwise.

## EXAMPLES:

*pañcakṛtvo’ hno bhunkte* ‘he eats five times a day’

*dvirahno’ dhīte* ‘he studies twice a day’

## 2.3.65 कर्त्तृकर्मणोः कृति

*karṭṛkarmaṇoḥ kṛti*

*/ karṭṛkarmaṇoḥ 7/2 kṛti 7/1*

(*ṣaṣṭhī śeṣe #50, anabhihite#1*)

*kṛtprayoḡe karttari karmaṇi ca ṣaṣṭhī vibhaktir bhavati*

A *ṣaṣṭhī* occurs after a stem to express *karṭṛ* and *karman*, when the stem is used in conjunction with an item which ends in *kṛt* (2.1.93 *kṛd atin*), and when *karṭṛ* and *karman* are not expressed otherwise.

## EXAMPLES:

*bhavataḥ śāyikā* ‘your turn to sleep’

*bhavata āsikā* ‘your turn to sit’

*apāṃ sraṣṭā* ‘producer of water’

*purāṃ bhettā* ‘destroyer of cities’

1. Note that the condition of *kṛti* ‘when used in conjunction with an item which ends in a *kṛt*’ is required so that a *karṭṛ* or *karman* is not expressed with a genitive occurring after a stem used in conjunction with an item which ends in a *taddhita* (4.1.76 *taddhitaḥ*). The *karṭṛ* or *karman*, 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 *kṛti*, in connection with the denotation of *karṭṛ* and *karman* of the action which underlies a *taddhita* derivate, the use of *kṛti* 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 *karṭṛ* and *karman*. Rule 2.3.69 *na lokāvyayaniṣṭhā...* does not allow the genitive to express the *karṭṛ* or *karman* in conjunction with an item which ends in a *tiN*. This leaves only those items which may end in a *kṛt*. To retain *kṛti* in the rule to perform any function other than blocking the genitive in relation to an item which ends in a *taddhita* would be to state the most obvious. Thus, given the sentence

(a) *kṛtapurvī kataḥ* ‘he who has already made the mat; he who is experienced in mat-making’

the word *kṛtapūrvī* is derived by introducing affix *inI* after *kṛtapūrvā*, by rule 5.2.87 *sa pūrvāc ca*, a compound. Note that the affix *Kta* in *kṛta* of *kṛtapūrvī* denotes *bhāva*, thereby leaving the object yet to be expressed. But since it is part of a *taddhita* derivate its expression by the genitive under the provisions of this rule must be negated.

## 2.3.66 उभयप्राप्तौ कर्मणि

*ubhayaprāptau karmaṇi*

*/ ubhayaprāptau 7/1 = ubhayoḥ prāptiḥ yasmin saḥ (bv.), tasmin karmaṇi 7/1/*

(*kṛti* #65, *ṣaṣṭhī śeṣe* #50, *anabhihite* #1)

*ubhayoḥ prāptir yasmin kṛti so' yam ubhayaprāptiḥ; tatra karmany eva ṣaṣṭhī vibhaktir bhavati*

A *ṣaṣṭhī* occurs to express only the *karman*, when both *karṭṛ* and *karman*, if not expressed otherwise, are to be expressed by introducing *ṣaṣṭhī* after stems used in conjunction with an item ending in *kṛt*.

#### EXAMPLES:

*āścaryo gavāṃ doho' gopālakena* 'it is a surprise to see the non-cowherd milking the cow'

*rocate me odanasya bhojanaṃ devadattena* '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 *karman*.

Consider the first example, above. Here, *dohaḥ*, a derivative of *duh* 'to milk', expresses action by means of the *kṛt* affix *GHaÑ*. This clearly leaves the object, as well as the agent, of *duh* unexpressed. The present rule introduces genitive to express the *karman* after *go* 'cow', instead of after *agopālaka* 'one who is not a cowherd'. The *karṭṛ* is then expressed by *tṛtīyā* introduced after *agopālaka*.

The *Mahābhāṣya* (II: 836) discusses a *vārttika* whereby a genitive under these circumstances may be allowed to denote *karṭṛ*. 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) *cikīrṣā devadattasya kaṭasya* 'Devadatta's desire of making a mat' where *cikīrṣā* contains a feminine base which ends in *ṬāP*. This feminine base underlies *cikīrṣa*, a *kṛt* base derived by introducing affix *a* by rule 3.3.102 *a pratyayāt*. Incidentally, *cikīrṣa*, after which affix *a* is introduced, is a derivate ending in *saN* (3.1.7 *dhātoḥ karmanah...*). Under the provision of the *vārttika*, the genitive can then express both the agent and the object, as is obvious from the genitive in *devadattasya* (the agent) and *kaṭasya* (the object).

An additional *vārttika* 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 pāṇineḥ* ‘ingenious indeed is the making of the *sūtra* by Pāṇini’

(c) *vicitrā hi sūtrasya kṛtiḥ pāṇininā* ‘id.’

Here, *pāṇineḥ*, ending in the genitive, optionally expresses the object; while *pāṇininā*, 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 क्तस्य च वर्तमाने

*ktasya ca vartamāne*

/ *ktasya* 6/1 *ca* ∅ *vartamāne* 7/1/

(*ṣaṣṭhī śeṣe* #50)

*ktasya vartamānakālavihitasya prayoge ṣaṣṭhī vibhaktir bhavati*

A *ṣaṣṭhī* occurs, to express *kartr* and *karman*, after a stem used in conjunction with an item which ends in *Kta* and denotes *vartamāna* ‘current time’.

#### EXAMPLES:

*rājñām mataḥ* ‘honored by kings’

*rājñām pūjitaḥ* ‘id.’

1. Note that *mata* and *pūjita* in the above examples are items which end in affix *Kta*. This affix is introduced in the sense of *vartamāna* by rule 3.2.188 *matibuddhi*.... The word *rājñām* 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 provision can be made available by rule 2.3.65 *kartrkarmanoḥ 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 lokāvyayanīṣṭhā*.... Affix *Kta* is also assigned the term *niṣṭhā* by rule 1.1.26 *ktaktavatū niṣṭhā*.

### 2.3.68 अधिकरणवाचिनश्च

*adhikaraṇavācinaś ca*

/ *adhikaraṇavācinaḥ* 6/1 *ca* ∅ /

(*ktasya* #67, *ṣaṣṭhī śeṣe* #50)

‘*cto*’ *dhikaraṇe ca*’ *vakṣyati*, *tasya prayoge ṣaṣṭhī vibhaktir bhavati*

A *ṣaṣṭhī* occurs after a stem in conjunction with an item which ends in *Kta* (3.4.76 *cto*’ *dhikaraṇe*) and denotes *adhikaraṇa*.

#### EXAMPLES:

*idam eṣām āsitam* ‘this is where they sit’

*idam eṣām śayitam* ‘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 लोकाव्ययनिष्ठाखलर्थतनाम्

*na lokāvyayaniṣṭhākhalarthatṛnām*

*/ na ∅ lokāvyayaniṣṭhākhalarthatṛnām 6/3 = khalo' rthaḥ = khalarthaḥ, khalartha eva artho yeṣāṃ te = khalarthāḥ (bv.), laś ca uś ca ukaś ca avyayaṃ ca niṣṭhā ca khalarthaś ca ṛṇ ca = lokāvyayaniṣṭhākhalarthatṛṇ (itar. dv.), teṣāṃ /*

*(ṣaṣṭhī śeṣe#50)*

*'la, u, uka, avyaya, niṣṭhā, khalartha, ṛṇ' ity eteṣāṃ prayoge ṣaṣṭhī vibhaktir na bhavati*

A *ṣaṣṭhī* does not occur to denote *karṭṛ* 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 *laṭaḥ...*), *KānaC* (3.2.106 *liṭaḥ kānaj vā*), *KvasU* (3.2.107 *kvasuś ca*), *Ki* and *Kim* (3.2.171 *adṛg...*);
- (ii) *u*: 'an item which ends in affix *u* (3.2.168 *sanāśamsabhikṣa uḥ*)';
- (iii) *uka*: 'an item which ends in affix *ukaṅ* (3.2.154 *lasapata...*)';
- (iv) *avyaya* '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) *ṛṇ*: 'an item which ends in affixes introduced by rules 3.2.124 *laṭaḥ...* through 3.3.69 *ṛṇ*'.

#### EXAMPLES:

*odanaṃ pacan* 'cooking the rice'

*odanaṃ pacamānaḥ* 'id.'

*odanaṃ pecānaḥ* 'he cooked the rice'

*odanaṃ pecivān* 'id.'

*papiḥ somaṃ* '...drank the Soma'

*dadirgāḥ* '...gave away cattle'

*kaṭaṃ cikīṛṣuḥ* 'he who is wishing to make a mat'

*odanaṃ bubhukṣuḥ* 'he who desires to eat rice'

*āgāmukaṃ vārāṇasīṃ rakṣa āhuḥ* 'people say that even the demons wish to come to Vārāṇasī for release'

*kaṭaṃ kṛtvā* 'having made the mat'

*odanaṃ bhuktvā* 'having eaten the rice'

*odanaṃ bhuktavān* 'he ate the rice'

*devadattena kṛtam* 'made by Devadatta'

*iṣatkaro kaṭaḥ bhavatā* 'it is easy for you to make the mat'

*iṣatpānaḥ somo bhavatā* 'it is easy for you to drink Soma'

*somaṃ pavamānaḥ* ‘ritually purifying the Soma’  
*naḍam āghnānaḥ* ‘beating the dancer’  
*kartā kaṭān* ‘he who will make the mat’  
*vaditā janāpavādān* ‘he who will be saying bad things about people’

1. This rule disallows the introduction of *ṣaṣṭhī*, to denote *karṭr* 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 *ukaṅ*;
- (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 *KHaL*;  
and
- (vii) a form which ends in affix *tṛN*.

The compound base *lokāvyayaniṣṭhākhalarthatṛn* may be broken down as follows: *loka* + *avyaya* + *niṣṭhā* + *khalārtha* + *tṛn*. 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* = *ūka*; *la* + *ūka* = *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 *ŚatṚ*, *ŚānaC* (3.2.124 *laṭaḥ śatṛśānacāv aprathamāsamānādhikaraṇe*), *KānaC* (3.2.106 *liṭaḥ kānaj vā*), *KvasU* (3.2.107 *kvasuś ca*), *Ki*, and *Kin* (3.2.171 *adṛgamahana...*). Affixes *u* and *uka* refer to rules 3.2.168 *sanāśamsabhikṣa uḥ* and 3.2.154 *lasapatapada...ukaṅ*, whereby affixes *u* and *ukaṅ* are introduced.

2. The *Mahābhāṣya* (II: 839-40) discusses certain *vārttika* in connection with the negations 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 (*ukapṛatiṣedhe bhāṣāyām apratiṣedhaḥ*). We thus get examples such as this:

- (a) *dāsyāḥ kāmukaḥ* ‘lustful towards the maidservant’

Furthermore, in the context of the negation of genitive relative to an indeclinable, items which end in affixes *tosUN* (3.4.16 *bhāvalakṣaṇe...*) and *kasUN* (3.4.13 *īsvare...*) should be stated as exceptions. This will provide an example like:

- (b) *purā sūryasyodetoḥ* ‘before the rising of the sun’ (KS 8.3)

The word *tṛn* here is interpreted as an abbreviatory term (*pratyāhāra*: *tṛN*) formed by the *tṛ* of the *ŚatṚ* of 3.2.124 *laṭaḥ śatṛśānacāv...* and the *N* of 3.3.69 *tṛn*. This interpretation, however, would require that *ṣaṣṭhī* be



negated in the context of *Śatṛ* only optionally. This will give the parallel examples:

- (c) *cauram dviṣan* 'hitting the thief'  
 (d) *caurasya dviṣan* 'id.'

### 2.3.70 अकेनोर्भविष्यदाधमर्णयोः

*akenor bhaviṣyadādhamarṇayayoḥ*

*l akenoḥ* 6/2 *akaś ca in ca = akenau* (*itar. dv.*), *tayoḥ*; *bhaviṣyadādhamarṇayayoḥ* 7/2 = *bhaviṣyac ca ādhamarṇyaṃ ca = bhaviṣyadādhamarṇye* (*itar. dv.*), *tayoḥ l*

(*na* #69, *ṣaṣṭhī śeṣe* #50, *anabhihite* #1)

*akasya bhaviṣyati kāle vihitasya, inas tu bhaviṣyati cādhamarṇye ca vihitasya prayoge ṣaṣṭhī vibhaktir na bhavati*

A *ṣaṣṭhī* 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 *ādhamarṇya* 'debt', respectively.

#### EXAMPLES:

*kaṣaṃ kārako vrajati* 'he who will make the mat is going'

*odanaṃ bhojako vrajati* 'he who will eat the rice is going'

*grāmaṃ gamī* 'he is the one who will go to the village'

*grāmaṃ gāmī* 'id.'

*śataṃ dāyī* 'he is the one who will pay back the debt of a hundred'

*sahasraṃ dāyī* 'he is the one who will pay back the debt of a thousand'

1. This rule disallows *ṣaṣṭhī* after a nominal stem used in conjunction with a form which ends in *aka* or *inI*, and denotes either future, or future and *ādhamarṇya*, 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 *inI* as *ādhamarṇya*? 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 (*saṃkhyāta*). Secondly, *aka* is found only denoting 'future', while *inI* is found denoting both 'future' and *ādhamarṇya*. We may therefore conclude that 'future' alone is the denotatum of *aka* in this rule. In the case of *inI*, as attested by usage, both the meanings 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 bhaviṣyati*: '...in conjunction with a form ending in *aka* when 'future' is being denoted'  
 (ii) *ina ādhamarṇye*: '...in conjunction with *inI* when 'future' and *ādhamarṇya* are being denoted'

2. Note that because of the meaning condition of ‘future’, only those instances of *aka* will be considered valid where *aka* denotes ‘future’. Thus, a reference to rules 3.3.10 *tumun-ṅvulau...* and 7.1.1 *yuvor anākau* is obvious in the case of forms which end in *aka*. Affix *inI* refers here to both *inI* and *NinI*: one is an *Uṇādi* affix introduced by 3.2.3 *bhaviṣyati gamyādayaḥ*, and the other is introduced by 3.3.170 *āvaśyakādhamarṇyayor....* Two examples of this are respectively:

- (a) *grāmaṃ gāmī* ‘he is the one who will go to the village’  
 (b) *śataṃ dāyī* ‘he is the one who will pay back the debt of a hundred’

### 2.3.71 कृत्यानां कर्त्तरि वा

*kṛtyānām karttari vā*

/ *kṛtyānām* 6/3 *karttari* 7/1 *vā* 0 /

(*ṣaṣṭhī śeṣe* #50, *anabhihite*#1)

*kṛtyānām prayoge karttari vā ṣaṣṭhī vibhaktir bhavati, na karmani*

A *ṣaṣṭhī* optionally occurs to express *karṭṛ*, and not *karman*, when an item which ends in a *kṛtya* affix is used in conjunction.

#### EXAMPLES:

*bhavatā kataḥ kartavyaḥ* ‘the mat should be made by you’

*bhavataḥ kataḥ kartavyaḥ* ‘id.’

1. This rule introduces *ṣaṣṭhī* optionally to denote *karṭṛ*, 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 *karṭṛkarmanoḥ kṛti* optional. Consider, for example, the following sentence:

(a) *geyo māṇavakaḥ sāmnam* ‘the boy is the chanter of the Sāman hymn’ where *geyaḥ* contains *geya* which, in turn, is derived by introducing affix *yaT* (3.4.68 *bhavyageya...*) to optionally denote *karṭṛ*. In sentence (a) then, *geyaḥ* denotes the agent. That being the case, the object remains unexpressed. Rule 2.3.65 *karṭṛkarmanoḥ kṛti* can now introduce *ṣaṣṭhī* to denote the object after *sāman*. 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 *karṭṛ* 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 karmani*

from rule 2.3.66 *ubhayaprāptau karmaṇi*, and that of *na* from 2.3.69 *na lokāvyaya....* The two rules will then read:

- (i) *kr̥tyānām ubhayaprāptau karmaṇi na* ‘a *ṣaṣṭhī* does not occur to denote *karṭṛ* or *karman* after a nominal stem used in conjunction with a form which ends in an affix termed *kr̥tya*’
- (ii) *karttari vā* ‘a *ṣaṣṭhī* optionally occurs to denote *karṭṛ* after a nominal stem used in conjunction with an item which ends in an affix termed *kr̥tya*’

Patañjali considers *yogavibhāga* necessary to account for the optional *ṣaṣṭhī* which denotes agent in sentences such as:

- (b) *netavyāḥ vrajaṃ gāvah kṛṣṇasya* ‘Kṛṣṇa will take the cows to the grazing pasture’

Note that *netavya* is a form which ends in *tavyaT*, a *kr̥tya* suffix. While *kṛṣṇa* can qualify for *ṣaṣṭhī* to denote agent by blocking the provision of 2.3.66 *ubhayaprāptau karmaṇi*, the word *vraja* will also qualify for genitive under the provision of rule 2.3.65 *karṭṛkarmaṇoḥ kṛti*. However, this would give the wrong result: \**netavyāḥ vrajasya gāvah kṛṣṇasya*

If *yogavibhāga* is accepted, the first rule will block the denotation of both *karṭṛ* and *karman* by means of optional *ṣaṣṭhī*. The second rule allows the optional *ṣaṣṭhī* to denote *karṭṛ*. Thus, we have sentence (c) parallel to (b):

- (c) *netavyāḥ vrajaṃ gāvah kṛṣṇena*.

### 2.3.72 तुल्यार्थैस्तुलोपमाभ्यां तृतीयाऽन्यतरस्याम्

*tulyārthair atulopamābhyām tṛtīyā* ‘nyatarasyām  
/ *tulyārthaiḥ 3/3 tulyaḥ artho yeṣāṃ te tulyārthāḥ* (bv.),  
*taiḥ, atulopamābhyām 3/2 tulā ca upamā ca = tulopame* (itar. dv.), *na  
tulopame = atulopame* (nañ. tat.), *tābhyām; tṛtīyā 1/1 anyatarasyām 7/1/*  
(*ṣaṣṭhī śeṣe* #50)

*tulyārthaiḥ śabdair yoge tṛtīyā vibhaktir bhavaty anyatarasyām; pakṣe  
ṣaṣṭhī ca, tulopamāśabdau varjayitvā*

A *tṛtīyā* 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:

*tulyo devadattena* ‘equal to Devadatta’  
*tulyo devadattasya* ‘id.’  
*śadr̥śo devadattena* ‘id.’  
*śadr̥śo devadattasya* ‘id.’

1. This rule introduces *tṛtīyā* as an option to *ṣaṣṭhī*, 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 *tulyārtha* 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) *gaur iva gavayah* ‘a cow is like any other cow’  
*iva* denotes synonymity with *tulya*; but the same is conditioned by the occurrence of *gavayah*. That is, consider a sequence such as this:

*yathā X, tathā Y* ‘the way X, the same way Y’

Here, *tathā Y* governs the use of *iva*.

A sentence such as

(b) *pitṛtulyaḥ prājñyaḥ* ‘equal to his father in intelligence’  
 will also be blocked from having *ṣaṣṭhī* after *prājña* ‘intelligent’, as the speaker wishes to indicate *prājña* either as *hetu* ‘cause’ or as *karana* ‘means’. This being the case, only *ṛtīyā* 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, *ṛtīyā* would also have been carried, due to its association with *vā*. Thus, Pāṇini used *anyatarasyām* to block the *anuvṛtti* of *ṛtīyā* from the following rules.

### 2.3.73 चतुर्थी चाशिष्यायुष्यमद्रभद्रकुशलसुखार्थहितैः

*caturthī cāśiṣyāyūṣyamadrabhadrakuśalasukhārthahitaiḥ*

*/ caturthī 1/1 ca 0 āśiṣi 7/1 āyūṣya...hitaiḥ 3/3 = āyūṣyam ca madraś ca bhadraś ca kuśalaṃ ca sukhārthas ca hitas ca = āyūṣya...hitah (itar. dv.), taiḥ /*

(*ṣaṣṭhī śeṣe* #50)

*āśiṣi gamyamānāyām ‘āyūṣya, madra, bhadra, kuśala, sukha, artha, hita’ ity etair yoge caturthī vibhaktir bhavati; cakāro vikalpānukarṣaṇ-ārthah*

A *caturthī* optionally occurs after a stem when items having the signification of *āyūṣya* ‘longevity’; *madra* ‘joy’; *bhadra* ‘good fortune’; *kuśala* ‘well-being’; *sukha* ‘comfort, happiness’; *artha* ‘prosperity’; or *hita* ‘benefit’ are used in conjunction and benediction is expressed as a remainder.

## EXAMPLES:

*āyusyaṃ devadattāya bhūyāt* ‘may Devadatta live long’  
*āyusyaṃ devadattasya bhūyāt* ‘id.’  
*madraṃ devadattāya bhūyāt* ‘may Devadatta be happy’  
*madraṃ devadattasya bhūyāt* ‘id.’  
*bhadraṃ devadattāya bhūyāt* ‘may Devadatta enjoy good fortune’  
*bhadraṃ devadattasya bhūyāt* ‘id.’  
*kuśalaṃ devadattāya bhūyāt* ‘may Devadatta remain well’  
*kuśalaṃ devadattasya bhūyāt* ‘id.’  
*sukhaṃ devadattāya bhūyāt* ‘may Devadatta be happy’  
*sukhaṃ devadattasya bhūyāt* ‘id.’  
*artha devadattāya bhūyāt* ‘may Devadatta be prosperous’  
*artha devadattasya bhūyāt* ‘id.’  
*hitaṃ devadattāya bhūyāt* ‘may things be beneficial for Devadatta’  
*hitaṃ devadattasya bhūyāt* ‘id.’

1. This rule introduces *caturthī* as an option to *ṣaṣṭhī* 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 *anyatarasyām* ‘optionally’. Since *caturthī* is being introduced optionally, in the event that this option is not taken, *ṣaṣṭhī* will be the choice.

## 2.4.1 द्विगुरेकवचनम्

*dvigur ekavacanam*  
*/ dviguḥ 1/1 ekavacanam 1/1/*  
*dviguh samāsaḥ ekavacanam bhavati*  
 A *dvigu* compound has the denotatum of one.

## EXAMPLES:

*pañcapūlī* ‘a bundle of five bunches’  
*daśapūlī* ‘a bundle of ten bunches’

1. A question is raised (*Mbh* II: 846) concerning the need for this rule. It is argued that since *dvigu* 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 (*dravya*), and also because a *dvigu* entails syntactic coordination with *samkhyā* ‘number’. If number is to be introduced with reference to each and every substance, then a compound, such as *pañcapūlī* of *pañcapūliyaṃ śobhanā* ‘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 *ekavacanta* 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 *tatpuruṣa*: *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 *ātidesika* ‘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 *saṃkhyā* 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 *ṣaṣṭhī* 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 *taddhitārthottarapadasamāhāre ca*, must be excluded from the reference of *dvigu* here. If it is not, examples such as *pañcasu kapāleṣu saṃskṛtaḥ /... saṃskṛtau /... saṃskṛtāḥ =pañcakapālāḥ / pañcakapālau / pañcakapālāḥ* 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 *avadhāraṇa* ‘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 interpretation of *samāhāra* is favored, then *khaṭvā* ‘cot’ in *pañcakhaṭvaḥ* cannot be referenced with *prathamā* ‘nominative’, nor can it be referred to with a fixed nominal ending (*ekavibhakti*). Consequently, *khaṭvā* cannot be termed an *upasarjana* which, in turn, will not facilitate

the shortening of its final *ā* to yield *khaṭvaḥ*. An object interpretation would require the introduction of nominal endings in accordance with the term ‘object’ (*karman*). Thus, *pañcapūlī*, 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 Kās II: 239: tirohitāvayavabhedah samūharūpaḥ samāhārah...*).

Commentators (*BM ad SK II: 70-71*) state that a *karman* interpretation of affix *GHaÑ* 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 *pañcapūlī* 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 *pañcapūlī*, would automatically get singular based on the fact that action is obligatorily singular.

#### 2.4.2 द्वन्द्वश्च प्राणितूर्यसेनाङ्गानाम्

*dvandvaś ca prāṇitūryasenāṅgānām*  
 / *dvandvaḥ 1/1 ca ∅ prāṇitūryasenāṅgānām 6/3 = prāṇī ca tūryaś ca*  
*senā ca = prāṇitūryasenāḥ (dv.), teṣām aṅgāni = prāṇitūryasenāṅgāni (bv.*  
 with int. *dv.*); *teṣām /*  
 (*ekavacanam # 1*)

*prāṇyaṅgānāṃ dvandva ekavad bhavati, tathā tūryāṅgānāṃ*  
*senāṅgānāṃ 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:

*pāṇipādam* ‘hands and feet’

*śirogrīvam* ‘head and neck’

*mārdaṅgikapāṇavikam* ‘the Mṛdaṅga and Paṇava drummers’

*vīṇāvādakaparivādakam* ‘the Vīṇā and Parivādinī players’

*rathikāśvāroham* ‘the charioteers and the cavalry’

*rathikapādātām* ‘the charioteers and the infantry’

1. The word *aṅga* in this rule is read at the end of the *dvandva* compound *prāṇitūryasenā*. Consequently, *aṅga* will be read with each of the constituents of this compound (cf. *dvandvānte śrūyamāṇam pratyekam abhisambadhyate*: ‘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 *prāṇyaṅgānām dvandvaḥ*, etc. A singular reading will yield the constituents as *prāṇyaṅgasya dvandvaḥ*, 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) *prāṇyaṅgānām dvandvaḥ (ekavad bhavati)* ‘a *dvandva* with constituents which denote ‘the body parts of living beings’ is treated as denoting the sense of one’
- (b) *tūryāṅgānām dvandvaḥ...* ‘a *dvandva* compound with constituents which denote ‘the players of musical instruments’...’
- (c) *senāṅgānām dvandvaḥ...* ‘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 dvandvaḥ*). An *itaretarayoga* of *prāṇyaṅga*, etc., is ruled out because the negation of *dadhipayas*, etc., stated in 2.4.14, would then become vacuous (*vyartha*). For, a negation made in the absence of a positive provision is useless.

### 2.4.3 अनुवादे चरणानाम्

*anuvāde caraṇānām*

/ *anuvāde* 7/1 *caraṇānām* 6/3/

(*ekavacanam* #1, *dvandvaḥ* #2)

*caraṇānām dvandva ekavad bhavati anuvāde gamyamāne*

A *dvandva* compound with constituents which denote different branches of the Vedas has the denotatum of one provided *anuvāda* ‘recitation’ alone is denoted.

#### EXAMPLES:

*udagāt kaṭhakālāpam* ‘the Kaṭha and the Kālāpa prospered with their recitation’

*pratyasṭhāt kaṭhakauthumam* ‘the Kaṭha 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 Kās* II: 242: *caraṇaśabdah kaṭhakālāpādiṣu śākhābhedeṣu mukhyah, tad adhyāyiṣu puruṣeṣu gaṇah*). This rule allows for *ekavadbhāva*



‘treating something as denoting the sense of one’, in the context of *anuvāda* ‘recitation or interpretation based on information from elsewhere’. For example, *udagāt kaṭhakālāpam*, the first of the above examples, means that the Kaṭha and the Kālāpa prospered. The fact that this information is based on some indirect source is important for *ekavadbhāva* of this rule. A counter-example, *udguḥ kaṭhakālāpāḥ* ‘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 अध्वर्युक्रतुरनपुंसकम्

*adhvaryukratur anapuṃsakam*  
 / *adhvaryukratuḥ* 1/1 = *adhvaryoḥ* (*sambandhī*) *kratuḥ* (*ṣaṣ. tat.*);  
 \* *anapuṃsakam* 1/1 (*nañ. tat.*) /  
 (*ekavacanam* #1, *dvandvaḥ* #2)  
*adhvaryukratuvācinām śabdānām anapuṃsakaliṅgānām 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 Sāyāhna and Ātirātra’

1. The word *adhvaryu* primarily means a *ṛtvij* ‘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 *adhvaryukratuḥ* 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 *darśapaurṇamāsau* ‘the Darśa and Paurṇamāsa sacrifices of the *Yajurveda*’ as a counter-example.

#### 2.4.5 अध्ययनतोऽविप्रकृष्टाख्यानाम्

*adhyayanato viprakṛṣṭākhyānām*  
 / *adhyayanataḥ* ० *viprakṛṣṭākhyānām* 6/3 = *aviprakṛṣṭā ākhyā yeṣām* (*nañ. tat.*), *teṣām* /  
 (*ekavacanam* #1, *dvandvaḥ* #2)

*adhyayanena nimittena yeṣāṃ aviprākṛṣṭā pratyāsannā 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’

*kramakavārttikam* ‘the person who has studied both the *krama* arrangement and the *vārttika*’

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 *padapāṭha* recitation may also be easier than its corresponding *krapapāṭha* 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 जातिप्राणिनाम्

*jātir aprāṇinām*

/ jātiḥ 1/1 aprāṇinām 6/3/

(*ekavacanam* # 1, *dvandvah* #2)

*jātivācinām śabdānām dvandva ekavad bhavati prāṇino varjayatvā*

A *dvandva* compound with constituents which denote class names (*jāti*) other than those of living beings has the denotatum of one.

EXAMPLES:

*ārāśastrī* ‘an awl and a black knife’

*dhānāśaṣkulih* ‘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 (*guṇa*), and not that of a *dravya* ‘thing’, that is denoted. This negation will also block *ekavadbhāva* in compounds such as

(b) *gamanākuñcanaprasāraṇāni* ‘moving, contracting, and expanding’

where what is denoted is a class of actions. Note that

(c) *brāhmaṇakṣatriyaḥśūdrāḥ*  
would be denied *ekavadbhāva*, for the obvious reason that it denotes classes of living beings. An example such as

(d) *nandanapāñcajanya* ‘Kṛṣṇa’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 देशोऽग्रामाः

*viśiṣṭaliṅgo nadī deśo’ grāmāḥ*

/ *viśiṣṭaliṅgaḥ* 1/1 = *viśiṣṭo bhinno liṅgo yasya* (bv.); *nadī* 1/1 *deśaḥ* 1/1 *agrāmāḥ* 1/3/

(*ekavacanam* #1, *dvandvaḥ* #2)

*viśiṣṭaliṅgānām* = *bhinnaliṅgānām nadīvācinām śabdānām deśavācinām ca grāmavarjitānām dvandva ekavad bhavati*

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:

*gaṅgāśoṇam* ‘the rivers Gaṅgā and Śoṇa’

*kurukuruḥsetram* ‘the country of the Kurus, and Kurukṣetra’

1. The word *viśiṣṭa* is used here in the sense of *bheda* ‘difference’. Consequently, the word *bhinnaliṅgānām* means ‘of those with different genders’. Note that, because of the negation of *agrāmāḥ*, the words *nadī* and *deśa* are not treated as denoting their forms.

The words *nadī* 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 (*vyatikīrṇa*) constituents; that is, compounds which may have one constituent denoting *nadī* and another which denotes *deśa*, (as opposed to all constituents which denote either *nadī* or *deśa*). If one wished to put *nadī* 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 napuṃsakam*; 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 *nadī* or *deśa*, but not both.

#### 2.4.8 क्षुद्रजन्तवः

*kṣudrajantavaḥ*

/ *kṣudrajantavaḥ* 1/2 /

(*ekavacanam* #1, *dvandvaḥ* #2)

*kṣudrajantuvācinām dvandva ekavad bhavati*

A *dvandva* compound with constituents which denote small creatures has the denotatum of one.

EXAMPLES:

*daṃśamaśakam* 'a bedbug and a mosquito'  
*yūkālikṣam* 'a louse and a nit'

1. Note that the word *kṣudra* is used in varying senses. It can, for example, refer to a miserly person (*kṛpaṇa*); to a person who may be of low birth (*jāti*; *śūdra*) or of low character (*śīlahīna*); or to a person who may have a deformed limb (*aṅgahīna*; cf. *Nyāsa* ad *Kāś* II: 250; also refer to 4.1.131 *kṣudrābhyo vā*). The word is also used to denote small size or amount (*apacitaparimāṇa*). In the context of *jantu*, it is interpreted as follows:

*kṣudrajantur anasthiḥ syād atha vā kṣudra eva yaḥ /  
 śataṃ vā prasṛtau yeṣāṃ kecid ā nakulād api //*

'a *kṣudrajantu* 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, *kṣudra* read in association with *jantu* refers, in general, to creatures of insignificant size.

2.4.9 येषां च विरोधः शाश्वतिकः

*yeṣāṃ ca virodhaḥ śāśvatikah*  
 / *yeṣāṃ* 6/3 *ca* 0 *virodhaḥ* 1/1 *śāśvatikah* 1/1/  
 (*ekavacanam* #1, *dvandvah* #2)

*yeṣāṃ śāśvatiko virodhas tadvācinām śabdānām 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 शूद्राणामनिरवासितानाम्

*śūdrāṇām aniravasitānām*

*l sūdrānām 6/3 aniravasitānām 6/3 = na niravasitāḥ = aniravasitāḥ*  
(*nañ. tat.*), *teṣām l*

(*ekavacanam #1, dvandvaḥ #2*)

A *dvandva* compound with constituents which denote non-outcast (*aniravasita*) *sūdra* has the denotatum of one.

#### EXAMPLES:

*takṣāyaskāram* ‘a carpenter and a blacksmith’  
*rajakatantuvāyam* ‘a washerman and a weaver’

1. The word *niravasita* has been explained as:

*yair bhukte pātram samskāreṇāpi na śudhyati* ‘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 *niravasita* category.

#### 2.4.11 गवाश्चप्रभृतीनि च

*gavāśvaprabhṛtīni ca*

*l gavāśvaprabhṛtīni 1/3 = gavāśvam prabhṛti yeṣām tāni (bv.); ca 0 l*  
(*ekavacanam #1, dvandvaḥ #2*)

*gavāśvaprabhṛtīni kṛtaikavadbhāvāni dvandvarūpāṇi sādḥūni bhavanti*

A *dvandva* compound enumerated in the list headed by *gavāśvam* ‘cows and horses’ also has the denotatum of one.

#### EXAMPLES:

*gavāśvam* ‘cows and horses’  
*gavāvīkam* ‘cows and sheep’

1. This rule is by nature ‘ad hoc’ (*nīpātana*). 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 *gavāśvam* form an exception to rule 2.4.12 *vibhāṣā...*, which makes the provision of *ekavadbhāva* optional.

#### 2.4.12 विभाषा वृक्षमृगतृणधान्यव्यञ्जनपशुशकुन्यश्ववडवपूर्वापराधरोत्तराणाम्

*vibhāṣā vṛkṣamṛgatṛṇadhānyavyañjanapaśuśakunyaśvavaḍavapūrvā-*  
*parādharrōttarāṇām*

*l vibhāṣā 1/1 vṛkṣa...ottarāṇām 6/3 (itar. dv.) l*  
(*ekavacanam #1, dvandvaḥ #2*)

‘*vṛkṣa, mṛga, tṛṇa, dhānya, vyañjana, paśu, śakuni, aśvavaḍava, pūrvāpara, adharōttara*’ *ity eteṣām dvandvo vibhāṣaikavad bhavati*

A *dvandva* compound optionally has the denotatum of one when its constituents denote *vṛkṣa* 'tree'; *mṛga* 'deer'; *trṇa* 'straw'; *dhānya* 'grain'; *vyañjana* 'condiments'; *paśu* 'domestic animal'; *śakuni* 'bird'; *aśvavaḍava* 'horses and mares'; *pūrvāpara* 'first and last; preceding and following'; and *adharottara* 'lower and upper'.

EXAMPLES:

*plakṣanyagrodham* 'Plakṣa and Nyagrodha trees'

*plakṣanyagrodhau* 'id.'

*rurupṛṣatam* 'Ruru and spotted deer'

*rurupṛṣatāḥ* 'id.'

*kuśakāśam* 'reeds and weeds'

*kuśakāśāḥ* 'id.'

*vṛhiyavam* 'rice and barley'

*vṛhiyavāḥ* 'id.'

*dadhighṛtam* 'yogurt and ghee'

*dadhighṛtāḥ* 'id.'

*gomahiṣam* 'cows and water-buffaloes'

*gomahiṣāḥ* 'id.'

*tittirakapiñjalam* 'partridges and heathcocks'

*tittirakapiñjalāḥ* 'id.'

*aśvavaḍavam* 'horses and mares'

*aśvavaḍavau* 'id.'

*pūrvāparam* 'first and last'

*pūrvāpare* 'id.'

*adharottaram* 'lower and upper'

*adharottare* 'id.'

1. The words *vṛkṣa*, etc., all qualify the word *dvandva* individually, thereby yielding the meaning:

'a *dvandva* compound with constituents which denote *vṛkṣa* 'tree' etc.'

Commentators inform us that *vṛkṣa*, 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 *bhinnārthatā* '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 *valīvarda* ‘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) *vrkṣadhavam* ‘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’ (*valīvarda*), however, *go* must mean *gavī* ‘cow’. The compound *govalīvardam* can thus be explained without difficulty.

A compound with constituents which denote *vrkṣamṛgatṛṇadhānya* 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 *mṛga* ‘deer’ used in this rule, when it could easily have been covered by *paśu* ‘animal’? The word *mṛga* 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 (*tulyajātīya*). 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, *aśvavaḍavau*, a masculine dual, will be blocked in favor of *aśvavaḍavam*, a singular neuter.

### 2.4.13 विप्रतिषिद्धं चानधिकरणवाचि

*vipratīṣiddham cānadhikaraṇavāci*

*/ vipratīṣiddham 1/1 ca ∅ anadhikaraṇavāci 1/1 = adhikaraṇam vakti = adhikaraṇavāci, na adhikaraṇavāci = anadhikaraṇavāci (nañ. tat.) /*

*(ekavacanam #1, dvandvaḥ #2, vibhāṣā #12)*

*vipratīṣiddhārthānām śabdānām anadhikaraṇavācinām adravyavācinām dvandva ekavad bhavati*

A *dvandva* compound with constituents which denote opposite meanings, excluding *adhikaraṇa* ‘thing, material object’, optionally has the denotatum of one.

#### EXAMPLES:

*śītoṣṇam* ‘cold and hot’

*śītoṣṇe* ‘id.’

*sukhaduḥkham* ‘happiness and grief’  
*sukhaduḥkhe* ‘id.’  
*jīvitamarāṇam* ‘life and death’  
*jīvitamarāṇe* ‘id.’

1. The word *vipratīṣiddha* is explained as *parasparaviruddha* ‘one opposed to the other’, further qualified by *anadhikaraṇavāci* ‘not having the denotatum of *adhikaraṇa*’. Commentators state that *adhikaraṇa* here does not denote its technical meaning of ‘locus’ (*ādhāra*). 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: *jīvitamarāṇam* and *jīvitamarāṇe*, where both mean ‘life and death’ but the second is a dual.

#### 2.4.14 न दधिपयआदीनि

*na dadhipayaādīni*  
 / *na* ∅ *dadhipayaādīni* 1/3 /  
 (*ekavacanam* #1, *dvandvaḥ* #2)  
*dadhipayaādīni śabdārūpāṇi naikavad bhavanti*  
 A *dvandva* compound enumerated in the list headed by *dadhipayasī* ‘yogurt and milk’ does not have the denotatum of one.

#### EXAMPLES:

*dadhipayasī* ‘yogurt and milk’  
*sarpirmadhunī* ‘ghee and honey’  
*madhusarpiṣī* ‘honey and ghee’

1. This rule starts the negation of *ekavadbhāva*, as related to the provisions made thus far. Consider, for example, *dadhipayasī*, a compound which is denied the extension of *ekavadbhāva* made available by rule 2.4.12 *vibhāṣā*.... The option of *ekavadbhāva* was available on account of the constituents denoting *vyañjana* ‘condiments’. *Kāśikā* cites the two additional examples (above), where *ekavadbhāva* is blocked on account of the denotation of *vyañjana*.

#### 2.4.15 अधिकरणैतावत्त्वे च

*adhikaraṇaitāvattve ca*  
 / *adhikaraṇaitāvattve* 7/1 = *etāvato bhāvaḥ* = *etāvattvam*, *adhikaraṇasya etāvattvam* (*ṣaṣ. tat.*), *tasmin* /  
 (*ekavacanam* #1, *dvandvaḥ* #2, *na* #14)  
*adhikaraṇasyaitāvattve parimāṇe 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.



## EXAMPLES:

*daśa dantoṣṭhāḥ* ‘ten sets of teeth and lips’  
*daśa mārdaṅgikapāṇavikāḥ* ‘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 विभाषा समीपे

*vibhāṣā samīpe*  
 / *vibhāṣā* 1/1 *samīpe* 7/1 /  
 (*ekavacanam* #1, *dvandvaḥ* #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:

*upadaśam dantoṣṭham* ‘approximately ten (nine or eleven) sets of teeth and lips’  
*upadaśā dantoṣṭhāḥ* ‘id.’  
*upadaśam mārdaṅgikapāṇavikam* ‘groups of approximately ten (nine or eleven) Mṛdaṅga and Paṇava drummers’  
*upadaśā mārdaṅgikapāṇavikāḥ* ‘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 *avyayībhāva* (2.1.6 *avyayam vibhakti...*), or a *bahuvrīhi* compound (2.2.25 *saṃkhyayāvyayāsanna...*) with another constituent denoting *saṃkhyā* ‘number’. A compound with *ekavadbhāva* is interpreted as an *avyayībhāva*, since a corresponding *bahuvrīhi* would denote the sense of ‘many’.

## 2.4.17 स नपुंसकम्

*sa napuṃsakam*  
 / *saḥ* 1/1 *napuṃsakam* 1/1 /  
*yasyāyam ekavadbhāvo vihitaḥ sa napuṃsakalingo 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'  
*pāṇipādam* 'hands and feet'  
*śirogrīvam* 'head and neck'

1. A compound which has thus received *ekavadbhāva* is neuter (*napuṃsaka*). What is the referent of *saḥ* 'that'? It is that which has received *ekavadbhāva*. What has received *ekavadbhāva*? A compound termed *dvigu* or *dvandva*.

Note that this rule is introduced as an exception to the stipulation of *paravallīngatā* 'assignment of gender to a compound in consonance with its following constituent' (cf. 2.4.26 *paraval liṅgaṃ dvandvatatpuruṣayoḥ*). Furthermore, in the context of a *dvandva* with *ekavadbhāva*, neuter becomes obligatory (*nitya*). In the case of a *dvigu*, it is not obligatory. This is shown by, for example, the *ŌiP* 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:

*akārāntottaraṇādo dviguḥ striyāṃ bhāṣyate* 'a *dvigu* with its subsequent member ending in *a* is stated in feminine'

Accordingly, we get examples such as

(b) *pañcapūlī* 'a bundle of five bunches'

## 2.4.18 अव्ययीभावः

*avyayībhāvaś ca*  
 / *avyayībhāvaḥ 1/1 ca 0 /*  
 (*napuṃsakam* #17)  
*avyayībhāvaś ca samāso napuṃsakaliṅgo bhavati*  
 An *avyayībhāva* 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 liṅgaṃ dvandvatatpuruṣayoḥ*, 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 *avyayībhāva*, for which no rule is formulated. The gender of a *bahuvrīhi*, because its denotatum falls outside its constituency, is assigned in accordance with something else. This

rule, therefore, is required to assign gender to the *avyayībhāva* compounds. The *ca* is generally used to bring something which has not been stated (*anuktasamuccāya*) into a rule: in this instance, the purpose of *ca* is to include the assignment of gender to an *avyayībhāva*.

This rule must be stated so that an *avyayībhāva* 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 *avyayībhāva* facilitates the short replacement of its long final vowel by rule 1.2.47 *hrasvo napuṃsake prātipadikasya*. Thus, we get a shortening of *ī* and *ā* in *adhistri* and *unmattagaṅgam*.

#### 2.4.19 तत्पुरुषोऽनञ्कर्मधारयः

*tatpuruṣo' nañkarmadhārayaḥ*  
 / *tatpuruṣaḥ 1/1 anañkarmadhārayaḥ 1/1 = nañ ca karmadhārayaś ca =*  
*nañkarmadhārayaḥ (sam. dv.), na nañkarmadhārayaḥ = anañkar-*  
*madhārayaḥ (nañ. tat.) /*  
*(napuṃsakam #17)*

*nañsamāsaṃ karmadhārayaṃ ca varjayitvā anyas tatpuruṣo napuṃsa-*  
*kaliṅgo bhavātīty etad adhikṛtaṃ veditavyam, yad ita ūrdhvam*  
*anukramiṣyāmas tatra*

A *tatpuruṣa* compound which is neither a *nañ* nor a *karmadhāraya* is neuter in gender.

#### EXAMPLES:

*brāhmaṇasenam* 'the army of *brāhmaṇa* soldiers'  
*brāhmaṇasenā* 'id.'

1. The word *anañkarmadhārayaḥ* is interpreted as 'that *tatpuruṣa* in which there is no *nañ* ~~or~~ *karmadhāraya*' (*nañkarmadhārayau na vidyete yasmims tatpuruṣe*). Obviously, the compound is a *bahuvrīhi* with an internal *dvandva* constituted by *anañkarmadhārayau*.

Questions have been raised concerning the type of the *dvandva* compound underlying *anañkarmadhārayaḥ*. If it is *samāhāra*, then the compound should be assigned the neuter gender (*napuṃsaka*); if it is *itaretara*, then the number should be dual (*divivacana*). 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 Kāśikā* (II: 264): ‘...*nirdeśasya sautratvād ubhayathāpy adoṣaḥ; tathā hi chandovat sūtrāṇi 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 *nañ* 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) *dr̥ḍhasenaḥ* ‘the king whose army is strong’

A similar qualification of *tatpuruṣaḥ* by *anañ* and *karmadhārayaḥ* is also needed to block neuter to, for example,

(b) *asenā* ‘a no good army’

which is a *nañ*, and

(c) *paramasenā* ‘an excellent army’

which is a *karmadhāraya*.

#### 2.4.20 संज्ञायां कन्थोशीनरेषु

*saṃjñāyām kanthośīnareṣu*

/ *saṃjñāyām* 7/1 *kanthā* 1/1 *uśīnareṣu* 7/3 /

(*napuṃsakam* #17, *tatpuruṣo* ‘*nañkarmadhārayaḥ*’ #19)

*saṃjñāyām viśaye kanthāntas tatpuruṣo napuṃsakaliṅgo bhavati, sā cet kanthā uśīnareṣu bhavati*

A *tatpuruṣa* compound which is neither a *nañ* 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:

*sauśamikantham* ‘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 (*viśeṣaṇa*) 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 उपज्ञोपक्रमं तदाद्याचिख्यासायाम्

*upajñōpakramam tadādyācikhyaśāyām*

/ *upajñōpakramam* 1/1 = *upajñāyate* ‘*sau upajñā*, *upakramyate* ‘*sau*

*upakramaḥ, upajñā ca upakramaś ca = upajñopakramam (sam. dv.); tadādyācikyāsāyām 7/1 = ākhyātum icchā = ācikyāsā, tayoh (upajñopakramayoh) ādih = tadādiḥ (ṣaṣ. tat.), tadādeḥ ācikyāsā = tadādyācikyāsā (ṣaṣ. tat.), tasyām /*

*(napuṃsakam #17, tatpuruṣo' nañkarmadhārayaḥ #19)*

*upajñā ca upakramaś ca upajñopakramam, tadantas tatpuruṣo napuṃsakaliṅgo bhavati tadādyācikyāsāyām*

A *tatpuruṣa* compound which is neither a *nañ* 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:

*pāṇiny upajñam akālakam vyākdraṇam* '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 /*

*(napuṃsakam #17, tatpuruṣo' nañkarmadhārayaḥ #19)*

*chāyāntas tatpuruṣo napuṃsakaliṅgo bhavati bāhulye gamyamāne*

A *tatpuruṣa* compound which is neither a *nañ* 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'

*ikṣucchāyam* '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 राजाऽमनुष्यपूर्वा

*sabhā rājā' manuṣyapūrvā*

*/ sabhā 1/1 rājā' manuṣyapūrvā 1/1 = na manuṣyaḥ = amanuṣyaḥ (nañ. tat.), rājā ca amanuṣyaś ca rājāmanuṣyau (ītar. dv.), rājā' manuṣyau pūrvau yasyāḥ sā = rājā' manuṣyapūrvā sabhā (bv.) /*

*(napuṃsakam #17, tatpuruṣo' nañkarmadhārayaḥ #19)*

*sabhāntas tatpuruṣo napuṃsakaliṅgo bhavati sā cet sabhā rājapūrvā, amanuṣyapūrvā ca bhavati*

A *tatpuruṣa* compound which is neither a *nañ* nor a *karmadhāraya*, and which ends in *sabhā* 'assembly hall', is neuter in gender provided *sabhā* is preceded either by a synonym of *rājā* 'king' or by a constituent which denotes *amanuṣya* 'non-human'.

## EXAMPLES:

*inasabham* 'the king's council'

*rakṣasabham* 'the assembly of demons'

1. Note that the word *rājan* 'king', qualifying *sabhā* 'assembly hall', is interpreted as denoting only its synonyms (*Kās: paryāyavacanasyaiveṣyate*). Refer to my note 2(c) under rule 1.1.68 *svam rūpaṃ śabdasya...* 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:

*\*candraguptasabham* 'the assembly hall of King Candragupta'

The restriction of *amanuṣya* would favor examples such as the second, above; but it would rule out something like:

*\*devadattasabham* '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

*aśālā ca*

*/ aśālā 1/1 ca 0 /*

*(napuṃsakam # 17, tatpuruṣo' nañkarmadhārayaḥ #19, sabhā #23)*

*aśālā ca yā sabhā tadantas tatpuruṣo napuṃsakaliṅgo bhavati*

A *tatpuruṣa* compound which is neither a *nañ* nor a *karmadhāraya*, and which ends in *sabhā* 'assembly hall', is neuter in gender provided *sabhā* does not denote *śālā* 'house'.

## EXAMPLES:

*strīsabham* ‘gathering of women’

*dāsīsabham* ‘gathering of maids’

1. This rule requires that the word *sabhā* should be interpreted in a sense other than that of *śālā* ‘hall’. *Kāśikā* clearly states that *sabhā*, for purposes of the present rule, is to be treated as denoting *saṃghāta* ‘assembly, gathering’. Thus, a *tatpuruṣa* 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 *amanuṣyapūrvā*.

## 2.4 25 विभाषा सेनासुराच्छायाशालानिशानाम्

*vibhāṣā senāsurācchāyāśālāniśānām*

*/ vibhāṣā 1/1 senā...niśānām 6/3 = senā ca surā ca chāyā ca śālā ca niśā ca = senāsurācchāyāśālāniśāḥ (itar. dv.), tāsām /*

(*napuṃsakam* #17, *tatpuruṣo*’ *nañkarmadhārayaḥ* #19)

‘*senā, surā, chāyā, śālā, niśā*’ *ity evam antas tatpuruṣo napuṃsakaliṅgo bhavati vibhāṣā*

A *tatpuruṣa* compound which is neither a *nañ* 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:

*brāhmaṇasenam* ‘an army of *brāhmaṇa*’

*brāhmaṇasenā* ‘id.’

*yavasuram* ‘liquor made from barley’

*yavasurā* ‘id.’

*kuḍyacchāyam* ‘shadow of the wall’

*kuḍyacchāyā* ‘id.’

*gośālam* ‘cowhouse’

*gośālā* ‘id.’

*śvanīsam* ‘night of the dogs’

*śvanīśā* ‘id.’

1. Note that *tatpuruṣaḥ*, in the nominative, and carried from 2.2.19, is here transformed into *ṣaṣṭhī* ‘genitive’. Read with *napuṃsakam* it yields the meaning:

*senādyantānām tatpuruṣānām napuṃsakatvam* ‘neuterness of the *tatpuruṣa* compounds ending in the constituents *senā*, etc.’

*Kāśikā* offers only a straightforward interpretation in the *vṛtti*.

The *vibhāṣa* ‘optional provision’ of this rule is treated as *apṛāpta* ‘that

which was not available', because neuter (*napuṃsaka*) was not available to the compounds under discussion from any earlier rule.

2. The word *chāyā* is included here with the understanding that *bāhulya* 'abundance' will not be the intended meaning. If this were so, the obligatory provision, made via the semantic restriction of 2.4.22 *chāyā bāhulye*, would then become vacuous.

3. *Nyāsa* explains the compound (and ninth example, above) *śvanīśam* 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 *śvanīśam* refers to the fourteenth night (*caturdaśī*) of the dark fortnight (*kr̥ṣṇapakṣa*) when, according to tradition, the dogs fast (*PM ad Kās II: 269: yasyāṃ niśāyāṃ śvāna upavasanti sā śvanīśam ity ucyate. sā punaḥ kr̥ṣṇa-caturdaśī tasyāṃ hi śvāna upavasanti prasiddhiḥ*).

#### 2.4.26 परवल्लिङ्गं द्वन्द्वतत्पुरुषयोः

*paraval liṅgaṃ dvandvatatpuruṣayoḥ*

*/ paravat 0 liṅgam 1/1 dvandvatatpuruṣayoḥ 6/2 /*

*parasya yal liṅgaṃ tad bhavati dvandvasya tatpuruṣasya ca*

A *dvandva* or a *tatpuruṣa* compound is similar to its final constituent in gender.

#### EXAMPLES:

*kukkuṭamayūryau* 'a rooster and a peahen'

*mayūrīkukkuṭau* 'a peahen and a rooster'

*arddhapippalī* 'half of a pepper'

*arddhakośatakī* 'half of a *kośatakī* fruit'

*arddhanakharāñjanī* 'half of the nail polish'

1. *Nyāsa* (*ad Kās 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 constituents 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 compound cannot be assigned differing genders either simultaneously (*yugapad*), or in turn (*paryāya*). Also note that neuter (*napuṃsaka*) 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 *arddhapippalī* 'half of a pepper'. Here, the meaning of the first constituent is principal. However, in a word like:



(a) *rājakumārī* ‘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 *tatpuruṣa* compound may have the meaning of its initial constituent as principal.

The *ekadeśisamāsa* (2.2.1 *pūrvāparādhrottaram...*) is basically the focus of this rule in the case of *tatpuruṣa*. The word *dvandvatatpuruṣayoḥ* is interpreted as genitive (*śaṣṭhī*) dual, as opposed to locative (*saptamī*). 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 *tatpuruṣa* 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 *mayūri* ‘peahen’. A *tatpuruṣa* compound, as in *arddhapippalī*, would also then demand transfer of feminine to *arddha*, which is neuter.

Thus, *dvandvatatpuruṣayoḥ* 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 imau*

where *ime* and *imau*, 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 पूर्ववदध्ववडवौ

*pūrvavad aśvavaḍavau*

*/ pūrvavat ० aśvavaḍavau 1/2 /*

*aśvavaḍavayoḥ pūrvaval liṅgaṃ 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 *vibhāṣā vṛkṣamrgatrṇadhānya*. 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 *vibhāṣā vṛkṣamrgatrṇadhānya*... and 2.4.17 *sa napuṃsakam*.

#### 2.4.28 हेमन्तशिशिरावहोरात्रे च छन्दसि

*hemantaśiśirāv ahorātre ca chandasi*

*/ hemantaśiśirau 1/2 ahorātre 1/2 ca ० chandasi 7/1 /*

(*pūrvavad* #27)

'hemantaśiśirau, ahorātre' ity etayoś chandasi viṣaye pūrvaval liṅgaṃ 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 *paravaliṅgatā*, or gender in accordance with the gender of the following constituent (2.4.26 *paraval liṅgam*...), 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 रात्राह्नाहाः पुंसि

*rātrāhnāhāḥ puṁsi*

*/ rātrāhnāhāḥ 1/3 = rātrāś ca ahnaś ca ahaś ca (itar. dv.); puṁsi 7/1 /*  
*(kṛtasamāsāntānām nirdeśaḥ) 'rātra, ahna, aha' ity puṁsi bhāṣyante*

A compound with *rātra*, *ahna*, or *aha* as its final constituent is masculine in gender.

## EXAMPLES:

*dvirātraḥ* 'a time span consisting of two nights'

*trirātraḥ* 'a time span consisting of three nights'

*catūrātraḥ* 'a time span consisting of four nights'

*pūrvāhṇaḥ* 'forenoon'

*aparāhṇaḥ* 'afternoon'

*madhyāhṇaḥ* 'midday'

*dvyahaḥ* 'a time span of two days'

*tryahaḥ* 'a time span of three days'

1. Again, this rule is an exception to *paravaliṅgatā* of 2.4.26. For example, given the compounds (listed above) *dvirātraḥ* and *madhyāhṇaḥ*, rule 2.4.26 *paraval liṅgam...* 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 *samāsānta* affixes (*Kāś*: *kṛtasamāsāntānām nirdeśaḥ*). For example, *dvirātra* is a *samāhāra-dvigu* derived from the string

*dvi + au + rātri + au*

by 2.1.51 *taddhitārtha...*, and parallel to the sentence

*dve rātri samāhṛte* 'the two nights grouped'

Given the form *dvirātri*, the *samāsānta* affix *aC* will be introduced by rule 5.4.87 *ahaḥ sarvaikadeśa...* The *i* of *dvirātri* will subsequently be deleted by 6.4.148 *yasyeti ca*. Our present rule will then extend the masculine, whereby

$dvirātr(i \rightarrow \emptyset) + a(C \rightarrow \emptyset) = dvirātr + a = dvirātra$

will yield the form *dvirātraḥ*.

## 2.4.30 अपथं नपुंसकम्

*apatham napuṁsakam*

*/ apatham 1/1 napuṁsakam 1/1 /*

*apathasabdo napuṁsakaliṅgo bhavati*

The *nañ-tatpuruṣa* *apatha* 'a path not fit to be followed' is neuter in gender.

## EXAMPLES:

*apatham idam* 'this is a path not fit to be followed'

*apathāni gāhate mūḍhaḥ* 'only an idiot follows a wrong path'

1. The word *apatha* is specified here as ending in the *samāsānta* affix *aC*. That is, this extension of neuter constitutes an exception to the masculine only with reference to the negative of *pathin* ‘path, road’, used with a *samāsānta* suffix. Note in connection with this that a *samāsānta* affix after a compound constituent, such as *pathin* used with *nañ*, is optionally blocked by rule 5.4.72 *patho vibhāṣā*. Thus, if the option of the *samāsānta* affix were availed, then rule 6.4.74 *ṛkpūrabdhūh...* 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 *samāsānta* affix is not taken, the derivate would be masculine (*apanthāh*), as opposed to the neuter *apatham*.

### 2.4.31 अर्द्धार्चाः पुंसि च

*arddharcāḥ puṃsi ca*

*/ arddharcāḥ 1/3 puṃsi 7/1 ca 0 /*

(*napuṃsakam* #30)

*arddharcādayaḥ śabdāḥ puṃsi napuṃsake ca bhāṣyante*

Items enumerated in the list headed by *arddharca* ‘half a hymn’ are both neuter and masculine in gender.

#### EXAMPLES:

*arddharcaḥ* ‘half a hymn’

*arddharcām* ‘id.’

*gomayaḥ* ‘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 *śaṅkha*, which denote *nidhi* ‘treasure’, are masculine. They are, however, both masculine and neuter when used in the sense of ‘lotus’:

*śabdarūpāśrayā ceyaṃ dvilingatā kvacid arthabhedanāpi vyavatiṣṭhate,  
yathā padmaśaṅkhaśabdau nidhivācakai puṃlingau jalaje ubhayalingau*

### 2.4.32 इदमोञ्वादेशेऽशनुदात्तस्तृतीयादौ

*idamo* ‘*nvādeśe* ‘*śanudāttas tṛtīyādau*

*/ idamaḥ 6/1 anvādeśe 7/1 aś 1/1 anudāttaḥ 1/1 tṛtīyādau 7/1 /*

*ādeśaḥ = kathanam, anvādeśaḥ = anukathanam; idamo* ‘*nvādeśa-  
viśayasyāśādeśo bhavaty anudāttas tṛtīyādau vibhaktau parataḥ*

The word *idam* ‘this’ is replaced by *anudātta* ‘high-pitched’ *aś* when

it is followed by nominal endings beginning with *tr̥tīyā*, and when it occurs as part of an *anvādeśa* ‘a tagged statement; a statement which follows’.

EXAMPLES:

*ābhyām chātrābhyām rātrir adhītā, atho ābhyām aharapy adhītam* ‘these two students studied the whole night and then they studied the whole day’

*asmai chātrāya kambalaṃ dehi, atho asmaī śāṭakam api dehi* ‘give a blanket to this student and also give him a loincloth’

1. The word *ādeśa* has been glossed by *Kāśikā* as *kathanam* ‘a statement’; *anvādeśa* thus becomes *anukathanam* ‘a tagged statement’. This rule orders *idam* to be replaced with *aś*, with the further stipulation that *aś* be *anudātta*. In the first of the above examples, the words *ābhyām aharapy adhītam* will be treated as *anvādeśa*. The word *ābhyām* entails the replacement of *idam* by *aś*:

$idam + bhyām = (idam \rightarrow aś) + bhyām = a + bhyām = ābhyām$

Note that the replacement of *idam* by *aś* is total, because *aś* is marked with *ś* (1.1.55 *anekāśit sarvasya*). Furthermore, whether *aś* replaces *idam* or not, the derivate will be unaffected, except in case of its accent and when 5.3.7 *avyayasarvanāmnā...* has applied. Given the form *ābhyām*, where *idam* has been replaced by *aś*, *ā* will be *anudātta*. In the absence of *anvādeśa*, the nominal ending will not be *anudātta*. It will have to be marked *udātta* by 6.1.171 *ūḍidampadādya...*, since it occurs after a base which is marked *anudātta* at the end (*antodātta*).

2.4.33 एतदस्त्रतसोस्त्रतसौ चानुदात्तौ

*etadas tratasos tratasau cānudāttau*

*/ etadaḥ 6/1 tratasoḥ 7/2 = traś ca taś ca = tratasau (itar. dv.), tayoh;*  
*tratasau 1/2 ca ∅ anudāttau 1/2 /*

(*anvādeśe, anudāttaḥ #32*)

*etado 'nvādeśaviṣayasyāsādeśo bhavaty anudāttas tratasoḥ parataḥ; tau cāpi tratasāv anudāttau bhavataḥ*

The word *etad* ‘this’ is replaced by *anudātta aś* when it occurs as part of *anvādeśa* and is followed by affixes *traL* (5.3.10 *saptamyā...*) or *tasIL* (5.3.7 *pañcamyā...*), which, in turn, also become *anudātta*.

EXAMPLES:

*etasmin grāme sukhaṃ vasāmaḥ, atho atra yuktā adhīmahe* ‘we live happily in this village and thus let us study diligently here’

*etasmāc chātrāc chando 'dhīṣva, atho ato vyākaraṇam apy adhīṣva* ‘study Veda from this student and also study grammar from him’.

1. Note that *idam* is not carried in this rule, for reasons of incompatibility with *etad*. It will, however, be valid in the next rule, as will *etad*. Furthermore, *atra* and *ato* (*atas*) are replacements for *etasmīn* and *etasmāt* respectively.

The present rule orders three operations simultaneously (*yugapad*): the replacement of *aś* for *etad*; the *anudātta* accent for *aś*; and further *anudātta* accent for affixes *traL* (5.3.10 *saptamyās tral*) and *tasIL* (5.3.7 *pañcamyās tasil*).

#### 2.4.34 द्वितीयाटौस्वेनः

*dvitīyāṭausu enaḥ*

*/ dvitīyāṭausu 7/3 = dvitīyā ca tā ca oś ca = dvitīyāṭausaḥ (itar. dv.), teṣu; enaḥ 1/1 /*

(*idamo 'nvādeśe anudāttaḥ #32, etadaḥ #33*)

*dvitīyā, tā, os ity eteṣu parata idametador anvādeśaviṣayayor enaśabda ādeśo bhavati anudāttaḥ*

The words *idam* and *etad* are replaced by *anudātta ena* when they occur as part of *anvādeśa* and are followed by *dvitīyā* 'second triplet of *sUP*'; *ṭā* 'singular third triplet of *sUP*'; or *os* 'dual sixth or seventh triplet of *sUP*'.

#### EXAMPLES:

*imaṃ chāttaraṃ chandam adhyāpaya, atho enaṃ vyākaraṇam adhyāpaya* 'teach Veda to this student and also teach him grammar'

*anena chāttreṇa rātrir adhītā, atho enenāhar apy adhītam* 'this student studied the whole night and he also studied the whole day'

*anayoś chāttroyoḥ śobhanaṃ śīlam, atho enayoḥ prabhūtaṅṅ svam* 'these two students have very nice conduct and thus also have a lot of wealth'

1. Note that *idamaḥ* is carried via *anuvṛtti*, frequently called *maṇḍūkaphuti* 'frog's leap'.

#### 2.4.35 आर्धधातुके

*ārdhadhātuke*

*/ ārdhadhātuke 7/1 /*

*'ārdhadhātuke' ity adhikāṅṅo yam, 'nyakṣattriyārṣañitaḥ' iti yāvat; yad ita ūrdhvam anukramiṣyāmas tād ārdhadhātuke veditavyam*

When an *ārdhadhātuka* (3.4.114 *ārdhadhātukam śeṣaḥ*) ..

#### EXAMPLES:

*bhavyam* 'ought to be brought about'

*pravayam* 'ought to be woven'

*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 *viśayasaptamī* ‘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 *viśaye* 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) *vadhyāt* ‘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 liṇi*. A minimum paraphrase of the aforementioned rule, read with the *anuvṛtti* of *ārdhadhātuke* of the present rule, will be as follows:

*hanter vadha liṇi 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 *viśayasaptamī*, 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 *lināśiṣi*), and is subsequently replaced with the third personal singular *parasmaipada* ending *tiP* (3.4.76 *lasya*; 3.4.77 *tiptasjhi...*). That is, *han* cannot be replaced with *vadha* unless *tiP*, an *ārdhadhātuka* affix by 3.4.116 *lināśiṣi*, 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* → *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 *sthānivad ādeśo* ‘*nalvidhau* 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

*as + NyaT*

where *bhū* replaces *as*, we get:

*bhū + NyaT*

The *ū* of *bhū* will then undergo *vṛddhi*, and we will eventually get the wrong form *\*bhāvyaṃ*. Similarly,

*bru + yaT*

will yield

*(brū → vac) + yaT*

where *vac* will be ordered as a replacement for *brū*. A wrong form (*\*vacyaṃ*) will thus result:

$(vac + ya) + sU \rightarrow vac + ya + (sU \rightarrow am) = vac + y (a + a \rightarrow a)m = *vacyaṃ$

#### 2.4.36 अदो जग्धिर्यति किति

*ado jagdhir lyap ti kiti*

*/ adah 6/1 jagdhih 1/1 lyap (deleted 7/1) ti 7/1 / kiti 7/1 /*

*(ārdhadhātuke #35)*

*ado jagdhir ādeśo bhavati lyapti parataḥ, takārādaḥ ca kiti pratyaye*

The word *ad* is replaced by *jagdhi* when *LyaP* (7.1.3 *samāse...*),

or an *ārdhadhātuka* affix beginning with *t* and marked with *K*, follows.

#### EXAMPLES:

*prajagdhyaḥ* ‘having eaten properly’

*vijagdhyaḥ* ‘having eaten specially’

*jagdhah* ‘eaten’

*jagdhavān* ‘he ate’

1. The *i* at the end of the substitute *jagdhi* 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 *jagdh*. A question is raised as to why the rule must state *LyaP*, when its purpose can be served by *ti kiti* ‘when an *ārdhadhātuka* affix beginning with *t* and marked with *K* follows’.

Let us consider the derivation of *prajagdhya*, which contains the verbal root *ad*, after which the absolutive suffix *Ktvā* has been introduced by 3.4.21 *samānakarṭṛkayoḥ....* Rule 2.2.18 *kugatiprādayaḥ* orders an obligatory compound in the case of *prajagdhya*, where *pra*, an item in the list headed by *pra*, combines with the resultant form of *ad + Ktvā*. Rule



7.1.37 *sāmse' nañpūrve kto lyap* requires that *Ktvā* be replaced with *LyaP*. Note that the replacement of *Ktvā* by *LyaP*, by rule 7.1.37, could still be available on the grounds that *Ktvā* is an affix marked with *K* and beginning with *t*. Thus, *LyaP* should not have been stated in the rule on hand. But Pāṇini 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 (*antaraṅga*) 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 *Ktvā* by *LyaP*. The following verse from the *Mahābhāṣya* sums up the function of the retention of *LyaP*:

*jagdhau siddhe' ntaraṅgatvāt tikitī lyab ucyatel*  
*jñāpayaty antaraṅgāñāṃ lyapā bhavati bādhanam||*

'an explicit mention of *LyaP*, even when its purpose can be accomplished by the internally conditioned (*antaraṅga*) 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 लुङ्सनोर्घस्लु

*luṅsanor ghasḷ*  
*/ luṅsanoh 7/2 ghasḷ 1/1 /*  
 (ārdhadhātuke #35, adaḥ #36)

*luṅi sani ca parato 'do ghasḷ ādeśo bhavati*

The word *ad* is replaced by *ghasḷ* when an *ārdhadhātuka* 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'  
*jighatsataḥ* 'they (two) wish to eat'  
*jighatsanti* 'they wish to eat'

1. The purpose of marking the replacement of *ad* by *ḷ* is to facilitate the introduction of *aṅ* as a replacement for *CLI* before *LUN* (cf. 3.1.55 *puṣādīdyutādḷṛditah...*). For details, refer to the derivation of the example *aghasat* in the appendix under this rule.

#### 2.4.38 घञपोश्च

*ghaṅapoś ca*  
*/ ghaṅapoh 7/2 = ghaṅ ca ap ca (itar. dv.), tayoh; ca 0 /*

(*ārdhadhātuke* # 35, *adaḥ* # 36, *ghasḷ* # 37)

*ghañ api ca parato 'do ghasḷ ādeśo bhavati*

The word *ad* is replaced by *ghasḷ* when *ārdhadhātuka* affixes *GHaÑ* (3.3.18 *bhāve*) and *ap* (3.3.59 *upasarge...*) follow.

EXAMPLES:

*ghāsaḥ* 'food'

*praghasaḥ* 'voracious'

### 2.4.39 बहुलं छन्दसि

*bahulam chandasi*

/ *bahulam* 1/1 *chandasi* 7/1 /

(*ārdhadhātuke* # 35, *adaḥ* # 36, *ghasḷ* # 37, *ghañapoh* # 38)

*chandasi viṣaye bahulam ado ghasḷ ādeśo bhavati*

The word *ad* is replaced by *ghasḷ* in the Vedic variously, when *ārdhadhātuka* affixes *GHaÑ* and *aP* follow.

EXAMPLES:

*ghastān nūnam* 'they two just ate

*sagdhiḥ* 'common meal'

1. The word *bahulam* has been explained as follows:

*kvacit pravṛttiḥ kvacid apravṛttiḥ*

*kvacid vibhāṣā kvacid anyad eva /*

*vidher vidhānaṃ bahudhā samīkṣya*

*catur-vidhaṃ bāhulakaṃ vadanti //*

'after having carefully scrutinized the operational provisions' *bāhulaka* '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 *bahulam* is questioned, especially as *anyatarasyām* 'optionally' is used in the subsequent rule. If *bahulam* can also be construed as an operation entailing optionality, then *bahulam* itself should have been carried to the subsequent rule. This would have made the use of *anyatarasyām* unnecessary there. Alternatively, Pāṇini should have used *anyatarasyām* 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 *anyatarasyām* 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 लिट्यन्यतरस्याम्

*liṭy anyatarasyām*

/ liṭi 7/1 anyatarasyām 7/1 /

(*ārdhadhātuke* # 35, *adaḥ* # 36, *ghasḥ* # 37)

*liṭi parato ado* 'nyatarasyām ghasḥ ādeśo bhavati

The word *ad* optionally is replaced by *ghasḥ* when an *ārdhadhātuka* replacement of *LIT* 'perfect' follows.

#### EXAMPLES:

*āda* 'he ate'

*jaghāsa* 'id.'

*ādātu* 'they two ate'

*jakṣatuḥ* 'id.'

*āduḥ* 'they ate'

*jakṣuḥ* 'id.'

#### 2.4.41 वेञो वयिः

*veño vayiḥ*

/ veñah 6/1 vayiḥ 1/1 /

(*ārdhadhātuke* # 35, *liṭy anyatarasyām* # 40)

*veño vayir ādeśo bhavati anyatarasyām liṭi parataḥ*

The word *veñ* 'to weave' optionally is replaced by *vayI* when an *ārdhadhātuka* replacement of *LIT* follows.

#### EXAMPLES:

*uvāya* 'he wove'

*ūyatuh* 'they two wove'

*ūvatuh* 'id.'

*ūyuh* 'they wove'

*ūvuh* 'id.'

#### 2.4.42 हनो वध लिङि

*hano vadha liṅi*

/ hanah 6/1 vadha 1/1 (deleted) liṅi 7/1 /

(*ārdhadhātuke* # 35)

*hanter dhātor vadha ity ayam ādeśo bhavati liṅi parata ārdhadhātuke*

The word *han* 'to kill' is replaced by *vadhā* when an *ārdhadhātuka* replacement of *LIN* 'precativē' 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 *jagdhiḥ* (2.4.36 *ado jagdhir...*); a lack of marking *vadh* with *i*, as opposed to *a*, is to indicate that the replacement is *akārānta* ‘that which ends in *a*’. There are two consequences of having the replacement ending in *a*:

(i) no blocking of *iṬ*, and

(ii) the blocking of *vṛddhi*, which would otherwise be available by rule 7.2.3 *vadavraja...*

Consider, for example, the derivation of *avadhīt* ‘he killed’, at the stage of *avadh* + *s* + *t*. Here rule 7.2.10 *ekāc upadeśe...* is unable to block the introduction of the augment *iṬ*, 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 लुङि च

*luṅi ca*

/ *luṅi* 7/1 *ca* ∅ /

(*ārdhadhātuke* #35, *hano vadha* #42)

*luṅi ca parato hano vadha ity ayam ādeśo bhavati*

The word *han* is also replaced by *vadha* when an *ārdhadhātuka* replacement of *LUṅ* follows.

## EXAMPLES:

*avadhīt* ‘he killed’

*avadhiṣṭām* ‘they two killed’

*avadhiṣuḥ* ‘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, *LIṅ* and *LUṅ* would both be part of the rule. This would create problems with the provision of rule 2.4.44 *ātmanepadeṣv...*, where the *anuvṛtti* of *LUṅ* alone is valid. A joint formulation with *LIṅ* and *LUṅ* both as part of a single rule would demand the *anuvṛtti* of both in rule 2.4.44 *ātmanepadeṣv.....* For, items introduced simultaneously must be dropped, or carried together via *anuvṛtti*.

Besides, if *LIN̄* were carried to 2.4.44 consequent upon a joint formulation, the obligatory provision of 2.4.42 *hano vadha lini* would become optional in the context of *LIN̄*. It is to block this undesired result that Pāṇini chose to formulate rules 2.4.42 *hano vadha lini* and 2.4.43 *luṅi ca* separately.

#### 2.4.44 आत्मनेपदेष्वन्यतरस्याम्

*ātmanepadeṣu anyatarasyām*

/ *ātmanepadeṣu* 7/3 *anyatarasyām* 7/1 /

(*ārdhadhātuke* # 35, *hano vadha* # 42)

*ātmanepadeṣu parato hano luṅy anyatarasyām vadha ity ayam ādeśo bhavati*

The word *han* optionally is replaced by *vadha* when an *ārdhadhātuka* replacement of *LUN̄* termed *ātmanepada* follows.

#### EXAMPLES:

*āvadhiṣṭa* ‘he killed’

*āhata* ‘id.’

*āvadhiṣātām* ‘they two killed’

*āhasātām* ‘id.’

*āvadhiṣata* ‘they killed’

*āhasata* ‘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 *ātmanepada*.

#### 2.4.45 इणो गा लुङि

*iṅo gā luṅi*

/ *iṅaḥ* 6/1 *gā* 1/1 *luṅi* 7/1 /

(*ārdhadhātuke* # 35)

*‘iṅaḥ gā’ ity ayam ādeśo bhavati luṅi parataḥ*

The word *iṅ* ‘to go’ is replaced by *gā* when an *ārdhadhātuka* replacement of *LUN̄* follows.

#### EXAMPLES:

*agāt* ‘he went’

*agāyi bhavatā* ‘you went’

1. What is the purpose of again stating *LUN̄*, when it has already been given in the preceding rule? This *LUN̄* must be unqualified (*aviśeṣa*). It should therefore be construed as obligatory, as opposed to the optional *LUN̄* of the preceding rule. Additionally, its context is not constrained by

*ātmanepada*. The purpose of *LUN* here is thus to drop the *anuvṛtti* of *ātmanepadesu anyatarasyām*.

#### 2.4.46 णौ गमिरबोधने

*ṇau gamir abodhane*

/ *ṇau* 7/1 *gamiḥ* 1/1 *abodhane* 7/1 /

(*ārdhadhātuke* # 35, *iṇaḥ* # 45)

*ṇau parata iṇo' bodhanārthasya gamir ādeśo bhavati*

The word *iṇ* is replaced by *gamI* when it is followed by the *ārdhadhātuka* affix *ṆiC* and does not denote *bodhana* 'understanding'.

#### EXAMPLES:

*gamayati* 'he has him go'

*gamayataḥ* 'they two have him go'

*gamayanti* 'they have him go'

1. It is obvious, from the use of *ṇau*, that *gami* is stated here as a non-causal replacement for *iṇ*. The *i* of *gami* is then used to facilitate the pronunciation.

Note that the explicit use of *LUN* 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 *LUN* explicitly to get rid of *ātmanepada* and *anyatarasyām*. This being the case, *gamI* will here replace *iṇ* before *ṆiC* 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 *gamI* cannot replace *iṇ* in derivatives like *pratyāyayati* '...makes one understand'.

#### 2.4.47 सनि च

*sani ca*

/ *sani* 7/1 *ca* 0 /

(*ārdhadhātuke* # 35, *iṇaḥ* # 45, *gamir abodhane* # 46)

*sani parata iṇo' bodhanārthasya gamir ādeśo bhavati*

The word *iṇ* is replaced by *gamI* when an *ārdhadhātuka saN* follows and *iṇ* does not denote *bodhana*.

#### EXAMPLES:

*jigamiṣati* 'he wishes to go'

*jigamiṣataḥ* 'they two wish to go'

*jigamiṣanti* '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 *ṇau* and *sani*. The *anuvṛtti* of *ṇau* 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 इडश्च

*iṅś ca*

/ iṅḥ 6/1 ca ० /

(*ārdhadhātuke* # 35, *gamiḥ* # 46, *sani* # 47)

*iṅś ca sani parato gamir ādeśo bhavati*

The word *iṅ* 'to study' is also replaced by *gamI* when an *ārdhadhātuka* *saN* follows.

#### EXAMPLES:

*adhijigāṃsate* 'he wishes to study'

*adhijigāṃsete* 'they two wish to study'

*adhijigāṃsante* 'they wish to study'

#### 2.4.49 गाङ् लिति

*gāṅ liṭi*

/ gāṅ 1/1 liṭi 7/1 /

(*ārdhadhātuke* # 35, *iṅḥ* # 48)

*gāṅādeśo bhavatīno liṭi parataḥ*

The word *iṅ* is replaced by *gāṅ* when an *ārdhadhātuka* replacement of *LIT* is to follow.

#### EXAMPLES:

*adhijage* 'he studied'

*adhijagāte* 'they two studied'

*adhijagire* '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 *ārdhadhātuka* section, headed by 2.4.35 *ārdhadhātuke*. The replacement is marked with *ṅ* to facilitate the introduction of *ātmanepada* endings in place of *LIT*.

An objection is made to the marking of *gā* with *ṅ*, especially when the *ātmanepada* affixes may be easily obtained by treating *gā* as *iṅ*, the root it replaced. Now, *iṅ* is marked with *ṅ*; hence, *gā* when treated as *iṅ* will automatically be marked with *ṅ*. Commentators say that *gā* is still marked with *ṅ*, to indicate that, in rule 1.2.1 *gāṅkuṭādi*..., *gāṅ* 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 विभाषा लुङ्लडोः

*vibhāṣā luṅlṛṅoḥ*

*/ vibhāṣā 1/1 luṅlṛṅoḥ 7/2 /*

(*ārdhadhātuke* # 35, *inaḥ* # 48, *gāṅ* # 49)

*luṅi lṛṅi ca parata iṅo vibhāṣā gāṅ ādeśo bhavati*

The word *iṅ* is replaced by *gāṅ* when an *ārdhadhātuka* replacement of *LUN* or *LRN* is to follow.

#### EXAMPLES:

*adhyagīṣṭa* ‘he studied’

*adhyaiṣṭa* ‘id.’

*adhyagīṣātām* ‘they two studied’

*adhaisātām* ‘id.’

*adhyagīṣata* ‘they studied’

*adhyaiṣata* ‘id.’

*adhyagīṣyata* ‘he will study’

*adhyaiṣyata* ‘id.’

*adhyagīṣyetām* ‘they two will study’

*adhyaiṣyetām* ‘id.’

*adhyagīṣyanta* ‘they will study’

*adhyaiṣyanta* ‘id.’

1. Note that the use of *vibhāṣā* ensures a set of two optional forms. When the option of replacing *iṅ* with *gāṅ* is accepted, rule 1.2.1 *gāṅkuṭādi...* becomes applicable. That is, *gāṅ* is extended the status of being marked with *ṅ*. This means that the root will have its final vowel replaced by *īT* (6.4.66 *ghumāsthāgāpā...*). Furthermore, rules relative to *guṇa* (8.2.27 *hrasvād aṅgāt*); the augment *āT* (6.4.72 *āḍ ajādīnām*); and a single *vṛddhi* replacement (6.1.88 *āṭas ca*) will be blocked. Conversely, in the event that the option of replacing *iṅ* with *gāṅ* is chosen, *īT* will be blocked through *guṇa*, and *āT* and a single *vṛddhi* replacement will become available. See the appendix for derivational details.

### 2.4.51 णौ च संश्रद्धोः

*ṇau ca saṃścaṅoḥ*

*/ ṇau 7/1 ca ∅ saṃścaṅoḥ 7/2 = san ca caṅ ca = saṃścaṅau (itar. dv.), tayoh /*



(*ārdhadhātuke* # 35, *inaḥ* # 48, *gān* # 49, *vibhāṣā* # 50)

*ṇau sanpare canpare ca parata ina vibhāṣā gān ādeśo bhavati*

The word *iÑ* optionally is replaced by *gāÑ* when it is followed by a *ÑiC* which is followed by *saN* and *caÑ* (3.1.48 *ṇisridrusrubhyaḥ...*).

EXAMPLES:

*adhijigāpayiṣati* ‘he wishes to teach’

*adhyāpipayīṣati* ‘id.’

*adhyajīgapat* ‘he taught’

*adhyāpipat* ‘id.’

1. Note that the *parasaptamī* ‘that which marks the right condition of an operation’ in *Ñi* (of *ṇau*) is to be interpreted relative to the verbal root *iÑ*. This will yield the interpretation ‘when *ÑiC* follows *iÑ*’. By contrast, the *parasaptamī* given in *saṃścaṇoḥ* is to be interpreted relative to *ÑiC*. This will result in the following interpretation: ‘when *saN* and *caÑ* follow *ÑiC*’.

2.4.52 अस्तेर्भूः

*aster bhūḥ*

*/ asteh 5/1 bhūḥ 1/1 /*

(*ārdhadhātuke* # 35)

*aster dhātor bhū ity ayam ādeśo bhavati ārdhadhātuke*

The word *as* is replaced by *bhū* when an *ārdhadhātuka* affix is to follow.

EXAMPLES:

*bhavitā* ‘he will become’

*bhavitum* ‘in order to become’

*bhavitavyam* ‘ought to become’

1. This rule allows for the replacement with *bhū* of *as* when *LIT* 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 *krÑ* in rule 3.1.40 *krñcānuprayujyate liṭi*, which refers to roots *kr*, *bhū*, and *as*. The abbreviatory term itself is formed by taking the *kr* of 5.4.40 *krbhvastiyoge...* and joining it with the *Ñ* of rule 5.4.58 *krñno dvitīyatṛtīya....* If *as* is to be replaced with *bhū* when *as* is used subsequently, the use of the abbreviatory symbol *krÑ* would become vacuous (*vyartha*).

## 2.4.53 ब्रुवो वचिः

*bruvo vaciḥ*

*/ bruvaḥ 6/1 vaciḥ 1/1 /*

(*ārdhadhātuke # 35*)

*bruvo vacir ādeśo bhavati ārdhadhātuke viṣaye*

The word *brūÑ* 'to speak' is replaced by *vacI* when an *ārdhadhātuka* affix is to follow.

## EXAMPLES:

*vaktā* 'speaker'

*vaktum* 'in order to speak'

*vaktavyam* 'ought to be spoken'

1. The final *i* of *vacI* is used, once again, for ease of articulation (*uccāraṇārtha*). Note also that *brūÑ* is marked with *Ñ*, 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 *svaritañītaḥ kartrabhiprāve...*). This *ātmanepada* will be available via *sthānivadbhāva* of 1.1.56 *sthānivad ādeśo*'... when *brūÑ* is replaced with *vacI*.

## 2.4.54 चक्षिडः ख्याञ्

*cakṣiṇaḥ khyāñ*

*/ cakṣiṇaḥ 6/1 khyāñ 1/1 /*

(*ārdhadhātuke # 35*)

*cakṣiṇaḥ khyāñ ādeśo bhavaty ārdhadhātuke viṣaye*

The word *cakṣIÑ* 'to speak, relate' is replaced with *khyāÑ* when an *ārdhadhātuka* affix is to follow.

## EXAMPLES:

*ākhyātā* 'he who will relate'

*ākhyātum* 'in order to relate'

*ākhyātavyam* 'ought to be related'

1. My remarks under the notes of previous rule concerning *ātmanepada* via *sthānivadbhāva* (1.1.56 *sthānivad ādeśo*' *nalvidhau*) remain pertinent to the replacement *khyāÑ* of the present rule. *Kāśikā* makes the following statement:

*sthānivadbhāvena nityam ātmanepadam na bhavati ñakārānubandha-karaṇasāmarthyāt*

'on account of the *Ñ* as an *it* (in *khyāÑ*), the obligatory *ātmanepada* (on the strength of *Ñ* as an *it* in *cakṣIÑ*) via *sthānivadbhāva* does not apply'

That is, Pāṇini marks the replacement *khyā* with *Ñ* as an *it* so that, via *sthānivadhbhāva*, *khyāÑ* may still be considered a verbal root similar to *caḥṣIN*. Thus, *khyāÑ* will be qualified to receive *ātmanepada* under the provision of rule 1.3.72 *svaritañitaḥ*.... But the same *sthānivadhbhāva* must also require that *khyā* be treated as marked with *Ñ*, in consonance with the root *caḥṣIN* which it replaces. Consequent upon this, rule 1.3.12 *anudāttañita ātmanepadam* would require *ātmanepada*. Pāṇini first blocks the obligatory *ātmanepada* of 1.3.12, and then makes it available under the condition of rule 1.3.27 *svaritañitaḥ*....

### 2.4.55 वा लिटि

*vā liṭi*

*/ vā Ø liṭi 7/1 /*

(*ārdhadhātuke* #35, *caḥṣinaḥ khyāñ* #54)

*liṭi parataś caḥṣinaḥ khyāñ ādeśo va bhavati*

The word *caḥṣIN* optionally is replaced by *khyāÑ* when an *ārdhadhātuka* replacement of *LIT* follows.

#### EXAMPLES:

*ācakhyau* ‘he related’

*ācacakṣe* ‘id.’

*ācakhyatuḥ* ‘they two related’

*ācacakṣāte* ‘id.’

*ācakhyuh* ‘they related’

*ācacakṣire* ‘id.’

1. This rule simply makes the obligatory replacement of *caḥṣIN* by *khyāÑ* optional in the context of *LIT*.

### 2.4.56 अजेर्व्यघनपोः

*ajer vy aghañapoḥ*

*/ ajerḥ 6/1 vī 1/1 aghañapoḥ 7/2 = ghañ ca ap ca = ghañapau (itar. dv.), na ghañapau = aghañapau (nañ. tat), tayoh /*

(*ārdhadhātuke* #35, *vā* #55)

*ajer dhātoḥ ‘vī’ ity ayam ādeśo bhavaty ārdhadhātuke parato ghañapau varjayitvā*

The word *ajA* ‘to move, lead’ is replaced by *vī* when an *ārdhadhātuka* affix other than *GHaÑ* (3.3.18 *bhāve*) or *ap* (3.3.69 *samudor ajah*...) follows.

#### EXAMPLES:

*pravayaṇīyah* ‘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 *GHaÑ* (3.3.18 *bhāve*) and *ap* (3.3.69 *samudor ajah...*). This is necessary so that forms such as *samāja* 'society' and *samaja* '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 *samajyā* '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) *prājītā* 'one who carries, sets in motion'

#### 2.4.57 वा यौ

*vā yau*

/ *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 *LyuṬ* (3.3.117 *karaṇā...*) follows.

#### EXAMPLES:

*pravayaṇo daṇḍah* 'a stick or goad (for leading)'

*prājano daṇḍah* 'id.'

*pravayaṇam 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 *ādhyā...*), *ṬyuL* (4.3.23 *sāyaṃ...*), *yuC* (3.2.148 *calana...*), *Lyu* (3.1.134 *nandigrahi...*), and *LyuṬ* (3.3.113 *kṛtya...*). The context of our present rule requires *yu* to refer here only to *LyuṬ*.

#### 2.4.58 ष्यक्षत्रियार्षजितो यूनि लुगणिजोः

*ṇyakṣatriyārṣañito yūni lug aṇiṇoḥ*

/ *ṇyakṣatriyārṣañitaḥ* 5/1 = *ñ it yasya sa ñit* (*bv.*), *ṇyaś ca kṣatriyaś ca ārṣaś ca ñic ca* = *ṇyakṣatriyārṣañit* (*sam. dv.* with int. *bv.*); *yūni* 7/1 *luk* 1/1 *aṇiṇoḥ* 6/2 = *aṇ ca iñ ca* (*itar. dv.*), *tayoḥ* /

*ṇyantāt kṣatriyagoṭrād ārṣād ñitaś ca parayor aṇiṇor yūni lug bhavati*

Affixes *aN* and *iÑ* are deleted by *LUK* when they denote *yuvan* 'young descendant' and occur after:

- (i) *nya* ‘a form which ends in affix *Nya*’ (4.1.151 *kurvādibhyo nyah*),
- (ii) *kṣatriya* ‘a form which denotes a *gotra* (grandson on) descendant of a *kṣatriya*’,
- (iii) *ārṣa* ‘a form which denotes a *gotra* descendant of a *ṛṣi* (sage)’, or
- (iv) *ñit* ‘a form which ends in a *gotra* affix marked with *Ñ*’.

## EXAMPLES:

*kauravyah pitā* ‘descendant of Kuru’  
*kauravyah putrah* ‘grandson of Kuru’  
*śvāphalkah pitā* ‘descendant of Śvaphalka’  
*śvāphalkah putrah* ‘grandson of Śvaphalka’  
*vāsiṣṭhah pitā* ‘descendant of Vasiṣṭha’  
*vāsiṣṭhah putrah* ‘grandson of Vasiṣṭha’  
*baidah pitā* ‘descendant of Bida’  
*baidah putrah* ‘grandson of Bida’  
*taikāyaniḥ pitā* ‘descendant of Tika’  
*taikāyaniḥ putrah* ‘grandson of Tika’.

1. This rule heads the section of deletion by means of *LUK* (1.1.61 *pratyayasya lukślulupah*). This term deletes affixes, with the further stipulation that operations characteristic of an affix do not apply in relation to an *aṅga*, when the deletion has been accomplished by means of an item which contains a *LU* (1.1.63 *na lumatāṅgasya*). 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 *aÑ* (4.1.92 *tasyāpatyam*) and *iÑ* (4.1.95 *ata iñ*) 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 *jīvati tu vaṁśye yuvā*).

See the appendix for derivational details.

## 2.4.59 पैलादिभ्यश्च

*pailādibhyaś ca*  
 / *pailādibhyaḥ* 5/3 = *paila ādir yeṣāṃ te* (bv.); *ca* ∅ /  
 (yūni luk # 58)

‘*paila*’ *ity evam ādibhyaś ca yuvaḥpratyayasya lug bhavati*

A *yuvan* affix also is deleted by *LUK* when it occurs after items enumerated in the list headed by *paila*.

## EXAMPLES:

*pailaḥ pitā* ‘descendant of Pīlā’  
*pailaḥ putraḥ* ‘grandson of Pīlā’

1. Affix *aṆ* is introduced after *pīlā* (4.1.118 *pīlāyā vā*) to denote a *gotra* (4.1.162 *apatyaṃ pautraprabhṛti gotram*) descendant. The resultant form receives affix *phiṆ* by rule 4.1.156 *aṇo dvyacaḥ*, to denote a young *gotra* descendant. Our present rule deletes this affix *phiṆ* by means of *LUK*. See the appendix for derivational details.

The other derivatives of the *paila* group entail items ending in affix *iṆ*. The deletion of *phaK*, introduced after them to denote ‘young *gotra* descendant’ (4.1.101. *yañiṇoś 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 इजः प्राचाम्

*iṅaḥ prācām*  
 / *iṅaḥ* 6/1 *prācām* 6/3/  
 (yūni luk #58)  
*gotre ya iṅ tadantād yuvapratyayasya lug bhavati*  
 A *yuvan* affix is deleted by *LUK* when it occurs after an item which terminates in *iṆ* and denotes the *gotra* descendants of Easterners.

## EXAMPLES:

*pānnāgāriḥ pitā* ‘a *gotra* descendant of Pannāgāra’  
*pānnāgāriḥ putraḥ* ‘a young *gotra* descendant of Pannāgāra’

## 2.4.61 न तौल्वलिभ्यः

*na taulvalibhyaḥ*  
 / *na* ∅ *taulvalibhyaḥ* 5/3 /  
 (yūni luk # 58)  
*taulvalyādibhyaḥ parasya yuvapratyayasya lug na bhavati*  
 A *yuvan* 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 pitā* ‘a *gotra* descendant of Tulvala’  
*taulvalāyanaḥ putraḥ* ‘a young *gotra* descendant of Tulvala’

1. The word *taulvalāyanaḥ* denotes the young descendant of Tulvala, and is derived by introducing affix *phaK* (4.1.101 *yañiṇoś ca*) after

*taulvali*. As is true of many previous examples, the references to derivatives are furnished by citation of the *gaṇa* listings. Obviously, *taulvali* heads the list of items enumerated in the *GP*. All such items will normally receive *gotra* affix *iÑ*, after which rule 4.1.101 *yañiñoś ca* will introduce *phaK*.

#### 2.4.62 तद्राजस्य बहुषु तेनैवास्त्रियाम्

*tadrājasya bahuṣu tenaivāstriyām*

*/ tadrājasya 6/1 bahuṣu 7/3 tena 3/1 eva 0 astriyām 7/1 /*

(*luk #58*)

'*te tadrājāḥ*', '*ñyādayas tadrājā*' *ity vaksyati, tasya tadrājasamjñasya pratyayasya bahuṣu vartamānasyāstrīlingasya lug bhavati, tenaiva cet tadrājena kṛtam bahutvam bhavati*

The *tadrāja* (4.1.174 *te tadrājāḥ*, 5.3.119 *ñyādayas...*) 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 *aÑ* is introduced after the syntactically related nominal base *āṅga* 'a prince of Aṅga', a base which ends in *aÑ*. If one wishes to derive the 'many princes of Aṅga' from *āṅga* + *Jas*, where *āṅga*, a base not used in the feminine, has the denotatum of 'plurality' relative to the meaning of *aÑ*, *āṅga* must lose affix *aÑ* via *LUK*-deletion. Consequently, we will get: (*āṅga* + *aÑ* → *aṅga*) + *Jas* = *aṅgāḥ*. Note that *āṅga* not only loses its *aÑ*, but also its initial *vṛddhi*. This is in consonance with *paribhāṣa*: *nimittasyāpāye naimittikasyāpy apāyaḥ*, whereby 'the effect of a cause (*naimittikā*) must also be removed at the time when the cause is removed'. Needless to say, the *vṛddhi* of *a* was conditioned by affix *aÑ* introduced after the nominal stem *aṅga* terminated in *Ñas* (4.1.82 *samarthānām 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*:

*tadrājasamjñasya pratyayasya bahuṣu vartamānasyāstrīlingasya lug*

*bhavati tenaiva cet tadrājena kṛtam bahutvaṃ 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 *tadrājasamjñasya pratyayasya* as ‘a form which ends in an affix termed *tadrāja*’. This leads to acceptance of *bahuṣu* and *asrīlingasya* as modifiers to the affix. Commentators prefer an interpretation based on *tadantavidhi*, whereby *bahuṣu* and *asrīlingasya* 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 lukślulupaḥ* 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 bahutvaṃ 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

*yaskādibhyo gotre*

*/ yaskādibhyaḥ 5/3 gotre 7/1 /*

*(luk # 58, bahuṣu tenaivāstriyām # 62)*

*‘yaska’ ity evamādibhyaḥ parasya gotrapratyayasya bahuṣu vartamānasyāstrīlingasya lug bhavati, tenaiva ced gotrapratyayena kṛtam bahutvaṃ bhavati*

The *gotra* affix of a base that is derived from items enumerated in the list headed by *yaska* and which denotes ‘plurality’ is deleted by *LUK* provided that ‘plurality’ relates to the meaning of the affix, and the base is not used in the feminine.

#### EXAMPLES:

*yaskāḥ* ‘gotra descendants of Yaska’

*labhyaḥ* ‘gotra descendants of Labhya’



1. This rule requires the deletion of affix *aN*, introduced under the condition of plurality (*bahutva*) by rule 4.1.112 *śivādibhyo' ṇ*. Thus, *aN* itself causes the plurality.

#### 2.4.64 यजोश्च

*yañāñōś ca*

*/ yañāñōḥ 6/2 = yañ ca añ ca (itar. dv.), tayoh; ca 0 /*

*(luk # 58, bahuṣu tenaivāstriyām # 62, gotre # 63)*

*yaño 'ñāś ca gotrapratyayasya bahuṣu vartamānasyāstrīṅgasya lug bhavati*

The *gotra* affixes *YaÑ* and *aÑ* 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...* introduces affix *aÑ* after *bida*, etc. Once this affix is deleted, the *vṛddhi* conditioned by this affix (*tannimittaka*) is also removed. Thus, we will get forms such as *bidāḥ*.

#### 2.4.65 अत्रिभृगुकुत्सवसिष्ठगोतमाङ्गिरोभ्यश्च

*atribhṛgukutsavasiṣṭhagotamāṅgirobhyaś ca*

*/ atri...āṅgirobhyaḥ 5/3 = atri ca bhṛguś ca kutsaś ca vasiṣṭhaś ca gotamaś*

*ca aṅgirāś ca = atri...aṅgiraśaḥ (itar. dv.), tebhyaḥ; ca 0 /*

*(luk # 58, bahuṣu tenaivāstriyām # 62, gotre # 63)*

*atryādibhyaḥ parasya gotrapratyayasya bahuṣu lug bhavati*

A *gotra* affix which occurs as part of a base derived from *atri*, *bhṛgu*, *kutsa*, *vasiṣṭha*, *gotama* or *aṅgiras*, 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:

*atrayaḥ* 'gotra descendants of Atri'

*bhṛgavaḥ* 'gotra descendants of Bhṛgu'

*kutsāḥ* 'gotra descendants of Kutsa'

*vasiṣṭhāḥ* 'gotra descendants of Vasiṣṭha'

*gotamāḥ* 'gotra descendants of Gotama'

*aṅgiraśaḥ* 'gotra descendants of Aṅgiras'

1. Note that affix *ḍhaK* is introduced to denote 'young *gotra* descendant' after *atri* by rule 4.1.122 *itaś cāniñah*, where plurality is also caused

by the affix. Our present rule deletes this affix to facilitate the derivation of *atrayaḥ*. The remaining bases (*bhṛgu*, etc.) get affix *aṅ* by rule 4.1.114 *ṛṣyandhaka...* and, after the deletion of the affix, yield forms such as *bhṛgavaḥ*, etc. Incidentally, rule 7.3.109 *jasi ca* orders *guṇa* in *bhṛgavaḥ*. Forms unaffected by this deletion, like the singular and dual of *atri* + *dhaK*, will yield *ātreyah*, *ātreyau*, and so on, where *vṛddhi* will be retained.

#### 2.4.66 बह्वच इजः प्राच्यभरतेषु

*bahvaca iṅaḥ prācyabharateṣu*

*/ bahvacah 5/1 iṅaḥ 6/1 prācyabharateṣu 7/3 /*

(*luk # 58, bahuṣu tenaiva # 62, gotre # 63*)

*bahvacah prātipadikād ya iṅ vihitaḥ prācyagotre bharata gotre ca vartate, tasya bahuṣu lug bhavati*

The *gotra* affix *iṅ*, which occurs as part of a polysyllabic base used to denote ‘plurality’ of the *gotra* descendants of the *prācyā* ‘eastern’ and *bharata* people, is deleted by *LUK*, provided ‘plurality’ relates to the meaning of the affix.

#### EXAMPLES:

*pannāgārāḥ* ‘gotra descendants of Pannāgāra’

*mantharaīṣaṅāḥ* ‘gotra descendants of Manthareṣaṅa’

*yudhiṣṭhirāḥ* ‘gotra descendants of Yudhiṣṭhira’

*arjunāḥ* ‘gotra descendants of Arjuna’

1. This rule deletes affix *iṅ* (4.1.95 *ata iṅ*) which denotes the many *gotra* descendants of the *prācyā* and *bharata* people. It does so, however, only when the base after which the affix is introduced is polysyllabic (*bahvac*). Obviously, *pannāgāra* and *yudhiṣṭhira* are polysyllabic bases, and yield the forms *pannāgārāḥ* 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 *pānnāgārīḥ* and *vaikayaḥ* result.

Haradatta (*PM ad Kās II: 311*) remarks that *prācyabharata* of *prācyabharateṣu* is a *dvandva* compound formed with *prācyā* and *bharata*. Here, *prācyā* denotes ‘general’ (*sāmānya*) and *bharata* denotes ‘particular’ (*viśiṣṭa*). This compound could be justified by the maxim *gobalīvarda*: ‘cows and the bullock, a particular within that general class’ (*‘prācyabharateṣu’ iti dvandvas tu sāmānyaviśeṣavācīnor gobalīvardanyāyēneti bhāvah*).

A question is raised as to why *bharata* should be made a part of the rule, when its denotatum is already included in *prācyā*. *Kāsikā* (II: 311) states that *bharata* is mentioned separately here to indicate that *prācyā*, used elsewhere, will exclude the denotation of *bharata* (cf. *bharatāḥ prācyā eva; teṣāṃ punar grahaṇaṃ jñāpanārtham—anyatra prāg grahaṇe bharata-*

*grahaṇam na bhavatīti; tena 'iñah prācām' iti bharatānām yuvaṇpratyayasya lug na bhavati*). Consequently, there is no *LUK*-deletion applicable to *bharata* derivatives under the provisions of rule 2.4.60 *iñah prācām*. We thus get *ārjunih* and *ārjunāyanah* for, respectively, the father and son *gotra* descendants of Arjuna.

#### 2.4.67 न गोपवनादिभ्यः

*na gopavanādibhyaḥ*

*/ na ∅ gopavanādibhyaḥ 5/3 = gopavana ādir yeṣām te gopavanādayaḥ (bv.), tebhyaḥ /*

*(luk # 58, bahuşu tenaiiva # 62, gotre # 63)*

*gopavanādibhyaḥ paśasya pratyayasya 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:

*gaupavanāḥ 'gotra descendants of Gopavana'*

*śaigravāḥ 'gotra descendants of Śigru'*

1. This rule forms an exception to the *LUK* applicable to affix *aÑ* introduced by rule 4.1.104 *anṛṣyānantarye...* The deletion by *LUK* is ordered by rule 2.4.64 *yañāñōś ca*, where the sense of 'plurality' relative to the meaning of the affix is still the attendant situation. Note also that the *gopavanādi gaṇa* 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 तिककितवादिभ्यो द्वन्द्वे

*tikakitavādibhyo dvandve*

*/ tikakitavādibhyaḥ 5/3 = tikaś ca kitavaś ca = tikakitavau (itar. dv.), ādiś ca ādiś ca = ādī, tau ādī yeṣām te = tikakitavādayaḥ (bv. with int. dv.), tebhyaḥ; dvandve 7/1 /*

*(luk # 58, bahuşu tenaiivāstriyām # 62, gotre # 63)*

*tikādibhyaḥ kitavādibhyaś ca dvandve gotrapratyayasya bahuşu 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:

*tikakitavāḥ* ‘gotra descendants of Tika and Kitava’  
*vaṅkharabhaṅḍīrathāḥ* ‘gotra descendants of Vaṅkhara and Bhaṅḍī-  
 ratha’

1. This rule allows for the deletion of affixes *iñ* (4.1.95 *ata iñ*) and *phiñ* (4.1.154 *tikādibhyaḥ...*). Note that *dvandva* (2.2.29 *cārthe dvandvaḥ*), and the denotation of plurality relative to the meaning of the affix, are the two conditions for deletion to occur.

## 2.4.69 उपकादिभ्योऽन्यतरस्यामद्वन्द्वे

*upakādibhyo* ‘nyatarasyām advandve  
 / *upakādibhyaḥ* 5/3 (*bu.*); *anyatarasyām* 7/1 *advandve* 7/1 (*nañ. tat.*) /  
 (*luk* # 58, *bahuṣu tenaivāstriyām* # 62, *gotre* # 63)  
 ‘*upaka*’ ity evam ādibhyaḥ 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:

*upakāḥ* ‘gotra descendants of Upaka’  
*aupakāyanāḥ* ‘id.’  
*lamakāḥ* ‘gotra descendants of Lamaka’  
*lāmakāyanāḥ* ‘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 *upakalamakāḥ*), and one without (such as *upakāḥ*), will result where the option of *dvandva* is available.

## 2.4.70 आगस्त्यकौण्डिन्ययोरगस्तिकुण्डिनच्

*āgastyakaunḍinyayor agastikuṇḍinac*  
 / *āgastyakaunḍinyayoḥ* 6/2 (*itar. dv.*) *agastikuṇḍinac* 1/1 = *āgastiś ca*  
*kuṇḍinac ca* (*sam. dv.*) /  
 (*luk* # 58, *bahuṣu tenaivāstriyām* # 62, *gotre* # 63)  
*āgastyakaunḍinyayor aṅo yañāś ca bahuṣu lug bhavati, pariśiṣṭasya*  
*ca prakṛtibhāgasya yathāsamkhyam ‘agastikuṇḍinac’ ity etāv ādeśau*  
*bhavataḥ*

A *gotra* affix (*aN* or *yaÑ*) 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:

*agastayah* ‘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 *ṛṣyandhaka...*) and *yaÑ* (4.1.105 *gargādi...*). It also states that the bases *āgastya* and *kuṇḍinī*, 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 *kuṇḍinī* is marked *udātta* in the middle (*madhyodātta*). Its replacement (*kuṇḍinaC*) will therefore also receive *udātta* on its middle *i*.

2.4.71 सुपो धातुप्रातिपदिकयोः

*supo dhātuprātipadikayoḥ*  
*/supaḥ 6/1 dhātuprātipadikayoḥ 6/2 = dhātuś ca prātipadikaś ca = dhātu-*  
*prātipadike (itar. dv.), tayoh /*  
*(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 *LŪK*.

EXAMPLES:

*putrīyati* ‘he wishes a son for himself’  
*rājaputraḥ* ‘king’s son, prince’

1. *Kāśikā* (II: 316) invokes *paribhāṣā* (*PS*: 90) *tadantargatās tad-grahaṇena 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 *supaḥ ātmanaḥ kyac*), where rule 7.4.33 *kyaci ca* replaces the final *a* of *putra* with *ī*, to yield:

*putr + ī + (K → Ø) ya + (C → Ø)*.

The resultant unit

*putrī + am + ya*

is termed *dhātu* by 3.1.32 *sanādyantā dhātavaḥ*. Our present rule then applies to delete the *am* to yield *putrīya*.

However, if one interprets the dual ending in *dhātuprātipadikayoḥ* as locative (*saptamī*), a problem could arise in deleting *am* by the present rule. The locative, then, could only denote *upasleṣa* ‘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

*putrī + 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 pravṛttāḥ śabdāḥ avayaveṣu api varttante*. 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 अदिप्रभृतिभ्यः शपः

*adiprabhṛtibhyaḥ śapaḥ*

/ *adiprabhṛtibhyaḥ* 5/3 = *adiprabhṛti yeṣāṃ te* = *adiprabhṛtāyaḥ* (bv.),  
*tebhyaḥ*; *śapaḥ* 6/1 /

(luk # 58)

*adiprabhṛtibhya uttarasya śapo lug bhavati*

Affix *ŚaP* (3.1.68 *karttari...*) is deleted by *LUK* when it occurs after roots enumerated in the list headed by *adĀ* ‘to eat’.

#### EXAMPLES:

*atti* ‘he eats’

*hanti* ‘they kill’

#### 2.4.73 बहलं छन्दसि

*bahulam chandasi*

/ *bahulam* 1/1 *chandasi* 7/1 /

(luk # 58, *adiprabhṛtibhyaḥ śapaḥ* # 72)

*chandasi viṣaye śapo bahulam lug bhavati*

Affix *ŚaP* is variously deleted by *LUK* in the Vedic when it occurs after roots enumerated in the list headed by *adĀ*.

## EXAMPLES:

*vṛtram hanati* ‘he kills Vṛtra’  
*ahih śayate* ‘the snake reclines’  
*trādhvam no devāḥ* ‘O gods, protect us’

1. Note that *bahulam* ‘variously’ means that a given provision, such as the deletion of ŚaP, applies irregularly.

## 2.4.74 यङोऽचि च

*yaño ‘ci ca*  
 / *yañah* 6/1 *aci* 7/1 *ca* Ø /  
 (luk # 58, *bahulam chandasi* # 73)  
*yaño lug bhavati aci pratyaye parataḥ; cakāreṇa bahulagrahaṇam anukṛṣyate,*  
*na tu chandasīti*  
 Affix *yaÑ* (3.1.22 *dhātor...*) is variously deleted by *LUK* when affix *aC* (3.1.134 *nandigrahi...*) follows.

## EXAMPLES:

*loluvah* ‘he who cuts again and again’  
*popuvah* ‘he who wipes again and again’  
*śākuniko lālapīti* ‘the bird hunter speaks again and again’  
*dundubhir vāvadīti* ‘the drum is sounding again and again’

1. The *ca* of this rule is used to attract *bahulam*, and not *chandasi*. Consequently, affix *yaÑ* is variously deleted in both the Vedic and Classical languages (*bhāṣā*). By *bahulam*, we understand that deletion or the lack of it obtains where it is desired, or undesired, respectively. The *aC* refers to affix *aC*, not to the abbreviatory term *aC* which denotes vowels. It is for this reason that the *Kāśikā* in its gloss uses *ac-pratyaye*. It is also stated that, because of *bahulam*, deletion may become applicable to *yaÑ* occurring even before a non-*aC* affix. Obviously, this all constitutes some further expatiation of the notion of *bahulam*.

## 2.4.75 जुहोत्यादिभ्यः श्लुः

*juhotyādibhyaḥ śluḥ*  
 / *juhotyādibhyaḥ* 5/3 = *juhoti ādir yeṣāṃ te* = *juhotyādayaḥ (bv.), tebhyaḥ;*  
*śluḥ* 1/1 /  
 (śapaḥ # 72)  
*juhotyādibhya uttarasya śapaḥ ślur bhavati*  
 Affix ŚaP is deleted by ŚLU when it occurs after roots enumerated in the list headed by *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 *ŚaP*, and not of *yaÑ*. Additionally, *ŚaP* is replaced by *ŚLU* to thereby cause reduplication (*dvitva*) by 6.1.10 *ślau*.

## 2.4.76 बहुलं छन्दसि

*bahulam chandasi*  
 / *bahulam 1/1 chandasi 7/1* /  
 (*śaṣaḥ* #72, *juhotyādibhyaḥ śluḥ* #75)  
*chandasi viṣaye bahulam śaṣaḥ ślur bhavati*  
 Affix *ŚaP* is variously deleted by *ŚLU* in the Vedic when it occurs after roots enumerated in the list headed by *hu*.

## EXAMPLES:

*dāti priyāṇi* 'he gives pleasant things'  
*dhāti priyāṇi* 'he holds pleasant things'

1. Here again *bahulam* implies *yatroktaṃ 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 गातिस्थाघुपाभूभ्यः सिचः परस्मैपदेषु

*gātisthāghupābhūbhyaḥ sicaḥ parasmaipadeṣu*  
 / *gāti...bhyaḥ 5/3 = gātis ca sthās ca ghuś ca pās ca bhūs ca = gātisthāghu-*  
*pābhūvaḥ (itar. dv.), tebhyaḥ; sicaḥ 6/1 parasmaipadeṣu 7/3* /  
 (*luk* # 58)  
 'gāti sthā, ghu, pā, bhū' ity etebhyaḥ parasya sico lug bhavati parasmaipadeṣu  
 Affix *śīC* (3.1.44 *cleḥ 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 *parasmaipada* (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 *ŚLU*, is carried to this rule. Additionally, *gāti* refers to the replacement *gā* of verbal root *iṅ* ‘to go’, as is provided for by rule 2.4.45 *ino gā luṅi*. It is further stated that *pā* refers to *pib* ‘to drink’. The term *ghu* is assigned by rule 1.1.20 *dādhāghv adāp*. Finally, *LUK* obtains only in *parasmaipada* ‘active’.

#### 2.4.78 विभाषा घ्राधेश्चासः

*vibhāṣā ghrādheṣācchāsaḥ*

*/ vibhāṣā 1/1 ghrādheṣācchāsaḥ 5/1 = ghrās ca dheṣ ca śās ca chās ca sās*  
*ca = ghrādheṣācchāsam (sam. dv.), tasmāt /*

*(luk # 58, sicaḥ parasmaipadeṣu # 77)*

*‘ghrā, dheṣ, śā, chā, sā’ ity etebhya uttarasya sicaḥ parasmaipadeṣu vibhāṣā*  
*lug bhavati*

Affix *sIC* optionally is deleted by *LUK* when it occurs after *ghrā* ‘to smell’, *dheṣ* ‘to suck, drink’, *śā* (*śo*) ‘to pare’, *chā* (*cho*) ‘to cut’, or *sā* (*so*) ‘to destroy’, and a *parasmaipada* affix follows.

#### EXAMPLES:

*aghrāt* ‘he smelled’

*aghrāsīt* ‘id.’

*adhāt* ‘he sucked’

*adhāsīt* ‘id.’

*aśāt* ‘he pared’

*aśāsīt* ‘id.’

*acchāt* ‘he cut’

*acchāsīt* ‘id.’

*asāt* ‘he destroyed’

*asāsīt* ‘id.’

1. Note that verbal root *dheṣ* is assigned the term *ghu*. As such, it already had the deletion of *sIC* 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 तनादिभ्यस्तथासोः

*tanādibhyas tathāsoḥ*

*/ tanādibhyaḥ 5/3 = tan ādir yeṣāṃ te = tanādayaḥ (bv.), tebhyaḥ; tathāsoḥ*  
*7/2 = taś ca thās ca = tathāsau (itar. dv.), tayoḥ /*

*(luk # 58, sicaḥ parasmaipadeṣu # 77, vibhāṣā # 78)*

*tanādibhya uttarasya sicas tathāsoḥ parato vibhāṣā lug bhavati*

Affix *sĪC* 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’  
*ataniṣṭa* ‘id.’  
*atathāḥ* ‘you expanded’  
*ataniṣṭhāḥ* ‘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 (*sāhacarya*) here with *thās*, refers to *ātmanepada* ‘middle’. See the appendix for derivational details.

2.4.80 मन्त्रे घसह्वरणशवृदहादवृक्कृगमिजनिभ्यो ले:

*mantrē ghasahvaraṇaśavṛdahādvrckṛgamijanibhyo leḥ*  
 / *mantrē* 7/1 *ghasa...janibhyah* 5/3 = *ghasās ca hvaraś ca ṇaśās ca vṛ ca*  
*dahaś ca āc ca vṛj ca kṛ ca gamiś ca janiś ca* = *ghasahvara...janayah*  
 (*itar. dv.*), *tebhyah*; *leḥ* 6/1 /  
 (*luk* # 58)

*mantraviṣaye* ‘ghasa, hvara, ṇaśa, vṛ, daha, āt, vṛc, kṛ, gami, jani’ ity  
*etebhya uttarasya ler lug bhavati*

Affix *LI* (*CLI*; 3.1.43 *cli luṇi*) is deleted by *LUK* in the Vedic when it occurs after *ghasL* ‘to eat’, *hvR* ‘to be crooked’, *ṇaśĀ* ‘to be destroyed’, *vṛṅ* to ‘choose, cover’, *dah* ‘to burn’, *āT* ‘roots which end in *ā*’, *vṛcĀ* ‘to avoid’, *DUkrṅ* ‘to make, do’, *gamI* ‘to go’, or *janI* ‘to be born’.

EXAMPLES:

*akṣan pitaro*’ *mīmadanta pitarah* (*Tai Sam* 1.8.5.3) ‘our forefathers ate the ritual oblation and were pleased’  
*mā hvarmitrasya tvā* (*Tai Sam* 1.1.4.1) ‘you should not have acted deceitfully toward friends’  
*dhūrṭiḥ praṇaṅ martyasya* (*RV* 1.18.3) ‘...destruction brought by humans’  
*suruco vena āvaḥ* (*Vāj* 13.3) ‘the glowing sun illuminated (covered) the universe’  
*ādḥak* (*RV* 6.61.14) ‘...has burnt’  
*āprā dyāvāpṛthivī antarikṣam* (*RV* 1.115.1) ‘...filled the sky, earth, and horizon with its rays’  
*parā varḡ bhārabhr̥dyathā* (*RV* 8.75.12) ‘...threw like one who carries loads’

*akran* ‘they made’

*agman* ‘they went’

*ajñata vā asya dantāḥ* (Ait 7.14.2) ‘his teeth had not then appeared’

1. The word *mantra* is used here as an *upalakṣaṇa* ‘indicator, mark’ for *chandas* ‘Vedic in general’. Jinendrabuddhi (*Nyāsa ad Kāś II: 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 *cleḥ 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 *ādih sico nyatarasyām*, are not carried. See the appendix for derivational details.

#### 2.4.81 आमः

*āmaḥ*

/ *āmaḥ* 5/1 /

(*luk* # 58, *leḥ* # 80)

*āmaḥ parasya ler luk bhavati*

Affix *LI(LIT)* is deleted by *LUK* when it occurs after affix *ām* (3.1.35 *kāspraty...*).

#### EXAMPLES:

*ihāṃcakre* ‘he exerted...’

*ūhāṃcakre* ‘he reasoned...’

*ikṣāṃcakre* ‘he desired...’

1. Note that *āmaḥ* refers to affix *ām* which, in turn, is introduced after verbal root *ihĀ* ‘to strive’ by rule 3.1.36 *ijādeś ca...*, under the condition of a following affix, namely *LIT*. This also means that *LI*, carried from the preceding rule, is now making the reference to *LIT*. A reference to *CLI*, as in the previous rule, would not make sense here. Derivational details are given under rule 1.1.63 *āmpratyayavat...*

#### 2.4.82 अव्ययादाप्सुपः

*avyayād āpsupaḥ*

/ *avyayāt* 5/1 *āpsupaḥ* 6/1 = *āp ca sup ca* = *āpsup* (*sam. dv.*), *tasya* /

(*luk* # 58)

*avyayād uttarasyāpaḥ supas ca lug bhavati*

Affixes *āP* (*ṬāP*, *ḌāP*, *CāP*; 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 *saptamyās...*). *Kāśikā* offers the first example

*tatra śālāyām* ‘there in the house’

where *tatra* ends in *traL* and is termed an *avyaya* (1.1.38 *taddhitas̄ cā...*). 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 *ṬāP* 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 *ṬāP* 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 *avyayībhāva* compound which is termed an *avyaya*, as well as a nominal stem (1.2.45 *kṛttaddhitasamāsās̄ ca*). The details of a deletion of *sUP* after an *avyayībhāva* compound are to be found under relevant rules.

#### 2.4.83 नाव्ययीभावादतोऽम्त्वपञ्चम्याः

*nāvyayībhāvād ato ‘m tv apañcamyāḥ*  
*/ na 0 avyayībhāvāt 5/1 atah 5/1 am 1/1 tu 0 apañcamyāḥ 6/1 = na pañcamī*  
*= apañcamī (nañ. tat.), tasyāḥ /*  
*(luk # 58, avyayād āpsupah# 82)*  
*adantād avyayībhāvād uttarasya supo na lug bhavati, amādeśas tu tasya*  
*supo bhavaty apañcamyāḥ*

A *sUP* which occurs after an *avyayībhāva* compound ending in *aT* (*a*; 1.1.70 *taṇaras...*) is not deleted; instead, *sUP* is replaced by *am* provided it is not a *pañcamī* ‘fifth triplet of *sUP*’.

#### EXAMPLES:

*upakumbhaṃ tiṣṭhati* ‘... is sitting near the pitcher’  
*upakumbhaṃ paśya* ‘... see near the pitcher’

1. This rule makes two provisions:
  - (i) for the negation (*pratiśedha*) of the *LUK*-deletion of a *sUP* which occurs after an *avyayībhāva* 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) *nāvyaībhāvād ataḥ...* ‘deletion by means of *LUK* of a *sUP* which occurs after an *avyayībhāva* compound ending in *a* does not take place...’
- (ii) *am tv apañcamyāḥ* ‘a *sUP* 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 pratiṣedho 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 (*niyāmaka*), and would mean:

‘*pañcamī* ‘...ablative’ indeed will not be replaced by *am*’.

Note that *Kāśikā*, perhaps for the sake of clarity, puts the *vṛtti* of this rule into two sentences:

*adantād avyayībhāvād uttarasya supo na lug bhavati /  
amādeśas tu tasya supo bhavaty apañcamyāḥ//*

#### 2.4.84 तृतीयासप्तम्योर्बहुलम्

*ṭṛtīyāsaptamyor bahulam*

*/ ṭṛtīyāsaptamyoh 6/2 ṭṛtīyā ca saptamī ca = ṭṛtīyāsaptamyau (itar. dv.),  
tayoh; bahulam 1/1 /*

(*nāvyaībhāvād ato ‘m tv apañcamyāḥ # 83*)

*ṭṛtīyāsaptamyor vibhaktyor bahulam ambhāvo bhavati*

A *ṭṛtīyā* or *saptami* is variously replaced by *am* when it occurs after an *avyayībhāva* compound which ends in *a*.

#### EXAMPLES:

*upakumbhena kṛtam* ‘made near the pitcher’

*upakumbhaṃ kṛtam* ‘id.’

*upakumbhe nidhehi* ‘place it near the pitcher’

*upakumbhaṃ nidhehi* ‘id.’

1. Note that rule 2.4.83 *nāvyaībhāvād...* provides for an obligatory

replacement of a nominal ending by *am* after an *avyayībhāva* 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 *ṛtīyā* or *saptamī* which occurs at the end of an *avyayībhāva* 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 लुटः प्रथमस्य डारौरसः

*luṭaḥ prathamasya ḍāraurasah*

*/ luṭaḥ 6/1 prathamasya 6/1 ḍāraurasah 1/3 = ḍās ca rauś ca ras ca (itar. dv.) / luḍādeśasya prathamapurusaḥ paraśmaipadasyātmanepadasya ca 'ḍā, rau, ras' ity ete ādeśā bhavanti yathāsamkhyam*

The third person *tiṅ*-replacements of *LUṬ* (3.3.15 *anadyatane...*) are replaced by *Ḍā*, *rau*, and *ras*, respectively.

#### EXAMPLES:

*kartā* 'he will make'

*kartārau* 'they two will make'

*kartāraḥ* 'they will make'

*adhyetā* 'he will study'

*adhyetārau* 'they two will study'

*adhyetāraḥ* 'they will study'

1. Our rule concerns the third personal (*prathama*; 1.4.101 *tiṅstrīṅitrīṅi...*) replacements of *LUṬ* (3.3.15 *anadyatane luṭ*), which are *tiP*, *tas*, and *jhi* of *paraśmaipada* (1.4.99 *laḥ paraśmaipadam*); and *ta*, *ātām*, and *jha* of *ātmanepada* (1.4.100 *taṅnānv ātmanepadam*). The rule here requires that these should be replaced by *Ḍā*, *rau*, and *ras*. Obviously, such replacement entails six substitutes for three substituenda. The assignment of equivalency in terms of the order of enumeration (*samkhyātānudeśa*; 1.3.10 *yathāsamkhyam anudeśaḥ 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 *paraśmaipada* and *ātmanepada*. That is, the same three replacements will replace the singular, dual, and plural elements in the categories of *paraśmaipada* and *ātmanepada*. Rule 1.3.10 regulates equivalency within the single categories of *paraśmaipada* and *ātmanepada*. Thus, *Ḍā*, *rau*, and *ras* replace *tiP*, *tas*, and *jhi* respectively in *paraśmaipada*. Similarly, they replace *ta*, *ātām*, and *jha* in *ātmanepada*.

# Adhyāya Three

## 3.1.1 प्रत्ययः

*pratyayah*  
/pratyayah 1/1/  
*pratyayaśabdaḥ samjñātvenādhikriyate*  
An affix...

### EXAMPLES:

*karttavṛyām* ‘that which should be done’  
*kaṛaṇṛyām* ‘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 *vṛddhir yasyācām ādis tad vṛddham*, whereby assignment of the term *pratyaya* could be made following the pattern of the term *vṛddha*.

Formulating a general rule *saḥ 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 samānakarṭṛkād icchāyām vā san* and the *P* of 5.4.151 *uraḥ prabhṛtibhyaḥ kap*. For example, consider rules 3.1.34 *sib bahulam leṭi* and 3.1.106 *vadaḥ sup kyap ca*, etc. If one were to operate in accordance with *pratyāsatti-nyāya*, the maxim of proximity, the *P* of *saP* would be interpreted as that of the *siP* in 3.1.34 *sib bahulam leṭi*. 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 *śāstrīya*, the meaning one gets both by the process of concurrent presence (*anvaya*) and concurrent absence (*vyatireka*). This second is called the technical (*śāstrīya*) 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 *pratyaya* can be treated as used in its traditional etymological sense (*anvarthasamjñā*) of 'that by means of which meaning is made comprehensible' (*pratiyantya anena artham*). This also includes instances where the particular meaning of an affix is left without any specification (*anirdiṣṭa*). Such affixes must then be interpreted as denoting *svārtha*, the sense of the base after which they are introduced (*anirdiṣṭāḥ pratyayāḥ svārthe bhavanti*).

The preceding discussion begs the question as to whether or not a *vikaraṇa* such as *ŚaP* (3.1.68 *karttari śap*), or an *āgama* 'augment' such as *aT* can be assigned the term *pratyaya*. 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 *pratyaya*.

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 (*antyā*), or inserted elements, depending on whether they are marked with *T*, *K*, or *M*, respectively (1.1.46 *ādyaṅtau...*; 1.1.47 *mid aco' ntyāt parah*). Refer also to the *Pbh.* (12): *yadāgamās tadguṇībhūtās tadgrahaṇena gr̥hyante* 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 to the *āgama* per se. 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 *dhātu* (3.1.91 *dhātoḥ*), or a *prātipadika* (4.1.1 *nyāp-prātipadikāt*), its subject (*uddesyā*). That is, an affix constitutes the predicate (*vidheya*) in relation to its base. Such a relationship is not possible in case of an *āgama*. A *vikaraṇa*, such as *ŚaP* (3.1.68 *karttari śap*), can be introduced under the condition of the assignment of the technical term *sārvadhātuka* (3.4.113 *tiṅśit sārvadhātukam*), relative to a *dhātu*, with operational consequences. We already know that items denoted by the abbreviatory term *tiṅ* are termed affixes. The association of *tiṅ* with *śit*



(in rule 3.4.113), referring to items such as *ŚaP*, also qualifies *ŚaP*, etc., to be similarly called affixes. Rule 3.1.93 *kṛd atin*, indeed, assigns the term *kṛt* to affixes other than those denoted by the abbreviatory term *tiÑ*. Pāṇini, again, does not use the term *vikaraṇa*.

Scope: 1.1.62 *pratyayalope pratyayalakṣaṇam*, etc.

### 3.1.2 परश्च

*paraś ca*

*/paraḥ 1/1 ca 0/*

(*pratyayaḥ* #1)

*paraś ca sa bhavati dhātor vā prātipadikād vā yaḥ pratyayasamjñah*

And that which is termed an affix occurs subsequently....

#### EXAMPLES:

*karttavayam* ‘that which should be done’

*taittirīyam* ‘a treatise composed by Tittiri’

1. This rule is also an *adhikāra*. 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 *pratyaya* occurs subsequently...’

If one treats rule 3.1.2 as an *adhikāra* then one also has to accept that it is carried to each and every rule (*pratyogam upatiṣṭhate*) of the domain headed by rule 3.1.1 *pratyayaḥ*. A *paribhāṣā* interpretation would enable it to sit in one place (*ekadeśastha*), though at the same time be applicable throughout the domain (*sarvatra śāstre vyāpriyate*) like a lamp placed in one place yet capable of illuminating the entire room (*sarvaṃ veśmam abhijvalayati*). It, however, does not have to be carried to each and every rule of the domain (*na tu pratyogam 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 *pratyaya* itself.

The purpose of *ca*, when it does not function to bring anything unstated close to a given context (*anuktasamuccaya*), is *avadhāraṇa* ‘delimitation, exact specification’. Consequently, we understand that what is assigned the term *pratyaya* 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 *tiÑ* 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 *uṇādi* affix to occur only subsequently because of *bahulam* ‘variously’ of 3.3.1 *uṇādayo bahulam*.

With the condition of *paratva* no longer obligatory, the *uṇādi* affixes can be preposed, postposed, or even infixes.

### 3.1.3 आद्युदात्तश्च

*ādyudāttaś ca*

*/ādyudāttaḥ 1/1 = ādir udātto yasya (bv.); ca 0/*

*(pratyayah #1, paraś ca #2)*

*ādyudāttaś ca bhavati yaḥ pratyayasamjñāḥ*

That which is termed an affix, and occurs subsequently, is high-pitched initially.

EXAMPLES:

*kar̥ttavyám*

*taittir̥iyám*

### 3.1.4 अनुदात्तौ सुप्पितौ

*anudāttau suppitau*

*/anudāttau 1/2 suppitau 1/2/*

*(pratyayah #1, paraś ca #2)*

*supaḥ pitaś ca pratyayānudāttā bhavanti*

That which is termed an affix, occurs subsequently, and is denoted by *sUP* (*svaujas....*, 1.4.103 *supaḥ*), or is marked with *P* as an *it*, is low-pitched initially.

EXAMPLES:

*dr̥ṣadau* ‘nom. du. of *dr̥ṣad* ‘pebble’

*dr̥ṣadáḥ* ‘nom. plural ...’

*pacāti* ‘he is cooking’

*paṭhāti* ‘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 *sUP*, in this rule, refers to the *pratyāhāra* ‘abbreviatory term’ *sUP*, which denotes nominal endings (4.1.2 *svaujas...*). Why can it not be interpreted as the locative plural (*saptamī bahuvacana*) *suP*? 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 *sUP* 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* (*Pit*).

## 3.1.5 गुप्तिकिद्भ्यः सन्

*guptikidbhyah san*

*/guptikidbhyah 5/3 (dv.) / san 1/1 /*

*(pratyayah # 1, paras ca # 2)*

*'gupa gopane, tija nisāne, kita nivāse' etebhyo dhātubhyah san pratyayo bhavati*

Affix *saN* occurs after verbal roots *gupA* 'to protect, preserve, hide', *tijA* 'to sharpen' and *kitA* 'to dwell, to percieve'.

## EXAMPLES:

*jugupsate* 'he censures, despises...'

*titikṣate* '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 (*anirdiṣṭāḥ pratyayāḥ svārthe bhavanti*). A *vārttika* (cf. *Kāśikā* under this rule) states that *saN* is desired when the derivatives denote *nindā* 'censure', *kṣamā* 'forgiving', and *vyādhipratīkāra* 'curing diseases'. Haradatta (*PM ad Kāśikā*) calls this meaning qualification non-universal (*prāyikam etad upādhivacanam*). *Nyāsa* states that *nindā*, 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 *nindā*, 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 *iṭ* by rule 7.2.35 *ārdhadhātukasyeḍ valādeḥ*. This absence of *iṭ* 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 *gupĀ* 'to hide', etc., as an *it*, is intended for *ātmanepada* endings by rule 1.3.12 *anudātṭanīta ātmanepadam*. It is because *anudātta* is an *it* that *gupĀ*, here, could not refer to '*gupA*' 'be agitated' or '*gupU*' 'to preserve, protect'.

## 3.1.6 मान्बधदानशान्भयो दीर्घश्चाभ्यासस्य

*mānbadhadānsānbhoyo dīrghaś cābhyāsasya*

*/ mān...sānbhyaḥ 5/3 dīrghaḥ 1/1/ ca 0 abhyāsasya 6/1/*

*(pratyayaḥ # 1, paraś ca # 2, san # 5)*

*'māna pūjāyām, badha bandhane, dāna avakhaṇḍane, sāna avatejane' ity etebhyo dhātubhyaḥ san pratyayo bhavati,*

*abhyāsasya cekārasya dīrghādeśo bhavati*

Affix *saN* occurs after verbal roots *mānA* 'to honor, respect', *badhA* 'to bind, tie', *dānA* 'to split, cut in pieces' and *sānA* 'to sharpen'; in addition, long *ī* replaces the short *i* of the *abhyāsa* 'reduplicated syllable'.

## EXAMPLES:

*mīmāṃsate* 'he investigates...'

*bībhatsate* 'he detests...'

*dīdāṃsate* 'he straightens out...'

*śīśāṃsate* 'he sharpens...'

1. Note that out of the four verbal roots *mānA*, *badhA*, *dānA*, and *sānA*, 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 *ātmanepada* endings by rule 1.3.12 *anudāttañita ātmanepadam* as opposed to the last two which get *ātmanepada* by rule 1.3.72 *svaritañitaḥ kartrabhiprāye...* 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 *mānA* in the sense of 'desire to know' (*jijñāsā*); after *badhA* when the sense is *vairūpya* 'ugliness, disgust'; and after *sānA* when the sense is *tikṣṇīkaraṇa* '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, *mānayaṭi*, *bādhayaṭi*, *dānayaṭi* and *niśānayaṭi* are derived parallel to forms in *saN*.

## 3.1.7 धातोः कर्मणः समानकर्तृकादिच्छायां वा

*dhātoḥ karmaṇaḥ samānakartṛkādi chhāyām vā*

*/dhātoḥ 5/1 karmaṇaḥ 6/1 samānakartṛkāṭ 5/1 = samānaḥ kartā yasya tasmāt (bv.); icchāyām 7/1 vā 0/*

*(pratyayaḥ #1, paraś ca #2, san # 5)*

*iṣikarma yo dhātor iṣiṇaiva samānakartṛkaḥ tasmād icchāyām arthe vā san pratyayo bhavati*

Affix *saN* optionally occurs to denote *icchā* 'wish' after roots which underlie the object of, and share the same agent with, *iṣ* 'to wish'.

## EXAMPLES:

*cikīrṣati* ‘he wishes to do’

*jihīrṣati* ‘he wishes to carry away’

1. Note that *dhātoḥ* ‘after a verbal root’, *karmaṇaḥ* ‘after that which is an object’, and *samānakartṛkāt* ‘after that which has its agent similar to the agent of’ are all presented with *pañcamī* ‘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 (*sāmānādhikaraṇya*) with the verbal root which, in turn, denotes action. Recall that object (*karman*) is defined by rule 1.4.49 *kartur īpsitatamaṃ 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 *karman* is a participant in the action which the root denotes. Commentators explain that *dhātvartha*, the sense of a root, can constitute *karman*, but the sense cannot be constituted by the word-form *dhātu*. Pāṇini’s use of *karmaṇaḥ* as a modifier to *dhātu*, thus, refers to the object constituted by the sense of *dhātu*. The *karmatva* ‘objectness’ and *samānakartṛkattva* ‘same agentness’ of the sense of the root (*dhātvartha*) is extended to the *dhātu* ‘root’ by way of its meaning (*arthadvāra*). 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 *dvandvaś ca...* where *prāṇyaṅga* ‘part of a living organism’ is also treated as the organism which it denotes it (cf. *Nyāsa ad Kāśikā II:347: artho dvāram upāyo yasya tad arthadvāram iti. arthasya karmatvāt samānakartṛkatvāc ca tad vacano’ pi dhātur arthadharṇeṇopacārāt karmasamānakartṛkaś...*). Sense, thus, becomes the means for the transference of *karmatva* and *samānakartṛkatva* to the root which denotes it. This may appear to be problematic, but meaning is the only way for *karmaṇaḥ* and *samānakartṛkāt* 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 *karmaṇaḥ* and *samānakartṛkāt*? 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 (*upasrṣṭa*), and (b) so that *saN* can be assigned the term *ārdhadhātuka* under the provisions of rule 3.4.114 *ārdhadhātukaṃ śeṣaḥ*. *Kāśikā* explains the first of these functions with the example *prācīkīrṣat* parallel to *prakartum aicchat* ‘...wished to do’ where *saN* is to be introduced after *kṛ* and not after *pra+* *kṛ*, *kṛ* used with the preverb *pra*. There would obviously be some derivational problems if one introduced *saN* after *prakṛ*.

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 *LUN*, the preverb would become part of the *aṅga* (1.4.13 *yasmāt pratyayavidhis...*). Consequently, augment *āṬ* 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 *ārdhadhātukaṃ...*, which assigns the term *ārdhadhātuka*, is contained in the domain of 3.1.91 *dhātoḥ* (cf. *Nyāsa ad Kāśikā* II:351 *ārdhadhātukaṃ śeṣaḥ ity anena dhātor ity evaṃ dhātuśabdāṃ uccārya vihitasya pratyayasyārdhadhātukasamjñāvidhānāt. iha dhātor ity eva sano vidhānam ity ārdhadhātukasamjñā bhavati* ‘because the assignment of the term *ārdhadhātuka* to an affix is made by rule 3.4.114 *ārdhadhātukaṃ śeṣaḥ* 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 derivatives of this rule and those of the preceding two rules. Because this term *ārdhadhātuka* is available to the derivatives under this rule, they receive the augment *iṬ* (7.2.35 *ārdhadhātukasyeḍ valādeḥ*). Obviously, this augment is lacking in the derivatives of the preceding rules.

3. The conditions of *karmanāḥ* and *samānakarṭṛkāt* are given so that, for example, *saN* could not be introduced to produce a derivate parallel to *gamanena icchati* ‘...he wishes by means of his action of going’. The *ṭṛtīyā* in *gamanena* expresses *karana*. The condition of *samānakarṭṛkāt* is required so that a *saN* derivate parallel to *bhojanam icchati* of *devadattasya bhojanam icchati yajñadattaḥ* ‘Yajñadatta wishes for Devadatta to eat’ is blocked on grounds that the agent of *iṣ* ‘to wish’ and *bhojana* ‘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 *āsamkā* ‘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) *pipatiṣati kūlam* ‘the embankment is about to fall’
- (ii) *śvā mumūrṣati* ‘the dog is about to die’
- (iii) *cikīrṣitum icchati* ‘...wishes to wish to do’

The first two examples illustrate *āśamkā*. These sentences can literally be translated as: ‘the embankment wishes to fall’ and ‘the dog wishes to die’ respectively. Commentators (*Nyāsa ad Kās.* II:351-52) note that, in the instance of the embankment (*kūla*), *āśamkā* seems to be the logical meaning since *kūla*, for reasons of being inanimate, lacks the faculty of wishing. We have to additionally invoke the *āśamkā* 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):

*śaiṣikān matubarthīyāc  
chaiṣiko matubarthikah/  
sarūpaḥ pratyayo neṣṭah  
sannantān na san iṣyatell*

‘a *śaiṣika* affix similar in form is not to be introduced after items which end in a *śaiṣika* (a *taddhita* affix introduced in the sense of something other than what has already been stated by rules prior to 4.2.92 *śeṣe*), 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 सुप आत्मनः क्यच्

*supa ātmanaḥ kyac  
/supah 5/1 ātmanaḥ 6/1 kyac 1/1/  
(pratyayah #1, paraś ca #2, karmaṇah, icchāyām, vā #7)  
iṣikarmaṇah eṣitur ātmasambandhinaḥ subantād icchāyām arthe  
vā kyac pratyayo 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:

*putrīyati* ‘he wishes a son for himself’

1. As is obvious from the *vṛtti* of this rule, both *karmaṇah* 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 *dhātoḥ* in the preceding rule, by *karmanah*. Consequently, the *pada* after which *KyaC* is to be introduced is to constitute the object of *iṣ* 'to wish'. Furthermore, *ātmanah* 'one's own' is interpreted as denoting the object of the wish by the agent of *iṣ*. 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 *iṣ*, 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* (*subantāt*). This is possible in view of the *Paribhāṣā* (24): *pratyayagrahaṇe tadantā grāhyāḥ*. Of course, the two conditions of *karmanah* and *icchāyām 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 *samānakartṛkāt* of the preceding rule. The condition of *samānakartṛkatva* '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 *samānakartṛkatva*. *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, *rājñah 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 *kya* of 1.4.15 *nah kya*. 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 *KyaÑ* and *KyaṢ*. It is also used to facilitate *sāmānya-grahaṇa*, a general reference to all three affixes *KyaC*, *KyaÑ* and *KyaṢ*, 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 *KyaÑ* and *KyaṢ*. 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 (*sāmānyagrahaṇavighāta*) 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 *KyaC* (3.1.3 *ādyudāttaś ca*) itself.

3. A *vārttika* prohibits the introduction of *KyaC* parallel to *idam icchati* 'he wishes for it' and *uccaiḥ icchati* 'he wishes for something loudly' where the first involves a nominal stem ending in *-m* and the second an indeclinable (*avyaya*).

### 3.1.9 काम्यच्च

*kāmyac ca*

*/kāmyac 1/1 ca 0/*

(*pratyayaḥ* #1, *paraś ca* #2, *karmaṇaḥ*, *icchāyām vā* #7, *supaḥ*, *āmanaḥ* #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 ātmanaḥ 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 ataddhite* and 1.3.9 *tasya loṇaḥ*. 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/*

(*pratyayaḥ* #1, *paraś ca* #2, *karmaṇaḥ*, *vā* #7, *supaḥ*, *kyac* #8)

*upamānāt karmaṇaḥ subantād 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:

*putrīyati chātram* ‘he treats the student as his son’

*prāvārīyati 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 chātram ācāryaḥ* ‘the teacher treats the student as his own son’ where *putra* ‘son’ is the standard of comparison and the student is the thing compared (*upamīta*). 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 *adhikaraṇa* ‘locus’. Thus, we get: *prāsādīyati 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 (*prāsāda*), to end in *saptamī*, the seventh triad of *sUP*. But were this the case, it would make it impossible for *prāsāda* to still denote the object since *saptamī* generally denotes locus (*adhikaraṇa*). It is to accommodate usage such as the preceding, as well as ones such as *kuṭīyati prāsāde* ‘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 *kuḍye* in place of *kutyām* in the above example. Haradatta (*PM ad Kāś. II: 361*) cites *kutyām* as the appropriate reading (cf. *kutyām iti tu yuktaḥ pāṭhaḥ*). 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 कर्तुः क्यङ् सलोपश्च

*karttuḥ kyañ salopas ca*

*lkarttuḥ 5/1 kyañ 1/1 salopaḥ 1/1 ca 0/*

(*pratyayaḥ #1, paraś ca #2, vā #7, supaḥ #8, upamānād ācāre #10*)

*upamānāt karttuḥ subantād ācāre’ rthe vā kyañ pratyayo bhavati, sakārasya ca lopo bhavati*

Affix *KyaÑ* 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’  
*puṣkarāyate kumudaḥ* ‘the lily appears like a blue lotus’  
*payāyate (takram)* ‘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 (*yugapad*). Thus, we find that affix *KyaÑ* 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 *KyaÑ* 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 *KyaÑ* is given as the principal provision (*pradhānanāśiṣṭa*) in contrast with the deletion of -s which is secondary (*anvācayāśiṣṭa*). It is as if a person who, when ordered *grāme bhaiḥṣaṃ 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 *KyaÑ* 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) *karttuḥ kyañ bhavati sarvatra* ‘affix *KyaÑ* occurs universally after a *pada* which denotes *kartr...*’
- (ii) *yatra tv asti sakāras tatra 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 *KyaÑ* can be introduced irrespective of whether or not deletion of *-s* occurs. For, here *KyaÑ* is the primary provision.

Now consider some examples:

(iii) *payāyate takram* ‘the buttermilk appears (tastes) like milk’ where given the string *payas + sU + KyaÑ*, this rule deletes the final *-s* of the nominal stem *payas* ‘milk’. However, consider

(iv) *śyenāyate kākaḥ* ‘the crow appears (behaves) as if it were a falcon’ where though *KyaÑ* is introduced, there is no *s*-deletion. This is because *śyena* ‘falcon’ does not end in *-s*. For, *Kāśikā* clearly states:

*anvācayaśiṣṭaḥ salopaḥ tad abhāve* ‘*pi kyañ bhavaty eva* ‘*s*-deletion is provided for secondarily; (therefore) even in its absence, *KyaÑ* must be introduced’.

3. Note that *vā* ‘or not; optionally’ carried from rule 3.1.7 *dhātoḥ...* makes the introduction of *KyaÑ* optional, and since *KyaÑ* is associated with the deletion of *-s*, the deletion of *-s* becomes optional as well. However, looking at the *vārttika* (*Mbh.* III: 58) *ojasopsarasor nityam payasas tu vibhāṣayā*, we find that the deletion of *-s* is obligatory (*nitya*) in case of *ojas* ‘vigor’ 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 *payāyate* 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 (*ṣaṣṭhī*) denoting ‘in place of’ (*sthānaṣaṣṭhī*). 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 *hiṃsa*, 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 *hoḍa* ‘insulting’. Affix *KyaÑ* 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 *nandigrahipacādi...* As a consequence, the status of *anunāsikatva* ‘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 *ato lopaḥ*. The introduction of the *ātmanepada* affix after *avagalbha*, etc., will thus be ensured by *anudātta* (1.3.12 *anudattānita...*), 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 atin*), does not result in the assignment of the term *prātipadika* under the provision of rule 1.2.46 *kṛttaddhitasamāsās ca*. For, that would block the introduction of the verbal inflectional endings, *tiÑ*. Needless to say, *tiÑ* can only be introduced, as a replacement of *LA*, after items termed *dhātu*. The authority on which the application of 1.2.46 *kṛttaddhitasamāsās ca* is blocked in the case of items which end in *KvIP* lies within the statement *kvibantā dhātutvaṃ na jahati* (cf. *Udyota ad Mbh.* V: 62).

The purpose of citing *avagalbha*, 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 *kāspratyayād...*, *kāsgrahaṇe cakās upasaṃkhyānam* (*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 *anekāc* ‘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: *galbhate* (with no *aC*, no *KvIP*), *avagalbhate* (with *aC* and *KvIP*); *avagalbhāyate* (with *aC* and *KyaÑ*), and *avagalbhāṃcakre* (with *aC*, *KvIP* and *ām*).

### 3.1.12 भृशादिभ्यो भुव्यच्चेर्लोपश्च हलः

*bhṛśādibhyo bhuvy acver lopaś ca halah*

*/bhṛśādibhyaḥ 5/1 bhuvi 7/1 acveḥ 5/1 lopaḥ 1/1 ca 0*

*halah 6/1/*

(*pratyayah #1, paraś ca #2, vā #7, kyañ #11*)

‘*bhṛśa*’ ity evam ādibhyaḥ prātipadikebhyo’ *cvyantebhyo bhuvi bhavaty arthe kyañ pratyayo bhavati, halantānām ca lopaḥ*

Affix *KyaÑ* 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 *CvI*; in addition, any final consonant (*hal*) of the stem is replaced by zero.

#### EXAMPLES:

*bhṛśāyate* ‘what was less becomes bountiful’

*śīghrāyate* ‘he, who was slow, becomes fast’

*unmanāyate* ‘he, who was not interested, becomes interested’

1. This rule provides for the introduction of affix *KyaÑ* as its principal (*pradhāna*) provision. It also allows the deletion of the final consonant of a nominal stem as a secondary provision (*anvācaya*). Thus, *KyaÑ* 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 *bhū* 'to become'.

2. Why is it necessary to state the negation (*pratiṣedha*) of *acveḥ* 'when not ending in affix *CvI*'. The stipulation, here, is that rule 5.4.50 *abhūtatadbhāve kṛbhvastiyoge...*, read with a corresponding *vārttika* (*Mbh.* III:60), introduces affix *CvI* in the sense of *abhūtatadbhāva* 'the sense of becoming something which it previously was not'. Logically, affix *KyaÑ* cannot be introduced after a form to denote *abhūtatadbhāva* because that would be redundant. It is stated that the negation would become vacuous (*vyartha*) if *KyaÑ* were introduced after a form which ended in *CvI*. Or conversely, if *CvI* were introduced after a word enumerated under the list headed by *bhṛṣa*. By stating *acveḥ*, Pāṇini accepts that items listed in the set headed by *bhṛṣa* may or may not be used with *CvI*. Affix *KyaÑ* is introduced after that which does not end in *CvI*.

3. Note that forms which belong to the *bhṛṣādi* list, and do not end in *CvI*, not only qualify for the introduction of *KyaÑ* but also constitute an exception to 5.4.50 *kṛbhvastiyoge....* A form in *CvI*, because it denotes *abhūtatadbhāva* (even if it belongs to the *bhṛṣādi* class), is blocked from receiving *KyaÑ* 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 *KyaÑ* are similar (*sadrṣa*) to those ending in *CvI*. The word *acveḥ*, or its *naÑ* 'negative particle', is interpreted as *paryudāsa* and gives the sense of *tadbhinnatatsadrṣa* 'similarly dissimilar' (cf. my notes under 1.2.45 *arthavad...*). Obviously, the similarity between forms ending in *KyaÑ* with those ending in *CvI* is based on meaning (*artha*), not form (*śabda*). It is because of the *abhūtatadbhāva* meaning via the *paryudāsa* interpretation of the negation in *acveḥ* that *kva divā bhṛṣā bhavanti ye rātrau bhṛṣāḥ* 'what becomes of the bright stars of the night during the day?' does not have a corresponding *KyaÑ* derivate. In this example, it is because of *bhṛṣa*, which here means *nakṣatra* 'star'. Affix *KyaÑ* is thus introduced to denote the sense of *bhavati* after items enumerated in the list headed by *bhṛṣa* within the context of *abhūtatadbhāva*.

Note, also, that if an item is cited in the list headed by *bhṛṣa* 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 (*anupasrṣta*).

### 3.1.13 लोहितादिडाज्भ्यः क्यष्

*lohitādidājbhyaḥ kyaṣ*

*llohitādidājbhyaḥ 5/3 kyaṣ 1/1/*

(*pratyayah #1, paraś ca #2, vā #7, bhuvi acveḥ #12*)

*lohitādibhyo dājantebhyaś ca bhavaty arthe kyaṣ pratyayo bhavati*

Affix *Kyaṣ* optionally occurs to denote the sense of *bhū* ‘to be, become’ after a non-*CvI* 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:

<sup>ṛ</sup>*lohitāyati* ‘that which was not red becomes red’

*lohitāyate* ‘id.’

*paṭapaṭāyati* ‘... makes *paṭapaṭa* noise’

*paṭapaṭāyate* ‘id.’

1. This rule introduces affix *Kyaṣ* 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 *acveḥ*, is still valid here.

The *Mahābhāṣya* (III:366) suggests that the rule should have been formulated only as *lohitādājbhyaḥ kyaṣ* thereby reducing *lohitādi* to *lohita*. This, apparently, is because there is no *gaṇa* ‘listing of stems in groups’ known as *lohitādi*. Affix *Kyaṣ*, as opposed to *KyaṆ*, is selected so that *parasmaipada* affixes can optionally be introduced after these items in accordance with the provision of rule 1.3.90 *vā kyaṣaḥ*.

*Kāśikā* recognizes the *lohitādi* as an *ākṛtigaṇa*. 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 *gaṇa* 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 *bhṛṣādi* group may also be found in the *lohitādi* list. Similarly, some of the *lohitādi* words may be found under the *bhṛṣādi* list. Those of the *lohitādi* listed under the *bhṛṣādi*, says *Kāśikā*, must end in *KyaṆ*. Those of the *bhṛṣādi* listed in the *lohitādi* will take *Kyaṣ*.

2. The *Paribhāṣā* (72) *prātipadikagrahaṇe liṅgaviśiṣṭasyāpi grahaṇam* ‘a citation made by means of a *prātipadika* ‘nominal stem’ also includes references to corresponding forms in different genders’. This enables *lohinī*, the feminine counterpart of *lohita*, also to qualify for the introduction of *Kyaṣ*.

3. I have already explained that the *K* of *Kyaṣ* is intended as an *it* for generally referencing this affix along with *KyaC* and *KyaṆ*. For example, consider rule 1.4.15 *naḥ kye* where a general reference to these affixes is made by means of *K*. Note, also, that *Kyaṣ* makes the optional introduction of *parasmaipada* with the *ātmanepada* (1.3.90 *vā kyaṣaḥ*) possible. Thus we get: *lohitāyati*; *lohitāyate*.

4. There are forms such as *nidrā* ‘sleep’, etc., which are treated as part of the *lohitādi* group. Now, *nidrā* refers to a property (*dharma*) as opposed to a thing (*dravya*; *dharmin*) which other *lohitādi* stems denote. Commentators indicate that, for the purpose of introducing *Kyaṣ* (*kyaṣvidhi*), stems such as *nidrā* are treated as if denoting a thing. This is natural given the denotational power of words (*śabdaśaktisvabhāva*). Accordingly, usages such as *nidrāyate*, parallel to *anidrāvān nidrāvān bhavati* ‘he who did not feel sleepy earlier is feeling so now,’ can be accounted for.

### 3.1.14 कष्टाय क्रमणे

*kaṣṭāya kramaṇe*

*/kaṣṭāya 4/1 kramaṇe 7/1*

(*pratyayaḥ #1 paraś ca #2, vā #7, kyañ #11*)

*kaṣṭaśabdāc caturthīsamarthāt kramaṇe’ rthe’ nārjave kyañ pratyayo bhavati*

Affix *Kyañ* 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:

*kaṣṭāyate* ‘...is moving with wicked intentions’

1. Note that *kaṣṭa* specifies the left context for the introduction of affix *Kyañ*. Commentators explain that *kaṣṭa* is specified in *caturthī* so that *Kyañ* can not be introduced after *kaṣṭa* used with any other nominal ending. This *caturthī* enables *kaṣṭa* to be syntactico-semantically relatable (*saṃgatārtha*) with *kramaṇa*, the meaning condition for affix *Kyañ*. The word *kramaṇa* in the context of this rule means *anārjava* ‘crookedness; wickedness’. Incidentally, it is *Kyañ*, and not the *Kyaṣ*, which is carried via *anuvṛtti*. We know this from the mark of *svarita* which is available only with *Kyañ* (cf. *Nyāsa ad Kāś. kyañ eva svaritatvāt*). Besides, *Kyañ* is desired also for *ātmanepada*.

2. A *vārttika* (*Mbh.* III:367) states that *Kyañ*, in addition to *kaṣṭa*, should also be introduced after *sattra*, *kaṣṭa*, *kṛcchra* and *gahana* to denote *pāpacikīrṣā* ‘desire to commit a sinful act’. *Kyañ* cannot be introduced in its general sense (*sāmānyārtha*) of *kramaṇa* commonly paraphrased as *pādaviharaṇa* ‘treading along’. Consequently, as *Nyāsa* puts it: *anārjavalakṣaṇaṃ yat kramaṇaṃ tatraiva pratyayaḥ* ‘the affix should be introduced only where *kramaṇa* is characterized by *anārjava* ‘crookedness’.

### 3.1.15 कर्मणो रोमन्थतपोभ्यां वर्त्तिचरोः

*karmaṇo romanthatapobhyāṃ vartticaroḥ*



*lkarmanah 5/1 romanthatapobhyām 5/2 vartticaroh 7/2/*

(*pratyayah #1, paras ca #2, vā #7, kyan #11*)

*romanthaśabdāt tapaśabdāc ca karmaṇo yathākramaṃ vartticaror  
arthayoh kyañ pratyayo bhavati.*

Affix *kyañ* optionally occurs after *romantha* ‘chewing the cud’, and *tapas* ‘penance, austerity’ when these end in *dvitīyā* ‘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 (*sāmānādhikaraṇya*) with *romanthatapobhyām*, and forms the left context for the introduction of affix *Kyañ*. Since *romanthatapobhyām* is given in the ablative dual (*dvivacana*), it should also follow that *karmanah* be given in the dual. It is given in the singular (*ekavacana*) since it modifies *romanthatapobhyām*, a compound with two constituents where each yields separate sentences of interpretation: *romantham varttayati* ‘...is chewing the cud’ and *tapaś 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 tapaḥ*. The *ātmanepada* is appropriate, here, because affix *Kyañ* is marked with *ñ* 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 *kīṭo romantham varttayati* ‘the insect is rolling up the ball of feces’ could not qualify for a parallel *Kyañ* 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 *kīṭo romantham varttayati*, does not entail any such action.

#### 3.1.16 बाष्पोष्मभ्यामुद्वमने

*bāṣpoṣmabhyām udvamane*

*lbaṣpoṣmabhyām 5/2 udvamane 7/1/*

(*pratyayah #1, paras ca #2, vā #7, kyañ #11, karmanah #15*)

*bāṣpaśabdād uṣmaśabdāc ca karmaṇa udvamane’ rthe kyañ  
pratyayo bhavati*

Affix *Kyaṅ* optionally occurs to denote *udvamana* ‘emission’ after a *pada* which contains *bāṣpa* ‘vapor, steam’ and *ūṣman* ‘heat’ when these nominals end in *dvitīyā* to denote object.

EXAMPLES:

*bāṣpāyate kūpaḥ* ‘the waterwell emits vapor’  
*uṣmāyate* ‘...emits steam’.

1. A *vārttika* which provides *Kyaṅ* after *phena* ‘foam’ is also given under this rule to account for *phenāyate* parallel to *phenam udvamati* ‘...emits foam’.

3.1.17 शब्दवैरकलहाभ्रकण्वमेघेभ्यः करणे

*śabdavairakalahābhrakaṇvameghebhyaḥ karaṇe*

*/śabda... meghebhyaḥ 5/3 karaṇe 7/1/*

(*pratyayaḥ* #1, *paraś ca* #2, *vā* #7, *kyaṅ* #11, *karmanāḥ* #15)  
*śabda, vaira, kalaha, abhra, kaṇva, megha*’ *ity etebhyaḥ karaṇe karoty arthe kyaṅ pratyato bhavati*

Affix *Kyaṅ* optionally occurs to denote *karaṇa* ‘doing’ after *śabda* ‘sound, noise’, *vaira* ‘hostility’, *kalaha* ‘quarrel’, *abhra* ‘cloud’, *kaṇva* ‘sin’, or *megha* ‘cloud’, when they denote the object of making or doing.

EXAMPLES:

*śabdāyate* ‘...makes noise’  
*vairāyate* ‘...becomes hostile’  
*kalahāyate* ‘...quarrels’  
*abhrāyate* ‘...causes the clouds to form’  
*kaṇvāyate* ‘...commits a sinful act’  
*meghāyate uṣmā* ‘the heat creates clouds’

1. The word *karaṇa* of *karaṇe* is interpreted here as meaning ‘action’, and should not be confused with the *kāraka* named *karaṇa* as per 1.4.42 *sādhakatamaṃ...* To interpret *karaṇa* as denoting the *kāraka* would bring the sense of affix *Kyaṅ* in direct conflict with the *karman* ‘object’ denoted by the base after which the affix is introduced to denote *karaṇa*.

Note that forms such as *śabdāyati* would derive from *śabda* + *am* + *ṆiC* where *ṆiC* will be introduced after *śabda* + *am* to denote the sense of *karoti* ‘...does’. This, of course, will happen when the option of *Kyaṅ* is not availed.

2. A *vārttika* also provides for the introduction of affix *Kyaṅ* after *sudina* ‘happy days’, *durdina* ‘sad days’ and *nīhāra* ‘fog’ to account for *sudināyate*, *durdināyate*, and *nīhārāyate*. The *Amarakośa* explains *durdina* as *meghācchanna* ‘an overcast day’.

## 3.1.18 सुखादिभ्यः कर्तृवेदनायाम्

*sukhādibhyaḥ kartṛvedanāyām*

*/sukhādibhyaḥ 5/3 kartṛ (deleted 6/1) vedanāyām 7/1/*

*(pratyayaḥ #1, paraś ca #2, vā #7, kyañ #11, karmaṇaḥ #15)*

*'sukha' ity evam ādibhyaḥ karmabhyo vedanāyām arthe' nubhave  
kyañ pratyayo bhavati, vedayitūś cet kartuḥ sambandhīni  
sukādīni bhavanti*

Affix *Kyañ* optionally occurs after nominal stems enumerated in the list headed by *Sukha* 'pleasure, happiness' provided the derivate denotes agent's own experience (*kartṛvedanā*).

## EXAMPLES:

*sukhāyate devadattaḥ* 'Devadatta experiences pleasure'

*duḥkhāyate devadattaḥ* 'Devadatta experiences grief'

1. This rule introduces affix *Kyañ* 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, *Kyañ* is to be introduced after a *pada* which constitutes the object of the agent's own experience. Thus, *sukhāyate* of *sukhāyate devadattaḥ* is derived by introducing *Kyañ* 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 sukhaṃ 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, *\*sukhāyate 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 *kartṛvedanā*.

*Nyāsa* (II:375) observes that compound formation must be valid because Pāṇini, himself, uses it in the rule (*sautratvāt*). Or, one can accept that *kartṛ* is used with deleted genitive (*luptaśaṣṭhika*). This preference would not subscribe to the formation of a compound with *kartṛ* and *vedanā* as constituents (*sautratvān nirdeśasya saty apī asāmarthye samāso bhavaty adosaḥ. atha vā, asamāsa eva, śaṣṭhyās tv aśravaṇaṃ 'supāṃ suluk' iti luptatvāt*). Note that accepting the compound based on its usage in the *sūtra* (*sautratvāt*) is conducive to economy (*lāghava*). A proposal with the ad hoc (*nipātana*) deletion of *śaṣṭhī* is prolix (*gaurava*).

The genitive in *kartṛ*, as a modifier to *sukha*, etc., has to be interpreted 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 नमोवरिवश्चित्रडः क्यच्

*namovarivaścitraṇaḥ kyac*

*/namovarivaścitraṇaḥ 5/1 kyac 1/1/*

*(pratyayaḥ #1, paraś ca #2, vā #7, karmaṇaḥ #15, karaṇe #17)*

*'namas, varivas, citraṇ' ity etebhyo vā kyac pratyayo bhavati, karaṇaviśeṣe pūjādau*

Affix *KyaC* optionally occurs to denote *karaṇa* 'doing' after *padas* which underlie *namas* 'salutation', *varivas* 'honor, service' or *citraṇ* 'wonder', and end in *dvitīyā* 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 *pūjā* 'worship', etc. This particular meaning contrasts with the general meaning, but is not difficult to obtain knowing the denotational power of words (*śabdaśaktisvabhāva*). Contextually, *namas* 'obeissance' also relates to the action of paying respect which is denoted by *pūjā*. 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 *āścarya* 'astonishment'.

2. Commentators cite *namasyati gurūn* 'he pays obeissance to his teacher' as an example for *namas*. They, however, question the use of *dvitīyā* 'second triplet of nominal ending' after *guru* 'teacher' especially in view of *caturthī* 'fourth triplet of nominal ending' already provided for by rule 2.3.16 *namaḥ svastisvāhā...* This rule requires the use of *caturthī* when words such as *namaḥ*, *svasti*, *svāhā*, etc., are in construction. Thus our example sentence should instead be: *namasyati gurubhyaḥ*. It is stated that the word *namas*, in *namasyati gurūn*, is used secondarily (*guṇībhūta*) to the meaning of affix (*pratyayārtha*) *KyaṆ*. 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) *arthavad grahaṇe nānarthakasya* 'when a citation is made with reference to something with signification, this does not include reference to any corresponding non-significant citation'. This way, *caturthī* should not be used in *namasyati gurūn*.

Yet another way out is suggested by treating *namasyati gurūn* as the paraphrase of *namaskāreṇa pūjayati gurūn*, where *namaskāra* becomes the means by which one worships the teacher. The *ṭṭīyā* in *namaskāreṇa*

as well as the *dvitīyā* in *gurūn* thus denote the *kāraka* namely *karāṇa* and *karman* respectively. The *caturthī* of rule 2.3.16 is a nominal ending (*vibhakti*) required because of a conjoined condition (*upapada*) of *namas*, etc. This *caturthī* is thus an *upapada-vibhakti*, a nominal ending which is introduced based on a specific cooccurrence condition. This invokes the *Paribhāṣā* (103) *upapadavibhakteḥ kārakavibhaktir balīyasī* whereby a nominal ending introduced relative to a *kāraka* is treated as stronger than one introduced relative to a conjoined condition. This way, the *dvitīyā* in *namasyati gurūn* will block the *caturthī* which would have otherwise obtained.

3. Commentators explain that the *Ñ* of *citraṇaḥ* is intended to secure *ātmanepada* in *citrīyate* and is contrasted with *parasmaipada* of *★citrīyati*. The *Ñ* would automatically invoke rule 1.3.12 *anudāttañita ātmanepadam*. Note that *citrīyate* 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 पुच्छभाण्डचीवराणिङ्

*pucchabhāṇḍacīvarāṅ ṅiṅ*

*/pucchabhāṇḍacīvarāt 5/1 ṅiṅ 1/1/*

(*pratyayaḥ* #1, *paraś ca* #2, *vā* #7, *karmaṇaḥ* #15, *karāṇe* #17)

‘*puccha bhāṇḍa cīvāra*’ *ity etebhyo ṅiṅ pratyayo bhavati karaṇaviśeṣe*

Affix *ÑiÑ* optionally occurs to denote *karāṇa* after a *pada* which contains *puccha* ‘tail,’ *bhāṇḍa* ‘pot’ or *cīvara* ‘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’

*saṃcīvarayate bhikṣuḥ* ‘the monk obtains or wears the *cīvara*’

1. The word *karāṇe* is still carried. This rule then introduces affix *ÑiÑ* after *puccha*, *bhāṇḍa*, and *cīvara* which end in *dvitīyā* and denote *karman*. The word *karāṇa* of *karāṇe* is again interpreted as denoting a particular action (*karaṇaviśeṣa*). There are several *iṣṭi* whereby *Kāśikā* outlines the meanings relative to the three bases identified in the rule. Thus, a *ÑiÑ* derivate of *puccha* used with the preverbs *ud* and *pari* would signify ‘hurling up’ and ‘hurling around’ the tail (cf. *pucchād udasane paryasane vā*). Thus we get: *utpucchayatel/paripucchayate gauḥ* ‘the cow is hurling up/hurling around its tail’, respectively. We similarly get *sambhāṇḍayate* and *saṃcīvarayate* from nominals such as *bhāṇḍa* and *cīvara* in the sense of ‘collecting pots’ and ‘procuring or wearing rags’ respectively. These

*iṣṭi* thus assign the meanings of *samācayana* ‘collecting’ and *arjana* ‘procuring’ or *paridhāna* ‘wearing’ to *ṆiṆ* in the above contexts.

2. The *Ṇ* of the affix is used for general reference (*sāmānyagrahaṇārtha*). Refer for example to rule 6.4.51 *ṇer aniṣi* where *Ṇ* is used to invoke reference to affixes with *Ṇ* as an *it*. The *Ṇ* 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 *parasmaipada*.

Note, also, that because these newly derived roots inhere their objects, they are considered intransitives (*akarmaka*).

### 3.1.21 मुण्डमिश्रश्लक्ष्णलवणव्रतवास्त्रहलकलकृततुस्तेभ्यो णिच्

*muṇḍamiśraślakṣṇalavaṇavratavastrahalakalakṛtatūstebhyo ṇic*  
*lmuṇḍa...tūstebhyaḥ 5/3 ṇic 1/1/*

(*pratyayaḥ* #1, *paraś ca* #2, *vā* #7, *karmanah* #15, *karane* #17)

‘*muṇḍa*, *miśra*, *ślakṣṇa*, *lavaṇa*, *vrata*, *vastra*, *hala*, *kala*, *kṛta*, *tūsta*’ *ity etebhyo karane ṇic pratyayo bhavati*

Affix *ṆiC* optionally occurs to denote *karane* after *padas* which contain *muṇḍa* ‘bald, shaven’, *miśra* ‘mixed’, *ślakṣṇa* ‘smooth’, *lavaṇa* ‘salt, salty’, *vrata* ‘ritual vow’, *vastra* ‘attire’, *hala* ‘a big plow’, *kala* ‘a bud, dice’, *kṛta* ‘favour, dice’ or *tūsta* ‘cleaning, combing (hair)’, and which denote the object of doing.

#### EXAMPLES:

*muṇḍayati* ‘he shaves head’

*miśrayati* ‘he mixes something with something else’

*ślakṣṇayati* ‘he smooths...’

*lavaṇayati* ‘he makes something salty’

*payo vrtayati* ‘he observes the ritual vow to subsist on milk’

*saṃvastrayati* ‘he covers with or wears a garment’

*halayati* ‘he takes a big plow’

*kalayati* ‘he picks a bud or die’

*kṛtayati* ‘he accepts a favor, or holds a die’

*vitūstayati keśān* ‘he combs, or cleans his hair’

1. Jinendrabuddhi (*Nyāsa ad Kāś. II:377*) recalls that the formulation of rule 3.2.21 *muṇḍamiśra...* where the condition of *karane* is nothing but an expatiation (*prapañca*) of a couple of *gaṇasūira*. With this rule Pāṇini provides for something which is already made available by the *gaṇasūtra*: *prātipadikād dhātvarthe bahulam iṣṭhavaś ca* ‘affix *ṆiC* variously occurs after a nominal stem (*prātipadika*) to denote the sense of the verbal root.... Why does he do that? Apparently, out of his compassion (*anugraha*) for the slow-witted (cf. *mandabuddhīnām anugrahāya*).

Why did Pāṇini not include the examples of this rule under rule 3.1.25 *satyāpapāśa...*? Because this rule involves some examples where introduction of *ṆiC* will be blocked due to the impairment of the required syntactico-semantic condition (*sāmarthya*).

This *gaṇasūtra* is cited as part of the *curādi* group of roots along with the following:

*tat karoti tad ācaṣṭe* ‘affix *ṆiC* 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 *ācaṣṭe*) is just for illustration (*nidarśana*). That is, use of *ṆiC* 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 *muṇḍa*, *miśra*, *ślakṣṇa*, and *lavaṇa* can be easily comprehended. *Kāśikā* informs, however, that a *ṆiC* 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 *vṛṣalānnaṃ na vratayati* ‘...refrains from eating food offered by a lowly untouchable’.

### 3.1.22 धातोरेकाचो हलादेः क्रियासमभिहारे यङ्

*dhātor ekāco halādeḥ kriyāsamabhihāre yañ*  
*ldhātoḥ 5/1 ekācaḥ 5/1 = eko' c yasmin sa (bv.), tasmāt; halādeḥ 5/1 = hal*  
*ādir yasya sa = halādeḥ (bv.) tasmāt;*  
*kriyāsamabhihāre 7/1 yañ 1/1/*  
*(pratyayah #1, paraś ca #2, vā #7)*  
*ekāḥ yo dhātur halādeḥ kriyāsamabhihāre vartate tasmād yañ*  
*pratyayo bhavati*

Affix *yañ* optionally occurs after a monosyllabic verbal root beginning with a consonant when *kriyāsamabhihāra* ‘repetitious or intense action’ is denoted.

#### EXAMPLES:

*pāpacyate* ‘cooks repeatedly’  
*yāyajyate* ‘repeatedly performs ritual sacrifice’  
*jājvalyate* ‘illuminates or burns intensely’

1. This rule introduces affix *yañ* 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 (*paunaḥpunya*) ‘intensity, or repetition of an action, or *bhr̥śārtha* ‘signification of abundance, multiplicity’. Thus, *punaḥ punaḥ pacati* ‘...cooks again and again’ yields a corresponding *yañ*-derivative *pāpacyate*. Haradatta (*PM ad Kāś II:380*) sums up an

interesting distinction between *bhṛśārtha* and *paunaḥpunya*, the two interpretations of *kriyāsamabhihāra*, as follows:

...*pradhānakriyāṇām paunaḥpunyaṃ samabhihārah...* *avayavakriyāṇām bhṛśārthatā samabhihārah* ‘repetition of the principal action is *kriyāsamabhihāra*; in the case of secondary actions, it is their multiplicity which is termed *samabhihāra*’. 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 (*tanḍula*), 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 *kriyāsamabhihāra* 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 *yaṅ* 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 *kriyāsamabhihāra*. For, one talks about *kriyāsamabhihāra* 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 *yaṅ* should be introduced after a non-prefixed (*anupasrṣṭa*) 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 karmanah...* 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 *ārddhadhātukaṃ śeṣah* 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 *yaṅ* can not be introduced after *īkṣ* ‘to see’, a root obviously beginning with a vowel. The word *ekāc* constitutes another qualification which blocks the introduction of *yaṅ* 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 *bahuvrīhi* compound as I have already shown here in connection with the text of this rule. That is, it should not be interpreted as a *tatpuruṣa*.

Note further that a *vārttika* enumerates a list of verbal roots after which *yaṅ* is introduced, even though the roots violate the conditions of *halādi* or of *ekāc*, or of both.



## 3.1.23 नित्यं कौटिल्ये गतौ

*nityam kauṭilye gatau*

*lnityam 1/1 kauṭilye 7/1 gatau 7/1/*

*(pratyayah #1, paraś ca #2, dhātoḥ, yañ #22)*

*gativacanād dhātoḥ kauṭilye gamyamāne nityam yañ pratyayo bhavati*

Affix *yañ* obligatorily occurs after a verbal root with the signification of *gati* 'movement', provided *kauṭilya* 'crookedness' is denoted.

## EXAMPLES:

*caṅkramyate* 'walks in a crooked way'

*dandramyate* 'moves in a crooked way'

1. This rule introduces affix *yañ* 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: *gatyarthe varttamānād dhātoḥ* 'after a verbal root used with the signification of motion'. Obviously, affix *yañ* is used here in the sense of something other than *kriyāsamabhihāra*. The affix must also be obligatorily introduced to account for the fact that there is no usage parallel to the *yañ*-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 (*viśayanīyamārtha*). That is, *yañ* must be introduced after a verbal root which signifies *gati* with accompanying *kauṭilya*. That is, *yañ* should occur after a verbal root with the meaning of *gati* only when *kauṭilya* is denoted. It should never be introduced when *kriyāsamabhihāra* is signified. Haradatta thinks that the formulation of the *sūtra* (without *nitya*) itself should be sufficient. For, the preceding rule introduces *yañ* 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 *kriyāsamabhihāra*. Thus, by *takrakaunḍīnyanyāya* (cf. vol. I, p.15 ff.), *kriyāsamabhihāra* 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 *takrakaunḍīnyanyāya*? *Tattvabodhinī* (ad SK III:470) claims that the explicit use of *nityam* is made to show that *takrakaunḍīnyanyāya* is not universally valid. The paraphrase of SK presents the meaning and scope of this rule as follows:

*gatyarthāt kauṭilya eva yañ syān na tu kriyāsamabhihāre*

'affix *yañ* should occur after a verbal root with the signification of *gati* when *kauṭilya*, and not when *kriyāsamabhihāra*, is denoted'

Obviously, Bhaṭṭoji interprets *nityam* as used in the sense of 'only' (*eva*).

The *Mahābhāṣya* maintains that the analyzed form of a derivate such as *caṅkramyate* does not denote *kriyāsamabhihāra*. Consequently, *yañ* 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 *bhāvagarhā* of the following rule.

### 3.1.24 लुपसदचरजपजभदशगृभ्यो भावगर्हायाम्

*lupasadacarajapjabhadasagṛbhyo bhāvagarhāyām*

*llupa...gṛbhyah 5/3 bhāvagarhāyām 7/1/*

(*pratyayah #1, paraś ca #2, dhātoḥ, yañ #22, nityam #23*)

'*lup sad car jap jabh gṛ ity etebhyo bhāvagarhāyām yañ pratyayo bhavati*

Affix *yañ* obligatorily occurs after verbal roots *lup* 'to break, cut', *sad* 'to sit', *car* 'to move, walk', *jap* 'to chant', *jabh* 'to yawn', *dah* 'to burn' and *gṛ* 'to swallow' only when *bhāvagarhā* 'contempt for action' is denoted.

#### EXAMPLES:

*lolupyate* '...cuts, breaks in a contemptible manner'

*sāsadyate* '...sits in a contemptible manner'

*cañcūryate* '...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 *yañ* after a select number of roots when *bhāvagarhā* 'censure of the action denoted by the root' is denoted. This rule also carries the word *nityam* thereby, again, meaning: *yañ* is to be introduced after these roots only when *bhāvagarhā* is to be denoted. The use of *nitya*, then, becomes a means to demarcate the exact scope of the denotation of *yañ*. Thus, *lolupyate* denotes the censurable manner in which someone is carrying out the action of *chedana* 'cutting'.

*Kāśikā* cites the counter-example *sādhu japati* '...is chanting beautifully' to show that *yañ* can not be introduced when the root-sense is being praised. Similarly, *mantram japati vṛṣalaḥ* 'the lowly untouchable is chanting the hymns' can not qualify for a parallel derivate in *yañ* because what is censured is a *vṛṣala*, the means (*sādhana*), and not the action (*bhāva*).

Haradatta explains the counter-example as *sādhanagarhā* since a *śūdra*, let alone a *vṛṣala*, 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 upaśṛṅvatas trapujatubhyām śrotapratipūraṇam; uccāraṇe jīhvācchedaḥ, dhāraṇe tu śarīrabhedah* ‘should a *śūdra* 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 सत्यापपाशरूपवीणातूलश्लोकसेनालोमत्वचवर्मवर्णचूर्णचुरादिभ्यो णिच्

*satyāpapāśarūpaviṇātūlaślokasenālomtvacavarmavarnacūrṇacurādibhyo  
ṇic*

*/satyāpa...curādibhyaḥ 1/1 ṇic 1/1/*

*(pratyayah #1, paraś ca #2, dhātoḥ #22)*

*satyādibhyaś cūrṇaparyantebhyaḥ, curādibhyaś ca ṇic pratyayo bhavati*

Affix *ṆiC* occurs after nominal stems *satya* ‘truth’, *pāśa* ‘snare’, *rūpa* ‘form, shape’ figure’, *viṇā* ‘lute’, *tūla* ‘cotton’, *śloka* ‘verse’, *senā* ‘army’, *loma* ‘hair on the body’, *tvac* ‘skin’, *varma* ‘protective armor’, and *cūrṇa* ‘powder’; it also occurs after verbal roots belonging to the class headed by *cur* ‘to steal’.

#### EXAMPLES:

*satyāpayati* ‘he speaks the truth’

*vipāśayati* ‘he frees from a snare’

*rūpayati* ‘he brings into form, sees’

*upaviṇayati* ‘he sings to the accompaniment of the *viṇā* (lute)’

*anutūlayati* ‘he makes swabs from cotton and straw’

*upaślokeyati* ‘he praises or sings by chanting a verse’

*abhiṣeṇayati* ‘he attacks with an army’

*anulomayati* ‘he massages to clear the roots of the hair’

*tvacayati* ‘he pinches’

*avacūrṇayati* ‘he sprinkles powdered medicine on the wound’

*corayati* ‘he steals...’

*cintayati* ‘he worries; thinks...’

1. This rule introduces affix *ṆiC* 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 (*uccāraṇārtha*). Furthermore, *satyāpA* is treated as derived by the introduction of *āpUK*, an augment (*āgama*), to *satya*. Thus, *satya* + *āp(UK → ∅)* = *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 *nipātana* ‘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 *teḥ* is applicable.

Note, in connection with this, that rule 6.4.155 *teḥ* deletes the *ṭi* part of an *aṅga* before affixes *iṣṭhaN*, etc., by the *gaṇasūtra*: *prātipadikād dhātvarthe bahulaṃ 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 *teḥ* application, *ṭi*-deletion would become applicable. Additionally, as is the case with all *iṣṭhaN* (5.3.55 *atiśāyane tamabiṣṭhanau*) derivatives, masculine transformation (*puṃvadbhāva*; 6.3.34 *striyāḥ puṃvad bhāṣitapuṃskād...*) also applies. However, masculine transformation is also blocked in the context of *āpUK*.

The tradition believes that *ṆiC* 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 derivatives are used. Haradatta (*PM* ad *Ḳāś* II: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 *ṆiC* has to be the root-sense (*svārtha*) as no meaning has been specified (*nirdiṣṭa*) in this context.

2. The *Ṇ* of affix *ṆiC* is given as an *it* for *vṛddhi* by rule 7.2.115 *aco’ ṇṇiti*. The *C* as an *it* is given to secure the final (*anta*) high pitch (*udātta*) by rule 6.1.163 *citaḥ*.

### 3.1.26 हेतुमति च

*hetumati ca*

*/hetumati 7/1 ca 0/*

(*pratyayaḥ* #1, *paraś ca* #2, *dhātoḥ* #22, *ṇic* #25)

*hetor vyāpāraḥ hetumān, tasminn abhidheye dhātor ṇicpratyayo bhavati*

Affix *ṆiC* occurs after verbal roots when *hetumat* ‘causal action’ is expressed.

#### EXAMPLES:

*kaṣaṃ kārayati* ‘he has someone make the mat’

*odanaṃ 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 *tatprayojako 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 (*svatantrakartṛ*; 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 *hetumat*.

Let us understand this in view of the derivation of *pācayati*. This verbal form is derived from *pac + (N → Ø)i (C → Ø)*, where rule 3.1.26 introduces affix *NiC*. This yields *pāci*, a verbal root (*dhātu*; 3.1.32 *sanādyantā dhātavaḥ*) 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 *laḥ karmani ca bhāve cākarmakebhyah*). Coming back to the context of *pāci + LAṬ*, we replace *LAṬ* with *ti(P → Ø)* as per rules 3.4.77 *lasya* and 3.4.78 *tiptasjhi...* 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 *tatprayojako....* Affix *NiC*, introduced by 3.1.26 *hetumati ca*, is intended to denote this *hetumat*, i.e., the action (*vyāpāra*) of instigation (*prerāṇa*). The prompted agent, in this case Yajñadatta, will then have to be denoted by *tr̥tīyā* ‘third triplet of nominal endings’ introduced by rule 2.3.18 *karṭṛkaraṇayos tr̥tīyā*. 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 कण्वादिभ्यो यक्

*kaṇḍvādibhyo yak*

*lkaṇḍvādibhyah 5/3 yak 1/1/*

*(pratyayah #1, paraś ca #2, dhātoḥ #22)*

'kaṇḍūñ' ity evam ādibhyo yak pratyayo bhavati

Affix *yaK* occurs after verbal roots enumerated in the list headed by *kaṇḍūñ* 'to scratch' to denote *bhāva* 'root sense'.

EXAMPLES:

*kaṇḍūyati* 'he scratches...'

*kaṇḍūyate* 'id.'

*mantūyati* 'he offends...'

*mantūyate* 'id.'

1. This rule introduces affix *yaK* after items enumerated in the list headed by *kaṇḍūñ* '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 *yaK*? The *Mahābhāṣya* states that *yaK* should be introduced after *dhātu* because *dhātu* is here provided for by the context (cf. 3.1.22 *dhātor ekāco...*). Besides, the *K* of *yaK* as an *it* is used here to block *guṇa*. If *yaK* 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 *kaṇḍū*, etc., can also be nominal stems? Pāṇini indicates this usage by citing *kaṇḍū*, etc. with a built-in long vowel. For, the long vowel, say the *ū* of *kaṇḍūñ*, could easily be implemented by the application of rule 7.4.25 *akṛtsārvadhātukayor dīrghaḥ*. 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:

*dhātuprākaraṇād dhātoḥ,  
kasya cāsañjanād apil  
āha cāyam imaṃ dīrghaṃ,  
manye dhātur vibhāṣitam||*

2. The *ñ* of *kaṇḍūñ*, and the like, is intended for the selection of the *ātmanepada* (1.3.12 *svaritañitah...*).

3. In the absence of any meaning specification, *yaK* should be introduced to denote *svārtha*, the sense of the root itself. Bhoṭṭoji (SK III:544) states that *yaK* is introduced obligatorily (*nityam*) after these roots when *dhātvartha* 'root-sense' is denoted. The word *kaṇḍū* is explained as *gātra-vikarṣaṇa* 'scratching' while *mantūñ* is paraphrased as *aparādha* 'guilt, crime'. Similar meaning specifications are also available for others.

4. Items such as *magadha*, *sukha*, *duḥkha*, etc., which are read with a final *a*, undergo through its deletion (6.4.48 *ato lopah*). This yields forms such as *magadhyati*, *sukhyati*, and *duḥkhyati*, etc. This list also includes items such as *loṭ* and *leṭ* 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 (*sāhacarya*) 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, *kaṇḍū*, etc., can be treated as nominal stems. Affixes such as *KvIP*, etc., can thus be introduced to derive *kaṇḍūh*, *kaṇḍūtiḥ* ‘itching’, etc., where *sU* is introduced after *kaṇḍū* and *kaṇḍūti* subsequent to the deletion of *KvIP*. These derivatives of *KvIP* are treated as feminine.

### 3.1.28 गुपूधूपविच्छिपणिपनिभ्य आयः

*gupūdhūpavicchīpanīpanibhya āyaḥ*

*/gupūdhūpavicchīpanīpanibhyaḥ 5/3 āyaḥ 1/1/*

(*pratyayaḥ* #1, *paraś ca* #2, *dhātoḥ* #22)

*‘gupū...pana’ ity etebhyo dhātubhya āya pratyayo bhavati*

Affix *āya* occurs to denote root-sense after verbal roots *gupū* ‘to protect, preserve’, *dhūpa* ‘to heat, fumigate, torture’, *vicchI* ‘to move toward, approach’, *paṇI* ‘to praise’ and *panI* ‘to praise’.

#### EXAMPLES:

*gopāyati* ‘he preserves, protects...’

*dhūpāyati* ‘he heats, fumigates...’

*vicchāyati* ‘he moves toward...’

*paṇāyati* ‘he praises...’

*panāyati* ‘id.’

1. Affix *āya*, in the absence of a particular specification of meaning (*arthanirdeśābhāvāt*) 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 *pan*, 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 *vicchI* has been enumerated in the group of roots headed by *tud*. On this basis, its *āya*-derivates will take the augment *Śa* (3.1.77 *tudādibhyaḥ...*) and not *ŚaP*.

2. Note that *paṇĀ* and *panĀ* have an *anudatta* vowel as their *it*. As such they are qualified for the introduction of the *ātmanepada* affixes. But their derivatives 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 *anudatta* vowel? Does that marking not become vacuous (*vyartha*)? On the contrary, the mark (*liṅga*), in this case the *anudatta* 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. *PŚ* 107.) *avayaveṣu acaritārthaṃ liṅgaṃ samudāyasya viśeṣakaṃ 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 ऋतेरीयङ्

*ṛter īyañ*

*ṛteḥ 5/1 īyañ 1/1/*

(*pratyayaḥ* #1, *paraś ca* #2, *dhātoḥ* #22)

*ṛter īyañ pratyayo bhavati*

Affix *īyañ* occurs to denote root-sense after verbal root *ṛtI* ‘to hate’.

#### EXAMPLE:

*ṛtīyate* ‘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 *īyañ*, *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 *ṛtīyate* via *īy* as a replacement for affix *cha* by 7.1.2 *āyaneyīnī...* *Kāśikā* explains that Pāṇini preferred to introduce *īyañ* 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 *īyañ*. The short *i* of *īyañ* would have produced the long *ī* of the derivatives through *savarṇadīrgha* ‘homogenous long vowel replacement’.

### 3.1.30 कमेर्णिङ्

*kamer ṇiñ*

*lkameḥ 5/1 ṇiñ 1/1/*

(*pratyayaḥ* #1, *paraś ca* #2, *dhātoḥ* #22)

*kamer dhātor ṇiñ pratyayo bhavati*

Affix *ṇiñ* occurs to denote root-sense after verbal root *kamU* ‘to wish’.



## EXAMPLE:

*kāmayate* 'he wishes for...; loves...'

1. The *N* of affix *ṆiṆ* is to facilitate *vr̥ddhi* by rule 7.2.116 *ata upadhāyāḥ*. The *Ṇ*, as usual, conditions the selection of *ātmanepada*. The resultant form, i.e., *kāmi*, becomes a verbal root in view of 3.1.32 *sanādyantā dhātavaḥ*.

## 3.1.31 आयादय आर्द्धधातुके वा

*āyādaya ārdhadhātuke vā*  
*lāyādayaḥ 1/3 ārdhadhātuke 7/1 vā 0/*  
*(pratyayaḥ #1; paraś ca #2)*  
*ārdhadhātukaviṣaye ārdhadhātukavivakṣāyām āyādayaḥ pratyayā vā*  
*bhavanti*

Affixes *āya*, etc., optionally occur after a verbal root when an *ārdhadhātuka* affix (3.1.114 *ārdhadhātukam śeṣaḥ*) is to follow.

## EXAMPLES:

*goptā* 'he who will protect'  
*gopāyitā* 'id.'  
*arttitā* 'he who will hate'  
*ṛtīyitā* 'id.'  
*kamitā* 'he who will love'  
*kāmayitā* 'id.'

1. This rule makes the introduction of three preceding affixes, *āya*, *īyaṆ*, and *ṆiṆ*, optional when one anticipates the introduction of an *ārdhadhātuka* (3.4.114 *ārdhadhātukam...*) affix. The basis for introduction of an affix in anticipation lays in an interpretation of the locative of *ārdhadhātuke* as *viṣayasaptamī* '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 *ārdhadhātuka* affix to be already in place after the root. That is, an affix termed *ārdhadhātuka* 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 *ārdhadhātuka* affix *Ktin*, an undesired form *gopāti* 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 valiḥ*. The desired form *gopāyā*, a feminine optional to *gupti*, is derived by introducing *āya* in anticipation of the *ārdhadhātuka* affix *a* of 3.3.102 *a pratyayāt*. Thus we have:

*gopaya + a → gopāyā*

Note that the *guṇa* in *gupti* is blocked by the *K* of *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 *ārddhadhātuka* affix *a* when *āya* is introduced to derive a feminine form. Refer to the appendix for derivational details; cf. *PM* (ad *Kās.* II:406) for a finer interpretation of *saptamī* in *ārddhadhātuke* of this rule.

### 3.1.32 सनाद्यन्ता 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:

*cikīrṣati* ‘he wishes to do’

*putrīyati* ‘he wishes a son for himself’

*putrakāmyati* ‘id.’

1. *Kāśikā* explains *sanādyantāḥ* in two steps as follows:

- (a) *san ādir yeṣāṃ te sanādayaḥ* ‘items which are enumerated with *saN* at their beginning are called *sanādayaḥ*’
- (b) *sanādayo’ nte yeṣāṃ te sanādyantāḥ* ‘items in whose final position affixes *saN*, etc., occur are called *sanādyanta*’.

The (b) above is thus a *tadguṇasamvijñāna* interpretation of the *bahuvrīhi* 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’ ntāvayavā yeṣāṃ samudāyānām* ‘those composites which have affixes *saN*, etc., as their final element’. A *tadguṇasamvijñāna-bahuvrīhi* entails construing one of its constituents with the verb.

The word *dhātu*, here, refers to the technical term *dhātu* (*svarūpapadārthaka*). 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 *suptināntam padam*, the *Paribhāṣā* (28) *samjñāvidhau pratyayagrahaṇe tadantagrahaṇam 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 *suptināntam padam*, Pāṇini already exhausted any further application (*kr̥tapravṛttivighāta*) 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 *devadattas 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 *sanādyantās 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*, *KyaÑ*, *KyaṢ*, *NiÑ*, *NiC*, *yaÑ*, *yaK*, *āya*, *īyaÑ*) 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 derivatives of this rule functionally on a par with items referred to by rule 1.3.1 *bhūvādayo...* Consequently, the derivatives 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 स्यतासी लृलुटोः

*syatāsī lṛluṭoḥ*

*/syatāsī 1/2 = syas ca tāsīs ca (itar. dv.); lṛluṭoḥ 7/2 = lṛ ca luṭ ca (itar. dv.)/*

*(pratyayaḥ #1, paraś ca #2, dhātoḥ #22)*

*lṛ-rūpaṃ utsṛṣṭānubandhaṃ sāmānyam eva, tasmin luṭi ca parato dhātor  
yathāsaṃkhyam syatāsi pratyayau bhavataḥ*

Affixes *sya* and *tāsI* respectively occur after verbal roots when *LR* and *LUT* follow.

EXAMPLES:

*karisyati* ‘...will make or do tomorrow’

*akarisyat* ‘...made or did yesterday’

*śvaḥ karttā* ‘...will make or do tomorrow’

*mantā* ‘...will think’

1. The word *LRT* is interpreted, here, as referring to both the *LRT* and *LRÑ* affixes. Dropping the *it* to thereby make a general reference by means of *LR*, also serves another purpose. Note that *LRT*, *LRÑ* and *LUT*, three affixes form the right context for the introduction of two affixes *sya* and *tāsI*. That is, there are three conditioning factors (*nimitta*) for two conditioned elements (*nimittin*). Obviously, this impairs assignment of equivallancies in accordance with the number of elements enumerated (*saṃkhyātānudeśa*; 1.3.10 *yathāsaṃkhyam...*). Commentators explain that, in making a common reference with *LR* to *LRT* and *LRÑ*, Pāṇini saves the *saṃkhyātānudeśa* from impairment. As such, *sya* can be introduced when replacement of either a *LRT* or *LRÑ* follows. Similarly, *tāsI* can be introduced when a replacement of *LUT* follows.

2. Note, also, that *tāsI* is given with a final *I* which *Kāśikā* (in the section supposedly written by Jayāditya) identifies as an *it*. The purpose of this *it* is to block the deletion of *n* in, for example, *mantā*, which is briefly derived as follows

(a)  $man + (LUT \rightarrow ta \rightarrow D\bar{a}) = man + \bar{a}$

(b)  $man + t\bar{a}s(I \rightarrow \emptyset) + \bar{a} \rightarrow man + t\bar{a}s + \bar{a}$

(c)  $man + t(\bar{a}s \rightarrow \emptyset) + \bar{a} \rightarrow man + t + \bar{a}$  (6.4.143 *ṭeḥ*)

(d)  $man + t + \bar{a} \rightarrow 6.4.24 \text{ aniditām } hal...$

$ma (n \rightarrow \emptyset) t + \bar{a} = *mat\bar{a}$

I have omitted here the initial details of this derivation. Refer to the derivation of *paṭhitā* and *kaṇitā* in the appendix of rule 1.1.6 *dīdhīvevīṭām* for further details.

Note that the deletion of *n* in (d) will obtain because (*D*) $\bar{a}$ , a substitute of *LUT* via *ta* (2.4.85 *luṭaḥ prathamasya...*), is treated as if marked with  $\bar{N}$  by 1.2.4 *sārvadhātukam apit*. For, the *aṅga*, i.e.,  $man + t$ , will not be able to meet the condition of *anidita* ‘that which does not have *i* as an *it*’ of 6.4.24 *aniditām...*. Thus, the application of rule 6.4.24 *aniditām hal...* is blocked by treating the *tāsI* of *mantāsI* as marked with *I* as an *it*. Vāmana, the co-author of the *Kāśikā*, treats the final *I* of *tāsI* as added simply for ease of articulation (*uccāraṇa*; cf. Vāmana under rule 7.1.58 *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 *aniditām hal...* is contained in the section headed by 6.4.22 *asiddhavad 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 *teḥ* 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 *ṭi* can be accomplished at the strength of the *ḍit* (*Ḍ* as an *it*) status of an item even when lacking the assignment of the term *bha* (cf. *Mbh.* IV: 783: *ḍity abhasyāpi anubandhakaraṇa-sāmarthyāt*). I do not offer any additional detail on this for fear of expatiation. Note, however, that taking recourse to the *ḍit* status for the application of rule 6.4.143 *teḥ* is a fairly general practice in the Pāṇinian parlance. Consequently, the *i* of *tāsi* is treated as facilitating pronunciation. Refer to the derivation of *bhavitā*, etc., under rule 1.1.49 *ṣaṣṭhī...* 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 *halantyaṃ*. Consequently, rule 1.3.9 *tasya lopah* 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 *siti ca*. But this will create difficulty in connection with the derivation of forms such as *hantā* ‘he who will kill’ where 8.2.7 *nalopah...* would then demand the deletion of *n*.

3. Note that the tradition accepts *sya*, etc., as an exception to *ŚaP* (3.1.68 *kartari śap*).

### 3.1.34 सिबबहुलं लेटि

*sib bahulam leṭi*

*/sip 1/1 bahulam 1/1 leṭi 7/1/*

(*pratyayah* #1, *paraś ca* #2, *dhātoḥ* #22)

*dhātoḥ sip pratyayo bhavati bahulam leṭi parataḥ*

Affix *sIP* occurs variously after a verbal root when *LET* follows.

EXAMPLES:

*jośīṣat* ‘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 *līnārthe leṭ*) follows. Note that *LET* usages are exclusive to the Vedic. The *I* of *sIP* is used to facilitate pronunciation whereas its *P* as an *it* intended for proper accentuation (3.1.4 *anudāttau suppitau*).

### 3.1.35 कासप्रत्ययादाममन्त्रे लिटि

*kāspratyayād ām amantre liṭi*

*/kāspratyayāt 5/1 ām 1/1 amantre 7/1 liṭi 7/1/*

(*pratyayah* #1, *paraś ca* #2, *dhātoḥ* #22)

‘*kāsr*’ *śabdakutsāyām tataḥ pratyayāntebhyaś ca dhātubhya ām pratyayo bhavati liṭi parato*’ *mantraviṣaye*

Affix *ām* occurs after *kāsR* ‘to cough’ and roots which end in an affix, provided *LIT* follows and the usage is not the Mantra part of the Vedic.

#### EXAMPLES:

*kāsāñcakre* ‘he coughed’

*lolūyāñcakre* ‘he cut repeatedly’

1. The word *pratyaya* is, here, used to refer to affixes *saN*, etc. Consequently, and also in consonance with the *Paribhāṣā* (24) *pratyayagrahaṇe...*, *pratyaya* 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:

...*pratyayāntebhyo dhātubhya...* ‘...after verbal roots ending in affixes *saN*, etc.,...’

Thus, affix *ām* is to be introduced after verbal root *kāsR*, 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 *bhāṣā* ‘classical Sanskrit’ and the *brāhmaṇa*. The word *mantra* (cf. *PM* ad *Kāś*. II:414) refers to the three Vedas: *ṛk*, *yajus* and *sāman* where *atharvā* is treated as included within the first two. Why did Pāṇini not use *chandasi* as is his general practice? The use of *chandasi* 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 *bhāṣā* ‘classical Sanskrit’.

The *m* of *ām* cannot be deleted by the joint application of 1.3.3 *halantyaṃ* and 1.3.9 *tasya lopah*. Note that such a deletion would be vacuous (*vyartha*) because of lack of any definite purpose (*phalābhāva*). The single purpose for which *M* is made an *it* is to facilitate the application of rule 1.1.47 *mid aco' ntyāt 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 *mid aco*.... Rule 3.1.1 *pratyayah* and 3.1.2 *paraś ca* will govern the situation here. Furthermore, *ām* is introduced after *kās* (by this rule) and *ās* (by 3.1.37 *dayāyāś ca*). If *m* of *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 *ām* is not futile becomes an indication (*jñāpaka*) for not treating the *M* of *ām* as an *it*.

2. A *vārttika* under this rule proposes that *ām* should be stated to occur also after polysyllabic (*anekāc*) roots so that *culumpāñcakāra* 'he fondled...' and *daridrāñcakāra* 'he became poor or displayed poor taste', etc., can be accounted for. This proposal also requires *anekācaḥ* 'that which consists of more than one vowel' to replace *pratyayāt* of this rule.

Note, in connection with this, that *ām* is a *kṛt* affix (3.1.93 *kṛd atin*) termed *ārddhadhātuka* (3.4.114 *ārddhadhātukam*...). Forms which end in *ām* are termed nominal stem by rule 1.2.46 *kṛttaddhita*.... But the nominal endings introduced after an item which ends in *ām* are deleted by 2.4.82 *avyayād āp supah*. Such items are termed *avyaya* on account of being *kṛdanta* terminating in *-m* (1.1.38 *kṛn mejantah*).

Also note that rule 3.1.40 *kṛñcānuprayujyate*... will provide for the tagged (*anuprayukta*) verbal roots *kṛ*, *bhū* and *as* before *LIT*. This *LIT*, however, is deleted by 2.4.81 *āmah*. Normally, one would expect *ātmanepada-parasmaipada* affixes to replace the *LA*-affixes as is provided for by rule 3.4.78 *tiptasjhi*... read with 3.4.77 *lasya*. But in an example such as *ihāñcakre*, *LIT* gets deleted and *ātmanepada* ending *-ta* is introduced as a replacement for a freshly introduced *LIT* after forms which end in *-ām*.

### 3.1.36 इजादेश्च गुरुमतोऽनृच्छः

*ijādeś ca gurumato 'nṛcchah*

*lijādeḥ 5/1 ca ∅ gurumataḥ 5/1 anṛcchah 5/1/*

(*pratyayah* #1, *paraś ca* #2, *dhātoḥ* #22, *ām*, *amantre*, *liṭi* #35)

*ijādir yo dhātur gurumān ṛcchativarjitas tasmāc ca liṭi parata ām pratyayo bhavati*

Affix *ām* occurs after a verbal root which begins with *iC* (*i, u, r, l, e, o, ai, au*; Śs 1-4) and contains a *guru* vowel (1.4.11 *saṃyoge*...),

though is not *ṛch* 'to go', provided *LIT* follows and the usage is not from the Mantra part of the Vedic.

EXAMPLES:

*īhāñcakre* 'he tried'

*ūhāñcakre* '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 *ṛch*. Other conditions remain the same. It is interesting to note that a vowel denoted by *iC* can satisfy both the conditions of *ijādi* 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 derivatives namely *tatakṣa* and *rarakṣa*. This rule requires that the root which begins with *iC* (*ijādiḥ*) must also be *gurumān*; that which contains a vowel termed *guru*.

2. A *vārttika*, obviously to account for forms such as *prorṇunāva* '...covered properly', demands that verbal root *ūrṇuṅ* 'to cover' should be treated as an exception.

3.1.37 दयायासञ्च

*dayāyāsaś ca*

*/dayāyāsaḥ 5/1 = dayāś ca ayaś ca = dayāyās tasmāt (sam. dv.); ca 0/*

*(pratyayaḥ #1, paraś ca #2, dhātoḥ #22, ām, amantre, liṭi #35)*

*'daya-aya-āsa' ity etebhyaś ca liṭi parata ām pratyayo bhavati*

Affix *ām* also occurs after verbal roots *dayA* 'to give, to go, to protect', *ayaA* 'to go' and *āsA* 'to sit' provided *LIT* follows and the usage is not from the Mantra part of the Vedic.

EXAMPLES:

*dayāñcakre* 'he protected'

*palāyāñcakre* 'he ran away'

*āsāñcakre* 'he sat down'

1. Verbal roots *ayaA* 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 *LIT*. Given *parā + ay + ām + cakre* where verbal root *ayaA* is used with the preverb *parā*, the *-r* of *parā* gets replaced with *-l* by 8.2.19 *upasarga*...

3.1.38 उषविदजागृभ्योऽन्यतरस्याम्

*uṣavidajāgr̥bhyo 'nyatarasyām*



*luṣavidajāgr̥bhyaḥ 5/3 anyatarasyām 7/1/*  
*(pratyayah #1, paraś ca #2, dhātoḥ #22, ām, amantre, liṭi #35)*  
*'uṣa vida jāgr̥' etebhyo liṭi parato 'nyatarasyām ām pratyayo bhavati*  
 Affix *ām* optionally occurs after verbal roots *uṣA* 'to burn', *vidA* 'to know' and *jāgr̥* 'to wake up' provided *LIT* follows and the usage is not from the Mantra part of the Vedic.

## EXAMPLES:

*oṣāñcakāra* 'he burned'  
*uvoṣa* 'id.'  
*vidāñcakāra* 'he perceived'  
*viveda* 'id.'  
*jāgarāñcakāra* '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 *jāgr̥* which are active. That is, *vidA* is neither interpreted as the middle (*ātmanepada*) root meaning 'to exist, think', nor as active-middle (*ubhayapadī*) with the signification 'to gain, benefit'. Furthermore, because of its association with *jāgr̥* 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 *guṇa* 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 *guṇa* is only applicable in the context of the following *ām*.

## 3.1.39 भीहीभृह्वां श्लुवच्च

*bhīhrībhṛhuvām śluvac ca*  
*lbhīhrībhṛhuvām 6/3 śluvat 0 ca 0/*  
*(pratyayah #1, paraś ca #2, dhātoḥ #22, ām, amantre,*  
*liṭi #35, anyatarasyām #38)*  
*'ñibhī hrī dūbhṛñ hu' ity etebhyo liṭi parata ām pratyayo bhavaty anyata-*  
*rasyām, ślāv iva cāsmiṅ kāryam bhavati*  
 Affix *ām* optionally occurs after verbal roots *Ñibhī* 'to fear', *hrī* 'to be bashful, to be ashamed', *Ḍubhṛñ* 'to hold, provide for' and *hu* 'to offer ritual oblation, to call' provided *LIT* follows and the usage is not from the Mantra part of the Vedic; in addition, these roots undergo operations similar to those which occur when *ŚLU* follows.

## EXAMPLES:

*bibhayāñcakāra* 'he became frightened'

*bibhāya* 'id.'  
*jihrayāñcakāra* 'he became ashamed'  
*jihrāya* 'id.'  
*bibharāñcakāra* 'he provided for'  
*babhāra* 'id.'  
*juhavāñcakāra* '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* (*śluvat*). This additional operation results into reduplication (*dvitva*) by rule 6.1.10 *ślau*, and a replacement in - *i* (*itva*; 7.4.76 *bhīhrībhṛñām...*). Note that *śluvat* contains affix *vatI* ruled, in view of rule 5.1.116 *tatra tasyeva*, after a syntactically related *pada* which ends in locative (*saptamī*), particularly *tatra*, as the variable *tad* in rule 5.1.116 suggests. This *pada*, of course, is *ślu* + *Ñi* which with *vatI*, yields the interpretation *ślau iva* 'as if when *ŚLU* follows'. Obviously, *śluvat* marks an extension (*atideśa*) of an operational type (*kāryātideśa*). 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 कृञ्चानुप्रयुज्यते लिटि

*kr̥ñ cānuprayujyate liṭi*  
*/kr̥ñ 1/1 ca ∅ anuprayujyate* (form in *tiÑ*) *liṭi 7/1/*  
*(pratyayah #1, paraś ca #2, dhātoḥ #22, ām #35)*  
*ām pratyayasya paścāt kr̥ñ anuprayujyate liṭi parataḥ.*

Verbal roots denoted by the abbreviatory term *kr̥Ñ* occur after an item which ends in affix *ām* when *LIT* follows.

#### EXAMPLES:

*pācayāñcakāra* 'he cooked'  
*pācayāmbabhūva* 'id.'  
*pācayāmāsa* 'id.'

1. Commentators explain that *kr̥Ñ* does not, here, refer to the single root *Dukr̥Ñ*. Instead, it is an abbreviatory term formed with *kr̥* of rule 5.4.50 *kr̥bhvastiyoge...* and the *Ñ* of 5.4.58 *kr̥ño dvitīyatrīya...* (cf. *Mbh.* III:122: *kr̥ñ iti nedam dhātugrahaṇam; kiṃ tarhi? pratyāhāragrahaṇam. kva sanniviṣṭānām pratyāhārah? kr̥bhvastiyoge ity atah prabhṛty akr̥ño ñakārāt*). The abbreviatory term should technically denote four roots, i.e., *kr̥*, *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: *teṣāṃ kriyāsāmānyavācivād āmprakṛtīnāṃ viśeṣavācivāt tadarthayor abhedenānvayah; sampadis tu pratyāhāre'ntarbhūto' py ananvitārthatvān 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 liṭi*.

### 3.1.41 विदाङ्कुर्वन्त्वित्यन्यतरस्याम्

*vidāṃkurvantu ity anyatarasyām*

*/vidāṃkurvantu (form ending in tiN) iti ∅ 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 *vidA* 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 leṭy ām guṇābhāvo loṭo luk loḍantakaroty anuprayogaś ca vā 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 अभ्युत्सादयांप्रजनयांचिकयांरमयामकःपावयांक्रियाद् विदामक्रन्नितिच्छन्दसि

*abhyutsādayāṃprajanayāṃcikayāṃramayāmakahpāvayāṃkriyād vidāmakrann iti cchandasi*

*/abhyutsādayām...ramayāmakah 1/1 pāvayāṃkriyād vidāmakran (forms ending in tiN) iti ∅ chandasi 7/1/*

(*anyatarasyām* #41)

'*abhyutsādayām*' ity evam ādayaś chandasi viṣaye' nyatarasyāṃ nipātyante

Forms such as, *abhyutsādayāmakah*, *prajanayāmakah*, *cikayāmakah*, *ramayāmakah*, *pāvayāṃkriyāt* and *vidāmakran* are derived optionally by *nipātana* when the usage is Vedic.

#### EXAMPLES:

*abhyutsādayāmakah* ‘x had y sit on top of...’  
*prajanayāmakah* ‘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*, *prajanayāmakah*, *cikayāmakah*, *ramayāmakah*, *pāvayāṃkriyāt*, and *vidāmakran*. The *akah* of the rule, obviously, has to be read at the end of each one of the cited forms: *abhyūtsādayām*, etc. Here, as also is the case with the previous rule, *nipātana* provides for diverse operations. For example, verbal roots *sad*, *jan* and *ram* (*sadL.*, *janL.*, *ramU*) are treated as ending in *ṆiC*. Given *jani*, *rami* and *sadi*, used with relevant preverbs, *ām* is introduced under the condition of the following *LUN̄*. The *akah*, of course, is tagged subsequently. The *vṛddhi*, for example, in *abhyutsādayāmakah* is also availed by *nipātana*. Verbal root *ciṅ* in *cikayāmakah* receives *ām* before *LUN̄* but doubling (*dvitva*) and replacement of *c* by *k* (*kutva*) is availed by *nipātana*. The *i* of *ṆiC* in *ciki* goes through *guṇa* (*e*) and its subsequent *ay* replacement, again by *nipātana*. The next derivate *pāvayāṃkriyāt* also has *ām*. After the *ṆiC* form of *pūṅ*, *ām* is introduced before *LIN̄*. The *LIN̄* form of *kṛ*, i.e., *kriyāt*, is also subsequently tagged. Our final derivate *vidāmakran* receives *ām* before *LUN̄* after *vidA*. The *guṇa* 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 *abhyudasīśadat*, *prajījanat*, *acaiṣīt*, *arīramat*, *pāvvyāt* and *avediṣuḥ* in the classical language. Check the appendix for derivational details.

#### 3.1.43 च्लि लुङि

*cli luṅi*  
*/cli (1/1 deleted) luṅi 7/1/*  
*(pratyayah #1, paraś ca #2, dhātoḥ #22)*

*dhātoś cliḥ pratyayo bhavati luṇi parataḥ*

Affix *CLI* occurs after a verbal root when *LUṆ* follows.

EXAMPLES:

See under subsequent rules for examples.

1. This rule provides for the introduction of affix *CLI* after a root when *LUṆ* 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 *dhātor 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 *it* for final *udātta* accent by 6.1.163 *ciṭaḥ*. The *C* is assigned the term *it* by 1.3.7 *cutū*. Our present rule is an exception to rules 3.1.68 *kartari śap*, etc., whereby the *vikaraṇa*, namely *ŚaP*, etc., are introduced.

3.1.44 च्लेः सिच्

*cleḥ sic*

*lcleḥ 6/1 sic 1/1/*

(*luṇi* #43)

*cleḥ sij ādeśo bhavati*

Affix *CLI* is replaced with *sĪC* after a verbal root when *LUṆ* follows.

EXAMPLES:

*akārṣīt* ‘he made something’

*ahārṣīt* ‘he carried something’

1. This rule introduces *sĪC* as a replacement for *CLI* where, according to *Kāśikā*, *Ī* is used to facilitate pronunciation. The *C* is used, as previously, for accent. Bhaṭṭoji, in consonance with the *Mahābhāṣya*, accepts *Ī* as an *it*. This position is necessary so that the deletion of the penultimate *-n* of the root, for example in *amaṃsta* ‘he knew’, can be blocked. Thus, given *aT + man + sĪC + 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 *it*. The *n* of *amaṃsta* is saved from deletion since *Ī* in *sĪC* is an *it*. An additional condition of *Ṇit* required for the application of 6.4.24 is met by treating *ta* as if it were *Ṇit* (1.2.4 *sārvadhātukam apit*).

*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 *kit* 'marked with *K* as an *it*'. *Kāśikā* maintains that this extension of status as *kit* 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 *mantra ghasahva...* would have to state *ser luk* instead of *ler luk*. This would cause the application of rule 6.1.187 *āditaś 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 *Tattvabodhinī* under this rule).

Note that Pāṇini provides for *CLI* as a general affix before *LUN̄*. He, subsequently, replaces it with *sĪC* to which *Ksa*, etc., form an exception. Why did Pāṇini not introduce *sĪC* in general (*utsarga*) before *LUN̄*, and make *Ksa*, etc., its exception. This would have made the introduction of *CLI* unnecessary. Commentators explain that *sĪC* is intervened by *CLI* so that *aniṭaḥ* of the subsequent rule can be construed as a qualifier to *CLI*. For, in its absence, *aniṭaḥ* may be construed as a qualifier to the verbal root (*dhātoḥ*). The following is the interpretation of rule 3.1.45 where *aniṭaḥ* is treated as a qualifier to *CLI*:

*śalanto yo dhātur igupadhas tasmāt parasya cleḥ aniṭaḥ ksa ādeśo bhavati*  
'*Ksa* comes in place of *CLI* when it is used without *iṭ* after a verbal root which...'

If *aniṭ* were made a qualifier to *dhātoḥ* instead, then *Ksa* could not be used in place of a *CLI* which occurs after a root that is *aniṭ*. For example, *aghukṣat* from *guhŪ* + *LUN̄*, where *CLĪ* is replaced with *Ksa*, cannot be derived. For, verbal root *guhŪ* is used with *iṭ*. If one considers it as *aniṭ* on account of its *Ū* as an *it* then *Ksa* will have to be introduced obligatorily over *sĪ*. Note in this connection that rule 7.2.44 *svaratisūtisūyati...* introduces *iṭ* to an affix occurring after verbal root *guhŪ*. This partial *aniṭ* status of the root gets cancelled by the equally partial *iṭ* status. It is thus desired to let *aniṭ* modify *CLI*. This way, *Ksa* will replace *CLI* optionally when it is *aniṭ*; elsewhere, it will be replaced with *sĪC*. See *PM* and *Nyāsa ad Kāś.* (II: 429-30) for further details.

But the *aniṭ* status of *CLI* will be held up in the derivation. For example, *sĪC* will be blocked by *Ksa* because this latter is an exception in view of the *Paribhāṣā* (cf. *PŚ.* 64): *prakalpya cāpavādaviṣayam utsargo' bhiniviśate*. The

*Ksa* will be held up until *iṭ* is available to *CLI* only to be blocked by 7.2.10 *ekāca upadeśe*. Now the *aniṭ* status of *CLĪ* will be established.

### 3.1.45 शल इगुपधादन्तिः क्सः

*śala igupadhād aniṭaḥ ksaḥ*

*/śalaḥ 5/1 igupadhāt 5/1 aniṭaḥ 5/1 ksaḥ 1/1/*

*(dhātoḥ #22, luṇi #43, cleḥ #44)*

*śalanto yo dhātur igupadhas tasmāt parasya cler aniṭaḥ ksa ādeśo bhavati*

*Ksa* replaces *CLI* before *LUN* when *CLI* occurs without *iṭ* after a verbal root which terminates in *ŚL* (*ś.*, *ṣ.*, *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)'

*alīkṣat* 'he licked (the milk)'

1. This rule is an exception to the *sĪC* replacement of *CLI*. The *K* is made an *it* to block the *guṇa* of the short penultimate vowel (*laghūpadhaguṇa*). Note that *K* is not intended to block *vṛddhi*. For, that will obtain only with *sĪC*. For additional details refer to note #2 under the previous rule. Also refer to derivations under this rule in the appendix.

### 3.1.46 श्लिष आलिङ्गने

*śliṣ āliṅgane*

*/śliṣaḥ 5/1 āliṅgane 7/1/*

*(dhātoḥ #22, luṇi #43, cleḥ #44, ksaḥ #45)*

*śliṣer dhātor āliṅganakriyāvacanāt parasya cleḥ ksa ādeśo bhavati*

*Ksa* occurs in place of affix *CLI* after verbal root *śliṣA* when *LUN* follows and *āliṅgana* 'embracing' is expressed.

#### EXAMPLE:

*āśliṣat kanyāṃ devadattaḥ* 'Devadatta embraced the girl'

1. The nature of this rule is restrictive (*niyama*). That is, it restricts the introduction of *Ksa* as a replacement for *CLI* after verbal root *śliṣ* only when *āliṅgana* 'embracing' is denoted.

Note that verbal root *śliṣ* is enumerated in the list headed by *puṣ* 'to nourish'. Consequently, it must have its *CLI* replaced with *aṆ* in view of rule 3.1.55 *puṣādīdyutādi...*. The restrictive provision of *Ksa*, as a replacement for *CLI* 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 *aÑ* blocks the replacement in *Ksa*. 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) *śliṣaḥ* (read with *Ksa* of the preceding rule) 'Ksa occurs in place of *sĪC* occurring after verbal root *śliṣ*' and
- (b) *āliṅgane ksa* 'Ksa occurs in place of *sĪC* occurring after verbal root *śliṣ* 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 *Ksa* 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 *Ksa* may also block the provision of *CiÑ* of 3.1.66 *ciṅ bhāvakarmanoh* the way it blocks the provision of *aÑ* of rule 3.1.55 *puṣādi*.... Consequently, *samāśleṣi* of *samāśleṣi kanyā devadattena* 'the girl was hugged by Devadatta' cannot be derived. Commentators explain that since a prior exception (*purastāpavāda*) can only block the most immediately available subsequent provision, and not any other provision made thereafter, *Ksa* should only be able to block *aÑ*. The blocking of *CiÑ* can, thus, be averted in view of *Paribhāṣā* (PŚ 60): *purastāpavādā anantarān vidhīn bādhanṭe nottarān*. Commentators also suggest another alternative. They say that *Ksa* made available by this rule will be negated by the subsequent rule. Once *Ksa* is blocked, *sĪC* and *aÑ*, for example in deriving *adr̥śat*, or *adrākṣīt* 'he saw', can be made available by rule 3.1.57 *irito vā*. This, also, would not affect the *CiÑ* of 3.1.66 *Ciṅ bhāvakarmanoh*.

### 3.1.47 न दृशः

*na dr̥śaḥ*

*/na Ø dr̥śaḥ 5/1/*

(*dhātoḥ* #22, *luṅi* #43, *cleḥ* #44, *ksaḥ* #45)

*dr̥śer dhātoḥ parasya cleḥ ksādeśo na bhavati*

*Ksa* does not occur in place of *CLI* after verbal root *dr̥śIR* 'to see' when *LUN* follows.

#### EXAMPLES:

*adarśat* 'he saw...'

*adrākṣīt* 'id.'

### 3.1.48 निस्त्रिद्व्युभ्यः कर्तृरि चङ्

*niśtridrusrubhyaḥ kartari caṅ*

*/niśtridrusrubhyaḥ 5/3 kartari 7/1 caṅ 1/1/*



(dhātoḥ #22, luṇi #43, cleḥ #44)

*nyantebhyo dhātubhyaḥ śri-dru-sru' ity etebhyaś ca parasya cleś caṇādeśo bhavati karṭṛvācini luṇi parataḥ*

*Caṅ* occurs in place of affix *CLI* after verbal roots ending in *Ṇi*, or after *śri* 'to serve', *dru* 'to move' and *sru* 'to drip', when *LUN* which denotes *karṭṛ* follows.

#### EXAMPLES:

*acīkarat* 'he had someone made something...'

*ajīharat* 'he had someone take something away...'

*aśīśriyat* 'he served...'

*adudruvat* 'he went away'

*asusruvat* 'it dripped, or flowed'

1. This rule introduces *Caṅ*, as an exception to *sIC*, the replacement for *CLI*, after two sets of verbal roots: (a) those which terminate in *Ṇi*, and (b) those which are constituted by *śri*, *dru* and *sru* provided *LUN*, which follows, denotes *karṭṛ*.

Note that *ṇi* here makes a generalized reference to both affixes *ṆiC* and *Ṇiṅ* (3.1.31 *āyādayaḥ* ...). The *C* of affix *Caṅ* is used to distinguish it from affix *aṅ* of 3.1.52 *asyativakti*... Consequently, 6.1.12 *caṇi* does not include any reference to *aṅ*. The *aṅ* derivatives thus are not subject to reduplication. The *Ṇ* of *caṅ* as an *it* is intended to block *guṇa* or *vṛddhi* (cf. 1.1.5 *kniti ca*).

Note also that *śri* is a root which can take both the active (*parasmaipada*) as well as middle (*ātmanepada*) endings. Thus we will get two forms: *aśīśriyat* / *aśīśriyata*. The condition of *kartari* rules out passives such as:

*akārayiṣātām kaṭau devadattena* 'two mats were caused to be made by Devadatta'

where *sIC* comes as a replacement for *LIṅ*.

2. A *vārttika* under this rule requires that verbal root *kamI* should also be cited along with *śri*, *dru* and *sru*. But what is the purpose of making this provision when *kamI*, after receiving *Ṇiṅ* from 3.1.30 *kamer ṇiṅ*, would automatically get *caṅ*? The enumeration is required so that *caṅ* can be made available to *kamI* even when it does not receive *Ṇiṅ*. Thus, consider *acakamata* 'he loved' as opposed to *acīkamata* 'id' where the second example entails the introduction of *Ṇiṅ*. Refer to 7.4.93 *sanval laghuni*..., etc., for the option of *Ṇiṅ* in connection with affix *caṅ*.

#### 3.1.49 विभाषा धेट्स्व्योः

*vibhāṣā dhetṣvyoḥ*

*/vibhāṣā 1/1 dheṣṣvyoh 6/2/*

(*dhātoḥ #22, luṇi #43, cleḥ #44, kartari, caṅ #48*)

*dheṣṣ pāne ṭuoṣvi gativṛddhyoh etābhyām uttarasya cler vibhāṣā caṅādeṣo bhavati*

*Caṅ* optionally occurs in place of affix *CLI* after verbal roots *dheṣṣ* 'to suck, drink' and *ṬUOṣvi* 'to go, grow' when *LUN* which denotes *kartr* follows.

#### EXAMPLES:

*adadhat* 'he suckled...'

*adhāt* 'id.'

*adhāsīt* 'id.'

*aśiṣviyat* 'he grew...'

*aśvat* 'id.'

*aśvayīt* 'id.'

1. This rule makes the *Caṅ* replacement of *CLI* optional in case of verbal roots *dheṣṣ* and *ṬUOṣvi*. 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 *ṬUOṣvi* is also qualified to receive *aṅ* as a replacement for *CLI*, by rule 3.1.58 *jṛ stambhumrucumlucu....* Obviously, for *ṬUOṣvi*, we get three possibilities:

(a) *sĪC* by 3.1.44 *cleḥ sic*,

(b) *Caṅ* optionally to *sĪC* by 3.1.49 *vibhāṣā dheṣṣvyoh*, and

(c) *aṅ* optionally to *sĪC* by rule 3.1.58 *jṛ stambhumrucumlucu...*

Of course, all the options covered by this rule will obtain only when *LUN* is used to denote *kartr*, since *kartari* from the preceding rule continues.

#### 3.1.50 गुपेश्छन्दसि

*gupeś chandasi*

*/gupeḥ 5/1 chandasi 5/1/*

(*dhātoḥ #22, luṇi #43, cleḥ #44, kartari #48, vibhāṣā #49*)

*gupeḥ parasya cleś chandasi viṣaye vibhāṣā caṅādeṣo bhavati*

*Caṅ* also occurs in place of affix *CLI* after verbal root *gupl* 'to protect, preserve', when the usage is Vedic and *LUN* which denotes *kartr* follows.

#### EXAMPLES:

*imán no mitrāvaruṇau grhānajūgupatam*

‘Mitra and Varuṇa protected these houses of ours’

*agauptam* ‘he protected...’

*agopiṣṭam* ‘id.’

*agopāyiṣṭam* ‘id.’

1. This rule makes the *CaÑ* replacement of *CLI* optional for verbal root *gupŪ* in Vedic. *Kāśikā* 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) *ajūḡupatam* where the option of *CaÑ* 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 *iṬ*. Rule 7.2.4 *neṭi* 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 *iṬ*.

Of course, these provisions are given with reference to the Vedic. The *CaÑ* form is not available in the classical language. Refer to the appendix for derivational details.

### 3.1.51 नोनयतिध्वनयत्येलयत्यर्दयतिभ्यः

*nonayatidhvanayatelayatyardayatibhyaḥ*

*/na Ø ūnayatidhvanayatelayatyardayatibhyaḥ 5/3 (itar. dv.)/*

(*dhātoḥ* # 22, *luṇi* # 43, *cleḥ* # 44, *kartari* # 48, *vibhāṣā* # 49, *chandasi* # 50)

‘*ūna pariḥāṇe*, *dhvana śabde*, *ila prerāṇe*, *arda gatau yācane ca’ ity etebhyo* (*dhātubhyo nyantebhyaḥ pūrveṇa cleś caṇi prāpte chandasi viṣaye na 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 *kartṛ* follows.

#### EXAMPLES:

*ūnayīḥ* ‘...has decreased’

*dhvanayīt* ‘...has sounded’

*ailayīḥ* ‘...has sent’

*arddayīt* ‘...has begged’

1. The option of a *CaÑ* replacement for *CLI* in the Vedic is hereby blocked in case of the causal (*NIC*) forms of verbal roots *ūnA*, *dhvanA*, *ilA* and *ardA*. This rule is, thus, an exception to rule 3.1.48 *ṅisridru...* That is, in the Vedic usages of the specified roots, *sĪC*, as opposed to *CaÑ*, will replace *CLI*. Affix *CaÑ* will replace *CLI* in the classical language. Consequently, this leads to reduplication by 6.1.11 *caṅi*. The parallel classical forms will be: *auninat*, *adidhvanat*, *aililat*, and *ārdidat*.

### 3.1.52 अस्यतिवक्तिख्यातिभ्योऽङ्

*asyativaktikhyātibhyo ṅ*

*lasyativaktikhyātibhyaḥ 5/1 aṅ 1/1/*

(*dhātoḥ* #22, *luṅi* #43, *cleḥ* #44, *kartari* #48)

'*asu kṣepaṇe, vaca paribhāṣaṇe, brūṅ ādeṣo vā; khyā prakathane cakṣiṅādeṣo vā*' ity etebhyaḥ parasya cler aṅādeṣo bhavati karṭṛvācini luṅi parataḥ

Affix *CLI* is replaced with *aÑ* after verbal roots *asU* 'to toss, throw', *vacA* 'to speak' or *khyā* 'to relate, tell' when *LUÑ* which denotes *karṭṛ* follows.

#### EXAMPLES:

*paryāsthata* '...has tossed...around...'

*avocat* '...has spoken...'

*ākhyat* '...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 *brūÑ* 'to speak' are both referenced here by *vakti*. However, *khyā* only refers to the *khyāÑ* replacement of *cakṣIÑ* (2.4.54 *cakṣiṅaḥ khyāñ*). It does not, here, refer to verbal root *khyā* 'to speak'.

2. This rule offers *aÑ* as an exception to *CaÑ* to replace *CLI* when *LUÑ* which denotes *karṭṛ* follows.

Since *as* is a verbal root of the *divādi* group, also contained in the subgroup of *puṣādi* (3.1.55 *puṣādi...*), *aÑ* 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 *ātmanepada* endings. Rule 3.1.55 allows for only the *parasmaipada*. Note that *paryāsthata* is a derivate with the third singular *ātmanepada* ending *-ta*.

### 3.1.53 लिपिसिचिह्नश्च

*lipisichivaś ca*

*lipisicivah 5/1 ca Ø/*

(*dhātoḥ* #22, *luṅi* #43, *cleḥ* #44, *kartari* #48, *aṅ* #52)

'*lipa upadehe, sica kṣaraṇe hveṅ sparddhāyām*' *ity etebhyaś*

*ca parasya cler aṅādeśo bhavati*

Affix *CLI* is replaced with *aṅ* also after verbal roots *lipA* 'to coat, smear', *sicA* 'to pour out, sprinkle' or *hveṅ* 'to challenge' when *LUN* which denotes *karṭr* follows.

**EXAMPLES:**

*alipat* 'he coated something with...'

*asicat* 'he watered...'

*āhvāt* 'he challenged...'

1. This rule separately provides for *caṅ* as a replacement for *CLI* after verbal roots *lipA*, *sicA* and *hveṅ*. Why did Pāṇini not include these roots in the preceding rule? So that only this *aṅ* 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 *ātmanepadeṣv...* which makes such optional provision. The first two roots, i.e., *lipA* and *sicA*, receive *ātmanepada* by 1.3.12 *svaritaṅītaḥ...* because of a *svarita* vowel as their *it*; *hveṅ* receives *ātmanepada* because it has *ṅ* as an *it*.

**3.1.54 आत्मनेपदेष्वन्यतरस्याम्**

*ātmanepadeṣv anyatarasyām*

*lātmanepadeṣu 7/3 anyatarasyām 7/1/*

(*dhātoḥ* #22, *luṅi* #43, *cleḥ* #44, *kartari* #48, *aṅ* #52, *lipisicivah* #53)

*lipisicivā ātmanepadeṣu parataś cler aṅādeśo bhavati anyatarasyām*

Affix *CLI* is optionally replaced with *aṅ* after verbal roots *lipA*, *sicA* and *hveṅ*, when an *atmanepada* replacement of *LUN* which denotes *karṭr* (1.4.100 *taṅānāv ātmanepadam*) follows.

**EXAMPLES:**

*alipata* 'he coated something with...'

*alīpta* 'id.'

*asicata* 'he sprinkled...'

*asikta* 'id.'

*āhvata* 'he challenged...'

*āhvāsta* 'id.'

1. See my note under the preceding rule.

## 3.1.55 पुषादिद्युताद्यल्दितः परस्मैपदेषु

*puṣādidyutādyḷditaḥ parasmaipadeṣu*

*/puṣādidyutādyḷditaḥ 5/1 parasmaipadeṣu 7/1/*

*(dhātoḥ #22, luṇi #43, cleḥ #44, kartari #48, aṅ #52)*

*puṣādibhyaḥ dyutādibhyaḥ ḷdidbhyaś ca dhātubhyaḥ parasya cleḥ parasmaipadeṣu parato' nādeśo bhavati*

Affix *CLI* is replaced with *aÑ* after verbal roots enumerated in the groups headed by *puṣA* 'to nourish, thrive' and *dyutA* 'to shine,' and after roots which have *ḷ* as their *it*, when a *parasmaipada* (1.4.100 *laḥ parasmaipadam*) replacement of *LUN* which denotes *kartr* follows.

## EXAMPLES:

*apuṣat* '...nourished, or... thrived...'

*adyutat* '... shined...'

*agamat* '...went...'

*aśakat* '... became capable...'

1. The word *puṣādi* '*puṣA*, etc.' may refer to sets of roots classified in all four groups; the *bhvādi*, *divādi*, *kryādi* and *curādi*. This may create confusion. However, *puṣādi* cannot refer to *bhvādi* because *dyutādi* is a subsection of it. That is, since Pāṇini makes a separate mention of *dyutādi*, *puṣādi* must be other than that of its own class *bhvādi*.

This establishes *dyutādi* as *bhvādi*. Could *puṣādi* be interpreted here as referring to the *kryādi* class of roots? It can not. For, there will thus be only four roots *puṣA* 'to prosper', *muṣA* 'to steal', *khacA* 'to reappear' and *grahA* 'to hold'. Pāṇini would have been better off by marking them with *ḷ* as an *it*. This way, he would not have needed to state *puṣādi*. By deduction then *puṣādi* 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 *puṣādi* and *dyutādi* also with *ḷ*? This way, he does not have to make a three-way mention of these roots. Besides, *aÑ* 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 *puṣādi* type, now proposed to be marked with *ḷ* 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 *ḷ* as an *it*. The *dyutādi* verbs could also not be cited with *ḷ* as an *it*.

The *puṣādi* group within *divādi* contains roots beginning with *puṣA* through *gr̥dhŪ* 'to wish'. The *dyutādi* within the *bhvādi* class contains roots beginning with *dyutA* 'to glow, shine' through *kr̥pŪ* 'to be capable'.

## 3.1.56 सतिशास्यतिभ्यश्च

*sarttiśāstyarttibhyaś ca*

*/sarttiśāstyarttibhyaḥ 5/3 ca 0/*

*(dhātoḥ #22, luṇi #43, cleḥ #44, kartari #48, aṅ #52,*

*parasmaipadeṣu #55)*

*'sṛ gatau, śāsu anuśiṣṭau, ṛ gatau' ity etebhyaḥ parasya cler aṅādeśo bhavati*

Affix *CLI* is replaced with *aṅ* after verbal roots *sṛ* 'to move, go',

*śāsU* 'to instruct' and *ṛ* 'to go' when a *parasmaipada* replacement of

*LUN* which denotes *karṭṛ* follows.

## EXAMPLES:

*asarat* 'it moved...'

*aśiṣat* 'he instructed...'

*ārat* 'he went...'

1. The purpose of stating this rule separately is to enable specified roots to receive *aṅ* as a replacement for their *CLI*. Then, Pāṇini, indeed, should have formulated rule 3.1.55 as *puṣādi...sarttiśāstyarttibhyaś ca parasmaipadeṣu*. That way, he would have saved one rule. But that formulation could provide for *aṅ* only when a *parasmaipada* affix followed. This rule, on account of its separate formulation, enables the cited roots to receive *aṅ* as a replacement for *CLI* also when an *ātmanepada* affix follows. In the absence of this special provision, the effort (*yatna*), made in formulating 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. Bhaṭṭoji informs us (*SK III: 218-19*) that, on account of their association (*sāhacarya*) with *śās*, cited here with its deleted *vikaraṇa ŚaP* (3.1.68 *kartari śap*), *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 *juhotyādibhyaḥ śluḥ*. Also see *PM ad Kāśikā* (II: 442).

## 3.1.57 इरितो वा

*irito vā*

*/iritaḥ 5/1 vā 0/*

*(dhātoḥ #22, luṇi #43, cleḥ #44, kartari #48, aṅ #52, parasmaipadeṣu*

*#55)*

*irito dhātoḥ parasya cler aṅādeśo vā bhavati*

Affix *CLI* is optionally replaced with *aṅ* after verbal roots marked

with  $\bar{I}R$  as an *it* when a *parasmaipada* replacement of  $LUN$  which denotes *kartr̥* follows.

EXAMPLES:

*abhīdat* ‘he split something’  
*abhāitsīt* ‘id.’  
*acchīdat* ‘he cut something’  
*acchāitsīt* ‘id.’

1. The replacement in  $aN$  for  $CLI$  is made optional in case of roots which have  $\bar{I}R$  as an *it*. The assignment of the term *it* to  $\bar{I}$  and  $R$  of  $\bar{I}R$  should be made separately by rules 1.3.2 *upadeśe...* and 1.3.3 *halantyam*. For, there is no single rule whereby  $\bar{I}R$  can be assigned the term. Note also that the *ātmanepada* endings can be introduced at the strength of the *svarita* vowel  $\bar{I}$  as an *it* (1.3.72 *svaritañitaḥ kartrābhiprāye...*).

2. Note that  $s\bar{I}C$  will replace  $CLI$  if the option of  $aN$  is not accepted. Obviously, this will lead to operations such as the introduction of  $i\bar{T}$  (*iḍāgama*; 7.3.96 *astisico...*), a replacement in *vṛddhi* characterized by the final consonant (*halantalakṣaṇā*; 7.2.3 *vadavraja ...*) of the presuffixal base (*aṅga*), etc. Refer to the appendix for derivational details.

3.1.58 जृस्ताभुमुचुम्लुचुग्रुचुग्लुचुग्लुञ्चुस्विभ्यश्च

*jṛstambhumrucumlucugrucuglucugluñcuśvibhyaś ca*

*ljṛsta... śvibhyaḥ 5/3 = (itar.dv.); ca ०/*

(*dhātoḥ* #22, *luni* #43, *cleḥ* #44. *kartari* #48, *añ* #22, *parasmaipadeṣu* #55, *vā* #57)

*jṛsvayohānau, stambhu sauro dhātuḥ, mrucu mlucu gatyarthau, grucu glucu steyakarāṇe, gluñcu śasja gatau, tuosvi gativṛddhyoḥ* ity *etebhyo dhātubhyaḥ parasya cler vā añādeśo bhavati*

Affix  $CLI$  is also optionally replaced with  $aN$  after verbal roots  $jṛsA$  ‘to waste away, grow old’,  $stambhU$  ‘to stop’,  $mrucU$  and  $mlucU$  ‘to go, move’,  $grucU$  and  $glucU$  ‘to steal’,  $gluñcU$  ‘to move, go’, and  $TUOśvi$  ‘to go, grow’, when a *parasmaipada* replacement of  $LUN$  which denotes *kartr̥* follows.

EXAMPLES:

*ajarat* ‘he wasted away, ...grew old’  
*ajārit* ‘id.’  
*astabhat* ‘he stopped...’  
*astambhīt* ‘id.’



*amrucat* 'he moved'  
*amrocīt* 'he moved'  
*amlucat* 'he stole'  
*amlocīt* 'id.'  
*agrucat* 'he stole...'  
*agrocīt* 'id.'  
*aglucat* 'id.'  
*aglocīt* 'id.'  
*agluñcat* 'he went...'  
*agluñcīt* 'id.'  
*aśvat* 'he grew...'  
*aśvayīt* 'id.'  
*aśiśviyat* 'id.'

1. This rule provides for *aÑ* as an optional replacement to *sĪC* for *CLI* after the eight verbs enumerated here. The *anuvṛtti* of *cleḥ*, *añ*, and *vā*, all three, is valid here. Commentators state that, even though *glucU* and *gluñcU* both are cited, there are only three forms one needs to account. That is, *aglucat*, *aglocīt* of *glucU*, and *agluñcīt* of *gluñcU*. 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 *glucU* will yield two of its own forms: *aglucat* and *aglocīt*, with *aÑ* and *sĪC* respectively. A third form, i.e., *agluñcīt*, will be derived with *sĪC* relative to *gluñcU*. A reference made with *gluñcU* similarly yields two of its own forms, i.e., *aglucat* and *agluñcīt*. The third form *aglocīt* will be derived with *sĪC* relative to *glucU*. *Kāśikā* claims meaning difference (*arthabhedāt*) as the basis for dual citation. Hardatta (*PM ad Kāś. II:444*) claims that the *arthabheda* theory of dual citation goes against Patañjali's position of *anekārthatvād dhātūnām arthabhedo na prayojaka ubhayopadānasya* 'semantic difference of verbal roots based on the multiplicity of meaning should not constitute the basis for the citation by means of both'. Besides, *Padamañjaṛi* emphatically rejects the proposal of using only one verb to refer to both by saying: *idaṃ bhāṣyaviruddham* 'this is against the position of the *Mahābhāṣya*'. Some (*kecit*) further claim that non-deletion of *ñ* in *agluñcat* is assured on the very basis of dual citation (see *Kāśikā II:444*). *Kāśikā* remarks that *stambhU*, as a root, is only attested by the usage of the Pāṇinian rule (*sautra*).

### 3.1.59 कृमृदृरुहिव्याश्चन्दसि

*kṛmṛdṛruhibhyaś chandasi*  
*/kṛmṛdṛruhibhyaḥ 5/3 chandasi 7/1/*  
*(dhātoḥ #22, luñi #43, cleḥ #44, kartari #48, añ #52)*

'*kr̥ mṛ dr̥ ruhi*' ity etebhyaḥ *parasya cleś chandasi viṣaye* 'nādeśo bhavati  
Affix *CLI* is replaced with *aÑ* after verbal roots *DUkr̥Ñ* 'to do, make', *mṛÑ* 'to die', *dr̥* 'to tear apart' and *rhuA* 'to grow', when the usage is Vedic and a *parasmaipada* replacement of *LUN* which denotes *kartṛ* follows.

## EXAMPLES:

*akarat* '...made'

*amarat* '...died'

*adarat* '...ripped apart...'

*parvatam āruhat* 'climbed up the mountain'

1. This *aÑ* replacement of *CLI* is Vedic. The first three verbs receive *aÑ* as against *sĪC*. Verbal root *ruh* receives *aÑ* against *Ksa* of rule 3.1.45 *śala iguṣpadhād...* Note that *parasmaipada* in *amarat* is made available by 3.1.85 *vyatyayo bahulam*. For, *mṛÑ* should receive *ātmanepada* based upon its *Ñ* as an *it* (1.3.12 *anudātānita...*). We get forms such as *akārṣīt*, *amṛta*, *adārīt* and *arukṣat* in the Classical language.

## 3.1.60 चिण् ते पदः

*ciṅ te padaḥ*

|*ciṅ* 1/1 |*te* 7/1 |*padaḥ* 5/1|

(*dhātoḥ* #22, *luṅi* #43, *cleḥ* #44, *kartari* #48)

*pada gatau asmād dhātoḥ parasya cleś ciṅ ādeśo bhavati*

*CIN* occurs in place of affix *CLI* after verbal root *padA* 'to go' when the *ta* replacement of *LUN* which denotes *kartṛ* follows.

## EXAMPLES:

*udapādi sasyam* 'he cultivated the young crop'

*samapādi bhaiḥṣam* '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 *tasthasthamīpām...*) 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 *udapatsata* '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 दीपजनबुधपूरितायिष्यायिभ्योऽन्यतरस्याम्

*dīpajanabudhapūritāyipyāyibhyo* 'nyatarasyām

*Idīpa...pyāyibhyaḥ 5/3 anyatarasyām 7/1/*  
 (dhātoḥ #22, luṇi #43, cleḥ #44, kartari #48 ciṅ, te #60)  
 ‘dīpi dīptau, jani prādurbhāve, budha avagamane, pūrī  
 āpyāyane, tāyṛ santānapālanayoḥ, opyāyī vrddhau’ ity etebhyaḥ parasya  
 cleś taśabde parato’ nyatarasyām ciṅ ādeśo bhavati  
 Ciṅ optionally occurs in place of affix CLI after verbal roots *dīpI* ‘to  
 shine’, *janI* ‘to be born’, *budhA* ‘to know, perceive’, *pūrI* ‘to overfill’,  
*tāyR* ‘to stretch’ and *OpyāyI* ‘to grow’ when the *ta* replacement of  
 LUṅ which denotes *kartr* follows.

## EXAMPLES:

*adīpi* ‘it shined...’  
*adīpiṣṭa* ‘id.’  
*ajani* ‘...was born...’  
*ajaniṣṭa* ‘id.’  
*abodhi* ‘he perceived...’  
*abuddha* ‘id.’  
*apūri* ‘it overfilled...’  
*apūriṣṭa* ‘id.’  
*atāyi* ‘it stretched...’  
*atāyiṣṭa* ‘id.’  
*apyāyi* ‘it grew...’  
*apyāyiṣṭa* ‘id.’

1. This provision of *Ciṅ* to replace *sIC* is, once again, made for the selected verbal roots under the condition of the third singular *ātmanepada* suffix-*ta*. Furthermore, *Ciṅ* is made optional only when *ta* denotes agent (*kartr*). For, when the *ta* replacement of *LUṅ* denotes *bhāva* (3.4.69 *lah karmani...*), rule 3.1.66 *ciṅ bhāvakarmanoḥ* will obligatorily demand *Ciṅ*. Verbal roots *janI* and *budhA* are not interpreted as accepting the *parasmaipada* 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 अचः कर्मकर्त्तरि

*acaḥ karmakartari*  
*lacaḥ 5/1 karmakartari 7/1/*  
 (dhātoḥ #22, luṇi #43, cleḥ #44, ciṅ, te #60, anyatarasyām #61)  
 ajantād dhātoḥ cleḥ karmakartari taśabde parataś ciṅ ādeśo bhavati  
 Ciṅ optionally occurs in place of affix CLI after verbal roots which  
 end in *aC* (a vowel) when the *ta* replacement of *LUṅ* which denotes  
*karmakartr* ‘object treated as agent’ follows.

## EXAMPLES:

*akāri kaṭaḥ svayam eva* 'the mat (was) made (by) itself'  
*akṛtaḥ kaṭaḥ svayam eva* 'id.'  
*alāvi kedāraḥ svayam eva* 'the harvest got harvested by itself'  
*alāviṣṭa kedāraḥ svayam eva* 'id.'

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 (*karmakarṭṛ*). 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 kaṭaḥ 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 *karmakarṭṛ* under rule 3.1.87 *karmavat...* for additional details.

An object is extended the status of an agent by rule 3.1.87 *karmavat karmanā tulyakriyaḥ*. Consequently, operations relative to rule 3.1.66 *ciṅ bhāvakarmanoh* become available. Note, however, that this provision for *CiN* replacement of *CLI* under rule 3.1.66 is obligatory (*nitya*). 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 *karmakarṭṛ* will receive the *ātmanepada* endings by rule 1.3.13 *bhāvakarmanoh*. If the option of *CiN* is not accepted, derivatives will involve a replacement in *sīC*. The *anuvṛtti* of *karmakarṭṛ* covers rules up to 3.1.65.

## 3.1.63 दुहश्च

*duhaś ca*  
*/duhaś 5/1 ca 0/*  
 (dhātoḥ #22, luṅi #43, cleḥ #44, ciṅ, te #60 anyatarasyām #61, karmakarṭari #62)

*duha parpūraṇe asmāt parasya cleś ciṅ ādeśo bhavaty anyatarasyām*  
*Ciṅ* also optionally occurs in place of *CLI* after verbal root *duhA* ‘to milk’ when the *ta* replacement of *LUṅ* 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 *Ciṅ* for *CLI* after verbal root *duh*. 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 *duhsmunamāṅ yakciṅau* obligatorily denies to *duh* is optionally available to it by this rule. Of course, the conditions of *ta* and *karmakartṛ* still apply. Consider the following sentences:

- (a) *adohi gaur gopālakena*  
 ‘the cow was milked by the cowherd’  
 (b) *adohi gauḥ Svayam eva*  
 ‘the cow (was) milked (by) itself’

where *adohi* in (a) expresses the object as opposed to the object-turned agent of (b). The *Ciṅ* replacement in case of the straight *karman* in (a) is obligatory (*nitya*), whereas it is optional in (b). If, however, this option is not availed, rule 3.1.45 *śala igupadhād...* will provide for *Ksa* to yield (c) *adugdha gauḥ svayam eva* parallel to (b).

3.1.64 न रुधः

*na rudhaḥ*  
*/na 0 rudhaḥ 5/1/*  
 (dhātoḥ #22, luṅi #43, cleḥ #44, ciṅ, te #60, anyatarasyām #61, karmakartari #62)  
*rudhir āvaraṇe asmāt parasya cleḥ karmakartari ciṅ ādeśo na bhavati*  
*Ciṅ* does not optionally occur in place of affix *CLI* after verbal root *rudhIR* ‘to obstruct’ when the *ta* replacement of *LUṅ* which denotes *karmakartṛ* follows.

EXAMPLE:

*anvavāruddha gauḥ svayam eva* ‘the cow stopped by itself’

1. This rule blocks the *Ciṅ* 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 tulyakriyaḥ*.

## 3.1.65 तपोऽनुतापे च

*tapo' nutāpe ca*

*/tapaḥ 5/ anutāpe 7/ ca 0/*

(dhātoḥ #22, lūni #43, cleḥ #44, ciṅ, te #60, karmakartari #62, na #64)

*tapa santāpe asmāt parasya cleś ciṅ ādeśo na bhavati karmakartary anutāpe ca*

*Ciṅ* does not occur in place of affix *CLI* after verbal root *tapA* 'to heat, be hot' when the *ta* replacement of *LUN* denotes *karmakartṛ*, or *anutāpa* 'repentance' is signified.

## EXAMPLES:

*atapta tapas tāpasah* 'the ascetic observed the penance'

*anvavātapta pāpena karmaṇā* 'he repented for his sinful acts'

1. This rule again blocks the *Ciṅ* replacement for *CLI* after verbal root *tapA* 'to observe penance, be hot', and additionally also when *anuta* '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) *anvavātapta pāpena karmaṇā*

'...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 (*kartṛ*) of tormenting the ascetic (*karman*). Sentence (b) implies that the ascetic (*kartṛ*) with his desire to achieve heaven (*svarga*) observed the penance (*karman*) 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 चिण् भावकर्मणोः

*ciṅ bhāvakarmanoh*

*/ciṅ 1/1 bhāvakarmanoh 7/2/*

*(dhātoḥ #22, lūni #43, cleḥ #44, te #60)*

*dhātoḥ parasya cleś ciṅ ādeśo bhavati bhāve karmani taśabde parataḥ*

*Ciṅ* occurs in place of affix *CLI* after a verbal root when the *ta* replacement of *LUN* which denotes *bhāva* 'root-sense' or *karman* 'object' follows.

## EXAMPLES:

*aśāyi bhavatā* 'you slept'

*akāri kaṭo devadattena* 'a mat was made by Devadatta'

*ahāri bhāro yajñadattena* 'the load was carried by Yajñadatta'

1. A question is raised regarding the explicit use of *Ciṅ* when the same could have been made available via *anuvṛtti* from rule 3.1.60 *ciṅ te padaḥ*. This rule uses *Ciṅ* explicitly because *ciṅ* of 3.1.60 is associated with *anyatarasyām* 'optionally' of 3.1.61 *dīpajanabudha...*, and its subsequent negation (*niṣedha*) by *na* of 3.1.64 *na rudhaḥ*. If *Ciṅ* of 3.1.60 *ciṅ te padaḥ* is carried via *anuvṛtti*, *anyatarasyām* and *na*, on account of association (*sāhacarya*), must also be carried.

But *anyatarasyām* could automatically be blocked by *na* since negation only obtains when a provision (such as the one made by *anyatarasyām*) already exists (*prāptipūrvakatvāc ca niṣedhasya*). But since the provision of *Ciṅ*, before a *ta* which denotes *bhāva* and *karman* is not made previously, the question of carrying *na* to negate it also does not arise. Thus, the *anuvṛtti* of *anyatarasyām* and *na* will automatically be blocked. That is, *Ciṅ* could still be carried. But note that *Ciṅ* of 3.1.60 *ciṅ te padaḥ* is used within the context of *kartari*. Our present rule requires *Ciṅ* in the context of *bhāva* and *karman*. This still could not justify the explicit use of *Ciṅ* as *bhāvakarmanoh* would counter *kartari*. Why, then, is *Ciṅ* used explicitly? It is used for clarity (*vispaṣṭārtham*). Or else, an explicit use of *Ciṅ* is made out of compassion for the slow-witted (*mandadhiyam anugṛhītum*).

For a detailed explanation of *bhāva* and *karman*, see my notes under rules 1.3.67 *ṅer aṅau...*, 1.4.49 *kartur īpsitatamam...* See relevant examples in the appendix for derivational details.

## 3.1.67 सार्वधातुके यक्

*sārvadhātuke yak*

*/sārvadhātuke 7/1 yak 1/1/*

*(pratyayah #1, paraś ca #2, dhātoḥ #22, bhāvakarmanoh #66)*

*bhāvakarmavācini sārvaadhātuke parataḥ dhātor yak pratyayo bhavati*  
Affix *yaK* occurs after a verbal root when a *sārvaadhātuka* (3.4.113 *tiṅśit...*) affix which denotes *bhāva* or *karman* follows.

EXAMPLES:

*āsyate bhavatā* ‘you are seated’  
*kriyate kataḥ* ‘a mat is being made’  
*gamyate grāmaḥ* ‘the village is gone to’

1. This rule introduces affix *yaK* after a verbal root when a *sārvaadhātuka* (3.4.113 *tiṅśit sārvaadhātukam*) affix which denotes *bhāva* ‘root sense’ and *karman* ‘object’ follows. Obviously, *bhāvakarmanyoḥ*, carried from the preceding rule, is used as a qualifier (*viśeṣaṇa*) to *sārvaadhātuke*. How come this rule was not formulated as *bhāvakarmanayoḥ* with the following interpretation: *bhāvakarmanayoḥ (abhidheyayoḥ) sārvaadhātuke (parataḥ) yak pratyayo bhavati* ‘affix *yaK* occurs after a verbal root before a following *sārvaadhātuka* affix when *bhāva* and *karman* are denoted’? This formulation could not be made because, in this grammar (*śāstre*), it is only at the strength of the *sārvaadhātuka* that the denotation of *bhāva* and *karman* is comprehended. How do we know this? From rule 3.4.69 *laḥ karmani...*, where it is the replacement of *LA* (3.4.113 *tiṅśit sārvaadhātukam*), a *sārvaadhātuka*, which makes the denotation known? This question is raised in view of deciding whether *bhāva* and *karman* were the denotata of the *sārvaadhātuka* affix, or of *yaK*, the *vikaraṇa*.

2. A *vārttika* (*Mbh.* III: 146) states that *karmakarṭṛ* 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...*, *karmakarṭṛ* should not be mentioned in this rule. But 3.1.68 *kartari śap* will block it on the basis of *vipratīṣedha* (1.4.2 *vipratīṣedhe...*). That is, 3.1.67 *sārvaadhātuke 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 śap* will find its independent scope in sentences like *odanaḥ pacati* ‘the rice is cooking’. In the context of *karmakarṭṛ*, *karma* and *karṭṛ* 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 *karmakarṭṛ* should be stated in the rule. The *Mahābhāṣya* rejects the *vārttika* on grounds that *yaK* obtains in the context of *karmakarṭṛ*. Besides, blocking by *ŚaP* entails *śāstrātideśa*, extension of a rule, whereas *yaK* of 3.1.87 is an instance of *kāryātideśa*, the extension of an operation. This makes the provision of *kāryātideśa* which introduces *yaK* more powerful than the *śāstrātideśa* provision of *ŚaP*. 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 *guṇa* and *vṛddhi*, and to facilitate *samprasāraṇa*. For example, given *bhū + yaK + ta = bhūyate*, rule 7.3.84 *sārvadhātukārddhadhātukayoḥ* is blocked from introducing *guṇa* for *u* of *bhū*. Similarly, given *mṛj + yaK + ta = mṛjyate*, rule 7.3.114 *mṛjer vṛddhiḥ* is blocked from introducing *vṛddhi* for the *ṛ* of *mṛj*. The *K* of *yaK* also facilitates the *samprasāraṇa*, for example in *ijyate*, by rule 6.1.15 *vacisvapiyajādīnām kiti* where *K* forms the right context.

### 3.1.68 कर्तरि षप्

*kartari śap*

*|kartari 7/1 śap 1/1/*

(*pratyayah #1, paraś ca #2, dhātoḥ #22 sārvaadhātuke #67*)

*karṭṛvācīni sārvaadhātuke parato dhātoḥ śap prayayo bhavati*

Affix *ŚaP* occurs after a verbal root when a *sārvaadhātuka* affix which denotes *karṭṛ* 'agent' follows.

#### EXAMPLES:

*paṭhati* 'he reads or recites'

*apaṭhat* 'he read or recited'

1. Note that *P* as an *it*, in affix *ŚaP*, is intended for accent (*svara*; 3.1.3 *anudāttau suppitau*). The *Ś* as an *it* facilitates the assignment of the term *sārvaadhātuka* (3.4.113 *tiṅśit sārvaadhātukam*). The same applies to the *Ś* of *ŚyaN*, etc.

### 3.1.69 दिवादिभ्यः श्यन्

*divādibhyaḥ śyan*

*|divādibhyaḥ 5/3 śyan 1/1/*

(*pratyayah #1, paraś ca #2, dhātoḥ #22, sārvaadhātuke #67, kartari #68*)

*'div'ity evam ādibhyo dhātubhyaḥ śyan prayayo bhavati*

Affix *ŚyaN* occurs after verbal roots enumerated in the class headed by *div* 'to play' when a *sārvaadhātuka* affix which denotes *karṭṛ* follows.

#### EXAMPLES:

*dīvyati* 'he is playing'

*sīvyati* 'he is sewing'

1. This rule constitutes an exception to the preceding rule. The *N* as an *it* in *ŚyaN* is intended for accent. Thus, by rule 6.1.191 *ñnityādir nityam*, we get an obligatory high-pitch accent (*ādyudātta*) initially.

## 3.1.70 वा भ्राशभ्लाशभ्रमुक्रमुक्लमुत्रसित्नुटिलाशः

*vā bhrāsābhhlāsābhramukramuklamutrasitruṭilaśaḥ*

*/vā 0 bhrāśa... laśaḥ 5/1/*

(*pratyayaḥ* #1, *paraś ca* #2, *dhātoḥ* #22, *sārvadhātuke* #67, *kartari* #68, *śyan* #69)

'*tubhrāsṛtubhlāsṛbhramukramuklamutrasitruṭilaśa*' ity etebhyo *vā śyan* *pratyayo bhavati*

Affix *ŚyaN* optionally occurs after verbal roots *ṬU**h**rāsṚ* 'to shine, glitter' *ṬU**h**hlāsṚ* 'to shine, glitter', *bhramU* 'to wander, rove', *kramU* 'to walk', *klamU* 'to be tired or exhausted', *trasI* 'to be afraid, scared', *truṭI* 'to break, split, tear' and *laś* 'to shine' when a *sārvadhātuka* affix which denotes *kartṛ* follows.

## EXAMPLES:

*bhrāsate* 'it shines, glitters'

*bhrāśyate* 'id.'

*bhlāsate* 'id.'

*bhlāśyate* '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.'

*truṭati* 'he breaks...'

*truṭyati* 'id.'

*laśati* 'it shines...'

*laśyati* 'id.'

1. Note that *bhram* denotes both *bhram* 'to wander', a root of the *bhū* class (*bhvādi*), and *bhram* 'to move', a root of the *div* class (*divādi*). The *divādi* *bhram* yields *bhrāmyati* with *ŚyaN* where lengthening (*dīrgha*) of the root vowel is ordered by 7.3.74 *śamām aṣṭānām dīrghaḥ śyani*. The *ŚaP* forms of both *divādi* as well as *bhvādi* are the same: *bhramati*. We will also get two additional forms: *bhramyati* and *bhrāmyati* where the first is the *ŚyaN* form of the *bhvādi* root. The second, with the lengthened vowel, is the derivate of the *divādi* root. The *dīrgha* by 7.3.74 is not applicable to *bhvādi*. Verbal roots *kram* and *tras* are listed in the *divādi* group as against *truṭ* which is *tudādi*. The other verbal roots are all *bhvādi*.

2. Note that the *vā* of the rule denotes the option (*vibhāṣā*) of the *ubha-**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 *truṭ* 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 यसोज्नुपसर्गात्

*yaso* 'nupasargāt

/yasah 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'

*yasyati* '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: *saṃyasyati* with *ŚyaN*, and *saṃyasati* with *ŚaP*. 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 *ŚaP*, in case of *yasU*, only when the root is used with the preverb *sam*.

### 3.1.72 संयसञ्च

*saṃyasaś ca*

/saṃyasaḥ 5/1 ca 0/

(*pratyayah* #1, *paraś ca* #2, *dhātoḥ* #22, *sārvadhātuke* #67, *kartari* #68, *śyan* #69, *vā* #70)

*saṃpūrvāc 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:

*saṃyasati* 'he strives...'

*saṃyasyati* '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 *samaḥ* with *yasU* carried via *anuvṛtti*. However, this is not acceptable, since *samaḥ* may then be misinterpreted as yielding the meaning: ‘after the verbal roots *śamA* and *ṣtamA*’. This reference to roots by *samaḥ* 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 स्वादिभ्यः श्रुः

*svādibhyaḥ śnuḥ*

*/svādibhyaḥ 5/3 śnuḥ 1/1/*

(*pratyayaḥ* #1, *paraś ca* #2, *dhātoḥ* #22, *sārvadhātuke* #67, *kartari* #68)

*Śruvaḥ śnupratyay bhavati śruvaḥ śruvaḥ ‘śr’ity ayam ādeśo bhavati*

Affix *Śnu* occurs after verbal roots enumerated in the class headed by *śuÑ* ‘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 apit* blocks it via extending *Śnu* the status of being marked with *Ñ*. 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 *Ñit* status to *tiP*. The *Ś* of *Śnu* is intended as an *it* for the assignment of the term *sārvadhātuka* by 3.4.113 *tiñśit sārvadhātukam*.

### 3.1.74 श्रुवः श्रु च

*śruvaḥ śr ca*

*/śruvaḥ 5/1 śr (deleted 1/1) ca 0/*

(*pratyayaḥ* #1, *paraś ca* #2, *dhātoḥ* #22, *sārvadhātuke* #67, *kartari* #68,

*śnuḥ* #73)

*śruvaḥ śnupratya bhavati śruvaḥ ‘śr’ 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 *śr*.

#### EXAMPLES:

*śrṇoti* ‘he hears...’

*śṛṇutaḥ* ‘they two hear...’  
*śṛṇvanti* ‘they (plural) hear...’

1. This rule introduces two things:
  - (a) *Śnu* after verbal root *śru*, and
  - (b) *śṛ* as a replacement for *śru*.

Verbal root *śru*, 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 *śru* is not applicable in connection with some other affix. The word-form *śruvaḥ* 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 *śru* with *śṛ*, it will be read as ending in genitive (*ṣaṣṭhī*) to denote ‘in place of’.

### 3.1.75 अक्षोऽन्यतरस्याम्

*akṣo’ nyatarasyām*  
*lakṣaḥ 5/1 anyatarasyām 7/1/*  
 (*pratyayaḥ #1, paraś ca #2, dhātoḥ #22, sārvaadhātuke #67, kartari #68, śnuḥ #73*)  
*akṣo’ nyatarasyām śnu pratyayo bhavati*  
 Affix *Śnu* optionally occurs after verbal root *akṣŪ* ‘to pervade’ when a *sārvaadhātuka* affix which denotes *karṭṛ* follows.

#### EXAMPLES:

*akṣnoti* ‘he pervades...’  
*akṣati* ‘id.’

1. Verbal root *akṣU* 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 तनूकरणे तक्षः

*tanūkaṛaṇe takṣaḥ*  
*tanūkaṛaṇe 7/1 takṣaḥ 5/1/*  
 (*pratyayaḥ #1, paraś ca #2, dhātoḥ #22, sārvaadhātuke #67, kartari #68, śnuḥ #73, anyatarasyām #75*)  
*takṣaḥ tanūkaṛaṇe vartamānād anyatarasyām śnu pratyayo bhavati*  
 Affix *Śnu* optionally occurs after verbal root *takṣŪ* when it signifies *tanūkaṛaṇa* ‘to reduce by planning’ and a *sārvaadhātuka* affix which denotes *karṭṛ* follows.

## EXAMPLES:

*takṣnoti kāṣṭham* ‘he planes the wood’  
*takṣati kāṣṭham* ‘id.’

1. This, again, is a *bhvādi* root. The *tanūkarāṇa* 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 *tanūkarāṇa*.

## 3.1.77 तुदादिभ्यः शः

*tudādibhyaḥ śaḥ*  
 /*tudādibhyaḥ* 5/3 *śaḥ* 1/1/  
 (*pratyayah* #1, *paraś ca* #2, *dhātoḥ* #22, *sārvadhātuke* #67, *kartari* #68)  
*tudādibhyo dhātubhyaḥ śaḥ pratyayo bhavati*  
 Affix Śa occurs after verbal roots enumerated in the class headed by *tudA* ‘to hurt, torment’ when a *sārvadhātuka* affix which denotes *kartṛ* follows.

## EXAMPLES:

*tudati* ‘he torments’  
*nudati* ‘he moves, investigates, or pushes...’

1. Here, again, Śa is used to block ŚaP.

## 3.1.78 रुधादिभ्यः श्रम्

*rudhādibhyaḥ śnam*  
 /*rudhādibhyaḥ* 5/3 *śnam* 1/1/  
 (*pratyayah* #1, *paraś ca* #2, *dhātoḥ* #22, *sārvadhātuke* #67, *kartari* #68)  
*rudhādibhyo dhātubhyaḥ śnam pratyayo bhavati*  
 Affix ŚnaM occurs after verbal roots enumerated in the class headed by *rudhIR* ‘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 *tiṅśit...*). Instead, it is treated as an *it* to qualify *na* so that rule 6.4.23 *śnān nalopaḥ* 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 lopaḥ* 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* (*allopa*); *guṇa*; and introduction of *iṭ* (*iḍāgama*, 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 (*deśavidhyartha*). 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 paraḥ*).

### 3.1.79 तनादिकृञ्भ्यः उः

*tanādikṛñbhya uḥ*

*/tanādikṛñbhyaḥ 5/3 uḥ 1/1/*

(*pratyayaḥ* #1, *paraś ca* #2, *dhātoḥ* #22, *sārvadhātuke* #67, *kartari* #68)

*tanādibhyo dhātubhyaḥ kṛñāś 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 *kṛÑ* 'to make, do' when a *sārvadhātuka* affix which denotes *kartṛ* follows.

#### EXAMPLES:

*tanoti* 'he stretches...'

*karoti* 'he makes...'

1. Note that Pāṇini refers to *kṛÑ* separately from the *tanādi* roots. This gives rise to the speculation that either (a) he did not consider *kṛÑ* as a root of the *tanādi* class, or (b) he intended something special in connection with *kṛÑ*. These speculations are valid since *kṛÑ* is now available as part of the *tanādi* group. The *Mahābhāṣya* (III:156) rejects *kṛÑ* as part of the rule because Patañjali also accepts *kṛÑ* as the root of the *tanādi* class. Bhaṭṭoji Dikṣita (*SK* III: 289) states that by mentioning *kṛÑ* separately Pāṇini indicates the irregularity of operations relative to *gaṇa* 'listing of items in classes'. He argues that the derivation of *viśvaset* 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 *adīprabhṛtibhyaḥ śapah*). That *ŚaP* was not deleted is explained by the irregular nature of operations relative to *gaṇa*.

*Kāśikā* states that *kṛÑ* is mentioned separately from *tanādi* so that any other operation relative to *tanādi* will not apply to *kṛÑ*. That is, no other operation characteristic of the *tanādi* verbs, other than one covered by this rule, applies to *kṛÑ* (*tanādīpāṭhād eva upratyaye siddhe karoter upādānaṃ niyamārtham. anyat tanādīkāryaṃ mā bhūd iti*). In case of *kṛÑ*, the optional *LUK*-deletion of *sīC* made available to the *tanādi* roots by rule 2.4.79 *tanādibhyas tathāsoḥ* will be blocked.

### 3.1.80 धिन्विकृण्वोर च

*dhinvikṛṇvyor a ca*

/dhinvikṛṇvyoḥ 6/2 a (deleted 1/1) ca 0/

(pratyayah #1, paraś ca #2, dhātoḥ #22, sārvaadhātuke #67, kartari #68, uḥ #79)

'dhinvikṛṇyor' ity etayor dhātuor upratyayo bhavati akāras cāntā-deśah

Affix *u* occurs after verbal roots *dhinuI* 'to please, satisfy, or to be pleased, be satisfied' and *kṛṇuI* 'to hurt, injure' when a *sārvaadhātuka* affix which denotes *kartr* follows; in addition, the final sound segment of the root is replaced with *a*.

#### EXAMPLES:

*dhinoti* 'he is happy'

*kṛṇoti* 'he hurts...'

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 *bhvādi*. Hence, they have *ŚaP* available to them. This rule provides for *u*.

That is, given *dhi + nUM + v + tiP = dhinv + tiP*, *u* is ordered along with the final replacement in *-a*. This yields: *dhin (v → a) + u + tiP = dhin + u + ti* where *a* is deleted by 6.4.48 *ato lopah*. A question is raised as to why the short penultimate vowels of the *aṅga* do not undergo *guṇa* by 7.3.86 *pugantalanghūpadhasya ca*. Rule 1.1.57 *acah parasmin pūrvavidhau* 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 *guṇa*-replacement of the short penultimate vowel (*laghūpadha-guṇa*), will still be: *dhinu + 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 क्र्यादिभ्यः श्रा

*kryādibhyaḥ śnā*

/kryādibhyaḥ 5/1 śnā 1/1/

(pratyayah #1, paraś ca #2, dhātoḥ #22, sārvaadhātuke #67, kartari #68)

*kryādibhyo dhātubhyaḥ śnā pratyayo bhavati*

Affix *Śnā* occurs after verbal roots enumerated in the class headed by *DUkrÑ* 'to buy, barter' when a *sārvaadhātuka* affix which denotes *kartr* follows.

#### EXAMPLES:

*krīṇāti* 'he purchases...'

*krīṇītaḥ* 'they two purchase...'

1. This, again, is an exception to the *ŚaP* though the *Ś* of *Śnā*,



similar to that of ŚaP, is intended as an *it* for the assignment of the term *sārvadhātuka*.

### 3.1.82 स्तम्भस्तम्भस्कम्भस्कम्भकुम्भ्यः शृश्च

*stambhustumbhuskambhuskumbhuskuñbhyaḥ śnuś ca*

*/stambhu...skuñbhyaḥ 5/3 śnuḥ 1/1 ca 0/*

(*pratyayaḥ* #1, *paraś ca* #2, *dhātoḥ* #22, *sārvadhātuke* #67, *kartari* #68, *snā* #81)

*ādyāś catvāro dhātavaḥ sautrāḥ 'skuñ āpravāṇe' 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 *skuñ* 'to jump, cover' when a *sārvadhātuka* affix which denotes *kartṛ* follows.

#### EXAMPLES:

*stabhnāti* 'he stops...'

*stabhnoti* 'id.'

*stubhnāti* 'id.'

*stubhnoti* 'id.'

*skabhnāti* 'id.'

*skabhnoti* 'id.'

*skubhnāti* 'id.'

*skubhnoti* 'id.'

*skunāti* 'he jumps; covers...'

*skunoti* '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 (*paryāya*). 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 Ū as an *it*. As a result, they receive *Ktvā*, and the optional *iṭ* by rule 7.2.56 *udito vā*. Similarly, in *niṣṭhā* (1.1.26 *ktaktavatū niṣṭhā*), rule 7.2.15 *yasya vibhāṣā* blocks *iṭ*. Note that the penultimate *-n* of these roots is also deleted by rule 6.4.24 *aniditām hala...*

### 3.1.83 हलः श्रः शानञ्झौ

*halaḥ śnaḥ śānajjhau*

*lhalah 5/1 śnaḥ 6/1 śānac 1/1 hau 7/1/*

*(pratyayaḥ #1, paraś ca #2, dhātoḥ #22)*

*hala uttarasya śnā pratyayasya śānaj ādeśo bhavati hau parataḥ*

Affix Śnā is replaced by ŚānaC if Śnā 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 hya...*) follows.

EXAMPLE:

*muṣāṇa ratnāni* ‘you steal the jewels’

1. *Kāśikā* states that Śnaḥ in this rule is included to clearly mark what ŚānaC will replace (*sthāninirdeśa*). In the absence of śnaḥ, there will be confusion as to whether Śnā was also carried to the context of the replacement by ŚānaC.

A question is raised as to why ŚānaC is to be marked with Ś as an *it* when the same can be made available via *sthānivadbhāva* (1.1.56 *sthānivad ādeśo’ nalvidhau*). Haradatta (*PM ad Kāśikā* III: 460) is against this duplication since ŚānaC will receive its Śit status on account of being a replacement for Śnā. *Nyāsa* (ad *Kāśikā* III: 460-61) states that the explicit Ś marking of ŚānaC is intended so that when Śnā is introduced variously (*bahulam*; 3.1.85 *vyatyayo bahulam*), ŚānaC can still replace it. Thus, given the string *mid* + (Śnā → ŚānaC) = *mid* + *āna*, we get *midāna*. This also blocks the application of 7.3.82 *mider guṇaḥ*. 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 Ś as an *it* in ŚānaC is to be restated, see *PM* and *Nyāsa ad, Kāśikā* under this rule.

3.1.84 छन्दसि शायजपि

*chandasi śāyaj api*

*lchandasi 7/1 śāyac 1/1 api 0/*

*chandasi viṣaye śnaḥ śāyaj ādeśo bhavati, śānaj api*

Śnā, in the Vedic, is replaced with ŚāyaC and ŚānaC, when it occurs after a verbal root ending in a consonant (*hal*) and *hi* follows.

EXAMPLES:

*gṛbhāya jihvayā madhu* ‘take with your tongue the sweet (Soma)’

*badhāna paśum* ‘you kill the animal’

3.1.85 व्यत्ययो बहुलम्

*vyatyayo bahulam*

*lvyatyayaḥ 1/1 bahulam 1/1/*

*(chandasi #84)*

*yathāyatham vikaraṇāḥ śabādayo vihītāḥ, teṣāṃ chandasi viṣaye bahulam vyatyayo bhavati*

There are, in the Vedic, diverse variations from the rules.

EXAMPLES:

*bhedati* ‘...shatters...’  
*marati* ‘...dies’  
*nesatu* ‘may he lead’  
*taruṣema* ‘may we go across’

1. This rule is formulated to indicate that rules relative to these *vikaraṇa* apply variously in the Vedic. The word *vyatyaya* is explained as going against the rules (*vyatigamana*). The word *bahulam* ‘variously’ is used to indicate that a given *vikaraṇa* 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 *ŚaP* where *ŚnaM* is expected. An example is *bhedati*. Similarly, *marati* illustrates how *ŚaP* is introduced in place of *Śa*. In addition, the *parasmaipada* ending is also introduced via *vyatyaya* in *marati*. Now consider *neṣatu* and *taruṣema* where the first is derived from *nī + siP + ŚaP + tu*, and the second from *tr + u + siP + ŚaP + ti + mas*. The first string has two personal endings, as compared to the second which has three. The second also has two *vikaraṇa*, i.e., *u* and *ŚaP*, in contrast with the single *ŚaP* of the first.

### 3.1.86 लिङ्याशिष्यङ्

*liṅy āśiṣy aṅ*  
 /liṅi 7/1 āśiṣi 7/1 aṅ 1/1/  
 (pratyayah #1, paraś ca #2, dhātoḥ #22)  
*āśiṣi viṣaye yo liṅ tasmin parataś chandasi viṣaye’ n pratyayo bhavati*  
 In Vedic, *aṅ* occurs after verbal roots when *LIN* which denotes *āśiḥ* ‘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 *LIN* which denotes benediction (3.3.173 *āśiṣi liṅloṭau*) follows. This is an exception

to ŚaP. Affix *LIṆ* is assigned the term *sārvadhātuka* by rule 3.4.117 *chandasy ubhayathā*. *Kāśikā* 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 *drś* ‘to see’, *aK*, and not *aṆ*, should be the affix. This is needed for the derivation of *drśeyam* where, because of the *Kit* status of *aK*, *guṇa* which obtains because of *aṆ* by rule 7.4.16 *ṛdrśo’ ni guṇaḥ*, could be blocked.

### 3.1.87 कर्मवत्कर्मणा तुल्यक्रियः

*karmavat karmanā tulyakriyaḥ*  
*/karmavat ∅ karmanā 3/1 tulyakriyaḥ 1/1/*  
*karmaṇi kriyā karma, karmasthaya kriyayā tulyakriyaḥ karttā karmavad bhavati*

When the *kartṛ* of a given *kriyā* ‘action’ behaves in the same way as does a *karman* ‘object’, the *kartṛ* is treated as if it were the *karman*.

#### EXAMPLES:

*bhidiate kāṣṭham svayam eva* ‘the wood is splitting by itself’  
*abhedi kāṣṭham* ‘the wood split’  
*kāriṣyate kataḥ svayam eva* ‘the mat will make itself’

1. This is an extension rule (*atideśa*) whereby an operation (*kārya*) is extended (*atidiśyate*) 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 *tulyakriyaḥ*. If it were, Pāṇini would have used *tulyakriya* either as *tulyakriye* in the locative (*saptamī*), or as *tulyakriyasya* in the genitive (*ṣaṣṭhī*). 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 (*sadrśa*). The compound *tulyakriyaḥ* 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, *karmanā tulyakriyaḥ* 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 karmanā tulyakriyaḥ*. 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 (*sādhyā*) 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 tulyakriyaḥ* can primarily denote the action located within it (*tatstha*). Its *sādhana* denotatum becomes secondary (*gauna*). That is, *karma* becomes *karmasthakriyāvāci* 'that which denotes the action located within the object'. It is for this reason that *Kāśikā* glosses *karmanā tulyakriyaḥ* as *karmasthayā kriyayā tulyakriyaḥ* 'that which has its action similar to the action located within the object'. The word *tulyakriyaḥ* becomes the qualifier (*viśeṣaṇa*) to the agent (*kartr*).

There are two participants *karman* and *kartr* involved here. For a *kartr* to be treated as if *karman*, the action of the *kartr* should be identical with the action located within the object. In view of this, *Kāśikā* paraphrases the rule as: *yasmin karmani kartrbhūte' pi tadvat kriyā lakṣyate yathā karmani sa karttā karmavad 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 *sādhyā* 'to be accomplished by the participants' and the second has already been accomplished (*siddha*). An action can be viewed as located in its object *karmasthakriyaka*. The root-sense (*bhāva*) with its object as locus can be called *karmasthabhāvaka*. An action which has its agent as locus is termed *kartrsthakriya*. This term contrasts with the *kartrsthabhāvaka*, where the agent is viewed as the locus of *bhāva*. Let us consider the following sentences:

- (1) *devadattaḥ kāṣṭhaṃ bhinatti* 'Devadatta splits the firewood'
- (2) *agniḥ ghaṭaṃ pacati* 'the fire cooks the earthen jar'
- (3) *devadatto grāmaṃ gacchati* 'Devadatta goes to the village'
- (4) *devadatta āste* 'Devadatta sits'

The action, 'to split' (*dvividhābhavana*) denoted by *bhid*, is located in the object (*karman*) here identified as the *kāṣṭha*. The action denoted by *bhid* is thus *karmasthakriya*. The *bhāva* of the accomplished action, denoted by *pac*, is located in its object *ghaṭa* 'jar'. Sentences (3) and (4) similarly illustrate instances of actions called *kartrsthakriya* and *kartrsthabhāvaka*. Commentators characterize the differences between *bhāva* and *kriyā* by *aparispandanāsādhanaśādhyo dhātvartho bhāvah* 'bhāva is that which is

accomplished without movement serving as the means'. In contrast, *kriyā* is accomplished as *sapariṣpandanāsāghanāsādhyā* with movement serving as the means. The treatment of an agent as if it were an object (*karmavadbhāva*) is generally limited to actions of the *karmasthakriyā* and *karmasthabhāvaka* type. Consider now the following sentences:

- (5) *kāṣṭham 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 (*prātipadikārtha*). 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 *karṭṛ*. For further details of the notion of an object turned agent, see my detailed comments under rule 1.3.67 *ner aṅau yat...*

Note that *karmavadbhāva* has certain operational consequences. For example, it entails the application of rule 1.3.13 *bhāvakarmanor* whereby *ātmanepada* 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 *syasicsīyuttāsiṣu bhāvakarmanor...* which extends operations similar to *CiN* (*ciṅvadbhāva*) in connection with a set of roots. That is, certain operations become applicable to an *aṅa* similar to those when affix *CiN* follows. The *Mahābhāṣya* (ad IV: 739) sums up operations relative to *ciṅvadbhāva* as follows:

*ciṅvad vṛddhir yuk ca hanteś ca ghatvaṃ*  
*dīrghaś cokto yo mitāṃ vā ciṅṭil*  
*iṭ cāsiddhas tena me lupyate nīr*  
*nityaś cāyaṃ valnimitto vibhātill*

'*vṛddhi*, augment *yuK*, the *gh* replacement for *han*, and the optional lengthening of those marked with *M*, obtain here in *ciṅvadbhāva* as they do when *CiN* follows; the *iṭ* available through *ciṅvadbhāva* is *asiddha* 'suspended' because of being *ābhīya* (6.4.22 *asiddhavad atrā' bhāt*); hence, *Ni* gets deleted (6.4.21 *ner aniṭi*); this *iṭ* is obligatory (*nitya*) as opposed to the *valādi iṭ* (7.3.35 *ārdhadhātukasya...*) which is *anitya* 'non-obligatory'

The following are the major operations resulting out of *ciṅvadbhāva*:

- (7) Rules 7.2.115 *aco'ñṇiti* and 7.2.116 *ata upadhāyāḥ* order *vṛddhi* conditioned by an affix marked by *N* as an *iṭ*.  
 (8) Rule 7.3.33 *āto yuk ciṅkṛtoḥ* 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 *ciṅṅnamulor 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 तपस्तपःकर्मकस्यैव

*tapastapaḥ karmakasyaiva*

*/tapastapaḥ 6/1 karmakasya 6/6 eva 0/*

(*karmavat #87*)

*tapa santāpe asya karttā karmavad bhavati, sa ca tapaḥ karmakasya nānya-karmakasya*

The *kartr* of an action denoted by *tapA* is to be treated as *karman* only when the object in question is *tapas* 'austerity, penance'.

## EXAMPLES:

*tapyate tapas tāpasah* 'the ascetic observes penance'

*atapta tapas tāpasah* 'the ascetic observed penance'

1. This rule allows for treatment of the agent of the verbal root *tapA* as an object, if and only if, the action denoted by the root constitutes *tapas* 'penance' alone as its object. Obviously, if *tapA* 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 tulyakriyah*', since the *anuvṛtti* would require the similarity of actions (*kriyāsādrśya*). 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 svargāya* '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 (*pun्यārjana*) 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 suvarṇam suvarṇakārah 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 दुहस्रुमां यक्त्रिणौ

*na duhasnūnamām yakcīṇau*

*lna ∅ duhasnūnamām 1/2 yakcīṇau 1/2/*

*(karmavat #87)*

*'duha snu nam' ity eteṣāṃ karmakartari yakcīṇau karmavadbhāvāpadiṣṭau na bhavataḥ*

Affixes *yaK* and *CiṆ* do not occur after verbal roots *duh* 'to milk', *snu* 'to drip' and *nam* 'to bend' when their *karṭr* is treated as *karman*.

## EXAMPLES:

*dugdhe gauḥ* 'the cow yields milk'

*prasnute śoṇitam* 'the blood drips'

*namate daṇḍaḥ* 'the stick bends'

1. This rule negates the provisions of *yaK* and *CiṆ* made available via the process of *karmavadbhāva*. That is, out of the four basic operations made available via *karmavadbhāva*, only *ātmanepada* and *ciṇvadbhāva* are allowed in situations where these verbs occur. This last has been provided for only those *aṅga* which end in a vowel. This requirement disqualifies *duh* and *nam*. Thus, *ciṇvadbhāva* is only available to *snu*. As far as the restriction of *CiṆ* 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 *CiṆ* results in the introduction of *sĪC*. 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 *CiṆ* to roots which are causal (*ṆiC*; 3.1.26 *hetumati ca*). Additionally, the negation should be extended to *śranthA* 'to loosen', *granthA* 'to bind, compose', and *brūṆ* 'to speak', as well as to intransitive roots qualified for *ātmanepada* terminations. This will account for *kārayate kataḥ svayam eva* 'the mat is caused to be made by itself', *brūte ślokaḥ svayam eva* 'the verse is being recited by itself', and *vikurvate saindhavāḥ svayam eva* 'the horses gallop beautifully by themselves', etc.

## 3.1.90 कुषिरजोः प्राचां श्यन् परस्मैपदं च

*kuṣirajoh praścām śyan parasmaipadam ca*

*lkuṣirajoh 6/2 praścām 6/3 śyan 1/1 parasmaipadam 1/1 ca ∅/*

*kuṣa niṣkarṣe rañja rāge anayor dhātvoḥ karmakartari praścām ācāryāṇām matena śyan pratyayo bhavati parasmaipadam ca*

According to Eastern grammarians, affix *ŚyaN*, as well as a following *parasmaipada*, may occur after verbal roots *kuṣA* 'to drag (out)' and *rañjA* 'to color, dye' when their *karṭr* is treated as if it were *karman*.



## EXAMPLES:

*kuṣyati pādah svayam eva* ‘the foot is dragging by itself’  
*rajyati vastram 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 karmaṇā tulyakriyah*, 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 (*pūjā*) 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 derivatives 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 *śapsyanor 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 adhikāro veditavyah ā trṭīyādhyāyaparisamāteh*

After a verbal root...

## EXAMPLES:

*karttavyam* ‘that which should be done’

*karaṇīyam* ‘that which is to be done’

1. This is a governing rule (*adhikāra*) 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 ekāco....* *Kaśikā* states that *dhātoḥ* is explicitly stated as a heading (*adhikāra*) 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 *tatropapadam saptamīstham*, 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 atin*. 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 *kṛttaddhitasamāsāś ca*) and the introduction of affixes termed *sUP* (4.1.2 *svaujasmauḥ... within the domain of rule 4.1.1 nyāp-ḥprātipadikāt...).* 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 *jugupsate* would qualify for augment *iṬ* by 7.2.35 *ārdhadhātukasyeḍ valādeḥ*. Blocking the interaction of rules not included in the domain of 3.1.91 *dhātoḥ* with those characterizing ‘*vā*’ *sarūpavidhi*’ of rule 3.1.94 *vā*’ *sarūpo*... is an additional purpose for explicit use of ‘*dhātoḥ*’.

### 3.1.92 तत्रोपपदं सप्तमीस्थम्

*tatropapadam saptamīstham*

*/tatra ∅ upapadam 1/1 saptamīstham 1/1/*

(*dhātoḥ* # 91)

*tatraitasmīn dhātavadhikāre tṛtīye yat saptamīnirdiṣṭam tad upapadasamjñam bhavati*

That which is specified here (in this domain of rule 3.1.91 *dhātoḥ*) by means of *saptamī* ‘seventh triplet of nominal endings’ is termed an *upapada* ‘a word which occurs in conjunction’ with another word.

EXAMPLE: .

*kumbhakārah* ‘potmaker’

1. The word *saptamīstha* is explained as *saptamyā nirdiṣṭam* ‘that which has been specified by means of *saptamī*’. 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 *saptamī* can be interpreted as ‘that which ends in *saptamī*’. If *stha* were not used in the rule, *Paribhāṣā* (28) *samjñāvidhau pratyayagrahaṇe tadantavidhir nāsti* would impose an interpretation that blocks *tadantavidhi* ‘interpretation of X as ending in Y if Y specifies X, and is also an affix.’ The stated *paribhāṣā* disallows *tadantavidhi* in the context of the assignment of a name. Assignment of the term *upapada* is characterized by the use of *saptamī* relative to a rule (*sautra*) and is, thus, universally valid in this domain. Consider 3.2.1 *karmaṇy aṅ*, where *karmaṇi* is specified by means of *saptamī*. This rule, when read with 3.1.92, is interpreted as: affix *aṅ* occurs after a verbal root when ‘that which ends in this rule in *saptamī*, occurs with the root as an *upapada*’. What is given here in *saptamī* is *karman* ‘object’. Consequently, we learn that affix *aṅ* is introduced when ‘an *upapada* which denotes *karman* (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: *upoccāritaṃ 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 *suptināntam padam*) ‘that which ends in a *sUP*, or *tiÑ*’, will demand the conjoined word to end in *sUP* before compound formation can take place. This is the expatiation (*prapañca*) of the *Paribhāṣā* (76): *gati kārakopa-padānām...* 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 कृदतिङ्

*kṛd atin*

*/kṛt 1/1 atin 1/1/*

(*pratyayaḥ #1, dhātoḥ #91, tatra #92*)

*asmīn dhātuvadhikāre tinvarjitaḥ pratyayaḥ kṛt samjño bhavati*

A non-*tiÑ* (3.4.78 *tiptas...*) affix is termed *kṛt*.

#### EXAMPLES:

*karttavayam* ‘that which should be done’

*karaṇīyam* ‘that which is to be done’

1. One major purpose for assigning the term *kṛt* to non-*tiÑ* affixes is to qualify their derivatives for the assignment of the term *prātipadika* ‘nominal stem’ by rule 1.2.46 *kṛttaddhita...* This will eventually lead to operational provisions made for nominal stems in the domain of 4.1.1 *nyāp...*

### 3.1.94 वाऽसरूपोऽस्त्रियाम्

*vā' sarūpo striyām*

*/vā 0 asarūpaḥ 1/1 astriyām 7/1/*

(*pratyayaḥ #1, dhātoḥ #91, tatra #92*)

*asmīn dhātuvadhikāre' samānarūpaḥ pratyayo' pavādo vā bādhaḥ bhavati*  
*stryadhikāravihitapratyayaṃ varjayitvā*

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:

*vikṣepakaḥ* ‘trouble(maker)’

*vikṣeptā* ‘id.’

*vikṣipah* 'id.'  
*cikīrṣā* 'desire to do'  
*jihīrṣā* '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 *ṅvultr̥cau* introduces affixes *ṅvuL* and *tr̥C* as part of a general provision. Rule 3.1.135 *igupadhajñāprikirah* 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 (*asarūpa*) and do not belong to the subdomain of rule 3.3.94 *striyām ktin*. Given this, affix *Ka* optionally blocks affixes *ṅvuL* and *tr̥C*. 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 *ṛhalor nyat* 'affix *NyaT* occurs after a verbal root which ends in *ṛ* (short or long) or a consonant'

This first is a general rule to which the second is an exception. Affixes *yaT* and *NyaT*, given in the domain of 3.1.91 *dhātoḥ*, do not belong to its subdomain headed by rule 3.3.94 *striyām ktin*. However, the formal difference between these affixes is zero. That is, they are not dissimilar (*asarūpa*) in form. Consequently, *NyaT* will obligatorily block *yaT*.

Now consider the following rules:

3.3.94 *striyām ktin* '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 *striyām*.... 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 *vā' sarūpo' striyām* 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 subdomain headed by 3.3.94 *stryām 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 *stryām 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) *tācchīlikeṣu vā' sarūpavidhir nāsti* 'the process of *'vā' sarūpa'* does not apply to rules relative to affixes generally known as *tacchīlika* (3.2.134 *ākves...*, etc.).
- (b) *ktalyuttumunkhalartheṣu vā' sarūpavidhir nāsthi* 'the process of *'vā' sarūpa'* does not apply to rules relative to affixes *Kta* (1.1.26 *ktaktavātū...*), *LyuṬ* (3.3.113 *kr̥tyalyuṭo...*), *tumUN* (3.3.10 *tumunṅvulau...*), as well as those which may have the signification of *KHaL* (3.4.70 *tayor eva...*)
- (c) *lādeṣeṣu vā' sarūpavidhir nāsti* 'the process of *'vā' sarūpa'* does not apply relative to affixes (3.4.78 *tiptasjhi...*, etc.) which come in place of *LA'*

The implications of these preceding have been explained at appropriate places in the appendix.

### 3.1.95 कृत्याः

*kr̥tyāḥ*

*/kr̥tyāḥ 1/3/*

(*pratyayaḥ* #1, *paraś ca* #2, *dhātoḥ* #91)

*ṅvulṛcau iti vakṣyati, prāg etasmāṅ ṅvulsaṃśabdanād yān ita ūrdhavam anukramiṣyāmaḥ kr̥tyasaṃjñakās te veditavyāḥ*

Affixes introduced hereafter are termed *kr̥tya*.

#### EXAMPLE:

Refer to relevant rules subsequently.

1. Note that *Kāśikā* reads the *sūtra* as *kr̥tyāḥ prān ṅvulaḥ*. Kaiyaṭa (*Pradīpa ad Mbh. III: 200*) informs that the *sūtra* was formulated simply as *kr̥tyāḥ*. Haradatta explains that *prān ṅvulaḥ* was further added by the authors of the *Kāśikā*. Obviously, *Kāśikā*'s addition is intended to clearly demarcate the extent (*avadhi*) to which this *adhikāra* carries (*adhikriyate*). The scope of this rule extends up to 3.1.133 *ṅvulṛcau*. But why could the scope not be interpreted as extending up to 3.3.108 *rogākhyāyām ṅvul bahulam*. This could not be accepted as the 'extent' (*avadhi*) since 3.3.169 *arhe kr̥tyatṛcaś ca* makes the reference to *tṛC* separately from *kr̥tya*. Similarly, a separate

mention of *ṆvuL* without *trC* in rule 3.3.108 *rogākhyāyām...* should not be treated as marking the extent of the scope of this rule. In view of this, 3.1.133 *ṇvultṛcau* is accepted as marking the extent. If this is how an extent could be correctly understood, then *prāṇ ṇvulaḥ* need not be stated explicitly with the rule. This is what Haradatta means when he says that the rule is simply formulated as *krtyāḥ* by Pāṇini, (*PM ad Kāśikā* III: 495: 'krtyāḥ' *etad eva pāṭhitam sūtrakāreṇa*).

2. *Kāśikā* cites rules 2:1.33 *krtyair adhikārthavacane* and 2.3.71 *krtyānām karatari vā*, etc., to explain the operational scope of the term *krtya* (3.1.91 *krd atin*). The first rule illustrates how a *tatpuruṣa* compound can be formed with a constituent termed *krtya*. The second illustrates the optional use of *ṣaṣṭhī* to denote the agent in conjunction with an item which ends in affixes termed *krtya*.

### 3.1.96 तव्यत्तव्यानीयरः

*tavyattavyānīyaraḥ*

*Itavyattavyānīyaraḥ 1/3/*

*(pratyayah #1, paraś ca #2, dhātoḥ #91)*

*dhātos tavyat tavya anīyar ity ete pratyayā bhavanti*

Affixes *tavya*, *tavyaT* and *anīyaR* occur after verbal roots.

#### EXAMPLES:

*karttavyām* 'that which should be done'

*karaṇīyām* 'that which is to be done'

1. The *T* of *tavyaT* and the *R* of *anīyaR* are given as *it* for the purpose of accent (*svārtha*). Thus, the *ya* of *tavya* is marked *svarita* in accordance with rule 6.1.179 *tit svaritam*. Rule 6.1.211 *upottamaṃ riti* similarly requires that *anīya* be marked *udātta* in the middle (*madhyodātta*). Note, here, that *tavya* is marked *udātta* initially, in accordance with 3.1.3 *ādyudāttaś ca*.

2. There are two *vārttikas* under this rule. The first states that affix *tavyaT* also occurs to denote *kartṛ* after verbal root *vas* 'to dwell'; additionally, the affix is considered to be marked with *Ṇ*. This latter provision facilitates *vṛddhi* in deriving *vāstavyaḥ* 'the resident of...'. It is suggested that the *vārttika* is unnecessary since 3.3.113 *krtyalyuṭo bahulam* provides for this.

The second *vārttika* requires the addition of affix *KelimaR* to this rule. This enables usage such as *bhidelimāni kāṣṭhāni* 'the firewood splits...'. *Kāśikā* further adds that *KelimaR* is also intended in the context of *karmakartṛ* 'object turned agent'. The *Mahābhāṣya* illustrates *KelimaR* only in the context of the straight (*śuddha*) *karmān*. It is suggested that this *vārttika* is also not required since 3.3.113 *krtyallyuṭo bahulam* could also account for *KelimaR*.

## 3.1.97 अचो यत्

*aco yat**/acaḥ 5/1 yat 1/1/**(pratyayah #1, paraś ca #2, dhātoḥ #91)**ajantād dhātor yat pratyayo bhavati*

Affix *yaT* occurs after a verbal root which ends in *aC* (vowel; cf. Śs 1–4).

## EXAMPLES:

*geyam* ‘that which is to be sung’*peyam* ‘that which is to be drunk’*jeyam* ‘that which is to be won’

1. The *T* as an *it* in affix *yaT* is intended for the initial high-pitch accent (*ādyudātta*) of the derivate by rule 6.1.213 *yato’ nāvah*.

What is the purpose of stating ‘after roots which end in a vowel’? One can easily understand this from the fact that affix *NyaT* is introduced after roots ending in a consonant (3.1.124 *ṛhalor nyat*). A simple deduction could account for *yaT* after roots which terminate in a vowel. *Kāśikā* informs that ‘*acaḥ*’ ‘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 *yaT*. Thus, consider the derivation of *ditsyam* ‘that which is wished to be cut’ and *dhitsyam* ‘that which is wished to be held’ from verbal roots *dā* ‘to cut’ and *dhā* ‘to hold’ used with affix *saN*, to yield the forms *dits* and *dhits* after the deletion of the final *-a* by rule 6.4.48 *ato lopah*. If *NyaT* were to be introduced, thinking that the root ended in a consonant, rule 6.1.185 *tit svaritam* would order the *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 *yaT*. This, however, is acceptable only when one thinks that the deletion of the final *-a* took place prior to the introduction of suffix *yaT*. Since the deletion of the final *-a* by 6.4.48 *ato lopah* requires an *ārdhadhātuka* affix to follow, *-a* cannot be deleted prior to the introduction of *yaT*. Thus, to say that *acaḥ* is used for the purpose of accommodating roots which previously ended in *aC*, but which do not now, is not acceptable. What, then, is the purpose of explicitly stating *acaḥ*? None other than: *vispaṣṭārtham* ‘for clarity’.

*Nyāsa* discovers yet another twist to this conclusion. What if one deletes *a* with the assumption that an *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 *ārdhadhātuke*, which forms the condition of deletion, as *viṣayasaptamī* ‘locative of domain’. The introduction of *yaT* will then be accomplished after a root which previously ended in *a* but

did not end at the time of the affixal introduction. But this will still be accepted as partially (*pākṣika*) 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', *śas* '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 *vadha*. This is to account for *vadhyam* 'he who is to be killed' used optionally with *ghātyam*, a derivate of *NyaT*.

### 3.1.98 पोरदुपधात्

*por adupadhāt*

*/poḥ 5/1 adupadhāt 5/1/*

(*pratyayah #1, paraś ca #2, dhātoḥ #91, yat #97*)

*pavargāntād dhātor akāropadhād 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:

*śapyam* 'that which is to be cursed'

*labhyam* 'that which is to be attained'

*jaṇyam* '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 *taparakaraṇa* of *aT* in *adupadhāt* is intended to specify the vowel quality *-a* in consonance with 1.1.70 *taparas tatkālasya*.

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 *ṛhalor 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 *poḥ* ‘after that which ends in *p*, *ph*, *b*, *bh*, *m*. These labial stops, along with their corresponding nasal *m*, are consonants. The condition of *poḥ*, when not satisfied, results in the introduction of affix *NyaT* after roots which end in a consonant other than ones denoted by *pU*, and which also have *a* in their *upadhā*. Thus we will get *NyaT* derivatives such as *pākyam* ‘that which is to be cooked’ and *vākyam* ‘that which is to be spoken; a sentence’. This is why our present rule has the condition of *poḥ*.

The next condition, characterized as *adupadhāt* ‘after that which has *a* as next to its last sound’, is required to again block affix *NyaT*. Consider, thus, the examples *gopyam* ‘that which is to be concealed’ and *kopyam* ‘to be angry about’, derived with *NyaT* introduced after verbal roots *gup* ‘to conceal, preserve’ and *kup* ‘to be angry’, respectively. These examples are assigned *svarita* accent by rule 6.1.185 *tit svaritam*. The *yaT* derivatives of our present rule will get the initial high pitch accent by 6.2.213 *yāto nāvah*. Incidentally, *gup* has been glossed by commentators as denoting *gopanakutsana* ‘to conceal, censure’ and *vyākulīkaraṇa* ‘to agitate’. Their membership in varying classes and the assignment of *ātmanepada-parasmaipada* affixes is not crucial to the context of this rule.

### 3.1.99 शकिसहोश्च

*śakisahoś ca*

*/śakisahoḥ 6/2 ca 0/*

(*pratyayah* #1, *paraś ca* #2, *dhātoḥ* #91)

‘*śakḷ śaktau, śaha marṣaṇe,*’

*anayor dhātvor yat pratyayo bhavati*

Affix *yaT* also occurs after verbal roots *śakL* ‘to be strong, capable’ and *śahA* ‘to endure, forgive’.

#### EXAMPLES:

*śakyam* ‘possible to do’

*sahyam* ‘endurable’

### 3.1.100 गदमदचरयमश्चानुपसर्गे

*gadamadacarayamaś cānupasarge*

*/gadamadacarayamaḥ 5/1 ca 0 anupasarge 7/1/*

(*pratyayah* #1, *paraś ca* #2, *dhātoḥ* #91, *yat* #97)

‘*gada vyaktāyām vāci, madī harṣe, cara gatibhakṣaṇayoḥ, yama uparame*’

*ity ètebhyaś cānupasargebhyo yat pratyayo bhavati*

Affix *yaT* also occurs after verbal roots *gadA* ‘to speak’, *madA* ‘to rejoice, be drunk’, *carA* ‘to move, eat’ and *yamA* ‘to sustain, hold, control’ when no *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 *ṛhalor 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 adupadhāt*.

2. Note that *anupasarge* which ends in the locative (*saptamī*) is interpreted here as *anupasargebhyaḥ* ‘after those... which do not have any preverb present’ (*avidyamānopasargebhyaḥ*). This interpretation clearly construes the locative (*saptamī*) of *anupasarge* as an ablative (*pañcamī*). How could the *saptamī* be interpreted as *pañcamī*? By transposing *saptamī* with *pañcamī* in consonance with the context.

Why can the *saptamī* 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 *nañ* ‘negative’ with possible consequences, has been discussed in the commentaries which I omit here for lack of interest.

## 3.1.101 अवद्यपण्यवर्या गर्ह्यपणितव्यानिरोधेषु

*avadyapanyavaryā garhyapaṇitavyānirodheṣu*  
*lavadyapanyavaryā 1/1 garhyapaṇitavyānirodheṣu 1/3/*  
 (*pratyayah #1, paraś ca #2, dhātoḥ #91, yat #97*)  
 ‘*avadya, panya, varyā*’ ity ete śabdā nipātyante, ‘*garhya, paṇitavya, anirodha*’  
 ity eteṣu artheṣu yathāsaṃkhyam

Affix *yaT* occurs in the derivation of *avadya*, *panya* and *varyā* when they denote *garhya* ‘fit for censure’, *paṇitavya* ‘fit to be purchased’ and *anirodha* ‘to be unrestrained’ respectively.

## EXAMPLES:

*avadyam pāpam* ‘a sin fit to be censured’  
*panyaḥ kambalaḥ* ‘a blanket fit to be purchased’  
*panyā gauḥ* ‘a cow fit to be purchased’  
*śatena varyā kanyā* ‘a girl worthy to be aspired by hundreds of suitors’

1. This rule offers, by *nipātana*, three derivatives *avadya*, *panya* and *varyā* used with *yaT* to denote *garhya*, *paṇitavya* and *anirodha* respectively. The final word is derived in the feminine from verbal root *vrñ* ‘to choose’. In a sense, other than *anirodha*, affix *KyaP* is to be chosen for *vrñ*

(3.1.109 *etistusās...*). *KyaP* is available after *vad* by rule 3.1.106 *vadaḥ supi kyap*. Verbal root *paṇ* is qualified for *ṆyaT* by 3.1.124 *ṛhalor nyat*. Our present rule provides for *yaT*.

### 3.1.102 वह्यं करणम्

*vahyam karanam*

*lvahyam 1/1 karanam 1/1/*

(*pratyayah #1, paras ca #2, dhatoḥ #91, yat #97*)

*vaher dhatoḥ 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:

*vahyaṃ 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 kṛtyaktakhalarthāḥ*). This rule provides for *yaT* by *nipātana* with an additional requirement that the derivate denote *karaṇa* ‘instrument’ (1.4.42 *sādhaka...*).

### 3.1.103 अर्यः स्वामिवैश्ययोः

*aryaḥ svāmivaiśyayoḥ*

*laryaḥ 1/1 svāmivaiśyayoḥ 7/2/*

(*pratyayah #1, paras ca #2, dhatoḥ #91, yat #97*)

*ṛ gatau asmān nyati prāpte svāmivaiśyayor 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:

*aryaḥ svāmī* ‘a respectable master’

*aryo vaiśyaḥ* ‘a respectable Vaiśya’

1. This rule, again, provides for *yaT*, rather than *ṆyaT*, 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 *Phīṣūtra* (17) *aryasya svāmyākhyāyām* especially at the strength of the word *ākhyā* ‘denotation’. The *arya* with the denotation of ‘master’ will be marked high-pitched finally (*antodātta*).

## 3.1.104 उपसर्या काल्या प्रजने

*upasaryā kālyā prajane*

*/upasaryā 1/1 kālyā 1/1 prajane 7/1/*

*(pratyayah #1, paraś ca #2, dhātoḥ #91, yat #97)*

*'upasaryā' ity nīpātyate kālyā cet prajane bhavati*

Affix *yaT* occurs after verbal root *upaṣṛ* 'to approach' to derive *upasaryā* by *nīpātana* 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' (*prathmagarbhagrahaṇam*).

## 3.1.105 अजर्यं सङ्गतम्

*ajaryam saṅgatam*

*/ajaryam 1/1 saṅgatam 1/1/*

*(pratyayah #1, paraś ca #2, dhātoḥ #91, yat #97)*

*'ajaryam' ity nīpātyate saṅgatam ced bhavati*

Affix *yaT* occurs by *nīpātana* after verbal root *jrṣA* 'to waste away, decay' used with *naN̄* 'not' to derive *ajarya* 'imperishable' when *saṅgata* 'friendship' is denoted.

## EXAMPLE:

*ajaryam no' stu saṅgatam* 'may our friendship remain imperishable'.

1. This rule provides for the ad hoc derivation of *ajarya* with *yaT* in the sense of *saṅgamana* 'companionship'. Affix *yaT* is here used with the denotation of an agent by *nīpātana*. Of course, being a *kr̥tya*, it can only denote *bhāva* or *karman*. Because it denotes *kartr̥*, *yaT* forms an exception to *ṭṛC*. A parallel *ṭṛC* derivate would be *ajaritā* as in *ajaritā kambalah* 'a fairly new blanket.'

## 3.1.106 वदः सुपि क्यप् च

*vadah supi kyap ca*

*/vadah 5/1 supi 7/1 kyap 1/1 ca 0/*

(*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 *suptināntam 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 (*saptamī*) dictates, the cooccurrence condition of a word ending in *sUP* (3.1.92 *tatropapadam saptamīstham*; 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*

*lbhuvah 5/1 bhavē 7/1/*

(*pratyayah* # 1, *paraś ca* # 2, *dhātoḥ* # 91, *anupasarge* # 100, *supi*,  
*kyap* # 106)

*bhavater 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’

*brahmatvam gataḥ* ‘id.’

*devabhūyam gataḥ* ‘became one with the gods; passed away’

*devatvam 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 (*uttarārtha*) 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 *kr̥tya* affixes denote *bhāva* and *karman* (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 *karman* does not arise.

### 3.1.108 हनस्त च

*hanas ta ca*

*/hanah 5/1 ta (deleted nominative) ca0/*

(*pratyayah #1, paras ca #2, dhātoḥ #91, anupasarge #100, supi kyap #106, bhāve #107*)

*hanter dhātoḥ subanta upapade' nupasarge bhāve kyap pratyayo bhavati takāras cāntādeśaḥ*

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:

*brahmahatyā* 'the killing of a *brāhmaṇa*'  
*aśvahatyā* 'the killing of a horse'

1. This rule carries *anupasarge*, *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 एतिस्तुशास्वृद्र्जुषः क्यप्

*etistuśāsṽrdr̥juṣaḥ kyap*

*/etistuśāsṽrdr̥juṣaḥ 5/1 kyap 1/1/*

(*pratyayah #1, paras ca #2, dhātoḥ #91, kyap #106*)

*eti, stu, śās, ṽr, dr̥, juṣ ity etebhyaḥ kyap pratyayo bhavati*

Affix *KyaP* occurs after verbal roots *iN* 'to go', *ṣtu* 'to praise', *śās* 'to instruct', *ṽrN* 'to choose', *dr̥N* 'to honor' and *juṣI* 'to enjoy'.

#### EXAMPLES:

*ityaḥ* 'that which is to be gone to'

*stutyaḥ* 'he who is to be praised'

*śiṣyaḥ* 'he who is to be instructed; a student'

*ṽrtyaḥ* 'that which is to be selected'

*ādṛtyaḥ* 'he who is to be honored'

*juṣyaḥ* 'that which is to be enjoyed'

1. Note that *anupasarge*, *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 *anuvṛtti*. Commentators explain that *KyaP* is stated here to serve a restrictive purpose (*niyamārtha*). 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 (*bādhakabādhana*). For example, it blocks the *NyaT* of 3.1.125 or *āvaśyake* in the derivation of *avaśyastutyah* ‘he who is definitely to be praised’.

Note that *vṛ* in this rule refers to verbal root *vṛÑ* ‘to choose’ and not to *vṛÑ* ‘to praise, serve’. Similarly, *eti* refers to verbal root *iÑ* ‘to go’, and not *iÑ* ‘to study’ which normally occurs with the preverb *adhi*.

2. A *vārttika* proposes the optional introduction of *KyaP* after verbal roots *śams*, *duh* and *guh* to derive *śamsyam*, *dohyam* and *gohyam* parallel to *śasyam* ‘that which to be praised’, *duhyam* ‘that which is to be milked’ and *guhyan* ‘that which is to be hidden’. The glossed examples are derived with *yaT*.

Yet another *vārttika* mentions that *KyaP* should be introduced after verbal root *añj* ‘to anoint’ used with the preverb *āÑ* when the denotation is a name (*samjñā*). This should account for *ājyam* ‘clarified butter’.

### 3.1.110 ऋदुपधाच्चाक्लृपिचृतेः

*ṛdupadhāc cākḷpicṛteḥ*

*lṛdupadhāt 5/1 ca Ø akḷpicṛteḥ 5/1/*

(*pratyayah* #1, *paraś ca* #2, *dhātoḥ* #91, *kyap* #106)

*ṛkāropadhāc ca dhātoḥ kyap pratyayo bhavati kḷpicṛtī varjayitvā*

Affix *KyaP* also occurs after a verbal root which, with the exception of *kḷpī* ‘to be able to’ and *cṛtī* ‘to hurt’, has *ṛ* in its *upadhā* (1.1.65 *alo* ‘*ntyātpūrvā*...).

#### EXAMPLES:

*vartyam* ‘that which is to be observed’

*vṛddhyam* ‘that which is to be grown’

1. Note that *taparakaraṇa* (1.1.70 *taparas tatkālasya*) in *ṛT* 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 *kīrtiyam* ‘that which is to be chanted’.

2. A *vārttika* proposes for verbal root *srj* ‘to create’ to receive *NyaT* when the same is used in conjunction with a word which contains *pāñi* ‘hand’. This dervies *pāñisargyā* of *pāñisargyā rajjuh* ‘a rope to be made by twisting with the hands’. *NyaT* is also provided after *srj* used with the preverbs *sam* and *ava* to derive *samavasargyā* ‘that (feminine) who is to be abandoned’.

## 3.1.111 ई च खनः

*ī ca khaṇaḥ*

*/ī 1/1 ० khaṇaḥ 5/1/*

(*pratyayaḥ #1, paraś ca #2, dhātoḥ #91, kyap #106*)

*khaṇer dhātoḥ kyap pratyayo bhavatikāraś cāntādeśaḥ*

Affix *KyaP* occurs after verbal root *khaṇU* 'to dig'; in addition, the root-final *n* is replaced by *ī*.

## EXAMPLES:

*kheyam* 'that which is to be dug'

1. Commentators debate whether the long *ī* as a replacement is justified. For, to derive *kheyam*, one must apply rule 6.1.87 *ād guṇaḥ* which, given the string *kha + ī + KyaP*, orders a single *guṇa* replacement *e* in place of both *a + ī*. This *guṇa* 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 (*supaṭha*), and which does not create any problem in derivation.

It is stated that the long replacement is specified in the composite (*praśliṣṭa*) form of *ī* which results out of a sequence of *i + i* subsequent to the application of 6.1.101 *akaḥ savarṇe dīrghaḥ*. 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 (*bādhakabādhanārtha*). What is blocked here is rule 6.4.41 *ye vibhāṣā* which may order long *-ā* to replace the final sound segment of the root. I omit any further details for reasons of the complexity of arguments.

## 3.1.112 भृजोऽसंज्ञायाम्

*bhṛjō' saṃjñāyām*

*/bhṛjāḥ 5/1 asaṃjñāyām 7/1/*

(*pratyayaḥ #1, paraś ca #2, dhātoḥ #91, kyap #106*)

*bhṛjōr dhātor asaṃjñāyām viṣaye kyap pratyayo bhavati*

Affix *KyaP* occurs after verbal root *bhṛjÑ* 'to provide for' when *saṃjñā* 'name' is not denoted.

## EXAMPLE:

*bhṛtyāḥ karmakarāḥ* 'the servants who are to be provided for'

1. This rule provides for the derivation of *bhṛtyāḥ* 'those who are to be provided for; servants' under the condition of *asaṃjñā* 'no name'. If one wishes to derive, for example *bhārya*, the name of a *kṣatriya*, one must introduce affix *NyaT*.

2. A *vārttika* makes the *KyaP* optional, however, when the root is used with the preverb *sam*. This yields dual forms: *sambhṛtyāḥ/sambhāryāḥ*



where the condition of *asamjñā* still persists. Haradatta (*PM ad Kāśikā* 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 मृजेर्विभाषा

*mṛjer vibhāṣā*

*/mṛjeh 5/1 vibhāṣā 1/1/*

(*pratyayah #1, paraś ca #2, dhātoḥ #91, kyaP #106*)

*mṛjer dhātoḥ kyaP pratyayo bhavati*

Affix *KyaP* occurs optionally after verbal root *mṛjŪ* 'to wipe, cleanse'.

#### EXAMPLES:

*parimṛjyaḥ* 'that which is to be cleansed'

*parimārgyaḥ* 'id.'

1. The optional provision of this rule is recognized as *prāptavibhāṣā*. For, this rule makes the obligatory provision of 3.1.110 *ṛdupadhāc...* optional. Note that *mṛj* had the obligatory *KyaP* available to it on account of its penultimate *ṛ*. The option parallel to *KyaP* will entail *NyaT*.

### 3.1.114 राजसूयसूर्यमृषोद्यरुच्यकुप्यकृष्टापच्याव्यथ्याः

*rājasūyasūryamṛṣodyarucyakupyakṛṣṭapacyāvyathyāḥ*

*/rājasūya...vyathyāḥ 1/3/*

(*pratyayah #1, paraś ca #2, dhātoḥ #91, kyaP #106*)

*rājasūya, sūrya, mṛṣodya, rucya, kupya, kṛṣṭapacya, avyathya ity ete śabdāḥ kyaP nipātyante*

Affix *KyaP* occurs in the derivation of *rājasūya, sūrya, mṛṣodya, rucya, kupya, kṛṣṭapacya*, and *avyathya* via *nipātana*.

#### EXAMPLES:

*rājasūyaḥ* 'a great ritual sacrifice performed at the time of the coronation of a king.'

*sūryaḥ* 'sun'

*mṛṣodyam* 'untruth'

*rucyam* 'that which is pleasing'

*kupyam* 'that which is to be hidden'

*kṛṣṭapacyāḥ* 'vegetation which dries up easily after the field has been plowed'

*avyathyāḥ* 'he who does not become anguished'

1. This rule presents seven derivatives 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 (*saṃjñā*) 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 *saṃjñā* ‘name’; *asaṃjñā* ‘non-name’, *karṭṛ* ‘agent’, and *karman* ‘object’.

### 3.1.115 भिद्योद्ध्यौ नदे

*bhidyoddhyau nade*

*/bhidyoddhyau 1/2 nade 7/1/*

(*pratyayah* #1, *paraś ca* #2, *dhātoḥ* #91, *kyap* 106)

*bhider ujjheś ca kyab nipātyate nade*’ *bhidheye*

Affix *KyaP* occurs by *nipātana* in the derivation of *bhidya* and *uddhya* when *nada* ‘river’ is denoted as the agent.

#### EXAMPLES:

*bhidyah* ‘a river which undercuts its banks’

*uddhyah* ‘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 पुष्यसिद्ध्यौ नक्षत्रे

*puṣyasiddhyau nakṣatre*

*/puṣyasiddhyau 7/2 nakṣatre 7/1/*

(*pratyayah* #1, *paraś ca* #2, *dhātoḥ* #91, *kyap* #106)

*puṣeḥ siddheś cādhikaraṇe kyab nipātyate nakṣatre*’ *bhidheye*

Affix *KyaP* occurs after verbal roots *puṣA* ‘to thrive’ and *sidhU* ‘to succeed’, to derive *puṣya* and *siddhya* by *nipātana*, when the derivates denote *nakṣatra* ‘constellation’.

#### EXAMPLES:

*puṣya* ‘name of the eighth constellation’

*siddhya* ‘id.’

1. This rule offers two ad hoc derivates of *KyaP* under the meaning condition of *nakṣatra*. In this context *KyaP* denotes the locus (*adhikaraṇa*) of moon (*candra*).

### 3.1.117 विपूयविनीयजित्या मुञ्जकल्कहलिषु

*vipūyavinīyajityā muñjakalkahaliṣu*

*/vipūyavinīyajityāḥ 1/3 muñjakalkahaliṣu 7/3/*

(*pratyayah* #1, *paraś ca* #2, *dhātoḥ* #91, *kyap* #106)

*vipūya*, *vinīya*, *jitya* ity ete śabdā nipātyante yathāsamkhyam *muñja*, *kalka*, *hali* ity eteṣu artheṣu bodhyeṣu

Affix *KyaP* occurs after a verbal root to derive *vipūya*, *vinīya* and *jitya* by *nipātana* when *muñja* 'reed', *kalka* 'sediment' and *hala* 'plow' are denoted respectively.

#### EXAMPLES:

*vipūyo muñjah* 'muñja, a particular reed, which is to be processed for making...'

*vinīyah kalkah* 'medicinal sediment to be removed'

*jityo halih* 'a big board used for levelling the field after plowing'

1. This rule offers three ad hoc derivatives *vipūya*, *vinīya* and *jitya* 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* derivatives, which denote something outside the meaning condition of this rule, will be: *vipavya* 'that which is to be thoroughly cleaned', *vineya* 'that which is to be removed' and *jeya* 'that which is to be won'.

#### 3.1.118 प्रत्यपिभ्यां ग्रहेश्चन्दसि

*pratyapibhyām graheś chandasi*

*/pratyapibhyām 5/2 graheḥ 5/1 chandasi 7/1/*

(*pratyayah* #1, *paraś ca* #2, *dhātoḥ* #91, *kyap* #106)

'*praty api*' ity evam pūrvād graheḥ *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:

*mattasya na pratigrhyam* '(a gift) not to be accepted from an arrogant person'

*tasīmān nāpigṛhyam* '(a gift) thus not to be accepted...'

1. This rule accounts for Vedic usages *pratigrhyam* and *apigrhyam* parallel to classical usages *pratigrāhyam* and *apigrāhyam*. The Vedic derivatives involve *samprasāraṇa* (6.1.16 *grahijyāvayī*...). The compound-formation between *api*, *prati*, and *grāhyam* is in accordance with rule 2.2.18 *kugati-prādayah*.

#### 3.1.119 पदास्वैरिबाह्यापक्ष्येषु च

*padāsvairibāhyāpakṣyeṣu ca*

*/padāsvairibāhyāpakṣyeṣu 7/3 ca 0/*

(*pratyayah* #1, *paraś ca* #2, *dhātoḥ* #91, *kyap* #106)  
*pade*’ *svairiṇi bāhyāyām pakṣe cārthe graher dhātoḥ kyap pratyayo bhavati*  
 Affix *KyaP* also occurs after verbal root *grahI* when the derivatives denote *pada* ‘word’, *asvairi* ‘not independent’, *bāhyā* ‘gone outside’ and *pakṣya* ‘partisan’.

EXAMPLES:

*pragr̥hyaṃ padam* ‘a *pada* termed *pragr̥hya*’ (1.1.11 *īdūded...*)  
*avagr̥hyaṃ padam* ‘a *pada* with the contracted *a* (*avagraha*)’  
*gr̥hyakā ime* ‘these are not independent’  
*grāmagr̥hyā senā* ‘an army on the outside of the village’  
*nagaragr̥hyā senā* ‘an army on the outside of the city’  
*vāsudevagr̥hyāḥ* ‘those who are on Vāsudeva’s side’

1. This rule provides for *KyaP* after verbal root *grahI* when the derivatives denote *pada*, *asvairi*, *bāhyā* and *pakṣya*. Note that *bāhyā* is given in the feminine. It does not, however, mean, by extension, that *bāhyaḥ* or *bāhyam* (masculine, neuter) are not permitted.

3.1.120 विभाषा कृवृषोः

*vibhāṣā kr̥vr̥ṣoḥ*  
 /*vibhāṣā* 1/1 *kr̥vr̥ṣoḥ* 6/2/  
 (*pratyayah* #1, *paraś ca* #2, *dhātoḥ* #91, *kyap* #106)  
*kr̥ṇo vr̥ṣeś ca vibhāṣā kyap pratyayo bhavati*  
 Affix *KyaP* optionally occurs after verbal roots *DUkr̥ṇ* ‘to do, make’ and *vr̥ṣU* ‘to rain’.

EXAMPLES:

*kr̥tyam* ‘that which is to be done’  
*kāryam* ‘id.’  
*vr̥ṣyam* ‘that which is to be showered upon’  
*varṣyam* ‘id.’

1. This rule makes the optional provision for *KyaP* after verbal roots *kr̥* and *vr̥ṣ*. Note that *kr̥* would have qualified for affix *NyaT* of 3.1.124 *ṛhalor nyat*. Affix *KyaP* could have been obligatorily available to *vr̥ṣ* on account of its penultimate *ṛ*. This rule makes both of these provisions optional to *KyaP*.

3.1.121 युग्यं च पत्रे

*yugyam ca patre*  
 /*yugyam* 1/1 *ca* 0 *patre* 7/1/  
 (*pratyayah* #1, *paraś ca* #2, *dhātoḥ* #91, *kyap* #106)  
*yugyam iti nipātyate patraṃ 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 अमावस्यदन्यतरस्याम्

*amāvasyad anyatarasyām*  
*lamāvasyat 1/1 anyatarasyām 7/1/*  
*(pratyayaḥ #1, paraś ca #2, dhātoḥ #91)*  
*amāśabdaḥ saḥarthe varttate, tasminn upapade 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’  
*amāvāsya* ‘id.’

1. This rule offers *amāvasyā* as an option to *amāvāsya* via the ad hoc provision of *nipātana*. The word *amāvasyā* brings *amāvāsya* as the focus of *anyatarasyām* on the basis of the *Paribhāṣā* (38) *ekadeśavikṛtam ananyavat* ‘that which is modified in part does not become a different whole’. A reference to *amāvāsya* should also bring *amāvasyā* close to that context accordingly.

3.1.123 छन्दसि निष्टर्क्यदेवहूयप्रणीयोप्रीयोच्छिष्यमर्यस्तर्थाध्वर्यखन्यखान्यदेवयज्यापृच्छ्यप्रति-  
 षीव्यब्रह्मवाद्यभाव्यस्ताव्योपचाय्यपृडानि

*chandasi niṣṭarkyadevahūyapraṇīyonnīyocchīṣyamaryastaryādhwaryakhanya-*  
*khānyadevayajyāpṛcchyapratīṣīvyabrahmavādyabhāvystāvvyopacāyyapṛḍāni*  
*lchandasi 7/1 niṣṭarkya...pṛḍāni 1/3/*  
*(pratyayaḥ #1, paraś ca #2, dhātoḥ #91)*  
*niṣṭarkyādayaḥ śabdās chandasi viśaye nipātyante*  
 Forms such as *niṣṭarkya*, etc., are derived in the Vedic by *nipātana*.

EXAMPLES:

*niṣṭarkyaṃ cinvīta paśukāmaḥ* ‘one who wishes for the wealth of animals  
 should arrange the (ritual) fire on *viṣṭavarya* bricks’  
*devahūyaḥ* ‘invocation to gods’

*praṇīyah* 'fit to be carried'  
*unnīyah* 'fit to be carried up high'  
*ucchiśyāh* 'fit to be abandoned'  
*marīyah* 'fit to die'  
*staryā* 'fit to be spread'  
*dhvaryah* 'fit to be bent'  
*khanyah* 'fit to be dug'  
*khānyah* 'id.'  
*dévayajyā* 'ritual sacrifice fit for the gods'  
*āpṛcchyāh* 'fit to be asked'  
*pratiśīvyah* 'fit to be sewn'  
*brahmavādyaḥ* 'a discussion about Brahman'  
*bhāvyaḥ* 'fit to exist'  
*stavyah* 'fit to be praised'  
*upacāyapṛdam* '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 *niṣṭarkya*, 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 *ṣ*. 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:

*niṣṭarkye vyatyayaṃ vidyān nisah ṣatvaṃ nipātanāt/  
 nyadāyādeśa ity etāv upacāyye nipātitaull*

Similar *nipātana* provisions are made in connection with other derivates. The following verse specifies individual derivates with affixes and verbal roots:

*nyad ekasmāc caturbhyah kyap caturbhyas ca yato vidhiḥ/  
 nyad ekasmād yaśabdaś ca dvau kyapau nyad vidhiś catuḥ//*  
 'affix *NyaT* occurs after one verbal root (*niṣṭarkya*); *KyaP* and *yaT* after four each (*devahūya* through *khanya* respectively); and *NyaT* and *ya* in one each (*khānya* and *devayajyā*); *KyaP* twice (in *āpṛcchya*, *pratiśīvyā*); and *NyaT* again four times (in *brahmavādya*, etc.)'

### 3.1.124 ऋहलोर्ण्यत्

*rhalor nyat*  
*lṛhaloḥ 6/1 nyat 1/1/*  
 (*pratyayah* #1, *paraś ca* #2, *dhātoḥ* #91)  
*rvarṇāntād dhātor halantāc ca nyat pratyayo bhavati*

Affix *ṆyaT* occurs after a verbal root which ends in *ṛ* 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’  
*ṇākyam* ‘that which is to be cooked’

1. Note that the *ṣaṣṭhī* of *ṛhaloḥ* 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/  
 (pratyayaḥ #1, paraś ca #2, dhātoḥ #91, ṇyat #124)  
*uvarṇāntād dhātor ṇyat pratyayo bhavaty āvaśyake dyotyē*  
 Affix *ṆyaT* occurs after a verbal root which ends in *u* when *āvaśyaka* ‘necessary, urgent’ is denoted.

EXAMPLES:

*lāvyam* ‘that which is to be cut’  
*ṇāvyam* ‘that which is to be cleansed’

1. Note that *oḥ* refers to roots ending in *u* (1.1.72 *yena vidhis tadantasya*). The *ṆyaT* of this rule becomes an exception to the *yaT* of 3.1.97 *aco yat*. See further details in the appendix.

3.1.126 आसुयुवपिरपिलपित्रपिचमश्च

*āsuyuvapirapilapitrapicamaś ca*  
*lāsuyu...camah* 5/1 *ca* 0/  
 (pratyayaḥ #1, paraś ca #2, dhātoḥ #91, ṇyat #124)  
*āñpūrvāt sunoteḥ yu, vapi, rapi, lapi, trapi, cam ity etebhyaś ca ṇyat pratyayo bhavati*  
 Affix *ṆyaT* also occurs after verbal roots *ṣūÑ* ‘to press out’, used with the preverb *āÑ*, *yu* ‘to mix’, *ḍUvāpA* ‘to sow’, *rapA* and *lapA* ‘to speak’, *trapŪṢ* ‘to be ashamed’ and *camU* ‘to sip’.

EXAMPLES:

*āsāvyam* ‘fit to be fermented’  
*yāvyam* ‘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 *aco yat* and 3.1.98 *por aduṣadhāt*. Verbal root *ṣūṅ* is intended to be used with the preverb *āN*. The *yu* ‘to mix’ should not be confused with *yuṅ* ‘to tie’. A reference to *yuṅ* 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 *dabhi*.

### 3.1.127 आनाय्योऽनित्ये

*ānāyyo’ nitye*  
*lānāyyaḥ* 1/1 *anitye* 7/1/  
 (pratyayaḥ #1, paraś ca #2, dhātoḥ #91, ṇyat #124)  
*ānāyyaḥ iti nipātyate nitye’ bhidheye*  
 Affix *NyaT* occurs to derive *ānāyyaḥ* by *nipātana* when the derivate denotes *anitya* ‘impermanence, non-eternal’.

#### EXAMPLES:

*ānāyyo dakṣiṇāgniḥ* ‘the *dakṣiṇāgni*, one of the three ritual fires, is called *ānāyyaḥ*’

1. The word *ānāyya* is derived by *nipātana* with *NyaT* introduced after verbal root *ṇiṅ* ‘to lead’ used with the preverb *āN*. The word itself denotes *dakṣiṇāgni* ‘the southern fire’, though it is not the real *dakṣiṇāgni*. Instead, it is the fire which is brought from the *gārhapatya* fire to ritually ignite the *dakṣiṇāgni* fire. The *dakṣiṇāgni* 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 *gārhapatya*, the derivate will be *āneya*. The *dakṣiṇāgni* can also be ignited by bringing the fire from the house of a *vaiśya*, or *bhrāṣṭra* ‘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 प्रणाय्योऽसम्मतो

*praṇāyyo’ sammatau*  
*lpraṇāyyaḥ* 1/1 *asammatau* 7/1/  
 (pratyayaḥ #1, paraś ca #2, dhātoḥ #91, ṇyat #124)  
*praṇāyyaḥ iti nipātyate’ sammatau abhidheye*



Affix *NyaT* occurs to derive *praṇāyya* by *nīpātana* when *asammati* 'disapproval' is denoted.

EXAMPLES:

*praṇāyyaḥ* 'thief'

1. This rule provides for the ad hoc derivation of *praṇāyya* from *praṇīN* when the meaning is *asammati*. Thus we get: *praṇāyya* of *praṇāyyaś chaurah* 'the thief; the one who is to be censured'. The regular form parallel to this *nīpātana* will be *praṇeya* 'tractable' derived with *ya*.

2. The word *praṇāyya* is also used in the sense of 'disciple, initiate' (*antevāsī*) 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 prabrūyyāntevāsine, nānyasmai kasmaicaneti*  
'the father should initiate the oldest son, the one who is closeby, the  
disciple, with the single syllable mantra *om* which symbolizes  
*brahman* 'the supreme being' and not to just anybody'

The word *sammati*, in this preceding context, means *abhilāṣā* 'desire' (*niṣkāmatayā*), in the absence of which (*tadabhāvena*), with lack of desire serving as means, one becomes *antevāsī*. It is therefore proper (*yuḥyate*) to offer initiation to that closeby initiate (*tasmai praṇāyyāntevāsine*) who, with no desire for results (*niṣkā māya*), strives to obtain *mokṣa* 'release' (*mokṣārthaṃ yatamānāya*).

3.1.129 पाय्यसान्नाय्यनिकाय्यधाय्या मानहविर्निवाससामिधेनीषु

*pāyyasānnāyyanikāyyadhāyyā mānahavirnivāsasāmidhenīṣu*

*/pāyya...dhāyya 1/3 māna...sāmidhenīṣu 7/3/*

(*prayaḥ* #1, *paraś ca* #2, *dhātoḥ* #91, *ṇyat* #124)

*pāyyādayaḥ śabdā nīpātyante yathāsamkhyam māne, haviṣi, nivāse, sāmidhenyām cābhidheyām*

Affix *NyaT* occurs to derive *pāyya*, *sānnāya*, *nikāyya* and *dhāyyā* by *nīpātana* when the derivatives denote *māna* 'standard measure', *havi* 'ritual oblation of food', *nivāsa* 'place of residence' and *sāmidhenī* 'a particular hymn' respectively.

EXAMPLES:

*pāyyam* 'any standard measure of weight'

*sānnāyam* 'ritual oblation of food'

*nikāyyaḥ* 'place of residence'

*dhāyyā* 'the *sāmidheni* hymn'

1. This rule offers the ad hoc derivation of four forms *pāyya*, *sānnāyya*, *nikāyya*, and *dhāyyā* respectively in the sense of *māna* 'standard of measure',

*havi* ‘ritual oblation of food’, *nivāsa* ‘dewelling’, and *sāmidhenī* ‘a hymn of the *Rgveda*’.

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:  $mā (\dot{N} \rightarrow \emptyset) + (\dot{N} \rightarrow \emptyset) ya(T \rightarrow \emptyset) \rightarrow mā + ya$ , where affix *NyaT* occurs after verbal root  $mā\dot{N}$  ‘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:  $(m \rightarrow p) \bar{a} + (y (UK \rightarrow \emptyset) + ya \rightarrow p\bar{a} + y + ya = pāyya$ . The *c* of  $ci\dot{N}$  is similarly replaced with *k* in the ad hoc derivation of *nikāyya*. Furthermore, there is  $i \rightarrow ai$  (*vṛddhi*) which subsequently produces  $ai \rightarrow \bar{a}y$ . Thus,  $ni + ci(\dot{N} \rightarrow \emptyset) = ni(c \rightarrow k)(i \rightarrow ai) + (\dot{N} \rightarrow \emptyset)ya(T \rightarrow \emptyset) = nik(ai \rightarrow \bar{a}y) + ya = nikāyya$ . Similar derivational situations are found in other examples.

### 3.1.130 क्रतौ कुण्डपाय्यसंचायौ

*kratau kuṇḍapāyyasamcāyyau*

*lkratau 7/1 kuṇḍapāyyasamcāyyau 1/2/*

(*pratyayah* # 1, *paraś ca* # 2, *dhātoḥ* # 91, *nyat* # 124)

*kuṇḍapāyya samcāyya ity etau śabdau nipātyete kratāv abhidheye*

Affixes *yaT* and *NyaT* occur by *nipātana* to derive *kuṇḍapāyya* and *samcāyya* when the derivatives denote *kratu* ‘sacrifice’.

#### EXAMPLES:

*kuṇḍapāyyāḥ* ‘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 *kuṇḍapāyya* and *samcāyya* to denote specific ritual sacrifices, again by *nipātana*. The word *kuṇḍapāyya* is said to have been derived by the introduction of affix *yaT*, in the sense of locus (*adhikaraṇa*), after verbal root  $pā$  ‘to drink’ under the condition of a cooccurring word which underlies *kuṇḍa* and ends in the instrumental (*tr̥tīyā*). Our next example *samcāyya* could have been derived similarly by the introduction of affix *NyaT* after verbal root  $ci\dot{N}$  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 svaritam* for accentuation.

If a particular ritual sacrifice is not denoted, derivatives parallel to these ad hoc ones will be *kuṇḍapānam* ‘to drink out of a pitcher or bowl’ and *samcēyah* ‘to be gathered, arranged’.

## 3.1.131 अग्नौ परिचाय्योपचाय्यसमूह्याः

*agnau paricāyyopacāyyasamūhyāḥ*  
*lagnau 7/1 paricāyya...samūhyāḥ 1/3/*  
 (pratyayah #1, paraś ca #2, dhātoḥ #91, nyat #124)  
*paricāyya-upacāyya-samūhya ity ete śabdā nipātyante agnāv abhidheye*  
 Affix *NyaT* occurs after verbal root *ciñ* to derive *paricāyya*, *upacāyya*  
 and *samūhya* by *nipātana* when *agni* 'fire' is denoted.

## EXAMPLES:

*paricāyyāḥ* 'a place where the ritual fire is placed'  
*upacāyyāḥ* 'a fire which has gone through ritual purification'  
*samūhyāṃ cinvīta paśukāmaḥ* 'one who wishes for wealth of cattles  
 should arrange the ritual fire'

1. Our three ad hoc derivatives *paricāyya*, *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 *paricāyya* 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* = *paricāyya*. 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 consonant, is already qualified for *NyaT*. Why do we, then, have to bring *NyaT* via *nipātana*? Note that *vah* also undergoes *samprasāraṇa* (1.1.45 *ig yaṇaḥ samprasāraṇam*) 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 (*dīrgha*) *ā* which would otherwise not be available under the provisions of 6.4.2 *halah*. Thus, all functions come via *nipātana*.

## 3.1.132 चित्याग्निचित्ये च

*cityāgnicitye ca*  
*lcityāgnicitye 1/2 ca ∅/*  
 (pratyayah #1, paraś ca #2, dhātoḥ #91, agnau #131)  
*cityaśabdo' gnicityā śabdaś ca nipatyete*  
 Affixes *KyaP* and *ya* occur by *nipātana* to also derive *citya* and *agnicityā*, respectively when *agni* is denoted.

## EXAMPLES:

*cityaḥ* 'fire of the funeral pyre'  
*agnicityā* 'heaping or arranging fire'

1. This rule offers *citya* and *agnicityā*, both derived by *nipātana*, with affixes *KyaP* and *ya* denoting *karman* and *bhāva* respectively. The augment *tUK* in *citya* is ordered by 6.1.69 *hrasvasya...* Our next example, *agnicityā*, entails affix *ya* introduced under the cooccurrence condition of *agni*. The augment *tUK*, as well as no *guṇa* for *-i*, comes via *nipātana*. Because of the introduction of *ya* by *nipātana*, this derivate gets the final high-pitch (*antodātta*) by 3.1.3 *ādyudāttaś ca*. Note that *NyaT* would bring *svarita* to the affix by 6.1.185 *tit svaritam*.

2. Note that *Kāśikā* and *Nyāsa* 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 *udātta* accent initially. The second example is derived with *ya* to denote *bhāva* '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 *udātta* accent that the second example is derived with *ya*.

Should we then accept that the authors of *Kāśikā* and *Nyāsa* are wrong? Perhaps not. First of all, these derivations are ad hoc. That is, anything is possible. Secondly, what is specified by them as *yakāra* '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 ण्वुल्त्चौ

*ṅvulṭṛcau*

*ḥṅvulṭṛcau 1/2/*

(*pratyayaḥ* #1, *paraś ca* #2, *dhātoḥ* #91)

*sarvadhātubhyo ṅvulṭṛcau pratyayau bhavataḥ*

Affixes *ṅvuL* and *ṭṛC* occur after verbal roots.

#### EXAMPLES:

*kāraḥ* 'he who is the doer'

*kartā* 'id.'

*hāraḥ* 'he who fetches'

*hartā* 'id.'

1. This rule introduces affixes *ṅvuL* and *ṭṛC* after roots in general. Since both the affixes cannot be introduced concurrently, they are to be introduced in turn (*paryāya*). The *C* of *ṭṛC* is not used for accent. For, that is automatically accounted for by the affixal accentuation (*pratyayasvara*; 3.1.3 *ādyudāttaś ca*). Thus, *C* is instead intended to distinguish (*bhedaka*) *ṭṛC* from *ṭṛN* (3.2.135 *ṭṛn*). A reference with *ṭṛ* without any *it* could denote both *ṭṛC* and *ṭṛN* as in rules 5.3.59 *tuś chandasi* and 6.4.154 *tur iṣṭhemeyassu*.

## 3.1.134 नन्दिग्रहपचादिभ्यो ल्युणिन्यचः

*nandigrahipacādibhyo lyuṇinyacaḥ*

*lnandigrahipacādibhyaḥ 5/3 lyuṇinyacaḥ 1/3/*

*(pratayayaḥ #1, paraś ca #2, dhātoḥ #91)*

*nandyādibhyo lyuḥ, grahādibhyo ṇiniḥ, pacādibhyo' c pratayā bhavanti*

Affixes *Lyu*, *ṆinI* 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:

*nandanaḥ* 'he who is pleasing; a son'

*vāsanah* 'that which chirps; a bird'

*grāhī* 'he who accepts or holds'

*utsāhī* 'enthusiast'

*śvapacaḥ* 'he who eats a dog; a person of the very low untouchable *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 *yathāsamkhyam...* The word *ādi* has to be read with each constituent of the *dvandva* compound *nandigrahipacaḥ* (*dvandvānte śrūyamāṇaṃ pratyekam 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 *nandanaḥ*, one can abstract the verbal root *ṬUnadI* 'to please; prosper', etc. (see *Kāś*: *nandigrahipacādayaś ca na dhātupāṭhataḥ sanniviṣṭā gṛhyante, kiṃ tarhi; 'nandana ramaṇa' ity evam ādiṣu prātipadikagaṇeṣu apoddhṛtya ye paṭhyante te nirdiśyante*). See the appendix for derivational details.

## 3.1.135 इगुपधज्ञाप्तीकिरः कः

*igupadhajñāprīkīraḥ kaḥ*

*ligupadhajñāprīkīraḥ 5/1 kaḥ 1/1/*

*(pratayayaḥ #1, paraś ca #2, dhātoḥ #91)*

*igupadhebhyo jānāteḥ prīnāteḥ kirateś ca kapratyayo bhavati*

Affix *Ka* occurs after verbal roots which have an *iK* (*i, u, r, ḷ; Śs. 1-2*) in their *upadhā*; and after *jñā* 'to know', *prīṆ* 'to please' and *kṛ* 'to scatter'.

## EXAMPLES:

*vikṣipah* 'he who makes trouble'

*vilikhah* 'he who writes'

*budhah* 'he who knows'

*kṛśaḥ* ‘he who is thin’  
*priyaḥ* ‘he who endears’  
*kiraḥ* ‘he who scatters’

1. This rule introduces affix *Ka* after verbal roots *jñā*, *priñ* and *kṛ*, 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 *it* in *Ka* is used to block *guṇa*. *Kāśikā* informs that *deva* ‘god’, *seva* ‘service’ and *meṣa* ‘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 *ākṛtigāṇa*. See the appendix for derivational details.

### 3.1.136 आतश्चोपसर्गे

*ātaś copasarge*  
*/ātaḥ 5/1 ca ∅ upasarge 7/1/*  
 (*pratyayaḥ* #1, *paraś ca* #2, *dhātoḥ* #91, *kaḥ* #135)  
*ākārāntebhyo dhātubhya upasarga upapade kaḥ pratyayo 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:

*prasthaḥ* ‘mountain’  
*suglaḥ* ‘very weary’  
*sumlaḥ* ‘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 *Na* of 3.1.141 *śyādvayadhāsru...*

### 3.1.137 पाघ्राध्माधेदृशः शः

*pāghrādhmādhēdṛśaḥ śaḥ*  
*/pāghrādhmādhēdṛśaḥ 5/3, śaḥ 1/1/*  
 (*pratyayaḥ* #1, *paraś ca* #2, *dhātoḥ* #91, *upasarge* #136)  
*pādibhyo dhātubhya upasarga upapade śaḥ pratyayo bhavati*  
 Affix *Śa* occurs after verbal roots *pā* ‘to drink’, *ghrā* ‘to smell’, *dhmā* ‘to blow, beat’, *dheṭ* ‘to suck’ and *dṛś* ‘to see’ when the roots cooccur with a *pada* constituted by an *upasarga*.

#### EXAMPLES:

*utpibaḥ* ‘he who picks up and drinks’  
*vipibaḥ* ‘he who drinks in a typically bad manner’

*ujjighraḥ* ‘he who smells something’  
*vijighraḥ* ‘he who smells something in a typically bad manner’  
*uddhamah* ‘he who blows or beats something’  
*vidhamah* ‘he who blows or beats against something’  
*uddhayaḥ* ‘he who drinks’  
*vidhayaḥ* ‘he who drinks in a typically bad manner’  
*utpaśyaḥ* ‘he who looks up’  
*vipaśyaḥ* ‘he who looks in a typically bad manner’

1. This rule introduces affix *Śa* after verbal roots *pā*, *ghrā*, *dhmā*, *dheT*, and *drś*. 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 *Ṇa*. The last verbal root has *ṛ* in its penultimate position, and hence qualifies for *Ka* by 3.1.135 *igupadh...*

2. *Kāśikā* informs that some, which also includes the *Mbh.*, do not accept the *anuvṛtti* of *upasarge* in this rule. In that case, we will not get *Śa*. For example, *drś* 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 *sārva-dhātuka* (3.4.113 *tiṅśit...*).

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 अनुपसर्गाल्लिम्पविन्दधारिपारिवेद्युदेजितिसातिसाहिभ्यश्च

*anupasargāl limpavindadhāripārivedyudejicetisātisāhibhyaś ca*  
*lanupasargāt 5/1 limpa...sāhibhyaḥ 5/3 ca 0/*

(*pratyayaḥ* #1, *paraś ca* #2, *dhātoḥ* #91, *śa* #138)

*anupasargebhyo limpādibhyaḥ śapratyayo 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’, *vedi* ‘to inform, proclaim’, *udeji* ‘to shake’, *ceti* ‘to cause to become aware, perceive’ and *sāhi* ‘to endure, support’, when used without an *upasarga*.

#### EXAMPLES:

*limpaḥ* ‘he who coats x with y’  
*vindaḥ* ‘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 *Śa* 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 *ṆiC*. The last two verbal roots are attested on the authority of the rules (*sautra*).

2. A *vārttika* proposes the introduction of *Śa* also after *limp* when it is used with the preverb *ni*. The intended derivate is *nilimpah* ‘name of a deity; cow’. There is yet another *vārttika* which proposes the introduction of *Śa* after *vind* when it is used with *go* to derive the proper noun *govinda* ‘Kṛṣṇa’.

### 3.1.139 ददातिदधात्योर्विभाषा

*dadātidadhātyor vibhāṣā*

*|dadātidadhātyoḥ 5/2 vibhāṣā 1/1/*

(*pratyayaḥ* # 1, *paraś ca* # 2, *dhātoḥ* # 91, *śaḥ* # 137, *anupasargāt* # 138)

*dāño dhānaś ca vibhāṣā śapratyayo bhavati*

Affix *Śa* optionally occurs after verbal roots *ḌudāÑ* ‘to give’ and *ḌUdhāÑ* ‘to hold’, when used without an *upasarga*.

#### EXAMPLES:

*dadah* ‘he who gives’

*dāyah* ‘donor; inheritance’

*dadhah* ‘he who holds, bears’

*dhāyah* ‘he who supports’

1. This rule optionally introduces affix *Śa* after verbal roots *ḌUdāÑ* and *ḌUdhāÑ* when they are not used with any preverbs. Note that *Ṇa* was obligatorily available to these roots by rule 3.1.141 *śyādvadhā...* 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 ज्वलितिकसन्तेभ्यो णः

*jvalitikasantebhyo' ṇaḥ*

*|jvalitikasantebhyoḥ 5/3 aṇ 1/1/*

(*pratyayaḥ* #1, *paraś ca* #2, *dhātoḥ* #91, *anupasargāt* #138, *vibhāṣā* #139)

*jvala dīptau ity evam ādibhyo dhātubhyaḥ kasa gatau ity evam antebhyo vibhāṣā ṇapratyayo bhavati*

Affix *Ṇa* optionally occurs after verbal roots enumerated in the set which begins with *jvalA* ‘to be aflame, to glow’ and ends with *kaśA* ‘to go’ when the roots are not used with an *upasarga*.



## EXAMPLES:

*jvalaḥ* ‘burning, glowing’

*javālaḥ* ‘id.’

*calaḥ* ‘moving’

*cālaḥ* ‘id.’

1. This rule introduces affix *Ṇa* after the set of verbal roots of the *bhṵādi* which begins with *jval* and terminates with *kas*. The conditions of *anupasargāt* and *vibhāṣā* also carry. That is, when the option of *Ṇa* is not accepted, affix *aC* will apply (3.1.134 *nandigrahipacād...*).

## 3.1.141 श्याऽऽद्व्यधास्रुसंस्त्रवतीणवसावहृलिहश्लिषश्वासश्च

*śyādvyadhāsrusamsravatīṇavasāvahṛlihaśliṣaśvasaś ca*  
*/śyād...śvasaḥ 5/1 ca 0/*

(*pratyayaḥ* # 1, *paraś ca* # 2, *dhātoḥ* # 91, *ṇaḥ* # 141)

*śyaiṅ ākārāntebhyaś ca dhātubhyaḥ, vyadha, āsru, samsru, atīṅ, avasā*  
*avahṛ, liha, śliṣa, śvasa ity etebhyaś ca napratyayo bhavati*

Affix *Ṇa* also occurs after the following:

- (a) verbal root *śyaiṅ* ‘to go, move’,
- (b) roots which end in *-ā*,
- (c) verbal root *vyadhA* ‘to pierce’, used with the preverb *sam*,
- (d) verbal root *iṅ* ‘to go’ used with the preverb *ati*,
- (e) verbal root *ṣo* ‘to finish’ and *hṛ* ‘to take, carry’ used with the preverb *ava*, and
- (f) verbal roots *lih* ‘to lick’, *śliṣ* ‘to embrace’, and *śvas* ‘to breathe’.

## EXAMPLES:

*avaśyāyaḥ* ‘frost, dew’

*pratiśyāyaḥ* ‘cold, flu’

*dāyaḥ* ‘inheritance’

*dhāyaḥ* ‘id.’

*vyādhāḥ* ‘hunter’

*āsrāvaḥ* ‘that which oozes; wound’

*samsrāvaḥ* ‘that which flows; oozes’

*atyāyaḥ* ‘transgression, cruelty’

*avasāyaḥ* ‘completion’

*avahāraḥ* ‘taking away; stealing’

*lehaḥ* ‘licking’

*śleṣaḥ* ‘embracing’

*śvāsaḥ* ‘breathing’

1. This rule does not carry *anupasargāt* and *vibhāṣā*. Affix *Ṇa* is introduced here after verbal root *śyaiṅ*, or roots which end in *āT* (1.1.70

*taparas tatkālasya*), i.e., *dā* and *dhā*. It is also introduced after verbal roots *vyadh* and *sru* used with the preverb *āN*, *iN* used with the preverb *ati*, *ṣo* and *hṛ* used with the preverb *ava*, and *lih*, *śliṣ* and *śvas*. 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 *śyaiN*, 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 (*sāmānya*) affix *Na*.

### 3.1.142 दुन्योरनुपसर्गे

*dunyor anupasarge*

*ldunyoḥ 6/2 anupasarge 7/1/*

(*pratyayaḥ* #1, *paraś ca* #2, *dhātoḥ* #91, *ṇaḥ* #140)

*dunoter nayateś cānupasarge ṇapratyayo bhavati*

Affix *Na* occurs after verbal roots *ṬUdu* ‘to heat, burn’ and *ṇiN* ‘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 *ṇiN* yield the forms *pradavaḥ* ‘burning’ and *praṇayah* ‘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 ग्रहः

*vibhāṣā grahaḥ*

*lvibhāṣā 1/1 grahaḥ 1/1/*

(*pratyayaḥ* #1, *paraś ca* #2, *dhātoḥ* #91, *ṇaḥ* #140)

*vibhāṣā graher dhātoḥ ṇaḥ pratyayo bhavati*

Affix *Na* occurs optionally after verbal root *grahI* ‘to accept, take’.

#### EXAMPLE:

*grāhaḥ* ‘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 *nandigrahi...* 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, *grāhaḥ* 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: *grahaḥ*.

A *vārttika* suggests that *bhāvah* ‘state’, as opposed to *bhavaḥ* ‘existence’, should be similarly derived.

### 3.1.144 गेहे कः

*gehe kaḥ*

*/gehe 7/1 kaḥ 1/1/*

(*pratyayaḥ* #1, *paraś ca* #2, *dhātoḥ* #91, *grahaḥ* #143)

*graher dhātoḥ kaḥ pratyayo bhavati gehe kartari*

Affix *Ka* occurs after verbal root *grahI* ‘to seize’ when *geha* ‘abode’ is denoted as the agent.

#### EXAMPLES:

*gṛham* ‘that which holds the grains, etc.; house’

*gṛhāḥ* ‘wife’

1. This rule offers affix *Ka* to derive forms denoting *gṛha* ‘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 (*upapada*). This gives us: *gṛham* ‘home’; *gṛhāḥ* ‘wife’; and *gṛhāṇi* ‘homes’ where the masculine plural form denotes wife.

### 3.1.145 शिल्पिनि षुन्

*śilpini ṣvun*

*/śilpini 7/1 ṣvun 1/1/*

(*pratyayaḥ* #1, *paraś ca* #2, *dhātoḥ* #91)

*dhātoḥ ṣvun pratyayo bhavati śilpini kartari*

Affix *ṣvuN* occurs after verbal roots when *śilpin* ‘artisan’ is denoted as the agent.

#### EXAMPLES:

*narttakah* ‘dancer’

*khanakah* ‘digger’

*rajakah* ‘washerman; one who dyes clothes’

1. This rule introduces affix *ṣvuN* after roots when the derivate denotes an artist agent. Here again *śilpini* is a qualifier to the meaning of the affix. It does not denote cooccurrence as 3.1.92 *tatropapadam...* would have it.

The Ṣ is intended as an *it* so that these derivatives can get *ÑiṢ* (4.1.41 *ṣidgaura...*) to denote their feminine counterparts.

A *vārttika* under this rule proposes that *ṢvuN* should be restricted to verbal roots *nṛtI* ‘to dance’, *khanI* ‘to dig’ and *rañjI* ‘to color’. This will give: *narttakaḥ*, *khanakaḥ* and *rajakaḥ*. The corresponding feminine forms with *ÑiṢ* are: *narttakī*, *khanakī* and *rajakī*. A statement is also desired about the loss of the nasal of *rañj*.

### 3.1.146 गस्थकन्

*gas thakan*

*/gaḥ 5/1 thakan 1/1/*

(*pratyayaḥ* #1, *paraś ca* #2, *dhātoḥ* #91, *śilpini* #145)

*gāyateṣ thakan pratyayo bhavati śilpini kartari*

Affix *thakaN* occurs after verbal root *gai* ‘to sing’ when *śilpin* is denoted as the agent.

#### EXAMPLES:

*gāthakaḥ* ‘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 *āto lopah*.

### 3.1.147 ण्युट् च

*ṇyut ca*

*/ṇyut 1/1 ca 0/*

(*pratyayaḥ* #1, *paraś ca* #2, *dhātoḥ* #91, *gaḥ* #146)

*gāyater ṇyut pratyayo bhavati śilpini kartari*

Affix *ṆyuṬ* also occurs after *gai* when *śilpin* is denoted as the agent.

#### EXAMPLES:

*gāyanaḥ* ‘singer’

*gāyanī* ‘female singer’

1. Obviously, this rule introduces a parallel derivation in the form of *gāyanaḥ*. This, as compared with the results of the preceding rule, is an alternant to *gāyakaḥ*. The *ca* is used here to bring *gaḥ* from the preceding rule. Since affix *ṆyuṬ* is marked with *Ṭ* as an *it*, rule 4.1.5 *ṭiddhānañ...* will rule *ÑiP* for deriving the corresponding feminine form *gāyanī* ‘a female singer’.

The *ca* is used to assure the subsequent *anuvṛtti* of *ṆyuṬ*, though not of *thakaN*. If *thakaN* was meant to be carried, the preceding rule would have been formulated as: *go ṇyutthakanau*.

## 3.1.148 हश्च व्रीहिकालयोः

*haś ca vrīhikālayoḥ*

*/haḥ 5/1 ca Ø vrīhikālayoḥ 7/2/*

(*pratyayah #1, paraś ca #2, dhātoḥ #91, nyuṭ#147*)

*jahāter jihāteś ca dhāto nyuṭ pratyayo bhavati vrīhau kāle ca kartari*

Affix *NyuT* occurs after verbal roots *OhāK* ‘to abandon’ and *OhāN* ‘to go’ when *vrīhi* ‘rice’ and *kāla* ‘time’, respectively, are denoted as agents.

## EXAMPLES:

*hāyanāḥ* ‘a variety of rice’

*hāyanaḥ* ‘a year’

1. Affix *NyaT* is also introduced after specified verbal roots when the derivatives denote *vrīhi* ‘rice’ and *kāla* ‘time’ as agents. As is obvious from my translation, *haḥ* refers to the introduction of affix *NyaT* after both the verbal roots *OhāK* and *OhāN*. Of course, they both share the form *hā* after the deletion of their *it*. The *ca* is here used to bring *NyaT*. As usual, *vrīhikālayoḥ* is an adjective to the agent, and not the cooccurrence condition marked by the locative as per 3.1.92 *tatropapadam...*

## 3.1.149 प्रसृत्वः समाभिहारे वुन्

*prasṛtvaḥ samabhihāre vun*

*/prasṛtvaḥ 5/3 samabhihāre 7/1 vun 1/1/*

(*pratyayah # 1, paraś ca # 2, dhātoḥ # 91*)

Affix *vuN* occurs after verbal roots *pruN* ‘to go’, *sṛ* ‘to crawl’ and *lūN* ‘to cut’ when *samabhihāra* ‘doing well’ is denoted.

## EXAMPLES:

*sarakaḥ* ‘he who crawls well’

*avakaḥ* ‘he who cuts well’

1. This rule introduces affix *vuN* after verbal roots *pruN*, *sṛ*, and *lūN* when the derivate denotes *samabhihāra* ‘properly performed action’. Note that *samabhihāra* elsewhere may mean ‘repetition’. *Kāśikā* clearly states that here the meaning is to be accepted as *sādhukāritva* ‘doing something well’. Obviously, *sādhukāritva* is the inferential meaning based on repetition. After all, people develop skills to do things beautifully after repeatedly doing them.

## 3.1.150 आशिषि च

*āśiṣi ca*

*/āśiṣi 7/1 ca Ø/*

(*pratyayah* #1, *paraś ca* #2, *dhātoḥ* #91, *vuN* #149)  
*āśiṣi gamyamānāyām 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 कर्मण्यण्

*karmanyāṇ*  
*/karmaṇi 7/1 aṇ 1/1/*  
 (*pratyayah* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* 3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* 3.1.91)  
*sarvatra karmany upapade dhātor aṇ pratyayo bhavati*  
 Affix *aṇ* occurs after a verbal root when the root cooccurs with a *pada* (1.4.14 *suptinantaṃ padam*) which denotes *karman* ‘object’.

EXAMPLES:

*kumbhakāraḥ* ‘maker of pots’  
*nagarakāraḥ* ‘architect’  
*kāṇḍalāvaḥ* ‘one who cuts a branch’  
*śaralāvaḥ* ‘one who cuts the weeds’  
*vedādhyāyaḥ* ‘one who studies the Vedas’  
*carcāpāraḥ* ‘one who studies the *carcāpāṭha*  
 (Vedic recitation with repetition of words)’

1. Note that *karmaṇi*, in view of rule 3.1.92 *tatropapadam saptamīstham*, must be interpreted as the conjoined word (*upapada*) which denotes *karman* ‘object’. Since Pāṇini uses ‘*aśabdasaṃjñā*’ in 1.1.68 *svaṃ rūpaṃ śabdasyāśabdasaṃjñā*, *karman* must be interpreted, here, as denoting object. Thus, for the introduction of affix *aṇ* after verbal root *DUkṛN*, 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 (*dvitīyā*) is normally introduced after a

nominal stem to denote an object. In case of *kumbha*, it has to be a genitive (*ṣaṣṭhī*), since the derivate is anticipated to cooccur with an item ending in a *kṛt* affix. Rule 2.3.65 *katṛkarmaṇoḥ kṛti* thus rules genitive. This yields: *kumbha* + *ām*. Verbal root *ḌUkṛÑ* will now qualify to receive affix *aÑ* 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 *aÑ* unless there is a cooccurring word with the denotatum of object. Rule 2.3.65 *katṛkarmaṇoḥ...*, which introduces genitive after a *prātipadika* ‘nominal stem’ to denote the object, requires the cooccurrence of a derivate ending in a *kṛt* affix. That is, *aÑ* cannot be introduced unless genitive is introduced; the genitive could not be introduced unless *aÑ* was introduced. What is the way out of this *itaretarāśrayadoṣa* ‘fault stemming out of mutual dependency’?. The cooccurrence of the *kṛt*-derivate has to be at least mentally (*buddhyā*) accepted. This clears the way for introduction of the nominal ending to denote *karman*. Note that the locative of *karmaṇi* in 3.2.1, at the strength of 3.1.92 *tatropapadam saptamīstham*, already approves the cooccurrence of the anticipated *kṛt*-derivate with another derivate which denotes an object. Thus, the co-occurrence of the *kṛt*-derivate has to be assumed prior to the introduction of a nominal ending denoting *karman*.

Note that such compounds are obligatory (*nitya*). Their analysed forms simply serve the heuristic purpose of making their meanings clear. Derivations can proceed even with the simple inference of *prātipadika* (+*karman*) *dhātu* (+*aÑ*). That is, the *karman* of rule 3.2.1 *karmaṇy aṅ* in the locative yields the following meaning when read with rule 3.1.92 *tatropapadam...*:

‘the *kṛt* affix *aÑ* occurs after a verbal root (*dhātoḥ*) when it (the root) cooccurs with a word denoting *karman*’.

Whether that *karman* 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 *karman* of 2.3.2 *karmaṇi dvitīyā*. 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 *aÑ*, rule 2.2.19 *upapadam atin* allows the compound formation even before a *sUP* is introduced after *kāra* (cf. *PŚ*): *gatikārapapadānām kṛdbhiḥ saha samāsavacanam prak sub-utpatteh* ‘an item denoting *gati* (1.4.60 *gatiś ca*), *kāraka* (1.4.23 *kārake*), and

*upapada* (3.1.92 *tatropapadam...*) is combined with a syntactically related item ending in a *kṛt* prior to the introduction of a *sUP*)).

2. Refer to my discussion of the types of *karman* discussed under 1.4.49 *kartur īpsitatamaṃ karma*. *Kāśikā* 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 *vedādhyāyaḥ* ‘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’, *ādityaṃ paśyati* ‘... sees the sun’, and *himavantam śṛṇoti* ‘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 *kumbhaṃ karoti* ‘...makes a pot’. Nor is it brought forth with some modification from some previous state of existence like the *vikāryakarman* of *kāṇḍam 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 *śīlI*, *kāmI*, *bhakṣI* 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 *māṃsaśīlaḥ* ‘he whose nature is to eat meat’, *māṃsakāmaḥ* ‘he whose nature is to desire meat’, and *kalyāṇācāraḥ* ‘he whose nature is to do good’. These derivates are recommended with *Na* in view of their feminine counterparts. A derivate in *aN* requires *ÑiP* in its corresponding feminine. The *Na* requires *ṬāP* in its feminine. Thus, it is to facilitate the correct feminine *māṃsaśīlā*, etc., in addition to proper accent, that *māṃsaśīla*, etc., is to be derived with *Na*.

The derivation of *sukhaṃpratīkṣaḥ* ‘he whose nature is to endure a great deal’ also requires *Na* for obtaining the correct feminine derivate *sukhaṃpratīkṣā*.

### 3.2.2 ह्रावामश्च

*hvaavāmaś ca*

*/hṛāvāmaḥ 5/1 ca 0*

(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91)

‘*hveñ sparddhāyāṃ śabde ca, veñ tantusantāne, māñ māne*’ *ity etebhyaś ca karmany upapade*’ *ṇ pratyayo bhavati*

Affix *aN* also occurs after verbal roots *hveÑ* ‘to call out’, *veÑ* ‘to weave’ and *māÑ* ‘to measure’ when the roots cooccur with a *pada* which denotes *karman*.



## EXAMPLES:

*svargahvāyah* ‘one who calls out to heaven’

*tantuvāyah* ‘a weaver’

*dhānyamāyah* ‘one who weighs grains’

1. It becomes clear from the *ā*-final (*hvā*, *vā*, *mā*) reference to *hveÑ* ‘to call’, *veÑ* ‘to weave’ and *māÑ* ‘to measure’ that this rule is a prior exception (*purastāpavāda*) to the following. That is, these roots take *aÑ* as opposed to the *Ka* of the following rule, which is required of roots that end in *ā*. Note that rule 7.3.33 *āto yuk cin̄kṛtoḥ* introduces augment *yUK* after a verbal root which ends in *-ā* before a following *kṛt* affix marked with *Ñ* 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 आतोऽनुपसर्गे कः

*āto’ nupasarge kaḥ*

*lātaḥ* 5/1 *anupasarge* 7/1 = *avidyamāna upasargo yasya asau* (bv.),  
*tasmin; kaḥ* 1/1/

(*pratyayah* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *karmani* #1)

*ākārāntebhyo’ nupasargebhyah karmany 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:

*pārṣṇitram* ‘that which protects the back’

*āṅgulitram* ‘that which protects fingers; gloves’

1. This constitutes an exception to *aÑ*, and concerns roots terminated in *-ā* used without preverbs (*upasarga*). Affix *aÑ* will be introduced instead when the roots are used with preverbs. Thus, *gosandāyah* ‘he who properly makes the gift of a cow’ is a counter-example where *dā* is used with the preverb *sam*.

## 3.2.4 सुपि स्थः

*supi sthaḥ*

*lsupi* 7/1 *sthaḥ* 5/1/

(*pratyayah* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *kaḥ* #3)

*subanta upapade tiṣṭhateḥ kapratyayo bhavati*

Affix *Ka* occurs after verbal root *sthā* ‘to stand’ when the root cooccurs with a *pada* which ends in *sUP*.

## EXAMPLES:

*samasthaḥ* ‘one who lives under normal conditions; happy’

*viṣamasthaḥ* ‘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 (*akarmaka*). 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 *ātaḥ* 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) *sthaś ca* where *ātaḥ* 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 (*kartr*) 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. *PŚ* 123: *anirdiṣṭāḥ pratyayā bhāve bhavanti*).

The word *dvīpaḥ* denotes an ‘elephant’ characterized as: *dvābhyām (aṅgābhyām) pibati* ‘he who drinks with two limbs’. Clearly, affix *Ka* here denotes the agent of drinking. As opposed to this, *ākhūtthaḥ (ākhūnām utthānam)* ‘the swarming of rats’ denotes *bhāva*.

3. *Kāśikā* states that, from here on, both *karmaṇi* and *supi* should be carried. Derivates 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 तुन्दशोकयोः परिमृजापनुदोः

*tundaśokayoh praimrjāpanudoh*

*Itundaśokayoh 7/2 parimrjāpanudoh 6/2/*

*(pratyayah #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, kaḥ #3)*

*tundaśokayoh karmaṇor upapadayoh parimrjāpanudoh dhātvoḥ ka-pratyayo bhavati*

Affix *Ka* occurs after verbal roots *mrjŪ* ‘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 *śoka* ‘grief’ as *karman* respectively.

#### EXAMPLES:

*tunda-parimrja āste* ‘the lazy one is sitting here’

*śokāpanudaḥ putro jātaḥ* ‘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 *śoka* which constitute the *pada* which denotes object (*karmani*). Thus we get the above examples.

A *vārttika* states that *tundaparimrjaḥ* should be limited to denoting the meaning of 'lazy; he who sits idly doing nothing but cleaning his navel'. The word *śokāpanudahaḥ* should similarly be limited to denoting 'someone who brings happiness'. This is to be stated in view of *śokāpanodahaḥ*, 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', *nakhamuca* 'bow', *kākaguha* 'sesame' and *kumuda* 'white water lily' be derived with affix *Ka* by *nipātana*.

### 3.2.6 प्रे दाज्ञः

*pre dājñah*

*|pre 7/1 dājñah 5/1/*

(*pratyayah #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.9, karmani #1, kaḥ #3*)  
*dadāter jānāteś ca dhātoḥ preṇopasrṣṭāt karmany upapade kapratyayo bhavati*  
 Affix *Ka* occurs after verbal roots *DUDāÑ* 'to give' and *jñā* 'to know' when they are used with the preverb *pra* and cooccur with a *pada* which denotes *karman*.

#### EXAMPLES:

*sarvapradaḥ* 'he who gives everything'

*pathiprajñah* 'he who knows the roads very well'

1. This rule requires introduction of affix *Ka* after verbal roots *dā* 'to give' and *jñā* 'to know' used with the preverb *pra*. Note that roots terminated in *-ā*, and used without any preverbs, are already provided with affix *Ka* (2.3.3 *āto' nupasarge kaḥ*). 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 ख्यः

*sami khyah*

*|sami 7/1 khyah 5/1/*

(*pratyayah #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, karmani #1, kaḥ #3*)  
*sampuruvāt khāy ity etasmād dhātoḥ karmany upapade kapratyayo bhavati*

Affix *Ka* occurs after verbal root *khyāÑ* ‘to relate, tell’, used with the preverb *sam*, when the root cooccurs with a *pada* which denotes *karman*.

EXAMPLES:

*gosamkhyah* ‘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 *khyāÑ* of *caḥṣiÑ* ‘to relate’ (2.4.54 *caḥṣinaḥ khyāñ*).

### 3.2.8 गापोष्टक्

*gāpoṣṭak*

*/gāpoḥ 6/2 ṭak 1/1/*

(*pratyayah* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *karmaṇi* #1, *anupasarge* #3)

*gāyateḥ pibateś ca dhātoḥ karmaṇy upapade’ nupasarge ṭak pratyayo bhavati*  
Affix *ṬaK* 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:

*śakragah* ‘he who sings the praises of Indra’

*sāmagah* ‘he who recites the *Sāmaveda*’

*surāpah* ‘he who drinks liquor’

1. This rule carries both ‘*karmaṇi*’ as well as ‘*anupasarge*’. The *K* as an *it* in the affix facilitates application of rule 6.4.64 *āto loḥa...* The *Ṭ* conditions the feminine derivate to end in *ÑiP* (4.1.15 *ṭiddhāṇaṅ...*).

2. A *vārttika* proposes for affix *ṬaK* 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 *ṬaK* 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 naināṃ devāḥ patilokaṃ nayanti*  
‘gods do not reunite a *brāhmaṇa* woman with her husband after death if she drinks liquor’.

### 3.2.9 हरतेरनुद्यमनेञ्

*harater anudyamane’ c*

*/harateḥ 5/1 anudyamane 7/1 ac 1/1/*

(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *karmaṇi* #1)  
*harater dhātor anudyamane varttamānāt karmaṇy upapade' c pratyayo bhavati*

Affix *aC* occurs after verbal root *hr̥Ñ* 'to carry, fetch' when it cooccurs with a *pada* which denotes *karman* and *anudyamana* 'lack of effort' is signified.

EXAMPLES:

*aṃśaharaḥ* 'he who receives a share'  
*rikthaharaḥ* 'he who inherits wealth'

1. This rule introduces affix *aC* after verbal root *hr̥Ñ* 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: *bhārahārah* 'porter' in *aN* as opposed to *aṃśaharaḥ* in *aC*.

2. A *vārttika* enumerates some cooccurrence conditions under which *grah* 'to grab' should be allowed affix *aC*. Thus, we get: *śaktigrahaḥ* 'he who holds a spear', *lāṅgalagrahaḥ* 'plough-man', *aṅkuśagrahaḥ* 'the elephant trainer', *yaṣṭigrahaḥ* 'an ascetic with a shaft', and *dhanurgrahaḥ* 'an archer', etc. Another *vārttika* advocates the derivation of *sūtragrahaḥ* '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: *sūtragrāhaḥ* 'he who brings or produces the thread'

3.2.10 वयसि च

*vayasi ca*  
*/vayasi 7/1 ca 0/*  
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *karmaṇi* #1, *harateḥ, ac* #9)

*vayasi gamyamāne harateḥ karmaṇy upapade' c pratyayo bhavati*

Affix *aC* also occurs after verbal root *hr̥Ñ* when the root cooccurs with a *pada* which denotes *karman* and the derivate signifies *vayas* 'age'.

EXAMPLES:

*asthiharaḥ* 'a dog old enough to chew on bones'  
*kavacaharaḥ* 'a *kṣatriya* old enough to wear protective armor'

1. This rule introduces affix *aC* in the context of *udyamana* which the preceding rule denies. Note that *udyamana*, whether real or imagined, must be relatable to a stage in life, i.e., youth, etc., which, in turn, is brought about by passage of time (*Kāś. yad udyamanaṃ kriyamāṇaṃ sambhāvyaṃ vā vayo gamayati tatrāyaṃ vidhiḥ*).

## 3.2.11 आङि ताच्छील्ये

*āṅi tācchīlye*

*lāṅi 7/1 tācchīlye 7/1/*

(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *karmaṇi* #1, *harateḥ ac* #9)

*āṅpūrvād harateḥ karmaṇy upapade' c pratyayo bhavati tācchīlye gamyamāne*

Affix *aC* occurs after verbal root *hr̥N̄* used with the preverb *āN̄* when the root cooccurs with a *pada* which denotes *karman* and the derivate denotes *tācchīlye* 'natural inclination; characteristic nature'.

## EXAMPLES:

*puṣpāharaḥ* 'he whose nature is to bring flowers'

*phalāharaḥ* 'he whose nature is to bring fruits'

1. This rule requires the introduction of *aC* after *hr̥N̄* when it is used with the preverb *āN̄*, cooccurs with a word denoting an object, and *tācchīlye* is denoted by the derivate. Thus, we get *puṣpāharaḥ* 'he whose nature is to bring flowers'. The sense of *tācchīlye* is, here, explained by *Kāśikā* as: *puṣpādyaḥaraṇe svābhāviki phalānapekṣā pravṛttir asya* 'he whose involvement in fetching the flowers, etc., is natural; without any expectation of results'. Elsewhere, we get: *bhārahāraḥ* 'he who carries the load for wages'.

## 3.2.12 अर्हाः

*arhaḥ*

*larhaḥ 5/1/*

(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *karmaṇi* #1, *ac* #9)

*'arha pūjāyām' asmād dhātoḥ karmaṇy upapade' c pratyayo bhavati*

Affix *aC* occurs after verbal root *arhA* 'to deserve' when the root cooccurs with a *pada* which denotes *karman*.

## EXAMPLES:

*pūjārḥā* 'she who deserves respect'

1. This rule allows for *aC* after *arhA* cooccurring with a word which denotes *karman*. It is an exception to the *aN̄*, and the corresponding derivates differ in the feminine. Thus we get derivates such as *pūjārḥā*. It is because of affix *aC* that feminine affix *ṬāP* is introduced by 4.1.4 *ajādyataḥ ṭāp*. The *aN̄* derivate will entail *NīP* by 4.1.15 *ṭiḍḍhāṇāñ...*

Derivation of the masculine form does not offer anything special with reference to the selection of affixes.

### 3.2.13 स्तम्बकर्णयोः रमिजपोः

*stambakarṇayoh ramijapoh*

*/stambakarṇayoh 7/2 ramijapoh 6/2/*

*(pratyayah #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.9, supi #4, ac #9)*

*'stamba, karṇa' ity etayoh subantayor upapadayor yathāsamkhyam 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 *karṇa* '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 *karṇa* do not here constitute the *pada* which denotes *karman*. For, *ramI* 'to play' is intransitive (*akarmaka*) and *jap* 'to mutter, chant' has *śabda* 'noise' as its only object. This is why *supi* is selected, as opposed to *karmani*, to refer to the cooccurring word. Both *stamba* and *karṇa* should end in the locative (*saptamī*). Thus we get *stamberamaḥ* 'one who finds joy in playing with the pile of grass; an elephant' and *karṇejapah* 'fault-finder, slanderer'.

### 3.2.14 शमि धातोः संज्ञायाम्

*śami dhātoḥ samjñāyām*

*/śami 7/1 dhātoḥ 5/1 samjñāyām 7/1/*

*(pratyayah #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, ac #9)*

*śamy upapade dhātumātrāt samjñāyām viśaye' c pratyayo bhavati*

Affix *aC* occurs after a verbal root used in conjunction with a nominal *pada* which contains *śam* 'to be tranquil, beneficial' and the derivate signifies a *samjñā* 'name'.

#### EXAMPLES:

*śamkarā nāma privrājikā* 'a wandering female ascetic named Śamkarā'

*śamkarā nāma śakunikā* 'a bird named śamkarā'

1. This rule introduces affix *aC* after verbal roots in general when *śam* constitutes the cooccurring word, and the derivate is to denote a name (*samjñā*). Thus we get: *śamkaraḥ* '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 (*bādhakabādhānārtha*). For example, consider rule 3.2.20 *kr̥ṇo hetutācchīly-ānulomyeṣu* which introduces affix *Ṭa* after verbal root *kr̥ṇ* when the cooccurring object denotes *hetu* ‘cause’, *tācchīlya* ‘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 *Ṭa* in favor of *aC*. Thus, *Śamkara* will invariably be derived by *aC*. That is, all other things being equal, the consequence of blocking *Ṭa* 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 *ṬāP* (4.1.14 *ajādy...*). That is, the form will be *śamkarā*, and not *śamkarī*, a derivate in *ṆīP* (4.1.15 *ṭiddhāṇāñ...*) parallel to the masculine derivate in *Ṭa* derived by 3.2.20 *kr̥ṇo hetu...*

### 3.2.15 अधिकरणे शेते:

*adhikaraṇe śeteḥ*

*ladhikaraṇe 7/1 śeteḥ 5/1/*

(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *supi* #4, *ac* #9)

*śeter dhātor adhikaraṇe subanta upapade' c pratyayo bhavati*

Affix *aC* occurs after verbal root *śīṆ* ‘to recline’ when the root cooccurs with a nominal *pada* which denotes *adhikaraṇa* ‘locus’.

#### EXAMPLES:

*khaśayaḥ* ‘one who reclines in the sky; bird’

*garttaśayaḥ* ‘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*) *śī* ‘to recline, sleep’. The meaning condition of *adhikaraṇe* further makes it possible to infer that the cooccurring word ends in the locative (*saptamī*). Thus we get *khe* = *ākāśe śete* = *khaśayaḥ*.

2. There are four *vārttika* 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 *pārśvaśayaḥ* ‘one who sleeps on his sides’. Similarly, we get *udaraśayaḥ* ‘he who sleeps on his belly’ and *pr̥ṣṭhaśayaḥ* ‘he who sleeps on his back’. Yet another *vārttika* proposes the derivation of *uttānaśayaḥ* ‘he who sleeps facing up’ and *avamūrdhaśayaḥ* ‘he who sleeps face-down’. The first *vārttika* 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

*careṣṭaḥ*

*/careḥ 5/1 ṭaḥ 1/1/*

(*pratyayah* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *supi* #4, *adhikaraṇe* #15)

*carater dhātor adhikaraṇe 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 (*adhikaraṇa*).

## EXAMPLES:

*kurucaraḥ* ‘he who wanders in the country of the Kurus’

*kurucarī* ‘she who wanders in the country of the Kurus’

1. This rule carries *adhikaraṇe* from the preceding rule. Consequently, affix *Ṭa* is introduced after *car*. Of course, the cooccurring word which ends in the locative (*saptamī*) will denote *adhikaraṇa*. Thus we get *kurucarī* = *kurūṣu 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 *ÑiP* (4.1.15 *ṭiddhānañ...*). The masculine in both cases would be *kurucaraḥ*. However, the feminine in the absence of *Ṭa* would have been *kurucarā*, a derivate in *ṬāP* by 4.1.4 *ajādyataṣ...*

## 3.2.17 भिक्षासेनादायेषु च

*bhikṣāsenādāyeṣu ca*

*/bhikṣāsenādāyeṣu 7/3 ca 0/*

(*pratyayah* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91,

*supi* # 4, *careṣ ṭaḥ* # 16)

*‘bhikṣā, senā, ādāya’ ity eteṣūpapadeṣu carer dhātoḥ 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:

*bhikṣācaraḥ* ‘one who begs for alms’

*senācaraḥ* ‘one who joins the army; soldier’

*ādāyacaraḥ* ‘one who, after having obtained something, eats, or departs’

1. This rule again introduces affix *Ṭa*, but not in the sense of *adhikaraṇa*. 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* = *bhikṣācaraḥ* ‘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 *karmaṇi*, which forms the cooccurrence condition. The third *ādāyacaraḥ* has *ādāya* constituting the cooccurring word. It is a derivate in *LyaP* (7.1.37 *samāse’ nañpūrve ktro lyap*) 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-sāmarthyā*). Consequently, *ādāyacaraḥ* is explained as: ‘one who, after having obtained something, eats, or departs’.

### 3.2.18 पुरोऽग्रतोऽग्रेषु सर्तेः

*puro’ grato’ greṣu sartteḥ*

*lpuro’ grato’ greṣu 7/3 sartteḥ 5/1/*

(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *ṭa* #16)

‘*purās, agratas, agra’ ity eteṣūpapadeṣu sartter dhātoḥ ṭa pratyayo bhavati*

Affix *Ṭa* occurs after verbal root *sṛ* ‘to crawl, move’ when the root cooccurs with a nominal *pada* which contains *purās, agratas* or *agre* ‘front’.

#### EXAMPLES:

*purāḥsarah* ‘he who goes ahead; messenger’

*agrataḥsarah* ‘id.; leader’

*agresarah* ‘id.’

1. This rule introduces affix *Ṭa* after verbal root *sṛ* when it is used with a cooccurring word constituted by *purāḥ, agrataḥ* and *agre*. The form *agre* is given, by way of *nipātana*, to ensure the derivation of *agresarah*.

### 3.2.19 पूर्वे कर्त्तरि

*pūrve kartari*

*lpūrve 7/1 kartari 7/1/*

(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *supi* #4, *ṭaḥ* #16, *sartteḥ* #18)

*pūrvaśabde karṭṛvāciny upapade sartter dhātoḥ ṭapratyayo bhavati*

Affix *Ṭa* occurs after verbal root *sṛ* when the root cooccurs with a nominal *pada* which contains *pūrva* as *karṭṛ* ‘agent’.

#### EXAMPLES:

*pūrvasarah* ‘one who goes first’

1. This rule introduces affix *Ṭa* after verbal root *ṣṛ* used in conjunction with *pūrva* as the agent. An example in point is: *pūrvasaraḥ*. This derivate should be contrasted with *pūrvasāraḥ* ‘he who moves to the Eastern country’, parallel to *pūrvadeśam sarati*, a derivate in *aṆ* where the cooccurring word denotes an object.

### 3.2.20 ख्याजङ्गाबाह्वह्यत्तद्धनुररुष्णु

*kr̥ṇo hetutācchīlyānulomyeṣu*

*/kr̥ṇaḥ 5/1 hetutācchīlyānulomyeṣu 7/3/*

(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.9, *karmani* #1, *ṭa* #16)  
*karmany upapade karoter dhātoṣ ṭapratyayo bhavati hetau tācchīlye ānulomye ca gamyamāne*

Affix *Ṭa* occurs after verbal root *ḌUkr̥Ṇ* when the root cooccurs with a *pada* which denotes *karman*, and the derivatives denote *hetu* ‘cause’, *tācchīlya* or *ānulomya* ‘amiability, favorableness’.

#### EXAMPLES:

*śokakarī* ‘that which causes grief’

*yaśaskarī* ‘that which brings fame’

*śrāddhakarāḥ* ‘one who performs the *śrāddha* (ritual offering for the dead)’

*arthakarāḥ* ‘that which brings riches’

*praiśakarāḥ* ‘one who does as ordered’

*vacanakarāḥ* ‘he who does as is told’

1. This rule introduces affix *Ṭa* after verbal root *ḌUkr̥Ṇ*; under the condition of a conjoined *karman*, when the derivate denotes *hetu* ‘cause’, *tācchīlya* ‘characteristic nature’, and *ānulomya* ‘amiability’. Thus we get: *yaśkarī 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 *aṆ* (2.3.1 *karmany aṇ*) must be introduced outside these meanings.

### 3.2.21 दिवाविभानिशाप्रभाभास्करान्तानन्तादिबहुनान्दीकिलिपिलिबिबलिभक्तिकर्तृचित्रक्षेत्रसं- ख्याजङ्गाबाह्वह्यत्तद्धनुररुष्णु

*divāvibhāniśāprabhābhāskarāntānantādibahunāndīkīlīpīlibībalībhak-  
tikarṭṛcitrakṣetrasamkhyājāṅghābhāvaharyattaddhanuraruṣṣu*

*/divā...aruṣṣu 7/3/*

(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.9, *karmani* #1, *supi* #4, *ṭaḥ* #16, *kr̥ṇaḥ* #20)

*divādiṣūpapadeṣu karoter dhātoṣ ṭapratyayo bhavati*

Affix *Ṭa* occurs after verbal root *ḌUkr̥Ṇ* 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’, *nāndī* ‘benediction’, *kim* ‘what’, *lipi* ‘script’, *libi* ‘script’, *bali* ‘ritual oblation’, *bhakti* ‘devotion’, *karṭṛ* ‘doer’, *citra* ‘colorful, picture’, *kṣetra* ‘field’, *saṃkhyā* ‘numerals’, *jaṅghā* ‘thigh’, *bāhu* ‘arm’, *ahan* ‘day’, *yad* ‘that which (relative pronoun)’, *tad* ‘that which’, *dhanus* ‘bow’ or *arus* ‘wound’.

EXAMPLES:

*divākaraḥ* ‘sun’  
*vibhākaraḥ* ‘id.’  
*niśākaraḥ* ‘moon’  
*bhāskaraḥ* ‘sun’  
*antakaraḥ* ‘...one who brings something to an end; death’  
*anantakaraḥ* ‘he who does endless things’  
*ādikaraḥ* ‘one who begins; creator; founder’  
*bahukaraḥ* ‘one who does so many things’  
*nāndīkaraḥ* ‘he who recites the invocation’  
*kiṃkaraḥ* ‘servant’  
*lipīkaraḥ* ‘copier’  
*libīkaraḥ* ‘id.’  
*balīkaraḥ* ‘one who offers ritual oblation’  
*bhaktīkaraḥ* ‘devotee’  
*karṭṛkaraḥ* ‘agent of doing’  
*citrakaraḥ* ‘maker of colorful objects; painter’  
*kṣetrakaraḥ* ‘farmer’  
*ekakaraḥ* ‘one who does only one thing at a time’  
*jaṅghākaraḥ* ‘runner; courier’  
*bāhukaraḥ* ‘laborer; brave’  
*ahaskaraḥ* ‘sun’  
*yatkaraḥ* ‘he who does what is needed’  
*tatkaraḥ* ‘he who does only what he is told’  
*dhanuṣkaraḥ* ‘bow-maker; archer’  
*aruṣkaraḥ* ‘wound’

1. Note that this rule introduces affix *Ṭa* after verbal root *DUkr̥Ñ* 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 *karmanī* 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 *DUkr̥Ñ*, is not

impossible to comprehend. The remaining items can constitute the object. Thus, *prabhāṃ 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 *DUkrÑ* when the root cooccurs with *kim* ‘what’, *yad* ‘that which’, *tad* ‘that’ and *bahu* ‘many’. This statement is necessary so that feminine derivatives, parallel to the masculine in *aC*, can be formed with affix *ṬāP* (4.1.4 *ajādyataḥ ṭāp*). Note that a derivate which terminates in *Ṭa* is required to take the feminine affix *ÑiP* in view of 4.1.15 *ṭiddhāṇāñ...*

### 3.2.22 कर्मणि भृतौ

*karmaṇi bhṛtau*

*/karmaṇi 7/1 bhṛtau 7/1/*

(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *karmaṇi* #1, *ṭa* #16, *kṛñah* #20)

*karmavācīni karmaśabda upapade karoteḥ ṭa pratyayo bhavati bhṛtau gamyamānāyām*

Affix *Ṭa* occurs after verbal root *DUkrÑ* when the root cooccurs with a nominal *pada* which contains *karman* ‘action; thing to be done’ as object and the derivate signifies *bhṛti* ‘wages’.

#### EXAMPLES:

*karmakaraḥ* ‘one who works for wages; servant’

1. This rule allows for the introduction of affix *Ṭa* when *DUkrÑ* is used with a cooccurring word which not only denotes *karman* ‘object’, but is also constituted by *karman* ‘action’. The derivate must additionally denote *bhṛti* ‘wages; subsistence’. Note that *karman* of this rule is interpreted as denoting its word-form only (*svarūpa*). If the derivate does not denote wage-earning, affix *aṆ* will be applied to derive *karmakāraḥ* ‘one who does something without any wages’. Obviously, in the context of wages (*bhṛti*), *karman* ‘work’ becomes the price (*nirveśa*) paid for the work accomplished.

### 3.2.23 न शब्दश्लोककलहागाथावैरचाटुसूत्रमन्त्रपदेषु

*na śabdaślokalalahagāthāvairacāṭusūtramāntrapadeṣu*

*/na 0 śabda...padeṣu 7/2/*

(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *karmaṇi* #1, *ṭa* #16, *kṛñah* #20)

*śabdādiṣūpapadeṣu karoteḥ ṭapratyayo na bhavati*

Affix *Ṭa* does not occur after verbal root *ḌUkṛÑ* when the root co-occurs with a nominal *pada* with *śabda* ‘word’, *śloka* ‘verse of praise’, *kalaha* ‘quarrel’, *gāthā* ‘story’, *vaira* ‘enmity’, *cāṭu* ‘sycophant’, *sūtra* ‘a rule’, *mantra* ‘a mantra’ or *pada* ‘word’ as *karman*.

EXAMPLES:

*śabdakāraḥ* ‘grammarian’  
*ślokakāraḥ* ‘he who writes verses of praise; poet’  
*kalahakāraḥ* ‘he who quarrels’  
*gāthākāraḥ* ‘writer of a story’  
*vairakāraḥ* ‘enemy’  
*cāṭukāraḥ* ‘sycophant’  
*sūtrakāraḥ* ‘he who formulates rules’  
*mantrakāraḥ* ‘he to whom a *mantra* is revealed; sage’  
*padakāraḥ* ‘he who divides the *saṃhitā* text into the *pada* text’

1. Note that the negation of this rule is aimed against the positive provision of affix *Ṭa* made available after verbal root *ḌUkṛÑ* by rule 3.2.20 *kṛṅo hetu...* Rule 3.2.1 *karmany an* will now introduce the general (*outsargika*) affix *aN* in these contexts where *Ṭa* is negated.

3.2.24 **सम्बशकृत्ोरिन्**

*stambaśakṛtor in*  
*!stambaśakṛtoḥ 7/2 in 1/1/*  
*(pratyayaḥ #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, karmaṇi #1, kṛṅaḥ #20)*  
‘*stamba*, *śakṛt*’ *ity etayoḥ karmaṇor upapadayor in pratyayo bhavati*  
Affix *iN* occurs after verbal root *ḌUkṛÑ* when the root cooccurs with a nominal *pada* which contains *stamba* ‘bundle of grass’ and *śakṛt* ‘excrement’ as *karman*.

EXAMPLES:

*stambakariḥ* ‘bundle of grass; paddy’  
*śakṛtkariḥ* ‘one which excretes all the time; a calf’

1. This rule introduces affix *iN* after verbal root *ḌUkṛÑ* when *stamba* and *śakṛt* constitute the cooccurring objects. A *vārttika* under this rule proposes that such derivatives should be limited to denoting the sense of paddy (*vr̥hi*) and calf (*vatsa*). For, elsewhere, the derivatives will entail *aN* with forms such as *stambakāraḥ* ‘sheaf-maker’ and *śakṛtkāraḥ* ‘he who excretes’.

3.2.25 **हरत्तेर्दृतिनाथयोः पशौ**

*harater dṛtināthayoḥ paśau*

*lharateḥ 5/ dṛtināthayoḥ 7/3 paśau 7/1*

(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *karmani* #1, in #24)

*dṛti*, *nātha* ity *etayoḥ karmaṇor upapadāyoḥ harater dhātau paśau kartari* in *pratyayo bhavati*

Affix *iN* occurs after verbal root *hr̥* ‘to carry’ when the root co-occurs with a nominal *pada* which contains *dṛti* ‘leather bag’ or *nātha* ‘lord, master’ as *karman* and the derivate denotes an animal (*paśu*) agent.

#### EXAMPLES:

*dṛtiharīḥ paśuḥ* ‘an animal carrying a big leather bag full of water’  
*nāthaharīḥ paśuḥ* ‘an animal carrying its master’

1. Affix *iN* is also introduced after verbal root *hr̥* when the cooccurring object is constituted by *dṛti* and *nātha*, and the derivate denotes an animal agent. Thus, *nāthaharīḥ* denotes an animal which carries its master. Outside the meaning condition of an animal, the derivates have to be derived with affix *aN* as in *nāthahāraḥ* ‘he who carries his master’.

#### 3.2.26 फलेग्रहिरात्मभरिश्च

*phalegrahir ātmambhariś ca*

*lphalegrāhiḥ 1/1 ātmambhariḥ 1/1 ca 0/*

(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *karmani* #1, in #24)

*phalegrāhiḥ ātmambhariḥ* ity *etau śabdau nipātyete*

Affix *iN* also occurs by *nipātana* in the derivation of *phalegrāhiḥ* and *ātmambhariḥ*.

#### EXAMPLES:

*phalegrāhiḥ* ‘that which bears fruit; tree’

*ātmambhariḥ* ‘he who provides for his own self; self-centered’

1. This rule introduces affix *iN* after *grah* and *bhr̥Ñ* by means of *nipātana* to derive *phalegrāhiḥ* ‘that which holds (bears) fruit; tree’ and *ātmambhariḥ* ‘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: *kukṣimbhariḥ* and *udarambhariḥ* meaning ‘he whose preoccupation is always to fill his belly’

## 3.2.27 छन्दसि वनसनरक्षिमथाम्

*chandasi vanasanarakṣimathām*

*lchandasi 7/1 vanasanarakṣimathām 6/3/*

(*pratyayah #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, karmaṇi #1, in #24*)

*'vana ṣaṇa sambhaktau, rakṣa pālāne, matha viloḍane' ity etebhyaḥ karmaṇy upapade chandasi viṣaye in pratyayo bhavati*

Affix *iN* occurs, in the Vedic, after verbal roots *vanĀ* and *ṣaṇĀ* 'to respect, win', *rakṣA* 'to protect' and *manthA* 'to churn' when the roots cooccur with a nominal *pada* which denotes *karman*.

## EXAMPLES:

*brāhmaṇavanīm...* '...honoring a *brāhmaṇa*...'

*gosanīm...* '...winning a cow...'

*pāthirakṣi...* '...protector of the road...'

*hāvīrmathīnām...* '...the ritual oblation of food churned out...'

## 3.2.28 एजेः खश्

*ejeḥ khaś*

*lejeḥ 5/1 khaś 1/1/*

(*pratyayah #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, karmaṇi #1*)

*'ejṛ kampāne' ity asmād nyantāt karmaṇy upapade khaś pratyayo bhavati*

Affix *KHaś* occurs after verbal root *ejṚ* 'to tremble', used with *NiC* 'causative', when the root cooccurs with a nominal *pada* which denotes *karman*.

## EXAMPLES:

*aṅgamejayaḥ* 'he who causes limbs to tremble with fear'

*janamejayaḥ* 'he who causes people to tremble with fear'

1. Note that affix *KHaś* is marked with two elements of *it*: *KH* and *ś*. The first is intended for the introduction of augment *mUM* by rule 6.3.66 *arurdivṣad...*; the second is needed to facilitate the assignment of the term *sārvadhātuka* by 3.4.113 *tiñśit...*. The verbal root is specified as *ejī* which refers to the causal form (*nyanta*) of *ejṚ* 'to tremble'.

2. A *vārttika* under this rule proposes the introduction of affix *KHaś* after verbal roots *ajA* 'to go', *dheṬ* 'to suck', *tud* 'to torment' and *OhāK* 'to abandon' when they are used with cooccurring words constituted by *vāta* 'wind', *śunī* 'female dog', *tila* 'sesame' and *śarddha* 'flatus' respectively. Thus we get: *vātaṃmajāḥ* 'the deer which move with the swiftness of wind', *śunindhayaḥ* 'those which suckle at the breast of a female dog; puppies', *tilantudaḥ* 'those who crush the sesame for oil; oilmen' and *śarddhañjahāḥ* (*māṣāḥ*) 'the Mung beans which cause excessive gas'.



## 3.2.29 नासिकास्तनयोष्मघेद्येः

*nāsikāstanayor dhmādheṭoḥ*

*/nāsikāstanayoh 7/2 dhmādheṭoḥ 6/2/*

(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *karmani* #1, *khaś* #28)

*nāsikāstanayoh karmany upapadayor dhmādheṭor dhātvoḥ khaś pratyayo bhavati*

Affix *KHaś* occurs after verbal roots *dhmā* ‘to blow, beat’ and *dheṭ* ‘to suckle, drink’ when the roots cooccur with a nominal *pada* which contains *nāsikā* ‘nose’ and *stana* ‘breast’ as *karman*.

## EXAMPLES:

*nāsikandhamah* ‘he who blows through his nose’

*nāsikandhayaḥ* ‘he who drinks through his nose’

*stanandhayaḥ* ‘one who suckles at the breast...; an infant’

1. This rule allows for the introduction of affix *KHaś* after verbal roots *dhmā* and *dheṭ* when they cooccur with objects constituted by *nāsikā* and *stana*.

Note that *nāsikāstana* of *nāsikāstanayoh* 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 *yathāsamkhyā* (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 *dheṭ* when *nāsikā* and *stana* constitute the cooccurring words’. In fact, *stana* constitutes a cooccurring word only in the context of *dheṭ*. On the other hand, *nāsikā* appears in the context of both the verbs.

2. The feminine derivate parallel to *ṣṭanandhayaḥ* is derived as *ṣṭanandhayī* with affix *ŃiP* as per rule 4.1.15 *ṣṭiddhāṇaṅ...* at the strength of *Ṭ* as an *it* in the verb.

## 3.2.30 नाडीमुष्टयोश्च

*nāḍīmuṣṭyoś ca*

*/nāḍīmuṣṭyoh 7/2 ca 0/*

(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *karmani* #1, *khaś* #28, *dhmādheṭoḥ* #29)

Affix *KHaś* occurs after verbal roots *dhmā* and *dheṭ* when the roots also cooccur with a nominal *pada* which contains *nāḍī* ‘tube, vein’ and *muṣṭi* ‘fist’ as *karman*.

## EXAMPLES:

*nāḍindhamah* 'he who blows through a tube'  
*muṣṭindhamah* 'he who blows through his fist'  
*nāḍindhayah* 'he who drinks through a tube'  
*muṣṭindhayah* '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 *dheṭ* is not made according to the order of enumeration (*saṃkhyātānudeśa*) 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 (*anuktasamuccayārtha*). This way, we can account for the derivatives of *KHaś* such as *ghaṭindhamah* 'he who blows through a pitcher', *ghaṭindhayah* 'he who drinks from a pitcher', *khāriṇ-dhamah* 'kettle drummer', *khāriṇdhayah* 'he who drinks from a kettle', *vātandhamah* and *vātandhayah* 'mountain'.

## 3.2.31 उदि कूले रुजिवहोः

*udi kūle rujivahoh*  
*ludi 7/1 kūle 7/1 rujivahoh 6/2/*  
 (pratyayoh #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, karmani #1, khaś #28)

'rujo bhaṅge, vaha prāpaṇe' ity etābhyām utpūrvābhyām kūle karmany 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 वहाभ्रे लिहः

*vahābre lihah*  
*lvahābhre 7/1 lihah 5/1/*

(*pratyayah* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *karmani* #1, *khaś* #28)

'*vaha*, *abhra*' ity *etayoḥ karmanor upapadayoḥ liher dhātoḥ khaś pratyayo bhavati*

Affix *KHaś* occurs after verbal root *lihA* 'to lick' when the root co-occurs with a nominal *pada* which contains *vaha* 'shoulder' and *abhra* 'cloud' as *karman*.

#### EXAMPLES:

*vahaṃlihaḥ gauḥ* 'that which licks its yoke-hurt shoulders; an ox'  
*abhraṃlihaḥ* '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: *vahaṃlihaḥ* and *abhraṃlihaḥ*.

#### 3.2.33 परिमाणे पचः

*parimāṇe pacāḥ*

*|parimāṇe 7/1 pacāḥ 5/1/*

(*pratyayah* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *karmani* #1, *khaś* #28)

*parimāṇe karmany upapade paceḥ khaś pratyayo bhavati*

Affix *KHaś* occurs after verbal root *ḌUpacAṢ* 'to cook' when the root cooccurs with a nominal *pada* which denotes *parimāṇa* 'a measure' as *karman*.

#### EXAMPLES:

*prasthampacā sthālī* 'a pot big enough for cooking food equal in weight to a *prastha*'

*dronampacāḥ* 'a pot big enough for cooking food equal in weight to a *drona*'

*khāripacāḥ kaṭāhaḥ* '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 *parimāṇa* 'measure'. Thus, *prasthampacā* (*sthālī*) 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 *drona* which itself is one-sixteenth of a *khāri*. A *khāri* could be close to 150 kilograms in weight.

## 3.2.34 मितनखे च

*mitanakhe ca*

*/mitanakhe 7/1 ca 0/*

(*pratyayah #3.1.1, paras ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, karmaṇi #1, khaś #28, paceḥ #33*)

*'mita, nakha' ity etayoḥ karmaṇor upapadayoḥ paceḥ khaś pratyayo bhavati*

Affix *KHaś* also occurs after verbal root *ḌUpacAṣ* 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 *anuvṛtti* of *pac*, and introduces affix *KHaś* to derive the stated examples when *mita* and *nakha* constitute the cooccurring objects.

## 3.2.35 विध्वरुषोस्तुदः

*vidhvaruṣos tudah*

*/vidhvaruṣoḥ 7/2 tudah 5/1/*

(*pratyayah #3.1.1, paras ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, karmaṇi #1, khaś #28*)

*'vidhu, aruṣ' ity etayoḥ karmaṇor 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 *aruṣ* 'wound' as *karman*.

## EXAMPLES:

*vidhuntutadah rāhuḥ* 'Rāhu (one of the moon's nodes) which, according to mythology, torments (eclipses) the moon'

*aruntudah* 'an acutely painful wound'

## 3.2.36 असूर्यललाटयोर्दृशितपोः

*asūryalalāṭayor dṛśitapoḥ*

*/asūryalalāṭayoḥ 7/2 dṛśitapoḥ 6/2/*

(*pratyayah #3.1.1, paras ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, karmaṇi #1, khaś #28*)

*'asūrya, lalāṭa' ity etayoḥ karmaṇor upapadayoḥ dṛśitapor 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 *karman*.

EXAMPLES:

*asūryampaśyā rājadārāḥ* ‘women of the royalty who do not even see the sun let alone any other man’  
*lalāṭantapaḥ sūryaḥ* ‘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 *nañ* ‘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, *nañ* 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 उग्रम्पश्येरम्मदपाणिन्धमाश्च

*ugrampaśyerammadapāṇindhamāś ca*  
*lugaram...dhamāḥ 1/3 ca 0/*  
 (pratyayah #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, khaś #28)  
 ‘ugrampaśya, irammada, pāṇindhama’ ity ete śabdā nipātyante  
 Affix *KHaś* also occurs after verbal roots in the derivation of *ugrampaśya*, *irammada* and *pāṇindhama* by *nipātana*.

EXAMPLES:

*ugrampaśyaḥ* ‘he who is fierce looking’  
*irammadah* ‘one who takes delight in drinking; Agni; lightning in the clouds’  
*pāṇindhamaḥ* ‘a road which is traversed while clapping to ward off animals, snakes, etc.; a lonely, dark road’

1. This rule derives *ugrampaśya*, *irammada*, and *pāṇindhama*. This last has been explained by Haradatta (*PM ad Kāś II:566*) as: *yeṣu gacchadbhiḥ sarpādyaapanodāya pāṇayo dhmayante* ‘a road while traversing which one claps hands to ward off snakes, etc.’

3.2.38 प्रियवशे वदः खच्

*priyavaśe vadaḥ khac*  
*lpriyavaśe 7/1 vadaḥ 5/1 khac 1/1/*

(*pratyayah* #3.1., *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *karmani* #1)  
 'priya, vaśa' ity etayoḥ karmaṇor upapadayor vader dhātoḥ khac pratyayo bhavati

Affix *KHaC* occurs after verbal root *vadA* when the root cooccurs with a *pada* which contains *priya* 'dear' and *vaśa* 'obedient, submissive' as *karman*.

#### EXAMPLES:

*priyaṃvadaḥ* 'he who speaks dear'  
*vaśaṃvadaḥ* '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 *arurdviśad...*). Its *C* is used as an *it* to distinguish it from any other affix (*viśeṣaṇārtha*). 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 derivatives of subsequent rules (*pratyayāntarakaraṇam uttarārtham*). For example, in the derivatives of the next rule, *KHaC* facilitates the shortening of the long vowel (6.4.94 *khaci hrasvaḥ*) and the deletion of *ṆiC*. If the affix is formulated more for the purpose of the subsequent rules then why formulate it here (*iha karaṇe kiṃ 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 hastī* 'slow-moving; elephant'.

3. Note that *vihāṅgaḥ* / *vihāṅgamaḥ* 'bird' and *bhujaṅgaḥ* / *bhujaṅgamaḥ* that which moves crookedly; snake' are also stated as derived by *nipātana* (see *vārttikas* under this rule).

#### 3.2.39 द्विषत्परयोस्तापे:

*dviṣatparayoḥ tāpeḥ*

*ldviṣatparoyoḥ 7/2 tāpeḥ 7/1/*

(*pratyayah* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *karmani* #1, *khac* #38)

*dviṣatparayoḥ karmaṇor upapadayos tapor 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:

*dviṣantapaḥ* ‘he who torments the enemies’  
*parantapaḥ* ‘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 *dviṣantapaḥ* and *parantapaḥ*. Note that *tāpeḥ* 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 *aN*, and not *KHaC*, is to be introduced when *dviṣat* ends in the feminine and constitutes the cooccurring word denoting object. Thus, *dviṣatīm tāpayati* = *dviṣatītāpaḥ* ‘he who tortures women’.

## 3.2.40 वाचि यमो व्रते

*vāci yamo vrata*  
*/vāci 7/1 yamaḥ 5/1 vrata 7/1/*  
 (pratyayaḥ #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, karmaṇi #1, khac #38)  
*vāksabde karmaṇy upapade yamer dhātoḥ khac pratyayo bhavati vrata*  
*gamyamāne*

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:

*vācaṃyama 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 *śāstre vihitaḥ niyamaḥ* ‘conduct in consonance with the prescriptions of religious treatises’. Thus, *vācaṃyama āste*. Note that if the meaning is not ‘*vrata*’ the derivate will entail *aN*. That is, it will be *vāgyāmaḥ* ‘he whose voice is restrained for some reason or the other’.

## 3.2.41 पूःसर्वयोर्दारिसहोः

*pūḥsarvayor dārisaḥoḥ*  
*/pūḥsarvayoh 7/2 dārisaḥoḥ 6/2/*  
 (pratyayaḥ # 3.1.1, paraś ca # 3.1.2, dhātoḥ # 3.1.91, karmaṇi # 1,  
 khac # 38)

‘pur, sarva’ ity etayoh karmaṇor upapadayor yathāsaṃkhyam dārisaḥoḥ  
 dhātvoḥ khac pratyayo bhavati

Affix *KHaC* occurs after verbal roots *dāri* ‘to split’ and *śahA* ‘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'  
*sarvaṃsahaḥ* '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 *sarvaṃsaho 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 सर्वकूलाभ्रकरीषेषु कषः

*sarvakūlābhṛakarīṣeṣu kaṣaḥ*  
*/sarvakūlābhṛakarīṣeṣu 7/3 kaṣaḥ 5/1/*  
 (pratyayaḥ #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, karmaṇi #1, khac #38)

'sarva, kūla, abhra, karīṣa' 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 *karīṣa* 'cowdung' as *karman*.

EXAMPLES:

*sarvaṃkaṣaḥ khalah* 'a wicked person who destroys everything'  
*kūlaṃkaṣā nadī* 'a river which scrapes its banks'  
*abhraṃkaṣo giriḥ* 'a mountain which is so high that it reaches the clouds'  
*karīṣaṃkaṣā vātyā* 'a whirlwind strong enough to blow away the cowdung'.

3.2.43 मेघर्तिभयेषु कृञः

*megharttibhayeṣu kṛñah*  
*/megharttibhayeṣu 7/3 kṛñah 5/1/*  
 (pratyayaḥ #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, karmaṇi #1, khac #38)

'megha, ṛti, bhaya' ity eteṣu karmasūpapadeṣu kṛñah khac pratyayo bhavati  
 Affix *KHaC* occurs after verbal root *DUkṛÑ* when it cooccurs with a *pada* which contains *megha* 'cloud', *ṛti* 'misfortune' or *bhaya* 'fear' as *karman*.



## EXAMPLES:

*meghaṃkaraḥ* ‘that which causes clouds to form’  
*ṛtiṃkaraḥ* ‘that which is unfortunate’  
*bhayaṃkaraḥ* ‘that which causes fear’

1. Note that *abhayaṅkaraḥ* ‘he who removes fear’ is also derived with *KHaC* when *DUkrÑ* cooccurs with *abhaya*, which denotes object.

## 3.2.44 क्षेमप्रियमद्रेण च

*kṣemaḥpriyamadre’ ṅ ca*  
*/kṣemaḥpriyamadre 7/1 aṅ 1/1 ca Ø/*  
 (pratyayaḥ # 3.1.1, paraś ca # 3.1.2, dhātoḥ # 3.1.91, khac # 38,  
 krñah #43)  
 ‘kṣema, priya, madra’ ity eteṣu karmasūpapadeṣu karoter aṅ pratyayo bhavati  
 cakārāt khac ca  
 Affix *aṅ*, as well as *KHaC*, occurs after verbal root *DUkrÑ* when it  
 cooccurs with a *pada* which contains *kṣema* ‘well-being’, *priya*, or  
*madra* ‘joy’, as *karman*.

## EXAMPLES:

*kṣemaḥkāraḥ* ‘that which is beneficent; propitious’  
*kṣemaṃkaraḥ* ‘id.’  
*priyakāraḥ* ‘he who does things which are dear’  
*priyaṃkaraḥ* ‘id.’  
*madrakāraḥ* ‘he who does what brings joy’  
*madrāṃkaraḥ* ‘id.’

1. Note that Pāṇini could have formulated the rule as: *kṣemaḥpriyamadre vā* ‘affix *KHaC* is introduced optionally...’. But note that he, instead, used *aṅ* to indicate that the option is available for *aṅ* against *KHaC*, and no other affix. This would, then, rule out the *Ṭa* of rule 3.2.20 *krñō tācchīlya...* Blocking affix *Ṭa* would automatically lead to blocking the introduction of *ÑiP* (4.1.15 *ṭiddhāṅaṅ...*) in the case of corresponding feminine derivatives. For, the choice of the feminine affix is conditioned by *Ṭ* as an *it* in the affix. Thus we get a derivative such as: *alpārambhāḥ kṣemakarāḥ* ‘small beginnings bring prosperity’ as opposed to *\*kṣemakarī*.

## 3.2.45 आशिते भुवः करणभावयोः

*āśite bhuvah karanabhāvayoh*  
*/āśite 7/1 bhuvah 5/1 karanabhāvayoh 7/2/*  
 (pratyayaḥ # 3.1.1, paraś ca # 3.1.2, dhātoḥ # 3.1.91, supi # 4, khac # 38)  
*āśitaśabde subante upapade bhavater dhātoḥ karane bhāve cārthe khac*  
*pratyayo bhavati*

Affix *KHaC* occurs to denote *karāṇa* ‘instrument’, or *bhāva* ‘root-sense’, after verbal root *bhū* when the root cooccurs with a *pada* which ends in *sUP* and contains *āsīta* ‘he who has eaten to his satisfaction’.

EXAMPLES:

*āsītaṃbhavaḥ odanaḥ* ‘a variety of rice which pleases the appetite’  
*āsītaṃbhavaṃ varttate* ‘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 भृत्र्वृजिधारिसहितपिदमः

*saṃjñāyām bhṛtrvr̥jidhārisahitapidamaḥ*  
*/saṃjñāyām 7/1 bhṛtrvr̥jidhārisahitapidamaḥ 5/1/*  
 (pratyayaḥ #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, karmaṇi #1, khac #38)

‘bhṛ, tr, vr̥, ji, dhāri sahi, tapī, dama’ ity etebhyo dhātubhyaḥ saṃjñāyām viṣaye khac pratyayo bhavati

Affix *KHaC* occurs after verbal roots *bhṛÑ* ‘to provide’, *trÑ* ‘to float’, *vr̥Ñ* ‘to choose’, *ji* ‘to win’, *dhāri* ‘to hold’, *ṣahA* ‘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 *saṃjñā* ‘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 chose her husband’  
*śatruñjayo hastī* ‘an elephant who conquers the enemy’  
*yugandharaḥ parvataḥ* ‘a mountain’  
*śatruṃsahaḥ* ‘a person who can face his enemies’  
*śatruṃtapah* ‘a person who torments his enemies’  
*arindamaḥ* ‘a person who crushes his enemies’

1. Note that both ‘*karmaṇi*’, as well as ‘*supi*’, constitute the cooccurrence condition, depending on the derivate on hand. *Nyāsa* (ad *Kāś* III:571) explains it as follows:

*saṃjñāśabdā hi dvividhā bhavanti kecid avayavārthānugatāḥ, yathā saptaparṇa iti; kecit tu viparītāḥ tailapāyikā iti. tad iha yatrāvayavārthānugamo’ sti viśvambharaḥ, śatruṃtapa ityādiṣu, tatra karmaṇīti sambadhyate; yatra tv avayavārthānugamo nāsti, yathā rathantaram sāma, tatra vyutpatyartham supīti sambadhyate: rathena taratīti rathe taratīti vā* ‘names

indeed are of two types: some follow the meaning of their constituents as in *saptaparṇa* ‘that which has seven leaves’; some such as *tailapāyikaḥ* do just the opposite. Consequently here, where the meaning of the derivate such as *viśvambharaḥ* follows the constituency, ‘*karmaṇi*’ 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 *saṃjñā*, affix *aN* should apply to derive examples such as *kuṭumbabhāraḥ* (*kuṭumbam bibhartti*) ‘he who provides for his family’.

### 3.2.47 गमश्च

*gamaśca*

*lgamaś 5/1 ca 0/*

(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *supi* #4, *khac* #38, *saṃjñāyām* #46)

*gamer dhātoḥ supy upapade saṃjñāyām viṣaye khac pratyayo 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 *saṃjñā*.

EXAMPLE:

*sutaṃgamaḥ* ‘name of a sage’

### 3.2.48 अन्तात्यन्ताध्वदूरपारसर्वान्तेषु डः

*antātyantādhvadūrapārasarvānteṣu ḍaḥ*

*lantā...sarvānteṣu 7/3 ḍaḥ 1/1/*

(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *karmaṇi* #1, *gamaḥ* #47)

‘*anta*, *atyanta*, *adhvan*, *dūra*, *pāra*, *sarva*, *ananta*’ *ity eteṣu karma-sūpapadeṣu gamer ḍapratyayo bhavati*

Affix *Ḍa* 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:

*antagaḥ* ‘he who keeps going until the end’

*atyantagaḥ* ‘he who goes very fast’

*adhvagaḥ* ‘he who traverses the road; a traveller’

*dūragaḥ* ‘he who goes very far’

*pāragaḥ* ‘he who has crossed over’

*sarvagaḥ* ‘he who goes everywhere’

*anantagaḥ* ‘he who goes to infinity’

1. Note that ‘*saṃjñāyām*’ is not carried here. The *Ṭ*, as an *it*, is intended to facilitate the deletion of *ṭi* (6.4.143 *ṭeḥ*; 1.1.62 *aco’ ntyādi ṭi*). There is a problem here. The *ṭi*-deletion applies to an item which has been assigned the term *bha*. These derivatives should not entail this term-assignment. That is, the application of *ṭi*-deletion becomes questionable. It, however, still applies at the very strength of the *Ḍ* of the affix as an *it*. The *Ḍ* conditions *ṭi*-deletion in rule 6.4.143 *ṭeḥ*. If *ṭi*-deletion does not apply to these examples, making *Ḍ* as an *it* would become vacuous (*vyartha*). Also see the *Mahābhāṣya* (ad 6.4.143 *ṭeḥ*; *ḍity abhasyāpi anubandhakaraṇasāmarthyāt*).

2. Note that the *Mbh.* (III: 236–37) also considers some *vārttikas* under this rule for deriving *pannagaḥ* ‘that which goes while creeping’; *sarvatragaḥ* ‘he who goes everywhere; omnipresent’, *uragaḥ* ‘snake; that which moves by means of its chest’; *sugaḥ* ‘that which is easily accessible’; *durgaḥ* ‘that which is not easily accessible; fort’; and *nirgaḥ* ‘country’.

### 3.2.49 आशिषि हनः

*āśiṣi hanah*

*lāśiṣi 7/1 hanah 5/1/*

(*pratrayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *karmani* #1, *ḍaḥ* #48)

*āśiṣi gamyamānāyām hanter dhātoḥ karmany upapade ḍapratrayo bhavati*

Affix *Ḍa* occurs after verbal root *han* ‘to kill’ when it cooccurs with a *pada* which denotes *karman* and *āśiḥ* ‘blessing’ is signified.

#### EXAMPLE:

*śatruhaḥ* ‘may he be the killer of his enemies’

1. Affix *aṆ* applies to derive forms such as *śatrughātaḥ* ‘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) *dārvāghātaḥ* ‘wood-pecker’: derived by introducing affix *aṆ* after *han* used with the preverb *āN* provided *dāru* ‘wood’ constitutes the object and the derivative denotes a name;
- (b) *aṆ* is introduced also when *cāru* cooccurs with *han*, used with the preverb *āN* to derive *cārvāghātaḥ* ‘he who plays well on a musical instrument’, optionally with *cārvāghātaḥ* ‘id.’;
- (c) affix *aṆ* is also introduced after verbal root *han* to derive *varnasamghātaḥ*/*varṇasamghātaḥ* ‘inventory of sounds, or letters’ when the root is used with the preverb *sam*, and the cooccurring word denotes object.

Note that all these derivatives entail a replacement in *ṭ* for their final.

This replacement is obligatory in case of the derivatives of (a), though optional in cases of (b) and (c).

### 3.2.50 अपे क्लेशतमसोः

*ape kleśatamasoḥ*

*/ape 7/1 kleśatamasoḥ 7/2/*

(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *karmaṇi* #1, *ḍaḥ* #48, *hanaḥ* #49)

*apapūrvād hanteḥ kleśatamasoḥ karmaṇor upapadayor ḍapratyayo bhavati*

Affix *Da* occurs after verbal root *han* used with the preverb *apa* when the root cooccurs with a *pada* which contains *kleśa* 'suffering' or *tamas* 'darkness' as *karman*.

#### EXAMPLES:

*kleśāpahaḥ puttraḥ* 'a son who removes suffering'

*tamopahaḥ sūryaḥ* 'the sun which removes darkness'

1. The derivatives 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 कुमारशीर्षयोर्णिनिः

*kumārasīrṣayor ṇiniḥ*

*/kumārasīrṣayoḥ 7/2 ṇiniḥ 1/1/*

(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *karmaṇi* #1, *hanaḥ* #49)

*'kumāra, śīrṣa' ity etayor upapadayoḥ hanter ṇiniḥ pratyayo bhavati*

Affix *ṆinI* occurs after verbal root *han* when the root cooccurs with a *pada* which contains *kumāra* 'boy, prince', *śīrṣa* 'head' as *karman*.

#### EXAMPLES:

*kumāraghātī* 'a child-killer; killer of a prince'

*śīrṣaghātī* 'a killer who kills by beheading'

1. Note that *śīrṣa*, from *śīras*, is derived by *nipātana*. It should not be confused relative to rule 6.1.60 *śīrṣaṅ chandasi*, which is limited to the Vedic. Besides, the latter reference is made with *śīrṣan* ending in *-n*. What we find here is a form ending in *-a* (*śīrṣa*).

The final *I* as an *it* in *ṆinI* is intended to protect its *n* from being deleted by 1.3.3 *halantyam*-1.3.9 *tasya lopah*. The *Ṇ*, of course, is intended to facilitate *vṛddhi*. Refer to the appendix for derivational details.

Note that rule 3.2.78 *supy ajātau ṇinis tācchīlye* would account for examples of this rule if it was not for the condition of *tācchīlyā*. This rule, then, must apply to examples where the context does not include *tācchīlyā*.

### 3.2.52 लक्षणे जायापत्योष्टक्

*lakṣaṇe jāyāpatyoṣ ṭak*

*l/lakṣaṇe 7/1 jāyāpatyoh 7/2 ṭak 1/1/*

(*pratyayah #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, karmaṇi #1, hanaḥ #49*)

*hanter jāyāpatyoh karmaṇor upapadayor lakṣaṇavati kartari ṭak pratyayo bhavati*

Affix *Ṭak* 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 *karṭṛ* thus characterized.

#### EXAMPLES:

*jāyāghno brāhmaṇaḥ* 'a *brāhmaṇa* who kills his wife'

*patighnī vṛṣalī* 'a *vṛṣalī* (low-caste woman) who killed her husband'

1. This rule introduces affix *ṬaK* when *han* cooccurs with an object constituted by *jāyā* and *pati* provided the derivate characterized an agent. Thus, we get the example: *jāyāghnaḥ* as in *jāyāghno brāhmaṇaḥ* where *jāyāghnaḥ* 'killer of the wife' characterizes a *brāhmaṇa*. The *K* as an *it* facilitates the penultimate deletion (*upadhālopa*) of *a* by rule 6.4.98 *gama-hana...* The *Ṭ* as an *it* facilitates the introduction of affix *ṆiP* in feminine derivatives (4.1.15 *ṭiddhāṇaṅ...*), such as *patighnī* of *patighnī vṛṣalī*.

### 3.2.53 अमनुष्यकर्त्रके च

*amanuṣyakarṭṛke ca*

*l/amanuṣyakarṭṛke 7/1 ca 0/*

(*pratyayah #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, karmaṇi #1, hanaḥ #49, ṭak #52*)

*amanuṣyakarṭṛke vartamānād hanter dhātoḥ karmaṇy upapade ṭak pratyayo bhavati*

Affix *ṬaK* also occurs after verbal root *han* when the root cooccurs with a *pada* which denotes *karman* and the derivate denotes a non-human *karṭṛ* thus characterized.

#### EXAMPLES:

*jāyāghnas tilakālakāḥ* 'a mole on the husband characterizing the death of his wife'

*patighnī pāṇirekhā* 'a line on the wife's palm characterizing the death of her husband'

*śleṣmaghnaṃ madhu* ‘honey, the cough-killer’  
*pittaghnaṃ ghṛtam* ‘ghee, the killer of bile’

1. This rule conditions the introduction of affix *ṬaK* after *han* by requiring its agent to be *amanuṣya* ‘non-human’. Thus, we get *patighnī* of *patighnī pāṇirekhā*, 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 *śleṣmaghnaṃ madhu*.

Note that *karmaṇi* still constitutes the cooccurrence condition. The word *amanuṣyakarṭṛka* can not be treated as a qualifier to the cooccurring *karman* because to do so would not make any sense.

### 3.2.54 शक्तौ हस्तिकपाटयोः

*śaktau hastikapāṭayoh*  
 /śaktau 7/1 hastikapāṭayoh 7/2/  
 (pratyayah #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, karmaṇi #1,  
 hanaḥ #49, ṭak #52)  
*śaktau gamyamānāyām hastikapāṭayoh karmaṇor upapadayor hanteṣ ṭak*  
*pratyayo bhavati*

Affix *ṬaK* occurs after verbal root *han* when the root cooccurs with a *pada* which denotes *hastī* ‘elephant’ or *kapāṭa* ‘door’ as *karman* and the derivate denotes *śakti* ‘strength’.

#### EXAMPLES:

*hastighnaḥ manuṣyah* ‘a man strong enough to kill an elephant’  
*kapāṭaghnaś cauraḥ* ‘a thief strong enough to break the door open’

1. This rule allows for the introduction of *ṬaK* after *han* even when it has a human agent. Thus, we get *kapāṭaghnaḥ* as in *kapāṭaghnaś cauraḥ* ‘one who is capable of breaking doors; a thief’.

### 3.2.55 पाणिघताडघौ शिल्पिनि

*pāṇighatāḍaghau śilpini*  
 /pāṇighatāḍaghau 1/2 śilpini 7/1/  
 (pratyayah #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, karmaṇi #1)  
*pāṇigha, tāḍagha* ‘ity etau śabdau nipātyete śilpini kartari’  
 Forms such as *pāṇigha* and *tāḍagha* are derived by *nipātana* when *śilpī* ‘artisan’ is denoted as *karṭṛ*.

#### EXAMPLES:

*pāṇighaḥ* ‘a drummer; he who plays by using his hand’  
*tāḍaghaḥ* ‘a blacksmith who makes things by pounding’

1. This rule allows for the *ad hoc* (*nipātana*) derivation of *pāṇighaḥ* and *tāḍaghaḥ* with the introduction of affix *Ka* after *han* cooccurring with the object *pāṇi* ‘hand’ and *tāḍa* ‘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 derivatives do not denote an artisan (*śilpī*), they take the forms: *pāṇighātaḥ* ‘hitting with fists; boxing’, *tāḍaghātaḥ* ‘hammering’.

A *vārttika* also proposes the listing of *rājaghaḥ* ‘killer of a king’ under this rule.

### 3.2.56 आढ्यसुभगस्थूलपालितनग्नान्धप्रियेषु च्यर्थेषु च्चौ कृजः करणे ख्युन्

*ādhyasubhagasthūlapalitanaghāndhapriyeṣu cvyartheṣu acvau kṛñāḥ*  
*karāṇe khyun*

*lādhyasubhagasthūlapalitanagnāndhapriyeṣu 7/3 cvyartheṣu 7/3 acvau 7/1*  
*kṛñāḥ 5/1 karāṇe 7/1 khyun 1/1/*

(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.2.91, *karmaṇi* #1)

*ādhyādiṣu karmasūpapadeṣu cvyartheṣu acvyanteṣu karoter dhātoḥ karāṇe*  
*kārake khyun pratyayo bhavati*

Affix *KHYuN* occurs to denote *karāṇa* (1.4.42 *sādhakatamaṃ karāṇam*) after verbal root *ḌUkṛÑ* when the root cooccurs with a *pada* which denotes *karman* and contains *ādhya* ‘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:

*ādhyamkarāṇam* ‘that which makes one rich’

*subhagamkarāṇam* ‘that which makes one charming’

*sthulamkarāṇam* ‘that which makes one huge’

*palitamkarāṇam* ‘that which makes one old’

*nagamkarāṇam* ‘that which makes one naked’

*andhamkarāṇam* ‘that which makes one blind’

*priyamkarāṇam* ‘that which makes one dear to someone’

1. This rule introduces affix *KHYuN* after verbal root *ḌUkṛÑ* when it cooccurs with an object which is constituted by *ādhya*, etc., and denotes the sense of, but does not end in, *CvI* (5.4.50 *abhūtatadbhāve...*). Additionally, the derivative has to denote *karāṇa* 1.4.42 *sādhakatamaṃ karāṇam*). Thus we get:

*ādhyamkarāṇam* ‘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 *CvI*’. Consequently; *ādhyīkurvanty anena* ‘that by means of which one is made prosperous’ cannot qualify for *KHyuN*. That is, *ādhyī* ends in affix *CvI*. A counter example for where *ādhyā* is neither used in *CvI*, nor denotes the sense of *CvI*, is *ādhyam tailena kurvanti* ‘they anoint (him) with oil’. Here again *KHyuN* is not permitted.

### 3.2.57 कर्त्तरि भुवः खिष्णुच्लुकञौ

*kartari bhuvah khiṣṇuckhukañau*

*kartari 7/1 bhuvah 5/1 khiṣṇuckhukañau 1/2/*

(*pratyayah #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, supi #4, ādhyā... priyeṣu cvyartheṣu acvau #56*)

*ādhyādiṣu subanteṣūpapadeṣu cvyartheṣu acvyanteṣu bhavater dhātoḥ kartari kārake ‘khiṣṇuc, khukañ’ ity etau pratyayau bhavataḥ*

Affixes *KHiṣṇuC* and *KHukaÑ* occur to denote *karṭr* 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 *CvI*.

#### EXAMPLES:

*ādhyambhaviṣṇuḥ* ‘one who becomes rich’

*ādhyambhāvukah* ‘id.’

*subhagambhaviṣṇuḥ* ‘one who becomes charming’

*subhagambhāvukah* ‘id.’

*sthūlambhaviṣṇuḥ* ‘one who becomes huge’

*sthūlambhāvukah* ‘id.’

*palitambhaviṣṇuḥ* ‘one who becomes old’

*palitambhāvukah* ‘id.’

*nagnambhaviṣṇuḥ* ‘one who becomes naked’

*nagnambhāvukah* ‘id.’

*andhambhaviṣṇuḥ* ‘one who becomes blind’

*andhambhāvukah* ‘id.’

*priyambhaviṣṇuḥ* ‘one who becomes dear’

*priyambhāvukah* ‘id.’

1. This rule introduces affixes *KHiṣṇuC* and *KHukaÑ* after verbal root *bhū* ‘to be’ under circumstances similar to the preceding rule except that, here, the derivate denotes *karṭr*. Obviously, the use of *kartari* in this rule cancels the *karāṇe* of the earlier rule. Why did Pāṇini have to use *kartari* to cancel *karāṇa* when he could have accomplished this just by leaving *karāṇa* without *svarita* accent. That way, the *anuvṛtti* of *karāṇa* would have been dropped. Commentators explain that dropping *karāṇa* without dropping *ādhyā*, etc., which are also

associated with it, may create confusion. Normally, one would expect the cancellation of both *karāṇa* and *ādhyā*, etc. Besides, *kartari* is required for subsequent rules.

Note that *KH*, as an *it* in both affixes, is intended for the augment-*mUM* (6.3.67 *arurdviṣad...*). The *C* of *KHiṣṇuC* is intended for accent (6.1.163 *citah*). The *Ñ* of *KHukaÑ* is intended for *vṛddhi* (7.2.115 *aco' nṛiti*).

### 3.2.58 स्पृशोऽनुदके क्विन्

*spr̥śo' nudake kvin*

*/spr̥śah 5/1 anudake 7/1 kvin 1/1/*

(*pratyayah #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, supi #4*)

*spr̥śer dhātor anudake subanta upapade kvin pratyayo bhavati*

Affix *KvIN* occurs after verbal root *spr̥ś* 'to touch' when the root cooccurs with a *pada* which ends in *sUP* but does not contain *udaka* 'water'.

#### EXAMPLES:

*ghṛtaspr̥k* 'he who touches *ghee*'

*mantraspr̥k* 'he who touches by means of a *mantra*'

*jalaspr̥k* '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 *ghṛtaspr̥k* = *ghṛtam spr̥śati* as an example of the first in contrast with *mantraspr̥k* = *mantreṇa spr̥śati*, an example for the second. It is thus better to accept *supi*. Besides, the *kartṛ*-denotatum of the derivates is easily established on the basis of 3.4.67 *kartari kṛt*.

The *N* of *KvIN* is used to distinguish it from *KvIP*, etc., as in rules 8.2.62 *kvin pratyayasya...* The *K* of *KvIN* is intended for blocking *guṇa* and *vṛddhi*. The *I* of the affix, along with its *v*, is intended to qualify 6.1.67 *ver apr̥ktasya* whereby a more general reference can be made.

### 3.2.59 ऋत्विग्दधृक्स्त्रिगुष्णिगञ्चयुजिक्रुञ्चां च

*ṛtvigdadhr̥ksragdiguṣṇigañcuyujikruñcām ca*

*/ṛtvig...kruñcām-6/3 (itar. dv.); ca Ø/*

(*pratyayah #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, supi #4, kvin #58*)

*ṛtvigādayaḥ pañca śabdāḥ kvinpratyayāntā nipātyantz, apare trayo dhātavo nirdiśyante*

Affix *KvIN* occurs by *nipātana* in the derivation of *ṛtvik*, *dadhṛk*, *srak*, *dik*, and *uṣṇik*; in addition, it occurs after verbal roots *añcU* ‘to bend’, *yujI* ‘to join, yoke’ and *kruñcA* ‘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’  
*dadhṛk* ‘brave’  
*srak* ‘garland’  
*dik* ‘direction’  
*uṣṇik* ‘a meter with seven syllables in a quarter’  
*prān* ‘east’  
*pratyañ* ‘west’  
*udañ* ‘north’  
*yujñ* ‘one who joins x with y’  
*aśvayuk* ‘he who yokes the horse (to a cart)’  
*kruñ* ‘one who is crooked; a crane’

1. The first five words beginning with *ṛtvik* are derived via *nipātana* with *KvIN*. The next three derivatives are given specific to their roots. For an example of what is ad hoc in the first five examples, and how the derivatives relative to the three roots derive, see the appendix.

3.2.60 त्यदादिषु दृशोऽनालोचने कञ्च

*tyadādiṣu dṛśo’ nālocane kañ ca*

*ltyadādiṣu 7/3 dṛśaḥ 5/1 anālocane 7/1 kañ 1/1 ca 0/*

*(pratyayaḥ #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, supi #4, kvin #58)*

*tyadādīṣūpapadeṣu dṛśer dhātor anālocane’ rthe vartamānāt kañ pratyayo bhavati, cakārāt kvin ca*

Affix *KaÑ*, as well as *KvIN*, occurs after verbal root *dṛśIR* ‘to see’ when the root cooccurs with a nominal *pada* which contains *tyad* ‘that’, etc., and *ālocana* ‘seeing’ is not denoted.

EXAMPLES:

*tyādṛk* ‘like that’  
*tyādṛśaḥ* ‘id.’  
*tādṛk* ‘id.’  
*tādṛśaḥ* ‘id.’  
*yādṛk* ‘like the one which...’  
*yādṛśaḥ* ‘id.’

*vedavit* 'he who knows the Veda'  
*pravit* 'he who knows things well'  
*brahmavit* 'he who knows about the Brahman'  
*kāṣṭhabhit* 'he who splits the wood'  
*prabhīt* 'he who splits (wood) very well'  
*rajjuccid* 'he who cuts the ropes'  
*pracchid* 'he who cuts (the ropes) very well'  
*śatrujit* 'he who conquers the enemy'  
*prajit* 'he who wins well'  
*senānīh* 'commander of the army'  
*praṇīh* 'he who leads well'  
*grāmaṇīh* 'the leader of the village'  
*agraṇīh* 'he who leads'  
*rāt* 'he who is full of splendor'  
*samrāt* 'emperor'

1. This rule allows for both affixes *KaÑ* and *KvIN* after verbal root *dr̥śIR* when it occurs with *tyad* 'that', etc., and the derivate does not denote 'to see'. The derivates of this rule are semantically treated as *rūḍha* 'conventional'. Consequently, there is no 'action of seeing' entailed albeit the presence of *dr̥śIR*. A *vārttika* under this rule proposes to expand the scope of this rule to account for examples such as: *sadr̥k / sadr̥śah* 'similar'; and *anyādr̥k / anyādr̥śah* 'like something else'. A further proposal states that affix *Ksa* is also introduced after *dr̥śIR*. This will account for *yādr̥kṣah / tādr̥kṣah / anyādr̥kṣah / kīdr̥kṣah*. Obviously, the examples covered by the two *vārttika* proposals entail *samāna* 'similar' and *anya* 'other' as *upapada*.

2. The *Ñ* of *KaÑ* is used as an *it* to distinguish it from affixes, such as *ṬHaK* and *ṬHaÑ*, especially relative to the formation of the feminine. Consider for example rule 4.1.15 *ṭiddhāṇaṅ...*

3. Note that *ālocana* of *anālocane* 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: *ālocanaṃ cakṣussādhanam vijñānam iti, iha tu jñānamātram pratiśedham manyate*). Indeed in the contextual meaning of *darśana* 'seeing (and thereby perceiving)', affix *aÑ* will apply to derive examples such as *taādarśah* parallel to the analysis *taṃ paśyati* 'he who sees him'.

### 3.2.61 सत्सूद्विषद्रुहदुहयुजविदभिदच्छिदजिनीराजामुपसर्गेऽपि क्विप्

*satsūdviṣadrūhaduhayujavidabhidacchidajinīrājām upasarge' pi kvip*  
*/satsūdviṣa...rājām 6/3 upasarge 7/1 api 0 kvip 1/1/*  
*(pratyayah #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, supi #4)*  
*sadādibhyo dhātubhyaḥ subante upapade upasarge' pi, anupasarge' pi kvip*  
*pratyayo bhavati*

Affix *KvIP* occurs after verbal roots *ṣadL* ‘to sit’, *sŪÑ* ‘to give birth to’, *dvīṣA* ‘to hate’, *druhA* ‘to be hostile’, *duhA* ‘to milk’, *yujIR* ‘to join, yoke’ *vidA* ‘to know, become, to consider’, *bhidIR* ‘to split’, *chidIR* ‘to cut’, *ji* ‘to win’, *ñīÑ* ‘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:

*śuciṣat* ‘he who resides in purity; Brahman’  
*antarikṣasat* ‘he who resides in the sky’  
*úpasat* ‘he who sits near’  
*aṇḍasūh* ‘that which lays eggs’  
*śatasūh* ‘that which gives birth to a hundred...’  
*prasūh* ‘one who brings about; parents’  
*mitradviṭ* ‘one who is hostile to a friend’  
*mitradhrūk* ‘id.’  
*pradvīṭ* ‘enemy’  
*pradhruk* ‘id.’  
*godhuk* ‘he who milks cows’  
*pradhuk* ‘he who milks (cows) very well’  
*aśvayuk* ‘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 *sprśo’ nudake...* Consequently, *karmani* is not associated as the cooccurring word. The word *upasarge’ pi*, because of the locative in *upasarge*, requires care in interpretation. If it was given in the ablative (*pañcamī*), 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 (*jñāpākārtha*) 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 *upasarge* 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 cānupasarge...* If the purpose of *upasarge*, in this rule, is to block the inclusion of *upasarge* elsewhere, then one does not need *anupasarge* from *anuvṛtti* in 3.1.106. Thus, the indicatory function (*jñāpakārtha*) of *upasarge* as stated is not acceptable. What, then, is *upasarge' pi* used for? Simply for clarification (*vispaṣṭārtham*). If this were not acceptable, then *anupasarge* would be dropped from the *anuvṛtti* in rules where *supi* constitutes the cooccurrence condition. Still others say the indicatory function of *upasarge' pi* is intended to block *upasarge* from inclusion in rule 3.2.58 *spṛśo' nudake*. This way, *upaspr̥śati* and *samspr̥śati* are blocked from yielding parallel derivatives in *KvIN*.

2. Note that *sū*, here, refers to *adādi* root *ṣūN* '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 *vida* must include the three verbal roots: *vidA* 'to know', *vidA* 'to be, exist' and *vidA* 'to consider, think'. It cannot, however, include reference to *vidL* 'to gain', since *vid* of this rule is cited as ending in *-a* (*akārānta*). Consequently, it can only refer to roots which are specified as ending in *-a*.

### 3.2.62 भजो ण्विः

*bhajo ṇvih*

*lbhajaḥ 5/1 ṇvih 1/1/*

(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *supi* #4, *upasarge' pi* #61)

*bhajer dhātoḥ subanta upapade upasarge' pi anupasarge' pi ṇvipratyayo bhavati*

Affix *ṆvI* 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 *upasarge* and *supi* are both carried here. The *Ṇ* of *ṆvI* 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 *ver apr̥ktasya*.

### 3.2.63 छन्दसि सहः

*chandasi sahaḥ*

*lchandasi 7/1 sahaḥ 5/1/*

(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *supi* #4, *upasarge* #61, *ṇvih* #62)

*chandasi viṣaye saher dhātoḥ subanta upapade ṇvipratyayo bhavati*

Affix *ṆvI* occurs, in the Vedic, after verbal root *śahA* ‘to endure’ when the root cooccurs with a *pada* which ends in a *sUP*.

EXAMPLES:

*jalāṣāt* ‘one who conquers waters’  
*turāṣāt* ‘one who overpowers the mighty; Indra’

1. Haradatta (*PM ad Kās.* II:588) informs that an example such as *ṗṛtanāṣāt* ‘victorious’, in the classical language, is questionable (*cintya*).

### 3.2.64 वहश्च

*vahaś ca*  
*/vahaḥ 5/1 ca 0/*  
 (*pratyayah* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *supi* #4, *ṛvih* #62, *chandasi* #63)  
*vaher dhātoś chandasi viṣaye subanta upapade ṛvipratyayo bhavati*

Affix *ṆvI* also occurs, in the Vedic, after verbal root *vahA* when the root cooccurs with a *pada* which ends in a *sUP*.

EXAMPLES:

*praṣṭhavāt* ‘one who carries the heaviest of weights’  
*dityavāt* ‘one who carried two years; a two year old steer’

1. Note that a separate listing of *vahaś 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 *anuvṛtti*. The split listing of rule (*yogavibhāga*) enables only *vah* to be carried subsequently (*uttarārtha*).

### 3.2.65 कव्यपुरीषपुरीषेषु ज्युट्

*kavyapurīṣapurīṣyeṣu ṅyut*  
*/kavyapurīṣapurīṣyeṣu 7/3 ṅyut 1/1/*  
 (*pratyayah* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *supi* #4, *chandasi* #63, *vahaḥ* #64)  
 ‘*kavya*, *purīṣa*, *purīṣya*’ *ity eteṣūpapadeṣu chandasi viṣaye vaher dhātor ṅyut pratyayo bhavati*

Affix *Ṇyuṭ* 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:

*kavyavāhānaḥ pitṛñām* ‘he who carries ritual oblation of food to the ancestors’

*pūrīṣavāhānaḥ* ‘one who removes ordure’  
*pūrīṣyavāhānaḥ* ‘id.’

1. This rule provides for affix *ÑyuT* against *ÑvI*, which was already available. The *Ñ*, as an *it*, is intended for accent as well as *vṛddhi* (6.1.197 *ñnityādir nityam*; 7.2.115 *aco’ ñṇ iti*). The *T*, as an *it*, is intended to secure the feminine affix *ÑiP* (4.1.15 *ṭiddhāna...*). The *yu* of this affix is replaced with *aka* of rule 7.1.1 *yuvor anākau*.

### 3.2.66 हव्येऽन्तः पादम्

*havye’ nantaḥpādam*  
*lhavye 7/1 anantaḥpādam 1/1/*  
 (pratyayaḥ # 3.1.1, paraś ca # 3.1.2, dhātoḥ # 3.1.91, supi # 4,  
 chandasi #63, vahaḥ #64, ñyut #65)  
*havyaśabde upapade chandasi viśaye vāher dhātor ñyut pratyayo bhavati,*  
*anantaḥpādam ced vahir vartate*  
 Affix *ÑyuT* 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:

*agnis ca havyaṅvā hanaḥ* ‘Agni, the one who carries ritual oblation of food to the gods’

1. Note that *antaḥpādam* is interpreted as a qualifier (*viśeṣaṇa*) to the derivate with *vah*. The word *antaḥ* is similar to *madhyaḥ* ‘in the middle’ semantically. The word *pādaḥ* is interpreted as a quarter of a hymn, because of the *anuvṛtti* of *chandasi*. The compound *antaḥpādam* could be viewed as an indeclinable (*avyayībhāva*) allowed by 2.1.6 *avyayam...* in the sense of *vibhakti* (locus within). Thus, *anantaḥpādam* 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 *ÑvI* is used as is clear from the counter-example: *havyaṅvāḍagnirajarāḥ pitā nāḥ*.

### 3.2.67 जनसनखनक्रमगमो विद्

*janasanakhanakramagamo viṭ*  
*ljana...gamaḥ 5/1 viṭ 1/1/*  
 (pratyayaḥ #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, supi #4, chandasi #63,  
 vahaḥ #64, ñyut #65)  
*janādibhyo dhātubhyaḥ subanta upapade chandasi viśaye viṭ pratyayo*  
*bhavati*



Affix *vIT* occurs, in the Vedic, after verbal roots *janA* ‘to be born’, *saN* ‘to give’, *khanA* ‘to dig’, *kramU* ‘to step’ and *gam* ‘to go’ when the roots cooccur with a *pada* which ends in a *sUP*.

EXAMPLES:

*abjāḥ* ‘born in water’  
*gajāḥ* ‘born in earth’  
*goṣā* ‘winner of cows’  
*vilakhāḥ* ‘a burrower’  
*kūpakhāḥ* ‘well-digger’  
*dādhiḥkrāḥ* ‘(Agni) who receives milk’  
*agregā unnētrṇām* ‘the leader...’

1. Note that this rule carries the *anuvṛtti* of *chandasi*, *upasarge*, and *supi*. Verbal roots *janA* and *sanA* make references to the sets of two verbs each: *janA* ‘to give birth to’; *janI* ‘to be born’; and *sanA* ‘to give’ or *ṣaṇA* ‘to worship’.

The *Ṭ* of the affix is intended as an *it* to block a general reference to any affix with *vI* (cf. 6.1.67 *ver aprktasya*). Note that in the absence of *Ṭ*, *vI*, in view of 6.1.67 *ver aprktasya*, would not refer to just one affix. Further, *vI* is also intended to function as a qualifier in rules such as 6.4.41 *viḍvanor....*

3.2.68 अदोजन्ने

*ado’ nanne*  
*ladaḥ 5/1 ananne 7/1/*  
 (*pratyayah* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *supi* #4, *viṭ* #67)  
*ader dhātor ananne supy upapade viṭ pratyayo bhavati*  
 Affix *vIT* 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 *vIT*.

3.2.69 क्रव्ये च

*kravye ca*  
*lkravye 7/1 ca 0/*

(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *supi* #4, *viṭ* #67, *adaḥ* #68)

*kravyaśabde upapade ader dhātor viṭ pratyayo bhavati*

Affix *vIT* 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 *Mahābhāṣya* 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 *kravyādaḥ* ‘eater of cooked meat’ be derived? It is noted that *kravyādaḥ* 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 *pr̥ṣodarādi* class (6.3.109 *pr̥ṣodarādīni yathopadiṣṭam*), which gets the form of *kravya* (*Kās.*: *kṛtavikṛtaśabde upapade aṅ, tasya ca pr̥ṣodarādipāṭhāt kravyabhāvaḥ*). Our present derivate means ‘the eater of raw flesh; carnivorous’. The derivate which ends in *aN*, i.e., *kravyādaḥ*, signifies ‘the eater of cooked meat’.

### 3.2.70 दुहः कब् घश्च

*duhaḥ kab ghaśca*

*/duhaḥ 6/1 kap 1/1 ghaḥ 1/1 ca 0/*

(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *supi* #4)

*duher dhātoḥ supy upapade kap pratyayo bhavati, ghakāraś cāntādeśaḥ*

Affix *vIT* 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 मन्त्रे श्वेतवहोक्थशस्पुरोडाशो ण्विन्

*mantra śvetavahokthaśaspuroḍāśo ṅvin*

*/mantra 7/1 śveta...puroḍāśaḥ 5/1 ṅvin 1/1/*

(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *supi* #4)

*‘śvetavaha, ukthaśas, puroḍāśa’ ity etebhyo ṅvin pratyayo bhavati mantra viṣaye*

Affix *ṅVIN* occurs, in the Mantra by *nipātana*, after verbal roots *vah* ‘to carry’, *śams* ‘to praise’, and *dās* ‘to give’ when they cooccur

with a nominal *pada* which contains *śveta* ‘white’, *uktha* ‘hymns’, and *purā* ‘in front of’ to derive *śvetavaḥ*, *ukthaśas* and *puroḍāś* respectively.

EXAMPLES:

*śvetavā indraḥ* ‘Indra; the one whom white horses carry’  
*ukthaśā yajamānaḥ* ‘a ritual sacrificer who chants praises with the hymns of the *Sāmaveda*’  
*puroḍāḥ* ‘ritual oblation of food’

1. The word *mantra* refers to the *mantra* literature only. It does not, for example, refer to the *brāhmaṇas*, which constitute expositions of the *mantra* (cf. *Nyāsa ad Kāśikā* III:593: *na hi mantragrahaṇena brāhmaṇaṃ gṛhyate; tasya granthāntaravāt; mantravyākhyāne granthaviśeṣe brāhmaṇa-śabdo varittate, na tu mantre*). Also refer to *amantre* in rule 3.1.35 *kāsprat-yayād....*

Although it is enough to say that the examples of this rule are derived with affix *ṆvIN* via *nīpātana*, see some additional details in the appendix.

3.2.72 अवे यजः

*ave yajāḥ*  
*/ave 7/1 yajāḥ 5/1/*  
 (*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *mantrē*, *ṇvin* #71)

*ave upapade yajer dhātor ṇvin pratyayo bhavati mantrē viśaye*

Affix *ṆvIN* occurs in the *Mantra* after verbal root *yajA* ‘to perform a ritual sacrifice’ when the root cooccurs with a nominal *pada* constituted by *ava*.

EXAMPLE:

*tvāṃ yājñe vāruṇasyāvayā asi*  
 ‘you are the priest of Varuṇa at the sacrifice’

1. This rule, seemingly, should have been made part of the preceding rule. A separate rule (*yogavibhāga*) became necessary so that the *anuvṛtti* of ‘*śvetavaḥ*, etc.’ could be blocked. For, they would have to be carried to the subsequent rule if ‘*ave yajāḥ*’ were made part of the preceding rule. Besides, that could have only allowed the *anuvṛtti* of *yaj* used with the preverb *ava*. The *anuvṛtti* of *yaj* alone is required in the rule which follows. *Kāśikā* rightly remarks that a split formulation (*yogavibhāga*) of this rule is intended for the subsequent rule (*uttarārtha*).

3.2.73 विजुपे छन्दसि

*viḥ upe chandasi*  
*/vic 1/1 upe 7/1 chandasi 7/1/*

(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *yajaḥ* #72)

'*upa upapade yajés chandasi viṣaye vic pratyayo bhavati*

Affix *vIC* occurs in the Vedic after verbal root 'yajA when the root cooccurs with a nominal *pada* which contains *upa*.

#### EXAMPLES:

*upayadbhīr ūrdhvaṃ vahanti* 'they carry it up by means of chanting of *upayaṭ* (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 derivatives 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 *vI*, and not also to *KvIP*, etc.

#### 3.2.74 आतो मनिक्वनिब्बनिपश्च

*āto maninkvanibvanipāś ca*

*lātaḥ* 5/1 *maninkvanibvanipāḥ* 1/3 *ca* 0 /

(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *supi* #4, *vic chandasi* #73)

*ākārāntebhyo dhātubhyaḥ supy upapade chandasi viṣaye manin, kvanip, vanip ity ete pratyayā bhavanti*

Affixes *manIN*, *KvanIP* and *vanIP*, in addition to *vIC*, occur in the Vedic, after verbal roots which end in *ā*, used with or without any pre-verb, and cooccur with a *pada* ending in a *sUP*

#### EXAMPLES:

*sudāmā* 'he who gives generously'

*aśvatthāmā* 'one who stands like a horse'

*sudhīvā* 'he who dresses well'

*supīvā* 'he who drinks well'

*bhūridāvā* 'he who gives generously'

*ghṛtapāvā* 'he who drinks ghee (clarified butter)'

*kīlālapāḥ* 'he who drinks Kīlāla (sweet beverage)'

*śubhāmyāḥ* '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 *vIC*. Thus, *vIC* 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 suppitau*). The *I* as an *it* is *uccāraṇārtha* ‘for ease of articulation’.

### 3.2.75 अन्येभ्योऽपि दृश्यन्ते

*anyebhyo’ pi drśyante*

*lanyebhyaḥ 5/1 api 0 drśyante* (a *pada* ending in *tiN*)/

(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *vic* #73, *maninkvanibvanipaḥ* #74)

*anyebhyo’ pi dhātubhyo’ anākārāntebhyo* ‘*manin*, *kvanip*, *vanip*’ *ity ēte pratyayā drśyante*, *vic ca*

Affixes *manIN*, *KvanIP* and *vanIP*, along with *vIC*, are seen to occur also after roots other than those which end in *ā*.

#### EXAMPLES:

*suśarmā* ‘great destroyer (of sins)’

*prātaritvā* ‘he who goes in the morning’

*viḥvā* ‘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 (*sarvopādhivya-bhicārārtha*). 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 derivatives. 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 क्विप् च

*kvip ca*

*lkvip 1/1 ca 0/*

(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *supi* #4, *upasarge’ pi* #61)

*sarvadhātubhyaḥ sopapadebhyo nirupapadebhyas ca chandasi bhāṣāyām ca kvip pratyayo bhavati*

Affix *KvIP* also occurs after a verbal root, used with or without a preverb, when the root cooccurs with a *pada* which ends in a *sUP*.

EXAMPLES:

*ukhāsrataḥ* 'that which falls off a pot'  
*parṇadhavataḥ* 'that which causes leaves to fall'  
*vāhābhraṭaḥ* 'that which falls off a vehicle'

1. This rule introduces affix *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 स्थः क च

*sthaḥ ka ca*  
*/sthaḥ 5/1 ka (1/1 deleted) ca 0/*  
 (pratyayaḥ #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, supi #4,  
 upasarge' pi #61)  
 'sthā' ity etasmād dhātoḥ supy upapade kaḥ pratyayo bhavati, kvip ca  
 Affix *Ka*, and *KvIP* as well, occurs after verbal root *sthā* 'to stand'  
 used with or without a preverb, when this root cooccurs with a *pada*  
 which ends in a *sUP*.

EXAMPLES:

*śamsthaḥ* 'one who is living happily'  
*śamsthāḥ* 'those who are living happily'

1. Note that 'supi' and 'upasarge' pi' are both relevant here. Affix *Ka* is introduced by this rule in addition to *KvIP*. This of course is understood from the use of *ca* 'and'. Affix *Ka* is used, in this rule, without a nominal ending (*avibhaktikanirdeśa*). Otherwise, the rule should have been: ...kaś ca.

It is stated that this rule should not have been formed, because affixes *Ka* and *KvIP* could have been made available by rules 3.2.4 *supi sthaḥ*, and 3.2.75 *anyebhyo' pi...* respectively. It is argued that rule 3.2.14 *śami dhātoḥ samjñāyām* will become applicable because of the inclusion of the word 'dhātoḥ'. Thus, affix *aC* may also qualify to block affixes *Ka* and *KvIP* via 3.1.94 *vā' sarūpo' striyām*. Our present rule is thus stated separately to block a rule which may, in turn, qualify to block it (*bādhakabā-dhanārtha*). Affixes *Ka* and *KvIP* block *aC* in such instances of conflict.

3.2.78 सुप्यजातौ णिनिस्ताच्छील्ये

*supy ajātau ṇinis tācchīlye*  
*/supi 7/1 ajātau 7/1 ṇiniḥ 1/1 tācchīlye 7/1/*  
 (pratyayaḥ #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91)

*ajātivācīni subanta upapade tēcchīlye gamyamāne dhātor ṇiniḥ pratyayo bhavati*

Affix *ṆinI* occurs to denote *tēcchīlyā* ‘one’s nature’ after verbal roots used in conjunction with a *pada* which ends in a *sUP* and does not denote *jāti* ‘class’.

#### EXAMPLES:

*uṣṇabhojī* ‘he whose nature is to eat warm food’  
*śītabhojī* ‘he whose nature is to eat cold food’

1. Note that ‘*supi*’ of this rule could have been easily obtained via *anuvṛtti* from the preceding rule. However, explicit mention of it becomes necessary because ‘*supi*’ of the preceding rule is also associated with ‘*upasarge*’. If one is carried, the other must also be carried. This rule does not require the *anuvṛtti* of *upasarge*. Therefore, dropping ‘*upasarge*’ requires explicit use of ‘*supi*’. Bhaṭṭoji (SK IV: 75) observes as follows:

*iha vṛttikāreṇopasargabhinna eva supi ṇinir iti vyākhyāya ‘utpratibhyām āṇi sartter upasamkhyānam’ iti paṭhitam. Haradattamādhavādibhiḥ ca tad evānusṛtam. etac ca bhāṣyavirodhād upekṣyam. prasiddhaś copasarge’ pi ṇiniḥ...*

‘here, the author of the *Kāśikāvṛtti*, explained ‘*ṇini*’ without ‘*upasarga*’, and subsequently stated *utpratibhyām*’... This same interpretation is followed by Haradatta and Mādhava, etc. However, because this interpretation is contrary to the *Mahābhāṣya*, it should be neglected. Indeed, *ṇini* is common in the context of *upasarga*’.

*Kāśikā*, since it does not accept the *anuvṛtti* of *upasarge*, lists an *iṣṭi* which provides for *ṆinI* after verbal root *sṛ*, used with the preverb *āN* and preceded by *ud* and *prati*. The examples are: *udāsāriṇyah* and *pratyāsāriṇyah*. The purpose of stating *supi* when it is already available from the *anuvṛtti*, in view of the *Mahābhāṣya* and *SK*, seems to provide for *ṆinI*, also, when the root is used with preverbs.

#### 3.1.79 कर्तुर्युपमाने

*kartaryupamāne*

*/kartari 7/1 upamāne 7/1/*

(*pratyayah* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *ṇiniḥ* #78)

*karṭṛvācīni upamāna upapade dhātor ṇiniḥ pratyayo bhavati*

Affix *ṆinI* occurs after verbal roots when they occur in conjunction with a *pada* which denotes *upamāna* ‘object of comparison’ as *karṭṛ* ‘agent’.

## EXAMPLES:

*uṣṭrakrośī* ‘one who makes noise like a camel’  
*dvāṅkṣarāvī* ‘one who makes noise like a crow’

1. This rule introduces affix *ṆinI* after a verbal root cooccurring with a *pada* which denotes *kartr̥* constituted by an *upamāna* ‘standard of comparison’. That is, the cooccurring agent becomes the standard of comparison for the agent denoted by the derivate. Consider *dhvāṅkṣarāvī* ‘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 *ṆinI* outside the meaning conditions of the preceding rule.

## 3.2.80 व्रते

*vrāte*

*/vrāte 7/1/*

(*pratyayah* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *supi* #4, *ṇiniḥ* #78)

*vrāte gamyamāne subanta upapade dhātor ṇiniḥ pratyayo bhavati*

Affix *ṆinI* occurs after a verbal root when the root cooccurs with a *pada* which ends in a *sUP* and the derivate denotes *vrata* ‘ritual vow’.

## EXAMPLE:

*sthaṅḍilāśāyī* ‘he who has taken a vow to sleep on the bare ground’  
*aśrāddhabhojī* ‘he who has taken a vow not to eat at the *śrāddha*  
 (ritual oblation of food offered to the dead)’

## 3.2.81 बहुलमाभीक्ष्ये

*bahulamābhīkṣṇye*

*/bahulam 1/1 ābhīkṣṇye 7/1/*

(*pratyayah* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *supi* #4, *ṇiniḥ* #78)

*abhīkṣṇye gamyamāne dhātor bahulam ṇiniḥ pratyayo bhavati*

Affix *ṆinI* occurs variously after verbal roots when they cooccur with a *pada* which ends in a *sUP* and, when *ābhīkṣṇya* ‘to do something over and over again’ is denoted.

## EXAMPLES:

*kaṣāyapāyīṇo gāndhārāḥ* ‘the residents of *Gāndhāra* who repeatedly drink *kaṣāya* (herbal juice) in order to stay healthy’  
*kṣīrapāyīṇa uśīnarāḥ* ‘the residents of *Uśīnara* who repeatedly drink milk’



1. The word *ābhikṣya* is explained as *paunaḥpunya* ‘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 ‘*bahulam*’ makes it clear that elsewhere, for example in *kulmāṣakhādaḥ* ‘he who eats only boiled food’, *ṆinI* does not apply.

## 3.2.82 मनः

*manah**/manah 5/1/**(pratyayah #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, supi #4, ṇiniḥ #78)**manyateḥ subanta upapade ṇiniḥ pratyayo bhavati,*Affix *ṆinI* occurs after verbal root *manA* ‘to think’ when the root cooccurs with a *pada* which ends in a *sUP*.

## EXAMPLES:

*darśanīyamānī* ‘he who considers something worth seeing’*śobhanamānī* ‘he who considers something beautiful’

1. Commentators explain that *man*, here, refers to the verbal root *manĀ* ‘to think’, a *divādi* root, as opposed to the *manŪ* ‘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 *vikarāṇa*.

Note that the object of *man* which constitutes the cooccurrence condition should not be the same as the agent of the derivate. Thus, *surūpamānī* 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 आत्ममाने खश्च

*ātmamāne khaśca**/ātmamāne 7/1 khaś 1/1 ca 0/**(pratyayah #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, supi #4, ṇiniḥ #78, manah #82)**ātmamāne varttamānān manyateḥ supy upapade khaś pratyayo bhavati*Affix *KHaś*, as well as *ṆinI*, 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:

*darśanīyammanyah* ‘he who thinks about himself as (handsome and hence,) worth seeing’*darśanīyamānī* ‘id.’

*paṇḍitamanyaḥ* ‘he who thinks about himself as a scholar’  
*paṇḍitamānī* ‘id.’

### 3.2.84 भूते

*bhūte*

*l**bhūte** 7/1/*

*(pratyayaḥ #3.1.1 paraś ca #3.1.2 dhātoḥ #3.1.91)*

*‘bhūte’ ity adhikāraḥ ‘varttamāne laṭ’ iti yāvad yad ita ūrddham anu-*  
*kramiṣyāmaḥ ‘bhūte’ ity evaṃ 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 *varttamāne 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

*karāṇe yajāḥ*

*l**karāṇe** 7/1 yajāḥ 5/1/*

*(pratyayaḥ #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, ṇiniḥ #78, bhūte #84)*

*yajater dhātoḥ karāṇa upapade ṇiniḥ pratyayo bhavati bhūte*

Affix *ṆinI* occurs after verbal root *yajA* used in conjunction with a *pada* which ends in a *sUP* and signifies *karāṇa* ‘instrument’, provided action is denoted in the past.

#### EXAMPLE:

*agniṣṭomayājī*

1. This rule carries the *anuvṛtti* of *ṆinI*. It is stated that *KHaś* is not carried, since it is not marked with *svarita*. The rule, therefore, introduces *ṆinI* after verbal root *yajA* ‘to perform ritual sacrifice’ when the cooccurring word denotes *karāṇa*, 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 accepted as *karāṇa*. How could one perform the *agniṣṭoma*, the object of *yaj*, by means of (*karāṇa*), 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 *karana* to the particular action of performing the *agniṣṭoma*, the object of *yaj*.

### 3.2.86 कर्मणि हनः

*karmaṇi hanaḥ*

*/karmaṇi 7/1 hanaḥ 5/1/*

(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *ṇiniḥ* #78, *bhūte* #84)

*karmaṇy upapade hanter dhātor ṇiniḥ pratyayo bhavati bhūte kāle*

Affix *ṆinI* 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:

*pitṛvyaghātī* 'he who killed his paternal uncle'

*mātulaghātī* 'he who killed his maternal uncle'

1. *Kāśikā* states that the derivatives 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 (*śabdaśaktisvābhāvya*). Thus, we get *pitṛvyaghātī* '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 derivative. One would comprehend *kutsā* 'censure' even if it is not stated. It is for this reason that we do not get a derivative parallel to the analyzed form: *cauraṃ hatavān* 'he killed the thief'. For, killing a thief may not deserve censure.

### 3.2.87 ब्रह्मभूणवृत्तेषु क्विप्

*brahmabhṛṇavṛtṣu kvip*

*/brahmabhṛṇavṛtṣu 7/3 kvip 1/1/*

(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *bhūte* #84, *karmaṇi hanaḥ* #86)

*brahmādiṣu karmasūpapadeṣu 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 *vṛtra* ‘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’  
*vṛtrahā* ‘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 (*dhātu*), tense (*kāla*) and the scope of the affix (*pratyaya*). 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 *vṛtra*. This will block examples such as *puruṣaṃ hatavān* = *puruṣahā* 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*. Nāgeśa (*Udyota ad Pradīpa*) states that: *brahmādiṣu hanter eva bhūte kvib bhavati, brahmādiṣu hanteḥ kvib bhūta eva... niyamadvayaṃ nābhyupagatam* ‘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

*bahulam chandasi*  
 /bahulam 1/1 chandasi 1/1/  
 (*pratyayah* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *bhūte* #84, *karmani*, *hanah* #86, *kvip* #87)  
*chandasi viṣaye upapadāntare’ pi hanter bahulam kvip pratyayo bhavati*

Affix *KvIP* occurs variously in the Vedic after verbal root *han* when the action is denoted in the past.

EXAMPLE:

*mātrhā saptamaṃ narkaṃ pravīset* ‘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 *mātr̥* in *mātr̥hā* of *mātr̥hā saptamaṃ narakaṃ praviśet*. The use of *mātr̥* as the conjoined *karman* can be justified only at the strength of *bahulam*.

### 3.2.89 सुकर्मपापमन्त्रपुण्येषु कृञः

*sukarmapāpamantrapuṇyeṣu kṛñah*  
/sukarma...puṇyeṣu 7/3 kṛñah 5/1/

(*pratyayah* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *bhūte* #84, *karmani* #86, *kvip* #87)

*svādiṣu karmasīpapadeṣu karoter dhātoḥ kvip pratyayo bhavati*

Affix *KvIP* occurs after verbal root *DUkr̥Ñ* when the root cooccurs with a nominal *pada* which contains *su* 'good', *karma* 'act, deed', *pāpa* 'sin', *mantra* 'a mantra' or *puṇya* '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'

*puṇyakṛt* '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 derivatives.

Note that because the restriction of *kāla* demands the introduction of affix *KvIP*, *karma kṛtavān* 'he did the work' cannot qualify for *aṆ* to derive *karmakārah*. That is, affix *aṆ* 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 *aṆ* alone. That is, *KvIP* can only be introduced after verbal root *kṛ* used in conjunction with *su*, etc. Similarly, because of the restriction of *pratyaya*, *KvIP* is valid in the context of the past (*bhūta*). That is, *mantram karoti kariṣyati vā* will be qualified only for *aṆ*. The derivative ending in *KvIP*, i.e., *mantrakṛt*, cannot be used when the action is denoted at the current or the future time

### 3.2.90 सोमे सुञः

*some suñah*

/some 7/1 suñah 5/1/

(*pratyayah* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *bhūte* #84, *karmani* #86, *kvip* #87)

*some karmanṅ upapade sunoter dhātoḥ kvīp pratyayo bhavati*

Affix *KvIP* occurs after verbal root  $\dot{s}U\check{N}$  when the root cooccurs with a *pada* which contains *soma* as *karman* 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 kvīpi niyatavāt somaṃ sutavān somasāva ity aṅ na bhavati* 'because affix *KvIP* is to occur when the action is denoted in the past, *aṅ* cannot be introduced to derive *somasāvaḥ* parallel to the analyzed form: *somaṃ sutavān* 'he pressed out the Soma';
- (b) *dhātoḥ soma evopapade niyatavāt surāṃ sutavān surāsāva ity aṅ eva bhavati* 'because *soma* alone forms the *upapada*, affix *aṅ* alone occurs in *surāsāvaḥ* parallel to the analyzed form: *surāṃ sutavān* 'he distilled the liquor';
- (c) *...dhātau niyatavāt somaṃ krītavān somakrīr iti kvīb na bhavati* 'because of the restriction on verbal root  $\dot{s}u\check{N}$ , *somakrīḥ* does not qualify for affix *KvIP*, against *aṅ*, to derive it parallel to the analyzed form *somaṃ krītavān* 'he purchased Soma';
- (d) *kvīpo bhūte niyatavāt somaṃ sunoti soṣyati veti vivakṣāyām kvīb 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 *aṅ*'.

3.2.91 अग्नौ चेः

*agnau ceḥ*

*lagnau 7/2 ceḥ 5/1/*

(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *bhūte* #84, *karmanṅ* #86, *kvīp* #87)

*agnau karmanṅ upapade cinoter dhātoḥ kvīp pratyayo bhavati*

Affix *KvIP* occurs after verbal root  $\dot{c}i\check{N}$  when the root cooccurs with *agni* 'fire' as *karman* and the action is denoted in the past.

EXAMPLE:

*agnicit* 'he who heaped the ritual fire'

3.2.92 कर्मण्याग्न्याख्याम्

*karmanṅ agnyākhyāyām*

*/karmany 7/1 agnyākhyāyām 7/1/*

(*pratyayah #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, karmaṇi #86, kvip #87, ceḥ #91*)

*karmany upapade cinoteḥ karmaṇy eva kārake kvip pratyayo bhavati agnyākhyāyām*

Affix *KvIP* occurs to denote *karman* after verbal root *ciÑ* when the root cooccurs with a *pada* which denotes *karman*.

#### EXAMPLES:

*śyenacit* ‘a ritual fire (place) arranged in the shape of a falcon’

*kāṅkacit* ‘a ritual fire (place) arranged in the shape of a heron’

1. Note that ‘*ceḥ*’ and ‘*karmaṇi*’ are carried from the preceding rule. The second *karmaṇi*, 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 cīyate* ‘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, *āvahanīya*, 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 *pratyaya* ‘affix’.

#### 3.2.93 कर्मणीनिर्विक्रियः

*karmaṇīnir vikriyaḥ*

*/karmaṇi 7/1 inīḥ 1/1 vikriyaḥ 5/2/*

(*pratyayah #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, bhūte #84*)

*vipūrvāt kriṇāter dhātor ‘ini’ pratyayao bhavati*

Affix *inI* occurs after verbal root *kriÑ* ‘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:

*somavikrayī* ‘he who sold Soma’

*rasavikrayī* ‘he who sold liquor’

1. The explicit use of the word *karmaṇi* 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 *karmaṇi* 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 ‘*karmaṇi*’, thus, blocks the undesired meaning of ‘*karman*’ of the preceding rule.

### 3.2.94 दृशेः क्वनिप्

*dṛśeḥ kvanip*

*/dṛśeḥ 5/1 kvanip 1/1/*

(*pratyayah* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *bhūte* #84, *karmaṇi* #86)

*dṛśer dhātoḥ karmaṇy upapade kvanip pratyayo bhavati*

Affix *KvanIP* occurs after verbal root *dṛśIR* when the root cooccurs with a *pada* which denotes *karman* and the action is denoted in the past.

EXAMPLES:

*merudṛśvā* ‘he who has seen Meru’

*paralokadṛśvā* ‘he who has seen the world beyond’

1. Note that *KvanIP* is already available to *dṛśIR* from 3.2.75 *anyebhyo’ pi...* What, then, is the purpose of this rule? The purpose is to block the occurrence of other affixes (*pratyayāntaranivṛtyartham*) such as *manIN* and *aN*.

### 3.2.95 राजनि युधिकृञः

*rājani yudhikṛñah*

*/rājani 7/1 yudhikṛñah 5/1/*

(*pratyayah* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.9, *bhūte* #84, *karmaṇi* #86, *kvanip* #94)

*rājanśabde karmaṇy upapade yudhyateḥ karoteś ca kvanip pratyayo bhavati*

Affix *KvanIP* occurs after verbal roots *yudh* ‘to fight’ and *ḌukṛÑ* ‘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’

*rājakṛtvā* ‘he who made someone the king’



1. Note that *yudh* is generally treated as intransitive (*akarmaka*). This goes against the requirement that it be conjoined with an object (*karman*). Commentators explain that *yudh* is used here with *antarbhāvitanyartha*, inhaled causal meaning. Thus, it is a transitive (*sakarmaka*) verbal root.

### 3.2.96 सहे च

*sahe ca*

*/sahe 7/1 ca 0/*

(*pratyayah* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *bhūte* #84, *kvanip* #94, *yudhikṛñah* #95)

*sahe śabde copapade yudhikṛñor dhātvoḥ kvanip pratyayo bhavati*

Affix *KvanIP* also occurs after verbal roots *yudh* and *ḌUkṛÑ* 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’

*sahakṛtvā* ‘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.

### 3.2.97 सप्तम्यां जनेडः

*saptamyām janer ḍah*

*/saptamyām 7/1 janeḥ 5/1 ḍah 1/1/*

(*pratyayah* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *bhūte* #84)

*saptamyante upapade janer dhātor ḍah pratyayo bhavati*

Affix *Da* occurs after verbal root *janA* ‘to be born’ when the root cooccurs with a *pada* which ends in *saptamī* ‘seventh triplet of nominal endings’ and when the action is denoted in the past.

#### EXAMPLES:

*upasarajah* ‘he who was born by first impregnation’

*mandurajah* ‘he who was born in a stable’

1. Note that *saptamī* of *saptamyām* denotes the locative nominal ending. This makes the *pratyayagrahaṇa-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 rūpaṃ śabdasya...*, and 3.1.92 *tatropapadam....*

2. Note that the deletion of a *ṭi* (1.1.64 *aco' ntyādi ṭi*), even when it is part of a non-*bha* (1.4.18 *yaci bham*), is made possible at the strength of *Ḍ* as an *it* in the affix (cf. *Mbh.* ad 6.4.143 *ṭeḥ: ḍity abhasyāpy anubandha-karaṇasāmarthyāt*).

### 3.2.98 पञ्चम्यामजातौ

*pañcamyām ajātau*

*/pañcamyām 7/1 ajātau 7/1/*

(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *bhūte* #84, *janer ḍaḥ* #97)

*pañcamyanta upapade jātivarjite janer ḍaḥ pratyayo bhavati*

Affix *Ḍa* 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:

*buddhijaḥ* 'that which had its source in intelligence'

*saṃskārajaḥ* 'that which had its source in the *saṃskāra* (habits)'

*duḥkhajaḥ* 'that which had its source in grief'

### 3.2.99 उपसर्गे च संज्ञायाम्

*upasarge ca saṃjñāyām*

*/upasarge 7/1 ca 0 saṃjñāyām 7/1/*

(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *bhūte* #84, *janer ḍaḥ* #97)

*upasarge copapade janer ḍaḥ pratyayo bhavati*

Affix *Ḍa* also occurs after verbal root *janA* when the root cooccurs with a nominal *pada* which contains a preverb and the derivate denotes a *saṃjñā* 'name'.

#### EXAMPLE:

*athemā mānavī prajāḥ* 'this, thus, is the progeny of Manu'

1. Note that the denotation of name (*saṃjñā*) should be made by the form which results out of the combination of *dhātu*, *upapada* and *pratyaya*. That is, *saṃjñā* cannot be accepted as the meaning of any one of these elements individually.

### 3.2.100 अनौ कर्मणि

*anau karmaṇi*

*/anau 7/1 karmaṇi 7/1/*

(*pratyayah* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *bhūte* #84, *janer ḍaḥ* #87)

*anu pūrvād janeḥ karmany upapade ḍaḥ pratyayo bhavati*

Affix *Ḍa* occurs after verbal root *janA* when the root is used with the preverb *anu*, and cooccurs with a *pada* which denotes *karman*, provided the action is denoted in the past.

EXAMPLES:

*pumanujah* 'he who was born after a brother'  
*stryanujah* '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 kūle rujivahoh*.

3.2.101 अन्येषुपि दृश्यते

*anyeṣu api drśyate*

*anyeṣu 7/3 api 0 drśyate* (verbal *pada*)

(*pratyayah* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *bhūte* #84, *janer ḍaḥ* #97)

*anyeṣu apy upapadeṣu kārakeṣu janer ḍaḥ pratyayo drśyate*

Affix *Ḍa* 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'

*dvijāḥ* 'brāhmaṇas; twice-born'

*brāhmaṇajo dharmah* 'a *dharma* which originated with a *brāhmaṇa*'

*kṣatriyajam yuddham* 'a fight which originated with a *kṣatriya*'

*abhijāḥ* 'he who was born'

*parijāḥ keśāḥ* 'hairs which grow all over'

*anujah* 'born after; younger brother'

*parikhā* 'that which has been dug all around'; a moat'

*ākhā* 'pond'

1. This rule recalls the introduction of affix *Ḍa* 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), *Ḍa* comes after *janI* provided the *upapada* does not denote *jāti*. But this rule offers *brāhmaṇaja* and *kṣatriyajaja* in *brāhmaṇajo dharmah*, etc. It has been

additionally stated that *Da* is introduced after *janI* when a preverb constitutes an *upapada* and a name is denoted by the derivate (3.2.99). Our present rule offers examples where the derivates denote something other than a name (*saṃjñā*). Thus, we get *abhijāḥ* and *parijāḥ*. Similarly, it has been stated (3.2.99 *anau karmaṇi*) that when *janI* is used with the preverb *anu*, *karman* must be denoted by the *upapada*. This rule offers examples such as *anujāḥ* where the *upapada* is not a *karman*.

2. The word *api* has already been explained (3.2.75 *anyebhyo' pi...*) to be responsible for many violations of operational rules (*saroppādhivyabhi-cārārtham*). This allows *Da* to also occur after other roots (*dhātvantara*), as well as under the condition of other *kāraka* (*kārakāntare' pi*). Thus, we get examples such as *parikhā* and *ākhā* from *khanU* 'to dig'.

### 3.2.102 निष्ठा

*niṣṭhā*

*/niṣṭhā 1/1/*

(*pratyayah #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, bhūte #84*)

*niṣṭhāsaṃjñakah pratyayo bhūte bhavati*

An affix termed *niṣṭhā* (1.1.26 *ktaktavatū niṣṭhā*) occurs after a verbal root when the action is denoted in the past.

#### EXAMPLES:

*kṛtam* 'that which has already been done'

*kṛtavān* 'he did...'

*bhuktam* 'that which has already been consumed'

*bhuktavān* '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 (*bhāvinīsaṃjñā 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 *ktaktavatū 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 *kartari 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 *niṣṭhā* impossible. The *vārttika*, by using *ādikarmaṇi* ‘when the onset of an action is denoted’, refers to rule 3.2.187 *nītaḥ ktaḥ* whereby *niṣṭhā* affix *Kta* is introduced when the action is located within current time. Thus, we get *prakṛtaḥ kaṭam devadattaḥ* ‘Devadatta started making the mat’, etc. Refer also to rule 3.4.71 *ādikarmaṇi*...

### 3.2.103 सुयजोईवनिप्

*suyajor nvanip*

*/suyajoh 6/2 nvanip 1/1/*

(*pratyayah #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, bhūte #84*)

*sunoter yajateś ca nvanip pratyayo bhavati*

Affix *NvanIP* occurs after verbal roots *ṣuÑ* and *yaj* when the action is denoted in the past.

#### EXAMPLES:

*sutvā* ‘... pressed out the Soma’

*yajvā* ‘... performed the ritual sacrifice’

### 3.2.104 जीर्यतेरत्न

*jīryater atrn*

*/jīryateḥ 5/1 atrn 1/1/*

(*pratyayah #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, bhūte #84*)

*jīryater atrn pratyayo bhavati bhūte*

Affix *atRN* occurs after verbal root *jrṣ* ‘to grow old, decay’ when the action is denoted in the past.

#### EXAMPLE:

*jaran* ‘old, aged’

1. Note that affix *atRN* obviously forms an exception to affixes termed *niṣṭhā*. 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 *jīrṇaḥ* and *jīrṇavān* which are derivatives of affixes assigned the term *niṣṭhā*, can still be used optionally with *jaran*. The *Ṛ* as an *it* in *atRN* facilitates the introduction of augment *nUM* (7.1.70 *ugid acām...*). The *N* as an *it* is intended for initial high-pitch (*ādyudātta*) accent.

### 3.2.105 छन्दसि लिट्

*chandasi liṭ*

*/chandasi 7/1 liṭ 1/1/*

(*pratyayah #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, bhūte #84*)

*chandasi viṣaye dhātor liṭ pratyayo bhavati bhūte*

Affix *LIT* occurs after a verbal root in the Vedic when the action is denoted in the past.

EXAMPLES:

*aḥam sūryam ubhayaṭó dadarśa* ‘I saw the sun from both sides of it’  
*aḥam dyāvāprthivī 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 luṅlaṅliṭaḥ*. 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: *aḥam sūryām ubhayaṭó dadarśa* and *aḥam dyāvāprthivī ātātāna*.

3.2.106 लिटः कानज् वा

*liṭaḥ kānaj vā*

//liṭaḥ 6/1- kānac 1/1 vā 0/

(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *bhūte* #84, *chandasi* #105)

*chandasi viṣaye liṭaḥ kānaj ādeśo bhavati*

*KānaC* optionally comes in place of affix *LIT* in the Vedic when the action is denoted in the past.

EXAMPLES:

*agniṃ cikyānaḥ* ‘he heaped the ritual fire’

*somaṃ suṣuvāṇaḥ* ‘he pressed out the Soma’

*varuṇaṃ suṣuvāṇaḥ* ‘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 *gāṅkuṭādibhyo...*). The *C* is intended for the final high-pitch (*antodātta*) of 6.1.160 *ciṭaḥ*. This, as well as affix *KyasU* of the next rule, denotes *karṭr* via *sthānivadbhāva* (1.1.56 *sthānivad...*; 3.4.67 *kartari kṛt*; 3.1.91 *kṛd atin*). Affix *KānaC* is termed *ātmanepada* by rule 1.4.99 *taṅnāv*. . . . 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 *liṭaḥ* is used in this rule in the genitive (*ṣaṣṭhī*) to indicate that it is the *sthānī* ‘item to be replaced’ (1.1.49 *ṣaṣṭhī 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 (*vibhaktivipariṇāma*) to suit the context. Thus, the nominative of *liṭ* can be changed to read as genitive in the context of rule 3.2.106. This will also be economical, since *liṭ* in the genitive does not have to be explicitly stated in this rule. *Kāśikā* states that an explicit mention of *LIT* is intended to inform that *KānaC* and *KvasU* are also replacements of *LIT* of 3.2.115 *parokṣe liṭ*. Haradatta does not agree with this position. He states that *LIT* is explicitly mentioned in this rule so that there is no confusion about the status of *KānaC* and *KvasU*. That is, he, following the *Mahābhāṣya*, believes that, in the absence of *liṭaḥ*, *KānaC* and *KvasU* will be treated as independent affixes. They will be treated as replacements of *LIT* in view of the present formulation. Haradatta also takes recourse to the *paribhāṣā* (PŚ. 62): *anantarasya vidhir bhavati pratiṣedho vā* ‘an operation, or corresponding negation, is limited to the most immediate’. This prohibits *KānaC* and *KvasU* from being replacements for the *LIT* of rule 3.2.115 *parokṣe liṭ*. Refer also to my notes under rule 3.2.108 *bhāṣāyam*....

### 3.2.107 क्वसुश्च

*kvasuś ca*

*/kvasuḥ 1/1 ca 0/*

(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *bhūte* #84, *chandasi liṭaḥ*, *vā* #105–6)

*chandasi liṭaḥ kvasur ādeśo bhavati*

*KvasU* comes optionally in place of *LIT* in the Vedic when the action is denoted in the past.

#### EXAMPLES:

*jakṣivān* ‘...ate’

*papivān* ‘...drank’

1. Note that *KvasU* is termed *parasmaipada* by 1.4.98 *laḥ parasmaipadam*. Consequently, it should be introduced as a replacement of *LIT* only after a verbal root which qualifies to receive *parasmaipada* endings.

2. A question is raised as to why *KvasU* 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 भाषायां सदवसश्रुवः

*bhāṣāyāṃ sadavasaśruvaḥ*

*/bhāṣāyām 7/1 sadavaśruvaḥ 5/1/*

*(pratyayaḥ #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, liṭaḥ, vā #106, kvasu #107)*

*'sada, vasa, śru' ity etebhyaḥ parasya liṭo bhāṣāyām 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 kautsaḥ pāṇinīm* 'Kautsa was subservient to Pāṇini'  
*upāsadat...* 'id.'

*anūṣivān kautsaḥ pāṇinīm*

'Kautsa lived subsequently to Pāṇini'

*anvavātsīt...* 'id.'

*upaśuśruvān kautsaḥ pāṇinīm*

'Kautsa heard about Pāṇini...'

*upāśrouṣīt...* 'id.'

1. Note that the *Kāśikāvṛtti* interprets this rule differently from others as follows:

*'sada, vasa, śru' ity etebhyaḥ parasya liṭo bhāṣāyām 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 Pāṇini introduces the replacement, and since the replacement would become vacuous if there were no *sthānī*, an item to be replaced, we must assume that *LIT* is given as the *sthānī* 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 bhāṣāyām liṭ vā syāt, tasya ca nityam 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:



*‘vā grahaṇam liṭaiva sambaddhyate; tasya kvasus tu nitya iti bhāṣye spaṣṭam. pakṣe luṅ, tasya bhūtasāmānye vihitatvāt.* ‘the use of *vā* must be associated with *LIT* only; that *KvasU* is its obligatory replacement has already been made clear in the *Mahābhāṣya*. In the absence of this optional *LIT*, *LUN* (3.2.110 *luṅ*) will be the choice, since it has been introduced in the sense of general past’.

It is clear from the preceding discussion that the *Kāśikā* differs with the *Mahābhāṣya*. Commentators such as Haradatta and Nāgeśa 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 Bhaṭṭoji. Haradatta advises that ‘*Kāśikā*’s interpretation of this rule should be restructured to reflect this correct interpretation (*vr̥ttigrantho’ pi asminn evārthe yojanīyah*). 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 Nāgeśa 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 *vr̥tti* in parenthesis to indicate the difference of interpretation.

### 3.2.109 उपेयिवाननाश्चाननुचानञ्च

*upeyivāśvānanānūcānaś ca*

*lupeyivān-anāśvān-anūcānaḥ 1/3 ca 0/*

(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *bhūte* #84, *liṭaḥ*, *vā* #106)

*‘upeyivān, anāśvān, anūcān’ ity ete śabdā nipātyante*

Forms such as *upeyivān*, *anāśvān* and *anūcān* are derived by *nipātana*.

#### EXAMPLES:

*upeyivān* ‘he reached there’

*anāśvān* ‘he did not eat’

*anūcān* ‘he did not speak’

1. Note that the examples under this rule are given as derived by

*nīpātana*. 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, *LIT*, ruled in the sense of general past, will become optional. See notes under the preceding rule.

### 3.2.110 लुङ्

*luṅ*

*/luṅ 1/1/*

(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *bhūte* #84)

*bhūte' rthe varttamānād dhātor luṅ pratyayo bhavati*

Affix *LUN* occurs after a verbal root when the action is denoted in the past.

#### EXAMPLES:

*akārṣīt* 'he made...'

*ahārṣīt* 'he carried something away'

1. This rule introduces affix *LUN* after a verbal root when the action is denoted in the past (*bhūta*). The *ṅ* as an *it* is intended for qualification in rules such as 3.4.99 *nityam nītaḥ*. The *U* is also used for qualification (*viśeṣaṅārthaḥ*), though in rules such as 6.4.71 *luṅlanlṅṅkṣv aḍ udāttaḥ*, whereby *aṭ*, an augment marked with *udātta*, is introduced to an *āṅga* (1.4.13 *yasmāt...*) before *LUN*, etc.

### 3.2.111 अनद्यतने लङ्

*anadyatane laṅ*

*/anadyatane 7/1 laṅ 1/1/*

(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *bhūte* #84)

*avidyamānādyatane bhūte' rthe varttamānād dhātor laṅ pratyayo bhavati*

Affix *LAN* occurs after a verbal root when the action is denoted in a past which is non-current (*anadyatanabhūta*).

#### 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 *taṭpuruṣa* 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*: *adyatanād 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 *tatpuruṣa* interpretation based on the *paryudāsa* or *prasajya* interpretation of *anadyatana* = *adyatanād yo anyah* or *adyatane na bhavati* is thus rejected.

*Nyāsa* (ad *Kāśikā* II: 624) explains *adyatana* as follows:

*divasaḥ sakalo*’ *tikrāntāyā rātreś caturtho yāma āgāminyāś ca prathamō yāmaḥ* ‘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’ (*jāgaraṇasantatau*) one should use *LUN* as: *aham atrāvasam* ‘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 lañ vaktavyah*). Thus, we get: *aruṇad yavanaḥ sāketam* ‘the Yavana enforced a siege on the Sāketa’.

### 3.2.112 अभिज्ञावचने लृट्

*abhijñāvacane lṛṭ*

*labhijñāvacane 7/1 lṛṭ 1/1/*

(*pratyayah* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *bhūte* #84, *anadyatane* #111)

*abhijñāvacane upapade bhūtānadyatane lṛṭ pratyayo bhavati*

Affix *LṚṬ* occurs after a verbal root when the root cooccurs with a nominal *pada* which denotes *abhijñā* ‘recollection’, and when the action is denoted in a non-current past.

#### EXAMPLE:

*abhijñāsi devadatta kaśmīreṣu vatsyāmaḥ* ‘remember Devadatta, when we lived in Kaśmīra’

1. This constitutes an exception to LAN. The word *abhijñā* has been explained as 'recollection' (*smṛti*). The *saptamī* in *abhijñāvacane* indicates that a statement of recollection should constitute the cooccurring word (*upapada*). Thus, we get a sentence such as *abhijñāsi devadatta kaśmīreṣu vatsyāmaḥ* where *LṚṬ* has been introduced to denote a past which is non-current (*anadyatana*).

2. The word *vacana* in *abhijñāvacana* has been used to facilitate the synonyms (*paryāya*) of *abhijñā* to qualify as the cooccurring word. Thus, *abhijñāsi* of the example sentence could be replaced with *smarasi*, *buddhyase*, *cetayase*, etc., with no effect on the use of *LṚṬ*. A rule which uses *abhijñā* without *vacana* would be interpreted to specify the condition as: 'when *abhijñā* itself constitutes the cooccurring word'.

### 3.2.113 न यदि

*na yadi*

*/na 0 yadi 7/1/*

(*pratyayah* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *bhūte* #84, *anadyatane* #111, *abhijñāvacane lṛṭ* #112)

*yac chabdasahite' bhijñāvacana upapade lṛṭ pratyayo na bhavati*

Affix *LṚṬ* does not occur after a verbal root when the root co-occurs with a nominal *pada* which denotes *abhijñā* relative to some non-current action in the past, and is used in conjunction with *yad* 'that which'.

#### EXAMPLES:

*abhijñāsi devadatta yat kaśmīreṣu avasāmaḥ*  
'remember, Devadatta, that we lived in Kaśmīra'

### 3.2.114 विभाषा साकांक्षे

*vibhāṣā sākāṅkṣe*

*/vibhāṣā 1/1 sākāṅkṣe 1/1/*

(*pratyayah* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *bhūte* #84, *anadyatane* #111, *abhijñāvacane lṛṭ* #112)

*abhijñāvacane upapade yac chabdasahite kevale ca vibhāṣā liṭ pratyayo bhavati, sākāṅkṣaś cet prayoktā*

Affix *LṚṬ* occurs after a verbal root, used with or without *yad*, when the root cooccurs with a *pada* which denotes *abhijñā* relative to some non-current action in the past, provided the speaker wishes to add some additional information.

#### EXAMPLES:

*abhijñāsi devadatta kaśmīreṣu vatsyāmas tatraudanaṃ bhokṣyāmahe*

‘remember, Devadatta, when we lived in Kaśmīra and ate rice there’

*abhijānāsi devadatta yat kaśmīreṣu vatsyāmaḥ, yat tatraudanaṃ bhokṣyāmahe*  
‘remember, Devadatta, that we lived in Kaśmīra and ate rice there’

1. Commentators interpret this rule to be an instance of *ubhayatra-vibhāṣā*. 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 *LṚṬ* 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 *LṚṬ*, optionally, with or without the use of *yad* in the co-occurring word, provided the speaker expects to add more information. Thus, *LṚṬ* is used in *vatsyāmaḥ* of *abhijānāsi devadatta (yat) kaśmīreṣu vatsyāmas tatraudanaṃ bhokṣyāmahe* ‘remember Devadatta, we lived in Kaśmīra and ate rice there’. Note that *bhokṣyāmahe* takes *LAN̄*, since the provision of *LṚṬ* is optional. Conversely, we can get *abhijānāsi devadatta, kaśmīreṣu avasāma, yat tatraudanaṃ abhuñjamahi* where *yad* is used and the first verb is used in *LAN̄*.

*Kāśikā* explains *sākāṅkṣe* as *lakṣyalakṣaṇayoḥ sambandhe prayoktur ākāṅkṣā* ‘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 लिट्

*parokṣe liṭ*

*/parokṣe 7/1 liṭ 1/1/*

(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *bhūte* #84, *anadyatane* #111)

*bhūtānadyatanaparokṣe’ rthe varttamānād dhātor liṭ 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 *LIT* is to be used irrespective of *parokṣa* and *anadyatana* when an action is located in the past and *apahnavā* 'denial' is denoted. Thus, someone asked: *kalīṅgeṣu sthito* 'si' 'have you been to the country of Kalinga?' An answer such as: *nāham dakṣiṇāpatham praviveśa* 'I did not venture into the South of the country' with *LIT* is justified at the strength of the denial of past action.

### 3.2.116 हशश्वतोर्लङ् च

*haśaśvator laṅ ca*

*lhaśaśvatoḥ 7/2 laṅ 1/1 ca 0/*

(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *bhūte* #84, *anadyatane* #111, *parokṣe liṭ* #115)

*haśaśvatayor upapadayor laṅ pratyayo bhavati cakārāl liṭ ca*

Affix *LAṅ*, and *LIT* as well, occurs after a verbal root when the root cooccurs with *ha* and *śaśvat* and an unwitnessed action which is not current is denoted in the past.

#### EXAMPLES:

*iti hākarot* 'thus he did with resolve'

*iti ha cakāra* 'id.'

*śaśvad akarot* 'he always did it'

*śaśvac cakāra* 'id.'

1. This rule introduces affix *LAṅ*, additionally to *LIT*, to denote the sense of an unwitnessed non-current past when the root cooccurs with *ha* and *śaśvat*. Thus, we get *akarot* with *LAṅ* parallel to *cakāra* with *LIT*.

### 3.2.117 प्रश्ने चासन्नकाले

*praśne cāsannakāle*

*lpraśne 7/1 ca 0 āsannakāle 7/1/*

(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *bhūte* #84, *anadyatane* #111, *parokṣe, liṭ* #115, *laṅ* #116)

*āsannakāle pṛcchamāne bhūtādyatanaparokṣe' rthe varttamānād dhātoḥ laṅliṭau bhavataḥ*

Affixes *LAN* 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 devadattaḥ* 'did Devadatta leave?'

*jagāma devadattaḥ* 'id.'

*ayajad devadattaḥ* 'did Devadatta perform the ritual sacrifice?'

*iyāja devadattaḥ* 'id.'

1. This rule introduces both *LAN* 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 devadattaḥ* / *jagāma devadattaḥ* 'did Devadatta leave?'. Note that *jagāma devadattaḥ* 'Devadatta left', with *jagāma*, a form of *LIT*, cannot be used optionally with *LAN* 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 *bhavantaṃ prcchāmi* 'I ask you sir!', *jaghāna kaṃsaṃ kila vāsudevaḥ* 'did Vāsudeva indeed kill Kaṃsa' could not come under the purview of this rule. Note that the question is being asked about the killing of Kaṃsa (*kaṃsavadhā*) which cannot be accepted as recent (*āsannakālīka*).

3.2.118 लट् स्मे

*laṭ sme*

*llaṭ 1/1 sme 7/1/*

(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *bhūte* #84, *anadyatane* #111, *parokṣe* #115)

*smaśabda upapade bhūtānadyatanaparokṣe laṭ pratyayo bhavati*

Affix *LAṬ* 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:

*naḍena sma 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 liṭ*. Some, according to Haradatta, explain the example sentence as:

*purā kalpe naḍākhyam trṇaviśeṣam haste grhītvā adhīyānā adhīyate sma* 'the students studied in the ancient times with *naḍa*, a particular reed, in their hands'.

## 3.2.119 अपरोक्षे च

*aparokṣe ca*

*laparokṣe 7/1 ca 0/*

*(pratyayaḥ #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, bhūte #84, anadyatane #111, laṭ, sme #118)*

*aparokṣe ca bhūtānadyatane' rthe varttamānād dhātoḥ sma upapade laṭ pratyayo bhavati*

Affix *LAṬ* 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:

*evam sma pitā bravīti* 'thus my father used to speak'

*iti smopādhyāyaḥ kathayati* 'thus my teacher used to say'

1. The preceding rule allows for *LAṬ* 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 *LAṬ* 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* derivatives 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 पृष्टप्रतिवचने

*nanau pṛṣṭaprativacane*

*lnanau 7/1 pṛṣṭaprativacane 7/1/*

*(pratyayaḥ #3.1.1 paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, bhūte #84, laṭ #118)*

*nanuśabda upapade praśnapūrvake prativacane bhūte' rthe laṭ pratyayo bhavati*

Affix *LAṬ* 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:

*akārṣiḥ kaṭam devadatta* 'Devadatta, did you make the mat?'



*nanu karomi bhoḥ* 'indeed I made (it)  
*avocas tatra kiṃcid devadatta* 'Devadatta, did you say something there?'  
*nanu bravīmi bhoḥ* 'indeed I did'

1. Note that '*anadyatana*' and '*parokṣa*' are not carried. That is, this rule allows affix *LAṬ* 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: *akārṣiḥ kaṭam?* 'did you make the mat'. The answer will include *LAṬ*: *nanu karomi bhoḥ* 'yes, I did'.

### 3.2.121 नन्वोर्विभाषा

*nanvor vibhāṣā*  
*lnanvoḥ 7/2 vibhāṣā 1/1/*  
*(pratyayah #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, bhūte #84, laṭ #118, prṣṭaprativacane #120)*  
*naśabde nuśabde copapade prṣṭaprativacane vibhāṣā laṭ pratyayo bhavati bhūte*

Affix *LAṬ* 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:

*akārṣiḥ kaṭam devadatta* 'Devadatta, did you make the mat?'  
*na karomi bhoḥ* 'I did not make (it)'  
*nākārṣam* 'id.'  
*ahaṃ nu karomi* 'indeed I made (it)'  
*ahaṃ nvakārṣam* '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 : *akārṣiḥ kaṭam devadatta* 'did you make the mat Devadatta?'  
 Answer : *na karomi bhoḥ* 'I did not make it'; *nākārṣam* 'id.'; *ahaṃ nu karomi* 'indeed I made it'

### 3.2.122 पुरि लुङ् चास्मे

*puri luṅ cāsme*  
*lpuri 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, *vibhāṣā* #121)

'*purā*' śabda upapade smaśabdavarjite bhūtānadyatane' rthe vibhāṣā luṅ  
pratyayo bhavati laṭ ca

Affix *LUN* occurs, optionally with *LAT*, after a verbal root which cooccurs with *purā*, and is not used in conjunction with *sma*, provided the action is denoted in a past which is not current.

#### EXAMPLES:

*vasantīha purā chātrāḥ* 'students lived here earlier'

*avātsuḥ purā chātrāḥ* 'students lived (here) earlier'

*avasann iha purā chātrāḥ* 'students lived here earlier'

*ūṣur iha purā chātrāḥ* 'I hear that students lived here earlier'

1. Note that the word *anadyatane* is carried via *maṇḍūkapluti*. This rule offers *LUN* after a verbal root when *purā* 'once upon a time; previously' forms the cooccurring 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 *LAT*. If, however, the option of *LUN* and *LAT* 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) *vasantīha purā chātrāḥ (LAT)* 'students lived here earlier'

(b) *avātsuḥ purā chātrāḥ (LUN)* 'id.'

(c) *avasann iha purā chātrāḥ (LAN)* 'id.'

(d) *ūṣur iha purā chātrāḥ (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 वर्तमाने लट्

*varttamāne laṭ*

*lvarttamāne 7/1 laṭ 1/1/*

(*pratyayah* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91)

*varttamāne*' rthe *varttamānād dhātor laṭ pratyayo bhavati*

Affix *LAT* occurs after a verbal root when the action is denoted at the current time (*varttamāna*).

#### EXAMPLES:

*bhavati* '...becomes'

*pacati* '...cooks'

*paṭhati* 'reads, recites'

## 3.2.124 लटः शतृशानचावप्रथमासमानाधिकरणे

*laṭaḥ śatṛśānacāu aprathamāsamānādhikaraṇe*  
*lṭaṭaḥ 6/1 śatṛśānacau 1/2 aprathamāsamānādhikaraṇe 7/1/*  
*(pratyayah #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, varttamāne #123)*  
*laṭaḥ śatṛśānacāu ity etāv ādeśau bhavataḥ aprathamāntena cet tasya*  
*sāmānādhikaraṇyaṃ bhavati*

Affixes *ŚatR* and *ŚānaC* 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:

*pacantaṃ devadattaṃ paśya* 'see Devadatta cooking'  
*pacamānaṃ devadattaṃ paśya* 'id.'  
*pacatā kṛtaṃ* '(it was) done by one who was cooking'

1. The word *aprathamā* equates with *na prathamā*. It is a *naN̄-tatpuruṣa* compound where the negative particle *naN̄* interpreted as *paryudāsa = tadbhinna-tatsadṛśa* '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 *dvitīyā* '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 *samānādhikaraṇaḥ* is explained as a *bahuvrīhi* compound meaning: *samānam = abhinnaṃ adhikaraṇaṃ vācyam yasya* 'that whose denotatum is identical to the denotatum of...'. When *samānādhikaraṇaḥ* 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 *ŚatR* or *ŚānaC*, where *Ś* is used as an *it* to facilitate the introduction of affixes *ŚaP*, etc. This operation is

consequent upon assignment of the term *sārvadhātuka* (3.4.113 *tiṅsīt sārvadhātuka*). Let us examine the following sentences:

- (1) *devadatta odanaṃ pacati* 'Devadatta is cooking rice'
- (2) *ahaṃ devadattaṃ paśyāmi* 'I see Devadatta'
- (3) *ahaṃ odanaṃ pacantaṃ devadattaṃ 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 *Devadattam* and *pacantam*. Given the string *pac + LAṬ + devadatta + am*, *LAṬ* can be replaced with *ŚatR* or *ŚānaC* if the denotatum of this *LAṬ* is similar to the denotatum of a word which ends in a nominal ending other than the nominative. If *devadatta + am*, which ends in *dvitīyā*, has the same denotatum as the *LAṬ*, then *LAṬ* can be replaced with *ŚatR* or *ŚānaC*. What is the denotatum of *LAṬ*? Rule 3.4.69 *laḥ karmanī ca bhāve cākarmakebhyaḥ* explains that *LA* denotes agent (*kartr*) 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 *LAṬ* 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 *LAṬ* in *pac + LAṬ* 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 *LAṬ* of *pac + LAṬ*, 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 *odanam* which constitutes the object of *pac*, a different action.

Note, in addition, that a *LAṬ* denotes *kartr*, *bhāva*, or *karman* not by itself, but by its replacements (*ādeśa*). Thus, to say that *pac + LAṬ* 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 *LAṬ* 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 *LAṬ* for purposes 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 *LAṬ* is coreferential with the denotatum of a *pada* which ends in the nominative. *Kāśikā* states that *LAṬ* 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. *Kāśikā* further informs that some interpret the rule with the *anuvṛtti* of *vibhāṣa* from 3.2.121 *nanvor vibhāṣā* in order to explain the coreferentiality of *LAṬ* with a word which ends in *prathamā*. The rule thus becomes *vyavasthitavibhāṣā* in the sense that (a) *ŚatR* and *ŚānaC* obligatorily replace *LAṬ* when it is coreferential with a word which ends in a nominal ending other than *prathamā*, and (b) *ŚatR* and *ŚānaC* replace *LAṬ* optionally when the coreferentiality obtains between *LAṬ* and a word which ends in *prathamā*. This all is to somehow account for usages entailing coreferentiality with nominative which goes against the rule.

Note additionally that *ŚatR* and *ŚānaC*, for reasons of being constituted by more than one sound segment, and also for being marked with *Ś*, replace *LAṬ* in its entirety (*sarvādeśa*).

### 3.2.125 सम्बोधने च

*sambodhane ca*

*/sambodhane 7/1 ca 0/*

(*pratyayah* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *varttamāne* #123, *laṭaḥ śatṛśānacau* #124)

*sambodhane ca viṣaye laṭaḥ śatṛśānacau pratyayau bhavataḥ*

Affixes *ŚatR* and *ŚānaC* occur after a verbal root in place of *LAṬ* also when *sambodhana* '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 *ŚatR* and *ŚānaC* under the constraint of coreferentiality with *prathamā* though this *prathamā* should be introduced to denote *sambodhana* (2.3.47 *sambodhane ca*).

### 3.2.126 लक्षणहेत्वोः क्रियायाः

*lakṣaṇahetvoḥ kriyāyāḥ*

*/lakṣaṇahetvoḥ 7/2 kriyāyāḥ 6/1/*

(*pratyayah* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *varttamāne* #123, *laṭaḥ śatṛśānacau* #124)

*lakṣaṇe hetau cārthe varttamānād dhātoḥ parasya laṭaḥ śatṛśānacāv ādeśau bhavataḥ, tau cel lakṣaṇahetukriyāviṣayau bhavataḥ*

Affixes *ŚatR* and *ŚānaC* occur after a verbal root in place of *LAṬ* when the action denoted by the root constitutes a *lakṣana* 'characteristic mark', or *hetu* 'cause', of some other action.

## EXAMPLES:

*śayānā bhūñjate yavanāḥ* ‘the Ionians eat while reclining’  
*arjayan vasati* ‘he is living here in order to earn money’  
*adhīyāno vasati* ‘he is living here in order to study’

1. This rule introduces *ŚatR* and *ŚānaC* in place of *LAṬ* 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 bhūñjate yavanāḥ* ‘the Ionians eat while reclining’  
 (b) *tiṣṭhan mūtrayati yavanaḥ* ‘the Ionian urinates while standing’  
 (c) *adhīyāno vasati vārāṇasī* ‘he stays in Vārāṇasī for the purpose of studying’

Affix *ŚatR* replaces *LAṬ* after *sthā* ‘to stand’ in sentence (b) since the action denoted by this root characterizes the way the Ionians ‘urinate’. The first sentence introduces *ŚānaC* as a replacement for *LAṬ*, after verbal root *śīṆ* ‘to recline’ since the action denoted by this root characterizes the way the Ionians eat. Sentence (c) explains how *adhīyānaḥ*, a derivate of *adhi* + *i* + *LAṬ* where *LAṬ* is replaced with *ŚānaC*, constitutes the *hetu* ‘cause, reason’ for the action of ‘staying’ denoted by verbal root *vas* ‘to dwell’.

## 3.2.127 तौ सत्

*tau sat*  
*/tau 1/2 sat 1/1/*  
*tau śatṛśānacau satsamjñau bhavataḥ*  
 Affixes *ŚatR* and *ŚānaC* are termed *sat*.

## EXAMPLES:

*brāhmaṇasya kurvan* ‘while doing the work of a *brāhmaṇa*...’  
*brāhmaṇasya kariṣyan* ‘id.’  
*brāhmaṇasya kariṣyamānaḥ* ‘id.’

1. This rule assigns the term *sat* to affixes *ŚatR* and *ŚānaC* both. The word *tau* thus refers to *ŚatR* and *ŚānaC*. But such a reference requires that *Śatṛ* and *ŚānaC* be given in the dual as *śatṛśānacau*. 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 *laṭaḥ śatṛśānacāv*... For, we get the most generalized reference to the two affixes in that rule. Our term *sat* could be assigned only to the *ŚatR* and *ŚānaC* replacements of *LAṬ* with reference to the current (*varttamāna*) action if the dual form *śatṛśānacau* 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 *LṛṬ* (3.3.14 *lṛṭaḥ*

*sad vā*). The idea is to indicate *ŚatR* 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 *pūranagūṇasuhitārtha...* whereby a *pada* which ends in genitive is blocked from forming a compound. Consider also rule 3.3.14 *ṛṭaḥ sad vā* whereby *ŚatR* and *ŚānaC* are introduced as replacements for *LRT*.

### 3.2.128 पूज्यजोः शानन्

*pūñyajoḥ śānan* 1/1/

/pūñyajoḥ 6/2 śānan 1/1/

(*pratyayah* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *varttamāne* #123)

*pūñoḥ yajés ca dhātoḥ śānan pratyayo bhavati*

Affix *ŚānaN* occurs after verbal roots *pūN* 'to cleanse' and *yajA* 'to sacrifice' when the action is denoted at the current time.

#### EXAMPLES:

*pavamānaḥ* 'that which purifies; Agni'

*yajamānaḥ* 'he who performs the ritual sacrifice'

1. Note that *ŚānaN* is not a replacement of *LA*. Instead, it is an independent affix like *ṆvuL* and *ṛC*, etc. Commentators explain that treating this affix as a replacement of *LAṬ* will be problematic. For example, introduction of this affix as a replacement of *LAṬ* will become optional in view of the provisions of *vā"śarūpavidhi* (3.1.94 *vā"śarūpo...*). Thus, *yajate* and *pavate* will also become optional to *yajamānaḥ* and *pavamānaḥ*. This, at least to some, may not create any problem since it is stated that the provisions of *vā"śarūpavidhi* 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 *LAṬ* then the affix will also have to denote a 'means' (*sādhana*) as is provided for by rule 3.4.69 *laḥ karmani ca bhāve cākarmakebhyaḥ*. This may lead further to the problems of assignment of the terms *parasmaipada* 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 *ŚatR* and *ŚānaC* as replacements of *LA* constitutes the evidence for *ŚānaN* to be accepted as an independent affix.

### 3.2.129 ताच्छील्यवयोवचनशक्तिषु चानश्

*tācchīlyavayovacanaśaktiṣu cānaś*

/tācchīlya...śaktiṣu 7/3 cānaś 1/1/

(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91)

*tācchīlyādiṣu dhātoś cānaś pratyayo bhavati*

Affix *Cānaś* occurs after a verbal root to denote *tācchīlya* 'one's nature', *vaya* 'age' or *śakti* 'capability' when the action is denoted at the current time

EXAMPLES:

*katīha muṇḍayamānāḥ* 'how many are here with shaven heads'

*katīha bhūṣayamānāḥ* 'how many here are well-dressed'

*katīha kavacaṃ paryasyamānāḥ* 'how many here are wearing protective armor'

*katīha śikhaṇḍaṃ vahamānāḥ* 'how many here have a topknot'

*katīha nighnānāḥ* 'how many here are killers'

*katīha paṇamānāḥ* '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 *vayasi ca*. Haradatta (*Kāśikā* II: 646) explains that the word *vacana* is used for clarity (*vispaṣṭārtham*). *Nyāsa* treats it as a variation (*vaicitrya*) in style.

Note that *Cānaś* again is an independent affix. The fact that *Cānaś* is not a replacement of *LAṬ* 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 इन्द्रधार्योः शत्रकृच्चिणि

*iṅdhāryoḥ śatrakṛcchriṇi*

*iṅdhāryoḥ* 5/2 *śatr* 1/1 (deleted) *akṛcchriṇi* 7/1/

(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *vartamāne* #123)

*iṅo dhāreś ca dhātvoḥ śatrpratyayo bhavati akṛcchriṇi kartari*

Affix *ŚatR* occurs after verbal roots *iṅ* 'to go' and *dhāri* 'to hold' when the agent accomplishes the action at the current time with no difficulty.

EXAMPLES:

*adhīyan pārāyaṇam* 'someone studying the *Pārāyaṇa* with no difficulty at all'

*dhārayan upaniṣadam* 'someone comprehending the *Upaniṣad* with no difficulty at all'

1. The word *akṛcchra* is explained as *sukhasādhyah* 'that which is accomplished with ease'. The word *akṛcchriṇi* modified with *kartari* yields the



following meaning: 'when the sense of the root denoted is easy to accomplish by the agent' (*sukhasādhyo yasya kartrur dhātvarthaḥ*).

Verbal root *dhāri*, 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 upaniṣadam* equates with *akṛcchreṇa upaniṣadam 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 *ŚatR* was not available to verbal roots *iṅ* 'to go' and *dhāri* 'to hold', in causitive. The first verb is required to receive an *ātmanepada* affix on account of its *ṅ* as an *it*. The second can also receive the same if the fruit of its action accrues to its agent (1.3.72 *svaritañitaḥ kartrabhiprāye...*). This rule, instead, makes *ŚatR* available after both the verbal roots.

### 3.2.131 द्विषोऽमित्रे

*dviṣo' mitre*

*/dviṣaḥ 5/1 amitre 7/1/*

(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *varttamāne* #123)  
*amitre kartari dviṣer dhātoḥ śatṛpratyayo bhavati*

Affix *ŚatR* 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'

*dviṣantau* '...the two who are...'

*dviṣantaḥ* '...the many who...'

1. Note that the word *amitra* 'non-friend' is traditionally used in the sense of an enemy (*śatru*). Otherwise, the affix may also become applicable in: *dveṣṭi bhāryā patim* 'the wife is jealous of her husband'.

### 3.2.132 सुञ्चो यज्ञसंयोगे

*suñcho yajñasamyoge*

*/suñcaḥ 5/1 yajñasamyoge 7/1/*

(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *varttamāne* #123)  
*yajñasamyukte' bhiṣave varttamānāt sunoter dhātoḥ śatṛpratyayo bhavati*

Affix *ŚatR* occurs after verbal root *ṣuṅ* 'to press out' when a current action is denoted in relation to a *yajña* 'ritual sacrifice'.

#### EXAMPLE:

*sarve sunvantaḥ* 'everyone participates at the ritual of pressing out the Soma...'

1. The word *yajñasamyoga* 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 yajñe*’. The word *samyoge* restricts the association of the ritual to the principal agent (*yajaka*) only. *Kāśikā* thus states that the word *samyoga* is used to restrict the usage to the *yajaka*’s association alone.

### 3.2.133 अर्हः प्रशंसायाम्

*arhaḥ praśamsāyām*

*larhaḥ 5/1 praśamsāyām 7/1/*

(*pratyayah* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *varttamāne* #123)

*arhater dhātoḥ praśamsāyāṃ śatṛpratyayo bhavati*

Affix *ŚatṚ* occurs after verbal root *arhA* ‘to deserve’ when praise is denoted at the current time.

#### EXAMPLES:

*arhann iha bhavān vidyām* ‘you, sir, deserve knowledge here’

*arhann iha bhavān pūjām* ‘you, sir, deserve praise here’

### 3.2.134 आ क्वेस्तच्छीलतद्धर्मतत्साधुकारिषु

*ā kves tacchīlataddharmatatsādhukāriṣu*

*lāṆ 0 kveḥ 5/1 tacchīlataddharmatatsādhukāriṣu 7/3/*

*ā etasmāt kviṣ samśabdād yānita ūrddhvam anukramiṣyāmas tacchīlādiṣu karṭṛṣu te vedītavyāḥ*

Affixes introduced as far as *kveḥ* (3.2.77 *bhrājabhās...*) occur after a verbal root to denote a *karṭṛ* ‘agent’ who performs an action because of his nature (*śīla*), sense of duty (*dharma*), or skill (*sādhukāri*).

#### EXAMPLE:

To be given under appropriate rules

1. This rule enumerates three semantic conditions under which affixes prior to rule 3.2.177 *bhrājabhāsadhurvidyut...* are to be used. The *āṆ* of *ā* indicates *abhividdhi* ‘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 (*kartr*) since derivatives denote agent (3.4.67 *kartari 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 derivatives denote. Thus, *tacchīlaḥ* would be interpreted as a *bahuvrīhi* compound parallel to the analyzed form: *tad (dhātvarthaḥ) śīlo yasya* ‘he whose characteristic nature is what the verbal root denotes’. Similarly, *taddharma* and *tatsādhu-kārī* 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 तृन्

*tṛn*

/tṛn 1/1/

(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2 *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *varttamāne* #123, *tacchīlataddharmatatsādhu-kārīṣu* #134)

*sarvadhātubhyas tṛn pratyayo bhavati tacchīlādiṣu kartrṣu*

Affix *tṛN* occurs after verbal roots to denote a *kartr* who performs an action at the current time because of his nature, sense of duty, or skill.

#### EXAMPLES:

*karttā kaṭān* ‘he whose nature it is to make mats’

*vaditā janāpavādān* ‘he whose nature is to spread malicious gossip’

*muṇḍayitārah śrāviṣṭhāyanā bhavanti vadhūm ūdhām* ‘the *śrāviṣṭhāyanās* have the heads of their brides shaven’

*annam apaharttāra āhvarakā bhavanti śrāddhe siddhe* ‘the *āvharaka* (outcasts) steal the ritual oblation of food as soon as the ritual is completed’

### 3.2.136 अलंकृञ्निराकृञ्प्रजनोत्पचोत्पतोन्मदरुच्यपत्रपवृतुवृधुसहचर इष्णुच्

*alamkṛñnirākṛññprajanotpacotpatonmadarucyapatrapavṛtuvṛdhusahacara*  
*iṣṇuc*

/alamkṛññ...sahacaraḥ 5/1 iṣṇuc 1/1/

(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *varttamāne* #123, *tacchīlataddharmatatsādhu-kārīṣu* 7/3)

*alamkṛññādhībhyo dhātubhyas tacchīlādiṣu kartrṣu iṣṇuc pratyayo bhavati*

Affix *iṣṇuC* occurs after the following verbal roots when the *kartr* performs an action at the current time because of his nature, sense of duty, or skill:

- a) *DUkṛñ* when used with *alam*, or the preverbs *nir* and *āN*

- (b) *janA* 'to be born' used with the preverb *pra*
- (c) *DUpacaṢ* 'to cook'
- (d) *pat* 'to fall'
- (e) *madI* 'to be joyous' used with the preverb *ud*
- (f) *rucA* 'to shine'
- (g) *trapŪṢ* 'to be abashed' used with the preverbs *apa*
- (h) *vrtU* 'to turn'
- (i) *vrdhU* 'to grow'
- (j) *rahA* 'to endure'

## EXAMPLES:

*alamkariṣṇuh* 'he whose nature is to decorate (things)'  
*nirākariṣṇuh* 'he whose nature is to repudiate'  
*prajaniṣṇuh* 'he who is good at producing'  
*utpaciṣṇuh* 'he who is good at cooking'  
*utpatiṣṇuh* 'he whose nature is to go higher up'  
*unmadiṣṇuh* 'he whose nature is to be mad'  
*rociṣṇuh* 'shining'  
*apatrapīṣṇuh* 'he whose nature is not to be abashed'  
*varttiṣṇuh* 'revolving'  
*vardhiṣṇuh* 'growing'  
*sahiṣṇuh* 'enduring, brave'  
*cariṣṇuh* 'he whose nature is to wander about'

See the appendix for derivational details.

## 3.2.137 णेश्छन्दसि

*ṇeś chandasi*

*ṇeḥ 5/1 chandasi 7/1/*

(*pratyayah* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *varttamāne* #123, *tacchīlataddharmatatsādhukāriṣu* #134, *iṣṇuc* #136)

*ṇyantād dhātoś chandasi viṣaye tacchīlādiṣu karṭṛṣu iṣṇuc pratyayo bhavati*

Affix *iṣṇuC* occurs in the Vedic to denote *karṭṛ* after a verbal root which ends in *ṆiC* when the agent brings about an action at the current time because of his nature, sense of duty, or skill.

## EXAMPLES:

*dṛṣadam dhārayiṣṇavah* 'those who carry the stones...'

*vīrudhāḥ pārayiṣṇavāḥ* 'those who nurture the plants'

## 3.2.138 भुवश्च

*bhuvaś ca*

*/bhuvah 5/1 ca 0/*

(*pratyayah #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, varttamāne #123, tacchīlataddharmatatsādhukāriṣu #134, iṣṇuc #136, chandasi #137*)

*bhavater dhātoś chandasi viṣaye tacchīlādiṣu iṣṇuc pratyayao bhavati*

Affix *iṣṇuC* also occurs in the Vedic to denote *karṭṛ* after verbal root *bhū* when the agent performs the action at the current time because of his nature, sense of duty, or skill.

## EXAMPLE:

*bhaviṣṇúḥ* ‘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: ‘*ṇibhūbhyām 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 *ṆiC*.

*Kāśikā* states that the use of *ca* is made to account for roots not covered thus far (*anuktasamuccaya*). Thus, we get *bhrājiṣṇuḥ* of *bhrājiṣṇunā lohita-candanena*. Note that this root gets *KvIP* (3.2.177 *bhrājabhās...*) in the classical language. The derivate *bhrājiṣṇuḥ* could thus be accounted for by *ca*. Note that the *Mahābhāṣya* does not state this form.

## 3.2.139 ग्लजिस्थश्च क्स्नुः

*glājisthaś ca ksnuḥ*

*/glājisthah 5/1 ca 0 ksnuḥ 1/1/*

(*pratyayah #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, varttamāne #123, tacchīlataddharmatatsādhukāriṣu #134, bhuvah #138*)

*‘glā, ji, sthā’ ity etebhyo dhātubhyaś cakārād bhuvaś ca tacchīlādiṣu ksnuḥ pratyayo bhavati*

Affix *Ksnu* occurs to denote *karṭṛ* 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:

*glāsnuḥ* ‘he whose nature is to be weary’

*jiṣṇuḥ* ‘he whose nature is to win’

*sthāsnuḥ* ‘he whose nature is to be firm’

*bhūṣṇuḥ* ‘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:

*ksor gitvān na sthā ikārah knitor itvaśāsanāt/  
 guṇābhāvas triṣu smāryaḥ śryuko’ niṭtvam gakor itoḥ//*  
 ‘because of the *G* as an *it* in *Gsnu*, no’-*i* replaces the *ā* of *sthā* (6.4.66 *ghumāsthā*...);  
 for that replacement is allowed only before an affix marked with *K* and *Ṇ* as an *it*;  
 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 *śrūyakaḥ kiti* consequent upon which the *iṭ* is blocked before an affix marked with *G* and *K*’

Also see the discussion under rule 1.1.5 *kniti ca*.

### 3.2.140 त्रसिगृध्रिक्षिपेः कुः

*trasigr̥dhidhr̥ṣikṣipeḥ knuḥ*  
*/trasigr̥dhidhr̥ṣikṣipeḥ 5/ knuḥ //*  
 (*pratyayah* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *varttamāne* #123, *tacchīlataddharmatatsādhukāriṣu* #134)  
*trasādibhyo dhātubhyas tacchīlādiṣu knuḥ pratyayo bhavati*  
 Affix *Knu* occurs to denote *karṭṛ* after verbal roots *trasA* ‘to be terrified’, *gṛdhU* ‘to be greedy’, *Ṇidhr̥ṣA* ‘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’  
*gṛdhnuḥ* ‘greedy’  
*dhr̥ṣnuḥ* ‘daring’  
*kṣipnuḥ* ‘he who throws’

### 3.2.141 शमित्यष्टाभ्यो घिनुण्

*śam ity aṣṭābhyo ghinuṇ*  
*/śam 5/1 (deleted); iti 0 aṣṭābhyah 5/3 ghinuṇ 1/1/*  
 (*pratyayah* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *varttamāne* #123, *tacchīlataddharmatatsādhukāriṣu* #134)  
*śamādibhyo dhātubhyo’ ṣṭābhyas tacchīlādiṣu ghinuṇ pratyayo bhavati*  
 Affix *GHinUN* occurs to denote *karṭṛ* after the eight verbal roots which begin with *śamA* ‘to be calm’ when the agent performs the action at the current time because of his nature, sense of duty, or skill.

## EXAMPLES:

*śamī* 'calm'  
*tamī* 'desirous'  
*damī* 'taming, controlling'  
*śramī* 'hard-working'  
*bhramī* 'roaming, whirling'  
*klamī* 'tired'  
*kṣamī* 'forgiving'  
*pramādī* 'careless'  
*unmādī* 'crazy'

1. The word *iti*, as is clear from the enumeration of the eight roots, is used here in the sense of *ādi* 'beginning'. The *GH* of *GHinUN* is used as an *it* so that the final *c, j* of a root can be replaced with *k, g* before an affix marked with *GH* (7.3.52 *cajoh ku ghinyatoḥ*). *Kāśikā* states that the *U* is used for ease of articulation (*uccāraṇārīṭha*). 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 *śaminītarā* and *śaminītarā* where the shortening of *ī* is optionally conditioned by *U* as an *it*. *Kāśikā* accepts the shortening as obligatory (*nītya*). For details, see PM and *Nyāsa* ad *Kāśikā* on this rule. The *Ṇ* is an *it* for *vṛddhi*.

3.2.142 सम्प्रचानुरुधाङ्यमाङ्यसपरिसृसंसृजपरिदेविसंज्वरपरिक्षिपपरिरटपरिवदपरिदहपरिमुह-  
दुषद्विषद्दुहयुजक्रीडविविचत्यजरजभजातिचरापचरामुषाभ्याहनश्च

*samprcānuruḍhāṅyamāṅyasaparisaṣṣamsrjaparidevisamjvaraparikṣipaparirataparivadaparidahaparimuhaduṣadviṣadruhaduhayujākriḍavivicatyajajabhajāticarāpacarāmuṣābhyāhanaś ca*

*lsamprcā...hanaḥ 5/1 = (sam. dv.); ca Ø*

(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *varttamāne* #123, *tacchīlataddharmatatsādḥukāriṣu* #134, *ghinuṅ* #141)

*samprcādibhyc dhātubhyo ghinuṅ bhavati tacchīlādiṣu*

Affix *GHinUN* occurs after the following verbal roots to denote a *kartr* who performs the action at the current time because of his nature, sense of duty, or skill:

- '*prcī*' 'to contact' used with the preverb *sam* (a *rudhādi parasmaipada* root),
- '*rudhIR*' 'to cover' used with the preverb *anu* (a *rudhādi* root qualified to take both *ātmanepada* as well as *parasmaipada* endings),
- '*yamA*' 'to be weary, desist' used with *āṆ* (a *bhvādi parasmaipada* root),
- '*yasU*' 'to strive' used with *āṆ* (a *divādi parasmaipada* root),
- '*sr*' 'to go' used with the preverb *pari* (a *bhvādi parasmaipada* root),
- '*srjĀ*' 'to release', used with the preverb *sam* (a *divādi ātmanepada* root),

- (g) 'devR' 'lament' used with the proverb *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 parasmaipadaātmanepada*), or (*divādi parasmaipada* root),
- (j) 'raṭA' '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) 'dviṣA' 'to dislike' (an *adādi* root used in both *ātmanepada-parasmaipada*),
- (p) 'druhĀ' 'to hurt' (a *divādi parasmaipada* root),
- (q) 'duhA' 'to fill, milk' (an *adādi* both *ātmanepada-parasmaipada* root),
- (r) 'yūjIR' 'to join' or 'yujA' 'to concentrate' (*rudhādi ātmanepada-parasmaipada*, or *divādi ātmanepada*),
- (s) 'krīḍR' '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) 'rañjA' 'to color, be in love' (a *divādi ātmanepada-parasmaipada* root),
- (w) 'bhajĀ' '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 *kryādi parasmaipada* roots),
- (z) 'hanA' 'to kill' used with the preverb *abhi* and *āN* (an *adādi parasmaipada* root).

## EXAMPLES:

*samṣparkī* 'he who makes contact; is related'  
*anurodhī* 'he who requests, insists, or complains'  
*āyāmī* 'one who expands, or restraints'  
*āyāsī* 'one who strives'  
*parisārī* 'one who moves around, or is present everywhere'  
*samṣargī* 'one who is joined, or is in contact, with...'  
*paridevī* 'he who laments, or grieves'



*saṃjuārī* 'one who is afflicted with very high fever'  
*parikṣepī* 'one who scatters things around'  
*parirāṭī* 'one who rotes outloud,  
*parivādī* 'one who is skilled at speaking; talkative'  
*paridāhī* 'that which burns'  
*parimohi* 'one who is infatuated'  
*doṣī* 'guilty'  
*dveṣī* 'one who wishes harm to'  
*drohī* 'one who wishes to injure'  
*dohī* 'one who milks the cows'  
*yogī* 'a yogī; one who is in union with...'  
*ākriḍī* 'one who is playful'  
*vivekī* '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'  
*aticārī* 'one who transgresses; a wanderer'  
*apacārī* 'he whose conduct is immoral'  
*āmoṣī* 'he who steals'  
*abhyāghātī* 'he who attacks to kill'

### 3.2.143 चौ कषलसकत्थस्रम्भः

*vau kaṣalasaakatthasrambhaḥ*  
*/vau 7/1 kaṣalasaakatthasrambhaḥ 5/1/*  
 (pratyayaḥ #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, varttamāne #123,  
 tacchīlataddharmatatsādhukāriṣu #134, ghinun #141)  
 'kaṣa hiṃsārthāḥ lasa śleṣakriḍanayoḥ, kattha ślāghāyām, srambhu viś-  
 vāse' ity etebhyo dhātubhyo viśabda upapade ghinun pratyayo bhavati  
 Affix *GHinUN* occurs to denote *karṭṛ* after verbal roots *kaṣA* '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:

*vikāṣī* 'one who hurts someone'  
*vilāṣī* 'one who pursues sensuous pleasures'  
*vikatthī* 'one who brags about himself'  
*visrambhī* 'one who is trustful'

### 3.2.144 अपे च लषः

*ape ca laṣaḥ*  
*/ape 7/1 ca 0 laṣaḥ 5/1/*

(*pratyayah* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *varttamāne* #123, *tacchīlataddharmatatsādhukāriṣu* #134, *ghinuṇ* #141, *vau* #143)  
*'laṣa'* *kāntau asmād dhātor apa upapade cakārād vau ca ghinuṇ bhavati*  
 Affix *GHinUN* occurs to denote *karṭṛ* 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:

*apalāṣī* 'greedy, thirsty'  
*vilāsi* 'id.'

## 3.2.145 प्रे लपसृद्रुमथवदवसः

*pre lapasṛdrumathavadavasah*  
 /pre 7/1 *lapasṛdrumathavadavasah* 5/1/  
 (*pratyayah* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *varttamāne* #123, *tacchīlatatdharmaatatsādhukāriṣu* #134, *ghinuṇ* #141)  
*'pra'* *upapade lapādibhyo ghinuṇ bhavati*  
 Affix *GHinUN* occurs to denote *karṭṛ* after verbal roots *lapA* 'to speak aloud', *sṛ*, *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:

*pralāpī* 'one who shoots off his mouth'  
*prasārī* 'one that expands or flows'  
*pradrāvī* 'one who runs away; fugitive'  
*pramāthī* 'tormenting'  
*pravādī* 'one who reports'  
*pravāsī* '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 निन्दहिंसक्लिंशखदविनाशपरिक्षिपपरिरटपरिवादिष्याभाषासूयो वुञ्

*nindahimsakliśakhādarvināśaparikṣipaparirataparivādivyābhāṣāsūyo vuñ*  
 /ninda...sūñah 1/1 (*sam. dv.*); *vuñ* 1/1/  
 (*pratyayah* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *varttamāne* #123, *tacchīlataddharmatatsādhukāriṣu* #134)  
*nindādibhyo dhātubhyas tacchīlādiṣu karṭṛṣu vuñ pratyayo bhavati*  
 Affix *vuñ* occurs to denote *karṭṛ* after verbal roots *nindA* 'to reproach', *himsA* 'to injure', *kliśA* 'to suffer' and *khādR* 'to consume,

eat'; *naśA* 'to be lost' used with the causal suffix *ṆiC* and the preverb *vi*; *kṣipA* and *raṭA* used with the preverb *pari*; *bhāṣA* 'to speak' used with the preverbs *vi* and *āṆ*; 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'  
*hiṃsakah* 'he who causes injury'  
*khādakah* 'he who eats'  
*vināśakah* 'he who destroys'  
*parikṣepakah* 'he who hurls things all around'  
*parirāṭakah* '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...āsūyah* enumerates the bases after which affix *vuṆ* is to be introduced. This enumeration, however, is given in the nominative as opposed to ablative (*pañcamī*) 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 *ṆvuL* (3.1.133 *ṇvulṛcau*) alone could have accounted for the derivatives of this rule. The derivatives of *ṆvuL* do not differ in form with those of *vuṆ*. There is also no difference in accentuation except in case of *asūyakah* which, because of its *Ṇ* as an *it*, requires that the initial syllable of its base be marked with *udātta* (6.1.197 *ñnityādir nityam*). A derivative of *ṆvuL*, because of its *L* as an *it*, requires the syllable which preceded the affix to be marked with *udātta* (6.1.193 *liti*). Pāṇini then should have formulated this rule just for *asūyakah*. He would have left the other examples within the scope of *ṆvuL*. But there is still a problem. Pāṇini introduces affix *ṛN* in the sense of *tacchīla*, etc. (3.2.135 *ṛn*). This, as well as *ṆvuL* and *ṛC*, would also become available in addition to *vuṆ* in view of 3.1.94 *vā* "sarūpo" *striyām*. This further suggests that Pāṇini should not have introduced affix *vuṆ* after *ninda*, etc. But he still did it. Commentators state that this was done to indicate that '*ṛC*, etc., do not apply via *vā* "sarūpa in the context of *tacchīla*, etc.' (cf. *Kāś. tacchīlikeṣu vā* 'sarūpanyāyena *ṛjādayo na bhavanti*).

3.2.147 देविक्रुशोऽपसर्गे

*devikruśoś copasarge*  
*ldevikruśoḥ 6/2 ca 0 upasarge 7/1/*  
*(pratyayah #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, varttamāne #123,*  
*tacchīlataddharmatatsādhukāriṣu #134, vuṆ #146)*

*devayateḥ kruśeś copasarge upapade vuñ pratyayo bhavati*

Affix *vuñ* also occurs to denote *karṭṛ* after verbal roots *divA* ‘to play’ and *kruśA* ‘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:

*ādevakaḥ* ‘he who plays; mourns; gambles’

*paridevakaḥ* ‘id.’

*ākrośakaḥ* ‘he who cries out loud; one who approaches in anger’

*parikrośakaḥ* ‘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 *ṆiC* from 3.1.26 *hetumati ca*.

3.2.148 चलनशब्दाथदिकर्मकाद्यच्

*calanaśabdārthād akarmakād yuc*

*/calanaśabdārthāt 5/1 akarmakāt 5/1 yuc 1/1/*

(*pratyayah* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2 *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *varttamāne* #123, *tacchīlataddharmatatsādhukāriṣu* #134)

*calanārthebhyah śabdārthebhyas cākarmakebhyo dhātubhyas tacchīlādiṣu karṭṛṣu yuc pratyayo bhavati*

Affix *yuC* occurs to denote *karṭṛ* after intransitive verbal roots signifying *calana* ‘movement’ and *śabda* ‘noise’ when the agent performs the action at the current time because of his nature, sense of duty, or skill.

EXAMPLES:

*calanaḥ* ‘he who goes’

*copanaḥ* ‘he who crawls, creeps’

*śabdanaḥ* ‘he who makes noise’

*ravanaḥ* ‘he who roars; cries’

3.2.149 अनुदात्तेश्च हलादेः

*anudāttetaś ca halādeḥ*

*/anudāttetaḥ 5/1 ca 0 halādeḥ 5/1/*

(*pratyayah* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *varttamāne* #123, *tacchīlataddharmatatsādhukāriṣu* #134, *akarmakāt yuc* #148)

*anudātted yo dhātuḥ halādir akarmakaḥ tataś ca yuc pratyayo bhavati*

Affix *yuC* also occurs to denote *karṭṛ* after an intransitive verbal root which begins with a consonant, is marked with *anudātta* ‘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’  
*varddhanah* ‘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 जुचङ्क्रम्यदन्द्रम्यसृग्धिज्वलशुचलषपतपदः

*jucāṅkramyadandramyasṛgṛdhijvalaśucalaṣapatapadaḥ*  
*/juca...padaḥ 5/1/*

(*pratyayah* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *varttamāne* #123, *tacchīlataddharmatatsādhukāriṣu* #134, *yuc* #148)

*juṣprabhṛtibhyo dhātubhyo yuc pratyayo bhavati tacchīlādiṣu kartṛṣu*

Affix *yuC* occurs to denote *karṭṛ* after verbal roots *juC* ‘to go, move’, *caṅkram* ‘to walk; move crookedly’, *dandram* ‘to walk’, *sṛ* ‘to crawl, move’, *gṛdhU* ‘to be greedy’, *jvalA* ‘to burn brightly, shine’, *śucA* ‘to be sad, worry’, *laṣA* ‘to wish’, *patA* ‘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’  
*caṅkramaṇah* ‘one who wanders around; one who walks crookedly’  
*dandramaṇah* ‘id’.  
*saraṇah* ‘flowing, moving’  
*garddhanah* ‘greedy’  
*jvalanah* ‘shining, glowing’  
*śocanah* ‘sad, worrying’  
*laṣanah* ‘greedy’  
*patanah* ‘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 *yaÑ* (3.1.23 *nityam kauṭīlye gatau*).

Note that verbal roots *ju*, *caṅkramya*, *dandramya*, etc., all denote ‘movement’ (*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 derivatives of this rule derive with the introduction of affix after transitive (*sakarmaka*) roots. The use of *padA* makes this known. *Kāśikā* further states that others (this also includes the author of the *Mahābhāṣya*) consider the use of *padA* as indicating the validity of *paribhāṣa*: (68) *tacchilikeṣu vā' sarūpa vidhir nāsti*. Thus, in deriving *alamkarīṣṇuḥ*, affix *iṣṇuC* is introduced after *alamkrN̄*. If the said *paribhāṣā* was valid in case of *tacchīlika* derivatives then affix *trN* could have been introduced to derive *\*alamkarttā*, a wrong derivative. Thus, the general (*utsarga*) *trN* is blocked by the particular *iṣṇUC*. But since Pāṇini has already made known the inapplicability of the provisions of 3.1.94 *vā' sarūpo' striyām* in rule 3.2.146 *nindahimsaklisā...* by introduction of *vūN̄* when *NvuL* could have accomplished the derivatives, why does he repeat the same inapplicability here by use of *padA*. It is stated that the inapplicability shown earlier covers the situation where a '*tacchīlika*' and a '*non-tacchīlika*' rule-interaction may be involved. This indication is made here to show that '*vā' sarūpavidhi*' does not apply even when two interacting rules are both '*tacchīlika*'. The two rules in focus are 3.2.149 and 3.2.154 *laṣapata-padasthā....* There are additional details of this *jñāpaka* which I omit for lack of interest. *Kāśikā* calls the *jñāpaka* as *prāyika*, not universally valid. That is, one can find forms such as *gantā* where *trN* finds its scope as against the *ukaN̄* of rule 3.2.154 *laṣapatapada...*

### 3.2.151 क्रुधमण्डार्थेभ्यश्च

*krudhamaṇḍārthebhyaś ca*

*lkrudhamaṇḍārthebhyaḥ 5/3 ca 0/*

(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *varttamāne* #123, *tacchīlataddharmatatsādhukāriṣu* #134, *yuc* #148)

'*krudha kope, maḍi bhūṣāyām*' *ity etad arthebhyaś ca dhātubhyo yuc pratyayo bhavati*

Affix *yuC* also occurs to denote *karṭṛ* after verbal roots *krudhA* 'to be angry' and *maḍI* 'to adorn' when the agent performs the action at the current time because of his nature, sense of duty, or skill.

#### EXAMPLES:

*krodhanaḥ* 'irascible'

*roṣaṇaḥ* 'id.'

*maṇḍanaḥ* 'decorating'

*bhūṣaṇaḥ* 'decorating'

1. Here again, in the absence of the mention of some specific affix, *trN* is supposed to be blocked. That is, *yuC* blocks *trN*. Note that this *yuC* cannot be introduced after *alamkrN̄* against the provision of 3.2.136 *alamkrñ...*

## 3.2.152 न यः

*na yaḥ*

*/na 0 yaḥ 5/1/*

(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.9, *varttamāne* #123, *tacchīlataddharmatatsādhukāriṣu* #134, *yuc* #148)

*yākārāntād dhātor yuc pratyayo na bhavati*

Affix *yuC* does not occur after a verbal root which terminates in *y*.

## EXAMPLES:

*knūyitā* ‘one who makes noise’

*kṣmāyitā* ‘one who shakes’

1. The negation of *yuC* makes it possible for the introduction of affix *ṭrN* after the roots concerned.

## 3.2.153 सूददीपदीक्षश्च

*sūdādīpadīkṣaś ca*

*/sūdādīpadīkṣaḥ 5/1 ca 0/*

(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *varttamāne* #123, *tacchīlataddharmatatsādhukāriṣu* #134, *yuc* #148, *na* #152)

*‘sūda, dīpa, dīkṣa, ity etebhyaś ca yuc pratyayo na bhavati*

Affix *yuC* also does not occur after verbal roots *ṣūda* ‘to drip’, *dīpa* ‘to shine’ and *dīkṣa* ‘to initiate’.

## EXAMPLES:

*suditā* ‘dripping’

*dīpitā* ‘shining’

*dīkṣitā* ‘an initiate’

1. This rule negates affix *yuC* in case of three roots ‘*ṣūda*’, ‘*dīpa*’ and ‘*dīkṣa*’. That is, affix *yuC* will be blocked by this negation in favor of *ṭrN*. 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 sarūpavidhi*’ relative to *tacchīlika* provisions, then that, too, has been indicated by earlier rules (3.2.146 *nindahimsa...* and 3.2.150 *jucāṅkramya...*). 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 *yūC*. So what is the purpose of this negation here? Examples under 3.2.149 *anudāttet..* and 3.2.167 *namikampī...* as contrasted by *kamanā/kamrā yuvatīḥ* ‘beautiful maiden’ show the *prāyika* nature of the ‘*vā sarūpa*’ inapplicability. That is, even in case of *tacchīlika* 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 *ṣūdA*, 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 (*nitya*). That is, one can find *yuC* after *ṣūdA* 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 *nandyādi* group of rule 3.1.134 *nandigrāhi*.... They could thus be derived with the introduction of affix *Lyu*. There is yet another way: derive it by *LyuT* of 3.3.113 *kṛtyallyuṭo bahulam*.

### 3.2.154 लषपतपदस्थाभूवृषहनकमगमशृभ्य उकाञ्

*laṣapatapadasthābhūvr̥ṣahanakamagamaśṛbhya ukañ*

*llaṣa...śṛbhyaḥ 5/1 ukañ 1/3/*

(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *varttamāne* #123, *tacchīlataddharmatatsādhukāriṣu* #134)

*laśādibhyo dhātubhyas tacchīlādiṣu kartṛṣu ukañ pratyayo bhavati*

Affix *ukañ* occurs to denote *kartṛ* after verbal roots *laṣA* ‘to shine’, *paA* ‘to fall’, *paA* ‘to step’, *sthā* ‘to stand’, *bhū* ‘to be, become’, *vr̥ṣU* ‘to rain’, *hanA* ‘to kill’, *kamU* ‘to desire’, *gamL* ‘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:

*apalāṣukam vr̥ṣalasaṅgatam* ‘it is not desirable to be friends with a Vṛṣala’

*prapātukā garbhā bhavanti* ‘fetuses have a tendency to abort’.

*upapādukam sattvam* ‘... substance comes into existence’

*upasthāyutā enam paśavo bhavanti*

‘...animals approach him...’

*prabhāvukam annam bhavati* ‘food is effective (for health)’

*pravarṣukāḥ parjanyaḥ* ‘clouds are the ones who rain’

*āghātukam pākālikasya mūtram* ‘the urine of an elephant (when touched or smelled) has a tendency to kill’

*kāmukā enam striyo bhavanti* ‘women become desirous of him’

*āgāmukam vārāṇasīm rakṣa āhūḥ* ‘even a demon is said to be desirous of coming to Vārāṇasī (for release)’

*kiṃśārukam tīkṣṇam āhūḥ* ‘an arrow is said to be piercing’



1. Note that rule 3.2.144 *ape ca laṣaḥ* introduces affix *GHinUN*, and this rule introduces affix *ukaÑ*. This rule is applicable via ‘*vā*’ *sarūpavidhi*’, the negation of which in case of the *tacchīlika* affixes has to be treated as not universal. Thus, we get a derivate such as *apalāṣī*, parallel to *apalāṣuka*, of this rule.

### 3.2.155 जल्पभिक्षकुट्टलुण्टवृङ्कः षकन्

*jalpabhikṣakuṭṭaluṇṭavr̥ṅkaḥ śākan*

*/jalpabhikṣakuṭṭaluṇṭavr̥ṅkaḥ 5/1 śākan 1/1/*

(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2 *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *varttamāne* #123, *tacchīlataddharmatatsādhukāriṣu* #134)

*jalpādibhyo dhātubhyas tacchīlādiṣu karṭṛṣu śākan pratyayo bhavati*

Affix *ŚākaN* occurs to denote *karṭṛ* after verbal roots *jalpA* ‘to speak’, *bhikṣA* ‘to beg’, *kuṭṭA* ‘to cut, censure’, *luṇṭA* ‘to steal’ and *vṛÑ* ‘to be shattered’ when the agent performs the action at the current time because of his nature, sense of duty, or skill.

#### EXAMPLES:

*jalpākaḥ* ‘talkative’

*bhikṣākaḥ* ‘beggar’

*kuṭṭākaḥ* ‘one who cuts’

*luṇṭākaḥ* ‘one who robs’

*varākaḥ* ‘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 *iṣṇuC* is similarly available to verbal roots *kuṭṭA* and *luṇṭA* by rule 3.2.137 *neś chandasi*. Verbal root *vṛÑ* has affix *KikiN* available to it by rule 3.2.171 *ādr̥gamahajanaḥ...* Affix *ŚākaN* constitutes an exception to all these affixes. Its *Ṣ* as an *it* is intended to facilitate the feminine derivatives in *ÑiṢ* by rule 4.1.41 *ṣigaurādibhyaś ca*.

### 3.2.156 प्रजोरिनिः

*prajoriniḥ*

*/prajoh 5/1 inih 1/1/*

(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *varttamāne* #123, *tacchīlataddharmatatsādhukāriṣu* #134)

*prapūrvāḥ javateḥ tacchīlādiṣu karṭṛṣu inih pratyayo bhavati*

Affix *inI* occurs to denote *karṭṛ* 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:

*prajavī* 'runner, courier'  
*prajavināu* 'id.' (nom. dual)

1. It is stated that the *n* of *inI* is saved from deletion by 1.3.3 *halantyaṃ* read with 1.3.9 *tasya lopah* because of *I* as an *it*. Note that affix *yuC* is already available to *ju* by 3.2.150 *jucāṅkramya*.... This rule, however, makes *inI* available when the root is used with the preverb *pra*.

## 3.2.157 जिदृक्षिविश्रीण्वमाव्यथाभ्यमपरिभूप्रसूभ्यश्च

*jidr̥kṣivīśrīṇvamāvvyathābhyamaparibhūprasūbhyaś ca*  
*ljidr̥kṣi...prasūbhyaḥ 5/3 ca 0/*

(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *varttamāne* #123, *tacchīlataddharmatatsādhukāriṣu* #134, *iniḥ* #156)

*jiprabhṛtibhyo dhātubhya iniḥ pratyayo bhavati tacchīlādiṣu kartṛṣu*

Affix *inI* also occurs to denote *karṭṛ* after verbal roots *ji*, *dr̥N̄* 'to respect', *kṣi* 'to destroy, be wasted', *śr̥N̄* 'to serve' used with the preverb *vi*, *iN̄* 'to go' used with the preverb *ati*; *ṬUvam* 'to vomit', *vyathA* 'to torment' used with *naN̄* 'not', *amA* '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:

*jayī* 'one who wins'  
*darī* 'one who respects'  
*kṣayī* 'one who is destroyed'  
*viśrayī* 'one who serves'  
*atyayī* 'one who transgresses'  
*vamī* 'one who throws up'  
*avyathī* 'one who does not become tormented'  
*abhyamī* 'one who is sick'  
*paribhavī* 'one who humiliates someone'  
*prasavī* 'one who inspires'

1. Note that a reference with *kṣi* denotes both '*kṣi*' 'to deteriorate' and '*kṣi*' 'to dwell'. At the same time, *prasū* refers to the verbal root *ṣū* 'to inspire', and not to *ṣūN̄* 'to give birth to'.

## 3.2.158 स्पृहृिगृहपतिदयिनिद्रातन्द्राश्रद्धाभ्य आलुच्

*spṛhigr̥hipatidayinidrātandrāśraddhābhya āluc*  
*lspṛhi...śraddhābhyaḥ 5/3 āluc /*

(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1., *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *varttamāne* #23, *tacchīlataddharmatatsādhukāriṣu* #134)

'*spṛha īpsāyām, gṛha grahaṇe, pata gatau, daya dānagatirakṣaṇeṣu, drā kutsāyām gatau nipūrvas tatpūrvas'* ca, tado nakārāntatā ca nipātyate; *ḍudhāñ śratpūrvah'* ity etebhyās tacchīlādiṣu karṭṛṣu āluC pratyayo bhavati

Affix *āluC* occurs to denote *karṭṛ* after verbal roots *spṛhI* 'to desire', *gṛhI* '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, *ḍUDhāÑ* '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:**

*spṛhayāluḥ* 'one who desires'  
*gṛhayāluḥ* '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 *vṛddhi*. Note that the *d* of *tad* in *tad-drā* is changed into *-n* by *nipātana*.

A *vārttika* under this rule advocates that *śiÑ* should also be enumerated here so that *śayāluḥ* 'sleepy' can, also, be derived.

**3.2.159 दाधेत्सिदसदो रुः**

*dādhetsīśadasado ruḥ*  
*Idā...sadaḥ 5/1 ruḥ 1/1/*  
 (*pratyayah* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *varttamāne* #123, *tacchīlataddharmatatsādhukāriṣu* #134, *āluC* #158)  
 '*dā, dheṭ si, śada, sada*' ity etebhyo ruḥ pratyayo bhavati  
 Affix *āluC* occurs to denote *karṭṛ* after verbal roots *ḍUDāÑ*, *dheṬ*, *siÑ* 'to tie, bind', *śadL* 'to sharpen, fall' and *ṣadL* '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 vatso mātaram* 'a child who suckles at the breasts of his mother'  
*seruḥ* 'one who ties'  
*śadruḥ* 'one who sharpens, falls'  
*sadruḥ* '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 *ḌudāÑ* 'to give', *do* 'to split' and *deÑ* 'to preserve, protect'. Note that *dāÑ* and *dāP* are excluded from this reference.

### 3.2.160 सुघस्यदः क्मरच्

*sṛghasyadaḥ kmarac*

*/sṛghasyadaḥ 5/1 kmarac 1/1/*

(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *varttamāne* #123, *tacchīlataddharmatatsādhukāriṣu* #134)

'*sṛ*, *ghasi*, *ad*' *ity etebhyo dhātubhyaḥ tacchīlādiṣu 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:

*sṛmarah* 'one who moves well; a kind of deer'

*ghasmarah* 'one whose nature is to eat; gluttonous'

*admarah* 'id.'

1. Note that *ghasI* is a separate base from *ad* though they are both used in the same sense of 'consuming'. The *K* of *KmaraC* blocks *guṇa*.

### 3.2.161 भञ्जभासमिदो घुरच्

*bhañjabhāsamidaḥ ghurac*

*/bhañjabhāsamidaḥ 5/1 ghurac 1/1/*

(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *varttamāne* #123, *tacchīlataddharmatatsādhukāriṣu* #134)

'*bhañja*, *bhāsa mida*' *ity etebhyo ghurac pratyayo bhavati tacchīlādiṣu kartṛṣu*

Affix *GHuraC* occurs to denote *kartṛ* after verbal roots *bhañjA* 'to crush, break', *bhāsṚ* 'to shine' and *ÑImidĀ* '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 kāṣṭham* 'wood which has the natural tendency to split, fragile'

*bhāsuram jyotiḥ* 'flame which is naturally shining; luminous'

*medurah paśuḥ* 'a fat animal'

1. Note that rule 7.3.52 *cajoḥ ku...* brings about a replacement in *k/g* for the *clj* of a root before an affix marked with *GH*. Obviously, *GHuraC* is one of those affixes. Commentators inform that because of the natural denotational power of words (*śabdaśaktisvābhāvvyāt*), we find derivatives of *bhañjA* which denote *karmakartṛ* 'object termed agent' (cf. 3.1.87 *karmavat...*).

## 3.2.162 विदिभिदिच्छिदेः कुरच्

*vidibhidicchideḥ kurac*

*/vidibhidicchideḥ 5/1 kurac 1/1/*

*(pratyayah #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1., dhāoṭh #3.1.91, varttamāne #123, tacchīlataddharmatatsādhukāriṣu #134)*

*vidādibhyo dhātubhyaḥ tacchīlādiṣu kartṛṣu kurac pratyayo bhavati*

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:

*vidurah paṇḍitah* 'a scholar is one who knows'

*bhiduram kāṣṭham* 'wood which has the natural tendency to split'

*chidurā rajjuh* '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 drṣṭam* 'this has not been seen in the *bhāṣya*'. Some interpret 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 *samprasāraṇa*, to derive *vidhuraḥ* 'widower'.

## 3.2.163 इण्णञिजसर्तिभ्यः क्वरप्

*iṇṇaśjisarttibhyaḥ kvarap*

*/iṇṇaśjisarttibhyaḥ 5/3 kvarap 1/1/*

*(pratyayah #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhāoṭh #3.1.91, varttamāne #123, tacchīlataddharmatatsādhukāriṣu #134)*

*'iṇ, naś, ji, sarti' ity etebhyo dhātubhyas tacchīlādiṣu kartṛṣu kvarap pratyayo bhavati*

Affix *KvaraP* occurs to denote *kartṛ* after verbal roots *iṆ* 'to go', *naś* 'to be lost, destroyed', *ji* 'to win' and *sṛ* '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'

*itvarī* 'id.' (feminine)

*naśvarah* 'perishable'

*naśvarī* 'id.' (feminine)

*jītvarah* 'he whose nature is to win'  
*jītvārī* 'id.'  
*ṣṛtvarah* 'one whose nature is to wander'  
*ṣṛtvārī* 'id.' (feminine)

1. Note that *P* as an *it* in *KvaraP* is intended for the introduction of augment *tUK* (*tugāgama*) by 6.1.71 *hrasvasya...* The *K*, again, is to block *guṇa*.

### 3.2.164 गत्वरश्च

*gatvaraś ca*  
*lgavarah* 1/1 *ca* 0/  
 (*pratyayah* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *varttamāne* #123, *tacchīlataddharmatatsādhukāriṣu* #134)  
 'gatvara' *iti nipātyate*, *gamer anunāsikalopaḥ kvarapḥ pratyayaś ca*  
 Affix *KvaraP* also occurs to denote *karṭṛ* after verbal root *gam* 'to go' in the derivation of *gatvara* by *nipātana*.

#### EXAMPLES:

*gatvarah* 'one whose nature is to wander'  
*gatvarī* 'id.' (feminine)

1. Note that the *-m* of *gam* in *gatvarah/gatvarī* is deleted by *nipātana*. The feminine is formed with *ÑiP* in view of rule 4.1.15 *ṭiddhāṇāñ...*

### 3.2.165 जागरूकः

*jāgarūkah*  
*ljāgarūkah* 1/1/  
 (*pratyayah* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *vrttamāne* #123, *tacchīlataddharmatatsādhukāriṣu* #134)  
*jāgartter ūkah pratyayo bhavati tacchīlādiṣu karṭṛṣu*  
 Affix *ūka* occurs to denote *karṭṛ* 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:

*jāgarūkah* 'awake, alert'

### 3.2.166 यजजपदशां यङः

*yajajapadaśāṃ yañah*  
*lyajajapadaśāṃ* 6/3 *yañah*/  
 (*pratyayah* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *varttamāne* #123, *tacchīlataddharmatatsādhukāriṣu* #134)

*yajādīnām yañantānām ūkaḥ pratyayo bhavati tacchīlādiṣu karṣu*  
Affix *ūka* occurs to denote *karṣ* after verbal roots *yajA* ‘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:

*yāyajūkaḥ* ‘he whose nature is to perform ritual sacrifices’  
*jañjapūkaḥ* ‘he whose nature is to chant inaudibly’  
*dandaśūkaḥ* ‘he whose nature is to bite; a snake’

## 3.2.167 नमिकम्पिस्म्यजसकमहिंसदीपो रः

*namikampismyajasakamahimsadīpo raḥ*  
*/nami...dīpaḥ 5/1 raḥ 1/1/*  
(*pratyayah* #3.1., *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *varttamāne* #123,  
*tacchīlataddharmatatsādhukāriṣu* #134)  
*namyādibhyo dhātubhyas tacchīlādiṣu karṣu raḥ pratyayo bhavati*  
Affix *ra* occurs to denote *karṣ* after verbal roots *namI* ‘to bend’, *kapI*  
‘to shake, move’, *ṣmiÑ* ‘to smile’, *jasU* ‘to set free; be exhausted’ used  
with *naÑ* ‘not’, *kamU* ‘to shine’ and *hiñI* ‘to injure, hurt’ when the  
agent performs the action at the current time because of his nature,  
sense of duty, or skill.

## EXAMPLES:

*namraṃ kāṣṭham* ‘a wood which is soft’  
*kamprā śākhā* ‘the branch of a tree which naturally shakes in the wind’  
*smeram mukham* ‘a face which smiles’  
*ajasram juhōti* ‘one who performs ritual sacrifices incessantly’  
*kamrā yuvatīḥ* ‘a young woman who is beautiful’  
*hiṃsro dasyuḥ* ‘a bandit who is fierce by nature’  
*dīpraṃ kāṣṭham* ‘a wood which is burning’

1. Refer to my notes on 3.2.153 *sūdādīpadikṣaś ca*. The derivate of  
*jasU*, *ajasram*, should denote *kriyāsātātya* ‘continuous action’.

## 3.2.168 सनाशंसभिक्ष उः

*sanāśamsabhikṣa uḥ*  
*/sanāśamsabhikṣaḥ 5/1 uḥ 1/1/*  
(*pratyayah* #3.1., *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *varttamāne* #123,  
*tacchīlataddharmatatsādhukāriṣu* #134)  
*sannantebhyo dhātubhya āśamses ca tacchīlādiṣu karṣu uḥ pratyayo*  
*bhavati*  
Affix *u* occurs to denote *karṣ* either after verbal roots which end in  
affix *saN*, or after *śams* ‘to desire’ used with the preverb *āN*, and

*bhikṣa* ‘to beg’, when the agent performs the action at the current time because of his nature, sense of duty, or skill.

EXAMPLES:

*cikīrṣuḥ* ‘one who wishes to make something’  
*jihīrṣuḥ* ‘one who wishes to take something away’  
*āsamsuḥ* ‘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 *ṣaṆU* ‘to give’. It refers, instead, to the form which ends in affix *saN*. Besides, a reference to *ṣaṆU* would not make any sense. Verbal root *śams* used with the preverb *āN* refers to *śams* which denotes ‘wish’. This interpretation is possible because the reference is made, here, with *āN*. Thus, *śams* does not denote *stuti* ‘praise’.

3.2.169 विन्दुरिच्छुः

*vindur icchuḥ*  
*lvinduḥ 1/1 icchuḥ 1/1*  
 (pratyayaḥ #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, varttamāne #123, tacchīlataddharmatatsādhukāriṣu #134, uḥ #168)  
*vider numāgama iṣeś chatvam ukāraś ca nipātyate tacchīlādiṣu kartṛṣu*  
 Affix *u* occurs to denote *kartṛ* after verbal roots *vidA* ‘to know’ and *iṣ* ‘to wish’ in the derivation of *vindu* and *icchu* by *nipātana*.

EXAMPLES:

*vinduḥ* ‘one who knows’  
*icchuḥ* ‘desirous’

1. Note that these two derivatives 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 *ṣ* to *ch* in *icchuḥ* is accomplished by *nipātana*.

3.2.170 क्याच्छन्दसि

*kyāc chandasi*  
*lkyāt 5/1 chandasi 7/1/*  
 (pratyayaḥ #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, varttamāne #123, tacchīlataddharmatatsādhukāriṣu #134, uḥ #168)  
*kyapratyayāntād dhātoś chandasi viṣaye tacchīlādiṣu kartṛṣu ukārapratyayo bhavati*  
 Affix *u* occurs to denote *kartṛ* in the Vedic after verbal roots which end in affix *Kya* (3.1.8 *supa ātmanaḥ kyac*) when the agent performs the action at the current time because of his nature, sense of duty, or skill.



## EXAMPLES:

*mitrayuḥ* ‘one who wishes for a friend’  
*samsvedayuḥ* ‘one who perspires’  
*sumnayuh* ‘one who wishes for comfort’

1. Note that the reference with ‘*Kya*’ in ‘*kyāt*’ is made to refer to affixes *KyaC*, *KyaṢ* and *KyaṆ* in general. Haradatta (*PM ad Kāśikā* 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: *bhuranyuḥ* (in dual) ‘an epithet of the *Aśvins*’.

## 3.2.171 आद्गमहानजनः किकिनौ लिट् च

*ādr̥gamahanajanah kikinau liṭ ca*  
*/ādr̥gamahanajanah 5/1 kikinau 1/2 liṭ 1/1 ca 0/*  
 (*pratyayah* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *varrtamāne* #123,  
*tacchīlataddharmatatsādhukāriṣu* # 134, *chandasi* # 170)  
*ākārāntebhya ṛvarnāntebhyaś ca* ‘*gama, hana, jana*’ *ity etebhyaś chandasi*  
*viṣaye tacchīlādiṣu kikinau pratyayau bhavataḥ, liḍvac ca tau bhavataḥ*  
 Affixes *Ki* and *Kin* occur to denote *karṭṛ* in the Vedic after verbal roots which end in *āT* (1.1.70 *taparas...*) or *ṛ*, 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 *LIT*.

## EXAMPLES:

*pāpiḥ somam* ‘one who drinks the *Soma*’  
*dadiragāḥ* ‘one who gives a cow’  
*jagmir yuvā* ‘the young man who leaves’  
*jaghnir vṛtram* ‘the killer of *Vṛtra*’  
*jajñir bījam* ‘one who makes the seed sprout’

1. The *LIT* of this rule is interpreted as denoting the sense of *liḍvat* ‘as if ending in *LIT*’. This is clearly an *atideśa* ‘extension’ interpretation. *Nyāsa* (ad *Kāśikā* 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 *siṃho 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 *LIT* to denote the sense of ‘like an item which ends in affix *LIT*’. This is clearly intended to allow operations similar to *LIT* 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 derivatives 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 *yaN̄*. See the *Mahābhāṣya* under this rule for details.

### 3.2.172 स्वपितृषोर्नजिङ्

*svapitr̥ṣor najiṅ*

*/svapitr̥ṣoḥ 6/2 najiṅ 1/1/*

(*pratyayah* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *varttamāne* #123, *tacchīlataddharmatatsādhukāriṣu* #134)

*svapes tr̥ṣeś ca tacchīlādiṣu kartṛṣu najiṅ pratyayo bhavati*

Affix *najiN̄* occurs to denote *kartṛ* after verbal roots *ÑIsvap* ‘to sleep’ and *ÑItr̥ṣĀ* ‘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’

*tr̥ṣṇak* ‘he who is always thirsty’

### 3.2.173 शृवन्द्योरारुः

*śrvandyor āruḥ*

*/śrvandyoḥ 6/2 āruḥ 1/1/*

(*pratyayah* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *varttamāne* #123, *tacchīlataddharmatatsādhukāriṣu* #134)

*‘śr, vadī’ ity elābhyām dhātubhyām tacchīlādiṣu kartṛṣu āruḥ pratyayo bhavati*

Affix *āru* occurs to denote *kartṛ* after verbal roots *śr* ‘to hurt’ and *vadI* ‘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 *śr* has *ukaN̄* available to it from 3.2.154 *laṣapatapada...* Similar provision of *yuC* is also available to *vand* by rule 3.2.149 *anudāt-tetaś ca...* This rule simply provides for *āru*.

## 3.2.174 भियः कृक्लुकनौ

*bhiyaḥ kruklukanau*

*lbhiyaḥ 5/1 kruklukanau 1/2/*

(*pratyayaḥ #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, varttamāne #123, tacchīlataddharmatatsādhukāriṣu #134*)

'*ñibhī bhaye*' *asmād dhātoḥ tacchīlādiṣu kartṛṣu kruklukanau pratyayau bhavataḥ*

Affixes *Kru* and *KLukaN* occur to denote *kartṛ* after verbal root *ÑIbhī* '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 *bhīrukah* by introducing affix *KrukaN* after verbal root *ÑIbhī*.

## 3.2.175 स्थेशभासपिसकसो वरच्

*stheśabhāsapisakaso varac*

*lstheśabhāsapisakasaḥ 5/1 varac 1/1/*

(*pratyayaḥ #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, varttamāne #123, tacchīlataddharmatatsādhukāriṣu #134*)

'*sthā gatinivṛttau, īśa aiśvārye, bhāsr̥ dīptau, piśṛ, peśṛ gatau, kasa gatau*'  
*ity etebhyas tacchīlādiṣu kartṛṣu varac pratyayo bhavati*

Affix *varaC* occurs to denote *kartṛ* after verbal roots *sthā*, *īśA* 'to govern', *bhāsr̥*, *piśṛ* 'to move, crawl' and *kaśA* 'to move' when the agent performs the action at the current time because of his nature, sense of duty, or skill.

## EXAMPLES:

*sthāvaraḥ* 'that which is stationary by nature'

*īśvaraḥ* 'lord'

*bhāsvārah* 'that which is shining by nature; sun'

*peśvaraḥ* 'that which moves or destroys'

*vikasvaraḥ* 'that which opens, expands; blossoming'

## 3.2.176 यश्च यङः

*yaś ca yaṅaḥ*

*lyah 1/1 ca 0 yaṅaḥ 1/1/*

(*pratyayaḥ #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, varttamāne #123, tacchīlataddharmatatsādhukāriṣu #134, varac #175*)

'*yā prāpaṇe*' *asmād yaṅantāt tacchīlādiṣu kartṛṣu varac pratyayo bhavati*

Affix *varaC* also occurs to denote *karṭṛ* after verbal roots *yā* ‘to go’ terminated in affix *yaÑ* when the agent performs the action at the current time because of his nature, sense of duty, or skill.

EXAMPLE:

*yāyāvarah* ‘a gypsy’

### 3.2.177 भ्राजभासधुर्विद्युतोर्जिपृजुग्रावस्तुवः क्विप्

*bhrājabhāsadhurvidyutorjiprjugrāvastuvaḥ kvip*  
*lbhrāja...stuvaḥ* 5/1 *kvip* 1/1/

(*pratyayah* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *varttamāne* #123, *tacchīlataddharmatatsādhukāriṣu* #134)

*bhrājādibhyo dhātubhyas tacchīlādiṣu karṭṛṣu kvip pratyayo bhavati*

Affix *KvIP* occurs to denote *karṭṛ* after verbal roots *bhrājR* and *bhāsR* ‘to shine’, *turVī*, *thurVī*, and *durVī* ‘to hurt, injure’, *dyuT* ‘to shine’, *ūrjA* ‘to be strong’, *pr* ‘to fill’, *ju* ‘to move’ and *ṣtuÑ* ‘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:

*vibhrāt* ‘shining’  
*bhāḥ* ‘shine; light’  
*dhūḥ* ‘hurting; yoke, weight’  
*vidyut* ‘lightning’  
*ūrḥ* ‘power, energy’  
*pūḥ* ‘that which fills’  
*grāvastut* ‘stone-worshipper’

1. Note that *KvIP* could be made available to these roots by 3.2.76 *kvip ca* read with 3.2.75 *anyebhyo’ pi dṛśyate*. This reintroduction of *KvIP* is nothing but the expatiation (*prapañca*) of the interpretation that ‘*vā sarūpavidhi*’ does not apply in case of *tacchīlika* affixes, and that this interpretation is not universally valid (*prāyika*).

### 3.2.178 अन्येभ्योऽपि दृश्यते

*anyebhyo’ pi dṛśyate*  
*lanyebhyaḥ* 5/3 *api* Ø *dṛśyate* (verbal *pada*)/  
(*pratyayah* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *varttamāne* #123, *tacchīlataddharmatatsādhukāriṣu* #134, *kvip* #177)

*anyebhyo’ pi dhātubhyas tacchīlikeṣu kvip pratyayo bhavati*

Affix *KvIP* also occurs to denote *karṭṛ* after other verbal roots when the agent performs the action at the current time because of his nature, sense of duty, or skill.

## EXAMPLES:

*yuk* ‘that which binds’  
*chit* ‘that which cuts or pierces’  
*bhid* ‘that which splits’

1. Commentators state that ‘*dr̥śyate*’ is not required. For, ‘*anyebhyo*’ *pi*’ itself can account for everything. They add, however, that ‘*dr̥śyate*’ is used to facilitate or block certain operations generally not available to these derivatives. Lengthening (*dīrgha*), doubling (*dvirvacana*), *sampra-sārana*, or lack of it, can be cited as some examples. Refer to derivational details in the appendix..

## 3.2.179 भुवः संज्ञान्तरयोः

*bhuvah samjñāntarayoh*  
*lbhuvah 5/1 samjñāntarayoh 7/2/*  
 (pratyayah #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, varttamāne #123, kvip #177)  
*bhavater dhātoḥ samjñāyām antare ca gamyamāne kvip pratyayo bhavati*  
 Affix *KvIP* occurs after verbal root *bhū* when *samjñā* ‘name’ or *antara* ‘intermediary’ is denoted.’

## EXAMPLES:

*vibhūḥ* ‘a name’  
*pratibhūḥ* ‘a guarantor’

## 3.2.180 विप्रसंभ्यो द्विसंज्ञायाम्

*viprasambhyo dvasamjñāyām*  
*lviprasambhyah 5/3 du 1/1 asamjñāyām 7/1/*  
 (pratyayah #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, varttamāne #123, bhuvah #179)  
 ‘*vi, pra, sam*’ *ity evam pūrvād bhavater dhātoḥ dupratyayo bhavati, na cet samjñā 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 *samjñā* is not denoted.

## EXAMPLES:

*vibhuh* ‘all-pervading’  
*prabhuh* ‘lord’  
*sambhuh* ‘one who comes into existence’

1. A *vārttika* also proposes to derive *mitadruḥ* ‘he who has the least compassion’, etc., with affix *DU*. The word *śambhuh* is to be similarly

derived though in this case the root is treated as causal with a built in sense of *ÑiC*. Thus, we get *śam* = *sukhaṃ bhāvayati* = *śambhuḥ* 'he who brings about the experience of joy'.

### 3.2.181 धः कर्मणि ष्ट्रन्

*dhah karmani ṣṭran*

*/dhah 5/1 karmani 7/1 ṣṭran 1/1/*

(*pratyayah* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *varttamāne* #123)

*dhayater dadhātes ca karmani kārake ṣṭran pratyayo bhavati*

Affix *ṢṭraN* occurs to denote *karman* 'object' after verbal root *dhā* when the action is denoted at the current time.

#### EXAMPLE:

*dhātrī* 'a wet-nurse; nurse'

1. Note that *karmani* does not here refer to a conjoined word (*upa-pada*) which denotes *karman*. For, if that was the desired interpretation, Pāṇini would have put this rule in the section of 3.2.1 *karmany an*. This would have saved him the use of '*karmani*'. But this would have still entailed the explicit use of *ṣṭran* in the next rule. What is so good about this economy (*lāghava*)? Well, using *ṣṭran* is certainly more economical than *karmani*. To sum up, *karmani* outlines *karman* as the meaning of the affix.

Note that the *Ṣ* of *ṢṭraN* is used as an *it* to facilitate the introduction of the feminine affix *ÑiṢ* by rule 4.1.41 *ṣidgaurādibhyaś ca*.

### 3.2.182 दाम्नीशसयुयुजस्तुदसिसिचमिहपतदशनहः करणे

*dāmnīśasayuyujastutudasisicamihapatadaśanahaḥ karaṇe*

*/dāmnī...nahaḥ 5/1 karaṇe 7/1/*

(*pratyayah* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *varttamāne* #123, *ṣṭran* #181)

'*dāp*, *ñīñ śasu*, *yu*, *yujir*, *ṣṭuñ*, *tuda*, *ṣiñ*, *ṣicir*, *miha*, *patl*, *danś*, *ṇah*' *ity etebhyo dhātubhyaḥ karaṇe kārake ṣṭran pratyayo bhavati*

Affix *ṢṭraN* occurs to denote *karaṇa* 'instrument' after verbal roots *dāp* 'to cut', *ñīÑ* 'to lead', *śasU* 'to hurt', *yu* 'to join', *yujIR* 'to bind, yoke', *ṣṭuÑ* 'to praise', *tudA* 'to torment', *ṣiÑ* 'to tie, bind', *ṣicIR* 'to sprinkle', *mihA* 'to water', *patL* 'to fall', *danś* 'to bite' and *ṇahA* 'to tie' when the action is denoted at the current time.

#### EXAMPLES:

*dātram* 'that by which one cuts; a sickle'

*netram* 'eye'

*śastram* 'weapon'

*yotram* 'a rope by which one fastens the yoke'

*yokram* 'id.'

*stotram* ‘that by means of which one praises; a verse of praise’  
*totram* ‘a cattle-prod’  
*setram* ‘that which binds the bones; a ligament’  
*sektram* ‘sprinkler’  
*medhram* ‘cloud; organ of urination’  
*patram* ‘a vehicle’  
*damṣṭrā* ‘a big tooth’  
*naddhram* ‘thong’

1. 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 (*anabhidhāna*). 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 *rañjA* with deleted nasal. This, in turn, was treated as an indication that the derivate, for example *rāgī*, would lose the *ñ*. How come the same does not apply in case of verbal root *damś* in deriving *damṣṭrā*? Well, the derivate is listed in the *ajādi* group of nominals (cf. 4.1.4 *ajādyataṣ ṭāp*) which, in turn, attests to the non-deletion of the nasal.

The *Ṣ* is, again, intended for the feminine. Note, however, that after its deletion by 1.3.9 *tasya lopah*, read with 1.3.6 *ṣah pratyayasya*, the *-ṭ* of affix *ṢtraN* is replaced with *-t*. This happens in view of the *paribhāṣā nimit-tāpāye naimittikasyāpy apāyah* ‘the effect must also be removed when the cause is removed’ (cf. *Pbh.* 87: *Sanniyogaśiṣṭānām*...). The *Ṣ* was responsible for the *t* to change into *-ṭ*; the *ṭ* must also be removed in favor of *-t* when *Ṣ* is gone.

### 3.2.183 हलसूकरयोः पुवः

*halasūkarayoh puvah*  
*/halasūkarayoh 7/2 puvah 5/1/*  
 (pratyayah #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, varttamāne #123,  
 ṣṭran #181, karāṇe #182)  
*‘pū’ iti pūṅpuṅnos sāmānyena grahaṇam asmād dhātoḥ karāṇe kārake ṣṭran*  
*pratyayo bhavati*

Affix *ṢtraN* 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 'pūN̄' and 'puN̄' both. The genitive in 'halasūkarayoḥ' is interpreted to denote 'part' (*avayava*). The word *karāṇe*, again, does not set any cooccurrence condition.

### 3.2.184 अर्तिलूधूसूखनसहचर इत्रः

*arttilūdhūsūkhanasahacara itraḥ*

*lartti...caraḥ 5/1 itraḥ 1/1/*

(*pratyayah* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *varttamāne* #123, *karāṇe* #182)

'*ṛ, lūñ, dhū, śū, khanu, śaha, cara gatibhakṣaṇoyoḥ*' *ity etebhyo dhātubhyah karāṇe kārake itra pratyayo bhavati*

Affix *itra* occurs to denote *karāṇa* after verbal roots *ṛ* 'to go', *lūN̄* 'to cut', *dhū* 'to shake', *sū* 'to inspire', *khanU* 'to dig', *śahA* 'to endure' and *carA* 'to wander, consume' when the action is denoted at the current time.

#### EXAMPLES:

*aritrām* 'an oar'

*lavitrām* 'a knife'

*dhavitrām* 'a fan'

*savitrām* 'inspirer'

*khanitrām* 'an instrument for digging; a spade'

*sahitrām* 'endurance'

*caritrām* 'conduct'

1. Note that *dhū* and *sū* refer only to *dhū* and *śū* 'to inspire', since they have been cited without any *it*. They, thus, do not refer to '*dhūN̄*', '*śūN̄*' and '*śūN̄*', etc. (cf. *Paribhāṣa* (82) *niranubandhakagrahaṇe na sānubandhakasya*).

### 3.2.185 पुवः संज्ञायाम्

*puvaḥ saṃjñāyām*

*lpuvaḥ 5/1 saṃjñāyām 7/1/*

(*pratyayah* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *varttamāne* #123, *karāṇe* #182, *itraḥ* #184)

*pavater dhātoḥ karāṇe kārake itrapratyayo bhavati, samudāyena cet saṃjñā gamyate*

Affix *itra* occurs to denote *karṛ* after verbal root *pū* when *saṃjñā* 'a name' is signified and the action is denoted at the current time.

#### EXAMPLES:

*darbhaḥ pavitrām* '*darbha*, a kind of grass which serves as a means of ritual purification'

*barhiḥ pavitrām* '(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 कर्त्तरि चर्षिदेवतयोः

*kartari carṣidevatayoh*

*/kartari 7/1 ca 0 ṛṣidevatayoh 7/2/*

(*pratyayah* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *varttamāne* #123, *karāṇe* #182, *itraḥ* #184, *puvaḥ* #185)

*puvaḥ karāṇe kartari ca itrapratyayo bhavati ṛṣidevatayor yathā-samkhyam sambandhaḥ, ṛṣau karāṇe devatāyām kartari*

Affix *itra* occurs after verbal root *pū* to denote *karāṇa* when the signification is *ṛṣi* 'a Vedic hymn'; and to denote *karṭṛ* when the signification is *devatā* 'god', provided the action is expressed at the current time.

#### EXAMPLES:

*pavitro yam ṛṣiḥ* 'a Vedic hymn which serves as a means of ritual purification'

*agniḥ pavitraṃ sa mā punātu* 'Agni is sacred, may he purify me'

*vāyuh somah sūrya indraḥ pavitraṃ 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 'karāṇe'. Additionally, 'karāṇa' and 'karṭṛ' share the equivalency relationship with 'ṛṣi' and 'devatā' in the order of their enumeration (1.3.10 *yathā-samkhyam...*). That is, affix *itra* denotes *karāṇa* when the derivate denotes a *ṛṣi*. It denotes *karṭṛ* 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 *karṭṛ* when the derivate is *pavitraṃ* as in *agniḥ pavitraṃ sa mā punātu* 'Agni is sacred; may Agni purify me'.

### 3.2.187 जीतः क्तः

*ñītaḥ ktaḥ*

*/ñītaḥ 5/1 ktaḥ 1/1/*

(*pratyayah* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *varttamāne* #123)

*ñīto dhātor varttamāne' rthe ktapratyayo bhavati*

Affix *Kta* occurs after a verbal root with *Ñ* as an *it* when current action is expressed.

#### EXAMPLES:

*minnaḥ* 'oily, fat'

*kṣvinṇaḥ* 'a word said while sneezing'

*dhr̥ṣṭaḥ* 'daring'

1. Note that *Kta* is an affix termed *niṣṭhā* (1.1.26 *ktaktavatū niṣṭhā*). As such, rule 3.2.102 *niṣṭhā* 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 *Ñ* 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 मतिबुद्धिपूजार्थेभ्यश्च

*matibuddhipūjārthebhyaś ca*

*/matibuddhipūjārthebhyaḥ 5/3 ca 0/*

*(pratyayah # 3.1.1, paraś ca # 3.1.2, dhātoḥ # 3.1.91, varttamāne # 123, kta # 18*

*'matih icchā, buddhiḥ jñānam, pūjā satkārah' ity etad arthebhyaś 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:

*rājñāṃ mataḥ* 'the king's intent'

*rājñāṃ iṣṭaḥ* 'the king's wish'

*rājñāṃ buddhaḥ* 'the king's knowledge'

*rājñāṃ jñātaḥ* 'id.'

*rājñāṃ pūjitaḥ* 'revered by the king'

*rājñāṃ arcitaḥ* '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 derivatives unaccounted for. The following verse enumerates quite a few of them:

*śīlito rakṣitaḥ kṣānta ākruṣṭo juṣṭa ity api*

*ruṣṭaś ca ruṣitaś cobhāv abhivyāhṛta ity api*

*hr̥ṣṭatuṣṭau tathā kāntas tathobhau saṃyatodyatau*

*kaṣṭam bhaviṣyatīty āhur amṛtaḥ pūrvavat smṛtaḥ||*

The verse includes these derivatives: *śīlita* 'practiced', *rakṣita* 'protected', *kṣānta* 'forbearing', *ākruṣṭa* 'censured', *juṣṭa* 'pleased', *ruṣṭa* 'angry', *ruṣita* 'id.', *abhivyāhṛta* 'uttered', *hr̥ṣṭa* 'happy', *tuṣṭa* 'satisfied', *kānta* 'favorite', *saṃyata* 'restrained', *udyata* 'ready', *kaṣṭa* 'misery in the offing', *amṛta* 'immortal', *supta* 'asleep', *śayita* 'reclining', *āsita* 'consumed', *lipta* 'smeared', and *tr̥pta* 'satisfied'. They are all in the context of *varttamāna*. The last five are also attested but are not included in the verse.

## 3.3.1 उणादयो बहुलम्

*uṇādayo bahulam*

*luṇādayaḥ 1/3 bahulam 1/1/*

(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *varttamāne* #3.2.123)

*uṇādayaḥ 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* 'cholera (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. (*uṇādi*). It is believed in the Pāṇinian tradition that there were two versions of the *uṇādisūtra* listing: a larger one with ten quarters (*daśapādī*) and a shorter one (*pañcapādī*) with five quarters. The first rule of the *pañcapādī* version introduces affix *uN*. A claim is made that the *uṇādi* affixes number well over three hundred. The tradition recognizes items derived by the use of the *uṇādi* 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 pravṛtṭiḥ kvacid apravṛtṭiḥ*

*kvacid vibhāṣā kvacid anyad eva*

*vidher vidhānaṃ bahudhā samīkṣya,*

*caturvidhaṃ bāhulakaṃ vadanti*

‘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:

*bāhulakam prakṛtes tanudrṣṭeh,  
prāyasamuccayanād api teṣāml  
kāryasaśeṣavidheś ca tad uktam,  
naigamarūdhbhavam hi susādhull  
nāma ca dhātujam āha nirukte,  
vyākaraṇe śakaṭasya ca tokaml  
yan na padārthaviśeṣasamuttham,  
pratyayataḥ prakṛteś ca tad ūhyaml*

‘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 *Śakaṭāyana*, 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 derivatives:

*saṃjñāsu dhāturūpāni pratyayās ca tataḥ parel  
kāryād vidyād anūbandham etac chāstram uṇādiṣull*

‘the verbal forms when deriving names; affixes introduced after verbal roots; an *it* to be determined by lack of an operation such as *gūṇa*; 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 ‘*varttamāne*’ and ‘*saṃjñāyām*’ are both carried here. They yield the understanding, when read with *bahulam*, 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 भूतेऽपि दृश्यन्ते

*bhūte’ pi drśyante  
|bhūte 7/1 api 0 drśyante (verbal pada)|*

(*pratyayah* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *uṇādayaḥ* #1)  
*bhūte kāle*’ *py uṇādayaḥ pratyayā drśyante*

Affixes *uN*, 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 *uṇādi* affixes are also seen when the action is located in the past. The word *drśyante* attests to the usage (*prayoga*) as evidence. Obviously, *bhūta* is contrasted, here, with *vartamāna* ‘current time’ of the preceding rule.

#### 3.3.3 भविष्यति गम्यादयः

*bhaviṣyati gamyādayaḥ*  
*/bhaviṣyati* (verbal *pada*) *gamyādayaḥ* 1/3/  
(*pratyayah* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *uṇādayaḥ* #1)  
*bhaviṣyati kāle gamyādayaḥ śabdāḥ sādhaḥ bhavanti*

Affixes *uN*, etc., occur in the derivation of *gamī* ‘one who will go’, etc. when the action is denoted in the future (*bhaviṣyati*).

#### EXAMPLES:

*gamī grāmam* ‘one who will go to the village’  
*āgāmī* ‘that which will come’  
*prasthāyī* ‘one who will depart’  
*pratirodhī* ‘one who will oppose’  
*pratibodhī* ‘one who will be awake’  
*pratiyodhī* ‘one who will fight against’  
*pratiyogī* ‘one who will compete; an adversary’  
*āyāyī* ‘one which will come’  
*bhāvī* ‘that which will happen’

1. This rule provides for *uṇādi* affixes to be used when the action may be located at a future time. The provision is made in connection with a group of derivatives such as *gamī* ‘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 generalized manner. That is, the scope of *uṇādi* 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-bhaviṣyat* ‘future not pertaining to the current day’ cannot be accounted for. That is, it can only account for general future (*LṚṬ*), 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 यावत्पुरानिपातयोर्लट्

*yāvatpurānīpātayor laṭ*

*/yāvatpurānīpātayoḥ 7/2 laṭ 1/1/*

(*pratyayaḥ #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, bhaviṣyati #3*)

*yāvatpurāśabdāyoraṅ nīpātayoraṅ upapadāyoraṅ bhaviṣyati kāle dhātoṛ laṭ pratyayo bhavati*

Affix *LAṬ* occurs after a verbal root when the root cooccurs with the particles (*nīpāta*) *yāvat* and *purā* and the action is denoted in the future.

#### EXAMPLES:

*yāvad bhūṅkte* ‘he surely will eat’

*purā bhūṅkte* ‘id.’

1. This rule allows for the introduction of *LAṬ* 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 *nīpāta* 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 विभाषा कदाकर्होः

*vibhāṣā kadākarhyoḥ*

*/vibhāṣā 1/1 kadākarhyoḥ 7/2/*

(*pratyayaḥ #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, bhaviṣyati #3, laṭ #4*)

*‘kadā, karhi’ ity etayoraṅ upapadāyoraṅ vibhāṣā bhaviṣyati kāle dhātoṛ laṭ pratyayo bhavati*

Affix *LAṬ* optionally occurs after a verbal root when the root co-occurs with *kadā* and *karhi* and the action is located in the future.

#### EXAMPLES:

*kadā bhūṅkte* ‘when will he eat’

*kadā bhoksyate* 'id.'  
*kadā bhoktā* 'id.'  
*karhi bhukte* 'id.'  
*karhi bhoksyate* 'id.'  
*karhi bhoktā* 'id.'

1. Commentators explain that the option of *LAṬ* is made available against both *LṚṬ* 'general future' as well as *LUṬ* 'first future'. Such a statement is necessary since *bhaviṣyati*, 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 *LAṬ* made available by this rule. That is, *bhukte* of *LAṬ* against *bhoksyase* of *LṚṬ* and *bhoktā* of *LUṬ*. The option, of course, enables *LAT* to denote future.

### 3.3.6 किवृत्ते लिप्सायाम्

*kiṃvṛtte lipsāyām*  
*/kiṃvṛtte 7/1 lipsāyām 7/1/*  
 (*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *bhaviṣyati* #3, *laṭ* #4, *vibhāsā* #5)

*kiṃvṛtta upapade lipsāyām bhaviṣyati kāle dhātor vibhāsā laṭ pratyayo bhavati*

Affix *LAṬ* optionally occurs after a verbal root used in conjunction with *kiṃvṛtta* '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 bhavanto bhojayanti* 'who will you feed, sir?'  
*kaṃ bhavanto bhojayitāraḥ* 'id.'  
*kataro bhikṣāṃ dāsyati* 'who among these two will give the alms?'  
*kataro bhikṣāṃ dadāti* 'id.'  
*kataro bhikṣāṃ dātā* 'id.'  
*katamo bhikṣāṃ dāsyati* 'who among these many will give the alms?'  
*katamo bhikṣāṃ dadāti* 'id.'  
*katamo bhikṣāṃ dātā* 'id.'

1. The word *kim* used with *vṛtta* refers to the inflectional possibilities of the nominal base *kim* 'what, which'. Thus, *kiṃvṛttam* 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 *LAṬ* can be optionally introduced against *LṚṬ* 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. *Śabdenduśekhara* of Nāgeśa ad 8.1.66 *yadvṛttān nityam*) implies the *anuvṛtti* of *kadā* and *karhi* in this rule from the preceding. *Kāśikā* does not do so.

### 3.3.7 लिप्स्यमानसिद्धौ च

*lipsyamānasiddhau ca*

*lipsyamānasiddhau 7/1 ca 0/*

(*pratyayah #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, bhaviṣyati #3, laṭ #4, vibhāṣā #5*)

*lipsyamānasiddhau gamyamānāyām bhaviṣyati kāle dhātor*

*vibhāṣā laṭ pratyayo bhavati*

Affix *LAṬ*, also, optionally occurs to denote a future action after a verbal root when an accomplishment is conditioned by a wish fulfilled.

#### EXAMPLES:

*yo bhaktaṃ dadāti sa svargaṃ gacchati* 'he who gives rice goes to heaven'  
*yo bhaktaṃ dāsyati sa svargaṃ gamiṣyati* 'he who will give rice will go to heaven'

*yo bhāaktaṃ dātā sa svargaṃ gantā* 'id.'

1. This rule allows for the introduction of *LAṬ*, optionally to *LṚṬ* 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 bhaktaṃ dadāti sa svargaṃ gacchati* 'he who gives rice will go to heaven'. This sentence will use *LAṬ* as an option to *LṚṬ* 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 derivatives 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 लोडर्थलक्षणे च

*loḍarthalakṣaṇe ca*



*lloḍarthalakṣaṇe 7/1 ca 0/*

(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *bhaviṣyati* #3, *laṭ* #4, *vibhāṣā* #5)

*loḍarthah praīṣādir lakṣyate yena sa loḍarthalakṣaṇo dhātvarthaḥ, tatra varttamānād dhātor bhaviṣyati kāle vibhāṣā laṭ pratyayo bhavati*

Affix *LAṬ* also occurs optionally after a verbal root when the action denoted by the root characterizes some other action with the signification of *LOṬ* 'imperative' (3.3.162 *loṭ ca*).

#### EXAMPLES:

*upādhyāyaś ced āgacchati atha tvaṃ vyākaraṇam adhīṣva* 'if the teacher comes, you should study grammar'

*upādhyāyaś ced āgamiṣyati atha tvaṃ vyākaraṇam adhīṣva* 'id.'

*upādhyāyaś ced āgantū atha tvaṃ vyākaraṇam adhīṣva* 'id.'

1. The word *loḍarthalakṣaṇe* 'when used with a signification characterized by the meaning of *LOṬ*' becomes the qualifier to the verbal root. The 'meaning of *LOṬ*' is explained as *praīṣādi* '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 derivatives 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 *LOṬ* by the action denoted by *adhīṣva*. This *LAṬ* is optional to *LṚṬ* and *LUT* as is known by the next two sentences of the examples.

#### 3.3.9 लिङ् चोर्ध्वमौहूर्तिके

*liṅ cordhvamauhūrttike*

*liṅ 1/1 ca 0/ ūrdhvamauhūrttike 7/1 = muhūrttād ūrddhvam =*

*ūrddhvamuhūrttam (pañc, tat.); ūrddhvamuhūrte bhavam =*

*ūrddhvamauhūrttikam, tasmīn/*

(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *bhaviṣyati* #3, *laṭ* #4, *vibhāṣā* #5, *loḍarthalakṣaṇe* #8)

*ūrdhvamauhūrttike bhaviṣyati kāle loḍarthalakṣaṇārthe varttamānād dhātor vibhāṣā liṅ pratyayao bhavati*

Affix *LIṆ* 'optative', as well as *LOṬ*, optionally occurs to denote a future action after a verbal root when the action denoted by the root characterizes another action with the signification of *LOṬ* and future time exceeds by a *muhūrta* 'fortyeight minutes'.

#### EXAMPLES:

*upari muhūrttasya upādhyāyaś ced āgacched atha tvaṃ vyākaraṇam*

*adhīṣva* 'if the teacher comes after a *muhūrtta*, you should study grammar'

*upari muhūrttasya upādhyāyāś ced āgacchati atha tvaṃ vyākaraṇam adhīṣva* 'id.'

*upari muhūrttasya upādhyāyāś ced āgamiṣyati atha tvaṃ vyākaraṇam adhīṣva* 'id.'

*upari muhūrttasya upādhyāyāś ced āgantā atha tvaṃ vyākaraṇam adhīṣva* 'id'.

1. Note that '*bhaviṣyati*', '*vibhāṣā*', and '*loḍarthalakṣaṇe*' are all carried here. The word *bhaviṣyati* is further modified by *ūrdhvamauhūrttike* 'when the future beyond a period slightly over three quarters of an hour (*muhūrtta*) is denoted'. But 'slightly over three quarters of an hour' of what time? *Nyāsa* explains that *ūrdhvamauhūrttike* is used to denote a time proximate to the present (*ūrdhvamauhūrttikaś cāyaṃ vartamānasya pratyāsanne varttate*). The word *ūrdhvamauhūrttika* 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 तुमुन्ण्वुलौ क्रियायां क्रियार्थायाम्

*tumunṇvulau kriyāyām kriyārthāyām*

*Itumunṇvulau 1/2 kriyāyām 7/1 kriyārthāyām 7/1/*

(*pratyayah* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *bhaviṣyati* #3)

*kriyārthāyām kriyāyām upapade dhātor bhaviṣyati kāle tumunṇvulau pratyayau bhavataḥ*

Affixes *tumUN* and *ṆvuL* 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'

*bhoktuko vrajati* 'id.'

1. Note that '*bhaviṣyati*' is still carried. The word *kriyāyām kriyārthāyām* 'action intended for the sake of another action' forms the cooccurrence condition. Thus, *bhoktum* of *bhoktum vrajati* involves the introduction of affix *tumUN* 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 *kriyārthāyām* denotes *prayojana* 'purpose'.

The conditions of *kriyāyām* and *kriyārthāyām* must both be met. Thus, *bhikṣiṣya ity asya jaṭāḥ* ‘he has matted hair so that he can receive alms’ will not qualify. The word *jaṭā* 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 paṭiṣyati daṇḍaḥ* ‘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 *ṆvuL* is to be restated in this rule when rule 3.1.133 *ṇvulṭṛcau* already provides for it. Pāṇini lists *ṆvuL* separately from *ṭṛC* to indicate that this *ṆvuL* cannot be used optionally with *ṭṛC*, *Lyu*, *ṆinI*, 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 *ṆvuL*, as opposed to that of 3.1.133 *ṇvulṭṛcau*, is also different in other ways. For example, consider the following sentences which employ both the *ṆvuL* affixes:

(a) *odanasya bhojako yāti* ‘he who will eat rice is going’

(b) *odanaṃ bhojako yāti* ‘he is going for eating rice’

The first sentence has *bhojaka* derived by rule 3.1.133 *ṇvulṭṛcau* as opposed to the second which derives under the provision of this rule. Affix *ṆvuL* in both (a-b) denotes the agent (*karṭṛ*); the genitive and accusative of *odana* similarly denote the object. Rule 2.3.65 *karṭṛkarmanoh kṛti* would have required genitive to denote the *karman* in (b). But that is blocked by 2.3.70 *akenor bhaviṣyad ādhamarṇyayoh* in favor of 2.3.2 *karmani dvitīyā*. Sentence (a) still gets genitive to denote the object. This constitutes one basic difference between the two *ṆvuL* rules. Of course, this *ṆvuL* also has *kriyārthakriyā* and *bhaviṣyati* as attending situations. Note that affix *ṆvuL* denotes *karṭṛ* in view of rule 3.4.67 *kartari kṛt* read with 3.1.93 *kṛd atin*. Affix *tumUN* is responsible for assignment of the term *avyaya* to its derivatives in view of rule 1.1.39 *kṛn mejantaḥ*. A derivate of *tumUN* will still be called an item ending in *kṛt*. But can this derivate still denote *karṭṛ*? No. A *kṛdanta* termed *avyaya* denotes *bhāva* ‘root-sense’. The *Mahābhāṣya* (ad 3.4.9 *tumarthesesena...*) states that *avyayakṛto bhāve bhavanti* ‘a form which ends in a *kṛt* (*kṛdanta*) affix, and is termed indeclinable (*avyaya*), denotes ‘root-sense’ (*bhāva*)’.

Note that this introduction of *tumUN* does not require the condition of *samānakarṭṛkatva* ‘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 *samānakarṭṛkatva*, 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 *samānakaṛṭṛkeṣu...* 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):

*vāṣpaś ca na dadāty enām draṣṭum citragatām api* ‘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 (*Laghuśiddhāntakaumudī* III:180).

### 3.3.11 भाववचनाश्च

*bhāvavacanās ca*

*l|bhāvavacanāḥ 1/3 ca 0/*

(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *bhaviṣyati* #3, *kriyāyām kriyārthāyām* #10)

*bhāvavacanāḥ pratyayā bhaviṣyatikāle kriyāyām upapade kriyārthāyām 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:

*pākāya vrajati* ‘he is going for the purpose of cooking’

*bhūtaye vrajati* ‘he is going for the purpose of acquiring wealth’

*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 conjoined with another root which denotes an action intended for the future action. Commentators explain *bhāvavacanāt* 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’ sarūpo’ striyām* 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* (*Nyāsa 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 *GHaÑ* is introduced after verbal root *ciÑ* with the semantic qualification of *hastādāna* 'obtaining by hand', further restricted by *aste* '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 अण् कर्मणि च

*aṅ karmaṇi ca*

*laṅ 1/1 karmaṇi 7/1 ca 0/*

(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *bhaviṣyati* #3, *kriyāyāṃ kriyārthāyāṃ* #10)

*dhātor aṅ pratyayo bhavati bhaviṣyati kāle karmaṇy upapade kriyāyāṃ ca kriyārthāyāṃ*

Affix *aṅ* 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:

*kāṅḍalāvo vrajati* 'he is going for the purpose of cutting a branch'

*aśvadāyo 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 *sanniyoga* 'concurrent application' of the conditions of *kriyāyāṃ kriyārthāyāṃ* and *karmaṇi*. If this *ca* were not used, application in turn (*paryāya*) would obtain. Consequently, *aṅ* could be introduced when the condition of *kriyārthakriyā* was met. Similarly, *aṅ* 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 *aN* after verbal root *dā* under the cooccurrence condition of *aśva* + *Ñas* 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* + *Ñas*, its object.

2. Note that rule 3.2.1 *karmaṇy aṅ* introduces *aN* in general (*utsarga*). The same is blocked by *ÑvuL* of 3.3.10 *tumunṅvulau...*, an exception (*apavāda*), at the strength of the indication (*jñāpaka*) that ‘*vā*’ *sarūpavidhi*’ does not apply there. Our present rule reintroduces *aN* which, because it constitutes an exception (*apavāda*), blocks *ÑvuL* which, in turn, blocked the earlier *aN*. This second *aN* also blocks affixes such as *Ka*, etc. (*kādi*; 3.2.3 *āto’ nupasarge kaḥ*, 3.2.8 *gāpoṣ ṭak*, etc.), for reasons of its placement subsequently (*paratva*; 1.4.2 *vipratishedhe...*; see *Nyāsa ad Kāś.* on interaction of rules in relation to *paratva*). Note that, in the context of the introduction of *ÑvuL* by rule 3.3.10 *tumunṅvulau...*, affixes *ṭC*, 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 *aN* obtains, *ÑvuL* of 3.3.10 *tumunṅvulau...* also obtains by way of exception. Thus we get: *edhān āhārako vrajati* ‘he is going to bring the firewood’.

### 3.3.13 लृट् शेषे च

*lṛṭ śeṣe ca*

//lṛṭ 1/1 śeṣe 7/1 ca 0/

(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.91, *bhaviṣyati* #3,

*kriyāyām kiryārthāyām* #10)

*śeṣe śuddhe bhaviṣyati kāle cakārāt kriyāyām copapade kriyārthāyām dhātor*

*lṛṭ pratyayo bhavati*

Affix *LṚṬ* occurs after a verbal root when a future action, or a concurrent action intended for the future action, is denoted.

#### EXAMPLES:

*kariṣyati* ‘he will do’

*kariṣyāmīti vrajati*

‘I will do it’ thus he goes’

1. Note that ‘*bhaviṣyati*’ is still carried. The word *śeṣa* ‘remainder’ is used so that affix *LṚṬ* can also be introduced in a context other than that which has *kriyārthakriyā* as an *upapada*. This context has been identified simply as ‘*bhaviṣyati*’ ‘future’. Thus, this rule will introduce *LṚṬ* where

future alone is denoted. Additionally, it will introduce *LṚṬ* after a verbal root also when the root cooccurs with an action intended for the future action. Consider *kariṣyati* where ‘future’ is denoted under the provision of *śeṣe* as opposed to *kariṣyāmīti vrajati* where *LṚṬ* 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 लृटः सद्वा

*lṛṭaḥ sad vā*

*||lṛṭaḥ 6/1 sat 1/1 vā 0/*

(*pratyayah* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *bhaviṣyati* #3, *kriyāyām kriyārthāyām* #10 *śeṣe* #13)

*lṛṭaḥ sthāne satsamjñau śatṛśānacau 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 *LṚṬ* when a future action, or a concurrent action intended for the future action, is denoted.

#### EXAMPLES:

*kariṣyantam devadattam paśya* ‘see Devadatta who will do it’

*kariṣyamānam devadattam paśya* ‘id.’

*he kariṣyan* ‘O you, who will do (it)’

*he kariṣyamāna* ‘id.’

*arjayiṣyamāno 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 *LṚṬ*. Rule 3.2.124 *lṛṭaḥ śatṛśānacāv aprathamāsamānādhikaraṇe* introduces the two affixes, *ŚatR* and *ŚānaC*, under the condition of coreferentiality (*sāmānādhikarāṇya*) with a word which terminates in a nominal ending other than the nominative (*aprathamā*). The option of this present rule is interpreted as *vyavasthitavibhāṣa* ‘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) *kariṣyantam devadattam paśya* (*ŚatR*) ‘see Devadatta who will...’

(b) *kariṣyamānam devadattam paśya* (*ŚānaC*) ‘id.’

(c) *he kariṣyan* ‘O! you! who will do’

(d) *he kariṣyamāna* ‘id.’

(e) *arjayiṣyan vasati* ‘he lives here so that he will make a living’

- (f) *arjayiṣyamāṇo vasati* 'id.'  
 (g) *śayiṣyanto bhoksyante yavanāḥ* 'the Ionians will be eating while reclining'  
 (h) *śayiṣyamāṇā bhoksyante yavanāḥ* 'id.'

The above sentences, in sets of two, show instances of the replacement of *LṚṬ* with *ŚatR* and *ŚānaC* respectively. These above options are obligatory. Thus, the first two sentences illustrate the use of *ŚatR* and *ŚānaC* to replace *LṚṬ*, where the derivate is not coreferential with any word in *prathamā*. The second set (c-d) offers examples in *sambodhana* 'address' (3.2.125 *sambodhane ca*). The third (e-f) set offers examples where *hetu* 'cause, purpose' conditions the replacement (3.2.126 *lakṣaṇahetvoḥ kriyāyāḥ*). The last two sentences (g-h) illustrate replacements under the condition of an action which characterizes another action (*lakṣaṇa*). These are all instances where Pāṇini intended *ŚatR* and *ŚānaC* obligatorily. For optional replacements, where coreferentiality with a word ending in the nominative obtains, consider *karīṣyati / karīṣyate devadattaḥ* 'Devadatta will do' parallel to *karīṣyan* or *karīṣyamāṇo devadattaḥ*.

These replacements also become available obligatorily, relative to an affix (*pratyaya*) or a following word (*uttarapada*). Thus we get: *kārīṣyataḥ* and *karīṣyamāṇiḥ* 'the male offspring of he who will do' parallel to *karīṣyato* *apatyam*; and *karīṣyad bhaktiḥ* and *karīṣyamāṇabhaktiḥ* 'this is the devotion of one who will do' parallel to *karīṣyato bhaktiḥ*.

2. Explicit mention of *lṛṭaḥ* 'in place of *LṚṬ*' is made to specify that affixes termed *sat* come as replacements, and not independently, after a root. Thus, *lṛṭaḥ* specifies the item to be replaced (*sthāninirdeśa*).

### 3.3.15 अनद्यतने लुट्

*anadyatane luṭ*

*lanadyatane 7/1 luṭ 1/1/*

(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *bhaviṣyati* #3)

*bhaviṣyadanadyatane* 'rthe *varttamānād dhātor luṭ pratyayo bhavati*

Affix *LUṬ* occurs after a verbal root when a future action which is not current is denoted.

#### EXAMPLES:

*śvaḥ karttā* 'he will do (it) tomorrow'

*śvo bhoktā* 'he will eat tomorrow'

1. This rule is an exception to *LṚṬ* since '*bhaviṣyati*' is also carried. The word *anadyatana* is interpreted as a *bahuvrīhi* compound with the paraphrase: *adya bhāvo nāsty asminn iti* 'that in which there is no sense of today'. Consequently, *anadyatane* read with *bhaviṣyati* will yield the interpretation:



when the action is denoted in the future with no sense of today'. The word 'bhaviṣyati' refers to future in general and thus relates to the context of affix *LṚṬ*. Affix *LUT* will now denote 'future' but without any reference to the futurity of the current day. This is the force of *anadyatane*. A *bahuvrīhi* interpretation of *anadyatane* will rule out the introduction of *LUT* in a context where mixing of 'today with tomorrow' may be involved. Thus, *adya śva vā bhaviṣyati* 'it will happen today, or tomorrow' will obligatorily have *LṚṬ*.

2. A *vārttika* in the *Mahābhāṣya* proposes that *LUT* (*śastanī*) should be used in the sense of *LṚṬ* (*bhaviṣyatyarthe*) when *paridevana* 'complaint, lamentation' is denoted. Thus, *iyam nu kadā gantā, yaivam pādo nidadhāti* 'when will she, the one who sets her foot this way (very slowly), reach there'; *ayam kadā' dhyetā, ya evam anabhiyuktaḥ* 'when will he, the one who is so inattentive, be able to study anything'.

### 3.3.16 पदरुजविशस्पृशो घञ्

*padarujaviśasprśo ghañ*

*/padarujaviśasprśaḥ 5/1 ghañ 1/1/*

(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91)

*padādibhyo dhātubhyo ghañ pratyayo bhavati*

Affix *GHaÑ* occurs after verbal roots *padA* 'to step', *rujA* 'to be sick', *viśA* 'to enter', and *sprśA* 'to touch'.

#### EXAMPLES:

*pādaḥ* 'foot'

*rogaḥ* 'disease'

*veśaḥ* 'one who enters'

1. Note that 'bhaviṣyati' is no longer carried in this rule. Thus, affixes introduced hereafter could refer to all tenses. A derivate which terminates in *GHaÑ* will denote *karṭṛ* by 3.4.67 *kartari kṛt*. In the example *pādaḥ* 'foot' which is analysed as: *padyate' sau* 'that which goes', the feet serve as means (*karaṇa*) more than anything else. It is for this reason that commentators add: *karaṇa* is denoted here by way of *karṭṛ* based upon the speaker's desire to speak about it as the agent (*karaṇasya karṭṛtvena vivakṣā*).

A *vārttika* approves the derivation of *sparśaḥ* 'that which afflicts' with *GHaÑ* 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 *nandigrahipacādibhyo...* The *aC*-derivate *sparśaḥ* receives the high-pitch accent at the end (*antodātta*). The accent with *GHaÑ* will be high-pitch initially (*ādyudātta*). The *GH*, as an *it* in *GHaÑ*, is used to facilitate *kutva* 'replacement with *k*, etc.' by rule 7.3.52 *cajoḥ ku ghinyatoḥ*. The *Ñ* as

as an *it* is used to facilitate *vṛddhi*, as well as, initial high-pitch (*ādyudātta*; 6.1.197 *ñnityādir...*) accent.

### 3.3.17 सु स्थिरे

*sṛ sthire*

*/sṛ (deleted 5/1) sthire 7/1)*

*(pratyayaḥ #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, ghañ #16)*

*sartter dhātoḥ sthire kartari ghañ pratyayo bhavati*

Affix *GHaÑ* occurs after verbal root *sṛ* to denote a stable agent.

#### EXAMPLES:

*candanasārah* ‘essence of sandalwood’

*khadirasārah* ‘essence of catechu’

1. Note that *sṛ* is referenced, here, without the ablative (*pañcamī*), and thereby makes the specification (*nirdeśa*) without a nominal ending (*avibhaktika*). The word *sthira*, which outlines the semantic condition, is treated as a qualifier to the agent. That is, affix *GHaÑ* will denote the agent modified by *sthira* ‘fixed, stable’. It is thus not a cooccurrence condition marked by locative of 3.1.92 *tatropapadam...* The word *sthira*, itself, is explained as *kālāntarasthāyī* ‘that which remains static through intervals of time; longlasting’. The word *sṛ* makes reference to both verbal roots *sṛ* and *ṛ*, which are synonymous in the sense ‘to go’.

### 3.3.18 भावे

*bhāve*

*/bhāve 7/1/*

*(pratyayaḥ #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, ghañ #16)*

*bhāve vācye dhātor ghañ pratyayo bhavati*

Affix *GHaÑ* occurs after a verbal root when *bhāva* ‘root-sense’ is denoted.

#### EXAMPLES:

*paktiḥ* ‘cooking’

*pakvam* ‘id.’

*pacanam* ‘id.’

*pākah* ‘id.; nom. singular’

*pākau* ‘nom. dual’

*pākāḥ* ‘nom. plural’

1. The word ‘*bhāve*’ specifies the scope of affix *GHaÑ*, and is, itself, derived by introduction of this affix after verbal root *bhū* ‘to be’. Can this

limit the introduction of affix *GHaN* only to the action denoted by *bhū*? Obviously not, since the idea is to make the affix available after roots in general.

2. The specification of this rule anticipates affix *GHaN* to denote *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 *GHaÑ*. Actions may be spoken of as having two properties: that of being yet to be accomplished (*sādhyatā*) and that of having been accomplished (*siddhatā*). Affix *GHaÑ* denotes *bhāva* in the sense of denoting the property of the root-sense termed *siddhatā*. This also enables the ‘root-sense’ (*dhātvartha*) to now relate to number and gender. For, it is more like a thing (*dravya*). Remember, however, in this context that Pāṇini’s use of ‘*bhāve*’ in masculine singular is not *tantra* ‘principal’. That is, it is not technically restrictive of derivatives to be used only in masculine singular. Thus, derivatives which denote *bhāva* can be also related with genders other than masculine, and numbers other than singular. Consider for example the derivation of *paktiḥ*, *pacanam*, on the one hand, and of *pākau* and *pākāḥ*, on the other.

### 3.3.19 अकर्तरि च कारके संज्ञायाम्

*akartari ca kārake saṁjñāyām*

*lakartari 7/1 ca Ø kārake 7/1 saṁjñāyām 7/1/*

(*pratyayah #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.01, ghañ #16*)

*karṭṛvarjite kārake saṁjñāyām viśaye dhātor ghañ pratyayo bhavati*

Affix *GHaÑ* occurs after a verbal root to denote a *kāraka* other than *karṭṛ* when the derivate denotes a *saṁjñā* ‘name’.

#### EXAMPLES:

*prāsaḥ* ‘that which people hurl; a spear’

*prasevaḥ* ‘that which people stitch; a sack’

*āhāraḥ* ‘that from which one receives nourishment; food’

1. This rule introduces affix *GHaÑ* to denote a *kāraka* other than *karṭṛ* provided the derivate denotes a name (*saṁjñā*). Thus we get:

(a) *prāsaḥ* = *prāsyanti taṁ prāsaḥ* ‘that which people hurl; spear’

(b) *prasevaḥ* = *prasīvyanti taṁ* ‘that which people stitch up; a sack’

(c) *āhāraḥ* = *āharanti rasam yasmāt* ‘that from which people derive nourishment; food’

1. The word *akartari* is interpreted as the negative *tatpuruṣa* compound of the *paryudāsa* type. Given this, the negative of *akartari* will be interpreted as negating something different from, though still similar to (*tadbhin-natatsadrśa*), a *karṭṛ*. That is, *naÑ* will negate *karṭṛ* and yet, together with

*karṭṛ*, 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 *karṭṛ*. The referent of ‘something other than, but similar to a *karṭṛ*’ is clearly a *kāraka* other than a *karṭṛ*. 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: *saṃjñāyām ghañ bhavati* ‘affix *GHaÑ* occurs when the derivate denotes *saṃjñā*’; *kartari tu na bhavati* ‘affix *GHaÑ*, however, does not occur when *karṭṛ* 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 *svādiṣu*...

The *ca* of this rule is displaced, as regards its order, relative to *saṃjñāyām*. Commentators explain that this may leave some possibility for usage where *saṃjñā* is not denoted by the derivate. Thus, we get *lābhaḥ* ‘gain’ in *ko bhavatā lābho labdhaḥ* ‘what gain was made by you sir?’

### 3.3.20 परिमाणाख्यायां सर्वेभ्यः

*parimāṇākhyāyām sarvebhyaḥ*

*lparimāṇākhyāyām 7/1 sarvebhyaḥ 5/3/*

(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *ghañ* #16, *bhāve* #18, *akartari ca kārake saṃjñāyām* #19)

*parimāṇākhyāyām gamyamānāyām sarvebhyo dhātubhyo ghañ pratyayo bhavati*

Affix *GHaÑ* occurs after verbal roots in general to denote *bhāva*, and a *kāraka* other than *karṭṛ*, when the derivate denotes a measure of weight.

#### EXAMPLES:

*taṇḍulanicāyaḥ* ‘one heaped measure of rice’

*śūrpaniṣpāvah* ‘two winnowing basketfuls of...’

1. This rule allows for the introduction of affix *GHaÑ* 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 *parimāna* 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 *nicāyaḥ* in *taṇḍulanicāyaḥ* parallel to *ekas taṇḍulānām nicāyaḥ* ‘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 *niṣpāvau* as in *dvau śūrpaniṣpāvau* where two, the number of winnowing baskets measures the grain.

2. Note that *nicāyaḥ* 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 *ṛ* and *u*. Our second example, *niṣpāvaḥ / niṣpāvau*, could have qualified for 3.3.57 which is blocked. Obviously, the *paribhāṣā* 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 ktin* (*ghaṇānukramaṇam ajapor viṣaye, strīpratyaṣ tu na bādhyante*). *Kāśikā* states clearly that *GHaÑ* 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 ktin* entails specifications relative to meaning. Thus we get *KtiN* in *ekā tilocchittih* ‘one heap of sesame’, etc.

3. A *vārttika* also provides for the introduction of affix *GHaÑ* in the sense of agent after verbal roots *dr̥* ‘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 *praśchannapatih* ‘secret husband’ or *upapatih* ‘other husband’.

### 3.3.21 इडञ्

*iṅś ca*

*/iṅś 5/1 ca 0/*

(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *ghaṅ* #16, *bhāve* #18, *akartari ca kāraṅke samjñāyām* #19)

*iṅo dhātor ghaṅ pratyayo bhavati*

Affix *GHaÑ* occurs after verbal root *iṅ* ‘to study’ to denote *bhāva*, and a *kāraṅka* other than *kartr*, when the derivate denotes a name.

#### EXAMPLES:

*adhyāyaḥ* ‘a lesson; chapter of a treatise’

*upādhyāyaḥ* ‘he from whom one studies; a teacher’

1. This rule introduces affix *GHaÑ* after verbal root *iṅ* ‘to study’ as an exception to affix *aC* of rule 3.3.56 *er ac*. Note that *aC* would have become available to *iṅ* for reason that it ends in *-i*. Thus we get *GHaÑ* after *iṅ* used with the preverb *adhi* to yield *upādhyāyaḥ*, ‘he from whom one studies’. Affix *GHaÑ*, obviously, denotes *apādāna* ‘ablative’, which is in consonance with 1.4.29 *ākhyātopayoge*. One can similarly derive *adhyāyaḥ*, though *GHaÑ* would then denote the *karman* ‘object’ of studying.

A feminine counterpart of the derivate in *GHaÑ*, according to a *vārttika*, is formed in this case with *Ñiṣ* optionally with *ṬāP*. 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 *Ñiṣ* by rule 4.1.48 *puṁyogād ākhyāyām*. This same rule will introduce *Ñiṣ* 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) + Ñiṣ = upādhyāyānī*. This provision of *ānUK* is made by a *vārttika* :

*upādhyāyamātulābhyām vā* ‘optionally after *upādhyāya* and *mātula* ‘mother’s brother’. Now one, preferably, can use *upādhyāyānī*, rather than *upādhyāyī*, if one wishes to make sure that the listener will not interpret *upādhyāyī* to mean ‘the female teacher’.

A *vārttika* also provides for *GHaÑ* after verbal root *śr* ‘to injure’ and *urṅ* ‘to select’ to derive *śāraḥ* meaning *vāyuḥ* ‘wind’, *varṇaḥ* ‘color’, and *nivṛtam* ‘that by means of which one covers the body; covering’. The

denotatum of *GHaÑ* in these instances is *karāṇa*. Thus, *vāyuh* ‘wind; that by means of which something (like a leaf) falls; *varṇa* ‘color; that by means of which something is made colorful (*citrīkarāṇa*); and *nivṛtam* ‘covering; that by means of which one covers one’s body to protect from cold, etc.’. The *Mahābhāṣya* uses the following to illustrate the meaning of *nivṛtam* in *nīśārah*:

*gaur ivākṛtanīśārah prāyeṇa śīsire kṛśah* ‘he who remains with his body uncovered like that of a cow in winter is usually feeble’.

### 3.3.22 उपसर्गे रुवः

*upasarge ruvaḥ*

*/upasarge 7/1 ruvaḥ 5/1/*

(*pratyayah* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *akartari ca kārake samjñāyām* #19)

*upasarge upapade rauter dhātor ghañ pratyayo bhavati*

Affix *GHaÑ* occurs after verbal root *ru* ‘to make noise’ to denote *bhāva*, and a *kāraka* other than *kartr*, when the root cooccurs with a nominal *pada* which contains a preverb and the derivate denotes a name.

#### EXAMPLES:

*saṃrāvah* ‘noise’

*uparāvah* ‘id.’

*virāvah* ‘id.’

1. This again is an exception to affix *aP* available from 3.3.57 *rdor 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 *saṃyāvah* 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 समि युद्रुवः

*samy yudruduvah*

*/sami 7/1 yudruduvah 5/1/*

(*pratyayah* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *ghañ* #16, *bhāve* #18, *akartari ca kārake samjñāyām* #19)

*samy upapade ‘yu, dru, du’ ity etebhyo dhātubhyo ghañ pratyayo bhavati*

Affix *GHaÑ* occurs after verbal roots *yu* ‘to mix’, *dru* ‘to move; drip’ and *du* ‘to burn; be afflicted’ to denote *bhāva* and a *kāraka* other than *kartr*, when the root cooccurs with a nominal *pada* which contains *sam* and the derivate denotes a name.

## EXAMPLES:

*saṃyāvah* 'a kind of pudding'  
*sandrāvah* 'running'  
*sandāvah* 'id.'

## 3.3.24 श्रिणीभुवोऽनुपसर्गे

*śriṇībhuvō* 'nupasarge  
*śriṇībhuvah* 5/1 *anupasarge* 7/1/  
 (pratyayah #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, ghañ #16, bhāve #18,  
 akartari ca kārake saṃjñāyām #19)  
 'śri, ṇī, bhū' ity etebhyo dhātubhyo' nupasargebhyo ghañ pratyayo bhavati  
 Affix *GHaÑ* occurs after verbal roots *śri* 'to go', *ṇīÑ* 'to lead' and  
*bhū* 'to be, become' to denote *bhāva*, and a *kāra* other than *karṭṛ*,  
 when the root is not used with a preverb and the derivate denotes  
 a name.

## EXAMPLES:

*śrāyah* 'shelter'  
*nāyah* '(that by) means (of which one leads)'  
*bhāvah* 'existence; condition'

1. This rule constitutes an exception to both affixes *aC* and *aP*. *Kāśikā* paraphrases '*anupasarge*' in the locative as '*anupasargebhyah*' in the ablative just to show that the *saptamī* of '*anupasarge*' is used in the sense of *pañcamī*. A question is raised as to why we get *prabhāvah* 'splendour, power' as opposed to *prabhavaḥ* in *prabhāvo rājñah* 'the power of the king'. It is explained that *prabhāvah* is derived by combining *pra* and *bhāvah*, a *GHaÑ*-derivate, to yield a *prādi* compound. Thus, in *prabhāvah*, *GHaÑ* is not used after verbal root *bhū* conjoined with the preverb *pra*. The word *anupasarga* of *anupasargebhyah* is interpreted as a *bahuvrīhi* with the analyzed form: *avidyamāna upasarga eṣām* 'those whose preverb does not appear'. Why do we get *nayah* as opposed to *nāyah* in *rājño nayah* 'the rule of the king'? Affix *GHaÑ* should have been chosen over *aC* because verbal root *ṇīÑ* is used without a preverb. Affix *aC*, however, has been chosen because of the *bāhulaka* 'variously' provision of 3.3.113 *kr̥tyalyuṭo bahulam*.

## 3.3.25 वौ क्षुश्रुवः

*vau kṣuśruvah*  
*vau* 7/1 *kṣuśruvah* 5/1/  
 (pratyayah #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, ghañ #16,  
 bhāve #18, akartari ca kārake saṃjñāyām #19)



*vau upapade 'kṣu śru' ity etābhyāṃ dhātubhyāṃ ghañ pratyayo bhavati*  
Affix *GHañ* 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 अवोदेर्नियः

*avodor niyah*  
*lavodoh 7/2 niyah 5/1/*  
(*pratyayah* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *ghañ* #16, *bhāve* #18, *akartari ca kārake samjñāyām* #19)  
'*ava, ut*' ity *etayor upapadayor nayater dhātor ghañ pratyayo bhavati*  
Affix *GHañ* occurs after verbal root *ṇiñ* 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:

*avanāyah* 'the act of falling down; downfall'  
*unnāyah* 'elevation; prosperity'

1. How come affix *GHañ* is not used to derive *unnayah* of *unnayah-padārthhānām* 'abundance of things' when *ṇiñ* is used with the preverb *ud*. This is again because of affix *aC* introduced under the provision of *bāhulaka* of 3.3.113 *kṛtyalyuṭo bahulam*.

## 3.3.27 प्रे द्रुस्तुवः

*pre drustusruvah*  
*pre 7/1 drustusruvah 5/1/*  
(*pratyayah* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *ghañ* #16, *bhāve* #18, *akartari ca kārake samjñāyām* #19)  
*praśabda upapade 'dru, stu, sru' ity etebhyo dhātubhyo ghañ pratyayo bhavati*  
Affix *GHañ* 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:

*pradrāvah* ‘running; flight’  
*prastāvah* ‘occasion; proposal of praise’  
*prasrāvah* ‘flow; dripping; urination’

1. Forms such as *dravah* ‘fluid’, *stavah* ‘praise’ and *sravah* ‘flow’ will be derived by introducing affix *aP* when *pra* is not the cooccurring condition.

## 3.3.28 निरभ्योः पूल्वोः

*nirabhyoḥ pūlvoh*  
*/nirabhyah 7/2 pūlvoh 6/2/*  
 (*pratyayah* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *ghañ* #16, *bhāve* #18, *akartari ca kārake samjñāyām* #19)  
*nirabhipūrvayoḥ pūlvor dhātor ghañ pratyayo bhavati*  
 Affix *GHaÑ* occurs after verbal roots *pū* ‘to cleanse’ and *lūÑ* ‘to cut’ to denote *bhāva*, and a *kāraka* other than *karṭṛ*, when the roots co-occur with a nominal *pada* which contains *nis* and *abhi* respectively and the derivate denotes a name.

## EXAMPLES:

*niṣpāvah* ‘cleaning; particular kind of lentil; winnowed grain’  
*abhilāvah* ‘cutting; harvesting’

1. A reference with *pū* is made, here, to both verbal roots *pūÑ* ‘cleanse, purify’ and *pūÑ* ‘id’. Commentators explain that the preverb should be associated with the cited roots in accordance with the order of enumeration (*yathāsamkhyā*; 1.3.10 *yathāsamkhyam anudeśah...*). That is, *nis* should be used with *pūÑ* and *pūÑ*, as opposed to *abhi*, which is to be used with *lūÑ*. We will get *pavah* ‘cleansing, winnowing’ and *lavah* ‘harvesting, mowing’ by introduction of affix *aP* (3.3.57 *ṛdor ap*) when *nis* and *abhi* are not used.

## 3.3.29 उन्नोर्ग्रः

*unnyor graḥ*  
*/unnyoh 7/2 graḥ 5/1/*  
 (*pratyayah* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *ghañ* #16, *bhāve* #18, *akartari ca kārake samjñāyām* #19)  
*unnyor upapadayoḥ ‘gr’ ity etasamād dhātor ghañ pratyayo bhavati*  
 Affix *GHaÑ* occurs after verbal root *gr* ‘to make noise; to swallow’ to denote *bhāva*, and a *kāraka* other than *karṭṛ*, when the root cooccurs with a nominal *pada* which contains *ud* and *ni* and the derivate denotes a name.

## EXAMPLES:

*udgāraḥ samudrasya* ‘the roaring of the sea’  
*nigāro devadattasya* ‘Devadatta’s eating’

1. Note that *gṛaḥ* makes reference to both verbal roots *gṛ* ‘to utter’ and *gṛ* ‘to swallow’. Thus, we get *udgāraḥ samudrasya* ‘the roaring of the sea’ and *nigāro devadattasya* ‘eating of Devadatta’. Elsewhere, we will get *gāraḥ* to denote ‘swallowing’ by introduction of affix *aP*.

## 3.3.30 कृ धान्ये

*kṛ dhānye*

/kṛ(deleted 5/1) dhānye 7/1/

(*pratyayah* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *ghañ* #16, *bhāve* #18, *akartari ca kārake samjñāyām* #19, *unnyoh* #29)

‘*kṛ*’ ity etasmād dhātor unnyor upapadayor ghañ pratyayo bhavati  
 dhānyaviṣayaś ced dhātvartho bhavati

Affix *GHaÑ* occurs after verbal root *kṛ* ‘to scatter’ to denote *bhāva*, and a *kāraka* other than *karṭṛ*, 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 (*prakṛtyartha*), or affix (*pratyayārtha*). Since the scope of the derivate is recognized with *dhānya*, *kṛ* is interpreted as denoting *vikṣepa* ‘to scatter’, and not *himsā* ‘to harm’. Besides, a *GHaÑ*-derivate with *kṛ* denoting *himsā* is not available in usage. Thus we get *utkāraḥ* ‘winnowing’ and *nikāraḥ* ‘id.’. Elsewhere, we get *utkarah* and *nikarah* as in *bhaikṣyotkarah* ‘heap of alms’ and *puṣpanikarah* ‘heap of flowers’.

## 3.3.31 यज्ञे समि स्तुवः

*yajñe sami stuvah*

/yajñe 7/1 sami 7/1 stuvah 5/1/

(*pratyayah* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *ghañ* #16, *akartari ca kārake samjñāyām* #19)

*yajñaviṣaye prayoge sampūrvāt stauter ghañ pratyayo bhavati*

Affix *GHaÑ* occurs after verbal root *ṣṭuÑ* ‘to praise’ to denote *bhāva*, and a *kāraka* other than *karṭṛ*, when the root is used with

the preverb *sam* and the derivate denotes a name relative to some ritual.

EXAMPLE:

*saṁstāvaś chandogānām* ‘a place where, having been assembled, the chanters (*chandogāḥ*) chant the hymns of praise’

1. Note that *saṁstāvah* denotes a place at a ritual where the *brāhmaṇa* jointly sit and chant the hymns (*sametya stuvanti yasmin deśe chandogāḥ sa deśaḥ* ‘*saṁstāvah*’...). 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 *saṁstavah* as in *saṁstavaś chātrayoḥ* ‘mutual praises of two students’.

3.3.32 प्रे स्त्रोऽयज्ञे

*pre stro*’ *yajñe*

*/pre 7/1 strah 5/1 ayajñe 7/1/*

(*pratyayah* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *ghañ* #16, *bhāve* #18, *akartri ca kāraḥ saṁjñāyām* #19)

‘*stṛñ ācchādane*’ *asmād dhātoḥ praśabde upapade ghañ prtyayo bhavati, na ced yajñaviśayah prayogo bhavati*

Affix *GHaÑ* occurs after verbal root *stṛÑ* ‘to shade; cover’ to denote *bhāva*, and a *kāraḥ* other than *karṭṛ*, when the root cooccurs with a nominal *pada* which contains *pra* and the derivate denotes a name not related to a ritual.

EXAMPLE:

*śaṅkhaḥprastārah* ‘a spread of conch shells’

1. Note that, in the context of *yajña*, the derivate will be *prastarah* as in *barhiṣṭprastarah* ‘a bed of Kuśa grass’.

3.3.33 प्रथने वावशब्दे

*prathane vāv aśabde*

*/prathane 7/1 vau 7/1 aśabde 7/1/*

(*pratyayah* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *ghañ* #16, *bhāve* #18, *akartri ca kāraḥ saṁjñāyām* #19, *strah* #32)

‘*stṛñ ācchādane*’ *asmād dhātoḥ viśabde upapade ghañ pratyayo bhavati prathane gamyamāne, tac cet prathanam śabdaviśayam na bhavati*

Affix *GHaÑ* occurs after verbal root *stṛÑ* to denote *bhāva*, and a *kāraḥ* other than *karṭṛ*, 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 vistārah* ‘spreading of clothes’

1. This rule introduces *GHaÑ* under the meaning condition of ‘expanse (length or width)’ provided this meaning is not related to *śabda* ‘speech’. Thus we get: *vistārah* in *paṭasya vistārah* ‘the length of the cloth’. Consider *ṛṇavistarah* ‘a bundle of grass’ and *vistaro vacasām* ‘prolixity of words’, where the first lacks the meaning of ‘expanse’, and the second relates to the ‘expanse’ of words.

## 3.3.34 छन्दोनाम्नि च

*chandonāmni ca*

*/chandonāmni 7/1 ca 0/*

(*pratyayah* #3.3.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *ghañ* #16, *bhāve* #18, *akartari ca kārake samjñāyām* #19, *strah* #32, *vau* #33)

*viṣṭūvāt strñātes chandonāmni ghañ pratyayo bhavati*

Affix *GHaÑ* occurs after verbal root *stṛÑ* to denote *bhāva*, and a *kāraka* other than *karṭṛ*, when the root is used with the preverb *vi* and the derivate denotes the name of a meter.

## EXAMPLES:

*viṣṭārapañktiḥ* ‘that in which the syllables are spread out; name of a Vedic meter’

*viṣṭārabṛhatī* ‘id.’

1. This rule again introduces *GHaÑ* after verbal root *stṛÑ* used with the preverb *vi*, though under a different meaning condition. The word *chandonāmni* ‘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 *chandonāmni* denotes *adhikaraṇa* ‘locus’. That is, the name of the meter is not the word which terminates in affix *GHaÑ*. Instead, the derivate in *GHaÑ* 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 *viṣṭārabṛhatī*, a compound, for *viṣṭāra*, a constituent terminated in *GHaÑ*.

## 3.3.35 उदि ग्रहः

*udi grahaḥ*

*/udi 7/1 grahaḥ 5/1/*

(*pratyayah* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *ghañ* #16, *bhāve* #18, *akartari ca kārake samjñāyām* #19)

*udy upapade graher dhātor ghañ pratyayo bhavati*

Affix *GHaÑ* 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:

*udgrāhaḥ* 'lifting up'

1. This, again, is an exception to affix *aP* of rule 3.3.58 *grahavṛdṛ.....*

### 3.3.36 समि मुष्टौ

*sami muṣṭau*

*/sami 7/1 muṣṭau 7/1/*

(*pratyayah* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *ghañ* #16, *bhāve* #18, *akartari ca kārake samjñāyām* #19, *grahaḥ* #35)

*samy upapade graher dhātor ghañ bhavati muṣṭiviṣayaś ced dhātvartho bhavati*

Affix *GHaÑ* occurs after verbal root *grahA* 'to seize' used in conjunction with *sam* when the derivative denotes *bhāva* and a *kāraka* other than *kartr* relative to *muṣṭi* 'fist'.

EXAMPLES:

*aho, mallasya samgrāhaḥ* 'Wow! the look at the firmness of the grip of the wrestler'

*aho, muṣṭikasya samgrāhaḥ* '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 (*aṅgulīnām racanāviśeṣaḥ*) 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 *parimāṇākhyāyām sarvebhyaḥ*. This rule, therefore, derives forms in the context of the second meaning: *aho mallasya samgrāhyaḥ*. Elsewhere, we will get: *samgraho dhānyasya* 'the collection of grains'.

### 3.3.37 परिन्योर्नीणोर्द्यूताभ्रेषयोः

*parinyor nīṇor dyūtābhreṣayoḥ*

*/parinyoḥ 7/2 nīṇoḥ 6/2 dyūtābhreṣayoḥ 7/2/*

(*pratyayah* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *ghañ* #16, *bhāve* #18, *akartari ca kārake samjñāyām* #19)

*pariśabde niśabde copapade yathāsamkhyam niya iṇaś ca dhātor ghañ pratyayo bhavati*

Affix *GHaÑ* occurs after verbal roots *nīN* ‘to lead’ and *iN* ‘to go’ to denote *bhāva*, and a *kāraka* other than *karṭr*, when the roots cooccur with a nominal *pada* which contains *pari* and *ni* respectively and their derivatives denote *dyūta* ‘gambling’ and *abhreṣa* ‘propriety’ respectively.

EXAMPLES:

*pariṇāyena śārān hanti* ‘he throws the dice after moving about’  
*eṣo’ tra nyāyaḥ* ‘this is what is proper here’

1. This rule allows for *nī* used with *pari* to receive *GHaÑ* in the context of gambling, and for *iN* used with *ni* to receive *GHaÑ* 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 *yathāsamkhyam...*). Elsewhere, we find *pariṇayaḥ* ‘wedding’ and *nyayaḥ* ‘destruction’, both derivatives of *aC*.

3.3.38 परावनुपात्यय इणः

*parāv anupātyaya iṇaḥ*  
*/parau 7/1 anupātyaye 7/1.iṇaḥ 5/1/*  
 (*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *ghañ* #16,  
*bhāve* #18, *akartari ca kārake samjñāyām* #19)  
*pariśabda upapade iṇo dhātor ghañ pratyayo bhavati, anupātyaye gamyamāne*

Affix *GHaÑ* occurs after verbal root *iN* to denote *bhāva*, and a *kāraka* other than *karṭr*, when the root cooccurs with a nominal *pada* which contains *pari* and the derivate denotes *anupātyaya* ‘succession, turn, order’.

EXAMPLES:

*tava paryāyaḥ* ‘your turn’  
*mama paryāyaḥ* ‘my turn’

1. This rule introduces *GHaÑ* after verbal root *iN* when used in conjunction with *pari* provided the context is *anupātyaya* ‘not transgressing order or succession’. In the absence of this context, the derivate will be *paryayaḥ* as in *kālasya paryayaḥ* ‘lapse of time’, again a derivate in *aC*.

3.3.39 व्युपयोः श्तेः पर्याये

*vyupayoḥ śteḥ paryāye*  
*/vyupayoḥ 7/2 śteḥ 5/1 paryāye 7/1/*  
 (*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *ghañ* #16, *bhāve* #18,  
*akartari ca kārake samjñāyām* #19)

'*vi upa*' ity etayor upapadayoḥ śeter dhātor ghañ bhavati, *paryāye gamyamāne*

Affix *GHaÑ* occurs after verbal root *śiÑ* 'to recline' to denote *bhāva*, and a *kāraka* other than *karṭṛ*, when the root cooccurs with a nominal *pada* which contains *vi* and *upa* and the derivate denotes *paryāya* 'order, turn'.

EXAMPLES:

*tava viśāyaḥ* 'your turn to sleep'

*mama viśāyaḥ* 'my turn to sleep'

*tava rājopasāyaḥ* 'your turn to sleep near the king'

1. This rule introduces *GHaÑ* after verbal root *śiÑ* '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 (*bādhakabāadhanārtha*). For example, when the context of *paryāya* entails *abhividdhi* 'inclusive extent', this rule can be blocked by rule 3.3.44 *abhividdhau bhāve inuṅ*. The use of *paryāye* indicates that *inuṅ* of 3.3.44 is blocked by the *GHaÑ* of this rule.

3.3.40 हस्तादाने चेरस्तेये

*hastādāne cer asteye*

*lhastādāne 7/1 ceḥ 5/1 asteye 7/1/*

(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *ghañ* #16, *bhāve* #18, *akartari ca kārake samjñāyām* #19)

*hastādāne gamyamāne cinoter dhātor ghañ pratyayo bhavati, na cet steyam bhavati*

Affix *GHaÑ* occurs after verbal root *ciÑ* 'to heap' to denote *bhāva*, and a *kāraka* other than *karṭṛ* when the action involves use of hands, but does not entail stealing.

EXAMPLES:

*puṣpapracāyaḥ* 'picking the flowers (by hand)'

*phalapracāyaḥ* 'picking fruits (by hand)'

1. This rule introduces *GHaÑ* in the context of 'bringing something by means of hands; picking up, plucking' provided 'stealing' (*steya*) is not denoted. The word *hastādāna* denotes proximity with the object (*hastādānagrahaṇena* *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 *vr̥kṣasikhare phalapracyaṃ 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 निवासचितिशरीरोपसमाधानेश्च कः

*nivāsacitiśarīropasamādhāneṣu ādeś ca kaḥ*  
*/nivāsa...dhāneṣu 7/3 ādeḥ 6/1 ca 0 kaḥ 1/1/*  
 (pratyayaḥ #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, ghañ #16, bhāve #18, akartari ca kārake saṃjñāyām #19, ceḥ #40)  
 'nivasanty asminn iti nivāsaḥ, cīyate' sau citiḥ, pāṇyādi samudāyaḥ śarīraṃ, rāśīkaraṇam upasamādhānam' eteṣu artheṣu cinoter ghañ pratyayo bhavati, dhātor ādeś ca kakāra ādeśaḥ

Affix *GHañ* occurs after verbal root *ciñ* to denote *bhāva*, and a *kāraka* other than *karṭṛ*, when the derivate denotes *nivāsa* 'dwelling', *citi* 'that which is gathered', *śarīra* 'body' or *upasamādhānā* 'heap, pile'; in addition, the initial *c* of the root is replaced by *k*.

#### EXAMPLES:

*cikhallinikāyaḥ* 'the dwellings of Cikhallis'  
*ākāyam agniṃ cinvīta* 'one should arrange the funeral pyre the size of the body'  
*anityakāyaḥ* 'the body which is impermanent'  
*mahāgomayanikāyaḥ* 'a big pile of cow dung'

1. This rule allows for two operations: the introduction of affix *GHañ* when the derivate denotes *nivāsa*, *citi*, *śarīra* and *upasamādhāna*; and the replacement of the initial *c* of the root by *k*. Note that *upasamādhāna* denotes the action of piling up things which may be scattered around. Thus we get *mahāgomayanikāyaḥ* 'a big pile of cow dung made by picking it up from around the place'. It is for this reason that we get *cayaḥ* 'collection' as in *mahān kāṣṭhanicayaḥ* 'a huge bundle of firewood', where the meaning is *bahutva* 'multiplicity' as opposed to *upasamādhāna*.

### 3.3.42 संघे चानौत्तराधये

*saṃghe cānauttarādharye*  
*/saṃghe 7/1 ca 0 anauttarādharye 7/1/*  
 (pratyayaḥ #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, ghañ #16, bhāve #19, akartari ca kārake saṃjñāyām #19, ceḥ #40, ādeś ca kaḥ #41)  
*saṃghe vācye cinoter dhātor ghañ pratyayo bhavati ādeś ca kaḥ*

Affix *GHañ* occurs after verbal root *ciñ* to denote *bhāva*, and a *kāraka* other than *karṭṛ*, when the derivate denotes a *saṃgha*

‘assembly of people’, with no hierarchical arrangement; in addition, the initial *c* of the root is replaced by *k*.

EXAMPLES:

*bhikṣukanikāyaḥ* ‘the assembly of beggars’  
*brāhmaṇinikāyaḥ* ‘the assembly of *brāhmaṇas*’  
*vaiyākaraṇanikāyaḥ* ‘the assembly of grammarians’

1. The word *saṃgha* has been explained as *prāṇinām samudāyaḥ* ‘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 (*auttarādharya*). The *pariyudāsa* negation in *anauttarādharye* limits the scope of this rule to the first kind of *saṃgha*. Thus, we get *vaiyākaraṇanikāyaḥ* ‘association, school, or assembly of grammarians’. *Kāśikā* also offers two counter-examples: *sūkaranicayaḥ* ‘drove of hogs’ and *pramāṇasamuccayaḥ* ‘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 *saṃgha*. The second counter-example simply shows an assembly of non-living entities.

3.3.43 कर्मव्यतिहारे णच् स्त्रियाम्

*karmavyatihāre ṇac striyām*  
*/karmavyatihāre 7/1 ṇac 1/1 striyām 7/1/*  
 (*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *ghaṇ* #16, *bhāve* #18, *akartari ca kārake saṃjñāyām* #19)  
*karmavyatihāre gāmyamāne dhātor ṇac pratyayo bhavati strīlīṅge vācaye, tac ca bhāve*  
 Affix *ṆaC* occurs after a verbal root to denote *bhāva* when the derivate ends in the feminine and denotes *karmavyatihāra* ‘reciprocity of action’.

EXAMPLES:

*vyāvakrośī* ‘reciprocal cursing or joking’  
*vyāvalekhī* ‘reciprocal writing’  
*vyāvahāsi 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 *kartṛ* 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 *ṇacaḥ striyām aṅ*, where affix *ṆaC* is used to qualify the base after which affix *aṅ* 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 ktin*. 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 ktin* in order to block what otherwise might have blocked (*bādhakabāadhanārtha*) this rule. Thus, in the domain of rule 3.3.94 *striyām ktin*, 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 *vyāvaccā* 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 *ṇyāsaśrantho yuc* on account of its treatment as ending in *NiC*. The second would have similarly qualified for affix *aṅ* by rule 3.3.105 *cintipūjikathī...* The resultant forms would have been: *coraṇā* 'stealing' and *carcā* or *carcanā* 'studying'. This would have blocked the derivation of *vyāvacorī* and *vyāvaccā* by yielding *\*vyāvacorāṇā* and *\*vyāvaccānā* as parallel forms. Placing rule 3.3.43 *karmavyatihāre...* outside of 3.3.94 *striyām ktin* makes the derivation of desired forms possible. Note that there are instances where affix *ṆaC*, though technically given, does not apply. Consider *vyatikṣā* and *vyatihā* 'reciprocal wish; and reciprocal effort', where affix *a* (3.3.103 *gusoś ca halah*), and not *ṆaC*, is employed. But now consider *vyātyukṣī* 'throwing water at each other' where, even though the scope approves affix *a*, *ṆaC* applies. How do we get these mutually opposite applications? Consider rule 3.3.113 *krtyaluṭo bahulam*, especially the ramification of the term 'bahulam'.

### 3.3.44 अभिविधौ भाव इनुण्

*abhividhau bhāva inuṅ*

*labhividhau 7/1 bhāve 7/1 inuṅ 1/1*

(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91)

*abhividhau gamyamāne dhātor bhāve inuṅ pratyayo bhavati*

Affix *inuṅ* occurs after a verbal root to denote *bhāva* when the derivate denotes *abhividhi* 'extent, limit'.

#### EXAMPLES:

*sāṅkūṭinam* 'burning all around'

*sāmrāvīṇam* ‘noise all around’  
*sāndrāvīṇam varttate* ‘water is flowing all around’

1. This rule introduces affix *inUN* to denote *bhāva* ‘root-sense’ when the derivate denotes *abhividhi* ‘all pervasiveness’. The word *abhividhi* has been aptly explained by *Kāśikā* as ‘total connection with action and quality’ (*kriyāguṇābhhyām kārtsyena sambandhaḥ*). Thus, we get *sāmkūṭīnam* ‘burning all-around’ and *sāmrāvīṇam* ‘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 *aṇ inuṇaḥ* to denote the sense of their bases (*svārtha*). The introduction of *aN* takes place under the condition of the base qualified (*viśiṣṭa*) 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 *GHaÑ* in relation to which *inuN*, of our present rule, is a formally dissimilar exception. If *vā’ sarūpa* finds its scope here, *inuN* can only optionally block the application of *GHaÑ*. 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 *GHaÑ* 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 *LyuṬ* in the context of *inUN* is desired, since we find examples such as *sāmkūṭīnam*. How would one account for this? Recourse must now be taken to the ‘*bahulam*’ of 3.3.113 *krtyalyuṭo bahulam*.

### 3.3.45 आक्रोशेष्वन्योर्ग्रहः

*ākrośe’ vanyor grahaḥ*  
*lākrośe 7/1 avanyoḥ 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 upapadayor graher dhātor ghaṇ pratyayo bhavati*  
 Affix *GHaÑ* occurs after verbal root *grahA* ‘to seize’ to denote *bhāva*, and a *kāraka* other than *karṭṛ*, when the root cooccurs with a nominal *pada* which contains *ava* and *ni* and the derivate denotes *ākrośa* ‘scolding, cursing’.

## EXAMPLES:

*avagrāho hanta te vṛṣala bhūyāt* ‘may you land in misery, oh, *vṛṣala*’  
*nigrāho hanta te vṛṣala bhūyāt* ‘may you land in jail, oh, *vṛṣala*’

1. This rule introduces affix *GHaÑ* 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 *GHaÑ*. Commentators explain that affix *GHaÑ* 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 *GHaÑ* 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 *ākrośaḥ* has been explained as *śapanam* ‘cursing’. Haradatta (*PM*:III:45) explains *śapanam* as *aniṣṭāsaṃsanam* ‘hoping for something undesired to happen’. Consequently, our two examples, *avagrāhaḥ* and *nigrāhaḥ*, are explained as *abhibhavaḥ* ‘downfall’ and *nirodhaḥ* ‘incarceration’. Elsewhere, we will find derivates such as *avagrahaḥ* ‘splitting’ and *nigrahaḥ* ‘restraint’, both derived with affix *aP* (cf. 3.3.58 *grāhavidṛ...*).

## 3.3.46 प्रे लिप्सायाम्

*pre lipsāyām*

*|pre 7/1 lipsāyām 7/1|*

(*praṭyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *ghañ* #16, *bhāve* #18, *akartari ca kārake saṃjñāyām* #19, *grahaḥ* #45)

*prasabda upapade graher dhātor ghañ pratyayo bhavati*

Affix *GHaÑ* occurs after verbal root *grahA* to denote *bhāva*, and a *kāra* other than *karṭṛ*, when the root cooccurs with a nominal *padā* which contains *pra* and the derivate denotes *lipsā* ‘desire to obtain; greed’.

## EXAMPLES:

*pātrapragrāheṇa carati bhikṣuḥ piṇḍārthī* ‘the beggar desirous of rice-balls wanders about carrying a bowl’

*sruvapragrāheṇa carati dvijo dakṣiṇārthī* ‘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 *pātrapragrāha* as well as the *sruvā* ‘ritual ladle’ in *sruvapragrāha*, serve as characteristic marks for the *bhikṣu* and the *dvija*. Thus, *pātrapragrāheṇa carati bhikṣuḥ piṇḍārthī* and *sruvapragrāheṇa carati dvijo*

*dakṣiṇārthī*. We get *pragrahaḥ*, as in *pragraho devadattasya* ‘the arrogance of Devadatta’, if the condition of *lipsā* is not met.

### 3.3.47 परौ यज्ञे

*parau yajñe*

*/paraū 7/1 yajñe 7/1/*

(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *ghañ* #16, *bhāve* #18, *akartari ca kārake saṃjñāyām* #19, *grahaḥ* #45)

*pariśabda upapade graher ghañ pratyayo bhavati*

Affix *GHañ* occurs after verbal root *grahA* to denote *bhāva*, and a *kāra* other than *karṭr*, when the root cooccurs with a nominal *pada* which contains *pari* and the derivate is related to ritual sacrifice (*yajña*).

#### EXAMPLES:

*uttaraparigrāhaḥ* ‘northern side of the fire altar at the ritual sacrifice named *darśapaurṇamāsa*’

*adharaparigrāhaḥ* ‘southern side of the fire altar at the ritual sacrifice named *darśapaurṇamāsa*’

1. Note that *parigrāhaḥ* refers to *svīkaraṇa* ‘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 *parigrahaḥ* as in *parigraho devadattasya* ‘Devadatta’s firm resolve’.

### 3.3.48 नौ वृ धान्ये

*nau vṛ dhānye*

*/nau 7/1 vṛ (deleted 5/1) dhānye 7/1/*

(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *ghañ* #16, *bhāve* #18, *akarttri ca kārake saṃjñāyām* #19)

*nīśabde upapade ‘vṛ’ ity etasmād dhātor dhānyaviśeṣe’ bhidheye ghañ pratyayo bhavati*

Affix *GHañ* occurs after verbal root *vṛ* (*vṛÑ* ‘to cover’; *vṛÑ* ‘to chose, select’) to denote *bhāva*, and a *kāra* other than *karṭr*, when the root cooccurs with a nominal *pada* which contains *ni* and the derivate denotes *dhānya* ‘grains’.

#### EXAMPLE:

*nīvārā nāma vrīhayo bhavanti* ‘*nīvāra* are, wild rice’

1. This rule introduces *GHañ* in the context of *dhānya* ‘grains’. This again is an exception to *aP* (cf. 3.3.57 *ṛdor ap*). The reference by *vṛ* is intended to be made to both *vṛÑ* and *vṛÑ* ‘to cover’. Note that this rule specifies

the semantic scope of its derivatives as *dhānya* 'grain' in general. But the example illustrates '*dhānya*' in particular. Thus, *nīvarā* refers to a particular kind of rice. *Kāśikā* states that the semantic context is indeed grains in particular (*dhānyaviśeṣa*)

A derivative outside the semantic scope of *dhānya* will be *nīvarā* as in *nīvarā kanyā* 'a girl of distinction; an unmarried girl'.

### 3.3.49 उदि श्रयतियौतिपुद्रुवः

*udi śrayatiyautipūdravaḥ*

*ludi 7/1 śrayatiyautipūdravaḥ 5/1/*

(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *ghañ* #16, *bhāve* #18, *akartari ca kārake samjñāyām* #19)

*ucchabda upapade śrayatyādibhyo ghañ pratyayo bhavati*

Affix *GHañ* occurs after verbal roots *śri* 'to go, resort to', *yu* 'to mix', *pū* 'to cleanse' and *dru* 'to go, melt' to denote *bhāva*, and a *kāra* other than *kartr*, when the roots cooccur with a nominal *pada* which contains *ud*.

#### EXAMPLES:

*ucchrāyaḥ* 'flight'

*udyāvaḥ* 'mixing'

*utpāvaḥ* 'purification (of sacrificial utensils)'

*uddrāvaḥ* 'flight'

1. This rule is an exception to *aP* of 3.3.57 *rdor ap*, and to *aC* of 3.3.56 *er ac* in the case of *śri*.

2. How would one explain the derivation of *samucchrayaḥ* as used in the *Vālmīkiya-rāmāyaṇam*: *patanāntā 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 *siṃhāvalokita* '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 *krtyalyuṭo bahulam*.

### 3.3.50 विभाषाऽङि रुप्लुवोः

*vibhāṣā" ni rupluvoh*

*l'vibhāṣā 1/1 āni 7/1 rupluvoh 6/2/*

(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *ghañ* #16, *bhāve* #18, *akartari ca kārake samjñāyām* #19)

*āny upapade rauteḥ plavateś ca vibhāṣā ghañ pratyayo bhavati*

Affix *GHaÑ* optionally occurs after verbal roots *ru* ‘to cry’ and *plu* ‘to float’ to denote *bhāva*, and a *kāraka* other than *karṭr*, when the roots cooccur with a nominal *pada* which contains *āÑ*.

EXAMPLES:

*ārāvah* ‘noise; howling’  
*āravah* ‘id.’  
*āplāvah* ‘bathing; flooding’  
*āplavah* ‘id.’

1. This rule introduces affix *GHaÑ* optionally to affix *aP* of 3.3.57 *ṛdor ap* when verbal roots *ru* ‘to roar’ and *plu* ‘to float’ cooccur with *āÑ*, and when the derivate denotes *bhāva* and a *kāraka* other than *karṭr*. Thus we get *ārāvah* ‘roaring noise’ and *āplāvah* ‘big splash; bathing’ parallel to *āravah* and *āplavah*. Note that *GHaÑ* is made optional in contrast to the obligatory *GHaÑ* made available by rule 3.3.22 *upasarge ruvah*.

### 3.3.51 अवे ग्रहो वर्षप्रतिबन्धे

*ave graho varṣapratibandhe*  
*lave 7/1 grahaḥ 5/1 varṣapratibandhe 7/1/*  
 (*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *ghañ* #16, *bhāve* #18, *akartari ca kārake samjñāyām* #19, *vibhāṣā* #50)  
 ‘*avā*’ *upapade graher dhātor ghañ pratyayo bhavati vibhāṣā varṣapratibandhe*’ *bhidheye*  
 Affix *GHaÑ* optionally occurs after verbal root *grahA* to denote *bhāva*, and a *kāraka* other than *karṭr*, 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’ (*prāptakālasya varṣasya kutaścin nimittād abhāvah*). Thus we get: *avagrāho devasya/avagraho 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 त्रे वणिजाम्

*pre vaṇijām*  
*lpre 7/ vaṇijām 6/3/*



(*pratyayaḥ* # 3.1.1, *paraś ca* # 3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* # 3.1.91, *ghañ* # 16, *bhāve* # 18, *akartari ca kārake samjñāyām* # 19, *vibhāṣā* # 50, *grahaḥ* # 51)

*praśabda upapade graher dhātor vibhāṣā ghañ pratyayo bhavati*

Affix *GHaÑ* optionally occurs after verbal root *grahA* to denote *bhāva*, and a *kāraka* other than *karṭṛ*, when the root cooccurs with a nominal *pada* which contains *pra* and the derivate signifies relation to a *vanik* ‘merchant, trader’.

#### EXAMPLES:

*tulāpragrāheṇa carati vanik* ‘the merchant travelling about with a scale’

*tulāpragraheṇa carati vanik* ‘id.’

1. This rule introduces affix *GHaÑ* optionally to *aP* of 3.3.58 *grahavṛḍṛ*... 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 *karṭṛ*. Thus we get, *tulāpragrāheṇa 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 *pragrahaḥ* as in *pragraho devadattasya* ‘Devadatta’s grip..’.

#### 3.3.53 रश्मौ च

*raśmau ca*

*iraśmau 7/1 ca 0/*

(*pratyayaḥ* # 3.1.1, *paraś ca* # 3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* # 3.1.91, *ghañ* # 16, *bhāve* # 18, *akartari ca kārake samjñāyām* # 19, *vibhāṣā* # 50, *grahaḥ* # 51, *pre* # 52)

*praśabda upapade graher dhātor vibhāṣā ghañ pratyayo bhavati raśmiś cet pratyayāntenābhidhīyate*

Affix *GHaÑ*, also, optionally occurs after verbal root *grahA* to denote *bhāva*, and a *kāraka* other than *karṭṛ*, when the root cooccurs with a nominal *pada* which contains *pra* and the derivate denotes *raśmi* ‘rein’.

#### EXAMPLES:

*pragrahaḥ* ‘that by means of which animals are tethered; rein’

*pragrāhaḥ* ‘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 वृणोतेराच्छादने

*vṛṇoter ācchādane*

*/vṛṇoteḥ 5/1 ācchādane 7/1/*

(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *ghañ* #16, *bhāve* #18, *akartari ca kārake samjñāyām* #19, *vibhāṣā* #50, *pre* #52)

*praśabda upapade vṛṇoter dhātor vibhāṣā ghañ pratyayo bhavati pratyayāntena ced ācchādanaviśeṣa ucyate*

Affix *GHaÑ* optionally occurs after verbal root *vṛÑ* 'to cover' to denote *bhāva*, and a *kāraka* other than *karṭṛ*, when the root cooccurs with a nominal *pada* which contains *pra* and the derivate denotes *ācchādana* 'covering; attire'.

## EXAMPLES:

*prāvārah* 'cloak; shawl'

*pravarāḥ* 'id.'

1. This rule extends the option to verbal root *vṛÑ* 'to cover' in the context of the derivational meaning of *ācchādana* '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 *grahavṛḍṛ...* which introduces affix *aP*. Note that *vṛ*, unlike rule 3.3.48 *nau vṛ dhānye*, excludes any reference to *vṛÑ*. In fact, Pāṇini refers to this root, here, with the augment *Śnu* simply to cancel the reference to *vṛÑ*. Outside the meaning of 'covering', we get *pravarā* as in *pravarā gauḥ* 'an excellent cow'.

## 3.3.55 परौ भुवोऽवज्ञाने

*parau bhuvo' vajñāne*

*/parau 7/1 bhuvah 5/1 avajñāne 7/1/*

(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *ghañ* #16, *bhāve* #18, *akartari ca kārake samjñāyām* #19, *vibhāṣā* #50)

*pariśabda upapade bhavater dhātor ghañ pratyayo bhavati avajñāne gamyamāne*

Affix *GHaÑ* optionally occurs after verbal root *bhū* to denote *bhāva*, and a *kāraka* other than *karṭṛ*, when the root cooccurs with a nominal *pada* which contains *pari* and the derivate denotes *avajñāna* 'disrespect, insult'.

## EXAMPLES:

*paribhāvah* 'disrespect'

*paribhavaḥ* 'id.'

1. Note that '*vibhāṣā*' is carried, and the derivate meaning is characterized with *avajñāna* glossed as *asatkāra* 'insult, neglect'. Elsewhere, *paribhava* would mean *sarvato bhavanam* 'existing all around; surrounding'.

## 3.3.56 एरच्

*er ac**/eḥ 5/1 ac 1/1/**(pratyayah #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, bhāve #18, akartari ca kārake samjñāyām #19)**ivarnāntād dhātor bhāve akartari ca kārake samjñāyām ac pratyayo bhavati*  
Affix *aC* occurs after a verbal root which ends in *i* when the derivate denotes *bhāva* and a *kāraka* other than *karṭṛ*.

## EXAMPLES:

*cayah* 'arranging, picking; heap'*ayah* 'going, knowledge'*jayah* 'winning; victory'*kṣayah* '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 *karṭṛ* is denoted. This is an exception to *GHaÑ*. The *C* as an it is intended to distinguish affix *aC* (*viśeṣanārtha*) from, for example, affix *aP* in rule 6.2.144 *thāthaghañ*...

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, *javaḥ* and *savaḥ* are to be derived by affix *aC* introduced after verbal root *ju*, a root attested by the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* (*sautra*) though unavailable elsewhere, and verbal root *ṣuÑ* '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 derivatives 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 ऋदोरप्

*ṛdor ap**/ṛdoḥ 5/1 ap 1/1/**(pratyayah #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, ghañ #16, bhāve #18, akartari ca kārake samjñāyām #19)**ṛkārāntebhya uvarṇāntebhyaś ca ap pratyayo bhavati*Affix *aP* occurs after verbal roots which end in *ṛ* or *u* when the derivate denotes *bhāva*, and a *kāraka* other than *karṭṛ*.

## EXAMPLES:

*karah* 'scattering'  
*garah* 'poison'  
*śarah* 'arrow'  
*yavah* 'barley'  
*stavah* 'praise'  
*lavah* 'harvesting'  
*pavah* 'winnowing'

1. This again is an exception to *GHaÑ*. The *P* as an *it* in *aP* is intended to secure the low-pitch (*anudātta*) as per rule 3.1.4 *anudāttau supptitau*. Note that the form *ṛd* followed by *uḥ* to yield the constituent word *ṛduḥ*, which occurs in the ablative as *ṛdoh*, has some interesting perspectives. First of all, its *-d* is actually *t*, thereby making the reference by *ṛt* of *ṛduḥ* subject to interpretation of rule 1.1.70 *taparas tatkālasya*. Thus, *ṛ*, here, refers only to roots which end in long *-ṛ*. Secondly, since *u* refers to roots which end in *u* both short or long, and is not constrained, we understand that *taparakaraṇa* (see my note under 1.1.70) does not carry the interpretation: *tād api paras taparah* 'tapara is also that which occurs after 't'. Thirdly, the *-t* of *taparakaraṇa* is given as *-d* for ease of articulation (*mukhasukhārtha*). Fourthly, the *dvandva* compound of the *samāhāra* type in *ṛduḥ* is given in the masculine at the authority of this *sūtra* itself. Finally, *ṛdoh* 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 (*pañcamyarthē ṣaṣṭhī*).

## 3.3.58 ग्रहवृद्धिनिश्चिणमश्च

*grahavṛdṛniścigamaś ca*  
*lgrah...gamah 5/1 ca 0/*  
*(pratyayah #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, bhāve #18, akartari*  
*ca kārake samjñāyām #19, ap #57)*  
*grahādibhyo dhātubhyo' p pratyayo bhavati*  
 Affix *aP* occurs after verbal roots *grahA*, *vṛ* 'to choose, cover', *dr* 'to respect', *ciÑ* used with the preverb *nis*, and *gam*, when the derivate denotes *bhāva*, and a *kāraka* other than *kartr*.

## 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* (*vṛÑ* as well *vṛÑ*), *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 *vṛÑ* and *vṛÑ* 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 *thātha-ghañaktāj*... The accent in *niścayaḥ* is, thus, high-pitch in the middle (*madhyodātta*) as opposed to the *antodātta* ‘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 *raṇaḥ* ‘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: *prasthaḥ* ‘mountain top’, *prasnaḥ* ‘a kettledrum to store water for bathing’, *prapā* ‘roadside stalls where travellers are offered drinking water’, *āvidhaḥ* ‘an instrument for piercing’, *vighnaḥ* ‘obstacle’ and *āyudham* ‘weapon; instrument for fighting’.

### 3.3.59 उपसर्गेऽदः

*upasarge’ dah*

*lupasrge 7/1 adah 5/1/*

(*pratyayah* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.9, *bhāve* #18, *akartari ca kārake samjñāyām* #19, *ap* #57)

*upasarga upapade ader dhātor ap pratyayo bhavati*

Affix *aP* occurs after verbal root *adA* ‘to consume’ to denote *bhāva*, and a *kāraka* other than *kartr*, when the root cooccurs with a nominal *pada* which contains a preverb.

#### EXAMPLES:

*vighasaḥ* ‘half-chewed morsel’

*praghasaḥ* ‘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 *ghasL* by rule 2.4.38 *ghañapoś ca*. A question is asked as to why Pāṇini did not introduce the affix after *ghasL*? That way, he could have eliminated one (replacement) operation. True. But it would create problems elsewhere. For example, rule 3.3.60 *nau ṇa ca* would then also introduce *Ṇa* after *ghasL*. Refer to *ṇyādaḥ* under the following rule. The word *ghāsaḥ* ‘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 ṇa ca*

*/nau 7/1 ṇa (deleted 1/1) ca 0/*

*(pratyayah #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, bhāve #18, akartari ca kārake samjñāyām #19, ap #57, adah)*

*niśabda upapade ader dhātor ṇaḥ pratyayo bhavati, cakārād ap ca*

Affix *Ṇa*, as well as *aP*, occurs after verbal root *adA* to denote *bhāva*, and a *kāraka* other than *karṭr*, when the root cooccurs with a nominal *pada* which contains *ni*.

## EXAMPLES:

*nyādah* 'eating'

*nighasaḥ* 'id.'

1. This rule allows the introduction of both affixes *Ṇa* and *aP* when *ad* cooccurs with *ni*. Verbal root *ad* could not be replaced with *ghasḷ* in the first example.

## 3.3.61 व्यधजपोरनुपसर्गे

*vyadhajapor anupasarge*

*/vyadhajapoḥ 6/2 anupasarge 7/1/*

*(pratyayah #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, bhāve #18, akartari ca kārake samjñāyām #19, ap #57)*

*'vyadha, 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 *karṭr*.

## EXAMPLES:

*vyadhah* 'wound'

*japah* 'muttering'

1. This rule introduces affix *aP* as an exception to *GHaÑ* when verbal roots *vyadh* and *jap* are not used with a preverb. For, with preverbs we would get derivates such as *avyādhā* 'piercing' and *upajāpā* 'revealing a secret', derivates of *GHaÑ* ending in the feminine affix *ṬāP*. Note that the *śasṭhī* 'genitive' in *vyajapoḥ* 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 (*kevalābhyām bhavati*). Haradatta (*PM ad Kāś. 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*

*/svanahasoh 6/2 vā 0/*

(*pratyayah #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, bhāve #18, akartari ca kārake saṃjñāyām #19, ap #57, anupasarge #61*)

*svanahasor anupasargayor vā ap pratyayo bhavati*

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 *karṭṛ*.

## EXAMPLES:

*svanaḥ* ‘sound, noise’

*svānaḥ* ‘id.’

*hasaḥ* ‘laughter’

*hāsaḥ* ‘id.’

1. Note that *anupasarge* is still carried. Here, again, we find *ṣaṣṭhī* in the sense of *pañcamī*. Thus, *svanaḥ ca hasaḥ ca, tayoh = svanahasoh*. The rule makes an optional provision for *aP* against *GHaÑ* (3.3.18 *bhāve*). In connection with the preverbs, affix *GHaÑ* alone is to be introduced. Thus, we get: *prahāsaḥ* ‘wild laughter’. Rule 7.2.116 *ata upadhāyāḥ* orders *vṛddhi* in case of derivatives of *GHaÑ*.

## 3.3.63 यमः समुपनिविषु च

*yamaḥ samuṣaniviṣu ca*

*/yamaḥ 5/1 samuṣaniviṣu 7/3 ca 0/*

(*pratyayah #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, bhāve #18, akartari ca kārake saṃjñāyām #19, ap #57, anupasarge #61, vā #62*)

*‘sam, up, ni, vi’ ity eteṣūpapadeṣu anupasarge’ pi yamer vā ap pratyayo bhavati*

Affix *aP* optionally occurs after verbal root *yamA* ‘to reach, give’ to denote *bhāva*, and a *kāraka* other than *karṭṛ*, 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:

*saṃyamah* ‘restraint’

*saṃyāmah* ‘id.’

*upayamah* ‘marriage’

*upayāmah* ‘id.’

*niyamah* ‘restrictive rule’

*niyāmah* ‘id.’

*viyamah* ‘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: *saṃyamaḥ*, *upayamaḥ*, *niyamaḥ*, *viyamaḥ*, and *yamaḥ*. Since affix *aP* is optionally introduced with *GHaÑ*, we will also get five parallel derivatives in *GHaÑ*. Thus, *saṃyāmaḥ*, *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 गदनदपठस्वनः

*nau gadanadapaṭhasvanaḥ*  
*/nau 7/1 gadanadapaṭhasvanaḥ 5/1 (sam. dv.)/*  
*(pratyayaḥ #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, bhāve #18, akartari*  
*ca kārake saṃjñāyām #19, ap #57, vā #62)*  
*nīśabda upapade 'gada, nada, paṭha, svana' ity etebhyo dhātubhyo vā ap*  
*pratyayo 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 *karṭṛ*, when the roots cooccur with or without a nominal *pada* which contains *ni*.

#### EXAMPLES:

*nigadaḥ* 'a lecture'  
*nigādaḥ* 'id.'  
*ninadaḥ* 'noise'  
*ninādaḥ* 'id.'  
*nipaṭhaḥ* 'reading, reciting'  
*nipāṭhaḥ* 'id.'  
*nisvanaḥ* 'noise'  
*nisvānaḥ* '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 *GHaÑ*.

### 3.3.65 क्वणो वीणायां च

*kvaṇo vīṇāyāṃ ca*  
*/kvaṇoḥ 5/1 vīṇāyām 7/1 ca 0/*



(*pratyayah* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *bhāve* #18, *akartari ca kārake samjñāyām* #19, *ap* #57, *anupasarge* #61, *vā* #62, *nau* #64)  
*kvaṇater dhātor nipūrvād anupasrgāc ca vīñāyām vā ap pratyayo bhavati*  
 Affix *aP* optionally occurs after verbal root *kvaṇA* ‘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 *vīñā* ‘a stringed musical instrument’.

EXAMPLES:

*nikvaṇaḥ* ‘sound; tone’

*nikvāṇaḥ* ‘id.’

*kvaṇaḥ* ‘id.’

*kvāṇaḥ* ‘id.’

*kalyāṇakvaṇā vīñā* ‘the sound of a *vīñā* which is soothing’

1. Note that *nau*, *vā*, and *anupasarge* are carried here. This means that verbal root *kvaṇ* 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 *GHaÑ*. Thus we get *kvaṇaḥ*, *nikvaṇaḥ* as a derivate for *aP* as opposed to *kvāṇaḥ* and *nikvāṇaḥ* which are examples of *GHaÑ*. The *Amarakośa* considers these all synonymous.

2. This rule also makes an optional provision for affixes *aP* and *GHaÑ* in the context of *vīñā*. Since a general provision for such affixation is already made in the context of *ni*, the additional provision made with ‘*vīñāyām*’ must relate to contexts other than *ni*. This, then, accounts for examples such as: *kalyāṇaprakvaṇā vīñā* / *kalyāṇaprakvāṇā vīñā* ‘a beautiful sounding *Vīñā*’.

3.3.66 नित्यं पाणः परिमाणे

*nityam paṇaḥ parimāṇe*

*/nityam 0 paṇaḥ 5/1 parimāṇe 7/1/*

(*pratyayah* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *bhāve* #18, *akartari ca kārake samjñāyām* #19, *ap* #57)

‘*paṇa vyavahāre stutau ca*’ *asmād dhātor nityam ap pratyayo bhavati parimāṇe gamyamāne*

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:

*mūlakapaṇaḥ* ‘a specific measure of radish for sale’

*sākapaṇaḥ* ‘a specific measure of leafy vegetables for sale’

1. This rule provides for the obligatory introduction of affix *aP* after verbal root *paṇA* ‘to barter, praise’ when a measured quantity (*parimāṇa*) is denoted. Thus we get: *mūlakapaṇaḥ* and *śākapaṇaḥ*. A counter-example in *pāṇaḥ* ‘barter’ is offered in case the meaning of ‘measured quantity’ (*parimāṇa*) is not denoted.

Needless to say, the word *nitya* ‘obligatorily’ is used, here, to cancel *vā* ‘optionally’

### 3.3.67 मदोऽनुपसर्गे

*mado’ nupasarge*

*Imadaḥ 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 *aP* occurs after verbal root *madA* ‘to be excited; intoxicated’ when it is used without a preverb and the derivate denotes *bhāva* and a *kāraka* other than *karṭr*.

#### EXAMPLES:

*vidyāmadah* ‘arrogant pride of knowledge’

*dhanamadah* ‘pride of money’

1. This *aP* is an exception to *GHaÑ* in the context of verbal root *mad* when used without a preverb. Thus we get *vidyāmadah*, where the compound is allowed by rule 2.1.32 *karṭrkarane 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 *nityam madaḥ pramadassammadau harṣe paṇaḥ parimāṇe* and place it after 3.3.65 *kvaṇo....* This way, *anupasarge* in rule 3.3.67 would not have to be stated and the new formulation would also be more economical. Haradatta (*PM ad Kāśikā* III: 55) states that the new formulation cannot rule out the association of ‘*anupasarge*’ within the context of ‘*paṇaḥ parimāṇe*’. The present formulation of rule 3.3.67 with the explicit use of ‘*anupasarge*’ clearly rules out such an association. For, if this association were intended, Pāṇini would not have explicitly stated ‘*anupasarge*’ in this rule. Consequently, in the context of ‘*parimāṇa*’, affix *aP* could also be made possible after verbal root *paṇA*, cooccurring with a preverb. Haradatta also criticizes (ad *Kāśikā* III: 55) the view (see *Nyāsa*) that rule 3.3.67 *mado’ nupasarge* is formulated and placed as such to indicate the irregularity (*anityatva*) of its provision. The *anityatva* proposal makes possible the derivation of *mādaḥ*. Haradatta finds this opinion (*apara āha*; see *Nyāsa* on this rule) as untrustworthy (*nāptabhāṣitam*).

## 3.3.68 प्रमदसंमदौ हर्षे

*pramadasammadau harṣe*

*lpramadasammadau 7/2 harṣe 7/1/*

(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ*, *bhāve* #18, *akartari ca kārake samjñāyām* #19, *ap* #57)

'*pramada*, *sammada*' *ity etau śabdau nipātyete harṣe*' *bhidheye*

Affix *aP* occurs in the derivation of *pramada* and *sammada* by *nipātana* when the derivatives denote *harṣa* 'joy'.

## EXAMPLES:

*kanyānām pramadaḥ* 'the joy of the girls'

*kokilānām sammadaḥ* 'the joyful cooing of the cuckoo'

1. This rule proposes the ad hoc (*nipātana*) derivation of *pramada* and *sammada* in the context of joy (*harṣa*). Pāṇini chose not to derive these forms because the derivatives involve a meaning which is more conventional (*rūḍhi*) than derivational. The condition of 'joy' is given in view of counter-examples such as *pramādaḥ* 'carelessness, error' and *sammādaḥ* 'frenzy'.

## 3.3.69 समुदोरजः पशुः

*samudor ajaḥ paśuṣu*

*lsamudorḥ 7/2 ajaḥ 5/1 paśuṣu 7/3/*

(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *bhāve* #18, *akartari ca kārake samjñāyām* #19, *ap* #57)

*samudor uapadayor ajater dhātoḥ paśuviṣaye dhātvarthe ap pratyayo bhavati*

Affix *aP* occurs after verbal root *ajA* 'to go' to denote *bhāva*, and a *kāraka* other than *kartr*, when the root cooccurs with a nominal *pada* which contains *sam* and *ud* and the derivative refers to a group of animals.

## EXAMPLES:

*samajaḥ paśūnām* 'a herd of animals'

*udajaḥ paśūnām* 'the herding'

1. This rule introduces affix *aP*, an exception to *GHaÑ*, 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: *samajaḥ* and *udajaḥ paśūnām* in the meanings stated. We also get the derivatives of

*GHaÑ*, such as, *samājo brāhmaṇānām* ‘the assembly of *brāhmaṇas*’ and *udājah kṣatriyānām* ‘the drive of the *kṣatriyas*’.

### 3.3.70 अक्षेषु ग्लहः

*akṣeṣu glahaḥ*

*lakṣeṣu 7/3 glahaḥ 1/1/*

(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *bhāve* #18, *akartari ca kārake samjñāyām* #19, *ap* #57)

‘*glahaḥ*’ *iti nipātyate akṣaviṣayaś ced dhātvartho bhavati*

Affix *aP* occurs after verbal root *grahA* to derive *glahaḥ*, by *nipātana*, when the action relates to *akṣa* ‘die’.

#### EXAMPLE:

*akṣasya glahaḥ* ‘a throw of dice’

1. Our example *glahaḥ* as in *akṣasya glahaḥ* is a *nipātana*. This ad hoc derivation is needed because *grah* with *aP* can only derive *grahaḥ*. Since the affix is still *aP*, this rule contributes by *nipātana* the change of *r* into *l* of *grah*. Of course, this occurs within the context of (gambling with) dice.

Still others propose that the root here is *glahI*. The derivate *glahaḥ* of *aP* is, thus, contrasted with the *GHaÑ* derivate *glāhaḥ*. Haradatta (*PM ad Kāśikā* III: 56) explains that others accept *akṣeṣu* as referring to ‘the stake at the game of dice’.

### 3.3.71 प्रजने सर्तेः

*prajane sartteḥ*

*lprajane 7/1 sartteḥ 5/1/*

(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.9, *bhāve* #18, *akartari ca kārake samjñāyām* #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 *karṭṛ*, when the derivate refers to *prajana* ‘first impregnation’.

#### EXAMPLES:

*gavām upasaraḥ* ‘first servicing of the cows’

*paśūnām upasaraḥ* ‘first servicing of the animals’

1. *Kāśikā* explains the example *gavām upasaraḥ* as *strīgaviṣu puṃgavānām garbhādhānāya 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 ह्रः सम्प्रसारणं च न्यभ्युपविषु

*hvaḥ samprasāraṇam ca nyabhyupaviṣu*

*lhvaḥ 5/1 samprasāraṇam 1/1 ca 0 nyabhyuṣaviṣu 7/3/*  
 (pratyayaḥ #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 etesūpapadeṣu hvayater dhātoḥ samprasāraṇam ap  
 pratyayaś ca bhavati

Affix *aP* occurs after verbal root *hveÑ* 'to call out' to denote *bhāva*,  
 and a *kāraka* other than *karṭṛ*, when the root cooccurs with a nominal  
*pada* which contains *ni*, *abhi*, *upa* and *vi*. In addition, *hveÑ* under-  
 goes *samprasāraṇa* (1.1.45 *ig yaṇaḥ samprasāraṇam*).

#### EXAMPLES:

*nihavaḥ* 'invocation, praying'  
*abhihavaḥ* 'id.'  
*upahavaḥ* 'invitation'  
*vihavaḥ* 'calling'

1. This, again, is an exception to *GHaÑ*. The condition of cooccurrence  
 is restricted to these four preverbs especially in view of *prahvāyaḥ*, a deri-  
 vate in *GHaÑ*, meaning 'a summons'.

#### 3.3.73 आडि युद्धे

*āṇi yuddhe*  
*lāṇi 7/1 yuddhe 7/1/*  
 (pratyayaḥ #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, akartari ca kārake  
 samjñāyām #19, ap #57, hvah samprasāraṇam #72)  
*āṇi upapade hvayater dhātoḥ samprasāraṇam, ap pratyayaś ca bhavati*  
*yuddhe' bhidheye*

Affix *aP* occurs after verbal root *hveÑ* to denote *bhāva*, and a *kāraka*  
 other than *karṭṛ*, when the root cooccurs with a nominal *pada* which  
 contains *āÑ* and the derivates relates to *yuddha* 'battle'.

#### EXAMPLE:

*āhavaḥ* 'the place where challenges are made; battlefields'

1. Note that, outside the context of *yuddha*, we will get *āhvāyaḥ* 'calling,  
 inviting', a *GHaÑ* form.

#### 3.3.74 निपानमाहावः

*nipānam āhavaḥ*  
*lnipānam 1/1 āhavaḥ 1/1/*  
 (pratyayaḥ #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.9, akartari ca kārake  
 samjñāyām #19, ap #57, hvah samprasāraṇam #72)  
*āṇpūrvasya hvayater dhātoḥ samprasāraṇam, ap pratyayaḥ vṛddhiś ca*  
*nipātyate, nipānam ced abhidheyaṃ bhavati*

Affix *aP* occurs after verbal root *hveÑ* to derive *āhāvaḥ* by *nipātana* when the root is used with the preverb *āN* and the derivate denotes *nipānam* ‘trough’. In addition, *hveÑ* undergoes *samprasāraṇa*.

EXAMPLE:

*āhāvaḥ paśūnām* ‘the place where animals are brought for water; a trough’

1. Note that the cooccurring *āN*, along with the *samprasāraṇa* and *ṛddhi*, is provided via *nipātana*. Since the derivation is presented via *nipātana*, there is no need to even suggest any derivational steps.

### 3.3.75 भावेऽनुपसर्गस्य

*bhāve’ nupasargasya*

*lbhāve 7/1 anupasargasya 6/1/*

(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *ap* #57, *hvaḥ samprasāraṇam* #72)

*anupasargasya hvayateḥ samprasāraṇam, ap pratyayaś ca bhavati bhāve’ bhidhaye*

Affix *aP* occurs after verbal root *hveÑ* to denote *bhāva* when the root is not used with any preverb. In addition, *hveÑ* goes through *samprasāraṇa*.

EXAMPLE:

*havaḥ* ‘calling’

1. Note that *bhāve* is used here to get rid of the *anuvṛtti* of ‘*akartari ca kārake samjñāyām*’ (*bhāvagrahaṇam ‘akartari ca kārake samjñāyām’ ity asya nirāsārtham*). 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 (*mandabuddhīnām anugrahāya*).

## 3.3.76 हनश्च वधः

*hanaś ca vadhaḥ*

*/hanaḥ 5/1 ca ० vadhaḥ 1/1/*

*(pratyayaḥ #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, ap #57, bhāve' nūpasargasya #75)*

*hanter dhātor anūpsarge bhāve ap pratyayo bhavati, tatsanniyogena ca vadhādeśaḥ, sa cāntodāttaḥ*

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 *vadha*.

## EXAMPLES:

*vadhaś corāṇām* 'the killing of thieves'

*vadho dasyūnām* 'the killing of bandits'

1. Note that both '*bhāve*' and '*anūpasargasya*' are carried. Although verbal root *han* is given in the ablative (*pañcamī*), '*anūpasargasya*' will still have to be read with it as a modifier. The replacement in *vadha* for *han* is also intended on account of contextual proximity. The replacement is intended as *antodātta* 'high pitched at the end'. Thus, with an *anudātta* (3.1.4 *anudāttau suppitau*) *aP* in the following position, the final *-a* of *vadha* 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 *GHaÑ* can also be introduced parallel to *aP* in the sense of *bhāva*. This would account for *ghātaḥ* 'killing', a *GHaÑ* derivate signifying *bhāva*.

## 3.3.77 मूर्त्तौ घनः

*mūrttau ghanah*

*/mūrttau 7/1 ghanah 1/1/*

*(pratyayaḥ #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, bhāve #18, akartari ca kārake saṃjñāyām #19, ap #57, hanah #76)*

*mūrttāv abhidheyāyām hanter ap pratyayo bhavati ghananś cādeśaḥ*

Affix *aP* occurs after verbal root *hanA* to be replaced concurrently with *ghana* when the derivate denotes *mūrti* 'hardness, solidity'.

## EXAMPLES:

*abhraghanah* 'the thickness of clouds'

*dadhighanah* 'the thickness of yogurt'

1. This rule introduces affix *aP* after *han* when the derivate denotes *mūrti* 'solidity, thickness'. Thus we get *abhraghanah*, a genitive *tatpuruṣa* compound which denotes *abhrasya kāṭhinyam* 'the thickness of clouds'.

One would similarly find *dadhighanaḥ* ‘the thickness of yoghurt’ where the qualified element (*dharmīn*; *dadhi*) is denoted by the quality (*dharma*; *ghanam*), just as *śuklaḥ* ‘white’ may denote *paṭaḥ* ‘cloth’ containing the quality. The root at the same time gets replaced with *ghana*.

### 3.3.78 अन्तर्घनो देशे

*antarghano deśe*

*lantarghanaḥ 1/1 deśe 7/1/*

(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *bhāve* #18, *akartari ca kārake samjñāyām* #19, *aḥ* #57, *ghanaḥ* #77)

*antaḥpūrvād hanter aḥ pratyayo bhavati, ghanādeśaś ca bhavati deśe’ bhidheye*

Affix *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 *deśa* ‘country; a particular area’.

#### EXAMPLE:

*antarghanaḥ* ‘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 (*deśa*). 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 *antarghanaḥ*, the name of a region...(samjñābhūto vāhikeṣu deśaviśeṣaḥ). Some read the name with *ṇ* as *antarghanaḥ*, which is also acceptable (*tad aḥi grāhyam*). In the absence of the signification of the name of a country, the derivate will be: *antarghātaḥ* ‘slaughter house’.

### 3.3.79 अगारैकदेशे प्रघणः प्रघाणश्च

*agāraikadeśe praghaṇaḥ praghāṇaś ca*

*lagāraikadeśe 7/1 praghaṇaḥ 1/1 praghāṇaḥ 1/1 ca 0/*

(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *bhāve* #18, *akartari ca kārake samjñāyām* #19, *aḥ* #57, *hanaḥ* #76, *ghanaḥ* #78)

*praḥpūrvasya hanteḥ ‘praghaṇa, praghāṇa’ ity etau śabdau nipātyete agāraikadeśe vācye*

Affix *aP*, and *GHaÑ* as well, occurs after verbal root *hanA*, to be concurrently replaced with *ghana*, when the root is used with the preverb *pra* to derive *praghaṇa* and *praghāṇa* respectively, via *nipātana*, to designate ‘part of the house’.

#### EXAMPLES:

*praghaṇaḥ* ‘porch, portico’

*praghāṇaḥ* ‘id.’



1. The words *praghanah* and *praghānah* are derived by means of *nipātana* by introducing affix *aP* after *han* used with *pra*, where *han* also gets replaced with *ghana*. For reasons similar to the preceding rule, ‘*akartari ca kārake samjñāyām*’ is also brought close to the context of this rule. For, the derivatives denote *agāraikadeśa* ‘a part of the house’. Thus, we get: *praghanah* and *praghānah* generally explained as: *dvāraprakoṣṭho vāhyaḥ* ‘the outer area to the entrance of the house’. Elsewhere, we will get *praghātaḥ* ‘killing’.

### 3.3.80 उद्घनोऽत्याधानम्

*udghano’ tyādhānam*

*ludghanah 1/1 atyādhānam 1/1/*

(*pratrayah* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *akartari ca kārake samjñāyām* #19, *ap* #57, *hanah* #76, *ghanah* #77)

*utpūrvasya hanter udghana iti nipātyate, atyādhānam ced bhavati*

Affix *aP* occurs after verbal root *hanA*, to be concurrently replaced with *ghana*, when the root is used with the preverb *ud* to derive *udghana*, by *nipātana*, and the derivate designates *atyādhāna* ‘workbench, support’.

#### EXAMPLE:

*udghanah* ‘a carpenter’s workbench; a chopping block’

1. This rule offers an additional ad hoc form: *udghanah*, obviously with *aP* introduced after *han* used with *ud*. The *ghana* replacement is also given. Since the derivate denotes a name, ‘*akartari ca kārake...*’ is also understood. *Kāśikā* explains *udghanah* as: *yasmin kāṣṭhe sthāpayitvā anyāni kāṣṭhāni takṣyante* ‘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 अपघनोऽङ्गम्

*apaghano’ aṅgam*

*lapaghanah 1/1 aṅgam 1/1/*

(*pratrayah* #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 *ghana* 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. *Kāśikā* states that *aṅga* here means either a hand or foot. Elsewhere, the derivate will be *apaghātaḥ* ‘killing’.

## 3.3.82 करणेऽयोविद्भु

*karāṇe* ‘yovidruṣu

*/karāṇe 7/1 ayovidruṣu 7/3/*

(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *ap* #57, *hanah* #76, *ghanah* #77)

‘*ayas, vi, dru*’ *ity eteṣūpapadeṣu hanter dhātoḥ karāṇe kārake*’ *p pratyayo bhavati, ghanādeśaś ca*

Affix *aP* occurs after verbal root *hanA*, to be further replaced with *ghana*, when the root cooccurs with a nominal *pada* which contains *ayas, vi* and *dru*, and the derivate denotes *karāṇa* ‘instrument’.

## EXAMPLES:

*ayoghanah* ‘a steel hammer’

*vighanah* ‘id.’

*drughanah* ‘an axe’

1. Note that *drughanah* is also found as *drughanaḥ*.

## 3.3.83 स्तम्बे क च

*stambe ka ca*

*/stambe 7/1 ka (deleted 1/1) ca 0/*

(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *ap* #57, *hanah* #76, *ghanah* #77, *karāṇe* #82)

*stambaśabda upapade karāṇe kārake hanteḥ kaḥ pratyayo bhavati cakārād ap, tatra ghanādeśaḥ*

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 *karāṇa*.

## EXAMPLES:

*stambaghnaḥ* ‘a sickle’

*stambaghanah* ‘id.’

1. Elsewhere, in the context of a non-*karāṇa* denotatum, we get *stambaghātaḥ* ‘the cutting of grass’, a derivate in *GHaÑ* which denotes *bhāva*.

## 3.3.84 परौ घः

*parau ghaḥ*

*/parau 7/1 ghaḥ 1/1/*

(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *ap* #57, *hanaḥ* #76, *karaṇe* #82)

*pariśabda upapade hanter dhātor ap pratyayo bhavati karaṇe kārake ghaśabdas 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:

*parighaḥ* ‘that by means of which one strikes; a club’

*palighaḥ* ‘id.’

1. Note that the *r* of *parighaḥ* is optionally replaced with *l* by 8.2.22 *pareś ca....*

## 3.3.85 उपघ्न आश्रये

*upaghna āśraye*

*/upaghnaḥ 1/1 āśraye 7/1/*

(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *bhāve* #18, *akartari ca kārake samjñāyām* #19, *ap* #57, *hanaḥ* #76, *ghanaḥ* #77, *karaṇe* #82)

*upapūrvasya hanter ap pratyaya upadhālopaś ca nipātyate, āśrayaśabdah sāmīpyam pratyāsattim 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:

*parvatopaghnaḥ* ‘in the vicinity of the mountain; foothills’

*grāmopaghnaḥ* ‘in the vicinity of the village’

1. The word *āśraya* denotes ‘shelter’ by way of *sāmīpya* ‘proximity’. Thus we get *parvatopaghnaḥ* ‘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 सङ्घोदघ्नौ गणप्रशंसयोः

*saṅghodghau gaṇaprasamsayoh*

*/saṅghodghau gaṇaprasamsayoh 7/2/*

(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *bhāve* #18, *akartari ca kārake samjñāyām* #19, *ap* #57, *hanaḥ* #76)

*samudor upapadayor hanter dhātor ap pratyayo bhavati, ṭilopa ghatvaṃ ca nipātyate, yathāsamkhyam gaṇe' bhidheye  
praśamsāyām gamyamānāyām*

Affix *aP* occurs after verbal root *hanA* when the root cooccurs with a nominal *pada* which contains *sam* and *ud* to derive *saṃgha* and *udgha* by *nipātana*, provided the derivatives denote *gaṇa* 'group' and *praśamsā* 'praise', respectively.

EXAMPLES:

*saṃghaḥ paśūnām* 'herd of animals'  
*udgho manuṣyāṇām* 'praiseworthy among men'

1. Note that the deletion of *ṭi*, i.e., *an*, of *han* (1.1.63 *aco' ntyādi ṭi*), and the *gh* replacement for *h*, is accomplished via *nipātana*. Elsewhere, we will get a derivate in *GHaÑ* such as *saṃghātaḥ* 'union'. The *sam* and *upa* derivatives denote *gaṇa* and *praśamsā*, respectively, in view of rule 1.3.10 *yathāsamkhyam...*

3.3.87 निघो निमित्तम्

*nigho nimitam*  
*lnighaḥ 1/1 nimitam 1/1/*  
(*pratyayah #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, bhāve #18, akartari ca kārake saṃjñāyām #19, ap #57, hanaḥ #76*)  
*'nigha' iti nipūrvād hanter ap pratyayaḥ ṭilopaghatvaṃ ca nipātyate, nimitam ced abhidheyaṃ bhavati*

Affix *aP* occurs after verbal root *hanA* when the root is used with the preverb *ni* to derive *nigha* by *nipātana*, provided the derivate denotes *nimita* 'having equal dimension all around'.

EXAMPLES:

*nighā vrkṣāḥ* 'trees of equal dimension'  
*nighāḥ śālayaḥ* 'a paddy equal in height'

1. The provision of this rule, again by *nipātana*, is similar to the preceding. The deletion of *ṭi* (*ṭilopa*) and replacement in *gh* (*ghatva*), is also valid here. The verb is to be used with the preverb *ni*, and the derivate meaning has to be *nimita*. It is explained as *sarvataḥ ārohataḥ pariṇāhataś ca tulyaḥ* 'that which is equal on all sides in height and breadth'. Thus the examples: *nighā vrkṣāḥ* 'trees equally tall and wide' and *nighāḥ śālayaḥ* 'rice paddies of equal height'. Elsewhere, we get *nighātaḥ* 'striking a blow', a derivate in *GHaÑ*.

3.3.88 द्वितः क्त्रिः

*ḍvitaḥ ktriḥ*

*lḍvitaḥ 5/1 krtiḥ 1/1/*

(*pratyayah #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, bhāve #18*)

*ḍvito dhātoḥ ktriḥ pratyayo bhavati*

Affix *Ktri* occurs to denote *bhāva* after a verbal root marked with *ḌU* as an *it*.

EXAMPLES:

*paktriman* ‘cooked; ripened’

*uptrimam* ‘sown’

*kṛtrimam* ‘artificial’

1. This rule allows for the introduction of affix *Ktri* after a root which has *ḌU* as an *it* and when *bhāva* is denoted. Affix *Ktri*, because of its own derivational nature, is used to denote *bhāva*, and cannot be construed alone. For, rule 4.4.20 *kter man nityam* obligatorily (*nityam*) introduces affix *maP* after a word which ends in affix *Ktri*. The sense of affix *maP* is *nivṛtta* ‘completed’. Thus *paktrimam* denotes ‘fully cooked’. It is in this sense that a derivate in *Ktri* can not be interpreted separately from a derivate in *maP* (*kevalo na prayujyate*).

2. The roots with *ḌU* as an *it* are illustrated here as *ḌUpacAṢ* ‘to cook’, *ḌUvap* ‘to sow’ and *ḌUkṛÑ* ‘to do, make’. The *K* of *Ktri* is used to block *guna* or *vṛddhi*. The derivates go through *samprasāraṇa* via rule 6.1.15 *vacisvapīyajādīnām...*

3.3.89 द्विथोऽथुच्

*tvitho’ thuc*

*lṭvitaḥ 5/1 athuc 1/1/*

(*pratyayah #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, bhāve #18, akartari ca kārake samjñāyām #19*)

*ṭvitor dhātor athuc pratyayo bhavati bhāvādau*

Affix *athuC* occurs after a verbal root marked with *ṬU* as an *it* when *bhāva*, and a *kāra* other than a *karṭṛ*, is denoted.

EXAMPLES:

*vepathuḥ* ‘trembling’

*svayathuḥ* ‘swelling’

*kṣavathuḥ* ‘coughing, sneezing’

1. This rule refers to roots which have *ṬU* as their *it*. Affix *athuC* is again introduced to denote *bhāva*, etc. One can treat this as an exception to *GHaÑ*. Affix *GHaÑ* 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 *GHaÑ* 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 यजयाचयतविच्छप्रच्छरक्षो नङ्

*yajayācayatavicchpraccharakṣo nañ*

*/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 ca 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’

*yācñā* ‘solicitation’

*yatnah* ‘effort’

*viśnah* ‘questioning’

*rakṣnah* ‘protection; preservation’

1. This rule accepts ‘*bhāve*’ and ‘*akartari ca kārake...*’ as the denotatum of affix *nañ*. The *ñ* as an *it* is intended to block *guṇa* or *vṛddhi*, as the case may be (1.1.5 *kniti ca*). Note that, except for the derivate of *yāc*, all the others are masculine. Affix *GHañ* 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., *yācñā*, is feminine where its *nañ* is an exception to affix *a* of 3.3.103 *guroś ca halaḥ*. The *vā*’ *sarūpavidhi* is blocked here at the strength of 3.3.113 *krtyalyuṭo bahulam*. The lack of *samprasāraṇa* (1.1.45 *ig yaṇah*), in the case of *praśna* (cf. 6.1.16 *grahijyāvayī...*), even when there is a following affix marked with *ñ*, can be only explained by citing the precedent of rule 3.3.177 *praśne cāsanna...*

## 3.3.91 स्वपो नन्

*svapo nañ*

*/svapaḥ 5/1 nañ 1/1/*

*(pratyayaḥ #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, bhāve #18)*

Affix *nañ* occurs after verbal root *ñIṣvaP* ‘to sleep’ when the derivate denotes *bhāva*.

## EXAMPLE:

*svapnah* ‘dreaming; a dream’

1. This rule offers *svapna* as a derivate with the signification of *bhāva*. It is, thus, an exception to *GHañ*. The *n* as an *it* in *nañ* is intended to secure initial high-pitch (*ādyudātta*) by rule 6.1.197 *ñnityādir nityam*.

## 3.3.92 उपसर्गे घोः किः

*upasarge ghoh̄ kiḥ*

*lupasarge 7/1 ghoh̄ 5/1 kiḥ 1/1/*

*(pratyayah̄ #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, bhāve #18, akartari ca kārake samjñāyām #19)*

*upasarge upapade ghusamjñakebhyo dhātubhyo kiḥ pratyayo bhavati*

Affix *Ki* occurs after verbal roots termed *ghu* (1.1.20 *dādhāghv adap*) when the roots cooccur with a nominal *pada* which contains a pre-verb and the derivate denotes *bhāva*, and a *kāraka* other than *karṭṛ*.

## EXAMPLES:

*pradiḥ* ‘giving; a gift’

*pradhiḥ* ‘outer edge of a wheel, rim’

*antarddhiḥ* ‘hiding, disappearing’

1. Note that the ablative *ghoh̄* qualifies *dhātoḥ*, thereby yielding the interpretation ‘after verbal roots termed *ghu*’,.

The rule still carries ‘*bhāve*’ and ‘*akartari ca kārake samjñāyām*’. Consequently, affix *Ki* will be introduced to denote *bhāva*, and a *kāraka* other than a *karṭṛ*. The roots, of course, have to be those termed *ghu* (1.1.20 *dādhā ghv adap*). The *K*, as an *it* in *Ki*, is intended to facilitate the deletion of *ā* by 6.4.64 *āto lopa iṭi ca*. Thus we get: *antarddhiḥ* ‘hiding’ from *antardhā* + *Ki*, for which see the appendix.

## 3.3.93 कर्मण्यधिकरणे च

*karmany adhikaraṇe ca*

*lkarmaṇi 7/1 adhikaraṇe 7/1 ca 0/*

*(pratyayah̄ #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, ghoh̄, kiḥ #92)*

*karmany upapade ghusamjñakebhyo dhātubhyaḥ kiḥ pratyayo bhavati adhikaraṇe kārake*

Affix *Ki* also occurs after verbal roots termed *ghu* when the roots cooccur with a nominal *pada* which denotes *karman* and the derivate denotes *adhikaraṇa*.

## EXAMPLES:

*jaladhiḥ* ‘that where water is held; ocean’

*śaradhiḥ* ‘that where arrows are placed; quiver’

1. The word ‘*ghoh̄*’ still carries to qualify ‘*dhātoḥ*’. Note that both *karmaṇi* and *adhikaraṇe* are given in *saptamī* ‘seventh triad of *sUP*’. We understand from Pāṇinian practice, that the denotata of affixes is provided by the use of *saptamī*. We also know, from rule 3.1.92 *tāropapadam*

*saptamīstham*, that an item placed in *saptamī*, within the domain of 3.1.91 *dhātoḥ*, characterizes an *upapada* ‘conjoined word’. Obviously, both *karman* and *adhikaraṇa* cannot constitute an *upapada*; nor can they constitute the denotatum of affix *Ki* (*pratyayārtha*). We must take recourse to *vyākhyāna* ‘interpretation of the learned’ in order to find which one of the two denotes *upapada*. Commentators agree that *karman* constitutes an *upapada*. This leaves *adhikaraṇa* to characterize the denotatum of *Ki*. The word *adhikaraṇa* is explicitly stated to rule out the introduction of this affix in the sense of *bhāva*, or *karaṇa*, etc. The *ca* of the rule is used to attract (*anukarṣanārtha*) *Ki* from the preceding rule.

### 3.3.94 स्त्रियां क्तिन्

*striyām ktin*

*/striyām 7/1 ktin 1/1/*

(*pratyayah* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *bhāve* #18, *akartari ca kārake samjñāyām* #19)

*strīlīṅge bhāvādau dhātoḥ ktin pratyayo bhavati*

Affix *KtiN* occurs after a verbal root when *bhāva*, and a *kāraka* other than *karṭṛ*, is denoted in the feminine.

#### EXAMPLES:

*kṛtiḥ* ‘action, creation’

*citiḥ* ‘gathering, heaping’

*matiḥ* ‘comprehension, thinking’

1. This rule introduces affix *KtiN* to denote *bhāva* and a *kāraka* other than *karṭṛ*. Obviously, *bhāve* and *akartari ca kārake samjñāyām* become valid in this context. Affix *KtiN* is an exception to affixes *aC*, *aP* and *GhaÑ*. 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 *ṛ* (3.3.57 *ṛdor ap*). Elsewhere, affix *KtiN* constitutes an exception to *GHaÑ* (3.3.18 *bhāve*). Also note, in connection with this, that *vā’ sarūpavidhi* (3.1.94 *vā’ sarūpo’ striyām*) is not valid here.

2. A *vārttika* proposes that *KtiN* should also be introduced to derive forms such as *āptiḥ* ‘gain’, etc., from verbal roots *āp* ‘to gain’, etc. This list of roots, referred to here by *āp*, etc., is not enumerated. That is, one has to determine the membership in this list of *āp*, etc., by following the usages (*Kāś: ābādayaḥ prayogato’ nusarttavayāḥ*). Thus we get forms such as: *āptiḥ* ‘gain’, *rāddhiḥ* ‘accomplishment’, *labdhiḥ* ‘gain’, *dīptiḥ* ‘glow’ from *āp* ‘to gain’, *radh* ‘to accomplish’, *labh* ‘to obtain’, and *dip* ‘to glow’.

An additional *vārttika* manipulates *KtiN* to accommodate usages such as *śrutih* ‘that by means of which one hears; ear’, *iṣṭih* ‘that by means of which one performs rituals; a ritual sacrifice’, and *stutih* ‘that by means of



which one pleases someone; praise, prayer'. These derivatives all denote *karāṇa*.

A *vārttika* also proposes that forms such as *glāniḥ* 'exhaustion', *mlāniḥ* 'weariness', *ḡyāniḥ* 'aging' and *hāniḥ* 'loss' should be derived with affix *Ni*, introduced after verbal roots *glai* 'to be weary', *mlai* 'id.', *ḡyā* 'to be old' and *hā* 'to abandon' respectively.

Yet another *vārttika* states that affix *KtiN* also occurs after roots which end in  $\bar{r}$ , or those such as *lūN̄* 'to cut', etc., to derive forms such as *kīrṇiḥ* 'scattering', *ḡīrṇiḥ* 'praise', and *lūniḥ* 'cutting', etc. In addition, the *vārttika* extends to affix *KtiN* the treatment of *niṣṭhā* in order to enable its derivatives to avail the change of their *t* into *n*. Thus, given the string ( $k\bar{r} \rightarrow k\bar{i}r \rightarrow k\bar{i}r$ ) + ( $K \rightarrow \emptyset$ )*ti* = *kīr* + *ti*, rule 8.2.42 *radābhyām...* will replace the *t* with *n* to yield *kīrṇiḥ*, which results in *kīrṇiḥ*. 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 *KvIP* to derive these forms. The second proposes that affix *KtiN* be introduced after them to derive *sampatti*, *vipatti*, and *pratipatti*.

### 3.3.95 स्थागापापचो भावे

*sthāgāpāpaco bhāve*

*lsthāgāpāpacaḥ 5/1 bhāve 7/1/*

(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *striyām ktin* #94)

*sthādibhyo dhātubhyaḥ strīliṅge bhāve ktin 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:

*prasthiṭiḥ* 'a trip, journey'

*udgīṭiḥ* 'singing of the hymns of the *Sāmaveda*; loud singing'

*saṃgīṭiḥ* 'singing'

*prapīṭiḥ* 'drinking; receptacle for water'

*saṃpīṭiḥ* 'drinking together'

*paktiḥ* '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 *pā* 'to protect'. Of course, *gā* can also refer to verbal root *gāN̄* '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 bādhakaḥ*). That is, it blocks the application of affix *aÑ* which happens to be an exception to the general affix *GHaÑ*. Affix *aÑ* 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 *ṣit*, by rule 3.3.104 *ṣidbhidādibhyo...* Why does it not block the application of 3.3.110 *vibhāṣā...*, which makes the optional provision of affix *iÑ* parallel to *ṆvuL* of rule 3.3.109 *saṃjñāyām?* It is stated that *KtiN* cannot block *iÑ*, since *KtiN* happens to be a prior exception (*purastāpavāda*). Consequently, it can only block the most immediately available provision, and not the one which is subsequent (cf. *pbh.*: *purastāpavādā anantarān vidhīn bādhante nottarān*). Thus, *KtiN* cannot be made available to block the application of *iÑ*.

### 3.3.96 मन्त्रे वृषेषपचमनविदभूवीरा उदात्तः

*mantrē vṛṣeṣapacamanavidabhūvīrā udāttaḥ*

*lmantrē 7/1 vṛṣe...vīrāḥ 1/3 (itar. dv.); udāttaḥ 1/1/*

*(pratyayaḥ #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, striyām ktin #94, bhāve #95)*

*mantrē viṣaye vṛṣādibhyo dhātubhyaḥ ktin pratyayo bhavati, udāttaḥ*

Affix *KtiN*, marked with *udātta* 'high-pitch', occurs in the *mantra* literature after verbal roots *vṛṣU* 'to rain', *iṣU* 'to wish', *ḌUpacAṢ* 'to cook', *manA* 'to think', *vidA* 'to know', *bhū* 'to be, become', *vī* 'to go' and *rā* 'to give, bring' when the derivatives denote the action (*bhāva*) in the feminine.

#### EXAMPLES:

*vṛṣṭiḥ* 'rain'

*iṣṭiḥ* 'wish; sacrifice'

*paktiḥ* 'cooking'

*matiḥ* 'thinking'

*vītiḥ* 'knowing'

*bhūtiḥ* 'being, becoming'

*vītiḥ* 'going; enjoying'

*rātiḥ* '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 *udātta* 'high pitch'. Note, in connection with this, that rule 6.1.197 *ñnityādir...* provides *udātta* accent initially for a derivate which ends in affix *KtiN*. Obviously, that derivate, in accordance with the provision of the *udātta* of this rule, will become *antodātta*.

### 3.3.97 ऊतियूतिजूतिसातिहेतिकीर्त्तयश्च

*ūtiyūtijūtisātihetikīrttayaś ca*

*lūti...kīrttayah* 1/5 (*itar. dv.*); *ca* Ø/

(*pratyayah* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *akartari ca kārake samjñāyām* #19, *striyām ktin* #94, *bhāve* #95, *udāttaḥ* #96).

*ūtyādayah śabdāḥ nipātyante*

Forms such as *ūti*, *yūti*, *jūti*, *sāti*, *heti* and *kīrtti* are derived to denote action in the feminine by *nipātana* with their final vowel marked *udātta*.

#### EXAMPLES:

*ūtiḥ* ‘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 *ūti*, etc. Note, however, that it is not much the derivation by affix *KtiN*, that the route of *nipātana* is followed. Instead, it is the *antodatta* ‘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 व्रजयजोभवि क्यप्

*vrajayajor bhāve kyap*

*lvrajayajoḥ* 6/2 *bhāve* 7/1 *kyap* 1/1/

(*pratyayah* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *striyām ktin* #94, *udāttaḥ* #96)

*vrajayajor dhātvoḥ strīliṅge bhāve kyap pratyayo bhavati*

Affix *KyaP*, marked with *udātta*, occurs after verbal roots *vrajA* ‘to go, wander’ and *yajA* ‘to sacrifice’ when the derivatives denote action in the feminine.

#### EXAMPLES:

*vrajyā* ‘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 *pit* status

of *KyaP*. The *K* of *KyaP*, thus, does not bring the *anudātta* accent simply for *udātta* to cancel it. The express mention of *udātta* will rule out any other accentual provision. It is for this reason that commentators regard the *pit* status of *KyaP* as intended for subsequent rule (*uttarārtha*). The *P* of *KyaP* there enables rule 6.1.71 *hrasvasya piti kṛti tuk* to introduce the augment *tUK* (*Kāś*: *pitkaraṇam uttaratra tugartham*). Note that *ijyā* of this rule has to go through *samprasāraṇa* by rule 6.1.15 *vacisvapīyajādīnām*... The *KyaP* of this rule is an exception to *KtiN*.

### 3.3.99 संज्ञायां समजनिषदनिपतमनविदषुजशीड्भृजिणः

*samjñāyām samajaniṣadanīpatamanavidṣuḥśīḍbhṛjīṇaḥ*

*Isamjñāyām 7/1 sama...ñīṇaḥ 5/1 (sam. dv.)/*

(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *akartari ca kārake samjñāyām* #19, *striyām ktin* #94, *bhāve* #95, *udāttaḥ* #96 *kyap* #97)

*samajādibhyo dhātubhyaḥ kyap pratyayo bhavti udāttaḥ, samjñāyām viṣaye* Affix *KyaP*, marked with *ūdatta*, occurs after verbal roots *ajA* ‘to go’ used with the preverb *sam*, *ṣad* ‘to sit, rest’ and *pat* ‘to fall’ used with the preverb *ni*, and *manA* ‘to think’, *vidA* ‘to know’, *ṣuṅ* ‘to press out’, *śīṅ* ‘to recline’ and *bhṛṅ* ‘to provide’ when *bhāva* and a *kāraka* other than *karṭṛ* is denoted in the feminine and the derivate denotes a name.

#### EXAMPLES:

*samajyā* ‘assembly, gathering’

*niṣadyā* ‘a seat; marketplace’

*nīpatyā* ‘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’

*ityā* ‘means of transportation; palanquin; guiding light’

1. Note that *bhāva* of 3.3.95 *sthāgāpāpaco bhāve* is not carried. The rule thus introduces affix *KyaP* after *samaj*, *niṣad*, *nīpat*, *man*, *vid*, *ṣuṅ*, *śīṅ* and *bhṛṅ* to denote *bhāva*, when the name of a *kāraka* other than *karṭṛ* 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 *adhikāra*. 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’, *niṣadyā* ‘that in which one

reclines; a bed', *nīpatyā* 'the ground where people fall; slippery ground', etc. Note that these examples denote names as well as *adhikaraṇa*, a *kāraka* other than *karṭṛ*. Additionally, by way of the derivatives, they also denote the action of gathering, reclining or falling. Examples such as *manyā*, *vidyā* and *ityā*, etc. denote *karāṇa* 'instrument'.

A question is raised as to why this rule must use *saṃjñāyām* when the 'same could be available by the *anuvṛtti* of *akartari ca kārake saṃjñāyām*? It is stated that the *saṃjñāyām* of the *anuvṛtti* is associated with '*akartari ca kārake*'. Consequently, affix *KyaP* would be available to *samaj*, etc., only when the name of a *kāraka* other than *karṭṛ* was denoted. It would not be available to the name of a *kāraka* other than *karṭṛ* which also denotes *bhāva*. It is for this reason that *saṃjñāyām* is restated (see *Nyāsa ad Kās III: 73: tasmād bhāve' pi saṃjñām eva yathā syād ity evam arthaṃ punaḥ saṃjñāgrahaṇam*).

### 3.3.100 कृञः श च

*krñāḥ śa ca*

*lkrñāḥ 5/1 śa (deleted 1/1) ca 0/*

(*pratyayah #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, akartari ca kārake saṃjñāyām #19, striyām ktin #94, bhāve #95, udāttaḥ #96 kyap #97*)

*karoter dhātoḥ striyām ktin pratyayo bhavati*

Affix *Śa*, and *KyaP* marked with *udātta* as well, occurs after verbal root *DUkrñ* 'to do, make' when the action is denoted in the feminine.

#### EXAMPLES:

*kriyā* 'action, creation'

*krtyā* 'id.'

*krṭiḥ* '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 *Sa*. In order to facilitate this, recourse is taken to *yogavibhāga* whereby a two-way split of this rule is made:

(i) *krñāḥ kyap bhavati* 'affix *KyaP* occurs after verbal root *krñ*...'

(ii) *krñāḥ śa ca* 'affix *Śa*, additionally with *KtiN* (on account of *ca*), also occurs after *krñ*'

This yields three forms: one each with affixes *KyaP*, *Śa* and *KtiN* as in *krityā*, *kriyā* and *krṭiḥ* 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 yak* and 7.4.28 *riñ śyaglinḥṣu* will apply. The first will introduce

*yaK*, whereas the second will replace the final short *ṛ* of the root with *riN*. The *Ś* is given as *it* in *Śa* to block *guṇa* via its status as marked with *N* by 1.2.4 *sārvadhātukam apit*. Obviously, *Ś* as an *it* is also responsible for the assignment of the term *sārvadhātuka* to *Śa* by 3.4.113 *tiṅśit sārvadhātukam*. Affix *yaK* will be blocked in cases where *Śa* is introduced to denote the name of a *kāraka* other than *kartṛ* (*akartari ca kārake samjñāyām*). However, *riN* must still be introduced to replace *ṛ*, though under the condition of affix *Śa*, itself. That is, under the condition that *Śa* followed *kṛ*. Now rule 6.4.77 *aci śnudhātubhruvām...* will replace the *i* of *ri* by *iyAÑ*. Refer to the appendix for additional details.

### 3.3.101 इच्छा

*icchā*

*licchā* 1/1/

(*pratyayah* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *striyaṃ ktin* #94, *bhāve* #95, *śaḥ* #101)

Affix *Śa* 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 *Śa*. The non-introduction of *yaK* is provided for by *nipātana*. See additional details for deriving *icchā* from *iṣ* + *Śa* with no *yaK* in the appendix.

2. A *vārttika* under this rule states that *parisaryā* ‘wandering about’, *paricaryā* ‘service’, *mṛgayā* ‘hunting’ and *aṭātyā* ‘roaming about’ should also be derived with *Śa* via *nipātana*. The words *parisaryā* and *paricaryā* are derived from *parisṛ* and *paricar* with affix *Śa* and *yaK*. The first example also entails *guṇa* (as opposed to the lack of it), all by *nipātana*. I have already stated that because of the *Śit* status of *Śa*, which makes it *Nit* in view of 1.3.4 *sārvadhātukam...*, *guṇa* 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 *ato lopaḥ*. Our last example, *aṭātyā*, is derived from *aṭ* + *Śa* → *aṭ* + *yaK* + *Śa* = *aṭ* + *ya* + *a* where *ṭ* 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* →  $\emptyset$ ) (*a* → *ā*) + *aṭy* + *a* = *aṭātyā*. Finally, *aṭātyā* will be derived with affix *ṬāP*. 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 *jāgaryām* where the first will be derived with affix *a* and the second with *Śa* along with *yaK*.

## 3.3.102 अ प्रत्ययात्

*a pratyayāt*

*/a (deleted 1/1) pratyayāt 5/1/*

*(pratyayah #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, striyām ktin #94, bhāve #95)*

*pratyayāntebhyo dhātubhyaḥ striyām akāraḥ pratyayo bhavati*

Affix *a* occurs after roots which end in an affix when derivatives 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'

*kaṇḍūyā* '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 derivatives such as *cikīrṣā* 'desire to do', etc., to be termed *prātipadika* by rule 1.2.46 *kṛttaddhitasamāsāś ca*. This, in turn, enables them to receive feminine affix *ṬāP* and nominal endings.

2. Note that the *a* of this rule (*a pratyayāt*) is used without a nominal ending. Technically speaking, the form should have been *aḥ*, ending in the nominative singular as per the Pāṇinian practice. Some still consider the wording of the rule to be: *aḥ pratyayāt*.

## 3.3.103 गुरोश्च हलः

*guroś ca halaḥ*

*/guroḥ 5/1 ca 0 halaḥ 1/1/*

*(pratyayah #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, striyām ktin #94, bhāve #95, a #102)*

*halanto yo dhātur gurumān tataḥ striyām akāraḥ pratyayo bhavati*

Affix *a* occurs after a verbal root which ends in a consonant and contains a long vowel termed *guru* (1.4.11 *saṃyoge guru*) when the derivate signifies action in the feminine.

## EXAMPLES:

*kundā* 'burning; an adultress'

*hundā* 'attacking; a tigress'

*īhā* ‘effort, wishing’  
*ūhā* ‘argumentation’

1. Note that this is the domain of *dhātu*, and as such, *guru* and *hal* are to be treated as qualifiers (*viśeṣana*) to *dhātu* ‘verbal root’. It is for this reason that *Kāśikā* paraphrases the rule as: *halanto yo dhātur gurumān tataḥ...* ‘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 *ceṣṭā* ‘strife’ and *āsaṃsā* ‘expectation’ in rules 2.3.12 *gatyarthakarmani dvitīyācaturthyau...* and 3.3.134 *āsaṃsāyām 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 षिद्भिदादिभ्योऽङ्

*ṣidbhidādibhyo’ ṅ*  
*ṣidbhidādibhyaḥ 5/3 aṅ 1/1/*  
 (*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *striyām ktin* #94, *bhāve* #95)

*ṣidbhyo bhidādibhyaś ca striyām aṅ pratyayo bhavati*

Affix *aṅ* occurs after verbal roots either marked with *ṣ* 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 *gaṇapāṭha* (GP) listing containing nominal stems which end in affix *aṅ*. This raises a problem. Should affix *aṅ* of this rule be introduced after items referenced here as *bhidā*, etc.,



which already end in  $a\dot{N}$ ? The answer must be in the negative. For, *bhidā*, etc., are nominal stems which already end in affix  $a\dot{N}$ . Our present rule requires the introduction of affix  $a\dot{N}$  after verbal roots. What then is the problem? If we interpret that  $a\dot{N}$  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 neither 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  $a\dot{N}$  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 *igupadhajñāprīkirah kaḥ*.

### 3.3.105 चिन्तिपूजिकथिकुम्बिचर्चश्च

*cintipūjīkathīkumbīcarcaś ca*

*|cintipūjīkathīkumbīcarcaḥ 5/1 ca 0|*

(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *striyām ktin* #94, *bhāve* #95, *añ* #104)

'*citi*, *pūji*, *kathi*, *kumbi*, *carca*' *ebhyo dhātubhyo yuci*

*prāpte striyām añ pratyayo bhavati*

Affix  $a\dot{N}$  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 derivatives 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 *curādi* group. Since they are all treated as ending in the causal affix  $\dot{N}iC$ , they qualify for the introduction of affix  $yuC$ . This rule, for reasons of introducing affix  $a\dot{N}$  instead, may be treated as a prior exception to rule 3.3.107 *nyāsaśrantho yuc*. But since this rule also contains *ca*,  $a\dot{N}$  is to be optionally introduced with  $yuC$ . Thus we get the  $a\dot{N}$ -derivate *cintā* parallel to the  $yuC$ -derivate *cintanā*.

## 3.3.106 आतश्चोपसर्गे

*ātaś copasarge*

*/ātaḥ 5/1 ca 0 upasarge 7/1/*

(*pratyayah* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *striyām ktin* #94, *bhāve* #95, *añ* #104)

*ākārāntebhyo dhātubhya upasarge upapade striyām añ pratyayo bhavati*

Affix *aÑ* 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 *aÑ* 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 *aÑ* becomes an exception to *KtiN*. Thus we get *pradā* 'gift', *upadā* 'id.' etc.

A *vārttika* proposes the derivation of *śraddhā* 'respect' and *antarddhā* '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 *antarddhā*, used with affix *Ki*, can also have an alternate form, *antarddhi*.

## 3.3.107 ण्यासश्रन्थो युच्

*ṇyāsaśrantho yuc*

*/ṇyāsaśranthaḥ 5/1 yuc 1/1/*

(*pratyayah* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *saṃjñāyām* #19, *striyām ktin* #94, *bhāve* #98)

*ṇyantebhyo dhātubhyaḥ 'āsa, srantha' ity etābhyām ca striyām yuc pratyayo bhavati*

Affix *yuC* occurs after verbal roots which end in *NiC* (3.1.26 *hetumati 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*-derivates of this rule will form an exception to affix *a* of 3.3.102 *a pratyayāt*. The derivates of *ās* ‘to sit’ and *śranth* ‘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) affix *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) affix *yuC* is to be introduced to derive *adhyeṣaṇā* ‘entreating, soliciting’ and *anveṣaṇā* ‘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 *paryeṣaṇā* ‘thorough search’. The optional *KtiN* derivate will be: *pariṣṭih* where, because of the *K* of the affix, no *guṇa* will apply.

### 3.3.108 रोगाख्यायां ण्वुल् बहुलम्

*rogākhyāyām ṅvul bahulam*

*/rogākhyāyām 7/1 ṅvul 1/1 bahulam 1/1/*

(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *striyām ktin* #94, *bhāve* #98)

*rogākhyāyām gamyamānāyām dhātor bhahulam ṅvul pratyayo bhavati*

Affix *ṅvuL* occurs variously after a verbal root to denote action in the feminine when the derivate denotes the name of a disease.

#### EXAMPLES:

*praccharddikā* ‘vomiting’

*pravāhikā* ‘diarrhea’

*vicarcikā* ‘itching’

1. This rule, for reasons of *bahulam*, can be accepted as an exception to all rules. Affix *ṅvuL* thus is introduced variously when the denotatum is a ‘disease’ (*roga*). Thus we get *praccharddikā* ‘vomiting’, etc. However, *ṅvuL*, at the strength of *bahulam*, may not apply in some other examples. Consider *śiro’rttiḥ* ‘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 *ṅvuL* to indicate the meaning of a root as in *āsikā* ‘eating’ and *śāyikā* ‘reclining’;
- (b) introduction of affixes *iK*, *ŚaP* and *tiP* to specify verbal roots as in *stipah*;
- (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 *matvarthīya* 'relative to that which has the sense of *matUP*';
- (f) introduction of affix *iÑ* after verbal roots *aj*, etc., to derive *ājih* 'fighting', etc.;
- (g) introduction of affix *iK* after *kṛṣ* 'to draw', etc., to derive *kṛṣih* 'ploughing, farming', etc.

### 3.3.109 संज्ञायाम्

*saṃjñāyām*

*/saṃjñāyām 7/1/*

(*pratyayah* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *striyām ktin* #94, *bhāve* #98, *ṅvul* #108)

*saṃjñāyām viśaye dhātor ṅvul pratyayo bhavati*

Affix *ṅvuL* occurs after a verbal root when the action is denoted as a *saṃjñā* 'name' in the feminine.

#### EXAMPLES:

*uddālakaṣuṣpabhañjika* 'a sport in which the *uddālaka* flowers are crushed'

*varaṇaṣuṣpapracāyikā* 'a sport in which the *varaṇa* flowers are gathered'

*abhyūṣakhādikā* 'a game in which one competes by eating deep-fried breads'

*ācoṣakhādikā* 'a game in which one competes by eating while suckling'

*śālabhañjikā* 'a game in which one competes by plucking the flowers of the *śāla* tree'

*tālabhañjikā* 'a game in which one competes by plucking palm flowers'

1. This rule introduces affix *ṅvuL* also after a verbal root when *saṃjñā* 'name' is denoted. Thus we get the examples: *uddālakaṣuṣpabhañjikā*, *varaṇaṣuṣpapracāyikā*, *abhyūṣakhādikā*, etc. All examples entail a genitive *tatpuruṣa* compound obligatorily allowed by 2.2.17 *nityam kṛdājīvikayoḥ*. Note further that the genitive itself is ruled by 2.3.65 *karṭṛkarmaṇoḥ kṛti*.

### 3.3.110 विभाषाख्यानपरिप्रश्नयोरिञ् च

*vibhāṣā' khyānaparipraśnayoḥ iñ ca*

*/vibhāṣā 1/1 ākhyānaparipraśnayoḥ 7/2 iñ 1/1 ca 0/*

(*pratyayah* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *striyām ktin* #94, *bhāve* #98, *ṅvul* #108)

*paripraśne ākhyāne ca gamyamāne dhātor in pratyayo bhavati*

Affix *iÑ* optionally occurs after a verbal root to denote the action in the feminine when the derivate relates to *ākhyāna* ‘answer’ or *paripraśna* ‘question’.

EXAMPLES:

*kā tvam kārīm akārṣih* ‘what work did you do?’

*kām kriyām akārṣih* ‘id.’

*kām kṛtyām akārṣih* ‘id.’

*kām kṛtim akārṣih* ‘id.’

*sarvām kārīm akārṣam* ‘I did all the work’

*sarvām kārīm akārṣam* ‘id.’

*sarvām kriyām akārṣam* ‘id.’

*sarvām kṛtyām akārṣam* ‘id.’

*sarvām kṛtim akārṣam* ‘id.’

1. This rule optionally introduces affix *iÑ* with other relevant affixes after a verbal root when question (*paripraśna*) and answer (*ākhyāna*) is denoted. The use of *ca* also brings affix *ÑvuL* to the context of this rule. Thus, there will be two examples: one with *iÑ* and the other with *ÑvuL*. Additionally, there may be more. Thus consider the following sentences:

(i) *kām tvam kārīm akārṣih* ‘what work did you do?’

(ii) *kām kārīkām akārṣih* ‘id.’

(iii) *kām kriyām akārṣih* ‘id.’

(iv) *kām kṛtyām akārṣih* ‘id.’

(v) *kām kṛtim akārṣih* ‘id.’

The above sentences entail affixes *iÑ*, *ÑvuL*, *Śa*, *KyaP*, and *KtiN* respectively. The same can be stated for the other set of sentences. As far as this rule is concerned, *iÑ* is introduced, additionally, and is used with *ÑvuL* which, in turn, becomes optional to other affixes. The word *vibhāṣā* thus refers to the other affixes which may become applicable. Affix *Śa*, additionally, used with *KyaP*, in the above examples, is provided by rule 3.3.100 *kṛṇaḥ śa ca*. The *KtiN* is obtained by a split interpretation (*yogavibhāga*) of the same.

Why does Pāṇini place *ākhyāna* ‘answer’ before *paripraśna* ‘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 पर्यायार्हणोत्पत्तिषु ण्वुच्

*paryāyārharṇotpattiṣu ṇvuc*

*/paryāyārharṇotpattiṣu 7/3 ṇvuc 1/1/*

(*pratyayah* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *striyām ktin* #94, *bhāve* #98, *vibhāsā* #110)

*paryāyāharṇotpattiṣu artheṣu dhātor ṅvuc pratyayo bhavan*

Affix *ṅvuC* optionally occurs to denote the action in the feminine when the derivate signifies *paryāya* 'turn', *arha* 'deserving', *ṛṇa* 'debt' or *utpatti* 'production'.

EXAMPLES: .

*bhavataḥ sāyikā* 'your (polite) turn to sleep'

*bhavato' gragrāsikā* 'your (polite) turn to eat first'

*arhati bhavān ikṣubhakṣikām* 'you (polite) deserve to eat the sugarcane'  
*ikṣubhakṣikām 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'

*ikṣubhakṣikām me udapādi* 'an opportunity for me to eat the sugarcane is produced...'

*odanabhojikām me udapādi* 'an opportunity for me to eat a meal of rice is produced...'

*payahpāyikām me udapādi* 'an opportunity for me to have a drink of milk is produced...'

1. This rule optionally introduces affix *ṅvuC* to *ṅvuL* when the derivate denotes a feminine action relative to *paryāya*, *arha*, *ṛṇa*, and *utpatti*. Note that there is no formal difference between the derivates of *ṅvuL* and *ṅvuC*. However, there is a difference in their accent (*svara*). A *ṅvuL* 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 *liti*). The *ṅvuC* 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 आक्रोशे नञ्यनिः

*ākrośe nañi aniḥ*

*lākrośe 7/1 nañi 7/1 aniḥ 1/1/*

(*pratyayah* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91,

*akartari ca kārake samjñāyām* #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 *ākrośa* 'cursing' is denoted.

EXAMPLE:

*akaraṇis 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 *ākrośa* provided also that the root is used in conjunction with the negative particle *nañ*.

### 3.3.113 कृत्यल्युटो बहुलम्

*kr̥tyalyuṭaḥ bahulam*

*/kr̥tyalyuṭaḥ 1/3 bahulam 1/1/*

(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91)

*kr̥tyasamjñakāḥ pratyayā lyuṭ ca bahulam artheṣu bhavanti*

Affixes termed *kr̥tya* (3.1.95 *kr̥tyāḥ*) and *Lyuṭ* occur after verbal roots to denote diverse meanings.

#### EXAMPLES:

*snānīyaṃ cūrṇam* ‘sandal paste fit to be used when bathing’

*dānīyo brāhmaṇaḥ* ‘a *brāhmaṇa* fit to be given a gift’

*rājabhōjanāḥ śālayaḥ* ‘rice fit for the dinner of the king’

*rājācchādanāni 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 *kr̥tya* and *Lyuṭ* 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*’ *nyatrāpi bhavanti*). Thus, affixes termed *kr̥tya* (3.1.95 *kr̥tyāḥ*) have been introduced to denote *bhāva* ‘root-sense’ or *karman* ‘object’ (3.4.70 *tayor eva kr̥tyakhalarthāḥ*). Additionally, they can be used to denote other *kāraka*, in view of the provisions of this rule. Consider, for example, the following:

(i) *snānīyaṃ cūrṇam*

(ii) *dānīyo vipraḥ*

where the *kr̥tya* affix *anīyaR* is used to denote *karana* ‘instrument’ and *sampradāna* ‘dative’ respectively. Rules 3.3.115 *lyuṭ ca* and 3.3.117 *karaṇādhikaraṇayoś ca* introduce *lyuṭ* to denote *bhāva* and *karana* and *adhikaraṇa* respectively. However, in view of this rule, one can also get *Lyuṭ* 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 *ṆvuL* is introduced to denote *kartṛ* ‘agent’. But it can be found to denote *karman* in *pādahāraḥ* ‘that which is carried by feet’. This is a violation of 3.4.67 *kartari kṛt*.

### 3.3.114 नपुंसके भावे क्तः

*napuṃsake bhāve ktaḥ*

*/napuṃsake 7/1 bhāve 7/1 ktaḥ 1/1/*

(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91)  
*napuṃsakalinge bhāve dhātoḥ ktaḥ pratyayo bhavati*

Affix *Kta* occurs after a verbal root when the action is denoted in the neuter (*napuṃsaka*).

EXAMPLES:

*hasitam* 'laughter'  
*sahitam* 'endurance'  
*jalpitam* 'talking'

1. A question is raised against the explicit use of *bhāve* especially since *Kta* can denote *bhāva* in view of 3.4.70 *tayor eva kṛtya....?* But that rule makes its provision only in the context of *bhūta* 'past'. This rule introduces affix *Kta* in a general frame of time, and in the neuter (*napuṃsaka*). Some say that this rule is needed so that affix *Kta* can also be introduced to denote *bhāva* after the intransitive verbal root, in a manner similar to the derivation of *odanasya bhojanam* and *odanasya pākaḥ* with affix *GHaÑ* 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 *bhāva* after a transitive root. Furthermore, if affix *Kta*, in this analysis, were introduced after a transitive verbal root to denote *bhāva*, 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 *kṛt* affix (*kr̥dyogalakṣaṇā*). But this is problematic. Rule 2.3.69 *na lokāvrya-yaniṣṭhā...* blocks the introduction of such a genitive provided by rule 2.3.65 *karṭṛkarmanoḥ kṛti*. For, affix *Kta* brings assignment of the term *niṣṭhā* (1.1.28 *ktaktavatū 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 *napuṃsake....* For, Pāṇini would not, then, have formulated this rule. In summary, this rule introduces *Kta* to denote *bhāva* in neuter after intransitive verbal roots.

3.3.115 ल्युट् च

*lyuṭ ca*  
*//lyuṭ 1/1 ca 0/*  
 (*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *napuṃsake bhāve* #114)  
*napuṃsakalinge bhāve dhātor lyuṭ pratyayo bhavati*

Affix *Lyuṭ* also occurs after a verbal root when the action is denoted in the neuter.

EXAMPLES:

*hasanaṃ chātrasya* 'the laughter of the student'  
*śobhanam* 'beautiful'



*jāpanam* 'talking'  
*śayanam* 'sleeping'  
*āsanam* 'seat'

1. This rule, additionally, introduces affix *LyuṬ* 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 *LyuṬ*. If the two rules were presented as one then *Kta* would also carry to the next rule.

### 3.3.116 कर्मणि च येन संस्पर्शात् कर्तुः शरीरसुखम्

*karmani ca yena saṁsparśāt karttuḥ śarīrasukham*  
*/karmani 7/1 ca 0 yena 3/1 saṁsparśāt 5/1 karttuḥ 6/1 śarīrasukham 1/1/*  
 (pratyayah #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, napuṁsake bhāve #114, lyuṭ #115)

*yena karmanā saṁsprśyamānasya kartuḥ śarīrasukham utpadyate tasmīn*  
*karmany upapade dhātor napuṁsakaliṅge bhāve lyuṭ pratyayo bhavati*  
 Affix *LyuṬ* occurs after a verbal root to denote an action in the neuter when the root cooccurs with a nominal *pada* which denotes *karman* and the agent derives physical pleasure from contacting the object.

#### EXAMPLES:

*payahpānaṁ sukham* 'drinking of milk is comforting'  
*odanabhojanaṁ sukham* 'eating of rice is comforting'

1. This rule introduces affix *LyuṬ* 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, *odanabhojanaṁ* of *odanabhojanaṁ sukham* is an *upapada* compound where *odana* + *Ñas* 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 *payahpānaṁ*. It is argued that these examples, with their actions of 'consuming' and 'drinking', cannot satisfy the condition of *saṁsparśa* 'touch'. The word *saṁsparśa* 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) *agnikuṇḍasyopāsanam sukham* 'it is a joy to sit by the fireside'

- (b) *tūlikāyā utthānaṃ sukham* 'it is a joy to wake up in a bed with a mattress filled with cotton'  
 (c) *guroḥ snāpanaṃ sukham* 'it is a joy to assist the teacher in bathing'  
 (d) *putrasya pariṣvañjanaṃ sukham* 'embracing the son brings joy'

Sentence (a) illustrates that the condition of *saṃsparśa* (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 *tūlikāyāḥ* in the ablative denotes *apādāna*. 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 prītiḥ*) rather than the physical.

### 3.3.117 करणाधिकरणयोश्च

*karaṇādhikaraṇayoś ca*

*/karaṇādhikaraṇayoḥ 7/2 ca 0/*

(*pratyayah* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *lyuṭ* #115)

*karaṇe adhikaraṇe ca kārake dhātor lyuṭ pratyayo bhavati*

Affix *Lyuṭ* also occurs after a verbal root when the derivate denotes *karaṇa*, or *adhikaraṇa*.

#### EXAMPLES:

- idhmaṃpravaścanaḥ* 'that by means of which one cuts; an axe'  
*palāśaśātanaḥ* 'that by means of which one cuts the *palāśa* tree'  
*godohanī* '(pot) used for milking the cow'  
*saktudhānī* '(pot) in which *saktu* is stored'

### 3.3.118 पुंसि संज्ञायां घः प्रायेण

*pumsī samjñāyām ghaḥ prāyena*

*/pumsī 7/1 samjñāyām 7/1 ghaḥ 1/1 prāyena 1/1/*

(*pratyayah* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *karaṇādhikaraṇayoḥ* #117)

*pulliṅgayoḥ karaṇādhikaraṇayor abhidheyayor dhātor ghaḥ pratyayo bhavati samudāyena cet samjñā gamyate*

Affix *GHa* generally occurs after a verbal root when the derivate names a *karaṇa* or *adhikaraṇa* in the masculine.

#### EXAMPLES:

- dantacchadaḥ* 'that which covers the teeth; lips'  
*uraśchadaḥ paśaḥ* 'that which covers the chest; a garment'  
*ākaraḥ* 'the place where they arrive to work; a mine'  
*ālayaḥ* 'the place where one settles down; home'

1. This rule introduces affix *GHa* after a verbal root to denote *karaṇa*, or *adhikaraṇa*, when the derivate is to denote a name in the masculine.

The *karāṇa* and *adhikarāṇa* thus become the denotata of the affix. The word *prāyeṇa* is used so that application of this rule does not become absolute (*Kās.*: *prāyagrahaṇam akārtsnyārtham*). The three conditions: *puṃsi*, *saṃjñāyām* and *prāyeṇa* distinguish this rule from the preceding.

### 3.3.119 गोचरसंचरवहव्रजव्यजापणनिगमाश्च

*gocarasaṃcaravahavrajavvyajāpaṇanigamās ca*  
*lgocara...nigamāḥ 1/3 (itar. dv.); ca 0/*  
*(pratyayaḥ #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, karaṇādhi-*  
*karaṇayoḥ #117, puṃsi saṃjñāyām ghaḥ #119)*  
*gocarādayaḥ śabdā ghaḥpratyayāntā nipātyante pūrvasmin evārthe*  
 Affix *GHa* occurs in the derivation, by *nipātana*, of *gocara*, *saṃcara*,  
*vaha*, *vraja*, *vyaja*, *āpaṇa* and *nigama*, when the derivate names a  
*karāṇa*, or *adhikarāṇa*, in the masculine.

#### EXAMPLES:

*gocaraḥ* ‘grazing field for cows’  
*saṃcaraḥ* ‘that by which one goes; road, path’  
*vahaḥ* ‘that by means of which one goes; a vehicle, conveyance’  
*vrajaḥ* ‘that by means of which one moves’  
*vyajaḥ* ‘that by means of which one moves the air; a fan’  
*āpaṇaḥ* ‘the place where they come to barter; marketplace’  
*nigamaḥ* ‘the place which one enters; marketplace; the *Vedas*’

1. This rule provides for *gocara*, etc., in the sense of *karāṇa* and *adhikarāṇa*, 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 *halās ca*. For, all these derivates entail a verbal root which ends in a consonant. This rule can also be treated as a prior exception (*purastāpavāda*) to the *GHaÑ* of rule 3.3.121 *halās ca*. A derivate such as *vyajaḥ* is able to block the application of rule 2.4.56 *ajer vyaja...*, essentially because of *nipātana*. Rule 2.4.56 provides *vī* as a replacement for verbal root *aj* before an *ārddhadhātuka* affix other than *GHaÑ* and *aP*.

The *ca* of the rule is used to bring something not stated (*anuktasamuccayārtha*) within the scope of this rule. This may cover examples, such as, *kaṣaḥ* and *nikaṣaḥ* ‘touchstone’ which otherwise would have involved *GhaÑ*. 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 previous, or the following rule, which assigns *GHaÑ*. These rules both involve examples with fairly straightforward derivational meanings: *karāṇa* and *adhikarāṇa*.

## 3.3.120 अवे त्रस्तोर्घञ्

*ave trstor ghañ*

*lave 7/1 trstroḥ 6/2 ghañ 1/1/*

(*pratyayah #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, karaṇādhi-*  
*karaṇayoḥ #117, puṃsi samjñāyām prāyeṇa ghaḥ #119)*

*'ava' upapade tarates trṇāteś ca dhātoḥ karaṇādhikaraṇayoḥ samjñāyām*  
*ghañ pratyayo bhavati*

Affix *GHaÑ* occurs generally after verbal roots *tṛ* 'to float' and *str̥* '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:

*avatārah* 'that by means of which one comes down; incarnation;  
steps of a pond'

*avastārah* 'that by means of which one covers; tent; curtain'

This is an exception to *GHa* of the preceding rule. The word *prāyeṇa* is also carried here. Consequently, some derivates may denote a *karaṇa* or *adhikaraṇa*, but not a name (*samjñā*). This also attests to the observation of *Kāśika* that *prāyeṇa* 'generally' could be applicable to 'all' conditions (*kārtsyena*) of a rule which includes it. The *Ñ* of *GHaÑ* is intended for *vṛddhi* (cf. 7.2.114 *mṛjer vṛddhiḥ*) as well as for accent (*svarārtha*). A replacement in *kU* (*kutva*) by rule 7.3.52 *cajoḥ kughṇyatoḥ*, under the condition of affixal *GH* is applicable only subsequently (*uttaratra*; see *Kāś.* ad this rule).

## 3.3.121 हलञ्

*halaś ca*

*lhalah 5/1 ca 0/*

(*pratyayah #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, karaṇādhi-*  
*karaṇayoḥ #117, puṃsi samjñāyām prāyeṇa #118, ghañ #120)*

*halantād dhātoḥ karaṇādhikaraṇayor ghañ pratyayo bhavati*

Affix *GHaÑ* 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:

*lekhaḥ* 'that in which one inscribes; writing'

*vedaḥ* 'that by which one knows; the *vedas*'

*veṣṭaḥ* 'that which is entered into; tent; garment'

*bandhaḥ* 'that which obstructs; obstruction'

*mārgaḥ* 'that on which one seeks; road'

*apamārgaḥ* ‘that by which something is removed; a particular plant used for curing diseases’  
*vīmārgaḥ* ‘a particular tree; broom’

1. This rule can be treated as an exception to the preceding *GHa* rules. For, it carries all three conditions of *karaṇdhikaraṇayoḥ*, *pum̐si* and *saṃjñāyām prāyeṇa*. The derivatives of this rule entail *vṛddhi* and *kutva*.

### 3.3.122 अध्यायन्यायोद्यावसंहाराधारावायाश्च

*adhyāyanyāyodyāvasaṃhārādhārāvāyāś ca*  
*ladhyāya...vāyāḥ 1/3 (itar. dv.) ca 0/*

(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *karaṇādhikaraṇayoḥ* #117, *pum̐si saṃjñāyām prāyeṇa* #118, *ghaṇ* #120)

*adhyāyādayaḥ śabdāḥ ghaṇantā nipātyante*

Affix *GHaÑ* occurs, by *nipātana*, in the derivation of *adhyāya*, *nyāya*, *udyāva*, *saṃhāra*, *ādhāra*, and *āvāya* when the derivate names a *karaṇa*, or *adhikaraṇa* in the masculine.

#### EXAMPLES:

*adhyāyaḥ* ‘that in which one studies; a chapter, book’  
*nyāyaḥ* ‘that by which one is guided; rule, law; precept’  
*udyāvah* ‘that with which something else is mixed; mixture’  
*saṃhāraḥ* ‘that by which something is destroyed’  
*ādhāraḥ* ‘that in which something is held; locus’  
*āvāyaḥ* ‘that where weaving is done’

1. This ad hoc provision is in consonance with a derivation in *GHaÑ*. The problem that *GHaÑ* 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 derivatives 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 उदाङ्गोऽनुदके

*udaṅko’ nudake*

*ludaṅkaḥ 1/1 anudake 7/1/*

(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1 *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *karaṇādhikaraṇayoḥ* #117, *pum̐si saṃjñāyām prāyeṇa* #118, *ghaṇ* #120)

‘*udaṅka*’ *iti nipātyate, anudakaviṣayaś ced dhātvartho bhavati*

Affix *GHaÑ* occurs in the derivation of *udañka* by *nipātana* provided the action does not relate to water and the derivate names a *karaṇa*, or *adhikaraṇa*, in the masculine.

EXAMPLE:

*tailodañkaḥ* ‘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/*

(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *karaṇādhikaraṇayoḥ* #117, *pum̐si samjñāyām prāyeṇa* #118, *ghañ* #120)

‘*ānāyaḥ*’ *iti nipātyate, jālam cet tad bhavati*

Affix *GHaÑ* 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 घ च

*khano gha ca*

*/khanaḥ 5/1 gha (deleted 1/1) ca 0 /*

(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *karaṇādhikaraṇayoḥ* #117, *pum̐si samjñāyām prāyeṇa* #118, *ghañ* #120)

*khanater dhātoḥ karaṇādhikaraṇayor ghaḥ pratyayo bhavati, cakārād ghañ ca*

Affix *GHa*, as well as *GHaÑ*, occurs after verbal root *khanA* when the derivate names a *karaṇa*, or *adhikaraṇa* in the masculine.

EXAMPLES:

*akhanaḥ* ‘that by means of which, or where, one digs; a spade; mine’

*ākhānaḥ* ‘id.’

1. The inclusion of *ca* in the rule is made so that *GHaÑ* can also be optionally introduced to *GHa*. Derivates of *GHaÑ*, as usual, will involve *vṛddhi* by rule 7.2.116 *ata upadhāyāḥ*.

3.3.126 ईषदुःसुषु कृच्छाऽकृच्छार्थेषु खल

*īṣadduḥsusu kṛcchrākṛcchrārtheṣu khal*

*/īṣadduḥsuṣu 7/3 (itar. dv.); kṛcchrārtheṣu 7/3 (bv. with int. dv.); khal 1/1/ (pratyayaḥ #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91)*

*‘īṣad, dus, su’ ity eteṣūpapadeṣu kṛcchrākṛcchrārtheṣu dhātoḥ khal pratyayo bhavati*  
Affix *KHaL* occurs after a verbal root when the root cooccurs with a nominal *pada* which contains *īṣat*, *dus*, or *su* when the derivate meaning is qualified with *kṛcchra* ‘difficult’ and *akṛcchra* ‘easy’.

#### EXAMPLES:

*īṣatkaro bhavatā kataḥ* ‘the mat is easy for you to make’  
*duṣkaraḥ* ‘difficult to make or do’  
*sukaraḥ* ‘easy to make or do’  
*īṣadbhojaḥ* ‘easy (pleasant) to eat’  
*durbhojaḥ* ‘difficult to eat’  
*subhojaḥ* ‘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 *īṣat* 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 *īṣat* 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 *it* in the affix is not intended, here, for *khikārya* ‘operations relative to an item marked with *KH* as an *it*’, as per rule 6.3.66 *khity anavyayasya*. For, *khikārya* is given there in the context of items other than indeclinables (*anavyaya*). 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 *arurdiviśadajantasya....* The *L* as an *it* is, of course, intended to assure the *udātta* accent on what precedes the affix (cf. 6.1.193 *liti*).

#### 3.3.127 कर्त्तृकर्मणोश्च भूकृजोः

*kartṛkarmaṇoś ca bhūkṛjōḥ*  
*/kartṛkarmaṇoḥ 7/2 ca ∅ bhūkṛjōḥ 6/2/*  
*(pratyayaḥ #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, īṣadduḥsuṣu kṛcchrārākṛcchrārtheṣu khal #126)*

*bhavateḥ karoteś ca dhātor yathāsaṃkhyam kartari karmani copapade cakārād īṣadādiṣu ca khal pratyayo bhavati*

Affix *KHaL* also occurs after verbal roots *bhū* and *DUkṛÑ* when the roots, in addition to *īṣat*, *dus*, and *su*, cooccur with a nominal *pada* which denotes *kartṛ* and *karman* respectively and the derivate meaning is qualified with *kṛcchra* and *akṛcchra*.

## EXAMPLES:

*īṣadādhyambhavaṃ bhavatā* ‘you (polite) are to be rich with ease’  
*durādhyambhavam* ‘difficult to be rich’  
*īṣadādhyāṅkaraḥ* ‘easy to be made rich’  
*svādhyāṅkaro devadatto bhavatā* ‘it is easy for you to make Devadatta rich’

1. This rule provides for the introduction of affix *KHaL* after verbal roots *bhū* and *kṛ* when they cooccur with a *pada* which denotes *karṭṛ* and *karman* respectively. Thus, *karṭṛ* and *karman* are not given here as the denotata of the affix. They are given as *upapada*. The *ca* is used so that *īṣat*, *dus* and *su* can also be part of the cooccurrence condition.

A *vārttika* under this rule suggests that *karṭṛ* and *karman*, used here as part of the cooccurrence condition, should be treated as if they ended in *CvI*. This will bring the sense of ‘that which became something it previously was not’ (*abhūtatadbhāva*) close to the meaning of the derivatives.

## 3.3.128 आतो युच्

*āto yuc*  
*lāṭh 5/1 yuc 1/1/*  
 (pratyayaḥ #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, īṣadduḥsuṣu kṛcch-  
 rākṛcchrārtheṣu # 126)  
*kṛcchrākṛcchrārtheṣu īṣadādiṣūpapadeṣu ākārāntebhyo dhātubhyo yuc*  
*pratyayo bhavati*

Affix *yuC* occurs after verbal roots when they end in *ā*, and cooccur with a nominal *pada* which contains *īṣat*, *dus*, and *su*, provided the derivative meaning is qualified with *kṛcchra* and *akṛcchra*.

## EXAMPLES:

*īṣatpānaḥ somo bhavatā* ‘it is easy for you to drink Soma’  
*duspānaḥ* ‘difficult to drink’  
*supānaḥ* ‘easy to drink’  
*īṣaddāno gaur bhavatā* ‘it is easy for you to make the gift of a cow’  
*durdānaḥ* ‘difficult to give’  
*sudānaḥ* ‘easy to give’

1. This rule introduces affix *yuC*, an affix with its denotatum similar to *KHaL* (*khalārtha*), when *īṣat*, *dus* and *su* occur with the verbal roots terminated in *a*. Affix *yuC* is, thus, an exception to *KHaL*. Note that rule 7.1.1 *yuvor anākau* orders the *yu* to be replaced with *ana*. Given the example, *īṣatpānaḥ somo bhavatā* ‘Soma is easy for you to drink’, *bhavat* ‘you’ must be put in the instrumental to denote the agent, because affix *yuC* in *īṣatpānaḥ* denotes *karman*. Affix *yuC*, thus, forms an exception to *KHaL*, though shares similar denotata.



## 3.3.129 छन्दसि गत्यर्थेभ्यः

*chandasi gatyarthebhyah*

*/chandasi 7/1 gatyarthebhyah 5/3/*

*(pratyayah #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, īṣadduḥsuṣu kṛcch-rākṛcchrārtheṣu #126, yuc #128)*

*īṣadādiṣu kṛcchrākṛcchrārtheṣūpapadeṣu gatyarthebhyo 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 अन्येभ्योऽपि दृश्यते

*anyebhyo' pi drśyate*

*/anyebhyah 5/3 api 0 drśyate (verbal pada)/*

*(pratyayah #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, īṣadduḥsuṣu kṛcch-rākṛcchrārtheṣu #126, yuc #128, chandasi #129)*

*anyebhyo' pi dhātubhyo 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 akr̥ṇod... gām* '... made it easy to milk...'

*suvedanām akr̥ṇod... gām* '... made it easy to find...'

## 3.3.131 वर्तमानसामीप्ये वर्तमानवद्वा

*vartamānasāmīpye vartamānavad vā*

*/vartamānasāmīpye 7/1 vartamānavat 0 vā 0/*

*(pratyayah #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91)*

*vartamānasamīpe bhūte bhaviṣyati ca vartamānād dhātor vartamānavat pratyayā 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'  
*āgacchantam eva māṃ viddhi* 'consider me just arriving'  
*ayam āgamam* 'I just arrived'  
*eṣo' smy āgataḥ* 'here I have arrived'  
*kadā devadatta gamiṣyasi* 'when will you go Devadatta!  
*eṣa gacchāmi* 'here I go'  
*gacchantam eva māṃ viddhi* 'consider me gone'  
*eṣa gamiṣyāmi* '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-sāmīpye* 'in the proximity of the current time' is interpreted as referring to 'past' or 'future' proximate to the current time. The *vatI* of *vartamānavat* clearly marks the rule as an extension (*atideśa*). Pāṇini uses *vatI* 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 laṭ*. This clearly establishes the scope of the extension up to, and including, rule 3.3.1 *uṇādayo bahulam*. But still caution must be used. Consider 3.2.128 *pūnyajoh...* 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 *vatI* 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) *āgacchantam eva māṃ viddhi* 'consider me arrived'
- (d) *ayam āgamam* 'I have just arrived'
- (e) *eṣo' smi āgataḥ* 'here I am'
- (f) *eṣa āgataṅ* 'id.'
- (g) *kadā gamiṣyasi* 'when will you go?'
- (h) *eṣa gacchāmi* 'I (will) go now'
- (i) *gacchantam eva māṃ viddhi* 'consider me gone'
- (j) *eṣa gamiṣyāmi* 'I (will) go right now'
- (k) *eṣa 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 *ŚatR* of (c) and (i) in *āgacchantam* and *gacchantam* 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 आशंसायां भूतवच्च

*āśamsāyām bhūtavac ca*

*lāśamsāyām 7/1 bhūtavat ० ca ०/*

(*pratyayah #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, vartamānavad vā #131*)

*bhaviṣyati kāle āśamsāyām gamyamānāyām dhātor vā bhūtavat pratyayā bhavanti*

Affixes which denote past action also optionally occur after a verbal root when *āśamsā* 'expectation' is expressed.

#### EXAMPLES:

*upādhyāyaś ced āgamat vyākaraṇam adhyagīṣmahi* 'if the teacher came, we will study grammar'

*upādhyāyaś ced āgataḥ vyākaraṇam adhītavantaḥ* 'id.'

*upādhyāyaś ced āgacchati vyākaraṇam adhīmahe* 'id.'

*upādhyāyaś ced āgamiṣyati vyākaraṇam adhyeṣyāmahe* '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), (āgacchati), (āgamiṣyati); ete vyākaraṇam (adhyagīṣmahi), (adhītavantaḥ), (adhīmahe), adhyeṣyāmahe* 'if the teacher comes we will study grammar'

Note that *āgamat* and *adhyagīṣmahi* are forms of *LUN* which locate the action in the past in general. Forms such as *āgataḥ* and *adhītavantaḥ* similarly employ the *niṣṭhā* (1.1.25 *ktaktavatū niṣṭhā*). The present affixes will yield forms such as *āgacchati* and *adhīmahe* with *LAT*. The option of future provides forms, such as, *āgamiṣyati* and *adhyeṣyāmahe*.

Commentators explain that since the rule uses *bhūtavat*, with its denotatum as *bhūtasāmānya* 'general past', *LUN* alone should come under

the scope of this rule. Thus, proposals for locating particular past actions via affixes *LAÑ* (3.2.111 *anadyatane lañ*) and *LIT* (3.2.115 *parokṣe liṭ*) must fall outside the scope of this rule. *Kāśikā* states that affixes *LAÑ* and *LIT* cannot be allowed because they denote a particular past (*bhūtavīṣeṣa*), as against the general past (*bhūtasāmānya*), which forms the basis for the extension in this rule (*sāmānyātideśe viśeṣānatideśāl lañliṭau na bhavataḥ*).

### 3.3.133 क्षिप्रवचने लृट्

*kṣipravacane lṛṭ*

*lṛṭkṣipravacane 7/1 lṛṭ 1/1/*

(*pratyayah* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *āśamsāyām* #132)

*kṣipravacana upapade āśamsāyām gamyamānāyām dhātor lṛṭ pratyayo bhavati*

Affix *LṚṬ* occurs after a verbal root used in conjunction with a nominal *pada* which signifies *kṣipram* 'quickly' provided *āśamsā* is expressed.

#### EXAMPLES:

*upādhyāyaś cet kṣipram āgamisyati, kṣipram vyākaraṇam adhyeṣyāmahe* 'if the teacher comes quickly, we will quickly study the grammar'

1. Derivates of this rule form an exception to the condition of *bhūtavac ca* of the preceding rule. The word *vacana* in *kṣipravacana* is used so that synonyms of *kṣipra* can also be included in the cooccurrence condition. That is, *kṣipra* is not limited here to denoting its form only (*svarūpa* 1.1.68 *svam rūpam...*).

If this rule were to form an exception to the preceding, then Pāṇini should have formulated this rule simply as: *na kṣipravacane* 'but not when *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 *LṚṬ* '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 *LUT*, which also denotes future. It is to keep *LUT* out of the scope of this rule that Pāṇini formulates our present rule with the explicit mention of *LṚṬ*.

### 3.3.134 आशंसावचने लिङ्

*āśamsāvacane liṅ*

*liṅāśamsāvacane 7/2 liṅ 1/1/*

(*pratyayah* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.3.91)

*āśamsā yenocyate tad āśamsāvacanaṃ tasminn upapade dhātor liṅ pratyayo bhavati*

Affix *LIN̄* occurs after a verbal root used in conjunction with a *pada* which denotes *āsamsā*.

EXAMPLE:

*upādhyāyaś ced āgacchet āsamse yukto' dhīyīya* 'if the teacher comes, I hope you will study diligently'

1. This rule introduces affix *LIN̄* 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 *LIN̄*. 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 kṣīpram adhīyīya* 'I hope you will learn fast'. It is stated that this example entails *vipratishedha* '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) *kṣīpram vyākaraṇam adhyeṣyāmahe* 'we will quickly study grammar'
- (b) *āsamse yukto' adhīyīya* 'I hope you will study diligently'
- (c) *āsamse kṣīpram adhīyīya* '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 *kṣīpra*. Consequently, affix *LRT̄* is introduced after verbal root *adhi-i*. Sentence (b) illustrates that affix *LIN̄* 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 *kṣīpra* and *āsamsā* are met. The example is derived with the introduction of affix *LIN̄*, based upon resolution of the conflict in favor of the subsequent rule (*paratva*; 1.4.2 *vipratishedhe param kāryam*).

3.3.135 नाऽनद्यतनवत् क्रियाप्रबन्धसामीप्ययोः

*nānadyatanavat kriyāprabandhasāmīpyayoḥ*  
*/nānadyatanavat 0 kriyāprabandhasāmīpyayoḥ 7/2 (itar. dv.)/*  
*(pratyayaḥ #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 *kriyāprabandha* ‘uninterrupted action’ and *sāmīpya* ‘immediate time’ is denoted.

EXAMPLES:

*yāvajjīvam bhṛṣam annam adāt* ‘as long as he lived he gave food’  
*...bhṛṣam annam dāsyati* ‘...he will always give food’  
*yāvajjīvam putro’ dhyāpipat* ‘as long as he lived he taught his son’  
*yāvajjīvam adhyāpayisyati* ‘he will teach as long as he lives’  
*ye’ yaṃ paruṇamāsy atikrāntā etasyām upādhyāyo’ gnīn ādhita* ‘on the full moon that has just passed, the teacher consecrated the ritual fires’  
*ye’ yaṃ paruṇamāsy atikrāntā etasyām upādhyāyo somenāyaṣṭa* ‘on the full moon that has just passed, the teacher performed the Soma sacrifice’  
*ye’ yaṃ paurṇamāsy atikrāntā etasyām upādhyāyo gām adita* ‘on the full moon that has just passed, the teacher made the gift of a cow’  
*ye’ yaṃ amāvāsyā’ āgāminī, etasyām upādhyāyo’ agnīn ādhāsyate* ‘on this coming night of the (lunar) new moon, the teacher will consecrate the ritual fires’  
*ye’ yaṃ paruṇamāsy atikrāntā, etasyām upādhyāyo somena yakṣyate* ‘on this coming night of the (lunar) new moon, the teacher will perform the Soma sacrifice’  
*ye’ yaṃ amāvāsyā’ gāminī, 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 (*sāmīpya*) are expressed. Consider the following examples for illustration:

- (a) *yāvajjīvam bhṛṣam annam adāt* ‘he kept giving food generously as long as he lived’
- (b) *yāvajjīvam bhṛṣam annam dāsyati* ‘he will keep giving food generously as long as he lives’
- (c) *yeyam paurṇamāsy 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’ gāminī etasyām upādhyāyo’ gnīn ādhāsyate 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 (*kriyāprabandha*), whereas the next two illustrate proximity (*sāmīpya*). 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 *anadyatanavat* demands that affixes introduced with reference to an action pertaining to today will be blocked. There are two affixes *LAÑ* ‘past imperfect’ and *LUT* ‘first or immediate future’ which have been introduced by 3.2.111 *anadyatane lañ* 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 *LUN* and *LRT* which denote general past and future respectively, as per rules 3.2.110 *luñ* and 3.3.13 *lṛṣe ca*.

The *Mahābhāṣya* questions the propriety of using double negatives (*niṣedhadvaya*) in *nānadyatanavat* = *na* + *an* + *adyatanavat* ‘not similar to that which is not pertaining to the current day’. It is argued that this rule blocks the application of *LAT*, *LAÑ* and *LUT*. A suggested formulation of the *sūtra* as *anadyatanavat* can be able to block only *LAT*. The desired blocking of *LAÑ* and *LUT* cannot be accomplished. Thus, the rule must negate *anadyatana*, as opposed to *adyatana*, in order to subsequently negate the introduction of *LAÑ* and *LUT*, in addition to *LAT*. Note, in connection with this, that rules 3.2.111 *anadyatane lañ* and 3.3.15 *anadyatane lut* both explicitly state the condition of *anadyatana*. It is to negate *LAÑ* and *LUT* that *anadyatana* must also be negated.

### 3.3.136 भविष्यति मर्यादावचनेऽवरस्मिन्

*bhaviṣyati maryādāvacane’ varasmin*

*/bhaviṣyati (verbal pada) maryādāvacane 7/1 avarasmin 7/1/*

*(pratyayah #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91,*

*nānadyatanavat #135)*

*bhaviṣyati kāle maryādāvacane saty avarasmin pravibhāge anadyatanavat 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 āpātaliputtrāt tasya yad avaram kauśāmbyās tatra dvir odanam bhokṣyāmahe* ‘this road which extends up to *Pāṭaliputra*, on its anterior side before *Kauśāmbī* we will eat rice twice’

*yo’ yam adhvā gantavya āpātaliputtrāt tasya yad avaram kauśāmbyās tatra saktūn pāsyāmaḥ* ‘this road which extends up to *Pāṭaliputra*, on its anterior side before *Kauśāmbī* 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 *bhaviṣyati* is used to block the non-current past (*bhūtānadyatana*) affix *LAÑ*. 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 kauśāmbiḥ tatra dvirodanam bhoktāmahe* '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 avaram kauśāmbiḥ 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 (*deśa*) 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 कालविभागे चानहोरात्राणाम्

*kālavibhāge cānahorātrāṇām*

*/kālavibhāge 7/1 ca 0 anahorātrāṇām 6/3/*

(*pratyayah* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91,

*nānadyatanavat* #135, *bhaviṣyati maryādāvacane' varasmin* #136)

*kālamaryādavibhāge saty avarasmin pravibhāge bhaviṣyati 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' yaṃ saṃvatsara āgāmī tatra yad avaram*

*āgrahāyaṇyās 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' yaṃ saṃvatsara āgāmī tatra yad avaram āgrahāyaṇyās tatraudanam bhoksyāmahe* '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 (*adyatana*). 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' yaṃ māsa āgāmī tasya yo' varaḥ pañcadaśarātras tatra yuktā adhye-tāsmāhe* 'we will study diligently during the first fifteen nights (fortnight) of the next month'
- (b) *yo' yaṃ triṃśadrātra āgāmī tasya yo' varo' rddhamāsaḥ..* we will study diligently during the first half-month of the coming thirty nights
- (c) *yo' yaṃ triṃśad ahorātra āgāmī tasya yo' varaḥ pañcadaśarātras 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 that the provision of this rule could still be made by the preceding rule if *anahorātrāṇām* was read in it: *bhaviṣyati maryādāvacane' varasmīn ahorātrāṇām*. Pāṇini, nonetheless, formulates two rules (*yogavibhāga*) 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 विभाषा

*parasmin vibhāṣā*

*/parasmin 7/1 vibhāṣā 1/1/*

(*pratyayah* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91,  
*nānadyatanavat* #135, *bhaviṣyati maryādāvacane* #136,  
*kālavibhāge cānahorātrāṇām* #137)

*kālamaryādāvibhāge sati bhaviṣyati kāle parasmīn pravibhāge vibhāṣā  
 anadyatanavat pratyayavidhir na bhavati, na ced ahorātrasambandhī  
 pravibhāgah*

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' yaṃ samvatsara āgāmī tasya yat paramāgrahāyaṇyās tatra yuktā  
 adhyeṣyāmahe* 'this coming year, in the part posterior to the full  
 moon of *agrahāyaṇa*, we will study diligently'

*yo' yaṃ samvatsara āgāmī tasya yat paramāgrahāyaṇyās tatra yuktā adhye-  
 tāsmahe* 'id.'

*yo' yaṃ samvatsara āgāmī tasya yat paramāgrahāyaṇyās tatra saktūn pās-  
 yāmah* 'this coming year, in the part posterior to the moon of *agra-  
 hāyaṇa*, we will drink *saktu*'

*yo' yaṃ samvatsara āgāmī tasya yat paramāgrahāyaṇyās tatra saktūn  
 pātāsmah* '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 (*parasmīn*) segment of a unit of time. Of course, the condition of *anahorātrāṇām* is also valid. This will offer a set of two optional examples as follows:

(a) *yo' yaṃ samvatsara āgāmī tatra yat paramāgrahāyaṇyās tatra yuktā  
 adhyeṣyāmahe* 'we will diligently study during that part of the  
 coming year which will be subsequent to the full-moon of the  
 month of *agrahāyaṇa*'

(b) *yo' yaṃ samvatsara...tatra yuktā adhyetāsmahe* 'id.'

Note that, *adhyeṣyāmahe* of sentence (a) uses the general future affix *LṚṬ* as opposed to the *LUT* denoting the non-current (*anadyatana*) future, in *adhyetāsmahe* of sentence (b). Since this rule carries all except *avarasmīn* of the preceding rule, restrictions relative to *bhaviṣyati maryādāvacane* and *kālavibhāge cānahorātrāṇām* still apply. Refer to *Kāśikā* for a detailed listing of specific counter-examples.

#### 3.3.139 लिङ्निमित्ते लृङ् क्रियातिपत्तौ

*liṅnimitte lṛṅ kriyātipattau*

*liṅnimitte 7/1 lṛṅ 1/1 kriyātipattau 7/1/*

(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *bhaviṣyati* #136)  
*līnnimitte bhaviṣyatikāle ṛṇ pratyayo bhavati kriyātipattau satyām*

Affix *LRN* occurs after a verbal root to denote a future action provided conditions of *LIÑ* 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 bhavān ghr̥tena yadi matsamīpe āgamiṣyat* ‘if you came near me, you will have food with ghee’

1. This rule introduces affix *LRN*, conditioned by *LIÑ*, when *kriyātipatti* ‘non-completion’ of a future action is denoted. Rule 3.3.156 *hetuhetumator līn* 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 *hetuhetumadbhāva*. *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 (*liṅgaliṅge buddhyā tadatipattiṃ ca pramāṇāntarād avagamyā vaktā vākyaṃ prayuṅkte*).

Consider thus this next sentence:

(b) *yadi kamalakam āhvāsyān 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’ (*āhvāna*), the cause (*hetu*), and ‘overturning’ (*paryābhavana*), the effect (*hetumat*; *hetuhetumator āhvānaparyābhavanayor bhaviṣyat-kālavaiṣayor atipattir ito vākyaḍ 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: *līnnimitte ṛṇatipattau*. But this could have occasioned serious interpretational problems. That is, because of the presence of *līnnimitta*, *atipatti* could be interpreted as that of *līnnimitta*. It is for this reason that *kriyā* must be stated in this rule.

## 3.3.140 भूते च

*bhūte ca*

*/bhūte 7/ ca 0/*

(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *linnimitte lṛṇ kriyātipattau* #139)

*bhūte ca kāle linnimitte kriyātipattau satyām lṛṇ pratyayo 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:

*dr̥ṣṭo mayā bhavatputro' nnārthī caṅkramyamāṇaḥ, aparāś ca dvijo brāhmaṇārthī, yadi sa tena dr̥ṣṭo' bhaviṣyat tadā' bhokṣyata, na tu bhuktavān, 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 dr̥ṣṭo' bhaviṣyat* 'if your son would have been seen by him' as the *hetu* and *tadā' bhokṣyata* 'then your son would have been fed' as the *hetumat*. The non-completion of the action is: *na dr̥ṣṭaḥ* '(the son) was not seen', and *na tu bhuktavān* 'indeed, did not eat'. The sentence uses *dr̥ṣṭo mayā bhavatpuro' nnārthī...brāhmaṇārthī* to clearly establish the action in the past.

## 3.3.141 वोताप्योः

*votāpyoḥ*

*/vā 0 utāpyoḥ 7/2/*

(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *linnimitte lṛṇ kriyātipattau* #139, *bhūte* #140)

*'utāpyoḥ samarthayor liṇ' iti vakṣyati, prāg etasmāt*

*sūtrāvadher yad ita ūrddhvam anukramiṣyāmas tatra bhūte linnimitte kriyātipattau lṛṇ vā bhavatīty etad adhikṛtaṃ bhavati*

Affix *LRṆ* optionally occurs after a verbal root, prior to 3.3.152 *utāpyoḥ...*, to denote the action in the past when conditions of *LIN* obtain and completion of action is not expressed.

## EXAMPLES:

*katham nāma tatra bhavān vṛṣalam ayājaiṣyat* 'how come you, sir, have a *vṛṣala* perform the sacrifice'

1. Note that the wording of this rule underlies:  $vā + ā\dot{N} + utāpyoh = votāpyoh$ . The use of  $ā$  ( $\dot{N} \rightarrow \emptyset$ ) is made to indicate the extent (*maryādā*) though not of the inclusive (*abhividhi*) type. Thus, what is stated up to, but not including, rule 3.3.152 *utāpyoh samarthayor liṅ* entails the optional introduction of affix  $LR\dot{N}$  under the condition of  $L\dot{N}$  when non-coming about of an action in the past is expressed. Obviously, this rule is an *adhikāra*. A rule which is not relatable to  $L\dot{N}$  cannot come under the scope of this rule, since the provision of  $LR\dot{N}$  is made optional, here, with  $L\dot{N}$ .

### 3.3.142 गर्हायां लडपिजात्वोः

*garhāyām laḍ apijātvoḥ*

*/garhāyām 7/1 laḍ 1/1 apijātvoḥ 7/2/*

*(pratyayah #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91)*

*garhāyām gamyamānāyām apijātvor upapadayor dhātor laḍ pratyayo bhavati*

Affix  $LAḌ$  occurs after a verbal root used in conjunction with a nominal *pada* which contains *api* and *jātu* when *garhā* 'censure' is denoted.

#### EXAMPLES:

*api tatra bhavān vṛśalam yājayati* 'how come you, sir, have a *vṛśala* perform the sacrifice'

*jātu tatra bhavān vṛśalam yājayati garhāmahe, aho anyāyyam etat* 'you, sir, have a *vṛśala* perform the sacrifice; I despise that, oh, it is improper'

1. Note that affix  $LAḌ$  is introduced by 3.2.123 *vartamāne laḍ* when the action is located at the current time. This rule is formulated so that  $LAḌ$  can also be used in the past and future. Of course, when the cooccurrence condition of *api* and *jātu* is met, along with the condition of *garhā*. We see in our examples that performing a sacrifice for a lowly untouchable (*vṛśala*) is an act to be censured.

*Kāśikā* states that this rule comes into conflict with other rules which introduce affixes  $LAN/LIḌ$ , in the past, and  $LUḌ/LRḌ$  in the future. This conflict is resolved in favor of the introduction of affix  $LAḌ$ , in view of the present rule, and based on *paratva* of 1.4.2 *vipratishedhe....* The *Mahābhāṣya* considers the introduction of  $LAḌ$  with reference to the condition of *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 *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 *vṛśala*. This action can be accepted as if the agent performed the sacrifice for the *vṛśala*. This will rule out the past as well as the future. Affix  $LAḌ$

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 *LAṬ* with affixes *ŚatR* and *ŚānaC*. Patañjali concludes that the formulation of our present rule is defective.

Note that affix *LRÑ* cannot be optionally introduced, here, with *LAṬ*, since the provisions of this rule do not entail *hetuhetumadbhāva*.

### 3.3.143 विभाषा कथमि लिङ् च

*vibhāṣā kathami liṅ ca*

*/vibhāṣā 1/1 kathami 7/1 liṅ 1/1 ca 0/*

(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *garhāyām laṭ* #142)

*katham śabda upapade garhāyām gamyamānāyām dhātor liṅ pratyayo bhavati*  
Affix *LIÑ*, and *LAṬ* 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 vṛśalaṃ yājayet*

*katham nāma tatra bhavān vṛśalaṃ yājayati*

*katham nāma tatra bhavān vṛśalaṃ yājayiṣyati*

*katham nāma tatra bhavān vṛśalaṃ yājayitā*

*katham nāma tatra bhavān vṛśalaṃ ayājayat*

*katham nāma tatra bhavān vṛśalaṃ yājayāñcakāra*

1. This rule allows for introduction of affix *LIÑ*, and *LAṬ* 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 *LAṬ*. For, that can be easily received from *ca* ‘and’. Actually, *vibhāṣā* is used, here, to provide for *LIÑ*, as well as *LAṬ*, used with other *LA* affixes as the case may be. Consider the following sentences for illustration:

- (a) *katham nāma tatra bhavān vṛśalaṃ yājayet* ‘how come sir, you perform the sacrifice for a *vṛśala*?’
- (b) *katham...yājayati* ‘how come... is performing...’
- (c) *katham...yājayiṣyati* ‘how come...will perform...’
- (d) *katham...yājayitā* ‘id.’
- (e) *katham...ayājayat* ‘how come...performed...’
- (f) *katham...yājayāñcakāra* ‘id.’

Note that sentences (a) and (b) illustrate the provisions of this rule, as per the use of *LIÑ* and *LAṬ* via *ca* ‘and’. The remaining sentences involve affixes of the past and future as an option to *LIÑ* and *LAṬ*.

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

$LR\dot{N}$  together with  $LA\dot{N}$ . Thus, compare sentence (a) with the following sentence (g):

(g) *katham nāma tatra bhavān vṛṣalam ayājaiṣyat* ‘how come you performed the sacrifice for the *vṛṣala* sir!?’

Note, however, that when the action which involves *kriyātipatti* has the scope of future, then  $LR\dot{N}$  will have to be used obligatorily (*nityam*).

### 3.3.144 किंवृत्ते लिङ्लृटौ

*kimvṛtte liṅlṛtau*

*/kimvṛtte 7/1 liṅlṛtau 7/2/*

(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *garhāyām* #142)

*kimvṛtta upapade garhāyām gamyamānāyām dhātor liṅlṛtau pratyau bhavataḥ*

Affixes  $LIN$  and  $LRT$  occur after a verbal root used in conjunction with a nominal *pada* which contains *kim*, provided *garhā* is expressed.

#### EXAMPLES:

*ko nāma vṛṣalo yaṃ tatra bhavān yājayet* ‘who, sir, is this *vṛṣala* for whom you have performed the sacrifice?’

*ko nāma vṛṣalo yaṃ tatra bhavān vṛṣalam yājaiṣyati* ‘who, sir, is this *vṛṣala* for whom you have performed the sacrifice’

*kataro nāma vṛṣalo yaṃ tatra bhavān vṛṣalam yājayet* ‘which indeed, sir, is this *vṛṣala* for whom you have performed the sacrifice’

1. Note that *garhāyām* still carries. The *anuvṛtti* of *vibhāṣā* is dropped. This rule, thus, provides for the introduction of affixes  $LIN$  or  $LRT$  when the root cooccurs with a word constituted by *kim* ‘who, what’ (*kimvṛtta*). The word *vṛtta* of *kimvṛtta* refers to the paradigmatic form of *kim*, which also includes forms with affixes *Ḍatar* and *Ḍatam*. The explicit use of  $LIN$  in this rule is made so that the *anuvṛtti* of  $LAṬ$  from the preceding rule based on its association (*sāhacarya*) with  $LIN$  can be blocked. The use of  $LRT$ , alone, in addition to  $LIN$ , is clearly made to exclude any other *LA* affix. This provision of  $LIN$  and  $LRT$  consequently becomes an exception to all *LA* affixes.

The use of  $LR\dot{N}$ , however, becomes optional when ‘non-completion’ of a past action relative to *hetuhetumadbhāva* is expressed. The future of this type, of course, will use  $LR\dot{N}$  obligatorily. Also see notes under the preceding rule.

### 3.3.145 अनवक्लृप्त्यमर्षयोरकिंवृत्तेऽपि

*anavakṛptyamarsayor akimvṛtte’ pi*

*/anavakṛptyamarsayoḥ 7/2 akimvṛtte 7/1 api 0/*

(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *liṅlṛtau* #144)

'*kimvṛtte copapade*' *navakṛptyamarṣayor dhātor liṅlṛtau pratyayaḥ bhavataḥ*  
Affixes *LIṅ* and *LṛT* occur after a verbal root even when the root does not cooccur with a nominal *pada* which contains *kim* provided *anavakṛpti* 'incredibility' or *amarṣa* 'intolerance' is expressed.

EXAMPLES:

*nāvakalpayāmi, na saṃbhāvāyāmi, na śraddhe, tatra bhavān nāma vṛṣalaṃ yājayet* 'I do not believe, imagine, nor respect that you, sir, may have a *vṛṣala* perform the sacrifice'

*nāvakalpayāmi, na saṃbhāvayāmi, na śraddhe, tatra bhavān nāma vṛṣalaṃ yājaiṣyati* 'I do not believe, imagine, nor respect that you, sir, will have a *vṛṣala* perform the sacrifice'

*na marṣayāmi tatra bhavān vṛṣalaṃ yājayet* 'I do not tolerate that you, sir, may have a *vṛṣala* perform the sacrifice'

*na marṣayāmi tatra bhavān vṛṣalaṃ yājaiṣyati* 'I do not tolerate that you, sir, will have a *vṛṣala* perform the sacrifice'

1. This rule provides for introduction of affixes *LRṅ* and *LṛT* after both verbal roots which cooccur with a form of *kim*, or those which do not, provided, of course, *anavakṛpti* 'incredibility' (*asambhāvanā*) and *amarṣa* 'intolerance' (*akṣamā*) are denoted.

The order of constituents in *anavakṛptyamarṣa* is not in consonance with rules. That is, *amarṣa* should have been placed first because it contains fewer vowels than the other constituent *anavakṛpti* (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 *LIṅ* and *LṛT* under the condition of *anavakṛpti* and *amarṣa*, one should not, following the provision of rule 1.3.10 *yathāsaṃkhyam...*, think that: 'affix *LIṅ* is to be introduced when *anavakṛpti* is denoted'; and 'affix *LṛT* is to be introduced when *amarṣa* is denoted'.

Note that, the non-completion of a past action under the condition of *hetuhetumadbhāva* will be optionally denoted by *LRṅ*. That provision will become obligatory in case of the non-completion of a future action:

*nāvakalpayāmi tatra bhavān nāma vṛṣalaṃ ayājaiṣyat.*

3.3.146 किंकिलास्यर्थेषु लृट्

*kimkilāstyartheṣu lṛṭ*

*/kimkilāstyartheṣu 7/3 lṛṭ 1/1/*

(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *anavakṛptyamarṣayor* #145)

*kimkilāstyartheṣūpapadeṣu anavakṛptyamarṣayor dhātor lṛṭ pratyayo bhavati*



Affix *LṚṬ* occurs after a verbal root used in conjunction with *kiṃkila*, or a *pada* which may have the signification of *asti*, when *anavakḷpti* or *amarṣa* is expressed.

EXAMPLES:

*kiṃkil nāma tatra bhavān vṛṣalaṃ yājaiṣyati na śraddhe na marṣayāmi* 'I do not respect or tolerate that you, sir, may have a *vṛsala* perform the sacrifice'

*asti nāma tatra bhavān vṛṣalaṃ yājaiṣyati na śraddhe na marṣayāmi* 'id.'

*bhavati nāma tatra bhavān vṛṣalaṃ yājaiṣyati na śraddhe na marṣayāmi* 'id.'

*vidyate nāma tatra bhavān vṛṣalaṃ yājaiṣyati na śraddhe na marṣayāmi* 'id.'

1. This rule introduces affix *LṚṬ* under the cooccurrence condition of *kiṃkila* 'a particle which denotes anger', or a word with the signification of *asti* 'existence', i.e., *asti*, *bhavati*, or *vidyate*, provided *anavakḷpti* and *amarṣa* are expressed. Thus, we get: (*kiṃkila*), *asti*, *bhavati*, or *vidyate bhavān vṛṣalaṃ yājaiṣyati* 'Oh, how shameful, indeed, is your performing the sacrifice for the lowly untouchable'. The provision of this rule forms an exception to affix *LIN̄* of the earlier rule.

Affix *LṚṆ* cannot be used, here, since there is no condition of *hetuhetu-madbhāva*.

3.3.147 जातुयदोर्लिङ्

*jātuyador liṅ*

*/jātuyadoḥ 7/2 liṅ 1/1/*

(*pratyayah* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *anavakḷptyamarṣayoḥ* #145)

'*jātu*, *yad*' ity *etayor upapadayor anavakḷptyamarṣayor gamyamānayor dhātor liṅ pratyayo bhavati*

Affix *LIN̄* occurs after a verbal root which cooccurs with *jātu* and *yad* when *anavakḷpti* or *amarṣa* is expressed.

EXAMPLES:

*jātu tatra bhavān vṛṣalaṃ yājayet na śraddhe, na marṣayāmi*  
*yan nāma tatra bhavān vṛṣalaṃ yājayet*

1. This is an exception to *LṚṬ*, 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 *LIN̄* as an exception to the *LṚṬ* of rule 3.4.145 *anavakḷrptyamarṣayor....*

3.3.148 यच्चयत्रयोः

*yaccayatrayoḥ*

*lyaccayatrayoḥ 7/2/*

(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *anavakṣptiyamar-  
ṣayoḥ* #145, *liṅ* #147)

'*yacca, yatra*' ity *etayor upapadayor anavakṣptiyamarṣayor gamyamānayoḥ  
dhātor liṅ pratyayo bhavati*

Affix *LIN̄* occurs after a verbal root used in conjunction with *yacca* and *yatra* when *anavakṣpti* or *amarṣa* is expressed.

#### EXAMPLES:

*yacca tatra bhavān vṛṣalaṃ yājayet na śraddhe, na marṣayāmi* 'I do not respect, and can not tolerate, that you sir, may have a *vṛṣala* perform the sacrifice.'

*yatra tatra bhavān vṛṣalaṃ yājayet na śraddhe, na marṣayāmi* 'id.'

1. This rule introduces affix *LIN̄* 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 *LRN̄* can also be introduced. In the case of future, *LRN̄* is introduced obligatorily.

3. Note that *yacca* and *yatra*, the two cooccurring words, cannot be associated with the two conditions of *anavakṣpti* and *amarṣa*, as per the principle of *saṃkhyātānudeśa* (1.3.10 *yathāsaṃkhyam....*)

#### 3.3.149 गर्हायां च

*garhāyām ca*

*lgarhāyām 7/1 ca 0/*

(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *liṅ* #147, *yaccaya-  
trayoḥ* #148)

'*yacca, yatra*' ity *etayor upapadayor dhātor liṅ pratyayo bhavati garhāyām  
gamyamānāyām*

Affix *LIN̄* also occurs after a verbal root used in conjunction with *yacca* and *yatra* when *garhā* is expressed.

#### EXAMPLES:

*yacca tatra bhavān vṛṣalaṃ yājayet ṛddho 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 vṛśalaṃ yājayet ṛddho vṛddhaḥ san brāhmaṇaḥ, garhā-mahe, aho, anyāyyam etat 'id.'*

1. Note that *anavakṣptiyamarṣayoḥ* is not carried here. The cooccurrence condition of *yacca* and *yatra*, in addition to *LIN*, is still valid. The *LIN* 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

*citrikaraṇe ca*

*|citrikaraṇe 7/1 ca 0/*

(*pratyayah* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *liṅ* #147, *yaccaya-trayoḥ* #148)

*yaccayatraḥ upapadayoś citrikaraṇe gamyamāne dhātor liṅ pratyayo bhavati*  
Affix *LIN* also occurs after a verbal root used in conjunction with *yacca* and *yatra* when *citrikaraṇa* 'astonishment' is expressed.

#### EXAMPLES:

*yacca tatra bhavān vṛśalaṃ yājayet, āścaryam etat* 'it is astonishing that you, sir, will have a *vṛśala* perform the sacrifice'  
*yatra tatra bhavān vṛśalaṃ yājayet, āścaryam etat* 'id.'

1. The provision of this rule is similar to the preceding, except that *citrikaraṇa* '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 लृडयदौ

*śeṣe lṛḍ ayadau*

*|śeṣe 7/1 lṛṭ 1/1 ayadau 7/1/*

(*pratyayah* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *citrikaraṇe* #150)

*śeṣe upapade citrikaraṇe gamyamāne dhātor lṛṭ pratyayo bhavati*

Affix *LṚṬ* occurs after a verbal root used in conjunction with an item other than *yacca* and *yatra*. with additional exception of *yadi*, when *citrikaraṇa* is denoted.

#### EXAMPLES:

*āścaryam citram adbhutam andho nāma parvatam āroksyati, badhiro nāma vyākaraṇam adhyeṣyate* '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 *śeṣa* ‘remainder’ is used here in relation to *yacca* and *yatra*. Thus, *LṚṬ* is used when *yacca* and *yatra* are not used as *upapada* ‘provided’ ‘astonishment’ is denoted. Of course, *yadi* is also excluded. Why can we not accept the residual scope of this rule in relation to *citrīkarane*. This will then permit *yacca* and *yatra* to form the cooccurrence condition, but rule out the denotatum of ‘astonishment’. Commentators state that *citrīkarane* is marked with *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 *svarita*. This introduction of *LṚṬ* is also explained as an exception to all other *LA* affixes. Affix *LIN* cannot be introduced either, because of an absence of *hetuhetumadbhāva*.

### 3.3.152 उताप्योः समर्थयोर्लिङ्

*utāpyoḥ samarthayor liṅ*

*lutāpyoḥ 7/2 samarthayor 7/2 liṅ 1/1/*

(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91)

‘*uta, api*’ *ity etayoḥ samarthayor upapadayor dhātor liṅ pratyayo bhavati*

Affix *LIN* occurs after a verbal root used in conjunction with *uta* and *api*, provided they mean the same thing.

#### EXAMPLES:

*uta kuryāt* ‘yes, he may do’

*api kuryāt* ‘id.’

*utādhīyāta* ‘yes, he may read’

*apyādhīyāta* ‘id.’

1. Note that *uta* and *api* are synonymous when denoting the sense ‘yes indeed (*bāḍham*).’ The following sentences illustrate how *LIN* cannot be introduced because of lack of synonymity between *uta* and *api*:

(a) *uta daṇḍaḥ paṭisyati* ‘is the stick going to fall?’

(b) *api dvāraṃ dhāsyati* ‘he is closing the door, I hope’

The first sentence uses *uta* as an interrogative function word. The second uses *api* in association with *dhā* in the sense ‘to close’.

The provision of this rule, again, constitutes an exception to all other *LA* affixes. Furthermore, the *anuvṛtti* of 3.3.114 *utāpyoḥ* is no longer valid. Consequently, the optional introduction of *LRN*, relative to ‘non-completion’ of a past action under the condition of *hetuhetumadbhāva*, no longer remains optional. From here on, it will become obligatory (*nitya*), as has been the case with a future action.

### 3.3.153 कामप्रवेदनेऽकच्चिति

*kāmapravedane’ kacciti*

*/kāmapravedane 7/1 akacciti 7/1/*

*(pratyayaḥ #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, liṅ #152)*

*kāmapravedane gamyamāne' kaccity upapade dhātor liṅ pratyayo bhavati*

Affix *LIN̄* occurs after a verbal root used in conjunction with an item other than *kaccit* when *kāmapravedana* 'expression of desire' is denoted.

EXAMPLES:

*kāmo me bhūñjīta bhavān* 'it is my wish that you eat'

*abhilāṣo me bhūñjīta bhavān* 'id.'

1. *Kāśikā* glosses *kāmapravedana* as *svābhiprāyāviṣkaraṇam* '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 pitā* '(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 सम्भावनेऽलमिति चेत् सिद्धाप्रयोगे

*sambhāvane' alam iti cet siddhāprayoge*

*/sambhāvane 7/1 alam ० iti ० cet ० siddhāprayoge 7/1/*

*(pratyayaḥ #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, liṅ #152)*

*sambhāvane' rthe vartamānād dhātor liṅ pratyayo bhavati siddhaś ced alamo' prayogaḥ*

Affix *LIN̄* 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 droṇapākam bhūñjīta* 'he can eat a *droṇa* 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) *videśasthāyī devadatta prāyeṇa gamiṣyati grāmam* 'I expect that Devadatta, who is living away, will some day return to the village'
- (c) *alam devadatto hastinam hanīsyati* '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 सम्भावनावचनेऽयदि

*vibhāṣā dhātau sambhāvanavacane' yadi*

*/vibhāṣā 1/1 dhātau 7/1 sambhāvanavacane 7/1 ayadi 7/1/*

*(pratyayaḥ #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, liṅ #152, sambhāvane' lam iti cet siddhāprayoge #154)*

*sambhāvanavacane dhātāv upapade yacchabdavarjite dhātor vibhāṣā liṅ 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.'

*avakalpayāmi bhuñjīta bhavān* 'I presume that you will eat'

*avakalpayāmi 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*) / (*avakalpayāmi*) (*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 *avakalpayāmi* and denote 'expectation'. Of course, the sense of *alam* is understood.

### 3.3.156 हेतुहेतुमतोर्लिङ्

*hetuhetumator liṅ*

*/hetuhetumatoḥ 7/2 = hetuś ca hetumac ca = hetumatī, tayoḥ (ītar. dv.); liṅ 1/1/*

*(pratyayaḥ #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, vibhāṣā #155)*

*hetubhūte hetumati cārthe vartamānād dhātor liṅ pratyayo bhavati*

Affix *LIN* optionally occurs after a verbal root when *hetu* 'cause' and *hetumat* 'effect' are denoted.

#### EXAMPLES:

*dakṣiṇena ced yāyāt na śakaṭam paryābhavet* 'the cart will not overturn

if he goes by the right side of the road'  
*dakṣiṇena cet yāsyati na śakaṭam paryābhaviṣyati* 'id.'

1. Since the provision of this rule is optional, one can also find the use of *LṚṬ* parallel to *LIN̄*:

- (a) *dakṣiṇena ced yāyān na śakaṭam paryābhavet*  
 (b) *dakṣiṇena ced yāsyati na śakaṭam paryābhaviṣyati*

A sentence such as *hantīti palāyate* '...runs away because he is killing' cannot qualify for *LIN̄* 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 (*hetumat*).

A restatement of *LIN̄* when it is already available from the *anuvṛtti* is made so that the context of this usage can be limited to the future only.

### 3.3.157 इच्छार्थेषु लिङ्लोटौ

*icchārtheṣu liṅloṭau*  
*licchārtheṣu 7/1 liṅloṭau 1/2/*  
 (*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91)  
*icchārtheṣu dhātuṣūpapadeṣu dhātor liṅloṭau pratyau bhavataḥ*  
 Affixes *LIN̄* and *LOT* occur after a verbal root used in conjunction with the other which has the signification of *iṣ* 'to wish'.

#### EXAMPLES:

*icchāmi bhujñīta bhavān* 'it is my wish that you please eat'  
*icchāmi bhujñktāṃ bhavān* 'id.'  
*kāmāye bhujñīta bhavān* 'id.'  
*kāmāye bhujñktāṃ bhavān* 'id.'

1. The specific use of *LIN̄*, along with *LUT*, is made so that this optional provision can be treated as an exception to all other *LA* affixes (*sarvalakārāṇām apavādaḥ*).

### 3.3.158 समानकर्तृकेषु तुमुन्

*samānakartṛkeṣu tumun*  
*Isamānakartṛkeṣu 7/3 tumun 1/1/*  
 (*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *icchārtheṣu* #157)  
*icchārtheṣu dhātuṣu samānakartṛkeṣūpapadeṣu dhātos tumun pratyayo bhavati*

Affix *tumUN* occurs after a verbal root used in conjunction with the other which has the signification of *iṣ*, provided both actions share the same *kartṛ* 'agent'.

#### EXAMPLES:

*icchati bhoktum* 'he wishes to eat'

*kāmayate bhoktum* 'id.'  
*vāñchati bhoktum* 'id.'  
*vaṣṭi bhoktum* '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 \**devadattaṃ bhoktum icchati yajnadattaḥ* 'Yajñadatta wishes Devadatta to eat' because *iṣ* does not have Devadatta as its agent. The correct sentence should be: *devadattaṃ bhujñānam icchati yajñadattaḥ*.

A question is raised as to why *icchān kartoti* cannot avail *tumUN* to yield *icchān kartum*? After all, the cooccurrence condition is met along with the condition of identical agents. However, sentences, such as, *icchān kartum* do not occur in usage at all. The grammar does not have to account for something which does not exist.

### 3.3.159 लिङ् च

*liṅ ca*  
*//liṅ 1/1 ca 0/*  
 (pratyayaḥ #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, icchārtheṣu #157, samānakartṛkeṣu #158)  
*icchārtheṣu samānakartṛkeṣu dhātuṣūpapadeṣu dhātor liṅ pratyayo bhavati*  
 Affix *LIN* also occurs after a verbal root used in conjunction with the other which has the signification of *iṣ* provided both actions share the same *kartr*.

#### EXAMPLES:

*bhujñīyetīcchati* 'he wishes that you eat'  
*adhīyīyetīcchati* 'id.'

1. This rule is stated separately from the preceding so that, in the subsequent rule, only *LIN* (and no *tumUN*) can be carried. Thus, split-formulation (*yogavibhāga*) is intended for what follows (*yogavibhāga uttarārtham*).

### 3.3.160 इच्छार्थेषु विभाषा वर्तमाने

*icchārthebhyo vibhāṣā vartamāne*  
*licchārthebhyah 5/3 vibhāṣā 1/1 vartamāne 7/1/*  
 (pratyayaḥ #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, liṅ #159)  
*icchārthebhyo dhātubhyo vartamāne kāle vibhāṣā liṅ pratyayo bhavati*  
 Affix *LIN* optionally occurs after verbal roots with the signification of *iṣ* when the action is denoted at the current time.



## EXAMPLES:

*icchet* 'he wishes...'

*icchati* 'id.'

*kāmayate* 'id.'

*kāmayeta* 'id.'

1. This optional provision of *LIN* is made in view of 3.2.123 *vartamāne laṭ*. That is, we will get two forms: *icchet*, as well as, *icchati*.

## 3.3.161 विधिनिमन्त्रणामन्त्रणाधीष्टसम्प्रश्नप्रार्थनेषु लिङ्

*vidhinimantraṇāmantraṇādhiṣṭasampraśnaprārthaneṣu liṅ*

*/vidhi...prārthaneṣu 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 *LIN* occurs after a verbal root when *vidhi* 'command, injunction', *nimantraṇa* 'invitation', *āmantraṇa* 'polite address, pro forma invitation,' *adhiṣṭa* 'polite wish, solicitation', *sampraśna* 'proper question', and *prārthanā* 'request, prayer' is denoted.

## EXAMPLES:

*kaṭam kuryāt* 'he should make the mat'

*grāmaṃ bhavān āgacchet* 'you, sir, should come to the village'

*iha bhavān bhuñjīta* 'you, sir, please eat here'

*iha bhavān āsīta* 'you, sir, please sit here'

*adhicchāmo bhavantam mānavakam bhavān upanayet* 'it is my earnest wish that you please perform the initiation of my son'

*kiṃ nu khalu bho vyākaraṇam adhiyīya* 'should I study grammar'

*bhavati me prārthanā vyākaraṇam adhiyīya* 'it is my request that I should study grammar'

1. This rule introduces affix *LIN* after a verbal root when *vidhi*, *nimantraṇa*, *āmantraṇa*, *adhiṣṭa*, *sampraśna* and *prārthanā* 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 (*prapañca*) 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 entertains an elder, or respectable person, to do something. Commentators explain this with *satkārapūrvako vyāpāraḥ* 'which is mostly approaching one's elders, for example, a teacher, in order to request them to do something. A difference between *nimantraṇa* and *āmantraṇa* is made on the basis of *kāmacāra* 'doing as one pleases'. That is, *āmantraṇa* can be seen as an invitation which a person

can decline without any (ritual) consequences. A *nimantraṇa* is glossed as *niyogakarāṇa*, something one is delegated (and may be obligated) to do. This clearly rules out 'doing as one pleases' (*kāmacāra-karāṇam*). 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 (*prakṛtyartha*) after which affix *LIN̄* is to be introduced?
- (b) Are these meanings to be accepted as the meaning of the affix (*pratyayārtha*)?
- (c) Are these meanings to be accepted as modifiers to the meaning of the base (*prakṛtyarthaviśeṣaṇa*)?
- (d) Are these meanings to be accepted as modifiers to the meaning of the affix (*pratyayārthaviśeṣaṇa*)?

The second view is unacceptable, since *LIN̄* could, then, only be introduced when the bases which denote these meanings are used. Thus, we will only get *vidadhyāt*, *nimantrayet*, *āmantrayet*, *adhīchet*, *sampracchet*, and *prārthayet*. The (c) 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', *kartr̥* '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 च

*loṭ ca*

*/loṭ 1/1 ca Ø/*

(*pratyayah* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *vidhinimantraṇa...*  
*prārthaneṣu* #161)

*loṭ pratyayo bhavati dhātor vidhyādiṣv artheṣu*

Affix *LOṬ* also occurs after a verbal root when *vidhi*, *nimantraṇa*,  
*āmantraṇa*, *sampraśna* and *prārthanā* are denoted.

#### EXAMPLES:

*kaṭam tāvad bhavān karotu* 'in the meantime, you please make the mat'

*grāmaṃ bhavān āgacchatu* 'you please come to the village'

*amutra bhavān āstām* 'you please sit there'

*amutra bhavān bhukṭām* 'you please eat there'

*iha bhavān bhukṭām* 'id'

*adhīcchāmo bhavantam māṇavakam bhavān adhyāpayatu* 'it is my wish  
that you please teach my son'

*adhīcchāmo bhavantaṃ māṇavakaṃ bhavān upanayatām* 'id.'  
*kiṃ nu khalu bho vyākaraṇam adhyayai* 'it is my wish to study grammar,  
 sir'  
*bhavati me prārthanā vyākaraṇam adhyayai* 'id.'

1. This split-rule (*yogavibhāga*) is made so that in the subsequent rule only *LOṬ* can be carried. A joint formulation of this rule with the earlier one would make the *anuvṛtti* of *LIN* required.

### 3.3.163 प्रैषातिसर्गप्राप्तकालेषु कृत्याश्च

*praiṣātisargaṃprāptakāleṣu kṛtyāś ca*  
*/praiṣātisargaṃprāptakāleṣu 7/3 kṛtyāḥ 1/3 ca 0/*  
 (*pratyayah* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *loṭ* #162)  
*praiṣādiṣu artheṣu dhātoḥ kṛtyasamjñakāḥ pratyayā bhavanti, cakārāl loṭ ca*  
 Affixes termed *kṛtya*, and *LOṬ* as well, occur after a verbal root when *praiṣa* 'direction, ordering', *atisarga* 'granting permission' and *prāptakāla* 'proper time' are denoted.

#### EXAMPLES:

*bhavatā kaṭaḥ karaṇīyaḥ* 'the mat should be made by you'  
*bhavatā kaṭaḥ kartavyaḥ* 'id.'  
*bhavatā kaṭaḥ kṛtyaḥ* 'id.'  
*bhavatā kaṭaḥ kāryaḥ* 'id.'  
*karotu kaṭam bhavān iha preṣitaḥ* 'I commission you to please make the mat'  
*karotu kaṭam bhavān atisṛṣṭaḥ* 'I grant you permission to make the mat'  
*bhavataḥ prāptakālaḥ kaṭakarāṇe* 'It is time for you to make the mat'

1. This rule introduces *kṛtya* affixes after a verbal root when *praiṣa*, *atisarga*, and *prāptakāla* are denoted. The *ca* of this rule is used so that *LOṬ* can be carried from the preceding rule. Thus, *LOṬ* becomes an option to the provision of this rule. Consider thus the following examples:

- bhavatā kaṭaḥ (karaṇīyaḥ, kartavyaḥ, kṛtyaḥ, or kāryaḥ)* 'the mat should be made by you'
- karotu kaṭam bhavān iha preṣitaḥ* 'please make the mat here as commissioned'
- karotu kaṭam bhavān atisṛṣṭaḥ* 'please make the mat as you are asked'
- bhavataḥ prāptakālaḥ kaṭakarāṇe* 'the time for you to make the mat has arrived'

The first sentence illustrates the option of four affixes: *anīyaR*, *tavyaT* (3.1.96 *tavyattavyānīyarah*), *KyaP* (3.1.120 *vibhāṣa kivrṣoḥ*), and *ṆyaT* (3.1.124 *ṛhalor nyat*) respectively. Sentences (b-d) illustrate the optional

*LOṬ* with reference to the meaning conditions of *praiṣa*, *atisarga*, and *prāptakāla*.

Why must we provide for the introduction of the *kr̥tya*, here? Are they not covered already to denote *bhāva* and *karman* (3.4.70 *tayor eva...*)? Besides, introduction in the specific context of *praiṣa*, etc., is included within the general context of *bhāva* and *karman*. Thus, *kr̥tyāḥ* should not be stated in the rule. The argument that *kr̥tyāḥ* is used so that the specific provision of *LOṬ* will block the general provision of the *kr̥tya* affixes will not hold. For, the provision of *vā' sarūpavidhi* (3.1.94 *va' sarūpo' striyām*) will not let that happen. Pāṇini still reads *kr̥tyāḥ* in this *sūtra* to indicate that the provisions of *vā' sarūpavidhi* do not necessarily apply in each and every instance beyond the scope of rule 3.3.94 *striyām ktin* (cf.: *stryadhikārāt pareṇa vā' sarūpavidhir nāvaśyaṃ bhavati*).

### 3.3.164 लिङ् चोर्ध्वमौहूर्तिके

*liṅ corddhvamauhūrttike*

*/liṅ 1/1 ca 0 ūrdhvamauhūrttike 7/1/*

(*pratyayah #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, praiṣātisargaḥprāptakāleṣu #163*)

*praiṣādiṣu gamyamāneṣu ūrdhvamauhūrttike' rthe varttamānād dhātor liṅ pratyayo bhavati cakārād yathāprātaṃ ca*

Affix *LIN̄*, and *kr̥tya* and *LOṬ* as well, occurs after a verbal root when *praiṣa*, *atisarga* and *prāptakāla* are denoted with reference to a unit of future time exceeding a *muhūrta*.

#### EXAMPLES:

*upari muhūrttasya bhavatā khalu kaṭaḥ karttavyaḥ* 'the mat should be made by you after a *muhūrta*'

*upari muhūrttasya bhavatā khalu kaṭaḥ karṇīyaḥ* 'id.'

*upari muhūrttasya bhavatā khalu kaṭaḥ kāryaḥ* 'id.'

*bhavān khalu kaṭaṃ kuryāt* 'you should indeed make the mat'

*bhavān khalu kaṭaṃ karotu* 'id.'

*bhavān iha preṣitaḥ* 'you have been commissioned...'

*bhavān atisṛṣṭaḥ* 'id.'

*bhavān prāptakālaḥ kaṭakarane* 'your time... has come'

1. This rule introduces affix *LIN̄*, in addition to the *kr̥tya* affixes and *LOṬ*, provided *praiṣa*, *atisarga*, and *prāptakāla* are denoted relative to a period of time over a *muhūrta* 'forty-eight minutes'.

### 3.3.165 स्मे लोट्

*sme loṭ*

*/sme 7/1 loṭ 1/1/*

(*pratyayah* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *praiṣātisarga* *prāpta-kāleṣu* #163 *ūrdhvamauhūrttike* #164)

*smaśabda upapade praiṣādiṣu gamyamāneṣūrdhvamauhūrttike* 'rthe vartta-mānād dhātor loṭ pratyayo bhavati

Affix *LOṬ* occurs after a verbal root used in conjunction with *sma* when *praiṣa*, *atisarga* and *prāptakāla* are denoted with reference to a unit of future time exceeding a *muhūrta*.

EXAMPLES:

*ūrdhvaṃ muhūrttād bhavān kaṭam karotu sma* 'you should please make the mat after a *muhūrta*'

*ūrdhvaṃ muhūrttād bhavān grāmaṃ gacchatu sma* 'you should please go to the village after a *muhūrta*'

*ūrdhvaṃ muhūrttād bhavān māṇavakam adhyāpayatu sma* 'you should please teach (my) son after a *muhūrta*'

1. This rule introduces affix *LOṬ* under the cooccurrence condition of *sma* as an exception to *LIN* and the *kṛtya* affixes of rule 3.1.163 *praiṣāti-sarga*.... The *anuvṛtti* of *praiṣāti...kāla* and *ūrdhvamauhūrttike* is still valid.

3.3.166 अधीष्टे च

*adhīṣṭe ca*

*ladhīṣṭe 7/1 ca 0/*

(*pratyayah* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *sme loṭ* #165)

*smaśabda upapade* 'dhīṣṭe dhātor loṭ pratyayo bhavati

Affix *LOṬ* also occurs after a verbal root used in conjunction with *sma* when *adhīṣṭa* is denoted.

EXAMPLES:

*aṅga sma rājan māṇavakam adhyāpaya* 'O king, please teach (my) son'  
*aṅga sma rājann aganihotraṃ juhudhi* 'O king, please perform the Agnihotra'

1. This rule introduces affix *LOṬ*, as an exception to *LIN* of rule 3.3.161 *vidhinimantraṇādhiṣṭa*... provided the root occurs in conjunction with *sma*, and *adhīṣṭa* 'request' is denoted. Thus we get: *aṅga sma rājan māṇavakam adhyāpaya* 'I most respectfully request you O king! to kindly teach my son'.

3.3.167 कालसमयवेलासु तुमुन्

*kālasamayavelāsu tumun*

*lkālasamayavelāsu 7/3 tumun 1/1*

(*pratyayah* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91)

*kālādisūpapadeṣu dhātos tumun pratyayo bhavati*

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'

*samayaḥ khalu 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 *samayā* 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 *ṇvasara*, etc., can also qualify to form an *upapada*.

3.3.168 लिङ् यदि

*liṅ yadi*

*/liṅ 1/1 yadi 7/1/*

(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *kālasamayavelāsu* #167)

*yacchabde upapade kālādiṣu dhātor liṅ pratyayo bhavati*

Affix *LIN* 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 bhuñjīta bhavān* 'it is time for you to eat'

*samayo yad bhuñjīta bhavān* 'id.'

*velā yad bhuñjīta bhavān* 'id.'

1. This rule introduces affix *LIN* 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 अर्हे कृत्यत्चश्च

*arhe kṛtyatṛcaś ca*

*/arhe 7/1 kṛtyatṛcaḥ 1/3 ca 0/*

(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *liṅ* #168)

*arhe kartari vācye gamyamāne vā dhātoḥ kṛtyatṛcaḥ pratyayā bhavanti cakārāl liṅ ca*

Affixes *kṛtya* and *tṛC*, and *LIN* as well, occur after a verbal root when the agent is denoted as deserving.

## EXAMPLES:

*bhavatā khalu kanyā voḍhavyā* ‘you indeed deserve to marry the girl’  
*bhavatā khalu kanyā vāhyā* ‘id.’  
*bhavatā khalu kanyā vahanīyā* ‘id.’  
*bhavatā khalu kanyā voḍhā* ‘id.’  
*bhavān khalu kanyām vahet* ‘id.’  
*bhavān khalu kanyām arhet* ‘id.’

1. The *ca* of the rule is used to further facilitate the introduction of *LIN*. Thus there will be three types of examples:

- (a) *bhavatā khalu kanyā voḍhavyā*
- (b) *bhavān khalu kanyāyā voḍhā*
- (c) *bhavān khalu kanyām vahet*

These sentences illustrate the usage of affixes *tavya* (*kr̥tya*), *tr̥C*, and *LIN* respectively.

A question is raised against the introduction of affixes *kr̥tya* and *tr̥C* 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 *LIN*, which is also made available here, blocks the general provision of *kr̥tya* and *tr̥C* via *vā’ sarūpa* of rule 3.1.94 *vā’ sarūpo’ striyām?*. That is even more the reason why mention of *kr̥tya* and *tr̥C* becomes necessary. For, *vā’ sarūpavidhi* does not regularly apply in the context of rules subsequent to the domain of rule 3.3.94 *striyām ktin*.

## 3.3.170 आवश्यकामर्णयोर्णिनिः

*āvaśyakādhamarṇayor ṇiniḥ*  
*lāvaśyakādhamarṇayoḥ 7/2 ṇiniḥ 1/1/*  
 (*pratyayah #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91*)  
*avaśyambhāvaviśiṣṭe ādhamarṇaviśiṣṭe ca kartari vācye dhātor ṇiniḥ*  
*pratyayo bhavati*

Affix *ṆinI* occurs after a verbal root when the agent performs the action out of necessity (*āvaśyaka*), or indebtedness (*ādhamarṇya*).

## EXAMPLES:

*avaśyaṅkāri* ‘he who is sure to do’  
*śataṃdāyī* ‘he who owes someone a hundred’

1. Note that the conditions of ‘necessity’ and ‘indebtedness’ qualify the *kartr̥* which, in turn, becomes the denotatum of the affix (*pratyayārthaviśeṣaṇam*). They cannot be accepted here as specifying a cooccurrence (*upapada*) condition.

## 3.3.171 कृत्याश्च

*kr̥tyās ca*

*/kr̥tyāḥ 1/3 ca 0/*

(*pratyayah* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *āvaśyakādhamarnyayoh* #170)

*kr̥tyasamjñakās ca pratyayā āvaśyakādhamarnyayor upādhibhūtayor dhātor bhavanti*

Affixes termed *kr̥tya* also occur after a verbal root when the action is qualified by *āvaśyaka* or *ādhamarnya*.

## EXAMPLES:

*bhavatā khalu avaśyaṃ kaṭaḥ kartavyaḥ* ‘the mat should be made by you’

*bhavatā khalu avaśyaṃ kaṭaḥ karaṇīyaḥ* ‘id.’

*bhavatā khalu avaśyaṃ kaṭaḥ kāryaḥ* ‘id.’

*bhavatā khalu avaśyaṃ kaṭaḥ kr̥tyaḥ* ‘id.’

*bhavatā śataṃ dātavyam* ‘the debt of the hundred should be paid by you’

*bhavatā sahasraṃ deyam* ‘the debt of the thousand should be paid by you’

1. This rule additionally provides for *kr̥tya* affixes used with *NinI* under contexts similar to the preceding rule. An objection is made against the inclusion of the *kr̥tya* affixes in this context by a separate rule. It is argued that rules already available for the introduction of *kr̥tya* 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 *kr̥tya* affixes are introduced to denote *bhāva* and *karman* (3.4.70 *tayor eva...*); affix *NinI* is employed to denote the agent. Counter arguments state that a *kr̥tya* can also denote an agent as is the case (though optionally via *nipātana*) in rule 3.4.68 *bhavyageyappravacan....* The rule thus must include *kr̥tya* in the context of *NinI*.

## 3.3.172 शकि लिङ् च

*śaki liṅ ca*

*/śaki 7/1 liṅ 1/1 ca 0/*

(*pratyayah* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *kr̥tyāḥ* #171)

*śaknotyarthopādihike dhātvarthe liṅ pratyayo bhavati cakārāt kr̥tyās ca*

Affix *LIN̄*, and those termed *kr̥tya* as well, occur after a verbal root when the action is qualified with *śak* ‘to be able’.

## EXAMPLES:

*bhavatā khalu bhāro voḍhavyaḥ* ‘you can indeed carry the load’

*bhavatā khalu bhāro vahanīyaḥ* ‘id.’



*bhavatā khalu bhāro vāhyaḥ* 'id.'  
*bhavān khalu bhāraṃ vahet* 'id.'  
*bhavān iha śaktaḥ* 'you, sir, are able to do this'

1. This rule introduces affix *LIN̄*, in addition to the *kr̥tya*, when the capability of the agent is expressed in relation to the action. The word *śaki* is thus a qualifier for the action denoted by the root. Commentators notice that the inclusion of *kr̥tya* affixes in this context by *ca* is made in view of an otherwise impending blocking by *LIN̄* (*Kāś.*: *sāmānyavihitānām punar vacanam̄ liṅā bādḥā mā bhut* 'a restatement of the general *kr̥tya* affixes is made so that they can not be blocked by *LIN̄*).

### 3.3.173 आशिषि लिङ्लोटौ

*āśiṣi liṅloṭau*  
*lāśiṣi 7/1 liṅloṭau 7/2/*  
 (*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91)  
*āśirviśiṣṭe' rthe varṭtamānād dhātor liṅloṭau pratyayau bhavataḥ*  
 Affixes *LIN̄* and *LOT* occur after a verbal root when the action is qualified with *āśiḥ* 'benediction, blessing'.

EXAMPLE:

*ciraṃ jīvatu bhavān* 'may you live long'

1. This rule introduces affixes *LIN̄* and *LOT* when benediction (*āśiḥ*) is denoted. The word *āśiḥ* is here used as a modifier to the base after which these affixes must be introduced (*prakṛtyarthaviśeṣaṇam*). That is, action denoted by the verbal root must be modified by benediction. Thus, consider the example sentences where *ciraṃ* 'long' modifies the action denoted by *jīva* 'to live'.

A counter-example to it will be: *ciraṃ jīvati devadattaḥ* 'Devadatta is living a long life'. Why can *LIN̄* not be brought to the context of this rule by the use of *ca*? Explicit mention of *LIN̄* is necessary so that the *anuvṛtti* of *kr̥tya*, as a result of its association (*sāhacarya*) with *LIN̄* in the earlier rule, can be blocked.

### 3.3.174 क्तिक्तौ च संज्ञायाम्

*kticktau ca saṃjñāyām*  
*lkticktau 1/2 ca 0 saṃjñāyām 7/1/*  
 (*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *āśiṣi* #173)  
*āśiṣi viśaye dhātoḥ kticktau pratyayau bhavataḥ samudāyena cet saṃjñā gamyate*  
 Affixes *KtiC* and *Kta* occur after a verbal root when the action is qualified with *āśiḥ* and the derivate denotes a name (*saṃjñā*).

## EXAMPLES:

*tañutāt tantih* ‘may he weave; a weaver’  
*sanutāt sātih* ‘may it happen; wealth or gift’  
*bhavatāt bhūtih* ‘prosperity, success’  
*manutāt mantih* ‘respect’  
*devā enam deyāsur devadattaḥ* ‘Devadatta (may gods give him...)’

1. This rule introduces affixes *KtiC* and *Kta*, still within the scope of *āśih* provided the derivate denotes a name (*saṃjñā*). Thus we have *Kta* used to derive *devadattaḥ* parallel to *devā enam deyāsuḥ* ‘may the gods give him, i.e., Devadatta’. An example for *KtiC* is *tantih* ‘weaver’ parallel to *tanutāt* ‘may he weave’.

Note that the *C* as an *it* in *KtiC* is to distinguish (*viśeṣaṇārtha*) it from *KtiN* in rules such as 6.4.39 *na ktici dīrghasya*. Furthermore, *Kta* is a general affix to which this *KtiC* could have formed an exception, had this rule not included *Kta* along with *KtiC*. It is, therefore, an effort to save *Kta* from being blocked by *KtiC* that this rule provides for *Kta*.

## 3.3.175 माङि लुङ्

*māni luṅ*  
*/māni 7/1 luṅ 1/1/*  
 (*pratyayah* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *āśiṣi* #173)  
*māny upapade dhator luṅ pratyayo bhavati*  
 Affix *LUṅ* occurs after a verbal root which cooccurs with *māN*.

## EXAMPLES:

*mā kārṣīt* ‘let him not do (it)’  
*mā hārṣīt* ‘let him not take (it) away’

1. This provision of *LUṅ* is treated as an exception to all *LA* affixes (*sarvalakārāṇām apavādaḥ*). That is, one must use affix *LUṅ*, and *LUṅ* alone, after a verbal root when it is used in conjunction with *māN*.

## 3.3.176 स्मोत्तरे लङ् च

*smottare laṅ ca*  
*/smottare 7/1 laṅ 1/1 ca 0/*  
 (*pratyayah* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *māni* #175)  
*smaśabdottare māny upapade dhator laṅ pratyayo bhavati*  
*ca kārāl luṅ ca*  
 Affix *LAN*, and *LUṅ* as well, occurs after a verbal root which cooccurs with *māN* and is followed by *sma*.

## EXAMPLES:

*mā sma karot* ‘let him not make...’

*mā sma kārṣīt* ‘id.’

*mā sma harat* ‘let him not take away...’

*mā sma hārṣīt* ‘id.’

1. This rule introduces affix *LAN*, optionally to *LUN*, when *sma* follows a verbal root, and *māN* is used in conjunction with the same. Affix *LUN* is brought to the context of this rule by means of *ca*.

## 3.4.1 धातुसम्बन्धे प्रत्ययाः

*dhātusambandhe pratyayāḥ*

*/dhātusambandhe 7/1 = dhātvarthayoḥ sambandho dhātusambandhaḥ, tasmīn (ṣaṣ. tat.); pratyayāḥ 1/3/*

*dhātusambandhe sati ayathākāloktā api pratyayā sādhaso bhavanti*

Affixes also occur when a relationship between actions is denoted.

## EXAMPLES:

*agniṣṭomayājy asya putro janitā* ‘he who will perform the Agniṣṭoma will have a son born’

*kṛtaḥ kṛtaḥ 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 *dhatū* 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 *dhātu*, which ordinarily denotes verbal roots ‘*bhū*, etc.’ (*bhvādi*), is here treated as secondary (*gauṇa*) to its meaning (*dhātvartha*). The word *dhātu* 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 (*anekādhiṣṭhāna*).

How can one characterize the relationship between the meaning of roots? Commentators identify the relationship as *viśeṣaṇaviśeṣya* ‘qualifier-qualified’. They also note that, since the denotatum of the word which ends in a *tiN* is central to the meaning of a sentence, and also since a modified element (*viśeṣya*) is principal (*pradhāna*) in relation to the modifier (*viśeṣaṇa*), which is secondary (*gauṇa*), 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 tīnarthavācya’ rtho viśeṣyaḥ subantavācyaś tu viśeṣaṇam* ‘the meaning denoted by a word which ends in a *tiN*

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 *agniṣṭomayājī*, 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 *tiṅ*, but also abandons the 'past' for the 'future' of *janitā*, the principal word.

*Kāśikā* further elaborates with *ayathākāloktā api pratyayā sādhaso bhavanti* 'affixes introduced in the tenses other than those assigned to them are also treated as correct'. Consider again *agniṣṭomayājy asya putro janitā*, where *agniṣṭomayājīn* is derived by introducing affix *ṆinI* by rule 3.2.85 *karāṇe yajah* with the denotatum of past (*bhūta*). In contrast, *janitā* entails *LUT* with the denotatum of a future (*bhaviṣyati*) 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 *agniṣṭoma* sacrifice' will now take the sense of 'he who will perform the *agniṣṭoma* sacrifice in the future'. That is, the 'future' denotatum of *ṆinI*, 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*; *bhavitā* of course entails 'future'. The 'past' of *Kta* thus denotes the 'future' in association with the 'future' of *bhavitā*. Note that if the 'past' of *ṆinI* 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 Kāśikā* 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 yaṣṭā* 'a son will be born to him who performs the sacrifice by means of *Agniṣṭoma*'

This sentence is synonymous with our first example, given the understanding that *ṆinI* abandons its 'past' for the 'future' of *janitā* as indicated by *yaṣṭā* of sentence (i).

2. A question is raised against the explicit use of the word *pratyaya* in the rule, especially when it can easily be received via *anuvṛtti*. Commentators state that the earlier *pratyaya* (carried from 3.1.1 *pratyayah*) 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 '*pratyaya*' is explicitly stated so that an affix such as a *taddhita* (4.1.76

*taddhitāḥ*), 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) *gomān āsīt* ‘he is the one who owned cows’

(iii) *gomān bhavitā* ‘he is the one who will own cows’

Note that *gomān* has affix *matUP*, a *taddhita*, introduced by rule 5.2.94 *tad asyāsty...* in the sense of present (*vartamāna*). Used with *āsīt* of the ‘past’ and *bhavitā* 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 ‘*pratyaya*’ is explicitly stated in this rule.

### 3.4.2 क्रियासमभिहारे लोट् लोटो हिस्वौ वा च तध्वमोः

*kriyāsamabhihāre loṭ loṭo hisvau vā ca tadhvamoh*

*/kriyāsamabhihāre 7/1 = samabhiharaṇam samabhihārah; kriyāyāḥ samabhihārah (saṣ. tat.), tasmin; loṭ 1/1 loṭaḥ 6/1 hisvau 1/2 = hi ca sva ca (itar. dv.); vā 0 ca 0 tadhvamoh 6/2 = ta ca dhvam ca (itar. dv.), tayoh/ (dhātusambandhe #1)*

*samabhihāravīṣṭakriyāvacanād dhātor loṭ pratyayo bhavati sarveṣu kāleṣu; tasya ca loṭo hi, sva ity etāv ādeṣau bhavataḥ, tadhvambhāvinas tu vā bhavataḥ.*

Affix *LOT* occurs after a verbal root when repeated or excessive action (*kriyāsamabhihāra*) is denoted; this *LOT* is replaced with *hi* and *sva* obligatorily, and with *ta* and *dhvam* optionally.

#### EXAMPLES:

*lunīhi lunīhy ity ayam lunāti* ‘you cut, you cut,’ thus ‘he cuts repeatedly’  
*lunīhi lunīhi ity eva ahaṃ lunāmi* ‘you cut, you cut,’ thus ‘I cut repeatedly’  
*lunīhi lunīhi ity eva ayam alāvīt* ‘you cut, you cut,’ thus ‘he cut repeatedly’  
*lunīhi lunīhi ity eva ayam laviṣyati* ‘you cut, you cut,’ thus ‘he will cut repeatedly’

1. Commentators explain that this *LOT* is an exception to all *LA*-affixes. For example, it is introduced under the condition of *kriyāsamabhihāra*, an action which is performed either excessively, or over and over again. The root after which the *LOT* is to be introduced does not, by itself, denote *kriyāsamabhihāra*. For this reason, *Kāśikā* uses the expression: *samabhihāravīṣṭakriyāvacanāt...* ‘*LOT* occurs after a root which denotes an action qualified by repetition...’. The repetition of verbal forms, such as *lunīhi lunīhi* ‘you cut and cut...’, makes the denotatum of *kriyāsamabhihāra* 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 *LOT*, which is why *Kāśikā* adds: *loṭ pratyayo bhavati sarveṣu kāleṣu* ‘affix *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 *tiṅ*-affixes of the two sets of *parasmaipada* 'active' and *ātmanepada* 'middle'. Instead, Pāṇini orders *hi* and *sva* as two obligatory replacements. The first is a replacement for the second person singular *parasmaipada* 'active' ending *si*, by rule 3.4.87 *ser hy apic ca*. The second refers to the second person singular *ātmanepada* '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 *svābhyām vāmau*. Note that both *hi* and *sva* are replacements relative to *LOT*. Since *hi* and *sva* are replacements for *parasmaipada* and *ātmanepada* endings respectively, we conclude that *hi* and *sva* are also *parasmaipada* and *ātmanepada* replacements. But we cannot accept that they are to be limited also to second person and singular usages. For this reason the *Mahābhāṣya* states: *hisvau sarveṣām puruṣāṇām sarveṣām ca vacanānām iṣyate* 'hi and *sva* are intended for any person, or number'. Consequently, *hi* is a replacement covering the three persons and three numbers of *parasmaipada* *LOT*. The same function is assigned for the representation of *ātmanepada* by *sva* in all three persons and numbers.

In which sense is affix *LOT* introduced? It could not be *kriyāsamabhihāra*, 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 *anirdiṣṭārthāḥ 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 *parasmaipada* ending of rule 3.4.101 *tasthasthamipām tāntantāmaḥ*. Thus, *ta* becomes a *parasmaipada* replacement as opposed to *dhvam*, which is clearly an *ātmanepada* second personal plural ending.

Note that in the above sentences *kriyāsamabhihāra* is denoted via doubling the verb form (cf. *Mbh. kriyāsamabhihāre dve bhavataḥ*). What follows these doubled up second personal forms that denote *kriyāsamabhihāra* is a tagged statement (*anuprayoga*), 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 (*yogavibhāga*) for interpretation. Vāsudeva Dīkṣita (*Bālamānoramā* ad SK III: 650) illustrates these following sentences:

- (a) *kriyāsamabhihāra (viśiṣṭakriyāvṛtter) dhātor loṭ* 'affix *LOT* is introduced after a verbal root which denotes an action qualified by repetition'

(b) *loṭo hisvau* 'hi and *sva* replace *LOṬ*'

(c) *loṭo loṭ hisvau* 'hi and *sva*, which replace *LOṬ*, are treated as *LOṬ*'

(d) *vā ca tadvamoh* 'ta and *dhvam* optionally replace *LOṬ*'

The third sentence in this split interpretation is consequential. For, it implies the transfer of the characteristics of *LOṬ* to *hi* and *sva*. Commentators explain that this transfer is necessary to bring the *parasmaipada*, *ātmanepada*, and *tiṅ* 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. *taṅ*, is termed *ātmanepada* (1.4. *tanānāv...*). Note also that *sva* is not a member of the abbreviatory term *taṅ*. Consequently, it does not qualify for assignment of the term *ātmanepada*. A transfer of the characteristic properties of *LOṬ* to *hi* and *sva* makes the assignment of the said terms possible. For this one must have the *anuvṛtti* of *LOṬ* in the third sentence as a qualifier to *hisvau*. In view of 1.4.14 *suptiñantam padam*, such an extension of characteristic properties is necessary for assignment of the term *pada* to the derivatives .

### 3.4.3 समुच्चयेऽन्यतरस्याम्

*samuccaye* 'nyatarasyām

*Isamuccaye* 7/1 anyatarasyām ०/

(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *dhātusambandhe* #1, *loṭ loṭo hisvau vā ca tadvamoh* #2)

*samuccīyamānakriyāvacanād dhātor anyatarasyām loṭ pratyayo bhavati*

Affix *LOṬ* optionally occurs after verbal roots which signify an array of related actions; *hi* and *sva* obligatorily replace this *LOṬ* and *ta* and *dhvam* replace it optionally.

#### EXAMPLES:

*bhrāṣṭram aṭa maṭham aṭa khadūram aṭa sthālyapidhānam aṭety eva ayam aṭati; ...imāv aṭataḥ; ...ime aṭanti* '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 vyākaraṇam adhīṣva niruktam adhīṣvety eva aham adhīye; ...āvām adhīvahe; ...vayam adhīmahe* 'study the Vedas, study grammar, study the Nirukta,' thus I study; ...thus we study; ...thus we all study'  
*chando' adhīṣe vyākaraṇam adhīṣe niruktam adhīṣe ity eva tvam adhīṣe; ...yuvām adhīyāthe; yūyam adhīṣve* '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. *LOṬ* 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 *LOṬ*. Rather, it is the relationship that obtains among the actions denoted by the lined up roots that qualifies the introduction of *LOṬ*. 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 sādhanē yā kriyāḥ samuccīyante tadvācibhyo dhātubhyaḥ pratyaya ity arthaḥ* ‘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 (*paunaḥpunya*), or excessive performance of an action (*bhṛṣārtha*). 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 *LOṬ* results in the introduction of other *LA*-affixes. These are of course, optionally introduced with *LOṬ*. See the last example for illustration, where *LAṬ* has been introduced optionally with *LOṬ* of the second example. Like the earlier rule *LOṬ* 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 vyākaraṇam adhīṣva...*

(b) *chando’ adhīte vyākaraṇam adhīte...*

where the first optionally introduces *LOṬ* to *LAṬ*, for example, of the second. The tagged sentences can be used in all three tenses. This is what it means to accept *LOṬ* as ruled in all tenses.

One must also remember, here, that *LOṬ* 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 यथाविध्यनुप्रयोगः पूर्वस्मिन्

*yathāvidhy anuprayogaḥ pūrvasmin*  
*/yathāvidhi 0 anuprayogaḥ 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:

*lunīhi lunīhīty evāyaṃ lunāti* ‘you cut, you cut,’ thus ‘he cuts’

*adhīṣvādhiṣvety evāyaṃ 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 *paścādbhāvin* ‘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 *evāyaṃ lunāti* and *evāyaṃ adhīte* or *evāyaṃ chinatti* ‘thus he cuts’ and *evāyaṃ 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 *kriyāsamabhihāre...*, and hence is used for clarity (*vispaṣṭārtham*). Note that the following rule (3.4.5 *samuccaye’ sāmānyavacanasya*) 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 *kriyāsamabhihāre...*, 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 *kriyāsamabhihāra*, 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 *lunīhi lunīhi ity evāyaṃ lunāti* can also be rendered as: *ayaṃ lunāti lunīhi 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*

*Isamuccaye 7/1 sāmānyavacanasya 6/1 = ucyate anena iti vacanam; sāmānyasya vacanam (ṣaṣ. tat.)/*

*(dhātoḥ #3.1.91, anuprayoge #4)*

*dvitīye loḍvidhāne samuccaye sāmānyavacanasya dhātor anuprayogaḥ kartavyaḥ*

A tag relative to verbal roots after which *Loṭ* occurs under the condition of *smuccaya* must denote a common action.

#### EXAMPLES:

*odanaṃ bhukṣva saktūn piba 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' nyatarasyām*. Our example thus provides for *abhyavahāra* 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 : lāghavaṃ ca laukike śabdavyavahāre nādriyate*).

### 3.4.6 छन्दसि लुङ्लङ्लिटः

*chandasi luṅlanlīṭaḥ*

*lchandasi 7/1 luṅlanlīṭaḥ 1/3 = luṅ ca lan ca liṭ ca (itar.dv.)/*

*(pratyayaḥ #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, dhātusambandhe #1, anyatarasyām #3)*

*chandasi viśaye dhātusambandhe sarveṣu luṅlanlīṭaḥ pratyayā bhavanti*

Affixes *LUN*, *LAN* 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'  
*ahaṃ tebhyo' karam namāḥ* 'I pay my obeisance to them'  
*agnimadya hotāramavrṇitāyaṃ yajamānaḥ* 'this sacrificer chooses Agni as his priest today'

*adyā mamāra* ‘...dies today’  
*adya mriyate* ‘id.’

1. Note that *LUN* ‘aorist’, *LAN* ‘imperfect’ and *LIT* ‘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, *akarāt* and *akaram* of the first two sentences are *LUN*-derivates used in the sense of *LAT*. That is, past is used in the sense of the present. The third sentence uses *LAN*, denoting past imperfect, in place of *LAT*. The next sentence uses *LIT* instead of *LAT* as is shown by *mriyate*.

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: *udāharaṇeṣu 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 *kr* in *akaram* relatable ?

### 3.4.7 लिङ्गर्थे लेट्

*līnarthe leṭ*  
*līnarthe 7/1 = līno’ rthaḥ līnarthaḥ* (ṣaṣ. tat.), *tasmin; leṭ 1/1/*  
*(pratyayaḥ #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, anyatarasyām #3, chandasi #6)*  
*yatra līn vidhīyate tatra chandasi viṣaye’ nyatarasyām leṭ pratyayo bhavati*  
 Affix *LEṬ* optionally occurs in the sense of *LIN* in the Vedic.

#### EXAMPLES:

*joṣīṣāt* ‘let him enjoy...’  
*tāriṣat* ‘let him stretch out’  
*patāti vidyut* ‘let the lightning strike’

1. Note that affix *LIN* ‘optative’ is generally used in the sense of *vidhi* ‘prompting’, etc., (3.3.161 *vidhinimantraṇa...*). The forms of *LEṬ* ‘subjunctive’ refer exclusively to the Vedic language.

### 3.4.8 उपसम्वादाशङ्कयोश्च

*upasaṃvādāśaṅkayoś ca*  
*lupasaṃvādāśaṅkayoḥ 7/2 ca 0/*  
*(pratyayaḥ #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, chandasi #6, leṭ #7)*  
*upasaṃvāde āśaṅkāyām ca gamyamānāyām chandasi viṣaye leṭ pratyayo bhavati*

Affix *LET* also occurs after a root in the Vedic when *upasaṃvāda* ‘contractual agreement’ and *āśaṅkā* ‘apprehension’ are denoted.

**EXAMPLES:**

*ahameva paśūnāmīśai* ‘indeed, I am the lord of the cattles’  
*madagrā eva vo grāhā grhyāntai* ‘...should accept the pot with Soma’  
*nejjihmāyantyo narakaṃ patām* ‘...may fall into hell because of wicked deeds’

1. Note that this provision of *LET* is made in the sense of *LIN*. It could not have been made available through the previous *sūtra* as *anyatarasyām* made that provision optional. This provision, hence, is obligatory (*nitya*).

*Kāśikā* explains *upasaṃvāda* as *paribhāṣaṇam*; *kartavye paṇabandhaḥ* ‘a verbal agreement regulating certain transactions’. The word *āśaṅkā* has been explained as a logical deduction of apprehension in view of certain actions (*kāraṇataḥ kāryānusaraṇam tarka utprekṣā*). *Kāśikā* further illustrates *upasaṃvāda* by the following:

*yadi me bhavān idaṃ kuryād aham api bhavate idaṃ dāsyāmi* ‘should you do this for me sir! I shall also give you this’

The last sentence of the examples illustrates *āśaṅkā*, where it is feared that committing some bad deed will logically lead to a fall into hell.

**3.4.9 तुमर्थे सेसेनसेअसेनक्सेकसेनध्यैअध्यैकध्यैकध्यैन्शध्यैशध्यैन्तवैतवेइत्वेनः**

*tumarthe sesenaseasenksekasenadhyaiadhyainkadhyaikadhyainśadhyai-*  
*sadhyaintavaitavenāḥ*

*Itumarthe 7/1 = tumuno’ rthaḥ = tumarthaḥ (ṣaṣ. tat.), tasmin; sesenasea...*  
*tavaitavenāḥ 1/3 (itar. dv.)/*

(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *chandasi* #6)

*tumarthe chandasi viśaye dhātoḥ sayādayaḥ pratyayā bhavanti*

Affixes *se*, *seN*, *ase*, *aseN*, *Kse*, *KaseN*, *adhyai*, *adhyaiN*, *Kadhyai*, *KadhyaiN*, *Śadhyai*, *ŚadhyaiN*, *tavai*, *taveN*, and *taveN* occur after a verbal root in the Vedic to denote the sense of affix *tumUN*.

**EXAMPLES:**

*vakṣe rāyaḥ* ‘...naming the wealth’

*tā vām eṣe* ‘...for going...’

*jīvasé* ‘...for living...’

*preṣe* ‘...for sending...’

*śrīyasé* ‘...for beauty...’

*kāmamupacāradhyai* ‘...for approaching...’

*āhuvadhyai* ‘...for invoking...’

*śrīyadhyai* ‘...for prosperity...’

*vāyave pibādhyai* ‘...for swallowing the wind...’  
*rādhāsaḥ sṛṣṭvā mādāyadhyai* ‘... for exhilaration by ritual oblation of food...’  
*pātavai* ‘... for drinking...’  
*sūtāve* ‘...for birthing...’  
*gantāve* ‘...for going...’  
*kartave* ‘...for doing...’  
*hartave* ‘...for fetching...’

1. Note that affix *tumUN* is introduced after verbal roots under diverse conditions of *kriyārthakriyā* ‘an action intended for another’ (3.3.11 *tumunṅvulau...*), *samānakartṛkatva* ‘same agent’ (3.3.158 *samānakartṛkeṣu...*), *upapada* ‘conjoined words’ (3.3.167 *kāla...*; 3.4.65 *śakadhṛṣa...*; 3.4.66 *paryāpti...*). 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 *tiN*, it should be treated as a *kṛt* (3.1.93 *kṛd atin*). This, in turn, would qualify *tumUN* to denote agent (*karṭṛ*) 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 (*anirdiṣṭārtha*). Once this is accepted, the denotatum of *tumUN* no longer remains doubtful. For, affixes introduced with no specification of meaning (*anirdiṣṭārtha*) 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 (*dhātvartha* / *bhāva*)’.

2. Note that the formal difference between these fifteen affixes can be explained in terms of their *its*: *N*, *K*, *Ś*, and *Ñ*. These *it* cause a difference of accentuation (*svara*) in their respective derivatives. Additionally, the *Ñ* causes lack of *guṇa*. The following illustrates the distribution, based on their difference in *it*, of these affixes in five sets:

- (i) *se, seN, Kse*
- (ii) *ase, aseN, KaseN*
- (iii) *adhyai, adhyaiN, Kadhyai, KadhyaiN, Śadhyai, ŚadhyaiN*
- (iv) *tavai*
- (v) *tave, taveÑ*

The *N* as an *it* is intended for the obligatory initial high-pitch (*ādyudatta*) of 6.1.191 *ñnityādir nityam*. Elsewhere, rule 3.1.3 *ādyudāttaś ca* will control the affixal accent. The *Ñ* will also block *guṇa*.

## 3.4.10 प्रयै रोहिष्यै अव्यथिष्यै

*prayai rohiṣyai avyathiṣyai*

*/prayai 0 rohiṣyai 0 avyathiṣyai 0/*

(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *chandasi* #6, *tumarthe* #9)

*prayai rohiṣyai avyathiṣyai ity ete śabdā nipātyante chandasi viṣaye*

The words: *prayai* 'to proceed', *rohiṣyai* 'to climb', and *avyathiṣyai* 'for not being weary' are derived by *nipātana* in the Vedic.

## EXAMPLES:

*prayai* 'to proceed'

*apām ośādhīnām rohiṣyai* 'water for vegetation'

*avyathiṣyai* 'for not being weary'

## 3.4.11 दृशे विख्ये च

*dṛṣe vikhye ca*

*/dṛṣe 0 vikhye 0 ca 0/*

(*pratyayaḥ* #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 viśvāya sūryam* 'the sun is for us all to see'

*vikhye tvā harāmi* 'I fetch this for you to see'

## 3.4.12 शकि णमुल्कमुलौ

*śaki ṇamulkamulau*

*/śaki 7/1 ṇamulkamulau 1/2/*

(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *chandasi* #6, *tumarthe* #9)

*śaknotau dhātāv upapade chandasi viṣaye tumarthe dhātos ṇamulkamul ity etau pratyayau bhavataḥ*

Affixes *ṆamUL* 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:

*agnim vai devā viḥhājṃ nāśaknuvaṇ* 'the gods were not able to divide Agni'

*apalupaṃ nāśaknuvan* '...were not able to split'

1. Note that the *N* in *NamUL* is an *it* used to introduce *vṛddhi* (7.2.115 *aco'ññiti*); the purpose of *K* is to block *guṇa* or *vṛddhi* in *KamUL* (1.1.5 *kniti ca*). The *L* of both the affixes is an *it*, used for accentuation (6.1.193 *liti*).

### 3.4.13 ईश्वरे तोसुनकसुनौ

*īṣvare tosunkāsunau*

*līṣvare 7/1 tosunkasunau 1/2/*

(*pratyayah* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *chandasi* #6, *tumarthe* #9)

*īśvaraśabda upapade chandasi viṣaye tumarthe dhātos tosunkasunpratyayau bhavataḥ*

Affixes *tosUN* and *KasUN* occur to denote the sense of *tumUN* in the Vedic after a verbal root used in conjunction with the word *īśvara* 'lord, master'.

#### EXAMPLES:

*īśvaro' bhicaritoḥ* 'the lord is capable of enchanting'

*īśvaro vilikhāḥ* '...god is to write...'

*īśvaro vitṛdah* '...god is to provide'

1. Note that assignment of the term *avyaya* to the derivatives is by rule 1.1.39 *ktvāto...* The *K* as an *it* in *KasUN* is used to block any *guṇa*, or *vṛddhi*.

### 3.4.14 कृत्यार्थे तवैकेन्यत्वनः

*krtyārthe tavaikenkenyatvanah*

*lkrtyārthe 7/1 (ṣaṣ. tat.) tavaikenkenyatvanah 1/3 (itar. dv.)/*

(*pratyayah* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *chandasi* #6)

Affixes *tavai*, *Ken*, *Kenya*, and *tvaN* occur after verbal roots in the Vedic to denote the sense of affixes termed *krtya* (3.1.95 *krtyāḥ*).

#### EXAMPLES:

*anvétavai* '...is to be pursued'

*parīdhātavai* '...is to be worn'

*nāvagāhe* '...is not to be immersed into'

*dīdṛkṣenyah* '...is wished to be seen'

*kartvá havīḥ* '...ritual oblation is to be prepared'

1. Note that the *krtya* affixes mentioned here are introduced in the sense of *bhāva* 'root-sense', and *karman* 'object', for which see 3.4.70 *tayor eva krtya....* A *krtya* 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 *avyaya* to the derivatives is made by rule 1.1.39 *krñ mejantah*.

Note that affix *tavai* 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 *kṛtya* affix. It is further stated that a *kṛtya* affix can also be found used in the sense of an agent (*kartr̥*) as in rule 3.4.68 *bhavyageya...* A *kṛtya* affix can also be found used in the sense of *karāṇa* (cf. 3.1.102 *vahyaṃ karāṇam*). Since Pāṇini explicitly uses *kṛtya* to indicate the denotata, we must here infer a reference to rule 3.4.70 *tayor...* For, the word *kṛtya* is also explicitly stated there.

### 3.4.15 अवचक्षे च

*avacakṣe ca*

*lavacakṣe ∅ ca ∅/*

(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *chandasi* #6, *kṛtyārthe* #14)

*avapūrvāc cakṣīna eś pratyayo nipātyate*

Affix *eś* occurs in the Vedic to denote the sense of a *kṛtya* affix after verbal root *cakṣiN*, used with the preverb *ava*, to derive *avacakṣe* by *nipātana*.

#### EXAMPLE:

*nāvacakṣe* ‘...is not to look down upon’

1. Note that the *ś* of *eś* is intended here for the assignment of the term *sārvadhātuka* by 3.4.113 *tiṅsīt sārvadhātukam*. This is necessary to block the introduction of *khyāN*, which is conditioned by an *ārdhadhātuka* affix as per rule 2.4.54 *cakṣīnaḥ khyāñ*.

### 3.4.16 भावलक्षणे स्थेष्कृज्वदिचरिहृतमिजनिभ्यस्तोसुन्

*bhāvalakṣaṇe sthenkr̥ñvadicarihutamijanibhyas tosun*

*/bhāvalakṣaṇe 7/1 sthen...bhyah 5/3 (itar. dv.), tosun 1/1/*

(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *chandasi* #6, *tumarthe* #9)

*bhāvo lakṣyate yena tasminn arthe vartamānebhyah sthādibhyo dhātubhyaś 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’, *kṛ* ‘to do’, *vad* ‘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:

*āsāṃsthātór védyāṃ sīdanti* (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 pravāditor agnau prahotavyam* ‘the ritual oblation should be offered to the fire before the finish of the chanting’  
*purā pracaritorāgnīdhrīye hotavyam* ‘the ritual oblation should be offered before the priest finishes the chanting’  
*ā hotoḥ apramattas tiṣṭhati* ‘...stays on till the end of the ritual oblation’  
*ā tamitoḥ āsīta* ‘stayed on till he (wished, or) became weary’  
*kāmam ā vijānitoḥ*... ‘...the wish for producing...’

1. Note that the roots after which affix *tosUN* is to be introduced must characterize an action. To interpret *bhāvalakṣaṇe* 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 सृपितृदोः कसुन्

*sṛpitṛdoḥ kasun*  
*/sṛpitṛdoḥ 5/2 kasun 1/1/*  
 (pratyayah #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, chandasi #6, tumarthe #9, bhāvalakṣaṇe #16)  
*sṛpitṛdor dhātor bhāvalakṣaṇe’ rthe vartamānayoś chandasi viṣaye tumarthe kasun pratyayo bhavati*  
 Affix *KasUN* occurs in the Vedic to denote the sense of *tumUN* after verbal roots *sṛp* ‘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 jartr̥bhya ātr̥dāḥ* ‘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 *guṇa* or *vṛddhi*.

### 3.4.18 अलंखल्वोः प्रतिषेधयोः प्राचां क्त्वा

*alamkhalvoḥ pratiṣedhayoḥ prācām ktvā*  
*/alamkhalvoḥ 7/2 pratiṣedhayoḥ 7/2 prācām 6/3 ktvā 0/*  
 (pratyayah #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91)  
 ‘alam, khalu’ ity etayoḥ pratiṣedhavācinor upapadayor dhātor ktvā pratyayo bhavati prācām ācāryāṇām matena

According to the Eastern grammarians, affix *Ktvā* occurs after verbal roots used in conjunction with *alam* and *khalu* when prohibition (*pratiṣeha*) 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 माझे व्यतीहारे

*udīcām māñō vyatīhāre*  
*lunīcām 6/3 māñah 5/1 vyatīhāre 7/1/*  
(*pratyayah #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, ktvā #18*)  
*māñō dhātor vyatīhāre vartamānād udīcām ācāryāṇām matena ktvā pratyayo bhavati*

According to Northern grammarians, affix *Ktvā* occurs after verbal root *māÑ* '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 *yācivā 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: *meÑ*. The cited form, *māÑ*, results as a replacement of the original *e* by *ā* before the *Ktvā* suffix under the provision of rule 6.1.45 *ādeca upadeśe' ſiti*. Citation of the root, with its replacement in *ā*, indicates that a root does not lose its status as ending in *iC* (*e, ai, o, au*) provided it is used with an *it* (cf. *nānubandhakṛtam aneyantatvam*). See rule 1.1.20 *dādghv adāp* for further details.

## 3.4.20 परावरयोगे च

*parāvarayoge ca*

*parāvarayoge 7/1 = paraś ca avaraś ca parāvarau, tābhyāṃ yogah (tr. tat with int. dv.); ca 0/*

*(pratyayah #3.1.1., paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, ktvā #18)*

*pareṇa pūrvasya yoge gamyamāne 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:

*aprapya nadim parvataḥ sthitah* 'the mountain is located prior to the river'

*atikramya tu parvataṃ nadī 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 *pūva*. Note that the *Kāśikā* glosses the rule with ...*gamyamāne*.... 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 (*paranadiyogena parvato viśesyate*). The second example has the river qualified by the mountain, which is located previously to it.

## 3.4.21 समानकर्त्तृकयोः पूर्वकाले

*samānakartṛkayoḥ pūrvakāle*

*samānakartṛkayoḥ 7/2 pūrvakāle 7/1/*

*(pratyayah #3.1.1., paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, ktvā #18)*

*samānah kartā yayoḥ dhātvarthayoḥ tatra pūrvakāle dhātvarthe vartamānād 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 āgatya snānaṃ kṛtvā dugdham pītvā sukhena 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 *karṭṛ* 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 *samānakarṭṛkatva* 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 *samānakarṭṛkatva*, does not specify any distinction (*bheda*) between the power (*śakti*) of an action termed *kāraka*, i.e., *karṭṛ*, 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 *samānakarṭṛkatva* as stated by this rule can still be treated as valid.

3. Some argue that the dual of *samānakarṭṛkayoḥ* 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 *samānakarṭṛkayoḥ* 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

(*samānakarṭratva*), and location of action in time (*pūrvāparakālatva*). 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 bhuktvā pītvā vrajati*, or  
 (d) *pītvā bhuktvā snātvā vrajati*.

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 bhuktvā pītvā śvapiti* may be a preferred sequence of actions.

4. Note that a sentence such as:

- (f) *bhuktavati brāhmaṇe gacchati devadattaḥ* would not qualify for *Ktvā* after *bhuj* 'to consume' because there is no identical agent.

A sentence such as:

- (g) *vrajati jalpati ca* '....goes and mutters as well'

is similarly out of the scope of this rule, since the two actions entail *yauga-padya* 'simultaneity'. But what about sentence (h):

- (h) *āsyam vyādāya śvapiti* '... sleeps with mouth open', or,  
 (i) *cakṣuḥ sammīlya 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 *vārttika* is proposed to account for these usages.

### 3.4.22 अभीक्ष्ण्य णमुल् च

*ābhīkṣṇye ṇamul ca*

*lābhīkṣṇye 7/1 ṇamul 1/1 ca 0*

(*pratyayah* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *ktvā* #18, *samāna-karṭrakayoḥ pūrvakāle* #21)

*ābhīkṣṇyaviśiṣṭe' rthe vartamānād dhātor ṇamul pratyayo bhavati, cakārāt ktvā ca*

Affix *ṇamUL*, as well as *Ktvā*, occurs after a verbal root which denotes a prior action and shares the same agent with a subsequent action provided *ābhīkṣṇya* 'repetition' is expressed.

EXAMPLES:

*bhojaṃ bhojāṃ vrajati* 'he goes having eaten and eaten'  
*bhuktvā bhuktvā vrajati* 'id.'

*pāyaṃ pāyaṃ 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 *paunaḥ paunya* 'over and over again', and is additionally treated as a qualifier (*viśeṣana*) to the sense of the root after which affix *ṆamUL*, optionally with *Ktvā*, is to be introduced. The word *ābhikṣṇya* is here used in the sense of 'repetition' (*vīpsā*) which, in turn, is expressed by doubling the derivatives (cf. 8.1.4 *nityavīpsayoh*). Thus, *bhojaṃ bhojaṃ vrajati* '...: eats, eats, and goes', or *bhuktvā bhuktvā vrajati* 'id'.

### 3.4.23 न यद्यानाकांक्षे

*na yady anākāṅkṣe*

*lna ० yadi ० anākāṅkṣe 7/1/*

(*pratyaayah* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *ktvā* #18, *sam-  
anākartrkayoh pūrvakāle* #21, *ṇamul* #22)

*yacchabda upapade dhātoḥ ktvāṇamulau pratyaayau na bhavato'  
nākāṅkṣe vācye*

Affixes *Ktvā* and *ṆamUL* 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 *ākāṅkṣā* 'expectancy' relative to some third action is not signified.

#### EXAMPLES:

*yad ayam bhukṣṇte tataḥ pacati* 'he repeatedly cooks and eats...'

*yad ayam adhīte tataḥ śete* 'he repeatedly reads and sleeps'

1. This rule blocks the introduction of affixes *Ktvā* and *ṆamUL* 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 adhīta 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 *adhīta 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 (*sākāñkṣa*) upon the second for completion of its sense. Consider now this following sentence:

(b) *yad ayam bhunkte 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*. Jinendrabuddhi rightly remarks (*Nyāsa* ad *Kāś.* under this rule): *pūrvakālaprakaraṇāpekṣayā pratiśedhaḥ kriyate tasmād yuktaḥ pūrvasūtravīhitasyāpi pratiśedhaḥ* '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 विभाषाऽग्रेप्रथमपूर्वेषु

*vibhāṣā' gre prathamapūrvēṣu*

*lvibhāṣā 1/1 agreprathamapūrvēṣu 7/3/*

(*pratyayah* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *ktvā* #18, *samānakartṛkayoḥ pūrvakāle* #21, *namul* #22)

'*agre, prathama, pūrvā*' ity eteṣūpapadeṣu *samānakartṛkayoḥ pūrvakāle dhātoḥ ktvānamulau 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', *prathama* 'first' or *pūrvā* 'prior to'.

#### EXAMPLES:

*agre bhojaṃ vrajati* 'having eaten ahead he goes'

*agre bhuktvā vrajati* 'id.'

*prathamam bhojaṃ vrajati* 'having eaten first he goes'

*prathamam bhuktvā vrajati* 'id.'

*pūrvam bhojaṃ vrajati* 'id.'

*pūrvam bhuktvā vrajati* 'id.'

*agre bhunkte tato vrajati* '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*, *prathama*, and *pūrvā*. Note that this optional negation is made available in view of a previously non-existent provision. This option is called *apṛāptavibhāṣā*. This cannot be called *pṛāptavibhāṣā*, 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 *LAṬ*, etc., can also be optionally introduced to affixes *Ktvā* and *NamUL* of this rule. If *ābhikṣṇye* were carried here, then *LAṬ*, etc., could not be introduced parallel to *Ktvā* and *NamUL*. For, sentences with *LAṬ*, etc., parallel to *Ktvā* and *NamUL*, do not obtain when *ābhikṣṇya* is denoted. That is, *agre bhukṅkte bhukṅkte 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 bhuktvā vrajati/ agre bhojaṃ vrajati*, optionally to occur with *agre bhukṅkte tato vrajati*, where no *ābhikṣṇya* is involved.

### 3.4.25 कर्मण्याक्रोशे कृजः खमुञ्

*karmaṇy ākrośe kṛñah khamuñ*

*lkarmaṇi 7/1 ākrośe 7/1 kṛñah 5/1 khamuñ 1/1/*

(*pratyayah #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, samānakartṛkayoḥ pūrvakāle #21*)

Affix *KHAMUN̄* occurs after verbal root *kṛñ* which denotes a prior action, and shares the same agent with a subsequent action, provided it cooccurs with a *pada* that signifies *karman* and *ākrośa* ‘insult, abuse’ is expressed.

#### EXAMPLES:

*coraṃkāram 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:

*coraṃkāram 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 स्वादुमि णमुल्

*svādumi ṇamul*

*lsvādumi 7/1 ṇamul 1/1/*



(*pratyayah* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *samānakarṭṛkayoḥ pūrvakāle* #21, *kṛñah* #2)

*svādvārtheṣūpapadeṣu kṛño namul pratyayo bhavati*

Affix *NamUL* occurs after verbal root *kṛÑ* when it denotes a prior action, and shares the same agent with a subsequent action, provided *KṛÑ* is also used with an item that signifies *svādu* 'delectable'.

#### EXAMPLES:

*svādumkāraṃ bhunkte* 'having made his food delectable, he eats'

*sampannaṃkāraṃ bhunkte* 'having made his food rich, he eats'

*lavaṇaṃkāraṃ bhunkte* 'having made his food salty, he eats'

1. Note that *samānakarṭṛkayoḥ pūrvakāle* and *kṛñah* are both carried here. The word *svādumi*, 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 *kṛÑ*, when it denotes a prior action relative to some subsequent action with which it also shares the same agent, provided that *kṛÑ* 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 (*śabda*; cf. 1.1.68 *svaṃ rūpaṃ ...*)? *Nyāsa* (ad *Kāś.*) explains this as follows:

*arthaparatvaṃ tu nirdeśasyāvicchinncāryaparamparayopadeśād vijñāyate*  
'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 *lavaṇaṃkāraṃ bhunkte* parallel to *svādumkāraṃ bhunkte*, where *lavaṇam* 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 *KHamUN̄* to enable the cooccurring word with *svādu* to end in *-m*? Given *svādu* + *kṛ* + *KHamUN̄*, rule 6.3.67 *arurdviṣad...* 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 *KHamUN̄*, 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 *ÑiṢ*. This would, obviously, yield undesired results. A specification with built in ad hoc *-m*, as the existing rule provides, rules out the introduction of *ÑiṢ*, since the cause (*nimitta*) for such an introduction is then removed. Besides, it is not

necessarily true that an introduction of *KHamUN̄* always leads to the introduction of *m* via *mUM*. For rule 6.3.67 also has a built-in exception of *anavyayasya* ‘...not of that which is an indeclinable’. This blocks the *mānta* status of *svādu*, interpreted to end in affix *CvI*. For it is then an indeclinable (*avyaya*). Thus, introducing *KHamUN̄* would, in some cases, occasion the introduction of the feminine affix *ÑiṢ*. Yet, in still other cases, it cannot secure the *mānta* status. Introducing *KHamUN̄*, with the ad hoc *mānta* status, restricts this clearly for the purpose of indeclinables which end in affix *CvI*. This, in turn, occasions the application of rule 7.4.26 *cvau 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 bhunkte* ‘...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 (*ṭṛṭiyā*) not introduced after *devadatta* in the sentence:

*devadattah svādumkāraṃ bhunkte?*

For, affix *NamUL* denotes *bhāva*; *ṭṛṭiyā* 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 *samānakartṛkatva*, which forms the basis for the introduction of *Ktvā*, would be impaired (cf. my notes under rule 3.4.21 *samānakartṛkayoḥ...*). It thus becomes unnecessary to introduce *ṭṛṭiyā* 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 *bhunkte*, the main action, renders the agent of the action denoted by *kṛ* of *svādum 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:

*anuprayujyamānād dhātor yasmin kārake lādayo vihītās 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 *kr̥t.*'

Note that the *Kāśikā* takes recourse to *bhāva* as the expression of affixes in the *tumUN* domain (*tumarthādhikāra*), 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*:

*pradhānetarayoṛ yatra dravyasya kriyayoḥ pṛthak  
śaktir guṇāśrayā tatra pradhānam anuruddhyate ||  
pradhānaviśayā śaktiḥ pratyayenābhidhīyate  
yadā guṇe tadā tadvad anuktāpi pratīyate ||*

'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 अन्यैवकथमित्यंसु सिद्धाप्रयोगश्चेत्

*anyathaivamkathamitthamsu siddhāprayogaś cet  
lanayathaivamkathamitthamsu 7/3 siddhāprayogaḥ 1/1 cet 0/  
(pratyayaḥ #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, kr̥ṇaḥ #25,  
ṇamul #26)  
anyathādiṣūpapadesu kr̥ṇo ṇamul pratyayo bhavati, siddhāprayogaś cet  
karoter bhavati*

Affix *ṇamUL* occurs after verbal root *kr̥ṇ* when it is used with *anyathā* 'otherwise', *evam* 'this way', *katham* 'how, like what', or *ittham* 'like this', provided a non-use (*aṇayoga*) of *kr̥ṇ* is also valid (*siddha*).

#### EXAMPLES:

*anyathākāraṃ bhūṅkte* 'he eats his food improperly'  
*anyathā bhūṅkte* 'id.'  
*evamkāraṃ bhūṅkte* 'he eats his food like this'  
*kathamkāraṃ bhūṅkte* 'he eats his food like what'  
*itthamkāraṃ bhūṅkte* 'he eats his food like this'  
*ittham bhūṅkte* 'id.'

1. This rule allows for the introduction of affix *ṇamUL* after *kr̥* when it occurs in conjunction with items such as *anyathā*, *evam*, and *katham*, etc., provided the non-use (*aṇayoga*) of *kr̥* is established (*siddha*). Thus, examples such as *anyathā bhūṅkte* and *anyathākāraṃ bhūṅkte* would mean the same thing. That is, *kāraṃ* does not contribute anything different to the meaning than what *anyathā*, itself, can accomplish. Consider now the counter-example:

*anyathā kṛtvā śiro bhunkte* ‘he eats having turned his face in the other direction’,

where *ṆamUL* cannot be introduced because the non-use of *kṛ* is not established. That is, deletion of *kṛ* would impair the meaning.

### 3.4.28 यथातथयोरसूयाप्रतिवचने

*yathātathayor asūyāprativacane*

*lyathātathayoḥ 7/2 asūyāprativacane 7/1/*

(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *kṛñāḥ* #25, *ṇamul* #26, *siddhāprayogaś cet* #27)

*yathātathāśabdayor upapadayoḥ kṛño ṇamul pratyayo bhavati, asūyāprativacane gamyamāne*

Affix *ṆamUL* occurs after verbal root *kṛN* when it is used with *yathā* ‘the way in which’ and *tathā* ‘that way’, provided non-use of *kṛN* is also valid and a response against *asūyā* ‘fault-finding’ is expressed.

#### EXAMPLES:

*yathākāram ahaṃ bhokṣye tathākāram ahaṃ, kiṃ tavānena* ‘I eat the way I do, what does this have to do with you’

*yathākṛtvā’ haṃ śiro bhokṣye, kiṃ tavānena* ‘I eat by keeping my head the way I do, what does this have to do with you’

1. This rule introduces affix *ṆamUL* 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 ahaṃ bhokṣye tathākāram ahaṃ, kiṃ 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’ haṃ bhokṣye tathā tvam drakṣyasi* ‘you will see the way I eat’,

where *ṆamUL* cannot be introduced because the sentence does not constitute a response to an expressed fault. The following sentence shows how *ṆamUL* can still not be introduced in the absence of the established meaning of *kṛ*:

*yathā kṛtvā’ haṃ śiro bhokṣye kiṃ 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 (*guṇeṣu doṣāviṣkaraṇam*).

## 3.4.29 कर्मणि दृशिविदोः साकल्ये

*karmani dṛśividoḥ sākalye*

*lkarmani 7/1 dṛśividoḥ 6/2 sākalye 7/1/*

*(pratyayah #3.1.1, paraś #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, ṇamul #26)*

*karmany upapade sākalyaviśiṣṭe' rthe dṛśividor dhātvor ṇamul pratyayo bhavati*

Affix *ṆamUL* 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:

*kanyādarśaṃ varayati* 'every girl he sees he chooses for a wife'

*brāhmaṇavedaṃ bhojayati* 'he feeds every *brāhmaṇa* he knows'

1. This rule introduces affix *ṆamUL* 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:

*brāhmaṇavedaṃ bhojayati*

which can be paraphrased as:

*yaṃ yaṃ brahmaṇaṃ 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 *ṆamUL* 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:

*brāhmaṇaṃ dṛṣṭvā 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 विन्दजीवयोः

*yāvati vindaḥjīvayoḥ*

*lyāvati 7/1 vindaḥjīvayoḥ 6/2/*

*(pratyayah #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, ṇamul #26)*

*yāvachhabda upapade vindater jīvateś ca ṇamul pratyayo bhavati*

Affix *ṆamUL* occurs after verbal roots *vidL* ‘to gain, profit’ and *jivA* ‘to be alive’ when they are used in conjunction with *yāvat* ‘as much as; as long as’.

EXAMPLES:

*yāvad vedam̐ bhūṅkte* ‘he eats as long as he gets’  
*yāvaj jīvam̐ adhīte* ‘he studies as long as he lives’

1. Note that what is specified here with *vinda* is verbal root *vidL*. How do we know this? We know this because the *n* of *vinda* has its source in the introduction of augment *nUM* by rule 7.1.59 *śe mucādīnām*. No other similar root gets this augment.

3.4.31 चर्मोदरयोः पूरेः

*carmodarayoh̐ pūreḥ*  
*/carmodarayoh̐ 7/2 pūreḥ 5/1/*  
 (*pratyayah̐* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *ṇamul* #26, *karmani* #29)  
*carmodarayoh̐ karmanor̐ upapadayoh̐ pūrayater̐ ṇamul̐ pratyayo bhavati*  
 Affix *ṆamUL* occurs after verbal root *pūri* ‘to cause to fill’ when it is used in conjunction with a *pada* which denotes *karman* and contains *carman* ‘skin, hide’ or *udara* ‘belly’.

EXAMPLES:

*carmaṇpūram̐ str̐ṇāti* ‘he spreads the hide to the extent it can cover...’  
*udarapūram̐ bhūṅkte* ‘he eats until his belly is full’

1. This rule introduces affix *ṆamUL* after verbal root *pūri* ‘to fill’. The specification by *pūreḥ* ‘after verbal root *pūri* implies the causative root. For, a non-causal *pūri* ‘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: *udaram̐pūram̐ bhūṅkte* ‘he eats until his belly is full’.

3.4.32 वर्षप्रमाण उलोपश्चास्यान्यतरस्याम्

*varṣapramāṇa ūlopaś cāsyānyatarasyām*  
*/varṣapramāṇe 7/1 ūlopaḥ 1/1 ca 0 asya 6/1 anyatarasyām 7/1/*  
 (*pratyayah̐* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *ṇamul* #26, *karmani* #29, *pūreḥ* #31)  
*pūrayater̐ dhātor̐ ṇamul̐ pratyayo bhavati, ūlopaś cāsyā pūrayater̐ anyatarasyām bhavati, samudāyena ced varṣasya pramāṇam̐ gamyate*  
 Affix *ṆamUL* occurs after verbal root *pūri* when it is used with a *pada* which denotes *karman* and when *varṣapramāṇa* ‘measure of rain’ is expressed; in addition, the *ū* of *pū*, is optionally deleted.

## EXAMPLES:

*goṣpadapūraṃ vṛṣṭo devaḥ* ‘it rained enough to fill up the hoof-print of a cow’

*goṣpadapraṃ vṛṣṭo devaḥ* ‘id.’

*sītāpūraṃ vṛṣṭo devaḥ* ‘it rained enough to fill up a furrow’

*sītāpraṃ vṛṣṭo devaḥ* ‘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’ (*varṣapramāṇa*). Thus, we get the sentences such as:

*goṣpadapūraṃ vṛṣṭo devaḥ* ‘it rained as much as could fill up the foot-prints of cows’

*goṣpadapraṃ vṛṣṭo devaḥ* ‘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’ nuṣasarge 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 *GHaÑ*.

## 3.4.33 चले क्रोपे:

*cele knopeḥ*

*lcele 7/1 knopeḥ 5/1/*

(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *ṇamul* #26, *karmani* #29, *varṣapramāṇe* #32)

‘*knūyī śabde undane ca’ asmāṅ ṇyantād dhātoś celārtheṣu karmasu upa-padeṣu ṇamul pratyayo bhavati, varṣapramāṇe 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 devaḥ* ‘it rained enough to make the clothes wet’

*vastraknopam vṛṣṭo devaḥ* ‘id.’

*vasanaknopam vṛṣṭo devaḥ* ‘id.’

1. This rule introduces affix *ṆamUL* after verbal root *knūYī*, used with *ṆiC*, 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 *ṆiC*. For, *pUK* can be introduced to *knūYī* by rule 7.3.36 *ar... rihrīvlī...* only when it ends in *ṆiC*. Thus we get examples such as:

*celaknopam vṛṣṭo devaḥ* ‘it rained enough to cause the clothes to be wet’

### 3.4.34 निमूलसमूलयोः कषः

*nimūlasamūlayoḥ kaṣaḥ*

*lnimūlasamūlayoḥ 7/2 (itar. dv.); kaṣaḥ 5/1/*

*(pratrayaḥ #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, ṇamul #26, karmani #29)*

*nimūla-samūla-śabdayoḥ karmavāciny upapadayoḥ kaṣer dhātor ṇamul  
pratrayo bhavati*

Affix *ṆamUL* 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:

*nimūlakāṣaṃ kaṣati* ‘removes (a plant) without the roots’

*samūlakāṣaṃ kaṣati* ‘removes (a plant) with the roots’

1. Note that our examples *nimūlakāṣaṃ* and *samūlakāṣaṃ*, which denote the object of *kaṣA* and both also include *kāsa*, 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 yathāvidhy anuprayogaḥ*. Commentators explain *samūlakāṣaṃ kaṣati* as *saha mūlena kaṣaṇaṃ karoti* ‘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 (*viśeṣaṇa-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. IH:178. ekasyaiva dhātvarthasya sāmānyaviśeṣabhāvena bhede sati viśeṣaṇaviśeṣyabhāvaḥ*). Note further that the condition of *sāmānā-kartṛkatva* ‘single agentness’ is still valid in this section.

### 3.4.35 शुष्कचूर्णरूक्षेषु पिषः

*śuṣkacūrṇarūkṣeṣu piṣaḥ*

*lśuṣkacūrṇarūkṣeṣu 7/3 (itar. clv.); piṣaḥ 5/1/*

*(pratrayaḥ 3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, ṇamul #26, karmani #29)*



*suskādiṣu karmavāciṣupadeṣu piṣer dhātor ṇamul pratyayo bhavati*  
Affix *ṆamUL* occurs after verbal root *piṣL* ‘to grind to powder’ when it is used in conjunction with a *pada* which denotes a *karman* with the signification of *śuṣka* ‘dried’, *cūrṇa* ‘powdered’, and *rūkṣa* ‘coarse’.

## EXAMPLES:

*śuṣkapeṣaṃ piṇaṣṭi* ‘...grinds something dry to powder’  
*cūrṇapeṣaṃ piṇaṣṭi* ‘...grinds something (already split into small pieces) to powder’  
*rūkṣapeṣaṃ piṇaṣṭi* ‘grinds something coarse to powder’

## 3.4.36 समूलाकृतजीवेषु हन्कृञ्ग्रहः

*samulākṛtajīveṣu hanḥkrñgrahaḥ*  
*Isamulākṛtajīveṣu 7/3 hanḥkrñgrahaḥ 5/1/*  
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *ṇamul* #26, *karmaṇi* #29)  
*‘samūla, akṛta, jīva’ ity eteṣu śabdeṣu karmasūpapadeṣu yathāsamkhyam*  
*‘han, dṛñ, graha’ ity etebhyo dhātubhyo ṇamul pratyayo bhavati*  
Affix *ṆamUL* occurs after verbal roots *han* ‘to kill’, *krñ* ‘to do’ and *grahA* ‘to hold’ when they are used with a *pada* which denotes *karman* and correspondingly, is constituted by *samūla* ‘including the root’, *akṛta* ‘not done’ and *jīva* ‘living being’.

## EXAMPLES:

*samūlaghātaṃ hanti* ‘he destroys completely, roots and all’  
*akṛtakāraṃ karoti* ‘he does something done never before’  
*jīvagrāhaṃ gṛhṇāti* ‘he seizes him alive’

## 3.4.37 करणे हनः

*karāṇe hanah*  
*Ikaraṇe 7/1 hanah 5/1/*  
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *ṇamul* #26)  
*karāṇe upapade hanter dhātor ṇamul pratyayo bhavati*  
Affix *ṆamUL* occurs after verbal root *han* when it is used with a *pada* which denotes *karāṇa*.

## EXAMPLES:

*pāṇighataṃ vedim hanti* ‘he strikes the sacrificial altar with his hand’  
*pādaghātaṃ bhūmim hanti* ‘he stamps the earth’

1. This rule again introduces affix *ṆamUL* after the verbal root *han*, though this time under the cooccurrence condition of an instrument (*karāṇa*).

## 3.4.38 स्नेहने पिषः

*snehane piṣaḥ*

*Isnehane 7/1 piṣaḥ 5/1/*

*(pratyayah #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, ṇamul #26, karaṇe #37)*

*snehanavācini karaṇe upapade piṣer dhātoḥ ṇamul pratyayo bhavati*

Affix *ṆamUL* occurs after verbal root *piṣL* when it is used in conjunction with a *pada* which denotes *karaṇa* with the signification of *snehana* 'lubricating, smoothing'.

## EXAMPLES:

*udapeṣaṃ pinaṣṭi* 'grinds something with water'

*tailapeṣaṃ pinaṣṭi* 'grinds something with oil'

1. Note that affix *ṆamUL* 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 *Kāś* III:180) states *snehane* of this rule is interpreted as specifying meaning, and not the cooccurrence (*upapada*) condition. Thus, *snehane* 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 *śuṣkacūrṇa*... because affix *ṆamUL* 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 वर्तिग्रहोः

*haste vartigrahoḥ*

*Ihaste 7/1 vartigrahoḥ 6/2/*

*(pratyayah #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, ṇamul #26, karaṇe #37)*

*hastavācinini karaṇe upapade vartayater grhṇātes ca ṇamul pratyayo bhavati*

Affix *ṆamUL* 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:

*hastavartaṃ vartayati* 'he turns something with his hand'

*karavartaṃ vartayati* 'id.'

*pāṇivartaṃ vartayati* 'id.'

*hastagrāhaṃ grhṇāti* 'he seizes or accepts with his hand'  
*karagrāhaṃ grhṇāti* 'id.'

1. This rule introduces affix *ṆamUL* after the causal form of verbal roots *vrt*, and also after verbal root *grāh* provided a word which denotes 'hand' (*hasta*) as instrument (*karāṇa*) 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) *hastavarttaṃ varttayati* and
- (b) *pāṇivarttaṃ varttayati* parallel to:
- (c) *hastena varttayati* 'rolls up something with hands into a ball', and
- (d) *pāṇinā varttayati* 'id.'

### 3.4.40 स्वे पुषः

*sve puṣaḥ*

*lsve 7/1 puṣaḥ 5/1/*

(*pratyayah #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, ṇamul #26, karāṇe #37*)

*svavācīni karāṇe upapade puṣer dhātor ṇamul pratyayo bhavati*

Affix *ṆamUL* occurs after verbal root *puṣA* 'to nourish, thrive' when it is used with a *pada* which denotes *karāṇa* and is constituted by a stem which signifies *sva* 'one's own'.

#### EXAMPLES:

*svapoṣaṃ puṣṇāti* 'he thrives on his own'

*ātmapoṣaṃ puṣṇāti* 'id.'

*pitṛpoṣaṃ puṣṇāti* 'he thrives on account of his father'

*mātrpoṣaṃ puṣṇāti* '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 *dhana* 'property'.

### 3.4.41 अधिकरणे बन्धः

*adhikaraṇe bandhaḥ*

*ladhikaraṇe 7/1 bandhaḥ 1/1/*

(*pratyayah #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, ṇamul #26*)

*adhikaraṇavācīny upapade badhnāter ṇamul pratyayo bhavati*

Affix *ṆamUL* occurs after verbal root *bandh* 'to bind' when it cooccurs with a *pada* which denotes *adhikaraṇa* 'locus'.

#### EXAMPLES:

*cakrabandhaṃ badhnāti* 'he ties... to a wheel'

*kūṭabandhaṃ badhnāti* 'he ties... to a post'

## 3.4.42 संज्ञायाम्

*saṃjñāyām*

*/saṃjñāyām 7/1/*

(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *ṇamul* #26, *bandhaḥ* #41)

*saṃjñāyām viśaye badhnāter dhātor ṇamul pratyayo bhavati*

Affix *ṆamUL* occurs after verbal root *bandh* when the derivate denotes a *saṃjñā* ‘name’.

## EXAMPLES:

*krauñcabandham badhnāti* ‘he is tying the *krauñcabandha* (name of a knot shaped like a heron)’

*mayūrikābandham badhnāti* ‘he is tying the *mayūrikābandha* (name of a knot shaped like a peahen)’

*aṭṭālikābandham baddhaḥ* ‘he was tied by the *aṭṭālikābandha* (name of a knot shaped like a palace)’

1. This rule introduces affix *ṆamUL* under the meaning condition of a name (*saṃjñā*). Unlike the preceding rule, it is not conditioned by locus (*adhikaraṇa*). Thus, the example, *cakrabandham badhnāti*, of the previous rule would treat *cakra* ‘wheel’ as the locus to which something or someone will be tied. In contrast, our present rule provides for *mayūrikābandham badhnāti* ‘he ties someone with a knot called Mayūrikā (Peahen)’. This rule is clearly formulated to accommodate non-locus (*anadhikaraṇa*) examples with name (*saṃjñā*) as denotata.

## 3.4.43 कर्त्रोर्जीवपुरुषयोर्नशिवहोः

*kartror jīvapuruṣayor naśivahoh*

*/kartroh 7/2 jīvapuruṣayoh 7/2 naśivahoh 6/2/*

(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *ṇamul* #26)

*jīvapuruṣayor kartrvācinor upapadayor yathāsamkhyam naśivahor dhātvor ṇamul pratyayo bhavati*

Affix *ṆamUL* occurs after verbal roots *naśA* ‘to disappear’ and *vahA* ‘to carry’ when they are used with a *pada* which denotes *kartr* and contains *jīva* and *puruṣa* ‘man, person’, respectively.

## EXAMPLES:

*jīvanāśam naśyati* ‘that which lives dies’

*puruṣavāham vahati* ‘the man is carrying a man’

1. This rule begins the introduction of affix *ṆamUL* under the co-occurrence condition of *kartr* when verbal roots *naś* and *vah* are conjoined with *jīva* and *puruṣa*, respectively. Thus we get:

- (a) *jīvanāśam naśyati* ‘...perishes with destruction of life’  
 (b) *puruṣavāham vahati* ‘the man carries the load of a man’

The condition of a *karṭṛ* as an *upapada* will rule out derivatives parallel to *jīvena naśtaḥ* ‘... destroyed by life’ and *puruṣeṇodhah* ‘... carried by a man’.

### 3.4.44 ऊर्ध्वे शुषिपूरोः

*ūrdhve śuṣipūroḥ*

*lūrdhve* 7/1 *śuṣipūroḥ* 5/2 (*itar. dv.*)

(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *ṇamul* #26, *kartroḥ* #43)

*ūrdhvaśabde karṭṛvāciny upapade śuṣipūrōḥ dhātor ṇamul pratyayo bhavati*  
 Affix *ṆamUL* occurs after verbal roots *śuṣI* ‘to be dry’ and *pūrI* ‘to fill up’ when they cooccur with a *pada* which denotes *karṭṛ* and contains *ūrdhva* ‘upright’.

#### EXAMPLES:

*ūrdhvaśośam śuśyati vṛkṣaḥ* ‘the tree dries up while standing upright’  
*ūrdhvaṇṇam pūryate* ‘...is filled up to the brim’

### 3.4.45 उपमाने कर्मणि च

*upamāne karmaṇi ca*

*lupamāne* 7/1 *karmaṇi* 7/1 *ca* 0/

(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *ṇamul* #26, *kartroḥ* #43)

*upamāne karmaṇy upapade cakārāt kartari dhātor ṇamul pratyayo bhavati*  
 Affix *ṆamUL* occurs after a verbal root used in conjunction with a *pada* which denotes a *karman*, and *karṭṛ* as well, as an *upamāna* ‘object of comparison’.

#### EXAMPLES:

*ghṛtanidhāyam nihitam jalam*

‘the water is preserved as if it was clarified butter (*ghṛta*)’

*ajakanāśam naśtaḥ*

‘...was wasted away like a goat’

### 3.4.46 कषादिषु यथाविध्यनुप्रयोगः

*kaṣādiṣu yathāvidhy anuprayogaḥ*

*lkaṣādiṣu* 7/3 *yathāvidhi* 0 *anuprayogaḥ* 1/1/

(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *ṇamul* #26, *kartroḥ* #43)

‘*ṇimūlasamūlayoḥ*’ *ity etad ārabhya kaṣādayaḥ, eteṣu yathāvidhy anuprayogo bhavati*

A tag in case of verbal roots enumerated beginning with *kaṣA* ‘to scrape’ (3.4.34 *nimūlasamūlayoḥ kaṣaḥ*) must be in line with the root which ends in *ṇamUL*.

EXAMPLE:

*nimūlakāṣaṃ kaṣati* ‘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 (*yathāvidhi*) that of a root which ends in *ṇamUL*. Consider for example the sentence:

*ajakanāśaṃ naṣṭaḥ* ‘...was wasted away like a goat’,

where affix *ṆamUL* is introduced after verbal root *naś*. Our present rule requires that if affix *ṆamUL* is introduced after verbal roots such as *kaṣ*, etc., such verbs, alone, should also be used as a tag. The verb form *naśyati* represents the tag which under the dictates of the present rule is in accordance with the *naś* of *ajakanāśaṃ* after which affix *ṇamUL* is introduced.

### 3.4.47 उपदंशस्तृतीयायाम्

*upadaṃśas tṛtīyāyām*

*lupadaṃśaḥ 5/1 tṛtīyāyām 7/1/*

(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *ṇamul* #26)

‘*daṃśa daśane*’ *asmād dhātor upapūrvāt tṛtīyānta upapade ṇamul pratyayo bhavati*

Affix *ṆamUL* occurs after verbal root *daṃśA* ‘to bite’, used with the preverb *upa*, when it occurs with a *pada* which ends in *tṛtīyā* ‘third triplet of *sUP*’.

EXAMPLES:

*mūlakopadaṃśaṃ bhunkte* ‘he eats his food taking a bite of radish’

*ārdrakopadaṃśaṃ bhunkte* ‘he eats his food taking a bite of ginger-root’

1. This rule introduces affix *ṆamUL* after verbal root *daṃś* ‘to bite’ used with the preverb *upa* provided a word which ends in the instrumental (*tṛtīyā*) forms the *upapada*. Thus, we get the example:

*mūlakopadaṃśaṃ 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 derivatives such as *upadaṃśa* with the co-occurring words which denote *karāṇa* is optional as provided for by rule 2.2.21 *tṛtīyāprabhṛtīny...*

Note also that, in this entire section of *ṆamUL*, rule 3.1.94 *vā' sarūpo' striyām* would also apply. That is, affix *Ktvā* would also apply to derive optional forms such as *mulakenopadaśya bhūṅkte*, parallel to the derivatives of *ṆamUL*.

### 3.4.48 हिंसार्थानां च समानकर्मकाणाम्

*hiṃsārthānāṃ ca samānakarmakāṇām*

*lhiṃsārthānām 6/3 ca ∅ samānakarmakāṇām 6/3/*

(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *ṇamul* #26, *ṭṛtīyām* #47)

*hiṃsārthānāṃ dhātūnām anuprayogadhātunā samānakarmakāṇām ṭṛtīyānta upapade ṇamul pratyayo bhavati*

Affix *ṆamUL* occurs after those verbal roots which signify *hiṃsā* 'injury, killing', and share the same object (*karman*) with roots subsequently used as a tag, provided they cooccur with a *pada* which ends in *ṭṛtīyā*.

#### EXAMPLES:

*daṇḍopaghātaṃ gāḥ kālayati* 'he wards off the cows by hitting with a stick'

*daṇḍatāḍaṃ gāḥ kālayati* 'id.'

1. This rule provides for the introduction of affix *ṆamUL*, still under the cooccurrence condition of a word which ends in *ṭṛtīyā*, though with some additional conditions. The root after which affix *ṆamUL* is to be introduced must meet the following three conditions:

- (a) it must denote an action with the signification of *hiṃsā*,
- (b) it must occur with a tagged root, and
- (c) it must share an identical object with the tagged action.

Consider the following example:

- (d) *daṇḍopaghātaṃ gāḥ kālayati* 'he wards off the cows with the blow of a stick',

where the action underlying *upaghāta* is synonymous with the action denoted by the tagged verbal form *kālayati*. Why should we have the condition of actions sharing identical objects? Observe the following:

- (e) *cauraṃ daṇḍenopahatya gopālako gāḥ kālayati* '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 *ṆamUL*.

### 3.4.49 सप्तम्यां चोपपीडरुधकर्षः

*saptamyāṃ copapīdarudhakarṣaḥ*

*l saptamyām 7/1 ca ∅ upapīdarudhakarṣaḥ 5/1/*

(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *ṇamul* #26, *ṛtīyāyām* #47)

*upapūrvebhyaḥ pīdarudhakarṣebhyaḥ saptamyanta upapade cakārāt ṛtīyānta upapade ṇamul pratyayo bhavati*

Affix *ṇamUL* occurs after verbal roots *pīdA* ‘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 *ṛtīyā*.

#### EXAMPLES:

*pārśvopapīdam śete* ‘he sleeps lying on his side’

*vrajoparodham gāḥ sthāpayati* ‘he keeps the cows restrained in the cowpen’

*pāṇyupakarṣam dhānāḥ saṃgrhṇāti* ‘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 *ṛtīyā*. Note that the use of *ca* enables *kaṛaṇa* to also form the cooccurrence condition, parallel to *saptamī*, thereby yielding two derivatives for each verbal root. A compound such as *pārśvopapīdam* is made optional by rule 2.2.21 *ṛtīyāprabhṛty anyatarasyām*. Consequently, there will be two optional forms parallel to *pārśvopapīdam*. That is, we have two optional forms: *pārśvayor upapīdam* and *pārśvābhyām upapīdam*, where the first takes the option of *saptamī* as opposed to the *ṛtīyā* 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 *pīdarudhakarṣa*. This subsequently combines with *upapūrvaḥ* ‘that which has a preceding *upa*’, where *upapūrvaḥ* would further undergo the deletion (*lopa*) of its second component word (*uttarapada*), yielding *upapīdarudhakarṣa*. Incidentally, verbal root *kṛṣ*, because of specification with the *a* of *Śap*, and along with the *guṇa* of *ṛ* in *karṣaḥ*, will be interpreted here to belong to the class of roots headed by *tud* ‘to torment’.

#### 3.4.50 समासत्तौ

*samāsattau*

*lsamāsattau 7/1/*

(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *ṇamul* #26, *ṛtīyāyām* #47, *saptamyām* #49)

*samāsattau gamyamānāyām ṛtīyāsaptamyor upapadayor dhātor ṇamul pratyayo bhavati*



Affix *ṆamUL* occurs after a verbal root used in conjunction with a *pada* which ends in *saptamī* or *tr̥tīyā*, provided the derivate denotes *samāsatti* 'proximity, contiguity'.

EXAMPLES:

*keśagrāhaṃ yudhyante* 'they are fighting by grabbing each other's hair'  
*hastagrāhaṃ yudhyante* 'they are fighting by holding each other's hands'

1. This rule introduces affix *ṆamUL* 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:

*hastairgrāhaṃ 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

*pramāṇe ca*

*/pramāṇe 7/1 ca 0/*

(*pratyayah* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *ṇamul* #26, *tr̥tīyāyām* #47, *saptamyām* #49)

*pramāṇe gamyamāne tr̥tīyāsaptamyor upapadayor dhātor ṇamul pratyayo bhavati*

Affix *ṆamUL* also occurs after a verbal root which cooccurs with a *pada* ending in *tr̥tīya* or *saptamī*, provided *pramāṇa* 'measure of length' is expressed.

EXAMPLES:

*dvyāṅguloṭkarṣaṃ khaṇḍikāṃ chinatti* 'he cuts a piece of wood into pieces equal in measure to the width of two fingers'  
*tryāṅguloṭkarṣaṃ khaṇḍikāṃ chinatti* 'he cuts a piece of wood into pieces equal in measure to the width of three fingers'

1. Our compound *dvyāṅguloṭkarṣam* is explained with parallel strings such as: *dvyāṅgule utkarṣam* and *dvyāṅgulenotkarṣam*. The word *pramāṇu* is treated as a synonym of *dairghya* 'length'.

3.4.52 अपादाने परीप्सायाम्

*apādāne parīpsāyām*

*/apādāne 7/1 parīpsāyām 7/1/*

(*pratyayah* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *ṇamul* #26)

*parīpsāyām gamyamānāyām apādāna upapade dhātor ṇamul 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:

*śayyotthāyaṃ dhāvati* 'he rises from the bed and runs'  
*bhrāṣṭrāpakarṣam 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

*dvitīyāyām ca*  
*|dvitīyāyām 7/1 ca 0/*  
(*pratyayah* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *ṇamul* #26, *parīpsāyām* #52)

*dvitīyānta upapade parīpsāyām gamyamānāyām dhātor ṇamul pratyayo bhavati*

Affix *NamUL* also occurs after a verbal root used in conjunction with a *pada* which ends in *dvitīyā* 'accusative', provided *parīpsā* 'haste' is signified.

## EXAMPLES:

*yaṣṭigrāhaṃ yuddhyante* 'they grab a stick and fight'  
*loṣṭagrāhaṃ yudhyante* 'they pick up a lump of clay and fight'

1. Note that *dvitīyā* is here used as an option to both *saptamī* and *ṭṛtīyā*. 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 स्वाङ्गेऽध्रुवे

*svāṅge' dhruve*  
*|svāṅge 7/1 adhruve 7/1 = na dhruve (nañ. tat.)|*  
(*pratyayah* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *ṇamul* #26, *dvitīyāyām* #53)

*adhruve svāṅgavāciny dvitīyānta upapade dhātor ṇamul pratyayo bhavati*

Affix *ṆamUL* occurs after a verbal root used in conjunction with a *pada* which ends in *dvitīyā* and denotes one's own (*sva*) non-vital (*adhruva*) body-part (*aṅga*).

EXAMPLES:

*akṣinikāṇaṃ jalpati* 'he mutters having closed his eyes'  
*bhrūvikṣepaṃ 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. yasminn aṅge chinne' pi prāṇī na mriyate tad adhruvam*). A counter-example is offered in *utkṣīpya śīraṃ 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 *ṆamUL*.

3.4.55 परिक्लिश्यमाने च

*parikliśyamāne ca*  
*/parikliśyamāne 7/1 ca 0/*  
 (*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *ṇamul* #26, *dvitīyāyām* #53, *svāṅge* #54)  
*parikliśyamāne svāṅgavācīni dvitīyānta upapade dhātor ṇamul pratyayo bhavati*

Affix *ṆamUL* also occurs after a verbal root used in conjunction with a *pada* which ends in *dvitīyā* and denotes one's body-part totally afflicted with the action.

EXAMPLES:

*urahpeṣam yudhyante* 'they fight crushing their rib cages'  
*śīrahpeṣam yudhyante* 'they fight crushing their heads'

1. This rule accounts for usages which may involve a vital body-part (*dhruva*; see *Kāś. III: 188: dhruvārtho' yam ārambhaḥ*).

3.4.56 विशिपतिपदिस्कन्दां व्याप्यमानासेव्यमानयोः

*viśipatipadiskandāṃ vyāpyamānāsevyamānayoḥ*  
*/viśipatipadiskandāṃ 6/3 (itar. dv.); vyāpyamānāsevyamānayoḥ 7/3 (itar. dv.)/*  
 (*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *ṇamul* #26, *dvitīyāyām* #53)

*dvitīyānte upapade viśyādibhyo dhātubhyo ṇamul pratyayo bhavati*  
 Affix *ṆamUL* occurs after verbal roots *viśI* 'to enter', *patI* 'to fall', *padI* 'to move', and *skandI* 'to leap' when the roots are used in conjunction with a *pada* which ends in *dvitīyā*, provided *vyāpyamāna* 'that which totally pervades' and *āsevā* 'successive connection' are signified.

## EXAMPLES:

*gehānuprapātam āste* ‘he enters each and every house, and stays’; ‘he enters a house time and again, and stays’

*gehānuprapātam āste* ‘id.’

*gehānuprapādām āste* ‘id’

*gehāvaskandam 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 sambandhaḥ* ‘total connection of things with the action denoted by roots such as *viś*, etc.’. The word *āsevā* refers to *vīpsā* ‘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 *vīpsā* (8.1.4 *nityam vīpsayoḥ*):

(i) *geham geham anupraveśam āste*

(ii) *geham anupraveśam anupraveśam āste*

Similar sentences can be formed parallel to other examples. This repetition, i.e., *geham geham; anupraveśam anupraveśam*, 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 *ṆamUL* is already introduced under the meaning condition of *ābhikṣṇya* by rule 3.4.22 *ābhikṣṇye ṇamul ca*. Is this rule formulated to block *Ktvā* by *ṆamUL*? 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 *dvitīyā* (cf. *Kāś.*: *nanu ābhikṣṇye ṇamul vihita eva, āsevā cābhikṣṇyam eva, kimartham punar āsevāyām ṇamul ucyate? ktvānivṛtyartham iti cet; na; iṣṭatvāt tasya. dvitīyopapadārtham tarhi vacanam: upapadasamāsaḥ pakṣe yathā syāt*).

## 3.4.57 अस्यतितृषोः क्रियान्तरे कालेषु

*asyatitrṣoḥ kriyāntare kāleṣu*

*lasyatitrṣoḥ 6/2 (itar. dv.); kriyāntare 7/1 kāleṣu 7/3/*

(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *ṇamul* #26, *dvitīyāyām* #53)

*kriyāntare dhātvarthe vartamānābhyām asyatitrṣibhyām dvitīyānteṣu kālavācīṣūpapadeṣu ṇamul pratyayo bhavati*

Affix *ṆamUL* 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 *dvitīyā* with the signification of *kāla* ‘time’.

EXAMPLES:

*dvayahātyāsaṃ gāḥ pāyayati* ‘...has the cattles drink water at an interval of two days’

*dvayaham atyāsaṃ gāḥ pāyayati* ‘id.’

*dvyahatarṣaṃ gāḥ pāyayati* ‘id.’

*dvyaham tarṣaṃ gāḥ pāyayati* ‘id.’

1. *Kāśikā* explains the examples as meaning *adya pāyayitvā dvyaham atikramya punaḥ pāyayatīty arthaḥ* ‘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., *atyašana* and *tarṣaṇa*, 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 नाम्यादिशिग्रहोः

*nāmny ādiśigrahoḥ*

*lnāmni 7/1 ādiśigrahoḥ 6/2 (itar. dv.)/*

*(pratyayaḥ #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, ṇamul #26, dvitīyāyām #53)*

*nāmaśabde dvitīyānta upapade ādiśer graheś ca dhātor ṇamul pratyayo bhavati*

Affix *ṆamUL* occurs after verbal roots *diś* ‘to permit’ used with the preverb *āN*, and *grah* ‘to sieze’, when the roots cooccur with a *pada* which ends in *dvitīyā* and denotes a name (*nāman*).

EXAMPLES:

*nāmādeśam ācaṣṭe* ‘...announces by calling out the name

*nāmagrāham ācaṣṭe* ‘id.’

3.4.59 अव्ययेऽयथाभिप्रेताख्याने कृञः क्त्वाणमुलौ

*avyaye’ yathābhipretākhyāne kṛñāḥ ktvāṇamulau*

*lavyaye 7/1 ayathābhipretākhyāne 7/1 = na yathābhipretam = ayathābhipretam;*

*ayathābhipretasya ākhyānam = ayathābhipretākhyānam*

*(ṣaṣ. tat. with an internal nañ); tasmin; kṛñāḥ 5/1 ktvāṇamulau 1/2/*

*(pratyayaḥ #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91)*

*avyaya upapade’ yathābhipretākhyāne gamyamāne karoteḥ ktvāṇamulau pratyayau bhavataḥ*

Affixes *Ktvā* and *ṆamUL* occur after verbal root *krN* ‘to do, make’,

used in conjunction with a *pada* constituted by an *avyaya* ‘indeclinable’, provided *ayathābhipreta* ‘not as one expects’ is signified.

EXAMPLES:

*brāhmaṇa putras te jātaḥ, kiṃ tarhi vṛṣala 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 garbhīṇī, kiṃ tarhi vṛṣala 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 *ṆamUL* formations. Thus, we get four forms: *uccaiḥ kṛtvā*, *uccaiḥkṛtya*, and *nīcaiḥ kāram* and *nīcaiḥkāram*, where the second form in each set of *Ktvā* and *ṆamUL* is gotten from optional compound formation allowed by rules 2.2.22 *ktvā ca* and 2.2.21 *ṛtīyāprabhṛtīny...* respectively.

The word *ayathābhipretākhyāna* is explained as *na yad yad abhipretam iṣṭam 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’ sarūpavidhi* 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 *ṆamUL* again in this section of *ṆamUL*? So that *ṆamUL* could be brought on a par with *Ktvā* since 2.2.22 *ktvā ca* also contains 2.2.21 *ṛtīyāprabhṛtīny...* This also enables the subsequent *anuvṛtti* of both *Ktvā* and *ṆamUL*.

3.4.60 तिर्यच्यपवर्गे

*tiryacy apavarge*

*Itiryaci 7/1 apavarge 7/1/*

(*pratyayah* 3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *kṛñah ktvāṇamulau* #59)

*tiryak śabde upapade kṛñah ktvāṇamulau pratyayau bhavataḥ apavarge gamyamāne*

Affixes *Kivā* and *ṆamUL* occur after verbal root *kṛÑ* to do, make’, junction with a *pada* constituted by *tiryac* ‘oblique’, when *apavarga* ‘completion’ is signified.

EXAMPLES:

*tiryakkṛtya gataḥ* ‘...went after having completed the work...’

*tiryak kṛtvā gataḥ* ‘id.’

*tiryakkāraṃ gataḥ* 'id.'

1. The formation of compound is optional as has already been explained under the previous rule.

### 3.4.61 स्वाङ्गे तसप्रत्यये कृभ्वोः

*svāṅge taspratyaye kṛbhvoḥ*

*/svāṅge 7/1 taspratyaye 7/1 kṛbhvoḥ 5/2/*

*(pratyayah #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, ktvāṅnamulau #59)*

*taspratyaye svāṅgavāciny upapade karoter bhavateś ca dhātvoḥ ktvāṅmulau pratyayau bhavataḥ*

Affixes *Ktvā* and *NamUL* occur after verbal roots *kṛN* and *bhū* used in conjunction with a *pada* which contains a stem that ends in affix *tasI* (5.4.45 *apādāne cā...*) and denotes 'one's limb'.

#### EXAMPLES:

*mukhataḥkṛtya gataḥ* 'he left with his face toward...'

*mukhataḥkṛtvā gataḥ* 'id.'

*mukhataḥkāraṃ 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 *kṛ* and *bhū* occurring in conjunction with a *pada* which terminates in affix *tasI* (5.4.45 *apādāne...*) and denotes *svāṅga* 'one's own limb'. Note that the introduction of these affixes does not follow *yathāsamkhyā* '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 *kṛ* 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 *tasI*. The following sentences illustrate counter-examples to these conditions:

(a) *sarvataḥ kṛtvā gataḥ* 'left having finished the work completely'

(b) *mukhīkṛtya 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 *CvI*, as opposed to *tasI*; 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' yathābhipretākhyāne....*

## 3.4.62 नाधार्थप्रत्यये च्यर्थे

*nādhārthapratyaye cvyarthe*

*/nādhārthapratyaye 7/1 cvyarthe 7/1/*

(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *ktvānamulau* #59, *kṛbhvoḥ* #61)

*nādhārthapratyaye śabde cvyartha upapade kṛbhvor dhātoḥ ktvānamulau pratyayau bhavataḥ*

Affixes *Ktvā* and *NamUL* occur after verbal roots *kṛÑ* 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 *CvI*.

## EXAMPLES:

*nānākṛtvā gataḥ* ‘after having made something manifold which it was previously not, he left’

*nānākṛtya gataḥ* ‘id.’

*nānākāraṃ gataḥ* ‘id.’

*vinākṛtya gataḥ* ‘having abandoned it he left’

*vinākṛtvā gataḥ* ‘id.’

*vinākāraṃ gataḥ* ‘id.’

*nānābhūya gataḥ* ‘it became many which it was previously not’

*nānābhūtvā gataḥ* ‘id.’

*nānābhāvaṃ gataḥ* ‘id.’

*vinābhūya gataḥ* ‘it went without becoming what it was not; it went having remained the same’

*vinābhūtvā gataḥ* ‘id.’

*vinābhāvaṃ gataḥ* ‘id.’

1. This rule allows for the introduction of affixes *Ktvā* and *NamUL* after verbal roots *kṛ* and *bhū* when they occur in conjunction with words ending in affixes which have the signification of *nā* (5.2.27 *vināñbhyāṃ...*) and *dhā* (5.3.42 *saṃkhyāyā...*), provided the same also denotes the sense of *CvI* (5.4.50 *abhūtataḥ...*).

The sense of *CvI* is explained as *abhūtataḥbhāva* ‘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) *nānākāraṃ gataḥ* ‘id.’
- (d) *anānā nānā kṛtvā gataḥ* ‘id.’
- (e) *dvidhā kṛtvā gataḥ* ‘he left after splitting something in two’
- (f) *dvidhākṛtya gataḥ* ‘id.’
- (g) *dvidhākāraṃ gataḥ* ‘id.’



Note that the words *nānā* and *dvidhā* 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 *CvI* 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 *dvidhā* must end in affixes which have the sense of *nā*, or *dhā* is important, because it means that examples such as *hiruk kṛtvā gataḥ* ‘...left without making...’, or *prthak kṛtvā gataḥ* ‘...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 *samkhyāyāḥ...* through 5.3.45 *dvitryoś ca* introduce affixes *dhā*, *dhyamUN̄*, and *dhamUN̄* 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 तूष्णीमि भुवः

*tūṣṇīmi bhuvah*

*|tūṣṇīmi 7/1 bhuvah 5/1|*

*(pratyayah #3.1.1 paraś ca #3.1.2 dhātoḥ #3.1.91 ktvānamulau #12)*

*tūṣṇīmśabda upapade bhavater dhātoḥ ktvānamulau pratyayau bhavataḥ*

Affixes *Ktvā* and *NamUL* occur after verbal root *bhū* when it co-occurs with an indeclinable *pada* constituted by *tūṣṇīm* ‘silent’.

#### EXAMPLES:

*tūṣṇīmbhūya* ‘having become silent’

*tūṣṇīmbhūtvā* ‘id.’

*tūṣṇīmbhāvam* ‘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 *svāṅge tas-pratyaye kṛbhvoḥ*. It is said that *bhū* in that rule is associated with *kṛ*, hence, carrying *bhū* via *anuvṛtti* would have also meant carrying *kṛ*. It is to drop *kṛ* that *bhū* is explicitly stated in this rule.

The option of compounds is available from rules 2.2.21 *ṛtīyāprabhṛtīny anyatarasyām* and 2.2.22 *Ktvā ca*.

### 3.4.64 अन्वचानुलोम्ये

*anvacy ānulomye*

*lanvacī 7/1 ānulomye 7/1/*

(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1 *paraś ca* #3.1.2 *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91 *ktvānamulau* # 12)

*anvakśabda upapade bhavater dhātor ānulomye ktvānamulau bhavataḥ*

Affixes *Kivā* and *NamUL* occur after verbal root *bhū* 'to be, become' when it cooccurs with an indeclinable *pada* constituted by *anvak* 'favorably' providing the derivate denotes *ānulomya* 'conduciveness'.

#### EXAMPLES:

*anvaghūtvā* 'ste' 'he remains a servant'

*anvaghūyāste* 'id.'

*anvaghāvam āste* 'id.'

1. The word *ānulomya* is explained as *anulomatā* 'favorability', *anukūlatva* 'conduciveness' and *paracittanuvīdhāna* 'acting in conformity with someone else's wishes'.

### 3.4.65 शकधृषज्ञाग्लाघटरभलभक्रमसहार्हास्त्यर्थेषु तुमुन्

*śakadhṛṣajñāglāghaṭarabhalabhakramasahārharhāstyartheṣu tumun*

*śaka...artheṣu 7/3 (itar. dv.); tumun 1/1/*

(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91)

*śakādiṣūpapadeṣu astyartheṣu vā dhātumātrāt tumun pratyayo bhavati*

Affix *tumUN* occurs after a verbal root used in conjunction with *śakA* 'to be able', *dhrṣA* 'to be bold, daring', *jñā* 'to know', *glai* 'to be weary', *ghaṭA* 'to strive', *rabhA* 'to begin', *labhA* 'to obtain', *kramA* 'to stride', *śahA* 'to endure', *arhA* 'to deserve', and with a root which has the signification of *asti* 'to be, become'.

#### EXAMPLES:

*śaknoti bhoktum* 'he is able to eat'

*dhrṣnoti bhoktum* 'he dares to eat'

*jñāti bhoktum* 'he knows how to eat'

*glāyati bhoktum* 'he becomes weary of eating'

*ghaṭate bhoktum* 'he strives to eat'

*ārabhate bhoktum* 'he begins to eat'

*labhate bhoktum* 'he obtains food for eating'

*prakramate bhoktum* 'he starts to eat'

*sahate bhoktum* 'he endures eating'

*arhati bhoktum* 'he deserves to eat'

*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 *śak* ‘to be able to’, etc., or with a root with the signification of *as* ‘to be’. One wonders why Pāṇini has to reintroduce *tumUN* when it is already available to verbal roots in general (3.3.10 *tumunṅvulau...*). Commentators say that this earlier provision is made under the cooccurrence condition of *kriyārthakriyā* ‘an action intended for another action’. Our present Rule provides for the introduction of affix *tumUN* without this requirement. Thus, we get:

*śaknoti bhoktum* ‘...is able to eat’,

where the action denoted by *bhuj* is not intended by the action denoted by *śaknoti*.

Note that the meanings of individual examples can be generalized as: competence, ability (*yogyatā*), incompetence, inability (*aśakti*), skill (*prāvīṇya*), 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 पर्याप्तवचनेषुलमर्थेषु

*ṣaryāptivacaneṣu alamartheṣu*

*/ṣaryāptivacaneṣu 7/3 alamartheṣu 7/3/*

(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *tumun* #65)

*ṣaryāptivacaneṣu alamartheṣūpapadeṣu dhātos tumun ṣaryayo bhavati*

Affix *tumUN* occurs after a verbal root used in conjunction with a *pada* which has the signification of *alam* ‘sufficient, enough’ qualified with *ṣaryāpti* ‘abundance, competence’.

#### EXAMPLES:

*ṣaryāpto bhoktum* ‘he is capable of eating...’

*alam bhoktum* ‘id.’

*bhoktum ṣarayati* ‘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 *ṣaryāpti* ‘abundance, capability’. Thus consider:

*alam kṛtvā* ‘enough with doing it, or do not do it’,

where affix *Ktvā* is introduced by rule 3.4.18 *alamkhalvoh...* The sentence obviously does not satisfy the additional qualification of *ṣaryāpti*. The sense of *ṣaryāpti* 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 कर्त्तरि कृत्

*kartari kṛt*

*/kartari 7/1 kṛt 1/1/*

(*pratyayah* #3.1.1; *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91)

*kṛtsamjñakāḥ praṭyayāḥ kartari kārake bhavanti*

Affixes termed *kṛt* (3.1.93 *kṛd atin*) occur to denote *kartr* ‘agent’.

#### EXAMPLES:

*kāraḥ* ‘he who does’

*nandanah* ‘he who pleases’

*grāhī* ‘he who seizes’

*pacaḥ* ‘he who cooks’

1. This rule specifies the denotatum of affixes termed *kṛt* (3.1.93 *kṛd atin*). The nature of this rule is explained as residual (*śeṣa*). That is, an affix termed *kṛt* will denote an agent (*kartr*) unless otherwise provided for by some other rule. Consider for example rule 3.2.56 *ādhyasubhaga...* which introduces affix *KHYuN* to denote the sense of *karana* ‘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 (*viśeṣa*), such as rule 3.4.56 *ādhyasubhaga...* This rule thus provides for an affix termed *kṛt* to denote *kartr*, unless already stated otherwise. Affixes introduced by rules such as 3.1.133 *ṅvultrcau* will thus denote *kartr* as provided for by this rule.

### 3.4.68 भव्यगेयप्रवचनीयोपस्थानीयजन्याप्लाव्यापात्या वा

*bhavyageyapṛavacanīyopasthānīyajanyāplāvyaṅpātīyā vā*

*/bhavya...pātīyāḥ 1/3 (itar. dv.); vā 0/*

(*pratyayah* #3.1.1, *kṛt* #67)

*bhavyādayaḥ śabdāḥ kartari vā nipātīyante*

Words such as *bhavya*, *geya*, *pravacanīya*, *upasthānīya*, *janyā*, *plāvya*, and *pātīyā* are derived by *nipātana* to optionally denote *kartr*.

#### EXAMPLES:

*bhavyah* ‘that which comes into existence; existence’

*geyah* ‘he who sings; that which is sung’

*pravacanīyah* ‘he who explicates; that which is explicated’

*upasthānīyah* ‘he who stays near; he nearby whom one stays’

*janyah* ‘he who comes into being’

*janyam* ‘that which is brought into existence’  
*āplāvyaḥ* ‘he who immerses’  
*āplāvyaṃ* ‘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 *kartṛ* 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 *kartṛ* of this rule. In the case of intransitive roots, the option of *kartṛ* 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) *pravacanīyo guruḥ svādhyāyasya* ‘the teacher, the one who is to explain the Veda’  
 (b) *pravacanīyo guruṇā svādhyāyaḥ* ‘the teacher by who the Veda is to be explained’,

where sentence (a) expresses the agent (*guru*) by means of affix *anīyaR*. 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 (*ṣaṣṭhī*), as per rule 2.3.65 *kartṛkarmanoh....*

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 *anīyaR* of *pravacanīyaḥ*.

### 3.4:69 लः कर्मणि च भावे चाकर्मकेभ्यः

*laḥ karmani ca bhāve cākarmakebhyaḥ*  
*lḥ 1/3 karmani 7/1 ca ० bhāve 7/1 ca ० akarmakebhyaḥ 5/3/*  
 (dhātoḥ #3.1.91, kartari #67)  
*lakāraḥ karmani kārake bhavanti cakārāt kartari bhavanti;*  
*akarmakebhyo dhātubhyo bhāve bhavanti, cakārāt kartari ca*  
 LA affixes occur after transitive verbal roots to denote *karman* or *kartṛ*; they also occur after intransitive verbal roots to denote *kartṛ* or *bhāva*.

### EXAMPLES:

*gamyate grāmo devadattena* ‘the village is gone to by Devadatta’  
*gacchati grāmaṃ devadattaḥ* ‘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 karmaṇi kartari ca* ‘*LA* affixes occur to denote *karman*, and *karṭṛ* as well, after roots which are transitive (*sakarmaka*);
- (b) *laḥ bhāve kartari cākarmakebhyaḥ* ‘*LA* affixes occur to denote *bhāva* ‘root-sense, and *karṭṛ* 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 (*viśeṣaṇa*) of *dhātoḥ* also requires transposition of number (*vacanaviḥarīṇāma*) in the *anuvṛtti*. That is, the word *dhātoḥ* will be read, here, as *dhātubhyaḥ*. 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 *karṭṛ*. Rule 3.1.93 *kṛd atin* assigns the term *kṛt* to affixes other than those denoted by the abbreviatory term *tiñ*. 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 *karṭṛ*. The formulation of rule 3.4.69 *laḥ karmaṇi...* thus becomes necessary. Assignment of the term *kṛt* to *LA* has further consequences. For instance, affixes termed *LA* can either be replaced with *tiñ* (*tiñbhāvī*; 3.4.77 *tiptasjhi...*), or by some other (non-*tiñ*; *atinbhāvī*) affix. A *tiñ* replacement of *LA*, for the reason of being a non-*kṛt*, only qualifies for denoting *bhāva* and *karman*. A non-*tiñ* replacement of *LA*, on the other hand, qualifies for denoting the *karṭṛ*. 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 grāmaṃ devadattaḥ* ‘Devadatta is going to the village’
- (e) *āsyate devadattena* ‘Devadatta stays...’
- (f) *āste devadattaḥ* ‘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 *tiN* replacements of affix *LAT*. Since the object is expressed by *ta* of *gamyate* in (c), the agent must be expressed with *tr̥tīyā* (2.3.18 *kartr̥karaṇayos...*). 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 *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 (*dvitīyā*; 2.3.2 *karmaṇi dvitīyā*). Sentence (e) expresses its agent with the instrumental ending (*tr̥tīyā*); 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 *āsyate* of sentence (e). This is precisely because of the explicit statement of *akarmakebhyaḥ* 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 (*vyāpārā*).

Let us consider the following sentence for illustration:

- (i) *devadattaḥ sthālyāṃ pacaty odanam agninā* '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 (*vyāpārā*) 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 तयोरेव कृत्यक्तखलार्थाः

*tayor eva kṛtyaktakhalarthāḥ*

*Itayoh 7/2 eva 0 kṛtyaktakhalarthāḥ 1/3/*

*(pratyayah #3.1.1, karmaṇi bhāve cākarmakebhyah #69)*

*tayor eva bhāvakarmanoh kṛtyasamjñakāḥ ktakhalarthās ca pratyayā bhavanti*

Affixes termed *kṛtya* (3.1.91 *kṛtyāḥ*), and those which have the signification of *Kta* (3.3.114 *napumsake...*) and *KHaL* (3.3.126 *iṣadduhsusu...*), occur to denote only *bhāva* or *karman*.

#### EXAMPLES:

*karttavyah kaṭo bhavatā* ‘the mat should be made by you’

*āsitavyam bhavatā* ‘you should sit’

*kṛtaḥ kaṭo bhavatā* ‘the mat was made by you’

*āsitam bhavatā* ‘you sat down’

*iṣatkaro kaṭam bhavatā* ‘the mat is easy for you to make’

*iṣadādhyambhavam bhavatā* ‘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 niṣṭhā*), 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) *karttavyah kaṭo bhavatā* ‘a mat should be made by you’

(b) *śayitavyam bhavatā* ‘you must recline’

(c) *kṛtaḥ kaṭo bhavatā* ‘a mat is made by you’

(d) *śayitam bhavatā* ‘you have reclined’

(e) *iṣatkaro kaṭo bhavatā* ‘the mat is easy for you to make rightaway’

(f) *iṣad 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 cākarmakebhyah* is still carried, these affixes cannot denote *bhāva* in case of a transitive (*sakarmaka*) verbal root.

#### 3.4.71 आदिकर्मणि क्तः कर्त्तरि च

*ādikarmaṇi ktaḥ kartari ca*

*lādikarmaṇi 7/1 ktaḥ 1/1 kartari 7/1 ca 0/*

*(pratyayah #3.1.1 karmaṇi bhāve cākarmakebhyah #69)*

*ādikaramaṇi yah kto vihitah sa kartari bhavati*

Affix *Kta* which occurs to denote the onset of an action denotes *kartr* as well.



## EXAMPLES:

*prakṛtaḥ kaṭam devadattaḥ* 'Devadatta started to make the mat'  
*prakṛtaḥ kaṭo devadattena* 'id.'  
*prakṛtam devadattena* 'id.'

1. Note that the word *karman* of *karmaṇi* 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-tatpuruṣa* compound with the analysed form: *ādibhūtaḥ kriyākṣaṇaḥ* 'that which is the initial moment of an action'. Note that *Kta* is a *niṣṭhā* 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 *bhāva* and *karman*. Note that the preceding rule provides for *Kta* to denote *bhāva* and *karman* as explained. This rule extends the denotatum of *karṭṛ* in the case of *Kta* used with the specification of *ādikarma*. Consider now the following sentences:

- (a) *prakṛtaḥ kaṭam devadattaḥ* 'Devadatta started making a mat'
- (b) *prakṛtaḥ kaṭo 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 (*prātipadikārtha*) because the agent is already expressed by the *Kta* of *prakṛtaḥ*. Sentence (b) must use the instrumental ending (*tr̥tīyā*) to express the agent because the *Kta* of *prakṛtaḥ* now expresses the object. This explains why *kaṭaḥ* must be used with the nominative to denote the nominal stem-notion. Sentence (c) denotes *bhāva* 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 *bhāva*, 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 *bhāva* with reference to the verbal root treated as intransitive because of an unexpressed object. Haradatta (*Padamañjarī ad Kāśikā* III: 208) states it as follows:

*atra karmaṇo' vivakṣitatvena dhātor akarmakād bhāva eva ktaḥ* 'affix *Kta* is introduced here to denote *bhāva* alone because the verbal root becomes intransitive for lack of an intent to denote the object'

## 3.4.72 गत्यर्थाकर्मकश्लिषशीङ्स्थासवसजनरुहजीर्यतिभ्यश्च

*gatyarthākarmakaśliṣaśīṅsthāsavasajanaruhajīryatibhyaś ca*

*lgatyarthā...jīryatibhayaḥ 5/3 ca 0/*

*(pratyayah #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, karmaṇi bhāve cākarmakebhyaḥ #69, kartari #71)*

*gatyarthebhyoḥ dhātubhyo' karmakebhyaḥ śliṣādibhyaś ca yaḥ ktaḥ sa kartari bhavati, cakārād yathāprāptaṃ ca bhāvakarmanoḥ*

Affix *Kta* occurs to denote *karṭṛ*, *bhāva* and *karman*, after intransitive verbal roots which have the signification of *gati* 'motion', and also after verbal roots *śliṣA* 'to embrace', *śīN* 'to recline', *sthā* 'to stand', *āsA* 'to sit', *vasA* 'to dwell', *janA* 'to be born', *ruhA* 'to grow', and *jī* 'to become old, be wasted away'.

## EXAMPLES:

*gato devadatto grāmam* 'Devadatta went to the village'

*gato devadattena grāmahaḥ* 'id.'

*gataṃ devadattena* 'Devadatta went'

*glāno bhavān* 'sir, you are sad'

*glānaṃ bhavatā* 'id.'

*āsito bhavān* 'sir, you are seated'

*āsitaṃ bhavatā* 'id.'

*upaśliṣto gurum bhavān* 'sir, you embraced the teacher'

*upaśliṣto gurur bhavatā* 'sir, the teacher was embraced by you'

*upaśliṣtaṃ bhavatā* 'sir, you embraced...'

*upaśayito gurum bhavān* 'sir, you reclined near the teacher'

*upaśayito gurur bhavatā* 'id.'

*upaśayitaṃ gurum bhavān* 'sir, you reclined...'

*upasthito gurum bhavān* 'sir, you appeared before the teacher'

*upasthito gurur bhavatā* 'id.'

*upasthitaṃ bhavatā* 'sir, you appeared'

*upāsito gurum bhavān* 'sir, you worshipped your teacher'

*upāsito gurur bhavatā* 'sir, the teacher was worshipped by you'

*upāsitaṃ bhavatā* 'sir, you worshipped...'

*anūṣito gurum bhavān* 'sir, you lived near the teacher'

*anūṣito gurur bhavatā* 'id.'

*anūṣitaṃ bhavatā* 'sir, you lived...'

*anujāto māṇavako māṇavikām* 'the boy was born after the girl'

*anujātā māṇavakena māṇavikā* 'id.'

*anujātaṃ māṇavakena* 'the boy was born after...'

*ārūḍho vṛkṣaṃ bhavān* 'you climbed the tree sir!'

*ārūḍhaṃ vṛkṣo bhavatā* 'the tree was climbed by you sir'

*ārūḍhaṃ bhavatā* 'sir, you climbed...'

*anujīrṇo vṛṣalīm devadattaḥ* ‘Devadatta made the *vṛṣalī*, the lowly *śūdra* woman battered’

*anujīrṇā vṛṣalī devadattena* ‘id.’

*anujīrṇam 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 *tr̥tīyā* 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 *dvitīyā* 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 *śliṣĀ*, etc., are specifically enumerated in this rule because, with the use of a preverb, they become transitive (cf. *Kāśikā* III: 209: *śliṣādayas sopasargakās sakarmakā bhavanti, tadartham eṣāṃ upādānam*). Otherwise, they would have qualified for the provision of this rule on the basis of their intransitivity.

### 3.4.73 दाशगोघ्नौ सम्प्रदाने

*dāśagoghnau sampradāne*

*Idāśagoghnau 1/2 sampradāne 7/1/*

*dāśagoghnau śabdau sampradāne kārake nipātyete*

Forms such as *dāśa* 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 *nandigrahi...*), or *ṬaḶ* (3.2.8 *gāpoṣṭak*) to denote *sampradāna* ‘dative’, by the process of *nipātana*, with

words such as *dāśaḥ* 'he to whom a gift is made', or *goghnaḥ* 'he for whom a cow is killed'. The word *dāśaḥ* is analysed as *dāśanti tasmai* 'he to whom a gift is made', and is derived by the introduction of affix *aC*. The word *goghnaḥ* is similarly derived by introducing affix *ṬaK* by *nipātana* with the analysed form: *āgatāya tasmai dātum gāṃ ghnanti* 'a guest for whom they kill a cow in offering'. This word does not mean 'the killer of a cow' such as a *cāṇḍāla* 'the very lowly untouchable outcast', etc. The affixes employed here should denote *karṭr* by 3.1.93 *kartari kṛt*. This rule makes an ad hoc provision for dative.

2. The word *goghnaḥ* means a guest deserving of *madhuparka* 'a ritual welcome with the offering of yogurt (*dadhi*), ghee (*sarpiṣ*), 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 *goghnaḥ* 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 *goghnaḥ* 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 *goghnaḥ* to be in line with the belief that cows were not killed.

### 3.4.74 भीमादयोऽपादाने

*bhīmādayo' pādāne*

*lbhīmādayaḥ 1/3 apādāne 7/1/*

*bhīmādayaḥ śabdā apādāne nipātyante*

The words *bhīma* 'frightening', etc., derive via *nipātana* when *apādāna* 'ablative' is denoted.

#### EXAMPLES:

*bhīmaḥ* 'he who people fear'

*bhayānakaḥ* 'id.'

*bhīṣmaḥ* 'id.'

1. The words listed as *bhīma* 'frightening', etc., are derivatives of *uṇādi* 'uṆ etc.' affixes. This ad hoc provision is against the provision of 3.1.93 *kartari kṛt*.

### 3.4.75 ताभ्यामन्यत्रोणादयः

*tābhyām anyatronādayaḥ*

*ltābhyām 5/2 anyatra 0 uṇālayaḥ 1/1/*

(*pratyayah* #3.1.1)

*uṇādayaḥ śabdāḥ tābhyām apādānasampradānābhyām anyatra kārake bhavanti*

Affixes *uN*, etc., also occur outside of the denotata of dative (*sampradāna*) and ablative (*apādāna*).

EXAMPLES:

*kr̥ṣiḥ* ‘farming; that which is tilled’

*tantuḥ* ‘thread; that which is stretched’

1. This rule makes a provision for the *uṇādi* affixes to denote other *kāraka* in addition to *sampradāna* 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 *sampradāna*. The *apādāna* would have been available even without *tābhyām*.

3.4.76 क्तोऽधिकरणे च ध्रौव्यगतिप्रत्यवसानार्थेभ्यः

*kto' dhikaraṇe ca dhrauvyagatipratyaivasānārthebhyaḥ*

*/ktaḥ 1/1 adhikaraṇe 7/1 ca 0/*

*dhrauvyagatipratyaivasānārthebhyaḥ 5/3/*

(*pratyayah* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91)

*dhrauvyagatipratyaivasānārthebhyo yaḥ kto vihitāḥ so' dhikaraṇe bhavati cakārād yathāprāptaṃ ca*

Affix *Kta* ‘occurs after verbal roots which signify *dhrauvya* ‘to remain fixed’, *gati* ‘motion’ and *pratyaivasāna* ‘eating, consuming’ to additionally denote *adhikaraṇa* ‘locus’.

EXAMPLES:

*āsito devadattaḥ* ‘Devadatta is seated’

*āsitaṃ tena* ‘he is seated’

*idam eṣāṃ āsitam* ‘this is their place of sitting’

*yāto devadatta grāmam* ‘Devadatta went to the village’

*yātaṃ devadattena* ‘Devadatta went’

*bhukta odano devadattena* ‘Devadatta ate rice’

*devadattena bhuktam* ‘Devadatta ate’

*idam eṣāṃ 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 *pratyaivasāna* ‘eating’ to denote *adhikaraṇa* ‘locus’. Note that because *ca* is stated in the rule, the denotata of *bhāva*, *karman*, or *karṭṛ*, where applicable, will additionally still apply. The following outlines actions with possible denotata of *Kta*:

- (a) intransitive (stative) actions: *adhikaraṇa*, *karṭṛ*, and *bhāva*;
- (b) actions with the signification of movement: *adhikaraṇa*, *karṭṛ*, *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 *karṭṛ*.

The following examples illustrate the four denotata of affix *Kta* introduced after verbal roots which have the signification of *gati*:

- (d) *yāto devadatto grāmam (karṭṛ)* ‘Devadatta went to the village’
- (e) *yāto devadattena grāmaḥ (karman)* ‘the village was gone to by Devadatta’
- (f) *yātam devadattena (bhāva)* ‘Devadatta is gone’
- (g) *idam-eṣāṃ yātam (adhikaraṇa)* ‘this is their place for sitting’

The denotata of *Kta* with other verbal roots can be similarly illustrated. Note that the genitive (*ṣaṣṭhī*) in *eṣāṃ* is ruled by 2.3.68 *adhikaraṇavācinaś ca* under the cooccurrence condition of *Kta* which denotes *adhikaraṇa*.

### 3.4.77 लस्य

*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 *ṣaṣṭhī 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 (*anubandhaviśiṣṭāḥ*), and specific temporal or other meanings (*arthaviśeṣe kālaviśeṣe ca*).

### 3.4.78 तिप्तस्झिसिप्थस्थमिब्वस्मस्तातांझथासाथांध्वमिड्वहिमहिङ्

*tiptasjhisipthasthamibvasmastātāmjhathāsāthāṃdhvamidvahirimahin*

//*tip...mahin* 1/1/

(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *lasya* #77)

*lasya tibādāya ādeśā bhavanti*

Affixes *tiP*, *tas*, *jhi*, *siP*, *thas*, *tha*, *miP*, *vas*, *mas*, *ta*, *ātām*, *jha*, *thās*, *āthām*, *dhvam*, *iT*, *vahi* and *mahiṅ* occur in place of *LA*

EXAMPLES:

*pacati* ‘he cooks’

*pacataḥ* ‘they two cook’  
*pacanti* ‘they (plural) cook’, etc.

1. This rule introduces a set of eighteen verbal endings indicated by the abbreviatory term *tiÑ*. They are classed in two sets of *parasmaipada* ‘active’ and *ātmanepada* ‘middle’ with reference to three numbers and persons in each set as follows:

*parasmaipada:*

	<i>singular</i>	<i>dual</i>	<i>plural</i>
IIIrd pers.	<i>tip</i>	<i>tas</i>	<i>jhi</i>
IInd Pers.	<i>siP</i>	<i>thas</i>	<i>tha</i>
Ist Pers.	<i>miP</i>	<i>vas</i>	<i>mas</i>

*ātmanepada:*

IIIrd Pers.	<i>ta</i>	<i>ātam</i>	<i>jha</i>
IInd Pers.	<i>thās</i>	<i>āthām</i>	<i>dhvam</i>
Ist Pers.	<i>iṬ</i>	<i>vahi</i>	<i>mahiÑ</i>

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 *lah 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 *trīṇi...* Finally, each set is classified into three numbers: *ekavacana* ‘singular’, *dvivacana* ‘dual’, and *bahuvacana* ‘plural’.

The *P* in *tiP* is for accent, as per 3.1.4 *anudāttau suppitau*. The *Ṭ* of *iṬ* is used as an *it* for specification via rules such as 3.4.106 *iṭo’ t*. It is not used, here, to indicate the place (*deśa*) with reference to an operation (*vidhi*), such as rule 1.1.46 *ādyantau takitau* provides for. The question arises obviously because of two operational interpretations of genitive (*ṣaṣṭhī*) which are pertinent here, namely *sthānaṣaṣṭhī* ‘genitive denoting the relation: in place of’ and *avayavaṣaṣṭhī* ‘genitive denoting some part of a whole’. All other *tiÑ* replacements of *LA* are brought via the first interpretation of genitive meaning ‘in place of’. It is certainly odd to interpret the introduction of *iṬ* 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 *Ñ* of *mahiÑ* is simply to facilitate the formation of the abbreviatory term *tiÑ*. Why can this *Ñ* not be interpreted as given to block *guṇa*, or *vrddhi*, similar to the rules such as 1.1.5 *kniti ca*? Because that purpose could easily be served by rule 1.1.4 *sārvadhātukam apit*.

### 3.4.79 टित आत्मनेपदानां टेरे

*ṭit ātmanepadānām ṭer e*

*ṭitah 6/1 ātmanepadāṇām 6/3 ṭeḥ 6/1 e* (deleted 1/1)

(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *lasya* #77)

*ṭito lakārasya sthāne yāny ātmanepadāni teṣāṃ ṭer ekārādeśo bhavati*

The *ṭi* (1.1.64 *aco' ntyādi...*) of an *ātmanepada* (1.4.100 *tañānāv...*) replacement of a *LA*, marked with *ṭ*, is replaced by *e*.

EXAMPLES:

To be provided under appropriate rules.

1. This rule provides a replacement in *e* for the *ṭi* part of an *ātmanepada* ending which replaces the *LA* affixes marked with *ṭ*. There are six *LA* affixes which have *ṭ* as an *it*: *LAṭ*, *LIT*, *LUT*, *LRṭ*, *LET*, and *LOT*. The term *ṭi* is assigned by rule 1.1.63 *aco' ntyādi ṭi* 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 *LAṭ* affix, such as *LAṭ*, will be replaced with *te*. But rule 1.1.64 assigns the term *ṭi* 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 *ṭi*, a form consisting of a single vowel will be treated as constituting itself as its last vowel.

3.4.80 थासः से

*thāsaḥ se*

*/thāsaḥ 6/1 se (deleted 1/1)/*

*(lasya #77, ṭitaḥ #79)*

*ṭito lakārasya sthāne yaṣ thās tasya sthāne se ādeśo bhavati*

The *thās*, a replacement for a *LA* affix marked with *ṭ*, is replaced by *se*.

EXAMPLES:

*pacase* 'you are cooking'

*pakṣyase* 'you will cook'

1. This rule orders a replacement in *se* for affix *thās*, replacement which occurs in place of a *LA* marked with *ṭ*. Why did Pāṇini not provide for this replacement with the formulation: *thaḥ sa* 'the *th* of an *ātmanepada*-replacement of a *LA* affix marked with *ṭ* 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 *th* of *āthām*, which is not desired.

3.4.81 लिटस्तज्ञयोरेशिरेच्

*liṭas tajhayor eśirec*

*/liṭaḥ 6/1 tajhayoḥ 6/2 eśirec 1/1/*

*liḍādeśayos tajhayor yathāsamkhyam 'eś irec' ity etāv ādeśau bhavataḥ*



The *ta* and *jha* which replace *LIT* are replaced by *eś* 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 *eś* and *ireC* as replacements for affixes *ta* and *jha* respectively when they occur in place of *LIT*. The *ś* of *eś* is used as an *it* for *sarvādeśa* ‘total replacement’ in view of 1.1.55 *anekāśit sarvasya*. The *C* of *ireC* is used as an *it* to provide for the *udātta* accent as per rule 6.1.163 *ciṭaḥ*.

3.4.82 परस्मैपदानां णलतुसुस्थलथुसणत्वमाः

*parasmaipadānām ṅalatuṣuṣṭhalathuṣaṅalvamaḥ*  
*/parasmaipadānām 6/3 ṅal...māḥ 1/3 (itar. dv.)/*  
*(liṭaḥ #81)*  
*liḍādeśānām parasmaipadasaṃjñakānām yathāsaṃkhyam tibādīnām*  
*ṅalādayo navādeśā bhavanti*  
*ṅaL, atus, us, thaL, athus, a, ṅaL, va* and *ma* come in place of the *parasmaipada* replacements of *LIT*.

EXAMPLES:

*papāca* ‘third person singular active perfect’  
*pecatuḥ* ‘third person dual active perfect’  
*pechuḥ* ‘third person plural active perfect’

1. Note that this rule carries the *anuvṛtti* of *liṭaḥ*. Consequently, the nine affixes *ṅaL, atus, us; thaL, athus, a; and ṅaL, va, ma* come in place of the nine *parasmaipada* replacements of *LIT*, namely *tip, tas, jhi; siP, thas, tha; and miP, vas, mas*, respectively. Since these nine replacements are enumerated for an equal nine *parasmaipada* replacements of *LIT*, 1.3.10 *yathāsaṃkhyam...* will assign equivalency in the order of enumeration. Thus, *tip, tas, jhi*, will be replaced by *ṅaL, atus*, and *us*, respectively. Other equivalents can similarly be determined.

2. Commentators agree that these affixes replace the *parasmaipada* replacements of *LIT* in toto (*sarvādeśa*). The question of a total, or partial, replacement arises in view of rules 1.1.51 *alo’ ntyasya* and 1.1.54 *anekāśit 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 *ś* as an *it*, 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 *it* elements. The *N* and *L* of *NaL* are both *it*. Consequently, *a*, the real replacement, cannot be treated as consisting of more than one sound segment. Since the condition of *anekāltva* ‘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 *it* 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 *it*, and 1.3.9 *tasya lopah* 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 *it* to the denotata of *cU* and *ṭU* 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 *it* 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’ ntyasya*. 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 *ato guṇe* 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 *anekāltva* 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 *it* so that 7.2.115 *aco’ nṇiti* can order operations such as the *vṛddhi*, and the like. The *L* of *NaL* is treated as an *it* to facilitate operations specific to accentuation as per rule 6.1.187 *liti*.

### 3.4.83 विदो लटो वा

*vido laṭo vā*

*/vidah 5/1 lataḥ 6/1 vā 0/*

(*dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *parasmaipadānām ṇalatususthalathusaṇalvamāḥ* #82)

‘*vida jñāne’ asmād dhātoḥ pareṣām laḍādeśānām parasmaipadānām*

*ṇalādayo nava vikalpenādeśā bhavanti*

*ṆaL*, etc., optionally and respectively occur in place of the *parasmaipada* replacements of *LAṬ* 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'  
*vittah* '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 *LAṬ* which occur after verbal root *vidĀ* '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 *vidah*, 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 *LAṬ*, 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 mucādīnām*.

Obviously, because of the optional nature of this rule, there will be two sets of examples: one with replacements in *ṆaL*, etc., and the other in *tiP*, etc.

3.4.84 ब्रुवः पञ्चानामादित आहो ब्रुवः

*bruvaḥ pañcānām āditaḥ āho bruvaḥ*  
*lbruvaḥ 5/1 pañcānām 6/3 āditaḥ 0 āhaḥ 1/1 bruvaḥ 6/1/*  
*(pratyayaḥ #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, parasmaipadānām*  
*ṇalatususthalathusaṇalvamāḥ #82, laṭo vā #83)*  
*bruvaḥ parasya laṭaḥ parasmaipadānām pañcānām ādibhūtānām*  
*ṇalādaya ādeśā bhavanti*

*Ṇal*, etc., occur optionally and respectively, after verbal root *brū* 'to speak', in place of the first five replacements of *LAṬ*, with the additional provision that *āh* replaces *brū*.

EXAMPLES:

*āha/āhatuḥ lāhuḥ*  
*āṭtha lāhathuḥ* 'he speaks, etc.'

1. This rule carries the *anuvṛtti* of both *parasmaipadānām* as well as of *laṭo vā*. It provides for a replacement in *ṆaL*, etc., for the *parasmaipada* replacements of *LAṬ*, though in a limited manner. It allows for only the first five *parasmaipada* replacements of *LAṬ*, i.e., *tiP*, *tas*, *jhi*, *siP*, and *thas*, to be replaced with the first five elements enumerated beginning with *ṆaL*, etc. Here again, the elements will replace items in accordance with the principle of *yathāsamkhyā* ‘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 *ṆaL*, etc. For, operations provided in conjunction must also be performed, or rejected, in conjunction (*sanniyogaśiṣṭānām saha vā pravṛtṭih saha vā nivṛtṭih*).

2. Note that the word *āditaḥ* is used to clearly specify the referents of the five replacements. They should accordingly be counted, beginning with the first (*āditaḥ*). Why did Pāṇini have to repeat *bruvah*? To make it clear that *brū* will constitute the *sthānī* ‘item to be replaced’ for *āh*, the substitute (*ādeśa*). The first *bruvah* is in the ablative (*pañcamī*), and as such, it cannot serve as a *sthānī* since a *sthānī* is specified in the genitive (*ṣaṣṭhī*). The specification of the *sthānī* is also required to limit the replacement by *āh* to the context of *parasmaipada* affixes.

### 3.4.85 लोटो लङ्वत्

*loṭo laṅvat*

*lloṭaḥ 6/1 laṅvat 0/*

*loṭo laṅvat kāryām bhavati*

Affix *LOṬ* is treated as if it were *LAṅ*.

#### EXAMPLES:

*pacatām* ‘third person dual imperative active’

*pacatam* ‘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 *laṅvat* ‘similar to *LAṅ*’ marks an extension (*atideśa*). That is, this rule extends the operations applicable to *LAṅ* to *LOṬ*. 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 *ṅ* as an *it* (3.4.101 *tasthasthamipām...*), would not be made available to replacements of *LOṬ*.

2. Note, also, that rule 3.4.99 *nityam ṅitaḥ* requires an obligatory (*nitya*) deletion of the *s* of the first personal dual endings (*vas*, *mas*) which replaces a *LA* marked with *ṅ*. This deletion of *-s* will also be available to the two replacements of *LOṬ* 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 *Ṇ* 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 *laṅaḥ śākaṭāyanasyaiva*. *Kaśikā* states that *vā* from rule 3.4.83 *vido laṭo vā* is carried to this rule to restrict its provision to *vyasthitavibhāṣā*. 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 एरुः

*er uḥ*

*leḥ 6/1 uḥ 1/1/*

(*loṭaḥ* #85)

*loḍādeśānām ikārasya ukārādeśo bhavati*

The *i* of affixes which replace *LOT* is replaced by *u*.

#### EXAMPLES:

*pacatu* ‘third person singular imperative active’

*pacantu* ‘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 niḥ* make different provisions for them.

### 3.4.87 सेह्यपिच्च

*ser hy apic ca*

*lseḥ 6/1 hi (deleted 1/1) apit 1/1 ca 0/*

(*loṭaḥ* #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:

*lunīhi* ‘second person singular imperative active of *lū* (to cut)’

*rādhnuhi* ‘id. of *rādh* (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 *it*. This subsequent provision is made in view of the *pit* status of *hi* which is automatically available on the basis of *sthānivadbhāva*

‘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 *sārvadhātum apit* is now free to accord *hi* the status of being marked with *Ñ*. This status of *Ñ* blocks the application of *guṇa*. It similarly facilitates the application of rule 6.4.113 *ī haly aghoḥ*, whereby *ī* is ordered as replacement for the *ā* of *Śnā* followed by a *sārvadhātuka* affix marked with *K*, or *Ñ*.

### 3.4.88 वाच्छन्दसि

*vā chandasi*

*/vā ∅ chandasi 7/1/*

(*loṭaḥ* #85, *ser hy apit* #87)

*lādeśas chandasi viṣaye hiśabdo vā' pid bhavati*

The *hi* replacement of a *siP* which occurs in place of *LOṬ*, in the Vedic, is optionally treated as though not marked with *P*.

#### EXAMPLES:

*prīṇāhi* ‘2nd person singular imperative active of *prīÑ* (to please)’  
*prīṇīhi* ‘id.’

1. This rule makes the otherwise obligatory provision of the preceding rule optional in the context of the Vedic.

### 3.4.89 मेरिः

*mer niḥ*

*/meḥ 6/1 niḥ 1/1/*

(*loṭaḥ* #85)

*loḍādeśasya mer nir ādeśo bhavati*

A *miP* replacement of *LOṬ* is replaced by *ni*.

#### EXAMPLES:

*pacāni* ‘1st person singular imperative active of *pac*’  
*paṭhāni* id. ‘id. of *paṭh*’

1. This constitutes an exception to the provisions of rule 3.4.85 *loṭo laṅvat*, and 3.4.86 *eruḥ*. That is, the *mi* replacement of *LOṬ* 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 *tasthastha...* would have it. Finally, the *i* of *mi* is also immune from deletion by 3.4.101 *itaś ca* as rule 3.4.85 *loṭo laṅvat* would, otherwise, have it.

### 3.4.90 आमेतः

*ām etaḥ*

*lām 1/1 etaḥ 6/1/*

(*loṭaḥ #85*)

*loṭsambandhina ekārasya 'ām' ity ayam ādeśo bhavati*

A replacement in *eT* (1.1.70 *taparas...*), relative to *LOṬ*, 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 *loṭaḥ* is still carried. This rule provides for an *e* relative to a replacement of *LOṬ* to be replaced with *ām*. Recall that rule 3.4.79 *ṭit ātmanepadānām...* provides for a replacement in *e* specifically for the *ṭi* part of a replacement of a *LA* suffix marked with *ṭ*. 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 *LOṬ*. The relationship can be identified as that of a 'qualifier' (*viśeṣaṇa*) and a 'qualified' (*viśeṣya*). There can be two possibilities: (a) *e* is the qualifier to *LOṬ*, or (b) *LOṬ* is a qualifier to *e*. The first interpretation would entail *tadantavidhi* which, in turn, would provide only *ām* in place of a replacement of *LOṬ* which ended in *e*. It is for this reason that the second interpretation is accepted. This interpretation will not entail *tadantavidhi*, because *e* will now become principal (*pradhāna*), since it is now the qualified.

3.4.91 सवाभ्यां वामौ

*savābhyām vāmau*

*/savābhyām 5/2 vāmau 1/2/*

(*loṭaḥ #85, etaḥ #90*)

*sakāravakārābhyām uttarasya loṭsambandhina ekārasya yathā-samkhyam 'va, am' ity etāv ādeśau bhavataḥ*

A replacement in *eT*, relative to *LOṬ*, 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 *LOṬ* 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 *LOṬ*.





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 etaḥ*.

### 3.4.94 लेटोऽदाटै

*leṭo' dāṭau*

*/leṭaḥ 6/1 aḍāṭau 1/2/*

*leṭo aḍāṭāgamau bhavataḥ paryāyeṇa*

Augments *aṬ* and *āṬ* are introduced, in turn (*paryāyeṇa*), to affixes which replace *LET*.

#### EXAMPLES:

*joṣīṣat* 'may he be happy'

*tāriṣat* 'may he go across...'

*mandiṣat* 'may be happy'

*pātāti vidyut* 'the lightning strikes...'

1. This rule introduces two augments (*āgama*), *aṬ* and *āṬ*, 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 *Ṭ*, and as per rule 1.1.46 *ādyantau ṭakitau*, 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 (*paryāya*).

### 3.4.95 आत ऐ

*āta ai*

*/ātaḥ 6/1 ai (deleted 1/1)/*

*(leṭaḥ #94)*

*leṭsambandhina ākārasya aikārādeṣo bhavati*

A replacement in *āṬ* (1.1.70 *taparas...*), 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 वैतोऽन्यत्र

*vaito' nyatra*

*/vā Ø etaḥ 6/1 anyatra Ø/  
(leṭaḥ #94, ai #95)*

*leṭsambandhina ekārasya vā aikārādeśo bhavati anyatra*

A replacement in *āT*, relative to *LEṬ*, elsewhere, is optionally replaced by *ai*.

EXAMPLES:

*aham eva paśūnām īsai  
madāgrā eva vo grahā grhyāntai*

1. The word *anyatra* 'elsewhere' is used, here, relative to the preceding rule. That is, a replacement in *ai* for *ā* of a replacement of *LEṬ* 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 *mantrayaite*. See additional details in the appendix.

3.4.97 इतश्च लोपः परस्मैपदेषु

*itaś ca lopaḥ parasmaipadeṣu  
/itaḥ 6/1 ca Ø lopaḥ 1/1 parasmaipadeṣu 7/3/  
(leṭaḥ #94, vā #96)*

*leṭsambandhina ikārasya parasmaipadaviṣayasya vā loṇo bhavati*

The *iT* (1.1.70 *taparas...*) of a *parasmaipada* replacement, relative to *LEṬ*, is optionally deleted by *LOPA* (1.1.60 *adarśanam...*).

EXAMPLES:

*joṣiṣat  
tāriṣat  
mandiṣat*

1. This rule orders for an optional deletion of the *i* of a *parasmaipada* replacement of *LEṬ*.

3.4.98 स उत्तमस्य

*sa uttamasya  
/leṭaḥ #94, vā #95, lopaḥ parasmaipadeṣu #97/  
leṭsambandhina uttamapurūṣasya sakārasya vā loṇo bhavati*

The *s* of the first person replacement, relative to *LEṬ*, is optionally deleted by *LOPA*.

EXAMPLES:

*karavāva/karavāvah  
karavāmalkaravāmah*

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 ङितः

*nityam ñitaḥ*

*/nityam 1/1 ñitaḥ 6/1/*

*(lasya #77, lopaḥ #97, sa uttamasya #98)*

*ñito lakārasya ya uttamas tasya nityam sakārasya lopo bhavati*

The *s* of the first person replacement of a *LA* affix, marked with *Ñ*, 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 *Ñ*. 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 इतश्च

*itaś ca*

*/itaḥ 6/1 ca 0/*

*(lasya #77, lopaḥ parasmaipadeṣu #97, nityam ñitaḥ #99)*

*ñil lakārasambandhina ikārasya nityam lopo bhavati*

The *iT* (1.1.70 *taṭparas...*), relative to a replacement of *LA* marked with *Ñ*, is also deleted obligatorily by *LOPA*.

#### EXAMPLES:

*apacat* ‘3rd singular active form of *pac* in *LAN*’

*apākṣīt* ‘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 *Ñ*. Thus, consider the derivation of *apacat* ‘he cooked’ from *pac* + *LAN*, where the *LA* affix gets replaced with the third person singular active ending *ti*. 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 *ātmanepada*. For, *parasmaipada* is carried here.

### 3.4.101 तस्थस्थमिपां तांतंतामः

*tasthasthamipāṃ tāmtāmtāmahaḥ*

*/tasthasthamipāṃ 6/3 tāmtāmtāmahaḥ/*

*(lasya #77, ñitaḥ #99)*

*niḷ lakārasambandhinām caturṇām yathāsamkhyam tāmādaya ādeśā bhavanti*  
The *tas*, *thas*, *tha* and *miP* replacements for *LA*, marked with *Ñ*, 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 *Ñ*. 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 *yathāsamkhyam*.... 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 लिङः सीयुट्

*liṅaḥ sīyut*  
*//liṅaḥ 6/1 sīyut 1/1/*  
*liṅādeśānām sīyud āgamo bhavati*  
A replacement of *LIN* receives the augment *sīyUT*.

EXAMPLES:

*paceta*  
*paceyātām*  
*paceran*

1. This rule introduces augment *sīyUT* to the replacements of affix *LIN*. 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 *LIN* in the *parasmaipada*, *sīyUT* must be introduced only to the *ātmanepada* replacements of *LIN*. The cited examples illustrate the forms of *pac*.

2. The *Ṭ*, as an *it* in both *sīyUT* and *yāsUT*, is intended to indicate the place where the augments will be introduced (*deśavidhyartha*). The *U*, in both cases, is intended for pronunciation.

3.4.103 यासुट् परस्मैपदेषुदात्तो ङिच्च

*yāsut parasmaipadeṣūdātto ṅic ca*

*lyāsuṭ 1/1 parasmaipadeṣu 7/3 udāttaḥ 1/1 nit 1/1 ca 0/*  
*(līnaḥ #102)*

*parasmaipada*viṣayasya liṅo yāsuḍ āgamo bhavati, sa codātto bhavati, nic ca  
 A *parasmaipada* replacement of *LIN* receives the augment *yāsUṬ*,  
 which is treated as *udātta* ‘high-pitched’ and is marked with *Ṇ*.

EXAMPLES:

*kuryāt*  
*kuryātām*  
*kuryuh*

1. As stated in the preceding notes, *yāsUṬ* is an augment introduced to the *parasmaipada* replacements of *LIN*. This rule also makes two additional provisions: *yasUṬ* is treated as marked *udātta*, as opposed to the general *udātta* applicable to the augments (cf. *PM* and *Kās*). Additionally, *yāsUṬ* is treated as marked with *Ṇ* as its *it*.

2. Note that an augment becomes part of item for which it is specified (*yadāgamā guṇībhūtās tadgrahaṇena grhyante*). That is, if *yāsUṬ* 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 *Ṇit*. Now, if an augment becomes part of the item for which it is specified, *yāsUṬ* will also become part of the replacement marked with *Ṇ*. That is, via the item to which it is introduced, *yāsUṬ* will also be treated as marked with *Ṇ*. What then is the purpose of restating the *Ṇit* status? The purpose is to indicate (*jñāpanārtham*) that replacements of *LA* affixes are not considered as marked with *N* at the strength of those affixes (see *Kāsikā* under this rule: *lakārāśrayanītvam ādeśānām 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 *kr*Ṇ.

3.4.104 किदाशिषि

*kid āśiṣi*  
*/kit 1/1 āśiṣi 7/1/*  
*(līnaḥ #102, yasuṭ parasmaipadeṣūdāttaḥ #103)*

*āśiṣi* yo liṅ tasya yāsuḍ āgamo bhavati, sa codāttaḥ kidvad bhavati  
 A *parasmaipada* replacement of *LIN* which denotes *āśis* ‘benediction’ receives the augment *yāsUṬ* which is treated as *udātta*, and is marked with *K*.

EXAMPLES:

*iṣyāt*

*iṣyātām*  
*iṣyāsuḥ*  
*jāgaryāt*  
*jāgaryāstām*  
*jāgaryāsuḥ*

1. This rule extends the status of *kit* to the *parasmaipada* replacements of *LIN* introduced in the context of benediction (*āsis*). 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 *samprasāraṇa* by rule 6.1.15 *vacisvapiyajādīnām...* 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 *guṇa* in examples, such as *jāgaryāt*, as shown in the appendix. Note that elsewhere in examples, such as *vācyāt*, which does not denote benediction, *vac* does not go through *samprasāraṇa*. 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 रन्

*jhasya ran*  
*ljhasya 6/1 ran 1/1/*  
*(liṅaḥ #102)*  
*jhasya liṅādeśasya ran ādeśo bhavanti*  
 The *jha* replacement of *LIN* is replaced by *ran*.

#### EXAMPLES:

*paceran*  
*yajeran*  
*kṛṣīran*

1. This rule introduces *ran* to replace the *jha* replacement of *LIN*. This may also be treated as an exception to 7.1.3 *jho' ntaḥ* which requires the *jh* of an affix to be replaced with *ant*. Note that the *n* of *ran* is saved from the assignment of the term *ii*, and consequent deletion by rule 1.3.9 *tasya lopah*, by rule 1.3.3 *halantyam*, because of rule 1.3.4 *na vibhaktau...* Obviously, the *n* of *ran* is part of an inflectional ending (*vibhakti*).

### 3.4.106 इटोत्

*iṭo' t*  
*liṭaḥ 6/1 at 1/1/*  
*(liṅaḥ #102)*

*linādeśasya iṭaḥ 'at' ity ayam ādeśo bhavati*

The *iṭ* replacement of *LIṆ* is replaced by *aT* (1.1.70 *taparas...*).

EXAMPLES:

*paceya*  
*yajeya*  
*kr̥ṣīya*  
*hr̥ṣīya*

1. This rule introduces *aT* as a replacement for the *iṭ*, first person singular (*ātmanepada*) replacement of *LIṆ*. 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 *iṭ* of this rule cannot be interpreted to refer to the augment *iṭ*. For, when specifications are made by means of items with signification, those with no signification are ruled out (cf. *arthavad grahaṇe nānarthakasya*). The cited examples are forms of verbal roots *pac* and *kr̥*.

3.4.107 सुद् तिथोः

*suṭ tithoḥ*

*lsuṭ 1/1 tithoḥ 6/2/*

(*lināḥ* #102)

*līnsambandhinos takārathakārayoḥ suḍ āgamo bhavati*

The *t* and *th* of a replacement, relative to *LIṆ*, receive the augment *sUṭ*.

EXAMPLES:

*kr̥ṣīṣṭa*  
*kr̥ṣīyāstām*  
*kr̥ṣīṣṭāḥ*  
*kr̥ṣīyāsthām*

1. This rule introduces augment *sUṭ* to the *ti* and *th* relative to a replacement of *LIṆ*. 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 *sUṭ* cannot be accepted here as an exception to *sīyUṭ*. For, they both have different scopes. Augment *sīyUṭ* is specified for *LIṆ*, as opposed to the *sUṭ* which is specified for the *t* and *th* of *LIṆ*. These two augments can now both be accommodated in the context of *LIṆ*. The examples are all forms of verbal root *kr̥*.

## 3.4.108 ज्ञेर्जुस्

*jher jus**/jheḥ 6/1 jus 1/1/**(līnaḥ #102)**līnādeśasya jher jus ādeśo bhavati*The *jhi* replacement of *LIN* is replaced by *Jus*.

## EXAMPLES:

*paceyuh**yajeyuh*

1. This rule introduces *Jus* to replace the third personal plural *parasmaipada* replacement of *LIN*. Again, this can be treated as an exception to 7.1.3 *jho' ntaḥ*. This replacement will be valid for both kinds of *LIN*, i.e., *vidhilin* of 3.3.161 *vidhinimantraṇāmantraṇa...* and *āśiḥ* of 3.3.173 *āśiṣi linloṭau*.

## 3.4.109 सिजभ्यस्तविदिभ्यश्च

*sijabhyastavidibhyaś ca**/sijabhyastavidibhyaḥ 5/3 (itar. dv.) ca 0/**(lasya #77, nītaḥ #99, jher jus #108)**sicaḥ parasya abhyastasamjñakebhyo vetteś cottarasya 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:

*akārṣuh**abibhayuh**aviduh*

1. This rule begins provisions not related to *LIN* (*alīnārtha*). 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 *Ṇ* as their *it*. Commentators state that *nītaḥ* is carried here from rule 3.4.99 via *maṇḍūkaphuti* to facilitate this interpretation. Thus, this replacement is not available in the context of *LA* affixes marked with *Ṭ* as their *it*. Separate mention of *abhyasta* and *vid* enables this replacement to also apply in the context of *LUN*. Recall that *sIC* is applicable in *LUN* (cf. 3.1.43 *luṇi* and 3.1.44 *cleḥ sic*).

Note that verbal root *vid* is here specified without its *vikarāṇa*. 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 *vikaraṇa* 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 *vikaraṇa* gets deleted by *LUK*, and there is close proximity between the verbal root and *jhi*.

## 3.4.110 आतः

*ātaḥ*

*/ātaḥ 5/1/*

(*jher jus* #108, *sicaḥ* #109)

*sica ākārāntāc ca parasya jher jusādeso bhavati*

The *jhi* which occurs after *sIC*, and also after a verbal root ending in *ā*, is replaced by *Jus*.

## EXAMPLES:

*aduḥ*

*adhuḥ*

*asthuḥ*

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 *t* of *ātaḥ* 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 लङ्: शाकटायनस्यैव

*laṅaḥ śākaṭāyanasyaiva*

*/laṅaḥ 6/1 śākaṭāyanasya 6/1 eva 0/*

(*jher jus* #108, *ātaḥ* #110)

*ākārāntād uttarasya laṅādeśasya jher jusādeśo bhavati, śākaṭāyanasyā-cāryasyā matena*

In the opinion of Śākaṭāyana, the *jhi* replacement of *LAN* which occurs after a verbal root which ends in *ā* is replaced by *Jus*.

EXAMPLES:

*ayuh*

*ayān*

1. This rule states that a *jhi* replacement of *LAN* 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 *laṅā* in the rule. For, even without its explicit use *Jus* can obtain in place of the *jhi* replacement of *LAN*, at the strength of *ṅitaḥ* available from the *anuvṛtti*. Commentators state that an explicit mention of *LAN* becomes necessary so that the provision of this rule can be stopped from becoming available to extensional *LAN*. That is, the *LOT*, which gets treated as if it were *LAN* by rule 3.4.85 *loṭo laṅvat*, cannot qualify for the provisions of this rule.

3.4.112 द्विषश्च

*dviṣas ca*

*ldviṣaḥ 5/1 ca 0/*

*(jher jus # 108 laṅā śākaṭāyanasyaiva # 111)*

*dviṣaḥ parasya laṅādeśasya jher jusādeśo bhavati śākaṭāyanasyācāryasya matena*

The *jhi*-replacement of *LAN* which occurs after verbal root *dviṣ* 'to harm' is also replaced with *Jus* in the opinion of Śākaṭāyana.

EXAMPLES:

*advīṣuḥ* 'they wished to harm'

*advīṣan* 'id.'

1. The *ŚaP* after verbal root *dviṣ* is deleted by rule 2.4.72 *adiprabhṛtibhyaḥ śapaḥ*.

3.4.113 तिङ्शित्सार्वधातुकम्

*tiṅśitsārvadhātukam*

*ltiṅśit 1/1 sārvadhātukam 1/1/*

*(pratyayaḥ #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91)*

*tiṅaḥ śitaś ca pratyayāḥ sārvaadhātukasamjñā bhavanti*

Affixes denoted by the abbreviatory term *tiÑ* (3.4.78 *tiptasjhi...*), and affixes marked with *Ś* as an *it*, are termed *sārvaadhātuka*.

EXAMPLES:

*bhavati*

*nayati*

*pavamānaḥ*

*yajamānaḥ*

1. This rule assigns the term *sārvaadhātuka* to those affixes which are introduced after a verbal root, and are either denoted by the abbreviatory term *tiÑ*, or are marked with a *Ś* as their *it*. The assignment of the term *sārvaadhātuka* 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 *sārvaadhātukārddha...* 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 *sārvaadhātuka* are not hard to find. See the appendix for further details. Examples cited as above are *LAṭ* and *ŚānaC* forms of verbal roots *bhū*, *nī*, *pū* and *yaj*.

3.4.114 आर्धधातुकं शेषः

*ārdhadhātukaṃ śeṣaḥ*

*lārdhadhātukam 1/1 śeṣaḥ 1/1/*

(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91)

*tiṅaḥ śitaś ca varjayitvā' nyaḥ pratyayaḥ śeṣo dhātusamśabdanena vihita ārdhadhātukasamjño bhavati*

An affix which occurs after a *dhātu* but is not a *sārvaadhātuka* is termed an *ārdhadhātuka*.

EXAMPLES:

*lavitā*

*lavitum*

*lavitavyam*

1. This rule assigns the term *ārdhadhātuka* to those affixes which are introduced after a verbal root, and are neither marked with *Ś* as their *it*, nor are denoted by the abbreviatory term *tiÑ*. That is, a non-*Śit*, or non-*tiÑ* affix introduced after a verbal root will be termed *ārdhadhātuka*. Our examples illustrate affixes *trC*, *tumUN* and *tavyaT* after verbal root *lūÑ* '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 *guptjikidbhyaḥ 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 *guṇa*, 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 *ārdhadhātukasyeḍ...*. The word *śeṣa* is used so that this term can apply to the exclusion of the affixes covered by the preceding rule.

### 3.4.115 लिट् च

*liṭ ca*

*liṭ 1/1 ca 0/*

(*ārdhadhātukam* #114)

*liḍādeśas tiñ ārdhadhātukasamjño bhavati*

A *tiñ* replacement of *LIT* also is termed *ārdhadhātuka*.

#### EXAMPLES:

*pecitha*

*śekitha*

*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 *tiñsīt...*. Thus, a *tiñ* which replaces *LIT* is termed *ārdhadhātuka*. Commentators observe, here, that the use of *śeṣa* in the preceding rule excludes class inclusion (*samjñāsamāveśa*). That is, *śeṣaḥ* blocks the assignment of the two terms *sārvadhātuka* and *ārdhadhātuka* to a single entity such as one denoted by *tiñ*. There is no such indication in case of our present rule. Why cannot both terms be made applicable to the *tiñ* replacements of *LIT*? 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 *lañah...*, whereby we understand that *ārdhadhātuka*, alone (*eva*) should be assigned to the *tiñ* replacement of *LIT*. This is how bringing *eva* results into a restrictive (*niyama*) interpretation of this rule.

## 3.4.116 लिङाशिषि

*lināśiṣi**/lin 1/1 āśiṣi 7/1/**(ārdhadhātukam #114)**āśiṣi viṣaye yo lin sa ārdhadhātukasamjño bhavati*

A *tiN* replacement of *LIN* which denotes *āśiṣ* ‘benediction’ is termed *ārdhadhātuka*.

## EXAMPLES:

*laviṣiṣṭa* ‘may you cut’*paviṣiṣṭa* ‘may you purify’

1. This rule assigns the term *ārdhadhātuka* also to a *LIN* which denotes benediction (3.3.173 *āśiṣi* ..). This constitutes an exception to the assignment of the term *sārvadhātuka*, of rule 3.4.113 *tiṅśit*.... A class-inclusion (*samjñāsamāveśa*) of these terms can again be blocked by bringing *eva* from rule 3.4.111 *laṅaḥ*....

## 3.4.117 छन्दस्युभयथा

*chandasy ubhayathā**/chandasi 7/1 ubhayathā 0/**chandasi viṣaye ubhayathā bhavati sārvadhātukam ārdhadhātukaṃ ca*

An affix in the Vedic may be termed either way.

## EXAMPLES:

*vardhantu**svastaye**viśṛṅvire**somam indrāya sunvire**upastheyāma*

1. This rule constitutes an expatiation (*prapañca*) 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 *ārdhadhātuka*. Thus, the term *ārdhadhātuka* 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 *LIN*? 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 *LIN*.

## **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 samāsaḥ*)
2. Derivation of *pada* ending in *sUP* (1.4.14 *suptināntam...*)
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 dhātavaḥ*)
5. Derivation of nominal stems ending in affixes termed *kṛt* (1.4.46 *kṛttaddhitasamāsās ca*)

### 1. Derivation of Compounds

Pāṇini presents the derivation of compounds in the domain of 2.1.3 *prāk kaḍārāt samāsaḥ* subject to the condition of *sāmarthya* 'fitness, capability' as underlined by rule 2.1.1 *samarthaḥ 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-semanticly related, and hence, qualified to be integrated into a compound. Integration has thus been described as a process whereby two or more syntactico-semanticly related nominal *pada* are combined to yield a formal unit with a single integrated meaning (*ekārthābhāva*). My notes under individual rules furnish qualifying details.

The domain of compound-formation with its individual subdomains is as follows:

- 2.1.1 *samarthaḥ padavidhiḥ*
- 2.1.3 *prāk kaḍārāt samāsaḥ*
- 2.1.4 *saha supā*
- 2.1.5 *avyayībhāvaḥ* through
- 2.1.21 *anyapadārthe ca saṃjñāyām;*
- 2.1.22 *tatpuruṣaḥ* through
- 2.2.22 *ktvā ca;*
- 2.2.23 *bahuvrīhiḥ* through
- 2.2.28 *tena saheti tulyayoge;*
- 2.2.29 *cārthe dvandvaḥ*



The above recognizes *avyayībhāva*, *tatpuruṣa*, *bahuvrīhi*, and *dvandva* as four types of compounds. Rules 1.2.42 *tatpuruṣaḥ samānādhikaraṇaḥ karmadhārayaḥ* and 2.1.23 *saṃkhyāpūrvō dviguḥ* recognize two subtypes of *tatpuruṣa*. Rule 2.1.11 *vibhāsā* 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 (*vigrahavākya*). Thus, a compound such as *rājapuruṣaḥ* 'king's man' can be used optionally with its analyzed form *rājñāḥ puruṣaḥ* with no difference in meaning. These two units are considered as alternants because they derive from the same underlying string: *rājan + Nas puruṣa + sU*.

The following is a summary of operations performed relative to the formation of compounds:

(a) *sUP*-deletion

Deletion (*LOPA*) of nominal endings (*sUP*) contained within compound derivatives termed *prātipadika* 'nominal stem' (1.2.46 *kṛttaddhita-samāsāś ca*) via express mention of *LUK* by rule 2.4.71 *supo dhātuprātipadikayoh*.

(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 *upasarjanam pūrvam*. This rule demands that a constituent termed *upasarjana* be placed first in a compound. Rule 1.2.43 *prathamānirdiṣṭa samāsa upasarjanam* assigns the term *upasarjana* to that constituent of a compound which has been specified with the nominative (*prathamā*) 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 *dvigur ekavacanam*

'a compound termed *dvigu* has the denotatum of one'

2.4.17 *sa napuṃsakam*

'a *dvigu* or *dvandva* compound with the denotatum of one (*ekavacana*) is assigned neuter (*napuṃsaka*)'

2.4.26 *paraval liṅgam dvandvatatpuruṣayoh*

'the gender of a *dvandva* and *tatpuruṣa* 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 *bahuvrīhi* compounds, a feminine form is replaced by its corresponding masculine as, for example, is provided by rule 6.3.33 *striyāḥ bhāṣitapuṃskād...*, etc. Obviously, these

rules must also have consequences for the derivation of compounds. I have used the word 'masculine transformation' parallel to the traditional *pumvadbhāva* 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 dhātuprātipadikayoḥ*. 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 dhātuprātipadikayoḥ*. 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 *aṅgasya*.

(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 *samarthaḥ 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 *nyāp-prātipadikāt* and 4.1.2 *svaujasmauḥ*... 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 *tiÑ*. A *sUP* is introduced after a nominal stem, or an item ending in feminine affixes *Ñī* 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 *svaujasmauḥ*... 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', *dvitīyā* '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 *tiṅ*

Rule 3.4.77-78 *lasya; tiptasjhisipthas...* introduce a set of eighteen elements denoted by the abbreviatory term *tiṅ* 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 *kartr* 'agent', or *karman* 'object'. It is introduced after an intransitive verbal root to denote *kartr* and *bhāva* 'root-sense' (3.4.69 *lah karmaṇi ca bhāve cākarmakebhyah*). The *tiṅ* elements which replace a *LA* are classified into two sets of *ātmanepada* and *parasmaipada* 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 *tiṅ* 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 atin*), 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 dhātavaḥ*). That is, derivatives ending in affixes enumerated beginning with *saN* are termed *dhātu* 'verbal root'. These affixes are : *saN* (3.1.5 *guptijkidbhyah...* through 3.1.7 *dhātoḥ karmanah...*); *KyaC* (3.1.8 *supa ātmanah kyac*); *kāmayaC* (3.1.9 *kāmyac ca*); *Kyaṅ* (3.1.11 *karttuḥ kyaṅ...*); *Kyaṣ* (3.1.13 *lohitādi...*); *KyaC* (3.1.19 *namovarivasa...*); *Ṇiṅ* (3.1.20 *pucchabhāṇḍa...*); *NiC* (3.1.21 *muṇḍamiśra...*); *yaṅ* (3.1.22 *dhātor...*), *yaK* (3.1.27 *kaṇvādibhyo...*); *āya* (3.1.28 *gupūdhū...*); *īyaṅ* (3.1.29 *ṛter...*); and

*NiÑ* (3.1.30 *kamer NiÑ*). Rule 3.1.32 *sanādyantā dhātavaḥ* assigns the term *dhātu* ‘verbal root’ to forms which end in these affixes. The derivatives 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 derivatives is headed by 3.1.91 *dhātoḥ* in addition to the following:

3.1.92 *tatropapadaṃ saptamīstham*

‘that which is specified in this domain of *dhātoḥ* with *saptamī* is termed an *upapada* ‘cooccurring word’

3.1.93 *kṛd atin*

‘an affix which is not denoted by the abbreviatory term *tiÑ* is termed *kṛt*’

3.1.94 *vā’ sarūpo’ striyām*

‘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 *striyām* (3.3.94 *striyām*)’

3.1.95 *kṛtyāḥ*

‘affixes introduced hereafter (prior to 3.1.133 *ṇvultrcau*) are termed *kṛtya*’

Rules 3.1.93 *kṛd atin* 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 *tiÑ*, will be assigned the single term *kṛt*. The class-inclusion of the terms *kṛtya* within *kṛt* enables the *kṛtya* derivatives to be assigned the term *prātipadika* ‘nominal stem’ by rule 1.2.46 *kṛttaddhitasamāsās ca*.

Rule 3.1.92 *tatropapadaṃ 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 *saptamī*. That is, an *upapada* is a word which is specified by the locative (*saptamī*) 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 *ḌUkṛÑ* ‘to do, make’ under the cooccurrence condition of the word *kumbhānām* terminating in genitive (*ṣaṣṭhī*: *kumbha* + *ām*), and denoting object (*karman*). Rule 3.1.92 *tatropapadam...* joined with

rule 3.2.1 *karmaṇy aṅ* explains that affix *aN* can be introduced after a verbal root only when a word denoting *karman* cooccurs. The locative (*saptamī*) of *karmaṇi* in rule 3.2.1 *karmaṇy aṅ* 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 *kr̥N̄*.

Rule 3.1.94 *vā' sarūpo' striyām* 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*;
- (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 *striyām ktin*.

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 *samarthaḥ padavidhiḥ*

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 kaṣṭam*  
*śrito viṣṇumitro gurukulam*  
 'see the misery Devadatta! Viṣṇumitra has taken recourse to the teachers' house'
- (b) *kiṃ tvaṃ kariṣyasi śaṅkulayā*  
*khaṇḍo devadatta upalena*  
 'what will you do with the nutcracker Devadatta! it is already split by the coddung-cake'
- (c) *gaccha tvaṃ yūpāya dāru devadattasya gehe*  
 'you go for fetching the ritual post; the log is in Devadatta's house'
- (d) *bhāryā rājñah puruṣo devadattasya*  
 'the wife of the king; man of Devadatta'

These examples each entail a set of two *pada* such as *kaṣṭam / śritah*; *śaṅkulayā / khaṇḍah*; *yūpāya / dāruḥ*; and *rājñah / puruṣah*. They are identical with those which may share syntactico-semantic relationship, and subsequently, combine to yield compounds such as *kaṣṭaśritah*; *śaṅkulā-khaṇḍah*; *yūpadāruḥ*; and *rājapuruṣah*. 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 *sāmarthya* relationship can also be witnessed in other examples. It is because of the lack of syntactico-semantic relation (*sāmarthya*) 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 *sāmantritam*). This purpose of 'treating the former as part of the subsequent' (*parāṅgavadbhāva*) is accent (*svara*). Consider the following two examples:

- (1) *kuṇḍena aṭan*  
 (2) *paraśunā vṛścan*

where *aṭan* and *vṛścan* are two *pada* ending in the nominative (*prathamā*) denoting *sambodhana* 'address'. Rule 2.3.48 *sāmantritam* assigns the term *āmantrita* to the nominative singular denoting address. Now consider the following rules:

- 1.2.39 *svaritāt saṃhitāyām anudāttānām*  
 'every *anudatta* which occurs after a *svarita* is replaced by *ekaśruti* 'monotone' in *saṃhitāpāṭha* 'recitation of the Veda with phonetic changes as effected by *sandhi* rules'

6.1.158 *anudāttaṃ padaṃ ekavarjam*

‘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 *kuṇḍena aṭan* the preceding word *kuṇḍena* 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 (*sarvānudātta*). 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* (*ṣaṣṭhika*) whereby the initial syllable of the single word *kuṇḍenāṭan* is assigned the *udātta* accent. The *ku* of *kuṇḍena*, treated as part of the larger word *kuṇḍenāṭan*, for purposes of accent, is marked *udātta*. Rule 6.1.158 *anudāttaṃ padaṃ ekavarjam* now assigns *anudātta* accent to all syllables except the *ku*. However, rule 8.4.65 *udāttānudāttasya...* requires that *ḍe* of *kuṇḍe* be marked with *svarita*. Rule 1.2.39 *svaritāt...* will now assign *ekasruti* after the *svarita* of *ḍe*.

Similar explanations also apply in case of the term *āmantrita* when assigned to *vṛscan* of *paraśunā vṛscan*. The consequence of *parāṅgavadbhāva*, ‘treating a preceding word as part of the following *āmantrita*’ is similar to *kuṇḍena aṭan*. Thus we get: *kuṇḍena aṭan* and *paraśunā vṛscan*.

2.1.3 *prāk kaḍārāt...*-2.1.5 *avyayaṃ vibhakti...*

Refer to subsequent rules for relevant examples.

2.1.6 *avyayaṃ vibhaktisamīpasamṛddhi...*

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*).

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) *durgavadikam*
- (7) *nirmakṣikam*
- (8) *atitaisṛkam*
- (9) *itipāṇini*
- (10) *anuratham*
- (11) *anurūpam*
- (12) *pratyartham*
- (13) *anujyeṣṭham*

Our example (3) *adhistri* is derived from *strī + Ńi + adhi + sU* where *adhi* is an indeclinable denoting *vibhakti* which conditions the use of *saptamī* 'locative' after *strī*. Note that the order of elements in the string *strī + Ńi + 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 pūrvam* orders the preplacement. Rule 1.2.46 *kṛttaddhitasamāsāś 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 *napuṃsaka* 'neuter' by rule 2.4.18 *avyayībhāvaś ca* read with 2.4.17 *sa napuṃsakam*. The assignment of the term *napuṃsaka* is consequential. For example, in case of *adhistrī*, which yields the string *adhistrī + 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 napuṃsake 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*, *avyayībhāva*, *avyaya*, *prātipadika*, and *napuṃsaka*. 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 *avyayībhāva* leads to the assignment of the term *avyaya* which then causes the assignment of the term *napuṃsaka*. We have further witnessed how a *napuṃsaka* 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*, *avyayībhāva*, *avyaya*, *napuṃsaka*, and *prātipadika* entail class-inclusion of terms (*saṃjñāsamāveśa*). 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 *avyayībhāva* in particular. Refer also to the derivation of (144) *pratyagni*, 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* + *Ṇas*. Note that *upa* is used here in the sense of *sāmīpya* ‘proximity’ relative to the pot (*kumbha*). This explains why we must have the genitive *Ṇas* after *kumbha*. Recall that rule 2.4.82 *avyayādāp...* deletes the *sUP* introduced after an *avyayībhāva* compound termed *avyaya*. However, if the compound termed *avyaya* terminates in *a* then a *sUP*, except for a *pañcamī* ‘fifth triplet of nominal ending’, is replaced with *am*, in accordance with rule 2.4.83 *nāvyayībhāva....* 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 yaṅ aci* applies after the deletion of the nominal endings. This, in turn, produces *prat(i→y)artham = (13) pratyartham*.

#### 2.1.9 *sup pratinā...*-2.1.10 *akṣa... pariṇā*

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 *upasarjana*, cannot be accomplished. Thus we get examples such as: (14) *sūpapraṭi* and (15) *akṣapari* 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 supah*.

2.1.12 *apaparibahirañcavaḥ pañcamyā*

Note that because of the *anuvṛtti* of *vibhāṣā* there will be two sets of examples: (16)/(17) *apatrigarttam/apa trigarttebhyah*; (18)/(19) *paritrigarttam/pari trigarttebhyah*; and (20)/(21) *bahirgrāmam/bahir grāmāt*. The *pañcamī*, in case of *apa* and *pari*, is provided for by rule 2.3.10 *pañcamy apānparibhiḥ* at the strength of their designation as *karmapravacanīya* by rule 1.4.88 *apaparī varjane*. The *pañcamī* of *bahis* must be obtained at the strength of the Pāṇinian usage of this rule. The singular ablative ending *ÑasI*, given the string such as *bahisgrāma + ÑasI* is replaced by *āt* by rule 7.1.12 *tānasinasāminātsyāḥ*. The *s* of *bahis* will be replaced with *r* by 8.2.66 *sasjuṣo ruh*.

2.1.14 *lakṣaṇenābhipratī ābhimukhye*

This rule again will yield two sets of examples: (22)/(23) *abhyagnim/agnim abhi* and *pratyagnim/agnim prati*. I have already shown the derivation of *pratyagnim* ( see vol. I, pp. 376-77). Note that *abhi* and *prati* are termed *karmapravacanīya* by rules 1.4.91 *abhir abhāge* and 1.4.90 *lakṣaṇethambhūtākhyāna...* respectively. The accusative nominal ending (*dvitīyā*) is ruled by 2.3.8 *karmapravacanīyayukte dvitīyā*.

2.1.17 *tiṣṭhadguprabhṛtīni ca*

Examples such as (24) *tiṣṭhadgu*, (25) *vahadgu*, (26) *khaleyavam*, (27) *āyatīgavam* ‘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 *avyayībhāva* is ad hoc (*nipātana*). These examples must be handled via *nipātana*, since operationally their constituents will not qualify for yielding the *avyayībhāva* compounds. Thus, *tiṣṭhadgu* has its first constituent derived from *sthā + LAṬ* where *LAṬ* is replaced with *ŚatR*. The *o* of its *go* is replaced with *u* (a short counterpart of *o*) by rule 1.2.48 *gostriyor upasarjanasya*. Example (25) *vahadgu* is no 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 *samāsāntāḥ*) affix *ṬaC*. Finally, (28) *lūyamānayavam* requires that *LAṬ* be replaced with *ŚānaC* again by *nipātana*.

2.1.18 *pāre madhye ṣaṣṭhyā vā*

This rule offers the combination of *pāra* and *madhya* with a *pada* ending in genitive (*ṣaṣṭhī*) to yield an *avyayībhāva* compound optionally to a genitive *tatpuruṣa*. 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 *tatpuruṣa* compound. Thus we will get (29) *pāregāṅgam* and (30) *madhyegāṅgam* 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 *tatpuruṣa* 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 *avyayībhāva* compound optionally to the genitive *tatpuruṣa*. The larger domain of option (*mahāvibhāṣā*; 2.1.11 *vibhāṣā*) provided for the parallel analyzed forms (*vigrahavākya*) in relation to both the *avyayībhāva* and *tatpuruṣa* compounds. The *vā* of this rule provides for the genitive *tatpuruṣa* compound optionally to *avyayībhāva*.

### 2.1.23 *dviguś ca*

Note that (33) *pañcarājī* and (34) *daśarājī* are very similar in derivation to (35) *dvyahaḥ* and (36) *trayaḥ* which I have already derived as part of (114) *dvyahapūrvāya* and (115) *trayahapūrvāya* (cf. vol. I, pp. 367-68). These compounds are allowed by 2.1.51 *taddhitārthottarapada....* They are assigned the term *dvigu* by rule 2.1.52 *saṃkhyāpūrvō dviguḥ*. Given the compound string *pañcarājan*, rule 5.4.91 *rājāha...* will introduce affix *ṬaC*. The resultant string *pañcarājan + (Ṭ)a(C) = pañcarājana* will lose its *ṭi* (the form *na* constituted by the last vowel; 1.1.64 *aco’ ntyādi ṭi*) as per 6.4.144 *nas taddhite* read with 6.4.143 *ṭeḥ*. This will produce: *pañcarāja (na→∅) = pañcarāja*. Since a *dvigu* compound with its following constituent ending in *a* is treated as feminine, rule 4.1.21 *dvigoḥ* (in view of the statement *akārāntottarapado dviguḥ striyām bhāṣyate*) introduces affix *ÑiṢ*. Given the string *pañcarāja + ī* (after *it*-deletion) the *a* before the feminine affix *ī* will be deleted by 6.4.148 *yasyeti ca*. The next example (34) *daśarājī* is similarly derived. The *n* of *pañcan* and *daśan* in these examples is deleted by 8.2.7 *na lopah prātipadikāntasya*.

Note that (37) *pañcagavam* and (38) *daśagavam* with their bases *pañcagava* (cf. (61) *pañcagavadhanaḥ* under rule 2.1.51 *taddhitārthottarapada....*) and *daśagava* deriving from: *pañcago + ṬaC* and *daśago + ṬaC*, after the application of 6.1.78 *eco’ yavāyāvaḥ* do not permit the feminine affix *ÑiṢ* even though the bases terminate in *a*. The *samāsānta* affix is introduced by 5.4.92 *gor ataddhitaluki*. The compounds are assigned neuter gender as per rule 2.4.17 *sa napuṃsakam*. Recall that this assignment of gender is mediated by *ekavadbhāva* ‘treating something as denoting one’ of 2.4.1 *dvigur ekavacanam*. Of course, the term *dvigu* is assigned by rule 2.1.10 *saṃkhyā....*

### 2.1.24 *dvitīyā śritātīta...*

This rule allows for compounds where a *pada* ending in accusative (*dvitīyā*) is combined with another *pada* constituted by *śrita*, etc. Thus, ‘from *kaṣṭa + am + śrita + sU*, *kāntāra + am + atīta + sU*, *naraka + am + patīta + sU*, *grāma + am + gata + sU*, *taraṅga + am + atyasta + sU*, *sukha + am + prāpta + sU*, and *sukha + am + āpanna + sU*, we derive (39) *kaṣṭaśritah*, (40) *kāntārātītah*, (41) *narakapatītah*, (42) *grāmagatah*, (43) *taraṅgātyastah*, (44) *sukhaprāptah*, and (45) *sukhāpannah*. Note that (40), (43), and (45) also involve the application of rule 6.1.101 *akah savarṇe...* which, after the formation of the compound, and the subsequent deletion

of *sUP*, orders the sequence *a+a* at the junction of the two combined bases to be replaced with a single long *ā*.

Note that a *tatpuruṣa* 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 *bahuvrīhi* though there will then be a difference in accent. Commentators do not accept the *bahuvrīhi* interpretation. The accents for examples (39) and (42) is controlled by rule 6.2.47 *ahīne dvitīyā* which is an exception to 6.2.144 *thāthaghañkta...* which, in turn, regulates the accents of other examples. Rule 6.2.47 demands the retention of the original accent of the first constituent (*pūrvapadaprakṛtisvara*). Thus, *kaṣṭāśrita* will retain the *udātta* accent of the final syllable (*antodātta*) of *kaṣṭa*. Rule 6.2.144 assigns *udātta* accent to the final syllable of a constituent terminating in affixes *tha*, *atha*, *GHaÑ*, *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 *kaṣṭāśritaḥ*, *rājapurusaḥ*, and *yūpadāruḥ* have been derived (pp. 447-50) in volume II.

#### 2.1.27 *sāmi*

This rule provides for examples such as (46) *sāmikṛtam* and (47) *sāmiṭam* 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 *ṭam* will both have *udātta* accent on their final syllables. The compound, of course, will have a single *udātta* as: *sāmikṛtām*.

#### 2.1.28 *atyantasamyoge ca*

Note that our example (48) *sarvarātrakalyāṇī* entails two step compounds. That is, one has to first derive *sarvarātra*, and then use it with *dvitīyā* 'accusative' to combine with *kalyāṇī* + *sU*. A compound between *sarvā* + *sU* + *rātri* + *sU* is permitted by rule 2.1.49 *pūrvakālaikasarva....* This will yield *sarvarātri* where rule 6.3.41 *pumvat karmadhāraya...* will replace *sarvā* with *sarva*, its masculine counterpart. Given the *tatpuruṣa* 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* + *sU*. Of course, the resultant compound will be: *sarvarātrakalyāṇī*, a compound of the *dvitīyā-tatpuruṣa* type with an internal *tatpuruṣa* compound of the *samānādhikaraṇa* 'coreferential' type.

#### 2.1.29 *trīyā tatkr̥tārthena...*

Note that (49) *śaṅkulākhaṇḍaḥ* and (50) *kirikāṇaḥ* are derived from *śaṅkulā* + *Ṭā* + *khaṇḍa* + *sU*, and *kiri* + *Ṭā* + *kāṇa* + *sU* under the condition that the quality denoted by *khaṇḍa* + *sU* and *kāṇa* + *sU* is produced

by the *pada* which ends in *trīyā*. 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 *kirikāṇaḥ* 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 *stokāntikadūrārthakṛcchrāṇi ktena*

This rule offers examples where *LUK*-deletion of *pañcamī* 'fifth triplet of *sUP*' is blocked by rule 6.3.2 *pañcamyā stokādibhyaḥ*. As a result we get (51) *stokānmuktaḥ* from *stoka + ṆasI + mukta + sU → stoka + ṆasI + mukta + (sU → ∅) = stoka + ṆasI + mukta → stoka + āt + mukta = stokātmukta*. Note that *ṆasI*, when blocked from deletion, is replaced with *āt* (cf. rule 7.1.12 *tānasi...*). Given the compound string *stokātmukta* 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 *d*, 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 *udātta* 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 + ṆasI + mukta + sU* for clarity. The tradition here invokes the *paribhāṣā*: *gatikāropapadānām kṛdbhiḥ saha samāsavacanam prak sūbutpatteḥ* thereby demanding that the underlying string be: *stoka + ṆasI + mukta* since *mukta* is a derivate ending in affix *kṛt*. This way *sUP* introduced after *mukta* will not have to be deleted.

#### 2.1.50 *dikṣamkhye samjñāyām*

Examples such as (53) *pūrveṣukāmaśamī*, (54) *pañcāmraḥ*, and (55) *saptarṣayaḥ* are derived from *pūrvā + sU + iṣukāmaśamī + sU*, *pañcan + Jas + āmra + Jas*, and *saptan + Jas + ṛṣi + Jas* parallel to *pūrvā cāsau iṣukāmaśamī ca*, *pañca ca te āmraḥ*, and *sapta ca te ṛṣayaḥ*. The compound is additionally termed *karmadhāraya* by rule 1.2.42 *tatpuruṣaḥ samānādhikaraṇaḥ....*

The endings as usual will be deleted after the formation of the compound. The *n* of *pañcan* and *saptan* will be deleted by 8.2.7 *nalopah...* Given the string *pūrva* + *iṣukāmaśamī*, and *sapta* + *ṛṣi*, rule 6.1.84 *ād guṇah* will order a single *guṇa* replacement in place of the two vowels at the junction of constituent bases of the compound. Thus, we get *pūrv* (*a* + *i* → *e*)*ṣukāmaśamī* = *pūrveṣukāmaśamī*, and *sapt* (*a* + *ṛ* → *ar*)*ṣi* = *saptarṣi*.

2.1.51 *taddhitārthottaraṇapadasamāhāre ca*

- (56) *paurvaśālāḥ*
- (57) *āparaśālāḥ*
- (58) *pūrvaśālāpriyaḥ*
- (59) *āparaśālāpriyaḥ*
- (60) *pañcanāpitih*
- (61) *pañcagavadhanaḥ*
- (62) *pañcagavam*
- (63) *pañcapūli*
- (64) *pañcakumāri*
- (56) *paurvaśālāḥ*

The first example is derived by combining the two syntactically related words *pūrvā* + *Ñi* and *śālā* + *Ñi* into a *tatpuruṣa* 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 (*prātipadika*). We cannot have a nominal stem unless we first form a compound and let 1.2.46 *kṛttaddhitasamāsās 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 *tatpuruṣa* compound is formed by 2.1.51 *taddhitārthottaraṇapada...* in anticipation of the introduction of a *taddhita* affix. The locative of *taddhitārthe* is interpreted as *viśayasaptamī* ‘locative of domain’ to facilitate this procedure. The compound base, after the LUK-deletion of *Ñi*, will be: *pūrvāśālā*. The application of *puṃvadbhāva* ‘masculine transformation’ (6.3.33 *striyām...* read with the statement of the *Mahābhāṣya*: *sarvanāmno vṛttimātre puṃvadbhāvaḥ* ad 2.2.26 *dinnāmāny...*) will yield:

*pūrv(ā → a) + śālā = pūrvaśālā*.

Rule 4.2.107 *dikpūrvapadād...* will now introduce the residual (*śaiṣika*; 4.2.91 *śeṣe*) *taddhita* (4.1.76 *taddhitāḥ*) affix (3.1.1 *pratyayaḥ*) *Ña* after (*paraś ca*) the nominal stem (4.1.1 *nyāp-prātipadikāt...*) *pūrvāśālā*. The resultant string will be: *pūrvāśālā* + (*Ñ* → *∅*) *a* = *pūrvāśālā* + *a*. The assignment of the terms *aṅga* (1.4.13 *yasmāt...*), *bha* (1.4.18 *yaci bham*), etc., will occasion the application of rules 7.2.117 *taddhiteṣvacām...* and 6.4.148 *yasyeti ca* to yield: *p(u → au)rvāśāl(ā → ∅) + a = paurvaśāl + a = paurvaśāla*, again a nominal stem by rule 1.2.46 *kṛttaddhita...* Deriving *paurvaśālāḥ* via *sUP*-selection, 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) *pūrvāśālāpriyaḥ* 'he to whom eastern hall is dear' entails a *bahuvrīhi* formation of three constituents (*tripadabahuvrīhi*): *pūrvā* + *sU* + *śālā* + *sU* + *priyā* + *sU* meaning *pūrvā śālā priyā yasya*. This *bahuvrīhi* of three constituents is interpreted as containing a subtype of the *tatpuruṣa* compound termed *karmadhāraya* (1.2.24 *tatpuruṣaḥ samānādhikaraṇaḥ...*) namely *pūrvāśālā*. The formation of the *bahuvrīhi* is allowed by 2.1.24 *anekam anyapadārthe* though the *karmadhāraya-tatpuruṣa* between *pūrvā* + *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 (*pūrvapadaḥ prakṛtisvara*) in a *bahuvrīhi*, (cf. 6.2.1 *bahuvrīhau prakṛtyā pūrvapadam*). The *karmadhāraya* will occasion the application of rule 6.1.217 *samāsasya* whereby the final *ā* of *pūrvāśālā* will be marked *udātta*. Thus, the purpose of forming a *tatpuruṣa* compound is mainly to ensure the final high pitch accent (*antodātta*) 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 *antodātta* of *pūrvāśālā* will also occasion the application of other accent rules such as 6.1.151 *anudāttaṃ padam...*, 8.4.65 *udāttānudāttayoḥ* whereby the *bahuvrīhi* will have the accent as follows: *pūrvāśālāpriyaḥ*. Similar rules will apply in deriving (59) *āparaśālāpriyaḥ*. These two examples illustrate the condition of *uttarapade* of rule 2.1.51.

An example of *samāhāra* with a directional word (*dikśabda*) is not possible. Compounds such as (60) *pāñcanāpitih* and (61) *pañcagavadhanaḥ* illustrate instances of *taddhitārthe* and *uttarapade* respectively with a constituent denoting number (*saṃkhyā*). These again are *bahuvrīhi* compounds with three constituents.

(60) *pāñcanāpitih*

(61) *pañcagavadhanaḥ*

(62) *pañcagavam*

Our first example derives from *pañcan* + *ām* + *nāpita* + *ām* with the expectation that a compound will be formed in anticipation of the scope of a *taddhita* suffix *iñ* introduced to denote an *apatya* 'offspring' by rule 4.1.95 *ata iñ*. This will yield the compound-base *pañcanāpita* with the deletion, first of its *sUP*, and subsequently of the *n* of *pañcan* (8.2.7 *nalopaḥ prātipadikāntasya*), after which we will get affix *iñ* in view of the assignment of the term *prātipadika* by rule 1.2.46 *kṛttaddhitasamāsās ca*. This will produce *pañca(n → ∅) + nāpita + i(iñ → ∅) = pañcanāpita + i*

which, after the application of *vṛddhi*, as explained earlier in connection with the derivation of (56) *paurvaśālah*, will yield: *pāñcanāpita* + *i*. Rule 6.4.148 *yasyeti ca*, as explained in (56) *paurvaśālah*, will delete the final *a* of *nāpita* to yield: *pāñca* + *nāpit* ( $a \rightarrow \emptyset$ ) + *i* = *pāñcanāpiti*. To derive *pāñcanāpitiḥ* by subsequently introducing *sU* and applying *s-* *visarga* is not problematic at all.

Example (61) *pañcagavadhanaḥ* contains the string: *pañcan* + *Jas* + *go* + *Jas* + *dhana* + *sU* for deriving a *tripada-bahuvrīhi* ‘a *bahuvrīhi* compound with three constituents’ where *pañcan* + *Jas* + *go* + *Jas* forms an internal *tatpuruṣa* termed *dvigu* on account of having a number word as its initial constituent (2.1.52 *saṃkhyāpūrvō dviguḥ*). If one simply wants to derive a *samāhāra* ‘grouping, collection’ type of *dvigu*, the form will be: *pañcagavam* (cf. example (37) under rule 2.1.23), a neuter (*napuṃsaka*; 2.4.17 *sa napuṃsakam*). Note that the *samāhāra-dvigu* base *pañcango* goes through the deletion of its *n*. Rule 5.4.92 *gor ataddhitaluki* introduces the *samāsānta* affix *ṬaC* to yield: *pañcango* + *a*. Our form *pañcagava* derives by application of 6.1.78 *eco’ yavāyāvah*. Affix *sU* introduced after the neuter nominal stem *pañcagava* will be replaced with *am* by rule 7.1.23 *ato’ m*. Given the string *pañcagava* + (*sU* → *am*) = *pañcagava* + *am*, rule 6.1.107 *ami pūrvah* will apply to yield: *pañcagav* ( $a+a \rightarrow a$ ) *m* = *pañcagavam*. One can also refer to *dvigu* derivatives such as (438) *pañcendraḥ*, (440) *pañcaśaṣkuliḥ*, (441) *pañcaśaṣkulam*, and *pañcagoṇiḥ* in the appendix of volume II for additional details.

Recall that *pañcagava* forms part of (61) *pañcagavadhanaḥ*, a *tripada-bahuvrīhi* where the introduction of a *samāsānta* affix becomes obligatory (*nitya*). For, *vibhāṣā* still carries, and in the context of the following word (*uttarapade*), an optional *tatpuruṣa*, such as *pañcango*, would otherwise yield a *bahuvrīhi* compound with three constituents: *pañcagodhanaḥ*.

Examples (62) *pañcapūli* and (63) *pañcakumāri* are derived as *samāhāra-dvigu* similar to *pañcagavam*. Given the string *pañcan* + *ām* + *pūla* + *ām* parallel to the analyzed form (*vigraha-vākya*) *pañcānāṃ pūlānāṃ samāhāraḥ* ‘a collection, or grouping of five bunches’ the resultant compound will be: *pañcapūla*. This, in turn, will receive the feminine affix *ÑiP* by rule 4.1.21 *dvigoḥ* for reasons that a *dvigu* compound terminating in *a* is used in the feminine (cf. *vt*: *akārāntottarapado dviguḥ striyāṃ bhāṣyate* ad 2.4.17 *sa napuṃsakam*). The final *a* of *pañcapūla*, before *ÑiP*, will be deleted by 6.4.148 *yasyeti ca*. Thus: *pañcapūl*( $a \rightarrow \emptyset$ ) + *ī* = *pañcapūli*.

Example (63) *pañcakumāri* contains *pañcan* + *ām* + *kumāri* + *ām* whereby we get *pañcakumāri* after *sUP*-deletion, and the extension of singular number (*ekavadbhāva*; 2.1.41 *dvigur ekavacanam*), and neuter gender (*napuṃsaka*; 2.4.17 *sa napuṃsakam*). Rule 1.2.47 *hrasvo napuṃsake...* then orders the long *ī* of *kumāri* replaced with the short to yield: *pañcakumār* ( $ī \rightarrow i$ ) = *pañcakumāri*



A nominal ending such as the nominative singular *sU* introduced after *pañcakumāri* will be deleted by rule 7.1.23 *svamor napuṃsakāt*.

#### 2.1.52 *saṃkhyāpūro dviguḥ*

We have already seen how a *dvigu* such as *pañcapūli* is derived. Our example (64) *pañcakapālaḥ* derives from *pañcan* + *suP* + *kapāla* + *suP* under the *taddhitārthe* condition of the preceding rule. The compound base *pañcakapāla* is assigned the name *dvigu*, and receives the *taddhita* affix *aṅ* in the sense of *saṃskṛtam* by 4.2.15 *saṃskṛtam bhakṣāḥ*. Affix *aṅ* 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 *apatya* ‘offspring’. One can also derive (65) *pañcanāvapriyaḥ* under the condition of *uttarapade*, i.e., *priya* + *sU*. Our *dvigu* compound *pañcanau* will receive the *samāsānta* affix *ṬaC* by rule 5.4.99 *nāvo dvigoḥ*. Rule 6.1.78 *eco’ yavāyavaḥ* will replace the *au* of *nau* with *āv* before the *a* (of *ṬaC*) to yield: *pañcan* (*au*→*āv*) + *a* = *pañcanāva*. The rest of the rule applications are similar to examples already discussed in the preceding rule.

#### 2.1.60 *sanmahatparamottamotkrṣṭāḥ*

Example (66) *mahāpuruṣaḥ* is derived from *mahat* + *sU* + *puruṣa* + *sU* where, given *mahatpuruṣa*, rule 6.3.46 *ānmahataḥ samānā...* introduces *ātva* (*ātva*) as a replacement for the final sound segment of *mahat* (cf. 1.1.52 *alo’ ntyasya*). Thus, *maha* (*t*→*ā*)*puruṣa* = *mah* (*a*+*ā*→*ā*)*puruṣa* = *mahāpuruṣa*.

#### 2.1.67 *yuvākhalatīpalitavalīnajaratībhiḥ*

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) *yuvakhalatī* 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 *kr̥tyatulyākhyā ajātyā*

Examples such as (69) *bhojyoṣṇam* and (70) *pāniyaśītam* have *bhojya* and *pāniya* derived from verbal roots *bhuj* ‘to consume’ and *pā* ‘to drink’ with the introduction of the *kr̥tya* affixes *NyaT* (3.1.124 *ṛhalor...*) and *anīyaR* (3.1.96 *tavyattavyānīyaraḥ*).

#### 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 (*sāmānādhikarāṇya*) *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 puṃlingāḥ tair ubhayathā*). Example (71) *kumāraśramaṇā* entails *puṃvadbhāva* again by 6.3.42 *puṃvat karmadhāraya...*

2.2.4 *prāptajīvikah ca dvitīyayā*

This rule offers two sets of optional examples:

- (72) *prāptajīvikah* / (73) *jīvikāprāptah*  
 (74) *āpannajīvikah* / (75) *jīvikāpannah*

The second example in each set is a *dvitīyā-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 *prāptajīvikah*. The first example of each set will have *prāpta* and *āpanna* as initial constituent.

2.2.5 *kālāḥ parimāṇinā*

Examples such as (76) *dvyahajātaḥ*, (77) *tryahajātaḥ*, and (78) *saṃvatsarajātaḥ* are like genitive *tatpuruṣa* compounds parallel to *dvyahaḥ jātasya*, *tryahaḥ jātasya*, and *saṃvatsaraḥ jātasya* respectively. For, their constituency entails *parimāṇaparimāṇi-sambandha* ‘measure-measured’ relationship. Thus, a person born (*parimāṇī*) is measured by a word denoting time (*kāla*), the measure (*parimāṇa*). The genitive in these examples obviously obtains after the word which denotes *parimāṇin*.

Note that *dvyahaḥ* and *tryahaḥ* are *samāhāradvandva* compounds parallel to *dvayor ahnoḥ samāhārah* ‘a collection of two days’ and *trayor ahnoḥ samāhārah* ‘a collection of three days’. Given the strings: *dviahan* and *triahan*, rule 5.4.91 *rājāhasakhibhya...* introduces the *samāsānta* affix *ṬaC*. The result becomes: *dviahan* + (*Ṭ*→*Ṭ*) *a* (*C*→*Ṭ*) = *dvi* + *ahan* + *a*, and *tri* + *ahan* + *a*. Rule 6.4.145 *ahnaṣ...* now applies to delete the *ṭi* (1.1.64 *aco’ ntyādi ṭi*) part of *ahan* of both the examples (cf. examples (35-36) under 2.1.23 *dviguś ca*). This yields: *dvi* + *ah* (*an*→*Ṭ*) *a* and *tri* + *ah* (*an*→*Ṭ*) + *a* which after the application of 6.1.77 *iko yaṅ aci* will produce: *dv* (*i*→*y*) *ah* + *a* = *dvyaha* and *tr* (*i*→*y*) *ah* + *a* = *tryaha* respectively. Note in this connection that *ahan* is not replaced with *ahna* because of the negation of rule 5.4.89 *na saṃkhyā...*

2.2.6 *nañ*

The derivation of the negative *tatpuruṣa* compounds is fairly straightforward. However, the following rule- applications must be noted:

- (a) 6.3.73 *nalopo nañah*  
 ‘the *n* of *nañ* is deleted before a following word (*uttarapade*)’  
 (b) 6.3.74 *tasmān nuḍ aci*  
 ‘*n* (*UṬ*) is introduced to that which follows the deletion and begins with a vowel (*aC*)’

Examples (79) *abrāhmaṇah* and (80) *anaśvaḥ* parallel to *na brāhmaṇah* 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:  $a + brāhmaṇa = abrāhmaṇa$  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  $(n \rightarrow \emptyset)a + aśva = n + aśva$ . This will entail the introduction of augment  $nUT$  to  $aśva$  at the beginning because of the  $T$  as an *it* (1.1.46 *ādyantau takitau*). Thus,  $a + n (UT \rightarrow \emptyset) + aśva = anaśva$ .

### 2.2.15 *trjakābhyām 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 pāyakaḥ* under this rule.

Note that *sraṣṭā*, *bhettā*, and *bharttā* are all derivatives of  $trC$  (3.1.133 *ṅvultṛcau*) 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 *srjīdrśoh* will introduce augment  $a(M)$  to yield:  $sr + a + j + tr$ ; a subsequent application of 6.1.77 *iko yaṅ aci* will produce  $s(r \rightarrow r) + a + j + tr$ . Rule 8.2.36 *vraśca...* will replace  $j$  by  $ṣ$  which, in turn, cause the replacement of  $t$  of  $tr$  by  $ṭ$  via the application of rule 8.4.41 *ṣṭunā ṣṭuḥ*. We will now have  $s + ra + ṣ + ṭ + tr$ . 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 *bhettā*. The derivations of *apām* and *purām*, genitive plurals denoting an object, from  $ap + ām$  and  $pur + ām$ , is straightforward. The derivation of *pāyakaḥ* in *saktūnām pāyakaḥ* entails the introduction of affix *ṅvuL*. 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 *yuvor...* Thus,  $pā + y + (vu \rightarrow aka) = payaka + sU = pāyakaḥ$ . Incidentally, the word *saktūnām* is derived from *saktu + ām* where rule 7.1.54 *hrasvañadyāpo nuṭ* introduces  $n (UT \rightarrow \emptyset)$  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:  $sakt (u \rightarrow ū)n + ām = saktūnām$ .

The  $m$  of *saktūnām*, as well as that of *purām*, etc., will be replaced with *anusvāra* by rule 8.3.23 *mo' nusvāraḥ* before a consonant such as the  $p$  of *pāyakaḥ*.

### 2.2.16 *kartari ca*

Examples such as (85) *bhavataḥ śayikā* and (86) *bhavata āsikā* also form an exception to the formation of genitive *tatpuruṣa* compound. Note that *śayikā* and *āsikā* are both derived by introducing affixes *ṅvuC* and *TāP*. Thus, affix *ṅvuC* is introduced after  $sī(N \rightarrow \emptyset)$  to yield  $sī + vu$  which, through the application of rule 7.1.1 *yuvor anākau* (with 1.4.13 *yasmāt...*;

6.4.1 *aṅgasya*) becomes:  $\acute{s}\bar{i} + (vu \rightarrow aka) = \acute{s}\bar{i} + aka$ . The string becomes  $\acute{s}(\bar{i} \rightarrow ai) + aka = \acute{s}ai + aka$  after *vṛddhi* by rule 7.2.115 *aco' nṅiti*. Rule 6.1.75 *eco' yavāyāvah* then applies to yield:  $\acute{s}(ai \rightarrow \bar{a}y) + aka = \acute{s}\bar{a}y + aka = \acute{s}\bar{a}yaka$ , a nominal stem (1.2.46 *kṛttaddhita...*) terminating in a *kṛt* affix. Feminine affix *ṬāP* is now introduced by rule 4.1.4 *ajādyataṣ ṭāp* under the domain of 4.1.3 *striyām* read with 4.1.1 *nyāpprātipadikāt*. The *a* before *k* of  $\acute{s}\bar{a}yaka + \bar{a}$  is replaced with *i* by rule 7.3.44 *pratyayasthāt...* This will produce  $\acute{s}\bar{a}y(a \rightarrow i)ka + \bar{a}$  from whence we ultimately get:  $\acute{s}\bar{a}yikā$ . One can similarly derive  $\acute{a}sikā$ . The genitive in *bhavataḥ* derives from *bhavat + Nas* which produces *bhavataḥ* through  $s \rightarrow r \rightarrow visarga$ .

#### 2.2.17 *nityam krīḍājīvikayoḥ*

Examples such as (87) *uddālakapuṣpabhañjikā* and (88) *vāraṇapuṣpapracāyikā* illustrate the genitive *tatpuruṣa* with the meaning of sport (*krīḍā*). Examples such as (89) *dantalekhakaḥ* and (90) *nakhalekhakaḥ* are cited for *jīvikā* 'livelihood'. Both *uddālakapuṣpabhañjikā* and *vāraṇapuṣpapracāyikā* entail *kṛt* derivatives (*bhañjikā*; *pracāyikā*) in feminine. Thus, *bhañjikā* derives from *bhañj + NvuL = bhañj + aka*. The rest of the application of rules to derive *bhañjikā* from this string is similar to  $\acute{s}\bar{a}yikā$ . Remember, however, that affix *NvuL* is introduced with the denotatum of name (*saṃjñā*) by rule 3.3.109 *saṃjñāyām*. Furthermore, *bhañjikā + sU* combines with *puṣpa + ām* to yield: *puṣpabhañjikā* which is then combined with *uddālaka + ām* to produce *uddālakapuṣpabhañjikā*. This last is allowed by rule 2.2.8 *ṣaṣṭhī*. Similar rules apply in deriving *vāraṇapuṣpapracāyikā* where *pracāyikā* derives from *ciN* used with the preverb *pra*. Given *pra + ci + (vu → aka)*, rule 7.2.115 *aco' nṅiti* orders *vṛddhi* to produce:  $pra + c(i \rightarrow ai) + aka$ . The *ai* is then replaced with  $\bar{a}y$  through the application of 6.1.75 *eco' yavāyāvah* to yield:  $pra + c(ai \rightarrow \bar{a}y) + aka = pracāyaka$ . Deriving *pracāyikā* from *pracāyaka + ṬāP* does not offer anything new. Our examples *dantalekhakaḥ* and *nakhalekhakaḥ* both entail *lekhakaḥ* derived from *likh + NvuL* where *NvuL* gets replaced with *aka*. Of course, *i* of *likh* goes through the *guṇa* 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 *kugatiprādayaḥ*

This rule covers examples of compound formation generally known as *prādisamāsa*. Examples such as (91) *kupuruṣaḥ* and (92) *dusṣpuruṣaḥ* are easy to derive. The *s* of *dus* in *dusṣpuruṣaḥ* is replaced with  $\acute{s}$  by 8.3.41 *idudupadhasya cāpratyayasya*. Refer to the appendix of volume II for derivation of compound forms such as *ūrīkṛtam* and *ūrīkṛtya*.

There are quite a few *vārttika* under this rule which also provide for compounds such as (93) *atimālaḥ*, (94) *alaṃkumārīḥ*, (95) *niṣkausāmbiḥ* and (96) *nirvārānasiḥ*. These examples have been fully derived in the appendix of volume II. The derivation of *alaṃkumārīḥ* proceeds from *kumārī + sU +*

*alam* + *sU* where *kūmārī* is termed an *upasarjana* by 1.2.44 *ekavibhakti cāpūrvanipāte*. The final long *ī* of *kūmārī* 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' nusuvaraḥ* to yield: *alamkumāri*. Deriving *alamkumārīḥ* via introduction of *sU* and subsequent *rutvavisarga* should not pose any difficulty.

#### 2.2.19 *upapaḍam 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): *gatikārako-papadānām kṛdbhiḥ saha samāsavacanam prak subutpatteḥ*). The genitive of *kumbha* + *ām* is inferred as denoting an object (*karman*) through the variable reference of 3.2.1 *karmany aṅ* read with rule 3.1.92 *tatropapaḍam saptamīstham*.

Rule 3.2.1 *karmany aṅ* introduces affix *aN* to derive *kāra* via *vṛddhi* by rule 7.2.115 *aco' nṅiti*. Thus: (*kṛ* + *a* (*N*→ $\emptyset$ )) = *k* (*r*→*ār*) + *a* = *kāra*.

Examples such as (98) *aśvakṛitī* and (99) *dhanakṛitī* contain the strings: *aśva* + *Ṭā* + *kṛita* + *sU* and *dhana* + *Ṭā* + *kṛita* + *sU*. *Kāśikā* uses example (98) to illustrate how, if the compounds are formed after introducing the *sUP*, the introduction of *ṆiṢ* will be blocked. The compound formation is allowed by 2.1.32 *kartrkaraṇe kṛtā bahulam*. Given the compound form *aśvakṛita*, rule 4.1.50 *kṛitāt karaṇapūrvāt* will introduce affix *ṆiṢ*. Rule 6.4.148 *yasyeti ca* will apply on *aśvakṛita* + (*Ṇ*→ $\emptyset$ )*i*(*Ṣ*→ $\emptyset$ ) to delete the final *a* of *aśvakṛit(a*→ $\emptyset$ ), a form termed *bha*, under the following *i*. This will produce the compound base *aśvakṛitī* after which a *sU* may be introduced only for deletion by 6.1.66 *halṅyābbhyo*....

#### 2.2.24 *anekam anyapadārthe* ... 2.2.25 *saṅkhyayā*...

Refer to many examples of *bahuvrīhi* derivatives in the appendix. For a typical *bahuvrīhi* such as *citraguḥ* parallel to *citrā gāvo yasya* 'he who owns brindled cows' refer to derivation (432) there.

Examples such as (100) *upadaśāḥ* parallel to *daśānām samīpe 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 *upadaśan* (after *sUP*-deletion) receives the *samāsānta* affix *ḌaC* by 5.4.73 *bahuvrīhau saṅkhyeye*.... This yields *upadaśan* + (*D*→ $\emptyset$ )*a*(*C*→ $\emptyset$ ) = *upadaśan* + *a* where the *aṅga*-final *an* is deleted by 6.4.143 *ṭeḥ*. The compound base *upadaś* + *a* = *upadaśa* can now take the nominative plural ending *Jaś* where, after *it*-deletion of *J*, rule 6.1.102 *prathamayoḥ pūrvasavarnaḥ* orders *pūrvasavarnādirgha*, a homogenous long vowel replacement similar to the first. That is: *upadaśa* + (*J*→ $\emptyset$ ) *as* = *upadaś* (*a*+*a*→*ā*) *s* = *upadaśās*. The preceding form produces *upadaśāḥ* through *rutva-visarga*.

Similar rule application is required for deriving (101) *upaviṁśāḥ* parallel to *viṁśateḥ samīpe ye*. Note, however, that rule 6.4.142 *ti viṁśater dīti* will delete the *ti* of *viṁśati*. Rule 6.1.97 *ato guṇe* will apply on *upaviṁśa* + *a* to produce *upaviṁśā* via *parasavarṇadīrgha*, a long vowel replacement similar to the following vowel of a sequence. One can similarly also derive (102) *āsannadaśāḥ* and (103) *adūradaśāḥ*, etc. Deriving (104) *dvitrāḥ* from *dvitr(i→∅)* + *ḌaC* + *Jas* through *ṭi*-deletion of *dvitri*, etc., is not problematic. An example such as (105) *tricaturāḥ* receives affix *aC* as opposed to *ḌaC* in view of the proposal of the *vārttika* (ad 5.4.73 *bahuvrīhau...*): *caturō' cprakaraṇe tryupābhyām upasamkhyānam*. This introduction of affix *aC* also facilitates the non-deletion of the *ṭi* part by rule 6.4.143 *teḥ*.

### 2.2.30 *upasarjanam 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 *akṣaśauṇḍaḥ*, *śaṅkulākhaṇḍaḥ*, and *rājapurusaḥ*, etc., in the appendix of volume II.

### 2.3.1 *anabhihite...* 2.3.73 *caturthī cāśiṣya...*

Note that these rules mostly relate to conditions under which a nominal ending denoted by the abbreviatory term *sUP* (4.1.2 *svaujasmauṭ...*) can be introduced after a nominal stem (1.2.45 *arthavad adhātur...*; 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 derivatives will be derived in the next two volumes. I have therefore not shown any derivations here.

### 2.4.3 *aṇuvāde caraṇānām*

Examples such as (106) *udagāt* and (107) *pratyaṣṭhāt* as in *udagāt kathakālāpam* and *pratyaṣṭhāt kathakauthukam* are *LUṆ* derivatives of verbal root *iṆ*, used with the preverb *ud*, and *sthā* used with the preverb *prati*, respectively. These derivations in many ways follow the patterns of numerous *LUṆ* derivatives already derived in the appendix of volume II. Refer to *akarīṣyat*, *acīkarat*, *acaiṣīt*, and *ajīharat*, etc., for general operations relative to *LUṆ*. Note that *sIC* of these examples will be deleted by rule 2.4.77 *gātisthā...* This will leave: *ud+a+i+t* where *i* will be replaced with *gā* by 2.4.45 *iṇo gā luṇi*.

### 2.4.5 *adhyayanato' viprakṛṣṭa...*

Examples such as (108) *padakakramakam* entails the introduction of affix *vuN* by rule 4.2.61 *kramādibhyo vun* after both *pada* and *krama* to derive *padaka* and *kramaka*. Affix *ṭhaK* is similarly introduced after *vṛtti* to derive (109) *vārttika* by rule 4.2.60 *kratūkthādi...* Follow the derivation of (197) *dādhikam* in the appendix of volume II to derive *vārttika* from *vṛtti* + *ṭhaK*.

2.4.11 *gavāśvaprabhṛtīni ca*

Note that examples such as (110) *gavāśvam* are listed in the *GP* with *ekavadbhāva* 'treatment as if singular'. One can understand though that the *dvandva* compound can be allowed by rule 2.2.29 *cārthe dvandvaḥ* in addition to the *avaṅ* replacement for *o* of *go* by 6.1.119 *avaṅ sphoṭāyanasya* to yield *gavāśvam*. Other examples should be similarly understood.

2.4.29 *rātrāhnāhāḥ pumsī*

Note that examples (111) *dvirātraḥ*, (112) *trirātraḥ*, and (113) *catūrātraḥ* are derived by combining *dvi*, *tri* and *catur* with *rātri*, *ahna* and *aha* in view of 2.1.51 *taddhitārthotlarapada....* Rule 5.4.87 *ahaḥ sarvaika...* introduces the *samāsānta* 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 *samāsānta* affix (cf. *Kāś: kṛtasamāsāntānām nirdeśaḥ*). This assignment of masculine is necessary in view of *paravallīngatā* 'assignment of gender in consonance with the gender of the following constituent' which may obtain due to *rātri* (feminine) and *ahna* (neuter).

Note that *catūrātraḥ* entails the application of 8.3.14 *ro ri* whereby the *r* of *catur* is deleted. The *u* of *catu* is replaced with *ū* to yield *catūrātra* via the application of rule 6.3.111 *dhralope pūrvasya....*

An example such as (114) *pūrvāhnaḥ* is derived by combining *pūrvā* + *sU ahan* + *Nas* by rule 2.2.1 *pūrvaparādhharottara....* A combined base *purva* + *ahan* receives the *samāsānta* affix *ṬaC* by 5.4.91 *rātrāha....* Rule 5.4.88 *ahno' hna etebhyaḥ* orders the *ahan* of *pūrvā* + *ahan* + (*Ṭ*)*a*(*C*) to be replaced with *ahna*. Rule 6.4.148 *yasyeti ca* deletes the final *a* of *ahna* before the *a* of *ṬaC* to yield: *pūrvā* + *ahn* + *a* = *pūrvāhna*. One can derive *pūrvāhnaḥ* from *pūrvāhna* + *sU* via *rutva-visarga* where the *n* of *pūrvāhna* will be replaced with *ṇ* by rule 8.4.7 *ahno' adantāt*. Similar rules apply in deriving (115) *aparāhnaḥ* and (116) *madhyāhnaḥ* where this last example does not get its *n* replaced with *ṇ* because of the lack of a preceding *r*.

2.4.36 *ado jagdhir lyapti kiti*

This rule allows a replacement in *jagdh* for verbal root *ad* 'to consume' to derive (117) *prajagdhya*, (118) *vijagdhya*, (119) *jagdhah*, 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) *prakṛtya* in the appendix of volume II. The application of this rule will produce: *pra* + (*ad* → *jagdh*) + (*L* → *∅*) *ya* (*P* → *∅*) = *prajagdhya*. Example (118) *vijagdhya* follows the same pattern.

Example (119) *jagdhah* is derived by introducing the *niṣṭhā* suffix *Kta* (1.1.28 *ktaktavatū niṣṭhā*; 3.2.102 *niṣṭhā*) after verbal root *ad*. Given the replacement in *jagdh* for *ad* we get: (*ad* → *jagdh*) + (*K* → *∅*) *ta* = *jagdh* + *ta*. The *t* of *ta* is replaced with *dh* by rule 8.2.40 *jhaṣastathor....* The final *dh* of *jagdh* of *jagdh* + *dha* will then be replaced with *d* by rule 8.4.53 *jhalām jaś jhasi*. This will produce *jag(dh → d)* + *dha* = *jagd* + *dha* on which rule

8.4.65 *jharo jhari savarṇe* applies. The result is: ( $d \rightarrow \emptyset$ ) + *dha* = *jagdha*; a nominal stem after which *sU* can be introduced to derive *jagdhah* 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  $t \rightarrow dh$ ,  $dh \rightarrow d$ , and  $d \rightarrow \emptyset$  as explained in case of *jagdhah* will also be applicable on ( $ad \rightarrow jagdh$ ) + ( $K \rightarrow \emptyset$ ) *tavat* ( $U \rightarrow \emptyset$ ) = *jagdh + tavat*.

#### 2.4.37 *lṛṅsanor ghasḷ*

This rule introduces *ghasḷ* as a replacement for *ad* to derive forms such as (121) *aghasat*, (122) *aghasatām*, (123) *aghasan*; and (124) *jighatsati*, (125) *jighatsataḥ*, (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  $ghas(L \rightarrow \emptyset)$  before affixes *LUN* and  $sa(N \rightarrow \emptyset)$ . For arriving at the string  $aT + ghas + CLI + t$  refer to the derivation of (18) *acaiṣīt* in the appendix of volume II. The *CLI* will then be replaced with  $a(N \rightarrow \emptyset)$  by rule 3.1.55 *puṣādīdyutādi...* on account of *L* as an *it*. This will produce:  $a + ghas + a + t = aghasat$ . Note that the augment *aT* has been introduced here by rule 6.4:71 *luṅlanlṛṅ...*. This introduction of the augment must be done subsequent upon the replacement of *ad* by *ghasḷ*. For, *ad* begins with a vowel, and consequently, 6.4.72 *āḍ ajādīnām* may introduce the augment *āT*. This obviously will produce the wrong form *āghasat*. This introduction of *āT* can be blocked if *ghasḷ* 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  $aT + ghas + a + (jh \rightarrow ant)$  should not be problematic. Rule 6.1.97 *ato guṇe* 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 *saṃyogāntasya lopah*.

The next set of three examples all entail affix *saN* and subsequent doubling (*dvitva*) for which refer to derivation (304) *rurudiṣati* in the appendix of volume II. Note that doubling will take place after the replacement in *ghasḷ*. This will produce:  $ghas + ghas + sa$  where *sa* will be termed an *ārddhadhātuka* by 3.4.114 *ārddhadhātukam...*. This will occasion the introduction of augment *iT* by rule 7.2.35 *ārddhadhātukasyeḍ...* which, in turn, will be blocked by rule 7.2.10 *ekāc upadeṣe...*. Note that doubling and the application of rule 7.4.60 *halādi śeṣah* will produce  $gha(s \rightarrow \emptyset) + ghas + sa$ . Rule 7.4.62 *kuhoś cuḥ* now applies to yield:  $(gh \rightarrow jh)a + ghas + sa = jha + ghas + sa$ . 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 *sany atah*. Rule 7.4.49 *saḥ syārddha...* 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* + *ŚaP* + (*LAṬ* → *tiP*) where the sequence *a+a* will again be replaced with *a* by 6.1.96 *ato guṇe*. Examples (125) *jighatstaḥ* and (126) *jighatsanti* can be derived similarly to *pacataḥ* and *pacanti* (cf. appendix of volume II) from *jighatsa* + *LAṬ*.

#### 2.4.40 *lity anyatarasyām*

Refer to derivations (231) *jakṣatuḥ* and (232) *jakṣuḥ* in the appendix of volume II. Examples such as (127) *ādatuḥ* and (128) *āduḥ* 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 *LAṬ*. 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 *ata upadhāyāḥ* 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 *ata ādeḥ*. This will replace the first *a* with *ā*. Rule 7.2.116 *ata upadhāyāḥ* will now apply on *ā* + *ad* + *a* to produce *ā* + *ād* + *a*. Finally, rule 6.1.101 *akah savarṇe dīrghaḥ* 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 *veÑ* such as (131) *uvāya*, (132) *ūvatuḥ*, (133) *ūvuḥ*, and (134) *ūyatuh* and (135) *ūyuh*. All these derivations begin with *ve(Ñ→∅)* + *LIT* where *LIT* gets replaced with *tiP*, etc., only to be further replaced with *ṆaL*, *atus* and *us* of 3.4.82 *parasmaipadānām...* Note, however, that our present rule orders the replacement *vay* for *veÑ* before the *ārdhdhātuka* affix *LIT*. The *parasmaipada* replacements such as *ṆaL*, etc., will follow. Our string *vay* + (*ti(P→∅)* → (*Ṇ→∅*)*a(L→∅)*) = *vay* + *a* will go through the application of doubling, *ṣamprasāraṇa* (6.1.17 *lity abhyāsasyobhayeṣām*) and 7.4.60 *halādi...* to yield: *vay* + *vay* + *a* = *va* + *vay* + *a* = (*v*→*uay* + *vay* + *a*) = *uvay* + *a*. Rule 7.2.116 *ata upadhāyāḥ* now yields *uv(a→ā)y* + *a* = *uvāya*.

Our next form *ūvatuh* 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 *ṣamprasāraṇa* available from rule 6.1.16 *grahijyāvayī...* Instead, it is replaced with *v* to change the string to *vav* + *a* by rule 6.1.39 *vaś cānyatarasyām*. The processes of doubling, the *ṣamprasāraṇa* of the initial *va* and *halādiṣeṣa* will now produce *u* + *uv* + *atus*. The desired form *ūvatuh* can then be produced by the application of *savarṇadīrgha* (6.1.101 *akah savarṇe...*) and *rutva-visarga*. Note here that *v* as a replacement for the *y* of *vay* by rule 6.1.39 *vaścānyatarasyām kiti* is optional. In the absence of availing that option we will get *ūyatuh* parallel to *ūvatuh*. 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) *vavuh*. The root-final *e* in all these three examples is replaced with *ā* with reference to rule 6.1.45 *adeca upadeśe...* The *a* of *NaL* in *vā* + (*LIT*→*NaL*) = *vā* + *a* is replaced with *au* by 7.1.34 *āta au ṇalaḥ*. The final *a* of *vā* is then deleted by 6.4.64 *āto lopa iti ca*. The *samprasāraṇa* is here blocked by rule 6.1.40 *veṇaḥ*. This should facilitate the derivation of these forms with no difficulty.

#### 2.4.42 *hano vadha līni*

Examples such as (139) *vadhyāt*, (140) *vadhyāstām*, and (141) *vadhyasuh* involve *vadha* as the replacement for verbal root *han* before affix *LIN* introduced as per rule 3.3.173 *āśiṣi līnloṭau*. The resultant string (*han*→*vadha*) + (*LIN*→*ti*(*P*→ $\emptyset$ )) = *vadha* + *ti* receives *yāsUT* as the augment by rule 3.4.103 *yāsuṭ 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 lopaḥ*. This will produce *vadh(a*→ $\emptyset$ ) + *yās* + *t* where an application of rule 8.2.29 *skoḥ samyogādyor...* deletes the *s* to yield: *vadh* + *yā(s*→ $\emptyset$ ) + *t* = *vadhyāt*.

The derivation of *vadhyāstām* from (*han*→*vadha*) + (*LIN*→*tas*) = *vadha* + *yās* (*UT*→ $\emptyset$ ) + *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 *jheṛ jus* orders (*J*→ $\emptyset$ )*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) *avadhiṣṭām* and (143) *avadhiṣuh* are third personal dual and plural forms containing: *avadh* (*a*→ $\emptyset$ ) + *i* + *s* + *tas* = *avadh* + *i* + *s* + *tas* and *avadh* + *i* + *s* + *jhi* where *tas* and *jhi* are dual and plural third personal replacements for *LUN*. Our *tas* gets replaced with *tām* to yield: *avadh* + *i* + *s* + *tām* where rule 8.3.59 *ādeśapratyayoḥ* orders the *s* to be replaced with *ṣ*. This, in turn, will cause the application of rule 8.4.41 *ṣṭunā ṣṭuh* whereby *t* of *tām* will be replaced with *ṭ*. Thus, *avadhi(s*→*ṣ*) + (*tās*→*ṭām*)) = *avadhiṣṭām*. The plural form *avadhiṣuh* entails an additional application of rule 3.4.109 *sijabhyasta...* whereby the *jhi* of *avadhis* + *jhi* is replaced with *Jus* to derive *avadhiṣ* + *u(s*→*r*→*ḥ*) = *avadhiṣuh* via *rutva-visarga*.

#### 2.4.45 *iṇo gā luṇi*

This rule replaces verbal root *i(N*→ $\emptyset$ ) with *gā* to derive the *LUN*-

derivates (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 *luṅlanlṛṅ...* 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  $a(T) + (iN \rightarrow gā) + (C)i(N) + t$  where 3.1.66 *ciṅ bhāvakarmanoḥ* introduces  $CiN$ . Our string  $a+gā+i$  receives the augment  $yUK$  by rule 7.3.33 *āto yuk ciṅ...* It finally goes through the deletion of its  $t$  by rule 6.4.104 *ciṅo luk*.

#### 2.4.47 *sani ca*

Our examples (146) *jigamiṣati* is  $saN$ -derivate 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 *halādi...* yields  $ga + gam + sa$ . The  $iT$  will be introduced by rule 7.2.35 *ārdhadhātukasyeḍ...* Additionally,  $ga + gam + i(T \rightarrow \emptyset) + sa$  will have the  $a$  of  $ga$  replaced with  $i$  by 7.4.79 *sany atah*. This will give us *gigamisa* where 7.4.62 *kuhoś cuḥ* will turn the initial  $g$  into  $j$ . Rule 8.3.59 *ādeśa pratyayayoḥ* will replace the  $s$  with  $ṣ$ . Thus,  $J(a \rightarrow i) + gam + i + (s \rightarrow ṣ)a = jigamiṣa$ . I have here shown only the partial derivation of *jigamiṣati* which derives from  $(i \rightarrow gam) + saN) + LAT$ . Refer to the derivations of similar  $saN$ -derivates such as (304) *rurudiṣati*, (305) *vividīṣati*, (307) *jighrkṣati*, (309) *piṅrcchiṣati* and (312) *cikīrṣati*, etc., in the appendix of volume II for systematic derivational details in steps. Deriving (147) *jigamiṣataḥ* and (148) *jigamiṣanti* with *tas* and *jhi* as replacements for  $LAT$  should not pose any difficulty.

#### 2.4.48 *inaś ca*

Our example (149) *adhijigāmsate* entails the  $saN$ -derivate 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:  $(g \rightarrow j)(a \rightarrow i)gam$ ) before  $saN$ . The second  $a$  of *adhijigam* goes through *ātva* 'replacement in  $\bar{a}$ ' of rule 6.4.16 *ajjhana-gamāṃ sani*. The  $m$  of *adhijig(a \rightarrow \bar{a})m + sa* is replaced with *anusvāra* by 8.3.24 *naścāpadāntasya...* 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) *adhijigāṃsete* and (151) *adhijigāṃsante* with the *ātmanepada* endings replacing  $LAT$ .

#### 2.4.49 *gān liṭi*

The three examples under this rule again are third personal forms of *ātmanepada*: (152) *adhijage*, (153) *adhijagāte* and (154) *adhijagire*. The first form derives from  $adhi(i \rightarrow gā) + (LIT \rightarrow ta)$ . The  $ta$  is subsequently replaced with  $eś$  by rule 3.4.81 *liṭastajhayor...* The  $\bar{a}$  of  $gā$  is deleted by rule 6.4.64 *āto lopa iṭi ca*. This produces  $g(\bar{a} \rightarrow \emptyset) + (ta \rightarrow e(\acute{S} \rightarrow \emptyset)) = g + e$  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 *liṭi dhātor anābhyāsasya* with *sthānivadbhāva* ‘treating the substitute as if it was the substituendum’ facilitated by 1.1.59 *dvirvacane*’ *ci*. This will produce *adhigā + g + e*. The shortening (*hrasva*; 7.4.59 *hrasvaḥ*) of *ā* of *adhigā* followed by the *cūṭva* of *g→j* will produce *adhi(g→j)(ā→a)ge = adhijage*. Refer to earlier derivational details for specific rule application relative to doubling (*dvitva*). The next example *adhijagāte* derives from *adhijag + āte* where the dual *ātmanepada* ending *ātām* goes through the replacement of its *ṭi* (1.1.64 *aco’ ntyādi ṭi*) by *e* by rule 3.4.79 *ṭit ātmanepadānām...*:

Our last example *adhijāgire* involves the replacement of third personal plural *ātmanepada* ending *jha* with *ireC* in view of rule 3.4.81 *liṭastajhayor...* to yield *adhijag + ire (C→∅) = adhijagire*.

#### 2.4.50 *vibhāṣā lunlṛṅṇoḥ*

Refer to derivations (266) *adhyagīṣṭa*, (267) *adhyagīṣātām*, and (268) *adhyagīṣata* in the appendix (pp. 425–27) of volume II. The derivation of (155) *adhyaiṣṭa*, (156) *adhyaiṣātām* and (157) *adhyaiṣata* 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 *āḍ ajādīnām*). Rule 7.3.84 *sārvadhātukārdhadhātukayoḥ* will apply on *adhi + ā (T→∅) + i + ṣ + ṭ* to require *guṇa* of *i* to produce: *adhi+ā+e+ṣṭa*. Rule 6.1.90 *āṭas ca* will replace the sequence *ā+e* with a single *vṛddhi* vowel *ai*. Rule 6.1.77 *iko yaṅ āci* will now apply on *adhi+ai+ṣṭa* to produce *adhyaiṣṭa* via replacing the *i* of *adhi* with *y*. The derivation of *adhyaiṣātām* begins with *adhyaiṣ + ātām* where *LUN* is replaced with the third person dual *ātmanepada* ending *ātām*. The plural form *adhyaiṣata* is easy to derive with reference to *adhyagīṣata*.

The following is a select list of two sets of *LRṆ* derivatives:

(158) *adhyagīṣyata*, (159) *adhyagīṣyetām*, (160) *adhyagīṣyanta*; and (161) *adhyaiṣyata*, (162) *adhyaiṣyetām*, (163) *adhyaiṣyanta*.

The first example (158) *adhyagīṣyata* derives from the string *adhi+aT+(i→gā)+(LRṆ→ta)* where *LRṆ* has been introduced by rule 3.3.139 *līnnimite...* Rule 3.1.33 *syatāsī...* introduces affix *sya* after the *gāN* replacement of *i* to produce: *adhi + a + gā + sya + ta*. Rule 6.4.66 *ghumtāsthā...* (read with 1.2.1 *gāṅkuṭādi...*) will then replace the *ā* of *gā* with *ī*. This will produce: *adhi + a + gī + sya + ta*. Rule 6.1.77 *iko yaṅ aci* will replace the *i* of *adhi* with *y*; and 8.3.59 *ādeśapratyayayoḥ* will change the *s* of *sya* with *ṣ*. Thus: *adh(i→y) + a + gī + (s→ṣ)ya + ta = adhyagīṣyata*. An optional form to this will be (161) *adhyaiṣyata* 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 *vṛddhi* replacement *ai* for *ā + i*; the *y* replacement for the *i* of *adhi*, and the *s→ṣ* change in *sya* are easy to understand. The dual form (159) *adhyagīṣyetām* derives from *adhyagīṣya + ātām* where the *ā* of *ātām* gets

replaced with *iy* of rule 7.2.81 *āto nītaḥ*. Rule 6.1.87 *ād guṇaḥ* then applies on *adhyagīṣya* + (*ā*→*iy*) *tām* = *adhyagīṣya* + *iy* + *tām* to produce: *adhyagīṣy* (*a*+*i*→*e*) *y* + *tām* where 6.1.66 *lopo vyor vali* will delete the second *y*. Thus: *adhyagīṣye*(*y*→ $\emptyset$ ) + *tām* = *adhyagīṣyetām*. Note that the form *adhyagīṣya*, which I cite here, before *ātām* 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 saṃścaṇoḥ*

This rule orders *gāN* as an optional replacement for *iN* relative to (164) *adhijigāpayiṣati*, (165) *adhyāpipayīṣati*, (166) *adhyajīgapat* and (167) *adhyāpipat*.

The first example derives from (*adhi* + (*i*(*N*→ $\emptyset$ )→*gā*) + (*N*→ $\emptyset$ )(*C*→ $\emptyset$ )) + *sa* (*N*→ $\emptyset$ ))) 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 *dhātoḥ karmanah*...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 *arttīhrīvlīri*... to yield: *adhi* + *gā* + *p*(*UK*→ $\emptyset$ ) + *i* + *sa*. Rule 7.2.35 *ārddhadhātukasyeḍ*... to yield: *adhi* + introduce *i*(*T*= $\emptyset$ ) before the *ārddhadhātuka* affix *sa*: *adhi*+*gā* + *p* + *i* + *i* + *sa*. The operation of doubling will now take place under the provision of rule 6.1.9 *sanyaṇoḥ* read with 6.1.1 *ekāco dve*.... 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' bhyāsaḥ* and 7.4.60 *halādi śeṣaḥ* will change the string to: *adhi* + *gā*(*p*→ $\emptyset$ ) + *gāp* + *i* + *i* + *sa*. Rule 7.4.62 *kuhoś cuḥ* will cause *cutva* of the *g* of *gā* to yield: *adhi* + (*g*→*j*)*ā* + *gāp* + *i* + *i* + *sa*. Rule 7.4.79 *sanyataḥ* apply *itva* whereby we get: *adhi* + (*j*(*ā*→*i*)) + *gāp* + *i* + *i* + *sa* = *adhijigāpi* + *i* + *sa*. Rule 7.3.84 *sārvadhātukārddhadhātukayoḥ* will order *guṇa* for the final *i* of *adhijigāpi* to produce *adhijigāpe* which, in turn, will yield *adhijigāp*(*e*→*ay*) + *i* + *sa*, through the application of 6.1.78 *eco' yavāyāvah*. Our resultant string *adhijigāpayi*(*s*→*ṣ*)*a* = *adhijigāpayiṣa* (through the application of 8.3.59 *ādeśapratyayayoḥ*) will still be termed a verbal root by 3.1.32 *sanādyantā dhātavaḥ*. Consequently, *LAṬ*→*tiP*, and *ŚaP* introduced after *adhijigāpayiṣa* will produce *adhijigāpayiṣati*.

We will have (165) *adhyāpipayīṣati* if the option of *gā* replacement of verbal root *i* is not availed. It will produce the verbal root *adhyāpipayīṣa* from the basic string: *adhi* + *i* + *i* + *sa*. Affix *NiC* will condition the *i* of the root to be replaced with its *vṛddhi* counterpart *ai* via 7.2.115 *aco' nṛṇiti*. Rule 6.1.48 *krīñjīnām*...will then order *ā* 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* + *āpayiṣa*. The next

form *adhi + ā + pi + payiṣa* will be produced through doubling under the provisions of rules 6.1.2 *ajāder dvitīyasya* read with 1.1.59 *dvirvacane' ci*. This doubling would involve *rūpātideśa* whereby its result will be: *pi + pay*. Finally, *adh(i→y) + āpipayīṣa = adhyāpipayīṣa* will produce: *adhyāpipayīṣati* similar to the preceding example.

Form (166) *adhyajīgapat* is a *LUN* derivate of verbal root *iṅ* used with the preverb *adhi*, and the causative suffix *ṆiC*. The *i* of *adhi + i + ṆiC* is replaced with *gā* to produce: (*adhi + (i→gā) + (Ṇ→Ḍ)i(CḌ)*) = *adhi + gā + i*. Rule 3.2.10 *luṅ* introduces affix *LUN* to realize: *adhi + gā + i + LUN = adhi + gā + i + LUN*. Two additional rule applications (3.1.43 *cli luṅi* and 3.1.48 *ṅisridrusrubhyaḥ...*) will change the string to: *adhi + gā + i + (CLI→(C→Ḍ) a (Ṇ→Ḍ) + i LUN = adhi + gā + i + a + LUN*. Rule 3.4.78 *tiptasjhisipthastha...* read with 3.4.77 *lasya* will, of course, replace *LUN* with *ti(P→Ḍ)* 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 *artihrīvlīrīknūyī...* will again introduce the augment *pUK* subsequent to which the *i*, i.e., *ṆiC*, will be deleted by rule 6.4.51 *ner anīti*. This will produce: *adhi + gāp + a + t* where the *ā* of *gāp*, the penultimate of sound of an *aṅga* before affix *Caṅ*, will be replaced with its short counterpart by rule 7.4.1 *ṅau caṅy upadhāyāḥ...* Our string will now become *adhi + gap + a + t*. Doubling and related applications will produce *adhi + (g→j) a (p→Ḍ) + gap + a + t = adhi + ja + gap + a + t* where *sanvadbhāva* 'extending operations characteristic to affix *saṅ*' will further cause the application of rules 7.4.79 *sanyataḥ* and 7.4.93 *sanvallahuṅi caṅpare...* This will cause *itva* 'replacement in *i*' whereby we get: *adhi + j (a→i) + gap + a + t = adhi + jī + gap + a + t*. Rule 7.4.94 *dīrghoḥ laghoḥ* will then replace the short *i* of *jī* with long to yield *adhi + jī + gap + a + t*. Our string *adhi + jī + gap + a* will still be termed an *aṅga* (1.4.13 *yasmāt pratyayavidhis...*) whereby rule 6.4.71 *luṅlanlṅn...* will introduce the augment *a(T→Ḍ)*. The resultant string *adhi + a + jī + gap + a + t* will be subject to the application of rule 6.1.77 *iko yaṅ aci* whereby the *i* of *adhi* will be replaced with *y* to produce *adhyajīgapat*.

An optional form such as (167) *adhyāpipat* will be derived in the absence of not availing the option of replacing *iṅ* with *gā*. The initial string *adhi + iṅ + ṆiC = adhi + i + i* will as usual go through *vṛddhi*, *ātva* (6.1.48 *krīṅ nau...*), and introduction of *pUK* to produce *adhī + (i→ai→āt) + p + i*. Operations such as the introduction of *LUN*, *CLI*, *Caṅ*, the deletion of *ṆiC* (*ṅilopa*), and shortening of the *ā* of *adhī + 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 *caṅi* read with 6.1.2 *ajāder dvitīyasya* 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 *āḍajādīnām...* will introduce the augment

$\bar{a}T$  which, after the application of 6.1.77 *iko yaṅ aci* and 6.1.90 *āṭas ca*, will produce  $adhī + \bar{a}T + \underline{a}pi + p + a + t = adh(i \rightarrow y) + \bar{a}(T \rightarrow \emptyset) + \underline{a}pi + p + a + t = adhy + (\bar{a} + a \rightarrow \bar{a}) pi + pa + t = adhy\bar{a}pipat$ .

#### 2.4.53 *bruvo vaciḥ*

The *ātmanepada* derivatives (168) *ūce* and (169) *vakṣyate* derive from ( $brū \rightarrow vac$ ) + ( $LIT \rightarrow ta$ ) and ( $brū \rightarrow vac$ ) + ( $LRT \rightarrow ta$ ). Our first string  $vac + ta$  goes through the replacement in  $e\acute{S}$  for its  $ta$  (3.4.81 *liṭastajhayor...*) followed by the *samprasāraṇa* of rule 6.1.15 *vacisvapi...* This produces the  $uc + e$  which through doubling (*dvitva*) and related operations becomes ( $u(c \rightarrow \emptyset) uc + e$ ). An application of *savarṇadīrgha* will finally produce ( $u + u \rightarrow \bar{u}$ ) $c + e = \bar{u}ce$ .

Deriving (169) *vakṣyate* from ( $vac + (LRT \rightarrow ta)$ ) will require the introduction of *sya* of 3.1.33 *syatāsī...* followed by  $ta \rightarrow te$  of 3.4.79 *ṭita ātmanepadānām...* The resultant string  $vac + sya + te$  will go through *kutva* of  $c$  by 8.2.30 *coḥ kuḥ*. The new output  $vak + sya + t + (e)$  will become  $vak + (s \rightarrow \acute{s})ya + te = vakṣyate$  after the application of rule 8.3.59 *ādeśapratyayaḥ*.

#### 2.4.55 *vā liṭi*

Examples (170) *ācakhyau*, (171) *ācakhyatuḥ*, (172) *ācakhyuḥ*; and (173) *ācacakṣe*, (174) *ācacakṣāte*, (175) *ācacakṣire* illustrate the optional replacement of  $cakṣIN$  by  $khyāN̄$  (2.4.54 *cakṣiṇaḥ khyāñ*). The first set of three examples are derived by taking the option of replacement. The next set obviously does not accept the optional replacement. Example (170) *ācakhyau* is derived from  $\bar{a} + (cakṣ \rightarrow khyā) + (LIT \rightarrow tiP)$  where  $tiP$  gets further replaced with  $NaL$  of 3.4.82 *parasmaipadānām...* Rule 6.1.8 *liṭi dhātor anābhyāsasya* will apply to produce  $\bar{a} + ca + khyā$ . Rule 7.1.34 *āta au ṇalaḥ* will then apply to replace  $a$  of  $(N)a(L)$  with  $au$ :  $\bar{a} + ca + khyā + (a \rightarrow au) = \bar{a} + ca + khyā + au$ . An application of rule 6.1.88 *vṛddhireci* will introduce a single *vṛddhi* replacement to finally produce:  $\bar{a}cakhy(\bar{a} + au \rightarrow au) = \bar{a}cakhyau$ .

Follow additional rule application similar to *papatuḥ* and *papuḥ* (appendix of volume II) to derive *ācakhyatuḥ* and *ācakhyuḥ*. The remaining three examples do not involve the replacement in  $khyāN̄$ . Their derivation is very similar to (153) *adhijagāte* and (154) *adhijagire* given under rule 2.4.49 *gāñ liṭi*.

#### 2.4.56 *ajer vy aghañapoh*

Examples such as (176) *pravetā*, (177) *prājītā*, etc., will follow the pattern of (168) *bhavitā* and (170) *bhavitum* derived under rule 1.1.49 *ṣaṣṭhī sthāneyogā* (cf. appendix of volume II). Remember, however, that derivatives with a replacement in  $vī$  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 *sārvadhātukārdhadhātukayoḥ*. We will, of course, get: *prājītā* if the root is not replaced with  $vī$ . The derivation will also involve introduction of  $iT$  but no *guṇa*.

#### 2.4.58 *nyakṣatriyārṣaṇito...*

A derivate such as (178) *kauravyaḥ* 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, *kauravyaḥ* can be derived from *kuru* + *Ñas* by introducing affix *Nya* of 4.1.151 *kurvādibhyo...* 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 pautraprabhṛti gotram*). Affix *Nya* thus denotes a *gotra* descendant. Rule 1.4.18 *yaci bham* will assign the term *bha* to *kuru* of *kuru* + *Ñas* + (*N*→ $\emptyset$ )*ya*. Rule 2.4.71 *supo dhātuḥprātīpadikayoḥ* will, as usual, delete the *Nas*. Our string *kuru* + *ya* will change to *kur(u→o)* + *ya* first through *guṇa* of 6.4.146 or *guṇaḥ*: and next to *k(u→au)ro* + *ya* through *vṛddhi* of 7.2.117 *taddhiteṣv acām ādeḥ*. Rule 6.1.79 *vānto yi pratyaye* will then apply to bring about *kaur(o→av)* + *ya* = *kauravya* + *sU*→*kauravyaḥ*. 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 vaśīye yuvā*) can be derived with affix *iÑ* (4.1.95 *ata iñ*) introduced after *kauravya*. This *iÑ*-derivate will still be *kauravya* because 2.4.58 *ṇyakṣatriyārṣa...* will subsequently delete the affix. That is, (*kauravya* + (*iÑ*→ $\emptyset$ )) + *sU*)) = *kauravyaḥ*.

One can similarly derive (179) *śvāphalkaḥ* from *śvāphalka* + *aÑ* of 4.1.114 *ṛṣyandhaka...* A similar form derived with *iÑ* will denote *yuvāpatya* ‘young grandson etc.’ as opposed to the *gotrāptya* ‘grandson, etc.’. Other such examples can be easily derived by following the derivational pattern of many *taddhita* derivatives of volume II.

#### 2.4.62 *tadrājasya bahūsu tenaivāstriyām*

Example such (180) *aṅgāḥ* derives from *aṅga* + *Ñas* + *aÑ* where *aÑ* is introduced by rule 4.1.170 *dvyañmagadha...* to denote ‘many male descendants’. The affix is termed *tadrāja* by 4.1.174 *te tadrājāḥ*. Our present rule (2.4.62 *tadrājasya...*) deletes *aÑ*. The resultant derivate, after *LUK*-deletion of *Ñas* by 2.4.71 *supo dhātu...*, will still be *aṅga*. One can now introduce the nominative plural ending *Jas* to derive *aṅgāḥ* via *pūrvasavarṇadīrgha* (6.1.102 *prathamayoḥ pūrvasavarṇaḥ*) and *rutva-visarga*. Note that this derivational option with the deletion of affix *aÑ* is made available masculine plural. The singular and dual masculine forms will still be *aṅgaḥ* and *aṅgau* with *vṛddhi* and no-deletion of *aÑ*.

#### 2.4.70 *āgastyakaunḍinyayor agastikuṇḍīnac*

This rule provides for *LUK*-deletion of affixes *aÑ* and *yaÑ* when their denotata is ‘many’. It also allows for *agasti* and *kuṇḍīnaC* to replace *agasta* and *kuṇḍīnī*. Obviously, derivatives with one or two (non-plural) denotata will not involve affixal deletion, or stated replacements. Thus, we will get (181) *agastayaḥ* derived from *agastya* + *Ñas* + *aÑ* (4.1.114 *ṛṣyandhaka...*). The deletion of affix *aÑ* as with the concurrent replacement will produce



*agasti*, a new derivate. One can easily derive *agastayah* from *agasti* + ( $J \rightarrow \emptyset$ ) *as* via *guṇa* by 7.3.109 *jasi ca*, and the *ay* replacement of the resultant *e* by 6.1.78 *eco' yavāyāvah*. Thus, *agast(i → e → ay)* + *as* = *agastay* + *a(s → r(U → ∅))* = *agastayah*. Here again, the singular and dual derivatives will still be *āgastyah* and *āgastyau* with no affixal deletion, or replacement permitted.

Similar rules apply in deriving (182) *kuṇḍināḥ* from *kuṇḍina* + ( $J \rightarrow \emptyset$ ) *as*. This derivation begins with *kuṇḍinī* + *Ñas* + *yaÑ* where rule 4.1.105 *gargādibhyo...* introduces affix *yaÑ*. Our present rule deletes the affix and introduces *kuṇḍina* ( $C \rightarrow \emptyset$ ) as a replacement for *kuṇḍinī*. The final derivate *kuṇḍināḥ* can then be derived from *kuṇḍina* + *Jas*. Once again *kaṇḍinyah* and *kaṇḍinyau* will be the derivatives in nominative singular and dual with no deletion of affix *yaÑ* and no replacement in *kuṇḍinaC*.

#### 2.4.71 *supo dhātuprātipadikayoḥ*

Our example (183) *putrīyati* derives from *putrīya* + *LAṬ* where *putrīya*, a verbal root ending in affix ( $K \rightarrow \emptyset$ ) *ya(C → ∅)* introduced after *putra* + *am* by rule 3.1.8 *supa ātmanah...* 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 *ī* by rule 7.4.33 *kyaci ca* to produce *putrīya*, a verbal root after which ( $LAṬ \rightarrow ti(P)$ ) and ( $\acute{S}a(P)$ ) can be introduced. Thus, *putrīya* + *a* + *ti* = *putrīyati* where 6.1.97 *ato guṇe* 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 *adiprabhṛtibhyaḥ śapah*

Example (184) *dveṣti* derives from *dviṣ* + *ŚaP* + *tiP* where our present rule deletes *ŚaP*. An application of *guṇa* yields *dv(i → e)ṣ* + *ti* = *dveṣ* + *ti* which after the application of rule 8.4.41 *ṣṭunā ṣṭuḥ* produces *dveṣ* + ( $t \rightarrow \ddot{t}$ ) = *dveṣṭi*.

#### 2.4.74 *yaño' ci ca*

Note that the derivational details of *loluvah* and *popuvah* have already been presented in the appendix of volume II. Example (185) *pāpaṭhīti* derives from *paṭh* + ( $ya\acute{N} \rightarrow \emptyset$ ) where this rule orders the  $\bar{L}\bar{U}\bar{K}$ -deletion of affix *yaÑ*. Operations relative to doubling will apply on *paṭh* to produce *paṭh* +  $paṭh \rightarrow pa$  + *paṭh* = *pa* + *paṭh* where 7.4.83 *dīrgho' kitah* will order the lengthening of the duplicated syllable:  $p(a \rightarrow \bar{a})$  + *paṭh* = *pāpaṭh*, a verbal root by 3.1.32 *sanādyantā dhātavaḥ*. The resultant string *pāpaṭh* + *ŚaP* + *ti(P)* will be subject to *LUK*-deletion of *ŚaP* whereby we will get: *pāpaṭh* + *ti*. Rule 7.3.94 *yaño vā* will then introduce  $\bar{i}(T \rightarrow \emptyset)$  to produce *pāpaṭh* +  $\bar{i}$  + *ti* = *pāpaṭhīti*. Similar application of rules will derive (186) *lālapīti* 'chirps again and again' and (187) *vāvadīti* from verbal roots *lap* and *vad*.

2.4.75 *juhotyādibhyaḥ śluḥ*

Note that *juhoti* has already been derived as example (250) in the appendix of volume II. Deriving (188) *bibharti* from ( $bh\check{r} + (\acute{S}aP \rightarrow \acute{S}LU\text{-deletion}) + ti(P \rightarrow \emptyset)$ ) is not very difficult given numerous other derivations involving doubling. Doubling will produce  $bh\check{r} + bh\check{r} + ti$  which, in turn, produces  $bhar + bh\check{r} + ti$  via the application of rule 7.4.66 *ur at* read with 1.1.51 *ur aṅ raparah*. The resultant string ( $bh(\check{r} \rightarrow ar) + bh\check{r} + ti$ ) will produce  $bha(r \rightarrow \emptyset) + bh\check{r} + ti$  after the application of 7.4.60 *halādi śeṣaḥ*. Rule 7.4.76 *bhṛñām it* orders *itva* whereby we get:  $bh(a \rightarrow i) + bh\check{r} + ti$ . This string goes through the application of rule 8.4.54 *abhyāse car ca* whereby its initial *bh* is changed to *b* to produce  $(bh \rightarrow b)i + bh\check{r} + ti$ . The *guṇa* replacement *ar* for the *r* of  $bh\check{r}$  by rule 7.3.84 *sārvadhātukārddhadhātukayoḥ* can easily produce  $bi + bh(\check{r} \rightarrow ar) + ti = bi + bhar + ti = bibharti$ .

Our next example (189) *nenekti* is similarly derived from ( $nij(IR \rightarrow \emptyset) + \acute{S}aP + ti(P)$ ) where this rule again applies the deletion. The root-initial *ṅ* is changed to *n* by 6.1.65 *ṅo naḥ*. Doubling and *halādi-śeṣa* applies after this to produce  $ni(j \rightarrow \emptyset) + nij + ti$  which, through the application of 7.4.75 *nijām trayā...*, becomes  $n(i \rightarrow e) + nij + ti = ne + nij + ti$ . The *laghūpadhagūṇa* application of rule 7.3.86 *pugantalaghūpadhasya ca* changes this preceding string into:  $ne + n(i \rightarrow e)j + ti$ . Deriving *nenekti* from  $ne + nej + ti$  will need the application of *kutva* ‘a replacement in sounds denoted by *ku*’ (8.2.30 *coḥ kuḥ*) and *cartva* ‘a replacement in sounds denoted by the abbreviatory term *cR*’ (8.4.55 *khari ca*). Thus:  $ne + ne(j \rightarrow g) + ti = ne + ne(g \rightarrow k) + ti = nenekti$ .

2.4.76 *bahulam chandasi*

Examples (190) *dāti* and (191) *dhāti* derive from  $dā + (LA\check{T} \rightarrow tiP)$  and  $dhā + (LA\check{T} \rightarrow tiP)$  where no *ŚLU* applies to the *ŚaP* of these roots. Instead, the deletion takes place by *LUK*. A lack of *ŚLU* also results into no doubling by 6.1.10 *ślau*. 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 *bāhulam* enables the application of doubling, etc., where there is no scope. Consider now the example (192) *vivaṣṭi* which derives from  $vaś + ti(P)$ . We get the example (193) *vaṣṭi* in the classical language where *ŚaP* goes through deletion by *LUK*. Our example in the Vedic at the strength of *bahulam* enables the verbal root *vaś* 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 *ŚaP* go through *ŚLU* at the strength of *bahulam*. This of course will occasion the application of operations relative to doubling. The result will be:  $vaś + vaś + ti = va + vaś + ti$ . The *bahulam* provision of this rule will also provide for the *itva* of *va* to produce  $v(a \rightarrow i) + vaś + ti = vi + vaś + ti$ . The *ś* of the string will be changed

to  $\varsigma$  to produce  $vi + va\varsigma + ti$  by the application of rule 8.2.36 *vraścabhraśja*.... The  $t$  of  $ti$  will then be changed to  $\ddot{t}$  by rule 8.4.41 *ṣṭunā ṣṭuḥ* to produce  $viva\varsigma + (t \rightarrow \ddot{t})i = viva\varsigma\ddot{t}i$ .

Similar rule applications will produce (194) *vivakti* through subsequent *kutva* of *viva(c → k)ti*.

#### 2.4.79 *tanādibhyastathāsoḥ*

This rule provides for sets of optional derivatives such as (195) *atata* and (196) *ataniṣṭa*; and (197) *atathāḥ* and (198) *ataniṣṭhāḥ* 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  $a(T \rightarrow \emptyset)$  and deletion of *sIC* we will get the *ta* form  $a + tan + ta$ . It will produce  $ata(n \rightarrow \emptyset) + ta$  through the deletion of  $n$  by 6.4.37 *anudāttopadeśa*.... Of course, the *ātmanepada* will be introduced by 1.3.72 *svaritañitah*.... A non-deletion option of *sIC* would give a parallel form *ataniṣṭa* from  $a + tan + i(T \rightarrow \emptyset) + s(IC \rightarrow \emptyset) + ta$  where the  $s$  of *sIC* will be replaced with  $\varsigma$  (*ṣatva*) of 8.3.59 *ādeśa pratyayayoḥ*. Further application of *ṣṭutva* by 8.4.41 *ṣṭunā ṣṭuḥ* will produce  $a + tan + i + \varsigma + (t \rightarrow \ddot{t})a = ataniṣṭa$ . Deriving *atathāḥ* and *ataniṣṭhāḥ* offer nothing new except for the *rutva-visarga*.

#### 2.4.80 *mantrē ghasahvaraṇaśavṛdahād*...

Refer to derivation (233) *akṣan* in the appendix of volume II. Example (199) *mā hvaḥ* derives from  $hv\check{r} + LU\check{N}$  where affix  $LU\check{N}$  is introduced after verbal root  $hv\check{r}$  cooccurring with  $mā(\check{N} \rightarrow \emptyset)$  by rule 3.3.175 *māṇi luṅ*. Note that *CLI* of  $mā hv\check{r} + (LU\check{N} \rightarrow ti(P \rightarrow \emptyset))$  will be deleted by our present rule. Rule 3.4.100 *itaś ca* will as usual delete the  $i$  of  $ti$ . The introduction of augment  $aT$  will be blocked by rule by 6.4.74 *na māṇyoge*. The string with these applications will become:  $mā hv\check{r} + t(i \rightarrow \emptyset) = mā hv\check{r} + t$ . The *guṇa* application of 7.3.84 *sārvadhātukārddha*..., read with 1.1.5 *uraṇ raparah*, will produce  $mā hv(\check{r} \rightarrow ar) + t = mā hvar + t$ . The  $t$  will now be deleted by 6.1.68 *halṅyābbhyo*... to yield  $mā + hvar = mā hvar$  which through *rutva-visarga* will produce  $mā hva(r \rightarrow ḥ) = mā hvaḥ$ .

Our next derivate (200) *praṇaṇ* as in *praṇaṇ martyasya* is again a  $LU\check{N}$  derivate of verbal root  $\check{n}aś$  used with *pra* where the  $\check{n}$  of the root has been replaced with  $n$  by rule 6.1.65 *ṇo naḥ*. Note, however, that after the deletion of *CLI*; blocking of  $aT$  because of the cooccurrence condition of  $mā\check{N}$  in the full *mantra* of which *praṇaṇ* 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  $\check{n}$  to replace the  $n$  of  $pra + \check{n}aś$  to produce  $pra + \check{n}aś$ . The final  $ś$  of the string will go through *kutva* of rule 8.2.39 *jhalām jaśo' nte* whereby we will get  $pra + \check{n}a(ś \rightarrow g)$ . This resultant  $g$  will be finally changed into  $\check{n}$  to yield  $pra + \check{n}a(g \rightarrow \check{n}) = pra\check{n}aṇ$  of *praṇaṇ martyasya* by rule 8.4.45 *yaro' nunāsike*....

The next derivate (201) *āvah* derives from  $\check{a}(\check{N} \rightarrow \emptyset) + v\check{r}(\check{N} \rightarrow \emptyset) = \check{a}v\check{r} + tiP$  similarly to *hvaḥ* of *mā hvaḥ*. Note that because of an absence of the cooccurrence of  $mā\check{N}$ , the augment  $aT$  cannot be blocked here. Thus, we

will get  $\bar{a} + a(T \rightarrow \emptyset) + v\check{r}$  via *savarṇadīrgha*. Other derivational details are same as in *hvaḥ*.

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  $mā\check{N}$ . If the root is treated as occurring with  $\bar{a}\check{N}$  then the form will be  $\bar{a}dhak$  where the initial long  $\bar{a}$  will be gotten through *savarṇadīrgha* of  $\bar{a} + a(T \rightarrow \emptyset)$ , similarly to  $\bar{a}vāḥ$ . 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 ghaḥ*. The *d* of the resultant *dagh* will further be replaced with *dh* via the application of rule 8.2.37 *ekāco baśo jhasantasya*. 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 *vāvasāne*. 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) *āprāḥ* as a derivative of verbal root *prā* used with the preverb  $\bar{a}\check{N}$  where *LUN* gets replaced with *siP* additionally to the introduction of the augment  $aT$ . Our string  $\bar{a}\check{N} + aT + prā + siP$  will as usual produce  $\bar{a}prās$  where contrary to the preceding example the deletion of *s* is not undertaken. The desired form *āprāḥ* is then gotten via *rutvavisarga*.

Deriving (204) *parāvark* from  $parā + v(r \rightarrow ar)j + t(i \rightarrow \emptyset) = parā + a(T \rightarrow \emptyset) + varj a(t \rightarrow \emptyset) = par(\bar{a} + a) = parā + var(j \rightarrow g \rightarrow k) = parāvark$  should not be difficult to comprehend. The *guṇa* application in  $v(r \rightarrow ar)j + ti$  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 *kṛ*, and *gam*. Our third example (207) *ajñata*, a derivate of verbal root *jan*, entails the replacement of its *LUN* by the third person plural *ātmanepada* 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' ntaḥ* and the *i* of *anti* as usual gets deleted. The *t* of  $akṛ + ant$  will go through its deletion by 8.2.23 *saṃyogāntasya lopah*. Rule 6.1.77 *iko yaṅ aci* will apply on  $akṛ + an$  to produce  $ak(r \rightarrow r) + an = akran$ . Example (206) *agman* is relatively easier to derive. Rule 6.4.98 *gamahanajana...* 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 *ātmanepadesv...* This string  $aj + n + ata$  will now go through the *ścutva* of 8.4.40 *stoś cunā ścuḥ* to yield:  $aj + (n \rightarrow \check{n}) + ata = ajñata$ .

## 3.1.3 ādyudāttaś ca

This rule is formulated by way of providing accent for items introduced as affixes. An example such as (207) *kartavyam* is derived by introducing affix (3.1.1 *pratyayah*) *tavyaT* (3.1.96 *tavyattavyānīyarah*) after (3.1.2 *paraś ca*) verbal root (*ḌU*)*kr̥(Ñ)* via the application of *guṇa* of *ṛ* by rule 7.3.84 *sārvadhātukārddhadhātukayoḥ* read with 1.1.51 *ur aṅ raparah*. Thus,  $k(\dot{r} \rightarrow ar) + tavya(T \rightarrow \emptyset) = kar + tavya$ , which will be termed a nominal stem (1.2.46 *kr̥ttaddhitasamāsāś ca*), and consequently, will receive affix *sU* (4.1.2 *svaujasmauṭ...*). This *sU*, however, will be replaced with *am* by rule 7.1.24 *atō' m* to produce *kartavya + (sU → am) = kartavya + am*. An application of rule 6.1.107 *ami pūrvah* will change the string *kartavya + am* into *kartavy(a+a → a)m = kartavyam*. One can also optionally apply rule 8.4.46 *aco rahābhyāḥ dve* for doubling up the *t* in *kartavyam* to produce *karttavyam*. But this still is not the complete story.

Our present rule is an accent rule. It assigns the *udātta* accent on the initial syllable of the affix. Thus, *tavyaT* will be marked *udātta* initially as shown. The final accentuation of *kartavyam* will have to wait for provisions of rules 6.1.158 *anudāttam padam ekavarjam* (read with the *Mbh.* statement *sati śiṣṭasvaro balīyān*) and 8.4.66 *udāttād anudāttasya svaritaḥ* to furnish the final accent as *kartavyām*.

Example (208) *taittirīyam* derives from *tittiri + Ṭā + cha(N → ∅)* 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 proktam* 'stated/promulgated by X' (4.1.101 *tena proktam*). The affix is introduced by rule 4.3.102 *tittirivaratantu....* The *ch* of *tittiri + cha* is replaced with *īy* to produce *tittiri + īy + a* under the provisions of rule 7.1.2 *āyaneyi-nīyiyah....* Our final form *taittirīya* will be produced by the applications of rule 7.2.117 *taddhiteṣv acām ādeḥ* and 6.4.148 *yasyeti ca*. The first rule will order the *vṛddhi* substitute *ai* for the first *i* of *tittiri* where as the second will delete its last *i*. Thus,  $t(i \rightarrow ai)ttir(i \rightarrow \emptyset) + īya = taittir + īya = taittirīya$ . The nominative singular ending *sU* introduced after the nominal stem *taittirīya* will produce *taittirīyam* similarly to *karttavyam* though again with a little detail on the accentuation.

The replacement *īy* will be marked *udātta* via the *sthānivadbhāva* provision of rule 1.1.56 *sthānivad ādeśo' nalvidhau*. This will set aside the accent of the base as per the *satiśiṣṭasvara* provision made by the statement of the *Mbh.* under rule 6.1.158 *anudāttam....* The final accent is again determined as shown in case of the earlier example as: *taittirīyām*. Note that the base *tittiri* is itself marked *udātta* at its final *i* (*antodātta*) by *Phīṣūtra* 1 : *phīṣo' nta udāttah*.

3.1.4 *anudāttau suppitau*

This again is an accent rule whereby affixes denoted by the abbreviatory term *sUP*, or those marked with *P* as their *it*, are marked *anudātta*.

Our first example (209) *dr̥ṣadau* derives from *dr̥ṣad* + *au* where *dr̥ṣad* is a nominal stem (1.2.46 *kṛttaddhitasamāsās ca*) terminating in the *uṇādi* affix *ad(I→∅)*. This affix is introduced after verbal root *dṛ̥* where *ṣ(UK→∅)* is also introduced as an augment. Thus, *dr̥ṣ* + *ad* = *dr̥ṣad*. I do not show here the detailed derivation since *bāhulaka* is also involved with the *uṇādi* derivatives. Affix *au* is of course the nominative dual introduced after *dr̥ṣad*. This ending in view of our present rule will be marked *anudātta* with the understanding that the final accent of *dr̥ṣadau* will be decided in view of 8.4.66 *udāttād anudāttasya svaritaḥ* as follows: *dr̥ṣadaú*.

The nominative plural form (210) *dr̥ṣadáh* can be similarly derived from *dr̥ṣad* + (*J→∅*)*as* = *dr̥ṣad* + *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 *udātta* accent to the *a* of verbal root *pac*. The two affixal elements, *tiP* and *ŚaP*, of the underlying string *pac* + *tiP* = *pac* + *ŚaP* + *tiP*, will both, in view of our present rule, be marked with *anudātta*. For, they are both marked with *P* as their *it*. The result is: *pac* + *a* + *ti*. The *a* will then be changed to *svarita* by 8.4.66 *udāttād anudāttasya svaritaḥ*. Rule 1.2.39 *svaritāt samhitāyām* will then intervene to assign *ekaśruti* 'monotone' to the *ti* to produce the final accent as: *pacáti*. The same goes for examples such as *paṭhāti*.

### 3.1.5 *guptijkidbhyah san*

I have already discussed the derivational history of numerous *saN*-derivates. Deriving (211) *jugupsate* and (212) *titikṣate* from *gup* + *sa* and *tij* + *sa* should not pose any difficulty. For example, doubling and *halādiśeṣa* will produce: *gu* + *gup* + *sa* and *ti* + *tij* + *sa*. The initial *g* of *gup* + *gup* + *sa* will be replaced with *j* via *cutva* of 7.4.62 *kuhoś cuḥ*. Thus, (*g→j*)*u* + *gup* + *sa* = *jugupsa*. The *j* of our string *ti* + *tij* + *sa* will go through *kutva* under the application of rule 8.2.30 *coḥ kuḥ*. 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* = *titikṣa* by rule 8.3.59 *ādesapratyayayoḥ*. Deriving *jugupsate* and *titikṣate* from *jugupsa* + *LAṬ* and *titikṣa* + *LAṬ* where *LAṬ* gets replaced with the third person singular *ātmanepada* ending *ta* is fairly straightforward.

Note that the *saN* introduced by this rule does not qualify for the assignment of the term *ārddhadhātuka* by rule 3.4.114 *ārddhadhātukaṃ 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 karmaṇaḥ*.... Consequently, there is no introduction of augment *iṬ* in case of (211) *jugupsate*.

### 3.1.6 *mānbadhadānsānbhyo...*

Our examples (213) *mīmāṃsate*, (214) *bībhatsate*, (215) *dīdāṃsate*, 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 *mānbadhādān....* 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-śeṣa*. Rule 7.4.59 *hrasvaḥ* will require the shortening of *mā* to produce:  $m(\bar{a} \rightarrow a) + mān + sa$  which with the application of *itva* by 7.4.79 *sany atah*:  $m(a \rightarrow i) + mān + sa$ . Our present rule will now order the long vowel replacement for the short *i* of *mi* to produce:  $m(i \rightarrow \bar{i}) + mān + sa = mīmāṃsa$ . An introduction of *LAṬ* and related operations will derive *mīmāṃsate*. Similar application of rules are also involved in deriving *dīdāṃsate*. Note, however, 8.3.24 *naś cāpadāntasya jhali* orders the *n* to be replaced with the *anusvāra* in all cases except for (214) *bībhatsate*. 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 baśo jhaṣ...* will now apply to replace the *b* of *badh* with *bh*. That is,  $b\bar{i} + (b \rightarrow bh)adh + sa = bībhadh + sa$ . Rule 8.4.55 *khari ca* will now apply to yield:  $bībha(dh \rightarrow t) + sa = bībhatsa$ . Affix *LAṬ* replaced with the third singular *ātmanepada* ending *ta* after *bībhatsa* can easily produce *bībhatsate*.

### 3.1.15 *karmaṇo romanthatapobhyām...*

Deriving (217) *romanthāyate* and (218) *tapasyati* from *romantha + am + KyaṆ* and *tapas + am + KyaṆ* follows the pattern of many similar derivations already shown in the appendix of the earlier volume. Rule 7.4.25 *akṛtsārvadhātukayor dīrghaḥ* will order the lengthening of the final *a* of *romanmth(a → ā) + am + ya*. The *am* as usual will be deleted by 2.4.71 *supodhātu...* after the assignment of the term *dhātu*. The *Ṇ* as an *it* will require the selection of an *ātmanepada* (1.3.12 *anudāttānīta ātmanepadani*) ending *ta* after *romanthāya* to derive *romanthāyate*. Note that *tapasya* will be used with the *parasmaipada* ending *ti* in view of the *vārttika*: *tapasaḥ parasmaipadam ca*.

The derivational history of the following derivatives in *KyaC* is also similar. The *KyaC* will require the selection of *parasmaipada* endings as opposed to the *ātmanepada* of *KyaṆ*.

### 3.1.22 *dhātor ekāco halādeḥ kriyāsamabhihāre...*

Examples (219) *pāpacyate*, (220) *yāyajyate*, (221) *juvājalyate* and (222) *dedīpyate* derive from verbal roots *pac*, *yaj*, *jval* and *dīpI* with the introduction of affix *yaṆ* where its *Ṇit* status will as usual require the *LAṬ* to be replaced with *ātmanepada*. Apply, on *pac + ya(Ṇ → ∅)*, rules similar to (185) *pāpāthīti* for deriving *pāpacya* after which *LAṬ → ta → te*, *ŚaP*, and a single *guṇa*-replacement like the following (*pararūpa*) by 6.1.97 *ato guṇe* will derive *pāpacyate*. Similar rules will apply in deriving *yāyajyate*. Note that the application of 6.1.15 *vacisvapiyajādīnām...* whereby *samprasāraṇa* may become applicable in case of *yāyajyate* is blocked because of the lack

of the *Kit* status of affix  $ya\dot{N}$ . Example (222) *dedīpyate* entails the application of *guṇa* ( $d(\ddot{i} \rightarrow e)$ ) + *dīp* + *ya* by 7.4.82 *guṇo yaṅlukoh*.

### 3.1.23 *nityam kauṭilye gatau*

Example (223) *caṅkramyate* derives from *kram* +  $ya\dot{N}$  which after doubling and related operations produces *ka* + *kram* + *ya*. An application of 7.4.62 *kuhoś cuḥ* applies *cutvā* to yield  $(k \rightarrow c)a$  + *kram* + *ya* = *ca* + *kram* + *ya*. Augment *nUK* is now introduced to change the string to *ca* + *n* ( $UK \rightarrow \emptyset$ ) + *kramya*. This *n* as usual will be replaced with *anusvāra* by 8.3.24 *naś cāpadāntasya...* A further application of rule 8.4.58 *anusvārasya yayi parasavarṇaḥ* on the resultant string *caṃ* + *kram* + *ya* will replace the *anusvāra* with *ṅ* to produce: *caṅkramya*. The final derivate *caṅkramyate* can now be derived very easily. Similar rules will apply in deriving (224) *dandramyate* from *dram* +  $ya\dot{N}$ .

### 3.1.24 *lupasadacarajapajabhadaha...*

Our example (225) *lolūyate* can be easily derived from *lup* +  $ya\dot{N}$  through doubling, *halādiśeṣa*, and subsequent *guṇa* of the *abhyāsa* by 6.1.9 *sanyaṅoh*. The result will be a verbal root: *lup* +  $ya(N \rightarrow \emptyset)$  =  $(lup \rightarrow lu)$  + *lup* + *ya* =  $l(u \rightarrow o)$  + *lup* + *ya* = *lolupya*. An introduction of  $LAT \rightarrow ta$  with subsequent application of relevant rules will produce: *lolupyate*.

The derivation of (226) *sāsadyate* from *sad* +  $ya\dot{N}$  entails lengthening of the *a* of the *abhyāsa* by 7.4.83 *dīrgho' kitih*. The resultant root *sāsadya* will receive  $LAT$  to derive *sāsadyate*. Our example (227) *caṅcūryate* requires the augment *nUK* to derive: *ca* +  $n(UK \rightarrow \emptyset)$  + *car* + *ya* = *ca* + *n* + *car* + *ya* after doubling and subsequent *halādiśeṣa*. The *a* of *car* occurring subsequent to the *abhyāsa* will be replaced with *u* by rule 7.4.88 *utparasyātaḥ*. This will produce *ca* + *n* +  $c(a \rightarrow u)r$  + *ya* = *cancurya*. This *u* will now be lengthened by 8.2.77 *hali ca* to derive *canc(u → ū)ūrya*, again a verbal root. Introduction of  $LAT \rightarrow t(a \rightarrow e)$  with the subsequent addition of  $(S \rightarrow \emptyset)a$  ( $P \rightarrow \emptyset$ ) will yield *cancūryate*. The  $n \rightarrow \eta \rightarrow \tilde{n}$  change to arrive at *ca* ( $n \rightarrow \eta \rightarrow \tilde{n}$ )*cūryate* = *caṅcūryate* involves the application of rules similar to the last step of (223) *caṅkramyate*.

The derivation of (228) *jaṅjapyate* involves similar rule application except that *nUK* is here introduced by 7.4.86 *japajabhadahadaśabhañja...* Similar rules will apply in deriving examples such as (229) *jaṅjabhyate*, (230) *dandahyate*, and (231) *dandaśyate*. This last example will have the deletion of its first *ṃ* by rule 6.4.24 *aniditāṃ hal...* at the derivational stage of doubling prior to *halādiśeṣa* as follows:  $da(\tilde{m} \rightarrow \emptyset)ś$  + *daṃś* + *ya* = *daś* + *daṃś* + *ya*. One can now apply *halādiśeṣa*, *nUK*, and other rules as indicated to derive *dandaśyate*.

The derivational history of (232) *nijegilyate* entails the application of *itva* of rule 7.1.100 *ṛt id dhātoḥ* in the *aṅga* section (6.4.1 *aṅgasya*; 1.4.13 *yasmāt pratyayavidhis...*). This replacement of *ṛ* of  $gṛ$  +  $ya(N \rightarrow \emptyset)$  =  $gṛ$  + *ya* will produce  $g(\ddot{r} \rightarrow ir)$  + *ya* as per 1.1.51 *ur aṅ raparaḥ*. Our string *gir* + *ya*



will produce *gi + gir + ya* through doubling and related operations. The *cutva* of 7.4.62 *kuhoś cuḥ* followed by the *guṇa* of the *abhyāsa* by 7.4.82 *guṇo yaṅlukoh* 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 *l* (*latva*) by 8.2.20 *gro yaṅi*. Thus, *jegi(r \rightarrow l)ya = jegilya*, a verbal root. Our example derives from (*nijegilya + (LAT \rightarrow t(a \rightarrow e))*) where verbal root *jegilya* is used with the preverb *ni*.

### 3.1.25 *satyāpapāśavīṅātūla...*

Note that the final *a* in *satyāp(a)* is to facilitate pronunciation (*uccāraṅārtha*). The derivate *satyāp* entails the introduction of augment *āpUK* by *nipātana*. An introduction of affix ( $N \rightarrow \emptyset$ )( $C \rightarrow \emptyset$ ) will produce *satyāpi* which will be assigned the term *dhātu* by 3.1.32 *sanādyantā dhātavaḥ*. Our next example (233) *satyāpayati* can be derived from *satyāpi + (LAT \rightarrow ti (P \rightarrow \emptyset)) = satyāpi + ti* where rule 7.3.84 *sārvadhātukārdha...* will cause the *guṇa* of *i* before ( $\acute{S} \rightarrow \emptyset$ )( $P \rightarrow \emptyset$ ), a *sārvadhātuka* (3.1.113 *tiṅsīt...*), to produce *satyāp(i \rightarrow e) + a + ti*. Rule 6.1.78 *eco' yavāyāvaḥ* will now replace the resultant *e* with *ay* to derive *satyāp(e \rightarrow ay) + a + ti = satyāpayati*. All the other nominal stems will similarly derive (234) *vipāśayati* (with the root used with *vi*), (235) *rūpayati*, (236) *upavīṅayati* (with the root used with *upa*), (237) *anutūlayati* (with the root used with *anu*), (238) *upaślokeyati* (with the root used with *upa*), (239) *abhiṣeṅayati* (with the root used with *abhi*), (240) *anulomayati* (with the root used with *anu*), (241) *tvacayati*, (242) *saṃvarmayati* (with the root used with *saṃ*), (243) *varṅayati*, and (244) *avacūrṅayati* (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 *ṭeḥ*. A feminine stem such as *senā* will go through *pumvadbhāva*.

The verbal derivatives 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 *laghūpadhagūṇa* 'guṇa-replacement for the short penultimate vowel' of the root is ordered by 7.3.86 *pugantalaghūpadhasya ca*. The resultant derivatives of *NiC* will all be reassigned the term *dhātu* by 3.1.32 *sanādyantā dhātavaḥ* so that *LAT* can be introduced. Our string *cori + LAT* should subsequently produce *corayati* similarly to the *guṇa* and *e \rightarrow ay* replacement of (233) *satyāpayati*.

### 3.1.28 *gupūdhūpavicchīpanīpanībhyā āyaḥ*

Examples such as (246) *gopāyati*, (247) *dhūpāyati*, (248) *vicchāyati*, (249) *panāyati* and (250) *panāyati* do not pose any derivational problems. The first *gopāyati* will entail *laghūpadhagūṇa* similarly to *corayati* of the earlier rule. I omit here the details of deriving *gopāyati* from *gopāya*, the resultant *dhātu* via placement of *LAT \rightarrow tiP* and related operations.

### 3.1.30 *kamer niṅ*

Deriving (251) *kāmayate* from *kāmi + (LAT \rightarrow t(a \rightarrow e)) = kāmi + te* is not

problematic. The *vṛddhi* in  $k(a \rightarrow \bar{a}m) + (N \rightarrow \emptyset)i(N \rightarrow \emptyset) = k\bar{a}m + i = k\bar{a}mi$  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 *LAṬ* by rule 1.3.12 *anudātānita...*

### 3.1.31 *āyādaya ārdhadhātuke vā*

Our example (252) *goptā* is a *LUṬ*-derivate (3.3.15 *anadyatane luṭ*) of verbal root *gup* where, given *gup* + *LUṬ*, affix *āya* became available from rule 3.1.28 *gupūdhūpavicchi...* 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 *gup* + *LUṬ*. Remember, however, that verbal root *gup* is marked with *U* as an *it*. This, under the provisions of rule 7.2.44 *svaratisūtisūyati...*, will cause the optional introduction of augment *iṬ*. Our example *goptā* does not avail the option of introducing *iṬ*. But if one avails this option, the example parallel to *goptā* will be (253) *gopitā*.

A third form (254) *gopāyitā* will be derived from *gup* + *āya* = *gopāya*; and *gopāya* + *LUṬ* where *gopāya* will be the newly derived verbal root. Deriving *gopāya* from *gup* + *āya* through *guṇa* of *u* under the condition of the *ārdhadhātuka* affix *āya* is not problematic. Deriving *gopāyitā* from *gopāya* + *tās* (refer to the derivation of *kaṇitā* in the appendix of volume II) entails the introduction of *iṬ* by rule 7.2.35 *ārdhadhātukasyeḍ...* The *a* of *āya* is deleted by 6.4.48 *ato lopah*. Thus,  $gopāy(a \rightarrow \emptyset) + i(\bar{T} \rightarrow \emptyset) + tās = gopāyitā$ .

Similar rules will apply in deriving (255) *arttitā* from *ṛt* + *LUṬ* where the *īyaN* option of rule 3.1.29 *ṛter īyañ* is not availed. An option to introduce *īyaN* will derive (256) *ṛtīyitā* from *ṛt* + *īya* + *iṬ* + *tās* where the *a* of *īya* will be deleted similarly to that of *āya*. Parallel derivations such as (257) *kamitā* and (258) *kāmayitā* can be made from *kam* + *tās* and *kam* + *iṬ* + *īya* + *tās* depending on whether the option of *NiN* is accepted. The *vṛddhi* of *kam* in *kāmayitā* with the option of *NiN* will be accomplished by rule 7.2.116 *ata 'upadhāyāḥ*.

### 3.1.33 *syatāsī lṛluṭoḥ*

Refer again to (43) *kaṇitā* in the appendix of volume II for deriving (259) *mantā* and (260) *saṃgantā* from *man* + *tās* + *(D)ā* and *saṃgam* + *tās* + *(D)ā*. The *m* of *gam* will go through *parasavarṇa* application of rule 8.4.58 *anusvārasya yayi parasavarṇaḥ*.

### 3.1.34 *sib bahulaṃ leṭi*

The derivation of (261) *joṣiṣat* begins with *juṣ* + *LEṬ* where affix *LEṬ* is introduced by rule 3.4.7 *linarthe leṭ*. Augment *aṬ* is introduced by 7.2.35 *ārdhadhātukasyeḍ...* to produce:  $juṣ + i(\bar{T} \rightarrow \emptyset) + LEṬ$  which after the *tiP* replacement of *LEṬ* becomes:  $juṣ + i + ti$ . Our present rule then introduces  $s(IP \rightarrow \emptyset)$  to realize:  $juṣ + i + s + ti$ . A subsequent application of rule 3.4.94 *leṭo' dātau* introduces  $a(\bar{T} \rightarrow \emptyset)$  to *LEṬ* to yield  $juṣ + i + s + a + ti$ .

Rule 3.4.94 *itaś ca lopah̄ parasmaipadeṣu* will then delete the *i* of *ti* to produce  $juṣ + i + s + a + t (i \rightarrow \emptyset) = juṣ + i + s + a + t$ . The application of *guṇa* (7.2.35 *sārvadhātukārddha...*) followed by the  $s \rightarrow \ś$  replacement of 8.3.59 *ādeśa pratyayayoḥ* will finally produce  $j(u \rightarrow o)\ś + i + (s \rightarrow \ś) + a + t = joṣiśat$ . Note further that the *parasmaipada* of this example is ad hoc justifiable via 3.1.85 *vyatyayo bahulam*.

Similar rules derive (262) *tāriṣat* from *tṛ* where the *a* of *tar + i + s + a + t* after the *guṇa* of the root-vowel will be replaced with *ā* to produce:  $t(a \rightarrow \bar{a})r + i + s + a + t = tāriṣat$ . This replacement by *ā* is also ad hoc justifiable via 3.1.85 *vyatyayo bahulam*. Affix *sIP*, with reference to a *vārttika* proposal (ad this rule; *sib bahulaṃ chandasi ṇit*), can be variously treated as if marked with *N* as an *it*. This can facilitate *vṛddhi* by 7.2.115 *aco' ṇṇiti*. Thus,  $t(\bar{r} \rightarrow \bar{a}r) + s... = tāriṣat$ .

Deriving (263) *mandiṣat* from *madI + LET* entails the introduction of augment *nUM* by rule 7.1.58 *idito num dhātoḥ*. This will turn the string initially into *ma (n (UM → ∅) d + s + ti*. Subsequent operational steps will realize *mand + i + (s → ś) + a + t = mandiṣat*. Here again the *parasmaipada* justifiable via *vyatyaya*.

### 3.1.38 *uṣavidajāgr̄bhyo' nyatarasyām*

This rule allows for the optional introduction of affix *ām* after verbal roots *uṣA*, *vida*, and *jāgr̄*. I have already shown many such derivations though with *cakre* for which see the appendix of volume II under rule 1.3.63 *āmpratyayavat...* This rule requires the use of (264) *cakāra*, a *parasmaipada* of *kṛ* used here as an iterant (*anuprayoga*) as opposed to its *ātmanepada* form *cakre*. For, these roots are *parasmaipada*. Thus,  $kṛ + LIT \rightarrow ti(P \rightarrow \emptyset) = kṛ + ti$  where *ti* is replaced with  $(N \rightarrow \emptyset)a(L \rightarrow \emptyset)$  of 3.4.82 *parasmaipadānām ṇalatusus...* Rule 6.1.8 *liṭi dhātor anabhyāsasya* now applies doubling (*dvitva*) to produce:  $kṛ + kṛ$ . 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 raparah̄*. The string now becomes  $k(r \rightarrow ar) + kṛ + a = kar + kṛ + a$ . This string becomes  $ca + kṛ + a$  through the *r*-deletion of *kar* via *halādiśeṣa*, and the *cutva* of 7.4.62 *kuhoś cuḥ*. Thus:  $ka (r \rightarrow \emptyset) + kṛ + a = (k \rightarrow c)a + kṛ + a = ca + kṛ + a$ . Rule 7.2.115 *aco' ṇṇiti* subsequently applies *vṛddhi* to bring about  $ca + k(r \rightarrow \bar{a}r) + a = cakāra$ . Deriving (265) *oṣāñcakāra*, (266) *vidāñcakāra*, and (257) *jāgarāñcakāra* through the introduction of *ām* after *uṣ*, *vida* and *jāgr̄* is not very difficult. The first and the third derivate would entail (*laghūpadha*)*guṇa*. Thus,  $(u \rightarrow o)\ś + \bar{a}m + cakāra = oṣāñcakāra$ , etc. Verbal root *vida* has been specified, through ad hoc (*nīpātana*) as ending in *a* (*adanta*). This *a* is deleted by 6.4.48 *ato lopah̄*. The question of *laghūpadhagūṇa* in case of *vid + ām* does not arise because the deleted *a* becomes present through *sthānivadbhāva*. This rules out the presence of an *iK* in the penultimate position, a requirement for the application of *laghūpadhagūṇa*. The other rule applications are not hard to comprehend.

3.1.39 *bhīhrībhrūhuvām...*

This rule transfers operations similar to *ŚLU*, i.e., doubling by 6.1.10 *ślau*, and *itva* by 7.4.76 *bhrñām it*. Examples (267) *bibhayāñcakāral*(268) *bibhāya*; (269) *jihrayāñcakāral*(270) *jihrāya*; and (271) *juhavāñcakāral*(272) *juhāva* illustrate this.

Our first example *bibhayāñcakāra* is derived from *bhī + LIT* where *LIT* gets deleted; and an option of *ām* is accepted. Given *bhī + ām + kṛ + 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 *bhrñām* it followed by the application of 8.4.54 *abhyāse carca* we get: *bh(ī→i) + bhī + ām = (bh→b)i + bhī + ām = bi + bhī + ām*. Deriving *bibhayāñcakāra* from *bi + bhi + ā + cakāra* is easy. Rule 7.3.84 *sārvadhātukārddhadhātukyoh* offers *guṇa* producing *bi + bh(ī→e) + ām...* which, in turn, produces *bi + bh(e→ay) + ām...* through the application of 6.1.78 *eco' yavāyāvaḥ*. Thus, *bi + bhay + ām + cakāra = bibhayāñcakāra* where 8.3.23 *mo' nusvārah* changes the *m* of *ām* to *ṃ*. The *anusvāra*, similar to the last step of (223) *caṅkramyate* becomes *ñ*. A string such as *bhī + LIT* where the option of *ām* is not accepted will produce *bhī + a* from *bhī + (N)a(L) = bhī + bhī + a = bh(ī→i) + bhi + a = (bh→b) + bibhāya = bi + bhī + a*.

An application of *vṛddhi* (7.2.115 *aco' nṛiti*) followed by *āy* as its replacement by 6.1.78 *eco' yavāyāvaḥ* will produce: *bi + bh(ī→ai) + a = bi + bh(ai→āy) + a = bibhāya*.

Similar rules apply in deriving *jihrayāñcakāra* and *jihrāya* from *hrī + hrī + ām + LIT* and *hrī + (LIT→tiP→NaL)* where the *h* of the duplicated syllable changes first into *jh* and then into *j* via the application of rules 7.4.62 *kuhoṣ cuḥ* and 8.4.54 *abhyāse carca* 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 śeṣaḥ*. Other examples follow similar derivational history.

3.1.40 *kṛñcānuprayujyate liṭi*

This rule, by interpretation, provides for the iterant, or tagged phrase, also to be constituted by verbal roots *bhū* and *as* in addition to *kṛ*. An example for these new iterants is furnished as (273) *pācayāmbabhūva* and (274) *pācayāmāsa*. Deriving *āsa* of *pācayāmāsa* from *ās + NaL* is not very difficult. Doubling and related operations will produce *a(s→∅) + as + (N→∅) a (L→∅) = a + as + a* where the first *a* will be lengthened by 7.4.70 *ata ādeḥ*. Rule 6.1.101 *akaḥ savarṇe dīrghaḥ* will then apply to produce *(a→ā) + as + a = (ā+a = ā)s + a = āsa*.

The derivation of *babhūva* begins with *bhū + (LIT→tiP→NaL) = bhū + a* where 6.4.88 *bhuvo vug lunliṭoḥ* orders the introduction of *vUK*. This changes the string to *bhū + vUK + a = bhūv + a*. Doubling and *halādiśeṣa* will produce *bhū(v→∅) + bhū + a = bhū + bhūv + a*. Rule 7.4.59 *hrasvaḥ* orders the short counterpart for the long vowel of *bhū* only to be subsequently replaced with *a* by rule 7.4.73 *bhavateraḥ*. Thus, *bh(ū→u) + bhūv*

+  $a = bh(u \rightarrow a) + bhūv + a = bha + bhūv + a$ . Rule 8.4.54 *abhyāse carca* finally produces  $(bh \rightarrow b)a + bhūv + a = ba + bhūv + a = babhūva$  by replacing the  $bh$  of  $bha$  with  $b$ . It should be easier now to understand the derivation of *pācayāmbabhūva* our complete example.

### 3.1.41 *vidāṃkurvantu ity anyatarasyām*

Let us derive first *kurvantu* of (275) *vidāṃkurvantu*. The derivation begins with verbal root  $kṛ + (LOṬ \rightarrow jhi)$  where  $jh$  further gets replaced with *ant* to produce  $kṛ + (jh \rightarrow ant)i = kṛ + anti$  by rule 7.1.3 *jho' ntaḥ*. Rule 3.1.79 *tanādikṛībhya uḥ* then introduces the *vikaraṇa*  $u$  after which the  $i$  of *anti* is replaced with  $u$  of 3.4.86 *eruḥ*. Thus,  $kṛ + u + anti = kṛ + u + ant(i \rightarrow u) = kṛ + u + antu$ . A further application of *guṇa* by 7.3.84 *sārvadhātukārddhadhātukayoḥ* read with 1.1.51 *ur aṅ raparaḥ* will produce  $k(r \rightarrow ar) + u + antu = kar + u + antu$ . This string will then go through *utva* of rule 6.4.110 *ata ut sāvadhātuke* to yield  $k(a \rightarrow u)r + u + antu = kuru + antu$ . Rule 6.1.77 *iko yaṅ aci* will finally produce  $kur(u \rightarrow v) + antu = kurvantu$ .

Let us now return to *vidāṃkurvantu* where, given *vid + LOṬ*, affix *ām* is introduced via *nipātana* to produce *vid + ām + LOṬ*. Blocking the application of *laghūpadhaguṇa* of rule 7.3.86 *pugantalaghūpadha...*, in *vid* before *ām*, is again accomplished via *nipātana*. The deletion of *LOṬ* and, the tagged *LOṬ* in *kurvantu*, further emphasizes the ad hoc nature of this derivation. These remarks relative to application of rules in deriving forms such as *vidāṃkurvantu* are made only for explanatory purposes. The derivatives under *nipātana* need not be furnished any derivational details.

Our string *vid + LOṬ*, in the absence of this optional ad hoc introduction of *ām*, will derive the regular form *vidantu*.

### 3.1.42 *abhyutsādayāṃprajanayāṃcikayāṃ...chandasi*

This rule again makes optional ad hoc provisions relative to the Vedic usages. The examples in the classical language will still be (276) *abhyudasīśadat*, etc., derived from *śad + NiC + LUṆ* where *abhi* and *ud* are preverbs used with verbal root *śadL*. Follow derivational steps similarly to (240) *āṭītat* in the appendix of volume II till you derive:  $abhi + ut + sād + i + (C)a(\dot{N}) + (LU\dot{N} \rightarrow ti(P))$ . Rule 6.4.51 *ṇer aniṭi* then applies to delete the  $i$  of *NiC*. A subsequent application of rule 7.4.1 *ṇau caṅy upadhāyāḥ* on  $abhi + ut + sād + (i \rightarrow \emptyset) + a + ti$  will change the string to  $abhi + ut + s(\bar{a} \rightarrow a)d + a + ti = abhi + ut + sad + a + ti$ . The  $i$  of *ti* will be finally deleted by 3.4.100 *itās ca*. Doubling and *halādiśeṣa* will produce:  $abhi + ut + sa(d \rightarrow \emptyset) + sad + a + t(i \rightarrow \emptyset)$ . The *itva* of *sa* by 7.4.79 *sanyataḥ* via *sanvadbhāva* followed by the lengthening of the resultant  $i$  of  $sa \rightarrow i = s(i \rightarrow \bar{i})$  by 7.4.94 *dīrgho laghoḥ* will produce:  $abhi + ut + sī + sad + a + t$ . 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 *luñlainṛñ*...whereby augment  $a(T)$  will be introduced to the root. This will change the string to:  $abhi + ut + sī + sad + a + ti = abhi + ut + a(T) + sī + sad + a + t = abhi + ut + sī + sad + a + t$ . Refer to the derivational history of (240) *āṭīṭat* (volume II) and (166) *adhyajīgapat*, 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 yaṇ aci*. The  $s$  of *sad* will be similarly replaced with  $ṣ$  via the application of rule 8.3.59 *ādeśapratyayayoḥ*. Thus,  $abh(i \rightarrow y) + ud + a + sī + (s \rightarrow ṣ)ad + a + t = abhy + ud + a + sī + ṣad + a + t = abhyud + asīṣadat = abhyudasīṣadat$ .

### 3.1.45 *śala igupadhād anīṭaḥ ksaḥ*

Our examples (277) *adhukṣat* and (278) *alīkṣat* are *LUN*-derivates of *duh* and *lih*. The underlying strings as usual are:  $a(T \rightarrow \emptyset) + duh + (LUN \rightarrow tiP \rightarrow t) = a + duh + CLI + t$  where this rule introduces *Ksa* as a replacement for *CLI*. The resultant string, i.e.,  $a + duh + (CLI \rightarrow (K \rightarrow \emptyset))sa + t = a + duh + sa + t$  goes through the application of rule 8.2.32 *dāder dhātor ghaḥ* whereby the  $h$  of *duh* is replaced with *gh*. The  $d$  of *du(h \rightarrow gh)* is also replaced with *dh* by rule 8.2.37 *ekāco baśo bhaṣ*.... This changes the string to  $a + du(h \rightarrow gh) + sa + t = a + (d \rightarrow dh)ugh + sa + t$ . The *gh* is then replaced with  $k$  by rule 8.4.55 *khari ca* to produce  $a + dhu(gh \rightarrow k) + sa + t = adhuk + sat$ . The  $s$  of the string will then be replaced with  $ṣ$  to realize  $adhuk + (s \rightarrow ṣ)at = adhukṣat$  by 8.3.59 *ādeśapratyayayoḥ*. Note that the root was subject to the application of *laghūpadhaguna* (7.3.86 *ṇugan-talaghūpadhasya ca*) which was blocked by 1.1.5 *kniti ca*. Similar application of rules will derive (278) *alīkṣat*. Note, however, that the  $h$  of *lih* is replaced with *ḍh* by 8.2.31 *ho ḍhaḥ*. The *ḍh* is then replaced with  $k$  by rule 8.2.41 *ṣadhoh kaḥ si*.

### 3.1.47 *na dṛśaḥ*

This rule does not allow the *Ksa*-replacement for the *CLI* occurring after *dṛśIR* 'to see'. Rule 3.1.57 *irito vā* applies instead to optionally introduce  $a(N)$ . The string at this stage will be  $a + dṛś + (CLI \rightarrow a(N)) + t = a + dṛś + a + t$ . Note that  $aN$  replaces *CLI* at the strength of *IR* as an *it* in the root. The  $r$  of the root does not go through *laghūpadhaguna* before  $aN$  because 1.1.5 *kniti ca* blocks it. The *guna* instead is brought about by 7.4.16 *ṛdṛśo' ni guṇah*. Thus,  $a + d(r \rightarrow ar)ś + a + t = (279) adarśat$ .

It should be remembered that 3.4.100 *irito vā* provides  $aN$  as a replacement for *CLI* only optionally. Affix  $s(IC \rightarrow \emptyset)$  will replace *CLI* in the situation where the option of  $aN$  is not availed. The string at this stage will be  $a + dṛś + s + t$ . Rule 6.1.58 *srjīdṛśor*... then will insert  $aM$  after *dṛ* to produce  $a + dṛ + a(M \rightarrow \emptyset) + ś + s + t$ . Rule 7.1.77 *iko yaṇ aci* applies at this stage to change the string to  $a + d(r \rightarrow r) + a + ś + s + t = adra + ś + s + t$ . Rule 7.2.3 *vadavrajahalantasyācaḥ* will subsequently cause *vṛddhi*

whereby we will get  $adr(a \rightarrow \bar{a}) + \acute{s} + s + t$ . Rule 7.3.96 *astisico' pṛkte* will then introduce  $\bar{i}(T \rightarrow \emptyset)$  to produce  $adr\bar{a} + \acute{s} + s + \bar{i} + t$ . Rule 8.2.36 *vraścabh-rasjasrjmṛj...* will further replace the  $\acute{s}$  with  $\$$ . The resultant string, i.e.,  $adr\bar{a}\$ + s + \bar{i} + t$  will go through the application of rule 8.2.41 *ṣadhoh kaḥ si* whereby its  $\$$  will be changed to  $k$ . This will produce  $adr\bar{a} (\$ \rightarrow k) + s + \bar{i} + t = adr\bar{a}k + \bar{s}it$ . The application of rule 8.3.59 *ādeśapratyayayoḥ* is needed to change  $s$  into  $\$$  to finally produce  $adr\bar{a}k + (s \rightarrow \$) + \bar{i}t = (280) adr\bar{a}kṣit$ .

### 3.1.47 *niśridrusrubhyaḥ karttari cañ*

Refer to the appendix under rule 1.4.10 *hrasvaṃ laghu* for deriving *acīkarat* and *ajīharat*. Example (281) *aśisriyat* also derives with  $Ca\dot{N}$  as a replacement for  $CLI$ . Doubling (by 6.1.11 *cañi*), *halādiśeṣa*, introduction of  $aT$  (*adāgama*), and  $tiP$  will produce  $a(T \rightarrow \emptyset) + \acute{s}i + \acute{s}ri + a + t$ . Rule 6.4.77 *aciśnudhātu...* will then introduce  $iyA\dot{N}$  to realize:  $aśisr(i \rightarrow iy(AN \rightarrow \emptyset)) + a + t = aśisriyat$ . Similar derivational steps have to be followed to derive (282) *asusruvat* and (283) *adudruvat* where rule 6.4.77 *aciśnudhātu...*, in these cases, introduces the replacement  $uvA\dot{N}$ .

### 3.1.49 *vibhāṣā dhetṣvyoḥ*

This rule introduces  $ca\dot{N}$  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) *adhāsīt* parallel to *adhāt* if the optional deletion of  $sIC$  is not undertaken. Note that *adadhat* is derived from  $aT + dhā + dhā + (CLI \rightarrow ca(\dot{N})) + t$  where the  $e$  of verbal root *dhe(T)* goes through a replacement in  $\bar{a}$  (*ātva*) by rule 6.1.45 *ādeca upadēse...* Doubling, and other operations are similar to the many examples already given. The  $\bar{a}$  of the root *dhā* will be deleted by rule 6.4.64 *āto lopa iṭi ca* under the condition of the *ārddhadhātuka* affix  $ca\dot{N}$  marked with  $\dot{N}$ . The resultant string, i.e.,  $a + dhā + dh(\bar{a} \rightarrow \emptyset) + a + t$ , will have its *dhā* go through shortening of  $\bar{a}$  by rule 7.4.59 *hrasvaḥ*. This will give us  $a + dh(\bar{a} \rightarrow a) + dh + a + t = a + dha + dh + a + t$  where *dh* will go through a replacement in  $d$  (*jaśtva*; 8.4.54 *abhyāse car ca*). The result will be  $a + (dh \rightarrow d)a + dh + a + t = adadhat$ . A parallel form *adhāt* can be derived by taking the optional  $sIC$  as a replacement for  $ca\dot{N}$ . This  $sIC$ , however, will be deleted, though optionally, by rule 2.4.78 *vibhāṣā ghrādhēt...* We will thus get  $a + dhā + (CLI \rightarrow sIC) + t$ . If the  $LUK$ -deletion of  $sIC$  is not opted then we will get *adhāsīt* from  $a + dhā + sIC + \bar{i}T + t$  similarly to *alāvīt* for which see the appendix under rule 1.1.2 *adeñ guṇaḥ*. Rule 7.2.73 *yamaramanama...* will introduce  $sAK$  prior to the  $i(T)$  of 7.2.35 *ārddhadhātukasyeḍ valādeḥ*. Thus,  $a + dhā + s(AK) + s(IC) + \bar{i}(T) + i(T) + t = adhā + s + s + \bar{i} + i + t$ . The  $s$  of the  $sIC$  will be eventually deleted by 8.2.28 *īṭ iṭi*. Rule 6.1.101 *akah savarṇe...* will then apply to realize  $a + dhā + s + (\bar{i} + i = \bar{i}) + t = adhāsīt$ .

Deriving (287) *aśisriyat* from  $aT + \acute{s}vi + \acute{s}vi + ca\dot{N} + t$  entails  $iyA\dot{N}$  after doubling and related rule applications. A replacement in  $a\dot{N}$  for  $CLI$  as

opposed to the present  $Ca\dot{N}$  will produce (288)  $a\acute{s}vat$  from  $a\dot{T} + \acute{s}vi + a\dot{N} + t$ . Note that the  $a\dot{N}$  is introduced by 3.1.58  $j\acute{r}stambhumrucumlucu....$  The final  $i$  of the root will be replaced with  $a$  by rule 7.4.18  $\acute{s}vayater a\dot{h}$ . The result will be:  $a + \acute{s}v (i \rightarrow a) + a + t = a\acute{s}v + a + a + t$ . Finally, rule 6.1.96  $ato g\dot{u}\dot{n}e$  will finally bring the single vowel substitute to derive  $a\acute{s}v(a+a \rightarrow \acute{a}) + t = a\acute{s}vat$ .

Yet another optional form (289)  $a\acute{s}vay\acute{i}t$  can be derived if the optional replacement  $a\dot{N}$  is not accepted. This will bring in  $sIC$ . Refer to the derivational history of  $al\acute{a}v\acute{i}t$  under 1.1.2  $ade\dot{n} g\dot{u}\dot{n}a\dot{h}$ ; also that of (286)  $adh\acute{a}s\acute{i}t$ . Note that the  $v\acute{r}ddhi$  application of 7.2.1  $sici v\acute{r}ddhi\dot{h} \acute{p}arasmaipade\dot{s}u$  is blocked by 7.2.5  $hmyantak\dot{s}ana\acute{s}vasa....$  An application of  $g\dot{u}\dot{n}a$  by rule 7.3.84  $s\acute{a}rvadh\acute{a}tuk\acute{a}rddhadh\acute{a}tukayoh...$  followed by the  $ay$  replacement of 6.1.78  $eco' yav\acute{a}y\acute{a}va\dot{h}$  will produce:  $a + \acute{s}v (i \rightarrow e \rightarrow ay) + i + s + \acute{i} + t$ . The deletion of  $s$  and  $savar\dot{n}ad\acute{i}rgha$  will produce  $a\acute{s}vay\acute{i}t$  similarly to (286)  $adh\acute{a}s\acute{i}t$ .

### 3.1.50 $g\dot{u}\dot{p}e\acute{s} chandasi$

Examples (290)  $aj\dot{u}g\dot{u}p\acute{a}tam$  and (291)  $aga\dot{u}p\acute{a}tam$ , (292)  $agopi\dot{s}tam$ , and (293)  $agop\acute{a}y\acute{i}stam$  illustrate the provisions of this rule. The first,  $aj\dot{u}g\dot{u}p\acute{a}tam$ , derives from  $g\dot{u}p + (CLI \rightarrow Ca\dot{N}) + LUN \rightarrow thas$  where this rule provides  $Ca\dot{N}$  as a replacement for  $CLI$  and  $LUN$  is replaced with the second person dual  $\acute{p}arasmaipada$  ending  $thas$  in related operations, as well as the augment  $a\dot{T}$ . Doubling,  $hal\acute{a}di\dot{s}e\dot{s}a$ ,  $cutva$  of  $g$  and the introduction of  $a\dot{T}$  produces  $a + (g \rightarrow j)u + g\dot{u}p + a + thas = a + ju + g\dot{u}p + \acute{a} + thas$ . The second personal  $thas$  has to be replaced with  $tam$  as is required by rule 3.4.101  $tasthasthamip\acute{a}m....$  The short  $u$  of the  $abhy\acute{a}sa$ , i.e.,  $ju$ , will subsequently be replaced with its long counterpart due to rule 6.1.7  $tuj\acute{a}d\acute{i}n\acute{a}m \acute{d}irgho' bhy\acute{a}sasya$ . The result will thus be  $a + j\acute{u} + g\dot{u}p + a + (thas \rightarrow tam) = aj\dot{u}g\dot{u}p\acute{a}tam$ .

Example (291)  $aga\dot{u}p\acute{a}tam$  derives by replacing  $CLI$  with  $sIC$  obviously in the absence of replacing the same with  $Ca\dot{N}$ . This will produce the initial string as  $a + g\dot{u}p + s (IC \rightarrow \emptyset) + (LUN \rightarrow thas \rightarrow tam) = a + g\dot{u}p + tam$ . Note that the introduction of  $i\dot{T}$  ( $i\acute{d}\acute{a}gama$ ) as per rule 7.2.35  $\acute{a}rddhadh\acute{a}tukasyed...$  is optionally not accepted here as per rule 7.2.44  $sv\acute{a}ratis\acute{u}ti....$  Rule 7.2.3  $vadavrajahalantasy\acute{a}ca\dot{h}$  then orders  $v\acute{r}ddhi$  for the  $u$  of  $g\dot{u}p$  to produce  $a + g(u \rightarrow au)p + tam = aga\dot{u}p\acute{a}tam$ .

Example (292)  $agopi\dot{s}tam$  derives from  $a + g\dot{u}p + i + s + tam$  where the optional  $i\dot{T}$  of rule 7.2.44  $sv\acute{a}ratis\acute{u}ti....$  is availed. The  $v\acute{r}ddhi$  which was available from 7.2.3  $vadavrajahalantasy\acute{a}ca\dot{h}$  is blocked by 7.2.4  $ne\dot{t}i$ . Instead, we see the application of  $lagh\dot{u}p\acute{a}dhag\dot{u}\dot{n}a$  whereby we get  $a + g(u \rightarrow o)p + i + s + tam$ . Our final form  $agopi\dot{s}tam$  will be produced via the applications of rules 8.3.59  $\acute{a}de\dot{s}a \acute{p}ratyayayoh$  and 8.4.41  $\acute{s}tun\acute{a} \acute{s}tu\dot{h}$  as follows:  $agopi(s \rightarrow \acute{s}) + (t \rightarrow \acute{t})am = agopi\dot{s}tam$ .

The next example (293)  $agop\acute{a}y\acute{i}stam$  contains verbal root  $gop\acute{a}ya$  derived from  $g\dot{u}p + \acute{a}ya$  where affix  $\acute{a}ya$  is optionally introduced by 3.1.31  $\acute{a}y\acute{a}d\acute{a}ya \acute{a}rddhadh\acute{a}tuke v\acute{a}$  and  $lagh\dot{u}p\acute{a}dhag\dot{u}\dot{n}a$  applies to produce  $g(u \rightarrow o)p + \acute{a}ya =$



*gopāya*. An introduction of  $LUN̄$ , followed by the *sIC*-replacement for *CLI* as well as the introduction of  $aT̄$  will produce  $a + gup + s + tam$  where *tam* is again a replacement of  $LUN̄$  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 *ārddhadhātukasyeḍ...* will introduce  $iT̄$  where, given  $a + gopāya + i(T̄) + s + tam$ , the *a* of *gopāya* will be deleted by 6.4.48 *ato lopah*. We will thus have  $a + gopāy + i + s + tam$  which through the application of 8.3.59 *ādeśapratyayayoḥ* and 8.4.41 *ṣṭunā ṣṭuḥ* becomes  $a + ḡopāy + i + (s → ṣ) + tam = a + gopāy + i + ṣ + (t → ṭ)am = agopāyiṣtam$ .

### 3.1.52 *asyativaktikhyātibhyo' ṅ*

Example (294) *paryāsthata* derives from  $as + (CLI → aN̄) + (LUN̄ → ta)$  where our present rule orders  $CaN̄$  as a replacement for *CLI* and  $LUN̄$  gets replaced with the third person singular *ātmanepada* ending *ta* as per the *vt*: *upasargād asyatyuhyor...* ad rule 1.3.30 *nisamupavibhyoḥ...* Of course, verbal root *as* 'to throw' is here used with the preverb *pari*. The augment in this case is  $aT̄$  of 6.4.72 *ād ajādīnām...* This produces  $pari + ā (T̄ → ∅) + as + a(N → ∅) + ta$  where 7.4.17 *asyates thuk* introduces *th(UK)*. The resultant string, i.e.,  $pari + ā + as + th + a + ta$ , will go through *yaṅādeśa* and *savarṇadīrgha* to produce:  $par(i → y) + (ā + a → ā)s + th + a + ta = paryāsthata$ .

Example (295) *paryāsthetām* is third person dual where  $LUN̄$  is replaced with *ātām*. Rule 7.2.81 *āto nitah* applies on the string such as  $paryāsth + a + ātām$  to replace the *ā* of *ātām* with *iy*. The result becomes  $paryāsth + iy + tām$ . Rule 6.1.66 *lopo vyor vali* deletes the *y* subsequent to which 6.1.87 *ād guṇah* applies to yield  $paryāsth + a + i(y → ∅) + tām = paryāsth + (a + i = e) + tām = paryāsthetām$ .

Examples (296) *avocat*, (297) *avocatām*, and (298) *avocan*; or (299) *ākhyat*, can be similarly derived. The first, *avocat* derives from  $aT̄ + vac + CLI → aN̄ + (LUN̄ → tiP → t) = a + \bar{vac} + a + t$ . Rule 7.4.20 *vaca um*, read with 1.1.47 *mid aco' ntyāt parah*, introduces *uM* to yield  $a + va + u(M → ∅)c + a + t = a + va + u + c + a + t$ . Rule 6.1.87 *ād guṇah* 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 *tasthasthamipām...* Deriving *avocan* from  $aT̄ + vac + aN̄ + (LUN̄ → (jh → ant)i) = a + vac + a + anti$  is not very difficult. The final *i* is deleted by 3.4.100 *itaś ca*, and the *t* is dropped by 8.2.23 *saṃyogāntasya lopah*. Thus,  $a + (vac → va + u)c + a + (jh → ant(i → ∅)) = a + v(a + u → o)c + a + an(t → ∅) = avoca + an$ . Rule 6.1.97 *ato guṇe* will replace the sequence  $a + a$  with *a* as *avoc* ( $a + a → a$ )*n* = *avocan*. Our last form *ākhyat* contains the verbal root *khyā* used with the preverb  $aN̄$ . Thus, it derives from  $aN̄ + aT̄ + khyā + LUN̄ → tiP → t = ā + a + khyā + t$  where the *ā* of *khyā* is deleted by 6.4.64 *āto lopa iṭi ca* to yield  $ā + a + khy(ā → ∅) + a + t$ . An application of 6.1.101 *akah savarṇe dīrghah* finally produces  $(ā + a = ā)khy + a + t = ākhyat$ .

3.1.53 *lipisicihvaś ca*

Deriving (300) *alīpat* from  $aT + lip + a\dot{N} + (LUN \rightarrow tiP)$  and (301) *asicat* from  $aT + śic + a\dot{N} + (LUN \rightarrow tiP)$  is easy. Remember, however, that the *laghūpadhagūṇa* available from 7.3.86 *puganta laghūpadhasya ca* is blocked by 1.1.5 *knīti ca*. The initial *ś* of the root in *asicat* is replaced with *s* by 6.1.64 *dhātuvādeḥ*.... Example (301) *āhvāt* derives like *ākhyāt* from  $\bar{a}\dot{N} + aT + hve$  ( $\dot{N} \rightarrow \emptyset$ ) +  $a\dot{N} + tiP$  where the *e* of *hve* goes through a replacement in  $\bar{a}$  (*ātva*) by rule 6.1.45 *ādeca upadeśe*.... The deletion of this resultant  $\bar{a}$  as well as the *savarṇadīrgha* replacement for  $(\bar{a} + a = \bar{a}) + hv(\bar{a} \rightarrow \emptyset) + a + t = \bar{a}hvāt$  is same as in *ākhyāt*.

3.1.54 *ātmanepadeṣv anyatarasyām*

Deriving *ātmanepada* forms such as (302) *alīpata*, (303) *alīpta*; (304) *asicata*, (305) *asikta*; and (306) *ahvata*, (307) *ahvāsta* entails the introduction of *ātmanepada* affixes by rule 1.3.72 *svaritañītaḥ kartrabhiprāye*.... It also entails optionally replacing *CLI* with either  $a\dot{N}$  of this rule, or *sIC* of 3.1.44 *cleḥ sic*. Thus, *alīpata* derives from  $aT + lip + (CLI \rightarrow a\dot{N}) + (LUN \rightarrow ta)$ . This preceding can also produce an optional form *alīpta* when *CLI* is instead replaced with *sIC*. Rule 8.2.26 *jhalo jhali* 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 *coḥ kuḥ*. Note here that rule 8.2.26 *jhalo jhali* which deletes *sIC* is contained in the *tripādī*; and hence, is treated as suspended (*asiddha*) in view of rule 7.3.86 *pugantalaghūpadhasya ca*. That is, rule 7.3.86 will demand *laghūpadhagūṇa*. This, however, will be blocked by 1.2.11 *liṅsicāv ātmanepadeṣu* based on the extension (*atideśa*) of *kitva*, status with *K* as an *it*. The *hveṅ* forms are not difficult to derive especially in view of the preceding derivatives.

3.1.56 *sarttiśāstyarttibhyaś ca*

The derivational history of (308) *asarat* begins similarly to *asicat* though entails *gūṇa* by 7.4.16 *ṛdṛśo' ni gūṇaḥ* read with 1.1.51 *ur aṅ raparaḥ*. The *gūṇa* of rule 7.3.84 *sārvadhātukārddhadhātukayoḥ* will be blocked by 1.1.5 *knīti ca*. Similar rules apply in deriving *ārat* where  $\bar{a}T$  is introduced as the augment by rule 6.4.72 *ād ajādīnām*. Deriving (309) *aśīṣat* entails the application of two rules: 6.4.34 *śāsa id aṅhaloḥ* and 8.3.60 *śāsivasighasīnām*.... The first rule causes a replacement in *i* (*itva*) for the  $\bar{a}$  in the *upadhā* of the root. The second replaces the *s* of the root with *ś*.

3.1.57 *irito 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  $aT + chid + a\dot{N} + t$ , 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  $a + (t \rightarrow c) + chid + a + t = acchidat$ .

Our optional forms such as (312) *abhaitṣīt*, and (313) *acchaitṣīt* derive with the option of *sIC*. Thus, given  $aT + tUK + chid + (CLI \rightarrow sIC) + t$

similarly to the preceding examples, rule 7.3.96 *astisico' aprkte* will introduce  $\bar{i}T$  whereby we will get:  $a + t + chid + s + \bar{i}(T \rightarrow \emptyset) + t$ . This rule-application will be followed by that of 7.2.3 *vadavrajahalantasyācaḥ* whereby we will get *vr̥ddhi* of the *i* of *chid* marked by the terminal consonant (*halantalaḥṣaṇā*). The resultant string, i.e.,  $a + t + ch(i \rightarrow ai)d + s + \bar{i} + t$ , will go through the application of 8.4.55 *khari ca* which requires a replacement in *caR* (*cartva*). Thus, we get  $a + t + chai (d \rightarrow t) + s̄it + acchait̄s̄it$  where I have not shown steps common with the preceding derivatives.

### 3.1.60 *ciṅ te padaḥ*

An example such as (314) *udapādi* derives from  $ud + aT + pad + CiN + ta$  where *CiN* is a replacement of *CLI* and *ta* is third singular *ātmanepada* denoting an agent. The *ta* is deleted by 6.4.104 *ciṅo luk*. The *vr̥ddhi* is, of course, ordered by 7.2.116 *ata upadhāyāḥ*.

### 3.1.63 *duhaś ca*

Our example (315) *adohi* derives from  $aT + duh + (CLI \rightarrow CiN) + LUN \rightarrow ta$  through the deletion of the obligatory *ta* denoting object, and, of course, *guṇa*. We get (316) *adugdha* from  $aT + duh + (CLI \rightarrow Ksa) + (LUN \rightarrow ta)$  where *Ksa* replaces *CLI* by rule 3.1.45 *śala iguṇa...* This *Ksa*, however, is deleted by 7.2.73 *lug vā...* The resultant string *aduh + ta* will produce *adugdha* via the application of rules 8.2.32 *dāder dhātor ghaḥ*, 8.2.40 *jhaśas tathor...*, and 8.4.53 *jhalām jaś jhaśi* whereby we get the series of replacements. Thus, while the first rule changes the *h* of *duh* into *gh*, the second replaces the *t* of *ta* with *dh*. Finally, the third rule applies on *adugh + dha* to realize  $adu(gh \rightarrow g) + dha = adugdha$ .

### 3.1.64 *na rudhaḥ*

Example (317) *anvavāruddha* derives from  $anu + ava + aT + rudh + (CLI \rightarrow sIC \rightarrow \emptyset) + (LUN \rightarrow ta)$  where *sIC* is deleted by 8.2.26 *jhalo jhali*. The *t* of *ta* will be replaced with *dh* by rule 8.2.40 *jhaśastathor...*; the *dh* of *rudh* will similarly be replaced with *d* by rule 8.4.52 *jhalām...* Thus we get  $anu + ava + a + ru(dh \rightarrow d) + (t \rightarrow dh)a = an(u \rightarrow v) + av(a + a \rightarrow \bar{a}) + ruddha = anvavāruddha$  additionally through *yaN* and *savarṇadīrgha*. Note that the consequence of blocking *CiN* as a replacement for *CLI* is to introduce *sIC* which gets deleted by 8.2.26 *jhalo jhali*. Examples such as (318) *atapta* and (319) *anvavātapta* given under the following rule can be similarly derived.

### 3.1.66 *ciṅbhāvakarmanoh*/3.1.67 *sārvadhātuke yak*

The derivation of (320) *akāri* from  $aT + kṛ + (CLI \rightarrow CiN) + ta$  via *vr̥ddhi* by 7.2.115 *aco' ṅṅiti* is not difficult. Examples such as (321) *āsyate*, (322) *śasyate* and (323) *gamyate* with the introduction of *yaK* under the condition of a following affix termed *sārvadhātuka* (3.4.113 *tiṅsit...*) does not pose much of a problem. Thus, given  $\bar{a}s + LAT \rightarrow ta$  where *LAT* is introduced to denote *bhāva* 'root-sense' and subsequently gets replaced with the third person singular *ātmanepada* ending *ta*, our present rule introduces  $ya(K \rightarrow \emptyset)$  to produce  $\bar{a}s + ya + ta$ . Our final form *āsyate* is derived by replacing the

*a* of *ta* by *e* under the provisions of rule 3.4.79 *ṭi ātmanepadānām...* The other forms can be similarly derived. Remember, however, that, in case of *śayyate*, the final vowel of verbal root *śī* gets replaced with *ayAN* of rule 7.4.22 *ayaṅ yi kṛiti*. Thus, *ś (i→ay) + ya + te = śayyate*. 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 guṇah* for deriving *bhavati* and *pacati*.

### 3.1.69 *divādibhyaḥ śyan*

Examples such as (324) *dīvyati* or (325) *sīvyati* can be derived by introducing (*Ś→∅*)*ya(N→∅)* as opposed to *ŚaP* before *tiP*. Remember that the *ṣ* of *ṣivU* ‘to sew’ is as usual replaced with *s* by rule 6.1.64 *dhātvādeḥ ṣaḥ saḥ*. The *laghūpadhagūṇa* 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 bhrāsabhlāsabhramuklamutrasitruṭīṣaḥ*

Deriving the optional (*ŚyaN / ŚaP*) sets of examples for roots specified by this rule is not very difficult. Let us just consider the two examples: (326) *bhrāsate*, and (327) *bhrāsate*. An application of rules 7.3.74-75 *samām aṣṭānām...*, *ṣṭhīvuklamucamām...*, and 7.3.76 *kramah parasmaipadeṣu order vṛddhi* in case of *bhram*, *klam*, and *kram*, etc. In case of the derivatives of *truṭ* we will have to introduce *Śa* optionally with *ŚyaN* since the root belongs to the *tudādi* class.

### 3.1.73 *svādibhyaḥ.../3.1.74 śruvaḥ śṛ ca*

Deriving (328) *sunoti* and (329) *sinoti* from *ṣuÑ + (LAṭ→tiP)* and *ṣiÑ + (LAṭ→tiP)* with subsequent introduction of *Śnu* entails *guṇa* by 7.3.84 *sārvadhātukārddhadhātukayoḥ* before *tiP*. The root-initial *ṣ* will be replaced with *ṣ* of 6.1.64 *dhātvādeḥ...* The initial *guṇa* is blocked for reasons similar to the derivation of (324) *dīvyati*.

Examples such as (330) *śṛṇoti*, (331) *śṛṇutaḥ*, and (332) *śṛṇvanti* derive from *śru + LAṭ* where the root is replaced with *śṛ*. The *LAṭ* is replaced with *tiP*, *tas*, or *jhi* as desired. The first example entails *guṇa* where as the second and third do not. The third, however, entails *yaN*, i.e., *śriṅ(u→v) + anti*. The *n* of *Śnu* is replaced with *ṇ* by rule 8.4.2 *aṅkupvām...* 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 *tudādibhyaḥ śaḥ*

Note in connection with the derivation of (333) *tudati* and (334) *nudati* from *tud + LAṭ* and *nud + LAṭ* that the *Ś* as an it in the affix is intended for the assignment of the term *sārvadhātuka* by 3.1.113 *tiṅśit sārvadhātukam*. This will enable affix *Śa* also to be treated as if marked with *Ñ* 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 *rudhādibhyaḥ śnam*

Examples (335) *ruṇaddhi* and (336) *bhinatti* derive from (*rudh*( $IR \rightarrow \emptyset$ ) +  $LAT$ ) and *bhid*( $IR \rightarrow \emptyset$ ) +  $LAT$  where this rule introduces  $\acute{S}naM$  under the condition of the following  $tiP$  replacement of  $LAT$ . The string at this stage is: *ru + na + dh + ti* and *bhi + na + d + ti*. Notice that the  $M$  as an  $it$  in  $\acute{S}naM$  is used for specifying the locus of operation (*deśavidhyartha*). 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 *jhaṣastathor...* and 8.4.53 *jhalām jaś...* are not valid in the context of *bhi + na + d + ti*. Instead, the  $d$  of *bhid* is replaced with  $t$  by rule 8.4.55 *khari ca*.

3.1.80 *dhinvikṛṇvyor a ca*

Examples (337) *dhinoti* and (338) *kṛṇoti* derive from *dhin* ( $v \rightarrow a$ ) +  $u$  + ( $LAT \rightarrow tiP$ ) and *kṛṇ*( $v \rightarrow a$ ) +  $u$  + ( $LAT \rightarrow tiP$ ) 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  $\acute{S}aP$ . This rule makes a provision for  $u$  instead. Rule 6.4.48 *ato lopaḥ* then deletes the root-final substitute  $a$ . The resultant strings *dhin + u + ti* and *kṛṇ + u + ti* go through *guṇa* as per 7.3.84 *sārvadhātukārddhadhātukayoḥ*. It is stated that the  $n$  of  $nUM$  in *kṛṇvI* is replaced with  $ṇ$  at the strength of a *vārttika* (ad 8.4.1 *ṛvarṇāc ceti vaktavyam*).

Note that the roots are actually *dhiṅvI* and *kṛṇvI*. But since Pāṇini specifies them as *dhinvI* and *kṛṇvI*, we understand that they come with the augment  $nUM$  attached to them at the outset.

3.1.81 *kryādibhyaḥ śnā*

Examples such as (339) *krīṇāti* and (340) *prīṇāti* derive from ( $DU \rightarrow \emptyset$ )*krī*( $\tilde{N} \rightarrow \emptyset$ ) + ( $LAT \rightarrow tiP$ ) and *prī* $\tilde{N}$  + ( $LAT \rightarrow tiP$ ) where this rule introduces  $\acute{S}nā$  to yield *krī + nā + ti* and *prī + nā + ti*. Rule 8.4.2 *aṭkupaṅm...* will finally replace the  $n$  of *nā* with  $ṇ$  to derive *krīṇāti* and *prīṇāti*. Note that the corresponding dual forms (341) *krīṇītaḥ* and (342) *prīṇītaḥ* will have to go through the application of *itva* of rule 6.4.113 *ī haly aghoḥ* whereby the  $\bar{a}$  of *nā* will be replaced with  $\bar{i}$ . Of course, the  $s$  of the dual ending *tas* will also go through *rutva-visarga*.

3.1.82 *stambhustumbhuskambhuskumbhuskuṅbhyaḥ śnuś ca*

Note that the nasal (*anūnāsika*)  $m$  of the root will be deleted by 6.4.24 *aniditām hala upadhāyāḥ...* Examples such as (343) *stabhnāti*, with ( $\acute{S} \rightarrow \emptyset$ )*nā*), and (344) *stubhnoti* with ( $\acute{S} \rightarrow \emptyset$ )*nu* and *guṇa*, are not difficult to derive. The  $U$  of the roots is of course an *it*.

3.1.83 *halaḥ śnaḥ śānaj hau*

This rule requires that  $\acute{S}nā$  occurring after a verbal root terminating in a consonant be replaced with  $\acute{S}ānaC$  when *hi* follows. Thus, given *muṣ* +  $LOT \rightarrow si(P \rightarrow \emptyset)$  where  $LOT$  is introduced by 3.3.162 *loṭ 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 *muṣ + nā + hi* that our present rule introduces ( $\acute{S} \rightarrow \emptyset$ ) $\acute{a}na(C \rightarrow \emptyset)$  as a replacement for *nā*. This yields *muṣ + āna + hi* where *hi* is subsequently deleted by rule 6.4.105 *ato heḥ*. Rule 8.4.2 *aṭkuṣvām...* finally replaces the *n* of *āna* with *ṇ* to produce (345) *muṣāṇa*. Similar rules will derive (346) *puṣāṇa* from *puṣ + LOT*.

### 3.1.86 *liṅy āśiṣy aṅ*

Examples such as (347) *upastheyam* derive from *upa + sthā + LIṅ* where affix *LIṅ* is introduced after verbal root *sthā* used with the preverb *upa* by rule 3.3.173 *āśiṣi liṅloṭau*. The affix is further replaced with the first personal ending *miP* of 3.4.78 *tiptasjhi...* This yields *upa + sthā + mi(P)*. This string goes through the application of rules 3.4.101 *tasthasthamipām...* and 3.4.103 *yāsuṭ parasmaipadeṣu...* whereby *mi(P)* is replaced with *am*, and augment *yāsUT* is attached. Thus we get *upa + sthā + (mi(P) → am) = upa + sthā + yās (UT → ∅) + am*. Our present rule introduces *aṅ* at this stage to realize *upa + sthā + a(N → ∅) + yās + am*. It is interesting to note that a replacement of affix *LIṅ* is assigned the term *ārddhadhātuka* by rule 3.4.116 *liṅ āśiṣi*. The same replacement can also be assigned the term *sārvadhātuka* by the 'either-or' (*ubhayathā*) provision of rule 3.4.117 *chandasy ubhayathā* in case of the Vedic language. The *am* replacement of *LIṅ* via *miP* is here accepted as *sārvadhātuka* to facilitate the application of rules 7.2.79 *liṅaḥ salopo' nantyasya* and 7.2.80 *ato yeyah* whereby first the *ṣ* of *yās* is deleted. The *yā* is then replaced with *iy*. Thus we get *upa + sthā + a + yā(s → ∅) + 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 *āto lopa iṭi ca* under the condition of the following *aṅ*. The resultant string *upa + sth(a → ∅) + a + iy + am* will go through the application of a single *guṇa* replacement for its sequence *a+i* as per rule 6.1.87 *ād guṇaḥ*. Thus, *upa + sth + (a+i → e)y + am = upastheyam*.

An example such as (348) *upageyam* can be similarly derived from *upa + gai + LIṅ* where rule 6.1.45 *ādeca upadeṣe...* will order *ā* as a replacement (*ātva*) for the *ai* of verbal root *gai* 'to sing'.

A third example, (349) *gamema*, can be derived from *gam + LIṅ* where *LIṅ* gets replaced with the first person plural *parasmaipada* ending *mas*. The string will be expanded to *gam + (yā → iy)(s → ∅) + a + mas*, similarly to (347) *upastheyam*. The *s* of *mas* will be deleted by rule 3.4.99 *nityam ṅiṭaḥ*. 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 paraḥ* would demand that *u(M → ∅)* be introduced to *vac* after its *a*. This will yield *va + u + c + a + yās + mas*. Rule applications relative to *yāsuṭ* will produce *va + u + c + a + iy + mas*. A two-fold application of rule 6.1.87 *ād guṇaḥ* will be required to realize *v (a+u → o) + c + (a+i → e)y*

+ *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) *śakeyam* 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 tulyakriyaḥ*

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 *karīṣyati* for which see example (742) under the appendix of rule 1.4.13 *yasmāt pratyayavidhis...* Treating an agent as if an object (*karmavadbhāva*) entails performing operations similarly to *CiN* (*ciṅvatkārya*). That is, introducing *sya* and *iT* by rule 6.4.62 *syasicsīyut...*; and applying *vṛddhi* by 7.2.115 *aco' ṅṇiti*. Thus,  $kṛ + (LRT \rightarrow t(a \rightarrow e)) = kṛ + te = kṛ + i + sya + te = k(r \rightarrow \bar{a}r) + i + sya + te = k\bar{a}r + i + (s \rightarrow \bar{s})ya + te = k\bar{a}riṣyate$ . The *ātmanepada* in this example has been introduced by rule 1.3.13 *bhāvakarmanoh*.

### 3.1.89 *na duhsnunamām yakciṅau*

Example (356) *dugdhe* derives from *duh* + (*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 *ṭit ātmanepadānā...*) of its *ṭi* (1.1.64 *aco' ntyādi ṭi*). Refer to the derivational details of (316) *adugdha* for the application of rules relative to the *h* of *duh* and *t* of *te* to finally derive *dugdhe*. Note, however, that affix *ŚaP* will be introduced by 3.1.68 *karttari śap* in the event of *yaK* being negated for *duh* by the present rule. The *śap* will subsequently be deleted by rule 2.4.72 *adiprabhṛtibhyah...* Of course, *ātmanepada* will be introduced by 1.3.13 *bhāvakarmanoh*.

Example (357) *prasnute* similarly derives from *pra* + *snu* + (*LAT* → *t(a* → *e*)) = *prasnu* + *te*. Our next example (358) *prāsnoṣṭa* is a *LUN*-derivate of verbal root *snu*, used with the preverb *pra*, where this present rule blocks *CiN* as a replacement for *CLI*. Thus, given  $pra + aT + snu + (CLI \rightarrow sIC) + (LUN \rightarrow ta)) = pra + a + snu + s + ta$ , *guṇa*, *ṣatva* (8.3.59 *ādeśa pratyayayoh*), *ṣtutva* (8.4.44 *ṣṭunā ṣṭuḥ*) and *savarnadīrgha* (6.1.101 *akah savarṇe dīrghah*) will produce *prāsnoṣṭa* as follows:

$$\begin{aligned} & pra + a + sn(u \rightarrow o) + s + ta \text{ (guṇa)} = pra + a + sno + (s \rightarrow \bar{s}) + ta \text{ (ṣatva)} \\ & = pra + a + sno + \bar{s} + (t \rightarrow \bar{t})a \text{ (ṣtutva)} = pr(a + a \rightarrow \bar{a}) + sno + \bar{s} + ta \\ & \text{(savarnadīrgha)} = prāsnoṣṭa. \end{aligned}$$

Yet another example (359) *prāsnāviṣṭa* derives from  $pra + a + snu + iT + sIC + (LUN \rightarrow ta)$  where the option of *ciṅvatkārya* as provided for by rule 6.4.62 *syasicsīyut...* is availed. The *vṛddhi* by 7.2.115 *aco' ṅṇiti* will apply to produce  $pra + a + sn(u \rightarrow au) + i + s + ta$ . A replacement in *āv* for *au* by 6.1.78 *eco' yavāyāvaḥ* will realize  $pra + a + sn(au \rightarrow \bar{a}v) + i + s + ta = pra + a + sn\bar{a}v + i + s + ta$ . An application of *ṣatva*, *ṣtutva*, and *savarnadīrgha* will produce *prāsnāviṣṭa*.

The derivates 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 *ŚaP*. 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) *geyam* from *gai + yaT*, (363) *peyam* from *pā + yaT*, (364) *ceyam* from *ciÑ + yaT*, and (365) *jeyam* from *ji + yaT*. Note that the *ai* of *gai* goes through *ātva* of rule 6.1.45 *ādeca upadeśa*.... Rule 6.4.65 *īd yati* then applies on  $g(ai \rightarrow \bar{a}) + ya(T \rightarrow \emptyset) = g\bar{a} + ya$  to replace the final  $\bar{a}$  of the *aṅga* (1.4.13 *yasmāt pratyayavidhis*...) with  $\bar{i}$  (*ītva*) under the condition of affix *yat*, an *ārddhadhātuka* (3.4.114 *ārddhadhātukam śeṣah*). The nominal stem  $g(\bar{a} \rightarrow \bar{i}) + ya = g + (\bar{i} \rightarrow e) + ya = g + e + ya = geya$  can now be derived via the application of *guṇa* by 7.3.84 *sārvadhātukārddhadhātukayoh*. A nominal ending *sU* (4.1.2 *svaujasmauḥ*...) introduced after the nominal stem (1.2.46 *kr̥ttaddhitasamāsās 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 (*ekādeśa*), similar to preceding (*pūrvārūpa*) in form, to replace the vocalic sequence of *a + a*. We thus get *gey(a + a → a)m = geyam*. Other examples can be similarly derived through the application of *guṇa* before *yaT*. Note though that affix *yaT* will be termed *kr̥tya* (3.1.95 *kr̥tyāḥ*) consequent upon which it can only denote *bhāva* and *karman* as per 3.4.70 *tayor eva kr̥tya*.... The denotation of *kartr̥* 'agent' as per 3.4.67 *kartari kr̥t* will thus not be available to it.

### 3.1.106 *vadaḥ supi kyap ca*

Example (366) *brahmodyam* contains the nominal stem *brahmodya* which, in turn, derives from *brahman + Ṇas + vad + KyaP* where *Ṇas* denotes object (*karman*). Incidentally, *brahman + Ṇas* gets its *n* deleted by rule 8.2.7 *nalopaḥ prātipadikāntasya*. Rule 6.1.15 *vacisvapīyajādi*... requires the *samprasāraṇa* of the *v* of *vad*. We thus get *brahma (n → ∅) + Ṇas + (v → u)ad + (K → ∅)ya(P → ∅) = brahma + Ṇas + uad + ya*. Rule 6.1.108 *samprasāraṇāc ca* will then apply to replace the sequence *u+a* with *u* thereby to produce *brahma + Ṇas + ud + ya = brahma + Ṇas + udya*. Rule 2.2.19 *upapadam atīn* will then order the formation of an *upapada* compound subsequent to which *Ṇas* will be deleted by 2.4.71 *supo dhātuprātipadikayoh*. The resultant string *brahmaudya* will go through a single *guṇa*-replacement in *o* by rule 6.1.87 *ād guṇah* for its sequence *a+u* to produce *brahm(a+u → o)dya = brahmodya*. The final example *brahmodyam* will be derived from *brahmodya + sU* similarly to (362) *geyam* from *geya + sU*. Note that the *upapada* compound is allowed with reference to the *paribh*: *gatikārakopapadānām kr̥dbhiḥ saha samāsavacanam prāk subūtpatteḥ*. Refer to my discussion of this under the text and appendix of rule 2.2.19



*upapadam atin.*

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 *etistuśāsivr̥dr̥juṣaḥ*

Deriving forms such as (370) *ityaḥ* from (*i + KyaP + sU*), (371) *stutyah* from (*stu + KyaP + sU*), etc., entails the introduction of augment *tUK* by rule 6.1.71 *hrasvasya piti...* An example such as (372) *śiṣyaḥ* will be derived from (*śās + KyaP + sU*) where the penultimate *ā* will go through a replacement in *i* (*itva*) by rule 6.4.34 *śās idanhaloḥ*. The *s* of the resultant string *ś(a→i)s + ya* will go through *ṣatva* of rule 8.3.60 *śāsivasighasīnām...* to produce: *śi(s→ṣ)ya*) = *śiṣya*, the nominal stem after which *sU* will be introduced.

### 3.1.113 *mr̥jer vibhāṣā*

A set of optional examples such as (373) *parimr̥jyaḥ* and (374) *parimārgyaḥ* will derive from (*pari + mr̥j + KyaP + sU*) and (*pari + mr̥j + NyaT + sU*) since affix *KyaP* is here introduced optionally to *NyaT* of 3.1.124 *ṛhalor nyat*. This optional provision of *KyaP* was obligatorily available to verbal root *mr̥j* because of being *ṛdupadha*. Now the *KyaP* becomes optional. The derivational history of *parimr̥jyaḥ* with *KyaP* is straightforward. Deriving *parimārgyaḥ* entails *vṛddhi* (*parim(ṛ→ār)j...*) by 7.2.11 *mr̥jer vṛddhiḥ* followed by *kutva* (*parimār(j→g)...*) of rule 7.3.53 *cajoḥ ku...*

### 3.1.120 *vibhāṣā kr̥vr̥ṣoḥ*

Each verbal root will have a set of optional derivatives where the option will be relative to affixes *KyaP* and *NyaT*. Refer to the derivational details of *ityaḥ* for deriving the nominal stem *kr̥tya* of (375) *kr̥tyam*. Follow the final steps of (362) *geyam* for deriving *kr̥tyam* from *kr̥tya + sU*. Example (376) *kāryam* contains the nominal stem *kārya* which, in turn, derives from (*kr̥ + NyaT + sU*) through *vṛddhi* of 7.2.115 *aco' n̄ṇiti*.

### 3.1.124 *ṛhalor nyat*

Note that derivatives ending in affix *NyaT* such as *kāryam* where the root ends in *ṛ* will be subject to the application of *vṛddhi* by rule 7.2.115 *aco' n̄ṇiti*. Derivates with *NyaT* introduced after verbal roots ending in a consonant will go through *vṛddhi* 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 *āsuyuvapirapilapicamaś ca*

The *NyaT* derivatives such as (379) *āsavyam*, and (380) *yāvvyam* contain *āsāvya + sU* and *yāvya + sU*. Deriving *āsāvya* from *ā(N→∅) + (ṣ→s)u + (N)ya(T) = āsu + ya* where *āN* is a preverb and the root-initial *ṣ* is replaced with *s* of 6.1.64 *dhātvādeḥ...* of course requires *vṛddhi*. However, note that

given *āsā + ya*, rule 6.1.80 *dhātoḥ tannimittasyaiva* will apply to produce *āsā + v + ya = āsāvya*. Other examples such as (381) *vāpyam*, etc., will just involve *vṛddhi* as per rules mentioned in connection with the derivatives of preceding rule.

### 3.1.134 *nandigrahipacādibhyo lyuṇinyacaḥ*

Our example (382) *nandanah* contains *nandana + sU* where *nandana* derives from  $(T\bar{U} \rightarrow \emptyset) nad(\bar{I} \rightarrow \emptyset) + (L \rightarrow \emptyset)yu$  = *nad + yu*. Rule 7.1.58 *idito num dhātoḥ* introduces augment  $n(UM \rightarrow \emptyset)$  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 cāpadāntasya* whereby we get *na + (n → ṃ) + d + ana*. The *anusvāra* is then changed back to *n* as per *parasavarṇa* of 8.4.58 *anusvārasya yayi parasavarṇaḥ*. It is advised by a *vārttika* under this rule that *nad* should receive affix *Lyu* only after having received *ṆiC* from 3.1.26 *hetumati ca*. This *ṆiC* will also be deleted by 6.4.51 *ner aniṭi*.

Example (383) *grāhī* contains the nominal stem *grahin* derived by introducing affix *ṆinI* after *grah*. Rule 7.2.116 *ata upadhāyāḥ* will then cause *vṛddhi* to produce the nominal stem  $gr(a \rightarrow \bar{a})h + in = grāhin$ . Deriving *grāhī* from *grāhin + sU* entails the deletions of *n* (by 8.2.7 *na lopah...*) and *sU* (by 6.1.68 *halṅyābbhyo...*). The short *i* of *grāhi* is replaced with its long counterpart by rule 6.4.13 *sau ca*.

An example such as (384) *pacaḥ* derives from  $(pac + aC) = paca + sU$  via further application of *rutva-visarga*.

### 3.1.135 *igupadhajñāprīkirah*

Example (385) *vikṣipah* derived from  $(vi + kṣip + (K \rightarrow \emptyset)a) + sU = (vikṣip + a) + sU$  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 derivative of *jñā* such as (386) *jñah* entails the deletion of *ā* (*āllopa*) by 6.4.64 *āto lopa iṭi ca*. A similar derivation of (387) *priyah* from  $(pri(\bar{N} \rightarrow \emptyset) + a) + sU$  entails *iyAṅ* as a replacement for the *ī* of *pri* as per rule 6.4.77 *aciśnudhātu....* Rule 7.1.100 *ṛta id dhātoḥ* similarly orders *i* as a replacement for the *ṛ* of *kṛ* in deriving (388) *kirah*. Note that the replacement becomes *ir* (*raṇa*) in view of rule 1.151 *ur aṇ raparah*.

### 3.1.136 *ātaś copasarge*

Examples such as (389) *prastah*, (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 upadeśe....* For deletion of *ā* to arrive at the desired form refer to *āllopa* of (386) *jñah*.

### 3.1.137 *pāghrādhmādhetṛśah*

Examples such as (391) *utpibah*, (392) *ujjighrah*, (393) *uddhamah*, (394) *uddhayah*, and (395) *utpaśyah* contain stems which derive by introducing affix *Śa* after verbal roots *pā*, *ghrā*, *dhmā* and *dheṬ* whether used in

conjunction with a preverb. These examples all have the cooccurrence condition of *ud*. Thus, given  $ud + pā + (\acute{S} \rightarrow \emptyset)a = ud + pā + a$ , rule 3.4.67 *kartari śap* will introduce  $(\acute{S})a(P)$  to produce  $ud + pā + a + a$ . The root will then be replaced with *pib* by rule 7.3.78 *pāghrādhmāsthā...* We will thus get  $ud + pib + a + a$  which through the application of rule 6.1.97 *ato guṇe* will produce  $ud + pib + (a+a \rightarrow a) = ud + pib + a = utpiba$ . Note that the *d* of *ud* will be changed to *t* by *cartva* of rule 8.4.55 *khari ca*. Deriving *utpibaḥ* from *utpiba + sU* is easy. The other roots, except for *dheT*, will also get their replacements such as *jighr*, *dham*, and *paś* by the same rule under similar condition of a following *SaP*. Deriving *ujjighrah* will also entail *cartva*. All other rules are similar to *utpibaḥ*. Deriving *uddhayaḥ* from  $ud + dhe(T \rightarrow \emptyset) + a + a = ud + dhe + a + a$  also involves *pararūpa* whereby we get  $ud + dhe + (a+a \rightarrow a)$ . A replacement in *ay* (*ayādeśa*) for the *e* of *dhe* by 6.1.78 *eco' yavāyāvah* will finally produce  $ud + dh(e \rightarrow ay)a = uddhaya$ , a nominal stem after which *sU* can be introduced to derive *uddhayaḥ*. Note that examples can also be derived without accepting the cooccurrence condition of the preverbs.

3.1.138 *anupasargāl limpavindadhāripārivedyūdejecetisātisāhibhyaś ca*

Examples such as (396) *limpaḥ* derive from *lip + (\acute{S})a + (\acute{S})a* where the first *Śa* is the *vikaraṇa* of the *tudādi* group of roots introduced as per 3.1.77 *tudādibhyaḥ...* A further introduction of *nUM* by 7.1.59 *śe mucādīnām* produces  $li + n(UM \rightarrow \emptyset)p + a + a = linp + a + a$  which through *anusvāra* and *parasavarṇa* (cf. 8.3.24 *naś cāpadāntasya*; 8.4.58 *anusvārasya yayi parasavarṇah*) ultimately derives *limpa*. An introduction of *sU* and subsequent *rutva-visarga* yields *limpaḥ*. Similar rules apply in deriving (397) *vindaḥ*.

An example such as (398) *dhārayaḥ* derives from *dhāraya + sU* where *dhāraya* is a nominal stem derived by introducing affix *Śa* after verbal root *dhāri*, a *ṆiC* derivate of *dhṛṅ*. The resultant string  $dhāri + ŚaP + Śa = dhāri + a + a$  will go through *guṇa* (7.3.84 *sārvadhātukārddha...*) and *ayādeśa* (6.1.78 *eco' yavāyāvah*) to produce  $dhār(i \rightarrow e \rightarrow ay)a + a = dhāraya + a$ . Deriving *dhāraya* from *dhāray(a+a \rightarrow a)* via *pararūpa* is easy. Similar rule applications are needed to derive (399) *pārayaḥ* from *pr + ṆiC = pāri + Śa* and (400) *udejayaḥ* from  $ud + ejR + ṆiC = udeji + Śa$ . The remaining roots, except for *sāti*, will receive their *ṆiC* from 3.1.25 *satyāpa...curādibhyo ṇic* for deriving (401) *vedayaḥ*, (402) *cetayaḥ*, and (403) *sāhayaḥ*. This last example will be derived from *sāti + ŚaP + Śa* 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) *dadah*, (406) *dāyah*; and (407) *dadhaḥ*, (408) *dhāyaḥ* for verbal roots *ḌUDāṅ* and *ḌUDhāṅ*. Note that a *ŚaP* introduced before affix *Śa* will be deleted by 2.4.75 *juhotyādibhyaḥ...* This will lead to doubling whereby we will get  $dā + dā + a$ . A short *a* will replace the long *ā* of the reduplicated syllable

(*abhyāsa*) *dā* by rule 7.4.59 *hrasvaḥ*. This will be followed by the deletion of *ā* (*āllopa*) thereby to yield  $d(\bar{a} \rightarrow a) + d\bar{a} + a = da + d(\bar{a} \rightarrow \emptyset) + a = dada$ . Now one can derive *dadaḥ* from *dada* + *sU*. Our optional example *dāyaḥ* derives from  $d\bar{a} + Na = d\bar{a} + yUK + Na$  where *Na* is introduced optionally to *Śa* by rule 3.1.141 *śyādvvyadhāsru....* The *yUK* is subsequently introduced by 7.3.33 *āto yukcīṅkrtoḥ*.

One can similarly derive *dhāyaḥ*. Deriving *dadhaḥ* 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 *d* to produce  $(dh \rightarrow d)a + dh + a = dadha$ .

### 3.1.141 *śyādvvyadhāsrusamsrvatīna...*

Deriving (409) *avaśyāyaḥ* from *avaśyāya* + *sU* entails the introduction of affix *Na* after verbal root *śyaiṅ* used in conjunction with *ava*. An application of *ātva* of 6.1.45 *ādeca upadeśe...* followed by the introduction of *yUK* will produce  $ava + śy(ai \rightarrow \bar{a})(\dot{N}) + (N)a = ava + śy\bar{a} + y(UK) + a = avaśyāya$ . Deriving *avaśyāyaḥ* with the introduction of *sU* and *rutva-visarga* is easy.

Deriving (410) *āsrāvaḥ* from  $\bar{a}(\dot{N} \rightarrow \emptyset) + sru + (N)a = a + sru + a$  entails *vṛddhi* by 7.2.115 *aco' nṇiti*. An application of 6.1.78 *eco' yavāyāvaḥ* will then replace the *au* by *āv*:  $a + sr(u \rightarrow au \rightarrow \bar{a}v) + a = \bar{a}sr\bar{a}va$ )) + *sU* = *āsrāvaḥ*)).

### 3.1.146 *gas thakan*

Example (411) *gāthikā* derives from  $gai + thaka(N \rightarrow \emptyset)$  through *ātva*:  $g(ai \rightarrow \bar{a}) + thaka = g\bar{a} + thaka = g\bar{a}thaka$ . Rule 4.1.4 *ajādyataḥ ṭāp* then introduces the feminine affix *ṬāP*. The *itva* application of rule 7.3.44 *pratya-yasthātkāt...* and the *savarnādīrgha* of 6.1.101 finally produces  $g\bar{a}th(i \rightarrow \bar{a})ka + (T \rightarrow \emptyset)\bar{a}(P \rightarrow \emptyset) = g\bar{a}thik(a + \bar{a} \rightarrow \bar{a}) = g\bar{a}thikā$ . Affix *sU* introduced after *gāthikā* will be subsequently deleted by 6.1.68 *halṅyābbhyo....*

### 3.1.147 *ṅyut ca*

Example (412) *gāyanī* derives from  $gai + (N)yu(\dot{T}) + \dot{N}\bar{i}(P)$  where *ātva* again applies. This gives us  $g(ai \rightarrow \bar{a}) + yu = g\bar{a} + yu$ . Rule 7.3.33 *āto yukcīṅkrtoḥ* then introduces *yUK* whereby the string becomes  $g\bar{a} + y(UK \rightarrow \emptyset) + yu$ . The *yu* will finally be replaced with *ana* of rule 7.1.1 *yuvor anākau*. Thus,  $g\bar{a} + y + yu \rightarrow ana = g\bar{a}yana$ . This nominal stem will then receive the feminine affix  $(\dot{N})\bar{i}(P)$  of rule 4.1.15 *ṭiddhāṅaṅ....* Rule 6.4.148 *yasyeti ca* will order the deletion of the final *a* of *gāyana* to produce:  $g\bar{a}yan(a \rightarrow \emptyset) + \bar{i} = g\bar{a}yanī$ . The nominal ending *sU* introduced after *gāyanī* will again be deleted.

### 3.2.1 *karmaṅy aṅ*

Refer to derivational details of (97) *kumbhakāraḥ* and (136) *svādumkāram* under the appendices of rules 2.2.19 *upapadam atīṅ* and 1.1.39 *kṛṅmejantaḥ* respectively for a general idea on deriving the examples of this rule. Example (413) *vedādhyāyaḥ* contains the string  $veda + Śas + (adhi + i\dot{N}) + a\dot{N}$

where *adhi* + *i* + *a* derives *adhyāya* through *vṛddhi* (7.2.115 *aco' ṅṅiti*) and *āyādeśa* (6.1.78 *eco' yavāyāvah*). Thus, *adhi* + (*e*→*ai*) + *a* = *adhi* + (*ai*→*āya*) + *a*. An application of 6.1.77 *iko yaṅ 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 *vedādhyāya* where 6.1.101 *akah savarṇe dīrghah* has also applied on *ved(a* + *a*→*ā*) *dhyāya*)).

### 3.2.2 *hvāvāmās ca*

Note that (414) *putrahvāyah* and (415) *tantuvāyah* are derivatives of verbal roots *hveṅ* and *veṅ* which will go through *ātva* before *a(N)*. Our present rule specifies them with *ātva*. Rule 7.3.33 *āto yukcīṅkrtoḥ* will introduce *yUK* to realize *hv(e*→*ā*) + *a* = *hvā* + *y(UK*→*∅*) + *a* = *hvāya*. Deriving *putrahvāyah* from (*putra* + *am* + *hvāya*) + *sU* is not any difficult. Similar rules apply in deriving *tantuvāyah*.

### 3.2.3 *āto' nupasarge 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 derivatives to follow, will be subsequently deleted by 6.4.64 *āto lopa iṅi ca*. All other operations are similar to other derivatives. Same sets of rules can derive (418) *pārṣṇitram* by introducing affix *Ka* after verbal root *trā* under the cooccurrence condition of the object constituted by *pārṣṇi*. Note that *pārṣṇitra* + *sU* will yield *pārṣṇitram* via the application of rules 7.1.24 *ato' m* and 6.1.107 *ami pūrvah*. Thus, *pārṣṇitra* + (*sU*→*am*) = *pārṣṇitr(a* + *a*→*a*)*m* = *pārṣṇitram*.

### 3.2.8 *gāpoṣ tak*

Note that verbal roots *gā* and *pā* as usual will be subjected to the deletion of their *ā* (*āllopa*). Examples such as (419) *śakragah* and (420) *sāmagah* will have their feminine forms derived by affix *ṅiP* (4.1.15 *ṅiḍḍhāṅāṅ...*) at the strength of the *ṅi* status of affix *ṅaK*. Examples such as (421) *surāpah* and (420) *surāpī*, a feminine, can be similarly derived.

### 3.2.13 *stambakarnayoh ramijapoh*

Note that examples (422) *stamberamah* and (423) *karṇejapah* entail the non-deletion (*aluk*) of their *saptamī* by rule 6.3.9 *halantāt saptamyāḥ*.

### 3.2.14 *śami dhātoḥ samjñāyām*

Deriving (424) *śāṅkaraḥ* from *śāṅkara* + *sU* where affix *aC* is introduced after verbal root *kr*, under the cooccurrence condition of the indeclinable (*avyaya*) *śam* entails *guṇa* of *ṛ*. Of course, additionally to the change of *m* to *anusvāra* (8.3.23 *mo' nusvārah*) and that of *anusvāra* to *parasavarṇa* form of *ṅ* (8.4.54 *anusvārasya yayi parasavarṇah*). The derivation of (425) *śāmbhavaḥ* would not only entail *guṇa* but also *avādeśa*. Thus, *śam* + *bh* (*u*→*o*→*av*) + *aC* = *śa* (*m*→*ṁ*)*bhava* = *śāmbhava* where *m* will be replaced with the *anusvāra*. Deriving (426) *śamvadaḥ* is easy.

### 3.2.21 *divāvibhāniśāprabhābhāskārāntād...*

Note that (427) *divākaraḥ* and (428) *vibhākaraḥ*, etc., offer nothing new

in their derivation. Deriving (429) *ahaskaraḥ* requires a replacement in *r* for the *n* of *ahan* by 8.2.69 *ro' supi*. This *r* will then go through a replacement in *visarga* by 8.3.15 *kharavasānayor...* Finally, the *visarga* itself will be replaced with *s* by 8.3.46 *ataḥ kṛkamikaṃsa...* The derivation of (431) *aruṣkaraḥ* will entail replacing the *s* of *arus* with *ṣ* (*ṣatva*) by rule 8.3.45 *nityaṃ samāse...* The derivation of (432) *dhanuṣkaraḥ* offers nothing new.

### 3.2.28 *ejeḥ khaś*

The derivation of (433) *aṅgamejayaḥ* begins with the introduction of affix *KHaś* after the *NiC* form *ejī* of verbal root *ejR* 'to tremble' where *ejī* will still be a root in view of rule 3.1.32 *sanādyantā dhātavaḥ*. Note that *ejī* + (*KH*→ $\emptyset$ )(*ś*→ $\emptyset$ ) will also receive (*ś*→ $\emptyset$ )(*P*→ $\emptyset$ ) to produce *ejī* + *a* + *a* which, through the application of *guṇa* (7.3.84 *sārvadhātukārdha...*) will become *ej(i→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 *arurviśad...* will now introduce *m* (*UM*→ $\emptyset$ ) to *aṅga* under the condition of the following *eje* + *a* + *a* which ends in an affix marked with *KH* as an *it*. This will produce *aṅgam* + *eje* + *a* + *a* = *aṅgameje* + *a* + *a*. The *ayādeśa* of 6.1.78 *eco' yavāyāvaḥ* will then produce *aṅgamej* (*e→ay*) + *a* + *a*. Finally, the *pararūpa* application of rule 6.1.97 *ato guṇe* will realize *aṅgamejay* + (*a+a→a*) = *aṅgamejaya*. Similar rules apply in deriving the nominal stem *janamejaya* of (434) *janamejayaḥ*.

### 3.2.29 *nāsikāstanayoḥ...*

Examples such as (435) *nāsikandhamah* entails the application of rule 7.3.78 *pāghrādhmāsthā...* whereby *dhmā* is replaced with *dham*. The resultant string thus becomes *nāsikā* + *dham* + *a*. The long *ā* of *nāsikā* is replaced with short by 6.3.66 *khity anavyayasya*. The augment *mUM*, and subsequent *anusvāra* and *parasavarṇa* applications will eventually derive the nominal stem *nāsik(ā→a)* + *m* + *dham* + *a* = *nāsikam* + *dhama* = *nāsika(m→ṃ→n)* + *dhama* = *nāsikandhama*. Note that example (436) *nāsikandhayaḥ* involves the *ayādeśa* of the *e* of *dheT*. The derivation of (437) *stanandhayaḥ* is not different either. Note, however, that, to derive a parallel feminine form (438) *stanandhayī*, one has to introduce *NiP* by 4.1.15 *ṭiddhāṇāñ...*

### 3.2.35 *vidhvaruṣos tudah*

Note that the *parasavarṇa* replacement of *ṃ* of the string *vidhu* + *m* (*UM*→ $\emptyset$ ) + *tud* + *a* = *vidhu* (*m→ṃ*) + *tuda* = *vidhu* (*ṃ→n*) + *tuda* = (439) *vidhuntutadah* by rule 8.4.59 *vā padāntasya* is optional. The same applies to (440) *aruntudah*.

### 3.2.39 *dviṣatparayos tāpeḥ*

Note that (441) *dviṣantapaḥ* and (442) *parantapaḥ* also entail rule applications similar to the preceding examples. The root *tap* is here used as ending in *NiC*. Thus, the introduction of *KHaC* after *tāp* + *i*, where *vṛddhi* is caused by 7.2.115 *aco' nṛiti*, 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 *ṇer aniṭi*. The penultimate long vowel of *tāp* will be shortened under the condition of the following *KHaC* by 6.4.94 *khaci hrasvaḥ*. The string will now become *dviṣamt + tāp + (i→∅) + a = dviṣamt + t(ā→a)p + a = dviṣamt + tapā*. The final *t* of *dviṣamt* will be deleted by 8.2.23 *saṃyogāntasya lopah*. One can now apply the *anusvāra* and *parasavarṇa* to derive the nominal stem *dviṣantapaḥ*. Similar rules apply in deriving *parantapaḥ*.

### 3.2.44 *kṣemaPriyamadre' ṇ ca*

Deriving examples (443) *kṣemakārah* optionally to (444) *kṣemaṃkaraḥ* is not very complex. Remember that affix *aN* will condition *vṛddhi* (as in *kārah*) in contrast to *KHaC* which will introduce *mUM*. Similar rules apply in deriving (445) *priyakārah* and (446) *priyaṃkaraḥ*.

### 3.2.48 *antātyantādhvadūrapāra...*

Examples such as (447) *antagaḥ*, (448) *atyantagaḥ*, and (449) *adhvagaḥ*, etc., entail the deletion of the *ṭi* of *gam*, i.e., *am*, under the condition of the *Dit* status of affix *Ḍa* (cf. *Kāś.* ad 6.4.143 *ṭeḥ: dityabhasyāpy anubandha-karaṇasāmarthyāt ṭilopo bhavati*). An example such as (450) *śatruhaḥ* of the following rule will also entail similar deletion.

### 3.2.50 *ape kleśatamasoḥ*

The derivatives of affix *Ḍa* such as (451) *kleśāpahaḥ* and (452) *tamopahaḥ* will again involve the deletion of the *ṭi* (*an*) of *apahan*. Deriving *kleśāpaha* from *kleśa + apah + a* involves *savarṇadīrgha*. Deriving *tamopaha* from *tamas + apah + a* involves *rutva* of *s* by 8.2.66 *sasajuṣo ruḥ*. Rule 6.1.113 *ato ror aplutād apluteḥ* then applies on *tamar + apaha* to replace the *r* with *u*. This occasions the application of rule 6.1.87 *ād guṇaḥ* 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 *enaḥ padāntād ati* in place of the sequence *o+a*. Thus we get *tam(o+a→o)paha = tamopaha*.

### 3.2.51 *kumārasīrṣayor ṇiniḥ*

Example (453) *kumāraghātī* derives from *kumāraghātīn + sU* where *ghātīn* derives by introducing affix *ṆinI* 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' ciṇ....* The resultant string, *kumāra + gha(n→t) + in = kumāra + ghat + in* will now go through the *vṛddhi* of the penultimate *a* by 7.2.116 *ata upadhāyāḥ* to realize *kumāra + gh(a→ā)t + in = kumāraghātīn*. Deriving *kumāraghātī* from *kumāraghātīn + s(U→∅)* entails *(i→ī)* by 6.4.13 *sau ca*. That is, *kumāraghātī (i→ī)n + s = kumāraghātīn + s*. Rule 6.1.68 *halṅyābbhyo...* will delete the *s* followed by the deletion of *n* by 8.2.7 *nalopah prātipadikāntasya*. We will thus get *kumāraghātīn + (s→∅) = kumāraghātī(n→∅) = kumāraghātī*.

An example such as (454) *śīrṣaghātī* can be similarly derived with the understanding that *śīras* gets replaced with *śīrṣa* by this very rule.

### 3.2.52 *lakṣaṇe jāyāpatyoṣ tak*

The examples of this rule entail the deletion of the penultimate part of *han* (6.4.98 *gamahana...*) thereby producing  $jāyā + h(a \rightarrow \emptyset)n + a = jāyāhna$ . The *h* of the string will be replaced with *gh* by rule 7.3.54 *ho hanter...* to produce  $jāyā(h \rightarrow gh)na$ . The nominative (*prathamā*) singular *sU* can now be introduced to derive (455) *jāyāghnaḥ*. Similar rules will apply in deriving (456) *patighnī* though via the introduction of the feminine affix *ÑiP* after *patighna*. The *tit* status of *Tak* will facilitate the introduction of *ÑiP* by 4.1.15 *ṭiddhānañ...*

### 3.2.56 *ādhyasubhagasthūlapalita...*

The derivation of examples such as (457) *ādhyamkaraṇam*, (458) *subhagamkaraṇam*, (459) *sthūlamkaraṇam*, etc., are similar to the derivation of other affixes marked with *KH* as *it*. One can refer to the derivation of (433) *aṅgamejayah*, etc., where the introduction of *mUM* is a must. The *kr* + *KHyuN* sequence will produce *karana* through the *ana* replacement for the *yu* of the affix. The *n* will then be replaced with *ṇ* by rule 8.4.1 *raṣābhyāṃ no ṇah...* The derivation of *ādhyamkaraṇam* from *ādhyamkaraṇa* + *sU* will follow rule-application similar to *pārṣṇitra* + *sU* of (418) *pārṣṇitram*.

### 3.2.58 *sprśo' nudake kvin*

An example such as (460) *mantrasprk* is derived by introducing affix *KvIN* 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* + *Ṭā* + *sprś* + ( $v \rightarrow \emptyset$ ). The *Ṭā* will also be deleted after the formation of the compound *mantrasprś*. The string *mantrasprś* + ( $s(U \rightarrow \emptyset)$ ) will have its affixal *s* deleted by 6.1.68 *halnyābbhoyo...* The *ś* of *mantrasprś* will go through *kutva* of 8.2.62 *kvin pratyayasya* read with 1.1.50 *sthāne' ntaratamaḥ*. The resultant string, i.e., *mantrasprś(ś → kh) = mantrasprkh* will go through the applications of two rules. Rule 8.2.39 *jhalāṃ 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, *mantrasprś(ś → kh → g → k) = mantrasprk*.

Similar set of rules apply in deriving (461) *jalasprk*. Refer to (II: 446-47) for the full derivational history of *ghṛtasprk*.

### 3.2.59 *rtvīgdadhṛksragdig...*

Note that (462) *rtvik*, (463) *dadhṛk*, (464) *srak*, (465) *dik*, and (466) *uṣṇik* are derived with affix *KvIN* via *nipātana*. The first example *rtvik* derives from *yaj* + *KvIN* = *yaj* + ( $v \rightarrow \emptyset$ ) = *yaj* where *yaj* will go through *samprasāraṇa* of 6.1.15 *vacisvapīyaj...* to yield ( $y \rightarrow i$ )*aj* → ( $i(a \rightarrow \emptyset)$ )*j* = *ij*. Note here that *ij* will be the final part of the compound *rtvij* since *KvIN* was introduced after verbal root *yaj* under the cooccurrence condition of a



nominal word constituted by *ṛtu*. Deriving *ṛtvik* from  $\dot{r}(u \rightarrow v)ij = \dot{r}tvi$  ( $j \rightarrow g \rightarrow k = \dot{r}tvik$ ) entails the application of 6.1.77 *iko yaṅ aci* followed by relevant rules at the end of (456) *mantrasprk*. Deriving *dadhrk* entails doubling (*dvitva*) of *dhrṣ* before *KvIN* via *nipātana*. That is,  $dhrṣ + dhrṣ + KvIN \rightarrow dhr(\dot{s} \rightarrow \emptyset) + dhrṣ + (v \rightarrow \emptyset) = dh(\dot{r} \rightarrow a) + dhrṣ = (dh \rightarrow d)a + dhrṣ = dadhr(\dot{s} \rightarrow k)$ . Refer to many examples where rule application relative to doubling has already been explained. The *r* of *dhr* is replaced with *a* by 7.4.66 *ur at*. Other examples can also be similarly derived via *nipātana*.

The derivation of (467) *prāñ* from *pra + añc + KvIN* will produce *prāñc + KvIN* through 6.1.101 *akaḥ savarṇe...* The *ñ* will be deleted by 6.4.24 *aniditāṃ hala...* The (*v* of) *KvIN* will be deleted as explained. Given a string such as *prāc + sU*, rule 7.1.70 *ugidacāṃ sarvanāmasthāne...* will introduce *nUM* to change the string to *prā + n(UM → ∅) + c + s*. The affixal *s* will again be deleted. The *c* will be deleted by 8.2.23 *saṃyogāntasya lopah*. The result of this rule application  $prān + (c \rightarrow \emptyset) + (s \rightarrow \emptyset) = prān$  will now go through *kutva* of 8.2.62 *kvinpratyayasya kuḥ* whereby we get the final derivate  $prā(n \rightarrow ñ) = prāñ$ . Similar rules will derive (468) *pratyañ* from *prati + (añc + v) = prati + añ = prat(i → y)añ*. Using *ud + añc + v* will derive (469) *udañ*. Note that in deriving (470) *kruñ* from *kruñc + v = kru(ñ → ∅) = kru(nUM)c = krunc + s*, parallel to *prā + nUM + c + s* of (468) *prāñ*, *krunc* does not lose its penultimate *n* because of *nipātana*.

### 3.2.60 *tyādādiṣu drśo' nālocane kañ ca*

Deriving optional forms such as (470) *tyādrk* by introducing affix *KvIN* after verbal root *drś* 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 *tyādādīnāmah*. The resultant string after the formation of compound will be: *tyad + drś + KvIN*. A derivate with the cooccurrence condition of *tad*, i.e., (471) *tādrk*, will similarly yield the string *ta + drś + KvIN*. A replacement in *ā* (*ātva*) of rule 6.3.91 *ā sarvanāmnaḥ* will then apply to change the strings to:  $ty(a \rightarrow \bar{a}) + drś + v$ , and  $t(a \rightarrow \bar{a}) + drś + v$ . The application of *kutva* of 8.2.62 *kvinpratyayasya* along with the deletion of the *s* of *sUP* as shown in earlier examples will produce *tyādrk* and *tādrk*.

Examples (472) *tyādrśah* and (473) *tādrśah* involve the introduction of affix *KaÑ*, optionally to *KvIN*, after verbal root *drś*. They, however, will lack *kutva* as is the case with *KvIN*. Consequently, the derivates will be  $tyādrś + (K \rightarrow \emptyset)a(N \rightarrow \emptyset) = tyādrśa$ ; and  $tādrśa$ . Operations relative to *sUP*-selection, and *rutva-visarga* will ultimately realize *tyādrśah* and *tādrśah*. Similar rules will apply in deriving (474) *yādrk* and (475) *yādrśah* with the conjoined word *yad*.

### 3.2.61 *satsūdviṣadruhaduhayuj...kviḥ*

Note that affix *KvIP* 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) *vedīṣat*, (477) *śucīṣat*, and (478) *antarikṣasat*. The initial *ṣ* of the verbal root *ṣadL* will be replaced with *s* by rule 6.1.64 *dhātvādeḥ ṣaḥ saḥ*. The *ṣ* comes back as a replacement for the *s* of *vedīṣat* and *śucīṣat* 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) *aṇḍasūh* and (480) *śatasūh* with *KvIN* introduced after verbal root *sū* used in conjunction with a *pada* constituted by *aṇḍa* and *śata* is easy. Verbal roots *dviṣ*, *druh* and *duh*, through the introduction of affix *KvIP* under the cooccurrence condition of a nominal *pada* constituted by *mitra*, and *go* will yield derivatives such as (481) *mitradviṣ*, (482) *mitradhruk*, (483) *godhruk*, and (484) *godhuk*. Note that the *ṣ* of *mitradviṣ* will get a replacement in *ḍ* by rule 8.2.39 *jhalām jaśo' nte*. The *ḍ* will then get replaced by *ṭ* with the application of 8.4.56 *vāvasāne*. The *h* of *mitradruh* will be first replaced with *gh* of rule 8.2.33 *vā druhamuh...*. An application of rule 8.2.37 *ekāco baśo bhaṣ...* will replace the *d* of *druh* with *dh*. The string will now be *mitra(d→dh)ru(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 *mitradhru(gh→g)* = *mitradhru(g→k)* = *mitradhruk*. Examples (483) *godhruk* and (484) *godhuk* will require similar rule applications. The *h* of *duh* 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 *coḥ kuḥ*. The rest of the examples can be similarly derived. Remember though that the *ṇ* replacement for the *n* of (487) *grāmaṇīḥ* and (488) *praṇīḥ* comes via *nīpātana*.

### 3.2.62 *bhajo ṇviḥ*

Refer to the derivation of *ardhabhāk* (II: 447) for the application of this rule.

### 3.2.63 *chandasi sahaḥ*

An example such as (489) *turāṣāt* is derived by introducing affix *ṆvI* 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 *anyeṣām api dṛṣyate*. The *a* of *sah* will also go through *vṛddhi* before *ṆvI* as per 7.2.115 *aco' ṇṇiti*. The *h* of the resultant *turāsāh* will go through *dhatva* of 8.2.31 *ho dhaḥ*. This will produce *turāsādh*. An application of 8.2.39 *jhalām jaśo' nte* followed by that of 8.4.56 *vāvasāne* will produce: *turāsā(d→ṭ)* = *turāsāt*. The *s* of *turāsāt* will be replaced with *ṣ* by rule 8.3.56 *saheḥ sādaḥ saḥ*.

### 3.2.67 *janasanakhanakramagamo viṭ*

The derivation of (490) *abjāḥ* requires the introduction of affix *vIT*

under the cooccurrence condition of a *pada* constituted by *ap*. Deriving *abjāḥ* from (*ap+jan*)*sU*), where affix *vIT* is deleted by 6.1.67 *ver aprktasya*, entails replacing the root-final *n* or *m* by *ā* (*ātva*; cf. 6.4.41 *viḍvanor*...). The resultant (*ap + ja + ā*) + *sU*) will go through the application of 6.1.101 *akah svarṇe*.... The *p* of *ap + j(a+ā→ā) = sU*) = *ap + jā + sU* will be replaced with *b* by 8.2.39 *jhalām jaśo' nte*. Deriving *abjāḥ* from *abjā + sU* requires *rutva-visarga*. Similar rules apply in deriving (491) *goṣāḥ* with verbal root *san* where its *s* is replaced with *ṣ* by rule 8.3.108 *sanoter anah*. An example such as (492) *agregāḥ* entails non-deletion of the locative ending (*saptamī*) as per the *bāhulaka* of 6.3.14 *tatpuruse kṛti bahulam*.

### 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 *krvya + am + ad + vIT* where *vIT* is as usual deleted by rule 6.1.67 *ver aprktasya*. The *ātva* of *āma*, etc., followed by *savarnādīrgha* will derive *āmāt*, *sasyāt* and *kravyāt*. Rule 6.1.67 *halnyābbhyo*... will delete the *sU* introduced after these derivatives.

### 3.2.70 *duhaḥ kab ghaś ca*

Deriving (496) *kāmadughā* and (497) *dharmadughā* from *kāma + am + duh + Ka* and *dharmā + am + duh + Ka* entails replacing the *h* of *duh* with *gh* (*ghatva*) as per rule 8.2.32 *dāder dhātor ghaḥ*. Affix *ṬāP* (4.1.4 *ajādyataṣ ṭāP*) will be subsequently introduced after *kāmadugha* and *dharmadugha* to denote feminine. The *sU* introduced after the feminine derivatives will be deleted by 6.1.67 *halnyābbhyo*....

### 3.2.71 *mantrē śvetavahokthaśapuroḍāśo ṇvin*

Example such as (498) *śvetavāḥ*, and (499) *ukthaśāḥ* derive from (*śveta + Ṭā + vah + ṆvIN*) + *sU*) and (*uktha + Ṭā + śams + ṆvIN*) + *sU*) where the instrumental ending *Ṭā* denotes agent (*kartr*) in the first example, and instrument (*karana*) in the second. Note that the second example can also have the cooccurring *pada* with the denotatum of *karman* 'object'. Affix *ṆvIN*, in these examples, is replaced with *Ḍaś* as per the *vārttika*: *śvetavahādīnām ḍas padasya ca* under this rule. The application of yet another *vārttika*: *ḍity abhasyāpi ṭer lopah* (ad 6.4.14 *atvasantasya cādhātoḥ*) will change the string to *śvetavah + (Ḍ→Ḍ)as*) = *śvetav(ah→Ḍ) + 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 *halnyābbhyo*... will as usual delete the *sU*, and *rutva-visarga* will produce *śvetavā(s→r→ḥ)* = *śvetavāḥ*. 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) *puroḍāḥ* where affix *ṆvIN* is introduced after verbal root *dāś(R)* under the cooccurrence condition of a nominal *pada* constituted by *purāś*. Note that *purāś* will be changed to *puro* as per the applications of rules 8.2.66 *sasajūṣo ruḥ*, 6.1.113 *ato ror aplutād*..., and 6.1.87 *ād guṇah*.

Thus: *pura(s→r→u = pur(a+u→o))*. The string *pur(as→o) + dās + NvIN→(D)as* will subsequently produce *purodās + as + sU* where the *d* of the root will be replaced with *ḍ* through *nipātana*. The resultant string, i.e. *puroḍās + as* will, as in the preceding example, go through the *ṭilopa* as well as of the *sU* to finally derive *puroḍāḥ*.

### 3.2.72 *ave yajah*

A long vowel replacement for the *a* of *yaj* followed by the *Das*-replacement for *NvIN* of (*avayaj + NvIN*) + *sU*) will ultimately produce (501) *āvayāḥ*.

### 3.2.73 *vijupe chandasi*

Deriving (502) *upayaṭ* from *upayaj + vIC* will entail the total deletion of the affix followed by the *ṣ*-replacement for the *j* of *yaj* by rule 8.2.36 *vraścabhraṣja...* This *ṣ* will further be replaced with *ḍ* (8.2.39 *jhalām jaśo'nte*). One can optionally derive *upayaṭ* from *upayaḍ + (sU→∅) = upayaḍ* by applying 8.4.56 *vāvasāne*.

### 3.2.74 *āto maninkvanibvanipaś ca*

This rule allows, in the Vedic, the introduction of affixes *manIN*, *KvanIP*, and *vanIP* additionally to *vIC* 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) *supīvā*, and (507) *bhūridāvā*, etc.

Our first example *sudāmā* contains (*su + dā + manIN*) + *sU* = *sudāman + s* where rule 6.4.8 *sarvanāmasthāne cāsambuddhau* orders the lengthening of the penultimate vowel of the *aṅga*. 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 *halīnyābbhyo...*

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., *aśvasthāman* must go through the *t*-replacement for its *s* to produce *aśvatthāman* (cf. 6.3.109 *prṣodarādīni yathopadiṣṭam*). The rest of the derivation remains similar to the preceding examples.

The derivation of *sudhīvan* and *supīvan* 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 *srams* under the cooccurrence condition of *ukhā*. The affix is as usual deleted. The nasal of *ukhāsrans + sU* is also deleted by 6.4.24 *aniditām hala upadhā...* The final *s* of *ukhāsrans*, will after the deletion of *sU*, be replaced with *d* in view of 8.2.72 *vāsusransudhvamsu...* 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) *vāhābhraṭ* derives by introducing affix *KvIP* after verbal root *bhramś* 'to fall down' under the cooccurrence condition of *vāha*. The *ś* of *vāhabhraś*, subsequently to the deletion of the nasal of the root, will be replaced with *ṣ* by rule 8.2.36 *vraścabhbraśṣrjmṛj*.... The resultant *vāhabhraṣ*, of course after the deletion of *sU*, will receive the *d→t* replacement for its final *ṣ* to produce *vāhabhraṭ* similarly to (502) *upayaṭ*. The lengthening of the *a* of *vāha* in *vāhabhra* to realize *vāhābhraṭ* is accounted for by 3.2.75 *anyeṣām api dṛśyante*.

3.2.77 *sthaḥ ka ca*

An example such as (511) *śamsthaḥ* derives by introducing affix *Ka* after verbal root *sthā* used in conjunction with the indeclinable *pada śam* where, given, *śamsthā + a*, rule 6.4.64 *āto lopa iṭi ca* deletes the long *ā*. Finally, *śamstha + s* will produce *śamsthaḥ* through *rutva-visarga*. A parallel derivate with affix *KvIP* will be (512) *śamsthāḥ*.

3.2.78 *supy ajātau ṇinis tēcchīlye*

Deriving examples such as (513) *uṣṇabhojī*, and (514) *śītabhojī* from underlying strings such as (*uṣṇa + bhuj + ṆinI*) + *sU*, and (*śīta + bhuj + ṆinI*) + *sU*) entail *guṇa* whereby we get *uṣṇa + bh(u→o)j + in*. The rest of the rules are similar to (455) *kumāraghātī*.

3.2.81 *bahulam ābhīkṣṇye*

Deriving (514) *kaṣāyapāyinaḥ* and (515) *kṣīrapāyinaḥ* from *kaṣāyapāyin + Jas* and *kṣīrapāyin + Jas* where the nominal stems *kaṣāyapāyin* and *kṣīrapāyin* entail the introduction of affix *ṆinI* after verbal root *pā* under the cooccurrence condition of the nominal *pada* constituted by *kaṣāya* and *kṣīra* respectively. The introduction of *yUK* (7.3.33 *āto yuk cinḥkṛtoḥ*) followed by *rutvavisarga* and the *ṇ*-replacement (*ṇatva*) are subsequently required operations to realize the derivates. Thus: *kaṣāyapāyin + (J→∅)as*) = *kaṣāyapāyina(s→ḥ)* = *kaṣāyapāyi(n→ṇ)ah* = *kaṣāyapāyinaḥ*. The next example also follows similar rule application.

3.2.83 *ātmamāne khaś ca*

This rule introduces affixes *KHaś* and *ṆinI* to optionally derive (516) *darśanīyammanyah* and (517) *darśanīyamānī*. The *ṆinI* form as usual entails the penultimate *vṛddhi* in *man + in* => *mānin*. Deriving *darśanīyamānī* from *darśanīyamānin + sU* does not offer anything new. Deriving *darśanīyammanyah* from *darśanīyamanya + sU* involves the introduction of affix *KHaś* after verbal root *man* under the cooccurrence condition of a nominal *pada* constituted by *darśanīya*. A string such as *darśanīya + man + (KH→∅)a(ś→∅)* = *darśanīya + man + a* will receive *śyaN* because the root belongs to the *divādi* class (3.1.69 *divādibhyaḥ śyan*). The introduction of augment *mUM* by 6.3.67 *arurdviṣat*... will be next. Thus: *darśanīya + man + ya + a* = *darśanīya + m(UM→∅) + man + ya + a* = *darśanīyamanya + a*. Rule 6.1.97 *ato guṇe* will finally produce the nominal stem

*darśanāmmanya* which after the introduction of *sU* and subsequent *rutva-visarga* will produce *darśanīyammanyaḥ*. Additional examples such as (518) *paṇḍitamanyaḥ* and (519) *paṇḍitamānī* can be similarly derived.

3.2.85 *karāṇe yajāḥ*/3.2.86 *karmaṇi hanah*

Examples under these rules require the cooccurrence condition of *karāṇa* ‘instrument’ and *karman* ‘object’ respectively for the introduction of affix *NinI* after verbal roots *yaj* and *han*. Thus, we get (520) *agniṣṭomayājī* and (521) *mātulaghātī*. Refer to (455) *kumāraghātī* for derivational details of the second example.

3.2.87 *brahmabhrūṇavṛtreṣu kvip*

Examples such as (522) *brahmahā*, (523) *bhrūṇahā* and (523) *vṛtrahā* involve the deletion of *n*, and lengthening (6.4.13 *sau ca*) similar to (455) *kumāraghātī*.

3.2.89 *sukarmaṇapāmantrapuṇyeṣu kṛṇah*

Deriving examples such as (524) *sukṛt*, (525) *karmakṛt*, (526) *mantrakṛt* and (527) *puṇyakṛt* by introducing affix *KvIP* after verbal root *kṛ* under the cooccurrence condition of a *pada* constituted by *su*, etc., requires augment *tUK* by 6.1.71 *hrasvasya piti kṛti...* Thus: *sukṛ* + (*KvIP*→ $\emptyset$ ) + *t(UK)* = *sukṛt*, etc.

3.2.90 *some suṇah*/3.2.91 *agnau ceḥ*

See derivations (252) *agnicit* and (253) *somasut* (II: 421-23) under the appendix of rule 1.1.62 *pratyayalope pratyaya...*

3.2.93 *karmaṇīnīrvikriyah*

3.2.94 *dṛśeḥ kvanip*

3.2.95 *rājani yudhikṛṇah*

3.2.96 *sahe ca*

The derivation of (528) *somavikrayī*, (529) *rasavikrayī* and (530) *madya-vikrayī* requires the introduction of affix *inI* after verbal root *krīṅ* used with the preverb *vi* under the cooccurrence condition of a *pada* which ends in *sUP* and denotes an object. Thus, *soma* + *am* + *vi* + *krī* + *in* will go through *sUP*-deletion, *guṇa* (7.3.84 *sārvadhātukārdha...*) and *ayādeśa* (6.1.78 *eco’ yavāyāvah*) to produce *somavikr(ī→e→ay)* + *in* = *somavikrayin*. The derivation of *somavikrayī* from *somavikrayin* + *sU* is not very different from derivatives such as (455) *kumāraghātī* which require *n*-deletion (*nalopa*), and lengthening (*dīrghatva*), etc. The same applies to other such derivatives.

Deriving (531) *vārāṇasīdṛśvā* by introducing affix *KvaniP* after verbal root *dṛśIR*, used with *vārāṇasī* serving as its *karman*, will also require the deletion of *n* of *vārāṇasīdṛśvan* + *sU*. The lengthening of *a* at the end to produce *vārāṇasīdṛśvā* before *sU* will be accomplished by 6.4.8 *sarvanā-masthāne...* The *sU*, of course, will be deleted. Similar set of rules will apply in deriving (532) *paralokadṛśvā* and (533) *pāṭaliputradṛśvā*. Examples (534) *rājayudhvā*, (535) *rājakṛtvā*; and (536) *sahayudhvā*, and

(537) *sahakṛtvā* are different only in terms of specific conditions of cooccurrence.

### 3.2.97 *saptamyām janer daḥ*

The derivation of (538) *upasarajaḥ* and (539) *mandurajaḥ* requires the introduction of affix *Da* after verbal root *jan* under the cooccurrence condition of a nominal *pada* ending in the locative (*saptamī*). Thus: *upasara* + *Ñi* + *jan* + (*D*→ $\emptyset$ )*a* = *upasara* + *jan* + *a* after the deletion of *Ñi*. Note that *upāsarajana* of *upasarajana* + *sU* goes through the deletion of its *ṭi* (1.1.64 *aco' ntyādi ṭi*) eventhough it is not a *bha* in view of 6.4.143 *teḥ* (cf. *Mbh.* ad this rule: *ḍity abhasyāpy anubandhakaraṇasāmarthyāt*). Deriving *upasaraj(an*→ $\emptyset$ )*a* + *s(U*→ $\emptyset$ ) = *upasarajaḥ* parallel to *upasare jātaḥ* 'born out of the first pregnancy' through *rutva-visarga* offers nothing new. Same rules will apply in deriving *mandurajaḥ* from (*mandurā* + *Ñi*) + *jan* + *Da*) + *sU*) parallel to *mandurāyām jātaḥ* 'born in a stable'. Note that the *ā* 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 nvanip*

Deriving (540) *sutvā* by introducing affix (*Ñ*)*van(IP)* after verbal root *ṣuṅ* first requires the replacement by *s* of the root-initial *ṣ* by rule 6.1.64 *dhātvādeḥ saḥ saḥ*. Secondly, given *su* + *van*, rule 6.1.71 *hrasvasya piti kṛti 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 *jīryater atrn*

Example (541) *jaran* is derived by introducing affix *at(RN)* after verbal root *jṛ* where the final *ṛ* of the root goes through *guṇa* to produce *j(ṛ*→*ar*) + *at(RN*→ $\emptyset$ ) = *jar* + *at*. Rule 7.1.70 *ugidacām sarvanāmasthāne' dhātoḥ* introduces augment *nUM* to *jarat* + *sU* to produce *jaran(n(UM*→ $\emptyset$ )*t* + *sU*. The deletion of *sU*, and also that of the final *t* of the conjunct (*saṃyogāntaloḥ*) yields *jaran*. The nominative dual and plural forms of *jarat*, i.e., (542) *jarantau* and (543) *jarantaḥ*, can be similarly accomplished from *jarat* + *au* and *jarat* + (*J*→ $\emptyset$ )*as* via the application of *nUM* and (in case of the plural) *rutva-visarga*.

### 3.2.105 *chandasi liṭ*

Our example (544) *ātatāna* is derived by introducing affix *LIT* (and subsequently replacing it with *ÑaL* as per 3.4.82 *parasmaipadānām ñal*...) after verbal root *tan(U*→ $\emptyset$ ) used with the preverb *ā(Ñ*→ $\emptyset$ ) 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* = *ātatāna*. The derivation of (545) *dadarśa* from *dṛ* + *dṛś* + *a* is not difficult. Refer to examples with doubling and other similar operations for further rule application.

3.2.106 *liṭaḥ kānaḥ vā*

Examples such as (545) *cikyānaḥ* and (546) *susuvāṇaḥ* derive from *ci* + *ci* + *āna* and *su* + *su* + *āna* where verbal roots *ci(N̄)* and *su* (with its initial *ṣ* replaced with *s*) go through doubling of 6.1.8 *liṭi dhātor...* and *LIT* gets replaced with *KānaC*. The string *ci* + *ci* + *āna* will go through the application 7.3.58 *vibhāṣā ceḥ* whereby we will get *ci* + (*c*→*k*)*i* + *āna* = *ci* + *ki* + *āna*. Rule 6.1.71 *aciśnudhātu...* will then have its *iyaN̄* blocked in favor of the *yaN̄* of 6.4.82 *eranehāco' samyoga...* Thus: *ci* + *k(i*→*y)* + *āna* = *cikyāna*. Deriving *cikyānaḥ* from *cikyāna* + *sU* is easy. Similar rules apply in deriving *susuvāṇaḥ* where the second *ṣ* is a replacement of *s* by 8.3.59 *ādeśapratyayayoḥ* and the *ṇ* is a replacement for the *n* of *āna* as per rule 8.4.2 *aṭkuvāṇnum...*

3.2.107 *kvāsuś ca*

Examples such as (547) *jakṣivān* and (548) *paṭivān* derive from (*ad* + *LIT*) + *sU* and (*pā* + *LIT*) + *sU* where *LIT* is replaced with (*K*)*vas(U)*. Rule 2.4.40 *lity anyatarasyām* 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 *ghā* + *ghas* + *vas* where 7.2.76 *vasvekāj...* 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*→ $\emptyset$ )*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 *ṣ* (*ṣatva*) whereby we get *gha* + *k(s*→*ṣ)* + *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 cuḥ* 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*)*a*(*gh*→*k(s*→*ṣivas)* + *sU*) will finally produce *jakṣivān*.

Deriving *paṭivān* from (*pā* + *pā* + *vas*) + *sU* is comparatively easier. The *ā* before *vas* will be deleted by 6.4.64 *āto lopa iṭi ca*. Augment *iṭ* will also be introduced here to produce *pā* + *p* + *i* + *vas* through the facility of *rūpātideśa* '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 *paṭivān* from *paṭivas* + *sU* again requires reference to the derivation of *citavān* as mentioned.

3.2.108 *bhāṣāyām sadavaśruvaḥ*

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 ekahalmadhye...* will then delete the first *sad* and order *e* as a replacement (*etva*) thereby changing the string to *upa* + (*sad*→ $\emptyset$ ) + *s(a*→*e)d* + *i* + *vas* = *upa* + *sed* + *i* + *vas* = *upasedivas*.



The long vowel replacement (*dīrgha*) 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) *upāsadat* derive similarly to (300) *alīpat* where *aN* replaces *CLĪ* by 3.1.55 *puṣādi...* The derivation of (551) *upāsīdat* requires that *sad* be replaced with *sīd* before *ŚaP* by 7.3.78 *pāghrādhmāsthā...* to produce *upa* + *a(T)* + (*sad*→*sīd*) + (*Ś*)*a(P)* + *t* = *upa* + *a* + *sīd* + *a* + *t*. An application of *savarṇadīrgha* (6.1.101 *akāḥ savarṇe...*) will finally produce *up(a+a→ā)* + *sīd* + *a* + *t* = *upāsīdat*. Yet another example (552) *upasasāda* can be derived by introducing affix *LIT* after verbal root *sad* used with the preverb *upa* where the *LIT* will be introduced by 3.2.115 *parokṣe liṭ*. The *tiP* which will replace *LIT* of *upa* + *sad* + *LIT* will be further replaced with *NaL* of 3.4.82 *parasmai-padānām...* Doubling and related operations will then follow to produce *upa* + *sa* + *sad* + *a*. Rule 7.2.116 *ata upadhāyāḥ* will produce the final derivate by ordering the *vrddhi*-replacement for the penultimate *a*. Thus, *upasas(a→ā)d* + *a* = *upasasāda*.

The derivation of (553) *anūṣivān* proceeds with the introduction of *KvasU* after verbal root *vas* used with the preverb *anu*. Rule 6.1.15 *vacisvapi...* then orders *samprasāraṇa* which also causes the deletion of *a* of *vas*. This will produce *anu* + *us* + *vas*. Doubling, *halādiśeṣa*, and *iT* will then apply to realize *anu* + *u* + *us* + *i* + *vas* where rule 8.3.60 *śāsivasighas...* further orders *ṣ* as a replacement for *s* of *us*. This will give us *anu* + *u* + *uṣ* + *i* + *vas* = *anūṣivas* via *savarṇadīrgha*. Affix *su* can now be introduced to derive *anūṣivān* from *anūṣivas* + *sU*.

The derivation of (554) *anvavātsīt* is in many ways similar to the derivation of (20) *alāvīt* in the appendix of volume II. The *vrddhi* is accomplished in this example by 7.2.3 *vadavrajahala...* The *t* of *anvavāt* in *anvavātsīt* is replaced for *s* in view of rule 7.4.49 *saḥ syārdhadhātuke*. Rule 7.3.96 *astisico' pṛkte* introduces the augment *ī(T)* for which see the derivation of (16) *akārṣīt* again in the appendix of volume II. Note that the introduction of *iT* is blocked by rule 7.2.10 *ekāc upadeśe...*

The derivation of (555) *anvavasat* form *anu* + *aT* + *vas* + *LUN* is not very different from the many *LUN*-derivates already explained. Deriving (556) *anūvāsa* from *anu* + *u* + *v(a→ā)s* + *a* entails replacing *LIT* with *NaL* via *tiP* as in (552) *upasasāda*. The application of *samprasāraṇa* and related operations will finally produce the derivate.

The derivation of (557) *upaśuśruvān* 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) *upāśrauṣīt*, a derivate in *LUN*, is similar to that of (16) *akārṣīt* (cf. appendix of volume II). Example (559) *upaśuśrāva*, a derivate in *LIT*, offers nothing new.

The derivation of (560) *aśṛṇot* proceeds with *śru* + *LAN* which, after the *śṛ* replacement for *śru* by 3.1.74 *śruvaḥ...*, and the introduction of the *vikarāṇa Śnu*, receives *aT*. This yields  $a(T) + śṛ + Śnu + (LAN \rightarrow tiP \rightarrow t) = a + śṛ + nu + t$ . Note that the *guṇa* of *r* of *śṛ* before *Śnu* is blocked at the strength of 1.2.4 *sārvadhātukam apit*. However, the *guṇa* for the *u* of *Śnu* before *tiP* cannot be blocked. Thus, we get  $aśṛ + n(u \rightarrow o) + t$  which after the *ṇ* as a replacement for its *n* (*ṇatva*; vide the *vārttika*: *ṛvarṇāntasya ṇatvaṃ vācyam*) produces *aśṛṇot*.

### 3.2.109 *upeyivānanāśvānanānūcānaś ca*

Deriving (561) *upeyivān* from *upa* + *i* + (*LIT* → *KvasU*) with subsequent doubling will produce *upa* + *i* + *i* + *vas*. The reduplicate *i* will go through lengthening (*dīrgha*) as per rule 7.4.69 *dīrgha iṇaḥ kiti*. This rule allows a replacement in *yaN* for the *i* of *upa* + (*i* → *ī*) + *i* + *vas* = *upa* + *ī* + (*i* → *y*) + *vas* via *nīpātana* since *i* occurs before a consonant. The resultant string *upa* + *ī* + *y* + *vas* will receive *iT* as per rule 7.2.67 *vasvekāj...* This will give us *upa* + *ī* + *y* + *i(T)* + *vas* = *upa* + *ī* + *yi* + *vas*. Rule 6.1.87 *ād guṇaḥ* will finally produce  $up(a + \bar{i} \rightarrow e) + yi + vas = upeyivas$  from which one can easily derive *upeyivān* following the derivational pattern of other derivatives in *KvasU*.

Now consider the optional derivatives such as (562) *upāgāt* from *upa* + *i* + (*CLI* → *sĪC* →  $\emptyset$ ) + (*LUN* → *tiP* → *t*) = *upa* + *i* + *t*; (563) *upait* from *upa* + *i* + (*LUN* → *tiP* → *t*) = *upa* + *i* + *t*; and (564) *upeyāya* 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 *iṇo gā luṇi*. The *sĪC* is deleted by 2.4.77 *gātisthāghupā...* The string will receive *ā(T)* (6.4.72 *ād ajādīnām*) whereby we will get *upa* + *ā* + *gā* + *t* = *upāgāt* through *savarṇadīrgha*. Note that the *i* of *tiP* is deleted by 3.4.100 *itaś ca*.

The second example will also receive *āT* though its *ŚaP* will be deleted by 7.4.72 *adīprabhṛtibhyaḥ...* A single *vṛddhi* 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 *vṛddhi* replacement will then be ordered by 6.1.88 *vṛddhir eci* whereby the sequence *a + ai* of *upa* + *ai* + *t* will be replaced with *ai* to finally derive  $up(a + ai = ai) = upait$ .

The derivation of *upeyāya* entails (*LIT* → *tiP* → *NaL*) after *i* 'to go', used with the preverb *upa*, whereby we get *upa* + *i* + *a*. Rule 7.2.115 *aco' nṇiti* then orders *vṛddhi* for *i* which gives us *upa* + (*i* → *ai*) + *a* = *upa* + *ai* + *a*. Rule 6.1.78 *eco' yavāyavaḥ* then orders *āy* as a replacement for *ai* to produce: *upa* + *āy* + *a*. Rule 6.4.78 *abhyāsasyāsavarṇe* read with 1.1.53 *nic ca* will introduce *iyAN* to change the string to *upa* + *iy(AN* →  $\emptyset$ ) + *āy* + *a* = *upa* + *iy* + *āy* + *a*. The final form will be realized by the application of rule 6.1.87 *ād guṇaḥ*. Thus:  $up(a + i = e)y + \bar{a}y + a = upeyāya$ .

Yet another derivative of *KvasU* is cited here as (565) *anāśvān* parallel to *na āśvān*. The derivative contains *aś* + *KvasU* which ultimately produces

*āśvān* from *āśvas* + *sU*. Note that doubling and related operations will produce  $a(\acute{s} \rightarrow \emptyset) + a\acute{s} + vas = a + a\acute{s} + vas$ . The initial sequence  $a+a$  will go through the single *guṇa* replacement in  $a$  of 6.1.87 *ād guṇaḥ*. The result will be  $(a+a \rightarrow a)\acute{s} + vas = a\acute{s} + vas$ . Rule 7.4.70 *ata ādeḥ* will then order the lengthening of  $a$  to give us  $(a \rightarrow \bar{a})\acute{s} + vas = \bar{a}śvas$ . The introduction of augment  $i\bar{T}$  by rule 7.2.67 *vasvekaḥj...* is blocked here by our present rule via its provision of *nipātana*. Follow the derivation of *KvasU* examples to derive *anāśvān* from *anāśvas* + *sU* where the base in itself is a negative ( $na\bar{N}$ ) *tatpuruṣa* compound. Note that the  $n$  of  $na(\bar{N} \rightarrow \emptyset) + \bar{a}śvas$  is deleted by 6.3.73 *nalopo naṅaḥ*. The resultant string will then receive the augment  $nu(\bar{T} \rightarrow \emptyset)$  by rule 6.3.74 *tasmān nuḍ aci*. This will give us  $(n \rightarrow \emptyset)a + \bar{a}śvas = a + n(U\bar{T} \rightarrow \emptyset) + \bar{a}śvas = anāśvas$ , the nominal base after which *sU* will be introduced to derive *anāśvān*.

Our next example (566) *nāśīt* is again a negative *tatpuruṣa* compound where given  $na + \bar{a}śīt$  rule 6.1.101 *akāḥ savarṇe dīrghaḥ* applies to yield  $n(\bar{a} + a \rightarrow \bar{a})śīt$ . Our example *āśīt* contains the string  $\bar{a}(\bar{T}) + a\acute{s} + \bar{i}(\bar{T}) + (CLI \rightarrow sIC \rightarrow \emptyset) + (LUN \rightarrow t(i \rightarrow \emptyset(P \rightarrow \emptyset))) = a\acute{s} + t$  where augment  $\bar{i}(\bar{T} \rightarrow \emptyset)$  is introduced by 7.3.96 *astisico' prkte*. This will be followed by the deletion of  $sIC$  by rule 8.2.28 *iṭ iṭi*. The details of elements of the string are similar to other derivatives already derived. The application of a single *vṛddhi* replacement in  $\bar{a}$  by rule 6.1.90 *ātaś ca* will then produce:  $(\bar{a} + a \rightarrow \bar{a})\acute{s} + \bar{i} + t = \bar{a}śīt$ .

One can also derive (567) *nāśnāt* parallel to  $na \bar{a}śnāt$  which also entails the augment  $\bar{a}\bar{T}$  and the *vikaraṇa Śnā* as per 3.1.81 *kryādibhyaḥ śnā*. A derivative of  $LIT$  such as (568) *nāśa* can also be derived from  $a + a\acute{s} + (LIT \rightarrow (tiP \rightarrow N)a(L)) = a + a\acute{s} + a$ . This string will first go through *vṛddhi* of the *upadhā* of the verbal root:  $a + (a \rightarrow \bar{a})\acute{s} + a$  (7.2.116 *ata upadhāyāḥ*); the next *vṛddhi* will apply to the reduplicate (*abhyāsa*):  $(a \rightarrow \bar{a}) + \bar{a}\acute{s} + a = \bar{a} + \bar{a}\acute{s}a$  (7.4.70 *ata ādeḥ*). An application of *savarṇadīrgha* will produce  $(\bar{a} + \bar{a} = \bar{a})\acute{s} + a = \bar{a}\acute{s}a$ . The application of *savarṇadīrgha* is also required on the string  $na + \bar{a}\acute{s}a$  after the negative *tatpuruṣa* compound.

The derivation of (569) *anvavocat* 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 *anvavocat* via the application of 6.1.77 *iko yaṅ aci*. A  $LAN$  derivative such as (570) *anvabravīt* is derived from  $anu + a(\bar{T}) + brū + (\acute{S})a(P) + tiP$  where rule 7.3.93 *bruva iṭ* introduces  $\bar{i}(\bar{T})$ . This  $\acute{S}aP$  is deleted by 2.4.72 *adi prabhṛtibhyaḥ...* to give us  $anu + a + brū + \bar{i} + t(i \rightarrow \emptyset) = anu + a + brū + \bar{i} + t$ . An application of *guṇa* (7.3.84 *sārvadhātukārdhadhātukayoḥ*) followed by a replacement in *av* by rule 6.1.78 *eco' yavāyavaḥ* will produce:  $anu + a + br(u \rightarrow o \rightarrow av) + \bar{i} + t = anu + a + brav + \bar{i} + t$ . Rule 6.1.77 *iko yaṅ aci* will then apply on *anu* to produce:  $an(u \rightarrow v) + a + brav + \bar{i} + t = anv + a + brav + \bar{i} + t = anvabravīt$ .

Refer to the derivational history of (131) *uvāya* for deriving (571) *anūvāca* from *anu + vac + LIṬ*.

### 3.2.110 *luñ*/3.2.111 *anadyatane lañ*

Refer to the derivation of *akārṣīt* and *ahārṣīt* under the appendix of 1.1.1 *vṛddhir ādaic*. One can also refer to the *LAN*-derivate (201) *akurutām* (vol. II: 396–97) for specific details of deriving (572) *akarot* and (573) *aharat* which contain  $a(T) + kr + u + tip$  and  $aT + hr + (Śa(P) + ti(P))$  respectively. The derivation of *akarot* requires the *guṇa* of both  $r \rightarrow ar$  and  $u \rightarrow o$  to produce  $a + k(r \rightarrow ar) + (u \rightarrow o) + t = akarot$ . Our next example requires the *guṇa* of  $r$ . Thus:  $a + h(r \rightarrow ar) + a + t = aharat$ .

### 3.2.112 *abhijñāvacane lṛṭ*

The derivation of (574) *vatsyāmaḥ* proceeds from *vas + sya + mas* similarly to the underlying string of (742) *kariṣyati* (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 syārdhadhātuke* will replace the *s* of *vas* with *t* to produce  $va(s \rightarrow t) + sya + mas$ . The final *a* of *vatsya* will go through lengthening (*dīrgha*) via the application of rule 7.3.101 *ato dīrgho yañi*. Thus:  $vatsy(a \rightarrow \bar{a}) + mas = vatsyāmas$ . A subsequent application of *rutva-visarga* will finally derive  $vatsyāma(s \rightarrow r \rightarrow h) = vatsyāmaḥ$ .

### 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 lañ*. 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 *nityam nitah*.

### 3.2.114 *vibhāṣā sākāṅkṣe*

An example such as (576) *bhokṣyāmahe* derives from *bhuj + sya + mahi* where *mahi(N)* is a first personal plural *ātmanepada* replacement for *LṚṬ*. The root vowel *u* will go through the *guṇa* of its penultimate vowel (*laghūpadhagūṇa*). Rule 3.4.79 *ṭit ātmanepadānām ṭer e* will as usual produce  $bhoj + sya + mah(i \rightarrow e) = bhoj + sya + mahe$ . 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  $bho(j \rightarrow g \rightarrow k) + sya + mahe$  will then go through *ṣatva* of 8.3.59 *ādeṣapratyayayoh*. This in addition to the lengthening of the *a* of *sya* will produce  $bhok + (s \rightarrow ṣ)y(a \rightarrow \bar{a}) + mahe = bhokṣyāmahe$ .

An optional example in *LUN*, i.e. (577) *abhuñjmahi*, derives from  $a(T) + bhuj + (LUN \rightarrow mahi)$  where 3.1.78 *rudhādibhyaḥ śnam* introduces  $(Ś)na(M)$  after the *u* of *bhuj* on account of *M* as an *it* (1.1.47 *midaco' ntyāt parah*). The *a* of *na* in  $a + bhuj + na + j + mahi$  will be deleted by 6.4.111 *śnasor al lopah* to produce  $a + bhun(a \rightarrow \emptyset)j + mahi = abhunj + mahi$ . Rules 8.3.24 *naś cāpadāntasya jhali* and 8.4.58 *anusvārasya yayi parasavṛṇah* will now derive  $abhu(n \rightarrow ṃ \rightarrow ñ)j + mahi = abhuñjmahi$ .

3.2.115 *parokṣe liṭ*

Refer to the appendix of rule 1.1.58 *na padāntadvirvacana...* where I have explained the derivation of (231) *jakṣatuḥ* and (232) *jakṣuḥ*. Similar rules apply in deriving (578) *cakāra* and (579) *jahāra* from *kṛ* + *LIT* and *hṛ* + *LIT* where *LIT* will have to be replaced with *ṆaL* and *ṛ* of the root will go through *vṛddhi*. One can similarly derive (580) *vilalāpa* from *vi* + *lap* + (*LIT*→*ṆaL*) = *vi* + *la* + *lap* + *a* = *vilal(a→ā)p* + *a* = *vilalāpa* through doubling, *halādiśeṣa*, and *dīrgha*. 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* + (*LIT*→*ṆaL*) requires doubling. Additionally, the reduplicated syllable *ya* goes through *samprasāraṇa*, and the deletion of *a*, to produce: (*y*→*i*)(*a*→ $\emptyset$ ) + *yaj* + *a* = *i* + *yaj* + *a* which through *dīrgha* of the *a* of *iyaj* produces *iy(a→ā)j* + *a* = *iyāja*. Note that (583) *jaghāna* can also be similarly derived from *han* + (*LIT*→*tiP*→*ṆaL*) which after doubling and *halādiśeṣa* will produce *ha* + *han* + *a*. The *cutva* in *jh* of rule 7.4.62 *kuhoś cuḥ* 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 *ṆaL* is marked with *Ṇ* 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 *aṅparokṣe ca*

The derivation of (584) *adhyāpayati* as in *adhyāpayati sma* begins with *adhyāpi* for deriving which refer to (167) *adhyāpipat*. The introduction of *LAṬ*→*tiP* and *ŚaP* followed by *guṇa* of *i* and subsequent replacement in *ay* will produce *adhyāp(i→e→ay)* + *a* + *ti* = *adhyāpayati*. The derivation of (585) *bravīti* from *brū* + *ŚaP* + *LAṬ*→*tiP* entails the introduction of *īṬ* (7.3.93 *bruva īṭi*) whereby we get *brū* + *ī* + *ti*. Note that *ŚaP* is deleted by 2.4.72 *adi prabhṛtibhyaḥ*. For the remaining application of *guṇa* of the *ū* of *brū* and its subsequent replacement in *av* refer to the derivation of (570) *anvabravīt*.

3.2.121 *nanvor vibhāṣā*

Refer to the derivation of (16) *akārṣīt* (vol. II, 332–33) for deriving (586) *akārṣam* which differs from the former in respect of *miP* as a replacement for *LUN*. Note that rule 3.4.101 *tasthasthamipām...* will subsequently replace *miP* with *am*.

3.2.122 *puri luṅ cāsme*

Our example (586) *avātsuḥ* derives from *a(Ṭ)* + *vas* + *s(ĪC)* + (*LUN*→*jhi*) where *jhi* subsequently gets replaced with (*J*)*us* of 3.4.109 *sijabhyastavidibhyaś 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 *vadavrajahalan-tasyācaḥ*. Thus,  $a + v(a \rightarrow \bar{a})(s \rightarrow t) + s + us = avātsu(s \rightarrow r \rightarrow h) = avātsuḥ$ . Refer to the derivational history of *ījuh* (vol. II: 428–29) for deriving (587) *ūṣuḥ* from *vas* + (*LIT* → *jhi* → *Jus*) through doubling, *samprasāraṇa* and other related operations. Note that rule 8.3.60 *sāsivasighasīnām...* will replace the *s* of *ūs* in *ūs + us* with *ṣ*. The application of *rutva-visarga* will finally produce  $uṣū(s \rightarrow h) = \bar{u}ṣuḥ$ .

### 3.2.124 *lataḥ śatṛśānavāv aprathamāsamānādhikarāṇe*

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 *ŚatR*. Rule 6.1.97 *ato guṇe* will finally produce the nominal stem  $pac + (a+a \rightarrow a)t = pacat$ . The final form *pacantam* will be derived by the introduction of *nUM* by rule 7.1.70 *ugīdacāṃ sarvanāmasthāne*. Thus:  $paca(n(UM \rightarrow \emptyset) + t + am = pacantam$ . The nominative/vocative singular form of *pacat* will be derived from *pacat* + *sU* where *nUM* will be introduced to derive *pacant* + *sU*. Rule 6.1.68 *halnyābbhyo...* will as usual delete *sU*. The final *t* of *pacant* will then be deleted to produce  $pacan(t \rightarrow \emptyset) = (590) pacan$  by 8.2.23 *saṃyogāntasya loḥaḥ*. 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 *ami pūrvah* will then realize  $(a+a \rightarrow a)m = (591) pacamānam$ . 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 *ṭānasīnasāminātsyāḥ*. Rule 6.1.87 *ād guṇah* then applies on *pacamāna* + *ina* to produce  $pacamān(a+i \rightarrow e)na = pacamānena$ . Another derivate with *āna* is (593) *vidyamānaḥ* derived from (*vid* + (*Ś*)*ya*(*N*) + *m*(*UK* → *∅*) + (*LAT* → *āna* = *vidyamāna*)) + *sU*)) = *vidyamānaḥ*. One can similarly derive (594) *adhīyānaḥ* from *adhīyāna* + *sU* where the nominal stem *adhīyāna* entails a replacement in *āna* for *LAT* after verbal root *i* used with the preverb *adhi*. Thus,  $adhi + i + (LAT \rightarrow \bar{a}na) = adhī + \bar{a}na$  through *savarṇadīrgha*. Rule 6.4.77 *aci śnudhātubhruvām...* will then introduce *iyAÑ* to produce  $adhī + iy(AÑ) + \bar{a}na$ . An application again of *savarṇadīrgha* will realize *adhīyāna* which after the introduction of *sU* will derive *adhīyānaḥ*.

The derivation of (595) *juhvat* entails the deletion of *ŚaP* of *hu + hu + ŚaP + (LAT* → *ŚatR*) where *ŚaP* gets subsequently deleted by 2.4.75 *juhotyādibhyaḥ śluḥ*. Refer to the derivation of (250) *juhōti* (vol. II: 420) for how the *h* of the reduplicate syllable is replaced with *j* in  $(h \rightarrow j)u + hu + at = ju + hu + at$ . The *u* of *hu* will go through *yaN* of 6.4.87 *huśnuvoḥ sārvaadhātuke* to finally realize  $ju + h(u \rightarrow v) + at = juhvat$ .

The derivation of (596) *śayānāḥ* contains the string  $śī(\bar{N} \rightarrow \emptyset) +$

( $\acute{S}aP \rightarrow \emptyset$ ) + ( $LAT \rightarrow \acute{S}ānaC$ ) =  $\acute{s}ī + āna$  where  $\acute{S}aP$  gets deleted by 2.4.72 *adiprabhṛtibhyaḥ*.... The  $\acute{i}$  of the verbal root goes through *guṇa* and the corresponding replacement in *ay* by rules 7.4.21 *śīnaḥ sārvaadhātuke*... and 6.1.78 *eco' yavāyāvah*. Thus we get  $\acute{s}(\acute{i} \rightarrow e \rightarrow ay)$  +  $\acute{ā}na = \acute{s}ayāna$ , a nominal stem after which the nominative plural ending *Jas* can be introduced to derive *śayānāḥ*. Rule 6.1.102 *prathamayoḥ pūrvasavarṇaḥ* will order a single long vowel replacement for both the final *a* of *śayāna* and the initial *a* of *as* to produce  $\acute{s}ayān(a+a \rightarrow \acute{ā})s = \acute{s}ayānās$ . This last will produce *śayānāḥ* through *rutva-visarga* of the final *s*.

Note that (597) *tiṣṭhantaḥ* 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 *rutva-visarga* should produce *tiṣṭh* + *at* + *as* = *tiṣṭhant* + *as* = *tiṣṭhanta(s → r → ḥ)* = *tiṣṭhantaḥ*.

### 3.2.127 tau sat

The derivation of (598) *kariṣyan* proceeds with *kṛ* + *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  $\acute{S}atR$  replacement for *LRT*, rule 6.1.97 *ato guṇe* will then apply to produce  $kariṣy(a+a \rightarrow a)t = kariṣyat$ . 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 *kṛ* + ( $LAT \rightarrow (\acute{S})at(R)$ ) = *kṛ* + *u* + *at* entails *guṇa* by 7.3.84 *sārvaadhātukārdhadhātukayoḥ* before *u* of 3.1.79 *tanādi-kṛñbhyaḥ*.... The *a* of  $k(r \rightarrow ar) + u + at = kar + a + at$  will go through a replacement in *u* (*utva*) by rule 6.4.110 *ata ut sārvaadhātuke*. The resultant string, i.e.,  $k(a \rightarrow u)r + u + at = kur + u + at$ , will produce *kur* + ( $u \rightarrow v$ )*at* = *kurvat* through the application of rule 6.1.77 *iko yaṅ aci*. Our final derivative *kurvan* should then derive from *kurvat* + *sU*.

Derive (600) *kurvāṇaḥ* from *kṛ* + *u* + ( $\acute{S}$ ) +  $\acute{ā}na$  (*C*) where the operations similar to the preceding example will produce *kurvāna*. The *n* of the base will go through a replacement in  $\acute{n}$  and the *s* of *sU* will go through *rutva-visarga*. Deriving (601) *kariṣyamāṇaḥ* from *kariṣya* +  $\acute{ā}na$  will entail the introduction of *mUK*, *ṇatva*, and *rutva-visarga* of the *s* of *sU*.

### 3.2.129 tācchīlyavayovacanaśaktiṣu cānaś

The root after which affix (*C*) $\acute{ā}na(\acute{S})$  is introduced as a replacement for *LAT* to derive (602) *muṇḍayamānāḥ* is *muṇḍi*. The *ṆiC* will of course be introduced by 3.1.21 *muṇḍamiśra*.... We will get  $muṇḍ(i \rightarrow e \rightarrow ay) + (\acute{S})a(P) + (LAT \rightarrow \acute{ā}na) = muṇḍay + a + \acute{ā}na$  via the familiar process of *guṇa* and its replacement in *ay*. Rule 7.2.82 *āne muk* will then introduce *m(UK)* to realize  $muṇḍaya + m + \acute{ā}na = muṇḍayamāna$ . An introduction of the nominative plural *Jas* followed by the single long replacement (*pūrvasavarṇadīrgha*) of rule 6.1.102 *prathamayoḥ pūrvasavarṇaḥ* will produce

*muṇḍayamāna* + (*J*→ $\emptyset$ )*as* = *muṇḍayamān(a+a→ā)s* = *muṇḍayamānās*. The final derivate will just require an application of *rutva-visarga*.

One can similarly derive (603) *bhūṣayamānāḥ* from *bhūṣ* + *NiC* = *bhūṣi* + *LAT* = *bhūṣi* + *a* + *āna*. Note, however, that given *bhūṣayamānāḥ* rule 8.4.2 *aṭkupuānnum...* will change the *n* to *ṇ*. Yet another example such as (604) *pariyasyamānāḥ* 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) *vahamānāḥ* and (606) *pacamānāḥ*. The derivation of (607) *nighnānāḥ* from *ni* + *han* + *ŚaP* + (*LAT* → *CānaŚ*) entails two deletions: the deletion of *ŚaP* by 2.4.72 *adiprabhṛtibhyo...*; followed by the deletion of the penultimate (*upadhā*) *a* of *nihan* 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 *Ñ* (1.2.4 *sārvadhātukam apit*). The *h* of *nihn* + *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 *nighnānāḥ* will be derived from *nighnāna* + (*J*)*as* similar to the forms already discussed.

### 3.2.130 *indhāryoh śatprakṛcchriṇi*

The derivation of (608) *adhīyan* proceeds from *adhi* + *i* + *ŚaP* + (*LAT*→*SatR*) where, subsequent to the deletion of *ŚaP* by 2.4.72 *adiprabhṛtibhyaḥ...*, *savarnadīrgha* of *i* + *i* followed by the introduction of *nUM* will produce *adh(i+i→ī) + a + n + t* = *adhīyant*. The introduction and deletion of *sU* followed by the deletion of the final *t* of the conjunct will realize *adhīyan*. The derivation of (609) *dhārayan* requires the use of *dhāri* a derivate of *dhr* terminating in affix *NiC*. Operations such as *guṇa* and subsequent replacement in *ay* will produce *dhār(i→e→ay) + a + at* where *a* is technically the *vikaraṇa Śa* of rule 3.1.77 *tudādibhyaḥ...*

### 3.2.131 *suṅo yajñasamyoge*

The derivation of (610) *sunvantaḥ* proceeds with *ṣuÑ* + *Śnu* + (*LAT*→*at*) where, given *ṣu* + *nu* + *at*, the root-initial *ṣ* gets replaced with *s* (6.1.64 *dhātvādeḥ...*). Rule 6.4.87 *huśnuvoḥ sārvadhātuke* will then apply to bring: *su* + *n(u→v) + at*. The introduction of *nUM* and *Jas* to subsequently derive *sunvantaḥ* through *rutva-visarga* does not offer anything new.

### 3.2.132 *tṛn*

Note that *karttā* has already been derived as derivation (177) under the appendix of volume II (p. 388). The next example (611) *vaditā* derives from *vad* + *i(T)* + *tṛ* for which see (7) *taritā* in the appendix of volume II under rule 1.1.2 *adeṅ guṇaḥ*. The derivation of (612) *muṇḍayitāraḥ* begins with *muṇḍi* + *i* + *tṛ* + (*J*)*as* where the first *i* is technically affix *NiC* introduced by 3.1.21 *muṇḍa...* Note that the *a* of *muṇḍa* before the causal *NiC* will be deleted by a *vārttika* proposal under 6.5.155 *teḥ*. The *guṇa* of *i* (7.3.84



*sārvadhātukārdha...*; 3.4.114 *ārdhadhātukaṃ...*) and subsequent replacement of *e* in *ay* will produce *munḍ(i → e → ay)i + tr = munḍayitr*. The final form will be derived from *munḍayitr + (J)as* through the *vṛddhi* of *r* and *rutva-visarga* as: *munḍayit(r → ār)a(s → ḥ)) = munḍayitārah*)).

3.2.136 *alamkrñnirākṛññprajanotpacotpatonmada...iṣṇuc*

The derivation of (613) *alamkariṣṇuḥ* contains (*alamkr + iṣṇuC*) + *sU* where *r* of *alamkr* goes through *guṇa*. The *s* of *sU* of course goes through *rutva-visarga*. Examples such as (614) *nirākariṣṇuḥ* similarly derive from *nir + āñ + kr + iṣṇuC*) + *sU*). Other examples such as (615) *sahiṣṇuḥ* and (616) *cariṣṇuḥ*, etc., may not meet the necessary condition for *guṇa*.

3.2.137 *ṇeś chandasi*

The derivation of (617) *dhārayiṣṇavaḥ* and (618) *pārayiṣṇavaḥ* contains (*dhāri + iṣṇuC*) + (*Jas*) and (*pāri + iṣṇuC*) + (*Jas*) 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 *ayāmantāl...* Thus we get *dhār(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 *dhārayiṣṇ(u → o → av) + as = dhārayiṣṇavas*. The application of *rutva-visarga* will provide *dhārayiṣṇavaḥ*. The same applies in case of *pārayiṣṇavaḥ*.

3.2.141 *śamityaṣṭābhyo ghinun*

Our example (619) *śamī* contains *śam + in(UN → ∅)* where the *vṛddhi* of 7.2.116 *ata upadhāyāḥ* is blocked by rule 7.3.34 *nodāttopadeśasya....* Rule 6.4.13 *sau ca* then orders the long replacement for the short penultimate *i* to produce *śamīn*. The *sU* after the base will be deleted by 6.1.68 *halnyābbhyo....* The *n* also goes through deletion though by 8.2.7 *nalopaḥ prātipadikāntasya*. Similar derivational history is shared by (620) *tamī*, (621) *damī* and (622) *bhramī*, etc. The derivation of *unmādī* additionally requires the change of the *d* of *ud* into *n* by 8.4.45 *yaro' nunāsike....*

3.2.142 *samprcānurudhānyamānyasapariṣamsrj...*

The derivation of examples (623) *samparkī*, (624) *rāgī* and (625) *tyāgī*, etc., entails *kutva* of 7.3.52 *cajoḥ ku ghiṇyatoḥ*. The nasal of *rañj* 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 *aco' ṇṇiti*. Example (623) *samparkī* will similarly have the *guṇa* of the penultimate vowel (*laghūpadhaguṇa*).

3.2.146 *nindahimsakliśakhāda...vuñ*

Note that rule 7.1.1 *yuvor anākau* replaces the *vu* with *aka*. Thus we get *nindaka + sU = (627) nindakaḥ*, (628) *himsakaḥ*, and (629) *khādakaḥ*, etc. Verbal roots *ñidI* and *hiñI* get the forms *nind* and *hiñs* through the *nUM* of 7.1.58 *idito num dhātoḥ*. Roots such as *vad* and (*ṇ → n*)*aś* will receive *vuñ*

while ending in *NiC*. This *NiC* would subsequently be deleted by 6.4.51 *ner aniṭi*. The deletion of the final *a* of *asūya* in (630) *asūyakaḥ* is accomplished by 6.4.48 *ato lopah*.

### 3.2.148 *calanaśabdārthād akarmakād yuc*

Note that rule 7.1.1 *yuvor anākau* will replace affix *yu(C)* with *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 *eco'yavāyāvaḥ*. The final derivate (631) *ravaṇaḥ* will derive from *ravana + sU* where *n* will be replaced with *ṇ* and *s* will go through *rutva-visarga*. The *n→ṇ* change will take place in view of 8.4.1 *raśābhyām no ṇah...* Additional examples such as (632) *calanaḥ*, (633) *copanaḥ* and (634) *śabdanaḥ* can be similarly derived through *guṇa* (in (633), and *rutva-visarga*.

### 3.2.150 *jucāṅkramyadandramyasrḡrdhijvalaśucalaśapatapadaḥ*

The derivation of (635) *javanaḥ* from *ju + yu(C)* follows the pattern of (631) *ravaṇaḥ*. Refer to the derivation of verbal roots (223) *caṅkramya* and (224) *dandramya* after which *yu(C)* will be introduced to derive (636) *caṅkramaṇaḥ* and (637) *dandramaṇaḥ*. The root-final *ya* is deleted by 6.4.49 *yasya halaḥ*. Changes such as (*yu→ana*), *n→ṇ* (*ṇatva*), and *rutva-visarga* are not hard to accomplish.

### 3.2.152 *na yah/3.2.153 sūdādīpadīkṣaś ca*

The derivational history of examples (638) *knūyitā*, (639) *kṣmāyitā*, (640) *sūditā*, and (641) *dīpitā* follows the pattern of *trN* derivatives 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 *laśapatapadasthābhūvr̥ṣahana...ukañ*

Examples such as (642) *apalāśukam*, (643) *prapātukāḥ*, (644) *kāmukāḥ*, and (645) *āgāmukāḥ*, and (646) *upasthāyukāḥ*, etc., all entail *vṛddhi* before *ukañ* conditioned by *ñ*. Our last example requires the introduction of *yUK* by rule 7.3.33 *āto yuk ciṅkr̥toḥ*.

### 3.2.155 *jalpabhikṣakuṭṭalunṭavṛṇaḥ śākan*

The derivation of (647) *jalpākaḥ*, etc., from (*jalp + (Ṣ)āka(N) + sU*)), etc., is straightforward. However, deriving (648) *varākaḥ* requires *guṇa* of the penultimate *ṛ*. Note that the *Ṣ* as an *it* in the affix conditions the introduction of feminine affix *ñiṢ* (4.1.41 *ṣid gaurādibhyaś ca*) in deriving examples such as (649) *varākī*.

### 3.2.156 *prajor inih*

The derivation of (650) *prajavī* 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→ī)n*. Refer to (619) *śamī* for details relative to the deletion of *n* and *sU*.

3.2.157 *jīdrkṣivīśrīṇvamāvyathābhya...*

The derivation of examples (651) *jayī* from *ji* + *inI*, (652) *darī* from *dr* + *inI*, (653) *atyayī* from *ati* + *i* + *inI*, (654) *paribhavī* from *pari* + *bhū* + *inI* and (655) *prasavī* from *pra* + *ṣū* + *inI* entails *guṇa* and corresponding replacement in *ay* or *av*. The last example also requires *s* as a replacement for the root-initial *ṣ* as per 6.1.64 *dhātvādeḥ ṣaḥ saḥ*.

3.2.158 *spr̥higr̥hipatidayinidrātandrāśraddhābhya āluc*

The first three roots—*spr̥ha*, *gr̥ha* and *pata* are enumerated as *curādi* group of roots terminating in *a*. Consequently, their forms with affix *NiC* will be: *spr̥ha* + *i*, *gr̥ha* + *i* and *pata* + *i*. This root-final *a* is deleted by 6.4.48 *ato lopah* thereby yielding *spr̥hi*, *gr̥hi* and *pati* after which affix *āluC* is to be introduced. The first two strings may have rule 7.3.86 *pugantalaghūpadhasya ca* apply to cause *guṇa* of their penultimate *ṛ*. 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 *sthānivadbhāva* 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 *ayāmanta...* will then order *ay* as a replacement for the root-final *i* thereby yielding *spr̥h(i→ay)* + *ālu* = *spr̥hayālu*. The introduction of *sU* followed by *rutva-visarga* will derive the final form (656) *spr̥hayāluḥ*. Similar rules apply in deriving (657) *gr̥hayāluḥ* and (658) *patayāluḥ*.

3.2.159 *dādheṭṣisādasado ruḥ/2.3.160 sṛghasyadaḥ...*

Deriving (659) *dāruḥ* from (*dā* + *ru*) + *sU*; (660) *dhāruḥ* from (*dhe(T)* + *ru*) + *sU*; (661) *seruḥ* from (*si* + *ru*) + *sU*; (662) *śadruḥ* from (*śad* + *ru*) + *sU*; and (663) *sadruḥ* from *sad* + *ru* + *sU* through *guṇa* (in (661)) and *rutva-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 upadeṣe...*

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 *kniti ca*).

3.2.161 *bhañjabhāsamido 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 *iṅnaśjisartibhyaḥ kvarap/3.2.164 gatvaraś ca*

Note that *guṇa* will be as usual blocked because of 1.2.5 *kniti 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) *itvarī* would require the introduction of the feminine affix *Ñiṣ* of rule 4.1.15 *ṭiddhānañ...* Similar rules will apply in deriving (669) *jitvarah* (670) *jitvarī*; (671) *sṛtvarah* (672) *sṛtvarī*. Note that (673) *naśvarah* (674) *naśvarī* do not qualify for *tUK*. The *iT* in these examples is blocked by rule 7.2.8 *neḍ vaśikṛti*.

Note that rule 3.2.164 itself provides for the deletion of the *am* of *gam* via (*nipātana*) *tṭ* to facilitate the derivation of (674) *gatvarah* and (675) *gatvarī*.

3.2.166 *yajajapadaśāṃ yanah*

Follow the derivation pattern of (218) *sāsadyate* under rule 3.1.24 *lupasadacarajapa...* to derive *yāyajya*. Similar derivations under that rule are to be followed to derive *jañjapya* and *dandaśya*. Rule 6.4.49 *yasya halaḥ* will subsequently delete the *ya* of *ya(N)* to produce *yāyaj(ya→∅) + ūka = yajajūka*. Similar deletion of *ya* also occurs in other examples. Deriving (676) *yāyajūkah*, (677) *jañjapūkah*, and (678) *dandaśūkah* with the introduction of *sU* and *rutva-visarga* is easy.

3.2.168 *sanāśamsabhikṣa uḥ*/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→∅) + u*) + *sU* = (679) *cikīrṣuh*. The root-final *a* will be deleted by rule 6.4.48 *ato lopah*. Similar rules apply in deriving (680) *jihīrṣuh*. Example (681) *āśamsuh* derives from (*aśas(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) *bhikṣuh* from (*bhikṣ + u*) + *sU*) is straightforward.

Our next examples, i.e. (683) *binduh* and (684) *icchuh*, entail the introduction of *nUM* to *vid*; and the *ch* as a replacement for the *ṣ* of *iṣ* both via *nipātana*. Rule 6.1.73 *che ca* introduces *t(UK→∅)* which through the application of 8.4.40 *stoś cunā ścuḥ* produces *i(ṣ→ch) + u = i(t)ch + u = i(t→c)ch + u = icchu*.

3.2.171 *ādṛgamahanaḥjanah kikināu liṭ ca*

The derivation of (685) *papiḥ* proceeds with *pā + Ki(N→∅)* where rule 6.4.64 *āto lopa iṭi ca* deletes the final *ā* of the root. Doubling by 6.1.8 *liṭi dhātor...* in view of rule 1.1.58 *dvirvacane' ci* via treating affixes *Ki* or *KiN* as if they were *LIT* produces *pā + p + i*. Rule 7.4.59 *hrasvaḥ* read with 6.1.4 *pūrvō' bhyāsaḥ* 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 *papiḥ*. Similar rules will apply in deriving (686) *dadiḥ* from *dā*.

The derivation of (687) *taturih* proceeds with *tṛ + Ki* where the root-final *ṛ* is replaced with *u* in view of 7.1.103 *bahulaṃ chandasi* read with 1.1.51 *ur an raparah*. This will give *tṛ→tur + i*. Doubling, and the application of 7.4.66 *ur at* read again with 1.1.51 will yield *t(ṛ→ar) + tur + i = tar + tur + i*. An application of 7.4.60 *halādi śeṣaḥ* will reduce the string to *ta(r→∅) + tur + i = taturi* which, through *sU* and *rutva-visarga* will produce *taturih*. Similar rules will apply in deriving (688) *jaguriḥ* 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 duplicate *ga* will be replaced with *j* of rule 7.4.62 *kuhoś cuḥ*. The penultimate *a* of *ja + gam* will then be deleted by 6.4.98 *gamahanajana...* to

produce  $ja + g(a \rightarrow \emptyset)m + i = jagmi$ . Similar rules apply in deriving (689) *jagñih* and (690) *jajñih* from *han + Ki* and *jñā + Ki*.

### 3.2.172 *svapitr̥ṣor najin*

The derivation of (691) *svapnak* proceeds with *svap + naj(IN → ∅)* where the application of *kutva* (8.2.30 *coḥ kuḥ*) and *cartva* (8.4.56 *vāvasāne*) derives the nominal stem as *svapna(j → g → k) = svapnak*. The *sU* of *svapnak + s(U)* will then be deleted by 6.1.68 *halṽānbhyo...* Deriving (692) *tr̥ṣnak* from (*tr̥ṣ + naj*) + *sU* entails replacing the *n* of the affix with *ṇ* by 8.4.1 *raṣābhyām ṇo naḥ...*

### 3.2.177 *bhrājabhāsadhurvidyutorji...kviṣ*

The derivation of (702) *pūḥ* from (*pṛ + KvIP*) + *sU* entails a re-derived by introducing affix *KvIP* after verbal root *bhrāj(R → ∅)* used with the preverb *vi*. Rule 6.1.68 *halṽyābbhyo...* read with 6.1.67 *ver apṛktasya* subsequently deletes the affix. The *sU* of *vibhrāj + sU* will also be deleted leaving *vibhrāj*. The terminal *j* of the string will be replaced with *ṣ* through the application of rule 8.2.36 *vraścabhrasjarj...* read with 1.1.52 *alo'ntyasya*. The *ṣ* is further replaced with *ḍ* to derive *vibhrāḍ* through the application of rule 8.2.39 *jhalām jaśo'nte*. An optional application of 8.4.56 *vāvasāne* can then be availed to replace the final *ḍ* with *ṭ* to derive *vibhrāṭ*.

The nominative dual and plural forms (694) *vibhrājau* and (695) *vibhrājāḥ* derive by introducing *au* and (*J*)*as*. Example (696) *bhāḥ* derives via *rutva-visarga* of the final *s* of *bhās* after the deletion of *KvIP* and *sU*. The dual and plural forms (696) *bhāsau* and (697) *bhāsaḥ* are easy to derive. Deriving (698) *vidyut* from (*vidyut + KvIP*) + *sU*) is easy. The derivation of (699) *ūrḥ* entails the *kutva* and *jaśtva* of the final *j* of *ūr(j → g → k)* as per rules 8.2.30 *coḥ kuḥ* and 8.4.56 *vāvasāne*. The corresponding dual and plural forms (700) *ūrjau* and (701) *ūrjāḥ* are easy to derive.

The derivation of (702) *pūḥ* from (*pṛ + KvIP*) + *sU* entails a replacement in *u* (*utva*) followed by its lengthening as per rules 7.1.102 *ud oṣṭhyapūrvasya* and 8.2.76 *rvor upadhāyā dīrgha...* Note that *utva* will be followed by *r* (*rapara*; 1.1.51 *ur aṇ raparah*). Thus,  $p(r \rightarrow ur + KvIP = p(u \rightarrow \bar{u})r + (KvIP \rightarrow \emptyset) = p\bar{u}r + (sU \rightarrow \emptyset) = p\bar{u}(r \rightarrow ḥ) = p\bar{u}ḥ$ .

### 3.2.178 *anyebhyo' pi dṛśyate*

Deriving (703) *yuk* from (*yuj + KvIP*) + *sU* additionally requires the  $j \rightarrow g \rightarrow k$  replacement as explained in connection with (699) *ūrḥ*. Deriving (704) *chit* and (705) *bhit* from (*chid + KvIP*) + *sU* just requires the change of the root-final *d* to *t* by 8.4.56 *vāvasāne*.

### 3.2.180 *viprasambhyo ḍv asaṃjñāyām*

Deriving (706) *vibhuḥ* from (*vibhū + (D → ∅)u*) + *sU* via *rutva-visarga* first requires the deletion of the root-final *ū* by *dity abhasyāpi...*, a proposal under rule 6.4.143 *teḥ* in the *Mahābhāṣya*. Similar rules apply in deriving (707) *prabhuḥ* and (708) *sambhuḥ*.

3.2.181 *dhaḥ karmaṇi śtran*

Note that the  $\$$  of affix  $\$traN$  is given as an *it* to facilitate the introduction of the feminine affix  $\dot{N}\dot{i}\$$  by rule 4.1.41 *ṣid gaurādibhyaś ca*. One can derive (709) *dhātrī* from  $(dhā + tra) + (\dot{N})\dot{i}(\$)$  +  $sU$  where the  $\dot{t}$  of the affix will change to  $t$  because of the deletion of its  $\$$  as an *it*. Note that the  $\$$  serves as a condition for the change of  $t$  to  $\dot{t}$  in  $\$traN$ . The affixal form will always be realized as *tra* after the deletion of  $\$$ . The final  $a$  of *dhātra* before  $\dot{i}$  of  $\dot{N}\dot{i}\$$  will be deleted to derive *dhātrī* by rule 6.4.148 *yasyeti ca*. A similar form will also result if one used verbal root  $dhe\dot{T}$  where 6.1.45 *ādeca upadeśe...* will replace the final  $e$  of the root with  $\dot{a}$ .

3.2.182 *dāmnīśasayuyujastutudasi...*

The derivation of (710) *medhrah* proceeds with  $mih + tra$  where *laghūpadhaguna* (7.3.86 *pugantalaghūpadhasya ca*) and the  $\dot{d}h$  replacement for  $h$  (8.2.31 *ho dhaḥ*) follows to realize  $m(\dot{i} \rightarrow e)(h \rightarrow \dot{d}h) + tra = medh + tra$ . Rule 8.2.40 *jhaśastathordho' dhaḥ* then replaces the  $t$  of *tra* with  $\dot{d}h$ . We thus get  $medh + (t \rightarrow \dot{d}h)ra = medh + dhra$ . The  $\dot{d}h$  is then replaced with  $\dot{d}h$  in view of 8.4.41 *ṣṭunā ṣṭuh*. The  $\dot{d}h$  of *medh* in  $medh + (dh \rightarrow \dot{d}h)ra = medh + \dot{d}hra$  is then deleted by 8.3.13 *dhō dhe lopah*. This gives us  $me (dh \rightarrow \emptyset) + \dot{d}hra = medhra$ . One can similarly derive (711) *yoktram* through *guna* and *kutva*. Note that rule 7.1.24 *ato' m* will replace the  $sU$  with *am* after *yoktra*. Rule 6.1.107 *ami pūrvah* will then apply on *yoktra + am* to realize  $yoktr(a+a \rightarrow a)m = yoktram$ . Deriving (712) *dātram*, (713) *stotram*, (714) *totram*, (715) *netram* and (716) *śastram* requires similar rule applications. Note that (717) *damṣṭrā* derives with  $\dot{T}\dot{a}P$  instead of  $\dot{N}\dot{i}S$ .

Deriving (718) *naddhram* from *nah + tra* requires the application of rules 8.2.34 *na ho dhaḥ* to produce  $na(h \rightarrow \dot{d}h) + tra = nadh + tra$ . Rule 8.2.40 *jhaśastathordho' dhaḥ* will then apply to realize  $nadh + (t \rightarrow \dot{d}h)ra = nadh + dhra$ . The final form of the nominal stem *naddhra* will be derived after the application of rule 8.4.53 *jhalām jaś jhaśi*. Thus,  $na(dh \rightarrow d) + dhram = naddhram$ . Note that the introduction of  $i\dot{T}$  in case of roots such as *śas*, etc., is blocked by 7.2.9 *titutratathasi...*

3.2.188 *matibuddhipūjārthebhyaś ca*

Note that (719) *mataḥ* of *rājñām mataḥ* is derived from *mata + sU* where *mata* contains *man + (K)ta*. Rule 7.2.10 *ekāca upadeśe...* will block the introduction of  $i\dot{T}$  subsequent to which the  $n$  will be deleted by 6.4.37 *anudāttopadeśa...* 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 *ktasya ca vartamāne*. Follow applications similar to  $nadh + tra$  of (718) *naddhram* to derive (720) *buddhaḥ* from  $(budh + (K)ta) + sU$ ). The derivation of (721) *pūjitaḥ* would require the introduction of  $i(\dot{T})$  by 7.2.35 *ārdhadhātukasyed...* Similar rules apply in deriving (722) *arcitaḥ*. Note, however, that these

roots will have the forms *pūji* and *arci* if they are accepted as *curādi*. Their final *i* will then have to be deleted by rule 6.4.52 *niṣṭhāyām seti*.

### 3.3.5 *vibhāṣā kadākarhyoḥ*

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 *ṭit ātmanepadānām ṭer e* then replaces the *a* of *ta* with *e*. Rule 3.1.78 *rudhādibhyaḥ śnam* then introduces *śnam* to produce *bhu* + (*Ś*)*na*(*M*) + *j* + *t(a* → *e*) = *bhu* + *n* + *j* + *te*. The *j* of *bhuj* becomes *k* via *g* through the application of rules 8.2.30 *coḥ kuḥ* and 8.4.54 *khari ca*. This will give *bhu* + *n* + (*j* → *g* → *k*) + *te* = *bhu* + *n* + *k* + *te*. The *n* will then be replaced with *ṇ* via *anusvāra* as per rules 8.3.24 *naś cāpadāntasya jhali* and 8.4.54 *anusvārasya yayi parasavarṇaḥ*. Thus, *bhu*(*n* → *m* → *ṇ*) + *k* + *te* = *bhunkte* (cf. *prayunkte* of 1.3.64 for missing details).

The derivation of (724) *bhoksyate* 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 *guṇa* of 7.3.84 *sārvadhātukārdhdhātukayoḥ*. The resultant string, i.e., *bh(u* → *o*)*j* + *te*, will receive *sya* of 3.1.33 *stayāsī*.... The result will be *bhoj* + *sya* + *te*. The *j* → *g* → *k* will also be applicable here. The *s* of *sya* will go through a replacement in *ṣ* (*ṣatva*) by rule 8.3.59 *ādeśapratyayayoḥ*. Thus, *bho*(*j* → *g* → *k*) + *sya* + *te* = *bhok* + (*s* → *ṣ*)*ya* + *te* = *bhoksyate*.

The derivation of (725) *bhoktā* begins with *bhuj* + (*LUT* → *ti*(*P*)) = *bhuj* + *ti* where 3.1.33 *syatāsī*... introduces *tās* to change the string to *bhuj* + *tās* + *ti*. The *ti* will subsequently be replaced with *Ḍā* of rule 2.4.85 *luṭaḥ prathamasya*.... This will yield *bhuj* + *tās* + (*Ḍ* → *Ḍ*)*ā* = *bhuj* + *tās* + *ā*. A *vārttika* ad rule 6.4.143 *ṭeḥ* (cf. *ḍity abhsyāpy anubandhakaraṇa*...) will then delete the *ās* (cf. 1.1.64 *aco' ntyādi ṭi*) of *tās* whereby we get *bhuj* + *t(ās* → *Ḍ*) + *ā* = *bhuj* + *tā*. An application of *guṇa* on *u* followed by the *j* → *g* → *k* similarly to the preceding examples will produce *bh(u* → *o*)(*j* → *g* → *k*) + *tā* = *bhoktā*.

### 3.3.6 *kimvṛtte lipsāyām*

Examples (726) *bhojayanti* derives from *bhuj* + *ṆiC* + *ŚaP* + *jhi* where *jh* of *jhi* gets replaced with *ant* of 7.1.3 *jho' ntaḥ*. The application of *guṇa* on the *u* of *bhuj* under the condition of the *ārdhadhātuka* affix *ṆiC* will produce *bh(u* → *o*)*ji* + *a* + *anti* = *bhoji* + *a* + *anti*. The *i* will then be replaced with its *guṇa* counterpart *e* under the condition of the *sārvadhātuka* affix *ŚaP*. The resultant *e* of *bhoj(i* → *e*) + *a* + *anti* = *bhoje* + *a* + *anti* will go through its replacement in *ay* thereby to produce *bhoj(e* → *ay*) + *a* + *anti*. Rule 6.1.97 *ato guṇe* will then replace the sequence of *a* + *a* with a single *a* to produce *bhojay* + (*a* + *a* → *a*) *nti* = *bhojayanti*.

The derivation of (727) *bhojayitāraḥ* proceeds with *bhuj* + *ṆiC* = *bhoji* + *LUT* → *jhi* = *bhoji* + *tās* + *jhi* = *bhoji* + *tās* + *a* + *jhi*. The *jhi* of our string will be replaced with *ras* of 2.4.85 *luṭaḥ prathamasya*.... The

introduction of  $i(\bar{T})$  by 7.2.35 *ārdhadhātukasyed...* followed by *guṇa* of  $i$  with subsequent *ay* will produce  $bhoj(i \rightarrow e \rightarrow ay) + i + tās + ras = bhojayitās + ras$ . The  $s$  of  $tās$  will then be deleted by rule 7.4.51 *ri ca*. The application of *rutva-visarga* on the resultant string  $bhojayitā(s \rightarrow \emptyset) + ras$  will produce  $bhojayitāra(s \rightarrow r \rightarrow ḥ) = bhojayitāraḥ$ .

The derivation of (728) *dadāti* begins with  $dā + (LAT \rightarrow ti(P))$  which after the introduction, and deletion via *ŚLU* (2.4.75 *juhotyādibhyaḥ...*), of *ŚaP*, requires doubling as well as the shortening of the reduplicate. Thus,  $dā + ti = dā + (ŚaP \rightarrow \emptyset) + ti = dā + dā + ti = d(\bar{a} \rightarrow a) + dā + ti = dadāti$ . Note that the shortening of the reduplicate ( $dā$ ) is accomplished by rule 7.4.59 *hrasvaḥ*. The derivation of (729) *dātā* from  $dā + LUT$  follows relevant rules similar to (725) *bhoktā*. Deriving (730) *dāsyati* from  $dā + sya + ti$  offers nothing new.

### 3.3.8 *loḍarthalakṣaṇe ca*

The derivation of (731) *āgacchati* contains  $\bar{a}gam + (\bar{S})a(P) + (LAT \rightarrow ti(P)) = \bar{a}gam + a + ti$  where 7.3.77 *iṣugamiyamām chaḥ* introduces *ch* as a replacement for the final  $m$  of  $\bar{a}gam$ . Rule 6.1.73 *che ca* then introduces the augment *tUK* to produce  $\bar{a}ga(m \rightarrow ch) + a + ti = \bar{a}ga(t(UK \rightarrow \emptyset)ch) + a + ti = \bar{a}gatch + a + ti$ . Rule 8.4.40 *stoḥ ścunā ścuḥ* then orders  $c$  as a replacement for  $t$  to produce  $\bar{a}ga(t \rightarrow c)ch + a + ti = \bar{a}gacchati$ . The derivation of (732) *āgamiṣyati* contains  $\bar{a}gam + i\bar{T} + sya + ti$  where  $ti$  is a replacement for  $LRT$  and  $i\bar{T}$  has been introduced by 7.2.58 *gamer iṭ parasmaipadeṣu*. The  $s$  of  $sya$  in  $\bar{a}gam + i + sya + ti$  will subsequently be replaced with  $\bar{s}$  to realize *āgamiṣyati* by 8.3.59 *ādeśapratyayayoḥ*. Our last example (733) *gantā* derives similarly to (725) *bhoktā* obviously with no  $j \rightarrow g \rightarrow k$  change. The  $m$  of  $gam$  changes to  $n$  (8.4.54 *anusvārasya...*) via *anusvāra* (8.3.23 *mo' nusvāraḥ*) to realize  $ga(m \rightarrow ṃ \rightarrow n)tā = gantā$ .

Example (734) *adhīṣva* derives from  $adhi + i + (\bar{S})a(P) + (LOT \rightarrow sva)$  where *ŚaP* gets deleted by 2.4.72 *adiprabhṛti...* 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 *thāsaḥ se*. But then the  $e$  of *se* is also replaced with *va* by rule 3.4.90 *savābhyāṃ vāmau*. Thus,  $adhi + i + (thās \rightarrow s(e \rightarrow va)) = adhi + i + sva$ . The vocalic sequence  $i + i$  will have a long replacement to yield  $adh(i+i \rightarrow ī) + sva = adhīsva$ . The  $s$  will then be replaced with  $\bar{s}$  in view of 8.3.59 *ādeśapratyayayoḥ*.

### 3.3.9 *liṅ cordhvamauhūrttike*

The derivation of (735) *āgacchet* entails the introduction of affix *LIN* after verbal root  $gam$  used with the preverb  $\bar{a}$ . The *LIN* will be replaced with the third personal *parasmaipada* ending  $tiP$  to give us:  $\bar{a}gam + ti$ . The root  $\bar{a}gam$  will yield the form  $\bar{a}gacch$  similar to (731) *āgacchati*. The *parasmaipada* replacement  $ti$  of  $\bar{a}gacch + (\bar{S})a(P) + ti = \bar{a}gacch + a + ti$  will then receive the augments  $yās(UT)$  and  $s(UT)$  of rules 3.4.103 *yāsuṭ*



*parasmaipadeṣu..* and 3.4.107 *suṭ tithoḥ* to produce:  $\bar{a}gacch + a + y\bar{a}s$  ( $U\bar{T} \rightarrow \emptyset$ ) +  $s(U\bar{T} \rightarrow \emptyset) + ti = \bar{a}gacch + a + y\bar{a}s + s + ti$ . The *i* of *ti* will then be deleted by 3.4.100 *itaś ca*. The resultant string,  $\bar{a}gacch + a + y\bar{a}s + s + t$  gets the *yā* replaced with *iy* by rule 7.2.80 *ato yeyah*. This gives us  $\bar{a}gacch + a + (y\bar{a} \rightarrow iy)s + s + t = \bar{a}gacch + a + iy + s + s + t$  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 *liṅaḥ salopo' nantyasya*. The result will be:  $\bar{a}gacch + a + i$  ( $y \rightarrow \emptyset$ ) ( $s \rightarrow \emptyset$ ) + ( $s \rightarrow \emptyset$ ) +  $t = \bar{a}gacch + a + i + t$ . Rule 6.1.87 *ād guṇaḥ* will derive the final derivate as  $\bar{a}gacch + (a+i \rightarrow e) + t = \bar{a}gacch + e + t = \bar{a}gacchet$ .

### 3.3.16 *padarujaviśasprśo ghañ*

The derivation of (736) *pādaḥ* and (737) *rogaḥ* from *pad* + (*GH*)*a*(*Ñ*) = (*pad* + *a*) + *sU* entails *vṛddhi* of *a* of *pad* (7.2.115 *aco' ṅṅiti*) followed by the *rutva-visarga* of *s(U)*. The derivation of *rogaḥ* entails *guṇa* of the short penultimate (*laghūpada*) *u* of *ruj* before the *ārdhadhātuka* affix *GHaÑ*. The *j* of *roj* also gets replaced with *g* via *kutva* of 7.3.52 *cajoḥ ku ghinyatoḥ*. Similar rules apply in deriving (738) *veśaḥ*.

### 3.3.20 *parimāṅākhyaṅ sarvebhyaḥ*

### 3.3.21 *inaś ca*

The derivation of (739) *niṣpāvaḥ* entails introducing *GHaÑ* after *pū* used with *nir* where *nir* + *pū* + *a* goes through the *ṣ* replacement for the *r* of *nir* via *visarga* in view of rules 8.3.15 *kharavasānāyor...* and 8.3.41 *idudupadhasya....* Thus,  $ni(r \rightarrow ḥ \rightarrow ṣ)pū + a = niṣpū + a$ . The *ū* will then go through *vṛddhi* (7.2.115 *aco' ṅṅiti...*) in *au* with the corresponding replacement in *āv* (6.1.78 *eco' yavāyāvaḥ*). This will give us the nominal stem  $niṣp(\bar{u} \rightarrow \bar{ā}v) + a = niṣpāva$  after which *sU* can be introduced to derive *niṣpāvaḥ*. A derivate of *kr* such as (740) *kāraḥ* just requires *vṛddhi*, one of the two characteristic operations applicable to the derivates of *GHaÑ*. Note that the other operation is *kutva* by 7.3.52 *cajoḥ ku ghinyatoḥ*. I shall, from here on, not derive any derivate in *GHaÑ* 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) *adhyāyaḥ* and (744) *upādhyāyaḥ* are similarly derived from *adhi* + *i* + *a* and *upa* + *adhi* + *i* + *a* where *upa* and *adhi* yield *upādhi* through *savarṇadīrgha*. The application of *vṛddhi* and subsequent replacement in *āy* will produce  $adhi + (i \rightarrow ai \rightarrow \bar{ā}y) + a$  and  $upādhi + (i \rightarrow ai \rightarrow \bar{ā}y) + a$ . Rule 6.1.77 *iko yaṅ aci* will then apply to derive  $adh(i \rightarrow y)\bar{ā}y + a = adhyāya$  and  $upādh(i \rightarrow y)\bar{ā}y + a = upādhyāya$ .

### 3.3.26 *avodor niyaḥ*

Deriving (745) *unnāyaḥ* requires the introduction of affix *GHaÑ* after verbal root *nī* used in conjunction with a *pada* constituted by *ud*. The usual *vṛddhi* 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 *parinyornīṇordyūtābhreṣayoh*

Note that the *n* of *parin(i → ai → āy)* + *a* = *parināya* + (*Ṭā*) is replaced with *ṇ* through the application of rule 8.4.14 *upasargād asamāse' ,pi...* Thus, *pari(n → ṇ)āya* + (*ā → ina*) = *pariṇay(a + i = e)na* = (747) *pariṇāyena*.

### 3.3.43 *karmavyatihāre ṇac striyām*

The first example (748) *vyāvakrośī* is derived by introducing affix *ṆaC* after verbal root *kruś* combined with *vi* and *ava* via rule 2.2.18 *kugati-prādayah* where 6.1.77 *iko yaṇ aci* replaces the *i* of *vi* with *y* and the root goes through the *guṇa* of its penultimate vowel. This produces  $v(i \rightarrow y) + ava + kr(u \rightarrow o)ś + (Ṇ)a(C) = vy + ava + kroś + a = vyavakrośa$ , a nominal stem after which affix *aṅ* (5.4.14 *ṇacah striyām*) is to be introduced. This gives us *vyavakrośa* +  $a(\tilde{N} \rightarrow \emptyset)$ . Note that rule 7.3.3 *na yvābhyāṇ padāntā...* offers *ai* as an augment to the initial vowel of the string which is blocked by *vṛddhi* of rule 7.2.117 *taddhiteṣv acām ādeḥ*. The result is:  $vy(a \rightarrow ā)vakrośa + a = vyāvakrośa + a$ . Rule 6.1.97 *ato guṇe* then applies to derive  $vyāvakroś(a + a \rightarrow a) = vyāvakrośa$ , still a nominal stem (1.2.46 *kṛttaddhita-samāsās ca*) after which rule 4.1.15 *ṭiddhāṇāṅ...* introduces *ṆiP*. The final *a* of *vyāvakrośa* + *ī* is deleted by 6.4.148 *yasyeti ca* whereby we get  $vyāvakroś(a \rightarrow \emptyset) + ī = vyāvakrośī$ . A subsequent placement and deletion of *sUP* by 6.1.68 *halṅyābhyo...* will finally derive *vyāvakrośī*.

Similar rules apply in deriving (749) *vyāvalekhī* and (750) *vyāvahāsī* from *vi* + *ava* + *likh* + *ṆaC* and *vi* + *ava* + *has* + *ṆaC* where *likh* also goes through the application of *laghūpadhagūṇa*.

### 3.3.44 *abhivīdhau bhāva inuṇ*

Example (751) *sāṃkūṭinam* is derived by introducing affix *inUN* after verbal root *kū* combined with *sam* again by 2.2.18 *kugati-prādayah*. Affix *aṅ* is then introduced after *samkūṭ* + *in* = *samkūṭin* where  $samkūṭin + a(\tilde{N} \rightarrow \emptyset) = samkūṭin + a$  is saved by 6.4.164 *inany anapatye* from going through the deletion of *in* by rule 6.4.144 *nas taddhite*. The *a* of *sam* instead goes through *vṛddhi* followed by the *anusvāra* of *m* by rules 7.2.117 *taddhiteṣv acām...* and 8.3.23 *mo' nusvārah* respectively. This will give us  $s(a \rightarrow ā(m \rightarrow ṃ))kūṭin + a = sāṃkūṭina$ . The nominative singular ending *sU* introduced after *sāṃkūṭina* will be replaced with *am* to realize *sāṃkūṭina* + *am* which after the application of 6.1.97 *ato guṇe* will yield *sāṃkūṭinam*.

A derivate of *inUN* with verbal root *ru* combined with *sam* will be (752) *sāṃrāvīṇam* where the *u* of *ru* goes through *vṛddhi* (7.2.115 *aco' ṇṇiti*) and subsequent replacement in *āv* corresponding to *au*. The *am* also replaces the *sU* additionally to the replacement of *n* by *ṇ* in view of 8.4.2 *aṅkupvāṅ...* We thus get the final derivate  $sāṃr(u \rightarrow au-āv)i(n \rightarrow ṇ)a + (sU \rightarrow am) = sāṃrāvīṇ(a + a = a)m = sāṃrāvīṇam$ .

3.3.52 *raśmau ca*3.3.53 *vr̥ṇoter ācchādane*

The first rule offers (753) *pragrāhaḥ*, a derivate in *GHaÑ*, optionally to (754) *pragrahaḥ*, a derivate in *aP*.

The second rule offers yet another *GHaÑ* derivate optionally to *aP*. We thus get (755) *prāvāraḥ* where the lengthening of the *a* of *pra* is ordered by 6.3.122 *upasargasya ghañy amanuṣye bahulam*. We will have a derivate such as (756) *pravaraḥ* if the option of *GHaÑ* is not accepted.

3.3.72 *hvaḥ samprasāraṇam ca...*

This rule introduces affix *aP* after verbal root *hveÑ* used in conjunction with *ni*, *abhi*, *upa*, and *vi* to derive (757) *nihava + sU => nihavaḥ*, (758) *abhihavaḥ*, (759) *upahavaḥ*, and (760) *vihavaḥ*. Note that verbal root *hve(Ñ)* yields the form *hvā* through the application of rule 6.1.45 *ādeca upadeśe...* This rule also requires *samprasāraṇa* of the *v* of *hvā* in *nih(v→u)ā + a(P) = nihu + ā + a*. Rule 6.1.108 *samprasāraṇāc ca* then applies to replace the sequence *u + ā* by *u* to realize *nihu + a*. An application of *guṇa* followed by the *av* replacement for the resultant *o* will provide us with *nih(u→o→av) + a = nihava*. An introduction of *sU* and subsequent *rutva-visarga* will produce *nihavaḥ*. Similar rules apply in deriving other examples.

3.3.88 *dvitah ktri*

Refer to the appendix of 1.3.5 *ādir n̄iṭudavaḥ* for the derivational details of examples listed under this rule.

3.3.90 *yajayācayatavicchāpraccharakṣo nañ*

Examples such as (761) *yajñah*, (762) *yācñā*, (763) *yatnah*, (764) *viśnah*, (765) *praśnah*, and (766) *rakṣnah* derive from (*yaj + na*) + *sU*, (*yāc + na*) + (*Ṭ*)*ā* + *sU*), (*yat + na*) + *sU*), (*vicch + na*) + *sU*), (*pracch + na*) + *sU*), and (*rakṣ + na*) + *sU*). The first two examples require replacing the *n* of *na* with *n̄* (*ścutva*) by rule 8.4.40 *stoh ścunā ścuḥ*. The second also requires the introduction of the feminine affix *ṬāP* (4.1.4 *ajādyataṣ ṭāp*). Our third example is easy to derive. The fourth and fifth require *ś* as a replacement for the *cch* of the roots as per rule 6.4.19 *cchvoḥ śūd anunāsike* to thereby yield *vi(cch→śna* and *pra(cch→ś))nā*. Deriving *rakṣna* from (*rakṣ + na*) + *sU* will subsequently require the replacement of *n* by *ṇ* as per rule 8.4.1 *raśābhyāṃ no ṇah...*

3.3.92 *upasarge ghoḥ kiḥ*3.3.93 *karmany adhikarāṇe 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 iṭi ca*. Thus, we get *dā + (K→∅)i = d(ā→∅) = di*; *dhā + (K)i = > dhi*. Examples such as (767) *pradiḥ*, (768) *pradhīḥ*, and (769) *antarddhiḥ* 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 atin* 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) *jaladhīḥ* and (771) *śaradhīḥ*.

### 3.3.94 *striyām ktin*

### 3.3.95 *sthāgāpāpaco bhāve*

The derivation of (772) *kṛtiḥ*, (773) *citiḥ*, and (774) *matiḥ* from (*kr* + (*K*→ $\emptyset$ )*ti(N*→ $\emptyset$ )) + *sU*), *ci(N̄)* + (*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 *anudāttopadeśa...* Additionally, rule 6.1.97 *ñnityādir nityam* assigns the initial *udātta* accent to the item ending in affix *KtiN*. Rule 3.3.96 *mantra vr̥ṣeṣapacamana...* assigns, for usages in the *mantra* literature, the *udātta* accent to affix *KtiN*. The *guṇa* of *ṛ* and *i* in *kṛti* and *citi* is blocked at the strength of affix *KtiN* marked with *K* as an *it* (1.1.5 *kñiti ca*).

The derivation of (775) *paktiḥ* requires the application of rule 8.2.30 *coḥ kuḥ* whereby the *c* of *pac* is replaced with *k*. The derivation of (776) *prasthiḥ* requires the *i* as a replacement (*itva*) for *ā* of *prasthā* as per rule 7.4.40 *dyatisyatimāsthā...* This *itva*, in case of (777) *saṃgītiḥ*, is accomplished by 6.4.66 *ghumāsthāgāpā...* The same applies in case of (778) *prapītiḥ* and (779) *sampītiḥ*.

### 3.3.98 *vrajayajor bhāve kyap*

### 3.3.99 *saṃjñāyām samajaniśadanīpatamanavida...*

Deriving (780) *vrajyā* from (*vraj* + (*K*)*ya(P)*) + *ṬāP*) + *sU*)) is not very difficult. The affix is *udātta*; hence, the accentuation will be: *vrajyā*.

The derivation of (781) *samajyā*, (782) *niśadyā*, (783) *nīpatyā*, (784) *manyā*, (785) *vidyā*, (786) *sutyā*, (787) *śayyā*, (788) *bhṛtyā*, and (789) *ityā* also entails affixes *KyaP*, *ṬāP* and *sU*. Note that *sutyā*, *bhṛtyā* and *ityā* entail the introduction of *tUK* (6.1.71 *hrasvasya pīti kiti tuk*). Furthermore, the *ī* of *śī(N̄)* is replaced with *ayAÑ* in deriving *ś(i→ay) + ya = śayya* on way to *śayyā*.

### 3.3.100 *kṛñah śa ca*

This rule would permit three derivatives (790) *kriyā*, (791) *kṛtyā*, and (792) *kṛtiḥ* from (*kr* + *ya(K)* + *Śa*) + *ṬāP*) + *sU*), (*kr* + (*tUK*) + (*K*)*ya(P)* + *ṬāP*) + *sU*)) and (*kr* + *Kti(N)*) + *sU*)) respectively. Note that the first derivative 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 *ṛ* + *ya* + *a* of the first example will have its *ṛ* replaced with *riN̄* of rule 7.4.28 *riñ śayag liṅkṣu*. Thus, *k(ṛ→ri) + ya + a* where 6.1.97 *ato guṇe* will apply to produce *kriy(a+a→a) = kriya*. Deriving *kriyā* with *ṬāP* through *savarṇadīrgha* 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 *riÑ*, rule 6.4.77 *aciśnudhātu...* read with 1.1.53 *nic ca* will introduce *iyAÑ* to produce  $k(r \rightarrow r(i \rightarrow iyAÑ)) + a = kriya$ . This subsequently with *ṬāP* and *sU* will derive *kriyā*. The derivate in *KyaP* will receive *tUK* from rule 6.1.71 *hrasvasya piti kiti tuk* to derive *krtyā*. The derivate in *KtiN* can be justified at the strength of the statement of the *Mahābhāṣya* ad this rule.

### 3.3.101 *icchā*

The derivation of (793) *icchā* from *iṣ* + *Śa* is blocked from receiving *yaK* (3.1.67 *sārvadhātuke yak*) via *nipātana*. The *ṣ* of the root will receive *ch* followed by the introduction of augment *tUK* as per rules 7.3.77 *iṣugamiyamām...* and 6.1.73 *che ca*. Rule 8.4.40 *stoḥ ścunā ścuḥ* will then apply on  $i(\dot{ṣ} \rightarrow ch) + a = i(t(UK \rightarrow \emptyset)ch) + a = iich + a$  to replace the *t* with *c* to produce  $i(t \rightarrow c)ch + a = iccha$ . The introduction of *ṬāP* and *sU* will then derive *icchā*.

### 3.3.102 *a pratyayāt*

Refer to the derivation of verbal roots *cikīrṣa*, etc., under rules dealing with affixes *saN* (3.1.7 *dhātoḥ karmanah...*), *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 lopah*. Rule 1.2.46 *kr̥ttaddhitasamāsās ca* will assign the term nominal stem (*prātipadika*) to *cikīrṣa*, etc., to enable the introduction of feminine affix *ṬāP* by 4.1.4 *ajādyataṣ ṭāp*. Thus, we will get (794) *cikīrṣā*, (795) *jihīrṣā*, (746) *putrīyā*, (797) *putrakāmyā*, (798) *lolūyā*, and (799) *kaṇḍūyā*.

### 3.3.104 *ṣidbhidādibhyo' ni*

### 3.3.105 *cintipūjīkathīkumbīcarcaś ca*

The derivation of (800) *jārā* would require *guṇa* by rule 7.4.16 *ṛdṛṣo'ni guṇah* read with 1.1.51 *ur aṅ raparah* to yield  $j(\dot{r} \rightarrow ar) + a(\dot{N})$ .

The roots of examples under rule 3.3.104 would all end in *ÑiC* which subsequently will be deleted by 6.4.51 *ner aniṭi*. This will give us derivatives such as (801) *cintā*, (802) *pūjā*, (803) *kathā*, (804) *kumbā*, and (805) *carcā* via *ṬāP*, *savarnadīrgha* (as in *cinta* + (*Ṭ*)*ā(P)* = *cint(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  $ci(t(NiC \rightarrow \emptyset)) + a = ci(n(UM)t) + a = cinta$ .

An optional example (806) *cintānā* is also derived with the introduction of affix *yu(C)* optionally to *aÑ*. Rule 7.1.1 *yuvor anākau* will replace the *yu* with *ana* to yield *cint* + (*yu* → *ana*) = *cintana*. The introduction of *ṬāP* followed by the placement and deletion of *sU* as well as *savarnadīrgha* will produce *cintānā*.

### 3.3.107 *nyāsaśrantho yuc*

Examples (807) *kāraṇā* and (808) *hāraṇā* require verbal roots *kāri* and *hāri* where affix *NiC* is introduced after *kr̥* and *hr̥* by rule 3.1.26 *hetumati ca*.

The *r* of the roots has gone through *vṛddhi* of 7.2.115 *aco' ṅṅiti* and the term *dhātu* is subsequently assigned by 3.1.32 *sanādyantā...* The *ṆiC* before *yuC* will again be deleted by rule 6.4.51 *ner aniṭi*. The *n* of *kār(NiC→∅) + (yu→ana) = kār + ana* will be replaced with *ṅ* by rule 8.4.2 *atkupvāṅ...* Examples such as (809) *āsanā* and (810) *śranthanā* will of course be derived without roots ending in *ṆiC*.

### 3.3.108 *rogākhyāyāṃ ṅvul bahulam*

The derivation of (811) *pracchardikā* contains *pra + chad + ṆiC + (N)vu(L) + ṬāP*) + *sU* where *ṆiC* is introduced by rule 3.1.25 *satyāpāpāśarūpavīṅā...* 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 *stoh ścunā ścuḥ*. Our next example (812) *pravāhikā* will be similarly derived by introducing *ṆiC* after *pra-vah* by rule 3.1.26 *hetumati ca*. The *NiC* in both these examples will be deleted by 6.4.51 *ner aniṭi*. Similar rules apply in deriving (813) *vicarcikā*. The *vu* of *ṆvuL* would of course be replaced with *aka* of 7.1.1 *yuvor anākau*.

The derivation of (814) *śiro' rttih* proceeds with the derivation of *arttih* from *ard + (K)ti(N)* where 8.4.55 *khari ca* applies to produce *ar(d→t) + ti = artti*, and 7.2.9 *titutratha...* blocks the introduction of augment *iṬ*. Our derivate *artti* is then combined in a genitive *tatpuruṣa* compound with *śiras* where its *s* is replaced with *r* via 8.2.66 *sasajuṣo ruḥ*. Rule 6.1.113 *ator aplutād...* then applies on *śirar + artti* to replace the *r* with *u* thereby producing *śirau + artti*. The application of 6.1.87 *ād guṇaḥ* will then replace the sequence *u + a* with *o* to produce *śir(a+u→o) + artti = śiro artti*. Rule 6.1.109 *eṅaḥ padāntād ati* will finally order *o* as a replacement for both *o* and *a* to produce *śiro' rtti*. The introduction of *sU* followed by *rutva-visarga* will derive *śiro' rttih*.

### 3.3.110 *vibhāṣākhyānapariprasāyora iṅ ca*

This rule allows for *iṅ* optionally with *ṆvuL* with the understanding that, due to the inclusion of *vibhāṣā*, other relevant affixes can also be introduced. Thus, consider these derivates where I also indicate their derivational strings:

(815) *kārim* from *kṛ + iṅ = kāri* where *vṛddhi* is accomplished by 7.2.115 *aco' ṅṅiti*;

(816) *kārikām* from *k(ṛ→ār) + (ṆvuL→aka) = kār + i(Ṭ) + aka + 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 ktin* and 3.3.100 *kṛṅaḥ śa ca*.

The derivation of examples with verbal root *gaṇa* proceeds with its causal form *gaṇi* since the root belongs to the *curādi* class. Note that the

final *a* of *gaṇa* gets deleted by rule 6.4.48 *ato lopaḥ*. The *vr̥ddhi* of the penultimate *a* of *gaṇ* cannot be accomplished by 7.2.116 *ata upadhāyāḥ* for reasons that the deleted *a* will become alive by *sthānivadbhāva* ‘treating a replacement as if it was the item replaced’. Thus, *vr̥ddhi* cannot apply since the penultimate (*upadhā*) position will now be occupied by *ṇ*, and not the *a*. The *NiC* itself gets deleted by 6.4.51 *ṇer aniṭi*.

### 3.3.112 ākrośe nañy anih

Note that (817) *akaraniḥ* derives from *naN̄ + kṛ + ani* where *ṛ* of the root goes through *guṇa* before *ani* to produce *na + k(ṛ→ar) + ani = na + karani*. The *n* of *na* is deleted by 6.3.73 *nalopo nañah*. The introduction of *sU* followed by *rutva-visarga* will produce *akara(n→ṇi)(s(U)→ḥ) = akaraniḥ* where 8.4.2 *aṭkuvāṇnum...* will replace the *n* with *ṇ*.

### 3.3.113 kṛtyalyuṭo bahulam

Note that deriving (818) *snānīyam* from (*snā + anīya(R) + sU*) and (819) *dānīyaḥ* from (*dā + anīya(R) + sU*) entails *savarṇa-dīrgha* before the nominative singular ending *sU*.

The derivation of (820) *apasecanam* from (*apa + sic + Lyuṭ + sU*), (821) *avasrāvaṇam* from (*ava + srāvi + Lyuṭ + sU*), (822) *rājabhojanāḥ* from *rājan + Nas + bhojana + sU* with *bhojana* deriving from *bhuj + Lyuṭ* entails diverse significations. The first example requires *guṇa*. The second loses the *i*, i.e., (*NiC*), to 6.4.51 *ṇer aniṭi* and has the *n* replaced with *ṇ*. The derivation of *bhojana* entails *guṇa* of *u* of *bhuj* followed by the formation of the genitive *tatpuruṣa* compound. Of course, the *yu* of *Lyuṭ* 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 (*Jas* after *rājabhojana* causes the long vowel replacement homogeneous with the preceding *a* of the sequence *a+a* at the end (*pūrvasavarṇadīrgha*; 6.1.102 *prathamayoḥ...*). Finally, an application of *rutva-visarga* will derive *rājabhojan(a+a→ā)(s→r→ḥ) = rājabhojanāḥ*.

### 3.3.116 karmaṇi ca yena saṃsparśāt...

### 3.3.117 karaṇādhikaraṇayoś ca

The derivation of (823) *odanabhojanam* and (824) *payahpānam* requires the derivation of *odanabhojana* and *payahpāna* via the introduction of affix *Lyuṭ* after verbal roots *bhuj* and *pā* used in conjunction with words constituted by *odana* and *payas* with the denotata of object (*karman*). 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) *idhmapravraścanaḥ* from *idhma + Nas + pravraśca + sU*, and of (826) *palāśasātanaḥ* from *palāśa + Nas + sātana + sU* involves genitive *tatpuruṣa* compound. Note that the derivation of *sātana* proceeds with the causal form of the verbal root *śad(L)*. Affix *Lyuṭ* is then introduced after *ś(a→ā)d(L→∅) + (N)i(C) = śādi*. This *NiC* is, however, deleted by 6.4.51 *ṇer aniṭi*. The *d* of the root is replaced with *t*

by rule 7.3.42 *śader agatau taḥ*. Thus,  $\acute{s}\bar{a}(d \rightarrow t)(\acute{N}iC \rightarrow \emptyset) + (Lyu\bar{T} \rightarrow ana) = \acute{s}\bar{a}tana$ .

The derivation of (827) *godohanī* and (828) *saktudhānī* again involves the genitive type of *tatpuruṣa* compound though the derivates will be denoting *adhikaraṇa* 'locus'. The resultant compound base *godohana* from *go* + *Nas* + *dohana* + *sU* where *dohana* derives from *duh* +  $(Lyu\bar{T} \rightarrow ana)$  through *guṇa* then receives the feminine affix *ÑiP* of 4.1.15 *ṭiḍḍhāṇañ....* Thus,  $god(u \rightarrow o)h + ana = godohana + (\acute{N})\bar{i}(P) = godohanī$  where the final *a* of *godohana* gets deleted by 6.4.148 *yasyeti ca*. The *sU* of *godohanī* + *sU* will be subsequently deleted by 6.1.68 *halñyābbhyo....* Similar rules are applied in deriving *saktudhānī*.

3.3.118 *pum̐ṣi samjñāyām prāyena....*

The derivation of (829) *dantacchadaḥ* and (830) *uraśchadaḥ* requires the introduction of affix *GHa* after verbal root *chad* used with *ÑiC* of 3.1.25 *satyāpapāsarūpa....* 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* + *Śas* + *chādi* +  $(GH)a$  and *uras* + *Śas* + *chādi* +  $(GH)a$  where the penultimate *ā* of *chādi* goes through shortening (*hrasva*) as per rule 6.4.96 *chāder ghe' d...* to produce  $ch(\bar{a} \rightarrow a)di = chadi$ . The *ÑiC* again gets deleted in view of 6.4.51 *ner aniti*. Rule 6.1.73 *che ca* then introduces the augment  $t(UK)$  to *danta* to realize *dantat* + *chada*. Rule 8.4.40 *stoḥ ścunā ścuḥ* then subjects this *t* to be replaced with *c* whereby we get *danta(t → c)chad* + *a* = *dantacchada*. Note that *uraśchadaḥ* does not qualify for the introduction of *tUK*.

Deriving (831) *ālayaḥ* by introducing affix *GHa* after verbal root *lī* used with the preverb  $\bar{a}(\acute{N} \rightarrow \emptyset)$  requires *guṇa* of *ī* followed by the replacement of *e* in *ay*. Thus, we get  $\bar{a}l(\bar{i} \rightarrow e \rightarrow ay) + a = \bar{a}laya + s(U) = \bar{a}layaḥ$ .

3.3.120 *ave str̥stor ghañ*

3.3.121 *halaś ca*

The derivation of (832) *avatāraḥ* from  $(avatr̥ + (GH)a(\acute{N}) + sU)$  and of (833) *avastāraḥ* from  $(avastr̥ + (GH)a(\acute{N}) + sU)$  requires the *vṛddhi* (7.2.115 *aco' ṅṅiti*) of *r̥* followed by *rutva-visarga* of *sU*.

The *vṛddhi* in deriving (834) *vīmārgaḥ* from  $(vi + mrj(\bar{U}\$) + (GH)a(\acute{N}) + sU)$  and (835) *apāmārgaḥ* from  $(apa + mrj(\bar{U}\$) + (GH)a(\acute{N}) + sU)$  entails *vṛddhi* of *r̥* as per rule 7.2.114 *mr̥jer vṛddhiḥ*. The resultant string  $vim(r̥ \rightarrow \bar{a}r)j + a = vimārj + a$  would require that the short *i* of *vi* be replaced with long in view of rule 6.3.122 *upasargasya ghañy....* The *j* of the resultant string  $v(i \rightarrow \bar{i})mārj + a$  will then be replaced with *g* of 7.4.62 *kuhoś cuḥ* to produce  $vīmār(j \rightarrow g) + a = vīmārga$ . Similar rules will apply in deriving *apāmārga*. The final derivates will now require *sU* and *rutva-visarga*.

3.3.123 *udako' nudake*



The derivation of (836) *tailodaṅkaḥ* contains *taila* + *Ñas* + *udaṅka* where *udaṅka* derives by introducing affix *GHaÑ* after verbal root *añc* 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 gñiyatoḥ*. Thus, *taila(Ñas→∅)* + *udañca→tailodañca* (6.1.87 *ād guṇaḥ*); *tailodañ(c→k)a* = *tailoda(ñ→ṃ)ka* (8.3.24 *naś cāpadāntasya...*); *tailoda(ṃ→ñ)ka* (8.4.58 *anusvārasya yayi parasavarṇaḥ*).

3.3.127 *karṭṛkarmaṇoś ca bhūkrṇoḥ*

This rule derives examples with two conjoined *pada* simultaneously. Thus, (837) *iśadādhyamkaraḥ* is derived by introducing affix *KHaL* after verbal root *kṛ* used in conjunction with two nominal *pada* constituted by *iśad* and *ādhyā* with the denotatum of object. The same explanation can be forwarded for reconstructing the underlying string of (838) *svādhyamkaraḥ*. The derivation of (839) *iśadādhyambhavaḥ*, and (840) *svādhyambhavaḥ* not only requires affix *KHaL* to be introduced after verbal root *bhū* but also requires the conjoined *pada* to denote *karṭṛ*. The root vowels *ṛ* and *ū* undergo *guṇa*. 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 *vartamānasāmīpye vartamānavad vā*

3.3.132 *āśamsāyām 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) *āgamat* contains *ā(Ñ)* + *a(T)* + *gam* + *CLI* + *t* where the *i* of *ti(P)* gets deleted (3.4.100 *itaś ca*) and *CLI* is replaced with *a(Ñ)*; 3.1.55 *puśādi...*) to derive *ā* + *a* + *gam* + *a(Ñ→∅)* + (*LUN→t(i→∅)*). The *savarṇadīrgha* of *ā+a* will produce: *ā+a→ā* + *gam* + *a* + *t* = *āgamat*.

Derive (842) *adhyagīśmahi* similarly to *adhyagīṣṭa* of rule 1.2.1 *gāṅkuṭādi...* (vol. II, 425-26). Of course, parallel to step (a) of *adhyagīṣṭa*, one will have to select the first person plural *ātmanepada* ending *mahi(Ñ)* to replace *LUN* of this example. The derivation of (843) *āgataḥ* from (*āgam* + (*Kta*) + *s(U)*) requires the deletion of the root-final *m* by rule 6.4.37 *anudāttopadeśa...* before *rutva-visarga*. Derive (844) *adhīmahe* from *adhi* + *i* + (*ŚaP→∅*) + *mah(i→e)* = *adh(i+i→ī)* + *mahe* = *adhīmahe*. The deletion of *ŚaP* is accomplished by 2.4.72 *adiprabhṛtibhyaḥ...* The *e* as a replacement (*etva*) for the *i* of *mahi*, of course, comes through the application of 3.4.79 *ṭit ātmanepadānām ṭer e*.

The derivation of (845) *adhyesyāmahe* contains the string *adhi* + *i* + *sya* + (*LRT→mah(i→e)*) where *sya* is introduced in place of *ŚaP* before *mahi*. The root, i.e., *i*, goes through *guṇa* before affix *sya*, an *ārdhadhātuka* (7.3.84 *sārvadhātukārdhadhātukayoḥ*). The resultant string, i.e., *adhi* +

( $i \rightarrow e$ ) + *sya* + *mahe*, then goes through the application of rules 6.1.77 *iko yaṅ aci* and 7.3.101 *ato dīrgho yañi* to produce:  $adh(i \rightarrow y) + e + sy(a \rightarrow \bar{a}) + mahe = adhyeṣyāmahe$ . The *s* is finally replaced with *ṣ* by rule 8.3.59 *ādeśapratyayayoḥ*.

### 3.3.134 *āśaṃsāvācane liṅ*

The derivation of (846) *adhīyīya* contains  $adhi + i + (LIN \rightarrow sīy(UT \rightarrow \emptyset) + i(T \rightarrow \emptyset)) = adhi + i + sīy + i$  where rule 3.4.102 *liṅaḥ sīyuṭ* introduces  $sīy(UT)$  before the first person singular replacement  $iT$  of  $LIN$ . 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 *liṅaḥ salopo...* then deletes the *s* of  $sīy(UT)$  to produce:  $adhi + i + (s \rightarrow \emptyset)īy + a = adhi + i + īya$ . Verbal root *i* is then replaced with  $iy(A\dot{N} \rightarrow \emptyset)$  to produce  $adhi + (i \rightarrow iy) + īya = adhi + iy + īya$ . The application of *savarṇadīrgha* (6.1.101 *akaḥ savarṇe...*) will finally produce:  $adh(i + \bar{i} \rightarrow \bar{i})y + īya = adhīy + īya = adhīyīya$ .

### 3.3.135 *nānadyatanavat kriyāprabandhasāmīpyayoḥ*

Note that (847) *adāt* contains  $aT + dā + sīC + t$ , as in (144) *agāt* under rule 2.4.45 *iṅo gā luṅi*; and many similar examples already derived, where  $sīC$  gets deleted by 2.4.77 *gātisthāghupābhūbhyah...*

The derivation of (848) *adhīpīpat* proceeds with  $adhi + i + i$  where affix  $ṆiC$  is introduced (3.1.26 *hetumati ca*) after verbal root  $i\dot{N}$  used with the preverb *adhi*. The root is replaced with  $\bar{a}$  by rule 6.1.48 *krīñjīnām...* Augment  $pUK$  is then introduced by rule 7.3.36 *artihrīvlīrī...* to produce  $adhi + (a \rightarrow \bar{a})p(UK \rightarrow \emptyset) + i = adhi + \bar{a}p + i$ . Affixes  $LUN$  and  $CL\bar{I}$  are then introduced with reference to the derived root  $adhi + \bar{a}pi$ . Note that affix  $LUN$  is replaced with  $ti(P)$  where the *i* of  $ti$  is deleted by 3.4.100 *itaś ca*. Affix  $CL\bar{I}$  is also replaced with  $(C)a(\dot{N})$  of 3.1.48 *ñisridrusrubhyah...* This gives us:  $adhi + \bar{a}pi + (CL\bar{I} \rightarrow (C)a(\dot{N})) + (LUN \rightarrow t(i \rightarrow \emptyset)) = adhi + \bar{a}pi + a + t$ . Doubling of  $pi$  as per 6.1.2 *ajāder dvitīyasya* will produce  $adhi + \bar{a}pi + pi + a + t$ . Rule 6.4.72 *āḍ ajādīnām* then introduces  $\bar{a}(T)$ . The result is:  $adhi + \bar{a}(T \rightarrow \emptyset) + \bar{a}pi + pi + a + t = adhi + \bar{a} + \bar{a}pi + pi + a + t$ . An application of rule 6.1.90 *ātaś ca* will order a single  $vṛddhi$  replacement for the sequence of  $\bar{a} + \bar{a}$  thereby producing  $adhi + (\bar{a} + \bar{a} \rightarrow \bar{a})pi + pi + a + t = adhi + \bar{a} + pi + pi + a + t$ . The deletion of  $(N)\dot{i}(C)$  by 6.4.51 *ṇer anīṭi* yields  $adhi + \bar{a} + pi + p(i \rightarrow \emptyset) + a + t = adhi + \bar{a}pīpat$  which through the application of 6.1.77 *iko yaṅ aci* becomes  $adh(i \rightarrow y)apīpat = adhyāpīpat$ . Note that I held the application of this last rule to facilitate proper understanding of the fact that doubling and the introduction of augments is undertaken without recognizing the existence of the preverbs.

The derivation of (849) *ādhiṭa* requires the introduction of affix  $LUN$  after verbal root  $dhā$  used with the preverb  $\bar{a}\dot{N}$ . Rule 1.2.17 *sthāghvor ic ca* also applies to replace the root-final  $\bar{a}$  with *i* to produce  $\bar{a}(\dot{N} \rightarrow \emptyset) + dh(\bar{a} \rightarrow i) + LUN = \bar{a}dhi + LUN$ . The introduction of  $a(T)$  and  $sīC$

(6.4.71 *luṅlanlṛṅ...*; 3.1.44 *cleḥ sic*) precede the *ātmanepada* replacement in *ta* for *LUṅ*. The resultant string, i.e.,  $\bar{a} + a(T) + dhi + s\bar{I}C + ta$ , loses its  $s\bar{I}C$  to 8.2.27 *hrasvād aṅgāt*. The initial vocalic sequence of  $\bar{a} + a$  will be replaced with  $\bar{a}$  through *savarṇadīrgha*. One can similarly derive (850) *adita* from  $a\bar{T} + dā + LUṅ$ . The derivation of (851) *ayaṣṭa* contains  $a(T) + yaj + s\bar{I}C + ta$  where  $s\bar{I}C$  gets deleted by rule 8.2.26 *jhalo jhali*; and *yaj* receives  $\varsigma$  as a replacement for its final *j* from rule 8.2.36 *vraścabhra-sjasrjamrja...* This produces  $aya(j \rightarrow \varsigma) + ta = aya\varsigma + ta$ . Rule 8.4.41 *ṣṭunā ṣṭuḥ* will finally replace the *t* with  $\ddot{t}$  to produce  $aya\varsigma + (t \rightarrow \ddot{t})a = ayaṣṭa$ . The derivation of (852) *ādḥāsyate*, (853) *yakṣyate* and (854) *dāsyate* can be accomplished following relevant rules of (724) *bhokṣyate* and other derivational patterns already explained.

### 3.3.136 *bhaviṣyati maryādavacane' varasmin*

The derivation of (855) *bhokṣyāmahe* contains *bhuj + sya + (LRṬ → mahi)*, and also shares the  $j \rightarrow g \rightarrow k$  as well as  $s \rightarrow \varsigma$  change with (724) *bhokṣyate*. The lengthening of the *a* of *bhokṣya* is accomplished by 7.3.101 *ato dīrgho yañi*. Example (856) *pāsyāmaḥ* is similarly derived from  $pā + sya + (LRṬ \rightarrow mas)$  where *LRṬ* gets replaced with first person plural *parasmaipada* ending *mas*.

### 3.3.138 *parasmin vibhāṣā*

The derivation of (857) *adhyetāmahe* and *pātāmaḥ* contains  $adhi + i + tās + mahiṅ$  and  $pā + tās + mas$  where *mahiṅ* and *mas* are replacements for *LRṬ*. Note that affix *tās* has been introduced by 3.1.33 *syatāsī lṛluṭoḥ*. The *i* of *mahiṅ* has gone through *etva* of 3.4.79 *ṭit ātmanepadānām ṭer e*. Of course,  $adhi + i$  yields  $adhi + (i \rightarrow e) = adh(i \rightarrow y) + e = adhye$  through *guṇa* and *y* replacing *i*.

### 3.3.139 *linnimitte lṛṅ kriyātipattau*

Example (858) *paryābhaviṣyat* contains the string  $pari + \bar{a}(\dot{N} \rightarrow \emptyset) + a(T) + bhū + i(T \rightarrow \emptyset) + sya + (LRṆ \rightarrow t(i \rightarrow \emptyset)) = par(i \rightarrow y)\bar{a} + (bhū \rightarrow bho \rightarrow bhav) + i + sya + t = paryābhavi(s \rightarrow \varsigma)yat = paryābhaviṣyat$  where *i* of *ti* is deleted by 3.4.100 *itaś cā*. The *guṇa* of  $\bar{u}$  in *bhū* with subsequent replacement *av* is accomplished by rules 7.3.87 *sārvadhātukārdha...* and 6.1.78 *eco' yavāyāvah*. Example (858) *āgamīṣyat* similarly derives from  $\bar{a}(\dot{N}) + a(T) + gam + i(T) + sya + t$ . The derivation of (860) *abhokṣyata* requires the underlying string  $a\bar{T} + bhuj + sya + ta$  where *LRṆ* is replaced with the third person singular *ātmanepada* suffix *ta*.

### 3.3.143 *vibhāṣā kathami liṅ ca*

Example (861) *yājayati* contains  $yāji + ŚaP + (LAT \rightarrow ti(P)) = yāji + a + ti$  which, with *guṇa* and subsequent replacement in *ay* produces *yājayati*. A derivate with *LRṬ* will similarly be (862) *yājayiṣyati* derivable from  $yāji + i(T) + sya + ti$ . Example (863) *yājayet* contains  $yāji + ŚaP + yās(UT) + s(UT) + (LIN \rightarrow ti)$  similarly to (735) *āgacchet*. The derivation of (864) *bhavitā* is not very different from (43) *kañitā* for which see

vol. II, pp. 343-44. Remember, however, that the root here ends in affix *NiC*.

The derivation of (865) *ayījayat* contains the string  $(a\uparrow + yāj + (N)i(C) + (CLI \rightarrow Ca\dot{N})) + (LUN \rightarrow t(i \rightarrow \emptyset)) = a + yāj + i + a + t$  similarly to (738) *acīkarat* for which see (vol. II, pp. 506–08). Our present example will require the shortening of the long *ā* of *yāj* followed by the deletion of *NiC* by rules 7.4.1 *ṇau caṇi upadhā...* and 6.4.51 *ṇer aniṭi* respectively. Doubling, etc., will then follow to derive the final derivate similar to *acīkarat*. Refer to derivations such as (257) *jāgarāñcakāra* for deriving (866) *yājayāñcakāra* from *yāji + LIṬ*.

### 3.3.151 *śeṣe lṛḍ yadau*

Example (867) *āroksyati* contains  $\bar{a}ruh + sya + (LR\uparrow \rightarrow ti) = \bar{a}ruh + sya + ti$  where 7.3.84 *sārvadhātukārdhadhātukayoḥ* orders *guṇa* of *u* in *ruh* to realize:  $\bar{a}r(u \rightarrow o)h + sya + ti$ . Rules 8.2.31 *ho dhaḥ* and 8.2.41 *ṣaḍoḥ kaḥ si* then apply to replace *h* with *k* via *ḍh*. We thus get:  $\bar{a}ro(h \rightarrow \dot{h} \rightarrow k) + sya + ti = \bar{a}rok + syati$ . The *s* of *nya* is finally replaced with *ṣ* by rule 8.3.59 *ādeśapratyayayoḥ* to derive  $\bar{a}rok(s \rightarrow \dot{s})yati = \bar{a}roksyati$ . Our next example (868) *adhyesyate* similarly derives from *adhi + i + sya + t(a \rightarrow e)*.

### 3.3.153 *kāmapravedane...*

The derivation of (869) *bhuñjīta* contains  $bhu\dot{j} + (LI\dot{N} \rightarrow ta)$  where *Śnam* is introduced by 3.1.78 *rudhādibhyaḥ...* The resultant string, i.e.,  $bhu + na + j + ta$ , receives  $(s)\bar{i}y(UT\uparrow)$  and  $s(UT\uparrow)$  with subsequent deletion of both the *s* segments similarly to (846) *adhīyīya*. This will yield:  $bhu + n + j + \bar{i}y + ta = bhun\dot{j} + \bar{i} + ta$  where *y* gets subsequently deleted by 6.1.66 *lopo vyoṛ valī*. The *n* is replaced with its palatal counterpart via *ṇ* per application of rules 8.3.24 *naś cāpadāntasya...* and 8.4.58 *anusvārasya yayi parasavarṇaḥ*. Thus,  $bhu(n \rightarrow \dot{n} \rightarrow \bar{n}) + j + \bar{i}(y \rightarrow \emptyset) + ta = bhuñjīta$ .

### 3.3.157 *icchārtheṣu līnloṭau*

Example (870) *bhuñktām* also contains  $bhu + n(a \rightarrow \emptyset) + j + ta = bhun\dot{j} + ta$  where *ta*, for reasons of being a replacement of *LOT*, goes through the application of 3.4.79 *ṭit ātmanepadānām ṭer e* to produce  $bhun\dot{j} + t(a \rightarrow e) = bhun\dot{j} + te$ . This *e* is further replaced with *ām* by rule 3.4.90 *ām etaḥ* to yield  $bhun\dot{j} + t(e \rightarrow \bar{a}m) = bhun\dot{j} + tām$ . Refer to the derivation of (723) *bhuñkte* for rules responsible for changing  $bhun\dot{j} + tām$  into  $bhun(j \rightarrow g \rightarrow k) + tām = bhu(n \rightarrow \dot{n} \rightarrow \bar{n})k + tām = bhuñktām$ .

### 3.3.158 *samānakarṭrkeṣu tumun*

### 3.3.159 *līn ca*

Example (871) *bhoktum* contains  $bhu\dot{j} + tum(UN \rightarrow \emptyset)$  where *j* is also replaced with *k* via *g* as in the previous example. The derivation of (872) *bhuñjīya* can be accomplished by following the derivation of (869) *bhuñjīta* where first person singular *iṬ* (as opposed to *ta*) replaces *LIṆ*. The *i* of *iṬ* is subsequently replaced with *u* (3.4.106 *iṭo' t*) to yield  $bhun\dot{j} + \bar{i} y +$

( $i \rightarrow a$ ) = *bhunjiya*. Refer to the derivation of *adhīyīya* under rule 3.3.134 *āśamsāvācane...*

### 3.3.160 *icchārthebhyo vibhāṣā vartamāne*

Example (873) *vaṣṭi* derives from  $vaś + (ŚaP \rightarrow \emptyset) + (LAT \rightarrow ti(P)) = vaś + ti$  where *ŚaP* gets deleted because the root belongs to the *adādi* group (2.4.72 *adiprabhṛtibhyaḥ...*). The palatal *ś* is then replaced with *ṣ* on account of 8.2.36 *vraścabhraśja...* The *t* then changes to *ṭ* through the application of 8.4.41 *ṣṭunā ṣṭuḥ*. The derivation of (874) *uśyāt* requires *samprasāraṇa* of rule 6.1.16 *grahijyāvayī...* Thus,  $(va \rightarrow ua \rightarrow uś) + (ŚaP \rightarrow \emptyset) + (LIṆ \rightarrow t(i \rightarrow \emptyset)) = uś + t$ . Refer to the derivation of (736) *āgacchet* for deriving  $uś + yā(s + s \rightarrow \emptyset) + t = uśyāt$  where this example does not have its *yā* replaced with *īy*.

Example (875) *kāmayate* contains  $kāmi + ŚaP + (LAT \rightarrow t(a \rightarrow e)) = kāmi + a + te$  where *kāmi* ends in *ṆiC* which causes the *vṛddhi* of its *a*. The *ātmanepada* affix *ta* replaces *LAT* and as usual yields *te*. The *guṇa* of *i* followed by the replacement of resultant *e* in *ay* is not difficult to comprehend. We thus get  $kām(i \rightarrow e \rightarrow ay) + a + te = kāmayate$ . Example (876) *kāmayeta* similarly contains  $kāmi + a + (LIṆ \rightarrow ta)$  where the *a* of the *ātmanepada* ending does not go through *e* (*etva*) but the *yā* of *yāsUT* gets replaced with *īy*. This gives us:  $kāmi + a + yās + s + ta = kāmi + a + (yā \rightarrow iy)s + s + ta = kāmi + a + iy + (s + s \rightarrow \emptyset) + ta = kām(i \rightarrow e \rightarrow ay) + a + iy + ta = kāmay + a + i(y \rightarrow \emptyset) + ta = kāmay + (a + i \rightarrow e) + ta = kāmayeta$ . Refer to (736) *āgacchet* for relevant details.

### 3.3.161 *vidhinimantraṇāmantraṇādhiṣṭa...*

#### 3.3.162 *loṭ ca*

Example (877) *kuryāt* contains  $kṛ + u + (LIṆ \rightarrow ti(P)) = kṛ + u + yās + s + t(i \rightarrow \emptyset)$  where *ṛ* goes through its *guṇa* replacement in *ar* before the *vikarṇa* *u* (3.1.79 *tanādikṛñ...*). The *a* of *ar* is replaced with *u* as per 6.4.110 *ata ut sārvaadhātuke*. This produces  $k(ṛ \rightarrow ar + u...) = k(a \rightarrow u)r + u... = kur + u + yās...$  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  $i + (Śap \rightarrow \emptyset) + (LOT \rightarrow i(T) \rightarrow e)$  where *e* comes as a replacement (*etva*) of the first person singular *ātmanepada* replacement of *LOT* as per rule 3.4.79 *ṭit ātmanepadānām...* 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 *ād uttamasya pic ca* to produce  $i + ā(T) + (e \rightarrow ai) = i + ā + ai$ . Rule 6.1.90 *ātaś ca* then orders a single *vṛddhi* replacement for *ā + ai* to produce  $i + ai$ . The application of 7.3.84 *sārvaadhātuka...* and 6.1.78 *eco' yavāyāvah* finally produce:  $(i \rightarrow e \rightarrow ay) + ai = ayai$ . Note that *adhi + ayai* produces *adhyayai* through the application of 6.1.77 *iko yaṇ aci*.

3.3.163 *praiṣātisargaprāptakāleṣu kṛtyāś ca*

Note that the *kṛtya* examples are given optionally to those of *LOT*. Example (879) *karaṇīyaḥ* derives by introducing affix *anīya* (3.1.96 *tav-yattavyānīyarah*) after verbal root *kr*, i.e.,  $((kr + anīya) + sU)$ , through *guṇa*,  $n \rightarrow \eta$  (*natva*; 8.4.2 *aṭkuvān...*) and *rutva-visarga*. Example (880) *kartavyaḥ* is similarly derived from  $(kr + tavyaT) + sU$ . Examples (881) *kṛtyaḥ* and (882) *kāryaḥ* derive from  $(kr + KyaP) + sU$  and  $(kr + NyaT) + sU$  respectively. Affixes *KyaP* and *NyaT* are introduced here by rules 3.1.120 *vibhāsā kṛvṛṣoḥ* and 3.1.124 *ṛhalor nyat*. Our derivate in *KyaP* lacks *guṇa* because of *K*; the *NyaT* derivate will require *vṛddhi* because of *N* (7.2.115 *aco' nṇiti*). Rule 6.1.71 *hrasvasya piti kṛti tuk* introduces augment *t(UK)* in *kṛtyaḥ*. Deriving (883) *karotu* from  $kr + u + (LOT \rightarrow ti) = kr + u + ti$  requires replacing the *i* of *ti* by *u* of 3.4.86 *eruh* followed by the *guṇa* of both *r* and *u* by 7.3.84 *sārvadhātukārdhadhātukayoḥ*. This produces:  $k(r \rightarrow ar) + (u \rightarrow o) + t(i \rightarrow u) = karotu$ .

3.3.166 *adhīṣṭe ca*

Example (884) *adhyāpaya* contains *adhyāpi* +  $(\acute{S})a(P) + (LOT \rightarrow si(P))$  where *adhyāpi* is derived similarly to the derived root in (167) *adhyāpipat*. The *si* is subsequently replaced with *hi* of 3.4.87 *ser hy apic ca*. Rule 6.4.105 *ato heḥ*, however, will delete the *hi* to produce  $adhyāp(i \rightarrow e \rightarrow ay) + a + (si \rightarrow hi \rightarrow \emptyset) = adhyāpaya$  through *guṇa* and subsequent replacement in *ay*.

Follow the derivational patterns of (250) *juhōti* (vol. II, p. 420) to arrive at *ju + hu + si*, of (885) *juhudhi*, from  $hu + (LOT \rightarrow si)$ . The *si* will again be replaced with *hi* similarly to the preceding example. Rule 6.4.101 *hujhālyor he dhiḥ* will then replace *hi* with *dhi* to produce  $ju + hu + (si \rightarrow hi \rightarrow dhi) = juhudhi$ .

3.3.169 *arhe kṛtyāś ca*

Example (886) *voḍhavyā* is a feminine derivate in *TāP* (4.1.4 *ajādyataṣ ṭāp*) introduced after *voḍhavya* which, in turn, contains *vah + tavya*. The *h* of *vah* and the *t* of *tavya* are replaced with *ḍh* and *dh* by rules 8.2.31 *ho ḍhaḥ* and 8.2.40 *jhaṣastathor ddho' dhaḥ* respectively. This gives us:  $va(h \rightarrow \acute{d}h) + (t \rightarrow dh)avya = va\acute{d}h + dhavya$ . The *ḍh* is then deleted by 8.3.13 *ḍho ḍhe lopaḥ* which, in turn, conditions the *a* of  $va(\acute{d}h \rightarrow \emptyset) = va$  to change to *o* by rule 6.3.112 *sahivahor od avarṇasya*. We thus get  $v(a \rightarrow o) + dhavya = vo + dhavya$ . Rule 8.4.41 *ṣṭunā ṣṭuḥ* finally replaces *dh* with *ḍh* to produce  $vo + (dh \rightarrow \acute{d}h)avya = vo\acute{d}havya$  which with  $(T)\acute{a}(P)$  and subsequent addition of *sU* produces *voḍhavyā*. Refer to the derivation of (8) *cetā* under the appendix of rule 1.1.2 *adeṇ guṇaḥ* 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 *ktickicau ca samjñāyām*

Examples such as (888) *mantih* and (889) *tantih* contain *man + (K)ti(C) + sU*

and  $tan + (K)ti(C) + sU$  where the  $a$  of  $tan$  and  $man$  are saved from being replaced with the  $\bar{a}$  of rule 6.4.15 *anunāsikasya kvijhaloḥ...* at the strength of 6.4.39 *na ktici...*. The same holds in case of the deletion of their  $n$  by rule 6.4.37, *anudāttopadeśa...*. This, however, is blocked by 6.4.39 *na ktici...*. The application of *rutva-visarga* on the  $s$  of  $manti + s(U)$  and  $tanti + s(U)$  finally produces the desired derivatives.

Note that (890) *sātiḥ* similarly derives from  $ṣan + ti + s(U)$  where the root-initial  $ṣ$  is replaced with  $s$  under the application of rule 6.1.64 *dhātuvādeḥ ....* The  $\bar{n}$  of  $san + ti$  is replaced with  $\bar{a}$  by 6.4.45 *sanaḥ ktici...* to produce  $sa(n \rightarrow \bar{a}) + ti = s(a + \bar{a} \Rightarrow \bar{a}) + ti = sāti$ .

Similar rules apply in deriving (891) *bhūtiḥ*. Example (892) *dattaḥ* derives from  $dā + (K)ta = dāta + s(U)$  where rule 7.4.46 *do dad ghoḥ* replaces  $dā$  with *dad*. Rule 8.4.55 *khari ca* then applies to produce  $(dā \rightarrow dad) + ta = da(d \rightarrow t) + ta = datta$ . The introduction of  $sU$  followed by *rutva-visarga* will produce *dattaḥ*. The instrumental *tatpuruṣa* compound *devadattaḥ* thus has *datta* as one of its constituents.

### 3.4.2 *kriyāsamabhihāre loṭ loṭo hisvau vā ca taddhvamoh*

Example (892) *lunīhi* derives from  $lū + (Ṣ)nā + (LOṬ \rightarrow hi)$  where *LOṬ* gets replaced with *hi*, and the  $\bar{a}$  of  $nā$  gets replaced with  $\bar{i}$  by rule 6.4.113 *ī haly aghoḥ*. This produces  $lū + n(\bar{a} \rightarrow \bar{i}) + (LOṬ \rightarrow hi) = lū + nīhi$ . The  $\bar{u}$  of  $lū$  gets a short replacement per rule 7.3.80 *pṛvādīnām hrasvaḥ* to produce  $l(\bar{u} \rightarrow u) + nīhi = lunīhi$ . The doubling in *lunīhi lunīhi* expresses repetition of the action (*kriyāsamabhihāra*).

Note that *alāvīt* has already been derived as example (20, pp. 334-34) of volume II. Example (893) *alāviṣṭām* entails the replacement of the third person dual *tas* by *tām* of rule 3.4.101 *tasthasthamipām...*. Thus,  $alāvis + tām = alāviṣṭām$  through  $s \rightarrow ṣ$  and  $t \rightarrow ṭ$  changes per rules 8.3.59 *ādeśapratyayayoḥ* and 8.4.41 *ṣṭunā ṣṭuḥ*. The derivation of (842) *alāviṣuḥ* entails replacing the third personal plural *jhi* by *Jus* of 3.4.108 *jher jus*. Thus,  $alāvi(s \rightarrow ṣ) + (jhi \rightarrow (J)us) = alāviṣ) + u(s \rightarrow r \rightarrow ḥ) = alāviṣuḥ$ . The derivation of (894) *adhīṣva* involves  $adhi + i + (LOṬ \rightarrow sva) = adhīṣva$  through  $s \rightarrow ṣ$  (*ṣatva*) and similar long vowel replacement (*savarnādīrgha*).

### 3.4.6 *chandasi lunīlanītiḥ*

Example (895) *akarat* derives from  $a(\bar{T}) + kṛ + (CL\bar{I} \rightarrow a(\bar{N}))$  ( $LUN \rightarrow t(i \rightarrow \emptyset) = a + kṛ + a + t$  through *guṇa* of  $\bar{r}$  (7.4.16 *ṛḍṛṣo' nī guṇaḥ*); deletion of  $i$  of *tiP* (3.4.100 *itaś ca*); and  $a\bar{N}$  as a replacement for *CL\bar{I}* (3.1.59 *kṛmidruruhi...*). The derivation of (896) *akaram* contains  $a + kṛ + a + am$  where *am* is a replacement of *miP*, the first person singular replacement of  $LUN$  (3.4.101 *tasthasthamipām...*). Rule 6.1.107 *ami pūrvāḥ* orders a single replacement for the sequence  $a+a$  of  $a + kar + a + (mi \rightarrow am) = akar + (a+a \rightarrow a)m = akaram$ .

The derivation of (897) *avr̥ṇīta* proceeds with  $a(\bar{T}) + v\bar{r}(N) + (Ṣ)nā + ta$  where  $\bar{r}$  goes through shortening, and the  $\bar{a}$  of  $nā$  goes through the

replacement in  $\bar{i}$  to produce *avr̥ṇīta* via the  $n \rightarrow \bar{n}$  change brought about by 8.4.1 *raṣābhyām no ṇaḥ*....

Example (898) *mamāra* derives from  $m\bar{r}(\bar{N}) + (LIT \rightarrow ti \rightarrow (N)a(L))$  where *LIT* is replaced with the active (*parasmaipada*) ending *ti*, subsequently *NaL* (3.4.82 *parasmaipadānām ṇalatusus*...) at the strength of 1.3.61 *mriyater*..., even when the root is marked with  $\bar{N}$  to receive middle (*ātmanepada*) endings as per 1.3.12 *anudāttaṇita ātmanepadam*. The *vṛddhi* of  $\bar{r}$  by 7.2.115 *aco' ṇṇiti* read with 1.1.51 *ur aṇ raparaḥ* produces  $m(\bar{r} \rightarrow \bar{a}r) + a$ . Rule 6.1.8 *liṭi dhātor*... then causes doubling which, in turn, introduces *mṛ* to the string to realize  $m\bar{r} + m\bar{a}r + a$  via treating *mār* still as *mṛ* in view of the *sthānivadbhāva* of 1.1.58 *dvirvacane' ci*. Rule 7.4.66 *ur at* then replaces  $\bar{r}$  with *a* to produce  $m(\bar{r} \rightarrow a) + m\bar{a}r + a = mamāra$ .

3.4.7 *linarthe leṭ*

3.4.8 *upasaṃvādayoś ca*

Refer to the appendix of 3.1.34 *sib bahulaṃ leṭi* for derivational details of cited examples. Example (899) *īśai* derives from  $\bar{i}\bar{s} + (LET \rightarrow i(\bar{T}) \rightarrow e \rightarrow ai) = \bar{i}\bar{s} + ai = \bar{i}\bar{s}ai$  where the replacement of *LET* in  $i \rightarrow e \rightarrow ai$  is similarly to (878) *adhyayai*. Note, however, that *ai* here is ordered by 3.4.96 *vaito' nyatra*. Our next example, i.e., (900) *gṛhyāntai*, similarly derives from *grah* + *LET* where ( $jh \rightarrow ant$ )*a* (3.4.77 *tiptasjhi*; 7.1.3 *jho' ntaḥ*) replaces *LET* to realize *grah* + *anta*. Rule 3.1.67 *sārvadhātuke 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 *samprasāraṇa* of rule 6.1.16 *grahijyāvayai*... to realize  $g(\bar{r} \rightarrow \bar{r})ah + ya + ant(a \rightarrow e) = g\bar{r}ah + ante$ . The vocalic sequence  $\bar{r} + a$ , as usual, will be replaced with the  $\bar{r}$  in view of rule 6.1.108 *samprasāraṇāc ca*. Rule 3.4.92 *āḍ uttamasya pic ca* then introduces  $\bar{a}(\bar{T})$  whereby we get  $g\bar{r}h + ya + \bar{a} + ante$ . The vocalic sequence  $\bar{a} + a$  is then replaced with  $\bar{a}$  by 6.1.90 *āṭas ca* to produce  $g\bar{r}h + ya + (\bar{a} + a \rightarrow \bar{a})nte = g\bar{r}h + ya + \bar{a}nte$ . The *e* of *ānte* is also replaced with *ai* of rule 3.4.93 *et ai* to realize  $g\bar{r}hya + \bar{a}ntai$  where *savarṇadīrgha* finally realizes  $g\bar{r}hy(a + \bar{a} \rightarrow \bar{a})ntai = g\bar{r}hyāntai$ . Similar rules apply in deriving (901) *ucyāntaiḥ* from *vac* + *LET*. Example (902) *patāma* derives from *pat* + (*LET* → *mas*) where *mas* gets replaced with *ma* of 3.4.82 *parasmaipadānām*.... The  $\bar{a}\bar{t}$  is here introduced by rule 3.4.94 *leṭo' aḍātau*.

3.4.9 *tumarhte sesenase...taveṇ 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 *ādeśapratyayayoḥ* and 6.1.87-*ād guṇaḥ* produces  $pra + i + (s \rightarrow \bar{s})a = pr(a + i \rightarrow e)\bar{s}e = preṣe$ . Example (904) *śriyase* contains  $\bar{s}ri(\bar{N}) + (K)ase(N)$  where rule 6.4.77 *aci śnudhātubhruvām*... orders  $iy(A\bar{N})$  as a replacement for the root-final *i* to yield:  $\bar{s}r(\bar{i} \rightarrow iy)ase = \bar{s}riyase$ . The derivation of (905) *āhuvadhyaḥ* contains  $\bar{a} + hu + (K)adhyai$ ,



or (K)adhyai(N) where 6.1.77 *iko yaṅ aci* replaces *u* with *v*. Note that (906) *pibadhyai* contains *pā* + (Ś)adhyai where rule 7.3.78 *pāghrādhmāsthāmnādāṅ...* orders *pā* replaced with *pib*. Example (907) *mādayadhyai* contains *mādi* + (Ś)adhyain where *mādi* is the causal form of *mad* ‘to be happy’ derived via *ṆiC* (3.1.26 *hetumati ca*) and subsequent *vṛddhi*. The final derivate is produced from *mādi* + *adhyaiN* through *guṇa* and *ay* replacing *e*.

#### 3.4.10 *prayai rohiṣyai avyathisyai*

Example (908) *prayai* is derived via *nipātana* with the introduction of affix *Kai* after verbal root *yā* used with the preverb *pra*. The *ā* of *pra* + *yā* + (K)ai is then deleted by 6.4.64 *āto loṇa iṭi ca*. The next two examples, (909) *rohiṣyai* and (910) *avyathisyai*, are derived from *ruh* + *isyai*, through *guṇa*, and *naṅ* + *vyath* + *isyai*. The *sU* introduced after these derivates is deleted by 2.4.82 *avyayād āpsupah*. The assignment of the term *avyaya* is made at the strength of 1.1.39 *kr̥n mejantah*.

#### 3.4.12 *śaki ṇamulkamulau*

Examples (911) *dr̥ṣe* and (912) *vikhye* are derivates of (K)se introduced after verbal roots *dr̥śIR* and *khyā*, used with the preverb *vi* with the deletion of its *ā* similarly to (908) *prayai*. Examples (913) *vibhājam* and (914) *apalupam* are derived from *vibhaj* + (N)am(UL) and *apalup* + (K)am(UL) where the verbal roots are used with the preverbs *vi* and *apa*. The first example entails *vṛddhi* conditioned by the *Ṇ* as per rule 7.2.115 *aco' ṇṇiti*. The second example cannot undergo either *vṛddhi* or *guṇa* because of the *K* as an it in affix *KamUL*. The deletion of *sU* in all these examples is conditioned by the assignment of the term *avyaya* to them: the first two based on their ending in *e*; the subsequent two based on their termination in *m*.

#### 3.4.14 *kr̥tyārthe tavaikenkenyatvanah*

The derivation of (916) *didr̥kṣenyaḥ* begins with the derivation of its underlying root *didr̥kṣa* from *dr̥ś* + *dr̥ś* + *sa(N)* through the introduction of affix *saN*, doubling (*dvitva*), replacement in *a* followed by *r* (7.4.66 *ur at*; 1.1.51 *ur aṅ raparah*) and *halādiśeṣa* (7.4.60 *halādi...*). This produces *dr̥ś* + *dr̥ś* + *sa* => *da* + *dr̥ś* + *sa*. Rule 7.4.79 *sany atah* then orders *i* as a replacement for the *a* of *da* to produce *d(a→i)* + *dr̥ś* + *sa* = *di* + *dr̥ś*. The *ś* is then replaced with *k* of rule 8.2.41 *ṣaḍoḥ kaḥ si* to produce *di* + *dr̥(ś→k)* + *sa* = *didr̥k* + *sa*. Rule 8.3.59 *ādeśapratyayayoḥ* then orders the *s* to be replaced with *ṣ*. The resultant form, i.e., *didr̥kṣa*, is assigned the term *dhātu* by rule 3.1.32 *sanādyantā dhātavaḥ*.

#### 3.4.11 *dr̥ṣe vikhye ca*

#### 3.4.21 *samānakarṭṛkayoḥ pūrvakāle*

#### 3.4.22 *ābhīkṣṇye ṇamul ca*

The derivation of (917) *bhuktvā* and (918) *pītvā* derive from *bhuj* + (K)tvā and *pā* + (K)tvā where *kutva* entails *j→g→k* similar to (725) *bhoktā*, and *pītvā* entails the replacement of *ā* with *ī* by rule 6.4.66 *ghumāsthāpā....*

The derivates of the next rule entail doubling of *bhojam* and *pāyam* as

in (919) *bhojam̐bhojam* and (920) *pāyam̐pāyam*. The individual forms are derived by introducing affix (N)am(UL) after verbal roots *bhuj* and *pā* where *u* of *bhuj* goes through *guṇa*, and *pā* receives the augment *y*(UK) of rule 7.3.33 *āto yuk cin...*

3.4.25 *karmany ākroṣe kr̥ṇaḥ khamuñ*

3.4.26 *svādumi ṇamul*

The derivation of (921) *coram̐kāram* and (922) *dasyum̐kāram* requires the introduction of affix (KH)am(UÑ) after verbal root *kr̥* 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 *vṛddhi* of *ṛ* by 7.2.115 *aco' ṇṇiti*. 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 + k(ṛ→ār) + (KH)am(UÑ) = cora + (am→∅) + kāram = cora + m(UM) + kāram = coram̐kāram*. Similar application of rules will yield *dasyum̐kāram*. The *m→ṃ* change will result due to rule 8.3.24 *naś cāpadāntasya jhali*.

The examples of the second rule have already been derived as (136) *svādum̐kāram*, (137) *sampannam̐kāram*, and (138) *lavaṇam̐kāram* under the appendix of volume II (pp. 372-74).

3.4.36 *samūlākṛtajīveṣu...*

3.4.37 *karāṇe hanah*

3.4.39 *haste varttigrahoḥ*

The derivation of (923) *samūlaghātam* contains (*samūla + am + han + (N)am(UL) + sU*)) similarly to (450) *śīrṣaghātī*.

Examples (924) *akṛtakāram* and (925) *jīvagrāham* are similarly derived from (*nañ + kr̥ + Kta = akṛta + am + kr̥ + (N)am(UL) + sU*)), and *jīva + am + grah + (N)am(UL) + sU*)).

Deriving (926) *pāṇighātam* from *pāṇi + bhyām + han + (N)am(UL) + sU*)) follows similar derivational patterns. The derivation of (927) *hastavarttam* contains *hasta + Ṭā + vartti + (N)am(UL) + sU*)) where *vartti* is the causative form of *vṛt* 'to turn' ending in affix *ṆiC*. The *ṆiC*, however, is deleted subsequently by 6.4.51 *ṇer aniṭi*.

3.3.47 *upadaṃśas tṛtīyāyām*

3.4.48 *hiṃsārthānām ca samānakarmakānām*

Deriving (928) *mūlakopadaṃśam* from *mūlaka + Ṭā + upadaṃś + (N)am(UL) + sU*)) is not very difficult especially in view of the preceding details. Example (929) *ādrakopadaṃśam* is not different either. Note, however, that the derivatives of *NamUL* are in many ways parallel to the derivatives of *Ktvā*. We will then also get forms such as (930) *mūlakenopadaśya* where the *m* of the root is deleted by rule 6.4.24 *aniditāṃ 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 *tr̥tīyā*....

#### 3.4.52 *apādāne parīpsāyām*

Examples such as (932) *śayyotthāyam* and (933) *randhrāpakarṣam* derive from *śayyā + NasI + ut + sthā + (N)am(UL) + sU)* and *randhra + NasI + apakṛṣ + (N)am(UL) + sU)* where the *s* of the preverb *sthā* will be replaced with *t* by rule 8.4.60 *udaḥ sthāstambhoḥ*.... This *th* will be subsequently deleted by 8.4.65 *jharo jhari savarṇe*. Note also that *utthāyam* also requires the introduction of *yUK* of rule 7.3.33 *āto yuk ciṇ*.... The *ā* of *śayyā* and the *u* of *utthāya* are replaced with *o* by 6.1.87 *ād guṇaḥ*.

#### 3.4.61 *svāṅge taspratyaḥ kṛbhvoḥ*

Note that *mukhataḥ* of examples such as (934) *mukhataḥkāram*, (935) *mukhatobhūya*, and (936) *mukhatobhāvam* entails the introduction of affix *tasIL* of rule 5.4.45 *apādāne cāhīyaruhoḥ*. The *s* of *mukhataḥ* goes through *rutva-visarga* in *mukhataḥkāram*. The *rU*, however, is changed to *u* via rule 6.1.114 *hasi ca* in cases of *mukhatobhūya* and *mukhatobhāvam*. The resultant sequence of, for example, *mukhata(h→rU→u) = mukhat(a + u)* is replaced with *o* to produce *mukhatobhūya* or *mukhatobhāvam* through the application of 6.1.87 *ād guṇaḥ*.

#### 3.4.68 *bhavyageyapracanīyopasthānīyajanyāplāvyaḥ pātyā 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 tannimittasyaiva*. A similar replacement in *āv* for the resultant *vṛddhi* in *au* of *ā(N→∅) + plu + (N)ya(T)* is also ordered by this same rule to derive an example such as (938) *āplāvyaḥ*. The *NyaT* is introduced by rule 3.1.125 *or āvaśyake*. Examples (939) *pravacanīyaḥ* and (940) *upasthānīyaḥ* entail the introduction of affix *anīyaR* (3.1.96 *tavyat-tavyānīyarah*) after verbal roots *vac* and *sthā* used with the preverbs *pra* and *upa*.

#### 3.4.72 *gatyarthākarmakaśliṣaśīnsthāsavasa*...

Note that (941) *gataḥ* derives from (*gam + Kta + sU)*) where *m* is deleted by 6.4.37 *anudāttopadeśa*.... Examples (942) *glāna* and (943) *āsita* 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(ai→ā) + ta = glā + ta* will have the *t* replaced with *n* by 8.2.43 *saṃyogāder*.... Deriving (944) *upaśliṣta* from *upaśliṣ + (K)ta* requires the *t* to be replaced with *ṭ* by rule 8.4.41 *ṣṭunā ṣṭuḥ*. The derivation of (945) *anūṣita* from *anu + vas + (K)ta* not only requires the introduction of *iT* by rule 7.2.52 *vasati kṣudhor iṭ* 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 = anūṣita* through

*savarṇadīrgha*. The *s* of *anūsita* is replaced with *ṣ* in accordance with rule 8.3.60 *śāsivasighasi*....

The derivation of (946) *ārūḍhaḥ* from (*āruḥ* + (K)*ta*) + *sU*) requires the *h* to be replaced with *ḍh* and the *t* with *dh* through the applications of rules 8.2.31 *ho ḍhaḥ* and 8.2.40 *jhaṣasta*.... The resultant *āru(h→ḍh) + (t→dh)a = āruḍh + dha* will then have its *dh* replaced with *ḍh* by 8.4.40 *ṣṭunā ṣṭuḥ*. The first *ḍh* of *āruḍh + dha* will then be deleted by 8.3.13 *ḍho ḍke lopah* subsequent to which rule 6.3.111 *ḍhra lope*... will demand the *u* of *āru(ḍh→∅) + dha* to be replaced with *ū* to produce *ārūḍha*.

Example (947) *anujīrṇaḥ* contains (*anu* + *jīr* + (K)*ta*) + *sU*) where *īr* is replaced with *i* followed by *r* by rule 7.1.101 *īr id dhātoḥ* read with 1.1.51 *ur aṅ raparaḥ*. The *t* of *anuj(īr→ir) + ta = anujir + ta* is replaced first with *n* then by *ṇ* through the application of rules 8.2.42 *radābhyām*...and 8.4.1 *raṣābhyām*.... The *i* of *anujir + (t→n→ṇ)a = anujir + ṇa* is then replaced with *ī* by 8.2.77 *hali ca* to produce *anujīrṇaḥ*.

#### 3.4.80 *thāsaḥ se*

Example (948) *pacase* derives from *pac* + (Ś)*a(P)* + (*LAT*→ *thās*→*se*) where our present rule replaces *thās* with *se*. Example (949) *peciṣe* from *pac* + (*LIT*→*se*) entails doubling where, given *pa* + *pac* + *i(T)* + *se*, *pa* gets deleted by 6.4.120 *ata ekahalmadhye' nādeśer liṭi*, and *s* is replaced with *ṣ* by rule 8.3.59 *ādeśapratyayayoḥ*. The derivation of (950) *paktāse* contains *pac* + *LUT*→*thās*→*se* (3.3.15 *anadyatane luṭ*) where *LUT* is replaced with *se* via *thās*, and rule 3.1.33 *syatāsī lṛluṭoḥ* introduces *tās* to realize *pac* + *tās* + *se*. Note that the *s* of *tās* is subsequently deleted by 7.4.50 *tasastyor lopah* to produce: *pac* + *tā(s→∅) + se = pac + tāse*. The *c* of *pac* will then go through its replacement in *k* (*kutva*; 8.2.30 *coḥ kuḥ*) to realize the final derivates 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 *ṣ* to realize *pak* + (*s→ṣ*)*ya* + *se = pakṣyase*.

#### 3.4.82 *parasmaipadānām ṇalatususthalathusaṅalvamāḥ*

Example (952) *papāca* derives from *pa* + *pac* + (N)*a(L)* via doubling where *a* of *pac* goes through *vṛddhi* of 7.2.116 *aco' ṇṇiti*... to produce: *pa* + *p(a→ā)c + a = papāca*. Examples such as (953) *pecatuḥ*, (954) *pecuḥ*, (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) *peciṣe*. 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 pañcānām ādita*...

The derivation of examples such as *āha*, etc., has already been explained in the appendix of volume II. Example (957) *āttha* derives from *brū* +

( $\acute{S}$ ) $a(P) + si(P) = brū + a + si$  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  $āhas thaḥ$ . This gives us:  $(brū \rightarrow ā(h \rightarrow th) + (\acute{S})a(P) \rightarrow \emptyset) + (si \rightarrow tha(L)) = āth + tha$ . The  $th$  of  $āth$  will be replaced with  $t$  to realize  $ā(th \rightarrow t) + tha = āttha$ .

#### 3.4.87 *ser hy aṭic ca*

Refer to the derivation of *lunīhi* under rule 3.4.2 *kriyāsamabhihāre...* Example (958) *punīhi* 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 *svādibhyaḥ śnuḥ*). Similar rules apply in deriving (960) *takṣnuhi* with the understanding that the  $n$  of  $nu$  is here changed to  $ṇ$  by 8.4.1 *raṣābhyāṃ no ṇaḥ...*

#### 3.4.92 *āḍ uttamasya ṭic ca*

The derivation of (961) *karavāṇi* contains the string  $kṛ + u + ni$  where  $ni$  is a further replacement (3.4.89 *mer niḥ*) of the first person singular replacement of  $mi$  in itself a replacement of  $LAṬ$ , and the  $u$  is the *vikaraṇa* of the *tanādi* class (3.1.79 *tanādi...*). Rule 3.4.92 then introduces  $ā(Ṭ)$  to realize  $kṛ + u + ā + ni$  which then goes through the *guṇa* of  $ṛ$  under the condition of  $u$ . This produces  $k(ṛ \rightarrow ar) + u + a + ni$ . The  $u$  will now be subject to the application of *guṇa* under the condition of  $āni$  thereby producing  $k(ṛ \rightarrow ar) + (u \rightarrow o) + āni = kar + o + āni$ . The replacement in  $av$  for  $o$  followed by the change of  $n$  to  $ṇ$  by 8.4.1 *raṣābhyāṃ no ṇaḥ...* will finally realize  $kar + (o \rightarrow av) + ā(n \rightarrow ṇ)i = karavāṇi$ .

#### 3.4.95 *eta ai*

Example (962) *mantrayaite* derives from *mantri + (Ṣ)a(P) + (LEṬ \rightarrow āt(ām \rightarrow e))* where *mantri* ends in affix  $ṆiC$ ,  $LEṬ$  is replaced with the third person dual *ātmanepada* ending  $ātām$ , and  $ām$  of  $ātām$  is further replaced with  $e$  (3.4.79 *ṭit ātmanepadānām...*) 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 \rightarrow ai)te = mantri + a + aite*. The *guṇa* of  $i$  followed by the *ay* replacement of the resultant  $e$  will then produce: *mantr(i \rightarrow e \rightarrow ay) + a + aite = mantraya + aite*. An application of 6.1.88 *vṛddhir eci* will finally bring about *mantray(a + ai \rightarrow ai)te = mantrayaite*.

Similar rules apply in deriving the second person dual (967) *mantrayaithe* from *mantri + a + āthām*. The derivation of (868) *karavāite* and (960) *karavāithe* proceed with  $kṛ + u + ātām$  and  $kṛ + u + āthām$  where  $u$ , the *vikaraṇa* introduced by rule 3.1.79 *tanādikṛṇ...*, goes through *guṇa* and subsequent replacement of  $o$  by  $av$ .

#### 3.4.97 *sa uttamasya*

#### 3.4.98 *nityaṃ nitaḥ*

The derivation of (970) *karavāva* and (971) *karavāma* optionally to (972) *karavāvah* and (973) *karavāmaḥ* contains the strings  $kṛ + u + ā(Ṭ) +$

( $LA\bar{T} \rightarrow vas$ ) and  $kr + u + \bar{a}(T) + (LA\bar{T} \rightarrow mah)$  where  $\bar{a}T$  is introduced by 3.4.94 *leto' adāt*. Here again both  $r$  and  $u$  go through *guṇa*, with  $av$  in case of  $u$ , to produce  $k(r \rightarrow ar) + (u \rightarrow o \rightarrow av) + \bar{a} + vas = kar + av + \bar{a} + vas = karavāvas$ . 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  $karavāva(s \rightarrow r \rightarrow h) = karavāvah$  and  $karavāma(s \rightarrow r \rightarrow h) = karavāmah$ .

The derivation of (974) *apacāva* and (975) *apacāma* from  $a(T) + pac + (\acute{S})a(P) + (LAN \rightarrow vas) = apaca + vas$  and  $a(T) + pac + (\acute{S})a(P) + (LAN \rightarrow mas) = apaca + mas$  requires the deletion of the final  $s$  as obligatory (*nitya*). Thus, rule 3.4.99 *nityam nitaḥ* will allow only one set of forms in the first person dual and plural. Rule 7.3.101 *ato dīrgho yañi* finally applies to realize  $apac(a \rightarrow \bar{a}) + va(s \rightarrow \emptyset) = apacāva$ . The plural is similarly derived as:  $apac(a \rightarrow \bar{a}) + ma(s \rightarrow \emptyset) = apacāma$ .

#### 3.4.100 *itaś ca*

Example (976) *apākṣīt* contains  $a(T) + pac + s(\acute{I}C) + \bar{i}(T) + (LUN \rightarrow ti(P))$  where our present rule deletes the  $i$  of  $tiP$ ; and  $\bar{i}T$  is introduced by rule 7.3.96 *astisico' pṛkte*. The introduction of  $aT$  and  $s\acute{I}C$  should be easier to comprehend by now. The next stage in the derivation relates to the *vṛddhi* of the  $a$  of  $pac$  (7.2.3 *vadavrajahalantasyācaḥ*) followed by the *kutva* of  $c$  (8.2.30 *coḥ kuḥ*). Thus,  $ap(a \rightarrow \bar{a})c + s + \bar{i} + t = ap\bar{a}(c \rightarrow k) + s + \bar{i} = apākṣīt$ . The  $s$  of *apākṣīt* will then be replaced with  $\acute{s}$  to produce  $apāk(s \rightarrow \acute{s})\bar{i}t = apākṣīt$  by rule 8.3.59 *ādeśa pratyayayoḥ*.

#### 3.4.101 *tasthasthamipām tāmtamtāmaḥ*

The derivatives of  $LAN$  are not very difficult to derive. The examples of  $LUN$  need some explanation. For example, (977) *apāktām* contains  $a(T) + pac + (s\acute{I}C \rightarrow \emptyset) + (LUN \rightarrow tas \rightarrow tām) = apac + tām$  where *vṛddhi* and *kutva* change  $pac$  to  $pāk$  similarly to the earlier example, and  $s\acute{I}C$  gets deleted by 8.2.26 *jhalo jhali*. We thus get:  $ap(a \rightarrow \bar{a})(c \rightarrow k) + tām = apāktām$ . Other examples of  $LUN$ , i.e., (978) *apāktam* from  $a(T) + (pac \rightarrow pāk) + (LUN \rightarrow thas \rightarrow tam)$  and (979) *apākta* from  $a(T) + (pac \rightarrow pāk) + (LUN \rightarrow tha \rightarrow ta)$ , follow similar application of rules. The derivation of (980) *apākṣam* from  $a(T) + (pac \rightarrow pāk) + (s(\acute{I}C) \rightarrow \acute{s}) + (LUN \rightarrow mi(P) \rightarrow am)$  does not meet the conditions under which its  $s(\acute{I}C)$  can be deleted: Consequently, the  $s$  of the string is retained with its subsequent replacement with  $\acute{s}$ .

#### 3.4.102 *liṅaḥ sīyut*

Examples (981) *paceta*, (982) *paceyātām* and (983) *paceran* derive from  $pac + (\acute{S})a(P) + LIN$  where  $LIN$  gets replaced with the third personal singular, dual, and plural *ātmanepada* endings *ta*, *ātām* and *jha* respectively. Our present rule introduces  $sīy(UT \rightarrow \emptyset)$  to the replacements of  $LIN$  although the  $s$  and  $y$  of *sīy* are deleted by rules 7.2.79 *liṅaḥ salopo...* and

6.1.66 *lopo vyor...* respectively in the first example. An application of *guṇa* finally produces  $pac + (s \rightarrow \emptyset) (\bar{i} \rightarrow e) (y \rightarrow \emptyset) + ta = pac + e + ta = paceta$ . Note that yet another augment *sUT* is also introduced to the first example by rule 3.4.107 *suṭ tithoḥ*. This again is deleted by the same rule which deletes the *s* of *sīy*.

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 *yāsuṭ parasmaipadeṣūdātto nic ca*

3.4.104 *kid āśiṣi*

Example (984) *kuryāt* contains  $kṛ + u + (LIN \rightarrow ti)$  where *ti* loses its *i* to 3.4.100 *itaś ca*, and our present rule introduces *yās(UT)* to realize:  $kṛ + u + yā + t(i \rightarrow \emptyset) = kur + u + yās + t$ . The *u* then causes the *guṇa* of *ṛ* whereby we get  $k(ṛ \rightarrow ar) + u + yā + t = kar + u + yāt$ . Rule 6.4.101 *at ut sārvaadhātuke* now replaces the *a* of *kar* with *u* (*utva*) to produce  $k(a \rightarrow u)r + u + yāt = kur + u + yāt$ . The *u* before *yāt* will then be deleted by 6.4.109 *ye ca*. We thus get:  $kur + (u \rightarrow \emptyset) + yāt = kuryāt$ . The derivation of (985) *kuryātām* requires that *LIN* be replaced with *tas* which, in turn, be replaced with *tām* of 3.4.101 *tasthasthamipām....* This will give us  $kṛ + u + (LIN \rightarrow tas \rightarrow tām)$  from whence *kuryātām* can be derived similarly to the preceding example. Our next example, (986) *kuryuḥ*, contains  $kṛ + u + yās + us$  where *us* is a replacement of *jha* (3.4.108 *jher jus*) which itself is a replacement of *LIN*. The application of *guṇa* and *utva* followed by the deletion of *u* similar to the preceding two examples will yield  $kur + (u \rightarrow \emptyset) + yās + us = kur + yās + us$ . The *s* is then deleted by 7.2.79 *liṅaḥ salopo' nantyasya* 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 *usy apadāntāt*. Thus,  $kur + y(\bar{a} + u \rightarrow u)s = kuryus$ . The application of *rutva-visarga* will now derive *kuryuḥ*.

Similar rules apply in deriving examples (987) *iṣyāt*, (988) *iṣyāstām* and (989) *iṣyāsuḥ* which are all derivatives of *iṣ* in *LIN* denoting 'benediction' (*āśiṣi*). It must, however, be understood that the replacements of *LIN* in these examples are treated as marked with *K* as their *it*. This is for blocking any *guṇa* or *vṛddhi*. The deletion of *s* of *yās* in the first two examples is accomplished by 8.2.29 *skoḥ saṃyogādyor....* The assignment of the term *ārdhadhātuka* to *LIN* with the denotatum of 'benediction' blocks the introduction of *Śa* of 3.1.77 *tudādibhyaḥ śaḥ*.

3.4.104 *jhasya ran*

3.4.105 *iṭo' t*

The derivation of (990) *paceran* contains  $pac + (Ś)a(P) + sīy + jha$  where *LIN* 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 *liṅaḥ salopo....* This will give us:

$pac + a + (s \rightarrow \emptyset)\bar{i}(y \rightarrow \emptyset) + (LIN \rightarrow jha \rightarrow ran))) = pac + a + \bar{i} + ran$  where 6.1.87 *ād guṇah* must apply to produce  $pac(a + \bar{i} \rightarrow e) + ran = pac + e + ran = \acute{paceran}$ .

Example (991) *paceya* contains  $pac + a + \bar{i}y + i(T)$  where  $i(T)$  is the first person singular *parasmaipada* replacement of  $LIN$ , and  $s\bar{i}y(UT)$  again loses its  $s$  similarly to the preceding examples. Our present rule replaces  $i(T)$  with  $a$  whereby we get  $pac + a + \bar{i}y + (i(T) \rightarrow a) = pac + a + \bar{i}y + a$ . An application of 6.1.87 *ād guṇah* will finally produce  $pac + (a + \bar{i} \rightarrow e)y + a = \acute{paceya}$ .

Deriving (992) *kṛṣṭya* from  $kṛ + s\bar{i}y + i(T) \rightarrow a$  where  $i(T)$  is a replacement of  $LIN$ . The  $s$  of  $kṛ + s\bar{i}y + a$  has its  $s$  replaced with  $\acute{s}$ .

3.4.107 *suṭ tithoḥ*

3.4.108 *jher jus*

Refer to the derivation of (339) *kṛṣṭa* under the appendix of rule 1.2.12 *uś ca*. The remaining examples should be similarly derived. Note that these examples entail benedictive  $LIN$  where 1.2.12 *uś ca* conditions lack of *guṇa*.

Example (993) *paceyuḥ* contains  $pac + (\acute{S})a(P) + y\bar{a}s(UT) + (jha \rightarrow (J)us)) = pac + a + y\bar{a}s + us$  where rule 7.2.80 *ato yeyah* will introduce *iy* in place of  $y\bar{a}$  of  $y\bar{a}s$  to produce  $pac + a + (y\bar{a} \rightarrow iy)s + us) = pac + a + iy + s + us$ . The  $s$  as usual will be deleted by 7.2.79 *līnaḥ salopo' nantyasya*. The final form will be realized by the application of single *guṇa* replacement (6.1.87 *ād guṇah*), on the vocalic sequence of  $a + i$ , and *rutva-visarga* on the final  $s$ . Thus,  $pac + (a + \bar{i} \rightarrow e)y + u(s \rightarrow r \rightarrow h)) = \acute{paceyuḥ}$ . Similar rules apply in deriving (994) *yajeyuḥ*.

3.4.109 *sij abhyastavidibhyaś ca*

Examples (994) *akārṣuḥ* and (995) *ahārṣuḥ* are derived similarly to (10) *akārṣīt* and (17) *ahārṣīt* explained under the appendix of rule 1.13 *iko guṇavṛddhī*. Note, however, that these derivatives require *jhi* to replace  $LUN$  which, in turn, will be replaced with *us*. Furthermore, rule 7.3.96 *atisico' pṛkte...* will not apply in these examples. Thus,  $a + (kṛ \rightarrow \bar{a}r) + s + (jhi \rightarrow us) = ak\bar{a}r(s \rightarrow \acute{s}) + us = ak\bar{a}r\acute{s}u(s \rightarrow r \rightarrow h) = ak\bar{a}r\acute{s}uḥ$ .

The preceding examples illustrate the replacement in *Jus* for *jhi* occurring after  $s\bar{I}C$ . Examples (996) *abibhayuḥ* and (937) *ajihrayuḥ* entail this replacement after items termed *abhyasta* (6.1.5 *ubhe abyastam*). The derivation of *abibhayuḥ* begins with  $bh\bar{i} + (\acute{S}aP \rightarrow \acute{S}LU) + (LUN \rightarrow jhi)$  where  $\acute{S}aP$  is deleted by means of  $\acute{S}LU$ , which, in turn, conditions doubling (*dvitva*) to produce  $(bh\bar{i} + bh\bar{i} + jhi)$ . The long  $\bar{i}$  of the first  $bh\bar{i}$  will be replaced with short by 7.4.59 *hrasvaḥ*. The resultant string  $bh(\bar{i} \rightarrow i) + bh\bar{i} + us$  then requires the application of 8.4.53 *abhyāse car ca* whereby the  $bh$  of  $bhi$  is replaced with  $b$  to produce:  $(bh \rightarrow b)i + bh\bar{i} + jhi = bi + bh\bar{i} + jhi$ . The introduction of  $aT$  and replacement of *jhi* by *us* follow to realize:  $aT + bh\bar{i} + bh\bar{i} + (jhi \rightarrow us)$ . Note that the output of doubling, i.e.,  $bh\bar{i} + bh\bar{i}$ ,



is assigned the term *abhyasta* to facilitate the replacement of *jhi* by *us*. The *guṇa* (7.3.84 *sārvadhātukārdhadhātukayoḥ*) of *ī* followed by the *av* replacement (6.1.78 *eco' yavāyāvah*) for the resultant *e* will produce:  $a + bi + bh(i \rightarrow e \rightarrow ay) + us = abibhayus$ . The application of *rutva-visarga* will finally realize  $abibhayu(s \rightarrow r \rightarrow ḥ) = abibhayuḥ$ .

The derivation of (998) *ajihrayuḥ* similarly realizes the string  $hrī + hrī + jhi = h(r \rightarrow \emptyset)ī + hrī + jhi = h(i \rightarrow i) + hrī + (jhi \rightarrow us) = a + hi + hrī + us$  after doubling, *halādisēṣa*, shortening of *ī*, 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  $a + (h \rightarrow jh \rightarrow j)i + hrī + us$  which then goes through *guṇa*, *e* → *ay*, and *rutva-visarga* similar to the preceding example to derive *ajihrayuḥ*.

Example (999) *ajāgaruḥ* follows similar derivational pattern though with fewer rule application. For, the deletion of *ŚaP* in this example is accomplished by *LUK* of 2.4.72 *adiprabhṛtibhyaḥ...* which would not permit doubling. Thus,  $aT + jāg(r \rightarrow ar) + u(s \rightarrow r \rightarrow ḥ) = ajāgaruḥ$  through *guṇa* and *rutva-visarga*. Note that *us* cannot replace *jhi* unless *jhi* is occurring after a form which has been termed *abhyasta*. The term *abhyasta* cannot be assigned unless the root goes through doubling (*dvitva*). It is to allow the replacement in *us* for *jhi* after verbal roots *jāgr*, and the like, that rule 6.1.6 *jakṣityādayaḥ ṣaṭ* is formulated. This rule assigns the term *abhyasta* to six roots even without doubling. Similar rules apply in deriving (1000) *aviduḥ*.

### 3.4.110 ātaḥ

The derivation of (1001) *aduḥ* contains  $a(T) + dā + (sIC \rightarrow \emptyset) + (LUN \rightarrow jhi \rightarrow us) = a + dā + us$ . Rule 6.1.93 *usyapadāntāt* then applies to replace the root-final *ā* with *u* to produce  $ad(\bar{a} \rightarrow u)s = adus$  whereby we get  $adu(s \rightarrow r \rightarrow ḥ) = aduḥ$  through *rutva-visarga*. Similar rules apply in deriving (1002) *adhuḥ* from  $a + dhā + us$ , and (1003) *asthuḥ* from  $a + sthā + us$ .

### 3.4.111 laṅaḥ śākaṭāyanasyaiva

Note that (1004) *ayuḥ* and (1005) *avuḥ* derive as optional forms of (1006) *ayān* and (1007) *avān* from  $a(T) + yā + (ŚaP \rightarrow \emptyset) + (LUN \rightarrow jhi) = a + yā + jhi$  and  $a + vā + (jhi \rightarrow us)$  respectively where 2.4.72 *adiprabhṛtibhyaḥ...* deletes the *ŚaP*. If, however, one does not accept the option favored by Śākaṭāyana, the derivate would be *ayān* where *jhi* will be replaced with *ant* of 7.1.3 *jho' ntaḥ*. The resultant string, i.e.,  $ayā + (jh \rightarrow ant)i = ayā + anti$ , will have the *i* deleted by 3.4.100 *itaś ca* thereby producing  $ayā + ant(i \rightarrow \emptyset) = ayā + ant$ . The application of 8.2.23 *saṃyogāntasya lopah* will then delete the final *t* to derive  $ayā + an(t \rightarrow \emptyset) = ayā + an$ . The vocalic sequence  $\bar{a} + a$  will then be replaced with the single

long  $\bar{a}$  to produce  $ay(\bar{a}+a\rightarrow\bar{a})n = ay\bar{a}n$  through *savarṇadīrgha*. Same steps have to be followed to derive *avān*.

#### 3.4.115 *liṭ ca*

Examples (1008) *pecitha* and (1009) *śekitha* contain *pac* + (*LIT* → *siP* → *thaL*) = *pac* + *tha* and *śak* + *tha* where 3.4.82 *parasmaipadānām...* replaces the *LIT* with *thaL* via the second personal *parasmaipada* singular affix *siP*. Rule 3.4.115 *liṭ ca* assigns the term *ārdhadhātuka* to *tha* to facilitate the introduction of *i(T)* via 7.2.63 *ṛto bhāradvājasya*. But rule 6.1.8 *liṭi 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* →  $\emptyset$ ) + *p(a* → *e)c* + *i* + *tha* = *pacitha*. Similar rules apply in deriving *śekitha*.

The derivation of (1010) *jagle* and (1011) *mamle* contain *glai* + (*LIT* → *ta*) = *glai* + *ta* and *mlai* + *ta* where 3.4.81 *liṭas tajhayor eṣirec* orders *ta* replaced with *e(Ṣ* →  $\emptyset$ ) to yield *glai* + *e*. The root then receives  $\bar{a}$  as a replacement (6.1.45 *ādeca upadeṣe...*) for its *ai* whereby we get *gl(ai* →  $\bar{a}$ ) + *e* = *glā* + *e*. Doubling and related operations such as *halādiṣeṣa*, and short-replacement (*hrasva*) for the long  $\bar{a}$  then produces *glā* + *glā* + *e* = *gā* + *glā* + *e* = *g(ā* → *a*) + *glā* + *e* = *ga* + *glā* + *e*. The  $\bar{a}$  of *glā* is then deleted by 6.4.64 *āto plopa iṭi ca* to realize: *ga* + *gl(ā* →  $\emptyset$ ) + *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 *mamle*.

#### 3.4.116 *lināsīṣi*

Example (1012) *laviṣīṣta* and (1013) *paviṣīṣta* contain *lū* + *i(T)* + *sīy(UT)* + *s(UT)* + (*LIN* → *ta*) and *pū* + *i(T)* + *sīy(UT)* + *s(UT)* + *ta* similarly to (315) *bhitiṣīṣta* (vol. II, pp. 436-37) under the appendix of rule 1.2.11 *linśicāv ātmanepadeṣu*. Note here that the assignment of the term *ārdhadhātuka* under the conditions of benedictive *LIN* enables the introduction of *iṭ* by 7.2.35 *ārdhadhātukasyeḍ valādeḥ*. There are basically three operations, i.e., *guṇa* 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 *ādeśapratyayayoḥ*).

#### 3.4.117 *chandasy ubhayathā*

Example (1014) *vardhantu* contains *vardhi* + (*LOT* → *jhi* → *antu*) where *vardhi* is derived by introducing affix *ṆiC* after *vrdh* through *guṇa*, 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* + *ant(i* → *u*) = *vardhi* + *antu*. The *i* of *ṆiC* is then deleted by 6.4.51 *ner aniṭi* to yield *vardh(i* →  $\emptyset$ ) + *antu* = *vardhantu*. The assignment of the term *ārdhadhātuka* causes the deletion of affix *ṆiC*.

Example (1015) *svastaye* contains (*su* + *as* + *KtiN*) + (*Ne*) where affix

*KtiN* is introduced after verbal root *as* occurring with *su* to derive the nominal base  $s(u \rightarrow v) + as + ti = svasti$ . The derivation of the dative form *svastaye* from *svasti* + ( $\dot{N} \rightarrow \emptyset$ )*e* requires the application of rule 1.4.7 *śeṣo ghy asakhi* whereby *svasti* is optionally assigned the term *ghi* as opposed to *nadī*. Rule 7.3.111 *gher niti* applies as a result to allow for the *guṇa* of *i* to produce:  $svast(i \rightarrow e) + e = svaste + e$ . Rule 6.1.78 *eco' yavāyāvaḥ* will then replace the first *e* with *ay* to realize:  $svast(e \rightarrow ay) + e = svastaye$ . Note that affix *KtiN* in *svasti* is to be termed *ārddhadhātuka* by 3.4.114 *ārddhadhātukaṃ śeṣaḥ* 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 *ārddhadhātuka* to affix *KtiN*.

Example (1016) *viśṛṇvire* derives from  $vi + (\acute{s}ru \rightarrow \acute{s}r) + (\acute{S})nu + LIT \rightarrow jha \rightarrow ire(C))$  where *LIT* is replaced with *ireC* via the third person plural *ātmanepada* suffix *jha*, and rule 3.1.74 *śruvaḥ śṛ ca* introduces the *śṛ* as a replacement for *śru* together with ( $\acute{S}$ )*nu*. This explains why we get *viśṛ* + *nu* + *ire*. Both *u* and  $\acute{n}$  of *nu* then go through replacements in *v* (6.4.87 *huśnuvoḥ sārva...*) and  $\acute{n}$  (8.3.59 *ādeśapratyayayoḥ*) respectively. This gives us:  $viśṛ + (nu \rightarrow \acute{n}v) + ire = viśṛṇvire$ . Note that blocking the assignment of the term *ārddhadhātuka* in favor of *sārvadhātuka* facilitates the *vikaraṇa* as well as the replacement of the root. The next example (1017) *sunvire* similarly derives from verbal root  $su \rightarrow su$  (6.1.64 *dhātuvādeḥ...*) where doubling by 6.1.8 *liṭi dhātor...* cannot be accomplished because *LIT* does not occur directly after the root. It is, instead, intervened by  $\acute{S}nu$  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 *ārddhadhātuka* proposal of 3.4.116 *kidāśiṣi*.

Our next example (1018) *upastheyāma* contains the string  $upa + sthā + yās(UT) + (L\dot{I}\dot{N} \rightarrow mas) = upasthā + yās + mas$  where the assignment of the term *ārddhadhātuka* or *sārvadhātuka* is both made as a choice. Thus, the deletion of *s* of *mas*, by rule 7.2.79 *līnaḥ salopo...*, takes place at the strength of assigning the term *sārvadhātuka* (3.4.113 *tiṅśit...*). The assignment of the term *ārddhadhātuka* by our present rule makes it possible for the  $\acute{a}$  of *sthā* to be replaced with *e* in view of rule 6.4.67 *er līni*. This is how we get:  $upasth(\acute{a} \rightarrow e) + yā + ma(s \rightarrow \emptyset) = upastheyāma$ .

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