The Aṣṭādhyāyī of Pāṇini

Volume IV

English Translation of Adhyāyas Four and Five 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* four and five. 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 nearly three hundred examples with complete derivational history. Over five hundred derivations have been discussed in notes under individual *sūtras,* especially from the point of view of their relevance to the Pāṇinian grammatical system.

This volume is the fourth of a now planned six-volume study. The fifth volume of this series will cover the *sūtras* of *adhyāya* six. The sixth and the last volume will include the remaining *adhyāyas,* seven and eight.

MAX. RETAIL PRICE
INCLUSIVE OF ALL TAXES
£7

THE AṢṬĀDHYĀYĪ OF PĀṆINI

VOL. IV

ENGLISH TRANSLATION OF *ADHYĀYAS* FOUR AND FIVE WITH SANSKRIT TEXT, TRANSLITERATION, WORD-BOUNDARY, ANUVṚTTI, VṚTTI, EXPLANATORY NOTES, DERIVATIONAL HISTORY OF EXAMPLES, AND INDICES

RAMA NATH SHARMA
University of Hawaii



Munshiram Manoharlal
Publishers Pvt. Ltd.

ISBN 81–215–0051–6 (for the set)
ISBN 81–215–0747–2 (Vol. IV)
First published 1999

© 1999, **Sharma,** Rama Nath

All rights reserved, including those of translation into foreign languages. No part of this book may be reproduced, stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted in any form, or by any means, electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording or otherwise, without the written permission of the publisher.

Typeset, printed and published by
Munshiram Manoharlal Publishers Pvt. Ltd.,
Post Box 5715, 54 Rani Jhansi Road, New Delhi 110 055.

काशीनाथतनूजस्य हरिनाथाऽनुजन्मनः
सौभद्ररघुनाथस्य पुत्रो ज्येष्ठो महात्मनः।
व्याकरोदष्टकं यच्च पाणिनेस्तद्धितं स्मरन्
पादयोस्तातताातानां न्यस्य मोदं समाश्रितः॥

Contents

Preface ix
Abbreviations xi

Adhyāya Four 1
Adhyāya Five 429

Appendix

Derivational History of Examples 763

Bibliography 791
Index of Derivations 793
Index of Terms 796
Index of Sūtras 800

Preface

This present is the fourth of a planned previously five but now six-volume study on the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* of Pāṇini. It also constitutes the third 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* four and five of the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*. The fifth and sixth volumes of this series will soon be published with the English translation of *adhyāyas* six, seven and eight.

I have, as usual, relied very heavily on commentarial sources for sorting out issues relative to rule-formulation, interpretation, application and order. Three *prakriyā* texts, the *Rūpāvatāraḥ* of Dharmakīrti, the *Prakriyākaumudī* of Rāmacandra and the *Siddhāntakaumudī* of Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita have served as primary sources for derivational details. I have benefited most from the *Vyākaraṇamahābhāṣya* of Patañjali, the *Vyākaraṇacandrodaya* of Charudeva Shastri, the *Kāśikāvṛtti*, with the *Nyāsa* of Jinendrabuddhi and *Padamañjarī* of Haradatta (with Hindi translation of Jayashankar Lal Tripathi), the *Aṣṭādhyāyībhāṣya* of Prajñā Devī, the Hindi translation of the *Laghukaumudī* of Varadarāja made by Bhimsen Shastri and the *Siddhāntakaumudī* of Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita with the *Tattvabodhinī* of Jñānendra Sarasvatī and the *Bālamanoramā* of Vāsudeva Dīkṣita. I have mostly followed the *Kāśikāvṛtti* with the *Nyāsa* and *Padamañjarī* for explanatory notes. Here again, under individual rules, I have taken detours to accommodate remarks of cultural importance.

I have presented some general derivational processes at the beginning of the appendix so that repetition can be minimized. I have still offered major derivational details to illustrate issues, both in the text as well as in the appendix. Frequent references to derivational details of earlier volumes have proved very helpful.

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 many mistakes. I realize that there are many typographical errors in the earlier volumes. I have tried not to repeat them in this volume. As I get to the end of my work on the last *adhyāya* I feel that I should have better completed the last volume first. This would have offered some better insights into arrangements of discussions. I do intend to edit the earlier volumes of the *sūtrapāṭha* and additionally, present a more detailed version of volume one. I shall greatly appreciate my reader's comments 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 generous to me in giving of their time. I have, as usual benefited greatly from the writings of Professor George Cardona.

The University of Hawaii, especially through 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 to the University of Hawaii and the American Institute of Indian Studies for their continued support. I must express my special thanks to Chris Bopp without whose programing skills I would have been lost in the software jungle. These volumes owe a great deal to him. Finally, these volumes owe the most to my wife Kamala who has always protected me from many of my duties as a householder. I could not do this project without her support.

RAMA NATH SHARMA

Honolulu, Hawaii (USA)
25 December 1998

Abbreviations

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

sam	*samāhāra*
sg	singular
Śs	*Śivasūtra*
Śat	*Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*
ṣaṣ	*ṣaṣṭhī*
Tai	*Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa*
tat	*tatpuruṣa*
tr/tṛt	*tṛtīyā*
VP	*Vākyapadīya* of Bhartṛhari with the commentary *Ambākartrī* of Paṇḍita Raghunātha Śarmā
vt	*vārttika*
Vāj	*Vājasaneyi Saṃhitā*
voc	vocative

Adhyāya Four

Pāda One

4.1.1 ङ्याप्प्रातिपदिकात्

ṅyāpprātipadikāt
/ṅyāp-prātipadikāt 5/1 = *ṅī ca āp ca prātipadikaṃ ca* = *ṅyāpprātipadikam* (*sam. dv.*), *tasmāt/*
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2)
adhikāro'yam; yad ita ūrdhvam anukramiṣyāma āpañcamādhyāyaparisamāpteḥ ṅyāpprātipadikād ity evaṃ tad veditavyam
An affix (henceforth, through the end of *adhyāya* five) occurs after that which either ends in affixes marked with *Ṅī* and *āP*, or is a nominal stem (*prātipadika*).

EXAMPLES:

Look under subsequent rule(s).

1. This governing rule (*adhikāra*) specifies bases after which affixes enumerated in its domain can be introduced. The expression *ṅyāp* refers to a form which ends in feminine affixes marked with *Ṅī* and *āP*. These individual terms can each refer to three feminine affixes: *ṄīṢ*, *ṄīP* and *ṄīN*, on the one hand, and *CāP*, *ṬāP* and *ḌāP*, on the other. That *Ṅī* and *āP* each refer to a class of three affixes each is made possible by their specification by means of *Ṅī* and *āP*, used with no additional *it*-elements: *N/(ṄīN)*, *Ṣ/(ṄīṢ)*, *P/(ṄīP)*; and *C/(CāP)*, *Ṭ/(ṬāP)*, *Ḍ/(ḌāP)*.

Rule 4.1.2 *svaujasmauṭ* . . . constitutes a subdomain, whereby a set of twenty-one nominal endings termed *vibhakti* (1.4.104 *vibhaktiś ca*) are introduced. These nominal endings are generally referred to by the abbreviatory term *sUP* (1.4.103 *supaḥ*). Rule 4.1.3 *striyām* heads another subdomain under which feminine affixes specified by *ṅyāp* are introduced. These two subdomains, headed by 4.1.2 *svaujasmauṭ* . . . and 4.1.3 *striyām*, both require a nominal stem as their input. Additionally, an output of the subdomain headed by 4.1.3 *striyām*, i.e., a form which ends in feminine affixes characterized as *ṅyāp*, can also form an input to the subdomain of 4.1.2 *svaujasmauṭ* . . . . That is, a nominal stem which takes the option of 4.1.3 *striyām*, to derive a feminine form ending in *ṅyāp*, re-enters the domain of 4.1.1 to avail the option of 4.1.2 *svaujas* . . . . This re-entry of a feminine form to the subdomain of 4.1.2 is obligatory. A nominal stem which, upon entering the domain of 4.1.1, opts for the option of 4.1.2 may also get re-entry to the domain of 4.1.1, especially for derivational options of its subdomain headed by 4.1.76 *taddhitāḥ*.

2. Note that rule 4.1.1 does not have any predication (*vidheya*). Consequently, the purpose of its formulation should be accepted as facilitating the application of other rules (*parārtha*). It is also a governing rule, and hence, has a valid scope of application prior to the domain of 6.4.1 *aṅgasya*.

Kāśikā explains that *ṅyāpprātipadikam* specifies two types of forms: (*i*) nominals ending in feminine affixes marked with *Ṅī* and *āP*; and nominal stems covered by rules 1.2.45 *arthavad* . . . and 1.2.46 *kṛttaddhita*. . . . This specification is made possible by the *samāhāra* type of *dvandva* compound in *ṅyāpprātipadikam*. That this specification is made via *samāhāradvandva* is clear from the singular (*ekavacana*) in *ṅyāpprātipadikam*. An *itaretarayoga* type formation of a *dvandva* compound would have required its specification via plural, as . . . *prātipadikebhyaḥ*. This *samāhāra* specification also rules out the possibility of any other compound-formation. If such a possibility is not ruled out then *ṅyāpprātipadikam* may also be interpreted as a genitive *tatpuruṣa* compound, parallel to *ṅyāpoḥ prātipadikam*, meaning: a nominal stem termed compound with constituents terminating in *Ṅī* and *āP*. Consequently, *sU*, etc., could be introduced only after compound bases such as *rājakumārī*, etc., which end in *Ṅī*, and not after *kumārī*, etc., which could not qualify as compounds. One can argue here that *ṅyāpoḥ prātipadikam* refers to a nominal stem which ends in *Ṅī* and *āP*, and thus could refer to both a compound as well as a non-compound base. One can thus facilitate the introduction of *sUP* also after forms such as *kumārī*. This, however, will create difficulty of interpretation. For, *ṅyāpoḥ prātipadikam* will have *prātipadikam* as part of predication. The *prātipadika* of 4.1.1 is part of the subject (*uddeśya*). Consequently, the sense of one cannot be equated with the sense of the other, especially relative to the introduction of *sUP* (4.1.2 *svaujas* . . .), the predicate (*vidheya*).

3. It is argued that to state that affixes denoted by the abbreviatory term *sUP* occur after 'that which ends in *Ṅī* and *āP*, or else, is a nominal stem' is not necessary. For, an affix, in view of 3.1.2 *paraś ca*, will have to occur after something, anyway. Rule 4.1.1 makes a specification with regard to that after which *sUP* can be introduced. One can even say that affixes denoted by the abbreviatory term *sUP* can be introduced only after bases covered by specifications made by *ṅyāpprātipadikāt*. If one does not accept this then there could be problems. *Padamañjarī*, ad *Kāś.*, outlines four types of bases: (*i*) verbal roots (*dhātu*), (*ii*) items ending in affixes denoted by the abbreviatory term *tiṄ* (*tiṅanta*), (*iii*) a sentence (*vākya*) and (*iv*) items which end in affixes denoted by the abbreviatory term *sUP*. If a particular specification in terms of *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* is not made then *sUP*, *ṬāP*, etc., feminine affixes, *aṆ*, and the *taddhita* affixes commonly known as the *svārthikas* (5.3.96 *ive pratikṛtau*, etc.), will occur after these four types of bases in accord with the order of their enumeration (*yathāsaṃkhya*).

Kāśikā claims that, based upon deduction, one can still find those same bases forming left context of an affixal operation, as one would otherwise

have by means of a specification such as *ṅyāpprātipadikam.* However, it is in view of specifications such as *vṛddha* 'that among whose vowels the first is a *vṛddhi* (1.1.73 *vṛddhir yasyācām ādis tad. . .*)', *avṛddha* 'that which is not *vṛddha*', *a-varṇa* 'the vowel *a*', *svara* 'accent' and *dvyac* 'that which contains two vowels', that a specification such as *ṅyāpprātipadikam* becomes necessary:

> *vṛddhāvṛddhāvarṇasvaradvyajlakṣaṇapratyayavidhau*
> *tatsampratyayārthaṃ ṅyāpprātipadikagrahaṇaṃ kartavyam*
> 'to employ *ṅyāpprātipadikam* is necessary for facilitating the understanding of an affixal operation characterized by specifics such as *vṛddha, avṛddha, avarṇa, svara,* and *dvyac*'

For, *vṛddha,* etc., are given as qualifiers (*viśeṣaṇa*) to *ṅyāpprātipadikam.* It will indeed be a confusing situation to find modifiers used without their corresponding modifieds. Thus, if *ṅyāpprātipadikam* is not specified then operational scopes, for example of rules such as 4.1.157 *vṛddhād agotrāt,* 4.1.160 *prācām avṛddhāt phin,* 4.1.95 *ata iñ,* 4.2.44 *anudāttāder añ* and 4.4.7 *nau dvyacaṣ ṭhan,* would run into interpretational confusion. For, these rules must be supplied with *ṅyāpprātipadikam* as a qualified (*viśeṣya*) for modifiers such as *vṛddha, avṛddha, adanta,* etc.

A question is raised against including *ṅyāp* in the specification of this rule, especially when *prātipadikāt* itself can account for it. For, a *prātipadika* also carries reference to its counterparts in other genders (*Paribhāṣā* (72): *prātipadikagrahaṇe liṅgaviśiṣṭa-yāpi grahaṇam*). The inclusion of *ṅyāp* is made to ensure that a *taddhita* affix can also be introduced after a syntactically related nominal stem ending in affixes denoting feminine (*SK:. . . ṅyābgrahaṇaṃ ṅyābantāt taddhitotpattir yathā syān ṅyābhyāṃ prāṅ mā bhūd ity evam artham*). Consider the derivation of *āryakā* from *ārya* + *ṬāP* + *kaN,* where *kaN,* a *taddhita* affix, denotes *svārtha,* the meaning of its nominal base. If affix *kaN* is introduced after *ārya,* prior to *ṬāP,* then the result will be *āryakā,* Rule 7.3.44 *pratyayasthāt. . .* will then apply on *āryakā* to replace its *a,* which precedes *k,* with *i.* The result will be: *āryikā.* This derivate will be unique since the *i*-replacement for *a* is obligatory (*nitya*). That is, *āryakā,* a parallel form to *āryikā,* can never be derived. If *ṬāP* is introduced prior to the introduction of *kaN,* then, given *āryā* + *ka,* the final *ā* of *āryā* will be replaced with its short counterpart by rule 7.4.13 *ke' ṇaḥ.* This will give us *āryaka.* One can now derive *āryikā,* from *āryaka* + *ṬāP* where the short *a* before *k* will be treated as the *ā* it replaced. This will then facilitate the optional application of rule 7.3.46 *udīcām ātaḥ. . .*, whereby the *a* before *k* will be optionally replaced with *i.* We will thus get *āryikā,* parallel to *āryakā.*

Kāśikā recognizes that 'a specification by means of *ṅyāp* also facilitates introducing *taddhita* affixes after bases which end in *ṅyāp* (*tadantāt taddhitavidhānārthaṃ ṅyābgrahaṇam*). Consider the derivation of *kālitarā* 'a female relatively more black . . .', where the comparative suffix *taraP* is in-

troduced after *kālī* (5.3.57 *dvivacanavibhajyopapade . . .*), a derivate ending in *ṄīṢ* of 4.1.42 *jānapadakuṇḍa . . .*, to denote relative prominence (*prakarṣa*). Commentators state that *kālitarā* cannot be derived unless the specification of its base is made by *ṅyāp*. For, denotation of feminine by *ṄīṢ*, and that of relative prominence by *taraP*, will create a conflicting situation. That is, the scope elsewhere (*sāvakāśatva*) of a feminine affix must be one where 'feminine' alone is denoted. The scope elsewhere of *prakarṣa* 'relative prominence' must be one where *prakarṣa* alone is denoted. Thus, *kālī* and *kālataraḥ* illustrate instances where both meanings have their independent scope (*sāvakāśatva*). An example such as *kālitarā*, presents a situation of conflict where both meanings find their scope. This conflict can be resolved in accord with 1.4.2 *vipratiṣedhe paraṃ kāryam*. Consequently, only *prakarṣa*, and no feminine can be expressed, mostly because *taraP* is subsequent. If, however, the bases are specified with *ṅyāp* then *kālitarā* can be derived with no problem.

4.1.2 स्वौजस्मौट्छष्टाभ्यांभिस्ङेभ्यांभ्यस्ङसिभ्यांभ्यस्ङसोसांङ्योस्सुप्

svaujasmauṭchaṣṭābhyāmbhisṅebhyāmbhyasṅasibhyāmbhyasṅasosāṃṅyossup / svaujas . . . sup 1/1 = *su ca au ca jaś ca . . . oś ca sup ca = svaujas . . . sup* (*sam. dv.*) /
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #1)
'*su, au, jas, am, auṭ, śas, ṭā, bhyām, bhis, ṅe, bhyām, bhyas, ṅasi, bhyām, bhyas, ṅas, os, ām, ṅi, os, sup*' *ity ete pratyayā ṅyāpprātipadikād bhavanti*
Affixes *sU, au, Jas; am, auṬ, Śas; tā, bhyām, bhis; Ṅe, bhyām, bhyas; ṄasI, bhyām, bhyas; Ṅas, os, ām* and *Ṅi, os, suP* occur after that which either ends in affixes marked by *Ṅī* and *āP*, or is termed a nominal stem.

EXAMPLES:

kumārī 'girl'
gaurī 'a female of fair complexion; Shiva's consort'
śārṅgaravī 'a female name'
khaṭvā 'cot'
bhaurājā 'a city with many kings'
kārīṣagandhyā 'a granddaughter of Karīṣagandhi'
dṛṣad 'nominative singular of *dṛṣad* 'pebble, rock''

1. Refer to the appendix for derivational details of these examples. The first, *kumārī*, constitutes an example for both *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* and *ṄīP* (4.1.20 *vayasi prathame*). The next two, *gaurī* and *śārṅgaravī*, represent affixes *ṄīṢ* (4.1.41 *ṣidgaurādibhyaś ca*) and *ṄīN* (4.1.73 *śārṅgaravādyaño . . .*). The next three examples, *khaṭvā, bahurājā* and *kārīṣagandhyā*, represent derivates of *ṬāP* (4.1.4 *ajādyataṣ ṭāp*), *ḌāP* (4.1.13 *ḍāb ubhābhyām . . .*) and *CāP* (4.1.74 *yaṅaś cāp*), respectively.

2. The twenty-one suffixes enumerated by this rule have been classified into seven triads of *prathamā* 'first', *dvitīyā* 'second', *tṛtīyā* 'third', *caturthī* 'fourth', *pañcamī* 'fifth', *ṣaṣṭhī* 'sixth', and *saptamī* 'seventh' (1.4.101 *tiṅas-trīṇi* . . .). Individual members of each triad are further assigned the terms *ekavacana* 'singular', *dvivacana* 'dual' and *bahuvacana* 'plural', respectively (1.4.102 *tāny ekavacana* . . .). The following is a tabular listing for reference:

	singular	*dual*	*plural*
prathamā	*sŪ*	*au*	*Jas*
dvitīyā	*am*	*auṬ*	*Śas*
tṛtīyā	*Ṭā*	*bhyām*	*bhis*
caturthī	*Ṅe*	*bhyām*	*bhyas*
pañcamī	*ṄasI*	*bhyām*	*bhyas*
ṣaṣṭhī	*Ṅas*	*os*	*ām*
saptamī	*Ṅi*	*os*	*suP*

The vowels which have been used as *it* in these elements either facilitate articulation, or distinguish endings from each others (*viśeṣaṇārtha*). The *Ṭ*, as an *it* in *Ṭā*, is used to facilitate formation of the abbreviatory term *sŪṬ*. The final *P* of *suP* is brought as an *it* so that these nominal endings all can be referred to by the single abbreviatory term *sŪP*.

The denotata of these nominal endings have been outlined as number (*saṃkhyā*), nominal stem notion (*prātipadikārtha*) and *karman* 'object' etc., by rules enumerated elsewhere (2.3.1 *anabhihite*, etc.; *Kāś.: saṃkhyākarmādayaś ca svādīnām arthāḥ śāstrāntareṇa vihitās tena sahāsyaikavākyatā*). This rule, for its proper interpretation, must share the 'single-sentenceness' relationship (*ekavākyatā*) with them. Thus, rule 2.3.2 *karmaṇi dvitīyā*, read with 2.3.1 *anabhihite* and rule 4.1.2 *svaujas* . . ., can be interpreted as a single sentence as follows:

> 'affixes termed *dvitīyā*, particularly its members termed *ekavacana* 'singular', *dvivacana* 'dual' and *bahuvacana* 'plural', occur after an item which either ends in a feminine affix denoted by *Ṅī* and *āP*, or is termed a *prātipadika*, provided an object (*karman*) not expressed otherwise, is to be expressed'

Recovering the context of a rule, via 'single-sentenceness' (*ekavākyatā*), often entails an elaborate network of related rules. My interpretation of 2.3.2 *karmaṇi dvitīyā* shows the involvement of only a few important rules.

Note that accepting the signification of affixes denoted by *sUP* as *saṃkhyākarmādi* 'number and object, etc.' is also problematic. For example, if *saṃkhyākarmādi* is the denotatum of a *sUP* then these affixes cannot be introduced after indeclinable bases (*avyaya*). Consequently, Pāṇini's provision of deleting a *sUP* by means of *LUK* after an indeclinable (2.4.82 *avyayād*

āp supaḥ) becomes meaningless (*vyartha*). But since Pāṇini provides for deleting a *sUP* after an indeclinable, introduction of the same after an indeclinable cannot be challenged. That is, a *sUP* will be introduced after an indeclinable even when *saṃkhyākarmādi* are not denoted. It is a different story that nominative (*prathamā*) singular (*ekavacana*) alone could then be introduced.

4.1.3 स्त्रियाम्

striyām
/striyām 7/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1)
yad ita ūrdhvam anukramiṣyāmas striyām ity evaṃ veditavyam
The following affixes occur after a nominal stem when feminine is to be denoted.

EXAMPLES:

Refer to subsequent rules.

1. That this rule is formulated to facilitate application of other rules (*parārtha*) is clear from the specification of *striyām* in locative (*saptamī*), especially with absence of any predicate (*vidheya*). It offers *jāti* 'class', particularly *strītva* 'femininity', as scope for application of rules it governs. A question is raised as to what *strītva* is. It is explained that, like the general class of *gotva* 'cowness', *strītva* also finds varying loci (*āśryaya*), both general (*sāmānya*) and particular (*viśeṣa*). In the absence of a well defined particular locus, it may, on occasions, be comprehended in a manner similar to *brāmaṇatva* 'Brāhmaṇaness' based on *upadeśa*. *Kāśikā*, therefore, explains this *jāti* of *strītva* as *sāmānyaviśeṣ ā bahuprakārāḥ* 'general and particular of varying types' (*Kāś.: sāmānyaviśeṣāḥ strītvādayo gotvādaya iva bahuprakārā kvacid āśrayaviśeṣābhāvād upadeśavyaṅyā eva bhavanti yathā brāhmaṇatvādayaḥ*).

Sanskrit grammarians do not clearly define what gender is. Patañjali recognizes prominence of 'breasts' and 'hair' as distinguishing marks for 'females' and 'males', respectively. A thing which is different from two is characterized as 'neuter':

stanakeśavatī strī syāl lomaśaḥ puruṣaḥ smṛtaḥ/
ubhayor antaraṃ yac ca tadabhāve napuṃsakam//

But this could only characterize biological gender. It cannot apply to a host of things such as *khaṭvā* 'cot', *mālā* 'garland', *ghaṭa* 'pot', *paṭa* 'cloth', etc.

Grammarians rely solely upon usages for determining gender (*lokāśrayatvāl liṅgasya*). What about the belief that gender is already included within the denotatum of a nominal stem (*prātipadikagrahaṇe liṅgaviśiṣṭasyāpi grahaṇam*)? If the notion of femininity (*strītva*) is included within the sense of a *prātipadika*

then what is the purpose of introducing a feminine affix. It is argued that feminine affixes are employed to manifest this notion of gender inhered by nominal stems. They thus reinforce its comprehension by way of definitizing it. As far as comprehension of gender, per se, is concerned, one may, in many instances, comprehend it even without the use of a feminine suffix.

2. Note that this rule forms a subdomain of 4.1.1 *ṅyāpprātipadikāt.* The *anuvṛtti* (from rule 4.1.1) of *prātipadikāt* alone is valid here since a form which ends in a feminine affix (*ṅyābanta*) cannot form an input to the subdomain which introduces that affix.

4.1.4 अजाद्यतष्टाप्

ajādyataṣ ṭāp
/ajādyataḥ 5/1 = *ajādiś ca at ca = ajādyat; tasmāt = ajādyataḥ* (*sam. dv.*);
ṭāp 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *prātipadikāt* #41, *striyām* #3)
ajādibhyaḥ prātipadikebhyo'akārāntāc ca prātipadikāt striyāṃ ṭāp pratyayo bhavati
Affix *Ṭāp* occurs after a nominal stem which is abstracted from the group headed by *ajā* 'she-goat', or after a stem which ends in *-aT* (1.1.70 *taparas tatkālasya*), when feminine is denoted.

EXAMPLES:

ajā 'she-goat'
eḍakā 'ewe'
caṭakā 'sparrow'
aśvā 'mare'

1. The *P* of *ṬāP* is given as an *it* for the general low pitch (*anudātta*) accent of rule 3.1.4 *anudāttau suppitau.* The *Ṭ* is used as an *it* to distinguish *ṬāP* from affixes such as *CāP* and *ḌāP.* The *T* of *aT* is, of course, part of *taparakaraṇa* (1.1.70 *taparas tatkālasya*), whereby stems ending in *a* (of short duration) alone can qualify.

This provision of *ṬāP*, especially in view of its specification with *ajādi* 'that which begins with *ajā*', is made against affixes *ṄīṢ* and *ṄīP*, which may otherwise find their scope of application. Note that the listing of the *ajādi* group is not made with the enumeration of nominal stems *aja*, etc. It is, instead, made with *ajā*, etc., which are items derived with affix *ṬāP* already introduced (*kṛtaṭāppratyaya*). Thus, *ṬāP* will be introduced after stems specific to those of *ajā*, etc.

Affixes *ṄīṢ* and *ṄīP*, as against *ṬāP*, could be conditioned by factors such as: (*i*) signification of *jāti* 'class', (*ii*) marked association of a female with a corresponding male (*puṃyoga-lakṣaṇa*), (*iii*) a following word with the denotatum of flower of fruits (*puṣpaphalottarpada*), or (*iv*) age (*vaya*), etc.

Consider, for example, the derivation of *śūdrā* 'a female of the class characterized as *śūdra*'. This provision of *ṬāP* is made against denotation of a 'wife', in relation to the 'husband'. Thus, the wife of a *śūdra* is not called *śūdrā*. Instead, *śūdra* denotes a class of females (*jāti*). For denoting a 'female (wife)' corresponding to a 'male (husband)', one has to introduce affix *ṄīṢ* to derive *śūdrī*, parallel to *śūdrasya bhāryā* 'wife of a *śūdra*'. This 'association with a male (*puṃyoga*)' does not work with forms which have *mahat* as their first constituent. Thus, the wife of an *ābhīra*, a class synonymous with *mahāśūdra*, will not be called *mahāśūdrī*. Instead, *ṬāP* will be used to derive *mahāśūdrā*. This exception is made possible because of *tadantavidhi*, interpreting a form as ending in that by means of which a specification is made (1.1.73 *yena vidhis tadantasya*). Incidentally, an *ābhīra* is characterized as the offspring of a *brāhmaṇa* father and an *ugrā* mother. An *ugrā*, in turn, is a female born of a *śūdrā* mother and a *kṣatriya* father.

Kāśikā states that the following *paribhāṣā* is not valid in this connection:

> *grahaṇavatā prātipadikena tadantavidhir nāsti*
> 'a specification made by means of a particular nominal stem is not interpreted as referring also to a form which may end in that nominal stem'

Consequently, we get forms such as *atidhīvarī* 'an excellent fisherwoman', *atipīvarī* 'a very fat woman', *atibhavatī* 'a very respected woman' and *atimahatī* 'a very great woman'. Examples such as *ajā* 'she-goat', *aśvā* 'mare' and *caṭakā* 'sparrow' denote *jāti* 'class'; *bālā* 'maiden', *pākā* 'girl', *vatsā* 'female calf', and *mandā* 'feeble woman', etc., denote age (*vaya*). One can similarly get other examples in other categories where *ṬāP* is introduced to block *ṄīṢ* or *ṄīP*.

2. Why should *ajādi* be explicitly mentioned in this rule especially when, since all bases of *ajādi* end in *a*, specification made with *ataḥ* can account for *ṬāP*? For, all the *ajādi* bases end in *a*. A special mention of *ajādi* is made here to block provisions of *ṄīṢ* (4.1.63 *jāter astrīviṣayād . . .*) and *ṄīP* (4.1.20 *vayasi prathame*).

3. Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita interprets *ajādyataḥ* as ending in genitive (*ṣaṣṭhyanta*). A *pañcamyanta* 'ending in a fifth triplet of *sUP*' interpretation is problematic. For example, given *pañcāja* 'a group of five goats', *ṬāP* will yield a wrong form: **pañcājā*. A genitive interpretation will yield the correct form *pañcājī*, with *ṄīP* of 4.1.21 *dvigoḥ*. Actually, these two interpretations relate to questions of whether denotation of feminine should be accepted as meaning of a base, or of an affix. If affix, then a *pañcamī* interpretation of *ajādyataḥ*, read in view of *ṬāP*, will yield the following meaning:

> 'affix *ṬāP* occurs after a nominal stem which ends in *a*, or after a nominal which is inferred from the group headed by *ajā*, when feminine is denoted'

This interpretation will accept 'feminine' as the meaning of the affix (*pratyayārtha*). A genitive interpretation will accept 'feminine' as included within the meaning of the base. What would be the function of a feminine affix under this interpretation? It will simply manifest the notion of gender inhered by the base (*dyotayati*). Thus, a genitive interpretation of *ajādyataṣ ṭāp* will yield the following meaning:

> 'affix *ṬāP* occurs after a nominal stem which ends in *a*, or is inferred from the group headed by *ajā*, when the sense of feminine inhered by the base is made manifest'

Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita accepts the genitive interpretation, along with 'revelation or manifestation' as the meaning of feminine affixes. The tradition has discussed both views relative to the denotation of gender. Those who accept gender as part of the meaning of a nominal stem believe that an affix is introduced to 'manifest or reveal' this meaning (*striyāṃ yat prātipadikaṃ vartate tasmāṭ ṭābādayaḥ*). This view accepts the base after which a feminine affix is to be introduced as qualified with 'femininess' (*strītvaviśiṣṭa*). Adherents of the other view believe that an affix is introduced after a base when gender is to be denoted (*striyām abhidheyāyāṃ ṭābādayo bhavanti*). This view will give prominence to affixal meaning: *prakṛtipratyayau sahārthabrūtas tayoḥ pratyayārthasyaiva prādhānyam* 'affixal meaning is principal when a specification is made concurrently by means of a base as well as an affix'. But this will create problems. Since 'feminine' is to be expressed as affixal meaning (*pratyayārtha*) qualified by meaning of the base (*prakṛtyartha*), singular (*ekavacana*) alone can be used. What is the use of dual and plural forms? If feminine is to be accepted as a notion inhered by the base then this problem would not arise. Commentators have discussed and resolved this, and host of other problems concerning the two views, in relation to the fivefold (*pañcaka*) meaning of bases (*prātipadika*), and the notions of *jāti* 'class', *vyakti* 'individual', *padārtha* 'substance' and *sattā* 'existence'. I omit any further discussion of them for lack of interest. My translations and discussions reflect acceptance of both the views.

4.1.5 ऋन्नेभ्यो ङीप्

> *ṛnnebhyo ṅīp*
> */ṛnnebhyaḥ* 5/3 = *ṛt ca n ca* = *ṛnn* (*sam. dv.*); *tasmāt; ṅīp* 1/1/
> (*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *prātipadikāt* #1 *striyām* #3)
> *ṛkārāntebhyo nakārāntebhyaś ca prātipadikebhyaḥ striyām ṅīp pratyayo bhavati*
> Affix *ṄīP* occurs to denote feminine after nominal stems which end in *ṛ* (*ṛT*, cf. 1.1.70 *taparas tatkālasya*) and *n*.

EXAMPLES:

> *kartṛī* 'she who does . . .'

hartrī 'she who carries . . .'
daṇḍinī 'she (a female ascetic) who carries a shaft'
chatriṇī 'she who carries an umbrella'

1. Note that *Ṅ*, as an *it* in *ṄīP*, is intended for reference to affixes *ṄīP*, *ṄīṢ* and *ṄīN* in general (*sāmānyagrahaṇa*). That is, in its absence, a reference with *Ṅ* of *Ṅyāp* in rule 4.1.1 *ṅyāpprātipadikāt*, will have to be limited to just two affixes. What is the purpose of *P* as an *it*? It is used so that *ṄīP* can be distinguished (*viśeṣaṇārthaḥ*) from *ṄīN* and *ṄīṢ*. This *P*, as has already been stated, also accounts for *anudātta*.

2. Note that *ṛnnebhyaḥ* is interpreted as: 'after that which ends in *ṛ* and *n*'. Such an interpretation is possible only when one treats *ṛnnebhyaḥ* as a qualifier (*viśeṣaṇa*) to *prātipadikāt* (here read as *prātipadikebhyaḥ*), in accord with *tadantavidhi* 'treating a qualified (*viśeṣya*) as ending in that which qualifies (*viśeṣaṇa*)'.

4.1.6 उगितश्च

ugitaś ca
/ugitaḥ 5/1 = *ug it yasya* (*bv.*), *tasmāt; ca* ϕ/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *prātipadikāt* #1, *striyām* #3)
ug id yatra sambhavati yathākathañcit tad ugic chabdarūpam, tadantāt striyām ṅīp pratyayo bhavati
Affix *ṄīP* occurs to denote feminine also after a form which ends in an *it* denoted by the abbreviatory term *uK* (*u, ṛ, ḷ*; cf. *Śś.* 1-2).

EXAMPLES:

bhavatī 'you (feminine polite of *bhavat*)'
atibhavatī 'you (feminine extremely polite)'
pacantī 'she who is cooking'
yajantī 'she who is performing a ritual sacrifice'

1. Note that *uK* denotes *u, ṛ, ḷ*. The form *ugit* is interpreted as a *bahuvrīhi* compound parallel to *ug it yasya* 'that which has sounds denoted by *uK* as an *it*'. We know that the meaning of a *bahuvrīhi* falls outside of its constituent meanings (*anyapadārtha*). Can *prātipadika* of *prātipadikāt* be accepted as the denotatum of the *bahuvrīhi* compound *ugit*? That is, can *ugit* be accepted as a modifier (*viśeṣaṇa*) to *prātipadika*? To accept *prātipadikāt* as a qualified (*viśeṣya*) for *ugit* will facilitate the introduction of *ṄīP* in *bhavatī* and *mahatī*, where nominal stems *bhavatŨ* and *mahatŨ* have *Ũ* as an *it*. But this interpretation will block *ṄīP* in examples such as *gomatī* 'a river; she who is rich in cows' where it is affix *matUP*, and not the nominal stem *go*, which has *uK* as an *it*. Examples such as *arvatī* 'mare' will also be excluded since what is an *ugit* there is *tR̃*, a replacement of *n* of *arvan*, itself an *ugit*. It is therefore suggested that *ugit* be interpreted not as a nominal stem but as a qualifier.

This qualifier status of *ugit*, when read with *prātipadikāt*, will facilitate *tadantavidhi* and yield the following interpretation:

> 'affix *ṄīP* occurs after a nominal stem which ends in a form containing a sound denoted by the abbreviatory term *uK* as an *it*'

2. A *vārttika* proposes that roots with *uK* as an *it* should be excluded from the scope of this rule. This will exclude roots *saṃsŪ* and *dhvaṃsŪ* of *ukhāsrat* 'fallen from a pot' and *parṇadhvat* 'fallen from a leaf'. An additional *vārttika* suggests that forms ending in affix *añcŪ* should be included to enable the derivation of *prācī* 'east' and *pratīcī* 'west' with *ṄīP*. The *Mahābhāṣya* rejects this *vārttika*, and accepts *yogavibhāga*, whereby *anyatarasyām* of rule 4.1.8 *pādo' nyatarasyām* will be treated as a rule by itself. It will be accepted as a residual (*śeṣa*) rule to 4.1.6, 4.1.7 and 4.1.8. This rule will then be treated as *vyavasthitavibhāṣā*, whereby a *dhātu* which qualifies as *ugit* will receive *ṄīP* only when it ends in *añcŪ*

4.1.7 वनो र च

> *vano ra ca*
> */vanaḥ* 6/1 *ra* (deleted 1/1) *ca* ϕ/
> (*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* ϕ #3.1.2, *prātipadikāt* #1, *striyām* #3)
> *vannantād prātipadikāt striyām ṅīp pratyayo bhavati rephaś cāntādeśaḥ*
> Affix *Ṅīp* occurs to denote feminine after a nominal stem which terminates in *van*, with an additional provision that *r* comes in place of the final sound of that which ends in *van*.

EXAMPLES:

> *dhīvarī* 'fisherman's wife'
> *pīvarī* 'a fat woman'
> *śarvarī* 'night; Rati, Kāma's wife'
> *paralokadṛśvarī* 'a female; capable of seeing through the world beyond'

1. Commentators state that 4.1.5 *ṛnnebhyo* . . . could easily account for derivates of this rule. For, stems which end in *van* also qualify as those which end in *n*. A separate formulation of this rule is needed so that *r* can be concurrently be introduced as a replacement.

Note that *van* is a cover term for affixes *KvanIP*, *vanIP* and *ṄvanIP*. These affixes enable their bases to qualify as those ending in *n*. That is, *van* of the rule means: that (a nominal stem) which ends in *van* (*vann-antāt prātipadikāt*). Commentators state that *van* also refers to a nominal stem which ends in a form ending in affix *van*. That is, *van* means: a nominal stem which ends in a nominal stem ending in *van* (*vann-antāt prātipadikāntāt prātipadikāt*). This second interpretation is gotten via *Paribhāṣā* (24): *pratyayagrahaṇe yasmāt sa vihitas tadādes tadantasya grahaṇam* 'that after which an affix is introduced

refers not only to a form which ends in that affix, but also to that which ends in the form ending in that affix'.

The word-form *van* cannot be here interpreted as denoting verbal root *vanU* 'to beg', because 'a specification relatable to both an affix (*pratyaya*) as well as a non-affix (*apratyaya*), is interpreted as referring to an affix alone' (*Paribhāṣā* (111): *pratyayāpratyayayoḥ pratyayasyaiva grahaṇam*). Besides, interpreting *van* to refer to verbal root *vanU* would not make any sense.

A *vārttika* states that this rule cannot introduce *ṄīP* after a form which, prior to introduction of an affix denoted by *van*, ended in a sound segment denoted by the abbreviatory term *hŚ* (*Śs.* 5-10; *vano na haśaḥ*). Consider *śarvarī* where a *van* affix has been introduced after *śṛ* which does not end in *hŚ*. A form, such as *śar* which ends in *r* is produced through application of *guṇa* before *van*. Now consider *sahayudhvā brāhmaṇī* where *sahayudh*, which ends in *dh* (a *hŚ*), receives *kvanIP* (3.2.94 *dṛśeḥ kvanip*). Affix *ṄīP*, and *r* as a replacement for *n* as well, are thus blocked.

4.1.8 पादोऽन्यतरस्याम्

pādo'nyatarasyām
/pādaḥ 5/1 *anyatarasyām* 7/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *prātipadikāt* #1, *striyām* #3)
pādantāt prātipadikād anyatarasyāṃ striyāṃ ṅīp pratyayo bhavati
Affix *ṄīP* optionally occurs to denote feminine after a nominal stem which ends in *pād* 'foot'.

EXAMPLES:

dvipāt 'that which has two feet'
dvipadī 'id'.
catuṣpāt 'that which has four feet'
catuṣpadī 'id'.
sahayudhvā brāhmaṇī 'a Brāhmaṇa woman who was a fighting companion'

1. This rule specifies *pādaḥ*, an ablative of *pād*, where the *samasānta* affix *ṬaC*, of *pāda*, has already been deleted. That is, *pād*, with deleted *ṬaC*, occurs at the end of a compound. Thus, *dvipād* is a *bahuvrīhi* compound originally with the form *dvipāda*. Rule 5.4.140 *saṃkhyā* . . . deletes its final *a*, subsequent to which *pād* is replaced with *pad* by rule 6.4.130 *pādaḥ pat*. We will get *dvipād* if the option of *ṄīP* is not accepted. Recall that 6.4.130 *pādaḥ pat* is contained within the subdomain of 6.4.129 *bhasya*. Our string *dvipād* cannot be termed *bha* unless affix *ṄīP* is introduced. Lack of assignment of the term *bha* blocks the replacement of *pād* by *pad*. The *d* of *dvipād* is optionally replaced with *t* (*cartva*) of 8.4.55 *vā'vasāne*.

4.1.9 टाबृचि

ṭāb ṛci
/ṭāp 1/1 *ṛci* 7/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *prātipadikāt* #1, *striyām* #3, *pādaḥ* #8)
ṛci vācyāyāṃ pādantāt prātipadikāt striyāṃ ṭāp pratyayo bhavati
Affix *ṬāP* occurs after a nominal stem which ends in *pād*, to denote feminine, when a hymn (*ṛcā*) is signified.

EXAMPLES:

dvipadā ṛk 'a hymn with two quarters'
tripadā ṛk 'a hymn with three quarters'
catuṣpadā ṛk 'a hymn with four quarters'

1. Note that our preceding rule makes a provision for *ṄīP*. This rule overrides that provision by introducing *ṬāP* under the special meaning condition of *ṛcā*. The sense of locative in *ṛci* is that of denotation (*abhidheya*). That is, this locative does not denote scope (*viṣaya*). For, a scope interpretation will restrict this rule to the *Ṛgveda*. Accepting the denotational meaning of locative will let this rule apply everywhere (*Nyāsa: yadi hi viṣaya-nirdeśaḥ syāt . . . ṛggrantha eva syāt, nānyatra; abhidheya-nirdeśe ti sarvatra bhavatīti bhāvaḥ*).

4.1.10 न षट्स्वस्रादिभ्यः

na ṣaṭsvasrādibhyaḥ
/na ϕ ṣaṭsvasrādibhyaḥ 5/3 = *svasā ādir yeṣām te svasrādayaḥ; ṣaṭ ca svasrādayaś ca = ṣaṭsvasrādayas, tebhyaḥ* (*bv.* with int. *itar. dv.*)/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *prātipadikāt* #1, *striyām* #3, *ajādyataṣ ṭāp* #4, *ṛnnebhyo ṅīp* #5)
ṣaṭsaṃjñakebhyaḥ svasrādibhyaś ca prātipadikebhyaḥ strīpratyayo na bhavati
An affix which denotes feminine does not occur after a nominal stem which is termed *ṣaṭ* (1.1.24 *ṣṇāntā ṣaṭ*), or is listed in the group headed by *svasṛ* 'sister'.

EXAMPLES:

pañca brāhmaṇyaḥ 'five Brāhmaṇa women'
sapta brāhmaṇyaḥ 'seven Brāhmaṇa women'
svasā 'sister'
duhitā 'daughter'
nanāndā 'husband's sister'
yātā 'husband's brother's wife'
catasraḥ 'four . . .'

1. Note that this rule negates all feminine affixes which have been made available thus far (*Kāś.: yo yataḥ prāpnoti sa sarvaḥ pratiṣidhyate*). It should not

be interpreted simply as a negation of *ṄīP*, since *ṄīP* constitutes the most immediate context (*anantaratvāt*). Our rule also negates *ṬāP*. Incidentally, *ṄīP* still forms the most immediate context since a provision for *ṬāP* of 4.1.10 *ṭāb ṛci* is made against it. Besides, this *ṬāP* is not intended to be carried via *anuvṛtti* (*asvaritavāt*).

It is argued that items termed *ṣaṭ* are number words (*saṃkhyā*), and as such, they simply facilitate comprehending quantitative differences of things. They do not facilitate any understanding of gender per se. Comprehension of gender takes place via syntactic coordination (*sāmānādhikaraṇya*) of number words with things which they distinguish (*Nyāsa*: *saṃkhyāś ca bhedamātraṃ dravyasya pratyāyayanti, na strītvam; yā tu tasya strītvapratītiḥ sā śabdāntareṇa sāmānādhikaraṇyād bhavati*). A negation of feminine in relation to *ṣaṭ*, when the same is not made available, is vacuous (*vyartha*). Negation (*pratiṣedha*) makes sense only when a positive provision is available. It was made clear in connection with 4.1.3 *striyām* that a qualifier, such as *śukla* 'white', qualifies for a feminine affix in accord with its qualified. This same is also true of items termed *ṣaṭ*.

2. Note that *pañca* (of *pañca brāhmaṇyaḥ*) and *catasṛ* represent two sets of derivates where feminine affixes are negated. The first word is blocked from receiving *ṄīP* (of 4.1.5 *ṛnnebhyo ṅīp*) which was available in view of the final *n* of *pañcan* 'five'. Recall that 1.1.24 *ṣṇāntā ṣaṭ* assigns the term *ṣaṭ* to *pañcan* on account of its final *n*. Thus, given *pañcan* + *Jas* we get *pañcan* + (*Jas*→ϕ) = *pañca* (*n*→ϕ), where 7.1.22 *ṣaḍbhyo luk* and 8.2.7 *nalopaḥ prātipadikāntasya* are responsible for deleting *Jas* and *n*, respectively. The second example *catasṛ* becomes an exception to 4.1.5 because *catasṛ* is a replacement for *catur* (7.2.99 *tricaturos striyām . . .*). This negation of *ṄīP* and *ṬāP*, conditioned by *ṣaṭ*, is applicable also items which end in a *ṣaṭ*. For example, consider *priyapañcā* of *priyapañcā draupadī* 'Draupadī for whom five are dear'.

A question is asked as to why an item termed *ṣaṭ* cannot qualify for *ṬāP* after deletion of its *n* has taken effect. Why *pañca*, at the strength of now ending in *a*, cannot get *ṬāP* (*ṣaṭsaṃjñānām ante lupte ṭāb utpattiḥ kasmān na syāt*)?. One cannot argue here that this negation then would become vacuous (*vyartha*). This negation would have served its purpose by blocking the next immediate (*anantara*) *ṄīP* anyway (*Paribhāṣā* (62): *anantarasya vidhir bhavati pratiṣedho vā*). It is stated that *ṬāP* can be blocked by accepting the deleted *n* of *pañcan* as suspended (*asiddha*; 8.2.2 *nalopaḥ supsvarasaṃjñātugvidhiṣu*). But how could *n*-deletion be treated as *asiddha* when operations relative to *ṬāP* are not included within the scope of 8.2.2. This scope of *ṬāP* comes well within the scope of *sub-vidhi* of 8.2.2 when one accepts the formation of the abbreviatory term *sUP*, formed with *sU* of 4.1.2 *svaujas . . .* and the *P* of 4.1.74 *yaṅaś cāp*. That is, *ṬāP* cannot be introduced because deletion of *n* will become *asiddha*. But accepting the formation of the abbreviatory term (*pratyāhārā*) *sUP* with the *P* of 4.1.74 *yaṅaś cāp*, to include operations

relative to *ṬāP*, will create problems elsewhere. The *Mahābhāṣya* discusses this, and other aspects of this problem, in detail. Patañjali rejects this notion of *asiddhatva*, especially in the derivational context of *bahucarmikā nagarī* 'a city with hide in abundance', where *n*-deletion of *bahucarman*, if treated as *asiddha*, will block the *i* (*itva*) of 7.3.44 *pratyayasthāt kāt*. . . . That is, given *bahucarmaka* + *ṬāP*, the *a* of *aka* cannot be found immediately before the *k*. For, the deleted *n* of *bahucarman* will then be there through *asiddhatva*. This will then block *itva*.

Consequently, '*striyām*' *ity arthamātram apekṣya tatra yad uktaṃ bhavati tan na bhavati* 'that (*ṄīP* and *ṬāP*) which is provided there in view of denotation of meaning specified by *striyām* does not apply here'.

4.1.11 **मन:**

manaḥ
/manaḥ 5/1/
(*pratyayaḥ*#3.1.1, *paraś ca*#3.1.2, *prātipadikāt*#1, *striyām*#3, *ṅīp*#5 *na*#10)
mannantād prātipadikān ṅīp pratyayo na bhavati.
Affix *ṄīP* does not occur to denote feminine after a nominal stem which ends in *man*.

EXAMPLES:

dāmā 'nominative singular of *dāman* 'rope''
dāmānau 'nominative dual of *dāmān*'
dāmānaḥ 'nominative plural . . .'
sīmā 'nominative singular of *sīman* 'limit, parting of hair''
sīmānau 'nominative dual . . .'
sīmānaḥ 'nominative plural . . .'
atimahimā 'nominative singular of *atimahiman*; he who has excelled in glory'
atimahimānau 'nominative dual . . .'
atimahimānaḥ 'nominative plural . . .'

1. This rule negates the provision of 4.1.5 *ṛnnebhyo ṅīp*.

2. Note that *man* refers here to forms which end in affixes, for example, the *Uṇādi* (IV.144) *manIN*, etc. Commentators explain that *man* must also refer to any stem which may end in *man*. That is *man* does not have to be affix *man*. How do we know this? From *paribhāṣā* (17): *aninasmangrahaṇān arthavatā cān arthakena ca tadantavidhiṃ prayojayanti* 'specifications made by means of *an*, *in*, *as* and *man*, entail *tadantavidhi*, a process whereby that by means of which a specification is made refers also to that which ends in it, whether or not *an*, etc., are meaningful'. This *paribhāṣā* has been read in the *Mahābhāṣya* under rule 1.1.72 *yena vidhis tadantasya*. Note that *sīman* and *atimahiman* end in *man*, though *man* is not an affix. That is, *man* is not mean-

ingful. Examples such as *pāman* 'skin disease' and *dāman* 'rope, string', with nominative forms such as *pāmā, pāmānau, pāmānaḥ*; and *dāmā, dāmānu, dāmānaḥ*, do terminate in affix *man*. This *man* is meaningful because of being an affix.

4.1.12 अनो बहुव्रीहेः

ano bahuvrīheḥ
/anaḥ 5/1 *bahuvrīheḥ* 5/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *prātipadikāt* #1, *striyām* #3, *ṅīp* #5, *na* #10)
annantād bahuvrīheḥ striyām ṅīp pratyayo na bhavati
Affix *ṄīP* does not occur to denote feminine after a *bahuvrīhi* nominal stem which ends in *an*.

EXAMPLES:

suparvā 'nominative singular of *suparvan*; . . . whose joints are beautiful'
suparvāṇau 'nominative dual . . .'
suparvāṇaḥ 'nominative plural . . .'
sucarmā 'nominative singular of *sucarman*; . . . whose skin is beautiful'
sucarmāṇau 'nominative dual . . .'
sucarmāṇaḥ 'nominative plural . . .'

1. Note that *bahuvrīheḥ* simply means 'after a *bahuvrīhi* compound'. Our examples, though, illustrate only one kind of *bahuvrīhi*, namely, that which ends in *an* but does not go through deletion of its penultimate (*upadhālopa*) sound. Rule 4.1.28 *ana upadhālopino' nyatarasyām* will make an optional provision for *ḌāP*, against *ṄīP*, in case of *bahuvrīhi* compounds which end in *an*, and go through deletion of their *upadhā*. The fact that this rule covers instances of *bahuvrīhi* compounds which end in *an*, with no deletion of their *upadhā*, becomes known by process of elimination (*pāriśeṣyāt*). Also, this rule negates *ṄīP* against optional *ḌāP* of the next rule, and optional *ṄīP* of 4.1.28 *anupadhālopino*. . . . That is, this rule blocks *ṄīP* in toto. The *ḌāP* of the next rule is made optional to absence of a feminine affix.

Why do we have to include the condition of *bahuvrīheḥ*? So that *atirājī*, a *tatpuruṣa* compound parallel to *atikrāntā rājānam* 'she who has excelled the king', may not qualify for *ṄīP*.

4.1.13 डाबुभ्यामन्यतरस्याम्

ḍāb ubhābhyām anyatarasyām
/ḍāp 1/1 *ubhābhyām* 5/2 *anyatarasyām* 7/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.3.3, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *prātipadikāt* #1, *striyām* #3)
ḍāp pratyayo bhavati ubhābhyām; mannantād prātipadikād annantāc ca

bahuvrīher anyatarasyām
Affix *ḌāP* optionally occurs after both, i.e., a nominal stem which ends in *man* and a *bahuvrīhi* compound which ends in *an*.

EXAMPLES:

pāmā
pāme
pāmāḥ
sīmā
sīme
sīmāḥ
bahurājā 'nominal singular of *bahurājā*, an assembly of many kings'
bahurāje 'nominative dual . . .'
bahurājāḥ 'nominative plural . . .'
bahudhīvā 'a very clever female'
bahudhīvarī 'id.'
bahupīvā 'a very fat female'
bahupīvarī 'id.'

1. Note that *ubhābhyām* 'after both . . .' refers to nominal stems which (*i*) end in *man* (4.1.11 *manaḥ*); or (*ii*) constitute a *bahuvrīhi* compound ending in *an* (4.1.12 *ano bahuvrīheḥ*). These two categories of stems are not allowed *ṄīP* in view of the two preceding rules. The *ṄīP* which is negated here may become available to these stems by rule 4.1.5 *ṛnnebhyo ṅīp*. Our present rule makes an optional provision for *ḌāP* against the negation of *ṄīP*. The word *ubhābhyām* restricts optional *ḌāP* to two categories of specified stems. Examples, such as *sīmā/ sīme/ sīmāḥ*, illustrate the option of *ḌāP*. Affix *ṄīP* must remain negated in cases where this optional *ḌāP* is not accepted. This will yield forms, such as *sīmā/ sīmānau/ sīmānaḥ*, where no feminine affix is introduced. An optional *ḌāP*, in the context of a *bahuvrīhi* compound ending in *an*, produces examples such as *bahurājā/ bahurāje/ bahurājāḥ*. Not accepting this option will again lead to negation of *ṄīP* (4.1.12 *ano bahuvrīheḥ*). This will produce examples such as *bahurājā/ bahurājānau/ bahurājānaḥ*, with no choice of a feminine affix. Note that this optional provision for *ḌāP* would cause *ṭi*-deletion in a presuffixal base termed *bha* (6.4.143 *teḥ*). Not accepting *ḌāP* would result in retention of the base-final *n*.

2. What is the purpose of *anyatarasyām* in this rule (*Kāś.*: *anyatarasyāṃ grahaṇaṃ kimartham*)? Is *anyatarasyām* used here to allow negation of *ṄīP* in cases where option of *ḌāP* is not accepted? Or is it used for allowing option of *ṄīP* against its own negation, or else, against the option of *ḌāP* just proposed. The first interpretation is not appropriate (*ādyaṃ tāvad ayuktam*) since *ḌāP*, and a negation of *ṄīP* as well, is already made available by the explicit statement of *ḍāb ubhābhyām* (4.1.13) '*ḌāP* after both . . . (*vacanasāmarthyāt*)'. Obviously, this provision of *ḌāP* cannot be made optional to

the obligatory negation of *ṄīP*. A non-application of negation, or of optional *ḌāP*, will make both provisions meaningless. Thus, they both will have to be applied: *ṄīP* obligatorily, and *ḌāP* optionally. This interpretation is possible even without the explicit use of *anyatarasyām*.

The second interpretation is also inappropriate (*dvitīyam apy ayuktam*). For, if *anyatarasyām* is intended to provide the option of *ṄīP* to a *bahuvrīhi*, with no deletion of its *upadhā* (4.1.28 *ana upadhālopino' nyatarasyām*), then negation of 4.1.12 *ano bahuvrīheḥ* will become useless. If *anyatarasyām* is, instead, understood as providing the option of *ḌāP* to *bahuvrīhi* stems which go through deletion of their *upadhā* but which do not take the option of *ṄīP* of 4.1.28 *ana upadhālopino' nyatarasyām*, then it does not make any sense. For, *anyatarasyām* of 4.1.28 itself will account for option of *ḌāP*. The *anyatarasyām* of this rule is thus not required.

Kāśikā states that *anyatarasyām* should be used here for offering *ḌāP* as an option to *ṄīP* of 4.1.7 *vano ra ca*, which, without this *anyatarasyām*, will remain negated because of 4.1.12 *ano bahuvrīheḥ* (*Nyāsa*: *ṅībrephāv aprāptau, 'ano bahuvrīheḥ' iti pratiṣedhāt; tasmāt tadvidhānārtham anyatarasyāṃ grahaṇaṃ kartavyam*). Consider *bahudhīvā* and *bahudhīvarī* as examples. The *Mahābhāṣya* proposes split-interpretation (*yogavibhāga*) of this rule as follows:

(*i*) *ḍāb ubhābhyāṃ bhavati*, where both *manaḥ* (4.1.11) and *ano bahuvrīheḥ* are carried;

(*ii*) *anyatarasyām*, where *ano bahuvrīheḥ* alone is carried.

This second split-rule is intended for making affix *ṄīP* (of 4.1.5 *ṛnnebhyo ṅīp*), and replacement in *r* for *n* (of 4.1.7 *vano ra ca*), both optionally available.

4.1.14 अनुपसर्जनात्

anupasarjanāt
/anupasarjanāt 5/1 = *na upasarjanam* = *anupasarjanam* (*nañ. tat.*); *tasmāt/*
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *prātipadikāt* #1, *striyām* #3)
yad ita ūrdhvam anukramiṣyāmo' nupasarjanād ity evaṃ tad veditavyam
Affixes enumerated hereafter occur after a nominal stem which is not termed an *upasarjana* (1.2.43 *prathamā nirdiṣṭaṃ samāsa upasarjanam*).

EXAMPLES:

kurucarī 'she who wanders in the country of the Kurus'
madracarī 'she who wanders in the country of Madras'

1. This is an *adhikāra*, valid through 4.1.77 *yūnas tiḥ*. Note that *anupasarjana*, of *anupasarjanāt*, is explained by rule 1.2.43 *prathamānirdiṣṭaṃ samāsa upasarjanam* as a compound constituent which is specified with nominative (*prathamā*) in a rule allowing formation of compounds.

The word *anupasarjana* 'non-secondary', of *anupasarjanāt*, is a negation (*pratiṣedha*) of the *prasajya* type yielding the interpretation: *upasarjanān ṅībādayo na bhavanti* 'affixes *ṄīP*, etc., do not occur after an *upasarjana*'. A *paryudāsa* interpretation will yield the interpretation: *upasarjanād anyasmān ṅībādayo bhavanti* 'affixes *ṄīP*, etc., occur after a form other than an *upasarjana*'. The first interpretation is a straight negation (*niṣedha*). It will not permit affix *ṄīṢ*, in *kukkuṭīpādaḥ*, because *kukkuṭī* will be termed an *upasarjana* by rule 2.2.8 *ṣaṣṭhī* where *ṣaṣṭhī*, a *pada* ending in genitive, is specified with nominative (*prathamā*). This argument is not valid since introduction of *ṄīṢ* will take place prior to compound-formation at the strength of being internally conditioned (*antaraṅga*). The formation of compound, an externally conditioned operation, will take place with *kukkuṭī* as a constituent ending in *ṄīṢ*. But the *ṄīṢ* of *kukkuṭī* will also be blocked. How? The word *anupasarjana* means *pradhāna* 'principal'; and *kukkuṭī* denotes *jāti* 'class'. A *pradhāna* is comprehended relative to an *apradhāna* 'secondary'. We do not have anything non-principal, or secondary, relative to which *kukkuṭa* can be accepted as 'principal'. Consequently, the *paryudāsa*, or operational interpretation of negation, is faulty (*tasmād vidhi pakṣo'yaṃ duṣṭaḥ*). The negation in *anupasarjanāt* is therefore accepted as *prasajya*, whereby we understand that '*ṄīP*, etc., do not occur after that which is *upasarjana* 'secondary; non-principal'.'

Now consider *kurucarī*, a *tatpuruṣa* compound (2.2.19 *upapadam atiṅ*) formed with *kuru* + *sUP* and *cara*, where *cara* is a derivate of *Ṭa* (3.2.16 *careṣ ṭaḥ*), a *kṛt* affix introduced after verbal root *car* under the co-occurrence condition of *kuru* + *suP*. The word *cara* cannot be accepted as an *upasarjana* since it is part of a *tatpuruṣa* compound where meaning of the following constituent is principal (*uttarapadapradhāna*). It can also not be accepted as an *upasarjana* because it is not specified with a nominative in the wording of the rule which allows formation of this compound. Consequently, we get affix *ṄīP*. The same could not be true of *bahukurucarā* 'an area full of those who wander in the country of the Kurus', a *bahuvrīhi* compound where individual constituents are all considered as *upasarjana*. A *ṄīP* will thus be blocked. Incidentally, the final *a* of *kurucara* and *madracara* will be deleted by 6.4.147 *yasyeti ca*, before the *ṄīP* of 4.1.15 *ṭiḍḍhāṇañ . . .*, of course, introduced at the strength of *Ṭ* as an *it* in affix *Ṭa*.

2. Note that *anupasarjanāt* qualifies *prātipadikāt* which, when read with *ataḥ* of 4.1.4 *ajādyataṣ ṭāp*, will yield this following interpretation:

> 'an affix occurs to denote feminine after a nominal stem which ends in *a*, and is not an *upasarjana* . . .'

This negation of *anupasarjanāt* is not required if *tadantavidhi* 'a specification made by an item also refers to that which ends in that item' is not accepted. For, *Paribhāṣā* (32): *grahaṇavatā prātipadikena tadantavidhir nāsti*

'*tadantavidhi* becomes inoperative when a specification happens to be made by enumerating individual nominal stems'. But *anupasarjanāt* is required for offering negation (*pratiṣedha*) in the following rules. The negation itself cannot be accomplished without accepting the notion of *tadantavidhi*. What is the way out of this difficulty? *Kāśikā* states that *tadantavidhi* is operative in this section (*asmin prakaraṇe tadantavidhir iti*). But it becomes operative only in the context of that which is 'non-secondary' or 'principal'. A *vārttika* (*śūdrā cāmahatpūrvā jātiḥ*) under 4.1.4 *ajādyataṣ ṭāp* makes this known. If *tadantavidhi* is not accepted then, given *pratyayagrahaṇe yasmāt sa vihitas tadādes tadantasya ca grahaṇaṃ bhavati* 'a specification made with an affix refers to a form which begins with the base after which that affix is introduced, and also to the form which ends in that affix', the *aṆ* of the next rule will refer to a form which ends in *aṆ*. We can thus derive *aupagavī* 'female descendant of Upagu' with the introduction of *ṄīP* after *aupagava*, a *taddhita* derivates ending in *aṆ*. But this *paribhāṣā* will create problems in deriving *kumbhakārī* 'a female potter' where *kāra* is a derivate ending in *aṆ*. The compound base *kumbhakāra* cannot be accepted as ending in a form (*kāra*) which, in turn, ends in *aṆ*. That is, *kāra* alone can qualify to receive the affix. A *tadantavidhi* interpretation will facilitate affixal introduction after *kumbhakāra*, a form ending in *kāra* (*Nyāsa*: *tadantavidhau tu jñāpite kāraśabdāntād apīkāraḥ sidhyati*). Incidentally, *aṆ* of next rule is interpreted as a *taddhita* (4.1.83 *prāg dīvyato' ṇ*) as well as a *kṛt* (3.2.1 *karmaṇy aṇ*).

4.1.15 ट्िड्ढाणञ्द्वयसज्दघ्नञ्मात्रच्तयप्ठक्ठञ्कञ्क्वरपः

ṭiḍḍhāṇañdvayasajdaghnañmātractayapṭhakṭhañkañkvarapaḥ
/ ṭiḍḍhāṇañ . . . kvarapaḥ 5/1 = *ṭa it yasya sa ṭit* (*bv.*); *ṭic ca ḍhaś ca . . . kvarap ca* = *ṭiḍḍhāṇañ . . . kvarap* (*sam. dv.*); *tasmāt/*
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *prātipadikāt* #1, *striyām* #3)
ṭidādibhyaḥ prātipadikebhyaḥ striyāṃ ṅīp pratyayo bhavati
Affix *ṄīP* occurs to denote feminine after nominal stems which end in *a* (*adanta*) and have, as their final (*antya*), a non-secondary (*anupasarjana*) form either marked with *Ṭ*, or ending in affixes *ḍha*, *aṆ*, *aÑ*, *dvayasaC*, *daghnaC*, *mātraC*, *tayaP*, *ṭhaK*, *ṭhaÑ*, *kaÑ* and *KvaraP*.

EXAMPLES:

kurucarī 'she who wanders in the country of the Kurus'
madracarī 'she who wanders in the country of the Madras'
sauparṇeyī 'a female descendent of Suparṇī'
vainateyī 'a female descendent of Vinatā'
kumbhakārī 'she who makes pots'
nagarakārī 'she who builds cities; a female architect'
autsī 'a female descendent of Utsa'
audapānī 'a female descendent of Udapāna'

urudvayasī 'a river with chest-deep water'
ūrudaghnī 'id.'
ūrumātrī 'id.'
jānudvayasī 'a river with knee-deep water'
jānudaghnī 'id.'
jānumātrī 'id.'
pañcatayī 'that which has five parts'
daśatayī 'that which has ten parts'
ākṣikī 'a female who gambles with dice'
śālākikī 'id.'
lāvaṇikī 'a female who sells salt'
yādṛśī 'the (feminine) kind which . . .'
tādṛśī 'that (feminine) kind . . .'
itvarī 'she who is in haste'
naśvarī 'she who will perish; fragile'
āḍhyaṃkaraṇī 'she who makes one rich'
śubhagaṅkaraṇī 'she who brings prosperity'

1. Note that *ataḥ* 'that which ends in *a*' is carried everywhere as a qualifier to nominal stems (*Kāś.*: *ataḥ iti sarvatrānuvartate*). It is used as such where possible (*tat sati sambhave viśeṣaṇam bhavati*). It is treated as carried for subsequent rules where context of a given rule requires otherwise (*Nyāsa*: *yatra sambhavati tatra viśeṣaṇaṃ bhavati, yatra tu na sambhavati tatrottarārtham eva . . .*). Note that this entire rule, along with *ataḥ*, serves as a qualifier to *prātipadikam*, especially in accord with *tadantavidhi*. Thus, *ataḥ*, read with *prātipadikāt*, will be interpreted as: after a nominal stem which ends in *a*. The word *Ṭit* can similarly refer to a nominal stem which is either marked with *Ṭ* as an *it*, or else, ends in that which is marked as such. Affixes *ḍha*, etc., will yield the interpretation: 'after a nominal stem which ends in affix *ḍha*, etc., or ends in a form which ends in affix *ḍha*, etc.'. Remember, however, that referents of *ṭit* and *ḍha*, etc., must also qualify as an *anupasarjana* 'non-secondary' or 'principal'. Refer to notes under the preceding rule.

2. The word *ṭit* 'that which has *Ṭ* as an *it*' refers to two sets of forms: (*i*) an affix which has *Ṭ* as an *it*; and (*ii*) a nominal stem, or a verbal root, which may have *Ṭ* as an *it*. This rule accepts both of these interpretations. Thus we get *kurucarī* where *kurucara* is a nominal stem ending in *cara* which, in turn, ends in affix *Ṭa* marked with *Ṭ* as an *it*. There are also nominal stems, such as *nadaṬ*, *devaṬ* and *coraṬ*, etc., which are marked with *Ṭ* and are listed in the *pacādi* group. They yield forms such as *nadī* 'river', *devī* 'divine' and *corī* 'a female thief', etc. Similarly, we get *stanandhayī* 'a girl sucking on her mothers' breasts' where *dheṬ*, a verbal root ending in *Ṭ*, receives affix *KHaŚ* (3.2.29 *nāsikāstanayor . . .*) to derive *dhaya*. Note that *pacamāna* 'he who is cooking' and *yajamāna* 'he who is performing a ritual sacrifice' do not qualify for

their status as *ṭit* even though they involve affix *ŚānaC*, a replacement of *LAṬ* marked with *Ṭ*. Commentators state that *ṭit* status of *LAṬ*, for purposes of this rule, is not accepted. Why? Because it has two *it* elements. That is, *ekānubandhakagrahaṇe na dvyanaubandhakasya* 'a specification made with one *it* does not refer to a form with two *it* elements'. *LAṬ* also has *Ā* as an additional *it*. But this exclusion of *LĀṬ* will create problems: (*a*) not accepting *Ṭ* as an *it* renders the *ṭit* status of *LAṬ* as vacuous (*vyartha*); and (*b*) accepting the two *anubandha* as reason for exclusion must also exclude *LyuṬ*, etc., where *karaṇī* and *sāmagī* are derived with *ṄīP*, based upon *Ṭ* as an *it*. The *Ṭ* of *LAṬ* will not be useless because its purpose is basically to facilitate application of 3.4.79 *ṭit ātmanepadānāṃ ṭet e*. The *Ṭ* of *LyuṬ* must be included within the scope of this rule, otherwise, in its absence, making *LyuṬ* as *ṭit* will become useless (*ṭitkaraṇam anarthakaṃ syāt prayojanāntarāsambhavāt*). Besides, an operation conditioned by an *it* does not apply on a replacement of *LA* if the *it* happens to be contained within the *LA*. This is how *vakṣyamāṇā*, a derivate of *LṚṬ*, does not get *ṄīP* of 4.1.5 *ugitaś ca*, based upon *Ṛ* and *Ṭ* of *LṚṬ*. If the replacements of *LA* were also treated as marked with what they replaced then Pāṇini would not need to state *ṅic ca* in 3.4.103 *yāsuṭ parasmaipadeṣūdātto ṅic ca*. For, a replacement of *LIṄ* would then attain the status of *Ṅit* anyway. Why then try to provide this status to a replacement via extension.

The tradition also restricts the *ṭit* status of an *āgama* 'augment' from conditioning the introduction of *ṄīP*. If the *ṭit* status of an *āgama* could condition the introduction of *ṄīP* then, in examples such as *sāyaṃtanī* 'relative to evening', *ṄīP* will already be available at the strength of *tUṬ* (5.3.23 *sāyaṃciram . . .*), the augment. Why then mark affixes *Ṭyu* and *ṬyuL* (5.3.23 *sāyaṃciram . . .*) with *Ṭ* as an *it*? Note that *sāyaṃtana*, of *sayaṃtanī*, derives from *sāyam* + *Ṭyu* with augment *tUṬ*. Thus, *sāyam* + *t* + (*yu*→*ana*) = *sāyaṃtana*. The *ṭit* status of *Ṭyu* and *ṬyuL* then becomes an indicator (*jñāpaka*). Consequently, *paṭhitā* of *paṭhitā vidyā* 'knowledge was attained' does not get *ṄīP* on account of the *ṭit* status of augment *iṬ*.

3. Note that affix *ḍha* is specified here without any indicatory symbol (*anubandha*). This, in view of *Paribhāṣā* (82): *niranubandhakagrahaṇe na sānubandhakasya*, would not allow an affix marked with *K*, for example *ḍhaK*, to also refer to *ḍha*, an affix with no *anubandha*. Consequently, this reference with *ḍha* will be limited to 4.4.106 *ḍhaś chandasi* and 5.3.102 *śilāyā ḍhaḥ*, where examples of the second rule will be characteristically limited to neuter (*Nyāsa*: *svabhāvata eva napuṃsake vartate*). Derivates of the first rule will also exclude feminine since a form such as **sabheyī* is not attested. We must therefore accept a reference by this *ḍha* to a *ḍha* which is used with an *anubandha*. This is the only way we can save this *ḍha* from becoming vacuous (*vyartha*). Refer to the appendix for derivational details.

4. A *vārttika*, under this rule, also recommends *ṄīP* after stems which (*i*)

either end in *naÑ* (*strīpuṃsābhyām nañsnañau bhavanāt*), *snaÑ*, *īkaK* and *KHyuN*, or (*ii*) are constituted by *taruṇa* and *taluna*. Thus, we get: *straiṇī* 'that which is found among women', *pauṃsnī* 'a female deserving of men', *śāktīkī* 'she whose weapon is a spear', *yāṣṭīkī* 'she whose weapon is her shaft', *ādhyaṃkaraṇī* 'she who makes one rich', *taruṇī* 'young female' and *takunī* 'id.'.

4.1.16 यञश्च

yañaś ca
/yañaḥ 5/1 *ca ϕ/*
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *prātipadikāt* #1, *striyām* #3, *ataḥ* #4, *ṅīp* #5, *anupasarjanāt* #14)
anupasarjanād yañantāc ca prātipadikāt striyām ṅīp prartyayo bhavati
Affix *ṄīP* also occurs to denote feminine after a non-secondary nominal stem which ends in *yaÑ*.

EXAMPLES:

gārgī 'a female descendent of Garga'
vātsī 'a female descendent of Vatsa'

1. Why did Pāṇini not include affix *yaÑ* in the earlier rule. This would have saved him one rule. A split formulation is made so that affixes of the earlier rule could be stopped from being carried to the next rule (*yogavibhāga uttarārthaḥ*). That is, a joint formulation with *yaÑ*, because of its association (*sāhacarya*) with them, would also qualify them for application in the next rule. This next rule requires the *anuvṛtti* of *yaÑ* alone. This way, affix *Ṣpha* is restricted to occur only after stems which end in *yaÑ*, and not after stems which may end in an affix of the preceding rule.

A *vārttika* requires that, for purposes of this rule, a reference to *yaÑ* be limited to the domain of *apatya* (4.1.93 *tasyāpatyam*). That is, affix *yaÑ*, for example of 4.3.10 *dvīpād anusamudraṃ yañ*, which falls within the domain of 4.3.53 *tatra bhavaḥ* should be excluded. Such a restriction will facilitate the derivation of *dvaipyā* '. . . found in an island' with *ṬāP*.

4.1.17 प्राचां ष्फस्तद्धितः

prācāṃ ṣphas taddhitaḥ
/prācām 6/3 *ṣphaḥ* 1/1 *taddhitaḥ* 1/1
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *prātipadikāt* #1, *striyām* #3, *ataḥ* #4, *anupasarjanāt* #14, *yañaḥ* #16)
prācām ācāryāṇāṃ matena yañantāt striyāṃ ṣphaḥ pratyayo bhavati sa ca taddhitasaṃjñaḥ
Affix *Ṣpha*, termed a *taddhita*, occurs, in the opinion of Eastern grammarians, to denote feminine after a non-secondary nominal stem which ends in *yaÑ*.

EXAMPLES:

gārgyāyaṇī 'a granddaughter of Garga'
vātsyāyanī 'a granddaughter of Vatsa'
gārgī 'id.'
vātsī 'id.'

1. This rule introduces affix *Ṣpha*, in the opinion of Eastern grammarians, as an option to *ṄīP* of the preceding rule.

2. Affix *Ṣpha* is assigned the term *taddhita* so that its derivates can be termed nominal stems (*prātipadīka*) as per 1.2.46 *kṛttaddhitasamāsāś ca*. A *Ṣ* as an *it* facilitates the application of 4.1.41 *ṣidgaurādibhyaś ca*.

Note that derivates of this rule denote feminine by means of two affixes: *Ṣpha* and *ṄīṢ*. Why should feminine be expressed by *ṄīṢ* of rule 4.1.41 *ṣid gaurādibhyaś ca* when the same is already expressed by affix *Ṣpha* of this rule? Commentators note that *Ṣpha* itself does not denote feminine. It is marked with *Ṣ* to facilitate the application of *ṄīṢ*. This makes denotation of feminine as a joint function of both *Ṣpha* and *ṄīṢ* (*Nyāsa*: *na hi kevalaḥ ṣphaḥ strītvam abhivyaṅktuṃ samartha iti ṅīṣam apekṣate*).

3. Commentators note that *sarvatra* 'everywhere' is brought here from the following rule so that no other provision can block the provision of this rule. For example, rule 4.1.75 *āvaṭyāc cāp* allows affix *CāP* to denote feminine after a nominal stem which terminates in *yaÑ*. A reading of *sarvatra*, from the following rule, will block rule 4.1.75 *āvaṭyāc cāp* from introducing *CāP*. Thus, *sarvatra* is to be brought to block a provision which may otherwise block the provision of this rule (*bādhakabābhanārtha*).

4.1.18 सर्वत्र लोहितादिकतन्तेभ्यः

sarvatra lohitādikatantebhyaḥ
/ sarvatra ϕ *lohitādikatantebhyaḥ* 5/3 = *lohita ādir yeṣāṃ te = lohitādayaḥ*; *kata ante yeṣāṃ te = katantāḥ* (*bv.*) = *lohitādayaś ca te katantāś ca* (*karm. tat.* with int. *bv.*); *tebhyaḥ/*
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *prātipadikāt* #1, *striyām* #3, *ataḥ* #4, *anupasarjanāt* #14, *yañaḥ* #16, *ṣphas taddhitaḥ* #17)
sarvatra lohitādibhyaḥ kataparyantebhyo yañantebhyaḥ striyāṃ ṣphaḥ pratyayo bhavati
Affix *Ṣpha*, termed a *taddhita*, occurs to denote feminine, in the opinion of all grammarians, after a non-secondary nominal stem which ends in affix *yaÑ* and is enumerated in the list beginning with *lohita* 'read' through *kata*.

EXAMPLES:

lauhityāyanī 'granddaughter of Lohita'
śāṃsityāyanī 'granddaughter of Śaṃsita'

bābhravyāyanī 'granddaughter of Babhru'
śākalyāyanī 'granddaughter of Śakala'
śākalāḥ 'students of Śākalya'

1. Note that *sarvatra* means *sarveṣāṃ mate* 'in the opinion of all grammarians'. The nominal listing, specified here as *lohitādi*, is a subgroup within *gargādi*. The word *śakala* comes at the end of *lohitādi* which is the first *gaṇa* here. The second group of nominals, i.e., *kaṇvādi*, begins with *śakala* and extends through *kata*. Such a specification is made so that *śakala* could form the 'end' and 'beginning', respectively, of these two groups. What is this *tadantādi* 'forming the end and beginning of that' purpose of *śakala* in defining these two groups? A *lohitādi* ending in *śakala* defines the scope of *Ṣpha*. A *kaṇvādi*, with *śakala* at the beginning, defines the scope of *aṆ*. The following verse summarizes the specification:

kaṇvāt tu śakalaḥ pūrvaḥ katād uttara iṣyate/
pūrvottarau tadantādi ṣphāṇau tatra prayojanam//

This specification is needed to modify the order of listing in the *gaṇa*. That is, given the order: '*kapi, kata, kurukata, anaḍuh, kaṇva, śakala*', an effort is made to remove *kapi* and *anaḍuh* away, and place *śakala* in between *kata* and *kaṇva*. This will put *śakala* at the boundary of the two *gaṇas*. Why *śakala*? Because it can be used with *Ṣpha* and *aṆ* both. Thus, we get *śākalyāyanī* 'a granddaughter of Śakala' and *śākalāḥ* 'students of Śākalya'.

4.1.19 कौरव्यमाण्डूकाभ्यां च

kauravyamāṇḍūkābhyāṃ ca
/kauravyamāṇḍūkābhyām 5/2 = *kauravyaś ca māṇḍūkaś ca* = *kauravyamāṇḍūkau* (*itar. dv.*) *tābhyām*; *ca* ϕ/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *prātipadikāt* #1, *striyām* #3, *atāḥ* #4, *anupasarjanāt* #14, *ṣphas taddhitaḥ* #17)
'*kauravya, māṇḍūka*' *ity etābhyām striyām ṣpha pratyayo bhavati*
Affix *Ṣpha*, termed a *taddhita*, also occurs to denote feminine after nominal stems *kauravya* and *māṇḍūka*.

EXAMPLES:

kauravyāyaṇī 'granddaughter of Kuru'
māṇḍūkāyanī 'granddaughter of Maṇḍūka'

1. Note that *Ṣpha* of *kauravyāyaṇī* and *māṇḍūkyāyanī* forms an exception to affixes *ṬāP* (4.1.4 *ajādyataṣ ṭāp*) and *ṄīP* (4.1.15 *ṭiḍḍhāṇañ . . .*), respectively. That is, *kauravya* qualifies for *ṬāP* because it ends in *a*. Affix *ṄīP* becomes available to *maṇḍūka* on the basis of its *aṆ*. Our present rule offers *Ṣpha* as an exception which, subsequently, leads to the introduction of *ṄīṢ* after *kauravyāyana* and *māṇḍūkāyana*. Our first stem *kauravya* derives from

kuru + *Ṅas* + *Ṇya* of 4.1.151 *kurvādibhyo ṇyaḥ*, through the application of 6.4.146 *or guṇaḥ* and 6.1.76 *vānto yi pratyaye*. Thus, *kuru* + *Ṅas* + *Ṇya* → *kuru* + *ya* → *kuru* + *ya* → *kur* (*o*→*av*) + *ya* → *kurav* + *ya*. Rule 7.2.117 *taddhiteṣv acām . . .* will replace the initial *u* with its *vṛddhi* counterpart *au*, based upon *Ṇya* being *Ṇit*. Affix *aṆ* is introduced after *maṇḍūka* + *Ṅas* (4.1.119 *ḍhak ca maṇḍukāt*) to derive *māṇḍūka* through initial *vṛddhi* and deletion of the final *a* of *maṇḍuka*. Deriving *kauravyāyaṇī* from *kauravya* + (*Śph*→*āyan*) *a* + *ṄīP*→ *kauravyāyanī* + *sU* = *kauravyāyaṇī*, involves operations such as *a*-deletion of *bha*, *āyan* as a replacement for *ph*, deletion of *sU* and *ṇatva*. Similar derivational steps are followed in deriving *māṇḍūkāyanī*.

2. A *vārttika* recommends that *āsuri*, derived with the introduction of *iÑ* after *asura* + *Ṅas*, also be enumerated as part of this rule. Obviously, this is intended to account for examples such as *āsurāyaṇī*.

4.1.20 वयसि प्रथमे

vayasi prathame
/ vayasi 7/1 *prathame* 7/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *prātipadikāt* #1, *striyām* #3, *ataḥ* #4, *ṅīp* #5, *anupasarjanāt* #14)
prathame vayasi yat prātipadikaṃ śrutyā vartate tataḥ striyāṃ ṅīp pratyayo bhavati
Affix *ṄīP* occurs to denote feminine after a non-secondary nominal stem which ends in *-a* and denotes the first stage of life.

EXAMPLES:

kumārī 'an adolescent female'
kiśorī 'id.'
varkarī 'a young she-goat'

1. Commentators explain *vayas* as a physical state brought about by *kāla* 'time'. They further illustrate it as *yauvanādiḥ* 'yough, etc.' *Kāśikā* states that affixal provisions of this rule apply to nominal stems which, no sooner they have been articulated, can make the listener comprehend the age (*śrutyā*; *śravaṇamātreṇa*). This is why *uttānaśayā* 'an adolescent female, she who sleeps on her back' and *lohitapādikā* 'she whose feet are red' cannot be covered by this rule. These stems literally do not denote age.

2. It is hard to exactly define the first stage of life. A two-way classification of age as 'young' and 'old' can be characterized with notions of *upacaya* 'growth of vital body elements' and *apacaya* 'decline of vital body elements'. Some accept four stages of life: *bālya* 'adolescence', *yauvana* 'youth', *madhya* 'middle' and *sthavira* 'old'. Commentators describe the age of *bālya* as covering the period through which one normally subsists on 'milk' and 'staples' (*kṣīrānna-vartakaḥ*). But some state that this also includes youth. In this view,

then, there will only be three stages of life where *bālya* and *yauvana* will be treated as one. For this reason, some just consider three relevant stages in life: the first when one pursues studies (*vidyā*), the second when one pursues pleasures of life or wealth (*dhana*), and the third when one practices austerity (*tapas*). But others subscribe to yet another notion of thee stages:

> *āṣoḍaśād bhaved bāto yāvat kṣīrānnavartakaḥ/*
> *madhyamaḥ saptatir yāvat parato vṛddha ucyate//*
> 'one is called an 'adolescent' till the age of sixteen when one subsists on milk and staples; the middle age extends up to seventy beyond which one is called old'

Our example *kumārī* 'a female adolescent' is, at times, also explained as not denoting the first part of life. It can also refer to a female with no sexual contact with a male (*puṃyogābhāva*). That is, a girl prior to her wedding. What if one does not get married for a long time? She cannot be called a *kumārī*? For, a female in her youth is called *strī* 'woman' (*prāptayauvanā stry abhidhīyate*), and a *kumārī* is no *strī*.

3. Some are inclined to interpret *prathame* of this rule as *acarame* '. . . non-final (old)'. If *prathame* refers to the '. . . non-old' stage of life then derivates denoting youth can also be covered by this rule. That is, we will not need any *vārttika* (*vayasy acarama iti vaktavyam*) for deriving *vadhūṭi* 'a female in her youth' and *ciraṇṭī* 'an unmarried woman (still residing with her parents)'.

4. Refer to the appendix of 4.1.2 for derivational details.

4.1.21 द्विगोः

> *dvigoḥ*
> */dvigoḥ* 5/1/
> (*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *prātipadikāt* #1, *striyām* #3, *ataḥ* #4, *ṅīp* #5, *anupasarjanāt* #14)
> *dvigusaṃjñakād prātipadikāt striyām ṅīp pratyayo bhavati*
> Affix *ṄīP* occurs to denote feminine after a non-secondary nominal stem which ends in *a* and is termed *dvigu* (2.1.52 *saṃkhyā* . . .).

EXAMPLES:

> *pañcapūlī* 'a bundle of five bunches'
> *daśapūlī* 'a bundle of ten bunches'

1. The word *dvigu* here refers to a *samāhāradvigu* formed by 2.1.51 *taddhitārthottarapadasamāhāre ca*. A *vārttika* claims that this rule applies to only those *dvigu* compounds which contain a final constituent terminating in *a* (*akārāntottarapado dviguḥ striyām iṣṭaḥ*). Why then *triphalā* 'collection of three fruits' is derived with *ṬāP* (4.1.4 *ajādyataṣ ṭāp*)? Its stem is listed in the *ajādi* group. Refer to (62) *pañcapūli*, in the appendix of vol. III, for derivational details.

4.1.22 अपरिमाणबिस्ताचितकम्बल्येभ्यो न तद्धितलुकि

aparimāṇabistācitakambalyebhyo na taddhitaluki
/ aparimāṇa . . . kambalyebhyaḥ 5/3 = *na parimāṇam = aparimāṇam* (*nañ. tat.*); *aparimāṇaṃ ca bistā ca ācitaś ca kambalyaṃ ca = aparimāṇa . . . kambalyāni* (*itar. dv.*), *tebhyaḥ; na* ϕ *taddhitaluki* 7/1 = *taddhitasya luk = taddhitaluk* (*ṣaṣ. tat.*), *tasmin/*
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *prātipadikāt* #1, *striyām* #3, *ataḥ* #4, *ṅīp* #5, *anupasarjanāt* #14, *dvigoḥ* #21)
aparimāṇāntād dvigor bistācitakambalyāntāc ca taddhitaluki sati ṅīp pratyayo na bhavati
Affix *ṄīP* does not occur to denote feminine after a non-secondary nominal stem termed *dvigu*, which ends in a constituent denoting 'non-measure' (*aparimāṇa*), or ends in *bista, ācita* and *kambalya*, provided deletion of a *taddhita* affix, by means of *LUK*, has taken effect.

EXAMPLES:

pañcāśvā '. . . purchased for five horses'
daśāśvā '. . . purchased for ten horses'
dvivarṣā '. . . she whose two years have passed'
trivarṣā '. . . she whose three years have passed'
dvibistā '. . . she who cooks grains equal to two Bistas in weight'
dvyācitā '. . . she who cooks grains equal to two Ācitas in weight'
dvikambalyā '. . . purchased for two blankets'

1. This rule negates the provision of our preceding rule. *Kāśikā* offers *dvyāḍhakī* 'she who cooks something equal to two *āḍharkas* in weight' and *pañcāśvī* 'a herd of five horses' as counter-examples where the stem of the first ends in *āḍhaka* denoting 'measure'. The second stem does not meet the condition of deletion of its *taddhita* affix by *LUK*.

4.1.23 काण्डान्तात् क्षेत्रे

kāṇḍāntāt kṣetre
/ kāṇḍāntāt 5/1 = *kāṇḍam ante yasya sa kāṇḍāntaḥ* (*bv.*), *tasmāt; kṣetre* 7/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *prātipadikāt* #1, *striyām* #3, *ataḥ* #4, *ṅīp* #5, *anupasarjanāt* #14, *dvigoḥ* #21, *na taddhitaluki* #22)
kāṇḍaśabdāntād dvigos taddhitaluki sati kṣetre vācye ṅīp pratyayo na bhavati
Affix *ṄīP* does not occur to denote feminine after a non-secondary nominal stem termed *dvigu* which ends in *kāṇḍa*, if deletion of a *taddhita* affix by means of *LUK* has taken effect, and the derivate signifies (*kṣetra*).

EXAMPLES:

dvikāṇḍā kṣetrabhaktiḥ 'part of a field equal in measure to two Kāṇḍas; sixteen lower arm-lengths, or approximately twenty-four feet'

trikāṇḍā kṣetrabhaktiḥ 'part of a field equal in measure to three Kāṇḍas; twenty-four lower arm-lengths or approximately thirty-six feet'

1. Note that negation of *ṄīP* is already available with reference to *kāṇḍa* when something 'other than measure' (*aparimāṇa*) is denoted. This rule is formulated to restrict that negation of the earlier rule to the context of *kṣetra* (*Kāś.*: *kāṇḍa-śabdasyāparimāṇavācitvāt pūrveṇaiva pratiṣedhe siddhe kṣetre niyamārthaṃ vacanam*). Thus, *dvikāṇḍī rajjuḥ* 'a rope equal in measure to two Kāṇḍas' cannot avail this negation, obviously because it does not denote *kṣetra.*

2. Why is the word *anta* used in this rule when its sense can be gotten via *tadantavidhi.* A formulation which excludes *anta,* for example *kāṇḍāt kṣetre,* will present *kṣetra* as a qualifier to *kāṇḍa.* This will give us the meaning *kṣetre yaḥ kāṇḍaśabdas tadantād dvigoḥ* '. . . after a *dvigu* which ends in *kāṇḍa* with the signification of *kṣetra.* . . .' Such an interpretation will not be able to block *ṄīP* in *dvikāṇḍā kṣetrabhaktiḥ* because *kāṇḍa* will then be denoting *pramāṇa* 'measure'. The sense of *kṣetra* will then be denoted by *dvikāṇḍa.* This interpretation will unnecessarily block *ṄīP* in *dvikāṇḍī vaḍavā* 'a mare purchased with land equal in measure to two Kāṇḍas'. An explicit use of *anta* cannot allow *kṣetra* to become a qualifier to *kāṇḍa* since, in that case, only that which ends in *kāṇḍa* can be qualified with *kṣetra.*

3. A derivate such as *dvikāṇḍā,* as in *dvikāṇḍā kṣetrabhaktiḥ,* parallel to *dve kāṇḍe pramāṇam asyāḥ,* will receive affix *mātraC* (5.2.37 *dvyasajdaghnacmātrac*). But this, or for that matter *dvyasaC* and *daghnaC* as well, will be deleted (cf. *vt.* ad 5.2.37 *pramāṇe. . .*: *dvigor nityam*). Affix *ṄīP* is now blocked in favor of *ṬāP.*

4.1.24 पुरुषात्प्रमाणेऽन्यतरस्याम्

puruṣāt pramāṇe' nyatarasyām
/puruṣāt 5/1 *pramāṇe* 7/1 *anyatarasyām* 7/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *prātipadikāt* #1, *striyām* #3, *ataḥ* #4, *ṅīp* #5, *anupasarjanāt* #14, *dvigoḥ* #21, *na taddhitaluki* #22)
pramāṇe yaḥ puruṣaśabdas tadantād dvigos taddhitaluki sati anyatarasyāṃ na ṅīp pratyayo bhavati
Affix *ṄīP,* optionally does not occur to denote feminine after a non-secondary nominal stem termed *dvigu,* when the same ends in *puruṣa* 'person, man' used as a measure and deletion of a *taddhita* affix by means of *LUK* has taken effect.

EXAMPLES:

dvipuruṣā parikhā 'a moat with its width (or depth) equal in measure to the height of two men'
dvipuruṣī parikhā 'id.'

1. This optional negation of *ṄīP* is made against the obligatory negation characterized earlier with *aparimāṇa* (4.1.22 *aparimāṇa . . .*). The twin conditions of *pramāṇa* and *taddhitaluki* are also important. A non-denotation of *pramāṇa* will clear the way for *ṬāP* in *dvābhyāṃ puruṣābhyāṃ krītā = dvipuruṣā vaḍavā* 'a mare purchased by two men'. A non-deletion of the *taddhita* affix will similarly yield *dvipuruṣī*, denoting *samāhāra* 'grouping'.

2. How can *puruṣa*, a word which denotes *jāti* 'class', denote *pramāṇa*? Because of its association with *pramāṇa* (*pramāṇaśabdenasambandhāj jātivacano' pi puruṣaśabdaḥ pramāṇe vartate*). The measure of a person is regarded as equal to five Aratni: *pañcāratniḥ puruṣaḥ*. What is an Aratni? Length of an elbow measured to the tip of the little finger is called Aratni.

4.1.25 बहुव्रीहेरूधसो ङीष्

bahuvrīher ūdhaso ṅīṣ
/ bahuvrīheḥ 5/1 *ūdhasaḥ* 5/1 *ṅīṣ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *prātipadikāt* #1 *striyām* #3)
ūdhasśabdāntād bahuvrīheḥ striyām nīṣ pratyayo bhavati
Affix *ṄīṢ* occurs to denote feminine after a *bhauvrīhi* compound which ends in *ūdhas* 'udder'.

EXAMPLES:

ghaṭodhnī 'a cow with udder like a pitcher'
kuṇḍodhnī 'a cow with udder like a bowl'

1. Note that the condition of *aT* 'ending in *a*' is still valid. Since a *bahuvrīhi* compound ending in *ūdhas* will obviously not meet this condition, affix *ṄīṢ* will be introduced only after *anaṄ* has replaced the final *s* of *ūdhas* (5.4.131 *ūdhaso' naṅ*).

This provision of *ṄīṢ* is made against optional negations of *ṄīP* and *ḌāP* of 4.1.12 *ano bahuvrīheḥ* and 4.1.13 *ḍāb ubhābhyām anyatarasyām*. The condition of *bahuvrīhi* is important to block *ṄīṢ* in a *tatpuruṣa* compound (2.2.4 *prāptāpanne ca . . .*), for example, *prāptā ūdhaḥ = prāptodhā* 'female young of a cow who can reach her mother's udder'.

4.1.26 संख्याव्ययादेर्ङीप्

saṃkhyāvyayāder ṅīp
/ saṃkhyāvyayādeḥ 5/1 = *saṃkhyā ca avyayaṃ ca* (*dv.*); *saṃkhyāvyaye ādinī yasya* (*bv.* with int. *dv.*), *tasmāt*; *ṅīp* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *prātipadikāt* #1, *striyām* #3, *bahuvriher ūdhasaḥ* #25)
saṃkhyāder avyayādeś ca bahuvrīher ūdhasśabdāntād śabdād ṅīp pratyayo bhavati
Affix *ṄīP* occurs to denote feminine after a *bahuvrīhi* compound which

ends in *ūdhas*, and begins either with a number (*saṃkhyā*) or an indeclinable (*anyaya*).

EXAMPLES:

dvyūdhnī 'a cow with two udders'
nirūdhnī 'a cow with no udder'

1. Why do we have to state *ādi* 'that which begins with . . .' in this rule? For, in its absence, the rule will be interpreted as meanig: 'after a *bahuvrīhi* which ends in *ūdhas*, used in combination after either a number word or an indeclinable. . . .' That is, a *bahuvrīhi* where an indeclinable, or a word denoting number, is not immediately followed by *ūdhas*, will be blocked from receiving *ṄīP*. Thus, *dvividhodhnī* 'a cow with two udders' cannot be derived with *ṄīP*. The *pañcamī* of *saṃkhyāvyayādbhyām* will, otherwise, require *ūdhas* to immediately follow the number word or indeclinable (*PM*: . . . *pañcamīnirdeśāt tābhyām anantaro ya ūdhaḥ śabdas tadantād eva syāt, padāntaravyavāye tu na syād.* . . .)

4.1.27 दामहायनान्ताच्च

dāmahāyanāntāc ca
/dāmahāyanāntāt 5/1 = *dāma ca hāyanaś ca* = *dāmahāyanau*; *dāmahāyanau ante yasya sa* = *dāmahāyanāntaḥ* (*bv.* with int. *dv.*), *tasmāt*; *ca* ϕ/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *prātipadikāt* #1, *striyām* #3, *bahuvrīheḥ* #25, *saṃkhyāvyayāder ṅīp* #26)
saṃkhyāder bahuvrīher dāmaśabdāntād hāyanaśabdantāc ca striyām ṅīp pratyayao bhavati
Affix *ṄīP* occurs, to denote feminine, also after a *bahuvrīhi* nominal stem which begins with a word denoting number (*saṃkhyā*) and ends in *dāman* 'rope', or *hāyana* 'year'.

EXAMPLES:

dvidāmnī '. . . tied with two ropes'
tridāmnī '. . . tied with three ropes'
dvihāyanī '. . . two years old'

1. Note that *ūdhas* and *avyaya* are no longer carried. But why should *saṃkhyā* be carried when *avyaya* is dropped. It is stated that *saṃkhyā* alone is marked with *svarita* (1.3.11 *svaritenādhikāraḥ*). This rules out *ṄīP* in *uddāmā vaḍavā* 'wild mare'.

This provision of *ṄīP* must be obligatory (*nitya*) since it is here made against (*i*) negative (4.1.12 *ano bahuvrīheḥ*) and optional (4.1.13 *ḍāb ubhābhyām* . . .) provisions of *ṄīP* and *ḌāP* on the one hand, and (*ii*) the optional provision of *ṄīP* over *ḌāP* (4.1.28 *ana upadhālopino* . . .), on the other.

Examples of *hāyana* are available only in the context of *vaya* 'age' (*vt. hāyano vayasi smṛtaḥ*). Thus, we get *caturhāyaṇī kanyā* 'a girl who is four years old', parallel to *catvāri hāyanāni yasyāḥ sā.* Affix *ṬāP* is blocked in favor of *ṄīP* to derive *caturhāyaṇī.* A counter-example to this is: *caturhāyanā śālā* 'a hall which was built four years ago', where *ṬāP* could not be blocked because *vayas* is not denoted. Note that *ṇ* cannot replace *n* of *hāyana* if age is not denoted (*ṇatvam api tricaturbhyāṃ hāyanasya*).

4.1.28 अन उपधालोपिनोऽन्यतरस्याम्

ana upadhālopino' nyatarasyām
/ anaḥ 5/1 *upadhālopinaḥ* 5/1 = *upadhāyā lopaḥ* = *upadhālopaḥ* (*ṣaṣ. tat.*); *upadhālopo' syāstīti* = *upadhālopī* (*bv.* with int. *ṣaṣ. tat.*); *anyatarasyām* 7/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *prātipadikāt* #1, *striyām* #3, *bahuvrīheḥ* #25, *ṅīp* #26)
annanto yo bahuvrīhir upadhālopī tasmād anyatarasyāṃ ṅīp pratyayo bhavati
Affix *ṄīP,* optionally, occurs to denote feminine after a *bahuvrīhi* nominal stem which ends in *an* and anticipates the deletion of its penultimate sound (*upadhā*).

EXAMPLES:

bahurājā sabhā 'an assembly with many kings'
bahurājñī 'id.'
bahurāje sabhe 'two assemblies with many kings'

1. The condition of *upadhālopinaḥ* is restrictive in nature. That is, *ṄīP* is allowed only after that *bahuvrīhi* compound which ends in *an* and goes through deletion of its penultimate *a* (*Nyāsa: tasmād upadhālopina eva ṇīb yathā syāt anupadhālopino mā bhūd ity evam artham idam ucyate* '. . . this rule is stated so that *ṄīP* is allowed only after that which has gone through deletion of its penultimate sound, and not after that which has not gone through deletion of its penultimate sound'). This deletion of the penultimate *a* is accomplished by 6.4.134 *allopo' ṇaḥ.*

Note that this optional provision of *ṄīP* is restrictive. For, it is made against the negative provision of 4.1.12 *ano bahuvrīheḥ.* It is also relatable to optional provision of *ḌāP* of 4.1.13 *ḍāb ubhābhyām anyatarasyām.* Thus, a *bahuvrīhi* compound which ends in *an,* but which goes through deletion of *a,* will have an optional derivate in *ḌāP* (4.1.13 *ḍāb ubhābhyām . . .*): *bahurājā/ bahurāje/ bahurājāḥ,* nominative singular, dual and plural. If this option is not accepted then *ṄīP* (which is negated by 4.1.12 *ano bahuvrīheḥ*) can be introduced by this rule, provided deletion of *a* (*upadhālopa*) has taken effect. This will give us another set of nominative forms: *bahurājñī, bahurājñau, bahurājñaḥ.* If *a* is not deleted, then we will get a third set of forms where, obviously, *a* will be

retained but *ḌāP* and *ṄīP* will both be negated. This set of forms will follow the pattern of *rājan* 'king'. Thus, *bahurājā, bahurājānau* and *bahurājānaḥ.* Refer to the appendix for derivational details.

4.1.29 नित्यं संज्ञाछन्दसोः

nityam saṃjñāchandasoḥ
/ nityam ϕ saṃjñāchandasoḥ 5/2 = *saṃjñā ca chandaś ca* (*itar. dv.*), *tayoḥ/*
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *prātipadikāt* #1, *striyām* #3, *bahuvrīheḥ* #25, *ṅīp* #26, *ana upadhālopinaḥ* #28)
annantād bahuvrīher upadhālopinaḥ saṃjñāyāṃ viṣaye chandasi ca nityaṃ ṅīp pratyayo bhavati
Affix *ṄīP* occurs, obligatorily, to denote feminine after a *bahuvrīhi* nominal stem which ends in *-an* and anticipates the deletion of its penultimate sound segment (*upadhā*), provided the derivate denotes a name (*saṃjñā*), or else, is restricted to the Vedic language.

EXAMPLES:

surājñī 'name of a village; a village with a good king'
atirājñī 'name of a village; a village whose king has excelled others in ruling'
gauḥ pañcadāmnī 'a cow tied with five ropes'
dvidāmnī 'a cow tied with two ropes'

1. This constitutes an exception to the option offered by the preceding rule (*vikalpasyāpavādaḥ*). Commentators state that *nityam* is used for clarity (*vispaṣṭārtham*). For, this rule will be interpreted as obligatory even when *nityam* is not used. That is, a provision made against one which already exists is accepted as obligatory (*ārambhasāmarthyān nityaṃ bhavati*). An optional *ṄīP* is already available from the preceding rule. Why make a provision again if it is not going to be obligatory (*PM* ad *Kāś.*: *pūrveṇaiva hi vikalpena ṅīp siddhaḥ, tadārambhasamarthyād eva ṅīp nityaṃ bhaviṣyati anyathā hīdaṃ vacanam anarthakaṃ syāt*).

Refer to the derivational history of *dvyurūdhnī* for deriving *pañcadāmnī*, etc. Rules similar to *bahurājñī* apply in deriving *surājñī* and *atirājñī*, parallel to *śobhanā rājāno yasyāṃ sā* and *atikrāntā rājāno yasyāṃ sā*, respectively.

4.1.30 केवलमामकभागधेयपापापरसमानार्यकृतसुमङ्गलभेषजाच्च

kevalamāmakabhāgadheyapāpāparasamānāryakṛtasumaṅgalabheṣajāc ca
/ kevalam . . . bheṣajāt 5/1 = *kevalaś ca māmakaś ca bhāgadheyaś ca pāpaś ca aparaś ca samānaś ca āryakṛtaś ca sumaṅgalaś ca bheṣajaṃ ca kevala . . . bheṣajam* (*sam. dv.*), *tasmāt*; *ca* = ϕ/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *prātipadikāt* #1, *striyām* #3, *ṅīp* #26 *saṃjñāchandasoḥ* #29)

kevalādibhyaḥ prātipadikebhyaḥ saṃjñāyāṃ chandasi viṣaye striyāṃ ṅīp pratyayo bhavati
Affix *ṄīP* occurs to denote feminine after nominal stems *kevala* 'only', *māmaka* 'my own', *bhāgadheya* 'share', *pāpa* 'evil', wicked', *apara* 'other', *samāna* 'similar, equal', *āryakṛta* 'made, or done, by a noble', *sumaṅgala* 'auspicious' and *bheṣaja* 'medicine', provided derivates denote a *saṃjñā*, or they are restricted to the Vedic language.

EXAMPLES:

kevalī 'a female name'
māmakī 'this is mine'
bhāgadheyī 'property, inheritance'
pāpī tv iyam 'this woman indeed is a sinner'
utāpa̲rībhyó ma̲gha̲vā vijigye 'Indra won over deceitful designs'
samānī pravāṇī '. . . weaver's shuttle'
āryakṛtī '. . . made by nobles'
sumaṅgalī '. . . auspicious'
bheṣajī 'medicine, cure'

1. Note that *saṃjñāchandasoḥ* is carried from the last rule. Consequently, derivates in *ṬāP*, i.e., *kevalā, māmakā*, etc., which cannot meet the twin conditions of *saṃjñāchandasoḥ* will serve as counter-examples to *ṄīP*. Rule 4.1.4 *ajādyataṣ ṭāp* will introduce *ṬāP* in the Classical language where derivates do not denote a *saṃjñā*. *Kāśikā* enumerates such examples of *ṬāP* with the qualification of *bhāṣāyām* 'in the Classical language'. Obviously, their denotata fall outside the domain of *saṃjñā*.

The derivation of these forms offers nothing new. Refer to many derivates of *ṬāP* and *ṄīP* already derived.

4.1.31 रात्रेश्चाजसौ

rātreś cājasau
/rātreḥ 5/1 *ca* ϕ *ajasau* = *na jasau* (*nañ. tat.*)/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *prātipadikāt* #1, *striyām* #3, *ṅīp* #26, *saṃjñāchandasoḥ* #29)
jasviṣayād anyatra saṃjñāyāṃ chandasi ca rātriśabdād ṅīp pratyayo bhavati
Affix *ṄīP* occurs after *rātri* 'night' to denote feminine when the derivate denotes a name, or constitutes an usage of Vedic, provided the context involves an ending other than *Jas*.

EXAMPLES:

yā ratrī sṛṣṭā 'the night which was created . . .'
rātríbhiḥ 'by nights . . .'

1. Note that *saptamī* in *ajasau* is interpreted as denoting domain (*viṣaya*).

This way, the internal (*antaraṅga*) provision of *ṄīP* does not come into conflict with the external (*bahiraṅga*) provision of an ending other than *Jas* 'nominative plural'.

A *vārttika*, under this rule, recommends that *ajasau* should be interpreted as *ajasādiṣu* to yield the interpretation: 'outside the domain of endings enumerated beginning with *Jas*'. Acceptance of this *vārttika* will restrict application of this rule to two derivates of *rātri*, nominative singular and dual. It is argued that Pāṇini, by formulating the negation as *ajasau*, locative singular of *ajasi* (where *i* is added for pronunciation), as against the more economical *ajasi*, intended to express some additional meaning. That additional meaning can be accepted as the desired interpretation of *ajasau* as 'within the domain of an ending other than *Jas*' (*Nyāsa*: *iha lāghavārtham 'ajasi' iti vaktavye 'jasāv ity uktam mātrādhikyād arthādhikyasūcanārtham tenājasādiṣu ṅīb bhavatīti*). This extended application will block *ṄīP* in *rātriṃ sahoṣitvā* 'after having stayed through the night together' where *rātrim* is an accusative form.

2. Our example *rātrī*, a nominative singular, is derived with *ṄīP* where 6.4.148 *yasyeti ca* deletes the final short *i* of the base. The nominative plural form of *rātri* (with *Jas*) is *rātrayaḥ*, as opposed to *rātryaḥ*. Given *rātri* + (*J*)*as*, rule 7.3.109 *jasi ca* applies to yield *rātre* + *as* which, after a replacement in *ay* for *e* by 6.1.78 *eco 'yavāyāvaḥ*, produces *rātrayaḥ*. A form such as *rātryaḥ* will be blocked because of negation of *ajasau*.

How would one explain a form such as *rātryaḥ* in *timirapaṭalair avaguṇṭhitāś ca rātryaḥ* 'nights veiled by layers of darkness?' The word *rātryaḥ* is the nominative plural of *rātrī* which, in turn, ends in *ṄīṢ* characterized by *bahvādi* of 4.1.45 *bahvādibhyaś ca*. The *rātrī* of *rātryaḥ* is formed with the *kṛt* affix *triP* (*Uṇādi* IV.67).

4.1.32 अन्तर्वत्पतिवतोर्नुक्

antarvatpativator nuk
/ antarvatpativatoḥ 6/2 = *antarvat ca pativat ca* = *antarvatpativatau* (*itar. dv.*), *tayoḥ*; *nuk* 1/1
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *prātipadikāt* #1, *striyām* #3, *ṅīp* #26)
antarvatpativator nug bhavati ṅīp ca pratyayaḥ
Affix *ṄīP* occurs to denote feminine after *antarvat* and *pativat*, with a concurrent provision that they also receive augment *nUK*.

EXAMPLES:

antarvatnī 'a pregnant woman'
pativatnī 'she whose husband is alive'

1. This rule offers two bases *antarvat* and *pativat* in relation to which augment *nUK* is introduced. Affix *matUP* is introduced, via *nipātana*, for deriving *antarvat* parallel to *antaḥ asyāṃ asti garbhaḥ* 'she inside whom is a fetus'.

Rule 5.2.94 *tad asyāsty asminn* . . . introduces affix *matUP* after a nominal stem which ends in nominative and is in syntactic coordination with *asti* 'exists'. The word *antaḥ* signifies locus (*adhikaraṇa*), and thus, is not in syntactic coordination with *asti*. This rule, by citing *antarvat* as the base (*prakṛti*), is allowing *matUP* by *nipātana*. The *m* of *mat* will, of course, be replaced with the *v* of 8.2.9 *mād upadhāyāś ca*. . . . The base *pativat* can qualify for *matUP*, parallel to *patiḥ asty asyāḥ*, where syntactic coordination is not impaired. This base, however, cannot qualify for a replacement in *v*. This rule then allows *m* of *matUP* to be replaced with *v* via *nipātana*. *Kāśikā* cites the following verse:

> *antarvat-pativatos tu matub-vatve nipātanāt/*
> *garbhiṇyāṃ jīvapatyāṃ ca vāc chandasi tu nugvidhiḥ//*
> '*antarvat* and *pativat* derive with *matUP*, and a replacement in *v* via *nipātana*, in the sense of 'a pregnant woman' and 'one whose husband is alive', respectively; augment *nUK*, in the Vedic, is, however, optional'

2. Commentators explain that *ṄīP* could also be introduced by rule 4.1.5 *ṛnnebhyo ṅīp*. That is, let this and the next rule just introduce augment *nUK*. The forms which end in *n* could then qualify for *ṄīP* of rule 4.1.5 *ṛnnebhyo ṅīp*. Why did Pāṇini not follow this suggestion. He followed this method of *nipātana*, instead, to limit *ṄīP* to specialized contexts. That is, *ṄīP* is introduced after *antarvat* when the derivate denotes a pregnant woman. Similarly to this, *pativat* must also denote a woman whose husband is alive. Thus, these derivates must be limited to contexts of *garbha* 'pregnancy' and *pati* 'husband'. *Kāśikā* cites *antarasyāṃ śālāyāṃ vidyate* '. . . is inside the house' and *patimatī pṛthivī* 'the land has a king' as counter-examples where absence of required meanings would not permit *ṄīP*. Note that a provision of *ṄīP* is primary, as opposed to that of *nUK* which is secondary. For, this section deals with feminine affixes. The introduction of *nUK* cannot be made independently. It must be restricted to specified bases.

Deriving *antarvatnī* from (*antarvat* + *n*(*UK*) + *ṄīP*) + *sU*) is straightforward. The word *pativatnī* follows the same pattern. Affix *matUP* is introduced after *antar* via *nipātana*. The *m* of *matUP* is replaced by *v* in view of 8.2.9 *mād upadhāyāś ca*. The *v* in *pativat* is also accomplished via *nipātana*. Our present rule offers *nUK* and *ṄīP*.

4.1.33 पत्युर्नो यज्ञसंयोगे

> *patyur no yajñasaṃyoge*
> /*patyuḥ* 6/1 *naḥ* 1/1 *yajñasaṃyoge* 7/1 = *yajñena saṃyogaḥ* (*tṛt. tat.*), *tasmin*/
> (*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *prātipadikāt* #1, *striyām* #3, *ṅīp* #26)
> *patiśabdāt striyām ṅīp pratyayo bhavati nakāraś cādeśaḥ yajñasaṃyoge gamyamāne*

Affix *ṄīP* occurs to denote feminine after nominal stem *pati*, with the additional provision of *n* to come in place of its final sound, when sacrificial connection (*yajñasaṃyoga*) is signified.

EXAMPLES:

yajamānasya patnī '. . . wife of one for whom a ritual sacrifice is performed'
patni! *vācaṃ yacha* 'O wife! offer your concurrence . . .'

1. Note that if *yajñasaṃyoga* 'ritual connection' is to be interpreted as 'connection with *yajña*' as such, then *yajñasya patir iyaṃ brāhmaṇī* 'this Brāhmaṇa woman is the master of this ritual sacrifice' would also qualify for operational provisions of this rule. The form of the word *pati*, used in conjunction with the word-form *yajña*, cannot satisfy the necessary requirement of *yajñasaṃyoga*. Commentators state that *yajñasaṃyoga* must be mediated by a semantic connection between meanings of *yajña* and *pati*, qualified with *strī*. Obviously, the word-form *pati* is not capable of participating in the sacrifice. It is the denotation of the word *pati*, and not its form (*śabda*), which is required to be associated with the meaning of the sacrifice, either as a means, or as one to whom the fruit of the ritual accrues. Our example, *yajñasya patir iyaṃ brāhmaṇī*, does not qualify *brāhmaṇī* as a means, or as the person to whom merits accrue. Our other example i.e., *yajamānasya patnī*, involves sacrificial connection since *patnī* participates in rituals with her husband, and she also shares merits which accrue (*tatsādhanatvāt phalagrahītṛtvād vā*). She can be accepted as connected with the sacrifice even when she does not actively participate in it. For, the money which her husband uses for making gifts at the sacrifice is not only partly hers but also her husband is obligated to seek her consent before gifting it away (*PM*: *madhyakaṃ ca dampatyor dhanam . . . tataś ca tyāge bhāryāyā apy anumatir apekṣyata iti*). Incidentally, *yajña* is explained as 'abandoning one's ownership of all things in favor of ownership of gods' (*devatoddeśena svadravyatyāgaḥ*).

How would one justify *patnī* in *vṛṣalasya patnī* 'wife of a lowly untouchable'? How could there be *yajñasaṃyoga* when a *vṛṣala* is not allowed to participate in a sacrifice (*PM*: *śūdrasyaiva yajñe' nadhikṛtatvād yajñenāsaṃyogāt kathaṃ tadbhāryāyā yajñasaṃyogaḥ*). By way of *upamāna* 'analogy'. After all, she becomes a *patnī* because she has taken vows before Agni (*PM*: *agnisākṣikaṃ yat pāṇigrahaṇam tad vṛṣalādīnām apy asti*).

2. Many accept that this *sūtra* is formulated only for introducing *n* as a replacement for the final sound segment (1.1.52 *alo'ntyasya*) of a base. For, given *pat* + (*i*→*n*) = *patn*, rule 4.1.5 *ṛnnebhyo ṅīp* can then introduce *ṄīP*, anyway. This view, however, may create derivational difficulties. Incidentally, *pat*(*i*→*n*) + (*Ṅ*)*ī*(*P*) + *sU* will yield *patnī*, without any problem. The genitive of *patyuḥ* thus facilitates the replacement. Note that *patnī* + *sU* will also yield

patni, a vocative, where the long final *ī* is replaced with short (*hrasva*) through application of rule 7.3.107 *ambārthanadyor. . .* . The genitive of *patyuḥ* will have to be interpreted as *pañcamī* 'ablative' for purpose of introducing *ṄīP*.

4.1.34 विभाषा सपूर्वस्य

vibhāṣā sapūrvasya
/vibhāṣā ϕ sapūrvasya 6/1 = *saha* (*vidyamānaḥ*) *pūrvaḥ avayavo yasya tat* = *sapūrvam* (*bv.*), *tasmāt/*
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *striyām* #4.1.3, *anupasarjanāt* #14, *ṅīp* #26)
patiśabdāntasya prātipadikasya sapūrvasya anupasarjanasya striyām vibhāṣā nakārādeśo bhavati
Affix *ṄīP*, with an additional provision of *n* coming to replace the final sound segment of the base, occurs optionally to denote feminine after a non-*upasarjana* nominal stem which contains *pati* as its final constituent, used in combination after an initial constituent.

EXAMPLES:

vṛddhapatiḥ 'she whose husband is old'
vṛddhapatnī 'id.'
sthūlapatiḥ 'she whose husband is fat'
sthūlapatnī 'id.'

1. This optional *ṄīP*, offered here against the condition of *yajñasaṃyoga* (4.1.33 *patyur. . .*), occurs after a nominal stem which ends in *pati*. Additionally, since such an option was previously not made available (*aprāpta*), it is called *aprāptavibhāṣā*.

2. This rule carries the *anuvṛtti* of *anupasarjanāt* and *patyuḥ*. These two, along with *sapūrvasya*, are brought as qualifiers (*viśeṣaṇa*) close to *prātipadikāt* so that this rule can be properly understood. That is, *anupasarjanāt* is not a qualifier to *pati* but is a qualifier to that which ends in *pati*.

The word *saha*, as replaced with *sa* of *sapūrvasya*, can mean *tulyayoga* 'similar connection with an action', for example, in: *saśiṣyo gurur āgataḥ* 'the teacher came with his student'. The teacher and the taught are both connected here with the action of *āgamana* 'coming'. The word *saha* could also mean: *sattā* 'existence', as in: *sahaiva daśabhiḥ putrair bhāraṃ vahati gardabhī* 'the female donkey carries the load herself even when she has ten sons'. The context of this rule requires *saha* to be interpreted as *sattā*. That is, *sapūrvasya* is to be interpreted as *vidyamānapūrvasya* 'that which has something to precede it'. If *sapūrvasya* were to be interpreted with *saha* as meaning *tulyayoga*, the rule, especially its concurrent provision of replacement in *n*, will read as follows:

sahapūrveṇa patiśabdāntasya nakāto bhavati

'*-n* comes in place of that which ends in *pati* and is preceded by something equally connected with the action'

Commentators note that such an interpretation will create difficulties. For example, *-n* could then be available also to *vṛddha* of *vṛddhapatiḥ*.

Two meanings are generally assigned to *pūrva*: (*a*) *vyavasthā* 'a definite arrangement of ruling', as in *pūrvaṃ mathurāyaḥ pāṭaliputram* 'Pāṭaliputra is in the east of Mathurā'; and (*b*) *avayava* 'part of a whole', as in *pūrvaṃ kāyasya* 'front of the body'.

The first meaning will interpret the rule as: *vidyamānaḥ pūrvo yasmāt tasya patiśabdāntasya nakāro bhavati* '*-n* is introduced to a nominal stem which ends in *pati*, used after an initial constituent'. This interpretation will run into problem. That is, augment *n* will be blocked in *dṛḍhapatnī* 'she whose husband is strong', because of lack of something to precede it. Commentators, therefore, suggest that *saha* of this rule is to be interpreted as denoting *sattā* 'existence'. The word *pūrva* must then be interpreted as denoting *avayava* 'part'. This will yield the correct interpretation of *sapūrvasya*: *saha vidyamānaḥ pūrvo'vayavo yasya tat* 'that which (ends in *pati* and) has a constituent to precede (*pati*)'.

4.1.35 नित्यं सपत्न्यादिषु

nityaṃ sapatnyādiṣu
/ nityaṃ ϕ sapatnyādiṣu 7/3 = *sapatnī = samānaḥ patir yasyāḥ sā; sapatnī ādir yeṣāṃ te sapatnyādayaḥ* (*bv.*), *teṣu/*
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *prātipadikāt* #1, *striyām* #3, *ṅīp* #26, *patyur naḥ* #33)
sapatnyādiṣu yaḥ patiśabdaḥ tasmāt striyāṃ nityaṃ ṅīp pratyayo bhavati nakāraś cāntādeśaḥ
Affix *ṄīP* occurs obligatorily to denote feminine after *pati*, with an additional provision of *n* replacing its final sound segment, provided *pati* is included within a nominal stem listed in the group headed by *sapatnī* 'co-wife'.

EXAMPLES:

sapatnī 'she who has a common husband'
ekapatnī 'she who has one husband'

1. *Kāśikā* accepts *n* as the principal provision of this rule: *nityaṃ nakārādeśaḥ . . . ṅīp tu labhyata eva* '*n* is offered here as an obligatory provision; *ṄīP*, indeed, is already available'.

2. The word *nityam* is used here for clarity (*nityagrahaṇam vispaṣṭārtham*). For a provision made for something which already exists is treated as obligatory. This provision of *ṄīP* with *n* is made against an optional provision which is already available from the preceding rule. Since our present rule does not

use *vā* 'optionally', its provision will be treated as obligatory. Hence, *nityam* need not be stated explicitly.

3. The *saptamī* 'seventh triplet of *sUP'*, in *sapatnyādiṣu*, denotes *viṣaya* 'scope'. Consequently, *n* will be restricted to replace the *i* of *pati*, only when *sapatnī*, etc., form the scope of derivation.

4. Note that there is no listing of *gaṇa* headed by *sapatni*. Consequently, this Pāṇinian reference of *sapatnyādiṣu* becomes a suspect. Commentators explain that *sapatnyādi* here refers to a listing known as *samānādi*. What makes one understand this? The analyzed form of the word *sapatnī*: *samānaḥ patiḥ yasyāḥ sā*, a *bahuvrīhi* formed with *sa* replacing *samāna*, via *nipātana*. Since *samāna* itself, and not any of its synonyms, can be replaced with *sa* when a *bahuvrīhi* compound with *pati* is formed, *samāna* becomes a means of reference. Words such as *samāna* 'equal, same' *eka* 'one', *vīra* 'brave', *piṇḍa* 'lump (of food)', *bhrātṛ* 'brother', *putra* 'son' and *dāsa* 'slave' will all be included in this reference. That is, *sapatnī* is interpreted as heading a listing of compounds formed with *pati* as the final constituent. Words listed in the group headed by *samāna* will be used before *pati* as initial constituents. Why did Pāṇini not state *samānādiṣu*? He instead used *sapatnyādiṣu* to account for the *sa*-replacement of *samāna* by this rule.

4.1.36 पूतक्रतोरै च

pūtakrator ai ca
/putakratoḥ 6/1 *ai* (deleted 1/1); *ca* ϕ
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *prātipadikāt* #1, *striyām* #3, *anupasarjanāt* #14, *ṅīp* #26)
anupasarjanāt pūtakratoḥ prātipadikāt striyām ṅīp pratyayo bhavati
Affix *ṄīP* occurs to denote feminine after the non-*upasarjana* nominal stem *pūtakratu*, with an additional provision that its final *u* be replaced with *ai*.

EXAMPLES:

pūtakratāyī 'wife of Pūtakratu'

1. This rule introduces *ṄīP* after *pūtakratu* with an additional provision that *ai* replace the final *u* of the base. Recall that a base after which an affix is introduced is marked with *pañcamī* 'fifth triplet of *sUP'*. Recall also that an augment is introduced to a form marked with genitive (*ṣaṣṭhī*). Since these operations both are applicable in case of *pūtakratu*, its form *pūtakratoḥ*, a *pañcamī*, will also have to be interpreted as *ṣaṣṭhī*. *Kāśikā* reminds that operational provisions of this, and the next two rules as well, are made in the context of *puṃyoga* 'connection of a male with a corresponding female' (*traya ete yogāḥ puṃprakaraṇe draṣṭavyāḥ*).

Affix *ṄīP* is introduced after *pūtakratu* in the sense of *pūtaḥ kratuḥ yena*

saḥ 'the wife of one by whom the sacrifice was made sanctified'. Deriving *pūtakratāyī* form (*pūtakratu* + *ṄīP*) + *sU*, where this rule also provides for the final *u* of *pūtakratu* to be replaced with *ai*, is easy. Given *pūtakrat* (*u*→*ai*) + *ī*, rule 6.1.78 *eco'yavāyāvaḥ* will apply to yield *pūtakrat* (*ai*→*āy*) + *ī* = *pūtakratāyī* + (*sU*→ϕ) = *pūtakratāyī*.

4.1.37 वृषाकप्यग्निकुसितकुसीदानामनुदात्तः

vṛṣākapyagnikusitakusīdānām udāttaḥ
/ *vṛṣākapyagnikusitakusīdānām* 6/3 = *vṛṣākapiś ca agniś ca kusitaś ca kusīdaś ca* = *vṛṣākapyagnikusitakusiddāḥ* (*itar. dv.*) *teṣā*; *udāttaḥ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *prātipadikāt* #1, *striyām* #3, *anupasarjanāt* #4, *ṅīp* #26, *ai* #36)
vṛṣākapyādīnām anupasarjanānām udātta aikārādeśo bhavati striyām ṅīp ca pratyayaḥ
Affix *ṄīP* occurs to denote feminine after non-*upasarjana* nominal stems *vṛṣākapi*, *agni*, *kusita* and *kusīda*, with an additional provision that *ai* marked *udātta* come in place of their final vowel.

EXAMPLES:

vṛṣākapāyī 'wife of Vṛṣākapi'
agnāyī 'wife of Agni'
kusitāyī 'wife of Kusita'
kusīdāyī 'wife of Kusīda'

1. Note that *vṛṣākapi* is marked with *udātta* in the middle (*madhyodātta*; *Phiṭsūtra* 42: *laghāv ante dvayoś ca* . . .). This rule offers *ai*, concurrently marked *udātta*, as a replacement for the final *i* of specified bases. When this *ai* is replaced with *āy* before *i* of *ṄīP*, the *udātta* accent of *ai* also gets transferred to *āy*. A final *udātta* accent to *agni*, etc., is already available through *sthānivadbhāva*, relative to the replacement of the final vowel. That is, *ai* can be treated as *udātta* because it replaces the final *i* of *agni*, etc., which is *udātta* to start with (*Phiṭsūtra* 1: *phiṣo'nta udāttaḥ*). Thus, *agnāyī*, *kusitāyī*, *kusīdāyī*, etc.

4.1.38 मनोरौ वा

manor au vā
/ *manoḥ* 6/1 *au* (deleted 1/1) *vā* ϕ
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *prātipadikāt* #1, *striyām* #3, *anupasarjanāt* #14, *ṅīp* #26, *ai* #36, *udāttaḥ* #37)
manuśabdāt striyāṃ ṅīp pratyayo bhavati aukāraś cāntādeśaḥ aikāraś codāttaḥ
Affix *ṄīP* optionally occurs to denote feminine after nominal stem *manu*, with the additional provision that *au*, or *ai* marked *udātta*, come in place of its final.

EXAMPLES:

manoḥ strī = *manâyī* 'wife of Manu'
mānâvī 'id.'
mánuḥ 'id.'

1. This optional introduction of *ṄīP* yields three forms: one with no *ṄīP* and no replacement in *au*/*ai*: *manuḥ*; two forms with *ṄīP*, where one ends in a replacement in *au*, i.e., *mānâvī*, and the other in *ai*, i.e., *manâyī*. Of course, *au* and *ai* are replaced with *āv* and *āy* before *ṇīP*.

Incidentally, *mánu* is marked *udātta* at the beginning, in consonance with the *Uṇādisūtra* (1.10).

4.1.39 वर्णादनुदात्तात्तोपधात्तो नः

varṇād anudāttāt topadhāt taḥ naḥ
/varṇāt 5/1 *anudāttāt* 5/1 *topadhāt* 5/1 = *takāra upadhā yasya sa* = *topadhaḥ* (*bv.*), *tasmāt*; *taḥ* 6/1 *naḥ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *prātipadikāt* #1, *striyām* #3, *anupasarjanāt* #14, *ṅīp* #26, *vā* #38)
varṇavācino'dantād anupasarjanāt prātipadikād anudāttāntāt topadhād vikalpeṇa striyāṃ ṅīp pratyayo bhavati
Affix *ṄīP* occurs optionally to denote feminine after a nominal stem which terminates in *a*, is marked *anudātta* at the end, contains a *t* in its *upadhā* and signifies *varṇa* 'color', with an additional provision that the penultimate *t* be simultaneously replaced with *n*.

EXAMPLES:

enî 'brindled, variegated'
etâ 'id.'
śyenî 'white'
śyetâ 'id.'
haríṇī 'green'
harítā 'id.'

1. Note that words with the signification of color are marked *udātta* at the beginning in consonance with *Phiṭsūtra* 33: *varṇānāṃ taṇatinitāntānām*. Consequently, rule 6.1.152 *anudāttaṃ padam* . . . will mark the remainder of these words as *anudātta*. The condition of *topadha* '*t* in next to the last position' is important because, elsewhere, we will get *ṄīṢ* in consonance with the next rule.

2. The condition of a final *a* (*ataḥ*) marked *anudātta*, is still valid here. Thus *śitiḥ* 'white' qualifies, neither for *ṄīP*, nor for a replacement in *n*. Words such as *śvetā* derive from *ṬāP*, since *śveta* 'white' is not marked *anudātta* at the end. *Phiṭsūtra* 21: *ghṛtādīnāṃ ca* marks it *udātta* at the end. Derivational

details of these forms do not offer anything new. Accentuation and *t*→*n*, for example in *et*(*a*→*n*) + *ī* = *enī*, are the only two important things. The word *harita* will also involve *n*→*ṇ* (*ṇatva*).

4.1.40 अन्यतो ङीष्

anyato ṅīṣ
/anyataḥ → *ṅīṣ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *prātipadikāt* #1, *striyām* #3, *ataḥ* #4, *anupasarjanāt* #14, *varṇānudāttāt* #39)
topadhād anyataḥ varṇavācino' anudāttāntāt prātipadikāt striyām ṅīṣ pratyayo bhavati
Affix *ṄīṢ* occurs to denote feminine after a non-*upasarjana* nominal stem which denotes *varṇa* 'color' and ends in *a* marked *anudātta*, even when it does not have any *t* in its *upadhā*.

EXAMPLES:

sāraṅgī 'brindled; variegated'
kalmāṣī 'brindled with black'

1. Note that *kalmāṣa* and *sāraṅga* have their final *a* marked *audātta* in view of *Phiṭsūtra* 42: *laghāv ante dvayoś*. . . . That is, their initial and final vowels are marked *anudātta* because their middle vowel is marked *udātta* in view of this *Phiṭsūtra*.

4.1.41 षिद्गौरादिभ्यश्च

ṣidgaurādibhyaś ca
/ṣidgaurādibhyaḥ 5/3 = *ṣ it yasya sa ṣit* (*bv.*); *gaur ādir yeṣāṃ te gaurādayaḥ* (*bv.*); *ṣit ca gaurādayaś ca* = *ṣidgaurādayaḥ* (*itar. dv.* with *int. bv.*) *tebhyaḥ*; *ca ϕ*/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *prātipadikāt* #1, *striyām* #3, *anupasarjanāt* #14, *ṅīṣ* #40)
ṣidbhyaḥ prātipadikebhyo gaurādibhyaś ca striyām ṅīṣ pratyayo bhavati
Affix *ṄīṢ* occurs to denote feminine after non-*upasarjana* nominal stems which are either marked with *Ṣ* as an *it*, or are enumerated in the list headed by *gaura* 'fair complexioned; white'.

EXAMPLES:

nartakī 'a female dancer'
rajakī 'washerwoman'
gārgyāyaṇī 'a female descendant of Garga'
vātsyāyanī 'a female descendant of Vatsa'
gaurī 'fair complexioned; Pārvatī'
matsī 'fish'

1. Note that *gaurādi* is an open-ended group (*ākṛtigaṇa*). A *vārttika* introduces augment *āM*, optionally in case of *anaḍuh*, to derive *anaḍ*(*u*→*v*) *āh* + *ī* = *anaḍvāhī* and *anaḍuh* + *ī* = *anaḍuhī* 'cow'. Refer to examples (477) *nartṭakī* and (478) *rajakī* in the appendix of vol. II. Refer to the appendix of rule 4.1.17 *prācāṃ ṣpha* . . . for deriving *gārgyāyaṇī* and *vātsyāyanī*. Deriving *gaurī* from *gaura* + *ī* will entail deletion of *a* by 6.4.148 *yasyeti ca*. Deriving *matsī*, from *matsya* + *ī*, will additionally require the deletion of *y* by 6.4.149 *sūryatiṣyāgastyamatsyānāṃ*. . . . Thus, *mats*(*y*→ϕ) *a* + *ī* = *mats*(*a*→ϕ) + *ī* = *matsī* + *sU* = *matsī*.

4.1.42 **जानपदकुण्डगोणस्थलभाजनागकालनीलकुशकामुककबराद् वृत्त्यमत्रावपनाकृत्रिमाश्राणास्थौल्यवर्णानाच्छादनायोविकारमैथुनेच्छाकेशवेशेषु**

jānapadakuṇḍagoṇasthalabhājanāgakālanīlakuśakāmukakabarād vṛttyamatrāvapanākṛtrimāśrāṇāsthaulyavarṇānācchādanā'yovikāramaithunecchākeśaveśeṣu
/jānapadakuṇḍagoṇa . . . kabarāt (*sam. dv.*) 5/1 *vṛttyamatrāvapanā . . . keśaveśeṣu* (*itar. dv.*) 7/3/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *prātipadikāt* #1, *striyām* #3, *anupasarjanāt* #14, *ṅīṣ* #40)
jānapadādibhya ekādaśebhyaḥ prātipadikebhya ekādaśaṣu vṛtyādiṣv artheṣu yathāsaṃkhyaṃ ṅīṣ pratyayo bhavati
Affix *ṄīṢ* occurs to denote feminine after non-*upasarjana* nominal stems *jānapada, kuṇḍa, goṇa, sthala, bhāja, nāga, kāla, nīla, kuśa, kāmuka,* and *kabara,* when derivates denote *vṛtti* 'livelihood', *amatra* 'pot', *āvapana* 'sack', *akṛtrimā* 'natural high place', *śrāṇā* 'cooked', *sthūlya* 'imposing, huge', *varṇa* 'color', *anācchādana* 'non-covering', *ayovikāra* 'something made of iron', *maithunecchā* 'desire to have sex' and *kabara* 'hairdo', respectively.

EXAMPLES:

jānapadī 'livelihood'
kuṇḍī 'pot'
goṇī 'sack'
sthalī 'high grounds'
bhājī '(rice)-gruel'
nāgī 'fat (rope, elephant)'
kālī 'colored (black)'
nīlī 'medicinal herb'
kuśī 'something made of iron'
kāmukī 'a sexually aroused female'
kabarī 'a female with colorful hairdo'

1. Note that *jānapadī* can be interpreted as a derivate of *ṄīṢ*, so long as it

1. Note that *jānapadī* can be interpreted as a derivate of *ṄīṢ*, so long as it denotes *vṛtti* 'livelihood'. It should be interpreted as a derivate of *ṄīP* (4.1.15 *ṭiḍḍhāṇañ . . .*), when denoting something other than *vṛtti*. Thus, *jānapadī*, parallel to *janapade bhavā*, where *jānapada* is a derivate of *aÑ*. Similar meaning distinctions are also maintained in connection with other derivates. Thus, we get *nāgī* with *ṄīṢ* when *jāti* 'class' (4.1.63 *jāter. . .*) is denoted. Elsewhere, we get *nāgā* where the denotation is *guṇa* 'quality'. Similarly, we get *kālī*/*kālā* 'a cruel female' and *nīlī* (female and medicinal herb)/*nīlā* (optionally a name). The same is true of *kāmukī* (sexually aroused)/*kāmukā* (desirous); *kabarī* (colorful hairdo)/*kabarā* (brindled).

Recall that derivates of *ṄīṢ* and *ṄīP* differ only in accent. Examples with signification of *amatra*, etc., derive with *ṄīṢ* because of particular meaning conditions. Elsewhere, they must be derived with *ṬāP* (4.1.4 *ajādyataṣ ṭāp*).

4.1.43 शोणात्प्राचाम्

śoṇāt prācām
/śoṇāt 5/1 *prācām* 6/3/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *prātipadikāt* #1, *striyām* #3, *anupasarjanāt* #14, *ṅīṣ* #40)
śoṇaśabdāt prācām ācāryāṇāṇ matena striyāṃ ṅīṣ pratyayo bhavati
Affix *ṄīṢ*, in the opinion of Eastern grammarians, occurs to denote feminine after a nominal stem which is constituted by *śoṇa* and is not an *upasarjana*.

EXAMPLES:

śoṇī vaḍavā 'a red mare'
śoṇā vaḍavā 'id.'

1. Note that since *śoṇa* denotes color, rule 4.1.39 *varṇād . . .* would have introduced *ṄīP*. This provision is then restrictive (*niyamārtha*). That is, *ṄīṢ* will be introduced only in the opinion of the Easterners.

4.1.44 वोतो गुणवचनात्

voto guṇavacanāt
/vāϕ utaḥ 5/1 *guṇavacanāt* 5/1 = *guṇaṃ uktavān guṇavacanaḥ, tasmāt*/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *prātipadikāt* #1, *striyām* #3, *anupasarjanāt* #14, *ṅīṣ* #40)
guṇavacanāt prātipadikād ukārāntāt striyāṃ vā ṅīṣ pratyayo bhavati
Affix *ṄīṢ* occurs optionally to denote feminine after a non-*upasarjana* nominal stem which ends in *u* and has the signification of quality (*guṇa*).

EXAMPLES:

paṭvī 'a clever woman'

paṭuḥ 'id.'
mṛdvī 'a tender woman'
mṛduḥ 'id.'

1. *Kāśikā* glosses the word *guṇavacanaṃ* as *guṇam uktavān* 'that which denoted quality in the past'. That is, *guṇavacana* refers to a form which now denotes a 'thing' (*dravya*) it qualified in the past, and having done that, has currently become one and the same with that thing (*Nyāsa: sa punar yaḥ prāg guṇaṃ vidhāya paścād . . . abhedopacārād vā tadvad dravyam abhidhatte sa veditavyaḥ*).

Kāśikā offers *śucir iyaṃ brāhmaṇī* 'this Brāhmaṇa woman is pure'; and *ākhuḥ* 'mouse' as counter-examples, where *śuci* 'pure' is a qualifier but does not end in *u*, and *ākhu* ends in *u* but is not a qualifier.

2. A *vārttika* recommends, for *vasu* 'pure', to receive *ṄīP* so that its derivate *vāsvī* can be marked *udātta* at the beginning (*vasuśabdād guṇavacanād ṅīb ādyudāttārtham*). Yet another *vārttika* negates introduction of *ṄīṢ* after nominal stem *kharu*, or after a stem which may have a conjunct in its next to the last position (*upadhā*). Thus, we get *kharur iyaṃ brāhmaṇī* 'this Brāhmaṇa girl is desirous of getting married' and *pāṇḍur iyam brāhmaṇī* 'this Brāhmaṇa woman is pale'. Deriving *paṭvī* from (*paṭu* + *ṄīṢ* + *sU*), through application of 6.1.77 *iko yaṇ aci* and *it*/*sUP*-deletions, offers nothing new. A form such as *paṭuḥ* will be derived as an option to *paṭvī* with no feminine affix involved.

3. The following verse, in the *Mahābhāṣya*, explains what *guṇa* is:

satve niviśate' paiti pṛthag jātiṣu dṛśyate/
ādheyaś cākriyājaś ca so' sattvaprakṛtir guṇaḥ//
'that which resides in a substance but may go away from it; that which is seen in different classes of things; . . . which can be brought about (*ādheya*), yet could still not be brought about by action (*akriyāja*); that is what quality is, something distinct from the nature of *sattva*.

4.1.45 बह्वादिभ्यश्च

bahvādibhyaś ca
/*bahvādibhyaḥ* 5/3 = *bahur ādir yeṣāṃ te bahvādayaḥ* (*bv.*), *tebhyaḥ; ca* ϕ/ (*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, . . .*prātipadikāt* #1, *striyām* #3, *anupasarjanāt* #14, *ṅīṣ* #40, *vā* #44)
'*bahu*' *ity evam ādibhyaḥ prātipadikebhyaḥ striyāṃ ṅīṣ pratyayo bhavati*
Affix *ṄīṢ* optionally occurs to denote feminine also after nominal stems which are listed in the group headed by *bahu* 'many', etc.

EXAMPLES:

bahvī 'many'
bahuḥ 'id.'

1. Note that *bahu* should not be included here since it denotes *guṇa* 'quality', and thus, could have been covered by the earlier rule. It is included here for use in the next rule (*bahuśabdo guṇavacana eva, tasyeha pāṭha uttarārthaḥ*).

2. Proposals, by means of *vārttikas*, have been made for introducing *ṄīṢ* (*i*) after a stem which ends in *i* and denotes a human limb; or (*ii*) after a stem which ends in affix *KtiN* (3.3.94 *ktin*). Thus we get: *dhamaniḥ/ dhamanī* 'vein, nerve': *rātri/rātrī* 'night'. Some even claim that *ṄīṢ* could be introduced after any stem ending in *i*, provided it did not have the signification of a *KtiN*.

4.1.46 नित्यं छन्दसि

nityaṃ chandasi
/ nityam ϕ chandasi 7/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *prātipadikāt* #1, *striyām* #3, *anupasarjanāt* #14, *ṅīṣ* #40, *bahvādibhyaḥ* #45)
bahvādibhyaś chandasi viṣaye nityaṃ striyāṃ ṅīṣ pratyayo bhavati
Affix *ṄīṢ* occurs obligatorily, in Vedic, to denote feminine after nominal stems which are listed in the group headed by *bahu* and are not termed an *upasarjana*.

EXAMPLES:

bahvī 'name of a medicine'

1. It is argued that *nityam* 'obligatorily' should not be stated in this rule. Why? Because its purpose can be served even without using it explicitly. How? If the rule is formulated simply as *chandasi*, with the *anuvṛtti* of the preceding rule except for *vā*, then, its provision will become obligatory for Vedic. For, this will be a provision made against an already available provision. But where is this provision for Vedic made? The provision made by the earlier rule, especially with no mention of Vedic, applies optionally also to Vedic. This is what an already made provision is. When a new provision is made with *chandasi*, and without the use of *vā*, it can only be obligatory (cf. *ārambhasāmarthyān nityaṃ bhavati*). Thus, Pāṇini should not have stated *nityam*. *Kāśikā* states that *nityam* is included here for use in the following rule (*nityagrahaṇam uttarārtham*).

4.1.47 भुवश्च

bhuvaś ca
/ bhuvaḥ 5/ *ca ϕ*/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *prātipadikāt* #1, *striyām* #3, *anupasarjanāt* #14, *ṅīṣ* #40, *nityaṃ chandasi* #46)
chandasi viṣaye striyāṃ bhuvo nityaṃ ṅīṣ pratyayo bhavati
Affix *ṄīṢ* occurs, in Vedic, to denote feminine, also after a non-

upasarjana nominal stem which ends in *bhu.*

EXAMPLES:

parbhvī 'she who is a ruler'
vibhvī 'she who is omnipresent'
śambhvī 'she who is benevolent'

1. How come *svayambhū* 'he who comes into existence by himself' cannot have a corresponding feminine derivate such as *svayambhvī*? Because *bhuvaḥ* of this rule specifies *bhu* in *pañcamī* 'ablative'. This ablative is introduced after a base terminating in short *u.* But, in that case, the ablative form should have been *bhoḥ*? That is, after the application of *guṇa* by 7.3.111 *gher ṅiti.* This specification by *bhuvaḥ* can then be accepted as limited to the realm of grammar (*sautra*). *Kāśikā* states that the word *utaḥ* is carried from 4.1.44 *voto . . .* to further specify the short *u* of *bhu,* via *taparakaraṇa* (1.1.70 *taparas tatkālasya*).

2. Note that words such as *vibhu,* etc., which are referenced here as ending in short *u,*derive with affix *Ḍu* of rule 3.2.180 *viprasambhyo ḍv asaṃjñāyām.*

4.1.48 पुंयोगादाख्यायाम्

puṃyogād ākhyāyām
/puṃyogāt 5/1 = *puṃsā yogaḥ* (*sambandhaḥ*) = *puṃyogaḥ* (*ṭṛ. tat.*), *tasmāt; ākhyāyām* 7/1/
puṃyogād hetor yat prātipadikaṃ striyāṃ vartate puṃsa ākhyābhūtaṃ tasmād ṅīṣ pratyayo bhavati
Affix *ṄīṢ* occurs after a nominal stem which ends in *a* and signifies a male in relation to whom a female is to be expressed.

EXAMPLES:

gaṇakī 'astrologer's wife'
praṣṭhī 'wife of a chief'

1. The nominal stem after which *ṄīṢ* occurs is explained by *Kāśikā* as: 'that which denoted a male but is currently used to denote a female based upon her relationship with that male' (*puṃyogādd hetor yat prātipadikaṃ striyāṃ vartate puṃsa ākhyābhūtaṃ . . .*). The *pañcamī* 'ablative' of *puṃyogāt* thus denotes *hetu* 'cause'. The word *puṃyogāt* is necessary to block *ṄīṢ* in examples such as *devadattā,* where a female is called as such irrespective of her association with a male. Commentators explain that *puṃyoga* becomes a *hetu* in relation to a female when *prasava* 'giving birth' is involved. Although, in *Bhaṭṭikāvya,* one can also find *ṄīṢ* even when a daughter (*duhitṛ*) is signified. The examples are: *kekayī* 'a daughter of Kekaya'. Similarly, one can cite *devakī,* parallel to *devakasya duhitā* 'daughter of Devaka'. Such examples prompt *Tattvabodhinī* (ad *SK*) to note that *puṃyoga* may also include *janya-janakabhāva,* offspring-father relationship (*sa ceha dampatibhāva eveti nāgrahaḥ; kiṃ tu*

janyajanakabhāvo'pi gṛhyate).

The word *ākhyā* '. . . denotation of . . .' is used to exclude a nominal which signifies a female. Or else, a nominal stem which does not signify a male. Thus, we get *prastha* which does not denote a female. It is a derivate of *Ka* (3.1.3 *āto'nupasarge kaḥ*) where rule 8.3.92 *praṣṭho'gragāmini* causes retroflexion in deriving the feminine form *praṣṭhī*.

2. A *vārttika* negates *ṄīṢ* in connection with *gopālaka* 'one who tends cows', etc. Thus, the wife of a *gopālaka* will be called *gopālikā*. Yet another *vārttika* recommends *CāP*, after *sūrya*, to derive *sūryā* when *devatā* 'divinity' is denoted.

4.1.49 इन्द्रवरुणभवशर्वरुद्रमृडहिमारण्ययवयवनमातुलाचार्याणामानुक्

indravaruṇabhavaśarvarudramṛḍahimāraṇyayavayavanamātulācāryāṇām ānuk

/indravaruṇa . . . ācāryāṇām 6/3 = *indraś ca . . . ācāryaś ca = indra . . . ācāryāḥ* (*itar. dv.*), *teṣām; ānuk* 1/1/

(*pratyayaḥ*#3.1.1, *paraś ca*#3.1.2, *prātipadikāt*#1, *striyām*#3, *anupasarjanāt* #14, *ṅīṣ* #40, *puṃyogāt* #48)

indrādibhyaḥ prātipadikebhyaḥ striyāṃ ṅīṣ pratyayo bhavati, ānuk cāgamaḥ

Affix *ṄīṢ* occurs to denote a female, in association with a corresponding male, after non-*upasarjana* nominal stems *indra* 'Indra', *varuṇa* 'Varuṇa', *bhava* 'Śiva', *śarva* 'id.', *rudra* 'id.', *mṛḍa* 'id.', *hima* 'ice, snow', *araṇya* 'forest', *yava* 'barley', *yavana* 'Ionian', *mātula* 'mother's brother', and *ācārya* 'teacher, preceptor' where, additionally, they also receive augment *ānUK*.

EXAMPLES:

indrāṇī 'wife of Indra'
varuṇānī 'wife of Varuṇa'
bhavānī 'wife of Bhava'
śarvāṇī 'wife of Śarva'
rudrāṇī 'wife of Rudra'
mṛḍānī 'wife of Mṛḍa'
himānī 'glacier'
araṇyānī 'big dense forest'
yavānī 'bad barley'
yavanānī 'Ionian script'
mātulānī 'maternal uncle's wife'
ācāryānī 'wife of a teacher'

1. This introduction of *ṄīṢ*, to denote a female in association with a corresponding male (*puṃyoga*), has already been made available by the preceding rule. At least eight stems listed under this rule, i.e., *indra, varuṇa, bhava,*

śarva, rudra, mṛḍa, mātula and *ācārya*, could avail *ṄīṢ* of the preceding rule. Why do we have to read them here? So that *ānUK* can be introduced to them. The three remaining stems, i.e., *hima, araṇya* and *yava*, cannot receive *ṄīṢ* to denote a female 'in association with a male' for obvious reason of impossibility (*asambhāvanā*). The denotation of such a 'female' corresponding to a *yavana* is not available in usage.

The following *vārttikas* relate to special derivational provisions:

(*a*) Affix *ṄīṢ* should be introduced after *hima* and *araṇya* only when *mahatva* 'greatness, importance' is to be denoted (*himāraṇyayor mahatve, mahadd himaṃ himānī; mahad araṇyam araṇyānī*).

(*b*) Affix *ṄīṢ* should be introduced after *yava* when quality of its denotatum is expressed as bad (*yavād doṣe, duṣṭo yavo yavānī*).

(*c*) Affix *ṄīṢ* is to be introduced after *yavana* when the derivate denotes a script (*yavanāl lipyām; yavanānī lipiḥ*).

(*d*) Affix *ṄīṢ* is to be introduced obligatorily, though *ānUK* only optionally, after nominal stems *mātula* and *upādhyāya*. Of course, when *puṃyoga* is denoted (*upādhyāyamātulābhyāṃ vā*).

(*e*) The *n* of *ānUK*, in deriving *ācāryānī*, a feminine corresponding to *ācārya*, does not get replaced with *ṇ*.

(*f*) Affix *ṄīṢ* is also introduced optionally to denote feminine after *arya*, a trader (*vaiśya*), and *kṣatriya*, a warrior (*kṣatriya; aryakṣatriyābhyaṃ vā*).

(*g*) Affix *ṄīṢ* is also introduced after *mudgala*, in Vedic, to denote feminine. A provision of *ānUK*, marked with *L* as an *it*, is also made concurrently with *ṄīṢ* (*mudgalāc chandasi lic ca*).

2. Note that *himānī*, according to some (*Jijñāsu* II: 26), denotes depth, and not the expanse, of ice. Yāska explains *araṇyānī* as *patnī* 'wife' of *araṇya*. It is further explained that *patnī* means *pālayitṛ* 'protector, preserver', which is what a big forest is to its resident animals. The word *yavānī* entails *doṣa* 'badness', often explained as qualified with 'insignificance'. Incidentally, *yavānī* also means Arigano.

4.1.50 क्रीतात्करणपूर्वात्

krītāt karaṇapūrvāt

/krītāt 5/1 *karaṇapūrvāt* 5/1 = *karaṇaṃ pūrvam asmin iti karaṇapūrvaḥ* (*bv.*), *tasmāt/*

(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *prātipadikāt* #1, *striyām* #3, *ataḥ*, #4 *anupasarjanāt* #14, *ṅīṣ* #40)

krītaśabdāntāt prātipadikāt karaṇapūrvāt striyāṃ ṅīṣ pratyayo bhavati

Affix *ṄīṢ* occurs to denote feminine after a nominal stem which ends in *krīta* 'purchased', and is used in combination after an initial compound constituent with the signification of *karaṇa* 'means'.

EXAMPLES:

vastrakrītī '. . . purchased by means of clothes'
vasanakrītī 'id.'

1. The word *pūrva* is used in this rule to ensure that the constituent which denotes *karaṇa* modifies the nominal stem as its *avayava* 'part' (*PM*: . . . *avayavavāci pūrvaśabdaḥ prātipadikaṃ tu viśeṣyam* . . .). The word *krīta* will facilitate a *tadantavidhi* interpretation: 'that which ends in *krīta*', again by way of being a qualifier (*viśeṣaṇa*) to the nominal stem. With *pūrvāt* as another modifier, the rule will mean: 'that which ends in *krīta*, and has an initial constituent denoting *karaṇa* to precede *krīta*'. Such an interpretation will not only block the introduction of *ṄīṢ* after a compound which may have an intervening constituent between *krīta* and the constituent which denotes *karaṇa*, but will also block *ṄīṢ* in expressions such as **aśvena krītī*.

2. Our example compounds are allowed by 2.1.32 *kartṛkaraṇe kṛtā bahulam*, prior to the introduction of nominal ending. Thus, *vastra* + *ṬĀ* + *krīta* combines to yield *vastrakrīta* after deleting *ṬĀ* by 2.4.71 *supo dhātuprātipadikayoḥ*. This is how we find the nominal stem *krīta* combined after *vastra* with the significance of *karaṇa*. How come we do not get *ṄīṢ* in *dhanakrītā* of *sā hi tasya dhanakrītā prāṇebhyo'pi garīyasī* 'she, his wife purchased with money, is precious than his life'. It is stated that *bahulam*, of 2.1.32 *kartṛkaraṇe kṛtā bahulam*, will take care of non-compliance with *paribhāṣā* (76): *gatikārakopapadānāṃ kṛdbhiḥ saha samāsavacanaṃ prāk subutpatteḥ* 'a compound of *gati*, etc., with constituents terminating in a *kṛt*, is formed prior to the introduction of a *sUP*'. That is, *bahulam* may clear the way for formation of such compounds even after introduction of *sUP*. Thus, *krīta* will first receive *ṬāP* and then *dhana* + *Ṭā krītā* + *sU* will combine to yield *dhanakrītā*.

4.1.51 क्तादल्पाख्यायाम्

ktād alpākhyāyām
/ktāt 5/1 *alpākhyāyām* 7/1 = *alpasya ākhyā* = *alpākhyā* (*ṣaṣ. tat.*), *tasyām/* (*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *prātipadikāt* #1, *striyām* #3, *anupasarjanāt* #14, *ṅīṣ* #40, *karaṇapūrvāt* #50)
karaṇapūrvāt prātipadikāt ktāntād alpākhyāyāṃ ṅīṣ pratyayo bhavati
Affix *ṄīṢ* occurs to denote feminine after a non-*upasarjana* nominal stem which ends in *Kta* (1.1.26 *ktavatū niṣṭhā*) and is used in combination after an initial constituent denoting *karaṇa*, providing the derivate denotes *alpa* 'little'.

EXAMPLES:

abhraviliptī dyauḥ 'sky with a few scattered clouds'
sūpaviliptī pātrī 'a pot with very little soup'

1. *Kāśikā* states that *alpākhyāyām* is used as a qualifier to derivate meanings (*samudāyopādhiḥ*). It cannot be accepted as denoting a constituent meaning. Thus, if an example such as *abhraviliptī* is interpreted as *alpair abhrair viliptaḥ* 'overspread with fewer clouds' *alpa* becomes a modifier to *abhra* 'cloud', a constituent. If, instead, it is treated as a modifier to the derivate then *alpa* will be a modifier to *abhraviliptī* 'overspreading'. It is argued that there is no way *alpa* can be stopped from qualifying *abhra* in this example. After all, scantness of cloud-spread is easily relatable to scantness of clouds. But, contrarily, one can say that scantness of cloud-spread is the derivate meaning via which one infers scantness of clouds. The word *alpa* is not used in the compound because its meaning is understood (*PM*: *abhrāṇām alpatve sati tadvilepanasyālpatvam avaśyambhāvīti . . . vṛttau gatārthatvād alpaśabdasyāprayogaḥ*).

2. The condition of *alpa* is also significant otherwise. For, in its absence, *candanānuliptā* 'anointed with sandal-paste' of *candanānuliptā brāhmaṇī* 'a *brāhmaṇa* woman profusely anointed with sandalpaste' will also qualify for *ṄīṢ*, thereby yielding a wrong form **candanānuliptī*. The sense of *anulepana* 'anointement', in this example, is *bāhulya* 'abundance', exactly the opposite of *alpa*.

4.1.52 बहुव्रीहेश्चान्तोदात्तात्

bahuvrīheś cāntodāttāt
/ bahuvrīheḥ 5/1 *ca* ϕ *antodāttāt* 5/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *prātipadikāt* #1, *striyām* #3, *anupasarjanāt* #14, *ṅīṣ* #40, *ktāt* #51)
bahuvrīhir yo 'ntodāttas tasmāt striyāṃ ṅīṣ pratyayo bhavati
Affix *ṄīṢ* occurs to denote feminine after a *bahuvrīhi* nominal stem which has a constituent ending in *Kta* as its final and is also marked *udātta* at the end.

EXAMPLES:

saṅkhabhinnī 'she who has a rent on her forehead'
urubhinni 'she who has a rent on her thigh'
galakotkṛttī 'she who has a protruding neck'
keśalūnī 'she who has her hair cut'

1. This rule offers examples where the first compound constituent denotes *svāṅga* 'one's limb'. An optional provision of *ṄīṢ* is made by the following rule in contexts where the first constituent denotes something other than *svāṅga* (*Kāś.*: *svāṅgapūrvapado bahuvrīhir ihodāharaṇam; asvāṅgapūrvapadād vikalpaṃ vakṣyati*).

2. The *anuvṛtti* of *ktāt*, unlike the preceding rule, cannot facilitate a *tadantavidhi* interpretation of this rule as: '. . . after a *bahuvrīhi* compound ending in *Kta*'. This is due to non-application of two *paribhāṣās* (24/29):

pratyayagrahaṇa and *kṛdgrahaṇa*. Consequently, 'after that which ends in *Kta*' becomes a qualifier to the final constituent of the *bahuvrīhi* compound.

3. Rule 2.2.36 *niṣṭhā* would not permit postposing (*paranipāta*) a compound constituent which ends in *Kta* (1.1.26 *ktaktavatū niṣṭhā*). A *vārttika* proposal is, therefore, made to accomplish this (*jātikālasukhādibhyaḥ paravacanam*). Rule 6.2.170 *jātikālasukhādibhyo* . . . marks all examples *udātta* at the end.

4. Following *vārttika* proposals are also relevant:

(*a*) A *bahuvrīhi* compound which is marked *udātta* at the end, and has *jāta* as its final constituent, should be excluded (*antodāttāj jātapratiṣedhaḥ*). This will exclude examples such as: *dantajātā* 'she whose teeth have appeared'; *stanajātā* 'she whose breasts have developed'.

(*b*) A derivate such as *pāṇigṛhītī* should be restricted to special meaning of *bhāryā* 'wife' (*pāṇigṛhītyādīnām arthaviśeṣe*). One whose hand was held for some other reason (*yathākathaṃcit*) should be called: *pāṇigṛhītā*.

(*c*) A *bahuvrīhi* compound with initial constituents in *bahu*, *naÑ*, *su*, *kāla* and *sukha*, etc., should be excluded from the scope of this rule (*abahunañsukālasukhādipūrvād iti vaktavyam*). This will offer examples of *ṬāP* such as: *bahukṛtā* 'she who has done much'; *akṛtā* 'she who has done nothing'; *sukṛtā* 'she who has done good things'; *māsajātā* 'she, since whose birth, one month has elapsed'; and *sukhajātā* 'she whose time of happiness has arrived'.

4.1.53 अस्वाङ्गपूर्वपदाद्वा

asvāṅgapūrvapadād vā

/ asvāṅgapūrvapadāt 5/1 = *na svāṅgam = asvāṅgam* (*nañ-tat.*); *asvāṅgaṃ pūrvapadaṃ yasya saḥ* (*bv.* with int. *nañ-tat.*)

(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *prātipadikāt* #1, *striyām* #3, *ṅīṣ* #40, *ktāt* #51, *bahuvrīheś cāntodāttāt* #52)

asvāṅgapūrvapadād antodāttāt ktāntād bahuvrīheḥ striyāṃ vā ṅīṣ pratyayo bhavati

Affix *ṄīṢ* occurs optionally to denote feminine after a nominal stem termed *bahuvrīhi* which ends in *Kta*, has its final vowel marked *udātta* and does not contain an initial constituent denoting *svāṅga* 'limb' (*asvāṅga-pūrvapadāt*).

EXAMPLES:

sārṅgajagdhī 'she who ate wet-gingers'
sārṅgajagdhā 'id.'
palāṇḍubhakṣitī 'she who ate onions'
palāṇḍubhakṣitā 'id.'

surāpītī 'she who drank liquor'
surāpītā 'id.'

1. The obligatory provision of *ṄīṢ* made by the earlier rule, is here rendered optional. Thus, we get *sārṅgajagdhī* or *śārṅgajagdhā*. Rule 6.2.120 *jātikālasukhādibhyo . . .* assigns a final *udātta* accent to the compound under the condition of *jāti*, denoted by its first constituent (*PM*: *sarvatra jātikālasukhādibhyaḥ' ity antodāttatvam*). Items such as *śārṅga* and *palāṇḍu* represent a class of edibles (*bhakṣyajātiḥ*).

The exclusion of a compound with its initial constituent denoting *svāṅga* is made in view of *śaṅkhabhinnī* and *urubhinnī* where the initial constituents denote *svāṅga*. *Kāśikā* also offers *vastracchannā* and *vasanacchannā* as counter-examples where the fnal constituents are not marked *udātta* at the end, especially in view of negation of *anācchādanāt* 'not after that which denotes *ācchādana* 'covering' (6.2.170 *jātikālasukhādibhyo' nācchādanāt . . .*). That is, initial constituents retain their original accent (*pūrvapadaprakṛtisvara*). Incidentally, these compounds are formed parallel to *vastraṃ channaṃ yayā* 'she by whom cloth is spread over'. A *vārttika* proposal, for names and Vedic usages, is made to account for *karmadhārayà* compounds such as *pravṛddhavilūnī/pravṛddhavilūnā* 'she who is excessively old and has her hairs cut' on the basis of *bāhulaka*. Some also interpret the compound as a *bahuvrīhī*. *Kāśikā* clearly states that it is not a *bahuvrīhi* (*nāyaṃ bahuvrīhiḥ*).

4.1.54 स्वाङ्गाच्चोपसर्जनादसंयोगोपधात्

svāṅgāc copasarjanād asaṃyogopadhāt
/svāṅgāt 5/1 *ca* ϕ *upasarjanāt* 5/1 *asaṃyogopadhāt* 5/1 = *saṃyogaḥ upadhāyāṃ yasya tat saṃyogopadham* (*bv.*); *na saṃyogopadham* (*nañ. tat.*), *tasmāt/*
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *prātipadikāt* #1, *striyām* #3, *ataḥ* 4.1.4, *ṅīṣ* #40, *vā* #53)
svāṅgaṃ yad upasarjanaṃ asaṃyogopadhaṃ tadantāt prātipadikāt striyām vā ṅīṣ pratyayo bhavati
Affix *ṄīṢ*, occurs to optionally denote feminine also after a nominal stem which contains an *upasarjana* used as its final constituent with the denotatum of *svāṅga* '(one's own) limb', and which does not contain a conjunct in its *upadhā* (penultimate position; 1.1.65 *alo'ntyāt pūrva . . .*).

EXAMPLES:

candramukhī 'she who has a moon-like face'
candramukhā 'id.'
atikeśī mālā 'a garland extending beyond the length of hair'

1. Note that *upasarjanāt* is interpreted as a qualifier (*viśeṣaṇa*) to the nomi-

nal stem, via *tadantavidhi*, to yield the interpretation: *upasarjanāntāt prātipadikāt* 'after a nominal stem which ends in an *upasarjana*'. The expressions *svāṅgāt* and *asaṃyogopadhāt* are used as qualifiers to *upasarjanāt* to yield the following meaning:

> '. . . an *upasarjana* which denotes a limb (*svāṅga*) and does not contain a conjunct in its *upadhā* (*asaṃyogopadhāt*)'

The word *svāṅga* is not interpreted here as 'one's own limb'. Grammarians use it more like a technical term with the following definition:

> *adravaṃ mūrtimat svāṅgaṃ prāṇistham avikārajam/*
> *atasthaṃ tatra dṛṣṭaṃ cet tasya cet tat tathāyutam//*
> *svāṅga* is 'that which is not liquid', 'that which has a form', 'that which is located within living beings', 'that which is not born as a modification of something'; *svāṅga* is also 'that which may not be located within living beings at the current time but which may have been witnessed as part of them sometimes in the past', and *svāṅga* is also 'that which is not located in a living being, but which is associated with a non-living in a manner similar to its association with a living'

The qualification of *adravam* is relevant in relation to examples such as *susvedā* 'she who perspires profusely', where *ṄīṢ* cannot be introduced since *sveda* is *drava* 'liquid'. An example such as *sujñānā* cannot avail *ṄīṢ* because knowledge does not have any form (*mūrti*). The *sumukhā* of *sumukhā śālā* 'a hall with beautiful entrance' is similarly out because *mukha* here belongs to a non-living thing, i.e., *śālā*. An example such as *bahuśophā* 'she whose limbs are greatly swollen' involves *śopha* 'swelling', characterizing modification of limbs (*vikāraja*). An example such as *atikeśī* with *ṄīṢ*, illustrates 'hair' (*keśa*) as part of a living being (*prāṇistha*). Contrast this with *sukeśā rathyā* 'a road full of beautiful hair' where their status as 'part of humans' is shown as a thing of the past. Finally, consider *dīrghamukhī pratimā* 'statue with a large face' where 'large face' is associated with 'the statue' in a manner similar to 'some real large face' associated with 'a living being'.

4.1.55 नासिकोदरौष्ठजङ्घादन्तकर्णशृङ्गाच्च

> *nāsikodarauṣṭhajaṅghādantakarṇaśṛṅgāc ca*
> */nāsikodarauṣṭhaja . . . śṛṅgāt* 5/1 = *nāsikā ca udaraṃ ca oṣṭhaś ca . . . śṛṅgaṃ ca* = *nāsikodarauṣṭha . . . śṛṅgāc* (*sam. dv.*), *tasmāt; ca* ϕ/
> (*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *prātipadikāt* #1, *striyām* #3, *ṅīṣ* #40, *vā* #53, *svāṅgāc copasarjanāt* #54)
> *svāṅgaṃ nāsikādyantāt prātipadikāt striyām vā ṅīṣ pratyayo bhavati*
> Affix *ṄīṢ* occurs optionally to denote feminine after a nominal stem which ends in an *upasarjana* with the signification of *svāṅga*, namely

nāsikā 'nose', *udara* 'belly', *oṣṭha* 'lip', *jaṅghā* 'thigh', *danta* 'tooth', *karṇa* 'ear' and *śṛṅga* 'horn'.

EXAMPLES:

tuṅganāsikī 'she who has a high nose'
tuṅganāsikā 'id.'
tilodarī 'she who has a birthmark similar to a sesame on her abdomen'
tilodarā 'id.'
bimboṣṭhī 'she whose lips are (bright-red) like the Bimba fruits'
bimboṣṭhā 'id.'
dīrghajaṅghī 'she whose thighs are large'
dīrghajaṅghā 'id.'
samadantī 'she whose teeth are even'
samadantā 'id.'
cārukarṇī 'she whose ears are beautiful'
cārukarṇā 'id.'
tīkṣṇaśṛṅgī 'an animal with sharply pointed horns'
tīkṣṇaśṛṅgā 'id.'

1. The provisions of this rule are stated in view of negations characterized by *saṃyogopadhāt* (4.1.54), *bahvacaḥ* (4.1.56) and *sahanañvidyamānapūrvāt*. The first two, *nāsikā* and *udara*, of the seven stems enumerated here for optional introduction of *ṄīṢ*, contain many vowels (*bahvac*). These two thus form prior exceptions (*purastāpavāda*) to the negation of 4.1.56 *na kroḍādi bahvacaḥ*. It is also logical in view of (*Paribhāṣā* 60): *purastāpavādā anantarān vidhīn bādhante nottarān* 'prior exceptions block operational provisions which immediately follow, and not any subsequent'. The remaining five stems (*oṣṭha*, etc.), all contain conjuncts in penultimate positions (*saṃyogopadha*). They, thus, constitute an exception to *asaṃyogopadhāt* of 4.1.54 *svāṅgāc copasarjanāt*. But these stems can also constitute an exception to 4.1.57 *sahanañvidyamānapūrvāc ca*. However, note that rule 4.1.55 *nāsikodarauṣṭha* . . . is an exception (*apavāda*), read in between 4.1.54 *svāṅgāc* . . . and 4.1.57 *sahanañ*. . . . Consequently, it must operate in accord with *Paribhāṣā* 61: *madhye'pavādāḥ pūrvān vidhīn bādhante nottarān* 'exceptions placed in between two operational provisions block an operational provision which precedes, and not a provision which follows'. The five stems of our present rule thus illustrate an exception to the *asaṃyogopadhāt* provision of the preceding rule. The optional provision of *ṄīṢ* of this rule is blocked by negation of 4.1.57 *sahanañ* . . ., mostly because of being subsequent (*para*), though not most immediate (*anantara*).

2. The following three *vārttikas* cover additional derivates:

(*i*) An optional provision of *ṄīṢ* should also be made after a nominal stem which ends in *puccha* 'tail' to account for derivates such as *kalyāṇapucchī/kalyāṇapucchā* '. . . one whose tail is beautiful' (*pucchāc*

ceti vaktavyam).

(*ii*) An obligatory (*nityam*) provision of *ṄīṢ* should be made after a nominal stem which ends in *puccha*, used in combination after *kabara* 'body of hair', *maṇi* 'pearl, jewel', *viṣa* 'poison' and *śara* 'arrow' to account for derivates such as *kabarapucchī* 'that (feminine) which has a beautiful body of hair on its tail (a peahen)'; *maṇipucchī* 'that (feminine) which has a jeweled tail'; *viṣapucchī* 'that (feminine) which has a poisonous tail (a scorpion)'; and *śarapucchī* 'that (feminine) which has an arrowlike tail (a particular bird)'.

4.1.56 न क्रोडादिबह्वचः

na kroḍādibahvacaḥ

/ na ϕ kroḍādibahvacaḥ = kroḍa ādir yeṣāṃ te kroḍādayaḥ (*bv.*); *bahvo aco yasmin sa = bahvacaḥ* (*bv.*); *kroḍādayaś ca bahvac ca = kroḍādibahvac, tasmāt* (*sam. dv.* with int. *bv.*)*/*

(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *prātipadikāt* #1, *striyām* #3, *ataḥ* #4, *ṅīṣ* #40, *svāṅgāc copasarjanāt* #54)

kroḍādyantād bahvajantāc ca prātipadikāt striyāṃ ṅīṣ pratyayo na bhavati

Affix *ṄīṢ* does not occur after a nominal stem which ends in an *upasarjana* 'secondary' constituent with the signification *svāṅga* and is either listed in the group headed by *kroḍa* 'lap, flank of a horse', etc., or else, consists of many vowels (*bahvac*).

EXAMPLES:

kalyāṇakroḍā 'she whose lap is auspicious; a mare with auspicious flanks'
kalyāṇakhurā '(a goat) with auspicious hooves'
kalyāṇamukhā 'she who has an auspicious face'
pṛthujaghanā 'she whose thighs are fat'
mahālalāṭā 'she whose forehead is large'

1. Note that *kroḍādi* is an *ākṛtigaṇa*, an open-ended group whose membership is determined by usage. Haradatta explains *kroḍā* as *aśvānām uraḥ* 'flanks of horses', a feminine (*strīliṅgo'yam*). *Bālamanoramā* and *Tattvabodhinī*, ad *SK*, approve the use of *kroḍā* in all three genders (*Bālamanoramā*: *amaras tu 'na nākroḍaṃ bhujāntaram' iti strītvaṃ napuṃsakatvaṃ cāha. kvacit kośe puṃstvam api dṛśyate . . . evaṃ ca liṅgatraye'py udāharaṇaṃ nirbādham*).

Our expression *kroḍādibahvacaḥ* is a modifier to *prātipadikāt*, where *svāṅgāt* and *upasarjanāt* are also paraphrased with it. That is, items denoted by *kroḍādibahvacaḥ*, a qualifier, must form the final of a nominal stem after which affix *ṄīṢ* is negated. They must also denote *svāṅga* and, at the same time, be termed an *upasarjana*. This all is gotten via *tadantavidhi*, relative to a qualifier treated as final of its qualified. A negation of *ṄīṢ* makes the introduction of *ṬāP* possible.

4.1.57 सहनञ्विद्यमानपूर्वाच्च

sahanañvidyamānapūrvāc ca
/ sahanañvidyamānapūrvāt 5/1 = *saha ca nañ ca vidyamānaṃ ca sahanañvidyamānam; sahanañvidyamānaṃ pūrvaṃ yasya sa = sahanañvidyamānapūrvaḥ* (*bv.* with int. *dv.*), *tasmāt; ca* ϕ/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *prātipadikāt* #1, *striyām* #3, *ṅīṣ* #40, *svāṅgāc copasarjanāt* #54, *na* #56)
'*saha, nañ, vidyamāna*' *ity evaṃ pūrvāt prātipadikāt striyāṃ ṅīṣ pratyayo na bhavati*
Affix *ṄīṢ* also does not occur to denote feminine after an *upasarjana* nominal stem which denotes *svāṅga* and is used in combination preceded by *saha* 'with', *naÑ* 'not' and *vidyamāna* 'existent'.

EXAMPLES:

sakeśā 'she who has hair'
akeśā 'she who does not have any hair'
vidyamānakeśā 'she who has hair'
sanāsikā 'she who has a nose'
anāsikā 'she who does not have a nose'
vidyamānanāsikā 'she who has a nose'

1. Note that this rule negates *ṄīṢ*, made available by rules 4.1.54 *svāṅgāc copasarjanāt* and 4.1.55 *nāsikodaroṣṭha. . . .* Affix *ṬāP* is thus introduced in the absence of *ṄīṢ*. The *sa*, in *sakeśā*, results from the formation of compound with *saha*, as per rule 2.2.28 *tena saheti tulyayoge*. This *saha* is reduced to *sa* in view of rule 6.3.70 *vopasarjanasya*. In examples such as *akeśā*, *naÑ* is combined in a *bahuvrīhi* compound with the sense of *asti* 'is', in accord with a *vārttika* (under 2.2.24 *anekaṃ . . .*): *naño 'styarthānāṃ bahuvrīher vā cottarapadalopaś ca vaktavyaḥ*. Compounds of other examples are allowed by 2.2.24 *anekam anyapadārthe*.

2. Why do we have to have *pūrvāt* in the rule? It is stated that *pūrva* here means *avayava* 'part of a whole' which, when used with *saha*, etc., becomes a qualifier (*viśeṣaṇa*). What does it qualify? It qualifies the nominal stem which is termed an *upasarjana* and which denotes *svāṅga*. Thus, affix *ṄīṢ* will be negated after a nominal stem whose final constituent is an *upasarjana* with the denotation of *svāṅga*, and which has *saha*, *naÑ* and *vidyamāna* as its initial constituent. This specification, by means of *avayava*, is also necessary to block this negation from applying to examples such as *kalyāṇavidyamānamukhā* 'she whose face is benevolent', where a constituent denoting *svāṅga* simply follows *saha*, etc.

If this was the intended interpretation then the rule should have been formulated as *sahanañvidyamānebhyaḥ*, thereby meaning: '*ṄīṢ* does not occur after a nominal stem which ends in an *upasarjana* signifying *svāṅga*, used

of *vidyamānamukhā*, parallel to *vidyamānaṃ mukham asyāḥ*, but will also block *ṄīṢ* in *kalyāṇavodyamānamukhī*. But it will not be able to block the *ṄīṢ* in *vidyamānakalyāṇamukhī*. It is, therefore, necessary to have *pūrva*, with its signification of a 'part' (*avayava*), as a condition. A formulation with *pañcamī* alone (as *sahanañvidyamānebhyaḥ*) is not sufficient (see *PM* ad *Kāś.* for further details).

4.1.58 नखमुखात्संज्ञायाम्

nakhamukhāt saṃjñāyām
/nakhamukhāt 5/1 = *nakhaṃ ca mukhaṃ ca* = *nakhamukham* (*sam. dv.*), *tasmāt; saṃjñāyām* 7/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *prātipadikāt* #1, *striyām* #3, *ṅīṣ* #40, *svāṅgāc copasarjanāt* #54, *na* #56)
nakhamukhāntāt prātipadikāt saṃjñāyāṃ striyāṃ viṣaye ṅīṣ pratyayo na bhavati
Affix *ṄīṢ* does not occur to denote feminine after a nominal stem which ends in *nakha* 'nail' and *mukha* 'face', and the derivate is to name a female (*saṃjñā*).

EXAMPLES:

śūrpaṇakhā 'Rāvaṇa's sister'
gauramukhā 'name of a woman'

1. This rule again negates the provision of *ṄīṢ* made by rule 4.1.54 *svāṅgāccopasarjanāt*. Elsewhere, when the derivate does not denote a name, we will get examples such as *tāmranakhī kanyā* 'a girl whose nails are red as copper' and *candramukhī* 'she whose face is as beautiful as moon'. These examples both entail *ṄīṢ*. A derivate such as *śūrpaṇakhā* can be derived with *ṬāP*, as against *ṄīṢ*, if the derivate is a name. A demoness, for reasons of possessing finger-nails similar in shape to a winnowing basket, can be called *śūrpanakhī*. This derivate will lack the replacement of its *n* by *ṇ* (*ṇatva*), which would otherwise obtain in a derivate of *ṬāP* signifying a name (*saṃjñā*; 8.4.3 *pūrvapadāt saṃjñāyām agaḥ*). A combination of *ṇatva* and *ṄīṢ* is not attested (*PM* ad *Kāś.*: *na punaḥ śūrpaṇakhīti ṇatvaṅīṣoḥ samāveśaḥ sādhuḥ*).

4.1.59 दीर्घजिह्वी च च्छन्दसि

dīrghajihvī ca cchandasi
/dīrghajihvī 1/1 *ca* ϕ *chandasi* 7/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *prātipadikāt* #1, *striyām* #3, *ṅīṣ* #40)
dīrghajihvī iti chandasi viṣaye nipātyate
Affix *ṄīṢ* occurs, via *nipātana*, to derive *dīrghajihvī* in Vedic, when the derivate denotes a female name.

EXAMPLES:

dīrghajihvī 'a female name; she who has a long tongue'

1. This derivation, via *nipātana*, is necessitated because *dīrghajihva*, a masculine meaning 'one who has a long tongue', contains a conjunct in its penultimate (*upadhā*) position. Obviously, it does not qualify for affix *ṄīṢ* of rule 4.1.54 *svāṅgāc copasarjanāt*. Our present rule makes it available (*prāpta*), via *nipātana*, what was not available (*aprāpta*).

How come the rule is not formulated as *dīrghajihvāc chandasi*? That is, why do we have to accept this provision of *nipātana* with a final *ī*? A specification with *dīrghajihvī*, via *nipātana*, was made so that this form could be treated as obligatory. Note that the preceding rules involve negations (*pratiṣedha*; 4.1.56 *na kroḍādi . . .*), and optional provisions as well, of *ṄīṢ* (4.1.54 *svāṅgāc copasarjanād . . .*). Our present rule cannot be treated as a negative, since a negative provision makes sense only in the context of a positive provision already made (*prāptipūrvakatvāc ca pratiṣedhānām*). Such a positive provision for *ṄīṢ*, relative to a form ending in *jihvā*, or for that matter *jihvī*, is ruled out because of their penultimate conjunct (*saṃyogopadha*). This operational provision of *ṄīṢ* may be wrongly treated as optional. A reference with *dīrghajihvī*, via *nipātana*, makes the derivate obligatory.

2. This rule uses *ca* to bring *saṃjñāyām* close to its context.

4.1.60 दिक्पूर्वपदान् ङीप्

dikpūrvapadān ṅīp
/ dikpūrvapadāt 5/1 = *dik pūrvapadaṃ yasya* (*bv.*), *tasmāt*; *ṅīp* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *prātipadikāt* #1, *striyām* #3)
dikpūrvapadāt prātipadikād ṅīp pratyayo bhavati
Affix *ṄīP* occurs to denote feminine after a nominal stem which begins with a constituent denoting *diś* 'direction'.

EXAMPLES:

prāṅmukhaṃ yasyāḥ = *prāṇmukhī* 'she whose face is toward east; she who is facing east'
prāṅmukhā 'id.'
prāṅnāsikī 'she whose nose is toward east; she who is facing east'
prāṅnāsikā 'id.'

1. Note that derivates of *ṄīṢ* differ from those of *ṄīP* only in accent (*svare viśeṣaḥ*). Affix *ṄīP*, because of its *P* as an *it*, is *anudātta* (3.1.4 *anudāttau suppitau*). Affix *ṄīṢ* is marked *udātta* as the beginning, as per 3.1.2 *ādyudāttaś ca*. In this sense, derivates of *ṄīP* constitute an exception (*apavāda*) to operational (*vidhi*) or negational (*pratiṣedha*) provisions of *ṄīṢ* made by rules such as 4.1.54 *svāṅgāc copasarjanāt*, etc. But there is a greater correlation

between this provision of *ṄīP* and operational-negational provisions of earlier rules (*Kāś.*: '*svāṅgāc copasarjanāt' ity evamādividhipratiṣedhaviṣayaḥ sarvo'-py apekṣyate*). That is, *ṄīP* of this rule should be allowed after a nominal stem which begins with a directional word in the manner (and specification) similar to those under which *ṄīṢ* is allowed by rule 4.1.54 *svāṅgāc copasarjanāt*, etc. Affix *ṄīP* of this rule should also be negated with reference to specifications under which *ṄīṢ* is negated by earlier rules (*Nyāsa* ad *Kāś.* (III: 363): *tena yatra viṣaye ṅīṣ vihitas tatraiva ṅīb vidheyaḥ/yatra tu viṣaye ṅīṣ pratiṣiddhas tatra ṅīb api pratiṣiddhyata iti*).

Consider, for illustration, rules 4.1.54 *svāṅgāc copasarjanāt* and 4.1.55 *nāsikodarauṣṭha*. . . which provide for optional (*vā*) introduction of *ṄīṢ*. Our first rule requires *ṄīṢ* to be introduced after an *upasarjana* 'secondary' constituent signifying 'one's own limb' (*svāṅga*). Additionally, this stem must end in *a* (*ad-anta*), and must not have a conjunct in its penultimate position (*asaṃyogopadha*). The *mukha*, of *prāṅmukhī* of rule 4.1.60 *dikpūrvapadād ṅīp*, is an *upasarjana*. It denotes *svāṅga*, ends in *a* and does not have a conjunct in its next to the last position. It also meets the requirement of 4.1.60 *dikpūrvapadāt*, since *pūrva* precedes it. The way is now clear for optional derivation of *prāṅmukhī* and *prāṅmukhā*. This *ṄīP*, however, cannot be introduced to derive **prāggulphī*, parallel to *prāggulphā* 'she whose ankles are turned toward east; she who has her back to the east'. For, *gulpha* is denied *ṄīṢ*, and consequently the *ṄīP*, of our present rule because it contains a conjunct (*saṃyoga*) in its next to the last position (*upadhā*). A negation of *ṄīṢ* is also required by rule 4.1.56 *na kroḍādibahvacaḥ*, thereby blocking the derivation of **prākkroḍī* with *ṄīP* of our present rule.

Incidentally, refer to (467) *prāṅ*, in the appendix of vol. III, for additional derivational details. Recall further that derivates of *ṄīP* and *ṄīṢ* differ only in accent.

2. A question is raised as to why, in an example such as *prāṅmukhā*, one must introduce affix *ṬāP*. Why can we not introduce *ṄīṢ* of 4.1.55 *svāṅgāccopasarjanād*. . ., once rule 4.1.60 *dikpūrvapadāt*. . . has denied *ṄīP*? It is stated that, in cases where both a general (*utsarga*) as well as an exceptional provision (*apavāda*) is made by means of an option (*vibhāṣā*), the general does not apply when its corresponding exception ceases to apply. Thus, *ṄīP* is an exception to *ṄīṢ*. These affixes both have been introduced in this context as part of an optional provision. Consequently, *ṄīṢ* must also be blocked (*PM* ad *Kāś.* (III: 363): *ṅīpā mukte 'svāṅgāc copasarjanāt' iti ṅīṣ api na bhavati. katham? uktam etat: yatrotsargāpavādau dvāv api vikalpitau tatrāpavādena mukto utsargo na pravartate*). Pāṇini's own practice is cited in support of such a conclusion. That is, rule 4.1.118 *pīlāyā vā* did not need *vā*. For, once *pīlā* is optionally released from the scope of *aṆ* at the strength of *mahāvibhāṣā* (and no *vā* of rule 4.1.118), *ḍhaK* of 4.1.120 *strībhyo ḍhak* would apply anyway. This will happen, again optionally, at the strength of *mahāvibhāṣā*. But once *pīlā* is

released optionally from *ḍhaK* of 4.1.120, can *aṆ* now apply? Yes, if there was no *vā* in 4.1.118. Since we have *vā* in 4.1.118, both 4.1.118 and 4.1.120 become optional, where *aṆ* is general as opposed to *ḍhaK* which is an exception. But we still get optional *aṆ* under the provision of 4.1.118? That *aṆ* is different from the *aṆ* we are talking about. That *aṆ* is ruled by 4.1.112 *viśvādibhyo'ṇ*. It is not the general affix *aṆ* of 4.1.83 *prāg dīvyato'ṇ*. What then is the purpose of *vā* in 4.1.118? To let the general *aṆ* of 4.1.83 apply optionally to *ḍhaK*.

3. The word *pada* is used in the rule so that any directional word, and not just *diś*, can brought within the scope of this rule.

4.6.61 वाहः

vāhaḥ
/vāhaḥ 5/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *prātipadikāt* #1, *striyām* #3, *ṅīṣ* #40, *chandasi* #59)
vāhantāt prātipadikāt striyāṃ pratyayo bhavati
Affix *ṄīṢ* occurs, in Vedic, to denote feminine after a nominal stem which ends in a non-secondary constituent, namely *vāha*.

EXAMPLES:

dityauhī 'a two-year old cow'
praṣṭhauhī 'a cow with her first born'

1. Note that *vāh* is derived with affix *ṆvI* of 3.2.64 *vahaś ca*, read with 3.2.63 *chandasi sahaḥ*, under the cooccurrence condition of an object. That *vāhaḥ* is interpreted as a qualifier to *prātipadikāt*, via *tadantavidhi*, to get the sense of 'the stem which ends in *vāh*', is clear since *vāh* cannot be used by itself (*PM*: *kevalasya vāhaḥ sambhavo nāsti . . .*). It must be used as the final constituent of an obligatory compound formed with a conjoined *pada* denoting *karman*, and consequently, termed nominal stem (*prātipadika*).

4.1.62 सख्यशिश्वीति भाषायाम्

sakhyaśiśvīti bhāṣāyām
/sakhī 1/1 *aśiśvī* 1/1 *iti* ϕ *bhāṣāyām* 7/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *prātipadikāt* #1, *striyām* #3, *ṅīṣ* #40)
'sakhī, aśiśvī' ity etau śabdau ṅīṣanto byhāṣāyām nipātyete
The words *sakhī* and *aśiśvī* are derived, via *nipātana* with *ṄīṢ*, in the Classical language.

EXAMPLES:

sakhīyaṃ me brāhmaṇī 'this Brāhmaṇa woman is my friend'
aśiśvī = nāsyāḥ śiśur astīti 'a childless woman'

1. The qualification of *bhāṣāyām* is necessary because, in Vedic, we find usages such as: *sakhā saptapadī bhava* '(you) be my friend of seven steps!'; *aśiśum iva mām ayaṃ śiśur abhimanyate* 'this child treats me as if I (feminine) was childless'.

Note that *Kāś.* explains *aśiśvī* as *nāsyāḥ śiśuḥ* 'she of whose there is no child'. That is, *aśiśvī* is derived, via *nipātana*, as a feminine corresponding with *aśiśuḥ*, a *bahuvrīhi*. That is, *aśiśuḥ* is not a *tatpuruṣa* compound parallel to *na śiśuḥ* 'absence of a child'. The derivation of *aśiśvī*, parallel to a *tatpuruṣa* interpretation of *aśiśuḥ*, will create difference in meaning.

4.1.63 जातेरस्त्रीविषयादयोपधात्

jāter astrīviṣayād ayopadhāt
/jāteḥ 5/1 *astrīviṣayāt* 5/1 = *strī viṣayo yasya* (*bv.*); *na strīviṣayaḥ* (*nañ. tat.* with int. *bv.*), *tasmāt*; *ayopadhāt* = *ya upadhā yasya*; *na yopadhaḥ* (*nañ. tat.* with int. *bv.*), *tasmāt*/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *prātipadikāt* #1, *striyām* #3, *ṅīṣ* #40)
jātivāci yat prātipadikaṃ na ca striyām eva niyatam astrīviṣayaṃ yakāropadhaṃ ca tasmāt striyāṃ ṅīṣ pratyayo bhavati
Affix *ṄīṢ* occurs to denote feminine after a nominal stem which (*i*) ends in *a* with the significance of *jāti* 'class', (*ii*) is not obligatorily limited to the scope of feminine (*astrīviṣayāt*) and (*iii*) does not have *y* in its penultimate position (*ayopadhāt*).

EXAMPLES:

kukkuṭī 'hen'
mayūrī 'pea-hen'
brāhmaṇī 'a Brāhmaṇa woman'
nāḍāyanī 'granddaughter of Naḍa'

1. The three conditions, of *jāteḥ* 'after a stem which denotes a class', *astrīviṣayāt* 'after a stem which is not obligatorily limited to the scope of feminine' and *ayakāropadhāt* 'after a stem which does not have *y* in its penultimate position', are required so that derivates such as *muṇḍā* 'a female with shaven head', *makṣikā* 'fly' and *kṣatriyā* 'a woman of the warrior caste' can be kept out of the scope of this rule. Note that *muṇḍā*, a quality word (*guṇavacana*), does not denote *jāti*. The second *makṣikā* is uniquely feminine. The third stem, *kṣatriya*, of course, has *y* in its *upadhā*.

Grammarians state that *jāti* should be distinguishable by *ākṛti* 'form, appearance'. A class of cows (*gotva*) should thus be comprehensible by means of a form containing particulars such as dewlap, hooves, tail, and horns, etc. Note that such forms are not necessarily restricted to the denotatum of animate beings. Thus bank of a river (*taṭa*) can also denote *jāti*. A word which is not used in all genders but, when used once, cognizes many others, also

denotes *jāti.* The word *vṛṣala* can be accepted as denoting *jāti* since it can cognize the totality of *śūdras.* Grammarians also accept words with the significance of *gotra,* i.e., descendants, and *caraṇa* 'Vedic lineage', as denoting *jāti.* The following verse sums it up:

> *ākṛtigrahaṇā jātir liṅgānāṃ ca na sarvabhāk/*
> *sakṛdākhyātanirgrāhyā gotraṃ ca caraṇaiḥ saha//*

2. Note that the *anuvṛtti* of *ataḥ* '. . . which ends in *a*', used as a qualifier to *prātipadikāt,* will block *ṄīṢ* from being introduced after a stem, namely *go* 'cow', which denotes *jāti.*

3. A *vārttika* recommends that negation of *yopadha* 'that which has *y* in its *upadhā*' should not apply to *haya* 'horse', *gavaya* 'wild cow', *mukaya* 'mule', *matsya* 'fish' and *manuṣya* 'human male', which all denote *jāti* via appearance (*ākṛti*).

4. Our example *nāḍāyanī* is derived from (*nāḍāyana* + *ṄīṢ*) + *sU,* where *nāḍāyana* itself derives from *naḍa* + *Ṅas* + *phaK* with the signification of a *gotra*-descendant (grandson, etc.) of Naḍa. A *vṛddhi*-replacement for the initial *a* of *naḍa* is ordered by 7.2.118 *kiti ca,* at the strength of *phaK* being marked with *K* as an *it.* Rule 7.1.2 *āyaneyī* . . . orders *āyana* as a replacement for the *pha* of affix *phaK.* All other examples are easy to derive.

4.1.64 पाककर्णपर्णपुष्पफलमूलबालोत्तरपदाच्च

> *pākakarṇaparṇapuṣpaphalamūlabālottarapadāc ca*
> */pāka-karṇa-parṇa-puṣpa-phala-mūla-bālottarapadāt* 5/1 = '*pāka* . . . *bālāḥ*' *ity ete śabdāḥ uttarapadaṃ yasya* (*bv.* with int. *dv.*), *tasmāt; ca* ϕ/
> (*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *prātipadikāt* #1, *striyām* #3, *ṅīṣ* #40, *jāteḥ* #63)
> *pākādyuttarapadāj jātivācinaḥ prātipadikāt striyāṃ ṅīṣ pratyayo bhavati*
> Affix *ṄīṢ* also occurs to denote feminine after a nominal stem which denotes *jāti,* and has *pāka* 'cooking', *karṇa* 'ear', *parṇa* 'leaf', *puṣpa* 'flower', *phala* 'fruit', *mūla* 'root' and *bāla* 'young, tail' as its final.

EXAMPLES:

> *odanapākī* 'a medicinal plant'
> *śaṅkukarṇī* 'id.'
> *śālaparṇī* 'id.'
> *śaṅkhapuṣpī* 'id.'
> *dāsīphalī* 'id.'
> *darbhamūlī* 'id.'
> *gobālī* 'id.'

1. Note that it is impossible to determine constituent meanings in these examples. Consequently, their paraphrases should be accepted simply as a

means of understanding derivational processes (*Nyāsa* ad *Kāś.*: *vyutpattimātrārtham tv asau kriyate, na tv atrāvayavārtho vidyate*). Haradatta (*PM* ad *Kāś.*) also recognizes difficulties in furnishing derivational details: *odanapākādayaḥ saṃjñāśabdā yathākathañcid vyutpādyāḥ* 'words such as *odanapākī* are names, and should, somehow or the other, be derived with effort'. This 'somehow . . . with effort' must also serve as an answer to the question: 'how could these word denote *jāti*?'. I have not tried here to derive any examples since that would require determining bases, affixes and operational steps.

The condition of *astrīviṣayāt* would not permit these stems to be included within the scope of the preceding rule. A *vārttika* requires that *y* of *matsya* be deleted only when a feminine affix with *Ṅ* as an *it* follows (*Mbh.* ad 6.4.149 *sūryatiṣyāgastyamatsyānām . . .*). Stems which end in *puṣpa, phala* and *mūla,* but which are not desired to be included here, are enumerated within the *ajādi* group of 4.1.14 *ajādyataṣ ṭāp.*

4.1.65 **इतो मनुष्यजातेः**

ito manuṣyajāteḥ
/itaḥ 5/1 *manuṣyajāteḥ* 5/1 = (*ṣaṣ. tat.*), *tasmāt/*
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *prātipadikāt* #1, *striyām* #3, *ṅīṣ* #40, *anupasarjanāt* #54)
ikārāntāt prātipadikān manuṣyajātivācinaḥ striyāṃ ṅīṣ pratyayo bhavati
Affix *ṄīṢ* occurs to denote feminine after a non-secondary nominal stem which ends in *i* and denotes a class of humans (*manuṣyajāti*).

EXAMPLES:

avantī 'a female (*gotra*) descendant of Avanti'
dākṣī 'a female (*gotra*) descendant of Dakṣa'

1. Note that *avantī* derives with affix *ÑyaṄ* (4.1.171 *vṛddhetkosalāj . . .*), introduced after the syntactically related nominal stem *avanti.* This affix, however, is deleted by *LUK* of 4.1.176 *striyām avantikunti . . .*, at the strength of assignment of the term *tadrāja* (4.1.172 *te tadrājāḥ*). This rule then introduces affix *ṄīṢ* to produce *avantī,* after 6.4.148 *yasyeti ca* deletes the short *i* of *avanti.* Our second example *dākṣī* is derived with *ṄīṢ* introduced after *dākṣi* '(gotra) descendant of Dakṣa', a derivate of *iÑ* (4.1.95 *ata iñ*) introduced after syntactically related nominal stem *dakṣa.* Note that *gotra* itself accounts for status as *jāti* of these examples (*Nyāsa* ad *Kāś.*: *sarvatra gotraṃ hi jātiḥ*).

2. A question is raised against explicit use of *jāteḥ* in the wording of this rule. That is, why can it not be gotten from the preceding rule via *anuvṛtti.* It is stated that *jāteḥ* of 4.1.63 is further qualified with *ayopadhāt.* Our present rule explicitly uses *jāteḥ* to cancel this association (*sāhacarya*). That is, *ṄīṢ* of this rule can be introduced also to derive examples such as *audameyī* 'a fe-

male *gotra*-descendant of Udameya', where *udameya* contains *y* in its penultimate position (*yopadha; . . . punar jātigrahaṇaṃ yopadhād api yathā syāt*).

3. A *vārttika* requires that *sautaṅgamī* 'a city built by Sutaṅgama' and *maunacittī* 'a city built by Municitta' should also be derived with *ṄīṢ*, even though the condition of *jāteḥ* is not met (*iñ upasaṃkhyānam ajātyartham*).

4.1.66 ऊङुतः

ūṅ utaḥ
/ūṅ 1/1 *utaḥ* 5/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *prātipadikāt* #1, *striyām* #3, *ayopadhāt* #63, *manuṣyajāteḥ* #65)
ukārāntān manuṣyajātivācinaḥ prātipadikāt striyām ūṅ pratyayo bhavati
Affix *ūṄ* occurs to denote feminine after a nominal stem which ends in *uT* (*u*), does not have a *y* in its penultimate position and signifies a class of humans.

EXAMPLES:

brahmabandhūḥ = *brahmā* (*vipraḥ*) *bandhur asyāḥ* 'a (brāhmaṇa)woman whose brother if a brāhmaṇa (but who herself does not behave like one)'
vīrabandhūḥ 'a (kṣatriya) woman whose brother is brave but who herself is not'

1. The *Ṅ*, in *ūṄ*, used as a qualifier for facilitating references by rules such as 6.1.175 *noṅ dhātvoḥ*, etc. It is argued that a short *u* of this affix can itself yield its long counterpart, through the application of 6.1.101 *akaḥ savarṇe dīrghaḥ*. Thus, *brahmabandhu* + *uṄ* = *bahmabandhū*. Why is this affix then specified with a long *ū*? A long *ū* is used to block the *samāsānta* affix *kaP* of 5.4.154 *śeṣād vibhāṣā* (*Nyāsa* ad *Kāś.* (III: 373): *yadi dīrgho noccāryeta tadā 'śeṣād vibhāṣā' iti paratvāt pakṣe kap syāt, atas tadbādhanārthaṃ dīrghoccāraṇam*). Note that this *kaP* could become applicable at the strength of being subsequent (*para*). Haradatta explains that *ū* of *ūṄ* is a combination of *u* + *u*, where *u* is meant for blocking *kaP* of 5.4.154 (*PM* ad *Kāś.*: *ukāradvayaṃ dīrgheṇa nirdiṣṭam, tatra dvitīya ukāraḥ kapo bādhanārthaḥ*). Incidentally, *brahmabandhūḥ* is derived as example (711) in the appendix of vol. II.

2. Stems of this rule are qualified with *ayopadhāt* so that examples such as *adhvaryuḥ*, of *adhvaryur brāhmaṇī* 'a brāhmaṇa woman who is also a good *adhvaryu* (priest at a sacrifice)', can be kept out of the scope of this rule.

3. A *vārttika* recommends *ūṄ* also after forms signifying *aprāṇin* 'inanimate things', though with the exception of *rajju* 'rope', etc. Examples in point are *alābūḥ* 'round squash' and *karkandhūḥ* 'Jujube (a berry) tree, or its fruit'.

4.1.67 बाह्वन्तात्संज्ञायाम्

bāhvantāt saṃjñāyām
/bāhvantāt 5/1 = *bāhu ante yasya* (*bv.*), *tasmāt*; *saṃjñāyām* 7/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.26, *prātipadikāt* #1, *striyām* #3, *ūṅ* #66)
bāhvantāt prātipadikāt saṃjñāyāṃ viṣaye striyām ūṅ pratyayo bhavati
Affix *ūṄ* occurs to denote feminine after a nominal stem which ends in *bāhu* 'arm', provided the derivate denotes a name (*saṃjñā*).

EXAMPLES:

bhadrabāhūḥ 'a female named Bhadrabāhū'
jālabāhūḥ 'a female named Jālabāhū'

1. The condition of *saṃjñāyām* is needed to exclude examples parallel to *vṛttau bāhū yasyāḥ* = **vṛttabāhūḥ* 'a female whose arms are round'.

4.1.68 पङ्गोश्च

paṅgoś ca
/paṅgoḥ 5/1 *ca* ϕ/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *prātipadikāt* #1, *striyām* #3, *ūṅ* #66)
paṅguśabdāt striyām ūṅ pratyayo bhavati
Affix *ūṄ* occurs to denote feminine also after *paṅgu* 'crippled'.

EXAMPLES:

paṅgūḥ 'a crippled female'

1. This rule introduces *ūṄ* after *paṅgu* which denotes quality (*guṇa*). It thus constitutes an exception to the preceding rule which offers *ūṄ* under the condition of *jāti*.

2. A *vārttika* recommends *ūṄ* for deriving *śvaśrū* from *śvaśura* + *ūṄ*, under the condition of *puṃyoga* 'association of a female with a corresponding male'. This *vārttika* also requires that *u*, and the final *a* of *śvaśura* as well, be deleted. The authenticity of this *vārttika* is questioned because it is not available in the *Mahābhāṣya* (*bhāṣye tv idaṃ na dṛśyate*). Nāgeśa accepts *śvaśura* as non-derived (*avyutpanna*).

4.1.69 ऊरूत्तरपदादौपम्ये

urūttarapadād aupamye
/urūttarapadāt 5/1= *urūr uttarapadaṃ yasya* (*bv.*), *tasmāt*; *aupamye* 7/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *prātipadikāt* #1, *striyām* #3, *ūṅ* #66)
urūttarapadāt prātipadikād aupamye gamyamāne striyām ūṅ pratyayo bhavati
Affix *ūṄ* occurs to denote feminine after a nominal stem which contains *ūru* as its final constituent, provided the derivate signifies comparison (*aupamya*).

EXAMPLES:

kadalīstambhorūḥ 'a woman whose thighs resemble the trunk of a banana tree'
karabhorūḥ 'a woman whose thighs resemble the trunk of an elephant'
nāganāsorūḥ 'id.'

1. *Kāśikā* offers *vṛttorūḥ* 'a woman whose thighs are round' as a counter-example where the condition of *aupamya* is lacking.

4.1.70 संहितशफलक्षणवामादेश्च

saṃhitaśaphalakṣaṇavāmādeś ca
/saṃhitaśaphalakṣaṇavāmādeḥ 5/1 = *saṃhita-śapha-lakṣaṇa-vāmāḥ ādau yasya* (*bv.* with int. *dv.*), *tasmāt*; *ca* ϕ/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *prātipadikāt* #1, *striyām* #3, *ūṅ* #66, *urūttarapadāt* #69)
'saṃhita, śapha, lakṣaṇa, vāma' ity evam ādeḥ prātipadikād urūttarapadāt striyām ūṅ pratyayo bhavati
Affix *ūṄ* occurs to denote feminine after a nominal stem which contains *ūru* as its final constituent and is used in combination after an initial constituent, namely *saṃhita* 'joined', *śapha* 'hoof', *lakṣaṇa* 'characteristic mark' and *vāma* 'beautiful'.

EXAMPLES:

saṃhitorūḥ 'a woman whose thighs touch each other'
śaphorūḥ 'a woman whose thighs are joined with each other as hooves'
lakṣaṇorūḥ 'a woman with marks on her thighs'
vāmorūḥ 'a woman with beautiful thighs'

1. The condition of *aupamya* is not required here. A *vārttika* recommends that *saha* 'with' and *sahita* 'together' should be included in the wording of this rule to account for examples such as *sahorūḥ* and *sahitorūḥ*, parallel to *saṃhitorūḥ* (*sahitasahābhyām ceti vaktavyam*).

4.1.71 कद्रुकमण्डल्वोश्छन्दसि

kadrukamaṇḍalvoś chandasi
/kadru-kamaṇḍalvoḥ 6/2 (*itar. dv.*), *tayoḥ*; *chandasi* 7/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *prātipadikāt* #1, *striyām* #3, *ūṅ* #66)
kadruśabdāt kamaṇḍaluśabdāc ca chandasi viṣaye striyām ūṅ pratyayo bhavati
Affix *ūṄ* occurs to denote feminine, in Vedic, after nominal stems *kadru* and *kamaṇḍalu*.

EXAMPLES:

kadrūśca vai sauparṇī ca 'sun-dried brown ginger-root'

mā sma kamaṇḍalūṃ śūdrāya dadyāt'. . . should not give one's Kamaṇḍalu to a Śūdra'

1. Note that *kadru* signifies a color (*Nyāsa* ad *Kāś.*: *kadruśabdo varṇaviśeṣavacanaḥ*). This provision for *ūṄ* is made against *ṄīṢ* (of 4.1.44 *voto guṇavacanāt*) which, in turn, was blocked (by the *vārttika*: *kharusaṃyogopadhayoḥ pratiṣedho vācyaḥ*) on account of *dr*, the penultimate (*upadhā*) conjunct (*saṃyoga*) of *kadru*. Some even question the idea of denoting feminine by *kadru*. For, it denotes quality (*guṇavacana*), and as such, it must depend on its qualified element (*viśeṣya*) for denoting gender. Our present rule offers *ūṄ* against this reasoning.

Affix *ūṄ* is made available to *kamaṇḍalu*, by a *vārttika* (*aprāṇijāteś ca* . . .; 4.1.66 *ūṅ utaḥ*), at the strength of its denotatum of *aprāṇin* 'non-living'. Our present rule restricts this *vārttika*-proposal to usages of Vedic.

4.1.72 संज्ञायाम्

saṃjñāyām
/ saṃjñāyām 7/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *prātipadikāt* #1, *striyām* #3, *ūṅ* #66, *kadrukamaṇḍalvoḥ* #71)
kadrukamaṇḍaluśabdābhyāṃ saṃjñāyāṃ viṣaye striyām ūṅ pratyayo bhavati
Affix *ūṄ* occurs to denote feminine after nominal stems *kadru* and *kamaṇḍalu*, when derivates denote a name (*saṃjñāyām*).

EXAMPLES:

kadrūḥ 'Kadru, a daughter of Vinatā'
kamaṇḍalūḥ 'a female deer'

1. This rule is formulated to account for non-Vedic usage (*Kāś.*: *acchando'rthaṃ vacanam*).

4.1.73 शार्ङ्गरवाद्यञो ङीन्

śārṅgaravādyaño ṅīn
/ śārṅgaravādy-añaḥ 5/1 = *śārṅgarava ādir yeṣām*; *śārṅgaravādayaś ca añ ca* (*sam. dv.* with int. *bv.*); *tasmāt*; *ṅīn* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *prātipadikāt* #1, *striyām* #3, *atas* #4, *jāteḥ* #63)
śārṅgaravādibhyo'ñantebhyaś ca prātipadikebhyaḥ striyāṃ ṅīm pratyayo bhavati
Affix *ṄīN* occurs to denote feminine after a non-secondary (*anupasarjana*) nominal stem which denotes *jāti* and is either listed in the group headed by *śārṅgarava*, or terminates in *a* of affix *aÑ*.

EXAMPLES:

śārṅgaravī 'a daughter of Śṛṅgarava'
kāpaṭavī 'a daughter of Kapaṭu'
baidī 'a female *gotra*-descendant of Bida'
aurvī 'a female *gotra*-descendant of Urva'

1. *Kāśikā* states that *jāteḥ* (from 4.1.63 *jāter . . .*) is to be carried here so that *ṄīṢ* of that rule can be blocked in favor of *ṄīN* of this rule.

2. Derivates of *ṄīṢ* and *ṄīN* only differ in accent. A derivate of *ṄīN* is marked *udātta* at the beginning in view of 6.1.191 *ñnityādir nityam.* A derivate of *ṄīṢ* will be marked *udātta* at the end. Refer to example (710) *śārṅgaravī* in the appendix of vol. II. Stems of the *śārṅgaravādi* group are all derivates of *aṆ.* Thus *śṛṅgaru* + *Ṅas* + *aṆ* → *ś*(*ṛ*→*ār*) *ṅgaru* + *a* → *śārṅgar* (*u*→*o*→*av*) + *a* → *śārṅgarava,* etc., through initial *vṛddhi* and *guṇa,* followed by a replacement in *av.* Refer to (1) *aupagavaḥ,* in the appendix of vol. II, for deriving other examples. Derivates such as *baidī* and *aurvī* are derived with affix *aN* of 4.1.104 *anṛṣyānantarye. . . .*

3. A *gaṇasūtra* specifies that *narī* 'human female' should be derived from *nṛ* + *ṄīN,* or *nara* + *ṄīN,* with an additional provision of *vṛddhi* (*nṛnarayor vṛddhiś ca*).

4.1.74 यङश्चाप्

yaṅaś cāp
/*yaṅaḥ* 5/1 *cāp* 1/1
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *prātipadikāt* #1, *striyām* #3)
yaṅantāt prātipadikāt striyāṃ cāp pratyayo bhavati
Affix *CāP* occurs to denote feminine after a nominal stem which ends in affix *yaṆ.*

EXAMPLES:

āmbaṣṭhyā 'a daughter of the country of Ambaṣṭha'
kausalyā 'a daughter of the country of Kosala'
kārīṣagandhyā 'a female offspring of Karīṣagandhi'
vārāhyā 'a female descendant of Varāha'
bālākyā 'a female descendant of Balāka'

1. Note that this specification by means of *yaṆ* refers to affixes *ÑyaṆ* (*vṛddhetkosalāj . . .*) and *ṢyaṆ* (4.1.78 *aṇiñor . . . ṣyaṅ gotre*) both (*Kāś.*: *ñyaṅaḥ ṣyaṅaś ca sāmānyagrahaṇam etat*). The *P* as an *it* in *CāP* is included for general references, for example, in *ṅyap* of 4.1.1 *ṅyāpprātipadikāt.* It is not intended for assigning accent in view of 3.1.4 *anudāttau suppitau.* For, accent will be assigned by 6.1.163 *citaḥ,* based on *paratva.* A derivate such as *āmbaṣṭhyā* derives from (*ambaṣṭha* + *Ṅas* + *ÑyaṆ* → *āmbaṣṭh* (*a*→ϕ) + *ya* + (*C*) *ā*(*P*) =

āmbaṣṭhy(*a*→ϕ) + *ā* = *āmbaṣṭhyā* + (*sU*→ϕ) = *āmbaṣṭhyā*, through applications of rules effecting initial *vṛddhi*, deletion of *bha*-final *a* (6.4.129 *bhasya*; 6.4.144 *yasyeti ca*) and *sUP*-deletion. For a derivate of *ṢyaṄ*, namely *kārīṣagandhyā*, refer to example (24) in the appendix. Deriving *vārāhyā*, from *varāha* + (*iÑ* →*ṢyaṄ*) + *CāP*, and *bālākyā*, from *balāka* + (*iÑ*→*ṢyaṄ*) + *CāP*, involves quite a few rule applications. Affix *iÑ* is first introduced by rule 4.1.95 *ata iñ*, read with 4.1.76 *taddhitāḥ*, 4.1.82 *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā*, 4.1.83 *prāg dīvyato' ṇ* and 4.1.92 *tasyāpatyam*. Rule 6.4.148 *yasyeti ca*, read with 1.4.18 *yaci bham* and 6.4.129 *bhasya*, then deletes the final *a* of *varāha* and *balāka* to yield *varāh* (*a*→ϕ) + *i* and *bālāk* (*a*→ϕ) + *i*. Rule 7.2.117 *taddhiteṣv acām ādeha* will now accomplish initial *vṛddhi* to produce: *vārāhi* and *vālāki*. These nominal stems must go through application of rule 4.1.78 *aṇiñor* . . . when feminine (4.1.3 *striyām*) is to be denoted. That is, the *i* of *iÑ* will then be replaced with *ṢyaṄ* to produce *vārāhya* and *bālākya*. Rule 4.1.74 *yaṅaś cāp* will then introduce affix *CāP*, conditioned by *yaṄ* (here *ṢyaṄ*). We will finally get *vārāhyā* and *bālākyā*, through *savarṇadīrga*-replacement for *a* of *ya* and *ā* of *CāP*. Thus *vārāhy*(*a* + *ā*→*ā*) = *vārāhyā* and *bālāky*(*a* + *ā*→*ā*) = *bālākyā*.

2. A *vārttika* also recommends *CāP* after a nominal stem which ends in *yaÑ* (4.1.105 *gargādibhyo* . . .). Thus, we get: *śārkarākṣyā* 'a female descendant of Śarkarākṣa' and *pautimāṣa* 'a female descendant of Pūtimāṣa'.

4.1.75 आवट्याश्च

āvaṭyāc ca
/*āvaṭyāt* 5/1 *ca* ϕ/
(*pratyayaḥ*#3.1.1, *paraś ca*#3.1.2, *prātipadikāt*#1, *striyām*#3, *anupasarjanāt* #14, *cāp* #74)
āvaṭyāc ca striyāṃ cāp pratyayo bhavati
Affix *CāP* occurs to denote feminine also after the non-*upasarjana* nominal stem *āvaṭya*.

EXAMPLES:

āvaṭyā 'a granddaughter of Avaṭa'

1. Note that *āvaṭya* ends in affix *yaÑ*. Recall that *avaṭa* receives *yaÑ* at the strength of its listing in the group headed by *garga* (*gargādi*; 4.1.104 *gargādibhyo yañ*). Affix *ṄīP* of 4.1.16 *yañaś ca* becomes available to *āvaṭya* because it is a derivate of *yaÑ*. Our present rule thus offers *CāP* as an exception to *ṄīP*. Deriving *āvaṭyā*, from *avaṭa* + *Ṅas* + *yaÑ* →*āvaṭya*, and (*āvaṭya* + *CāP*) + *sU*), is not very difficult.

4.1.76 तद्धिताः

taddhitāḥ
/*taddhitāḥ* 1/3/

(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāp-prātipadikāt* #1)
adhikāro'yam. ā pañcamādhyāyaparisamāpter yānita ūrdhvam anukramiṣyāmas taddhitasaṃjñās te veditavyāḥ
Affixes introduced henceforth, through the end of *adhyāya* five, are termed *taddhita.*

EXAMPLES:

Refer to subsequent rule(s).

1. Affixes of this domain are assigned the term *taddhita* so that their derivates can be assigned the term *prātipadika* 'nominal stem' (1.2.46 *kṛttaddhitasamāsāś ca*). Rule 2.4.71 *supo dhātuprātipadikayoḥ* will then delete nominal endings contained within such derivates.

2. Why is the heading not given in singular as is the case, for example, in 3.1.1 *pratyayaḥ,* 3.1.2 *paraś ca* and 3.1.93 *kṛd atiṅ.* A plural in *taddkitāḥ* is used so that derivates, not covered by enumerated rules could also be covered (*Nyāsa: anuktā ye taddhitā lakṣaṇavākyair anabhihitās teṣām api parigraho yathā syāt*). A singular would restrict the assignment of the term *taddhita* strictly to derivates of individual rules. A plural keeps the assignment open-ended. Consequently, derivates of proposed *vārttikas,* as well as examples of rule-splitting, and of extensional provisions of rules on hand, can also qualify. Some also observe that plural in *taddhitāḥ,* as opposed to singular of *kṛd atiṅ* (3.1.93), is used for indicating multiplicity (*bahutva*) of these affixes.

3. Why is this domain of *taddhita* not read prior to the domain of 4.1.3 *striyām?* What is so good about this proposal? One need not have to state *ṅyāp* in rule 4.1.1 *ṅyāpprātipadikāt.* A derivate ending in a *taddhita* affix will be termed a nominal stem. Reading 4.1.76 *taddhitāḥ* before 4.1.3 *striyām* would also make the use of *taddhitaḥ* in 4.1.17 *prācām ṣpha taddhitaḥ* unnecessary. Finally, *ca* of 6.4.148 *yasyeti ca* will also not be needed since *taddhita* itself will account for it. Commentators do not accept this idea of reading 4.1.76 *taddhitāḥ* before 4.1.3 *striyām,* because *Ṅ* of feminine affixes denoted by *ṅyāp* can then not be termed as *it.* For, 1.3.8 *laśakv ataddhite* will negate it. Besides, how would one then stop *guṇa* of 6.4.146 *or guṇaḥ,* in *paṭu* + *ī* = *paṭvī,* if this reversed order of domains is accepted.

Scope: 1.2.46 *kṛt-taddhitasamāsāś ca*

4.1.77 यूनस्तिः

yūnas tiḥ
/yūnaḥ 5/1 *tiḥ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *prātipadikāt* #1, *striyām* #3, *taddhitāḥ* #76)
'yuvan' śabdāt prātipadikāt striyāṃ tiḥ pratyayo bhavati
Affix *ti,* termed *taddhita,* occurs to denote feminine after a nominal stem which signifies *yuvan* 'young male'.

EXAMPLES:

yuvatiḥ 'young female'

1. This rule introduces affix *ti* as an exception to *ṄīP* of 4.1.5 *ṛnnebhyo ṅīp*. Why can rule 4.1.65 *ito manuṣyajāteḥ* not apply here to introduce *ṄīṢ*? Because *yuvan* does not denote a class of humans (*manuṣyajāti*; *yauvanasya vā' jātitvāt*). It simply denotes age (*vaya*). Haradatta (*PM*: *tyantāt 'ito manuṣyajāteḥ' iti ṅīṣ na bhavati*) considers it as an exception to *ṄīṢ*. Bhaṭṭoji does not accept it because it is against the *Mahābhāṣya*. See *SK*, with *Tattvabodhinī*, on this rule for further details.

Our example *yuvatiḥ* is derived from (*yuva* (*n*→ϕ) + *ti*), through deletion of *n* (8.2.7 *nalopaḥ . . .*), where rule 1.4.17 *svādiṣv asarvanamasthāne* assigns the term *pada*.

4.1.78 अणिञोरनार्षयोर्गुरूपोत्तमयोः ष्यङ् गोत्रे

aṇiñor anārṣayor gurūpottamayoḥ ṣyaṅ gotre
/aṇiñoḥ 6/2 (*itar. dv.*); *anārṣayoḥ* 6/2 (*nañ. tat.*), *tayoḥ*; *gurūpottamayoḥ* 6/2 = *gurū upottamaṃ yayoḥ* (*bv.*), *tayoḥ*; *ṣyaṅ* 1/1 *gotre* 7/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *prātipadikāt* #1, *striyām* #3, *taddhitāḥ* #76)
gotre yāv aṇ-iñau vihitāv anārṣau tadantayoḥ prātipadikayor gurūpottamayoḥ striyāṃ ṣyaṅ ādeśo bhavati
ṢyaṄ comes in place of *taddhita* affixes *aṆ* and *iÑ* when they denote a *gotra*-descendant of someone other than a sage (*ṛṣi*), and occur after a nominal stem containing a *guru* vowel in its next to the last position (*upottama*), provided derivates denote feminine.

EXAMPLES:

kārīṣagandhyā 'a female descendant of Karīṣagandhi'
kaumudagandhyā 'a female descendant of Kumudagandhi'
vārāhyā 'a female descendant of Varāha'
bālākyā 'a female descendant of Balāka'

1. What does one understand from *aṇiñoḥ*? Affixes *aṆ* and *iÑ*? Or else, forms which may end in them (*samudāya*)?. Since it is impossible to find a *guru* vowel in next to the last position of affixes *aṆ* and *iÑ*, as is demanded by *gurūpottamayoḥ*, the word *aṇiñoḥ* must refer to forms ending in affixes *aṆ* and *iÑ*. Accepting this view would run into problems with conditions of *gotre* and *anārṣayoḥ*. These two cannot be interpreted as qualifiers to forms ending in affixes *aṆ* and *iÑ*. The word *gotra* is here interpreted as used in its technical sense of 4.1.162 *apatyaṃ pautraprabhṛti . . .*, even though our present rule is not contained within the domain of 4.1.92 *tasyāpatyam*. Since affixes *aṆ* and *iÑ* are introduced under the meaning condition of *gotre*, and espe-

cially since corresponding bases, or derivates, are not introduced under this condition, *gotre* must qualify affixes *aṆ* and *iÑ*. What if one still insists on interpreting *gotre* as a qualifier to forms ending in affixes *aṆ* and *īÑ*? Then *anārṣayoḥ* will create problem as a qualifier to those forms. It will simply be impossible to apply (*asambhavāt*). It is with this in mind that *Kāśikā* paraphrases its *vṛtti* as: *gotre yāv aṇ-iñau vihitāv anārṣāv* . . . 'affixes *aṆ* and *iÑ*, introduced with the signification of a *gotra* other than that of a sage. . . .'

2. Commentators also invoke *paribhāṣā* (13): *nirdiśyamānasyādeśā bhavanti*, whereby we learn that a replacement relates to that with reference to which it is specified. Since *ṢyaÑ*, as a replacement, is specified by means of *aṇiñoḥ* in *ṣaṣṭhī*, it should come as a replacement in place of the affixes (*Kāś.*: *nirdiśyamānasyādeśa bhavanty ity aṇiñor eva vijñāyate, na tu samudāyasya*). A question is further raised about the status of *ṢyaṄ*. Should it be accepted as an affix in addition to being a replacement (*ādeśa*)? Or should it uniquely be accepted as an affix. Commentators state that it can be accepted as an affix. They cite rules 3.2.8 *gāpoṣ, ṭak* and 5.2.2 *vrīhiśālyor ḍhak*, etc., where an affix is introduced with specifications in genitive. It is argued that accepting *ṢyaṄ* as an affix would create problems in deriving *audamegheya*. That is, given *udameghasyāpatyam strī* 'a female offspring of Udamegha', rule 4.1.95 *ata iñ* will introduce *iÑ*. Our present rule will introduce *ṢyaṆ*, as an affix, after *udamegha* + *Ṅas* + *iÑ*. Given *udamegha* + *Ṅas* + *iÑ* + *ṢyaṄ*, rule 6.4.148 *yasyeti ca* will apply to delete *i*(*Ñ*). An introduction of affix *CāP* to the result will yield *audameghyā*. If affix *ḍhaK* is introduced to denote the female offspring of *audameghyā*, and *ḍha* is replaced with *eya*, the desired rule application of 6.4.151 *āpatyasya ca taddhite' nāti*, to delete the *y* of *audameghyā* before the *taddhita* affix *ḍha→eya*, will be blocked. For, this *y* is not the *y* of an affix denoting an 'offspring'. This deletion of *y* will be blocked because of its source in *ṢyaṄ* treated as an affix. If, on the other hand, *ṢyaṄ* is treated as a replacement of *aṆ* or of *iÑ*, *y* of *audameghyā* can be deleted. For *ṢyaṄ* will then qualify to be treated as *aṆ*, via *sthānivadbhāva* (1.1.56 *sthānivad ādeśo'nalvidhau*). This preceding briefly illustrates problems involved in accepting *ṢyaṄ* as an affix. It is argued that accepting it as a replacement (*ādeśa*) is also problematic. For example, *ṢyaṄ* is marked with *Ṅ* as an *it*. It also consists of more than one sound. If we accept *Paribhāṣā* (22): *pratyayagrahaṇe tadantasyāpi grahaṇam*, then *aṇiñoḥ* will refer to forms which end in these affixes. Given this, *ṢyaṄ* should replace their final *a*, or *i*, in accord with its *Ṅ* as an *it* (1.1.53 *ṇic ca*). But 1.1.55 *anekālśit sarvasya* would favor total replacement because of the *anekāltva* status of *ṢyaṄ*. Commentators mostly favor the replacement view (*ādeśapakṣa*) for which see the *Mahābhāṣya*.

3. Rule 1.4.11 *saṃyoge guru*, read with 1.4.10 *hrasvaṃ laghu*, defines *guru* as a short (*hrasva*) vowel which occurs before a conjunct (*saṃyoga*). The condition of *gurūpottamayoḥ* thus requires its referent to contain at least a sequence of three syllables, where the first syllable will be formed by a short

vowel followed by a conjunct occurring as part of its last syllable. The word *uttama* refers to the last of such syllabic sequences. This is the minimum required of a form to be called *gurūpottama* 'that which contains a *guru* in its next to the last syllabic position'. A short vowel which forms 'next to the last' syllable before a conjunct forming part of the last syllable of a sequence will thus be called *upottama.* Consider *kaumudagandhi,* a sequence of five syllables, where its last syllable is formed by the final *a* preceded by *ndh,* a conjunct (*saṃyoga*). Rule 1.4.11 *saṃyoge guru* will assign the term *guru* to its non-final short vowel *a* which occurs before *ndh.* The word *kaumudagandha* will thus be termed *gurūpottama,* because it contains the *guru* vowel *a* which, in turn, occurs next to its last (*uttama*) *a* of *ndha.* Refer to (24) *kārīṣagandhyā* in the appendix for additional details. Refer to my notes under 4.1.74 *yaṅaś cāp* for details on deriving *vārāhyā* and *bālākyā.*

The condition of *aṇiñoḥ* will block examples such as *ārttabhāgī* 'a female descendant of Ṛtabhāga', a derivate of *aÑ,* from availing this replacement in *ṢyaṄ.* Consequently, *ārttabhāgī,* which meets every condition except for *aṇiñoḥ,* will be derived with *ṄīP* of 4.1.15 *ṭiḍḍhāṇañ. . . . Kāśikā* rightly explains that *baidī* and *aurvī* are derived with affix *ṄīN,* introduced after *baida* and *aurva.* That is, because *baida* and *aurva* end in affix *aÑ* (4.1.104 *anṛṣyānantarye bidādibhyo'ñ;* 4.1.73 *śaṁgaravādaño. . . . añantebhyaḥ baidī aurvī*). Now observe what *Kāśikā* states on *ārttabhāgī,* a counter-example illustrating *aṇiñoḥ* of this rule: *aṇiñor iti kim. ṛtabhāgasyāpatyam, bidāditvād añ arttabhāgī . . . ṭiḍḍhāṇañ iti ṇib eva bhavati. Kāśikā* here emphasizes that affix *ṄīP,* of 4.1.15 *ṭiḍḍhāṇañ . . .* alone, is introduced after *ārttabhāga.* That is, because it ends in *aṄ* characterized by its memebership in the *bidādi* group. These two statements are conflicting with respect to *ṄīN* and *ṄīP. Nyāsa* calls it carelessness (*pramāda; . . . pramādapāṭho'yam*) and states that *ṄīN* should also be read here in place of *ṄīP.* Haradatta accepts *ṄīN* as correct but notes that *Kāśikā*'s *ṄīP* is offered to indicate the generally available option (*PM: prāptimātrābhiprāyeṇedam uktam. atra hi 'śāṁgaravādyañaḥ' iti ṇīnā bhāvyam*).

The condition of *anārṣayoḥ* will similarly rule out a replacement in connection with *vāsiṣṭhī* and *vaiśvāmitrī,* where Vasiṣṭha and Viśvāmitra are names of sages (*ārṣa*). Derivates such as *aupagavī* 'female descendant of Upagu' and *kāpaṭavī* 'female descendant of Kapaṭu' will not qualify because they cannot meet the condition of *gurūpottamayoḥ.*

4.1.79 गोत्रावयवात्

gotrāvayavāt
/gotrāvayavāt 6/1 = *gotraṃ ca tadavayavaṃ ca* (*karm.*), *tasmāt/*
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *prātipadikāt* #1, *striyām* #3, *taddhitāḥ* #76, *aṇiñoḥ, ṣyaṅ, gotre* #78)

gotrāvayavāḥ = gotrābhimatāḥ kulākhyāḥ puṇikabhuṇikamukharaprabhṛtayaḥ, tato gotre vihitayor aṇiñoḥ striyāṃ ṣyañādeśo bhavati
ṢyaṄ comes in place of *taddhita* affixes *aṆ* and *iÑ* which occur to denote a *gotra* descendant after a nominal stem with the signification of a clan, provided the derivates denote feminine.

EXAMPLES:

pauṇikyā 'a female descendant of Puṇika'
bhauṇikyā 'a female descendant of Bhuṇika'

1. The word *gotrāvayava* 'part of a *gotra*' refers to a nominal stem whose denotatum is not a *gotra*, per se, but which is accepted as such in common practice. The word *avayava* here means *apradhāna* 'non-principal' relative to *gotra*, its corresponding *pradhāna* 'principal'. A *gotra* is treated as *pradhāna* for reasons of being listed in the *pravarādhyāya*. That which is not listed in the *pravarādhyāya*, but is generally accepted by people as a *gotra*, is here referred to as *gotrāvayava*. *Kāśikā* explains *gotrāvayava* as referring to *kulas* 'clans' such as *puṇika* and *bhuṇika*, etc.

This rule offers *ṢyaṄ* as a replacement in contexts where nominal bases do not have a *guru* vowel in their penultimate position (*Kāś.*: *agurupottamārtham āraṃbhaḥ*). The derivation of *pauṇikyā* and *bhauṇikyā* begins with *puṇika* + *Ṅas* + *iÑ* and *bhuṇika* + *Ṅas* + *aṆ*, where affixes *iÑ* and *aṆ* are introduced by rules 4.1.95 *ata iñ* and 4.1.113 *avṛddhābhyo . . .*, respectively. Our present rule then introduces *ṢyaṄ* in place of *iÑ* and *aṆ* which, with *CāP*, produce *pauṇik*(*i*→*ya*) + *ā* = *pauṇiky*(*a*→ϕ) + *ā* = *pauṇikyā* and *bhauṇik*(*a*→*ya*) + *ā* = *bhauṇiky*(*a*→ϕ) + *ā* = *bhauṇikyā*.

4.1.80 क्रौड्यादिभ्यश्च

kraudyādibhyaś ca
/kraudyādibhyaḥ 5/3 = *kraudi ādir yeṣāṃ* (*bv.*), *tebhyaḥ*; *ca* ϕ/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *prātipadikāt* #1, *striyām* #3, *taddhitāḥ* #76, *ṣyañ*, *gotre* #78)
'kraudi' ity evamādibhyaś ca striyāṃ ṣyañ pratyayo bhavati
Affix *ṢyaṄ*, a *taddhita*, occurs after a nominal stem which is listed in the group headed by *kraudi*, provided the derivate is to denote feminine.

EXAMPLES:

kraudyā 'a female descendant of Kruḍa'
lāḍyā 'a female descendant of Laḍa'

1. This rule is formulated for derivates where condition of *agurūpottama* and *aṇiñoḥ* cannot be met. Some of the stems listed in the *kraudyādi* group are derivates of *iÑ*. They are enumerated at the beginning, prior to *caupayata*. Stems beginning with *caupayata*, and listed prior to *saudhātaki*, are derivates

of *aṆ*. Of course, *saudhātaki* also ends in *iÑ*. This provision of *ṢyaṄ* is made for stems which end in *iÑ* and *aṆ*, but do not meet the condition of *gurūpottama*. This *ṢyaṄ* is also made available to other stems, i.e., *gaukakṣya*, etc., which meet the condition of *gurūpottama*, but which do not meet the condition of *aṇiñoḥ* (*Nyāsa*; *ye'trāṇantā iñantāś ca paṭhyante tān praty ayam agurupottamārtha ārambhaḥ. ye tv anye tān praty ayam aṇiñarthaḥ*).

Kāśikā accepts *ṢyaṄ* as an affix, as is clear from its use of *pratyayo bhavati* in the *vṛtti*. Recall that the genitive of *aṇiñoḥ* may lead one to accept *ṢyaṄ* as a replacement (*ādeśa*). Haradatta sees no problem in accepting *ṢyaṄ* as an affix because *kraudyādibhyaḥ* is specified here in *pañcamī* (*kraudyādibhya iti pañcamīnirdeśat pratyayapakṣe'py atra doṣābhāvāc ca . . .*).

2. Two *gaṇasūtras* are also read in the *kraudyādi* group so that *sūtyā* 'young daughter of a charioteer' and *bhojyā* 'a daughter of the Bhoja Kṣatriyas' could be derived with *ṢyaṄ*.

4.1.81 दैवयज्ञिशौचिवृक्षिसात्यमुग्रिकाण्ठेविद्धिभ्योऽन्यतरस्याम्

daivayajñiśaucivṛkṣisātyamugrikāṇṭheviddhibhyo'nyatarasyām
/daivayajñi-śaucivṛkṣi-sātyamugri-kāṇṭheviddhibhyaḥ 5/3 (*itar. dv.*); *anyatarasyām* 7/1/
(*pratyayaḥ*#3.1.1, *paraś ca*#3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt*#1, *striyām*#3, *taddhitāḥ* #76, *ṣyaṅ*, #78)
'*daivayajñi, śaucivṛkṣi, sātyamugri, kāṇṭheviddhi*' *ity eteṣām anyatarasyāṃ ṣyaṅ pratyayo bhavati*
Affix *ṢyaṄ*, a *taddhita*, optionally comes in place of the final sound segment of nominal stems *daivayajñi, śaucivṛkṣi, sātyamugri* and *kāṇṭheviddhi*, provided the derivates denoted feminine.

EXAMPLES:

daivayajñyā 'a female descendant of Devayajña'
daivayajñī 'id.'
śaucivṛkṣyā 'a female descendant of Śucivṛkṣa'
śaucivṛkṣī 'id.'
sātyamugryā 'a daughter of Satyamugra'
sātyamugrī 'id.'
kāṇṭheviddhyā 'a daughter of Kaṇṭheviddha'
kāṇṭheviddhī 'id.'

1. Note that all these stems end in *iÑ*. The word *gotra* is also not carried. That is, the replacement in *ṢyaṄ* which was obligatorily available (*prāpta*) in the context of *gotra* by the preceding rule is here made optional. This is an instance of *prāptavibhāṣā*. But since *iÑ* can also be introduced when a non-*gotra* (direct) descendant is denoted, an option of *ṢyaṄ* made available for such derivates will be treated as *aprāptavibhāṣā*. Our present rule thus illus-

trates an option known as *ubhayatra-vibhāṣā*. If this option of *ṢyaṄ* is not accepted then 4.1.65 *ito manuṣyajāteḥ* will introduce *ṄīṢ*. Of course, *CāP* of 4.1.74 *yaṅaś cāp* will be introduced when *ṢyaṄ* is accepted as an option. Consider *daivayajñā* and *daivayajñī* which derive from: *daivayajñi* + *ṢyaṄ* + *CāP* = *daivayajñ*(*i*→ϕ) + *ya* + *ā*→*daivayajñyā* and *daivayajñi* + *ṄīṢ*→*daivayajñī*, respectively. These are both derivates of *iÑ* (4.1.95 *ata iñ*). Other operations, i.e., *vṛddhi*, assignment of the term *bha* and deletion of *i* (*i-lopa*), etc., are similar to many examples already discussed. Examples *śaucivṛkṣyā*/*śaucivṛkṣī* and *sātyamugryā*/*sātyamugrī* are similarly derived. The last two examples derive parallel to *satyam ugraṃ asya*, where preplacement of *satya* and introduction of augment *mUM* is accomplished via *nipātana*. Our examples *kāṇṭheviddhyā*/*kāṇṭheviddhī* derive parallel to *kaṇṭhe viddhaṃ asya* where 6.3.12 *amūrdhamastakāt* allows non-deletion (*aluk*) of *saptamī* 'locative'.

4.1.82 समर्थानां प्रथमाद्वा

samarthānāṃ prathamād vā
/*samarthānām* 6/3 *prathamāt* 5/1 *vā* ϕ/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *prātipadikāt* #1, *taddhitāḥ* #76)
ito gre '*prāg diśo vibhaktiḥ*' *iti yāvat taddhitāḥ samarthānāṃ prathamād vā bhavanti*
An affix, termed *taddhita*, occurs (from here on prior to 5.3.1 *prāg diśo vibhaktiḥ*) after the first among syntactically related (*samartha*) nominal stems.

EXAMPLES:

upagor apatyam = *aupagavaḥ* 'male descendant of Upagu'
upagvapatyam 'id.'

1. This rule is an *adhikāra*, valid prior to 5.3.1 *prāg diśo vibhaktiḥ*. It offers an optional introduction of a *taddhita* affix under the condition of *sāmarthya*, syntactico-semantic fitness, or syntactic relation. Since a *taddhita* affix is to be introduced after first among syntactically related nominals (*samarthānāṃ prathamād vā*), one must have a string of (generally two) syntactically related nominals so that the affix can be introduced after the first.

Refer to our discussion of *sāmarthya* under rule 2.1.1 *samarthaḥ padavidhiḥ*. The formulation of our present rule raises some very interesting questions:

(*a*) A nominal which can be called *samartha* generally ends in a nominal ending denoted by the abbreviatory term *sUP* (4.1.2 *svaujasmauṭ . . .*). The context of rule 4.1.82 requires the *anuvṛtti* of *prātipadikāt* 'after a nominal stem' from 4.1.1 *ṅyāpprātipadikāt*. That is, specification of the base after which a *taddhita* affix can be introduced under the provision of rule 4.1.82 *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā*, the heading rule of an interior domain, is different from the specification of 4.1.1 *ṅyāpprātipadikāt*, the heading rule of this do-

main. Rule 4.1.1 requires introduction of affixes after a nominal stem. Our present rule requires it to take place after a *pada* (1.4.14 *suptiṅantaṃ padam*). How can one reconcile this difference?

(*b*) The specification that a *taddhita* affix be introduced after the first among syntactically related nominals also needs some explanation. Since syntactically related nominals occur in a sentence, one can interpret *prathamāt* 'after the first' to mean: after the first syntactically related nominal of a sentence. That is, given *upagor apatyam*, a string of two syntactically related nominals, one will introduce affix *aṆ* after *upagoḥ*. But what will one do if the string is given as *apatyam upagoḥ*. Introducing *aṆ* after *apatyam* will lead to wrong results. The 'first' (*prathamāt*) of our rule does not mean 'first' in a sentence. What then is specified by *prathamāt*?

Commentators explain that genitive in *samarthānām* denotes *nirdhāraṇa* 'singling out one from among many'. Thus, *prathamāt* refers to that syntactically related nominal stem which is specified first in a rule specific to which an affix is to be introduced. For example, consider 4.1.92 *tasyāpatyam* where the first *pada*, i.e., *tasya*, is specified with genitive. This *sūtra*, read with 4.1.82 *samarthānām* . . . and 4.1.83 *prāg dīvyato'ṇ*, will produce the following controlled interpretation:

> 'affix *aṆ*, termed a *taddhita*, optionally occurs after a syntactically related nominal stem which ends in *ṣaṣṭhī* 'genitive', when the derivate denotes 'an offspring (*apatya*)''

Obviously, the *pada* which ends in genitive is none other than the antecedent of *tad* used in genitive, i.e., *tasya*, the first *pada* of rule 4.1.92 *tasyāpatyam*. That is, *prathamāt* refers to the antecedent of a variable used in rules such as 4.1.92 *tasyāpatyam*, etc., where it is also specified as first. Let us return to the question of incompatibility between *prātipadikāt* 'after a nominal stem', and *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* 'optionally after that which is first among the syntactically related *padas*'. Commentators state that the antecedent of *tad* in *tasya* is a nominal stem, as is required by 4.1.1 *prātipadikāt*. This nominal stem becomes *samartha* 'syntactically related' after being used with the genitive nominal ending *Ṅas* relative to *apatyam*, another such syntactically related nominal stem ending in nominative (*prathamā*). Thus, the incompatibility between *prātipadikāt* and the referent of *samarthānāṃ prathamāt* is removed by interpreting *samarthānāṃ prathamāt* as: 'after the first syntactically related nominal stem which ends in genitive'. The affix still occurs after a *prātipadika* as desired by 4.1.1 *prātipadikāt*. It is a different story that it is first in relation to one or more such units, and that it ends in an ending denoted by the abbreviatory term *sUP*.

It is clear that order of elements in a sentence does not determine the 'first' after which a *taddhita* affix is to be introduced. Commentators explain

that *upagor apatyam*, or *apatyam upagoḥ*, are two analyzed forms (*vigrahavākya*) parallel to *aupagavaḥ*, the optional (*vā*) *taddhita* derivate of affix *aṆ*.

Kāśikā specifies referents of *prathamāt* by citing rules such as 4.1.92 *tasyāpatyam*, 4.2.1 *tena raktaṃ rāgāt* and 4.3.53 *tatra bhavaḥ*, etc., where *tasya*, *tena* and *tatra*, all involve variable references. *Kāśikā* clearly states that: *teṣu sāmarthye sati prathamanirdiṣṭād eva vikalpena pratyayo bhavatīti veditavyam* 'one should understand that an affix is introduced optionally only after the first among them, i.e., those specified by *tasya*, *tena* and *tatra*, provided the condition of *sāmarthya* is met'.

Incidentally, a derivate such as *aupagavaḥ* is used optionally with *upagor apatyam*, its sentential counterpart. Recall that a compound (*samāsa*) is also formed under the condition of *sāmarthya* (2.1.1 *samarthaḥ padavidhiḥ*). This will allow *upagu* + *Ṅas apatya* + *sU* to also yield a compound, namely *upagvapatyam*. How could this option be known in the context of 4.1.82 *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā*. It is stated that *anyatarasyām* of 4.1.81 *daiva-yajñiśaucivṛkṣi* . . . is carried here to make this option known.

4.1.83 प्राग्दीव्यतोऽण्

prāg dīvyato'ṇ
/prāk ϕ dīvyataḥ 5/1 *aṇ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2)
prāg dīvyatsaṃśabdanād yān ita ūrdhvam anukramiṣyāmo'ṇ pratyayas tatra bhavatīti veditavyam.
A *taddhita* affix, namely *aṆ*, occurs optionally, from here on prior to 4.4.2 *tena dīvyati* . . ., after the first among syntactically related nominals. . . .

EXAMPLES:

aupagavaḥ 'a descendant of Upagu'
kāpaṭavaḥ 'a descendant of Kapaṭu'

1. This heading rule (*adhikāra-sūtra*) introduces affix *aṆ* and governs rules enumerated prior to *dīvyati* (4.4.2 *tena dīvyati khanati jayati jitam*). Thus, *dīvyati* specifies the extent (*avadhi*) of this domain. This rule is obviously a heading (*adhikāra*). It can also be interpreted as a *paribhāṣā*, or else, simply as a *vidhi* 'operation'.

Questions have been raised against the wording of this rule. Why did Pāṇini not formulate this rule as *prāg dīvyater aṇ*? *Kāśikā* informs that Pāṇini chose to specify the limit of this domain by accepting *dīvyat*, a part (*ekadeśa*) of *dīvyati*, of rule 4.4.2 *tena dīvyati*. . . . Why did he not formulate the rule simply as *dīvyato'ṇ*? After all, this is the domain of *aṆ*. The formulation of this rule as *dīvyato'ṇ* would create interpretational problems. For example, *dīvyataḥ*, used in *pañcamī* 'ablative' with no use of *prāk*, followed by *aṇ* in *prathamā* 'nominative', an affix, would make us believe that *dīvyataḥ* speci-

fies bases after which affix *aṆ* is to be introduced. It is to clearly specify the scope of this rule, and to also do that by way of meaning (*arthadvāra*), that *prāk* is used with *dīvyato' ṇ*.

Kāśikā states that *aṆ* should be introduced as a general affix, leaving aside the scope of its related exceptions (*apavādaviṣayaṃ parihṛtyāṇ pravarttate*). It does not make any difference whether the rule is interpreted as an *adhikāra, vidhi* or *paribhāṣā*. But how could a governing rule which is required to be read with each and every rule of its domain be excluded from the context of its related exceptions? Thus, how do we know that the wording of rule 4.1.95 *ata iñ* should not be accepted as: *ata iñ aṇ ca*. After all, *aṇ*, being part of the *adhikāra*, must also carry to each and every rule of its domain (*pratiyogam upatiṣṭhate*). Similar arguments can also be made with reference to *paribhāṣā* and *vidhi* aspects of interpretation. The fact that *aṆ* does not apply where its related exceptions do is known from *jñāpaka*. Pāṇini indicates this by formulating his rules with *vā* and *anyatarasyām* (4.2.19 *udaśvito' nyatarasyām*), etc. Thus, if *aṆ* was not to apply outside the scope of its exceptions, then what was the purpose of formulating 4.1.118 *pīlāyā vā* with *vā*. Affix *ḍhaK* was already available from 4.1.121 *dvyacaḥ*. The *aṆ* of course, would have been available from this rule.

4.1.84 अश्वपत्यादिभ्यश्च

aśvapatyādibhyaś ca
/ aśvapatyādibhyaḥ 5/3 = *aśvapatir ādir yeṣam* (*bv.*); *ca* ϕ/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *prātipadikāt* #1, *taddhitāḥ* #76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #82, *prāg dīvyato' ṇ* #83)
aśvapatyādibhyaḥ prātipadikebhyaḥ prāg dīvayatīyeṣu artheṣu aṇ pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *aṆ* also occurs, to denote the sense of affixes introduced prior to *dīvyati*, after a syntactically related nominal stem listed in the group headed by *aśvapati*.

EXAMPLES:

āśvapataḥ 'male offspring of Aśvapati'
śātapataḥ 'male offspring of Śatapati'

1. Note that our next rule provides for affix *Ṇya* after a syntactically related nominal stem which ends in *pati*. Since example of our present rule all end in *pati*, they also qualify for *Ṇya*. Our present rule offers *aṆ*, instead.

2. Recall that this rule is contained within the larger domain of *aṆ* which is valid prior to 4.4.2 *tena dīvyati*. . . . Consequently, affixes, for example *Ṇya*, etc., will be introduced as exceptions to their general counterpart *aṆ*. Since our present rule does not offer any meaning specification for introduction of *Ṇya*, it will be introduced to denote the sense of all meanings specified

with reference to all affixes introduced within this domain. In other words, a derivate such as *āśvapatam* can denote diverse meanings, i.e., *apatya* (4.1.92 *tasyāpatyam*), *samūha* (4.2.36 *tasya samūhaḥ*), and so on. This blanket denotation of meaning with reference to meanings specified for affixes introduced in the domain of 4.1.83 *prāg dīvyato' ṇ* is apply termed *prāgdīvyatīya* 'relative to that which is specified prior to *dīvyati*'.

Note that *āśvapataḥ* and *śātapataḥ* are derivates of *aṆ* introduced after *aśvapati* + *Ṅas* and *śatapati* + *Ṅas*. This produces *āśvapata* and *śātapata* after *bha*-deletion of *i* (6.4.148 *yasyeti ca*) and initial *vṛddhi* (7.2.115 *aco' ñṇiti*). Introduction of *sU*, via *rutva-visarga* (8.2.66 *sasajuṣo ruḥ*; 8.3.15 *kharavasānayor . . .*), will produce *āśvapataḥ* and *śātapataḥ*. But since derivates of *aṆ* denote diverse meanings, consequent upon which they can also be treated as neuter, one additionally gets forms such as *āśvapatam* and *śātapatam*. That is, *sU* is replaced there by *am* (6.1.107 *ami pūrvaḥ*). Rule 7.1.24 *ato' m* then applies on *āśvapata* + *am* and *śātapata* + *am* to produce *āśvapat(a + a) m* = *āśvapatam* and *śātapat(a + a) m* = *śātapatam*. Such derivates will be derived with *aṆ* introduced under meaning conditions, for example, of 4.2.37 *tasya samūhaḥ*, etc.

4.1.85 दित्यदित्यादित्यपत्युत्तरपदाण् ण्यः

dityadityādityapatyuttarapadāṇ ṇyaḥ
/ dity-adity-āditya-paty-uttarapadāt 5/1 = *patir uttarapadaṃ yasya* (*bv.*); *ditiś ca aditiś ca ādityaś ca patyuttarapadaṃ ca* (*sam. dv.* with int. *bv.*), *tasmāt*; *ṇyaḥ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *prātipadikāt* #1, *taddhitāḥ* #76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #82, *prāg dīvyato' ṇ* #83)
'*diti, aditi, āditya*' *ity etebhyaḥ patyuttarapadāc ca prātipadikāt prāg dīvyatīyeṣu artheṣu ṇyaḥ pratyayo bhavati*
The *taddhita* affix *Ṇya* occurs after syntactically related nominal stems *diti, aditi* and *āditya*, and also after stems which have *pati* as their following constituent, to denote the sense of affixes introduced prior to *dīvyati*.

EXAMPLES:

daityaḥ 'male offspring of Diti'
ādityaḥ 'male offspring of Aditi'
ādityam 'a ritual oblation of which Āditya is the divinity'
prājāpatyam 'a ritual oblation of which Prajāpati is the divinity'
saināpatyam 'that which belongs to Senāpati, etc.'

1. Note that *dityadityādityapatyuttarapadāt* is interpreted as a *dvandva* compound of two constituents *dityadityāditya* and *patyuttarapada* where *dityadityāditya* itself is a *dvandva* compound with three constituents: *diti, aditi* and

āditya. The word *patyuttarapada* is interpreted as a *bahuvrīhi* compound with the paraphrase: *paty uttarapadaṃ yasya* 'that whose following constituent is *pati*'. Thus we first form a *bahuvrīhi* with *pati* and *uttarapada* as its constituents. We then form the *dvandva* compound *dityadityāditya*. That is, we do not form the *dvandva* compound **dityadityādityapati* first, and then move on to forming a *bahuvrīhi* with *uttarapada*. For, such a *bahuvrīhi* would have also qualified *diti*, *aditi* and *āditya* to receive *Ṇya* after their own bases ending in *pati*. This of course is not desired (*aniṣṭa*). Commentators state that the first method of forming a *bahuvrīhi* with *pati* and *uttarapada* is correct. This is known on the basis of proximity (*pratyāsatti*) between *pati* and *uttarapada*. If not, we should accept it simply as the interpretation (*vyākhyāna*) of the learned (*śiṣṭa*).

2. There is a series of *vārttikas* introduced under this rule. Thus, affix *Ṇya* is also recommended after *yama* to derive *yāmyam*. Another proposal is made for affixes *Ña* and *ÑaÑ* to be introduced after *pṛthivī* 'earth', in Vedic, to derive *pārthiva*. A derivate of *Ña* yields the feminine form *pārthivā* with affix *ṬāP* (cf. 4.1.4 *ajādy*. . .). A derivate of *ÑaÑ*, in accord with 4.1.15 *ṭiḍḍhāṇañ* . . ., will yield *pārthivī* with *ṄīP*.

Affixes *yaÑ* and *aÑ* are further recommended after *deva* to derive *daivyam* and *daivam*. A proposal is also made to derive *bāhīkaḥ* with affix *īkaC* after *bahis* 'outside'. A Vedic form will be derived with accentual difference, still as *bāhīkaḥ*, though with affix *īkaÑ*.

Affix *yaÑ* is also recommended for deriving *bāhyaḥ* from *bahis*, though with deletion of its *ṭi*, i.e., *is*. The *ṭi* of *sthāman* is also replaced with *a* to derive *aśvatthāmaḥ*. The *s* of *sthāman* is replaced with *t* because of its listing in the *pṛṣodarādi* group. Examples such as *uḍulomāḥ* and *śaralomāḥ* are also derived in plural where *an* of *loman* is replaced with *a*. An affix which begins with *a* is to be replaced with *yaT* when it occurs after *go* to derive a 'cow-product' such as *gavyam*, etc.

3. A proposal is made for affixes *Ṇya*, etc., which are here characterized with special meanings, to block suffixes *aṆ*, etc., on the basis of *pūrvavipratiṣedha* 'prior exception'. Note that these affixes are marked with special meaning such as *apatya*, etc. This is how a conflict occurs between their application and the application of *Ṇya*, etc. Thus, an 'offspring of *Diti* (*diter apatyam*)' will still be *daitya* derived with *Ṇya* as opposed to *ḍhaK* of 4.1.122 *itaś cāniñaḥ*. Similarly, 'a group of vegetation (*vanaspatīnāṃ samūhaḥ*)' will still be *vānaspatyam* derived with *Ṇya*, as against being a derivate of *ṭhaK*. It must be remembered that *aṆ*, etc., which are here introduced with generalized meanings, contrary to their particular meanings of *apatya*, etc., will still block *Ṇya*, etc. Thus, *auṣṭrapatam* 'pertaining to Uṣṭrapati' will still derive with *aÑ* of 4.3.123 *pattrādhvaryupariṣadaś ca*, as opposed to *Ṇya* (4.3.96 *acittād* . . .).

Our examples *daityaḥ*, *ādityaḥ* and *ādityam* are easy to derive. They all

require *bha*-deletion: the first two of *i* and the last of *a*. Our last example also goes through optional deletion of its *y* before *ya* (8.4.64 *halo yamāṃ yami lopaḥ*). Thus, *ādity*(*a*→ϕ) + *ya* = *ādit*(*y* + ϕ) + *ya* = *āditya*. We will end up with *āditya* if optional deletion of *y* is not accepted.

4.1.86 उत्सादिभ्योऽञ्

utsādibhyo'ñ
/utsādibhyaḥ 5/3 = *utsa ādir yeṣām* (*bv.*); *añ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *prātipadikāt* #1, *taddhitāḥ* #76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #82, *prāg dīvyato'ṇ* #83)
utsādibhyaḥ prāg dīvyatīyeṣu artheṣv añ pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *aÑ* occurs, to denote the sense of affixes introduced prior to *dīvyati*, after a syntactically related nominal stem listed in the group headed by *utsa*.

EXAMPLES:

autsaḥ 'male offspring of Utsa, etc.'
audapānaḥ 'male offspring of Udapāna, etc.'

1. Note that *aÑ* is introduced here as an exception to *aṆ*, and its related exceptions such as *iÑ*, etc. (*aṇas tadapavādānāṃ ca bādhakaḥ*), as well. Of course, with the denotatum of affixes enumerated within the *prāgdīvyatīya* section.

2. Affix *aÑ* is introduced after *grīṣma* when it does not mean a meter (*achandasi*). It is introduced after *udasthāna* when the same means a place. We thus get examples such as *graiṣmaḥ* 'pertaining to summer' and *audasthānaḥ* 'pertaining to the place named Udasthāna'. If these meanings are not denoted then we will get: *graiṣmī* 'a meter' and *audasthiniḥ* 'male offspring of Udasthāna', respectively.

Commentators also refer here to a *gaṇa-sūtra*, i.e., *vaṣkayā'se*, where, as they claim, *ase* means: when not in a compound. Such a meaning is gotten by accepting *sa* as a term of earlier grammarians for *samāsa*. That is, *aÑ* is introduced after *vaṣkaya*, provided the base is not a compound constituent. Thus, we get *vāṣkayaḥ* 'male offspring of Vaṣkaya'. If the condition of *ase* is not met then *iÑ* must be introduced to derive examples such as *gauvaṣkayiḥ*.

4.1.87 स्त्रीपुंसाभ्यां नञ्स्नञौ भवनात्

strīpuṃsābhyāṃ nañsnañau bhavanāt
/strī-puṃsābhyām 5/2 (*itar. dv.*), *tābhyām*; *nañ-snañau* 1/2 (*itar. dv.*), *tau/*
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *prātipadikāt* #1, *taddhitāḥ* #76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #82)
prāg bhavanasaṃśabdanād ye'rthās teṣu strīśabdāt pūṃsśabdāc ca

yathākramaṃ nañ-snañau pratyayau bhavataḥ
The *taddhita* affixes *naÑ* and *snaÑ* occur, to denote the sense of affixes introduced prior to *bhavana* (5.2.1 *dhānyānāṃ bhavane . . .*), after syntactically related nominal stems *strī* 'female' and *puṃs* 'male', respectively.

EXAMPLES:

strīṣu bhavan = straiṇam '. . . born among, beneficial for, or a group of, women, etc.'
pauṃsnam 'born among, beneficial for, or a group of, men, etc.'

1. This rule allows affixes *naÑ* and *snaÑ* after *strī* and *puṃs*, respectively, to denote the sense of affixes introduced prior to 5.2.1 *dhānyānāṃ bhavane.* This obviously covers meanings such as 4.2.37 *tasya samūhaḥ*, 4.3.53 *tatra bhavaḥ*, 4.3.74 *tata āgataḥ* and 5.1.5 *tasmai hitam*, etc.

Commentators remind that *strī* and *puṃs* do not refer here to forms derived with feminine affixes parallel to their masculine counterparts. This reference is strictly to the form (*śabda*) of *strī* and *puṃs.* That is, it cannot refer to derivates of feminine affixes *ṬāP*, etc. It can also not refer to a derivate of affix *gha* either (3.3.118 *puṃsi saṃjñāyāṃ . . .*).

2. Commentators note that *naÑ* and *snaÑ* can also not be introduced to denote the sense of *vatUP*, as is provided for by rule 5.1.115 *tena tulyaṃ kriyā ced vatiḥ.* Pāṇini's own usage of *puṃvat*, rather than *pauṃsa* in rule 6.3.34 *striyāḥ puṃvadbhāṣitapuṃskād . . .* indicates it. Can this *jñāpaka* of *puṃvat* rule out a parallel derivate such as *strīvat*? No. It is true that rule 6.3.34 only uses *puṃvat*, but this *jñāpaka* also applies to *strīvat* (cf. *Kāś.*: *yogāpekṣam iti strīvad ity api siddham*).

Deriving *straiṇam* from (*strī* + *ām* + *naÑ*) + *sU* would involve initial *vṛddhi* and *ṇatva.* Our next example would involve deletion of *s* at the end of *puṃs* (8.2.33 *saṃyogāntasya lopaḥ*). Note that *strī* + *ām* is illustrated here as a syntactically related *pada* ending in genitive, in view of specifications such as *tasya* of 4.2.36 *tasya samūhaḥ*, etc. Other specifications will require different endings.

4.1.88 द्विगोर्लुगनपत्ये

dvigor lug anapatye
/dvigoḥ 5/1 *luk* 1/1 *anapatye* 7/1 = *na apatyam* (*nañ. tat.*), *tasmin/* (*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *prātipadikāt* #1, *taddhitāḥ* #76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #82, *prāg dīvyato' ṇ* #83)
dvigor yaḥ sambandhī nimittatvena taddhitaḥ prāg dīvyatīyo' patyapratyayam variayitvā tasya lug bhavati
LUK comes in place of a *taddhita* affix which, when not denoting an offspring (*apatya*), serves as a condition for forming a *dvigu* and signifies the sense of affixes introduced prior to *dīvyati.*

EXAMPLES:

pañcasū kapāleṣu saṃskṛtaḥ = pañcakapālaḥ 'ritual oblation of food prepared in five bowls'
daśakapālaḥ 'ritual oblation of food prepared in ten bowls'
dvau vedāv adhīte = dvivedaḥ 'he who studies two Vedas'
trivedaḥ 'he who studies three Vedas'

1. This rule requires the deletion, by *LUK*, of a *taddhita* affix which (*a*) serves as the condition (*nimitta*) for forming a *dvigu* compound and (*b*) does not have the signification of *apatya* 'offspring'. Note that *bhavanāt* is not valid here. That is, any reference to the signification of affixes introduced prior to 5.2.1 *dhānyānāṃ bhavane* . . . is ruled out. The exclusion of *bhavanāt*, especially when read with the negation of *anapatye*, establishes the domain of this deletion. Additionally, this reference further gets restricted to those affixes which begin with a vowel (*ajādi*; 4.1.89 *eko gotre*).

The genitive in *dvigoḥ* modifies *taddhitaḥ* to yield the meaning: *dvigor yaḥ sambandhī taddhitaḥ* 'a *taddhita* affix introduced relative to a compound termed *dvigu*'. This *taddhita* affix is further restricted with the qualification of *anapatye*. How could a *taddhita* be introduced relative to a *dvigu* compound? By serving as the condition (*nimitta/hetu*) for its formation (*Kāś.*: *dvigor yaḥ sambandhī nimittatvena taddhitaḥ* . . . 'a *taddhita* affix which is related to a compound termed *dvigu* by way of *nimitta* 'condition').' Commentators note that this *nimitta* or *hetu* interpretation of genitive also accounts for a *taddhita* affix which is introduced subsequent to the formation of a *dvigu*. How could a *taddhita* affix form the condition of forming a *dvigu* and, at the same time, be introduced subsequently. This is possible when one considers the introduction of the affix as *bhāvin* 'that which will take place subsequently'. A *dvigu* can thus be formed with the understanding (*buddhyādhyavasāyāt*) that a *taddhita* will be introduced later on.

Why do we have to interpret *dvigoḥ* as ending in genitive (*ṣaṣṭhī*)? Why can we not interpret it as ending in ablative (*pañcamī*)? An ablative ending in *dvigoḥ* would yield the following interpretation of this rule:

dvigoḥ parasya anapatyasya prāgdīvyatīyasya lug bhavati
a *taddhita* affix which (*i*) occurs after a compound termed *dvigu*, (*ii*) has the signification of affixes introduced prior to *dīvyati*, but which (*iii*) does not denote the sense of an *apatya*, is deleted by *LUK*.

This *pañcamī* interpretation will enable *LUK*-deletion to apply irrespective of whether or not a *taddhita* affix forms the condition (*nimitta*) of forming a *dvigu* compound. Thus, it will allow deletion in *pañcakapālaḥ*, parallel to *pañcakapāleṣu saṃskṛtaḥ puroḍāśaḥ*, where the affix conditions compound-formation. It will similarly allow deletion in derivates parallel to: *pañcakapālasya puroḍāśasyedaṃ khaṇḍam* 'this is a part of the ritual oblation of *puroḍāśa*

which was prepared in five bowls'. The derivate in this instance will be *pāñcakapālaḥ*, derived with *aṆ* of 4.3.120 *tasyedam*. Obviously, a *pañcamī* interpretation will yield wrong derivates. Consequently, a genitive interpretation with denotation of *nimitta* is preferred.

The condition of *anapatye* is imposed so that a *taddhita* affix, such as *iÑ*, which has the signification of *apatya*, in examples such as *dvaidevadattiḥ* = *dvayoḥ devadattayor apatyam* 'an offspring of two Devadattas', or *traidevadattiḥ* = *trayāṇām devadattānām apatyam* 'an offspring of three Devadattas', is saved from this deletion. The condition of *dvigoḥ*, with its genitive denoting *nimitta*, is imposed so that the deletion does not apply where the affix does not condition formation of a *dvigu* compound. We have already cited *pāñcakapālaḥ* in this connection. The deletion of a *taddhita* affix, for example *cha*, does not take place in examples such as *pāñcakapālīyam* because rule 5.1.5 *tasmai hitam*, which specifies the scope of *cha*, falls outside of the *prāgdīvyatīya* section.

Note that the *nimitta* interpretation of *ṣaṣṭhī* in *dvigoḥ* is desired (*iṣṭa*), so that deletion by *LUK* could be restricted to contexts where formation of a *dvigu* compound is conditioned by a *taddhita* affix not denoting an *apatya*. It is for this reason that *dvigoḥ* is not accepted as ending in *pañcamī*. Furthermore, the genitive interpretation is limited to the denotation of *nimitta*. This *nimitta* interpretation blocks the genitive from being interpreted as *sthānaṣaṣṭhī* 'in place of'.

Note that deletion by *LUK* will block initial *vṛddhi* in *pañcakapālaḥ*, where the *taddhita aṆ* conditions the formation of *dvigu*. This *vṛddhi* cannot be blocked when deletion of the affix does not apply. Consider the *aṆ* of *pāñcakapālaḥ* which does not form the condition of forming a *dvigu* and which is introduced parallel to *pañcakapālasya idam* (4.3.120 *tasyedam*).

4.1.89 गोत्रेऽलुगचि

gotre' lug aci
/gotre 7/1 *aluk* 1/1 *aci* 7/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *prātipadikāt* #1, *taddhitāḥ* #76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #82, *prāg dīvyato' ṇ* #83)
'*yaskādibhyo gotre' ity ādinā yeṣāṃ gotrapratyayānāṃ lug uktas teṣām ajādau prāg dīvyatīye viṣayabhūte pratiṣiddhyate*
LUK does not come in place of an affix with the significance of a *gotra*, when a *taddhita* affix of the *prāgdīvyatīya* section which begins with a vowel (*aC*) finds it scope.

EXAMPLES:

gargāṇāṃ chātrāḥ = *gārgīyāḥ* 'students of the many offsprings of Garga'
āttreyīyāḥ 'students of the many offsprings of Atri'
khārapāyaṇīyāḥ 'students of the many offsprings of Kharapa'

1. This rule blocks *LUK*-deletion of a *taddhita* affix which signifies a *gotra* descendant, provided an affix of the *prāgdīvyatīya* section which also begins with a vowel finds its scope. The condition of *gotre* specifies the nature of the affix whose deletion is being blocked. That is, the affix in question must be relatable to rules such as 2.4.63 *yaskādibhyo gotre*, etc. Why do we have to accept this? Because this negative provision of non-deletion, by *LUK*, will not make any sense unless a positive provision for such a deletion was already made. Rules 2.4.63 *yaskādibhyo gotre*, etc., make such a positive provision. Incidentally, this provision for deletion is made in the context of non-feminine plurals only.

2. The *saptamī* in *aci* is not interpreted as *parasaptamī*, a locative denoting 'when that which follows'. Such as interpretation will create difficulty in deriving examples such as *gārgīyāḥ* and *vātsīyāḥ*, the many *gotra*-descendants of Garga and Vatsa. Given *garga* + *Ṅas* + *yaÑ* (4.1.105 *gargādibhyo yañ*), we will be tempted to delete *yaÑ* which, in turn, will cause non-*vṛddhi* of the initial *a* of *garga*. That is, the resultant base will not be *vṛddha* (1.1.73 *vṛddhir yasya . . .*). If the base is not *vṛddha* then affix *cha* (4.2.114 *vṛddhāc chaḥ*) cannot be introduced. One cannot delete *yaÑ*, and invoke 1.1.62 *pratyayalope pratyayalakṣaṇam*, since 1.1.63 *na lumatāṅgasya* will not help us restore *vṛddhi*. Besides, how could affix *yaÑ*, whose deletion forms a condition for lack of *vṛddhi* on the one hand, can constitute a condition through this revived *vṛddhi* to facilitate introduction of affix *cha* of 4.2.114 *vṛddhāc chaḥ*, on the other? If one wants to retain the *vṛddha* status of the base so that affix *cha* can be introduced then one must save *yaÑ* from being deleted by *LUK*. If non-deletion of *yaÑ* were to take place when affix *cha* followed, as a *parasaptamī* interpretation would imply, then *cha* becomes a condition for non-deletion. We already know how non-deletion, because it allows the base to remain *vṛddha*, serves as a condition for introducing affix *cha*. This is what commentators characterize as the difficulty of 'mutual dependence' (*itaretarāśraya*). It is because of this difficulty, especially as it relates to the *parasaptamī* interpretation of *aci*, that a *viṣayasaptamī* 'locative of scope' interpretation is preferred.

3. The condition of *gotre* disallows non-deletion, by *LUK*, of affix *aÑ* after *kubalī* and *badarī*, as is demanded by 4.3.163 *phale luk*. That is, with the understanding that affix (*ch*)*a*, which begins with a vowel via its replacement in (*iy*)*a*, will find its scope relative to the specification of 4.3.120 *tasyedam*. Affix *aÑ* here denotes 'fruit', a modification (*vikāra*). It does not denote a *gotra*.

The condition of *aci* is imposed so that affixal deletion is not blocked in examples such as *gargarūpyam* 'that which has come from the descendants of Garga' where the affix in question, i.e., *rūpya*, begins with a consonant (*halādi*). The condition of *prāgdīvyatīya* is imposed so that derivates such as *gārgīyam* 'that which is beneficial to the many descendants of Garga' could

not qualify for non-deletion. Rule 5.1.5 *tasmai hitam* falls outside the *prāgdīvyatīya* section.

Note that the correct derivate should be *gargīyam* (and not *gārgīyam*). This example derives from *garga* + *Ṅas* + *yaÑ* + *cha*, where *cha* is introduced by 5.1.1 *prāk krītāc chaḥ*. Affix *yaÑ* gets deleted by 2.4.64 *yañañoś ca*. This removes the initial *vṛddhi* made available by *yaN*. For *yaÑ* is the *nimitta* 'cause' for *vṛddhi*, and if the *nimitta* is removed then *vṛddhi*, its corresponding *naimittika* 'effect', must also be removed. The example should thus be *gargīyam*. Most of the texts including *Kāśikā* and *SK* retain *gārgīyam*. The author of *Tattvabodhinī* notes, however, that *gargīyam* should be accepted as correct (*nādivṛddhir iti bhāvaḥ*).

4. A *gotra* descendant of Atri will be called *ātreya*, derived with *ḍhaK*, i.e., *eya*, of 4.1.122 *itaś cāniñaḥ* and 7.1.2 *āyaneyīnī*. . . . Affix *ḍhaK* will be deleted by *LUK* of 2.4.65 *atribhṛgukutsa* . . . when *bahutva* 'multiplicity' will be denoted. Thus, a corresponding nominative plural form will be *atryayaḥ*, as opposed to **ātryeyāḥ*. This deletion of *ḍhaK*, however, will be blocked in deriving *ātreyīyāḥ* 'many students of the descendants of Atri'. Thus, assuming the introduction of a vowel-initial affix (*ajādi-pratyaya*), we will retain *ḍhaK*. Given *ātryeya* + *ām* + *ḍhaK*, we can then derive *ātrey*(*a*→ϕ) + (*ām*→ϕ) + (*cha*→*īya*) = *ātreyīya* with the signification of 'many students of Ātreya'. An example such as *khārapāyaṇīyāḥ* follows the similar pattern. That is, we will get *kārapāyaṇa* with *phaK* (4.1.99 *naḍādibhyaḥ phak*) through *vṛddhi* of 7.2.118 *kiti ca*, parallel to *kharapasya apatyāni bahūni*. Now if one wants to derive *khārapāyaṇīyāḥ* with the signification of 'many students of Khārapāyaṇa', rule 2.4.63 *yaskādibhyo gotre* will require deletion of *phaK*. But this will be blocked in view of our present rule thus clearing the way for deriving *khārapāyaṇ* (*a*→ϕ) + (*cha*→*īya*) = *khārapāyaṇīya* + *Jas*→*khārapāyaṇīyāḥ*.

4.1.90 यूनि लुक्

yūni luk
/yūni 7/1 *luk* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *prātipadikāt* #1; *taddhitāḥ* #76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #82, *prāg dīvyato'ṇ* #83, *aci* #89)
prāg dīvyatīye'jādau pratyaye vivakṣite buddhisthe'nutpanna eva yuva pratyayasya lug bhavati
LUK comes in place of *taddhita* affix which denotes *yuvan* 'youth' (4.1.163 *jīvati to vaṃśye yuvā*), provided a *taddhita* affix of the *prāg-dīvyatīya* section which begins with a vowel (*ajādi*) finds its scope.

EXAMPLES:

phāṇṭ/āhṛtāḥ 'students of the young grandson of Phāṇṭāhṛta'
bhāgavittāḥ 'students of the young grandson of Bhāgavitta'

taikāyanīyāḥ 'students of Taikāyanīya'
kāpiñjalādāḥ 'students of the young grandson of Kāpiñjalāda'

1. This rule provides for deletion of an affix which may have the signification of *yuvan*, provided a *taddhita* affix of the *prāgdīvyatīya* section which also begins with a vowel finds its scope.

Anticipating the occurrence of a *prāgdīvyatīya* suffix adds complexity to the operational scope of this rule (*Kāś.*: *prāgdīvyatīye 'jādau pratyaye vivakṣite buddhisthe 'nupapanna eva yuvapratyayasya lug bhavati* 'deletion of an affix denoting *yuvan* takes place when a *prāgdīvyatīya* affix beginning with a vowel is still assumed, and is not introduced (*buddhistha*)'). One starts following usual operational provisions (relative to *prāgdīvyatīya* suffixes) soon after the deletion has taken effect (*Kāś.*: *tasmin nivṛtte sati yo yataḥ prāpnoti sa tato bhavati* 'this out of the way, an affix is then introduced where it obtains').

Consider the derivation of *phāṇṭāhṛtāḥ* 'students of the young grandson of Phaṇṭāhṛta'. Note that *phāṇṭāhṛta* can also be interpreted as a young descendant of *phāṇṭāhṛti*, who, in turn, is a direct descendant (*anantarāpatya*) of *phāṇṭāhṛta*. Rule 4.1.150 *phāṇṭāhṛtimimatābhyāṃ ṇaphiñau* introduces affix *Ṇa* to derive *phāṇṭāhṛta*, a young descendant of *phāṇṭāhṛti*, itself a derivate of 4.1.95 *ata iñ*. If we now want to derive *phāṇṭāhṛta*, paraphrased as *phāṇṭāhṛter yuvāpatyasya chātrāḥ* 'students of the young descendant of Phāṇṭāhṛti', we must apply 4.1.90 *yūni luk* to delete affix *Ṇa*. Of course, with the understanding that 4.2.111 *iñaś ca* will later on introduce *Ṇa*. This deletion will restore *phāṇṭāhṛti*, the base after which *Ṇa* was introduced. A new derivate of *Ṇa* is now derived as *phāṇṭāhṛta*, with reference to the restored base *phāṇṭāhṛti*. We will similarly get *bhāgavitti* and *taikāyani*, derivates of *iÑ* (4.1.95 *ata iñ*) and *phiÑ* (4.1.154 *tikādibhyaḥ phiñ*), respectively, parallel to *bhāgavittasyāpatyam* and *tikasya gotrāpatyāni*. A 'young (*yuvan*) descendant of Bhāgavitti' will be derived as *bhāgavittika* with affix *ṭhaK* (4.1.148 *vṛddhāṭ ṭhak . . .*) and subsequent application of 7.3.50 *ṭhasyekaḥ*. One can now derive *bhāgavittāḥ* 'many students of the young descendant (Bhāgavittika) of Bhāgavitta' where affix *aṆ* will be introduced after *bhāgavittika* + *Ṅas*. But the *ṭhaK* of *bhāgavittika* will be deleted in anticipation of this *aṆ* thereby restoring *bhāgavitti*, the base after which *ṭhaK* was introduced. We will finally get (*bhāgavitt*(*i*→ϕ) + *aṆ*) + *Jas* = *bhāgavittāḥ*. This same is true of *kāpiñjalādāḥ* 'many students of Kāpiñjalādi' where *kāpiñjalādi* is a derivate of *iÑ* parallel to *kapiñjalādasyāpatyam* 'a *gotra* descendant of Kapiñjalāda'. An introduction of *Ṇya* (4.1.151 *kurvādibhyo ṇyaḥ*) with reference to *kāpiñjalādi* will yield *kāpiñjalādya* 'a young (*yuvan*) descendant of Kapiñjalādi'. A derivate denoting the 'many students of Kāpiñjalādya' will entail deletion of *Ṇya* and as a result, restore the base back to *kāpiñjalādi*. Now 4.2.111 *iñaś ca* can derive *kāpiñjalāda* with *aṆ*.

We can similarly get *taikāyanīyāḥ* from (*tika* + *Ṅas* + *phiÑ*) = (*taikāyan* (*i*→ϕ) + (*cha*→*īya*)) + *Jas* = *taikāyanīyāḥ*. A deletion of *cha* will restore the

base back to *taikāyani.* Another *cha* of 4.2.113 *vṛddhāc chaḥ* will yield the nominal stem as *taikāyanīya.* Thus we get: *taikāyaniḥ* 'a *gotra* descendant of Tika', *taikāyanīyaḥ* 'a young descendant of Tika' and *taikāyanīyaḥ* 'many students of Taikāyanīya'.

2. The condition of *aci* and *prāgdīvyatīya* are still valid. Refer to counter-examples such as *phāṇṭāhṛtarūpyam* and *bhāgavittikīyam,* where the second is a derivate of *cha* of 5.1.1 *prāk krītāc chaḥ.*

4.1.91 फक्फिञोऽन्यतरस्याम्

phakphiñor anyatarasyām
/phak-phiñoḥ 5/2 (*itar. dv.*); *anyatarasyām* 7/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *prātipadikāt* #1, *taddhitāḥ* #76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #82, *prāg dīvyato' ṇ* #83, *aci* #89, *yūni luk* #90)
phak-phiñor yuvapratyayayoḥ prāg dīvyatīye'jādau pratyaye vivakṣite' nyatarasyāṃ lug bhavati
LUK comes optionally in place of affixes *phaK* and *phiÑ,* used with the signification of *yuvan,* when a *taddhita* affix of the *prāgdīvyatīya* section beginning with a vowel finds its scope.

EXAMPLES:

gārgīyāḥ 'students of the young grandson of Garga'
gārgyāyaṇīyāḥ 'id.'
vātsīyāḥ 'students of the young grandson of Vatsa'
vātsyāyanīyāḥ 'id.'
yāskīyāḥ 'students of the young grandson of Yāska'
yāskāyanīyāḥ 'id.'

1. What was offered obligatorily by the preceding rule is here made optional in connection with affixes *phaK* and *phiÑ.* This will produce two optional derivates: *gārgīyāḥ* and *gārgyāyaṇīyāḥ,* etc. Note that *gārgya* + *phaK* will produce *gārgyāyaṇa,* through (*pha→āyana*) and (*āya*(*n→ṇ*)*a*). Of course, *gārgya* derives from *garga* + *Ṅas* + *yaÑ.* Note that deletion of affix *phaK* will restore the base back to *gārgya.* This base will yield *gārgyīya,* via *cha* (4.2.114 *vṛddhāc chaḥ*). A non-deletion of *phaK* will give us *gārgyāyaṇa* which, after the introduction of *cha,* will produce *gārgyāyaṇīya.* This same is also true of *vātsīyāḥ/vātsyāyanīyāḥ,* and *yāskīyaḥ/yāskāyanīyāḥ.*

4.1.92 तस्यापत्यम्

tasyāpatyam
/tasya 6/1 *apatyam* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *prātipadikāt* #1, *taddhitāḥ* #76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #82, *prāg dīvyato' ṇ* #83)

'tasya' iti ṣaṣṭhīsamarthād apatyam ity etasminn arthe yathāvihitaṃ pratyayo bhavati

A *taddhita* affix, namely *aṆ*, occurs as ruled to denote the sense of *apatya* after the first syntactically related nominal stem which ends in *ṣaṣṭhī* 'genitive'.

EXAMPLES:

upagor apatyam = *aupagavaḥ* 'male offspring of Upagu'
āśvapataḥ 'male offspring of Aśvapati'
daityaḥ 'male offspring of Diti'
autsaḥ 'male offspring of Utsa'

1. This rule makes its specification, via meaning (*artha*) of two of its *padas*: *tasya*, a variable which ends in genitive (*ṣaṣṭhī*), and *apatyam*, an offspring. Note that *tasya* and *apatyam* are both given as singular. The first could be accepted as masculine, as opposed to the second which is neuter. Does this mean that our present rule will allow affixes to be introduced only after masculine singular bases? That is, will it not allow derivates of feminine and neuter bases parallel to, for example, *devadattāyā apatyam* or *kulasyāpatyam*, where *devadattā* and *kula* are feminine and neuter, respectively. Will this rule allow derivates to have their signification limited to one *apatya*, since its specification is made by *apatyam* in singular? Commentators explain that these specifications refer to offsprings in general (*Kāś.*: *apatyamātraṃceha gṛhyate*). However, this general meaning of 'offspring' is qualified with the meaning of the base (*prakṛtyarthaviśiṣṭaḥ*). This particular specification of number and gender (masculine-neuter, singular) is not central (*antarīyaka*), and hence, is not intended to exclude others.

Why do we have to have a separate formulation of this rule? Why can it not be included within rule 4.3.120 *tasyedam*? That is, what is the use of this rule when *aṆ* could be introduced to denote the sense of *apatya* by 4.3.120 *tasyedam*. It is argued that a rule such as 4.1.95 *ata iñ* needs our present rule (4.1.92 *tasyāpatyam*) as a qualification to its own meaning. But this could hardly be the purpose of formulating 4.1.92 separately. This purpose could have been served by a combined formulation of rules 4.1.92 and 4.1.95 as: *tasyāpatyam ata iñ*.

It is claimed that, in the absence of 4.1.92 *tasyāpatyam*, rule 4.2.114 *vṛddhāc chaḥ* will block 4.3.120 *tasyedam*, especially in case of bases which may qualify as *vṛddha*. A derivate in *cha* would certainly be undesired. A separate formulation of 4.1.92 *tasyāpatyam* will not permit this blocking of 4.3.120 by 4.2.114. A *ślokavārttika* summarizes as follows:

tasyedam ity apatye'pi bādhanārthaṃ kṛtaṃ bhavet/
utsargaḥ śeṣa evāsau vṛddhānyasya prayojanam//

'This sense of *apatya* can also be covered by the *aṆ* of *tasyedam*. A separate

formulation should then be accepted for blocking *cha* (4.2.114 *vṛddhāc chaḥ*), so that it could not block *aṆ* (4.3.120 *tasyedam*). The fact that blocking (*bādhya-bādhakabhāva*) does not obtain here because of marked differences in affixal denotatum cannot hold. A general (*utsarga*) rule will still be viewed as *śeṣa*, especially in view of its related exceptions. Rule 4.1.92 *tasyāpatyam* is then formulated to account for derivates of bases termed *vṛddha*.

How could a general rule not contained within the *śaiṣika* section block a *śaiṣika*? The sense of *apatya* which conditions the *aṆ* of *tasyāpatyam* falls outside the scope of 4.2.92 *śeṣe*, which governs 4.2.114 *vṛddhāc chaḥ*. The question of blocking *cha* thus does not arise.

2. A separate formulation of 4.1.92 *tasyāpatyam* is still needed since bases such as *bhānu*, which do not end in *a* but qualify as *vṛddha*, may qualify for *cha*. How? Denotation of an 'offspring' in their context will become residual (*śaiṣika*). That is, in relation to a formulation such as *tasyāpatyam ata iñ*. This will produce *bhānavīyaḥ*, as opposed to *bhānavaḥ*, a derivate permitted under 4.1.92 *tasyāpatyam*, read separately from 4.1.95 *ata iñ*. This separate formulation of 4.1.92 *tasyāpatyam* also saves the 'sense of *apatya*' from becoming *śaiṣika*.

There are three types of descendants: direct descendants (*anantarāpatya*), descendants termed *gotra* 'grandson, etc.' (*gotrāpatya*) and young *gotra* descendants (*yuvāpatya*). For example, Garga's son will be called *gārgi*, a direct descendant (*anantarāpatya*). A grandson of Garga, i.e., the son of Gārgi, will be called *gārgya*, 'grandson, and any descendant thereafter' (*gotrāpatya*). A young son of Gārgya, when Garga is alive, is called *gārgyāyaṇa* (*yuvāpatya*). That is, a *gārgya* is called *gārgyāyaṇa* when *garga* is alive. A younger *gārgya* can still be called *gārgyāyaṇa* when *garga* and *gārgi* are dead but when an older brother of *gārgyāyaṇa* is still alive. A *gārgya* is still called *gārgyāyaṇa*, though only optionally, when, instead of an older *gārgya*, a cousin, etc., of *gārgi*, or his own maternal grandfather (*mātāmaha*) is alive. Note in this connection that a *gotra*-descendant is derived by introducing affixes only after the base which denotes the first person in the lineage. Thus, *gārgi* and *gārgya* will be derived with *iÑ* and *yaÑ* introduced after the same syntactically related base *garga*. Of course, *gārgyāyaṇa* will be derived with *gārgya* as its base. This same is also true of *aupagavaḥ* deriving from *upagu* + *Ṅas* + *aṆ* with the signification of 'male direct descendant of Upagu'. A grandson of Upagu will still be *aupagava* derived with the same base and affix. That is, one will not derive a *gotra*-descendant of Upagu with affix *iÑ* (4.1.95 *ata iñ*) introduced after *aupagava* + *Ṅas*.

> *paramaprakṛtir gargo gārgis tu tadanantaraḥ/*
> *gotre gārgyas tṛtīyasyāt turyo gārgyāyaṇo yuvā//*
> '*garga* is the first base after which we get the second *gārgi*; *gārgya*, this third, will be a *gotra*-descendant; *gārgyāyaṇa*, the fourth, will be a *yuvā*'.

4.1.93 एको गोत्रे

eko gotre
/ekaḥ 1/1 *gotre* 7/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *prātipadikāt* #1, *taddhitāḥ* #76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #82)
gotre eka eva pratyayo bhavati, sarve'patyena yujyante
Only one *taddhita* affix occurs after a syntactically related nominal stem when *gotra* descendants are denoted.

EXAMPLES:

gārgyaḥ 'male descendant (grandson, and subsequent descendants) of Garga'
nāḍāyanaḥ 'male descendant (grandson, and subsequent descendants) of Naḍa'

1. This rule makes a restrictive (*niyama*) provision in the wake of an endless cycle of *taddhita* derivates. Thus, a male offspring of Garga can be called *gārgiḥ*. A son of Gārgi will be called *gārgya*. What will one call the son of Gārgya, a grandson of Gārgi, or a great-grandson of Garga? Given the derivation of *gārgi* and *gārgya*, one would expect different forms for each subsequent generation of descendants. This rule restricts the difference of forms to zero beyond denotation of a grandson. That is, a descendant belonging to any generation subsequent to that of a grandson will be referred to as the same. All descendants of Garga will thus be referred to as *gārgya*. It is in this sense that our present rule makes a restrictive provision for affixes (*pratyaya-niyama*) denoting an *apatya*.

There is an additional question which must also be answered. What should be the base for deriving a word meaning 'grandson of Garga'? Whether it should be *garga* + *Ṅas* or *gārgi* + *Ṅas*? Commentators state that our present rule also states a restriction with regard to bases (*prakṛti*). The base, no matter what generation (from grandson on) of descendants is to be denoted, must be *garga* + *Ṅas*, the original base (*Kāś.*: *gotrāpatye vivakṣite eka eva śabdaḥ prathamā prakṛtiḥ pratyayam utpādayatīti prakṛtir niyamyate*). This rule, in this sense, also makes a restrictive provision for bases (*prakṛtiniyama*).

2. Such a restrictive provision is also justified in view of the word *apatya* 'offspring'. This word, in popular usage (*laukika*), generally refers to a most direct, or immediate (*avyavahitāpatya*), descendant. Thus, *aupagava*, a derivate of *upagu* + *Ṅas* + *aṆ*, will mean 'a son of Upagu'. A son of *aupagava* will be called *aupagavi*, a derivate of *aupagava* + *Ṅas* + *iÑ*. What would one call the son of Aupagavi? He will be called: *aupagavāyana*, a derivate of *aupagavi* + *Ṅas* + *phaK*. This is what the technical process of deriving each subsequent direct descendant will look like. Consequently, we will get derivates such as *aupagavāyani* 'a son of Aupagavāyana; *aupagavāyanāyana*

'a son of Aupagavāyani'; *aupagavāyanāyani* 'a son of Aupagavāyanāyana'; and *aupagavāyanāyanāyana* 'a son of Aupagavāyanāyanāyani', etc. The number of affixes will gradually repeat in the order of *aṆ* 'first direct descendant'; *aṆ* + *iÑ* 'second direct descendant'; *aṆ* + *iÑ* + *phaK* 'third direct descendant'; *aṆ* + *iÑ* + *phaK* + *iÑ* 'fourth direct descendant'; *aṆ* + *iÑ* + *phaK* + *iÑ* + *phaK* 'fifth direct descendant'; *aṆ* + *iÑ* + *phaK* + *iÑ* + *phaK* + *iÑ* 'sixth direct descendant', etc. The absurdity of this process will become obvious if one thinks about the form of the 'one-hundredth direct descendant'. That derivate would involve a series of 99 affixes. Obviously, this affixal permutation had to be restrained.

Pāṇini defines *gotra* as an *apatya* 'offspring' at the level of a grandson, or any thereafter (*pautraprabhṛti*). If a grandson, or any descendant subsequent to him, can also be called an *apatya*, then the general usage of the word *apatya*, made in the sense of a 'most direct or immediate descendant', cannot be acceptable in grammar. An *apatya*, in grammar, can also refer to a *vyavahitāpatya* 'non-immediate offspring'. We obviously have two categories of *apatya* in grammar: (*i*) an *apatya* who is not a *gotra* and (*ii*) an *apatya* who is an *apatya* by way of being a *gotra*. The first category will cover a direct or most immediate descendant. Thus, a son of Garga is: *gārgiḥ*, a derivate of *garga* + *Ṅas* + *iÑ* (4.1.95 *ata iñ*). A son of Gārgi, or a grandson of Garga, will be called: *gārgyaḥ*, a derivate of *garga* + *Ṅas* + *yaÑ* (4.1.105 *gargādibhyo yañ*). What about the great-grandson of Garga, or the grandson of Gārgi, or for that matter, the son of Gārgya? They will be called *gārgya*.

There was no way to check the endless cycle of affixes had Pāṇini not formulated our present rule. This rule states that only one affix should be used to denote a descendant termed *gotra*. Furthermore, it also requires that only one base, namely the original (in this case *garga*), must be used as the base. The result will be: *gārgya*, a derivate of *garga* + *Ṅas* + *yaÑ*. *Kāśikā* rightly observes that a restrictive provision is needed so that whether one denotes a direct, or indirect, descendant termed *gotra*, affix *yaÑ* alone is to be used after *garga* (*sarvasmin vyavahitajane'pi gotrāpatye gagrgaśabdād yañeva bhavatīti pratyayo niyamyate*). This, in a way, also restricts an affix.

But since this affix is introduced after the same base *garga*, irrespective of what generation of a *gotra* descendant is denoted, this rule also makes a restrictive provision for bases.

4.1.94 गोत्राद्यून्यस्त्रियाम्

gotrād yūny astriyām
/gotrāt 5/1 *yūni* 7/1 *astriyām* 7/1 = *na strī* (*nañ. tat.*), *tasyām/*
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *prātipadikāt* #1, *taddhitāḥ* #76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #82)
yūny apatye vivakṣite gotrād eva pratyayo bhavati na paramaprakṛtyanantarayuvabhyaḥ

A *taddhita* affix occurs after a syntactically related nominal stem which signifies a descendant termed *gotra*, provided a non-female *yuvan* 'youth' is to be denoted.

EXAMPLES:

gārgyasya apatyaṃ yuvā = *gārgyāyaṇaḥ* 'young son of Gārgya'
dākṣer apatyaṃ yuvā = *dākṣāyaṇaḥ* 'young *gotra*-descendant of Dakṣa'

1. This too is a restrictive rule (*Kāś.: ayam api niyamaḥ*). A base with the signification of a *gotra*, alone, receives the affix when a *yuvāpatya* 'young son of a grandson' is denoted. The affix cannot be introduced after the first base (*paramaprakṛti*), i.e., that which signifies the first person of the lineage. It can also not be introduced after a base which signifies a son (*anantaraprakṛti*). Thus, *garga* will be used as the base for deriving both *gārgi* 'son of Garga' and *gārgya* 'son of Gārgi'. The same will be used for deriving any of the other *gotra* descendants thereafter. But when one has to express the son of Gārgya, while Gārgya is still alive, one must use *gārgya*, the base which expresses the *gotra*. Thus, a male descendant of the fourth generation termed *yuvan*, in addition to being a *gotra*, will require the third generation base for receiving an affix to express itself. All other *gotra* descendants would require the first base.

2. The negation of *astriyām* rules out any *yuvāpatya* 'young descendant' in feminine. It, however, does not rule out a female *gotra*-descendant.

4.1.95 **अत इञ्**

ata iñ
/ataḥ 5/1 *iñ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *prātipadikāt* #1, *taddhitāḥ* #76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #82, *tasyāpatyam* #92)
akārāntāt prātipadikād iñ pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *iÑ* occurs to denote an offspring (*apatyam*) after a syntactically related nominal stem which ends in *a* and is used in genitive (*ṣaṣṭhī*).

EXAMPLES:

dakṣasyāpatyaṃ = *dākṣiḥ* 'Dākṣi, a (direct male) descendant of Dakṣa'
dāśarathiḥ 'Dāśarathi, a (direct male) descendant of Daśaratha'

1. The word *ataḥ* of this rule qualifies *prātipadikāt* via *tadantavidhi*, an operational provision whereby *x* can be interpreted also as 'that which ends in *x*'. That is, a nominal stem (*prātipadika*), in the context of our present rule, should be treated as ending in *aT* (cf. 1.1.69 *taparas tatkālasya*).

2. This rule introduces affix *iÑ* as an exception to the more general provision of *aÑ*. Note that an affixal provision, made with no specification re-

garding what generation of offspring is in focus, denotes any and all descendants. Affix *iÑ* can thus be used to denote an offspring in general.

3. How can one explain the derivate *dāśaratha* of *pradīyatāṃ dāśarathāya maithilī* '. . . let the princess of Mithilā be given away (in marriage), to the son of Daśaratha?' The correct derivate should be *dāśarathi*. A derivate such as *dāśaratha*, parallel to *daśarathasya ayam* 'this one of Daśaratha', will still be valid in consonance with *tasya* of 4.3.120 *tasyedam*, a residual genitive (4.2.92 *śeṣe*, *Kāś.*: *śeṣavivakṣayā bhaviṣyati*). But will this *daśarathasya ayam* be an *apatya*? Refer to our discussion under 4.1.92 *tasyāpatyam* regarding blocking of *aṆ* by *cha*. Justifying *dāśaratha* as signifying an *apatya* will demand establishing residual relationship, through complex maneuvers, between a general provision (*utsarga*) i.e., *aṆ* and what is left by its related exception (4.1.95 *ata iñ*), on the one hand, and 4.2.92 *śeṣe*, read with 4.3.120 *tasyedam*, on the other.

4.1.96 बाह्वादिभ्यश्च

bāhvādibhyaś ca
/ bāhvādibhyaḥ 5/3 *ca ϕ/*
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *prātipadikāt* #1, *taddhitāḥ* #76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #82, *tasyāpatyam* #92, *iñ* #95)
'*bāhu*' *ity evam ādibhyaḥ śabdebhyo'patye iñ pratyayo bhavati*
The *taddhita* affix *iÑ* also occurs to denote an offspring after a syntactically related nominal stem which is listed in the group headed by *bāhu* and ends in genitive.

EXAMPLES:

bāhaviḥ 'a male descendant of Bāhu'
aupabāhaviḥ 'a male descendant of Upabāhu'

1. This rule introduces *iÑ* after syntactically related nominal stems *bāhu*, etc., which do not end in *a* (*Kāś.*: *anakārārtha ārambhaḥ*). Commentators further note that, in certain instances, this rule also resolves *bādhya-bādhakabhāva*, a situation of conflict arising because of two provisions where one must be blocked. This rule can also, in view of these conflicts, be accepted as formulated for blocking (*Kāś.*: *kvacid bādhakabādhanārtha*). Thus, a subset of *bāhu* group of stems, beginning with *ajīgartta* through *udaṅka*, ends in *a*. It, therefore, qualifies for *iÑ* of the earlier rule. But this *iÑ* will, in the absence of our present provision, be blocked by the *aṆ* of 4.1.114 *ṛṣyandhaka*. . . . Our present rule, based upon the listing of these items within the *bāhvādi* group, resolves the conflict in favor of *iÑ*.

2. The *ca* of this rule is used for accounting something which may have been left out (*anuktasamuccayārtha*). That is, *ca* is used so that *bāhvādi*, as a group, can be treated as open-ended (*ākṛtigaṇa*).

4.1.97 सुधातुरकङ् च

sudhātur akaṅ ca
/sudhātuḥ 6/1 *akaṅ* 1/1 *ca* ϕ/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *prātipadikāt* #1, *taddhitāḥ* #76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #82, *tasyāpatyam* #92 *iñ* #95)
sudhātṛśabdād apatye iñ pratyayo bhavati tatsanniyogena ca tasyākaṅādeśo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *iÑ* occurs to denote an offspring after the syntactically related nominal stem *sudhātṛ* which ends in genitive, with an additional provision that *akAṄ* come in place of its final sound segment.

EXAMPLES:

saudhātakiḥ = *sudhātur apatyam* 'male offspring of Sudhātṛ'

1. Note that *sudhātuḥ* can be interpreted as ablative and genitive singular both. It will be interpreted as 'ablative' for purposes of introducting affix *iÑ*. The genitive, of course, is needed for facilitating a replacement in *akAṄ*. The *Ṅ* of *akAṄ* is an *it*, though its *a* before *Ṅ* is used for ease of articulation. The *ca* of this rule is used for bringing *iÑ*.

Our example, *saudhātaki*, derives from *sudhātṛ* + *Ṅas* + *iÑ*, where the final *ṛ* of *sudhātṛ* is replaced with *akAṄ* in view of 1.1.51 *ṇic ca*. One can now accomplish initial *vṛddhi* on *sudhāt*(*ṛ*→*ak*) + *i* = *sudhātak* + *i* to derive *s*(*u*→*au*)*dhātak* + *i* = *saudhātaki*.

2. A *vārttika* proposal is also made for *vyāsa, varuṇa, niṣada, caṇḍāla* and *bimba* to receive *iÑ* and *akAṄ*. This will produce *vaiyāsaki, naiṣādaki, cāṇḍālaki* and *baimbaki*, through *bha*-deletion of the final *a* and initial *vṛddhi*, of *vyāsa*, etc. Note, however, that 7.3.3 *na yvābhyāṃ padāntābhyāṃ* . . . will block *vṛddhi*, and insert *aiC*, before *y* in *vaiyāsaki*.

4.1.98 गोत्रे कुञ्जादिभ्यश्च्फञ्

gotre kuñjādibhyaś cphañ
/gotre 7/1 *kuñjādibhyaḥ* 5/3 (*bv.*); *cphañ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *prātipadikāt* #1, *taddhitāḥ* #76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #82, *tasyāpatyam* #92)
gotrasaṃjñake'patye vācye kuñjādibhyaś cphañ pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *CphaÑ* occurs after a syntactically related nominal stem which ends in genitive, and is listed in the group headed by *kuñja*, provided the derivate is to denote an *apatya* termed *gotra*.

EXAMPLES:

kuñjasya gotrāpatyam = *kauñjāyanyaḥ* 'Kauñjāyana, a grandson of Kuñja'
kauñjāyanyau 'the two *gotra*-descendants of Kuñja'
kauñjāyanyāḥ 'many *gotra*-descendants of Kuñja'

1. Affix *CphaÑ* is an exception to *iÑ*, especially in view of the *kuñjādi* stems which end in *a*. The *C* is included as an *it* to distinguish this affix from *phaÑ* of 4.1.110 *aśvādibhyaḥ phañ* (*cakāro viśeṣaṇārthaḥ*). The *Ñ*, of course, is intended as an *it* to facilitate initial (*ādi*) *vṛddhi* (*ñakāro vṛddhyarthaḥ*; 7.2.115 *aco'ñṇiti*).

4.1.99 नडादिभ्यः फक्

naḍādibhyaḥ phak
/naḍādibhyaḥ 5/3 (*bv.*); *phak* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *prātipadikāt* #1, *taddhitāḥ* #76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #82, *tasyāpatyam* #92, *gotre* #98)
'*naḍa*' *ity evam ādibhyaḥ prātipadikebhyo gotrāpatye phak pratyayo bhavati*
The *taddhita* affix *phaK* occurs after a syntactically related nominal stem which ends in genitive and is listed in the group headed by *naḍa*, provided the derivate is to denote a descendant termed *gotra*.

EXAMPLES:

naḍasya gotrāpatyam = *nāḍāyanaḥ* 'Nāḍāyana, a grandson of Naḍa'
cārāyaṇaḥ 'Cārāyaṇa, a grandson of Cara'

1. Note that stems of the *naḍādi* group will receive *phaK* as an exception to *iÑ* (4.1.95 *ata iñ*). Of course, when derivates denote a *gotra* descendant. Elsewhere, for example in case of *nāḍi* 'direct (male) descendant of Naḍa', one must introduce *iÑ* since the denotatum is a direct descendant.

4.1.100 हरितादिभ्योऽञ्

haritādibhyo'ñaḥ
/haritādibhyaḥ 5/3 (*bv.*); *añaḥ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *prātipadikāt* #1, *taddhitāḥ* #76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #82, *tasyāpatyam* #92, *phak* #99)
haritādibhyo'ñantebhyo'patye phak pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *phaK* occurs after a syntactically related nominal stem which is listed in the group headed by *harita*, and ends in *aÑ*, provided a descendant termed *gotra* is denoted.

EXAMPLES:

haritasyāpatyam = *hāritāyanaḥ* 'Hāritāyana, a young *gotra*-descendant of Harita'
kaidāsāyanaḥ 'a young *gotra*-descendant of Kidāsa'

1. Note that stems headed by *harita* form a subgroup within a larger group headed by *bida*. Rule 4.1.104 *anṛṣyānantarye bidādibhyo'ñ* introduces *aÑ* with the signification of *gotra*. That is, *harita*, etc., receives *aÑ* to denote a *gotra*-

descendant. Why is this rule introducing *phaK* to denote a *gotra* descendant? Besides, provisions of 4.1.93 *eko gotre* go against two affixes for denoting a *gotra*-descendant. It is to resolve this conflict that *gotra* is here interpreted as referring to a *gotra*-descendant termed *yuvan.*

A derivate ending in *aÑ*, i.e., *hārita*, can now be used for deriving *hāritāyana* 'a young *gotra* descendant of Harita', a derivate of *phaK.* But notice that the derivate must still denote a *gotra*-descendant. It is to resolve this conflicting situation that *gotra* of this rule is interpreted as referring to a *gotra*-descendant termed *yuvan.* Now *phaK* can be introduced to derive *hāritāyanaḥ*, a son of Hārita. As specified earlier under 4.1.93 *eko gotre*, and required by 3.1.94 *gotrād yūni . . .*, the derivates of this rule must accept their bases as ending in an affix denoting a *gotra.* But since our present rule uses *añaḥ* as a qualifier, via *tadantavidhi*, to stems of the *haritādi* group, and also since *aÑ* denotes a *gotra*, one need not carry the *anuvṛtti* of *gotre* in this rule. It is also at the strength of this Pāṇinian provision (*vidhāna-sāmarthyāt*) of *phaK* after a base qualified with *aÑ*, that we understand *yuvāpatya* as the affixal denotatum.

4.1.101 यञिञोश्च

yañiñoś ca
/yañiñoḥ 5/2 (*itar. dv.*); *ca* ϕ/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *prātipadikāt* #1, *taddhitāḥ* #76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #82, *tasyāpatyam* #92, *gotre* #98, *phak* #99)
yañantād iñantāc ca prātipadikād apatye phak pratyayo bhavati
Affix *phaK* occurs after a syntactically related nominal stem which ends in affixes *yaÑ* and *iÑ*, provided a *gotra*-descendant is denoted.

EXAMPLES:

gārgyāyaṇaḥ 'young great grandson of Garga'
vātsyāyanaḥ 'young great grandson of Vatsa'
dākṣāyaṇaḥ 'young great grandson of Dakṣa'
plākṣāyaṇaḥ 'young great grandson of Plakṣa'

1. Note that *gotre*, received through *anuvṛtti*, must be used as a qualifier to *yaÑ* and *iÑ* (*gotragrahaṇena yañiñau viśiṣyete*). Such a qualification would make it impossible for this rule to apply to *yaÑ* and *iÑ* derivates of rules 4.3.10 *dvīpād anusamudraṃ yañ* and 4.2.80 *vuñchaṇkaṭha . . .*, respectively. For, these rules do not introduce these affixes with the denotatum of a *gotra.* Here again, we find that *phaK* is introduced with the denotatum of an *apatya.* But since the bases specified here must end in affixes *yaÑ* and *iÑ*, we understand, especially in view of 4.1.93 *eko gotre* and 4.1.94 *gotrād yūni . . .*, that *phaK* is introduced to denote a young *gotra*-descendant.

4.1.102 शरद्वच्छुनकदर्भाद् भृगुवत्साग्रायणेषु

śaradvacchunakadarbhād bhṛguvatsāgrāyaṇeṣu
/śaradvac-chunaka-darbhāt 5/1 (*sam. dv.*), *tasmāt; bhṛgu-vatsa-āgrāyaṇeṣu* 7/3 (*itar. dv.*), *teṣu/*
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *prātipadikāt* #1, *taddhitāḥ* #76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #82, *tasyāpatyam* #92, *gotre* #98, *phak* #99)
'śaradvat, śunaka, darbha' ity etebhyo gotrāpatye phak pratyayo bhavati yathāsaṃkhyaṃ bhṛguvatsāgrāyaṇeṣv artheṣu apatyaviśeṣeṣu
The *taddhita* affix *phaK* occurs after syntactically related nominal stems *śaradvat, śunaka* and *darbha,* when ending in genitive, provided their derivates denoted a *gotra*-descendant of *bhṛgu, vatsa* and *āgrāyaṇa,* respectively.

EXAMPLES:

śāradvatāyanaḥ 'a grandson of Śaradvat, a descendant in the lineage (*gotra*) of Bhṛgu'
śaunakāyanaḥ 'a grandson of Śunaka, a descendant in the lineage of Śunaka'
dārbhāyaṇaḥ 'a grandson of Darbha, a descendant in the lineage of Darbha'
āgrāyaṇaḥ 'a grandson of Āgrāyaṇa, a descendant in the lineage of Āgrāyaṇa'

1. Note that *śaradvat* and *śunaka* are enumerated within the *bidādi* group of nominals. As such, they qualify for affix *yaÑ* of 4.1.104 *anṛṣyānantarye. . . .* Our third nominal, *darbha,* qualifies for affix *iÑ* of 4.1.95 *ata iñ.* The *phaK* of our present rule thus blocks *yaÑ* and *iÑ* both.

2. The specification of *bhṛgu, vatsa* and *āgrāyaṇa* is made so that, elsewhere, one can derive forms such as *śāradvataḥ, śaunakaḥ* and *dārbhiḥ,* parallel to *śāradvatāyanaḥ, śaunakāyanaḥ* and *dārbhāyaṇaḥ* of our present rule.

4.1.103 द्रोणपर्वतजीवन्तादन्यतरस्याम्

droṇaparvatajīvantād anyatarasyām
/droṇa-parvata-jīvantāt 5/1 (*sam. dv.*); *anyatarasyām* 7/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *prātipadikāt* #1, *taddhitāḥ* #76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #82, *tasyāpatyam* #92, *gotre* #98, *phak* #99)
droṇādibhyaḥ prātipadikebhyo gotrāpatye' nyatarasyāṃ phak pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *phaK* occurs optionally after syntactically related nominal stems *droṇa, parvata* and *jīvanta,* when they end in genitive to denote a *gotra*-descendant.

EXAMPLES:

drauṇāyanaḥ 'a *gotra*-descendant of Droṇa'

drauṇiḥ 'id.'
pārvatāyanaḥ 'a *gotra*-descendant of Parvata'
pārvatiḥ 'id.'
jaivantāyanaḥ 'a *gotra*-descendant of Jīvanta'
jaivantiḥ 'id.'

1. This rule introduces *phaK* as an option to *iÑ* of 4.1.95 *ata iñ*. However, the denotatum must be a *gotrāpatya*, as opposed to a most immediate offspring (*anantrāpatya*). If *phaK* is introduced to derive a *gotra*-descendant then Aśvatthāmā, the son of Droṇācārya, should not be called *drauṇāyanaḥ*. The *droṇa* of this *drauṇāyanaḥ* is not the *droṇa* of the *Mahābhārata*. Hence the question of *drauṇāyanaḥ* referring to *aśvatthāmā* does not arise.

4.1.104 अनृष्यानन्तर्ये बिदादिभ्योऽञ्

anṛṣy ānantarye bidādibhyo' ñ
/anṛṣi (deleted 5/3) = *na ṛṣiḥ* (*nañ. tat.*), *tebhyaḥ*; *ānantarye* 7/1 *bidādibhyaḥ* 5/3 *añ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *prātipadikāt* #1, *taddhitāḥ* #76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #82, *tasyāpatyam* #92, *gotre* #98)
bidādibhyo gotrāpatye' ñ pratyayo bhavati; anṛṣibhyo' nantare bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *aÑ* occurs to denote a *gotra*-descendant after a syntactically related nominal stem which ends in genitive, and is listed in the group headed by *bida*, with the exception that stems not signifying a sage denote an immediate offspring (*anantarāpatya*).

EXAMPLES:

baidaḥ 'a grandson of Bida'
aurvaḥ 'a grandson of Urva'
pautraḥ = *putrasyāpatyam* 'son's son'
dauhitraḥ 'daughter's son'

1. This rule introduces *aÑ* to derive forms signifying a *gotra*-descendant. such a signification is blocked in case of stems which denote a non-sage (*anṛṣi*). The derivates of such nominals must denote a most immediate offspring (*anantarāpatya*), instead.

2. The word *anṛṣi* is interpreted as *luptapañcamīka* 'that which has its ablative deleted'. A fully derived ablative plural form of *anṛṣi*, i.e., *anṛṣibhyaḥ*, will serve as a qualifier to *bidādibhyaḥ*. Such a qualification will make it clear that *bidādi* group of nominals constitute two types: (*i*) those (such as *bida*, *bharadvāja*, *kaśyapa*, etc.) which denote a sage, and (*ii*) those (such as *putra*, *duhitṛ*, *nanāndṛ*) which denote someone other than a sage. Derivates of the first category will denote a *gotra*-descendant. Derivates of the second will denote the most direct offspring. Derivates of stems denoting a sage also qualify as exceptions to the *aÑ* of 4.1.111 *ṛṣyandhaka*. . . . Derivates of the

non-sage category, for example *dauhitra* and *pautra*, also form exceptions to affixes *aṆ* (4.1.92 *tasyāpatyam*) and *iÑ* (4.1.93 *ata iñ*), respectively.

4.1.105 गर्गादिभ्यो यञ्

gargādibhyo yañ
/gargādibhyaḥ 5/3 (*bv.*); *yañ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *prātipadikāt* #1, *taddhitāḥ* #76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #82, *tasyāpatyam* #92, *gotre* #98)
gargādibhyo gotrāpatye yañ pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *yaÑ* occurs after a syntactically related nominal stem which ends in genitive, and is listed in the group headed by *garga*, provided the derivate denotes a *gotra*-descendant.

EXAMPLES:

gārgyaḥ 'a grandson of Garga'
vātsyaḥ 'a grandson of Vatsa'

1. How come *jāmadagnyaḥ* and *pārāśaryaḥ* are used with the signification of 'Paraśurāma' and 'Pārāśara', the most immediate offsprings? It is true that *jāmadagnyaḥ* and *pārāśaryaḥ* denote *gotra*-descendants, as opposed to *jāmadagṅaḥ* and *pārāśaraḥ*, the sons of Jamadagni and Parāśara. But *jāmadagnyaḥ* and *pārāśaryaḥ* are used in the sense of 'sons'. This is made possible by transferring the meaning of a direct descendant (*anantarāpatya*) to the form of a *gotra*-descendant.

4.1.106 मधुबभ्रवोर्ब्राह्मणकौशिकयोः

madhubabhrvor brāhmaṇakauśikayoḥ
/madhu-babhrvoḥ 5/2 (*itar. dv.*); *brāhmaṇa-kauśikayoḥ* 5/2 (*itar. dv.*)/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *prātipadikāt* #1, *taddhitāḥ* #76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #82, *tasyāpatyam* #92, *gotre* #98, *yañ* #105)
madhuśabdād babhruśabdāc ca gotrāpatye yañ pratyayo bhavati
yathāsaṃkhyaṃ brāhmaṇe kauśike ca vācye
The *taddhita* affix *yaÑ* occurs after syntactically related nominal stems *madhu* and *babhru*, when ending in genitive, provided a *gotra*-descendant, namely that of *brāhmaṇa* and *kauśika*, respectively, is denoted.

EXAMPLES:

mādhavyaḥ 'grandson of Madhu, a Brāhmaṇa'
bābhravyaḥ 'grandson of Babhru, a Kauśika by lineage'

1. Note that *babhru* is listed in the *gargādi* group of nominals. Consequently, *yaÑ* was already available to it from the preceding rule. A separate mention of *babhru* is made here to restrict its *yaÑ*-derivate to the context of a *gotra*-

descendant of Kauśika. That is, *babhru*, here, means *kauśika*. The listing of *babhru*, in the *gargādi* group, is made as part of a subgroup of *lohitādi*. This being the case, its feminine will be formed, in view of *Ṣpha* of 4.1.18 *sarvatra lohitādi . . .*, with the *ṄīṢ* of 4.1.41 *ṣidgaurādibhyaś ca*. Thus, we will also get *bābhravyāyaṇī* 'a granddaughter of Babhru'.

2. Note that *mādhavaḥ* and *bābhravaḥ*, as derivates of *aṆ* of 4.1.95 *tasyāpatyam*, will denote a non-Brāhmaṇa and non-Kauśika descendant of Madhu and Babhru, respectively.

4.1.107 कपिबोधादाङ्गिरसे

kapibodhād āṅgirase
/kapi-bodhāt 5/1 (*sam. dv.*); *āṅgirase* 7/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *prātipadikāt* #1, *taddhitāḥ* #76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #82, *tasyāpatyam* #92, *gotre* #98, *yañ* #105)
kapibodhaśabdābhyām āṅgirase' patyaviśeṣe gotre yañ pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *yaÑ* occurs after syntactically related nominal stems *kapi* and *bodha*, when ending in genitive, provided derivates denote a *gotra*-descendant of the lineage of Aṅgirasa.

EXAMPLES:

kāpyaḥ 'grandson of Kapi, an Āṅgirasa by gotra'
baudhyaḥ 'grandson of Bodha, an Āṅgirasa by gotra'

1. Note that *kapi* is included within the *gargādi* group. As such, affix *yaÑ*, and *Ṣpha* of 4.1.18 *sarvatra lohitādi . . .* as well, is available to it. A specification is made here for restricting a derivate of *yaÑ* to the context of a *gotra*-descendant of Aṅgirasa. The word *bodha* is a non-sage stem enumerated within the *bāhvādi* group of 4.1.94 *bāhvādibhyaś ca*. Outside the restrictive meaning of *āṅgirase*, we will get: *kāpeyaḥ* 'grandson of Kapi' and *baudhiḥ* 'grandson of Bodha'. A granddaughter of Kapi, through *Ṣpha* of 4.1.18 *sarvatra lohitādi . . .*, will be called: *kāpyāyanī*.

4.1.108 वतण्डाच्च

vataṇḍāc ca
/vataṇḍāt 5/1 *ca* ϕ/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *prātipadikāt* #1, *taddhitāḥ* #76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #82, *tasyāpatyam* #92, *gotre* #98, *yañ* #105, *āṅgirase* #107)
vataṇḍaśabdād āṅgirase' patyaviśeṣe gotre yañ pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *yaÑ* also occurs after syntactically related nominal stem *vataṇḍa*, when ending in genitive, provided a *gotra*-descendant of the lineage of Aṅgirasa is denoted.

EXAMPLES:

vātaṇḍyaḥ 'grandson of Vataṇḍa, an Āṅgirasa by gotra'

1. Note that *vataṇḍa* is enumerated in two groups: *gargādi* and *śivādi.* Consequently, it qualifies for both affixes *yaÑ* (of 4.1.105 *gargādibhyo'ñ*) and *aṆ* (of 4.1.112 *śivādibhyo'ñ*). The purpose of specifying *vataṇḍa* in this rule is restrictive (*niyamārtha*). Affix *yaÑ* alone is to be used after *vataṇḍa* when the derivate is a *gotra*-descendant of Aṅgirasa. A derivate with the signification of someone other than an Āṅgirasa, in view of the *gargādi* listing of *vataṇḍa,* will be: *vātaṇḍyaḥ.* A derivate in consonance with the *śivādi* listing will be: *vātaṇḍaḥ,* derived with affix *aṆ.*

4.1.109 लुक् स्त्रियाम्

luk striyām
/luk 1/1 *striyām* 7/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *prātipadikāt* #1, *taddhitāḥ* #76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #82, *tasyāpatyam* #92, *gotre* #98, *yañ* #105, *āṅgirase* #107, *vataṇḍāt* #108)
vataṇḍaśabdād āṅgirasyāṃ striyāṃ yañpratyayasya lug bhavati
LUK comes in place of the *taddhita* affix *yaÑ* which occurs after syntactically related nominal stem *vataṇḍa,* provided the derivate denotes a female *gotra*-descendant of Aṅgirasa.

EXAMPLES:

vataṇḍī 'female descendant of Vataṇḍa, an Āṅgirasa by gotra'

1. This rule provides for *LUK*-deletion of affix *yaÑ* after *vataṇḍa* when the derivative denotes a female *gotra*-descendant of Aṅgirasa. Affix *ṄīN* (4.1.73 *śārṅgaravād. . .*) is then introduced to derive *vataṇḍī* 'female descendant of Vataṇḍa in the lineage of Aṅgirasa'. Obviously, *vataṇḍa* is listed in the *śārṅgaravādi* group. The *lohitādi* listing of *vataṇḍa* will derive: *vātaṇḍyāyanī,* a derivate of *yaÑ* where *ṄīṢ* is facilitated by *Ṣpha* (4.1.18 *lohitādi. . .*). A *śivādi* listing will produce *vātaṇḍī,* a derivate of *aṆ* with *ṄīṢ.* This *ṄīṢ,* however, cannot be deleted since this usage falls outside the scope of this rule.

4.1.110 अश्वादिभ्यः फञ्

aśvādibhyaḥ phañ
/aśvādibhyaḥ 5/3 *phañ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *prātipadikāt* #1, *taddhitāḥ* #76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #82, *tasyāpatyam* #92, *gotre* #98, *yañ* #105)
aśvādibhyo gotrāpatye phañ pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *phaÑ* occurs after a syntactically related nominal stem

listed in the group headed by *aśva*, when ending in genitive, provided the derivate denotes a *gotra*-descendant.

EXAMPLES:

āśvāyanaḥ 'grandson of Aśva'
āśmāyanaḥ 'a grandson of Aśman'

1. Note that the *aśvādi* group also includes nominals such as *ānaḍuhya*, etc., which already denote a *gotra*-descendant. Affix *phaÑ*, in these instances, will be introduced to derive forms with the signification of a *yuvāpatya* 'young *gotra*-descendant'.

4.1.111 भर्गात् त्रैगर्त्ते

bhargāt traigartte
/bhargāt 5/1 *traigartte* 7/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *prātipadikāt* #1, *taddhitāḥ* #76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #82, *tasyāpatyam* #92, *gotre* #98, *phañ* #110)
bhargaśabdād apatye viśeṣe traigartte gotre phañ pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *phaÑ*, with the denotatum of a *gotra*-descendant, occurs after syntactically related nominal stem *bharga*, when ending in genitive, provided the derivate signifies '. . . born in the country of Trigartta'.

EXAMPLES:

bhārgāyaṇaḥ 'grandson of Bharga, born in Trigartta'

1. We will get *bhārgiḥ*, a derivate of *iÑ* (3.1.95 *ata iñ*), outside the meaning condition of *traigartte*.

4.1.112 शिवादिभ्योऽण्

śivādibhyo'ṇ
/śivādibhyaḥ 5/3 *aṇ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *prātipadikāt* #1, *taddhitāḥ* #76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #82, *tasyāpatyam* #92)
śivādibhyo'patye'ṇ pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *aṆ* occurs after a syntactically related nominal stem which ends in genitive, and is listed in the group headed by *śiva*, provided the derivate denotes an *apatya*.

EXAMPLES:

śaivaḥ 'a descendant of Śiva'
prauṣṭhaḥ 'a descendant of Proṣṭha'

1. Note that the *anuvṛtti* of *gotre*, carried from 4.1.98 *gotre kuñjādibhyaś . . .*,

is no longer valid. Consequently, affixal provisions will not be made under the meaning condition of *apatyam* of 4.1.92 *tasyāpatyam*. This provision of affix *aṆ* is, obviously, made as an exception to affixes *iÑ*, etc. (*Kāś.*: *yathāyatham iñādīnām apavādaḥ*). The word *takṣan* 'carpenter' is included within the *śivādi* group simply to block the *iÑ* of rule 4.1.153 *udīcām iñ*. But this inclusion of *takṣan* within the *śivādi* group will, at the same time, also block the affixal provision of *Ṇya* of 4.1.152 *senāntalakṣaṇakāribhyaś ca*. For, the word *takṣan* means an 'artisan'. This will make the derivation of *tākṣṇaḥ* and *tākṣaṇyaḥ* impossible. Commentators explain that inclusion of *takṣan* in the *śivādi* group is intended for blocking *iÑ*, etc., and not *Ṇya*. How do we know this? We know it from the fact that *takṣan* is listed here along with (*sāhacarya*) *supiṣṭa*, etc. Since *supiṣṭa*, etc., are listed here with the intent of blocking *iÑ*, *takṣan* should also share this same intent (*Kāś.*: *takṣanśabdo 'tra paṭhyate kārilakṣaṇam udīcām iñaṃ bādhitum. ṇyapartyayasya tu bādhā neṣyate*; *Nyāsa*: *supiṣṭaśabdādobhiḥ sāhacaryāt*). Besides, blocking of *Ṇya* is not desired. Thus we get two derivates: *takṣṇaḥ*, with *aṆ*, and *tākṣaṇyaḥ*, with *Ṇya*.

2. The word *gaṅgā* is also included here in the *śivādi* group. It has also been listed, elsewhere, in the *śubhrādi* (4.1.123 *śubhrādibhyaś ca*) and *tikādi* (4.1.154 *tikādibhyaḥ phiñ*) groups. Obviously, there will be three derivates: one each of *aṆ*, *ḍhaK* and *phiÑ*, respectively: *gāṅgaḥ*, *gāṅgeyaḥ* and *gāṅgāyaniḥ*. These affixes cannot entail any blocking of each other.

3. A question is also raised against including *aṆ* in the wording of this rule. Why state *aṆ* when it will be automatically available, once the particular provisions of *iÑ*, etc., of this domain are exhausted. Some say that *aṆ* is explicitly stated so that, in case of derivates of *ṛṣṭiṣeṇa*, one can get affix *aṆ*. This *aṆ*, in case of *ṛṣṭiṣeṇa*, will block *iÑ* of 4.1.95 *ata iñ*. It will also block affix *Ṇya* of 4.1.152 *senāntalakṣaṇa* . . ., which would otherwise block *iÑ*. The *aṆ* is stated here explicitly to indicate that this, and other affixal provisions, apply as stated (*yathāprāptam*). Some claim that *aṆ* is explicitly stated for clarity (*vispaṣṭārtham*).

4. A *vārttika* provision of *aṆ* is made for stems which consist of two vowels (*dvyac*) and denote a woman with the name of a *nadī* 'river' (*dvyaco nadyāḥ*). Thus, *sandhyā* will have a derivate such as *sāndhyaḥ*. This is an exception to affix *ḍhaK* of 4.1.120 *strībhyo ḍhak*. Another *vārttika* proposal will allow *traivaṇa*, a descendant of Triveṇī, with the additional requirement that *triveṇī* be replaced with *trivaṇa*. Thus, *triveṇyā apatyam* = *traivaṇaḥ* 'Traivaṇa, a descendant of Triveṇī'.

4.1.113 अवृद्धाभ्योनदीमानुषीभ्यस्तन्नामिकाभ्यः

avṛddhābhyo nadīmānuṣībhyas tannāmikābhyaḥ
/*avṛddhābhyaḥ* 5/3 = *na vṛddhāḥ* = *avṛddhāḥ* (*nañ. tat.*), *tābhyaḥ*; *nadīmānuṣibhyaḥ* 5/3 (*itar. dv.*), *tābhyaḥ*; *tannāmikābhyaḥ* = *tāni nāmāni*

yāsām tāḥ (*bv.*), *tābhyaḥ*/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *prātipadikāt* #1, *taddhitāḥ* #76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #82, *tasyāpatyam* #92, *aṇ* #112)
avṛddhāni yāni nadīnāṃ mānuṣīṇāṃ ca nāmadheyāni tebhyo'patyae'ṇ pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *aṆ* occurs, to denote a descendant, after a syntactically related nominal stem which ends in genitive, has a form other than one termed *vṛddha*, and signifies a *nadī* 'river' or *mānuṣī* 'human female', named as such (*tan-nāmikā*).

EXAMPLES:

yamunāyā apatyam = *yāmunaḥ* 'Yāmuna, a descendant of Yamunā'
irāvatyā apatyam airāvataḥ 'Airāvata, a descendant of Irāvatī'
vaitastaḥ 'a descendant of Vitastā'
nārmadaḥ 'a descendant of Narmadā'
śikṣitāyā apatyam = *śaikṣitaḥ* 'Śaikṣita, a descendant of Śikṣitā'
cintitāyā apatyam = *caintitaḥ* 'Caintita, a descendant of Cintitā'

1. Note that the negation of *avṛddhābhyaḥ* is used to specify the stem-form (*śabdadharmaḥ*), namely, 'that which is other than one termed *vṛddha* (1.1.73 *vṛddhir yasyācāmādis tad vṛddham*)'. A specification by *nadīmānuṣī-bhyaḥ* characterizes meaning (*arthadharma*). These both, via non-difference (*abheda*) of form and meaning (*śabdārtha*), specify bases (*prakṛti*). The word *tannāmikābhyaḥ* 'after those thus named' specifies a base relative to the signification of which the affix is to be introduced. Consequently, *nadī* and *mānuṣī* must be accepted as denotata of feminine bases whose offsprings the affix will name. This affixal provision of *aṆ* is an exception to the *ḍhaK* of 4.1.120 *strībhyo ḍhak*.

2. The condition of *mānuṣībhyaḥ* excludes bases with non-human denotata. Thus, *vinatā* and *suparṇā* are excluded because they are names of birds (*Nyāsa* ad *Kāś.*: *suparṇa-vinatā-śabdau pakṣiṇīnām abhidheye, na nadīmānuṣyau*). The condition of *avṛddhābhyaḥ* will exclude bases, for example, *cāndrabhāgā* and *vāsavadattā*, which qualify as *vṛddha*. These must have their derivates in *ḍhaK*: *cāndrabhāgeyaḥ* and *vāsavadatteyaḥ*, parallel to *cāndrabhāgāyā apatyaṃ pumān* and *vāsavadattāyā apatyaṃ pumān*. The condition of *tannāmikābhyaḥ* 'after bases thus named' is laid down to exclude derivates parallel to *śobhanāyā apatyam* 'the descendant of woman who is beautiful'. That is, if *śobhanā*, a qualifier (*viśeṣaṇa*), is not used as a name.

4.1.114 ऋष्यन्धकवृष्णिकुरुभ्यश्च

ṛṣyandhakavṛṣṇikurubhyaś ca
/*ṛṣy-andhaka-vṛṣṇi-kurubhyaḥ* 5/3 = *ṛṣayaś ca andhakāś ca vṛṣṇayaś ca kuruvaś ca* (*itar. dv.*), *tebhyaḥ*; *ca* ϕ/

(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *prātipadikāt* #1, *taddhitāḥ* #76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #82, *tasyāpatyam* #92, *aṇ* #112)
ṛṣyādikurvantebhyaḥ prātipadikebhyo'patye'ṇ pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *aṆ* also occurs after a syntactically related nominal stem which ends in genitive, and signifies a sage (*ṛṣi*), an *andhaka*, a *vṛṣṇi*, or else, a *kuru*, provided the derivate denotes an *apatya*.

EXAMPLES:

vāsiṣṭhaḥ 'a descendant of Vasiṣṭha'
vaiśvāmitraḥ 'a descendant of Viśvāmitra'
śvāphalkaḥ 'a descendant of Śvaphalaka'
vāsudevaḥ 'a descendant of Vasudeva'
nākulaḥ 'a descendant of Nakula'

1. Note that *vasiṣṭha*, etc., are popularly known as sages (*ṛṣi*). A sage is characterized as one to whom *mantras* were revealed (*ṛṣayo mantradarśinaḥ*). *Kāśikā* notes that a descendant of *atri*, a sage, will still be *āttreya*, a derivate of *ḍhaK* (4.1.122 *itaś cāniñaḥ*). This rule, since it has been placed as an exception (*apavāda*) in between (*madhye*) rules 4.1.95 *ata iñ* and 4.1.122 *itaś cāniñaḥ*, can only block a preceding provision (*pūrvān*), and not any subsequent (*nottarān*). That is, only *iÑ* of 4.1.95 *ata iñ* can be blocked by the *aṆ* of our present rule. Obviously, this *aṆ* cannot block the *ḍhaK* of 4.1.122 *itaś cāniñaḥ* (cf. *Paribhāṣā* (61): *madhye'pavādāḥ pūrvān vidhīn bādhante nottarān*). A conflict between the *aṆ* of this rule (*ṛṣy-aṇ*), and the *Ṇya* of 4.1.122 *itaś cāniñaḥ*, etc., particularly in examples such as *āttreyaḥ*, *jātasenyaḥ* and *augrasenyaḥ*, etc., is resolved on the basis of *paratva* (1.4.2 *vipratiṣedhe paraṃ . . .*). Derivates of this rule, thus, constitute an exception only to the affixal provision of *iÑ*. Incidentally, *andhaka*, *vṛṣṇī* and *kuru* denote clans (*vaṃśākhyā*).

4.1.115 मातुरुत्संख्यासंभद्रपूर्वायाः

mātur ut saṃkhyāsambhadrapūrvāyāḥ
/*mātuḥ* 6/1 *ut* 1/1 *saṃkhyāsambhadrapūrvāyāḥ* 6/1 = *saṃkhyā ca saṃ ca bhadraś ca*; *saṃkhyāsaṃbhadrāḥ pūrva yasyāḥ* (*bv.* with int. *dv.*), *tasyāḥ*/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *prātipadikāt* #1, *taddhitāḥ* #76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #82, *tasyāpatyam* #92, *aṇ* #112)
mātṛśabdāt saṃkhyāpūrvāt sampūrvād bhadrapūrvāc cāpatye'ṇ pratyayo bhavati, ukāraś cāntādeśaḥ
The *taddhita* affix *aṆ* occurs after the syntactically related nominal stem *mātṛ*, where its final *ṛ* is concurrently replaced with *u*, provided the derivate denotes an *apatya* and *mātṛ* is used in combination after a constituent denoting *saṃkhyā* 'a number word', or after *sam* and *bhadra*.

EXAMPLES:

dvayor mātror apatyam = *dvaimāturaḥ* 'a son of two mothers'

ṣāṇmāturaḥ 'a son of six mothers'
sāmmāturaḥ 'the son of a great mother'
bhādramāturaḥ 'the son of a benevolent mother'

1. It is argued that this rule is formulated mainly for providing *u* as a replacement for the final *ṛ* (1.1.51 *ur aṇ raparaḥ*) of *mātṛ*, of course, in conjunction with *aṆ*. The affix is, of course, available from 4.1.92 *tasyāpatyam*.

2. The phrase *saṃkhyā-sam-bhadra-pūrvāyāḥ* is used as a qualifier (*viśeṣaṇa*) to *mātṛ*, its qualifed (*viśeṣya*). But *mātṛ* can also be masculine, as we find in *dhānyaṃ mimīte = dhānyamātṛ* 'one who weighs grains'. Why was this reference not made with a qualifier in masculine? Affix *aṆ* is here made available to *mātṛ*, only when the same is used in feminine (*Kāś.*: *strīliṅganirdeśo'rthāpekṣaḥ*). Consequently, a descendant of *sam-mātṛ* 'he who weighs something properly', a masculine base, cannot be derived with *aṆ* and the concurrent replacement in *u* for its *ṛ*. That is, feminine alone should be understood from the *mātṛ* of this rule. After all, its derivates will be denoting descendants, and *mātṛ* is a kin word (*sambandhiśabda*).

4.1.116 कन्यायाः कनीन च

kanyāyāḥ kanīna ca
/kanyāyāḥ 6/1 *kanīna* (delete 1/1) *ca ϕ/*
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *prātipadikāt* #1, *taddhitāḥ* #76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #82, *tasyāpatyam* #92, *aṇ* #112)
kanyāśabdād apatye' ṇ pratyayo bhavati; tatsanniyogena kanīnaśabda ādeśo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *aṆ* occurs after the syntactically related nominal stem *kanyā* 'unmarried girl', with an additional provision that it concurrently be replaced with *kanīna*, when *kanyā* ends in genitive and the derivate denotes an *apatya*.

EXAMPLES:

kanyāyā apatyam = kānīnaḥ 'son of an unmarried girl; Karṇa; Vyāsa'

1. The word *kanyā* generally means a virgin (*akṣatayoni*). How could a girl be called *kanyā*, and, at the same time, also be spoken of as having an offspring? Patañjali resolves this conflict by interpreting *kanyā* as one who had sex with a man prior to ritual wedding. Some maintain that a *kanyā*, if she enters into sexual relationship with a 'god' or 'sage', still remains a virgin.

2. The word *kanīna*, because of its contextual proximity, is treated as a replacement for *kanyā* which, in turn, receives *aṆ*. The *aṆ*, itself, is an exception to affix *ḍhaK* of 4.1.120 *strībhyo ḍhak*. Incidentally, *kanīna* replaces *kanyā*, in toto, in view of 1.1.55 *anekālśit sarvasya*.

4.1.117 विकर्णशुङ्गछगलाद्वत्सभरद्वाजात्रिषु

vikarṇaśuṅgachagalād vatsabharadvājātriṣu
/vikarṇa-śuṅga-chagalāt 5/1 = *vikarṇaś ca śuṅgaś ca chagalaś ca* (*sam. dv.*), *tasmāt*; *vatsabharadvājātriṣu* 7/3 *vatsaś ca bharadvājaś ca atriś ca* (*itar. dv.*), *teṣu*/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *prātipadikāt* #1, *taddhitāḥ* #76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #82, *tasyāpatyam* #92, *aṇ* #112)
vikarṇaśuṅgachagalaśabdebhyo yathāsaṃkhyaṃ vatsabharadvājātriṣv apatyaviśeṣeṣv aṇ pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *aṆ* occurs after syntactically related nominal stems *vikarṇa*, *śuṅga* and *chagala*, when ending in genitive, provided an *apatya* of *vatsa*, *bharadvāja* and *atri*, respectively, is denoted.

EXAMPLES:

vaikarṇo bhavati vātsyaś ca 'son of Vikarṇa, a descendant of Vatsa'
śauṅgaḥ 'son of Śuṅga, a descendant of Bharadvāja'
chāgalaḥ 'son of Chagala, a descendant of Atri'

1. This rule provides for *aṆ* after bases *vikarṇa*, *śuṅga* and *chagala*, when derivates denote an offspring in the lineage of *vatsa*, *bharadvāja* and *atri*, respectively. The words *vatsa*, *bharadvāja* and *atri* are specified here as bases, parallel to *vikarṇa*, *śuṅga* and *chagala*, for deriving forms with the sense of a *gotra*-descendant of *vatsa*, *bharadvāja* and *atri*. That is why, derivates of this rule are explained with qualifiers such as: *vaikarṇo bhavati vātsyaś ca* 'one who is Vaikarṇa, and at the same time, also a descendant of Vatsa' etc. Obviously, these derivates signify a *gotrapatya* 'an offspring termed Gotra'.

4.1.118 पीलाया वा

pīlāyā vā
/pīlāyāḥ 5/1 *vā ϕ/*
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *prātipadikāt* #1, *taddhitāḥ* #76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #82, *tasyāpatyam* #92, *aṇ* #112)
pīlāyā apatye vā' ṇ pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *aṆ* occurs optionally after the syntactically related nominal stem *pīlā*, when ending in genitive, provided the derivate denotes an *apatya*.

EXAMPLES:

pīlāyā apatyam = *pailaḥ* 'a male descendant of Pīlā'
paileyaḥ 'id.'

1. Note that *pīlā* is a female name. As such, it already has *aṆ* available from 4.1.113 *avṛddhābhyo*. . . . But that *aṆ* is blocked by *ḍhaK* of rule 4.1.121

dvyacaḥ, since *pīlā* consists of two vowels. Our present rule offers *aṆ* as an option to *ḍhaK* which blocked the *aṆ* characterized as *tannāmika* '. . . thus named'. The *ḍhaK* of 4.1.121 cannot block this optional provision in favor of its own obligatory one, because this optional *aṆ* is specified with reference to a particular base (*pratipadokta*).

4.1.119 ढक् मण्डूकात्

ḍhak ca maṇḍūkat
/ḍhak 1/1 *ca* ϕ *maṇḍūkāt* 5/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *prātipadikāt* #1, *taddhitāḥ* #76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #82, *tasyāpatyam* #92, *aṇ* #112, *vā* #118)
maṇḍūkaśabdād apatye ḍhak pratyayo bhavati cakārād aṇ ca vā
The *taddhita* affix *ḍhaK*, and *aṆ* as well, occurs optionally after the syntactically related nominal stem *maṇḍūka*, when it ends in genitive and the derivative denotes an *apatya*.

EXAMPLES:

māṇḍūkeyaḥ 'a descendant of Maṇḍūka'
māṇḍūkaḥ 'id.'
māṇḍūkiḥ 'id.'

1. Note that *vā* is carried from the preceding rule to introduce *ḍhaK*, optionally with *aṆ*. The *ca* is used to indicate that *aṆ* is optional. It is optional to *iÑ* of 4.1.95 *ata iñ* because *maṇḍūka* ends in *a*. We will thus get three derivates: *māṇḍūkeyaḥ*, with *ḍhaK*, *māṇḍūkaḥ*, with *aṆ*, and *māṇḍūkiḥ*, with *iÑ*. Incidentally, *māṇḍūkeya* will derive from (*maṇḍūka* + *Ṅas* + *ḍhaK*) + *sU*, where its affixal *ḍh* will be replaced with *ey* of 7:1.2 *āyaneyīnīyiyaḥ*. . . .

4.1.120 स्त्रीभ्यो ढक्

strībhyo ḍhak
/strībhyaḥ 5/3 *ḍhak* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *prātipadikāt* #1, *taddhitāḥ* #76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #82, *tasyāpatyam* #92)
strībhyo' patye ḍhak pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *ḍhaK* occurs after a syntactically related nominal stem which terminates in a feminine affix, and ends in genitive, provided the derivate denotes an *apatya*.

EXAMPLES:

suparṇāyā apatyam = *sauparṇeyaḥ* 'son of Suparṇā'
vainateyaḥ 'son of Vinatā'

1. Note that *strī* 'female', of *strībhyaḥ*, specifies bases which end in femi-

nine affixes *ṬāP*, etc. (*Kāś.*: *strīgrahaṇena ṭābādipratyayāntāḥ śabdā gṛhyante*). Our bases, *suparṇā* and *vinatā*, both end in *ṬāP* (4.1.4 *ajādyataṣ ṭāp*). But why is *strī* not interpreted as specifying the word-form *strī*? Because the rule makes its specification in plural. Since the form *strī* is one, its specification should have been made in singular (*PM* ad *Kāś.*: *svarūpagrahaṇam tu na bhavati bahuvacananirdeśāt*; *Nyāsa*: *svarūpagrahaṇe hi tasyaikatvād ekavacanenaiva nirdeśaṃ kuryāt*). In the absence of denotation of feminine by means of a feminine affix, bases such as *iḍaviḍa* and *darada*, which are names of females, do not qualify for derivates of this rule. They derive *aiḍaviḍaḥ* 'son of Iḍaviḍa' and *dāradaḥ* 'son of Darada', instead.

2. A *vārttika* proposal is made for *vaḍavā* to receive affix *ḍhaK* when the derivate denotes a *vṛṣa* 'stallion, stud'. Thus we get: *vāḍaveyaḥ*. But if the derivate means an *apatya* then the derivate will be *vāḍavaḥ* 'foal'. A *vārttika* proposal for affix *aṆ*, instead, is made for feminine bases *kruñcā* 'heron' and *kokilā* 'cuckoo'. These will produce *krauñcaḥ* and *kaukilaḥ*, through *bha*-deletion and initial *vṛddhi*.

4.1.121 द्व्यचः

dvyacaḥ
/dvyacaḥ 5/1 = *dvau acau yasmin* (*bv.*), *tasmāt/*
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *prātipadikāt* #1, *taddhitāḥ* #76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #82, *tasyāpatyam* #92, *strībhyo ḍhak* #120)
dvyacaḥ strīpratyayāntād apatye ḍhak pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *ḍhaK* occurs after a syntactically related nominal stem which signifies feminine, contains two vowels and ends in genitive, provided the derivate denotes an *apatya*.

EXAMPLES:

dattāyā apatyam = *dātteyaḥ* 'Dattā's son'
gaupeyaḥ 'Gopā's son'

1. Why do we need this rule when its derivates are already covered by the earlier rule? This rule is formulated as an exception to 4.1.113 *avṛddhābhyo nadīmānūṣībhyas*. . . . Thus, *dattā* and *gopā* are names of human females, and as such, a derivate denoting their *apatya* should have been derived with *aṆ*. This rule offers *ḍhaK*, instead. It is for this reason that *Kāśikā* offers *yāmunaḥ*, a derivate of *aṆ* with its base *yamunā* containing more than two vowels, as a counter-example.

4.1.122 इतश्चानिञः

itaś cāniñaḥ
/itaḥ 5/1 *ca* ϕ *aniñaḥ* 5/1 = *na iñ* (*nañ. tat.*), *tasmāt/*

(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *prātipadikāt* #1, *taddhitāḥ* #76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #82, *tasyāpatyam* #92, *ḍhak* #120, *dvyacaḥ* #121)
ikārāntāt prātipadikād aniñantād apatye ḍhak pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *ḍhaK* occurs after a syntactically related nominal stem which contains two vowels, ends in an *i*, other than that of *iÑ*, and is used in genitive, provided the derivate denotes an *apatya*.

EXAMPLES:

āttreyaḥ 'son of Atri'
naidheyaḥ 'son of Nidhi'

1. Note that the *anuvṛtti* of *strībhyaḥ* is suspended. The *ca* is used here to attract *dvyacaḥ* (*Kāś.*: *cakāraḥ 'dvyacaḥ' ity asya anukarṣaṇārthaḥ*). The condition of *itaḥ* is imposed so that bases such as *dakṣa* and *plakṣa*, which are disyllabic but which end in *a*, could be kept out of the scope of this rule. The condition of *aniñaḥ* is imposed to similarly exclude bases such as *dākṣi* and *plākṣi* which end in affix *iÑ*. Thus, *dākṣiḥ* and *dākṣāyaṇaḥ* serve as counter-examples for these conditions. Of course, *dvyacaḥ* is needed here to exclude a base, for example *mārīci*, which ends in *i* but consists of more than two vowels.

2. Note that *āttreyaḥ* and *naidheyaḥ* are derivates of *atri* and *nidhi* which, in turn, are names of sages. This rule thus also blocks the *aṆ* of 4.1.114 *ṛṣyandhakavṛṣṇi*. . . .

4.1.123 शुभ्रादिभ्यश्च

śubhrādibhyaś ca
/śubhrādibhyaḥ 5/3 = *śubhra ādir yeṣāṃ* (*bv.*), *tebhyaḥ*; *ca* ϕ/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *prātipadikāt* #1, *taddhitāḥ* #76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #82, *tasyāpatyam* #92, *ḍhak* #120)
'śubhra' ity evam ādibhyaḥ prātipadikebhyo ḍhak pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *ḍhaK* also occurs after a syntactically related nominal stem listed in the group headed by *śubhra*, provided it ends in genitive and the derivate denotes an *apatya*.

EXAMPLES:

śaubhreyaḥ 'son of Śubhra'
vaiṣṭapureyaḥ 'son of Viṣṭapura'

1. Note that nominals, referenced here as *śubhrādi*, consist of bases which, without this rule, qualify for affixes *aṆ* and *iÑ*, etc. For example, bases which end in *a* will form an exception to affix *iÑ*. Similarly, *śalākā*, *kurekā*, *ambikā*, *aśokā*, *khaṭvā* and *piṅgalā*, etc., will form an exception to *aṆ*, characterized as

tannāmika (4.1.113 *avṛddhābhyo . . .*). A base, for example *vidhavā*, will form an exception to affix *ḍhraK* (4.1.131 *kṣudrābhyo vā*). Bases such as *kiṃkasā, rohiṇī, ajavasti* and *śakandhi*, etc., will form exceptions to *ḍhaÑ* of 4.1.135 *catuṣpādbhyo ḍhañ*. The *ḍhaK* of our present rule can be accepted as an exception to all these affixes.

2. Commentators state that *ca* of this rule is used for bringing some additional bases under the scope of this rule (*anuktasamuccayārtha*). This way, one can also derive *pāṇḍaveya* (optionally; no deletion by 6.4.147 *ḍhelopo'kadrvāḥ*) and *gāṅgeya*. A proposal is also made to treat this listing as open-ended (*ākṛtigaṇa*).

4.1.124 विकर्णकुषीतकात्काश्यपे

vikarṇakuṣītakāt kāśyape
/vikarṇa-kuṣītakāt 5/1 (*sam. dv.*), *tasmāt; kāśyape* 7/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *prātipadikāt* #1, *taddhitāḥ* #76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #82, *tasyāpatyam* #92, *ḍhak* #120)
vikarṇaśabdāt kuṣītakaśabdāc ca kāśyape' patyaviśeṣe ḍhak pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *ḍhaK* occurs after syntactically related nominal stems *vikarṇa* and *kuṣītaka*, when ending in genitive, provided derivates denote an *apatya* of Kāśyapa.

EXAMPLES:

vaikarṇeyaḥ 'son of Vikarṇa, a Kāśyapa by gotra'
kauṣītakeyaḥ 'son of Kuṣītaka, a Kāśyapa by gotra'

1. A separate rule for these two bases becomes necessary in view of the restriction of *kāśyape*. Elsewhere, we will have *vaikarṇiḥ* and *kauṣītakiḥ*, both derivates of *iÑ* (4.1.95 *ata iñ*).

4.1.125 भ्रुवो वुक्च

bhruvo vuk ca
/bhruvaḥ 5/1 *vuk* 1/1 *ca* ϕ/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *prātipadikāt* #1, *taddhitāḥ* #76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #82, *tasyāpatyam* #92, *ḍhak* #120)
bhrūśabdād apatye ḍhak pratyayo bhavati tatsanniyogena ca vug āgamaḥ
The *tadhita* affix *ḍhaK* occurs after the syntactically related nominal stem *bhrū*, with the additional provision of *vUK* to come in place of *bhrū*, when the stem ends in genitive and the derivate denotes an *apatya*.

EXAMPLES:

bhrauveyaḥ 'a descendant of Bhrū'

1. The *ca* is used to bring affix *ḍhaK*, in conjunction with which *vUK* is introduced as an augment. The word *bhruvaḥ* can thus be interpreted as

ending in *pañcamī* 'ablative', for purposes of introducing affix *ḍhaK*. It can also be interpreted as ending in *ṣaṣṭhī* 'genitive', for introducing the augment. Incidentally, the *U* of *vUK* is used to facilitate articulation (*uccāraṇārtha*). The *K* is an *it* which, in consonance with 1.1.46 *ādyantau ṭakitau*, enables *v* to be introduced as the end (*anta*) of *bhrū*. We thus get *bhrū*(*v*) + *Ṅas* + *ḍhaK* = *bhr*(*ū*→*au*) *v* + (*ḍh*→*ey*) *a* = *bhrauveya* + *sU*→*bhrauveyaḥ*. A wrong form, i.e., **bhrāveyaḥ*, will result if *vUK* is not introduced as an augment.

4.1.126 कल्याण्यादीनामिनङ्

kalyāṇyādīnām inaṅ
/kalyāṇyādīnām 6/3 = *kalyāṇy ādir yeṣāṃ* (*bv.*), *teṣām*; *inaṅ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *prātipadikāt* #1, *taddhitāḥ* #76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #82, *tasyāpatyam* #92, *ḍhak* #120)
'*kalyāṇī*' *ity evamādīnām śabdānām apatye ḍhak pratyayo bhavati*; *tat-sanniyogena ca inaṅādeśaḥ*
The *taddhita* affix *ḍhaK* occurs after a syntactically related nominal stem listed in the group headed by *kalyāṇī*, with an additional provision that *inAṄ* come in place of the final sound segment of these stems, provided they end in genitive and derivates denote an *apatya*.

EXAMPLES:

kālyāṇineyaḥ 'Kalyāṇī's son'
saubhāgineyaḥ 'Subhagā's son'
daurbhāgineyaḥ 'Durbhagā's son'

1. Note that stems of the *kalyāṇyādi* group mostly end in feminine affixes. They could have thus qualified for affix *ḍhaK* (4.1.120 *strībhyo ḍhak*). This rule, in case of bases which end in feminine affixes, is primarily formulated to provide *inAṄ* as a replacement (*ādeśa*). It offers both the affix as well as *inAṄ* to bases not ending in a feminine affix (*Kāś.*: *strīpratyayārthānām ādeśārthaṃ grahaṇam pratyayasya siddhatvāt. anyeṣām ubhayārtham*). Of course, *inAṄ*, since it is marked with *Ṅ* (1.1.53 *ṅic ca*), will replace the final sound segment of *kalyāṇī*, etc. That *A* of *inAṄ* is not an *it*. Deriving *kālyāṇineyaḥ* from *kalyāṇ*(*ī*→*in*) + *Ṅas* + *ḍha* = *kalyāṇin* + (*dh*→*ey*) *a* = *k*(*a*→*ā*) *lyāṇin* + *eya* = *kālyāṇineya* + *sU* = *kālyāṇineyaḥ*, via applications of 7.1.2 *āyaneyīnīyiyaḥ* . . . and 7.2.118 *kiti ca*, offers nothing new.

Note that *subhagā* and *durbhagā* will both have a replacement in *vṛddhi* for their first two vowels, as is required by 7.3.19 *hṛdbhagasindhvanta*. . . . Thus, *subhag*(*ā*→*in*) + *Ṅas* + *ḍha* = *subhagin* + (*ḍh*→*ey*) *a* = *s*(*u*→*au*) *bh*(*a*→*ā*) *gin* + *eya* = *saubhāgineya* + *sU* = *saubhāgineyaḥ*. Similarly, *daurbhāgineyaḥ*.

4.1.127 कुलटाया वा

kulaṭāyā vā
/kulaṭāyā 6/1 *vā* ϕ/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *prātipadikāt* #1, *taddhitāḥ* #76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #82, *tasyāpatyam* #92, *ḍhak* #120, *inaṅ* #126)
kulaṭāyā apatye ḍhak pratyayo bhavati, tatsanniyogena ca vā inaṅādeśo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *ḍhaK* also occurs after the syntactically related nominal stem *kulaṭā*, with an additional provision that *inAṄ* come in place of the final sound segment of *kulaṭā*, provided this base ends in genitive and the derivate denotes an *apatya*.

EXAMPLES:

kulaṭāyā apatyam = *kaulaṭineyaḥ* 'son of a woman of (no) character'
kaulaṭeyaḥ 'id.'

1. Here again, the affix is available from 4.1.120 *strībhyo ḍhak*. This rule is formulated especially for replacement in *inAṄ*. The fact that only *inAṄ*, and not affix *ḍhaK*, is optional (*vā*), is known from interpretation of the learned (*vyākhyāna*). This yields two forms: *kaulaṭineyaḥ* and *kaulaṭeyaḥ*, where the first derivate receives an optional *inAṄ*.

2. The word *kulaṭā* is explained as denoting a woman of low moral character (*duḥśīla*). This word, however, could also refer to a woman who may not be of a low moral character but who, in order for begging, wanders from one door (family) to the other (*PM* ad *Kāś.*: *yā punar bhikṣālipsayā suśīlāpi kulāny aṭati*). It is argued that the *kulaṭā* of this rule means a *bhikṣuṇī* 'a beggar' who wanders door to door but maintains her moral character (*kulāny aṭantī śīlaṃ na bhinatti*). A derivate, relative to *kulaṭā*, denoting a woman of low moral character (*kulāny aṭantī śīlaṃ bhinatti*) will, of course, be: *kaulaṭeraḥ*, a derivate of affix *ḍhraK* (4.1.131 *kṣudrābhyo vā*). Incidentally, the *ḍh* of *ḍhraK*, as usual, will be replaced with *ey* after which *y* will be deleted by 6.1.66 *lopo vyor vali*. Rule 7.2.118 *kiti ca* will accomplish initial *vṛddhi*.

4.1.128 चटकाया ऐरक्

caṭakāyā airak
/caṭakāyāḥ 5/1 *airak* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *prātipadikāt* #1, *taddhitāḥ* #76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #82, *tasyāpatyam* #92)
caṭakāyā apatye airak pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *airaK* occurs after the syntactically related nominal stem *caṭakā* 'sparrow', when ending in genitive, provided the derivate denotes an *apatya*.

EXAMPLES:

cāṭakairaḥ 'son of a woman named Caṭakā; male sparrow'

1. There are two *vārttika* proposals: (*i*) affix *airaK* be also made available after *caṭaka* (*caṭakāc ceti vaktavyam*); and (*ii*) *airaK* be deleted by *LUK* when deriving a female offspring (*striyam apatye lug vaktavyaḥ*). These proposals will facilitate deriving *cāṭakairaḥ* and *caṭakā*, respectively.

2. A formulation of this rule as *caṭakād airak*, with a masculine base, i.e., *caṭaka*, can also account for *caṭakā*, a feminine, as per *paribhāṣā* (72): *prātipadikagrahaṇe liṅgaviśiṣṭasyāpi grahaṇam*. Deletion by *LUK*, of *airaK*, will still be needed for deriving the female offspring of *caṭaka*. Jinendrabuddhi claims that this *sūtra* was originally formulated as: *caṭakād airak*. Now, because of carelessness, we find the rule as *caṭakāyā airak* (*Nyāsa* ad *Kāś.*: *pulliṃgād api striyām iṣyata eva luk. evaṃ caṭakād airak ity etat sūtram āsīt. idānīṃ pramādāc ca caṭakāyā iti pāṭhaḥ*).

4.1.129 गोधाया ढ्रक्

godhāyā ḍhrak
/godhāyāḥ 5/1 *ḍhrak* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *prātipadikāt* #1, *taddhitāḥ* #76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #82, *tasyāpatyam* #92)
godhāyā apatye ḍhrak pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *ḍhraK* occurs after the syntactically related nominal stem *godhā*, when ending in genitive, provided the derivate denotes an *apatya*.

EXAMPLES:

gaudheraḥ 'son of a woman named Godhā; a male alligator'

1. Note that *godhā* will additionally have a derivate in *ḍhaK*, i.e., *gaudheyaḥ* (4.1.123 *śubhrādibhyaś ca*), since it is also listed as part of the *śubhrādi* group.

4.1.130 आरगुदीचाम्

ārag udīcām
/ārak 1/1 *udīcām* 6/3/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *prātipadikāt* #1, *taddhitāḥ* #76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #82, *tasyāpatyam* #92, *godhāyāḥ* #129)
godhāyā apatye udīcām ācāryāṇāṃ matena ārak pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *āraK*, in the opinion of Northern grammarians, occurs after the syntactically related nominal stem *godhā*, when ending in genitive, provided the derivate denotes an *apatya*.

EXAMPLES:

godhāraḥ 'son of a woman named Godhā; male alligator'

1. Commentators explain that *udīcām* is used here to show respect (*pūjārtham*). That is, it is not used for stating an option (*vikalpārtham*). For, a provision made for *āraK*, parallel to affixes *ḍhaK* and *ḍhraK*, will, at the strength of an explicit statement, become optional (*vacana-sāmarthyāt*).

2. Why do we have to state *āraK*? Why not simply state *rak*? The *ā* of *āraK* is not needed since *ā* is already given at the end of *godhā*. But Pāṇini still uses *āraK* so that bases which may not end in *ā* can also avail this affixal provision. Consider *jāḍāraḥ* 'son of an idiot' and *pāṇḍāraḥ* 'son of an impotent; a bastard', where these bases do not end in *ā*.

4.1.131 क्षुद्राभ्यो वा

kṣudrābhyo vā
/kṣudrābhyaḥ 5/1 *vā ϕ/*
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *prātipadikāt* #1, *taddhitāḥ* #76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #82, *tasyāpatyam* #92, *ḍhrak* #129)
kṣudrābhyo vā'patye ḍhrak pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *ḍhraK* occurs optionally after a syntactically related nominal stem signifying *kṣudrā*, when it ends in genitive and the derivate is to denote an *apatya*.

EXAMPLES:

kāṇeraḥ 'son of a woman who has but one eye'
kāṇeyaḥ 'id.'
dāseraḥ 'son of a maid'
dāseyaḥ 'id.'

1. The *anuvṛtti* of *ḍharK* alone is valid here. The word *kṣudrā* is explained as a female who either lacks, or is deficient in, a limb (*aṅgahīnā*), or else, does not have any moral character (*śīlahīnā*). Haradatta explains *śīlahīnā* as *aniyatapuṃskā dāsīprabhṛtayaḥ* 'slaves, or maids, etc., who have no fixed male partners'.

Note that *kṣudrā* specifies a base via meaning (*artha*), and not via form (*Kāś.: arthadharmeṇa tadabhidhāyinyaḥ prakṛtayo nirdiśyante*). That is, affix *ḍhraK* is not to be introduced after the word *kṣudrā*. It should be introduced after bases similar in meaning to *kṣūdrā*.

The *vā* of this rule makes affix *ḍhraK* optional to *ḍhaK* of 4.1.120 *strībhyo ḍhak*.

4.1.132 पितृष्वसुश्छण्

pitṛṣvasuś chaṇ

/pitṛṣvasuḥ 5/1 *chaṇ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *prātipadikāt* #1, *taddhitāḥ* #76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #82, *tasyāpatyam* #92)
pitṛṣvasṛśabdād apatye chaṇ pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *chaṆ* occurs after the syntactically related nominal stem *pitṛṣvasṛ*, when ending in genitive, provided the derivate is to denote an *apatya*.

EXAMPLES:

paitṛṣvasrīyaḥ 'father's sister's son'

1. Note that *chaṆ* forms an exception to the more general *aṆ* of 3.1.92 *tasyāpatyam*. Incidentally, the final *ṛ* of *pitṛṣvasṛ* is replaced with *r* (6.1.77 *iko yaṇ aci*). Rule 7.1.3 *āyaneyīnī* . . ., of course, has the affixal *ch* replaced with *īy*. This, after initial *vṛddhi* (7.2.115 *aco'ñṇiti*), will produce *pitṛṣvasṛ* + *Ṅas* + *chaṆ*→*pitṛṣvasṛ* + *cha*→*pitṛṣvasṛ* + (*ch*→*īy*) *a*→*pitṛṣvas*(*ṛ*→*r*) + *iya* = *paitṛṣvasrīya* + *sU*→*paitṛṣvasrīyaḥ*.

4.1.133 ढकि लोपः

ḍhaki lopaḥ
/ḍhaki 7/1 *lopaḥ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *prātipadikāt* #1, *taddhitāḥ* #76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #82, *tasyāpatyam* #92, *pitṛṣvasṛ* #132)
pitṛṣvasur apatyapratyaye ḍhaki parato lopo bhavati
LOPA comes in place of the final (1.1.52 *alo'ntyasya*) sound segment of *pitṛṣvasṛ* when the *taddhita* affix *ḍhaK*, used with the signification of *apatya*, follows.

EXAMPLES:

paitṛṣvaseyaḥ 'father's sister's son'

1. This rule requires that *ṛ* of *pitṛṣvasṛ* be deleted in conjunction with affix *ḍhaK*. But since there is no rule which makes a provision for *ḍhaK* after *pitṛṣvasṛ*, the question of deleting its *ṛ* does not arise. One must accept the existence of such a provision since Pāṇini makes it a condition (*nimitta*) for deleting *ṛ*. Our present rule itself, if there is no other rule, must provide for *ḍhaK*. For, how could one talk about *LOPA* 'non-appearance (*adarśana*)' when there is no appearance (*darśana*) to start with.

4.1.134 मातृष्वसुश्च

mātṛṣvasuś ca
/mātṛṣvasuḥ 5/1 *ca* ϕ/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *prātipadikāt* #1, *taddhitāḥ* #76,

samarthānāṃ prathamād vā #82, *tasyāpatyam* #92, *pitṛṣvasṛ* #132, *ḍhaki lopaḥ* #133)
mapitṛṣvasur apatyapratyaye ḍhaki parato lopo bhavati
LOPA also comes in place of the final sound segment of a syntactically related nominal stem, particularly *mātṛṣvasṛ*, when it ends in genitive and the *taddhita* affix *ḍhaK* follows with the signification of an *apatya.*

EXAMPLES:

mātṛṣvasrīyaḥ 'mother's sister's son'
mātṛṣvaseyaḥ 'id.'

1. This rule extends the deletion of final *ṛ* also to *mātṛṣvasṛ* 'mother's sister'. However, this deletion cannot be accomplished unless *ḍhaK* follows. Commentators explain that *mātṛṣvasṛ* is specified here relative to *pitṛṣvasṛ*. They conclude on this basis that whatever happens to *pitṛṣvasṛ* also happens to *mātṛṣvasṛ+ Ṅas.* Accepting this specification of *mātṛṣvasṛ*, relative to *pitṛṣvasṛ*, also saves *ṛ* from deletion before *chaṆ.* We will get two forms: *mātṛṣvasrīyaḥ*, with *chaṆ* but no deletion of *ṛ* before *chaṆ*, and *mātṛṣvaseyaḥ*, with *ḍhaK* and deletion of *ṛ* (*Kāś.*: *pitṛṣvasur yad uktaṃ tan mātṛṣvasur api bhavati chaṇ pratyayo ḍhaki lopaś ca*).

2. The *ca* of this rule is used for bringing *mātṛṣvasuḥ* close to this context of *pitṛṣvasuḥ*, for proper interpretation. This way, we can say that *mātṛṣvasṛ* receives operational provisions of both *chaṆ* and *ḍhaK*, similar to *pitṛṣvasṛ*. More importantly, *paribhāṣā* (62) *anantarasya vidhir bhavati pratiṣedho vā*, can no longer deny *chaṆ* and *ḍhaK* to *mātṛṣvasṛ*. Recall that this *paribhāṣā* allows an operational or negative provision only in most immediate contexts. Accepting this *paribhāṣā*, with no expectancy relationship between *pitṛṣvasṛ* and *mātṛṣvasṛ*, can only provide for deletion of *ṛ* on the basis of most immediate context of 4.1.133 *ḍhaki lopaḥ.* It cannot permit *chaṆ*, which is non-immediate, though desired. Accepting an expectancy relationship between specifications of *mātṛṣvasṛ* and *pitṛṣvasṛ* accomplishes what is desired.

4.1.135 चतुष्पाद्भ्यो ढञ्

catuṣpādbhyo ḍhañ
/ catuṣpādbhyaḥ 5/3 *ḍhañ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *prātipadikāt* #1, *taddhitāḥ* #76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #82, *tasyāpatyam* #92)
catuṣpādabhidhāyinībhyaḥ prakṛtibhyo'patye ḍhañ pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *ḍhaÑ* occurs after a syntactically related nominal stem with the signification of a quadruped (*catuṣpād*), when the derivate denotes an *apatya.*

EXAMPLES:

kāmaṇḍaleyaḥ 'offspring of an animal named kamaṇḍalu'

śauntibāheyaḥ 'offspring of an animal named śuntibāhū'
jāmbeyaḥ 'offspring of a jackal'

1. Here too, through the characteristic meaning of a *catuṣpād*, we find references to bases which denote a *catuṣpād*. Specification of *catuṣpādbhyaḥ* in plural is thus intended to exclude introduction of *ḍhaÑ* after *catuṣpād*, the word-form (*bahuvacananirdeśaḥ svarūpavidhinirāsāya*). Affix *ḍhaÑ*, in itself, is an exception to affixes *aṆ* and *ḍhaK*, etc.

4.1.136 गृष्ट्यादिभ्यश्च

gṛṣṭyādibhyaś ca
/gṛṣṭy-ādibhyaḥ 5/3 (*bv.*); *ca* ϕ/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *prātipadikāt* #1, *taddhitāḥ* #76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #82, *tasyāpatyam* #92, *ḍhañ* #135)
gṛṣṭyādibhyaḥ śabdebhyo'patye ḍhañ pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *ḍhaÑ* also occurs after a syntactically related nominal stem which is listed in the group headed by *gṛṣṭi*, and ends in genitive, provided the derivate is to denote an *apatya*.

EXAMPLES:

gṛṣṭer apatyam = *gārṣṭeyaḥ* 'son of Gṛṣṭi, the woman who gave birth but once'
hṛṣṭi 'son of Hṛṣṭi'

1. This affixal provision of *ḍhaÑ* forms an exception to affixes *aṆ* (in case of *mittrayu* and *ajabasti*) and *ḍhaK* (in case of others) of 4.1.114 *ṛṣyandhaka* . . . and 4.1.122 *itaś cāniñaḥ*, respectively.

2. Note that *gṛṣṭi* refers to a female who has given birth but once. A provision of affix *ḍhaK*, in connection with *catuṣpād*, is already made for animals. This provision of *ḍhaÑ*, in relation to *gṛṣṭi*, must be made for those who do not possess four legs (*acatuṣpād*; *Kāś.*: *acatuṣpādarthaṃ vacanam*).

4.1.137 राजश्वसुराद्यत्

rājaśvasurād yat
/rājaśvasurāt 5/1 = *rājā ca śvasuraś ca* (*sam. dv.*), *tasmāt*; *yat* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *prātipadikāt* #1, *taddhitāḥ* #76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #82, *tasyāpatyam* #92)
rājan-śvasuraśabdābhyām apatye yat pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *yaT* occurs after syntactically related nominal stems *rājan* 'king' and *śvasura* 'father-in-law', when ending in genitive, provided the derivates denote an *apatya*.

EXAMPLES:

rājanyaḥ 'king's descendant'
śvasuryaḥ 'wife's brother'

1. A *vārttika* recommends that this signification of *apatya*, in the context of *rājan*, should also be constrained with *jāti* 'class, caste' (*rājño'patye jātigrahaṇam*). Thus, *rājanyaḥ* should be understood as: *rājanyo bhavati kṣatriyaś ca* 'a *rājanya* is one who is also a Kṣatriya'. Elsewhere, we will get *rājanaḥ* 'son of a Vaiśya or Śūdra' with *aÑ*, and no restriction of *jāti*.

Note that *ṭi*-deletion (1.1.64 *aco'ntyādi ṭi*) of *rājan* is blocked by 6.4.168 *ye cābhāvakarmaṇoḥ*. Deriving *śvasuryaḥ* from *śvasura* + *Ṅas* + *yaT* involves *bha*-deletion of the final *a* of *śvasura*.

4.1.138 क्षत्राद् घः

kṣatrād ghaḥ
/kṣatrāt 5/1 *ghaḥ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *prātipadikāt* #1, *taddhitāḥ* #76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #82, *tasyāpatyam* #92)
kṣatraśabdād apatye ghaḥ pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *gha* occurs after the syntactically related nominal stem *kṣatra*, when ending in genitive, provided the derivate denotes an *apatya*.

EXAMPLES:

kṣatriyaḥ 'descendant of a Kṣatra'

1. The word *kṣatriya* also refers here to *jāti*. Elsewhere, we will get *kṣātriḥ* 'son of a Kṣatriya, born in a Śūdrā mother', a derivate of *iÑ*.

2. Why can we not interpret *gha* of this rule as relating to affixes *taraP* and *tamaP* (1.1.22 *taraptamapau ghaḥ*.). Recall that rule 7.1.2 *āyaneyi* . . . makes a provision for *gh* of this affix to be replaced with *iy*. This, in turn, indicates (*jñāpayati*) that references relative to an affixal provision, for example this *gha*, must be limited to form only (*svarūpa*).

4.1.139 कुलात्खः

kulāt khaḥ
/kulāt 5/1 *khaḥ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *prātipadikāt* #1, *taddhitāḥ* #76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #82, *tasyāpatyam* #92)
kulaśabdāntāt prātipadikāt kevalāc cāpatye khaḥ pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *kha* occurs after the syntactically related nominal stem *kula*, or a stem with *kula* as its final constituent, when these stems end in genitive and the derivate denotes an *apatya*.

EXAMPLES:

kulīnaḥ 'born in a high family'
āḍhyakulīnaḥ 'born in a rich and high family'
śrotriyakulīnaḥ 'born in the high family of a śrotriya'

1. Note that our next rule makes a restrictive provision for *kula* with the qualification of *apūrvapadāt* 'when not used in combination after a preceding constituent'. This indicates that *kula* can be used as a base, either by itself or with a preceding constituent. Our present rule covers bases of both kinds (*Kāś.*: *uttarasūtre pūrvapadapratiṣedhād iha tadantaḥ kevalaś ca dṛśyate*).

4.1.140 अपूर्वपदादन्यतरस्यां यड्ढकञौ

apūrvapadād anyatarasyāṃ yaḍḍhakañau
/ apūrvapadāt 5/1 = *avidyamānaṃ pūrvapadaṃ yasya tad apūrvapadam* (*bv.*), *tasmāt*; *anyatarasyām* 7/1 *yaḍ-ḍhakañau* 1/2 (*itar. dv.*)/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *prātipadikāt* #1, *taddhitāḥ* #76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #82, *tasyāpatyam* #92, *kulāt* #139)
apūrvapadāt kulaśabdād anyatarasyāṃ 'yat, ḍhakañ' ity etau pratyayau bhavataḥ
The *taddhita* affixes *yaT* and *ḍhakaÑ* occur, optionally, after the syntactically related nominal stem *kula*, not used in combination after a preceding constituent, provided it ends in genitive and the derivate denotes an *apatya*.

EXAMPLES:

kulyaḥ 'born in a high family'
kauleyakaḥ 'id.'
kulīnaḥ 'id.'

1. Note that *apūrvapadam* is paraphrased as *na vidyamānaṃ pūrvapadaṃ yasya* 'that which does not have a constituent *pada* to precede'. That is, *kulāt*, carried from the preceding rule, is here qualified with 'absence of a preceding compound constituent' (*Kāś.*: *samāsasambandhipūrvapadasyābhāvena kulaśabdo viśeṣyate*). This affixal provision of *yaT* and *ḍhakaÑ* is, of course, optional (*anyatarasyām*). We will get a derivate in *kha* (4.1.139 *kulāt* . . .) when this option is not availed. There will thus be three derivates: *kulyaḥ*, *kauleyakaḥ*, *kulīnaḥ*.

2. A question is raised as to why *pūrvapada* should be interpreted as denoting 'a constituent used in combination to precede *kula*'? Why can it not be simply interpreted as 'a word (*pada*) which occurs before *kula*'. This interpretation is not favored because one talks about *pūrvapada* 'a *pada* which precedes' and *uttarapada* 'a *pada* which follows' generally in the context of a compound.

3. Why was this rule not formulated simply as: *apūrvād anyatarasyāṃ yaḍḍhakañau*? The desired interpretation can be gotten, even without the use of the word *pada* (*Nyāsa*: *apūrvād ity evaṃ kasmān noktam; evam api hīṣṭaṃ siddhaṃ bhavati*). The rule will also be shorter (*laghu ca sūtraṃ bhavati*).

Commentators explain that *pada* is used to clearly specify what should not precede *kula*. That is, the affixal provision of *yaT* and *ḍhakaÑ*, optionally with *kha*, is not available to *kula* when it is preceded with a constituent termed *pada*. That is, only a constituent termed *pada*, when preceding *kula*, can disqualify it from availing this option. The restriction does not apply when something other than a *pada* is used with *kula*. This facilitates derivation of forms such as *bahukulyaḥ*, *bāhukuleyakaḥ* and *bahukulīnaḥ*, where *bahu* is not a *pada*. It is, instead, an affix (*bahuC*; 5.3.68 *vibhāṣā supo bahuc purastāt*).

4.1.141 महाकुलादञ्खञौ

mahākulād añkhañau
/mahākulāt 5/1 *añ-khañau* 1/2 (*itar. dv.*)/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *prātipadikāt* #1, *taddhitāḥ* #76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #82, *tasyāpatyam* #92, *anyatarasyām* #140)
mahākulaśabdād añkhañau pratyayau bhavataḥ
The *taddhita* affixes *aÑ* and *khaÑ* occur optionally after the syntactically related nominal stem *mahākula*, when it ends in genitive and the derivate denotes an *apatya*.

EXAMPLES:

māhākulaḥ 'born in a great family'
māhākulīnaḥ 'id.'
mahākulīnaḥ 'id.'

1. Note that *anyatarasyām* is also carried. Thus, we will also get a derivate in *kha*, additionally with those in *aÑ* and *khaÑ*. A derivate of *khaÑ*, because of its *Ñ* as an *it*, will qualify for initial (*ādi*) *vṛddhi* (7.2.115 *aco'ñṇiti*). A derivate of *kha* will not qualify for the same.

4.1.142 दुष्कुलाड् ढक्

duṣkulāḍ ḍhak
/duṣkulāt 5/1 *ḍhak* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *prātipadikāt* #1, *taddhitāḥ* #76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #82, *tasyāpatyam* #92, *anyatarasyām* #140)
duṣkulaśabdād apatye ḍhak pratyayo bhavaty anyatarasyām
The *taddhita* affix *ḍhaK* occurs after the syntactically related nominal stem *duṣkula*, when it ends in genitive and the derivate denotes an *apatya*.

EXAMPLES:

dauṣkuleyaḥ 'born in a bad family'
duṣkulīnaḥ 'id.'

1. Here again, due to the *anuvṛtti* of *anyatarasyām*, we will get *duṣkulīnaḥ*, a derivate in *kha* parallel to *dauṣkuleyaḥ*.

4.1.143 स्वसुश्छः

svasuś chaḥ
/svasuḥ 6/1 *chaḥ* 1/1
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *prātipadikāt* #1, *taddhitāḥ*, #76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #82, *tasyāpatyam* #92)
svasṛśabdād apatye chaḥ pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *cha* occurs after the syntactically related nominal stem *svasṛ*, when it ends in genitive and the derivate denotes an *apatya*.
svasur apatyam = *svasrīyaḥ* 'sister's son'

1. This *cha* is an exception to the *aṆ* of 4.1.113 *avṛddhābhyo. . . .*

4.1.144 भ्रातुर्व्यच्च

bhrātur vyac ca
/bhrātuḥ 5/1 *vyat* 1/1 *ca* ϕ/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *prātipadikāt* #1, *taddhitāḥ* #76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #82, *tasyāpatyam* #92)
bhrātṛśabdād apatye vyat pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *vyaT* occurs after the syntactically related nominal stem *bhrātṛ*, when it ends in genitive and the derivate denotes an *apatya*.

EXAMPLES:

bhrātṛvyaḥ 'brother's son'
bhrātrīyaḥ 'id.'

1. The *T* as an *it*, in *vyaT*, is intended for *svarita* (6.1.185 *tit svaritam*). The affixal provision itself is an exception to *aṆ*. The option of *cha* is facilitated by *ca*, thereby yielding a derivate such as *bhrātrīyaḥ*.

4.1.145 व्यन् सपत्ने

vyan sapatne
/vyan 1/1 *sapatne* 7/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *prātipadikāt* #1, *taddhitāḥ* #76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #82, *bhrātuḥ* #144)
bhrātṛśabdād vyan pratyayo bhavati samudāyena ced amitraḥ sapatna ucyate

The *taddhita* affix *vyaN* occurs after the syntactically related nominal stem *bhrāṭṛ*, when it ends in genitive and the derivate denotes *sapatna* 'non-friendly, enemy'.

EXAMPLES:

bhrāṭṛvyaḥ kaṇṭakaḥ 'an enemy, a thorn'

1. Commentators agree that derivates of this rule do not denotate an *apatya*. That is, *bhrāṭṛvyaḥ*, here, does not denote 'brother's son'. Why is this rule inserted in the middle of this section dealing with *apatya*? Is it possible to accept the derivate of this rule as denoting an *apatya* with unfriendly persuasions? That is, in contradistinction to one who is truly like a son? We cannot accept the sense of *apatya* as valid here. For, a derivate of this rule must denote *sapatna* 'one who is not a friend (*amitra*)'. Besides, making a provision for *vyaN*, to denote an *apatya*, will be vacuous (*vyartha*). For, the preceding rule already offers *vyaT* with the denotatum of an *apatya*. What if a brother's offspring becomes an enemy? That will allow affix *vyaN* with the sense of *sapatna*. It is for this reason that *Kāśikā* rightly remarks: *apatyārtho nāsty eva* 'the sense of an offspring is certainly not involved here' (*PM* ad *Kāś.*: . . . *yo'pi sapatno bhrātur apatyaṃ sambhavati, so'py ādyudāttād bhrāṭṛvyaśabdāt sapatnarūpeṇaiva pratīyate, nāpatyarūpeṇa . . . ataḥ suṣṭhūktam*: '*apatyārtho nāsty eva*').

Note that derivates of *vyaT* and *vyaN* do not differ in form. They, however, differ in accent which accounts for their semantic difference. A derivate of *vyaT*, an affix with *T* as an *it* (*tit*), receives *svarita* view of 6.1.185 *tit svaritam*. A derivate of *vyaN*, an affix with *N* as an *it* (*nit*), is obligatorily marked *udātta* at the beginning (*ādyudātta*; 6.1.197 *ñnityādir nityam*). Thus, the same form *bhrāṭṛvya* can be interpreted differently, depending on whether it is marked with a *svarita* or *udātta* accent.

4.1.146 रेवत्यादिभ्यष्ठक्

revatyādibhyaṣ ṭhak
/revatyādibhyaḥ 5/3 = *revatī ādir yeṣām* (*bv.*); *ṭhak* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *prātipadikāt* #1, *taddhitāḥ* #76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #82, *tasyāpatyam* #92)
revatīty evamādibhyo'patye ṭhak pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *ṭhaK* occurs after a syntactically related nominal stem listed in the group headed by *revatī*, when the stem ends in genitive and the derivate denotes an *apatya*.

EXAMPLES:

raivatikaḥ 'son of **Revatī**'
āśvapālikaḥ 'son of **Aśvapāli**'

1. This affixal provision of *ṭhaK* forms an exception to affixes *ḍhaK* (relative to four bases ending in feminine affixes; 4.1.113 *avṛddhābhyo . . .*), *aṆ* (relative to *vṛkavañcin*) and *iÑ* (relative to bases ending in *a*; 4.1.95 *ata iñ*).

4.1.147 गोत्रस्त्रियाः कुत्सने ण च

gotrastriyāḥ kutsane ṇa ca
/gotrastriyāḥ 5/1 = *gotraṃ ca sā strī = gotrastrī* (*karm. tat.*), *tasyāḥ*; *kutsane* 7/1 *ṇa* (1/1 deleted) *ca ϕ/*
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *prātipadikāt* #1, *taddhitāḥ* #76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #82, *tasyāpatyam* #92)
gotraṃ yā strī tadabhidhāyinaḥ śabdād apatye ṇaḥ pratyayo bhavti, cakārāṭ ṭhak ca kutsane gamyamāne
The *taddhita* affix *Ṇa*, and *ṭhaK* as well, occurs after a syntactically related nominal stem which signifies a female *gotra*-descendant, and ends in genitive, provided the derivate denotes an *apatya* with an additional signification of *kutsana* 'reproach'.

EXAMPLES:

gārgyā apatyam = gārgaḥ jālmaḥ 'Gārga, the despicable young son of Gārgī'
gārgikaḥ 'id.'
glucukāyanyā apatyam = glaucukāyanaḥ 'Glaucukāyana, the despicable young son of Glucukāyanī'
glaucukāyanikaḥ 'id.'

1. Note that *ca* is used for facilitating the optional introduction of affix *ṭhaK*. The word *gotra* is used here in the technical sense of *pautraprabhṛti* 'grandsons, etc.' (4.1.162 *apatyaṃ pautraprabhṛti gotram*). This rule makes its affixal provision after a base which denotes a female *gotra*-descendant. Thus, its derivates will have the signification of a 'young *gotra*-descendant', in accord with 4.1.94 *gotrād yūny astriyām.*

2. *Kāśikā* explains *kutsā*, of *kutsane*, as *pitur asaṃvijñāne mātrā vyapadeśo' patyasya kutsā* 'referring to a son by a derivate of his mother's name, especially when the father is not known, thereby putting him to shame'.

Nyāsa implies that it is the action of the son, and not his lineage, that subjects him to *kutsā*. Making a reference to him by a derivate of his mother's name, instead of that of his father's, brings *kutsā*. There is enough evidence to subscribe to the idea of both matrilineal and patrilineal kinds of families. Simply because of someone is referred to by a derivate of his mother's name should not invite censure. A mother may be the granddaughter of a highly respectful family but the son, by his conduct, may prove to be despicable (*Nyāsa*: *atra kenacit pratiṣiddhācaraṇādinā kutsā veditavyā*).

3. *Kāśikā* cites *kārikeyaḥ, aupagavir jālmaḥ* and *gārgeyo māṇavakaḥ* as coun-

ter-examples, respectively, for three conditions of *gotram*, *striyāḥ* and *kutsane*. The first, i.e., *kārikeyaḥ*, is derived from *kārikā* + *Ṅas* + *ḍhaK*, where *kārikā* derives from *kṛ* + *ṆvuL* + *ṬāP*. The word *kārikā* does not denote a *gotra*. The second, i.e., *aupagaviḥ*, of *aupagavir jālmaḥ*, denotes a 'despicable young male *gotra*-descendant of Upagu' which must be derived with *iÑ*. For, its base, i.e., *aupagava*, still denotes a male. The sense of *kutsā* must be relatable to some unworthy action of the 'young *gotra*-descendant'.

4.1.148 वृद्धाट्ठक् सौवीरेषु बहुलम्

vṛddhāṭ ṭhak sauvīreṣu bahulam
/vṛddhāṭ 5/1 *ṭhak* 1/1 *sauvīreṣu* 7/3 *bahulam* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *prātipadikāt* #1, *taddhitāḥ* #76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #82, *tasyāpatyam* #92, *kutsane gotre* #147)
vṛddhāt sauvīragotrād apatye bahulaṃ ṭhak pratyayo bhavati kutsane gamyamāne
The *taddhita* affix *ṭhaK* occurs, variously (*bahulam*), after a syntactically related nominal termed *vṛddha*, when ending in genitive with the signification of a *gotra*-descendant of the country of Sauvīras, provided the derivate denotes an *apatya* with an additional implication of *kutsana*.

EXAMPLES:

bhāgavittikaḥ 'a despicable young son of Bhāgavitti, a resident of the country of Sauvīras'
bhāgavittāyanaḥ 'id.'
tārṇabindavikaḥ 'a despicable young son of Tārṇabindava, a resident of the country of Sauvīras'
tārṇabindaviḥ 'id.'
ākaśāpeyikaḥ 'a despicable young son of Ākāśapeya'
ākaśāpeyiḥ 'id.'

1. Note that *kutsane* and *gotre* are both carried here. Why do we have to use *vṛddhāt* when *gotre* itself can account for it. That is, a base with the denotatum of a *gotra*-descendant will also be *vṛddha* (1.1.73 *vṛddhir yasyācām ādis tad vṛddham*). It is stated that *vṛddhāt* is used so that the *anuvṛtti* of *striyāḥ* is cancelled (*Kāś.*: *vṛddhagrahaṇaṃ strīnivṛtyartham*). For, *gotre* and *striyāḥ* share a joint specification. Consequently, if one is carried the other must also be carried. The word *gotra* is used earlier as a qualifier to *striyāḥ*. Now, it will qualify *vṛddhāt*. If *vṛddhāt* is not accepted as used for dropping the *anuvṛtti* of *striyāḥ* then *vṛddhāt* will not serve any purpose. That is, a base which will be denoting a *gotra*-descendant of the country of Sauvīras will be obligatorily *vṛddha*. Why then to restate it? Obviously, the word *vṛddha* is used here in the technical sense of a form having a *vṛddhi* vowel as its first. It is not used in the sense of an elder. The word *sauvīreṣu* refers to residents of the coun-

try of Sauvīras, the *gotra*-descendants in focus. It is thus used as a qualifier to the base (*prakṛti-viśeṣaṇam*).

2. The use of the word *bahulam* 'variously' is debatable. *Kāśikā* claims that *bahulam* distinguishes a set of four *sūtras*: 4.1.147 through 4.1.150 (*bahulagrahaṇam upādhivaicitryārtham*). The first of these rules applies only in the context of *kutsana*. The last one applies only in the context of a *gotra*-descedant of the country of Sauvīras. The two rules in the middle subscribe to both of these contexts. This is what is made clear with the use of *bahulam* (*teṣu prathamaḥ kutsana eva; antyaḥ sauvīragotra eva; madhyamau dvayor api; tad etad bahulagrahaṇāl labhyate*).

3. The following verse enumerate three *gotra*-descendants of the country of Sauvīras which receive *ṭhaK* of this rule:

> *bhāgapūrvapado vittir dvitīyas tārṇabindavaḥ/*
> *tṛtīyas tv ākaśāpeyo gotrāṭ ṭhag bahulaṃ tataḥ//*
> 'the first is *vitti*, used in combination with *bhāga* as a preceding constituent; the second is *tārṇabindu*; and the third is *ākaśāpeya*; these are bases after which *ṭhaK*, characterized with *bahulam*, occurs'

4.1.149 फेश्छ च

> *pheś cha ca*
> */pheḥ* 5/1 *cha* 1/1 (deleted) *ca* ϕ/
> (*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *prātipadikāt* #1, *taddhitāḥ* #76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #82, *tasyāpatyam* #92, *kutsane gotre* #147, *vṛddhāṭ ṭhak sauvīreṣu bahulam* #148)
> *phiñantāt prātipadikāt sauvīragotrād apatye chaḥ pratyayo bhavati cakārāṭ ṭhak kutsane gamyamāne*
> The *taddhita* affix *cha* occurs after a syntactically related nominal stem termed *vṛddha*, when ending in *phiÑ* with the signification of a *gotra*-descendant of the country of Sauvīras, provided the derivate denotes an *apatya* with the implication of *kutsana*.

EXAMPLES:

> *yāmundāyanīyaḥ* 'the despicable son of Yāmundāyani'
> *yāmundāyanikaḥ* 'id.'

1. Note that *phe* refers to affix *phiÑ*. Why can it not also refer to affix *phiÑ*? It is explained that *phe* must refer to *phiÑ*, since its *Ñ* facilitates initial *vṛddhi*. That this *vṛddhi* is required becomes clear from the condition of *vṛddhāt*. The *N*, as an *it* in *phiN*, will not facilitate initial *vṛddhi*, and hence, *cha*, in the absence of a base termed *vṛddha*, will be blocked.

Note that *ca* is used to attract affix *ṭhaK*. Thus, we also get: *yāmundāyanikaḥ*. A derivate parallel to *yāmundāyanīyaḥ*, of course with no implications of *kutsana*, will be: *yāmundāyaniḥ*, where *aÑ*, of 4.1.90 *tasyāpatyam*, will be de-

leted by 2.4.58 *ṇyakṣatriyārṣañito . . .*, and *phiÑ* will be introduced by 4.1.54 *tikādibhyaḥ phiñ*. A *ślokavārttika* enumerates derivates of this rule with implications for four rules beginning with 4.1.147 *gotrastriyāḥ kutsane ṇa ca*:

yamundaś ca suyāmā ca vārṣyāyaṇiḥ phiñaḥ smṛtāḥ/
sauvīreṣu ca kutsāyāṃ dvau yogau śabdavit smaret//

The first rule (4.1.147 *gotrastriyāḥ . . .*) is limited to the context of *kutsana*; the last (4.1.150 *phāṇṭāhṛti . . .*) is limited to the context of *sauvīreṣu*. The two in the middle, i.e., 4.1.148 *vṛddhāṭṭhak . . .* and 4.1.149 *pheś ca*, apply when the two contexts of *kutsane* and *sauvīreṣu* are both met.

4.1.150 फाण्टाहृतिमिमताभ्यां णफिञौ

phāṇṭāhṛtimimatābhyāṃ ṇaphiñau
/phāṇṭāhṛti-mimatābhyām 5/2 (*itar. dv.*); *ṇa-phiñau* 1/2 (*itar. dv.*)/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *prātipadikāt* #1, *taddhitāḥ* #76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #82, *tasyāpatyam* #92, *gotre* #147, *sauvīreṣu* #148)
'*phāṇṭāhṛti-mimata'śabdābhyāṃ sauvīraviṣayābhyām apatye ṇaphiñau pratyayau bhavataḥ*
The *taddhita* affxes *Ṇa* and *phiÑ* occurs after syntactically related nominal stems *phāṇṭāhṛti* and *mimata*, both signifying a *gotra*-descendant of Sauvīra, provided the stems ended in genitive and their derivates were to denote an *apatya*.

EXAMPLES:

phāṇṭāhṛtasya sauvīragotrasyāpatyam = *phāṇṭāhṛtaḥ* 'a great grandson of Phāṇṭāhṛta of Sauvīra'
phāṇṭāhṛtāyaniḥ 'id.'
maimataḥ 'a great grandson of Mimata of Sauvīra'
maimatāyaniḥ 'id.'

1. This rule outlines two bases and two affixes. But commentators do not favor application in accord with enumeration (*yathāsaṃkhya*). That is, they do not favor introducing *Ṇa* after *phāṇṭāhṛti* and *phiÑ* after *mimata*. It is stated that Pāṇini's own practice of placing *phāṇṭāhṛti* first in *phāṇṭāhṛtimimtābhyāṃ . . .*, in violation of 2.2.34 *alpāc taram*, indicates that assignment of equivalency in order of enumeration (*yathāsaṃkhya*) should not be followed here. Had it not been the case, he would have placed *mimata* first, because it contains fewer vowels (2.3.34 *alpāc taram*). But *Kaiyaṭa* (see *Pradīpa* ad *Vyākaraṇamahābyhāṣya*) does not agree with the position, especially because it is not universally valid. I do not discuss this any further because of complexity of arguments.

2. This affixal provision of *Ṇa* and *phiÑ* forms an exception to *phaK* of

4.1.101 *yañiñoś ca.* The word *mimata* would have gotten affix *phaK* from 4.1.99 *naḍādibhyaḥ phak.* Bases which do not subscribe to the semantic scope of *sauvīreṣu* must select *phaK* to yield: *phāṇṭāhṛtāyanaḥ* and *maimatāyanaḥ.*

4.1.151 **कुर्वादिभ्यो ण्यः**

kurvādibhyo ṇyaḥ
/kuru-ādibhyaḥ 5/3 (*bv.*); *ṇyaḥ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *prātipadikāt* #1, *taddhitāḥ* #76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #82, *tasyāpatyam* #92)
'*kuru*' *ity evam ādibhyaḥ śabdebhyo'patye ṇyaḥ pratyayo bhavati*
The *taddhita* affix *Ṇya* occurs after a syntactically related nominal stem listed in the group headed by *kuru,* when the same ends in genitive and the derivate is to denote an *apatya.*

EXAMPLES:

kauravyaḥ 'a descendant of Kuru'
gārgyaḥ 'a descendant of Garga'
kauravyāyaṇiḥ 'a *gotra*-descendant of Kuru'

1. Note that rule 4.1.172 *kurunādibhyo ṇyaḥ* also provides for affix *Ṇya,* with *kauravyaḥ* as its derivate. Our present rule will also yield *kauravyaḥ*-an identical form with similar accent. Why do we have two different rules? It is stated that affix *Ṇya* (4.1.172 *kurunādibhyo ṇyaḥ*) is introduced after a base which denotes a *kṣatriya* (4.1.168 *janapadaśabdāt kṣatriyād añ*). Our present rule introduces *Ṇya* outside of this context. Thus, one rule yields a derivate with the signification of a Kṣatriya; the other a non-Kṣatriya. The *Ṇya* of 4.1.172 is also termed *tadrāja* (4.1.174 *te tadrājāḥ*). Consequently, when the denotation is plural, and plurality is caused by the affix itself, the affix goes through deletion by *LUK.* A derivate of our present rule is given in singular, i.e., *kauravyaḥ.* A corresponding plural will be: *kauravyāḥ.* Rule 4.1.172 will yield forms such as: *kauravyaḥ* and *kuravaḥ,* where *kuravaḥ,* would involve affixal deletion by *LUK* (2.4.62 *tadrājasya bahuṣu . . .*). Note that *kauravya,* with the denotation of a Kṣatriya, is listed in the *tikādi* group of nominals. Consequently, we will also find a derivate in *phiÑ,* namely *kauravyāyaṇiḥ* 'a young *gotra*-descendant of Kuru'.

2. The word *rathakāra* is also listed in this group of *kurvādi.* It denotes a *jāti* 'caste-group' which *Kāśikā* recognizes as 'a bit lower than the three caste-groups of *brāhmaṇas, kṣatriyas* and *vaiśyas* (*Kāś.*: *traivarṇikebhyaḥ kiṃcin nyūnā rathakārajātiḥ*). Why can we not interpret *rathakāra* as 'one who makes (*kārin*) chariots'? Because such a base with the signification of a *kārin* 'artisan' is already included in the specification of the next rule.

3. Our listing of *kurvādi* also includes a feminine base, i.e., *keśinī.* We understand from this feminine specification that there is no masculine trans-

formation (*puṃvadbhāva*). Thus, we get *kaiśinyaḥ*, as opposed to **kaiśinaḥ*. Since a listing in masculine can itself allow the affix after a corresponding base in feminine (cf. *paribhāṣā* (72): *prātipadikagrahaṇe . . .*), this listing of *keśinī*, in feminine, must have some special purpose. Lack of *puṃvadbhāva* 'masculine transformation' is recognized as the special purpose.

4. The word *vāmaratha*, a base listed in this group of *kuṛvādi*, is, except for accentuation (*svaraṃ varjayitvā*), treated as similar to derivates of the *kaṇvādi* group (4.2.11 *kaṇvādibhyo gotre*), a subgroup of *gargādi* (4.1.105 *gargādibhyo gotre*). For, it is also listed in the *kaṇvādi*. Thus, its derivates will follow the pattern of the *kaṇvādi* derivates, except when it comes to accent. For example, a derivate of *yañ* introduced after a base of the *kaṇvādi* group will be marked *udātta* at the beginning (6.1.197 *ñnityādir nityam*). A derivate of this rule will be marked *udātta* at the end, in consonance with affixal accent (3.1.3 *ādyudāttaś ca*).

4.1.152 सेनान्तलक्षणकारिभ्यश्च

senāntalakṣaṇakāribhyaś ca
/senāntalakṣaṇakāribhyaḥ 5/3 = *senā ante yasya* (*bv.*); *senāntaś ca lakṣaṇaṃ ca kāriś ca* = *senāntalakṣaṇakārayaḥ* (*itar. dv.* with int. *bv.*), *tebhyaḥ*; *ca* ϕ/ (*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *prātipadikāt* #1, *taddhitāḥ* #76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #82, *tasyāpatyam* #92, *ṇyaḥ* #151)
senāntāt prātipadikāl lakṣaṇaśabdāt kārivacanebhyaś cāpatye ṇyaḥ pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *Ṇya* occurs after a syntactically related nominal stem which either contains *senā* as its final constituent, or is constituted by *lakṣaṇa* 'mark', or else, is a nominal stem signifying *kārin* 'artisan', when the stems end in genitive and their derivates denote an *apatya*.

EXAMPLES:

kāriṣeṇyaḥ 'son of Kariṣeṇa'
hāriṣeṇyaḥ 'son of Hariṣeṇa'
lākṣaṇyaḥ 'son of Lakṣaṇa'
tāntuvāyyaḥ 'son of a weaver'
kaumbhakāryaḥ 'pot-maker's son'

1. Note that since a specification made by means of a nominal stem does not allow any reference to a form which may end in it (*Paribhāṣā* (32): *grahaṇavatā prātipadikena tadantavidhir nāsti*), our present rule uses *anta*, after *senā*, to avail the sense of 'that which ends in *senā* (*tadantavidhi*)'. Now observe *lakṣaṇa* which is specified without any such effort made toward availing *tadantavidhi*. Consequently, *lakṣaṇa*, has to be interpreted as specifying a nominal stem constituted by *lakṣaṇa*. The word *kāribhyaḥ* specifies bases at the strength of meaning (*arthagrahaṇasāmarthyāt*), namely *kārin* 'ar-

tisan' (*Kāś.*: *kāriśabdaḥ kārūṇāṃ tantuvāyādīnāṃ vācakaḥ* 'the word *kārin* denotes artisans such as 'weavers', etc.').

4.1.153 उदीचामिञ्

udīcām iñ
/udīcām 6/3 *iñ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *prātipadikāt* #1, *taddhitāḥ* #76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #82, *tasyāpatyam* #92, *nyaḥ* #151)
senāntalakṣaṇakāribhyo'patye iñ pratyayo bhavati udīcāṃ mateṇa
The *taddhita* affix *iÑ*, in the opinion of Northern grammarians, occurs after a syntactically related nominal stem which either contains *senā* as its final constituent, or is constituted by *lakṣaṇa* 'mark', or else, is a nominal stem signifying *kārin* 'artisan', when the stems end in genitive and their derivates denote an *apatya*.

EXAMPLES:

kāriṣeṇiḥ 'son of Kariṣeṇa'
hāriṣeṇiḥ 'son of Hariṣeṇa'
lākṣaṇiḥ 'son of Lakṣaṇa'
tāntuvāyiḥ 'son of a weaver'
kaumbhakāriḥ 'pot-maker's son'

1. *Kāśikā* states that an affixal provision of *iÑ*, in addition to *Ṇya*, could easily provide for the opinion. Why did Pāṇini then have to state *udīcām*?. He did this for variation in style (*vacitryārtham; vacanasāmarthyād eva pratyaya-samāveśe labdhe ācāryagrahaṇaṃ vaicitryārtham*).

2. Note that the listing of nominals known as *śivādi* also includes *takṣan*. Consequently, we get *tākṣṇaḥ* 'son of a carpenter'. There will be an additional form, i.e., *tākṣaṇyaḥ*, derived with *Ṇya* of the preceding rule. The *iÑ* of this rule, and not the *Ṇya* of the preceding rule, will be blocked by affix *aṆ* of 4.1.112 *śivādibhyo'ṇ* (*Kāś.*: *takṣanśabdaḥ śivādiḥ; tenāṇāyam iñ bādhyate, na tu ṇyaḥ*). Why is affix *iÑ*, and not *Ṇya*, blocked by *aṆ*? Jñānendrasarasvatī (see *Tattvabodhinī* ad *SK*: *takṣanśabdo'trāṇarthaṃ paṭhyate, ṇyapratyayena samāveśo'treṣyate, na tu iñā*) observes that *takṣan* is read in the *śivādi* group for facilitating *aṆ*. This *aṆ* is desired to be grouped with *Ṇya*, an affix marked with *Ṇ*, and not with *iÑ* marked with *Ñ*.

4.1.154 तिकादिभ्यः फिञ्

tikādibhyaḥ phiñ
/tikādibhyaḥ 5/3 *phiñ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *prātipadikāt* #1, *taddhitāḥ* #76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #82, *tasyāpatyam* #92)

'tika' ity evam ādibhyaḥ śabdebhyo'patye phiñ pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *phiÑ* occurs after a syntactically related nominal stem listed in the group headed by *tika*, when the stem ends in genitive and the derivate denotes an *apatya*.

EXAMPLES:

taikāyaniḥ 'a descendant of Tika'
kaitavāyaniḥ 'a descendant of Kitava'

1. The *tikādi* group also lists *vṛṣa* which, on account of a *vārttika* proposal made under rule 4.1.155 *kauśalyakārmāryābhyāṃ ca*, qualifies *phiÑ* for receiving augment *yUṬ*.

2. The word *kauravya* is also included in this group. Is this a derivate of *Ṇya* of 4.1.172 *kurunādibhyo ṇyaḥ*? Or else, it is a derivate of *Ṇya* of 4.1.151 *kurvādibhyo ṇyaḥ*. The first denotes a *gotra*-descendant of a Kṣatriya; the second denotes someone other than a Kṣatriya. Note that *aurasa* is also listed in the same group, immediately preceding *kauravya*. Since *aurasa*, as a derivate of *aÑ* of 4.1.168 *janapadaśabdāt kṣatriyād añ*, denotes a *kṣatriya*, *kauravya*, because of its association (*sāhacarya*) in this listing with *aurasa*, must also denote a *kṣatriya*. This *kauravya* is thus a derivate of 4.1.172 *kurunādibhyo ṇyaḥ*.

A derivate denoting an offspring of *kauravya*, itself a derivate of affix *Ṇya* of 4.1.151 *kurvādibhyo ṇyaḥ*, will still be *kauravya*, derived with the introduction, and subsequent deletion, of *iÑ* of 4.1.95 *ata iñ*. This deletion of *iÑ* is accomplished by 2.4.58 *ṇyakṣatriyārṣañitaḥ . . .*, and is illustrated by the sentence: *kauravyaḥ pitā kauravyaḥ putraḥ* 'a son of Kauravya, a *gotra*-descendant of Kuru, is Kauravya'. This illustration is valid only in the context of deletion of *iÑ*. For, rule 2.4.58 *ṇyakṣatriyārṣañitaḥ . . .* does not provide for deletion of *phiÑ* introduced after a base ending in *Ṇya*.

4.1.155 कौशल्यकार्मार्याभ्यां च

kauśalyakārmāryābhyāṃ ca
/kauśalya-kārmāryābhyām 5/2 (*itar. dv.*); *ca* ϕ/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *prātipadikāt* #1, *taddhitāḥ* #76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #82, *tasyāpatyam* #92, *phiñ* #151)
kauśalya-kārmāryaśabdābhyām apatye phiñ pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *phiÑ* also occurs after syntactically related nominal stems *kauśalya* and *kārmārya*, when they end in genitive and their derivates denote an *apatya*.

EXAMPLES:

kauśalyāyaniḥ 'a descendant of Kosala'
kārmāryāyaṇiḥ 'a descendant of Karmāra'

1. This provision of *phiÑ* is an exception to *iÑ* (4.1.95 *ata iñ*). Note that the bases are here specified as *kauśalya* and *kārmārya*. This may lead one to accept them as derivates of affixes *ÑyaṆ* (4.1.171 *vṛddhet kosalājādāññyaṅ*) and *Ṇya* (4.1.152 *senāntalakṣaṇa . . .*), respectively. Patañjali refutes this belief and states that affix *phiÑ* is desired to be introduced only after the original base (*paramaprakṛti*), i.e., *kosala* and *karmāra* (*paramaprakṛter evāyam iṣyate*). Why can we not introduce *phiÑ* after *kauśalya* and *kārmāra* as Pāṇini specifies? The derivates will still be the same but their meaning will differ. If *phiÑ* is introduced after *kauśalya* and *kārmāra* then derivates will denote 'young *gotra*-descendants'. What is desired is the denotation of an *apatya*. How can we get initial bases, i.e., *kosala* and *karmāra*, to end in *y* before *phiÑ*? A *vārttika* under this rule provide for *phiÑ* to denote *apatya* after *dagu, kosala, karmāra, chāga* and *vṛṣa*. This same *vārttika* also makes an additional provision for augment *yUṬ*, introduced to what replaces *phiÑ* (*dagu-kosala-karmāra-chāga-vṛṣāṇāṃ yuṭ*). Thus: *kosala + Ṅas + phiÑ→kosala + phi = kosal(a→ϕ) + (ph→āyan) i→kosal + (y) āyani→k(o→au) sal + yāyani = kausalyāyani + sU→ kauśalyāyaniḥ.*

4.1.156 अणो द्व्यचः

aṇo dvyacaḥ
/ aṇaḥ 1/1 *dvyacaḥ* 5/1 = *dvau acau yasmin* (*bv.*), *tasmāt/*
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *prātipadikāt* #1, *taddhitāḥ* #76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #82, *tasyāpatyam* #92, *phiñ* #151)
aṇantād dvyacaḥ prātipadikād apatye phiñ pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *phiÑ* occurs after a syntactically related nominal stem which ends in *aṆ* and contains two vowels, provided the derivate denotes an *apatya*.

EXAMPLES:

kārtrāyaṇiḥ 'a descendant of Kartṛ'
hārtrāyaṇiḥ 'a descendant of Hartṛ'

1. This affixal provision of *phiÑ*, with the denotation of an *apatya* (4.1.92 *tasyāpatyam*), is made as an exception to affix *iÑ* (4.1.95 *ata iñ*). The condition of *aṇaḥ* which, through the process of *tadantavidhi*, requires the base receiving *phiÑ* to end in *aṆ*, blocks bases such as *dākṣi*, etc., from receiving *phiÑ*. Hence, an offspring of *dākṣi*, itself a derivate of *iÑ*, will be *dākṣāyaṇaḥ*, a derivate of *phaK* (4.1.101 *yañiñoś ca*). The condition of *dvyacaḥ* is imposed so that bases, such as *aupagava*, etc., do not qualify for *phiÑ*. Of course, *aupagava* will receive *iÑ* to derive *aupagaviḥ* 'a son of Aupagava'.

2. Note that this *phiÑ* is made optional by a *vārttika* in case of bases of the *tyadādi* group. Thus, *tyādaḥ* 'his son' and *tyādāyaniḥ* will be derivates of *aṆ* and *phiÑ*, respectively (*vt. tyadādīnāṃ vā phiñ vaktavyaḥ*).

Note that the *Mahābhāṣya* does not comment on this rule. The *vārttika* then becomes a suspect. The *SK* does not mention this *vārttika*. The author of the *Bālamanoramā* accepts seeing this *vārttika* somewhere, but declares its proposal as carelessness (see *Bālamanoramā* ad *SK*: '*tyadādīnāṃ phiñ vā vācyaḥ: tyādāyaniḥ, tyādaḥ' iti kvacit pustake dṛśyate, tat tu prāmādikam*). Where did the *Kāśikā* get it from?

4.1.157 उदीचां वृद्धादगोत्रात्

udīcāṃ vṛddhād agotrāt
/udīcām 6/3 *vṛddhāt* 5/1 *agotrāt* 5/1 (*nañ. tat.*)/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *prātipadikāt* #1, *taddhitāḥ* #76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #82, *tasyāpatyam* #92, *phiñ* #151)
vṛddhaṃ yac chabdarūpam agotraṃ tasmād apatye phiñ pratyayo bhavati udīcām ācāryāṇāṃ matena
The *taddhita* affix *phiÑ*, in the opinion of Northern grammarians, occurs to denote an *apatya* after a syntactically related *vṛddha* (1.1.73 *vṛddhir yasyācām ādis . . .*) nominal stem which does not end in an affix with the signification of a *gotra*-descendant.

EXAMPLES:

āmraguptāyaniḥ 'a descendant of Āmragupta'
grāmarakṣāyaṇiḥ 'a descendant of Grāmarakṣa'
nāpitāyaniḥ 'descendant of a barber'

1. Note that *āmraguptāyaniḥ* will have *āmraguptiḥ*, a derivate of *iÑ*, as its counterpart, in the opinion of other grammarians. The condition of *vṛddhāt* will approve of bases such as *āmragupta*, etc., but will disqualify *yajñadatta*, etc. Consequently, we will get *yājñadattiḥ* 'son of Yajñadatta', a derivate of *iÑ*. Finally, the condition of *agotrāt* will rule out a base such as *aupagava* to receive *phiÑ*. It must then receive *iÑ* to derive *aupagaviḥ* with the denotation of a young *gotra*-descendant of Upagu.

2. Recall that 4.1.153 *udīcām iñ* introduces *iÑ*, to denote an *apatya*, also after bases which may have the signification of an artisan (*kārin*). A derivate of *nāpita* 'barber', a base which is *vṛddha* and which does not end in an affix with the signification of a *gotra*, will be: *nāpitāyaniḥ*. This is a derivate of *phiÑ*, and not of *iÑ*. The *iÑ* of 4.1.153 will be blocked by *phiÑ* of this rule on the basis of *paratva* (1.4.2 *vipratiṣedhe paraṃ kāryam*).

A conflict between two rules of equal strength (*tulyabala*) must be backed with an independent scope of application (*sāvakāśatva*) of rules involved. Commentators explain that *iÑ* finds its independent scope in *tantuvāyiḥ* 'son of a weaver'. Affix *phiÑ* finds its independent scope of application in *āmraguptāyaniḥ*. But it is the derivate of *nāpita*, i.e., *nāpitāyaniḥ*, where affixes *iÑ* and *phiÑ* both become applicable at the same time (*ihobhayaṃ*

prāpnoti). Affix *phiÑ* blocks *iÑ*, because the rule which introduces *phiÑ* is subsequent in order to one which introduces *iÑ*.

4.1.158 वाकिनादीनां कुक्च

vākinādīnāṃ kuk ca
/vākinādīnāṃ 6/3 = *vākina ādir yeṣāṃ* (*bv.*), *teṣām*; *kuk* 1/1 *ca* ϕ/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *prātipadikāt* #1, *taddhitāḥ* #76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #82, *tasyāpatyam* #92, *phiñ* #151, *udīcām vṛddhād agotrāt* #157)
'vākina' ity evam ādibhyaḥ śabdebhyo'patye phiñ pratyayo bhavati tatsanniyogena caiṣāṃ kug āgamaḥ
The *taddhita* affix *phiÑ*, with an additional provision of augment *kUK*, occurs, in the opinion of Northern grammarians, to denote an *apatya* after a syntactically related nominal stem listed in the group headed by *vākina*.

EXAMPLES:

vākinakāyaniḥ 'a descendant of Vākina'
gāredhakāyaniḥ 'a descendant of Gāredha'

1. Note that reading *vṛddhād agotrāt* in this rule does not make much sense. The *ca* of this rule makes *udīcām* and *phiñ* necessary, instead. This rule becomes optional in view of *udīcām*. A reading of *vṛddhād agotrāt* is not necessary, because stems of the *vākinādi* group which meet the conditions of *vṛddhāt* and *agotrāt* will get their *phiÑ* from the earlier rule. This rule can then offer them *kUK* as an augment. Thus, *vākina, gāredha, kāka* will all receive *phiÑ* from the earlier rule. They will receive *kUK* from this rule. This rule will provide for optional *phiÑ*, and *kUK* as well, to bases which are included in the *vākinādi* group but which may not meet the specifications of *vṛddhāt* and *agotrāt*. Thus, *kārkatyakāyaniḥ*.

A special provision of *phiÑ, kUK*, and deletion of *n*, is made for *carmin* and *varmin* to derive *cārmikāyaṇiḥ* 'son of Carmin' and *vārmikāyaṇiḥ* 'son of Varmin', where *carmin* and *varmin* both end in affix *inI*, based upon their listing in the *brīhyādi* group (5.2.11 *ata iniṭhanau*).

2. Note that *phiÑ* and *kUK* are both made optional because of the *anuvṛtti* of *udīcām*. For example, affix *iÑ* will be introduced to derive *vākiniḥ* and *gāredhiḥ* in the opinion of others.

4.1.159 पुत्रान्तादन्यतरस्याम्

putrāntād anyatarasyām
/putrāntāt 5/1 *anyatarasyām* 7/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *prātipadikāt* #1, *taddhitāḥ* #76,

samarthānāṃ prathamād vā #82, *tasyāpatyam* #92, *phiñ* #151, *udīcām vṛddhād* #157)
putrāntāt prātipadikād yaḥ phiñ pratyayas tasmin parabhūte 'nyatarasyāṃ kug āgamo bhavati putrāntasya
Augment *kUK*, in the opinion of Northern grammarians, is introduced optionally to a syntactically related *vṛddha* nominal stem which contains *putra* as its final constituent, provided affix *phiÑ* follows with the signification of *apatya*.

EXAMPLES:

gārgīputrakāyaṇiḥ 'a son of Gārgīputra'
gārgīputrāyaṇiḥ 'id.'
gārgīputriḥ 'id.'

1. Reading *agotram* with *putrāntāt* will not make any sense here. For, a base such as *gārgīputra* can receive affix *phiÑ* from rule 4.1.157 *udīcāṃ vṛddhād*. . . . This rule makes an optional provision of augment *kUK*, for *gārgīputra* + *Ṇas* + *phiÑ*, a base which already ends in *phiÑ*. *Kāśikā* makes it quite clear in the *vṛtti*. We get *gārgīputrakāyaṇiḥ*, optionally with *gārgīputrāyaṇiḥ*, when the option of *kUK* is not availed. There is also a third derivate *gārgīputriḥ* where, in the absence of optional *phiÑ*, *kUK* also gets blocked. For, *kUK* is introduced only when *phiÑ* is in proximity. That is, *gārgīputriḥ* is a derivate of *iÑ*.

4.1.160 प्राचामवृद्धात् फिन् बहुलम्

prācām avṛddhāt phin bahulam
/prācām 6/3 *avṛddhāt* 5/1 (*naÑ*); *phin* 1/1 *bahulam* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *prātipadikāt* #1, *taddhitāḥ* #76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #82, *tasyāpatyam* #92)
avṛddhac chabdarūpād apatye phin pratyayo bhavati bahulaṃ prācāṃ matena
The *taddhita* affix *phiÑ*, in the opinion of Eastern grammarians, occurs variously (*bahulam*) to denote an *apatya*, after a syntactically related non-*vṛddha* nominal stem which ends in genitive.

EXAMPLES:

glucukāyaniḥ 'a descendant of Glucuka'
ahicumbakāyaniḥ 'a descendant of Ahicumbaka'

1. The word *prācām*, according to *Kāśikā*, is used here as a mark of respect to Eastern grammarians. For, *bahulam*, *udīcām*, *prācām*, *anyatarasyām*, etc., all denote option (*vikalpa*). That is, *bahulam* itself could account for options offered by this rule. Thus, *prācām* is not used for stating an option (*tatrācārya grahaṇam pūjārtham*). But since *bahulam* may, at times, not even entail an option, as, for example, in *dākṣiḥ*, it better be considered here as used for

variation (*vaicitryārtham*). The option could have been indicated by carrying *anyatarasyām* from the preceding rule.

2. *Kāśikā* cites *glaucukiḥ* and *rājadantiḥ* as counter-examples for dual conditions of *prācām* and *avṛddhāt*, respectively.

4.1.161 मनोर्जातावञ्यतौ षुक् च

manor jātāv añyatau ṣuk ca
/ manoḥ 5/1 *jātau* 7/1 *añyatau* 1/2 = *añ ca yat ca* (*itar. dv.*); *ṣuk* 1/1 *ca* ϕ/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *prātipadikāt* #1, *taddhitāḥ* #76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #82)
manuśabdād 'añ, yat' ity etau pratyayau bhavataḥ tatsanniyogena ṣug āgamo bhavati samudāyena cej jātir gamyate
The *taddhita* affixes *aÑ* and *yaT* occur after the syntactically related nominal stem *manu*, with an additional provision for it to receive augment *ṣUK*, when the derivate is to denote *jāti* 'class'.

EXAMPLES:

mānuṣaḥ 'a human being'
manuṣyaḥ 'id.'

1. Note that, because of *jātau*, the denotation of an *apatya* (*apatyārtha*) is ruled out (*nāsty eva*). It is for this reason that affix *aÑ*, in its plural derivate *mānūṣāḥ*, cannot be deleted by *LUK* of 2.4.64 *yañañoś ca*. A derivate of *manu* with the signification of an *apatya* can be derived as *mānavaḥ*. Of course, by introducing the general affix *aṆ* of 4.1.92 *tasyāpatyam*. The *n* of *mānava* is replaced with its retroflex counterpart *ṇ*, thereby yielding the derivate as *māṇava*, if the offspring thus signified happens to be one of unworthy conduct, or else, is an idiot.

apatye kulsite mūḍhe manor autsargikaḥ smṛtaḥ/
nakārasya ca mūrdhanyas tena siddhyati māṇavaḥ//

4.1.162 अपत्यं पौत्रप्रभृति गोत्रम्

apatyaṃ pautraprabhṛti gotram
/ apatyam 1/1 *pautraprabhṛti* 1/1 *gotram* 1/1/
pautraprabhṛti yad apatyaṃ tad gotrasaṃjñaṃ bhavati
An offspring, namely a grandson, and any other thereafter, is termed *gotra*.

EXAMPLES:

gargasyāpatyaṃ pautraprabhṛti = *gārgyaḥ* 'a descendant, namely a grandson, and any thereafter, of Garga'
vātsyaḥ 'a descendant, namely a grandson, and any thereafter, of Vatsa'

1. This rule assigns the term *gotra* to descendants, such as 'grandsons and any thereafter' (*pautraprabhṛti*). Note that the word *apatya* 'offspring' is generally interpreted as denoting 'sons, grandsons, etc.', in general. But, in grammar, the term *apatya* refers only to a direct descendant, such as 'a son, or daughter'. A grandson, or any thereafter, is technically not viewed as an *apatya*. But since a grandson can still be viewed as an *apatya*, relative to his own father in relation to whose father he is to be called a *gotra*, the assignment of these terms is relative. That is why, an offspring, such as a grandson, or any other thereafter (*pautraprabhṛti*), is assigned the term *gotra*, relative to the person whose *pautra* 'grandson' he is. How come *pautraprabhṛti* is qualified here with *apatya*? This is simply an extension (*vyapadeśa*).

2. The assignment of the term *gotra* has its consequences. For example, no matter whether *gotra* refers to a grandson, or to a descendant many generations thereafter, the affix denoting *gotra* must, in each case, be introduced after the first base. That is, the base which denotes the grandfather. Note, however, that a non-female young (*yuvan*) descendant will be denoted by the derivate of a base denoting *gotra*. Thus, a son and a grandson of Garga will be called *gārgiḥ* and *gārgyaḥ*, respectively. A son of Gārgya, and any son or grandson of his thereafter, will also be called *gārgyaḥ*. All these descendants of Garga will be derived from the single base *garga*. However, *gārgyāyaṇaḥ*, a young great grandson of Garga, will be derived by accepting *gārgya*, meaning a *gotra*-descendant of Garga, as its base.

Scope: 4.1.93 *eko gotre*, etc.

4.1.163 जीवति तु वंश्ये युवा

jīvati tu vaṃśye yuvā
/jīvati 7/1 *tu* ϕ *vaṃśye* 7/1 *yuvā* 1/1/
(*apatyaṃ pautraprabhṛti* #162)
vaṃśye jīvati sati pautraprabhṛty apatyaṃ yuvasaṃjñaṃ bhavati
The offspring of a grandson, and any other thereafter, is, instead, termed *yuvan*, when a *vaṃśya* 'father, or someone equal to him' is alive.

EXAMPLES:

gārgyāyaṇaḥ 'great grandson of Garga'
vātsyāyanaḥ 'great grandson of Vatsa'

1. Note that *tu* is used in the rule for exact delimitation of the term. Thus, *yuvan* is assigned, uniquely, against *gotra* (*Kāś.*: *yuvaiva bhavati, na gotram iti*). That is, there is no class-inclusion (*saṃjñāsamāveśa*) of the terms *gotra* and *yuvan*. They can also not apply in turn (*paryāya*). The word *pautraprabhṛti* does not qualify *apatyam*, here, by way of coreferentiality (*sāmānādhikaraṇya*). Instead, *pautraprabhṛti* is transformed into genitive (*ṣaṣṭhī*), to thereby yield

the paraphrase: *pautraprabhṛter yad apatyam* 'an offspring of a grandson, or any other thereafter'. Thus the term *yuvan* is assigned to a son, beginning with the fourth generation of descendants (*Kāś.*: *tena caturthād ārabhya yuvasaṃjñā vidhīyate*).

There will be problems if one allowed *saṃjñāsamāveśa* between *gotra* and *yuvan*. For example, affixes *phaK* (4.1.101 *yañiñoś ca*) and *phiÑ* (4.1.156 *aṇo dvyacaḥ*) are introduced to derive the young sons of Śālaṅki and Paila, respectively. Our derivates will be *śālaṅkiḥ* and *pailaḥ*, respectively, where the two affixes also go through deletion (2.4.59 *pailādibhyaś ca*). If there is class-inclusion of the terms *gotra* and *yuvan*, then, provisions of deletion, and non-deletion, of rules 2.5.59 *pailādibhyaś ca* and 4.1.89 *gotre' lug aci* will come into conflict. I leave out any further discussion of this conflict for fear of expatiation. Suffice to say that *tu* is used here to rule out class-inclusion.

4.1.164 भ्रातरि च ज्यायसि

bhrātari ca jyāyasi
/ bhrātari 7/1 *ca* ϕ *jyāyasi* 7/1/
(*apatyaṃ pautraprabhṛti* #162, *jīvati yuvā* #163)
bhrātari jyāyasi jīvati kanīyān bhrātā yuvasaṃjño bhavati pautraprabhṛter apatyam
The offspring of a grandson, and any other thereafter, is termed *yuvan*, also when his older brother (instead of his father, or any other like him) is alive.

EXAMPLES:

gārgye jīvati gārgyāyaṇo'sya kanīyān bhrātā
'Gārgyāyaṇa, the young grandson of Garga, provided his older brother Gārgya is alive'
vātsyāyanaḥ 'Vātsyāyana, the young grandson of Vatsa, provided his older brother Vātsya is alive'

1. The young offspring of a grandson, or any other thereafter, is called *yuvan*, when his older brother is alive. For example, if the grandson of Garga, namely Gārgya, has two sons, then the younger son will be called a *yuvan*, provided the older son is still alive, and all of their *vaṃśya*, i.e., father, or those of his likes, are dead. Thus, the younger son of Gārgya will be called Gārgyāyaṇa, when his older brother, also called Gārgya, is still alive. If the older brother is dead, then he will be called Gārgya. This rule is formulated with a focus on non-*vaṃśya*. Normally, a *vaṃśya* is an ancestor. A brother cannot be called as such, either directly or by tradition, because he cannot qualify as a source (*kāraṇa*) for the progeny of his own generation (*Kāś.*: *bhrātā tu na vaṃśyaḥ; akāraṇatvāt*).

4.1.165 वाऽन्यस्मिन् सपिण्डे स्थविरतरे जीवति

vā'nyasmin sapiṇḍe sthaviratare jīvati
/vāϕ anyasmin 7/1 *sapiṇḍe* 7/1 = *samānaṃ piṇḍaṃ yasya* (*bv.*); *sthaviratare* 7/1 *jīvati* (verbal *pada*)/
(*apatyaṃ pautraprabhṛti* #162, *jīvati yuvā* #163)
bhrātur anyasmin sapiṇḍe sthaviratare jīvati pautraprabhṛter apatyaṃ jīvad eva yuvasaṃjñaṃ vā bhavati
The offspring of a grandson, when alive, is optionally termed *yuvan*, provided someone older in age, or relation, though not a brother, is alive and who comes from within the past seven generations.

EXAMPLES:

gārgyasyāpatyam = *gārgyāyaṇaḥ* 'a son of Gārgya'
gārgyaḥ 'a grandson of Garga'

1. The word *sapiṇḍa* is explained as representing seven generations of forefathers, or of sons and grandsons, either direction counting from one's own (*PM* ad *Kāś.*: *ātmanaḥ prabhṛti pitrādiṣu putrādiṣu vā gamyamāneṣu saptamapuruṣo'vadhir yeṣāṃ te*). The word *jīvati*, a locative (*saptamyanta*), is construed with *sapiṇḍe sthaviratare* to yield the interpretation: 'while a *sapiṇḍa*, older in age or relation, is alive'. The second *jīvati*, a verbal *pada*, is construed with *apatyam*. The word *sthaviratare*, with affix *taraP*, indicates 'superiority of age and place in relational hierarchy' (*sthānena vayasā cotkṛṣṭe*).

2. There are two *vārttikas* under this rule which *Kāśikā* lists separately as rules. Thus, the first, *vṛddhasya ca pūjāyām*, assigns the term *yuvan* optionally to a *gotra*-descendant when *pūjā* 'respect' is denoted. That is, *gārgyaḥ*, a *gotra*-descendant of Garga, can be optionally referred to as *gārgyāyaṇaḥ* 'a young *gotra*-descendant of Garga' when respect is denoted.

A second *vārttika*, which *Kāśikā* also lists separately as a rule, is: *yūnaś ca kutsāyām*. It optionally assigns the term *gotra* to a *yuvan*, when the denotatum is *kutsā* 'censure, reproach'. Obviously, this *vārttika* proposal is exactly opposite of the preceding. Thus, *gārgyāyaṇa* can be referred to, though only optionally, as *gārgya*, when reproach is denoted.

Notice that I do not list these *vārttikas* as *sūtras*.

4.1.166 जनपदशब्दात् क्षत्रियादञ्

janapadaśabdāt kṣatriyād añ
/janapadaśabdāt 5/1 *kṣatriyāt* 5/1 *añ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #82, *tasyāpatyam* #92)
janapadaśabdo yaḥ kṣatriyavācī tasmād apatye'ñ pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *aÑ* occurs, to denote an *apatya*, after a syntactically

related nominal stem which ends in genitive and names a *janapada* 'country, region' with the signification of a *kṣatriya.*

EXAMPLES:

pāñcālaḥ 'a kṣatriya descendant of the country of the Pañcālas'
aikṣvākaḥ 'a kṣatriya descendant of the country of the Ikṣvākus'

1. This rule allows *aÑ* after a base which names a *janapada,* and at the same time, also denotes a *kṣatriya.* Thus, *pañcāla* denotes a *kṣatriya.* It can also denote a *janapada.* We can thus get a derivate in *aÑ* as: *pañcālaḥ.* Note that words such as *pañcāla,* when used with the signification of a *janapada,* are always used in the plural.

2. These are two important *vārttika* proposals under this rule:

(*a*) Affix *aÑ* is introduced to denote a king (*rājanya*), as it is used to denote an *apatya,* when the base signifies a kṣatriya as well as a *janapada.* Thus, the king of the country of the Pañcālas will be called *pāñcālaḥ.*

(*b*) Affix *aṆ,* instead, is recommended after *puru* to denote a king. Thus, *pauravaḥ* will denote the king of the Purus, parallel to *purūṇāṃ rājā.* Note that *puru* does not denote a *janapada.* As such, it could have availed *aṆ* of the *prāgdīvyatīya* section. This *vārttika* provision of *aṆ,* after *puru,* is intended also for assignment of the term *tadrāja* (4.1.174 *te tadrājāḥ*).

4.1.167 साल्वेयगान्धारिभ्यां च

sālveyagāndhāribhyāṃ ca
/ sālveya-gāndhāribhyām 5/2 (*itar. dv.*), *tābhyām; ca* ϕ/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #82, *tasyāpatyam* #92, *janapadaśabdāt kṣatriyād añ* #167)
sālveyagāndhāriśabdābhyām apatye' ñ pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *aÑ* also occurs, to denote an *apatya,* after syntactically related nominal stems *sālveya* and *gāndhāri,* when they end in genitive and name a *janapada* 'country, region' with the signification of a *kṣatriya.*

EXAMPLES:

sālveyaḥ 'a kṣatriya descendant of the Sālveya country'
gāndhāraḥ 'a kṣatriya descendant of the Gāndhāri country'

1. Note that this provision of *aÑ* is made as an exception to affix *ÑyaṄ* of 4.1.169 *vṛddhetkośalāj. . . .* For, these two bases denote *janapada* and thus, affix *aÑ* is available to them from 4.1.168 *janapadaśabdād. . . .* But since these bases also denote a *kṣatriya,* affix *ÑyaṄ* also becomes available to them. Our

present rule thus offers *aÑ* as an exception to *ÑyaṄ*. Incidentally, derivates of these bases can also denote a king.

4.1.168 द्व्यञ्मगधकलिंगसूरमसादण

dvyañmagadhakaliṅgasūramasād aṇ
/dvyañmagadhakaliṅgasūramasāt 5/1 = *dvau acau yasmin* (*bv.*); *dvyac ca magadhaś ca kaliṅgaś ca sūtramasaś ca* (*sam. dv.* with int. *bv.*), *tasmāt* 5/1 *aṇ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #82, *tasyāpatyam* #92, *janapadaśabdāt kṣatriyād añ* #167)
janapadaśabdāt kṣatriyābhidhāyino 'dvyacaḥ, magadha, kaliṅga, sūramasa' ity etebhyaś cāpatye'ṇ pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *aṆ* occurs after a syntactically related nominal stem which ends in genitive, names a *janapada* with the signification of a *kṣatriya*, and either consists of two vowels, or else, is constituted by *magadha, kaliṅga* and *sūramasa*, provided derivates denote an *apatya*.

EXAMPLES:

aṅgasyāpatyam āṅgaḥ 'a kṣatriya descendant of the country of the Aṅgas; the ruler of Aṅgas'
vāṅgaḥ 'a kṣatriya descendant of the country of the Vaṅgas; the ruler of Vaṅgas'
māgadhaḥ 'a kṣatriya descendant of the country of the Magadhas; the ruler of Magadhas'
kāliṅgaḥ 'a kṣatriya descendant of the country of the Kaliṅgas; the ruler of Kaliṅgas'
sauramasaḥ 'a kṣatriya descendant of the country of the Sūramasas; the ruler of Sūramasas'

1. Affix *aṆ* is here introduced as an exception to the *aÑ* of 4.1.166 *janapadaśabdād*. . . . These affixal provisions differ only in accent.

4.1.169 वृद्धेत्कोसलाजादाञ्ञ्यङ्

vṛddhetkosalājādāñ ñyaṅ
/vṛddhetkosalājādāt 5/1 = *vṛddhaś ca ic ca kosalaś ca ajādaś ca* = *vṛddhetkosalājādam* (*sam. dv.*), *tasmāt ñyaṅ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #82, *tasyāpatyam* #92, *janapadaśabdāt kṣatriyād* #167)
vṛddhāc ca prātipadikād ikārāntāc ca kosala-ajāda-śabdābhyāṃ cāpaye ñyaṅ pratyayo bhavati

The *taddhita* affix *ÑyaṄ* occurs, to denote an *apatya*, after a syntactically related nominal stem which ends in genitive, and names a *janapada* with the signification of a *kṣatriya*, provided the base is either termed *vṛddha*, or ends in *i*, or else, is constituted by *kosala* and *ajāda*.

EXAMPLES:

āmbaṣṭhānām apatyam = *āmbaṣṭhyaḥ* 'a kṣatriya descendant of the country of Āmbaṣṭha'
āvantyaḥ 'a kṣatriya descendant of the country of Avanti'
kausalyaḥ 'a kṣatriya descendant of the country of Kosala'
ājādyaḥ 'a kṣatriya descendant of the country of Ājādas'

1. This provision for *ÑyaṄ* is made as an exception to affix *aÑ* (4.1.166 *janapada* . . .). For, all these bases denote *janapada* and *kṣatriya*. The *i* in *vṛddhet* is used with *t* (*taparakaraṇa*) to block *ÑyaṄ* in case of bases, such as *kumārī*, etc., where *kumārī* can denote *janapada* and *kṣatriya*, both. We can thus get *kaumāraḥ*, with *kumārī* as its base.

2. A *vārttika* proposal is made for affix *ḌyaṆ*, instead, to occur after *pāṇḍu* to denote both an *apatya* and king. This will give us: *pāṇḍya*, from *pāṇḍu* + *Ṅas* + *ḌyaṆ*, where *u* of *pāṇḍu* gets deleted at the strength of *Ḍ* as an *it* (*ḍity abhasyāpi ṭer lopaḥ*). Incidentally, this *pāṇḍu* does not denote either the color 'white', or Yudhiṣṭhira's father. A derivate of this *pāṇḍu*, with the denotatum of an *apatya*, will be *pāṇḍavaḥ*, a derivate of *aṆ*.

4.1.170 कुरुनादिभ्यो ण्यः

kurunādibhyo ṇyaḥ
/kurunādibhyaḥ 5/3 = *nakāra ādir yeṣām* = *nādayaḥ*; *kuruś ca nādayaś ca* (*itar. dv.* with int. *bv.*); *ṇyaḥ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #82, *tasyāpatyam* #92, *janapadaśabdāt kṣatriyād* #167)
kuruśabdān nādibhyaś ca prātipadikebhyo ṇyaḥ pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *Ṇya* occurs, to denote an *apatya*, after a syntactically related nominal stem which (*i*) ends in genitive, (*ii*) is constituted by *kuru*, or else, (*iii*) begins with *n* (*nādi*), provided these bases all name a *janapada* with the signification of a kṣatriya.

EXAMPLES:

kurūṇām apatyam = *kauravyaḥ* 'a kṣatriya descendant of the country of the Kurus; the King of the country of the Kurus'
naiṣadhyaḥ 'a kṣatriya descendant of the country of the Niṣadhas; the King of the country of the Niṣadhas'

1. Note that *ādi*, of *nādi*, which occurs at the end of the *dvandva* com-

pound *kurunādi*, cannot be associated with *kuru*. For, there is no listing of *janapada* headed by *kuru* (cf.: *dvandvānte śrūyamāṇaḥ pratyekam abhisambadhyate*).

2. This affixal provision of *Ṇya* is an exception to affixes *aṆ* and *aÑ*, both. Recall that *kuru*, because of being diasyllabic (*dvyac*), could have received *aṆ* (4.1.156 *aṇo dvyacaḥ*) and *aÑ* (4.1.166 *janapadaśabdāt . . .*).

4.1.171 साल्वावयवप्रत्यग्रथकालकूटाश्मकादिञ्

sālvāvayavapratyagrathakālakūṭāśmakād iñ
/sālvāvayavapratyagrathakālakūṭāśmakāt 5/1 = *sālvasya avayavaḥ* (*ṣaṣ. tat.*); *sālvāvayavaś ca pratyagrathaś ca kālakūṭaś ca aśmakaś ca* (*sam. dv.* with int. *ṣaṣ. tat.*); *tasmāt, iñ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #82, *tasyāpatyam* #92, *janapadaśabdāt kṣatriyād* #167)
sālvāvayavebhyaḥ pratyagrathakālakūṭāśmakaśabdebhyaś cāpatye iñ pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *iÑ* occurs, to denote an *apatya*, after a syntactically related nominal stem which ends in genitive, and names a *janapada* with the signification of a *kṣatriya*, provided it either names a part (*avayava*) of Sālva, or else, is constituted by *pratyagratha, kālakūṭa* and *aśmaka*.

EXAMPLES:

audumbariḥ 'a kṣatriya descendant of Udumbara, a region in the country of the Sālvas'
yaugandhariḥ 'a kṣatriya descendant of Yugandhara, a region in the country of the Sālvas'
prātyagrathiḥ 'a kṣatriya descendant of the country of the Pratyagrathas'
kālakūṭiḥ 'a kṣatriya descendant of the country of the Kālakūṭas'
āśmakiḥ 'a kṣatriya descendant of the country of the Aśmakas'

1. The word *sālva* refers to a particular clan of warriors (*kṣatriyaviśeṣa*). This word is also used to denote the place of their residence (4.1.166 *janapadaśabdāt . . .*). There are six accepted regions of the country of the Sālvas, namely *udumbara, tilakhala, madrakāra, yugandhara, bhuliṅga* and *śaradaṇḍa*, as the following verse enumerates:

udumbarās tilakhalā madrakārā yugandharāḥ/
bhuliṅgāḥ śaradaṇḍāś ca sālvāvayavasaṃjñitāḥ//

4.1.172 ते तद्राजाः

te tadrājāḥ

/te 1/3 *tadrājāḥ* 1/3/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #82, *tasyāpatyam* #92, *janapadaśabdāt kṣatriyād* #167)
'*janapadaśabdāt kṣatriyād añ*' *ity evam ādayaḥ pratyayās tadrājasaṃjñā bhavanti*
The *taddhita* affixes which occur after a syntactically related nominal stem ending in genitive and naming a *janapada* with the signification of a *kṣatriya* are termed *tadrāja.*

EXAMPLES:

Refer to examples under preceding rules.

1. Note that *te* refers to affixes *aÑ*, etc. (*añādi*), which have just been introduced by rules beginning with 4.1.166 *janapadaśabdāt*. . . . How do we know that *te* does not refer to affixes which denote an *apatya* and are introduced by rules prior to 4.1.166 *janapadaśabdāt*. . . . Commentators explain that denotation of an *apatya* by our present section of affixes is intervened by affixes denoting *gotra* and *yuvan.* This interruption is meant to facilitate proper antecedent for *te.* A pronominal antecedent, for example of *te*, can only be located within a section not interrupted by something different.

Note that because of the assignment of the term *tadrāja*, these affixes will be deleted by *LUK* in plural (2.4.62 *tadrājasya bahuṣu* . . .). The initial *vṛddhi* of the derivates will also be disallowed because of 1.1.63 *na lumatāṅgasya.* Thus, we will get derivates such as: *pañcālāḥ, aṅgāḥ*, etc.

Scope: 2.4.62 *tadrājasya bahiṣu* . . ., etc.

4.1.173 कम्बोजाल्लुक्

kambojāl luk
/kambojāt 5/1 *luk* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #82, *tasyāpatyam* #92, *janapadaśabdāt kṣatriyād* #167, *te tadrājāḥ* #172)
'*janapadaśabdāt kṣatriyād añ*' *ity anena vihitasya pratyayasya kambojāl lug bhavati*
A *taddhita* affix termed *tadrāja* is deleted by *LUK* when it occurs after the syntactically related nominal stem *kamboja*, naming a *janapada* with the signification of a *kṣatriya.*

EXAMPLES:

kambojaḥ 'a kṣatriya descendant, or the king, of the country of the Kambojas'

1. This deletion by *LUK* is intended for *aÑ* of rule 4.1.166 *janapadakṣa-*

triyād. . . . The initial *vṛddhi*, in *kamboja*, is also blocked. A proposal is also made to extend this *LUK* to derivates such as *colaḥ*, *keralaḥ*, *yavanaḥ* and *śakaḥ*.

4.1.174 स्त्रियामवन्तिकुन्तिकुरुभ्यश्च

striyām avantikuntikurubhyaś ca
/striyām 7/1 *avantikuntikurubhyaḥ* 5/3 = *avantiś ca kuntiś ca kuravaś ca* (*itar. dv.*), *tebhyaḥ*; *ca* ϕ/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #82, *tasyāpatyam* #92, *janapadaśabdāt kṣatriyād* #167, *te tadrājāḥ* #172)
avanti-kunti-kuruśabdebhya utpannasya tadrājasya striyām abhidheyāyāṃ lug bhavati
A *taddhita* affix termed *tadrāja*, which occurs to denote a female offspring after syntactically related nominal stems *avanti*, *kunti* and *kuru*, is also deleted by *LUK*.

EXAMPLES:

avantīnām apatyaṃ strī = *avantī* 'a female kṣatriya descendant of the country of Avanti; a princess of Avanti'
kuntī 'a female kṣatriya descendant of the country of Kunti; a princess of Kunti'
kurūḥ 'a female kṣatriya descendant of the country of Kuru; a princess of Kuru'

1. This deletion, by *LUK*, is intended for affixes *ṆyaṄ* (4.1.169 *vṛddhetkosalād. . .*) and *Ṇya* (4.1.170 *kurunādibhyo ṇyaḥ*). Since this deletion will be applicable only in cases of feminine derivates, we will get derivates such as *āvantyaḥ*, *kauntyaḥ* and *kauravyaḥ*, etc., elsewhere. Obviously, the initial *vṛddhi* of these derivates cannot be stopped when affixal deletion by *LUK* does not apply.

4.1.175 अतश्च

ataś ca
/ataḥ 5/1 *ca* ϕ/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #82, *tasyāpatyam* #92, *janapadaśabdāt kṣatriyād* #167, *te tadrājāḥ* #172, *striyām* #174)
akārapratyayasya tadrājasya striyām abhidheyāyāṃ lug bhavati
A *taddhita* affix termed *tadrāja*, which has *a*(*T*) as its form and occurs after a syntactically related nominal stem ending in genitive, is deleted by *LUK* when the derivate denotes a female descendant.

EXAMPLES:

śūrasenī 'a female kṣatriya descendant of Śūrasena'
madrī 'a female kṣatriya descendant of Madra'

1. Why was this rule formulated as *ataś ca*? Why was it not formulated as *asya*? It is stated that the *t* in *ataḥ* is made for clarity (*viṣpaṣṭārtham*). If this rule was formulated as *asya*, with its *a* in genitive, one may confuse it with the genitive singular form of *idam*. Can *t* be accepted as used for ruling out any reference to long *a*? No. Because there is a long *ā* termed *tadrāja* (*asambhavāt*).

2. Commentators warn that a *tadantavidhi* (1.1.72 *yena vidhis tadantasya* interpretation of *ataḥ* as 'in place of a *taddhita* affix termed *tadrāja* which ends in *a*' is not desired. For, out of five affixes termed *tadrāja*, four end in *a*. A *tadantavidhi* interpretation could only spare one(*iÑ*; 4.1.171 *sālvāvayava* . . .) from deletion. This interpretation, therfore, must be abandoned. Besides, how could one think of *tadantavidhi* when a specification for deletion is made for a *tadrāja* affix occurring after *avanti*, etc. That is, such a specification would become useless if *tadantavidhi* were to be accepted.

4.1.176 **न प्राच्यभर्गादियौधेयादिभ्यः**

na prācyabhargādiyaudheyādibhyaḥ
/na ϕ prācya-bhargādi-yaudheyādibhyaḥ 5/3 = *bharga ādir yeṣām* (*bv.*); *yaudheya ādir yeṣām* (*bv.*); *prācyaś ca bhargādayaś ca yaudheyaś ca* (*itar. dv.* with int. *bv.*), *tebhyaḥ/*
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #82, *tasyāpatyam* #92, *janapadaśabdāt kṣatriyād* #167, *te tadrājāḥ* #172, *striyām* #174)
prācyebhyo bhargādibhyo yaudheyādibhyaś cotpannasya lug na bhavati
A *taddhita* affix termed *tadrāja* which occurs after a syntactically related nominal stem with the signification of an Eastern country, or after bases listed in the group headed by *bharga* and *yaudheya*, is not deleted by *LUK* when a female descendant is denoted.

EXAMPLES:

pañcālasyāpatyaṃ strī = pāñcālī 'a female kṣatriya descendant of the country of the Pañcālas; a princess of Pañcāla'
āṅgī 'a female kṣatriya descendant (or princess) of the country of the Aṅgas'
vāṅgī 'a female kṣatriya descendant (or princess) of the country of the Vaṅgas'
bhārgī 'a female kṣatriya descendant (or princess) of the Bhargas'
yaudheyī 'a female kṣatriya descendant (or princess) of the Yaudheyas'

1. Note that *pāñcālī* is a derivate of *ṄīN* (4.1.73 *śārṅgaravād añño . . .*). The word *pāñcāla*, a derivate of *aÑ* (4.1.166 *janapadaśabdāt . . .*), which receives the feminine affix *ṄīN*, escapes deletion of its *aÑ* because of this rule. The deletion, which was made available by the preceding rule, is thus blocked. Derivates such as *āṅgī* and *vāṅgī* can similarly escape deletion of *aṆ* (4.1.168 *dvyañmagadhakaliṅga . . .*). It is only after the deletion required by 4.1.175 *alaś ca* is blocked, that affix *ṆīṢ* is introduced by 4.1.63 *jāter astrī . . .* to denote feminine. Affix *aṆ* of *yaudheyī* (5.3.117 *parśvādi-yaudheyādibhyo . . .*) also escapes this deletion. Incidentally, rule 5.3.119 *ñyādayas tadrājaḥ* assigns the term *tadrāja* to affix *aṆ* of 5.3.117 *parśvādi-yaudheyādibhyo. . . .* Once the term *tadrāja* is assigned, 4.1.175 *ataś ca* becomes applicable.

Pāda Two

4.2.1 तेन रक्तं रागात्

tena raktaṃ rāgāt
/tena 3/1 *raktam* 1/1 *rāgāt* 5/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt*, #4.1.1 *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #4.1.92)
tṛtīyāsamarthād rāgaviśeṣavācinaḥ śabdāt 'raktam' ity etasminn arthe yathāvihitaṃ pratyayo bhavati
A *taddhita* affix, particularly *aṆ* (3.1.83 *prāgdīvyato'ṇ*), occurs after a syntactically related nominal stem which ends in *tṛtīyā* and signifies 'color', when the derivate denotes '. . . colored by means of that. . . .'

Examples:

kaṣāyeṇa raktaṃ vastraṃ = kāṣāyam '(a place of cloth) colored by means of an yellowish red dye'
kusumbhena raktaṃ vastraṃ = kausumbham '(a piece of cloth) colored by means of an yellowish green dye'

1. Commentators explain *raktam* 'colored', a derivate of verbal root *rañj*, as: *śuklasya varṇāntarāpādānam* 'changing a quality, such as *śukla* 'white', into some other quality (*guṇāntara*)'. Such an explanation is necessary since *rakta* means two things: 'attached', as in *striyāṃ raktaḥ* '. . . attached to a woman' and 'colored', as in *raktā gauḥ* 'red cow'. The word *rāga* can be derivationally interpreted, either as 'that by means of which one colors something' (*rajyate'nena iti*), or as 'action of coloring' (*rañjanakriyā*). This second meaning, especially in view of *tṛtīyā* 'instrumental' of *tena*, is not tenable since 'the action of coloring will then have to be interpreted as its own means' (*PM* ad *Kāś.*: *na hi rañjanakriyaiva rañjanakriyāyāḥ karaṇam bhavati* 'the action of coloring cannot be accepted as its own means'). This view, i.e., that *rāga* is derived with affix *GHaÑ* with the signification of *bhāva* 'action', is

then abandoned. The word *rāga* is then interpreted as denoting 'color', especially that by means of which a quality known as 'white' is changed into some other quality. This interpretation accepts the word *rāga* to have derived with affix *GHaÑ* denoting *karaṇa* 'means'. Needless to say that *rāga* is here interpreted as *rajyate' nena iti* 'that by means of which something is colored'. That is, *rāga* 'color' is not interpreted here as the word-form *rāga*. The specification is made in terms of 'meaning' (*artha*), and not of form (*svarūpa*). How do we know that this rule makes a specification based on meaning (*artha*), and not on form (*svarūpa*), of *rāga*? We know this from interpretations of teachers, received through tradition.

2. A question is also raised against accepting the meaning of 'coloring' as 'an action whereby change is brought into a quality such as white'. For, this will create problems in understanding *kāṣāyau gardabhasya karṇau* 'yellowish red are the ears of donkey'; and *hāridrau kukkuṭasya pādau* 'turmeric-yellow are the rooster's feet'. Since those 'ears' or 'feet' were never 'white', the question of changing their 'white quality' by means of color, from 'white' to 'non-white', does not arise. Commentators explain that this should not create any problem. That is, one can accept *kāṣāya* 'yellowish red' and *hāridra* 'turmeric-yellow' as standards of comparison (*upamāna*). These examples both have to be understood metaphorically.

Deriving *kāṣāya* from (*kaṣāya* + *Ṭā* + *aÑ*) involves deletion of *Ṭā* (2.4.71 *supo dhātu . . .*), *bha-saṃjñā* (1.4.18 *yaci bham*), *a-lopa* (6.4.148 *yasyeti ca*) and *vṛddhi*. Thus, *k*(*a*→*ā*)*ṣāy*(*a*→ϕ) + *a* = *kāṣāya*. Deriving *kāṣāyam* from *kāṣāya* + (*sU*→*am*; 7.1.24 *ato' m*) = *kāṣāy*(*a* + *am*→*am*; 6.1.97 *ato guṇe*)) = *kāṣāyam*))). It follows patterns to many derivates already discussed.

4.2.2 लाक्षारोचनाट्टक्

lākṣārocanāṭ ṭhak

/ lakṣārocanāt 5/1 = *lākṣā ca rocanā ca* = *lākṣārocanam* (*sam. dv.*), *tasmāt*; *ṭhak* 1/1/

(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #4.1.92, *tena raktaṃ rāgāt* #1)

lākṣādibhyo rāgavacanebhyas tṛtīyāsamarthebhyaḥ 'raktam' ity etasminn arthe ṭhak pratyayo bhavati

The *taddhita* affix *ṭhaK* occurs after a syntactically related nominal stem, namely *lākṣā* 'lac' and *rocanā* 'yellow pigment', when ending in *tṛtīyā*, provided the derivate denotes '. . . colored by means of that'.

EXAMPLES:

lākṣikam = *lākṣayā raktaṃ vastram* '(a piece of cloth) colored by means of Lākṣā (lac)'

roucanikam = *rocanayā raktaṃ vastram* '(a piece of cloth) colored by means of Rocanā (yellow pigment)'

1. This rule introduces affix *ṭhaK*, as an exception to *aṆ*, under conditions specified by the preceding rule. The *ṭha* of *ṭhaK* is replaced with *ika* by rule 7.3.50 *ṭhasyekaḥ*.

2. Note that the *Kāśikāvṛtti*, at the strength of the *vt*: *śakala-kardamābhyām aṇ api iṣyate* '*aṆ* is also desired after *śakala* and *kardama*', inserts *śakala* and *kardama* in the wording of this *sūtra* (cf.: *lākṣārocanāśakalakardamāṭ ṭhak*).

3. This rule also lists some additional *vārttikas*. For example, consider *nīlam* '(a piece of cloth) colored by indigo', *pītakam* '(a piece of cloth) colored by an yellow dye', *hāridram* '(a piece of cloth) colored by turmeric' and *māhārājanam* '(a piece of cloth) colored by a dye made from safflower (*mahārajana*)', where the first two examples involve introduction of affixes *aN* (*nīlyā an*) and *kaN* (*pītāt kan vaktavyaḥ*), respectively, as an exception to affix *aṆ*. The last two examples are derived with *aÑ* (*haridrā-mahārajanābhyām añ vaktavyaḥ*), again as an exception to *aṆ*.

Examples of this rule would require *ṭhaK* to yield *ika*, thereby producing *rocan*($\bar{a}\rightarrow\phi$) + (*ṭha*→*ika*) = *r*(*o*→*au*)*canika* = *roucanika*, through additional application of *vṛddhi* (7.2.118 *kiti ca*).

4.2.3 नक्षत्रेण युक्तः कालः

nakṣatreṇa yuktaḥ kālaḥ
/nakṣatreṇa 3/1 *yuktaḥ* 1/1 *kālaḥ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #4.1.92, *tena . . .* #1)
tena tṛtīyāsamarthād nakṣatraviśeṣavācinaḥ śabdād yuktaḥ ity etasminn arthe yathāvihitaṃ pratyayo bhavati
A *taddhita* affix, namely *aṆ*, occurs after a syntactically related nominal stem which signifies a particular constellation (*nakṣatra*), and ends in *tṛtīyā* 'instrumental', provided the derivate denotes a time when moon may be in conjunction with that constellation.

EXAMPLES:

puṣyeṇa yuktā rātriḥ = *pauṣī rātriḥ* 'a night during which moon may be in conjunction with the constellation Puṣya'
pauṣamalaḥ 'a day during which moon may be in conjunction with the constellation Puṣya'

1. Questions have been raised against the condition of *nakṣatreṇa yuktaḥ kālaḥ* 'time in conjunction with a constellation'. The tradition looks at the notion of time (*kāla*) in two ways, of action (*kriyā*) and substance (*dravya*). If one accepts time as an action then what action should this condition of *yuktaḥ kālaḥ* relate to. Should this relate to conjunction of a constellation, such as *puṣya*, with an action located in substances such as *sūrya* 'Sun', etc.? Or, should one interpret this conjunction as a conjunction of specific con-

stellations with the action located within itself? Either of these views would rule out the possibility of time forming a conjunction with any constellation. The first view would rule out conjunction because 'action' will then be accepted as located within something other than a constellation and time of conjunction. The second view is only partly acceptable. That is, it does not go against accepting conjunction of a constellation with action (time) located within that constellation, but it goes against *yuktaḥ*, the qualifier. An action located within a constellation cannot be viewed as ever moving away from that constellation. It will form a non-separable relationship with the constellation (*samavāya-sambandha*). It is because of absence of separation (*vyabhicārābhāvāt*), of time from a constellation, that *yuktaḥ* cannot be accepted as a qualifier to time. For, if it is inhered by the constellation then to qualify it as *yuktaḥ* 'conjoined with it' does not make any sense. Thus, the view that *kāla* 'time' is *kriyā* 'action' is not acceptable.

The question of conjunction (*yoga*) does not arise also where 'time' is accepted as 'substance' (*dravya*). For, time is eternal (*nitya*) and all-pervading (*sarvagata*). How could one talk about conjunction of time with a constellation, when time is obligatorily inhered by that constellation? That is, it is not possible to accept the conjunction of *puṣya*, etc., with 'time', when *puṣya*, etc., themselves are manipulated in usage as denoting time. Time is not something separate from them. There is no night or day which is not associated with a constellation. Consequently, *yuktaḥ* is useless as a qualifier. It is to remove this difficulty, and to still accept the notion of 'conjunction', of 'time' with constellations, that recourse is taken to the notion of proximity (*sāmīpya*) denoting conjunction (*yoga*). Remember *gaṅgāyāṃ ghoṣaḥ* 'huts of cowherds in the Gaṅgā? The 'huts', obviously, are not in the river, but are spoken of as being there because of their close proximity with the river. Well, the analogy is very similar. Since a specific time is spoken of as the time of conjunction, relative to the proximity of moon with a particular constellation, that constellation is treated as conjoined with specific time.

4.2.4 लुबविशेषे

lub aviśeṣe

/lup 1/1 *aviśeṣe* 7/1/

(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #4.1.92, *tena*. . . #1, *nakṣatreṇa yuktaḥ kālaḥ* #3)

pūrveṇa vihitasya pratyayasya lub bhavati aviśeṣe, na cen nakṣatrayuktasya kālasya rātryādiviśeṣo' bhidhīyate, yāvān kālo nakṣatreṇa yujyate' horātras tasyāviśeṣe lub bhavati

A *taddhita* affix, thus introduced after a syntactically related nominal stem which ends in *tṛtīyā* and names a constellation, is replaced with *LUP* when the time of conjunction is not qualified with specifics.

EXAMPLES:

adya puṣyaḥ 'moon is in conjunction with the constellation Puṣya today'
adya kṛttikā 'moon is in conjunction with the constellation Kṛttikā today'

1. Recall that *LUP* is a special term employed to delete affixes (1.1.61 *pratyayasya lukślulupaḥ*). This rule provides for deletion of an affix by means of *LUP*, if the time denoted by the derivate happens to be non-specific (*aviśeṣa*). Thus, consider *adya puṣyaḥ* 'moon is in conjunction with the constellation *puṣya* today' where *adya* denotes a very general span of time. The affix in this derivate must be deleted, by means of *LUP*, because no specific time of conjunction is stated. Consider now *pauṣī rātriḥ* 'a night when moon is in conjunction with the constellation *puṣya*'. The affix cannot be deleted here because *rātriḥ* 'night' is a particular time-span within the general time-span of a day'.

What is the extent of time to which moon could be spoken of as being in conjunction with a constellation? Twenty-four hours, eight quarters (*prahara*), one day. Can deletion of an affix thus be relatable to the general time frame of a day and night? Yes, but with the understanding that a given particular (span of time) within a general (span of time) can also be spoken of as constituting its own general span of time. That is, if the time of conjunction is specified as *adya*, a general time-span made of both the day and night, then the affix will be deleted. The affix will also be deleted if conjunction within a day or night is spoken of as general with no qualifications relative to any of their parts, i.e., *prahara* 'quarter', etc. Thus, consider *adya puṣyo hyaḥ kṛttikā* 'moon is in conjunction with the constellation *puṣya* today; tomorrow she will be in conjunction with *kṛttikā*'. The affixes in these examples will be deleted because *adya* and *hyaḥ* are specified as general time-spans for moon's conjunction. Actually, a non-specific (*aviśeṣa*) time-span of conjunction is one where total time of conjunction is given with no qualification by any of its specific components (cf. *PM* ad *Kāśikā*: *tad etad evaṃ yāvān kālo nakṣatreṇa yujyate tasya sarvasya pratyayāntenābhidhānam aviśeṣaḥ; tad ekadeśasyābhidhānam aviśeṣaḥ*). The negative (*naÑ*) of *aviśeṣa* is construed with the verb to yield a *prasajyapratiṣedha* interpretation of the rule as: *nakṣatrayuktasya kālasya yatra viśeṣo rātryādis tatra lub na bhavati* '*LUP* does not apply in contexts where some specific time, for example 'night', of conjunction with a constellation is stated'.

2. Note that deletion of an affix also results in removal of consequences related to that affix. For example, introducing a *taddhita* affix may involve initial *vṛddhi* as its consequence. In the event of an affixal deletion, by means of *LUP*, *vṛddhi* must also be removed. Rule 1.1.63 *na lumalāṅgasya* would block the application of *vṛddhi* which, in the absence of deletion by *LUP*,

could have been permitted by rule 1.1.62 *pratyayalope pratyayalakṣaṇam*. Thus, operations characteristic of an affix do not apply in relation to an *aṅga* (1.4.13 *yasmāt pratyaya-vidhis. . .*) where deletion of an affix is accomplished by means of a term containing *LU* (*lumān*).

Note that *pauṣī* could be derived from *puṣya* + *aṆ* with initial *vṛddhi*, *bha-saṃjñā* and *a-lopa*: *p*(*u*→*au*)*ṣy*(*a*→ϕ) + *a*. The *y* of the string will then be deleted by 6.4.149 *sūryatiṣya. . . .* Of course, *Ñīp*, will then be introduced by 4.1.15 *tiḍḍhāṇañ. . . .*

4.2.5 संज्ञायां श्रवणाश्वत्थाभ्याम्

saṃjñāyāṃ śravaṇāśvatthābhyām
/saṃjñāyām 7/1 *śravaṇāśvatthābhyām* 5/2 = *śravaṇaś ca aśvatthaś ca* = *śravaṇāśvatthau* (*itar. dv.*); *tābhyām/*
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #4.1.92, *tena. . .* #1, *nakṣatreṇa yuktaḥ kālaḥ* #3, *lup* #4)
śravaṇaśabdād aśvatthaśabdāc cotpannasya pratyayasya lub bhavati saṃ-jñāyāṃ viṣaye
A *taddhita* affix which occurs after syntactically related nominal stems *śravaṇa* and *aśvattha*, when ending in *tṛtīyā*, is deleted by means of *LUP*, provided derivates denote the time of moon's conjunction with a constellation as a *saṃjñā* 'name'.

EXAMPLES:

śravaṇā rātriḥ 'name of a particular night when moon may be in conjunction with the constellation Śravaṇa'
aśvattho muhūrttaḥ 'name of a particular moment in time when moon may be in conjunction with the constellation *Aśvattha*'

1. Note that the preceding rule restricts deletion of an affix by means of *LUP* only to the condition of a general denotatum (*aviśeṣa*). Our present rule makes a provision for deletion in the context of a particular (*viśeṣa*) denotatum. The use of *saṃjñā* should, however, not lead one to conclude that this rule is restrictive (*niyama*) in nature. For, whenever doubts with regard to operational (*vidhi*) or restrictive (*niyama*) nature of a rule arise, decision is made in favor of an operation (*vidhi-niyamasambhave vidhir eva jyāyān*). Besides, *LUP* is also seen in examples, such as *śravaṇākārttikī*, where the denotatum is not a name (*PM* ad *Kāś.*: '*śravaṇākārttikī' ity asaṃjñāyām api lupo darśanāc ca*).

A question is also raised against retention of the feminine suffix in *śravaṇā*. How come deletion by *LUP* does not cause removal of the feminine affix in consonance with *yuktavadbhāva* 'original status in number and gender' (1.2.51 *lupi yuktavad vyaktivacane*). That is, *śravaṇā* should be replaced with its mas-

culine counterpart *śravaṇa*. It is concluded that feminine is retained on the basis of *nipātana*, especially with reference to *śravaṇā* of 4.2.23 *vibhāṣā phālgunīśravaṇākārttikīcaitribhyaḥ*.

2. The condition of *saṃjñā* is imposed so that usages, such as *śrāvaṇī rātriḥ* 'a night when moon may be in conjunction with the constellation *śravaṇa*' and *āśvatthī rātriḥ* 'a night when moon may be in conjunction with the constellation Aśvinī', do not come under the purview of this rule.

4.2.6 द्वन्द्वाच् छः

dvandvāc chaḥ
/dvandvāt 5/1 *chaḥ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *tena . . .* #1, *nakṣatreṇa yuktaḥ kālaḥ* #3, *lup* #4)
nakṣatradvandvāt tṛtīyāsamarthād yukte kāle chaḥ pratyayo bhavati viśeṣe cāviśeṣe ca
The *taddhita* affix *cha* occurs after a syntactically related nominal stem termed *dvandva*, which ends in *tṛtīyā* and is composed of constituents with the signification of a constellation (*nakṣatra*), provided derivates denote a time of moon's conjunction.

EXAMPLES:

rādhānurādhīyā rātriḥ 'a night when moon may be in conjunction with the constellation Rādhā and Anurādhā'
tiṣyapunarvasavīyam ahaḥ 'a day when moon may be in conjunction wtih the constellations Tiṣya and Punarvasu'
adya rādhānurādhīyam 'moon is in conjunction with the constellations Rādhā and Anurādhā today'
adya tiṣyapunarvasavīyam 'moon is in conjunction with the constellations Tiṣya and Punarvasu today'

1. Note that the word *nakṣatra*, of *nakṣatreṇa*, because of the contextual need for it to qualify *dvandva*, is here interpreted as ending in *ṣaṣṭhī* 'genitive'. Thus, we get *nakṣatrasya dvandvāt* = *nakṣatradvandvāt*, where *nakṣatradvandva* is interpreted as *nakṣatravācināṃ śabdānāṃ dvandvaḥ* 'a *dvandva* compound formed of constituents denoting constellations'.

2. Note that the first two examples specify a general time, as opposed to the next two which specify a particular. This explains why, for application of our present rule, the condition of *aviśeṣe*, or *viśeṣe*, is not consequential.

Given *tiṣyapunarvasu* + *Ṭā* + *cha*, rule 2.4.71 *supo dhātuprātipadikayoḥ* would delete *Ṭā*. Rule 6.4.146 or *guṇaḥ* will then require *guṇa* of the final *u* of *punarvasu*. The *ch* of affix *cha* will be replaced with *īy* (7.1.2 *āyaneyī . . .*), to produce *tiṣyapunarvas*(*u*→*o*) + (*ch*→*īy*) *a* = *tiṣyapunarvaso* + *īya*. The *o* will then be replaced with *av*, of 6.1.78 *eco'yavāyāvaḥ*, to produce *tiṣyapunar-*

vas(*o*→*av*)*īya* = *tiṣyapunarvasavīyam*. Incidentally, *tiṣyapunarvasavīyam* is here used as a qualifier to *adya* 'today', an indeclinable (*anyaya*). How can one then justify its neuter (*napuṃsaka*)? Gender follows usage (*PM* ad *Kāś.*: *adyetyasyāliṅgatve'pi tadviśeṣaṇasya napuṃsakatvam, lokāśrayatvāl liṅgasya* 'although *adya* has a status of non-gender, its qualifier is used as neuter. For, gender is dependent upon usage').

3. *Kāśikā* states that affix *cha* blocks the application of its deletion by *LUP* (4.2.4 *lub aviśeṣe*) on the basis of being subsequent (*paratva*; 1.4.2 *vipratiṣedhe* . . .). But the question of *cha* blocking its deletion on the basis of *paratva* does not arise, since a conflict resolved in favor a subsequent provision must obtain simultaneously (*yugapad*). That is, introduction and deletion of *cha* does not become applicable simultaneously. Since appearance (*darśana*) and non-appearance (*adarśana*) of an affix could not be applicable simultaneously, *LUP* with its signification of affixal non-appearance (*pratyayalopa*) cannot find any scope in the context of *cha*. Commentators explain that an exception stated in between only blocks a prior provision, and not any subsequent (*Paribhāṣā* (61): *madhye'pavādāḥ pūrvān vidhīn bādhante nottarān*). As such, *LUP* can only block *aṆ*, and not this *cha*. How can one determine that *LUP* cannot block *cha* unless one suspects that *LUP* may find its scope in the context of *cha*? This then becomes an indicator for accepting that *LUP* can also be heard in the context of *cha*. But only *cha* can block *LUP*, and that too on the basis of *paratva* (*PM* ad *Kāś.*: *nanu yugapatprāptayor vipratiṣedhaḥ, na ca lupchayor yugapatprasaṅgaḥ. pratyayādarśanasya hi lupsaṃjñā, tasya kathaṃ pratyayena saha prasaṅgaḥ? tasmād ayam atrārthaḥ: madhye'pavādāḥ pūrvān vidhīn bādhante nottarān iti, evam ayaṃ lub aṇa eva bhavati nāsya chasya. tenāyaṃ cho lupo viṣaye śrūyate. etad eva lupaṃ paratvād bādhate cha iti bādhakatvam . . . yato'yaṃ paras tena lub asya na bhavati tena tadviṣaye'py asau śrūyate*).

4.2.7 दृष्टं साम

dṛṣṭaṃ sāma
/dṛṣṭaṃ 1/1 *sāma* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *tena* . . . #1)
tṛtīyāsamarthād dṛṣṭaṃ sāma ity etasminn arthe ḍhak pratyayo bhavati
A *taddhita* affix, namely *aṆ*, occurs as ruled after a syntactically related nominal stem which ends in *tṛtīyā*, provided the derivate denotes revelation of Sāman hymns received by. . . .'

EXAMPLES:

kruñcena dṛṣṭaṃ sāma = *krauñcaṃ sāma* 'revelation of Sāman hymns received by Kruñca'
vāsiṣṭham 'revelation of Sāman hymns received by Vasiṣṭha'
vaiśvāmitram 'revelation of Sāman hymns received by Viśvāmitra'

1. Note that *dṛṣṭam* 'seen' is used here as a qualifier to *sāma*. This is perfectly in line with the traditional belief that Vedic hymns were revealed to seers. It is in this sense that they were seen by them.

2. This *sūtra* has been accepted as a *vārttika* by the *Mahābhāṣya*. *Kāśikā* accepts it as a rule. Incidentally, Bhaṭṭoji (cf. *SK*) also accepts it as a rule.

4.2.8 कलेर्ढक्

kaler ḍhak
/kaleḥ 5/1 *ḍhak* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *tena . . .* #1, *dṛṣṭaṃ sāma* #7)
kaliśabdāt tṛtīyāsamarthād dṛṣṭaṃ sāma ity etasminn arthe ḍhak pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *ḍhaK* occurs after the syntactically related nominal stem *kali*, when ending in *tṛtīya*, provided the derivate denotes 'revelation of Sāman hymns received by. . . .'

EXAMPLES:

kalinā dṛṣṭaṃ sāma = kāleyam 'revelation of Sāman hymns received by Kali'

1. Note that *ḍhaK* is here introduced as an exception to *aṆ*. *Kāśikā* uses the word *sarvatra* 'everywhere' to indicate what is stated by the *vārttika*: *sarvatrāgnikalibhyāṃ ḍhag vaktavyaḥ*. That is, in this domain of rules called *prāgdīvyatīya* (4.1.83 *prāg dīvyato' ṇ*), *agni* and *kali* will, everywhere (*sarvatra*), receive affix *ḍhaK*, no matter what corresponding derivates were to signify. Consequently, affix *ḍhaK* will not only be introduced after *agni* to denote the sense of 'she is the deity of . . .', as is provided for by rule 4.2.24 *sāsya devatā*, it can also be introduced after *agni* to derive forms signifying meanings specified under other rules of this (*prāgdīvyatīya*) domain. The introduction of affix *ḍhaK*, after *kali*, can thus not be limited to the context of a denotatum such as: 'revelation of Sāman hymns received by . . .' (*PM* ad *Kāś.*: *na kevalam agneḥ 'sāsya devatā' ity asminn evārthe ḍhak, nāpi kevalaṃ dṛṣṭaṃ sāmety atraivārthe kaler ḍhak; api tu sarveṣv eva prāgdīvyatīyeṣv ity arthaḥ*).

Many do not accept this as a *sūtra* of Pāṇini. For, what the *sūtra* is supposed to provide is provided by the *vārttika*.

2. Note that the *ḍh* of affix *ḍhaK* will be replaced with *ey*, to yield *eya* of *kāleyaḥ* with the application of 7.1.2 *āyaneyī*. . . . The *vṛddhi* replacement for the first vowel of *kali* will be ordered by rule 7.2.117 *taddhiteṣv acām ādis*. . . .

3. A verse of the *Mahābhāṣya* summarizes *vārttika*-proposals made in the context of this and the preceding rule:

dṛṣṭe sāmani jāte ca dvir aṇ ḍid vā vidhīyate/
tīyād īkak na vidyāyā gotrād aṅkavad iṣyate//

'the *aṆ* which denotes the sense of *dṛṣṭaṃ sāma* (4.2.7 *dṛṣṭaṃ sāma*), and also that which denotes the sense of 'born there' (4.3.25 *tatra jātaḥ*), is optionally marked with *Ḍ* as an *it*; affix *īkaK*, though not when qualifying *vidyā*, is optionally introduced after ordinals such as *dvitīya* 'second', etc.; an affix, i.e., *vuÑ* (4.3.126 *gotracaraṇād vuñ*), similar to *aṅka* (4.3.127 *saṅghāṅka . . .*), can be introduced to denote the sense of *dṛṣṭaṃ sāma* after a nominal stem signifying a *gotra*-descendant'.

A *vārttika* proposal to optionally mark *aṆ* with *Ḍ*, as an *it* (*ḍit*), facilitates *ṭi*-deletion of 6.4.143 *ṭeḥ*. This will optionally derive *auśanasam* and *auśanam*, parallel to *uśanasā dṛṣṭaṃ sāma*, where *auśanas* has its final *s* deleted as a consequence of optional *Ḍ* as an *it*. Examples of *aṆ* with the signification of *tatra jātaḥ* are: *śatabhiṣajaḥ* 'born in the constellation *Śatabhiṣa*'. Commentators remind that *aṆ*, in order to qualify for its optional status as *ḍit*, must be one which becomes applicable, after having been blocked by some other affix earlier. Thus, the *aṆ* of 4.1.83 *prāg dīvyato' ṇ* is blocked by *ṭhaÑ* of 4.3.11 *kālāṭ ṭhañ*. It is made available again by 4.3.16 *sandhivelād. . . .* It thus qualifies for its status as *ḍit*. Derivates such as *śatabhiṣajaḥ/śatabhiṣaḥ* illustrate it.

A *vārttika* proposal for *īkaK* is optionally made after ordinals ending in *tīya*. This proposal is not valid when the ordinal qualifies *vidyā*. Consider *dvaitīyīkam/dvitīyakam* as examples for optional *īkaK*. But compare *tṛtīyā* of *tṛtīyā vidyā* which forms an exception to it.

A proposal for *vuÑ*, for example in *aupagavakam* 'Sāman hymns received by Aupagava', is not hard to comprehend.

4.2.9 वामदेवाड् ड्यड्ड्यौ

vāmadevāḍ ḍyaḍḍyau
/vāmadevāt 5/1 *ḍyaḍḍyau* 1/2 = *ḍyat ca ḍyaḥ ca* (*itar. dv.*)/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *tena . . .* #1, *dṛṣṭaṃ sāma* #7)
vāmadevaśabdāt tṛtīyāsamarthād dṛṣṭaṃ sāma ity etasminn arthe 'ḍyaṭ' 'ḍya' ity etau pratyayau bhavataḥ
The *taddhita* affixes *ḌyaṬ* and *Ḍya* occur after the syntactically related nominal stem *vāmadeva*, when the same ends in *tṛtīyā* and the derivate is to signify 'revelation of Sāman hymns received by. . . .'

EXAMPLES:

vāmadevena dṛṣṭaṃ sāma = vāmaḍeyām 'revelation of Sāman hymns received by Vāmadeva'
vāmadevena dṛṣṭaṃ sāma = vāmaḍeyam 'id.'

1. Note that derivates of these two affixes only differ in accent. This accentual difference is brought about by *Ṭ* as an *it* in the first affix. Thus, a

derivate of *ḌyaT*, because of *T* as an *it*, will be marked with *svarita* (6.1.179 *tit svaritam*) at the end. Derivates of *Ḍya*, on the other hand, will be marked *udātta* at the beginning, as is provided for by rule 3.1.3 *ādyudāttaś ca*. These affixes both constitute an exception to *aṆ*.

2. Derivates of *ḌyaT* and *Ḍya*, on account of their *Ḍ* as an *it*, will both involve *ṭi*-deletion (1.1.64 *aco'ntyādi ṭi*) of 6.4.143 *ṭeḥ*. But why do we have to accept these affixes marked with *Ḍ*? What is accomplished by *ṭi*-deletion can be accomplished by 6.4.148 *yasyeti ca*, even when the affixes were given as *yaT* and *ya*. But this will render the *Ḍ* of *ḌyaT* and *Ḍya* as vacuous. This, in turn, becomes an indicator (*jñāpaka*): an affix specified without an *it* does not include references to its counterparts specified with an *it* (*Paribhāṣā* 82: *niranubandhakagrahaṇe na sānubandhakasya*). Similarly, an affix specified with one *it* does not include references to its counterparts specified with two *it*-elements (*Paribhāṣā* 83: *tadanubandhakagrahaṇe nātadanubandhakasya*). A specification made by *ya* and *yaT* cannot refer to both *Ḍya* and *ḌyaT* which is required, for example in *avāmadevyam*, to block the final *udātta* of 6.2.156 *yayatoś cātadarthe*. A specification with *Ḍya* and *ḌyaT* accomplishes that. Consequently, *avāmadevyam* is not marked *udātta* at the end. It is marked *udātta* at the beginning because of *naÑ* (6.2.2 *tatpuruṣe tulyārtha . . .*).

A *kārikā* verse summarizes it as follows:

siddhe yasyeti lopena kimarthaṃ yayatau ḍitau/
grahaṇaṃ mā'tadarthe bhūd vāmadevyasya nañsvare//

4.2.10 परिवृतो रथः

parivṛto rathaḥ
/parivṛtaḥ 1/1 *rathaḥ* 1/1
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *tena . . .* #1)
tṛtīyāsamarthāt parivṛtaḥ ity etasminn arthe yathāvihitaṃ pratyayo bhavati yo'sau parivṛto rathaś cet sa bhavati
A *taddhita* affix, particularly *aṆ*, occurs as ruled after a syntactically related nominal stem which ends in *tṛtīyā*, provided the derivate denotes 'a chariot covered with that. . . .'

EXAMPLES:

vāstraḥ = *vastreṇa parivṛto rathaḥ* 'a chariot covered with a piece of cloth'
kāmbalo rathaḥ 'a chariot covered with a blanket'
cārmaṇaḥ 'a chariot covered with hide'

1. The condition of *ratha* is imposed to block derivates of *aṆ* parallel to *vastreṇa parivṛtaḥ kāyaḥ* 'a body covered with cloth'.

Note also that *parivṛtaḥ* means *samantād veṣṭitaḥ* 'completely covered'. Thus,

a thing can be called *parivṛta* when no part of it is left uncovered (*Kāś.*: *yasya na kaścid avayavo vastrādibhir veṣṭitas tatra na bhavati*). This rule will then not permit a derivate parallel to *chātraiḥ parivṛto rathaḥ* 'chariot covered with students'.

4.2.11 पाण्डुकम्बलादिनिः

pāṇḍukambalād iniḥ
/pāṇḍukambalāt 5/1 = *pāṇḍuś cāsau kambalaś ca* = *pāṇḍukambalaḥ* (*karma.tat.*), *tasmāt; iniḥ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *tena . . .* #1, *parivṛto rathaḥ* #10)
pāṇḍukambalaśabdāt tṛtīyāsamarthāt parivṛto rathaḥ ity etasminn arthe iniḥ pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *inI* occurs after the syntactically related nominal stem *pāṇḍukambala* when it ends in *tṛtīyā* and the derivate denotes 'a chariot covered with that. . . .'

EXAMPLES:

pāṇḍukambalī = *pāṇḍukambalena parivṛto rathaḥ* 'a chariot covered with a white (woolen) blanket'

1. What is the purpose of formulating this rule with *inI* when this same affix is already available from 5.2.115 *ata iniṭhanau*? Commentators explain that, in the absence of *inI* of this rule, *aṆ* would become applicable. The fact that this rule is formulated, even when *inI* is available from 5.2.115, indicates its purpose. It is formulated to block *aṆ* (*Kāś.*: *matvarthīyenaiva siddhe vacanam aṇo nivṛtyartham*).

4.2.12 द्वैपवैयाघ्रादञ्

dvaipavaiyāghrād añ
/dvaipavaiyāghrāt 5/1 = *dvaipaṃ ca vaiyāghraṃ ca* = *dvaipavaiyāghram* (*sam. dv.*), *tasmāt; añ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *tena . . .* #1, *parivṛto rathaḥ* #10)
dvīpivyāghrayor vikārabhūte carmaṇī dvaipavaiyāghre tābhyāṃ tṛtīyāsamarthābhyām parivṛto ratha ity etasminn arthe' ñ pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *aÑ* occurs after syntactically related nominal stems *dvaipa* and *vaiyāghra*, when they end in *tṛtīyā* and their derivates denote 'a chariot covered with that. . . .'

EXAMPLES:

dvaipaḥ = *dvaipena parivṛto rathaḥ* 'a chariot covered with panther's hide'
vaiyāghraḥ 'a chariot covered with tiger's hide'

1. Note that *dvaipa* and *vaiyāghra* refer to products (*vikāra*) derived from panthers (*dvīpin*) and tigers (*vyāghra*), respectively. But since the context requires such products to function as means of covering, we interpret them as hide.

2. This provision of *aÑ* is made against *aṆ*.

4.2.13 कौमारापूर्ववचने

kaumārāpūrvavacane
/kaumāra 1/1 (deleted) *apūrvavacane* 7/1 = *na pūrvaḥ apūrvaḥ* (*nañ. tat.*), *tasya vacanam* = *apūrvasya vacanam* (*gen. tat.* with int. *nañ tat.*), *tasmin/*
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76)
kaumāra ity etad aṇpratyayāntaṃ nipātyate' pūrvavacane
The *taddhita* affix *aṆ* occurs, in deriving *kaumāra* via *nipātana*, when the derivate denotes *apūrvavacana* 'not married before'.

EXAMPLES:

kaumāraḥ patiḥ = *apūrvapatiṃ kumārīṃ patir upapannaḥ* 'the groom who married a girl not married before'
kaumārī bhāryā = *apūrvapatiḥ kumārī patim upapannā* 'a girl, not married before, married this groom'

1. This rule derives *kaumāra* with *aṆ*, via *nipātana*, under the meaning condition of *apūrvavacana* 'not married before'. A question is raised as to whose previously unmarried status the affix signifies. Commentators state that the affix denotes the 'previously unmarried status' of a female. Consider the two paraphrases of our examples. The first one has *kaumāraḥ*, derived in masculine by introducing affix *aṆ* after the syntactically related nominal *kumārī*. Notice the paraphrase where *kumārī* is used in accusative, and affix *aṆ* is introduced to denote the 'husband' (*pati*). That is, 'the husband who reached the girl not married before'. The second paraphrase requires introducing *aṆ* after the syntactically related nominal *kumārī*, ending in *prathamā* 'nominative'. Its derivate will then denote the female, its own sense (*svārtha*). In both these cases, *apūrvavacana* qualifies the female. The following verse sums it up:

kaumārāpūrvavacane kumāryā aṇ vidhīyate/
apūrvatvaṃ yadā tasyāḥ kumāryāṃ bhavatīti vā//

That *apūrvavacana*, the status of not being married before, applies uniquely to the female becomes known at the strength of *nipātana* (*PM* ad *Kāś.* III:518: *striyā evāpūrvatvam ity etat tu nipātanabalāl labhyate*).

4.2.14 तत्रोद्धृतममत्रेभ्यः

tatroddhṛtam amatrebhyaḥ
/tatra ϕ uddhṛtam 1/1 *amatrebhyaḥ* 5/3/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76)
saptamīsamarthād amatravācinaḥ śabdāt 'uddhṛtam' ity etasmin arthe yathāvihitaṃ pratyayo bhavati
A *taddhita* affix, namely *aN* occurs after a syntactically related nominal stem which ends in *saptamī* 'locative' and signifies *amatra* 'utensil', provided the derivate denotes *tatroddhṛtam* '. . . remaining there in the pot. . . .'

EXAMPLES:

śārāva odanaḥ = śārāveṣūddhṛtaḥ odanaḥ 'rice remaining in bowls . . .'
kārparaḥ odanaḥ 'rice left over in a vessel'

1. *Kāśikā* explains *tatroddhṛtam* as a qualifier for food (*annam*) left over in a pot after eating (*bhuktocchiṣṭam uddhṛtam ucyate*).

The condition of *amatrebhyaḥ* is significant so that usages parallel to *pāṇāv uddhṛtaḥ* 'food remaining in hands . . .' can be ruled out.

4.2.15 स्थण्डिलाच्छयितरि व्रते

sthaṇḍilāc chayitari vrate
/sthaṇḍilāt 5/1 *śayitari* 7/1 *vrate* 7/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *tatra* #14)
sthaṇḍilaśabdāt saptamīsamarthāt śayitary abhidheye yathāvihitaṃ pratyayo bhavati
A *taddhita* affix, namely *aN*, occurs after the syntactically related nominal stem *sthaṇḍila* 'bare ground', when ending in *saptamī* 'locative', provided the derivate denotes a *śayitṛ* 'agent of sleeping' under the obligation of a religious vow (*vrata*).

EXAMPLES:

sthaṇḍilo bhikṣuḥ = sthaṇḍile śayitum vratam asya 'a monk who took a vow to sleep on bare grounds'
sthaṇḍilo brahmacārī 'a celibate who took a vow to sleep on bare floors'

1. Note that the word *vrata* characterizes conduct prescribed by scriptures or religious treatises (*śāstra*). The condition of *vrata* is required so that *sthaṇḍila*, of *sthaṇḍile śete brahmadattaḥ* 'Brahmadatta sleeps on bare ground', does not qualify for a derivate in *aN*.

4.2.16 संस्कृतं भक्षाः

saṃskṛtaṃ bhakṣāḥ
/saṃskṛtam 1/1 *bhakṣāḥ* 1/3/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraśca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *tatra* #14)
tatreti saptamīsamarthāt 'saṃskṛtam' ity etasminn arthe yathāvihitaṃ pratyayo bhavati yat saṃskṛtaṃ bhakṣāś cet te bhavanti
A *taddhita* affix, namely *aṆ*, occurs after a syntactically related nominal stem which ends in *saptamī*, provided the derivate denotes an item of food 'processed in there' (*tatra saṃskṛtam*).

EXAMPLES:

bhrāṣṭrāḥ = bhrāṣṭre saṃskṛtā bhakṣāḥ 'items of food prepared in a frying pan'
kālaśāḥ 'items of food prepared in a jar (of brass or copper)'
kaumbhāḥ 'items of food prepared in an earthen jar'

1. Note that the word *saṃskṛta* refers to an item which goes through *saṃskāra*. Commentators explain '*saṃskāra* as a process through which qualities of a thing are enhanced' (*sata utkarṣādhānam*). Items of food can be treated as *saṃskṛta* if they are processed through some special technique of cooking, preparing, and/or introducing ingredients, whereby they become more palatable.

2. It is stated that the neuter singular (*napuṃsakaliṅgatvam ekavacanatvaṃ ca*) in *saṃskṛtaṃ* is used to denote *jāti* 'class'. The plural masculine in *bhakṣāḥ* is used to denote particular things (*vastu*).

4.2.17 शूलोखाद्यत्

śūlokhād yat
/śūlokhāt = śūlaṃ ca ukhā ca śūlokham (*sam. dv.*), *tasmāt; yat* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *tatra* #14, *saṃskṛtaṃ bhakṣāḥ* #15)
śūlaśabdād ukhāśabdāc ca saptamīsamarthāt 'saṃskṛtaṃ bhakṣāḥ' ity etasminn arthe yat pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *yaT* occurs after syntactically related nominal stems *śūla* and *ukhā*, when ending in *saptamī*, provided the derivate denotes 'an item of food processed in there'.

EXAMPLES:

śūle saṃskṛtaṃ = śūlyaṃ māṃsam 'meat roasted on a pit'
ukhyam 'an item of food prepared in a pot called Ukhā'

1. This rule introduces *yaT* as an exception to *aṆ*. The word *ukhā* here

means a particular pot (*pātraviśeṣa*), and not, for example, *svāṅga* 'one's limb'. For, it will then be impossible to comprehend objects of processing.

4.2.18 दध्नष्ठक्

dadhnaṣ ṭhak
/dadhnaḥ 5/1 *ṭhak/*
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *tatra* #14, *saṃskṛtaṃ bhakṣāḥ* #15)
dadhiśabdāt saptamīsamarthāt 'saṃskṛtaṃ bhakṣāḥ' ity etasminn arthe ṭhak pratyayo bhavati
A *taddhita* affix, namely *ṭhaK*, occurs after a syntactically related nominal stem *dadhi* 'yoghurt', when ending in *saptamī*, provided the derivate denotes 'an item of food processed in there'.

EXAMPLES:

dadhni saṃskṛtaṃ = dādhikam 'an item of food processed in yoghurt'

1. Why can we not account for this usage by means of rule 4.4.1 *prāg vahateṣ ṭhak*, read with 4.4.3 *saṃskṛtaṃ*. Commentators explain that the derivate in that case will still be *dādhikam*. However, since 4.4.3 *saṃskṛtaṃ* also gets the *anuvṛtti* of *tena*, from 4.4.2 *tena dīvyati . . .*, there will be a difference in meaning. That is, the derivate of 4.4.3 *saṃskṛtaṃ* will be an item of food whose qualities are enhanced by means of *dadhi* 'yoghurt'. That is, yoghurt will then serve as the primary means of making food palatable. The derivate of our present rule will not have yoghurt as its primary means of processing. Instead, things such as salt, pepper, and spices, etc., will serve as means of enhancing the quality of food. The yoghurt will simply serve as a base (*ādhāra*). Shall we then understand that yoghurt is similar in function to the pit on which meat is roasted? As a pit does not bring any special quality to the meat but simply serve as locus for roasting it, so is the yoghurt. Well, yes but not quite. It is very difficult to accept that an item of food which has yoghurt as its base does not get any enhancement in its quality from it. That is, if a person likes yoghurt, and hence, treats it as base for preparing his food. On the other hand, the pit can be accepted as not bringing any enhancement in the quality of food. The pit also remains unaffected insofar as its own status is concerned. The yoghurt differs with the pit in these respects. However, these both share one basic thing: they are both items which may not be treated as primary processors of food due to which an item of food may have in quality enhanced.

4.2.19 उदश्वितोऽन्यतरस्याम्

udaśvito'nyatarasyām
/udaśvitaḥ 5/1 *anyatarasyām* 7/1/

(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* 4.1.76, *tatra* #14, *saṃskṛtaṃ bhakṣāḥ* #15, *ṭhak* #18)
udaśvic chabdāt saptamīsamarthāt 'saṃskṛtaṃ bhakṣāḥ' ity etasminn arthe anyatarasyāṃ ṭhak pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *ṭhaK* occurs optionally after the syntactically related nominal stem *udaśvit*, when ending in *saptamī*, provided the derivate denotes an item of food 'processed in there'.

EXAMPLES:

audaśvitam 'an item of food prepared in buttermilk'
audaśvikam 'id.'

1. An optional introduction of *ṭhaK* would also result in the application of rule 7.3.51 *isusuktāntāt kaḥ* which, in turn, will replace the *ṭha* of *ṭhaK* with *ka* to yield *audaśvitka*, after initial *vṛddhi* is accomplished. If, on the other hand, one does not accept the option of introducing *ṭhaK*, and, instead, selects affix *aṆ*, the result will be *audaśvitam*, a form without *ka*.

4.2.20 क्षीराड्ढञ्

kṣīrāḍ ḍhañ
/kṣīrāt 5/1 *ḍhañ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* 4.1.76, *tatra* #14, *saṃskṛtaṃ bhakṣāḥ* #15)
kṣīraśabdāt saptamīsamarthāt 'saṃskṛtaṃ bhakṣāḥ' ity etasminn arthe ḍhañ pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *ḍhaÑ* occurs after the syntactically related nominal stem *kṣīra*, when it ends in *saptamī* and the derivate denotes an item of food 'processed in there'.

EXAMPLES:

kṣaireyī = *kṣīre saṃskṛtā yavāgūḥ* 'barley-gruel prepared in milk'

1. Our example derives from *kṣīra* + (*ḍh*→*ey*) *a* = *kṣīr*(*a*→ϕ) + *eya* = *kṣ*(*ī*→*ai*) *r* + *eya* = *kṣaireya* = *kṣaireya* + *ṄīP* (4.1.15 *ṭiḍḍāṇañ . . .*) = *kṣairey*(*a*→ϕ) + *ī* = *kṣaireyī*.

4.2.21 सास्मिन् पौर्णमासीति संज्ञायाम्

sāsmin paurṇamāsīti saṃjñāyām
/sā 1/1 *asmin* 7/1 *paurṇamāsī* 1/1 *iti* ϕ/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* # 3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76)
seti prathamāsamarthād 'asmin' iti saptamyarthe yathāvihitaṃ pratyayo bhavati yat tat prathamāsamarthaṃ paurṇamāsī ced bhavati
A *taddhita* affix, namely *aṆ*, occurs after a syntactically related nominal stem which ends in *prathamā* 'nominative', provided the nominal in

prathamā signifies a *paurṇamāsī* 'full-moon night' and the derivate names a locus.

EXAMPLES:

pauṣī paurṇamāsī asmin = pauṣo māsaḥ 'a month when full-moon may be in conjunction with the constellation Puṣya'

1. Commentators explain that derivates of this rule can denote a month, or one-half of a month, depending on what the speaker wishes to indicate as locus of full-moon. Similarly, one can also speak of a year during which a particular full-moon may be in conjunction with the constellation *puṣya.*

Note that *Kāśikā* also reads *saṃjñāyām* in the wording of this *sūtra.* This addition is made in view of a *vārttika* proposal. *Kāśikā* claims that *saṃjñāyām* is used to indicate its similarity of meaning with *iti,* which is not commonly known from general usage. The *Mahābhāṣya* uses *iti* alone. The *SK* also follows the *Mahābhāṣya.* The phrase *sā' smin paurṇamāsī* has *sā* ending in *prathamā* 'nominative'. That is how we get the variable specification of: 'a syntactically related nominal stem ending in nominative'. The word *paurṇamāsī,* again in nominative, establishes the denotatum of the *pada* ending in nominative. The *saptamī,* of *asmin,* specifies 'locus' as affixal denotatum.

2. Note that *saṃjñā* is the denotatum of the derivate. Given the example, *pauṣo māsaḥ,* parallel to *pauṣī paurṇamāsy astīty ity asmin māse* 'a month in which full-moon night happens to be in conjunction with the constellation Puṣya', where *pauṣaḥ* is a qualifier to *māsaḥ* 'month', we have to first derive *pauṣī* by introducing *aṆ* after *puṣya* + *Ṭā,* under the provision of rule 4.2.3 *nakṣatreṇa yuktaḥ kālaḥ.* This will give us *pauṣī* as a qualifier for the full-moon night when moon may be in conjunction with the constellation *puṣya* (cf. *puṣyeṇa yuktā paurṇamāsī pausī*). Affix *aṆ* will then be introduced after *pauṣī* + *Ṅi* to derive (*pauṣī* + (*Ṅi*→ϕ) + *a*(*Ṇ*→ϕ)) = (*pauṣ*(*ī*→ϕ) + *a*))= *pauṣa.* This deletion of *ī* is, of course, ruled by 6.4.148 *yasyeti ca.* Deriving *pauṣaḥ* from *pauṣa* + *sU* offers nothing new.

4.2.22 आग्रहायण्यश्वत्थाट्ठक्

āgrahāyaṇyaśvatthāṭ ṭhak
/ āgrahāyaṇyaśvatthāt 5/1 = *āgrahāyaṇī ca aśvatthaś ca* (*sam. dv.*), *tasmāt; ṭhak* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* 3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *sāsmin paurṇamāsīti* #21)
āgrahāyaṇīśabdād aśvatthaśabdāc ca prathamāsamarthāt paurṇamāsyupādhikād asminn iti saptamyarthe ṭhak pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *ṭhaK* occurs after syntactically related nominal stems *āgrahāyaṇī* and *aśvattha,* when they end in *prathamā* to share syntactic coordination with *paurṇamāsī,* and their derivates name a locus.

EXAMPLES:

āgrahāyaṇiko māsaḥ 'a month, half-month, or year, when full-moon occurs in the constellation Āgrahāyaṇī.'
āśvatthikaḥ 'a month, half-month, or year, when full-moon occurs in the constellation Aśvattha.'

1. The word *aśvattha* refers to the constellation *Aśvinī*. The affix itself is an exception to *aN*.

4.2.23 विभाषा फाल्गुनीश्रवणाकार्तिकीचैत्रीभ्यः

vibhāṣā phālgunīśravaṇākārtikīcaitrībhyaḥ
/vibhāṣā 1/1 *phālgunīśravaṇākārtikīcaitrībhyaḥ* 5/3 = *phālgunī ca śravaṇā ca kārtikī ca caitrī ca* (*itar. dv.*)/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *sāsmin paurṇamāsīti* #21, *ṭhak* #22)
phālgunyādayaḥ paurṇamāsīśabdās tebhyo vibhāṣā ṭhak pratyayo bhavati sāsmin paurṇamāsīti saṃjñāyām ity etasmin viṣaye
The *taddhita* affix *ṭhaK* occurs optionally after syntactically related nominal stems *phālgunī, śravaṇā, kārtikī* and *caitrī*, when they end in nominative sharing syntactic coordination with *paurṇamāsī* and their derivates name a locus.

EXAMPLES:

phālguniko māsaḥ = phālgunī paurṇamāsy asmin māse 'a month when full-moon may be in conjunction with the constellation Phālgunī'
phālgunaḥ 'id.'
śrāvaṇiko māsaḥ 'a month when full-moon may be in conjunction with the constellation Śrāvaṇa'
śrāvaṇaḥ 'id.'
kārtikikaḥ māsaḥ 'a month when full-moon may be in conjunction with the constellation Kṛttikā'
kārttikaḥ 'id.'
caitriko māsaḥ 'a month when full-moon may be in conjunction with the constellation Citrā'
caitraḥ 'id.'

1. Note that *aN*, instead, will be introduced when the option of *ṭhaK* is not availed. The *ṭha* of the affix will, of course, be replaced with *ika*, of rule 7.3.50 *ṭhasyekaḥ*, to derive examples such as *phālgunikaḥ*.

4.2.24 सास्य देवता

sāsya devatā
/sā 1/1 *asya* 1/1 *devatā* 1/1/

(*pratyayaḥ*#3.1.1, *paraś ca* 3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt*#4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ*#4.1.76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #4.1.82)
seti prathamā samarthāt 'asya' iti ṣaṣṭhyarthe yathāvihitaṃ pratyayo bhavati yat prathamāsamarthaṃ devatā cet sā bhavati
A *taddhita* affix, namely *aṆ*, occurs as ruled after a syntactically related nominal stem, namely *devatā*, when the same ends in nominative and the derivate denotes 'the divinity of. . . .'

EXAMPLES:

aindraṃ haviḥ = indro devatā' sya 'a ritual oblation of which Indra is the divinity'
ādityaṃ haviḥ 'a ritual oblation of which Āditya is the divinity'
bārhaspatyaṃ haviḥ 'a ritual oblation of which Bṛhaspati is the divinity'

1. Commentators explain that affix *aṆ*, in these examples, is introduced in the sense of *ṣaṣṭhī* 'genitive'. It becomes known from *asya* 'of this one's'. They also emphasize that the syntactically related nominal stem after which the affix is to be introduced must end in nominative, and denote a divinity. The derivate, thus, signifies a ritual oblation of which the divinity is the denotatum of the syntactically related *pada* ending in nominative. Thus, we get *aindraḥ*, from *indra* + *sU* + *aṆ*, where *indra* is the name of a divinity, associated with the ritual oblation namely *aindraḥ*.

Commentators rephrase the meaning of *sā' sya devatā* as: *yāgasampradānaṃ devatā deyasya puroḍāśādeḥ svāminī* 'the recipient divinity of a sacrifice; a presiding deity with ownership rights over oblations, such as *puroḍāśa*, etc.'

If ritual oblation is important in determining a derivate such as *aindraḥ*, then *aindraḥ* cannot denote a *mantra* in *aindro mantraḥ* 'a *mantra* of which Indra is the divinity'. For, there is no ritual oblation involved. Commentators explain that *aindraḥ* can denote a *mantra* even when there is no ritual oblation involved. A divinity serves as the principal recipient of a ritual oblation because of deserving respect. The same divinity, if still deserving respect, can be treated as the recipient of a *mantra* and *stuti* 'praise'. Thus, *mantra* and *stuti* can also be identified as oblations.

2. Why do we have to state *sā* in this rule when it is already available from *anuvṛtti*. *Kāśikā* states that *sā* of the *anuvṛtti* is associated with *saṃjñāyām*. It is to drop *saṃjñāyām* that this rule restates *sā*. For others, *sā* could be accepted as restated for the purpose of dropping *iti*.

4.2.25 कस्येत्

kasya it
/kasya 6/1 *it* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ*#3.1.1, *paraś ca* 3.1.2, *ṅyapprātipadikāt*#4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ*#4.1.76, *sāsya devatā* #23)

kasya ikārādeśo bhavati pratyayasanniyogena
The final *a* of the syntactically related nominal stem *ka* (which signifies a divinity, ends in the nominative, and receives the *taddhita* affix *aṆ* to denote 'the divinity of . . .') is replaced with *i*.

EXAMPLES:

kāyaṃ haviḥ = ko devatā asya 'a ritual oblation of which Ka is the divinity'

1. Note that the word *ka* denotes *prajāpati*, one of the major divinities. Affix *aṆ*, with the signification of 'the divinity of . . .', is already available to *ka* from the previous rule. Of course, when *ka* is a syntactically related *pada* ending in nominative. This rule thus not formulated for making the introduction of affix *aṆ*, after *ka*, possible. The express purpose of formulating this rule is to allow the *a* of *ka* to be replaced with *i*. Thus, we get: *ka* + *sU* + *aṆ* = *k*(*a*→*i*) + *sU* + *aṆ* = *ki* + (*sU*→ϕ) + *a*(*Ṇ*→ϕ) = *ki* + *a*. A *vṛddhi* replacement for *i* of *ki*, which will subsequently be replaced with *āy*, will produce: *k*(*i*→*ai*→*āy*) + *a* = *kāya*, a nominal stem with the denotatum of a ritual oblation of which Prajāpati is the divinity'.

4.2.26 शुक्राद् घन्

śukrād ghan
/*śukrāt* 5/1 *ghan* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* 3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *sāsya devatā* #23)
śukraśabdāt 'sāsya devatā' ity asminn arthe ghan pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *ghaN* occurs after the syntactically related nominal stem *śukra*, when ending in nominative, provided the derivate denotes 'the divinity of. . . .'

EXAMPLES:

śukriyaṃ haviḥ = śukro devatā asya 'a ritual oblation of which Śukra is the divinity'
śukriyā ṛk 'a hymn of the *Ṛgveda* of which Śukra is the divinity'

1. Note that *śukriyam* derives from *śukra* + *sU* + *ghaN* which, after *a-lopa* and *iy* replacement for *gh*, yields *śukr*(*a*→ϕ) + *sU* + (*gh*→*iy*) *a*(*N*→ϕ) = *śukr* + (*sU*→ϕ) + *iya* = *śukriya*. Finally, we get *śukriya* + (*sU*→*am*) = *śukri*(*a*+*a*→*a*) *m* = *śukriyam*, through the application of 7.1.24 *ato' m* and 6.1.97 *ato guṇe*.

4.2.27 अपोनप्त्रपांनप्तृभ्यां घः

aponaptrapāṃnaptṛbhyām ghaḥ
/*aponaptrapāṃnaptṛbhyām* 5/2 *ghaḥ* 1/1/

(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* 3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *sāsya devatā* #23)
'*aponaptṛ, apāṃnaptṛ*' *ity etābhyāṃ ghaḥ pratyayo bhavati* '*sāsya devatā*' *ity asmin viṣaye*
The *taddhita* affix *gha* occurs after syntactically related nominal stems *aponaptṛ* and *apāṃnaptṛ*, when ending in nominative, provided derivates denote 'the divinity of. . . .'

EXAMPLES:

aponaptriyaṃ haviḥ 'a ritual oblation of which Aponapāt is the divinity'
apāṃnaptriyaṃ haviḥ 'a ritual oblation of which Apāṃnapāt is the divinity'

1. This rule offers affix *gha* as an exception to *aṆ*. Note that *aponapāt* and *apāṃnapāt* both end in *t*, and have the signification of a divinity. It is via *nipātana*, and for this affixal provision alone, that *aponaptṛ* and *apāṃnaptṛ* are specified here as a bases.

4.2.28 छ च

cha ca
/*cha* (deleted 1/1) *ca* ϕ/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* 3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *sāsya devatā* #23, *aponaptrapāṃnaptṛbhyām* #27)
'*aponaptṛ-apāṃnaptṛ*' *ity etābhyāṃ chaḥ pratyayo bhavati* '*sāsya devatā*' *ity asmin viṣaye*
The *taddhitā* affix *cha* also occurs after syntactically related nominal stems *aponaptṛ* and *apāṃnaptṛ*, when ending in nominative, provided derivates denote 'the divinity of. . . .'

EXAMPLES:

aponaptrīyaṃ haviḥ 'a ritual oblation of which *aponapāt* is the divinity'.
apāṃnaptrīyaṃ haviḥ '. . . *apāṃnapāt* . . .'

1. Note that rules 4.2.26 and 4.2.27 are formulated separately to avoid confusion concerning introduction of their affixes in accord with order of enumeration (*Kāś.*: *yogavibhāgaḥ saṃkhyātānudeśaparihārārthaḥ*). Thus, if these two rules were formulated jointly, as *aponaptrapāṃnaptṛbhyāṃ ghachau*, one may understand that 'affixes *gha* and *cha* are to be introduced after *aponaptṛ* and *apāṃnaptṛ*, respectively'. This interpretation, of course, will create problems.

2. A *vārttika* proposes that *paiṅgākṣīputra*, etc., must also be included in this provisïon of *cha*, so that derivates such as *paiṅgākṣīputrīyam* and *tārṇabindavīyam* could be covered. Yet another proposal recommends affixes *cha* and *gha*, both after *śatarudra*, to derive *śatarudrīyam* and *śatarudriyam*.

4.2.29 महेन्द्राद् घाणौ च

mahendrād ghāṇau ca
/mahendrāt 5/1 *ghāṇau* 1/2 *ca* ϕ/
(*pratyayaḥ*#3.1.1, *paraś ca* 3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt*#4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ*#4.1.76, *sāsya devatā* #23, *cha* #28)
mahendraśabdād ghāṇau pratyayau bhavataḥ cakārāc chaś ca 'sāsya devatā' ity asmin viṣaye
The *taddhita* affixes *gha* and *aṆ*, and *cha* as well, occur after a syntactically related nominal stem, namely *mahendra*, when it ends in nominative and derivates denote 'the divinity of. . . .'

EXAMPLES:

mahendriyaṃ haviḥ = mahendro devatā asya 'a ritual oblation of which *mahendra* is the 'divinity' '
māhendram 'id.'
mahendrīyam 'id.'

1. Why was this rule not formulated as *mahendrād aṇ ca*? This way, the *ca* of this new formulation would have attracted *cha* and *gha*, both. Such a formulation would not only account for all derivates, but would also be economical. Commentators state that *ca* of this new formulation will be able to attract only affix *cha* of the immediately preceding rule. It cannot attract affix *gha* of yet another rule which precedes *cha*. It is to avoid this situation that affixes *gha* and *aṆ* both were included in the present formulation. Its *ca* is thus used for bringing affix *cha*.

4.2.30 सोमाद् ट्यण्

somāṭ ṭyaṇ
/somāt 5/1 *ṭyaṇ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ*#3.1.1, *paraś ca* 3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt*#4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ*#4.1.76, *sāsya devatā* #23)
The *taddhita* affix *ṬyaṆ* occurs after the syntactically related nominal stem *soma*, when it ends in nominative and the derivate denotes the 'divinity of. . . .'

EXAMPLES:

saumyaṃ haviḥ = somo devatā asya 'a ritual oblation of which the divinity is Soma'
saumyaṃ sūktam = somo devatā asya sūktasya 'a *sūkta* 'collection of hymns of praises' of which the divinity is Soma'

1. Note that affix *ṬyaṆ* is marked with *Ṭ* to facilitate the introduction of feminine affix *ṄīP* of 4.1.15 *ṭiḍḍhāṇañ*. . . . Thus, a hymn of the *Ṛgveda*, with

Soma as its divinity, will be called *saumī ṛk*, where *saumī* derives with affix *ṄīP* because *ṬyaṆ* is marked with *Ṭ* as an *it*. Remember that the feminine form has lost its affixal *y* because of application of rule 6.4.150 *halas taddhitasya*. The *Ṇ* of *ṬyaṆ* is intended as an *it* to facilitate *vṛddhi*. Affix *ṄīP* in *saumī* is introduced by 4.1.15 *ṭiḍḍhāṇañ*. . . .

4.2.31 वाय्वृतुपित्रुषसो यत्

vāyvṛtupitruṣaso yat
/ vāyvṛtupitruṣasaḥ 5/1 *yat* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ*#3.1.1, *paraś ca* 3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt*#4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ*#4.1.76, *sāsya devatā* #23)
vāyvādibhyaḥ śabdebhyo yat pratyayo bhavati 'sāsya devatā' ity etasmin viṣaye
The *taddhita* affix *yaT* occurs after syntactically related nominal stems *vāyu, ṛtu, pitṛ* and *uṣas*, when they end in nominative and derivates denote 'the divinity of. . . .'

EXAMPLES:

vāyur devatāsya = vāyavyam 'a ritual oblation of which Vāyu is the divinity'
ṛtavyam 'a ritual oblation of which Ṛtu is the divinity'
pitryam 'a ritual oblation of which ancestors are the divinity'
uṣasyam 'a ritual oblation of which Uṣas is the divinity'

1. Note that *vāyavyam* derives from *vāyu + sU + yaT* where, given *vāyu + ya*, rule 6.4.146 or *guṇaḥ* causes *guṇa* to yield *vāy(u→o) + ya*. An application of 6.1.79 *vānto yi pratyaye* produces *vāy(u→av) + ya = vāyavya*. Deriving *pitriyam* from (*pitṛ + yaT*) involves the application of 7.4.27 *rīṅ ṛtaḥ* to produce *pit(ṛ→rī) + ya*. An application of *bha-saṃjñā* and *ī-lopa* will subsequently produce *pitr(i→ϕ) + ya = pitrya*. Our final derivate *pitryam* derives from *pitrya + (sU→am) = pitry(a+a→a) m) = pitryam*.

4.2.32 द्यावापृथिवीशुनासीरमरुत्वदग्नीषोमवास्तोष्पतिगृहमेधाच्छ च

dyāvāpṛthivīśunāsīramarutvadagnīṣomavāstoṣpatigṛhamedhāc cha ca
/ dyāvā . . . medhāt 5/1 = *dyāvāpṛthivyau ca śunāsīrau ca marutvat ca agnīṣomau ca vāstoṣpatiś ca* (*sam. dv.*), *tasmāt*; *cha* 1/1 *ca* ϕ/
(*pratyayaḥ*#3.1.1, *paraś ca* 3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt*#4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ*#4.1.76, *sāsya devatā* #23, *yat* #31)
dyāvāpṛthivyādibhyaś chaḥ pratyayo bhavati cakārād yac ca 'sāsya devatā' ity asmin viṣaye
The *taddhita* affix *cha*, and *yaT* as well, occurs after syntactically related nominal stems *dyāvāpṛthivī, śunāsīra, marutvat, agnīṣoma, vāstoṣpati* and *gṛhamedha*, when they end in nominative and derivates denote 'the divinity of. . . .'

EXAMPLES:

dvāvāpṛthivīyaṃ haviḥ = *dvāvāpṛthivyau devate asya* 'a ritual oblation of which Heaven and Earth are the divinities'
dyāvāpṛthivyám 'id.'
śunāsīrīyam 'a ritual oblation of which Wind and Sun are the divinities'
śunâsīryam 'id.'
marutvatīyám 'a ritual oblation of which Marutvat (Indra) is the divinity'
marutvatyam 'id.'
agnīṣomīyaṃ 'a ritual oblation of which Agni and Soma are the divinities'
agnīṣomyam 'id.'
vāstoṣpatīyam 'a ritual oblation of which Vāstoṣpati is the divinity'
vâstoṣpatyam 'id.'
gṛhamedhīyám 'a ritual oblation of which Gṛhamedha is the divinity'
gṛhamedhyam 'id.'

1. Note that the derivates of this rule are exceptions to *aṆ* and *Ṇya*. Our example *dyāvāpṛthivī* is a *dvandva* parallel to *dyau ca pṛthivī ca*. The word *dyāvā* is a replacement for *divas* of 6.3.29 *divo dyāvā*. An introduction of *cha* through *bha-saṃjñā* and *ī-lopa* will produce: *dyāvāpṛthiv*($\bar{\imath}\rightarrow\phi$) + (*ch*→*īy*) *a*)) = *dyāvāpṛthivīya*. Deriving *dyāvāpṛthivīyam* from *dyāvāpṛthivīya* + *sU* offers nothing new. The word *śunāsīra* also involves a (*devatā*)-*dvandva*, parallel to *śunaś ca sīraś ca*, where *śuna* receives *āṅ*. *AṄ* and the compound base becomes *śun*(*a*+*ā*→*ā*) *n*)) + *sīra* = *śunāsīra*, through *dīrgha*. Deriving *śunāsīryam* from *śunāsīra* + *ya* = *śunāsīr*(*a* = ϕ) + *ya* and *śunāsīrya* + *sU*, through *bha-saṃjñā* and *a-lopa*, etc. is not difficult. The derivation of *agnīṣomīyam* and *agnīsomyam* involves the application of rules 6.3.27 *īdagneḥ somavaruṇayoḥ* and 8.3.83 *agneḥ stutstomasomāḥ*. That is, the short final *i* of *agni* is replaced with *ī* and the *s* of *soma* is replaced by *ṣ*. The rest of the operations offer nothing new. Note that *vāstoṣpatiḥ* is treated as correct at the strength of this specification itself. The *ṣ*-replacement for the final *s* of *vāstos* can be accomplished also by 8.3.53 *ṣaṣṭhyāḥ pati*. . . .

4.2.33 अग्नेर्ढक्

agner ḍhak
/*agneḥ* 6/1 *ḍhak* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* 3.1.2, *ṅyāppprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *sāsya devatā* #23)
agniśabdād ḍhak pratyayo bhavati '*sāsya devatā*' *ity etasmin viṣaye*
The *taddhita* affix *ḍhaK* occurs after the syntactically related nominal stem *agni*, when ending in nominative, provided the derivate denotes 'the divinity of. . . .'

EXAMPLES:

āgneyo'ṣṭakapālaḥ = agnir devatā asya aṣṭakapālasya 'a ritual oblation named Aṣṭakapāla (prepared in eight bowls) which has Agni as its divinity'

1. This rule offers affix *ḍhaK* as an exception to *aṆ*. In fact, a *vārttika* under this rule recommends affix *ḍhaK* after *agni* and *kali* (cf. 4.2.8 *kaler ḍhak*) to denote the sense of all *taddhita* affixes enumerated in the domain headed by 4.1.83 *prāg dīvyato'ṇ* (*prāgdīvyatīyeṣu taddhitārtheṣu sarvatrāgnikalibhyāṃ ḍhag vaktavyaḥ*). Refer also to my notes under 4.2.8 *kaler ḍhak*.

4.2.34 कालेभ्यो भववत्

kālebhyo bhavavat
/kālebhyaḥ 5/3 bhavavat ϕ/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *sāsya devatā* #23)
kālaviśeṣavācibhyaḥ śabdebhyo bhavavat pratyayā bhavanti 'sāsya devatā' ity asmin viṣaye
The *taddhita* affixes which occur after syntactically related nominal stems having the signification of 'time' (*kāla*), to denote '. . . the divinity of . . .', occur in a manner similar to affixes introduced for derivates with the signification of 'born at, or existing in, there. . . .'

EXAMPLES:

māsikam = māso devatā asya 'a ritual oblation of which a given month is the divinity'
sāṃvatsarikam 'a ritual oblation of which a given year is the divinity'
ārdhamāsikam 'a ritual oblation of which a given fortnight is the divinity'

1. This rule, as is clear from the *vat* of *bhavavat*, is an extension rule (*atideśa*). It extends the derivational process of rules contained within the section headed by 4.3.53 *tatra bhavaḥ*, a subdomain of 4.2.92 *śeṣe*, to derivates of this section. This, however, is done with some qualification. That is, the syntactically related nominal stems after which affixes are to be introduced must have time (*kāla*) as their signification. Secondly, the sense in which a *taddhita* affix of the other section was introduced must be 'born in, or existing in, there'. If an affix is introduced after a syntactically related nominal stem which denotes time and the resultant derivate is to denote 'born, or existing, in there', the same affix is to be also introduced after that stem under similar conditions to denote 'the divinity of. . . .' This rule thus copies bases, conditions and affixes, of this other section, and imposes the signification of its own on their derivates (*PM* ad *Kāś.*: . . . *yābhyaḥ prakṛtibhyo yena*

viśeṣaṇena bhave' rthe vidhāsyante ye pratyayāḥ ihāpi tābhya eva prakṛtibhyas tenaiva viśeṣaṇena ta eva pratyayā bhavanti iti). Thus, consider rule 4.3.11 *kālāṭ ṭhañ* which introduces affix *ṭhaÑ* after a nominal stem with the denotation of time (*kāla*). It allows for a derivate such as *māsikam*. Our present rule states that this same *māsikam*, with this same affix and derivational constraints, will be derived here to denote 'the divinity of. . . .'

4.2.35 महाराजाप्रोष्ठपदाट्ठञ्

mahārājaproṣṭhapadāṭ ṭhañ
/ mahārājaproṣṭhapadāt 5/1 = *mahārājā ca proṣṭhapadā ca* (*sam. dv.*), *tasmāt*; *ṭhañ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* 3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *sāsya devatā* #23)
mahārājaśabdāt proṣṭhapadaśabdāc ca ṭhañ pratyayo bhavati 'sāsya devatā' ity asmin viṣaye
The *taddhita* affix *ṭhaÑ* occurs after syntactically related nominal stems *mahārāja* and *proṣṭhapada*, when they end in nominative and their derivates denote 'the divinity of. . . .'

EXAMPLES:

māhārājikam = *mahārājo devatā asya* 'a ritual oblation of which Mahārāja (Kubera) is the divinity . . .'
prauṣṭhapadikam = *proṣṭhapado devatā asya* 'a ritual oblation of which Proṣṭhapada is the divinity'

1. A *vārttika* under this rule also proposes the derivation of *nāvayajñikaḥ* 'the time when new fruits are offered at a sacrifice', etc., with *ṭhaÑ*. Yet another *vārttika* favors the introduction of affix *aṆ* after *pūrṇamāsa* to derive *paurṇamāsī* 'the day of a month when moon is full'. Incidentally, *prauṣṭhapadikam* of this rule is an exception to *aṆ* of 4.2.3 *nakṣatreṇa. . . .* Deriving examples through *ika*-replacement of *ṭha* and initial *vṛddhi* should pose no problem.

4.2.36 पितृव्यमातुलमातामहपितामहाः

pitṛvyamātulamātāmahapitāmahāḥ
/ pitṛvyamātulamātāmahapitāmahāḥ 1/3 = *pitṛvyaś ca mātulaś ca mātāmahaś ca pitāmahaś ca* (*itar. dv.*)/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76)
pitṛvyādayo nipātyante
The words *pitṛvya*, *mātula*, *mātāmaha* and *pitāmaha* are derived via *nipātana*.

EXAMPLES:

pitṛvyaḥ 'father's brother'
mātulaḥ 'mother's brother'
mātāmahaḥ 'mother's father'
pitāmahaḥ 'father's father'

1. This rule derives four words via *nipātana*. It is stated that affixes *vyaT* and *ulaC* are introduced after *pitṛ* and *mātṛ*, respectively, to derive *pitṛvya* and *mātula*. Similar introduction of affix *ḌāmahaC* is made after *pitṛ* and *mātṛ*. Words signifying 'father's mother' and 'mother's mother' are derived by introducing affix *ṢiT*. The *Ṣ* as an *it* in *ṢiT* will facilitate the feminine affix *ṄīṢ* to derive *pitāmahī* and *mātāmahī*. A proposal is also made to exclude *Ṣ* as an *it* from the affix. This will facilitate the derivation of *mātāmaha* 'mother's mother' (found in the *mantra* literature), parallel to *mātāmahī*. Haradatta opposes it by saying that *mātāmahā* is not found in the *mantra* literature.

3. There are three *vārttika* proposals where the first introduces affixes *soḍha, dūsa* and *marīsaC* after *avi* 'sheep' to denote the sense of milk (*dugdha*). Thus, *avisoḍham, avidūsam* and *avimarīsam*. The second proposal recommends affixes *piñja* and *peja* after *tila* to denote *niṣphala* 'fruitless; oilless (sesame)' to yield: *tilapiñjaḥ/ tilapejaḥ*. A third proposal treats *piñja* as marked with *Ḍ* as an *it* in Vedic. This *Ḍ* will facilitate *ṭi*-deletion (1.1.64 *aco'ntyādi ṭi*) to yield *tilapiñaja*.

4.2.37 **तस्य समूहः**

tasya samūhaḥ
/ tasya 6/1 *samūhaḥ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #4.1.82)
'*tasya*' *iti ṣaṣṭhīsamarthāt* '*samūhaḥ*' *ity etasminn arthe yathāvihitaṃ pratyayo bhavati*
A *taddhita* affix, namely *aṆ*, occurs after the first among syntactically related *padas* which ends in genitive (*ṣaṣṭhī*), provided the derivate denotes 'a collection of group of that. . . .'

EXAMPLES:

kāṅkam = *kākānāṃ samūhaḥ* 'flock of crows'
śaukam 'a fight of parrots'
bākam 'a flock of cranes'

1. This domain of affixes denoting *samūha* extends up to 4.2.50 *initrakaṭyaś ca*. It is stated that nominal bases which qualify for this affixal provision must be marked *udātta* at the beginning, and must denote a living being (*cittavat*) other than a *gotra*-descendant (*Kāś.*: *cittavadāduidāttamagotraṃ yasya ca nānyat*

pratipadaṃ grahaṇam). These specifications are made so that affixes *ṭhaK*, *aÑ* and *vuÑ* of 4.2.47 *acittahasti . . .*, 4.3.44 *anudāttāder . . .* and 4.2.39 *gotrokṣoṣṭor . . .*, respectively, do not come into conflict with affixes of this section.

2. A *vārttika* under this rule recommends affix *grāma* after syntactically related nominal stems *guṇa, karaṇa, tatva, śabda,* and *indriya,* to derive *guṇagrāmaḥ* 'embodiment of qualities', *karaṇagrāmaḥ* 'embodiment of skills', etc. Incidentally, this *guṇādi* group of nominals is treated as open-ended (*ākṛtigaṇa*).

4.2.38 भिक्षादिभ्योऽण्

bhikṣādibhyo'ṇ
/bhikṣādibhyaḥ 5/3 *aṇ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #4.1.82, *tasya samūhaḥ* #36)
'*bhikṣā*' *ity evam ādibhyaḥ śabdebhyo'ṇ pratyayo bhavati* '*tasya samūhaḥ*' *ity etasmin viṣaye*
The *taddhita* affix *aṆ* occurs after syntactically related nominal stems which are listed in the group headed by *bhikṣā* 'alms', when they end in genitive and derivates denote 'a collection or group of that'.

EXAMPLES:

bhaikṣam = *bhikṣāṇāṃ samūhaḥ* 'a collection of alms'
gārbhiṇam 'a group of pregnant women'
yauvatam 'a group of young women'

1. Why do we have to state *aṆ* explicitly when the same can be easily made available by not making any particular affixal provision. After all, this is the domain of affix *aṆ*. Commentators explain that *aṆ* is specifically mentioned because *aÑ* may qualify for this provision, instead. The word *bhikṣā* is marked *udātta* at the end (3.3.103 *guroś ca halaḥ*). Rule 4.2.44 *anudāttāder añ* would thus block *aṆ* in favor of *aÑ*. It is to block affix *aÑ*, which would otherwise block *aṆ* (*bādhakabādhanārtha*), that affix *aṆ* is specifically mentioned in this rule. The word *yuvati* is included in the *bhikṣādi* group to save it from *puṃvadbhāva* 'masculine transformation' of 6.3.35 *tasilādiṣv . . .* (*vt. bhasyāḍhe taddhite*). This *puṃvadbhāva* is also related to specific provision of *aṆ* in this rule. I omit its discussion here for fear of expatiation.

4.2.39 गोत्रोक्षोष्ट्रोरभ्रराजराजन्यराजपुत्रवत्समनुष्याजाद् वुञ्

gotrokṣoṣṭrorabhrarājarājanyarājaputravatsamanuṣyājād vuñ
/gotrokṣoṣṭrorabhrarājarājanyaputravatsamanuṣyājāt 5/1 (*sam. dv.*); *vuñ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #4.1.82, *tasya samūhaḥ* #36)

gotrādibhyo vuñ pratyayo bhavati 'tasya samūhaḥ' ity etasmin viṣaye
The *taddhita* affix *vuÑ* occurs after a syntactically related nominal stem which denotes a *gotra*, or is constituted by *ukṣan, uṣṭra, urabhra, rājan, rājanya, rājaputra, vatsa, manuṣya* and *aja*, provided the derivate is to signify 'a collection or group of that. . . .'

EXAMPLES:

aupagavakam 'a group of descendants of Upagu'
aukṣakam 'a group of oxen'
auṣṭrakam 'a herd of camels'
aurabhrakam 'a flock of rams'
rājakam 'a gathering of kings'
rājanyakam 'a gathering of nobles'
rājaputrakam 'a group of princes'
vātsakam 'a group of calves'
mānuṣyakam 'a group of men'
ājakam 'a flock of goats'

1. Note that the word *gotra* is here interpreted as denoting *apatya* 'offspring' in general. It thus does not here denote its technical meaning of a descendant such as 'a grandson, or any other thereafter' (4.1.162 *apatyaṃ pautraprabhṛti gotram*).

Kāśikā states that the *y* of *rājanya* and *manuṣya* does not go through deletion of rule 6.4.151 *apatyasya ca taddhite' nāti*. But if *apatya* of this rule is interpreted in its non-technical meaning then the question of deleting *y* by rule 6.4.151 does not arise. For, 6.4.151 requires *y* to be part of a *taddhita* derivate which denotes a descendant in the technical sense of the term. A *vārttika*, such as *prakṛtyā' ke rājanyamanuṣyayuvānaḥ* (cf. 7.1.1 *yuvur anākau*), which requires non-deletion of *y* is then not needed. Jinendrabuddhi (*Nyāsa* ad *Kāś.*) observes that such a statement may still be required. For, there are some who still believe that *rājanya* and *manuṣya* denote the technical sense of *apatya* 'offspring, descendant'.

A *vārttika* recommends that affix *vuÑ* should also be introduced after *vṛddha* to derive *vārddhakam* 'a group of old people'.

4.2.40 केदाराद्यञ् च

kedārād yañ ca
/kedārāt 5/1 *yañ* 1/1/ *ca* ϕ/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #4.1.82, *tasya samūhaḥ* #36)
kedāraśabdād yañ pratyayo bhavati cakārād vuñ ca 'tasya samūhaḥ' ity asmin viṣaye
The *taddhita* affix *yaÑ*, and *vuÑ* as well, occurs after the syntactically

related nominal stem *kedāra*, when ending in genitive, provided the derivate denotes 'a collection or group of that. . . .'

EXAMPLES:

kedārāṇāṃ samūhaḥ = *kaidāryam* 'a group of irrigated fields'
kaidārakam 'id.'

1. A *vārttika* recommends affix *yaÑ* after *gaṇikā* to derive *gāṇikyam* 'a group of courtesans'.

4.2.41 ठञ् कवचिनश्च

ṭhañ kavacinaś ca
/ṭhañ 1/1 *kavacinaḥ* 5/1 *ca* ϕ/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #4.1.82, *tasya samūhaḥ* #36)
kavacin śabdāṭ ṭhañ pratyayo bhavati 'tasya samūhaḥ' ity asmin viṣaye
The *taddhita* affix *ṭhaÑ* occurs after the syntactically related nominal stem *kavacin*, and *kedāra* as well, when both end in genitive, provided derivates denote 'a group or collection of that. . . .'

EXAMPLES:

kāvacikam 'a group of armored men'
kaidārikam 'a group of irrigated fields'

1. Commentators state that *ca* in this rule is used to attract *kedārāt* from the preceding rule (*cakāraḥ kedārād ity asyānukarṣaṇārthaḥ*). This provision of *aÑ* may be treated as an exception to the *aÑ* of 4.2.44 *anudāttāder añ*. Note that *kavacin*, because of its affix, is marked *udātta* at the end. That is, it is not marked *udātta* at the beginning, and hence, is qualified for *aÑ*. The *ṭi*-deletion of *in* in *kavacin* is accomplished by 6.4.144 *nas taddhite*.

4.2.42 ब्राह्मणमाणववाडवाद्यन्

brāhmaṇamāṇavavāḍavād yan
/brāhmaṇamāṇavavāḍavāt 5/1 = *brāhmaṇaś ca māṇavaś ca vāḍavaś ca* (*sam. dv.*), *tasmāt*; *yan* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #4.1.82, *tasya samūhaḥ* #36)
brāhmaṇādibhyaḥ śabdebhyo yan pratyayo bhavati 'tasya samūhaḥ' ity asmin viṣaye
The *taddhita* affix *yaN* occurs after syntactically related nominal stems *brāhmaṇa*, *māṇava* and *vāḍava*, when they end in genitive and derivates denote 'a collection, or group of that. . . .'

EXAMPLES:

brāhmaṇyam = *brāhmaṇānāṃ samūhaḥ* 'a group of brāhmaṇas'
māṇavyam 'a group of boys'
vāḍavyam 'a group of foals; a group of submarine-fires'

1. Why was a provision for *yaÑ* (4.2.40 *kedārād . . .*) not made for deriving these forms. For, all three bases are *vṛddha* and *yaN* cannot be claimed, in view of its *N* as an *it*, for initial *udātta*. Affix *yaÑ* can also satisfy that need (6.1.197 *ñinityādir nityam*). Note here that *ṭhaÑ* cannot be brought here through *anuvṛtti* because it is not marked with *svarita* (*asvaritatvāt*). Affix *yaN* was selected to indicate that there are other usages where *yaÑ* could prove problematic. Consider, for example, *pṛṣṭhyam* where *yaÑ* could have required *vṛddhi*. Besides, *yaN* is allowed to occur after *pṛṣṭha* which is not *vṛddha*.

2. A series of *vārttikas* recommend deriving *pṛṣṭhyaḥ* 'a group of prayers' (from *pṛṣṭha* 'praise' with affix *yaN*); *ahīnaḥ* 'a group of sacrifices' (from *ahan* + *Ṅas* + *kha*, where *ahan* means 'a sacrificial day'); *pārśvam* 'a collection of axes' (from *parśu* + *Ṅas* + *ṆaS*); and *vātūlaḥ* 'a group of lunatics' (from *vāta* + *Ṅas* + *ūla*), etc. Accepting the arguments put forward in paragraph one will render the *vārttikas* unnecessary.

Incidentally, *vāḍavya* can also be interpreted as a *brāhmaṇa* who, similar to the (submarine) fire, is never satisfied.

4.2.43 ग्रामजनबन्धुसहायेभ्यस्तल्

grāmajanabandhusahāyebhyas tal
/grāmajanabandhusahāyebhyaḥ 5/3 (*itar. dv.*); *tal* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #4.1.82, *tasya samūhaḥ* #36)
grāmādibhyas tal pratyayo bhavati '*tasya samūhaḥ*' *ity asmin viṣaye*
The *taddhita* affix *taL* occurs after syntactically related nominal stems *grāma, jana, bandhu* and *sahāya*, when ending in genitive, provided derivates denote 'a collection or group of that. . . .'

EXAMPLES:

grāmatā = *grāmāṇāṃ samūhaḥ* 'a group of villages'
janatā 'a group of people'
bandhutā 'a group of kinsmen'
sahāyatā 'a group of associates'

1. A *vārttika* recommends that *gajatā* should also be derived with this affix to denote 'a group of elephants'. Note that derivates of *taL* are treated as feminine. Consequently, feminine affix *ṬāP* is introduced to derive *grāmatā*, etc.

4.2.44 अनुदात्तादेरञ्

anudāttāder añ
/anudāttādeḥ 5/1 *añ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #4.1.82, *tasya samūhaḥ* #36)
anudāttādeḥ śabdād añ pratyayo bhavati 'tasya samūhaḥ' ity etasmin viṣaye
The *taddhita* affix *aÑ* occurs after a syntactically related nominal stem which is marked *udātta* at the beginning, and ends in genitive, provided its derivate is to denote 'a collection or group of that. . . .'

EXAMPLES:

kāpotám = *kapotānāṃ samūhaḥ* 'a flock of pigeons'
māyūrám 'a flock of peacocks'
taittirám 'a flock of partridges'

4.2.45 खण्डिकादिभ्यश्च

khaṇḍikādibhyaś ca
/khaṇḍikādibhyaḥ 5/3 *ca* ϕ/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #4.1.82, *tasya samūhaḥ* #36, *añ* #44)
'khaṇḍikā' ity evam ādibhyaḥ śabdebhyo'ñ pratyayo bhavati 'tasya samūhaḥ' ity etasmin viṣaye
The *taddhita* affix *aÑ* also occurs after a syntactically related nominal stem listed in the group headed by *khaṇḍikā*, when it ends in genitive, and the derivate denotes 'a collection or group of that. . . .'

EXAMPLES:

khāṇḍikam = *khaṇḍikānāṃ samūhaḥ* 'heaps of peas'
vāḍavam 'submarine-fires'

1. This rule is formulated to permit derivates which have their bases marked *udātta* at the beginning (*ādyudāttārtham*); or which denote inanimate objects (*acittārtham*).

A *vārttika* recommends inclusion of *kṣudrakamālava* in the list of words headed by *khaṇḍikā*. This will facilitate blocking of affix *vuÑ* after *kṣudrakamālava*. Affix *vuÑ* would become applicable because *kṣudraka* and *mālava* are both derivates with the signification of a *kṣatriya*. But since the initial constituent of the compound *kṣudrakamālava* will be marked *anudātta*, especially in view of rule 6.2.223 *samāsasya* which marks it *udātta* at the end, this compound should receive affix *aÑ* of the preceding rule. That is, it should not be included as an example under our present rule. It is further argued that this example is included among derivates of our present rule to block

vuÑ of rule 4.2.39 *gotrokṣoṣṭrorabhra. . . .* But this explanation is not acceptable either. The *aÑ* of 4.2.44 *anudāttāder añ* could have blocked that *vuÑ* on the basis of *paratva.* But the derivation of *aupagavakam* and *kāpaṭavakam* proves that *vuÑ* is not blocked by this *aÑ.* It is suggested that *aÑ* can block *vuÑ* only when derivates of *aÑ* denote an army. That is, if *kṣaudrakamālava* denotes an army, i.e., *kṣudrakamālavī,* of *kṣaudrakas* and *mālavas,* affix *aÑ* can block *vuÑ.* The following *ślokavārttika* summarizes the preceding discussion:

añsiddhir anudāttādeḥ ko'rthaḥ kṣudrakamālavāt/
gotrād vuñ na ca tadgotraṃ tadantān na ca sarvataḥ//
jñāpakaṃ syāt tadantatve tathācāpiśaler vidhiḥ/
senāyāṃ niyamārthaṃ ca yathā bādhyeta cāñ vuñā//

'What is the purpose of including *kṣudrakamālava* in the *khaṇḍikādi* group when *aÑ* is available from 4.2.44 *anudāttāder añ*? Affix *vuÑ* is introduced after a stem which ends in an affix with the denotatum of a *gotra.* Why can we not treat *kṣudrakamālava* as ending in a *gotra* affix on the basis of *tadantavidhi*? After all, *mālava* ends in a *gotra* affix, and if we resort to *tadantavidhi,* we can get the interpretation: that which ends in that which ends in a *gotra.* But *tadantavidhi* does not apply everywhere. It is valid only with reference to specifically enumerated bases, i.e., *mālava,* and not with reference to those which may end in them (*Paribhāṣā* (32): *grahaṇavatā prātipadikena . . .*). The inclusion of *kṣudrakamālava* in the *gaṇa* then becomes an indicator (*jñāpaka*) that *tadantavidhi* applies when the derivates signify *samūha.* This is approved by *dhenor anañaḥ* of Āpiśali (cf. *Mbh.* ad 4.2.47 *acittahasti . . .*), whereby *dhenu* receives *ṭhaK* to denote *samūha,* provided it is not used after *naÑ.* If *tadantavidhi* is not accepted as valid, relative to the signification of *samūha,* then the negative provision of *anañaḥ* does not make any sense. The inclusion of *kṣudrakamālava,* in the *khaṇḍikādi* group, is also made for restricting *aÑ* to contexts where derivates denote *senā* 'army'. It is here that *aÑ* blocks *vuÑ*'.

4.2.46 चरणेभ्यो धर्मवत्

caraṇebhyo dharmavat
/ caraṇebhyaḥ 5/3 *dharmavat* ϕ/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #4.1.82, *tasya samūhaḥ* #36)
caraṇaśabdāḥ kaṭhakalāpādayaḥ; tebhyaḥ ṣaṣṭhīsamarthebhyaḥ samūhe dharmavat pratyayā bhavanti
A *taddhita* affix occurs after syntactically related nominal stems which denote *caraṇa* in the same manner as it occurs to denote *dharma,* pro-

vided the stems end in genitive (*ṣaṣṭhī*) and derivates denote 'a collection or group of that'.

EXAMPLES:

kaṭhānāṃ samūhaḥ = kāṭhakam 'a group of Kaṭhas', 'those who belong to the Kaṭha school of Vedic'
kālāpakam 'a group of Kalāpas', 'those who belong to the Kalāpa school of Vedic'

1. The word *caraṇa* is used here in the sense of the first person who established a particular branch of Vedic learning. Those who subscribe to this branch of Vedic will also be called by the same name. Thus, *kaṭha* is accepted as one who established the Kaṭha branch of Vedic learning, Adherents of this branch will be aptly called Kaṭhas.

A *vārttika* under rule 4.3.126 *gotracaraṇād vuñ* recommends affix *vuÑ* after a syntactically related nominal stem which ends in genitive, provided the derivate denotes *dharma* 'code of conduct' and *āmnāya* 'traditional codes'. We understand from *dharmavat*, an extensional provision, that whatever derivates we get under the provision of *vuÑ*, those same derivates can also denote 'a group or collection'. Conversely, whatever affix is introduced after a syntactically related nominal stem with whatever qualification to denote *dharma*, the same is introduced under the provision of this rule to denote 'a collection or group'. Thus, *kaṭhānāṃ dharmaḥ = kāṭhakam* 'code of conduct of the Kaṭhas' is derived by introducing affix *vuÑ* after the syntactically related nominal stem *kaṭha*, denoting a branch of Vedic and ending in genitive, provided further that the derivate is to denote *dharma*. This same provision is extended to the context of rule 4.2.46 *caraṇebhyo dharmavat*. Consequently, derivates, such as *kāṭhakam*, will also be denoting 'a collection or group of the Kaṭhas'.

Note that *vat* of *dharmavat* denotes all-likeness (*sarvasādṛśya*). A question is raised as to how one relates *dharmavat* of this rule to the *dharma* (of the *vārttika*: *caraṇād dharmāmnāyayor iṣyate*) of rule 4.3.126 *gotracaraṇād vuñ*? The word *dharma* is not used in rule 4.3.126. The *dharmavat* of this rule itself becomes a mark (*liṅga*) to indicate that such a provision will follow. The provision, though, happens to have been made via a *vārttika*.

Note that this extensional (*ātideśika*) provision of the *vārttika* is residual in nature. That is, it is a residue of all provisions (*sarvayogaśeṣam*) made within the scope of rule 4.3.126 *gotracaraṇād*. . . .

4.2.47 अचित्तहस्तिधेनोष्ठक्

acittahastidhenoṣ ṭhak
/acittahastidhenoḥ 5/1 = *acittaṃ ca hastī ca dhenuś ca* (*sam. dv.*), *tasmāt*; *ṭhak* 1/1/

(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #4.1.82, *tasya samūhaḥ* #36)
acittārthebhyo hastidhenuśabdābhyāṃ ca ṭhak pratyayo bhavati 'tasya samūhaḥ' ity etasmin viṣaye
The *taddhita* affix *ṭhaK* also occurs, either after a syntactically related nominal stem which signifies *acitta* 'inanimate objects', after the syntactically related nominal stems *hastin* 'elephant' and *dhenu*, provided these stems all ended in genitive and their derivates were to denote 'a collection or group'.

EXAMPLES:

apūpānāṃ samūhaḥ = *āpūpikam* 'a bunch of deep-fried cakes'
śāṣkulikam 'a bunch of deep-fried breads'
hāstikam 'a herd of elephants'
dhenukam 'a bunch of cows'

1. The affixal provision of this rule is treated as an exception to both *aṆ* and *aÑ*. The *ṭh* of the affix is replaced with *ika*, or *ka*, as is provided by rules 7.3.50 *ṭhasyekaḥ* and 7.3.51 *isusuktāntāt kaḥ*.

2. A *vārttika* (claimed by the *Mbh*, as a *sūtra* of Āpiśali) under this rule disallows *ṭhak* after *dhenu*, when the same is used with the negative affix *naÑ*. Thus, one cannot derive **ādhenukam* 'a group of non-cows'. The correct derivate will be *ādhenavam*.

4.2.48 केशाश्वाभ्यां यञ्छावन्यतरस्याम्

keśāśvābhyāṃ yañchāv anyatarasyām
/keśāśvābhyām 5/2 *yañchau* 1/2 *anyatarasyām* 7/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #4.1.82, *tasya samūhaḥ* #36)
'keśa, aśva' ity etābhyāṃ yathāsaṃkhyaṃ 'yañ, cha' ity etau pratyayau bhavato' nyatarasyām 'tasya samūhaḥ' ity etasmin viṣaye
The *taddhita* affixes *yaÑ* and *cha* optionally occur after syntactically related nominal stems *keśa* 'hair' and *aśva* 'horse', respectively, when they end in genitive and derivate denote 'a collection or group of that. . . .'

EXAMPLES:

kaiśyam = *keśānāṃ samūhaḥ* 'a bunch of hairs'
kaiśikam 'id.'
aśvānām samūhaḥ = *aśvīyam* 'a herd of horses'
āśvam 'id.'

1. Note that affixes *ṭhaK* (4.2.47 *acitta . . .*) and *aṆ* are made available after *keśa* and *aśva*, respectively. These affixes will be introduced if options

(*anyatarasyām*) of introducing *yaÑ* and *cha* are not accepted. Incidentally, *keśa* is treated as *acitta* 'inanimate'.

4.2.49 **पाशादिभ्यो यः**

pāśādibhyo yaḥ
/*pāśādibhyaḥ* 5/3 *yaḥ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #4.1.82, *tasya samūhaḥ* #36)
pāśādibhyo yaḥ pratyayo bhavati 'tasya samūhaḥ' ity etasmin viṣaye
The *taddhita* affix *ya* occurs after syntactically related nominal stems listed in the group headed by *pāśa* 'snare', when they end in genitive and derivates denote 'a collection or group of that. . . .'

EXAMPLES:

pāśyā = *pāśānāṃ samūhaḥ* 'a bunch of snares'
tṛṇyā 'a heap of straws'

1. Note that these derivates are given in feminine. Why? Because of usage (*lokāśrayatvāt liṅgasya*). Obviously, only feminine examples are found in usage.

4.2.50 **खलगोरथात्**

khalagorathāt
/*khalagorathāt* 5/1 = *khalaś ca goś ca rathaś ca* (*sam. dv.*), *tasmāt*/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #4.1.82, *tasya samūhaḥ* #36)
khalagorathaśabdebhyo yaḥ pratyayo bhavati 'tasya samūhaḥ' ity etasmin viṣaye
The *taddhita* affix *ya* occurs after syntactically related nominal stems *khala, go* and *ratha,* when they end in genitive and derivates denote 'a collection or group of that. . . .'

EXAMPLES:

khalyā = *khalānāṃ samūhaḥ* 'a group of threshing floors'
gavyā 'a herd of cows'
rathyā 'a caravan of chariots'

1. A question is raised as to why these three words were not included in the group of words headed by *pāśa.* This would have saved one rule. Commentators state that a split rule (*yogavibhāga*) was necessary for the sake of subsequent rules (*uttarārtha*). That is, our following rule requires the *anuvṛtti* of *khala, go* and *ratha* only. If these nominal stems were included in the *pāśādi* group, and were made part of the preceding rule, all the *pāśādi* stems would have also qualified for *anuvṛtti* to the next rule. This, in turn, would have created problems.

4.2.51 इनित्रकट्यचश्च

initrakaṭyacaś ca
/initrakaṭyacaḥ 1/3 = *iniś ca traś ca kaṭyac ca* = *initrakaṭyacaḥ* (*itar. dv.*); *ca ϕ/*
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #4.1.82, *tasya samūhaḥ* #36, *khalagorathāt* #50)
khalagorathaśabdebhyo yathāsaṃkhyam 'ini', 'tra', 'kaṭyac' ity ete pratyayā bhavanti 'tasya samūhaḥ' ity etasmin viṣaye
The *taddhita* affixes *inI, tra* and *kaṭyaC* occur after syntactically related nominal stems *khala, go* and *ratha*, respectively, when the stems end in genitive, and derivates denote 'a collection or group of that. . . .'

EXAMPLES:

khalinī 'a group of threshing floors'
gotrā 'a herd of cows'
rathakaṭyā 'a caravan of chariots'

1. *Kāśikā* also recommends affixes *inI, khaṇḍaC, skandhaC* and *kāṇḍa* after group of stems known as *khalādi* '*khala*, etc.', *kamalādi* '*kamala*, etc.', *narakarituraṅga* '*nara, kari* and *turaṅga*' and *pūrvādi* '*pūrva*, etc.', respectively. This will yield derivates such as *kuṇḍalinī, kamalakhaṇḍam, naraskandhaḥ* and *pūrvakāṇḍam*, respectively.

Note that the *Mahābhāṣya* makes the *vārttika* proposal only for affix *inI.*

4.2.52 विषयो देशे

viṣayo deśe
/viṣayaḥ 1/1 *deśaḥ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #4.1.82, *tasya . . .* #36)
tasya iti ṣaṣṭhīsamarthād 'viṣayaḥ' ity etasminn arthe yathāvihitaṃ pratyayo bhavati, yo'sau viṣayo deśaś cet sa bhavati
A *taddhita* affix, namely *aN*, occurs as ruled after a syntactically related nominal stem which ends in genitive, provided the derivate denotes *deśa* 'place (of residence). . . .'

EXAMPLES:

śibīnāṃ viṣayo deśaś cet śaibaḥ 'place of residence of the descendants of Śibi'

1. Note that the word *viṣaya* is used in diverse senses of *grāma-samudāya* 'group of villages, residential settlements'; object of perception, i.e., 'beauty for eyes' (*cakṣur viṣayo rūpam*); characteristic preoccupation (*atyantaśīlitā*) and, sometimes, non-existence of something outside some place (*anyatrā-*

bhāva), for example, fish in relation to water (*matsyānāṃ viṣayo jalam*). This rule uses *viṣaya* in the sense of *grāmasamudāya* 'a cluster of villages'.

4.2.53 राजन्यादिभ्यो वुञ्

rājanyādibhyo vuñ
/rājanyādibhyaḥ 5/3 = *rājanya ādir yeṣāṃ* (*bv.*), *tebhyaḥ*; *vuñ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #4.1.82, *tasya . . .* #36, *viṣayo deśe* #52)
rājanyādibhyaḥ śabdebhyaḥ vuñ pratyayo bhavati 'viṣayo deśe' ity etasminn arthe
The *taddhita* affix *vuÑ* occurs after a syntactically related nominal stem listed in the group headed by *rājanya*, when the same ends in genitive and the derivate is to denote the 'place (of residence of . . .).'

EXAMPLES:

rājanyakaḥ = *rājanyānāṃ viṣayo deśaḥ* 'place of residence of the royalty'
mālavakaḥ 'place of residence of the Mālavas'

1. Note that this *vuÑ* is an exception to the *aṆ* of the preceding rule. This listing of *rājanyādi* is also accepted as open-ended (*ākṛtigaṇa*). The *ādi* of *rājanyādi* means *prakāra*, thereby yielding the meaning: '*rājanya*, and the likes of it'.

4.2.54 भौरिक्याद्यैषुकार्यादिभ्यो विधल्भक्तलौ

bhaurikyādyaiṣukāryādibhyo vidhalbhaktalau
/bhaurikyādyaiṣukāryādibhyaḥ 5/3 = *bhauriki ādir yeṣāṃ te* = *bhaurikyādayaḥ*; *aiṣukāri ādir yeṣāṃ te* = *aiṣukāryādayaḥ*; *bhaurikyādayaś ca aiṣukāryādayaś ca* (*itar. dv.* with internal *bv.*), *tebhyaḥ*; *vidhalbhaktalau* 1/2 = *vidhal ca bhaktal ca* (*itar. dv.*)/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #4.1.82, *tasya . . .* #36, *viṣayo deśe* #52)
bhaurikyādibhya aiṣukāryādibhyaś ca yathāsaṃkhyaṃ 'vidhal, bhaktal' ity etau pratyayau bhavataḥ 'viṣayo deśe' ity etasmin viṣaye
The *taddhita* affixes *vidhaL* and *bhaktaL* occur after a syntactically related nominal stem listed in the set headed by *bhauriki* and *aiṣukāri*, respectively, provided the stems end in genitive and their derivates denote the 'place (of residence of . . .).'

EXAMPLES:

bhaurikividhaḥ 'place of residence of the Bhaurikis'
aiṣukāribhaktaḥ 'place of residence of the Aiṣukāris'

1. This again is an exception to *aṆ*. Note that Bhaṭṭoji (cf. *SK*), unlike the masculine examples of *Kāśikā*, lists his examples in neuter. Jñānendrasarasvatī (*Tattvabodhinī* ad *SK*) notes that neuter of these examples is due to usage (*klībatvaṃ lokāt*). One wonders if these examples were used in masculine at the time, or place, of the authors of the *Kāśikāvṛtti*.

4.2.55 सोऽस्यादिरिति च्छन्दसः प्रगाथेषु

so'syādir iti cchandasaḥ pragātheṣu
/saḥ 1/1 *asya* 6/1 *ādiḥ* 1/1 *iti* ϕ *chandasaḥ* 5/1 *pragātheṣu* 7/3/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76)
'*saḥ*' *iti prathamāsamarthāt* '*asya*' *iti ṣaṣṭhyarthe yathāvihitaṃ pratyayo bhavati yat prathamāsamarthaṃ chandaś cet tadādir bhavati, yat tad asyeti nirdiṣṭaṃ pragāthāś cet te bhavanti*
A *taddhita* affix, namely *aṆ*, occurs to denote the sense of genitive, after a syntactically related nominal stem which signifies a meter (*chandas*) and ends in nominative, provided further that this nominal stem occurs at the beginning of a set of verses (*pragātha*) denoted by the derivate.

EXAMPLES:

prāṅthaḥ pragāthaḥ = *paṅktir ādir asya* 'a set of verses beginning with *paṅkti*, a meter with five syllables in a quarter'
ānuṣṭubhaḥ 'a set of verses beginning with *anuṣṭubh*, a meter with eight syllables in a quarter'

1. Note that *saḥ*, in nominative, specifies nominative as the ending for making a stem syntactically related (*samartha*). The word *ādiḥ* modifies the nominal base. The *iti* is, of course, used to iterate *vivakṣā* 'intent to speak'. That is, intent to speak about *pragātha* with *paṅkti* at the beginning. This, in turn, turns *pragātheṣu* into a qualifier to the affixal meaning (*pratyayārthaviśeṣaṇam*). Of course, the plural *pragātheṣu* is used in the sense of singular: *pragāthasya*. The word *asya* refers to one of the meanings of *ṣaṣṭhī*, 'the affixal denotatum'.

The word *pragātha* refers to a combination of hymns structured in different meters (*Kāś.*: *yatra dvau ṛcau pragrathanena tisraḥ kriyante sa pragrathanāt prakarṣagānād vā* '*pragāthaḥ*' *ity ucyate* '*pragātha* is a combination of two verses turned into a third type of its own, either due to the way they are combined, or due to excellence of their recitation'). A *pragātha* is generally named after its first hymn.

The word *chandas* here does not refer to a hymn. Instead, it refers to a meter.

2. A *vārttika* recommends that *aṆ* should be introduced after a base with

the signification of a meter to denote its own sense. It should also be used in the neuter (*chandasaḥ pratyayavidhāne napuṃsake svārtha upasaṃkhyānam*).

4.2.56 **संग्रामे प्रयोजनयोद्धृभ्यः**

saṃgrāme prayojanayoddhṛbhyaḥ
/ saṃgrāme 7/1 *prayojanayoddhṛbhyaḥ* 5/3/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *so' sya* #55)
prayojanavācibhyo yoddhṛvācibhyaś ca śabdebhyaḥ prathamāsamarthebhyo' syeti ṣaṣṭhyarthe saṃgrāme' bhidheye yathāvihitaṃ pratyayo bhavati
A *taddhita* affix, namely *aṆ*, occurs with the signification of genitive, after a syntactically related nominal stem which ends in nominative and is in syntactic coordination with *prayojana* and *yoddhṛ*, provided the derivate denotes a battle (*saṃgrāma*).

EXAMPLES:

bhādraḥ saṃgrāmaḥ = bhadrā prayojanam asya saṃgrāmasya 'a battle which has capturing Bhadrā as its purpose'
saubhadraḥ 'a battle which has capturing Subhadrā as its purpose'
ahimālaḥ saṃgrāmaḥ = ahimālā yoddhāro' sya saṃgrāmasya 'a battle which has the Ahimālas as warriors'
bhārataḥ 'a battle which has the descendants of Bharata (Kauravas and Pāṇḍavas) as warriors'

1. Note that, here again, *saḥ* specifies the syntactically related base to end in nominative. The phrase *prayojanayodhṛbhyaḥ* modifies the base in *prathamā* 'nominative'. Recall that an affix is introduced here after the first among syntactically related nominal stems (4.1.82 *samarthānāṃ prathamād. . .*). This will make only one base, i.e., that which is in syntactic coordination with *prayojana*, to receive the affix. It is stated that the base which may be in syntactic coordination with *yodhṛ* will also qualify for the affix, since *prayojana-yodhṛbhyaḥ* is referred to by the *prathamā* of *saḥ* (*PM* ad *Kāś.*: . . . *viśeṣyadvāreṇa prayojanayoddhāra eva prathamānirdiṣṭāḥ*). The locative (*saptamī*) of *saṃgrāme* makes 'battle' as the affixal denotatum. This, in turn, modifies the affixal meaning specified by *asya*. How could *saṃgrāme* in locative modify *asya* in genitive? The locative of the modifier will be transformed into genitive of the modifier for purposes of this interpretation.

The conditions of *prayojana* and *yoddhṛ* are required so that derivates parallel to *subhadrā prayojanam asya dānasya* 'a gift which has Subhadrā as its goal' and *subhadrā prekṣikā asya saṃgrāmasya* 'a battle of which Subhadrā is the eye-witness' can be blocked.

4.2.57 **तदस्यां प्रहरणमिति क्रीडायां णः**

tad asyāṃ praharaṇam iti krīḍāyāṃ ṇaḥ
/tat 1/1 *asyām* 7/1 *praharaṇam* 1/1 *iti* ϕ *krīḍāyām* 7/1 *ṇaḥ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76 *so' sya* #55)
tad iti prathamāsamarthāt 'asyām' iti saptamyarthe ṇaḥ pratyayo bhavati yai tad iti nirdiṣṭaṃ praharaṇaṃ ced bhavati; yad asyām iti nirdiṣṭaṃ krīḍā cet sā bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *Ṇa* occurs with the signification of locative (*saptamī*), after a syntactically related nominal stem which ends in nominative and is in syntactic coordination with *praharaṇam* 'weapon', provided the antecedent of *asyām*, the locative, is *krīḍā* 'sport, game'.

EXAMPLES:

dāṇḍā = daṇḍaṃ praharaṇam asyāṃ krīḍāyām 'a sport in which sticks are used as weapons'
mauṣṭā 'a sport in which fists are used as weapons'

1. Note that *tad* specifies the syntactically related base as ending in *prathamā*. The locative of *asyām* specifies affixal meaning. A syntactic coordination between *tad* and *praharaṇam*, as mediated by *iti*, requires the base which ends in *prathamā* to denote *praharaṇa* 'weapon'. A syntactic coordination between *asyām* and *krīḍāyām* will similarly require the antecedent of *asyām* to be *krīḍa* 'sport'. The use of *iti* is intended for *vivakṣā*. Incidentally, feminine derivates with the signification of a game will be derived by introducing affix *ṬāP* of 4.1.4 *ajādyataṣ ṭāp*.

2. Needless to say, the twin conditions of *praharaṇam* and *krīḍāyām* are important. Otherwise, derivates parallel to *mālā bhūṣaṇam asyāṃ kṛīḍāyām* 'a sport in which garland is used as an ornament', and *khaḍgaḥ praharaṇaṃ asyāṃ senāyām* 'an army in which sword is used as the weapon' will qualify for provisions of this rule.

4.2.58 **घञः सास्यां क्रियेति ञः**

ghañaḥ sāsyāṃ kriyeti ñaḥ
/ghañaḥ 5/1 *sā* 1/1 *asyām* 7/1 *kriyā* 1/1 *iti* ϕ *ñaḥ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76)
ghañantāt kriyāvācinaḥ prathamāsamarthāt 'asyām' iti saptamyarthe strīliṅge ñaḥ pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *Ña* occurs with the signification of *saptamī* 'locative' after a syntactically related nominal stem which ends in nominative, and is a derivate of *GHaÑ* with the denotatum of an action (*kriyā*).

EXAMPLES:

śyainampātā = śyenapāto'syāṃ vartate 'an action during which falcons fall (hunting of falcons)'
tailampātā 'that (action) during which sesame is dropped . . .; a ritual known as *svadhā*'

1. Note that *sā* requires the syntactically related nominal base to end in *prathamā*. The word *asyām* specifies the affixal meaning. The word *kṛiyā*, also in *prathamā*, is used as a qualifier to the meaning of the syntactically related base which ends in *prathamā*. The word *ghañaḥ* specifies that the base which is required to end in *prathamā* must end in *GHaÑ* with *kṛiyā* 'action' as its denotatum. The word *iti* is again used to indicate *vivakṣā* 'speaker's intent'. Deriving *pāta* from *pat* + *GHaÑ* with initial *vṛddhi* is easy. Deriving *śyainampāta* and *tailampāta* involves formation of compounds parallel to *śyenānāṃ pātaḥ* and *tilānāṃ pātaḥ*. Affix *Ña* of this rule then cause initial *vṛddhi*. Rule 6.2.65 *śyenatilasya pāte ñe* introduces augment *mUM* to realize *śy*(*e*→*ai*) *na*(*mUM*) *pāta* = *śyainampāta* and *tailampāta*.

Why must we state *sā* and *asyām* for specifying base and affixal meanings when the same can be gotten via *anuvṛtti* from the previous rule? But since specifications of our previous rule is made in association (*sāhacarya*) with *krīḍā*, carrying anything from this rule will also involve *krīḍā*. The specifications of this rule are more general. Thus, observe the following:

daṇḍapāto'syāṃ tithau vartate = dāṇḍapātā tithiḥ 'the day on which sticks will fall'
mausalpātā tithiḥ 'the day on which clubs will fall'

4.2.59 तदधीते तद्वेद

tad adhīte tad veda
/*tat* 2/1 *adhīte* (verbal form) *tat* 2/1 *veda* (verbal form)
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76)
tad iti dvitīyāsamarthād 'adhīte', 'veda' ity etayor arthayor yathāvihitaṃ pratyayo bhavati
A *taddhita* affix, namely *aÑ*, occurs after a syntactically related *pada* which ends in accusative (*dvitīyā*), provided the derivate denotes '. . . studies or knows that'.

EXAMPLES:

vyākaraṇam adhīte = vaiyākaraṇaḥ 'he who studies or knows grammar, a grammarian'
nairuktaḥ 'he who studies or knows the Nirukta'

1. An additional mention of *tad* is made to separate 'those who are study-

ing (*adhīyānaḥ*)' from 'those who are accomplished scholars (*viduṣaḥ*)'. That is, the dual use of *tad* yields two interpretations to affixal meaning: *tad adhīte* 'studies that' and *tad veda* 'knows that'. The affix could have been used only in the combined sense of 'studies and knows that', had *tad* not been used twice.

4.2.60 क्रतूक्थादिसूत्रान्ताट्ठक्

kratūkthādisūtrāntāṭ ṭhak
/kratūkthādisūtrāntāt 5/1 = *uktha ādir yeṣām te= ukhtādayaḥ* (*bv.*); *sūtram ante yasya sa sūtrāntaḥ* (*bv.*); *kratuś ca ukthādayaś ca sūtrāntaś ca = kratūkthādisūtrāntam* (*sam. dv.* with int. *bv.*); *tasmāt ṭhak* 1/1/ (*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *tad adhīte tad veda* #59)
kratuviśeṣavācibhya ukthādibhyaś ca sūtrāntāc ca ṭhak pratyayo bhavati 'tad adhīte tad veda' ity asmin viṣaye
The *taddhita* affix *ṭhaK* occurs after a syntactically related nominal stem which either ends in accusative and signifies a particular ritual sacrifice (*kratu*), or is one of the stems listed in the group headed by *uktha*, or else, terminates in *sūtra*, provided these derivates all denote 'studies or knows that'.

EXAMPLES:

agniṣṭomam adhīte veda vā = āgniṣṭomikaḥ 'he who studies, or knows, texts dealing with the ritual sacrifice of *Agniṣṭoma*'
aukthikaḥ 'he who studies, or knows, Uktha, a particular treatise relative to Sāman hymns'
vārttikasūtrikaḥ 'he who studies, or knows, a given *sūtra* with corresponding *vārttikas*'

1. This rule offers *ṭhaK* as an exception to *aṆ*. A series of *vārttika* are also given under this rule to make the following provisions:

(*a*) That which ends in *sūtra*, but does not begin with *kalpa*, should also be allowed the affixal provision of this rule. Thus, *aukthikaḥ* 'he who studies, or knows, Uktha'.

(*b*) Stems which end in *vidyā*, *lakṣaṇa* and *kalpa* should also be allowed to avail the affixal provision of this rule. Thus, we get: *sārpavidhyikaḥ* 'he who studies, or knows, how to cure snake-bites'; *gaulakṣaṇikaḥ* 'he who studies, or knows, characteristic qualities of cows'; *mātṛkalpikaḥ* 'he who studies, or knows, the Mātṛkalpa'.

(*c*) Affix *ṭhaK* is not introduced when *vidyā* is used in combination after *aṅga*, *kṣatra*, *dharma* and *saṃsarga*.

(*d*) Affix *ṭhaK* should also be introduced after a stem which names a narrative (*ākhyāna*) or story (*ākhyāyikā*), or else, is constituted by

itihāsa and *purāṇa*. Thus: *vāsavadattikaḥ* 'the story of Vāsavadattā'; *aitihāsikaḥ* 'historical' and *paurāṇikaḥ* 'pertaining to a Purāṇa'.

(*e*) Affix *ṭhaK* is deleted after words which begin with *sarva* and *sa*, or which constitute a *dvigu* compound. Thus we get: *sarvavedaḥ* 'he who studies, or knows, all the Vedas'; *savārttikaḥ* 'he who studies, or knows, the *sūtras* along with corresponding *vārttikas*'; *dvivedaḥ* 'he who studies, or knows, two Vedas'.

(*f*) Affix *ṭhaK* is introduced after *anusū*, *lakṣya* and *lakṣaṇa* to denote *tad adhīte tad veda*. Thus, *ānusukaḥ* 'he who studies, or knows (the treatise) Anusū', etc.

(*g*) Affix *ikaN* occurs, variously, after a nominal which may have *pada* as its final constituent. Thus, *pūrvapadikaḥ*, etc.

(*h*) Affix *ṢikaN* occurs, variously, after bases which begin with *śata* and *ṣaṣṭhi*, and end in *patha*. Thus, *śatapathikaḥ* 'he who studies, or knows, the *Śatapatha-brāhmaṇa*', etc.

4.2.61 क्रमादिभ्यो वुन्

kramādibhyo vun
/kramādibhyaḥ 5/3 *vun* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *tad adhīte tad veda* #50)
'*krama*' *ity evam ādibhyaḥ śabdebhyo vun pratyayo bhavati* '*tad adhīte tad veda*' *ity asmin viṣaye*
The *taddhita* affix *vuN* occurs after a syntactically related nominal stem listed in the group headed by *krama*, when the stem ends in accusative and the derivate denotes 'studies, or knows, that'.

EXAMPLES:

padakaḥ 'he who studies, or knows, the *Padapāṭha* (Vedic recitation in accord with analysis of hymns into *pada*)'
kramakaḥ 'he who studies, or knows, the *Kramapāṭha* (recitation of hymns in the order of two at a time)'

4.2.62 अनुब्राह्मणादिनिः

anuubrāhmaṇād iniḥ
/anubrāhmaṇāt 5/1 *iniḥ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *tad adhīte tad veda* #50)
anubrāhmaṇaśabdād iniḥ pratyayo bhavati '*tad adhīte tad veda*' *ity asmin viṣaye*
The *taddhita* affix *inI* occurs after the syntactically related nominal stem *anubrāhmaṇa*, when it ends in accusative and the derivate denotes 'studies, or knows, that'.

EXAMPLES:

anubrāhmaṇaṃ brāhmaṇasadṛśaṃ grantham adhīte vetti vā
anubrāhmaṇīṇa 'he who studies, or knows, treatises similar to the Brāhmaṇas'

1. Note that *inI* was already available to *anubrāhmaṇa* from rule 5.2.115 *ata iniṭhanau.* Was our present rule formulated to block *ṭhaN* which would have been available in addition to *inI*? In a way yes, though the basic purpose of this rule is to block *aṆ.* Affix *ṭhaN* will be automatically blocked because of lack of usage (*anabhidhānāt*). Note that some do not accept the *anuvṛtti* of *inI* from rule 5.2.115.

4.2.63 वसन्तादिभ्यष्ठक्

vasantādibhyaṣ ṭhak
/vasantādibhyaḥ 5/3 *ṭhak* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *tad adhīte tad veda* #50)
'*vasanta*' *ity evam ādibhyaṣ ṭhak pratyayo bhavati* '*tad adhīte tad veda*' *ity asmin viṣaye*
The *taddhita* affix *ṭhaK* occurs after a syntactically related nominal stem listed in the group headed by *vasanta,* when the same ends in accusative and the derivate denotes 'studies, or knows, that'.

EXAMPLES:

vāsantikaḥ = vasantasahacarito'yaṃ grantho vasantaḥ tam adhīte 'one who studies, or knows, a treatise dealing with, or read during, the spring season'

1. Note that *vasanta* is here interpreted as a text dealing with, or read or recited during, the Spring season, mostly because of the context (*PM* ad *Kāś.*: *yatra vasanto varṇyate yo vā vasante'dhyeyaḥ*). This *ṭhaK,* a usual, is an exception to *aṆ.*

4.2.64 प्रोक्ताल्लुक्

proktāl luk
/proktāt 5/1 *luk* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *tad adhīte tad veda* #50)
proktasahacaritaḥ pratyayaḥ proktaḥ; proktapratyayāntād adhyetṛveditror utpannasya lug bhavati
A *taddhita* affix occurring after a syntactically related nominal stem which denotes the sense of *prokta* and ends in accusative is deleted by *LUK,* provided the derivate denotes 'studies, or knows, it'.

EXAMPLES:

pāṇininā proktaṃ pāṇinīyam; tad adhīte pāṇinīyaḥ 'he who studies, or knows, what Pāṇini taught'
āpiśalaḥ 'he who studies, or knows, what Āpiśali taught'

1. Note that the denotatum of *proktam* 'taught by . . .', through association (*sāhacarya*), leads us to affixes which are introduced to denote the sense of *prokta*. The reference, obviously, is to 4.3.101 *tena proktam* and affixes introduced by rules of that domain. Our present rule thus provides for deletion of an affix introduced by a rule of the domain headed by 4.3.101. Thus, we get the derivate *pāṇini* by introducing affix *iÑ* after *paṇin*. An introduction of *aṆ* will derive *pāṇina* from the same base *paṇin*, with no difference in meaning. One can now introduce affix *cha* (4.2.113 *vṛddhāc chaḥ*) after *pāṇini* + *Ṭā* to derive *pāṇinīyaḥ*, denoting 'that which has been taught by Pāṇini'. Deriving 'one who studies, or knows, what Pāṇini taught' would require introducing affix *aṆ* (4.2.59 *tad adhīte tad veda*) after *pāṇinīya* + *am*. Given the string *pāṇinīya* + *am* + *aṆ*, our present rule will delete *aṆ*. As a result, the derivate will still be *pāṇinīya* + *sU*→*pāṇinīyaḥ*. One can similarly derive *āpiśalīyaḥ*. Note, however, that *pāṇinīyaḥ*, when meaning 'taught by Pāṇini', will differ in accent with *pāṇinīyaḥ*, meaning 'he who studies, or knows, what Pāṇini taught'. These will also differ in feminine. The *aṆ* derivate, in the absence of deletion of *aṆ*, will have to end in *ṆīP* (4.1.15 *ṭiḍḍhāṇañ . . .*). It would also be marked *udātta* at the end. The feminine, under deletion of *aṆ*, will be derived with affix *ṬāP*, yielding, for example, *pāṇinīyā brāhmaṇī* 'a brāhmaṇa woman who studies, or knows, what Pāṇini taught'.

4.2.65 सूत्राच्च कोपधात्

sūtrāc ca kopadhāt
/sūtrāt 5/1 *ca* ϕ *kopadhāt* 5/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *tad adhīte tad veda* #50, *luk* #64)
sūtravācinaḥ kakāropadhād utpannasya pratyayasya lug bhavati
A *taddhita* affix occurring after a syntactically related nominal stem which contains *k* in its (*upadhā*) and denotes a body of *sūtra* is deleted by *LUK*, provided the derivate denotes 'studies, or knows, that'.

EXAMPLES:

aṣṭakāḥ pāṇinīyāḥ = aṣṭāv adhyāyāḥ parimāṇam asya
sūtrasya tad aṣṭakam pāṇinīyam; tad adhīte veda vā 'those who study, or know, the *Aṣṭaka*, a body of *sūtras* arranged in eight chapters which Pāṇini taught'
daśaka vaiyāghrapādīyāḥ 'those who study, or know, the *Daśaka* which Vyāghrapāda taught'

trikāḥ kāśakṛtsnāḥ 'those who study, or know, the *Trika* which Kāśakṛtsna taught'

1. It is because of *kopadhāt* 'after that which has *k* in its *upadhā*' that one interprets *sūtrāt* as referring to 'after that which has signification of a body of *sūtras*'. It cannot thus refer to the word *sūtra*. The words *aṣṭaka, daśaka* and *trika* are all derivates of affix *KaN* (5.1.58 *saṃkhyāyāḥ saṃjñāsaṃgha-sūtrādhyayaneṣu*, read with 5.1.57 *tad asya parimāṇam*). This *sūtra* is formulated for derivates of bases which do not end in an affix with the denotatum of *prokta*.

A *vārttika* proposes that deletion of an affix by *LUK* of this rule is to be restricted to bases which denote number (*saṃkhyā*). Thus, this deletion will not apply in examples such as *kālāpakam adhīte* = *kālāpakaḥ* 'he who studies, or knows, the body of *sūtras* taught by Kalāpa'. The *kopadha* condition is also important so that examples such as *catuṣṭayam adhīte* = *cātuṣṭayaḥ* 'he who studies, or knows, the *catuṣṭaya*' could be kept out of the scope of this rule.

4.2.66 छन्दोब्राह्मणानि च तद्विषयाणि

chandobrāhmaṇāni ca tadviṣayāṇi
/ chandobrāhmaṇāni = chandāṃsi ca brāhmaṇāni ceti chandobrāhmaṇāni (itar. dv.); ca ϕ tadviṣayāṇi 1/3 = *tad adhīte tad veda ity viṣayo yeṣāṃ tāni imāni viṣayāṇi = tadviṣayāṇi (bv.)/*
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *tad adhīte tad veda* #50, *luk* #64)
chandāṃsi brāhmaṇāni ca proktapratyayāntāni tad viṣayāṇy eva bhavanti
Derivates of a *taddhita* affix which is marked with the signification of *prokta* and is introduced after bases with the denotation of *chandas* and *brāhmaṇa*, have their scope limited to *tad adhīte tad veda* 'he who studies, or knows. . . .'

EXAMPLES:

kaṭhena proktam adhīyate = kaṭhāḥ 'those who study, or know, the Vedic recension taught by Kaṭha'
vājasaneyinaḥ 'those who study, or know, the Vedic recension taught by Vājasaneya'
śāṭyāyaninaḥ 'those who study, or know, the Brāhmaṇa recension taught by Śāṭyāyana'
aitareyiṇaḥ 'those who study, or know, the Brāhmaṇa recension taught by Aitareya'

1. Note that affix which denotes *prokta* 'taught by . . .' is used to derive forms having the signification of 'he by whom a given text is taught'. This *sūtra* requires that if an affix characterized with the signification of *prokta* is introduced after a syntactically related nominal stem which denotes the name

of a *chandas* 'Vedic text' and *brāhmaṇa*, the denotatum of the derivate is reassigned as *tad adhite tad veda*. That is, such derivates will not denote 'one who taught the *chandas* and *brāhmaṇa* in question' but will, instead, denote 'those who study, or know, that *chandas* and *brāhmaṇa*'. This rule then restricts the use of *chandas* and *brāhmaṇa* to bases which, when used before an affix characterized with the sense of *prokta*, must denote an *adhyetṛ* 'he who studies', or *veditṛ* 'he who knows'.

2. A question is raised against using the word *brāhmaṇa*, especially when a reference with *chandas* already includes that. It is stated that the purpose of using *brāhmaṇa*, as separately from *chandas*, is to make it clear that a reference with *brāhmaṇa* is not generalized in nature. That is, the word *brāhmaṇa* here refers only to a limited number of *brāhmaṇa* texts. For example, *yājñavalkyena proktāni brāhmaṇāni yājñavalkyāni* 'the *brāhmaṇa* texts which were taught by Yājñavalkya' does not come within the scope of this rule. That is, this example does not denote 'he who studies, or knows. . . .'

A preceptor meaning within the context of *chandas* and *brāhmaṇa* is ruled out in favor of 'he who studies, or knows', because Vedic hymns are not accepted as structured by humans. They are treated as revealed to seers. Some of the texts of the *brāhmaṇas* are not included within the scope of our present rule because they are very subsequent in time.

3. The *ca* is used in this rule for including examples such as *kāśyapinaḥ* 'those who study, or know, the recension of Kalpa texts taught by Kaśyapa', *kauśikinaḥ* 'those who study, or know, the recension of Kalpa texts taught by Kauśika', or *pārāśariṇo bhikṣavaḥ* 'those who study, or know, the body of *sūtras* taught by Parāśara', etc. (*anuktasamuccayārthaś cakāraḥ*). Note that the first two examples involve texts known as *kalpa*. The last involves a *sūtra* text. These could not have qualified if our present *sūtra* did not have *ca* in its wording.

4. The condition of *chandobrāhmaṇāni* is imposed so that examples such as *pāṇinīyaṃ vyākaraṇam* 'the grammar which was taught by Pāṇini' could be kept out of the scope of our present rule. Recall that derivates of this rule must denote 'he who studies, or knows'. Elsewhere, the denotatum must be qualified with *prokta* 'taught by. . . .'

4.2.67 तदस्मिन्नस्तीति देशे तन्नाम्नि

tad asminn astīti deśe tannāmni

/*tat* 1/1 *asmin* 7/1 *asti* (verbal form) *iti* ϕ *deśe* 7/1 *tannāmni* 7/1 = *tan nāma yasya sa* (*bv.*), *tasmin*)

(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76)

'*tad iti prathamāsamarthād asminn iti saptamyarthe yathāvihitaṃ pratyayo bhavati yat prathamāsamartham asti cet tad bhavati, yad asminn iti nirdiṣṭaṃ deśaś cet sa tannāmā bhavati*'

A *taddhita* affix, namely *aṆ*, occurs in the sense of locus (*saptamī*) after a syntactically related nominal stem which ends in nominative (*prathamā*) and is in syntactic coordination with *asti* 'exists', provided the derivate 'names a place within which that exists'.

EXAMPLES:

audumbaraḥ = *udumbarā asmin deśe santi* '(name of) a place where fig trees grow in abundance'
pārvataḥ '(name of) a place where there are many mountains'

1. Note that *tad* refers to a syntactically related nominal stem ending in *prathamā* 'nominative'. The word *asmin* specifies affixal denotatum. The word *asti* is used as a qualifier to the base-meaning (*prakṛtyarthaviśeṣaṇam*). Thus, the translation of examples: 'a place (*deśe*) where (*asmin*) that (*tat*) which is in syntactic coordination with *asti* exists'. The word *iti* is used to clearly specify *vivakṣā* 'speaker's desire to speak'. The word *deśe tannāmni* 'in the country so named . . .' is used as qualifier to the meaning of the affix (*pratyayārthaviśeṣaṇam*).

This rule is formulated as an exception to those which denote the sense of *matUP* (*matvarthīya*). The signification of affixes introduced by our present rule, and of the three rules which immediately follow, is jointly referred to as *cāturarthika* 'section of rules with fourfold signification'. This section of rules is treated as an exception to the rules of the section known as *matvarthīya* (5.2.94 *tad asyāsty asminn iti matup*).

4.2.68 तेन निर्वृत्तम्

tena nirvṛttam
/*tena* 3/1 *nirvṛttam* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *deśe tannāmni* #67)
'*tena*' *iti tṛtīyāsamarthād* '*nirvṛttam*' *ity asmin viṣaye yathāvihitaṃ pratyayo bhavati*
A *taddhita* affix, namely *aṆ*, occurs as ruled after a syntactically related nominal stem which ends in *tṛtīyā* 'instrumental', provided the derivate names a place characterized as 'built by that' (*nirvṛttam*).

EXAMPLES:

sāhasrī parikhā = *sahasreṇa nirvṛttā parikhā* 'the place where a moat was built by a thousand people; . . . was built for a thousand gold coins'
kauśāmbī nagarī 'the city of Kauśāmbī which was built by Kuśāmba'

1. Note that *tṛtīyā* specifies a syntactically related nominal stem denoting a means by which, or an agent by who, a place so named was brought about (cf. *Kāś.*: *hetau kartari ca yathāyogaṃ tṛtīyā samarthavibhaktiḥ*).

4.2.69 तस्य निवासः

tasya nivāsaḥ
/tasya 6/1 *nivāsaḥ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *deśe tannāmni* #67)
'*tasya*' *ity ṣaṣṭhīsamarthāt* '*nivāsaḥ*' *ity etasminn arthe yathāvihitaṃ pratyayo bhavati deśanāmadheye gamyamāne*
A *taddhita* affix, namely *aṆ*, occurs after a syntactically related nominal stem which ends in *ṣaṣṭhī* 'genitive', provided the derivate names a place characterized as '. . . is the country of residence of. . . .'

EXAMPLES:

ārjunāvaḥ = *ṛjunāvāṃ nivāso deśaḥ* 'a place where people possessing beautiful boats live'
śibīnāṃ nivāso deśaḥ 'the place of residence of the Śibis'

4.2.70 अदूरभवश्च

adūrabhavaś ca
/adūrabhavaḥ 1/1 = *na dūrabhavaḥ* = *adūrabhavaḥ* (*nañ. tat.*); *ca* ϕ/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *deśe tannāmni* #67, *tasya* #69)
tasyeti ṣaṣṭhīsamarthād '*adūrabhavaḥ*' *ity etasminn arthe yathāvihitaṃ pratyayo bhavati*
A *taddhita* affix, namely *aṆ*, occurs after a syntactically related nominal stem which ends in *ṣaṣṭhī* 'genitive', also when the derivate names a place characterized as 'not far from that. . . .'

EXAMPLES:

vaidiśam = *vidiśāyā adūrabhavaṃ nagaraṃ vaidiśam* 'the city of Vaidiśā which is located not far from the Vidiśā river'
haimavatam 'the city of Haimavata which is located not far from Himālaya'

1. Note that *tasya* must be carried from the preceding rule to complete the sense of this rule. The syntactically related nominal stem after which the affix should be introduced to denote the sense of 'not being far' must end in genitive. The *ca*, in this rule, is used to combine this rule with the preceding three. Consequently, these four rules will form a single group, and their denotata will be carried to the following rules. If this *ca* was not made part of this *sūtra* then the sense of this rule alone could be associated with the following rules. For, this alone is the most proximate (*anantara*; *Paribhāṣā* (62): *anantarasya vidhir bhavati pratiṣedho vā* 'an operation, or negation, obtains only to that which is most proximate').

4.2.71 ओरञ्

or añ
/oḥ 5/1 *añ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *deśe tannāmni* #67, *tasya* #69, *tad asminn asti* . . . #67-70)
uvarṇāntāt prātipadikād yathāvihitaṃ samarthavibhaktiyuktād añ pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *aÑ* occurs after a syntactically related nominal stem which ends in *u* and is used with one of the nominal endings already specified, provided derivates also denote one of the four specified meanings.

EXAMPLES:

araḍūnāṃ nivāso deśaḥ = *āraḍavam* 'the place where the Araḍu clan of kṣatriyas live'
kārkaṭelavam 'the place where Karkaṭelu clan of kṣatriyas live'

1. Note that examples such as *udumbarāvatī* 'a river on the banks of which there are many fig trees' and *ikṣumatī* 'a river nearby which sugarcane is grown', where derivates denote a river, are derived with affix *matUP* of rule 4.2.85 *nadyāṃ matup*. This *matUP* blocks affix *aÑ* on the basis of *paratva* (1.4.2 *vipratiṣedhe paraṃ kāryam*).

4.2.72 मतोश्च बह्वजङ्गात्

matoś ca bahvajaṅghāt
/matoḥ 5/1 *ca*ϕ *bahvajaṅghāt* 5/1 = *bahavo aco yasmin* (*bv.*); *bahvaj aṅgaṃ yasya asau* (*bv.*), *tasmāt*/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *deśe tannāmni* #67, *añ* #71, *tad asminn asti* . . . #67-70)
bahvaj aṅgaṃ yasyāsau bahvajaṅgo matup, tadantāt prātipadikād añ pratyayo bhavati cāturarthikaḥ
The *taddhita* affix *aÑ* occurs after a syntactically related nominal stem which ends in *matUP* and contains a polysyllabic *aṅga* (1.4.13 *yasmāt pratyayavidhis* . . .), provided the derivate is to denote one of the four meanings specified as above.

EXAMPLES:

aiṣukāvatam 'a city not far from the Iṣukāvatī river'
saidhrakāvatam 'a city not far from the forest which is rich in Sidhraka trees'

1. Note that *aiṣukāvatam* denotes a place in close proximity (*adūrabhavaḥ*; 4.1.70) to the Iṣukāvatī river. The word *iṣukāvat*, which denotes the river

when used with *ṄīP*, is derived with affix *matUP* (4.2.85 *nadyāṃ matup*), parallel to *iṣukāḥ santy yasyām* 'that in which there are (grows) weeds'. Affix *ṄīP*, after *iṣukāvat*, is introduced by rule 4.1.6 *ugitaś ca*.

2. The nominal stem after which affix *aÑ* is to be introduced must also contain a polysyllabic (*bahvac*) form as an *aṅga* 'presuffixal base' (1.4.13 *yasmāt pratyayavidhis . . .*). Of course, relative to an affix, in this case *matUP*. Obviously, *bahvaC* is not intended here as a qualifier (*viśeṣaṇa*) to the nominal stem which is specified here as ending in *matUP*, and which, after becoming syntactically related, receives affix *aÑ*. Instead, it is a polysyllabic form, relative to *matUP*, which qualifies as an *aṅga*. An effort to qualify the nominal stem itself as an *aṅga* with *bahvac* will make the use of the word *aṅga* vacuous (*vyartha*). Besides, if *bahvacaḥ* is interpreted as a modifier to the nominal stem which ends in *matUP*, then *āhimatam* 'a place with many snakes' will have to be derived with *aÑ*, as against *aṆ*. If *bahvacaḥ* is made an adjective to an *aṅga* before *matUP*, *ahimat* cannot receive *aÑ*. For, *ahi* before *matUP* will not qualify as *bahvac*. The same could be true of *yāvamatam* 'a place which is rich in barley', where *yava* of *yavamat* will not qualify as *bahvac*.

4.2.73 बह्वचः कूपेषु

bahvacaḥ kūpeṣu
/bahvacaḥ 5/1 *kūpeṣu* 7/3/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *deśe tannāmni* #67, *tasya* #69, *tad asminn asti . . .* #67-70)
bahvacaḥ prātipadikād añ pratyayo bhavati cāturarthikaḥ kūpeṣv abhidheyeṣu
The *taddhita* affix *aÑ* occurs after a syntactically related nominal stem which consists of many vowels (*bahvacaḥ*) and signifies a water-well (*kūpeṣu*), provided the derivate denotes one of the four meanings mentioned as above.

EXAMPLES:

dīrghavaratreṇa nirvṛttaḥ = *dairghavaratraḥ kūpaḥ* 'a water-well built by Dīrghavaratra'
kāpilavaratraḥ 'a water-well built by Kapilavaratra'

1. This is an exception to *aṆ*. For, *bahvacaḥ* here qualifies the nominal stem. It is for this reason, more specifically for dropping the *anuvṛtti* of *aṅgāt*, that *bahvacaḥ* is restated in this rule. *Kāśikā* notes that derivate-meanings are, somehow or the other, related to the four meanings specified earlier (*Kāś.*: *yathāsambhavam arthāḥ sambandhyante*).

4.2.74 उदक्च विपाशः

udak ca vipāśaḥ
/udak 1/1 *ca* ϕ *vipāśaḥ* 5/1/

(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *deśe tannāmni* #67, *añ* #71, *tad asminn asti* . . . #67-70, *kūpeṣu* #73)

vipāśaḥ uttare kūle ye kūpās teṣv abhidheyeṣu añ pratyayo bhavati cāturarthikaḥ

The *taddhita* affix *aÑ* also occurs after a syntactically related nominal stem which ends in one of the specified nominal endings and signifies a water-well, provided the water-well is located on the north side of river Vīpāśā.

EXAMPLES:

dattena nirvṛttaḥ kūpaḥ = *dāttaḥ* 'water-well built by Datta on the north side of river Vīpāśā'

gauptaḥ 'a water-well built by Gupta on the north side of river Vīpāśā'

1. What if the water-wells were built by Datta and Gupta on the south side of Vīpāśā?. Affix *aṆ* will then have to be introduced to derive *dāttaḥ* and *gauptaḥ*. These derivates are formally similar to derivates of *aÑ*. They only differ in accent. Forms such as *dā́ttaḥ* and *gaúptaḥ* which do not denote a water-well located on the north side of Vipāśā, will be marked *udātta* at the end (*anta*), in consonance with affixal accent (3.1.3 *ādy udāttaś ca*). Words such as *dāttáḥ* and *gauptáḥ*, which denote a water-well on the north side of Vipāśā, will be marked *udātta* the beginning (*ādi*), in view of *Ñ* as an *it* in the affix (6.1.197 *ñnityādir nityam*). This variation in form characterized by accentual difference attests to the extremely fine observational insight of Pāṇini (*mahatī sūkṣmekṣikā varttate sūtrakārasya*).

4.2.75 संकलादिभ्यश्च

saṅkalādibhyaś ca

/*saṅkalādibhyaḥ* 5/3 = *saṅkala ādir yeṣāṃ* (*bv.*); *ca* ϕ/

(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *deśe tannāmni* #67, *añ* #71, *tad asminn asti* . . . #67-70)

'*saṅkala*' *ity evamādibhyo'ñ pratyayo bhavati cāturarthikaḥ*

The *taddhita* affix *aÑ* occurs after a syntactically related nominal stem listed in the group headed by *saṅkala*, when it ends in an appropriate nominal ending and its derivate is to denote one of the four meanings specified as above.

EXAMPLES:

sāṅkalaḥ 'that which was built by Saṅkala'

pauṣkalaḥ 'that which was completed by Puṣkala'

1. Note that meanings of many of these derivates must be determined on the basis of interpretation, usage and intent of speakers (*vivakṣā*).

4.2.76 स्त्रीषु सौवीरसाल्वप्राक्षु

strīṣu sauvīrasālvaprākṣu
/strīṣu 7/3 *sauvīrasālvaprākṣu* 7/3 = *sauvīraś ca sālvaś ca prāṅ ca* (*itar. dv.*), *teṣu/*
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *deśe tannāmni* #67, *aÑ* #71, *tad asminn asti* . . . #67-70)
sauvīre strīliṅge vācye deśe vācye sālve prācy añ pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *aÑ* occurs after a syntactically related nominal stem which ends in an appropriate nominal ending, provided the derivate names, in feminine, a place in the Sruvīra, Sālva or eastern regions.

EXAMPLES:

dāttāmitrī = *dattāmittreṇa nirvṛttā nagarī* 'a city built in the Sauvīra region by Dattāmittra'
vaidhūmāgnī = *vidhūmāgninā nirvṛttā nagarī* 'a city built in the Sālva region by Vidhūmāgni'
kākandī = *kakandena nirvṛttā nagarī* 'a city built in the eastern region by Kakanda'

1. The words *sauvīra, sālva, prāk* and *strī* are used as modifiers to the country so named (*deśe tannāmni*).

4.2.77 सुवास्तवादिभ्योऽण्

suvāstvādibhyo'ṇ
/suvāstvādibhyaḥ 5/3 = *suvāstu ādir yeṣāṃ te* (*bv.*), *tebhyaḥ*; *aṇ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *tad asminn asti* . . . #67-70)
'*suvāstv ity evam ādibhyo'ṇ pratyayo bhavati cāturarthikaḥ*
A *taddhita* affix, namely *aṆ*, occurs after a syntactically related nominal stem which ends in an appropriate nominal ending and is listed in the group headed by *suvāstu*, provided the derivate denotes one of the four meanings mentioned above.

EXAMPLES:

sauvāstavam = *suvāstor adūrabhavaṃ nagaram* 'Suvāstava, a city located not very far from the river Suvāstu'
vārṇavam 'Vārṇava, a city located not very far from the river Varṇu'

1. Note that affix *aṆ* is introduced here as an exception to affixes *aÑ* (characterized by *oḥ* of 4.2.71 and *kūpa* of 4.2.73-74) and *matUP* (of 4.2.85 *nadyāṃ matup*) both. Why did Pāṇini use *aṆ*, especially when it was already available from the *adhikāra*. Well, the *aṆ* which one gets from *anuvṛtti* gets blocked by *aÑ*, an exception. Stating *aṆ* again sets *aÑ* aside. This new *aṆ*

can also be used for blocking *matUP* of 4.2.85 *nadyāṃ matup*. If *aṆ* was not mentioned here then, according to the principle that an exception listed in the middle blocks only a preceding provision (*Paribhāṣā* (61): *madhye'pavādāḥ pūrvān vidhīn bādhante nottarān*), could have enabled *aÑ* to block only *aṆ*. It could not have blocked *matUP*. With *aṆ* in place again, *matUP* can also be blocked.

4.2.78 रोणी

roṇī
/roṇī 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ*#3.1.1, *paraś ca*#3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt*#4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ*#4.1.7, *tad asminn asti . . .* #67-70, *aṇ*#77)
roṇīśabdād aṇ pratyayo bhavati cāturarthikaḥ
A *taddhita* affix, namely *aṆ*, occurs after *roṇī* when the derivate denotes any of the four meanings mentioned above.

EXAMPLES:

rauṇaḥ kūpaḥ 'that (a water-well) which was built by Roṇī'
ājakaroṇaḥ 'that (a water-well) which was built by Ajakaroṇī'

1. A question is raised as to why *roṇī* is not specified in this rule with *pañcamī* 'ablative', as is the practice elsewhere in affixal operations (*pratyayavidhau*). It is not specified by ablative so that it can receive an affix after all kinds of its forms. That is, it can receive an affix either by constituting a base by itself, or by occurring as the final constituent of another (*Kāś.*: *roṇīśabdaḥ sarvāvastho'ṇ pratyayam utpādayati kevalas tadantaś ca*).

2. *Kāśikā* again advises caution in interpreting the derivates. It, however, notes that these examples constitute exceptions to derivates of *aÑ* denoting *kūpa* (*kūpalakṣaṇasyāño'pavādaḥ*).

4.2.79 कोपधाच्च

kopadhāc ca
/kopadhāt 5/1 = *kakāra upadhā yasya* (*bv.*), *tasmāt*; *ca* ϕ/
(*pratyayaḥ*#3.1.1, *paraś ca*#3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt*#4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ*#4.1.7, *tad asminn asti . . .* #67-70, *aṇ*#77)
kakāropadhāc ca prātipadikād aṇ pratyayo bhavati cāturarthikaḥ
A *taddhita* affix, namely *aṆ*, occurs after a syntactically related nominal stem which has *k* in its penultimate position (*upadhā*) and ends in an appropriate nominal ending, provided also that its derivate denotes one of the four meanings already specified.

EXAMPLES:

kārṇacchidrikaḥ kūpaḥ 'a water-well built by Karṇacchidrikā'
kārkavākavam 'a water-well built by Kṛkavāku'

1. The operational provision of this rule is treated as an exception to one which requires *aÑ* characterized with conditions of *ū* and *kūpa* (4.2.71; 4.2.73). The meanings of examples again have to be investigated and determined with caution.

4.2.80 **वुञ्छण्कठजिलसेनिरढञ्ण्ययफक्फिञिञ्ञ्यकक्ठकोऽरीहणकृशाश्वर्श्यकुमुदकाश्तृण-प्रेक्षाश्मसखिसङ्काशबलपक्षकर्णसुतंगमप्रगदिन्वराहकुमुदादिभ्यः**

vuñchaṇkaṭhajilaśeniraḍhañṇyayaphakphiñiññyakakṭhako'rīhaṇakṛśāśvarśyakumudakāśatṛṇaprekṣāśmasakhisaṅkāśabalapakṣakarṇasutaṅgamapragadinvarāhakumudādibhyaḥ

/ vuñchaṇkaṭhajilaśeniraḍhañṇyayaphakphiñiññyakakṭhakaḥ 1/3 = *vuñ ca chaṇ ca ka ca ṭhac ca ila ca śa ca ini ca ra ca ḍhañ ca ṇya ca ya ca phak ca phiñ ca iñ ca ñya ca kak ca ṭhak ca* (*itar. dv.*); *arīhaṇakṛśāśva . . . kumudādibhyaḥ* 5/3 = *arīhaṇādir ādir yeṣām te* (*bv.* with int. *dv.*) /

(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.7, *tad asminn asti . . .* #67-70)

vuñādayaḥ saptadaśapratyayāḥ arīhaṇādayo'pi saptadaśaiva prātipadikagaṇāḥ; tatra yathāsaṃkhyaṃ saptadaśabhyaḥ prātipadikagaṇebhyaḥ saptadaśa pratyayā bhavanti cāturarthikaḥ

The *taddhita* affixes *vuÑ, chaṆ, ka, thaC, ila, śa, inI, ra, ḍhaÑ, Ṇya, ya, phaK, phiÑ, iÑ, Ñya, kaK,* and *ṭhaK* occur after syntactically related nominal stems *arīhaṇa, kṛśāśva, ṛśya, kumuda, kāśa, tṛṇa, prekṣā, aśman, sakhi, saṃkāśa, bala, pakṣa, karṇa, sutaṅgama, pragadin, varāha,* and *kumuda,* respectively, when these stems end in appropriate nominal endings and derivates denote any one of the four meanings already specified.

EXAMPLES:

ārīhaṇakam '*vuÑ*; a city built by Arīhaṇa'
kārśāśvīyaḥ '*chaṆ*; a city built by Kṛśāśva'
ṛśyakaḥ '*ka*; a place full of antelopes'
kumudikam '*ṭhaC*; a city not far from where lotuses blossom in abundance'
kāśilam '*ila*; a place where reeds grow in abundance'
tṛṣaśaḥ '*śa*; a place rich in grass'
prekṣī '*inI*; a city with many theaters'
aśmaraḥ '*ra*; a place with rocks in abundance'
sākheyam '*ḍhaÑ*; a water-well built by Sakhi'
sāṃkāśyam '*Ṇya*; a city built by Saṃkāśa'
balyaḥ '*ya*; a place built by Bala'
pākṣāyaṇam '*phaK*; a city built by Pakṣa'
kārṇāyaniḥ '*phiÑ*; a place built by Karṇa'
sautaṅgamiḥ '*iÑ*; a water-well built by Sutaṅgama'
prāgadyam '*Ñya*; a city built by Pragadin'

vārāhakam '*kaK*; a city built by Varāha'
kaumudikam 'a place where waterlilies blossom in abundance'

1. Note that this rule introduces a set of seventeen affixes which are to be introduced after an equal number of bases. Since the corresponding sets of affixes and bases both contain an equal number of enumerated elements, one must invoke the rule of *yathāsaṃkhya*. That is, one must determine the equivalency of enumerated items in accord with the order in which they have been enumerated in the two sets. Thus, affix one, of the first set of seventeen affixes, should be introduced after the first base of the second set of seventeen bases, and so on (cf. 1.3.10 *yathāsaṃkhyam anudeśaḥ samānām*).

A correct interpretation of examples, here again, deserves caution. These bases, in accord with their own denotatum, and in view of the fourfold meanings, must receive affixes only when used with specified nominal endings.

4.2.81 जनपदे लुप्

janapade lup
/janapade 7/1 *lup* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ*#3.1.1, *paraś ca*#3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt*#4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ*#4.1.7, *tad asminn asti . . .* #67-70)
'*deśe tannāmni yaś cāturarthikaḥ pratyayo bhavati tasya deśaviśeṣe janapade' bhidheye lub bhavati*
A *taddhita* affix which occurs after a syntactically related nominal stem with the signification of *deśa* 'place' is deleted by *LUP*, provided the derivate denotes a particular *janapada* 'cluster of villages' so named as place of residence.

EXAMPLES:

pañcālāḥ 'place of residence of the Pañcāla warriors'
aṅgāḥ 'place of residence of the Aṅga warriors'

1. Note that a deletion by *LUP*, at the strength of 1.2.51 *lupi yuktavad vyaktivacane*, lets the original number and gender of the derivate retained. Thus the word *Pañcālāḥ*, a masculine plural, denotes a class of warriors. The cluster of villages which serves as place of residence of these warriors can thus be called *pañcālāḥ*, where affix *aN* gets deleted by *LUP*. Consequently, *pañcālāḥ*, though it refers to a single *janapada*, will still retain its original masculine plural status.

Why is the affix not deleted in *audumbaro deśaḥ* 'a place where fig trees grow in abundance'. Because, in that case, *udumbaraḥ*, with affixal deletion, will not be able to denote a place of residence. A place so named (*tannāmni*) does not exist.

4.2.82 वरणादिभ्यश्च

varaṇādibhyaś ca
/varaṇādibhyaḥ 5/3 = *varaṇa ādir yeṣāṃ te* (*bv.*), *tebhyaḥ*; *ca* ϕ/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.7, *tad asminn asti . . .* #67-70, *lup* #81)
'varaṇa' ity evamādibhya utpannasya cāturarthikasya pratyayasya lub bhavati
A *taddhita* affix which occurs after a syntactically related nominal stem listed in the group headed by *varaṇa* is deleted by *LUP*, when the derivate denotes any of the four meanings specified earlier.

EXAMPLES:

varaṇāḥ = *varaṇānām adūrabhavo grāmaḥ* 'a village which is not far from where the Varaṇā trees grow in abundance'
śirīṣāḥ 'a village not far from where Śirīṣa trees grow in abundance'

1. This rule offers affixal deletion. It also allows retention of original number and gender of a derivate, even when the derivate does not denote a *janapada* so named as place of residence (*Kāś.*: *ajanapadārtha ārambhaḥ*).

2. The *ca* in this rule is used for bringing some other examples under its scope (*anuktasamuccayārthaś cakāraḥ*). Thus, *kaṭukabadaryā adūrabhavo grāmaḥ* = *kaṭukabadarī* 'a village located not far from the grove of bitter berries', etc. The *ca* also marks *varaṇādi* as an open-ended (*ākṛtigaṇa*) group.

4.2.83 शर्कराया वा

śarkarāyā vā
/śarkarāyaḥ 5/1 *vā* ϕ/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.7, *tad asminn asti . . .* #67-70, *lup* #81)
śarkarāśabdād utpannasya cāturarthikasya pratyayasya vā lub bhavati
A *taddhita* affix which occurs, to denote any one of the four meanings, after the syntactically related nominal *śarkarā* is deleted by *LUP* only optionally.

EXAMPLES:

śarkarā 'a place with pebbles in abundance'
śārkaram 'id. (a derivate with no deletion of *aṆ*)'
śarkarikam 'a derivate of *ṭhaC*'
śārkarakam 'a derivate of *kaK*'

1. Note that *śarkarā* is listed in two groups of words known as *kumudādi* and *varāhādi*. Consequently, *śarkarā* will have two derivates, i.e., *śarkarikam* (with *ṭhaC*) and *śārkarakam* (with *kaK*). Pāṇini did not have to provide for optional deletion by using *vā*. For, a derivate with non-affixal deletion can

be gotten at the strength of listing in a *gaṇa*. This rule should then have provided for deletion without any qualification such as *vā*. But then the deletion will become obligatory (*nitya*). Consequently, providing for derivates with non-affixal deletion, via listing *śarkarā* in two *gaṇas*, will become vacuous (*vyartha*; *PM* ad *Kāś.*: *gaṇayor asya pāṭho' narthakaḥ syāt*). Pāṇini uses *vā* to indicate that this deletion of an affix after *śarkarā* does not relate to provisions of rule 4.2.80. Instead, the optional provision of this rule relates to the more general provision (*autsargika*) of *aṆ* of 4.1.83 *prāgdīvyato' ṇ*, read with 4.2.66 *tad asminn asti. . . .* Consequently, we will get two forms: *śarkarā*, with deletion of *aṆ*; and *śārkaram*, with no deletion of *aṆ*. A set of two additional forms of *śarkarā* will be derived with affixes *ṭhaK* and *cha* of the following rule. Thus, with two forms of 4.2.80, *śarkarā* will, in all, have six derivates.

4.2.84 ठक्छौ च

ṭhakchau ca
/ṭhakchau 1/2 *ca* ϕ/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76)
śarkarāśabdāt 'ṭhak, cha' ity etau pratyayau bhavataś cāturarthikau
Affixes *ṭhaK* and *cha* occur after a syntactically related nominal stem, namely *śarkarā*, when the derivate denotes one of the four meanings specified as above.

EXAMPLES:

śarkarikam 'a place with pebbles in abundance'
śarkarīyam 'id.'

1. *Kāśikā*, once again, emphasizes that meanings of these derivates should be determined with efforts.

4.2.85 नद्यां मतुप्

nadyāṃ matup
/nadyām 7/1 *matup* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76)
nadyām abhidheyāyāṃ matup pratyayo bhavati cāturarthikaḥ
The *taddhita* affix *matUP* occurs after a syntactically related nominal stem when ending in an appropriate *sUP*, provided the derivate denotes a river.

EXAMPLES:

udumbarāvatī = *udumbarā yasyāṃ santi* 'a river on whose banks there are fig trees'
ikṣumatī 'a river in the vicinity of which sugarcane grows in abundance'

1. This affixal provision of *matUP* is made against one already available from 5.2.94 *tad asyāsty asmin. . . .* The provision of this rule then must share the context of *cāturarthika* affixes. Commentators explain that the affix is to be introduced after a base ending in *prathamā* 'nominative', because a connection of this provision with that of 4.2.67 *tad asminn astīti deśe tannāmni* is possible. In fact, commentators claim that this *matUP* serves two purposes: (*a*) it blocks the *aṆ* of 4.2.67 *tad asmin . . .* and (*b*) it, thereby, also specifies the meaning under which it is to be introduced (*PM* ad *Kāś.*: '*tad asyāsty asmin' iti matupi siddhe vacanam idaṃ 'tad asminn astīti' prāptasyāṇo bādhanārthaṃ nivṛttādyarthaṃ ca, tat sūcitam*).

2. Since derivates of this rule are constrained with the denotation of *nadī*, the phrase *tannāmni* must be treated as a qualifier to *nadyām*, and not to *deśe*.

4.2.86 मध्वादिभ्यश्च

madhvādibhyaś ca
/madhvādibhyaḥ 5/3 *ca* ϕ*/*
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76)
'*madhu*' *ity evam ādibhyaḥ śabdebhyo matup pratyayo bhavati cāturarthikaḥ*
The *taddhita* affix *matUP* also occurs after a syntactically related nominal stem which is listed in the group headed by *madhu*, provided the derivate denotes one of the four meanings specified above.

EXAMPLES:

madhumān 'a place rich in honey'
visavān 'a place where lotus (stalk) grows in abundance'

1. This provision of *matUP* is made where derivates do not denote a 'river' (*anadyartham ārambhaḥ*).

4.2.87 कुमुदनडवेतसेभ्यो ड्मतुप्

kumudanaḍavetasebhyo ḍmatup
/kumudanaḍavetasebhyaḥ 5/3 = *kumudaś ca naḍaś ca vetasaś ca* = *kumudanaḍavetasāḥ* (*itar. dv.*), *tebhyaḥ*; *ḍmatup* 1/1*/*
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76)
'*kumuda*', '*naḍa*', '*vetas*' *ity etebhyaḥ śabdebhyo ḍmatup pratyayo bhavati cāturarthikaḥ*
The *taddhita* affix *ḌmatUP* occurs after syntactically related nominal stems *kumuda*, *naḍa* and *vetas*, when derivates denote any of the four meanings specified above.

EXAMPLES:

kumudvān 'a place rich in white-lilies'
naḍvān 'a place where reeds grow in abundance'
vetasvān 'a place where canes grow in abundance'

1. Note that the *m* of *matUP* is replaced with *v* in the first two examples by rule 8.2.10 *jhayaḥ*. This same replacement is accomplished by 8.2.9 *mād upadhāyāś ca* in deriving the last example. Since affix *ḌmatUP* is marked with *Ḍ* as an *it*, these derivates also go through deletion of their *a* (6.4.143 *ṭeḥ*), under assignment of the term *ṭi* (1.1.64 *aco'ntyādi ṭi*).

A *vārttika* under this rule also recommends deriving *mahiṣmat* 'a place with buffaloes in abundance' by introducing affix *ḌmatUP* after *mahiṣa* 'buffalo'.

4.2.88 नडशादाड् ड्वलच्

naḍaśādāḍ ḍvalac
/naḍaśādāt 5/1 = *naḍaś ca śādaś ca* = *naḍaśādam* (*sam. dv.*), *tasmāt*; *ḍvalac* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76)
naḍaśadaśabdābhyāṃ ḍvalac pratyayo bhavati cāturarthikaḥ
The *taddhita* affix *ḌvalaC* occurs after syntactically related nominal stems *naḍa* and *śāda*, when derivates denote one of the four meanings specified above.

EXAMPLES:

naḍvalam 'a place where reeds grow in abundance'
śādvalam 'a place rich with prairies'

1. Inclusion of *naḍa* in this rule is made for covering *naḍvalam*. Our preceding rule accounts for *naḍvān*. Here again, *ṭi*-deletion is accomplished via affixal *Ḍ* as an *it*.

4.2.89 शिखाया वलच्

śikhāyā valac
/śikhāyāḥ 5/1 *valac* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76)
śikhāśabdād valac pratyayo bhavati cāturarthikaḥ
The *taddhita* affix *valaC* occurs after the syntactically related nominal stem *śikhā*, when the derivate denotes one of the four meanings specified above.

EXAMPLES:

śikhāvalam 'a city with many hill (top)s'

1. Note that rule 5.2.113 *dantaśikhāt saṃjñāyām* also introduces *valaC* after *śikhā*. But that provision is not made for denoting a place. That is intended for replacement, instead (*tad ādeśārthaṃ vacanam*).

4.2.90 उत्करादिभ्यश्छः

utkarādibhyaś chaḥ
/utkarādibhyaḥ 5/3 = *utkara ādir yeṣāṃ* (*bv.*), *tebhyaḥ*; *chaḥ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76)
'*utkara*' *ity evam ādibhyaḥ chaḥ pratyayo bhavati cāturarthikaḥ*
The *taddhita* affix *cha* occurs after a syntactically related nominal stem listed in the group headed by *utkara*, when derivates denote one of the four meanings specified above.

EXAMPLES:

utkarīyam 'a place with heaps of garbage'
śapharīyam 'a place which is rich in fish'

1. Determining derivate meanings requires efforts.

4.2.91 नडादीनां कुक्च

naḍādīnāṃ kuk ca
/naḍādīnām 6/3 *kuk* 1/1 *ca*ϕ/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76)
'*naḍa*' *ity evamādīnāṃ kug āgamo bhavati chaś ca pratyayaś cāturarthikaḥ*
The *taddhita* affix *cha*, and augment *kUK* in addition, occur after a syntactically related nominal stem listed in the group headed by *naḍa*, when derivates denote one of the four meanings specified above.

EXAMPLES:

naḍakīyam 'a place with reeds in abundance'
plakṣakīyam 'a place with Plakṣa trees in abundance'

1. This rule provides for two operations simultaneously: introduction of affix *cha* and addition of augment *kUK*. Since *kUK* is marked with *K* as an *it*, it will be introduced at the end (1.1.46 *ādyantau ṭakitau*) of *naḍa*. Rule 7.1.2 *āyaneyī* . . . will, as usual, apply to produce *naḍ* + *k*(*UK*→ϕ) + (*ch*→*īy*)*a* = *naḍakīya*.

A *vārttika* under this rule states that the long vowel of *kruñcā* is shortened.

The word *takṣan* gets its *n* deleted. The derivates in question are *kruñcakīyam* 'a country with herons in abundance' and *takṣakīyam* 'a country with snakes in profusion'.

4.2.92 शेषे

śeṣe
/śeṣi 7/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76)
śeṣe ity adhikāro'yam; yān ita ūrdhvaṃ pratyayān anukramiṣyāmaḥ śeṣe'rthe te veditavyāḥ
A *taddhita* affix, henceforth, occurs after a syntactically related nominal stem when derivates denote a meaning other than one already specified.

EXAMPLES:

Refer to rules which follow.

1. The word *śeṣe* is used in *saptamī* 'locative' to specify a residual domain in relation to what has already been stated (*upayuktād anyaḥ śeṣaḥ*). We find that rules 4.1.92 *tasyāpatyam* through 4.2.90 *utkarādibhyaś chaḥ* introduce *taddhita* affixes to denote meanings outlined as *apatya*, etc., through *cāturarthika*. The domain of this rule, aptly called *śaṣika* 'that which relates to residuals', covers rules prior to the domain of 4.3.133 *tasya vikāraḥ*. It introduces affixes with the signification of meanings other than those specified as *apatya*, etc.

Since *śeṣe* is understood in all rules enumerated prior to 4.3.113 *tasya vikāraḥ*, a derivate derived with an affix of this domain will denote all meanings specified within this domain. Consider, for example, the word *grāmīṇa* which is derived by introducing affix *khaÑ* after the syntactically related nominal stem *grāma*. This word can then be used to denote all meanings specified by subdomains such as 4.3.25 *tata jātaḥ* 'born in there', 4.3.53 *tatra bhavaḥ* 'found in there', 4.3.74 *tata āgataḥ* 'arrived from there' and 4.3.120 *tasyedam* 'belongs to that', etc. This is what is meant by the word *śaiṣika*, especially in view of the *adhikāra* status of rule 4.2.92 *śeṣe*.

2. The domain of *śeṣe* can be further expanded if one treats it also as an operational (*lakṣaṇa*) rule. This interpretation would require a reference to general affixes (*autsargika*), such as *aṆ*, etc., which can then be introduced to denote meanings other than those specified in earlier sections. Thus, affix *aṆ* can be introduced to derive *cākṣuṣam* 'that which is perceived by eyes', where the affix is introduced after *cakṣus* with the denotatum of *tena gṛhyate*, *āśvaḥ rathaḥ* 'a chariot drawn by horses', where the affix is introduced after *aśva* with the denotatum of *tena uhyate*; *cāturaṃ śakaṭam* 'a cart drawn by four oxen (same as the preceding)'; *dārṣadāḥ saktavaḥ* 'stone-ground

Saktu (roasted chickpea flour), where the affix is introduced with the denotatum of *tatra piṣṭam*; and *cāturdaśaṃ rakṣaḥ* 'a demon who appears on the fourteenth night of a month', where the affix is introduced with the denotatum of *atra dṛśyate*, etc. These examples illustrate operational aspects of the domain of 4.2.92 *śeṣe*.

3. Questions have been raised against formulating this rule as a heading (*adhikāra*). To claim that this domain is created to separate its affixes from those which have the signification of *apatya*, and also those known as *cāturarthika*, is debatable. For, these affixes are excluded from affixes of rules such as 4.3.25 *tatra jātaḥ*, etc., on the basis of specific meaning conditions. That is, meaning of *apatya* is not intended to be included in significations marked with *jātaḥ*, etc.

Others still argue that such an inclusion is possible to establish. Thus, *tasyedam* is also read among *jātaḥ*, etc. This sense of *tasyedam* is a general sense to which *apatya*, etc., can be related as corresponding particulars. An affix which is introduced to denote the 'general' can also be introduced to denote its related 'particular'. Thus, affixes *gha*, etc., may become applicable for the denotation of *apatya*, etc. A domain of 4.2.92 *śeṣe* then becomes necessary to block *gha*, etc., from denoting *apatya*, etc.

Yet another purpose can be cited for formulating this domain. Note that *gha*, etc., are introduced with the signification of nominative (*prathamārthe*). If there was no separate domain of 4.2.92 *śeṣe*, one may introduce affixes *aṆ*, etc., of the *prāg dīvyatīya* (4.1.83 *prāg dīvyato' ṇ*) section, and not *ghaÑ*, when an affix had to be introduced with the signification of accusative (*dvitīyā*), etc. For, one would relate *gha*, etc., with the sense of *prathamā*. A domain such as 4.2.92 *śeṣe* enables one to express meanings not already stated. Thus, *śeṣa* is needed for presenting a comprehensive description (*sākalyārtham*). It has been further argued that all these purposes of formulating 4.2.92 *śeṣe* can be served even without it. If this was the case then why did Pāṇini still formulate it. Perhaps to indicate that a formally similar *śaiṣika* affix cannot be introduced after a base which ended in one. One can thus not introduce *cha* after *śālīya* which ends in *cha*. There is no restriction on introducing a formally dissimilar *śaiṣika* affix after a base which already ends in one.

The *Mahābhāṣya* discusses this rule at length. I omit further details for fear of expatiation.

4.2.93 राष्ट्रावारपाराद् घखौ

rāṣṭrāvārapārād ghakhau
/rāṣṭrāvārapārāt 5/1 = *rāṣṭraṃ ca avārapāraṃ ca = rāṣṭrāvārapāram* (*sam. dv.*), *tasmāt*; *ghakhau* 1/2/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *śeṣe* #92)

'rāṣṭra', 'avārapāra' ity etābhyāṃ yathāsaṃkhyaṃ ghakhāv ity etau pratyayau bhavataḥ
The *taddhita* affixes *gha* and *kha* occur after syntactically related nominal stems *rāṣṭra* and *avārapāra*, when derivates denote a residual meaning.

EXAMPLES:

rāṣṭriyaḥ 'that which is born in the nation, etc.'
avārapārīṇaḥ 'that which exists on both sides, etc.'
avārīṇaḥ 'that which exists on this side, etc.'
pārīṇaḥ 'that which exists on that side, etc.'
pārāvārīṇaḥ 'that which exists on both sides'

1. This rule provides for affixes after specified bases. The nominal endings which make these bases syntactically related will, along with meanings of corresponding derivates, be outlined subsequently (*Kāś.*: *prakṛti viśeṣopādānamātreṇa tāvat pratyayā vidhīyante*; *teṣāṃ tu jātādayo'rthāḥ samarthavibhaktayaś ca purastād vakṣyante*).

Affixes *gha* and *kha* are here introduced after *rāṣṭra* as an exception to affix *cha* of 4.2.114 *vṛddhāc chaḥ*. These affixes, as usual, will produce forms such as *iya* and *īna* (7.1.2 *āyaneyī* . . .), respectively. The word *avārapāram* can be interpreted as a genitive (*ṣaṣṭhī*) *tatpuruṣa* compound. At the strength of compounds such as *rājadanta*, etc., an opposite of the analyzed from also obtains (*vigrahītād viparītāc ca labhyate*). Thus, we can get an additional base *pārāvāram*. Commentators state that these affixes are also desired after individual constituents of the compound *avārapāram*. Thus, *avāra* and *pāra* also qualify as bases. Note that these additional bases are gotten through *vārttika* proposals.

4.2.94 ग्रामाद्यखञौ

grāmād yakhañau
/grāmāt 5/1 *yakhañau* 1/2/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *śeṣe* #92)
grāmaśabdād 'ya, khañ' ity etau pratyayau bhavataḥ
The *taddhita* affixes *ya* and *khañ* occur after the syntactically related nominal stem *grāma*, when derivates denote a residual meaning.

EXAMPLES:

grāmyaḥ 'that which is found in a village, etc.'
grāmīṇaḥ 'he who comes from a village, etc.'

1. This rule offers *ya* and *khañ* as exceptions to *cha* of 4.2.114 *vṛddhāc*

chaḥ. Note that *grāma* is also read in the *katryādi* group of the next rule. Obviously, *grāma* will have an additional derivate in *ḍhakaÑ*.

4.2.95 कत्र्यादिभ्यो ढकञ्

katryādibhyo ḍhakañ
/katryādibhyaḥ 5/3 = *katry ādir yeṣāṃ te= katryādayaḥ* (*bv.*), *tasmāt, ḍhakañ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *śeṣe* #92)
'katri' ity evam ādibhyaḥ ḍhakañ pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *ḍhakaÑ* occurs after a syntactically related nominal stem listed in the group headed by *katri*, when derivates denote a residual meaning.

EXAMPLES:

kātreyakaḥ 'that which belongs to Katri, etc.'
aumbheyakaḥ 'that which belongs to Umbhi, etc.'

1. This rule provides for affix *ḍhakaÑ*, as an exception to *cha* of 4.2.114 *vṛddhāc chaḥ*, insofar as *vṛddha* bases of the *katri* group of nominals are concerned. Other bases of this group would have qualified for the general affix (*austsargika*) *aṆ*, if this rule was not formulated. Thus, it also provides for affix *ḍhakaÑ* as an exception to *aṆ*. The *ḍh* of *ḍhakaÑ* will be replaced with *ey* of 7.2.2 *āyaneyī*. . . . The *Ñ* of the affix is, of course, intended for *vṛddhi*.

4.2.96 कुलकुक्षिग्रीवाभ्यः श्वास्यलङ्कारेषु

kulakukṣigrīvābhyaḥ śvāsyalaṅkāreṣu
/kulakukṣigrīvābhyaḥ 5/3 (*itar. dv.*); *śvāsyalaṅkāreṣu* 7/3 (*itar. dv.*)/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *śeṣe* #92, *ḍhakañ* #95)
kulakukṣigrīvāśabdebhyo yathāsaṃkhyaṃ 'śvan', 'asi', 'alaṃkāra' ity eteṣu jātādiṣv artheṣu ḍhakañ pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *ḍhakaÑ* occurs after syntactically related nominal stems *kula, kukṣi* and *grīvā*, when derivates denote a residual meaning relative to *śvā* 'dog', *asi* 'sword' and *alaṃkāra* 'ornament', respectively.

EXAMPLES:

kauleyako bhavati śvā cet 'a family dog; that which is there in the family'
kaukṣeyako bhavaty asiś cet 'a sword (that which exists in a sheath)'
graiveyako bhavaty alaṃkāraś cet 'a necklace (that which exists on neck)'

1. This rule introduces *ḍhakaÑ* against the more general (*autsargika*) affix *aṆ*. Forms such as *kaulaḥ, kaukṣaḥ* and *graivaḥ* will be derived with *aṆ* outside the scope of special meanings of *ḍhakaÑ*.

4.2.97 **नद्यादिभ्यो ढक्**

nadyādibhyo ḍhak
/ nadyādibhyaḥ 5/1 *nadī ādir yeṣāṃ* (*bv.*); *ḍhak* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *śeṣe* #92)
'*nadī*' *ity evam ādibhyo ḍhak pratyayo bhavati*
The *taddhita* affix *ḍhaK* occurs after a syntactically related nominal stem listed in the group headed by *nadī*, when the derivate denotes a residual meaning.

EXAMPLES:

nādeyam 'that which is found in a river'
māheyam 'that which exists on earth'
vārāṇaseyam 'that which is in Vārāṇasī'

1. Note that in *vārāṇaseyam*, *ḍhaK* blocks *cha* of 4.2.114 *vṛddhāc chaḥ* which, in turn, is an exception to *aṆ*. The *nadyādi* group also includes *pūrvanagarī* for which we get a derivate such as *paurvanagareyam* 'that which is found in a city in the east'. Some read this word as *pūrvanagiri*, a combination of *pūr*, *vana* and *giri*, and introduce affix *ḍhaK* after each one of them separately. This produces: *paureyam*, *vāneyam* and *gaireyam*.

2. The word *nadī* is not interpreted here as denoting the technical term *nadī* (1.4.3 *yūstryākhyau nadī*). For, an inclusion of *mahī*, etc., would then not make any sense.

4.2.98 **दक्षिणापश्चात्पुरसस्त्यक्**

dakṣiṇāpaścātpurasas tyak
/ dakṣiṇāpaścātpurasaḥ 5/1 = *dakṣiṇā ca paścāt ca puraś ca* = *dakṣiṇāpaścātpuraḥ* (*sam. dv.*), *tasmāt*; *tyak* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *śeṣe* #92)
'*dakṣiṇā, paścāt, puras*' *ity etebhyas tyak pratyayo bhavati śaiṣikaḥ*
The *taddhita* affix *tyaK* occurs after syntactically related nominal stems *dakṣiṇā*, *paścāt* and *puras*, when derivates denote a residual meaning.

EXAMPLES:

dākṣiṇātyaḥ 'born, or originating, in the south'
pāścātyaḥ 'born, or originating, in the west'
paurastyaḥ 'born, or originating, in the east'

1. Note that because of its association with *paścāt* and *puras*, *dakṣiṇā* is also interpreted as in indeclinable (*avyaya*) ending in *ā* (5.3.36 *dakṣiṇād āc*). This introduction of *tyaK* is an exception to *aṆ*. It does not have to be contrasted with 4.2.104 *avyayāt tyap* which cannot apply to *dakṣiṇā* anyway.

4.2.99 कापिश्याः ष्फक्

kāpiśyāḥ ṣphak
/kāpiśyāḥ 5/1 *ṣphak* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *śeṣe* #92)
kāpiśīśabdād aṇ pratyayo bhavati śaiṣikaḥ
The *taddhita* affix *ṢphaK* occurs after the syntactically related nominal stem *kāpiśī*, when the derivate denotes a residual meaning.

EXAMPLES:

kāpiśāyanam madhu 'honey produced in Kāpiśī'
kāpiśayanī drākṣā 'grapes produced in Kāpiśī'

1. A *vārttika* also recommends affix *ṢphaK* after nominal stems *bāhli*, *urdi* and *pardi* to derive *bāhlāyanī* 'that which is found in . . .', *aurdāyanī* and *pārdāyanī*. Note that *Ṣ* as an affixal *it* enables introduction of the feminine affix *ṄīṢ* (4.1.41 *ṣid gaurādibhyaś ca*). The *pha* of the affix yields *āyana*, through replacement application of 7.1.2 *āyaneyī*. . . .

4.2.100 रङ्कोरमनुष्येऽण् च

raṅkor amanuṣye'ṇ ca
/raṅkoḥ 5/1 *amanuṣe* 7/1 (*nañ. tat.*); *aṇ* 1/1/ *ca* ϕ/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *śeṣe* #92)
raṅkuśabdād aṇ pratyayo bhavati cakārat ṣphak ca śaiṣike' manuṣye'bhidheye
The *taddhita* affix *aṆ*, and *ṢphaK* as well, occurs after the syntactically related nominal stem *raṅku*, when the derivate denotes a residual meaning relative to something non-human.

EXAMPLES:

rāṅkavo gauḥ 'an antelope found in the region named Raṅku'
rāṅkavāyaṇo gauḥ 'id.'

1. Note that the restriction of *amanuṣya* relates to 'non-human' objects. It will not apply to 'non-living' (*aprāṇin*) objects. The word *raṅku* is listed in the *kacchādi* group of nominals. Consequently, *aṆ* was available to it from 4.2.133 *kacchādibhyo'ṇ*. This rule will then make *aṆ* optional to *ṢphaK*, in the context of a non-human denotatum. The negation of *amanuṣya* is interpreted as *paryudāsa*, whereby we get the meaning of *tadbhinnatatsadṛśa* 'something similar to, but different from, a human'. This interpretation is necessary so that derivates such as *rāṅkavaḥ* could be derived as non-living objects, through the application of rule 4.2.133 *kacchādibhyo*. . . . This rule includes *aṆ* also for purpose of saving it from being blocked by *ṢphaK* (*Kāś.*: *viśeṣavihitena ca ṣphakā'ṇo bādha mā bhūd ity aṅgrahaṇam api kriyate*).

The *guṇa* of these examples is accomplished by 6.4.146 or *guṇaḥ*. Application of 6.1.78 *eco'yavāyāvaḥ* and 7.1.2 *āyaneyī* . . . is also required to finally produce *rāṅkavāyana*.

4.2.101 द्युप्रागपागुदक्प्रतीचो यत्

dyuprāgapāgudakpratīco yat
/dyuprāgapāgudakpratīcaḥ 5/1 (*itar. dv.*); *yat* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *śeṣe* #92)
'diva, prāc, apāc, udac, pratyac' ity etebhyo pratyayo bhavati śaiṣikaḥ
The *taddhita* affix *yaT* occurs after syntactically related nominal stems *div, prāc, apāc, udac* and *pratyac*, when derivates denote a residual meaning.

EXAMPLES:

divyam 'that which pertains to heaven; celestial'
prācyam 'pertaining to east; eastern'
avācyam 'pertaining to south; southern'
udīcyam 'pertaining to north; northern'
pratīcya 'pertaining to west; western'

1. This rule provides for *yaT* as an exception to *aṆ*. All the bases listed in this rule are derivates of affix *KvIN* (3.2.59 *ṛtvigdadhṛksrag* . . .). They can also be termed indeclinables provided they ended in affix *astātI* (1.1.38 *taddhitaś cāsarvavibhaktiḥ*). Since this rule makes its specification of bases irrespective of their status as indeclinables, indeclinable and non-indeclinable bases both will be acceptable here. The indeclinables can then take affixes *Ṭyu* and *ṬyuL* to produce derivates such as *prāktanam* 'old, earlier, ancient' with 'time' (*kāla*) as its signification (4.3.23 *sāyaṃciram* . . .). The *yaT* will then be blocked by *Ṭyu* and *ṬyuL* on the basis of *paratva* (1.4.2 *vipratiṣedhe* . . .).

4.2.102 कन्थायाष्ठक्

kanthāyāṣ ṭhak
/kanthāyāḥ 5/1 *ṭhak* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *śeṣe* #92)
kanthāśabdāṭ ṭhak pratyayo bhavati śaiṣikaḥ
The *taddhita* affix *ṭhaK* occurs after the syntactically related nominal stem *kanthā*, when the derivate denotes a residual meaning.

EXAMPLES:

kānthikaḥ 'that which is found in a patched up shawl; lice'

1. This constitutes an exception to *aṆ*.

4.2.103 वर्णौ वुक्

varṇau vuk
/varṇau 7/1 *vuk* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *śeṣe* #92, *kanthāyaḥ* #102)
varṇau yā kanthā tasyā vuk pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *vuK* occurs after a syntactically related nominal stem, namely *kanthā*, when it signifies a region in the vicinity of river Varṇu and the derivate denotes a residual meaning.

EXAMPLES:

kānthakam 'that which is found in the region close to river Varṇu'

1. *Kāśikā* explains *varṇu* as a region in the vicinity of river Varṇu. Note that 'lice' of shawls in the region of Varṇu will be called *kānthikā*, a feminine.

4.2.104 अव्ययात् त्यप्

avyayāt tyap
/avyayāt 5/1 *tyap* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *śeṣe* #92)
avyayāt tyap pratyayo bhavati śaiṣikaḥ
The *taddhita* affix *tyaP* occurs after a syntactically related nominal stem termed *avyaya*, when the derivate denotes a residual meaning.

EXAMPLES:

amātyaḥ 'he who stays nearby; an executive minister'
ihatyaḥ 'he who is here'
kvatyaḥ 'a resident of what place?'
tatastyaḥ 'he who has arrived from there'
tatratyaḥ 'one who lives there'

1. A proposal is made to limit the scope of this rule to five indeclinables: *amā* 'near, proximate', *iha* 'here', *kva* 'where'; an indeclinable which ends in affix *tasIL*, for example *tatas*; and an indeclinable ending in affix *traL*, as in *tatra*. This enumeration rules out *tyaP* after indeclinables such as *upari*, *puras*, and *pāra*; or those which begin with a *vṛddhi* vowel. Thus, *aupariṣṭaḥ*, *paurastaḥ*, *pārastaḥ* and *ārātīyaḥ* serve as counter-examples.
2. Some *vārttika* proposals made under this rule are as follows:

(*i*) Affix *tyaP* occurs after *ni* to derive *nityam* when the denotatum is 'permanent, eternal'. An additional proposal for affix *tyaP* is made after *nis* when the sense is *gata* 'gone'. This will give us: *niṣṭyaḥ* 'an

outcaste; lowly Śūdra'. In Vedic, there is a proposal for *tyaP* after *āvis*. An example will be: *āviṣṭyaḥ*.

(*ii*) A proposal for affix *aṆ* is made after *araṇya*. Thus, *āraṇyāḥ sumanasaḥ* 'wild-flowers'. Affix *etya* is similarly recommended after *dūra* to derive *dūretyaḥ* 'one who comes from far; traveler'. Finally, *āhaÑ* is recommended after *uttara* to derive: *auttarāhaḥ* 'one who has arrived from the north'.

4.2.105 ऐषमोह्यःश्वसोऽन्यतरस्याम्

aiṣamohyaḥśvaso'nyatarasyām
/ aiṣamohyaḥśvasaḥ 5/1 = *aiṣamaś ca hyaś ca śvaś ca = aiṣamohyaḥśvaḥ* (*sam. dv.*), *tasmāt; anyatarasyām* 7/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *śeṣe* #92)
'aiṣamas, hyas, śvas' ity etebhyo' nyatarasyāṃ tyap pratyayo bhavati śaiṣikaḥ
The *taddhita* affix *tyaP* occurs, only optionally, after syntactically related nominal stems *aiṣamas, hyas* and *śvas*, when derivates denote a residual meaning.

EXAMPLE:

aiṣamastyam 'pertaining to this current year'
aiṣamastanam 'id.'
hyastyam 'pertaining to yesterday'
hyastanam 'id.'
śvastyam 'pertaining to tomorrow'
śvastanam 'id.'

1. Note that *śvas* also takes affix *ṭhaÑ* (4.3.15 *śvasas tuṭ ca*) which, through augment *tUṬ*, yields a third form: *śauvastikam*. Rule 7.3.4 *dvārādināṃ ca* introduces *au* before the *v* of *śvas*.

2. Other bases will take affixes *Ṭyu* and *ṬyuL* (4.3.23 *sāyañciram . . .*) with augment *tUṬ*. Of course, when the option of *tyaP* is not availed. The *yu* of these affixes will go through application of 7.1.1 *yuvor anākau*.

4.2.106 तीररूप्योत्तरपदादञ्ञौ

tīrarūpyottarapadād añña u
/ tīrarūpyottarapadāt 5/1 = *tīraṃ ca rūpyaṃ ca tīrarūpyam; tad uttarapadaṃ yasya tat* (*bv.* with int. *dv.*); *añña u* 1/2/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *śeṣe* #92)
tīrottarapadād rūpyottarapadāc ca prātipadikād yathāsaṃkhyam 'añ, ña' ity etau pratyayau bhavataḥ śaiṣikau
The *taddhita* affixes *aÑ* and *Ña* occur after syntactically related nomi-

nal stems which end in *tīra* and *rūpya*, respectively, provided derivates denote a residual meaning.

EXAMPLES:

kākatīraṃ 'that which is found in Kākatīra'
pālvalatīram 'that which is found in Palvalatīra'
vārkyarūpyam 'that which is found in Vārkarūpya'
śaivarūpyam 'that which is found in Śivarūpya'

1. These affixes form an exception to affix *aṆ*. A derivate of *Ña* will form its feminine with *ṄīP* (4.1.15 *ṭiḍḍhāṇañ*. . . . A derivate of *Ña* will form its feminine with *ṬāP* of 4.1.4 *ajādyataṣ ṭāp*.

Why should we phrase the rule as *tīrarūpyottarapadāt*? That is, why the rule cannot be formed as *tīrarūpyāntāt* 'after nominal stems ending in *tīra* and *rūpya*'. The rule cannot be formulated as such because stems such as *bahurūpya*, etc., will also qualify for these affixes. For, *bahurūpya* ends in *rūpya*. The condition of *uttarapadāt* will rule this out since *rūpya* is not the final constituent of a *pada*. Instead, *rūpya* occurs at the end of *bahu* which is an affix (*bahuC*; 5.3.68 *vibhāṣā supaḥ* . . .).

4.2.107 दिक्पूर्वपदादसंज्ञायां ञः

dikpūrvapadād saṃjñāyāṃ ñaḥ
/dikpūrvapadāt 5/1 = *dik pūrvapadaṃ yasya tad* (*bv.*), *tasmāt*; *asaṃjñāyām* 7/1 (*nañ. tat.*); *ñaḥ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *śeṣe* #92)
dikpūrvapadāt prātipadikād asaṃjñāviṣayād ñaḥ pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *Ña* occurs after a syntactically related nominal stem which begins with a constituent denoting *diś*, and is not a name (*saṃjñā*), provided the derivate signifies a residual meaning.

EXAMPLES:

paurvaśālaḥ 'that which is located in the eastern hall'
dākṣiṇaśālaḥ 'that which is located in the southern hall'

1. This again is an exception to *aṆ*. The condition of *asaṃjñā* is responsible for keeping out derivates parallel to *pūrvaiṣukāmaśamaḥ* 'that which is found in the Iṣukāmaśamī of the east' and *aparaiṣukāmaśamaḥ* 'that which is found in the Iṣukāmaśamī of the west', etc. The compound bases are formed in view of rule 2.1.50 *diksaṃkhye saṃjñāyām*. The derivates are names (*saṃjñā*) and both involve *vṛddhi* of the second form (7.3.14 *prācāṃ grāmanagarā ṇām* . . .).

The word *pada* is used in the rule for clarity. For example, it rules out the

interpretation of *dik* as the word-form *dik* (*svarūpa*). The rule would have read as *dikpūrvād* without *pada*. Consequently, it would also have applied to *diggaja*, etc. A semantic interpretation of *diś* 'direction' puts everything in order.

4.2.108 मद्रेभ्योऽञ्

madrebhyo'ñ
/madrebhyaḥ 5/3 *añ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *śeṣe* #92, *dikpūrvapadāt* #107)
dikpūrvapadān madraśabdād añ pratyayo bhavati śaiṣikaḥ
The *taddhita* affix *aÑ* occurs after the syntactically related nominal stem *madra*, when it is used as the following of a preceding constituent denoting *diś*, and when the derivate signifies a residual meaning.

EXAMPLES:

paurvamadraḥ 'that which is found in the eastern Madra'
āparamadraḥ 'that which is found in the western Madra'

1. Note that affix *aṆ* is available to these derivates because of constituents denoting a directional name. Affix *vuÑ* of 4.2.125 *avṛddhād api*. . . may then block *aṆ*. But this can then be blocked by *kaN* of 4.2.131 *madravṛjyoḥ*. . . . Our present rule instead makes the provision of *aÑ*. The initial *vṛddhi* is made possible via the *paryudāsa* interpretation of *amadrāṇām* in rule 7.3.13 *diśo'madrāṇām*.

4.2.109 उदीच्यग्रामाच्च बह्वचोऽन्तोदात्तात्

udīcyagrāmāc ca bahvaco'ntodāttāt
udīcyagrāmāt 5/1 = *udīci bhavaḥ* = *udīcyaḥ*; *udīcyaś cāsau grāmaś ca* (*karm. tat.*), *tasmāt*; *bahvacaḥ* 5/1 (*bv.*); *antodāttāt* 5/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *śeṣe* #92)
udīcyagrāmavācinaḥ prātipadikād bahvaco'ntodāttād añ pratyayo bhavati śaiṣikaḥ
The *taddhita* affix *aÑ* occurs after a syntactically related polysyllabic (*bahvac*) nominal stem which is marked *udātta* at the end (*antodāttāt*) and denotes a northern village, provided the derivate denotes a residual meaning.

EXAMPLES:

śaivapuram 'pertaining to Śivapuram'
māṇḍavapuram 'pertaining to Māṇḍavapuram'

1. The words *śivapura* and *māṇḍavapura* are genitive *tatpuruṣa* compounds,

and as such, they are marked *udātta* at the end in view of 6.1.223 *samāsasya.* Affix *aÑ* is an exception to *aṆ.*

The three conditions of *udīcyagrāmāt, bahvacaḥ* and *antodāttāt* are imposed so that examples such as *māthuram, dhvajī* and *śārkarīdhānam* can be kept out of the scope of this rule. The first is not a northern village; the second consists of only two vowels (*dvyac*); and the third, is not *antodātta.* The word *dhāna* ends in affix *LyuṆ,* and because of its *L* as an *it,* follows the accentual provisions of 6.1.193 *liti.* It has *dhā* of *dhāna* as *udātta.*

4.2.110 प्रस्थोत्तरपदपलद्यादिकोपधादण्

prasthottarapadapaladyādikopadhād aṇ
/prasthottarapadapaladyādikopadhāt 5/1 = *prastha uttara padaṃ yasya tat prasthottarapadam* (*bv.*); *paladī ādir yeṣāṃ te paladyādayaḥ* (*bv.*); *kakāra upadhā yasya sa kopadhaḥ; prasthottarapadaṃ ca paladyādayaś ca kopadhaś ca* (*sam. dv.* with int. *bv.*), *tasmāt; aṇ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *śeṣe* #92)
prasthottarapadāt paladyādibhyaḥ kakāropadhāc ca prātipadikād aṇ pratyayo bhavati śaiṣikaḥ
The *taddhita* affix *aṆ* occurs after a syntactically related nominal stem which either has *prastha* as its final constituent, or is listed in the group headed by *paladī,* or else, has *k* in its penultimate (*upadhā*) position, provided the derivate is to denote a residual meaning.

EXAMPLES:

mādriprasthaḥ 'that which is found in Mādrīprastha'
māhakīprasthaḥ 'that which is found in Māhakīprastha'
pāladaḥ 'that which is found in Paladī'
pāriṣadaḥ 'that which is found in Pariṣada'
nailīnakaḥ 'that which is found in Nilīnaka'
caiyātakaḥ 'that which is found in Ciyātaka'

1. Note that *mādrīprastha* and *māhakīprastha* are places in the north. These examples could have qualified for *aÑ* of the preceding rule. The *aṆ,* in these instances, is offered as an exception to *aÑ.*

Why was this specification not made by *prasthāntāt* 'after that which ends in *prastha*'? For, examples such as *uttamakarṇīprastha* would have then qualified for the introduction of affix *aṆ.* Stating *uttarapadāt* disqualifies *uttamakarṇīprastha* since what is *uttarapada* in this stem is *karṇīprastha,* and not *prastha.*

2. What is *vāhīka* listed in the *paladī* group when it could easily qualify for *aṆ* because of *k* in its *upadhā*? Inclusion of *vāhīka* in the *paladī* group is made so that *cha* of 4.2.114 *vṛddhāc chaḥ* could be blocked after it. Note that 4.1.83

prāg dīvyato' ṇ provides for *aṆ* which, in case of *vāhīka*, would be blocked by 4.2.114 *vṛddhāc chaḥ*. But this *cha* can then be blocked by *ṭhaÑ*, and *ÑIṭha* of 4.2.117 *vāhīkagrāmebhyaś ca*. One wonders why the provision of this *aṆ*, especially against the *aṆ* which has to be blocked by 4.2.114 *vṛddhātc chaḥ*, should be made at all. It is absurd to provide for an affix (*aṆ*), and make it available again in view of an impending exception (*cha*). It is stated that Pāṇini explicitly states *aṆ* in this rule to save this introduction of *aṆ* from both 4.2.114 and 4.2.117. Because of its status as a provision remade, this *aṆ* prevails all exceptions (*punar vidhānād aṇ eva bhavati*). Let us take *vāhīka* again which is *vṛddha*. It has *aṆ* available to it from 4.1.83 *prāg dīvyato' ṇ*. It also has affix *cha* available from 4.2.114 *vṛddhāc chaḥ*. Affixes *ṭhaÑ* and *ÑIṭha* of 4.2.117 *vāhīkagrāmebhyaś ca* also apply because *vāhīka* is *vṛddha* with 'village' as its signification. If our present rule does not provide *aṆ* to block *ṭhaÑ* and *ÑIṭh* then *aṆ* of 4.1.83 *prāg dīvyato' ṇ* will be blocked by *cha* of 4.2.114 *vṛddhāc chaḥ*.

The word *gomatī* is listed in the *paladī* group to block *vuÑ* of 4.2.123 *ropadhetoḥ prācām*.

4.2.111 कण्वादिभ्यो गोत्रे

kaṇvādibhyo gotre
/kaṇvādibhyaḥ 5/3 *gotre* 7/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *śeṣe* #92, *aṇ* #110)
kaṇvādibhyo gotre yaḥ pratyayo vihitas tadantebhya evāṇ pratyayo bhavati śaiṣikaḥ
The *taddhita* affix *aṆ* occurs after a syntactically related nominal stem which is listed in the group headed by *kaṇva* and ends in an affix with the signification of *gotra*, provided the derivate denotes a residual meaning.

EXAMPLES:

kāṇvāś chātrāḥ 'students of Kāṇva, a *gotra*-descendant of Kaṇva'
gaukakṣāḥ 'students of the grandson of Gokakṣa'

1. Note that *gotre* does not here constitute the meaning condition for introducing affix *aṆ*. Such an effort would be unnecessary since the meaning is already specified with *śeṣe*. It is not even used here to qualify the nominal stem after which the affix is to be introduced. This would indeed be impossible (*asambhava*) since *saptamī* 'locative' of *gotre*, the qualifier (*viśeṣaṇa*), will not be in tune to the *pañcamī* 'ablative' of *kaṇvādibhyaḥ*, the qualified (*viśeṣya*). It is for this reason that *gotre* is construed with the rest of the *sūtra* to yield the meaning: *kaṇvādibhyo gotre yaḥ pratyayo vihitas tadantebhya eva aṇ pratyayo bhavati* '*aṆ* occurs after a *kaṇvādi* base after which an affix with the

signification of *gotre* has been introduced. . . .' The word *gotre* is used here as a qualifier for the affixal operation (*pratyayavidhi*). Consequently, affix *aṆ* is to be introduced after a syntactically related base of the *kaṇvādi* group which ends in a *gotra* affix. The word *gotra* denotes its technical meaning (4.1.162 *apatyaṃ pautraprabhṛti . . .*).

2. Note that *kaṇvādi* is a sublisting within the *gargādi* group. Obviously, that *aṆ* of this rule will be introduced after *kāṇva* and *gaukākṣya* which both end in *yaÑ* (4.1.105 *gargādibhyo yañ*).

4.2.112 इञश्च

iñaś ca
/iñaḥ 5/1 *ca ϕ/*
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *śeṣe* #92, *aṇ* #110, *gotre* #111)
gotre ya iñ vihitas tadantāt prātipadikād aṇ pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *aṆ* also occurs after a syntactically related nominal stem which ends in affix *iÑ* signifying *gotra*, provided the derivate denotes a residual meaning.

EXAMPLE:

dākṣāḥ 'students of Dākṣi, a *gotra*-descendant of Dakṣa'
plākṣāḥ 'students of Plākṣi, a *gotra*-descendant of Plakṣa'

1. Note that this rule introduces affix *aṆ* after bases such as *dākṣi* and *plākṣi* which end in affix *iÑ* (4.1.95 *ata iñ*). This affix cannot be introduced after *sautaṅgami*, which also ends in *iÑ*, because this *iÑ* does not denote a *gotra*. Instead, this affix is introduced by 4.1.80 *vuñchaṇkaṭhajilaseni . . .* to denote one of four meanings specified by rules of the *cāturarthika* section. Derivates which terminate in the *gotra* affix *iÑ* denote a meaning similar to one specified by rule 4.3.120 *tasyedam*, of course, when they are derived with the *aṆ* of this rule.

This rule provides for *aṆ* as an exception to affix *cha* of 4.1.114 *vṛddhāc chaḥ*.

4.2.113 न द्व्यचः प्राच्यभरतेषु

na dvyacaḥ prācyabharateṣu
/na ϕ dvyacaḥ 5/1 = *dvāv acau yasmin* (*bv.*) = *sa dvyac, tasmāt; prācyabharateṣu* 7/3 = *prācyāś ca bharatāś ca = prācyabharatāḥ* (*itar. dv.*), *teṣu/*
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *śeṣe* #92, *aṇ* #110, *gotre* #111)
dvyacaḥ prātipadikāt prācyabharatagotrād iñantād aṇ pratyayo na bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *aṆ* does not occur after a nominal stem which consists of two vowels (*dvyac*), ends in affix *iÑ* with the signification of a

gotra-descendant of the eastern Bharata lineage, provided the derivate is to denote a residual meaning.

EXAMPLES:

caidīyāḥ 'students of Caidi, a descendant of Ceda'
pauṣkīyāḥ 'students of Pauṣki, a descendant of Puṣka'
kāśīyaḥ 'students of Kāśī, a descendant of Kāśa'

1. Note that the condition of *dvyacaḥ* is imposed to exclude bases, such as *pānnāgāri*, which obviously contains more than two vowels. A similar condition of *prācyabharateṣu* is imposed so that bases such as *dākṣi*, a derivate denoting a *gotra* other than one characterized as *prācyabharata*, can be excluded.

2. Why is *kāśi* included here when it could be covered by rule 4.2.116 *kāśyādibhyaś . . .*? The reference in that rule is to *kāśi*, a place. This rule requires a reference to *gotra*. How do we know that *kāśi* of rule 4.2.116 denotes a place? Because of its association (*sāhacarya*) with *cedi*, a place name, in that same rule. A *gotra* base such as *kāśi* would take affix *cha*.

3. Note that *bharata* is a *prācya* 'eastern' *gotra*. Why is then mentioned specifically in the rule? To indicate that, elsewhere, *prācya*, when mentioned in a rule, does not include *bharata*. (2.4.66 *bahvacaḥ prācyabharateṣu*; *Kāś.*: *jñāpakād anyatra prācyagrahaṇena bharatagrahaṇaṃ na bhavatīti svaśabdena bharatānām upādānaṃ kṛtam.*)

4.2.114 **वृद्धाच्छः**

vṛddhāc chaḥ
/vṛddhāt 5/1 *chaḥ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *śeṣe* #92, *aṇ* #110)
vṛddhāt prātipadikāc chaḥ pratyayo bhavati śaiṣikaḥ
The *taddhita* affix *cha* occurs after a syntactically related nominal stem termed *vṛddha* (1.1.73 *vṛddhir yasyācām ādis tad vṛddham*), when the derivate is to denote a residual meaning.

EXAMPLES:

gārgīyaḥ 'a student of Gārgya, a grandson of Garga'
śālīyaḥ 'that which is there in the hall'

1. This rule introduces affix *cha* as an exception to *aṆ*. *Kāśikā* further notes that *cha* also constitutes an exception to some other affixes, based upon its subsequent placement in order (*paratva*) of enumeration. The following examples illustrate this blocking:

(*a*) *ārātīyaḥ* 'that which is found nearby', where *cha* blocks the application of 4.2.104 *avyayāt tyap*;

(*b*) *vāyasatīrīyaḥ* 'found in Vāyasatīra', where *cha* blocks the application of rule 4.2.106 *tīrarūpyottara . . .*;

(*c*) *vāḍavakarṣīyaḥ* 'that which is found in a northern place named Vāḍvakarṣa', where *cha* blocks the application of 4.2.109 *udīcyagrāmāc ca*;

(*d*) *aulūkīyaḥ* 'that which is found in Aulūka', where *cha* blocks the application of rule 4.2.110 *prasthottarapada . . .*, especially with reference to the condition of *kopadhāt*.

These all involve blocking by *paratva* as *Kāśikā* sums up:

avyayatīrarūpyottarapadodīcyagrāmakopadhavidhīṃs tu paratvād bādhate

4.2.115 भवतष्ठक्छसौ

bhavataṣ ṭhakchasau

/ bhavataḥ 5/1 *ṭhakchasau* (*itar. dv.*) /

(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *śeṣe* #92, *vṛddhāt* #114)

bhavac chabdād vṛddhāt 'ṭhak, chas' ity etau pratyayau bhavataḥ śaiṣiko chasyāpavādau

The *taddhita* affixes *ṭhaK* and *chaS* occur after the syntactically related *vṛddha* nominal stem *bhavat*, when its derivate is to denote a residual meaning.

EXAMPLES:

bhāvatkaḥ 'that which belongs to you; yours'

bhavadīyaḥ 'id.'

1. These two affixes constitute an exception to *cha* which was made available under the condition of *vṛddha*. The *S* as an *it* in affix *chaS* is intended for assignment of the term *pada* by rule 1.4.16 *siti ca*. This also results in *d*-replacement of *t* (*jaśtva*) as per rule 8.2.39 *jhalāṃ jaśo'nte*. Why did Pāṇini not introduce affix *kaK*, instead of *ṭhaK*, thereby keeping the derivational process simpler. That is, it could have saved him one replacement operation (of 7.3.51 *isuktāntāt kaḥ*) in deriving, for example, *bhāvatkaḥ*. Pāṇini, instead, chose to introduce affix *ṭhaK* so that affix *ṄīP* can be introduced to derive parallel feminine forms (4.1.15 *ṭiḍḍāṇañ . . .*). Note that *bhavat* is assigned the term *vṛddha* (1.1.73 *vṛddhir yasyācāmādis . . .*), not because of containing, a *vṛddhi* vowel as its first, but because of its membership in the *tyadādi* '*tyad*, etc.' group (1.1.74 *tyadīdīni ca*).

2. Note that *bhavat* could also be a form of *bhū* 'to be' ending in affix *ŚatṚ* (3.2.124 *laṭaḥśatṛśānacāv . . .*). It will have to take affix *aṆ* because of not being *vṛddha*. The resultant derivate will be: *bhāvataḥ*.

4.2.116 काश्यादिभ्यष्ठञ्ञिठौ

kāśyādibhyaṣ ṭhaññiṭhau

/kāśyādibhyaḥ 5/1 = *kāśy ādir yeṣam* (*bv.*), *tebhyaḥ*; *ṭhaññiṭhau* 1/2 = *ṭhañ ca ñiṭhaś ca* (*itar. dv.*)/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *śeṣe* #92, *vṛddhāt* #114)
'*kāśi*' *ity evamādibhyaḥ* '*ṭhañ, iṭha*' *ity etau pratyayau bhavataḥ śaiṣikau*
The *taddhita* affixes *ṭhaÑ* and *ÑIṭha* occur after a syntactically related *vṛddha* nominal stem which is listed in the group headed by *kāśi*, provided the derivate is to denote a residual meaning.

EXAMPLES:

kāśikī '. . . born in Kāśi'
kāśikā '. . . made at Kāśi'

1. Note that *vṛddhāt* is still carried. Items which are listed in the group specified here as *kāśi*, but which are not *vṛddha*, will still avail these affixes. How? At the strength of the Pāṇinian specification of *kāśyādibhyaḥ*. What then is the need for carrying *vṛddha*, especially when the affixal operation (*pratyayavidhi*) will obtain on the basis of membership in the *kāśyādi* group, whether or not the listed stems were *vṛddha*. The word *vṛddha* is carried perhaps for the sake of subsequent rules (*uttarārtham*).

It is stated that *i* in affix *ÑIṭha* is for the sake of pronunciation (*uccāraṇārtha*). The *Ñ* in both affixes is an *it*. A question is raised as to why *ÑI* cannot be accepted as an *it* in view of 1.3.5 *ādir ñiṭuḍavaḥ*? This will create problems in accentuation. That is, the initial *udātta* accent, at the strength of *Ñ* as an *it*, cannot be gotten by derivates of *ÑIṭha* (6.1.197 *ñnityādir nityam*). The *Ñ* as an *it* in both affixes is also responsible for selection of feminine affixes: the initial *Ñ* for *ṬāP*, as in *kāśikā*, by rule 4.1.4 *ajādyataṣ ṭāp*; and the final *Ñ* for *ṄīP*, as in *kāśikī*, or rule 4.1.15 *ṭiḍḍhāṇañ*. . . . Incidentally, treating *ÑI* as an *it* in *ÑIṭha* in view of 1.3.5 *ādir ñiṭuḍavaḥ* does not create any problem with the introduction of feminine affix *ṬāP*. It, however, does create problems of accentuation. That is, rule 6.1.197 *ñnityādir nityam* will facilitate required initial *udātta* accent only when *Ñ*, and not *ÑI*, is accepted as an *it*. Remember that accepting *Ñ* as an *it* does not make *i* of *Ñi* as part of affix *ṭha*. For, that will create problems with replacement of *ṭh* by *ik*. It is for this reason that *I* of *ÑIṭha* is accepted as given for ease of articulation.

A *vārttika* states that these affixes can also be introduced after *kāla*, used in combination after *āpad* and *tad* to derive: *āpatkālikī* and *āpatkālikā* 'that which pertains to a time of calamity'; *tātkālikī* and *tātkālikā* 'that which pertains to the most immediate time on hand'.

4.2.117 वाहीकग्रामेभ्यश्च

vāhīkagrāmebhyaś ca
/vāhīkagrāmebhyaḥ 5/3 = *vāhīkasya vāhīke vā grāmāḥ* (*ṣaṣ./sapt. tat.*), *tebhyaḥ*; *ca* ϕ/

(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *śeṣe* #92, *vṛddhāt* #114, *ṭhaññiṭhau* #116)
vāhīkagrāmavācibhyo vṛddhebhyaṣ ṭhaññiṭhau pratyayau bhavataḥ
The *taddhita* affixes *ṭhaÑ* and *ÑIṭha* also occur after syntactically related *vṛddha* nominal stems which denote a village in the region of Vāhīka, provided derivates signify a residual meaning.

EXAMPLES:

śākalikī 'that which is found in Śākalaka, a village in the region of Vāhīka'
śākalikā 'id.'
mānthavikī 'that which is found in Manthavaka, a village in the region of Vāhīka'
mānthavikā 'id.'

1. Note that the word *vṛddha* is carried here. Consequently, this affixal provision becomes an exception to the *cha* of 4.2.114 *vṛddhāc chaḥ*. The Karṇaparvan of the *Mahābhārata* describes the region of Vāhīka as follows:

pañcānāṃ sindhuṣaṣṭhānām antaraṃ ye samāśritāḥ/
vāhikā nāma te deśā na teṣu divasaṃ vaset//
'the region in between the five, and the sixth named Sindhu, rivers, is called Vāhika, where one should not even stay for a day'

4.2.118 विभाषोशीनरेषु

vibhāṣośīnareṣu
/vibhāṣā 1/1 *uśīnareṣu* 7/3/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *śeṣe* #92, *vṛddhāt* #114, *ṭhaññiṭhau* #16, *vāhīkagrāmebhyaḥ* #117)
uśīnareṣu ye vāhīkagrāmās tadvācibhyo vṛddhebhyaḥ prātipadikebhyo vibhāṣā ṭhaññiṭhau pratyayau bhavataḥ
The *taddhita* affixes *ṭhaÑ* and *ÑIṭha* occur optionally after a syntactically related *vṛddha* nominal stem which denotes a Vāhīka village in the region of Uśīnara.

EXAMPLES:

saudarśanikī 'she who was born in the Vāhīka village of Sudarśana, in the region of Uśīnara'
saudarśanikā 'id.'
saudarśanīyā 'id.'
āhvajālikī 'she who was born in the Vāhīka village of Āhvajāla, in the region of Uśīnara'
āhvajālikā 'id.'
āhvajālīyā 'id.'

1. Note that affixes *ṭhaÑ* and *ÑIṭha* will be introduced optionally to *cha* of 4.2.114 *vṛddhāc chaḥ.*

4.2.119 ओर्देशे ठञ्

or deśe ṭhañ
/ oḥ 6/1 *deśe* 7/1 *ṭhañ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *śeṣe* #92)
uvarṇāntād deśavācinaḥ prātipadikāt ṭhañ pratyayo bhavati śaiṣikaḥ
The *taddhita* affix *ṭhaÑ* occurs after a syntactically related nominal stem which ends in *u* and names a *deśa* 'country, place', provided the derivate is to denote a residual meaning.

EXAMPLES:

naiṣādakarṣukaḥ '. . . born in the region of Niṣādakarṣū'
śābarajambukaḥ '. . . born in the region of Śābarajambū'

1. Why does Pāṇini have to specifically state *ṭhaÑ*, when the same is available from *anuvṛtti*? He has to state it in order for dropping the *anuvṛtti* of *ÑIṭha.* For, if one is carried, the other must also be carried.

2. How do we know that *vṛddhāt* is not carried here? From the fact that Pāṇini specifies *vṛddhāt* again in the next rule. If it was carried here then there was no need for it to be stated in the next rule.

3. Note that *ṭha* of *ṭhaÑ* in these derivates is replaced with *ka* of 7.3.51 *isusuktāntāt kaḥ.* The long *ū* of the base is replaced with short due to *ka* which then follows (7.4.13 *ke' ṇaḥ*).

4.2.120 वृद्धात्प्राचाम्

vṛddhāt prācām
/ vṛddhāt 5/1 *prācām* 6/3/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *śeṣe* #92, *or deśe ṭhañ* #119)
uvarṇāntād vṛddhāt prāgdeśavācinaḥ prātipadikāṭ ṭhañ pratyayo bhavati śaiṣikaḥ
The *taddhita* affix *ṭhaÑ* occurs after a syntactically related *vṛddha* nominal stem which ends in *u* and names an eastern place, provided the derivate is to denote a residual meaning.

EXAMPLES:

āḍhakajāmbukaḥ 'that which is found in Āḍhakajambū'
śakajambukaḥ 'that which is found in Śākajambū'
nāpitavāstukaḥ 'that which is found in Nāpitavāstū'

1. Note that derivates of this rule could have been covered by the preceding rule. This separate formulation is made for restrictive purposes (*niyama*). That is, if *ṭhaÑ* is introduced after a base which denotes the name of a place in the east then it must be introduced only after a base which is termed *vṛddha*. This explains why the condition of *vṛddhāt* is dropped from the preceding rule. It is this restrictive provision which blocks a derivate such as *māllavāstavaḥ* of *mallavāstu* from coming into the scope of this rule.

4.2.121 धन्वयोपधाद् वुञ्

dhanvayopadhād vuñ
/dhanvayopadhāt 5/1 = *ya upadhā yasya sa = yopadhaḥ* (*bv.*); *dhanvā ca yopadhaś ca = dhanvayopadham* (*dv.* with int. *bv.*), *tasmāt; vuñ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *śeṣe* #92, *deśe* #119, *vṛddhāt* #120)
dhanvavācino yakāropadhāc ca deśābhidhāyino vṛddhāt prātipadikāt vuñ pratyayo bhavati śaiṣikaḥ
The *taddhita* affix *vuÑ* occurs after a syntactically related *vṛddha* nominal stem signifying a place, provided the stem is *dhanvan*, or else, it contains *y* in its *upadhā*, and the derivate denotes a residual meaning.

EXAMPLES:

pāredhanvakaḥ 'that which is found in the desert region named Pāredhanvan'
airāvatakaḥ 'that which is found in the region of Airāvata'
sāṃkāśyakaḥ 'that which is found in the region of Sāṃkāśya'
kāmpilyakaḥ 'that which is found in the region of Kāmpilya'

1. The word *dhanvan* is here interpreted as denoting its meaning (*artha*), a desert area, and not its form (*śabda*). It cannot be accepted as denoting its form because of the condition of *vṛddhāt*. Obviously, *dhanvan* is not *vṛddha*.

The words *sāṃkāśya* and *kāmpilya* are both derivates of affix *Ṇya* of rule 4.2.80 *vuñchaṇkaṭhajilaseni. . . .*

4.2.122 प्रस्थपुरवहान्ताच्च

prasthapuravahāntāc ca
/prasthapuravahāntāt 5/1 = *prasthaś ca puraṃ ca vahaś ca prasthapuravahāḥ; ete' nte yasya sa = prasthapuravahāntaḥ* (*bv.* with int. *dv.*), *tasmāt; ca ϕ/*
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *śeṣe* #92, *deśe* #119, *vṛddhāt* #120, *vuñ* #121)
'prastha, pura, vaha' ity evamantā deśavācinaḥ prātipadikād vṛddhād vuñ pratyayo bhavati śaiṣikaḥ

The *taddhita* affix *vuÑ* also occurs after a syntactically related *vṛddha* nominal stem which denotes a place and ends in *prastha*, *pura*, and *vaha*, provided derivates denote a residual meaning.

EXAMPLES:

mālāprasthakaḥ 'born in Mālāprastha'
nāndīpurakaḥ 'born in Nāndīpura'
phālgunīvahakaḥ 'born in Phālgunīvaha'

1. Note that derivates with stems which end in *pura* could be easily accounted for by the following rule. For, such stems can qualify as *ropadha* 'having *r* in their *upadhā*'. Pāṇini includes them in this rule so that they are not constrained by the condition of *prācām* 'of the east'.

This affixal provision is an exception to the *cha* of 4.2.114 *vṛddhāc chaḥ*.

2. It is argued that the word *anta* is not necessary in this rule. For, one can understand that a nominal stem termed *vṛddha* has to end in *pura*, etc., even without the word *anta*. That is, *pura*, etc., are not *vṛddha*, hence the only way they can be brought in line with the requirement of *vṛddhāt* is by way of their treatment as final elements. Besides, it is impossible to find a place with *pura*, etc., where *pura*, etc., do not come at the end. But still, as *dhanvan* was specified in the preceding rule as a qualifier to the name of a region, the same way *anta* is stated in this rule to block *pura*, etc., from being interpreted as qualifiers to the name of a region.

4.2.123 रोपधेतोः प्राचाम्

ropadhetoḥ prācām
/ropadhetoḥ 6/2 = *ra upadhā yasya sa* (*bv.*); *ropadhaś ca īt ca = ropadhetau* (*dv.* with int. *bv.*), *tayoḥ*; *prācām* 6/3/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *śeṣe* #92, *deśe* #119, *vṛddhāt* #120, *vuñ* #121)
ropadhād ikārāntāc ca prāgdeśavācino vṛddhād vuñ pratyayo bhavati śaiṣikaḥ
The *taddhita* affix *vuÑ* occurs after a syntactically related *vṛddha* nominal stem which denotes the name of a place in the eastern region, and has *r* in its penultimate position (*ropadhaḥ*), or else, ends in *ī*, provided these derivates all were to denote a residual meaning.

EXAMPLES:

pāṭaliputrakāḥ '. . . born in Pāṭaliputra'
kākandakaḥ 'that which is found in Kākandī'

1. Note that *īT* 'that which ends in long *ī*, a specification with *t* at the end (*taparakaraṇa*), is used so that *īT* can refer only to the long *ī*. But this could hardly be the purpose of using *taparakaraṇa*. For, there is no name of a region in the east that ends in a short *i*. Why then use *taparakaraṇa* to block something which does not exist? The use of *taparakaraṇa* can then be ac-

cepted as made for clarity (*viṣpaṣṭārtham*). But what is the confusion? A specification without *taparakaraṇa* would require *ropadhetayoḥ* to be read as *ropadhayoḥ*. This may become confusing. Should we interpret the base here as: *ropadha*; or as *ropadha* + *ī*?. With *taparakaraṇa*, one would definitely understand a reference to a particular vowel quality. Why did Pāṇini not formulate the rule as *īropadhād* . . .? Some say it will be prolix (*gaurava*). Others accept it as a variation in style (*vaicitrya*).

4.2.124 जनपदतदवध्योश्च

janapadatadavadhyoś ca
/janapadatadavadhyoḥ 5/2 = *sa cāsau avadhis tadavadhiḥ* (*karm. tat.*); *janapadaś ca tadavadhiś ca* (*itar. dv.*), *tayoḥ*; *ca* ϕ*/*
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *śeṣe* #92, *deśe* #119, *vṛddhāt* #120, *vuñ* #121)
vṛddhāj janapadavācinas tadavadhivācinaś ca prātipadikād vuñ pratyayo bhavati śaiṣikaḥ
The *taddhita* affix *vuÑ* occurs after a syntactically related *vṛddha* nominal stem which denotes a region (*janapada*), or an extent of the same, provided the derivate signifies a residual meaning.

EXAMPLES:

ābhisārakaḥ 'that which is found in the region named Abhisāra'
ādarśakaḥ 'that which is found in the region named Ādarśa'
aupuṣṭakaḥ 'that which is found (at, or within) the borders of Upuṣṭa'
śyāmāyanakaḥ 'that which is found (at, or within) the borders of Śyāmāyana'

1. Note that *tad*, a variable, because of its association in the rule with *janapada*, is interpreted as denoting a *janapada*. The word *tadavadhi* is not interpreted as a genitive (*ṣaṣṭhī*) *tatpuruṣa* compound. It is interpreted as a *karmadhāraya* instead, thereby yielding a syntactic coordination between *janapada* and *avadhi*. Thus we get the meaning: that which is *janapada* and is also the *avadhi*. If *tadavadhi* means *janapada* then it is useless to use *tad* 'that'. Why can we not formulate the rule simply as: *janapadāc ca*? It is argued that, in the absence of *tad*, the *cha* of a following rule will block the *vuÑ* of this rule, in an example such as *traigarttakaḥ*. For, *traigarttakaḥ* denotes a *janapada* as well as an *avadhi*. The *cha* of rule 4.2.137 *garttottarapadāc chaḥ* is given as a particular (*viśeṣa*; *garttottarapadāt*) and is also subsequent (*para*). Consequently, it would block the *vuÑ* of this rule. Pāṇini uses *tad* to make sure that *vuÑ* of this rule blocks the *cha* instead. Thus, in an example such as *traigarttakaḥ* 'he who was born in Trigartta', *vuÑ* (4.2.126 *kacchāgnivaktra* . . .) blocks *cha*. That is, a base denoting 'region' qualified with 'extent' is not allowed to take any affix other than *vuÑ*.

4.2.125 अवृद्धादपि बहुवचनविषयात्

avṛddhād api bahuvacanaviṣayāt
/avṛddhāt 5/1 = *na vṛddham* (*nañ. tat.*), *tasmāt*; *api* ϕ *bahuvacanaviṣayāt* 5/1 = *bahuvacanaṃ viṣayo yasya* (*bv.*), *tasmāt/*
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *śeṣe* #92, *deśe* #119, *vṛddhāt* #120, *vuñ* #121, *janapadavadhyoḥ* #124)
avṛddhād vṛddhāc ca janapadāt tadavadhivācinaś ca bahuvacanaviṣayāt prātipadikād vuñ pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *vuÑ* occurs after a syntactically related nominal stem used in plural, even when not termed *vṛddha*, provided it denotes a region (*janapada*), or an extent of the same, and the corresponding derivate signifies a residual meaning.

EXAMPLES:

āṅgakaḥ 'born in the region of Aṅga'
kāliṅgakaḥ 'born in the region of Kaliṅga'
ājamīḍhāḥ 'born (at, or within) the borders of the region of Ajamīḍha'
ājakrandakaḥ 'born (at, or within) the borders of the region of Ajakranda'
dārvakaḥ 'born in the region of Dārva'
jāmbvakaḥ 'born in the region of Jambvā'
kālañjarakaḥ 'born (at, or within) the borders of the region of Kālañjara'
vaikuliśakaḥ 'born (at, or within) the borders of the region named Vaikuliśa'

1. Affix *vuÑ* is here introduced as an exception to affixes *aÑ*, in the context of bases which are not termed *vṛddha*, and *cha*, in the context of bases which are termed *vṛddha*.

2. The condition of *vṛddha* and *avṛddha* applies to forms which were *vṛddha* or *avṛddha* prior to attaining the mandatory plural status. Thus, *āṅgaḥ* has a mandatory plural scope via the provision of 1.2.51 *lupi yuktavad vyaktivacane*. The base prior to the derivation of *āṅgaḥ*, and before the mandatory plural scope, was *aṅga*, an *avṛddha*. Pāṇini uses the word *bahuvacanaviṣaya* to specify that the bases, thus qualified, must not ever abandon their plural status. They should never be used in a number other than plural (*ananyatrabhāva*).

3. The word *api* is used here to provide this affixal operation also after bases which are *vṛddha*. But this could hardly be the purpose of using *api*, since this affixal operation is already available to *vṛddha*-bases under the provision of the preceding rule. The word *api* is used here so that, in view of the maxim of *takrakauṇḍinya*, we do not get an occasion for blocking *vuÑ* after *vṛddha* bases. Thus, our preceding rule introduces affix *vuÑ* after a base termed *vṛddha* denoting *janapada* in general. This is similar to 'a gift of

yoghurt to the brāhmaṇas in general' (*dadhi brāhamaṇebhyo dīyatām*). Our present rule introduces *vuÑ* after a base which is not termed *vṛddha*, though it shares a mandatory plural scope (*nityabahuvacanaviṣayatā*). This is akin to 'a gift of buttermilk to Kauṇḍinya' (*takraṃ kauṇḍinyāya*). Now this provision of (4.2.125) *vuÑ*, made for a base not termed *vṛddha*, may block the provision of *vuÑ* made for a base termed *vṛddha* (4.2.124), especially since *vuÑ* is made available also after a *vṛddha* base with a mandatory plural scope (*PM* ad *Kāś.*: *tataś ca bahuvacanād api vṛddhād vuñi prāpte ārabhyamāṇo' vṛddhād vuña vṛddhād vuño bādhakaḥ syād*). It is to allow *vuÑ* also after bases termed *vṛddha* that *api* is used here.

4.2.126 कच्छाग्निवक्त्रगर्त्तोत्तरपदात्

kacch āgnivaktrag arttottarapadāt
/kacchāgnivaktragarttottarapadāt 5/1 = *kacchaś ca agniś ca vaktraṃ ca garttaś ca = kacchāgnivaktragarttāḥ; te uttarapadāni yasya tat* (*bv.* with int. *dv.*), *tasmāt/*
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *śeṣe* #92, *deśe* #119, *vṛddhāt* #120, *vuñ* #121, *avṛddhād api* #125)
kacchādyuttarapadād deśavācinaḥ prātipadikāc ca vṛddhād avṛddhāc ca vuñ pratyayo bhavati śaiṣikaḥ
The *taddhita* affix *vuÑ* occurs after a syntactically related *vṛddha* or non-*vṛddha* nominal stem which has *kaccha, agni, vaktra* and *gartta* as its final constituent, provided it has the signification of a *janapada* and derivates signify a residual meaning.

EXAMPLES:

dārukacchakaḥ 'that which is found in Dārukaccha'
paippalikacchakaḥ 'that which is found in Pippalikaccha'
kāṇḍāgnakaḥ 'that which is found in Kāṇḍāgni'
traibhujāgnakaḥ 'that which is found in Tribhujāgni'
saindhuvaktrakaḥ 'that which is found in Sindhuvaktra'
aindravaktrakaḥ 'that which is found in Indravaktra'
bāhugarttakaḥ 'that which is found in Bahugartta'
cākragarttakaḥ 'that which is found in Cakragartta'

1. Note that *uttarapadāt* 'that which has *kaccha*, etc., as its final constituent' is used in this rule because of *kaccha* which, just by itself, is a place name. The other three words cannot be used by themselves, obviously because of not denoting a place. This makes *tadantavidhi* 'that which ends in *agni*, etc.', interpretation necessary.

Why did he not say: *kacchāgnivaktragarttāntāt* 'after that which ends in *kaccha, agni, vaktra* and *gartta*'? So that stems such as *bahukaccha* do not qualify for this affixal provision. If we use *anta* in the rule then *bahukaccha*, because

of ending in *kaccha*, will qualify for the affix. But if we have *uttarapada*, *bahukaccha* cannot qualify. For, *kaccha* is not the final constituent combined with a *pada*, namely *bahu*. The *bahu* of *bahukaccha* is affix *bahuC* (*Nyāsa* ad *Kāś.*: '*kacchāgnivaktragarttāntāt' iti noktam, bahucpūrvān mā bhūt*, also see my note under 4.2.106 *tīrarūpyottarapadād . . .*).

4.2.127 धूमादिभ्यश्च

dhūmādibhyaś ca
/dhūmādibhyaḥ 5/3 (*bv.*); *ca ϕ/*
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *śeṣe* #92, *deśe* #119, *vuñ* #121)
dhūmādibhyo deśavācibhyaḥ prātipadikebhyo vuñ pratyayo bhavati śaiṣikaḥ
The *taddhita* affix *vuÑ* also occurs after a syntactically related nominal stem listed in the group headed by *dhūma*, when the same signifies a place so named, and the derivate denotes a residual meaning.

EXAMPLES:

dhaumakaḥ 'that which is found in Dhūma'
khāṇḍakaḥ 'that which is found in Khaṇḍa'

1. Note that *pātheya, videha* and *ānarta* are also listed in the *dhūmādi* group. The first could qualify for *vuÑ* of rule 4.2.121 *dhanvayopadhād . . .*, based upon its penultimate *y*. Pāṇini does not have to list in the *dhūmādi* group for purposes of *vuÑ*. He still does it, perhaps, with the understanding that it does not signify a place (*deśa*). The next two stems could also qualify for *vuÑ* of rule 4.2.124 *janapada . . .*, based upon their signification of *janapada*. They are included in the *dhūmādi* group perhaps because they do not have to denote *deśa*.

Kāśikā adds that affix *vuÑ* is desired (*iṣyate*) after *samudra* when the signification is *manuṣya* 'human' and *nau* 'boat'. Thus we get: *sāmudrako manuṣyaḥ* and *sāmudrikā nau*. A derivate outside of the context of *manuṣya* and *nau* cannot obtain *vuÑ*. Thus, *sāmudraṃ jalam* will serve as a counter-example.

4.2.128 नगरात्कुत्सनप्रावीण्ययोः

nagarāt kutsanaprāvīṇyayoḥ
/nagarāt 5/1 *kutsanaprāvīṇyayoḥ* 7/2 = *kutsanaṃ ca prāvīṇyaṃ ca* = *kutsanaprāvīṇye* (*itar. dv.*), *tayoḥ/*
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *śeṣe* #92, *vuñ* #121)
nagaraśabdād vuñ pratyayo bhavati śaiṣikaḥ kutsane prāvīṇye ca gamyamāne
The *taddhita* affix *vuÑ* occurs after a syntactically related nominal stem with the denotatum of a city (*nagara*), provided derivates signify censor (*kutsana*) and skill (*prāvīṇya*) relative to a residual meaning.

EXAMPLES:

nāgarakaḥ 'a skilled, or censored resident, i.e., a thief, of a city' as in:

kenāyaṃ muṣitaḥ panthā gātre pakṣmālidhūsaraḥ/
kenedaṃ likhitaṃ citraṃ manonetravikāśi yat//
'by who this road, made gray due to the pollen, was robbed; by who this picture, which opens (makes happy) both mind and eyes, was drawn'

1. The word *nāgarakaḥ* means a city-dweller who is generally sophisticated and skilled. The two meanings of *kutsā* and *prāvīṇya* must be accepted here as modifiers to the residual meanings of 'born' (*jātaḥ*) and 'found' (*bhavaḥ*), etc. Thus, the first half of the verse denotes the meaning of *kutsā*, relative to a robber born in the city. The second half praises an artist, again a resident of city, where *prāvīṇya* 'skill' is used as a qualifier to the derivate meaning.

4.2.129 अरण्यान्मनुष्ये

araṇyān manuṣye
/araṇyāt 5/1 *manuṣye* 7/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *śeṣe* #92, *vuñ* #121)
araṇyaśabdād vuñ pratyayo bhavati śaiṣiko manuṣye'bhidheye
The *taddhita* affix *vuÑ* occurs after the syntactically related nominal stem *araṇya* 'forest', when the derivate denotes a residual meaning relative to a human.

EXAMPLES:

āraṇyoko manuṣyaḥ 'a person who lives in forest'

1. This provision of *vuÑ* is an exception to *Ṇa*, recommended by a *vārttika* (cf. *araṇyāṇ ṇaḥ*). A *vārttika* under this rule recommends *vuÑ* to derive derivates with the signification of *pathin* 'traveler', *adhyāya* 'sectional discourse', *nyāya* 'maxim', *vihāra* 'game', *manuṣya* 'human' and *hastin* 'elephant' (*pathy-adhyāya-nyāya-vihāra-manuṣya-hastiṣv-iti vaktavyam*). Thus we get examples such as: *āraṇyakaḥ panthāḥ, āraṇyako'dhyāyaḥ*, etc. Yet another *vārttika* recommends an optional *vuÑ* in the context of *gomaya* 'cowdung' to derive *āraṇyakā gomayāḥ*, optionally with *āraṇyāḥ*.

4.2.130 विभाषा कुरुयुगन्धराभ्याम्

vibhāṣā kuruyugandharābhyām
/vibhāṣā 1/1 *kuruyugandharābhyām* 5/2 = *kuruś ca yugandharaś ca* (*itar. dv.*), *tābhyām/*
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *śeṣe* #92, *deśe* #119, *vuñ* #121)

'kuru, yugandhara' ity etābhyāṃ vibhāṣā vuñ pratyayo bhavati śaiṣikaḥ
The *taddhita* affix *vuN* occurs optionally after syntactically related nominal stems *kuru* and *yugandhara*, when derivates denote a residual meaning.

EXAMPLES:

kauravakaḥ 'that which is found in the country of the Kurus'
kauravaḥ 'id.'
yaugandharakaḥ 'that which is found in the country of Yugandhara'
yaugandharaḥ 'id.'

1. Note that *kuru* and *yugandhara* denote *janapada*. They, therefore, qualify, even if they are not *vṛddha*, for affix *vuN* obligatorily (4.2.124 *avṛddhād api . . .*). Our present rule makes this *vuN* optional (*Kāś.*: *janapadaśabdāv etau; tābhyām 'avṛddhād api' iti nitye vuñi prāpte vikalpa ucyate*).

The word *kuru* is also included in the list of stems headed by *kaccha*. Consequently, it can also receive affix *aṆ* of rule 4.2.133 *kacchādibhyaś ca*. Rule 4.2.134 *manuṣyatasthayor vuñ* also introduces affix *vuN*, obligatorily, after *kuru* to derive *kauravakaḥ*. This obligatory provision cannot be made optional because 4.2.134 *manuṣyatasthayor . . .* will then be left without any scope of application (*niravakāśa*).

4.2.131 मद्रवृज्योः कन्

madravṛjyoḥ kan
/madravṛjyoḥ 6/2 (*itar. dv.*) *kan* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *śeṣe* #92, *deśe* #119)
madravṛjiśabdābhyāṃ kan pratyayo bhavati śaiṣikaḥ
The *taddhita* affix *kaN* occurs after syntactically related nominal stems *madra* and *vṛji*, when they signify a place and derivates denote a residual meaning.

EXAMPLES:

madrakaḥ 'born in the country of Madra'
vṛjikaḥ 'born in the country of Vṛji'

1. The *kaN* of this rule is an exception to the *vuN* of 4.2.124 *janapada. . . .*

4.2.132 कोपधादण्

kopadhād aṇ
/kopadhāt 5/1 *aṇ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *śeṣe* #92, *deśe* #119)

kakāropadhāt prātipadikād aṇ pratyayo bhavati śaiṣikaḥ
The *taddhita* affix *aṆ* occurs after a syntactically related nominal stem which has the signification of a place and contains a *k* in its penultimate position (*upadhā*), provided the derivate signifies a residual meaning.

EXAMPLES:

ārṣikaḥ 'born in Ṛṣika'
māhiṣikaḥ 'born in Māhiṣika'

1. Note that *kakāropadhāt* must qualify a stem denoting *janapada*. If not, derivates of bases with no signification of *janapada*, but with *k* in their *upadhā*, could have received *aṆ* of 4.2.110 *prastthottarapadapaladyādikopadhād aṇ*. This *aṆ* constitutes an exception to affix *vuN* of 4.2.125 *avṛddhād api bahuvacanaviṣayāt*.

2. Commentators infer from this affixal provision of *aṆ* that bases terminating in *u* also receive this *aṆ*. Thus, we get: *ikṣvākuṣu jātaḥ aikṣvākaḥ* 'born in the country of the Ikṣvākus'. That is, *ikṣvāku* in *u*, and hence, *ṭhaÑ* of 4.2.119 or *deśe ṭhañ* becomes available to it. But *vuN* of 4.2.125 *avṛddhād api* . . . blocks it. If *kopadhāt* of this rule was read with no *aṆ* at all, affix *vuN* of 4.2.125 would become applicable. But since *aṆ* is stated, *aṆ* must apply.

4.2.133 कच्छादिभ्यश्च

kacch ādibhyaś ca
/kacchādibhyaḥ 5/3 (*bv.*); *ca ϕ/*
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *śeṣe* #92, *deśe* #119, *aṇ* #132)
'kaccha' ity evam ādibhyo deśavācibhyo' ṇ pratyayo bhavati śaiṣikaḥ
The *taddhita* affix *aṆ* occurs after a syntactically related nominal stem which names a place, and is listed in the group headed by *kaccha*, provided the derivate denotes a residual meaning.

EXAMPLES:

kācchaḥ 'born in Kaccha'
saindhavaḥ 'that which is found in Sindhu'

1. This *aṆ* is an exception to affixes *vuN* and *ṭhaÑ*, of rules 4.2.125 *avṛddhād api* . . . and 4.2.119 or *deśe ṭhañ*, respectively. It is an exception to *vuN* with reference to bases which signify a *janapada* and have a mandatory plural scope. This is an exception to *ṭhaÑ*, with reference to bases such as *sindhu* and *varṇu*, when they signify *deśa*. The word *kaccha* does not have a mandatory plural scope. Why is it listed here? So that *vuN* can be introduced after words of the *kacchādi* group under the *manuṣyatasthayoḥ* provision of the

following rule. Why is the word *vijāpaka* listed in this group when it could have received *aṆ* on the basis of *k* in its *upadhā* (4.2.132 *kopadhād aṇ*)? It is listed here so that *aṆ*, and *vuN* of the next rule, could be introduced.

4.2.134 मनुष्यततत्थयोर्वुञ्

manuṣyatasthayor vuñ
/ manuṣyatathayoḥ 7/2 = *tasmin tiṣṭhati* = *tasthaḥ* (*bv.*); *manuṣyaś ca tathaś ca* = *manuṣyatasthau* (*itar. dv.*), *tayoḥ*; *vuñ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *śeṣe* #92, *deśe* #119, *kacchādibhyaḥ* #133)
'*manuṣye manuṣyasthe ca jātādau pratyayārthe kacchādibhyo vuñ pratyayo bhavati*'
The *taddhita* affix *vuN* occurs after a syntactically related nominal with the signification of a place, when the derivate is to denote a residual meaning relative to, or what obtains in, a human.

EXAMPLES:

kācchako manuṣyaḥ 'a man born in Kaccha'
kācchakam asya hasitam 'his laugh is similar to a man of Kaccha'
kācchikā cūḍā 'a hairdo similar to one found in Kaccha'

1. This affixal provision of *vuN* is an exception to *aṆ*. The condition of *manuṣyatasthayoḥ* rules out derivates such as *kācchaḥ gauḥ* 'a cow of Kaccha'.

4.2.135 अपदातौ साल्वात्

apadātau sālvāt
/ apadātau 7/1 *sālvāt* 5/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *śeṣe* #92, *deśe* #119, *manuṣyatasthayoḥ* #134)
apadātāv eva manuṣye manuṣyasthe ca sālvaśabdād vuñ pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *vuN* occurs after the syntactically related nominal stem *sālva* when the derivate denotes a residual meaning relative to either someone other than an infantryman, or to something which obtains in a human.

EXAMPLES:

sālvako manuṣyaḥ 'a horserider of Sālva'
sālvakam asya hasitam 'his laughter is similar to a resident of Sālva'

1. Note that *sālva* listed in the *kacchādi* group. Consequently, affix *vuN* is already available to its subject to the condition of *manuṣyatasthayoḥ*. Why is it specified here? It is specified here for restrictive purposes (*niyamārtham*). The affixal provision of this rule is available to *sālva*, only when the condition of *apadātau* is met.

4.2.136 **गोयवाग्वोश्च**

goyavāgvoś ca
/goyavāgoḥ 7/2 (*itar. dv.*), *tayoḥ*; *ca* ϕ/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *śeṣe* #92, *deśe* #119, *sālvāt vuñ* #135)
gavi yavāgvāṃ ca jātādau pratyayārthe sālvaśabdād vuñ pratyayo bhavati śaiṣikaḥ
The *taddhita* affix *vuN* occurs also after the syntactically related nominal stem *sālva*, when the derivate denotes a residual meaning relative to *go* 'cow' and *yavāgū* 'barley-gruel'.

EXAMPLES:

sālvako gauḥ 'a cow from Sālva'
sālvikā yavagūḥ 'barley-gruel of the kind made in Sālva'

1. This affixal provision of *vuN* is an exception to *aṆ* which is available to *sālva* on account of its membership in the *kacchādi* group.

4.2.137 **गर्त्तोत्तरपदाच्छः**

garttottarapadāc chaḥ
/garttottarapadāt 5/1 = *gartta uttarapadaṃ yasya tat garttottarapadam* (*bv.*), *tasmāt*; *chaḥ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *śeṣe* #92, *deśe* #119)
garttottarapadād deśavācinaḥ prātipadikāc chaḥ pratyayo bhavati śaiṣikaḥ
The *taddhita* affix *cha* occurs after a syntactically related nominal stem which designates a place, and has *gartta* as its final constituent, provided the derivate signifies a residual meaning.

EXAMPLES:

vṛkagarttīyam 'that which is found in Vṛkagartta'
śṛgālagarttīyam 'that which is found in Śṛgālagartta'

1. The word *uttarapadāt* is used for reasons already explained under 4.2.126 *kacchāgnivaktragarttottarapadāt*. Thus, *bahu* of *bahugartta* has its source in affix *bahuC*. The specification by *uttarapadāt* is hence made to exclude instances where *bahuC* precedes a *pada* in combination. Conversely, where a non-*pada* precedes a following compound constituent. A derivate of *bahugartta* will be: *bāhugarttam*, derived with *aṆ*.

4.2.138 **गहादिभ्यश्च**

gahādibhyaś ca
/gahādibhyaḥ 5/3 (*bv.*); *ca* ϕ/

(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *śeṣe* #92, *chaḥ* #136)
'gaha' ity evam ādibhyaḥ prātipadikebhyaś chaḥ pratyayo bhavati śaiṣikaḥ
The *taddhita* affix *cha* occurs after a syntactically related nominal stem listed in the group headed by *gaha*, when the derivate denotes a residual meaning.

EXAMPLES:

gahīyaḥ 'he who was born in Gaha'
antaḥsthīyaḥ 'he who was born in the midlands'

1. Note that the *gahādi* group contains stems which may or not designate a country. It is for this reason that *deśe* is not carried. Or, if carried, it is used as qualifier to a stem where such a meaning is possible (*Kāś.*: *deśādhikāre'pi sambhavāpekṣaṃ viśeṣaṇam, na sarveṣām*).

2. The affixal provision of *cha* constitutes an exception to provisions of *aṆ* and *vuN*. For example, the word *kāmaprastha* should take affix *vuN* of rule 4.2.122 *prasthapuravahāṇṭāc ca*. It instead takes *cha*. Other derivates constitute an exception to the general provision of *aṆ*.

3. The following are some *vārttika* proposals made under this rule:

(*a*) Affix *cha* also occurs after *mukha* and *pārśva*, when they end in affix *tasIL*, with an additional provision that *s* of *tasIL* be dropped. We thus get: *mukhatīyam* 'born, or found, in the mouth' and *pārśvatīyam* 'born, or found, on sides'.

(*b*) Affix *cha* also occurs, along with augment *kUK*, after *jana* and *para* to derive *janakīyam* 'pertaining to people' and *parakīyam* 'pertaining to others'.

(*c*) A similar provision for *deva* derives *devakīyam* 'pertaining to god'.

(*d*) Yet another group of stems headed by *veṇu* receives affix *chaṆ* to produce *veṇukīyam* 'that which is made of bamboo; a flute', etc.

4.2.139 प्राचां कटादेः

prācāṃ kaṭādeḥ
/prācāṃ 6/3 *kaṭādeḥ* 5/1 = *kaṭa ādir yeṣāṃ te* (*bv.*), *tasmāt/*
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *śeṣe* #92, *deśe* #119, *chaḥ* #136)
prāgdeśavācinaḥ kaṭādeḥ prātipadikāc chaḥ pratyayo bhavati śaiṣikaḥ
The *taddhita* affix *cha* occurs after a syntactically related nominal stem designating a place in the eastern region, when the derivates signifies a residual meaning.

EXAMPLES:

kaṭanagarīyam 'that which is found in Kaṭanagara'

kaṭaghoṣīyam 'that which is found in Kaṭaghoṣa'

1. This affixal provision constitutes an exception to *aṆ*.

4.2.140 राज्ञः क च

rājñaḥ ka ca
/rājñaḥ 6/1 *ka* 1/1 (deleted) *ca ϕ/*
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *śeṣe* #92, *chaḥ* #136)
rājñaḥ kakāraś cāntādeśo bhavati chaś ca pratyayaḥ
The *taddhita* affix *cha* occurs after *rājan*, with an additional provision of *k* as a replacement for its final, when the derivate denotes a residual meaning.

EXAMPLES:

rājakīyam 'pertaining to a king'

1. Note that affix *cha* is available to *rājan* from 4.2.114 *vṛddhāc chaḥ*. This rule is largely intended for replacing its final *n* with *k*.

4.2.141 वृद्धादकेकान्तखोपधात्

vṛddhād akekāntakhopadhāt
/vṛddhāt 5/1 *akekāntakhopadhāt* 5/1 = *akaś ca ikaś ca akekau* (*dv.*); *akekāv ante yasya sa akekāntaḥ* (*bv.* with int. *dv.*); *kha upadhā yasya* (*bv.*); *akekāntaś ca khopadhaś ca = akekāntakhopadham* (*sam. dv.*), *tasmāt/*
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *śeṣe* #92, *deśe* #119, *chaḥ* #136)
vṛddhād deśavācino'ka, ika ity evamantāt khakāropadhāc ca prātipadikāc chaḥ pratyayo bhavati śaiṣikaḥ
The *taddhita* affix *cha* occurs after a syntactically related *vṛddha* nominal stem which names a place, and either ends in *aka* and *ika*, or has *kh* in its penultimate (*upadhā*) position, provided the derivate is to denote a residual meaning.

EXAMPLES:

ārīhaṇakīyam 'that which is found in Ārīhaṇaka'
draughaṇakīyam 'that which is found in Draughaṇaka'
āśvapathikīyam 'that which is found in Āśvapathika'
śālmalikīyam 'that which is found in Śālmalika'
kauṭiśikhīyam 'that which is found in Kauṭiśikha'

1. Commentators state that specifications of bases with reference to *aka* and *ika* is narrow, and uneconomical. They claim that a specification in terms of *kopadhāt* 'after bases having *k* in their penultimate position' should be

preferred, because it is broader and economical (*vyāpakatvāl-laghutvāc ca*; *PM* ad *Kāś.*: *sūtre' kekāntagrahaṇam apanīya kopadhād iti vaktavyam, vyāpakatvāl laghutvāc ca . . .*).

2. This affixal provision constitutes an exception to affixes *aṆ* (4.2.132 *kopadhād aṇ*); and *ṭhaÑ* (4.2.117 *vāhīkagrāmebhyaś ca*) and *ÑIṭha*. A specification by *aka* implies that *cha* is introduced to a base which is a derivate of *vuN* of 4.2.80 *vuñchaṇkaṭhajilaseni. . . .* The *SK* cites another example *brāhmaṇakīyaḥ* 'that which is found in Brāhmaṇaka'. Incidentally, this was a region where the brāhmaṇas earned their living by means of weapons (*āyudhajīvin*). *Kāśikā* states that a specification by means of *kopadha*, along with *akekānta*, should account for examples such as *sausukīyam*, *mausukīyam*, and *aindraveṇukīyam* 'that which is found in Sausuka, Mausuka, and Aindraveṇuka'.

4.2.142 कन्थापलदनगरग्रामह्रदोत्तरपदात्

kanthāpaladanagaragrāmahradottarapadāt
/kanthāpaladanagaragrāmahradottarapadāt 5/1 = *kanthā ca paladaṃ ca nagaraṃ ca grāmaś ca hradaś ca* (*dv.*); *etāni uttarapadāni yasya tat* = *kanthāpaladanagaragrāmahradottarapadam* (*bv.*), *tasmāt/*
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *śeṣe* #92, *deśe* #119, *chaḥ* #136, *vṛddhāt* #141)
kanthādyuttarapadād deśavācino vṛddhāt prātipadikāc chaḥ pratyayo bhavati śaiṣikaḥ
The *taddhita* affix *cha* occurs after a syntactically related *vṛddha* nominal stem which denotes a place, and has a final constituent in *kanthā*, *palada*, *nagara*, *grāma* and *hrada*, provided when the derivate is to denote a residual meaning.

EXAMPLES:

dakṣikanthīyam 'born, or found, in Dākṣikanthā'
dākṣipaladīyam 'born, or found, in Dākṣipalada'
māhikanagarīyam 'born, or found, in Māhikanagara'
dākṣigrāmīyam 'born, or found, in Dākṣigrāma'
dākṣihradīyam 'born, or found, in Dākṣihrada'

1. It is stated that formulating this rule with *antāt* 'after stems which end in *kanthā*, etc.', as opposed to *uttarapadāt*, could have equally served the purpose. For, the question of a preceding *bahuC* (see 4.2.137) does not arise here. The *cha* of this rule again constitutes an exception to affix *vuN* of 4.2.123 *ropadhetoḥ prācām*, insofar as derivates with *nagara* at the end are concerned. This *cha* is an exception to the *ṭhaÑ* and *ÑIṭha* of 4.2.117 *vāhīkagrāmebhyaś ca*.

4.2.143 **पर्वताच्च**

parvatāc ca
/parvatāt 5/1 *ca ϕ/*
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *śeṣe* #92, *deśe* #119, *chaḥ* #136)
parvataśabdāc chaḥ pratyayo bhavati śaiṣikaḥ
The *taddhita* affix *cha* occurs after the syntactically related nominal stem *parvata*, when the derivate denotes a residual meaning.

EXAMPLES:

parvatīyo rājā 'king of a mountain kingdom'
parvatīyo puruṣaḥ 'man from a mountain region'

1. This obligatory provision is made here as an exception to *aÑ*. Our next rule makes this obligatory provision optional in the context of derivates denoting a non-human (*amanuṣye*). Note that *parvata* itself denotes a place (*deśa*). Consequently, *deśe* may not be needed as a qualifier.

4.2.144 **विभाषाऽमनुष्ये**

vibhāṣā'manuṣye
/vibhāṣā 1/1 *amanuṣye* 7/1 = *na manuṣyaḥ* = *amanuṣyaḥ* (*nañ. tat.*), *tasmin/*
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *śeṣe* #92, *deśe* #119, *chaḥ* #136)
parvataśabdāc chaḥ pratyayo bhavati vā, amanuṣye vācye
The *taddhita* affix *cha* occurs only optionally after the syntactically related nominal stem *parvata*, when the derivate denotes a residual meaning relative to a non-human (*amanuṣya*).

EXAMPLES:

parvatīyāni phalāni 'mountain fruits'
pārvatāni phalāni 'id.'
parvatīyam udakam 'mountain water'
pārvatam udakam 'id.'

4.2.145 **कृकर्णपर्णाद् भारद्वाजे**

kṛkaṇaparṇād bhāradvāje
/kṛkaṇaparṇāt 5/1 = *kṛkaṇaś ca parṇaṃ ca* (*itar. dv.*), *tasmāt; bhāradvāje* 7/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *śeṣe* #92, *deśe* #119, *chaḥ* #136)
kṛkaṇaparṇaśabdābhyāṃ bhāradvājadeśavācibhyaṃ chaḥ pratyayo bhavati śaiṣikaḥ

The *taddhita* affix *cha* occurs after a syntactically related nominal stem which ends in *kṛkarṇa* and *parṇa*, and signifies a place in the Bhāradvāja region, provided the derivate is to denote a residual meaning.

EXAMPLES:

kṛkaṇīyam 'that which is found in a place named Kṛkaṇa of the Bhāradvāja region'
parṇīyam 'that which is found in a place named Parṇa of the Bhāradvāja region'

1. Note that *bhāradvāja* does not refer to a *gotra* descendant. Instead, it qualifies bases which end in *kṛkaṇa* and *parṇa*, and signify a place. For, to find *kṛkaṇa* and *parṇa* relative to the *gotra* meaning of *bhāradvāja* is impossible (*asambhava*).

PĀDA THREE

4.3.1 युष्मदस्मदोरन्यतरस्यां खञ् च

yuṣmadasmador anyatarasyāṃ khañ ca
/yuṣmadasmadoḥ 6/2 (*itar. dv.*); *anyatarasyām* 7/1 *khañ* 1/1 *ca* ϕ/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #4.1.82, *śeṣe* #4.2.92, *chaḥ* #4.2.137)
yuṣmadasmadoḥ khañ pratyayo bhavati śaiṣikaḥ; cakārāc chaś ca
The *taddhita* affix *khaÑ*, and *cha* as well occurs optionally after syntactically related nominal stem *yuṣmad* and *asmad*, when derivates denote a residual meaning.

EXAMPLES:

yauṣmākīṇaḥ 'that which belongs to you'
yuṣmādīyaḥ 'id.'
yauṣmākaḥ 'id.'
āsmākīnaḥ 'that which belongs to us'
asmadīyaḥ 'id.'
āsmākaḥ 'id.'

1. Note that *deśe* is no longer carried. This rule provides for affixes *khaÑ* and *cha* (4.2.137 *garttottarapadāc chaḥ*), optionally with the general (*autsargika*) *aṆ* of 4.1.83 *prāg dīvyato' ṇ*. Affix *aṆ* is made optional because of *anyatarasyām*. The use of *ca* makes introduction of affix *cha* possible. The main affixal provision of this rule is still *khaÑ* which, when read with *ca*, brings *cha*. The *ca* is thus used for bringing something not specifically stated (*anukta-samuccayārtha*).

The *Mahābhāṣya* resorts to a split-rule (*yogavibhāga*) interpretation, where-

by we get three rules: (*i*) *yuṣmadasmadoḥ*, which assigns *cha* received via *anuvṛtti* from 4.2.137 *garttottarapadāc chaḥ*, (*ii*) *khañ ca*, which assigns *khaÑ* in addition to *cha*, and (*iii*) *anyatarasyām*, whereby *aṆ* is provided optionally to *cha* and *khaÑ*.

It is stated that since there are two bases (*prakṛti*), i.e., *yuṣmad* and *asmad*, and three affixes, i.e., *khaÑ*, *cha* and *aṆ*, the question of assigning equivalency in order of enumeration (*yathāsaṃkhya*) does not arise.

4.3.2 तस्मिन्नाणि च युष्माकास्माकौ

tasminn aṇi ca yuṣmākāsmākau
/tasmin 7/1 *aṇi* 7/1 *ca* ϕ *yuṣmākāsmākau* 1/2 (*itar. dv.*)/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *yuṣmadasmadoḥ* #1)
tasmin khañi aṇi ca yuṣmadasmador yathāsaṃkhyaṃ 'yuṣmāka, asmāka' ity etāv ādeśāv bhavataḥ
The forms *yuṣmāka* and *asmāka* occur in place of *yuṣmad* and *asmad*, respectively, when *taddhita* affixes *khaÑ* and *aṆ* follow.

EXAMPLES:

yauṣmākīṇaḥ 'this is yours'
āsmākīnaḥ 'this is ours'
yauṣmākaḥ 'this is yours'
āsmākaḥ 'this is ours'

1. Note that the antecedent of *tad* in *tasmin* is affix *khaÑ* (*Kāś.*: *tasminn iti sākṣād vihitaḥ khañ nirdiśyate*), and not affix *cha*, received via *anuvṛtti* (*na cakārānukṛṣṭaś chaḥ*). With *tad* referring to *khaÑ*, and *aṆ* specified additionally, we get two replacements *yuṣmāka* and *asmāka* after two bases *yuṣmad* and *asmad*, of course, when affixes *khaÑ* and *aṆ* follow. This clearly establishes equivalency of elements in accord with enumeration (*yathāsaṃkhya*). Commentators hasten to add that equivalency in accord with enumeration does not become valid with reference to conditioning factors (*nimitta*), i.e., affixes *khaÑ* and *aṆ*. That is, this rule cannot be interpreted as allowing replacement of *yuṣmad* by *yuṣmāka* before affix *khaÑ*; and that of *asmad* by *asmāka* before affix *aṆ*. This is accomplished, via *yogavibhāga*, as follows: (*i*) *tasmin khañi yuṣmadasmador yuṣmākāsmākau bhavataḥ* '*yuṣmāka* and *asmāka* come in place of *yuṣmad* and *asmad*, respectively, when affix *khaÑ* follows'; (*ii*) *aṇi ca* '*yuṣmāka* and *asmnāka* come in place of *yuṣmad* and *asmad*, respectively, also when affix *aṆ* follows'.

It is because of *yogavibhāga*, and especially because of *tasmin aṇi ca* of this rule, that we do not get replacements for *yuṣmad* and *asmad* when they are followed by affix *cha*. This is, we get *yuṣmadīyaḥ* and *asmadīyaḥ* when *cha* follows.

2. Note that *yuṣmāka* and *asmāka*, because of their status as *anekāl* 'consisting of more than one sound segment', replace *yuṣmad* and *asmad* in toto (*sarvasya*; 1.1.55 *anekālśit sarvasya*).

4.3.3 तवकममकावेकवचने

tavakamamakāv ekavacane
/tavakamamakau 1/2 = *tavakaś ca mamakaś ca* (*itar. dv.*); *ekavacane* 1/2/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *yuṣmadasmadoḥ* #1, *tasminn aṇi ca* #2)
ekavacanaparayor yuṣmadasmados 'tavaka, mamaka' ity etāv ādeśau bhavato yathāsaṃkhyaṃ tasmin khañi aṇi ca parataḥ
The forms *tavaka* and *mamaka* occur in place of *yuṣmad* and *asmad*, respectively, when they are used in singular (*ekavacane*), and when *taddhita* affixes *khañ* and *aṇ* follow.

EXAMPLES:

tāvakīnaḥ 'yours'
tāvakaḥ 'id.'
māmakīnaḥ 'mine'
māmakaḥ 'id.'

1. This rule proposes *tavaka* and *mamaka* as replacements for *yuṣmad* and *asmad*, parallel to provisions made by rules 4.3.2 *tasminn aṇi* . . . and 7.2.98 *pratyayottarapadayoś ca*. Note that we will end up with derivates such as *tvadīyaḥ* and *madīyaḥ* if affix *cha* followed *yuṣmad* and *asmad*.

Here again we do not get assignment of equivalency in the order of enumeration (*yathāsaṃkhya*), insofar as the conditioning affixes are concerned. The assignment of equivalency between substitutes and items they replace is, of course, in order of their enumeration.

It is stated that the *saptamī* of *ekavacane* cannot be interpreted as *parasaptamī*, meaning 'when an affix denoting singular follows'. For, such an affix will be invariably deleted after *yuṣmad* and *asmad*. Consequently, the question of specifying it as a condition does not arise. But why can the deleted affix still not denote singular in view of 1.1.62 *pratyayalope pratyayalakṣaṇam*. Because the affix is deleted by *LUK*, and a deletion by *LUK* (*lugvidhi*) is treated as stronger. Thus, recourse to *pratyayalakṣaṇa* cannot be taken. One can argue here that since Pāṇini provides for denotation of singular knowing full well that the affix will be deleted, recourse to *pratyayalakṣaṇa* is justified. This is what commentators put as *vacanāt pratyayalakṣaṇaṃ bhaviṣyati* 'operations relative to an affix, even when the affix is deleted, obtain at the strength of an explicit provision made in the rule'.

If one does not accept *pratyayalakṣaṇa* then one has to accept *ekavacane* as nominative dual against the locative. The word *ekavacana* will then be interpreted as: *eko'rtha ucyate yena tad ekavacanam* 'that by which the sense of one is denoted'. The work *ekavacane* will then modify *tavakamamakau*, a nominative dual. This indeed is different from the *parasaptamī* interpretation of *ekavacane*. This way, *tavaka* and *mamaka*, on the basis that they replace *yuṣmad* and *asmad*, will also be treated as denoting the sense of one. That is *ekavacane* will be accepted as a qualifier to *tavakamamakau* by way of being a qualifier to items they replaced (*sthānidvāreṇa*).

4.3.4 अर्धाद्यत्

ardhād yat
/ardhāt 5/1 *yat* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *śeṣe* #92)
arddhaśabdād pratyayo bhavati śaiṣikaḥ
The *taddhita* affix *yaT* occurs after the syntactically related nominal stem *arddha*, when the derivate denotes a residual (*śaiṣika*) meaning.

EXAMPLES:

arddhyam 'that which is found in one half of . . .

1. This affixal provision of *yaT* is an exception to *a*. A *vārttika* recommends affix *ṭhaÑ* after *arddha* when it is used in combination after a preceding constituent (*sapūrvapadāt*). This will cover examples such as *bāleyārddhikam* '. . . found in the first half of the ritual oblation', etc.

2. Deriving *arddhyam* from (*ardha* + *yaT*) + *sU*, through *bha-saṃjña*, *a-lopa*, *sU*→*am* and *ardhy* (*a* + *a*→*a*) *m* = *ardhyam*, offers nothing new. The doubling of *d* of *ardha* is optional (8.4.46 *aco rahābhyāṃ dve*).

4.3.5 परावराधमोत्तमपूर्वाच्च

parāvarādhamottamapūrvāc ca
/parāvarādhamottamapūrvāt 5/1 = *paraś ca avaraś ca adhamaś ca uttamaś ca*; *parāvarādhamottamāḥ*; *ete pūrve yasya* (*bv.* with int. *dv.*), *tasmāt*; *ca* ϕ/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *śeṣe* #92, *arddhād yat* #4)
'*para, avara, adhama, uttama*' *ity evam pūrvāc cārdhād yat pratyayo bhavati śaiṣikaḥ*
The *taddhita* affix *yaT* also occurs after syntactically related nominal stem *arddha*, when used in combination after *para, avara, adhama* and *uttama*, provided derivates denote a residual meaning.

EXAMPLES:

parārddhyam 'born in the latter half of . . .'

avarārddhyam 'born in the lower half of . . .'
adhamārddhyam 'born in the worst half of . . .'
uttamārddhyam 'born in the best half of . . .'

1. Note that *arddhād yat* is carried. Why was the *sūtra* nor formulated simply as *parāvarādhamottamebhyaḥ* which, with the *anuvṛtti* of *arddhād yat*, could still give the desired interpretation of 'after *arddha* occurring after *para*, etc.'. *Kāśikā* states that *para* and *avara* can also signify 'direction' (*diś*). They can also signify something else, as in *paraṃ sukham* 'greatest pleasure' and *avaraṃ sukham* 'worst pleasure'. Our next rule introduces affix *ṭhaÑ*, in addition to *yaT*, when *arddha* is used in combination as final of a nominal stem denoting *diś*. Given this, *para* and *avara* could have received *yaT* of this rule with the signification of 'non-direction'. They could then have received *yaT*, and *ṭhaÑ* of the next rule as well, with the sense of 'direction'.

A specification by *pūrva*, at the end of this rule, facilitates introduction of *yaT* in case of *pūrva* and *avara*, even when the sense is direction. This provision, as a consequence, also blocks *ṭhaÑ* in directional contexts (*Nyāsa*: *tasmāt pūrvagrahaṇād dikśabdapakṣe' pi parāvarapūrvād yad eva bhavati*).

4.3.6 दिक्पूर्वपदाट् ठञ् च

dikpūrvapadāṭ ṭhañ ca
/dikpūrvapadāt 5/1 = *dik pūrvapadaṃ yasya tat* (*bv.*), *tasmāt*; *ṭhañ* 1/1/ (*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *śeṣe* #92, *arddhād yat* #4)
dikpūrvapadād arddhāntāt prātipadikāṭ ṭhañ pratyayo bhavati cakārād yac ca
The *taddhita* affix *ṭhaÑ*, and *yaT* as well, occurs after the syntactically related nominal stem *arddha* when used in combination after a constituent signifying *diś* 'direction', provided the derivate is to denote a residual meaning.

EXAMPLES:

pūrvārddhyam 'that which is found in the eastern half of . . .'
paurvārddhikam 'id.'
dakṣiṇārddhyam 'that which is found in the southern half of . . .'
dākṣiṇārddhikam 'id.'

1. Note that the word *pada*, of *padāt* in *dikpūrvapadāt*, is used to cancel the interpretation of *dikpūrvāt* as denoting its form (*svarūpavidhinirāsārtham*). That is, in the absence of *dikpūrvapadāt*, a formulation by *dikpūrvāt* would give us the sense of '. . . after *ardha* when used in combination after *diś* as its preceding constituent. . . .' The use of *padāt*, in *dikpūrvapadāt*, yields the following interpretation: 'after *arddha* used in combination after a constituent which signifies direction. . . .'

Derivates of *ṭhaÑ* will involve initial *vṛddhi* and *ṭha→ika* (7.3.50 *ṭhasyekaḥ*).

4.3.7 ग्रामजनपदैकदेशादञ्ठञौ

grāmajanapadaikadeśād añṭhañau
/grāmajanapadaikadeśāt 5/1 = *grāmaś ca janapadaś ca* (*dv.*); *tayor ya ekadeśaḥ* = *grāmajanapadaikadeśaḥ* (*ṣaṣ. tat.* with int. *dv.*), *tasmāt; añṭhañau* 1/2 (*dv.*)/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *śeṣe* #92, *arddhād* #4, *dikpūrvapadād* #6)
grāmaikadeśavācino janapadaikadeśavācinaś ca prātipadikād dikpūrvapadād arddhāntād añṭhañau pratyayu bhavataḥ śaiṣikau
The *taddhita* affixes *aÑ* and *ṭhaÑ* occur after a syntactically related nominal stem which ends in *arddha*, used in combination after a constituent with the signification of *diś*, and names some part (*ekadeśa*) of a village (*grāma*) or region (*janapada*), provided the derivate denotes a residual meaning.

EXAMPLES:

ime khalv asmākaṃ grāmasya janapadasya vā paurvārddhāḥ 'these are found in eastern parts of our village, or region'
paurvārdhikāḥ 'id.'
dakṣiṇārddhāḥ 'these are found in the southern part of our village, or region . . .'
dākṣiṇārddhikāḥ 'id.'

1. Note that *ṭhaÑ* is not carried because of its association (*sāhacarya*) with *yaT*. That is, a partial dropping, or carrying, of elements in the *anuvṛtti* of associated items is not permitted. This *sūtra* does not need the *anuvṛtti* of *yaT*. Affix *ṭhaÑ*, because of its association with *yaT*, had also to be dropped. Why did Pāṇini not formulate the *sūtra* simply as . . . *añ ca*, where *ca* would have brought *ṭhaÑ* from the preceding rule. Bhaṭṭoji states that Pāṇini includes both *aÑ* and *ṭhaÑ* for clarity (*spaṣṭapratipatyartham*). The derivates of both will involve *vṛddhi*. A *ṭhaÑ*-derivate will additionally involve *ika* as a replacement for *ṭha*.

The affixal provision of this rule constitutes an exception to *yaT*. The word *ekadeśa* here denotes *avayava* 'part of a whole'.

4.3.8 मध्यान्मः

madhyān maḥ
/madhyāt 5/1 *maḥ/*
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *śeṣe* #92)
madhyaśabdān maḥ pratyayo bhavati śaiṣikaḥ

The *taddhita* affix *ma* occurs after the syntactically related nominal stem *madhya* 'middle', when the derivate denotes a residual meaning.

EXAMPLES:

madhyamaḥ 'born in between . . .'

1. This is an exception to *aṆ*.

2. Affix *ma* is also recommended by a *vārttika* for deriving *ādimaḥ* 'born at the beginning . . .', from the syntactically related nominal stem *ādi* 'initial'. Forms such as *avamam* and *adhamam* can also be derived with *ma* introduced after *avas* and *adhas*, with an additional *vārttika* provision of *s*-deletion after specific bases.

4.3.9 अ साम्प्रतिके

a sāṃpratike
/a 1/1 (deleted) *sāṃpratike* 7/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *śeṣe* #92, *madhyāt* #8)
akāraḥ pratyayo bhavati madhyaśabdāt sāṃpratike jātādau pratyayārthe
The *taddhita* affix *a* occurs after the syntactically related nominal stem *madhya*, when the derivate denotes a residual meaning relative to something appropriate (*sāṃpratika*).

EXAMPLES:

madhyaṃ kāṣṭham = *nātidīrghaṃ nātihrasvam* 'an appropriate piece of lumber, not too long not too short'
madhyo vaiyākaraṇaḥ 'an average grammarian, not too smart not too slow'
madhyā strī 'an average woman'

1. The word *sāṃpratika* is explained as a *nyāyyam* 'logical', *yuktam* 'appropriate', *ucitam* 'proper' and *sama* 'balanced'.

4.3.10 द्वीपादनुसमुद्रं यञ्

dvīpād anusamudraṃ yañ
/dvipāt 5/1 *anusamudram* 1/1 = *samudraṃ samayā* (*avybh.*);
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *śeṣe* #92)
samudrasamīpe yo dvīpas tasmād yañ pratyayo bhavati śaiṣikaḥ
The *taddhita* affix *yaÑ* occurs after a syntactically related nominal stem *dvīpa* whose denotatum is located nearby an ocean, provided the derivate is to denote some residual meaning.

EXAMPLES:

dvaipyam 'that which is found in a peninsula'

1. The word *anusamudram* is an indeclinable compound (*avyayībhāva*) formed under the provision of rule 2.1.15 *anur yatsamayā.*

Affix *yaÑ* is treated as an exception to *aṆ* and *vuN* of 4.1.133 *kacchādibhyaś ca* and 4.1.134 *manuṣyatasthayor vuñ.* Elsewhere, and under conditions other than that of *anusamudram,* we will get *dvaipam* (with *aṆ*) and *dvaipakam* (with *vuN*).

4.3.11 कालाट्ठञ्

kālāṭ ṭhañ
/kālāt 5/1 *ṭhañ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *śeṣe* #92)
kālaviśeṣavācinaḥ prātipadikāṭ ṭhañ pratyayo bhavati śaiṣikaḥ
The *taddhita* affix *ṭhaÑ* occurs after a syntactically related nominal stem which signifies (specific) time, provided the derivate denotes a residual meaning.

EXAMPLES:

vārṣikaḥ 'that which occurs once a year'
ārddhamāsikaḥ 'that which occurs once every fortnight'
sāṃvatsarikaḥ 'that which occurs once every year'

1. This provision of *ṭhaÑ* is an exception to *aṆ.* It is also an exception to 4.2.114 *vṛddhāc chaḥ.* That is, *ṭhaÑ* blocks *cha* on the basis of *paratva* (1.4.2 *vipratiṣedhe . . .*).

2. It is stated that some derivates may denote time via some indirect processes (*guṇavṛtyā*). That is, denotation of time may not be as direct as, for example, in *māsikaḥ* and *sāṃvatsarikaḥ.* Consider *kādambapuṣpikam* 'that which is found at the time when Kadamba trees blossom' and *vraihipatālikam* 'that which is found at the time when rice-husks are threshed', where time is denoted via association (*sāhacarya*) with 'blossoming of Kadamba tree' or 'threshing of rice'.

4.3.12 श्राद्धे शरदः

śrāddhe śaradaḥ
/śrāddhe 7/1 *śaradaḥ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *śeṣe* #92, *kālāṭ ṭhañ* #11)
śaracchabdāt ṭhañ pratyayo bhavati śrāddhe' bhidheye śaiṣikaḥ
The *taddhita* affix *ṭhaÑ* occurs after the syntactically related nominal stem *śarad,* when it signifies time and the derivate denotes *śrāddha* 'rites for ancestors'.

EXAMPLES:

śaradikam śrāddham 'autumnal rites for ancestors'

1. The word *śrāddha* literally means 'gift made with reverence (*śraddhayā dattaṃ dānam*)'. It generally refers to rites (which involve making gifts of food and other items) for a departed relative. The word does not mean a person who has reverence. That is, it refers to action (*karman*), and not to a person (*karma gṛhyate na ca śraddhāvān puruṣaḥ*). Incidentally, these rites, once performed shortly after death of a relative, can also be repeated annually, half-yearly, etc.

A derivate parallel to *śāradikam*, outside the context of *śrāddha*, will be *śāradam*. This, in turn, is a derivate of *aṆ* derived by rule 4.3.16 *sandhivelād*. . . .

4.3.13 विभाषा रोगातपयोः

vibhāṣā rogātapayoḥ
/ vibhāṣā 1/1 *rogātapayoḥ* 7/2 (*dv.*)/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *śeṣe* #92, *kālāṭ ṭhañ* #11, *śaradaḥ* #12)
roge ātape cābhidheye śarac chabdāṭ ṭhañ pratyayo vā bhavati śaiṣikaḥ
The *taddhita* affix *ṭhaÑ* occurs, optionally, after the syntactically related nominal stem *śarad*, when the derivate denotes a residual meaning relative to *roga* 'affliction, disease' and *ātapa* 'sunshine'.

EXAMPLES:

śāradika ātapaḥ 'autumnal sunshine'
śārada ātapaḥ 'id.'
śāradiko rogaḥ 'a disease which afflicts during the autumnal season'
śārado rogaḥ 'id.'

1. A derivate outside the twin conditions of *roga* and *ātapa* will, obligatorily, be *śāradam*, as in *śāradaṃ dadhi* 'yoghurt of the autumnal season'. This *ṭhaÑ* blocks the *aṆ* of 4.3.16 *sandhivelād*. . . .

4.3.14 निशाप्रदोषाभ्यां च

niśāpradoṣābhyāṃ ca
/ niśāpradoṣābhyām 5/2 (*itar. dv.*); *ca* ϕ/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *śeṣe* #92, *kālāṭ ṭhañ* #11, *vibhāṣā* #13)
niśāpradoṣaśabdābhyāṃ vibhāṣā ṭhañ pratyayo bhavati śaiṣikaḥ
The *taddhita* affix *ṭhaÑ* also occurs optionally after syntactically related nominal stems *niśā* and *pradoṣa*, when they signify time (*kāla*) and the derivate is to denote a residual meaning.

EXAMPLES:

naiśikam 'that which is found at night'
naiśam 'id.'
prādoṣikam 'that which is found at dusk'
prādoṣam 'id.'

1. Note that 4.3.11 *kālāṭ ṭhañ* provides for *ṭhaÑ*, obligatorily, as an exception to the more general (*autsargika*) affix *aṆ* (4.1.83 *prāg dīvyato' ṇ*). Of course, after a syntactically related nominal stem having the signification of time. Our present rule makes this obligatory provision optional. It now clears the way also for *aṆ* to apply optionally with *ṭhaÑ*. Thus we get *naiśikam* (with *ṭhaÑ*) and *naiśam* (with *aṆ*).

4.3.15 श्वसस्तुट् च

śvasas tuṭ ca
/śvasaḥ 5/1 *tuṭ* 1/1 *ca* ϕ/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *śeṣe* #92, *kālāṭ ṭhañ* #11, *vibhāṣā* #13)
'*śvaḥ*' *śabdād vibhāṣā ṭhañ pratyayo bhavati tasya ca tug āgamo bhavati*
The *taddhita* affix *ṭhaÑ*, with an additional provision of augment *tUṬ*, also occurs optionally after the syntactically related nominal stem *śvas* signifying 'time', when the derivate denotes a residual meaning.

EXAMPLES:

śauvastikaḥ 'pertaining to tomorrow'
śvastyaḥ 'id.'
śvastanaḥ 'id.'

1. Note that 4.2.105 *aiṣamohyaḥśvaso'nyatarasyām* provides for *tyaP* after *śvas* optionally, among others, with affixes *Ṭyu* and *ṬyuL* of 4.3.23 *sāyañciram. . . .* Our present rule offers *ṭhaÑ* with an additional provision of augment *tUṬ*. Thus we get three forms: *śauvastikaḥ* (4.3.15), *śvastyaḥ* (4.2.105) and *śvastanaḥ* (4.3.23). Incidentally, these derivates all contain *t*, except that the *t* of *śvastyaḥ* has its source in affix *tyaP*. A provision of *tUṬ* is made available for others. Derivates of *Ṭyu* and *ṬyuL* only differ in accent. The *yu* of affixes *Ṭyu* and *ṬyuL* will yield *ana* of 7.1.1 *yuvor anākau.*

2. Haradatta (*PM* ad *Kāś.*) informs that *śauvastika* does not involve a *vṛddhi* replacement in place of *a* of *śvas*. Instead, *au* is introduced before *v* (whether it is the final of a *pada* or not; 7.3.4 *dvārādīnāṃ ca* read with 7.3.3 *na vyābhyām . . .*). Note that *śvas* is an indeclinable and is listed in the *dvārādi* group of eleven items which are all denied *vṛddhi.* However, items listed under the *dvārādi* group are augmented with *ai* and *au* before *y* and *v*, respectively (7.1.14 *dvārādīnāṃ ca*). Thus, *ś* + *au* + *vas* + *t* + (*ṭh*→*ika*) = *śauvastika* + *sU* = *śvauvastikaḥ.*

4.3.16 सन्धिवेलाद्यृतुनक्षत्रेभ्योऽण्

sandhivelādyṛtunakṣatrebhyo'ṇ
/sandhivelādyṛtunakṣatrebhyaḥ 5/3 = *sandhivelā ādir yeṣām te = sandhivelādayaḥ* (*bv.*); *sandhivelādayaś ca ṛtuś ca nakṣatraṃ ca = sandhivelādyṛtunakṣatrāṇi* (*itar. dv.* with int. *bv.*), *tebhyaḥ*; *aṇ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *śeṣe* #92, *kālāt* #11)
sandhivelādibhyo ṛtubhyo nakṣatrebhyaś ca kālavṛttibhyo'ṇ pratyayo bhavati śaiṣikaḥ
The *taddhita* affix *aṆ* occurs after a syntactically related nominal stem which is either listed in the group headed by *sandhivelā* 'junctional time', or signifies a season (*ṛtu*), or else, is a constellation (*nakṣatra*), provided the derivate is to denote a residual meaning.

EXAMPLES:

sāndhivelam 'pertaining to dusk, dawn or noon'
sāndhyam 'id.'
graiṣmam 'that which is found in summer'
śaiśiram 'that which is found in winter'
taiṣam 'born when moon was in conjunction with Tiṣya'
pauṣam 'born when moon was in conjunction with Puṣya'

1. All items specified by this rule denote time, and hence, are qualified to receive affix *ṭhaÑ* from rule 4.3.11 *kālāṭ ṭhañ*. This *aṆ* then is an exception to *ṭhaÑ*.

2. Note that the *sandhivelādi* group contains eight stems where *paurṇamāsī* 'fullmoon night' is one of them. This stem qualifies for affix *cha* of rule 4.2.114 *vṛddhāc chaḥ* because of its *vṛddhi* vowel *au*. Stems, such as *svāti*, which denote a constellation and can be termed *vṛddha* as well, would also qualify for *cha*. This *cha*, however, is blocked by *ṭhaÑ* of 4.3.11 *kālāṭ ṭhañ* on the basis of *paratva*. Given this, a formulation to provide affix *aṆ*, without the explicit use of *aṆ*, will only be able to block *ṭhaÑ*. It is to block *cha*, and to allow *aṆ* after items termed *vṛddha*, that *aṆ* is used explicitly in this rule (*Nyāsa* ad *Kāś.*: *tatra yady aṅgrahaṇaṃ na kriyeta, tābhyāṃ paratvāṭ ṭhañā che bādhite punar vacanāc cha eva syāt. tasmāt tam api bādhitvā vṛddhād aṇ eva syād ity evamartham punar aṅgrahaṇam*).

3. A *vārttika* proposal also recommends *aṆ* after *saṃvatsara* 'year' to derive *sāmvatsara*, as opposed to *sāṃvatsarika*, to denote a residual meaning relative to *phala* 'fruit' and *parvan* 'festival, joyous occasion'.

4.3.17 प्रावृष एण्यः

prāvṛṣa eṇyaḥ
/prāvṛṣaḥ 5/1 *eṇyaḥ* 1/1/

(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *śeṣe* #92, *kālāt* #11)
prāvṛṣśabdād eṇyaḥ pratyayo bhavati śaiṣikaḥ
The *taddhita* affix *eṇya* occurs after the syntactically related nominal stem *prāvṛṣ* 'rainy season, monsoon' when it signifies time and the derivate denotes a residual meaning.

EXAMPLES:

prāvṛṣeṇyo balāhakaḥ 'monsoon clouds'

1. This rule provides for *eṇya* as an exception to *aṆ* of 4.3.16 *sandhivelā-dyṛtu*. . . .

4.3.18 वर्षाभ्यष्ठक्

varṣābhyaṣ ṭhak
/varṣābhyaḥ 5/3 *ṭhak* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *śeṣe* #92, *kālāt* #11)
varṣāśabdāṭ ṭhak pratyayo bhavati śaiṣikaḥ
The *taddhita* affix *ṭhaK* occurs after the syntactically related nominal stem *varṣā* 'rain', when it signifies time and the derivate denotes a residual meaning.

EXAMPLES:

vārṣikaṃ vāso' nulepanaṃ vā 'rainwear, or an ointment, used during rainy season'

1. Affix *ṭhaÑ* of this rule is an exception to the *aṆ* of 4.3.16 *sandhi-velādy*. . . . A plural specification of *varṣā* in *varṣābhyaḥ* is made to indicate that *varṣā*, when denoting 'rainy season', is obligatorily plural.

4.3.19 छन्दसि ठञ्

chandasi ṭhañ
/chandasi 7/1 *ṭhañ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *śeṣe* #92, *kālāt* #11, *varṣābhyaḥ* #18)
varṣāśabdāc chandasi viṣaye ṭhañ pratyayo bhavati śaiṣikaḥ
The *taddhita* affix *ṭhaÑ* occurs, in Vedic, after the syntactically related nominal stem *varṣā*, when it signifies time and the derivate denotes a residual meaning.

EXAMPLES:

nabhaś ca nabhasyaś ca vārṣikāv ṛtū 'the two months, i.e., *nabhas* and *nabhasya*, of rainy season'

1. Affixes after *varṣā* are introduced in the sense outlined by 4.3.120 *tasyedam.* The word *ṛtu* in the context of *varṣā*, here, refers to months constituting parts (*avayava*) of the season.

4.3.20 वसन्ताच्च

vasantāc ca
/vasantāt 5/1 *ca* ϕ/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *śeṣe* #92, *kālāt* #11, *chandasi ṭhañ* #19)
vasantaśabdāc chandasi viṣaye ṭhañ pratyayo bhavati śaiṣikaḥ
The *taddhita* affix *ṭhaÑ* occurs, in Vedic, after the syntactically related nominal stem *vasanta*, when it signifies time and the derivate denotes a residual meaning.

EXAMPLES:

madhuś ca mādhavaś ca vāsantikāv ṛtū 'Madhu and Mādhava are two months of the spring season'

4.3.21 हेमन्ताच्च

hemantāc ca
/hemantāt 5/1 *ca* ϕ/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *śeṣe* #92, *kālāt* #11, *chandasi ṭhañ* #19)
hemantaśabdāc chandasi viṣaye ṭhañ pratyayo bhavati śaiṣikaḥ
The *taddhita* affix *ṭhaÑ* also occurs after the syntactically related nominal stem *hemanta*, when it signifies time and the derivate denotes a residual meaning.

EXAMPLES:

sahaś ca sahasyaś ca haimantikāv ṛtū '*saha* and *sahasya* are two months of the winter season'

1. The preceding two rules are both an exception to the *a* of 4.3.16 *sandhivelādy.* . . . Why did Pāṇini not save one rule by formulating these two rules both as one: *hemantavasantābhyām.* . .? He preferred a split formulation (*yogavibhāga*), instead, for the sake of the following rule (*uttarārtha*) where *anuvṛtti* of *vasanta* is not needed. A joint formulation will require *vasanta*, because of its association (*sāhacarya*) with *hemanta*, to be also carried.

4.3.22 सर्वत्राण्च तलोपश्च

sarvatrāṇ ca talopaś ca
/sarvatra ϕ *aṇ* 1/1 *ca* ϕ *talopaḥ* = *tasya lopaḥ* (*ṣaṣ. tat.*); *ca* ϕ/

(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *śeṣe* #92, *kālāt* #11, *chandasi ṭhañ* #19, *hemantāt* #21)
hemantaśabdād aṇ pratyayo bhavati tatsanniyogena cāsya takāraḥ
The *taddhita* affix *aṆ* occurs everywhere (*sarvatra*; in Vedic and Classical languages) after the syntactically related nominal stem *hemanta*, with the additional provision of deletion of its *t* before *aṆ*, when *hemanta* signifies time and the derivate denotes a residual meaning.

EXAMPLES:

haimanaṃ vāso' nulepanaṃ vā 'winter clothing, or ointment'
haimantikam 'id.'

1. The word *sarvatra* 'everywhere' is used here to block the *anuvṛtti* of *chandasi*. That is, provisions of this rule are valid for both Vedic as well as Classical languages.

2. Why did Pāṇini have to use *sarvatra* when he could have stopped the *anuvṛtti* of *chandasi* by not showing it marked with *svarita*. This extra effort of using *sarvatra* is made so that *sarvatra* can also be associated with the preceding rule. This way, affix *ṭhaÑ* can also be introduced after *hemanta* in the Classical language. Thus, we will get three forms: (*a*) a derivate in *ṭhaÑ* of the preceding rule (*haimantikam*); (*b*) a derivate in *aṆ* of this rule with deletion of *t* (*haimanam*); and (*c*) a derivate in *aṆ* of 4.3.16 *sandhivelādy . . .*, where *t* is not deleted (*haimantam*).

3. Why is the *ca* used here? To show that this *aṆ* is introduced additionally to the *aṆ* introduced in the context of *ṛtu* 'season' (4.3.16 *sandhivelādy . . .*). What is the difference between the two *aṆ* affixes? The *aṆ* introduced by this rule alone will permit deletion of *t* of *hemanta*. Thus, consider *haimantī* 'that (feminine) which is found in the winter season', where deletion of *t* does not occur

4. The expression *talopa* of *talopaś ca* can be interpreted as 'deletion of *t* and *ta*' both. The first interpretation would have the *t* deleted by this rule. The *a* can then be deleted by 6.4.148 *yasyeti ca*. The second interpretation would also have the deletion accomplished by this rule. But the *a* (of *ta*) will then have to be accepted as used for ease of articulation.

4.3.23 सायंचिरंप्राह्णेप्रगेऽव्ययेभ्यष्ट्युट्युलौ तुट् च

sāyañciraṃprāhṇeprage' vyayebhyaṣ ṭyuṭyulau tuṭ ca
/ sāyañ-ciraṃ-prāhṇe-prage' vyayebhyaḥ 5/3 (*itar. dv.*); *ṭyu-ṭyulau* 1/2 (*itar. dv.*); *tuṭ* 1/1 *ca* ϕ/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *śeṣe* #92, *kālāt* #11)
'sāyam, ciram, prāhṇe, prage' ity evam ādibhyo' vyayebhyaś ca ṭyuṭulau pratyayau bhavataḥ, tayoś cādiṣṭayos tuḍ āgamo bhavati

The *taddhita* affixes *Ṭyu* and *ṬyuL*, with the additional provision of augment *tUṬ*, occur after syntactically related nominal stems *sāyam* 'evening', *ciram* 'for long', *prāhṇe* 'in the morning' and *prage* 'at dawn', and also after indeclinables (*avyaya*), when these stems signify time and their corresponding derivates denote a residual meaning.

EXAMPLES:

sāyantanam 'pertaining to day's end'
cirantanam 'that which happened a long time ago'
prāhṇetanam 'pertaining to the first quarter of a day'
pragetanam 'pertaining to a time very early during the day'
doṣātanam 'that which happens during night'
divātanam 'that which happens during day'

1. The words *sāyam* and *ciram* are given here as ending in *m*, via *nipātana*. The words *prāhṇe* and *prage* are similarly given as ending in *e*. Note, however, that *sāyam* and *ciram*, as used in this rule, are not indeclinables. Instead, they are derivates of *GHaÑ*, ending in *m* via *nipātana*. The *Mbh.* seems unwilling to accept them as anything but indeclinables.

2. A *vārttika* recommends the derivation of *ciratnam* 'that which happened way back', *parutnam* 'that which happened last year' and *parāriratnam* 'that which happened prior to the last year' by introducing affix *tna* after *cira*, *parut*, and *parāri*. A second *vārttika* recommends the deletion of *ga* of *praga* before affix *tna*, in deriving *pratnam* in Vedic. Yet another *vārttika* recommends affix *ḌimaC* after *agra*, *paśca* and *anta*, to derive *agrimam* 'that which happens ahead of time', *paścimam* 'that which happens subsequently' and *antimam* 'that which happens at the end'.

3. Note that derivates of *yu*, with augment *tUṬ*, all end in *tana*, where *yu* yields *ana* through the application of rule 7.1.2 *yuvor anākau*. This *tana* cannot be gotten if the augment is introduced to *yu*, the affix. Rule 7.1.1 *yuvor anākau*, allows replacements in *ana* and *aka* in place of affixes *yu* and *vu* when these affixes follow an *aṅga* (1.4.13 *yasmāt pratyayavidhis tadādi . . .*). Given *sāyam* + *Ṭyu* = *sāyam* + *tuṬ* + *Ṭyu* = *sāyam* + *t* + *yu*, *ana*, a replacement for *yu*, will be blocked because *yu* will then not occur after *sāyam*, the *aṅga*. For, *t*, the augment, intervenes. One cannot here invoke *Paribhāṣā* (12): *yadāgamās tadguṇībhūtās tadgrahaṇena gṛhyante*, and claim that *t*, since it is an augment, is part of *yu*. Consequently, *t* does not intervene and therefore, does not block the replacement. If this is accepted then deriving *mṛtyu* 'death', from *mṛṄ* + *tUṬ* + *yu*, would become impossible. This has been indicated with reference to the derivation of *anadyatana* under rule 3.2.111 *anadyatane laṅ*. Needless to say that introducing *tUṬ*, before *yu* is replaced with *ana*, would make the derivation of *anadyatana* impossible. The derivate will then be: *an* + *adya* + *t* + *yu* = **anadyatyu*, a wrong form. To sum up: *tUṬ* should be introduced only after *ana* has replaced *yu*.

4.3.24 विभाषा पूर्वाह्णपराह्णाभ्याम्

vibhāṣā pūrvāhṇāparāhṇābhyām
/vibhāṣā 1/1 *pūrvāhṇāparāhṇābhyām* 5/2 (*itar. dv.*)/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *śeṣe* #92, *kālāt* #11, *ṭyuṭyulau tuṭ* #23)
pūrvāhṇāparāhṇaśabdābhyaṃ vibhāṣā ṭyuṭyulau pratyayau bhavatas tuṭ ca tayor āgamaḥ
The *taddhita* affixes *Ṭyu* and *ṬyuL*, with the additional provision of augment *tUṬ*, occur optionally after syntactically related nominal stems *pūrvāhṇa* 'first half of the day' and *aparāhṇa* 'next half of the day', when derivates denote a residual meaning.

EXAMPLES:

pūrvāhṇetanam '. . . in the morning'
paurvāhṇikam 'id.'
aparāhṇetanam '. . . in the afternoon'
āparāhṇikam 'id.'

1. Note that not accepting this option of *Ṭyu* and *ṬyuL* will make the option of *ṭhaÑ* (4.3.11 *kālāṭ ṭhañ*) available. The non-deletion of *saptàmī* in *pūrvāhṇetanam* and *aparāhṇetanam* is in consonance with 6.1.17 *ghakālatanеṣu*. . . . A derivate when the compound base is not used with *saptamī* will be *pūrvāhṇatana*, paraphrased as *pūrvahṇaḥ soḍho'sya* 'he whose first part of the day is beautiful'.

The word *ahan* is replaced with *ahna* in consonance with 5.4.88 *ahno'hna etebhyaḥ*. The *samāsānta* affix *ṬaC* is introduced by 5.4.91 *rājāhaḥ*. . . . The *n* of *ahna* is then replaced with *ṇ* by 8.4.7 *ahno'dantāt*.

4.3.25 तत्र जातः

tatra jātaḥ
/tatra ϕ *jātaḥ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samarthānāṃ* . . . #4.1.82, *prāg dīvyato' ṇ* #4.1.83, *śeṣe* #4.2.92)
'tatra' iti saptamīsamarthāt 'jātaḥ' ity etasminn arthe yathāvihitaṃ pratyayo bhavati
A *taddhita* affix, henceforth, occurs as ruled after a syntactically related nominal stem which ends in *saptamī* 'locative', provided the derivate denotes 'born in there'.

EXAMPLES:

sraughnaḥ 'born in Srughna'
māthuraḥ 'born in Mathurā'
grāmīṇaḥ 'born in a village'

1. This is an *adhikāra* whereby a *taddhita* affix will be introduced after a syntactically related nominal stem ending in *saptamī* 'locative'. This specification of *saptamī* by *tatra* is made via meaning (*arthadvāreṇa*): 'after a syntactically related nominal stem which ends in *saptamī* (*saptamīsamarthāt prātipadikāt*)'. This is how the base (*prakṛti*) is specified. The word *jātaḥ* specifies affixal denotatum (*pratyayārtha*). It is argued that such specifications (*nirdeśa*) should not be made at all (*ubhayam anirdeśyam*). For, *śeṣe* can then be interpreted as both a governing rule (*adhikāra*) as well as an operational rule (*vidhi*). Thus, general affixes, such as *aṆ*, etc., can occur in the sense of 'born in there', etc. Particular affixes, such as *gha*, etc., will occur in view of interpretation of *śeṣe* as an *adhikāra*. But such specifications are made nevertheless. Should we then assign this rule the status of a *niyama* 'restriction'? A *niyama* interpretation will lead to so many undesired things (*aniṣṭa*). To claim that—a specification is made so that *taddhita* affixes occur only to denote the sense of, for example, 'born in there', and not to denote the sense of, for example, '. . . is there (*tatrāste*)', or '. . . reclines in there'—is not correct. For, they also are desired elsewhere (*anyatrāpi hi taddhitā iṣyante*).

These specifications are then made to clearly identify affixes and bases in general, especially as they are introduced in relation to their related exceptions.

4.3.26 प्रावृषष्ठप्

prāvṛṣaṣ ṭhap
/prāvṛṣaḥ 5/1 *ṭhap* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samarthānāṃ . . .* #4.1.82, *prāg dīvyato'ṇ* #4.1.83, *śeṣe* #4.2.92, *tatra jātaḥ* #25)
prāvṛṭśabdāt saptamīsamarthāj jāta ity etasminn arthe ṭhap pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *ṭhaP* occurs after the syntactically related nominal stem *prāvṛṣ*, when it ends in *saptamī* 'locative' and the derivate denotes 'born in there'.

EXAMPLES:

prāvṛṣikaḥ = *prāvṛṣi jātaḥ* 'born in the rainy season'

1. This *ṭhaP* is an exception to the *eṇya* of 4.3.17 *prāvṛṣa eṇyaḥ*. That is, *ṭhaP* alone will be used after *prāvṛṣ* when the sense is 'born in there'. The *P*, as an *it* in *ṭhaP*, is used for accent (*svarārtha*; 3.1.4 *anudāttau suppitau*).

4.3.27 संज्ञायां शरदो वुञ्

saṃjñāyāṃ śarado vuñ
/saṃjñāyām 7/1 *śaradaḥ* 5/1 *vuñ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ*

#4.1.76, *samarthānāṃ . . .* #4.1.82, *prāg dīvyato'ṇ* #4.1.83, *śeṣe* #4.2.92, *tatra jātaḥ* #25)
śaracchabdāt saptamīsamarthāj jāta ity etasminn arthe vuñ pratyayo bhavati samudāyena cet saṃjñā gamyate
The *taddhita* affix *vuN* occurs after the syntactically related nominal stem *śarad* when it ends in locative and the derivate denotes a name (*saṃjñā*) relative to 'born in there'.

EXAMPLES:

śāradakā darbhāḥ 'a particular (Kuśa) grass which thrives in autumn'
śāradakāḥ mudgāḥ 'a particular (Mung) beans which is harvested in autumn'

1. Affix *vuN* of this rule is an exception to the *aṆ* of 4.3.16 *sandhivelādyṛtu. . . .* The condition of *saṃjñā* is imposed so that a derivate parallel to *śāradaṃ sasyam* 'grain harvested in autumn' could not be derived with *vuN*.

2. Some carry the *anuvṛtti* of *saṃjñāyām* up to rule 4.3.38 *kṛtalabdhakrītakuśalāḥ*. That is, some do not (*Nyāsa*: *kecin nānuvarttayantīty uktaṃ bhavati*).

4.3.28 पूर्वाह्णापराह्णार्द्रामूलप्रदोषावस्कराद् वुन्

pūrvāhṇāparāhṇārdrāmūlapradoṣāvaskarād vun
/pūrvāhṇāparāhṇārdrāmūlapradoṣāvaskarāt 5/1 (*sam. dv.*); *vun* 1/1/ (*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samarthānāṃ . . .* #4.1.82, *prāg dīvyato'ṇ* #4.1.83, *śeṣe* #4.2.92, *tatra jātaḥ* #25, *saṃjñāyām* #27)
pūrvāhṇādibhyaḥ śabdebhyo vun pratyayo bhavati 'tatra jātaḥ' ity etasmin viṣaye saṃjñāyāṃ gamyamānāyām
The *taddhita* affix *vuN* occurs to denote the sense of 'born in there' after syntactically related nominal stems *pūrvāhṇa, aparāhṇa, ārdrā* 'a constellation', *mūla* 'a constellation', *pradoṣa* and *avaskara* 'dung', when these stems end in locative and derivates signify a name.

EXAMPLES:

pūrvāhṇakaḥ 'born in the first half of a day'
aparāhṇakaḥ 'born in the second half of a day'
ārdrakaḥ 'born when moon may be in the constellation Ārdrā'
mūlakaḥ 'born when moon may be in the constellation Mūla'
pradoṣakaḥ 'born at dusk'
avaskarakaḥ 'born in ordure; an insect'

1. Recall that rule 4.3.24 *vibhāṣā pūrvāhṇāparāhṇābhyām* introduces affixes *Ṭyu* and *ṬyuL*, optionally, with *ṭhaÑ* of 4.3.11 *kālāṭ ṭhañ*. Affix *vuN*, in the context of *pūrvāhṇa* and *aparāhṇa*, constitutes an exception to all three affixes: *ṭhaÑ*, *Ṭyu* and *ṬyuL*. Derivates such as *ārdrakaḥ* and *mūlakaḥ* illus-

trate that *vuN* is an exception to the *aṆ* of 4.3.16 *sandhyavelādyṛtunakṣatrebhyo' ṇ*. A derivate such as *pradoṣakaḥ* illustrates that, in this case, affix *ṭhaÑ* of 4.3.14 *niśāpradoṣābhyām* . . . is blocked by *vuN*. The same is true of *avaskarakaḥ* where affix *vuN* blocks the general (*autsargika*) *aṆ*. Affixes blocked by *vuN* may not be blocked if derivates do not denote a name (*saṃjñā*; *Kāś.*: *asaṃjñāyāṃ tu yathāprāptaṃ ṭhañādaya eva bhavanti*).

4.3.29 पथः पन्थ च

pathaḥ pantha ca
/ pathaḥ 6/1 *pantha* 1/1 (deleted) *ca* ϕ/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samarthānāṃ* . . . #4.1.82, *prāg dīvyato' ṇ* #4.1.83, *śeṣe* #4.2.92, *tatra jātaḥ* #25, *vun* #28)
pathiśabdād vun pratyayo bhavati 'tatra jātaḥ' ity etasmin viṣaye
The *taddhita* affix *vuN* occurs after the syntactically related nominal stem *pathin* 'road' ending in locative, with an additional provision for it to be concurrently replaced with *pantha*, provided the derivate signifies 'born in there'.

EXAMPLES:

pathi jātaḥ = *panthakaḥ* 'born on road to . . .'

1. Note that *pathin* is replaced by *pantha* only in close context of this affix (*pratyayasanniyoga*). The word *panthaḥ*, treated as *pañcamī* 'ablative' and *ṣaṣṭhī* 'genitive' both, facilitates proper interpretation of this rule. That is, *pañcamī* facilitates *pratyayavidhi*, i.e., introduction of affix *vuN*; *ṣaṣṭhī* identifies the substituendum (*sthāninirdeśa*). Affix *vuN*, here again, is an exception to *aṆ*.

4.3.30 अमावास्याया वा

amāvāsyāyā vā
/ amāvāsyāyāḥ 5/1 *vā* ϕ/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samarthānāṃ* . . . #4.1.82, *prāg dīvyato' ṇ* #4.1.83, *śeṣe* #4.2.92, *tatra jātaḥ* #25, *vuñ* #28)
amāvāsyāśabdād vun pratyayo bhavati vā 'tatra jātaḥ' ity etasmin viṣaye
The *taddhita* affix *vuN* occurs optionally after the syntactically related nominal stem *amāvāsyā* 'new moon night', when it ends in locative and the derivate denotes 'born in there'.

EXAMPLES:

amāvāsyakaḥ 'born in a new moon night'
āmāvāsyaḥ 'id.'
āmāvasyaḥ 'id.'

1. Affix *vuN* is provided here as an option to *a* of 4.3.16 *sandhivelādy. . . .* Needless to say, *amāvāsyā* is listed in the group of stems headed by *sandhivelā.* It also has a variant in *amāvasyā.* Affix *vuN* can also be introduced after *amāvasyā* in accord with *Paribhāṣā* (38): *ekadeśavikṛtam ananyavat.* That is, *amāvasyā,* which differs from *amāvāsyā* in one place (*ekadeśa*), will be treated as *amāvāsyā.* Consequently, we get three forms: *amāvasyakaḥ, āmāvāsyaḥ* and *āmāvasyaḥ.*

4.3.31 अ च

a ca
/a 1/1 (deleted) *ca* ϕ/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samarthānāṃ . . .* #4.1.82, *prāg dīvyato'ṇ* #4.1.83, *śeṣe* #4.2.92, *tatra jātaḥ* #25, *amāvāsyāyāḥ* #30)
amāvāsyāśabdād akāraḥ pratyayo bhavati 'tatra jātaḥ' ity etasmin viṣaye
The *taddhita* affix *a* occurs also after a syntactically related nominal stem ending in locative, when its derivate is to signify 'born there'.

EXAMPLES:

amāvāsyaḥ 'born in a new moon night'
amāvasyaḥ 'id.'

1. Why was this rule not formulated jointly with the preceding as: *amāvāsyāyā vā ca* where *ca* could attract *vuN,* and *vā* could make them both optional (*Nyāsa* ad *Kāś.*: *cakāro vuno' nukarṣaṇārtho bhaviṣyati, vāvacanaṃ cobhayor vikalpārtham*). Since they will both be optional, affix *aṆ* could still be applied. A split-formulation (*yogavibhāga*) is preferred so that one may not be confused about the interpretation of our next rule. That is, a joint formulation could make one think that *kaN* of the next rule was given as an option to *aṆ.*

4.3.32 सिन्ध्वपकराभ्यां कन्

sindhvapakarābhyāṃ kan
/sindhvapakarābhyām 5/2 (*itar. dv.*) *kan* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samarthānāṃ . . .* #4.1.82, *prāg dīvyato'ṇ* #4.1.83, *śeṣe* #4.2.92, *tatra jātaḥ* #25)
sindhuśabdād apakaraśabdāc ca kan pratyayo bhavati 'tatra jātaḥ' ity etasmin viṣaye
The *taddhita* affix *kaN* occurs after syntactically related nominal stems *sindhu* 'river; Indus' and *apakara* 'place name', when they end in locative and derivates signify 'born there'.

EXAMPLES:

sindhukaḥ 'born in Indus valley'
apakarakaḥ 'born in Apakara'

1. Note that *sindhu* is listed in the group of stems known as *kacchādi.* Consequently, affixes *aṆ* and *vuN* of 4.2.133 *kacchādibhyaś ca* and 4.2.134 *manuṣyatastha . . .* were already available to it. Affix *kaN* blocks them both in case of *sindhu.* It blocks the general *aṆ* in case of *apakara.*

4.3.33 अणञौ च

aṇañau ca
/aṇañau 1/2 = *aṇ ca añ ca* (*itar. dv.*); *ca ϕ/*
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samarthānāṃ . . .* #4.1.82, *prāg dīvyato'ṇ* #4.1.83, *śeṣe* #4.2.92, *tatra jātaḥ* #25, *sindhvapakarābhyām* #32)
sindhvapakaraśabdābhyāṃ yathāsaṃkhyam aṇañau pratyayau bhavataḥ 'tatra jātaḥ' ity etasmin viṣaye
The *taddhita* affixes *aṆ* and *aÑ* occur also, respectively, after syntactically related nominal stems *sindhu* and *apakara,* when they end in locative and derivates signify 'born there'.

EXAMPLES:

saindhavaḥ 'born in Indus valley'
āpakaraḥ 'born in Apakara'

1. This rule provides for *aṆ* and *aÑ,* respectively, after *sindhu* and *apakara,* parallel to *kaN.* Why was this rule not formulated jointly with the preceding as: *sindhvapakarābhyāṃ ca kannaṇañaḥ?* A separate formulation of this rule is intended for *yathāsaṃkhya* of *aṆ* and *aÑ* relative to *sindhu* and *apakara.* A joint formulation would have two bases and three affixes thereby impairing this desired *yathāsaṃkhya.*

4.3.34 श्रविष्ठाफल्गुन्यनुराधास्वातितिष्यपुनर्वसुहस्तविशाखाषाढाबहुलाल्लुक्

śraviṣṭhāphalgunyanurādhāsvātitiṣyapunarvasuhastaviśākhāṣāḍhābahulāl-luk
/śraviṣṭhāphalgunyanurādhāsvātitiṣyapunarvasuhastaviśākhāṣāḍhābahulāt 5/1 = *śraviṣṭhā ca phalgunī ca anurādhā ca svāti ca tiṣya ca punarvasu ca hasta ca viśākhā ca aṣāḍhā ca bahulā ca* (*sam. dv.*), *tasmāt; luk* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samarthānāṃ . . .* #4.1.82, *prāg dīvyato'ṇ* #4.1.83, *śeṣe* #4.2.92, *tatra jātaḥ* #25)
śraviṣṭhādibhyaḥ śabdebhyo nakṣatrebhya āgatasya jātārthe lug bhavati
A *taddhita* affix which occurs after syntactically related nominal stems

śraviṣṭhā, phalgunī, anurādhā, svāti, tiṣya, punarvasu, hasta, viśākhā, aṣāḍhā and *bahulā*, all ending in locative, is replaced with *LUK* when derivates signify 'born there'.

EXAMPLES:

śraviṣṭhaḥ 'born in the constellation Śraviṣṭhā'
phalgunaḥ 'born in the constellation Phalgunī'
anurādhaḥ 'born in the constellation Anurādha'
svātiḥ 'born in the constellation Tiṣya'
punarvasuḥ 'born in the constellation Punarvasu'
hastaḥ 'born in the constellation Hasta'
viśākhaḥ 'born in the constellation Viśākhā'
aṣāḍhaḥ 'born in the constellation Aṣāḍhā'
bahulaḥ 'born in the constellation Kṛttikā'

1. Note that all specified bases are feminine and they all denote a constellation. The deletion of a *taddhita* affix by means of *LUK* will also result in removal of feminine affixes of individual bases. This is why we get examples such as *śraviṣṭhaḥ*, etc.

2. It is stated, in a *vārttika*, that nominal stems *citrā, revatī* and *rohiṇī* must also be included within the list of bases impacted by *LUK*-deletion. Note, however, that their derivates will still be *citrā, rohiṇī* and *revatī*, in feminine. For, these are used only in feminine. One would get the form *citrā*, parallel to *citrāyāṃ jātā* 'a female born in the constellation Citrā', after deleting the *taddhita* affix and removing the feminine of *citrā*. But since the word can be used only in feminine, one must reintroduce affix *ṬāP* by 4.1.4 *ajādyataṣ ṭāp* to derive *citrā* again. This same is also applicable to *revatī* and *rohiṇī*, parallel to *revatyāṃ jātā* 'a female born in Revatī' and *rohiṇyāṃ jātā* 'a female born in Rohiṇī', although feminine affix *ṄīṢ* will here be reintroduced by 4.1.41 *ṣidgaurādibhyaś ca*. Both these stems are included in the *gaurādi* group.

A second *vārttika* allows the derivation of *phalgunī* and *aṣāḍhā* as exceptions to *aṆ*. They are stated to derive with affixes *Ṭa* and *aṄ* introduced after *phalgunī* and *aṣāḍhā*, respectively. The *Ṭ* of affix *Ṭa* is intended for *ṬāP* of 4.1.15 *ṭiḍḍhāṇañ*. . . . The *Ṇ* of *aṆ* is intended for accent (*svarārtha*). Feminine affixes of these derivates are not removed because these derivates are used in feminine only. Elsewhere, whether in feminine or in masculine, *śraviṣṭhā* and *aṣāḍhā* also get affix *chaṆ* (cf. *vt.* 3) to derive *śrāviṣṭhīyaḥ* and *āṣāḍhīyaḥ* in masculine, and *śrāviṣṭhīyā* and *āṣāḍhīyā* in feminine.

4.3.35 स्थानान्तगोशालखरशालाच्च

sthānāntagośālakharaśālāc ca
/ sthānāntagośālakharaśālāt 5/1 = *sthānam ante yasya* (*bv.*); *sthāhnaṃ ca gośālaṃ ca kharaśālaṃ ca* (*sam. dv.* with int. *bv.*), *tasmāt*; *ca* ϕ/

(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samarthānāṃ* . . . #4.1.82, *prāg dīvyato'ṇ* #4.1.83, *śeṣe* #4.2.92, *tatra jātaḥ* #25, *luk* #34)
sthānāntāt prātipadikād gośālaśabdāt kharaśālaśabdāj jātārthe pratyayasya lug bhavati
A *taddhita* affix which occurs after a syntactically related nominal stem ending in *sthāna*, or after nominal stems *gośāla* 'cow-pen' and *kharaśāla* 'stable', is replaced with *LUK*, provided these stems terminated in locative and derivates signified 'born there'.

EXAMPLES:

gosthānaḥ 'born in a shelter for cows'
gośālaḥ 'id.'
aśvasthānaḥ 'born in a stable'
kharaśālaḥ 'id.'

1. Note that these derivates are not allowed *vṛddhi* because affix *aṆ* has been deleted. The shortening of the final *ā* of *śālā*, in *gośālam*, is accomplished by 1.2.47 *hrasvo napuṃsake*. . . .

4.3.36 वत्सशालाभिजिदश्वयुक्छतभिषजो वा

vatsaśālābhijidaśvayukchatabhiṣajo vā
/vatsaśālābhijidaśvayukchatabhiṣajaḥ 5/3 (*sam. dv.*); *vā ϕ/*
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samarthānāṃ* . . . #4.1.82, *prāg dīvyato'ṇ* #4.1.83, *śeṣe* #4.2.92, *tatra jātaḥ* #25, *luk* #34)
vatsaśālādibhyaḥ parasya jātārthe pratyayasya lug vā bhavati
A *taddhita* affix which occurs after syntactically related nominal stems *vatsaśālā, abhijit, aśvayuk* and *śatbhiṣaj* is optionally replaced with *LUK*, when these stems end in locative and derivates signify 'born there'.

EXAMPLES:

vātsaśālaḥ 'born in a shelter for calves'
vatsaśālaḥ 'id.'
ābhijitaḥ 'born when moon was in conjunction with the constellation Abhijit'
abhijit 'id.'
āśvayujaḥ 'born when moon was in conjunction with the constellation Aśvayuj'
aśvayuk 'id.'
śātabhiṣajaḥ 'born when moon was in conjunction with the constellation Śatabhiṣak'
śatabhiṣak 'id.'

1. Note that optional non-deletion of *aṆ* would require initial *vṛddhi*, as opposed to lack of *vṛddhi* when *aṆ* is deleted. A question is raised why the next *sūtra*, with its *bahulam*, cannot accomplish what this *sūtra* is formulated to accomplish. It is stated that *vatsaśālā* (or *vatsaśāla*) does not denote any constellation. The other stems denote constellations but, if included in the next rule, they will have their *aṆ* deleted variously, and not optionally. Provisions made by *LUK* and *bahulam* are not the same.

2. Note that affix *aṆ* is optionally treated as marked with *Ḍ* as an *it*, when it is introduced to block an affix which blocks the general *aṆ* signifying 'born there'. The purpose of assigning *ḍit*-status to an affix is to facilitate deletion of *ṭi* in related derivates (cf. vt. *asminn arthe aṇ ḍid vā vaktavyaḥ*). Thus, consider *śatabhiṣaj* + *Ṅi* + *aṆ*, where affix *aṆ* is allowed by 4.3.16 *sandhivelādy* . . . as an exception to block affix *ṭhaÑ* of 4.3.11 *kālāṭ ṭhañ* which, in turn, is responsible for blocking the general affix *aṆ*. The *ṭi* part *aj* of *śatabhiṣaj* is optionally deleted to yield a third form: *śatabhiṣ*(*aj*→ϕ + (*Ṅi*→ϕ) + *a*(*Ṇ*→ϕ)) = *śatabhiṣa* + *sU*→*ḥ* = *śatabhiṣaḥ*.

4.3.37 नक्षत्रेभ्यो बहुलम्

nakṣatrebhyo bahulam
/*nakṣatrebhyaḥ* 5/3 *bahulam* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samarthānāṃ* . . . #4.1.82, *prāg dīvyato'ṇ* #4.1.83, *śeṣe* #4.2.92, *tatra jātaḥ* #25, *luk* #34)
nakṣatrebhya uttarasya jātārthe pratyayasya bahulaṃ lug bhavati
A *taddhita* affix which occurs after a syntactically related nominal stem signifying a constellation and ending in locative, is variously (*bahulam*) replaced with *LUK* when derivates denote 'born there'.

EXAMPLES:

rohiṇaḥ 'born when moon was in conjunction with the constellation Rohiṇī'
rauhiṇaḥ 'id.'
mṛgaśirāḥ 'born when moon was in conjunction with the constellation Mṛgaśiras'
mārgaśīrṣaḥ 'id.'

1. Why not carry *vā* from the preceding *sūtra* and drop *bahulam* from this? This will not be proper since *bahulam* and *vā* are not synonymous. It is the *kvacid anyad eva* 'and yet on occasions something else' provision of *bahulam* which makes it possible for introduction of affixes *Ṭa* and *Ña* after *phalgunī* and *aṣāḍhā*. Affix *cha* is similarly made possible after *śraviṣṭhā* and *aṣāḍhā*. These affixal provisions are not covered by *pravṛtti* 'application', *apravṛtti* 'lack of application' and *vibhāṣā* 'option' aspects of *bahulam*.

4.3.38 **कृतलब्धक्रीतकुशलाः**

kṛtalabdhakrītakuśalāḥ
/kṛtalabdhakrītakuśalāḥ 1/3 = *kṛtaś ca labdhaś ca krītaś ca kuśalaś ca* (*itar. dv.*)/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samarthānāṃ . . .* #4.1.82, *prāg dīvyato'ṇ* #4.1.83, *śeṣe* #4.2.92, *tatra* #24)
saptamīsamarthāt kṛtādiṣv artheṣu yathāvihitaṃ pratyayo bhavati
A *taddhita* affix occurs, henceforth as specified, after a syntactically related nominal stem which ends in locative, provided derivates signify a residual meaning relative to *kṛta* 'made', *labdha* 'received', *krīta* 'bought' and *kuśala* 'skilled'.

EXAMPLES:

sraughnaḥ 'made, obtained, bought, or skilled, in Srughna'
māthuraḥ 'made, obtained, bought, or skilled, in Mathurā'
rāṣṭriyaḥ 'made, obtained, bought, or skilled, in the nation'

1. Note that *kṛta* and *jāta* can be used synonymously, as can be *krīta* and *labdha*. Why do we have to specify them separately. It is stated that they are not exactly synonymous, and hence, are specified separately (*bhedenopādānaṃ kriyate*).

4.3.39 **प्रायभवः**

prāyabhavaḥ
/prāyabhavaḥ 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samarthānāṃ . . .* #4.1.82, *prāg dīvyato'ṇ* #4.1.83, *śeṣe* #4.2.92, *tatra* #24)
saptamīsamarthād ṅyāpprātipadikāt 'prāyabhavaḥ' ity etasmin viṣaye yathāvihitaṃ pratyayo bhavati
A *taddhita* affix occurs after a syntactically related nominal stem which ends in locative, provided the derivate signifies a residual meaning relative to something which generally happens (*prāyabhavaḥ*).

EXAMPLES:

sraughnaḥ 'that which frequently happens in Srughna'
māthuraḥ 'that which generally happens in Mathurā'
rāṣṭriyaḥ 'that which generally happens in the nation'

1. Note that rule 4.3.25 *tatra bhavaḥ* can easily account for what this rule offers. An argument in favor of retaining this *sūtra* based on *tatra bhavaḥ* specifying a general meaning (*bhavārtha-sāmānya*) such as 'that which hap-

pens there', as opposed to the 'specific' meaning (*bhavārtha-viśeṣa*) of 'that which generally happens there', is not acceptable. For, the general meaning of *bhavaḥ* will also contain the particular meaning of *prāyabhavaḥ* 'happens generally'. Patañjali, therefore, does not accept the validity of formulating this *sūtra* separately.

Some still argue that *tatra bhavaḥ* signifies the sense of *bhavaḥ* as obligatory (*nitya*). The meaning which *prāyabhavaḥ* specifies is non-obligatory (*anitya*). This clearly establishes that a meaning characterized as *nityabhavaḥ* cannot contain a meaning which is characterized as *anityabhavaḥ*. For, if a *nityabhavaḥ* meaning contains within itself the *anityabhavaḥ* meaning then, given a sound such as *jihvāmūlīya*, parallel to *jihvāmūle bhavaḥ* 'that which is located (pronounced) at the root of tongue', cannot be derived with *cha*. Mainly because a sound is not always pronounced at the root of the tongue. To accept that *prāyabhavaḥ* is included within *tatrabhavaḥ* will amount to saying that there is no difference between them. But accepting this difference does not refute the claim that a general meaning also contains the particular. For, that which happens generally (*prāyeṇa bhavati*) is also that which happens anyway (*bhavaty eva*).

4.3.40 उपजानूपकर्णोपनीवेष्ठक्

upajānūpakarṇopanīveṣ ṭhak
/upajānūpakarṇopanīveḥ 5/1 = (*sam. dv.*); *ṭhak* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samarthānāṃ . . .* #4.1.82, *prāg dīvyato'ṇ* #4.1.83, *śeṣe* #4.2.92, *tatra* #24, *prāyabhavaḥ* #39)
upajānvādibhyaḥ śabdebhyaḥ saptamīsamarthebhyaḥ 'prāyabhavaḥ' ity etasmin viṣaye ṭhak pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *ṭhaK* occurs after syntactically related nominal stems *upajānū* 'close to knees', *upakarṇa* 'close to ears' and *upanīvi* 'close to girdle; . . . navel', when they end in locative and derivates signify a residual meaning relative to 'that which happens generally'.

EXAMPLES:

aupajānukaḥ 'that which is generally found around knees'
aupakarṇikaḥ 'that which is generally found around ears'
aupanīvikaḥ 'that which is generally found around the girdle'

1. Note that *upajānu*, etc., are indeclinable compounds (*avyayībhāva*) signifying proximity (*sāmīpya*; 2.1.6 *avyayaṃ vibhaktisamīpa . . .*). A masculine specification of their *samāhāradvandva* is peculiar to the language of the *sūtras*. The *ṭha→ka* change in *upajānu* + *ṭha* is in consonance with rule 7.3.51 *isuktāntāt kaḥ*. Elsewhere, the *ṭha* is replaced with *ika* of 7.3.50 *ṭhasyekaḥ*.

4.3.41 सम्भूते

sambhūte
/ sambhūte 7/1
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samarthānāṃ . . .* #4.1.82, *prāg dīvyato'ṇ* #4.1.83, *śeṣe* #4.2.92, *tatra* #24)
saptamīsamarthād ṅyāpprātipadikāt sambhūte ity etasminn arthe yathāvihitaṃ pratyayo bhavati
A *taddhita* affix occurs as specified after a syntactically related nominal stem which ends in locative, provided the derivate signifies *sambhūta* 'possibility'.

EXAMPLES:

srughne sambhavati = *sraughnaḥ* 'that which is possible to be found in Srughna'
māthuraḥ 'that which is possible to be found in Mathurā'
rāṣṭriyaḥ 'that which is possible to be found in the nation'

1. The word *sambhūta* is here accepted as meaning: *avaklṛptiḥ* 'possibility, probability' and *pramāṇānatirekaḥ* 'not going beyond some specific measure', where that which is located (*ādheya*) does not go beyond what serves as the locus (*ādhāra*; *ādhārapramāṇādādheyapramāṇasyānatiriktatā*). It thus cannot be interpreted as meaning *ulpattiḥ* 'coming into existence', *sattā* 'existence', or *jāta* and *bhūta* 'born'. Consider now the sentence: *devadatta idānīṃ srughne sambhāvyate* 'Devadatta is now presumed to be in Srughna', where Devadatta, the *ādheya*, cannot be considered as existing beyond Srughna, the locus (*ādhāra*).

4.3.42 कोशाड् ढञ्

kośāḍ ḍhañ
/ kośāt 5/1 *ḍhañ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samarthānāṃ . . .* #4.1.82, *prāg dīvyato'ṇ* #4.1.83, *śeṣe* #4.2.92, *tatra* #24, *sambhūte* #41)
'kośaśabdāḍ ḍhañ pratyayo bhavati 'tatra sambhūte' ity etasmin viṣaye
The *taddhita* affix *ḍhañ* occurs after the syntactically related nominal stem *kośa* 'cocoon', when ending in locative, provided the derivate signifies the residual meaning of 'possible to be found there'.

EXAMPLES:

kośe sambhūtam = *kauśeyaṃ vastram* 'silk (garment)'

1. Note that *kośe sa, bhavati kauśeyam* literally means 'that which is possible to be found in a shell'. Our derivate *kauśeya* is then open to many interpre-

tations. Thus, it can mean a sword because of the possibility of its being found in a scabbard (*khaṇgakośa*). It can similarly be interpreted as meaning silkworm (*kṛmi*). But since *kauśeya* is generally used in the sense of '(silk) garment', 'sword' and 'worm' interpretations are ruled out.

4.3.43 कालात्साधुपुष्प्यत्पच्यमानेषु

kālāt sādhupuṣpyatpacyamāneṣu
/kālāt 5/1 *sādhupuṣpyatpacyamāneṣu* 7/3 (*itar.dv.*)/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samarthānāṃ . . .* #4.1.82, *prāg dīvyato'ṇ* #4.1.83, *śeṣe* #4.2.92, *tatra* #24)
kālaviśeṣavācibhyaḥ saptamīsamarthebhyaḥ sādhvādiṣv artheṣu yathāvihitaṃ pratyayo bhavati
A *taddhita* affix occurs as specified after a syntactically related nominal stem which ends in locative and signifies a particular time (*kālaviśeṣa*), provided derivates denote the residual meaning of *sādhu* 'good, proper', *puṣpyat* 'flowering' and *pacyamāna* 'ripening' in relation to that.

EXAMPLES:

hemante sādhuḥ haimanaḥ prākāraḥ 'an enclosure fit for providing protection from winds during winter'
śaiśiram anulepanam 'an ointment fit for the last two months of winter'
vasante puṣpyanti vāsantyaḥ kuṇḍalatāḥ 'the Kunda creepers which blossom in spring'
graiṣmyaḥ pāṭalāḥ 'the Pāṭala flowers which blossom in the summer'
śaradi pacyante sāradāḥ śālayaḥ 'a kind of rice which gets ready for harvesting in the autumn'
graiṣmāyavāḥ 'a barley which gets ready for harvesting in summer'

1. Note that *kāla* does not here refer to its form (*śabda*). Instead, it refers to its meaning (*artha*). We know it from the fact that it is carried as a qualifier in the following rule. If it is interpreted as referring to its form then it will be impossible for it to qualify bases of the next rule (*Nyāsa* ad *Kāś.*: *na hi svarūpagrahaṇe saty uttarāḥ prakṛtayaḥ śakyā viśeṣayitum*).

4.3.44 उप्ते च

upte ca
/upte 7/1 *ca* ϕ/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samarthānāṃ . . .* #4.1.82, *prāg dīvyato'ṇ* #4.1.83, *śeṣe* #4.2.92, *tatra* #24, *kālāt* #43)
saptamīsamarthāt kālavācinaḥ prātipadikād upte yathāvihitaṃ pratyayo bhavati

A *tadhita* affix occurs as specified after a syntactically related nominal stem which ends in locative and signifies a particular time, provided the derivate signifies the residual meaning of 'sown at that time'

EXAMPLES:

hemante upyante haimantā yavāḥ 'a barley which is sown in the first two months of winter'
graiṣmā vrīhayaḥ 'the rice which is sown during the two months of summer'

1. Why did Pāṇini not formulate this *sūtra* jointly with the preceding? A split-interpretation (*yogavibhāga*) is made for the following rule (*uttarārtha*). For, *upte* and *kālāt* are carried. A joint formulation would have also required the *anuvṛtti* of *sādhupuṣpyatpacyamāneṣu.*

4.3.45 आश्वयुज्या वुञ्

āśvayujyā vuñ
/āśvayujyaḥ 5/1 *vuñ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samarthānāṃ . . .* #4.1.82, *prāg dīvyato'ṇ* #4.1.83, *śeṣe* #4.2.92, *tatra* #24, *kālāt* #43, *upte* #44)
āśvayujīśabdād vuñ pratyayo bhavati upte'rthe
The *taddhita* affix *vuN* occurs after the syntactically related nominal stem *āśvayujī* 'a day with full moon in conjunction with the constellation Aśvayuj', when it ends in locative and the derivate signifies a residual meaning of 'sown at that time'.

EXAMPLES:

āśvayujakāḥ māṣāḥ '(Mung) beans sown when full moon may be in conjunction with the constellation Aśvayuj (Aśvinī)'

1. Note that *āśvayujī* is explained as a day when full moon may be in conjunction with the constellation Aśvinī (*aśvinībhyāṃ yuktā paurṇamāsī āśvayujī*). The word *aśvayuj* which serves as base for deriving *āśvayuji* is a synonym of *aśvinī.* Our derivate *aśvayujaka* is derived with *aka* replacement of *vuN* (7.1.1 *yuvor anākau*) and deletion of *ṄīP* of *aśvayujī.*

4.3.46 ग्रीष्मवसन्तादन्यतरस्याम्

grīṣmavasantād anyatarasyām
/grīṣmavasantāt 5/1 (*sam. dv.*); *anyatarasyām* 7/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samarthānāṃ . . .* #4.1.82, *prāg dīvyato'ṇ* #4.1.83, *śeṣe* #4.2.92, *tatra* #24, *kālāt* #43, *upte* #44, *vuñ* #45)
grīṣmavasantaśabdābhyām anyatarasyāṃ vuñ pratyayo bhavati upte' rthe

The *taddhita* affix *vuN* occurs, optionally after syntactically related nominal stems *grīṣma* 'summer' and *vāsanta* 'spring', when they end in locative and derivates signify the residual meaning of 'sown at that time'.

EXAMPLES:

graiṣmakam '. . . sown in summer'
graiṣmam 'id.'
vāsantakam '. . . sown in spring'
vāsantam 'id.'

1. Note that the general affix *aṆ* will apply if this option of *vuN* is not accepted.

4.3.47 देयमृणे

deyam ṛṇe
/deyam 1/1 *ṛṇe* 7/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samarthānāṃ* . . . #4.1.82, *prāg dīvyato'ṇ* #4.1.83, *śeṣe* #4.2.92, *tatra* #24, *kālāt* #43, *vuñ* #45)
saptamīsamarthāt kālavācinaḥ prātipadikād deyam ity etasminn arthe yathāvihitaṃ pratyayo bhavati yad deyam ṛṇaṃ ced bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *vuN* occurs after a syntactically related nominal stem which signifies time and ends in locative, provided derivates denote a residual meaning relative to 'a debt (*ṛṇa*) which ought to be repaid'.

EXAMPLES:

māse deyam ṛṇaṃ = māsikam 'a debt which ought to be repaid in a month'
ārddhamāsikam 'a debt which ought to be repaid in a fortnight'
sāmvatsarikam 'a debt which ought to be repaid within a year'

4.3.48 कलाप्यश्वत्थयवबुसाद् वुन्

kalāpyaśvatthayavabusād vun
/kalāpyaśvatthayavabusāt 5/1 (*sam. dv.*); *vun* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samarthānāṃ* . . . #4.1.82, *prāg dīvyato'ṇ* #4.1.83, *śeṣe* #4.2.92, *tatra* #24, *kālāt* #43, *deyam ṛṇe* #47)
kalāpi, aśvattha, yavabusa ity etebhyaḥ kālavācibhyaḥ saptamīsamarthebhyaḥ 'deyam ṛṇam' ity etasminn arthe vun pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* afix *vuN* occurs after syntactically related nominal stems *kalāpin* 'peacock', *aśvattha* 'a tree of the banyan family; Ficus religiosa' and *yavabusa* 'barley-chaff', when they end in locative and have the

signification of time, provided derivates denote a residual meaning relative to 'a debt which ought to be repaid'.

EXAMPLES:

kalāpakam 'a debt which ought to be repaid before the time when peacocks spread their tails'
aśvatthakam 'a debt which ought to be repaid before the time when Aśvattha trees beat fruits'
yavabusakam 'a debt which ought to be repaid before the time when barley will be threshed'

1. A question is raised as to how *kalāpin*, *aśvattha* and *yavabusa* can be accepted as denoting time (*kāla*). They will all be treated as denoting time by way of association (*sāhacarya*). Thus we get the interpretation: *yasmin kāle kalāpinaḥ* . . . '. . . at the time when peacocks. . . .'

4.3.49 ग्रीष्मावरसमाद्वुञ्

grīṣmāvarasamād vuñ
/grīṣmāvarasamāt 5/1 (*sam. dv.*); *vuñ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samarthānāṃ* . . . #4.1.82, *prāg dīvyato'ṇ* #4.1.83, *śeṣe* #4.2.92, *tatra* #24, *kālāt* #43, *deyam ṛṇe* #47)
grīṣmāvarasamaśabdābhyāṃ vuñ pratyayo bhavati 'deyam ṛṇam' ity etasminn arthe
The *taddhita* affix *vuN* occurs after syntactically related nominal stems *grīṣma* and *avarasama*, when they end in locative and derivates denote a residual meaning relative to 'a debt which ought to be repaid'.

EXAMPLES:

graiṣmakam 'a debt which ought to be repaid by next summer'
āvarasamakam 'a debt which ought to be repaid on the first day of the new year'

1. Note that the word *samā* is synonymous with *varṣa* 'year'. Why did Pāṇini not account for derivates of this rule with the introduction of affix *vuN*? Because, by providing for a different affix, especially one with *Ñ* as an *it*, he wanted to account for *vṛddhi* of its derivates. This provision of *vuN* constitutes an exception to both *aṆ* (cf. 4.3.16 *sandhivelādyṛtu* . . ., in relation to *grīṣma*) and *ṭhaÑ* (cf. 4.3.11 *kālāṭ ṭhañ*, in relation to *avarasama*). An example such as *āvarasamakam* is also explained differently as: 'a debt which was to be repaid by the end of the preceding year but which still remains unpaid' (*atīle vatsare devaṃ yad adyāpi na dattam* . . . cf. *PM* ad *Kāś.*).

4.3.50 संवत्सराग्रहायणीभ्यां ठञ् च

saṃvatsarāgrahāyaṇībhyāṃ ṭhañ ca
/saṃvatsarāgrahāyaṇībhyām 5/2 (*itar. dv.*); *ṭhañ* 1/1 *ca* ϕ/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samarthānāṃ . . .* #4.1.82, *prāg dīvyato'ṇ* #4.1.83, *śeṣe* #4.2.92, *tatra* #24, *kālāt* #43, *deyam ṛṇe* #47, *vuñ* #49)
saṃvatsarāgrahāyaṇīśabdābhyāṃ ṭhañ pratyayo bhavati cakārād vuñ ca 'deyam ṛṇam' ity etasminn arthe
The *taddhita* affix *ṭhaÑ*, and *vuN* as well, occurs after syntactically related nominal stems *samvatsara* and *āgrahāyaṇī*, when they end in locative and derivates denote a residual meaning relative to 'a debt which ought to be repaid'.

EXAMPLES:

sāṃvatsarikam 'a debt to be repaid within a year'
sāṃvatsarakam 'id.'
āgrahāyaṇikam 'a debt which ought to be repaid by the full moon day of Āgrahāyaṇa'
āgrahāyaṇakam 'id.'

1. Note that *thaÑ* of this rule will block *aṆ* of 4.3.16 *sandhivelādy . . .* if *phala* of the *Gaṇasūtra*: *saṃvatsarāt phalaparvaṇoḥ*, read within the *sandhivelādi* group, happens to signify a debt.

4.3.51 व्याहरति मृगः

vyāharati mṛgaḥ
/vyāharati (verbal pada); *mṛgaḥ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samarthānāṃ . . .* #4.1.82, *prāg dīvyato'ṇ* #4.1.83, *śeṣe* #4.2.92, *tatra* #24, *kālāt* #43)
kālavācinaḥ saptamīsamarthāt prātipadikād 'vyāharati mṛgaḥ' ity asmin viṣaye yathāvihitaṃ pratyayo bhavati
A *taddhita* affix occurs as specified after a syntactically related nominal stem which signifies time and ends in locative, provided the derivate denotes a residual meaning relative to 'a wild animal making noise at that time'.

EXAMPLES:

niśāyāṃ vyāharati mṛgaḥ naiśaḥ 'a wild animal which makes noise at night'
naiśikaḥ 'id.'
prādoṣaḥ 'a wild animal which makes noise at dusk'
prādoṣikaḥ 'id.'

1. Note that *deyam ṛṇam* is no longer carried. The new condition of *vyāharati mṛgaḥ* is interpreted as: *śabdāyate mṛgaḥ* 'the wild animal is making noise', where *mṛgaḥ* is interpreted as 'a wild animal'. The *ṭhaÑ*, in *naiśikam*, will be availed from rule 4.3.14 *niśāpradoṣābhyāṃ ca*. If one does not accept the option of 4.3.14 then *aṆ* of 4.3.16 *sandhivelādy* . . . will become applicable.

4.3.52 तदस्य सोढम्

tad asya soḍham
/tat 1/1 *asya* 6/1 *soḍham* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samarthānāṃ* . . . #4.1.82, *prāg dīvyato'ṇ* #4.1.83, *śeṣe* #4.2.92, *kālāt* #43)
tad iti prathamāsamarthāt kālavācinaḥ prātipadikāt 'asya' iti ṣaṣṭhyarthe yathāvihitaṃ pratyayo bhavati yat prathamāsamarthaṃ soḍhaṃ cet tad bhavati
A *taddhita* affix occurs to denote the sense of *ṣaṣṭhī* 'genitive' after a syntactically related nominal stem which signifies time and ends in *prathamā* 'nominative', provided what is used in syntactic coordination with this nominative is also 'bearable (*soḍham*)'.

EXAMPLES:

naiśaḥ 'a student who is accustomed to studying at nights'
naiśikaḥ 'id.'
prādoṣaḥ 'a student who is accustomed to studying at dusk'

1. The expression *soḍham*, of *tad asya soḍham*, is explained as *jitam* 'conquered'. That is, it stands for something while doing which one conquers obstacles involved. It may also indicate something one endures, or goes accustomed to do. But note that what is conquered is not time (*kāla*). Consequently, because of its association with time (*kālasāhacarya*), 'study' could be accepted as a denotatum.

2. Affix *ṭhaÑ* (4.3.14 *niśāpradoṣābhyāṃ ca*) is again ruled optionally with *aṆ*.

4.3.53 तत्र भवः

tatra bhavaḥ
/tatra ϕ bhavaḥ 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #4.1.82, *prāg dīvyato'ṇ* #4.1.83, *śeṣe* #4.2.92)
'tatra' iti saptamīsamarthāt ṅyāpprātipadikād 'bhavaḥ' ity etasminn arthe yathāvihitaṃ pratyayo bhavati
A *taddhita* affix, hence forth, occurs as specified, either after a syntactically related nominal stem ending in locative, or after a similar base

ending in a feminine affix, when derivates denote the sense of 'found, existing or obtaining there'.

EXAMPLES:

sraughnaḥ 'that which is there in Srughna'
māthuraḥ 'that which is there in Mathurā'
rāṣṭriyaḥ 'that which is there in the nation'

1. The *anuvṛtti* of *kālāt* is no longer valid. The word *tatra* is used here explicitly so that *tad asya* (4.3.52 *tad asya soḍham*) could be dropped. For, the *anuvṛtti* of *tatra* would also have required the *anuvṛtti* of *tad asya* (*tadanuvṛttau tasyāpy anuvṛttiḥ syāt*).

4.3.54 दिगादिभ्यो यत्

digādibhyo yat
/digādibhyaḥ 5/3 *yat* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #4.1.82, *prāg dīvyato'ṇ* #4.1.83, *śeṣe* #4.2.92, *tatra bhavaḥ* #53)
'*diś*' *ity evam ādibhyaḥ prātipadikebhyo yat pratyayo bhavati* '*tatra bhavaḥ*' *ity etasmin viṣaye*
The *taddhita* affix *yaT* occurs after a syntactically related nominal stem which is listed in the group headed by *diś* 'direction' and ends in locative, provided the derivate signifies a residual meaning relative to 'that which exists there'.

EXAMPLES:

diśi bhavam = *diśyam* 'that which is found in different directions'
vargyam 'that which obtains in a group'

1. The affixal provision of this rule constitutes an exception to affixes *aṆ* and *cha*. That is, a stem which is listed in the *digādi* group, and has a *vṛddhi* vowel initially, will constitute an exception to the *cha* of 4.2.114 *vṛddhāc chaḥ*. All other stems will constitute an exception to the general (*autsargika*) *aṆ* of 4.1.83 *prāg dīvyato'ṇ*.

2. A proposal to include *mukha* 'face' and *jaghana* 'thigh' in this group of *digādi* nominals is made when these stems do not mean body parts (*śarīrāvayava*). This will give us *mukhyam* 'front' and *jaghanyam* 'back' as in *senāmukhyam* 'front of an army' and *senājaghanyam* 'back of an army'. Note that *mukhya* and *jaghanya* must be derived prior to the formation of compounds. That is, *mukha* and *jaghana* cannot be interpreted via *tadantavidhi* to represent *senāmukha* and *senājaghana* for purposes of introducing affix *yaT*.

4.3.55 शरीरावयवाच्च

śarīrāvayavāc ca
/śarīrāvayavāt 5/1 (*ṣaṣ. tat.*), *tasmāt*; *ca* ϕ/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #4.1.82, *prāg dīvyato'ṇ* #4.1.83, *śeṣe* #4.2.92, *tatra bhavaḥ* #53, *yat* #54)
śarīrāvayavavācinaḥ prātipadikād yat pratyayo bhavati 'tatra bhavaḥ' ity etasmin viṣaye
The *taddhita* affix *yaT* additionally occurs after a syntactically related nominal stem which ends in locative and denotes a part of the body, provided the derivate signifies a residual meaning relative to 'that which exists there'.

EXAMPLES:

danteṣu bhavam = *dantyam* 'that which is found in teeth'
karṇyam 'that which is found in ears'

1. This is an exception to *aN*.

4.3.56 दृतिकुक्षिकलशिवस्त्यस्त्यहेर्ढञ्

dṛtikukṣikalaśivastyastyaher ḍhañ
/dṛtikukṣikalaśivastyastyaheḥ 5/1 (*sam. dv.*); *ḍhañ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #4.1.82, *prāg dīvyato'ṇ* 4.1.83, *śeṣe* #4.2.92, *tatra bhavaḥ* #53)
dṛtyādibhyaḥ prātipadikebhyo ḍhañ pratyayo bhavati 'tatra bhavaḥ' ity etasmin viṣaye
The *taddhita* affix *ḍhaÑ* occurs after syntactically related nominal stems *dṛti* 'leather bag; skin', *kukṣi* 'abdomen', *kalaśi* 'jar', *vasti* 'bladder', *asti* 'existence', and *ahi* 'snake', when these end in locative and derivates signify a residual meaning relative to 'that which exists there'.

EXAMPLES:

dṛtau bhavam = *dārteyam* 'that which is in the leather bag'
kaukṣeyam 'that which exists in the abdomen'
kālaśeyam 'that which is found in a jar'
vāsteyam 'that which is there in the bladder'
āsteyam 'that which is found in money'
āheyam 'that (poison) which is found in snakes'

1. Note that *asti* is not a form of *as* 'to be'. Instead, it is an indeclinable termed *nipāta* (*Nyāsa* ad *Kāś.*: *nipātasaṃjñakaṃ tiṅantasadṛśaṃ prātipadikam etat, na tiṅantam*). It is, however, synonymous with the verbal form *asti* since

it also means 'existence'. It also means wealth'. Thus, we get *astikṣīrā brāhmaṇī* 'a brāhmaṇa woman who has many cows, and therefore, is rich in milk'.

4.3.57 ग्रीवाभ्योऽण् च

grīvābhyo'ṇ ca
/grīvābhyaḥ 5/3 *aṇ* 1/1 *ca* ϕ/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #4.1.82, *prāg dīvyato'ṇ* #4.1.83, *śeṣe* 4.2.92, *tatra bhavaḥ* #53, *ḍhañ* #56)
grīvāśabdād aṇ pratyayo bhavati cakārāḍ ḍhañ ca 'tatra bhavaḥ' ity etasmin viṣaye
The *taddhita* affix *ḍhaÑ*, and *aÑ* as well, occurs after the syntactically related nominal stem *grīvā* 'blood vessels', when it ends in locative and derivates signify the residual meaning of 'that which exists there'.

EXAMPLES:

graivam 'that which is found in blood-vessels'
graiveyam 'id.'

1. Why is the specification by *grīvābhyaḥ* made in plural? Is it for facilitating introduction of affixes after plural bases? No. A plural specification is made because of multiplicity (*bahutva*) of *grīvā* which here means 'blood-vessels'. (*Kāś.*: *grīvāśabdo dhamanīvacanaḥ tāsāṃ bahutvād bahuvacanaṃ kṛtaṃ*).

2. Note that *grīvā* could have availed *yaT* of 4.3.55 on account of denoting body part. In this sense the two affixes here constitute an exception to *yaT*.

4.3.58 गम्भीराञ् ञ्यः

gambhīrāñ ñyaḥ
/gambhīrāt 5/1 *ñyaḥ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #4.1.82, *prāg dīvyato'ṇ* #4.1.83, *śeṣe* #4.2.92, *tatra bhavaḥ* #53)
gambhīraśabdād ñyaḥ pratyayo bhavati 'tatra bhavaḥ' ity etasmin viṣaye
The *taddhita* affix *Ñya* occurs after the syntactically related nominal stem *gambhīra* when it ends in *ṣaṣṭhī* 'genitive' and the derivate signifies the residual meaning of 'that which exists there'.

EXAMPLES:

gambhīre bhavam gāmbhīryam 'that which is found in depths'

1. A *vārttika* also provides for this affix after *bahis* 'outside', *deva* 'divinity' and *pañcajana* 'name of a demon' to derive *bāhyam* 'that which is located outside' (deletion of *is* via a *vārttika* under 4.1.85 *dityadityādi . . .*); *daivyam*

'divine' and *pāñcajanyam* 'that which was found in the demon *pañcajana*; Kṛṣṇa's conch-shell which was recovered from the body of Pañcajana'.

4.3.59 अव्ययीभावाच्च

avyayībhāvāc ca
/ avyayībhāvāt 5/1 *ca* ϕ/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #4.1.82, *prāg dīvyato'ṇ* #4.1.83, *śeṣe* #4.2.92, *tatra bhavaḥ* #53, *ñyaḥ* #58)
avyayībhāvasaṃjñākāt prātipadikāc ca ñyaḥ pratyayo bhavati 'tatra bhavaḥ' ity etasmin viṣaye
The *taddhita* affix *Ñya* occurs also after a syntactically related nominal stem termed *avyaya*, when it ends in *saptamī* 'locative' and the derivate signifies a residual meaning relative to 'that which exists there'

EXAMPLES:

pārimukhyam 'around the face'
pārihanavyam 'around the jaw'

1. The *ca* in this *sūtra* is used for bringing the *anuvṛtti* of *Ñya*. Note that affix *Ñya* is introduced only after indeclinables such as *parimukha*, etc. That is, it cannot be introduced after any indeclinable. Why then is the word *avyayībhāva* used in this rule? Pāṇini should have just used *parimukhādibhyaś ca*. The rule is formulated with *avyayībhāva* so that *parimukha*, etc., are not interpreted as *tatpuruṣa* compounds. For, a derivate such as *pārimukhaḥ* parallel to *parigataṃ mukhaṃ parimukham; tatra bhavaḥ pārimukhaḥ* will be derived with *aṆ*. The word *parimukham* is a *tatpuruṣa* compound. Similar interpretational problems will also arise in case of *bahuvrīhi* interpretations.

The *parimukhādi* group is enumerated after *digādi* (4.3.54 *digādibhyo yat*). The word *avyayībhāva* is used here as a qualifier to the *parimukhādi* stems. There is no other function of this group in the grammar. It also suggests that the word *avyaya*, at least for purposes of this rule, is restricted to items of the *parimukhādi* group. It is this desired interpretation of *avyayībhāva* which does not permit a derivate such as *aupakūlam* 'that which is located near the bank of a river' to be derived with *Ñya*. The base (*upakūla*) is an indeclinable (2.1.6 *avyayaṃ vibhakti . . .*) but it is not included in the *parimukhādi* group. Consequently, *aupakūlam* must be derived with *aṆ*.

The word *avyayībhāvāt* had to be used also for the following rules (*uttarārtha*). It is required for 4.3.60 *antaḥpūrvapadāṭ ṭhañ* and 4.3.61 *grāmāt paryanupūrvāt* as well.

4.3.60 अन्तः पूर्वपदाट्ठञ्

antaḥpūrvapadāṭ ṭhañ

/antaḥpūrvapadāt 5/1 = *antaḥ pūrvapadaṃ yasya* (*bv.*), *tasmāt*; *ṭhañ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #4.1.82, *prāg dīvyato'ṇ* 4.1.83, *śeṣe* #4.2.92, *tatra bhavaḥ* #53, *avyayībhāvāt* #59)
saptamīsamarthād antaḥpūrvapadād avyayībhāvāṭ ṭhañ pratyayo bhavati 'tatra bhavaḥ' ity etasmin viṣaye
The *taddhita* affix *ṭhaÑ* occurs after a syntactically related indeclinable nominal stem used in combination after *antaḥ*, provided the derivate denotes a residual meaning relative to 'that which exists there'.

EXAMPLES:

āntarveśmikam 'that which is lócated inside the house'
āntargehikam 'id.'

1. Note that *antaḥ* combines in an *avyayībhāva* compound formed in the sense of *vibhaki* 'lotus'. Refer to my notes under rule 2.1.6 *avyayaṃ vibhakti* . . . for details. Affix *ṭhaÑ* of this rule is an exception to *aṆ*.

There are a series of *vārttika* and *iṣṭis* under this rule whereby affix *ṭhaÑ* is also introduced after diverse number of bases. For example, *ṭhaÑ* is introduced after *samāna*, whether used by itself or used in combination before a stem (*tadādeś ca*) to derive *sāmānikam* and *sāmānadeśikam*. Affix *ṭhaÑ* is also recommended after *adhyātma*, etc., to derive *ādhyātmikam*, *ādhidaivikam*, etc. The following verse summarizes these, and some more derivates, for which one must refer to the *Mahābhāṣya*:

samānasya tadādeś ca adhyātmādiṣu ceṣyate/
ūrdhvandamāc ca dehāc ca lokottarapadasya ca//
mukhapārśvatasorīyaḥ kugjanasya parasya ca/
īyaḥ kāryo'tha madhyasya maṇmīyau pratyayau tathā//
madhyo madhyaṃ dinaṇ cāsmāt sthāmno lug ajināt tathā//
'affix *ṭhaÑ* is desired after *samāna*, or after that which begins with *samāna*, and also after *adhyātma*, etc.; affix *ṭhaÑ* is desired after *ūrdhvan* used before *dama* and *deha* and also after that which has *loka* at its end; affix *īya* occurs after *mukha* and *pārśva* terminating in *tas*; and *kUK* comes after *jana* and *para*; affix *īya* occurs after *madhya*; and so do affixes *ma* and *mīya*; from *madhya* with *dina* is derived *mādhyandinam* with *aṆ*; the *a* goes through *LUK* after bases which end in *sthāman* and *ajin* as in *aśvatthāman* and *siṃhājinaḥ*'.

4.3.61 ग्रामात्पर्यनुपूर्वात्

grāmāt paryanupūrvāt
/grāmāt 5/1 *paryanupūrvāt* 5/1 = *pariś ca anuś ca* (*dv.*); *paryanu pūrvaṃ yasya* (*bv.* with int. *dv.*), *tasmāt/*

(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #4.1.82, *prāg dīvyato'ṇ* #4.1.83, *śeṣe* #4.2.92, *tatra bhavaḥ* #53, *avyayībhāvāt* #59, *ṭhañ* #60)
grāmaśabdāntād avyayībhāvāt 'pari, anu' ity evaṃ pūrvāṭ ṭhañ pratyayo bhavati 'tatra bhavaḥ' ity etasmin viṣaye
The *taddhita* affix *ṭhaÑ* occurs after a syntactically related nominal stem termed *avyayībhāva* when the same begins with *pari* and *anu* used in combination before *grāma,* provided the derivate signifies a residual meaning relative to 'that which exists there'.

EXAMPLES:

pārigrāmikaḥ 'that which is found around the village'
ānugrāmikaḥ 'that which is found near the village'

1. Note that compounds such as *pārigrāmikaḥ* and *ānugrāmikaḥ* are allowed by rules 2.1.12 *apaparibahir. . .* and 2.1.15 *anur yatsamayā,* respectively.

4.3.62 जिह्वामूलाङ्गुलेश्छः

jihvāmūlāṅguleś chaḥ
/jihvāmūlāṅguleḥ 5/1 (*sam. dv.*); *chaḥ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #4.1.82, *prāg dīvyato'ṇ* #4.1.83, *śeṣe* #4.2.92, *tatra bhavaḥ* #53)
jihvāmūlaśabdād aṅguliśabdāc ca chaḥ pratyayo bhavati 'tatra bhavaḥ' ity etasmin viṣaye
The *taddhita* affix *cha* occurs after syntactically related nominal stems *jihvāmūla* 'root of the tongue' and *aṅguli* 'finger' when they end in locative and derivates signify a residual meaning relative to 'that which exists there'.

EXAMPLES:

jihvāmūlīyam 'that which is located at the root of the tongue'
aṅgulīyam 'that which is found in fingers'

1. Affix *cha* of this rule is an exception to the *yaT* of 4.3.55 *śarīrāvayavāc ca.*

4.3.63 वर्गान्ताच्च

vargāntāc ca
/vargāntāt 5/1 *ca* ϕ/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #4.1.82, *prāg dīvyato'ṇ* #4.1.83, *śeṣe* #4.2.92, *tatra bhavaḥ* #53, *cha* #62)

vargaśabdāntāc ca prātipadikāc chaḥ pratyayo bhavati 'tatra bhavaḥ' ity etasmin viṣaye
The *taddhita* affix *cha* also occurs after a syntactically related nominal stem which has *varga* as its final constituent ending in locative, provided the derivate signifies a residual meaning relative to 'that which exists there'.

EXAMPLES:

kavargīyam '. . . located within the *k*-series'
cavargīyam '. . . located within the *c*-series'

1. This provision of *cha* is an exception to *aṆ*.

4.3.64 अशब्दे यत्खावन्यतरस्याम्

aśabde yatkhāv anyatarasyām
/aśabde 7/1 = *na śabde* (*nañ. tat.*); *yatkhau* (*itar. dv.*); *anyatarasyām* 7/1/ (*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #4.1.82, *prāg dīvyato'ṇ* #4.1.83, *śeṣe* #4.2.92, *tatra bhavaḥ* #53, *vargāntāt* #63)
śabdād anyasmin pratyayārthe vargāntāt prātipadikād anyatarasyāṃ yatkhau pratyayau bhavataḥ 'tatra bhavaḥ' ity etasmin viṣaye
The *taddhita* affixes *yaT* and *kha* occur optionally after a syntactically related nominal stem which has *varga* as its final constituent ending in locative, provided the derivate signifies a residual meaning relative to something other than noise (*aśabda*) 'existing in there'.

EXAMPLES:

vāsudevavargyaḥ 'he who is on Vāsudeva's side'
vāsudevavargīṇaḥ 'id.'
vāsudevavargīyaḥ 'id.'
yudhiṣṭhiravargyaḥ 'he who is on Yudhiṣṭhira's side'
yudhiṣṭhiravargīṇaḥ 'id.'
yudhiṣṭhiravargīyaḥ 'id.'

1. Since an optional provision of *yaT* and *kha* is made against *cha*, we will get three forms. The word *śabda* of *aśabda* is used here to contrast derivates of this rule with those of the preceding. Hence, *śadba* can be interpreted here as articulatory noise (*uccāryaśabda*).

2. Why can we not introduce affix *cha* of 4.2.114 *vṛddhāc chaḥ* after *vāsudevavarga* which is *vṛddha*. It is argued that the *cha* of 4.2.114 will be blocked by *yaT* and *kha* of this rule on the basis of *paratva*. The *cha*, however, will be introduced by the optional provision of this very rule (*PM* ad *Kāś.*: *'vṛddhāc chaḥ' ity asya paratvād yatkhau bādhakāv iti vṛddhād apy anena cha eṣitavyaḥ*).

4.3.65 **कर्णललाटात्कनलङ्कारे**

karṇalalāṭāt kan alaṃkāre
/karṇalalāṭāt 5/1 (*sam. dv.*); *kan* 1/1 *alaṃkāre* 7/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #4.1.82, *prāg dīvyato'ṇ* #4.1.83, *śeṣe* #4.2.92, *tatra bhavaḥ* #53)
karṇa-lalāṭaśabdābhyāṃ kan pratyayo bhavati 'tatra bhavaḥ' ity etasmin viṣaye' laṃkāre' bhidheye
The *taddhita* affix *kaN* occurs after syntactically related nominal stems *karṇa* 'ear' and *lalāṭa* 'forehead' when they end in locative and their derivates signify a residual meaning relative to an ornament 'existing there'.

EXAMPLES:

karṇikā 'that (an ornament) which is worn on ears'
lalāṭikā 'that (an ornament) which is worn on the forehead'

1. Note that the condition of *alaṃkāre* makes this rule an exception to 4.3.55 *śarīrāvayavāc ca* which, in turn, allows for derivates such as *karṇyam* and *lalāṭyam* with *yaT*. Affix *ṬāP* of *karṇikā* and *lalāṭikā* is introduced by 4.1.4 *ajādyataṣ ṭāp*. The *a* before *k* is, of course, replaced with *i* (7.3.44 *pratyayasthāt . . .*).

4.3.66 **तस्य व्याख्यान इति च व्याख्यातव्यनाम्नः**

tasya vyākhyāna iti ca vyākhyātavyanāmnaḥ
/tasya 6/1 *vyākhyāne* 7/1 *iti*ϕ *ca*ϕ *vyākhyātavyanāmnaḥ* 1/1 = *vyākhyātavyasya nāma* (*ṣas. tat.*), *tasmāt/*
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #4.1.82, *prāg dīvyato'ṇ* #4.1.83, *śeṣe* #4.2.92, *tatra bhavaḥ* #53)
ṣaṣṭhīsamarthād vyākhyātavyanāmnaḥ prātipadikād vyākhyāne' bhidheye yathāvihitaṃ pratyayo bhavati tatra bhave ca
A *taddhita* affix, henceforth, occurs as ruled after a syntactically related nominal stem which ends in genitive and names something to be commented upon, when derivates denote a residual meaning relative to a *vyākhyāna* 'commentary', or 'to something found in there'.

EXAMPLES:

saupaḥ 'a commentary on affixes denoted by the abbreviatory term *sUP*'
kārttaḥ 'a commentary on affixes termed *kṛt*'
taiṅaḥ 'a commentary on affixes denoted by the abbreviatory term *tiṄ*'
supsu bhavam = *saupam* 'that which is found in affixes termed *sUP*'

taiñam 'that which is found in affixes termed *tiṄ*'

1. Note that the base after which an affixal provision is made by this rule must signify something to be commented upon. The meanings under which this provision is made are twofold: *vyākhyāna* 'commentary' and *tatra bhavaḥ* 'that which obtains in there'. An affix which is introduced to denote the sense of *tatra bhavaḥ* will have to be introduced after a syntactically related nominal stem ending in locative.

It is claimed that meanings of *vyākhyāna* and *tatra bhavaḥ* can be gotten, both, from rules 4.3.120 *tasyedam* and 4.3.53 *tatra bhavaḥ*. Why then formulate this single rule with dual denotational provisions? Commentators explain that 4.3.53 and 4.3.120 are rules which make general affixal provisions (of, for example, *aṆ*) to which there may be exceptions, such as *ṭhaÑ*, etc. The dual provision of our present rule will block any particular provision which, in turn, may block the general provisions of 4.3.53 and 4.3.120 (cf. *Mahābhāṣya*: *kimartham bhavavyākhyānayor yugapad adhikāraḥ kriyate? bhavavyākhyānayor yugapad adhikāraḥ apavādavidhānārthaḥ. yugapad apavādān vakṣyāmīti. kim ucyate' pavādavidhānārtham iti na punar nirdeśārtho'pi syāt. kṛtanirdeśau hi tāv arthau. ekas tatra bhava iti. aparas tasyedam iti*).

2. The purpose of using *ca*, close to *vyākhyāne*, in this rule is to attract an affixal meaning (*pratyayārtha*) similar to *vyākhyāne*. The affixal meaning of *tatra bhavaḥ* is attracted because of its association (*sāhacarya*). But since the *tatra bhavaḥ* meaning is denoted in the context of a base ending in locative, the genitive *tasya* specifying bases of this rule comes into conflict with it. Commentators state that since *ca* is used after *iti*, it can only attract meaning. It cannot attract any specification of a nominal ending. If it cannot attract specification of a nominal ending then it will only attract the meaning of *bhavaḥ*, and not of *tatra bhavaḥ*. Obviously, *tatra* specifies *saptamī* 'locative'.

When faced with the question of what should the base end in, one would naturally select genitive. Why? Because that is what *tasya* specifies. But this specification by *tasya* applies only to the meaning of *vyākhyāna*. One must then select the locative when one has to signify the meaning of *bhavaḥ* (*Nyāsa*: *bhavārthe saptamīsamarthād eva pratyayo bhavati*).

4.3.67 बह्वचोऽनतोदात्तादुञ्

bahvaco'ntodāttāṭ ṭhañ
/ bahvacaḥ 5/1 = *bahavo' co yasmin* (*bv.*), *tasmāt*; *antodāttāt* 5/1 *ṭhañ* 1/1/ (*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #4.1.82, *prāg dīvyato' ṇ* #4.1.83, *śeṣe* #4.2.92, *tatra bhavaḥ* #53, *tasya vyākhyāna iti ca . . .* #66)
bahvaco vyākhyātavyanāmnaḥ prātipadikād antodāttād bhavavyākhyānayoṣ ṭhañ pratyayo bhavati

The *taddhita* affix *ṭhaÑ* occurs after a syntactically related polysyllabic nominal stem which is marked *udātta* at the end, terminates in genitive (or in locative when the meaning is *tatra bhavaḥ*) and signifies something to be commented upon, provided derivates denote a residual meaning relative to a *vyākhyāna*, or to 'that which exists there'.

EXAMPLES:

ṣātvaṇatvikaḥ 'a commentary on rules dealing with replacements in *ṣ* and *ṇ*; or that which is found in such a commentary'
nātānatikam 'a commentary on accentuation dealing with *udātta* and *anudātta*; or 'that which is found in such a commentary'

1. This provision of *ṭhaÑ* is an exception to *aṆ*. A final *udātta* accent is assigned to our example bases by rule 6.1.223 *samāsasya*.

4.3.68 क्रतुयज्ञेभ्यश्च

kratuyajñebhyaś ca
/kratuyajñebhyaḥ 5/3 = *kratavaś ca yajñaś ca* (*itar. dv.*), *tasmāt*; *ca* ϕ/ (*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #4.1.82, *prāg dīvyato'ṇ* #4.1.83, *śeṣe* #4.2.92, *tatra bhavaḥ* #53, *tasya vyākhyāna iti ca . . .* #66, *ṭhañ* #67)
kratubhyo yajñebhyaś ca vyākhyātavyanāmabhyaḥ prātipadikebhyo bhava-vyākhyānayor arthayoṣ ṭhañ pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *ṭhaÑ* occurs after syntactically related nominal stems *kratu* and *yajña* when they end in genitive (or locative when the meaning is *tatra bhavaḥ*) and signify something to be commented upon, provided derivates denote a residual meaning relative to a commentary, or, to 'that which exists there'.

EXAMPLES:

agniṣṭomasya vyākhyānas tatra bhavaḥ = āgniṣṭomikaḥ 'a commentary on Agniṣṭoma; or that which is found in such a commentary'
vājapeyikaḥ 'a commentary on Vājapeya; or that which is found in such a commentary'
pākayajñikaḥ 'a commentary on Pākayajña; or that which is found in such a commentary'
nāvayajñikaḥ 'a commentary on Nāvayajña; or that which is found in such a commentary'

1. This rule clearly makes a distinction between *kratu* and *yajña*. Note that *yajña* 'sacrificial ritual' is a very broad term which, within its signification, includes three major types of sacrifices: *iṣṭi*, where ritual oblation to fire with the invocation of *svāhā* is made while sitting; *paśubandha* and *somayajña*, where ritual oblation to fire is offered with the invocation of *vauṣaṭ* while

standing. A *kratu*, when distinguished from a *yajña*, would refer to a *somayajña* where *soma* will be offered as principal oblation (*kratubhya ity eva siddhe yajñagrahaṇam asomayāgebhyo'pi yathā syāt*). A *kratu* could be performed for a period of one to eleven days (*ahīna*), twelve to one hundred days, or one hundred one days to a thousand years.

This rule is formulated to accommodate examples with no final *udātta* (*anantodāttārtha ārambhaḥ*). See the appendix for derivational details. The plural, in contradistinction to a dual, is used in *kratuyajñebhyaḥ* to disallow its interpretation based in form (*svarūpavidhi*). An interpretation based on meaning (*artha*) qualifies bases such as *agniṣṭoma*, *vājapeya* and *pākayajña* to facilitate affixal operations. An interpretation relying on *svarūpavidhi* will alow affixes to be introduced only after two forms: *kratu* and *yajña*.

4.3.69 **अध्यायेष्वेवर्षेः**

adhyāyeṣv eva ṛṣeḥ
/adhyāyeṣu 7/3 *eva* ϕ *ṛṣeḥ* 6/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #4.1.82, *prāg dīvyato'ṇ* #4.1.83, *śeṣe* #4.2.92, *tatra bhavaḥ* #53, *tasya vyākhyāna iti ca . . .* #66, *ṭhañ* #67)
ṛṣiśabdebhyo bhavavyākhyānayor arthayoṣ ṭhañ pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *ṭhaÑ* occurs after a syntactically related nominal stem which ends in genitive (or in locative when the meaning is *tatra bhavaḥ*) and names a *ṛṣi* 'sage', provided the derivate signifies a residual meaning relative to a commentary on an *adhyāya* 'chapter', or 'that which is found in there'.

EXAMPLES:

vaiṣṭhasya vyākhyānas tatra bhavo vā = vāsiṣṭhiko'dhyāyaḥ 'a chapter in which there is a commentary on the *mantras* revealed to sage Vasiṣṭha; or that which is found in such a commentary'
vaiśvāmitrikaḥ 'a chapter in which there is a commentary on the *mantra* revealed to sage Viśvāmitra; or that which is found in such a commentary'

1. Note that *adhyāya* 'chapter' is here made a qualifier to the signification of affix *ṭhaÑ* (*pratyayārthaviśeṣaṇa*). The tradition generally accepts sages as seers of *mantras* which, in turn, constitute the subject-matter of *saṃhitās*. But this *sūtra*, for purposes of introducing affix *ṭhaÑ*, restricts the names of the seers to those whose names are enumerated in the *pravarādhyāya* 'a chapter on *pravara*' (*PM* ad *Kāś.*: *etena yady api mantradarṣiṣv ṛṣiśabdaḥ prasiddhaḥ tathāpi pravarādhyāyapaṭhitānām eva grahaṇam iti darśayati*). The word *pravara* generally refers to a principal ancestor in the lineage recognized by the *gotra*. The *adhvaryu*, presiding ritualist, and *hotṛ*, the ritualist who offers oblations to the sacrificial fire with invocations, recite names of their exalted ances-

tors included within the *pravarādhyāya* as part of their *gotra* lineage.

2. Since this rule carries the *anuvṛtti* of the word *vyākhyātavyanāmnaḥ*, the word *ṛṣi*, because of its association (*sāhacarya*), refers to a treatise (*grantha*). How could *ṛṣi* refer to a *grantha*? It is possible, though figuratively (*upacārāt*), to refer to a *mantra* revealed to *Vasiṣṭha* as *vasiṣṭha*.

4.3.70 पौराडाशपुरोडाशाद् ष्ठन्

paurāḍāśapuroḍāśāṭ ṣṭhan
/pauroḍāśapuroḍāśat 5/1 (*sam. dv.*), *tasmāt*; *ṣṭhan* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #4.1.82, *prāg dīvyato'ṇ* #4.1.83, *śeṣe* #4.2.92, *tatra bhavaḥ* #53, *tasya vyākhyāna iti ca . . .* #66)
pauroḍāśaśabdāt, puroḍāśaśabdāc ca bhavavyākhyānayor arthayoḥ ṣṭhan pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *ṢṭhaN* occurs after syntactically related nominal stems *pauroḍāśa* 'a *mantra* consecrating *puroḍāśa*, and *puroḍāśa* 'a particular oblation of food' when these stems end in genitive (or in locative when the sense is *tatra bhavaḥ*) and signify something to be commented upon, provided derivates denote a residual meaning relative to a commentary, or that which is found in there.

EXAMPLES:

pauroḍāśikaḥ 'a commentary on the *mantra* used for consecrating ritual oblation of food named'
puroḍāśa; or that which is found in such a commentary'
pauroḍāśikī 'id. (feminine)'
puroḍāśikaḥ 'id.'
puroḍāśikī 'id. (fem.)'

1. Note that *pauroḍāśa* is a derivate of *aṆ* (cf. 5.4.38 *prajñādibhyaś ca*) denoting a *mantra* with which a ritual oblation of powdered rice or barley balls (*piṣṭapiṇḍāḥ*) is consecrated. A commentary, or that which is found in a commentary, on *puroḍāśa* will be called *pauroḍāśikaḥ*. A derivate of *puroḍāśa* + *ṢṭhaN* will be *puroḍāśikaḥ*, where *puroḍāśa* will not refer to ritual oblation. Instead, it will, either figuratively or via association (*upacārāt sāhacaryeṇa vā*), denote the *mantra*. Thus, *pauroḍāśikaḥ* and *puroḍāśikaḥ* will mean the same thing.

2. The *Ṣas* an *it* in *ṢṭhaN* is used to facilitate derivation of feminine forms with affix *ṄīṢ* (4.1.41 *ṣid gaurādibhyaḥ*). The *N* of *ṢṭhaN*, as an *it*, is used for high-pitch accent initially (*ādhyudātta*). The word *pauroḍāśa* is marked *udātta* at the end. This could have qualified for *ṭhaÑ* of 4.3.67 *bahvaco'. . . .* The word *puroḍāśa* is marked *udātta* in the middle (*madhyodātta*). This could have qualified for affix *aṆ*. These affixes both are blocked by *ṢṭhaN*.

4.3.71 छन्दसो यदणौ

chandaso yadaṇau
/ chandasaḥ 5/1 *yadaṇau* 1/2/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #4.1.82, *prāg dīvyato' ṇ* #4.1.83, *śeṣe* #4.2.92, *tatra bhavaḥ* #53, *tasya vyākhyāna iti ca . . .* #66)
chandaḥśabdād bhavavyākhyānayor arthayor yadaṇau pratyayau bhavataḥ
The *taddhita* affixes *yaT* and *aṆ* occur after the syntactically related nominal stem *chandas* 'Veda' when it ends in genitive (or in locative when the sense is *tatra bhavaḥ*) and signifies something to be commented upon, provided the derivate denotes a residual meaning relative to a commentary, or that which is found in there.

EXAMPLES:

chándasyáḥ 'a commentary on Vedas, or that which is found in such a commentary'
chāndasaḥ 'id.'

1. This affixal provision of *yaT* and *aṆ* constitutes a prior exception (*purastāpavāda*) to *ṭhaK*, characterized by *dvyac* 'that which consists of two vowels' of the next rule.

4.3.72 द्व्यजृद्ब्राह्मणर्क्प्रथमाध्वरपुरश्चरणनामाख्यातादृक्

dvyajṛdbrāhmaṇarkprathamādhvarapuraścaraṇanāmākhyātāṭ ṭhak
/ dvyajṛdbrāhmaṇarkprathamādhvarapuraścaraṇanāmākhyātāt 5/1 = *dvyac ca ṛc ca brāhamaṇaś ca ṛk ca prathamaś ca adhvaraś ca puraścaraṇaṃ ca nāma ca ākhyātaṃ ca = dvyajṛd . . . ākhyātam* (*sam. dv.*), *tasmāt*; *ṭhak* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #4.1.82, *prāg dīvyato' ṇ* #4.1.83, *śeṣe* #4.2.92, *tatra bhavaḥ* #53, *tasya vyākhyāna iti ca . . .* #66)
dvyajādibhyaḥ prātipadikebhyo vyākhyātavyanāmabhyo bhavavyākhyānnayor arthayoṣ ṭhak pratyayo bhavaṭi
The *taddhita* affix *ṭhaK* occurs after a syntactically related nominal stem which either has two vowels, or ends in *ṛ*, or else, is constituted by *brāhmaṇa, ṛk, prathama, adhvara* and *puraścaraṇa*, when the stems end in genitive (or in locative when the sense is *tatra bhavaḥ*) and derivates signify a residual meaning relative to a commentary, or that which is found in there.

EXAMPLES:

aiṣṭikaḥ 'a commentary on *iṣṭi* 'a sacrifice', or that which is found in there'
pāśukaḥ 'a commentary on *paśuyāga*, a ritual sacrifice where an animal

is tied with the ritual post; or that which is found in there'
cāturhotṛkaḥ 'a commentary on *caturhotṛ* where four priests offer ritual oblation; or that which is found in the commentary'
brāhmaṇikaḥ 'a commentary on some *Brāhmaṇa* text; or that which is found in there'
ārcikaḥ 'a commentary on Vedic hymns (*ṛk*); or that which is found in there'
prāthamikaḥ 'a treatise dealing with primary (*pradhāna*) and secondary (*upasarjana*) aspects of compound constituency; or that which is found in there'
ādhvarikaḥ 'a commentary on Soma sacrifices; or that which is found in there'
pauraścaraṇikaḥ 'a commentary on preparations for sacrifices; or that which is found in there'
nāmikaḥ 'a treatise on *nāman* 'noun, nominal'; or that which is found in there'
ākhyātikaḥ 'a treatise on *ākhyāta* 'verb'; or that which is found in there'
nāmākhyātikaḥ 'a treatise on nouns and verbs; or that which is found in there'

1. The word *nāmākhyāta* is specified as a compound so that it can also refer to its individual constituents, i.e., *nāma* and *ākhyāta* (*Kāś.*: *nāmākhyāta-grahaṇaṃ saṅghātavigṛhītārtham*).

2. The affixal provision of this rule constitutes an exception to affixes *aṆ* and *ṭhaÑ*. Recall that *ṭhaÑ* of stems with two vowels is an exception to *aṆ*. The *ṭhaK* of stems which end in *ṛ*, consist of many vowels (*bahvac*) and are marked *udātta* at the end, is an exception to *ṭhaÑ*. The *ṭhaK* of *brāhmaṇa* and *adhvara* is also an exception to *ṭhaÑ*. Stems such as *nāma* and *ākhyāta* are no different. The remaining examples constitute exceptions to *aṆ*.

4.3.73 अण्ऋगयनादिभ्यः

aṇ ṛgayanādibhyaḥ
/aṇ 1/1 *ṛgayanādibhyaḥ* 5/3 = *ṛgayana ādir yeṣām* (*bv.*), *tebhyaḥ/* (*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #4.1.82, *prāg dīvyato'ṇ* #4.1.83, *śeṣe* #4.2.92, *tatra bhavaḥ* #53, *tasya vyākhyāna iti ca . . .* #66)
ṛgayanādibhyaḥ prātipadikebhyo bhavavyākhyānayor arthayor aṇ pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *aṆ* occurs after nominal stems which are listed in the group headed by *ṛgayana* and end in genitive (or in locative when the sense is *tatra bhavaḥ*), provided derivates signify a residual meaning relative to a commentary, or that which is found in there.

EXAMPLES:

ārgayanaḥ 'a commentary on recitation of the *Ṛgveda*; or that which is found in there'
aupaniṣadaḥ 'a commentary on the Upaniṣat; or that which is found in there'

1. The affixal proposal of this rule is an exception to *ṭhaÑ*, etc. Thus, *ṛgayana* should have received *ṭhaÑ* of 4.3.67 *bahvaco'* . . . . The word *upaniṣat* is a derivate of *kṛt*, and hence, is marked *udātta* at the end. It too should have taken *ṭhaÑ*. An example such as *vaiyākaraṇaḥ* constitutes an exception to *cha* of 4.2.114 *vṛddhāc chaḥ*.

2. Note that *aṆ* could have been gotten via *anuvṛtti*. It is specifically mentioned here for blocking an affixal provision which may otherwise block a provision specifically made. Thus, *vāstuvidyā* is a stem which is *vṛddha* and is also marked *udātta* at the end on account of being a compound (6.1.223 *samāsasya*). This stem can qualify for *cha* of 4.2.114 *vṛddhāc chaḥ*, though this *cha* may be blocked by affix *ṭhaÑ* of 4.3.67 *bahvaco'* . . . . That is, *cha* will be blocked by *ṭhaÑ* at the strength of an express provision made with the qualification of *bahvacaḥ*. If *aṆ* was not stated in this rule then *cha* would have been blocked by *ṭhaÑ*. The use of *aṆ* is thus made to block an affix (*ṭhaÑ* which may have otherwise blocked the other (*cha*; *Kāś.*: *aṇgrahaṇaṇ bādhakabādhanārtham*). This is how *vāstuvidyaḥ* is derived.

4.3.74 **तत आगतः**

tata āgataḥ
/tataḥ ϕ āgataḥ 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #4.1.82, *prāg dīvyato'ṇ* #4.1.83, *śeṣe* #4.2.92)
tata iti pañcamīsamarthāt 'āgataḥ' ity etasminn arthe yathāvihitaṃ pratyayo bhavati
A *taddhita* affix occurs as specified after a syntactically related nominal stem which ends in *pañcamī* 'fifth triplet of nominal endings', when derivates signify the residual meaning of 'having arrived from there'.

EXAMPLES:

sraughnaḥ 'he who has arrived from Srughna'
māthuraḥ 'he who has arrived from Mathurā'

1. Note that *tataḥ*, an indeclinable, carries the force of *pañcamī*, as *tatra* carries a similar force of locative (*saptamī*). Affixes in this subdomain will then be introduced after a syntactically related nominal stem which ends in *pañcamī*. What is the signification of this *pañcamī*? It denotes *apāya* 'move-

ment away from' (1.4.24 *dhruvam apāye . . .*). It is further stated that this signification of *apāya* must be primary (*mukhya*; *Kāś.*: *tata iti mukhyaṃ yad apādānaṃ vivakṣitaṃ tad iha gṛhyate . . .*). Thus, *vṛkṣamūlād āgataḥ* of *srughnād āgacchan vṛkṣamūlād āgataḥ* 'while returning from Srughna he arrived from Vṛkṣamūla' will not be allowed to derive **vārkṣamūlikaḥ*. For, the *pañcamī* of *srughnāt* alone denotes the principal sense of *apāya*. The *pañcamī* of *vṛkṣamūla* signifies an *apādāna* of a secondary (*nāntarīyaka*) nature.

4.3.75 ठगायस्थानेभ्यः

ṭhag āyasthānebhyaḥ
/ṭhag 1/1 *āyasthānebhyaḥ* 5/3/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #4.1.82, *prāg dīvyato'ṇ* #4.1.83, *śeṣe* #4.2.92, *tata āgataḥ* #74)
āyasthānavācibhyaḥ prātipadikebhyaṣ ṭhak pratyayo bhavati 'tata āgataḥ' ity etasmin viṣaye
The *taddhita* affix *ṭhaK* occurs after a syntactically related nominal stem which ends in ablative and signifies a 'place of income' (*āyasthāna*), provided the derivate signifies the residual meaning of 'having arrived from there'.

EXAMPLES:

śaulkaśālikaḥ 'one who has returned from the place where revenue is collected'
ākarikam 'that which has arrived from the treasury'

1. The word *āya* is explained as 'money which goes to the ruler (*svāmigrāhyo bhāgaḥ*)'. The word *āyasthāna* thus refers to a place where rulers collect their share.

2. Affix *ṭhaK* is an exception to the general affixal provision of *aṆ*. It also blocks *cha* on the basis of *paratva*. The plural in *āyasthānebhyaḥ* is again used to disallow any wordform (*svarūpavidhi*) interpretation of *āyasthāna*. Obviously, affix *ṭhaK* is not introduced after the form of the word *sāyasthāna*. It is introduced after stem having the signification of *āyasthāna*.

4.3.76 शुण्डिकादिभ्योऽण्

śuṇḍikādibhyo'ṇ
/śuṇḍikādibhyaḥ 5/3 = *śuṇḍika ādir yeṣām* (*bv.*), *tebhyaḥ*; *aṇ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #4.1.82, *prāg dīvyato'ṇ* #4.1.83, *śeṣe* #4.2.92, *tata āgataḥ* #74)
'śuṇḍika' ity evamādibhyaḥ prātipadikebhyo'ṇ pratyayo bhavati 'tata āgataḥ' ity etasmin viṣaye

The *taddhita* affix *aṆ* occurs after a syntactically related nominal stem listed in the group headed by *śuṇḍika*, when the same ends in *pañcamī* and the derivate signifies the residual meaning of 'having arrived from there'.

EXAMPLES:

śauṇḍikaḥ 'that (revenue) which has arrived from a tavern'
kārkaṇaḥ 'that which has arrived from the Bhāradvāja area'
audapānaḥ 'that which has been received form Udapāna'

1. Note that *śuṇḍika*, etc., serve as source of revenue (*āyasthāna*). Affix *aṆ* can thus be regarded as an exception to *ṭhaK* of the previous rule, especially in the context of *āyasthāna*. It can also be treated as an exception to *cha* of 4.2.145 *kṛkaṇaparṇād bhāradvāje*, relative to examples such as *kārkaṇaḥ*. It can also be treated as used to block an exception which would otherwise block some specific provision. Refer to *audapānaḥ*, where *aÑ* of 4.1.86 *utsādibhyo'ñ* is blocked by *ṭhaK* of 4.1.75 *ṭhag āyasthānebhyaḥ*. If this rule did not specify *aṆ* then *aÑ* would have blocked *ṭhaK*. Affix *aṆ* is thus used for blocking an affix which would otherwise block some specific provision (*bādhakabādhanārtha*).

4.3.77 विद्यायोनिसम्बन्धेभ्यो वुञ्

vidyāyonisambandhebhyo vuñ
/ vidyāyonisambandhebhyaḥ 5/3 = *vidyā ca yoniś = vidyāyonī* (*dv.*), *tatkṛtaḥ sambandho yeṣām* (*bv.* with int. *dv.*), *tebhyaḥ; vuñ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #4.1.82, *prāg dīvyato'ṇ* #4.1.83, *śeṣe* #4.2.92, *tata āgataḥ* #74)
vidyāyonikṛtaḥ sambandho yeṣāṃ te vidyāyonisambandhāḥ, tadvācibhyaḥ śabdebhyo vuñ pratyayo bhavati 'tata āgataḥ' ity etasmin viṣaye
The *taddhita* affix *vuN* occurs after a syntactically related nominal stem which ends in *pañcamī* and signifies a person related through *vidyā* 'study' and *yoni* 'birth', provided the derivate signifies the residual meaning of 'having arrived from there'.

EXAMPLES:

aupādhyāyakam 'that (knowledge) which has come from the teacher'
śaiṣyakam 'that which has come from a disciple'
mātāmahakam 'that which has come from maternal grandfather'
pitāmahakam 'that which has come from paternal grandfather'

1. The word *vidyāyonisambandha* characterizes a relationship via 'knowledge' (*vidyā*) and 'birth' (*yoni*), as one finds between a teacher and a taught, and also between blood-relatives, respectively.

4.3.78 ऋतष्ठञ्

ṛtaṣ ṭhañ
/ṛtaḥ 5/1 *ṭhañ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #4.1.82, *prāg dīvyato'ṇ* #4.1.83, *śeṣe* #4.2.92, *tata āgataḥ* #74, *vidyāyonisambandhebhyaḥ* #77)
ṛkārāntebhyaḥ prātipadikebhyo vidyāyonisambandhavācibhyaṣ ṭhañ pratyayo bhavati 'tata āgataḥ' ity etasmin viṣaye
The *taddhita* affix *ṭhaÑ* occurs after a syntactically related nominal stem which ends in *ṛ* and signifies a person related through *vidyā* and *yoni*, provided the derivate denotes the residual meaning of 'having arrived from there'.

EXAMPLES:

hautṛkam 'that which is received from the sacrificial priest (*hotā*)'
pautṛkam 'that which is received from (one of the sixteen) sacrificial priest (*potā*)'
bhrātṛkam 'that which is received from a brother'
mātṛkam 'that which is received from mother'

1. This affixal provision of *ṭhaÑ* is an exception to *vuN* of the preceding rule. The *t* of *ṛtaḥ* is not necessary, though it is still used for ease of articulation (*mukhasukhārtham*). Why can it not be accepted for excluding a long *ṝ*. It is impossible to find a stem which characterizes a relationship through *vidyā* and *yoni* and also ends in a long *ṝ*. Thus, *t* is not used for excluding any homogeneous *ṝ*.

4.3.79 पितुर्यच्च

pitur yac ca
/pituḥ 5/1 *yat* 1/1 *ca* ϕ/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #4.1.82, *prāg divyato'ṇ* #4.1.83, *śeṣe* #4.2.92, *tata āgataḥ* #74, *vidyāyonisambandhebhyaḥ* #77, *ṭhañ* #78)
pitṛśabdād yat pratyayo bhavati cakārāṭ ṭhañ ca 'tata āgataḥ' ity etasmin viṣaye
The *taddhita* affix *yaT*, and *ṭhaÑ* as well, occurs after the syntactically related nominal stem *pitṛ*, when the same ends in *pañcamī* and the derivate signifies the residual meaning of 'having arrived from there'.

EXAMPLES:

pitṛyam 'received from father'
paitṛyam 'id.'

4.3.80 गोत्रादङ्कवत्

gotrād aṅkavat
/gotrāt 5/1 *aṅkavat* ϕ/
(*pratyayaḥ* 3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #4.1.82, *prāg divyato' ṇ* #4.1.83, *śeṣe* #4.2.92, *tata āgataḥ* #74)
gotrapratyayāntāt prātipadikād aṅkavat pratyayavidhir bhavati 'tata āgataḥ' ity etasmin viṣaye
An affixal operation similar to *aṅka* obtains when a *taddhita* affix occurs to denote the residual meaning of *tata āgataḥ* after a syntactically related nominal stem which terminates in a *gotra* affix and is used in *pañcamī*.

EXAMPLES:

aupagavakaḥ 'that which has come from a descendant of Upagu'
aupagavakam 'id.'
kāpaṭavakaḥ 'that which has come from a descendant of Kapaṭu'
kāpaṭavakam 'id.'

1. This rule is extensional (*ātideśika*) in nature. It extends, to its own context, an operation which is similar to one applicable to *aṅka* of 5.3.127 *saṅghāṅkalakṣaṇeṣv. . . .* The affixal provision relative to *aṅka* of 5.3.127 is *aṆ*. Commentators, however, explain that the reference is not exactly to the *aṆ* specification of 5.3.127. It is instead to the *vuN* of 5.3.126 *gotracaraṇād vuñ*, via the denotation of 5.3.120 *tasyedam*. The *aṆ* of 5.3.127, and the *vuN* of 5.3.126 as well, are both given under the semantic condition of *tasyedam*. Thus, the word *aṅka* is used in our present rule for reference to the general semantic characterization (*lakṣaṇa*) of *tasyedam* (4.3.120 *tasyedam*). That is, an affixal operation obtaining after a nominal stem with the signification of a *gotra* when derivates denote *tasyedam*, obtains, also within the extensional provision of this rule after similar stems, even when derivates denote *tata āgataḥ*. Haradatta (*PM* ad *Kāś.*) remarks that *vyākhyāna* 'explanation of the learned' alone can explain how *aṅka* is able to refer to the more general meaning of *tasyedam*. *Nyāsa* (ad *Kāś.*) resorts to the maxim of *kākebhyo dadhi rakṣyatām* 'let there be some yoghurt saved for crows'. This maxim recommends to the sacrificer to 'leave some yoghurt aside for crows', otherwise, the crows will hover around, will hurt someone, or will simply create nuisance. As the word *kāka* of this maxim is not used for denoting 'crows' alone but is instead used for referring to birds in general, as source of nuisance, the word *aṅka* is similarly used to refer to the general sense of *tasyedam*. This general reference facilitates reference to *vuN* of 5.3.126 *gotracaraṇād vuñ*, in addition to facilitating a reference to *aṆ*. Thus, affixes *aṆ* and *vuN* of which are introduced to denote the sense of *tasyedam*, elsewhere, are introduced

here to denote the sense of *tata āgataḥ.*

To sum up:

1. The way in which an affixal operation obtains after a *gotra*-base in the domain of 4.3.120 *tasyedam,* the same way it obtains here in the domain of 4.3.74 *tata āgataḥ* (*Nyāsa: yathā 'tasyedam' ity atra gotrāt pratyayo bhavati, tathā 'tata āgataḥ' ity atrāpi*).

2. Remember that, outside the domain of 4.1.92 *tasyāpatyam,* the word *gotra* is interpreted as used in its popular, non-technical, sense of 'offspring' (*apatya*), at large.

4.3.81 हेतुमनुष्येभ्योऽन्यतरस्यां रूप्यः

hetumanuṣyebhyo'nyatarasyāṃ rūpyaḥ
/hetumanuṣyebhyaḥ 5/3 (*itar. dv.*), *tebhyaḥ; anyatarasyām* 7/1 *rūpyaḥ/*
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #4.1.82, *prāg dīvyato'ṇ* #4.1.83, *śeṣe* #4.2.92 *tata āgataḥ* #74)
hetubhyo manuṣyebhyaś cānyatarasyāṃ rūpyaḥ pratyayo bhavati 'tata āgataḥ' ity etasmin viṣaye
The *taddhita* affix *rūpya* occurs, optionally, after a syntactically related nominal stem which signifies *hetu* 'reason', or *manuṣya* 'a human', and ends in *pañcamī,* provided the derivate denotes the residual meaning of *tata āgataḥ.*

EXAMPLES:

samarūpyam 'that which has arrived from level grounds'
samīyam id.'
viṣamarūpyam 'that which has arrived from higher grounds'
devadattarūpyam 'that which has come from Devadatta'
daivadattam 'id.'

1. The word *hetu* is explained as *kāraṇa* 'reason'. Our optional examples *samīyam* and *viṣamīyam* are derived with affix *cha* because *sama* and *viṣama* are listed in the *gahādi* group of 4.3.138 *gahādibhyaś ca.* A parallel example for *devadattarūpyam* will be *daivadattam,* a derivate of *aṆ.*

Why does Pāṇini use plural in *hetumanuṣyebhyaḥ*? So that an interpretation specific to the form of the word *hetumanuṣyebhyaḥ* could be ruled out (*bahuvacanaṃ svarūpavidhinirāsārtham*).

What rule allows for an ablative ending to denote *hetu*? We know that 2.3.23 *hetau* introduces *tṛtīyā* for denoting *hetu.* Our present rule itself will introduce *pañcamī* for this purpose. Incidentally, *sama* 'level' and *viṣama* 'high' can constitute *hetu* of 'arrival' by way of being 'conducive' or 'non-conducive' to it.

4.3.82 मयट् च

mayaṭ ca
/mayaṭ 1/1 *ca* ϕ/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.2, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #4.1.82, *prāg dīvyato'ṇ* #4.1.83, *śeṣe* #4.2.92, *tata āgataḥ* #74)
hetubhyo manuṣyebhyaś ca mayaṭ pratyayo bhavati 'tata āgataḥ' ity etasmin viṣaye
The *taddhita* affix *mayaṬ* also occurs after syntactically related nominal stems signifying *hetu* and *manuṣya*, and ending in *pañcamī*, when derivates denote the residual meaning of *tata āgataḥ*.

EXAMPLES:

samamayam 'that which has arrived from level grounds'
viṣamamayam 'that which has arrived from high grounds'
devadattamayam 'that which has come from Devadatta'

1. Note that this rule is formulated separately from the preceding one so that there may not be any confusion about *yathāsaṃkhya* 'assignment of equivalency between equal number of elements based on order of their enumeration'. That is, so that one does not end up introducing *rūpyaḥ* after *hetu* and *mayaṬ* after *manuṣya*, optionally with, for example, *cha*. The *Ṭ* as an *it* in *mayaṬ* is used to facilitate introduction of feminine affix *ṄīP* (4.1.15 *ṭiḍḍhāṇañ . . .*). We thus get a feminine counterpart of *samamayam* as *samamayī*.

4.3.83 प्रभवति

prabhavati
/prabhavati (verbal form)/
(*pratyayaḥ* 3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #4.1.82, *prāg dīvyato'ṇ* #4.1.83, *śeṣe* #4.2.92, *tataḥ* #74)
pañcamīsamarthād ṅyāpprātipadikāt 'prabhavati' ity etasmin viṣaye yathāvihitaṃ pratyayo bhavati
A *taddhita* affix occurs as specified after a syntactically related nominal stem which ends in ablative, provided the derivate signifies the residual meaning of 'that which becomes manifest there'.

EXAMPLES:

himavataḥ prabhavati = haimavati gaṅgā 'the Gaṅgā which is first spotted in the Himālaya'
dāradī sindhuḥ 'the river Sindhu which is first spotted in the Darada ranges'

1. The word *prabhavati* is explained as *prakāśate* 'becomes manifest' or

prathamata upalabhyate '. . . is spotted the first time'. Over verbal root *bhū* is thus used here in the sense of *upalabdhi* 'knowledge, awareness'.

4.3.84 **विदूराञ्ञ्यः**

vidūrāñ ñyaḥ
/vidūrāt 5/1 *ñyaḥ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #4.1.82, *prāg dīvyato'ṇ* #4.1.83, *śeṣe* #4.2.92, *tataḥ* #74, *prabhavati* #83)
vidūraśabdāñ ñyaḥ pratyayo bhavati 'tataḥ prabhavati' ity etasmin viṣaye
The *taddhita* affix *Ñya* occurs after the syntactically related nominal stem *vidūra* when the stem ends in ablative and the derivate signifies a residual meaning relative to 'that which becomes manifest there'.

EXAMPLES:

vidūrāt prabhavati = vaidūryo maṇiḥ 'a precious stone found in Vidūra'

1. It is stated that *vaidūrya*, a precious stone, is found in the Vālavāya mountains. They are only processed in Vidūra. It is therefore suggested that the affix must be introduced after *vālavāya*, and not after *vidūra*. It is argued that *vidūra* in *vaidūrya* is basically same as *vālavāya*. Actually *bālavāya* is mediated by *vidūra* as is *vārāṇasī* mediated by *jitvarī*. One should treat *vidūra* as *vālavāya* as businessmen treat *jitvarī* as *vārāṇasī* for auspicious reasons. Thus:

vālavāyo vidūraṃ ca prakṛtyantaram eva vā/
na vai tatreti ced brūyāj jitvarīvad upācaret//

4.3.85 **तद्गच्छति पथिदूतयोः**

tad gacchati pathidūtayoḥ
/tat ϕ gacchati (verbal form) *pathidūtayoḥ* 7/2 = *panthāś ca dūtaś ca* (*itar. dv.*), *tayoḥ/*
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #4.1.82, *prāg dīvyato'ṇ* #4.1.83, *śeṣe* #4.2.92)
tad iti dvitīyāsamarthād 'gacchati' ity etasmin viṣaye yathāvihitaṃ pratyayo bhavati yo'sau gacchati panthāś cet sa bhavati dūto vā
A *taddhita* affix occurs as specified after a syntactically related nominal stem ending in *dvitīyā* 'accusative', when derivates signify the residual meaning of 'is going' (*gacchati*) and the agent of 'going' is a 'road' or 'messenger'.

EXAMPLES:

srughnaṃ gacchati = sraughanaḥ panthā dūto vā 'a road, or messenger, going to Srughna'

māthuraḥ 'a road, or messenger, going to Mathurā'

1. How could one accept 'road' as the agent of 'going' when it cannot even move (*Nyāsa: patho niṣkriyatvād gameḥ kartṛtvaṃ nopapadyate*). Note that 'road' becomes the agent of 'going' by way of figure of speech (*puruṣavṛttir gamanaṃ pathy upacaryata iti*).

4.3.86 आभिनिष्क्रामति द्वारम्

abhiniṣkrāmati dvāram
/ abhiniṣkrāmati (verbal form) *dvāram* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #4.1.82, *prāg dīvyato'ṇ* #4.1.83, *śeṣe* #4.2.92, *tad* #85)
dvitīyāsamarthād 'abhiniṣkrāmati' ity etasminn arthe yathāvihitaṃ pratyayo bhavati yat tad abhiniṣkrāmati dvāraṃ ced bhavati
A *taddhita* affix occurs as specified after syntactically related nominal stem ending in accusative when the derivate signifies the residual meaning of 'facing out toward' and agent of this action happens to be *dvāra* 'gateway'.

EXAMPLES:

sraughnam = *srughnam abhiniṣkrāmati kānyakubjadvāram* 'a gateway to Kānyakubja facing out toward Srughna'
māthuram 'a gateway to Kānyakubja facing out toward Mathurā'

1. The word *abhiniṣkrāmati* is explained as *ābhimukhyena niṣkrāmati* 'that which faces out toward'. But how could a gateway, a *karaṇa* 'instrument', be treated as an agent? By expressing it independently of the agent similar to the sword of *sādhv asiś chinatti* 'the sword is cutting beautifully'.

4.3.87 अधिकृत्यकृते ग्रन्थे

adhikṛtya kṛte granthe
/ adhikṛtya (absolutive form) *kṛte* 7/1 *granthe* 7/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #4.1.82, *prāg dīvyato'ṇ* #4.1.83, *śeṣe* #4.2.92, *tad* #85)
dvitīyāsamarthād 'adhikṛtya kṛte' ity etasminn arthe yathāvihitaṃ pratyayo bhavati yat tadkṛtaṃ granthaś cet sa bhavati
A *taddhita* affix occurs as specified after a syntactically related nominal stem ending in accusative, when the derivate signifies a residual meaning relative to some text 'made with a focus on that'.

EXAMPLES:

saubhadraḥ = subhadrām adhikṛtya kṛto granthaḥ 'a treatise composed with Subhadrā as its subject'
gairimittraḥ 'a treatise composed with Girimitra as its subject'

1. Note that *kṛte* is derived with affix *Kta*, a *niṣṭhā* (1.1.28 *ktaktavatū niṣṭhā*) which denotes *karman* 'object'. Since the object is thus expressed, an accusative ending after a base such as *subhadrā* should not be allowed. Actually, the *karman* which is here treated as expressed by *Kta* is the *karman* of *kṛ* of *kṛtam*. It is not the *karman* of *adhikṛ* of the absolutive (*lyabanta*).

A *vārttika* notes that *LUP* variously (*bahulam*) an affix of this rule when derivates denote a narrative (*ākhyāyikā*). Thus we get *vāsavadattām adhikṛtya kṛtākhyāyikā = vāsavadattā* 'a narrative with Vāsavadattā as its principal character'. But because of *bahulam*, an affix such as one in *bhaimarathī* 'a narrative with Bhīmaratha as its principal character', can also be saved from deletion.

4.3.88 शिशुक्रन्दयमसभद्रवन्द्वेन्द्रजननादिभ्यश्छः

śiśukrandayamasabhadvandvendrajananādibhyaś chaḥ
/ śiśukrandayamasabhadvandvendrajananādibhyaḥ 5/3 = *śiśūnāṃ krandaḥ = śiśukrandaḥ* (*ṣas. tat.*); *yamasya sabhā yamasabham* (*ṣas. tat.*); *indrajananam ādir yeṣāṃ te indrajananādayaḥ* (*bv.*); *śiśukrandaś ca yamasabhaṃ ca dvandvaś ca indrajananādayaś ca* (*itar. dv.*); *tebhyaḥ; chaḥ* 1/1/ (*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #4.1.82, *prāg dīvyato'ṇ* #4.1.83, *śeṣe.* #4.2.92, *tad* #85, *adhikṛtya kṛte granthe* #87)
śiśukrandādibhyo dvitīyāsamarthebhyaś chaḥ pratyayo bhavati adhikṛtya kṛte granthe
The *taddhita* affix *cha* occurs after syntactically related nominal stems *śiśukranda* and *yamasabhā*, or after stems termed *dvandva*, or else, after items listed in the group headed by *indrajanana*, when these stems all end in accusative and their derivates signify a residual meaning relative to some text made 'with a focus on that'.

EXAMPLES:

śiśukrandīyaḥ 'a treatise on why children cry'
yamasabhīyaḥ 'a book with Yama's court as its subject'
vākyapadīyam 'a treatise with focus on sentence and word'
indrajananīyam 'a book with Indra's birth as its subject'

1. Note that *cha* is here introduced as an exception to *aṆ*. It is stated that *indrajananādi* is an open-ended group (*ākṛtigaṇa*). Consequently, membership in this group must be determined on the basis of available usage (*Kāś.*:

indrajananādir ākṛtigaṇaḥ prayogato'nusartavyaḥ, prātipadikeṣu na paṭhyate).

2. A *vārttika* recommends that affixal operation of this rule should not be allowed after a *dvandva* compound composed with constituents denoting gods and demons. Derivates of compound bases such as *devāsura* 'gods and demons' and *rakṣo'sura* 'ghosts and demons' are thus derived with *aṆ*. They yield *daivāsuram* and *rākṣo'suram*.

Why were *śiśukranda* and *yamasabhā* specifically given in the rule. These could have been included in the open-ended group headed by *indrajanana*. They have been mentioned separately for expatiation (*prapañca*). This same expatiation can be cited as reason for not accepting the *vārttika* which disallows affix *cha* after *devāsura*. For, why disallow *cha* when it does not exist in usage.

4.3.89 सोऽस्य निवासः

so'sya nivāsaḥ
/saḥ 1/1 *asya* 6/1 *nivāsaḥ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #4.1.82, *prāg dīvyato'ṇ* #4.1.83, *śeṣe* #4.2.92)
'sa' iti prathamāsamarthāt 'asya' iti ṣaṣṭhyarthe yathāvihitaṃ pratyayo bhavati yat prathamāsamarthaṃ nivāsaś cet sa bhavati
A *taddhita* affix occurs as specified, to denote the sense of *ṣaṣṭhī* 'genitive', after a syntactically related nominal stem which ends in *prathamā* 'nominative', provided the derivate denotes the residual meaning of 'that is his place of residence'.

EXAMPLES:

sraughnaḥ = *srughno nivāso'sya* 'Sraughna is one whose place of residence is Srughna'
māthuraḥ 'a resident of Mathurā'
rāṣṭriyaḥ 'a national . . .'

1. The word *nivāsa* is explained as *nivasanty asmin nivāsaḥ deśaḥ* 'a place where people live is called *nivāsa*; place of residence'.

4.3.90 अभिजनश्च

abhijanaś ca
/abhijanaḥ 1/1 *ca ϕ/*
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #4.1.82, *prāg dīvyato'ṇ* #4.1.83, *śeṣe* #4.2.92, *so'sya* #89)
sa iti prathamāsamarthāt 'asya' iti ṣaṣṭhyarthe yathāvihitaṃ pratyayo bhavati yat prathamāsamarthaṃ abhijanaś cet sa bhavati

A *taddhita* affix occurs as specified, to denote the sense of genitive, after a syntactically related nominal stem which ends in nominative, also when the derivate denotes a residual meaning of 'that is his ancestral place of residence'.

EXAMPLES:

sraughnaḥ 'he whose ancestral place of residence is Srughna'
māthuraḥ 'he whose ancestral place of residence is Mathurā'

1. Note that *abhijana* means an 'ancestor', or a 'clansman' (*pūrvabāndhavaḥ*). But the affixal provision of this rule is made after a nominal stem which denotes the place of residence of such ancestors. It is stated that *abhijana* can be accepted as denoting a place of residence because of its association (*sāhacarya*) with people (*abhijanas*) who lived there (*yasmin pūrvabāndhavair uṣitam*).

What is the difference between *nivāsa* and *abhijana*? A *nivāsa* could be any place where one currently resides. An *abhijana* will be an ancestral place where earlier clansmen (*pūrva-bāndhavaḥ*) live(d) (*Kāś.*: *yatra sampraty uṣyate sa nivāsaḥ; yatra pūrvair uṣitaṃ so' bhijanaḥ*)

2. This rule is formulated separately from the preceding for the sake of the next rule (*yogavibhāga uttarārthaḥ*). Our next rule does not require the *anuvṛtti* of *nivāsaḥ*. Or, the next affixal provision is made in the context only of *abhijana*.

4.3.91 आयुधजीविभ्यश्छः पर्वते

āyudhajīvibhyaś chaḥ parvate
/āyudhajīvibhyaḥ 5/3 *chaḥ* 1/1 *parvate* 7/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #4.1.82, *prāg dīvyato' ṇ* #4.1.83, *śeṣe* #4.2.92, *so' sya* #89, *abhijanaḥ* #90)
parvatavācinaḥ prathamāsamarthād abhijanād 'asya' iti ṣaṣṭhyarthe chaḥ pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *cha* occurs after a syntactically related nominal stem which ends in nominative and signifies a mountain, provided its derivate characterizes the mountain an ancestral place of residence of those who earn their living by fighting for others.

EXAMPLES:

hṛdgolīyāḥ 'Hṛdgolīyas are those who earn their living by fighting for others, and whose ancestral place of residence is in the Hṛdgola mountains'
rohitagirīyāḥ 'Rohitagirīyas are those who earn their living by fighting for others, and whose ancestral place of residence is in the Rohitagiri mountains'

1. Note that *āyudhajīvinaḥ* 'those who make their living by means of weapons' is a characteristic qualification for the denotatum of this affixal provision. That is why, one accepts mountain as ancestral place of residence of those who live by means of their weapons. The word *āyudhajīvibhyaḥ* is interpreted as ending in *caturthī* 'fourth triple (plural) of nominal endings'. This fourth triplet signifies *tādarthya* 'for the purpose of. . . .' If it was the fifth triplet (plural) then the meaning would be: *āyudhajīvibhya eva parvate' bhidheye ccho pratyayo bhavati* 'affix *cha* occurs only after a nominal stem which denotes the sense of 'he who makes his living by weapons', provided when the derivate denotes a mountain. . . .' Such an interpretation is, of course, not desired.

The condition of *āyudhajīvibhyaḥ* is imposed so that derivates such as *ārkṣoda* (parallel to *ṛkṣodaḥ parvato' bhijana eṣāṃ brāhmaṇānām = ārkṣodā brāhmaṇāḥ* 'the Ārkṣoda brāhmaṇas, those whose place of residence is the Ṛkṣoda mountain') could be blocked. The condition of *parvate* is imposed so that a derivate, parallel to *sāṅkāśyakā āyudhajīvinaḥ* 'residents of Sāṅkāśya who make their living by fighting for others', could be blocked.

4.3.92 शण्डिकादिभ्यो ञ्यः

śaṇḍikādibhyo ñyaḥ
/śaṇḍikādibhyaḥ 5/3 = *śaṇḍika ādir yeṣām* (*bv.*); *ñyaḥ/*
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #4.1.82, *prāg dīvyato' ṇ* #4.1.83, *śeṣe* #4.2.92, *so' sya* #89, *abhijanaḥ* #90)
'*śaṇḍika*' *ity evam ādibhyo ñyaḥ pratyayo bhavati* '*so' syābhijanaḥ*' *ity etasmin viṣaye*
The *taddhita* affix *Ñya* occurs after syntactically related nominal stem listed in the group headed by *śaṇḍika* 'name of a place', when it ends in nominative and the derivate denotes the residual meaning of 'that is the place of residence of his ancestors'.

EXAMPLES:

śāṇḍikyaḥ 'one whose ancestors lived in Śaṇḍika'
sārvasenyaḥ 'one whose ancestors lived in Sarvasena'

1. Affix *Ñya* is an exception to *aṆ* and *cha*. When one refers to a stem of the *śaṇḍikādi* group which signifies a mountain then *Ñya* constitutes an exception to the *cha* of the preceding rule. If, however, the stem refers to a region (*janapada*) then *Ñya* constitutes an exception to affix *vuN* of 4.2.125 *avṛddhād api*. . . . Affix *Ñya*, in relation to *śaṇḍika*, is an exception to the *aṆ* of 4.2.132 *kopadhād aṇ*.

4.3.93 सिन्धुतक्षशिलादिभ्योऽणञौ

sindhutakṣaśilādibhyo'ṇañau
/ sindhutakṣaśilādibhyaḥ 5/3 = *sindhuś ca takṣaśilā ca = sindhutakṣaśile* (*dv.*); *sindhutakṣaśile ādī yeṣāṃ te* (*bv.* with int. *dv.*), *tebhyaḥ; aṇañau* 1/2 = *aṇ ca añ ca* (*itar. dv.*)/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #4.1.82, *prāg dīvyato'ṇ* #4.1.83, *śeṣe* #4.2.92, *so'sya* #89, *abhijanaḥ* #90)
sindhvādibhyaḥ prātipadikebhyas takṣaśilādibhyaś ca yathāsaṃkhyam aṇañau pratyayau bhavataḥ 'so'syābhijanaḥ' ity etasmin viṣaye
The *taddhita* affixes *aṆ* and *añ* occur after a nominal stem of the group headed by *sindhu* and *takṣaśilā*, respectively, when the stems end in nominative and derivates signify the residual meaning of 'that is the place of residence of his ancestors'.

EXAMPLES:

saindhavaḥ 'one whose ancestors lived in the Indus Valley'
vārṇavaḥ 'one whose ancestors lived in the region of Varṇu'

1. Note that *ādi*, because it is used at the end of the *dvandva* compound *sindhutakṣaśile*, should be associated with *sindhu* and *takṣaśilā* both (cf.: *dvandvānte śrūyamāṇaṃ pratyekam abhisambadhyate*).

2. Note that derivates of *aṆ* and *añ* do not differ in form. They, however, differ in accent. It is argued that *aṆ* is not necessary here since it can be made available by 4.3.133 *kacchādibhyaś ca*. For, stems such as *sindhu* and *varṇu* are included in the *kacchādi* group. Pāṇini uses *aṆ* here to block the *vuN of* 4.2.134 *manuṣyatatsthayor vuñ*. Affix *aṆ* is also used to block *vuN* of 4.2.125 *avṛddhād api . . .* which, otherwise, may become available to stems such as *gandhāra, kiṣkindhā, sāradi, urasa* and *darad*. The *añ* of *kaumedura, kāṇḍavāraṇa* and *grāmaṇī* (a stem of the *takṣaśilādi* group) constitutes an exception to *cha* of 4.2.114 *vṛddhāc chaḥ*. It is an exception to *aṆ* in the context of other stems.

4.3.94 तूदीशलातुरवर्मतीकूचवाराड् ढक्छण्ढञ्यकः

tūdīśalāturavarmatīkūcavārāḍ ḍhakchaṇḍhañyakaḥ
/ tūdīśalāturavarmatīkūcavārāt 5/1 (*itar. dv.*), *tebhyaḥ; ḍhakchaṇḍhañyakaḥ* 1/3 (*itar. dv.*)/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #4.1.82, *prāg dīvyato'ṇ* #4.1.83, *śeṣe* #4.2.92, *so'sya* #89, *abhijanaḥ* #90)
tūdyādibhyaś caturbhyaḥ śabdebhyo yathāsaṃkhyaṃ catvāra eva 'ḍhak, chaṇ, ḍhañ, yak' ity ete pratyayā bhavanti 'so'syābhijanaḥ' ity asmin viṣaye
The *taddhita* affix *ḍhaK, cha, ḍhaÑ* and *yaK* occur after *tūdī, śalātura,*

varmatī and *kūcavāra*, respectively, when these stems end in nominative and their derivates denote the residual meaning of 'that is the place of residence of his ancestors'.

EXAMPLES:

taudeyaḥ 'he whose ancestors lived in Tūdī'
śālāturīyaḥ 'he whose ancestors lived in Śalātura'
vārmateyaḥ 'he whose ancestors lived in Varmatī'
kaucavāryaḥ 'he whose ancestors lived in Kūcavāra'

1. We must follow the process of *yathāsaṃkhya*, assignment of equivalency in accord with order of enumeration, because we have an equal number, four each, of stems and affixes.

4.3.95 भक्तिः

bhaktiḥ
/ bhaktiḥ 1/1
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #4.1.82, *prāg dīvyato'ṇ* #4.1.83, *śeṣe* #4.2.92, *so'sya* #89)
sa iti prathamāsamarthāt 'asya' iti ṣaṣṭhyarthe yathāvihitaṃ pratyayo bhavati yat prathamāsamarthaṃ bhaktiś ced bhavati
A *taddhita* affix also occurs as specified, to denote the sense of genitive (*ṣaṣṭhī*), after a syntactically related nominal stem which ends in nominative, provided the derivate signifies the residual meaning of 'that is his *bhakti* 'devotion'.'

EXAMPLES:

sraughnaḥ 'he whose object of devotion is Srughna'
māthuraḥ 'he whose object of devotion is Mathurā'

1. A derivate of this rule should be treated as object of devotion. The syntactically related nominal base ending in nominative, read in view of *bhaktiḥ*, becomes coreferential with it. Thus, we get *srughnaḥ bhaktiḥ asya* 'one whose devotion is Srughna'. The word *bhakti* itself derives from *bhaj* + *KtiN* where affix *KtiN* is used to denote an *object* serving as a means (*karmasādhana*).

4.3.96 अचित्तादेशकालाट्ठक्

acittād adeśakālāṭ ṭhak
/ acittāt 5/1 = *avidyamānaṃ cittaṃ yasmin* (*bv.*), *tasmāt; adeśakālāt* 5/1 = *na deśakālam* (*nañ. tat.*), *tasmāt; ṭhak* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #4.1.82, *prāg dīvyato'ṇ* #4.1.83, *śeṣe* #4.2.92, *so'sya* #89, *bhaktiḥ* #95)

deśakālavyatirktād acittavācinaḥ prātipadikāt ṭhak pratyayo bhavati 'so'sya bhaktiḥ' ity etasmin viṣaye
The *taddhita* affix *ṭhaK* occurs after a syntactically related nominal stem which ends in nominative and signifies an inanimate thing other than *deśa* 'locality' or *kāla* 'time', provided derivates denote the residual meaning of 'that is his devotion'.

EXAMPLES:

āpūpikaḥ = apūpo bhaktir asya 'he whose object of devotion are Apūpas (deepfried cakes)'
śāṣkulikaḥ 'he whose object of devotion are deepfried breads'
pāyasikaḥ 'he whose object of devotion is rice-pudding'

1. This provision of *ṭhaK* is an exception to *aṆ*. It also blocks affix *cha* (4.2.114 *vṛddhāc chaḥ*), for example in *pāyasikaḥ*, because of being subsequent (*paratvāt*).

4.3.97 महाराजाट्ठञ्

mahārājāṭ ṭhañ
/ mahārājāt 5/1 *ṭhañ* 1/1
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #4.1.82, *prāg dīvyato'ṇ* #4.1.83, *śeṣe* #4.2.92, *so'sya* #89, *bhaktiḥ* #95)
mahārājaśabdāṭ ṭhañ pratyayo bhavati 'so'sya bhaktiḥ' ity asmin viṣaye
The *taddhita* affix *ṭhaÑ* occurs after the syntactically related nominal stem *mahārāja* 'great king' when the same ends in nominative and the derivate denotes the residual meaning of 'that is his devotion'.

EXAMPLES:

māhārājikaḥ 'he whose object of devotion is his great king'

1. Affix *ṭhaÑ* is introduced separately from *ṭhaK*, mainly for facilitating different accents for corresponding derivates (*Kāś.*: *pratyayāntarakaraṇaṃ svarārtham*). Of course, derivates of *ṭhaK* and *ṭhaÑ* both have identical forms. A derivate of *ṭhaÑ* will be marked *udātta* at the beginning (*ādyudātta;* 6.1.197 *ñnityādir . . .*) because of its *Ñ* as an *it*. A derivate of *ṭhaK*, because of its *K* as an *it*, will be marked *udātta* at the end (6.1.165 *kitaḥ*).

4.3.98 वासुदेवार्जुनाभ्यां वुन्

vāsudevārjunābhyāṃ vun
/ vāsudevārjunābhyām 5/2 (*itar. dv.*) *vun* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ*

#4.1.76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #4.1.82, *prāg dīvyato'ṇ* #4.1.83, *śeṣe* #4.2.92, *so'sya* #89, *bhaktiḥ* #95)
vāsudevārjunaśabdābhyāṃ vun pratyayo bhavati 'so'sya bhaktiḥ' ity etasmin viṣaye
The *taddhita* affix *vuN* occurs after syntactically related nominal stems *vāsudeva* and *arjuna*, when they end in nominative and derivates signify the residual meaning of 'that is his devotion'.

EXAMPLES:

vāsudevo bhaktir asya = *vāsudevakaḥ* 'he whose object of devotion is Vāsudeva'
arjunakaḥ 'he whose object of devotion is Arjuna'

1. Affix *vuN* is an exception to *cha* of 4.2.114 *vṛddhāc chaḥ*, as far as *vāsudeva* is concerned. It is an exception to the more generally specified *aṆ* in the context of *arjuna*. Since derivates of this rule can be easily derived with affix *vuN* of the following rule, and also since there is no formal difference between derivates of *vuN* and *vuN*, we do not need these two separate rules. It is stated that *vāsudeva* is the name (*saṃjñā*) of a particular deity. It is not the name of *kṣatriya* (*Kāś.*: *saṃjñaiṣā devatāviśeṣasya na kṣatriyākhyā*). Some suggest the derivational meaning of *vāsudeva* as: *yasmin samastaṃ vasati sa vāsuḥ* 'he in whom resides all is *Vāsu*'; *vāsuś cāsau devaś; ca* = *vāsudevaḥ* 'Vāsudeva is one who is *vāsu* and, at the same time, also *deva* 'god'.'

The word *arjuna* signifies a 'tree' or 'color', in addition to naming a *kṣatriya*. One may not even get affix *vuN* after *arjuna* (not because it does not signify a *kṣatriya* but) because of *bahulam*. That is, *bahulam* specifies that *vuN* may or may not be available. Our stem *arjuna* should not be treated as an exception to affix *vuN*. It is better to treat it as an exception to *aṆ*.

2. The compound *vāsudevārjunābhyām* has *vāsudeva* placed before *arjuna* which, on account of its fewer vowels (2.2.34 *alpāc taram*), should precede. The compound should thus be *arjunavāsudevābhyām*. No, because a constituent whose denotatum deserves respect precedes (*abhyarhitaṃ pūrvaṃ nipatatīti*).

4.3.99 गोत्रक्षत्रियाख्येभ्यो बहुलं वुञ्

gotrakṣatriyākhyebhyo bahulaṃ vuñ
/ gotrakṣatriyākhyebhyaḥ 5/3 = *gotraṃ ca kṣatriyaś ca gotrakṣatriyau, tau ākhyā yeṣāṃ* (*bv.* with int. *dv.*), *tebhyaḥ; bahulam* 1/1 *vuñ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #4.1.82, *prāg dīvyato'ṇ* #4.1.83, *śeṣe* #4.2.92, *so'sya* #89, *bhaktiḥ* #95)
gotrākhyebhyaḥ kṣatriyākhyebhyaś ca prātipadikebhyo bahulaṃ vuñ pratyayo bhavati 'so'sya' bhaktiḥ ity etasmin viṣaye

The *taddhita* affix *vuN* occurs, variously, after a syntactically related nominal stem which ends in nominative and names the *gotra* of a *kṣatriya*, provided derivates denote the residual meaning of 'that is his devotion'.

EXAMPLES:

glucukāyanir bhaktir asya = glaucukāyanakaḥ 'Glucukāyanaka is he whose object of devotion is Glucukāyani'
aupagavakaḥ 'he whose object of devotion is Aupagava'
nākulakaḥ 'he whose object of devotion is Nakula'
sāhadevakaḥ 'one whose object of devotion is Sahadeva'

1. The word *ākhyā* is used in this rule to permit *vuN* only after stems which denote famous *gotra* and *kṣatriya* names. That is, *vuN* will not be allowed after any *gotra* or *kṣatriya* stem (*Kāś.*: *prasiddhakṣatriyaparigrahārtham ākhyāgrahaṇam*).

Note that because of *bahulam*, this affixal provision may not even apply. Thus, parallel to *pāṇinaḥ bhaktir asya* 'he whose object of devotion is Pāṇina (synonym of Pāṇini)', we do not get **pāṇinakaḥ*.

4.3.100 जनपदिनां जनपदवत्सर्वं जनपदेन समानशब्दानां बहुवचने

janapadināṃ janapadavat sarvaṃ janapadena samānaśabdānāṃ bahuvacane
/janapadinām 6/3 *janapadavat* ϕ *sarvam* 1/1 *janapadena* 3/1 *samānaśabdānām* 6/3 *bahuvacane* 7/1
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #4.1.82, *prāg dīvyato'ṇ* #4.1.83, *śeṣe* #4.2.92, *so'sya* #89, *bhaktiḥ* #95)
janapadino ye bahuvacane janapadena samānaśabdās iteṣāṃ janapadavat sarvaṃ bhavati pratyayaḥ, prakṛtiś ca, 'so'sya bhaktiḥ' ity asmin viṣaye
A syntactically related nominal stem which signifies a *kṣatriya* in the manner similar to the stem signifying a region with its scope in plural, is, for all operational purposes, treated as the stem denoting a region, provided it ends in nominative and its derivate denotes the residual meaning of 'that is his devotion'.

EXAMPLES:

aṅgā janapado bhaktir asya = āṅgakaḥ 'an Āṅgaka is one whose object of devotion is (the country of residence of) the Aṅga warriors'
vāṅgakaḥ 'a Vāṅgaka is one whose object of devotion is (the country of residence of) the Vaṅga warriors'

1. The word *janapadin* is explained as 'one who rules over a *janapada* 'region'. This *sūtra* is an extension (*atideśa*), whereby operational provisions

of stems which denote a region, and are used in plural, are extended to stems which signify a ruler. That is, bases (*prakṛti*) and affixes (*pratyaya*) for both sets of derivates are identical. This extension refers, particularly, to provisions of rule 4.2.124 *janapadatadavadhyoś ca*. Consequently, all affixes introduced within the domain of rule 4.2.124 after specific bases can also be introduced after stems which denote a *kṣatriya* ruler (*jānapadin*), provided, of course, the condition of *bhakti* is also met. Thus, we have *aṅgāḥ* which can have dual meanings: (*a*) 'he whose object of devotion is the country of Aṅgas', or (*b*) 'he whose object of devotion is the ruler of the country of Aṅgas'.

2. The word *sarva*, as *Kāśikā* states, is used to indicate extension of bases, particularly in singular and dual. The condition of *janapadena samānaśabdānām* is necessary to assure that stems which name a region and signify a *kṣatriya* are also identical. Thus, one cannot apply this extension to *anuṣaṇḍa* which signifies a *janapada* but where the king is *paurava*. A derivate with the signification of *bhakti* parallel to the king has to be *pauravīyaḥ*. The extension of *anuṣaṇḍa* is thus not permitted.

The condition of *bahuvacane* is imposed to indicate the scope of identical forms (*samānaśabdatā*). That is, the extension is stated for bases which are similar in plural. This is no way restricts the extension in plural. That is, bases which have identical forms in plural will enjoy this extension in singular and dual, even though they have differences of forms in singular and dual. Thus, *vāṅgo vāṅgau vā bhaktir asya = vāṅgakaḥ* is permitted.

The affixal provision of this rule is an exception to the general *aṆ*.

4.3.101 तेन प्रोक्तम्

tena proktam
/ tena 3/1 *proktam* 1/1
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #4.1.82, *prāg dīvyato'ṇ* #4.1.83, *śeṣe* #4.2.92)
teneti tṛtīyāsamarthāt proktam' ity etasminn arthe yathāvihitaṃ pratyayo bhavati
A *taddhita* affix occurs henceforth after a syntactically related nominal stem which ends in *tṛtīyā* 'instrumental', provided the derivate denotes the residual meaning of 'that which was (brilliantly) expounded by him'.

EXAMPLES:

pāṇininā proktam = pāṇinīyam 'the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* which was expounded by Pāṇini'
āpiśalam 'a treatise expounded by Āpiśali'
kāśakṛtsnam 'a treatise expounded by Kāśakṛtsna'

1. Note that the word *proktam* is used here in the sense of *prakarṣeṇa uktam*

'that which was brilliantly expounded (and taught)'. The tradition makes a distinction between something which was made, or created, and some thing which was expounded by, or revealed to, a sage. The Vedas, for example, are considered as impersonal (divine; *apauruṣeya*). They are therefore regarded as revealed to sages. Texts such as the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* are regarded as expounded by way of discourse. A distinction between *kṛta* 'made, written' and *prokta* 'expounded' must be made also in view of 4.3.116 *kṛte granthe*. If *prokta* was here used in the sense of a treatise made (*kṛta*) then rule 4.3.87 could easily account for related derivates. This rule will then become vacuous. Haradatta (*PM* ad *Kāś.*) explains *prokta* as: *adhyāpanenārthavyākhyānena vā prakarṣeṇa prakāśitam* 'brought to light brilliantly via teaching or elucidation'. The word *prakarṣa* is explained as 'excellence'. *Nyāsa* explains *proktam* as 'that which has been elucidated and taught with brilliance (*prakarṣaḥ atiśayaḥ; vyākhyātaṃ tad adhyāpitaṃ vā proktam*). Commentators also state that a treatise made, or composed, by someone can be called *kṛta*. But it can be called *prokta* if it was brought to light via brilliant elucidation and teaching by someone else. Of course, it will be called *prokta* with reference to the person who elucidates and teaches. Thus we can get *anyena kṛtā māthureṇa proktā māthurī vṛttiḥ* 'a *vṛtti* text called *māthurī* which was made by someone else but was elucidated and explained by Māthura'.

4.3.102 तित्तिरिवरतन्तुखण्डिकोखाच्छण्

tittirivaratantukhaṇḍikokhāc chaṇ
/ tittirivaratantukhaṇḍikokhāt 5/1 (*sam. dv.*); *chaṇ.* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #4.1.82, *prāg divyato' ṇ* #4.1.83, *śeṣe* #4.2.92, *tena proktam* #101)
tittiryādibhyaḥ śabdebhyaś chaṇ pratyayo bhavati 'tena proktam' ity etasmin viṣaye
The *taddhita* affix *chaṆ* occurs after syntactically related nominal stems *tittiri, varatantu, khaṇḍika* and *ukha*, when they end in instrumental and derivates signify the residual meaning of 'that which was brilliantly expounded by him'.

EXAMPLES:

tittiriṇā proktam adhīyate = taittirīyaḥ 'Taittirīyas are those who study the Mantras and Brāhmaṇas brilliantly expounded by Tittiri'
vāratantuvīyāḥ 'Vāratantuvīyas are those who study the Mantras and Brāhmaṇas expounded by Varatantu'
khāṇḍikīyāḥ 'Khāṇḍikīyas are those who study the Mantras and Brāhmaṇas expounded by Khaṇḍika'
aukhīyāḥ 'Aukhīyas are those who study the Mantras and Brāhmaṇas expounded by Ukha'

1. It is stated that Vedic (*chandas*), particularly its *mantra* and *brāhmaṇa* literature, is the desired scope of this rule. *Kāśikā* explains that *chandasi* of 4.3.106 *śaunakādibhyaś chandasi* should be read in rules beginning with this through 4.3.112 *tenaikadik*. Once this scope of *chandasi* is established, derivates which end in suffixes with the denotation of *prokta* will then denote *adhyetṛ* 'he who studies . . .', or *veditṛ* 'he who knows . . .', with their scope limited to *chandas*. Thus, we cannot get *chaṆ* in a derivate parallel to *tittiriṇā proktaḥ ślokaḥ* 'a verse expounded by Tittiri'. *Kāśikā*'s advice to read *chandasi* from a following rule (4.3.106 *śaunakādibhyaś chandasi*) goes against the normal practice of *anuvṛtti*.

Kāśikā paraphrases *taittirīyaḥ* as *tittiriṇā proktam adhīyate*. That is, it employs the sense of *prokta* and *adhīta* both to explain a derivate with the signification of *prokta*. A derivate signifying *adhīta* should form the scope of 4.2.59 *tad adhīte tad veda*. Commentators (*Nyāsa* ad *Kāś.*: . . . *chaṇ pratyayaḥ, tebhyaḥ 'tad adhīte' ity aṇ, tasya 'proktāl luk' iti luk*) explain that a derivate of *chaṆ*, i.e., ending in *īya*, with *prokta* as its signification, receives *aṆ* of 4.2.59 *tad adhīte* . . . to signify *adhīta*. This *aṆ*, however, is to be deleted by 4.2.64 *proktāl luk*.

4.3.103 काश्यपकौशिकाभ्यामृषिभ्यां णिनिः

kāśyapakauśikābhyām ṛṣibhyāṃ ṇiniḥ
/kāśyapakauśikābhyām 5/2 (*itar. dv.*), *tābhyām; ṛṣibhyām* 5/2 *ṇiniḥ* 1/1/ (*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #4.1.82, *prāg dīvyato'ṇ* #4.1.83, *śeṣe* #4.2.92, *tena proktam* #101)
kāśyapa-kauśikaśabdābhyām ṛṣivācibhyāṃ ṇiniḥ pratyayo bhavati 'tena proktam' ity etasmin viṣaye
The *taddhita* affix *ṆinI* occurs after syntactically related nominal stems *kāśyapa* and *kauśika* when they denote a sage (*ṛṣi*) and end in instrumental, provided derivates denote the residual meaning of 'that which was expounded by him'.

EXAMPLES:

kāśyapena proktaṃ kalpam adhīyate = kāśyapinaḥ 'Kāśyapins are those who study the Mantras and Brāhmaṇas expounded by the sage Kāśyapa'
kauśikinaḥ 'Kauśikins are those who study the Mantras and Brāhmaṇas expounded by the sage Kauśika'

1. Note that Kāśyapa and Kauśika expounded the *kalpasūtras*. How could *kalpa* then be considered as part of *chandas* and *brāhmaṇa*, the required scope of our present rule? It is stated that *kalpa* is different from *mantra* and *brāhmaṇa*. But since it is here given within the context of *mantra* and *brāhmaṇa*, *kalpa* must also be included. Here again, the *adhyetṛ* and *veditṛ* interpretations of 4.2.65 will apply.

2. The *Ṇ* of *ṆinI* is required for *vṛddhi* in the next rule. We already have *vṛddhi* in bases of this rule. We cannot accept its *Ṇit*-status as intended for blocking masculine transformation (*puṃvadbhāvapratiṣedhaḥ*). For, such operational denotation of *adhyetṛ* and *veditṛ* is not possible in feminine (*striyām avṛtteḥ*). The final *I* of the affix is for articulation. This provision of *ṆinI* can be treated as an exception to *cha* of 4.2.114 *vṛddhāc chaḥ*.

4.3.104 कलापिवैशम्पायनान्तेवासिभ्यश्च

kalāpivaiśampāyanāntevāsibhyaś ca
/kalāpivaiśampāyanāntevāsibhyaḥ 5/3 *ca* ϕ/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #4.1.82, *prāg dīvyato'ṇ* #4.1.83, *śeṣe* #4.2.92, *tena proktam* #101, *ṇiniḥ* #103)
kalāpyantevāsināṃ vaiśampāyanāntevāsināṃ ca ye vācakāḥ śabdāḥ tebhyo ṇiniḥ pratyayo bhavati 'tena proktam' ity etasmin viṣaye
The *taddhita* affix *ṆinI* also occurs after a syntactically related nominal stem which names pupils of *kalāpin* and *vaiśampāyana* and ends in instrumental, provided derivates denote the residual meaning of 'that which was expounded by him'.

EXAMPLES:

haridruṇā proktam adhīyate = hāridraviṇaḥ 'Hāridravins are those who study what was expounded by Haridu, a pupil of Kalāpin'
ālambinaḥ 'Ālambins are those who study what was expounded by Ālambin, a pupil of Vaiśampāyana'

1. Note that the word *antevāsin* is explained as a *śiṣya* 'student, pupil, disciple'. This rule, however, does not permit an indirect (*apratyakṣakārin*) pupil to be accepted as an *antevāsin*. That is, a pupil treated as a pupil because of being a pupil's pupil is not accepted as an *antevāsin* for purposes of this rule. *Kāśikā* rightly remarks that *pratyakṣkāriṇo gṛhyante na tu vyavahitāḥ śiṣyaśiṣyāḥ* '*antevāsin* is interpreted as a pupil who studied from the teacher directly, and not indirectly as a pupil's pupil'.

There are four pupils of Kalāpin: Haridru, Chagalin, Tumburu and Ulapa. This rule will not introduce *ṆinI* in the context of Chagalin, since 4.3.109 *chagalino ḍhinuk* would introduce *ḍhinUK*. There are nine pupils of Vaiśampāyana: Ālambi (pupil of Caraka in the eastern country); Palaṅga and Kamala (again of the east); Ṛcābha, Aruṇi and Tāṇḍya (three of the central part of the country); Śyāmāyana (of the north); and Kaṭha and Kalāpīn, where deletion by *LUK* (4.3.107 *kaṭhacarakāl luk*) is stated. Thus consider the following:

haridrur eṣāṃ prathamas tataś chagalitumburū/
ulapena caturthena kālāpakam ihocyate//
ālambiś carakaḥ prācāṃ palaṅgakamalāv ubhau//

ṛcābhāruṇitāṇḍyāś ca madhyamīyāstrayo'pare//
śyāmāyana udīcyeṣu uktaṃ kaṭhakalāpinau//

4.3.105 पुराणप्रोक्तेषु ब्राह्मणकल्पेषु

purāṇaprokteṣu brāhmaṇakalpeṣu
/purāṇaprokteṣu 7/3 = *purāṇena proktāḥ* (*tṛt. tat.*), *teṣu; brāhmaṇakalpeṣu* 7/3 = *brāhmaṇāni ca kalpāś ca* (*itar. dv.*) *teṣu/*
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #4.1.82, *prāg dīvyato'ṇ* #4.1.83, *śeṣe* #4.2.92, *tena proktam* #101, *ṇiniḥ* #103)
tṛtīyāsamarthāt prokte ṇiniḥ pratyayo bhavati yat proktaṃ purāṇaproktāś ced brāhmaṇakalpās te bhavanti
The *taddhita* affix *ṆinI* occurs after a syntactically related nominal stem which ends in instrumental, provided the derivate denotes the residual meaning of '*brāhmaṇas* and *kalpas* expounded by ancients'.

EXAMPLES:

bhāllavinaḥ 'Bhāllavins are those who study sections of Brāhmaṇas expounded by the ancient sage Bhallu'
aitareyiṇaḥ 'Aitareyins are those who study the Brāhmaṇas expounded by the ancient sage Aitareya'
paiṅgī 'a Kalpa expounded by the ancient sage Piṅga'
āruṇaparājī 'a Kalpa expounded by Aruṇaparājin'

1. The word *purāṇaprokta* is explained as *cirantanena muninā proktāḥ* 'expounded by a sage who is eternally ancient'. It is for this reason that we cannot get *ṆinI* in connection with a *brāhmaṇa* expounded by Yājñavalkya, or the *kalpa* expounded by Āśmarathya. One must then introduce the general affix (*autsargika*) *aṆ* to derive *yājñyavalkyaḥ* and *āśmarathaḥ*. *Kāśikā*, based on evidence from narratives such as the *Mahābhārata*, etc., informs that Yājñavalkya, etc., are relatively less ancient sages. Patañjali, however, does not accept this. He considers Yājñavalkya, etc., as equally ancient though he blocks *ṆinI* after *yājñavalkya*, etc., on grounds of contemporaneity with *śāṭyāyana*, etc.

2. Note that *tadviṣayatā* 'scope of that', as characterized by *adhyetṛ* and *veditṛ* (4.2.66 *chandobrāhmaṇāni ca . . .*), will obtain in the context of *brāhmaṇas* but not the *kalpas*. Why? This rule does not get the *anuvṛtti* of *chandasi*. Refer also to my note on carrying *chandasi* from the following rule to 4.3.102 *tittirivaratantu. . . .*

4.3.106 शौनकादिभ्यश्छन्दसि

śaunakādibhyaś chandasi

/śaunakādibhyaḥ 5/3 = *śaunaka ādir yeṣāṃ* (*bv.*), *tebhyaḥ; chandasi* 7/1/ (*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #4.1.82, *prāg dīvyato'ṇ* #4.1.83, *śeṣe* #4.2.92, *tena proktam* #101, *ṇiniḥ* #103)
'*śaunaka*' *ity evamādibhyo ṇiniḥ pratyayo bhavati* '*tena proktam*' *ity etasmin viṣaye chandasy abhidheye*
The *taddhita* affix *ṆinI* occurs after a syntactically related nominal stem listed in the group headed by *śaunaka*, when the stem ends in instrumental and derivates denote a residual meaning relative to *chandas* expounded by him.

EXAMPLES:

śaunakena proktam adhīyate = *śaunakinaḥ* 'Śaunakins are those who study the Vedic text expounded by Śaunaka'
vājasaneyinaḥ 'Vājasaneyins are those who study the Vedic text expounded by Vājasaneya'

1. The affixal provision of this rule constitutes an exception to affixes *cha* and *aṆ* both. That is, *ṆinI* will be treated as an exception to *cha* in connection with those bases of *śaunakādi* which may be termed *vṛddha* (4.2.114 *vṛddhāc chaḥ*). It can be treated as an exception to *aṆ*, elsewhere (*anyatra*), in case of non-*vṛddha* bases.

Condition of *chandasi* also brings *tadviṣayatā* (scope) of 4.2.66 *chando-brāhmaṇāni ca*. . . .

4.3.107 कठचरकाल्लुक्

kaṭhacarakāl luk
/kaṭhacarakāt 5/1 = *kaṭhaś ca carakaś ca kaṭhacarakam* (*sam. dv.*), *tasmāt; luk* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #4.1.82, *prāg dīvyato'ṇ* #4.1.83, *śeṣe* #4.2.92, *tena proktam* #101, *chandasi* #106)
kaṭhacarakaśabdābhyāṃ parasya proktapratyayasya lug bhavati
A *taddhita* affix which occurs after syntactically related nominal stems *kaṭha* and *caraka*, to signify *prokta* with its scope in Vedic, is deleted by *LUK*.

EXAMPLES:

kaṭhena proktam adhīyate = *kaṭhāḥ* 'Kaṭhas are those who study the Vedic text expounded by Kaṭha'
carakāḥ 'Carakas are those who study the Vedic text expounded by Caraka'

1. Note that Kaṭha is a pupil of Vaiśampāyana. Consequently, there will

be a deletion of *ṆinI* introduced by rule 4.3.104 *kalāpivaiśampāyanāntevāsinaś ca*. It has been already stated that Caraka is also a name of Vaiśampāyana. Affix *aṆ* (4.1.83 *prāg dīvyato' ṇ*) will thus be deleted after *caraka*. A lack of affixal deletion elsewhere offers derivates such as *kāṭhāḥ* and *cārakāḥ*.

4.3.108 कलापिनोऽण्

kalāpino' ṇ
/kalāpinaḥ 5/1 *aṇ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #4.1.82, *prāg dīvyato' ṇ* #4.1.83, *śeṣe* #4.2.92, *tena proktam* #101, *chandasi* #106)
kalāpiśabdād aṇ pratyayo bhavati 'tena proktam' ity etasmin viṣaye
The *taddhita* affix *aṆ* occurs after the syntactically related nominal stem *kalāpin* when it ends in instrumental and its derivate denotes the residual meaning of '. . . expounded by him', relative to *chandas*.

EXAMPLES:

kālāpāḥ 'Kālāpas are those who study the *chandas* expounded by Kalāpa'

1. This provision of *aṆ* is an exception to *ṆinI* which, in turn, was available to *kalāpin* for reasons of denoting a pupil of Vaiśampāyana (4.3.104 *kalāpi* . . .).

2. A *vārttika* provision for *ṭi*-deletion (1.1.64 *aco' ntyādiṭi*) of a set of eleven bases which ends in *n* (*nāntasya ṭilopaḥ*) is made here against rule 6.4.164 *inaṇy anapatye*. Our stem *kalāpin* is included within this list (cf. *nāntasya ṭilope sabrahmacāriṇīṭhasarpikalāpikuthumitaitalijājalijāṅgalilāṅgaliśilāliśikhaṇḍisūkarasadmasuparvaṇām upasaṃkhyānam*). Refer to the appendix for further derivational details.

3. *Kāśikā* states that a direct specification of *aṆ*, as against getting it as part of the general provision of 4.1.83 *prāg dīvyato' ṇ*, is here made for additional application (*adhikavidhānārtham*). That is, if *aṆ* was not specifically given then the general provision of *aṆ* would have served as an exception to *ṆinI*. But this specific mention of *aṆ* would become vacuous (*vyartha*) if it only served as an exception to *ṆinI*. For, the original *aṆ* was already there to serve that purpose. *Nyāsa* observes that: *yo vihito na ca prāpnoty anena bādhitvāt sa eva bhaviṣyati sa cāṇeva* 'that which was provided (original *aṆ*) but cannot apply because of being blocked by a provision (*ṆinI*) on hand, will alone apply'.

Two extended applications (*adhikavidhāna*) are illustrated by *māthuri vṛttiḥ* 'a *vṛtti* expounded by Māthura' and *saulabhāni brāhmaṇāni* 'the *brāhmaṇas* expounded by Sulabha'. There are other examples such as *maudāḥ, paippalādāḥ, śākalāḥ, jājalāḥ*, etc. Note that the general *aṆ* of these examples could have been blocked by the *cha* of 4.2.114 *vṛddhāc chaḥ*.

4.3.109 छगलिनो ढिनुक्

chagalino ḍhinuk
/ chagalinaḥ 5/1 *ḍhinuk* 1/1
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #4.1.82, *prāg dīvyato'ṇ* #4.1.83, *śeṣe* #4.2.92, *tena proktam* #101)
chagalinśabdād ḍhinuk pratyayo bhavati 'tena proktam' ity etasmin viṣaye
The *taddhita* affix *ḍhinUK* occurs in *chandas* after the syntactically related nominal stem *chagalin* when the same ends in instrumental and the derivate denotes the residual meaning of 'expounded by him'.

EXAMPLES:

chāgaleyinaḥ 'Chāgaleyins are those who study the *chandas* text expounded by Chagalin'

1. As usual we get the deletion of *aṆ* denoting *tad adhīte* . . . 'those who study or know'.

4.3.110 पाराशर्यशिलालिभ्यां भिक्षुनटसूत्रयोः

pārāśaryaśilālibhyāṃ bhikṣunaṭasūtrayoḥ
/ parāśaryaśilālibhyām 5/2 (*itar. dv.*), *tābhyām; bhikṣunaṭasūtrayoḥ* 7/2 = *bhikṣuś ca naṭaś ca* (*itar. dv.*), *tayoḥ sūtre* (*ṣas. tat.* with int. *dv.*), *tayoḥ/*
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #4.1.82, *prāg dīvyato'ṇ* #4.1.83, *śeṣe* #4.2.92, *tena proktam* #101, *ṇiniḥ* #103, *chandasi* #106)
pārāśaryaśilālibhyāṃ ṇiniḥ pratyayo bhavati 'tena proktam' ity etasmin viṣaye
The *taddhita* affix *ṆinI* occurs after syntactically related nominal stems *pārāśarya* and *śilālin* when they end in instrumental and derivates signify the residual meaning of 'expounded by him', relative to *bhikṣusūtra* and *naṭasūtra*, respectively.

EXAMPLES:

pārāśaryeṇa proktam adhīyate = pārāśariṇo bhikṣavaḥ 'Parāśarins are those who study the *bhikṣusūtra* expounded by Pārāśarya'
śailālino naṭāḥ 'Śailālins are those who study the *naṭasūtra* expounded by Śilālin'

1. Note that the *anuvṛtti* of *ṆinI* is brought here via *maṇḍukapluti* 'frog's leap'. Commentators also state that *chandas* should also be carried. But *bhikṣusūtra* and *naṭasūtra* could be treated as *chandas* only indirectly and by way of figure of speech (*upacārāt*).

2. Note that the *bhikṣusūtras* represent a body of text in the *bāṣkala* branch of the Vedic. Bhiksu Pañcaśikha is considered as the original author of the

bhikṣusūtras. He was, according to the *Mahābhārata,* a *pārāśarya.* Some consider the *bhikṣusūtra* of *pārāśarya* as a precursor to the *vedāntasūtras.* The *naṭasūtras* mostly concentrate on dramaturgy and were, perhaps, incorporated in the *Nāṭyaśāstra.* Patañjali, as the sentence *naṭasya śṛṇoti* '. . . is listening to the narrative of the performer' suggests, does not accept the study of *naṭasūtras* as part of regular instruction. This explains why genitive, as opposed to an ablative (*naṭād*), used in *naṭasya* of this example (1.4.29 *ākhyātopayoge*). Studying dramaturgy was, thus, treated as something falling outside of the teacher-taught tradition of regular systematic instruction. This could have also led to reluctance in accepting the *bhikṣusūtra* and *naṭasūtra* as *chandas.* They may be accepted as *chandas* only when qualities required (*nimittaguṇāḥ*) for something to be treated as *chandas* are transferred to them via *kalpanā* 'imagination'.

4.3.111 कर्मन्दकृशाश्वादिनिः

karmandakṛśāśvād iniḥ
/karmandakṛśāśvāt 5/1 (*sam. dv.*); *iniḥ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #4.1.82, *prāg dīvyato'ṇ* #4.1.83, *śeṣe* #4.2.92, *tena proktam* #101, *chandasi* #106, *bhikṣunaṭasūtrayoḥ* #110)
karmandakṛśāśvaśabdābhyām iniḥ pratyayo bhavati 'tena proktam' ity etasmin viṣaye yathāsaṃkhyaṃ bhikṣunaṭasūtrayor abhidheyayoḥ
The *taddhita* affix *inI* occurs in *chandas* after syntactically related nominal stems *karmanda* and *kṛśāśva* when they end in instrumental and their derivates signify the residual meaning of 'expounded by him', relative to the *bhikṣusūtra* and *naṭasūtra,* respectively.

EXAMPLES:

karmandena proktam adhīyate = karmandino bhikṣavaḥ 'Karmandins are those who study the *bhikṣusūtra* expounded by Karmanda'
kṛśāśvino naṭāḥ 'Kṛśāśvins are those performers who study the *naṭasūtra* expounded by Kṛśāśva'

4.3.112 तेनैकदिक्

tenaikadik
/tena 3/1 *ekadik* 1/1 = *eka dik yasya* (*bv.*)/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #4.1.82, *prāg dīvyato'ṇ* #4.1.83, *śeṣe* #4.2.92)
teneti tṛtīyāsamarthāt 'ekadik' ity etasminn arthe yathāvihitaṃ pratyayo bhavati
A *taddhita* affix occurs as specified after a syntactically related nominal stem which ends in instrumental, provided the derivate denotes a residual meaning relative to 'a direction similar to that'.

EXAMPLES:

sudāmnā ekadik = *saudaminī vidyut* 'the lightning which strikes in the direction of Mount Sudāman is called Saudāminī'.
pailumūlī 'the lightning which strikes in the direction of Pīlumūla is called Pailumūlī'

1. Note that *tena* is specifically used in this *sūtra* to discontinue the *anuvṛtti* of *chandasi*. For, bringing *tena* via *anuvṛtti* would also demand carrying *chandasi* (*Nyāsa*: *pūrvatra hi teneti chando'dhikārasambaddham, atas tadanuvṛttau tasyāpy anuvṛttiḥ syāt*).

4.3.113 तसिश्च

tasiś ca
/tasiḥ 1/1 *ca* ϕ/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #4.1.82, *prāg dīvyato'ṇ* #4.1.83, *śeṣe* #4.2.92, *tenaikadik* #112)
tastiś ca pratyayo bhavati '*tenaikadik*' *ity etasmin viṣaye*
The *taddhita* affix *tasI* also occurs after a syntactically related nominal stem which ends in instrumental, provided the derivate denotes a residual meaning relative to 'a direction similar to that'.

EXAMPLES:

sudāmataḥ '. . . in the direction of Mount Sudāman'
pīlumūlataḥ '. . . in the direction of Pīlumūla'

1. Note that derivates of this rule are treated as indeclinables (cf. 1.1.38 *taddhitaś cāsarvavibhaktiḥ*). The *I* in *tasI* is intended for ease of articulation (*uccāraṇārthaḥ*).

4.3.114 उरसो यच्च

uraso yac ca
/urasaḥ 5/1 *yat* 1/1 *ca* ϕ/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #4.1.82, *prāg dīvyato'ṇ* #4.1.83, *śeṣe* #4.2.92, *tenaikadik* #112, *tasiḥ* #113)
'*uraḥ*' *śabdād yat pratyayo bhavati cakārāt tasiś ca* '*tenaikadik*' *ity etasmin viṣaye*
The *taddhita* affix *yaT*, and *tasI* as well, occurs after the syntactically related nominal stem *uras*, when it ends in instrumental and the derivate denotes a residual meaning relative to 'a direction similar to that'.

EXAMPLES:

urasā ekadik = *urasyaḥ* 'that which is similar in direction with the chest; up front'
urastaḥ 'id.'

1. Note that *yaT* is an exception to *aN*. The *ca* is used here to attract *tasI*.

4.3.115 उपज्ञाते

upajñāte
/upajñāte 7/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #4.1.82, *prāg dīvyato'ṇ* #4.1.83, *śeṣe* #4.2.92, *tena* #112)
tṛtīyāsamarthāt 'upajñāte' ity etasmin viṣaye yathāvihitaṃ pratyayo bhavati
A *taddhita* affix occurs as specified after a syntactically related nominal stem which ends in instrumental and the derivate denotes a residual meaning relative to 'something evolved by him'.

EXAMPLES:

pāṇininopajñātam akālakaṃ vyākaraṇam 'the grammar which was evolved by Pāṇini does not have any definition of time'
kāśakṛtsnam 'a grammar evolved by Kāśakṛtsna'

1. *Kāśikā* explains *upajñāta* as *vinopadeśena jñātam* 'that which was evolved without any instruction from someone; ingenious'. The word *akālakam* is explained by *kālaparibhāṣārahitam* 'that which lacks any definition of time'.

4.3.116 कृते ग्रन्थे

kṛte granthe
/kṛte 7/1 *granthe* 7/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #4.1.82, *prāg dīvyato'ṇ* #4.1.83, *śeṣe* #4.2.92, *tena* #112)
tṛtīyāsamarthāt 'kṛte' ity etasminn arthe yathāvihitaṃ pratyayo bhavati yat tatkṛtaṃ granthaś cet sa bhavati
A *taddhita* affix occurs as specified after a syntactically related nominal stem which ends in instrumental, provided the derivate denotes the residual meaning of a 'text made by him'.

EXAMPLES:

vararucinā kṛtāḥ = *vārarucāḥ ślokāḥ* 'verses composed by Vararuci'
bhaikurāṭ 'a treatise composed by Bhikurāṭ'

1. What is the difference between *prokta, upajñāta* and *kṛta.* First of all, *kṛta* is brought about as completely original. It is not something as *prokta* which may be, in part, someone else's creation. The creator of a *prokta* text is given more credit for expounding it and making it effectively understood. An *upajñāta* text is explained as *vidyamānam eva jñātam* 'understanding what already existed'. However, this understanding does not involve *upadeśa* 'instruction' as *Kāśikā* explains: *vinopadeśena jñātam.* The word *upajñāta* can thus refer to something which was evolved as a systematic presentation, without instruction from a teacher.

4.3.117 संज्ञायाम्

saṃjñāyām
/saṃjñāyām 7/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #4.1.82, *prāg dīvyato'ṇ* #4.1.83, *śeṣe* #4.2.92, *tena* #112, *kṛte* #116)
tṛtīyāsamarthāt 'kṛte' ity etasminn arthe yathāvihitaṃ pratyayo bhavati samudāyena cet saṃjñā gamyate
A *taddhita* affix occurs as specified after a syntactically related nominal stem which ends in instrumental, provided the derivate denotes a name (*saṃjñā*) relative to the residual meaning of 'made by him'.

EXAMPLES:

makṣikābhiḥ kṛtam = *mākṣikam* 'made by the bees; honey'
pauttikam 'id.'

1. This rule is formulated for accounting derivates which denote a name other than that of a treatise (*grantha; agranthārtham idam*).

4.3.118 कुलालादिभ्यो वुञ्

kulālādibhyo vuñ
/kulālādibhyaḥ 5/3 *vuñ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #4.1.82, *prāg dīvyato'ṇ* #4.1.83, *śeṣe* #4.2.92, *tena* #112, *kṛte* #116, *saṃjñāyām* #117)
kulālādibhyo vuñ pratyayo bhavati 'tena kṛtam' ity etasminn arthe saṃjñāyāṃ gamyamānāyām
The *taddhita* affix *vuN* occurs after syntactically related nominal stems listed in the group headed by *kulāla* 'pot-maker', when the stems end in instrumental and derivates denote a name relative to the residual meaning of 'made by him'.

EXAMPLES:

kaulālakam 'made by a potter; pottery'
vāruḍakam 'made by Varuḍa'

1. Note that the *Mahābhāṣya* treats rules 4.3.117-18 as one. Patañjali resorts to rule-splitting (*yogavibhāga*) for accounting derivates such as *mākṣikam*, etc. Obviously, our listing of two separate rules is taken from the *Kāśikā* which does not resort to *yogavibhāga*.

4.3.119 क्षुद्राभ्रमरवटरपादपादञ्

kṣudrābhramaravaṭarapādapād añ
/ kṣudrā-bhramara-vaṭara-pādapāt 5/1 = *kṣudrā ca bhramaraś ca vaṭaraś ca pādapaś ca (sam. dv.), tasmāt; añ* 1/1
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #4.1.82, *prāg dīvyato'ṇ* #4.1.83, *śeṣe* #4.2.92, *tena* #112, *kṛte* #116, *saṃjñāyām* #117)
kṣudrādibhyo'ñ pratyayo bhavati 'tena kṛte' ity etasmin viṣaye saṃjñāyāṃ gamyamānāyām
The *taddhita* affix *aÑ* occurs after syntactically related nominal stems *kṣudrā* 'small bee', *bhramara* 'bee', *vaṭara* 'churning-stick', and *pādapa*, 'tree', when the stems end in instrumental and derivates denote a name relative to the residual meaning of 'made by him'.

EXAMPLES:

kṣaudram '. . . made by a small bee; honey'
bhrāmaram 'id.'
vāṭaram '. . . made by churning stick; butter'
pādapam 'made by a tree'

1. Affix *aÑ* is an exception to *aṆ*, though derivates do not differ in form. Of course, there is a difference in accent conditioned by *Ṇ* and *Ñ* as *it* element. A derivate of *aṆ* is marked high-pitched at the end (*antodātta*) on account of the affix. An *aÑ*-derivate, because of its *Ñ* as an *it*, will be marked *udātta* at the beginning (*ādyudātta*). Some read *padapa* instead of *pādapa*. A listing such as *pādapa* will attract application of 4.2.11 *vṛddhāc chaḥ*.

4.3.120 तस्येदम्

tasyedam
/ tasya 6/1 *idam* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #4.1.82, *prāg dīvyato'ṇ* #4.1.83, *śeṣe* #4.2.92)

tasyeti ṣaṣṭhīsamarthāt 'idam' ity etasmin viṣaye yathāvihitaṃ pratyayo bhavati
A *taddhita* affix occurs as specified after a syntactically related nominal stem which ends in *ṣaṣṭhi* 'genitive', provided the derivate denotes the residual meaning of 'this is his'.

EXAMPLES:

upagor idam = *aupagavam* 'this belongs to Upagu'
kāpaṭavam 'this belongs to Kapaṭu'

1. Note that *tasya* specifies the nominal stem after which this affixal provision is made. It is given in masculine-neuter singular. This, as has already been explained in connection with rule 4.1.92 *tasyāpatyam*, does not restrict bases to masculine-neuter singular only. Observe that the affixal denotatum is specified by *idam*, a neuter singular. Besides, it refers to 'something' proximate and visible (*pratyakṣa*). This again does not restrict the affixal denotatum to something which is proximate, neuter, and singular; and which could be comprehended directly. That is, bases coming under the scope of this rule should terminate in genitive; and the affixal denotatum should be interpreted relative to the signification of the base in genitive (*Nyāsa* ad *Kāś.*: *prakṛtau ṣaṣṭyarthamātraṃ vivakṣitam. pratyayārthe'pi ṣaṣṭyarthasambandhimātram, yena vinā ṣaṣṭhyartho na sampadyate*). If the affixal denotatum is comprehended as that which relates to genitive in general then how come *anantara* 'near' and *samīpa* 'proximate', of *devadattasya anantaram* and *devadattasya samīpam*, which are obviously relatable to genitive of *devadattasya*, are excluded? Because of lack of usage (*anabhidhānāt*).

2. There are three *vārttikas* which recommend as follows:

(*i*) Affix *aṆ* should be introduced to a derivate of *vah* terminating in *tṛN* or *tṛC*, with an additional provision of augment *iṬ*. Thus we get: *sāṃvahitram* 'husband's property'. This *vārttika* provision is expressly made for augment *iṬ* in conjunction with *tṛN* and *tṛC*. Affix *aṆ* will be available to such derivates anyway (*saṃvahestur aṇ iṭ ca/ . . . siddha evātrāṇ, iḍartham upasaṃkhyānam*).

(*ii*) Affix *raṆ* should be introduced after *agnīdh*, with an additional assignment of the term *bha*, when the denotatum is *śaraṇa* 'shelter'. This gives us: *āgnīdhram* 'the place where sacrificial fire is arranged and lit; in the vicinity of the presiding priest (*agnīdh*), because of his association with the sacrificial fire'.

(*iii*) Affix *ṢeṇyaṆ* is introduced after *samidh* 'wood for sacrificial fire' when the denotatum is *ādhāna* 'placing and arranging in a heap'. This gives us *sāmidhenyaḥ* 'a *mantra* by means of which firewood is offered to the sacrificial fire'. A parallel feminine derivate in *ṄīṢ*, as facilitated by *Ṣ* as an *it* in *ṢeṇyaṆ*, is *sāmidhenī*, a hymn. The *Ṇ* as an *it* in *ṢeṇyaṆ* is used for facilitating initial *vṛddhi* of derivates.

4.3.121 **रथाद्यत्**

rathād yat
/rathāt 5/1 *yat* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #4.1.82, *prāg dīvyato'ṇ* #4.1.83, *śeṣe* #4.2.92, *tasyedam* #120)
rathaśabdād yat pratyayo bhavati 'tasyedam' ity etasmin viṣaye
The *taddhita* affix *yaT* occurs after the syntactically related nominal stem *ratha* 'chariot', when the same ends in genitive and the derivate denotes the residual meaning of 'that is his'.

EXAMPLES:

rathasya idam rathyam = cakraṃ vā yugaṃ vā 'part of a chariot; a wheel, or yoke'

1. Affix *yaT* is here introduced as an exception to *aṆ*. This affixal provision is desired only when derivates signify parts of a chariot. For, usages do not indicate any other signification (*rathāṅga eveṣyate, nañyatra, anabhidhānāt*). What about usages parallel to *rathasya voḍhā* 'one who pulls the chariot' where the denotatum is *voḍhā* 'one who pulls'? Such usages will be covered by *yaT* of 4.4.76 *tad vahati. . . .*

A *vārttika* recommends that *tadantavidhi* should be accepted in case of *yaT*, relative to *ratha, sītā* 'furrow' and *hala* 'plough'. Thus observe *paramarathyam* 'best part of a chariot', *uttamarathyam* 'id.', etc.

4.3.122 **पत्रपूर्वादञ्**

pattrapūrvād añ
/pattrapūrvāt 5/1 = *pattraṃ pūrvaṃ yasya sa* (*bv.*), *tasmāt; añ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #4.1.82, *prāg dīvyato'ṇ* #4.1.83, *śeṣe* #4.2.92, *tasyedam* #120, *rathāt* #121)
pattrapūrvād rathaśabdād añ pratyayo bhavati 'tasyedam' ity etasmin viṣaye
The *taddhita* affix *aÑ* occurs after the syntactically related nominal stem *ratha* which ends in genitive and is used in combination after a preceding constituent signifying *pattra*, provided the derivate denotes the residual meaning of 'that is his'.

EXAMPLES:

āśvarathaṃ cakram 'wheel of a chariot drawn by horses'
auṣṭraratham '. . . of a chariot drawn by camels'
gārdabharatham '. . . of a chariot drawn by donkeys'

1. It is stated that *pattra* should be here understood in the sense of *vāhya*

'that which is drawn or carried; horses, etc.'. Why? Because of lack of any other meaning available in usage (*anabhidhānāt*). *Kāśikā* paraphrases *pattra* as *patanti teneti = aśvādikaṃ vāhanam* 'that by means of which they go; horses, etc. The word *pattra* is here accepted as a derivate of *pad* '*gatau* = *pad* to go'.

4.3.123 पत्त्राध्वर्युपरिषदश्च

pattrādhvaryupariṣadaś ca
/pattrādhvaryupariṣadaḥ 5/1 (*sam. dv.*) *ca* ϕ/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #4.1.82, *prāg dīvyato'ṇ* #4.1.83, *śeṣe* #4.2.92, *tasyedam* #120, *añ* #122)
pattravācinaḥ prātipadikād adhvaryu-pariṣac-chabdābhyāṃ cāñ pratyayo bhavati 'tasyedam' ity etasmin viṣaye
The *taddhita* affix *aÑ* occurs after syntactically related nominal stems *pattra, adhvaryu* 'priest' and *pariṣad* 'assembly', when the stems end in genitive and derivate denote the residual meaning of 'that is his'.

EXAMPLES:

aśvasyedaṃ vahanīyam = āśvam 'this is something fit for a horse to carry'
auṣṭram 'something fit for a camel to carry'
ādhvaryam 'something belonging to an Adhvaryu'
pāriṣadam 'relating to an assembly'

1. The word *pattra* here refers to a means of transportation. A *vārttika* specifies the affixal meaning in the context of *pattra* as *vāhya* 'that which is to be carried'. Elsewhere, in the context of *adhvaryu* and *pariṣad*, the meaning is *tasyedam*. The word *pattra* is interpreted in this rule as referring to its meaning (*artha*). The other two, *adhvaryu* and *pariṣad*, are interpreted as referring to their form (*svarūpa*). How do we know it? The interpretation of the learned is our only recourse here (*vyākhyānaṃ cātra śaraṇam*).

2. How come this *sūtra* was not jointly formulated with the preceding as: *pattrapūrvapattrādhvaryuparişado'ñ*? Such a formulation will create problems of interpretation, especially in case of *pattrapūrva*. For example, in a single formulation, *pattrapūrva* cannot be interpreted as a modifier only for *ratha*, thereby yielding: *āśvaratham*. This modifier, i.e., *pattra*, will also modify other stems. We do not have to face this difficulty in a split formulation (*Nyāsa* ad *Kāś.*: *evaṃ hi pūrvapattrapūrvāt prātipadikād anyato'pi prasajyeta. yogavibhāge pūrvasmin yoge rathād ity anuvṛtte ratha eva pattrapūrvagrahaṇena viśeṣyata iti na bhavaty atiprasaṅgaḥ*). A split reading will allow *ratha* alone to be modified.

4.3.124 हलसीराट्ठक्

halasīrāṭ ṭhak

/ halasīrāt 5/1 (*sam. dv.*); *ṭhak* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #4.1.82, *prāg dīvyato'ṇ* #4.1.83, *śeṣe* #4.2.92, *tasyedam* #120)
hala-sīra śabdābhyāṃ ṭhak pratyayo bhavati 'tasyedam' ity etasmin viṣaye
The *taddhita* affix *ṭhaK* occurs after syntactically related nominal stems *hala* and *sīra* 'plough' when they end in genitive and derivates denote the residual meaning of 'that is his'.

EXAMPLES:

hālikam 'part of a plough'
sīrakam 'id.'

1. Note that *ṭhaK* is an exception to *aṆ*.

4.3.125 द्वन्द्वाद् वुन्वैरमैथुनिकयोः

dvandvād vun vairamaithunikayoḥ
/ dvandvāt 5/1 *vun* 1/1 *vairamaithunikayoḥ* 7/2 (*itar. dv.*) /
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #4.1.82, *prāg dīvyato'ṇ* #4.1.83, *śeṣe* #4.2.92, *tasyedam* #120)
dvandvasaṃjñakād vun pratyayo bhavati 'tasyedam' ity etasmin viṣaye vairamaithunikayoḥ pratyayārthaviśeṣaṇayoḥ
The *taddhita* affix *vuN* occurs after a syntactically related nominal stem termed *dvandva* which ends in genitive, provided its derivates signify the residual meaning of 'that is his', relative to enmity (*vaira*) and conjugal relationship (*maithunika*).

EXAMPLES:

bābhravyaśālaṅkāyanikāḥ 'enmity between the Bābhravyas and the Śālaṅkāyanas'
kākolūkikā 'enmity between crows and owls'
kutsakuśikikā 'marriage of Kutsa with Kuśikā'

1. Our examples are given in feminine because stems ending in *vuN* are used in feminine (*vunnantaḥ svabhāvād eva striyāṃ vartate*). Derivates which signify *vaira*, itself a neuter, are also used in feminine.

Affix *vuN* is an exception to *aṆ*. It also block *cha* of 4.2.114 *vṛddhāc chaḥ* on the basis of *paratva* (1.4.2 *vipratiṣedhe . . .*).

2. A *vārttika* disallows a derivate with the signification of *vaira* when the affix is to be introduced after a *dvandva* compound with constituents denoting *deva* 'god' and *asura* 'demon'. The derivates there will be: *daivāsuram* 'enmity between gods and demons', etc.

4.3.126 गोत्रचरणाद् वुञ्

gotracaraṇād vuñ
/gotracaraṇāt 5/1 (*sam. dv.*); *vuN* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #4.1.82, *prāg dīvyato'ṇ* #4.1.83, *śeṣe* #4.2.92, *tasyedam* #120)
gotravācibhyaś caraṇavācibhyaś ca prātipadikebhyo vuñ pratyayo bhavati 'tasyedam' ity etasmin viṣaye
The *taddhita* affix *nuÑ* occurs after syntactically related nominal stems signifying a *gotra* and *caraṇa* 'Vedic branch', when the stems end in genitive and derivates denote the residual meaning of 'that is his'.

EXAMPLES:

aupagavakam 'belonging to the descendants of Upagu'
glaucukāyanakam 'belonging to the descendants of Glucukāyana'
kāṭhakam 'duties or recitation of those subscrbing to the Kaṭha school of Vedic'
kālāpakam 'duties or recitation of those subscribing to the Kalāpa school of Vedic'

1. A *vārttika* states that affix *vuN* should be introduced after a *gotra* stem to denote the sense of genitive. The same should be introduced after a *caraṇa* stem in the sense of *dharma* 'duty' and *āmnāya* 'recitation'.

4.3.127 संघाङ्कलक्षणेष्वञ्ञिञामण्

saṅghāṅkalakṣaṇeṣv añyañiñām aṇ
/saṅghāṅkalakṣaṇeṣu 7/3 (*itar. dv.*), *teṣu*; *añyañiñām* 6/3 (*itar. dv.*), *teṣām*; *aṇ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #4.1.82, *prāg dīvyato'ṇ* #4.1.83, *śeṣe* #4.2.92, *tasyedam* #120, *gotrāt* #126)
saṅghādiṣu pratyayārthaviśeṣaṇeṣv añantād yañantād iñantāc ca prātipadikād aṇ pratyayo bhavati 'tasyedam' ity etasmin viṣaye
The *taddhita* affix *aṆ* occurs after syntactically related nominal stems terminating in *gotra* affixes *aÑ*, *yaÑ* and *iÑ*, when the stems are used in genitive and derivates denote the residual meaning of 'that is his', relative to *saṅgha* 'group', *aṅka* 'mark' and *lakṣaṇa* 'characteristic mark'.

EXAMPLES:

baidaḥ saṅghaḥ 'this is an assembly of the descendants of Bida'
baido'ṅkaḥ 'this is the mark of a descendant of Bida'
baidaṃ lakṣaṇam 'this is the characteristic mark of a descendant of Bida'
gārgaḥ 'this is an assembly of the descendants of Garga'

gārgo'ṅkaḥ 'this is the mark of a descendant of Garga'
gārgo lakṣaṇam 'this is the characteristic mark of a descendant of Garga'
gārgo ghoṣaḥ 'this is an assembly of the descendants of Garga'
dākṣaḥ saṅghaḥ 'this is an assembly of the descendants of Dakṣa'

1. A *vārttika* also allows *aṆ* when the signification is *ghoṣa* 'group', in addition to three affixes already stated by the rule. Since the signification now becomes four parallel to three bases characterized by affixes *aÑ*, *yaÑ* and *iÑ*, there is no assignment of equivalency in accord with order of enumeration (*yathāsaṃkhya*; 1.3.10 *yathāsaṃkhyam . . .*).

Note that this affixal provision is made as an exception to *vuN*.

2. What is the difference between *aṅka* and *lakṣaṇa*? Are not they synonymous? Basically there is no difference between the two. However, a *lakṣaṇa* can be explained as a mark (*cihnam*) which may or may not be the property of its goal uniquely. Thus *vidyā bidānām* has *vidyā* 'knowledge' as a mark which, in turn, could be the unique property of relatives of Bida. And not of anybody else. An *aṅka* 'mark', even though it may be part of a cow, could still not be called as the property of the cow. It will still be the property of its owner (*Nyāsa* ad *Kāś.*: *lakṣaṇaṃ cihnaṃ lakṣasyeva svam, nānyasya, yathā vidyā bidānām; . . . aṅkas tu gavādistho na gavādīnām sambhavati. kiṃ tarhi? tato'nyeṣām, gavādisvāminām*).

3. Note that *Ṇ* of *aṆ* will facilitate the introduction of feminine affix *ṄīP*, and will also block masculine transformation (*puṃvadbhāva*). This *Ṇ* is not intended for *vṛddhi*. Thus, we can get *baidī vidyā'sya* = *baidīvidyaḥ* 'he whose knowledge is characteristically similar to that of a relative of Bida'.

4.3.128 शाकलाद्वा

śākalād vā
/śākalāt 5/1 *vā* ϕ*/*
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #4.1.82, *prāg dīvyato'ṇ* #4.1.83, *śeṣe* #4.2.92, *tasyedam* #120, *gotrāt* #126, *aṇ* #127)
śākalaśabdāt saṅghādiṣu pratyayārthaviśeṣaṇeṣu vā'ṇ pratyayo bhavati '*tasyedam*' *ity etasmin viṣaye*
The *taddhita* affix *aṆ* occurs optionally after the syntactically related nominal stem *śākala* 'follower of Śākalya' when it ends in genitive and the derivate denotes the residual meaning of 'that is his', relative to *saṅgha, aṅka* and *lakṣaṇa*.

EXAMPLES:

śākalena proktam adhīyate śākalāḥ teṣāṃ saṅghaḥ
śākalaḥ/śākalakaḥ 'an assembly of those who study what has been expounded by Śākala'

śākalo'ṅkaḥ/śākalako'ṅkaḥ 'mark of those who study what has been expounded by Śākala'
śākalaṃ lakṣaṇam/śākalakaṃ lakṣaṇam 'characteristic mark of those who study what has been expounded by Śākala'

1. This is an exception to affix *vuN* of 4.3.126 *gotracaraṇād vuñ.*

4.3.129 छन्दोगौक्थिकयाज्ञिकबह्वृचनटाञ्ञ्यः

chandogaukthikayājñikabahvṛcanaṭāñ ñyaḥ
/chandogaukthikayājñikabahvṛcanaṭāt 5/1 = *chandogaś ca aukthikaś ca yājñikaś ca bahvṛcaś ca naṭaś ca* (*sam. dv.*), *tasmāt; ñyaḥ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #4.1.82, *prāg divyato'ṇ* #4.1.83, *śeṣe* #4.2.92, *tasyedam* #120)
chandogādibhyaḥ śabdebhyo ñyaḥ pratyayo bhavati 'tasyedam' ity etasmin viṣaye
The *taddhita* affix *Ñya* occurs after syntactically related nominal stems *chandoga, aukthika, yājñika, bahvṛc* and *naṭa* when the stems end in genitive and derivates signify the residual meaning of 'that is his', relative to *dharma* 'duty' and *āmnāya* 'group'.

EXAMPLES:

chāndogyam 'code of conduct, or organization, of the Chandoga (Sāmavedic) priests'
aukthikyam 'duty, or organization, of reciters of the Ukthas of *Sāmaveda*'
yājñikyam 'duty, or organization, of ritualists'
bāhvṛcyam 'duty, or organization, of those who can recite many hymns'
nāṭyam 'duty, or organization, of stage performers'

1. This provision of *Ñya* is again an exception to 4.3.126 *gotracaraṇād vuñ.* It is an exception to the general, *aṆ* insofar as *naṭa* is concerned. The signification of the affix, namely *dharma* and *āmnāya,* is gotten from a *vārttika* proposal.

4.3.130 न दण्डमाणवान्तेवासिषु

na daṇḍamāṇavāntevāsiṣu
/na ϕ daṇḍamāṇavāntevāsiṣu 7/3 = *daṇḍapradhānā māṇavāḥ = daṇḍamāṇavāḥ* (*karmadhāraya* with deletion of its middle constituent); *daṇḍamāṇavāś ca antevāsinaś ca* (*itar. dv.*), *teṣu/*
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #4.1.82, *prāg dīvyato'ṇ* #4.1.83, *śeṣe* #4.2.92, *tasyedam* #120)
'daṇḍamāṇavāḥ' 'antevāsinaḥ' teṣu abhidheyeṣu vuñ pratyayo na bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *vuN* does not occur after syntactically related nomi-

nal stems *daṇḍamāṇava* 'celibate guards with their characteristic sticks' and *antevāsin* 'pupil' when they end in genitive and derivates denote the residual meaning of 'that is his', relative to *dharma* and *āmnāya.*

EXAMPLES:

gaukakṣā daṇḍamāṇavā antevāsini vā 'celibate guards, or students of Gokakṣa'
dakṣāḥ 'celibate guards, or students, of Dakṣa'

1. The word *daṇḍamāṇava* refers to celibates entrusted with security, for example, of a hermitage. They are characterized as such because they always carry a stick.

2. This affixal provision is an exception to the *vuN* of 4.3.126 *gotracaraṇād. . .* An affix which obtains after a stem designating a *gotra* would, in the absence of this rule, not obtain after *chandoga,* etc.

4.3.131 रैवतिकादिभ्यश्छः

raivatikādibhyaś chaḥ
/raivatikādibhyaḥ 5/3 *chaḥ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #4.1.82, *prāg dīvyato'ṇ* #4.1.83, *śeṣe* #4.2.92, *tasyedam* #4.3.120)
raivatikādibhyaś chaḥ pratyayo bhavati 'tasyedam' ity etasmin viṣaye
The *taddhita* affix *cha* occurs after a syntactically related nominal stems listed in the group headed by *raivatika,* when the stems end in genitive and derivates denote the residual meaning of 'that is his'.

EXAMPLES:

raivatikīyaḥ 'belonging to Raivatika'
svāpiśīyaḥ 'belonging to Svāpiśi'

1. This provision of *cha* is made as an exception to *vuN* of 4.3.126 *gotracaraṇād. . .* A question is also raised against formulation of this rule, especially since one can get *cha* automatically at the strength of *vṛddhi* (4.2.114 *vṛddhāc chaḥ*). This rule is necessary because stems such as *svāpiśi, audamedhi* and *audavāpi* which are listed in the *raivatikādi* group but which may qualify for *aN* of 4.2.112 *iñaś ca,* a prior exception (*purastāpavāda*) to *cha.*

4.3.132 कौपिञ्जलहास्तिपदादण्

kaupiñjalahāstipadād aṇ
/kaupiñjalahāstipadāt 5/1 *aṇ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #4.1.82, *prāg dīvyato'ṇ* #4.1.83, *śeṣe* #4.2.92, *tasyedam* #4.3.120)

kaupiñjala-hāstipadaśabdābhyām aṇ pratyayo bhavati 'tasyedam' ity etasmin viṣaye
The *taddhita* affix *aṆ* occurs after syntactically related nominal stems *kaupiñjala* and *hāstipada*, when they end in genitive and derivates denote the residual meaning of 'that is his'.

EXAMPLES:

kaupiñjalaḥ 'belonging to a descendant of Kupiñjala'
hāstipadaḥ 'belonging to a descendant of Hastipada'

1. This again is an exception to the *vuN* of 4.3.126 *gotracaraṇād. . . . Kāśikā* reads it as a *sūtra* which the *Mahābhāṣya* has a *vārttika*. Kaiyaṭa (*Udyota* ad *Mbh.* under 4.2.129) calls it un-Pāṇinian (*apāṇinīyaḥ sūtreṣu pāṭhaḥ*). The *gotra* affix *aṆ* after *kupiñjala* and *hastipād*, with the replacement of *pād* with *pad*, is all availed through *nipātana*, at the strength of this very rule.

4.3.133 आथर्वणिकस्येकलोपश्च

ātharvaṇikasyekalopaś ca
/ātharvaṇikasya 6/1 *ikalopaḥ* 6/1 (*ṣaṣ. tat.*); *ca* ϕ/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #4.1.82, *prāg dīvyato'ṇ* #4.1.83, *śeṣe* #4.2.92, *tasyedam* #4.3.120, *aṇ* #132)
ātharvaṇikaśabdād aṇ pratyayo bhavati tatsanniyogena ca ikalopaḥ
The *taddhita* affix *aṆ* occurs after the syntactically related nominal stem *ātharvaṇika*, with an additional provision of deletion of its *ika*, when the stem ends in genitive and the derivate denotes the residual meaning of 'that is his'.

EXAMPLES:

ātharvaṇaḥ 'duty, or organization, of the descendants of Atharvan'

1. Again the affixal signification is determined based upon the *vārttika*: *caraṇād dharmāmnāyayoḥ*. Kaiyaṭa (*pradīpa*), Haradatta (*Padamañjarī*) and Nāgeśa (*Udyota*) accept it as a *sūtra* but others, including the *Mahābhāṣya*, treat it as a *vārttika*. *Kāśikā*, of course, treats it as a *sūtra*. This *aṆ* is again an exception to the *vuN* of 4.3.126 *gotracaraṇād. . .*, though this time relative to a *caraṇa*. Thus, *ātharvan* + *Ṅas* + *aṆ* = *ātharvaṇaḥ* → 4.3.63 *vasantādibhyaṣ ṭhak* (with the signification of *tad adhīte. . .*) → *ātharvaṇikaḥ* + *aṆ* = *ātharvaṇaḥ* (with the signification of *proktam* 'expounded . . .', though no *LUK* of 4.2.64 *proktāl luk*).

4.3.134 तस्य विकारः

tasya vikāraḥ
/tasya 6/1 *vikāraḥ* 1/1/

(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #4.1.82, *prāg dīvyato'ṇ* #4.1.83)
tasyeti ṣaṣṭhīsamarthāt 'vikāraḥ' ity etasmin viṣaye yathāvihitaṃ pratyayo bhavati
A *taddhita* affix occurs as specified after a syntactically related nominal stem which ends in genitive, provided the derivate denotes 'a modification of that'.

EXAMPLES:

aśmano vikāraḥ = *āśmaḥ* 'something made of stone'
bhāsmanaḥ 'something made of ashes'
mārttikaḥ 'something made of clay; pot'

1. The word *vikāraḥ* is explained as bringing the material cause of a thing to another state of existence (*upādānakāraṇasya avasthāntaram*).

2. Why does Pāṇini specify *tasya* when the same is available via *anuvṛtti*? So that 4.2.92 *śeṣe* could be discontinued. If *tasya* is carried through *anuvṛtti* then *śaiṣika* affixes such as *gha*, etc., will also have to be carried (*Mbh. tasya prakaraṇe tasyeti punar vacanaṃ śaiṣikanivṛtyartham*).

4.3.135 अवयवे च प्राण्योषधिवृक्षेभ्यः

avayave ca prāṇyoṣadhivṛkṣebhyaḥ
/avayave 7/1 *ca* ϕ *prāṇyoṣadhivṛkṣebhyaḥ* 5/3 (*itar. dv.*)/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #4.1.82, *prāg dīvyato'ṇ* #4.1.83 *tasya vikāraḥ* #134)
prāṇyoṣadhivṛkṣavācibhyaḥ śabdebhyaḥ ṣaṣṭhīsamarthebhyo'vayave yathāvihitaṃ pratyayo bhavati cakārād vikāre ca
A *taddhita* affix occurs as specified after a syntactically related nominal stem which ends in genitive and signifies an animate being (*prāṇin*), a vegetation (*oṣadhi*), or tree (*vṛkṣa*), when derivates denote the meaning of 'modification' and 'part of a whole'.

EXAMPLES:

kāpotaḥ 'limb, or modification, of a pigeon'
māyūraḥ 'limb, or modification, of a peacock'
maurvaṃ kāṇḍam bhasma vā 'stem, or ash, of Mūrvā (a kind of reed)'
kārīraṃ kāṇḍam bhasma vā 'stem, or ash, of a Karīra tree'

1. Note that the domain of 4.3.134 *tasya vikāraḥ* extends up to 4.3.165 *kaṃsīyaparaśavyayor. . .* . That is, henceforth, affixal provisions will be made with the signification of *vikāra* and *avayava*. Stems which have the signification of *prāṇyoṣadhivṛkṣa* will receive affixes for denoting *avayava* and *vikāra*. Other stems will receive an affix only in the sense of *vikāra*.

4.3.136 बिल्वादिभ्योऽण्

bilvādibhyo' ṇ
/ bilvādibhyaḥ 5/3 = *bilva ādir yeṣām te* (*bv.*), *tebhyaḥ*; *aṇ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #4.1.82, *prāg dīvyato' ṇ* #4.1.83 *tasya vikāraḥ* #134, *avayave* #135)
'bilva' ity evamādibhyo' ṇ pratyayo bhavati vikārāvayavor arthayoḥ
The *taddhita* affix *aṆ* occurs after syntactically related nominal stems listed in the group headed by *bilva* 'wood-apple tree', when the stems end in genitive and derivates signify the meaning of modification' or 'part of a whole'.

EXAMPLES:

bailvaḥ 'a modification, or part, of the wood-apple tree'
vraihaḥ 'a modification, or part of, rice plant'

1. Note that *gavedhukā* is also read in the *bilvādi* group. Affix *aṆ* was available to it automatically, based on its status as *kopadha* 'that which has *k* in its penultimate position' (4.2.132 *kopadhād aṇ*). This stem is offered *aṆ* by way of its listing in the *bilvādi* group mainly for the purpose of blocking *mayaṬ* of 4.3.143 *mayaḍvaitayor . . .*, which would have otherwise blocked the general (*autsargika*) *aṆ*. It is also to block the *mayaṬ* of 4.3.144 *nityaṃ vṛddhaśarādibhyaḥ*, in the context of *vṛddha* and *śarādi* stems, that *aṆ* is specified. This *aṆ* is then intended for blocking what otherwise could have blocked the general *aṆ* (*bādhakabādhanārtha*). The remaining stems are included in the *bilvādi* group so that *aÑ* of 4.3.140 *anudatteś ca* can be blocked. This rule thus constitutes a prior excepton (*purastāpavāda*) to 4.3.140.

4.3.137 कोपधाच्च

kopadhāc ca
/ kopadhāt 5/1 *ca* ϕ/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #4.1.82, *prāg dīvyato' ṇ* #4.1.83, *tasya vikāraḥ* #134, *avayave* #135, *aṇ* #136)
kakāropadhāt prātipadikād aṇ pratyayo bhavati yathāyogaṃ vikārāvayavor arthayoḥ
The *taddhita* affix *aṆ* occurs after a syntactically related nominal stem which ends in genitive, and has *k* in its penultimate position (*upadhā*), when derivates denotes a meaning relative to 'modification' or 'part of a whole' as may be the case.

EXAMPLES:

tārkkavam 'modification, or part, of a spindle'
taittiḍīkam 'modification, or part, of a Tamarind tree'

1. This affixal provision is an exception to *aÑ* of 4.3.139 or *añ* and 4.3.140 *anudāttādeś ca.* Nominal stems *tittiḍīka, māṇḍūka, dardurūka* and *madhūka* constitute an exception to 4.3.140, because they are *udātta* in the middle (*madhyodātta*) by *Phiṭsūtra* 42: *laghāvante. . . .* Consequently, they are marked *anudātta* at the beginning.

4.3.138 त्रपुजतुनोः षुक्

trapujatunoḥ ṣuk
/trapujatunoḥ 6/2 (*itar. dv.*), *tayoḥ, ṣuk* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #4.1.82, *prāg dīvyato' ṇ* #4.1.83, *tasya vikāraḥ* #134, *avayave* #135, *aṇ* #136)
trapujatuśabdābhyām aṇ pratyayo bhavati vikāre tatsanniyogena tayoḥ ṣug āgamo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *aṆ* occurs after syntactically related nominal stems *trapu* 'lead' and *jatu* 'lac', with an additional provision of augment *ṣUK,* when these stems end in genitive and derivates signify the meaning of 'modification'.

EXAMPLES:

trāpuṣam 'something made of lead'
jātuṣam 'something made of lac'

1. These derivates cannot signify *avayava* because *trapu* and *jatu* do not denote *prāṇin, vṛkṣa* and *oṣadhi* (4.3.135 *avayave . . .*). This rule is an exception to the following:

4.3.139 ओरञ्

or añ
/oḥ 6/1 *añ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ñyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #4.1.82, *prāg dīvyato' ṇ* #4.1.83, *tasya vikāraḥ* #134, *avayave* #135)
uvarṇāntāt prātipadikād añ pratyayo bhavati vikārāvayavayor arthayoḥ
The *taddhita* affix *aÑ* occurs after a syntactically related nominal stem which ends in *u,* and is used in genitive, provided derivates signify the meaning of 'modification' and 'part of a whole'.

EXAMPLES:

daivadāravam 'a modification, or part, of a Devadāru tree'
bhādradāravam 'a modification', or part, of a Bhadradāru tree'

1. Both of our example stems are marked *udātta* at the beginning (*Phiṭsūtra*

37: *pītadravārthānām*). This provision of *aÑ* is made separately because they cannot be covered by 4.3.140 *anudāttādeś ca.*

4.3.140 अनुदात्तादेश्च

anudāttādeś ca
/anudāttādeḥ 6/1 = *anudātta ādir yasya* (*bv.*), *tasmāt*; *ca* ϕ/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #4.1.82, *prāg dīvyato' ṇ* #4.1.83, *tasya vikāraḥ* #134, *avayave* #135, *añ* #139)
anudāttādeḥ prātipadikād añ pratyayo bhavati vikārāvayavayor arthayoḥ
The *taddhita* affix *aÑ* also occurs after a syntactically related nominal stem which is marked *anudātta* 'low pitch' at the beginning and ends in genitive, provided the derivate denotes the meaning of 'modification' and 'part of a whole'.

EXAMPLES:

dādhittham 'a modification, or part, of a Dadhittha (Feronia elephantus) tree'
kāpittham 'a modification, or part, of a Kapittha tree'

1. Note that *dadhittha* and *kapittha* are formed with affix *ka* (3.2.4 *supi sthaḥ*) through the process of *upapadasamāsa* (2.2.18 *kugatiprādayaḥ*), integration of fully inflected words parallel to *dadhnas tiṣṭhati* and *kapau tiṣṭhati.* The result is marked *udātta* at the end in view of 6.2.144 *thāthaghañ. . . .* Consequently, in view of 6.1.158 *anudāttaṃ padam ekavarjam*, the rest of the compound is marked *anudātta.*

4.3.141 पलाशादिभ्यो वा

palāśādibhyo vā
/palāśādibhyaḥ 5/3 *vā* ϕ/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #4.1.82, *prāg dīvyato' ṇ* #4.1.83, *tasya vikāraḥ* #134, *avayave* #135, *aÑ* #139)
palāśādibhyaḥ prātipadkebhyo vā' ñ pratyayo bhavati vikārāvayavayor arthayoḥ
The *taddhita* affix *aÑ* occurs only optionally after syntactically related nominal stem listed in the group headed by *palāśa*, when the stems end in genitive and derivates denote the meaning of 'modification' and 'part of a whole'.

EXAMPLES:

pālāśam 'a modification, or part, of a Palāśa tree (Butea frondosa)'
khādiram 'modification, or part, of a Khadira tree'

1. The affixal provision of this rule is classed as: *prāptāprāpta* 'a provision made in view of another which may or may not be available'. Our nominal stems *palāśa, khadira* and *śiṃśipā* are marked *anudātta* at the beginning. This makes affix *aÑ* available (*prāpta*) to them. The remaining stems of this rule could not avail *aÑ* which is made available here (*aprāpta*). The *aÑ* of the preceding rule is thus made optional, characterized as *prāptāprāpta* (*Kāś.*: *palāśakhadiraśiṃśipāspandanānām anudāttāditvāt prāpte anyeṣām aprāpte*).

4.3.142 शम्याष्ट्लञ्

śamyāṣ ṭlañ
/śamyāḥ 5/1 *ṭlañ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #4.1.82, *prāg dīvyato' ṇ* #4.1.83, *tasya vikāraḥ* #134, *avayave* #135)
śamīśabdāṭ ṭlañ pratyayo bhavati vikārāvayavayor arthayoḥ
The *taddhita* affix *Ṭlañ* occurs after the syntactically related nominal stem *śamī* when the same ends in genitive and the derivate denotes the meaning of 'modification' and 'part of a whole'.

EXAMPLES:

śāmīlaṃ bhasma 'ash, or part, of a Śamī tree'
śāmīlī sruk 'ritual spoon made from Śamī wood'

1. The *Ṭ* as an *it* in the affix is intended for facilitating feminine forms in *ṄīP* (4.1.15 *ṭiḍḍhāṇañ . . .*). The word *śamī* itself is a feminine ending in *ṄīṢ* because of its membership in the *gaurādi* group. It will also, because of its feminine affix, be marked *udātta* at the end. The *aÑ* of 4.1.140 *anudāttādeś ca* will thus be available to it. Affix *ṬlaÑ* is therefore offered as an exception of *aÑ*.

Incidentally, Bhaṭṭoji (SK 1522 *śamyāḥṣlañ*) accepts the affix as *ṢlaÑ*. This way, our feminine example *śamīlī* will have to be derived with affix *ṄīṢ* of 4.1.41 *ṣid gaurādibhyaś ca*. *Kāśikā* accepts the affix as *ṬlaÑ*. In this case the *Ṭ* as an *it* will be accepted for facilitating *ṄīP*.

4.3.143 मयड्वैतयोर्भाषायामभक्ष्याच्छादानयोः

mayaḍ vaitayor bhāṣāyām abhakṣyācchādanayoḥ
/mayaṭ 1/1 *vā* ϕ *etayoḥ* 7/2 *bhāṣāyām* 7/1 *abhakṣyācchādanayoḥ* 7/2 = *bhakṣyaṃ ca acchādanaṃ ca = bhakṣyācchādane; na bhakṣyācchādane* (*nañ. tat.* with int. *dv.*), *tayoḥ/*
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #4.1.82, *prāg dīvyato' ṇ* #4.1.83, *tasya vikāraḥ* #134, *avayave* #135)

prakṛtimātrād vā mayaṭ pratyayo bhavati bhakṣyācchādanavarjitayor, vikārāvayavayor asthayor bhāṣāyāṃ viṣaye yathāyathaṃ pratyayeṣu prāpteṣu
The *taddhita* affix *mayaṬ* occurs optionally in *bhāṣā* 'classical language' after a syntactically related nominal stem in general, when the stem ends in genitive and the derivate denotes the meaning of 'modification' and 'part of a whole' of something other than 'food' (*bhakṣya*) and 'clothing' (*ācchādana*).

EXAMPLES:

aśmayam 'a thing made from, or being part of, stone'
āśmanam 'part (son) of sage Aśmaka'

1. The word *etayoḥ* is used here for *avayava* and *vikāra*. Why is *etayoḥ* used when *avayava* and *vikāra* is already available from the *anuvṛtti*. A specification via *etayoḥ* is made to ensure that *mayaṬ* will also be used optionally with specific affixes outlined for *avayava* and *vikāra*. *Nyāsa* thus remarks rightly that: *yadi hy etayor iti nocyeta tato ya ita uttare viśeṣāḥ pratyayā aṇādayaḥ taiḥ saha sampradhāraṇāyāṃ paratvāt ta eva syuḥ. etayoḥ ity ucyamāne tu viśeṣapratyayayeṣv api pakṣe bhavanti tena kapotamayam ityādi siddhaṃ bhavati* 'if *etayoḥ*' is not specified then, specific provisions of *aÑ*, etc. (4.3.154 *prāṇirajatādibhyo'ñ*), which are being introduced subsequently, when read alongside with *mayaṬ*, will block *mayaṬ* on the basis of *paratva*. With *etayoḥ* included, *mayaṬ* can also be used optionally with special affixes facilitating the derivation of forms such as *kapotamayam*, etc.

2. It is because of the condition of *abhakṣyācchādanayoḥ* that derivates such as *maudgaḥ* 'soup made from Mung beans' or *kārpāsam* 'cotton cloth' do not have any optional form in *mayaṬ*.

4.3.144 नित्यं वृद्धशरादिभ्यः

nityaṃ vṛddhaśarādibhyaḥ
/ nityam 1/1 *vṛddhaśarādibhyaḥ* 5/3 = *śara ādir yeṣāṃ te* (*bv.*); *vṛddhaś ca śarādayaś ca* (*dv.* with int. *bv.*), *tebhyaḥ/*
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #4.1.82, *prāg dīvyato'ṇ* #4.1.83, *tasya vikāraḥ* #134, *avayave* #135, *mayaṭ bhāṣāyām abhakṣyācchādanayoḥ* #143)
vṛddhebhyaḥ prātipadikebhyaḥ śarādibhyaś cābhakṣyācchādanayor vikārāvayavor bhāṣāyāṃ viṣaye nityaṃ mayaṭ pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *mayaṬ* occurs in *bhāṣā*, obligatorily, after syntactically related nominal stems which are termed *vṛddha*, or are listed in the group headed by *śara* 'read', when the stems end in genitive and derivates denote the meaning of 'modification' and 'part of a whole' of something other than 'food' (*bhakṣya*) and 'clothing' (*ācchādana*).

EXAMPLES:

āmramayam 'modification, or part, of a mango tree'
śaramayam 'some thing made from, or a piece of, reed'

1. The optional provision of the preceding rule is here made obligatory. A question is raised against using the word *nityam*, especially when *mayaṬ* will be introduced obligatorily anyway. Note that *mayaṬ* is used here as an exception to the general *aṆ* of 4.1.83 *prāg dīvyato' ṇ*. The *aṆ* which is characterized as *kopadha* (4.3.137 *kopadhāc ca*), as well as the *aÑ* of stems ending in *u* (4.3.139 *or añ*) or of stems marked with *anudātta* at the beginning (4.3.140 *anudāttādeś ca*), will all be blocked by *mayaṬ* of our present rule on the basis of *paratva*. This *mayaṬ* must be obligatory (*nitya*) since optional *mayaṬ* is already available, and formulating this *sūtra* for an optional *mayaṬ* again will be useless. Why use the word *nitya* when the rule is going to be *nitya* anyway? Commentators state that *nitya* is used specifically to account for obligatory *mayaṬ* in cases of monosyllabic stems such as *tvak* 'skin' of *tvaṅmayam* 'made of skin' (*Nyāsa* ad *Kāś.*: *prāgdīvyatīyāṇo hy apavādo mayaḍ ārabhyate, aṇaṃ tu kopadhalakṣaṇam añam uvarṇāntalakṣaṇam anudāttādilakṣaṇaṃ ca paratvād bādhate. yady hy anityaḥ syāt asya sūtrasyārambho' narthakaḥ syāt; pākṣikasya mayaṭaḥ pūrveṇaiva siddhatvāt . . .*).

4.3.145 गोश्च पुरीषे

goś ca purīṣe
/goḥ 5/1 *ca* ϕ *purīṣe* 7/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #4.1.82, *prāg dīvyato' ṇ* #4.1.83, *tasya vikāraḥ* #134 *avayave* #135, *mayaṭ* #143)
gośabdāt purīṣe' bhidheye mayaṭ pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *mayaṬ* also occurs after the syntactically related nominal stem *go* 'cow', when the same ends in genitive and the derivate signifies *purīṣa* 'ordure'.

EXAMPLES:

gomayam 'cow-dung'

1. Note that *gomayam* is not treated as *vikāra* of cows. It obviously is also not any limb of cows (*purīṣaṃ na vikāro na cāvayavaḥ*). It is stated that when a material (*prakṛti*) attains another state of existence (*avasthānantaram*) only then we talk of *vikāra*. Obviously, a cow does not attain any other state of its existence in *gomaya*.

4.3.146 पिष्टाच्च

piṣṭāc ca
/piṣṭāt 5/1 *ca* ϕ/

(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #4.1.82, *prāg dīvyato' ṇ* #4.1.83, *tasya vikāraḥ* #134, *avayave* #135, *mayaṭ* #143)
piṣṭaśabdān nityaṃ mayaṭ pratyayo bhavati 'tasya vikāra' ity etasmin viṣaye.
The *taddhita* affix *mayaṬ* also occurs after the syntactically related nominal stem *piṣṭa* 'powdered', when it ends in genitive and the derivate denotes 'modification'.

EXAMPLES:

piṣṭamayam 'something reduced to powder'

1. This *mayaṬ* is an exception to the general *aṆ*.

4.3.147 संज्ञायां कन्

saṃjñāyāṃ kan
/saṃjñāyām 7/1 *kan* 1/1/
(*pratyataḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* # 4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #4.1.82, *prāg dīvyato' ṇ* #4.1.83, *tasya vikāraḥ* #134, *avayave* #135)
piṣṭaśabdāt kan pratyayo bhavati vikāre saṃjñāyāṃ viṣaye
The *taddhita* affix *kaN* occurs after the syntactically related nominal stem *piṣṭa*, when the same ends in genitive and the derivate names some particular 'modification'.

EXAMPLES:

piṣṭakaḥ 'a kind of cake'

1. This is an exception to *mayaṬ* of the preceding rule.

4.3.148 व्रीहेः पुरोडाशे

vrīheḥ puroḍāśe
/vrīheḥ 5/1 *puroḍāśe* 7/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1., *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #4.1.82, *prāg dīvyato' ṇ* #4.1.83, *tasya vikāraḥ* #134, *avayave* #135, *mayaṭ* #143)
vrīhiśabdān mayaṭ pratyayo bhavati puroḍāśe vikāre
The *taddhita* affix *mayaṬ* occurs after the syntactically related nominal stem *vrīhi* 'rice', when it ends in genitive and the derivate denotes a modification in the form of *puroḍāśa* 'ritual oblation of food'.

EXAMPLES:

vrīhimayaḥ puroḍāśaḥ 'a *puroḍāśa* made of rice'

1. Note that *vrīhi* is included within the *bilvādi* group of 4.3.136

bilvādibhyo'ṇ. Obviously, this provision of *mayaṬ* is an exception of *aṆ*. A derivate of *vṛīhi* signifying something other than *puroḍāśa* will be: *vraiham*, derived with *aṆ*.

4.3.149 असंज्ञायां तिलयवाभ्याम्

asaṃjñāyāṃ tilayavābhyām
/asaṃjñāyām 7/1 = *na saṃjñā* (*nañ. tat.*), *tasmin; tilayavābhyām* 5/2 (*itar. dv.*), *tābhyām/*
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #4.1.82, *prāg dīvyato'ṇ* #4.1.83, *tasya vikāraḥ* #134, *avayave* #135, *mayaṭ* #143)
tilayavaśabdābhyām asaṃjñāyāṃ viṣaye mayaṭ pratyayo bhavati vikārāvayavayor arthayoḥ
The *taddhita* affix *mayaṬ* occurs after syntactically related nominal stems *tila* 'sesame' and *yava* 'barley' when they end in genitive and derivates denote 'modification', and part of a whole' other than a name (*saṃjñā*).

EXAMPLES:

tilamayam '. . . made from, or part of, sesame'
yavamayam '. . . made from, or part of, barley'

1. This affixal is an exception to *mayaṭ* of 4.3.143 *mayaḍ vaitayor. . . .* That is, rule 4.3.143 does not allow *mayaṬ* because *tila* and *yava* are items of food. Our present rule allows *mayaṬ*. Derivates outside the restriction of *asaṃjñā* will be: *tailam* 'oil' and *yāvakaḥ*, both derived with *kaN* of 5.4.29 *yāvādibhyaḥ kan*.

4.3.150 द्व्यचश्छन्दसि

dvyacaś chandasi
/dvyacaḥ 5/1 = *dvau acau yasmin* (*bv.*), *tasmāt; chandasi* 7/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #4.1.82, *prāg dīvyato'ṇ* #4.1.83, *tasya vikāraḥ* #134, *avayave* #135, *mayaṭ* #143)
dvyacaḥ prātipadikāc chandasi viṣaye mayaṭ pratyayo bhavati vikārāvayavayor arthayoḥ
The *taddhita* affix *mayaṬ* occurs in Vedic after a syntactically related nominal stem which consists of two vowels and ends in genitive, provided the derivate signifies 'modification' and 'part of a whole'.

EXAMPLES:

parṇamayī juhūḥ '(sacrificial ladle) made of leaves'
śaramayaṃ barhiḥ '(sacrificial spoon) made of reeds'

4.3.151 नोत्वद्वर्ध्रबिल्वात्

notvadvardhrabilvāt
/na ϕ utvadvardhrabilvāt 5/1 = *ukāro vidyate'smin tad* (*bv.*); *utvac ca vardhraś ca bilvaś ca* (*sam. dv.*), *tasmāt/*
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #4.1.82, *prāg dīvyato'ṇ* #4.1.83, *tasya vikāraḥ* #134, *avayave* #135, *mayaṭ* #143, *dvyacaś chandasi* #150)
utvataḥ prātipadikād vardhrabilvaśabdābhyāṃ ca mayaṭ pratyayo na bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *mayaṬ* does not occur, in Vedic, after a syntactically related nominal stem which either consists of two vowels with *u* (*uT*) as one of them, or is constituted by *vardhra* 'strap' and *bilva* 'wood-apple tree', when the stems end in genitive and derivates signify 'modification' and 'part of a whole'.

EXAMPLES:

mauñjam '. . . made of Muñja, a kind of reed'
gārmutam '. . . made of Garmut, a kind of reed'
vārdhrī '. . . leather-strap'
bailvam '. . . made of Bilva'

1. This rule blocks *mayaṬ* in favor of the general affix *aṆ*, as far as *mauñjam* is concerned. The word *muñja* is marked *udātta* initially (cf. *Phiṭsūtra* 27: *tṛṇadhānyānāṃ ca dvyaṣām*) and hence, will avail *aṆ* as opposed to the *aÑ* of 4.3.140 *anudāttādeś ca*. The *aÑ* of 4.3.140 will be applicable to *gārmutam* where *garmut* is derived with affix *ut* and augment *muṬ* (*Uṇ.* 1.94-95: *mṛgor utiḥ; gror muṭ ca*). It is marked *udātta* at the end based upon affixal accent (*pratyayasvara*). Our nominal stem *vardhra* ends in affix *raN* (*Uṇādi* 195: *vṛdhivapibhyāṃ ran*) and hence, is marked *udātta* at the beginning based upon *N* of *raN* as an *it* (*nitsvara*). It takes the general affix *aṆ*. Affix *ṄīP* in *vārdhrī* is gotten from 4.1.15 *ṭiḍḍhāṇañ*. . . . Our final example, *bailvaḥ*, gets the *aṆ* from 4.3.136 *bilvādibhyo'ṇ*.

4.3.152 तालादिभ्योऽण्

tālādibhyo'ṇ
/tālādibhyaḥ 5/3 = *tāla ādir yeṣāṃ* (*bv*), *tebhyaḥ; aṇ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #4.1.82, *prāg dīvyato'ṇ* #4.1.83, *tasya vikāraḥ* #134, *avayave* #135)
tālādibhyaḥ prātipadikebhyo'ṇ pratyayo bhavati vikārāvayavayor arthayoḥ
The *taddhita* affix *aṆ* occurs after a syntactically related nominal stem listed in the group headed by *tāla* 'palmyra tree', when the stem ends in genitive and the derivate denotes 'modification' and 'part of a whole'.

EXAMPLES:

tālaṃ dhanuḥ 'a bow made from the palmyra wood'
bārhiṇam 'something made from peacock feathers'

1. Note that *tālam* must be used in the sense of a bow (*tālād dhanuṣi*). For, elsewhere, the affixal choice must be *mayaṬ*. Our stem *tāla* constitutes an exception to *mayaṬ* of 4.3.144 *nityaṃ vṛddha*. . . . The word *bārhiṇa* is a derivate of *aÑ* of 4.3.154 *prāṇirajatādibhyo'ñ*. Consequently, it should have received *aÑ* of 4.3.155 *ñitaś ca tatpratyayāt*. The rest of the stems of *tālādi* group also form an exception of *aÑ*, though for reasons of being marked *anudātta* at the beginning (4.3.140 *anudāttādeś ca*).

4.3.153 जातरूपेभ्यः परिमाणे

jātarūpebhyaḥ parimāṇe
/jātarūpebhyaḥ 5/3 *parimāṇe* 7/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #4.1.82, *prāg dīvyato'ṇ* #4.1.83, *tasya vikāraḥ* #134, *avayave* #135, *aṇ* #152)
jātarūpavācibhyaḥ prātipadikebhyo'ṇ pratyayo bhavati parimāṇe vikāre
The *taddhita* affix *aṆ* occurs after a syntactically related nominal stem which has the signification of *jātarūpa* 'gold' and ends in genitive, provided the derivate denotes 'modification' and 'weight' (*parimāṇa*).

EXAMPLES:

hāṭako niṣkaḥ 'a gold coin equal in weight to a Niṣka'
jātarūpam 'gold coin'
tāpanīyam 'id.'

1. This affixal provision of *aṆ* is made as an exception of *mayaṬ*, etc. Affix *aṆ* is an exception to *mayaṬ* in connection with *hāṭaka*, etc., which may be termed *vṛddha* (4.3.144 *nityam vṛddha* . . .). It is an exception to *aÑ* (4.3.140 *anudāttādeś ca*) in connection with *tāpanīyam*, where *tapanīya* is *udātta* in the middle by *Phiṭsūtra* (42) *laghāv ante*. . . .

2. The word *jātarūpa* is not interpreted here as denoting its form (*svarūpa*). It is instead interpreted as denoting its meaning (*artha*). How do we know this? From the plural in *jātarūpebhyaḥ*. An interpretation based on form alone would have required singular (*ekavacanam*) because of its form, i.e., *jātarūpa*, being one.

3. Note that *parimāṇa* must also be accepted as one of the derivational denotata. *Kāśikā* offers a counter example where *aṆ* cannot be used against *mayaṬ* because weight cannot qualify as a denotatum. Thus, *yaṣṭir iyaṃ hāṭakamayī* 'this is a stick made of gold'.

4.3.154 प्राणिरजतादिभ्योऽञ्

prāṇirajatādibhyo'ñ
/prāṇirajatādibhyaḥ 5/3 *añ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #4.1.82, *prāg dīvyato'ṇ* #4.1.83, *tasya vikāraḥ* #134, *avayave* #135)
prāṇivācibhyaḥ prātipadikebhyo rajatādibhyaś cāñ pratyayo bhavati vikārāvayavayor arthayoḥ
The *taddhita* affix *aÑ* occurs after syntactically related nominal stems which either signify an animate being (*prāṇivācī*), or are listed in the group headed by *rajata* 'silver', when they end in genitive and their derivates denote 'modification' and 'part of a whole'.

EXAMPLES:

kāpotam 'modification, or limb, or a pigeon'
māyūram 'modification', or limb, of a peacock'
rājatam 'made of silver'
lauham 'made of steel'

1. This *aÑ* is an exception to *aṆ* in connection with stems which denote an aminate being and are marked *udātta* at the beginning. The stems which are *vṛddha*, or are marked *anudātta* at the beginning, constitute an exception to *mayaṬ* of 4.3.143-44 *mayaḍ . . . nityam vṛddha. . . .* The stems of the *rajatādi* group which do not denote an animate being follow the same pattern of affixal exception.

2. Why do we have to make a provision of *aÑ* for *rajata* when the same is available from 4.3.140 *anudāttādeś ca* at the strength of its membership in the *ghṛtādi* group, and its subsequent status as *antodātta*. But that could have been blocked by *mayaṬ* of 4.3.143 *nityam. . . .* It is therefore to block *mayaṬ*, which would have blocked *aÑ*, that *aÑ* is made available to *rajata* here.

4.3.155 ञितश्च तत्प्रत्ययात्

ñitaś ca tatpratyayāt
/ñitaḥ 5/1 = *ñ it yasya* (*bv.*); *ca* ϕ *tatpratyayāt* 5/1 = *tayor vihitaḥ pratyayaḥ* (*ṣaṣ. tat.*) *tasmāt/*
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #4.1.82, *prāg dīvyato'ṇ* #4.1.83, *tasya vikāraḥ* #134, *avayave* #135, *añ* #154)
ñid yo vikārāvayavapratyayas tadantāt prātipadikād añ pratyayo bhavati 'vikārāvayavayoḥ' ity eva
The *taddhita* affix *aÑ* occurs after a syntactically related nominal stem which ends in an affix marked with *Ñ* as an *it* and denotes 'modifica-

tion' and 'part of a whole', provided the stem ends in genitive and the derivate denotes 'modification and part of the whole'.

EXAMPLES:

daivadāravam 'modification, or part of a part, of a Devadāru tree'
pālāśam 'modification, or part of a part, of a Palāśa tree'

1. Note that *tad* of *tatpratyayāt* refers to *vikārāvayava*, the signification of affixes marked with *Ñ*. Such affixes are: *aÑ* (4.3.139 or *añ*; 4.3.140 *anudāttādeś ca*; 4.3.141 *palāśādibhyo vā*; 4.3.154 *prāṇirajatādibhyo'ñ*); *ṬlaÑ* (4.3.142 *śamyāṣ ṭlañ*); *vuÑ* (4.3.157 *uṣṭrād vuñ*); *ḌhaÑ* (4.3.159 *eṇyā ḍhañ*); *yaÑ* and *aÑ* (4.3.168 *kaṃsīya . . .*). The introduction of *aÑ* after bases which denote *vikāra* and *avayava* to denote the same does not cause any formal change in new derivates. Of course, there will be a difference in meaning. A *vikāra* or *avayava* thus denoted will be twice removed from its original material (or whole) of which it will be a modification (or part).

The signification of such new derivates will sometimes become difficult to distinguish. Perhaps because of this and a nearly identical signification of two affixes in relation to common bases that Patañjali refutes the formulation of this rule.

4.3.156 क्रीतवत्परिमाणात्

krītavat parimāṇāt
/krītavat ϕ parimāṇāt 5/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #4.1.82, *prāg dīvyato'ṇ* #4.1.83, *tasya vikāraḥ* #134, *avayave* #135)
parimāṇāt krīta iva pratyayā bhavanti 'tasya vikāraḥ' ity etasmin viṣaye
A *taddhita* affix occurs after a nominal stem which signifies some measure (*parimāṇa*) and ends in genitive in a manner similar to that of an affix with the signification of *krīta*, provided the derivate denotes 'modification' and 'part of a whole'.

EXAMPLES:

niṣkeṇa krītam = naiṣkikam '. . . purchased for (a gold coin equal in weight to) a Niṣka'; '. . . made with gold equal in weight to a Niṣka'
śatena krītaṃ śatyam; śatikam '. . . purchased for a hundred'; 'modification, or part of a hundred'
dvisāhasraḥ '. . . purchased for two thousand . . .'; '. . . part of two thousand'

1. Note that *krītavat* is a derivate of affix *vatl* which here denotes *sarvasādṛśya* 'total similarity'. That is, this rule extends the denotatum of *vikāra* and *avayava* to affixes which are enumerated after specific bases with

specific qualifications to derive specific derivates signifying *krīta.* This extensional provision thus relates to affixal provision of rules beginning with 4.4.1 *prāg vahateṣ ṭhak* through rules contained within the domain of 5.1.1 *prāk krītāc chaḥ.* Needless to say that affixes here must have the denotatum of 'purchased' (*krīta; PM* ad *Kāś.*: *etad uktaṃ bhavati yābhyaḥ prakṛtibhyo yena viśeṣaṇena ye pratyayā vihitās tābhyaḥ prakṛtibhyas tenaiva viśeṣaṇena ta eva pratyayā vikāre bhavanti*). In a way, this rule extends the denotatum of *krīta* to derivates with the denotation of *avayava* and *vikāra.* Thus, *naiṣkikaḥ* 'purchased for a gold coin equal in weight to a Niṣka', which derives with *ṭhaK* (5.1.1 *tena krītam*) introduced after *niṣka* + *Ṅas,* will also denote *vikāra* and *avayava.* This same is also true of *śatyam* and *śatikaḥ* which are derivates of *ṭhaN* and *yaT* (5.1.21 *śatāc ca . . .*).

4.3.157 उष्ट्राद् वुञ्

uṣṭrād vuñ
/uṣṭrāt 5/1 *vuñ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #4.1.82, *prāg dīvyato' ṇ* #4.1.83, *tasya vikāraḥ* #134, *avayave* #135)
uṣṭraśabdād vuñ pratyayo bhavati vikārāvayavayor arthayoḥ
The *taddhita* affix *vuÑ* occurs after the syntactically related nominal stem *uṣṭra,* when it ends in genitive and the derivate signifies 'modification' and 'part of a whole'.

EXAMPLES:

auṣṭrakaḥ 'modification, or part, of a camel'

1. Note that this *vuÑ* is an exception to the *aṆ* of 4.3.154 *prāṇi. . . .*

4.3.158 उमोर्ण्योर्वा

umorṇayor vā
umorṇayoḥ 6/2 = *umā ca ūrṇā ca* (*itar. dv.*), *tayoḥ; vā* ϕ/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #4.1.82, *prāg dīvyato' ṇ* #4.1.83, *tasya vikāraḥ* #134, *avayave* #135, *vuñ* #157)
umāśabdād ūrṇāśabdāc ca vā vuñ pratyayo bhavati vikārāvayavayor arthayoḥ
The *taddhita* affix *vuÑ* occurs optionally after syntactically related nominal *umā* 'flax' and *ūrṇā* 'wool', when they end in genitive and derivates denote 'modification' and 'part of a whole'.

EXAMPLES:

auman 'modification, or part, of flax'
aumakam 'id.'

aurṇam 'modification, or part, of wool'
aurṇakam 'id.'

1. Note that *umā* is marked *udātta* initially in view of the *Phiṭsūtra* 27: *tṛṇadhānyānāṃ ca.* . . . This qualifies it for *aṆ* of 4.3.135 *avayave ca prāṇi.* . . . Our next base *ūrṇā* is *udātta* at the end (*Phiṭsūtra* 1: *phiṣaḥ*). This makes *aÑ* available to it from 4.3.140 *anudāttadeś ca.*

4.3.159 एण्या ढञ्

eṇyā ḍhañ
/eṇyāḥ 5/1 *ḍhañ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #4.1.82, *prāg dīvyato'ṇ* #4.1.83, *tasya vikāraḥ* #134, *avayave* #135)
eṇīśabdād ḍhañ pratyayo bhavati vikārāvayavayor arthayoḥ
The *taddhita* affix *ḍhaÑ* occurs after the syntactically related nominal stem *eṇī* 'a female black deer', which ends in genitive, provided the derivate denotes 'modification' and 'part of a whole.'

EXAMPLES:

eṇeyaṃ māṃsam 'flesh of a female black deer'

1. Affix *ḍhaÑ* is here offered as an exception to the *aÑ* of 4.3.154 *prāṇirajatādi.* . . . Note that *eṇa*, the masculine base excluded from this rule, will avail *aÑ* to yield *aiṇam.*

4.3.160 गोपयसोर्यत्

gopayasor yat
/gopayasoḥ 6/2 = *go ca payaś ca gopayasī* (*itar. dv.*), *tayoḥ; yat* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #4.1.82, *prāg dīvyato'ṇ* #4.1.83, *tasya vikāraḥ* #134, *avayave* #135)
go, payas śabdābhyāṃ yat pratyayo bhavati vikārāvayavayor arthayoḥ
The *taddhita* affix *yaT* occurs after syntactically related nominal stems *go* 'cow' and *payas* 'milk', when they end in genitive and derivates denotes 'modification' and 'part of a whole'.

EXAMPLES:

gavyam 'cow product, or limb of a cow'
payasyam 'milk product'

1. This rule is required for blocking optional *mayaṬ* of 4.3.143 *mayaḍvaitayor.* . . . Affix *yaT* could have been available to *go* anyway (*Kāś.*: *sarvatra gor ajādiprasaṅge yad asty eva, mayaḍviṣaye tu vidhīyate.*

4.3.161 **द्रोश्च**

droś ca
/droḥ 5/1 *ca ϕ/*
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #4.1.82, *prāg dīvyato' ṇ* #4.1.83, *tasya vikāraḥ* #134, *avayave* #135, *yat* #160)
druśabdād yat pratyayo bhavati vikārāvayavayor arthayoḥ
The *taddhita* affix *yaT* also occurs after the syntactically related nominal stem *dru* 'tree, wood', when the same ends in genitive and the derivate denotes 'modification' and 'part of a whole'.

EXAMPLES:

dravyam 'modification' and 'part of a tree'

1. This affixal provision of *yaT* is an exception to affixes *mayaṬ* (of the *vt.* ad 4.3.144 *nityaṃ . . . ekāco nityaṃ* (*mayaṭ*) and *aÑ* (of 4.3.139 or *añ*). Incidentally, *dravya* signifying a 'thing' (*vastu*) is treated as an un-derived (*avyutpanna*) independent word.

4.3.162 **माने वयः**

māne vayaḥ
/māne 7/1 *vayaḥ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #4.1.82, *prāg dīvyato' ṇ* #4.1.83, *tasya vikāraḥ* #134, *avayave* #135, *droḥ* #161)
druśabdān māne vikāraviśeṣe vayaḥ pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *vaya* occurs after the syntactically related nominal stem *dru*, when the same ends in genitive and the derivate signifies a 'modification' characterized as *māna* 'measure'.

EXAMPLES:

druvayam 'a particular measure made a wood'

1. The word *māne* is explained as *mīyate yena tan mānam, tasmin māne* 'in the sense of that by means of which something is measured'.

4.3.163 **फले लुक्**

phale luk
/phale 7/1 *luk* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #4.1.82, *prāg dīvyato' ṇ* #4.1.83, *tasya vikāraḥ* #134, *avayave* #135)

vikārāvayavayor utpannasya phale tadviṣaye vivakṣite lug bhavati
A *taddhita* affix which occurs after a syntactically related nominal stem ending in genitive, when the derivate denotes 'modification' and 'part of a whole', is deleted by *LUK*, provided the derivate denotes *phala* 'fruit'.

EXAMPLES:

āmalakam 'fruit of the Āmalaka tree'
badaram 'fruit of the Badara tree'

1. The *taddhita* affix *mayaṬ* (of 4.3.142 *nityam vṛddha . . .*) in *āmalakī* goes through deletion by *LUK* under the condition of *phale* 'when the signification is fruit'. The feminine affix *ṄīṢ*, introduced by 4.1.41 *ṣidgaurādibhyaḥ*, is also deleted concurrently. This same feminine affix is also dropped in *badaram* where the deleted *taddhita* affix is *aÑ* of 4.3.140 *anudāttādeś ca*. All these feminine affixes are deleted by 1.2.49 *luk taddhitaluki*.

2. A question is raised as to how 'fruit' can be accepted as tree's 'modification' (*vikāra*). There are two ways a 'modification' can be defined: one where the material cause is diminished and the other where this cause is retained. Thus, the ash (*bhasma*) of a *khadira* tree can be accepted as its *vikāra*, in the sense that its material cause (tree/wood) is diminished. The same will also apply to a ritual post made of the *khadira* tree where the material cause is retained. A fruit cannot be accepted as *vikāra* of its tree because it neither represents repression, nor retention, of tree. But a fruit can be accepted as *vikāra* of a tree in a manner similar to its leaf (*pallava*). As leaves retain the state of treeness when trees get them, fruits also retain the state of treeness when the trees get to fruition. It it thus appropriate to accept 'fruit' as a *vikāra* of tree.

How can a 'fruit' be treated as 'part of its tree'. It was not a part of the tree when the tree came into existence. As the leaves, with the help of branches, etc., bring to the tree the beginning of a special part, the same way fruits bring speciality to the tree relative to its parts. Fruits, like leaves, can thus be accepted as part of their trees (*Nyāsa* ad *Kāś.*: *nanu ca phalaṃ vṛkṣasya na ca vikāraḥ, nāpy avayavaḥ. vikāro dvidhā bhavati yo vā prakṛtaṃ nigṛhṇāti: khādiraṃ bhasmeti yo vā prakṛtivyapadeśaṃ karoti: khādiro yūpa iti, na ca phalaṃ vṛkṣam apagṛhṇāti nāpi phalena yuktasya vyapadeśāntaraṃ bhavatīti . . . yathā pallavo na vṛkṣam apagṛhṇāti nāpi tasya vyapadeśāntaraṃ janayati atha ca tasya vikāras tathā phalam api. syād etat. pallavitāvasthāṃ vṛkṣasyāpagṛhyan pallava upajāyate ato yuktā tasya vikārāvayavateti; phalam api tasya phalitāvasthāṃ vṛkṣasyāpagṛhyan phalam upajāyate tasyāpi yukta eva tadvikārabhāvaḥ. yadapy uktam-nāvayavo' nārambhakatvād iti tad apy ayuktam; phalam hyupajāyamānaṃ śākhādyavayavasahāyam anyam eva viśiṣṭaṃ vṛkṣāvayavam ārabhate. tad yathā pallavo viśiṣṭaṃ samudāyāntaram ārabhamāṇo' vayavo bhavati tathā phalam apīti veditavyam*).

4.3.164 प्लक्षादिभ्योऽण्

plakṣādibhyo aṇ
/plakṣādibhyaḥ 5/3 = *plakṣa ādir yeṣām* (*bv.*); *aṇ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #4.1.82, *prāg dīvyato' ṇ* #4.1.83, *tasya vikāraḥ* #134, *avayave* #135, *phale* #163)
plakṣādibhyaḥ prātipadikebhyaḥ phale vikārāvayavatvena vivakṣite' ṇ pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *aṆ* occurs after a syntactically related nominal stem listed in the group headed by *plakṣa*, when the stem ends in genitive and the derivate denotes 'fruit' as a 'modification' and 'part of a whole'.

EXAMPLES:

plākṣam 'fruit of the Plakṣa (Ficus religiosa) tree'
naiyagrodham 'fruit of the Nyagrodha (Indian fig) tree'

1. Note that this *aṆ*, at the strength of its express provision (*vidhānasāmarthya*), is not subject to deletion by *LUK* of 4.3.163 *phale luk*.

4.3.165 जम्ब्वा वा

jambvā vā
/jambvāḥ 5/1 *vā* ϕ/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #4.1.82, *prāg dīvyato' ṇ* #4.1.83, *tasya vikāraḥ* #134, *avayave* #135, *phale* #163, *aṇ* #164)
jambūśabdāt phale' abhidheye vā' ṇ pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *aṆ* occurs only optionally after the syntactically related nominal stem *jambū* 'Jujube tree', when it ends in genitive and the derivate denotes 'fruit' as a 'modification' and 'part of a whole'.

EXAMPLES:

jāmbavāni jambūni vā phalāni 'fruits of the Jambū (Jujube) tree'

1. Note that this *aṆ* is offered as an option to *aÑ* (4.3.139 *or añ*). Here again it cannot be subject to deletion by *LUK* of 4.3.163. The *aÑ*, however, must go through this deletion to yield *jambu*, where 1.2.48 *hrasvo napuṃsake prātipadikasya* orders the long final *ū* replaced with its short counterpart (*hrasva*). Our *aṆ* derivate would require this final *ū* to be replaced with its *guṇa* counterpart *o* (6.4.146 *or guṇaḥ*), to be further replaced with *av*. The *aṆ* as usual will cause *vṛddhi* to produce *jāmbava*. Incidentally, augment *nUM*, in nominative plural of both *jāmbava* and *jambū*, will be introduced after the application of 7.1.20 *jaśsasoḥ śi*. The final *a* of *jāmbava* will be lengthened by 6.4.8 *sarvanāmasthāne*. . . .

4.3.166 लुप् च

lup ca
/ lup 1/1 *ca* ϕ /
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #4.1.82, *prāg dīvyato' ṇ* #4.1.83, *tasya vikāraḥ* #134, *avayave* #135, *phale* #163, *vā* #165)
jambvāḥ phale' bhidheye pratyayasya vā lug bhavati
A *taddhita* affix which occurs after a syntactically related nominal stem ending in genitive, when derivate denotes 'fruit' as a 'modification' and 'part of a whole', is also deleted optionally by *LUP*.

EXAMPLES:

jambūḥ 'fruit of the Jambū tree'
jambu phalam 'id.'
jāmbavam 'id.'

1. Note that *jāmbavam* is a derivate of *aṆ* where deletion of *aṆ* is not possible. The nominative singular forms *jambūḥ* and *jambu* are both derivates of *aÑ* where deletion of *aÑ* can be optionally accomplished by *LUK* or *LUP*. A deletion by *LUP*, as opposed to one by *LUK*, allows *yuktavadbhāva* (1.2.51 *lup yuktavad . . .*), retention of original number-gender of the derivate. The word *jambū*, when denoting fruit, is used in feminine. Consequently, when *aÑ* is deleted via *LUP*, *jambū* is still treated as feminine. The result is *jambūḥ*. When deletion of *aÑ* is to be accomplished optionally with *LUK*, the original feminine of *jambū* cannot be retained. Consequently, as *jambū* will still signify *phala*, a neuter, it will be used in neuter. The result will be: *jambu*. A short for the long final *ū* of *jambū* is caused by 1.2.48 *hravo napuṃsake. . . .*

2. This rule has following *vārttika* proposals:

(*a*) Mention must also be made, in this context of *LUP*, of plants which dry out when their fruits ripen (*phalapākaśuṣām upasaṃkhyānam*). Consider *vrīhayaḥ* 'rice', *yavāḥ* 'barley', etc.

(*b*) An affixal deletion via *LUP* takes place variously in contexts of flowers and roots (*puṣpamūleṣu bahulam*). Thus we get: *mallikā* 'Mallikā flower', where affix *aÑ*, introduced under the condition of *anudātta* at the beginning (*anudāttādi*), gets deleted. But because of *bahulam* 'variously' deletion does not apply in case of *pāṭalāni* 'Pāṭala flower', etc.

4.3.167 हरीतक्यादिभ्यश्च

harītakyādibhyaś ca
/ harītakyādibhyaḥ 5/3 = *harītakī ādir yeṣāṃ te* (*bv.*), *tebhyaḥ; ca* ϕ/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #4.1.82, *prāg dīvyato' ṇ* #4.1.83, *tasya vikāraḥ* #134, *avayave* #135, *phale* #163, *lup* #166)

'harītakī' ity evam ādibhyaḥ śabdebhyaḥ phale pratyayasya lub bhavati
A *taddhita* affix which occurs after a syntactically related nominal stem listed in the group headed by *harītakī* 'myrobalan' is also deleted by *LUP*, when the stem ends in genitive and the derivate denotes 'fruit' as a 'modification' and 'part of a whole'.

EXAMPLES:

harītakī 'fruit of the myrobalan tree'
kośātakī 'fruit of the Kośātakī tree'

1. Note that *harītaki* is marked *udātta* at the end because of the affix. The deletion which is intended here relates to affix *aṆ* of 4.3.135 *avayave ca. . . .* Note additionally that *LUP* is brought for deletion against *LUK* which was already available from 4.3.163 *phale luk*. The purpose of deletion by *LUP* is again *yuktavadbhāva* where by feminine singular of *harītakī* is retained.

4.3.168 कंसीयपरशव्ययोर्यञञौ लुक् च

kaṃsīyaparaśavyayor yañañau luk ca
/kaṃsīyaparaśavyayoḥ 6/2 (*itar. dv.*), *tayoḥ; yañañau* 1/2 (*itar. dv.*), *tau; luk* 1/1 *ca* ϕ/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #4.1.82, *prāg dīvyato' ṇ* #4.1.83, *tasya vikāraḥ* #134, *avayave* #135)
kaṃsīya-paraśavya-śabdābhyāṃ yathāsaṃkhyaṃ yañañau pratyayau bhavataḥ 'tasya vikāraḥ' ity asmin viṣaye tatsanniyogena ca kaṃsīyaparaśavyayor lug bhavati
The *taddhita* affixes *yaÑ* and *aÑ* occur after syntactically related nominal stems *kaṃsīya* and *paraśavya*, respectively, with an additional provision of affixal deletion by *LUK*, when the stems end in genitive and derivates denote 'modification'.

EXAMPLES:

kāṃsyaḥ '. . . made of bronze'
pāraśavaḥ '. . . made of iron'

1. This rule makes the concurrent provision of deletion by *LUK* of *kaṃsīya* and *paraśavya*. This deletion cannot be applicable to affixes *yaÑ* and *aÑ* because, in that case, the positive provision of their introduction will become vacuous (*vyartha*). Note further that deletion technically applies of the full form of *kaṃsīya* and *paraśavya* since they are specified with *ṣaṣṭhī* 'genitive'. However, since this deletion is to be accomplished by *LUK* which, in turn, applies only to the deletion of an affix (1.1.60 *pratyayasya lukślulupaḥ*), only affixes *cha* (in *kaṃsīya*) and *yaT* (in *paraśavya*) will be subject to deletion.

PĀDA FOUR

4.4.1 प्राग्वहतेष्ठक्

prāg vahateṣ ṭhak
/prāk ϕ vahateḥ 5/1 *ṭhak* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76)
prāg vahatisaṃśabdanād yān arthān anukramiṣyāmaḥ ṭhak pratyayas teṣu adhikṛto veditavyaḥ
A *taddhita* affix, namely *ṭhaK*, occurs henceforth as specified prior to *vahati* (4.2.76 *tad vahati rathayugaprāsaṅgam*), after a nominal stem.

EXAMPLES:

ākṣikaḥ 'he who plays with dice'

1. This is a governing rule (*adhikāra*) with its domain extending prior to 4.2.76 *tad vahati rathayugaprāsaṅgam*. Affix *ṭhaK*, as also was the case earlier with *aṆ* of 4.1.83 *prāg dīvyato'ṇ*, is being introduced as a generalized affix with the understanding that exceptions and adjustments will also be made. Semantically, *ṭhaK* will be introduced with the signification of *dīvyati* 'plays . . .', etc.

2. A question is raised as to why this rule was not formulated as *vahateṣ ṭhak*. This way, *prāk* will not be needed, and the extent of the *adhikāra* will still become known. Pāṇini still uses *prāk* to make clear that affix *ṭhaK*, similar to affix *aṆ*, may still become applicable in subsequent contexts even after it has been blocked by its related exception. Consider, for example, *aṆ* of 4.4.4 *kulatthakopadhād aṇ* which blocks *ṭhaK* in the context of 'garnished with' (4.4.3 *saṃskṛtam*). This *ṭhaK*, though blocked now by *aṆ* will become applicable, for example, in the context of 4.4.5 *tarati* (*Nyāsa* ad *Kāś.*: *atha prāg grahaṇaṃ kimartham. arthaviśeṣe pratyayāntareṇ āpavādena nivarttitasya ṭhak uttarasmin granthāntare punar upasthānaṃ yathā syād ity evam artham. tad yathā: 'saṃskṛtam' ity asminn arthaviśeṣe 'kulatthakopadhāt' ity aṇa nivarttitasyot-taratra arthāntare 'tarati' ity asminn arthe punr upasthānaṃ yathā syād iti*).

3. A *vārttika* recommends that *ṭhaK* should also be introduced after *mā* 'not' when the signification is *tad āha* 'says that' (*ṭhak prakaraṇe tad āheti māśabdādibhya upasaṃkhyānam*). Thus, *mā śabdaḥ* (*kāri*) 'do not shout' can quality to avail *ṭhaK* derive *māśabdikaḥ* 'he who says, 'do not shout'. Note that affix *ṭhaK* is here to be introduced after the sentence *mā śabdaḥ* and not after *māśabda*, a nominal stem, which is here the object referred to by *tad* 'that' of the meaning condition *tad āha*. That *ṭhaK* in here introduced after a sentence (*vākya*) is also approved by the second *vārttika* under this rule.

This second *vārttika* allows affix *ṭhaK* after adverbial stem (*kriyāviśeṣaṇāt*) such as *prabhūtam* 'plentiful', etc., when the sense is 'says that'. If *ṭhaK* could

be introduced after *māśabda*, a nominal stem, then formulation of the first *vārttika*, or for that matter the second, would become meaningless. The *ṭhaK* of the second *vārttika* (*āhau prabhūtādibhyaḥ*) is introduced after *prabhūta*, etc., when they end in *am*. Thus, *prabhūtam āha prābhūtikaḥ* 'he who says plentiful'. This *dvitīyā* obviously could not be introduced after the sentence of the first *vārttika*.

There are two more *vārttikas* which recommend affix *ṭhaK* after stems such as *susnāta* 'well bathed', etc., provided, of course, the signification is *pṛcchati* '. . . asks' (*pṛcchatau susnātādibhyaḥ = susnātikaḥ*); and after *paradāra* 'someone else's woman' when the signification is fornication (*gacchatau paradārādibhyaḥ = pāradārikaḥ*). The following serve as examples:

susnātaṃ pṛcchati = sausnātikaḥ 'he who asks 'did you bathe well'?'
paradārān gacchati = pāradārikaḥ 'he who fornicates with someone else's woman'.

4.4.2 तेन दीव्यति खनति जयति जितम्

tena dīvyati khanati jayati jitam
/ tena 3/1 *dīvyati khanati jayati* (verb forms) *jitam* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *ṭhak* #1)
'*tena*' *iti tṛtīyāsamarthād dīvyati khanati jayati jitam ity eteṣv artheṣu ṭhak pratyayo bhavati*
The *taddhita* affix *ṭhaK* occurs after a nominal stem which ends in instrumental (*tṛtīyā*), when derivates signify *dīvyati* '. . . plays', *khanati* '. . . digs', *jayati* '. . . wins' and *jitam* '. . . won'.

EXAMPLES:

ākṣikaḥ 'he who plays with dice'
abhryā khanati = ābhrikaḥ 'he who digs with a spade'
akṣair jayati = ākṣikaḥ 'he who wins by means of dice'
akṣair jitam = ākṣikam '. . . was won by means of dice'

1. Note that *tena* 'by means of that which ends in instrumental' is a variable which is changed to *pañcamī* 'ablative' so that it can qualify *prātipadikāt* of *ṅyāpprātipadikāt*. This will produce a new variable *tasmāt prātipadikāt* 'after that nominal stem. . . .' A recourse to *tadantavidhi* will then be taken so that *tasmāt*, when read with *prātipadikāt*, can yield the interpretation: *tṛtīyāntāt prātipadikāt* 'after a nominal stem which ends in instrumental'. The instrumental of the *pada* after which affix *ṭhaK* will be introduced will, in all instances, denote *karaṇa* 'most instrumental means'. That is, *tṛtīyā* will not, for example, relate to the denotatum of an agent (*kartṛ*). Consequently, because of its association (*sāhacarya*) with *dīvyati*, *khanati* and *jayati*, where a relevant nominal ends in *tṛtīyā* with denotation of *karaṇa*, *jitam* must also

have its corresponding nominal ending in instrumental denoting a *karaṇa.* A derivate such as **devadattajitam,* parallel to *devadatten a jitam* '. . . was won by Devadatta', is thus out of question. A *tṛtīyā* with its denotation as *kartṛ* is out, obviously because *dīvyati, khanati* and *jayati* would express their agent with *LAṬ* (3.4.69 *laḥ karmaṇi ca bhāve. . .*). *Kāśikā* states that *devadattena jitam* '. . . won by Devadatta' and *aṅgulyā khanati* '. . . digs by means of his finger'—where *tṛtīyā* in the first sentence denotes *kartṛ,* and in the second, has the denotatum of *karaṇa*—cannot avail the affixal provision of this rule. For, there are no examples available in usage (*anabhidhānāt*). *Kāśikā* further notes that 'number' (*saṃkhyā*) and 'time' ('tense'; *kāla*), in specifications made by means of *dīvyati,* etc., are no fixed. That is, current time (*vartamāna*) and (third person) singular (*ekavacana*) of *vahati* cannot block *ṭhaK* from being introduced in contexts other than these. It can be introduced also in contexts where the time is *bhūta* 'past' or *bhaviṣyati* 'future', and the number is *bahuvacana* 'plural'.

Notice that a derivate such as *ākṣikaḥ* denotes an agent although what specifies this derivate meaning, i.e., *vahati,* is an action (*kriyā*).

4.4.3 संस्कृतम्

saṃskṛtam
/saṃskṛtam 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *ṭhak* #1, *tena* #2)
tena iti tṛtīyāsamarthāt saṃskṛtam ity etasminn arthe ṭhak pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *ṭhaK* occurs after a nominal stem which ends in instrumental when the derivate denotes '. . . garnished with'.

EXAMPLES:

dadhnā saṃskṛtam = dādhikam '. . .garnished with yoghurt'
śāṅgaverikam '. . . garnished with ginger-root'
mārīcikam '. . . garnished with black pepper'

1. The word *saṃskāra* of *saṃskṛtam* 'that which has gone through *saṃskāra*' is explained as *sata utkarṣādhānam* 'bringing enhancement to qualities which already exist'.

2. A question is raised as to why this rule was not formulated jointly with the preceding. Commentators state that a split-formulation (*yogavibhāga*) is intended for the next rule (*uttarārtham*). That is, *aṆ* of 4.4.4 *kulatthakopadhād aṇ* is treated as an exception only to the *ṭhaK* of *saṃskṛtam* '. . . garnished with'. If *saṃskṛtam* was included as part of the preceding rule then *dīvyati,* etc., could also have become valid in the context of *aṆ* of the next rule.

4.4.4 कुलत्थकोपधादण्

kulatthakopadhād aṇ

/ kulatthakopadhāt 5/1 = *kakāra upadhā yasya = kopadhaḥ* (*bv.*); *kulatthaś ca kopadhaś ca = kulatthakopadham* (*sam. dv.* with int. *bv.*), *tasmāt; aṇ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *tena* #2, *saṃskṛtam* #3)
kulatthaśabdāt kakāropadhāc chabdāc ca prātipadikād aṇ pratyayo bhavati 'saṃskṛtam' ity etasmin viṣaye
The *taddhita* affix *aṆ* occurs after the nominal stem *kulattha* 'a kind of lentil', or after a nominal stem which has *k* in its *upadhā*, provided the stem end in instrumental and derivates signify '. . . garnished with'.

EXAMPLES:

kaulatthaḥ = kulatthaiḥ saṃskṛtam '. . . garnished with Kulattha'
taittiḍīkam '. . . garnished with Tamarind'

1. This provision of *aṆ* constitutes an exception to the more general affix *ṭhaK*. Of course, when the denotatum is *saṃskṛtam*. The word *kulattha* is derived parallel to *kule tiṣṭhati*, where the *s* of *stha* is replaced with *t* via *nipātana* under the provision of this rule. Some, however, read the word as *kulastha* with no replacement of *s* by *t* (*PM* ad *Kāśikā.*: *kule tiṣṭhati kulatthaḥ, asmād eva nipātanāt sakārasya takāraḥ; kecit punaḥ sakāramevādhīyate.*

4.4.5 तरति

tarati
/ tarati (verbal *pada*) /
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *tena* #2)
teneti tṛtīyāsamarthāt 'tarati' ity etasminn arthe ṭhak pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *ṭhaK* occurs after a nominal stem which ends in instrumental when the derivate denotes '. . . floats or swims.

EXAMPLES:

kāṇḍaplavikaḥ = kāṇḍaplavena tarati 'one who goes across by means of a float made of reeds'
auḍḍupikaḥ 'he who goes across by means of a raft'

4.4.6 गोपुच्छाट्ठञ्

gopucchāṭ ṭhañ
/ gopucchāt 5/1 *ṭhañ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *tena* #2, *tarati* #5)
gopucchaśabdāṭ ṭhañ pratyayo bhavati 'tarati' ity etasminn arthe

The *taddhita* affix *ṭhaÑ* occurs after the nominal stem *gopuccha* 'cow's tail' when the same ends in instrumental and the derivate denotes '. . . floats or swims'.

EXAMPLES:

gaupucchikaḥ 'one who goes across holding on to a cow's tail'

1. Note that derivates of *ṭhaK* and *ṭhaÑ* do not differ in form. They, however, differ in accent. A stem which ends in a *taddhita* affix marked with *K*, here *ṭhaK*, is accented *udātta* at the end (6.1.165 *kitaḥ*). A stem which ends in an affix marked with *Ñ* is obligatorily accented *udātta* at the beginning (6.1.197 *ñnityādir nityam*).

4.4.7 नौद्व्यचष्ठन्

naudvyacaṣ ṭhan
/naudvyacaḥ 5/1 = *dvau acau yasmin sa dvyac* (*bv.*); *nauś ca dvyac ca* = *naudvyac, tasmāt* (*sam. dv.* with int. *dv.*); *ṭhan* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *tena* #2, *tarati* #5)
nauśabdād dvyacaś ca prātipadikāṭ ṭhan pratyayo bhavati 'tarati' ity etasminn arthe
The *taddhita* affix *ṭhaN* occurs after the nominal stem *nau* 'boat', or after a stem which consists of two vowels (*dvyac*), when the stems end in instrumental and derivates denote '. . . floats, or swims'.

EXAMPLES:

nāvikaḥ 'he who goes across by a boat; boatman'
ghaṭikaḥ 'he who keeps afloat by means of a raft made with jars'
bāhukaḥ 'he who goes across by means of his arms'

1. This is an exception to the *ṭhaK* of 4.4.5 *tarati*. Note that *ṭha* is replaced with *ka* of 7.3.51 *isusuktāntāt kaḥ* in *bāhukaḥ*. Recall that *ṣ* before *ṭhaN*, in the wording of this rule, does not make the affix as *ṢṭhaN*. The *ṣ* is simply as a result of *sandhi*. Consequently, a feminine parallel to *bāhukaḥ* will be *bāhukā*, a derivate of *ṬāP*, as against *ṄīṢ* characterized with *Ṣ* of 4.4.41 *ṣid gaurādibhyaś ca*.

The *Mahābhāṣya* explains what affixes in this domain of *ṭhaK* should be treated as marked with *Ṣ* as an *it*:

ākarṣāt parpāde bhastrādibhyaḥ kusīdasūtrāc ca/
āvasathāt kiśarādeḥ ṣitaḥ ṣaḍ ete ṭhagadhikāre//

Accordingly, affixes specified by 4.4.9 *ākarṣāt ṣṭhal*, 4.4.10 *parpādibhyaḥ ṣṭhan*, 4.4.16 *bhastrādibhyaḥ ṣṭhan*, 4.4.31 *kusīda-daśaikādaśāt ṣṭhan-ṣṭhacau*, 4.4.53 *kiśarādibhyaḥ ṣṭhan* and 4.4.74 *āvasathāt ṣṭhal* all have *Ṣ* as an *it*.

Obviously, elsewhere, a.*ṣ* before *ṭhaK* should be treated as resulting out of *sandhi* (*sāṃhitikaḥ*).

4.4.8 चरति

carati
/carati (verbal *pada*)*/*
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *tena* #2)
'*tena*' *iti tṛtīyāsamarthāt* '*carati*' *ity etasminn arthe ṭhak pratyayo bhavati*
The *taddhita* affix *ṭhaK* occurs after a nominal stem which ends in instrumental, provided the derivate denotes '. . . eats with or moves by'

EXAMPLES:

dādhikaḥ 'he who eats, or moves with, yoghurt'
hāstikaḥ 'he who goes by an elephant'
śākaṭikaḥ 'he who goes by a cart'

1. Commentators explain that verbal root *car* of *carati* is used here in two senses of 'eating' (*bhakṣaṇe*) and 'wandering' (*gatau*).

4.4.9 आकर्षात् ष्ठल्

ākarṣāt ṣṭhal
/ākarṣāt 5/1 *ṣṭhal* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *tena* #2, *carati* #8)
ākarṣaśabdāt ṣṭhal pratyayo bhavati '*carati*' *ity etasminn arthe*
The *taddhita* affix *ṢṭhaL* occurs after nominal stem *ākarṣa* 'touchstone' when it ends in nominative and the derivate denotes '. . . wanders about'.

EXAMPLES:

ākarṣikaḥ 'he who wanders with a touchstone; a goldsmith'
ākarṣikī 'she who wanders with a touchstone'

1. The *Ṣ* in *ṢṭhaL* is intended for facilitating feminine affix *ṄīṢ* of 4.1.41 *sidgaurādibhyaś ca*. The *L* as an *it* enables derivates to be marked *udātta* on the syllable which precedes the affix (6.1.193 *liti*).

4.4.10 पर्पादिभ्यः ष्ठन्

parpādibhyaḥ ṣṭhan
/parpādibhyaḥ 5/3 *ṣṭhan* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *tena* #2, *carati* #8)

'parpa' ity evamādibhyaḥ ṣṭhan pratyayo bhavati 'carati' ity etasminn arthe
The *taddhita* affix *ṢṭhaN* occurs after a nominal stem listed in the group headed by *parpa* 'walking stick', when it ends in instrumental and derivates denote '. . . moves'.

EXAMPLES:

parpikaḥ 'he who moves by means of a stick'
parpikī 'she who . . .'
aśvikaḥ 'he who moves by means of a horse'
aśvikī 'she who . . .'

1. This again is an exception to *ṭhaN*. The *N* as an *it* is intended for initial *udātta* accent (6.1.197 *ñnityādir nityam*). The *Ṣ* is again intended for feminine affix *ṄīṢ*.

4.4.11 श्वगणाट्ठञ्

śvagaṇāṭ ṭhañ ca
/śvagaṇāt 5/1 *ṭhañ* 1/1 *ca* ϕ/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *tena* #2, *carati* #8 *ṣṭhan* #10)
śvagaṇaśabdāṭ ṭhañ pratyayo bhavati cakārāṭ ṣṭhan 'carati' ity etasminn arthe
The *taddhita* affix *ṭhaÑ*, and *ṢṭhaN* as well, occurs after *śvagaṇa* 'group of dogs', when this stem ends in instrumental and the derivate denotes '. . . wanders'.

EXAMPLES:

śvāgaṇikaḥ 'he who wanders with a group of dogs'
śvagaṇikaḥ 'id.'
śvāgaṇikī 'she who wanders with a group of dogs'
śvagaṇikā 'id.'

1. Note that derivates of *ṭhaÑ* will go through *vṛddhi* of their first vowel (7.2.115 *aco' ñṇiti*). The *ṄīP* of rule of rule 4.1.15 *ṭiḍḍhāṇañ . . .* is facilitated by *Ṭ* as an *it*. Derivates of *ṢṭhaN*, however, will not go through *vṛddhi*. They will receive affix *ṄīṢ* at the strength of *Ṣ* as an *it* (4.1.41 *ṣidgaurādibhyaḥ*).

2. Note that *śvan* 'dog' is read in the *dvārādi* group of nominals. As such, its *a* is subject to replacement in *aiC* (7.3.4 *dvārādīnāṃ ca*). This *aiC*, however, is blocked in favor of *vṛddhi* because of 7.3.8 *śvāder iñi*, read with the accompanying *vārttika: ikārādigrahaṇaṃ ca karttavyaṃ śvāgaṇikādyartham*. Thus, *aiC* is blocked when a *taddhita* affix beginning with *i* follows a stem which begins with *śvan*.

4.4.12 वेतनादिभ्यो जीवति

vetanādibhyo jīvati

/ vetanādibhyaḥ 5/3 = *vetana ādir yeṣām* (*bv.*), *tebhyaḥ; jīvati* (verbal *pada*) /
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *tena* #2, *ṭhak* #1)
tṛtīyāsamarthebhyo vetanādibhyaḥ śabdebhyaḥ 'jīvati' ity etasminn arthe ṭhak pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *ṭhaK* occurs after a nominal stem listed in the group headed by *vetana* 'wages', when the same ends in instrumental and derivates denote '. . . lives by means of'.

EXAMPLES:

vaitanikaḥ 'he who lives by means of wages earned; a worker'
dhānuṣkaḥ 'he who lives on wages earned by means of his bow; an archer'
dāṇḍikaḥ 'he who lives on wages earned by means of his stick; a guard'
dhānurdaṇḍikaḥ 'he who depends on his bow and stick for livelihood'

1. An example such as *dhānurdaṇḍikaḥ* attests that *ṭhaK* can also be introduced after two stems combined together (*saṃghāta*).

4.4.13 वस्नक्रयविक्रयाट्ठन्

vasnakrayavikrayāṭ ṭhan
/ vasnakrayavikrayāt 5/1 (*sam. dv.*); *ṭhan* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *tena* #2, *jīvati* #12)
vasnakrayavikrayaśabdābhyāṃ tṛtīyāsamarthābhyāṃ ṭhan pratyayo bhavati 'jivati' ity etasmin viṣaye
The *taddhita* affix *ṭhaN* occurs after nominal stems *vasna* 'wealth, investment' and *krayavikraya* 'buying and selling' when they end in instrumental and derivates denote '. . . lives by means of'.

EXAMPLES:

vasnikaḥ 'he who lives by his wealth'
krayavikrayikaḥ 'he who makes his living by trading'
krayikaḥ 'he who makes his living by buying'
vikrayikaḥ 'he who makes his living by selling'

1. The word *krayavikraya* is to be interpreted as referring to both the compound base *krayavikraya* and its two constituent bases *kraya* and *vikraya*. Thus, we get: *krayikaḥ*, *vikrayikaḥ* and *krayavikrayikaḥ*.

4.4.14 आयुधाच्छ च

āyudhāccha ca
/ āyudhāt 5/1 *cha* (deleted 1/1) *ca* ϕ /
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *tena* #2, *jīvati* #12, *ṭhan* #13)
āyudhaśabdāc chapratyayo bhavati cakārāṭ ṭhaṃś ca 'jīvati' ity etasmin viṣaye

The *taddhita* affix *cha*, and *ṭhaN* as well, occurs after *āyudha* 'weapon', when this stem ends in instrumental and the derivate denotes '. . . lives by mean of'.

EXAMPLES:

āyudhīyaḥ 'he who earns his living by means of his weapon'
āyudhikaḥ 'id.'

1. Note that *ca* is used in this rule to facilitate the introduction of *ṭhaN*, again in the sense of *jīvati*.

4.4.15 हरत्युत्संगादिभ्यः

haraty utsaṅgādibhyaḥ
harati (verbal *pada*); *utsaṅgādibhyaḥ* 5/3 = *utsaṅga ādir yeṣām* (*bv.*), *tebhyaḥ*/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *tena* #2, *ṭhak* #1)
utsaṅgādibhyahs tṛtīyāsamarthebhyaḥ 'harati' ity etasminn arthe ṭhak pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *ṭhaK* occurs after a nominal stem listed in the group headed by *utsaṅga* 'lap', when the same ends in instrumental and derivates denote '. . . carries with'.

EXAMPLES:

autsaṅgikaḥ 'he who carries on his lap'
auḍḍupikaḥ 'he who carries by means of a raft'

1. Note that *harati* is explained as *deśāntaraprāpaṇa* 'carrying something to a different location'.

4.4.16 भस्त्रादिभ्यः ष्ठन्

bhastrādibhyaḥ ṣṭhan
/bhastrādibhayḥ 5/3 *ṣṭhan* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *tena* #2, *harati* #15)
'bhastrā' ity evamādibhyas tṛtīyāsamarthebhyaḥ 'harati' ity etasminn arthe ṣṭhan pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *ṢṭhaN* occurs after a nominal listed in the group headed by *bhastrā* 'leather pouch', when the same ends in instrumental and derivates denote '. . . carries with'.

EXAMPLES:

bhastrayā harati = *bhastrikaḥ* 'he who carries (water) by means of a leather pouch'

bhastrikī 'she who carries . . .'

1. The *ṄīṢ* in *bhastrikī* is introduced by 4.1.41 *ṣid gaurādibhyaś ca.*

4.4.17 विभाषा विवधवीवधात्

vibhāṣā vivadha(vīvadh)āt
/vibhāṣā 1/1 *vivadha(vīvadh)āt* 5/1 (*sam. dv.*)/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *tena* #2, *harati* #15, *ṣṭhan* #16)
vivadhavīvadhaśabdābhyāṃ tṛtīyāsamarthābhyāṃ vibhāṣā 'harati' ity etasminn arthe ṣṭhan pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *ṢṭhaN* occurs optionally after nominal stems *vivadha* and *vīvadha* 'shoulder yoke', when they end in instrumental and derivates denote '. . . carries with'.

EXAMPLES:

vivadhikaḥ = *vivadhena harati* 'he who carries by means of a shoulder yoke'
vīvadhikaḥ 'id.'
vivadhikī 'she who carries . . .'
vīvadhikī 'id.'
vaivadhikaḥ 'id.'
vaivadhikī 'she who carries . . .'

1. Note that *vivadha* and *vīvadha* are synonymous and are used in the sense of 'road (*pathi*)' or 'shoulder yoke (*paryāhāre*)'. The word *paryāhāra* is explained by *PM* as *ubhayato baddhaśikyo'ṃsavāhyaḥ kāṣṭhaviśeṣa ucyate* 'a bamboo-stick used for carrying, on shoulders, loads of rice, etc., by placing them in two end-bases made of ropes and suspended from both ends of the bamboo-stick'. *Kāśikā* has taken the word *vīvadha* from a *vārttika* and has read it as part of the *sūtra.* That is, the *sūtra* could be simply read as: *vibhāṣā vivadhāt.*

4.4.18 अण् कुटिलिकायाः

aṇ kuṭilikāyāḥ
/aṇ 1/1 *kuṭilikāyāḥ* 5/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *tena* #2, *harati* #15)
kuṭilaśabdāt tṛtīyāsamarthād aṇ pratyayo bhavati 'harati' ity etasminn arthe
The *taddhita* affix *aṆ* occurs after *kuṭilikā* when it ends in instrumental and the derivate denotes '. . . carries with'.

EXAMPLES:

kauṭilikaḥ 'blacksmith; hunter'

1. Commentators explain *kuṭilikā* as 'crooked movement', or 'a crooked iron rod with which blacksmiths manipulate burning coals'. The word *kauṭilikaḥ* is thus explained either as a 'deer' or a 'blacksmith':

(*i*) *kuṭilikayā harati mṛgo vyādham = kauṭiliko mṛgaḥ* 'a deer who, by his crooked movement, leads the hunter far away'
(*ii*) *kuṭilikayā haraty aṅgārān = kauṭilikaḥ karmāraḥ* 'a blacksmith who manipulates burning coals by means of his crooked iron rod'

4.4.19 निर्वृत्तेऽक्षद्यूतादिभ्यः

nirvṛtte akṣadyūtādibhyaḥ
/ nirvṛtte 7/1 *akṣadyūtādibhyaḥ = akṣadyūta ādir yeṣām* (*bv.*), *tebhyaḥ/*
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *tena* #2)
akṣadyūtādibhyas tṛtīyāsamarthebhyaḥ 'nirvṛtte' ity etasminn arthe ṭhak pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *ṭhaK* occurs after a nominal stem listed in the group headed by *akṣadyūta* 'gambling with dice' when the same ends in instrumental and derivates denote '. . . brought about by'.

EXAMPLES:

ākṣadyūtikam 'an enmity caused by gambling with dice'
jānuprahṛtikam 'an enmity caused by hitting on thighs in wrestling'

4.4.20 क्त्रेर्मम् नित्यम्

ktrermam nityam
ktreḥ 5/1 *map* 1/1 *nityam* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *tena* #2, *nirvṛtte* #19)
tryāntan nityaṃ map pratyayo bhavati 'tena nirvṛtte' ity etasminn arthe
The *taddhita* affix *maP* occurs obligatorily after a nominal stem which ends in *Ktri* (3.3.88 *ḍvitaḥ ktriḥ*) and is used with instrumental, provided the derivate denotes '. . . brought about by'.

EXAMPLES:

paktrimam 'brought about by cooking'
uptrimam 'brought about by sowing . . .'

1. Note that *tri* refers here to affixal provision of rule 3.3.88 *ḍvitaḥ ktriḥ*. The word *nitya* obviously ensures that a stem ending in *Ktri* always takes *maP*. A *vārttika* proposes, though, that a stem which denotes *bhāva* 'root-sense' should take affix *imaP*. Thus, *pākena nirvṛttam = pāktrimam* 'brought about by cooking'. Refer to the appendix of vol. II under rule 1.1.5 *ṅiti ca* for derivational details.

4.4.21 अपमित्ययाचिताभ्यां कक्कनौ

apamityayācitābhyāṃ kakkanau
/apamityayācitābhyām (itar. dv.), tābhyām; kakkanau 1/2 *(itar. dv.)/*
(pratyayaḥ #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *tena* #2, *nirvṛtte* #19)
apamitya-yācitaśabdābhyāṃ yathāsaṃkhyaṃ 'kak, kan' ity etau pratyayau bhavataḥ 'nirvṛtte' ity etasminn arthe
The *taddhita* affixes *KaK* and *KaN* occur after nominal stems *apamitya* 'debt' and *yācita* 'begged', respectively, when they end in instrumental and derivates denote '. . . brought about by'.

EXAMPLES:

āpamityakam 'brought about by means of a debt'
yācitakam 'brought about by begging'

1. Note that *apamitya* is an indeclinable derived by introducing affix *Ktvā* after verbal root *māN* 'to exchange, barter', where *Ktvā* (of 3.4.19 *udīcāṃ māṅo . . .*) is replaced with *LyaP* (7.1.37 *samāse'nañ . . .*), after there is a compound-formation termed *gati* with *apa*. The *ā* of *māN* is replaced with *i* (6.4.70 *mayater . . .*) and *tUK* (7.1.71 *hrasvasya piti kiti tuk*) is added as an augment. Rule 1.1.40 *ktvātosun . . .* identifies the compound as an *avyaya*. This brings this indeclinable base in conflict with the instrumental which should occur after it. Commentators state that an affix can be introduced after the indeclinable even when it does not end in instrumental (*avibhaktikād eva pratyayavidhiḥ*)

4.4.22 संसृष्टे

saṃsṛṣṭe
/saṃsṛṣṭe 7/1/
(pratyayaḥ #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *tena* #2, *ṭhak* #1)
tṛtīyāsamarthāt 'saṃsṛṣṭe' ity etasminn arthe ṭhak pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *ṭhaK* occurs after a nominal stem which ends in instrumental, when the derivate denotes the sense of *saṃsṛṣṭa* '. . . properly mixed with'.

EXAMPLES:

dadhnā saṃsṛṣṭam = dādhikam 'that which is fully mixed with yoghurt'
mārīcikam 'properly mixed with black-pepper'

1. The word *saṃsṛṣṭe* is explained as *ekībhūtam abhinnam* 'that which has become one with, or is inseparable from, something'. The argument that rule 4.4.3 *saṃskṛtam* can account for what our present rule is formulated to

do is not acceptable. The word *saṃskāra* of *saṃskṛtam* entails enhancement in a quality which already exists. It is not necessary that *saṃsarga* or *ekībhāva* will bring enhancement. Similarly, it is not necessary that *saṃskāra* will bring *ekībhāva* 'oneness'. Thus, *saṃsarga* with an 'impure' (*aśuci*) thing will lower the quality, rather than enhancing it. A person spoken of as *saṃskṛta* with knowledge (*vidyayā saṃskṛtaḥ = vaidyikaḥ*) will also not become one with knowledge. For, *saṃsarga* is possible only between 'things' (*dravya*), such as *daṇḍa* 'stick' and *puruṣa* 'man', which have forms (*mūrtimat*). Of course, *vidyā* of *vaidyikaḥ* does not have any form (*na tu vidyā mūrtimatī*). It is for this reason that this rule should be left as is (cf. *PM* ad *Kāś.*).

4.4.23 चूर्णादिनिः

cūrṇād iniḥ
/cūrṇāt 5/1 *iniḥ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *tena* #2, *saṃsṛṣṭe* #22)
cūrṇaśabdād iniḥ pratyayo bhavati saṃsṛṣṭe
The *taddhita* affix *inI* occurs after nominal stem *cūrṇa* 'powdered' when it ends in instrumental and the derivate denotes '. . . fully mixed with'.

EXAMPLES:

cūrṇaiḥ saṃsṛṣṭāḥ = cūrṇino'pūpāḥ 'cakes made with powdered . . .'
cūrṇino dhānāḥ 'grains mixed with powdered . . .'

1. Note that *inI* blocks *ṭhaK* when the denotation is *saṃsṛṣṭa*. Affix *ṭhaK* cannot be blocked where 'mixing' does not denote *saṃsarga*.

4.4.24 लवणाल्लुक्

lavaṇāl luk
/lavaṇāt 5/1 *luk* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *tena* #2, *saṃsṛṣṭe* #22, *ṭhak* #1)
'saṃsṛṣṭe' ity anenotpannasya ṭhako lavaṇaśabdāl lug bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *ṭhaK*, occurring after *lavaṇa* which ends in instrumental, is deleted by *LUK* when the derivate denotes '. . . fully mixed with'.

EXAMPLES:

lavaṇaḥ sūpaḥ 'soup mixed with salt'
lavaṇā yavāgūḥ 'barley-gruel mixed with salt'

1. Note that *lavaṇa*, for purposes of this deletion, must denote *dravya* 'substance', and not quality (*guṇa*). Thus, this deletion will not apply when

lavaṇa denotes 'quality', as does *śuklaḥ* 'whiteness' in *śuklaḥ paṭaḥ* 'white cloth'. A 'quality' word can denote 'substance' when 'substance' and 'quality' both become inseparable. But such a question should not arise since 'quality' is not 'mixed with' 'substance'. That is, *śuklatva* 'whiteness' and *paṭatva* 'clothness' are not mixed together. Instead, *paṭatva* serves as locus (*ādhāra*) where *śuklatva* resides. True, but a 'quality' word can be treated as 'substance' when, after denoting quality, it becomes 'inseparable' with the substance. In any case, deletion must be caused by substance (*Kāśikā: dravyavācī lavaṇaśabdo lukaṃ prayojayati na guṇavācī*).

4.4.25 मुद्गादण्

mudgād aṇ
/ mudgāt 5/1 *aṇ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *tena* #2, *saṃsṛṣṭe* #22)
mudgaśabdād aṇ pratyayo bhavati 'saṃsṛṣṭe' ity etasmin viṣaye
The *taddhita* affix *aṆ* occurs after *mudga* 'Mung beans', when the same ends in instrumental and the derivate denotes '. . . fully mixed with'.

EXAMPLES:

maudga odanaḥ 'rice mixed with Mung beans'
maudgī yavāgūḥ 'barley gruel mixed with Mung beans'

1. Note that *maudgī* is derived with *ṆīP* of 4.1.15 *ṭiḍḍhāṇay. . . .*

4.4.26 व्यञ्जनैरुपसिक्ते

vyañjanair upasikte
/ vyañjanaiḥ 3/3 *upasikte* 7/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *tena* #2, *ṭhak* #1)
vyañjanavācibhyaḥ prātipadikebhyas tṛtīyāsamarthebhyaḥ 'upasikte' ity etasminn arthe ṭhak pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *ṭhaK* occurs after a nominal stem which signifies a condiment (*vyañjana*) and ends in instrumental, provided the derivate denotes '. . . sprinkled, or soaked, with . . .'

EXAMPLES:

dadhnā upasiktam = dādhikam 'that which is soaked with yoghurt'
saupikam 'that which is soaked with soup'

1. Why do we have to state this condition of *upaseka* 'sprinkling, soaking' when desired derivates can be gotten under the condition of *saṃsṛṣṭe*? Commentators state that this rule is both operational (*vidhi*) as well as restrictive

(*niyama*). Consequently, *upaseka* is specified against *saṃsṛṣṭa* so that *ṭhaK* alone could be introduced after stems denoting *vyañjana*. Thus, *udakena upasikta odanaḥ* 'rice soaked with water' cannot qualify for *ṭhaK* since *odana* is not a *vyañjana*.

2. Note that *vyañjanaiḥ* is given in *tṛtīyā* as opposed to *pañcamī*. It is stated that *tṛtīyā* is used in the sense of *pañcamī*. But this could hardly be accepted, especially since *tṛtīyā* is already available from *tena*. Why use it, and that too in the sense of *pañcamī*? It is easier to say *vyañjanair upasikte* as opposed to *vyañjanebhya upasikte*. Incidentally, the plural in *vyañjanaiḥ* is used to rule out an interpretation based on form (*svarūpavidhinirāsārtham*). That is, *vyañjana* will be interpreted as 'that which signifies a condiment'.

4.4.27 ओजःसहोऽम्भसा वर्तते

ojaḥsaho'mbhasā vartate
/ojaḥsahombhasā 3/1 = *ojaś ca sahaś ca ambhaś ca* (*sam. dv.*), *tena; vartate* (verbal *pada*)*/*
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *tena* #2, *ṭhak* #1)
'*ojas, sahas, ambhas*' *ity etebhyas, tṛtīyāsamarthebhyaḥ* '*vartate*' *ity arthe ṭhak pratyayo bhavati*
The *taddhita* affix *ṭhaK* occurs after nominal stems *ojas* 'vigor, valor', *sahas* 'courage' and *ambhas* 'water', when they end in instrumental and derivates denote '. . . conducts, or exists with. . . .'

EXAMPLES:

anujasikaḥ 'a person who conducts himself with vigor; heroic'
sāhasikaḥ 'a person who conducts himself with courage; bandit, thief'
āmbhasikaḥ 'that which exists with water; fish'

4.4.28 तत्प्रत्यनुपूर्वमीपलोमकूलम्

tat pratyanupūrvam īpalomakūlam
/tat 2/1 *pratyanupūrvam* 2/1 = *pratiś ca anuś ca* = *pratyanu* (*dv.*)*; pratyanu pūrvaṃ yasya* (*bv.* with int. *dv.*), *tat; īpalomakūlam* 2/1 = *īpaṃ ca lomaṃ ca kūlaṃ ca* (*sam. dv.*), *tat/*
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *ṭhak* #1)
'*prati, anu*' *ity evam pūrvebhya īpa, loma, kūla śabdebhyo dvitīyāsamarthebhyaḥ* '*varttate*' *ity etasminn arthe ṭhak pratyayo bhavati*
The *taddhita* affix *ṭhaK* occurs after nominal stems *īpa* 'water', *loma* 'hair' and *kūla* 'bank', used in conjunction after *prati* and *anu*, provided they end in accusative (*dvitīyā*) and derivates denote 'conducts, or exists with. . . .'

EXAMPLES:

pratīpaṃ vartate = *prātīpikaḥ* 'he who conducts himself contrarily'
ānvīpikaḥ 'he who conducts himself favorably'
prātilomikaḥ 'he who conducts himself contrarily'
ānulomikaḥ 'he who conducts himself favorably'
prātikūlikaḥ 'he who conducts himself contrarily'
ānukūlikaḥ 'he who conducts himself favorably'

1. Note that these derivates denote the sense of *pratikūla* 'opposed' and *anukūla* 'favorable'. A search for derivational meanings, for example of *pratikūla* and *anukūla* with focus on *kūla*, will be futile (*PM* and *Kāś.*: *pratikūlānukūlaparyāyau tv etau . . . atrāpi vyutpattimātram arthas tu pūrvoktam eva . . . atrāpi kūlārtho nāsti pratisaraṇaṃ caitayor arthaḥ*).

2. A question is raised as to how *vṛt* 'to turn' of *varttate*, a verbal root denoting an intransitive (*akarmaka*) action, could be associated with an accusative (*dvitīyā*) denoting *karman* 'object'. It is stated that our stems are derived as qualifiers (*viśeṣaṇa*) to an action (*kriyā*). As such, they can be viewed as *karman* in relation to roots which denote an intransitive action (*Nyāsa* ad *Kāś.*: *kriyāviśeṣaṇasyaivākarmake'pi dhātau karmatvam ākhyātam*). This way, a *kriyāviśeṣaṇa* can be treated as neuter singular object (*kriyāviśeṣaṇānām ekatvaṃ karmatvaṃ napuṃsakatvaṃ ca*).

4.4.29 परिमुखं च

parimukhaṃ ca
/parimukham 2/1 *ca* ϕ/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *ṭhak* #1 *vartate* #27, *tat* #28)
parimukhaśabdād dvitīyāsamarthād 'vartate' ity asminn arthe ṭhak pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *ṭhaK* occurs also after nominal stem *parimukha* 'around but not facing', when it ends in accusative and the derivate denotes 'conducts, or exists with'.

EXAMPLES:

parimukhikaṃ vartate = *pārimukhaḥ* 'he who stays around (but not facing) . . .; a servant'

1. Some interpret *ca* as used for covering additional examples such as *pāripārśvikaḥ* 'he who stays around . . .; servant'. The word *pārimukhikaḥ* is explained as *svāmino mukhaṃ varjayitvā yaḥ sevako vartate sa* 'a servant who always stays around, though not directly facing, his master'. The word *pari* thus denotes *varjana* 'exclusion'. It is termed *karmapravacanīya* by 1.4.83 *apaparī varjane*. Rule 2.1.12 *apaparibahir* . . . allows the formation of

avyayībhāva compound. But *pari* can also be interpreted as denoting *sarvatobhāva* 'presence everywhere'. It can then form a *prādi* compound interpreted as: *yato yataḥ svāmino mukhaṃ tatas tato vartate* 'he is at every place where his master looks'.

4.4.30 प्रयच्छति गर्ह्यम्

prayacchati garhyam
/prayacchati (verbal *pada*) *garhyam* 2/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *ṭhak* #1, *tat* #28)
'tat' ity dvitīyāsamarthāt 'prayacchati' ity etasminn arthe ṭhak pratyayo bhavati yad dvitīyāsamarthaṃ garhyaṃ ced bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *ṭhaK* occurs after a nominal stem which ends in accusative when the derivate denotes '. . . gives . . .', provided what he gives 'deserves censure'.

EXAMPLES:

dviguṇaṃ prayacchati = dvaiguṇikaḥ 'he who loans out money on conditions of getting twice as much in return'
traiguṇikaḥ 'he who loans out money on conditions of getting three times as much in return'

1. The word *dvaiguṇikaḥ* is explained as a creditor who collects twice the amount of loan of return (*Nyāsa* ad *Kāś.*: *dvaiguṇika iti uttamarṇa ucyate, na cāsau dviguṇaṃ prayacchati, kiṃ tarhi? skandayitvā dviguṇaṃ gṛhṇāti*). Loaning a certain amount but collecting twice as much in return brings censure.

2. A *vārttika* suggests that a *vṛddhi* derivate under this rule would be *vārddhuṣikaḥ* 'a creditor who lends money for the purpose of increasing it'. This, in turn, will either require replacing *vṛddhi* by *vṛdhuṣi*, or accepting *vṛdhuṣi* as a base synonymous with *vṛddhi*.

4.4.31 कुसीददशैकादशात् ष्ठन्ष्ठचौ

kusīdadaśaikādaśāt ṣṭhanṣṭhacau
/kusīdadaśaikādaśāt 5/1 (*sam. dv.*), *tasmāt*; *ṣṭhanṣṭhacau* 1/2 = *ṣṭhan ca ṣṭhac ca* (*itar. dv.*)/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *tat* #28 *prayacchati garhyam* #30)
kusīdadaśaikādaśaśabdābhyāṃ yathāsaṃkhyaṃ ṣṭhan ṣṭhaj ity etau pratyayau bhavataḥ 'prayacchati garhyam' ity etasmin viṣaye
The *taddhita* affixes *ṢthaN* and *ṢṭhaC* occur after nominal stems *kusīda* and *daśaikādaśa*, respectively, when the stems end in accusative and derivates denote '. . . gives . . .', provided further that what is given 'deserves censor'.

EXAMPLES:

kusīdaṃ prayacchati = *kusīdikaḥ* 'he lends money on excessive interest'
kusīdikī 'she who . . .'
daśaikādaśikaḥ 'he who lends out ten to collect eleven'
daśaikādaśikī 'she who . . .'

1. The derivates of *ṢṭhaN* and *ṢṭhaC* differ only in accent. They also get their feminine counterpart at the strength of affixal *Ṣ* as an *it* (4.1.41 *ṣidgaurādibhyaś ca*).

2. Note that the agent of *prayacchati* is the creditor, and not the debtor. That is, the creditor is principal, and hence, *prayacchati* is to be interpreted as *gṛhṇāti* 'receives back'. The word *daśaikādaśa* means *ekādaśārthaṃ daśa* 'ten for purposes of eleven'.

4.4.32 उञ्छति

uñchati
/uñchati (verbal *pada*)*/*
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *ṭhak* #1, *tat* #28)
'tata' iti dvitīyāsamarthāt 'uñchati' ity etasminn arthe ṭhak pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *ṭhaK* occurs after a nominal stem which ends in accusative, when the derivate denotes 'picking up from ground'.

EXAMPLES:

bādarikaḥ 'he who picks up berries from ground'
kāṇikaḥ 'he who picks up (scattered) grains one after the other'

1. *Kāśikā* explains *uñchati* as 'gathering of grains' one after the other, from ground' (*Kāś.*: *bhūmau patitasyaikaikasya kaṇasyopādānam*). This perhaps refers to grains which remain scattered in fields just harvested. A person who subsists on such sources must be extremely poor. Besides, the tradition does not accept food items picked up from grounds as pure.

4.4.33 रक्षति

rakṣati
/rakṣati (verbal *pada*)*/*
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *ṭhak* #1, *tat* #28)
'tat' ity dvitīyāsamarthād 'rakṣati' ity rakṣati ity etasminn arthe ṭhak pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *ṭhaK* occurs after a nominal stem which ends in accusative, when the derivate denotes 'protects. . . .'

EXAMPLES:

sāmājikaḥ 'one who protects the assembly'
sānniveśikaḥ 'id.'

4.4.34 शब्ददर्दुरं करोति

śabdadarduraṃ karoti
/śabdadarduram 2/1 (*sam. dv.*); *karoti* (verbal *pada*)*/*
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *ṭhak* #1, *tat* #28)
'tata' iti dvitīyāsamarthābhyāṃ śabdadarduraśabdābhyāṃ 'karoti' ity etasminn arthe ṭhak pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *ṭhaK* occurs after nominal stems *śabda* 'sound, noise' and *dardura* 'an earthen pot', when they end in accusative and derivates denote 'makes, or does. . . .'

EXAMPLES:

śabdaṃ karoti = *śābdikaḥ* 'one who makes words; a grammarian'
dārdurikaḥ 'a potter who (makes and) plays and Dardura'

1. Note that the word *dardura* means a host of things: cloud, mountain, flute, etc. The derivate meanings must be determined in accord with usage, though the idea of *karoti* must be there. One will thus not get a derivate parallel to *śabdaṃ karoti kharaḥ* 'the donkey is making noise', simply because it is not available in usage (*Nyāsa* and *Kāś.*: . . . *yatra loke vyavahāras tatra pratyayo bhavati nānyatra . . . tena śabdaṃ karoti khara ity atra na bhavati*).

4.4.35 पक्षिमत्स्यमृगान् हन्ति

pakṣimatsyamṛgān hanti
/pakṣimatsyamṛgān 2/3 (*itar. dv.*), *tān; hanti* (verbal *pada*)*/*
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *ṭhak* #1, *tat* #28)
pakṣyādibhyo dvitīyāsamarthebhyo 'hanti' ity etasminn arthe ṭhak pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *ṭhaK* occurs after nominal stems *pakṣī* 'bird', *matsya* 'fish' and *mṛga* 'wild animals', when they end in accusative and derivates denote '. . . kills. . . .'

EXAMPLES:

śākunikaḥ 'one who hunts birds'
māyūrikaḥ 'one who hunts peacocks'
mātsyikaḥ 'one who catches fish; fisherman'
mainikaḥ 'id.'

mārgikaḥ 'one who hunts wild animals; one who hunts deer'
saukarikaḥ 'one who hunts a boar'
hāriṇikaḥ 'one who hunts deer'

1. Note that *pakṣī*, *matsya* and *mṛga* are to be interpreted here as denoting their form (*svarūpa*), synonyms (*paryāya*), or any particular (*viśeṣa*) within the general category of their denotatum, of course, in accord with available usage. Thus, *mṛga* is used in the sense of a wild quadruped (*āraṇyāś catuṣpādaḥ*). It can here also refer to a 'deer' in general, or in particular (such as *sāraṅga* 'brindled deer'), or even a particular within the general wild quadruped such as *sūkara* 'boar'.

4.4.36 परिपन्थं च तिष्ठति

paripanthaṃ ca tiṣṭhati
/paripantham 2/1 *ca* ϕ *tiṣṭhati* (verbal *pada*)/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *ṭhak* #1, *tat* #28, *hanti* #35)
paripanthaśabdāt tad iti dvitīyāsamarthāt 'tiṣṭhati' ity etasminn arthe ṭhak pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *ṭhaK* occurs after nominal stem *paripantha* 'roadside', when it ends in accusative and the derivate denotes '. . . stands by'.

EXAMPLES:

paripanthaṃ tiṣṭhati = pāripanthikaś cauraḥ 'a thief (or someone) who stands by roadside to rob (or kill)'

1. It is stated that *ca* is used to alternately avail other affixal meanings. That is, a *ṭhaK* introduced after *paripantha* will also avail the denotatum of *hanti* 'kills. . . .' Thus, *paripanthaṃ hanti = pāripanthikaḥ* 'he who kills thieves on a roadside'.

2. Note that *pāripanthika* is an indeclinable (*avyayībhāva*) compound meaning: *yaḥ panthānaṃ varjayitvā tiṣṭhati yo vā panthānaṃ vyāpya tiṣṭhati* 'he who, in order for robbing travelers, stands by roadside, or stands watching over roads for robbing travelers'.

4.4.37 माथोत्तरपदपदव्यनुपदं धावति

māthottarapadapadavyanupadaṃ dhāvati
/māthottarapadapadavyanupadam 2/1 = *māthaśabda uttarapadaṃ yasya tat; māthottarapadaṃ ca padavī ca anupadaṃ ca dhāvati* (verbal *pada*)/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *ṭhak* #1, *tat* #28)
māthaśabdottarapadāt prātipadikāt 'padavī, anupada' ity etābhyāṃ ca 'dhāvati' ity etasminn arthe ṭhak pratyayo bhavati

The *taddhita* affix *ṭhaK* occurs after a nominal stem which has *mātha* as its final constituent, or is constituted by *padavī* 'path' or *anupada* 'following closely', when the stems end in accusative and derivates denote '. . . runs'.

EXAMPLES:

dāṇḍamāthikaḥ 'he who travels long roads'
pādavikaḥ 'he who pursues a path'
ānupadikaḥ 'he who closely follows'

1. Note that *māthottarapadapadavyanupadam* is specified in *dvitīya* 'accusative'. Why do we have to have this specification in *dvitīyā* (as against a *caturthī* 'ablative'), especially when *dvitīyā* is already available from *anuvṛtti*. It is stated that accusative is still used so that *iṣṭāntād dvitīyāntad yathā syād aniṣṭād mā bhūt* 'this affixal provision is valid after a stem only where desired, and invalid where it is not desired (*aniṣṭa*)'. It is for this reason that a compound formed with *anu* under the provision of rules 2.1.15 *anur yatsamayā*, 2.1.16 *yasya cāyāmaḥ* and 2.2.18 *kugatiprādayaḥ* does not qualify for introduction of *ṭhaK* (cf. *Nyāsa* ad *Kāś.*).

4.4.38 आक्रन्दाट्ठञ् च

ākrandāṭ ṭhañ ca
/ākrandāt 5/1 *ṭhañ* 1/1 *ca* ϕ/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *ṭhak* #1, *tat* #28 *dhāvati* #37)
ākrandaśabdāt tad iti dvitīyāsamarthāt 'dhāvati' ity etasminn arthe ṭhañ pratyayo bhavati cakārāṭ ṭhak ca
The *taddhita* affix *ṭhaK* occurs after nominal stem *ākranda* 'place of residence, or shelter, for afflicted' when the same ends in accusative and the derivate denotes '. . . runs'.

1. The word *ākranda* is explained as *deśa*, or *ārtānām ayanam* 'place where afflicted people find refuse'.

2. Note that derivates of these affixes differ only in accent. A derivate of *ṭhaÑ* will be marked *udātta* initially, as opposed to that of *ṭhaK* which will be marked *udātta* at the end. The *vṛddhi* in a derivate of *ṭhaÑ* will be affected by 7.2.117 *taddhiteṣv acāṃ ādis*. . . . The *ṭhaK* derivate of course will get its *vṛddhi* from 7.2.118 *kiti ca*.

4.4.39 पदोत्तरपदं गृह्णाति

padottarapadaṃ gṛhṇāti
/padottarapadam 2/1 = *padaśabda uttarapadaṃ yasya* (*bv.*), *tasmāt; gṛhṇāti* (verbal *pada*)/

(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *ṭhak* #1, *tat* #28)
padottarapadaśabdāt 'tat' iti dvitīyāsamarthād 'gṛhṇāti' ity etasminn arthe ṭhak pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *ṭhak* occurs after a nominal stem used in combination with *pada* as its final constituent and ends in accusative, provided the derivate denotes '. . . accepts, receives'.

EXAMPLES:

paurvapadikaḥ 'a treatise (or its author) with focus on constituents which precede'
auttarapadikaḥ 'a treatise (or its author) with focus on constituents which follow'

1. The word *pada* is here interpreted as denoting its form (*svarūpa*). That is, it does not denote the *pada* of 1.4.14 *suptinantaṃ padam.*

2. It is stated that *pūrvapada* and *uttarapada* here refer to some specific operational provisions of the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*, focusing on initial and final constituents of compounds. For example, rules 7.3.10 *uttarapadasya* through 7.3.18 *je proṣṭhapadānām* offer operations relative to constituents which follow. Rules 7.3.19 *hṛdbhagasindhu* . . . through 7.3.31 *yathātathā* . . . focus on constituents which precede. The treatises of our examples could be those focusing on these sets of rules.

4.4.40 प्रतिकण्ठार्थललामं च

pratikaṇṭhārthalalāmaṃ ca
/pratikaṇṭhārthalalāmaṃ 2/1 (*sam. dv.*); *ca* ϕ/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *ṭhak* #1, *tat* #28, *gṛhṇāti* #39)
pratikaṇṭhārthalalāmaśabdebhyas tad iti dvitīyasamarthebhyaḥ 'gṛhṇāti' ity etasminn arthe ṭhak pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *ṭhaK* occurs after nominal stems *pratikaṇṭha* 'voice by voice', *artha* 'meaning' and *lalāma* 'characteristic mark, or beauty' when these stems end in accusative and derivates denote 'accepts . . ., receives. . . .'

EXAMPLES:

pratikaṇṭhaṃ gṛhṇāti = prātikaṇṭhikaḥ 'a treatise which, or a person who, accepts each and every enumeration as focus'
ārthikaḥ 'a treatise which, or a person who, focuses on meaning'
lālāmikaḥ 'a teatise, or its author, with a focus on ornamentation (figures of speech), or aesthetics'

1. The purpose of specifying bases in accusative, in this section of *tad*, is

in invoke: *iṣṭāt syāt aniṣṭān mā bhūt* 'let this affixal provision apply where desired; not apply where not desired'. That is how this affixal provision is blocked after *pratikaṇṭha*, a compound allowed by rule 2.2.18 *kugatiprādayaḥ* parallel to *pratigataḥ kaṇṭham*. A compound formation favoring the application of this rule is allowed either in the sense of *vīpsā* 'pervasion', by rule 2.1.7 *yathā'sādṛśye*, or in the sense of *ābhimukhya* 'facing towards', by rule 2.1.14 *lakṣaṇenābhipraty*. . . .

2. The word *pratikaṇṭha* is enumerated under the operational context of *pratipadavidhāna* 'enumeration of individual stems in view of specific operational provisions, or in consonance with listings of individual stems in the *Gaṇapāṭha*'.

4.4.41 धर्मं चरति

dharmaṃ carati
/dharmam 2/1 *carati* (verbal *pada*)*/*
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *ṭhak* #1, *tat* #28)
dharmaśabdāt tad iti dvitīyāsamarthāt 'carati' ity etasminn arthe ṭhak pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *ṭhaK* occurs after nominal stem *dharma* 'duty' when the stem ends in accusative and the derivate denotes '. . . observes, performs, or practices, with diligence'.

EXAMPLES:

dhārmikaḥ 'he who performs his duties diligently'

1. A *vārttika* also allows this affixal provision after *adharma* 'non-duty'.

2. *Kāśikā* explains *carati* as *caratir āsevāyām, nānuṣṭhānamātre 'carati* is used here in the sense of *āsevā* 'to perform over and over again; to perform with diligence, and not simply doing it for the sake of doing (*anuṣṭhāna*)'.

The word *dharma* which I here translate as 'duty' is much too wide in its connotation.

4.4.42 प्रतिपथमेति ठंश्च

pratipatham eti ṭhaṃś ca
/pratipatham 2/1 *eti* (verbal *pada*) *ṭhan* 1/1 *ca* ϕ*/*
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *tat* #28)
pratipathaśabdād dvitīyāsamarthād 'eti' ity asminn arthe ṭhan pratyayo bhavati cakārāṭ ṭhak ca
The *taddhita* affix *ṭhaN*, and *ṭhaK* as well, occurs after nominal stem *pratipatha*, when the same ends in accusative and the derivate denotes '. . . goes. . . .'

EXAMPLES:

pratipatham eti = *pratipathikaḥ* 'he who follows every path'
prātipathikaḥ 'id.'

1. Note that *pratipatha* is an *avyayībhāva* compound similar to *pratikaṇṭha*, formed in the sense of *vīpsā* 'pervasion' or *ābhimukhya* 'facing'.

4.4.43 समवायान् समवैति

samavāyān samavaiti
/samavāyān 2/3 *samavaiti* (verbal *pada*)*/*
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *ṭhak* #1, *tat* #28)
samavāyavācibhyaḥ śabdebhyaḥ 'tat' iti dvitīyā-samarthebhyaḥ 'samavaiti' ity etasminn arthe ṭhak pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *ṭhaK* occurs after a nominal stem which signifies *samavāya* 'assemblage' and ends in accusative, provided derivates denote '. . . approaches and becomes a part of it'.

EXAMPLES:

samavāyān samavaiti = *sāmavāyikaḥ* 'he who joins a group and becomes a part of it'
sāmūhikaḥ 'id.'

1. The word *samavāya* is explained as *samūha* 'group or assemblage'. It is used in plural (*bahuvacana*) to rule out its interpretation as denoting its form only (*svarūpavidhi*). Verbal form *samavaiti* is explained by *Kāś.* as *āgatya tadekadeśī bhavati* 'one who having approached becomes a part of it'.

4.4.44 परिषदो ण्यः

pariṣado ṇyaḥ
/pariṣadaḥ 5/1 *ṇyaḥ* 1/1*/*
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *ṭhak* #1, *tat* #28, *samavāyān samavaiti* #43)
pariṣado ṇyaḥ bhavati 'samavāyān samavaiti' ity etasmin viṣaye
The *taddhita* affix *Ṇya* occurs after nominal stem *pariṣad* 'assembly', when the same ends in accusative and the derivate denotes '. . . approaches and becomes a part of it'.

EXAMPLES:

pāriṣadyaḥ 'one who approaches the assembly and becomes a part of it.'

4.4.45 सेनाया वा

senāyā vā

/senāyāḥ 5/1 *vā ϕ/*
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *ṭhak* #1, *tat* #28, *samavāyān samavaiti* #43, *ṇyaḥ* #44)
senāśabdād vā ṇyaḥ pratyayo bhavati 'samavāyān samavaiti' ity etasmin viṣaye
The *taddhita* affix *Ṇya* occurs only optionally after nominal stem *senā* 'army', when the same ends in accusative and the derivate denotes 'approaches and becomes a part of it'.

EXAMPLES:

sainyaḥ 'one who enlists in the army'
sainikaḥ 'soldier'

1. Note that this optional *Ṇya*, when not accepted, will make *ṭhaK* available.

4.4.46 संज्ञायां ललाटकुक्कुट्यौ पश्यति

saṃjñāyām lalāṭakukkuṭyau paśyati
/saṃjñāyām 7/1 *lalāṭakukkuṭyau* 2/2 (*itar. dv.*); *paśyati* (verbal *pada*)/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *ṭhak* #1, *tat* #28)
lalāṭa-kukkuṭīśabdābhyām tad iti dvitīyāsamarthābhyām 'paśyati' ity etasminn arthe ṭhak pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *ṭhaK* occurs after nominal stems *lalāṭa* 'forehead' and *kukkuṭī* 'hen' when they end in accusative and their derivates name (*saṃjñā*) 'someone who sees. . . .'

EXAMPLES:

lalāṭaṃ paśyati = *lālāṭikaḥ* 'a servant who does not serve his master diligently'
kaukkuṭikaḥ 'a renunciate whose sphere of sight is narrow'

1. The word *saṃjñā* 'name' is used here to delimit the scope of derivational denotatum (*abhidheyaniyamārtham*). Thus, *lālāṭika* means (not one who sees the forehead but) a servant who sees only the 'forehead' of his master. That is, as one who sees only the 'forehead' must stay farther from the person seen, so does a servant. Consequently, he must not be serving his master diligently. For, a diligent servant always stays nearby (*Kāś.*: *sarvāvayavebhyo lalāṭaṃ dūre dṛśyate, tad anena lalāṭadarśanena sevakasya svāminaṃ praty upaśleṣaḥ kāryeṣv anupasthāyitvaṃ lakṣyate*).

The word *kukkuṭī* is used to mark *kukkuṭīpāta* 'leaping and falling of hens' which is limited to a narrow space. A renunciate who strives for becoming one with the supreme (*brahman*) is, while walking, supposed to restrict his sphere of vision to his feet to avoid any possible distraction (*Kāś.*: *bhikṣur avikṣiptadṛṣṭiḥ pādavikṣepadeśe cakṣuḥ saṃyamya gacchati sa . . .*).

4.4.47 तस्य धर्म्यम्

tasya dharmyam
/tasya 6/1 *dharmyam* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *ṭhak* #1)
'tasya' iti ṣaṣṭhīsamarthād 'dharmyam' ity etasminn arthe ṭhak pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *ṭhaK* occurs after a nominal stem which ends in genitive when the derivate denotes '. . . appropriate conduct or obligation'.

EXAMPLES:

śaulkaśālikam 'that which is proper to do at a place where revenue is collected'
āpaṇikam 'that which is proper to do at a marketplace'

4.4.48 अण् महिष्यादिभ्यः

aṇ mahiṣyādibhyaḥ
/aṇ 1/1 *mahiṣyādibhyaḥ* 5/3 = *mahiṣī ādir yeṣām* (*bv.*), *tebhyaḥ/*
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *tasya dharmyam* #47)
'mahiṣī' ity evamādibhyo'ṇ pratyayo bhavati 'tasya dharmyam' ity etasmin viṣaye
The *taddhita* affix *aṆ* occurs after a nominal stem listed in the group headed by *mahiṣī* 'queen', when the same ends in genitive and the derivate denotes 'appropriate conduct or obligation'.

EXAMPLES:

māhiṣam '. . . appropriate conduct, or obligation, of the principal queen'
yājamānam '. . . appropriate conduct, or obligation, of a person requesting the priest to perform sacrificial rites'

4.4.49 ऋतोऽञ्

ṛto'ñ
/ṛtaḥ 5/1 *añ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *tasya dharmyam* #47)
ṛkārāntāt prātipadikād añ pratyayo bhavati 'tasya dharmyam' ity etasmin viṣaye
The *taddhita* affix *aÑ* occurs after a nominal stem which ends in *ṛ* and is used in genitive, provided the derivate denotes '. . . appropriate conduct, or obligation'.

EXAMPLES:

potur dharmyaṃ = pautram 'proper conduct of the officiating priest'

audgātram 'proper conduct of the Udgātṛ priest'

1. The word *pautram* derives from (*potṛ* + *aṆ*) + *sU* where *ṛ* goes through *yaṆ* in addition to initial *vṛddhi* of *o*.

2. There are three *vārttikas* under this rule:

(*i*) Affix *aÑ* should also be introduced after *nara* to derive *nārī* 'woman' via *ṄīP* (4.1.15 *ṭiḍḍhāṇañ. . .*). Note that *nṛ* already has *aÑ* available to it for deriving *nāraṃ*. This introduction of *aÑ* after *nara* is intended for blocking *ṭhaK*.

(*ii*) Affix *aÑ*, with an additional provision of deletion of augment *iṬ*, is recommended after *viśasitṛ* to derive *vaiśastram* 'conduct' or obligation, of a ruler'.

(*iii*) Affix *aÑ*, with an additional provision of deletion of affix *ṆiC*, is recommended after *vibhājayitṛ* to derive *vaibhājitram* 'conduct' or obligation, of a person presiding over a partition'.

4.4.50 अवक्रयः

avakrayaḥ
/ avakrayaḥ 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *tasya* #47)
ṛkārāntāt prātipadikād añ pratyayo bhavati 'tasya dharmyam' ity etasmin viṣaye
The *taddhita* affix *ṭhaK* occurs after a nominal stem which ends in genitive, when the derivate denotes *avakrayaḥ* 'sales tax'.

EXAMPLES:

śaulkaśālikaḥ 'taxes paid at a collection agency'
āpaṇikaḥ 'taxes paid at a marketplace'

1. The word *avakraya* has been explained by Haradatta (*PM* ad *Kāś.*) as: *vāṇijyārthaṃ tailadhānyādikaṃ deśāntaraṃ nayatā' smin śulkasthāne pratibhāram etāvad deyam iti taddeśādhipatinā yat kalpitaṃ so'vakrayaḥ . . .* '*avakraya* is an amount levied by rulers on traders transporting goods, such as 'oil' and 'grains', to different places. . . .'

2. Note that *dharmyam* is not read in the interpretation of this rule. For, *avakraya* cannot always be called *dharmya*. Taxes levied in amount far exceeding the norms could also fall outside the notion of *dharmya*.

4.4.51 तदस्य पण्यम्

tad asya paṇyam
/ tat 1/1 *asya* 6/1 *paṇyam* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *ṭhak* #1)

'tat' iti prathamāsamarthād asyeti ṣaṣṭhyarthe ṭhak pratyayo bhavati yat tat prathamāsamartham paṇyaṃ ced bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *ṭhaK* occurs, to denote the sense of genitive (*ṣaṣṭhyartha*), after a nominal stem which ends in nominative, provided further that is signified 'something for sale'.

EXAMPLES:

āpūpikaḥ 'he whose cakes are for sale'
maudakikaḥ 'he whose sweets are for sale'

4.4.52 लवणाट्ठञ्

lavaṇāṭ ṭhañ
/ lavaṇāt 5/1 *ṭhañ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *ṭhak* #1, *tad asya paṇyam* #51)
lavaṇaśabdāṭ ṭhañ pratyayo bhavati 'tad asya paṇyam' ity etasmin viṣaye
The *taddhita* affix *ṭhaÑ* occurs, to denote the sense of genitive, after nominal stem *lavaṇa* 'salt' when it ends in nominative, provided the denotatum of this nominative is '. . . for sale'.

EXAMPLES:

lāvaṇikaḥ 'he whose salt is for sale'

1. The derivates of *ṭhaK* and *ṭhaÑ* only differ in accent (*svare viśeṣaḥ*).

4.4.53 किशरादिभ्यः श्ठन्

kiśarādibhyaḥ ṣṭhan
/ kiśarādibhyaḥ 5/3 = *kiśara ādir yeṣām* (*bv.*), *tebhyaḥ; ṣṭhan* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *ṭhak* #1, *tad asya paṇyam* #51)
'kiśara' ity evamādibhyaḥ ṣṭhan pratyayo bhavati 'tad asya paṇyam' ity etasmin viṣaye
The *taddhita* affix *ṢṭhaN* occurs, to denote the sense of genitive, after a nominal stem listed in the group headed by *kiśara* 'a kind of fragrance' when the stem ends in nominative and what it denotes is 'something for sale'.

EXAMPLES:

kiśarikaḥ 'he whose Kiśara (saffron) is for sale'
uśīra 'he whose Uśīra (lavender) is for sale'

1. The *kiśara* words are names of particular fragrances (*gandhaviśeṣavacanāḥ*). The *Ṣ* of *ṢṭhaN* is used for facilitating feminine derivates with *ṄiṢ* (4.1.1 *ṣidgaurādibhyaś ca*).

4.4.54 शलालुनोऽन्यतरस्याम्

śalāluno' nyatarasyām
/śalālunaḥ 5/1 *anyatarasyām* 7/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *ṭhak* #1, *tad asya paṇyam* #51, *ṣṭhan* #53)
śalāluśabdād anyatarasyām ṣṭhan pratyayo bhavati 'tad asya paṇyam' ity etad viṣaye
The *taddhita* affix *ṢṭhaN* occurs, to denote the sense of genitive, only optionally after nominal stem *śalālu* 'a particular fragrance' when it ends in nominative and what it denotes is 'something for sale'.

EXAMPLES:

śalālukaḥ 'he whose Śalālu fragrance is for sale'
śālālukaḥ 'id.'
śalālukī 'she whose Śalāluka is for sale'
śālālukī 'id.'

1. Note that *ṭhaK* will apply when option of *ṢṭhaN* is not accepted.

4.4.55 शिल्पम्

śilpam
/śilpam 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *ṭhak* #1, *tad asya* #51)
'tat' iti prathamāsamarthād asyeti ṣaṣṭhyathe ṭhak pratyayo bhavati yat tat prathamāsamartham śilpaṃ ced bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *ṭhaK* occurs, to denote the sense of genitive, after a nominal stem which ends in nominative, provided what it denotes is a *śilpa* 'artistic talent, facility' available 'for sale'.

EXAMPLES:

mṛdaṅgavādanaṃ śilpam asya = mārdaṅgikaḥ 'a professional Mṛdaṅga drummer'
pāṇavikaḥ 'a professional Paṇava drummer'

1. The word *śilpa* is explained as 'skill' (*kauśala*), a special knowledge acquired through practice (*Nyāsa* ad *Kāś.*: *śilpaṃ kauśalam iti. kriyābhyāsapurvako jñānaviśeṣaḥ.*
2. Note that the affix is introduced after a stem, for example *mṛdaṅga*, used in the sense of playing. The idea of 'playing a drum' as a 'skill' is inherent in the *taddhita* formation '*Kāś.*: *mṛdaṅgavādane varttamāno mṛdaṅgaśabdaḥ pratyayam utpādayati, śilpaṃ taddhitavṛttāv antarbhavati*).

4.4.56 **मड्डुकझर्झराद्णन्यतरस्याम्**

maḍḍukajharjharād aṇ anyatarasyām
/maḍḍukajharjharāt 5/1 (*sam. dv.*), *tasmāt; aṇ* 1/1 *anyatarasyām* 7/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *ṭhak* #1, *tad asya śilpam* #51)
'*maḍḍuka, jharjhara*' *śabdābhyām anyatarasyām aṇ pratyayo bhavati* '*tad asya śilpam*' *ity etasmin viṣaye*
The *taddhita* affix *aṆ* occurs optionally, to denote the sense of genitive, after nominal stems *maḍḍuka* and *jharjhara* 'names of drums' when they end in nominative and denote a *śilpa* 'for sale'.

EXAMPLES:

māḍḍukaḥ 'a professional Maḍḍuka drummer'
māḍḍukikaḥ 'id.'
jhārjharaḥ 'a professional Jharjhara drummer'
jhārjharikaḥ 'id.'

1. Here again the affixal provision is made after stems which, for purposes of the *taddhita* formation, denote 'playing of drums', and not the 'drums' per se.

4.4.57 **प्रहरणम्**

praharaṇam
/praharaṇam 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *ṭhak* #1, *tad asya* #51)
'*tat*' *iti prathamāsamarthād asyeti ṣaṣṭhyarthe ṭhak pratyayo bhavati yat tat prathamāsamarthaṃ praharaṇaṃ ced bhavati*
The *taddhita* affix *ṭhaK* occurs, to denote the sense of genitive, after a nominal stem which ends in nominative, provided what it denotes is *praharaṇa* 'that by means of which one attacks; weapon'.

EXAMPLES:

asiḥ praharaṇam asya = āsikaḥ 'he whose means of attack is a sword'
dhānuṣkaḥ 'he whose means of attack is a bow'

4.4.58 **परश्वधाट्ठञ् च**

paraśvadhāṭ ṭhañ ca
/paraśvadhāt 5/1 *ṭhañ* 1/1 *ca* ϕ/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *ṭhak* #1, *tad asya* #51, *praharaṇam* #57)
paraśvadhaśabdāṭ ṭhañ pratyayo bhavati cakārāṭ ṭhak

The *taddhita* affix *ṭhaN*, and *ṭhaK* as well, occurs to denote the sense of genitive after nominal stem *paraśvadha* 'axe' when it ends in nominative, provided what it denotes is a *praharaṇa*.

EXAMPLES:

pāraśvadhikaḥ 'he whose means of attack is an axe'

1. Again the two sets of derivates differ in accent.

4.4.59 शक्तियष्ट्योरीकक्

śaktiyaṣṭyor īkak
/śaktiyaṣṭyoḥ 6/2 (*itar. dv.*); *īkak* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *tad asya* #51, *praharaṇam* #57)
'*śakti, yaṣṭi*' *śabdābhyām īkak pratyayo bhavati* '*tad asya praharaṇam*' *ity etasmin viṣaye*
The *taddhita* affix *īkaK* occurs to denote the sense of genitive after *śakti* 'spear' and *yaṣṭi* 'stick', when the same end in nominative, provided what they denote is *praharaṇa*.

EXAMPLES:

śaktiḥ praharaṇam asya = *śāktīkaḥ* 'he whose means of attack is a spear'
yāṣṭīkaḥ 'he whose means of attack is a stick'

4.4.60 अस्तिनास्तिदिष्टं मतिः

astināstidiṣṭaṃ matiḥ
/astināstidiṣṭam 1/1 (*sam. dv.*); *matiḥ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *ṭhak* #1, *tad asya* #51)
'*tat*' *iti prathamāsamarthebhyaḥ* '*asti*', '*nāsti*', '*diṣṭa*' *ity etebhyaḥ śabdebhyaḥ* '*asya*' *ity ṣaṣṭhyarthe ṭhak pratyayo bhavati yat tat prathamāsamarthaṃ matiś ced bhavati*
The *taddhita* affix *ṭhaK* occurs, to denote the sense of genitive, after nominal stems *asti* 'there is', *nāsti* 'there is not' and *diṣṭa* 'fate' when they end in nominative, provided what they denote is *mati* 'belief, thinking'.

EXAMPLES:

asti matir asya = *āstikaḥ* 'he who believes that a world exists beyond our own; theist'
nāsti matir asya = *nāstikaḥ* 'he who believes that a world does not exist beyond our own; atheist'
daiṣṭikaḥ 'he who believes in fate'

1. It is stated that *asti* and *nāsti* are particles (*nipāta*) which, in turn, could be termed nominal stems. Or else, *asti* and *nāsti*, as verbal forms, can still avail the affixal provision at the strength of Pāṇini's own asking (*Kāś.*: *asti-nāsti-śabdau nipātau, vacanasāmarthyād vā ākhyātād vākyāc ca pratyayaḥ*).

4.4.61 शीलम्

śīlam
/śīlam 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *ṭhak* #1, *tad asya* #51)
'*tat*' *iti prathamāsamarthād asyeti ṣaṣṭhyarthe ṭhak pratyayo bhavati yat tat prathamāsamarthaṃ śīlaṃ ced bhavati*
The *taddhita* affix *ṭhaK* occurs, to denote the sense of genitive, after a nominal stem which ends in nominative, provided what it denotes is *śīla* 'one's characteristic nature'.

EXAMPLES:

apūpabhakṣaṇaṃ śīlam asya = āpūpikaḥ 'he whose nature it is to eat *apūpa* '*cakes*' '
śāṣkulikaḥ 'he whose nature it is to eat *śaṣkulī* 'deep-fried breads' '

1. Here again the affix will be introduced after *śīla*, though with an understanding that the *taddhita*-formation will introduce action of eating as an additional qualification to *śīla*.

4.4.62 छत्रादिभ्यो णः

chatrādibhyo ṇaḥ
/chatrādibhyaḥ 5/3 = *chatra ādir yeṣām* (*bv.*), *tebhyaḥ; ṇaḥ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *tad asya* #51 *śīlam* #61)
'*chatra*' *ity evamādibhyaḥ prātipadikebhyo ṇaḥ pratyayo bhavati* '*tad asya śīlam*' *ity etasmin viṣaye*
The *taddhita* affix *aṆ* occurs, to denote the sense of the genitive, after nominal stems listed in the group headed by *chata* 'cover, umbrella' when they end in nominative, provided what they denote is *śīla*.

EXAMPLES:

chatraṃ śīlaṃ asya = chātraḥ 'a student whose nature it is (*i*) to seek shelter under his teacher; or (*ii*) to cover the teachers faults'
bubhukṣā śīlam asya = baubhukṣaḥ 'he whose nature it is to be (always) hungry'

1. This, of course, is an exception to *ṭhaK*. *Kāśikā* explains the word *chātra*

as 'a pupil who, while diligently serving his preceptor, also strives to cover his (the former's) pitfalls' (*gurukāryeṣv avahitas tacchidrāvaraṇapravṛttaś chatraśīlaḥ śiṣyaś chātraḥ*).

2. Note that *sthā* is also listed in the *chatrādi* group of nominals. One must, however, read it used with the preverb *ā* thereby yielding *āsthā* 'faith', etc.

4.4.63 कर्माध्ययने वृत्तम्

karmādhyayane vṛttam
/karmaḥ 1/1 *adhyayane* 7/1 *vṛttam* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *ṭhak* #1, *tad asya* #51)
'tat' iti prathamāsamarthāt 'asya' iti ṣaṣṭhyarthe ṭhak pratyayo bhavati yat tat prathamāsamarthaṃ karma cet tadvṛttam adhyayanaviṣayaṃ bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *ṭhaK* occurs, to denote the sense of genitive, after a nominal stem which ends in nominative, provided what it denotes is *karman* 'action' occurring as part of *adhyayana* 'study'.

EXAMPLES:

aikānyikaḥ 'he of whose there occurred (*bhūtam*) only one other than expected (*anyad*): only one error made at a test (*parīkṣākāle*) recital (*paṭhataḥ*) while studying (*adhyayanaprayuktasya*)'
traiyanyikaḥ 'he of whose there occurred three other than expected: errors, when reciting at a test while studying'

1. Note that *ekānya* which receives *ṭhaK* is a compound allowed under the condition of *taddhitārtha* 'when a *taddhita* affix finds its scope' (2.1.51 *taddhitārthottarapada . . .*). The initial analyzed form should thus be: *ekam anyad*. Affix *ṭhaK* is then introduced after *ekānya* derived through *sUP*-deletion and *savarṇadīrgha*. The sense of *adhyayane karma vṛttam* will have to be expressed via the *taddhita* formation. It is with this understanding that *Kāśikā* explains the meaning of *aikānyikaḥ* as: *yasyādhyayan aprayuktasya parīkṣākāle paṭhataḥ skhalitam apapāṭharūpam ekaṃ jātaṃ sa ucyate aikānyikaḥ 'aikānyika* is one who, while reciting at the time of a test in the process of studying, makes only one error.'

2. The word *karma* here denotes an 'action' (*kriyā*), basically an undesired one (*anīpsita*). That is, it refers to an undesired happening in the context of recitation. The word *adhyayana* refers to either the action (*bhāva*), or the object (*karman*), of studying as means (*sādhana*). The word *vṛttam* is used in the sense of *bhūtam* 'that which occurred' or *jātam* 'that which came into being'. Incidentally, *karma* is not here used in the sense of *tacchīlakarma* 'action as part of someone's characteristic nature'. That is why, under the provision of this rule, one does not get a derivate parallel to *adhyayane japo vṛtto'sya* 'he whose characteristic nature it is to mutter while reciting'.

4.4.64 **बह्वच्पूर्वपदाट्ठच्**

bahvacpūrvapadāṭ ṭhac
/bahvacpūrvapadāt 5/1 = *bahavo'co yasmin* = *bahvac* (*bv.*); *bahvac pūrvapadaṃ yasya* (*bv.* with int. *bv.*), *tasmāt*; *ṭhac* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *ṭhak* #1, *tad asya* #51, *karmādhyayane vṛttam* #63)
bahvacpūrvapadāt prātipadikāṭ ṭhac pratyayo bhavati 'tad asya karmādhyayane vṛttam' ity etasminn arthe
The *taddhita* affix *ṭhaC* occurs instead, to denote the sense of genitive, after a nominal stem which has an initial constituent formed with many vowels, and which ends in nominative, provided what it denotes is an 'action' occurring as part of one's study.

EXAMPLES:

trayodaśānyikaḥ 'he of whose there occurred thirteen other than what he expected, i.e., errors, when reciting at a test while studying'
caturdaśānyikaḥ 'he of whose there occurred fourteen . . .'

1. Note that there is a difference of opinion on whether the affix is *ṭhaC*, or it is *ṭhaÑ*. If one accepts *ṭhaÑ* then the derivates will have their first vowel replaced with *vṛddhi*. Thus, we will get *trāyodaśānyikaḥ* and *cāturdaśānyikaḥ*. Our examples illustrate *ṭhaC*.

4.4.65 **हितं भक्षाः**

hitaṃ bhakṣāḥ
/hitam 1/1 *bhakṣāḥ* 1/3/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *ṭhak* #1, *tad asya* #51)
'tata' iti prathamāsamarthāt 'asya' iti ṣaṣṭhyarthe ṭhak pratyayo bhavati yat tat prathamāsamarthaṃ hitam ced bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *ṭhaK* occurs, to denote the sense of genitive, after a nominal stem which ends in nominative, provided what it denotes is 'an item of food beneficial for . . .'

EXAMPLES:

apūpabhakṣaṇaṃ hitam asmai = *āpūpikaḥ* 'he for whom eating cakes is beneficial'
śāṣkulikaḥ 'he for whom eating deep-fried breads is beneficial'

1. Note that the *vṛtti* paraphrases *asya* as *ṣaṣṭhyarthe* 'in the sense of genitive'. But a *vārttika* provision is made for the use of *caturthī* 'dative' in conjunction with *hita* 'beneficial'. Haradatta (*PM* ad *Kāś.*) states that *caturthyarthe pratyayo na ṣaṣṭhyarthe . . . evaṃ tarhy adhikāramātrāpekṣayā* 'the affix is intro-

duced in the sense of dative . . .'; 'in the sense of genitive is stated in view of the *ādhikāra*'. It is thus believed that *ṣaṣṭhī* of *asya* is changed to *caturthī*, i.e., *asmai*, for purposes of this rule. Some therefore offer a different formulation of this rule as: *hitaṃ bhakṣās tad asmai*, in which case, the next rule becomes: *dīyate niyuktam*. For, it will then receive *tad asmai* from *anuvṛtti*.

4.4.66 तदस्मै दियते नियुक्तम्

tad asmai dīyate niyuktam
/tat 1/1 *asmai* 4/1 *dīyate* (verbal *pada*) *niyuktam* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *ṭhak* #1)
'*tat*' *iti prathamāsamarthād* '*asmai*' *iti caturthyarthe ṭhak pratyayo bhavati yat tat prathamāsamarthaṃ tac ced dīyate niyuktam*
The *taddhita* affix *ṭhaK* occurs, to denote the sense of dative (*caturthī*), after a nominal stem which ends in nominative, provided what it denotes is 'given to him as rightfully his'.

Examples:

agrebhojanam asmai niyuktaṃ dīyate = *āgrabhojanikaḥ* 'he who is offered food before anybody else because that is his right'
āpūpikaḥ 'he who is offered cakes as rightfully his'
śāṣkulikaḥ 'he who is offered deep-fried breads as rightfully his'

1. The expression *dīyate niyuktam* is explained as *niyogena-avyabhicāreṇa dīyate* 'he who is given something without fail as rightfully his'. An example such as *āgrebhojanikaḥ* will be thus explained as 'he who is offered food without fail before anybody else'. That is, he gets the food first if and when it is offered (*PM* ad *Kāś.*: *yady agrabhojanaṃ dīyate tadāsmai eva . . .*). Some also explain *niyuktam* as *nityam* 'obligatorily'. Thus, *apūpā nityam asmai dīyante āpūpikaḥ* 'one to whom cakes are offered obligatorily'.

4.4.67 श्राणामांसौदनाट् टिठन्

śrāṇāmāṃsaudanāṭ ṭiṭhan
/śrāṇāmāṃsaudanāt 5/1 *ṭiṭhan* 1/1
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *ṭhak* #1, *tad asmai dīyate niyuktam* #66)
'*śrāṇā*', '*māṃsaudana*' *śabdābhyāṃ ṭiṭhan pratyayo bhavati* '*tad asmai dīyate niyuktam*' *ity etasminn arthe*
The *taddhita* affix *ṬIṭhaN* occurs, to denote the sense of dative, after *śrāṇā* 'barley-gruel' and *māṃsaudana* 'rice cooked with meat', provided what they denote is 'given to him as rightfully his'.

EXAMPLES:

śrāṇikaḥ 'he who is offered barley-gruel as rightfully his'
māṃsaudanikaḥ 'he who is offered rice cooked with meat as rightfully his'
śrāṇiki 'she who is . . .'
māṃsaudanikī 'she who is . . .'

1. The affixal provision constitutes an exception of *ṭhaK*. The *I* in *ṬIṭhaN* is used for facilitating pronunciation (*uccāraṇārthaḥ*). The *Ṭ* as an *it* is used for facilitating *ṄīP* of rule 4.1.15 *ṭiḍḍhāṇañ* . . . to derive *śrāṇikī* and *māṃsaudanikī*.

One wonders why Pāṇini did not use *ṭhaÑ*, instead of *ṬIṭhaN*, especially when there is no formal difference in derivates. Some suggest that *māṃsaudana* also refers to its constituents *māṃsa* and *odana*, thereby yielding derivates such as *māṃsikaḥ* and *odanikaḥ*. This way, *ṬIṭhaN* will be justified since it will not allow initial *vṛddhi*. Affix *ṭhaÑ* would require *vṛddhi* because of its *Ñ* as an *it*. The question of *ṭhaÑ*, as against *ṬIṭhaN*, is raised because a reading of *ṭhaÑ* will make the rule more economical.

4.4.68 भक्तादणन्यतरस्याम्

bhaktād aṇ anyatarasyām
/ bhaktāt 5/1 *aṇ* 1/1 *anyatarasyām* 7/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *ṭhak* #1, *tad asmai dīyate niyuktam* #66)
bhaktaśabdād aṇ pratyayo bhavaty anyatarasyāṃ 'tad asmai dīyate niyuktam' ity etasmin viṣaye
The *taddhita* affix *aṆ* occurs, to denote the sense of dative, after nominal stem *bhakta* 'food', provided what it denotes is 'given to him as rightfully his'.

EXAMPLES:

bhāktaḥ 'he who is offered food as rightfully his'
bhāktikaḥ 'id.'

1. Affix *aṆ* is offered here as an option to *ṭhaK*.

4.4.69 तत्र नियुक्तः

tatra niyuktaḥ
/ tatra ϕ niyuktaḥ 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *ṭhak* #1)
'tatra' iti saptamīsamarthāt 'niyuktaḥ' ity etasminn arthe ṭhak pratyayo bhavati

The *taddhita* affix *ṭhaK* occurs after a nominal stem which ends in locative (*saptamī*), when the derivate denotes 'commissioned there. . . .'

EXAMPLES:

śaulkaśālikaḥ 'he who is commissioned to be at a place where revenue is collected'
āpaṇikaḥ 'he who is commissioned to be at a marketplace for collecting revenues'

1. Why use *niyuktaḥ* when the same can be received via *anuvṛtti*? There is a difference in meaning (*arthabheda*). Besides, *niyuktam* of the earlier rule is associated with *tad asmai dīyate*, the nominative after which an affix is to be introduced in the sense of genitive, or dative. The *niyuktaḥ* of our present rule requires the affix to be introduced after a nominal stem ending in locative. The word *niyuktaḥ* means *adhikṛtaḥ* 'commissioned, authorized' or *vyāpāritaḥ* '. . . delegated to function. . . .'

4.4.70 अगारान्ताद् ठन्

agārāntāṭ ṭhan
/agārāntāt 5/1 = *agāra śabdaḥ ante yasya* (*bv.*), *tasmāt; ṭhan* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *tatra niyuktaḥ* #69)
agāraśabdāntāt prātipadikāṭ ṭhan pratyayo bhavati 'tatra niyuktaḥ'ity etasmin viṣaye
The *taddhita* affix *ṭhaN* occurs after a nominal stem which is used in combination with *agāra* as its final constituent, and which ends in locative, provided the derivate denotes 'authorized or commissioned to be there'.

EXAMPLES:

devāgārikaḥ 'he who is authorized to be at the temple'
bhāṇḍāgārikaḥ 'he who is authorized to be at the storage'

4.4.71 अध्यायिन्यदेशकालात्

adhyāyiny adeśakālāt
/adhyāyini 7/1 *adeśakālāt* 5/1 = *deśaś ca kālaś ca* (*dv.*); *na deśakālam* (*nañ. tat.*), *tasmāt/*
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *ṭhak* #1, *tatra* #69)
saptamīsamarthād adeśavācinaḥ prātipadikād akālavācinaś cādhyāyiny abhidheye ṭhak pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *ṭhaK* occurs after a nominal stem which ends in

locative and signifies either something other than a place (*adeśa*) of residence, or something other than time (*kāla*), when derivates denote someone who studies (*adhyāyin*) there.

EXAMPLES:

śmāśānikaḥ 'he who studies in a crematorium'
cātuṣpathikaḥ 'he who studies at crossroads'
cāturdaśikaḥ 'he who studies on the fourteenth day of the month (when one is not supposed to)'
āmāvāsyikaḥ 'he who studies on the fifteenth day of the month (when one is not supposed to)'

1. This affixal provision is made in the sense of 'one who studies' at a place or time which is not approved by the *śāstras*. Thus, *adeśakāla* denotes a place or time not fit for studying (*Kāś.*: *adhyayanasya yau deśakālau śāstreṇa-pratiṣiddhau tāv adeśakālaśabdenocyete tad idaṃ pratyayavidhānam*).

4.4.72 कठिनान्तप्रस्तारसंस्थानेषु व्यवहरति

kaṭhināntaprastārasaṃsthāneṣu vyavaharati
/kaṭhināntaprastārasaṃsthāneṣu 7/3 = *kaṭhinaśabdaḥ ante yasya* (*vb.*); *kaṭhināntaś ca prastāraś ca saṃsthānaṃ ca* (*itar. dv.*); *teṣu; vyavaharati* (verbal *pada*)/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *ṭhak* #1, *tatra* #69
kaṭhinaśabdāntāt saptamīsamarthāt prastārasaṃsthānaśabdābhyāṃ ca ṭhak pratyayo bhavati, 'vyavaharati' ity etasminn arthe
The *taddhita* affix *ṭhaK* occurs after a nominal stem which is used in combination with *kaṭhina* as its final constituent, or after nominal stems *prastāra* 'open space' and *saṃsthāna* 'gathering place', when these stems end in locative and derivates denote '. . . conducts himself properly' (*vyavaharati*).

EXAMPLES:

vaṃśakaṭhine vyavaharati = *vāṃśakaṭhinikaś cakracaraḥ* 'a juggler who travels by cart and conducts well even in a place where quality of bamboo is hard (as opposed to flexible ones he needs for his shows)'
prāstārikaḥ 'one who conducts himself properly in a public place'
sāṃsthānikaḥ 'id.'

1. The word *vyavahāraḥ* is explained by *Kāś.* as *kriyātatva* which Haradatta (*PM* ad *Kāś.*) explains as *yatra deśe yā kriyā yathā anuṣṭheyā tatra tasyās tathānuṣṭhānam* 'a place where something is done in the manner it is supposed to be done'. For example, a juggler who finds himself in a place where he cannot get springy bamboo poles would have to perform his acts with the

stiff ones. Conducting one's self in a manner one is expected to is also part of *kriyātatva* which *Kāś.* calls *lokavyavahāra.*

The words *prastāra* and *saṃsthāna* have been explained by Haradatta as *sanniveśa* 'place of assembly'.

4.4.73 निकटे वसति

nikaṭe vasati
/nikaṭe 7/1 *vasati* (verbal *pada*)/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *ṭhak* #1, *tatra* #69)
nikaṭaśabdāt saptamīsamarthād 'vasati' ity etasminn arthe ṭhak pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *ṭhaK* occurs after a nominal stem which ends in locative when the derivate denotes '. . . stays nearby (*nikaṭe*)'.

EXAMPLES:

nikaṭe vasati = naikaṭiko bhikṣuḥ 'a renunciate who lives nearby'

1. Note that the condition of *nikaṭe* '. . . nearby' refers not to someone staying closeby literally. It refers to 'staying nearby' in the sense of what scriptures prescribe. Thus, a renunciate (*bhikṣu*) who, in accord with scriptures (*śāstras*), has taken a vow to live in the forest should live at least two miles away from a vllage. The ascetic of our example is said to be living at a place less than two miles away from the village (*Kāś.*: '*āraṇyakena bhikṣuṇā grāmāt krośe vastavyam' iti śāstram*).

4.4.74 आवसथाद् ष्ठल्

āvasathāt ṣṭhal
/āvasathāt 5/1 *ṣṭhal* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *ṭhak* #1, *tatra* #69, *vasati* #73)
āvasathaśabdāt saptamīsamarthād 'vasati' ity etasminn arthe ṣṭhal pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *ṢṭhaL* occurs after nominal stem *āvasatha* 'hut, dwelling', when the same ends in locative and the derivate denotes 'stays there'.

EXAMPLES:

āvasathikaḥ 'he who lives in a hut'
āvasathikī 'she who lives in a hut'

1. Note that *L* in the affix is used as an *it* for accent (6.1.193 *liti*). The *Ṣ* as an *it* is used for facilitating affix *ṄīṢ* (4.4.41 *ṣidgaurādibhyaḥ*). The word *āvasatha* is a derivate of *Uṇādi* with affix *atha.*

This completes the domian of affix *ṭhaK* (*Kāś.*: *ṭhakaḥ pūrṇo'vadhiḥ, ataḥ param anyaḥ pratyayo vidhīyate*).

4.4.75 **प्राग्घिताद्यत्**

prāg ghitād yat
/prāk ϕ hitāt 5/1 *yat* 1/1
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76)
'*tasmai hitam*' *iti vakṣyati, prāg etasmād hitasaṃśabdanād yān ita ūrdhvam anukramiṣyāmo yat pratyayas teṣv adhikṛto veditavyaḥ*
The *taddhita* affix *yaT*, henceforth, occurs as specified prior to . . . *hita* (5.1.1 *tasmai hitam*).

EXAMPLES:

Look under rules which follow:

1. This marks a new domain of affixal introduction. That is, prior to 5.1.1 *tasmai hitam*, affix *yaT* is to be introduced, unless, of course, stated otherwise. This domain of *yaT* extends through the last rule (4.4.144 *bhāve ca*) of this quarter.

4.4.76 **तद्वहति रथयुगप्रासङ्गम्**

tad vahati rathayugaprāsaṅgam
/tat 2/1 *vahati* (verbal *pada*) *rathayugaprāsaṅgam* 2/1 (*sam. dv.*)/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *yat* #75)
'*tat*' *iti dvitīyāsamarthebhyo rathayugaprāsaṅgebhyaḥ* '*vahati*' *ity etasminn arthe yat pratyayo bhavati*
The *taddhita* affix *yaT* occurs after nominal stems *ratha* 'chariot', *yuga* 'yoke' and *prāsaṅga* 'trial yoke', when the stems end in accusative and their derivates denote '. . . carries . . . (*vahati*)'.

EXAMPLES:

rathyaḥ 'that which draws a chariot'
yugyaḥ 'that which bears a yoke'
prāsaṅgyaḥ 'that which carries a trial yoke'

1. Why did Pāṇini use *rathayugaprāsaṅgam* in *dvitīyā* when the same was already available from *tat* via *anuvṛtti*? It is stated that this specification of *dvitīyā* is made twice so that this affixal provision could be availed after a nominal stem which ends in accusative only where desired. That is, this affixal provision should be ruled out where not desired (*aniṣṭa*). Thus, we do not get *gaur yugyaḥ* 'a cow which bears a yoke'.

The word *prāsaṅga* is explained as 'a piece of wood which young bulls

carry on their shoulders while under training for pulling a plough (*PM* ad *Kāś.*: *prāsaṅgaśabdo vatsānāṃ damanakāle skandhe yat kāṣṭham āsajyate tadvācī gṛhyate*)'.

It is stated that *tadantavidhi*, especially in connection with *ratha*, *sītā* 'furrow' and *hala* 'plough', may also obtain (see *Kāś.*: *rathasītāhalebhyo yadvidhau . . .*). Thus, we get *paramarathyaḥ* 'that which draws a chariot beautifully' and *dvirathyaḥ* 'that which draws two chariots'.

4.4.77 धुरो यड्ढकौ

dhuro yaḍḍhakau
/dhuraḥ 5/1 *yaḍḍhakau* 1/2 (*itar. dv.*)/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *tad vahati* #76)
'*dhur*' *ity etasmād dvitīyāsamarthād* '*vahati*' *ity etasminn arthe* '*yat, ḍhak*' *ity etau pratyayu bhavataḥ*
The *taddhita* affixes *yaT* and *ḌhaK* occurs after nominal stem *dhur* 'shoulder harness, axle', when the same ends in accusative and the derivate denotes '. . . carries. . . .'

EXAMPLES:

dhuraṃ vahatīti = *dhuryaḥ* 'a draft animal which carries a shoulder harness, or axle'
dhaureyaḥ 'id.'

1. Not that the *sūtra* could have been formulated as *dhuro ḍhak ca*, where *ca* could have accounted for the *anuvṛtti* of *yaT* from 4.4.75 *prāg hitāt yat*. Additionally, *Bālamanoramā* ad *SK* informs that *dhuro yañḍhakau* is also available as a different reading of this *sūtra*. The *Tattvabodhinī* ad *SK* accepts *dhuro ḍhak ca* as a better reading (*'dhuro ḍhak ca' ity eva suvacam*).

4.4.78 खः सर्वधुरात्

khaḥ sarvadhurāt
/khaḥ 1/1 *sarvadhurāt* 5/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *tad vahati* #76)
sarvadhuraśabdād dvitīyāsamarthād '*vahati*' *ity etasminn arthe khaḥ pratyayo bhavati*
The *taddhita* affix *kha* occurs after nominal stem *sarvadhur* 'total load, any kind of shoulder harness, axle' when the same ends in accusative and the derivate denotes '. . . carries. . . .'

EXAMPLES:

sarvadhurāṃ vahati = *sarvadhurīṇaḥ* 'a draft animal which can carry an entire load'

1. Note that *sarvadhurāt* is specified with *caturthī* 'ablative' where *sarvadhura* is neuter. Commentators state that a neuter specification is made so that this nominal stem can be interpreted as referring to its counterparts in all genders (cf. *sāmānye napuṃsakam*). The word *sarvadura* is a *tatpuruṣa* compound analyzed as *sarvā dhūḥ* where the feminine derivate (with *ṬāP*) will be *sarvadhurā*. A specification in feminine would have been more logical, mostly because *dhūḥ* is feminine and gender of a *dvandva* and *tatpuruṣa* compound is determined in consonance with the final constituent (*paraval liṅgaṃ dvandvatatpuruṣayoḥ*). A feminine specification is also better in view of meaning (*arthāpekṣayā*).

4.4.79 एकधुराल् लुक् च

ekadhurāl luk ca
/ekadhurāt 5/1 *luk* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *tad vahati* #76, *kha* #78)
ekadhurāśabdād dvitīyāsamarthād 'vahati' ity etasminn arthe khaḥ pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *kha*, with an additional provision of its deletion by *LUK*, occurs after *ekadhurā* when the same ends in accusative and the derivate denotes '. . . carries. . . .'

EXAMPLES:

ekadhurīṇaḥ 'a draft animal fit for carrying only a single load; or . . . fit only for carrying a load on one of its sides'
ekadhuraḥ 'id.'

1. The function of *ca* is to bring *kha* from the preceding rule. That is, *ekadhurā* also receives *kha*, via *anuvṛtti*, at the strength of *ca*. What about deletion by *LUK*? Since there is no other affix in the context of this rule, one understands that *kha* goes through deletion by *LUK*. But bringing the affix via *anuvṛtti* through *ca*, and then deleting it, makes no sense. It is for this reason that deletion by *LUK* is treated as optional. We thus get two forms *ekadhurīṇaḥ*, with no *LUK*, and *ekadhuraḥ*, with *LUK*. The *kha* of our first example is replaced with *īna* where *n* also gets replaced with *ṇ*.

4.4.80 शकटादण्

śakaṭād aṇ
/śakaṭāt 5/1 *aṇ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *tad vahati* #76)
śakaṭaśabdād dvitīyāsamarthād 'vahati' ity etasminn arthe'ṇ pratyayo bhavati

The *taddhita* affix *aṆ* occurs after nominal stem *śakaṭa* 'cart' when it ends in accusative and the derivate denotes '. . . carries. . . .'

EXAMPLES:

śakaṭaṃ vahati = *śākaṭo* (*gauḥ*) '(an ox) who draws a cart'

1. It is stated (*PM* ad *Kāś.*) that to specify *aṆ* after *śakaṭa* is meaningless. For, the sense of 'one who carries' (*vahati*) can also be gotten from 'that is his. . . .' That is, the 'ox' whose 'cart' we are talking about could also be the 'one who carries it'. Thus, *aṆ* of 4.3.120 *tasyedam* should have been enough. But since Pāṇini provides for *aṆ* again, it must have some special purpose. The purpose is to allow *tadantavidhi*, allowing the affix also after that which ends in *śakaṭa*. That way, we can also get *dvaiśakaṭaḥ* 'that which carries two carts'.

4.4.81 हलसीराद् ठक्

halasīrāṭ ṭhak
/halasīrāt 5/1 (*sam. dv.*); *ṭhak* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *tad vahati* #76)
halasīraśabdābhyāṃ dvitīyāsamarthābhyāṃ 'vahati' ity etasminn arthe ṭhak pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *ṭhaK* occurs after nominal stems *hala* and *sīra* 'plough', when they end in accusative and derivates denote '. . . carries. . . .'

EXAMPLES:

halaṃ vahati = *hālikaḥ* 'he who carries a plough'
sairikaḥ 'id.'

1. Note that 4.3.124 *halasīrāṭ ṭhak* could also provide for *ṭhaK*, based upon what has been stated with regard to the preceding rule. We find that this rule is also formulated to allow *tadantavidhi*. We will thus get examples such as *dvaihālikaḥ* and *dvaisīrikaḥ* denoting 'that which can carry two ploughs'.

4.4.82 संज्ञायां जन्याः

saṃjñāyāṃ janyāḥ
/saṃjñāyām 7/1 *janyāḥ* 5/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *yat* #75, *tad vahati* #76)
janīśabdād dvitīyāsamarthād 'vahati' ity etasminn arthe yat pratyayo bhavati samudāyena cet saṃjñā gamyate
The *taddhita* affix *yaT* occurs after *janī* 'a young woman' when it ends in accusative and the derivate names 'someone who carries. . . .'

EXAMPLES:

janīṃ vahati = *janyā* 'bridesmaid; she who introduces a bride to her groom'

4.4.83 विध्यत्यधनुषा

vidhyaty adhanuṣā
/vidhyati (verbal *pada*); *adhanuṣā* 3/1 (*nañ. tat.*), *tena/*
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *yat* #75, *tat* #76)
'tat' iti dvitīyāsamarthād 'vidhyati' ity etasminn arthe yat pratyayo bhavati na ced dhanuṣ karaṇaṃ bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *yaT* occurs after a nominal stem which ends in accusative when the derivate denotes '. . . pierces (*vidhyati*)', so long as what pierces (*karaṇa*) is not a blow (*dhanuṣ*).

EXAMPLES:

pādau vidhyanti = *padyāḥ śarkarāḥ* 'that which pierces feet; gravel'
ūravyāḥ kaṇṭakāḥ 'those which pierce thighs; thorns'

1. Note that *adhanuṣā*, a form ending in *tṛtīyā* 'instrumental', is used here in the sense of locative. That is, *adhanuṣā* is interpreted as *dhanuṣaḥ abhāvaḥ* = *adhanuḥ, tasmin sati* 'that in which there is lack of a bow (as an instrument)'. The negation of *adhanuṣā* thus qualifies the action of *vyadhana* 'piercing'. Prominence of *vyadhana* with concurrent negation of 'bow', via *adhanuṣā*, makes 'bow' an instrument. The negation in *adhanuṣā* is used, more as a verbal qualifier than negation of a *karaṇa*.

Incidentally, *pāda* is replaced with *pad* by 6.3.53 *padyaty atadarthe*.

4.4.84 धनगणं लब्धा

dhanagaṇaṃ labdhā
/dhanagaṇam 2/1 (*sam. dv.*); *labdhā* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *yat* #75, *tat* #76)
dhanagaṇaśabdābhyāṃ dvitīyāsamarthābhyām 'labdhā' ity etasminn arthe yat pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *yaT* occurs after nominal stems *dhana* 'wealth' and *gaṇa* 'group', when they end in accusative and their derivates denote 'he who acquires . . . (*labdhā*)'.

EXAMPLES:

dhanyaḥ 'he who acquires wealth'
gaṇyaḥ 'he who acquires a group'

1. Note that *labdhā* is treated as a derivate of *tṛN* introduced after verbal root *labh*. That is, it is not a derivate of *tṛC*. For, a derivate of *tṛC* does not occur in construction with a nominal denoting an object in accusative. Rule 2.3.65 *kartṛkarmaṇoḥ kṛti* disallows an agent or object in construction with a *kṛt* to be denoted by accusative. It requires such agents or objects to be used in genitive. A *tṛC* interpretation of *labdhā* will block accusative, and hence, affix *yaT*. But if *labdhā* is interpreted as a derivate of *tṛN*, everything will be in order. For, 2.3.69 *na lokāvyayaniṣṭhā* . . . will block genitive from denoting an agent or object. An accusative will then be a rightful choice.

4.4.85 **अन्नाण् णः**

annāṇ ṇaḥ
/annāt 5/1 *ṇaḥ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *yat* #75, *tat* #76, *labdhā* #84)
annaśabdāt 'taṭ' iti dvitīyāsamarthāt 'labdhā' ity etasminn artheṇaḥ pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *aN* occurs after nominal stem *anna* 'food, grain', when it ends in accusative and the derivate denotes '. . . one who acquires'.

EXAMPLES:

annaṃ labdhā = *ānnaḥ* 'one who receive food'

1. Note that *labdhā* is a derivate of *tṛN* (3.2.135 *tṛn*), where compound-formation between *annam* and *labdhā* is blocked by 2.3.69 *na lokāvyayaniṣṭhā*. . . . The *dvitīyā* of *annam* denotes *karman*.

4.4.86 **वशं गतः**

vaśaṃ gataḥ
/vaśam 2/1 *gataḥ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *yat* #75, *tat* #76)
vaśaśabdāt 'taṭ' iti dvitīyāsamarthād 'gataḥ' ity etasminn arthe yat pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *yaT* occurs after nominal stem *vaśa* 'control, desire', when it ends in accusative and the derivate denotes '. . . reached . . . (*gataḥ*)'.

EXAMPLES:

vaśaṃ gataḥ = *vaśyaḥ* 'one who has reached someone's control, or has gone under the control of someone's desire (*kāmaprāptaḥ*)'

4.4.87 पदस्मिन् दृश्यम्

padasmin dṛśyam
/padasmin 7/1 *dṛśyam* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *yat* #75)
padaśabdāt prathamāsamarthād dṛśyārthopādhikād asminn iti saptamyarthe yat pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *yaT* occurs after nominal stem *pada*, used with *prathamā* 'nominative' in syntactic coordination with *dṛśyam* '. . . is possible to be seen', provided the derivate denotes 'its locus (*asmin*)'.

EXAMPLES:

padaṃ dṛśyam asmin = padyaḥ kardamaḥ 'mud in which foot-prints could be seen'
padyāḥ pāṃsavaḥ 'dust on which footprints are visible'

1. Note that this affixal provision is made after *pada* in nominative, based on Pāṇini's own specification. The *padam* is used in the nominative is determined by the fact that there are only two possibilities: nominative and accusative, where accusative is out because *KyaP* of *dṛśyam* has already expressed its denotatum.

The word *asmin*, of course, specifies meaning, with *dṛśyam* forming syntactic coordination (*sāmānādhikaraṇya*) with *padam*. Commentators advise that the object denoted by *dṛśyam*, in the context of our present rule, should be interpreted as possible to be seen (*śakyārtha*). Thus, *padyaḥ* denotes *kardamaḥ* 'mud' in which it is possible to see footprints (*Kāś.*: *śakyate yasmin padaṃ draṣṭuṃ pratimudrotpādanena sa padyaḥ kardamaḥ*). Actually, our derivate denotes the state of mud: not very fluid, not very dry (*nātidravo nātiśuṣka iti*).

4.4.88 मूलमस्याबर्हि

mūlam asyābarhi
/mūlam 1/1/ *asya* 6/1 *ābarhi* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *yat* #75)
mūlaśabdāt prathamāsamarthād 'ābarhi' ity evam upādhikād asyeti ṣaṣṭhyarthe yat pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *yaT* occurs after nominal stem *mūla* 'root' when it ends in nominative and is in syntactic coordination with 'that which is fit to be rooted out', provided the derivate denotes the sense of genitive (*asya*).

EXAMPLES:

mūlam eṣām ābarhi = mūlyā māṣāḥ 'Mung beans ready for harvesting'

1. Here again *mūlam* is interpreted as ending in *prathamā* 'nominative'. For, an accusative interpretation is simply not possible. The word *ābarhi* is explained as 'those (plants of Mung beans) whose harvest, via uprooting (*ābarhaṇa*), it is (*ābarho'syāsīti*).

4.4.89 संज्ञायां धेनुष्या

saṃjñāyāṃ dhenuṣyā
/saṃjñāyām 7/1 *dhenuṣyā* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *yat* #75)
'*dhenuṣyā iti nipātyate saṃjñāyāṃ viṣaye*
The *taddhita* affix *yaT* occurs after *dhenu* 'milk-cow', to derive *dhenuṣyā* by *nipātana*, when *saṃjñā* 'name' is denoted.

EXAMPLES:

dhenuṣyā 'a milk-giving cow, offered to a creditor as a collateral'

1. Note that *dhenuṣyā* is derived via *nipātana* as a feminine form ending in affix *ṬāP*. Thus, we get *dhenu* + *yaT* + *ṬāP* with augment *ṣUK*, i.e., *dhenuṣya* + *ṬāP* = *dhenuṣyā*. Both *yaT* and *ṣUK* are introduced via *nipātana*.

2. *Kāś.* explains *dhenuṣyā* as a milk-giving cow offered as collateral to a creditor (*yā dhenur uttamarṇāya ṛṇapradānād dohanārthaṃ dīyate sā dhenuṣyā*). More generally, such a cow is known as *pītadugdhā* 'that whose milk has been drunk'.

4.4.90 गृहपतिना संयुक्ते ञ्यः

gṛhapatinā saṃyukte ñyaḥ
/gṛhapatinā 3/1 *saṃyukte* 7/1 *ñyaḥ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *saṃjñāyām* #89)
gṛhapatiśabdāt tṛtīyāsamarthāt 'saṃyukte' ity etasminn arthe ñyaḥ pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *Ñya* occurs after nominal stem *gṛhapati* 'householder', ending in instrumental, when the derivate denotes a name 'associated with, or relative to, him (*saṃyukta*)'.

EXAMPLES:

gṛhapatinā saṃyuktaḥ = *gārhapatyo'gniḥ* '*gārhapatya*, ritual fire associated with a householder'

1. Note that there are many other things which could be associated with a householder. It is because of the *anuvṛtti* of *saṃjñā* that we limit the scope of signification to *gārhapatya*. But there are still other ritual fires, for example,

dakṣiṇāgni and *āvahanīya*, which could also be associated with a householder. How could the derivate denote just one fire? Perhaps because of *gārhapatya*, the name.

4.4.91 नौवयोधर्मविषमूलमूलसीतातुलाभ्यस्तार्यतुल्यप्राप्यवध्यानाम्यसमसमितसंमितेषु

nauvayodharmaviṣamūlamūlasītātulābhyas tāryatulyaprāpyavadhyānāmyasamasamitasammiteṣu / nauvayodharmaviṣamūlamūlasītātulābhyaḥ 5/3 (*itar. dv.*); *tāryatulyarāpya-vadhyānāmyasamasamitasammiteṣu* 7/3 (*itar. dv.*) / (*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *yat* #75)

'*nau, vayas, dharma, viṣa, mūla, mūla, sītā, tulā' ity etebhyas tṛtīyā-samarthe-bhyo' ṣṭabhyaḥ prātipadikebhyo tārya, tulya, prāpya, vadhya, ānāmya, sama, samita, sammita ity eteṣv artheṣu yathāsaṃkhyaṃ yat pratyayo bhavati*

The *taddhita* affix *yaT* occurs after nominal stems *nau* 'boat', *vayas* 'age', *dharma* 'duty, righteousness', *viṣa* 'poison', *mūla* 'amount of investment', *mūla* 'root', *sītā* 'furrow' and *tulā* 'balance', when they end in instrumental and when their derivates denote *tārya* 'to be crossed', *tulya* 'to be weighed', *prāpya* 'to be received', *vadhya* 'to be killed', *ānāmya* 'return on an investment', *sama* 'equal to', *samita* 'leveled, planed' and *sammita* 'equal to', respectively.

EXAMPLES:

nāvā tāryam (*tāryā*) = *nāvyam* (*nāvyā*) *udakam* (*nadī*) 'water (river) which can be crossed by boat'
vayasyaḥ sakhā 'a friend (of same age)'
dharmeṇa prāpyaṃ = dharmyam 'that which is obtained rightfully'
viṣeṇa vadhyaḥ = viṣyaḥ 'one who deserves to be killed by poisoning'
mūlenānāmyam = mūlyam 'amount of investment plus profit; that which has been overpowered by the amount of investment'
mūlena samaḥ = mūlyaḥ paṭaḥ 'a piece of cloth worth its price'
sītayā samitaṃ = sītyaṃ kṣetram 'a field planed out after ploughing'
tulayā sammitaṃ = tulyam 'that which is equal in weight to the scale'

1. Note that determination of endings after specified stems is made on the basis of meanings enumerated for derivates. For example, *tārya* 'to be crossed', etc., are affixal meanings (*pratyayārthāḥ*) relative to which, for example after *nau* 'boat', etc., only a *tṛtīyā* 'instrumental' with the denotatum of *kartṛ, karaṇa, hetu,* or *tulyayoga* is possible. Thus, determination of instrumental as the ending after cited nominal stems is made by means (*dvāra*) of meaning (*artha*).

Note that *vayasya* 'one who may be of same age' could only be a friend, mainly because of denotational restrictions. That is, an enemy of same age

cannot be called *vayasya* (*vayasā tulye śatrau na bhavati*). Commentators also state that *viṣeṇa vadhyaḥ* should be interpreted as *viṣeṇa vadham arhati* 'one who deserves to be killed by poisoning'. The word *mūla* in *mūlyenānāmyam* is explained as *vaṇigbhirviniyuktaṃ yad vastu tan mūlaśabdavācyam* 'that which a trader invests is the denotatum of *mūla*'. The word *ānāmyam* is explained as *abhibhavanīyam* 'that which is to be overpowered by the amount of investment' (*mūlena mūlyasya śeṣikaraṇam abhibhavaḥ*). That is, the amount of investment' (*mūlena mūlyasya śeṣīkaraṇam abhibhavaḥ*). That is, the amount of investment plus whatever profit one gets. The idea of *abhibhava* 'overpowering' comes into picture because 'investment' is considered as 'principal' (*pradhāna*) and profit as 'secondary' (*gauṇa*). The word *ānāmya* is a derivate of *ṆyaT* (3.1.125 *ṛhalor ṇyat*). Affix *ṆyaT* causes *vṛddhi* in *nam* used with the preverb *ā*. Affix *ṆyaT* is used against *yaT* of 3.1.98 *por adupadhāt*.

The next *mūla* means 'equal' (in value to *mūlya*). The example *sītyam kṣetram* is explained as 'a field leveled after ploughing'.

4.4.92 धर्मपथ्यर्थन्यायादनपेते

dharmapathyarthanyāyād anapete
/dharmapathyarthanyāyāt 5/1 (*sam. dv.*); *anapete* 7/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *yat* #75)
dharmādibhyaḥ pañcamīsamarthebhyaḥ 'anapetaḥ' ity etasminn arthe yat pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *yaT* occurs after nominal stems *dharma* 'duty, righteousness', *pathin* 'path', *artha* 'purpose, interest' and *nyāya* 'law, logic', when they end in ablative and derivates denote the sense of 'not deviating from . . . (*anapeta*)'.

EXAMPLES:

dharmād anapetam = *dharmyam* 'that which is not deviating from duty'
pathyam 'that (food) which is not deviating from the prescription (path)'
arthyam 'that (food) which is not deviating from the goal'
nyāyyam 'that which is not deviating from the law'

1. The idea that ablative (*pañcamī*) is to be introduced after specified stems is again gotten from Pāṇini's own usage of *dharmapathyarthanyāya* in *pañcamī*. The meaning of these derivates must also be determined in consonance with available usage. For example, *pathya* means 'food' which must not deviate from prescribed norms (*PM* ad *Kāś.*: *śāstrīyāt patho yad anapetaṃ tat pathyam*). It thus could not be used in the sense of a 'thief' who follows a road to rob.

4.4.93 छन्दसो निर्मिते

chandaso nirmite

/ chandasaḥ 5/1 *nirmite* 7/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *yat* #75)
chandaḥ śabdāt tṛtīyāsamarthāt 'nirmite' ity etasminn arthe yat pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *yaT* occurs after nominal stem *chandas* 'desire', when it ends in instrumental (*tṛtīyā*) and its derivate denotes the sense of 'created by the same'.

EXAMPLES:

chandasyaḥ '. . . created by one's own desire'

1. The word *chandas* is here specified as a synonym of 'desire' (*Kāś.*: *icchāparyāyaś chandaḥ śabda iha gṛhyate*). The derivate, i.e., *chandasā nirmitaḥ*, will therefore mean: *icchayā utpāditaḥ* 'brought about by one's own desire'.

4.4.94 उरसोऽण्च

uraso aṇ ca
/ urasaḥ 5/1 *aṇ* 1/1 *ca* ϕ/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *yat* #75, *nirmite* #93)
uraḥ śabdāt tṛtīyāsamarthāt 'nirmite' ity etasminn arthe' ṇ pratyayo bhavati cakārād ya ca
The *taddhita* affix *aN*, and *yaT* as well, occurs after nominal stem *uras* 'bosom, chest' when it ends in instrumental and the derivate denotes 'brought about by the same'.

EXAMPLES:

urasā nirmitaḥ = aurasaḥ putraḥ 'a son; he who is brought about by one's own heart'
urasyaḥ 'id.'

1. Here again, the denotatum of the derivate is to be limited to '. . . produced by one's own self (cf. *Kāś.*: *ātmanotpāditaḥ*)' as attested by usage. Thus, *aurasaḥ* or *urasyaḥ* could not be used in the sense of *urasā nirmitaṃ sukham* 'happiness brought about by one's own self'.

4.4.95 हृदयस्य प्रियः

hṛdayasya priyaḥ
/ hṛdayasya 6/1 *priyaḥ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *yat* #75)
hṛdayaśabdāt ṣaṣṭhīsamarthāt 'priyaḥ' ity etasminn arthe yat pratyayo bhavati
The *tadhita* affix *yaT* occurs after nominal stem *hṛdaya* when the same ends in genitive and the derivate denotes 'something dear (*priyaḥ*)'.

EXAMPLES:

hṛdayasya priyaḥ = hṛdyo deśaḥ 'that (a place or country) which is dear to one's heart'
hṛdyaṃ vanam 'a forest which is dear to one's heart'

1. Here again, the derivational denotatum is limited in accord with usage. Thus, we cannot get a derivate parallel to *hṛdayasya priyaḥ putraḥ* 'a son who is dear to one's heart'.

Incidentally, *hṛd* is introduced as a replacement for *hṛdaya* by 6.3.50 *hṛdayasya hṛl lekhaḥ.*

4.4.96 बन्धने चर्षौ

bandhane carṣau
/bandhane 7/1 *ca* ϕ *ṛṣau* 7/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *yat* #75, *hṛdayasya* #95)
hṛdayaśabdāt ṣaṣṭhīsamarthād bandhane ṛṣāv abhidheye yat pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *yaT* occurs after nominal stem *hṛdaya,* when it ends in genitive and the derivate denotes the sense of *ṛṣi* 'Veda', in relation to *bandhana* 'bind.

EXAMPLES:

hṛdayasya bandhanam ṛṣiḥ = hṛdyaḥ 'a Vedic hymn which, upon recitation, makes one's heart attached to performing good deeds'

1. The word *ṛṣi* is explained as *Veda.* Similarly, *bandhana* is explained as *badhyate yena satkarmasu tad* 'that by means of which one is tied to good deeds.

4.4.97 मतजनहलात् करणजल्पकर्षेषु

matajanahalāt karaṇajalpakarṣeṣu
/matajanahalāt 5/1 (*sam. dv.*); *karaṇajalpakarṣeṣu* 7/3 (*itar. dv.*)/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *yat* #75)
'mata, jana, hala' ity etebhyaḥ śabdebhyaḥ karaṇādiṣv artheṣu yathāsaṃkhyaṃ yat pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *yaT* occurs after nominal stems *mata* 'knowledge', *jana* 'individual, person' and *hala* 'plough', when they end in genitive and their derivates denote *karaṇa* 'means', *jalpa* 'chattering' and *karṣa* 'ploughing, dragging', respectively.

EXAMPLES:

matasya karaṇam = matyam 'means of knowledge'

janasya jalpaḥ = janyaḥ 'what people say'
halasya karṣaḥ = halyaḥ 'dragging of ploughs; ploughing'

1. Note that *karaṇa*, etc., outlines the affixal signification. Nominal stems in construction with those signifying the affix must be used in genitive of 2.3.65 *kartṛkarmaṇoḥ kṛti*. The word *karṣa* is also found used in the sense of *parimāṇa* 'measure', though here on account of the context, it is interpreted as denoting action.

4.4.98 **तत्र साधुः**

tatra sādhuḥ
/ tatra ϕ sādhuḥ 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *yat* #75)
'tatra' iti saptamīsamarthāt 'sādhuḥ' ity etasminn arthe yat pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *yaT* occurs after a nominal stem which ends in locative when the derivate denotes 'skilled at that'.

EXAMPLES:

sāmasu sādhuḥ = sāmanyaḥ '. . . skilled in the *Sāmaveda*'
karmaṇyaḥ '. . . skilled at work'
śaraṇyaḥ 'skilled at protecting'

1. The word *sādhu*, as desired here, is explained as 'skilled' (*pravīṇa*) or 'capable, fit' (*yogya*), and not as *upakāraka* 'beneficial'. For, in that case, rule 5.1.3 *tasmai hitam*, because of being subsequent (*para*) in order, would demand affix *yaT* after a nominal stem ending in dative (*catrurthī*).

4.4.99 **प्रतिजनादिभ्यः खञ्**

pratijanādibhyaḥ khañ
/ pratijanādibhyaḥ 5/3 = *pratijana ādir yeṣāṃ* (*bv.*), *tebhyaḥ; khañ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *yat* #75, *tatra sādhuḥ* #98)
pratijanādibhyaḥ śabdebhyaḥ khañ pratyayo bhavati 'tatra' sādhuḥ' ity etasminn arthe
The *taddhita* affix *khaÑ* occurs after a nominal stem listed in the group headed by *pratijana* 'each and every person', when the same ends in locative and the derivate denotes 'skilled at that'.

EXAMPLES:

pratijane sādhuḥ = prātijanīnaḥ 'he who is nice to everyone'
sāṃyugīnaḥ 'he who is skilled at wars'

1. This affixal provision of *khaÑ* is made as an exception to *yaT*. Note that

khaÑ could not be introduced after a nominal stem which ends in dative, even when *sādhu* means 'beneficial' in the context of stems listed under the group called *pratijanādi.* Our affix will have to be introduced after a stem ending in locative at the strength of the provision made right here (*Kāś.*: *yatra hitārtha eva sādhvarthaḥ, tatra vacanāt prākkrītīyā bādhyante*).

4.4.100 **भक्ताण् णः**

bhaktāṇ ṇaḥ
/bhaktāt 5/1 *ṇaḥ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *yat* #75, *tatra sādhuḥ* #98)
bhaktaśabdād ṇaḥ pratyayo bhavati 'tatra sādhuḥ' ity etasmin viṣaye
The *taddhita* affix *Ṇa* occurs after nominal stem *bhakta* 'rice', when the same ends in locative and the derivate denotes 'fit for. . . .'

EXAMPLES:

bhakte sādhuḥ = bhāktaḥ śāliḥ 'a rice which is easy to cook'
bhāktās taṇḍulāḥ 'rice grains which are easy to cook'

4.4.101 **परिषदो ण्यः**

pariṣado ṇyaḥ
/pariṣadaḥ 5/1 *ṇyaḥ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *yat* #75, *tatra sādhuḥ* #98)
pariṣad-śabdād ṇyaḥ pratyayo bhavati 'tatra sādhuḥ' ity etasmin viṣaye
The *taddhita* affix *yaT* occurs after nominal stem *pariṣad* 'assembly' when it ends in locative and the derivate denotes 'good at that'.

EXAMPLES:

pariṣadi sādhuḥ = pāriṣadyaḥ 'he who is good in an assembly'

1. This again is an exception to *yaT.*
2. A proposal is also made for split-interpretation of this rule. Thus, we will get two rules: (*i*) *pariṣadaḥ* which, when read with the *anuvṛtti* of *Ṇa* from the preceding rule, will account for *pāriṣadaḥ*; and (*ii*) *ṇyaḥ* which, when read with *pariṣad,* will account for *pāriṣadyaḥ.*

4.4.102 **कथादिभ्यष्ठक्**

kathādibhyaṣ ṭhak
/kathādibhyaḥ 5/1 *ṭhak* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *yat* #75, *tatra sādhuḥ* #98)

kathādibhyaḥ śabdebhyaṣ ṭhak pratyayo bhavati 'tatra sādhuḥ' ity etasmin viṣaye
The *taddhita* affix *ṬhaK* occurs after a nominal stem listed in the group headed by *kathā* 'narrative, story', when the same ends in locative and the derivate denotes 'good at that'.

EXAMPLES:

kathāyāṃ sādhuḥ = kāthikaḥ 'he who is good at telling stories'
vaitaṇḍikaḥ 'he who is good at controversies'

4.4.103 गुडादिभ्यष्ठञ्

guḍādibhyaṣ ṭhañ
/guḍādibhyaḥ 5/3 *ṭhañ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *yat* #75, *tatra sādhuḥ* #98)
guḍādibhyaḥ śabdebhyaṣ ṭhañ pratyayo bhavati 'tatra sādhuḥ' ity etasmin viṣaye
The *taddhita* affix *ṬhaÑ* occurs after a nominal stem listed in the group headed by *guḍa* 'molasses, jaggery' when the same ends in locative and the derivate denotes 'good at that'.

EXAMPLES:

guḍe sādhuḥ = gauḍikaḥ ikṣuḥ '. . . sugarcane good for jaggery'
sāktuko yavaḥ 'barley good for saktu'

4.4.104 पथ्यतिथिवसतिस्वपतेर्ढञ्

pathyatithivasatisvapater ḍhañ
/pathyatithivasatisvapateḥ 5/1 = *panthāś ca atithiś ca vasatiś ca svapatiś ca* (*sam. dv.*), *tasmāt; ḍhañ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *tatra sādhuḥ* #98)
pathyādibhyaḥ śabdebhyo ḍhañ pratyayo bhavati 'tatra sādhuḥ' ity etasmin viṣaye
The *taddhita* affix *ḍhaÑ* occurs after nominal stem *pathin* 'path', *atithi* 'guest', *vasati* 'dwelling' and *svapati* 'one's master', when they end in instrumental and derivates denote 'good at that'.

EXAMPLES:

pathi sādhuḥ = pātheyam 'that (food) which is good on roads'
atithiṣu sādhuḥ = ātitheyaḥ 'he who is good at treating guests'
vasatyāṃ sādhuḥ = vāsateyi rātriḥ 'that (a night) which is good for staying at a certain place'
svapatau sādhuḥ = svāpateyaṃ dhanam 'wealth good for the master'

1. Note that *pathin* + *ḍhaÑ* yields *path*(*in*→ϕ) + (*ḍh*→*ey*) *a* = *p*(*a*→*ā*) *th* + *eya* = *pātheya*, through *ṭi*-deletion (6.1.144 *nas taddhite . . .*), *ey*-replacement for *ḍh* and *vṛddhi* (7.2.117 *co'ñṇiti*).

4.4.105 **सभायाः यः**

sabhāyā yaḥ
/*sabhāyāḥ* 5/1 *yaḥ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *tatra sādhuḥ* #98)
sabhāśabdād yaḥ pratyayo bhavati '*tatra sādhuḥ*' *ity etasmin viṣaye*
The *taddhita* affix *ya* occurs after *sabhā* 'assembly' when the same ends in locative and the derivate denotes 'good at that'.

EXAMPLES:

sabhāyāṃ sādhuḥ = *sabhyaḥ* 'he who is good at public gatherings'

1. Note that derivates of *yaT* and *ya* differ in accent. A derivate of *yaT* will be marked *udātta* at the beginning, as is required by 6.1.213 *yato'nāvaḥ*. A derivate of *ya* will be marked *udātta* at the end on account of affixal accent (3.1.3 *ādyudāttaś ca*).

4.4.106 **ढश्छन्दसि**

ḍhaś chandasi
/*ḍhaḥ* 1/1 *chandasi* 7/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *tatra sādhuḥ* #98, *sabhāyāḥ* #105)
sabhāśabdāḍ ḍhaḥ pratyayo bhavati '*tatra sādhuḥ*' *ity etasmin viṣaye*
The *taddhita* affix *ḍha* occurs in Vedic, after *sabhā*, when the same ends in locative and the derivate denotes 'a good at that'.

EXAMPLES:

sabhāyāṃ sādhuḥ = *sabheyaḥ* 'he who is good at public gatherings'

1. Note that *ḍha* is offered here as an exception to *ya*.

4.4.107 **समानतीर्थे वासी**

samānatīrthe vāsī
/*samānatīrthe* 7/1 *vāsī* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *yat* #75, *tatra* #98)
samānatīrthaśabdāt tatreti saptamīsamarthād '*vāsī*' *ity etasminn arthe yat pratyayo bhavati*
The *taddhita* affix *yaT* occurs after nominal stem *samānatīrtha* '. . . same

preceptor', when the same ends in locative and the derivate denotes '. . . resides there (*vāsī*)'.

EXAMPLES:

samāne tīrthe vāsī = *satīrthyaḥ* 'one who resides at the same teacher's place; one who has the same teacher'

1. The word *samānatīrtha* is explained as *samānopādhyāyaḥ* 'same preceptor, teacher' where *tīrtha* is *guru* 'teacher' (*tīrthaśabdeneha gurur ucyate*). A replacement in *sa* for *samāna* is accomplished by applying 6.3.87 *tīrthe ye.*

4.4.108 **समानोदरे शयित ओ चोदात्तः**

samānodare śayita o codāttaḥ
/samānodare 7/1 (*samānaṃ ca tad udaraṃ ca* (*karmadhāraya*); *śayitaḥ* 1/1 *o* (deleted 1/1) *ca* ϕ *udāttaḥ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *yat* #75, *tatra* #98)
samānodaraśabdāt saptamīsamarthāt 'śayitaḥ' ity etasminn arthe yat pratyayo bhavati okāraś codāttaḥ
The *taddhita* affix *yaT* occurs after nominal stem *samānodara* 'same womb' when the same ends in locative and the derivate denotes '. . . reclined there', with an additional provision that *o* be also marked *udātta.*

EXAMPLES

samānodare śayito bhrātā = *sa̲mā̲nodáryaḥ* 'a brother, who reclined in the same womb'

1. Note that affix *yaT* would be required by 6.1.179 *tit svaritam* to be marked *udātta.* Rule 6.1.152 *anudāttaṃ padam ekavarjam* subsequently assigns blanket *anudātta* except for *ya.* Our present rule blocks this provision of blanket *anudātta* in favor of *o* to be marked *udātta.* The formation of a compound parallel to *samāne udare śayitaḥ* is accomplished in consonance with 2.1.58 *pūrvāpara. . . .*

4.4.109 **सोदराद्यः**

sodarād yaḥ
/sodarāt 5/1 *yaḥ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *tatra* #98, *śayitaḥ* #108)
sodaraśabdāt saptamīsamarthāt 'śayitaḥ' ity etasminn arthe yaḥ pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *ya* occurs after nominal stem *sodara* 'same womb' when the same ends in locative and the derivate denotes 'reclined there'.

EXAMPLES:

samānodare śayito bhrātā = sodaryaḥ 'a brother, who reclined in the same womb'

1. Note that derivates of *yaT* and *ya* differ only in accent. A derivate of *ya* will be marked *udātta* at the end on account of affixal accent (3.1.3 *ādyudāttaś ca*).

2. The word *sodara* is a *bahuvrīhi* compound, where *samāna* has been optionally replaced with *sa* (6.3.88 *vibhāṣodare*). The final *a* of *sodara* goes through *a-lopa*. It is stated that *sodara* could still have availed the affixal provision of *yaT*, especially in view of (*Paribh.* 38): *ekadeśavikṛtam ananyavat* 'that which is different in one place is treated as if not different'. This will enable *sodara* to be treated as *samānodara* for affixal provision of *yaT*. A separate provision of *ya* is made to account for accentual difference. Incidentally, '*o codāttaḥ*' is not carried to this rule.

4.4.110 भवे छन्दसि

bhave chandasi
/ bhave 7/1 *chandasi* 7/1
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *yat* #75, *tatra* #98)
saptamīsamarthād 'bhave' ity etasminn arthe chandasi viṣaye yat pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *yaT* occurs in Vedic after a nominal stem which ends in locative, when the derivate denotes the sense of 'being, or obtaining there (*tatra bhavaḥ*)'.

EXAMPLES:

namo medhyâya ca vidyutyāyá ca namáḥ 'my obeisance to one who is intelligent, and also to one who is brilliant; (or, to one who comes into existence in intelligence, and brilliance)'

1. This affixal provision of *yaT*, in the context of *bhava* as denotatum, constitutes an exception to affixes such as *aṆ* and *gha*, etc., of 4.3.53 *tatra bhavaḥ*.

2. Commentators note that this affixal provision of *yaT* is not always availed. That is, there are other derivates which do not avail *yaT*, or conversely, which are derived with different affixes. How does one account for this discrepancy? This should not come as a surprise, especially in view of 'variously' of *chandasi bahulam*. For, one can find deviations in practically every operational provision in Vedic (*sarvavidhīnāṃ chandasi vyabhicārāt*).

3. The *anuvṛtti* of *chandasi* is valid through the end of this quarter. The *anuvṛtti* of *bhave*, however, does not go beyond 4.4.118 *samudrābhrād ghaḥ*.

4.4.111 पाथोनदीभ्यां ड्यण्

pāthonadībhyāṃ ḍyaṇ
/pāthonadībhyām 5/2 = *pāthaś ca nadī ca* (*itar. dv.*), *tābhyām; ḍyaṇ* 1/1/ (*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *tatra* #98, *bhave chandasi* #110)
pāthaśabdān nadīśabdāc ca ḍyaṇ pratyayo bhavati 'tatra bhavaḥ' ity etasminn arthe
The *taddhita* affix *ḌyaṆ* occurs, in Vedic, after nominal stems *pāthas* 'heaven, horizon' and *nadī* 'river', when they end in locative and the derivate denotes the sense of 'being, or obtaining, there'.

EXAMPLES:

pāthasi bhavaḥ = pāthyo vṛṣā 'that which exists at the horizon; *Vṛṣā* 'Indra; the second zodiacal sign'
nadyo giró me prayacchati '. . . offers me the invocation'

1. The word *pāthas* has been explained as *antarikṣa* 'horizon, heaven'. Although this word is generally used in the sense of 'food' and 'water', it is used here in the sense of 'non-water' (*asuni vyutpādyate*). How come it means *antarikṣa*? Well, because of 'variously' (*bāhulaka*).

Note that *pāthyaḥ* derives from *pāthya* + *sU*, where deriving *pāthya* from *pāthas* + *Ṅi* + *ḌyaṆ* requires initial *vṛddhi*, as conditioned by *Ṇ* of *ḌyaṆ* as an *it*. The *Ḍ* as an *it* in *ḌyaṆ* will cause *ṭi*-deletion.

4.4.112 वेशन्तहिमवद्भ्यामण्

veśantahimavadbhyām aṇ
/veśantahimavadbhyām 5/2 (*itar. dv.*); *aṇ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *tatra* #98, *bhave chandasi* #110)
veśantaśabdād himavac chabdāc cāṇ pratyayo bhavati 'tatra bhavaḥ' ity etasmin viṣaye
The *taddhita* affix *aṆ* occurs, in Vedic, after nominal stems *veśanta* 'pond, pool, fire' and *himavat* 'snow-clad mountain', when they end in locative and derivates denote the sense of 'being, or obtaining, there'.

EXAMPLES:

vaiśantībhyaḥ svāhā 'our invocation to waters in ponds'
haimavantībhyaḥ svāhā 'our invocation to waters in snow-clad mountains'

1. Note that Haradatta (*PM* ad *Kāś.*) explains *veśanta* as *palvala* 'pond'. Consequently, with the sense of *tatra bhavaḥ*, we get *vaiśantyaḥ* 'water in the pond'.

2. This affixal provision of *aN* is an exception to *yaT*.

4.4.113 स्रोतसो विभाषा ड्यड्ड्यौ

srotaso vibhāṣā ḍyaḍḍyau
/ srotasaḥ 5/1 *vibhāṣā* 1/1 *ḍyaḍḍyau* 1/2 = *ḍyat ca ḍya ca* (*itar. dv.*) /
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *yat* #75, *tatra* #98, *bhave chandasi* #110)
srotaśabdād vibhāṣā 'ḍyat, ḍya' ity etau pratyayau bhavataḥ 'tatra bhavaḥ' ity etasmin viṣaye
The *taddhita* affixes *ḌyaT* and *Ḍya* occur, in Vedic only optionally, after nominal stem *srotas* 'flow of river' when the same ends in locative and the derivate denotes the sense of 'being, or obtaining there'.

EXAMPLES:

srotasi bhavaḥ = srotyaḥ 'that which is found in flow of a river'
srotyaḥ 'id.'
srotasyaḥ 'id.'

1. Here again the difference between derivates of *ḌyaT* and *Ḍya* is that of accent. A derivate of *ḌyaT* will get *svarita* at the end by 6.1.185 *tit svaritam*. A derivate of *Ḍya* will of course be marked *udātta* at the end because of affixal accent (3.1.3 *ādyudāttaś ca*)

2. The use of *vibhāṣā* 'optionally' facilitates a third derivate with affix *yaT* of which affixes *ḌyaT* and *Ḍya* are exceptions.

4.4.114 सगर्भसयूथसनुताद्यन्

sagarbhasayūthasanutād yan
/ sagarbhasayūthasanutāt 5/1 (*sam. dv.*); *yan* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *tatra* #98, *bhave chandasi* #10)
'sagarbha', 'sayūtha', 'sanuta' ity etebhyaḥ śabdebhyo yan pratyayo bhavati 'tatra bhavaḥ' ity etasmin viṣaye
The *taddhita* affix *yaN* occurs, in Vedic, after nominal stem *sagarbha* 'same womb', *sayūtha* 'same herd' and *sanuta* 'same praise', when the stems end in locative and derivates denote the sense of 'being, or obtaining, there'.

EXAMPLES:

anubhrātā = sagarbhyaḥ 'a younger brother who reclined in the same womb'
anusakhā sayûthyaḥ 'a young of the same herd'
yo naḥ śanutyaḥ 'that which is in our prayers'

1. Note that *samāna* in all these examples has been replaced with *sa* in view of 6.3.84 *samānasya chandasi*. . . .

Jinendrabuddhi (*Nyāsa* ad *Kāś.*) analyzes *sanuta* as *samānaṃ nutam*, a derivate of *Kta* denoting 'action' (*bhāva*; 3.3.114 *napuṃsake* . . .). The root which receives *Kta* is thus *ṇu* 'to praise, pray'. A *karmadhāraya* compound (which all three bases are), especially *sanuta*, can be analyzed as *samānañ ca nutañ ca* 'same prayer'. This forms the basis for my translation of *sanutyaḥ*. Vasu (cf. notes under this rule) claims that *sanuta*, in Vedic, refers to a 'concealed place'.

4.4.115 तुग्राद् घन्

tugrād ghan
tugrāt 5/1 *ghan* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *tatra* #98, *bhave chandasi* #110)
tugraśabdād ghan pratyayo bhavati 'tatra bhavaḥ' ity etasmin viṣaye
The *taddhita* affix *ghaN* occurs, in Vedic, after nominal stem *tugra* when the same ends in locative and the derivate denotes the sense of 'being, or obtaining, there'.

EXAMPLES:

tvam agne vṛṣabhas tugriyāṇām 'Agni, you are the best. . . .'

1. This again is an exception to affix *yaT*. The word *tugra* is explained as *annākāśayajñavariṣṭha* 'food, ether, sacrifice, and excellent'.

4.4.116 अग्राद्यत्

agrād yat
/agrāt 5/1 *yat* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *tatra* #98, *bhave chandasi* #110)
agraśabdād yat pratyayo bhavati 'tatra bhavaḥ' ity etasmin viṣaye
The *taddhita* affix *yaT* occurs, in Vedic, after nominal stem *agra* 'tip, front', when the same ends in locative and the derivate denotes the sense of 'being, or obtaining, there'.

EXAMPLES:

agre bhavam = *agryam* 'that which is there on the tip, or front'

1. Why does Pāṇini have to state this rule when its provisions are already covered by 4.4.110 *bhave chandasi*. It is stated that this *yaT* is again provided so that the earlier provision of 4.4.110 could not be blocked by the following rule. For, in the absence of this provision, the *ca* of the following rule could

only attract *ghan* of 4.4.115 *tugrād ghan*. The *ca* of the next rule still attracts the *ghan* of rule 4.4.115, but only when it is mediated by 4.4.116.

4.4.117 घच्छौ च

ghacchau ca
/ghacchau 1/2 = *ghac ca cha ca* (*itar. dv.*); *ca* ϕ/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *tatra* #98, *bhave chandasi* #110, *agrāt* #116)
agraśabdād yat, ghacchau pratyayau 'tatra bhavaḥ' ity etasmin viṣaye
The *taddhita* affixes *ghaC, cha, yaT,* and *gha* as well, occur in Vedic after nominal stem *agra,* when the same ends in locative and the derivate denotes the sense of 'being, or obtaining there'.

EXAMPLES:

agryam 'that which is on the tip . . .'
agriyam 'id.'
agrīyam 'id.'
agriyam 'id.'

1. Note that *ghaN* is carried at the strength ot *ca.* We thus get *agriyam* which is similar in form with a derivate of affix *gha.* But *agriyam,* a derivate of *ghaN,* will be *udātta* at the beginning (*ādyudātta*). A derivate of *gha* will be marked *udātta* at the end (*antodātta*).

4.4.118 समुद्राभ्राद् घः

samudrābhrād ghaḥ
/samudrābhrāt 5/1 (*sam. dv.*) *ghaḥ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *tatra* #98, *bhave chandasi* #110)
samudraśabdād abhraśabdāc ca ghaḥ pratyayo bhavati 'tatra bhavaḥ' ity etasminn arthe
The *taddhita* affix *gha* occurs, in Vedic, after nominal stems *samudra* 'ocean' and *abhra* 'cloud', when they end in locative and derivates denote 'being, or obtaining', there.

EXAMPLES:

samudriyāṇāṃ nadīnām 'of rivers being part of the ocean'
abhriyasyeva ghoṣaḥ 'thunder in clouds'

1. This provision of *gha* is an exception to *yaT.* Incidentally, our compound-base *samudrābhra,* in the wording of this rule, should have *abhra* preposed to *samudra* in view of both 2.2.33 *ajādyantam* and 2.2.34 *alpāc taram.* Pāṇini's own formulation of *samudrābhra* introduces some elements of strangeness to the scope of these rules (*tasya lakṣaṇasya vyabhicāritvāt*).

4.4.119 बर्हिषि दत्तम्

barhiṣi dattam
/barhiṣi 7/1 *dattam* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *yat* #75, *tatra* #98, *chandasi* #110)
barhiḥ śabdāt saptamīsamarthād 'dattam' ity etasminn arthe yat pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *yaT* occurs, in Vedic, after nominal stem *barhis* 'a spread of the Kuśa grass', when the same ends in locative and the derivate denotes '. . . given . . . (*dattam*)'.

EXAMPLES:

barhiṣyéṣu niḍhiṣú priyeṣû 'ritual oblation offered on spread of the Kuśa grass'

4.4.120 दूतस्य भागकर्मणी

dūtasya bhāgakarmaṇī
/dūtasya 6/1 *bhāgakarmaṇī* 1/2 = *bhāgaś ca karma ca* (*itar. dv.*)/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *yat* #75, *chandasi* #110)
dūtaśabdāt ṣaṣṭhīsamarthād bhāge karmaṇi cābhidheye yat pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *yaT* occurs, in Vedic, after nominal stem *dūta* 'emissary' when ending in genitive (*ṣaṣṭhī*), provided the derivate denotes the sense of *bhāga* 'share' and *karman* 'function'.

EXAMPLES:

yadágne yāsi dūtyám 'this is your share O Agni!; this is your function O Agni!'

1. This *yaT* is an exception to *aṆ* of 4.3.120 *tasyedam*. The genitive of *dūtasya* itself becomes a mark for genitive, the nominal ending of a base after which the affix is introduced.

4.4.121 रक्षोयातूनां हननी

rakṣoyātūnāṃ hananī
/rakṣoyātūnām 6/3 = *rakṣaś ca yātuś ca* (*itar. dv.*); *hananī* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *yat* #75, *chandasi* #110)
rakṣaḥśabdād yātuśabdāc ca ṣaṣṭhīsamarthāt 'hanamī' iti etasminn arthe yat pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *yaT* occurs, in Vedic, after nominal stems *rakṣas* 'demon' and *yātu* 'id.', when they end in genitive and derivates denote 'their female killer'

EXAMPLES:

rakṣasāṃ hananī = *rakṣasyā* 'she who killed demons'
yātūnāṃ hananī = *yātavyā* 'id.'

1. This affixal provision is given as an exception to the residual (*śaiṣika*) *aṆ* and *cha* (*PM* ad *Kāś.*: *yogaś cāyaṃ śaiṣikayor aṇchayor apavādaḥ*). Here again, the nominal ending is discerned on the basis of genitive used in *rakṣayātūnām*. The word *hananī* is explained as *hanyate anayā* 'she by whom killing is done', where affix *LyuṬ* of *hanana* denotes *karaṇa*. This genitive should thus be interpreted as denoting the object of 2.3.65 *kartṛkarmaṇoḥ kṛti*. The plural, instead of a dual, in *rakṣoyātūnām* is used to indicate the killing of many (*bahutva*). These derivates of course end in *ṬāP* (4.1.4 *ajādyataṣ ṭāp*).

4.4.122 रेवतीजगतीहविष्याभ्यः प्रशस्ये

revatījagatīhaviṣyābhyaḥ praśasye
/revatījagatīhaviṣyābhyaḥ 5/3 (*itar. dv.*); *praśasye* 7/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *yat* #75, *chandasi* #110)
revatyādibhyaḥ ṣaṣṭhīsamarthebhyaḥ praśasye vācye yat pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *yaT* occurs, in Vedic, after nominal stems *revatī* 'name of a constellation', *jagatī* 'a poetic meter' and *haviṣyā* 'appropriate sacrificial oblation', when they end in genitive and derivates denote the sense of 'exuberant praises'.

EXAMPLES:

revatyāḥ praśasanaṃ = *revatyam* 'exuberant praises of Revatī'
jagatyam 'exuberant praises of Jagatī'
haviṣyāḥ 'exuberant praises of sacrificial oblations'

1. Note that *praśasya*, a derivate of *KyaP* introduced to denote *bhāva* (3.3.113 *kṛtyalyuṭo bahulam*), determines genitive as the ending to be introduced after bases. This subsequently requires denotation of an object, via genitive. This rule is also formulated in view of *aṆ* (4.3.120 *tasyedam*) which would otherwise become applicable.

4.4.123 असुरस्य स्वम्

asurasya svam
/asurasya 6/1 *svam* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *yat* #75, *chandasi* #110)
asuraśabdāt ṣaṣṭhīsamarthāt 'svam' ity etasminn arthe yat pratyayo bhavati

The *taddhita* affix *yaT* occurs, in Vedic, after nominal stem *asura* 'demon', when the same ends in genitive and the derivate denotes the sense of 'one's own. . . .'

EXAMPLES:

asuryaṃ vā etátpātram, yat yácakrávṛttaṃ kúlālakṛtam 'this pot, made by the potter at his wheels, is the property of a demon'

1. Here again, *asurasya* determines genitive as the ending to be introduced after *asura* to facilitate *yaT*.

2. The word *svam* is used in the sense of *ātmīyam* 'one's own'. This provision of *yaT* constitutes an exception to the *aṆ* of 4.3.120 *yasyedam*.

4.4.124 **मायायामण्**

māyāyām aṇ
/ māyāyām 7/1 *aṇ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *chandasi* #110, *asurasya svam* #123)
asuraśabdāt ṣaṣṭhīsamarthāt 'māyāyām' svaviśeṣe' ṇ pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *yaT* occurs, in Vedic, after nominal stem *asura*, when the same ends in genitive and the derivate denotes the sense of *māyā* 'illusion'.

EXAMPLES:

āsurīmāyā svadhayā kṛtāsi '. . . illusion created by the demon at his own will'

1. This affixal provision is an exception to the *yaT* of the preceding rule.

4.4.125 **तद्वानासामुपधानो मन्त्र इतीष्टकासु लुक्च मतोः**

tadvān āsām upadhāno mantra itīṣṭakāsu luk ca matoḥ
/ tadvān 1/1 *āsām* 6/3 *upadhānaḥ* 1/1 *mantraḥ* 1/1 *iti* ϕ *iṣṭakāsu* 7/3 *luk* 1/1 *ca* ϕ *matoḥ* 6/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *yat* #75, *chandasi* #110)
matubantāt prātipadikāt prathamāsamarthād āsām iti ṣaṣṭhyarthe yat pratyayo bhavati yat prathamāsamartham upadhāno mantras cet sa bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *yaT* occurs in Vedic, to denote the sense of genitive, after a nominal stem which ends in affix *matUP* and is used in nominative with the signification of an *upadhāna* 'hymn for consecrating bricks intended for preparing the locus of sacrificial fire', provided what the genitive denotes are 'bricks'; additionally, *matUP* is concurrently deleted by *LUK*.

EXAMPLES:

varcasyā upadadhāti 'he lays down bricks consecrated by the *upadhāna*-hymn containing *varcasvat*'
payasyāḥ 'he lays down bricks consecrated by the *upadhāna*-hymn containing *payasvat*'

1. The word *tadvān* is explained as *vivakṣito'vayavo'smin* 'a hymn which contains something particular which one wishes to speak about'. It is for this reason that an example such as *varcasyā* is explained as 'arranging bricks consecrated by a specific hymn (*upadhāna*) which contains *varcasvat* as its part'. This part indeed is the focus within *upadhāna*, and is, rightly, treated as the stem after which affixal operation is performed. The word *āsām* 'of those', of course, refers to bricks (*iṣṭakā*).

The word *iti* has been used for restrictive purpose. That is, although *tadvān* refers to a hymn which could be viewed as a sentence, the provision of this affix, because of the use of *iti*, can still be made after one of the stems contained within the hymn.

Note that *tadvān* is the nominative singular of *tadvat*. This itself indicates that *yaT* should be introduced after a syntactically related base ending in *prathamā*. Thus, *varcasvat* + *sU* + *yaT* will yield *varcasya* after deletion of *matUP*. Affix *ṬāP* (4.1.4 *ajādyataṣ ṭāp*) is then introduced to derive *vayasyā*.

4.4.126 अश्विमानण्

aśvimān aṇ
/aśvimān 1/1 *aṇ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *yat* #75, *chandasi* #110, *tadvān āsām upadhāno mantra iti iṣṭakāsu luk ca matoḥ* #125)
aśviśabdād matubantāt prathamāsamarthād āsām iti ṣaṣṭhyarthe aṇ pratyayo bhavati yat prathamāsamartham upadhāno mantraś cet sa bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *aṆ* occurs, in Vedic to denote the sense of genitive, after nominal stem *aśvi* which ends in affix *matUP*, and is used in nominative with the signification of an *upadhāna* 'hymn for consecrating bricks intended for preparing the locus of sacrificial fire', provided what the genitive denotes are 'bricks'; additionally, *matUP* is concurrently deleted by *LUK*.

EXAMPLES:

āśviniṛ . . . upadadhāti 'he lays down bricks consecrated by the hymn which contains *aśvimān*'.

1. How come the word *aśvimān* is used in singular when there are many hymn which have *aśvimān* in them. The singular is used as generic

(*sāmānyāpekṣam ekavacanam*). The word *aśvimān* is specified here with *matUP* so that deletion by *LUK* applies only to *matUP*. That is, it does not apply to *in* which also denotes the sense of *matUP*. A specification without *matUP* would have required deletion of both. Thus, *aśvimat* + *sU* + *aṆ* yields *aśvina* where, consequent upon the deletion of *matUP*, *in* of *aśvin* is brought back in consonance with 6.4.164 *iṇ anapatye*. The *ṄīP* of *aśvinī* is then introduced by 4.1.15 *tiḍḍhāṇañ*. . . .

4.4.127 वयस्यासु मूर्ध्नो मतुप्

vayasyāsu mūrdhno matup
/*vayasyāsu* 7/3 *mūrdhnaḥ* 5/1 *matup* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *chandasi* #110, *tadvān āsām upadhāno mantra iti iṣṭakāsu luk ca matoḥ* #125)
vayasvān upadhāno mantro yāsāṃ tā vayasyāḥ tāsu abhidheyāsu mūrdhno matup pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *matUP* occurs, in Vedic, after nominal stem *mūrdhan* which ends in affix *matUP*, and is used in nominative, provided what it signifies is an *upadhāna* 'hymn for consecrating bricks named *vayasyā*'; additionally, *matUP* is concurrently deleted by *LUK*.

EXAMPLES:

mūrdhanvátīr upadadhāti 'he lays the *vayasyā* bricks consecrated by the *upadhāna* hymn containing *mūrdhan*'

1. Note that the word *vayasyā* itself denotes 'bricks' which have been consecrated by the *upadhāna* hymn containing *vayasvān*. Our derivate will thus be *mūrdhanvatī*, a derivate of *ṄīP* of 4.1.6 *ugitaś ca*. The derivate also has the denotatum of *vayasyāḥ*, bricks consecrated by an *upadhāna* containing *mūrdhan*. Since the denotatum of both *vayasyāḥ* and *mūrdhanvatīḥ* are the same, though two different names are assigned to the same set of bricks, the *upadhāna* hymn must contain both *vayaḥ* and *mūrdhan*. This is how a hymn could be *vayasvān* and *mūrdhanvān* (*Kāś.*: *yasmin mantre vayaḥśabdo mūrdhanśabdaś ca vidyate sa vayasvān api bhavati mūrdhanvān api*). Affix *yaT* is available to both, but our present rule assigns *matUP* after *mūrdhanvān*. This affixal provision of *matUP* is an exception to the *yaT* of the preceding rule. The newly derived base, after deletion of *matUP* and its subsequent introduction, will still be *mūrdhanmat*. Rule 8.2.9 *mād upadhāyāś ca* replaces the *m* of *matUP* with *v*. We can then derive *mūrdhanvatī* with *ṄīP*.

4.4.128 मत्वर्थे मासतन्वोः

matvarthe māsatanvoḥ
/*matvarthe* 7/1 *māsatanvoḥ* 7/2 (*itar. dv.*)/

(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *yat* #75, *chandasi* #110)
yasminn arthe matub vihitas tasmiṃś chandasi viṣaye yat pratyayo bhavati māsatanvoḥ pratyayārthaviśeṣaṇayoḥ
The *taddhita* affix *yaT* occurs, in Vedic to denote the sense of *matUP* (5.2.94 *tad asyāsty . . .*), after a nominal stem which ends in nominative, provided derivates denote *māsa* 'month' and *tanu* 'body'.

EXAMPLES:

nabhāṃsi vidyante yasmin māse = nabhasyáḥ 'a month in which there are clouds'
ojo'syāṃ vidyate = ojasyā tanú 'a body in which there is strength'
madhūni santi asmin māse = madhavyáḥ 'month of spring when there is nectar in flowers'

1. The idea that the affix is introduced after a stem ending in nominative is derived from the use of *matvarthe*. Note that rule 5.2.94 which introduces *matUP* has *tad*, a variable in nominative. That same variable is brought here to give us the sense of the stem ending in nominative. *Kāś.* states the process and semantic significations as: *prathamāsamarthād astyupādhikāt ṣaṣṭhyarthe saptamyarthe ca yat pratyayo bhavati* 'affix *yaT* occurs in the sense of genitive, or of locative, after a nominal stem which ends in nominative with the qualification of *asti*'. It is in view of this that *nabhasyo māsaḥ* can be explained as: *nabhāṃsi vidyante yasmin māse* 'a month in which there are clouds'; or *nabhāṃsividyante' sya māsasya* 'a month in which there are clouds'. The word *nabhas* is used here in the sense of clouds (*abhreṣu*).

2. Note that *yaT* is clearly made as an exception to affixes introduced to denote the sense of *matUP* (*matvarthīya*). Incidentally, deriving *madhavya* from *madhu* + *ya* requires *guṇa* of *u* (6.4.146 *or guṇaḥ*). This is followed by the application of 6.1.79 *vānto yi pratyaye*. That is, the *guṇa*-replacement in *o* is now replace with *av*.

3. A couple of *vārttika* proposals have also been made under this rule. The first provides for optional *yaT* when the sense is 'immediately following' (*anantara*). This gives us *madhavyaḥ* as an example.

A second proposal states that, at times, the function of *yaT* is carried by its deletion (*LUK*), or simply by *a*, *i* and *r*. The examples are: *tapaḥ*, *ūrjaḥ*, *śuciḥ* and *śukraḥ*, all of which can be interpreted as qualifiers to 'month'.

4.4.129 मधोर्ञ च

madhor ña ca
/*madhoḥ* 5/1 *ña* (deleted 1/1) *ca* ϕ/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *yat* #75, *chandasi* #110, *matvarthe māsatanvoḥ* #128)

madhuśabdān matvarthe ñaḥ pratyayo bhavati cakārād yac ca
The *taddhita* affix *Ña*, and *yaT* as well, occurs in Vedic to denote the sense of *matUP* after nominal stem *madhu* 'honey', when ending in nominative, provided the derivates denote *māsa* and *tanū*.

EXAMPLES:

mādhavaḥ/ madhavyáḥ 'month (of spring) which has nectar in flowers'
madhúḥ 'id.'

1. Note that these same derivates can also be used as qualifiers to *tanū*. The last example is given in view of the second *vt* proposal of the preceding rule. This derivate involves affixal deletion.

4.4.130 ओजसोऽहनि यत्खौ

ojaso' hani yatkhau
/ojasaḥ 5/1 *ahani* 7/1 *yatkhau* 1/2/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *yat* #75, *chandasi* #110, *matvarthe* #128)
ojaḥśabdān matvarthe yatkhau pratyayu bhavato'hany abhidheye
The *taddhita* affixes *yaT* and *kha* occur in Vedic, to denote the sense of *matUP* after nominal stem *ojas* when ending in nominative, provided the derivate denotes *ahan* 'day'.

EXAMPLES:

ojasyam ahaḥ 'a day of energy and vitality'
ojasīnam ahaḥ 'id.'

1. A question is raised as to why *yaT* is to be used. That is, why not formulate the rule as *ojaso' hani kha ca*, and let *ca* attract *yaT* to this context. This, however, is not acceptable since one may be confused about the function of *ca*. That is, one may be confused about whether or not *ca* should attract *Ña*. Note that *kh* of *kha* in *ojasīna* is replaced with *īn* of 7.1.2 *āyaneyīnīyiyaḥ*. . . .

4.4.131 वेशोयशआदेर्भगाद्यल्

veśoyaśaāder bhagād yal
/veśoyaśaādeḥ 5/1 = *veśaś ca yaśaś ca veśoyaśasī veśoyaśasī ādau yasya* (*bv.* with int. *dv.*), *tasmāt; bhagāt* 5/1 *yal* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *chandasi* #110, *matvarthe* #128)
veśoyaśaāder bhagāntāt prātipadikān matvarthe yal pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *yaL* occurs, in Vedic to denote the sense of *matUP*, after a nominal stem which ends in *bhaga* 'fortune' and is used in construction after *veśas* 'strength' and *yaśas* 'glory'.

EXAMPLES:

veśobhagyaḥ 'he who is fortunate in strength'
yaśobhaghaḥ 'he who is fortunate in glory'

1. Note that *veśas* is used in the sense of *bala* 'strength'. The word *bhaga* is used in various senses of *śrī* 'grandeur', *kāma* 'desire', *prayatna* 'strife', *māhātmya* 'fame', *vīrya* 'valor' and *yaśas*, etc.

4.4.132 ख च

kha ca
/kha (1/1 deleted) *ca ϕ/*
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *yat* #75, *chandasi* #110, *matvarthe* #128, *veśoyaśaāder bhagāt* #131)
veśoyaśaādvitīyāder bhagāntāt prātipadikān matvarthe khaḥ pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *kha*, and *yaT* as well, occurs in Vedic, to denote the sense of *matUP* after a nominal stem which ends in *bhaga* and is used in construction after *veśas* 'power' and *yaśas* 'fame'.

EXAMPLES:

veśobhagyaḥ 'one with auspicious powers'
veśobhagīnaḥ 'id.'
yaśobhagyaḥ 'id.'
yaśobhagīnaḥ 'id.'

1. A separate rule (*yogavibhāga*) is formulated so that its *ca* can bring *yaT*. It is also done so that one does not follow the assignment of equivalency in accord with enumeration (*yathāsaṃkhya*; 1.3.10 *yathāsaṃkhyam . . .*). That is, if the rule is formulated jointly with two affixes, i.e., *yaL* and *kha*, and two base-types, i.e., *veśādibhagānta* 'beginning with *veśas* terminating in *bhaga*' and *yaśādibhagānta* 'beginning with *yaśas* terminating in *bhaga*', one may introduce *yaL* after the first and *kha* after the other. Finally, a split formulation is also needed so that only *kha*, and not *yaT*, is carried to the following rule.

4.4.133 पूर्वैः कृतमिनयौ च

pūrvaiḥ kṛtam inayau ca
/pūrvaiḥ 3/3 *kṛtam* 1/1 *inayau* 1/2 (*itar. dv.*)*/*
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *chandasi* #110, *kha* #132)
pūrvaśabdāt tṛtīyāsamarthāt kṛtam ity etasminn arthe 'ina, ya' ity etau pratyayau bhavataḥ
The *taddhita* affixes *ina* and *ya*, and *kha* as well, occur in Vedic, after

nominal stem *pūrva* when the same ends in instrumental (*tṛtīyā*), provided the derivate denotes the sense of *kṛtam* 'done, made'.

EXAMPLES:

pathibhiḥ pūrviṇaiḥ 'the ancestors who laid down the paths'
pathibhiḥ pūrvyaiḥ 'id.'
pathibhiḥ pūrvīṇaiḥ 'id.'

1. The ending of the base, i.e., *tṛtīyā*, is determined again on the basis of *pūrvaiḥ*. The word itself is used here in the sense of ancestors (*pūrvapuruṣa*). That the ancestors laid the paths is nothing but praise for the paths (*tatkṛtāḥ panthānaḥ praśastā iti pathāṃ praśaṃsā*). This provision with *pūrvaiḥ* in plural requires affixes after a plural base. All examples involve *bha-saṃjñā* and *a-lopa*. The derivate of *kha* also entails *īn* as a replacement of *kh* (7.1.2 *āyaneyī-nīyiyaḥ . . .*).

4.4.134 अद्भिः संस्कृतम्

adbhiḥ saṃskṛtam
/adbhiḥ 3/3 *saṃskṛtam* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *yat* #75, *chandasi* #110)
apśabdāt tṛtīyāsamarthāt 'saṃskṛtam' ity etasminn arthe yat pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *yaT* occurs, in Vedic, after nominal stem *ap* 'water', when the same ends in instrumental and the derivate denotes the sense of *saṃskṛtam* 'sanctified with'.

EXAMPLES:

apyaṃ haviḥ 'ritual oblation of food sanctified by means of water'

1. This affixal provision of *yaT* is an exception to *ṭhaK* of 4.4.1 *prāgvahateṣ ṭhak*. Note that *tṛtīyā* here denotes *karaṇa* 'means'.

4.4.135 सहस्रेण संमितौ घः

sahasreṇa sammitau ghaḥ
/sahasreṇa 3/1 *sammitau* 7/1 *ghaḥ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *chandasi* #110)
tṛtīyāsamarthāt sahasraśabdāt 'sammitau' ity etasminn arthe ghaḥ pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *gha* occurs in Vedic after nominal stem *sahasra*, when the same ends in instrumental and the derivate denotes the sense of *sammita* 'equal'.

EXAMPLES:

ayamagniḥ sáhasriyáḥ 'this sacrificial fire is one equal to a thousand'

1. Some read *sammitau* as *samitau*, thereby interpreting the example as: 'similar in qualities to a hundred'. The *tṛtīyā* in *sahasreṇa* forms the basis for accepting it as the ending in which the bases should end. Deriving *sahasriya* from *sahasra* + *gha* with *bha-saṃjñā*, *a-lopa* and *iy* as a replacement for *gh* should pose no problem.

4.4.136 मतौ च

matau ca

/matau 7/1 *ca* ϕ/

(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *chandasi* #110, *sahasreṇa ghaḥ* #135)

matvarthe ca sahasraśabdād ghaḥ pratyayo bhavati

The *taddhita* affix *gha* also occurs in Vedic to denote the sense of *matUP* after nominal stem *sahasra*, when the same ends in nominative.

EXAMPLES:

sahasram asya vidyate sahasriyaḥ '. . . possessing a thousand'

1. The word *matau* specifies *matvartha* 'sense of *matUP*'. This, in turn, determines *prathamā* as the ending in which *sahasra* should end to receive the affix. That is, in consonance with *tat*, a nominative singular, of rule 5.2.94 *tad asyāstīti* . . . which introduces *matUP*.

This provision of *matUP* is treated as an exception to affixal provisions of 5.2.102 *tapaḥsahasrābhyāṃ vinīnī* and 5.2.103 *aṇ ca*.

4.4.137 सोममर्हति यः

somam arhati yaḥ

/somam 2/1 *arhati* (verbal *pada*) *yaḥ* 1/1/

(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *chandasi* #110)

somaśabdād dvitīyāsamarthād 'arhati' ity etasminn arthe yaḥ pratyayo bhavati

The *taddhita* affix *ya* occurs, in Vedic, after nominal stem *soma* when the same ends in accusative (*dvitīya*) and the derivate denotes the sense of *arhati* 'deserves'.

EXAMPLES:

somam arhanti = *somyāḥ brāhmaṇāḥ* 'the brāhmaṇas who deserve offerings of Soma (and hence, qualify to participate in the sacrifice)'

1. Here again, accusative is determined as the ending after bases in accord with the specification of *somam* in *dvitīyā*. Affix *ya*, against the already available *yaT*, is introduced because of accent. A derivate of *ya* is marked *udātta* at the end.

4.4.138 मये च

maye ca

/maye 7/1 *caϕ/*
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *chandasi* #110, *somam, yaḥ* #137)
somaśabdān mayaḍarthe yaḥ pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *ya* also occurs in Vedic to denote the sense of affix *mayaṬ* after nominal stem *soma*, when the same ends in accusative.

EXAMPLES:

somyaṃ (*somamayam*) '. . . full of Soma'

1. The word *maye* refers to *mayaḍartha* 'sense of affix *mayaṬ*. Since this affix is used by rules such as 4.3.141 *mayaḍvaita* . . ., 4.3.82 *mayaṭ ca* and 5.4.21 *tatprakṛtavacane* . . ., in the sense of 'part of a whole' (*avayava*) and 'modification' (*vikāra*), 'arrived' (*āgata*) and 'abundance' (*prācurya*), respectively, our present provision of *ya* will also be made in similar senses after similarly specified bases and nominal endings.

Incidentally, *somya* is also found in Classical usage: *āyuṣmān bhava somyeti vācyo vipro' bhivādane* (*Manusmṛti* II: 125) 'a Brāhmaṇa, in salutation, should be addressed: may you live long sir!'. Haradatta (*PM*) lables this usage, in the Classical language, as *cintya* 'questionable'.

4.4.139 **मधोः**

madhoḥ
/madhoḥ 5/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *chandasi* #110, *yat* #130, *maye* #138)
madhuśabdān mayaḍarthe yat pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *yaT* occurs, in Vedic, after nominal stem *madhu* to denote the sense of affix *mayaṬ*.

EXAMPLES:

madhavyān '. . . plentiful'

1. Here again, the sense of *mayaṬ* is fourfold: *avayava, vikāra, āgata* and *prācurya*. See note under the preceding rule. Note that *madhavya* derives from *madhu* + *yaT* with further application of *guṇa* (6.4.146 *or guṇaḥ*: *madh*(*u*→*o*) + *ya*) and a replacement in *av* ending in *v* (*vānta*; 6.1.179 *vānto yi pratyaye*): *madh*(*o*→*av*) + *ya*→*madhavya*.

4.4.140 **वसोः समूहे च**

vasoḥ samūhe ca
/vasoḥ 5/1 *samūhe* 7/1 *caϕ/*
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *chandasi* #110, *yat* #130, *maye* #138)

vasuśabdāt samūhe vācye yat pratyayo bhavati cakārān mayaḍarthe ca
The *taddhita* affix *yaT* occurs, in Vedic, after nominal stem *vasu* 'wealth' to denote the sense of *samūha* 'group', and also that of *mayaṬ*.

EXAMPLES:

vasavyaḥ 'abundance of wealth, etc.'

1. Here again, usage determines what fourfold meanings of *mayaṬ* are to be accepted.

A *vārttika* proposal is made for *yaT* to be introduced after *chandas* to denote its stem notion (*svārtha*), when *chandas* is used in between groups of syllables: *ośrāvayeti caturakṣaram/ astu śrau ṣaḍiti caturakṣaram/ yajeti dvyakṣaram/ ye yajāmaha iti pañcākṣaram/ dvyakṣaro vaṣaṭkāraḥ—eṣa vai saptadaśākṣaraś chandasyaḥ prajāpatir yajño mantre vihitaḥ 'ośravāya* (4 syllables) *astu śrauṣaṭ* (4 syllables), *yaja* (2 syllables), *ye yajāmahe* (5 syllables) and *vaṣaṭ* (2 syllables)—these 17 syllables are *chandasya*, revealed to Prajāpati in the sacrifice'. Obviously, affix *yaT* does not carry any special meaning. The derivate simply denotes *akṣara-samūha* 'group of syllables', the root-sense of *chandasya*.

Another *vārttika* recommends *yaT* after *vasu*. Thus, '*hastau pṛṇasva bahubhir vasaryaiḥ* and *agnirīśe vasavyasya*' where *vasavyaḥ* and *vasavyasya* denote the sense of *vasubhiḥ* 'with riches . . .' and *vasoḥ* '. . . of the divinity', respectively. The word *vasu* means 'riches' and 'divinity' both.

The *Mahābhāṣya*, however, refutes these *vārttikas*.

4.4.141 नक्षत्राद् घः

nakṣatrād ghaḥ
/naskṣatrāt 5/1 *ghaḥ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *chandasi* #110)
nakṣatraśabdād ghaḥ pratyayo bhavati svārthe
The *taddhita* affix *gha* occurs, in Vedic, after nominal stem *nakṣatra* 'constellation'.

EXAMPLES:

nakṣatriyebhyaḥ svāhā '. . . oblations to constellations'

1. Note that, in the absence of any specific meaning condition, the derivate will denote its stem-notion (*svārtha*).

4.4.142 सर्वदेवात्तातिल्

sarvadevāt tātil
/sarva-devāt 5/1 = *sarvaś ca devaś ca = sarvadevam, tasmāt* (*sam. dv.*); *tātil* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ*

#4.1.76, *chandasi* #110)
sarvadevaśabdābhyāṃ tātil pratyayo bhavati chandasi viṣaye svārthikaḥ
The *taddhita* affix *tātil* occurs, in Vedic, after nominal stems *sarva* and *deva.*

EXAMPLES:

sarvatātiḥ 'all inclusive'
devatātiḥ 'gods alone'

1. Here again the affix denotes the sense of *svārtha* 'stem-notion'.

4.4.143 शिवशमरिष्टस्य करे

śivaśamariṣṭasya kare
/śiva-śam-ariṣṭasya 6/1 (*sam. dv.*), *tasya; kare* 7/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *chandasi* #110, *tātil* #142)
śivādibhyaḥ śabdebhyaḥ ṣaṣṭhīsamarthebhyaḥ 'kare' ity etasminn arthe tātil pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *tāiL* occurs, in Vedic, after nominal stems *śiva, śam* and *ariṣṭa,* provided the signification is *kara* '. . . does'.

EXAMPLES:

śivatātiḥ = *śivaṃ karotīti* 'he who is benevolent'
śantātiḥ 'he who does auspicious things'
ariṣṭatātiḥ 'id.'

1. Note that *kara* of *kare* is derived in the sense of *karoti* '. . . does'.

4.4.144 भावे च

bhāve ca
/bhāve 7/1 *ca* ϕ/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *chandasi* #110, *tātil* #142, *śivaśamariṣṭasya* #143)
bhāve cārthe chandasi viṣaye śivādibhyas tatil pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *tātiL* also occurs in Vedic after nominal stems *śiva, śam* and *ariṣṭa,* when *bhāva* is denoted.

EXAMPLES:

śivatātiḥ = *śivasya bhāvaḥ* 'the notion of auspiciousness'
śantātiḥ 'id.'
ariṣṭatātiḥ 'id.'

1. It is stated that, like 1.1.1 *vṛddhir ādaic* at the beginning (*ārambha*), Pāṇini chose to formulate a *sūtra* for auspiciousness (*maṅgala*) also in the middle (*madhya*) of the *Aṣṭādhyāyī.* Here ends of section on affix *yaT.*

Adhyāya Five

Pāda One

5.1.1 प्राक्क्रीताच्छः

prāk krītāc chaḥ
/prāk krītāt 5/1 *chaḥ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.1, 3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76)
'*tena krītam*' *iti vakṣyati, prāg etasmāt krītasaṃśabdanād yān ita ūrdhvam anukramiṣyāmaś chapratyayas teṣv adhikṛto veditavyaḥ*
A *taddhita* affix, namely *cha*, occurs henceforth prior to *krītāt* (5.1.37 *ten krītam*), after a nominal stem.

EXAMPLES:

vatsīyaḥ '. . . beneficial to calves'
avatsīyaḥ '. . . not beneficial to calves'

1. Commentrators indicate that this *sūtra* can be accepted as a *vidhi* 'operational', *adhikāra* 'governing' and *paribhāṣā* 'interpretation'. It is generally accepted as a governing rule with its scope specified via meaning (*arthadvāra*). This rule is formulated as *prāk krītāc chaḥ*, as opposed to *krītāc chaḥ*, so that *krīta* could not be interpreted as specifying a base (*prakṛti*). The word *prāk* is included in the wording of this rule to specify the limit (*avadhi*) of this domain. Note that this *avadhi* is again specified in terms of meaning (*artha*). That is, affix *cha* will be used in the sense of specifications made by *krīta*, etc. Of course, *cha* is a general affix (*utsarga*) and will apply leaving aside the scope of application of its related exceptions (*apavāda*). For further details concerning these interpretational conclusion see my notes under 4.1.83 *prāg dīvyato' ṇ*.

5.1.2 उगवादिभ्यो यत्

ugavādibhyo yat
/ugavādibhyaḥ 5/3 = *gaur ādir yeṣāṃ te gavādayaḥ* (*bv.*); *uś ca gavādayaś ca* = *ugavādayaḥ* (*itar. dv.* with int. *bv.*), *tebhyaḥ*; *yat* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *prāk krītāt* #1)
uvarṇāntāt prātipadikād gavādibhyaś ca yat pratyayo bhavati prāk krītīyeṣv artheṣu
The *taddhita* affix *yaT* occurs after a nominal stem which either ends

in *u*, or is listed in the group headed by *gava*, to denote the sense of affixes introduced by rules prior to that which contains *krīta*.

EXAMPLES:

śaṅkavyaṃ dāru 'a piece of wood suited for making pegs'
picavyaḥ kārpāsaḥ 'a cotton plant fit for yielding quality cotton'
gavyam '. . . beneficial to cows'
haviṣyam '. . . good for ritual oblation'
nabhyam 'that (oil) which is good for axle'
śunyam/śūnyam 'that (a quiet place) which is fit for dogs to rest'
ūdhanyaḥ 'that which is beneficial to cow's udders'

1. This rule introduces *yaT* as an exception to *cha*. Of course, *yaT* will be ruled to denote the sense of *cha*. Rules 5.1.5 *tasmai hitam*, 5.1.12 *tadarthaṃ vikṛteḥ prakṛtau* and 5.1.16 *tad asya tad asmin syād iti* specify meanings denoted by affix *cha*. Refer to subsequent rules for more examples.

2. The following *gaṇasūtras* are given relative to stems of the *gavādi* group:

(*i*) where *nābhi nabhaṃ ca* not only requires *yaT* after *nābhi* 'axle' but also orders *nābhi* replaced with *nabha*;
(*ii*) where *śunaḥ samprasāraṇaṃ vā ca dīrghatvam* not only requires *yaT* after *śvan* 'dog' but also order *samprasāraṇa*, and optional long vowel replacement; and
(*iii*) where *ūdhaso'naṅ ca* not only requires *yaT* after *ūdhas* 'udder', but also orders *anAṄ* as a replacement for its final (*antya*) *s*.

Note that *nābhi* of the first *aṇasūtra* does not mean 'navel'. A derivate such as *nābhyam*, relative to 'body-part', can be derived with *yaT* of 5.1.6 *śarīrāvayavād yat*. The optional lengthening (*dīrgha*) of the second *gaṇasūtra* causes its derivate to be marked *udātta* at the end. Rule 6.1.213 *yato'nāvaḥ* applies to mark the derivate *udātta* at the beginning when option of lengthening is not accepted. The *ca* of the third *gaṇasūtra* is used for making some additional provisions. It is because of the *ca* that *an* is saved from deletion by 6.4.144 *nas taddhite*. Incidentally, *ūdhas* 'udder' is glossed as *kūpa* 'water-well' by many. It is not acceptable especially when *kūpa* is also listed in the *gavādi* group.

1. Examples such as *śaṅkavya*, *picavya*, and *gavya*, etc., can be easily derived with the application of 6.4.146 *or guṇaḥ* and 6.1.79 *vānto yi pratyaye*. Thus, *śaṅku* + *ya*→*śaṅk*(*u*→*o*) + *ya*→*śaṅk*(*o*→*av*) + *ya* = *śaṅkavya*, etc. Our last example *gavya* will not involve *guṇa*.

5.1.3 कम्बलाच्च संज्ञायाम्

kambalāc ca saṃjñāyām
/kambalāt 5/1 *ca* ϕ *saṃjñāyām* 7/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ*

#4.1.76, *prāk krītāt* #1, *yat* #2)
kambalāt prāk krītīyeṣv artheṣu yat pratyayo bhavati saṃjñāyāṃ viṣaye
The *taddhita* affix *yaT* also occurs after nominal stem *kambala* 'blanket' to denote the sense of affixes introduced by rules prior to that which contains *krīta*, provided the derivate signifies a name (*saṃjñā*).

EXAMPLES:

kambalyam ūrṇā 'a specific measure (about eleven pounds = 100 Pala) of wool sufficient enough for making one blanket'

1. This *yaT* is an exception to *cha*. Questions have been raised against formulating this *sūtra*, especially when *kambalya* can be gotten via *nipātana* of 4.1.22 *aparimāṇa-bistācita-kambalya*. . . . One could hardly argue that this rule is intended for derivates which denote a *saṃjñā*. For, *kambalya* of 4.1.22 also does that. Some claim that *kambalya* of 4.1.22 derives via *nipātana* and denotes *parimāṇa*. Rule 4.1.22 cannot tell whether *kambalya* ends in *yaT* (*Nyāsa* ad *Kāś.*: *nipātanena kambalyaśabdaḥ parimāṇe sādhur ity etāvat pratīyate na tu yadanto'yam iti*). May be the two derivates differ in accent. Only *vyākhyāna* 'interpretations of the learned' could help us here.

5.1.4 विभाषा हविरपूपादिभ्यः

vibhāṣā havirapūpādibhyaḥ
/vibhāṣā 1/1 *havirapūpādibhyaḥ* 5/3 = *apūpa adir yeṣāṃ te apūpādayaḥ* (*bv.*); *haviś ca apūpādayaś ca = havirapūpādayaḥ* (*itar. dv.* with int. *bv.*), *tebhyaḥ/*
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *prāk krītāt* #1, *yat* #2)
havir viśeṣavācibhyo'pūpādibhyaś ca prātipadikebhyaḥ prākrītīyeṣv artheṣu vibhāṣā yat pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *yaT* occurs optionally after a nominal stem which signifies a particular *havi* 'ritual oblation', or is listed in the group headed by *apūpa* 'cake', to denote the sense of affixes introduced by rules prior to that which contains *krīta*.

EXAMPLES:

āmīkṣyaṃ dadhi 'yoghurt, fit for making cheese'
āmikṣīyam dadhi 'id.'
puroḍāśyās taṇḍulāḥ 'rice-grains fit for preparing ritual oblation named puroḍāśa'
puroḍāśīyāḥ 'id.'
apūpyam 'that (finely ground flour) which is fit for baking cakes'
apūpīyam 'id.'

1. A *gaṇasūtra* also recommends this optional *yatT* after stems denoting

anna-vikāra 'grain-products'. Thus we get: *suryāḥ/surīyāḥ* '(rice)-grains fit for distilling liquor'. Note that the first twelve (*apūpa* through *kiṇva*) stems of the *apūpādi* group can be treated as denoting *anna-vikāra*. Why should we then have this *gaṇa-sūtra*? To account for meanings other than those covered by derivates of the first twelve stems.

5.1.5 तस्मै हितम्

tasmai hitam
/tasmai 4/1 *hitam* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76)
'*tasmai*' *iti caturthīsamarthād* '*hitam*' *ity etasmin arthe yathāvihitaṃ pratyayo bhavati*
A *taddhita* affix occurs as specified to denote the sense of 'beneficial to that', after a syntactically related nominal stem which ends in *caturthī* 'fourth triplet of nominal endings'.

EXAMPLES:

vatsīyaḥ = *vatsebhyo hito godhuk* 'a milkman who is beneficial to calves'
avatsīyaḥ 'a milkman who is not beneficial to calves'

1. Refer to subsequent rules for more examples.

5.1.6 शरीरावयवाद्यत्

śarīrāvayavād yat
/śarīrāvayavāt 5/1 = *śarīrasya avayavaḥ* (*ṣaṣ. tat.*), *tasmāt*; *yat* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *tasmai hitam* #5)
śarīrāvayavavācinaḥ prātipadikād yat pratyayo bhavati '*tasmai hitam*' *ity etasmin viṣaye*
The *taddhita* affix *yaT* occurs after a syntactically related nominal stem which signifies 'body-parts' (*śarīrāvayava*) and ends in *caturthī* to denote the sense of 'beneficial to that'.

EXAMPLES:

dantyam 'that which is beneficial to teeth'
nābhyam 'that which is beneficial to navel'
nasyaḥ 'that (a snuff) which is beneficial to nose'

1. This again is an exception to *cha*. The *nāsikā* of *nasyaḥ* is replaced with *nas* in accord with a *vārttika* proposal (cf. *Mbh.* ad 5.1.20 *nas nāsikāyā* . . .).

5.1.7 खलयवमाषतिलवृषब्रह्मणश्च

khalayavamāṣatilavṛṣabrahmaṇaś ca

/khalayavamāṣatilavṛṣabrahmaṇaḥ 5/3 = (*sam. dv.*), *tebhyaḥ*; *ca* ϕ/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *tasmai hitam* #5, *yat* #6)
khalādibhyo yat pratyayo bhavati 'tasmai hitam' ity etasmin viṣaye
The *taddhita* affix *yaT* also occurs to denote the sense of 'beneficial to that' after syntactically related nominal stems *khala* 'threshing floor', *yava* 'barley', *māṣa* 'Mung beans', *tila* 'sesame', *vṛṣa* 'bull' and *brahman* 'the brāhmaṇas' when they end in *caturthī*.

EXAMPLES:

khalyam 'that which is beneficial to threshing floors'
yavyam 'that which is beneficial to barley'
māṣyam 'that which is beneficial to Mung beans'
tilyam 'that which is beneficial to sesame'
vṛṣyam 'that which is beneficial to bulls'
brahmaṇyam 'that which is beneficial to brāhmaṇas'

1. Note that the final *a* of *khala, yava, māṣa, tila* and *vṛṣa* is deleted by 6.4.148 *yasyeti ca*. The word *vṛṣa* is here listed as ending in *a*. Consequently, *vṛṣan* cannot avail an affixal operation parallel to *vṛṣṇe hitam*. The word *brahman* here refers to Brāhmaṇas as a class (*jāti*). The word *brahman* cannot avail this affixal provision parallel to *brahmaṇe hitam* if it signifies Veda. The *ṭi*-deletion (1.1.64 *aco'ntyādi ṭi*) of *brahman* in *brahmaṇyam* does not apply because of 6.4.168 *ye cābhāvakarmaṇoḥ*.

The *ca* in the rule is used for something not covered (*anuktasamuccayārtha*). Forms such as *rathyā*, parallel to *rathāya hitā* 'road; beneficial to chariots', can thus be accounted for. Incidentally, such examples also entail *tadantavidhi* 'that which ends in that' (*rathyā*), to account for *dvirathyā* 'a road suitable for two chariots', etc.

5.1.8 अजाविभ्यां थ्यन्

ajāvibhyāṃ thyan
/ajāvibhyām 5/2 = (*itar. dv.*), *tābhyām*; *thyan* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *tasmai hitam* #5)
'aja, avi' ity etābhyāṃ thyan pratyayo bhavati 'tasmai hitam' ity etasmin viṣaye
The *taddhita* affix *thyaN* occurs to denote the sense of 'beneficial to that' after syntactically related nominal stems *aja* 'goat' and *avi* 'sheep' when they end in *caturthī*.

EXAMPLES:

ajathyā 'jasmine, which is beneficial to goats'
avithyā 'Avithyā (a plant), which is beneficial to sheep'

1. Note that *ajathyā* can be derived parallel to both *ajebhyo hitā*, or *ajābhyo hitā*, depending on whether the base is accepted as masculine *aja*, or feminie *ajā*. Our masculine specification by means of *aja* can also account for feminine *ajā* in accord with *Paribhāṣā* (72): *prātipadikagrahaṇe liṅgaviśiṣṭasyāpi grahaṇam*. Rule 6.3.35 *tasilādiṣv ākṛtvasucaḥ* will allow for masculine transformation (*puṃvadbhāva*) in case of *ajā*. For, *thyaN* is enumerated under *tasilādi* group of affixes.

5.1.9 आत्मन्विश्वजनभोगोत्तरपदात् खः

ātmanviśvajanabhogottarapadāt khaḥ
/ātmanviśvajanabhogottarapadāt 5/1 = *bhogaśabda uttarapadaṃ yasya sa bhogottarapadam* (*bv.*); *ātmā ca viśvajanaś ca bhogottarapadaṃ ca* (*sam. dv.*), *tasmāt*; *khaḥ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *tasmai hitam* #5)
'ātman, viśvajana' ity etābhyāṃ bhogottarapadāc ca prātipadikāt khaḥ pratyayo bhavati 'tasmai hitam' ity etasmin viṣaye
The *taddhita* affix *kha* occurs to denote the sense of 'beneficial to that' after syntactically related nominal stems *ātman* 'one's self and *viśvajana* 'mankind, all men', or else, after a stem which has *bhoga* as its final constituent, when they all end in *caturthī*.

EXAMPLES:

ātmanīnam 'that which is beneficial to one's self'
viśvajanīnam 'that which is beneficial to humanity'
mātṛbhogīṇaḥ 'that which is beneficial to mother's health'

1. Note that *ātman* should have been specified as *ātma* in accord with 8.2.7 *na lopaḥ prātipadikāntasya*. But this deletion was not undertaken, so that the form of the base could be clearly specified. Besides, non-deletion of *n* also saves *uttarapadāt*, cited at the end of the *dvandva* compound *ātman-viśva-jana-bhogottarapadam*, from being associated with all three constituents (cf.: *dvandvānte śrūyamāṇaṃ pratyekam abhisambadhyate*). This way, *uttarapadāt* will be construed only with *bhoga*. How do we understand this? We understand this from non-deletion of *n* which, in turn, creates confusion about the normal extent to which *uttarapadāt* could be associated. This doubt is resolved on the basis of *pratyāsatti* 'close proximity'. Consequently, *uttarapadāt* is associated only with *bhoga* which is most proximate to it. The non-deletion of *ṭi*, i.e., *an* of *ātman*, is blocked in view of 6.4.169 *ātmādhvānau khe*. The *kha*, of course, yields *īna* as *cha* yields *īya* (7.1.2 *āyaneyīnīyaḥ . . .*). The *n* of *mātṛbhogīṇaḥ* is replaced with *ṇ* as per 8.4.2 *aṭkupvāṅ. . . .*

Commentators state that affix *kha* is desired after *viśvajana* only when it is interpreted as a *karmadhāraya* compound paraphrased as: *viśve ca te janāḥ*

(*karmadhārayād eveṣyate*). A *ṣaṣṭhī-tatpuruṣa* or *bahuvrīhi* interpretation would qualify for affix *cha* yielding *viśvajanīyam.*

Affix *kha* is also desired after yet another *karmadhāraya* compound, namely, *pañcajana,* to derive *pañcajanīnam* parallel to *rathakāraḥ pañcamo yeṣāṃ te catvāro varṇāḥ pañcajanāḥ* 'Pañcajanas are charioteers, the fifth, in addition to the first four groups of Varṇas' (*vt: pañcajanād upasaṃkhyānam*). A non-*karmadhāraya* compound-base would yield *pañcajanīyam* with *cha.* A *vārttika* proposal requires an obligatory *ṭhaÑ* after *mahājana,* a *karmadhāraya-tatpuruṣa,* to yield *māhājanikam.* Elsewhere, one would get *mahājanīyam,* a derivate of *cha* introduced after the *bahuvrīhi* base *mahājana.*

The word *bhoga* is interpreted here as *śarīra* 'body'. Note that *mātṛ* and *pitṛ,* used without *bhoga,* will receive *cha* and yield *mātrīyam* and *pitrīyam.* An obligatory *kha* is proposed for *ācārya* 'teacher' and *rājā* 'king' when *bhoga* follows them. This yields *ācāryabhogīnaḥ* and *rājabhogīnaḥ.* A *gaṇasūtra* blocks the replacement by *ṇ* of *n* of *ācāryabhogīnaḥ.*

5.1.10 सर्वपुरुषाभ्यां णढञौ

sarvapuruṣābhyāṃ ṇaḍhañau
/sarvapuruṣābhyām 5/2 (*itar. dv.*); *ṇaḍhañau* 1/2 (*itar. dv.*)/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *tasmai hitam* #5)
sarvapuruṣābhyāṃ yathāsaṃkhyaṃ ṇaḍhañau pratyayau bhavataḥ, 'tasmai hitam' ity etasmin viṣaye
The *taddhita* affixes *Ṇa* and *ḍhaÑ* occur to denote the sense of 'beneficial to that' after syntactically related nominal stems *sarva* and *puruṣa,* respectively, when these end in *caturthī.*

EXAMPLES:

sārvam 'beneficial to all'
pauruṣeyam 'beneficial to a person'

1. A *vārttika* proposes that *Ṇa* be introduced after *sarva* only optionally (*sarvāṇ ṇasya vā vacanam*). This optional provision is made so that *sarvīyam* could be derived with *cha* of 5.1.1 *prāk krītāc chaḥ.*

An additional *vārttika* assigns *ḍhaÑ* after *puruṣa* also in the sense of *vadha* 'killing', *vikāra* 'modification', *samūha* 'group' and *tenakṛtaḥ* 'brought about by him' (*puruṣād vadha-vikāra-samūha-tena kṛteṣv iti vaktavyam*). Obviously, this proposal for *ḍhaÑ* is made against affixes *aÑ* and *aÑ* of 4.3.120 *tasyedam,* 4.3.154 *prāṇirajatādibhyo'ñ,* 4.2.37 *tasya samūhaḥ* and 4.3.116 *kṛte granthe.*

5.1.11 माणवचरकाभ्यां खञ्

māṇavacarakābhyāṃ khañ
/māṇavacarakābhyām 5/2 (*itar. dv.*); *khañ* 1/1/

(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *tasmai hitam* #5)
māṇavacarakaśabdābhyāṃ khañ pratyayo bhavati 'tasmai hitam' ity etasmin viṣaye
The *taddhita* affix *khaÑ* occurs to denote the sense of 'beneficial to that' after syntactically related nominal stems *māṇava* and *caraka*, when the stems end in *caturthī*.

EXAMPLES:

māṇavīnam 'beneficial to young initiates'
cārakīṇam 'beneficial to students and physicians'

1. The word *caraka* is interpreted variously as a student, wandering scholar and physician. This last meaning is favored by *prakriyāsarvasvam* of Nārāyaṇa-bhaṭṭa.

5.1.12 तदर्थं विकृते: प्रकृतौ

tadartham vikṛteḥ prakṛtau
/tadartham 1/1 = *tasmai idam* (*cat. tat.*); *vikṛteḥ* 5/1 *prakṛtau* 7/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76)
vikṛtivācinaḥ prātipadikāt prakṛtāv abhidheyāyāṃ yathāvihitaṃ pratyayo bhavati
A *taddhita* affix, namely *cha*, occurs as specified after a syntactically related nominal stem which signifies a material product (*vikṛti*) and ends in *caturthī*, provided the derivate denotes material cause (*prakṛti*) intended for that product.

EXAMPLES:

aṅgārīyāṇi kāṣṭhāni 'wood beneficial for quality charcoal'
prākārīyā iṣṭakāḥ 'bricks beneficial for fencing, because of their quality, shape and size'

1. Some carry *tasmai hitam* 'beneficial to him' in this rule, other do not consider it necessary since 'fitness' (*yogyatā*) and 'sense of benefit' (*hitārthatā*) are present in the context of *prakṛti-vikṛti* 'material cause-product' relationship. Thus, *kāṣṭha*, the material cause for charcoal, must have 'fitness' for, or be beneficial to, *aṅgāra* 'charcoal', its material product.

Note that *tadartham* 'intended for that' is nominative neuter singular. Commentators explain the variable *tad* of *tadartham* as referring to *vikṛti* 'product'. The nominative of *tadartham* is used for ferminine. A question is raised against this kind of transposition of *vibhakti* 'nominal ending' and *liṅga* 'gender'. For, it is only valid in the Vedic. It is argued here that a *sūtra* is also treated as *chandas* (*chandovat sūtrāṇi bhavanti*). In a sentence using

prakṛti and *vikāra*, we find the following relations: *yogyatā* 'fitness' as in *mūtrāya kalpate yavāgūḥ* 'barley-gruel conducive to urination'; *prakṛtyantaranivṛtti* 'disappearance of a given material cause' as in *yavānāṃ dhānāḥ, dhānānāṃ saktavaḥ* 'grains of barley, flour of grains'; and *prakṛty-ananyārtha* 'non-differential sense of material cause and product' as in *aṅgārebhyaḥ etāni kāṣṭhāni* 'these woods are intended for charcoals'. It is this last sense of non-difference that *tadartham* specifies. The word *tadartham* thus becomes a modifier to material cause which, in turn, carries the sense of the affix. It is for this reason that *Kāśikā* paraphrases: *tadarthāyāṃ prakṛtau* 'in the sense of a material cause intended for corresponding product'.

2. Affix *cha* is introduced here after a base which denotes material product. Commentators cite *udakārthaḥ kūpaḥ* 'waterwell for water' as a counter-example where *udaka* is not a material product of *kūpa*. Since *udaka* has *kūpa* as locus (*ādhāra*) of its origin (*utpatti*), *kūpa* can be accepted as *prakṛti*. But *udaka* cannot be accepted as *vikṛti* of *kūpa*, since they are vastly different from one another (*atyantabhedāt*).

The condition of *prakṛtau* is also necessary. For, in its absence, 'material cause-product' relationship will be hard to establish. Thus, consider: *asyarthā kośī* 'sheath for sword' where *asi* is not a product of *kośī*.

5.1.13 छदिरुपधिबलेर्ढञ्

chadirupadhibaler ḍhañ
/ chadirupadhibaleḥ 5/1 (*sam. dv.*); *dhañ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *tadarthaṃ vikṛteḥ prakṛtau* #12)
chadirādibhyaḥ śabdebhyo ḍhañ pratyayo bhavati 'tadarthaṃ vikṛteḥ prakṛtau' ity etasmin viṣaye
The *taddhita* affix *ḍhaÑ* occurs after syntactically related nominal stems *chadis* 'roof, covering', *upadhi* 'part of a chariot, spoke' and *bali* 'ritual oblation of food', which end in *caturthī* and signify a material product, provided derivates denote the *prakṛti* intended for that product.

EXAMPLES:

chādiṣeyāṇi tṛṇāni 'straw fit for roofing (covering)'
aupadheyaṃ dāru 'wood fit for making wheels and spokes of a chariot'
bāleyās taṇḍulāḥ 'rice fit for ritual oblation'

1. This again is an exception to *cha*. The scope of this *sūtra* is similar to that of the preceding. Still, enumeration of three bases is made to facilitate blocking of *cha* by *ḍhaÑ*. Note that if a leather product is considered as fit for covering then *aÑ* of 5.1.13 *carmaṇo'ñ* would still be blocked. *Kāśikā* does not entertain this conflict between two affixes perhaps thinking that enumeration of specific bases (*pratipadavidhāna*), such as *chadis*, etc., will take prec-

edence. Haradatta does not accept this. He favors *ḍhaÑ* over *aÑ* based on the notion of prior exception (*purastāpavāda*). Affix *ḍhaÑ*, in the context of *upadhi*, is desired to denote the sense of its base (*svārtha; upadhiśabdāt svārthe pratyayaḥ*) The word *upadhi* itself is used in the sense of *cakra* 'wheel', or part, of a chariot (*rathāṅga*).

A question is raised about how *bāleyās taṇḍulāḥ* involes *prakṛti-vikāra* relationship. Haradatta explains that rice, when prepared for ritual oblation, gets certain enhancement in its quality. Thus, qualities brought about by adding, for example turmeric (*haridrā*), can be acepted as *vikṛti*.

5.1.14 ऋषभोपानहोर्ञ्यः

ṛṣabhopānahor ñyaḥ
/ṛṣabhopānahoḥ 6/2 (*itar. dv.*); *ñyaḥ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *tadarthaṃ vikṛteḥ prakṛtau* #12)
'ṛṣabha, upānah' ity etābhyāṃ ñyaḥ pratyayo bhavati 'tadarthaṃ vikṛteḥ prakṛtau' ity etasmin viṣaye
The *taddhita* affix *Ñya* occurs after syntactically related nominal stems *ṛṣabha* 'bull' and *upānah* 'footwear', which signify a material product (*vikṛti*) and end in *caturthī*, provided derivates denote the material cause (*prakṛti*) intended for that product.

EXAMPLES:

ṛṣabhāya hitam = ārṣabhyo vatsaḥ 'a calf fit for becoming a breeding stud'
aupānahyo muñjaḥ 'a particular reed fit for making footwear'

1. This again is an exception to *cha*. Note also that *aupānahyaṃ carma* will still opt for *Ñya*, as against *aÑ* of the following rule, based upon *pūrvavipratiṣedha*, conflict among rules of equal strength where prior rule wins.

5.1.15 चर्मणोऽञ्

carmaṇo'ñ
/carmaṇaḥ 6/1 *añ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *tadarthaṃ vikṛteḥ prakṛtau* #12, *añ* #14)
carmaṇo yā vikṛtiḥ tadvācinaḥ prātipadikād añ pratyayo bhavati 'tadarthaṃ vikṛteḥ prakṛtau' ity etasmin viṣaye
The *taddhita* affix *Ñya* also occurs after a nominal stem which signifies a material product of *carman* 'hide' and ends in *caturthī*, provided the derivate denotes the material cause (*prakṛti*) intended for that product.

EXAMPLES:

aupānahyaṃ carma 'hide fit for making sandals'

vārdhraṃ carma 'hide fit for making straps'
vāratraṃ carma 'id.'

1. Note that *carmaṇaḥ* is here interpreted as ending in genitive (*ṣaṣṭhī*), modifying *vikṛti* 'material product'. This again is an exception to *cha.*

5.1.16 तदस्य तदस्मिन् स्यादिति

tad asya tad asmin syād iti
/*tat* 1/1 *asya* 6/1 *tat* 1/1 *asmin* 7/1 *syāt* (verbal *pada*) *iti* ϕ/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76)
prathamāsamarthāc chaṣṭhyarthe saptamyarthe ca yathāvihitaṃ pratyayo bhavati yat tat prathamāsamarthaṃ syāc cet tad bhavati
A *taddhita* affix occurs as specified to denote the sense of *ṣaṣṭhī* 'genitive', or of *saptamī* 'locative', after a syntactically related nominal stem which ends in nominative (*prathamā*), provided the same is in syntactic coordination with *syāt* to denote the sense of 'there is a possibility of that' or 'it is possible in there'.

EXAMPLES:

prākārīyā iṣṭakāḥ = prākāra āsām iṣṭakānāṃ syāt 'bricks, sufficient enough for building a wall'
prāsādīyaṃ dāru = prāsādaḥ asya syāt 'wood, sufficient enough for building a palace'
prākārīyo deśaḥ = prākāro' smin deśe syāt 'a place where fences could be made'
prāsādīyā bhūmiḥ = prāsādo' tra syāt 'land on which a palace could be built'

1. Note that *tat* specifies the syntactically related base as ending in *prathamā* 'nominative'. The genitive *asya* and locative *asmin* specify affixal meaning (*pratyayārtha*). This will offer us the interpretation: 'a *taddhita* affix occurs to denote the sense of genitive, or of locative, after a syntactically related nominal which ends in nominative'. The indeclinable *iti* characterizes *vivakṣā* 'speaker's intent'. The word *syāt*, a derivate of *LIṄ*, denotes *sambhāvanā* 'possibility' (3.3.154 *sambhāvane' lam . . .*) and modifies the base, i.e., that which ends in nominative. That is, it forms a syntactic coordination (*sāmānādhikaraṇya*) with the *pada* which ends in nominative. This will give us two interpretations which are both valid: *tad asya syād iti* '. . . there may be a possiblity of that which ends in the nominative'; and *tad asmin syād iti* '. . . that may be possible in there'.

2. This rule does not entail the sense of *tādarthya* 'intended for that' characterized by *prakṛti-vikārabhāva* 'material cause and modified product' of the preceding rule. What is denoted here is *yogyatā* 'fitness'. Thus, 'abun-

dance of bricks', or 'quality of a place' could make it possible for a wall, or palace, to be built.

Why is *tat* used twice? To make it clear that a single syntactically related nominal, in contexts where more than one affixal meanings is specified, may be construed with every meaning (*Kāś.*: *anekasmin pratyayārthe pratyekaṃ samarthavibhaktiḥ sambandhanīyā*).

5.1.17 परिखाया ढञ्

parikhāyā ḍhañ
/parikhāyāḥ 5/1 *ḍhañ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *tad asya tad asmin syād iti* #16)
parikhāśabdāḍ ḍhañ pratyayo bhavati 'tad asya tad asmin syād iti' etasminn arthe
The *taddhita* affix *ḍhaÑ* occurs to denote the sense of genitive, or of locative, after syntactically related nominal stem *parikhā* 'moat, ditch' when ending in nominative, provided the same is in syntactic coordination with *syāt* to denote the sense of 'there is a possibility of that', or 'it is possible in there'.

EXAMPLES:

parikhā syād asmin bhūmyām = pārikheyī bhūmiḥ 'a piece of land sufficient enough for building a moat'

1. This terminates the general domain of affixes *cha* and *yaT*. Other affixes will be introduced hereafter.

5.1.18 प्राग्वतेष्ठञ्

prāg vateṣ ṭhañ
/prāk ϕ vateḥ 5/1 *ṭhañ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76)
'tena tulyaṃ kriyā ced vatiḥ' iti vakṣyati; prāg etasmād vatisaṃśabdanād yān ita ūrdhvam anukramiṣyāmaḥ ṭhañ pratyayas teṣv adhikṛto veditavyaḥ
A *taddhita* affix, namely *ṭhaÑ*, occurs after a nominal stem to denote the sense of affixes introduced by rules prior to that which contains *vati* (5.1.115 *tena tulyaṃ kriyā ced vatiḥ*).

EXAMPLES:

Refer to subsequent rules for examples.

5.1.19 आर्हादगोपुच्छसंख्यापरिमाणाट्ठक्

ārhād agopucchasaṃkhyāparimāṇāṭ ṭhak

/ā ϕ arhāt 5/1 *agopucchasaṃkhyāparimāṇāt* 5/1 = *agopucchaṃ ca* (*na gopuccham = agopuccham* (*nañ. tat.*) *saṃkhyā ca parimāṇaṃ ca = agopucchasaṃkhyāparimāṇam* (*dv.* with int. *nañ. tat.*), *tasmāt*; *ṭhak* 1/1/ (*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76)

'*tad arhati*' *ā etasmād arhasaṃśabdanāt yānita ūrddhvam anukramiṣyāmaṣ ṭhak pratyayas teṣv adhikṛto veditavyaḥ, gopucchādīn varjayitvā*

A *taddhita* affix, namely *ṭhaK*, occurs after a nominal stem to denote the sense of affixes introduced by rules prior to, and including, 5.1.63 *tad arhati*, provided the stem signifies something other than *gopuccha* 'cow's tail', *saṃkhyā* 'number' and *parimāṇa* 'a measure of weight'

EXAMPLES:

Refer to subsequent rules.

1. Note that the domain of this rule is specified by *ārhāt* (*ā + arhāt*) where *arha* determins the extent. There are two rules where *asha* is used: 5.1.63 *tad arhati* and 5.1.117 *tad arham*. Rule 5.1.117 *tad arham* cannot be accepted as indicating the extent of 'his domain since that will make its specification by means of *ārhāt* useless. This should have been accomplished by *vati* of 5.1.18 *prāg vateṣ ṭhañ*. Pāṇini should not have used *ārhāt*. Why can this specification by *ārhāt* not be accepted as made for facilitating *ṭhaK* also in the sense of *vati* (*vatyarthe*)? But that would have required 5.1.18 *prāg vateṣ ṭhañ* to make the specification by means of *āṄ* denoting *abhividhi* 'inclusive limit'. But even then *ṭhaK* would become valid in rule 5.1.118 *upasargāc chandasi dhātvarthe*. *Nyāsa* claims that *ṭhaK* in these instances will be blocked by an affix denoting the sense of *vati*. For, specification of *vati* is made by means of enumerating individual stems (*pratipada-vidhāna*). Besides, such usages of *ṭhaK* are not available (*anabhidhānāt*). It is therefore advised to accept the extent of this domain as specified by *arhati* of 4.1.63 *tad arhati*. Haradatta (*PM* ad *Kāś.*) says that *vyākhyāna* 'interpretation of the learned' is our only recourse in this matter (*vyākhyānam evātra śaraṇam*).

Note that particle *aṄ* (in *ā + ārhāt = ārhāt*) is used in the sense of *abhividhi* 'inclusive limit'. Consequently, *ṭhaK* finds its scope in the sense of *arhati*, though with the exclusion of *gopuccha-saṃkhyā-parimāṇa*. Thus, the scope of *ṭhaK* is included within the scope of *ṭhaÑ* as an exception (*apavāda*). The domain of this rule extends up to 5.1.71 *yajñartigbhyāṃ ghakhau*, since it is included within the scope of 5.1.63 *tad arhati*.

2. Note that *agopuccha-saṃkhyā-parimāṇāt* can be interpreted only as *ṛatiṣedha* 'negation', since no other meaning is possible. That is, negation applies to all three: *gopuccha*, *saṃkhyā* and *parimāṇa*. Why can we not interpret this rule to mean: *agupucchāt saṃkhyāyāḥ parimāṇāt* 'after a stem which is not *gopuccha*, and after stems which denote *saṃkhyā* and *parimāṇa*'. This is not acceptable. If Pāṇini intended this interpretation then he should not

have stated *niṣkādibhyaḥ* in 5.1.20 *asamāse niṣkādibhyaḥ*. For, *niṣka* denotes *parimāṇa*, and *parimāṇa* of this rule could have easily accounted for that. The argument that *niṣka* is used for stating restriction (*niyama*) of *asamāsa eva* 'only in a non-compound' is also not acceptable. For, repetition (*anuvāda*) of a word (*parimāṇa* via *niṣka*) to formulate a *niyama* is faulty. Besides, when *vidhi* 'operational' and *niyama* 'restrictive' interpretations are both possible one favors the *vidhi* (*Paribhāṣā* (109): *vidhiniyamasambhave vidhir eva jyāyaḥ*). If *saṃkhyā* and *parimāṇa* were both not negated then inclusion, within *niṣkādi* (5.1.20 *asamāse . . .*), of *droṇa* with the signification of *parimāṇa*, and of *ṣaṣṭhī* signifying a number, would not make any sense.

3. Is it necessary to include both *saṃkhyā* and *parimāṇa* in this rule? Why can we not make the specification by one, since they both are distinguishers (*paricchedaka*)? One cannot account for both by one because they are not the same. The following verse of the *Mahābhāṣya* explains it:

> *ūrdhvamānaṃ kilonmānaṃ parimāṇam tu sarvataḥ/*
> *āyāmas tu pramāṇaṃ syāt saṃkhyā bāhyā tu sarvataḥ//*
> '*unmāna* is a measure of height; *parimāṇa* is a measure of a thing, all inclusive; *pramāṇa* is a measure of length; *saṃkhyā* falls outside of them all'

What is *saṃkhyā*? It is counting items distinguished (*bhedagaṇana*). Naturally, it cannot be included within *unmāna*, *parimāṇa* and *pramāṇa*.

5.1.20 असमासे निष्कादिभ्यः

asamāse niṣkādibhyaḥ
/asamāse = na samāsaḥ (*nañ. tat.*), *tasmin*; *niṣkādibhyaḥ* 5/3 = *niṣka ādir yeṣām* (*bv.*), *te/*
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *ārhāt, ṭhak* #18)
niṣkādibhyaḥ śabdebhyo'samāse ṭhak pratyayo bhavati ārhīyeṣv artheṣu
A *taddhita* affix, namely *ṭhaK*, occurs to denote the sense of affixes introduced by rules prior to, and including 5.1.63 *tad arhati*, after a nominal stem listed in the group headed by *niṣka*, when it ends in an appropriate nominal ending and when it is not part of a compound (*asamāse*).

EXAMPLES:

> *naiṣkikam* 'purchased with a Niṣka (gold coin weighing four ounces)'
> *māṣikam* 'purchased with a Māṣa (one-fourth of a Niṣka)'

1. The introduction of *ṭhaK* after a *niṣkādi* word occurring as part of a compound is blocked by the negation of *asamāse*. Consequently, a compound base will receive affix *ṭhaÑ*. Consider, for example, *paramanaiṣkikam* and

uttamanaiṣkikam where rule 7.3.17 *parimāṇāntasyāsaṃjña* . . . orders a *vṛddhi*-replacement in the following constituent.

2. Note that *asamāse* is basically used to negate *tadantavidhi* 'interpreting X as referring not only to X but also to that which ends in X'. Thus, *niṣka* may refer not only to *niṣka* but also to that which may end in *niṣka*. The negation of *asamāse* rules out such references. This negation also serves the purpose of establishing non-negation (*apratiṣedha*) of *tadantavidhi* in case of the preceding rules. Thus, affix *yaT* can be introduced not only after *apūpa* (5.1.2 *ugavādibhyo yat*) and *danta* (5.1.6 *śarīrāvayavād yat*), but also after *yavāpūpa* and *rājadanta*, respectively.

The *tadantavidhi* interpretation is also desired in subsequent rules prior to *vati* (5.1.115 *tene tulyaṃ* . . .), though only in the context of stems which may have an initial constituent denoting number (*saṃkhyā*; *Kāś.*: *ita uttaraṃ ca saṃkhyāpūrvapadānāṃ tadantavidhir iṣyate, tac cāluki*). *Kāśikā* offers *dvaipārāyaṇikaḥ* and *traipārāyaṇikaḥ* as examples with reference to rule 5.1.72 *pārāyaṇaturāyaṇacāndrāyaṇaṃ vartayati*. But this limited *tadantavidhi* is blocked when deletion by *LUK* has applied after a stem (*lugantāyās tu prakṛter neṣyate*). Consider *dviśūrpa* which is a *dvigu* compound in consonance with 2.1.51 *taddhitārthottarapada*. . . . Rule 5.1.26 *śūrpād anyatarasyām* introduces affix *aÑ* optionally with *ṭhaÑ* (5.1.18 *prāg vateṣ* . . .). These affixes get deleted by *LUK* of 5.1.28 *adhyardha*. . . . One can now derive *dviśaurpikam* in the sense of *dvābhyāṃ śūrpābhyāṃ krītam* 'purchased by two winnowing baskets (filled with grains)' by introducing *ṭhaK* (5.1.37 *tena krītam*). The *vṛddhi* of *ū* in *dviśūrpa* + *ṭhaÑ* is in consonance with 7.3.17 *parimāṇānta*. . . . Note that *aÑ* (or *ṭhaÑ*) after *dviśūrpa* will cancel *tadantavidhi* interpretation. The *ṭhaK* of *dviśūrpa* + *ṭhaK* cannot be deleted by *LUK* of 5.1.28 *adhyardha* . . ., since it does not condition the formation of the *dvigu* compound on hand.

5.1.21 शताच्च ठन्यतावशते

śatāc ca ṭhanyatāv aśate
/śatāt 5/1 *ca* ϕ *ṭhanyatau* 1/2 (*itar. dv.*); *aśate* 7/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *ārhāt* #18)
śataśabdāt ṭhanyatau pratyayau bhavataḥ aśate' bhidheye ārhīyeṣv artheṣu
The *taddhita* affixes *ṭhaN* and *yaT* occur after nominal stem *śata* to denote the sense of affixes introduced by rules prior to, and including 5.1.63 *tad arhati*, when the stem ends in an appropriate nominal ending and the derivate signifies something other than 'a hundred'.

EXAMPLES:

śatikam 'purchased for a hundred'
śatyam 'id.'

1. This provision of *ṭhaN*, and of *yaT*, constitutes an exception to *kaN* of the following rule. Why can *ṭhaN* and *yaT* not be introduced when the derivate denotes *śata*? Observe *śatakaṃ nidānam*, parallel to *śataṃ parimāṇam asya ṇidānasya* 'Nidāna, a treatise, measured by a hundred (verses)', where the meaning of the base is not different from that of the affix (*Kāś.*: *prakṛtyārthān na bhidyate*). This restriction will not apply when the base meaning is different from that of the derivate. Thus consider *śatikam/śatyam*, parallel to *śatena krītam* 'purchased for a hundred', where affixes *ṭhaN* and *yaT* cannot be blocked (*vt: śatapratiṣedhe' nyaśatatve' pratiṣedhaḥ* 'negation of *śata* relative to something other than the denotatum of the base does not apply').

5.1.22 संख्याया अतिशदन्तायाः कन्

saṃkhyāyā atiśadantāyāḥ kan
/saṃkhyāyāḥ 5/1 *atiśadantāyāḥ* 5/1 = *tiś ca śac ca* (*dv.*); *na tiśatāv antāv asyāḥ sā saṃkhyā* (*bv.* with int. *nañ. tat.*); *kan* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *ārhāt* #18)
saṃkhyāyā atyantāyā aśadantāyāś ca kan pratyayo bhavati ārhīyeṣv artheṣu
The *taddhita* affix *kaN* occurs to denote the sense of affixes introduced by rules prior to, and including, 5.1.63 *tad arhati*, after a nominal stem which ends in an appropriate ending and signifies a number, but does not have *ti* and *śata* as its final.

EXAMPLES:

pañcakaḥ paṭaḥ 'a dress purchased for five (coins . . .)'
bahukaḥ '. . . purchased for many (coins . . .)'

1. Stems which may end in *ti*, or *śat*, are blocked from receiving *kaN*. They must instead avail the general affix *ṭhaÑ*. Thus, *pañcan* 'five' of *pañcakaḥ* does not end in *ti* or *śat*. Bases such as *saptati* 'seventy' and *catvāriṃśat* 'forty' cannot avail *kan* since they end in *ti* and *śat*, respectively. They will receive *ṭhaÑ* to produce: *sāptatikaḥ* 'purchased for seventy . . .' and *catvāriṃśatikaḥ* 'purchased for forty. . . .'

Note that Patañjali considers *ti* (in *a-ti-śad-antā*) as meaningful. The *ti* of *saptati* will block *kaN* since it is meaningful. But consider *ti* of affix *Ḍati* which, in turn, is introduced to derive *kati* from *kim* (5.2.41 *kimaḥ saṃkhyāparimāṇe ḍati ca*). This *ti* cannot block *kaN* in deriving *katika* because it is not meaningful. What is meaningful here is *ati*.

2. Incidentally, *bahu* and *gaṇa* are assigned the term *saṃkhyā* by 1.1.23 *bahugaṇavatuḍati saṃkhyā*.

5.1.23 वतोरिड् वा

vator iḍ vā

/vatoḥ 5/1 *iṭ* 1/1 *vā ϕ/*
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *ārhāt* #18, *kan* #22)
vatvantāyāḥ saṃkhyāyāḥ kan pratyayo bhavati iḍ āgamaś ca
The *taddhita* affix *kaN*, with an optional provision of augment *iṬ*, occurs to denote the sense of affixes introduced by rules prior to, and including 5.1.63 *tad arhati*, after a nominal stem which signifies a number and ends in *vatU*.

EXAMPLES:

tāvatikaḥ '. . . bought for that much'
tāvatkaḥ 'id.'
yāvatikaḥ '. . . purchased for as much as . . . '
yāvatkaḥ 'id.'

1. Note that 1.1.23 *bahugaṇavatuḍati saṃkhyā* assigns the term *saṃkhyā* to that which ends in *vatU*. As such, affix *kaN* is already available from the preceding rule. This rule is formulated mostly for optional augment *iṬ*. Incidentally, the ablative (*pañcamī*) of *vatoḥ* implies that, for purposes of *iṬ*, the nominative of *kaN* is interpreted as genitive (*ṣaṣṭhī*).

5.1.24 विंशतित्रिंशद्भ्यां ड्वुनसंज्ञायाम्

viṃśatitriṃśadbhyāṃ ḍvun asaṃjñāyām
/viṃśatitriṃśadbhyām 5/2 (*itar. dv.*); *ḍvun* 1/1 *asaṃjñāyām* 7/1 (*nañ. tat.*)/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *ārhāt* #18)
viṃśatitriṃśadbhyāṃ ḍvun pratyayo bhavati asaṃjñāyāṃ viṣaye ārhīyeṣv artheṣu
The *taddhita* affix *ḌvuN* occurs to denote the sense of affixes introduced by rules prior to, and including 5.1.63 *tad arhati*, after nominal stems *viṃśati* 'twenty' and *triṃśat* 'thirty', when they end in an appropriate nominal ending and derivates do not denote a name (*saṃjñā*).

EXAMPLES:

viṃśakaḥ = *viṃśati varṣāṇi vayaḥ parimāṇam asya* 'one whose measure of age is twenty years . . .'
triṃśakaḥ 'one whose measure of age is thirty years . . .'

1. Note that derivates with the denotatum of *saṃjñā* will qualify for *kaN* to derive examples such as *viṃśatikaḥ* and *triṃśatikaḥ*. But *kaN* cannot be introduced after a number word which ends in *ti* or *śat*. How would one then derive *viṃśatikaḥ* and *triṃśatikaḥ*? The *Mahābhāṣya* suggests rule-splitting (*yogavibhāga*) for resolving this difficulty. The split-rules are as follows:

(*i*) *viṃśati-triṃśadbhyāṃ kan* affix *kaN* occurs after *viṃśati* and *triṃśatī*
(*ii*) *ḍvun asaṃjñāyāṃ* 'affix *ḌvuN* occurs when the derivate does not denote a name (*saṃjñā*)'

5.1.25 कंसाट्टिठन्

kaṃsāṭ ṭiṭhan
/kaṃsāt 5/1 *ṭiṭhan* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *ārhāt* #18)
kaṃsāṭ ṭiṭhan pratyayo bhavati ārhīyeṣv artheṣu
The *taddhita* affix *ṬiṭhaN* occurs after nominal stem *kaṃsa* 'measure of liquid weight' to denote the sense of affixes introduced by rules prior to, and including, 5.1.63 *tad arhati.*

EXAMPLES:

kaṃsikaḥ 'purchased with something equal in measure to a Kaṃsa'
kaṃsikī 'id.'

1. Note that *kaṃsa* is interpreted here as meaning 'a vessel of (white) copper used as a measure of liquid weight'. It cannot mean just the metal, or the son of Ugrasena, an enemy of Kṛṣṇa. We learn it from the associated context (*sāhacarya*) of *parimāṇa* in the preceding and following rules.

This affixal provision of *ṬIṭhaN* is an exception to *ṭhaÑ*. The *Ṭ* as an *it* in the affix facilitates *ṄīP*, for example in *kaṃsikī* (4.1.15 *ṭiḍḍhāṇañ . . .*). The *i* is used for ease of articulation (*uccāraṇārtha*). The final *N* as an *it* is intended for initial *udātta*. Thus, *kaṃsa* + *ṭha*→*kaṃsa* + *ṭh*→*ika* = *kaṃsika*, though *ika*-replacement, *bha-saṃjñā* and *a-lopa*. The *ṄīP* after *kaṃsika* is introduced by 4.1.15 *ṭiḍḍhāṇañ. . . .*

2. Note that the *Mahābhāṣya* also makes the following *vārttika* proposals:

Affix *ṬIṭhaN* should also be introduced after *ardha* and *kārṣāpaṇa* to derive *arddhikaḥ/ arddhikī* 'purchased by one half of . . .'; and *kārṣāpaṇikaḥ/ kārṣāpaṇikī* 'purchased for one Kārṣāpaṇa', respectively. An optional proposal for *prati* to replace *kārṣāpaṇa* before *ṬIṭhaN* yields:

pratikaḥ/ pratikī (*arddhāc ceti vaktavyam; kārṣāpaṇāṭ ṭiṭhan vaktavyaḥ pratiśabdaś cāsyādeśo vā vaktavyaḥ*).

5.1.26 शूर्पादञन्यतरस्याम्

śūrpād añ anyatarasyām
/śūrpāt 5/1 *añ* 1/1 *anyatarasyām* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *ārhāt* #18)
śūrpaśabdād anyatarasyāṃ añ pratyayo bhavati ārhīyeṣv artheṣu
The *taddhita* affix *aÑ* occurs optionally after nominal stem *śūrpa* 'a

measure of weight equal to the capacity of one winnowing basket' to denote the sense of affixes introduced by rules prior to, and including, 5.1.63 *tad arhati.*

EXAMPLES:

śaurpam '. . . bought for something equal in weight to a winnowing basket'
śaurpikam 'id.'

1. Affix *aÑ* is here offered as an option against *ṭhaÑ*. Note that *ṭhaK* (5.1.19 *ārhād agopuccha* . . .) cannot be introduced because *śūrpa* denotes *parimāṇa.* The word *śūrpa* generally denotes a 'winnowing basket' (*paripavana-viśeṣa*). It is, however, also used in the sense of a 'measure', specially of grains.

5.1.27 शतमानविंशतिकसहस्रवसनादण्

śatamānaviṃśatikasahasravasanād aṇ
/śatamānaviṃśatikasahasravasanāt 5/1 (*sam. dv.*); *aṇ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *ārhāt* #18)
śatamānādibhyaḥ śabdebhyo'ṇ pratyayo bhavati ārhīyeṣv artheṣu
The *taddhita* affix *aṆ* occurs to denote the sense of affixes introduced by rules prior to, and including, 5.1.63 *tad arhati,* after nominal stems *śatamāna* 'name of a measure of weight', *viṃśatika* 'monetary unit with a denomination of twenty' and *sahasra* 'monetary unit with the denomination of a thousand' and *vasana* 'cloth'.

EXAMPLES:

śatamānena krītaṃ = śātamānaṃ śatam 'purchased with something equal in measure to a Śatamāna'
vaiṃśatikaḥ 'bought for a twenty . . .'
sāhasram 'purchased for a thousand . . .'
vāsanam 'purchased with clothes . . .'

1. Note that *śatamāna* denotes *parimāṇa* 'measure' and *sahasra* denotes *saṃkhyā* 'number'. This provision of *aṆ* is thus an exception to both *ṭhaK* and *ṭhaÑ*. It is, in the context of *sahasra,* also an exception to *kaN* of 5.1.22 *saṃkhyāyā atiśa.* . . . Our third nominal stem, i.e., *viṃśatika,* signifies the name (*saṃjñā*) of a 'measure'. It qualifies for *ṭhaÑ* if it names a *parimāṇa.* If used as a name for something else, it will qualify for *ṭhaK.* Finally, *vasana* as such qualifies for *ṭhaK.* Our present rule introduces *aṆ* instead.

5.1.28 अध्यर्धपूर्वद्विगोर्लुगसंज्ञायाम्

adhyardhapūrvadvigor lug asaṃjñāyām

/ adhyardhapūrvadvigoḥ 5/1 = *adhyārūḍham ardhaṃ yasmin sa adhyardhaḥ* (*bv.*); *adhyardhaśabdaḥ pūrvaḥ yasmin* (*bv.* with int. *bv.*); *adhyardhapūrvaś ca dviguś ca* (*sam. dv.* with int. *bv.*); *luk* 1/1 *asaṃjñāyām* 7/1/ (*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *ārhāt* #18)

adhyardhapūrvāt prātipadikād dvigoś ca parasya ārhīyasya lug bhavati asaṃjñāyāṃ viṣaye

A *taddhita* affix with the signification of affixes introduced by rules prior to, and including 5.1.63 *tad arhati*, is deleted by *LUK*, when it occurs either after a nominal stem used in construction after *adhyardha* 'more by one half', or after a compound termed *dvigu*, provided derivates do not denote a name.

EXAMPLES:

adhyardhakaṃsam 'purchased for one and a half Kaṃsas of . . .'
trikaṃsam 'purchased for three Kaṃsas of . . .'
adhyardhaśūrpam 'purchased with grains equal to one and one-half measure of a winnowing basket'
triśūrpam 'purchased with grains equal to three measures of a winnowing baskets'

1. Note that *adhyardhakaṃsa* is a compound formed under the condition of *taddhitartha* (2.1.51 *taddhitārthottarapada . . .*), parallel to *adhyardhena kaṃsena krītam*. Rule 5.1.25 *kaṃsāṭ ṭiṭhan* introduces affix *ṬIṭhaN* under the *tadantavidhi* interpretation of 5.1.25 *kaṃsāṭ ṭiṭhan*. Our present rule orders deletion by *LUK* of *ṬIṭhaN*. Examples such as *dviśūrpam* and *triśūrpam* entail introduction of *aÑ* subequent to compound-formation under the condition of *taddhitārtha*. This *aÑ* is then deleted by *LUK* of this rule since it conditions *dvigu*.

This deletion will not take effect if the derivate (*pratyayānta*) denotes a name (*saṃjñā*). Consider *pāñcalauhitikam* 'that whose measure is equal to five Lohinīs' and *pāñcakalāpikam* 'that whose measure is equal to five Kalāpas', parallel to *pañcalohinyaḥ parimāṇam asya* and *pañcakalāpāḥ parimāṇam asya*, respectively. These are derivates of *ṭhaÑ* (5.1.57 *tad asya parimāṇam*) where, because of the condition of *asaṃjñā*, deletion by *LUK* of *ṭhaÑ* could not apply. Note that *lohinī* of *pañcalohinī* goes through masculine transformation (*puṃvadbhāva*), in consonance with a *vārttika* (*bhasyā'ḍhe taddhite*, cf. 6.3.35 *tasilādiṣv . . .*).

2. Note that *adhyardha* denotes *saṃkhyā*. As such, it will entail deletion of *kaN* by *LUK* subsequent to formation of the *dvigu* compound. Why is this listed separately in this rule? It is listed separately to indicate that, occasionally, operations relative to *saṃkhyā* are not performed in the context of *adhyardha*. For example, affix *kṛtvasUC* is not introduced after *adhyardha* to derive *adhyardhakṛtvaḥ*.

5.1.29 विभाषा कार्षापणसहस्राभ्याम्

vibhāṣā kārṣāpaṇasahasrābhyām
/vibhāṣā 1/1 *kārṣāpaṇasahasrābhyām* 5/2 (*itar. dv.*)/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *ārhāt* #18, *adhyardhapūrvadvigor luk* #28)
adhyardhapūrvād dvigoś ca kārṣāpaṇasahasrāntād uttarasyārhīyapratyayasya vibhāṣā lug bhavati
A *taddhita* affix with the signification of affixes introduced by rules prior to, and including 5.1.63 *tad arhati*, is deleted by *LUK* only optionally, when it occurs either after a nominal stem used in construction after *adhyardha*, or after a compound termed *dvigu*, but ends in *kārṣāpaṇa* and *sahasra*.

EXAMPLES:

adhyardhakārṣāpaṇam 'purchased for one and a half Kārṣāpaṇas'
adhyardhakārṣāpaṇikam 'id.'
adhyardhapratikam 'id.'
dvikārṣāpaṇam 'purchased for two Kārṣāpaṇas'
dvikārṣāpaṇikam 'id.'
dvipratikam 'id.'
adhyardhasahasram 'purchased for one and a half thousand'
adhyardhasāhasram 'id.'
dvisahasram 'purchased for two thousand'
dvisāhasram 'id.'

1. This rule requires two types of bases: (*a*) those which begin with *adhyardha* and (*b*) those which are termed a *dvigu*. Both (*a*) and (*b*) must meet an additional requirement: they must end either in *kārṣāpaṇa* or in *sahasra*. This affixal deletion by *LUK* is optional. The deletion specified by the earlier rule is obligatory (*nitya*).

2. Recall that a *vārttika* under 5.1.25 *kaṃsāṭ ṭiṭhan* proposes the introduction of *ṬIṭhaN* also after *kārṣāpaṇa*. This rule optionally deletes that *ṬIṭhaN*. Recall also that when the option of deleting *ṬIṭhaN* is not accepted, *prati* can replace *kārṣāpaṇa*. Thus we get *adhyardhakārṣāpaṇam* (with deletion); *adhyardhakārṣāpaṇikam* (with non-deletion); and *adhyardhapratikam* (with non-deletion and replacement in *prati*). Examples of *dvigu* will be: *dvikārṣāpaṇam* (with deletion); *dvikārṣāpaṇikam* (with non-deletion); and *dvipratikam* (with non-deletion and replacement in *prati*). Rule 5.1.27 *śatamānaviṃśatika* . . . introduces affix *aṆ* after *sahasra*. Our present rule orders optional deletion of *aṆ* by *LUK* to produce *adhyardhasahasram* (with deletion of *aṆ*); *adhyardhasāhasram* (with non-deletion); *dvisahasram* (*dvigu* with deletion of *aṆ*); and *dvisāhasram* (*dvigu* with non-deletion). The *vṛddhi* of the constituent which follows (*uttarapada*) in *adhyardhasāhasram* and *dvisāhasram* is

accomplished by 7.3.15 *saṃkhyāyāḥ saṃvatsara.* . . . This, of course, is allowed only when *aṆ* is not deleted.

3. A *vārttika* proposal is also made for optional *LUK*-deletion of affixes occurring after *suvarṇa* and *śatamāna.* Of course, conditions of *adhyardha* and *dvigu* will also apply. This will offer examples such as: *adhyardhasuvarṇam/ adhyardhasausvarṇikam* (deletion and non-deletion of *ṭhaÑ*). Now consider parallel examples of *śatamāna: adhyardhaśatamānam/ adhyardhaśātamānam* (deletion/non-deletion of *aṆ*). The *dvigu* examples will be: *dvisuvarṇam/ dvisauvarṇikam* (deletion/non-deletion of *ṭhaÑ*); and *dviśatamānam/ dviśātamānam.* The *vṛddhi* of the following constituent is accomplished by 7.3.17 *parimāṇāntasya.* . . .

5.1.30 द्वित्रिपूर्वान्निष्कात्

dvitripūrvān niṣkāt

/ dvitripūrvāt 5/1 = *dviś ca triś ca* (*dv.*); *dvitrayaḥ pūrve yasmin* (*bv.* with int. *dv.*); *niṣkāt* 5/1/

(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *ārhāt* #18, *dvigor luk* #28, *vibhāṣā* #29)

dvitripūrvād dvigor niṣkāntād ārhīyapratyayasya vibhāṣā lug bhavati

A *taddhita* affix with the signification of affixes introduced by rules prior to, and including 5.1.63 *tad arhati,* is optionally deleted by *LUK* when the same occurs after *niṣka* used as final of a *dvigu* compound beginning with *dvi* 'two' and *tri* 'three'.

EXAMPLES:

dviniṣkam 'purchased for two Niṣkas'
dvinaiṣkikam 'id.'
triniṣkam 'purchased for three Niṣkas'
trinaiṣkikam 'id.'

1. This deletion applies to *ṭhaK,* not to *ṭhaÑ,* as is specified by 5.1.20 *asamāse niṣkādibhyaḥ.* Of course, non-deletion facilitates *vṛddhi* of the following constituent.

A *vārttika* also proposes this deletion after *niṣka,* used in construction after *bahu.* This will yield *bahuniṣkam bahunaiṣkikam,* where non-deletion results into *vṛddhi* of the following constituent (7.3.17 *parimāṇāntasya* . . .).

Haradatta (*PM* ad *Kāś.*) does not like the use of *pūrvāt* in *dvitripūrvāt.* He favors the formulation of this rule as: *dvitripūrvābhyāṃ niṣkāt. Nyāsa* observes that *pūrvāt* is used to indicate something additional (*anyad apy adhikaṃ kiṃcid asti*). This additional provision is mentioned as what the preceding *vārttika* offers.

5.1.31 बिस्ताच्च

bistāc ca

/bistāt 5/1 *ca* ϕ/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *ārhāt* #18, *dvigor luk* #28, *vibhāṣā* #29, *dvitripūrvāt* #30)
dvitripūrvād bistāntād dvigaḥ parasyārhīyapratyayasya vibhāṣa lug bhavati
A *taddhita* affix with the signification of affixes introduced by rules prior to, and including 5.1.63 *tad arhati*, is optionally deleted by *LUK* after *bista*, used as final of a *dvigu* compound beginning with *dvi* and *tri*.

EXAMPLES:

dvibistam 'purchased with two Bistas'
dvibaistikam 'id.'
tribistam 'purchased with three Bistas'
tribaistikam 'id.'
bahubistam 'purchased with many Bistas'
bahubaistikam 'id.'

1. This optional deletion by *LUK* is offered against the obligatory provision of 5.1.28 *adhyardhapūrvād*. . . . The *ca* is used for attracting *dvitripūrvāt* from the preceding rule. Why was *dvitripūrvāt* not marked with *svarita* to facilitate *anuvṛtti*? Why was *ca* used instead? Pāṇini uses *ca* to indicate that *dvitripūrvāt* is not carried beyond this rule (cf. *cānukṛṣṭam uttaratra nānuvarttate* 'that which is brought via *ca* is not carried subsequently'). *Nyāsa* differs from this interpretation. It says that *ca* is used to provide something additional. That is, it provides for optional deletion by *LUK* also when *bista* is used in construction after *bahu*. Thus, *bahubistam* and *bahubaistikam*.

5.1.32 विंशतिकात्खः

viṃśatikāt khaḥ
/viṃśatikāt 5/1 *khaḥ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *ārhāt* #18, *adhyardhapūrvadvigoḥ* #28, *dvitripūrvāt* #30)
adhyardhapūrvāt prātipadikād dvigoś ca viṃśatikaśabdād ārhīyeṣv artheṣu khaḥ pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *kha* occurs to denote the sense of affixes introduced by rules prior to, and including 5.1.63 *tad arhati*, after a nominal stem which either begins with *adhyardha*, or has *viṃśatika* used as final of a *dvigu*.

EXAMPLES:

adhyardhaviṃśatikīnam 'purchased with one and one-half of a twenty . . . (1.5 Kārṣāpaṇas)'
dviviṃśatikīnam 'purchased with twenty times two . . .'

1. The preceding examples involve two affixal operations. First, affix *aṆ*

(of 5.1.27 *śatamānaviṃśatika* . . .) is introduced and deleted. This rule then introduces *kha*. This *kha* is saved from deletion by *LUK* at the strength of this express provision (*vacanasāmarthyāt*). Obviously, to introduce *kha*, and then delete it, will be meaningless (*anarthaka*). *Nyāsa* observes that these deletion (of *aṆ* and *kha*) do not offer anything special.

5.1.33 खार्या ईकन्

khāryā īkan
/khāryāḥ 5/1 *īkan* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *ārhāt* #18, *adhyardhapūrvadvigoḥ* #28)
adhyardhapūrvāt prātipadikād dvigoś ca khāriśabdāntād ārhīyeṣv arhteṣu īkan pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *īkaN* occurs to denote the sense of affixes introduced by rules prior to, and including 5.1.63 *tad arhati*, after nominal stem *khārī* 'measure of weight' used either in construction after *adhyardha*, or as final of a *dviga*.

EXAMPLES:

adhyardhakhārīkam 'purchased with something equal in measure to one and one-half of a Khārī'
dvikhārīkam 'purchased with something equal in measure to two Khārīs'

1. The following three *vārttika* proposals have also been made in the *Mahābhāṣya*:
   (*i*) Affix *īkaN* should also be introduced after *khārī* to yield: *khārīkam*.
   (*ii*) Affix *īkaN* should also be introduced after *kākiṇī* used, either with *adhyardha* as its initial, or as final of a *dvigu*, to yield *adhyardhakākiṇī-kam*.
   (*iii*) Affix *īkaN* should also be introduced after *kākiṇī* to yield: *kākiṇīkam*.
2. The *i* of *khārī* will be deleted by 6.4.148 *yasyeti ca*.

5.1.34 पणपादमाषशताद्यत्

paṇapādamāṣaśatād yat
/paṇapādamāṣaśatāt 5/1 (*sam. dv.*); *yat* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *ārhāt* #18, *adhyardhapūrvadvigoḥ* #28)
adhyardhapūrvād dvigoś ca paṇapādamāṣaśataśabdāntād ārhīyeṣv artheṣu yat pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *yaT* occurs to denote the sense of affixes introduced by rules prior to, and including 5.1.63 *tad arhati*, after a nominal stem which ends in *paṇa*, *pāda*, *māṣa* and *śata*, and either begins with *adhyardha*, or is a compound termed *dvigu*.

EXAMPLES:

adhyardhapaṇyam 'purchased with the one and one-half of a Paṇa'
dvipaṇyam 'purchased with two Paṇas'
adhyardhapādyam 'purchased with one and one-half of a Pada'
dvipādyam 'purchased with two Padas'
adhyardhamāṣyam 'purchased with one and one-half of a Māṣa'
dvimāṣyam 'purchased with two Māṣas'
adhyardhaśatyam 'purchased with one and one-half of a hundred'
dviśatyam 'purchased with two hundred'

1. Note that because of association (*sāhacarya*) with *paṇa*, etc., which all denote *parimāṇa* 'measure', *pāda* is also interpreted as denoting the same. It cannot be interpreted as meaning *prāṇyaṅga* 'limb; foot'. Consequently, *pāda* cannot be replaced with *pat* of 6.3.53 *padaty atadarthe* and 6.4.130 *pādaḥ pat*.

5.1.35 शाणाद्वा

śāṇād vā
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *ārhāt* #18, *adhyardhapūrvadvigoḥ* #28, *yat* #34)
śāṇaśabdād adhyardhapūrvād dvigor ārhīyeṣv artheṣu vā yat pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *yaT* occurs optionally to denote the sense of affixes introduced by rules prior to, and including 5.1.63 *tad arhati*, after a nominal stem which ends in *śāṇa* and either begins with *adhyardha*, or is compound termed *dvigu*.

EXAMPLES:

adhyardhaśāṇyam 'purchased with one and one-half of a Śāṇa'
adhyardhaśāṇam 'id.'
dviśāṇyam 'purchased with two Śāṇas'
dviśāṇam 'id.'

1. Note that affix *ṭhaÑ* was made available to *śāṇa* based on its denotation of a measure (*parimāṇa*; 5.1.18 *prāg vateṣ ṭhañ*). This rule makes that provision optional. Recall that *ṭhaÑ* will be deleted by *LUK* of 5.1.28 *adhyardhapūrva*. . . . Affix *yaT*, however, cannot be deleted. For, its express introduction by this rule will then become meaningless (*anarthaka*).

2. A *vārttika* recommends that affix *yaT* should also be introduced after a nominal stem which ends in *śata*, and either begins wth *adhyardha*, or is a compound termed *dvigu*. Consider *adhyardhaśatyam/ adhyardhaśatam*; *dviśatyam/ dviśatam* as examples.

5.1.36 द्वित्रिपूर्वादण् च

dvitripūrvād aṇ ca

/dvitripūrvāt 5/1 = (*dvau ca trayaś ca* (*dv.*), *dvitrayaḥ pūrve yasmin* (*bv.* with int. *dv.*), *tasmāt*; *aṇ* 1/1 *ca ϕ*/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *ārhāt* #18, *adhyardhapūrvadvigoḥ* #28, *yat* #34, *śāṇāt* #36)
dvitripūrvāt śāṇāntāt prātipadikāt ārhīyeṣv artheṣu aṇ pratyayaś ca bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *aṆ* also occurs to denote the sense of affixes introduced by rules prior to, and including 5.1.63 *tad arhati*, after a nominal stem which ends in *śāṇa* and is used in combination after *dvi* and *tri*.

EXAMPLES:

dvaiśāṇam 'purchased with two Śāṇas'
dviśāṇam 'id.'
dviśāṇyam 'id.'
traiśāṇyam 'purchased with three Śāṇas'
triśāṇam 'id.'
triśāṇyam 'id.'

1. Note that this is a *vārttika* which *Kāśikā* reads as a *sūtra*. The *aṆ* introduced under this provision becomes optional to *ṭhaÑ* and *yaT*. Thus, we get three forms: one each for: *ṭhaÑ*, *yaT*, and *aṆ*. Thus, *dvaiśāṇam* (*aṆ*), *dviśāṇam* (*ṭhaÑ*) and *dvaiśāṇyam* (*yaT*), etc. The initial *vṛddhi* in derivates of *aṆ* and *yaT* is accomplished by 7.3.17 *parimāṇāntasyāsaṃjñāśāṇayoḥ*.

2. Note that the *Mahābhāṣya* (ad 5.1.35 *śāṇād vā*) considers this rule as a *vārttika*. Kaiyaṭa (*Pradīpa* ad 5.1.35) does not accept it *ārṣa* 'formulated by Pāṇini' (*sūtreṣv anārṣaḥ pāṭha iti vārttikārambhaḥ*). Haradatta calls it an interpolation (*PM* ad *Kāś.*: *vārttike darśanāt sūtreṣv etal prakṣiptam*). I have included it here as a *sūtra* since *Kāśikā* and *Siddhāntakaumudī* both do the same.

5.1.37 तेन क्रीतम्

tena krītam
/tena 3/1 *krītam* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76)
'*tena*' *iti tṛtīyāsamarthāt* '*krītam*' *ity etasminn arthe yathāvihitaṃ pratyayo bhavati*
A *taddhita* affix occurs, as specified to denote the sense of *krītam*, after a syntactically related nominal stem which ends in *tṛtīyā* 'instrumental'.

EXAMPLES:

Refer to examples already discussed under preceding rules.

1. Our preceding rules have enumerated thirteen affixes: *ṭhaÑ* (5.1.18 *prāg vateṣ ṭhañ*); *ṭhaK* (5.1.18 *ārhād agopuccha . . .*); *ṭhaN/yaT* (5.1.121 *śatāc*

ca . . .); *kaN* (5.1.22 *saṃkhyāyāḥ* . . .); *ḌvuN* (5.1.24 *viṃśatitriṃśad* . . .); *ṬIṭhaN* (5.1.25 *kaṃsāṭ ṭiṭhan*); *aÑ* (5.1.26 *śūrpād anyatarasyām*); *aṆ* (5.1.27 *śatamāna-viṃśatika* . . .); *kha* (5.1.32 *viṃśatikāt khaḥ*); *īkaN* (5.1.33 *khāryā īkan*); *yaT* (5.1.34 *paṇapādamāṣa* . . .); and *aṆ* (5.1.36 *dvitripūrvād* . . .). Pāṇini now starts specifying nominal endings which enable stems to become syntactically related (*samartha*). Additionally, this rule also begins specifying the denotata of enumerated affixes. Thus, *tena*, i.e., *tad*, a variable used with *tṛtīyā*, states that an affix, as specified, can occur after a nominal stem which ends in *tṛtīyā* to denote the sense of *krītam* 'purchased by. . . .'

2. Note that, because of affixal meaning of *krītam* 'purchased by . . .', *tṛtīyā* 'instrumental' of *tena* is interpreted as occurring after those stems which denote *mūlya* 'purchase price' as *karaṇa* 'instrument'. Thus, parallel to *śatena krītaḥ*, we get *śatikaḥ* where *śata* of *śatena* denotes 'purchase price, a *karaṇa* by means of which something was 'purchased' (*krītam*). This derivational option is not available to strings such as *devadattena krītam* 'purchased by Devadatta' and *pāṇinākrītam* 'purchased by hand' where *tṛtīyā*, after *devadatta* and *pāṇi*, denotes agent and instrument, respectively. More importantly, *devadatta* and *pāṇi* do not denote 'purchase price'. Derivates with the denotatum of *krītam* where instrumental (*tṛtīyā*) may denote something other than a 'purchase price' are not available in usage. Usages are also responsible for lack of derivates where such affixes could be introduced after a base ending in dual or plural nominal ending (*Kāś.*: *dvivacana-bahuvacanāntāt pratyayo na bhavati*). Thus, no affix can be introduced after *prastha* to denote the sense of *krītam*, parallel to *prasthābhyām krītam* and *prasthebhyaḥ krītam* where *prastha* ends in dual and plural, respectively. However, a base with a dual or plural ending could receive such affixes, provided the meaning of the base itself provides evidence for distinguishing it on the basis of duality and plurality (*Kāś.*: *yatra tu prakṛtyarthasya saṃkhyābhedāvagame pramāṇam asti tatra dvivacana-bahuvacanāntād api pratyayo bhavati*). Thus, a nominal stem, for example *dvi* of *dvābhyāṃ krītam* could qualify to receive an affix to derive *dvikam*. Additionally, consider *mudgaiḥ krītam* = *maudgikam* 'purchased by Mung beans' where plural in *mudgaiḥ* is necessary because it is impossible to buy anything with a single grain of Mung beans.

5.1.38 तस्य निमित्तं संयोगोत्पातौ

tasya nimittaṃ saṃyogotpātau

/ tasya 6/1 *nimittam* 1/1 *saṃyogotpātau* 1/2 = *saṃyogaś ca utpātaś ca* (*itar. dv.*) /

(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76)

'*tasya*' *iti ṣaṣṭhīsamarthāt* '*nimittam*' *ity etasminn arthe yathāvihitaṃ pratyayo bhavati, yat tannimittaṃ saṃyogaś cet sa bhavati utpāto vā*

A *taddhita* affix occurs to denote a cause (*nimitta*) after a syntactically

related nominal stem which ends in *ṣaṣṭhī* 'genitive', provided the cause is also *saṃyoga* 'coincidence, connection' or *utpāta* 'portent.

EXAMPLES:

śatyaḥ = śatasya nimittaṃ dhanapatinā saṃyogaḥ 'connection with a rich man caused by gain of a hundred . . .'
śatikaḥ 'id.'
śatyam = śatasya nimittam utpāto dakṣiṇākṣispandanam 'twitching of the right eye-lid, a portent indicating gain of a hundred . . .'

1. *Kāśikā* explains *saṃyoga* and *utpāta* as *sambandha* 'association, connection' and *prāṇināṃ śubhāśubhasūcakaḥ pariṇāmaḥ* 'providential acts indicating good or bad results'. Commentators explain that a human body is made of five prime substances (*pañcamahābhūta*): *pṛthivī* 'earth', *ap* 'water', *tejas* 'fire, light', *vāyu* 'wind', and *ākāśa* 'ether'. These substances are known as *utpāta* when they are triggered into action (*kriyā*). The twitching of the right eye-lid (*dakṣiṇākṣi-spandana*) serves as an example. Note, however, that *nimitta* is used here as a *jñāpakahetu* 'cause indicating effect'.

2. A *vārttika* recommends that affix *ṭhaK* should also be introduced after *vāta* 'wind', *pitta* 'choler' and *śleṣma* 'phlegm', provided derivates denote *śamana* 'containment' or *kopana* 'irritation'. Thus we get: *vātikaḥ śākaḥ* 'leafy vegetable which may contain, or cause, gas' and *ślaiṣmikaṃ madhu* 'honey which soothes cough'. Yet another *vārttika* recommends this affixal operation also after *sannipāta* concurrent disorder of 'wind', 'choler' and 'phlegm' to produce: *sānnipātikam*, a medicine which may cure such disorders.

5.1.39 गोद्व्यचोऽसंख्यापरिमाणाश्वादेर्यत्

godvyaco'saṃkhyāparimāṇāśvāder yat
/godvyacaḥ 5/1 = *dvau acau yasmin* (*bv.*); *gau ca dvyac ca = godvyac* (*bv.* with int. *sam. dv.*), *tasmāt*; *asaṃkhyāparimāṇāśvādeḥ = aśva ādir yeṣām* (*bv.*); *saṃkhyā ca parimāṇaṃ ca aśvādayaś ca*; *na saṃkhyāparimāṇāśvādiḥ* (*nañ. tat.* with int. *sam. dv.* with int. *bv.*), *tasmāt*; *yat* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *tasya nimittaṃ saṃyogotpātau* #38)
gośabdād dvyacaś ca prātipadikāt saṃkhyāparimāṇāśvādivivarjitād yat pratyayo bhavati 'tasya nimittaṃ saṃyogotpātau' ity etasminn arthe
The *taddhita* affix *yaT* occurs to denote a cause after *go* 'cow, bull', or after a nominal stem which consists of two syllables but does not signify a 'number' (*saṃkhyā*) and 'measure' (*parimāṇa*), and does not belong to the group of stems headed by *aśva* (*aśvādi*), provided the cause is also *saṃyoga* 'connection' or *utpāta* 'portent'.

EXAMPLES:

gavyaḥ 'connection or portent indicating gain of a cow'

svargyam 'connection or portent indicating attainment of heaven'
yaśasyam 'connection or portent indicating fame'
āyuṣyam 'connection, or portent indicating longevity'

1. This provision of *yaT* constitutes an exception to *ṭhaÑ* and *ṭhaK*, etc. The exclusion of *saṃkhyā, parimāṇa* and *aśvādi* is intended to block a derivate of *yaT* parallel to *pañcamam, khārīkam* and *āśvikaḥ*, etc., with *kaN, ṭhaÑ* and *ṭhaK*, respectively.

2. A *vārttika* recommends introduction of *yaT* after *brahmavarcas* to account for *brahmavarcasyam* 'association (with a teacher) for purposes of studying the nature of *brahman* (the supreme self)'.

5.1.40 पुत्राच्छ च

putrāc cha ca
/putrāt 5/1 *cha* (deleted 1/1) *ca* ϕ/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *tasya nimittaṃ saṃyogotpātau* #38)
putraśabdāc chaḥ pratyayo bhavati cakārād yac ca 'tasya nimittaṃ saṃyogotpātau' ity etasmin viṣaye
The *taddhita* affix *cha*, and *yaT* as well, occurs to denote a cause after syntactically related nominal stem *putra* 'son', when ending in genitive, provided the cause is also *saṃyoga* 'connection' or *utpāta* 'portent'.

EXAMPLES:

putrīyam = putrasya nimittaṃ saṃyoga utpāto vā 'a cause or portent indicating birth of a son'
putryam 'id.'

1. This optional provision of *cha* is made against *yaT* which is obligatorily available to *putra* on account of its status as *dvyac* 'disyllabic'.

5.1.41 सर्वभूमिपृथिवीभ्यामणञौ

sarvabhūmipṛthivībhyām aṇañau
/sarvabhūmipṛthivībhyām 5/2 (*itar. dv.*); *aṇañau* 1/2 (*itar. dv.*)
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *tasya nimittaṃ saṃyogotpātau* #38)
sarvabhūmi-pṛthivīśabdābhyām yathāsaṃkhyam aṇañau pratyayau bhavataḥ 'tasya nimittaṃ saṃyogotpātau' ity etasmin viṣaye
The *taddhita* affixes *aṆ* and *aÑ* occur to denote a cause after syntactically related nominal stems *sarvabhūmi* 'entire earth' and *pṛthivī* 'earth, land', respectively, when they end in genitive, provided the cause is also *saṃyoga* 'connection' or *utpāta* 'portent'.

EXAMPLES:

sārvabhaumaḥ 'connection, or portent, relative to the entire earth'
pārthivaḥ 'connection, or portent, relative to the land'

1. This affixal provision constitutes an exception to *ṭhaK*. Note that affixes *aṆ* and *aÑ* cannot be introduced, respectively, to denote the sense of *saṃyoga* and *utpāta*. A *yathāsaṃkhya* 'assignment of equivalency in accord with the order of enumeration (1.3.10 *yathāsaṃkhyam . . .*)' of these affixes relative to *saṃyoga* and *utpāta* cannot be justified, because they both serve as qualifiers to their meaning. Consequently, their *yathāsaṃkhya* relationship must be restricted relative to the two bases: *sarvabhūmi* and *pṛthivī*.

The word *sarvabhūmi* is listed in the group of stems headed by *anuśatika*. Consequently, rule 7.3.20 *anuśatikādīnāṃ ca* applies to cause *vṛddhi* of both syllables of *sarvabhūmi*.

5.1.42 तस्येश्वरः

tasyeśvaraḥ
/tasya 6/1 *īśvaraḥ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *sarvabhūmipṛthivībhyām aṇañau* #41)
'tasya' iti ṣaṣṭhīsamarthābhyāṃ sarvabhūmi-pṛthivīśabdābhyām aṇañau pratyayau bhavataḥ 'īśvaraḥ' ity etasmin viṣaye
The *taddhita* affixes *aṆ* and *aÑ* occur, respectively, after syntactically related nominal stems *sarvabhūmi* and *pṛthivī* when they end in genitive and derivates signify *īśvara* 'lord, master'.

EXAMPLES:

sārvabhaumaḥ 'lord of the entire earth'
pārthivaḥ 'lord of the land'

1. The explicit use of *tasya* in this *sūtra*, especially when *tasya* is already available from *anuvṛtti*, is made to block the *anuvṛtti* of *tasya nimittaṃ saṃyogotpātau* (*Kāś.*: *ṣaṣṭhīprakaraṇe ṣaṣṭhīsamarthavibhaktinirdeśaḥ pratyayārthasya nivṛttaye anyathā saṃyogotpātāv iva īśvaro'pi pratyayārthasya nimittasya viśeṣaṇaṃ sambhāvyeta*). For, if *tasya* was not used, *īśvara* could have also become a qualifier to the affixal meaning of cause (*nimitta*), similar to *saṃyoga* and *utpāta*.

2. The initial *vṛddhi* of both *sarva* and *bhūmi* in *sārvabhaumikaḥ* is required by 7.3.20 *anuśatikādīnāṃ ca*.

5.1.43 तत्र विदित इति च

tatra vidita iti ca
/tatra ϕ viditaḥ 1/2 *iti ϕ ca ϕ/*

(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *sarvabhūmipṛthivībhyām aṇañau* #41)
'tatra' iti saptamīsamarthābhyāṃ yathāsaṃkhyam aṇañau pratyayau bhavataḥ 'viditaḥ' ity etasminn arthe
The *taddhita* affixes *aṆ* and *aÑ* occur, respectively, after syntactically related nominal stems *sarvabhūmi* and *pṛthivī*, when ending in locative, provided derivates denote the sense of *viditaḥ* 'known'.

EXAMPLES:

sarvabhūmau viditaḥ = sārvabhaumaḥ '. . . known throughout the world'
pārthivaḥ '. . . known throughout the land'

1. Note that this rule could have been formulated jointly with the preceding one as: *tasyeśvaras tatra vidita iti ca.* This would have given the paraphrase: *sarvabhūmipṛthivībhyāṃ tasyeśvaras tatra vidita it ca aṇañau pratyayau bhavataḥ* 'affixes *aṆ* and *aÑ* occur after syntactically related nominal stems *sarvabhūmi* and *pṛthivī*, when ending in genitive and locative, to denote the sense of 'lord of that' and 'known in there'. Such a formulation would have occasioned *yathāsaṃkhya*, thereby facilitating affix *aṆ* with the denotatum of 'lord' after *sarvabhūmi* ending in genitive. Affix *aÑ*, with the signification of 'known', would have then been restricted to occur after *pṛthivī* ending in locative. A separate formulation is made so that *yathāsaṃkhya* could be impaired (*yathāsaṃkhyanirāsārtham*). Additionally, a separate formulation becomes necessary since only *viditaḥ* is required in the subsequent rule (*uttarārtham*).

5.1.44 लोकसर्वलोकाट्ठञ्

lokasarvalokāṭ ṭhañ
/ lokasarvalokāt 5/1 = *lokaś ca sarvalokaś ca* (*sam. dv.*), *tasmāt*; *ṭhañ* 1/1/ (*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *aṇañau* #41, *tatra viditaḥ* #43)
loka-sarvalokaśabdābhyāṃ tatreti saptamīsamarthābhyāṃ 'viditaḥ' ity etasmin viṣaye ṭhañ pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *ṭhaÑ* occurs, to denote the sense of *viditaḥ*, after syntactically related nominal stems *loka* 'universe' and *sarvaloka* 'entire universe' when ending in locative.

EXAMPLES:

loke viditaḥ = laukikaḥ 'known throughout the world'
sarvaloke viditaḥ = sārvalaukikaḥ 'known throughout the entire universe'

1. The double *vṛddhi* in *sārvalaukikaḥ* is in consonance with 7.3.20 *anuśatikādīnāṃ ca.* Note that a specification of *ṭhaÑ*, in all instances, is made to rule out *ṭhaK.* If a specification was simply made by the base then *ṭhaK* of 5.1.19 *ārhād . . .* would become operative (*Nyāsa* ad *Kāś.*: *sarvatra ṭhañgraha-*

ṇaṃ ṭhako nivṛtyartham; anyathā hi prakṛtimātranirdeśe kriyamāṇe ārhād iti ṭhak prasajyeta).

5.1.45 तस्य वापः

tasya vāpaḥ
/tasya 6/1 *vāpaḥ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76)
'*tasya*' *iti ṣaṣṭhīsamarthād* '*vāpaḥ*' *ity etasminn arthe yathāvihitaṃ pratyayo bhavati*
A *taddhita* affix occurs as specified to denote the locus of sowing (*tasya vāpaḥ*) after a syntactically related nominal stem which ends in genitive.

EXAMPLES:

prasthasya vāpaḥ kṣetraṃ = prāsthikam 'a field in which seeds equal to a measure of Prastha can be sown'
drauṇikam 'a field which requires seeds equal to a measure of Droṇa for sowing'

1. Note that *vāpaḥ* is a derivate of *GHaÑ* signifying *adhikaraṇa* 'locus', parallel to *upyate' smin* 'that (a locus) in which something is sown . . .' (3.3.121 *halaś ca*).

5.1.46 पात्रात् ष्ठन्

pātrāt ṣṭhan
/pātrāt 5/1 *ṣṭhan* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *tasya vāpaḥ* #45)
pātraśabdāṭ ṣṭhan pratyayo bhavati '*tasya vāpaḥ*' *ity etasmin viṣaye*
The *taddhita* affix *ṢṭhaN* occurs after a syntactically related nominal stem, namely *pātra* 'container' ending in genitive, when the derivate denotes a 'locus of sowing'.

EXAMPLES:

pātrasya vāpaḥ = pātrikaṃ kṣetram 'a field which requires a particular container-ful of seeds for sowing'
pātrikī kṣetrabhaktiḥ 'a furrow which requires a particular container-ful of seeds for sowing'

1. Note that *pātra* here denotes *parimāṇa*. Affix *ṢṭhaN* is thus an exception to *ṭhaÑ*. The *Ṣ* as an *it* facilitates introduction of feminine affix *NīṢ* (4.1.41 *ṣid gaurādibhyaś ca*), for example in *pātrikī*.

5.1.47 तदस्मिन्वृद्ध्यायलाभशुल्कोपदा दीयते

tad asmin vṛddhyāyalābhaśulkopadā dīyate
/tat 1/1 *asmin* 7/1 *vṛddhyāyalābhaśulkopadāḥ* 1/3 (*itar. dv.*); *dīyate* (verbal *pada*)/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76)
'tat' iti prathamāsamarthād asminn iti saptamyarthe yathāvihitaṃ pratyayo bhavati, yat tat prathamāsamarthaṃ vṛddhyādi cet tad dīyate
A *taddhita* affix occurs as specified to denote the sense of *saptamī* (*adhikaraṇa* 'locus') after syntactically related nominal stems *vṛddhi* 'interest', *āya* 'income', *lābha* 'profit', *śulka* 'tax' and *upadā* 'bribe', all ending in *prathamā* 'nominative', provided the denotatum of these nominals serves as object of giving (*dīyate*).

EXAMPLES:

pañcakaḥ 'that for which five is paid as interest, income, profit, tax, or bribe'
śatikaḥ 'that for which a hundred is paid as interest, income, profit, tax, or bribe'

1. Note that *vṛddha-āya-lābha-śulkopadāḥ*, in nominative plural, is a *dvandva* compound. If *vṛddhi*, etc., are specified as objects in relation to *dā* 'to give', the third singular passive of *dā* 'to give', i.e., *dīyate*, should be changed to plural *dīyante*. Commentators explain that singular in *dīyate* requires *vṛddhi*, etc., to be associated with it individually, and not collectively (*Nyāsa* ad *Kāś.*: *na ca taiḥ samuditaiḥ kriyate, kiṃ tarhi, pratyekam*).

The word *vṛddhi*, because of its association (*sāhacarya*) here with stems denoting money (*dhana*), is interpreted as a particular kind of money (*dhanaviśeṣa*). It does not here refer to the technical term *vṛddhi*. *Kāśikā* explains *vṛddhi* 'interest' as the money which is paid by a debtor on top of what his creditor loaned (*adhamarṇena mūladhanātiriktaṃ deyaṃ dhanam*). The word *āya* is explained as 'money paid to local authorities' (*grāmādiṣu svāmigrāhyo bhāgaḥ*). The money which one gets on top of what one invests is called *lābha* 'profit' (*paṭādīnām upādānamūlād atiriktaṃ dravyam*). The word *śulka* is explained as 'money paid to the king for protection and governance' (*rājabhāgaḥ*). Finally, *upadā* is explained as *utkoca* 'bribe'.

2. A *vārttika* also extends this affixal operation to derivates denoting the sense of *caturthī*. Thus, *pañcako devadattaḥ* 'Devadatta to whom five is given as interest, etc.'.

5.1.48 पूरणार्धाड्डन्

pūraṇārdhāṭ ṭhan
/pūraṇārdhāt 5/1 (*sam. dv.*), *tasmāt*; *ṭhan* 1/1/

(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *tad asmin vṛddhyāyalābhaśulkopadā dīyate* #47)
pūraṇavācinaḥ śabdād ardhaśabdāc ca ṭhan pratyayo bhavati 'tad asmin vṛddhyāyalābhaśulkopadā dīyate' ity etasminn arthe
The *taddhita* affix *ṭhaN* occurs to denote locus after a syntactically related nominal stem which ends in nominative and either signifies an ordinal (*pūraṇa*), or is constituted by *ardha*, provided derivates denote *vṛddhi, āya, lābha, śulka* and *upadā* as object given.

EXAMPLES:

dvitīyo vṛddhyādir asmin dīyate = dvitīyakaḥ 'that in which one pays twice as much interest, income, profit, tax and bribe'
ardhikaḥ 'that in which one pays one-half of a Rūpaka as interest, income, profit, tax and bribe'

1. This affixal provision is made as an exception to *ṭhaK* (5.1.19 *ārhād . . .*) and *ṬIṭhaN* (*vt.: ardhāc ceti vaktavyam ad* 5.1.25 *kaṃsāṭ ṭiṭhan*). Incidentally, *ardha* is used here in the sense of one-half of a Rūpaka (Kārṣāpaṇa).

5.1.49 भागाद्यच्च

bhāgād yac ca
/bhāgāt 5/1 *yat* 1/1 *ca* ϕ/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *tad asmin vṛddhyāyalābhaśulkopadā dīyate* #47)
bhāgaśabdād yat pratyayo bhavati cakārāṭ ṭhaṃś ca 'tad asmin vṛddhyāyalābhaśulkopadā dīyate' ity etasminn arthe
The *taddhita* affix *yaT*, in addition to *ṭhaN*, occurs to denote locus after a syntactically related nominal stem *bhāga* 'share' when ending in *prathamā* 'nominative', provided derivates denote *vṛddhi, āya, lābha, śulka* and *upadā* as objects of giving.

EXAMPLES:

bhāgo vṛddhyādir asmin dīyate = bhāgyam/ bhāgikaṃ śatam 'that for which one pays one-half of a Kārṣāpaṇa per every hundred as interest, income, profit, tax and bribe.'
bhāgyā/ bhāgikā viṃśatiḥ 'that for which one pays one-half of a Kārṣāpaṇa on every twenty as interest, income, profit, tax and bribe'

1. The word *bhāga* is also used here in the sense of one-half of a Kārṣāpaṇa.

5.1.50 तद्धरति वहत्यावहति भाराद्वंशादिभ्यः

taddharati vahatyāvahati bhārād vaṃśādibhyaḥ
/tat 2/1 *harati* (verbal *pada*) *vahati* (verbal *pada*) *āvahati* (verbal *pada*

bhārāt 5/1 *vaṃśādibhyaḥ* 5/3 = *vaṃśa ādir yeṣām* (*bv.*), *tebhyaḥ*)
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1., *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76)
'*taṭ*' *iti dvitīyāsamarthādd haratyādiṣv artheṣu yathāvihitaṃ pratyayo bhavati*
A *taddhita* affix occurs as specified after syntactically related nominal stem *bhāra*, when ending in accusative (*dvitīyā*), and occurring in combination after a nominal listed in the group headed by *vaṃśa*, provided derivates denote the sense of *harati* 'carries, steals', *vahati* 'conveys' and *āvahati* 'brings'.

EXAMPLES:

vaṃśabhāraṃ harati, vahati, āvahati vā = vāṃśabhārikaḥ 'one who carries, conveys or brings the load of bamboo'

1. Note that *bhārāt* and *vaṃśādibhyaḥ* are both in *pañcamī* 'ablative', though specified with different numbers. This impairs syntactic coordination between them. Consequently, they are construed with different denotatum (*vyadhikaraṇa*). That is, *vaṃśādibhyaḥ* is interpreted as 'after those which have *vaṃśa*, etc., at their beginning'. The word *bhārāt* is interpreted as 'that which ends in *bhāra*'. They both, thus, qualify the base, yielding the following interpretation: after a nominal stem which ends in *bhāra* occurring after a nominal of the group headed by *vaṃśa*. There is yet another interpretation of *bhārād vaṃśādibhyaḥ*, whereby an affix is introduced after *vaṃśa*, etc., when they constitute the load (*bhārabhūta*). This will require interpreting *bhārāt* as *bhārabhūtāt* and, in order for it to qualify *vaṃśādibhyaḥ*, its singular has to be read as plural to yield *bhārabhūtebhyo vaṃśādibhyaḥ*. This second interpretation is not favored since one has to establish modifier-modified relationship between *bhāra* and *vaṃśādi*, via meaning (*arthadvāra*). *Kāśikā* claims that since Pāṇini himself taught this *sūtra* to students with these dual interpretations, they both should be accepted (*Kāś.*: *sūtrārthadvayam api caitad ācāryeṇa śiṣyāḥ pratipāditāḥ tad ubhayam api grāhyam*).

2. The condition of *bhārāt* is necessary to exclude derivates parallel to *vaṃśaṃ harati* where *bhāra* is not involved. The condition of *vaṃśādibhyaḥ* rules out derivates parallel to *vrīhibhāraṃ harati* where *bhāra* is not used with *vaṃśādi*.

3. Verbal form *harati* is explained as: *deśāntaraṃ prāpayati corayati vā* 'carries to a different place or steals'. Verbal form *vahati* is glossed as: *utkṣipya dhārayati* 'picks up and carries'. Finally, *āvahati* is used in the sense of *utpādayati* 'produces'.

5.1.51 वस्नद्रव्याभ्यां ठन्कनौ

vasnadravyābhyāṃ ṭhankanau
/*vasnadravyābhyām* 5/2 (*itar. dv.*), *tābhyām*; *ṭhankanau* 1/2 (*itar. dv.*)/

(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *tadd harati vahatyāvahati* #50)
vasna-dravyaśabdābhyāṃ dvitīyāsamarthābhyāṃ yathāsaṃkhyaṃ ṭhan-kan ity etau pratyayau bhavataḥ
The *taddhita* affixes *ṭhaN* and *kaN* occur, respectively, after syntactically related nominal stems *vasna* 'initial investment' and *dravya* 'things, money', when ending in accusative, provided derivates denote the sense of *harati, vahati* and *āvahati.*

EXAMPLES:

vasnikaḥ 'one who carries, conveys or produces investment money'
dravyakaḥ 'one who carries, conveys, or produces things (money)'

1. This rule introduces *ṭhaN* and *kaN*, respectively, after *vasna* and *dravya* against affix *ṭhaK* of our earlier rule. The initial *vṛddhi* does not obtain since affixes are marked with *N*. The word *vasna* is glossed as *mūlya* 'investment money'.

5.1.52 सम्भवत्यवहरति पचति

sambhavaty avaharati pacati
/sambhavaty avaharati pacati (verbal *padas*)*/*
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *tat* #50)
'tad' iti dvitīyāsamarthāt sambhavatyādiṣu artheṣu yathāvihitaṃ pratyayo bhavati
A *taddhita* affix occurs as specified to denote the sense of *sambhavati* '. . . is possible . . .', *avaharati* '. . . carries away, withdraws' and *pacati* '. . . cooks' after a syntactically related nominal stem which ends in *dvitīyā* 'accusative'.

EXAMPLES:

prasthaṃ sambhavaty avaharati pacati vā = prāsthikaḥ 'that (pot) which could hold, or in which one carries or cooks, something equal to the measure of one Prastha'

1. Note that *sambhavati* implies that 'the measure of a thing contained (*ādheya*)' does not exceed 'the capacity of its locus' (*ādhāra; ādhārapramāṇād ādheyapramāṇasya nyūnatā*). Why do we have to state it explicitly when we already know that things contained in a container do not exceed its capacity. This container-contained relationship, and hence the sense of *sambhavati,* is not always understood in the context of cooking (*pāka*). Thus, consider *prasthaṃ pacati brāhamaṇī* 'a Brāhmaṇa woman cooks something equal to the measure of a Prastha' where the capacity of the pot is not clearly known. Now consider *sthālīprasthaṃ pacati brāhmaṇī* 'a Brāhmaṇa woman cooks in a

kettledrum capable of cooking (or containing) something equal to the measure of one Prastha' where the condition of *sambhavati* obtains. It is for this reason that *sambhavati* is not relatable here to *pacati*.

2. A *vārttika* recommends that *aN* should also be optionally introduced after *droṇa* to account for: *drauṇikī/ drauṇī*, parallel to *droṇaṃ pacati brāhmaṇī*.

5.1.53 आढकाचितपात्रात्खोऽन्यतरस्याम्

āḍhakācitapātrāt kho' nyatarasyām
/ āḍhakācitapātrāt 5/1 (*sam. dv.*), *tasmāt*; *khaḥ* 1/1 *anyatarasyām* 7/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *tat* #50, *sambhavaty avaharati pacati* #52)
āḍhakācitapātraśabdebhyo dvitīyāsamarthebhyo' nyatarasyāṃ sambhahavādiṣv artheṣu khaḥ pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *kha* occurs optionally, to denote the sense of *sambhavati, avaharati,* and *pacati,* after syntactically related nominal stems *āḍhaka, ācita* and *pātra* when they end accusative.

EXAMPLES:

āḍhakaṃ sambhavaty avaharati pacati vā āḍhakīnā/
āḍhakikī; *ācitīnā/ ācitīkī*; *pātrīṇā/ pātrikī* 'a (pot) for which it is possible to contain, carry and cook something equal in measure to an āḍhaka, ācita and pātra'

1. Note that *āḍhaka* and *ācita* denote particular measures of weight. The *Amarakośa* explains *ācita* as equal in weight to a fully loaded bullock-cart (less than a ton). The *āḍhaka* equals a little less than 2.5 kg. Finally, *pātra* literally means a pot, but is here used in the sense of a generalized (*sāmānya*) measure. Affix *kha* is, of course, introduced optionally with *ṭhaÑ*. Feminine affixes *ṬāP* and *ṄīP* are introduced after derivates of *kha* and *ṭhaÑ*, respectively.

5.1.54 द्विगोः ष्ठंश्च

dvigoṣ ṣṭhaṃś ca
/ dvigoḥ 5/1 *ṣṭhan* 1/1 *ca* ϕ/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *tat* #50, *sambhavaty avaharati pacati* #52, *āḍhakācitapātrāt anyatarasyām* #53)
āḍhakācitapātrāntād dvigoḥ sambhavatyādiṣv artheṣu ṣṭhan pratyayo bhavati cakārāt khaḥ anyatarasyām
The *taddhita* affix *ṢṭhaN*, and *kha* as well, occurs optionally to denote the sense of *sambhavati, avaharati* and *pacati,* after a syntactically related nominal stem termed *dvigu* which contains *āḍhaka, ācita* and *pātra* as its final constituent and ends in accusative.

EXAMPLES:

dvyāḍhakī/ dvyāḍhakīnā/ dvyāḍhakī ('that which is capable to hold, carry or cook, something equal in measure of two) āḍhakas'
dvyācitikī/ dvyācitīnā/ dvyācitā ('that which is capable to hold, carry and cook something equal in measure of two) ācitas'
dvipātrikī/ dvipātrīṇā/ dvipātrī ('that which is capable to hold, carry and cook something equal in measure of two pots')

1. Affix *kha* is here introduced optionally with *ṭhaÑ*. This will yield three forms: *dvyācitikī/ dvyācitīnā/ dvyācitā*, etc. Note, however, that deletion by *LUK* (5.1.28 *adhyardhapūrva* . . .) will apply to derivates of *ṭhaÑ*. Derivates of *ṢṭhaN* and *kha* will be spared this deletion at the strength of its express provision made by this rule (*vacanasāmarthya*). The *N* as an *it* is for accent (*svara*). The *Ṣ* is, of course, for facilitating feminine derivates in *ṄīṢ*.

2. Affix *ṄīP* is not introduced after *dvyācita* (4.1.21 *dvigoḥ*) since it is blocked by 4.1.22 *aparimāṇabistācita*. . . . Note that, in accord with an *iṣṭi* (*Mbh.* ad 2.4.17 *sa napuṃsakam: akārāntottarapado dviguḥ striyāṃ bhāṣyate*), affix *ṄīP* is introduced after a *dvigu* compound ending in *a*. However, the *Mahābhāṣya* (ad 2.4.17 *sa napuṃsakam: pāttrādibhyaḥ pratiṣedhaḥ*) blocks the same after a *dvigu* ending in *pātra*, etc. Thus, a form such as *dvipātrī* should be read as *dvipātram*. This will be similar to *pañcapātram*, etc. *Kāśikā* and *SK* still cite the example as *dvipātrī*.

5.1.55 कुलिजाल्लुक्खौ च

kulijāl lukkhau ca
/kulijāt 5/1 *lukkhau* 1/2 (*itar. dv.*); *ca* ϕ/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *tat* #50, *sambhavaty avaharati pacati* #52, *anyatarasyām* #53, *dvigoṣ ṭhan* #54/
kulijaśabdāntād dvigoḥ sambhavatyādiṣv artheṣu lukkhau bhavataḥ cakārāṭ ṭhaṃś ca
The *taddhita* affix *kha*, and *LUK* in place of *ṢṭhaN* as well, occurs optionally to denote the sense of *sambhavati, avaharati* and *pacati*, after a syntactically related nominal stem termed *dvigu* which contains *kulija* as its final constituent and ends in accusative.

EXAMPLES:

dve kulije sambhavaty avaharati pacati vā =
dvikulijikī/ dvikulijīnā/ dvikulijā/ dvaikulijikī ('that which is capable to hold, carry or cook something equal in measure of two kulija'),

1. Note that deletion by *LUK* does not apply to *kha* and *ṢṭhaN*, where *ṢṭhaN* is brought here at the strength of *ca*. Thus, this express introduction of *kha* and *ṢṭhaN* will become meaningless if *LUK* were to delete them. What

does this deletion apply to? It applies to the general (*autsargika*) affix *ṭhaÑ*. But it does so only optionally, since *anyatarasyām* is also read with *LUK*. This will produce four forms: one each with *kha* and *ṢṭhaN*; additional two with *ṭhaN* and its deletion by *LUK*. Thus, consider *dvaikulijikī* and *dvikulijā* which are derivates of *ṭhaÑ* with feminine affixes *ṄīP* and *ṬāP*. Our second example involves deletion by *LUK*. Derivates of *kha* and *ṢthaN* are: *dvikulijīnā* and *dvikulijikī*. How come *vṛddhi* is not applicable to *u* of *kulija* which denotes *parimāṇa* and is combined as the following constituent in the compound. This *vṛddhi* is blocked in view of an *iṣṭi* of the *Mahābhāṣya* (ad 7.3.20 *parimāṇāntasyāsaṃjñāśāṇayoḥ: kulijagrahaṇam apīṣyate*).

5.1.56 सोऽस्यांशवस्नभृतयः

so'syāṃśavasnabhṛtayaḥ
/saḥ 1/1 *asya* 6/1 *aṃśavasnabhṛtayaḥ* (*itar. dv.*)/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76)
'sa' iti prathamāsamarthāt 'asya' iti ṣaṣṭhyarthe yathāvihitaṃ pratyayo bhavati yat prathamāsamarthaṃ parimāṇam aṃśavasnabhṛtayaś cet tā bhavanti
A *taddhita* affix occurs as specified to denote the sense of *ṣaṣṭhī* 'genitive', after a syntactically related nominal stem ending in *prathamā* 'nominative', provided it signifies *aṃśa* 'share', *vasna* 'invested capital' and *bhṛti* 'wages, salary'.

EXAMPLES:

pañca aṃśo vasno bhṛtir vāsya = pañcakaḥ 'one whose share, investment or wages is five . . .'
sāhasraḥ 'one whose share, investment or wages is a thousand . . .'

5.1.57 तदस्य परिमाणम्

tad asya parimāṇam
/tat 1/1 *asya* 6/1 *parimāṇam* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76)
'tat' iti prathamāsamarthād 'asya' iti ṣaṣṭhyarthe yathāvihitaṃ pratyayo bhavati yat prathamāsamarthaṃ parimāṇaṃ cet tad bhavati
A *taddhita* affix occurs as specified to denote the sense of *ṣaṣṭhī*, after a syntactically related nominal stem which ends in *prathamā*, provided what ends in *prathamā* denotes a measure (*parimāṇa*).

EXAMPLES:

prastham parimāṇam asya = prāsthiko rāśiḥ 'a heap or pile (of grains) equal in measure to a Prastha'

khāraśatikaḥ 'a pile or heap (of grains) equal in measure to a hundred Khārīs'
varṣaśatikam = varṣaśataṃ parimāṇam asya 'that (a sacrifice) which has hundred years as its measure (extent)'
varṣasāhasrikam 'that (a sacrifice) which has a thousand years as its measure (extent)'
ṣāṣṭikaḥ 'he whose measure (extent) of life is sixty years'

1. Note that *parimāṇa* is used here in the sense of a standard of measure (*pramāṇamātra*). It is not used here, for example, in the sense of a particular measure of weight. That *parimāṇa* of this rule also includes *saṃkhyā* is additionally made clear by qualifying *saṃkhyā* with *parimāṇa* (*PM* ad *Kāś.*: *uttarasūtre saṃkhyāyāḥ parimāṇena viśeṣaṇāt*). Thus, in examples such as *ṣāṣṭikaḥ*, a number (*saṃkhyā*) can also qualify as denoting *parimāṇa*.

2. A question is raised against explicitly specifying base and affixal meaning with *tad asya*, especially when the same is already available via *anuvṛtti*. Commentators explain that *tad asya* is used for reintroducing an affix (*punarvidhāna*). Consider *dviṣāṣṭikaḥ*, parallel to *dve ṣaṣṭhī parimāṇam asya* 'one whose measure of life is two times sixty'. Recall that affix *ṭhaÑ* is available from 5.1.18 *prāg vateṣ ṭhañ*. This, however, is subject to deletion by *LUK* of 5.1.28 *adhyardhapūrvadvigor*. . . . It is at the strength of this reintroduction (*punarvidhāna-sāmarthya*) that deletion by *LUK* does not take effect.

5.1.58 संख्यायाः संज्ञासंघसूत्राध्ययनेषु

saṃkhyāyāḥ saṃjñāsaṃghasūtrādhyayaneṣu
/saṃkhyāyāḥ 5/1 *saṃjñāsaṃghasūtrādhyayaneṣu* 7/3 (*itar. dv.*)/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *tad asya parimāṇam* #57)
saṃkhyāvācinaḥ prātipadikāt parimāṇopādhikāt prathamāsamarthād 'asya' iti ṣaṣṭhyarthe yathāvihitaṃ pratyayo bhavati
A *taddhita* affix occurs as specified to denote the sense of *ṣaṣṭhī* after a syntactically related nominal stem which ends in *prathamā* and denotes *saṃkhyā* 'number' qualified with *parimāṇa* 'measure', provided the derivate denotes *saṃjñā* 'name', *saṃgha* 'grouping', *sūtra* 'aphorism' and *adhyayana* 'study.

EXAMPLES:

pañcaiva pañcakāḥ śakunayaḥ 'name of five particular birds'
pañcakaḥ saṃghaḥ = pañca parimāṇam asya 'group of five'
aṣṭakaṃ pāṇinīyam = aṣṭāv adhyāyāḥ parimāṇam asya sūtrasya 'eight chapters of Pāṇini's grammatical rules'
pañcarūpāṇy asya adhyayanasya = pañcakam adhyayanam 'a study (program) with five stages, or forms, of repetition'

1. The word *parimāṇa* is used here in the general sense of a measure: that by means of which something is measured (*parimīyate yena tat*). This way, *saṃkhyā* also becomes *parimāṇa*. A *vārttika* states that a derivate under the condition of *saṃjñā* should receive the affix to denote the sense of its own base (*svārtha*). For, a word such as *pañca* denotes things counted (*saṃkhyeya*). It is not used in the sense of counting (*saṃkhyāna*). Since the meaning of the base is not different from the meaning of the derivate, the affix should be treated as introduced to denote *svārtha* 'stem-notion'.

The word *adhyayana* is used in the sense of action (*bhāva*). It does not denote object (*karman*) of study. If *adhyayana* denoted object then separate specification by *sūtra* was not necessary. A question is raised as to why *sūtra* should be stated separately from *saṃgha*. After all, collection of *sūtras* is not different from *saṃgha*. It is stated that *saṃgha* is used in the sense of a 'group of sentient beings (*prāṇin*)'. A question is also raised against examples like *pañcakaḥ saṃghaḥ* where *saṃgha* denotes a single entity. How would it denote the plurality of *pañcatva* 'fiveness'? It is stated that *pañcatva* of *saṃgha* is possible to understand via its constituent parts (*avayava*).

Recall that bases with *saṃkhyā* as their denotatum will qualify for *kaN* of 5.1.22 *saṃkhyāyā atiśadantāyāḥ kan*. A *vārttika* recommends affix *Ḍa* after a base which denotes number, provided the derivate denotes *stoma* 'Mantras (hymns) chanted at the Soma sacrifice'. This accounts for *pañcadaśaḥ stomaḥ*, parallel to *pañcadaśa mantrāḥ parimāṇam asya* 'that of which fifteen hymns are a measure'.

Yet another proposal is made for affix *ḌinI*, in Vedic, after bases ending in *śan* and *śat*. Thus, *pañcadaśinaḥ arddhamāsāḥ* 'fortnights with fifteen days as their measure' and *triṃśino māsāḥ* 'months with thirty days as their measure'. A proposal is also made for *ḌinI* after *viṃśati* to account for *viṃśino'ṅgirasaḥ* 'adherents of Aṅgiras with twenty as their measure', parallel to *viṃśatiḥ parimāṇaṃ eṣām*.

5.1.59 पंक्तिविंशतित्रिंशच्चत्वारिंशत्पञ्चाशत्षष्टिसप्तत्यशीतिनवतिशतम्

paṅktiviṃśatitriṃśaccatvāriṃśatpañcāśatṣaṣṭisaptatyaśītinavatiśatam /paṅktiviṃśatitriṃśaccatvāriṃśatpañcāśatṣaṣṭisaptatyaśītinavatiśatam 1/1 (*itar. dv.*)/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *tad asya parimāṇam* #57)
paṅktyādayaḥ śabdāḥ nipātyante
The nominal stems *paṅkti, viṃśati, triṃśat, catvāriṃśat, pañcāśat, ṣaṣṭi, saptati, aśīti, navati,* and *śata* are derived via *nipātana* to denote a measure.

EXAMPLES:

pañca parimāṇam asya = paṅktiś chandaḥ 'a Vedic meter with five quar-

ters (*pāda*) of eight syllables each as its measure'
dvau daśatau parimāṇam asya = viṃśatiḥ 'group of two tens'
trayo daśataḥ parimāṇam asya = triṃśat 'group of three tens'
catvāro daśataḥ parimāṇam asya = catvāriṃśat 'group of four tens'
pañca daśataḥ parimāṇam asya = pañcāśat 'group of five tens'
ṣaḍ daśataḥ parimāṇam asya = ṣaṣṭiḥ 'group of six tens'
saptadaśataḥ parimāṇam asya = saptatiḥ 'group of seven tens'
aṣṭau daśataḥ parimāṇam asya = aśītiḥ 'group of eight tens'
navadaśataḥ parimāṇam asya = navatiḥ 'group of nine tens'
daśadaśataḥ parimāṇam asya saṃghasya = śatam 'group of ten tens'

1. *Kāśikā* states that whatever, in these examples, cannot be accomplished by applying individual rules, is accomplished by *nipātana* (*yad iha lakṣaṇenānupapannaṃ tat sarvaṃ nipātanāt siddham*). Thus, affix *ti*, and deletion of *an* (*ṭi-lopa*) of *pañcan*, in deriving *pañkti*, is accomplished by *nipātana*. The *kutva* (*pañ*(*c*→*k*) + *ti* and *anusvāra-parasavarṇa* (*pa*(*ñ*→*ṃ*)*k* + *ti* = *pa*(*ṃ*→*ṅ*)*k* + *ti* = *pañkti* is in consonance with 8.2.30 *coḥ kuḥ*, 8.3.24 *naś cāpadāntasya jhali* and 8.4.58 *anusvārasya*. . . . Affix *śatiC*, with *vin* as a replacement for *dvidaśat*, derives *viṃśati*, parallel to *dvau daśatau parimāṇaṃ asya*. Affix *śat*, with *trin* as a replacement for *tridaśat*, derives *triṃśat*, parallel to *trayaḥ daśataḥ parimāṇam asya*. Affix *śat* also occurs after *catvārin* and *pañcan*, where *pañcan* is replaced by *pañcā*. The *n* of *catvārin* is replaced with *anusvāra*. Similar details of *nipātana* could be provided also for *ṣaṣṭi*, *saptati*, *aśīti* and *navati*, derived from *ṣaḍdaśat*, *saptadaśat*, *aṣṭadaśat* and *navadaśat*, all used with affix *ti*, where *ṣaḍdaśat*, etc., are replaced with *ṣaṣ*, *sapta*, *aśī* and *nava*, respectively. We get *śatam* parallel to *daśadaśataḥ parimāṇam asya*, where *daśadaśat* is replaced with *śa* before affix *ta*.

Note that these derivational details are offered for heuristic purposes only. Ideally, they should be accepted as derived. There are still many derivates where even these heuristic details are hard to come by. It is therefore not uncommon to find explanations such as: *yathākathaṃcid vyutpādyāḥ* 'should be derived somehow or the other'.

5.1.60 पञ्चद्दशतौ वर्गे वा

pañcaddaśatau varge vā
/pañcaddaśatau 1/2 = *pañcac ca daśac ca* (*itar. dv.*); *varge* 7/1 *vā* ϕ/ (*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *tad asya parimāṇam* #57)
'*pañcat daśat' ity etau vā nipātyete* '*tad asya parimāṇam' ity etasmin viṣaye varge' bhidheye*
Forms such as *pañcat* and *daśat* are optionally derived via *nipātana* when derivates signify *varga* 'class' as *parimāṇa*.

EXAMPLES:

pañca parimāṇam asya = pañcad vargaḥ 'that which has a class of five as its measure'
pañcako vargaḥ 'id.'
daśad vargaḥ 'a class of ten . . .'
daśako vargaḥ 'id.'

1. Note that *saṃgha* and *varga* are nearly synonymous. This *sūtra* uses *varga* so that the *anuvṛtti* of *sūtra* and *adhyayana* could be stopped. Besides, *saṃgha* signifies a 'group of sentient beings', as against *varga* which denotes a 'group' in general (*PM* ad *Kāś.*: *saṃghagrahaṇe prakṛte vargagrahaṇaṃ sūtrādhyayanayor anuvṛttir mā bhūd iti, aprāṇyarthaṃ ca; saṃghaśabdasya prāṇiviṣayatvāt*). This optional *nipātana* condition of *varga* is specified against *kaN* of 5.1.22 *saṃkhyāyā*. . . . Thus, *pañcat* and *daśat* are derived with affix *ḌatI* with *ṭi*-deletion of *an* in *pañcan* and *daśan*. Affix *kaN* will of course yield: *pañcakaḥ* and *daśakaḥ*.

5.1.61 सप्तनोऽञ् छन्दसि

saptano'ñ chandasi
/saptanaḥ 5/1 *añ* 1/1 *chandasi* 7/1
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *tad asya parimāṇam* #57, *varge* #60)
'saptan' śabdāc chandasi viṣaye' ñ pratyayo bhavati varge' bhidheye
The *taddhita* affix *aÑ* occurs to denote *parimāṇa*, in Vedic, after syntactically related nominal stem *saptan*, when the derivate denotes a class.

EXAMPLES:

sapta sāptāny asṛjan 'created seven classes of (Winds) with seven each as their measure; forty-nine'

5.1.62 त्रिंशच्चत्वारिंशतोर्ब्राह्मणे संज्ञायां डण्

triṃśaccatvāriṃśator brāhmaṇe saṃjñāyāṃ ḍaṇ
/triṃśat-catvāriṃśatoḥ 6/2 (*itar. dv.*); *brāhmaṇe* 7/1 *saṃjñāyām* 7/1 *ḍaṇ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *tad asya parimāṇam* #57)
triṃśat-catvāriṃśac chabdābhyāṃ saṃjñāyāṃ viṣaye ḍaṇ pratyayo bhavati
'tad asya parimāṇam' ity asmin viṣaye brāhmaṇe' bhidheye
The *taddhita* affix *ḌaṆ* occurs to denote *parimāṇa* after nominal stems *triṃśat* and *catvāriṃśat*, provided the derivate names a *brāhmaṇa*.

EXAMPLES:

traiṃśāni brāhmaṇāni 'a *brāhmaṇa* text with thirty (chapters) as its measure; the *Aitareya-brāhmaṇa*'

catvāriṃśāni brāhmaṇāni 'a *brāhmaṇa* text with forty (chapters) as its measure; the *Mahaitareya-brāhmaṇa*'

1. Note that *saptamī* 'locative' in *brāhmaṇe* is intended for specifying the denotatum (*abhidheya*) of derivates. It is not used as *viṣaya-saptamī* 'locative of domain', thereby limiting derivates to the language of the Brāhmaṇas. Thus, usages of *mantra* and *bhāṣā* 'classical Sanskrit' will also be covered.

2. This affixal provision of *ḌaṆ* is made against *kaN* which, in turn, is available to *triṃśat* in view of the split-interpretation (*yogavibhāga*) of 5.1.24 *viṃśatitriṃśadbhyām*. . . . Affix *ṭhaÑ* is available to *catvāriṃśat* from 5.1.18 *prāg vateṣ ṭhañ*. Note that *vṛddhi* and *ṭi*-deletion are both applicable to *triṃśat* + *ḌaṆ* and *catvāriṃśat* + *ḌaṆ*. We then get *traiṃśāni* and *catvāriṃśāni* from *traiṃśa* + *Jas* and *catvāriṃśa* + *Jas*.

5.1.63 तदर्हति

tad arhati

/*tat* 2/1 *arhati* (verbal *pada*)/

(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76)

'*tat*' *iti dvitīyāsamarthāt* '*arhati*' *ity etasminn arthe yathāvihitaṃ pratyayo bhavati*

A *taddhita* affix occurs as specified after a syntactically related nominal stem which ends in *dvitīyā* 'accusative' when the derivate signifies '. . . deserves (to receive) that'.

EXAMPLES:

śvetacchatraṃ arhati = *śvaitacchatrikaḥ* 'one who deserves a white umbrella'

vāstrayugmikaḥ 'he (a groom) who deserves the gift of two dresses (at his wedding)'

śatikaḥ 'deserves a hundred'

śatyaḥ 'id.'

1. The word *arhati* is explained as *labdhuṃ yogyaḥ* 'one who deserves to receive'. Note that the first two examples are derived with *ṭhaK* (5.1.19 *ārhādagopucchasaṃkhyā* . . .). These both involve initial *vṛddhi* and replacement in *ika*. The last two examples are optional derivates of *ṭhaN* and *yaT*, respectively (5.1.21 *śatāc ca ṭhanyatāv* . . .).

5.1.64 छेदादिभ्यो नित्यम्

chedādibhyo nityam

/*chedādibhyaḥ* 5/3 = *cheda ādir yeṣām te* (*bv.*), *tebhyaḥ*; *nityam* 1/1/

(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *tad arhati* #63)

chedādibhyo dvitīyāsamarthebhyo 'nityam arhati' ity etasminn arthe yathāvihitaṃ pratyayo bhavati
A *taddhita* affix occurs as specified after a syntactically related nominal stem which is listed in the class headed by *cheda* 'cutting, chopping' and ends in *dvitīyā*, provided the derivate signifies '. . . deserves that over and over again'.

EXAMPLES:

chedaṃ nityam arhati = chaidikaḥ 'that which deserves frequent cutting (for example, weeds and grass)'
bhedaṃ nityam arhati = bhaidikaḥ 'that (an enemy) who deserves frequent dissension (in his camp)'

1. Note that *nitya* is used in the sense of *paunaḥpunya* 'repeated action' to qualify affixal meaning (*pratyayārtha-viśeṣaṇa*).

2. A *vārttika* recommends *viraṅga* as a replacement for *virāga* 'detachment', a stem of the *chedādi* group. This will account for *vairaṅgikaḥ*.

5.1.65 शीर्षच्छेदाद्यच्च

śīrṣacchedād yac ca
/śīrṣacchedāt 5/1 *yat* 1/1/ *ca* ϕ/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *tad arhati* #63, *nityam* #64)
śīrṣacchedaśabdād dvitīyāsamarthāt 'nityam arhati' ity asminn arthe yat pratyayo bhavati cakārād yathāvihitaṃ ca
The *taddhita* affix *yaT*, and *ṭha* as well, occurs after syntactically related nominal stem *śīrṣaccheda* 'chopping of head' when it ends in accusative and the derivate signifies '. . . deserves over and over again'.

EXAMPLES:

śiraś chedaṃ nityam arhati = śīrṣacchedyaḥ 'a sinner who deserves decapitation over and over again'
śairṣacchedikaḥ 'id.'

1. Note that *śiras* 'head', in the context of this affixal provision, is replaced with *śīrṣa* via *nipāṭana*.

5.1.66 दण्डादिभ्यः

daṇḍādibhyaḥ
/daṇḍādibhyaḥ 5/3 = *daṇḍa ādir yeṣām* (*bv.*), *tebhyaḥ/*
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *tad arhati* #63, *yat* #65)
daṇḍādibhyo dvitīyāsamarthebhyaḥ 'arhati' ity etasminn arthe yat pratyayo bhavati

The *taddhita* affix *yaT* occurs after a syntactically related nominal stem listed in the group headed by *daṇḍa* 'punishment', when it ends in accusative and the derivate signifies '. . . deserves that'.

EXAMPLES:

daṇḍam arhati = *daṇḍyaḥ* 'one who deserves punishment'
vadham arhati = *vadhyaḥ* 'one who deserves to be killed'

1. *Kāśikā* has a different reading of this *sūtra*, i.e., *daṇḍādibhyo yaḥ*. Bhaṭṭoji and Nāgeśa both read the *sūtra* simply as *daṇḍādibhyaḥ*, where *yaT* is carried from the preceding rule. This also seems in consonance with the *Mahābhāṣya* where, under 3.1.97 *aco yat, vadhya* is stated to have derived with *yaT* (*vt.* ad 3.1.97 *haṇo vā yat vadhādeśaś ca*). It is for this reason that Jinendra (*Tattvabodhinī* ad *SK*) delcares *daṇḍādibhyo yaḥ* a corrupt reading (*apapāṭha*). Note that *vadha*, a derivate of *han*, is also included in this class of *daṇḍādi*. *Kāśikā* accepts *ya* as the affix, possibly because of accentual differences between derivates of *yaT* and *ya*. I have accepted *daṇḍādibhyaḥ* as the reading of this *sūtra* also in view of the following rule where *yaT* (not *ya*) is needed. Accepting *yaT* as part of this rule also facilitates the process of *anuvṛtti*.

2. Note that *nityam* is dropped from *anuvṛtti*. The word *daṇḍa* is used here in the sense of both action (*kriyā*) and substance (*dravya*). However, even with the meaning of substance, an action meaning, such as one denoted by *prahāra* 'hit, attack', is understood.

5.1.67 छन्दसि च

chandasi ca
/chandasi 7/1 *ca ϕ/*
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *tad arhati* #63, *yat* #65)
prātipadikamātrāc chandasi viṣaye 'tad arhati' ity etasminn arthe yat pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *yaT* also occurs, in Vedic, after a syntactically related nominal stem ending in *dvitīyā* when the derivate signifies '. . . deserves that'.

EXAMPLES:

udakyā vṛttayaḥ 'wheels (of a chariot) which deserves water for cooling their rims'
yūpyaḥ palāśaḥ 'Palāśa wood which deserves to be used for making ritual post'

1. Note that the *Amarakośa* explains *udakyā* as a woman in her period of menstruation (*rajasvalā*). This meaning does not make much sense in the context of *vṛttayaḥ*. Or may be it does. A woman in her menstrual cycle may

not be allowed to fetch water by herself. She thus may deserve water to be offered.

5.1.68 पात्राद् घंश्च

pātrād ghaṃś ca
/pātrāt 5/1 *ghan* 1/1 *ca* ϕ/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *tad arhati* #63, *yat* #65)
pātraśabdād ghan pratyayo bhavati cakārād yac ca 'tad arhati' ity etasminn arthe
The *taddhita* affix *ghaN*, and *yaT* as well, occurs after syntactically related nominal stem *pātra* 'pot', ending in *dvitīyā*, provided the derivate signifies '. . . deserves that'.

EXAMPLES:

pātram arhati = pātriyaḥ 'one who deserves a pot for eating (worthy of eating together); quantity of something deserving a pot as its measure'
pātryaḥ 'id.'

1. The word *pātra* is used in two senses of 'vessel' (*bhājana*) and 'measure' (*parimāṇa*). Affix *ghaN* is thus an exception to both *ṭhaK* and *ṭhaÑ*. These derivates both involve *bha-saṃjñā* and *a-lopa*.

5.1.69 कडङ्करदक्षिणाच्छ च

kaḍaṅkaradakṣiṇāc cha ca
/kaḍaṅkaradakṣiṇāt 5/1 *cha* 1/1 *ca* ϕ/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *tad arhati* #63, *yat* #65)
kaḍaṅkaradakṣiṇāśabdābhyāṃ chaḥ pratyayo bhavati cakārād yac ca 'tad arhati' ity etasmin viṣaye
The *taddhita* affix *cha*, and *yaT* as well, occurs after syntactically related nominal stems *kaḍaṅkara* and *dakṣiṇā*, ending in accusative, provided the derivates signify '. . . deserves that'.

EXAMPLES:

kaḍaṅkaram arhati = kaḍaṅkarīyo gauḥ 'a cow deserving the fodder of beans . . .'
kaḍaṅkaryaḥ 'id.'
dakṣiṇām arhati = dakṣiṇīyo bhikṣuḥ 'an ascetic who deserves receiving ritual gift'
dakṣiṇyo brāhmaṇaḥ 'a brāhmaṇa who deserves receiving ritual gift'

1. Note that *kaḍaṅgara* is a variant reading for *kaḍaṅkara*. How come *ghaN* is not brought to this rule via *ca*? Because only *yaT* is marked with *svarita*.

2. The word *dakṣiṇā* should have been placed first in the wording of this rule because it contains fewer vowels (2.2.34 *alpāc taram*). It was not placed first to indicate the *yathāsaṃkhya* 'assignment of equivalents in accord with enumeration' (1.3.10 *yathāsaṃkhyam . . .*) does not apply here. That is, one cannot introduce affixes *cha* and *yaT* after *kaḍaṅkara* and *dakṣiṇā*, respectively.

5.1.70 स्थालीबिलात्

sthālībilāt
/sthālībilāt 5/1 (*ṣaṣ. tat.*)/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, . . . *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *tad arhati* #63, *yat* #65, *cha* #69)
sthālībilaśabdāc chayatau pratyayau bhavataḥ 'tad arhati' ity etasminn arthe
The *taddhita* affix *cha*, and *yaT* as well, occurs after syntactically related nominal stem *sthālībila* ending in *dvitīyā*, provided the derivate signifies '. . . deserves that'.

EXAMPLES:

sthālībilam arhanti = sthālībilīyās taṇḍulāḥ 'grains of rice which (because of their quality and quantity), deserve to be cooked with water full to the brim of the pot'

1. The word *sthālībila* literally means 'pot-mouth'. Commentators explain *sthālībilya* to mean *pākayogyāḥ* 'worthy of, or fit for, cooking'. But the derivate should then be: *sthālyaḥ*. There must be something special about using the nominal stem *sthālībila*, as against *sthālī*. That is, unless *sthālībila* is used here in the sense of a special pot good for cooking rice.

5.1.71 यज्ञर्त्विग्भ्यां घखञौ

yajñartvigbhyāṃ ghakhañau
/yajñartvigbhyām 5/2 *ghakhañau* 1/2/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, . . . *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *tad arhati* #63)
yajñaśabdād ṛtvigśabdāc ca yathāsaṃkhyaṃ ghakhañau pratyayau bhavataḥ tad arhati ity etasmin viṣaye
The *taddhita* affixes *gha* and *khaÑ* occur, to denote the sense of 'deserves that', after syntactically related nominal stems *yajña* 'ritual sacrifice' and *ṛtvig* 'the presiding priest', respectively, when the stems end in *dvitīyā*.

EXAMPLES:

yajñiyo brāhmaṇaḥ 'a *brāhmaṇa* who is fit to perform a ritual sacrifice'

ārtvijīno brāhmaṇaḥ 'a *bṛāhmaṇa* who deserves a Ṛtvik to preside over the ritual sacrifice'

1. Affixes *gha* and *khaÑ* are given here as exceptions to *ṭhaK*. A *vārttika* states that these affixes should also be introduced when *arhati* is to be construed with *yajñakarma* 'performance of a sacrifice' and *ṛtvikkarma* 'presiding over a ritual'. This will account for *yajñiyo deśaḥ* 'place fit for sacrifice' and *ārtvijīno brāhmaṇakulam* 'a brāhmaṇa family whose members are fit to be ṛtviks'. The initial *vṛddhi* in *ārtvijīnaḥ* is *rapara*, used with *r* to follow (1.1.51 *uraṇ raparaḥ*).

5.1.72 पारायणतुरायणचान्द्रायणं वर्तयति

pārāyaṇaturāyaṇacāndrāyaṇaṃ vartayati
/pārāyaṇaturāyaṇacāndrāyaṇam 2/1 (*dv.*); *vratayati* (verbal *pada*)*/*
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, ... *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *tad* ... #63, *ṭhañ* #18)
pārāyaṇādibhyo dvitīyāsamarthebhyaḥ 'vartayati' ity etasminn arthe ṭhañ pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *ṭhaÑ* occurs to denote the sense of *vartayati* 'performs ...' after syntactically related nominal stems *pārāyaṇa* 'recitation', *turāyaṇa* 'a year-long sacrifice' and *cāndrāyaṇa* 'a sacrifice in which, among other things, a vow is undertaken to regulate the intake of food in accord with phases of moon', when stems end in *dvitīyā*.

EXAMPLES:

pārāyaṇaṃ vartayaty adhīte = pārāyaṇikaś chātraḥ 'a student who recites (studies) the Vedas from beginning to the end'
turāyaṇikaḥ 'one who engages in a year-long sacrifice named Turāyaṇa'
cāndrāyaṇikaḥ 'one who engages in the sacrifice named Cāndrāyaṇa'

1. Note that *arhati* is not carried. That is, the domain of *ṭhaK* is over. Affix *ṭhaÑ*, henceforth, will find its scope prior to *vatI*. Remember, however, that *tat* in *dvitīyā* is still carried to indicate the nominal ending in which specified bases must end.

The sense of *vartayati*, in the context of *pārāyaṇa*, is given as *adhīte* 'studies'. Although a study involves a teacher as well as a taught, derivates of *pārāyaṇa* are interpreted in relation to students only. Derivates of *turāyaṇa* and *cāndrāyaṇa* are also limited to those who perform them. That is, they are not used in relation to their performing priests. Why? Usages indicating otherwise are not available (*anabhidhānāt*).

5.1.73 संशयमापन्नः

saṃśayam āpannaḥ

/saṃśayam 2/1 *āpannaḥ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, . . . *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *tad* . . .#63, *ṭhañ* #18)
saṃśayaśabdād dvitīyāsamarthād 'āpannaḥ' ity etasminn arthe ṭhañ pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *ṭhaÑ* occurs to denote the sense of *āpannaḥ* '. . . having reached the state of . . .' after syntactically related nominal stem *saṃśaya* 'doubt', when the same ends in *dvitīyā*.

EXAMPLES:

saṃśayam āpannaḥ = sāṃśayikaḥ sthāṇuḥ 'he who was firm in his opinion about something became doubtful; or one who became doubtful about a pillar as to whether that was a man'

1. Note that agent (*kartṛ*) and object (*karman*) could both be viewed as 'doubtful'. However, because of lack of usage (*anabhidhānāt*), the affix is used in the sense of doubt relating to object only. The word *āpanna* is a derivate of *Kta* denoting agent (*kartṛ*). The word *saṃśayam* is explicitly stated in *dvitīyā* perhaps to indicate this. For, *tat* is already available via *anuvṛtti*. The *Amarakośa* glosses *sāṃśayikaḥ* as *saṃśayāpannamānasaḥ* 'a person with a doubtful mind', obviously in relation to an agent.

5.1.74 योजनं गच्छति

yojanaṃ gacchati
/yojanam 2/1 *gacchati* (verbal *pada*)/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, . . . *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *tad* . . . #63, *ṭhañ* #18)
yojanaśabdād dvitīyāsamarthād 'gacchati' ity etasminn arthe ṭhañ pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *ṭhaÑ* occurs to denote the sense of *gacchati* '. . . goes' after syntactically related nominal stem *yojana* 'a distance of eight miles', when the same ends in *dvitīyā*.

EXAMPLES:

yojanaṃ gacchati = yojanikaḥ 'one who travels a distance of eight miles'

1. A *vārttika* also recommends this affixal provision after *krośaśata* 'two hundred miles' and *yojanaśata* 'eight hundred miles' to derive *krauśaśatikaḥ* and *yaujanaśatikaḥ*. Additionally, the sense of the derivate is further extended to also include: *abhigamanam arhati* 'one who deserves to be met by going such distances'. Thus, *krauśaśatiko bhikṣuḥ* 'an ascetic who deserves to be met even by going two hundred miles'; and *yaujanaśatika ācāryaḥ* 'a teacher who deserves to be met even if one has to travel eight hundred miles'.

5.1.75 **पथः ष्कन्**

pathaḥ ṣkan
/pathaḥ 5/1 *ṣkan* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, . . . *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *tad* . . .#63)
pathinśabdād dvitīyāsamarthād 'gacchati' ity etasminn arthe ṣkan pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *ṢkaN* occurs to denote the sense of 'goes . . .' after syntactically related nominal stem *pathin* 'path', when the same ends in *dvitīyā.*

EXAMPLES:

panthānaṃ gacchati = *pathikaḥ* 'a traveler; one who traverses a road'
pathikī 'a female traveler'

1. Note that *N* as an *it* is intended for *svarita* accent. The *Ṣ*, of course, is intended for feminine affix *ṄīṢ* (4.1.41 *ṣidgaurādibhyaś ca*). These derivates of *pathin* both involve deletion of *n.*

5.1.76 **पन्थो ण नित्यम्**

pantho ṇa nityam
/panthaḥ 5/1 *ṇa* (deleted 1/1) *nityam* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, . . . *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *tat* #63, *gacchati* #74, *pathaḥ* #75)
pathaḥ pantha ity ayam ādeśo bhavati ṇaś ca pratyayaḥ, nityaṃ gacchati ity etasmin viṣaye
The *taddhita* affix *Ṇa* occurs to denote the sense of '. . .goes over and over again' after syntactically related nominal stem *pathin,* with an additional operation of its concurrent replacement with *pantha,* when the stem ends in *dvitīyā.*

EXAMPLES:

panthānaṃ nityaṃ gacchati = *pāntho bhikṣāṃ yācate* 'one who invariably goes on roads begging for alms'

1. Note that *nitya* 'always, repeatedly' is used here as a qualifier to the sense of affix *Ṇa.* Such a qualification is necessary for distinguishing *pāntha* from *pathika,* a derivate of *ṢkaN,* which denotes an occasional traveler. Remember that *pantha* replaces *pathin* only in the context of this affixal provision.

5.1.77 **उत्तरपथेनाहृतं च**

uttarapathenāhṛtaṃ ca

/uttarapathena 3/1 *āhṛtam* 1/1 *ca* ϕ/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, . . . *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *gacchati* #74, *ṭhañ* #18)
uttarapathaśabdāt tṛtīyāsamarthād 'āhṛtam' ity etasmin viṣaye ṭhañ pratyayo bhavati cakārād 'gacchati' ity etasmin viṣaye ca
The *taddhita* affix *ṭhaÑ* occurs to denote the sense of '. . . brought by . . .', and of '. . . goes' as well, after syntactically related nominal stem *uttarapatha* 'northern road' when the stem ends in *tṛtīyā* 'instrumental'.

EXAMPLES:

uttarapathenāhṛtam = *auttarapathikam* 'that which was brought by northern road'
uttarapathena gacchati = *auttarapathikaḥ* 'a traveler who goes by northern road'

1. Note that specification of nominal endings after bases is made by *tṛtīyā* of *uttarapathena*. The *ca* is used to attract the meaning of *gacchati*. Recall that derivates with denotatum of *gacchati* are introduced after bases ending in *dvitīyā*. Particle *ca* is used here only to attract affixal meaning (*pratyayārtha*). Jinendrabuddhi (*Nyāsa* ad *Kāś.*) explains that since *ca* is used after *āhṛtam*, an affixal meaning, it seems to attract affixal meaning of *gacchati* alone (*cakāro hy arthāt paraḥ śrūyamāṇo'arthamātrasyaiva gacchaty ity asyānukarṣakaḥ . . .*).

2. A *vārttika* proposal requires *ṭhaÑ* to also occur after *panthin* to denote the sense of *āhṛtam* and *gacchati*, provided *panthin* ends in *tṛtīyā* and occurs after *vāri* 'water', *jaṅgala* 'forest', *sthala* 'land' and *kāntāra* 'deep forest', used as initial constituents of a compound. This will account for examples such as: *vāripathikaḥ*, *jaṅgalapathikaḥ*, *sthalapathikaḥ* and *kāntārapathikaḥ*.

5.1.78 कालात्

kālāt
/kālāt 5/1
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, . . . *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *ṭhañ* #18)
yad ita ūrdhvam anukramiṣyāmaḥ kālād ity evaṃ veditavyam
The *taddhita* affix *ṭhaÑ* occurs as specified after a syntactically related nominal stem which denotes *kāla* 'time'.

EXAMPLES:

Refer to following rules.

1. This is an *adhikāra* extending prior to 5.1.96 *vyuṣṭādibhyo'ṇ*. A question is raised against formulating this rule, especially when *kāla* is also carried to

the following rule. Why was the next rule not formulated as *kālena nirvṛttam*. This could have saved one rule. A separate formulation was made so that *kāla* could be interpreted, by way of meaning (*arthadvāreṇa*), as *kālavācin* 'that which denotes time' and not as *kāla*, the word-form (*svarūpa*).

5.1.79 तेन निर्वृत्तम्

tena nirvṛttam
/*tena* 3/1 *nirvṛttam* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, . . . *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *ṭhañ* #18, *kālāt* #78)
'*tena*' *ity tṛtīyāsamarthāt kālavācinaḥ prātipadikāt* '*nirvṛttam*' *ity etasminn arthe ṭhañ pratyayo bhavati*
The *taddhita* affix *ṭhaÑ* occurs, to denote the sense of '. . . brought about, or accomplished, by means of that', after syntactically related nominal stem which signifies *kāla* 'time' and ends in *tṛtīyā* 'instrumental'.

EXAMPLES:

ahnā nirvṛttam āhnikam 'that which is accomplished by a day's time'
ārddhamāsikam 'that which is accomplished by a fortnight'
sāṃvatsarikaḥ 'that which is accomplished by a year'

1. Note that *tṛtīyā* in *tena* denotes *karaṇa* 'means'. The word *nirvṛtta* 'accomplished, brought about' is not desired as denoting past (*bhūta*). It inheres a causal sense (*antarbhāvitaṇyartha*), thereby meaning: 'that which is caused to be accomplished by means of spending a given span of time'.

2. Note that *ṭi*-deletion restricted to contexts of affixes *Ṭa* and *kha* (6.4.145 *ahnas ṭakhor eva*) after *ahan*, is blocked by 6.4.144 *nas taddhite* in examples such as *āhnikam*.

5.1.80 तमधीष्टो भृतो भूतो भावी

tam adhīṣṭo bhṛto bhūto bhāvī
/*tam* 2/1 *adhīṣṭaḥ* 1/1 *bhṛtaḥ* 1/1 *bhūtaḥ* 1/1 *bhāvī* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1; *paraś ca* #3.1.2, . . . *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *ṭhañ* #18, *kālāt* #78)
'*tam*' *ity dvitīyāsamarthāt kālavācinaḥ prātipadikāt* '*adhīṣṭo bhṛto bhūto vā bhāvī*' *ity etasminn arthe yathāvihitaṃ pratyayo bhavati*
The *taddhita* affix *ṭhaÑ* occurs as specified after a nominal stem which denotes 'time', to denote the sense of *adhīṣṭaḥ* 'commissioned with due respect', *bhṛtaḥ* 'hired on wages', *bhūtaḥ* 'transacted with elapsed time' and *bhāvī* 'transacted with time to come', when the stem ends in *dvitīyā*.

EXAMPLES:

māsam adhīṣṭo = māsikao' dhyāpakaḥ 'a teacher who, with respect, was invited to stay (and teach) for a month'
māsaṃ bhṛto = māsikaḥ karmakaraḥ 'a servant who was hired to work, or who has already finished working, for a month'
māsaṃ bhūto vyādhiḥ = māsikaḥ 'an affliction which started a month ago'
māsaṃ bhāvī utsavo = māsikaḥ 'a festivity which is to last for a month'

1. *Kāśikā* explains *adhīṣṭa* and *bhṛta* as *satkṛtya vyāpāritaḥ* 'commissioned with respect to do something' and *vetanena krītaḥ* 'bought by salaried wages'. A question is raised as to how actions such as *adhyeṣaṇa* 'commissioning' and *bharaṇa* 'providing for' could be spoken of as pervading long stretches of time? After all, they seem to be actions performed momentarily. It is stated that pervasion of an action over a period beyond its actual time is metaphorical (*aupacārika*), similar to *caureṇa grāmo dagdhaḥ* 'the village was burned down by a thief', where what burns down the village is not the thief but the fire brought by him. Incidentally, *dvitīyā* after *māsa*, in examples such as *māsaṃ bhūtaḥ*, is introduced by 2.3.5 *kālādhvanor atyantasaṃyoge*.

5.1.81 मासाद्वयसि यत्खञौ

māsād vayasi yatkhañau
/*māsāt* 5/1 *vayasi* 7/1 *yatkhañau* (*itar. dv.*) 1/2/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, ... *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *ṭhañ* #18, *kālāt* #78, *tam, bhūtaḥ* #80)
māsaśabdād vayasy abhidheye yatkhañau pratyayau bhavataḥ
The *taddhita* affixes *yaT* and *khaÑ* occur to denote *bhūta* after syntactically related nominal stem *māsa* 'month', ending in *dvitīyā*, provided the derivate signifies *vayas* 'age'.

EXAMPLES:

māsaṃ bhūto = māsyaḥ 'one who is one month old'
māsīnaḥ 'id.'

1. This affixal provision of *yaT* and *kha* is an exception to *ṭhaÑ*. Note that *bhūtaḥ* alone is associated here with *vayas* 'age'. For usages with semantic implications of *bhāvī*, etc., are found (*anabhidhānat*).

The *Ñ* of *khaÑ* is intended for accent (*svara*) and *vṛddhi*. To say that *Ñ* is intended for *vṛddhi* is not acceptable. That is, why wish for *vṛddhi* in *māsa* when it is already there. It is true that *māsa* already has *vṛddhi*. But one must still consider *vṛddhi* as desired, even in cases where it is already available. *Nyāsa* cites *māsīnābhāryaḥ* as an example where, in the absense of accepting *Ñ* as a condition for *vṛddhi*, negation (*pratiṣedha*) of masculine transformation (*puṃvadbhāva*) of 6.3.39 *vṛddhinimittasya* ... could not be availed.

5.1.82 द्विगोर्यप्

dvigor yap
/dvigoḥ 5/1 *yap* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, ... *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *ṭhañ* #18, *kālāt* #78, *bhūtaḥ* #80, *māsād vayasi* #81)
māsāntād dvigor yap pratyayo bhavati vayasy abhidheye
The *taddhita* affix *yaP* occurs, to denote the sense of *bhūta*, after syntactically related nominal stem *māsa* occurring as final of a compound termed *dvigu*, provided the derivate signifies *vayas*.

EXAMPLES:

dvau māsau bhūtaḥ = *dvimāsyaḥ* 'he who is two months old'
trimāsyaḥ 'he who is three months old'

1. Note that *yaP* is *anudātta* on account of its *P* as an *it* (*pivād anudāttaḥ*; 3.1.4 *anudāttau suppitau*). Rule 6.2.29 *igantakāla* ... allows retention of original accent (*pūrvapada-prakṛtisvara*) against provisions of 6.2.12 *dvigau pramāṇe* and 6.1.158 *anudāttam* ...

5.1.83 षण्मासाण्ण्यच्च

ṣaṇmāsāṇ ṇyac ca
/ṣaṇmāsāt 5/1 *ṇyat* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, ... *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *ṭhañ* #18, *kālāt* #78, *bhūtaḥ* #80, *vayasi* #81)
ṣaṇmāsaśabdād vayasy abhidheye ṇyat.pratyayo bhavati yap ca
The *taddhita* affix *ṆyaT*, and *yaP* as well, occurs to denote the sense of *bhūtaḥ* after syntactically related nominal stem *ṣaṇmāsa* 'six months' when the derivate signifies *vayas*.

EXAMPLES:

ṣāṇmāsyaḥ 'one who is six months old'
ṣaṇmāsyaḥ 'id.'
ṣāṇmāsikaḥ 'id.'

1. *Kāśikā* informs that a form such as *ṣāṇmāsikaḥ*, derived with the general (*autsargika*) affix *ṭhaÑ*, is also desired (*autsargikaḥ ṭhañ apīṣyate*). The *ca* of this rule (*sa ca cakāreṇa samuccetavyaḥ*) attracts it to the context of this rule.

5.1.84 अवयसि ठंश्च

avayasi ṭhaṃś ca
/avayasi 7/1 = *na vayaḥ* (*nañ. tat.*), *tasmin*; *ṭhan* 1/1 *ca ϕ/*
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, ... *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *ṭhañ* #18, *kālāt* #78, *bhūtaḥ* #80, *ṣaṇmāsāṇ ṇyat* #83)

ṣaṇmāsaśabdād avayasy abhidheye ṭhan pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *ṭhaN*, and *ṆyaT* as well, occurs to denote the sense of *bhūtaḥ* after syntactically related nominal stem *ṣaṇmāsa* when it ends in *dvitīyā*, provided the derivate signifies something other than *vayas*.

EXAMPLES:

ṣaṇmāsiko rogaḥ (*ṭhaN*) 'a disease which afflicted for six months'
ṣāṇmāsyaḥ (*ṇyaT*) 'id.'
ṣaṇmāsyaḥ (*yaP*) 'id.'

1. The *ca* is used here to bring *ṆyaT* from the preceding rule (*vt.*: *avayasi ṭhaṃś ca ity anantarasyānukarṣaḥ*). If *ca* is used for bringing *ṆyaT* then what brings *yaP*? Affix *yaP* is carried here at the strength of being marked with *svarita* (*svaritatvāt*). How do we know this? We know this from *vyākhyāna* 'interpretations of the learned'.

5.1.85 समायाः खः

samāyāḥ khaḥ
/samāyāḥ 5/1 *khaḥ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, ... *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *tam adhīṣṭo bhṛto bhūto bhāvī* #80)
samāśabdād dvitīyāsamarthād adhīṣṭādiṣv artheṣu khaḥ pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *kha* occurs after syntactically related nominal stem *samā* 'year', when ending in *dvitīyā*, provided derivates denote the sense of *adhīṣṭaḥ* 'commissioned with due respect', *bhṛtaḥ* 'hired on salaried wages', *bhūtaḥ* '(existing with) elapsed time' and *bhāvī* '(to exist) with time to come'.

EXAMPLES:

samādhīṣṭo bhṛto bhūto bhāvī vā samīnaḥ '... was commissioned with due respect to teach for a year; ... was hired on salaried wages for a year; ... has been there for a year, or ... will be there for a year'

1. Note that some also carry the *anuvṛtti* of *tena nirvṛttam* throughout this section (*Kāś.*: *kecit tu 'tena nirvṛttam' ity sarvatrānuvartayanti; samayā nirvṛttaḥ samīnaḥ*). Thus, *samīnaḥ* could be interpreted as: *samayā nirvṛttaḥ* 'accomplished by a year'. Of course, the base will then end in *ṭṛtīyā*. Incidentally, *samā* is generally used in plural.

5.1.86 द्विगोर्वा

dvigor vā
/dvigoḥ 5/1 *vā* ϕ/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, ... *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *tam adhīṣṭo bhṛto bhūto bhāvī* #80, *samāyāḥ khaḥ* #85)

samāśabdāntād dvigor nirvṛttādiṣv artheṣu pañcasu vā khaḥ pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *kha* occurs only optionally after *samā*, used as final of a compound termed *dvigu*, when *samā* ends in *dvitīyā* and derivates denote the sense of *nirvṛttam, adhīṣṭaḥ, bhṛtaḥ, bhūtaḥ* and *bhāvī.*

EXAMPLES:

dvisamīnaḥ '. . . was commissioned with due respect to teach for two years; . . . was hired on salaried wages for . . .; . . . has been there for two years . . .; . . . will be there for two years; . . . has been accomplished in two years'
dvaisamikaḥ 'id.'
trisamīnaḥ '. . . was commissioned with due respect to teach for three years; . . . was hired on salaried wages for three years; . . . has been there for three years; . . . will be there for three years; . . . has been accomplished in three years'
traisamikaḥ 'id.'

1. The obligatory (*nitya*) provision of *kha* of the preceding rule is here made optional. How come an affix specified to occur after *samā* is allowed to occur after a *dvigu* compound ending in *samā*? Recall that *tadantavidhi* interpretation for stems which begin with *saṃkhyā* 'number' is permitted within the domain of *ṭhaÑ* (5.1.18 *prāgvateṣ ṭhañ*). That is, if no deletion by *LUK* has taken effect (*aluki*). Thus we get examples such as: *dvisamīnaḥ*, a derivate of *kha* optionally with *dvaisaimikaḥ*, a derivate of *ṭhaÑ*. These same derivates can also be interpreted in the sense of *tena nirvṛttam* in which case the affix will be introduced after a *dvigu* stem ending in *ṭṛtīyā.*

5.1.87 रात्र्यहःसंवत्सराच्च

rātryahaḥsaṃvatsarāc ca
/rātryahaḥsaṃvatsarāt 5/1 = *rātriś ca ahaś ca saṃvatsaraś ca* (*sam. dv.*), *tasmāt; ca* ϕ/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, . . . *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *tam adhīṣṭo bhṛto bhūto bhāvī* #80, *khaḥ* #85, *dvigor vā* #86)
'rātriḥ ahaḥ, saṃvatsara' ity evam antād dvigor nirvṛttādiṣv artheṣu vā khaḥ pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *kha* also occurs after syntactically related nominal stems *rātri* 'night', *ahaḥ* 'day' and *saṃvatsara* 'year', used as final constituent of a compound termed *dvigu*, when the same ends in *dvitīyā* and derivates denote the sense of *nirvṛttam, adhīṣṭaḥ, bhṛtaḥ, bhūtaḥ* and *bhāvī.*

EXAMPLES:

dvirātrīṇaḥ '. . . was commissioned with due respect to teach for two

nights; . . . was hired on salaried wages for two nights; . . . has been there for two nights; . . . will be there for two nights, and . . . has been accomplished in two nights'
dvairātrikaḥ 'id.'
dvyahīnaḥ '. . . was commissioned with due respect to teach for two days; . . . was hired on salaried wages for two days; . . . has been there for two days . . .; . . . will be there for two days; . . . has been accomplished in two days'
dvaiyahnikaḥ 'id.'
dvisaṃvatsarīṇaḥ '. . . was commissioned with due respect to teach for two years; . . . was hired on salaried wages for two years . . .; . . . has been there for two years . . .; . . . will be there for two years; . . . has been accomplished in two years'
dvisāṃvatsarikaḥ 'id.'

1. Derivates of *ṭhaÑ* are again made optional to those of *kha*. Here again, to denote the sense of *tena nirvṛttam* would require affixes to be introduced after bases ending in *tṛtīyā*. Examples of *ṭhaÑ* involve initial *vṛddhi*. However, *dvyaham* + *ṭhaÑ* and *tryahan* + *ṭhaÑ* are augmented with *aiC* of 7.3.3 *na vyābhyām*. . . . We then derive *dvaiyahnika* and *traiyahnika* with the deletion of *a* by 6.4.134 *allopo' naḥ*. Note, however, that deletion of *an*, for example in *ahan* of *dvyahīnaḥ* is accomplished by 6.4. 145 *ahnaṣ ṭakhor eva*. The *vṛddhi* of the second constituent in *dvisāṃvatsarikaḥ* is accomplished by 7.3.1 *saṃkhyāyāḥ saṃvatsarasaṃkhyasya*.

5.1.88 वर्षाल्लुक् च

varṣāl luk caM
/varṣāt 5/1 *luk* 1/1 *ca /*
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, . . . *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *tam adhīṣṭo bhṛto bhūto bhāvī* #80, *khaḥ* #85, *dvigor vā* #86)
varṣāntād dvigor nirvṛttādiṣv artheṣu vā khaḥ pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *kha*, and *LUK* as well, occurs optionally after *varṣa*, used as final constituent of a syntactically related compound termed *dvigu*, when the same ends in *dvitīyā* and derivates denote the sense of *nirvṛttam, adhīṣṭaḥ, bhṛtaḥ, bhūtaḥ* and *bhāvī*.

EXAMPLES:

dvivarṣīṇo vyādhiḥ 'a disease which afflicted for two years, etc.'
dvivārṣikaḥ 'id.'
dvivarṣaḥ 'id.'
trivarṣīṇo vyādhiḥ 'a disease which afflicted for three years, etc.'
trivārṣikaḥ 'id.'
trivarṣaḥ 'id.'

1. Here again, an affix introduced to denote the sense of *nirvṛttam* will be introduced after a base ending in *tṛtīyā*. Since *kha* and *ṭhaÑ* are given optionally with their deletion of *LUK*, we will get three forms: one each with *kha* and *ṭhaÑ* and one with deletion of *kha* and *ṭhaÑ* both.

2. Note that all derivates, except for those denoting *bhāvī*, receive *vṛddhi* of their following constituents (*uttarapada*) by rule 7.3.16 *varṣasyābhaviṣyati*. A derivate with the denotation of *bhāvī* will not receive this *vṛddhi* because of the negation of *abhaviṣyati*.

5.1.89 चित्तवति नित्यम्

cittavati nityam
/cittavati 7/1 *nityam* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, . . . *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *tam adhīṣṭo bhṛto bhūto bhāvī* #80, *dvigor* . . . #86, *varṣāt* #88)
cittavati pratyayārthe' bhidheye varṣaśabtāntād dvigor nirvṛttādiṣv artheṣutpannasya pratyayasya nityaṃ lug bhavati
A *taddhita* affix which occurs to denote the sense of *nirvṛttam, adhīṣṭaḥ, bhṛtaḥ, bhūtaḥ* and *bhāvī* after syntactically related nominal stem *varṣa*, used as final constituent of a compound termed *dvigu* ending in *dvitīyā*, is obligatorily (*nityam*) deleted by *LUK* when derivates signify a sentient being (*cittavat*).

EXAMPLES:

dvivarṣo dārakaḥ 'a son who is two years old, etc.'

1. The condition of *cittavati* is imposed to block obligatory deletion elsewhere (*anyatra*). Thus, consider *dvivarṣīṇo vyādhiḥ* 'an affliction of two years', where obligatory deletion of *kha* is not applied because *vyādhi* is *acittavat* 'non-sentient'.

5.1.90 षष्टिका: षष्टिरात्रेण पच्यन्ते

ṣaṣṭikāḥ ṣaṣṭirātreṇa pacyante
/ṣaṣṭikāḥ 1/3 *ṣaṣṭirātreṇa* 3/1 *pacyante* (verbal *pada*)/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, . . . *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76)
ṣaṣṭirātraśabdāt tṛtīyāsamarthāt kan pratyayo nipātyate 'pacyante' ity etasminn arthe rātriśabdasya ca lopaḥ
A *taddhita* affix occurs after *ṣaṣṭirātra* to derive *ṣaṣṭika*, via *nipātana*, when the derivate signifies 'ripens in sixty nights'.

EXAMPLES:

ṣaṣṭirātreṇa pacyante = *ṣaṣṭikāḥ* 'a kind of rice which is ready to harvest in sixty nights'

1. The word *ṣaṣṭika* 'a particular kind of rice' is derived by *nipātana* from *ṣaṣṭirātra* + *Ṭā* + *kaN* with deletion of *rātra*. Note that the plural form, i.e., *ṣaṣṭikāḥ*, should not be treated as a primary provision (*tantra*). That is, singular and dual could also be used.

5.1.91 वत्सरान्ताच्छश्छन्दसि

vatsarāntāc chaś chandasi
/vatsarāntāt 5/1 = *vatsara ante yasya* (*bv.*), *tasmāt*; *chaḥ* 1/1 *chandasi* 7/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, . . . *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *tam adhīṣṭo bhṛto bhūto bhāvī* #80)
vatsarāntāt prātipadikān nivṛttādiṣv artheṣu chandasi viṣaye chah pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *cha* occurs, in Vedic, after syntactically related nominal stem *vatsara* 'year', used in *dvitīyā* as final constituent of a compound, provided derivates denote the sense of *nirvṛttam, adhīṣṭaḥ, bhṛtaḥ, bhūtaḥ* and *bhāvī*.

EXAMPLES:

idvatsarīyaḥ '. . . accomplished by two of the five years, etc.'
idāvatsarīyaḥ ' . . . id.'

1. Haradatta (*PM* ad *Kāś.*) explains *idvatsara* as a period of two consecutive (*yuge*) years within a given span of five years (*pañcavarṣe yuge dvayor varṣayoḥ saṃjñe*).

5.1.92 संपरिपूर्वात् ख च

samparipūrvāt kha ca
/samparipūrvāt 5/1 = *saṃ ca pariś ca sampari*; *sampari pūrvo yasya* (*bv.* with int. *dv.*), *tasmāt*; *kha* (1/1 deleted) *ca* ϕ/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, . . . *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *tam adhīṣṭo bhṛto bhūto bhāvī* #80, *vatsarāntā chaś chandasi* #91)
samparipūrvād vatsarāntāt prātipadikāc chandasi viṣaye nirvṛttādiṣv artheṣu khaḥ pratyayo bhavati cakārāc chaś ca
The *taddhita* affix *kha*, and *cha* as well, occurs in Vedic after syntactically related nominal stem *vatsara*, used in *dvitīyā* as final constituent of a compound beginning with *saṃ* and *pari*, provided derivates denote the sense of *nirvṛttam, adhīṣṭaḥ, bhṛtaḥ, bhūtaḥ* and *bhāvī*.

EXAMPLES:

samvatsarīṇaḥ 'that which was accomplished by a year, etc.'
samvatsarīyaḥ 'id.'
parivatsarīṇaḥ 'that which was accomplished by one whole year, etc.'
parivatsarīyaḥ 'id.'

1. Note that *ca* in this rule is used for additional application of *cha.*

5.1.93 तेन परिजय्यलभ्यकार्यसुकरम्

tena parijayyalabhyakāryasukaram
/tena 3/1 *parijayya-labhya-kārya-sukaram* 1/1 (*sam. dv.*)/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, . . . *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *ṭhañ* #18, *kālāt* #78)
'*tena*' *iti tṛtīyāsamarthāt kālavācinaḥ prātipadikāt* '*parijayya, labhya, kārya, sukara*' *ity eteṣv artheṣu ṭhañ pratyayo bhavati*
The *taddhita* affix *ṭhaÑ* occurs after a syntactically related nominal stem which signifies *kāla* and ends in *tṛtīyā,* when derivates denote the sense of *parijayya* 'that which is to be won', *labhya* 'that which is to be obtained', *kārya* 'that which is to be done' and *sukara* 'that which is easy to do'.

EXAMPLES:

māsena parijayyaḥ = *māsiko vyādhiḥ* 'an affliction which could be cured in a month'
sāmvatsarikaḥ 'an affliction which could be cured in a year'
māsena labhyo = *māsikaḥ paṭaḥ* 'dress which could be purchased within a month'
māsena sukaro = *māsikaḥ prāsādaḥ* 'a palace which is easy to build in a month'

1. Note that the denotata of *nivṛttam, adhīṣṭaḥ,* etc., is no longer valid. Furthermore, *parijayya,* etc., are derivates of *kṛtya* denoting *śakya* 'is possible to' (3.1.97 *aco yat*; 6.1.81 *kṣayyajayyau śakyārthe*).

5.1.94 तदस्य ब्रह्मचर्यम्

tad asya brahmacaryam
/tat 2/1 *asya* 6/1 *brahmacaryam* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, . . . *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *ṭhañ* #18, *kālāt* #78)
'*tad*' *iti dvitīyāsamarthāt kālavācinaḥ prātipadikāt* '*asya*' *iti ṣaṣṭhyarthe ṭhañ pratyayo bhavati brahmacaryaṃ ced gamyate*
The *taddhita* affix *ṭhaÑ* occurs, to denote the sense of genitive, after a syntactically related nominal stem which has the signification of *kāla* 'time' and ends in *dvitīyā,* provided derivates signify *brahmacarya* 'celebacy'.

EXAMPLES:

māsaṃ brahmacaryam asya = *māsiko brahmacārī*/
māso asya brahmacaryasya = *māsikaṃ brahmacaryam* 'a celibate whose vow

of celibacy lasted for a month/a vow of celibacy which lasted for a month'
sāmvatsarikaḥ 'a celebate whose vow of celibacy lasted for a year'

1. Note that *tat* is interpreted here as specifying a nominal stem either in *prathamā* 'nominative', or in *dvitīyā* 'accusative'. *Kāśikā* offers paraphrases of this rule in view of both. Thus, a paraphrase under nominative interpretation reads: *tad iti prathamāsamarthād asyeti ṣaṣṭhyarthe ṭhañ pratyayo bhavati, yat tad asyeti nirdiṣṭaṃ brahmacaryaṃ cet tad bhavati.* Affix *ṭhaÑ*, under this interpretation, will be introduced after a base ending in *prathamā*, provided that which is specified by *tad asya* is 'celibacy (*brahmacarya*)'. A paraphrase with accusative (*dvitīyā*) interpretation reads as: *tad iti dvitīyāsamarthād asya iti ṣaṣṭhyarthe ṭhañ pratyayo bhavati brahmacaryaṃ ced gamyate.* This interpretation will have to accept *atyantasaṃyoga* 'continuous connection' (2.3.5 *kālādhvanor atyantasaṃyoge*) as the denotatum of *dvitīyā*. Consequently, that which is pervaded by *kāla* 'time', i.e., 'celibacy', becomes associated with *asya* 'his (own)', i.e., 'of the celibate'. The meaning of the affix in this interpretation is the celibate (*brahmacārin*). If one accepts a nominative specification then derivates such as *māsika* will be interpreted as qualifier to *brahmacarya*. Thus, *māso'sya brahmacaryasya = māsikaṃ brahmacaryam* 'a vow of celibacy with one month as its duration'. If, on the other hand, one accepts *tat* as specifying accusative, then *māsika* has to be interpreted as a qualifier to *brahmacārin*, the celibate whose celibacy has one month as its duration'. Both interpretations are accepted as correct (*Kāś.*: *pūrvatra brahmacārī pratyayārthaḥ uttaratra brahmacaryam eva. ubhayam api pramāṇam ubhayathā sūtrapraṇayanāt*).

2. A *vārttika* recommends *ṭhaÑ* also after *mahānāmnī*, etc., to denote the sense of *tad asya brahmacaryam*, when the bases end in *ṣaṣṭhī* 'genitive'. Thus, *mahānāmnikaḥ* 'one whose vow is to recite the *Sāmaveda* up to the extent of Mahānāmnī hymns', etc. A corollary to this is also offered as *tac carati ca*, whereby a 'vow' (*vrata*) associated with the Mahānāmnī hymns can also be called *māhānāmnikaḥ*.

Yet another *vārttika* recommends *Ṇya* after *caturmāsa* in the sense of *tatra bhavaḥ yajñaḥ* 'a sacrifice performed in there'. Thus, *cāturmāsikaḥ* 'sacrificial activities performed during four months'. Yet another *vārttika* introduces affix *aṆ* in the sense of *tatra bhavaḥ* when *caturmāsa* ends in *saptamī* 'locative' and the derivate denotes a name (*saṃjñā*). Thus, *cāturmāsī* 'a full-moon night which comes after four months have elapsed; the full-moon night of the month of Āṣāḍha'.

5.1.95 तस्य च दक्षिणा यज्ञाख्येभ्यः

tasya ca dakṣiṇā yajñākhyebhyaḥ
/tasya 6/1 *ca* ϕ *dakṣiṇā* 1/1 *yajñākhyebhyaḥ* 5/3 (*yajñam ācakṣate = yajñākhyāḥ* (*upapada-tatpuruṣa*), *tebhyaḥ/*

(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, . . . *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *ṭhañ* #18, *kālāt* #78)
'*tasya*' *ity ṣāṣṭhīsamarthebhyo yajñākhyebhyaḥ* '*dakṣiṇā*' *ity etasminn arthe ṭhañ pratyayo bhavati*
The *taddhita* affix *ṭhaÑ* occurs, to denote *dakṣiṇā* 'a gift made to the priest at a ritual', after a syntactically related nominal stem which ends in *ṣaṣṭhī* 'genitive' and names a sacrifice (*yajña*).

EXAMPLES:

agniṣṭomasya dakṣiṇā = *āgniṣṭomikī* 'ritual gifts made to a priest at the sacrifice named Agniṣṭoma'
rājasūyikī 'ritual gifts made to a priest at the sacrifice named Rājasūya'

1. Note that *kālāt* is also carried. However, the word *yajñākhyebhyaḥ* 'after those which name a ritual sacrifice' facilitates the introduction of affix *ṭhaÑ*, even after bases such as *agniṣṭoma* which do not denote time (*kāla*). Why carry *kālāt* when there is no use for it? There may be examples of rituals such as *ekāha* '. . . ritual sacrifice of the first day (after death)' and *dvādaśāha* '. . . ritual sacrifice of the twelfth day (after death)' where bases may denote *yajña* and *kāla* both (*Kāś.*: *ākhyāgrahaṇam akālād api yajñavācino yathā syād iti*; *itarathā hi kālādhikārād ekāhadvādaśāhaprabhṛtaya eva yajñā gṛhyeran*). Incidentally, *tadantavidhi* (see notes under 5.1.86 *dvigor vā*) interpretation is still valid.

5.1.96 तत्र च दीयते कार्यं भववत्

tatra ca dīyate kāryaṃ bhavavat
/*tatra* ϕ *ca* ϕ *dīyate* (verbal *pada*) *kāryam* 1/1 *bhavavat* ϕ = *bhava iva*/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, . . . *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *kālāt* #78)
'*tatra*' *iti saptamīsamarthāt kālavācinaḥ prātipadikād dīyate, kāryam, ity etayor arthayor bhavavat pratyayo bhavati*
A *taddhita* affix occurs, in the manner similar to *bhava*, after a syntactically related nominal stem which signifies time (*kāla*) and ends in locative (*saptamī*), provided derivates signify *dīyate* '. . . is offered' and *kāryam* 'is to be done or made'.

EXAMPLES:

māse bhavam = *māsikam* 'that which happens, or it to be performed, once a month'
sāmvatsarikam 'that which happens, or is to be performed, once a year'
āgniṣṭomikaṃ bhaktam 'that which is offered at the sacrifice named Agniṣṭoma'
rājasūyikam 'that which is offered at the sacrifice named Rājasūya'

1. What is the meaning of *bhavavat*?. This rule extends provisions of 4.3.53 *tatra bhavaḥ* to denote the sense of *tatra dīyate* and *tatra kāryam*. Note that this extension is specified by *vatI* of *bhavavat* (5.1.115 *tena tulyaṃ . . .*). This, in turn, requires that all affixes specified to occur after specific bases in the domain of *tatra bhavaḥ* be introduced with same specifications to denote *tatra dīyate* and *tatra kāryam*. It has been stated under 4.2.34 *kālebhyo bhavavat* that a specification with *vatI* is made to extend operations in their entirety (*sarvasādṛśyārtha*). But this will cause problems. For example, *tadantavidhi* is not permitted in the context of 4.3.53 *tatra bhavaḥ*. Consequently, rule 5.1.96 *tatra ca dīyate . . .* will not permit *tadantavidhi*. It is to remove such difficulties that *bhavavat* of this rule is interpreted as extending the introduction of affixes (*pratyayamātrasyātideśaḥ*) only.

2. The *Mahābhāṣya* interprets this rule as complementary to the earlier rule. Patañjali suggests three *yogavibhāga* 'split interpretations' of these two rules as follows: (*i*) *tasya dakṣiṇā yajñākhyebhyaḥ*, (*ii*) *tatra ca dīyate* and (*iii*) *kāryaṃ bhavavat kālāt*. Accordingly, bases with the signification of *yajña* receive affixes to denote *dakṣiṇā* and *dāna* (*dīyate*). Bases with the denotatum of time (*kāla*) receive affixes to denote *dāna* and *bhava*. Refer to the *Mahābhāṣya* for further details.

The *anuvṛtti* of *kālāt* is henceforth suspended. Jinendrabuddhi claims that since *kālāt* is brought via *ca*, it is not carried any further (*Nyāsa* ad *Kāś.*: *cakāraḥ kālād ity anukarṣaṇārthaḥ; tena cānukṛṣṭatvād uttaratra nānuvartate*).

General affixal provisions will be made hereafter (*Kāśikā*: *kālā' dhikārasya pūrṇo' vadhiḥ; ataḥ param sāmānyena pratyayavidhānam*), especially since the domain of *kālāt* has ended.

5.1.97 व्युष्टादिभ्योऽण्

vyuṣṭādibhyo' ṇ
/ vyuṣṭādibhyaḥ 5/3 = *vyuṣṭa ādir yeṣāṃ te, tebhyaḥ; aṇ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, . . . *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *tatra dīyate . . . kāryam* #96)
'*tatra*' *iti saptamīsamarthebhyo vyuṣṭādiphyo dīyate, kāryam ity etayor aṇ pratyayo bhavati*
The *taddhita* affix *aN* occurs after a syntactically related nominal stem listed in the group headed by *vyuṣṭa* 'dawn', when the same ends in *saptamī* and derivates denote the sense of *dīyate* and *kāryam*.

EXAMPLES:

vyuṣṭe dīyate kāryaṃ vā = *vaiyuṣṭam* 'that which is given, or is performed, at dawn'
naityam 'that which is given, or performed, everyday'

1. A *vārttika* recommends introducing *aN* also after *agnipada* and *pīlumūla*

to derive *āgnipadam* 'that which is 'offered', or is 'performed', on a barren land' and *pailumūlam* 'that which is 'offered', or is 'performed', at the root of a Pīlu tree'. An additional proposal is made to expand the listing of *vyuṣṭādi* to also include these stems. Our derivate *vaiyuṣṭam* will be denied initial *vṛddhi* in view of augment *aiC* of 7.3.3 *na yvābhyāṃ padāntābhyām*. . . .

5.1.98 तेन च यथाकथाचहस्ताभ्यां णयतौ

tena ca yathākathācahastābhyāṃ ṇayatau
/tena 3/1 *ca* ϕ *yathākathācahastābhyām* 5/2 = *yathākathāca ca hasaś ca* (*itar. dv.*), *tābhyām*; *ṇayatau* 1/2 (*itar. dv.*)/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, . . . *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *tatra dīyate*. . . *kāryam* #96)
'*tena*' *iti tṛtīyāsamarthābhyāṃ yathākathāca-hastaśabdābhyāṃ yathāsaṃkhyaṃ ṇayatau pratyayau bhavataḥ*
The *taddhita* affixes *aṆ* and *yaT* occur after syntactically related nominal stems *yathākathāca* 'somehow or the other' and *hasta* 'hand', respectively, when the stems end in *tṛtīyā* 'instrumental' and their derivates signify *dīyate* and *kāryam*.

EXAMPLES:

yathākathāca dīyate kāryam vā = *yāthākathācam* 'that which is 'given', or is 'done', with no respect'
hastena dīyate kāryaṃ vā = *hastyam* 'that which is offered with, or is made by, hands'

1. Note that *yathākathāca* is an indeclinable used here in the sense of disrespect (*anādara*). Furthermore, *yathāsaṃkhya* 'assignment of equivalents in order of enumeration' applies in case of bases and affixes. It, however, does not apply in case of *dīyate* and *kāryam*. How do we know this? From interpretations of the learned (*vyākhyānāt*).

5.1.99 सम्पादिनि

sampādini
/sampādini 7/1
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, . . . *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *ṭhañ* #18, *tena* #98)
tṛtīyāsamarthāt sampādiny abhidheye ṭhañ pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *ṭhaN* occurs after a syntactically related nominal stem which ends in *tṛtīyā* 'instrumental' when derivates signify the sense of *sampādi* '. . . certainly made beautiful. . . .'

EXAMPLES:

karṇaveṣṭakābhyāṃ sampādi mukhaṃ = *kārṇaveṣṭikaṃ mukham* 'a face enhanced in beauty by earrings'

vastrayugeṇa sampādi śarīram = vāstrayugikaṃ śarīram 'an appearance enhanced by a couple of dresses'

1. Note that *sampādi* is used in the sense of 'that which has *sampatti*', where *sampatti* is glossed as 'enhancement in quality (*guṇotkarṣa*)'.

5.1.100 कर्मवेषाद्यत्

karmaveṣād yat
/*karmaveṣāt* 5/1 = *karma ca veṣaś ca* (*sam. dv.*) = *karmaveṣam, tasmāt; yat* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, . . . *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *tena* #98, *sampādini* #99)
'*karman, veṣa*' *śabdābhyāṃ tṛtīyāsamarthābhyāṃ yat pratyayo bhavati* '*sampādini*' *ity etasmin viṣaye*
The *taddhita* affix *yaT* occurs after syntactically related nominal stems *karman* 'action, exercise' and *veṣa* 'costume' when ending in *tṛtīyā*, providing derivates signify the sense of *sampādi.*

EXAMPLES:

karmaṇā sampadyate= karmaṇyaṃ śarīram 'a body which indeed enhances in beauty by exercise'
veṣeṇa sampadyate = veṣyo naṭaḥ 'a performer who indeed enhances his appearance by costumes'

5.1.101 तस्मै प्रभवति सन्तापादिभ्यः

tasmai prabhavati santāpādibhyaḥ
/*tasmai* 4/1 *prabhavati* (verbal *pada*) *santāpādibhyaḥ* 5/3 = *santāpa ādir yeṣām* (*bv.*), *tebhyaḥ*/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, . . . *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *ṭhañ* #18)
'*tasmai*' *iti caturthīsamarthebhyaḥ* '*santāpādibhyaḥ prabhavati*' *ity asmin viṣaye ṭhañ pratyayo bhavati*
The *taddhita* affix *ṭhaÑ* occurs after a syntactically related nominal stem which is listed in the group headed by *santāpa* 'anguish' and which ends in *caturthī* 'dative', provided derivates signify '. . . is capable of that'.

EXAMPLES

santāpāya prabhavati = sāntāpikaḥ 'that which is capable of bringing about anguish'
sānnāhikaḥ 'that (son of a Kṣatriya) who is capable of wearing an armor'

1. Note that *caturthī* 'dative' is intended here as denoting the sense of *alam* 'capable' (2.3.16 *namaḥsvasti* . . .).

5.1.102 योगाद्यच्च

yogād yac ca
/yogāt 5/1 *yat* 1/1 *ca* ϕ/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, . . . *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *ṭhañ* #18, *tasmai prabhavati* #100)
yogaśabdād yat pratyayo bhavati cakārāṭ ṭhañ 'tasmai prabhavati' ity etasmin viṣaye
The *taddhita* affix *yaT*, and *ṭhaÑ* as well, occurs after syntactically related nominal stem *yuga* 'union, unison' which ends in *caturthī*, provided derivates signify '. . . is capable of that. . . .'

EXAMPLES:

yogāya prabhavati = *yogyaḥ* 'one who is capable of bringing about perfect unison'
yaugikaḥ 'id.'

5.1.103 कर्मण उकञ्

karmaṇa ukañ
/karmaṇaḥ 5/1 *ukañ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, . . . *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *tasmai prabhavati* #100)
karmanśabdād ukañ pratyayo bhavati 'tasmai prabhavati' ity etasminn arthe
The *taddhita* affix *ukaÑ* occurs after syntactically related nominal stem *karman* when ending in *caturthī*, provided derivates signify '. . . is capable of that. . . .'

EXAMPLES:

karmaṇe prabhavati = *kārmuko dhanuḥ* 'that which is capable of accomplishing the action; a bow'

1. *Kāśikā* claims that the use of *kārmukaḥ* is limited to the signification of *dhanuṣ* 'bow', obviously for lack of usages otherwise (*dhanuṣo'nyatra na bhavati anabhidhānāt*). Some claim that this specification of usage is not found in other manuscripts of the *vṛtti*.

5.1.104 समयस्तदस्य प्राप्तम्

samayas tad asya prāptam
/samayaḥ 1/1 *tat* 1/1 *asya* 6/1 *prāptam* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, . . . *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *ṭhañ* #18)
samayaśabdāt tad iti prathamāsamarthād asyeti ṣaṣṭhyarthe' ṇ pratyayo bhavati yat tat prathamāsamarthaṃ prāptaṃ ced bhavati

The *taddhita* affix *ṭhaÑ* occurs to denote the sense of *ṣaṣṭhī* 'genitive', after the syntactically related nominal stem *samaya* 'time' which ends in *prathamā* 'nominative' and occurs in syntactic coordination with *prāptam* '. . . has approached'.

EXAMPLES:

samayaḥ prāpto'sya = sāmayikaṃ kāryam 'an action whose time has approached'

5.1.105 ऋतोरण्

ṛtor aṇ
/ṛtoḥ 5/1 *aṇ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, . . . *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *tad asya prāptam* #104)
ṛtuśabdāt tad iti prathamāsamarthāt 'asya' iti ṣaṣṭhyarthe' ṇ pratyayo bhavati 'tad asya prāptam' iti etasmin viṣaye
The *taddhita* affix *aṆ* occurs, to denote the sense of *ṣaṣṭhī*, after the syntactically related nominal stem *ṛtu* 'season' which ends in nominative and occurs in syntactic coordination with *prāptam.*

EXAMPLES:

ṛtuḥ prāpto'sya = ārttavaṃ puṣpam 'a flower whose blossoming season has approached'

1. A *vārttika* recommends this affixal provision, of *tad asya,* also for *upavastṛ* 'one who fasts' and *prāśitṛ* 'one who eats', to derive *aupavastram* 'fast' and *prāśitram* 'share of ritual oblation'.

5.1.106 छन्दसि घस्

chandasi ghas
/chandasi 7/1 *ghas* 1/1
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, . . . *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #76, *tad asya prāptam* #105, *ṛtoḥ* #105)
ṛtuśabdāc chandasi viṣaye ghas pratyayo bhavati 'tad asya prāptam' ity etasmin viṣaye
The *taddhita* affix *ghaS* occurs in Vedic to denote the sense of *ṣaṣṭhī* after syntactically related nominal stem *ṛtu* 'season', when the same ends in *prathamā* and occurs in syntactic coordination with *prāptam.*

EXAMPLES:

ayaṃ te yonirṛtviyaḥ 'this appropriate season has arrived for . . .'

1. Note that *S* as an *it* in *ghaS* facilitates assignment of the term *pada* by

1.4.16 *siti ca.* Consequently, in the absence of assignment of the term *bha* (1.4.18 *yaci bham*), *guṇa* of 6.4.146 *or guṇaḥ*, with subsequent *ay*, will be blocked.

5.1.107 कालाद्यत्

kālād yat
/kālāt 5/1 *yat* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, . . . *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #76, *tad asya prāptam* #105)
kālaśabdād yat pratyayo bhavati 'tad asya prāptam' ity asmin viṣaye
The *taddhita* affix *yaT* occurs, to denote the sense of *ṣaṣṭhī*, after syntactically related nominal stem *kāla* 'time', when the same ends in *prathamā* and occurs in syntactic coordination with *prāptam.*

EXAMPLES:

kālaḥ prāpto' sya = kālyas tāpaḥ 'hot weather whose time has approached'
kālyam 'cold weather whose time has approached'

5.1.108 प्रकृष्टे ठञ्

prakṛṣṭe ṭhañ
/prakṛṣṭe 7/1 *ṭhañ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, . . . *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #76, *tad asya* #105, *kālāt* #107)
prakarṣe vartamānāt kālāt prathamāsamarthād asyeti ṭhañ pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *ṭhaÑ* occurs, to denote the sense of *ṣaṣṭhī*, after syntactically related nominal stem *kāla* ending in *prathamā*, provided *kāla* is used with qualification of *prakarṣa* 'protraction'

EXAMPLES:

prakṛṣṭo dīrghaḥ kālo' sya = kālikam ṛṇam 'a long-standing debt'
kālikaṃ vairam 'a long-standing enmity'

1. Why is *ṭhaÑ* used explicitly when it can be availed via *anuvṛtti* from 5.1.18 *prāg vateṣ ṭhañ*? It is used to remove (*vispaṣṭārtham*) any confusion (*bhrāntiḥ*) regarding introduction of *yaT* which is most immediately (*anantaratvāt*) available.

5.1.109 प्रयोजनम्

prayojanam
/prayojanam 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, . . . *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #76, *tad asya* #105, *ṭhañ* #108)

tad iti prathamāsamarthād 'asya' iti ṣaṣṭhyarthe ṭhañ pratyayo bhavati yat tat prathamāsamarthaṃ prayojanaṃ ced bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *ṭhaN*, occurs to denote the sense of *ṣaṣṭhī*, after a syntactically related nominal stem which ends in *prathamā* and occurs in syntactic coordination with *prayojana* 'purpose'.

EXAMPLES:

aindramadhikam = *indramaha prayojanam asya* 'that (a festival) which has 'honoring Indra' as its purpose'
gāṅgāmahikam 'that (a festival) which has 'honoring Gaṅgā' as its purpose'

1. Note that *prayojana* 'goal, purpose' is understood here as 'cause' (*hetu*) and 'result' (*phala*) both. Thus, *indramaha* could constitute both the *hetu* as well as *phala* of the festival.

5.1.110 विशाखाषाढादण् मन्थदण्डयोः

viśākhāṣāḍhād aṇ manthadaṇḍayoḥ
/*viśākhāṣāḍhāt* 5/1 (*sam. dv.*); *aṇ* 1/1 *manthadaṇḍayoḥ* 7/2 (*itar. dv.*)/ (*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, . . . *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #76, *tad asya* #105, *prayojanam* #109)
viśākhāṣāḍhaśabdābhyām aṇ pratyayo bhavati 'tad asya prayojanam' ity etasmin viṣaye yathāsaṃkhyaṃ manthadaṇḍayor abhidheyayoḥ
The *taddhita* affix *aṆ* occurs to denote the sense of *tad asya prayojanam* 'that is its purpose' after syntactically related nominal stems *viśākhā* 'name of a constellation' and *āṣāḍhā* 'name of a constellation', when ending in *prathamā*, provided derivates signify *mantha* 'churner' and *daṇḍa* 'shaft', respectively.

EXAMPLES:

vaiśākho manthaḥ = *viśākhā prayojanam asya* 'a churning stick'
āṣāḍho daṇḍaḥ 'ascetic's shaft'

1. Note that *vaiśākha* and *āṣāḍha* are traditionally used in the sense of 'second' and 'fourth' lunar months. How would they relate derivationally to *mantha* and *daṇḍa* is an open-ended question. The word *mantha* is interpreted in the sense of 'churning stick', occasionally also in the sense of 'butter-milk'. Sṛṣṭidhara, a commentator of *Bhāṣāvṛtti* of Puruṣottama, claims that *āṣāḍha* means *daṇḍa* because *āṣāḍhā* is the constellation when ascetics accept the symbolic shaft.

2. A *vārttika* also recommends this affixal provision for *cūḍā* 'hair' and *śraddhā* 'reverence', etc., to derive *cauḍam* and *śrāddham*, respectively.

5.1.111 अनुप्रवचनादिभ्यश्छः

anupravacanādibhyaś chaḥ

/ anupravacanādibhyaḥ 5/3 = *anupravacana ādir yeṣām* (*bv.*), *tebhyaḥ*; *chaḥ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, . . . *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #76, *tad asya* #105 *prayojanam* #109)
anupravacanādibhyaḥ prātipadikebhyaś chaḥ pratyayo bhavati 'tad asya prayojanam' ity etasmin viṣaye
The *taddhita* affix *cha* occurs to denote the sense of *tad asya prajoyanam* after a syntactically related nominal stem which is listed in the gṛoup headed by *anupravacana* 'repetition of a recital', when the same ends in *prathamā.*

EXAMPLES:

anupravacanīyam = *anupravacanaṃ prayojanam asya* 'that (a collection of hymns) which has *anupravacana* 'subsequent exposition' as reason for its inclusion'; 'ritual offering of food to fire, upon completion of a Vedic study'
utthāpanīyam 'that which has *utthāpana* 'causing to rise' as its goal'

1. Affix *cha* is an exception to *ṭhaÑ*. The words *anupravacana* and *utthāpana* refer to rituals.

A *vārttika* proposal is made for *cha* also after a nominal stem which ends in *ana*, a replacement of *yu* (7.1.1 *yuvor anākau*) introduced after verbal roots *viś* 'to enter', *pūr* 'to fill', *pat* 'to fall' and *ruh* 'to grow', provided the stem is also used with a preceding constituent (*sapūrvapadāt*). Thus, *gṛhapraveśanīyam* 'that (a ritual) which has 'entering a new house' as its reason'; *prapāpūraṇīyam* 'that (fetching water from a water-well) which has filling up the *prapā* 'place where drinking water is offered' as its purpose'; *aśvaprapatanīyam* 'that (a trip (through difficult terrains) which causes travelers to fall off horses'; and *prāsādārohaṇīyaṁ* 'that by means of which one climbs on top of the palace'.

Another *vārttika* recommends affix *yaT* after *svarga* 'heaven' and *āyuṣya* 'longevity', etc., to derive *svargyam* 'a sacrifice with heaven as its goal', *āyuṣyam*, etc. A similar proposal requires affixal deletion by *LUK* after *puṇyāhavācana* 'blessing, praising', etc. This will yield examples such as *puṇyāhavācanam* and *svastivācanam*, etc.

5.1.112 समापनात्सपूर्वपदात्

samāpanāt sapūrvapadāt
/ samāpanāt 5/1 *sapūrvapadāt* 5/1 = *vidyamānaṃ pūrvapadaṃ yasya sa* (*bv.*), *tasmāt/*
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, . . . *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #76, *tad asya* #105, *prayojanam* #109)
samāpanaśabdāt sapūrvapadād vidyamānapūrvapadāc chaḥ pratyayo bhavati 'tad asya prayojanam' ity asmin viṣaye

The *taddhita* affix *cha* occurs, to denote the sense of *tad asya prayojanam*, after syntactically related nominal stem *samāpana* 'completion, accomplishment' when it ends in nominative and is used in combination after an initial constituent.

EXAMPLES:

chandaḥsamāpanīyam = *chandas samāpanaṃ prayojanam asya* 'that which has successful completion of the study of Veda as its goal'
vyākaraṇasamāpanīyam 'that which has successful completion of the study of grammar as its purpose'

1. A specification by means of *sapūrvapadāt* is unnecessary since *tadantavidhi* will account for that. It is stated so that this affixal provision does not apply to *samāpana* used with a preceding *bahuC*. The use of *padāt* in *sapūrvapadāt* rules out *bahuC* which is an affix (*pratyaya*).

5.1.113 ऐकागारिकट् चौरे

aikāgārikaṭ caure
/ aikāgārikaṭ 1/1 *caure* 7/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, . . . *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #76, *tad asya* #105, *prayojanam* #109)
'*aikāgārikaṭ*' *iti nipātyate caure' bhidheye*
The *taddhita* affix *ikaṬ* occurs in deriving *aikāgārika*, via *nipātana*, when *caura* 'thief' is denoted.

EXAMPLES:

aikāgārikaḥ 'one who has reaching an unattended house as his goal; a thief'

1. Why do we have to derive *aikāgārika*, via *nipātana*, when affix *ṭhaÑ* introduced with the signification of *prayojana* can account for it (5.1.109 *prayojanam*). Commentators state that it is to restrict the signification of *aikāgārika* to a *caura* that recourse is taken to *nipātana*. For, a derivate of *ṭhaÑ* could have also meant a *bhikṣu*, parallel to *ekāgāraṃ prayojanam asya bhikṣoḥ* 'an ascetic who approches a single house for alms as his purpose'. Incidentally, *eka* in *aikāgārikaḥ* is used here in the sense of *asahāya* 'unattended'.

5.1.114 आकालिकडाद्यन्तवचने

ākālikaḍ ādyantavacane
/ ākālikaṭ 1/1 *ādyantavacane* 7/1 = *ādiś ca antaś ca ādyantau, tayor vacanam* (*ṣaṣ. tat.* with internal *dv.*), *tasmin/*
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, . . . *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #76, *tad asya* #105, *prayojanam* #109)

ākālikaṭ' iti nipātyate ādyantavacane
The *taddhita* affix *ikaṬ* occurs in deriving *ākālika*, via *nipātana*, when the derivate signifies *ādyanta* 'beginning and end'.

EXAMPLES:

ākālikaḥ stanayitnuḥ = samānakālāv asya 'that which begins and ends at the same time; cloud'
ākālikī vidyut 'lightning'

1. The word *ākālika* is explained as *samānakālav ādyantau yasya* 'that whose time of beginning and end is the same'. It is generally used in the sense of *vidyut* 'lightning', paraphrased as: *janmanā tulyakālavināśā* 'that which has its time of destruction similar to that of its birth'. Some also interpret *samānakāla* 'same time' to include references also to a given time on different days. That is, if something comes into existence at noon today and meets its end at noon tomorrow, it will still come within the denotation of *samānakālika*. This will rule out 'lightning' because of an obvious lack of any gap between its 'onset' and 'disappearance'.

2. A *vārttika* provides for *ṭhaN*, in addition to *ṭhaÑ*, after *ākāla* to account for *ākālikā*, a derivate with *ṬāP*. These derivates both mean the same thing and carry identical accents.

5.1.115 तेन तुल्यं क्रिया चेद्वतिः

tena tulyaṃ kriyā ced vatiḥ
/tena 3/1 *tulyam* 1/1 *kriyā* 1/1 *cet* ϕ *vatiḥ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, . . . *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #76/
tena iti tṛtīyāsamarthāt tulyam ity etasminn arthe vatiḥ pratyayo bhavati yat tulyaṃ kriyā cet sā bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *vatI* occurs to denote the sense of *tulya* 'same, equal' after a syntactically related nominal stem ending in *tṛtīyā* 'instrumental', provided what is *tulya* is also *kriyā* 'action'.

EXAMPLES:

brāhmaṇena tulyaṃ vartate = brāhmaṇavat 'one whose actions are similar to that of a Brāhmaṇa's'
rājavat 'one whose actions are similar to that of a king's'

1. Note that *tulya* is here characterized as lacking *atyantabheda* 'extreme difference'. Consequently, *kriyā* can be said to be *tulya* only with *kriyā*. That is, the question of *tulyatā* does not arise between *guṇa* 'quality' and *jāti* 'class' on the hand, and *kriyā* on the other. It is for this reason that *brāhmaṇena tulyam brāhmaṇavat kṣatriyaḥ*, in the context of our present rule, must be interpreted as: 'a kṣatriya whose actions are similar to those of a brāhmaṇa's'. Besides, *brāhmaṇavat*, like all bases ending in *vatI* (5.1.116 *tatra tasyeva*), is

an indeclinable. Our present rule will not allow *vatI* if *tulya* has *guṇa* 'quality' and *dravya* 'thing' as its scope. Thus, *putreṇa tulyaḥ sthūlaḥ* 'a father as fat as his son', or *putreṇa tulyo gomān* 'a father as rich in cows as his son' serve as counter-examples, parallel to *tulya* with *kriyā* as its scope.

5.1.116 तत्र तस्येव

tatra tasyeva
/tatra ϕ tasya 6/1 *iva ϕ/*
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, . . . *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #76, *vatiḥ* #115)
'*tatra*' *iti saptamīsamarthāt* '*tasya*' *iti ṣaṣṭhīsamarthāc ca ivārthe vatiḥ pratyayo bhavati*
The *taddhita* affix *vatI* occurs, to denote the sense of *iva* 'like', after a syntactically related nominal stem which ends in *saptamī* 'locative' or in *ṣaṣṭhī* 'genitive'.

EXAMPLES:

mathurāyām iva mathurāvat srughne prākāraḥ 'a wall, similar to one around the city of Mathurā, surrounds the city of Srughna'
devadattasyeva devadattavad yajñadattasya gāvaḥ 'the cows of Yajñadatta are similar to those of Devadatta's'

1. This rule is formulated to account for examples where something other than *kriyā* 'action' forms the scope of similarity (*Nyāsa* ad *Kāś.*: *akriyārthaś cāyam ārambhaḥ*). Our earlier rule introduces *vatI* after bases ending in *tṛtīyā*. This rule introduces it after bases ending in *saptamī* and *ṣaṣṭhī*. That is, *vatI* is here introduced in the sense of *iva* with no similarity of action involved. It is for this reason that *kriyā* had to be stated in the earlier rule. It is for this reason also that *tulyam* could not be carried here.

5.1.117 तदर्हम्

tad arham
/tat 2/1 *arham* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, . . . *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #76, *vatiḥ, kriyā* #115)
'*tat*' *iti dvitīyāsamarthāt* '*arham*' *ity etasminn arthe vatiḥ pratyayo bhavati*
The *taddhita* affix *vatI* occurs, to denote the sense of *arham* 'deserving', after a syntactically related nominal stem which ends in *dvitīyā* 'accusative'.

EXAMPLES:

rājānam arhati rājavat pālanam 'this king deserves to protect his subjects the way a king does'

brāhmaṇavat 'this Brāhmaṇa deserves . . . the way a brāhmaṇa does'

1. Note that *arha* is derived with affix *aC* introduced in the sense of agent (*kartṛ*). One would therefore expect *ṣaṣṭhī*, i.e., *tasya*, as opposed to *dvitīyā*, i.e., *tat*, to denote *karman* 'object'. A *dvitīyā* is here provided via *nipātana*. But accusative makes sense only when paraphrased with a form ending in *tiN*. Thus, *rājānaṃ arhati* will be the paraphrase. But this can create problems in examples parallel to *rājānam arhati chatram* 'the umbrella deserves a king' where the similarity between *chatra* and *rājā* is not mediated by any action. It is for this reason that *kriyā* is carried, via *maṇḍūkapluti* 'frog's leap', from 5.1.115 *tena tulyam. . . .* Consequently, *rājavat pālanam* does not mean that 'someone else deserves to be raised as a king'. It instead means that 'a king deserves to protect his subjects as a king does'. There is a basic difference between the provisions of 5.1.115 *tena tulyam . . .* and this rule. The *Mahābhāṣya* explains that derivates of this rule could not be derived by 5.1.115 *tena tulyam . . .*, not just because one needs *tṛtīyā* there, and *saptamī* and *ṣaṣṭhī* here. But also because 5.1.115 *tena tulyam . . .* involves an action to be performed by someone other than one who should have performed it. Thus, *brāhmaṇavad adhīte kṣatriyaḥ* 'a Kṣatriya is studying like a Brāhmaṇa'. Affix *vatI*, in our present rule, is introduced under the condition of an action deserved by the agent of *vatI* which, in turn, is associated with that which ends in *dvitīyā* (see *Mbh.* ad this rule for further details).

5.1.118 उपसर्गाच्छन्दसि धात्वर्थे

upasargāc chandasi dhātvarthe
/upasargāt 5/1 *chandasi* 7/1 *dhātvarthe* 7/1 = *dhātor arthaḥ* (*ṣaṣ. tat.*), *tasmin/*
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, . . . *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #76, *vatiḥ* #115)
upasargāt sasādhane dhātvarthe vartamānāt svārthe vatiḥ pratyayo bhavati chandasi viṣaye
The *taddhita* affix *vatI* occurs, in Vedic, after a preverb (*upasarga*) to denote root-sense (*dhātvartha*).

EXAMPLES:

udvataḥ 'upward moving'
nivataḥ 'downward moving'

1. The *Mahābhāṣya* illustrates *udvat* and *nivat* as *udgatāni* and *nigatāni*, where *ud* and *ni* are used with the signification of *gam* 'to go'. It is argued that *artha* in *dhātvarthe* is not necessary if *dhātvartha* 'root-sense' alone was intended to be the denotatum. The word *dhātau*, in locative, should be sufficient. Commentators explain that *arthe* in *dhātvarthe* is used so that the denotatum could be understood as: *sādhanaviśiṣṭe dhātvarthe* 'in the sense of

a root qualified with *sādhana* 'means'.' *Kāśikā* uses *sasādhane* as a qualifier to *dhātvarthe* where *sādhana* means a *kāraka* 'participant'. Thus, *udvataḥ* and *nivataḥ* denote the sense of *gam* qualified with its agent: 'upward moving, downward moving'. Note that a preverb (*upasarga*) can denote root-sense only when 'action' (*kriyā*) is used as subservient to 'means' (*sādhana; kriyā guṇabhūtā sādhanaṃ pradhānabhūtam*).

How come *udvataḥ* and *nivataḥ* are used in masculine with retention of their nominative endings? That is, why is *sU* not deleted after a base ending in *vatI*? After all, bases ending in *vatI* are indeclinables. These words are used as masculine in Vedic. Besides, assignment of the term *avyaya* is non-obligatory (*anitya*).

5.1.119 तस्य भावस्त्वतलौ

tasya bhāvas tvatalau
/tasya 6/1 *bhāvaḥ* 1/1 *tvatalau* 1/1 (*iatr. dv.*)/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, . . . *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #76)
'*tasya*' *iti ṣaṣṭhīsamarthād* '*bhāvaḥ*' *ity etasminn arthe tvatalau pratyayau bhavataḥ*
The *taddhita* affixes *tva* and *taL* occur to denote *bhāva* 'characteristic state' after a syntactically related nominal stem which ends in *ṣaṣṭhī* 'genitive'.

EXAMPLES:

aśvasya bhāvaḥ = *aśvatvam* 'horseness, characteristic state of being a horse'
aśvatā 'id.'
gotvam 'cowness'
gotā 'id.'

1. The word *bhāva* is explained in the *Mahābhāṣya* as *guṇa* 'characteristic quality' on account of which a word is able to denote a thing (*dravya*). It thus refers to distinguishing (*bhedakaḥ*) qualities, such as *jāti* 'class', etc., which constitute the basis for signified-signifier (*vācya-vācaka*) relationship between a word and what it denotes. This is what is also explained as the basis for using a word (*pravṛttinimitta*) to denote a given thing (*dravya*). There are several types of *pravṛttinimittas* depending on the nature of words. For example, *jāti* 'class', such as 'horseness' (*aśvatva*), forms the basis for usage of words denoting *jāti*. Bases with the denotatum of 'whiteness' (*śuklatva*) and 'cooking' (*pācakatva*) can be classed as words denoting 'quality' (*guṇa*) and 'action' (*kriyā*). Some also require relationships between action and participants as bases for use of words denoting action. Refer to the *Mahābhāṣya* for additional details (*Nyāsa* ad *Kāś.*: *tataḥ punaḥ śabdānāṃ pravṛttinimittam anekaprakāram; jātiśabdānāṃ jātiḥ-aśvatvam iti, guṇaśabdānāṃ guṇaḥ-śuklatvam iti, kriyāśabdānāṃ kriyā-pācakatvam iti . . .*).

5.1.120 आ च त्वात्

ā ca tvāt
/ā ϕ ca ϕ tvāt 5/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, . . . *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #76, *tvatalau* #119)
The *taddhita* affixes *tva* and *taL* also occur, henceforth as specified, up to *tva* (of 5.1.136 *brahmaṇas tvaḥ*).

EXAMPLES:

prathimā/ pārthavam/ pṛthutvam/ pṛthutā ('wideness, expanse')
mradimā/ mārdavam/ mṛdutvam/ mṛdutā ('tenderness')
striyāḥ bhāvaḥ = straiṇam, strītvam, strītā 'femininity, femaleness'
puṃso bhāvaḥ = puṃstvam, puṃstā, pauṃsnam 'masculinity, manliness'

1. What is the purpose of formulating this rule when affixes *tva* and *taL* could be carried from the preceding rule? This separate formulation is made so that a general (*autsargika*) provision of *tva* and *taL* could also be made part of the scope of related exceptions. Thus, consider 5.1.122 *pṛthvādibhya imanij vā* which introduces *imanIC*, optionally, after specified bases ending in *ṣaṣṭhī*. Affix *imanIC* will be introduced, optionally, to *tva* and *taL*. It is also intended for introducing these affixes to denote the sense of 'action' (*karman*). *Kāśikā* states that *ca* in this rule is used for inclusion with *tva* and *taL*, also of *naÑ* and *snaÑ* (5.1.124 *guṇavacanabrāhmaṇādibhyaḥ . . .*). Thus, we get *straiṇam* (*naÑ*) / *strītva* (*tva*) / *strītā* (*taL*), etc. Obviously, introduction of these affixes does not involve blocking.

2. A derivate, for example *prathimā*, derives from *pṛthu* + *iman*(*IC*→ϕ) where 6.4.154 *turiṣṭhaemeyas . . .* causes *ṭi*-deletion. The *r* of *pṛth*(*u*→ϕ) + *iman* is then replaced with *r* of 6.4.161 *ra ṛto halāder. . . .* Given *prathiman* + *sU*, the penultimate *a* will be replaced with *ā* of 6.4.8 *sarvanāmasthāne cāsambuddhau*. Deletion of *sU* and *n* will finally yield *prathimā*. Affix *aṆ* will be introduced by 5.1.130 *igantāc ca laghupūrvāt* if *imanIC* is not introudced. This will yield *pārthava* with initial *vṛddhi*, *guṇa* of *u* and replacement in *av*. A derivate of *naÑ* and *snaÑ* will similarly entail initial *vṛddhi*. Thus we get *straiṇam* and *pauṃsnam*, where affixal *n* in *straiṇam* goes through a replacement in *ṇ* (*ṇatva*).

5.1.121 न नञ्पूर्वात्तत्पुरुषादचतुरसंगतलवणवटयुधकतरसलसेभ्यः

na nañpūrvāt tatpuruṣād acaturasaṃgatalavaṇavaṭayudhakatarasalasebhyaḥ
/na ϕ nañpūrvāt 5/1 = *nañ pūrvo yasmin sa* (*bv.*), *tasmāt*; *tatpuruṣāt* 5/1/
acaturasaṃgatalavaṇavaṭayudhakatarasalasebhyaḥ 5/3 = *caturaś ca saṃgataś ca . . .* (*itar. dv.*); *na catura . . .* = *acatura . . .* (*nañ. tat.* with int. *dv.*)/

(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, . . . *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #76, *tasya bhāvas tvatalau* #119)
ita uttare ye bhāvapratyayās te nañpūrvāt tatpuruṣān na bhavanti caturādīn varjayitvā
A *taddhita* affix which denotes *bhāva* does not occur after a *tatpuruṣa* nominal which has *naÑ* as its first constituent but is not *acatura, asaṃgata, alavaṇa, avaṭa, ayudha, akata, arasa* and *alasa.*

EXAMPLES:

apatitvaṃ/ apatitā 'characteristic quality of not being a master'
apaṭutvam/ apaṭutā 'characteristic quality of not being skilled'
aramaṇīyatvam/ aramaṇīyatā 'characteristic quality of not being enchanting'

1. The condition of *na nañpūrvāt* is necessary so that *tyaK* could be introduced after *bṛhaspati*, a *tatpuruṣa* compound not used with *naÑ*. The condition of *tatpuruṣāt* is necessary so that an example such as *āpaṭavam* 'characteristic quality of being unskilled' could be derived with *aṆ* (5.1.131 *igantāc ca . . .*) introduced after *apaṭu*, a *bahuvrīhi* compound parallel to *nāsya paṭavaḥ santi.* Finally, this negation does not apply to *acatura*, etc., so that derivates such as *ācaturyam*, etc., could be covered. That is, affixes *tva* and *taL* alone will be introduced after a *nañ-tatpuruṣa.* Thus we get *apatitvam* and *apatitā* against the *yaK* of 5.1.128 *patyantapurohitādibhyo yak.* Affix *aṆ* of 5.1.131 *igantāc ca . . .* is similarly blocked in favor of *tva* and *taL* in *apaṭutvam* and *apaṭutā.* Affix *vuÑ* of 5.1.132 *yopadhād gurūpottamād vuñ* goes through similar blocking against *tva* and *taL* of *aramaṇīyatvam* and *aramaṇīyatā.*

5.1.122 पृथ्वादिभ्य इमनिज्वा

pṛthvādibhya imanij vā
/pṛthvādibhyaḥ 5/3 *imanic* 1/1 *vā* ϕ/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, . . . *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #76, *tasya bhāvas tvatalau* #119)
'pṛthu' ity evamādibhyaḥ prātipadikebhya imanic pratyayo bhavati vā 'tasya bhāvaḥ' ity etasminn arthe
The *taddhita* affix *imanIC* occurs, optionally, to denote *bhāva* after a nominal stem which is listed in the group headed by *pṛthu* 'broad, wide' and ends in *ṣaṣṭhī* 'genitive'.

EXAMPLES:

pṛthutvam/ pṛthutā 'wideness, expanse'
mṛdutvam/ mṛdutā 'tenderness'

1. Note that *vā* is not used here for making this affixal operation optional to sentential strings. For, that option is already available from 4.1.82 *samar-*

thānāṃ prathamād vā. It is, instead, used to introduce *imanIC* as a variant of affixes *aN*, etc. Thus, affix *aN* is available to *pṛthu, mṛdu,* etc., of *pṛthvādi* group, from 5.1.131 *igantāc ca laghupūrvāt.* Certain *pṛthvādi* bases, namely *khaṇḍa, caṇḍa,* etc., denote *guṇa* 'quality'. They thus qualify for affix *ṢyaÑ* of 5.1.124 *guṇavacanādibhyaḥ. . .* . Stems such as *bāla* and *vatsa,* etc., which denote *vaya* 'age, stage in life', qualify for affix *aÑ* of 5.1.129 *prāṇibhṛjjāti. . . .* Affix *imanIC* is here introduced against all these affixes. The use of *vā* makes them optional to *imanIC.* Additionally, affixes *tva* and *taL* will also be introduced, as has been explained in connection with the use of *ca* in 5.1.120 *ā ca tvāt.* Finally, recall that *prathimā, mradimā,* etc., will go through *ṭi*-deletion (6.4.154 *turiṣṭha . . .*) and *r*-replacement (6.4.161 *r ṛto halāder . . .*).

5.1.123 वर्णदृढादिभ्यः ष्यञ् च

varṇadṛḍhādibhyaḥ ṣyañ ca
/ varṇadṛḍhādibhyaḥ 5/3 = *varṇa ādir yeṣāṃ te* (*bv.*); *varṇaś ca dṛḍhādayaś ca* (*itar. dv.* with int. *bv.*), *tebhyaḥ*; *ṣyañ* 1/1 *ca* ϕ/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, . . . *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #76, *tasya bhāvas tvatalau* #119, *imanic* #122)
varṇaviśeṣavācibhyaḥ prātipadikebhyo dṛḍhādibhyaś ca ṣyañ pratyayo bhavati cakārād imanic ca
The *taddhita* affix *ṢyaÑ,* and *imanIC* as well, occurs to denote *bhāva* after a syntactically related nominal stem which signifies colour (*varṇa*), or is listed in the group headed by *dṛḍha* 'firm', when the stem ends in *ṣaṣṭhī* 'genitive'.

EXAMPLES:

śuklasya bhāvaḥ = śauklyam/ śukimā/ śuklatvam/ śuklatā 'whiteness'
kārṣṇyam/ kṛṣṇimā/ kṛṣṇatvam/ kṛṣṇatā 'blackness'
dārḍhyam/ dṛḍhimā/ dṛḍhatvam/ dṛḍhatā 'firmness'
aucitī 'fairness, propriety'
yathākāmī 'desirability'

1. Note that *varṇa* is not used here in the sense of *brāhmaṇa, kṣatriya,* etc. It is, instead, used as a quality (*guṇa*) denoting 'color'. We know this also from its associated listing (*sāhacaryāt*) with *dṛḍha* 'firm' which also denotes quality. If they denote quality then rule 5.1.124 *guṇavacanādibhyaḥ . . .* could account for their derivates. Why do we have to have this rule? This rule is formulated more for inclusion of *imanIC.* Thus, we will get four forms: two with *tva* and *taL*; one each with *ṢyaÑ* and *imanIC.* Incidentally, *Ṣ* as an *it* is used for feminine in *ṄīṢ* (4.1.41 *ṣid gaurādibhyaś ca*). An example such as *draḍhimā* will also involve *r*-replacement before *imanIC.*

2. Note that *dṛḍhādi* includes many commonly used quality words. It also has two *gaṇasūtras* whereby relevant affixes can also be introduced after *yāta,*

lābha, mati, manas and *śārada*, used in combination after *vi* (*veryātalābhamati-manaḥśāradānām*). Thus we get: *vijātatvam/viyātatā/viyātimā/vaiyātyam*, etc. An additional provision is made for these affixes also after *mati* and *manas*, used in combination after *sam*. This will offer *sammatitvam/sammatitā/sammatimā/sāmmatyam*, etc.

5.1.124 गुणवचनब्राह्मणादिभ्यः कर्मणि च

guṇavacanabrāhmaṇādibhyaḥ karmaṇi ca
/guṇavacanabrāhmaṇādihyaḥ 5/3 = *brāhmaṇa ādir yeṣāṃ te* (*bv.*); *guṇavacanāś ca brāhmaṇādayaś ca* (*itar. dv.* with internal *bv.*), *tebhyaḥ*; *karmaṇi* 7/1 *ca* ϕ/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, . . . *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #76, *tasya bhāvas tvatalau* #119, *ṣyañ* #123)
guṇavacanebhyo brāhmaṇādibhyaś ca tasyeti ṣaṣṭhīsamarthebhyaḥ karmaṇy abhidheye ṣyañ pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *ṢyaÑ* occurs to denote *karman* 'action' and *bhāva* after a syntactically related nominal stem which ends in *ṣaṣṭhī*, and either signifies a quality (*guṇavacana*) or is listed in the group headed by *brāhmaṇa*.

EXAMPLES:

jaḍasya bhāvaḥ karma vā = jāḍyam 'characteristic quality, or action, of something inert; inertia'
jaḍatvam/jaḍatā 'id.'
brāhmaṇyam 'characteristic quality, or duty, of a Brāhmaṇa'
brāhmaṇatvam/brāhmaṇatā 'id.'

1. The word *ca* is used to attract *bhāva*. Incidentally, *karman* here denotes 'action'.

It is stated that *brāhmaṇādi* is an *ākṛtigaṇa* 'open-ended group'. The word *ādi* denotes *prakāra* 'and the like'. This facilitates inclusion, in *brāhmaṇādi*, of stems other than those already listed in *brāhmaṇādi*.

2. There are two *gaṇasūtras* whereby appropriate affixes are introduced after *sarvaveda*, etc., to denote base-meanings (*svārtha*; *sarvavedādibhyaḥ svārthe*). Yet another *gaṇasūtra* provides for two-place *vṛddhi* in *cāturvaidyaḥ*, a derivate of *caturveda* 'one who studies four Vedas'.

3. A *vārttika* notes that *ṢyaÑ* denotes *svārtha* 'base-meaning' in derivates such as *cāturvarṇyam, cāturāśramyam, trailokyam, sainyam* and *sāmīpyam*, etc.

5.1.125 स्तेनाद्यन्नलोपश्च

stenād yan nalopaś ca
/stenāt 5/1 *yat* 1/1 *nalopaḥ* 1/1 = *nasya lopaḥ* (*ṣaṣ. tat.*); *ca* ϕ/

(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, . . . *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #76, *tasya bhāvas tvalau* #119, *ṣyañ* #123, *karmaṇi* #124)
stenaśabdāt ṣaṣṭhīsamarthād bhāvakarmaṇor yat pratyayo bhavati naśabdasya lopaś ca bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *yaT* occurs to denote *bhāva* and *karman* after syntactically related nominal stem *stena* 'thief', with concurrent deletion of its *na*, when the stem ends in *ṣaṣṭhī*.

EXAMPLES:

stenasya bhāvaḥ karma vā = *stéyam* 'characteristic quality, or action, of a thief'

1. Some recommend rule-splitting (*yogavibhāga*) so that this rule can yield two readings: *stenāt* (*ṣyañ*) and (*yan*)-*nalopaś ca*. The first rule gives *stainyam* with *ṢyaN*. The second will produce *steyam*, a derivate of *yaT*. Note that the *Mahābhāṣya* does not mention *stainyam*. May be it became common in usage much later.

5.1.126 सख्युर्यः

sakhyur yaḥ
/*sakhyuḥ* 5/1 *yaḥ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, . . . *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #76, *tasya bhāvas tvatalau* #119, *ṣyañ* #123, *karmaṇi* #124)
sakhiśabdād yaḥ pratyayo bhavati bhāvakarmaṇor arthayoḥ
The *taddhita* affix *ya* occurs to denote *bhāva* and *karman* after syntactically related nominal stem *sakhi* 'friend, companion', when the same ends in *ṣaṣṭhī*.

EXAMPLES:

sakhyur bhāvaḥ karma vā = *sakhyam* 'characteristic quality, or action, of a friend; friendliness, friendship'

1. This affixal provision is also desired after *dūta* 'messenger' and *vaṇik* 'trader' to account for *dūtyam* and *vaṇijyam*. How would one derive *vāṇijyam* with initial *vṛddhi*? By reading *vaṇik* in the *brāhmaṇādi* group and introducing *ṢyaÑ*.

5.1.127 कपिज्ञात्योर्ढक्

kapijñatyor ḍhak
/*kapijñātyoḥ* 5/2 (*itar. dv.*); *ḍhak* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, . . . *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #76, *tasya bhāvas tvatalau* #119, *ṣyañ* #123, *karmaṇi* #124)
'*kapi-jñāti*' *śabdābhyāṃ ḍhak pratyayo bhavati bhāvakarmaṇor arthayoḥ*

The *taddhita* affix *ḍhaK* occurs to denote *bhāva* and *karman* after syntactically related nominal stems *kapi* 'monkey, ape' and *jñāti* 'kin' when the stems end in *ṣaṣṭhī*.

EXAMPLES:

kaper bhāvaḥ karma vā = *kāpeyam* 'monkeyness; characteristic action of monkey'
jñāteyam 'state of being, or acting, of a kin'

1. Note that, throughout this section, assignment of equivalency of two meanings of *bhāva* and *karman* is not desired in accord with order of enumeration (1.3.10 *yathāsaṃkhyam . . .*; *Kāś.*: *yathāsaṃkhyam arthayoḥ sarvatraivātra prakaraṇe neṣyate*). Confusion about *yathāsaṃkhya* may arise because bases, i.e., *kapi* and *jñāti*, and affixal meanings, i.e., *bhāva* and *karman*, both are equal in number. A similar confusion about possibility of *yathāsaṃkhya* may also arise in 5.1.128 *patyanta . . .* and 5.1.130 *hāyanānta. . .*

5.1.128 पत्यन्तपुरोहितादिभ्यो यक्

patyantapurohitādibhyo yak
/patyantapurohitādibhyaḥ 5/3 = *patiḥ śabdo' nte yasya* (*bv.*); *purohita ādir yeṣāṃ te* (*bv.*); *patyantaś ca purohitādayaś ca* (*itar. dv.* with int. *bv.*); *yak* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, . . . *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #76, *tasya bhāvas tvatalau* #119, *ṣyañ* #123, *karmaṇi* #124)
The *taddhita* affix *yaK* occurs to denote *bhāva* and *karman* after a syntactically related nominal stem which either ends in *pati*, or is listed in the group headed by *purohita*, when the stems end in *ṣaṣthī*.

EXAMPLES:

senāpateḥ bhāvaḥ karma vā = *saināpatyam* 'characteristic quality, or duty, of the commander of an army'
paurohityam 'characteristic quality, or duty, of a priest'
rājyam 'governance'

1. A *gaṇasūtra* allows for *yaK* after *rājan* when the same is not a final constituent of a compound (*rājā' se*). Affix *ṢyaÑ* will be introduced when it is final of a compound. For, *rājan* could then be read in the *brāhmaṇādi* class of nominals.

5.1.129 प्राणभृज्जातिवयोवचनोद्गात्रादिभ्योऽञ्

prāṇabhṛjjātivayovacanodgātrādibhyo' ñ
/prāṇabhṛjjātivayovacanodgātrādibhyaḥ 5/3 = *prāṇabhṛtāṃ jātiḥ* = *prāṇabhṛjjātiḥ* (*ṣaṣ. tat.*); *vayaso vacanam* = *vayovacanam* (*ṣaṣ. tat.*); *udgātṛ*

śabda ādir yeṣāṃ ta udgātrādayaḥ (*bv.*); *prāṇabhṛjjātiś ca vayovacanaṃ ca udgātrādayaś ca* (*itar. dv.* with int. *bv.*), *tebhyaḥ*; *añ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, . . . *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #76, *tasya bhāvas tvatalau* #119, *śyañ* #123, *karmaṇi* #124)
prāṇabhṛjjātivācibhyaḥ prātipadikebhyo vayovacanebhya udgātrādibhyaś cāñ pratyayo bhavati bhāvakarmaṇor arthayoḥ
The *taddhita* affix *aÑ* occurs to denote *bhāva* and *karman* after a syntactically related nominal stem which ends in *ṣaṣṭhī*, and either has the signification of a class of animate beings (*prāṇibhṛt*) or signifies age (*vayas*), or else, is listed in the group headed by *udgātṛ* 'reciter priest of *Sāmaveda*'.

EXAMPLES:

aśvasya bhāvaḥ karma vā = āśvam 'characteristic quality, or action, of being a horse'
kaiśoram 'characteristic quality, or action, of being an adolescent'
audgātram 'characteristic quality, or action, of being an *udgātṛ*.

1. A *gaṇasūtra* includes *subhaga*, of the Mantra literature, as part of *udgātrādi*. This will yield *saubhagam* against *saubhāgyam*, a derivate of *ŚyaÑ*, if *subhaga* is treated as part of *brāhmaṇādi*.

5.1.130 हायनान्तयुवादिभ्योऽण्

hāyanāntayuvādibhyo'ṇ
/ *hāyanāntayuvādibhyaḥ* 5/3 = *hāyano'nte yasya* (*bv.*); *yuvan ādir yeṣāṃ te yuvādayaḥ* (*bv.*); *hāyanāntaś ca yuvādayaś ca* = *hāyanāntayuvādayaḥ* (*itar. dv.* with int. *bv.*), *tebhyaḥ*; *aṇ* 1/1
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, . . . *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #76, *tasya bhāvas tvatalau* #119, *śyañ* #123, *karmaṇi* #124)
hāyanāntebhyaḥ prātipadikebhyo yuvādibhyaś cāṇ pratyayo bhavati bhāvakarmaṇa arthayoḥ
The *taddhita* affix *aṆ* occurs to denote *bhāva* and *karman* after a syntactically related nominal stem which is listed in the group headed by *hāyana* 'year' or *yuvan* 'young' and ends in *ṣaṣṭhī*.

EXAMPLES:

dvihāyanasya bhāvaḥ karma vā dvaihāyanam 'characteristic quality, or action, of a child who is two years old'
yauvanam 'characteristic quality, or state, of being young'

1. A *vārttika* recommends deletion of *ya* of *śrotriya* 'one who recites Veda' in deriving *śrautram*. This deletion, in turn, facilitates deletion of *iya* occurring at the end of an *aṅga* turned *bha*. Haradatta (*PM* ad *Kāś.*) accepts the deletion of *iya* gotten via *gha*.

2. There are provisions of *aṆ* made by *gaṇasūtras* to occur after *puruṣa* and *hṛdaya* when they do not occur as constituents of a compound.

5.1.131 इगन्ताच्च लघुपूर्वात्

igantāc ca laghupūrvāt
/igantāt 5/1 = *ik ante yasya* (*bv.*), *tasmāt*; *ca* ϕ *laghupūrvāt* 5/1 = *laghuḥ pūrvam yasya* (*bv.*), *tasmāt/*
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, . . . *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #76, *tasya bhāvas tvalau* #119, *ṣyañ* #123, *karmaṇi* #124 *aṇ* #130)
igantāc ca laghupūrvād aṇ pratyayo bhavati bhāvakarmaṇoḥ
The *taddhita* affix *aṆ* also occurs to denote *bhāva* and *karman* after a syntactically related nominal stem which ends in a vowel denoted by *iK*, used after a preceding vowel termed *laghu*, provided the stem ends in *ṣaṣṭhī*.

EXAMPLES:

śucer bhāvaḥ karma vā = *śaucam* 'characteristic quality, or action, of (ritual) purity'
muner bhāvaḥ karma vā = *maunam* 'characteristic quality, or action, of being a sage; quietness'

1. Note that *laghupūrva* is interpreted as a *bahuvrīhi* compound parallel to *laghuḥ pūrvaḥ avayavaḥ asya* 'that whose preceding element is a short vowel'. It therefore becomes a qualifier to the nominal stem. Because of proximity (*sannidhāna*) with *iK*, vowels denoted by *laghu* are interpreted as those occurring before them. This yields the desired interpretation: affix *aṆ* occurs after a nominal stem which ends in an *iK* preceded by a vowel termed *laghu*. Others interpret *iganta* as a *karmadhāraya* parallel to *ik cāsau antaś ca* 'that which is *iK*, and is also a final'. They then qualify it with *laghupūrvaḥ*, thereby to yield the interpretation: that which is a final *iK* with a *laghu* as its *pūrva*. A *tadantavidhi* interpretation will then apply to yield the interpretation: *aṆ* occurs after a nominal stem which has an *iK*, with a preceding *laghu*, as its final. A specification by *anta* of *igantāt*, in this interpretation, then becomes superfluous (*atiricyate*).

2. A specification by *iganta* blocks the introduction of *aṆ* after *ghaṭa* and *paṭa* which do not end in an *iK*. They, therefore, qualify for *tva* and *taL* to yield *ghaṭatva*, etc. Similar consequences are witnessed in case of *kaṇḍū* and *pāṇḍu* which end in an *iK* but which do not qualify as *laghupūrva*.

A question is raised about deriving *kāvyam* 'poetry'. A derivate of *aṆ* with the denotatum of *bhāva* and *karman* should indeed be *kāvyam*. It is stated that *kāvyam* can be derived with *ṢyaÑ* by treating *kavi* as part of the *brāhmaṇādi* group of nominals.

5.1.132 योपधाद्गुरुपोत्तमाद् वुञ्

yopadhād gurupottamād vuñ
/yopadhāt 5/1 = *yakāra upadhā yasya* (*bv.*), *tasmāt*; *gurupottamāt* 5/1 = *gurur upottamaṃ yasya* (*bv.*), *tasmāt*; *vuñ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, . . . *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #76, *tasya bhāvas tvatalau* #119, *ṣyañ* #123, *karmaṇi* #124)
yakāropadhād gurupottamād vuñ pratyayo bhavati bhāvakarmaṇoḥ
The *taddhita* affix *vuÑ* occurs to denote *bhāva* and *karman* after a syntactically related nominal stem which ends in *ṣaṣṭhī* and contains *y* in its *upadhā* preceded by a vowel termed *guru.*

EXAMPLES:

rāmaṇīyakam 'characteristic quality, or state, of being beautiful'
vāsaṇīyakam 'characteristic quality, or state, of being well-dressed'

1. The twin-conditions of *yopadhāt* and *gurupottamāt* are necessary to rule out this affixal provision after stems such as *vimāna* and *kṣatriya*, respectively, where *vimāna* does not have *y* in its *upadhā* and *kṣatriya* has a short *i* as its *upottama.*

This affixal provision is also desired, though optionally, after *sahāya* to derive *sāhāyakam* and *sāhāyyam.*

5.1.133 द्वन्द्वमनोज्ञादिभ्यश्च

dvandvamanojñādibhyaś ca
/dvandvamanojñādibhyaḥ 5/3 = *manojña ādir yeṣāṃ te* (*bv.*); *dvandvaś ca manojñādayaś ca* (*itar. dv.* with int. *bv.*), *tebhyaḥ*; *ca* ϕ/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, . . . *prātipadikāt* #4 1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #76, *tasya bhāvas tvatalau* #119, *ṣyañ* #123, *karmaṇi* #124)
dvandvasaṃjñakebhyo manojñādibhyaś ca vuñ pratyayo bhavati bhāvakarmaṇoḥ
The *taddhita* affix *vuÑ* occurs to denote *bhāva* and *karman* after a nominal stem termed *dvandva*, or after a stem listed in the group headed by *manojña* 'lovely', when the stems end in *ṣaṣṭhī.*

EXAMPLES:

gopālapaśupālānāṃ bhāvaḥ karma vā = gaupālapaśupālikā 'characteristic quality, or action, of being a cowherd, or being one who tends cattles'
śaiṣyopādhyāyikā 'characteristic quality, or action, of being a taught and a teacher'
mānojñakam 'characteristic quality, or action, of being lovely'
kālyāṇakam 'characteristic quality, or action, of being lovely (auspicious)'

1. Note that derivates of *vuÑ* introduced after a *dvandva* compound are

used in feminine. This provision of *uvÑ* is made against affixes *tva* and *taL* made available after *dvandva* compounds. Affix *vuÑ* is introduced after *manojñādi* stems as an exception to *ṢyaÑ* based on stems such as *dhūrta* and *cora* which denote quality. The word *yuvan* receives *vuÑ* against *aṆ* (5.1.129 *prāṇibhṛj . . .*). The remaining stems could have qualified for *tva* and *taL*.

5.1.134 गोत्रचरणाच्छ्लाघात्याकारतदवेतेषु

gotracaraṇāc chlāghātyākāratadaveteṣu
/gotracaraṇāt 5/1 (*itar. dv.*), *tasmāt; ślāghātyākāraiadaveteṣu* 7/3 = *ślāghā ca atyākāraś ca tadavetaś ca* (*itar. bv.*), *teṣu/*
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, . . . *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #76, *tasya bhāvas tvatalau* #119, *ṣyañ* #123, *karmaṇi* #124, *vuñ* #133)
gotravācinaś caraṇavācinaś ca prātipadikād vuñ pratyayo bhavati pratyekaṃ bhāvakarmaṇor arthayoḥ ślāghādiṣu viṣayabhūteṣu
The *taddhita* affix *vuÑ* occurs to denote *bhāva* and *karman* after a syntactically related nominal stem which signifies a *gotra* 'grandsons, and descendants thereafter' and *caraṇa* 'Vedic recension', provided derivates signify *ślāghā* 'praise', *atyākāra* 'insult' and *tadaveta* 'knower of that. . . .'

EXAMPLES:

gārgikayā ślāghate '. . . is praising himself for being a *gotra*-descendant of Garga'
gārgikayātyākurute '. . . insults others because he is a *gotra*-descendant of Garga'
kāṭhikayā ślāghate '. . . praises himself for being a reciter of the Kaṭha recension'
gārgikām avetaḥ '. . . knows characteristic qualities of, or has attained the status of, being a *gotra*-descendant of Garga'

1. Note that *ślāghā*, etc., could not be accepted as affixal meanings. They could not even be accepted as qualifiers to affixal meanings. These conditions are imposed so that *vuÑ* could not be introduced where *bhāva* and *karman* alone are to be denoted. Thus, *gārgyatvam* and *kaṭhatvam*, both derivates of *tva*, are given as counter-examples.

5.1.135 होत्राभ्यश्छः

hotrābhyaś chaḥ
/hotrābhyaḥ 5/3 *chaḥ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, . . . *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #76, *tasya bhāvas tvatalau* #119, *ṣyañ* #123, *karmaṇi* #124)
ṛtvigviśeṣavācibhyaś chaḥ pratyayo bhavati bhāvakarmaṇoḥ
The *taddhita* affix *cha* occurs to denote *bhāva* and *karman* after a syn-

tactically related nominal stem which ends in *ṣaṣṭhī* and signifies *hotrā* 'a particular priest at a sacrifical ritual'.

EXAMPLES:

acchāvākasya bhāvaḥ karma vā = ācchāvākīyam 'characteristic quality, or action, of being an Acchāvāka ritualist'
maitrāvaruṇīyam 'characteristic quality, or action, of being a Mitrāvaruṇa ritualist'

1. Note that derivates such as *ācchāvākīyam* denote activities of particular priests. The plural, in the wording of this rule, is used for blocking a word-form interpretation of the base (*svarūpavidhinirāsārtham*). That is, a singular may have caused introduction of *cha* after the base *hotrā* itself.

5.1.136 ब्रह्मणस्त्वः

brahmaṇas tvaḥ
/brahmaṇaḥ 5/1 *tvaḥ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, . . . *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #76, *tasya bhāvas tvatalau* #119, *ṣyañ* #123, *karmaṇi* #124, *hotrābhyaḥ* #135)
brahmanśabdād dhotrāvācinas tvaḥ pratyayo bhavati bhāvakarmaṇoḥ
The *taddhita* affix *tva*, instead, occurs to denote *bhāva* and *karman* after syntactically related nominal stem *brahman* when it ends in *ṣaṣṭhī* and signifies *hotrā*.

EXAMPLES:

brahmaṇo bhāvaḥ karma vā = brahmatvam 'characteristic quality, or action, of being a Brahman at a ritual sacrifice'

1. This affixal provision is made as an exception to *cha*. Note, however, that *tva* is not used here simply to counter *cha*. For, that could have been accomplished by formulating this rule simply as *brahmaṇo na*. A separate, and specific provision of *tva* is made to exclude a derivate such as *brahmatā*, in addition to *brahmatvam*, which would have otherwise obtained if *brahman* did not denote *hotrā*. The word *brahman*, when denoting a *brāhmaṇa*, would receive *tva* and *taL*, thereby deriving two forms: *brahmatvam* and *brahmatā*. A derivate such as *brahmatā* is not desired under the provisions of this rule.

PĀDA TWO

5.2.1 धान्यानां भवने क्षेत्रे खञ्

dhānyānāṃ bhavane kṣetre khañ
/dhānyānām 6/3 *bhavane* 7/1 *kṣetre* 7/1 *khañ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, . . . *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76)

dhānyaviśeṣavācibhyaḥ ṣaṣṭhīsamarthebhyo bhavane' bhidheye khañ pratyayo bhavati tac cet bhavanaṃ kṣetraṃ bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *khaÑ* occurs to denote the locus of *bhavanam* 'coming into existence' after a syntactically related nominal stem which signifies a particular *dhānya* 'grain' and ends in *ṣaṣṭhī*, provided *kṣetra* 'field' forms the locus of action denoted by *bhavanam.*

EXAMPLES:

mudgānāṃ bhavanaṃ kṣetram = maudgīnam 'field where Mung beans are grown'
kaulatthīnam 'a field where *kulattha* (wild lentil) is grown'
kaudravīṇam 'a field where *kudrava* (wild rice) is grown'

1. Here again the plural in *dhānyānām* is used to rule out its 'word-form' interpretation (*svarūpavidhinirāsārtham*). That is, affix *khaÑ* can be introduced after a base denoting *dhānya*, and not after the form of the word *dhānya* itself. Additionally, its genitive (*ṣaṣṭhī*) is used for indicating the nominal ending which qualifies a given base to be syntactically related (*samartha*).

Verbal root *bhū* in *bhavanam* denotes *utpatti* 'to come into existence; be born', and not 'existence' (*sattā*) itself. thus, *bhavanam* is a derivate of *LyuṬ* denoting *adhikaraṇa* 'locus'. The use of *kṣetra* makes it clear that *bhavanam* does not, for example, mean 'house'. consequently, a derivate of *khaÑ* parallel to *mudgānāṃ bhavanaṃ kusūlam* 'place where Mung beans are stored' will be ruled out because *bhavamam* does not denote *kṣetra*, a locus for growing Mung beans. Similar exclusion will also apply to derivates parallel to *tṛṇānāṃ bhavanam kṣetram* where *kṣetra* serves as locus of *tṛṇa* 'grass, straw', and not of *dhānya* 'grains'.

5.2.2 व्रीहिशाल्योर्ढक्

vrīhiśālyor ḍhak
/vrīhiśālyoḥ 5/2 (*itar. dv.*); *ḍhak* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, . . . *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *dhānyānāṃ bhavanaṃ kṣetre* #1)
'vrīhi-śāli' śabdābhyāṃ ḍhak pratyayo bhavati bhavane kṣetre' bhidheye
The *taddhita* affix *ḍhaK* occurs to denote the locus of *bhavanam* after syntactically related nominal stems *vrīhi* 'a variety of rice' and *śāli* 'id.' when they end in *ṣaṣṭhī*, provided *kṣetra* forms as locus of *bhavanam.*

EXAMPLES:

vrīhīṇāṃ bhavanmaṃ kṣetraṃ = vraiheyam 'a field where rice is grown'
śāleyam 'id.'

1. This is an exception to *khaÑ*. Note that *śāli* and *vrīhi* are nearly synonymous.

5.2.3 यवयवकषष्टिकाद्यत्

yavayavakaṣaṣṭikād yat
/yavayavakaṣaṣṭikāt 5/1 (*sam. dv.*), *tasmāt; yat* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, . . . *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *dhānyānāṃ bhavanaṃ kṣetre* #1)
yavādibhyaḥ śabdebhyo yat pratyayo bhavati bhavane kṣetre' bhidheye
The *taddhita* affix *yaT* occurs to denote the locus of *bhavanam* after syntactically related nominal stems *yava* 'barley', *yavaka* 'id.' and *ṣaṣṭika* 'a variey of rice ready for harvest in sixty days' when they end in *ṣaṣṭhī*, provided *kṣetra* forms the locus of *bhavanam.*

EXAMPLES:

yavyam 'a field where barley is grown'
yavakyam 'id.'
ṣaṣṭikyam 'a field where the *ṣaṣṭika* rice is grown'

5.2.4 विभाषा तिलमाषोमाभङ्गाणुभ्यः

vibhāṣā tilamāṣomābhaṅgāṇubhyaḥ
/vibhāṣa 1/1 *tilamāṣomābhaṅgāṇubhyaḥ* 5/3 (*itar. dv.*), *tebhyaḥ/*
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, . . . *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *dhānyānāṃ bhavanaṃ kṣetre* #1, *yat* #3)
'tila, māṣa, umā, bhaṅgā, aṇu' ity etebhyo vibhāṣā yat pratyayo bhavati bhavane kṣetre' bhidheye
The *taddhita* affix *yaT* occurs, only optionally, to denote the locus of *bhavanam* after syntactically related nominal stems *tila* 'sesame', *māṣa* 'a variety of Mung beans', *umā* 'flax, linseed-plant', *bhaṅgā* 'hemp, Jute-plant' and *aṇu* 'wild yellow rice' when they end in *ṣaṣṭhī*, provided *kṣetra* forms the locus of *bhavanam.*

EXAMPLES:

tilānāṃ bhavanaṃ kṣetraṃ = tilyam 'a field where Sesame is grown'
tailīnam 'id.'
māṣyam 'a field where Māṣa is grown'
māṣīṇam 'id.'
umyam 'a field where flax is grown'
aumīnam 'id.'
bhaṅgyam 'a field where Jute-plants are grown'
bhāṅgīnam 'id.'
aṇavyam 'a field where yellow wild rice is grown'
āṇavīnam 'id.'

1. Note that this option of *yaT* is made against *khaÑ.*

5.2.5 सर्वचर्मणः कृतः खखञौ

sarvacarmaṇaḥ kṛtaḥ khakhañau
/sarvacarmaṇaḥ 5/1 *kṛtaḥ* 1/1 *khakhañau* 1/2/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, . . . *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76)
sarvacarmanśabdāt tṛtīyāsamarthāt 'kṛtaḥ' ity etasminn arthe khakhañau pratyayau bhavataḥ
The *taddhita* affixes *kha* and *khaÑ* occur to denote the sense of *kṛtaḥ* 'done, made' after syntactically related nominal stem *sarvacarman* 'all leather' when it ends in *tṛtīyā* 'instrumental'.

EXAMPLES:

sarvaś carmaṇā kṛtaḥ = sarvacarmīṇaḥ 'that which has been made entirely with leather'
sārvacarmīṇaḥ 'id.'

1. The word *sarva* of *sarvacarman* is not a qualifier of *carman*. Instead, it is relatable to *kṛtaḥ*, the sense of the affix (*pratyayārtha*). The compound *sarvacarman*, consequently, lacks syntactico-semantic competence (*sāmarthya*) necessary for its formation. How is this compound-formation justified? It can be justified on the basis of *nipātana* of our present rule itself.

5.2.6 यथामुखसम्मुखस्य दर्शनः खः

yathāmukhasammukhasya darśanaḥ khaḥ
/yathāmukhasammukhasya 6/1 (*sam. dv.*); *darśanaḥ* 1/1 *khaḥ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, . . . *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76)
yathāmukhaśabdāt sammukhaśabdāt ṣaṣṭhīsamarthād darśanaḥ ity etasminn arthe khaḥ pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *kha* occurs to denote *darśana* 'that in which one views the appearance' after syntactically related nominal stems *yathāmukha* 'exactly as the face is' and *sammukha* 'entire face' when they end in *ṣaṣṭhī*.

EXAMPLES:

yathāmukhīnaḥ 'that (mirror) in which a face appears exactly as it is'
sammukhīnaḥ 'that (mirror) in which a full face can be seen'

1. Our example *yathāmukham* is an *avyayībhāva* compound parallel to *mukhasya sadṛśam* 'similar to the face'. Recall that 2.1.7 *yathā'sādṛśye* allows the formation of such *avyayībhāva* compounds only when *asādṛśya* 'something other than similarity' is denoted. How is *yathāmukham* derived? By *nipātana* at the strength of this very rule.

5.2.7 तत्सर्वादेः पथ्यङ्गकर्मपत्त्रपात्रं व्याप्नोति

tat sarvādeḥ pathyaṅgakarmapattrapātraṃ vyāpnoti
/ tat 2/1 *sarvādeḥ* 5/1 = *sarva ādir yasya* (*bv.*), *tasmāt*; *pathyaṅgakarma-pattrapātram* 2/1 (*sam. dv.*); *vyāpnoti* (verbal *pada*) /
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, . . . *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *khaḥ* #6)
sarvādeḥ prātipadikāt 'pathin, aṅga, karman, pattra, pātra' ity evam antād dvitīyāsamarthāt 'vyāpnoti' ity asminn arthe khaḥ pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *kha* occurs to denote *vyāpnoti* 'pervades, covers' after syntactically related nominal stems *pathin* 'path', *aṅga* 'limb', *karman* 'action', *patra* 'means of transportation' and *pātra* 'vessel' when they occur in combination after *sarva* and end in *dvitīyā*.

EXAMPLES:

sarvapathīno rathaḥ 'a chariot so big that if covers the entire road'
sarvāṅgīṇas tāpaḥ 'that (heat, fever) which torments the entire body'
sarvakarmīṇaḥ puruṣaḥ 'a man who can do everything'
sarvapattriṇaḥ sārathiḥ 'a charioteer who can steer all means of transportation'
sarvapātrīṇa odanaḥ 'the rice which, when cooked, fills up the entire pot'

1. Note that *sarvapathin* is a *karmadhāraya* compound paraphrased as *sarvaś cāsau panthāḥ*. Rule 5.4.74 *ṛkpūrabdhūḥ* . . . subsequently introduces *a* to yield *sarvapathin* + *a* which, in turn, goes through *ṭi*-deletion. Affix *kha* is then introduced after *sarvapatha* to yield *sarvapath*(*a* →ϕ) + *kha* = *sarvapath* + (*kh* →*īn*) *a* = *sarvapathīna* through *bha-saṃjñā*, *a-lopa* and replacement of *kh* by *in*. Other examples additionally involve replacement in *ṇ* (*ṇatva*).

5.2.8 आप्रपदं प्राप्नोति

āprapadaṃ prāpnoti
/ āprapadam ϕ *prāpnoti* (verbal *pada*) /
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, . . . *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *khaḥ* #6, *tat* #7)
āprapadaśabdāt tad iti dvitīyāsamarthāt 'prāpnoti' ity asminn arthe khaḥ pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *kha* occurs to denote the sense of *prāpnoti* '. . . reaches' after syntactically related nominal stem *āprapada* 'to the fore-end of a foot' ending in *dvitīyā*.

EXAMPLES:

āprapadaṃ prāpnoti = *āprapadīnaḥ paṭaḥ* 'a piece of cloth long enough to reach the fore-end of the feet'

1. Note that *āprapadīnaḥ* denotes the measure of a 'dress' or 'a piece of cloth' (*paṭaḥ*) used for covering the body. It can be used as a qualifier to *paṭaḥ* even when *paṭaḥ* is not used as a cover (*śarīreṇāsambaddhasyāpi paṭasya pramāṇam ākhyāyate*).

5.2.9 अनुपदसर्वान्नायानयं बद्धाभक्षयतिनेयेषु

anupadasarvānnāyānayaṃ baddhābhakṣayatineyeṣu
/anupadasarvānnāyānayam 2/1 (*sam. dv.*); *baddhābhakṣayatineyeṣu* 7/3 (*itar. dv.*)/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, . . . *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *khaḥ* #6, *tat* #7)
anupadādibhyaḥ śabdebhyas tad iti dvitīyāsamarthebhyo yathāsaṃkhyam 'baddhā', 'bhakṣayati', 'neya' ity eteṣv artheṣu khaḥ pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *kha* occurs after syntactically related nominal stems *anupada* 'length of a foot', *sarvānna* 'all grains', *ayānaya* 'move toward right and left', when ending in *dvitīyā*, provided derivates denote the sense of *baddhā* 'bound', *bhakṣayati* 'consumes' and *neya* 'to be led', respectively.

EXAMPLES:

anupadaṃ baddhā upānat = *anupadīnā* 'shoes which are equal in measure to the feet'
sarvānnāni bhakṣayati = *sarvānnīno bhikṣuḥ* 'an ascetic who eats all grains received in alms'
ayānayaṃ neyaḥ = *ayānayīnaḥ śāraḥ* 'moving pieces toward right and left at a chequered game'

1. The word *anupada* is an *avyayībhāva* compound where *anu* signifies *āyāma* 'length and width, expanse', or *sādṛśya* 'similarity'. The word *ayānaya* is interpreted as a *karmadhāraya* compound parallel to *ayaś cāsāv anayaś ca* where *aya* means 'move toward right' and *anaya* means 'move toward left'. Note, however, that there is more to the meaning of *ayānaya* than the directional moves mentioned. Firstly, these moves are meant to be strategic in nature. They are made starting from a preassigned area of the game-board (*phalaka*). They are made in view of moves an opponent makes. Thus, a move towards right made by one gambler may mean a move made toward left for another. Finally, *ayānaya* is a place on the head of the board which opposing pieces do not reach. A piece which occupies such a place is called *ayānayīna* (*PM* ad *Kāś.*: *tatrābhimukhayoḥ krīḍatoḥ kitavayor yad evaikaṃ prati pradakṣiṇaṃ gamanaṃ tad evetaraṃ prati prasavyam ity ayaś cāsāv anayaś ca ayānaya iti karmadhārayaḥ*).

5.2.10 परोवरपरम्परपुत्रपौत्रमनुभवति

parovaraparamparaputrapautram anubhavati

/parovaraparamparaputrapautram 2/1 (*sam. dv.*); *anubhavati* (verbal *pada*)/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, . . . *pratipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *khaḥ* #6, *tat* #7)
'*parovara, parampara, putrapautra*' *ity etebhyas tad iti dvitīyāsamarthebhyaḥ* '*anubhavati*' *ity asminn arthe khaḥ pratyayo bhavati*
The *taddhita* affix *kha* occurs to denote the sense of *anubhavati* 'experiences' after syntactically related nominal stems *parovara* 'prior-subsequent; higher-lower', *parampara* 'prior and those before them' and *putrapautra* 'son-grandson' when they end in *dvitīyā*.

EXAMPLES:

parāṃś ca avarāṃś ca anubhavati = *parovarīṇaḥ* 'one who have witnessed the remote past, and also one thereafter'
parāṃś ca paratarāṃś ca anubhavati = *paramparīṇaḥ* 'one who has witnessed the earlier people, and also people before them'
putrapautrān anubhavati = *putrapautrīṇaḥ* 'one who experiences sons and grandsons'

1. Note that *a* of *para* in *parovara* is replaced with *o* in the context of this affix, via *nipātana*. A single-replacement similar to *o* in place of *o+a* of *paro+avara* is accomplished by 6.1.109 *eṅaḥ padāntād ati*. Our stem *parampara* is used to denote the combined meaning of *para* 'distant' and *paratara* 'comparatively more distant'. One may accept *paramparīṇa* as a derivate of *kha* introduced after *paraparatara* where *parampara* has replaced *paraparatara*. Given *parampara* + (*kh*→*īn*) *a* = *parampara* + *īna*, one can derive *paramparīṇa* by deleting the *bha*-final *a* (*allopa*) of *parampara*, and by replacing *n* by *ṇ* (*ṇatva*).

5.2.11 अवारपारात्यन्तानुकामं गामी

avārapārātyantānukāmaṃ gāmī
/avārapārātyantānukāmam 2/1 (*sam. dv.*); *gāmī* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, . . . *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *khaḥ* #6, *tat* #7)
'*avārapāra, atyanta, anukāma*' *ity etebhyo dvitīyāsamarthebhyaḥ* '*gāmī*' *ity etasminn arthe khaḥ pratyayo bhavati*
The *taddhita* affix *kha* occurs to denote the sense of *gāmin* 'goer' after syntactically related nominal stems *avārapāra* 'from this to the other side', *atyanta* 'excessive, intense' and *anukāma* 'as wished' when they end in *dvitīyā*.

EXAMPLES:

avārapāraṃ gacchati = *avārapārīṇaḥ* 'superbly accomplished; one who

goes from one side to the other'
atyantaṃ gāmī = atyantīnaḥ 'one who goes over and over again'
anukāmaṃ gacchati = anukāmīnaḥ 'one who goes as far as he wishes'

1. Note that *gāmin* is derived parallel to *gamiṣyati* 'one who will go' by introducing affix *ṆinI* of 3.3.3 *bhaviṣyati gamyādayaḥ*. A *dvitīyā* 'accusative' after *avārapāra*, etc., is introduced because *ṣaṣṭhī* is blocked by 3.2.70 *akenor bhaviṣyad. . . .*

2. A *vārttika* proposal is made so that *kha* could be introduced also after individual constituents of *avārapāra* (*vigrahītāc ca*), i.e., *avāra* and *pāra*, to yield *avārīṇa* and *pārīṇa*, respectively. An additional *vārttika* approves introduction of *kha* also when constituents of *avārapāra* are combined in reverse (*viparītāc ca*). This will account for *pārāvārīṇaḥ*.

5.2.12 समांसमां विजायते

samāṃsamāṃ vijāyate
/samāṃsamām 2/1 *vijāyate* (verbal *pada*)*/*
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, . . . *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *khaḥ* #6, *tat* #7)
dvitīyāsamarthāt samāṃsamāṃśabdād vijāyate' rthe khaḥ pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *kha* occurs to denote the sense of *vijāyate* 'gives birth to' after syntactically related nominal stem *samāṃsamā* 'every year' when it ends in *dvitīyā*.

EXAMPLES:

samāṃsamīnā gauḥ 'a cow which bears a calf every year'
samāṃsamīnā vaḍavā 'a mare which bears a foal every year'

1. This affix is introduced after a combined base of two *samā = samām + samām*, each ending in a accusative. The doubling is intended to denote *vīpsā* 'pervasion of a thing by property or action (8.1.4 *nityavīpsayoḥ*)'. The *dvitīyā* in *samāṃsamām* is introduced to denote *atyantasaṃyoga* of 2.3.5 *kālādhvanor. . . .* Rule 1.2.46 *kṛttaddhitasamāsāś ca* assigns the term *prātipadika* to *samām + samām + (kh→īn) a) = samāṃsamāmīna*. A *vārttika* (*pūrvapade supo' lug vaktavyaḥ*) saves the first *ām* from deletion by *LUK*. The second, of course, is deleted by 2.4.71 *supodhātuprātipadikayoḥ*. The final derivate *samāṃsamīnā* is derived with *ṬāP*. Some derive *samāṃsamā*, parallel to *samāyām samāyām vijāyate*, where *samāyām* is in *saptamī* 'locative'. This would require deletion of *y*, with non-deletion of *ām* in the first *samāyām*, and deletion of *yām* in the second.

5.2.13 अद्यश्वीनावष्टब्धे

adyaśvīnāvaṣṭabdhe

/adyaśvīna (deleted 1/1) *avaṣṭabdhe* 7/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, . . . *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *khaḥ* #6, *tat* #7, *vijāyate* #12)
'*adyaśvīnaḥ*' *iti nipātyate avaṣṭabdhe vijane*
A *taddhita* derivate, namely *adyaśvīna*, is derived via *nipātana* from *adyaśvas* 'today-tomorrow', when the sense of *vijāyate* is qualified with *avaṣṭabdha* 'imminent (time)'.

EXAMPLES:

adya vā śvo vā vijāyate = adyaśvīnā gau 'a cow which is ready to give birth to a calf today or tomorrow'
adyaśvīnā vaḍavā 'a mare which is to give birth to a foal today or tomorrow'

1. Some do not accept the *anuvṛtti* of *vijāyate* in this rule. They derive *adyaśvīnaḥ*, via *nipātana*, in the sense of *avaṣṭabdha* 'imminent'. They can thus account for expressions such as *adyaśvīnaṃ maraṇam* 'imminent death' and *adyaśvīno viyogaḥ* 'imminent separation'.

2. The word *adyaśvīna* is specified here without any nominal ending so that a given derivate could not be restricted to usage in particular gender. Thus, a nominative singular masculine specification such as *adyaśvīnaḥ* could have run the danger of ruling out usages such as *adyaśvīnam*, a neuter, or *adyaśvīnā*, a feminine. Our base *adyaśvīna* is derived from *adyaśvas* + *kha* where *adyaśvas* 'today or tomorrow' is a compound formed in the sense of *vā* 'or'. Derivationally, affix *kha* yields *īna* and *as* of *adyaśvas* goes through deletion of *ṭi*.

5.2.14 आगवीनः

āgavīnaḥ
/āgavīnaḥ 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, . . . *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *khaḥ* #6, *tat* #7)
gor āṅpūrvād ā tasya goḥ pratidānāt kāriṇi khaḥ pratyayo nipātyate
The *taddhita* affix *kha* occurs after *go*, used in conjunction with *āṄ*, to derive *āgavīna* 'worker' via *nipātana*.

EXAMPLES:

āgavīnaḥ karmakaraḥ 'a worker'

1. *Kāśikā* explains *āgavīnaḥ* as a worker who is hired on wages to take care of cows till the time they are returned (*pratyarpaṇa*) back to the owners. The time of 'return' then specifies the duration for which that person is hired (*yo gavā bhṛtaḥ karoti ā tasya goḥ pratyarpaṇāt*). The word *go* 'cow' is then used in the sense of *gopratyarpaṇa* 'return to cows'. This derivation of *āgavīnaḥ* is accomplished via *nipātana*.

5.2.15 अनुग्वलंगामी

anugv alaṅgāmī
/ anugu ϕ alaṅgāmī 1/1
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, . . . *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *khaḥ* #7, *tat* #7)
anuguśabdād alaṅgāmī ity asminn arthe khaḥ pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *kha* occurs to denote the sense of *alaṅgāmī* 'one who goes (or is able to go) far enough' after syntactically related nominal stem *anugu* 'one who follows (tends) the cows' when ending in *dvitīyā*.

EXAMPLES:

anuguparyāptaṃ gacchati = anugavīno gopālakaḥ 'a cowherd who follows the cows far enough'

1. Note that *anugu* is an *avyayībhāva* compound where *anu* denotes *paścāt* 'after'. The short *u*, as a replacement for *o*, is in consonance with 1.2.48 *gostriyor*. . . . The derivate itself is derived with *guṇa* of *u*, followed by replacement in *av* and (*kh→īn*) *a*)).

5.2.16 अध्वनो यत्खौ

adhvano yatkhau
/ adhvanaḥ 5/1 *yatkhau* 1/2 (*itar. dv.*) /
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, . . . *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *khaḥ* #6, *tat* #7, *alaṅgāmī* #15)
adhvanśabdād dvitīyāsamarthād 'alaṅgāmī' ity etasminn arthe yatkhau pratyayau bhavataḥ
The *taddhita* affixes *yaT* and *kha* occurs to denote the sense of *alaṅgāmī* after syntactically related nominal stem *adhvan* 'road, path' when the same ends in *dvitīyā*.

EXAMPLES:

adhvānaṃ alaṅgāmī = adhvanīnaḥ 'one who frequents the road'
adhvanyaḥ 'id.'

1. Why was the rule not formulated simply as *adhvano yac ca*, where *ca* could have attracted *kha* from the earlier rule. A formulation with *yaT* and *kha* both is needed so that these affixes both could be carried to the subsequent rule at the strength of *ca*. For, if *kha* is carried here by *ca*, it could not be carried any further (*cānukṛṣṭaṃ nottaratra*). Note that *adhvanīna* and *adhvanya* escape *ṭi*-deletion of *an* in consonance with 6.4.168 *ye cābhāvakarmaṇoḥ* and 6.4.169 *ātmādhvānau khe*, respectively.

5.2.17 अभ्यमित्राच्छ च

abhyamitrāc cha ca

/abhyamitrāt 5/1 *cha* (1/1 deleted) *ca* ϕ/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, . . . *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *khaḥ* #6, *tat* #7, *alaṅgāmī* #15)
abhyamitraśabdād dvitīyāsamarthād 'alaṅgāmī' ity etasminn arthe chaḥ pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *cha*, in addition to *yaT* and *kha*, also occurs to denote the sense of *alaṅgāmī* after syntactically related nominal stem *abhyamitra* 'face to face with an enemy' when it ends in *dvitīyā*.

EXAMPLES:

abhyamitram alaṅgāmī 'one who goes far enough to face (challenge) his enemy'
abhyamitryaḥ 'id.'
abhyamitrīṇaḥ 'id.'

1. Note that *abhyamitram* is an *avyayībhāva* compound where *abhi* denotes *ābhimukhya* 'facing' (2.1.14 *lakṣaṇenābhipraty ābhimukhye*).

5.2.18 गोष्ठात्खञ्भूतपूर्वे

goṣṭhāt khañ bhūtapūrve
/goṣṭhāt 5/1 *khañ* 1/1 *bhūtapūrve* 7/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, . . . *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76)
goṣṭhaśabdād bhūtapūrvopādhikāt svārthe khaḥ pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *khaÑ* occurs to denote *svārtha* 'nominal stem notion' after *goṣṭha* 'a place where cows are kept', provided it is qualified with *bhūtapūrva* 'that which was in the past'.

EXAMPLES:

goṣṭho bhūtapūrvaḥ = *gauṣṭhīno deśaḥ* 'a place which once was a cow-shed'

1. Note that *bhūtapūrva* is used here as a qualifier to *goṣṭha* so that this affixal provision could be blocked parallel to, for example, *goṣṭho vartate* 'there is a shelter for cows here'.

5.2.19 अश्वस्यैकाहगमः

aśvasyaikāhagamaḥ
/aśvasya 6/1 *ekāhagamaḥ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, . . . *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *khañ* #18)
aśvaśabdāt ṣaṣṭhīsamarthād 'ekāhagamaḥ' ity etad arthe khañ pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *khaÑ* occurs to denote the sense of *ekāhagamaḥ* 'that

(a distance) which can be covered in a day' after syntactically related nominal stem *aśva* 'horse', when the same ends in *ṣaṣṭhī* 'genitive'.

EXAMPLES:

aśvasyaikāhagamo'dhvā = *āśvīnaḥ* 'a road (distance) which can be covered by a horse in a day'

1. Note that *ekāhagama* is explained as a compound parallel to *ekāhena gamyate* 'that which is traveled in a day', in consonance with 2.1.32 *kartṛkaraṇe kṛtā bahulam*. The first constituent *ekāha* is a *karmadhāraya* parallel to *ekaṃ ca tad ahaś ca* 'that which is one and is also a day'. The second constituent, *gamaḥ*, is a derivate of *aP* introduced to denote *karman* 'object', via *nipātana*, against *ghaÑ* of 3.3.20 *parimāṇākhyāyām*. . . . The *tṛtīyā* in *ekāhena*, according to *Nyāsa*, denotes *karaṇa*. Some consider the *tṛtīyā* of *ekāhena* as denoting *apavarga* 'accomplishment' (2.3.6 *apavarge tṛtīyā*). Not accepting *tṛtīyā* as denoting *karaṇa* would amount to accepting *ekāhagama* as a compound formed in view of 2.1.4 *saha supā*.

5.2.20 शालीनकौपीने अधृष्टाकार्ययोः

śālīnakaupīne adhṛṣṭākāryayoḥ
/śālīnakaupīne 7/2 (*itar. dv.*); *adhṛṣṭākāryayoḥ* 7/2 (*itar. dv.*)/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, . . . *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *khañ* #18)
'*śālīna-kaupīna*' *śabdau nipātyete yathāsaṃkhyam adhṛṣṭe akārye cābhidheye*
The *taddhita* affix *khaÑ* occurs in deriving *śālīna* and *kaupīna*, via *nipātana*, when *adhṛṣṭa* 'dull, stupid' and *akārya* 'improper action; sin', respectively, are signified.

EXAMPLES:

śālīnaḥ = *śālāpraveśanam arhati* 'dull, stupid; one who deserves to sit inside at home'
kaupīnaḥ 'sinner'; 'one who deserves to be thrown into a water-well'

1. Note that *yathāsaṃkhya* (1.3.10 *yathāsaṃkhyam* . . .) is followed so that *śālīna* and *kaupīna* could be derived with the denotatum of *adhṛṣṭa* and *akārya*, respectively. The word *śālīna* is used in the sense of *jaḍa* 'dull, stupid'. That is, he who is characterized as *śālīna* deserves to sit inside home since he does not know how to behave outside. The word *kaupīna* is used in the sense of *puruṣaliṅga* 'male organ of copulation', mainly because it serves as *sādhana* 'instrument' for accruing sins by engaging in illicit sex. It is also used for a piece of cloth meant to cover the male organ.

5.2.21 व्रातेन जीवति

vrātena jīvati

/vrātena 3/1 *jīvati* (verbal *pada*)/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, . . . *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *khañ* #18)
vrātaśabdāt tṛtīyāsamarthāj jīvaty ity etasminn arthe khañ pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *khaÑ* occurs to denote the sense of *jīvati* 'exists, subsists on' after syntactically related nominal stem *vrāta* 'group of workers' when the same ends in *tṛtīyā* 'instrumental'.

EXAMPLES:

vrātena jīvati = *vrātīnaḥ* 'one who earns his living as a laborer'

1. The word *vrāta* is generally used in the sense of *saṃgha* 'group'. The *Mahābhāṣya*, however, explains it as *nānājātīya aniyatavṛttaya utsedhajīvinaḥ saṃghāḥ* 'a group of people of diverse castes who do not have any definite occupation, and who rely on physical labor (*utsedha*) for their subsistence'. The word *vrāta* is also used in the sense of what such workers do. Note that *vrātīna* cannot be used to characterize a person who does not belong to a group but who earns his living by doing what members of that group do (*Kāś.*: *yastv anyas tadīyena jīvati tatra neṣyate*).

5.2.22 साप्तपदीनं सख्यम्

sāptapadīnaṃ sakhyam
/sāptapadīnam 1/1 *sakhyam* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, . . . *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *khañ* #18)
sāptapadīnam iti nipātyate sakhye' bhidheye
The *taddhita* affix *khaÑ* occurs, via *nipātana*, in deriving *sāptapadīna* when *sakhyam* 'companionship' is signified.

EXAMPLES:

sakhyaṃ janāḥ sāptapadīnam āhuḥ 'walking together seven steps is what people call friendship'

1. The word *sāptapadīnam* is used in the sense of *sakhyam* 'companionship', parallel to *saptabhiḥ padair avāpyate* 'that which is accomplished by means of seven steps'. It is also used in the sense of a 'companion' (*sakhā*) and *mitra* 'friend' by extension.

5.2.23 हैयङ्गवीनं संज्ञायाम्

haiyaṅgavīnaṃ saṃjñāyām
/haiyaṅgavīnam 1/1 *saṃjñāyām* 7/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, . . . *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *khañ* #18)

haiyaṅgavīnam iti nipātyate saṃjñāyāṃ viṣaye
The *taddhita* affix *khaÑ* occurs, via *nipātana*, in deriving *haiyaṅgavīna* when *saṃjñā* 'a name' is denoted.

EXAMPLES:

haiyaṅgavīnam 'that which results from yesterday's milk; clarified butter'

1. The *Mahābhāṣya* explains *haiyaṅgavīna* as a 'product of yesterday's milk' (*hyo godohasya vikāraḥ*). Our stem *hyogodoha* is replaced with *hiyaṅgu*, again by *nipātana*. The condition of *saṃjñā* makes sense because *haiyaṅgavīna* is not used in the sense of any 'product' made from 'yesterday's milk'. It is used in the sense of 'clarified butter' (*ghṛta*). Incidentally, this provision of *khaÑ* constitutes an exception to *aṆ* of 4.3.134 *tasya vikāraḥ*.

5.2.24 तस्य पाकमूले पील्वादिकर्णादिभ्यः कुणब्जाहचौ

tasya pākamūle pīlvādikarṇādibhyaḥ kuṇabjāhacau
/tasya 6/1 *pākamūle* 7/1 = *pākaṃ ca mūlaṃ ca* (*saṃ dv.*), *tasmin*; *pīlvādikarṇādibhyaḥ* 5/3 = *pīlvādibhyaḥ karṇādibhyaś ca* (*itar. dv.*); *kuṇabjāhacau* 1/2 = *kuṇap ca jāhac ca* (*itar. dv.*)/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, . . . *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76)
tasya iti ṣaṣṭhīsamarthebhyaḥ pīlvādibhyaḥ karṇādibhyaś ca yathāsaṃkhyaṃ pākamūlayor arthayoḥ kuṇab jāhac ity etau pratyayau bhavataḥ
The *taddhita* affixes *kuṇaP* and *jāhaC* occur to denote *pāka* 'ripening' and *mūla* 'root' after syntactically related nominal stems listed in the group headed by *pīlu* 'a fruit' and *karṇa* 'ear', respectively, when the stems end in *ṣaṣṭhī* 'genitive'.

EXAMPLES:

pīlūnāṃ pākaḥ = pīlukuṇaḥ 'ripening of Pīlu fruits'
karṇasya mūlaṃ = karṇajāham 'ear-root; ear-lobe'

1. Note that *yathāsaṃkhya* (1.3.10 *yathāsaṃkhyam . . .*) requires that affix *kuṇaP* be introduced after stems of the *pīlvādi* group to denote the sense of 'ripening'. Affix *jāhaC* should similarly be introduced after stems of the *karṇādi* group to denote the sense of *mūla* 'root'. This word is used here in the sense of *upakrama* 'beginning, commencement'.

2. Affixes *kuṇaP* and *jāhaC* are introduced here as exceptions to *aṆ* of 4.3.120 *tasyedam*. Why is *j* of *jāhaC* not assigned the term *it* by 1.3.7 *cuṭū*? It would not serve any purpose (*prayojanābhāvāt*).

5.2.25 पक्षात्तिः

pakṣāt tiḥ

/pakṣāt 5/1 *tiḥ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, . . . *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *tasya mūle* #24)
tasyeti ṣaṣṭhīsamarthāt pakṣaśabdād mūle' bhidheye tiḥ pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *ti* occurs to denote the sense of *mūla* after syntactically related nominal stem *pakṣa* 'fortnight' when the same ends in *ṣaṣṭhī.*

EXAMPLES:

pakṣasya mūlam = pakṣatiḥ 'beginning of a fortnight; roots of bird's wings?

1. Note that *mūla* alone is carried here. The *Mahābhāṣya* cites a *paribhāṣā* of Vyāḍi in support: *ekayoganirdiṣṭānām apy ekadeśo' nuvartate* 'items specified by a single rule may also be carried in part'. Of course, when marked with *svarita.*

5.2.26 तेन वित्तश्चुञ्चुप्चणपौ

tena vittaś cuñcupcaṇapau
/tena 3/1 *vittaḥ* 1/1 *cuñcupcaṇapau* 1/2 (*itar. dv.*)/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, . . . *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76)
tena iti tṛtīyāsamarthād 'vitta' ity etasminn arthe 'cuñcup-caṇap' ity etau pratyayau bhavataḥ
The *taddhita* affixes *cuñcuP* and *caṇaP* occur to denote the sense of *vitta* 'known, renown' after a syntactically related nominal stem which ends in *tṛtīya* 'instrumental'.

EXAMPLES:

vidyayā vittaḥ = vidyācuñcuḥ 'one who is renowned for reasons of his knowledge'
vidyācaṇaḥ 'id.'

1. How come the initial *C* of *cuñcuP* and *caṇaP* is not termed an *it*? *Kāśikā* states that assignment of *it* in case of initial *c* is treated as *anitya* 'non-obligatory'. This is indicated by split formulation of 1.3.6 *ṣaḥ pratyayasya* and 1.3.7 *cuṭū.* The *Mahābhāṣya* considers the affixes as beginning with deleted *y* (*luptanirdiṣṭo yakāraḥ*). The question of applying 1.3.7 *cuṭū* thus does not arise.

5.2.27 विनञ्भ्यां नानाञौ नसह

vinañbhyāṃ nānāñau nasaha
/vinañbhyām 5/2 (*itar. dv.*); *nānāñau* 1/2 (*itar. dv.*); *nasaha* ϕ/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, . . . *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76)

'vi-nañ' ity etābhyāṃ yathāsaṃkhyaṃ 'nā-nāñ' ity etau pratyayau bhavataḥ
The *taddhita* affixes *nā* and *naÑ* occur, respectively, after *vi* and *naÑ*, used with the signification of *nasaha* 'without'.

EXAMPLES:

vinā 'without'
nānā 'id.'

1. Note that *nasaha* 'not (being) together' is used as a qualifier to the base (*prakṛtiviśeṣaṇa*). Consequently, this affixal provision is made only when bases denote the sense of *nasaha*. These affixes, since no affixal meaning is specified, denote *svārtha* 'base-meaning'. Our example *nānā* is derived from *na* + *nāÑ* through initial *vṛddhi*.

5.2.28 वेः शालच्छङ्कटचौ

veḥ śālacchaṅkaṭacau
/veḥ 5/1 *śālacchaṅkaṭacau* 1/2 (*itar. dv.*)/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, . . . *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76)
viśabdāt śālac-śaṅkaṭac ity etau pratyayau bhavataḥ
The *taddhita* affixes *śālaC* and *śaṅkaṭaC* occur after *vi* to denote *svārtha* 'base-meaning'.

EXAMPLES:

viśāle śṛṅge 'two huge horns'
viśaṅkaṭe śṛṅge 'id.'

1. Note that an *upasarga*, when used along with a verbal form denoung an action (*kriyā*), serves as a verbal modifier (*kriyāviśeṣaṇa*). It denotes a 'participant' (*sādhana*) modified with an inhered 'action' when used alone (*sasādhanakriyāvācinaḥ*). This being the case, and especially since no affixal meaning is specified, derivates of this rule will thus denote *svārtha* (*anirdiṣṭa-pratyayārthatvāt svārthe vṛttiḥ*).

2. The words *viśāla* and *viśaṅkaṭa* are used to denote *śṛṅga* 'horn'. They can also denote 'cow' (*go*), on account of its association with horns. Thus, we can also get: *viśālo gauḥ* 'a huge bull'.

Kāśikā accepts these derivates as qualifiers and advises that they should be derived with efforts. It is difficult to establish individual bases and affixal meanings (*paramārthatas tu guṇaśabdā ete yathākathaṃcid vyutpādyante, nātra prakṛtipratyayārthayor abhiniveśaḥ*).

5.2.29 संप्रोदश्च कटच्

samprodaś ca kaṭac

/samprodaḥ 5/2 = *sam ca praś ca ud ca* (*sam. dv.*); *tasmāt*; *ca* ϕ *kaṭac* 1/1/ (*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, . . . *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *veḥ* #28)
'*sam-pra-ud*' *ity etebhyaḥ kaṭac pratyayo bhavati cakārād veś ca*
The *taddhita* affix *kaṭaC* also occurs after *sam*, *pra*, *ud* and *vi* when derivates denote *svārtha* 'base-meaning'.

EXAMPLES:

saṅkaṭaḥ 'a situation of distress'
utkaṭaḥ 'ferocious, fierce'
prakaṭaḥ 'manifest, evident'
vikaṭaḥ 'dreadful, immense'

1. Note that the preverbs denote 'a participant qualified with an inhered action (*sādhanaviśiṣṭakriyāvācin*)'. Exact meanings of derivates should be determined on the basis of established usage.

2. The following *vārttika* proposals account for additional derivates:

(*i*) Affix *kaṭaC* occurs after *alābū* 'tender squash', *tila* 'sesame', *umā* 'flax' and *bhaṅgā* 'hemp' to derive *alābūkaṭam*, *tilakaṭam*, *umākaṭam* and *bhaṅgākaṭam* to denote the sense of their *raja* 'powder, dust'. The first three are exceptions to *aÑ* (4.3.139 *or añ*; 4.3.140 *anudāttādeś ca*). The fourth is an exception to *aÑ* (*Phiṭsūtra* 27 *tṛṇadhānyānām . . .*).

(*ii*) Affix *goṣṭhaC* is also used after stems signifying animals (*paśu*) when derivates denote 'place' (*sthāna*). This gives us derivates such as *gogoṣṭham* 'shelter for cows', etc. Incidentally, this *vārttika* also provides for derivates to be marked *udātta* at the end (*antodātta*).

(*iii*) Affixes *kaṭaC* and *paṭaC* are introduced when derivates denote *saṃghāta* 'group' and *vistāra* 'expanse', respectively. Thus, *avikaṭam* 'group of sheep' and *avipaṭam* 'spread of sheep'. Incidentally, masculine in these examples is against the *Mahābhāṣya*.

(*iv*) Affix *goyugaC* is introduced to denote the sense of *dvitva* 'doubling, pair' in derivates such as *gogoyugam* 'pair of cows', *aśvagoyugam* 'pair of horses', etc.

(*v*) Affix *ṣaḍgavaC* is introduced when a derivate denotes the sense of six relative to its base. Thus, *hastiṣaḍgavam* 'a group of six elephants' and *aśvaṣaḍgavam* 'a group of six horses'.

(*vi*) A derivate denoting *taila* 'oil' is derived with *tailaC*. Thus, *tilatailam* 'sesame oil', *eraṇḍatailam* 'castor oil', etc. Incidentally, this *vārttika* is not available in the *Mahābhāṣya*.

(*vii*) Affixes *śākaṭa* and *śākina* should be introduced when derivates denote 'locus of producton'. Thus, *ikṣuśākaṭam* 'a field where sugarcane is produced' and *ikṣuśākinam* 'id.', etc.

5.2.30 अवात्कुटारच्च

avāt kuṭārac ca
/avāt 5/1 *kuṭārac* 1/1 *ca* ϕ/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, ... *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76)
avaśabdāt kuṭārac pratyayo bhavati cakārāt kaṭac
The *taddhita* affix *kuṭāraC*, and *kaṭaC* as well, occurs after *ava* to denote *svārtha* 'base-meaning'.

EXAMPLES:

avakuṭāram 'low-land; not so famous'
avakaṭam 'id.'

1. These affixes are introduced to denote the sense of *avācīna* 'low'. Haradatta (*Padamañjarī* ad *Kāś.*) glosses *avācīna* as *aprasiddha* 'non-famous'.

5.2.31 नते नासिकायाः संज्ञायां टीटञ्नाटञ्भ्रटच्चः

nate nāsikāyāḥ saṃjñāyāṃ ṭīṭañnāṭajbhraṭacaḥ
/nate 7/1 *nāsikāyāḥ* 6/1 *saṃjñāyam* 7/1 *ṭīṭañnāṭajbhraṭacaḥ* 1/3 (*itar. dv.*)/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, ... *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *avāt* #30)
nāsikāyāḥ sambandhini nate' bhidheye ṭīṭac, nāṭac, bhraṭac pratyayā bhavanti saṃjñāyāṃ viṣaye
The *taddhita* affixes *ṭīṭaC*, *nāṭaC* and *bhraṭaC* occur after *ava* when derivates denote the sense of *nata* 'curvature' relative to nose (*nāsikāyāḥ*) as a *saṃjñā* 'name'.

EXAMPLES:

nāsikāyā natam = *avaṭīṭam* 'curvature of nose'
avanāṭam 'id.'
avabhraṭam 'id.'
avaṭīṭaḥ puruṣaḥ 'a man with curvature of nose'
avanāṭaḥ puruṣaḥ 'id.'
avabhraṭaḥ puruṣaḥ 'id.'

1. Note that *nata* is a derivate of *nam* 'to bend' with affix *Kta* denoting *bhāva* (3.3.114 *napuṃsake bhāve ktaḥ*). How could a derivate with denotatum of action of *namana* 'bending' also denote 'nose' or 'a person with that kind of a nose'? It is possible because of its association (*sāhacarya*) with 'nose' and 'person'.

5.2.32 नेर्बिडज्बिरीसचौ

ner biḍajbirīsacau

/neḥ 1/1 *biḍajbirīsacau* 1/2/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, ... *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *nate nāsikāyāḥ saṃjñāyām* #31)
niśabdān nāsikāyā nate' bhidheye biḍac birīsac ity etau pratyayau bhavataḥ
The *taddhita* affixes *biḍaC* and *birīsaC* occur after *ni* when derivates denote the sense of *nata* relative to *nāsikā*, as a name.

EXAMPLES:

nibiḍam 'downcast nose'
nibirīsam 'id.'
nibiḍaḥ 'a man with downcast nose'
nibirīsaḥ 'id.'

1. How can we explain usages such as *nibiḍāḥ keśāḥ* 'downcast hair' and *nibiḍaṃ vastram* 'downcast clothes'? One has to accept them as metaphorical usages (*upamānād bhaviṣyati*).

5.2.33 इनच्पिटच्चिकचि च

inacpiṭac cikaci ca
/inacpiṭac 1/1 (*sam. dv.*); *cikaci* (deleted 1/1; *sam. dv.*); *ca* ϕ/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, ... *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *nate nāsikāyāḥ saṃjñāyām* #31, *neḥ* #32)
niśabdān nāsikāyā nate' bhidheye 'inac-piṭac' ity etau pratyayau bhavataḥ
The *taddhita* affixes *inaC* and *piṭaC* occur after *ni*, with an additional provision that *ni* be replaced with *cika* and *ci*, respectively, when derivates denote the sense of *nata* relative to *nāsikā*, as a name.

EXAMPLES:

cikinaḥ 'downcast nose'
cipiṭaḥ 'id.'

1. Note that *cika* and *ci* are given as replacements in the context of *inaC* and *ipiṭaC*, respectively.

2. A *vārttika* also introduces affix *ka*, with *cika* as a replacement for *ni*, to derive *cikkaḥ* denoting the same meaning. Further proposals have been made for affix *la* to occur after *klinna* with replacements in *cil* and *pil* to derive *cillaḥ* 'watery eyes' and *pillaḥ* 'id.'. But these derivates are limited to the signification of *cakṣu* 'eyes'. Yet another *vārttika* adds another replacement in *cul* to derive *cullaḥ*.

3. Note that derivates of rules 5.2.29 *sampradoś ca kaṭac* through 5.2.33 *inacpiṭac* ... are to be accepted as derived in the sense established by usage. It is very difficult to ascertain their exact derivational process, especially details of meaning.

5.2.34 उपाधिभ्यां त्यकन्नासन्नारूढयोः

upādhibhyāṃ tyakann āsannārūḍhayoḥ
/upādhibhyām 5/2 (*itar. dv.*); *tyakan* 1/1 *āsannārūḍhayoḥ* 7/2 (*itar. dv.*)/ (*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, . . . *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *saṃjñāyām* #31)
'*upa, adhi*' *ity etābhyāṃ yathāsaṃkhyam āsannārūḍhayor vartamānābhyāṃ svārthe tyakan pratyayo bhavati*
The *taddhita* affix *tyakan* occurs after *upa* and *adhi* when they denote the sense of *āsanna* 'proximate' and *ārūḍha* 'elevated', respectively, as a name.

EXAMPLES:

parvatasya āsannam = *upatyakā* 'proximate to a mountain; low land; valley'
paravatasyā'rūḍham = *adhityakā* 'high-land; plateau'

1. Note that *saṃjñāyām* is carried. Consequently, derivates must be limited to specific meanings in relation to a mountain. A replacement in *i* (*itva*; 7.3.44 *pratyayasthāt* . . .) is also blocked for the same reason. The derivates both are examples of *ṬāP*.

5.2.35 कर्मणि घटोऽठच्

karmaṇi ghaṭo'ṭhac
/karmaṇi 7/1 *ghaṭaḥ* 1/1 *aṭhac* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, . . . *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76)
karmaśabdāt saptamīsamarthād ghaṭaḥ ity etasminn arthe'ṭhac pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *aṭhaC* occurs after syntactically related nominal stem *karman* 'action' when it ends in *saptamī* 'locative', provided derivates denote the sense of *ghaṭaḥ* 'striving there'.

EXAMPLES:

karmaṇi ghaṭate karmaṭhaḥ puruṣaḥ 'one who actively strives; one who actively pursues his goals'

1. Note that *karman* must be interpreted as denoting its form (*svarūpa*). It cannot be interpreted as *karman* 'object' since that is impossible (*asambhavāt*). For, *ghaṭ* 'to strive' is intransitive. Incidentally, *ghaṭa* of *ghaṭaḥ* is a derivate of affix *aC* introduced after verbal root *ghaṭ* in the sense of *ghaṭate* '. . . strives'.

The *a*, at the beginning of *aṭhaC*, is intended for blocking *ika* as a replacement for *ṭha* (7.3.50 *ṭhasyekaḥ*).

5.2.36 तदस्य संजातं तारकादिभ्यः इतच्

tad asya saṃjātaṃ tārakādibhyaḥ itac
/tat 1/1 *asya* 6/1 *saṃjātam* 1/1 *tārakādibhyaḥ* 5/3 *itac* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, ... *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76)
tad iti prathamāsamarthebhyas tārakādibhyaḥ śabdebhyaḥ 'asya' ity ṣaṣṭhyarthe itac pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *itaC* occurs to denote the sense of *ṣaṣṭhī* 'genitive' after a syntactically related nominal stem listed in the group headed by *tārakā* 'star', when the stem ends in *prathamā* 'nominative and is qualified with *saṃjāta* 'manifested'.

EXAMPLES:

tārakāḥ saṃjātā asya nabhasaḥ = tārakitaṃ nabhaḥ 'a sky studded with stars'
puṣpito vṛkṣaḥ 'a tree blossoming with flowers'

1. A question is raised as to why *bubhukṣā* 'hunger' and *pipāsā* 'thirst' are also listed in the *tārakādi* group when derivates such as *bubhukṣita* and *pipāsita* can be derived by introducing *Kta* (3.2.102 *niṣṭhā*). True, but such derivates have the signification of *bhūta* 'past'. Besides, they will be limited to denote root-sense (*bhāva*) and *karman* 'object' only (3.4.70 *tayor eva kṛtyaktakhalarthāḥ*). It is to enable these derivates to denote *vartamāna* 'current time' and *kartṛ*, in examples such as *bubhukṣito devadattaḥ* 'Devadatta is hungry' and *pipāsito devadattaḥ* 'Devadatta is thirsty', that *bubhukṣā* and *pipāsā* are included in the *tārakādi* group. Note that this group is treated as open-ended (*ākṛtigaṇa*). Examples such as *tārakita* and *puṣpita* involve *bha-saṃjñā* and deletion of *ā/a*, respectively.

5.2.37 प्रमाणे द्वयसज्दघ्नञ्मात्रचः

pramāṇe dvayasajdaghnañmātracaḥ
/pramāṇe 7/1 *dvayasajdaghnañmātracaḥ* (*itar. dv.*)/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, ... *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *tad asya* #36)
tad iti prathamāsamarthād 'asya' ity ṣaṣṭhyarthe 'dvayasac, daghnac, mātrac' ity ete pratyayā bhavanti yat tat prathamāsamarthaṃ pramāṇaṃ cet tad bhavati
The *taddhita* affixes *dvayasaC, daghnaC* and *mātraC* occur to denote the sense of *ṣaṣṭhī* after a syntactically related nominal stem which ends in *prathamā* and has the signification of *pramāṇa* 'measure'.

EXAMPLES:

uruḥ pramāṇam asya = urudvayasam udakam 'thigh-deep water'
urudaghnam 'id.'

urumātram 'id.'
jānudvayasam 'knee-deep water'
jānudaghnam 'id.'
jānumātram 'id.'

1. The *Mahābhāṣya* considers affixes *dvyasaC* and *daghnaC* to be introduced when the derivate denotes *ūrdhvamāna* 'that by means of which something is measured while standing' (*prathamaś ca dvitīyaś ca ūrdhvamāne matau mama*). The last, i.e., *mātraC*, is thus meant for denoting 'measure' in general.

2. Note that *pramāṇa* is a qualifier to the meaning of the base (*prakṛti*). It cannot be accepted as a qualifier to affixal meaning (*pratyayārtha*). For, an example such as *urudvayasam* would then be interpreted as *udakaṃ prameyam asya uroḥ* 'thighs which measure water'.

3. A *vārttika* proposes *LUK*-deletion of *mātraC* after bases which denote *pramāṇa*. Thus, *śamaḥ*, parallel to *śamaḥ pramāṇam asya* 'that which has arms-length as its measure', and *vitastiḥ*, parallel to *vitastiḥ pramāṇam asya* 'that which has Vitasti (width of a fully spread hand measured beginning with thumb to the tip of the little finger) as its measure'; *pramāṇe lo vaktavyaḥ*).

Yet another *vārttika* informs that *mātraC* is obligatorily deleted by *LUK* after a *dvigu* compound (*dvigor nityam*). Thus, *dviśamaḥ*, *dvivitastiḥ*, etc.

A third *vārttika* requires affix *ḌaṬ* when *stoma* 'a ritual sacrifice' is denoted. Thus, *pañcadaśaḥ stomaḥ* 'a Stoma sacrifice lasting for fifteen days, or having fifteen hymns of praises' (*ḍaṭ stome vaktavyaḥ*). Affix *ḌinI*, in view of a *vārttika*, occurs after nominals which denote *saṃkhyā* 'number' and end in *śan* and *śat*. Thus, *pañcadaśino' rdhamāsāḥ* 'fortnights with fifteen days as their measure'; *triṃśino māsāḥ* 'months with thirty days as their measure' (*śaṅśator ḍinir vaktavyaḥ*). Affix *ḌinI* is also introduced after *viṃśati* to derive *viṃśinaḥ*, as in *viṃśino' ṅgirasaḥ* 'the descendants of Aṅgiras are twenty' (*viṃśateś ceti vaktavyam*).

Yet another *vārttika* approves introduction of *mātraC* after stems used as *pramāṇa* 'measure', *parimāṇa* 'measure of weight' and *saṃkhyā* 'number', provided *saṃśaya* 'doubt' is denoted. Thus, *śamamātram* 'that which may or may not have its measure equal to one Śama (arms-length)', *prasthamātram* 'that which may or may not weigh equal to one Prastha' and *daśamātrā gāvaḥ* 'cows which may or may not be ten'.

Finally, a *vārttika* also approves affixes *dvayasaC* and *mātraC* to occur after stems ending in affix *vatUP*, provided derivates denote the sense of their bases (*svārtha*). Thus consider *tāvaddvayasam* 'that much' and *tāvanmātram* 'id.'.

A *Ślokavārttika* summarizes these *vārttika* proposals as follows:

pramāṇaṃ pratyayārtho na tadvad yasyeti vartanāt,
prathamaś ca dvitīyaś ca ūrdhvamāne mataui mama/

pramāṇe lo dvigor nityaṃ ḍaṭ stome śacśanor ḍiniḥ,
pramāṇaparimāṇābhyāṃ saṃkhyāyāś cāpi saṃśaye//

5.2.38 पुरुषहस्तिभ्यामण् च

puruṣahastibhyām aṇ ca
/puruṣahastibhyām 5/2 = *puruṣaś ca hastī ca, tābhyām; aṇ* 1/1 *ca ɸ/*
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, . . . *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *tad asya* #36, *pramāṇe* #37)
puruṣahastibhyāṃ prathamāsamarthābhyāṃ pramāṇopādhikābhyām asyeti ṣaṣṭhyarthe' ṇ pratyayo bhavati cakārād dvayasajādayaś ca
The *taddhita* affix *aṆ*, and *dvayasaC, daghnaC* and *mātraC* as well, occur to denote the sense of *ṣaṣṭhī* after syntactically related nominal stem *puruṣa* 'man' and *hastin* 'elephant', when these end in *prathamā* and have the signification of *pramāṇa* 'measure'.

EXAMPLES:

puruṣaḥ pramāṇam asya = pauruṣam udakam 'water as deep as a man's height'
puruṣadvayasam 'id.'
puruṣadaghnam 'id.'
puruṣamātram 'id.'
hastī pramāṇam asya hāstinam udakam 'water as deep as the height of an elephant'
hastidvayasam 'id.'
hastidaghnam 'id.'
hastimātram 'id.'
dvihastinī parikhā 'a moat equal in depth to the height of two elephants'
dvipuruṣī parikhā 'a moat equal in depth to the height of two men'

1. Recall that these affixes will be deleted obligatorily after a compound termed *dvigu* (*Kāś.*: *dvigor nityaṃ luk*). Feminine affix *ṄīP* will be optionally introduced in *dvipuruṣī* by 4.1.24 *puruṣāt pramāṇe' nyatarasyām.* The *ṄīP* in *dvihastinī*, etc., will be introduced by 4.1.5 *ṛnnebhyo ṇīp.*

5.2.39 यत्तदेतेभ्यः परिमाणे वतुप्

yattadetebhyaḥ parimāṇe vatup
/yattadetebhyaḥ 5/3 = *yad ca tad ca etad ca* (*itar. dv.*), *tebhyaḥ; parimāṇe* 7/1 *vatup* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, . . . *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *tad asya* #36)
'yat-tad-etebhyaḥ' prathamāsamarthebhyaḥ parimāṇopādhikebhyaḥ 'asya' iti ṣaṣṭhyarthe vatup pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *vatUP* occurs to denote the sense of *ṣaṣṭhī* after syn-

tactically related nominal stems *yad* 'that which', *tad* 'that' and *etad* 'this', when these end in *prathamā* and are in syntactic coordination with *parimāṇa* 'all inclusive measure'.

EXAMPLES:

yat parimāṇam asya = yāvān 'that which has its measure as . . .; as large as . . ., etc.'
tāvān 'that which has 'that' as its measure; as large as that . . ., etc.'
etāvān 'that of which 'this' is the measure; as large as this . . ., etc.'

1. Why is *parimāṇa* explicitly stated here when *pramāṇa* is available from *anuvṛtti.* So that *parimāṇu* 'all inclusive measure; volume' could be interpreted differently from *pramāṇa* 'measure of expanse'. Note that *yad* + *vat, tad* + *vad, etad* + *vat* will yield *yāvat, tāvat* and *etāvat* through *ā* as a replacement for their final *d* based upon their status as *sarvanāman* (8.3.91 *ā sarvanāmnaḥ*). Rule 6.1.101 *akaḥ savarṇe dīrghaḥ* will then order a single long *ā* as a replacement. The *a* of *yāvat* + *sU,* etc., will then be replaced with *ā* of 6.4.14 *atvasantasya. . .* Rule 7.1.70 *ugidacām. . .* will then introduce augment *nUM* after *vā.* Refer to the appendix of *tāvatkṛtvaḥ* and *citavān* under rules 1.1.22 *bahugaṇavatuḍati . . .* and 1.1.5 *kṅiti ca* for additional details.

2. A *vārttika* recommends that *vatUP,* introduced after *yuṣamd* 'you' and *asmad* 'I', denotes *sādṛśya* 'similarity' in Vedic (*vatupprakaraṇe yuṣmadasmadbhyāṃ chandasi sādṛśya upasaṃkhyānam*). Thus, *tvāvataḥ* 'like you' and *māvataḥ* 'like me', etc.

5.2.40 किमिदम्भ्यां वो घः

kimidambhyāṃ vo ghaḥ
/kimidambhyām 5/2 (*itar. dv.*), *tābhyām; vaḥ* 6/1 *ghaḥ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, . . . *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *tad asya* #36, *parimāṇe vatup* #39)
kimidambhyām uttarasya vatupo vakārasya ghakārādeśo bhavati
A *gh* comes in place of *v* of *vatUP* which occurs to denote the sense of *ṣaṣṭhī,* after syntactically related nominal stems *kim* 'what' and *idam* 'this', when the stem ends in *prathamā* and is in syntactic coordination with *parimāṇa.*

EXAMPLES:

kiyān 'how large, etc.'
iyān 'this large'

1. Note that this rule replaces the *v* of *vatUP* with *gh* after *kim* and *idam.* But since *vatUP* is introduced only after *yad, tad* and *etad,* the question of its replacement after *kim* and *idam* does not arise. This makes the provision of this replacement vacuous (*vyartha*). Commentators claim that providing for

a replacement in *gh*, for *v* of *vatUP*, itself serves as an indicator (*jñāpaka*) that *vatUP* is introduced after *kim* and *idam*. One can accept that our present rule provides for both the affix as well as its partial replacement. Or else, one should resort to *yogavibhāga* whereby there will be two readings: *kimidaṃbhyām vatup* and *vo ghaḥ*. The first split-interpretation will introduce *vatUP*. The second will then accomplish the replacement in *gh* (*Kāś.*: *athavā yogavibhāgena vatupaṃ vidhāya paścād vo gho vidhīyate*).

2. It is interesting to note that *kiyān* and *iyān* have their bases as *kiyat* and *iyat*, respectively. Given the strings *kim* + (*v*→*gh*) *at*(*UP*→ϕ) = *kim* + *ghat* and *idam* + (*v*→*gh*)*at*(*UP*→ϕ) = *idam* + *ghat*, rule 6.3.90 *idaṃkimor īśkī* applies to replace *kim* with *kī* and *idam* with *iŚ*. This gives us: (*kim*→*kī*) + *ghat* and (*idam*→*ī*(*Ś*→ϕ)) = *kī* + *ghat* and *ī* + *ghat*, respectively. The *gh* of these strings is replaced with *iy* to produce: *kī* + *iyat* and *ī* + *iyat*. Rule 6.4.148 *yasyeti ca* then deletes the final *ī* of *kī* and *ī*, termed *bha* (6.4.129 *basya*; 1.4.18 *yaci bham*), to produce: *k*(*ī*→ϕ) + *iyat* = *kiyat* and (*ī*→ϕ) + *iyat* = *iyat*. Notice how the original bases *kim* and *idam* have totally disappeared. The second derivate has only the affix left. Refer to examples under the preceding rule for further details on deriving *kiyān* and *iyān*.

5.2.41 किमः संख्यापरिमाणे डति च

kimaḥ saṃkhyāparimāṇe ḍati ca
/kimaḥ saṃkhyāparimāṇe 7/1 = *saṃkhyāyāḥ parimāṇam* (*ṣaṣ. tat.*), *tasmin*; *ḍati* (1/1 deleted); *ca* ϕ/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, . . . *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *tad asya* #36, *parimāṇe vatup* #39)
saṃkhyāparimāṇe vartamānāt kimaḥ prathamāsamarthād asyeti ṣaṣṭhyarthe ḍatiḥ pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *Ḍati*, in addition to *vatUP* with concurrent replacement of its *v* by *gh*, occurs to denote the sense of *ṣaṣṭhī* after syntactically related nominal stem *kim* 'what', when it ends in *prathamā* and distinguishes a numerical measure (*saṃkhyāparimāṇa*).

EXAMPLES:

kā saṃkhyā parimāṇam eṣām brāhmaṇānām = *kati brāhmaṇāḥ* 'what number is the measure of these brāhmaṇas'
kiyanto brāhmaṇāḥ 'id.'

1. Note that *kim* is used here to question a 'numerical quantity' (*saṃkhyāparimāṇa*). It serves as a distinguisher (*paricchedaka*) of some numerical measure (*parimāṇa*) only when what is questioned by it is a number. Thus we get: *kati brāhmaṇānām* where *kim* questions the quantity of Brāhmaṇas. A question is raised against using the word *parimāṇa* 'measure, quantity' along with *saṃkhyā*. Since *saṃkhyā* 'number' itself serves as a distinguisher of quantity,

parimāṇa appears to be useless. Commentators state that it is not always the case. A number, with *kim*, can also be used for denoting 'contempt' (*kṣepa*). Thus, *eṣāṃ daśānānāṃ kā iyaṃ saṃkhyā* 'what good is this number of these ten'. The use of *parimāṇa* ensures that affixal provisions of this rule do not apply where *kim* is used in the sense of contempt. Or else, where a number is not denoting a quantity distinguished.

2. Note that a form ending in *Ḍati* is termed *ṣaṭ* (1.1.25 *ḍati ca*). Consequently, *Jas* 'nominative plural' and *Śas* 'accusative plural' occurring after an item termed *ṣaṭ* are deleted by *LUK* (7.1.22 *ṣaḍbhyo luk*). Incidentally, *kati* is obligatorily plural (*nityabahuvacanānta*). Deriving *kati* from *kim* + *Ḍati* requires *ṭi*-deletion of *im*. Refer to the derivation of *katikṛtvaḥ* under 1.1.22 *bahugaṇavatuḍati* . . . in the appendix of vol. II for additional details.

5.2.42 संख्याया अवयवे तयप्

saṃkhyāyā avayave tayap
/ saṃkhyāyāḥ 5/1 *avayave* 7/1 *tayap* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, . . . *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *tad asya* #36)
saṃkhyāyā avayave vartamānāyā asyeti ṣaṣṭhyarthe tayap pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *tayaP* occurs to denote the sense of *ṣaṣṭhī* after a syntactically related nominal stem which ends in *prathamā* and denotes a number as *avayava* 'part of a whole'.

EXAMPLES:

pañca avayavā asya = *pañcatayam* 'that (a whole) which has five parts'
catuṣṭayam 'that (a whole) which has four parts'
catuṣṭayī 'that (feminine, a whole) which has four parts'

1. Note that derivates of this rule will denote *avayavin* 'whole' whose parts the base denotes. An *avayava* could be understood only in relation to its *avayavin* (*Kāś.*: *avayavā avayavinaḥ sambandhina iti sāmarthyād avayavo pratyayārtho vijñāyate*). Thus, *avayava* is accepted as the affixal meaning.

2. Deriving *catuṣṭaya* from *catur* + *taya*, parallel to *catvāraḥ avayavā asya*, requires *r* to be replaced with *visarga* (8.3.15 *kharavasānayor visarjanīyaḥ*). The *visarga* is then replaced with *s* of 8.3.34 *visarjanīyasya saḥ*. This *s* is then replaced with *ṣ* of 8.3.101 *hrasvāttādau*. . . . The *t* of *taya* then goes through *ṣṭutva* (8.4.41 *ṣṭunā ṣṭuḥ*). Affix *ṄīP* (4.1.15 *ṭiḍḍhāṇañ* . . .) is introduced after *catuṣṭaya* to derive *catuṣṭayī*.

5.2.43 द्वित्रिभ्यां तयस्यायज्वा

dvitribhyāṃ tayasya ayaj vā
/ dvitribhyām 5/2 (*itar. dv.*), *tābhyām*; *tayasya* 6/1 *ayac* 1/1 *vā* ϕ/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, . . . *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *tad asya* #36)

pūrveṇa vihitasya tayasya dvitribhyām parasya vā' yaj ādeśo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *tayaP* which denotes the sense of *ṣaṣṭhī* and occurs after syntactically related nominal stems *dvi* 'two' and *tri* 'three', ending in *prathamā* with the signification of an *avayava*, is optionally replaced with *ayaC*.

EXAMPLES:

dvāv avayavāv asya = dvayam 'that which has two parts'
dvitayam 'id.'
trayam 'that which has three parts'
tritayam 'id.'

1. Note that *taya*, of *tayasya* in genitive, specifies an item to be replaced (*sthānin*). Consequently, *ayaC* is interpreted as its replacement, and not the affix itself (*Kāś.*: *tayagrahaṇaṃ sthāninirdeśārtham; anyathā pratyayāntaram ayaj vijñāyeta*). What happens if *ayaC* is not accepted as a replacement? Rule 4.1.15 *ṭiḍḍhāṇañ . . .* will then not be able to introduce *ṄīP* in *trayī* 'triplet' under the condition of *tayaP*. But if *ayaC* is accepted as a replacement of *tayaP* then *ṄīP* can be introduced by treating *ayaC* as *tayaP* (1.1.56 *sthānivad ādeśo'nalvidhau*). Furthermore, if *ayaC* is not accepted as a replacement of *tayaP*, assignment of the term *sarvanāman* (1.1.33 *prathamacaramataya . . .*), and operations relative to it as well, will be blocked. For example, *dvaye* and *dvayāḥ* are optional forms of *dvaya* in nominative plural. This option will not be available in the absence of the term *sarvanāman*.

The *Mahābhāṣya* does not consider *ayaC* as a replacement of *tayaP*. It instead accepts it as an affix. The problem of introducing *ṄīP* is resolved there by interpreting *mātraC* of rule 4.1.15 *ṭiḍḍhāṇañ . . .* as an abbreviatory term (*pratyāhāra*) denoting affixes introduced beginning with *mātra* through *ayaC*. See the *Mahābhāṣya* under 1.1.56 *sthānivadādeśo'nalvidhau* for further details. Incidentally, Haradatta (*PM*) and Bhaṭṭoji (*SK*) do not accept *ayaC* as a replacement. This status of *ayaC* also has consequences for the following rule.

5.2.44 उभादुदात्तो नित्यम्

ubhād udātto nityam
/ubhāt 5/1 *udāttaḥ* 1/1 *nityam* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, . . . *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *tad asya* #36)
ubhaśabdāt parasya tayapo nityam ayaj ādeśo bhavati sa codāttaḥ
The *taddhita* affix *tayaP* which denotes the sense of *ṣaṣṭhī* and occurs after syntactically related nominal stem *ubha*, ending in *prathamā* with signification of number as an *avayava*, is obligatorily (*nityam*) replaced with *ayaC* marked *udātta* 'high-pitch'.

EXAMPLES:

ubhayo maṇiḥ = ubhau pītalohitāv avayavayu yasya 'a gem with two facets of yellow and red'
ubhaye devamanuṣyāḥ 'gods as well as humans'

1. Note that *ayaC* is marked with *C* as an *it*. Consequently, its derivates would have been marked *udātta* at the end (*antodātta*; 6.1.163 *citaḥ*). Why do we have to state *udātta* here? So that its derivates are marked *udātta* at the beginning (*ādyudātta*).

2. Note that *ubha* cannot be termed *saṃkhyā* in view of 1.1.23 *bahugaṇavatuḍati saṃkhyā*. It can be accepted as *saṃkhyā* only on the basis of its usage as *saṃkhyā*. This creates problems in introducing *tayaP* and then replacing it with *ayaC*. If *ubha* is not accepted as *saṃkhyā* then the preceding rule should be split (*yogavibhāga*) to yield two readings: *saṃkhyāyāḥ tayap* and *avayave tayap*. The second split rule will then introduce *tayaP* after *ubha*. Our present rule will replace it with *ayaC* obligatorily.

5.2.45 तदस्मिन्नधिकमिति दशान्ताड्डः

tad asminn adhikam iti daśāntāḍ ḍaḥ
/tat 1/1 *asmin* 7/1 *adhikam* 1/1 *iti* ϕ *daśāntāt* 5/1 *ḍaḥ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, ... *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76)
tad iti prathamāsamarthād asminn iti saptamyarthe daśāntāt prātipadikād ḍaḥ pratyayo bhavati yat tat prathamāsamartham adhikaṃ ced bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *Ḍa* occurs to denote the sense of *saptamī* 'locative', after a syntactically related nominal stem which ends in *prathamā* 'nominative' and has *daśan* 'ten' as its final constituent, provided the denotatum of this stem is desired to be stated in excess (*adhikam*).

EXAMPLES:

ekādaśa adhikā asmin śate = ekādaśaṃ śatam 'that which is one hundred plus eleven more; one hundred eleven'
ekādaśaṃ sahasram 'one thousand eleven'

1. The specification of *daśānta* will block affixal provisions of this rule parallel to *daśa adhikā asmin śate* 'that which is one hundred plus ten more' where *daśa* cannot be treated as ending in *daśa* 'ten'. The *Mahābhāṣya* explains that this *Ḍa* is desired only when the meaning of the base is similar in class (*jāti*) to the meaning of the affix (*pratyayārthena ca samānajātīye prakṛtyarthe sati pratyaya iṣyate*). Thus, *Ḍa* will not be allowed parallel to *ekādaśa māṣā adhikā asmin kārṣāpaṇaśate* 'eleven Māṣa are more in this one hundred Kārṣāpaṇa' where Māṣa and Kārṣāpaṇa are coins of two different kinds. This affixal provision, according to an *iṣṭi* of the *Mahābhāṣya*, is limited to con-

texts where excess, in relation to *śata* 'hundred' and *sahasra* 'thousand' is desired to be expressed (*śatasahasrayoś ceṣyate*). For, one does not get *Ḍa* parallel to *ekādaśādhikā asyāṃ triṃśati* 'there are eleven more in this thirty'. The following verse sums it up:

> *adhike samānajātāv iṣṭaṃ śatasahasrayoḥ/*
> *yasya saṃkhyā tadādhikye ḍaḥ kartavyo mato mama//*

2. Note that *ekādaśan* will go through *ṭi*-deletion because *Ḍa* is marked with *Ḍ* as an *it* (6.4.143 *ṭeḥ*).

5.2.46 शदन्तविंशतेश्च

śadantaviṃśateś ca
/śadantaviṃśateḥ 5/1 = *śata śabdo'nte yasya* (*bv.*); *śadantaś ca viṃśatiś ca* (*sam. dv.* with int. *bv.*), *tasmāt; ca* ϕ/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, ... *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *tad asminn adhikam ḍaḥ* #45)
śadantāt prātipadikāt viṃśateś ca ḍaḥ pratyayo bhavati 'tad asminn adhikam' ity etasmin viṣaye
The *taddhita* affix *Ḍa* also occurs to denote the sense of *saptamī* after a syntactically related nominal stem which ends in *prathamā*, and either has *śata* as its final constituent or is constituted by *viṃśati*, provided the denotatum of this stem is desired to be stated in excess.

EXAMPLES:

> *triṃṣad adhikā asmin śate = triṃśaṃ śatam* 'a hundred in which thirty is in excess; one hundred thirty'
> *viṃśaṃ śatam* 'one hundred twenty'

1. What is the purpose of stating *anta* in *śad-anta*? Rule 5.1.59 *pañktiviṃśati* ... derives *triṃśat* 'thirty', etc., with affix *śat*, via *nipātana*. The sense of 'that which ends in *śat*' is thus available in view of *paribhāṣā* (24): *pratyayagrahaṇe yasmāt tadādes tadantasya ca grahaṇam* 'a specification made by an affix refers to that which begins with that affix, and also that which ends in that'. The word *anta* is used even when its sense is already available. This express use of *anta* is made to capture some additional meaning (*adhikārtham*). What is that additional meaning? The *paribhāṣā* does not apply at all. This way, *śadanta* refers to a form which ends in *śat*. One does not bother about what this *śadanta* begins with.

The word *saṃkhyā* should also be carried here from 5.2.42 *saṃkhyāyā avayave tayap* to yield the interpretation: 'after that which denotes a number and ends in *śat* (*saṃkhyāvācinaḥ śadantāt*)'. Consequently, *ekatriṃśat* 'thirty-one', etc., which denote a number different from *triṃśat*, etc., receive *Ḍa*. Stems such as *gotriṃśat* 'thirty cows' will not be included because they do not

denote a number exclusively. They also denote cows.

2. A *vārttika* proposal is made for introducing *Ḍa* also after a number that ends in *viṃśati* 'twenty'. For, *paribhāṣā* (32): *grahaṇavatā prātipadikena . . .*, will not allow *viṃśati* to be also interpreted as 'that which ends in *viṃśati*'. Consequently, *ekaviṃśaṃ śatam* could not be derived parallel to *ekaviṃśatiḥ adhikā asmin śate* 'a hundred in which twenty-one is in excess'.

3. Here again we find *ti*-deletion (6.4.142 *ti viṃśater ḍiti*) in *viṃśam*, etc.

5.2.47 संख्याया गुणस्य निमाने मयट्

saṃkhyāyā guṇasya nimāne mayaṭ
/saṃkhyāyāḥ 5/1 *guṇasya* 6/1 *nimāne* 7/1 *mayaṭ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, . . . *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *tad asya* #36)
tad iti prathamāsamarthāt saṃkhyāvācinaḥ prātipadikād asyeti ṣaṣṭhyarthe mayaṭ pratyayo bhavati yat tat prathamāsamarthaṃ guṇasya nimāne cet tad vartate
The *taddhita* affix *mayaṬ* occurs to denote the sense of *ṣaṣṭhī* after a syntactically related nominal stem which ends in *prathamā* and signifies number as the proportionate value of a purchase.

EXAMPLES:

yavānāṃ dvau bhāgau nimānam asyodaśvid bhāgasya = dvimayam udaśvid yavānam 'this much butter-milk has twice as much barley as its purchase price'
caturmayam 'one part of this has four times as much of something as its purchase price'

1. The words *guṇa* and *nimāna* are used in the sense of 'part, portion (*bhāga*)' and 'price, value' (*mūlya*). Note that a 'price' by means of which a 'portion' is determined cannot be different from the 'portion'. Thus, two parts of barley becomes the price paid for one part of butter-milk in *dvimayam udaśvid yavānām*. The singular in *guṇasya* is intentional. Thus, this affix cannot be introduced parallel to *dvau bhāgau yavānāṃ traya udaśvitaḥ* 'two parts of barley is the price of three parts of butter-milk'. The meaning of the derivate must be more than the meaning of the base. That is, the affix is to be introduced after a base which denotes a higher number (*vt.*: *bhūyasaś ca vācikāyāḥ saṃkhyāyāḥ pratyaya iṣyate*). This affix can also not be introduced when that which is purchased (*nimeya*) is equal to the price (*nimāna*: *PM* ad *Kāś.*: *nimānanimeyayoḥ sāmyaviṣaye na bhavati*). Finally, a *vārttika* also approves this affix after a base which denotes *nimeya* 'that which is purchased'. Thus, we get *dvimayā yavā udaśvitaḥ*, parallel to *udaśvito dvau bhāgau nimeyam asya yavabhāgasya* 'this portion of barley by which two portions of butter-milk can be purchased'.

5.2.48 तस्य पूरणे डट्

tasya pūraṇe ḍaṭ
/tasya 6/1 *pūraṇe* 7/1 *ḍaṭ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, ... *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *saṃkhyāyāḥ* #47)
tasyeti ṣaṣṭhīsamarthāt saṃkhyāvācinaḥ prātipadikāt 'puraṇe' ity asminn arthe ḍaṭ pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *ḌaṬ* occurs to denote the sense of *pūraṇa* 'that by which something is brought to completion, ordinal number' after a syntactically related nominal stem which signifies number and ends in *ṣaṣṭhī* 'genitive'.

EXAMPLES:

ekādaśānāṃ pūraṇaḥ = ekādaśaḥ 'the numeral one which, when added to ten, brings eleven to completion; eleventh'
trayodaśaḥ 'thirteenth'

1. The word *saṃkhyā* is used in the two senses of 'number' (*saṃkhyā* and 'that which is numbered' (*saṃkhyāna*). Eleven cannot be completed unless the 'eleventh' which is added to 'ten' is there. Thus, 'eleventh' brings the enumeration of 'eleven' to completion. Affix *ḌaṬ* is introduced to denote a number by adding which another number is formed. One cannot introduce *ḌaṬ* parallel to *pañcānām uṣṭrikāṇāṃ pūraṇo ghaṭaḥ* 'a jar by means of whose water five Uṣṭrikās (small leather bag; clay pot) can be filled up' (*Udyota* ad *Mbh.*: *carmavikāraḥ pātraviśeṣo mṛṇmayo vā yad ghaṭamitenodakena pañca tāḥ pūryante*). Here the 'jar' is a means of 'filling up (completion)' but is not a number. The 'fiveness' of the Uṣṭrikās is also not brought to completion by the jar. It is already there.

5.2.49 नान्तादसंख्यादेर्मट्

nāntād asaṃkhyāder maṭ
/nāntāt 5/1 = *nakāro 'ante yasya* (*bv.*), *tasmāt; saṃkhyā ādir yasya = saṃkhyādiḥ* (*bv.*), *na saṃkhyādiḥ = asaṃkhyādiḥ* (*nañ. tat.* with int. *bv.*), *tasmāt; maṭ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, ... *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *saṃkhyāyāḥ* #47, *tasya pūraṇe ḍaṭ* #5.2.48)
nakārāntāt saṃkhyāvācinaḥ prātipadikād asaṃkhyādeḥ parasya ḍaṭo maṭ āgamo bhavati
Augment *mAṬ* is introduced to the *taddhita* affix *ḌaṬ* when used with the signification of *pūraṇa*, after a syntactically related *n*-final (*nānta*) nominal stem which ends in *ṣaṣṭhī* and does not have a number as its initial constituent.

EXAMPLES:

pañcamaḥ 'that which completes five; fifth'
saptamaḥ 'that which completes seven; seventh'

1. Note that an augment is introduced to a form which is specified with genitive. Affix *ḌaṬ* is here specified with a nominative (*prathamā*). However, this nominative, for purposes of introducing the augment, is interpreted as genitive. Such a transposition (*vipariṇām*) of nominal ending (*vibhakti*) is facilitated here by ablative (*pañcamī*) of *nāntāt* (1.1.67 *tasmād ity uttarasya*).

This augment cannot be introduced when the base begins with a number (*asaṃkhyādeḥ*). Thus, *maṬ* cannot be introduced in *ekādaśaḥ* 'eleventh', a derivate denoting the sense of *ekādaśānāṃ pūraṇaḥ*. The condition of *nānta* 'that which ends in *n*' rules out *maṬ* in case of *viṃśaḥ*, a derivate denoting the sense of *viṃśateḥ pūraṇaḥ*.

5.2.50 थट् च छन्दसि

thaṭ ca chandasi
/thaṭ 1/1 *ca* ϕ *chandasi* 7/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, . . . *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *saṃkhyāyāḥ* #47, *tasya pūraṇe ḍaṭ* #5.2.48, *nāntād asaṃkhyāder maṭ* #49)
nāntād asaṃkhyādeḥ parasya ḍaṭaś chandasi viṣaye ṭhaḍ āgamo bhavati
Augment *thAṬ*, and *mAṬ* as well, is introduced in Vedic to the *taddhita* affix *ḌaṬ*, occurring to denote the sense of *pūraṇa*, after a syntactically related nominal stem which has *n* as its final, denotes a number, ends in *ṣaṣṭhī*, but does not have a number word as its initial constituent.

EXAMPLES:

pañcathaḥ 'fifth'
pañcamaḥ 'id.'
saptathaḥ 'seventh'
saptamaḥ 'id.'

1. Deriving *pañcatha/pañcama* and *saptatha/saptama* from *pañcan* + *thAṬ* + *ḌaṬ* /*pañcan* + *maṬ* + *ḌaṬ*, etc., involves deletion of *n*.

5.2.51 षट्कतिकतिपयचतुरां थुक्

ṣaṭkatikatipayacaturāṃ thuk
/ṣaṭkatikatipayacaturām 6/3 (*itar. dv.*); *thuk* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, . . . *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *saṃkhyāyāḥ* #47, *tasya pūraṇe ḍaṭ* #48)
'ṣaṭ, kati, katipaya, catur' ity eteṣāṃ ḍaṭi paratas thug āgamo bhavati

Augment *thUK* is introduced to *ṣaṭ* 'six', *kati* 'how many', *katipaya* 'several' and *catur* 'four', when they end in *ṣaṣṭhī* and the *taddhita* affix *ḌaṬ* denoting the sense of *pūraṇa* follows.

EXAMPLES:

ṣaṇṇāṃ pūraṇaḥ = *ṣaṣṭhaḥ* 'completion of six; sixth'
katithaḥ 'completion of a set of many'
katipayathaḥ 'completion of a set of several'
caturthaḥ 'fourth'

1. The nominative of *ḌaṬ* is here changed into locative (*saptamī*) to yield the interpretation: 'when *ḌaṬ* follows'. The word *katipaya* cannot be accepted as a number (*saṃkhyā*). For, it neither qualifies for assignment of the term *saṃkhyā* (1.1.23 *bahugaṇavatuḍati saṃkhyā*), not it is used as a number in usage (*loka*). Augment *thUK* is to be introduced to *katipaya* when *ḌaṬ* follows, and *ḌaṬ* cannot follow *katipaya* because it is not a *saṃkhyā*. Consequently, this provision of *thUK* is seemingly vacuous (*vyartha*). The very fact that *thUK* will become vacuous indicates that *ḌaṬ* follows *katipaya*. Our present rule not only introduces *thUK*, it also provides for a following *ḌaṬ*. Of course, *thUK* will be introduced at the end of *ṣaṣ*, etc., since it is marked with *K* (1.1.45 *ādyantau ṭakitau*). Deriving *ṣaṣṭha* from *ṣaṣ* + *th* + *a* will require *ṣṭutva*.

2. A *vārttika* provides for affixes *cha* and *yaT* after *catur* with an additional provision for deletion of its *ca* (*caturaś chayatāv ādyakṣaralopaś ca*). This gives us *turīyaḥ* 'fourth' and *turyaḥ* 'id.'.

5.2.52 बहुपूगगणसंघस्य तिथुक्

bahupūgagaṇasaṃghasya tithuk
/*bahupūgagaṇasaṃghasya* 6/1 (*sam. dv.*), *tasya*; *tithuk* 1/1
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, ... *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *saṃkhyāyāḥ* #47, *tasya pūraṇe ḍaṭ* #48)
'*bahu, pūga, gaṇa, saṃgha*' *ity eteṣāṃ ḍaṭi paratas tithug āgamo bhavati*
Augment *tithUK* is introduced to *bahu* 'many', *pūga* 'heap', *gaṇa* 'group, series' and *saṃgha* 'collection, group' when they end in *ṣaṣṭhī* and the *taddhita* affix *ḌaṬ* denoting the sense of *pūraṇa* follows.

EXAMPLES:

bahūnāṃ pūraṇo = *bahutithaḥ* 'completion of many; the last of many'
pūgatithaḥ 'completion of a Pūga (heap); the last of a Pūga'
gaṇatithaḥ 'completion of a *gaṇa* (group); the last of a *gaṇa*'
saṃghatithaḥ 'completion of a *saṃgha* (collection); the last of a *saṃgha*'

1. Note that *pūga, gaṇa* and *saṃgha* all denote a group. Rule 1.1.23 *bahugaṇa* ... assigns the term *saṃkhyā* to *bahu* and *gaṇa*. The remaining two, i.e., *pūga* and *saṃgha*, could not be called *saṃkhyā*. Here again affix *ḌaṬ* is allowed to occur after them at the strength of augment *tithUK*.

5.2.53 **वतोरिथुक्**

vator ithuk
/vatoḥ 6/1 *ithuk* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, ... *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *saṃkhyāyāḥ* #47, *tasya pūraṇe ḍaṭ* #48)
vator ḍati parata ithug āgamo bhavati
Augment *ithUK* is introduced to a nominal stem which has *vatU* as its final element and ends in *ṣaṣṭhī*, when the *taddhita* affix *ḌaṬ* denoting the sense of *pūraṇa* follows.

EXAMPLES:

yāvatā pūraṇo = *yāvatithaḥ* 'the last of the many which ...'
tāvatithaḥ 'the last of that many which ...'
etāvatithaḥ 'the last of these many which ...'

1. These derivates can be derived similar to examples in 5.2.39 *yattadetebhyaḥ parimāṇe* ...

5.2.54 **द्वेस्तीयः**

dves tīyaḥ
/dveḥ 5/1 *tīyaḥ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, ... *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *saṃkhyāyāḥ* #47, *tasya pūraṇe* #48)
dviśabdāt tīyaḥ pratyayo bhavati 'tasya pūraṇe' ity asmin viṣaye
The *taddhita* affix *tīya* occurs to denote the sense of *pūraṇa*, after the syntactically related nominal stem *dvi* 'two', when it ends in *ṣaṣṭhī*.

EXAMPLES:

dvayoḥ pūraṇo = *dvitīyaḥ* 'a second which completes two'

1. This is an exception to *ḌaṬ*.

5.2.55 **त्रेः सम्प्रसारणं च**

treḥ samprasāraṇaṃ ca
/treḥ 5/1 *samprasāraṇam* 1/1 *ca* ϕ/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, ... *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *saṃkhyāyāḥ* #47, *tasya pūraṇe ḍaṭ* #48, *tīyaḥ* #54)
triśabdāt tīyaḥ pratyayo bhavati 'tasya pūraṇe' ity etad viṣaye
The *taddhita* affix *tīya* occurs to denote the sense of *pūraṇa* after the syntactically related nominal stem *tri* 'three', with an additional provision of its *samprasāraṇa*, when *tri* ends in *ṣaṣṭhī*.

EXAMPLES:

trayāṇāṃ pūraṇas = *tṛtīyaḥ* 'a third which completes three'

1. This again is an exception to *ḌaṬ*. Deriving *tṛtīya* from *tri* + *tīya* requires *samprasāraṇa* (1.1.44 *ig yaṇaḥ . . .*) of *r* followed by a single substitute in place of *ṛ* + *i* similar to the preceding (*pūrvarūpa*; 6.1.108 *samprasāraṇāc ca*).

5.2.56 विंशत्यादिभ्यस्तमडन्यतरस्याम्

viṃśatyādibhyas tamaḍ anyatarasyām
/viṃśatyādibhyaḥ 5/3 = *viṃśatir ādir yeṣāṃ te* (*bv.*), *tebhyaḥ*; *tamaṭ* 1/1 *anyatarasyām* 7/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, . . . *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *saṃkhyāyāḥ* #47, *tasya pūraṇe ḍaṭ* #48)
viṃśatyādibhyaḥ parasya ḍaṭas tamaḍ āgamo bhavaty anyatarasyām
Augment *tamaṬ* is optionally introduced to the *taddhita* affix *ḌaṬ* which occurs to denote the sense of *pūraṇa* after syntactically related nominal stems *viṃśati* 'twenty', etc., when they end in *ṣaṣṭhī*.
viṃśateḥ pūraṇo = *viṃśatitamaḥ* 'the twentieth which completes a set of twenty'
viṃśaḥ 'id.'
ekaviṃśatitamaḥ 'the twenty-first which completes a set of twenty-one'
ekaviṃśaḥ 'id.'

1. *Kāśikā* explains that *viṃśatyādi* does not refer to items specified by 5.1.59 *pañktiviṃśati. . . .* It refers, instead, to words which are accepted as number in usage (*viṃśatyādayo laukikāḥ saṃkhyāśabdā gṛhyante na pañktyādīsūtrasanniviṣṭāḥ*). Accepting *viṃśatyādi* as referring to stems specified by 5.1.59 *pañktiviṃśati. . .* would create problems. For example, *tamaṬ* could then not be introduced to *ekaviṃśati* in deriving *ekaviṃśatitama*. One cannot resort to *tadantavidhi* for interpreting *viṃśati* also as 'that which ends in *viṃśati*. For, *tadantavidhi* will be blocked by *paribhāṣā* (32) *grahaṇavatā prātipadikena tadantavidhir nāsti*. Additionally, one cannot even resort to *vyapadeśivadbhāva* which, in turn, will be blocked by *paribhāṣa* (33) *vyapadeśivadbhāvo'prātipadikena*. The *Mahābhāṣya* and *SK* do not accept this view. They accept *viṃśatyādi* as referring to stems of 5.1.59 *pañktiviṃśati. . . .* They claim that the *paryudāsa* interpretation of *naÑ* in *asaṃkhyādeḥ* of 5.2.58 *ṣaṣṭyādeś ca . . .* would become vacuous if *tadantavidhi* is not accepted. For, *ṣaṣṭyādi* '*ṣaṣṭi*, etc.' do not include any *saṃkhyā* as their initial constituent. What then is the need for stating *aṣaṃkhyādeḥ* 'not after that which has *saṃkhyā* as its initial'? The *Mahābhāṣya* and *SK* thus do not accept *saṃkhyā* as denoting items accepted as numbers in usage. Refer to the *Mbh.*, *SK*, and *PM* ad *Kāś.* for further details.

2. Note that *viṃśatitama* is derived from *viṃśati* + *ḌaṬ*→*viṃśati* + *tama* + *a* where 6.1.97 *ato guṇe* yields *viṃśati* + *tam*(*a*+*a*→*a*) = *viṃśatitama*. A derivate such as *viṃśa* of *viṃśati* + *a* will go through *ti*-deletion (6.4.142 *ti viṃśater . . .*) if the option of *tamaṬ* is not availed.

5.2.57 नित्यं शतादिमासार्धमाससंवत्सराच्च

nityaṃ śatādimāsārdhamāsasaṃvatsarāc ca
/nityam 1/1 *śatādimāsārdhamāsasaṃvatsarāt* 5/1 = *śatam ādir yeṣām te* (*bv.*); *śatādayaś ca māsaś ca ardhamāsaś ca saṃvatsaraś ca* (*sam. dv.* with int. *bv.*), *tebhyaḥ*; *ca* ϕ/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, . . . *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *saṃkhyāyāḥ* #47, *tasya pūraṇe ḍaṭ* #48, *tamaṭ* #56)
śatādibhyo māsārdhamāsasaṃvatsaraśabdebhyaś ca parasya ḍaṭo nityaṃ tamaḍ āgamo bhavati
Augment *tamaṬ* is obligatorily introduced to the *taddhita* affix *ḌaṬ* when occurring to denote the sense of *pūraṇa* after syntactically related nominal stems which end in *ṣaṣṭhī*, begin with *śata*, or are constituted by *māsa* 'month', *ardhamāsa* 'fortnight' and *saṃvatsara* 'year'.

EXAMPLES:

śatasya pūraṇaḥ = *śatatamaḥ* 'the hundredth which completes one hundred'
māsasya pūraṇo = *māsatamo divasaḥ* 'the thirtieth day which completes one full month'
ardhamāsatamaḥ 'the fifteenth day which completes one fortnight'
saṃvatsaratamaḥ 'the last day which completes one full year'

1. Here again *ḌaṬ* is provided after *māsa*, *ardhamāsa* and *saṃvatsara* at the strength of the augment. For, these are not number words. Why are *śatādi* includes in this rule when *tamaṬ* is available to them from the next rule? Our next rule negates this augment when a number word begins with a number (*asaṃkhyādeḥ*). The *śatādi* stems are included here so that *tamaṬ* could also introduced when they begin with a number (*Kāś.*: . . . *śatādigrahaṇaṃ saṃkhyādyartham*). Thus we get: *ekaśatatamaḥ* 'one hundredth', *dviśatatamaḥ* 'two hundred', etc.

5.2.58 षष्ट्यादेश्चासंख्यादेः

ṣaṣṭyādeś cāsaṃkhyādeḥ
/ṣaṣṭyādeḥ 5/1 *ca* ϕ *asaṃkhyādeḥ* 5/1 = *saṃkhyā ādir yasya sa saṃkhyādiḥ*; *na saṃkhyādiḥ* = *asaṃkhyādiḥ* (*nañ. tat.* with int. *bv.*)
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, . . . *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *saṃkhyāyāḥ* #47, *tasya pūraṇe* #48, *tamaṭ* #56, *nityam* #57)
ṣaṣṭyādeḥ saṃkhyāśabdād asaṃkhyādeḥ parasya ḍaṭo nityaṃ tamaḍ āgamo bhavati
Augment *tamaṬ* is also obligatorily introduced to the *taddhita* affix *ḌaṬ* when occurring to denote the sense of *pūraṇa* after a syntactically related nominal stem which is listed in the group headed by *ṣaṣṭi*, signi-

fies a number and ends in *prathamā*, but does not have *saṃkhyā* 'number word' as its initial constituent.

EXAMPLES:

ṣaṣṭitamaḥ 'the last which completes a set of sixty'
saptatitamaḥ 'the last which completes a set of seventy'

1. Note that *ṣaṣṭyādi* does not include numbers referred to by *śatādi*. For they receive *tamaṬ* from the preceding rule. The negation of *asaṃkhyādeḥ* negates the obligatory *tamaṬ* in relation to stems which begin with a number. It does not negate the obligatory provision of *tamaṬ* made by 5.2.56 *viṃśatyādibhyas . . .* (*PM* ad *Kāś.*: *na hy ayaṃ vikalpasyāpi pratiṣedhaḥ*).

5.2.59 मतौ छः सूक्तसाम्नोः

matau chaḥ sūktasāmnoḥ
/matau 7/1 *chaḥ* 1/1 *sūktasāmnoḥ* 7/2 = *sūktaṃ ca sāma ca sūktasāmnī* (*itar. dv.*), *tayoḥ/*
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, . . . *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76)
prātipadikāt matvarthe chaḥ pratyayo bhavati sūkte sāmani cābhidheye
The *taddhita* affix *cha* occurs after a nominal stem to denote the sense of affix *matUP*, when the derivate signifies a *sūkta* 'hymn' or *sāman* 'hymn of the *Sāmaveda*'.

EXAMPLES:

acchāvākaśabdo'sminn iti = acchāvākīyaṃ sūktam 'a hymn which contains the word *accāvāka*'
asyavāmīyam 'a hymn which contains the word *asyavāma*'
yajñāyajñīyaṃ sāma 'a hymn of the *Sāmaveda* which contains the word *yajñāyajñā*'

1. Note that *matau* 'in the sense of *matUP*' brings rule 5.2.94 *tad asyāsty asmin . . .* close to the context of this rule. Consequently, the stem after which *cha* is to be introduced should end in *prathamā* as specified by *tad*. Similarly, *asti* is to accepted as a qualifier to the meaning of the base (*prakṛtyartha*). The meaning of the affix will be accepted as specified by *asmin*.

2. A question is raised against introducing *cha* after *asyavāma*, etc., to derive *asyavāmīyam*, etc., where the base is a combination of two *padas*. How could *asya*, a *pada* ending in genitive, followed by *vāmaḥ*, another *pada* ending in nominative, be termed a nominal stem (*prātipadika*)? Even if it could be termed a nominal stem, the genitive of *asya* will have to be deleted (2.4.71 *supo dhātuprātipadikayoḥ*). It is explained that *asyavāma*, etc., represent *anukaraṇa* 'imitation'. They have to be treated as referring to their form at best (*svarūpamātra-pradhānāḥ*). They do not refer to anything else. The geni-

tive of *asya* is thus not a nominal ending but is part of the imitation. Affix *cha* will thus be introduced after specified forms on the basis of their status as *anukaraṇa*.

5.2.60 अध्यायानुवाकयोर्लुक्

adhyāyānuvākayor luk
/adhyāyānuvākayoḥ 7/2 (*itar. dv.*), *tayoḥ*; *luk* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, . . . *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *matau chaḥ* #59)
matvartha utpannasya chasya lug bhavati adhyayanānuvākayor abhidheyayoḥ
The *taddhita* affix *cha* which occurs after a syntactically related nominal stem to denote the sense of *matUP* is deleted by *LUK* when derivates signify *adhyāya* 'chapter' and *anuvāka* 'set of special Vedic hymns'.

EXAMPLES:

gardabhāṇḍaśabdo'sminn asti = gardabhāṇḍo'dhyāyaḥ 'an *adhyāya*, or *anuvāka*, named *gardabhāṇḍa*, for reason that it contains the word *gardabhāṇḍa*'
gardabhāṇḍīyaḥ 'id.'
dīrghajīvitaḥ 'an *adhyāya* , or *anuvāka*, named dīrghajīvita, for reasons that it contains the word *dīrghajīvita*'
dīrghajīvitīyaḥ 'id.'

1. The *Mahābhāṣya* considers this deletion as optional (*vikalpena ca lug ayam iṣyate*). Consequently, there will be optional derivates such as *gardabhāṇḍīyaḥ* and *dīrghajīvitīyaḥ* if the deletion of *cha* is not applied. How do we know that this rule is optional? *Nyāsa* (ad *Kāś.*) explains that its *ca* is used in the sense of 'option'. This, in turn, attracts *anyatarasyām* from rule 5.2.56 *viṃśatyādibhyas*. . . . But carrying the *anuvṛtti* of *anyatarasyām* will also make the provisions of earlier rule(s) optional, *Nyāsa* states that this *anuvṛtti* is of the nature of *maṇḍūkapluti* 'frog's leap' (*maṇḍūkaplutinyāyenānuvṛttir bhaviṣyatīty adoṣaḥ*).

2. A question is also raised against this deletion. We know that a deletion applies only when some positive provision is already made. Since a positive provision for affix *cha* has been made only after *adhyāya* and *sāman*, and not after *adhyāya* and *anuvāka*, this rule, as well as its provision of deletion by *LUK*, becomes vacuous (*vyartha*). Commentators explain that Pāṇini's provision for deletion of *cha* after *adhyāya* and *anuvāka* itself attests to the introduction of *cha* after them. For, how could you ask for non-appearance (*adarśana*) of a thing when that thing does not exist (*Nyāsa* ad *Kāś.*: *na hy asatasya lug utpadyate*).

5.2.61 विमुक्तादिभ्योऽण्

vimuktādibhyo'ṇ

/vimuktādibhyaḥ 5/3 = *vimukta ādir yeṣām* (*bv.*), *tebhyaḥ*; *aṇ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, . . . *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *matau chaḥ* #59, *adhyāyānuvākayoḥ* #60)
vimuktādibhyaḥ prātipadikebhyo'ṇ pratyayo bhavati matvarthe adhyāyānuvākayor abhidheyayoḥ
The *taddhita* affix *aṆ* occurs to denote the sense of *matUP* after a nominal stem listed in the group headed by *vimukta* when derivates signify an *adhyāya* and *anuvāka.*

EXAMPLES:

vimuktaśabdo'sminn asti = vaimukto'dhyāyo'nuvāko vā 'an *adhyāya,* or *anuvāka,* named *vaimukta* for reasons that it contains the word *vimukta*'
daivāsuraḥ 'an *adhyāya,* or *anuvāka,* named *daivāsura,* for reasons that it contains the word *devāsura*'

1. Deriving *vaimukta* from *vimukta* + *aṆ* requires *bha-saṃjñā, a-lopa* and *vṛddhi.*

5.2.62 गोषदादिभ्यो वुन्

goṣadādibhyo vun
/goṣadādibhyaḥ 5/3 = *goṣada ādir yeṣām* (*bv.*), *tebhyaḥ*; *vun* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, . . . *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *matau chaḥ* #59, *adhyāyānuvākayoḥ* #60)
The *taddhita* affix *vuN* occurs to denote the sense of *matUP* after a nominal stem listed in the group headed by *goṣada* when derivates signify an *adhyāya* and *anuvāka.*

EXAMPLES:

goṣadaśabdo'sminn asti = goṣadako'dhyāyo'nuvāko vā 'an *adhyāya,* or *anuvāka,* named *goṣadakaḥ* for reasons that it contains the word *goṣada*'
iṣetvakaḥ 'an *adhyāya,* or *anuvāka,* named *iṣetvakaḥ* because it contains the word *iṣetva*'

5.2.63 तत्र कुशलः पथः

tatra kuśalaḥ pathaḥ
/tatra ϕ *kuśalaḥ* 1/1 *pathaḥ* 5/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, . . . *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *vun* #62/)
tatreti saptamīsamarthāt pathinśabdāt 'kuśalaḥ' ity asminn arthe vun pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *vuN* occurs to denote the sense of *kuśalaḥ* 'skilled' after syntactically related nominal stem *pathin* 'path', when ending in *saptamī* 'locative'.

EXAMPLES:

pathi kuśalaḥ = pathakaḥ 'one who is skilled in roads; a skilled traveler'

1. Note that *pathin +vuN* will yield *pathaka*, through *ṭi*-deletion of *an*, and *aka* as a replacement for *vu* (7.1.1 *yuvor anākau*).

5.2.64 आकर्षादिभ्यः कन्

ākarṣādibhyaḥ kan
/ākarṣādibhyaḥ 5/3 = *ākarṣa ādir yeṣām* (*bv.*), *tebhyaḥ*; *kan* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, . . . *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *tatra kuśalaḥ* #63)
ākarṣādibhyaḥ prātipadikebhyaḥ saptamīsamarthebhyaḥ 'kuśalaḥ' ity etasminn arthe kan pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *kaN* occurs to denote the sense of *kuśalaḥ* after a syntactically related nominal stem listed in the group headed by *ākarṣa* 'touchstone', when it ends in *saptamī*.

EXAMPLES:

ākarṣe kuśalaḥ = ākarṣakaḥ 'one who is skilled in testing gold; skilled gambler'
tsarukaḥ 'one who is skilled in swords'

1. Some read *ākarṣa* as *ākaṣa*, a derivate of *gha* with denotatum of a name in masculine (3.3.118 *puṃsi saṃjñāyām . . .*). Of course, *ākarṣa* is a derivate of *ghaÑ*. The *Amarakośa* also glosses *ākarṣa* as *dyūta* 'gambling' and *akṣa* 'dice'.

5.2.65 धनहिरण्यात्कामे

dhanahiraṇyāt kāme
/dhanahiraṇyāt 5/1 (*sam. dv.*), *tasmāt*; *kāme* 7/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, . . . *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *tatra kuśalaḥ* #63, *kan* #64/
dhanahiraṇyaśabdābhyāṃ tatreti saptamīsamarthābhyām 'kāme' ity etasminn arthe kan pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *kaN* occurs to denote the sense of *kāma* 'desire, greed' after syntactically related nominal stems *dhana* 'wealth' and *hiraṇya* 'gold', when they end in *saptamī*.

EXAMPLES:

dhane kāmaḥ = dhanako devadattasya 'Devadatta's desire for amassing wealth'
hiraṇyako devadattasya 'Devadatta's desire of obtaining gold'

1. Note that derivates of this rule denote desire (*kāma*). They cannot

denote *kāmayitā* 'he who desires', because no such usage exists (*PM* ad *Kāś.*: *kāmayitā tu na gṛhyate*; *anabhidhānāt*).

5.2.66 स्वाङ्गेभ्यः प्रसिते

svāṅgebhyaḥ prasite
/svāṅgebhyaḥ 5/3 *prasite* 7/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, . . . *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *tatra* #63, *kan* #64/
svāṅgavācibhyaḥ śabdebhyas tatreti saptamīsamarthebhyaḥ 'prasite' ity etasminn arthe kan pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *kaN* occurs to denote the sense of *prasita* 'to be preoccupied, overly involved with' after a syntactically related nominal stem which ends in *saptamī*, and has the signification of *svāṅga* 'one's own limb'.

EXAMPLES:

keśeṣu prasitaḥ = *keśakaḥ* 'one who is preoccupied with (cleaning, combing and decorating) his hair'
keśanakhakaḥ 'one who is preoccupied with his hair and nails'

1. Note that *svāṅgebhyaḥ* is used in plural (*bahuvacana*) so that this affix could also be introduced after a base which denotes a group of limbs.

5.2.67 उदराट्ठगाद्यूने

udarāṭ ṭhag ādyūne
/udarāt 5/1 *ṭhak* 1/1 *ādyūne* 7/1 = *ādir eva ūnam asya* (*bv.*), *tasmin*/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, . . . *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *tatra* #63, *kan* #64, *prasite* #66/
udaraśabdāt saptamīsamarthāt 'prasite' ity etasminn arthe (*ādyūne vācye*) *ṭhak pratyayo bhavati*
The *taddhita* affix *ṭhaK* occurs to denote the sense of *prasita* after syntactically related nominal stem *udara*, when the same ends in *saptamī* and the derivate signifies *ādyūna* 'one who is always hungry'; voracious'.

EXAMPLES:

udare prasitaḥ = *audarikaḥ ādyūnaḥ* 'one who is always hungry; obsessed with eating'

1. The word *anudarika* is explained as *ādyūna* 'always hungry', provided one has no desire left for winning over his hunger (*vijiśīṣāvivarjitaḥ*). Elsewhere, we will get *udarakaḥ*, a derivate of *kaN* denoting someone preoccupied with (cleansing, rubbing, etc.) his belly (*PM* ad *Kāś.*: *udaraparimārjanādau prasita ucyate*).

5.2.68 **सस्येन परिजातः**

sasyena parijātaḥ
/sasyena 3/1 *parijātaḥ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, . . . *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *kan* #64)
sasyaśabdāt tṛtīyāsamarthāt 'parijātaḥ' ity asminn arthe kan pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *kaN* occurs to denote the sense of *parijātaḥ* 'born with abundance' after syntactically related nominal stem *sasya* 'merit, quality' when the same ends in *tṛtīyā* 'instrumental'.

EXAMPLES:

sasyakaḥ = *sādhuḥ* 'an ascetic born with merits in abundance'
sasyako maṇiḥ 'flawless jewel'

1. Note that *sasya* is here used in the sense of *guṇa* 'quality'. It does not mean *dhānya* 'grain'.

5.2.69 **अंशं हारी**

aṃśaṃ hārī
/aṃśaṃ 2/1 *hārī* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, . . . *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *kan* #64/
aṃśaśabdād dvitīyāsamarthād hārī ity etasminn arthe kan pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *kaN* occurs to denote the sense of *hārī* 'one who takes away; inherits' after syntactically related nominal stem *aṃśa* 'share, inheritance', when it ends in *dvitīyā* 'accusative'.

EXAMPLES:

aṃśaṃ hārī = *aṃśako dāyādaḥ* 'next to kin who necessarily receive their share; legal heir'
aṃśakaḥ putraḥ 'son who inherits'

5.2.70 **तन्त्रादचिरापहृते**

tantrād acirāpahṛte
/tantrāt 5/1 *acirāpahṛte* 7/1 = *na ciraḥ aciraḥ* (*nañ. tat.*); *aciraḥ kālaḥ apahṛtasya* (*tat.* with int. *nañ. tat.*), *tasmin/*
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, . . . *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *kan* #64)
The *taddhita* affix *kaN* occurs to denote the sense of *acirāpahṛta* 'just brought about; just removed' after syntactically related nominal stem *tantra* 'loom', when it ends in *pañcamī* 'ablative'.

EXAMPLES:

tantrakaḥ = *paṭaḥ* 'a piece of cloth freshly removed from the loom'
tantrakaḥ = *prāvāraḥ* 'a freshly woven upper garment'

1. Note that *tantra* is understood as ending in *pañcamī*, especially in view of its connection with *apahṛta* 'removed'. Of course, *pañcamī* is introduced by 2.3.28 *apādāne pañcamī*, read with 1.4.24 *dhruvam apāye' pādānam*.

5.2.71 ब्राह्मणकोष्णिके संज्ञायाम्

brāhmaṇakoṣṇike saṃjñāyām
/brāhmaṇakoṣṇike 7/1 (*itar. dv.*); *saṃjñāyām* 7/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, . . . *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *kan* #64)
brāhmaṇaka, uṣṇika ity etau śabdau kanpratyayāntau nipātyete saṃjñāyāṃ viṣaye
The *taddhita* affix *kaN* occurs to derive *brāhmaṇaka* and *uṣṇika*, via *nipātana*, when derivates are to denote a name (*saṃjñā*).

EXAMPLES:

brāhmaṇako deśaḥ 'a place named Brāhmaṇaka'
uṣṇikā yavāgūḥ 'barley gruel'

1. *Kāśikā* explains *brāhmaṇaka* as a place where resident Brāhmaṇas earn their living by means of weapons (*yatrāyudhajīvino brāhmaṇāḥ santi*). The word *uṣṇikā* is explained as a barley gruel which contains more water and less grains (*alpānnāyavāgūḥ*).

5.2.72 शीतोष्णाभ्यां कारिणि

śītoṣṇābhyāṃ kāriṇi
/śītoṣṇābhyām 5/2 (*itar. dv.*), *tābhyām*; *kāriṇi* 7/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, . . . *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *kan* #64)
śītoṣṇaśabdābhyāṃ kāriṇy abhidheye kan pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *kaN* occurs after syntactically related nominal stems *śīta* 'cold' and *uṣṇa* 'hot', when they end in *dvitīyā* 'accusative' and derivates signify *kārī* 'one who surely does, so makes'.

EXAMPLES:

śītaṃ karoti = *śītakaḥ* 'one who functions slowly, and with lack of competence'
uṣṇaṃ karoti = *uṣṇakaḥ* 'one who functions fast, and with skill'

1. Note that *śīta* and *uṣṇa* are not used here in their primary sense of

'cold' and 'hot' (*sparśaviśeṣa*). They are used here, instead, in their secondary (*gauṇa*) sense of *māndya* 'slowness' and *śaighrya* 'fastness' as qualifiers to an action (*kriyāviśeṣaṇa*). Thus, one who does things quickly and efficiently is called *uṣṇakaḥ* 'efficient', or *śīghrakārī*.

5.2.73 अधिकम्

adhikam
/adhikam 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, . . . *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *kan* #64)
The *taddhita* affix *kaN* occurs in deriving *adhikam* 'more than . . .', via *nipātana*.

EXAMPLES:

adhiko droṇaḥ khāryām 'a Droṇa is more in measure than a Khārī'
adhikā khārī droṇena 'id.'

1. Commentators explain that *adhika* is derived by introducing *kaN* after *adhyārūḍha* where *ārūḍha* is deleted by *nipātana*. The word *adhyārūḍha* itself could be derived with affix *Kta* denoting *kartṛ* 'agent', or *karman* 'object' (3.4.72 *gatyarthākarmaka* . . .). Thus we get two paraphrases: *adhyārūḍho droṇaḥ khārīm* and *adhyārūḍhā khārī droṇena* where *Kta* of sentence one denotes *kartṛ*. The *karman* is therefore denoted by *dvitīyā* 'accusative' of *khārīm*. The second sentence has *droṇa* denoting *kartṛ* with its *tṛtīyā*. Consequently, *kta* denotes *karman*. The *prathamā* in *droṇa* of the first sentence, and in *khārī* of the second, thus denotes nominal stem notion (*prātipadikārtha*). These two sentences are similar to frequently used sentences such as: *ārūḍho vṛkṣaṃ bhavān* 'you have climbed up the tree, sir!' and *ārūḍho vṛkṣaṃ bhavatā* 'the tree has been climbed up by you, sir!'.

5.2.74 अनुकाभिकाभीकः कमिता

anukābhikābhīkaḥ kamitā
/anukābhikābhīkaḥ 1/1 (*sam. dv.*); *kamitā* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, . . . *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *kan* #64)
'*anuka, abhika, abhīka' ity ete śabdāḥ kanpratyayāntā nipātyante 'kamitā' ity etasminn arthe*
The *taddhita* affix *kaN* occurs to derive *anuka, abhika* and *abhīka*, via *nipātana*, when derivates signify *kamitā* 'one who is desirous of. . . .'

EXAMPLES:

anukāmayate = *anukaḥ* 'one who loves . . .'

abhikāmayate = *abhikaḥ* 'one who lusts for . . .'
abhīkaḥ 'id.'

1. Note that lengthening of *i* is optionally allowed in case of *abhika*. Thus, we also get *abhīka*.

5.2.75 पार्श्वेनान्विच्छति

pārśvenānvicchati
/pārśvena 3/1 *anvicchati* (verbal *pada*)/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, . . . *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *kan* #64)
pārśvaśabdāt tṛtīyāsamarthād 'anvicchati' ity etasminn arthe kan pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *kaN* occurs to denote the sense of *anvicchati* '. . . desires to obtain' after syntactically related nominal stem *pārśva* 'dishonest means', when the same ends in *tṛtīyā* 'instrumental'.

EXAMPLES:

pārśvena arthān anvicchati = *pārśvakaḥ* 'one who obtains what he wishes by dishonest means'
kausṛtikaḥ 'one who obtains what he wishes by fraudulent means'

1. Note that *pārśva* is explained as *anṛjur upāyaḥ* 'crooked means'. A *pārśvika* is thus a person who wants to get things by employing crooked means. Similar meaning is involved in *kautsṛtikaḥ*.

5.2.76 अयःशूलदण्डाजिनाभ्यां ठक्ठञौ

ayaḥśūladaṇḍājinābhyāṃ ṭhakṭhañau
/ayaḥśūladaṇḍājinābhyām 3/2 (*itar. dv.*); *ṭhakṭhañau* 1/2 (*itar. dv.*)/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, . . . *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *anvicchati* #75)
ayaḥśūla-daṇḍājinābhyām tṛtīyāsamarathābhyām 'anvicchati' ity etasminn arthe ṭhak-ṭhañau pratyayau bhavataḥ
The *taddhita* affixes *ṭhaK* and *ṭhaÑ* occur after syntactically related nominal stems *ayaḥśūla* 'iron-dart; a sharp pointed tool of steel' and *daṇḍājina* 'shaft and antelope hide', respectively, to denote the sense of *anvicchati*, when the stems end in *tṛtīyā*.

EXAMPLES:

ayaḥśūlenānvicchaty = *āyaḥśūlikaḥ* 'he who obtains what he wants by means of a sharp pointed weapon of steel; a bandit'
ḍaṇḍājinenānvicchati = *dāṇḍājinikaḥ* 'he who obtains his wish by using the shaft and antelope hide as his means; a crook in the garb of an ascetic'

1. Note that *ayaḥśūla* denotes a weapon which bandits use to threaten and hit while robbing. A person can be called *āyaḥśūlika* if he employs similar cruel means to get what he wants. The *daṇḍa* 'shaft' and *ajina* 'antelope hide' are symbols of ascetics. A person who is not an ascetic but poses as one by wearing *ajina*, and carrying a *daṇḍa*, to get something he wants will be called *daṇḍājinika*. Incidentally, derivates of *ṭhaK* and *ṭhaÑ* are similar in form but difference in accent.

5.2.77 तावतिथं ग्रहणमिति लुग्वा

tāvatithaṃ grahaṇam iti lug vā
/tāvatithaṃ 1/1/ *grahaṇam* 1/1 *iti* ϕ *luk* 1/1 *vā* ϕ/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, . . . *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *kan* #64/
pūraṇapratyayāntāt prātipadikād grahaṇopādhikāt svārthe kan pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *kaN* occurs after a syntactically related nominal stem which ends in an affix denoting the sense of *pūraṇa*, and serves as a means (*karaṇa*) of *grahaṇa*, with the optional provision that the affix which denotes the sense of *pūraṇa* be deleted by *LUK*.

EXAMPLES:

dvitīyena rūpeṇa granthaṃ gṛhṇāti = *dvikaṃ grahaṇam* 'internalizing a text after second reading'
dvitīyakam 'id.'
catuṣkaṃ 'internalizing a text after fourth reading'
caturthakam 'id.'

1. Note that *tāvatitha*, a form ending in *ḌaṬ* (5.2.48 *tasya pūraṇe ḍaṭ*) with augment *ithUK* (5.2.53 *vator ithuk*), specifies the base after which affix *kaN* is to be introduced. This is a general specification (*sāmānya-nirdeśa*) for bases ending in an affix denoting the sense of *pūraṇa*. The word *grahaṇa* is explained as: *gṛhyate' nena iti* 'that by means of which something is understood'. It thus becomes a qualifier to the base (*prakṛti*).

2. Note that optional deletion of an affix, for example *ḌaṬ*, also includes deletion of augments, i.e., *ithUK* and *maT*. For, the affix and augments are both introduced concurrently (*sanniyogaśiṣṭa*). Incidentally, introduction of *kaN* does not become optional because of *vā*. For, that is already available from 4.1.82 *samarthānāṃ*. . . . Derivates of this rule denote the sense of the base (*svārtha*).

3. A *vārttika* also introduces affix *kaN* after a base ending in *tṛtīyā* to denote the agent of *grahaṇa* with obligatory deletion of the *pūraṇa* affix. Thus, *ṣaṭko devadattaḥ* 'Devadatta internalizes a text after six readings'.

5.2.78 **स एषां ग्रामणीः**

sa eṣāṃ grāmaṇīḥ
/saḥ 1/1 *eṣām* 6/3 *grāmaṇīḥ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, . . . *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *kan* #64)
sa iti prathamāsamarthād eṣām iti ṣaṣṭhyarthe kan pratyayo bhavati yat tat prathamāsamarthaṃ grāmaṇī cet sa bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *kaN* occurs to denote the sense of genitive (*asya*) after a syntactically related nominal stem which ends in *prathamā* 'nominative' provided its denotatum is *grāmaṇī* 'village-leader; chief'.

EXAMPLES:

devadatto grāmaṇīr eṣāṃ = devadattakāḥ 'Devadattakas are villagers whose leader is Devadatta'
yajñadatto grāmaṇīr eṣām = yajñadattakāḥ 'Yajñadattakas are the villagers whose leader is Yajñadatta'

1. The condition of *grāmaṇī* is imposed to that *kan* could not be introduced parallel to *devadattaḥ śatrur eṣām* 'Devadatta is the enemy of these villagers'.

5.2.79 **शृंखलमस्य बन्धनं करभे**

śṛṅkhalam asya bandhanaṃ karabhe
/śṛṅkhalam 1/1 *asya* 6/1 *bandhanaṃ* 1/1 *karabhe* 7/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, . . . *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *kan* #64)
śṛṅkhalaśabdāt prathamāsamarthād asyeti ṣaṣṭhyarthe kan pratyayo bhavati yat tat prathamāsamarthaṃ bandhanaṃ ced bhavati, yad asyeti nirdiṣṭaṃ karabhaś cet sa bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *kaN* occurs to denote the sense of genitive (*asya*) after the syntactically related nominal stem *śṛṅkhala* 'shackle' which ends in nominative (*prathamā*), provided the denotatum of nominative serves as *bandhana* 'fetter' and the antecedent of genitive is a *karabha* 'young elephant'.

EXAMPLES:

śṛṅkhalam bandhanaṃ asya karabhasya = śṛṅkhalakam 'the young elephant whose fetter is a shackle'

5.2.80 **उत्क उन्मनाः**

utka unmanāḥ
/utkaḥ 1/1 *unmanāḥ* 1/1/

(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, . . . *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *kan* #64)
utkaḥ iti nipātyate unmanāś cet sa bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *kaN* occurs in deriving *utka*, via *nipātana*, provided the derivate signifies *unmanāḥ* 'one whose mind is unsettling'.

EXAMPLES:

utko devadattaḥ 'Devadatta is unsettling, anxious, homesick, etc.'

1. The word *unmanāḥ* is used in the sense of 'anxious, disturbed, unsettling and homesick', etc.

5.2.81 कालप्रयोजनाद्रोगे

kālaprayojanād roge
/kālaprayojanāt 5/1 (*sam. dv.*); *roge* 7/1
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, . . . *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *kan* #64)
kālāt prayojanāc ca yathāyogaṃ samarthavibhaktiyuktād roge' bhidheye kan pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *kaN* occurs after a syntactically related nominal stem which signifies *kāla* 'time' or *prayojana* 'cause, result' and ends in an appropriate nominal ending, provided derivates denote *roga* 'affliction, disease'.

EXAMPLES:

dvitīye' hni bhavaḥ = dvitīyako jvaraḥ 'a fever which afflicts on every other day'
caturthakaḥ 'a fever which afflicts on every fourth day'
viṣapuṣpair janitaḥ = viṣapuṣpako jvaraḥ 'a fever caused by (eating) poisonous flowers'
uṣṇaṃ kāryam asya = uṣṇako jvaraḥ 'a fever which results in intense heat'

1. Note that *prayojana* is explained as *kāraṇa* 'cause' and *phala* 'result'. The first interpretation is based on accepting *prayojana* as *karaṇa* 'instrument'. The second accepts it as *karman* 'object'. They both can be accepted as *prayojaka* 'instigators'. It is argued that if *prayojana* can also be accepted as *kāraṇa* then *kāla* should not be stated in the rule. For, in an example such as *dvitīye' hni bhavo dvitīyako jvaraḥ, kāla*, i.e., 'second day', could also be accepted as *kāraṇa*. After all, the fever does not afflict on other days. It is true. But *kāla* is stated separately so that this affixal provision could be made possible also where *kāla* is simply accepted as denoting *adhikaraṇa* 'locus'.

2. Commentators explain that a nominal stem denoting *kāla* is used with *saptamī* 'locative' denoting *adhikaraṇa*. A stem which denotes *kāraṇa* is used

with *tṛtīyā* 'instrumental'. Finally, a stem which denotes *phala* is used with *prathamā* 'nominative'. This determination of nominal endings after stems is made in view of derivate meanings (*artha*).

How do we get all these details from the wording of this rule? These are not explicitly stated in the rule (*PM* ad *Kāś.*: *na hy etat sarvaṃ sūtrākṣarair upāttam*). Some say that *saṃjñāyām* is brought to the context of this rule. It is like the way lions glance back while running (*PM* ad *Kāś.*: *siṃhāvalokitanyāyena, yathā siṃhā dhāvantaḥ pṛṣṭhato'valokayante*). Consequently, we get additional condition of: *pratyayāntaś cet saṃjñā bhavati* 'provided the derivate denotes a name (*saṃjña*)'. That is, this affix will not be introduced where derivates do not denote a name. The preceding interpretational details all apply.where derivates denote a name.

A proposal for *yogavibhāga* of the next rule is also made to explain things here. The two split rules will be: *tad asminn annaṃ prāye* and *saṃjñāyām*. This way, *saṃjñāyām* will become a residual rule (*śeṣa*) for this as well as the first split rule. Their derivates will thus be restricted to the context of *saṃjñā* 'name'.

5.2.82 तदस्मिन्नन्नं प्राये संज्ञायाम्

tad asminn annaṃ prāye saṃjñāyām
/tat 1/1 *asmin* 7/1 *annam* 1/1 *prāye* 7/1 *saṃjñāyām* 7/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, . . . *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *kan* #64)
tad iti prathamāsamarthād asminn iti saptamyarthe kan pratyayo bhavati yat tat prathamāsamartham annaṃ cet prāyaviṣayaṃ tad bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *kaN* occurs to denote the sense of locative (*asmin*) after a syntactically related nominal stem which ends in *prathamā* 'nominative', provided its denotatum names an *anna* 'item of food' in abundance.

EXAMPLES:

guḍāpūpāḥ prāyeṇa annam asyāṃ paurṇamāsyāṃ = guḍapūpikā 'a full-moon night when cakes with jaggery are prepared in abundance'
tilāpūpika paurṇamāsī 'a full-moon night when cakes with sesame are prepared in abundance'

1. Note that *prāyaḥ* is explained as *bāhulayam* 'abundance'. The word *saṃjñā* qualifies the stem which ends in the affix (*Kāś.*: *saṃjñāgrahaṇaṃ tadantopādhiḥ*). Deriving *guḍāpūpikā* from *guḍāpūpa* + *kaN* will require *itva* of 7.3.44 *pratyayasthāt* . . . to yield *guḍāpūpika*. The feminine affix *ṬāP* can then be added to derive *guḍāpūpikā*.

A *vārttika* recommends affix *inI* after *vaṭaka* 'deep-fried balls of ground lentils' to derive *vaṭakinī paurṇamāsī*.

5.2.83 कुल्माषादञ्

kulmāṣād añ
/kulmāṣāt 5/1 *añ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, . . . *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *tad asminn annaṃ prāye saṃjñāyām* #82)
kulmāṣaśabdād añ pratyayo bhavati 'tad asminn annaṃ prāye saṃjñāyām' ity etasminn arthe
The *taddhita* affix *aÑ* occurs, to denote the sense of locative (*asmin*), after syntactically related nominal stem *kulmāṣa* 'wild lentils' when it ends in *prathamā*, provided its denotatum names an *anna* in abundance.

EXAMPLES:

kulmāṣāḥ prāyeṇa annam asyāṃ paurṇamāsyāṃ = kaulmāṣī paurṇamāsī 'a full-moon night when food with Kulmāṣa is prepared in abundance'

1. Haradatta (*PM* ad *Kāś.*) glosses *kulmāṣas* as *mudga* 'Mung beans'. The *ṄīP* in *kaulmāṣī* is introduced by 4.1.15 *ṭiḍḍhāṇañ*. . . .

5.2.84 श्रोत्रियंश्छन्दोऽधीते

śrotriyaṃś chando'dhīte
/śrotriyan 1/1 *chandaḥ* 2/1 *adhīte* (verbal *pada*)/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, . . . *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76)
śrotriyan iti nipātyate chando'dhīte ity etasminn arthe
A nominal stem, namely *śrotriyaN*, is derived via *nipātana*, when it signifies *chando'dhīte* 'he who studies the Veda'.

EXAMPLES:

śrotriyo brāhmaṇaḥ 'a Brāhmaṇa who studies the Vedas'

1. Note that the *Mahābhāṣya* explains *śrotriya* as a derivate of *ghaN* introduced optionally after *chandas* in the sense of *tad adhīte* 'studies that' (*chandaso vā śrotrabhāvaḥ*). This option requires replacing *chandas* with *śrotra*. Not accepting this option would amount to accepting *śrotriya* as derived by itself. Of course, with the specified denotatum (. . . *vākyārthe padavacanam*). Incidentally, the *Dharmaśāstras* explain *śrotriya* as a brāhmaṇa who has studied at least one branch of the Vedas (*PM* ad *Kāś.*: *ekāṃ śākhām adhītya śrotriyo bhavati*). The *n* of *śrotriyan* is used for accent.

5.2.85 श्राद्धमनेन भुक्तमिनिठनौ

śrāddham anena bhuktam iniṭhanau
/śrāddham 2/1 *anena* 3/1 *bhuktam* 1/1 *iniṭhanau* 1/2 (*itar. dv.*)/

(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, . . . *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76)
śrāddhaśabdād bhuktopādhikād anenety etasminn arthe iniṭhanau pratyayau bhavataḥ
The *taddhita* affixes *inI* and *ṭhaN* occur to denote the sense of *anena* 'by this one' after syntactically related nominal stem *śrāddha* 'ritual offering of food to deceased ancestors' when it ends in *prathamā* used in syntactic coordination with *bhuktam* '. . . eaten'.

EXAMPLES:

śrāddhaṃ bhuktam anena = *śrāddhī* 'one who has eaten at the *śrāddha* ritual'
śrāddhikaḥ 'id.'

1. This affixal provision is made after a base (*prakṛti*) constituted by *śrāddha*. The word *bhuktam* is used as a qualifier to the base. The sense of affixes is specified by *anena* 'by this one'. But how could one eat *śrāddha* which denotes an action (*karman*). Actually, *śrāddha* here denotes things serving as means (*tatsādhane dravyaḥ*) of accomplishing the action. It is impossible to eat *śrāddha* as such (*mukhyaśrāddhasya bhojanāsambhavāt*).

2. The *Mahābhāṣya* further specifies that this affixal provision is made in the context of 'concurrent time' (*samānakāla*). Thus, a person who eats at the *śrāddha* today, and hence is called a *śrāddhika*, cannot be called a *śrāddhika* tomorrow (*adya bhukte śrāddhe śvaḥ śrāddhika iti prayogo mā bhūt*).

5.2.86 पूर्वादिनिः

pūrvād iniḥ
/pūrvāt 5/1 *iniḥ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, . . . *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *anena* #85)
pūrvād anena ity asminn arthe iniḥ pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *inI* occurs to denote the sense of *anena* 'by this one' after syntactically related nominal stem *pūrva* 'previously, earlier', when the same ends in *prathamā* 'nominative'.

EXAMPLES:

pūrvaṃ gatam anena pītaṃ bhuktaṃ vā = *pūrvī* 'one who went, drank, or ate, earlier'
pūrviṇau 'a nominative dual of *pūrvin*'
pūrviṇaḥ 'nominative plural of *pūrvin*'

1. Note that *anena* specifies an agent (*kartṛ*). Since the derivational meaning of agency is possible only when an action is on hand, derivates must be construed with an action. Thus, *pūrvam gatam* '. . . gone previously', etc.

5.2.87 सपूर्वाच्च

sapūrvāt ca
/sapūrvāt 5/1 = *vidyamānaṃ pūrvaṃ yasmāt* (*bv.*); *ca* ϕ/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, . . . *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *anena* #85, *iniḥ* #86)
sapūrvāt prātipadikāt pūrvaśabdāntād anenety asminn arthe iniḥ pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *inI* also occurs to denote the sense of *anena* after a syntactically related nominal stem which has *pūrva* as its prior constituent and ends in *prathamā* 'nominative'.

EXAMPLES:

pūrvaṃ kṛtam anena = kṛtapūrvī kaṭam 'he by who a mat was previously made'
bhuktapūrvī odanam 'he by who rice was eaten earlier'

1. Why did Pāṇini not formulate this and the preceding *sūtra* jointly as: *pūrvād iniḥ sapūrvāt.* A separate formulation is made to indicate that *tadanta-vidhi* is not applicable here. That is, *pūrvāt* cannot include references to both 'that which is *pūrva*' and 'that which ends in *pūrva*'.

5.2.88 इष्टादिभ्यश्च

iṣṭādibhyaś ca
/iṣṭādibhyaḥ 5/3 = *iṣṭa ādir yeṣāṃ te* (*bv.*), *tebhyaḥ*; *ca* ϕ/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, . . . *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *aṇena* #85, *iniḥ* #86)
iṣṭādibhyaḥ prātipadikebhyo' nenety asminn arthe iniḥ pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *inI* occurs to denote the sense of *anena* after a syntactically related nominal stem which ends in *prathamā* and is listed in the group headed by *iṣṭa* 'a ritual offering already made'.

EXAMPLES:

iṣṭam anena = iṣṭī yajñe 'one who has performed sacrifices'
pūrttī śrāddhe 'one who has generously given (alms and gifts) at the *śrāddha*'

1. The locative of *yajñe* and *śrāddhe* here denotes *karman* 'object' at the strength of the statement: *ktasyenviṣayasya karmaṇi upasaṃkhyānam.* Rule 2.3.65 *kartṛkarmaṇoḥ kṛtī* would have otherwise required *ṣaṣṭhī* 'genitive'.

5.2.89 छन्दसि परिपन्थिपरिपरिणौ पर्यवस्थातरि

chandasi paripanthiparipariṇau paryavasthātari
/chandasi 7/1 *paripanthiparipariṇau* 1/2 (*itar. dv.*); *paryavasthātari* 7/1/

(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, . . . *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *iniḥ* #86)
paripanthin, pariparin ity etau śabdau chandasi viṣaye nipātyete paryavasthātari vācye
The *taddhita* affix *inI* occurs, in Vedic, in deriving *paripanthin* and *pariparin*, via *nipātana*, when derivates denote *paryavasthātā* 'a strong adversary'.

EXAMPLES:

mā tvā paripanthino vidan 'may strong adversaries not get you'
mā tvā pariparino vidan 'id.'

5.2.90 अनुपद्यन्वेष्टा

anupady anveṣṭā
/anupadī 1/1 *anveṣṭā* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, . . . *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *iniḥ* #86)
anupadī iti nipātyate' nveṣṭā cet sa bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *inI* occurs in deriving *anupadin*, via *nipātana*, when *anveṣṭā* 'one who goes after: follower' is denoted.

EXAMPLES:

anupadī gavām 'one who follows cows; a cowherd'
anupadī uṣṭrāṇām 'one who follows camels'

1. Note that *anupada* is an *avyayībhāva* compound paraphrased as: *padasya paścāt* 'following in the footsteps' (2.1.6 *avyayaṃ vibhakti . . .*).

5.2.91 साक्षाद् द्रष्टरि संज्ञायाम्

sākṣād draṣṭari saṃjñāyām
/sākṣāt ϕ draṣṭari 7/1 *saṃjñāyām* 7/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, . . . *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *iniḥ* #86)
sākṣāt śabdād iniḥ pratyayo bhavati draṣṭari vācye saṃjñāyām
The *taddhita* affix *inI* occurs after syntactically related nominal stem *ṣākṣāt* 'in person; directly' when the derivate signifies a name.

EXAMPLES:

sākṣād draṣṭā = sākṣī 'one who has seen with his own eyes; eye-witness'
sākṣiṇau 'nominative dual of *sākṣin*'
sākṣiṇaḥ 'a nominal plural of *sākṣin*'

1. One finds three categories of *sākṣād draṣṭā* 'eye-witness' in relation to,

for example, an action of giving (*dāna*); *dātā* 'one who gives', *grahītā* 'one who receives' and *upadraṣṭā* 'one who witnesses'. The word *saṃjñāyām* is used here to restrict the meaning of the derivate to that of an *upadraṣṭā*. (*Kāś.*: *saṃjñāgrahaṇam abhidheyaniyamārtham . . . saṃjñāgrahaṇād upadraṣṭaivocyate na dātā na grahītā vā*).

2. Note that *āt* of *sākṣāt* is deleted in view of a *vārttika* (ad 4.2.104 *avyayāt tyap; avyayānāṃ bhamātre ṭilopaḥ*).

5.2.92 क्षेत्रियच् परक्षेत्रे चिकित्स्यः

kṣetriyac parakṣetre cikitsyaḥ
kṣetriyac 1/1 *parakṣetre* 7/1 *cikitsyaḥ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, . . . *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76)
kṣetriyaj iti nipātyate 'parakṣetre cikitsyaḥ' ity etasmin vākyārthe
A *taddhita* affix occurs to derive *kṣetriyac*, via *nipātana*, when the derivate signifies *parakṣetre cikitsyaḥ* 'that which is curable only when the afflicted person gets another body (life).'

EXAMPLES:

kṣetriyaṃ kuṣṭham 'leprosy is a disease which can be cured only in another life'

1. The word *parakṣetra* 'other body' had been explained as *janmāntaraśarīram* 'the body of the next birth'. The word *kṣetriyaḥ* thus means a disease (*vyādhi*) curable only when one is reborn (*tatra cikitsyaḥ*). That is, it is incurable (*asādhya*), or else unbeatable (*apratyākhyeya*).

Kāśikā offers additional meaning of *kṣetriya: viṣa* 'poison', which cures when transmitted to another body; *tṛṇa* 'weeds', which deserve to be rooted out; and *paradārika* 'a womanizer', who must be restrained.

5.2.93 इन्द्रियमिन्द्रलिङ्गमिन्द्रदृष्टमिन्द्रसृष्टमिन्द्रजुष्टामिन्द्रदत्तमिति वा

indriyamindraliṅgamindradṛṣṭamindrasṛṣṭamindrajuṣṭamindradattam iti vā
/indriyam-indraliṅgam-indradṛṣṭam-indrasṛṣṭam-indrajuṣṭam-indradattam 1/1 (*tat.*); *iti* ϕ *vā* ϕ/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, . . . *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76)
indraśabdāt ṣaṣṭhīsamarthāt 'liṅgam' ity etasminn arthe ghac pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *ghaC* occurs after syntactically related nominal stem *indra* 'soul, self', to optionally derive *indriyam* 'sensory organs', via *nipātana*, when the derivate signifies *indraliṅgam, indradṛṣṭam, indrasṛṣṭam, indrajuṣṭam* and *indradattam*.

EXAMPLES:

indrasya liṅgam = *indriyam* 'that by which *ātman* 'Self, Soul' is inferred;

eyes, etc.'
indreṇa ātmanā dṛṣṭam = indradṛṣṭam 'that which has been seen by the Self'
indreṇa ātmanā sṛṣṭam = indrasṛṣṭam 'that which has been created by the Self'
indreṇa ātmanā juṣṭam = indrajuṣṭam 'that which has been nourished by the Self'
indreṇa ātmanā datta = indradattam 'that which has been offered by the Self'

1. The word *indriya* in popular usage means 'sensory organs'. Consequently, *iti* is used in the sense of *prakāra* 'mode, manner', thereby making allowance for other modes of derivations (*PM* ad *Kāś.*: *evaṃ prakārāntareṇāpivyutpattiḥ*). The word *vā* 'option' is construed with *indraliṅgam*, etc., individually. This shows independency of these optional meanings (*PM*: . . . *teṣāṃsvātantryaṃ darśayati*). That is, other meaning options are also possible.

5.2.94 तदस्यास्त्यस्मिन्निति मतुप्

tad asyāsty asminn iti matup
/tat 1/1 *asya* 6/1 *asti* ϕ *iti* ϕ *matup* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, . . . *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76)
tad iti prathamāsamarthād asyeti ṣaṣṭhyarthe asminn iti saptamyarthe vā matup pratyayo bhavati yat tat prathamāsamartham asti cet tad bhavati
A *taddhita* affix, namely *matUP*, occurs to denote the sense of *ṣaṣṭhī* 'genitive' (*asya*), or of *saptamī* 'locative' (*asmin*), after a syntactically related nominal stem which ends in *prathamā* 'nominative', provided it is qualified with the denotatum of *asti* 'existence'.

EXAMPLES:

gāvo' sya santi = gomān devadattaḥ 'Devadatta, who is rich in cows'
vṛkṣā asmin santi = vṛkṣavān parvataḥ 'a mountain with trees'

1. The following *ślokavārttika* enumerates the general sense of affixes *matUp*, etc., of course, qualified with the sense of *asti* 'existence':

bhūma-nindā-praśaṃsāsu nityayoge' tiśāyane/
saṃsarge' sti vivakṣāyāṃ bhavanti matubādayaḥ//

Affix *matUP*, etc., occurs with the denotatum of *bhūman* 'abundance', *nindā* 'censure', *praśaṃsā* 'praise', *nityayoga* 'constant connection', *atiśāyana* 'super excellence', and *saṃsarga* 'contact, association'.
The examples are: *gomān* 'rich in cows', *kuṣṭhī* 'leper', *kukudāvartaḥ* 'hunchback', *rūpavatī* 'beautiful women', *kṣīrī* 'rich in milk', *udariṇī* 'a woman with fat belly', *daṇḍī* 'an ascetic who carries a shaft'.

2. The word *asti* is an indeclinable particle meaning *sattā* 'existence'. The antecedents of *asya* and *asmin* are interpreted as *ṣaṣṭhī* 'genitive' and *saptamī* 'locative', respectively. That is, *asya* means 'of this person; its' and *asmin* means 'in this, in it'. Commentators explain that *iti* is used for expressing *vivakṣā* 'speaker's intent to speak about something as something specific'. That is, derivates of *matUP* must carry a denotatum approved by usage. Consider affix *valaC* introduced after *rajas* by 5.2.112 *rajaḥkṛṣyā* . . . to derive *rajasvalā* 'a woman in her menstrual period'. One cannot introduce *valaC* after *tajas* to derive *rajasvalaḥ* 'dusty village' because usage does not approve it. Or else, the speaker does not wish to speak about the village as *rajasvalaḥ*. Thus, *iti* restricts the scope of derivates (*viṣayaniyamārthaḥ*).

3. A *vārttika* requires deletion of *LUK* after stems denoting quality (*vt.*: *guṇavacanebhyo matupo lug vaktavyaḥ*) to account for *śuklaḥ paṭaḥ* 'white cloth', etc.

4. Note that an affix denoting the sense of *matUP* cannot be introduced after a stem which ends in another such affix identical in form (*samānarūpa*). This restriction, of course, does not apply to an affix which is dissimilar (*virūpa*) in form. Consider *daṇḍimatī śālā* 'house of shaft-carrying ascetics' where *daṇḍimatī* has *matUP* introduced after *daṇḍin* which, in turn, ends in *inI*. Incidentally, *m* of *matUP* is replaced with *v* when the stem either ends in *m* or *a*, or contains *m* or *a* in its penultimate position (*upadhā*; 8.2.9 *mād upadhāyāś ca mator vo'yavādibhyaḥ*).

5.2.95 रसादिभ्यश्च

rasādibhyaś ca
/rasādibhyaḥ 5/3 *ca* ϕ/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, . . . *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *tad asyāsty asmin iti matup* #94)
rasādibhyaḥ prātipadikebhyo matup pratyayo bhavati 'tad asyāsty asmin'ity etasmin viṣaye
The *taddhita* affix *matUP* occurs to denote the sense of genitive, or of locative, after syntactically related nominal stems which are listed in the group headed by *rasa* 'juice' and end in nominative, provided they are qualified with the denotatum of *asti*.

EXAMPLES:

rasavān 'that which has juice; juicy'
rūpavān 'he who is beautiful'

1. Why do we have to state this rule when *matUP* is already available from the preceding rule? A separate rule is formulated so that other affixes denoting the sense of *matUP* could not be introduced. Thus, *matUP* alone should be introduced here. If it is true then how do we get affixes *inI* and *ṭhaN* in

deriving *rūpiṇī kanyā* 'beautiful girl' and *rūpiko dārakaḥ* 'handsome husband'? The statement that *matUP* alone should be introduced is simply a generalization (*prāyika*).

5.2.96 प्राणिस्थादातोलजन्यतरस्याम्

prāṇisthād āto laj anyatarasyām
/prāṇisthāt 5/1 *ātaḥ* 5/1 *lac* 1/1 *anyatarasyām* 7/1
(*pratyayaḥ*#3.1.1, *paraś ca*#3.1.2, ... *prātipadikāt*#4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ*#4.1.76, *tad asyāsty asmin iti matup*#94)
prāṇisthavācinaḥ śabdād akārāntāl lac pratyayo bhavaty anyatarasyām matvarthe
The *taddhita* affix *LaC* occurs, optionally, to denote the sense of genitive, or of locative, after a syntactically related nominal stem which ends in *ā*, is used with nominative, and signifies something located in a sentient being, provided the denotatum of the stem is qualified with the denotatum of *asti*.

EXAMPLES:

cuḍālaḥ cūḍāvān vā 'one who has a *cūḍā* (lock of hair on the crown of head)'
karṇikālaḥ karṇikāvān vā 'he who has beautiful ears'

1. Note that *prāṇisthāt* 'located in a sentient being' qualifies the sense of the base which, in turn, is required to end in *ā*. The first condition blocks *LaC* in case of *śikhāvān pradīpaḥ* 'lamp with crested flame' because *pradīpa* 'lamp' is not sentient. The second blocks *LaC* in case of *hastavān* 'with hands' because *hasta* does not end in *ā*.

1. A *vārttika* proposal is made to restrict derivates of *LaC* after bases denoting 'limbs of sentient beings' (*prāṇyaṅgāt*). This way, *LaC* will be blocked, parallel to *cikīrṣāvān* 'one who is desirous of doing' where *cikīrṣā* ends in *ā* but does not denote a limb (*prāṇyaṅga*). The *Mahābhāṣya* finds this proposal unnecessary because *LaC* does not denote the sense of *matUP* in these cases anyway (*anabhidhānāt*).

2. Affix *LaC* is already marked with *L* as an *it*. Rule 6.1.193 *liti* will thus provide for final *udātta* accent for a base which ended in *LaC*. The final *C* as an *iT*, in *LaC*, should not be used to accomplish the same in view of 6.1.163 *citaḥ*. Commentators explain that *C* is used for blocking optional *svarita* of 8.2.6 *svarito vā' nudātte padādau* in examples such as *cūḍālo' si*.

5.2.97 सिध्मादिभ्यश्च

sidhmādibhyaś ca
/sidhmādibhyaḥ 5/3 *ca* ϕ/

(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, . . . *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *tad asyāsty asmin iti* #94, *laj anyatarasyām* #96)
sidhmādibhyaḥ prātipadikebhyo lac pratyayo bhavaty anyatarasyām matvarthe
The *taddhita* affix *LaC* also occurs to optionally denote the sense of genitive, or of locative, after a syntactically related nominal stem which ends in nominative and is listed in the group headed by *sidhma* 'leper', provided the denotatum of the stem is qualified with the denotatum of *asti*.

EXAMPLES:

sidhmalaḥ sidhmavān vā 'leprous'
gaḍulaḥ gaḍumān vā 'hunchback'

1. Note that the *sidhmādi* group also contains stems which end in *a*. They may also qualify for affixal provisions of *inI* and *ṭhaN* of 5.2.115 *ata iniṭhanau*. It is mainly for this reason that *anyatarasyām* is interpreted here as used for bringing *matUP* as an option to *LaC*. That is, this affixal provision is not made optional to other affixal provisions which may become applicable once this option of *LaC* is not accepted (*PM* ad *Kāś.*: *anyatarasyāṃ grahaṇena matup samuccīyate, na yathāprāptam abhyanujñāyate*). How do we know it? Consider rule 5.2.109 *keśād vo' nyatarasyām* where *anyatarasyām* is explicitly stated. Commentators explain that if *anyatarasyām* of rule 5.2.109 *keśād vo' nyatarasyām* was intended to make the provision of affix *va* optional to *matUP* only, *anyatarasyām* carried from this rule via *anuvṛtti* should have been enough. An additional explicit mention of *anyatarasyām* in that rule is intended for offering single option of *matUP* against *va*, the affix on hand. Derivates of 5.2.109 *keśād vo' nyatarasyām* will have *matUP* as an option to *va* due to *anyatarasyām* of this rule. They will have additional option of *inI* and *ṭhaN* against *va* in view of *anyatarasyām* explicitly stated there. The function of this *anyatarasyām* is simply to offer the option of *matUP* against an affix on hand. That this *anyatarasyām* brings the option of *matUP* only is also attested by the listing of *picchādi* group of nominals (5.2.100 *lopādipāmādipicchādibhyaḥ śanelaccaḥ*) separately from those of the *tundādi* (5.2.117 *tundādibhya ilac ca*) group. They should not have been specified in two different rules if *ilaC* was intended to be introduced optionally to *matUP* only. Refer to *PM* ad *Kāś.* for further details.

5.2.98 वत्सांसाभ्यां कामबले

vatsāṃsābhyām kāmabale
/vatsāṃsābhyām 5/2 (*itar. dv.*), *tābhyām*; *kāmabale* 7/1 (*itar. dv.*), *tayoḥ/*
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, . . . *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *tad asyāsty asmin iti* #94, *laj* #96)
vatsāṃsaśabdābhyām lac pratyayo bhavati yathāsaṃkhyaṃ 'kāmavati balavati' cārthe

The *taddhita* affix *LaC* occurs, to optionally denote the sense of genitive, or of locative, after syntactically related nominal stems *vatsa* 'calf' and *aṃsa* 'shoulder' when they end in nominative, provided their denotatum is qualified with the denotatum of *asti* and the derivates signify *kāma* 'desire' and *bala* 'strength', respectively.

EXAMPLES:

vatsalaḥ 'he who has affection; father'
aṃsalaḥ 'one who has strength'

1. Note that *kāmabale* specifies derivate meanings. Consequently, *LaC* is to be introduced only when these meanings are denoted. Since such a denotation of meaning is not possible when *matUP* is introduced, *LaC* becomes obligatory (*nitya*). Incidentally, *kāmabale* also restricts *vatsa* and *aṃsa* from having any signification of their own meanings via the meanings of their corresponding derivates. Of course, affix *matUP* will be introduced when derivate meanings include base-meanings.

Thus, consider *vatsavatī gauḥ* 'cow with a calf' and *aṃsavān durbalaḥ* 'a weak person with broad shoulders'.

5.2.99 फेनादिलच्च

phenād ilac ca
/phenāt 5/1 *ilac* 1/1 *ca* ϕ/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, . . . *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *tad asyāsty asmin iti matup* #94, *laj anyatarasyām* #96)
phenaśabdād ilac pratyayo bhavati matvarthe cakārāl lac ca
The *taddhita* affixes *ilaC* and *LaC* occur, to optionally denote the sense of genitive, or of locative, after syntactically related nominal stem *phena* 'foam', ending in nominative, provided its denotatum is qualified with the denotatum of *asti*.

EXAMPLES:

phenilaḥ 'that which has, or in which there is, foam'
plenalaḥ 'id.'
phenavān 'id.'

1. Here again *anyatarasyām* brings *matUP* alone as an option. The *ca* is used in the rule to attract *LaC*.

5.2.100 लोमादिपामादिपिच्छादिभ्यः शनेलचः

lomādipāmādipicchādibhyaḥ śanelacaḥ
/lomādipāmādipicchādibhyaḥ 5/3 = *loman ādir yeṣāṃ te, pāman ādir yeṣāṃ te, piccham ādir yeṣāṃ te* (*bv.*); *lomādayaś ca pāmādayaś ca picchādayaś ca* (*itar. dv.* with int. *bv.*), *tebhyaḥ; śanelacaḥ* 1/3 (*itar. dv.*), *te/*

(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, . . . *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *tad asyāsty asmin iti matup* #94)
lomādibhyaḥ pāmādibhyaḥ picchādibhyaś ca tribhyo gaṇebhyo yathāsaṃkhyaṃ 'śa, na, ilac' ity ete pratyayā bhavanti matvarthe matup ca
The *taddhita* affixes *śa, na* and *ilaC* occur to denote the sense of *matUP* after syntactically related nominal stems listed in the group headed by *loman* 'hair', *pāman* 'a disease' and *piccha* 'tail feather', respectively, provided these ended in nominative and their denotata are qualified with the denotatum of *asti.*

EXAMPLES:

lomaśaḥ 'one who is full of hair'
lomavān 'id.'
pāmanaḥ 'one who is afflicted with Pāman, skin-diease'
pāmavān 'id.'
picchilaḥ 'one which has feathers on its tail'
picchavān 'id.'
urasilaḥ 'broad-shouldered'
urasvān 'id.'

1. Note that *aṅganā* and *lakṣmaṇa,* both derivates of *pāmādi* nominals, are derived with affix *na* where *aṅganā* is restricted to the denotatum of *kalyāṇa* 'auspicious, beautiful'. The base of the second derivate, *lakṣmī* 'wealth, prosperity', gets its final *ī* replaced with *a.*

5.2.101 प्रज्ञाश्रद्धार्चाभ्यो णः

prajñāśraddhārcābhyo ṇaḥ
/prajñāśraddhārcābhyaḥ 5/3 (*itar. dv.*), *tebhyaḥ; ṇaḥ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, . . . *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *tad asyāsty asmin iti* #94)
'prajñā, śraddhā, arcā, vṛtti' ity etebhyo ṇaḥ pratyayo bhavati matub arthe
The *taddhita* affix *Ṇa* occurs, to optionally denote the sense of genitive, or of locative, after syntactically related nominal stems *prajñā* 'intellect; deeper understanding', *śraddhā* 'respect, faith' and *arcā* 'worship', when these end in nominative and their denotata are qualified with the denotatum of *asti.*

EXAMPLES:

prājñaḥ 'one who has very deep understanding of . . .'
prajñāvān 'id.'
śrāddhaḥ 'one who has faith in, or respect for . . .'
śraddhāvān 'id.'
ārcaḥ 'one who worships . . .'

arcāvān 'id.'
vārttaḥ 'one who has some source of livelihood'
vṛttimān 'id.'

1. Note that this *sūtra* is simply formulated as: *prajñāśraddhārcābhyo ṇaḥ.* The authors of *Kāśikā* have also included *vṛtti* which, in turn, is a *vārttika* proposal.

2. Why do we have to read *prajñā* here when its derivate *prājña*, with essentially the same meaning, could be derived by introducing affix *aṆ* (5.4.38 *prajñādibhyaś ca*) to denote base-meaning (*svārtha*) after *prajña*, a derivate of *Ka* (3.1.136 *ātaś copasarge*) introduced after verbal root *jñā* used with the preverb *pra*. This inclusion is made so that feminine affix *ṬāP* could be introduced after *prājña* to derive *prājñā*. The feminine form of *prājña*, when accepted as a derivate of *aṆ*, will be derived as *prājñī* with affix *NīP* (4.1.15 *ṭiḍḍhāṇañ . . .*).

5.2.102 तपः सहस्राभ्यां विनीनी

tapaḥ sahasrābhyām vinīnī
/tapaḥsahasrābhyām 5/2 (*itar. dv.*), *tābhyām*; *vinīnī* 1/2 (*itar. dv.*)/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, . . . *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *tad asyāsty asmin iti* #94)
'*tapaḥ-sahasra*' *śabdābhyām* '*vini-inī*' *ity etau pratyayau bhavato matvarthe*
The *taddhita* affixes *vinI* and *inI* occur, to denote the sense of genitive, or of locative, after syntactically related nominal stems *tapas* 'penance' and *sahasra* 'a thousand', respectively, when they end in nominative and their denotata are qualified with the denotatum of *asti*.

EXAMPLES:

tapo'syāsmin vidyate = *tapasvī* 'an ascetic who has earned merits through penance, or who has merits'
sahasrī 'one who owns, or has on him, a thousand . . .'

1. The *i* at the end of *vinI* and *inI* is used to indicate that they do not end in *n*. For, in its absence, *n* could have been deleted by 1.3.9 *tasya lopaḥ*, read with 1.3.3 *halantyam*.

2. Note that *vinI* and *inI* are introduced after *tapas* and *sahasra*, respectively, in view of 1.3.10 *yathāsaṃkhyam*. . . . This assignment of equivalency in view of enumeration (*yathāsaṃkhya*) is, however, not desired here relative of affixal meanings.

Why do we have to make a provision again (*punarvidhāna*) for *vinI* and *inI* when they are already made available after *tapas* and *sahasra*, respectively, by 5.2.121 *asmāyāmedhāsrajo viniḥ* and 5.2.115 *ata iniṭhanau*. So that these affixes could not be blocked by affix *aṆ* of the next rule. Affix *aṆ* will

then be introduced in addition to *vinI* and *inI*. Affix *ṭhaN*, however, will be blocked by *aṆ* from occurring after *sahasra*. Why was this rule then not formulated as: *tapaḥsahasrābhyāṃ vinīnyaṇaḥ* to also include 5.2.103 *aṇ ca*? A separate formulation was made because only *aṆ* is carried in subsequent rules. Besides, *vinI* and *inI* are specified without *aṆ* to allow their *yathāsaṃkhya* relative to *tapas* and *sahasra*.

5.2.103 अण् च

aṇ ca
/aṇ 1/1 *ca ϕ/*
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, . . . *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *tad asyāsty asmin iti* #94, *vinīnī* #102)
tapaḥsahasrābhyām aṇ ca pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *aṆ* also occurs, to denote the sense of genitive, or of locative, after syntactically related nominal stems *tapas* and *sahasra* when they end in nominative, provided their denotata are qualified with the denotatum of *asti*.

EXAMPLES:

tāpasaḥ 'an ascetic'
sāhasraḥ 'one who has a thousand . . .'

1. A separate formulation of this rule is needed so that *aṆ* alone could be carried subsequently (*yogavibhāga uttarārthaḥ*). Also refer to notes under the preceding rule.

2. A *vārttika* proposal for *aṆ* is also made after stems headed by *jyotsnā* 'moonlight'. Thus, we get *jyautsnaḥ* in the sense of *jyotsnā vidyate' smin* 'that (fortnight) in which the moon shines', *tāmisraḥ* 'dark fortnight', etc.

5.2.104 सिकताशर्कराभ्यां च

sikatāśarkarābhyām ca
/sikatāśarkarābhyām 5/2 (*itar. dv.*) *ca ϕ/*
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, . . . *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *tad asyāsty asmin iti* #94, *aṇ* #103)
sikatāśarkarābhyām aṇ pratyayo bhavati matvarthe
The *taddhita* affix *aṆ* occurs, to denote the sense of genitive, or of locative, after syntactically related nominal stems *sikatā* 'sand' and *śarkarā* 'gravel, sugar' when these end in nominative and their denotatum is qualified with the denotatum of *asti*.

EXAMPLES:

saikato ghaṭaḥ 'a pitcher with sand in it; a pitcher made with the clay which had sand in it'

śārkaraṃ madhu 'honey with sweetness of sugar'

1. Note that derivates of this rule do not denote a place (*deśa*; *Kāś.*: *adeśe ihodāharaṇam*). Our next rule accounts for them instead.

5.2.105 देशे लुबिलचौ च

deśe lubilacau ca
/deśe 7/1 *lubilacau* 1/2 (*itar. dv.*) *ca* ϕ/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, . . . *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *tad asyāsty asmin iti* #94, *aṇ* #103, *sikatāśarkarābhyām* #104)
sikatāśarkarābhyāṃ deśe' bhidheye 'lub-ilacau' bhavataḥ cakārād aṇ ca matup ca
The *taddhita* affix *ilaC*, and concurrent deletion by *LUP* as well, occurs to denote the sense of *matUP* after syntactically related nominal stems *sikatā* and *śarkarā* when they end in nominative, provided their derivates denote a place (*deśa*).

EXAMPLES:

sikatā asmin vidyate = *sikatīi deśaḥ* 'a place which has, or where there is, sand'
sikatilaḥ 'id.'
saikataḥ 'id.'
sikatāvān 'id.'
śarkarā deśaḥ 'a place full of gravels'
śarkarilaḥ 'id.'
śārkaraḥ 'id.'
śarkarāvān 'id.'

1. Note that affixes *aṆ* and *matUP* also become applicable at the strength of *ca*. A specification by *LUP* requires affixal deletion (*pratyayalopa*). But what affix should go through this deletion? Any, since no particular affix is mentioned. Derivates with affixal deletion will then be similar to their bases: *sikatā* and *śarkarā*. They will, however, retain their original number and gender in view of 1.2.51 *lupi yuktavad vyaktivacane.*

5.2.106 दन्त उन्नत उरच्

danta unnata urac
/dantaḥ 1/1 *unnataḥ* 1/1 *urac* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, . . . *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *tad asyāsty asmin iti* #94)
dantaśabdād unnatopādhikād urac pratyayo bhavati matvarthe
The *taddhita* affix *uraC* occurs to denote the sense of *matUP* after syntactically related nominal stem *danta* 'tooth', when it ends in nominative and is qualified with *unnata* 'prominent, raised'.

EXAMPLES:

dantā unnatā asya santi = *danturaḥ* 'one who has protruding teeth'

1. Note that *danta*, when not qualified with *unnata*, will receive *matUP* to produce *dantavān* 'one who has teeth'.

5.2.107 ऊषसुषिमुष्कमधो रः

ūṣasuṣimuṣkamadho raḥ
/ūṣasuṣimuṣkamadhoḥ 5/1 (*sam. dv.*); *raḥ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, . . . *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *tad asyāsty asmin iti* #94)
'ūṣa, suṣi, muṣka, madhu' ity etebhyo raḥ pratyayo bhavati matvarthe
The *taddhita* affix *ra* occurs to denote the sense of *matUP* after syntactically related nominal stems *ūṣa* 'rich in sodium', *suṣi* 'hole', *muṣka* 'testicle' and *madhu* 'sweet', when these end in nominative.

EXAMPLES:

ūṣaraṃ kṣetram 'a field rich in sodium; barren land'
suṣiraṃ kāṣṭham 'wood with holes in it'
muṣkaraḥ paśuḥ 'animals with big testicles'
madhuro guḍaḥ 'sweet jaggery'

1. A *vārttika* proposal is also made for *ra* after *kha* 'big', *mukha* 'mouth' and *kuñja* 'jaw, tusk' to derive *khara* 'donkey', *mukhara* 'talkative' and *kuñjara* 'elephant'. A similar provision is also made for *ra* after *naga* 'mountain', *pāṃśu* 'dust' and *pāṇḍu* 'pale, white' to derive *nagara* 'city', *pāṃśura* 'dusty' and *pāṇḍura* 'white, pale'.

5.2.108 द्युद्रुभ्यां मः

dyudrubhyām maḥ
/dyudrubhyām 5/2 (*itar. dv.*); *maḥ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, . . . *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *tad asyāsty asmin iti* #94)
dyudruśabdābhyām maḥ pratyayo bhavati matvarthe
The *taddhita* affix *ma* occurs to denote the sense of *matUP* after syntactically related nominal stems *dyu* and *dru*, when these end in nominative.

EXAMPLES:

dyumaḥ 'sun'
drumaḥ 'tree'

1. A paraphrase parallel to the sense of *matUP* cannot be offered because these words are conventionally fixed in their meanings (*rūḍhiṣu ca punar matub na vikalpyate*).

5.2.109 केशाद्वोऽन्यतरस्याम्

keśād vo' nyatarasyām
/keśāt 5/1 *vaḥ* 1/1 *anyatarasyām* 7/1
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, . . . *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *tad asyāsty asmin iti* #94, *anyatarasyām* #96)
keśaśabdād vaḥ pratyayo bhavati matvarthe' nyatarasyām
The *taddhita* affix *va* occurs optionally to denote the sense of genitive, or of locative, after syntactically related nominal stem *keśa* 'hair' when the same ends in nominative, provided its denotatum is qualified with the denotatum of *asti*.

EXAMPLES:

praśastāḥ keśāḥ yasya = keśavaḥ 'he who has beautiful hair; Kṛṣṇa; hairy;'
keśī 'id.'
keśikaḥ 'id.'
keśavān 'id.'

1. The word *anyatarasyām* is already carried here from rule 5.2.96 *prāṇisthādāto laj anyatarasyām*. Why then restate *anyatarasyām*? There is a need to provide for two sets of options. The first *anyatarasyām* would allow an option between *va* and *matUP* (see my notes under 5.2.97 *sidhmādibhyaś ca* for additional details). The second *anyatarasyām* would allow an option between *va* and *inI* and *ṭhaN* (5.2.115 *ata iniṭhanau*). This last because *keśa* ends in *a*. Obviously, this rule offers four types of derivates.

2. The *Mahābhāṣya* finds *va* also after other bases (*vaprakaraṇe anyebhyo'pi dṛśyate*). Thus, *maṇivaḥ* 'snake', *hiraṇyavaḥ* 'treasure; elephant', etc.

5.2.110 गाण्डीवजगात्संज्ञायाम्

gāṇḍyajagāt saṃjñāyām
/gāṇḍyajagāt 5/1 = *gāṇḍī ca ajagaś ca = gāṇḍyajagam* (*sam. dv.*), *tasmāt*; *saṃjñāyām* 7/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, . . . *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *tad asyāsty asmin iti* #94, *vaḥ* #109)
The *taddhita* affix *va* occurs to denote the sense of *matUP* after syntactically related nominal stems *gāṇḍī* 'knot' and *ajaga* 'Viṣṇu' when ending in nominative, provided derivates denote a name (*saṃjñā*).

EXAMPLES:

gāṇḍīvam 'name of Arjuna's bow'
ajagavam 'name of Śiva's bow'

1. Note that *matUP* cannot be introduced here optionally to *va* because derivates denote a name. The first base *gāṇḍī* is also found as ending in short *i*.

5.2.111 काण्डाण्डादीरन्नीरचौ

kāṇḍāṇḍād īrannīracau
/kāṇḍāṇḍāt 5/1 = *kāṇḍaś ca aṇḍaś ca* (*sam. dv.*), *tasmāt*; *īran-īracau* 1/2 (*itar. dv.*)/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, . . . *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *tad asyāsty asmin iti* #94)
'kāṇḍa, aṇḍa' ity etābhyām yathāsaṃkhyam īran-īracau pratyayau bhavato matvarthe
The *taddhita* affixes *īraN* and *īraC* occur to denote the sense of *matUP* after syntactically related nominal stems *kāṇḍa* 'arrow' and *aṇḍa* 'eggs', respectively, when they end in nominative.

EXAMPLES:

kāṇḍīraḥ 'that which has arrows in it; quiver'
aṇḍīraḥ 'that which has eggs'

5.2.112 रजःकृष्यासुतिपरिषदो वलच्

rajaḥkṛṣyāsutipariṣado valac
/rajaḥkṛṣyāsutipariṣadaḥ 5/3 (*sam. dv.*); *valac* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, . . . *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *tad asyāsty asmin iti* #94)
rajaḥprabhṛtibhyaḥ prātipadikebhyo valac pratyayo bhavati matvarthe
The *taddhita* affix *valaC* occurs to denote the sense of *matUP* after syntactically related nominal stems *rajas* 'menstrual discharge; impurity', *kṛṣi* 'farming', *āsuti* 'pressing out; extraction' and *pariṣat* 'court, assembly', when they end in nominative.

EXAMPLES:

rajasvalā 'a woman in her period of menstruation'
kṛṣīvalaḥ 'a farmer; householder'
āsutīvalaḥ śauṇḍikaḥ 'a brewer; one who sells alcohol'
pariṣadvalo rājā 'he who has a court; king'

1. Note that *iti* of 5.2.94 *tad asyāsty asminn iti matup* will restrict the scope of derivates. Consequently, one cannot introduce *valaC* after *rajas* to denote *rajo'smin grāme vidyate* 'this village has a lot of dust'. Incidentally, *pariṣat* and *parṣat* are both correct. That is, *parṣadvalaḥ* is also accepted as a derivate. The long replacement for *i* of *kṛṣi* and *āsuti* are in accord with 6.3.118 *vale.*

2. Affix *valaC* is also seen after other stems (*anyebhyo'pi dṛśyate*). Thus consider: *bhrātṛvalaḥ* 'one who has a brother', *putravalaḥ* 'one who has a son' and *utsāhavalaḥ* 'one who has enthusiasm'.

5.2.113 दन्तशिखात्संज्ञायाम्

dantaśikhāt saṃjñāyām
/dantaśikhāt 5/1 (*sam. dv.*) *saṃjñāyām* 7/1
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, . . . *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *tad asyāsty asmin iti* #94, *valac* #112)
danta, śikhā-śabdābhyām valac pratyayo bhavati matvarthe saṃjñāyām
The *taddhita* affix *valaC* occurs to denote the sense of *matUP* after syntactically related nominal stems *danta* 'tooth' and *śikhā* 'lock of hair on the crown of head; peacock's tail' when they end in nominative, provided derivates signify a name (*saṃjñā*).

EXAMPLES:

dantāvalaḥ 'army; an elephant (with big tusks)'
śikhāvalaṃ nagaram 'a city named Śikhāvala'
śikhāvalā sthūṇā 'ritual post'

1. Why can we not derive *śikhāvala* with *valaC* of 4.2.92 *śikhāyā valac*? That affix does not denote the sense of *matUP*. This reintroduction (*punarvidhāna*) of *valaC* is intended for derivates which denote a place. That is why the example: *śikhāvalaṃ nagaram*. Incidentally, the denotatum of *saṃjñā* is responsible for lengthening of *a* of *danta* in *dantāvala* (6.3.116 *vale*).

5.2.114 ज्योत्स्नातमिस्राशृङ्गिणोर्जस्विन्नूर्जस्वलगोमिन्मलिनमलीमसाः

jyotsnātamisrāśṛṅgiṇorjasvinnūrjasvalagominmalinamalīmasāḥ
/jyotsnātamisrāśṛṅgiṇorjasvinnūrjasvalagominmalinamalīmasāḥ 1/3 (*itar. dv.*)/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, . . . *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *tad asyāsty asmin iti* #94, *valac* #112)
jyotsnādayaḥ śabdā nipātyante matvarthe saṃjñāyāṃ viṣaye
Forms such as *jyotsnā, tamisrā, śṛṅgiṇa, ūrjasvin, ūrjasvala, gomin, malina* and *malīmasa* are derived, via *nipātana*, to denote the sense of *matUP* as a name.

EXAMPLES:

jyotsnā 'moonlight'
tamisrā 'dark night'
śṛṅgiṇaḥ 'that which has horns'
ūrjasvī 'he who has strength'
ūrjasvalaḥ 'id.'
gomī 'one who owns cows'
malinaḥ 'dirty, soiled'
malīmasaḥ 'id.'

1. Affix *na* is introduced via *nipātana* after *jyotiṣ*, with an additional provision, again via *nipātana*, of deletion of *i* to derive *jyotsnā* ending in the feminine affix *ṬāP*. Similar provision of affix *ra* is made after *tamsas* with replacement of its penultimate *a* with *i*. The derivate *tamisrā* also ends in *ṬāP*. Note, however, that feminine is not treated as binding. One may also find examples such as *tamisraṃ nabhaḥ* 'dark sky', a neuter (*napuṃsaka*). Affix *inaC* is introduced after *śṛṅga* to derive *śṛṅgiṇa*. A feminine derivate will be *śṛṅgiṇī* 'cow'. Affixes *vinI* and *valaC* are introduced after *ūrjas* to derive *ūrjasvī* and *ūrjasvala*. *Kāśikā* states that *ūrjas* also receives augment *asUK* via *nipātana* (*ūrjo' sugāgamo nipātyate*). This does not make any sense since *ūrjas* already ends in *as*. Affix *minI* is introduced after *go*, via *nipātana*, to derive *gomin*. Affixes *inaC* and *īmanaC* are similarly introduced after *mala*.

5.2.115 अत इनिठनौ

ata iniṭhanau
/ataḥ 1/1 *iniṭhanau* 1/2 (*itar. dv.*)/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, ... *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *tad asyāsty asmin iti* #94, *anyatarasyām* #96)
akārāntāt prātipadikād ini-ṭhanau pratyayau bhavataḥ
The *taddhita* affixes *inI* and *ṭhaN* occur optionally, to denote the sense of genitive, or of locative, after a syntactically related nominal stem which has *a* as its final and ends in nominative, provided its denotatum is qualified with the denotatum of *asti*.

EXAMPLES:

daṇḍam asyāstīti = *daṇḍī* 'one who carries a shaft; a shaft carrying ascetic'
daṇḍikaḥ 'id.'
daṇḍavān 'id.'
chattrī 'one who carries an umbrella'
chattrikaḥ 'id.'
chatravān 'id.'

1. Note that *matUP* is also available on account of *anyatarasyām*. The condition of *aT* rules out this affixal provision after bases not ending in *a*. A derivate of *matUP*, namely *śraddhāvān*, is cited as a counter-example.

A *Ślokavārttika* also rules out affixes *inI* and *ṭhaN* after a nominal which either contains a single vowel (*ekāc*), or is a derivate of *kṛt*, or else, denotes *jāti* 'class'. These affixes are also not introduced when the denotatum is *saptamī* 'locative'. We find derivates of *matUP* alone in these instances. Thus, *svavān* 'rich', *kārakavān* 'full of doers', *vyāghravān* 'full of tigers'. A derivate such as *daṇḍavatī*, parallel to *daṇḍāḥ santi asyāṃ śālāyām* 'a house in which there are many shafts', must have *matUP* because of the sense of *saptamī*.

Note, however, that *iti* of 5.2.94 *asyāsty asminn iti matup* is used for restricting the scope of the derivate. Consequently, there are derivates which do not comply with the preceding restrictions. Thus, we also get *kāryī* (*kārya* + *inI*), *kāryikaḥ* (*kārya* + *ṭhaN*) and *taṇḍulī* (*taṇḍula* + *inI*), *taṇḍulikaḥ* (*taṇḍula* + *ṭhaN*), etc. These last two examples involve *jāti.*

5.2.116 व्रीह्यादिभ्यश्च

vrīhyādibhyaś ca
/vrīhyādibhyaḥ 5/3 *ca* ϕ/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, . . . *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *tad asyāsty asmin iti* #94, *anyatarasyām* #96, *iniṭhanau* #115)
vrīhyādibhyaḥ prātipadikebhya iniṭhanau pratyayau bhavataḥ matvarthe
The *taddhita* affixes *inI* and *ṭhaN* occur optionally, to denote the sense of genitive, or of locative, after syntactically related nominal stems listed in the group headed by *vrīhi* 'wild rice', when the stems end in nominative and their denotatum is qualified with the denotatum of *asti.*

EXAMPLES:

vrīhī 'one who has rice; that which contains rice'
vrīhikaḥ 'id.'
vrihimān 'id.'

1. There are two *vārttika* proposals which further restrict the introduction of *inI* and *ṭnaN* after stems of the *brīhyādi* group. Thus, *inI* alone is introduced after *śikhā, mālā* and *saṃjñā.* Affix *ikaN,* instead, is introduced after *yavakhada, kumārī* and *nau.* Incidentally, earlier grammarians used *ikaN* for Pāṇini's *ṭhaN.*

2. Note that *vrīhi* is also included in the *tundādi* group of the following rule. These affixes also become valid there at the strength of *ca* 'and'. Why should *vrīhi* be included in the *vrīhyādi* group when it can avail all affixal provisions at the strength of its inclusion in the *tundādi* group? The inclusion of *vrīhi* in *tundādi* group thus indicates that stems synonymous with *vrīhi* could also avail these affixal provisions. Consequently, we will also get: *śālilaḥ* (*ilaC*), *śālī* (*inI*), *śālikaḥ* (*ṭhaN*) and *śālimān* (*matUP*), parallel to *vrīhilaḥ, vrīhī, vrīhikaḥ* and *vrīhimān.*

5.2.117 तुन्दादिभ्य इलच्च

tundādibhya ilac ca
/tundādibhyaḥ 5/3 *ilac* 1/1 *ca* ϕ/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, . . . *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *tad asyāsty asmin iti* #94, *anyatarasyām* #96, *iniṭhanau* #115)
The *taddhita* affix *ilaC* occurs to denote the sense of genitive, or of

locative, after syntactically related nominal stems listed in the group headed by *tunda* 'navel, potbelly', when the stems end in nominative and their denotata are qualified with the denotatum of *asti.*

EXAMPLES:

tundilaḥ 'one who has a potbelly'
tundī 'id.'
tundikaḥ 'id.'
tundavān 'id.'
udarilaḥ/udarī/udarikaḥ/udaravān 'id.'

1. The word *ca* is used for bringing *inI* and *ṭhaN.* Affix *matUP* is brought via *anyatarasyām* of 5.2.96 *prāṇisathād āto. . . .*

5.2.118 एकगोपूर्वाट्ठञ् नित्यम्

ekagopūrvāṭ ṭhañ nityam
/ekagopūrvāt 5/1 = *ekaś ca gauś ca = ekagāvau; tau pūrvau yasya = ekagopūrvaḥ, tasmāt* (*bv.* with int. *dv.*); *ṭhaÑ* 1/1 *nityam* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, . . . *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *tad asyāsty asmin iti* #94)
ekapūrvād gopūrvāc ca prātipadikān nityaṃ ṭhañ pratyayo bhavati matvarthe
The *taddhita* affix *ṭhaÑ* occurs, obligatorily, to denote the sense of genitive, or of locative, after a syntactically related nominal stem which begins with *eka* 'one' and *go* 'cow', and ends in nominative, provided its denotatum is qualified with the denotatum of *asti.*

EXAMPLES:

aikaśatikaḥ 'one who has a hundred . . .'
aikasahasrikaḥ 'one who has a thousand . . .'
gauśatikaḥ 'one who owns a hundred cows'
gausahasrikaḥ 'one who owns a thousand cows'

1. The word *nitya* is used to block the introduction of *matUP. Kāśikā* states that *ilaC* should be introduced only after specified bases when they end in *a* (*ata ity eva*). This will rule out the introduction of *ilaC* after *ekaviṃśati,* etc. How would one derive *aikagavikaḥ* where the stem, namely *ekago,* does not end in *a.* One can still derive *aikagavikaḥ* with *ilaC* if it is introduced after *aikagava,* resulting from *ekago* after the addition of the *samāsānta* affix *ṬaC* (5.4.92 *gor ataddhitaluki*). Stems such as *gauśakaṭikaḥ* could also be derived provided *śakaṭa,* a synonym of *śakaṭī,* is used after *go.* This condition of *aT* 'ending in *a*' is also important for 5.2.128 *dvandvopatāpagarhyāt.*

5.2.119 शतसहस्रान्ताच्च निष्कात्

śatasahasrāntāc ca niṣkāt

/śatasahasrāntāt 5/1 = *śatañ ca sahasrañ ca* = *śatasahasre; te ante yasya* (*bv.* with int. *dv.*), *tasmāt; ca* ϕ *niṣkāt* 5/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, . . . *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *tad asyāsty asmin iti* #94, *ṭhañ* #118)
śatāntāt sahasrāntāc ca prātipadikāṭ ṭhañ pratyayo bhavati matvarthe, tau cec chatasahasraśabdau niṣkāt parau bhavataḥ
The *taddhita* affix *ṭhaÑ* occurs to denote the sense of genitive, or of locative, after syntactically related nominal stem *śata* 'hundred' and *sahasra* 'thousand' when they occur after *niṣka* 'a gold coin', and end in nominative, provided their denotatum is qualified with the denotatum of *asti.*

EXAMPLES:

niṣkaśatam asyāsti = *naiṣkaśatikaḥ* 'one who has a hundred Niṣka'
naiṣkasahasrikaḥ 'one who possesses a thousand Niṣka'

1. Affix *ṭhaÑ* cannot be introduced after *suvarṇaniṣkaśata* because of lack of usage (*anabhidhānāt*).

5.2.120 रूपादाहतप्रशंसयोर्यप्

rūpād āhataprāśaṃsayor yap
/rūpāt 5/1 *āhataprāśaṃsayoḥ* 7/2 *yap* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, . . . *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *tad asyāsty asmin iti* #94)
āhataprāśaṃsāviśiṣṭārthe vartamānād rūpaśabdād yap pratyayo bhavati matvarthe
The *taddhita* affix *yaP* occurs to denote the sense of genitive, or of locative, after syntactically related nominal stem *rūpa* 'shape, form' when its signification is qualified with *āhata* 'stamped, punched', or *praśaṃsā* 'praise', and it ends in nominative, provided its denotatum is qualified with the denotatum of *asti.*

EXAMPLES:

āhataṃ rūpam asya = *rūpyo dīnāraḥ* 'a stamped coin; Dīnāra'
praśastaṃ rūpam asyāsti = *rūpyaḥ puruṣaḥ* 'he who has beautiful features'

1. *Kāśikā* explains *āhata* as 'a form which appears on coins such as Dīnāra, etc., by stamping, etc., with Nighātikā, a steel tool' (*nighātikātāḍanādinā dīnārādiṣu rūpaṃ yad utpadyate tad āhatam ity ucyate*). The twin conditions of *āhataprāśaṃsayoḥ* is necessary for blocking *yaP* against *matUP* in examples such as *rūpavān* 'beautiful'. A *vārttika* attests that *yaP* is also found occurring after other stems (*anyebhyo'pi dṛśyate*). Consider *himyāḥ parvatāḥ* 'mountains with snow' and *guṇyāḥ brāhmaṇāḥ* 'brāhmaṇas with qualities'.

5.2.121 अस्मायामेधास्रजो विनिः

asmāyāmedhāsrajo viniḥ
/asmāyāmedhāsrajaḥ 5/1 = *as ca māyā ca medhā ca srak ca* (*sam. dv.*), *tasmāt*; *viniḥ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, . . . *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *tad asyāsty asmin iti* #94, *anyatarasyām* #96)
asantāt prātipadikāt 'māyā, medhā, sraj' ity etebhyaś ca viniḥ pratyayo bhavati matvarthe
The *taddhita* affix *vinI* occurs to denote the sense of *matUP* after a syntactically related nominal stem which either ends in *as*, or is constituted by *māyā* 'illusion', *medhā* 'intellect' and *sraj* 'garland'.

EXAMPLES:

yaśasvī 'one who has acquired fame; renowned'
tapasvī 'one who has earned merit through penance'
māyāvī 'one who creates illusion; sorcerer'
medhāvī 'one who has intelligence'
sragvī 'one who possesses garlands'

1. Note that *matUP* can also be introduced as an option to *vinI*. Bases which end in *as* are given as part of a general specification (*sāmānyanirdeśa*). Three particular bases, i.e., *māyā*, *medhā*, and *sraj*, are specified as particulars (*viśeṣa*).

5.2.122 बहुलं छन्दसि

bahulaṃ chandasi
/bahulam 1/1 *chandasi* 7/1
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, . . . *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *tad asyāsty asmin* #94)
chandasi viṣaye bahulaṃ viniḥ pratyayo bhavati matvarthe
The *taddhita* affix *vinI* occurs, variously (*bahulam*), to denote the sense of *matUP* after a syntactically related nominal stem which ends in nominative.

EXAMPLES:

agne tejasvin 'O Agni!, you who possess brilliance'

1. Note that *bahulam* 'variously' also indicates non-application (*apravṛtti*). Consequently, we do not find *vinI* in *sūryo varcasvān* 'sun with brilliance'.

A series of *vārttika* proposals have been made in the *Mahābhāṣya* to account for numerous derivates, again at the strength of *bahulam*. For example, *vinI* occurs also after *aṣṭrā* 'goad', *mekhalā* 'girdle', *dvaya* 'twofold', *ubhaya* 'both', *rujā* 'affliction' and *hṛdaya* 'heart' to derive *aṣṭrāvī*, *mekhalāvī*, *dvayāvī*,

ubhayāvī, rujāvī and *hṛdayāvī*. A derivate such as *marmāvī* is derived with *vinI* introduced after *marman* with lengthening of its second *a*. Derivates such as *āmayāvī* are approved for both Vedic and Classical languages (*sarvatra*).

Affix *ārakaN* is proposed for deriving *śṛṅgāraka* 'beautifier' and *vṛnḍāraka* 'excellent' from *śṛṅgāra* 'beautification' and *vṛnda* 'multitude', respectively. Affix *inaC* is similarly proposed to derive *phalina* 'fruit-free' and *barhiṇa* 'peacock' from *phala* 'fruit' and *barha* 'feathered tail'. An optional proposal for *āluC* is made to derive *hṛdayālu* 'generous' from *hṛdaya* 'heart', where, because of *anyatarasyām, inI, ṭhaN* and *matUP* could also be introduced. Thus we also get: *hṛdayī, hṛdayika* and *hṛdayavān*. Affix *āluC* also occurs after *śīta* 'cold', *uṣṇa* 'heat, hot' and *tṛpra* 'grief' to derive *śītālu, uṣṇālu* and *tṛprālu* to denote the sense of *na sahate* 'cannot endure'. The same meaning is denoted by *himelu* where affix *elu* is proposed after *hima* 'snow, frost'. But also consider *balūla* 'one who cannot endure power' where affix *ūlaC*, instead, is introduced after *bala* 'strength'. This same affix is also recommended after *vāta* 'wind' to derive *vātūla* with dual denotation of *na sahate* and *samūha* 'group'. The words *parvata* and *maruta* are stated as derived with affix *taN* introduced after *parva* and *maru*. Affix *inI* derives *arthī* 'needy' only when lack of money (*arthābhāva*) is denoted. Elsewhere, *matUP* will be introduced to derive *arthavān* 'rich', instead.

These diverse applications are all made possible at the strength of *bahulam*.

5.2.123 ऊर्णाया युस्

ūrṇāyā yus
/ūrṇāyaḥ 5/1 *yus* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, . . . *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *tad asyāsty asmin* #94)
ūrṇāśabdād yus pratyayo bhavati matvarthe
The *taddhita* affix *yuS* occurs to denote the sense of *matUP* after syntactically related nominal stem *ūrṇā* 'wool'.

EXAMPLES:

ūrṇā' sya vidyate = *ūrṇāyuḥ* 'that which possesses wool; wooly'

1. The *S* of *yuS* is intended for facilitating the assignment of the term *pada* (1.4.16 *siti ca*). Some also include here the *anuvṛtti* of *chandasi*. That is, they consider the scope of this rule as also including Vedic.

5.2.124 वाचो ग्मिनिः

vāco gminiḥ/
/vācaḥ 5/1 *gminiḥ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, . . . *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *tad asyāsty asmin* #94)

vācśabdāt gminiḥ pratyayo bhavati matvarthe
The *taddhita* affix *gminI* occurs to denote the sense of *matUP* after syntactically related nominal stem *vāc* 'speech', when the same ends in nominative.

EXAMPLES:

vāggmī 'eloquent speaker'
vāggminau 'nom. dual of *vāggmin*'
vāggminaḥ 'nom. plural of *vāggmin*'

5.2.125 आलजाटचौ बहुभाषिणि

ālajāṭacau bahubhāṣiṇi
/ālaj-āṭacau 1/2 *bahubhāṣiṇi* 7/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, ... *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *tad asyāsty asmin* #94, *vācaḥ* #124)
vācśabdāt prathamāsamarthād 'ālac, āṭac' ity etau pratyayau bhavato matvarthe bahubhāṣiṇy abhidheye
The *taddhita* affixes *ālaC* and *āṭaC* occur to denote the sense of *matUP* after syntactically related nominal stem *vāc* when it ends in nominative, provided the derivate signifies *bahubhāṣin* 'one who talks too much'.

EXAMPLES:

vācālaḥ 'one who talks too much'
vācāṭaḥ 'id.'

1. The *Mahābhāṣya* restricts these derivates in the sense of *kutsā* 'censure'. Elsewhere, derivates of the preceding rule will be used.

5.2.126 स्वामिन्नैश्वर्ये

svāminn aiśvarye
/svāmin 1/1 *aiśvarye* 7/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, ... *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *tad asyāsty asmin* #94)
svaśabdād aiśvarye gamyamāne matvarthe āmin pratyayo nipātyate
The *taddhita* affix *āmin* occurs, via *nipātana*, to denote the sense of *matUP* after syntactically related nominal stem *sva* 'one's own', provided the derivate signifies *aiśvarya* 'grandeur, affluence'.

EXAMPLES:

svam asyāstīti = *svāmī* 'one who is affluent'
svāminau 'nominative dual of *svāmin*'
svāminaḥ 'nominative plural of *svāmin*'

1. The condition of *aiśvarya* blocks the introduction of *āmin* after *sva* when its derivate denotes something else. Thus, *matUP* alone derives: *svavān* 'one who has relatives'.

5.2.127 अर्शआदिभ्योऽच्

arśaādibhyo' c
/arśaādibhyaḥ 5/3 = *arśas ādi yeṣām* (*bv.*), *tebhyaḥ*; *ca* ϕ/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, . . . *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *tad asyāsty asmin* #94)
arśas ity evamādibhyaḥ prātipadikebhyo' c pratyayo bhavati matvarthe
The *taddhita* affix *aC* occurs to denote the sense of *matUP* after a syntactically related nominal stem listed in the group headed by *arśas* 'hemorrhoids' when the same ends in nominative.

EXAMPLES:

arśāṃsi asya vidyante = *arśasaḥ* 'one who suffers from hermorrhoids'
urasaḥ 'one who has a broad chest'

1. The *arśa-ādi* is considered as an open-ended group (*ākṛtigaṇa*). Consequently, other stems could also receive affix *aC*, provided derivates denote the sense of *asyāsti* 'one whose it is'. The 'it' of 'whose it is', of course, refers to the denotatum of the stem (*Kāś.*: *yatrābhinnarūpeṇa śabdena tadvato'-bhidhānaṃ tat sarvam iha draṣṭavyam*). A couple of *gaṇasūtras* recommend *aC* after stems denoting *svāṅga* 'one's limb' and *varṇa* 'color'. Derivates of *svāṅga* will denote *hīna* 'lacking'. Thus, *khañjaḥ* 'one whose leg is amputated'. Words such as *śuklaḥ* 'that which is white' and *kṛṣṇaḥ* 'that which is black' are examples of stems with the signification of *varṇa*.

5.2.128 द्वन्द्वोपतापगर्ह्यात्प्राणिस्थादिनिः

dvandvopatāpagarhyāt prāṇisthād iniḥ
/dvandvopatāpagarhyāt 5/1 (*sam. dv.*); *prāṇisthāt* 5/1 *iniḥ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, . . . *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *tad asyāsty asmin* #94)
dvandvaḥ = *samāsaḥ, upatāpaḥ* = *rogaḥ, garhyam* = *nindyam, tadviṣayebhyaḥ śabdebhyaḥ prāṇisthārthavācibhyaḥ iniḥ pratyayo bhavati matvarthe*
The *taddhita* affix *inI* occurs to denote the sense of *matUP* after a syntactically related nominal stem which is either a compound termed *dvandva*, or is a stem with the signification of *upatāpa* 'disease', or *garhya* 'deserving of censor', when the stems end in nominative and their denotata has *prāṇin* 'sentient being' as locus.

EXAMPLES:

kaṭakavalayinī 'she who wears gold bracelets and armlets'

śaṅkhanūpuriṇī 'she who wears conch-shells and anklets'
kuṣṭhī 'one who is leprous'
kilāsī 'id.'
kakudāvartin 'a bull with affiicted hump'
kākatālukī 'one who has a crow's palate; a person with enlarged neck glands (contemptible)'

1. Note that *prāṇiṣṭhāt* means '. . . located in a sentient being'. The affix, however, is not desired (*neṣyate*) after stems denoting a limb (*prāṇyaṅga*). Thus, *hastapādavatī* 'a woman with hands and feet' is derived with *matUP*. Affix *matUP* is also introduced after stems such as *puṣpaphalavān vṛkṣaḥ* 'tree with flowers and fruits' where *vṛkṣa* is not considered as *prāṇin* 'sentient'.

2. *Kāśikā* states that *ata* of 5.2.115 *ata iniṭhanau* should be carried here so that *inI* could not be introduced after *citralalāṭikā*, a *dvandva* compound ending in *ā*.

5.2.129 वातातिसाराभ्यां कुक्च

vātātisārābhyām kuk ca
/vātātisārābhyām 5/2 *kuk* 1/1 *ca* ϕ/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, . . . *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *tad asyāsty asmin* #94, *iniḥ* #128)
vātātisāraśabdābhyām iniḥ pratyayo bhavati tatsanniyogena ca tayoḥ kug āgamo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *inI* occurs to denote the sense of *matUP* after syntactically related nominal stems *vāta* 'rheumatism; inflammation of the joints' and *atisāra* 'diarrhea', with the additional provision of augment *kUK*, when these stems end in nominative.

EXAMPLES:

vātakī 'one who is afflicted with rheumatism'
atisārakī 'one who is afflicated with diarrhea'

1. These derivates could be accounted for by the preceding rule since *vāta* and *atisāra* denote afflictions (*upatāpa*). A separate formulation is needed so that augment *kUK* could be introduced in conjunction with *inI*. The *Mahābhāṣya* also approves *inI* after *piśāca* 'goblin, fiend' for deriving *piśācakin* 'Kubera, the lord of goblins or fiends' (*piśācāc ceti ca vaktavyam*). Note, however, that derivates of this rule generally denote someone with affliction (*roge cāyam iṣyate*). That is why *vātavatī* 'windy' is derived with *matUP*.

5.2.130 वयसि पूरणात्

vayasi pūraṇāt
/vayasi 7/1 *pūraṇāt* 5/1

(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, . . . *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *tad asyāsty asmin* #94, *iniḥ* #128)
pūraṇapratyayāntāt prātipadikād iniḥ pratyayo bhavati matvarthe vayasi dyotye
The *taddhita* affix *inI* occurs to denote the sense of *matUP* after a syntactically related nominal stem which terminates in a *pūraṇa* suffix and is used with nominative, provided derivates denote *vayas* 'age'.

EXAMPLES:

pañcamo māso'syāsti saṃvatsaro vā = pañcamī uṣṭraḥ 'a camel whose five months, or years, have elapsed; five months old or five years old'
navamī 'nine months, or nine years, old camel'

1. Note that stems ending in a *pūraṇa* affix necessarily in *a*. Consequently, affix *inI* is already available to them from 5.2.115 *ata iniṭhanau*. Why restate it? This restatement (*punarvidhāna*) is made so that *ṭhaN* is blocked and *inI* alone is introduced (*Kāś.*: *siddhe sati niyamārthaṃ vacanam. inir eva bhavati, ṭhan na bhavati*). The condition of *vayas* is required so that, elsewhere, *matUP* alone could be used. Thus, we get *matUP* in *pañcamavān* of *pañcamavān grāmarāgaḥ* 'a village with excessive noise'.

5.2.131 सुखादिभ्यश्च

sukhādibhyaś ca
/*sukhādibhyaḥ* 5/3 = *sukham ādi yeṣām* (*bv.*), *tebhyaḥ*; *ca* ϕ/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, . . . *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *tad asyāsty asmin* #94, *iniḥ* #128)
'*sukha*' *ity evamādibhyaḥ prātipadikebhyaḥ iniḥ pratyayo niyamyate matvarthe*
The *taddhita* affix *inI* occurs to denote the sense of *matUP* after a syntactically related nominal stem listed in the group headed by *sukha* 'comfort, happiness', when the stem ends in nominative.

EXAMPLES:

sukhī 'one who is happy'
duḥkhī 'one who is sad'

1. The word *mālā* is also read in the *sukhādi* group. Recall that the *vrīhyādi* group (5.2.116 *vrīhyādibhyaś ca*) also includes *mālā*. Inclusion of *mālā* is made here so that *inI* alone could be used when the derivate denotes *kṣepa* 'censure, contempt'. Affix *inI* thus blocks *matUP*. Why is *inI* not intended here for blocking *ṭhaN*? A *vārttika* under 5.2.116 *vrīhyādibhyaś ca* has already proposed this blocking.

5.2.132 धर्मशीलवर्णान्ताच्च

dharmaśīlavarṇāntāc ca

/dharmaśīlavarṇāntāt 5/1 = *dharmaś ca śīlañ ca varṇaś ca* = *dharmaśīlavarṇāḥ*; *te ante yasya* (*bv.* with int. *dv.*), *tebhyaḥ*; *ca* ϕ/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, . . . *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *tad asyāsty asmin* #94, *iniḥ* #128)
dharmādyantāt prātipadikād iniḥ pratyayo niyamyate
The *taddhita* affix *inI* occurs to denote the sense of *matUP* after a syntactically related nominal stem used in construction with *dharma* 'duty, law', *śīla* 'characteristic habit' and *varṇa* 'caste' as its final constituent, when the stem ends in nominative.

EXAMPLES:

brāhmaṇānāṃ dharmo brāhmaṇadharmaḥ; *so' syāstīti* = *brāhmaṇadharmī* 'he who follows the duties required of a brāhmaṇa'
brāhmaṇaśīlī 'one whose characteristic habits are same as that of a brāhmaṇa'
brāhmaṇavarṇī 'one who is a brāhmaṇa by caste'

1. Note that *inI* is here offered to block affixes *inI* and *ṭhaN* which both become available from 5.2.115 *ata iniṭhanau*. That is, this rule is restrictive (*niyama*) in nature. Consequently, *inI* alone is to be used after specified stems.

5.2.133 हस्ताज्जातौ

hastāj jātau
/hastāt 5/1 *jātau* 7/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, . . . *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *tad asyāsty asmin* #94, *iniḥ* #128)
hastaśabdāt iniḥ pratyayo niyamyate matvarthe samudāyena cej jātir abhidhīyate
The *taddhita* affix *inI* occurs to denote the sense of *matUP* after syntactically related nominal stem *hasta* 'hand' when the same ends in nominative, provided the derivate signifies *jāti* 'class, species'.

EXAMPLES:

hasto' syāstīti = *hastī* 'one which has a hand (trunk); elephant'
hastinau 'nominative dual of *hastin*'
hastinaḥ 'nominative plural of *hastin*'

1. Note that the derivate must denote *jāti* by itself. Commentators offer a counter-example in *hastavān*, a derivate of *matUP*, as in *hastavān puruṣaḥ* 'a man with hands', where *hastavān* denotes *jāti* only due to its association with *puruṣaḥ* 'man'.

5.2.134 वर्णाद् ब्रह्मचारिणि

varṇād brahmacāriṇi

/varṇāt 5/1 *brahmacāriṇi* 7/1
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, . . . *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *tad asyāsty asmin* #94, *iniḥ* #128)
varṇaśabdād iniḥ pratyayo bhavati matvarthe samudāyena ced brahmacārī bhaṇyate
The *taddhita* affix *inI* occurs to denote the sense of *matUP* after syntactically related nominal stem *varṇa* when ending in nominative, provided the derivate signifies a *brahmacārin* 'an initiate in pursuit of knowledge'.

EXAMPLES:

varṇī 'one who has been initiated to study'
varṇinau 'nominative dual of *varṇin*'
varṇinaḥ 'nominative plural of *varṇin*'

1. The word *brahmacārin* is explained as 'an initiate who practices a certain code of conduct while studying' (*Kāś.*: . . . *vidyāgrahaṇārtham upanīto brahma carati*). A *brahmacārin* could thus be a brāhmaṇa, kṣatriya or vaiśya. We will get *varṇavān*, a derivate of *matUP*, outside this meaning of *brahmacārin*.

5.2.135 पुष्करादिभ्यो देशे

puṣkarādibhyo deśe
/puṣkarādibhyaḥ 5/3 = *puṣkaram ādi yeṣām* (*bv.*), *tebhyaḥ*; *deśe* 7/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, . . . *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *tad asyāsty asmin* #94, *iniḥ* #128)
'puṣkara' ity evamādibhyaḥ prātipadikebhya iniḥ pratyayo bhavati samudāyena ced deśo' bhidhīyate
The *taddhita* affix *inI* occurs to denote the sense of *matUP* after a syntactically related nominal stem listed in the group headed by *puṣkara* 'lotus' when the stem ends in nominative, provided the derivate denotes *deśa* 'place'.

EXAMPLES:

puṣkaraṃ padmaṃ vā asya asti = *puṣkariṇī* 'a small pond with lotuses'
padminī 'id.'

1. The condition of *deśe* is used for restricting the meaning of derivates. That is, *matUP* is to be used outside the denotatum of *deśa*. Thus, we get: *puṣkaravān hastī* 'elephant', where *puṣkara* means *karihastāgra* 'front end of elephant's trunk'.

2. Several *vārttika* proposals are made to account for diverse derivates. Thus, *inI* is approved after *bala* 'strength', used in construction after *bāhu* 'arm' and *uru* 'chest'. This will give *bāhubalī* 'brave; one who has strong arms' and *urubalī* 'brave; one who has strong chest'. Stems beginning with *sarva*

are also allowed to have derivates with *inI*. Consider: *sarvadhanī* 'rich in every respect', etc. Affix *inI* is also introduced after *artha* when not used in the sense of *sannihita* 'poximate, within easy reach'. Thus we get *arthī* 'desirous of obtaining; needy' as opposed to *arthavān* 'wealthy', a derivate of *matUP*. Affix *inI* is also introduced after a compound stem which contains *artha* as its final constituent (*tadantāc ceti*). This gives us: *dhānyārthī* 'one who needs grains', *hiraṇyārthī* 'one who desires for gold', etc.

5.2.136 बलादिभ्यो मतुबन्यतरस्याम्

balādibhyo matub anyatarasyām
/balādibhyaḥ 5/3 (*bv.*), *tebhyaḥ*; *matup* 1/1 *anyatarasyām* 7/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, ... *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *tad asyāsty asmin* #94, *iniḥ* #128)
balādibhyaḥ prātipadikebhyo matup pratyayo bhavati anyatarasyām
The *taddhita* affix *matUP* occurs optionally to denote the sense of *matUP* after a syntactically related nominal stem listed in the group headed by *bala* 'strength' when the same ends in nominative.

EXAMPLES:

balavān 'one who has strength; powerful'
balī 'id.'
utsāhī 'one who has enthusiasm, or drive'

1. This optional provision of *matUP* is made here optionally to *inI*. Recall that affixes *inI* and *ṭhaN* are already available to *balādi* group of nominals from 5.2.115 *ata iniṭhanau*. The *anyatarasyām* of 5.2.96 *prāṇisthād āto*... would have easily provided for *matUP* in addition. Why then use *anyatarasyām* here? This rule uses *anyatarasyām* to cancel *ṭhaN*, and provide for *matUP*, optionally with *inI*.

5.2.137 संज्ञायां मन्माभ्याम्

saṃjñāyāṃ manmābhyām
/saṃjñāyāṃ 7/1 *manmābhyām* 5/2 = *man ca maś ca* = *manmau, tābhyām/*
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, ... *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *tad asyāsty asmin* #94, *iniḥ* #128)
mannantāt prātipadikān maśabdāntāc ca iniḥ pratyayo bhavati matvarthe samudāyena cet saṃjñā gamyate
The *taddhita* affix *inI* occurs to denote the sense of *matUP* after a syntactically related nominal stem which contains *man*, or *ma*, as its final and ends in nominative, provided derivates signify a *saṃjñā* 'name'.

EXAMPLES:

prathiminī 'that which possesses an expanse; the earth'

dāminī 'that which has a streak; lightning'
hominī 'a female sacrificer'
sominī 'a female who performs the Soma sacrifice'

1. Affix *matUP* will be introduced where derivates do not denote a name. Thus, *homavān* 'one who has ritual oblations' and *somavān* 'one who has Soma'.

5.2.138 कंशंभ्यां बभयुस्तितुतयसः

kaṃśaṃbhyām babhayustitutayasaḥ
/kaṃśaṃbhyām 5/2 = *kaṃ ca śaṃ ca* (*itar. dv.*), *tābhyām*; *ba-bha-yus-ti-tuta-yas-aḥ* 1/3 (*itar. dv.*)/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, . . . *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *tad asyāsty asmin* #94)
'*kam-śam*' *iti makārāntāv udakasukhayor vācakau*; *tābhyām* '*ba, bha, yus, ti, tu, ta, yas*' *ity ete sapta pratyayā bhavanti matvarthe*
The *taddhita* affixes *ba, bha, yus, ti, tu, ta* and *yas* occur to denote the sense of *matUP* after syntactically related nominal stems *kam* 'water' and *śam* 'happiness', when they end in nominative.

EXAMPLES:

kambaḥ 'one who has water'
kambhaḥ 'id.'
kaṃyuḥ 'id.'
kantiḥ 'id.'
kantuḥ 'id.'
kantaḥ 'id.'
kaṃyaḥ 'id.'
śambaḥ 'one who has happiness'
śambhaḥ 'id.'
śaṃyuḥ 'id.'
śantiḥ 'id.'
śantuḥ 'id.'
śantaḥ 'id.'
śaṃyaḥ 'id.'

1. The *S* in *yuS* and *yaS* intended for assignment of the term *pada* (1.4.16 *siti ca*). Consequently, *anusvāra* and *parasavarṇa* 'replacement homogeneous with what follows' of rules 8.3.83 *mo' nusvāraḥ* and 8.4.59 *vā padāntasya* is accomplished. Other derivates do not pose any problems relative to these applications.

5.2.139 तुन्दिबलिवटेर्भः

tundibalivaṭer bhaḥ

/tunda-bali-vaṭeḥ 5/1 (*sam. dv.*) *bhaḥ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, . . . *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *tad asyāsty asmin* #94)
'*tundi, bali, vaṭi*' *ity etebhyo bhaḥ pratyayo bhavati matvarthe*
The *taddhita* affix *bha* occurs to denote the sense of *matUP* after syntactically related nominal stems *tundi* 'pot-belly, enlarged navel', *bali* 'wrinkles' and *vaṭi* 'sweet-balls', when these end in nominative.

EXAMPLES:

tundibhaḥ 'one who has a pot-belly'
balibhaḥ 'one who has wrinkles'
vaṭibhaḥ 'one who has sweet-balls'

1. Note that *bali* is also included in the *pāmādi* group of nominals. Consequently, *balinaḥ*, a derivate of *na*, is additional (5.2.100 *lomādipāmādi* . . .).

5.2.140 अहंशुभमोर्युस्

ahaṃśubhamor yus
/ahaṃ-śubhamoḥ 5/2 (*itar. dv.*) *yus* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, . . . *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *tad asyāsty asmin* #94)
'*aham*' *ity śabdāntaram ahaṅkāre vartate,* '*śubham*' *ity avyayaṃ śubhaparyāyaḥ, tābhyām yus pratyayo bhavati matvarthe*
The *taddhita* affix *yuS* occurs to denote the sense of *matUP* after syntactically related nominal stems *aham* 'ego' and *śubham* 'auspicious' when they end in nominative.

EXAMPLES:

ahaṃyuḥ 'egotist'
śubhaṃyuḥ 'auspicious'

1. Affix *yuS*, at the strength of *S* as an *it*, facilitates the assignment of the term *pada*. Consequently, operations relative to *anusvāra* and *parasavarṇa* become possible.

Haradatta (*PM* ad *Kāś.*) informs that those who do not read *chandasi*, via *anuvṛtti*, in rule 5.2.123 *ūrṇāyā us*, should also read *ūrṇā* here (*PM*: '*ūrṇāyā yus*' *ity atra ye* '*chandasi*' *iti nānuvartayanti teṣām atraivorṇāgrahaṇaṃ karttavayam*).

PĀDA THREE

5.3.1 प्राग्दिशो विभक्तिः

prāg diśo vibhaktiḥ
/prāk ϕ diśaḥ 5/1 *vibhaktiḥ* 1/1/

(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, . . . *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *vā* #4.1.82)
diksaṃśabdanāt prāg yān ita ūrdhvam abukramiṣyāmo vibhaktisaṃjñās te veditavyāḥ
The *taddhita* affixes which, from here on prior to *diśabdebhyaḥ saptamīpañcamīprathamā*. . . (5.3.27), occur optionally after a nominal stem, are termed *vibhakti.*

EXAMPLES:

See under subsequent rules.

1. Note that the *anuvṛtti* of *samarthānām* and *prathamāt* from 4.1.82 *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* is no longer valid. For, semantico-syntactic conditions which enable a base to become *samartha* no longer obtain. The question of carrying *prathamāt* 'after the first' does not arise since what are specified hereafter are single bases. The *vā* 'optionally', of course, is to be carried since derivates of affixes *tasIL*, etc., are used optionally. Thus, *kutaḥ* 'from where', *kutra* 'where', both derivates of *tasIL*, are used optionally with *kasmāt* and *kasmin.* A question is raised against dropping the *anuvṛtti* of *samarthānām* and *prathamāt* but, at the same time, carrying the *anuvṛtti* of *vā.* For, specifications made jointly in a rule cannot be carried, or be dropped, in part. They have to be either carried, or be dropped, only jointly (*Paribhāṣā* (18): *ekayoganirdiṣṭānāṃ saha vā pravṛttiḥ saha vā nivṛttiḥ*). Commentators explain that, in certain cases, even a partial *anuvṛtti* could be allowed (*Paribhāṣā* (19): *ekayoganirdiṣṭānāṃ kvacid ekadeśo'py anuvarttate*). In such cases, the form which is to be carried is marked with *svarita.* This clears the way for *vā* alone to be carried.

2. This rule also assigns the term *vibhakti* to affixes introduced hereafter. We know that affixes denoted by the abbreviatory terms *sUP* and *tiṄ* are termed *vibhakti* (1.4.104 *vibhaktiś ca*). The express purpose of assigning this term also to affixes introduced in this domain is to facilitate some operational provisions. Consider rule 7.2.102 *tyadādīnām aḥ* whereby *a* replaces the final sound-segment of *tyad* 'that', etc., provided an affix termed *vibhakti* followed. This is what commentators call an instance of *tyadādividhi* 'operations relative to *tyad*, etc.' Derivates such as *tataḥ* and *yataḥ*, derived from *ta*(*d*→*a*) + *tasIL* and *ya*(*d*→*a*) + *tasIL* also illustrate this. The term *vibhakti*, in addition to facilitating *tyadādividhi*, is also instrumental in saving the final *s* and *m* of affixes from being termed *it* (1.3.4 *na vibhaktau tusmāḥ*). Thus, the final *m* of *dānīm* (5.3.18 *dānīṃ ca*) is saved from *it*-deletion.

The term *vibhakti* is also instrumental in determining accent. Consider the derivation of *itaḥ* 'hereafter', from *idam* + *tasIL* = (*idam*→*i*(*Ś*→ϕ) + *tas* (*IL*→ϕ) = *i* + *tas*→*itas*), where *idam* is replaced with *iŚ* of 5.3.3 *idamo iś.* Given *i* + *tas*, where *tasIL* is marked with *L* as an *it*, rule 6.1.93 *liti* will apply to mark

i as *udātta*. But because affix *tasIL* is termed *vibhakti*, rule 6.1.171 *ūḍidam-padād . . .* assigns *udātta* accent for *tas*.

5.3.2 किंसर्वनामबहुभ्योऽद्व्यादिभ्यः

kiṃsarvanāmabahubhyo'dvyādibhyaḥ
/kiṃsarvanāmabahubhyaḥ 5/2 (*itar. dv.*); *advyādibhyaḥ* 5/3 = *dviḥ ādir yeṣām = dvyādiḥ*; *na dvyādiḥ* (*nañ. tat.* with int. *bv.*), *tebhyaḥ/*
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, . . . *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *prāg diśo vibhaktiḥ* #1)
kimaḥ sarvanāmno bahuśabdāc ca prāg diśaḥ pratyayā veditavyāḥ
The *taddhita* affixes, introduced hereafter prior to *vibhakti*, also occur optionally after a nominal stem which, either consists of *kim* 'who, what, which', or of items termed *sarvanāman* 'pronoun' with the exclusion of its subgroup headed by *dvi* 'two', etc., or else, consists of *bahu* 'many'.

EXAMPLES:

See under subsequent rules.

1. Note that *kim* is also included within items termed *sarvanāman*. But since it is enumerated after *dvi*, and hence, is covered by the negation of *advyādibhyaḥ*, its separate mention becomes necessary. Incidentally, because of its association with stems termed *sarvanāman*, *bahu* is also interpreted here as a *saṃkhyā*. That is, *bahu* refers to the *bahu* of 1.1.23 *bahugaṇavatuḍati saṃkhyā* (cf. *Mahābhāṣya* (*vt*): *bahugrahaṇe saṃkhyāgrahaṇam*). Consequently, affixes *tasIL* (5.3.7 *pañcamyās tasil*) and *traL* (5.3.10 *saptamyās tral*) cannot be introduced after *bahu*, parallel to *bahoḥ sūpāt* '. . . from too much soup' and *bahau sūpe* '. . . in too much soup' where *bahu* is not a *saṃkhyā*. It denotes abundance instead (*vaipulya*). The condition of *advyādibhyaḥ* blocks introduction of affixes *tasIL* and *traL* after ablative and locative forms of *dvi*, i.e., *dvābhyām* and *dvayoḥ*, respectively.

5.3.3 इदम इश्

idama iś
/idamaḥ 6/1 *iś* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, . . . *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *prāg diśo vibhaktiḥ* #1)
idama 'iś' ity ayam ādeśo bhavati prāgdiśīyeṣu pratyayeṣu parataḥ
The form *iŚ* comes in place of nominal stem *idam* 'this' when a *taddhita* affix termed *vibhakti* follows.

EXAMPLES:

iha 'here'

1. Note that *Ś* as an *it* (in *iŚ*) is intended for facilitating total replacement (*sarvādeśa*, 1.1.55 *anekālśit sarvasya*). Thus, (*idam→i*(*S→ϕ*)) + *ha* = *iha*, where affix *ha* is introduced after *idam* by 5.3.11 *idamo haḥ*.

5.3.4 एतेतौ रथोः

etetau rathoḥ
/*etetau* 1/2 (*itar. dv.*); *rathoḥ* 7/2 (*itar. dv.*)/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, . . . *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *prāg diśo vibhaktiḥ* #1)
rephathakārādau prāgdiśīye pratyaye parata idama etetāv ādeśau bhavataḥ
The word forms *eta* and *it* occur, in place of *idam*, when a *taddhita* affix termed *vibhakti* which begins with *rA* and *th* follows.

EXAMPLES:

etarhi 'now, at this time'
ittham 'in this manner, this way'

1. Note that *eta* and *it* constitute exceptions to replacement in *iŚ*. The *a* in *rA* is for ease of articulation (*Kāś.*: *repho'kāra uccāraṇārthaḥ*). Thus we get: (*idam→eta*) + *rhiL*)) = *etarhi*, and (*idam→it*) + *tham*(*U→ϕ*) = *ittham*, where affixes *rhiL* and *thamU* have been introduced by 5.3.16 *idamo rhil* and 5.3.24 *idamas thamuḥ*, respectively.

5.3.5 एतदोऽन्

etado'n
/*etadaḥ* 6/1 *an* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, . . . *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *prāg diśo vibhaktiḥ* #1)
etadaḥ prāgdiśīye parato'ś ity ayam ādeśo bhavati
The word form *an* comes in place of *etad* 'this' when a *taddhita* affix termed *vibhakti* follows.

EXAMPLES:

ataḥ 'therefore'
atra 'here'
etarhi 'at this time'
ittham 'thus'

1. *Kāśikā* reads *aŚ*, and not *an*, as a replacement. I have accepted *an* in consonance with the *Mahābhāṣya*. A split-interpretation of this rule read with the preceding is proposed, again by the *Mahābhāṣya*. This will yield two interpretations:

(*i*) *etado etetau rathoḥ* '*eta* and *it* come in place of *etad* when an affix

termed *vibhakti* which begins with *rA* and *th* follows'; and

(*ii*) *etado' n* '*an* comes in place of *etad* when a *taddhita* affix termed *vibhakti* follows.'

That is, *an* will replace *etad* when an affix other than one which begins with *rA* and *th* follows.

2. Note that two readings of *aŚ* and *aṇ* do not create any problem. The first, at the strength of its *Ś* as an *it*, replaces *etad* in toto. The second loses its *n* subsequently through the application of 8.2.7 *nalopaḥ prātipadikāntasya.*

5.3.6 सर्वस्य सोऽन्यतरस्यां दि

sarvasya so' nyatarasyāṃ di
/sarvasya 6/1 *saḥ* 1/1 *anyatarasyām* 7/1 *di* 7/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, . . . *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *prāg diśo vibhaktiḥ* #1)
sarvasya sa ity ayam ādeśo bhavati prāgdiśīye dakārādau pratyaye parato' nyatarasyām
The word form *sa* comes in place of *sarva*, optionally, when a *taddhita* affix termed *vibhakti* which begins with *d* follows.

EXAMPLES:

sarvadā 'always'
sadā 'id.'

1. This replacement in *sa* is restricted to the context of affixes of this domain. Elsewhere, for example in *sarvadā brāhmaṇī*.'a brāhmaṇa woman who gives away everything', *sarva* cannot be replaced with *sa*. This *sarvadā* is a derivate of *Ka* (3.2.3 *āto' nupasarge kaḥ*), used in feminine, with *ṬāP* (4.1.4 *ajādyataṣ ṭaP*).

2. Note that *di* is a form of *d* used in *saptamī* 'locative'. Consequently, in view of *paribhāṣā* (34): *yasmin vidhis tadādāv algrahaṇe* 'a specification made with a single sound-segment used as a qualifier in locative, refers to that which begins with it', we get the interpretation: 'when an affix termed *vibhakti* which begins with *d* follows'.

5.3.7 पञ्चम्यास्तसिल्

pañcamyās tasil
/pañcamyāḥ 5/1 *tasil* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, . . . *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *prāg diśo vibhaktiḥ* #1, *kiṃsarvanāmabahubhyo' dvyādibhyaḥ* #2)
pañcamyantebhyaḥ kiṃsarvanāmabahubhyas tasil pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *tasIL*, termed *vibhakti*, occurs optionally after a nominal stem, when these stems end in *pañcamī* 'the fifth triplet of *sUP*'.

EXAMPLES:

kutaḥ 'from where, whence'
yataḥ 'that from where, whence (relative)'
tataḥ 'from there, thereafter'
bahutaḥ 'from many sides; in many ways'

1. The word-forms *pañcamyāḥ* and *saptamyāḥ* of these rules could be interpreted as ending in *pañcamī* 'ablative' and *ṣaṣṭhī* 'genitive' both. A *pañcamī* interpretation, however, is desired (*iṣṭa*). A *ṣaṣṭhī* interpretation will introduce *tasIL* and *traL* as replacements which, in turn, will create problems. Since these affixes are specified without any express mention of their denotatum, they will be treated as denoting their stem-notion (*prātipadikārtha*).

2. Note that replacements offered by 5.3.2 *kiṃsarvanāma . . .*, etc., will apply before 1.2.46 *kṛttaddhitasamāsāś ca* assigns the term *prātipadika* to derived forms. This will facilitate the application of 2.4.71 *supodhātuprātipadikayoḥ* whereby their nominal endings will be deleted. They will then be termed *avyaya* 'indeclinable' in view of 1.1.38 *taddhitaś cāsarvavibhaktiḥ*. This will subsequently cause deletion of *sU* introduced after them.

Refer also to my notes under 5.3.2 *kiṃsarvanāma. . . .*

5.3.8 तसेश्च

taseś ca
/taseḥ 5/1 *ca* ϕ/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, . . . *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *prāg diśo vibhaktiḥ* #1, *kiṃsarvanāmabahubhyo'dvyādibhyaḥ* #2, *tasil* #7)
taseḥ kiṃsarvanāmabahubhyaḥ parasya tasil ādeśo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *tasIL*, termed *vibhakti*, also comes in place of *tasI* introduced after a nominal stem which, either consists of *kim* or of stems termed *sarvanāman*, though with the exclusion of the subgroup headed by *dvi*, or else, consists of *bahu*.

EXAMPLES:

kuta āgataḥ '. . . arrived from where'
yataḥ 'from the place which . . .'
tataḥ 'from that place'
bahuta āgataḥ '. . . arrived from all sides'

1. Notes that affix *tasI* is also introduced after stems which end in *pañcamī*. Rule 5.4.44 *pratiyoge pañcamyāś tāsiḥ* introduces *tāsI* when the stems cooccurs with *prati*. Rule 5.4.45 *apādāne. . .* introduces it optionally after a stem which ends in *pañcamī*, denoting *apādāna* (1.4.24 *dhruvam apāye . . .*). Our present rule replaces *tasI* when it occurs after bases specified.

2. Derivates of *tasIL* and *tasI* do not differ in form. However, replacing *tasI* by *tasIL* is functional. It facilitates operations relative to (*i*) the assignment of the term *vibhakti*; and (*ii*) accentuation based upon *L* as an *it* (6.1.87 *liti ca*).

5.3.9 पर्यभिभ्यां च

paryabhibhyām ca
/paryabhibhyām 5/2 *ca* ϕ/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, . . . *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *prāg diśo vibhaktiḥ* #1, *tasil* #7)
'pari, abhi' ity etābhyām tasil pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *tasIL*, termed *vibhakti*, also occurs after nominal stems *pari* and *abhi*.

EXAMPLES:

paritaḥ 'from all sides'
abhitaḥ 'from both sides'

1. *Kāśikā* emphasizes that *tasIL* is desired only when *pari* and *abhi* are used with the sense of *sarva* 'all' and *ubhaya* 'both', respectively.

5.3.10 सप्तम्यास्त्रल्

saptamyās tral
/saptamyāḥ 1/1 *tral* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, . . . *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *prāg diśo vibhaktiḥ* #1, *kiṃsarvanāmabahubhyo' dvyādibhyaḥ* #2)
kiṃsarvanāmabahubhyaḥ saptamyantebhyas tral pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *traL*, termed *vibhakti*, occurs after a nominal stem which, either consists of *kim* or of stems termed *sarvanāman*, though with the exclusion of the subgroup headed by *dvi*, or else, after *bahu*, when the stems end in *saptamī* 'locative'.

EXAMPLES:

kutra 'where'
yatra 'the place where'
tatra 'there'
bahutra 'in many places'

5.3.11 इदमो हः

idamo haḥ
/idamaḥ 5/1 *haḥ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, . . . *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *prāg diśo vibhaktiḥ* #1, *kiṃsarvanāmabahubhyo' dvyādibhyaḥ* #2, *saptamyāḥ* #10)

idamaḥ saptamyantādd haḥ pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *ha*, termed *vibhakti*, occurs after nominal stem *idam* when it ends in *saptamī*.

EXAMPLES:

iha 'here'

1. Note that *ha* is introduced as an exception to *traL* of the preceding rule.

5.3.12 किमोऽत्

kimo't
/kimaḥ 5/1 *at* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *prāg diśo vibhaktiḥ* #1, *kiṃsarvanāmabahubhyo'dvyādibhyaḥ* #2, *saptamyāḥ* #10)
kimaḥ saptamyantād at pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *aT*, termed *vibhakti*, occurs after nominal stem *kim* 'what, which, who', when it ends in *saptamī*.

EXAMPLES:

kva 'where'

1. This again is an exception to *traL*. Some even bring *vā* from the following rule, and still derive *kutra* 'where' optionally with *kva*. We can derive *kva* from *kim* + *a* where *kim* is replaced with *kva* of 7.2.105 *kvāti*. Rule 6.4.148 *yasyeti ca* will delete the final *a* of *kva* before *a*. The *sU* after *kva* + *sU* will be deleted (2.4.82 *avyayād āpsupaḥ*) consequent upon assisgnment of the term *avyaya* (1.1.38 *taddhitaś cāsarvavibhaktiḥ*).

2. Why is *T* of *aT* termed an *it* when 1.3.4 *na vibhaktau tusmāḥ* negates it? This negation is *anitya* 'non-obligatory'. We know it from the non-obligatory nature of this negation from 5.3.24 *idamas thamuḥ*, where *U* is used to save *m* from being termed an *it*. But no such effort is made to save the *m* of *dānīm* of 5.3.18 *dānīṃ ca*.

5.3.13 वा ह च च्छन्दसि

vā ha ca chandasi
/vaϕ ha (deleted 1/1) *caϕ chandasi* 7/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *prāg diśo vibhaktiḥ* #1, *kiṃsarvanāmabahubhyo'dvyādibhyaḥ* #2, *saptamyāḥ* #10, *kimaḥ* #12)
kimaḥ saptamyantād vā haḥ pratyayo bhavati chandasi viṣaye
The *taddhita* affix *ha*, termed *vibhakti*, optionally occurs in Vedic, after nominal stem *kim* when it ends in *saptamī*.

EXAMPLES:

kva 'where'
kuha 'id.'
kutra 'id.'

5.3.14 इतराभ्योऽपि दृश्यन्ते

itarābhyo'pi dṛśyante
/itarābhyaḥ 5/3 *api* ϕ *dṛśyante* (verbal *pada*)/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *prāg diśo vibhaktiḥ* #1)
itarābhyo vibhaktibhyas tasilādayo dṛśyante
The *taddhita* affixes termed *vibhakti* are also seen after nominal stems which end in other endings.

EXAMPLES:

tato bhavān dīrghāyur āyuṣmān devānāṃpriya . . . you sir! long-living, with long life, dear to gods.
taṃ bhavantam = tato bhavantam/ tatra bhavantam . . .
tena bhavatā = tato bhavatā/ tatra bhavatā . . .
tasmai bhavate = tato bhavate/ tatra bhavate . . .
tasmād bhavataḥ = tato bhavataḥ/ tatra bhavataḥ . . .
tasya bhavataḥ = tato bhavataḥ/ tatra bhavataḥ . . .
tasmin bhavati = tato bhavati/ tatra bhavati . . .

1. Note that *itarābhyaḥ* is stated relative to *pañcamī* and *saptamī*. Our verbal form *dṛśyante* indicates a commonly available operational option (*Kāś.*: *dṛśigrahaṇaṃ prāyikavidhyartham*). It is therefore interpreted as 'seen', usually in conjunction with *bhavat*, etc. (*bhavadādi*), where *bhavat*, etc., are explained as *bhavat, dīrghāyu, āyuṣmat* and *devānāṃpriya*. That an affix can be introduced after any form of these stems is shown by examples of *bhavat*. One can similarly illustrate *tato dīrghāyuḥ/ tatra dīrghāyuḥ*, etc.

5.3.15 सर्वैकान्यकिंयत्तदः काले दा

sarvaikānyakiṃyattadaḥ kāle dā
/sarvaikānyakiṃyattadaḥ 5/1 = *sarvaś ca ekaś ca anyaś ca kim ca yac ca tac ca* (*sam. dv.*), *tasmāt*; *kāle* 7/1 *dā* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, . . . *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *prāg diśo vibhaktiḥ* #1, *saptamyāḥ* #10)
sarvādibhyaḥ prātipadikebhyo dā pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *dā*, termed *vibhakti*, occurs to denote the sense of *kāla* 'time' after nominal stems *sarva* 'all', *eka* 'one', *anya* 'another', *kim* 'what, which, who', *yad* 'that which (relative), and *tad* 'that', when they end in *saptamī*.

EXAMPLES:

sarvasmin kāle = *sarvadā* 'always, at all times'
ekasmin kāle = *ekadā* 'once, at one time'
anyasmin kāle = *anyadā* 'at some other time'
kasmin kāle = *kadā* 'when, at what time'
yasmin kāle = *yadā* 'at the time which'
tasmin kāle = *tadā* 'at that time, then'

1. Note that *itarābhyaḥ* is not carried. This rule requires the *anuvṛtti* of *saptamī*, instead. The condition of *kāle* restricts derivates to signify 'time'. For, elsewhere, we find *sarvatra*, a derivate of *traL*, as in *sarvatra deśe* 'everywhere in the country'.

5.3.16 इदमो र्हिल

idamo rhil
/idamaḥ 5/1 *rhil* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *prāg diśo vibhaktiḥ* #1, *saptamyāḥ* #10, *kāle* #15)
idamaḥ saptamyantāt kāle vartamānād rhil pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *rhiL*, termed *vibhakti*, occurs after nominal stem *idam* 'this' when it ends in *saptamī* with the signification of *kāla* 'time'.

EXAMPLES:

asmin kāle = *etarhi* 'at this time'

1. Note that *rhiL* is an exception to *ha* of 5.3.11 *idamo haḥ*. The *L* as an *it* in the affix is used for accent (*svarārthaḥ*; 6.1.193 *liti*).

5.3.17 अधुना

adhunā
/adhunā ϕ/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *prāg diśo vibhaktiḥ* #1, *saptamyāḥ* #10, *kāle* #15, *idamaḥ* #16)
adhunā iti nipātyate
The *taddhita* affix *dhunā*, termed *vibhakti*, occurs, via *nipātana*, after nominal stem *idam* when it ends in *saptamī* with the signification of *kāla*.

EXAMPLES:

asmin kāle = *adhunā* 'at this time; now'

1. Note that *idam* receives *dhunā*, and is replaced with *aŚ*, both via *nipātana*. The *Mahābhāṣya* accepts *adhunā* itself as an affix where *aŚ* replaces *idam*,

and subsequently gets deleted by 6.4.148 *yasyeti ca.* The derivate is then marked *udātta* in the middle (*madhyodātta*), via *nipātana.*

5.3.18 दानीं च

dānīṃ ca
/dānīm 1/1 *ca* ϕ/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *prāg diśo vibhaktiḥ* #1, *saptamyāḥ* #10, *kāle* #15, *idamaḥ* #16)
idamaḥ saptamyantāt kāle vartamānād dānīm pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *dānīm,* termed *vibhakti,* occurs after nominal stem *idam* when it ends in *saptamī* with the signification of *kāla* 'time'.

EXAMPLES:

asmin kāle = idānīm 'at this time; now'

5.3.19 तदो दा च

tado dā ca
/tadaḥ 5/1 *dā* 1/1 *ca* ϕ/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *prāg diśo vibhaktiḥ* #1, *saptamyāḥ* #10, *kāle* #15, *dānīm* #18)
tadaḥ saptamyantāt vartamānād dā pratyayo bhavati cakārād dānīṃ ca
The *taddhita* affix *dā,* termed *vibhakti,* and *dānīm* as well, occurs after nominal stem *tad* 'that' when it ends in *saptamī* with the signification of *kāla* 'time'.

EXAMPLES:

tasmin kāle = tadā/ tadānīm 'at that time, then'

1. Note that introducing *dā* after *tad* when it has already been made available by 5.3.15 *sarvaikānya . . .* does not make any sense (*anarthakam*). The *ca* is used for bringing *dānīm.*

5.3.20 तयोर्दार्हिलौ च च्छन्दसि

tayor dārhilau ca cchandasi
/tayoḥ 6/2 *dārhilau* 6/2 (*itar. dv.*); *ca* ϕ *chandasi* 7/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *prāg diśo vibhaktiḥ* #1, *saptamyāḥ* #10, *kāle* #15)
tayor idamaḥ tadaś ca yathāsaṃkhyaṃ dā-rhilau pratyayau bhavataś chandasi viṣaye
The *taddhita* affixes *dā* and *rhiL,* termed *vibhakti,* occur, in Vedic, after the two nominal stems *idam* and *tad,* respectively, in addition to *dānīm,* when the stems end in *saptamī* with the signification of *kāla.*

EXAMPLES:

asmin kāle = *idā* 'at this time, now'
tasmin kāle = *tarhi* 'at that time, then'
idānīm 'now'
tadānīm 'then'

1. Note that *ca* is again used for bringing *dānīm*, optionally with *dā* and *rhiL*.

5.3.21 अनद्यतने र्हिलन्यतरस्याम्

anadyatane rhil anyatarasyām
/ anadyatane 7/1 *rhil* 1/1 *anyatarasyām* 7/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *prāg diśo vibhaktiḥ* #1, *kiṃsarvanāmabahubhyo'dvyādibhyaḥ* #2, *saptamyāḥ* #10, *kāle* #15)
kiṃsarvanāmabahubhyaḥ saptamyantebhyo'nadyatane kālaviśeṣe vartamānebhyo rhil pratyayo bhavaty anyatarasyām
The *taddhita* affix *rhiL* optionally occurs after syntactically related nominal stem *kim*, and after stems termed *sarvanāman* with the exclusion of the subgroup headed by *dvi*, and after *bahu* as well, when these stems end in *saptamī*, provided derivates signify a particular time (*kāla*) characterized as *anadyatana* 'not pertaining to the current'.

EXAMPLES:

karhi 'when?'
kadā 'id.'
yarhi 'at the time when'
yadā 'id.'
tarhi 'then'
tadā 'id.'

1. Note that *chandasi* is not carried since it is a general provision (*sāmānyena vidhānam*). This optional provision of *rhiL* is made against *tasIL*, etc.

5.3.22 सद्यः परुत्परार्यैषमः परेद्यव्यद्यपूर्वेद्युरन्येद्युरन्यतरेद्युरितरेद्युरपरेद्युरधरेद्युरुभयेद्युरुत्तरेद्युः

sadyaḥ parutparāryaiṣamaḥ paredyavyadyapūrvedyuranyedyuranyataredyuritaredyuraparedyuradharedyurubhayedyuruttaredyuḥ
/ sadyaḥ-parut-parāry-aiṣamaḥ-paredyavi-adya-pūrvedyur-anyedyur-anyataredyur-itaredyur-aparedyur-adharedyur-ubhayedyur-uttaredyuḥ (all indeclinables) /
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *prāg diśo vibhaktiḥ* #1, *saptamyāḥ* #10, *kāle* #15)
sadyaḥprabhṛtayaḥ śabdā nipātyante
Diverse *taddhita* affixes, termed *vibhakti*, occur after variety of nominal

stems to derive *sadyaḥ, parut, parāri, paredyavi, adya, pūrvedyuḥ, anyedyuḥ, anyataredyuḥ, itaredyuḥ, aparedyuḥ, adharedyuḥ, ubhayedyuḥ,* and *uttaredyuḥ,* via *nipātana,* when the stems end in *saptamī* and derivates signify *kāla.*

EXAMPLES:

samāne' hani = *sadyaḥ* 'same day, today'
pūrvasmin saṃvatsare = *parut* 'last year'
pūrvatare saṃvatsare = *parāri* 'year before last'
asmin saṃvatsare = *aiṣamaḥ* 'this year'
parasminn ahani = *paredyavi* 'next day, tomorrow'
asminn ahany = *adya* 'today'
pūrvasminn ahani = *pūrvedyuḥ* 'on the day that preceded; yesterday'
anyasminn ahani = *anyedyuḥ* 'on the other day'
anyatarasminn ahani = *anyataredyuḥ* 'on the next day'
itarasminn ahani = *itaredyuḥ* 'on the other day'
aparasminn ahani = *aparedyuḥ* 'id.'
adharasminn ahani = *adharedyuḥ* 'id.'
ubhayor ahnoḥ = *ubhayedyuḥ* 'on both days'
uttarasminn ahani = *uttaredyuḥ* 'next day'

1. Note that *prakṛti* 'base', *pratyaya* 'affix', *ādeśa* 'replacement' and *kālaviśeṣa* 'particular time', all is gotten via *nipātana.* The *Mahābhāṣya* explains *nipātana* of individual derivates as follows:

(*i*) *sadyaḥ* derives in the sense of *samāne ahani* 'same day' from *samāna* + *dyaḥ* where *samāna* is replaced with *sa;*
(*ii*) *parut* and *parāri* derive from *pūrva* + *ut* and *pūrvatara* + *ārī* where *para* replaces both the bases, provided *saṃvatsara* 'year' is denoted;
(*iii*) *aiṣamaḥ* derives from *idam* + *samas* where *idam* is replaced with *iŚ,* provided *saṃvatsara* is denoted.
(*iv*) *paredyavi* derives from *para* + *edyavi* when *ahan* 'day' is denoted;
(*v*) *adya* derives from *idam* + *dya* where *aŚ* replaces *idam,* provided *ahan* is denoted;
(*vi*) affix *edyus* is introduce after *pūrva, anya, anyatara, itara, apara, adhara, ubhaya* and *uttara* to derive *pūrvedyuḥ, anyedyuḥ, anyataredyuḥ, itaredyuḥ, aparedyuḥ, adharedyuḥ, ubhayedyuḥ,* and *uttaredyuḥ,* also when *ahan* is denoted; and
(*vii*) *ubhayadyuḥ* derives from *ubhaya* + *dyus* when *ahan* is denoted.

5.3.23 प्रकारवचने थाल

prakāravacane thāl
/prakāravacane 7/1 *thāl* 1/1/

(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *prāg diśo vibhaktiḥ* #1, *kiṃsarvanāmabahubhyo'dvyādibhyaḥ* #2) *prakāravṛttibhyaḥ kiṃsarvanāmabahubhyaḥ svārthe thāl pratyayo bhavati*
The *taddhita* affix *thāL*, termed *vibhakti*, occurs after nominal stem *kim*, or after stems termed *sarvanāman* with the exclusion of the subgroup headed by *dvi*, or after *bahu*, when the stems are used with the denotation of *prakāra* 'kind, manner, mode'.

EXAMPLES:

tena prakāreṇa = *tathā* 'in that manner'
yena prakāreṇa = *yathā* 'in the manner which'
sarvathā 'in every way'
bahuthā 'in many ways'

1. Note that *saptamī* and *kāle* are both dropped from *anuvṛtti*. The word *prakāra* is used in the sense of 'a particular which distinguishes its general counterpart' (*sāmānyasya bhedako viśeṣaḥ*). Thus, *brāhmaṇa* is *sāmānya* 'general' which can be distinguished by *devadatta*, etc., its particulars (*viśeṣa*). A derivate of *thāL* is thus used in the sense of a particular (*viśeṣa*) used as a qualifier to the general, a qualified. Affix *jātīyaR* is similar but it is used with the sense of a qualified (5.3.69 *prakāravacane jātīyar*). Affix *thāL* simply denotes *prakāra* 'kind, type'.

5.3.24 इदमस्थमुः

idamas thamuḥ
/*idamaḥ* 5/1 *thamuḥ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *prāg diśo vibhaktiḥ* #1, *prakāravacane* #23)
idam-śabdāt prakāravacane thamuḥ pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *thamU*, termed *vibhakti*, occurs after nominal stem *idam* when the derivate signifies *prakāra*.

EXAMPLES:

anena prakāreṇa = *ittham* 'in this manner; thus'

1. This constitutes as an exception to *thāL*. The *U* in *thamU* is used for saving *m* from deletion via assignment of the term *it*. This *U* also indicates that 1.3.4 *na vibhaktau tusmāḥ* is *anitya* 'non-obligatory' in nature. Note that *idam* is replaced with *it* of 5.3.4 *etetau rathau*.

5.3.25 किमश्च

kimaś ca
/*kimaḥ* 5/1 *ca* ϕ/

(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *prāg diśo vibhaktiḥ* #1, *prakāravacane* #23, *thamuḥ* #24)
kiṃśabdāt prakāravacane thamuḥ pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *thamU*, termed *vibhakti*, also occurs after nominal stem *kim* when the derivate signifies *prakāra*.

EXAMPLES:

kena prakāreṇa = *katham* 'in what manner; how'

1. A separate formulation of this rule is made so that *kim* alone could be carried to the next rule. Our base *kim* is replaced with *ka* of 7.2.103 *kimaḥ kaḥ*.

5.3.26 था हेतौ च च्छन्दसि

thā hetau ca cchandasi
/*thā* 1/1 *hetau* 7/1 *ca* ϕ *chandasi* 7/1
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *prāg diśo vibhaktiḥ* #1, *prakāravacane* #23, *kimaḥ* #24)
kiṃśabdādd hetau vartamānāt thā pratyayo bhavati cakārāt prakāravacane chandasi viṣaye
The *taddhita* affix *thā*, termed *vibhakti*, occurs in Vedic after nominal stem *kim* when *hetu* 'cause, reason' or *prakāra* 'kind, type' is denoted.

EXAMPLES:

kathā grāmaṃ na pṛcchasi 'For what reason are you not asking about the village?'
kathā devā āsan purāvidaḥ 'what kind of brāhmaṇas were those who knew about the ancient times?'

1. This concludes the section of *taddhita* affixes termed *vibhakti*.

5.3.27 दिक्शब्देभ्यः सप्तमीपञ्चमीप्रथमाभ्यो दिग्देशकालेष्वस्तातिः

dikśabdebhyaḥ saptamīpañcamīprathamābhyo digdeśakāleṣv astātiḥ
/*dikśabdebhyaḥ* 5/3 = *diśāṃ śabdāḥ* (*ṣaṣ. tat.*), *tebhyaḥ*; *saptamīpañcamīprathamābhyaḥ* 5.3 (*itar. dv.*); *digdeśakāleṣu* 7/3 (*itar. dv.*); *astātiḥ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76)
digśabdebhyo digdeśakāleṣu vartamānebhyo saptamīpañcamīprathamānte-bhyo'stātiḥ pratyayo bhavati svārthe
The *taddhita* affix *astātI* occurs after a nominal stem which ends in *saptamī*, *pañcamī* and *prathamā*, when *diś* 'direction', *deśa* 'location' and *kāla* 'time' is denoted.

EXAMPLES:

pūrvasyām/pūrvasyāḥ/pūrvā vā diśā = *purastād vasati* 'he lives in the east'
purastād āgataḥ 'he has arrived from the east'

purastād ramaṇīyam 'it was beautiful earlier'
adhastād vasati 'he lives down below (in the south)'
adhastād āgataḥ 'he has arrived from down below'
adhastād ramaṇīyam 'subsequently beautiful'

1. Note that *yathāsaṃkhya* 'assignment of equivalents in accord with enumeration (1.3.10 *yathāsaṃkhyam . . .*)' is not desired. Derivates will denote their base-meaning (*svārtha*) since no particular meaning is specified. A derivate such as *purastāt* can denote all three meanings, and could be derived by introducing *astātI* after *pūrva*, etc., ending in any one of three nominal endings.

2. Note that the affix could be introduced only after a base which primarily denotes 'direction'. Thus, *aindrī* '. . . pertaining to Indra' will be ruled out even though it also used in the sense of 'direction'. The conditions of *saptamī, pañcamī* and *prathamā* will rule out *pūrvam* of *pūrvam grāmaṃ gataḥ* 'he went to the earlier village' because it is used with *dvitīyā* 'accusative'. The meaning conditions of *diś, deśa* and *kāla* will rule out introduction of *astātI* after *pūrva* + *Ṅī*, of *pūrvasmin gurau vasati* 'he studies with an eastern teacher', because *pūrvasmin* denotes 'teacher' by way of being a qualifier.

The *I* in *astātI* is used to save *t* from deletion (*LOPA*). Deriving *purastāt* and *adhastāt*, etc., from *pūrva* + *Ṅī* and *adhara* + *Ṅī* will require *pur* and *adh*, respectively, as replacements for *pūrva* and *adhara* (5.3.40 *astāti ca*).

5.3.28 दक्षिणोत्ताराभ्यामतसुच्

dakṣiṇottarābhyām atasuc
/dakṣiṇottarābhyām 5/2 (*itar. dv.*); *atasuc* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *dikśabdebhyaḥ saptamīpañcamīprathamābhyo digdeśakāleṣv astātiḥ* #27)
dakṣiṇottarābhyām digdeśakāleṣu vartamānābhyāṃ saptamīpañcamīprathamāntābhyām svārthe' tasuc pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *atasUC* occurs after nominal stems *dakṣiṇa* 'south' and *uttara* 'north', when they end in *saptamī, pañcamī* and *prathamā*, provided *diś, deśa* and *kāla* is denoted.

EXAMPLES:

dakṣiṇasyāṃ diśī vasati = dakṣiṇato vasati 'he lives in the south'
dakṣiṇata āgataḥ 'he has come from the south'
dakṣiṇato ramaṇīyam 'the south is beautiful'
uttarato vasati 'he lives in the north . . .'
uttarata āgataḥ 'he has come from the north'
uttaraṃ ramaṇīyam 'subsequently beautiful'

1. Note that the meaning of *kāla* is impossible to associate with *dakṣiṇa*. It

can only be associated with *diś* and *deśa*. The *a* of *atasUC* distinguishes it from *tasIL* in references such as *tasartha* and *atasartha* (2.3.30 *ṣaṣṭhy atasartha-pratyayena*). For, in its absence, a reference with *tasartha* would also include reference to the sense of *tasIL*. Deriving these forms will require *bha-saṃjñā* and deletion of *ā* in *dakṣiṇā, uttarā,* etc.

5.3.29 विभाषा परावराभ्याम्

vibhāṣā parāvarābhyām
/vibhāṣā 1/1 *parāvarābhyām* 5/2 (*itar. dv.*)/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *dikśabdebhyaḥ saptamīpañcamīprathamābhyo digdeśakāleṣv astātiḥ* #27)
parāvaraśabdābhyām vibhāṣā' tasuc pratyayo bhavati astāter arthe
The *taddhita* affix *atasUC* occurs, optionally, after nominal stems *para* 'that which is on the other side' and *avara* 'that which is on this side', when they end in *saptamī, pañcamī* and *prathamā,* provided *diś, deśa,* and *kāla* is denoted.

EXAMPLES:

parasmin diśi vasati = parastād vasati 'he lives in the other direction'
parataḥ vasati 'id.'
parastād āgataḥ 'he has arrived from the other side'
parata āgataḥ 'id.'
parastād ramaṇīyam 'beautiful on a different occasion'
parato ramaṇīyam 'id.'
avarastād vasati 'he lives on this side'
avarato vasati 'id.'
avarastād āgataḥ 'he has arrived from this side'
avarata āgataḥ 'id.'
avarasmād ramaṇīyam 'it is beautiful at this time'
avarato ramaṇīyam 'id.'

1. Note that affix *atasUC* will be introduced optionally with *astātI* on account of *vibhāṣā.*

5.3.30 अञ्चेर्लुक्

añcer luk
/añceḥ 5/1 *luk* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *dikśabdebhyaḥ saptamīpañcamīprathamābhyo digdeśakāleṣv astātiḥ* #27)
añcatyantebhyaḥ dikśabdebhya uttarasyāstātipratyayasya luk bhavati

The *taddhita* affix *astātI* is deleted by *LUK* when it occurs after a nominal stem which signifies *diś* and contains *añcU* as its final constituent.

EXAMPLES:

prācyāṃ diśi vasati = prāg vasati 'he lives in the east'
prāg āgataḥ 'he has come from the east'
prāg ramaṇīyam 'previously beautiful'
pratyag vasati 'he lives in the west'
pratyag āgataḥ 'he came from a western place'
pratyag ramaṇīyam 'subsequently beautiful'

1. Refer to the appendix for derivational details.

5.3.31 उपर्युपरिष्टात्

uparyupariṣṭāt
/uparyupariṣṭāt 1/1 (*sam. dv.*)/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *dikśabdebhyaḥ saptamīpañcamīprathamābhyo digdeśakāleṣv astātiḥ* #27)
'*upari, upariṣṭāt' ity etau śabdau nipātyete astāter arthe*
The *taddhita* derivates *upari* and *upariṣṭāt* are *upariṣṭāt* are derived, via *nipātana,* to denote the sense of *astātI.*

EXAMPLES:

upari 'upper side, place, or time'
upariṣṭāt 'id.'

1. Note that *uparis* is derived from *ūrdhva* + *riL* where *ūrdhva* is replaced with *upa.* Our second example also involves *ūrdhva→upa = upa* as its base but the affix is *riṣṭātIL.* Of course, the sense of all three nominal endings is also valid.

5.3.32 पश्चात्

paścāt
/paścāt 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *dikśabdebhyaḥ saptamīpañcamīprathamābhyo digdeśakāleṣv astātiḥ* #27)
'*paścāt' ity ayaṃ śabdo nipātyate' stāter arthe*
A *taddhita* derivate, namely *paścāt,* is derived via *nipātana,* to denote the sense of *astātI.*

EXAMPLES:

paścād diśī vasati '. . . lives in the west'

paścād āgataḥ '. . . has come from a western place'
paścād ramaṇīyaḥ 'subsequently beautiful'

1. The *Mahābhāṣya* explains that *paścāt* is derived with affix *ātI* introduced after *apara*, subsequently replaced with *paśca*. A *vārttika* also approves *atI* after *apara* when used with a preceding constituent denoting *diś* 'direction'. Consider *dakṣiṇapaścāt* and *uttarapaścāt* where *apara* is again replaced with *paśca*. This replacement in *paśco* for *apara* is also applicable where *apara* is part of a base where a directional word precedes and *ardha* follows it (*vt.*: *ardhottarapadasya dikpūrvapadasya paścabhāvo vaktavyaḥ*). But this replacement is also valid where *apara* is followed by *ardha* but no directional word precedes it (*vt.*: *vināpi pūrvapadena paścabhāvo vaktavyaḥ*). An example is: *paścārdhaḥ*.

5.3.33 पश्च पश्चा च च्छन्दसि

paśca paścā ca cchandasi
/paśca 1/1 *paścā* 1/1 *ca* ϕ *chandasi* 7/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *dikśabdebhyaḥ saptamīpañcamīprathamābhyo digdeśakāleṣv astātiḥ* #27)
'*paśca-paścā*' *śabdau nipātyete chandasi viṣaye astāter arthe*
A *taddhita* affix occurs, in Vedic via *nipātana*, to derive *paśca* and *paścā*, and *paścāt* as well, in the sense of *astātI*.

EXAMPLES:

paro vyāpto jāyate = *paśca* 'west, western place, subsequent time'
paścā 'id.'
paścāt 'id .'

1. Note that *apara* is replaced again with *paśca*, and affixes *a* and *ā* are introduced to derive *paśca* and *paścā*, respectively.

5.3.34 उत्तराधरदक्षिणादाति

uttarādharadakṣiṇād ātiḥ
/uttarādharadakṣiṇāt 5/1 (*sam. dv.*); *ātiḥ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *dikśabdebhyaḥ saptamīpañcamīprathamābhyo digdeśakāleṣv astātiḥ* #27)
uttarādharadakṣiṇaśabdebhyaḥ ātiḥ pratyayo bhavati astāter arthe
The *taddhita* affix *ātI* occurs after nominal stems *uttara*, *adhara* and *dakṣiṇa*, when they end in *saptamī*, *pañcamī*, and *prathamā*, provided *diś*, *deśa* and *kāla* are denoted.

EXAMPLES:

uttarasyām diśi vasati = *uttarād vasati* 'he lives in the north'
uttarād āgataḥ 'he has come from the north'
uttarād ramaṇīyam 'it is beautiful hereafter'
adharād vasati 'he lives down below'
adharād āgataḥ 'he has arrived from a place down below'
adharād ramaṇīyaḥ 'it was beautiful earlier'
dakṣiṇād vasati 'he lives in the south'
dakṣiṇād āgataḥ 'he has arrived from a place in the south'

5.3.35 एनबन्यतरस्यामदूरेऽपञ्चम्याः

enab anyatarasyām adūre' pañcamyāḥ
/*enap* 1/1 *anyatarasyām* 7/1 *adūre* 7/1 *apañcamyāḥ* 5/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *dikśabdebhyaḥ saptamīpañcamīprathamābhyo digdeśakāleṣv astātiḥ* #27, *uttarādharadakṣiṇāt* #34)
The *taddhita* affix *enaP* occurs optionally after nominal stems *uttara*, *adhara* and *dakṣiṇa* with the signification of *diś*, when they end in *saptamī* and *prathamā*, though not in *pañcamī*, provided derivates signify *diś*, *deśa* and *kāla* as 'non-distant' (*adūra*).

EXAMPLES:

uttareṇa vasati 'he lives nearby in the north'
uttarād vasati 'id.'
uttarato vasati 'id.'
adhareṇa vasati 'he lives nearby down below'
adharād vasati 'id.'
adhastād vasati 'id.'
dakṣiṇena vasati 'he lives nearby in the south'
dakṣiṇād vasati 'id.'
dakṣiṇato vasati 'id.'

1. Affix *enaP* is introduced optionally with *ātI* and *atasUC*, in case of *uttara* and *dakṣiṇa*. It is introduced after *adhara*, optionally with *ātI* and *astātI*, where 5.3.40 *astāti ca* replaces *adhara* with *adh*. This replacement itself serves as an indicator that *astātI* is introduced after *adhara*.

Note that the condition of *adūra* 'not far' must be met. What should we accept here as referent of 'non-distant'? Obviously, it has to be *dig*, *deśa* or *kāla*. Similar exclusion is made for *enaI* to occur after a stem in *pañcamī* 'ablative'. Thus, **uttareṇa āgataḥ* cannot be used optionally with *uttarād āgataḥ*.

Some do not carry the *anuvṛtti* of *uttara*, *dakṣiṇa* and *adhara*. They simply introduced *enaP* after a base which denotes *diś*. This can account for: *pūrveṇa*

grāmam 'not far from the village in the east', *apareṇa grāmam* 'not far from the village in the west'.

5.3.36 दक्षिणादाच्

dakṣiṇād āc
/dakṣiṇāt 5/1 *āc* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *dikśabdebhyaḥ saptamīpañcamīprathamābhyo digdeśakāleṣv astātiḥ* #27, *pañcamyāḥ* #35)
dakṣiṇaśabdād āc pratyayo bhavati astāter arthe
The *taddhita* affix *āC* occurs, to denote the sense of *astātI*, after nominal stem *dakṣiṇa* when the same ends in *saptamī* and *prathamā*, though not in *pañcamī*.

EXAMPLES:

dakṣiṇā vasati 'he lives in the south'
ḍakṣiṇa ramaṇīyam 'the south is beautiful'

1. The *C* in *āC* is intended for qualification (*viśeṣaṇārtham*) as in 2.3.39 *añcūttarapadājāhiyukte*. . . .

5.3.37 आहि च दूरे

āhi ca dūre
/āhi 1/1 *ca* ϕ *dūre* 7/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *dikśabdebhyaḥ saptamīpañcamīprathamābhyo digdeśakāleṣv astātiḥ* #27, *apañcamyāḥ* #35)
dakṣiṇaśabdād āhiḥ pratyayo bhavati astāter arthe cakārād āc
The *taddhita* affix *āhi*, and *āC* as well, occur to denote the sense of *astātI* after nominal stem *dakṣiṇa*, when it ends in *saptamī* and *prathamā*, though not in *pañcamī*, and derivates signify *diś*, *deśa* and *kāla* as distant (*dūra*).

EXAMPLES:

dakṣiṇādhi vasati 'he lives far in the south'
dakṣiṇā vasati 'id.'
dakṣiṇāhi ramaṇīyam 'the far south is beautiful'
dakṣiṇā ramaṇīyam 'id.'

1. Affix *atasUC* will be introduced if the condition of *dūre* 'distant' is not met. The same will be introduced after a base ending in *pañcamī* 'ablative'. Thus, *dakṣiṇato vasati* and *dakṣiṇata āgataḥ*, respectively.

5.3.38 उत्तराच्च

uttarāc ca
/uttarāt 5/1 *ca* ϕ/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *dikśabdebhyaḥ saptamīpañcamīprathamābhyo digdeśakāleṣv astātiḥ* #27, *apañcamyāḥ* #35, *dūre* #37)
uttaraśabdād āj-āhī pratyayau bhavataḥ astāter arthe dūre ced avadhimān avadher bhavati
The *taddhita* affixes *āC* and *āhī* occur to denote the sense of *astātI* also after nominal stem *uttara* when it ends in *saptamī* and *prathamā*, though not in *pañcamī*, provided derivates signify *diś*, *deśa* and *kāla* as 'distant'.

EXAMPLES:

uttarā vasati 'he lives far in the north'
uttarāhi vasati 'id.'
uttarā ramaṇīyam 'the far north is beautiful'
uttarāhi ramaṇīyam 'id.'

5.3.39 पूर्वाधरावराणामसि पुरधवश्चैषाम्

pūrvādharāvarāṇām asi puradhavaś ca eṣām
/pūrvādharāvarāṇām 6/3 (*itar. dv.*); *asi* (1/1 deleted) *puradhvaḥ* 1/3 (*itar. dv.*); *ca* ϕ *eṣām* 6/3/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *dikśabdebhyaḥ saptamīpañcamīprathamābhyo digdeśakāleṣv astātiḥ* #27)
pūrvādharāvarāṇām asiḥ pratyayo bhavati astāter arthe
The *taddhita* affix *asI* occurs to denote the sense of *astātI* after nominal stems *pūrva*, *adhara* and *avara*, when they end in *saptamī*, *pañcamī* and *prathamā*, with an additional provision that the stems be replaced with *pur*, *adh* and *av*, respectively.

EXAMPLES:

puro vasati 'he lives in the east'
pura āgataḥ 'he has come from the east'
puro ramaṇīyam 'the east is beautiful'
adho vasati 'he lives down below'
adha āgataḥ 'he has arrived from down below'
adho ramaṇīyam 'the place down below is beautiful'
avo vasati 'he lives on the lower side'
ava āgataḥ 'he has come from the lower side'
avo ramaṇīyam 'the lower side is beautiful'

1. Note that the condition of *apañcamyāḥ* is removed. That is, this affixal

provision will be made after specified bases ending in all three nominal endings. The word *asi* is specified here without any nominal ending (*avibhaktika-nirdeśa*).

5.3.40 अस्तति च

astāti ca
/astāti 7/1 *ca* ϕ/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *dikśabdebhyaḥ saptamīpañcamīprathamābhyo digdeśakāleṣv astātiḥ* #27, *pūrvādharāvarāṇāṃ puradhavaḥ* #39)
astāti pratyaye parataḥ pūrvādīnāṃ yathāsaṃkhyaṃ purādaya ādeśā bhavanti
Nominal stems *pūrva*, *adhara* and *avara* are replaced with *pur*, *adh* and *av*, respectively, when the *taddhita* affix *astātI* follows.

EXAMPLES:

purastād vasati
adhastād vasati

1. This replacement provision also serves as an indicator (*jñāpaka*) for *astātI* introduced after bases specified. For, in its absence, the replacement will not make any sense. Furthermore, it also indicates that *astātI* is not blocked by *asI*.

5.3.41 विभाषाऽवरस्य

vibhāṣā'varasya
/vibhāṣā 1/1/ *avarasya* 6/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *dikśabdebhyaḥ saptamīpañcamīprathamābhyo digdeśakāleṣv astātiḥ* #27, *pūrvādharāvarāṇāṃ puradhavaḥ* #39)
avarasyāstātau parato vibhāṣā 'av' ity ayam ādeśo bhavati
The nominal stem *avara* is replaced with *av*, only optionally, when the *taddhita* affix termed *astātI* follows.

EXAMPLES:

avastād vasati 'he lives in the west'
avarastād vasati 'id.'
avastād āgataḥ 'he has come from a place in the west'
avarastād āgataḥ 'id.'
avastād ramaṇīyam 'the west is beautiful'
avarastād ramaṇīyam 'id.'

5.3.42 संख्याया विधार्थे धा

saṃkhyāyā vidhārthe dhā

/saṃkhyāyaḥ 5/1 *vidhārthe* 7/1 *dhā* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76)
saṃkhyāvācibhyaḥ prātipadikebhyo vidhārthe vartamānebhyo dhā pratyayo bhavati svārthe.
The *taddhita* affix *dhā* occurs after a nominal stem which consists of a *saṃkhyā* 'number', used with the denotatum of *vidhā* 'mode, manner, kind'.

EXAMPLES:

ekadhā bhuṅkte 'he eats in particular manner'
dvidhā gacchati 'he goes in two different ways'

1. *Kāśikā* explains that the scope *vidhā* is restricted here to *kriyā* 'action'. That is, *vidhā* denotes a mode of action. Thus, *ekadhā* of *ekadhā bhuṅkte* denotes a fixed manner in which someone eats.

5.3.43 अधिकरणविचाले च

adhikaraṇavicāle ca
/adhikaraṇavicāle 7/1 = *adhikaraṇasya vicālaḥ* (*ṣaṣ. tat.*), *tasmin*; *ca* ϕ/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *saṃkhyāyāḥ* #42)
adhikaraṇavicāle gamyamāne saṃkhyāyaḥ svārthe dhā pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *dhā* also occurs after a nominal stem which consists of *saṃkhyā* 'number', when *adhikaraṇa-vicāla* 'distribution of substances into numbers' is denoted.

EXAMPLES:

ekaṃ rāśiṃ pañcadhā kuru 'divide this single heap into five parts'
anekaṃ ekadhā kuru 'make these five parts into one'

1. The word *adhikaraṇa* of *adhikaraṇa-vicāla* is interpreted here as *dravya* 'substance' because it serves as locus for 'class' (*jāti*), etc. The word *vicāla* is explained as 'turning something into what it otherwise was not'. Since *vicāla* is here used in association with *saṃkhyā* 'number', *adhikaraṇa-vicāla* is explained as 'turning something into a number in which it was previously not'. That is, turning one into many, or many into one (*Kāś.*: *adhikaraṇam = dravyam, tasya vicālaḥ = saṃkhyāntarāpādānam ekasyānekīkaraṇaṃ, anekasya vā ekīkaraṇam*).

5.3.44 एकाद्धो ध्यमुञन्यतरस्याम्

ekād dho dhyamuñ anyatarasyām
/ekāt 5/1 *dhaḥ* 1/1 *dhyamuñ* 1/1 *anaytarasyām* 7/1/

(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76)
ekaśabdāt parasya dhāpratyayasya dhyamuñ ādeśo bhavaty anyatarasyām
A substitute in *dhyamUÑ* comes optionally in place of the *taddhita* affix *dhā* occurring after *eka* 'one'.

EXAMPLES:

ekadhā rāśiṃ kuru 'make one heap'
aikadhyaṃ rāśiṃ kuru 'id.'
ekadhā bhuṅkte 'he eats in a fixed manner'
ekadhyaṃ bhuṅkte 'id.

1. Note that the two earlier rules introduces affix *dhā* in the sense of *vidhā* 'mode of action' and *adhikaraṇa-vicāla* 'change in quantity of substances', respectively. Why do we have to state *dhā* explicitly when the context could easily provide it? This explicit mention of *dhā* is made so that *dhā* of *vidhā* could also be replaced with *dhyamUÑ*. Recall that without this explicit mention of *dhā*, only the most immediate *dhā* (*avyavahita*), i.e., that of *adhikaraṇa-vicāla*, could be replaced. The last two examples illustrate the *dhā* of *vidhā* 'mode of action'. Incidentally, a derivate of *dhyamUÑ* would entail initial *vṛddhi* because of its *Ñ* as an *it*.

5.3.45 द्वित्र्योश्च धमुञ्

dvitryoś ca dhamuñ
/dvitryoḥ 5/2 *ca* ϕ *dhamuñ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *dhaḥ* #44)
dvitroḥ sambandhino dhāpratyayasya vidhārthe' dhikaraṇavicāle ca vihitasya dhamuñ ādeśo bhavaty anyatarasyām
A substitute in *dhamUÑ* also comes, optionally, in place of the *taddhita* affix *dhā* which denotes *vidhā* and *adhikaraṇa-vicāla*, and occurs after nominal stems *dvi* 'two' and *tri* 'three'.

EXAMPLES:

dvidhā/ dvaidham 'in two ways; into two'
tridhā/ traidham 'in three ways; into three'

1. A *vārttika* also approves affix *Ḍa* after a stem which ends in *dhamUÑ*. The sense of *Ḍa* is given as *svārtha* 'base-meaning'. Thus: *dvaidh*(*am*→ϕ) + (*Ḍ*→ϕ) *a*)) = *dvaidha* and *traidh*(*am*→ϕ) + (*Ḍ*→ϕ) *a*)) = *traidha*, where *ṭi*-deletion of *am* has taken effect. Incidentally, a form ending in *dhamUÑ* is accepted as an indeclinable because it cannot entail any denotation of gender and number. These derivates of *Ḍa* will not be accepted as indeclinables (*avyaya*), since they entail denotation of gender and number (*PM* ad *Kāś.*:

dhamuñantasyāliṅgasaṃkhyatve'pi tadantāt svārtha vihitasyāpy asya svabhāvāl liṅgasaṃkhyāyogaḥ, tenāvyayatvaṃ na bhavati). Questions about the status of derivates is raised because affixes are introduced after indeclinable bases to denote *svārtha* 'base-meaning'. Usage alone is responsible for their non-treatment as indeclinables.

5.3.46 एधाच्च

edhāc ca
/edhāc 1/1 *ca* ϕ/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *dhaḥ* #44, *dvitryoḥ* #45)
dvitryoḥ sambandhino dhāpratyayasya edhāj ādeśo bhavaty anyatarasyām
A substitute in *edhāC* comes in place of the *taddhita* affix *dhā*, when it denotes *vidhā* and *adhikaraṇa-vicāla*, and occurs after nominal stems *dvi* and *tri*.

EXAMPLES:

dvedhā/ dvaidham/ dvidhā 'in two ways; into two'
tredhā/ traidham/ tridhā 'in three ways; into three'

1. Note that *edhāC* is offered as a substitute optionally with *dhyamUÑ* and *dhamUÑ*.

5.3.47 याप्ये पाशप्

yāpye pāśap
/yāpye 7/1 *pāśap* 1/1/.
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76)
yāpye vartamānāt prātipadikāt svārthe pāśap pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *pāśaP* occurs after a nominal stem which denotes *yapya* 'contemptible'.

EXAMPLES:

kutsito vaiyākaraṇaḥ = vaiyākaraṇapāśaḥ 'a grammarian deserving of contempt'
yājñikapāśaḥ 'a ritualist deserving of contempt'

1. The word *yāpya* could be explained in two ways: *yāpitā asmād guṇāḥ* 'one from whom qualities are removed' and *yāpayitavyaḥ* 'that which is to be removed'.The first interpretation is accepted because derivates ending in *pāśaP* denote 'contempt'. Such a meaning is possible only when lack of quality results into actions deserving of contempt. Consider *vaiyākaraṇapāśaḥ* 'a grammarian deserving of contempt'. What is the reason for this contempt?

Is it the lack of knowledge of grammar? May be, may be not. A grammarian may be respected for his knowledge of grammar but, for his conduct elsewhere, he may as well deserve to be censured. Affix *pāśaP* is therefore introduced after a base relative to the meaning of which a person becomes deserving of contempt. Thus, *pāśaP* cannot be introduced after *vaiyākaraṇa* if contempt does not relate to *vyākaraṇa*, i.e., lack of its knowledge, or proper study, etc.

5.3.48 पूरणाद्भागे तीयादन्

pūraṇād bhāge tīyād an
/pūraṇāt 5/1 *bhāge* 7/1 *tīyāt* 5/1 *an* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76)
pūraṇapratyayo yas tīyaḥ tadantād prātipadikād bhāge vartamānāt svārthe' n pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *aN* occurs after a nominal stem which ends in a *pūraṇa* suffix, particularly *tīya*, and is used with the signification of *bhāga* 'fraction, part'.

EXAMPLES:

dvitīyo bhāgaḥ = dvitīyaḥ 'second part'
tṛtīyaḥ 'third part'

1. Why do we have so state *pūraṇa* when *tīya* is nothing but a *pūraṇa* affix? Stating *tīya* alone could serve the purpose. An explicit mention of *pūraṇa* is made for *anuvṛtti* in the next rule. Affix *aN*, in the absence of any specifically assigned denotatum, denotes *svārtha* 'base-meaning'.

5.3.49 प्रागेकादशभ्योऽच्छन्दसि

prāg ekādaśabhyo' cchandasi
/prāk ϕ *ekādaśabhyaḥ* 5/3 *acchandasi* 7/1 = *na chandasi* (*nañ. tat.*)/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *pūraṇād bhāge an* #48)
prāg ekādaśabhyaḥ saṃkhyāśabdebhyaḥ pūraṇapratyayāntebhyo bhāge vartamānebhyaḥ svārthe an pratyayo bhavati acchandasi
The *taddhita* affix *aN* occurs, outside the domain of Vedic, after a nominal stem which ends in a *pūraṇa* suffix and denotes a number lower than *ekādaśa* 'eleven', as *bhāga* 'fraction, part'.

EXAMPLES:

pañcamaḥ 'one-fifth'
saptamaḥ 'one-seventh'

1. Note that *ekādaśaḥ* 'eleventh' and *dvādaśaḥ* 'twelfth' do not involve *aN*

because of the condition of *prāg ekādaśabhyaḥ* 'after those which precede eleven'. The condition of *acchandasi* 'in non-Vedic' restricts *aN* to usage of classical Sanskrit. Note that there is no formal difference between the derivates of *pūraṇa* and *aN* suffixes. However, derivates of *aN* differ in accent. They are obligatorily marked *udātta* at the beginning in view of *N* as an *it* in *aN* (6.1.97 *ñnityādir nityam*).

2. A *vārttika* proposal is made for affix *īkaK* to occur, optionally, after a nominal stem which ends in affix *tīya*. Thus, we get: *dvaitīyakaḥ* and *traitīyakaḥ*, optionally with *dvitīyaḥ* and *tṛtīyaḥ*. But another *vārttika* proposal blocks *īkaK* after a stem which ends in *tīya* and is used as a qualifier relative to *vidyā* 'knowledge'. Thus, we will get *dvitīyā vidyā* and *tṛtīyā vidyā*.

5.3.50 षष्ठाष्टमाभ्यां ञ च

ṣaṣṭhāṣṭamābhyām ña ca
/ṣaṣṭhāṣṭamābhyām 5/2 (*itar. dv.*); *ña* ϕ *ca* ϕ
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *bhāge* #48, *acchandasi* #49)
ṣāṣṭhāṣṭamābhyām bhāge' bhidheye' cchandasi viṣaye ñaḥ pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *Ña*, and *aN* as well, occurs, outside the domain of Vedic, after nominal stems *ṣaṣṭha* 'sixth' and *aṣṭama* 'eighth', when they are used with the signification of *bhāga* 'fraction, part'.

EXAMPLES:

ṣāṣṭhaḥ/ṣaṣṭhaḥ 'the sixth part'
āṣṭamaḥ/aṣṭamaḥ 'the eighth part'

1. Note that affixes *Ña* and *aN* cannot be introduced after *ṣaṣṭha* and *aṣṭama*, respectively, in view of *yathāsaṃkhya* 'assignment of equivalents in accord with enumeration' (1.3.10 *yathāsaṃkhyam* . . .). For, *aN* is already made available after both of them by the preceding rule. These affixes both can be introduced after two specified bases. Incidentally, *aN* would not allow initial *vṛddhi* of derivate.

5.3.51 मानपश्वङ्गयोः कन्लुकौ च

mānapaśvaṅgayoḥ kanlukau ca
/mānapaśvaṅgayoḥ 7/2 (*itar. dv.*); *kanlukau* 1/2 (*itar. dv.*)/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *bhāge* #48, *ṣaṣṭhāṣṭamābhyām* #50)
ṣāṣṭhāṣṭamābhyām yathāsaṃkhyaṃ kanlukau ca bhavato mānapaśvaṅgayor abhidheyayoḥ cakārād yathāprāptaṃ ca
The *taddhita* affix *kaN*, and *LUK* as well, occur after nominal stems *ṣaṣṭha* and *aṣṭama*, respectively, when corresponding derivates denote

māna 'measure' and *paśvaṅga* 'limbs of an animal' as *abhāga* 'fraction, part'.

EXAMPLES:

ṣaṣṭhako bhāgaḥ 'the sixth part which serves as a measure'
aṣṭamo bhāgaḥ 'the eighth part of an animal'
ṣāṣṭhaḥ/ṣaṣṭhaḥ 'one-sixth which serves as a measure'
āṣṭamaḥ/aṣṭamaḥ 'one-eighth of an animal'

1. This rule also provides for affixal deletion by means of *LUK*. Affix *kaN* cannot be deleted because it is expressly introduced after *ṣaṣṭha*. Stating it just for deletion does not make any sense. What then forms the focus of deletion? Note that this rule makes two operational provisions after two bases, both signifying *bhāga*. However, the two provisions are further constrained by conditions of *māna* 'measure' and *paśvaṅga* 'animal's limb'. Thus, *kaN* is to be introduced after *ṣaṣṭha* when *māna* is denoted as *bhāga*. Affixal deletion, by *LUK*, applies after *aṣṭama*, when *paśvaṅga* is denoted as *bhāga*. Since a deletion is valid only when a positive provision is made, and also since this rule does not make any positive provision after *aṣṭama*, affixes *Ña* and *aN* of the earlier rule will form the focus of deletion after *aṣṭamaḥ*. Thus, *ṣaṣṭha* will have a derivate in *ṣaṣṭhakaḥ* with *kaN*. Derivates of *aṣṭama* will undergo deletion of *Ña* and *aN*. This will yield two derivates with an identical form: *aṣṭamaḥ*. Of course, they will differ in accent.

Notice that this rule also uses *ca* 'and'. Consequently, affixes *Ña* and *aN* also become valid after the two bases. Thus, *ṣaṣṭha* will have *ṣaṣṭhaḥ* and *ṣāṣṭhaḥ*, additionally with *ṣaṣṭhakaḥ*. We will also get *aṣṭamaḥ* and *āṣṭamaḥ* if no deletion of *aN* and *aÑ* has taken effect. This renders deletion by *LUK* as an optional provision. True. If deletion by *LUK* becomes optional then it is not be stated. For, introduction of an affix, or lack of it, is already made optional by *vā* of 4.1.82 *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā*. *LUK* is stated to indicate that *Ña* and *aN* of our earlier rule are obligatory (*nitya*).

5.3.52 एकादाकिनिच् चासहाये

ekād ākinic cāsahāye
/ekāt 5/1 *ākinic* 1/1 *ca* ϕ *asahāye* 7/1 (*nañ. tat.*)/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *kanlukau* #51)
ekaśabdād asahāyavācinaḥ svārthe ākinic pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *ākinIC*, and *kaN* and *LUK* as well, occur after nominal stem *eka* 'one' when it signifies *asahāya* 'alone, without a companion'.

EXAMPLES:

ekākī 'alone, without a companion'

ekakaḥ 'id.'
ekaḥ 'id.'

1. Affixes *ākinIC* and *kaN* will be introduced optionally with their deletion by *LUK*. Thus, *ekākī, ekakaḥ* and *ekaḥ*, where the last may illustrate deletion of both.

2. The word *asahāya* is used to cancel *saṃkhyāvacana* 'denotation of number' from the context of this rule. For, if *eka* denotes 'number' then *ekākin* cannot be used in the dual and plural as *ekākinau* 'these two lonely ones' and *ekākinaḥ* 'these many lonely ones'.

5.3.53 भूतपूर्वे चरट्

bhūtapūrve caraṭ
/bhūtapūrve 7/1 *caraṭ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76)
bhūtapūrvatvaviśiṣṭe'rthe vartamānāt prātipadikāt svārthe caraṭ pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *caraṬ* occurs after a nominal stem which signifies *bhūtapūrva* 'that which existed in the past'.

EXAMPLES:

āḍhyo bhūtapūrvaḥ = āḍhyacaraḥ 'one who was prosperous in the past (but is not now)'
sukumāracaraḥ 'one who was tender in the past'

1. The word *bhūtapūrva* denotes *atikrāntakāla* 'elapsed time' and qualifies the sense of the base. Thus, *caraṬ* should be introduced after a base the denotatum of which is qualified with *bhūtapūrva*. The *Ṭ* in *caraṬ* is used as an *it* to facilitate *ṄīP* of 4.1.15 *ṭiḍḍhāṇañ*. . . . Consider *āḍhyacarī* 'she who was rich in the past'.

5.3.54 षष्ठ्या रूप्य च

ṣaṣṭhyā rūpya ca
/ṣaṣṭhyā 3/1 *rūpya* (1/1 deleted) *ca* ϕ/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *bhūtapūrve caraṭ* #53)
ṣaṭhyantāt prātipadikād rūpyaḥ pratyayo bhavati cakārāc caraṭ ca
The *taddhita* affix *rūpya*, and *caraṬ* as well, occurs after a nominal stem which ends in *ṣaṣṭhī* 'genitive', provided the derivate denotes *bhūtapūrva*.

EXAMPLES:

devadattasya bhūtapūrvo gauḥ = devadattarūpyaḥ 'a cow which Devadatta owned in the past'

devadattacaraḥ 'id.'

1. The word *bhūtapūrva* now modifies the sense of the affix (*pratyayārtha*), since the affix is being introduced after a nominal used in genitive.

5.3.55 अतिशायने तमबिष्ठनौ

atiśāyane tamabiṣṭhanau
/atiśāyane 7/1 *tamab-iṣṭhanau* 1/2 (*itar. dv.*)/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76)
atiśāyanaviśiṣṭe' rthe vartamānāt prātipadikāt svārthe tambiṣṭhanau pratyayau bhavataḥ
The *taddhita* affixes *tamaP* and *iṣṭhaN* occur after a nominal stem which signifies *atiśāyana* 'extreme excellence'.

EXAMPLES:

atiśayena āḍhyaḥ = āḍhyatamaḥ 'one who is the richest among rich'
darśanīyatamaḥ 'one who is best looking'
atiśayena paṭuḥ = paṭsiṣṭhaḥ 'one who is most able'
laghiṣṭhaḥ 'one who is lightest; youngest'
gariṣṭhaḥ 'one who is heaviest; oldest'

1. Note that a base which ends in an affix denoting *ātiśāyana* 'extreme excellence'can further take another affix if comparatively more excellence is to be denoted. Thus, *śreṣṭha* is derived with (*praśasya→śra*) + *iṣṭhaN*)) where *praśasya* is replaced with *śra* of 5.3.60 *praśasyasya śraḥ*. Affix *tamaP* can now be introduced after *śreṣṭha* to derive *śreṣṭhatama*, as in *yudhiṣṭhiraḥ śreṣṭhatamaḥ kurūṇām*. 'Yuddhiṣṭhira is best among the great Kurus'.

2. Note that *paṭu* and *laghu* will go through *ṭi*-deletion (6.4.143 *ṭeḥ*) before *iṣṭhaN*. A replacement in *gar* will be accomplished for *guru* by 6.4.157 *priyasthira*. . . . Thus, (*guru→gar*) + *iṣṭha = gariṣṭha*.

5.3.56 तिङश्च

tiṅaś ca
/tiṅaḥ 5/1 *ca* ϕ/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *atiśāyene tamap* #55)
tiṅantāc ca atiśāyane dyotye tamap pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *tamaP* also occurs after a verbal form which ends in a *tiN*, provided *atiśāyana* 'excellence, superiority' is signified.

EXAMPLES:

anyam eṣām atiśayena pacati = pacatitamām 'this one, among all of them, cooks excessively'

jalpatitamām 'one who is extremely talkative'

1. Note that affixal provision of this domain were available only after nominal stems (4.1.1 *ṅyāpprātipadikāt*). This rule introduces *tamaP* also after a form ending in *tiṄ* (3.4.78 *tiptasjhi . . .*). Example of *iṣṭhaN* are not offered since *iṣṭhaN* is introduced only after nominal stems which denote quality (5.3.58 *ajādī guṇavacanād eva*). Incidentally, 5.4.11 *kimettiṅavyaya . . .* introduces *ām* after a verbal form ending in affixes *taraP* and *tamaP*, occurring after a form ending in *tiṄ*. Thus, *pacati* + *tama*(*P*→ϕ) + *ām* = *pacati* + *tama* + *ām* = *pacatitamām*.

5.3.57 द्विवचनविभज्योपपदे तरबीयसुनौ

dvivacanavibhajyopapade tarabīyasunau
/dvivacanavibhajyopapade 7/1 *dvayor vacanaṃ dvivacanam; vibhaktuṃ yogyaṃ vibhajyam; dvivacanaṃ ca vibhajyaṃ ca* (*sam. dv.*); *dvivacanavibhajyam, tac ca tad upapadam ca* (*karm. tat.*), *tasmin; tarabīyasunau* 1/2/ (*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *atiśāyene* #55, *tiṅaś ca* #56)
dvyarthe vibhajye copapade prātipadikāt tiṅantāc cātiśāyane tarabīyasunau pratyayau bhavataḥ
The *taddhita* affixes *taraP* and *īyasUN* occur after a nominal stem, and after a verbal form ending in *tiṄ* as well, when these cooccur with a *pada* which signifies two (*dvyartha*), or distinguishes one from another (*vibhajya*), provided derivates signify *atiśāyana* 'excellence, superiority'.

EXAMPLES:

dvāv imāv āḍhyau, ayam anayor atiśayenāḍhyaḥ = *āḍhyataraḥ* 'these two are rich; this one is richer among the two'
jalpatitarām 'one who is more talkative than the other'
ayam anayor atiśayena paṭuḥ = *paṭīyān* 'this one is smarter than the other'
māthurāḥ pāṭaliputrakebhya āḍhyatarāḥ 'the people of Mathurā are richer than the people of Pāṭaliputra'

1. Note that *dvivacana* is used here in its non-technical sense of 'that (a *pada*) which has the signification of two'. It is not used in the technical sense of dual number.

This rule specifies two bases, two affixes and two cooccurring *padas*. This may lead one to introduce affix *taraP* after a nominal stem, and *tamaP* after a form ending in *tiṄ*, under the conditions of *dvivacana* and *vibhajya*, respectively. This assignment of equivalents in accord with enumeration (1.3.10 *yathāsaṃkhyam . . .*) is, however, not desired (*neṣyate*). Both affixes can be introduced after either one of these bases.

2. The nominative singular form of *paṭīyas* + *sU*, a derivate of *paṭu* + *īyas*(*UN*) through *ṭi*-deletion of *u*, can be derived by introducing *nUM* (7.1.70 *ugidacāṃ sarvanāma* . . .) and replacing the penultimate short *a* with *ā* (6.4.10 *sānmahataḥ* . . .). The final *s* of *paṭīyāns* will be deleted by 8.2.23 *saṃyogāntasya lopaḥ*. The nominal ending *sU* will be deleted by 6.1.68 *halṅyābbhyo*. . . .

5.3.58 अजादी गुणवचनादेव

ajādī guṇavacanād eva
/*ajādī* 1/2 *guṇavacanāt* 5/1 *eva* ϕ
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76)
iṣṭhann-īyasunāv pratayau guṇavacanād eva bhavato nānyasmāt
The two vowel-initial *taddhita* affixes, namely *iṣṭhaN* and *īyasUN*, occur only after that nominal stem which denotes quality (*guṇavacana*).

EXAMPLES:

paṭīyān/*laghīyān* 'more skilled/younger'
paṭiṣṭhaḥ/*laghiṣṭhaḥ* 'most skilled/youngest'

1. Recall that a general provision for affixes *iṣṭhaN* and *īyasUN* was made earlier. This rule now restricts that provision to take effect only after a nominal stem which denotes quality (*guṇavacanād eva*). That is, *iṣṭhaN* and *īyasUN* cannot be introduced after a base which denotes something other than quality. The use of *eva* signals a restrictive provision. Given the wording of this rule, one may arrive at two different restrictive interpretations:

(*i*) *guṇavacanād eva ajādī* 'affixes *iṣṭhaN* and *īyasUN* occur only after a nominal stem which denotes quality'; and
(*ii*) *ajādī eva guṇavacanād* 'affixes *iṣṭhaN* and *īyasUN* alone occur after a nominal stem which denotes quality.

The second interpretation makes a restriction about the base (*prakṛtiniyama*). That is, if the base denotes quality then it must be restricted to receive affixes *iṣṭhaN* and *īyasUN* only. This will rule out introduction of any other affix after a stem which denotes quality. The first interpretation make a restriction about affixes (*pratyayaniyama*). That is, if the affixes are *ajādī* then they must occur after a stem which denotes quality. This restriction cannot block affixes, which do not begin with a vowel, from occurring after stems used with the signification of quality. The first interpretation is accepted here. The word *eva* is thus used here to clearly determine the scope of these affixes (*Kāś.*: *evakāra iṣṭato'vadhāraṇārthaḥ*).

5.3.59 तुश्छन्दसि

tuś chandasi
/*tuḥ* 5/1 *chandasi* 7/1/

(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *ajādī* #58)
trantāc chandasi viṣaye ajādī pratyayau bhavataḥ
The two vowel-initial *taddhita* affixes, namely *iṣṭhaN* and *īyasUN*, occur in Vedic, after nominal stems which end in affixes *tṛN* and *tṛC*.

EXAMPLES:

āsutiṃ kariṣṭhaḥ 'he who is most efficient in pressing out Soma'
dohīyasī dhenuḥ 'a cow which gives the most milk'

1. Note that *tuḥ*, ablative singular of *tṛ*, is used for making a general references to affixes *tṛC* (3.1.133 *ṇvultṛcau*) *and tṛN* (3.2.135 *tṛn*). Our earlier rule restricts these affixes to occur only after bases denoting quality. This rule, though in Vedic, allows them after other bases. Recall that *tṛC* and *tṛN* denote agent (*kartṛ*). Given *kartṛ* + *iṣṭha*(*N*→ϕ), rule 6.4.154 *tur iṣṭhemeyas suḥ* deletes *tṛ* to produce *kariṣṭha*. This same deletion also applies to *tṛN* of *duh* + *tṛN* + *ṄīP* = *dogdhṛ* where, given *dogdhrī* + *īyas*(*UN*→ϕ) = *doh* + (*tṛ*→ϕ) *īyas*, *ṄīP* is removed in favor of *puṃvadbhāva* 'masculine transformation', caused by a *vārttika* ad 6.3.35 *tasilādiṣv . . .* (*vt. bhasyāḍhe taddhite*). Incidentally, *dogh* of *dogdhṛ* is restored to *doh* because it cause (*nimitta*), i.e., *tṛN*, is removed. Our derivate *dohīyas* can now receive *ṄīP* to produce *dohīyasī*.

5.3.60 प्रशस्यस्य श्रः

praśasyasya śraḥ
/*praśasyasya* 6/1 *śraḥ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *ajādī* #58)
praśasyaśabdasya 'śra' ity ayam ādeśo bhavati ajādyoḥ pratyayayoḥ parataḥ
A substitute in *śra* occurs in place of *praśasya* 'praiseworthy' when the two vowel-initial *taddhita* affixes, namely *iṣṭhaN* and *īyasUN*, follow.

EXAMPLES:

sarve ime praśasyāḥ ayam eṣām atiśayena praśasyaḥ = *śreṣṭhaḥ* 'these all are praiseworthy; this one is the most praiseworthy'
ubhāv imau praśasyau, ayam anayor atiśayena praśasyaḥ = *śreyān* 'these two are both praiseworthy; this one is the most praiseworthy among the two'

1. Note that, for proper interpretation of this rule, the nominative dual of *ajādī* is interpreted as locative (*saptamī*) dual (*dvivacana*). How could these affixes be introduced after *praśasya* which does not denote a quality. They will be introduced after *praśasya* at the strength of this provision of *śra* as a replacement (*ādeśavidhānasāmarthyāt*). For otherwise, this replacement provision (*ādeśavidhāna*) will become vacuous. Similar explanation is also valid

in subsequent rules *Kāś.*: *evam uttareṣv api yogeṣu vijñeyam*). Incidentally, given *śra* + *iṣṭha*, and *śra* + *īyas*, application of 6.4.155 *ṭeḥ* and 6.4.148 *yasyeti ca* would have wiped out *śra*. This is blocked by 6.4.163 *prakṛtyaikāc*. Rule 6.1.87 *ād guṇaḥ* then orders a single *guṇa* substitute for *a* + *i* and *a* + *ī*.

5.3.61 ज्य च

jya ca
/jya (1/1 deleted) *ca ϕ/*
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *ajādī* #58, *praśasya* #60)
praśasyaśabdasya 'jya' ity ayam ādeśo bhavati ajādyoḥ pratyayoḥ parataḥ
A substitute in *jya* also comes in place of *praśasya* when the two vowel-initial *taddhita* affixes, namely *iṣṭhaN* and *īyasUN*, follows.

EXAMPLES:

sarve ime praśasyāḥ; ayam atiśayena praśasyaḥ = jyeṣṭhaḥ 'these are all praiseworthy, but this one is the most'
ubhāv imau praśasyau; ayam anayor atiśayena praśasyaḥ = jyāyān 'these two are both praiseworthy; this among these two is the most'

1. Note that, given (*praśasya→jya* + *īyas*), the *i* of *īyas* is replaced with *ā* of 6.4.160 *jyād ād īyasaḥ*. That is, *jya* + (*i→ā*)*yas* = *jyayas*. A derivate, such as *jyeṣṭha*, is derived from (*praśasya→jya*) + *iṣṭha*)), in a manner similar to *śreṣṭha* (5.3.60 *praśasya* . . .). Follow relevant rule-application similar to *paṭīyān* (5.3.57 *dvivacanavibhajopapade* . . .) for deriving *jyāyān* from *jyāyas* + *sU*.

5.3.62 वृद्धस्य च

vṛddhasya ca
/vṛddhasya 6/1 *ca ϕ/*
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *ajādī* #58, *jya* #61)
vṛddhaśabdasya ca 'jya' ity ayam ādeśo bhavaty ajādyoḥ pratyayoḥ parataḥ
A substitute in *jya* also comes in place of *vṛddha* when the two vowel-initial *taddhita* affixes, namely *iṣṭhaN* and *īyasUN*, follow.

EXAMPLES:

sarve ime vṛddhāḥ; ayam eṣām atiśayena vṛddhaḥ = jyeṣṭhaḥ 'these are all elders, but this one is the eldest of them all'
ubhāv imau vṛddhau; ayam anayor atiśayena vṛddhaḥ = jyāyān 'these two are both elders, but this one is elder than the other'

1. Note that rule 6.4.157 *priyasthirasphira* . . . also offers *varṣa* as a replacement for *vṛddha*. That is, *varṣa* may also replace *vṛddha*, optionally with *jya*.

This will give two additional forms: *varṣiṣṭhaḥ* and *varṣīyān*, parallel to *jyeṣṭhaḥ* and *jyāyān*.

5.3.63 अन्तिकबाढयोर्नेदसाधौ

antikabāḍhayor nedasādhau
/antikabāḍhayoḥ 6/2 (*itar. dv.*); *nedasādhau* 1/2 (*itar. dv.*)/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *ajādī* #58)
antika-bāḍhayor yathāsaṃkhyaṃ 'neda, sādha' ity etāv ādeśau bhavato' jādyoḥ parataḥ
A substitute in *neda* and *sādha* comes in place of *antika* 'proximate' and *bāḍha* 'good', respectively, when the two vowel-initial *taddhita* affixes, namely *iṣṭhaN* and *īyasUN*, follow them.

EXAMPLES:

sarvāṇīmāny antikāni idam eṣām atiśayenāntikam = nediṣṭham 'these are all very close by, this is the nearest of them all'
ubhe ime antike, idam anayor atiśayena nedīyaḥ 'these two both are close by, but this is the nearest of the two'
sarva ime bāḍham adhīyate, ayam eṣām atiśayena bāḍham adhīte = sādhiṣṭhaḥ 'they all are studying well, but this one is the best student'
ubhāv imau bāḍham adhīyāte, anayor atiśayena bāḍham adhīte = sādhīyaḥ 'these two are both studying well, but this one is a better student'

1. Note that *yathāsaṃkhya* will not apply relative to the two affixes which both serve as conditioning factors (*Kāś.*: *nimittabhūtayor yathāsaṃkhyam atra neṣyate*). Deriving *nediṣṭha*, etc., from *neda* + *iṣṭha*, etc., involves *bhasaṃjñā* and *a*-deletion.

5.3.64 युवाल्पयोः कनन्यतरस्याम्

yuvālpayoḥ kan anyatarasyām
/yuvālpayoḥ 6/2 *kan* 1/1 *anyatarasyām* 7/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *ajādī* #58)
yuvālpaśabdayoḥ kan ity ayam ādeśo bhavaty anyatarasyām ajādyoḥ parataḥ
A substitute in *kan* optionally comes in place of *yuvan* 'youth, young' and *alpa* 'small, little' when the two vowel-initial *taddhita* affixes, namely *iṣṭhaN* and *īyasUN*, follow.

EXAMPLES:

sarva ime yuvānaḥ, ayam eṣām atiśayena yuvā = kaniṣṭhaḥ 'they are all young; but this one is the youngest of them all'
yaviṣṭhaḥ 'id.'

dvāv imau yuvānau, ayam anayor atiśayena yuvā = kanīyān 'these two are both young; but this one is younger'
yavīyān 'id.'
sarve ime' lpāḥ, ayam eṣām atiśayenālpaḥ = kaniṣṭhaḥ 'these all are small; but this one is the smallest of them all'
alpiṣṭhaḥ 'id.'
ubhāv imāv alpau, ayam anayor atiśayenālpaḥ = kanīyān 'these two both are small; but this one is smaller'
alpiyān 'id.'

1. Note that *van* of *yuvan* is deleted before *iṣṭhaN* and *īyasUN*. Additionally, *u* of *yu* is replaced with its *guṇa* counterpart *o* (6.4.156 *sthūladūrayuva* . . . . Rule 6.1.78 *eco'yavāyāvaḥ* then applies on *y*(*u*→*o*) *van*→ϕ)) + *iṣṭha*))) = *y*(*o*→*av*) *iṣṭha*)) to produce *yaviṣṭha*.

5.3.65 विन्मतोर्लुक्

vinmator luk
/*vinmatoḥ* 6/2 *luk* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *ajādi* #58)
vino matupaś ca lug bhavati ajādyoḥ pratyayoḥ parataḥ
LUK comes in place of the *taddhita* affixes *vinI* and *matUP* when the two vowel-initial *taddhita* affixes, namely *iṣṭhaN* and *īyasUN*, follow.

EXAMPLES:

sarve ime sragviṇaḥ, ayam eṣām atiśayena sragvī = srajiṣṭhaḥ 'they are all wearing garlands but this one is wearing the most'
ubhāv imau sragviṇau ayam anayor atiśayena sragvī = srajīyān 'these two both are wearing garlands, but this one is wearing the most'
sarve ime tvagvantaḥ, ayam eṣām atiśayena tvagvī = tvaciṣṭhaḥ 'they all have beautiful skin, but this one has the most beautiful'
ubhāv imau tvagvantau ayam anayor atiśayena tvagvān = tvacīyān 'they both have beautiful skin, but this one has comparatively more beautiful'

1. This rule itself serves an indicator (*jñāpaka*) for the introduction of affixes *iṣṭha* and *īyasUN* after bases ending in affixes *vinI* and *matUP* (*Kāś.*: *idam eva vacanaṃ jñāpakam ajādisadbhāvasya*). Incidentally, *vinI* is introduced by 5.2.121 *asmāyāmedhāsrajo viniḥ*. Note that deletion of *vinI* will leave the base after which *vinI* was introduced. Thus, we will get *sraj* + *iṣṭha* = *srajiṣṭha* from *sragvin* + *iṣṭhaN*. One can similarly derive *tvaciṣṭha*. These forms will be spared *ṭi*-deletion because of 6.4.163 *prakṛtyaikāc*.

5.3.66 प्रशंसायां रूपप्

praśaṃsāyāṃ rūpap

/praśaṃsāyām 7/1 *rūpap* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *tiṅaḥ* #56, *ajādi* #58)
praśaṃsāviśiṣṭe' rthe vartamānāt prātipadikāt svārthe rūpap pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *rūpaP* occurs after a nominal stem, and verbal form ending in *tiṄ*, provided their signification is qualified with *praśaṃsā* 'praise'.

EXAMPLES:

praśasto vaiyākaraṇaḥ = vaiyākaraṇarūpaḥ 'an excellent grammarian'
yājñikarūpaḥ 'an excellent ritualist'
pacatirūpam 'excellent in cooking'
pacatorūpam 'the two who are excellent in cooking'

1. Note that affix *rūpaP*, because of no particular meaning specification, denotes *svārtha* 'base-meaning'. Affixes which denote *svārtha* denote some special meaning of their bases (*Kāś.*: *svārthikāś ca pratyayāḥ prakṛtyarthaviśeṣasya dyotakā bhavanti*). The word *praśaṃsā* serves here as a qualifier to the base. It denotes distinction relative to the meaning of the base. Consider for illustration: *vṛṣalarūpo'yaṃ yaḥ palāṇḍunā surāṃ pibati* 'this, the one who is drinking liquor while taking a bite of onion, must be some special Vṛṣala (lowly untouchable)'.

Forms such as *pacatirūpam* and *pacatorūpam* are neuter in consonance with usage. That they are not used in dual or plural is based upon singular nature of action.

5.3.67 ईषदसमाप्तौ कल्पब्देश्यदेशीयरः

īṣadasamāptau kalpabdeśyadeśīyaraḥ
/īṣadasamāptau 7/1 = *na samāptiḥ* (*nañ. tat.*); *īṣac cāsāv asamāptiś ca* = *īṣadasamāptiḥ* (*karm. tat.* with int. *nañ. tat.*); *tasyām*; *kalpab-deśyadeśīyaraḥ* 1/3 (*itar. dv.*)/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76)
The *taddhita* affixes *kalpaB*, *deśya* and *deśīyaR* occur after a nominal stem, or a verbal form ending in *tiṄ*, provided their denotatum is qualified with *īṣadasamāpti* 'a little short of completion'.

EXAMPLES:

īṣadasamāptaḥ paṭuḥ = paṭukalpaḥ 'one who is just about skilled'
paṭudeśyaḥ 'id.'
paṭudeśīyaḥ 'id.'
pacatikaplam '. . . cooks just about perfect'
pacatideśyaḥ 'id.'
pacatideśīyaḥ 'id.'

1. The word *īṣadasamāpti* is used as a qualifier to the meaning of the stem (*prakṛtyarthaviśeṣaṇaṃ*). These affixes are also introduced after forms ending in *tiṄ*.

5.3.68 विभाषा सुपो बहुच् पुरस्तात्तु

vibhāṣā supo bahuc purastāt tu
/vibhāṣā 1/1 *supaḥ* 5/1 *bahuc* 1/1 *purastāt ϕ tu ϕ/*
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *īṣadasamāptau* #67)
īṣadasamāptiviśiṣṭe' rthe vartamānāt subantād vibhāṣā bahuc pratyayo bhavati sa tu purastād eva bhavati na tu parataḥ
The *taddhita* affix *bahuC* optionally occurs before (*purastāt*), and not after, a nominal stem which ends in a *sUP* and has its meaning qualified with *īṣadasamāpti*.

EXAMPLES:

īṣadasamāptaḥ paṭuḥ = *bahupaṭuḥ* 'one who is a little less skilled'
paṭukalpaḥ 'id.'
paṭudeśyaḥ 'id.'
paṭudeśīyaḥ 'id.'
bahulekhaḥ 'a little less perfect writing'
lekhakalpaḥ 'id.'
lekhadeśyaḥ 'id.'
lekhadeśīyaḥ 'id.'

1. The word *sUP* is used here to block the introduction of *bahuC* before verbal forms (*tiṅanta*).

5.3.69 प्रकारवचने जातीयर्

prakāravacane jātīyar
/prakāravacane 7/1 *jātīyar* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76)
prakāraviśiṣṭe' rthe vartamānāt prātipadikāt svārthe jātīyar pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *jātīyaR* occurs after a nominal stem which ends in a *sUP* and whose signification is qualified with *prakāra* 'mode, manner, kind'.

EXAMPLES:

paṭuprakāraḥ = *paṭujātīyaḥ* 'like someone skilled'
mṛdujātīyaḥ 'like someone, or something, tender'
darśanīyajātīyaḥ 'like someone, or something, beautiful'

1. Note that *jātīyaR* denotes *svārtha* 'base-meaning'. That is, it denotes something qualified with *prakāra* 'mode, manner, kind'. It is in this sense that *jātīyaR* differs from *thāL* which, in turn, simply denotes *prakāra*. See my notes under 5.3.23 *prakāravacane thāl* for additional details.

5.3.70 प्रागिवात्कः

prāg ivāt kaḥ
/prāk ϕ ivāt 5/1 *kaḥ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *supaḥ* #68)
'*ive pratikṛtau*' *iti vakṣyati*; *prāg estamād ivasaṃśabdanād yānita ūrdhvam anukramiṣyāmaḥ kapratyayas teṣv adhikṛto veditavyaḥ*
A *taddhita* affix, namely *ka*, occurs henceforth, prior to *ive pratikṛtau* (5.3.96), after a nominal stem.

EXAMPLES:

Look under subsequent rules.

1. Note that *tiṅaḥ* is carried here, though for use in subsequent rules. That is, *ka* is not desired here to be introduced after a form ending in *tiN* (*Kāś.*: *tiṅantād ayaṃ pratyayo neṣyate. akaj iṣyate*). The *anuvṛtti* of *tiN* is to be canceled in this rule on account of the use of *sUP*.

5.3.71 अव्ययसर्वनाम्नामकच् प्राक् टेः

avyayasarvanāmnāṃ akac prāk ṭeḥ
/ avyayasarvanāmnām 6/3 = *avyayāni ca sarvanāmāni ca = avyayasarvanāmāni* (*itar. dv.*) *teṣām*; *akac* 1/1 *prāk ϕ ṭeḥ* 5/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *tiṅaḥ* #56, *supaḥ* #68, *prāg ivāt* #70)
avyayānāṃ sarvanāmnāṃ ca prāgivīyeṣv artheṣu akac pratyayo bhavati sa ca prāk ṭeḥ na parataḥ
The *taddhita* affix *akAC* is introduced prior to the *ṭi* (1.1.64 *aco' ntyādi ṭi*) of a nominal stem termed *avyaya* and *sarvanāman*, or prior to the *ṭi* of that which ends in a *tiN*, to denote the sense of affixes introduced henceforth prior to *iva*.

EXAMPLES:

uccakaiḥ 'in a loud voice'
nīcakaih 'in a low voice'
sarvake 'they all'
viśvake 'id.'
yuṣmakābhiḥ 'by you all'
asmakābhiḥ 'by us all'

tvayakā 'by you'
mayakā 'by me'
pacataki '. . . cooks'
jalpataki '. . . talks (too much)'

1. Note that *sUP* and *tiṄ* are both carried. That is, *akAC* is technically to be introduced prior to the *ṭi* of a form of an *avyaya* and *sarvanāman* ending in *sUP*, or prior to the *ṭi* of a verbal form ending in *tiṄ*. This rules out the introduction of *akAC* prior to the *ṭi* of a nominal stem, or of a verbal root. Commentators note that this will create problems. For, we find that, in deriving *yuṣmakābhiḥ, asmakābhiḥ, yuṣmakāsu, asmakāsu, yuvakayoḥ* and *āvakayoḥ*, *akAC* is introduced prior to the *ṭi* of nominal stems *yuṣmad* and *asmad*. A *sUP*, in these cases, is introduced subsequently. In examples such as *tvayakā, mayakā, tvayaki* and *mayaki, akAC* is introduced prior to the *ṭi* of forms ending in a *sUP*. It is stated that whether *akAC* is to be introduced prior to the *ṭi* of a nominal stem, or prior to the *ṭi* of a form ending in a *sUP*, should be decided on the basis of what *abhidhāna* 'denotation of meaning by forms of words' require. A *vārttika* under 5.3.73 *ajñāte* proposes the introduction of *akAC* prior to the *ṭi* of a *sarvanāman* when a nominal ending beginning with *o, s* and *bh* follows. Elsewhere, it should be introduced prior to the *ṭi* of a form ending in a *sUP* (*vt.*: *okāra-sakāra-bhakārādau supi sarvanāmnaṣ ṭeḥ prāg akac, anyatra to subantasya ṭeḥ prāg akac*). The *Mahābhāṣya*, however, accepts this *vārttika* only in the context of *yuṣmad* and *asmad*. Elsewhere, in the context of other pronominals, *akAC* will be introduced prior to the *ṭi* of a form ending in *sUP*. Thus, *sarvakeṇa, imakena*, etc.

2. A *vārttika* proposes the introduction of affix *kāM* after *tūṣṇīm* 'quiet' where, because it is marked with *M* as an *it*, *kāM* is introduced after *ī* of *tūṣṇīm* (1.1.47 *mid aco'ntyāt paraḥ*). Thus, *tūṣṇīkāṃ tiṣṭhati* '. . . stays quiet'. Yet another *vārttika* requires the introduction of affix *ka* after *tūṣṇīm*, with deletion of *m*, when *śīla* follows. Thus, *tūṣṇī* + *ka* + (*m*→ϕ) + *śīla* = *tūṣṇīkaśīla* 'one who is quiet by nature'.

3. Note that *tiṅaḥ* is also valid. Thus we get: *pacataki* and *jalpataki*, where *akAC* is introduced prior to *i* of *pacati* and *jalpati*. The provision of *akAC* is an exception to *ka* (*Kāś.*: *kasyāpavādaḥ*).

5.3.72 **कस्य च दः**

kasya ca daḥ
/kasya 6/1 *ca* ϕ *daḥ* 1/1/ ·
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *avyayasarvanāmnām akac* #71)
kakārāntasya prātipadikasyākacsanniyogena dakārādeśo bhavati

The final *k* of an *avyaya* which cooccurs with *akAC* is replaced with *d*.

EXAMPLES:

dhik = *dhakit* 'what a shame!'
hiruk = *hirakut* 'except for. . .; distance; out of sight'
pṛthakat 'set aside, separated'

1. Note that *sarvanāman* is also carried. However, the question of replacement the final *k* of a *sarvanāman* with *d* does not arise since no *sarvanāman* ends in *k*. Consequently, the replacement applies only to an indeclinable. We thus derive *dhakit* by introducing *akAC* prior to the *ṭi* of the indeclinable *dhik*, thereby getting *dh+ak+ik* = *dhaki*(*k*→*d*) = *dhakid*. The *d* will then go through *cartva* (8.4.55 *khari ca*; 8.4.56 *vā' vasāne*). Other examples are similarly derived.

5.3.73 अज्ञाते

ajñāte
/ajñāte 7/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *tiṅaḥ* #56, *supaḥ* #68, *prāg ivāt kaḥ* #70, *avyayasarvanāmnām akac* #71)
ajñātatvopādhike' rthe vartamānāt prātipadikāt svārthe yathāvihitaṃ pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affixes *ka* and *akAC* occur after a *pada* which ends in a *sUP* and *tiṄ* when what it denotes is qualified with *ajñāta* 'not known'.

EXAMPLES:

aśvakaḥ 'a horse whose ownership is not known; whose horse is this?; a stray horse; a bad horse'
gardabhakaḥ 'a donkey whose ownership is not known; whose donkey is this?; a stray donkey; a bad donkey'
uccakaiḥ 'in an unknown loud voice; loudly'
nīcakaiḥ 'in an unknown low voice; softly'
pacataki '. . . cooks but no one knows how good; cooks'
jalpataki '. . . talks too much but no one knows what; talks too much'

1. Derivate meanings, especially relative to the condition of *ajñāta*, should be determined in accord with usage.

5.3.74 कुत्सिते

kutsite
/kutsite 7/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *tiṅaḥ* #56 *supaḥ* #68, *prāg ivāt kaḥ* #70, *avyayasarvanāmnām akac* #71)

kutsitatvopādhike' rthe vartamānāt prātipadikāt svārthe yathāvidhitaṃ pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affixes *ka* and *akAC* occur after a *pada* which ends in a *sUP* and *tiṄ* when what it denotes is qualified with *kutsita* 'contemptible'.

EXAMPLES:

kutsito' śvaḥ = aśvakaḥ 'a bad horse'
uṣṭrakaḥ 'a bad camel'
nīcakaiḥ ' low voice deserving of contempt'
sarvake 'they are all contemptible'
pacataki '. . . cooks bad'
jalpataki '. . . talks too much but makes no sense'

1. Here again, *kutsita* 'deserving of contempt' is used as a qualifier to the denotatum of the base (*prakṛtyarthaviśeṣaṇam*).

5.3.75 संज्ञायां कन्

saṃjñāyām kan
/saṃjñāyām 7/1 *kan* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *tiṅaḥ* #56 *supaḥ* #68, *prāg ivāt kaḥ* #70, *avyayasarvanāmnām akac* #71, *kutsite* #74)
kutsitatvopādhike' rthe vartamānāt prātipadikāt kan pratyayo bhavati pratyayāntena cet saṃjñā gamyate
The *taddhita* affix *kaN* occurs after a nominal stem whose denotatum is qualified with *kutsita* 'to be censured', provided the derivate denotes a *saṃjñā* 'name'.

EXAMPLES:

śūdrakaḥ 'a lowly untouchable deserving of contempt'
dhārakaḥ 'he who is deserving of contempt because of acting against' *dharma* 'duty'
pūrṇakaḥ 'a bad tree'

1. Note that *kaN* blocks *ka* because of the condition of *saṃjñā* 'name'. That is, *ka* cannot be introduced since its derivate cannot denote a name. Incidentally, examples of forms ending in a *tiṄ* are not offered for the same reason. It is also stated that *ka*, as opposed to *kaN*, is introduced because of accentual difference (*svarabheda*).

5.3.76 अनुकम्पायाम्

anukampāyām
/anukampāyām 7/1/

(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *tiṅaḥ* #56 *supaḥ* #68, *prāg ivāt kaḥ* #70, *avyayasarvanāmnām akac* #71)
anukampāyāṃ gamyamānāyāṃ subantāt tiṅantāc ca yathāvihitaṃ pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affixes *ka* and *akAC* occur after a *pada* which ends in a *sUP* and *tiṄ*, provided *anukampā* 'compassion' is denoted.

EXAMPLES:

putrakaḥ 'a son who has received affection; youngest son'
durbalakaḥ 'a weak person who has received support'
bubhukṣitakaḥ 'a hungry who has received food'
svapitaki 'at last he is sleeping'
jalpitaki 'at last he is talking'
śvasitaki 'at last he is breathing'

1. The word *anukampā* is explained as 'a favor done to someone out of compassion' (*kāruṇyenābhyupapattiḥ parasya*).

5.3.77 नीतौ च तद्युक्तात्

nītau ca tadyuktāt
/*nītau* 7/1 *ca* ϕ *tadyuktāt* 5/2 = *tayā* (*anukampayā*) *yuktaḥ* (*tṛt. tat.*), *tasmāt*/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *tiṅaḥ* #56 *supaḥ* #68, *prāg ivāt kaḥ* #70, *avyayasarvanāmnām akac* #71, *anukampāyām* #76)
nītau ca gamyamānāyāṃ tadyuktād yathāvihitaṃ pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affixes *ka* and *akAC* occur after a nominal stem, or after a *pada* which ends in a *sUP* and *tiṄ*, provided their denotatum is associated with 'compassion' (*anukampā*) and derivates denote *nīti* 'prudent conduct'.

EXAMPLES:

hanta te dhānakāḥ 'here! you can have this roasted barley'
hanta te tilakāḥ 'here! you can have this sesame'
ehaki 'here! come here (son!)'
addhaki 'here! have this food (son!)'

1. This rule allows affixes after bases whose meanings are associated with 'compassion (*anukampā*). The derivates must also denote some prudent action for example *dāna* 'giving'. Thus, *dhāna* 'roasted barley' receives *ka* because it is associated with compassion in the context of giving (*dāna*). That is, 'compassion' and 'giving' are mediated by 'roasted barley'. Our earlier rule introduces affixes after bases which denote objects of compassion. That

is, 'compassion' is directly relatable there to 'one toward whom compassion is directed'. This rule offers *ka* after 'that which is relatable to compassion indirectly' (*Kāś.*: *pūrveṇa pratyāsannānukampāsambandhād anukampyamānād eva pratyayo vihitaḥ; samprati vyavahitād api yathā syād iti vacanam*).

5.3.78 बह्वचो मनुष्यनाम्नष्ठञ्वा

bahvaco manuṣyanāmnaṣ ṭhaj vā
/bahvacaḥ 5/1 *manuṣyanāmnaḥ* 5/1 *ṭhac* 1/1 *vā ϕ/*
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *anukampāyām* #76, *nītau ca tadyuktāt* #77)
bahvacaḥ prātipadikān manuṣyanāmadheyād vā ṭhac pratyayo bhavati anukampāyāṃ gamyamānāyāṃ nītau ca
The *taddhita* affix *ṭhaC* occurs optionally after a nominal stem which consists of many vowels (*bahvacaḥ*) and denotes a human name (*nāmnaḥ*), provided derivates signify *anukampā* 'compassion', or a prudent action (*nīti*) related with that (*tadyukta*).

EXAMPLES:

devikaḥ 'Devadatta who has received compassion'
devadattakaḥ 'id.'
yajñikaḥ 'Yajñadatta who has received compassion'
yajñadattakaḥ 'id.'

1. Note that condition of *bahvacaḥ* must be met so that *ṭhaC* could be blocked from occurring after *datta* and *gupta* which consist of two vowels only. Consequently, *dattakaḥ* and *guptakaḥ* will be derived with *ka*. The condition of *manuṣyanāma* is also important so that *ṭhaC* could be blocked after *madrabāhu* and *bhadrabāhu* which are names of places. Incidentally, *kaN* will be introduced when option of *ṭhaC* is not accepted. Examples enumerated henceforth prior to 5.3.83 *ṭhājādāv ūrdhvam . . .* will also, where applicable, go through deletion of part of their bases beyond the second vowel. Thus, *devilaḥ* is derived from *devadatta* + *ṭhaK* where *ṭhaK* yields *ika* and *datta* of *devadatta* gets deleted. That is, *deva*(*datta*→ϕ) + (*ṭha*→*ika*) = *dev*(*a*→ϕ) + *ika* = *devika*, through *bha-saṃjñā* and *a-lopa*. A derivate of *kaN*, however, will not go through part-deletion of its base.

5.3.79 घनिलचौ च

ghanilacau ca
/ghan-ilacau 1/2 (*itar. dv.*); *ca ϕ/*
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *anukampāyām* #76, *nītau ca tadyuktāt* #77, *bahvaco manuṣyanāmnaṣ ṭhaj vā* #78)
bahvaco manuṣyanāmno 'ghan-ilac' ity etau pratyayau bhavataḥ cakārād

yathāprātaṃ ca
The *taddhita* affixes *ghaN* and *ilaC*, and optionally *ṭhaC* and *kaN* as well, occur after a nominal stem which consists of many vowels (*bahvacaḥ*) and denotes a human name (*nāmnaḥ*), provided derivates signify *anukampā*, or a prudent conduct (*nīti*) related with that (*tadyukta*).

EXAMPLES:

deviyaḥ 'Devadatta who has received compassion'
devilaḥ 'id.'
devikaḥ 'id.'
devadattakaḥ 'id.'
yajñiyaḥ/ yajñilaḥ/ yajñikaḥ/ yajñadattakaḥ 'Yajñadatta who has received compassion'

1. Particle *ca* is used for bringing *ṭhaC* introduced optionally with *kaN*. That is, there will be four derivates one each for *ghaN*, *ilaC*, *kaN* and *ṭhaC*. Derivates of *kaN* will again not go through part-deletion of their bases.

2. Rule 5.3.83 *ṭhājādāv ūrdhvaṃ dvitīyād acaḥ* deletes a base beyond its second vowel when affix *ṭhaC*, or an affix beginning with a vowel (*ajādi*), follows. However, a *vārttika* makes such deletions optional when the affix does not begin with a vowel (*vt.*: *anajādau ca vibhāṣā*). Thus, *devikaḥ*, *devadattakaḥ*, *devakaḥ*, etc.

5.3.80 प्राचामुपादेरडञ्वुचौ च

prācām upāder aḍajvucau ca
/prācām 6/3 *upādeḥ* 5/1 = *upa ādir yasya* (*bv.*), *tasmāt*; *aḍaj-vucau* 1/2 (*itar. dv.*); *ca ϕ/*
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *anukampāyām* #76, *nītau ca tadyuktāt* #77, *bahvaco manuṣyanāmnaṣ ṭhaj vā* #78, *ghanilacau ca* #79)
The *taddhita* affixes *aḍaC* and *vuC*, and *kaN*, *ghaN*, *ilaC*, and *ṭhaC* as well, occur optionally in the opinion of Eastern grammarians after a nominal stem which begins with *upa*, consists of many vowels (*bahvacaḥ*), and names a human (*nāmnaḥ*), provided derivates signify *anukampā* or a prudent conduct (*nīti*) related with that (*tadyukta*).

EXAMPLES:

upendradatto'nukampitaḥ = upaḍaḥ 'Upendradatta who has received compassion'
upakaḥ 'id.'
upiyaḥ/ upilaḥ/ upikaḥ/ upendradattakaḥ 'id.'

1. Note that since *vā* is carried, *prācām* does not denote option. It denotes 'respect' (*pūjā*), instead. Part-deletion of *upendradatta* will reduce the base

to *upa.* Here again, *upendradattakaḥ* is a derivate of *kaN* with no part-deletion of its base.

5.3.81 जातिनाम्नः कन्

jātināmnaḥ kan
/jātināmnaḥ 5/1 = *jāter nāma* (*ṣas. tat.*), *tasmāt*; *kan* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *anukampāyām* #76, *nītau ca tadyuktāt* #77, *manuṣyanāmnaḥ* #78)
jātiśabdo yo manuṣyanāmadheyo 'vyāghra, siṃha' ity evamādiḥ tasmād anukampāyāṃ nītau ca kan pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *kaN* occurs after a nominal stem which signifies *jāti* 'class of species' as human name (*nāmnaḥ*), provided derivates denote *anukampā*, or a prudent conduct (*nīti*), related with that (*tadyukta*).

EXAMPLES:

vyāghrakaḥ '(someone named) Vyāghra who has received compassion'
siṃhakaḥ 'Siṃha who has received compassion'

1. Note that *bahvacaḥ* is not carried because this rule makes a general provision. That is, this affixal provision applies whether, or not, the base consists of many vowels (*bahvac*). Other affixes may also be introduced if usages approve. Thus, *vyāghrilaḥ, siṃhilaḥ*, etc. The word *nāmnaḥ* is used so that affixes are not introduced after the word-form *jāti* (*svarūpanivṛtyartham*; 1.1.68 *svaṃ rūpaṃ . . .*).

5.3.82 अजिनान्तस्योत्तरपदलोपश्च

ajināntasyottarapadalopaś ca
/ajināntasya 6/1 = *ajinaśabdo'nte yasya* (*bv.*); *tasya*; *uttarapadalopaḥ* 1/1 = *uttarapadasya lopaḥ* (*ṣaṣ. tat.*); *ca* ϕ/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *anukampāyām* #76, *nītau ca tadyuktāt* #77, *manuṣyanāmnaḥ* #78, *kan* #81)
ajinaśabdāntāt prātipadikān manuṣyanāmno'nukampāyāṃ kan pratyayo bhavati tasya cottarapadalopaḥ
The *taddhita* affix *kaN* occurs after a nominal stem which names a human (*nāmnaḥ*) and is used in combination before *ajina* 'hide', concurrently goes through deletion by *LOPA*, provided the derivate denotes *anukampā*, or a prudent conduct (*nīti*), related with that (*tadyukta*).

EXAMPLES:

vyāghrājino nāma kaścin manuṣyaḥ, so'nukampitaḥ = vyāghrakaḥ 'Vyāghrājina who received compassion'
siṃhājinaḥ 'Siṃhājina who received compassion'

1. The word *LOPA* is used so that the following consitutent, i.e., *ajina*, could be deleted in toto.

5.3.83 ठाजादावूर्ध्वं द्वितीयादचः

ṭhājādāv ūrdhvaṃ dvitīyād acaḥ
/ṭhājādau 7/1 = *ac ādir yasya* (*bv.*); *ṭhaś ca ajādiś ca = ṭhājādiḥ* (*sam. dv.* with int. *bv.*), *tasmin*; *ūrdhvam* 1/1 *dvitīyāt* 5/1 *acaḥ* 5/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *lopaḥ* #82)
asmin prakaraṇe yaṣ ṭho'jādiś ca pratyayas tasmin parataḥ prakṛter dvitīyād aca ūrdhvaṃ yac chabdarūpaṃ tasya lopo bhavati
LOPA comes in place of that which is in excess of the second vowel (*dvitīyād acaḥ*) of a base when the *taddhita* affix *ṭhaC*, or an affix beginning with a vowel (*ajādau*), follows.

EXAMPLES:

anukampito devadattaḥ = devikaḥ 'Devadatta who has received compassion'
deviyaḥ 'id.'
devilaḥ 'id.'
anukampita upendradattaḥ = upaḍaḥ 'Upendradatta who has received compassion'
upakaḥ 'id.'
upiyaḥ/ upilaḥ/ upikaḥ 'id.'

1. The word *ūrdhvam* is used to facilitate total deletion (*Kāś.*: *ūrdhvagrahaṇaṃ sarvalopārtham*). Why was the *sūtra* not formulated simply as *ajādāv ūrdhvaṃ dvitīyād acaḥ*? Why do we have to have *ṭha* when it becomes *ajādi* by way of its replacement in *ika* (7.3.50 *ṭhasyekaḥ*)? A *vārttika* explains that *ṭha* is needed so that deletion by *LOPA* could also apply where *ṭha* is replaced with *ka*, and hence, the condition of *ajādi* is not satisfied. Consider *vāyudatta* + *ṭhaC* where *ṭha* is replaced with *ka* because it occurs after *u* (7.3.51 *isuktāntāt kaḥ*) subsequent to the deletion of *datta*. We cannot derive *vāyukaḥ*, from *vāyu*(*datta*→ϕ) + (*ṭha*→*ka*), if *ṭha* is not used in this rule to facilitate the deletion of *datta*. Thus, *ṭha* is used here so that *ka* can replace *ṭha* occurring after *u*, *ṛ*, *ḷ* (*vt.*: *ṭhagrahaṇam uko dvitīyatve kavidhānārtham*).

The following are some additional *vārttika* proposals under this rule:

(*i*) A base in excess of its fourth vowel should also be deleted (*caturthād aca ūrdhvasya lopo vaktavyaḥ*). Thus, *bṛhaspati*(*datta*→ϕ) + *ka* = *bṛhaspatikaḥ*, *bṛhaspatiyaḥ*, *bṛhaspatilaḥ*.

(*ii*) An optional deletion should apply even when an affix not beginning with a vowel follows (*anajādau vibhāṣā lopo vaktavyaḥ*). Thus, *devadattakaḥ*, *devakaḥ*.

(*iii*) The prior constituent of a base may also be deleted when *ṭha*, or an affix beginning with a vowel or consonant, follows (*lopaḥ pūrvapadasya ca ṭhājādāv anajādau ca vaktavyaḥ*). Thus, *dattikaḥ, dattilaḥ, dattiyaḥ* and *dattakaḥ.*

(*iv*) An optional deletion of a prior, or subsequent, constituent should also be stated even when no affix follows (*vinā'pi pratyayena pūrvottarapadayor vibhāṣā lopo vaktavyaḥ*). Thus, *devadattaḥ, dattaḥ devaḥ.*

(*v*) A replacement in *la* should also be stated for *ila* when it occurs after *u* (*uvarṇāl la ilasya ca*). Thus, *bhānudatto bhānulaḥ* and *vasudatto vasulaḥ.*

A *kārikā* verse of earlier grammarians is cited by the *Mahābhāṣya* in relation to these proposals:

caturthād anajādau ca lopaḥ pūrvapadasya ca/
apratyaye tathaiveṣṭa uvarṇāl la ilasya ca//

(*vi*) In contexts where deletion is to take effect after the second vowel, and such a vowel happens to be a *sandhyakṣara*, i.e., *e, ai, o, au*, deletion applies to the part which begins with that vowel (*dvitīyād aco lope sandhyakṣaradvitīyatve tadāder lopavacanam*). Thus, *lah*(*oḍha*→ϕ) + *ṭha* = *lahikaḥ* and *kahikaḥ.*

(*vii*) The second constituent is to be deleted when the first constituent consists of a single syllable (*ekākṣarapūrvapadānāṃ uttarapadalopo vaktavyaḥ*). Thus, *vāgāśīḥ* + *ṭhaC* = *vācikaḥ.*

5.3.84 शेवलसुपरिविशालवरुणार्यमादीनां तृतीयात्

śevalasupariviśālavaruṇāryamādīnāṃ tṛtīyāt
/śevalasupariviśālavaruṇāryamādīnām 6/3 = *śevalaś ca supariś ca viśālaś ca varuṇaś ca aryamā ca* = *śevalasupariviśālavaruṇāryamāḥ* (*dv.*); *ete ādayo yeṣāṃ te* (*bv.*), *teṣām*; *tṛtīyāt* 5/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *lopaḥ* #82, *ṭhājādāv ūrdhvam acaḥ* #83)
śevalādīnāṃ manuṣyanāmnāṃ ṭhājādau pratyaye parataḥ tṛtīyād aca ūrdhvasya lopo bhavati
LOPA comes in place of that which is beyond the third vowel (*tṛtīyād acaḥ*) of a base when the base beings with human names such as *śevala, supari, viśāla, varuṇa* and *aryamā*, and when the *taddhita* affix *ṭhaC*, or an affix beginning with a vowel (*ajādau*), follows.

EXAMPLES:

anukampitaḥ śevaladattaḥ = *śevalikaḥ/ śevaliyaḥ/ śevalilaḥ* 'Śevaladatta has received compassion'
suparikaḥ/ supariyaḥ/ suparilaḥ 'Suparidatta has received compassion'

viśālikaḥ/ viśāliyaḥ/ viśālilaḥ 'Viśāladatta has received compassion'
varuṇikaḥ/ varuṇiyaḥ/ varuṇilaḥ 'Varuṇadatta has received compassion'
aryamikaḥ/ aryamiyaḥ/ aryamilaḥ 'Aryamādatta has received compassion'

1. This deletion is an exception to one proposed by the preceding rule. A *vārttika* recommends that deletion of forms beyond the third vowel of *śevala*, etc., should be accomplished prior to *sandhi* (*vt.*: *śevalādīnāṃ tṛtīyād aco lopaḥ sa cākṛtasandhīnām iti vaktavyam*). Consider *śevalendradattaḥ* and *suparyāśīrdattaḥ* where *indradatta* and *āśīrdatta* are deleted. Wrong forms, i.e., **śevalayikaḥ* and **suparyikaḥ*, would result if deletion applied after *sandhi*. For, *e* and *ā* would then constitute third vowels.

5.3.85 अल्पे

alpe
/alpe 7/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *tiṅaḥ* #56)
alpatvaviśiṣṭe 'rthe vartamānāt prātipadikād yathāvihitaṃ pratyayo bhavati
A *taddhita* affix occurs as ruled after a nominal stem, or after a *pada* which ends in a *tiṄ*, provided their signification is qualified with *alpa* 'a little'.

EXAMPLES:

alpaṃ tailam = *tailakam* 'a little oil'
ghṛtakam 'a little ghee, clarified butter'
pacataki 'he does only a little bit of cooking'
jalpataki 'he does only a little bit of talking'

5.3.86 ह्रस्वे

hrasve
/hrasve 7/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76)
hrasvatvaviśiṣṭe 'rthe vartamānāt prātipadikād yathāvihitaṃ pratyayo bhavati
A *taddhita* affix occurs, as ruled, after a nominal stem whose signification is qualified with *hrasva* 'short'.

EXAMPLES:

hrasvo vṛkṣaḥ = *vṛkṣakaḥ* 'a short tree'
stambhakaḥ 'a small pillar'

1. The word *hrasva* is explained as opposite of *dīrgha* 'long, large'. Note that our earlier rule uses *alpa* in the sense of 'decrease in measure (*parimāṇāpacaye*)'. Glossing *hrasva* as opposite of *dīrgha* helps maintain a distinction

between *alpa* and *hrasva* which is desired. For, one can find inclusion of both *hrasvatva* and *alpatva* in the context, for example, of *vaṃśa* 'bamboo'. Yet a distinction is maintained between *hrasvatva* and *alpatva* in contexts of liquids (*drava*) such as *ghṛta* 'clarified butter', etc. That is, no one says: *hrasvaṃ ghṛtam/ hrasvaṃ tailam.* Similarly, a large piece of cloth (*paṭaḥ*), when made short, is always referred to as *hrasvaḥ paṭaḥ.* Nobody calls it *alpaḥ paṭaḥ.*

5.3.87 संज्ञायां कन्

saṃjñāyām kan
/saṃjñāyām 7/1 *kan* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *hrasve* #86)
hrasvahetukā yā saṃjñā tasyāṃ gamyamānāyām kan pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *kaN* occurs after a nominal stem when a name (*saṃjñā*) with *hrasva* 'shortness' as its cause is denoted.

EXAMPLES:

vaṃśakaḥ 'small bamboo tree'
veṇukaḥ 'small bamboo used for making flutes'

1. This is an exception to the earlier rule. Note that *vaṃsakaḥ* and *veṇukaḥ* denote small bamboo trees used for making special things.

5.3.88 कुटीशमीशुण्डाभ्यो रः

kuṭīśamīśuṇḍābhyo raḥ
/kuṭīśamīśuṇḍābhyaḥ 5/3 (*itar. dv.*); *raḥ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *hrasve* #86)
kuṭī-śamī-śuṇḍābhyo hrasvārthe dyotye raḥ pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *ra* occurs after nominal stems *kuṭī* 'hut', *śamī* 'a small tree' and *śuṇḍā* 'elephant's trunk' when derivates denote the sense of *hrasva.*

EXAMPLES:

kuṭīraḥ 'small hut'
śamīraḥ 'a short *śamī* tree'
śuṇḍāraḥ 'short trunk of an elephant'

1. Note that *ra* constitutes an exception to *ka* (5.3.70 *prāg ivāt kaḥ*) where derivates denote the meaning of their bases (*svārtha*). However, they do not follow the gender of their bases. For, gender is determined by usage (*lokāśrayatvāl liṅgasya*).

5.3.89 कुत्वा डुपच्

kutvā dupac

/kutvāḥ 5/1 *ḍupac* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *hrasve* #86)
kutūśabdādd hrasvatve dyotye ḍupac pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *ḌupaC* occurs after nominal stem *kutū* 'an oil-container made of hide' when the derivate signifies *hrasva.*

EXAMPLES:

kutupam 'a small oil-container made of (camel's) hide'

1. This again is an exception to *ka.* The *ū* of *kutū* is deleted because of affixal *Ḍ.*

5.3.90 कासूगोणीभ्यां ष्टरच्

kāsūgoṇībhyām ṣṭarac
/kāsūgoṇībhyām 5/2 *ṣṭarac* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *hrasve* #86)
kāsū-goṇīśabdābhyām hrasvatve dyotye ṣṭarac pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *ṢṭaraC* occurs after nominal stems *kāsū* 'spear' and *goṇī* 'sack', when derivates denote *hrasva* 'short'.

EXAMPLES:

kāsūtarī 'small spear-like weapon named *śakti*'
goṇītarī 'small sack'

1. The *Ṣ* is *ṢṭaraC* is used for *ṄīṢ* of 4.1.15 *ṣid gaurādibhyaś ca.* The retroflex *ṭ* will be replaced with its dental counterpart after *Ṣ* is removed via *it*-deletion.

5.3.91 वत्सोक्षाश्वर्षभेभ्यश्च तनुत्वे

vatsokṣāśvarṣabhebhyaś ca tanutve
/vatsokṣāśvarṣabhebhyaḥ 5/3 (*itar. dv.*), *tebhyaḥ*; *ca* ϕ *tanutve* 7/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *ṣṭarac* #90)
'vatsa, ukṣan, aśva, ṛṣabha' ity etebhyas tanutve dyotye ṣṭarac pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *ṢṭaraC* occurs after nominal stems *vatsa* 'calf', *ukṣan* 'young bull', *aśva* 'horse' and *ṛṣabha* 'bull', when derivates signify *tanutva* 'waning, or progression, of quality'.

EXAMPLES:

vatsataraḥ 'a calf who has turned into a young bull'
ukṣataraḥ 'a young bull who has turned into a full grown bull'
aśvataraḥ 'a mule who lacks (or has lost) the quality of being a horse (*aśvatva*), because it is a sterile hybrid of an ass and a mare'

ṛṣabhataraḥ 'a bull who can no longer carry a load'

1. Note that *tanutva* can be interpreted as 'waning' or 'progression' of 'quality' (*guṇa*). Affix *ṢṭaraC* is introduced to denote 'waning, or progression', of an existing quality which, in turn, conditions a given word to denote what it does. Thus, 'quality' (*guṇa*) becomes a 'qualifier' (*viśeṣaṇa*) to the 'thing' (*dravya*) which a given word denotes. 'Waning or progression' of this 'quality', thus becomes a necessary condition for introducing the affix.

Consider *vatsa* 'calf' which denotes *go* 'bull' in a particular stage of its life (*vayoviśeṣa*). It is this 'quality' of 'being in a particular stage of life' that enables *vatsa* to denote a 'calf'. What will characterize the 'waning or progression' of this 'quality' of 'being a calf'? Reaching the second stage of its life (*Kāś.*: *dvitīyavayasaḥ prāptiḥ*). The 'waning or progression' of this quality of reaching 'the second stage' could be called 'progressing toward the third stage', etc. The three stages of a bull's life can be characterized by words such as *vatsa, ukṣan* and *anaḍvān.* What characterizes 'waning' in a bull who has reached the third stage of his life is *mandaśaktitā* 'waning of strength'. What characterizes 'waning' in a mule? The fact that an ass has fathered him (*gardabhapitṛkatā*).

5.3.92 किंयत्तदो निर्धारणे द्वयोरेकस्य डतरच्

kiṃyattado nirdhāraṇe dvayor ekasya ḍatarac
/kiṃ-yat-tadaḥ 5/1 (*sam. dv.*), *tasmāt; nirddhāraṇe* 7/1 *dvayoḥ* 7/2 *ekasya* 6/1 *ḍatarac* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76)
'*kim-yat-tat*' *ity etebhyaḥ prātipadikebhyo dvayor ekasya nirdhāraṇe ḍatarac pratyayo bhavati*
The *taddhita* affix *ḌataraC* occurs after nominal stems *kim* 'which, what, who', *yad* 'that which (relative)' and *tad* 'that', when derivates signify singling out one (*nirdhāraṇe*) from among two (*ekasya dvayoḥ*).

EXAMPLES:

kataro bhavatoḥ kaṭhaḥ 'who is the Kaṭha among you two'
kataro bhavatoḥ kārakaḥ 'who is the doer among you two'
kataro bhavator devadattaḥ 'who is Devadatta among you two'
kataro bhavatoḥ paṭuḥ 'who is more skilled among you two'
yataro bhavato paṭus tatara āgacchatu yataro bhavatoḥ paṭuḥ . . . 'the one who is skilled among you two . . ., let the one who is better skilled among you two come'

1. This affix is introduced after a base which denotes what is being singled out (*nirdhāryamāṇavācibhyaḥ*). Derivates of this rule denote meanings of their bases (*svārtha*). The word *nirdhāraṇa* is used in the sense of 'singling

out one from among a group based upon 'class', 'action', 'quality', or 'name' (*Kāś.*: *jātyā kriyayā guṇena saṃjñayā vā samudāyād ekasya pṛthakkaraṇam nirdhāraṇam*). A 'group' (*samudāya*), for purposes of this rule, is limited to have only two members (*dvayor ekasya*).

Note that derivates of *ḌataraC* are optional in view of *vā* of 4.1.82 *samarthānām prathamād vā*. That is, *kataro bhavator devadattaḥ* can be used optionally with *ko bhavator devadattaḥ . . .* where *vā* provides for lack of affixal usage in the second sentence.

The *saptamī* 'locative' in *nirdhāraṇe* specifies *viṣaya* 'domain'.

5.3.93 वा बहूनां जातिपरिप्रश्ने डतमच्

vā bahūnām jātiparipraśne ḍatamac
/vā ϕ bahūnām 6/3 *jātiparipraśne* 7/1 = *jāteḥ paritaḥ praśnaḥ* (*ṣaṣ. tat.*), *tasmin*; *ḍatamac* 1/1
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *kiyattado nirdhāraṇe ekasya* #92)
bahūnām madhye ekasya nirdhāraṇe gamyamāne jātiparipraśnaviṣayebhyaḥ kimādibhyo vā ḍatamac pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *ḌatamaC* occurs, optionally, after nominal stems *kim*, *yad* and *tad* when used within the scope of an inquiry and *jāti* 'class', provided derivates denote singling out one from among many (*bahūnām ekasya nirdhāraṇe*).

EXAMPLES:

katamo bhavatāṃ kaṭhaḥ 'who among you is a Kaṭha'
yatamo bhavatāṃ kaṭhaḥ tatama āgacchatu 'let him, the one who is a Kaṭha among you, come'
yako bhavatāṃ kaṭhaḥ sako āgacchatu 'id.'

1. This optional *ḌatamaC* is introduced against *ḌataraC*. Recall that *ḌatamaC* is used for singling out one from among two. Our present provision for *ḌatamaC* is made for singling out one from among many. Since *kim*, *yad* and *tad* are *sarvanāman*, we will also get *akAC* after them (5.3.71 *avyayasarvanāmnām . . .*). The *vā* of 4.1.82 *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā*, i.e., *mahāvibhāṣā* 'great option', will facilitate yet another option. That is, the option of not introducing any one of these affixes. Thus, *yo bhavatāṃ kaṭhaḥ sa āgacchatu* 'let him, the one who is a Kaṭha among you, come forward' parallel to *yatamo bhavatāṃ kaṭhaḥ tatama āgacchatu* and *yako bhavatāṃ kaṭhaḥ saka āgacchatu*.

2. The word *jātiparipraśna*, a *samāhāra-dvandva* compoud paraphrased as: *jātiś ca paripraśnaś ca* 'class and inquiry', restricts the denotata of *kim*, *yad* and *tad* to *jāti* 'class'. Note, however, that *paripraśna* could be associated only with *kim*, because *yad* and *tad* are non-interrogative. The word *jāti* relates to all three.

Some, in this context, also accept affix *Ḍatara* after *kim*. Thus, *kataro bhavatāṃ kaṭhaḥ kataro bhavatāṃ kālāpaḥ* 'who, of you two, is a Kaṭha, and who is a Kālāpa?'. This, of course, could be justified in view of 2.1.63 *katarakatamau jātipariprasne*.

Deriving *katara* and *yatara* entails *ṭi*-deletion (6.4.143 *ṭeḥ*). A string with *kim* + *ak*(*AC*→ϕ) = *k+ak+im* = *kakim* will be replaced with *ka* (7.2.103 *kimaḥ kaḥ*). This is made possible in view of a statement of the *Mahābhāṣya* (ad 7.2.103 *kimaḥ kaḥ*). Thus, *ko bhavatāṃ kaṭhaḥ* could also qualify as a derivate of *akAC*. Forms such as *yakaḥ* and *sakaḥ* will be derived from *yad* and *tad* where (*tad* + *ak* = *t+ak+ad*) + *sU* will yield *takad* + *sU*. Follow the derivational pattern of *saḥ* (cf. appendix of vol. II, under 1.1.51 *alo'ntyasya*) for deriving *sakaḥ* and *yakaḥ* from *takad* + *sU* and *yakad* + *sU*.

5.3.94 एकाच्च प्राचाम्

ekāc ca prācām
/ekāt 1/1 *ca* ϕ *prācām* 7/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, . . . *nirdhāraṇe ekasya* #92, *vā bahūnāṃ ḍatamac* #93)
ekaśabdāt prācām ācāryāṇāṃ matena ḍatarac, ḍatamac ity etau pratyayau bhavataḥ
The *taddhita* affixes *ḌataraC* and *ḌatamaC* occur, in the opinion of Eastern grammarians, after nominal stem *eka*, when singling out one from among two, or many, is denoted, respectively.

EXAMPLES:

ekataro bhavator devadattaḥ 'one of you is Devadatta'
ekatamo bhavatāṃ Devadattaḥ 'one of you (all) is Devadatta'

1. Note that *vā* is still carried. Consequently, mention of *prācām* must be interpreted here as indicating respect (*pūjā*). The *anuvṛtti* of *jātipariprasne* is not required. The *ca* is used for bringing *ḌataraC*.

5.3.95 अवक्षेपणे कन्

avakṣepaṇe kan
/avakṣepaṇe 7/1 *kan* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76)
avakṣepaṇe vartamānāt prātipadikāt kan pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *kaN* occurs after a nominal stem whose denotatum signifies censure (*avakṣepaṇa*).

EXAMPLES:

vyākaraṇakena nāma tvaṃ garvitaḥ 'you are arrogant because you know

some grammar'
yājñikyakena nāma tvaṃ garvitaḥ 'you are arrogant because you know some rituals'

1. The word *avakṣepaṇa* is explained as that by means of which someone is censured (*avakṣipyate yena tad*). Affix *kaN* is introduced after a nominal stem which is used with this denotatum. Note that the denotatum of a nominal stem after which affix *kaN* is to be introduced is employed as a means of making someone else contemptible. One would indeed introduce *kaN* of 5.3.74 *kutsite* if what is denoted as contemptible is the sense of the nominal stem itself. Incidentally, in an example such as *vyākaraṇakena nāma tvaṃ garvitaḥ*, 'grammar' is not censured. It is here brought as a means to censure a grammarian.

5.3.96 इवे प्रतिकृतौ

ive pratikṛtau
/ive 7/1 *pratikṛtau* 7/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *kan* #95)
ivārthe yat prātipadikaṃ vartate tasmān kan pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *kaN* occurs after a nominal stem used in the sense of *iva* 'like', when derivate denotes *pratikṛti* 'imitation, image'.

EXAMPLES:

aśva ivāyam aśvapratikṛtiḥ = aśvakaḥ 'this (replica) sure looks like a horse'
gardabhakaḥ 'this (replica) sure looks like a donkey'

1. The word *pratikṛti* is explained as a *praticchanda* 'image, copy, replica, model', made with straw, wood, or hide, etc. (*tṛṇacarmakāṣṭhādinirmitam*). This *kaN* cannot be introduced when the sense of *iva* 'similarity' alone is denoted. It is to be introduced when the sense of *iva* is further qualified with 'likeness'.

5.3.97 संज्ञायां च

saṃjñāyāṃ ca
/saṃjñāyām 7/1 *ca ϕ/*
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *kan* #95, *ive* #96)
ivārthe gamyamāne kan pratyayo bhavati samudāyena cet saṃjñā gamyate
The *taddhita* affix *kaN* also occurs after a nominal stem which signifies the sense of *iva*, provided derivates denote a name (*saṃjñā*).

EXAMPLES:

aśvasadṛśasya saṃjñā = aśvakaḥ 'name of that which reminds of a horse'

uṣṭrakaḥ 'name of that which reminds of a camel'

1. Derivates of this rule denote names given to objects, not because they really are what their names denote, but because they share certain similarities with what the name denotes. Thus, an object named *aśva* 'horse' may not be an *aśva* but could be called as such because of its likeness with an *aśva*. This rule provides for derivates which do not involve a copy, replica or model (*aprakṛtyartha ārambhaḥ*).

5.3.98 लुम्मनुष्ये

lum manuṣye
/lup 1/1 *manuṣye* 7/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *kan* #95, *ive* #96, *saṃjñāyām* #97)
saṃjñāyām vihitasya kano manuṣyo' bhidheye lub bhavati
LUP comes in place of the *taddhita* affix *kaN* which occurs after a nominal stem, used with the signification of *iva*, provided the derivate signifies a human name.

EXAMPLES:

cañceva manuṣyaḥ = *cañcvā* 'a man named Cañcvā because of his likeness with a scarecrow (straw-man)'
dāsī 'a woman named Dāsī because of her likeness with a maid-servant'

1. The condition of *manuṣye* is imposed to exclude examples such as *aśvakaḥ* 'a non-human with likeness of a horse' and *gardhabhakaḥ* 'a non-human with likeness of a donkey', etc., of the earlier rule.

5.3.99 जीविकार्थे चापण्ये

jīvikārthe cāpaṇye
/jīvikārthe 7/1 = *jīvikāyai idam* (*tat.*), *tasmin*; *ca* ϕ *apaṇye* 7/1 = *na paṇyam* (*nañ. tat.*), *tasmin/*
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *kan* #95, *pratikṛtau* #96, *saṃjñāyām* #97, *lub manuṣye* #98)
jīvikārthaṃ yad apaṇyaṃ tasminn abhidheye kano lub bhavati
LUP comes in place of the *taddhita* affix *kaN* which occurs after a nominal stem used in the sense of *iva*, provided the derivate denotes a human image intended for earning a living, though not through its sale.

EXAMPLES:

vāsudevaḥ 'idol of Kṛṣṇa used for earning a living'
viṣṇuḥ 'idol of Viṣṇu . . .'

1. The condition of *manuṣye* and *apaṇye* will block deletion of *kaN* after

hastika of *hastikān vikrīṇīte* 'sells mode of elephants'. This affixal deletion is intended where human images are displayed for earning a living.

5.3.100 देवपथादिभ्यश्च

devapathādibhyaś ca
/devapathādibhyaḥ 5/3 = *devapatha ādir yeṣām* (*bv.*), *tebhyaḥ*; *ca* ϕ/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *kan* #95, *ive pratikṛtau* #96, *lup* #98)
ive pratikṛtau saṃjñāyāṃ ca vihitasya kano devapathādibhya uttarasya lub bhavati
LUP also comes in place of the *taddhita* affix *kan*, which occurs after nominal stems listed in the group headed by *devapatha* 'heaven, path of gods' and used with the signification of *iva*, provided derivates denote a model (*pratikṛti*).

EXAMPLES:

devapattaḥ 'a replica of roads gods traverse'
haṃsapathaḥ 'a replica of paths swans fly'

1. Note that *devapatha*, etc., form an open-ended set (*ākṛtigaṇa*). The word *ādi* in *devapathādi* '*devapatha*, and the like', denotes *prakāra* 'kind'. The following verse summarizes this deletion of *kaN* in relation to the *devapathādi* group:

arcāsu pūjanārthāsu citrakarmadhvajeṣu ca/
ive pratikṛtau lopaḥ kano devapathādiṣu//
'*kaN* is deleted by *LOPA* after bases such as *devapatha*, and its likes, when derivates denote idols intended for worship in temples, paintings and on flags'

5.3.101 वस्तेर्ढञ्

vaster ḍhañ
/vasteḥ 5/1 *ḍhañ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *ive* #96)
vastiśabdād ivārthe dyotye ḍhañ pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *ḍhaÑ* occurs after *vasti* 'lower abdomen', when sense of *iva* is denoted.
vastir iva = *vāsteyaḥ* 'similar in shape to lower abdomen; leather bag'
vāsteyī 'id. (feminine)'

1. Affixes, hereafter, will be introduced in the general sense of *iva*, irrespective of whether or not the signification of *pratikṛti* 'copy, model' is involved.

5.3.102 शिलाया ढः

śilāyā ḍhaḥ
/śilāyāḥ 5/1 *ḍhaḥ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *ive* #96)
śilāśabdād ivārthe ḍhaḥ pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *ḍha* occurs after *śilā* 'rock', when sense of *iva* is denoted.

EXAMPLES:

śileva = *śileyaṃ dadhi* 'rock-solid (yogurt)'

1. Some also derive *śaileyam* with *ḍhaÑ*. For this, they resort to a split-interpretation (*yogavibhāga*) of this rule with the preceding. Thus, *śilāyā ḍharī* (*śaileyam*), and *śilāyā ḍhaḥ* (*śileyam*) will be two split-interpretations.

5.3.103 शाखादिभ्यो यत्

śākhādibhyo yat
/śākhādibhyaḥ 5/3 *yat* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *ive* #96)
'śākhā' ity evamādibhyaḥ prātipadikebhyo yat pratyayo bhavati ivārthe
The *tadhita* affix *yaT* occurs after a nominal stem listed in the group headed by *śākhā* 'branch', when sense of *iva* is denoted.

EXAMPLES:

śākheva = *śākhyaḥ* 'similar to branch of a tree'
mukhyaḥ 'like a face; principal'

1. Note that the *Mahābhāṣya* accepts this affix as *ya*.

5.3.104 द्रव्यं च भव्ये

dravyaṃ ca bhavye
/dravyam 1/1 *ca* ϕ *bhavye* 7/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *ive* #96)
dravyaśabdo nipātyate bhavye' bhidheye
A *taddhita* affix occurs to derive *dravya*, via *nipātana*, when *bhavya* 'locus of suitable attributes' is denoted.

EXAMPLES:

dravyo'yaṃ rājaputraḥ 'this prince possesses qualities required of him'
dravyo'yaṃ māṇavakaḥ 'this boy possesses qualities required of him'

1. The word *bhavya* is explained as *ātmavān* 'self-contained'. That is, serving as locus of desired attributes of its denotatum (*abhipretānām arthānāṃ mātrabhūtaḥ*).

5.3.105 कुशाग्राच्छः

kuśāgrāc chaḥ
/kuśāgrāt 5/1 *chaḥ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *ive* #96)
kuśāgraśabdād ivārthe chaḥ pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *cha* occurs after nominal stem *kuśāgra* 'tip of the Kuśa grass' when sense of *iva* is denoted.

EXAMPLES:

kuśāgram iva sūkṣmatvāt = kuśāgrīyā buddhiḥ 'intelligence as sharp as tip of the Kuśa grass'
kuśāgrīyaṃ vastram 'an extremely thin piece of cloth'

1. Note that *kuśāgra* serves as a standard of comparison because of its extreme sharpness.

5.3.106 समासाच्च तद्विषयात्

samāsāc ca tadviṣayāt
/samāsāt 5/1 *ca* ϕ *tadviṣayāt* 5/1 = *sa viṣayo yasya* (*bv.*), *tasmā/*
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *ive* #96 *chaḥ* #105)
ivārthaviṣayāt samāsād aparasminn ivārthe eva chaḥ pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *cha* also occurs after a nominal stem termed *samāsa* 'compound' when derivates denote a sense of *iva*, not different from one which formed the basis of compound-formation.

EXAMPLES:

kākatālīyaṃ devadattasya hananaṃ coraiḥ 'killing of Devadatta by thieves is not different from coincidental killing of a crow flying directly under a falling palm tree'
ajākṛpāṇīyaṃ hananam 'a killing, not different from the coincidental killing of a goat coming under a falling sword'
andhakavartīyam 'a coincidental gain, not different from that of a blind person who spread out his hands and grabbed a bird'

1. Note that *kākatālīya*, etc., are compounds formed in the sense of *iva* 'like'. Affix *cha* is introduced when the sense of *iva* happens to be similar to one which formed the basis of compound-formation. Obviously, there are

two sets of senses of *iva* involved. Thus, *kākatāla* is a compound formed with the denotatum of 'similar to the arrival of a crow, and concurrent with the fall of a tree'. The second set of the sense of *iva* refers to similarities between 'arrival of the crow and Devadatta on the one hand' and 'fall of the palm tree, and arrival of thieves, on the other' (*kākāgamanasadṛśaṃ devadattāgamanam; tālapatanasadṛśaṃ corāgamanam*). The first is part of the compound, and the second is the denotatum of *cha*. Affix *cha*, for example, cannot be introduced after *śastrīśyāmā* of *śastrīśyāmā devadattā* 'daughter of Devadatta (who is as) black as a knife' because only one sense of *iva* is involved. Note that these compounds are formed on the basis of this provision itself. There is no other rule allowing the formation of such compounds.

5.3.107 शर्करादिभ्योऽण्

śarkarādibhyo'ṇ
/śarkarādibhyaḥ 5/3 (*bv.*), *tebhyaḥ; aṇ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *ive* #96)
'śarkarā' ity evamādibhyaḥ prātipadikebhya ivarthe'ṇ pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *aṆ* occurs after a nominal stem listed in the group headed by *śarkarā* 'sugar, gravel', when the sense of *iva* is denoted.

EXAMPLES:

śarkareva = *śārkaram* 'sweet as sugar; gravel-like'
kāpālikam 'like a *kāpālika*, a Tāntrika, who uses human-skull as his pot for eating and drinking'

5.3.108 अङ्गुल्यादिभ्यष्ठक्

aṅgulyādibhyaṣ ṭhak
/aṅgulyādibhyaḥ 5/3 (*bv.*) *ṭhak* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *ive* #96)
aṅgulyādibhya ivārthe ṭhak pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *ṭhaK* occurs after a nominal stem listed in the group headed by *aṅguli* 'finger', when sense of *iva* is denoted.

EXAMPLES:

aṅgulīva = *āṅgulikaḥ* 'finger-like'
bhārujikaḥ 'like a jackal'

5.3.109 एकशालायाष्ठजन्यतरस्याम्

ekaśālāyāṣ ṭhaj anyatarasyām
/ekaśālāyāyām 5/1 *ṭhac* 1/1 *anyatarasyām* 7/1/

(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *ive* #96)
ekaśālāśabdād ivārthe' anyatarasyāṃ ṭhac pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *ṭhaC* occurs optionally after nominal stem *ekaśālā* 'single hall', when sense of *iva* is denoted.

EXAMPLES:

ekaśāleva = *ekaśālikaḥ* 'a hall-like small home'
aikaśālikaḥ 'id.'

1. Note that *anyatarasyām* is used to make *ṭhaC* optional to *ṭhaK* of the preceding rule. Derivates of *ṭhaC* and *ṭhaK* differ in initial *vṛddhi* and accent.

5.3.110 कर्कलोहितादीकक्

karkalohitād īkak
/karkalohitāt 5/1 (*sam. dv.*); *īkak* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *ive* #96)
karkalohitaśabdābhyām ivārthe īkak pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *īkaK* occurs after nominal stems *karka* 'white horse' and *lohita* 'red', when sense of *iva* is denoted.

EXAMPLES:

karkaḥ śuklo' śvaḥ, tena sadṛśaḥ = *kārkīkaḥ* 'like a white horse'
lauhitīkaḥ sphaṭikaḥ 'like red crystal'

1. Note that crystal is not red, though, because of being translucent, it may appear as if red when placed on something red (*Kāś.*: *svayam alohito' py upāśrayavaśāt tathā pratīyate*).

5.3.111 प्रत्नपूर्वविश्वेमात्थाल् छन्दसि

pratnapūrvaviśvemāt thāl chandasi
/pratnapūrvaviśvemāt 5/1 (*sam. dv.*); *thāl* 1/1 *chandasi* 7/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *ive* #96)
'pratna, pūrva, viśva, ima' ity etebhya ivārthe thāl pratyayo bhavati chandasi viṣaye
The *taddhita* affix *thāL* occurs, in Vedic, after nominal stems *pratna* 'ancient', *pūrva* 'prior', *viśva* 'all' and *ima* 'this', when the sense of *iva* is denoted.

EXAMPLES:

pratnathā 'as if ancient'
pūrvathā 'as before'

viśvathā 'like all'
imathā 'like this'

5.3.112 पूगाञ्ञ्योऽग्रामणीपूर्वात्

pūgāñ ñyo' grāmaṇīpūrvāt
/pūgāt 5/1 *ñyaḥ* 1/1 *agrāmaṇīpūrvāt* 5/1 = *grāmaṇīḥ pūrvo' vayavo yasya* (*bv.*) = *grāmaṇīpūrvaḥ; na grāmaṇīpūrvaḥ* (*nañ. tat.* with int. *bv.*), *tasmāt/*
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76)
pūgavācinaḥ prātipadikād agrāmaṇīpūrvāt svārthe ñyaḥ pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *Ñya* occurs after a nominal stem which signifies *pūga* 'group of people' and does not have *grāmaṇī* '(village) leader' as its initial constituent.

EXAMPLES:

lauhadhvajyaḥ 'a group of people led by Lohadhvaja'
śaibyaḥ 'a group of people led by Śibi'
lohadhvajāḥ 'groups of people led by Lohadhvaja'

1. *Kāśikā* explains *pūga* as a group composed of people, of diverse castes and indefinite source of livelihood, who seek wealth and pursue pleasures (*nānājātīyā aniyatavṛttayo' rthakāmapradhāṇaḥ saṃghāḥ*). These groups are named after their respective leaders. The condition of *agrāmaṇīpūrvāt* blocks *Ñya*, in favor of *kaN*, parallel to *devadatto grāmaṇīr eṣāṃ te = ime devadattakāḥ* 'these are Devadattakas, the ones whose leader is Devadatta'.

Note that *Ñya* is also termed *tadrāja* (5.3.119 *ñyādayas tadrājāḥ*). This causes deletion of *Ñya* in plural (2.4.62 *tadrājasya bahuṣu* . . .). A deletion of *Ñya* will also block *vṛddhi* (1.1.63 *na lumatāṅgasya*).

5.3.113 व्रातच्फञोरस्त्रियाम्

vrātacphañor astriyām
/vrātac-phañoḥ 6/2 = *vrātaś ca cphañ ca* (*itar. dv.*), *tayoḥ; astriyām* 7/1 = *na strī* (*nañ. tat.*), *tasyām/*
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *ñyaḥ* #112)
vrātavācibhyaḥ prātipadikebhyaś ca svārthe ñyaḥ pratyayo bhavaty anyatarasyām
The *taddhita* affix *Ñya* occurs after a nominal stem which signifies *vrāta* 'a group of people of different caste, and indefinite profession, who earn their living by hunting', or ends in affix *CphaÑ*, provided the derivate is not feminine.

EXAMPLES

kāpotapākāḥ 'a group of people who earn their living by hunting doves'

kauñjāyanāḥ 'a group of descendants of Kuñja'

1. Commentators describe *vrāta* as a group of people who earn their living by *utsedha* 'hunting' (*Kāś.*: *utsedhajīvinaḥ saṃghā vrātāḥ*). Bases such as *kapotapākī* '. . . who cooks doves' cannot qualify for this affix because of the condition of *astriyām* 'not when feminine'. Refer to the derivation of *kauñjāyanyaḥ* in the appendix (vol. II) of rule 1.3.7 *cuṭū*.

5.3.114 आयुधजीविसङ्घाञ्ञ्यङ्वाहीकेष्वब्राह्मणराजन्यात्

āyudhajīvisaṃghāñ ñyaṭ vāhīkeṣv abrāhmaṇarājanyāt
/ āyudhajīvisaṃghāt 5/1 = *āyudhajīvināṃ saṃghaḥ* (*ṣaṣ. tat.*), *tasmāt*; *ñyaṭ* 1/1 *vāhīkeṣu* 7/3 *abrāhmaṇarājanyāt* 5/1 = *brāhmaṇaś ca rājanyaś ca* = *brāhmaṇarājanyam*; *na brāhmaṇarājanyam* (*nañ. tat.* with int. *dv.*), *tasmāt/* (*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76)
vāhīkeṣu ya āyudhajīvināṃ saṃghaḥ tadvācinaḥ prātipadikād brāhmaṇa-rājanyavarjitāt svārthe ñyaṭ pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *ÑyaṬ* occurs after a nominal stem which signifies a group of people who, in the country of Vāhīkas, earn their living by means of their weapons (*āyudha*), but are not *brāhmaṇas* or *rājanyas* 'warriors'.

EXAMPLES:

kauṇḍībṛsyaḥ 'a group whose leader is Kauṇḍībṛsa'
kṣaudrakyaḥ 'a group whose leader is Kṣudraka'

1. Note that *vāhīkeṣu* can be interpreted either as 'among the people of Vāhīkas', or 'in the country of Vāhīka'. The *saptamī* 'locative' will denote *nirdhāraṇa* 'singing out one from among many' when the first meaning is accepted. The locative, in view of the second meaning, will be accepted as denoting locus (*ādhāra*).

The conditions of *āyudhajīvisaṃgha* would block *ÑyaṬ* after *malla* 'wrestler' and *samrāṭ* 'emperor', where the first denotes a group which does not earn its living by weapons, and the second denotes a single individual. The condition of *abrāhmaṇarājanyāt* blocks *ÑyaṬ* in *gopālakā brāhmaṇāḥ* 'brāhmaṇas who raise cows' and *śālaṅkāyanā rājanyāḥ* 'a group of Rājanyas named Śālaṅkāyanas'.

2. Note that the negation of *astriyām* is not carried. For, marking *ÑyaṬ* with *Ṭ* as an *it* would become vacuous. That is, *astriyām* is carried then derivates of *ÑyaṬ*, which end in feminine affix *ÑīP*, at the strength of *Ṭ* as an *it* (4.1.15 *ṭiḍḍhāṇañ . . .*), will be dropped. We do find examples such as *kauṇḍībṛsī* and *kṣaudrakī* in feminine. Incidentally, the *y* of these feminine derivates is deleted by 6.4.150 *halas taddhitasya*.

5.3.115 वृकाट्टेण्यण्

vṛkāṭ ṭeṇyaṇ
/vṛkāt 5/1 *ṭeṇyaṇ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipaḍikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *āyudhajīvisaṃghāt* #114)
vṛkaśabdād āyudhajīvinaḥ svārthe ṭeṇyaṇ pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *ṬeṇyaṆ* occurs after nominal stem *vṛka*, used with the signification of a group of people who earn their living by means of their weapons.

EXAMPLES:

vārkeṇyaḥ 'a group of people led by Vṛka'
vṛkāḥ 'groups of people led by Vṛka'

1. Note that derivates denote *svārtha* 'base meaning'. The *Ṭ* as an *it* is given for feminine affix *ṄīP*. The *Ṅ* is for *vṛddhi*. Affixal-deletion in plural restores the original base. Thus, *vṛkāḥ*.

5.3.116 दामन्यादित्रिगर्तषष्ठाच्छः

dāmanyāditrigartaṣaṣṭhāc chaḥ
/dāmanyāditrigartaṣaṣṭhāt 5/1 = *dāmany ādir yeṣām te* (*bv.*); *trigartaḥ ṣaṣṭhaḥ yeṣām* (*bv.*); *dāmanyādayaś ca trigartaṣaṣṭhāś ca* (*sam. dv.* with int. *bv.*), *tasmāt*; *chaḥ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *āyudhajīvisaṃghāt* #114)
dāmanyādibhyaḥ prātipadikebhyas trigartaṣaṣṭhebhyaś cāyudhajīvisaṃghavācibhyaḥ svārthe chaḥ pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *cha* occurs after a nominal stem listed either in a group headed by *dāmanī*, or in a group whose sixth member is *trigarta*, when these stems signify a group of people earning their living by means of their weapons.

EXAMPLES:

dāmanīyaḥ 'a group of people led by Dāmanī'
kauṇḍoparathāḥ 'a group of people led by Kauṇḍīparatha'
jānakīyaḥ 'a group of people led by Jānaki'

1. Note that the six bases known as *trigartaṣaṣṭha* are: *kauṇḍoparatha, dāṇḍaki, kauṣṭaki, jālamāni, brāhmagupta* and *jānaki*. The sixth, i.e., itself means *trigarta*. The *SK* reads it as *jālaki*.

5.3.117 पार्श्वादियौधेयादिभ्यामणञौ

pārśvādiyaudheyādibhyām aṇañau

/pārśvādiyaudheyādibhyām 5/2 = *parśu ādir yeṣām* (*bv.*); *yaudheya ādir yeṣām* (*bv.*); *paraśvādayaś ca yaudheyādayaś ca* (*itar. dv.* with int. *bv.*), *tābhyām*; *aṇañau* 1/2 = *aṇ ca añ ca* (*itar. dv.*), *tau*/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *āyudhajīvisaṃghāt* #114)
pārśvādibhyo yaudheyādibhyaś ca prātipadikebhya āyudhajīvisaṃghavācibhyaḥ svārthe' ṇañau pratyayau bhavataḥ
The *taddhita* affixes *aṆ* and *añ* occur, respectively, after nominal stems listed in the groups headed by *parśu* and *yaudheya*, provided they are used with the signification of a group of people earning living by means of their weapons.

EXAMPLES:

pārśavaḥ 'a group of people led by Parśu'
yaudheyaḥ 'a group of people led by Yaudheya'

5.3.118 अभिजिद्विदभृच्छालावच्छिखावच्छमीवदूर्णावच्छ्रुमदणो यञ्

abhijidvidabhṛcchālāvacchikhāvacchamīvadūrṇāvacchrumadaṇo yañ
/abhijid-vidabhṛc-chālāvac-chikhāvac-chamīvad-ūrṇāvac-chrumadaṇaḥ 5/1 = *abhijic ca vidabhṛc ca śālāvac ca śikhāvac ca śamīvac ca ūrṇāvac ca śrumac ca = abhijidvidabhṛc . . . chrumataḥ, teṣām = abhijidvidabhṛc . . . chrumatām*; *eṣām sambandhī aṇ = abhijidvidabhṛc . . . chrumato' ṇ* (*ṣaṣ. tat.* with int. *dv.*); *yañ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76)
abhijidādibhyo' ṇantebhyaḥ prātipadikebhyaḥ svārthe yañ pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *yañ* occurs after a nominal stem which ends in *aṆ* and is listed in the group headed by *abhijit*.

EXAMPLES:

ābhijityaḥ 'a male descendant of Abhijit'
vaidabhṛtyaḥ 'a male descendant of Vidabhṛt'
śālāvatyaḥ 'a male descendant of Śalāvat'
śaikhāvatyaḥ 'a male descendant of Śikhāvat'
śāmīvatyaḥ 'a male descendant of Śamīvat'
aurṇāvatyaḥ 'a male descendant of Ūrṇāvat'
śraumatyaḥ 'a male descendant of Śrumat'

1. Note that derivates of this rule will denote *svārtha* 'base-meaning'. Affix *yañ* of all these bases in plural will be deleted at the strength of assignment of the term *tadrāja*. Incidentally, *aṆ* of this rule refers to the *aṆ* introduced with the denotatum of a *gotra*. Thus, *ābhijita* is blocked from receiving *yañ* because its *aṆ* denotes 'time of conjunction with a constellation' (4.2.3 *nakṣatreṇa yuktaḥ kālaḥ*) and 'oblation' (*sthālipāka*; 4.2.24 *sā' sya devatā*).

5.3.119 ञ्यादयस्तद्राजाः

ñyādayas tadrājāḥ
/ñyādayaḥ 5/3 = *ñya ādir yeṣām* (*bv.*), *te*; *tadrājāḥ* 1/3/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76)
'pūgāñyo'grāmaṇīpūrvāt' ity ataḥ prabhṛti ye pratyayās te tadrājasaṃjñā bhavanti
The *taddhita* affixes introduced up to here beginning with *Ñya* (of 5.3.112 *pūgāññyo'grāmaṇīpūrvāt*) are termed *tadrāja.*

EXAMPLES:

Refer, especially, to a plural example under relevant rules.

1. The preceding affixes which have been enumerated beginning with *Ñya* are assigned the term *tadrāja.* This brings rule 2.4.62 *tadrājasya bahuṣu . . .* close to the context of these affixes, whereby they are deleted by *LUK* when occurring after a non-feminine base used in plural. Refer to examples under 2.4.62 *tadrājasya bahuṣu. . . .*

PĀDA FOUR

5.4.1 पादशतस्य संख्यादेर्वीप्सायां वुन्लोपश्च

pādaśatasya saṃkhyāder vīpsāyāṃ vun lopaś ca
/pādaśatasya 6/1 = *pādaś ca śataṃ ca* (*sam. dv.*); *saṃkhyādeḥ* 5/1 = *saṃkhyā ādir yasya sa saṃkhyādiḥ* (*bv.*), *tasmāt*; *vīpsāyām* 7/1 *lopaḥ* 1/1 *ca* ϕ/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76)
pādaśatāntasya saṃkhyādeḥ prātipadikasya vīpsāyāṃ dyotyāyāṃ vun pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *vuN* occurs after a nominal stem which ends in *pāda* 'a quarter' and *śata* 'a hundred', and begins with a number (*samkhyādeḥ*), with an additional provision that the final sound segment (1.1.51 *alo'ntyasya*) of *pāda* and *śata* be replaced with *LOPA*, when derivates denotes *vīpsā* 'repetition, pervasion'.

EXAMPLES:

dvau dvau pādau dadāti = dvipadikāṃ dadāti 'he is giving away quarters in sets of two each'
dve dve śate dadāti = dviśatikāṃ dadāti 'he is giving away hundreds in sets of two each'

1. Note that *pādaśatasya* is construed with both *vuN* and *LOPA.* Accordingly, *ṣaṣṭhī* 'genitive' of *pādaśatasya* is interpreted as *pañcamī* 'ablative' for

purposes of introducing *vuN*. The genitive is given for facilitating replacement of the final sound segment of *LOPA* (1.1.51 *alo'ntyasya*). But this deletion of the final sound segment could also be accomplished by 6.4.148 *yasyeti ca*. Why then state the deletion here? So that *pād* could be replaced with *pad* in view of 6.4.130 *pādaḥ pat*. The deletion by *LOPA* of 6.4.130 *yasyeti ca* is conditioned (*naimittika*) by a *taddhita* affix, or a feminine in *ī*. The deletion in our present rule is not conditioned (*anaimittika*) by anything. A deletion by 6.4.148 *yasyeti ca* will restore *sthānivadbhāva* by treating a substitute like what it replaced (1.1.57 *acaḥ parasmin pūrvavidhau*). The deletion of this rule, because it is not conditioned by a right context, will impair *sthānivadbhāva*, and in the process, allow *pād* to be replaced with *pad*.

2. The condition of *pādaśatasya* is needed to block this affixal provision parallel to *dvau dvau māṣau dadāti* '. . . gives Māṣas in sets of two each' where *pāda* and *śata* are missing. This affixal provision will also be blocked parallel to *padau pādau dadāti* where *pāda* does not have a *saṃkhyā* at the beginning. Finally, *dvau pādau dadāti* will also not qualify because *vīpsā* 'repetition' is not involved. A *vārttika*, however, claims that specifying the base as *pādaśata* does not make sense. For, affix *vuN* is also seen elsewhere (*pādaśatagrahaṇam anarthakam anyatrāpi darśanāt*). Thus, *dvimodakikāṃ dadāti* 'gives away little sweet-balls in sets of two each', *trimodakikāṃ dadāti* 'gives away little sweet-balls in sets of three each', etc.

3. Note that *dvi* + *au pāda* + *au* are combined in view of 2.1.51 *taddhitārthottarapada*. . . . Our present rule introduces *vuN* after the compound *dvi* + *pāda* and deletes the final *a* of *pāda* in consonance with 1.1.52 *alo'ntyasya*. Rule 6.4.130 *pādaḥ pat* will then replace *pād* with *pad* to produce *dvipad* + *vu* where *vu* will subsequently yield *aka* (7.1.1 *yuvor anākau*). Affix *ṬāP* can then be added after *dvipadaka* to yield *dvipada* + *ā* where the final *a* of *pada* will be further replaced with *i* of 7.3.44 *pratyayasthāt*. . . . This will produce *dvipadikā* + *am* → *dvipadikām*. We can similarly derive *dviśatikām*.

5.4.2 दण्डव्यवसर्गयोश्च

daṇḍavyavasargayoś ca
/daṇḍavyavasargayoḥ 5/2 (*itar. dv.*); *ca* ϕ/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *pādaśatasya saṃkhyāder vun* #1)
daṇḍavyavasargayor gamyamānayoḥ pādaśatāntasya prātipadikasya saṃkhyāder vun pratyayo bhavati antalopaś ca
The *taddhita* affix *vuN* occurs after a nominal stem which ends in *pāda* and *śata* and begins with a number, with the additional provision of *LOPA* in place of the final sound-segment of *pāda* and *śata*, provided derivates signify *daṇḍa* 'punishment' and *vyavasarga* 'giving'.

EXAMPLES:

dvau pādau daṇḍitaḥ = dvipadikāṃ daṇḍitaḥ 'he was fined two quarters of . . .'
dvau pādau vyavasṛjati = dvipadikāṃ vyavasṛjati 'he is making a gift of two quarters of . . .'

1. This rule is formulated for allowing *vuN* outside of the denotatum of *vīpsā*. The word *daṇḍa* is interpreted here as *damana* 'punishment'. It cannot be interpreted as a 'stick', a means (*karaṇa*) of punishing, because of its association (*sāhacarya*) with action of giving (*vyavasarga*).

5.4.3 स्थूलादिभ्यः प्रकारवचने कन्

sthūlādibhyaḥ prakāravacane kan
/sthūlādibhyaḥ 5/3 = *sthūla ādir yeṣām* (*bv*), *tebhyaḥ*; *prakāravacane* 7/1 *kan* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76)
sthūlādibhyaḥ prakāravacane dyotye kan pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *kaN* occurs after a nominal stem listed in the group headed by *sthūla* 'huge', when drivates signify *prakāra* 'manner, kind'.

EXAMPLES:

sthūlaprakāraḥ = sthūlakaḥ 'powerful, like someone huge'
aṇukaḥ 'tiny, as a grain of Aṇu (kind of rice)'

1. Affix *kaN* here constitutes an exception to *jātīyaR*. Recall that *jātīyaR* denotes *prakāra* 'kind, manner, likeness'. There are two meanings of *prakāra*: (*i*) *sādṛśya* 'similarity, likeness' and (*ii*) *bheda* 'distinction'. Affix *kaN*, similar to *jātīyaR*, denotes something distinguished by likeness (*prakāraviśiṣṭa*). It does not denote likeness in general (*prakārasāmānya*). Refer also to notes under 5.3.23 *prakāravacane thāl* and 5.3.69 *prakāravacane jātīyar*.

2. A *vārttika* recommends introduction of this *kaN* also after *cañcat* 'moving' and *bṛhat* 'large, big'. This can give: *cañcatprakāraḥ* 'as if moving' and *bṛhatprakāraḥ* 'as if big'. Some read these bases as *cañca* and *bṛha*, in view of derivates such as *cañcakaḥ* and *bṛhakaḥ*.

3. Some of the bases of the *sthūlādi* group are stated to have special meanings. Thus, *kṛṣṇa* 'black', *yava* 'barley', *gomūtra* 'cow's urine', *surā* 'liquor', *jīrṇa* 'old, worn out' are to be used when these bases are used with *tila* 'sesame', *brīhi* 'rice', *ācchādana* 'covering', *ahi* 'snake' and *śāli* 'rice' as their qualifiers, respectively. This will give derivates such as: *kṛṣṇakāḥ tilāḥ* 'black sesame', *yavakā brīhayaḥ* 'barley-like rice', *gomūtrakam* 'a covering similar in color to cow's urine', *surakaḥ* 'a snake similar in color to liquor' and *jīrṇakāḥ* 'as if worn out', respectively. Additionally, *pādya*, *kāla* and *avadāta* are also

used in the sense of *surā* 'liquor'. The words *patra* 'leaf' and *mūla* 'root' can be used either as a compound base, namely *patramūla* to derive *patramūlakam*, or individually to derive *patrakam* or *mūlakam*.

5.4.4 अनत्यन्तगतौ क्तात्

anatyantagatau ktāt
/ anatyanatagatau 7/1 *ktāt* 5/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *kan* #3)
anatyanatagatau gamyamānāyāṃ ktāntāt kan pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *kaN* occurs after a nominal stem which ends in affix *Kta* when derivates signify *anatyantagati* 'discontinuous connection of action with participant'.

EXAMPLES:

bhinnakaḥ 'partly split'
chinnakaḥ 'partly cut'

1. The word *atyantagatiḥ* is explained as 'total connection'. Its absence, in turn, can be called *anatyantagatiḥ* (*Kāś.*: *atyantagatiḥ = aśeṣasambandhaḥ, tadabhāvo'natyantagatiḥ*). Haradatta explains *aśeṣasambandha* as 'pervasion of a participant by action denoted by a base ending in *Kta*, (*PM* ad *Kāś.*: *ktaprakṛtivācyayā kriyayā sādhanasya vyāptiḥ*). A not so total pervasion is thus called *anatyantagati*. Thus, *bhinna* and *chinna* are bases which end in *Kta*, and denote total connection of the action of 'splitting' (*bheda*) and 'cutting' (*cheda*) with the object. Affix *kaN* can be introduced only when a not so total connection is denoted by their derivates *bhinnakaḥ* and *chinnakaḥ*.

5.4.5 न सामिवचने

na sāmivacane
/ na ϕ sāmivacane 7/1 = *sāmy ucyate yena* (*bv.*), *tasmin/*
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *kan* #3, *ktāntāt* #4)
sāmivacane upapade ktāntāt kan pratyayo na bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *kaN* does not occur after a nominal stem which ends in *Kta* used in conjunction with a *pada* signifying *sāmi* 'half'.

EXAMPLES:

sāmikṛtam 'half-done'
ardhakṛtam 'id.'
sāmibhuktam 'half-eaten'
nemabhuktam 'id.'

1. The word *vacana* is used in this rule so that *sāmi* can also include references to its synonyms such as *ardha* and *nema*, etc. (*vacanagrahaṇaṃ paryāyārtham*).

A question is raised in the *Mahābhāṣya* against stating this negation. Affix *kaN* cannot be introduced after *sāmikṛta*, etc., because the sense of *anatyantagati* is already denoted by the base. Why state the negation of *kaN* when its positive provision itself is questionable? Patañjali states that this negative provision is made, not as much to negate *anatyartagati*, but to negate introduction of *kaN* for denoting *svārtha* 'base-meaning'. But what rule makes a positive provision for introducing *kaN* with the denotatum of *svārtha*? One can assume that this rule, since it makes a negative provision, must also have a corresponding positive provision. This is how *abhinnatarakam* 'of not a different kind' and *bahutarakam* 'of various kinds' can be explained. The *Mahābhāṣya* refutes this rule. How would the *Mahābhāṣya* account for *kaN* in *bahutarakam*? This *kaN* can be introduced by 5.4.29 *yāvādibhyaḥ kan*, or else, by the *iṣṭi*: *tamabādyantāt svārthe kan vaktavyaḥ* affix *kaN* is desired after bases ending in *tamaP*, etc., to denote the sense of *svārtha* 'base-meaning'.

5.4.6 बृहत्या आच्छादने

bṛhatyā ācchādane
/ bṛhatyā 3/1 *ācchādane* 7/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *kan* #3)
bṛhatīśabdād ācchādane vartamānāt svārthe kan pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *kaN* occurs after *bṛhatī* 'large, extensive' when the derivate signifies *ācchādana* 'covering'.

EXAMPLES:

bṛhatikā 'large piece of cloth used by women to cover their head; wrap around'

1. Affix *kaN* cannot be introduced after *bṛhatī* when used in the sense of a meter: One can derive *bṛhatikā* from (*bṛhatī* + *kaN*) + *ṬāP* where long *ī* of *bṛhatī* is replaced with its short counterpart (7.5.13 *ke'ṇaḥ*).

5.4.7 अषडक्षाशितङ्ग्वलंकर्मालम्पुरुषाध्युत्तरपदात्खः

aṣaḍakṣāśitaṅgvalaṅkarmālampuruṣādhyuttarapadāt khaḥ
/ aṣaḍakṣāśitaṅgvalaṅkarmālampuruṣādhyuttarapadāt 5/1 (*sam. dv.*); *khaḥ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76)
'aṣaḍakṣa, āśitaṅgu, alaṃkarma, alaṃpuruṣa' ity etebhyo uttarapadāc ca svārthe khaḥ pratyayo bhavati

The *taddhita* affix *kha* occurs after nominal stems *aṣaḍakṣa* 'that which does not have six eyes', *āśitaṅgu* '(a forest) where cows grazed', *alaṃkarman* 'fit for an action' and *alaṃpuruṣa* 'fit for a person', or after stems used in combination with *adhi* as their final constituent.

EXAMPLES:

aṣaḍakṣīṇo mantraḥ 'a secret deliberation between two persons, not shared by any third'
āśitā gāvo'sminn araṇye = āśitaṅgavīnam araṇyam 'a forest where cows grazed'
alaṃkarmaṇe = alaṃkarmīṇaḥ 'a person who is capable of performing a given action'
alaṃpuruṣāya = alaṃpuruṣīṇaḥ 'a man who is sufficient to handle any other'
rājādhīnaḥ 'under the control of a king'

1. Note that *aṣaḍakṣa* is a *bahuvrīhi* compound paraphrased as *avidyamānāni ṣaḍakṣīṇi yasmin* 'that in which there are no six eyes' where affix *ṢaC* is introduced after *aṣaḍakṣi* by 5.4.113 *bahuvrīhau sakthyakṣṇoḥ. . . .* Our derivate *aṣaḍakṣīṇaḥ* refers to some 'secret deliberation between two people'. Involvement of two people makes the secret witnessed by 'four' eyes. The involvement of a third person would make it witnessed by six eyes. Haradatta claims that *akṣi*, especially in view of the meaning of derivates, is used in the sense of ears (*śrotrendriye vartate*).

Affix *kha* is introduced after *āśitagu*, again a *bahuvrīhi*, paraphrased as: *āśitāḥ gāvaḥ asmin* 'that (a forest) where cows were fed'. Note that augment *mUM* is introduced to *āśita* via *nipātana*. Thus, *āśita + mUM + go + kha = āśitam + go + īna = āśitam + go(o→av) īna = āśitamgavīna*. Application of *anusvāra* and *parasavarṇa* rules (8.4.58 *anusvārasya . . .*) will produce *āśitaṅgavīna*. The next two examples, i.e., *alaṃkarma* and *alaṃpuruṣa*, are compounds formed in view of the (*vt*): *paryādayo glānādyarthe caturthyā* (ad 1.4.79 *jīvikopaniṣadāv . . .*).

The *tatpuruṣa* compounds which contain *adhi* as a final constituent are listed in the *śaunḍādi* group of nominals. Thus, we get *rājādhīna* from *rājan + Ṅi + adhi + sU = rājan + i + adhi* which yields *rājādhi* after deletion of *sUP* and *n*, subsequent to compound formation. Of course, *rāja + adhi* produces *rājādhi* through *savarṇadīrgha* 'homogeneous long vowel replacement'.

Note that affix *kha* of *rājādhīna* is obligatory (*nitya*), especially when we find it made optional by the next rule. There are also other affixes which denote *svārtha*, and are *nitya*. Thus, we get *tamaP*, etc., prior to *kaN* (5.3.55 *atiśāyane tamab . . .*); *Ñya*, etc., before *vuN*; *ām*, etc., before *mayaṬ*; *kaN* and *cha* of 5.4.6 *bṛhaty ācchādane* and 5.4.9 *jātyantāc. . . .* Finally, affixes of 5.4.68 *samāsāntāḥ* are also obligatory.

5.4.8 विभाषाञ्चेरदिक्स्त्रियाम्

vibhāṣāñcer adikstriyām
/vibhāṣā 1/1 *añceḥ* 5/1 *adikstriyām* 7/1 = *dik cāsau strī ca = dikstrī* (*karm. tat.*); *na dikstrī = adikstrī* (*nañ. tat.*), *tasyām/*
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *kha* #7)
añcatyantāt prātipadikād adikstriyāṃ vartamānāt svārthe vibhāṣā khaḥ pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *kha* occurs optionally after a nominal stem which ends in *añc*, provided it is not a feminine signifying *diś* 'direction'.

EXAMPLES:

prāk 'prior, old'
prācīnam 'id.'
arvāk 'modern, new'
arvācīnam 'id.'

1. The condition of *adikstriyām* will block this affixal provision in cases of *prācī dik* 'east' and *pratīcī dik* 'west'. The qualifying condition of *dik* allows *kha* in *prācīnā* 'old' of *prācīnā brāhmaṇī* 'old brāhmaṇa woman'. The condition of *strī* allows for *prācīnam* of *prācīnaṃ dig ramaṇīyam* 'the east is beautiful'. Note that *prācīnam* denotes *dik* but is not feminine. It is derived from *prācī* + *sU* + *astātI*, where *astātI* is introduced after *prācī* ending in *sU*. Affix *astātI*, and *NīP* of *prācī* as well, is deleted in view of 5.3.30 *añcer luk* and 1.2.49 *luk taddhita luki*, respectively. Our derivate *prācīna* then derives from *prāc* + (*kha→īna*), where 1.1.38 *taddhitaś cāsarvavibhaktiḥ* terms it an indeclinable. It then becomes a neuter (*napuṃsaka*) since *kha* denotes base-meaning (*svārtha*).

5.4.9 जात्यन्ताच्छ बन्धुनि

jātyantāc cha bandhuni
/jātyantāt 5/1 *cha* (used without 1/1) *bandhuni* 7/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76)
jātyantāt prātipadikād bandhuni vartamānāt svārthe chaḥ pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *cha* occurs after a nominal stem which ends in *jāti* 'class, caste' and signifies *bandhu* 'clansman, kin'.

EXAMPLES:

brāhmaṇajātīyaḥ 'he by whom, for reasons of being a *brāhmaṇa*, his class (*brāhamaṇatva* 'brāhmaṇaness') is expressed; a person of the *brāhmaṇa* caste'
kṣatriyajātīyaḥ 'a person of the *kṣatriya* caste'

1. Note that *bandhu* is explained as 'he by whom, on account of being a *brāhmaṇa*, his class, i.e., *brāhmaṇatva*, is expressed'. The word *bandhu* is neuter (*napuṃsaka*), derived in the sense of locus paraphrased as *badhyate'smin* 'that within which one is constrained'. The word *brāhmaṇajātīyaḥ* means 'a thing, i.e., lump of flesh (*piṇḍa*), which forms the locus of the class known as brāhmaṇaness (*brāhmaṇatvajātyādhāro dravyātmakaḥ piṇḍa iti*). It is this meaning of 'thing' (*dravya*), i.e., *bandhu*, that blocks the introduction of affix *kha* after *brāhmaṇajāti* of *brāhmanajātiḥ śobhanā* 'brāhamaṇaness (to be a brāhamaṇa) is beautiful'.

5.4.10 स्थानान्ताद्विभाषा सस्थानेनेति चेत्

sthānāntād vibhāṣā sasthāneneti cet
/sthānāntāt 5/1 = *sthānaśabdo'nte yasya* (*bv.*), *tasmāt*; *vibhāṣā* 1/1 *sasthānena* 3/1 = *samānaṃ sthānaṃ yasya* (*bv.*), *tena*; *iti* ϕ *cet* ϕ/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *cha* #9)
sthānāntāt prātipadikād vibhāṣā chaḥ pratyayo bhavati sasthānena cet sthānāntam arthavad bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *cha* occurs optionally after a nominal stem used in combination with *sthāna* 'place' as its final constituent, providing the stem is synonymous with *sasthāna* 'one whose place is equal to. . . .'

EXAMPLES:

pitrā tulyaḥ = pitṛsthānīyaḥ 'one whose place is same as that of the father's'
pitṛsthānaḥ 'id.'
mātṛsthānīyaḥ 'one whose place is same as that of the mother's'
mātṛsthānaḥ 'id.'
rājasthānīyaḥ 'one whose place is same as that of the King's'
rājasthānaḥ 'id.'

1. The word *sasthāna* is explained as *tulyasthāna* 'equal in status'. The word *iti* in the rule is used for indicating *vivakṣā* 'speaker's intent'. That is, *sasthāna* is desired here as a *bahuvrīhi*, paraphrased as *samānaṃ sthānam asya* 'one whose place is equal to. . . .' It is not intended as *karmadhāraya-tatpuruṣa* compound paraphrased as: *samānaṃ ca tat sthānam* 'that which is equal and is also a place.' The word *iti*, read with *sasthānena*, means *arthavad* 'meaningful': *yadi sthānāntaṃ śabdarūpaṃ tulyarūpeṇa arthena arthavān bhavati* 'if the form which ends in *sthāna* becomes meaningful by the sense of *tulya* 'equal'.'

2. Why do we have to have *vibhāṣā* stated explicitly when the same can be brought via *anuvṛtti* from 5.4.8 *vibhāṣāñcer*. . . ? An explicit use of *vibhāṣā* is made to indicate that a provision made in between two optional provisions is considered as obligatory (*nitya*; *Kāś.*: *dvayor vibhāṣayor madhye nityavidhaya*

iti pūrvatra nityavidhayaḥ). Rule 5.4.9 *jātyantāc chaḥ* is obligatory. If this preceding was not an obligatory provision then *vibhāṣā* could have been carried.

5.4.11 किमेत्तिङव्ययघादाम्वद्रव्यप्रकर्षे

kimettiṅavyayaghād āmv adravyaprakarṣe
/ kimettiṅavyayaghāt 5/1 = *kiṃ ca ec ca tiṅ ca avyayaṃ ca = kimettiṅavyayāni; tebhyo vihito yo ghaḥ = kimettiṅavyayaghaḥ* (*ṣaṣ. tat.* with int. *dv.*); *āmu* (1/1 deleted) *adravyaprakarṣe = dravyasya prakarṣaḥ = dravyaprakarṣaḥ; na dravyaprakarṣaḥ* (*nañ. tat.* with int. *ṣaṣ. tat.*), *tasmin/*
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76)
kima ekārāntāt tiṅantād avyayebhyaś ca yo vihito ghaḥ tadantāt prātipadikād adravyaprakarṣe āmu pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *āmU* occurs after a nominal stem which ends in a *gha*, introduced either after *kim* 'which, what, who', or after a form which ends in *e* and *tiṄ*, or else, after that which is an *avyaya* 'indeclinable', provided derivates signify something other than *dravyaprakarṣa* 'excellence of a thing'.

EXAMPLES:

kiṃtarām 'what more than this'
kiṃtamām 'what more than these'
pūrvāhṇetarām 'right in the morning'
pūrvāhṇetamām 'absolutely in the morning'
pacatitarām 'he cooks relatively well'
pacatiṭamām 'he cooks the best'
uccaistarām 'relatively louder'
uccaistamām 'the loudest'

1. Recall that affixes *taraP* and *tamaP* are assigned the term *gha* (1.1.12 *taraptamapau ghaḥ*). Affix *āmU* is thus to be introduced after a form which ends in affixes *taraP* and *tamaP*.

2. Note that *prakarṣa* 'eminence, excellence' denoted by *taraP* and *tamaP* is possible only in relation to *kriyā* 'action' and *guṇa* 'quality'. Why then we have the negation of *adravyaprakarṣe* 'when eminence of something other than *dravya* is denoted?' Why negate *dravyaprakarṣa* when it is not possible to start with? *Kāśikā* states that the affix, indeed, denotes eminence of action and quality. The negation applies to contexts where 'eminence' of 'action' or 'quality' is transferred to a substance (*dravya; prakarṣo yadā dravye upacaryate tadā'yaṃ pratiṣedhaḥ*). Observe now *uccaistaraḥ parvataḥ* 'a higher mountain' and *uccaistamaḥ parvataḥ* 'the highest mountain' where 'eminence' in quality of 'highness' is transferred to the mountain. Affix *āmU* cannot be introduced here.

5.4.12 अमु च च्छन्दसि

amu cac chandasi
/amu 1/1 *ca* ϕ *chandasi* 7/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *kimettiṅavyayaghād adravyaprakarṣe* #11)
kimettiṅavyayaghād adravyaprakarṣe amu pratyayo bhavati chandasi viṣaye
The *taddhita* affix *amU*, and *āmU* as well, occurs in Vedic, after a nominal stem which ends in affix *gha*, introduced either after *kim* 'which, what, who', or after a form which ends in *e* and *tiN̆*, or else, after that which is an *avyaya* 'indeclinable', provided derivates do not signify *dravyaprakarṣa* 'excellence of a thing'.

EXAMPLES:

prataram . . . '. . . relatively well'
pratarām . . . '. . . better . . .'

1. Note that forms which end in *am* and *ām* are both included in the *svarādi* group. Consequently, they are termed *avyaya* (1.1.37 *svarādinipātam avyayam*). The *sU* introduced after these derivates is also deleted (2.4.82 *avyayād āpsupaḥ*. The *U* as an *it* (*ud-it*) in *amU* and *āmU* is needed so that these could be excluded from the reference of 6.3.68 *ica ekāco'm pratyayavac ca*. A wrong form would result if *striyammanyaḥ* loses its *i* to 6.4.148 *yasyeti ca*. No such deletion will take place if 6.3.68 *ica ekāc* . . . does not include references to *āmU* and *amU* (*PM* ad *Kāś.*: *atrāpy ud-it-karaṇaṃ 'ica ekāco' ampratyayavac ca' ity atrāsyāpi grahaṇaṃ mā blūd iti . . . iha striyammanyaḥ, yasyeti lopaḥ prāpnoti*).

5.4.13 अनुगादिनष्ठक्

anugādinaṣ ṭhak
/anugādinaḥ 5/1 *ṭhak* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76)
anugādinśabdāt svārthe ṭhak pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *ṭhaK* occurs after nominal stem *anugādin* 'one who repeats other's words'.

EXAMPLES:

anugādikaḥ 'one who speaks afterwards; one who repeats other's words'

1. Note that *anugādin* can be accepted as a derivate of *ṆinI* (3.1.134 *nandigrahipacādibhyo* . . .), via *nipātana*, at the strength of this specification itself. Since no derivate meaning is specified, *anugādikaḥ* must denote base-meaning (*svārtha*). But this affixal provision also has consequences for *anugādin*. It cannot be used by itself in the sense of 'one who repeats some-

one's words'. Affix *ṭhaK* is obligatory (*nitya*). This rule specifies *anugādin*, simply to indicate the form of the base after which affix *ṭhaK* is to be introduced (*PM* ad *Kāś.*: *prakṛtisvarūpapradarśanaparaṃ caitat. na tv ayaṃ kevalaḥ prayogārhaḥ; ṭhako nityatvāt*). Incidentally, *anugādin* + (*ṭha→ika*) will go through *ṭi*-deletion of *in* (6.4.143 *ṭeḥ*).

5.4.14 णचः स्त्रियामञ्

ṇacaḥ striyām añ
/ṇacaḥ 5/1 *striyām* 7/1 *añ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76)
ṇajantāt svārthe' ñ pratyayo bhavati striyāṃ viṣaye
The *taddhita* affix *aÑ* occurs after a form which ends in a *kṛt* affix, namely *ṆaC*, provided feminine is signified.

EXAMPLES:

vyāvakrośī vartate '. . . mutual challenges continue'
vyāvahāsī vartate '. . . mutual laughter continues'

1. Note that affix *ṆaC* is introduced to derive feminine forms with the denotatum of *karmavyatihāra* 'reciprocal action' (3.3.43 *karmavyatihāre ṇac striyām*). Why do we have to include the condition of *striyām* 'when feminine is denoted?' That is, *striyām* should not be stated since derivates denoting *svārtha* 'base-meaning' also denote number and gender of their bases. Commentators add that this is not always true. For, gender, in particular, is based on usage (*lokāśrayatvāl liṅgasya*). Consider *guḍakalpā* and *tailakalpā* of *guḍakalpā drākṣā* 'slightly sweet grapes' and *tailakalpā prasannā* 'slightly oily liquor' (5.3.67 *īṣad asamāptau . . .*) where *guḍakalpa* and *tailakalpa* should be put in neuter because of their bases. But they are used in feminine because of *drākṣā* and *surā*. The *Mahābhāṣya* rightly claims that 'affixes denoting the sense of their bases do transgress the original number and gender of their bases' (*Mbh.*: *svārthikāḥ pratyayāḥ prakṛtito liṅgavacanāny ativartante' pīti*).

2. Refer to the derivation of *vyāvakrośī* under 3.3.43 *karmavyatihāre . . .* (appendix of vol. III). One can similarly derive *vyāvahāsī*.

5.4.15 अणिनुणः

aṇ inuṇaḥ
/aṇ 1/1 *inuṇaḥ* 5/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76)
inuṇantāt svārthe' ṇ pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *aṆ* occurs after a form which ends in affix *inUṆ*.

EXAMPLES:

sāṃrāviṇaṃ vartate 'a big uproar continues'
sāṃkūṭinaṃ vartate 'fire continues all around'

1. Recall that affix *inUṆ* is introduced by 3.3.44 *abhividhau bhāve inuṇ*. Here again *aṆ* is to be introduced in the sense of base meaning (*svārtha*). Refer to the appendix of vol. III under 3.3.44 *abhividhau bhāva* . . . for derivational details.

5.4.16 विसारिणो मत्स्ये

visāriṇo matsye
/*visāriṇaḥ* 5/1 *matsye* 7/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *aṇ* #15)
visārinśabdāt svārthe' ṇ pratyayo bhavati matsye' bhidheye
The *taddhita* affix *aṆ* occurs after nominal stem *visārin* 'that which slips away' when the derivate is to denote *matsya* 'fish'.

EXAMPLES:

vaisāriṇo matsyaḥ 'that which slips away; a fish'

1. Note that *visārin* is also a derivate of *ṆinI* (3.1.134 *nandigrahi* . . .). *Kāśikā*'s counter-example in *visārī devadattaḥ* suggests that *visārī*, unlike *anugādī*, can be used to denote the sense of its base. Since *vaisāriṇaḥ* denotes a *matsya* 'fish', *visārin* must denote its base meaning, i.e., *matsyaḥ*.

5.4.17 संख्याया: क्रियाभ्यावृत्तिगणने कृत्वसुच्

saṃkhyāyāḥ kriyābhyāvṛttigaṇane kṛtvasuc
/*saṃkhyāyāḥ* 5/1 *kriyābhyāvṛttigaṇane* 7/1 = *abhitaḥ vartanam* = *abhyāvṛttiḥ* (*gatitatpuruṣa*); *kriyāyā abhyāvṛttiḥ* = *kriyābhyāvṛttiḥ* (*ṣaṣ. tat.*); *kriyābhyāvṛtteḥ gaṇanam* (*ṣaṣ. tat.*), *tasmin*; *kṛtvasuc* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76)
saṃkhyāśabdebhyaḥ kriyābhyāvṛttigaṇane vartamānebhyaḥ svārthe kṛtvasuc pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *kṛtvasUC* occurs after a nominal stem which is termed *saṃkhyā* 'number' and is used in the sense of counting (*gaṇana*) repetition (*abhyāvṛtti*) of an action (*kriyā*).

EXAMPLES:

pañcavārān bhuṅkte = *pañcakṛtvo bhuṅkte* 'he eats five times'
saptakṛtvaḥ 'he eats seven times'

1. Note that *abhyāvṛtti* is glossed as *paunaḥpunya* 'over and over again'. It

cannot be understood as *āvṛtti* 'repetition', because *āvṛtti* does not include the first instance of an action. *Kāśikā* explains *kriyābhyāvṛttigaṇa* as 'counting instances of an identical action sharing an identical agent'. Thus, *pañcakṛtvaḥ bhuṅkte* 'he eats five times' parallel to *paycavārān bhuṅkte*. A paraphrase such as *bhūrīn vārān bhuṅkte* cannot qualify for a parallel derivate since *bhūri* 'numerous' is not a number (*saṃkhyā*). Why do we have to state *kriyā* in *kriyābhyāvṛttigaṇane* when *abhyāvṛtti* always relates to *kriyā*. Why state the obvious? The word *kriyā* is needed for *anuvṛtti* in subsequent rules (*uttarārtham*). For, in 5.4.19 *ekasya sakṛc ca, eka* qualifies *kriyā*. It does not, however, qualify *abhyāvṛtti*, since that will be impossible (*asambhavāt*). The word *abhyāvṛtti* is used so that this affix could not be introduced where concurrent instances of an action are to be counted. Thus, *pañcapākāḥ* 'five cookings' and *daśapākāḥ* 'ten cookings' denote 'five' and 'ten' numbers of a concurrent single action characterized as *pāka*. These numbers here denote only what is counted (*saṃkhyeya*). They do not denote 'what is counted' and 'the number of times a counting is done (*saṃkhyāna*)', both at the same time. The word *gaṇana* is therefore used here to ensure these derivational meanings. In the absence of *gaṇana*, this affix could be introduced only after the base which denotes what is to be counted. Incidentally, *abhyāvṛtti* also has a single action as its focus but the number of times it is accomplished must be non-current. Besides, the action of *kriyābhyāvṛtti* must be of the nature of *sādhya* 'that which is to be accomplished', and not *siddha* 'that which is already accomplished'. The first is what is meant by *kriyā*. The second, i.e., *siddha*, is what is generally known as *bhāva* 'root-sense'. Words such as *pāka* are derivates of *ghañ* denoting *bhāva*. This affix cannot be introduced in association with *pāka*, etc., which denote an action as *siddha*. This same is true of the following rules also.

5.4.18 द्वित्रिचतुर्भ्यः सुच्

dvitricaturbhyaḥ suc
/ dvitricaturbhyaḥ 5/3 *suc* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *saṃkhyāyāḥ kriyābhyāvṛttigaṇane* #17)
'*dvi-tri-catur*' *ity etebhyaḥ saṃkhyāśabdebhyaḥ kriyābhyāvṛttigaṇane vartamānebhyaḥ suc pratyayo bhavati*
The *taddhita* affix *sUC* occurs after nominal stems *dvi* 'two', *tri* 'three' and *catur* 'four', termed *saṃkhyā*, when they are used in the sense of counting repetition of an action.

EXAMPLES:

dvir bhuṅkte 'he eats twice'
trir bhuṅkte 'he eats three times'
catur bhuṅkte 'he eats four times'

1. This provision of *sUC* is an exception to *kṛtvasUC*. The *C* as an *it*, in *sUC*, is for final *udātta* accent (6.1.163 *citaḥ*). We get *dviḥ* and *triḥ* through *rutva-visarga* of *s* of *sUC*.

5.4.19 एकस्य सकृच्च

ekasya sakṛc ca
/ekasya 6/1 *sakṛt* ϕ *ca* ϕ*/*
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *saṃkhyāyāḥ kriyābhyāvṛttigaṇane* #17, *suc* #18)
ekaśabdasya 'sakṛd' ity ayam ādeśo bhavati suc ca pratyayaḥ kriyāgaṇane
The *taddhita* affix *sUC* occurs after *eka*, with an additional provision of *sakṛt* to come in its place, when action (*kriyā*) is counted.

EXAMPLES:

ekavāraṃ bhuṅkte = *sakṛd bhuṅkte* 'he eats only once'
ekavāram adhīte = *sakṛd adhīte* 'he studies once'

1. Note that the sense of *abhyāvṛtti* is not possible here. Affix *sUC* again forms an exception to *kṛtvasUC*. The *s* of *sUC* in (*eka*→*sakṛt*) + *s* = *sakṛts* is deleted by 8.2.23 *saṃyogāntasya lopaḥ*.

5.4.20 विभाषा बहोर्धाऽविप्रकृष्टकाले

vibhāṣā bahor dhā aviprakṛṣṭakāle
/vibhāṣā 1/1 *bahoḥ* 5/1 *dhā* 1/1 *aviprakṛṣṭakāle* 7/1 = *na viprakṛṣṭaḥ* = *aviprakṛṣṭaḥ* (*nañ. tat.*); *aviprakṛṣṭaḥ kālo yasya* (*bv.* with int. *nañ. tat.*), *tasmin/*
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *saṃkhyāyāḥ kriyābhyāvṛttigaṇane* #17)
bahuśabdāt kriyābhyāvṛttigaṇane vartamānāt vibhāṣā dhā pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *dhā* occurs after nominal stem *bahu*, termed *saṃkhyā*, when it is used in the sense of counting repetition of an action over a non-distant span of time.

EXAMPLES:

bahudhā divasasya bhuṅkte 'he eats many times during a day'
bahukṛtvo divasasya bhuṅkte 'id.'

1. The word *aviprakṛṣṭa* is explained as *āsanna* 'proximate, non-distant'. It is used as a qualifier to *kriyābhyāvṛtti*. Consequently, *bahukṛtvaḥ* of *bahukṛtvo māsasya bhuṅkte* 'he eats many times during a month' does not qualify for *dhā*. Incidentally, *divasa* is used in *ṣaṣṭhī* in view of 2.3.64 *kṛtvo'rthaprayoge. . . .*

5.4.21 तत्प्रकृतवचने मयट्

tat prakṛtavacane mayaṭ

/ tat 1/1 *prakṛtavacane* 7/1 = *prācuryeṇa kṛtam* = *prakṛtam* (*gatitatpuruṣa*); *prakṛtasya vacanam* (*ṣaṣ. tat.*), *tasmin*; *mayaṭ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76)
prathamāsamarthāt prakṛtopādhike' rthe vartamānāt svārthe mayaṭ pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *mayaṬ* occurs after a syntactically related nominal stem which ends in *prathamā* 'nominative' and signifies *prakṛta* 'that which happens to be in abundance'.

EXAMPLES:

annaṃ prakṛtam asminn = *annamayo yajñaḥ* 'a ritual sacrifice with food in abundance'
apūpamayaṃ parva 'a festival with cakes in abundance'

1. Note that *vacana* of *prakṛtavacanam* can be derived with affix *LyuṬ* denoting *bhāva* 'root-sense' or *adhikaraṇa* 'locus'. This will give two interpretations of *prakṛtavacane*: 'speaking of something in abundance (*prakṛtasyavacanam, tasmin*)' and 'speaking of a place where something is in abundance (*prakṛtam ucyate' smin*)'. The first interpretation accepts *prakṛtavacanam* as a qualifier to the sense of the base: *prakṛtasya vacane vartamānāt prathamāsamarthāt prātipadikāt* 'after a syntactically related nominal stem ending in nominative with the signification of abundance.' The second interpretation makes *prakṛtavacanam* as a meaning condition: *tad iti prathamāsamarthāt prakṛtavacane' bhidheye mayaṭ pratyayo bhavati* 'affix *mayaṬ* occurs after a syntactically related nominal stem ending in nominative, when derivates denote 'abundance in there'.' These interpretations are both correct (*dvayam api pramāṇam*).

5.4.22 समूहवच्च बहुषु

samūhavac ca bahuṣu
/ samūhavat ϕ *ca* ϕ *bahuṣu* 7/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *tat prakṛtavacane* #21)
bahuṣu prakṛteṣūcyamāneṣu samūhavat pratyayā bhavanti cakārān mayaṭ ca
A *taddhita* affix similar to those which signify *samūha* 'group, multitude', and *mayaṬ* as well, occurs after a nominal stem which ends in nominative and signifies abundance of many.

EXAMPLES:

maudakikam '. . . where sweet-balls are offered in abundance'
modakamayam 'id.'
śāṣkulikam '. . . where deep-fried beads are offered in abundance'
śaṣkulīmayaḥ 'id.'

1. The word *bahuṣu* serves as a qualifier to the base-meaning, or as a meaning condition, depending on what interpretation of the rule is accepted. Note that earlier derivates denote base meanings (*svārtha*), and are treated as singular neuter. But derivates denoting *svārtha* also transgress original number-gender of their bases. The first interpretation of this rule will offer examples: *śāṣkulikam* and *śaṣkulīmayam* where derivates are neuter singular, as one would expect. The second interpretation will switch the examples as: *śāṣkulikaḥ* and *śaṣkulīmayaḥ*, masculine singular, in consonance with *yajña*, a locus of abundance in masculine.

2. A word such as *maudakikam* is derived optionally to *modakamayam* in the sense of *modakāḥ prakṛtāḥ = prācuryeṇa prastutāḥ*. The base of our first examples, i.e., *maudakika*, is a derivate of *ṭhaK* (4.2.47 *acittahastidhenoṣ ṭhak*). Incidentally, *modaka* is masculine, though *maudakikam* and *modakamayam* are used in neuter. It is not unusual for affixes with the denotata of their base-meaning to transgress the gender of their bases (*Kāś.*: *ativartante' pi svārthikāḥ prakṛtito liṅgavacanāni*).

5.4.23 अनन्तावसथेतिहभेषजाञ्ञ्यः

anantāvasathetihabheṣajāñ ñyaḥ
/ anantāvasathetihabheṣajāt 5/1 (*sam. dv.*), *tasmāt*; *ñyaḥ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76)
anantādibhyaḥ svārthe ñyaḥ pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *Ñya* occurs after nominal stems *ananta* 'endless', *āvasatha* 'dwelling', *iti ha* 'thus it was; history' and *bheṣaja* 'medicine'.

EXAMPLES:

ananta eva = ānantyam 'endless'
āvasatha eva = āvasathyam 'place of residence'
iti ha = aitihyam 'history'
bheṣajam eva = bhaiṣajyam 'medicine'

1. Note that *Ñya* becomes optional in view of 4.1.82 *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā*. Deriving *aitihya* from *iti ha*, which are both particles, and not *prātipadikas*, is in consonance with the traditional usage (*Kāś.*: . . . *upadeśa pāramparye vartate*). Incidentally, *Ñ* as an *it* is intended for initial *vṛddhi*.

5.4.24 देवतान्तात् तादर्थ्ये यत्

devatāntāt tādarthye yat
/ devatāntāt 5/1 (*bv.*), *tādarthye* 7/1 *yat* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76)

devatāśabdāntāt prātipadikāc caturthīsamarthāt tādarthye yat pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *yaT* occurs to denote the sense of *tādarthya* 'intended for that' after a nominal stem which has *devatā* 'divinity, god' as its final constituent and ends in *caturthī* 'fourth triplet of nominal endings'.

EXAMPLES:

agnidevatāyai idam = agnidevatyam 'this is intended for the fire-god, Agni'
pitṛdevatyam 'this is intended for our ancestors'
vāyudevatyam 'this is intended for the god of Wind'

1. Note that *yaT* is introduced after a base which ends in *caturthī* 'dative', as is known from *tādarthya* (2.1.86 *caturthī tadarthārthabali...*). The word *tādarthya* is a derivate of *ṢyaÑ* (5.1.123 *yarṇadṛḍhādibhyaḥ ṣyañ ca*). The word *tad* in *tādarthye* specifies the denotatum of a base (*Kāś.*: *tad iti prakṛtyartho nirdiśyate*). Bases such as *agnidevatā* are *karmadhāraya-tatpuruṣa* compounds, paraphrased as *agniś cāsau devatā ca* 'he who is Agni, and is also a divinity'. Derivations mostly involve *bha-saṃjñā* and *ā-lopa.*

5.4.25 पादार्घाभ्यां च

pādārghābhyām ca
/pādārghābhyām 5/2 (*itar. dv.*) *ca ϕ/*
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *tādarthye yat* #24)
pādārghaśabdābhyām caturthīsamarthābhyām tādarthye' bhidheye yat pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *yaT* occurs to denote the sense of *tādarthya* after nominal stems *pāda* 'foot' and *argha* 'precious offering', when they end in *caturthī.*

EXAMPLES:

pādārtham udakam = pādyam '... water for cleansing feet'
arghyam 'fragrant water for divinity'

1. The word *ca* is used for attracting something not accounted for (*anukta-samuccayārthaś cakāraḥ*). Consider *chandasyaḥ* 'intended for a particular meter' which is also derived with *yaT* introduced after *chandas* 'meter'. This affixal provision also applies elsewhere, as is reflected in usage (*Kāś.*: *yathā-darśanam anyatrāpi pratyayo bhavati*). Refer to *Kāśika* and other commentaries for additional derivates. The *Mahābhāṣya* offers some *vārttikas* for making additional provisions:

(*i*) affix *āvatU* is introduced after *sama* to derive *samāvat,* as in *samāvad vasati* '... lives together' (*vt.*: *samaśabdād āvatupratyayo vaktavyaḥ*);
(*ii*) affixes *tnaP, tanaP* and *kha* are introduced after *nava,* which is also

concurrently replaced with *nū*, to derive: *nūtnam* 'new, contemporary, modern', *nūtanam* and *navīnam* (*vt.*: *navasya nū ādeśaḥ tnaptanapkhāś ca pratyayāḥ*);

(*iii*) affix *na* is introduced after *pra*, in addition to *tnaP*, *tanaP* and *kha*, to derive *praṇam* 'old, ancient', *pratnam*, *pratanam* and *prīṇam*, respectively, when *pra* is used with the signification of *purāṇa* 'old, ancient' (*vt.*: *naś ca purāṇe prāt*);

(*iv*) affix *dheya* is introduced after *bhāga* 'share, fate', *rūpa* 'form, beauty' and *nāma* 'name', to derive *bhāgadheyaḥ*, *rūpadheyaḥ* and *nāmadheyaḥ* with the signification of base meanings (*svārtha*; *vt.*: *bhāgarūpanāmabhyo dheyaḥ pratyayo vaktavyaḥ*);

(*v*) *dheya* is to be introduced after *mitra* 'sun, friend', in Vedic, to derive *mitradheya* as in *mitradheye yatasva* 'strive in friendship' (*vt.*: *mitrāc chandasī*);

(*vi*) affix *aÑ* is introduced after *āgnīdhra* and *sādhāraṇa* to derive *āgnīdhram* 'place of sacrifical fire' and *sādhāraṇam* 'common, ordinary', in addition to optional feminine forms in *ṄīP* (*āgnīdhrī*/*āgnīdhrā*; *sādhāraṇī*/*sādhāraṇā*; *vt.*: *āgnīdhrasādhāraṇād añ*); and

(*vii*) affix *aÑ* occurs, in Vedic, after *ayavasa* and *marut* to derive *āyavasa* and *māruta* (*vt.*: *ayavasamarudbhyām chandasy añ vaktavyaḥ*).

5.4.26 अतिथेर्ञ्यः

atither ñyaḥ
/*atitheḥ* 5/1 *ñyaḥ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *tādarthye* #24)
atithiśabdāc caturthīsamarthāt tādarthye 'bhidheye ñyaḥ pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *Ñya* occurs after nominal stem *atithi* 'guest', used in *caturthī* 'dative', when sense of *tādarthya* is denoted.

EXAMPLES:

atithaye idam = *ātithyam* 'this is intended for a guest; hospitality'

5.4.27 देवात्तल्

devāt tal
/*devāt* 5/1 *tal* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76)
devaśabdāt svārthe tal pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *taL* occurs after nominal stem *deva* 'divinity, divine'.

EXAMPLES:

deva eva = *devatā* 'divinity, divine, god'

1. Note that *tādarthye* does not carry, and since no specification of affixal meanings is given, *devatā* denotes the meaning of its base (*svārtha*). Incidentally, *devatā* is obligatorily feminine (4.1.4 *ajādyataṣ ṭāp*).

5.4.28 **अवेः कः**

aveḥ kaḥ
/aveḥ 5/1 *kaḥ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76)
The *taddhita* affix *ka* occurs after nominal stem *avi* 'sheep'.

EXAMPLES:

avir eva = avikaḥ 'sheep'

1. Here again the affix denotes *svārtha* 'base meaning'.

5.4.29 **यावादिभ्यः कन्**

yāvādibhyaḥ kan
/yāvādibhyaḥ 5/3 = *yāva ādir yeṣām* (*bv.*), *tebhyaḥ*; *kan* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76)
'*yāva*' *ity evamādibhyaḥ svārthe kan pratyayo bhavati*
The *taddhita* affix *kaN* occurs after a nominal stem listed in the group headed by *yāva* 'barley'.

EXAMPLES:

yāva eva = yāvikaḥ 'barley'
maṇikaḥ 'a gem; jewel'

1. Here again the derivates denote *svārtha*. Note, however, that a few *gaṇasūtras* illustrate special denotata after specific bases. Thus, *uṣṇaka* and *śītaka* denote 'hot' and 'cold' seasons; *aṇuka* and *putraka* denote 'skilled' and 'artificial, unnatural', of course, when *kaN* is introduced after *aṇu* and *putra*, etc.

5.4.30 **लोहितान्मणौ**

lohitān maṇau
/lohitāt 5/1 *maṇau* 7/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *kan* #29)
lohitaśabdān maṇau vartamānāt svārthe kan pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *kaN* occurs after nominal stem *lohita* 'red', provided it is used as a qualifier to *maṇi* 'gem; jewel'.

EXAMPLES:

lohito maṇiḥ = *lohitakaḥ* 'a gem; jewel'

1. Elsewhere, we will get *lohitaḥ* 'red, blood'.

5.4.31 वर्णे चानित्ये

varṇe cānitye
/varṇe 7/1 *ca* ϕ *anitye* 7/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *kan* #29, *lohita* #5.4.30)
anitye varṇe vartamānāl lohitaśabdāt svārthe kan pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *kaN* occurs after nominal stem *lohita* when it is used in the sense of 'impermanent color' (*anitye varṇe*).

EXAMPLES:

lohitakaḥ kopena 'reddened by anger'
lohitakaḥ pīḍanena 'reddened by torture'

1. The condition of *anitya* 'impermanent, transient' is important in view of *lohito gauḥ* 'red cow' and *lohitaṃ rudhiram* 'blood', where *kaN* cannot be allowed since their 'redness' is permanent. If 'redness' of Devadatta's face disappears when anger (*krodha*), its cause (*nimitta*), disappears, 'redness' is impermanent (*anitya*). Thus, 'redness' is impermanent if it disappears while its locus still exists (*PM* ad *Kāś.*: *saty evāśraye yal lauhityam apagacchati tad anityam*). That is, 'permanence of color' is understood as 'that which stays the same from beginning to the end of its locus' existence (*Tattvabodhinī* ad *SK*: . . . *āśrayadravyasya utpattiprabhṛti-nāśaparyantaṃ yo varṇo vartate, sa varṇo nityaḥ* . . .).

Two optional forms, i.e., *lohinikā* and *lohitikā*, are desired in feminine, for example in, *lohinikā kopena* 'she is red in anger' and *lohitikā kopena* 'ibidem'. Given the word *lohita*, two rules become applicable: 4.1.39 *varṇānudāttāt* . . . and 5.4.31 *varṇe cānitye*. The first introduces *ṄīP* after a nominal stem which has *t* in its *upadhā* 'penultimate position'. Additionally, *t* is concurrently replaced with *n* (*natva*). The second introduces *kaN*. Since *kaN* denotes *svārtha* 'base meaning', and is subsequent in order in addition to being internally conditioned (*antaraṅga*), it becomes *nitya*. Consequently, it should block the application of 4.1.39 *varṇānudāttāt*. Given *lohita* + *kaN* = *lohitaka*, rule 4.1.39 *varṇānudāttāt* . . . cannot apply subsequent to the application of 5.4.31 *varṇe cānitye*. For, the condition of *t* in penultimate position (*topadha*) will be impaired by *k* (*kopadha*) of *kaN*. Rule 4.1.4 *ajādyataṣ ṭāp* will then introduce *ṬāP*, followed by the application of rule 7.3.44 *pratyayasthāt kātpūrvasyāta*. . . . This will produce *lohitaka* + *ṬāP*→*lohit*(*a*→*i*)*ka* + *ṬāP* = *lohitikā*. But *lohinikā* is also desired. It is for this reason that a *vārttika* (*vt.*: *lohitāl liṅgabādhanaṃ*

vā) makes this blocking of *ṄīP*, by *kaN* after *lohita*, as optional (*vā*). That is, if the option of blocking *ṄīP* is not accepted then *ṄīP*, with concurrent replacement of *t* by *n*, will yield *lohinikā*.

5.4.32 रक्ते

rakte
/rakte 7/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *kan* #29, *lohita* #5.4.30)
lākṣādinā rakte yo lohitaśabdaḥ tasmāt kan pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *kaN* occurs after nominal stem *lohita* when it signifies 'colored by . . .' (*rakte*).

EXAMPLES:

lohitikā śāṭī 'a Saree dyed in red'
lohinikā 'id.'

1. This rule is formulated so that *kaN* can be introduced after a base which denotes 'redness' (*lauhitya*) brought about via contact with another substance (*dravyāntarasamparkeṇa lauhityam*). Furthermore, this 'redness' also happens to be *nitya*, similar to one which stays the same in its locus from beginning to the end of its existence. Obviously, the preceding rule cannot allow *kaN* after a base of this signification. Thus, *lohita* can receive *kaN* if 'redness' is permanent, and is brought about via contact of *paṭa* 'dress, cloth' with *lākṣā* 'lac, red dye'. The optional blocking of *ṄīP* is also allowed here. Thus, *lohitikā* and *lohinikā* will be two forms in feminine.

5.4.33 कालाच्च

kālāc ca
/kālāt 5/1 *ca ϕ/*
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *kan* #29, *lohita* #5.4.30, *varṇe cānitye* #31, *rakte* #32)
kālaśabdād anitye vartamānād rakte ca kan pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *kaN* occurs after nominal stem *kāla* when it is used in the sense of 'impermanent color' (*varṇe cānitye*) or 'colored by . . .' (*rakte*).

EXAMPLES:

kālakaṃ mukham vailakṣyeṇa 'a face temporarily turned black with shame'
kālakaḥ paṭaḥ 'a piece of cloth dyed in black'

1. Note that *varṇe cā' nitye* and *rakte* are both carried.

5.4.34 विनयादिभ्यष्ठक्

vinayādibhyaṣ ṭhak
/vinayādibhyaḥ 5/3 = *vinaya ādir yeṣām* (*bv.*), *tebhyaḥ*; *ṭhak* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *kan* #29)
'*vinaya*' *ity evamādibhyaḥ svārthe kan pratyayo bhavati*
The *taddhita* affix *kaN* occurs after a nominal stem listed in the group headed by *vinaya* 'humility'.

EXAMPLES:

vinaya eva = *vainayikaḥ* 'humility'
sāmayikaḥ 'contemporary'
aupāyikaḥ 'that which is rightfully obtained'
aupayikaḥ 'id.'
ākasmikaḥ 'sudden, accidental'

1. Affix *kaN* denotes *svārtha* since no specific meaning is assigned. The shortening of *ā* in *upāya* + *ṭhaK* is made optional by a *gaṇasūtra* (*upāyād hrasvatvaṃ ca*). This will give two forms: *aupāyikaḥ* and *aupayikaḥ*. Of course, after *ṭhaK* yields *ika* and *u* is replaced with *au*, its *vṛddhi* counterpart.

5.4.35 वाचो व्याहृतार्थायाम्

vāco vyāhṛtārthāyām
/vācaḥ 5/1 *vyāhṛtārthāyām* 7/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76)
prakāśito 'rtho yasyās tasyāṃ vāci vartamānād vāc-śabdāt svārthe ṭhak pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *ṭhaK* occurs after nominal stem *vāc* 'speech', used with the signification of *vyāhṛta* 'verbal message'.

EXAMPLES:

vācikaṃ kathayati 'speaks out the message'
vācikaṃ śraddhe 'I trust the message'

1. The word *vyāhṛtārtha* is explained as a *bahuvrīhi* compound parallel to *prakāśito 'arthaḥ yasyāḥ* 'an utterance with its message made manifest'. That is, *vyāhṛta* refers to a verbal message conveyed (*ukta*). Note that *ṭhaK* cannot be introduced parallel to *madhurā vāg devadattasya* 'Devadatta's voice is sweet' because the condition of *vyāhṛta* is not met.

5.4.36 तद्युक्तात्कर्मणोऽण्

tadyuktāt karmaṇo 'ṇ

/tadyuktāt = tathā yuktaḥ (tṛt. tat.), tasmāt; karmaṇaḥ 5/1 *aṇ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *vyāhṛtārthāyām* #35)
vyāhṛtārthayā vācā yat karma yuktaṃ tadabhidhāyinaḥ karmaśabdāt svārthe'ṇ pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *aṆ* occurs after nominal stem *karman* 'action', used in association with a message conveyed (*vyāhṛta*).

EXAMPLES:

karmaiva kārmaṇam 'action responsive to a verbal message conveyed'

1. The word *kārmaṇam* is explained as *vācikaṃ śrutvā tathaiva yat karma kriyate* 'an action which is performed in accord with a verbal message conveyed'. This is what is indicated by the phrase *tadyuktāt* 'after that (*karman*) which is used in association with that (*vyāhṛtaḥ*)'. The word *karman* here refers to its form used with the signification of 'action'. It does not mean an 'object'.

A *vārttika* proposal for *aṆ*, in Vedic, is also made after *kulāla* 'pot-maker', *varuḍa* 'lowly untouchable', *niṣāda* 'hunter', *karmāra* 'blacksmith', *caṇḍāla* 'lowly untouchable', *mitra* 'sun, friend' and *amitra* 'enemy' (*aṇprakaraṇe kulāla-varuḍa-niṣāda-karmāra-caṇḍāla-mitra-amitrebhyaś chandasi*). Note that derivates, such as *kaulālaḥ*, etc., will all involve initial *vṛddhi* and will denote *svārtha* 'base meaning'.

5.4.37 ओषधेरजातौ

oṣadher ajātau
/oṣadheḥ 5/1 *ajātau* 7/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *aṇ* #36)
oṣadhiśabdād ajātau vartamānāt svārthe'ṇ pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *aṆ* occurs after nominal stem *oṣadhi* 'herb, medicine', used in the sense of something other than *jāti* 'class'.

EXAMPLES:

auṣadhaṃ pibati 'he drinks medicine'
auṣadhaṃ dadāti 'he gives medicine'

1. Note that negation of *jāti* 'class' restricts *oṣadhi* to the signification of *dravya* 'thing'. The word *oṣadhi* is commonly used for herbal medicine.

5.4.38 प्रज्ञादिभ्यश्च

prajñādibhyaś ca
/prajñādibhyaḥ 5/3 (*bv.*); *ca ϕ*/

(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *aṇ* #36)
'prajña' ity evamādibhyaḥ prātipadikebhyaḥ svārthe' ṇ bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *aṆ* also occurs after a nominal stem listed in the group headed by *prajña* 'wise'.

EXAMPLES:

prajña eva = prājñaḥ 'one who knows; wise'
prājñī 'a female who knows'

1. A question is raised as to why *prajña* is stated here when a derivate such as *prājña* is already available with optional introduction of *aṆ* after *prajñā* 'wisdom' (5.2.101 *prajñāśraddhārcābhyo' ṇ*). After all, *prājñaḥ* 'one who knows well (*prajānāti*)', as a derivate of this *aṆ*, is not different in meaning from *prājñaḥ* 'one who possesses special knowledge (*yasya prajñā asti*)', a derivate of *aṆ* denoting the sense of *matUP*. Commentators state that affix *aṆ* after *prajña* is given so that differences of forms in feminine could be accounted for. Thus, a feminine derivate of *aṆ* with the denotation of *matUP* will be *prājñā*. A derivate of this *aṆ*, in feminine, will be: *prājñī*.

2. Note that derivates of this rule not only denote *svārtha* 'base meaning' but are also used optionally with their bases. Thus, *prajñaḥ* and *prājñaḥ* could both be used optionally.

5.4.39 मृदस्तिकन्

mṛdas tikan
/ mṛdaḥ 5/1 *tikan* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76)
mṛc-chabdāt svārthe tikan pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *tikaN* occurs after nominal stem *mṛd* 'soil, clay, dirt'.

EXAMPLES:

mṛd eva = mṛttikā 'soil, clay'

1. Here again, *mṛd* can be used optionally with *mṛttikā*. Why is the affix not stated simply as *takaṆ*. For, given *mṛd + takaN = mṛt + taka*, feminine affix *ṬāP* can be introduced to derive *mṛttikā*. The *i* will be introduced here by 7.3.44 *pratyayasthātkātpūrvāt*. . . . It is stated that *takaN* will create problems in examples where deletion of *ṬāP* applies. Thus, *pañcamṛttika* 'that which was purchased with five kinds of soils' is derived from *pañcamṛd + ṬāP + ṭhaK + tikaN*. Given the deletion of *ṭhaK* by 5.1.28 *adhyardhapūrva* . . ., rule 1.2.49 *luk taddhitaluki* will apply to delete *ṬāP*. If one now introduces *takaN* then *i* cannot be availed due mainly to *LUK*-deletion of *ṬāP*. This affix is specified as *tikaN* so that *i* could be heard in corresponding derivates. Introducing *i* by some other rule will also be prolix (*gaurava*).

Here again bases and derivates can be used optionally.

5.4.40 सस्नौ प्रशंसायाम्

sasnau praśaṃsāyām
/sasnau 1/2 *praśaṃsāyām* 7/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *mṛdaḥ* #38)
praśaṃsopādhike' rthe vartamānād mṛc-chabdāt 'sa, sna' ity etau pratyayau bhavataḥ
The *taddhita* affixes *sa* and *sna* occur after nominal stem *mṛd*, provided it is used with the qualified meaning of *praśaṃsā* 'praise'.

EXAMPLES:

praśastā mṛd = *mṛtsā* 'beautiful soil'
mṛtsnā 'id.'

1. Note that *praśaṃsā* is used as a qualifier to the sense of *mṛd* 'soil, clay'. This affixal provision of *sa* and *sna* constitutes an exception to *rūpaP* (5.3.66 *praśaṃṣāyām rūpap*). This provision is also obligatory (*nitya*). For, *mṛd* by itself cannot denote its sense qualified with 'praise' (*praśaṃsā*). Besides, use of *anyatarasyām* in 5.4.42 *bahvalpārthāc* . . . already makes this provision obligatory.

5.4.41 वृकज्येष्ठाभ्यां तिल्तातिलौ च च्छन्दसि

vṛkajyeṣṭhābhyām tiltātilau cac chandasi
/vṛkajyeṣṭābhyām 5/2 (*itar. dv.*); *tiltātilau* 1/2 (*itar. dv.*); *ca* ϕ *chandasi* 7/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *praśaṃsāyām* #40)
vṛkajyeṣṭhābhyām praśaṃsopādhike' rthe vartamānābhyām yathāsaṃkhyaṃ tiltātilau pratyayau bhavataś chandasi viṣaye
The *taddhita* affixes *tiL* and *tātiL* occur in Vedic, after nominal stems *vṛka* 'wolf' and *jyeṣṭha* 'superior, older', respectively, when they are used with the qualified meaning of *praśaṃsā*.

EXAMPLES:

vṛkatiḥ 'full moon, great wolf, a generous provider'
jyeṣṭhatātiḥ 'excellent'

1. Thus provision of *tiL* and *tātiL*, in Vedic, constitutes an exception to *rūpaP*, corresponding to *sa*, *snā* and *tikaN* in the Classical language. Haradatta (*PM* ad *Kāś.*) suggests that rules 5.4.38 *mṛdas tikan* through 5.4.41 *vṛkajyeṣṭhābhyām* . . . should have been placed right after 5.3.66 *praśaṃsāyāṃ rūpap*. Pāṇini chose to place them here, instead.

5.4.42 बह्वल्पार्थाच्छस्कारकादन्यतरस्याम्

bahvalpārthāc chas kārakād anyatarasyām
/ bahvalpārthāt 5/1 = *bahu ca alpaś ca = bahvalpau; bahvalpāv arthāv yasya* (*bv.* with int. *dv.*), *tasmāt; śas* 1/1 *kārakāt* 5/1 *anyatarasyām* 7/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76)
bahvarthād alpārthāc ca kārakābhidhāyinaḥ śabdāc śas pratyayo bhavati anyatarasyām
The *taddhita* affix *śas* occurs optionally after a nominal stem which signifies the sense (*artha*) of *bahu* 'many, much' and *alpa* 'little' as a *kāraka* 'participant (1.4.23 *kārake*)'.

EXAMPLES:

bahūni dadāti = bahuśo dadāti 'he gives too much, too many'
alpaṃ dadāti = alpaśo dadāti 'he gives very little'
bhūriśo dadāti '. . .gives plenty'

1. Note that examples of *bahu, alpa* and *bhūri* all denote *karman* 'object'. This does not mean that they cannot denote *karaṇa* 'instrument' and *sampradāna* 'dative', etc. We can also get *bahubhir dadāti* '. . . gives along with many things', *bahubhyo dadāti* '. . . gives to many', etc. The word *artha* is used in this rule so that affix *śas* could also be introduced after synonyms of *bahu* and *alpa*. Thus, *bhūriśo dadāti* and *stokaśo dadāti*, etc. The condition of *kārakāt* rules out *śas* parallel to *bahūnāṃ svāmī* 'master of many', *alpānāṃ svāmī* 'master of a few', etc. The genitive of *bahu*, or *alpa*, does not denote and *kāraka*. The *Mahābhāṣya* states that this affixal provision is desired after *bahu* and *alpa* in the context of *maṅgala* 'auspicious' and *amaṅgala* 'inauspicious', respectively (*vt.*: *bahvarthān maṅgala-amaṅgala-vacanam*). Thus *śas* cannot be introduced relative to *bahūni dadāti aniṣṭesu* '. . . gives generously on inauspicious occasions' and *alpaṃ dadāti ābhyudayikeṣu* '. . . gives very little on auspicious occasions'.

5.4.43 संख्यैकवचनाच्च वीप्सायाम्

saṃkhyaikavacanāc ca vīpsāyām
/ saṃkhyaikavacanāt 5/1 = *ucyate iti vacanam; ekasya vacanam = ekavacanam* (*ṣaṣ. tat.*); *saṃkhyā ca ekavacanaṃ ca* (*sam. dv.*), *tasmāt; ca* ϕ *vīpsāyām* 7/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *śas anyatarasyām* #42)
saṃkhyāvācibhyaḥ prātipadikebhya ekavacanāc ca vīpsāyāṃ dyotyāyāṃ śas pratyayo bhavaty anyatarasyām
The *taddhita* affix *śas* occurs, optionally, after a nominal stem which

constitutes a number (*saṃkhyā*), or signifies something used in the sense of one (*ekavacana*), provided derivates denote *vīpsā* 'repetition'.

EXAMPLES:

dvau dvau modakau dadāti = *dviśaḥ* 'he gives sweetballs in sets of two each'
kārṣāpaṇaṃ kārṣāpaṇaṃ dadāti = *kārṣāpaṇaśo dadāti* 'he gives Kārṣāpaṇas in sets of one each'

1. Note that this optional *śas* is offered against the obligatory provision of doubling of 8.1.4 *nityavīpsayoḥ*. The word *ekavacana* is explained as 'that by which the sense of one is denoted' (*eko'rtha ucyate yena*). This enables *kārṣāpaṇa*, etc., which denote a 'measure' (*parimāṇa*), to denote the sense of one in integration (*vṛtti*). The word *vṛtti* means operations relative to the formation of *samāsa* 'compound', *kṛt* 'primary derivatives' and *taddhita* 'secondary derivatives'. Why can we not interpret *ekavacana* as used in the technical sense of 'singular number'? Because that will also allow this affixal provision in case of *sarvebhyo brāhmaṇebhyo ghaṭam ghaṭam dadāti* '. . . gives to all the brāhmaṇas a pitcher full of something', where a single pitcher in a single set is given. The word *ghaṭa* 'pitcher' denotes *jāti* 'class', and hence, the possibility of giving 'two' or 'many' pitchers cannot be ruled out. Now consider *māṣadātā* 'he who gives gold equal in measure to a Māṣa'. The word *māṣa* literally means 'a particular grain of beans', though here it means a 'measure' (*parimāṇa*). The possibility of stating measure in dual and plural cannot be ruled out but what is given will still be a single thing, i.e., gold. This indicates that *ekavacana* is here interpreted in its literal sense (*anvartha*). Words such as *ghaṭadātā* could be interpreted as *ghaṭānāṃ dātā* where *ghaṭa* can be interpreted as plural. This cannot be true of *māṣadātā* because what is given is not 'one', 'two', 'many' grains. Consequently, words such as *māṣa*, which denote a 'measure', become restricted to the denotatum of the sense of one in integration.

The condition of *vīpsā* rules out *śas* in instances parallel to *dvau dadāti* '. . . gives two', or *kārṣāpaṇam dadāti* '. . . gives a Kārṣāpaṇa'. Obviously, *vīpsā* 'repetition' is lacking. The condition of *kārakāt* is also valid. This rules out *śas* relative to *dvayor dvayoḥ svāmī* 'master of these two sets of two each' and *kārṣāpaṇasya kārṣāpaṇasya svāmī* 'master of each Kārṣāpaṇa', where genitive does not denote a *kāraka* 'participant'.

5.4.44 प्रतियोगे पञ्चम्यास्तसि

pratiyoge pañcamyaś tasiḥ
/pratiyoge 7/1 *pañcamyāḥ* 5/1 *tasiḥ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *anyatarasyām* #42)

pratinā karmapravacanīyena yoge yā pañcamī vihitā tadantāt tasiḥ pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *tasI* occurs optionally a nominal stem which ends in *pañcamī*, introduced under the cooccurrence condition of *prati*.

EXAMPLES:

pradyumno vāsudevataḥ prati 'Pradyumna is the representative of Vāsudeva'
pradyumno vāsudevāt prati 'id.'
abhimanyur arjunataḥ prati 'Abhimanyu is the representative of Arjuna'
abhimanyur arjunāt prati 'id.'

1. Note that *vā* (of 4.1.82 *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā*) is also valid. Consequently, one can also get *vāsudevāt prati* and *arjunāt prati*, parallel to *vāsudevataḥ prati* and *arjunataḥ prati*. The *pañcamī* 'ablative' is conditioned by *prati*, a *karmapravacanīya* (cf. 1.4.91 *pratiḥ pratinidhipratidānayoḥ*; 2.3.11 *pratinidhi-pratidāne ca yasmāt*). Derivates of *tasI* are termed indeclinable (*avyaya*; 1.1.38 *taddhitaś cāsarvavibhaktiḥ*).

A *vārttika* recommends *tasI* also after nominal stems of the *ādyādi* group. Thus, we will get *āditaḥ* 'at the beginning', *madhyataḥ* 'in the middle', *pṛṣṭhataḥ* 'in the back', *pārśvataḥ* 'on sides', etc. The *ādyādi* is treated as an open-ended group (*ākṛtigaṇaś cāyam*).

5.4.45 अपादाने चाहीयरुहोः

apādāne cāhīyaruhoḥ
/ apādāne 7/1 *ca* ϕ *ahīyaruhoḥ* 6/2 (*nañ. tat.* with int. *dv.*), *tayoḥ/* (*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *anyatarasyām* #42, *pañcamyās tasiḥ* #44)
apādāne yā pañcamī tasyāḥ pañcamyā vā tasiḥ pratyayo bhavati tac ced apādānaṃ hīyaruhoḥ sambandhi na bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *tasI* occurs also after a nominal stem which ends in a *pañcamī* introduced with the signification of *apādāna* 'ablative', provided it is not related to *hīya* 'to be separated; abandoned' and *ruh* 'to climb'.

EXAMPLES:

grāmata āgacchati 'he is coming from the village'
grāmād āgacchati 'id.'
corato bibheti 'he is scared of thieves'
corād bibheti 'id.'

1. A derivate of *tasI* is used optionally with its counterpart ending in ablative (*pañcamī*). This is made possible because of *vā* of 4.1.82 *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā*.

The condition of *ahīyaruhoḥ* 'relative to that which is other than *hīya* and *ruh*', ruled out *tasI* parallel to *sārthād hīyate* 'moves away from the caravan' and *parvatād avarohati* 'climbs down the mountain'. Incidentally, *hīya* is a form of verbal root *OhāK* 'to abandon', ending in *ya* with the denotation of *karman* 'object'. Why was the specification not made as *hāruhoḥ*, using verbal root *hā* itself. A specification with *hā* could refer to two roots: *OhāK* and *OhāṄ* 'to go, move', where the second is a 'middle' (*ātmanepada*) on account of *Ṅ* as an *it*. Their present indicative active forms are: *jahāti* and *jihīte*, respectively. There is also a difference in their passive forms *hīyate* and *hāyate*. A specification with *hīya* could refer only to *OhāK*, or to a root which may have *jahāti* as its present indicative active form.

5.4.46 अतिग्रहाव्यथनक्षेपेष्वकर्तरि तृतीयायाः

atigrahāvyathanakṣepeṣv akartari tṛtīyāyāḥ
/ atigrahāvyathanakṣepeṣu 7/3 (*itar. dv.*), *teṣu*; *akartari* 7/1 (*nañ. tat.*), *tasmin*; *tṛtīyāyāḥ* 5/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *anyatarasyām* #42, *pañcamyās tasiḥ* #44)
atigrahādiviṣaye yā tṛtīyā tadantād vā tasiḥ pratyayo bhavati sā cet kartari na bhavati

The *taddhita* affix *tasI* occurs optionally after a nominal stem which ends in *tṛtīyā* with the denotational scope of *atigraha* 'recognizing someone on the basis of his having transgressed others', *avyathana* 'not shaking' and *kṣepa* 'censure', provided this *tṛtīyā* is introduced to denote non-agent (*akartṛ*).

EXAMPLES:

cāritreṇātigṛhyate '. . . is accepted on the basis of having transgressed others in character'
cāritrato' tigṛhyate 'id.'
vṛttena na vyathate 'strict demands of conduct do not deter him'
vṛttato na vyathate 'id.'
vṛttena kṣiptaḥ 'he is censured on account of his conduct'
vṛttataḥ kṣiptaḥ 'id.'

1. Note that a *tṛtīyā*, when not denoting *kartṛ* 'agent', can be interpreted as denoting *hetu* 'instigator, cause' (1.1.54 *tatprayojako hetuś ca*) and *karaṇa* 'instrument'. The condition of *akartari* is imposed to block *tasI* parallel to *devadattena kṣiptaḥ* 'hurled by Devadatta'. Incidentally, *ati* of *atigraha* is used in the sense of *atikramaṇa* 'going beyond, transgression'.

5.4.47 हीयमानपापयोगाच्च

hīyamānapāpayogāc ca

/hīyamānapāpayogāt 5/1 = *hīyamānaś ca pāpaṃ ca = hīyamānapāpe; tābhyām yogo yasya* (*bv.* with int. *dv.*); *ca ϕ/*
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *anyatarasyām* #42, *pañcamyās tasiḥ* #44, *akartari tṛtīyāyāḥ* #46)
hīyamānena pāpena ca yogo yasya tadvācinaḥ śabdāt parā yā tṛtīyā vibhaktir akartari tadantād vā tasiḥ pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *tasI* occurs optionally after a nominal stem which ends in *tṛtīyā* and is used in conjunction with *hīyamāna* 'to be devoid of; lacking' and *pāpa* 'sinful, wicked', provided the *tṛtīyā* introduced to denote non-agent (*akartṛ*).

EXAMPLES:

vṛttena hīyate 'lacking good moral conduct'
vṛttato hīyate 'id.'
vṛttena pāpaḥ 'wicked, or sinful, by conduct'
vṛttato pāpaḥ 'id.'

1. Note that the preceding rule provides for *tasI* when *kṣepa* 'censure' is denoted. Since association with *hīyamāna* and *pāpa* will naturally denote *kṣepa*, this rule should not be stated. Its derivates can be easily accounted for by the preceding rule. Commentators say that this *tasI* is to be introduced when *kṣepa* is not intended as the denotatum. That is, when only a statement of fact is made (*Kāś.*: *kṣepasya cāvivakṣāyāṃ tatvākhyāyām idam udāharaṇam*).

5.4.48 षष्ठ्या व्याश्रये

ṣaṣṭhyā vyāśraye
/ṣaṣṭhyā 3/1 *vyāśraye* 7/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *anyatarasyām* #42, *pañcamyās tasiḥ* #44)
vyāśraye gamyamāne ṣaṣṭhyantād vā tasiḥ pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *tasI* occurs optionally after a nominal stem which ends in *ṣaṣṭhī* 'genitive' when *vyāśraya* 'supporting different (opposing) sides' is denoted.

EXAMPLES:

devā arjunato' bhavan 'gods sided with Arjuna'
devā arjunasya pakṣe abhavan 'id.'
ādityāḥ karṇato' bhavan 'sun-gods took sides with Karṇa'
ādityāḥ karṇasya pakṣe abhavan 'id.'

1. The word *vyāśraya* is explained as *nānāpakṣa-samāśraya* 'supporting different sides'. The *Mahābhāṣya* illustrates it with *kecit kaṃsabhaktā kecid vāsudeva-bhaktāḥ* 'some are supporters of Kaṃsa, and some are supporters of Vāsudeva'. *Kāśikā* cites *vṛkṣasya śākhā* 'branch of a tree' as a counter-example for *vyāśraya*.

5.4.49 **रोगाच्चापनयने**

rogāc cāpanayane
/rogāt 5/1 *ca* ϕ *apanayane* 7/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *anyatarasyām* #42, *pañcamyās tasiḥ* #44, *ṣaṣṭhyāḥ* #48)
rogavācinaḥ śabdād yā ṣaṣṭhī vibhaktiḥ tadantād vā tasiḥ pratyayo bhavati apanayane gamyamāne
The *taddhita* affix *tasI* occurs after a nominal stem which signifies *roga* 'affliction', and ends in *ṣaṣṭhī*, provided *apanayana* 'cure, removal' is denoted.

EXAMPLES:

pravāhikātaḥ kuru 'cure me of diarrhea (cholera)!'
kāsataḥ kuru 'cure me of coughing!'
chardikātaḥ kuru 'cure me of vomiting'

1. The word *apanayana* 'removal' in the context of *roga* 'affliction, disease' should be understood as *pratīkāra* 'cure'.

5.4.50 **कृभ्वस्तियोगे सम्पद्यकर्तरि च्विः**

kṛbhvastiyoge sampadyakartari cviḥ
/kṛbhvastiyoge 7/1 = *kṛ ca bhū ca asti ca* = *kṛbhvastayaḥ; kṛbhvastibhir yogaḥ* (*tṛt. tat.* with int. *dv.*), *tasmin; sampadyakartari* 7/1 = *sam+adyateḥ kartā* (*ṣaṣ. tat.*), *tasmin; cviḥ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76)
sampadyakartari prātipadikād abhūtatadbhāve gamyamāne kṛbhvastibhir dhātubhir yoge cviḥ pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *CvI* occurs after a nominal stem which serves as *kartṛ* 'agent' of an action denoted by *sampad* 'to become; to reach the state of' and is used in conjunction with verbal roots *kṛ* 'to do, make', *bhū* 'to be, become' and *as* 'to be'.

EXAMPLES:

aśuklaḥ śuklaḥ sampadyate, taṃ karoti = *śuklī karoti* 'that which was not white becomes white; someone makes something white which it previously was not'
ghaṭī bhavati mṛdam 'the clay becomes a pot which it previously was not
ghaṭī karoti mṛdam 'makes clay into a jar'
ghaṭī syāt 'may it become a jar'

1. Note that *sampadyakartari* is a qualifier to *prātipadikāt*, jointly paraphrased as: *sampadyasya kartā, tasmin vartamānāt prātipadikāt* 'after a nominal stem

which is used in the sense of the agent of what it is to become'. A *vārttika* (*cvividhāv abhūtatadbhāvagrahaṇam*) proposes *abhūtatadbhāva* as the condition for introducing *CvI*. The *Mahābhāṣya* explains *abhūtatadbhāva* as 'modification (*vikāra*) of a material cause (*kāraṇa*) into something which it previously was not'. The word *kāraṇa* 'material cause' is used here in the sense of *upādāna-kāraṇa*, a cause such as *mṛtpiṇḍa* 'lump of clay' which stays in its corresponding effect, i.e., *ghaṭa* 'jar'. Finally, *vikāra* 'modification' is explained as: *kāraṇasyaivottaram avasthāntaram* 'subsequent state of the material cause itself'. Incidentally, *Kāśikā* reads *abhūtatadbhāve* as part of this rule to accommodate this *vārttika* proposal.

This affixal provision is made under the cooccurrence condition of *kṛ* 'to do, make', *bhū* 'to be, become' and *asti* 'state of being'. The condition of *abhūtatadbhāva* focuses on *bhāva* which, in turn, could be explained as *janma* 'coming into existence' and *sattā* 'state of being'. This sense of *bhāva* can be easily related to *bhū* and *as*. How could it make sense in conjunction with *kṛ* 'to do, make'? For, what is done, or made, is not *sattā* 'state'. Actually, *bhāva* is to be interpreted here in a sense which could be in consonance with all the three verbs. That sense is *janma* 'coming into existence'. This is what is indicated by the use of *kṛ* with *bhū* and *as*.

The condition of *abhūtatadbhāva* is important so that *CvI* could not be introduced parallel to *śuklaṃ karoti* '. . . makes white', where the *prakṛti* 'material cause', is not given. The same is true of the condition of *kṛ-bhv-astiyoga* whereby *CvI*. In the context of *śuklo jāyate* 'white comes into existence', is blocked. For, the cooccurring verb is *jan* 'to be born'. A question is raised as to why the condition of *sampadyakartari* is stated. This condition can be easily understood by *abhūtatadbhāva*. The condition must be stated to block *CvI* where some other *kāraka* 'participant' is involved. Thus, *adevagṛhe devagṛhe sampadyate* 'that which was not in the temple comes into existence in the temple' where 'temple' serves as 'locus' (*adhikaraṇa*). That is, this transformation relates to the locus of a thing located (*satvādhikaraṇasya*). It does not relate to a *kartṛ* 'agent'. Incidentally, *sampadyakartṛ* is a compound, formed in consonance with its usage in this rule (*sautraḥ*).

2. Note that *śuklī* of *śuklī* (*karoti/bhavati/syāt*) is derived from *śukla* + *CvI* where (*i*) *CvI* is introduced after *śukla*, the agent (*kartṛ*) of *sampadyate*, and (*ii*) it is used in conjunction with *kṛ/bhū/as*. The final *a* of an *aṅga*, namely *śukla*, is then replaced with *i* before *CvI* (7.4.32 *asya cvau*). Affix *CvI*, i.e., *v*, is subsequently deleted by 6.1.67 *ver apṛktasya*. The *sU* introduced after *śuklī* will be deleted by 2.4.82 *avyayād āpsupaḥ* since 1.1.37 *taddhitaś cāsarvavibhaktiḥ* assigns the term *avyaya* to *śuklī*.

5.4.51 अरुर्मनश्चक्षुश्चेतोरहोरजसां लोपश्च

arurmanaścakṣuścetorahorajasāṃ lopaś ca

/ arur-manaś-cakṣuś-ceto-raho-rajasām 6/3 (*itar. dv.*), *teṣām*; *lopaḥ* 1/1 *ca ϕ/* (*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *kṛbhvastiyoge sampadyakartari cviḥ* #50)
aruḥprabhṛtīnām antasya lopo bhavati cviś ca pratyayaḥ
The *taddhita* affix *CvI*, with an additional provision of *LOPA* in place of the final *s*, occurs after nominal stems *arus* 'wound', *manas* 'mind', *cakṣus* 'eye', *cetas* 'cognizance', *rahas* 'secrecy' and *rajas* 'passion', when they serve as *kartṛ* 'agent' of the action denoted by *sam-pad* 'to become; to reach the state of' and are used in conjunction with verbal roots *kṛ* 'to do, make', *bhū* 'to be, become' and *as* 'to be'.

EXAMPLES:

anaruḥ aruḥ sampadyate, taṃ karoti = arū karoti 'one who did not have any wounds has wounds; someone inflicts a wound on someone who previously was not wounded'
arū bhavati 'id.'
arū syāt 'may there be a wound which previously was not'
unmanī karoti '. . . makes someone sad which he previously was not'
unmanī bhavati 'becomes sad which he was previously not'
unmanī syāt 'may he become sad which he previously was not'
uccakṣū karoti '. . . makes him awake which he previously was not'
uccakṣū bhavati '. . . wakes up which he previously was not'
uccakṣū syāt 'let him be awake which he previously was not'
vicetī karoti '. . . makes him cognizant which he previously was not'
vicetī bhavati 'becomes congnizant of something which he previously was not'
vicetī syāt 'let him be cognizant which he previously was not'
vihahī karoti '. . . makes him secluded which he previously was not'
virahī bhavati '. . . becomes secluded which he previously was not'
virahī syāt 'let him be secluded which he previously was not'
virajī karoti '. . . makes one free of dust (or passions) which one previously was not'
virajī bhavati 'becomes free of dust (or passions) which he previously was not'
virajī syāt 'let him become free of dust (or passions) which he previously was not'

1. Note that deletion by *LOPA* applies to the final *s* of all six bases. Since *CvI* is here introduced under conditions stated in the earlier rule, *CvI* is already available. This rule is, therefore, formulated just for *s*-deletion (*Kāś.*: *lopamātrārtham ārambhaḥ*). The short *u* of *aru* and *cakṣu* is replaced with its long counterpart by 7.4.26 *cvau ca*, subsequent to *s*-deletion. The short *a* of other bases goes through a replacement in *ī* (*ītva*; 7.4.32 *asya cvau*).

5.4.52 विभाषा साति कार्त्स्न्ये

vibhāṣā sāti kārtsnye
/vibhāṣā 1/1 *sāti* 1/1 *kārtsnye* 7/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *kṛbhvastiyoge sampadyakartari cviḥ* #50)
kṛbhvastiyoge sampadyakartaraviṣaye vibhāsā sātiḥ pratyayo bhavati kārtsnye gamyamāne
The *taddhita* affix *sātI* occurs optionally after a nominal stem which serves as *kartṛ* 'agent' of the action denoted by *sam-pad* 'to become; to reach the state of', and is used in conjunction with verbal roots *kṛ* 'to do, make', *bhū* 'to be, become' and *as* 'to be', provided *kārtsnya* 'entirety' is denoted.

EXAMPLES:

agnisād bhavati śastram 'the weapon is totally ablaze'
agnī bhavati śastram 'the weapon is all fire'
udakasād bhavati lavaṇam 'the salt is completely diluted in water'
udakī bhavati lavaṇam 'the salt has become water'

1. Note that *vibhāṣā* is used for offering *CvI* as an option. The option of using regular phrases against these affixal provisions is made available by the great option (*mahāvibhāṣā*), i.e., *vā* of 4.1.82 *samarthānāṃ*. . . . Incidentally, *vibhāṣā* is used here with a deleted nominative. It is not a particle. It is a derivate of verbal root *bhāṣ*, used with the preverb *vi*, where affix *aC* of 3.1.103 *guroś ca halaḥ* is used with the intended denotation of *vibhāṣyate* 'that which is made optional' (*PM* ad *Kāś.*). Some (*Nyāsa* ad *Kāś.*) still consider it as a particle used for bringing *CvI*. Why did Pāṇini then not use *ca* 'and'? For reasons of offering stylistic variation (*Nyāsa* ad *Kāś.*: *cakāra eva kasmān nohyaḥ? vaicitryāt sūtrakṛteḥ*).

2. The condition of *kārtsnya* 'entirety' blocks this affixal provision in sentences such as *ekadeśena paṭaḥ śuklībhavati* 'part of the cloth becomes white', where 'whiteness' is not total (*kṛtsna*).

5.4.53 अभिविधौ सम्पदा च

abhividhau sampadā ca
/abhividhau 7/1 *sampadā* 3/1 *ca* ϕ/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *kṛbhvastiyoge cviḥ* #50, *vibhāsā sāti* #52)
abhividhau gamyamāne cviviṣaye sātiḥ pratyayo bhavati sampadāyoge cakārāt kṛbhvastiyoge ca
The *taddhita* affix *sātI* occurs optionally after a nominal stem which is used in conjunction with *sam-pad* 'to become; to reach the state of',

and with *kṛ, bhū,* and *as* as well, provided *abhividhi* 'pervasion (of a whole by its part)' is denoted.

EXAMPLES:

asyāṃ senāyāṃ utpātena sarvaṃ śastram agnisāt sampadyate 'every weapon, in this army, is ablaze on account of the flare up'
agnī bhavati śastram 'id.'
varṣāsu sarvaṃ lavaṇam udakasāt sampadyate 'all the salt, during rainy season, becomes water'
udakī bhavati lavaṇam 'id.'

1. Note that *sātI* is offered as an option against *CvI,* under the cooccurrence condition of *sampad.* Affix *CvI* will be used instead, when the nominal stem cooccurs with *kṛ, bhū* and *as.* That is, *CvI* cannot be introduced under the cooccurrence condition of *sampad.* What is the difference between *kārtsnya* and *abhividhi*? Modification of a *prakṛti* 'material cause' in its entirety is called *kārtsnya.* Thus, when salt totally dissolves in water, its modification is total. The salt has lost its identity, and is identified as water. We talk about *abhividhi* where modification of a whole is caused by its parts. Thus, if rain causes salt to dissolve, and this dissolution still leaves the identity of salt intact, this modification is not total. Part of salt may have dissolved but one can still identify the whole as salt. This is what is known as *abhividhi.* Bhaṭṭoji (*SK*) explains *kārtsnya* as a modification where, for example, a thing is turned into a non-thing by severing all of its parts (*ekasyāḥ vyakteḥ sarvāvayavāvacchedenānyathābhāvaḥ kārtsnyam*). A modification of the type of *abhividhi* will involve many things, though with only some of their parts severed (*bahūnāṃ vyaktīnāṃ kiṃcid avayavāvacchedenānyathātvaṃ tv abhividhiḥ*).

5.4.54 तदधीनवचने

tadadhīnavacane
/tadadhīnavacane 7/1 = *tasyādhīnam* (*ṣaṣ. tat.*); *tadadhīnasya vacanam* (*ṣaṣ. tat.*), *tasmin/*
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *kṛbhvastiyoge cviḥ* #50, *sāti* #52)
svāmiviśeṣavācinaḥ prātipadikād īśitavye 'bhidheye sātiḥ pratyayo bhavati kṛbhvastibhiḥ sampadā ca yoge
The *taddhita* affix *sātI* occurs after a nominal stem which is used in conjunction with *sam-pad,* or with *kṛ, bhū* and *as,* provided derivates denote 'his supremacy' (*tadadhīnam*).

EXAMPLES:

rājādhīnaṃ karoti = *rājasāt karoti* 'makes something subservient to the king'
rājasād bhavati '. . . becomes subservient to the king'

rājasāt syāt 'let it be under the control of the king'
rājasāt sampadyate '. . . goes under the control of the king'

1. Note that the condition of *abhūtatadbhāva* is no longer valid. We now have a different semantic condition (*arthāntaropādānāt*). The word *tadadhīna* is explained as *tasya āyattam* 'subservient to him', where *tad* refers to one who is the lord (*svāmī*). But *tad* here also denotes *īśitavya* 'superior'. Thus, *svāmī* is the meaning of the stem and *īśitavya* is the meaning of the affix. The context of these general denotata of *tadadhīna* is changed into particulars in view of *tadadhīnavacana* 'denotation of his lordship'. Thus, the nominal stem after which affix *sātI* is introduced denotes *svāmī* 'lord'.

5.4.55 देये त्रा च

deye trā ca
/deye 7/1 *trā* 1/1/ *ca* ϕ/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *kṛbhvastiyoge cviḥ* #50, *sāti* #52, *tadadhīnevacane* #54)
tadadhīne deye trā pratyayo bhavati cakārāt sātiś ca kṛbhvastibhiḥ sampadā ca yoge
The *taddhita* affix *trā*, and *sātI* as well, occurs after a nominal stem which is used in conjunction with *sam-pad*, or with *kṛ*, *bhū* and *as*, provided 'his supremacy (*īśitavya*) over a thing offered him' is denoted.

EXAMPLES:

brāhmaṇādhīnaṃ deyaṃ karoti = brāhmaṇasāt karoti 'he is making what is given as subservient to the brāhmaṇa'
brāhmaṇatrā bhavati 'what is given him comes under the control of the brāhmaṇa'
brāhmaṇatrā sampadyate 'id.'

1. Here again, the base after which affix *trā* is introduced denotes *svāmī* 'lord'. Note that *deya* 'that which is to be given' is used here as a qualifier to *tadadhīnavacane*. Affix *trā* is used where what is given is made subservient to whom it is given (*Kāś.*: *yadā teṣāṃ samarpaṇena tadadhīnaṃ kriyate*). This rule is formulated to allow *trā* in addition to *sātI*.

5.4.56 देवमनुष्यपुरुषपुरुमर्त्येभ्यो द्वितीयासप्तम्योर्बहुलम्

devamanuṣyapuruṣapurumartyebhyo dvitīyāsaptamyor bahulam
/deva-manuṣya-puruṣa-puru-martyebhyaḥ 5/3 (*itar. dv.*); *dvitīyā-saptamyoḥ* 6/2 (*itar. dv.*); *bahulam* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *trā* #55)
devādibhayaḥ prātipadikebhyo dvitīyāsaptamyantebhyaḥ trā pratyayo bhavati

bahulam

The *taddhita* affix *trā* occurs, variously, after nominal stems *deva* 'divine, god', *manuṣya* 'human, man', *puruṣa* 'person, man', *puru* 'heaven, world of immortals' and *martya* 'mortal, the world of mortals', when they end in *dvitīyā* 'second triplet of nominal endings' and *saptamī* 'seventh triplet of nominal endings'.

devān/ deveṣu gacchati = devatrā gacchati '. . . approaches gods'
manuṣyān/ manuṣyeṣu vasati = manuṣyatrā vasati '. . . lives among humans'
puruṣān/ puruṣeṣu gacchati = puruṣatrā gacchati '. . . approaches men'
purūn/ puruṣu vasati = purutrā vasati '. . . lives among immortals'
martyān/ martyeṣu vasati = martyatrā vasati '. . . lives among mortals'

1. Note that *bahulam* is used to indicate that *trā* also occurs after other bases. Thus, *bahutrā jīvito manaḥ* has *trā* introduced after *bahu* 'many'. It is rather impossible to establish *kṛbhvastiyoga* in these examples.

5.4.57 अव्यक्तानुकरणाद् द्व्यजवरार्धादनितौ डाच्

avyaktānukaraṇād dvyajavarārddhād anitau ḍāc

/ avyaktānukaraṇāt 5/1 = *na vyaktam = avyaktam* (*nañ. tat.*); *avyaktasya anukaraṇam* (*ṣaṣ. tat.*), *tasmāt*; *dvyajavarārddhāt* 5/1 = *dvayor acoḥ samāhāraḥ = dvyac* (*sam. dv.*); *dvyac avarārdhaṃ yasya* (*bv.* with int. *sam. dv.*), *tasmāt*; *anitau* 7/1 = *na itiḥ = anitiḥ* (*nañ. tat.*), *tasmin*; *ḍāc* 1/1/ (*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *kṛbhvastiyoge* #50)

avyaktānukaraṇāt dvyajavarārddhād anitiparāt prātipadikāḍ ḍāc pratyayo bhavati

The *taddhita* affix *ḌāC* occurs after a form which is used in conjunction with *kṛ, bhū, as*, and is obtained by copying a stretch of non-distinct noise the first half of which contains at least two vowels (*dvyajavarārdha*), provided the same is not followed by *iti* (*anitau*).

EXAMPLES:

paṭapaṭā karoti '. . . makes the *paṭat paṭat* noise'
paṭapaṭā syāt '. . . let there be *paṭat paṭat* noise'
damadamā bhavati '. . . there is the *damat damat* noise'
damadamā syāt 'let there be *damat damat* noise'

1. The word *avyakta* is used as a qualifer to *dhvani* 'noise' where sound segments such as *a*, etc., are collectively not distinct or meaningful (*Kāś.*: *yatra dhvanāv ākārādayo varṇā viśeṣarūpeṇa na vyajyante*). An imitation of that same stretch of noise is called *avyaktānukaraṇa*. The word *dvyayaj-avarārdham* is explained as a *bahuvrīhi* compound paraphrased as *dvyaj avarārdham yasya* 'that which, when reduced in half, has a form consisting of at least two vowels'. The word *avara* is used in the sense of *apakarṣa* 'reduction, downgrad-

ing, minimum'. The cooccurrence condition of *kṛbhvasti* facilitates the introduction of *ḌāC*. A *vārttika* proposal is made for 'doubling of the base' when affix *ḌāC* finds its scope (*ḍāci vivakṣite dve bahulam*). This *vārttika* interprets the *saptamī* 'locative' of *ḍāci* as *viṣayasaptamī* 'locative of domain'. This will facilitate 'doubling' prior to the introduction of *ḌāC*. A *parasaptamī* interpretation will require *ḌāC* to be introduced first. Thus, in deriving *paṭapaṭā*, we begin with *paṭat*. Affix *ḌāC* is then introduced after *paṭatpaṭat*, a doubled up base. One can now identify *paṭat* as the first half of the noise which also contains two vowels (*dvyajavarārdha*).

The condition of *avyaktānukaraṇa* blocks this affixal provision in *dṛṣat karoti* where *dṛṣat* 'pebble, rock' is distinct noise. The condition of *dvyajāvarārdhāt* rules out *śrat karoti* where *śrat*, a non-distinct noise, has but a single vowel. The condition of *avara* facilitates introduction of *ḌāC* in *kharaṭa-kharaṭākaroti* where *kharaṭat* contains more than the minimum of two vowels required. Finally, *paṭiti* will be ruled out because of the condition of *aniti* 'when *iti* does not follow'.

The *C* as an *it* in *ḌāC* is used to block the *svarita* of 8.2.6 *svarito vā' nudātte' padādau*. Some also read *dvyajavarārdhāt* as *dvyajyavarārdhyāt* where *ya* of *avarārdhya* is treated as the *svārthika* affix *ya*, introduced for use in this rule via *nipātana*.

2. Refer to the derivation *paṭapaṭā* (of *paṭapaṭāyati*) under the appendix (vol. II) of rule 1.3.90 *vākyaṣaḥ*. Affix *ḌāC* will be introduced after *paṭat paṭat* where a *vārttika* under this rule, i.e., *nityaṃ āmreḍite ḍāc iti vaktavyam*, causes *pararūpa* 'a form similar to that which follows'. This replaces *t* of the first *paṭat* and *pa* of the second *paṭa* termed *āmreḍita* (8.1.2 *tasya paramām-reḍitam*) with *p* to yield *paṭa* (*t* + *p*→*pa*) *ṭat* = *paṭapaṭat* + *ā*. Deletion of *ṭi*, i.e., *at*, for reasons of *ḌāC* being marked with *Ḍ* (6.4.143 *ṭeḥ*) will finally yield *paṭa-paṭ*(*at*→ϕ) + *ā* = *paṭapaṭā*. A deletion of *sU* after *paṭapaṭā* will finally derive *paṭapaṭā*. Our next example *damadamā* can be similarly derived from *damat* + *damat*.

5.4.58 कृञो द्वितीयतृतीयशम्बबीजात्कृषौ

kṛño dvitīyatṛtīyaśambabījāt kṛṣau
/kṛñaḥ 5/1 *dvitīyatṛtīyaśambabījāt* 5/1 (*sam. dv.*); *kṛṣau* 7/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *ḍāC* #57)
dvitīyatṛtīyādibhyaḥ śabdebhyaḥ kṛṣāv abhidheyāyāṃ ḍāc pratyayo bhavati kṛño yoge nānyatra
The *taddhita* affix *ḌāC* occurs after nominal stems *dvitīya* 'second, other', *tṛtīya* 'third', *śamba* 'opposite direction' and *bīja* 'seed', when used in conjunction with *kṛÑ* 'to make', provided derivates denote *kṛṣi* 'ploughing'.

EXAMPLES:

dvitīyā karoti kṣetram 'he is ploughing the field a second time'
tṛtīya karoti kṣetram 'he is ploughing the field a third time'
śambā karoti kṣetram 'he is now ploughing the field in reverse direction'
bījā karoti kṣetram 'he is sowing seeds while ploughing'

1. Note that this affixal provision is made in the context of *kṛṣi* 'ploughing'. The cooccurrence condition of *kṛÑ* is restated to cancel the cooccurrence conditions of *bhū* and *as*. Commentators explain *śambākaroti* as *anuloma-kṛṣṭaṃ kṣetraṃ punaḥ pratilomaṃ kṛṣati* 'having ploughed the field in one direction he now ploughs in the opposite direction'. They explain *bījākaroti* as *saha bījena vilekhanaṃ karoti* 'he ploughs while sowing seeds'. Deriving *dvitīyā* from *dvitīya* + *ḌāC* with *bhasaṃjñā* and deletion of *a* (*a-lopa*) is straightforward.

5.4.59 **संख्यायाश्च गुणान्तायाः**

saṃkhyāyāś ca guṇāntāyāḥ
/saṃkhyāyāḥ 5/1 *ca* ϕ *guṇāntāyāḥ* 5/1/ = *guṇaśabdo'nte samīpe yasyāḥ* (*bv.*), *tasyāḥ/*
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *ḍāC* #57, *kṛñaḥ kṛṣau* #58)
saṃkhyāvācinaḥ śabdasya guṇaśabdo'nte = samīpe yatra sambhavati sā saṃkhyā guṇāntety ucyate; tādṛśāt prātipadikāt kṛṣāv abhidheyāyāṃ ḍāc pratyayo bhavati kṛño yoge
The *taddhita* affix *ḌāC* occurs after a nominal stem which signifies *saṃkhyā* 'number' and ends in *guṇa* 'times', provided it cooccurs with *kṛÑ* and derivates denote *kṛṣi* 'ploughing'.

EXAMPLES:

dviguṇaṃ vilekhanaṃ karoti kṣetrasya = dviguṇā karoti kṣetram '. . . plows the field twice'
triguṇākaroti kṣetram '. . . plows the field thrice'

1. Note that *ḌāC* will be blocked in contexts such as *dviguṇāṃ karoti rajjum* 'makes the rope twice as strong' because the condition of *kṛṣi* cannot be met.

5.4.60 **समयाच्च यापनायाम्**

samayāc ca yāpanāyām
/samayāt 5/1 *ca* ϕ *yāpanāyām* 7/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *ḍāC* #57, *kṛñaḥ* #58)
samayaśabdād yāpanāyāṃ gamyamānāyāṃ ḍāc pratyayo bhavati kṛño yoge
The *taddhita* affix *ḌāC* occurs after nominal stem *samaya* 'occasion for

doing something worth doing', used in conjunction with *kṛÑ*, provided *yāpanā* 'procrastination, waste of time' is denoted.

EXAMPLES:

samayā karoti '. . . procrastinates when time for doing something approaches'
samayaṃ yāpayati 'he is killing time'
kālakṣepaṃ karoti 'he is wasting time'

1. Note that *samaya* is used in the sense of *karmasyāvasaraprāptiḥ* 'to have an occasion for action'. A transgression (*atikramaṇa*) of that occasion is called *yāpanā*.

5.4.61 सपत्रनिष्पत्रादतिव्यथने

sapattranispattrād ativyathane
/sapattra-niṣpattrāt 5/1 (*sam. dv.*); *ativyathane* 7/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *ḍāC* #57, *kṛñaḥ* #58)
sapattra-niṣpattraśabdābhyāṃ ativyathane ḍāc pratyayo bhavati kṛño yoge sati
The *taddhita* affix *ḌāC* occurs after nominal stem *sapattra* and *niṣpattra*, used in conjunction with *kṛÑ*, provided derivates denote *ativyathana* 'intense pain'.

EXAMPLES:

sapattrā karoti mṛgaṃ vyādhaḥ 'he shoots an arrow, with feathers on its top, so deep into the deer that feathers disappear in its body'
niṣpattrā karoti mṛgaṃ vyādhaḥ 'he shoots an arrow, with feathers on its top, with such force that it pierces through the body of the deer with feathers still there on top of the arrow'

1. Note that the condition of *ativyathana* will block this affixal provision relative to sentences such as: *sapatraṃ vṛkṣaṃ karoti jalasecakaḥ* 'his watering makes trees full of leaves' and *niṣpatraṃ karoti vṛkṣatalaṃ bhūmiśodhakaḥ* 'the grounds-keeper makes the area under trees leafless'.

5.4.62 निष्कुलान्निष्कोषणे

niṣkulān niṣkoṣaṇe
/niṣkulāt 5/1 *niṣkoṣaṇe* 7/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *ḍāC* #57, *kṛñaḥ* #58)
niṣkulaśabdān niṣkoṣaṇe vartamānāt kṛño ḍāc pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *ḌāC* occurs after *niṣkula*, when it is used in conjunction with *kṛÑ*, provided derivates denote *niṣkoṣaṇa* 'causing internal body organs to come out'.

EXAMPLES:

niṣkulā karoti paśūn 'he kills animals in such a manner that their internal organs come out'

1. Note that *niṣkoṣaṇa* is explained as: *antaravayavānāṃ bahir niṣkāsanam* 'causing internal organs to come out'. This condition is important to block *ḌāC* in cases such as *niṣkulān karoti śatrūn* 'makes his enemies devoid of companions'. The word *kula* is used in this sentence with the signification of *bandhu* 'companion, friend'.

5.4.63 सुखप्रियादानुलोम्ये

sukhapriyād ānulomye
/sukha-priyāt 5/1 (*sam. dv.*); *ānulomye* 7/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *ḍāC* #57, *kṛñaḥ* #58)
sukha-priyaśabdābhyām ānulomye vartamānābhyām kṛño yoge ḍāc pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *ḌāC* occurs after nominal stems *sukha* 'happiness, pleasure' and *priya* 'dear' when they are used in conjunction with *kṛÑ* and signify *ānulomya* 'amiability'.

EXAMPLES:

sukhā karoti 'he does something pleasing'
priyā karoti 'he does something dear'

1. *Kāśikā* explains *ānulomya* as *anukūlatā* 'amiability'. That is, *ārādhyacittānuvartana* 'doing things in consonance with the wish of someone deserving of respect'.

5.4.64 दुःखात्प्रातिलोम्ये

duḥkhāt prātilomye
/duḥkhāt 5/1 *prātilomye* 7/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *ḍāC* #57, *kṛñaḥ* #58)
duḥkhaśabdāt prātipadikāt prātilomye gamyamāne ḍāc pratyayo bhavati kṛño yoge
The *taddhita* affix *ḌāC* occurs after nominal stem *duḥkha* 'misery, distress', when it is used in conjunction with *kṛÑ* and signifies *prātilomya* 'non-amiability'.

EXAMPLES:

duḥkhā karoti bhṛtyaḥ 'the servant does unpleasant things'

1. The word *prātilomya* is used in the sense of 'doing, or not doing, things which may cause pain' (*cittasya pīḍanam duḥkhaṃ vā*). But *prātilomya* cannot be accepted in *duḥkhaṃ karoti kadannam* 'bad food causes pain'. For, *kadanna* 'bad food' always causes *duḥkha* 'pain'. It is a general consequence.

5.4.65 शूलात्पाके

śūlāt pāke
/śūlāt 5/1 *pāke* 7/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *ḍāC* #57, *kṛñaḥ* #58)
śūlaśabdāt pākaviṣaye ḍāc pratyayo bhavati kṛño yoge
The *taddhita* affix *ḌāC* occurs after nominal stem *śūla* 'spit' when it is used in conjunction with *kṛÑ*, provided *pāka* 'cooking' is denoted.

EXAMPLES:

śule pacati = śūlā karoti māṃsam 'he is cooking meat on spikes'

1. Note that *śūlaṃ karoti kadannam* 'bad food causes pain' cannot qualify for *ḌāC* because 'cooking' (*pāka*) on spikes is not involved.

5.4.66 सत्यादशपथे

satyād aśapathe
/satyāt 5/1 *aśapathe* 5/1 = *na śapathaḥ* (*nañ. tat.*), *tasmin/*
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *ḍāC* #57, *kṛñaḥ* #58)
satyaśabdād aśapathe ḍāc pratyayo bhavati kṛño yoge
The *taddhita* affix *ḌāC* occurs after nominal stem *satya* 'truth' when it is used in conjunction with *kṛÑ*, provided *śapatha* 'oath, pledge' is not denoted.

EXAMPLES:

satyā karoti vaṇig bhāṇḍam 'the trader makes my intent of buying the jar a reality'

1. The word *satya* is used as an antonym of *anṛta* 'non-truth'. It may also be found elsewhere denoting the sense of *śapatha* 'oath, pledge'. Thus, *satyena śāpayed vipram* 'let a brāhmaṇa be asked to swear by truth'. The condition of *aśapatham* is imposed so that *satyaṃ karoti brahmaṇaḥ* 'the Brāhmaṇa swears. . . .'

5.4.67 मद्रात्परिवापणे

madrāt parivāpaṇe

/ madrāt 5/1 *parivāpaṇe* 7/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *ḍāC* #57, *kṛñaḥ* #58)
madraśabdāt parivāpaṇe ḍāc pratyayo bhavati kṛño yoge
The *taddhita* affix *ḌāC* occurs after nominal stem *madra* 'auspicious, beautiful' when it is used in conjunction with *kṛÑ* and *parivāpaṇa* 'shaving of head' is denoted.

EXAMPLES:

maṅgalaṃ muṇḍanaṃ karoti nāpitaḥ = madrā karoti 'the barber is doing an auspicious shaving of head'

1. A *vārttika* also recommends affix *ḌāC* after *bhadra* 'beautiful' to account for *bhadrākaroti nāpitaḥ* 'the barber shaves beautiful'. Note that *madraṃ karoti* 'makes it auspicious' will not qualify for this affix because *muṇḍana* 'shaving' is not denoted.

5.4.68 **समासान्ताः**

samāsāntāḥ
/ samāsāntāḥ 1/3/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76)
ā pādaparisamāpter ye pratyayā vihitās te samāsasyāntāvayavā ekadeśā bhavanti = tad grahaṇena gṛhyanta iti veditavyam
The *taddhita* affixes introduced, henceforth, occur as final (*anta*) of a nominal stem termed compound (*samāsa*).

EXAMPLES:

Refer to examples under following rules.

1. The *samāsānta* affixes are introduced with reference to specific compound constituency. Thus, 5.4.91 *rājāhaḥsakhibhyaṣ ṭac* introduces *ṬaC* as final of a compound which ends in *rājan* 'king', *ahan* 'day' and *sakhi* 'companion, friend'. The word *anta* in *samāsāntāḥ* denotes *avayava* 'part'. A *samāsānta* affixes can become part of a compound when it is introduced prior to compound formation. That is, the term *samāsa* 'compound' is assigned to a form which also includes the *samāsānta* affix. This is possible only when a *samāsānta* affix is introduced after the final constituent of a compound first. The final constituent ending in a *samāsānta* affix can then be combined with the preceding constituent. The authors of the *Kāśikā* clearly state this under rule 7.4.14 *na kapi*. But this goes against *Kāśikā*'s statement under 5.4.72 *patho vibhāṣā*, whereby a *sāmāsānta* affix is blocked from occurring after a particular *tatpuruṣa* compound. *Kāśikā*'s paraphrase of this rule assumes that *samāsānta* affixes are introduced after compounds are formed.

For how these seemingly conflicting statements are reconciled to still favor the formation of a compound subsequent to the introduction of *samāsānta* affixes, refer to discussions under rule 4.1.1 *ṅyāpprātipadikāt.*

2. Let us discuss the derivation of *uparājam* 'near the king' where *uparājan* is an *avyayībhāva* compound derived parallel to *upa* + *sU rājan* + *Ṅas* (2.1.6 *avyayaṃ vibhaktisamīpa* . . .). The *samāsānta* affix *ṬaC* is then introduced by 5.4.108 *anaś ca.* Rule 6.4.144 *nas taddhite* will then delete *an* under the assignment of the term *bha.* The affixal *a* will now be considered as part of the compound base *uparāja* which, in turn, will receive *sU* to yield *uparājim.* Note that if *a* is not considered as part of *uparāja, sU* cannot be replaced with *am.* For, *sU* must qualify as occurring after an *avyayībhāva* compound ending in *a* (2.4.83 *nāvyayībhāvād* . . .). Rule 6.1.107 *ami pūrvaḥ* then orders *pūrvarūpa* 'a form similar to that which precedes'. That is, *uparāja*(*a* + *a*→*a*) *m*)) = *uparājam.*

5.4.69 न पूजनात्

na pūjanāt
/na ϕ pūjanāt 5/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samāsāntāḥ* #68)
yān śabdān upādāya samāsāntā vidhīyante yadā te pūjanavacanāt pare bhavanti tadā samāsānto na bhavati
The *taddhita* affixes specified as *samāsānta* do not occur after that which is used in combination after a constituent denoting *pūjana* 'respect, admiration'.

EXAMPLES:

surājā 'good king'
atirājā 'great king; one who has excelled others'
atigauḥ 'excellent cow'

1. Note that this rule cannot be interpreted as: *pūjanavacanāt samāsānto na bhavati* 'a *samāsānta* affix does not occur after that which denotes *pūjana* 'respect, admiration'. Since a provision for these affixes is made with reference to enumeration of specific bases, their negation must also be similarly stated. Besides, there is no final constituent of a compound specific to which a *samāsanta* afffix is stated, and which also denotes the sense of 'respect, admiration'. The negation, unless interpreted otherwise, will thus not make any sense (*PM* ad *Kāś.*: *tatra ca pūjanārthasya kasyacid abhāvād abhāve pratiṣedhānupapatteḥ*). Incidentally, this negation mainly applies to compounds specified by 5.4.91 *rājāhaḥsakhibhyaṣ ṭac* and 5.4.92 *gor ataddhitaluki.*

2. A *vārttika* further restricts the scope of this negation to only those compounds where *su* and *ati* are combined with the sense of *pūjana* (*vt.*:

pūjāyāṃ su-ati-grahaṇaṃ kartavyam). Thus, it cannot apply to *paramarājaḥ* 'excellent king' and *paramagavaḥ* 'excellent cow'.

An additional *vārttika* restricts the scope of this negation to include only those rules which are enumerated prior to 5.4.113 *bahuvrīhau sakthyakṣṇoḥ* (*vt.*: *prāg bahuvrīhigrahaṇaṃ kartavyam*). Thus, compounds such as *susakthaḥ/ atisakthaḥ* 'he whose thighs are beautiful' and *svakṣaḥ/ atyakṣaḥ* 'he whose eyes are beautiful' do not come under the scope of this negation. The *samāsānta* affix *ṢaC* of 5.4.113 *bahuvrīhau* . . . cannot be negated.

5.4.70 **किम: क्षेपे**

kimaḥ kṣepe
/kimaḥ 5/1 *kṣepe* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1 *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samāsāntāḥ* #68, *na* #69)
kṣepe yaḥ kiṃsábdas tataḥ parasya samāsānto na bhavati
The *taddhita* affixes specified as *samāsānta* do not occur after that which is used in combination after *kim* 'what, which, who' signifying *kṣepa* 'censure'.

EXAMPLES:

kiṃrāja yo na rakṣati 'you call him a king who does not protect!'
kiṃsakhā yo' bhidruhyati 'you call him a friend who is jealous!'
kiṃgaur yo na vahati 'you call it a bull which cannot carry any loads'

1. The compounds after which this rule negates a *samāsānta* affix are formed under the provision of 2.1.64 *kiṃ kṣepe*. The condition of *kṣepa* is important since *kim* can also be used with other meanings. Thus, a *samāsānta* affix cannot be negated in *kiṃrājaḥ* 'whose king?' and *kiṃsakhaḥ* 'whose friend?', etc.

2. Why do we have to explicitly state *kṣepe* when *kimaḥ* itself can restrict this negation to compounds formed by 2.1.64 *kiṃ kṣepe* in view of *Paribhāṣā* (114): *lakṣaṇapratipadoktayoḥ pratipadoktasyaiva grahaṇam*. But this *paribhāṣā* cannot find its scope here since this rule does not make its specification by means of *kim*. It makes its specification by means of *kimaḥ*. Thus, *kṣepe* must be stated. Others still believe that this *paribhāṣā* is valid. For, the specification of this rule is made for compounds with *kim* as a constituent. Some claim that *kṣepe* is stated so that this negation could also be extended to *bahuvrīhi* compounds, for example, *kiṃdhuram* of *kiṃdhuraṃ śakaṭam* 'a cart with a bad axle' and *nirdhuram* 'a cart with no axle' (see *Nyāsa* ad *Kāś.*). This view should be ignored because it goes against the *Mahābhāṣya*. The word *kṣepe* can be accepted as used for clarity (*PM* ad *Kāś.*: . . . *tad bhāṣyavirodhād upekṣyam. tasmād viṣpaṣṭārthaṃ kṣepagrahaṇam*).

5.4.71 **नञस्तत्पुरुषात्**

nañas tatpuruṣāt
/nañaḥ 5/1 *tatpuruṣāt* 5/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1 *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samāsāntāḥ* #68, *na* #69)
nañaḥ pare vakṣyamāṇā ye rājādayas tadantāt tatpuruṣāt samāsānto na bhavati
The *taddhita* affixes specified as *samāsānta* do not occur after that which is used in combination after *naÑ* 'not' in a compound termed *tatpuruṣa.*

EXAMPLES:

arājā 'non-king; a bad king'
asakhā 'non-friend; a bad friend'
agauḥ 'bad cow'

1. Note that *naÑ* must be the constituent of a *tatpuruṣa* compound. Elsewhere, as in *bahuvrīhi* compounds such as *anṛcaḥ* and *adhuram*, of *anṛco māṇavakaḥ* 'a brāhmaṇa boy (who has not studied the hymns)' and *adhuraṃ śakaṭam* 'a cart with no axle', this negation does not apply. Consequently, affix *a* is introduced by 5.4.74 *ṛkpūrabdhūḥpathām ānakṣe.*

5.4.72 **पथो विभाषा**

patho vibhāṣā
/pathaḥ 5/1 *vibhāṣā* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1 *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samāsāntāḥ* #68, *na* #69, *nañas tatpuruṣāt* #72)
nañaḥ paro yaḥ pathin-śabdas tadantāt tatpuruṣāt samāsānto vibhāṣā na bhavati
The *taddhita* affixes specified as *samāsānta* do not occur, optionally, after *pathin* 'path, road', used in combination after *naÑ* in a compound termed *tatpuruṣa.*

EXAMPLES:

apatham 'a path not fit to be followed'
apanthāḥ 'id.'

1. The obligatory (*nitya*) negation of the preceding rule is now made optional in the context of *pathin.* Affix *a* of 5.4.74 *ṛkpūrabdhūḥ* . . . will be introduced to derive *apatham*, a neuter (2.4.30 *apathaṃ napuṃsakam*) when optional negation is not accepted. Non-introduction of the *samāsānta* affix will derive *apanthāḥ.*

5.4.73 **बहुव्रीहौ संख्येये डजबहुगणात्**

bahuvrīhau saṃkhyeye ḍaj abahugaṇāt

/ bahuvrīhau 7/1 *saṃkhyeye* 7/1 *ḍac* 1/1 *abahugaṇāt* 5/1 = *bahuś ca gaṇaś ca = bahugaṇam; na bahugaṇam* (*nañ. tat.* with int. *dv.*), *tasmāt/*
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1 *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samāsāntāḥ* #68)
saṃkhyeye yo bahuvrīhir vartate tasmād bahugaṇāntād ḍac pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *ḌaC* occurs as final of a *bahuvrīhi* compound which is formed with the signification of *saṃkhyeye* 'that which is to be counted' and contains a final constituent other than *bahu* 'much, many' and *gaṇa* 'group'.

EXAMPLES:

upadaśāḥ 'close to ten'
upaviṃśāḥ 'close to twenty'
adhikadaśāḥ 'more than ten'

1. This rule refers to *bahuvrīhi* compounds formed by 2.2.25 *saṃkhyāvyayāsanna. . . .* The condition of *saṃkhyeye* blocks *ḌaC* after *citraguḥ* and *śabalaguḥ* 'he who owns brindled cows'. The condition of *abahugaṇāt* blocks *ḌaC* in *upabahavaḥ* and *upagaṇāḥ*. Incidentally, *upagaṇāḥ* will still be a derivate whether *ḌaC* is introduced or not. A derivate of *ḌaC* is marked *udātta* at the end in view of *C* as an *it* (6.1.163 *citaḥ*).

2. A *vārttika* proposes that the scope of this rule should also include a *tatpuruṣa* compound with *saṃkhyā* 'number' as its final constituent. This will account for examples such as *nistriṃśa*, etc., of *nistriṃśāni varṣāṇi devadattasya* 'Devadatta whose thirty years have elapsed'.

5.4.74 ऋक्पूरब्धूःपथामानक्षे

ṛkpūrabdhūḥpathām ānakṣe
/ ṛkpūrabdhūḥpathām 6/3 = *ṛk ca pur ca ap ca dhur ca panthāś ca = ṛkpūrabdhūḥpanthānaḥ* (*itar. dv.*), *teṣām; ānakṣe* 7/1 = *a* (1/1 deleted) *anakṣe* 7/1 = *na akṣaḥ* (*nañ. tat.*), *tasmin/*
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1 *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samāsāntāḥ* #68)
'ṛk, pur, ap, dhur, pathin' ity evam antānāṃ samāsānām akāraḥ pratyayo bhavati samāsānto'kṣe na
The *taddhita* affix *a* occurs after *ṛk* 'Vedic hymn', *pur* 'city', *ap* 'water', *dhūḥ* 'axle' and *pathin* 'path', used in combination as final constituent of a nominal stem termed *samāsa* 'compound', provided *dhūḥ* is not related to *akṣa* 'axle'.

EXAMPLES:

anṛcaḥ 'a brāhmaṇa boy who has not studied the hymns'
bahvṛcaḥ 'a brāhmaṇa who has studied the hymns'

lalāṭapuram 'the city of Lalāṭapura'
dvīpam 'that which has water on two sides; island'
mahādhuraḥ 'a huge axle'
jalapathaḥ 'water-way'

1. Note that *bahuvrīhau* is not carried. That is, this provision of *a* is made after compounds in general. Of course, with reference to *ṛk*, etc. The negation of *anakṣe* can be related only with *dhur* 'carriage pole, axle-pin'. Thus, affix *a* cannot be introduced after *dhur* relatable to *akṣa* 'axle'. Consequently, a genitive *tatpuruṣa* compound such as *akṣadhūḥ* paraphrased as *akṣasya dhūḥ* will not qualify for *a*.

The words *anṛcaḥ* and *bahvṛcaḥ* are used in the sense of *māṇavaka* 'a brāhmaṇa boy (with no knowledge of *ṛk*)' and *brāhmaṇa* 'Brāhmaṇa (a branch of Ṛk (*caraṇākhyā*))', respectively. It is for this reason that *anṛkkam* and *bahvṛkkam*, which denote *sāman* 'Sāmaveda' and *sūkta* 'collection of hymns', do not qualify for *a*.

5.4.75 अच्प्रत्यन्ववपूर्वात्सामलोम्नः

ac pratyanvavapūrvāt sāmalomnaḥ
/ac 1/1 *pratyanvavapūrvāt* 5/1 = *pratiś ca anuś ca avaś ca = prtyanvavaṃ pūrvaṃ yasya* (*bv.* with int. *dv.*), *tasmāt*; *sāmaloṃnaḥ* 5/1 = *sāma ca loma ca = sāmaloma* (*sam. dv.*), *tasmāt/*
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1 *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samāsāntāḥ* #68)
'*prati, anu, ava' ity evaṃpūrvāt sāmāntāl lomāntāc ca samāsād ac pratyayo bhavati*
The *taddhita* affix *aC* occurs after a compound nominal stem which ends in *sāman* 'conciliation' and *loman* 'hair', used in combination after *prati, anu* and *ava*.

EXAMPLES:

pratisāmam 'non-conciliatory, rudely'
anusāmam 'conciliatory, nicely'
avasāmam 'not very nicely'
pratilomam 'opposite, unnatural'
anulomam 'in accord with nature'
avalomam 'id.'

1. Note that *pratisāmam* and *anusāmam* can be interpreted as *prādi* (*pratigataṃ sāma*), *bahuvrīhi* (*pratigataṃ sāma asya*) and *avyayībhāva* compounds whatever makes sense (*yathāsambhavaṃ veditavyāḥ*). The *an*, of *sāman* and *loman*, is deleted by 6.4.144 *nas taddhite*. A *ślokavārttika* also recalls *aC* after *bhūmi* 'land, soil', used in combination after *kṛṣṇa* 'black', *udak* 'water' and *pāṇḍu* 'pale white'. Affix *aC* also occurs after *godāvarī* 'name of a river' and

nadī 'river', when used in combination after a constituent denoting *saṃkhyā* 'number':

kṛṣṇodakpāṇḍupūrvāyā bhūmer ac pratyayaḥ smṛtaḥ/
godāvaryāś ca nadyāś ca saṃkhyāyā uttare yadi//

This will account for derivates such as *kṛṣṇabhūmaḥ* 'a place where soil is black', *pāṇḍubhūmaḥ* 'a place where soil is pale-white', *udagbhūmaḥ* 'a place with water', *pañcanadam* 'five-rivers' and *pañcagodāvaram* 'five tributaries of Godāvarī'.

A desideratum (*iṣṭi*) also calls for *aC* after *bhūmi* used in combination after *saṃkhyā* 'number'. Thus, *dvibhūmaḥ prāsādaḥ* 'a palace with two floors', etc. Affix *aC* is also seen elsewhere, as in *padmanābhaḥ* 'one whose navel is shaped like lotus', etc. It is further observed that separate statements are not needed to account for these derivates. They can be accounted for by creating a rule such as *acaḥ*, via *yogavibhāga* 'split interpretation'.

5.4.76 **अक्ष्णोऽदर्शनात्**

akṣṇo'darśanāt
/akṣṇaḥ 5/1 *adarśanāt* 5/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1 *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samāsāntāḥ* #68, *ac* #75)
darśanād anyatra yo'kṣiśabdas tadantād ac pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *aC* occurs after a compound nominal stem which contains *akṣi* 'eye' as its final constituent, provided *akṣi* denotes something other than *darśana* 'seeing' (*adarśanāt*).

EXAMPLES:

puṣkarākṣam 'lotus-eyes'
lavaṇākṣam 'beautiful eyes'

1. Note that the condition of *adarśanāt* is stated so that examples such as *brahmākṣi* 'eyes of a brāhmaṇa' could be blocked from receiving *aC*. The 'eyes' are here intended for 'seeing'. The word *akṣi* in this rule is used in the sense of *akṣisadṛśa* 'eye-like'. These compounds are formed in view of 2.1.56 *upamitaṃ vyāghrādibhiḥ*. . . . How would one explain *kabarākṣam* 'mouth cover for horses' and *gavākṣam* 'small window'. The word *darśana* of *adarśanāt*, in these cases, should be accepted as a synonym of *cakṣu* 'eye', meaning *prāṇyaṅga* 'limb of a sentient being'. The negation will thus still hold.

5.4.77 **अचतुरविचतुरसुचतुरस्त्रीपुंसधेन्वनडुहर्क्सामवाङ्-**
मनसाक्षिभ्रुवदारगवोर्वष्ठीवपदष्ठीवनक्तंदिवरात्रिंदिवाहर्दिवसरजस-
निश्श्रेयसपुरुषायुषायुषद्व्यायुषत्र्यायुषर्ग्यजुषजातोक्षमहोक्षवृद्धोक्षोपशुनगोष्ठश्वाः

acaturavicaturasucaturastrīpuṃsadhenvananaḍuharksāmavāṅmanasākṣi-

bhruvadāragavorvaṣṭhīvapadaṣṭhīvanaktandivarātrindivāhardivasarajasaniśśreyasapuruṣāyuṣadvyāyuṣatryāyuṣargyajuṣajātokṣamahokṣavṛddhokṣopaśunagoṣṭhaśvāḥ
/ acatura-vicatura . . . goṣṭhaśvāḥ 1/3 (*itar. dv.*)/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1 *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samāsāntāḥ* #68, *ac* #75)
The *taddhita* affix *aC* occurs, via *nipātana*, in deriving the following compounds:
acatura, vicatura, sucatura, strīpuṃsa, dhenvanaḍuha, ṛksāma, vāṅmanasa, akṣibhruva, dāragava, ūrvaṣṭhīva, padaṣṭhīva, naktandiva, rātrindiva, ahardiva, sarajasa, niśśreyasa, puruṣāyuṣa, dvyāyuṣa, tryāyuṣa, ṛgyajuṣa, jātokṣa, mahokṣa, vṛddhokṣa, upaśuna, and *goṣṭhaśva.*

EXAMPLES:

avidyamānāni vā catvāri yasya saḥ = acaturaḥ 'he who does not have four . . .'
vigatāni catvāri yasya = vicaturaḥ 'one who has lost four . . .'
śobhanāni catvāri yasya = sucaturaḥ 'one who has four beautiful . . .'
strīpuṃsau 'female and male'
dhenvanaḍuhau 'cow and bull'
ṛksāme 'the Ṛk and the Sāman hymns'
vāṅmanase 'speech and mind'
akṣibhruvam 'eye and eye-brow'
dāragavam 'wife and cows'
ūrvaṣṭhīvam 'thighs and knees'
naktandivam 'night and day'
rātrindivam 'id.'
ahardivam 'nights and days'
sarajasam 'not even sparing the dirt; in toto'
niśśreyasam 'absolutely auspicious'
puruṣāyuṣam 'human life-span'
dvyāyuṣam 'twice the life-span of a human'
ṛgyajuṣam 'the Ṛk and the Yajuṣ hymns'
jātokṣaḥ 'young bull'
mahokṣah 'large bull'
vṛddhokṣah 'old bull'
upaśunam 'near the dog'
goṣṭhaśvaḥ 'a dog in the barn who, for no reason, barks at passers-by; a man who himself does nothing but always finds fault with others'

1. The first three compounds are *bahuvrīhi*, where *a, vi,* and *su* denote *avidyamāna* 'non-existent', *vigata* 'gone' and *śobhana* 'beautiful'. The next eleven compounds are all *dvandva*. The *dvandva* compound *strīpuṃs*, after having received *aC*, yields the dual form *strīpuṃsau*. Affix *aC* cannot be in-

troduced after *strīpumān*, a genitive *tatpuruṣa* compound paraphrased as *striyāḥ pumān* 'woman's man'. The pattern of *strīpuṃsau* is also followed by *dhenvanaḍuhau*. The *an* of *ṛcsāman*, parallel to *ṛc ca sāman ca*, is deleted and *c* is replaced with *k* (*kutva*). The compound is then used as neuter: *ṛksāme*. Given *akṣi ca bhruvau ca*, we get *akṣibhrū* which, after *aC*, yields *akṣibhru*. A replacement in *uvaṄ* followed by *ekavadbhāva* 'as if denoting one' of 2.4.2 *dvandvaś ca prāṇitūryasenāṅgānām* yields *akṣibhruvam*. Our example *dāragavam* is derived with *aC* introduced after *dārago*, where *puṃvadbhāva* 'masculine transformation' applies in addition to *uvaṄ* and *ekavadbhāva*. The *at* of *ur*(*ū*→*v*) + *aṣṭhīvat* = *urvaṣṭhīvat* + *aC* is deleted, via *nipātana*, prior to *ekavadbhāva*. This same also applies to *padaṣṭhīvam*, where *pad* replaces *pāda* of *pāda* + *aṣṭhīvat* + *aC*, prior to *ekavadbhāva*, again via *nipātana*. Our next compound *naktandivam* is allowed in the sense of *saptamī* 'locus', via *nipātana*. The *m* of *naktam* is not deleted (*aluk*), again via *nipātana*. This same is also true of *rātrindivam*. The *dvandva* compound of *ahardivam*, where constituents are both synonyms, is allowed via *nipātana*, in the sense of *vīpsā* 'total pervasion'. The *n* of *ahan* is replaced with *r* by 8.2.69 *ro'supi*.

Note that *sarajasam* is not a *bahuvrīhi* compound parallel to *saha rajasā*, where *saha* denotes 'accompaniment'. It is *avyayībhāva* compound where *saha* denotes *sākalya* 'entirety'. A *bahuvrīhi* interpretation of *niḥśreyasam* is also ruled out. The compound is a *tatpuruṣa* in the sense of *niścitaṃ śreyaḥ*. Affix *aC* is introduced in *puruṣāyuṣam* when it is interpreted as a genitive *tatpuruṣa* compound, and not a *dvandva*. For, the form will then be *puruṣāyuṣī*. But *dvyāyuṣam* and *tryāyuṣam* are *dvandva* compounds formed in the sense of *samāhāra*. A genitive interpretation of these compounds will not qualify for *aC*. A *bahuvrīhi* interpretation of *ṛgyajuṣam* is similarly ruled out in favor of a *dvandva*. Compounds such as *jātokṣaḥ*, *mahokṣaḥ* and *vṛddhokṣaḥ* are interpreted as *karmadhāraya-tatpuruṣa* compounds, paraphrased as *jātaś cāsau ukṣāḥ*, etc. They are not here interpreted as *bahuvrīhīs*. A *ṭi*-deletion, before *aC*, is responsible for these forms to end in *a*. This deletion of *ṭi*, however, is blocked in *upaśunam*, an *avyayībhāva* formed in the sense of proximity, where *u* in *śu* is gotten via *samprasāraṇa*. Our last compound *goṣṭhaśvaḥ* is a locative *tatpuruṣa* compound paraphrased as *goṣṭhe śvā*. The *ṭi*-deletion of *an*, in *goṣṭhaśvan*, before *aC* also applies here.

A *vārttika* also desires *aC* after *catura*, used in combination after *tri* and *upa*. We thus get *tricaturaḥ* and *upacaturaḥ*, parallel to *trayo vā catvāro vā* and *caturṇāṃ samīpe ye santi*, respectively. These compounds would have qualified for *ḌaC* with *ṭi*-deletion. Consequently, undesired forms such as **upacaturāḥ*, parallel to *upadaśāḥ* (5.4.72 *bahuvrīhau* . . .) would have resulted.

5.4.78 ब्रह्महस्तिभ्यां वर्चसः

brahmahastibhyām varcasaḥ
/ *brahma-hastibhyām* 5/2 (*itar. dv.*); *varvasaḥ* 5/1

(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1 *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samāsāntāḥ* #68, *ac* #75)
brahmahastibhyām paro yo varcaḥ śabdaḥ tadantāt samāsād ac pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *aC* occurs after *varcas* 'glow' used in combination after *brahman* and *hastin.*

EXAMPLES:

brahmavarcasam 'the glow (power) which a brāhmaṇa attains through penance'
hastivarcas 'the strength of an elephant'

1. Note that *brahmavarcas* and *hastivarcas* are genitive *tatpuruṣa* compounds. They end in *a* because of *aC.* Their neuter is in consonance with 2.4.26 *paravalliṅgaṃ dvandvatatpuruṣayoḥ.* The *Mahābhāṣya* also desires *palyavarcasam* 'strength of meat-eaters' and *rājavarcasam* 'king's power' to be derived with *aC.*

5.4.79 **अवसमन्धेभ्यस्तमसः**

avasamandhebhyas tamasaḥ
/*avasamandhebhyaḥ* 5/3 = *avaś ca sam ca andhaś ca* (*itar. dv.*), *tebhyaḥ*; *tamasaḥ* 5/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1 *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samāsāntāḥ* #68, *ac* #75)
'*ava, sam, andha*' *ity etebhyo yaḥ paras tamaḥśabdas tadantāt samāsād ac pratyayo bhavati*
The *taddhita* affix *aC* occurs after *tamas* 'darkness' used in combination after *ava, sam* and *andha.*

EXAMPLES:

avatamasam 'little dark'
santamasam 'very dark'
andhatamasam 'blinding dark'

1. The first two compounds are *prādisamāsas* (2.2.18 *kugatiprādayaḥ*). The third is a *karmadhāraya* formed parallel to *andhaṃ ca tamaś ca,* where *andha* is derived with *aC* in the sense of *andhayati* 'makes blind', by accepting *pacādi* (3.1.134 *nandigrahi-pacādibhyo . . .*) as an open-ended group (*ākṛtigaṇa*).

5.4.80 **श्वसो वसीयः श्रेयसः**

śvaso vasīyaḥśreyasaḥ
/*śvasaḥ* 5/1 *vasīyaḥśreyasaḥ* 5/1 (*sam. dv.*)/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1 *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samāsāntāḥ* #68, *ac* #75)

śvasaḥ parau yau vasīyas-śreyaḥśabdau tadantāt samāsād ac pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *aC* occurs after *vasīyas* and *śreya* used in combination after *śvas* 'tomorrow'.

EXAMPLES:

śvovasīyasam '(may your) future (be absolutely) beneficial'
śvaḥśreyasam 'id.'

1. Note that *vasīyas* and *śreyas* are derivates of *īyasUN* (5.3.57 *dvivacana-vibhajyopapade . . .*) where *śreyas*, additionally, involves *śra* a replacement for *praśasya* (5.3.60 *praśasyasya śraḥ*). *Kāśikā* explains that *śvas*, in *śvovasīyam*, is used in the sense of *praśaṃsā* 'praise' of its following constituent *vasu* 'wealth; lauded'. *Nyāsa*, therefore, questions *śvas* as used with the meaning of 'tomorrow'. These examples are all synonymous, since *vasu* is used in the sense of *praśasta* 'lauded, excellent'. They simply denote benediction (*āśīḥ*). The compounds are formed in view of 2.2.71 *mayūravyaṃsakādayaś ca.*

5.4.81 अन्ववतप्ताद्रहसः

anvavataptāt rahasaḥ
/ anvavataptāt 5/1 = *anuś ca avaś ca taptaś ca* (*sam. dv.*), *tasmāt; rahasaḥ* 5/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1 *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samāsāntāḥ* #68, *ac* #75)
'*anu-ava-tapta*' *ity etebhyaḥ paro yo rahaśśabdas tadantāt samāsad ac pratyayo bhavati*
The *taddhita* affix *aC* occurs after *rahas* 'seclusion, light' used in combination after *anu, ava* and *tapta.*

EXAMPLES:

anurahasam 'having arrived at a dark (secluded) place'
avarahasam '. . . somewhat dark (secluded) place'
taptarahasam '. . . absolutely dark (secluded) place'

1. The first two examples can be interpreted either as *prādi* or *bahuvrīhi*, parallel to *anugataṃ* (*rahasā/ rahaḥ*); *avahīnaṃ* (*rahasā/ rahaḥ*); or (*anugatam/ avahīnam*) *rahaḥ asmin*, respectively. The *prādi* compounds are formed in view of 2.2.18 *kugatiprādayaḥ.* The third compound is a *karmadhāraya*, parallel to *taptaṃ ca tad rahaḥ ca* where *tapta* means *atyanta* 'excessive, absolute'. This will be formed in view of 2.1.56 *viśeṣaṇaṃ viśeṣyena. . . .* Incidentally, *rahas* is used in the sense of *prakāśa* 'light'.

5.4.82 प्रतेरुरसः सप्तमीस्थात्

prater urasaḥ saptamīsthāt

/prateḥ 5/1 *urasaḥ* 5/1 *saptamīsthāt* 5/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1 *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samāsāntāḥ* #68, *ac* #75)
prateḥ paro ya uraḥśabdas tadantāt samāsād ac pratyayo bhavati sa ced uraḥśabdaḥ saptamīstho bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *aC* occurs after *uras* 'chest', used in combination after *prati*, provided *uras* denotes locus (*saptamī*).

EXAMPLES:

pratyurasam 'against the chest'

1. Note that *pratyurasam* is an *avyayībhāva* compound formed in view of 2.1.6 *avyayaṃ vibhaktisamīpa. . . .* Affix *ac* cannot be introduced after *pratyuraḥ*, parallel to *pratigatam uraḥ*, a *prādisamāsa* with no denotatum of locus.

5.4.83 अनुगवमायामे

anugavam āyāme
/anugavam 1/1 *āyāme* 7/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1 *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samāsāntāḥ* #68, *ac* #75)
'anugavam' ity acpratyayāntaṃ nipātyate āyāmo' bhidheye
The *taddhita* affix *aC* occurs in deriving *anugavam*, via *nipātana*, provided the derivate denotes *āyāma* 'length, expanse'.

EXAMPLES:

anugavaṃ yānam 'a cart (equal in length to bulls who draw it)'

1. Note that *anugava* is an *avyayībhāva* compound formed in view of 2.1.16 *yasya cāyāmaḥ* where *o* of *go* is replaced with short (*hrasva*) *u*. An application of *guṇa* (6.4.146 *or guṇaḥ*) and *av*-replacement for *o* will yield *anugava*.

The word *āyāma* is used in the sense of *matUP*, meaning *āyāmavat* 'possessing the length of'. A non-*matUp* interpretation of *āyāma* will impair syntactic coordination between *anugava* and *yāna* 'cart' of *anugavaṃ yānam*. The condition of *āyāma* will block *aC*, for example, after *anugu*, an *avyayībhāva* compound formed in the sense of *paścāt*, parallel to *gavāṃ paścāt*.

5.4.84 द्विस्तावा त्रिस्तावा वेदिः

dvistāvā tristāvā vediḥ
/dvistāvā 1/1 *tristavā* 1/1 *vediḥ* 1/1
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1 *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samāsāntāḥ* #68, *ac* #75)
'dvistāvā, tristāvā' iti nipātyate vediś ced abhidheyā bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *aC* occurs in deriving *dvistāvā* and *tristāvā*, via *nipātana*, when derivates denote *vedi* 'receptacle for ritual fire'.

EXAMPLES:

dvistāvā vediḥ 'a receptacle for ritual fire which is twice in size to one required'
tristāvā vediḥ 'a receptacle for ritual fire which is three times bigger in size to one required'

1. Note that *nipātana* accounts for compound-formation, introduction of affix *aC*, and *ṭi*-deletion as well. Thus, *dviḥ tāvat* + *a* = *dviḥ tāv*(*at*→ϕ) + *a* = *dvi*(*ḥ*→*s*) + *tāva* + *a* = *dvistāvā* where *dviḥ* ends in *sUC* (5.4.18 *dvitricaturbhyaḥ su*)

Obviously, these derivates are allowed in the context of ritually unattested receptacles. The condition of *vediḥ* will not only block *aC*, but will also block the formation of compounds in examples such as *dvistāvatī*/*tristāvatī rajjuḥ* 'twice/three times stronger rope'.

5.4.85 उपसर्गादध्वनः

upasargād adhvanaḥ
/*upasargāt* 5/1 *adhvanaḥ* 5/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1 *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samāsāntāḥ* #68, *ac* 75)
upasargāt paro yo' adhvanśabdas tadantāt samāsād ac pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *aC* occurs after *adhvan* 'path, road' used in combination after an *upasarga* 'preverb'.

EXAMPLES:

pragato' dhvānam = *prādhvo rathaḥ* 'a chariot standing ready on road to be traversed; a chariot which has already traversed the road!'
prādhvaṃ śakaṭam 'a cart standing ready on road to be traversed; a cart which has already traversed the road'
niṣkrāntam adhvanaḥ = *niradhvo rathaḥ* 'a cart which has gone off the road'

1. Note that *aC* cannot be introduced after *paramādhvā* 'excellent road' and *uttamādhvā* 'id.' which are *karmadhāraya* compounds with no *upasarga* as initial constituent. The compounds are formed at the strength of express statements (*Mbh.* ad 1.4.79 *jīvikopaniṣadāv . . .*; *prādayo gatādyarthe prathamayā*; *nirādayo gatādyarthe prathamayā*).

5.4.86 तत्पुरुषस्याङ्गुलेः संख्याव्ययादेः

tatpuruṣasyāṅguleḥ saṃkhyāvyayādeḥ
/*tatpuruṣasya* 6/1 *aṅguleḥ* 5/1 *saṃkhyayādeḥ* 5/1 = *saṃkhyā ca avyayaṃ ca*; *saṃkhyāvyayam ādi yasya* (*bv.* with int. *dv.*), *tasmāt*/

(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1 *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samāsāntāḥ* #68, *ac* #75)
aṅgulīśabdāntasya tatpuruṣasya saṃkhyāder avyayādeś cāc pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *aC* occurs after a *tatpuruṣa* compound which contains *aṅguli* 'finger', used in combination after a *saṃkhyā* 'number' or *avyaya* 'indeclinable'.

EXAMPLES:

dve aṅgulī pramāṇam asya = dvyaṅgulam 'that which has its measure equal to the width of two (index and middle) fingers joined together'
tryaṅgulam 'that which has its measure equal to the width of three fingers'
nirgato aṅgulibhyaḥ = niraṅgulam 'that which has fallen off the fingers'
atyaṅgulam 'that which is too big for fingers'

1. Note that *dvyaṅgulam* is a *tatpuruṣa* compound formed in view of 2.1.51 *taddhitārthottarapada . . .*, parallel to *dve aṅgulī pramāṇam asya* 'that whose measure is two finger-widths'. Affix *mātraC* of 5.3.37 *pramāṇe dvyayasaj . . .* is deleted by a *vārttika* (*pramāṇe lodvigor nityam*; 6.2.12 *dvigau pramāṇe*). Our next examples, i.e., *niraṅgulam* and *atyaṅgulam*, are *prādisamāsa* (2.2.18 *kugatiprādayaḥ*), formed with the denotation of 'going beyond, excelling, etc. (*vt.*: *nirādayaḥ krāntādyarthe pañcamyā*; 1.4.79 *jīvikopaniṣadāv . . .*).

This provision of *aC* will be blocked in *bahuvrīhi* compounds such as *pañcāṅguliḥ puruṣaḥ = pañca aṅgulyaḥ yasya* 'a man who has but five fingers' and *atyaṅguliḥ puruṣaḥ = atigatāḥ aṅgulyaḥ yasya* 'a man who has but no fingers'. Incidentally, the *anuvṛtti* of *tatpuruṣasya* is valid through 5.4.106 *dvandvāc cudaṣahāntāt samāhāre*).

5.4.87 अहस्सर्वैकदेशसंख्यातपुण्याच्च रात्रेः

ahassarvaikadeśasaṃkhyātapuṇyāc ca rātreḥ
/ahas-sarvaikadeśa-saṃkhyāta-puṇyāt 5/1 (*sam. dv.*); *ca* ϕ *rātreḥ* 5/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1 *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samāsāntāḥ* #68, *ac* #75, *tatpuruṣasya saṃkhyāvyayādeḥ* #86)
aharādibhyaḥ paro yo rātriśabdas tadantasya tatpuruṣasyāc pratyayo bhavati cakārāt saṃkhyāder avyayādeś ca
The *taddhita* affix *aC* occurs after a *tatpuruṣa* compound which contains *rātri* 'night', used in combination after *ahar* 'day', *sarva* 'all', *ekadeśa* 'part of a whole', *saṃkhyāta* 'counted, numbered' and *puṇya* 'merit, auspicious', in addition to *saṃkhyā* 'number' and *avyaya* 'indeclinable'.

EXAMPLES:

ahorātraḥ 'day and night'
sarvarātraḥ 'all night'

pūrvarātraḥ 'in an earlier part of night'
apararātraḥ 'in a latter part of night'
saṃkhyātarātraḥ 'a night which has been counted'
puṇyarātraḥ 'an auspicious night'
dvirātraḥ 'a set of two nights'
atirātraḥ 'one who has gone through nights'

1. Note that *ahar* is used with *rātreḥ* to indicate a *dvandva* compound in *ahorātraḥ* 'day and night' (*Mbh.*: *ahar grahaṇaṃ dvandvārtham*). A *tatpuruṣa*, i.e., *karmadhāraya*, interpretation is impossible, especially since it cannot denote the principal meaning (*PM* ad *Kāś.*: *na tu tatpuruṣārtham; mukhyārthavṛttayos tatpuruṣāsambhavāt*). Thus, a *dvandva* interpretation is desired. The use of the word *rātra*, ending in a *samāsānta* affix, in the wording of rule 2.4.28 *hemantaśiśirāv ahorātre* . . ., serves as an indicator (*jñāpaka*; *Nyāsa* ad *Kāś.*: *atra ca jñāpakam-'hemantaśiśirāv ahorātre ca cchandasi' iti dvandve samāsāntasya rātriśabdasya nipātanam*). The masculine of the classical usage *ahorātraḥ* is valid in view of 2.4.29 *rātrāhnāhāḥ puṃsi*.

2. The compound *ahorātra* derives parallel to *ahaś ca rātriś ca*, where the *n* of *ahanrātri* goes through a replacement in *r* (*vt.*: *ahno ruvidhau* . . . ad 8.2.68 *ahan*). This *r* will be further replaced with *u* (6.1.114 *haśi ca*). An application of 6.1.87 *ād guṇaḥ* will finally produce *aha*(*n*→*r*→*u*) + *rātri* = *ah*(*a*+*u*→*o*) = *rātri* = *ahorātri*. Affix *aC* will now be introduced after *ahorātri*, where *i* of *rātri* gets deleted before *a*. Rule 2.4.29 *rātrāhnāhāḥ puṃsi* will then approve its usage in masculine. The compound *sarvarātra* is formed by 2.1.49 *pūrvakālaikasarva* . . ., parallel to *sarvāś ca tā rātrayaḥ*. The rest of the operations offer nothing new. Our compounds *pūrvarātra* and *apararātra* are formed by 2.2.1 *pūrvāparādharottaram*. . . . The *saṃkhyāta* compound, i.e., *saṃkhyātarātraḥ* is formed by 2.1.57 *viśeṣaṇaṃ viśeṣyena*. . . . Examples such as *dvirātraḥ* and *trirātraḥ* are *samāhāra-dvigu* compounds formed by 2.1.51 *taddhitārthottarapada*. . . . The examples of *avyaya*, i.e., *atirātra* and *nirātra*, are *prādi* compounds parallel to *atikrāntaḥ rātrim* and *nirgataḥ rātryāḥ*. Note that the *r* of *nir* + *rātra* will be deleted by 8.3.13 *ro ri*. The short *i* of *ni* will then be replaced with *ī* of 6.3.111 *ḍhralope pūrvasya*. . . . Also refer to the derivation of *dvirātraḥ* and *trirātraḥ*, in the appendix of vol. III, under rule 2.4.29 *rātrāhnāhāḥ puṃsi*.

5.4.88 **अह्नोऽह्न एतेभ्यः**

ahno'hn etebhyaḥ
/*ahnaḥ* 6/1 *ahnaḥ* 1/1 *etebhyaḥ* 5/3
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1 *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samāsāntāḥ* #68, *ac* #75, *tatpuruṣasya saṃkhyāvyayādeḥ* #86)
'rājāhaḥsakhibhyaṣ ṭac' ity vakṣyati tasmin parabhūte ahann ity etasya 'ahna' ity ayam ādeśo bhavati etebhya uttarasya

The form *ahan* is replaced with *ahna*, when it is used in combination in a *tatpuruṣa* compound after *sarva, ekadeśa, saṃkhyāta* and a constitutent which denotes *saṃkhyā*, or is termed an *avyaya* 'indeclinable', provided *ṭaC* follows.

EXAMPLES:

dvayor ahnor bhavaḥ = dvyahnaḥ 'that which will take two days to complete'
tryahnaḥ 'that which will take three days to complete'
ahar atikrāntaḥ = atyahṇaḥ 'more than a day'
sarvāhṇaḥ 'whole day'
pūrvāhṇaḥ 'first part of a day'
saṃkhyātāhnaḥ 'a day which have been counted'

1. Note that the pronominal *etebhyaḥ* 'after these' refers to the preceding constituents of a *tatpuruṣa* compound specified by *saṃkhyāvyayādedh* of rule 5.4.86 *tatpuruṣasyāṅguleḥ*. . . . These will, of course, be accepted as preceding constituents. However, *ahaḥ* cannot be accepted as such since it is impossible to get *ahaḥ*, used in combination after *ahaḥ*. Recall that *puṇya* is also read in the wording of rule 5.4.87 *ahaḥsarvaikadeśa*. . . . A negation relative to *puṇya* will be stated in 5.4.90 *uttamaikābhyāṃ ca*.

Commentators explain that this negation applies when affix *ṬaC* of 5.4.91 *rājāhassakhibhyaṣ ṭac* follows. The *Mahābhāṣya* would prefer the wording of this *sūtra* as *ahna etebhyaḥ*. This rephrased rule will also carry the *anuvṛtti* of *aC*. Consequently, affix *aC* will be introduced, as an exception to *ṬaC*, after *ahna* of a *tatpuruṣa* compound as specified. How do we get *ahna* from *ahan*? It is stated that 6.4.134 *allopo anaḥ* will delete *a* of *an* in *ahan* to yield. . . . *ah*(*a*→ϕ) *n* + *a*(*C*→ϕ) = *ahna*. The *ṭi*-deletion of *an* of *ahan* will, of course, be blocked by 6.4.145 *ahnaṣ ṭakhor eva*. Deriving the derivates of this rule with *aC* will not create any problem, since derivates ending in *rātri* and *ahan* do not go for feminine affixes. That is, affixal provision of *aC* and *ṬaC* is not consequential for them. Changing the wording of this rule will not require replacement. It will also not assume *ṭaC* the affix since *aC* will be easily available through *anuvṛtti*.

The compounds *dvyahnaḥ* and *tryahnaḥ* are formed parallel to *dvayoḥ ahnoḥ bhavaḥ* and *triṣu ahassu bhavaḥ* in consonance with 2.1.51 *taddhitārthottarapada*. . . . The *taddhita* affix *aṆ*, denoting the sense of 4.3.53 *tatra bhavaḥ*, is deleted by 4.1.88 *dvigor lug anapatye*. Our present rule introduces *ahna* as a replacement for *ahan* and 5.4.91 *rājāhassakhibhyaṣ ṭac* introduces *ṬaC*. One can derive *dvi* + *ahna* + *a* = *dvyahna* and *tri* + *ahna* + *a* = *tryahna*, through applications of 6.1.77 *iko yaṇ aci* and 6.4.148 *yasyeti ca*. One can similarly derive other examples. The derivation of *pūrvāhṇa*, etc., will require a replacement in *ṇ* for the *n* of *ahna* (*ṇatva*; 8.4.7 *ahno'adantāt*). The compounds, of course, will be formed in view of 2.2.1 *pūrvāparādharottara*. . . .

5.4.89 **न संख्यादेः समाहारेः**

na saṃkhyādeḥ samāhāre
/ na ϕ saṃkhyādeḥ 5/1 *samāhāre* 7/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1 *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samāsāntāḥ* #68, *tatpuruṣasya* #86, *ahno' hnaḥ* #88)
saṃkhyādes tatpuruṣasya samāhāre vartamānasyāhaḥśabdasyāhnādeśo na bhavati
The *ahan* of a *tatpuruṣa* compound which begins with a *saṃkhyā* is not replaced with *ahna* when the compound is formed with the signification of *samāhāra* 'collection, grouping'.

EXAMPLES:

dvyahaḥ 'two days'
tryahaḥ 'three days'

1. The replacement provision of the preceding rule is negated (*pratiṣidhyate*). Thus, we get *dvyahaḥ* and *tryahaḥ* as opposed to *dvyahnaḥ* and *tryahnaḥ*, where the examples of this rule go through *ṭi*-deletion. The replacement in *ahna* is, of course, blocked. The condition of *samāhāre* is imposed to block this negation from applying in examples such as *dvyahnaḥ* and *tryahnaḥ* where affix *aṆ* is introduced to denote *tatra bhavaḥ* (4.3.53). The compounds are formed in view of *taddhitārtha* of 2.1.51 *taddhitārthottarapada*. . . . Affix *aṆ* is subsequently deleted by 4.1.88 *dvigor lug anapatye*.

5.4.90 **उत्तमैकाभ्यां च**

uttamaikābhyām ca
/ uttamaikābhyām 5/2 (*itar. dv.*); *ca ϕ*/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1 *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samāsāntāḥ* #68, *tatpuruṣasya* #86, *ahno' hnaḥ* #88)
uttamaikaśabdābhyām ca parasyāhna ity ayam ādeśo na bhavati
The *ahan* of a *tatpuruṣa* compound which occurs in combination after *uttama* 'the last, i.e., *puṇya* and *eka* 'one', is also not replaced with *ahna*.

EXAMPLES:

puṇyam ahaḥ = puṇyāhaḥ 'an auspicious day'
ekāhaḥ 'one day'

1. The word *uttama*, used with the signification of 'last', here refers to *puṇya* of 4.1.87 *ahassarvaikadeśasaṃkhyātapuṇyāc ca*. Why did Pāṇini not use *puṇya* itself. He used *uttama*, instead, for variety (*vaicitryārtha*). Some accept *uttama* as denoting *upottama* 'penultimate'. This way, the negation also applies in the context of *saṃkhyāta*. Thus, it also covers *saṃkhyātāhaḥ*.

5.4.91 राजाहस्सखिभ्यष्टच्

rājāhas sakhibhyaṣ ṭac
/rājāhaḥ 5/3 = *rājā ca ahaś ca sakhā ca* (*itar. dv.*), *tebhyaḥ*; *ṭac* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1 *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samāsāntāḥ* #68, *tatpuruṣasya* #86)
'rājan, ahan, sakhi' ity evamantāt prātipadikāṭ ṭac pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *ṬaC* occurs after *rājan* 'king', *ahan* 'day' and *sakhi* 'companion' used in combination as final constituents of a *tatpuruṣa* compound.

EXAMPLES:

mahārājaḥ 'a great king'
madrarājaḥ 'the king of Madra'
rājasakhaḥ 'king's friend'
brāhmaṇasakhaḥ 'friend of a brāhmaṇa'

1. How come we do not get *ṬaC* after *madrāṇāṃ rājñī* = *madrarājñī* 'queen of the Madras'. For, a specification by *rājā* may also include a reference to *rājñī* in view of *paribhāṣā* (72): *prātipadikagrahaṇe liṅgaviśiṣṭasyāpi grahaṇam.* Notice that the nominal stem in *rājāhassakhibhyaḥ* is an *itaretaradvandva* paraphrased as: *rājā ca ahaś ca sakhā ca.* A *vārttika,* ad 2.2.34 *alpāc taram* (*vt.*: *laghvakṣaraṃ pūrvam*), would have required *rājan* to be placed as last, preceded by *ahaḥ* after *sakhi.* But Pāṇini, with an intent to realize a more economical form, especially via *savarṇadīrgha* 'homogeneous long vowel replacement' of *a* of *rājan* and *a* of *ahan,* chose to place *rājan* first. This single long vowel replacement then becomes an indicator (*jñāpaka*). This rule refers to only that form of *rājan* whose *a* goes through *savarṇadīrgha.* Any reference to *rājñī* is thus ruled out.

The *C* as *it* in *ṬaC* is required for *udātta* accent at the end (*antodātta*). For otherwise, the affixal accent, because of the *samāsānta* affix forming part of the compound, could be blocked by the original accent of the indeclinable (*avyayapūrvaprakṛtisvara*), similarly to *pradhuraḥ* and *vidhuraḥ* (*PM* ad *Kāś.*: *ṭacaś citkaraṇam antodāttārtham; anyathā pratyayasya samāsaikadeśatvād vidhuraḥ, pradhura ityādāv iva pratyayasvaro' vyayapūrvaprakṛtisvareṇa bādhyeta*).

5.4.92 गोरतद्धितलुकि

gor ataddhitaluki
/goḥ 5/1 *ataddhitaluki* 7/1 = *taddhitasya luk* (*ṣaṣ. tat.*); *na taddhitaluk.* (*nañ. tat.*), *tasmin/*
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1 *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samāsāntāḥ* #68, *tatpuruṣasya* #86, *ṭac* #91)
gośabdāntāt tatpuruṣāṭ ṭac pratyayo bhavati sa cet tatpuruṣas taddhitalugviṣayo na bhavati

The *taddhita* affix *ṬaC* occurs after *go* 'cow', used in combination as final constituent of a *tatpuruṣa* compound, provided it does not come within the scope of deletion by *LUK*.

EXAMPLES:

paramagavaḥ 'a great bull'
uttamagavaḥ 'excellent bull'
pañcagavam 'a group of five cows'
daśagavam 'a group of ten cows'

1. Our first two examples constitute *karmadhāraya-tatpuruṣa* compounds paraphrased as: *paramaś cāsau gauḥ* and *uttamaś cāsau gauḥ*, respectively. The *o* of *go* is replaced with *av* (6.1.78 *eco'yavāyāvaḥ*), before *a* of *ṬaC*, to yield *paramagava* and *uttamagava*. The last two are examples of *samāhāradvandva*, formed in view of 2.1.51 *taddhitārthottapada*. . . .

The condition of *ataddhitaluki* blocks *ṬaC* in *pañcaguḥ* 'purchased for five cows' and *daśaguḥ* 'purchased for ten cows', where the *taddhita* affix *ṭhaK* is introduced in view of 5.1.37 *tena krītam*. This affix is subsequently deleted by 5.1.28 *adhyardhapūrva*. . . .

The word *taddhita*, in *ataddhitaluki*, is used so that *ṬaC* cannot be blocked in the context of *sUP*-deletion. Consider *rājagavam icchati* = *rājagavīyati*, where *rājagava* is a genitive *tatpuruṣa* compound paraphrased as *rājñaḥ gauḥ*. Affix *KyaC* of 3.1.8 *supa ātmanaḥ kyac* is then introduced after *rājagava* + *am*, and the resultant form *rājagava* + *am* + *ya* is termed a *dhātu* (3.1.32 *sanādyantā dhātavaḥ*). The negation of *ataddhitaluki* does not apply here since what is deleted is a *sUP*.

Finally, *LUK* is used in *ataddhitaluki* to block this negation within the right context of a *taddhita* affix. Thus, *pañcagavarūpyam* and *daśagavarūpyam* (4.3.81 *hetumanuṣyebhyo* . . .), etc., will not come under the scope of this negation since the *taddhita* affix *rūpya* does not go through deletion.

5.4.93 **अग्राख्यायामुरसः**

agrākhyāyām urasaḥ
/ *agrākhyāyām* 7/1 = *agrasya ākhyā* (*ṣaṣ. tat.*), *tasyām*; *urasaḥ* 5/1/ (*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1 *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samāsāntāḥ* #68, *tatpuruṣasya* #86, *ṭac* #91)
uraḥśabdāntāt tatpuruṣāṭ ṭac pratyayo bhavati sa ced uraḥśabdo'grākhyāyāṃ bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *ṬaC* occurs after *uras* 'chest' used in combination as final of a *tatpuruṣa* compound, provided *uras* is used with the signification of *agra* 'principal, best'.

EXAMPLES:

aśvānām uraḥ = *aśvorasam* 'best of horses'

rathorasam 'best of chariots'

1. Note that *devadattoraḥ* 'Devadatta's chest', parallel to *devadattasya uraḥ*, cannot qualify for *ṬaC* since *uras* is not used here with the denotation of *agra*. The locative in *agrākhyāyām* is used in the sense of *pañcamī* 'ablative'. This is how the ablative of *urasaḥ* can form syntactic coordination (*sāmānādhikaraṇya*) with it. *Kāśikā* indicates this syntactic coordination by using *ced uraḥśabdo' grākhyāyāṃ bhavati.*

5.4.94 अनोऽस्मायस्सरसां जातिसंज्ञयोः

ano' smāyassarasāṃ jātisaṃjñayoḥ
/ ano' smāyassarasām 6/3 (*itar. dv.*) *jātisaṃjñayoḥ* 7/2 (*itar. dv.*) /
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1 *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samāsāntāḥ* #68, *tatpuruṣasya* #86, *ṭac* #91)
'*anas, aśman, ayas, saras' ity evamantāt tatpuruṣāṭ ṭac pratyayo bhavati jātau saṃjñāyāṃ ca viṣaye*
The *taddhita* affix *ṬaC* occurs after *anas* 'chariot, cart', *aśman* 'rock, stone', *ayas* 'iron' and *saras* 'pond', used in combination as final constituents of a *tatpuruṣa* compound, provided derivates share the scope of *āti* 'class' and *saṃjñā* 'name'.

EXAMPLES:

upānasam 'space in chariot'
mahānasam 'a big chariot; kitchen'
amṛtāśmaḥ 'precious stone'
piṇḍāśmaḥ 'rock-ball'
kālāyasamaḥ 'iron'
lohitāyasam 'copper'
maṇḍūkasarasam 'a pond full of frogs'
jalasarasam 'water-reservoir'

1. The preceding examples illustrate *jāti* and *saṃjñā* as denotatum in each set, respectively. The condition of *jātisaṃjñayoḥ* blocks *ṬaC* in *karmadhāraya* compounds such as *sadanaḥ* 'good chariot', *sadaśmāḥ* 'good rock' and *satsaraḥ* 'good pond', since they do not denote *jāti* or *saṃjñā*.

2. Our first example *upānasam* denotes *jāti* and is a *prādi-samāsa* (2.2.19 *kugatiprādayaḥ*) derived from *upa + su anas + sU = upānas + ṬaC + sU = upānasam*. The next *mahānasam*, a *karmadhāraya* parallel to *mahac ca tad anaḥ*, will be formed with 2.1.60 *sanmahat. . .* . The next two, i.e., *amṛtāśma* and *piṇḍāśma*, are formed in view of 2.1.56 *viśeṣaṇaṃ viśeṣyeṇa . . .* with *saṃjñā* 'name' as their denotatum. The last two, *maṇḍūkasarasam* and *jalasarasam*, are examples of genitive *tatpuruṣa* compounds. Incidentally, recall that a derivate of *ṬaC* involves *ṭi*-deletion.

5.4.95 **ग्रामकौटाभ्यां च तक्ष्णः**

grāmakauṭābhyām ca takṣṇaḥ
/grāmakauṭābhyām 5/2 (*itar. dv.*), *tābhyām*; *ca* ϕ *takṣṇaḥ* 5/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1 *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samāsāntāḥ* #68, *tatpuruṣasya* #86, *ṭac* #91)
grāmakauṭābhyāṃ paro yas takṣanśabdas tadantāt tatpuruṣāṭ ṭac pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *ṬaC* occurs after *takṣan*, used in a *tatpuruṣa* compound after *grāma* 'village' and *kauṭa* 'carpenter'.

EXAMPLES:

grāmatakṣaḥ 'a village carpenter; one of many'
kauṭatakṣaḥ 'a carpenter (who works at home) in his hut; independent carpenter'

1. A compound such as *rājatakṣa* 'king's carpenter' will be blocked from receiving *ṬaC* since *takṣan* is not combined with *grāma* or *kauṭa*. Derivates of this rule will go through *ṭi*-deletion of *an* (6.4.144 *nas taddhite*).

5.4.96 **अतेः शुनः**

ateḥ śunaḥ
/ateḥ 5/1 *śunaḥ* 5/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1 *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samāsāntāḥ* #68, *tatpuruṣasya* #86, *ṭac* #91)
atiśabdāt paro yaḥ śvanśabdaḥ tadantāt tatpuruṣāṭ ṭac pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *ṬaC* occurs after *śvan* 'dog', used in a *tatpuruṣa* compound after *ati*.

EXAMPLES:

atikrāntaḥ śvānam = atiśvo varāhaḥ 'a hog which can run faster than a dog'
atiśvaḥ sevakaḥ 'a servant who serves his master better than his dog'
atiśvī sevā 'extremely bad service'

1. The examples are all *prādisamāsa* (2.2.18 *kugatiprādayaḥ*). Affix *ṬaC* as usual involves *ṭi*-deletion. The last example is a derivate of *ṄīP* as per 4.1.5 *ṭiḍḍhāṇañ*. . . .

5.4.97 **उपमानादप्राणिषु**

upamānād aprāṇiṣu
/upamānāt 5/1 *aprāṇiṣu* 7/3 (*nañ. tat.*), *teṣu*/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1 *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samāsāntāḥ* #68, *tatpuruṣasya* #86, *ṭac* #91, *śunaḥ* #96)

upamānavācī yaḥ śvanśabdo'prāṇiṣu vartate tadantāt tatpuruṣāṭ ṭac pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *ṬaC* occurs after *śvan* 'dog', provided the same serves as an *upamāna* 'object of comparison' with the signification of something other than a *prāṇin* 'sentient being' (*aprāṇiṣu*) and is used as final constituent of a *tatpuruṣa* compound.

EXAMPLES:

ākarṣaḥ śvā iva = ākarṣaśvaḥ 'a magnet with its shape like a dog'
phalakaśvaḥ 'dog-shaped dice'

1. The example compounds are formed in view of 2.1.55 *upamitaṃ vyāghrādibhiḥ*. Compounds such as *aśvā* 'non-dog; lump of clay' *vānaraśva* 'dog-like monkey' cannot receive *ṬaC* since *śvan* does not serve as an *upamāna* in the first, and *vānara* in the second is sentient (*prāṇin*).

5.4.98 उत्तरमृगपूर्वाच्च सक्थः

uttaramṛgapūrvāc ca sakthnaḥ
/uttaramṛgapūrvāt 5/1 (*saḍ dv.*), *tasmāt*; *ca* ϕ *sakthnaḥ* 5/1
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1 *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samāsāntāḥ* #68, *tatpuruṣasya* #86, *ṭac* #91, *upamānāt* #97)
'uttara-mṛga-pūrva' ity etebhyaḥ paro yaḥ sakthiśabdaś cakārād upamānaṃ ca tadantāt tatpuruṣāt ṭac pratyayo bhavati samāsāntaḥ
The *taddhita* affix *ṬaC* occurs after a *tatpuruṣa* compound which contains *sakthi* 'thigh', or a stem serving as an *upamāna*, as its final constituent used in combination after *uttara* 'left, upper', *mṛga* 'animal, deer' and *pūrva* 'right, anterior'.

EXAMPLES:

uttarasaktham 'upper (or left) thigh'
mṛgasaktham 'thigh of an animal (or of a deer)'
pūrvasaktham 'lower (or right) thigh'
phalakasaktham 'flat thigh'

1. A compound such as *uttarasaktham* can be formed in view of 2.2.1 *pūrvāparādharottaram*. . . . It can also be interpreted as a *karmadhāraya-tatpuruṣa* formed in view of 2.1.56 *viśeṣaṇaṃ viśeṣyeṇa*. . . . This same is also true of *pūrvasaktham*. The second example, *mṛgasaktham*, is a genitive *tatpuruṣa* compound. The deletion of *i* before *ṬaC* of *uttarasakthi* is accomplished by 6.4.148 *yasyeti ca*. The last, *phalakasaktham*, is an example which involves an *upamāna*, and is thus formed in view of 2.1.55 *upamitaṃ vyāghrādibhiḥ*. . . .

5.4.99 नावो द्विगोः

nāvo dvigoḥ

nāvo 5/1 *dvigoḥ* 5/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1 *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samāsāntāḥ* #68, *tatpuruṣasya* #86, *ṭac* #91)
nauśabdāntād dvigoṣ ṭac pratyayo bhavati samāsāntam
The *taddhita* affix *ṬaC* occurs after *nau* 'boat', used as final constituent of a compound termed *dvigu*.

EXAMPLES:

dvināvam 'two boats'
trināvam 'three boats'
dvināvadhanaḥ 'he who has two boats as his wealth'
pañcanāvapriyaḥ 'he to whom five boats are dear'
dvināvarūpyam 'arrived by means of two boats'
dvināvamayam 'id.'

1. The first two compounds illustrate *samāhāra-dvigu*, formed in view of 2.1.51 *taddhitārthottarapada . . .*, parallel to *dve nāvau samāhṛte*. The last two are *bahuvrīhi* compounds with internal *samāhāra-dvigu* of the first two constituents. Our last two examples involve introduction of affixes *rūpya* (4.3.81 *hetumanuṣyebhyo . . .*) and *mayaṬ* (4.3.82 *mayaṭ ca*) after similar *dvigu* compounds, to yield *bahuvrīhi* compounds parallel to *dvābhyāṃ naubhyām āgatam* 'arrived by two boats'.

The condition of *dvigu* blocks *ṬaC* in *rājanauḥ* 'king's boat', a genitive *tatpuruṣa* compound. Note that the condition of *ataddhitaluki* is also valid here. Consequently, *ṬaC* cannot be introduced after *pañcanau* and *daśanau*, where affix *ṭhaK* is introduced with the denotation of 5.1.37 *tena krītam*. This *ṭhaK* is subsequently deleted by *LUK* in view of 5.1.28 *adhyardhapūrvadvigor. . . .*

5.4.100 अर्द्धाच्च

arddhāc ca
/arddhāt 5/1 *ca* ϕ/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1 *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samāsāntāḥ* #68, *tatpuruṣasya* #86, *ṭac* #91, *nāvaḥ* #99)
arddhaśabdāt paro yo nauśabdas tadantāt tatpuruṣāt ṭac pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *ṬaC* also occurs after a *tatpuruṣa* compound which contains *nau* as its final constituent, used in combination after *arddha* 'half.'

EXAMPLES:

arddhanāvam 'half of a boat'

1. The compound *arddhanāva*, parallel to *arddhaṃ nāvaḥ*, is formed in view of 2.2.2 *arddhaṃ napuṃsakam*. This compound does not follow the gen-

der of its following constituent since 'gender' is based on usage (*lokāśrayatvāl liṅgasya*).

5.4.101 **खार्याः प्राचाम्**

khāryāḥ prācām
/khāryāḥ 5/1 *prācām* 7/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samāsāntāḥ* #68, *tatpuruṣasya* #86, *ṭac* #91, *dviguḥ* #99, *arddhāt ca* #100)
khāriśabdāntād dvigor arddhāc ca paro yaḥ khārīśabdas tadantāt tatpuruṣāṭ ṭac pratyayo bhavati prācām ācāryāṇāṃ matena
The *taddhita* affix *ṬaC*, according to Eastern grammarians, occurs after a *dvigu* compound which contains *khārī* as its final constituent, or after a *tatpuruṣa* compound which contains *khārī* as its final constituent used in combination after *arddha*.

EXAMPLES:

dvikhāram 'a measure of weight equal to two Khārīs'
dvikhāri 'id.'
arddhakhāram 'a measure of weight equal to one-half of a Kharī'
arddhakhārī 'id.'

1. The first two are examples of *dvigu* where *dvikhārī*, in the absence of *ṬaC* goes through shortening of its final *ī* to yield *dvikhāri* in view of 1.2.47 *hrasvo napuṃsake*. . . . The opinion of *ṬaC* will produce *dvikhāram*, where *ī* will be shortened by 1.2.47 *hrasvo napuṃsake*. . . with reference to 2.4.17 *sa napuṃsakam*. The short *i* will be subsequently deleted by 6.4.148 *yasyeti ca*. Our last two examples are genitive *tatpuruṣa* compounds paraphrased as *arddhaṃ khāryāḥ* 'half of a Khārī'. The first, i.e., *arddhakhāram*, will be derived as neuter with *ṬaC*. The compound will be formed in view of 2.2.2 *arddhaṃ napuṃsakam*. A derivate without *ṬaC*, i.e., *arddhakhārī*, will be accepted as feminine in view of 2.4.26 *paraval liṅgaṃ dvandvatatpuruṣayoḥ*. The shortening of *ī* of *khārī* cannot be accomplished since *khārī* will not be an *upasarjana*, especially in view of the *vt.*: *ekavibhaktāv aṣaṣṭhyantavacanam* (cf. 2.2.2 *arddhaṃ napuṃsakam*). Some still accept *arddhakhāri* as a neuter ending in short *i*.

5.4.102 **द्वित्रिभ्यामञ्जलेः**

dvitribhyām añjaleḥ
/dvitribhyām 5/2 *añjaleḥ* 5/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1 *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samāsāntāḥ* #68, *tatpuruṣasya* #86, *ṭac* #91, *prācām* #101)

dvitribhyāṃ paro yo'ñjaliśabdaḥ tadantāt tatpuruṣāṭ ṭac pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *ṬaC* occurs optionally after a *tatpuruṣa* compound which contains *añjali* 'a cup formed with palms and fingers of both hands' as its final constituent used in combination after *dvi* 'two' and *tri* 'three'.

EXAMPLES:

dvāv añjalī samāhṛtau = dvyañjalam 'a measure of two *añjalis*'
añjali 'cup formed by joining two palms together'
tryañjalam 'a measure of three *añjalis*'

1. Note that *ṬaC* can be introduced only when the derivate is a *samāhāra-dvigu* (2.1.51 *taddhitārthottarapada . . .*). It cannot be introduced after *dvyañjali*, a genitive *tatpuruṣa* compound, paraphrased as *dvayor añjaliḥ*. Derivates of *dvigu* with *ṬaC* will be neuter (2.4.17 *sa napuṃsakam*). The *i* of *añjali* will then be deleted by 6.4.148 *yasyeti ca*. A non-*ṬaC* derivate will not involve deletion of *i*. The condition of *ataddhitaluki* is also valid here. That is, *ataddhi-taluki* is brought here, via *anuvṛtti* commonly known as *maṇḍūkapluti* 'frog's leap'. Thus, *ṬaC* cannot be introduced in *dvyañjaliḥ*, derived, parallel to *dvābhyām añjalibhyāṃ krītaḥ*, in view of 5.1.37 *tena krītam*. For, it involves deletion of affix *ṭhaK*.

5.4.103 अनसन्तान्नपुंसकाच्छन्दसि

anasantān napuṃsakāc chandasi
/anasantāt 5/1= *an ca aś ca; anasāv ante yasya = anasantaḥ* (*bv.* with int. *dv.*), *tasmāt/*
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1 *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samāsāntāḥ* #68, *tatpuruṣasya* #86, *ṭac* #91)
annantād, asantāc ca napuṃsakaliṃgāt tatpuruṣāṭ ṭac pratyayo bhavati chandasi viṣaye
The *taddhita* affix *ṬaC* occurs, in Vedic, after stems which end in *an* and *as*, and occur as final of a *tatpuruṣa* compound in neuter (*napuṃsaka*).

EXAMPLES:

hasticarme juhoti 'he is offering ritual oblations on elephant-hide'
ṛṣabhacarme abhiṣiñcati 'he is sprinkling on bull's hide'
devacchandaṣâṇi '. . .Vedic meter(s)'
mánuṣyacchandaṣâṇi '. . . meter(s)'

1. Note that *hasticarman*, etc., are genitive *tatpuruṣa* compounds where *ṬaC* conditions *ṭi*-deletion. A *vārttika* recommends that *ṬaC* be made optional in view of *devacchandaḥ, brahmasāma*, etc.

5.4.104 ब्रह्मणो जानपदाख्यायाम्

brahmaṇo jānapadākhyāyām

/brahmaṇaḥ 5/1 *jānapadākhyāyām* 7/1 = *jānapadasya ākhyā* (*ṣaṣ. tat.*), *tasyām/*
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1 *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samāsāntāḥ* #68, *tatpuruṣasya* #86, *ṭac* #91)
brahman-śabdāntāt tatpuruṣāṭ ṭac pratyayo bhavati samāsena ced brahmaṇo jānapadatvam ākhyāyate
The *taddhita* affix *ṬaC* occurs after *brahman*, used in combination as final constituent of a *tatpuruṣa* compound, provided derivates denote 'someone born, or something found' in a locality so named (*jānapada*)'.

EXAMPLES:

surāṣṭrabrahmaḥ 'a brāhmaṇa who is a resident of Surāṣṭra'
avantibrahmaḥ 'a brāhmaṇa who is a resident of Avanti'

1. The word *jānapadaḥ* denotes 'that which is found in a *janapada*' (*janapadeṣu bhavaḥ*; 4.3.53 *tatra bhavaḥ*). This requires that *ṬaC* be introduced after a *tatpuruṣa* compound which contains *brahman*, used in combination after a constituent denoting *janapada*. Both of these compounds are locative *tatpuruṣa* formed in view of *saptamī*, a split interpretation (*yogavibhāga*) of 2.1.40 *saptamī śauṇḍaiḥ*.

2. Commentators explain that *brahman* is used as a qualifier to the compound. But *brahman* is also intended as a qualifier to *jānapadaḥ*? How is this made possible by the single use of *brahman*? This single use of *brahman* is read twice in view of the context of this *sūtra*.

Affix *ṬaC* cannot be introduced after *devabrahman* of *devabrahmā nāradaḥ* where *deva* is not the name of a *janapada*. Incidentally, *devabrahman* can be interpreted as a genitive (*ṣaṣṭhī*), or *karmadhāraya*, *tatpuruṣa* compound.

5.4.105 कुमहद्भ्यामन्यतरस्याम्

kumahadbhyām anyatarasyām
/kumahadbhyām 5/2 = *kuś ca mahān ca* = *kumahāntau* (*itar. dv.*), *tābhyām*; *anyatarasyām* 7/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1 *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samāsāntāḥ* #68, *tatpuruṣasya* #86, *ṭac* #91, *brahmaṇaḥ* #104)
kumahadbhyām paro yo brahmā tadantāt tatpuruṣāṭ ṭac pratyayo bhavaty anyatarasyām
The *taddhita* affix *ṬaC* occurs optionally after *brahman*, the final constituent of a *tatpuruṣa* compound used after *ku* and *mahat*.

EXAMPLES:

kutsito brahmā = *kubrahmaḥ* 'a bad brāhmaṇa'
kubrahmā 'id.'
mahābrāhmaṇaḥ 'a great brāhmaṇa'

mahābrahmā 'id.'

1. The first two are examples of *prādisamāsa* (2.2.18 *kugatiprādayaḥ*). The *karmadhāraya* of the next two examples is formed in view of 2.1.61 *sanmahat-para. . . .* Examples with *ṬaC* involve *ṭi*-deletion. The *t* of *mahat* is replaced with *āT* (*ātva*; 6.3.46 *ānmahataḥ . . .*).

5.4.106 द्वन्द्वाच्चुदषहान्तात्समाहारे

dvandvāc cudaṣahāntāt samāhāre
/dvandvāt 5/1 *cudaṣahāntāt* 5/1 = *cuś ca daś ca ṣaś ca haś ca*; *cudaṣaham ante yasya = cudaṣahāntam* (*bv.* with int. *dv.*), *tasmāt*; *samāhāre* 7/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samāsāntāḥ* #68, *ṭac* #91)
dvandvāc cavargāntād dakārāntāt, ṣakārāntāt, hakārāntāc ca ṭac pratyayo bhavati sa ced dvandvaḥ samāhāre vartate
The *taddhita* affix *ṬaC* occurs after a *dvandva* compound which ends in *cU* (sounds of the *o*-series; *cavarga*), or in *d*, *ṣ*, or *h*, provided the compound is formed with the signification of *samāhāra* 'collection, group'.

EXAMPLES:

vāk ca tvak ca = vāktvacam 'speech and skin (sense of touch)'
śrīsrajam 'prosperity and garland'
iḍūrjam 'libation and energy'
vāgūrjam 'speech and energy'
samiddṛṣadam 'ritual firewood and pebble'
sampadvipadam 'prosperity and distress'
vāgvipruṣam 'speaking and drops falling from the mouth'
chattropānaham 'umbrella and shoes'
dhenugoduham 'cow and he who milks them'

1. Note that the condition of *dvandvāt* is stated to block any consideration of *tatpuruṣa*. Thus, affix *Ṭac* will be blocked from occurring after the *tatpuruṣa* compound *pañcavāk* 'five speeches', a *dvigu* formed with the signification of *samāhāra*. The condition of *cudaṣahāntāt* blocks *ṬaC* after *vāksamidh* 'speech and ritual firewood'. Finally, the condition of *samāhāra* will block this affix after the *itaretaradvandva* compound *prāvṛṭśaradau* 'rainy season and autumn'.

5.4.107 अव्ययीभावे शरत्प्रभृतिभ्यः

avyayībhāve śaratprabhṛtibhyaḥ
/avyayībhāve 7/1 *śaratprabhṛtibhyaḥ* 5/3 = *śaratprabhṛtir yesāṃ* (*bv.*), *tebhyaḥ/*

(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1 *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samāsāntāḥ* #68, *ṭac* #91)
'śarad' ity evamādibhyaḥ prātipadikebhyaṣ ṭac pratyayo bhavaty avyayībhāve
The *taddhita* affix *ṬaC* occurs after nominal stems listed in the group headed by *śarad* 'autumn', etc., when they occur as final constituents of an *avyayībhāva* compound.

EXAMPLES:

śaradaḥ samīpam = *upaśaradam* 'close to autumn'
pratiśaradam 'moving toward autumn'

1. Note that *avyayībhāve* carries till it gets canceled by *bahuvrīhau* of rule 5.4.113 *bahuvrīhau sakthyakṣṇoḥ*. . . . Why are stems which end in sounds denoted by the abbreviatory term (*pratyāhāra*) *jhaY* (cf. *Śs.* 8-12) included in the *śaradādi* group when *ṬaC* is made available to them by 5.4.11 *jhayaḥ*? The *ṬaC* of 5.4.11 *jhayaḥ* is optional. The affixal provision of *ṬaC*, after stems which end in *jhaY* and are included in the *śaradādi* group, is obligatory (*nitya*). Incidentally, stems ending in *jh* and *y* are missing from the *śaradādi* group. For, it is impossible to get an *avyayībhāva* compound which ends in *jh* and *y*.

2. The first compound is an *avyayībhāva* formed with the signification of *sāmīpya* (2.1.6 *avyayaṃ vibhaktisamīpa* . . .). The second *pratiśaradam* is formed in view of 2.1.13 *lakṣaṇenābhi* . . . with the signification of *ābhimukhya* 'facing. . . .'

5.4.108 अनश्च

anaś ca
/anaḥ 5/1 *ca* ϕ/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samāsāntāḥ* #68, *ṭac* #91, *avyayībhāve* #107)
annantād avyayībhāvāṭ ṭac pratyayo bhavati samāsāntaḥ
The *taddhita* affix *ṬaC* also occurs after a nominal stem which ends in *an*, and constitutes the final constituent of an *avyayībhāva* compound.

EXAMPLES:

uparājam 'near the king'
pratirājam 'facing the king'
adhyātman 'within the Self'

1. The *avyayībhāva* compounds of this rule are also formed by rules similar to examples of the preceding rule. The first and third denote *sāmīpya* and *vibhakti*, respectively (2.1.6 *avayyaṃ vibhaktisamīpa*. . . . The third is formed by 3.1.13 *lakṣaṇena* . . . with the signification of *ābhimukhya*. Rule 6.4.144 *nas taddhite* will approve *ṭi*-deletion.

5.4.109 नपुंसकादन्यतरस्याम्

napuṃsakād anyatarasyām
/napuṃsakāt 5/1 *anyatarasyām* 7/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1 *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samāsāntāḥ* #68, *ṭac* #91, *avyayībhāve* #107, *an* #108)
annantaṃ yan napuṃsakaṃ tadantād avyayībhāvād anyatarasyāṃ ṭac pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *ṬaC* occurs, optionally, after a neuter nominal stem which ends in *an* and constitutes the final constituent of an *avyayībhāva* compound.

EXAMPLES:

praticarmam 'toward the hide'
praticarma 'id.'
upacarmam 'near the hide'
upacarma 'id.'

1. Note that the obligatory (*nitya*) provision of the preceding rule is here made optional. Recall that accepting the option of *ṬaC* will involve *ṭi*-deletion.

5.4.110 नदी पौर्णमास्याग्रहायणीभ्यः

nadī paurṇamāsyāgrahāyaṇībhyaḥ
/nadī-paurṇamāsy-āgrahāyaṇībhyaḥ 5/3 (*itar. dv.*)/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1 *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samāsāntāḥ* #68, *ṭac* #91, *avyayībhāve* #107, *anyatarasyām* #109)
'nadī, paurṇamāsī, āgrahāyaṇī' ity evamantād avyayībhāvād anyatarasyāṃ ṭac pratyayo bhavati samāsāntaḥ
The *taddhita* affix *ṬaC* occurs, optionally, after an *avyayībhāva* compound which ends in *nadī*, *paurṇamāsī* and *āgrahāyaṇī*.

EXAMPLES:

nadyāḥ samīpam = *upanadam* 'near the river'
upanadi 'id.'
upapaurṇamāsam 'close to the full-moon night'
upapaurṇamāsi 'id.'
upāgrahāyaṇam 'near the full-moon day of the month of Agrahāyaṇa'
upāgrahāyaṇi 'id.'

1. Note that the final *ī* of these compounds is deleted before *ṬaC* by 6.4.148 *yasyeti ca*. It is replaced with its short counterpart in view of 1.2.47 *hrasvo napuṃsake*. . . . That is, when the option of *ṬaC* is not accepted.

5.4.111 **झयः**

jhayaḥ
/jhayaḥ 5/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1 *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samāsāntāḥ* #68, *ṭac* #91, *avyayībhāve* #107, *anyatarasyām* #109)
jhayantād avyayībhāvād anyatarasyāṃ ṭac pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *ṬaC* occurs, optionally, after an *avyayībhāva* compound which ends in a sound denoted by the abbreviatory term *jhaY* (*Śs.* 8-12).

EXAMPLES:

upasamidham 'near the ritual firewood'
upasamit 'id.'
upadṛṣadam 'near the stone'
upadṛṣat 'id.'

1. Note that *jhaY* is a *pratyāhāra* 'abbreviatory term'. It denotes sound enumerated as items on the list by *Śivasūtras* (8-12): *jhabhaÑ-kapaY*. Also refer to my notes under 5.4.107 *avyayībhāve*. . . .

2. Our first example *upasamidham* can be derived from (*upasamidh* + *ṬaC*) + *sU* = (*upasamidh* + *a*) + (*sU*→*am*)) = *upasamidha* + *am* = *upasamidh* (*a* + *a*→*a*) *m* = *upasamidham*. A derivate with no *ṬaC* will be derived as *upasamit* where *sU* will be deleted. The final *dh* will be replaced with *t* (*cartva*; 8.4.55 *khari ca*) via *d* (*jaśtva*; 8.3.39 *jhalāṃ jaśo'nte*).

5.4.112 **गिरेश्च सेनकस्य**

gireś ca senakasya
/gireḥ 5/1 *caɸ senakasya* 6/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samāsāntāḥ* #68, *ṭac* #91, *avyayībhāve* #107, *anyatarasyām* #109)
giriśabdāntād avyayībhāvaṭ ṭac pratyayo bhavati senakācāryasya matena
The *taddhita* affix *ṬaC* also occurs optionally, in the opinion of Senaka, after an *avyayībhāva* compound which ends in *giri* 'mountain'.

EXAMPLES:

antargiram 'inside a mountain'
antargiri 'id.'
upagiram 'near a mountain'
upagiri 'id.'

1. Note that *senakasya* is used for denoting respect (*pūjā*). Affix *ṬaC* is here made optionally by carrying *anyatarasyām*. These *avyayībhāva* compounds are formed in the sense of *vibhakti*. Other derivational details remain similar to those of the last rule.

5.4.113 बहुव्रीहौ सक्थ्यक्ष्णोः स्वाङ्गात्षच्

bahuvrīhau sakthyakṣṇoḥ svāṅgāt ṣac
/ bahuvrīhau 7/1 *sakthyakṣṇoḥ* 6/2 (*itar. dv.*); *svāṅgāt* 5/1 *ṣac* 1/1/ (*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1 *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samāsāntāḥ* #68)
svāṅgavācī yaḥ sakthiśabdo'kṣiśabdaś ca tadantāt bahuvṛīheḥ ṣac pratyayo bhavati samāsāntaḥ
The *taddhita* affix *ṢaC* occurs after a *bahuvrīhi* compound which ends in *sakthi* 'thigh', or in *akṣi* 'eye', used with the signification of 'one's own limb' (*svāṅga*).

EXAMPLES:

dīrghaṃ sakthi yasya = dīrghasakthaḥ 'one whose thighs are long'
viśālākṣaḥ 'one whose eyes are large'

1. Note that *bahuvrīhau* is specified in locative (*saptamī*). It should have been used either in *pañcamī* 'ablative', or in *ṣaṣṭhī* 'genitive', similar to *tatpuruṣasya* of 5.4.86 *tatpuruṣasyāṅguleḥ*. The word *sakthyakṣṇoḥ* can be interpreted as a genitive, or locative, dual. How could a modifier (*viśeṣaṇa*) qualify a modified (*viśeṣya*) which differs with it in *vibhakti* 'nominal ending' and *vacana* 'number'? The word *svāṅgāt* is used in ablative (*pañcamī*). It cannot qualify *sakthyakṣṇoḥ* since syntactic coordination (*sāmānādhikaraṇya*) is impaired. *Kāśikā* calls this usage of nominal endings as *duḥśliṣṭa* 'incorporated with flawed relata'. One must then switch these ending in view of desired meanings (*vibhaktiviparṇāma*).

The condition of *bahuvrīhi* is needed to block *ṬaC* after *karmadhāraya* compounds such as *paramasakthi* 'beautiful thighs' and *paramākṣi* 'beautiful eyes'. The constituency of example compounds is limited to *sakthi* and *akṣi*, so that *ṬaC* could be blocked after *bahuvrīhi* compounds such as *dīrghajānuḥ* 'one who has long thighs' and *subāhuḥ* 'one who has beautiful arms'. Finally, *skthi* and *akṣi* must denote *svāṅga*. Such a denotation is intended for blocking *ṬaC* after *bahuvrīhi* compounds such as *dīrghasakthi* of *dīrghasakthi śakaṭam* 'a cart with long shaft' and *sthūlākṣi* of *sthūlākṣir ikṣuḥ* 'sugar-cane with large eye-like protuberances'.

2. Why do we have to have *ṢaC* in the context of *ṬaC*? Affix *ṢaC* is specified so that its derivates in feminine could be distinguished from those of *ṬaC* with regard to accent (*svara*). Derivates of *ṢaC* will take affix *ṄīṢ* of 4.1.41 *ṣidgaurādibhyaś ca*. Derivates of *ṬaC*, on the other hand, will take *ṄīP* of 4.1.15 *ṭiḍḍhāṇañ*. . . . A derivate of *ṄīP* is marked *anudātta* at the end. However, a derivate of *ṢaC* is marked *udātta* (3.1.3 *ādyudāttaś ca*). But a derivate of *ṬaC* in feminine could still be *udātta* if one accepts that *C* of *ṬaC* is intended for final *udātta* (6.1.163 *citaḥ*, read with 6.1.161 *anudāttasya ca* . . .). This is untenable since rule 6.2.198 *sakthaṃ cākrāntāt* will intervene with

optional *udātta*. That is, if the optional *udātta* of 6.2.198 *sakthaṃ cakrāntāt* is not accepted, 6.1.161 *anudāttasya ca* . . . cannot apply. Consequently, such derivates of *ṄīP* will still be marked *anudātta* at the end. It is to accomplish *udātta* that *ṢaC* is introduced against *ṬaC*.

5.4.114 अङ्गुलेर्दारुणि

aṅguler dāruṇi
/aṅguleḥ 5/1 *dāruṇi* 7/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samāsāntāḥ* #68, *bahuvrīhau ṣac* #113)
aṅguliśabdāntād bahuvrīheḥ ṣac pratyayo bhavati samāsānto dāruṇi samāsārthe
The *taddhita* affix *ṢaC* occurs after a *bahuvrīhi* compound which ends in *aṅguli* 'finger', provided the derivate denotes *dāru* 'wood'.

EXAMPLES:

dvyaṅgulaṃ dāru 'a piece of wood with two finger-like prongs'
pañcāṅgulaṃ dāru 'a piece of wood with five finger-like prongs'

1. Note that *dvyaṅgulam* is interpreted as a *bahuvrīhi* compound paraphrased as *dve aṅgulī yasya* 'that which has two fingers'. The word *aṅguli* is used here in the secondary (*gauṇa*) sense of *aṅgulisadṛśāvayava* 'finger-like part'. Why can *aṅguli* not be interpreted in its primary sense of 'finger' by interpreting the compound as *dve aṅgulī pramāṇam asya dāruṇaḥ* 'a piece of wood whose measure is equal to the joint width of two fingers'. Since a compound with this paraphrase will denote the sense of 'fingers' and 'wood' as *ekārtha* 'sense of one', the compound must be formed as a *tatpuruṣa* in consonance with *taddhitārtha* (2.1.51 *taddhitārthottarapada* . . .). This will then require the introduction of affix *aC* (5.4.86 *tatpuruṣa-syāṅguleḥ*). This rule will introduce *ṢaC* only where the sense of *aṅguli* is denoted as secondary. Incidentally, the condition of *dāruṇi* is needed to block *ṢaC* where the denotatum is something other than *dāru*. Thus, consider *pañcāṅgulir hastaḥ* 'a hand with five-fingers'.

5.4.115 द्वित्रिभ्यां ष मूर्धः

dvitribhyām ṣa mūrdhnaḥ
/dvitribhyām 5/2 *ṣa* (1/1 deleted) *mūrdhnaḥ* 5/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1 *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samāsāntāḥ* #68, *bahuvrīhau* #113)
dvitribhyām paro yo mūrdhanśabdas tadantād bahuvrīheḥ ṣaḥ pratyayo bhavati samāsāntaḥ
The *taddhita* affix *Ṣa* occurs after a *bahuvrīhi* compound which ends in *mūrdhan* 'head', used in combination after *dvi* and *tri*.

EXAMPLES:

dvimūrdhaḥ 'two-headed'
trimūrdhaḥ 'three-headed'

1. Why do we have to introduce *Ṣa* when we already have *ṢaC*? Affix *Ṣa* is introduced so that optional *udātta* of 6.2.197 *dvitribhyām pāddan . . .* could be availed. A derivate of *ṢaC* will be marked *anudātta* at the end obligatorily (*nitya*). Refer to *Nyāsa* and *PM* ad *Kāś.* for additional details. These derivates both also involve *ṭi*-deletion.

5.4.116 **अप्पूरणीप्रमाण्योः**

ap pūraṇīpramāṇyoḥ
/ap 1/1 *pūraṇīpramāṇyoḥ* 6/2 (*itar. dv.*)/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1 *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samāsāntāḥ* #68, *bahuvrīhau* #113)
pūraṇyantāt pramāṇyantāc ca bahuvrīher ap pratyayo bhavati samāsāntaḥ
The *taddhita* affix *aP* occurs after a *bahuvrīhi* compound which either ends in a constituent terminating in a *pūraṇa* 'ordinal' suffix signifying feminine, or ends in *pramāṇī.*

EXAMPLES:

kalyāṇī pañcamī āsāṃ rātrīṇāṃ tāḥ = kalyāṇīpañcamā rātrayaḥ 'the nights of which the fifth is auspicious'
strīpramāṇī esāṃ = strīpramāṇāḥ kuṭumbinaḥ 'a clan whose authority is a woman'

1. A *vārttika* recommends that *aP* should be introduced after a *bahuvrīhi* compound only when the stem ending in *pūraṇī*, a form denoting an ordinal number in feminine, is principal (*pradhāna; vt.: api pradhānapūraṇīgrahaṇaṃ kartavyam*). Where does *pūraṇī* become *pradhāna*? Where the signification of *pūraṇī* enters back into the denotatum of a *bahuvrīhi.* This *pūraṇī* should be accepted even where masculine transformation is negated (*puṃvadbhāva*; 6.3.34 *striyāḥ puṃvad . . .*). Thus, consider *kalyāṇapañcamīkaḥ* of *kalyāṇī pañcamī asmin pakṣe* 'a fortnight of which the fifth (night) is auspicious' where *pañcamī* is not 'principal' because it cannot enter back into the meaning of *kalyāṇīpañcamīkaḥ* as *rātrayaḥ* does in *kalyāṇīpañcamā rātrayaḥ.* Affix *aC* cannot be introduced here.

Another *vārttika* recommends *aP* also after *netṛ* used in combination after a constituent denoting *nakṣatra* 'constellation' (*vt.: netur nakṣatre upasaṃkhyānam*). Thus, *mṛgo netā āsāṃ rātrīṇām = mṛganetrā rātrayaḥ* 'nights with moon in conjunction with the constellation Mṛgaiśiras'. Affix *aP* is recommended also, for Vedic, when *netṛ* simply occurs as a final constituent of a *bahuvrīhi* (*vt.: chandasi ca netur upasaṃkhyānam*). Thus we get: *bṛhaspatinetrā devāḥ* 'Gods who have Bṛhaspati as their leader'.

A third *vārttika* (*māsād bhṛtipratyayapūrvapadāṭ ṭhajvidhiḥ*) recommends *ṭhaC* after a *bahuvrīhi* compound which ends in *māsa* 'month', provided *māsa* is used in combination after a stem containing an affix with the signification of *bhṛti* 'wages'. Thus, *pañcakamāsikaḥ* = *pañcako māso'sya* 'a worker who receives five per month' where *pañcaka* is derived with *kaN*, parallel to *pañca asya māsasya bhṛtayaḥ* 'five are this month's wages' (5.1.56 *so'syāṃśavasnabhṛtayaḥ*.

2. Incidentally, *aP* is marked with *P* as an *it* so that final *udātta* accent in a *bahuvrīhi* could be blocked (cf. 6.2.172 *nañsubhyām*). For, in its absence, 6.2.172 *nañsubhyām* . . . would require the final *pada* of the compound to be marked *udātta*.

Deriving *kalyāṇīpañcama* from *kalyāṇīpañcamī* + *a* will involve *bha-saṃjñā* and deletion of *ī*. Affix *ṬāP* (4.1.4 *ajādyataṣ ṭāp*) will then be added to derive *kalyāṇīpañcama* + *ṬāP* = *kalyāṇīpañcam*(*a*→ϕ) + *ā* = *kalyāṇīpañcamā*. The derivation of *strīpramāṇa* offers nothing new.

5.4.117 अन्तर्बहिर्भ्यां च लोम्नः

antarbahirbhyāṃ ca lomnaḥ
/*antar-bahirbhyām* 5/2 (*itar. dv.*), *tābhyām*; *ca* ϕ *lomnaḥ* 5/1
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samāsāntāḥ* #68, *bahuvrīhau* #113, *ap* #116)
'*antar, bahis'ity etābhyāṃ paro yo lomanśabdaḥ tadantād bahuvrīher ap' pratyayo bhavati*
The *taddhita* affix *aP* also occurs after a *bahuvrīhi* compound which ends in *loman* 'hair', used in combination after *antar* 'inside' or *bahis* 'outside'.

EXAMPLES:

antarlomaḥ 'a covering with fur on its inside'
bahirlomaḥ paṭaḥ 'a covering with fur on its outside'

1. Note that, subsequent upon compound-formation, *antarloman* + *a*(*P*→ϕ) = *antarloman*(*n*→ϕ) + *a* and *bahi*(*s*→*r*) *loman* + *a* = *bahirloma*(*n*→ϕ) = *a* will both involve *ṭi*-deletion (6.4.144 *nas taddhite*). Incidentally, if *aP* was not marked with *P* as an *it*, rule 6.2.172 *nañsubhyām* would have demanded final *udātta* accent in the second constituent.

5.4.118 अञ् नासिकायाः संज्ञायां नसं चास्थूलात्

añ nāsikāyāḥ saṃjñāyāṃ nasaṃ cāsthūlāt
/*ac* 1/1 *nāsikāyāḥ* 6/1 *saṃjñāyām* 7/1 *nasam* 1/1 *ca* ϕ *asthūlāt* 5/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samāsāntāḥ* #68, *bahuvrīhau ṣac* #113)
nāsikāntād bahuvrīher ac pratyayo bhavati nāsikāśabdasya nasam ādeśam āpadyate

The *taddhita* affix *aC* occurs after a *bahuvrīhi* compound which ends in *nāsikā*, with an additional provision of *nasa* to concurrently replace *nāsikā*, provided *nāsika* is not used in combination after *sthūla* 'huge', and derivates denote a name (*saṃjñā*).

EXAMPLES:

drur iva nāsikā' sya = druṇasaḥ 'one who has a tree-like high nose'
vādhrīṇasaḥ 'one who has a nose like Vādhrī (small leather container)'
gonasaḥ 'one who has a cow-like (flat) nose'

1. Note that *asthūlāt* 'other than huge' is a qualifier to *nāsikā* 'nose'. The word *saṃjñāyām* 'when the denotation is a name' qualifies resultant derivates. Thus, *tuṅganāsikā* (*tuṅgā nāsikā asya*) 'high-nosed' will not qualify for *aC*, and the concurrent replacement as well, since it is not a name. A compound such as *sthūlanāsikaḥ* 'huge-nosed' will be similarly excluded since *nāsikā* is used after *sthūla*.

2. The *Mahābhāṣya* also desires *nas* as a replacement for *nāsikā* when it is used in combination after *khura* 'hoof' and *khara* 'donkey, mule'. Thus, we get *khuraṇaḥ* 'one who has a hoof-like nose' and *kharaṇāḥ* 'one who has a donkey-like nose'. The lengthening of the penultimate *a*, subsequent to *ṇatva* 'replacement of *n* with *ṇ*', is in consonance with 6.4.14 *atvasantasya*. . . . Note that the introduction of affix *aC* is desired only optionally. This will yield optional forms such as *khuraṇasaḥ* and *kharaṇasaḥ*. Incidentally, the *ṇatva* of *vādhrīṇasaḥ* is accomplished by 8.4.3 *pūrvapadāt saṃjñāyām agaḥ*.

The *Mahābhāṣya* also desires *nas* as a replacement for *nāsikā*, in Vedic, when *nāsikā* is used in combination after *śiti* 'black, white', *ahi* 'snake' and *arcā* 'worship'. Incidentally, given *arcānas*, the long of *ā* of *arcā* is replaced with short in view of 6.3.63 *ṇyāpoḥ saṃjñāchandasor bahulam*.

5.4.119 उपसर्गाच्च

upasargāc ca
/upasargāt 5/1 *ca* ϕ/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samāsāntāḥ* #68, *bahuvrīhau* #113, *añ nāsikāyāḥ nasaṃ cāsthūlāt* #118)
upasargāt paro yo nāsikāśabdas tadantād bahuvrīher ac pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *aC* also occurs after a *bahuvrīhi* compound which ends in *nāsikā* used in combination after a preverb (*upasarga*), with an additional provision that *nas* come in place of *nāsikā* concurrently.

EXAMPLES:

unnatā nāsikā' sya = unnasaḥ 'he who has a high nose'
praṇasaḥ 'one who has a beautiful nose'

1. Note that *n* of *nas* is replaced with *ṇ* (*ṇatva*) in view of 8.4.28 *upasargād bahulam*. Our present rule is formulated in view of derivates which do not denote *saṃjñā* 'name' (*Kāś.*: *asaṃjñārthaṃ vacanam*). Incidentally, *upasarga* here refers to particles (*nipāta*) such as *pra*, etc. It cannot be interpreted as meaning a 'preverb', since *nāsikā* does not denote an action (*kriyā*).

2. The *Mahābhāṣya* recommends *gra* as a replacement for *nāsikā* used in combination after *vi*. Of course, *aC* is also introduced. Thus, *vigraḥ* = *vigatā nāsikā asya* 'one whose nose is gone'.

5.4.120 सुप्रातसुश्वसुदिवशारिकुक्षचतुरश्रैणीपदाजपदप्रोष्ठपदाः

suprātasuśvasudivaśārikukṣacaturaśraiṇīpadājapadaproṣṭhapadāḥ
/ suprāta-suśva-sudiva-śārikukṣa-caturaśra-eṇīpada-ajapada-proṣṭhapadāḥ 1/3 (*itar. dv.*)/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samāsāntāḥ* #68, *bahuvrīhau* #113, *ac* #118)
suprātādayo bahuvrīhisamāsāḥ acpratyayāntā nipātyante
The *taddhita* affix *aC* occurs, via *nipātana*, as part of *bahuvrīhi* compounds: *suprāta*, *suśva*, *sudiva*, *śārikukṣa*, *caturaśra*, *eṇīpada*, *ajapada*, and *proṣṭhapada*.

EXAMPLES:

suprātaḥ 'one whose morning is beautiful'
suśvaḥ 'one whose tomorrow is beautiful'
sudivaḥ 'one whose day is beautiful'
śārikukṣaḥ 'one whose belly is similar to that of a Mynah bird'
caturaśraḥ 'that which has four corners'
eṇīpadaḥ 'one whose feet are like that of a doe'
ajapadaḥ 'one whose feet are like that of a goat'
proṣṭhapadaḥ 'one whose feet are like that of a cow'

1. Note that *nipātana* provides for *ṭi*-deletion in most of these examples. It provides for deletion of *i* in *caturaśri* + *aC*. The *pād* of the last three examples is replaced with *pad*, also via *nipātana*, prior to *ṭi*-deletion of *a*.

5.4.121 नञ्दुःसुभ्यो हलिसक्थ्योरन्यतरस्याम्

nañduḥsubhyo halisakthyor anyatarasyām
/ nañ-duḥ-su-bhyaḥ 5/3 (*itar. dv.*), *tebhyaḥ*; *hali-sakthyoḥ* 6/2 (*itar. dv.*), *tayoḥ*; *anyatarasyām* 7/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samāsāntāḥ* #68, *bahuvrīhau* #113, *ac* #118)
'nañ, dus, su' ity etebhyaḥ parau yau halisakthiśabdau tadantād bahuvrīher anyatarasyām ac pratyayo bhavati samāsāntaḥ

The *taddhita* affix *aC* occurs, optionally, after a *bahuvrīhi* compound which ends in *hali* 'big plow' and *sakthi* 'thigh', used in combination after *naÑ*, *dus*, and *su*.

EXAMPLES:

avidyamānā halir asya = ahalaḥ 'one who does not have a big plow'
ahaliḥ 'id.'
durhalaḥ 'one whose big plow is not good'
durhaliḥ 'id.'
suhalaḥ 'one whose big plow is good'
suhaliḥ 'id.'
avidyamānaṃ sakthy asya = asakthaḥ 'one whose thighs are extremely slender'
susakthiḥ 'id.'
dussakthaḥ 'one who has bad thighs'
dussakthiḥ 'id.'
susakthaḥ 'one whose thighs are beautiful'
susakthiḥ 'id.'

1. Note that the option of *aC* leads to the deletion of short *i* (6.4.148 *yasyeti ca*). Consequently, derivates end in *a*. Why did Pāṇini not use *hala*? This could have produced forms ending in *a* without *aC*. There is a difference of meaning involved. The word *hali* means a 'big plow' (*mahad halaḥ*). Thus, *ahalaḥ/ahaliḥ* mean 'one who does not have a big plow'. Besides, *C* as an *it* facilitates accent (6.1.163 *citaḥ*).

2. Some read *halisakthyoḥ* as *haliśaktyoḥ* where, according to Haradatta (*PM* ad *Kāś.*), *śakti* means *asthi* 'bone'.

5.4.122 नित्यमसिच् प्रजामेधयोः

nityam asic prajāmedhayoḥ
/ nityam 1/1 *asic* 1/1 *prajā-medhayoḥ* 6/2 (*itar. dv.*) /
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samāsāntāḥ* #68, *bahuvrīhau* #113, *nañduḥsubhyaḥ* #121)
'naÑ, dus, su' ity etebhyaḥ parau yau prajā-medhāśabdau tadantād bahuvrīher nityam asic pratyayo bhavati samāsāntaḥ
The *taddhita* affix *asIC* occurs obligatorily (*nityam*) after a *bahuvrīhi* compound which ends in *prajā* 'progeny' and *medhā* 'intellect', used in combination after *naÑ*, *dus* and *su*.

EXAMPLES:

avidyamānā prajā' sya = aprajāḥ 'one who does not have any offspring'
duṣprajāḥ 'one whose offsprings are bad'
suprajāḥ 'one whose offsprings are good'
avidyamānā medhā' sya = amedhāḥ 'one who lacks intelligence'

durmedhāḥ 'one whose intellect is bad'
sumedhāḥ 'one whose intellect is good'

1. The word *nitya* is used to cancel *anyatarasyām* of the earlier rule. But this could have been easily accomplished by not marking *anyatarasyām* with *svarita*. The word *nitya* is used to indicate that *asIC* also finds its scope where *prajā* and *medhā* are used in combination after other forms. Thus, consider *alpamedhasaḥ* of the following verse:

śrotriyasyeva te rājan mandakasyālpamedhasaḥ/
anuvākahatā buddhir naiṣā tatvārthadarśinī//
'O king! your intellet cannot comprehend the true meaning because it, like the intelligence of a foolish slow-wit Śrotriya, has been destroyed by cramming'

This view of *Kāśikā*, however, is against the *Mahābhāṣya*.

The *C* as an *it* in *asIC* is intended for final *udātta* (6.1.163 *citaḥ*) in *duṣprajāḥ* and *durmedhāḥ*. The final *udātta* in other examples is already available from 6.2.172 *nañsubhyām*. Deriving *aprajā* from *aprajā* + *as* will involve the application of 6.4.148 *yasyeti ca* to produce *apraj*($\bar{a}\rightarrow\phi$) + *as*(*IC*$\rightarrow\phi$) = *aprajas*. An application of 6.4.14 *atvasantasya cādhātoḥ* will replace the last short *a* of *aprajas* + *sU* with its long counterpart to produce *apraj*($a\rightarrow\bar{a}$)*s* + *s*(*U*$\rightarrow\phi$) = *aprajās* + *s*. Deletion of *sU* followed by an application of *rutva-visarga* will subsequently derive *aprajāḥ*. Other examples can be similarly derived.

5.4.123 बहुप्रजाश्छन्दसि

bahuprajāś chandasi
/bahuprajāḥ 1/1 *chandasi* 7/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samāsāntāḥ* #68, *bahuvrīhau* #113)
'*bahuprajāḥ*' *iti chandasi nipātyate*
The *taddhita* affix *asIC* occurs, in Vedic, as part of *bahuprajā* via *nipātana*.

EXAMPLES:

bahuprajā nirṛtimāviveśa (*ṛk* 1/164/32) '. . . by way of births of my own, or my offsprings, I have come many times to this earth so full of miseries'

1. The Classical Sanskrit form is *bahuprajaḥ* 'one who has many offsprings'.

5.4.124 धर्मादनिच् केवलात्

dharmād anic kevalāt
/dharmāt 5/1 *anic* 1/1 *kevalāt* 5/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samāsāntāḥ* #68, *bahuvrīhau* #113)

kevalād yo dharmaśabdas tadantād bahuvrīher anic pratyayo bhavati samāsāntaḥ
The *taddhita* affix *anIC* occurs after a *bahuvrīhi* compound which ends in *dharma* 'duty', used in combination after a single constituent (*kevalāt*).

EXAMPLES:

kalyāṇo dharmo'sya = kalyāṇadharmā 'he whose duty is gratifying'

1. Note that *kevalāt* is used as a qualifier to a *bahuvrīhi* constituent used in combination before *dharma*. That is, *kevalāt* expects *pūrvapadāt* to yield the meaning: *kevalāt pūrvapadāt* 'after a single preceding constituent'. This condition is imposed so that affix *anIC* could be blocked after a *bahuvrīhi* compound with three constituents (*tripada-bahuvrīhi*). Thus, consider *paramasvadharmaḥ* 'he for whom his own *dharma* is best' where *anIC* cannot be introduced.

2. *Kāśikā* clearly states that *dharma* must occur in a *bahuvrīhi* compound after a single *pada* 'form ending in *sUP*'. Affix *anIC* cannot be introduced if the *pada* which occurs before *dharma* results by combining two or more *padas* (*Kāś.*: *kevalāt padādyo dharmaśabdaḥ, na padasamudāyāt*). Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita subscribes to a somewhat different view. He accepts that *kevalāt* can also refer to a single *pada* which results out of combining two or more *pada* into a *karmadhāraya* compound. Thus, one can also have *paramasvadharmaḥ* where *parama* and *sva* are first combined in a *karmadhāraya* compound, i.e., *paramasva*, paraphrased as *paramaś cāsau svaś ca*. The *bahuvrīhi* compound is then formed with *paramasva* and *dharma*. This same is also true of examples such as *nivṛttidharmā, anucchittidharmā* and *sandigdhasādhyadharmā*, etc.

5.4.125 जम्भा सुहरिततृणसोमेभ्यः

jambhā suharitatṛṇasomebhyaḥ
/*jambhā* 1/1 *su-harita-tṛṇa-somebhyaḥ* 5/3 (*itar. dv.*)/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samāsāntāḥ* #68, *bahuvrīhau* #113, *anic* #124)
bahuvrīhau samāse svādibhyaḥ param 'jambhā' iti kṛtasamāsāntam uttarapadaṃ nipātyate
The *taddhita* affix *qnIC* occurs as part of a *bahuvrīhi* compound, via *nipātana*, for deriving *jambhā*, used in combination after *su, harita, tṛṇa* and *soma*.

EXAMPLES:

sujambhā 'one whose teeth are good'
haritajambhā 'one whose teeth are green (dirty)'
tṛṇajambhā 'one whose teeth are like straw (very thin)'

somajambhā 'one whose teeth are like moon (very white)'

1. The word *jambhā* also means 'food' (*abhyavahārya*). It is given here as the last constituent of a *bahuvrīhi* compound, fully derived via *nipātana*. The condition of *suharitatṛṇasomebhyaḥ* will block *anIC* in *patitajambhaḥ* 'one who eats what he should not'. This derivate will involve shortening of final *ā*, instead.

5.4.126 दक्षिणेर्मा लुब्धयोगे

dakṣiṇermā lubdhayoge
/dakṣiṇermā 1/1 *lubdhayoge* = *lubdhena yogaḥ* (*tṛ. tat.*), *tasmin/*
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samāsāntāḥ* #68, *bahuvrīhau* #113, *anic* #124)
'*dakṣiṇermā*' *ity kṛtasamāsānto nipātyate bahuvrīhau samāse lubdhayoge*
The *taddhita* affix *anIC* occurs in a *bahuvrīhi* compound namely, *dakṣiṇermā* via *nipātana*, when the derivate signifies a connection with *lubdha* 'hunter'.

EXAMPLES:

dakṣiṇam īrmam asya = *dakṣiṇermā mṛgaḥ* 'a deer with wounds (inflicted by a hunter) on its right side'

1. Affix *anIC* cannot be introduced after *dakṣiṇerma* of *dakṣiṇermaṃ śakaṭam* 'a cart with a right-hand shaft' since the condition of *lubdha* 'hunter' is not met.

5.4.127 इच् कर्मव्यतिहारे

ic karmavyatihāre
/ic 1/1 *karmavyatihāre* 7/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samāsāntāḥ* #68, *bahuvrīhau* #113)
karmavyatihāre yo bahuvrīhis tasmād ic pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *iC* occurs after a *bahuvrīhi* compound formed with the signification of *karmavyatihāra* 'reciprocal action'.

EXAMPLES:

keśeṣu keśeṣu gṛhītvā idaṃ yuddhaṃ pravṛttam = *keśākeśi* 'this fight ensued with one pulling the others hair'
kacākaci 'id.'
musalaiś ca musalaiś ca prahṛtya idaṃ yuddhaṃ pravṛttam = *musalāmusali* 'this fight ensued with one attacking the other with a club'

1. The *bahuvrīhi* of this rule is intended as one specified by 2.2.27 *tatra tenedam iti sarūpe*. The affix is included within the reference of 2.1.17 *tiṣṭhadgu*

prabhṛtīni ca. That is, forms which end in *iC* are termed *avyaya* 'indeclinable'. Consequently, nominal endings introduced after them are deleted (2.4.82 *avyayād āpsupaḥ*).

2. Note that *keśa* + *keśa* + *i*(*C*→ϕ) and *kaca* + *kaca* + *i*(*C*→ϕ) involve lengthening of the final *a* of the first *keśa* and *kaca* (6.3.135 *anyeṣāmapi dṛśyate*). Assignment of the term *bha* and deletion of final *a* of *keśākeś*(*a*→ϕ) + *i* and *kacākac*(*a*→ϕ) + *i* produces *keśākeśi* and *kacākaci.*

5.4.128 द्विदण्ड्यादिभ्यश्च

dvidaṇḍyādibhyaś ca
/dvidaṇḍyādibhyaḥ 4/3 = *dvidaṇḍi ādir yeṣām* (*bv.*), *tebhyaḥ*; *ca* ϕ/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samāsāntāḥ* #68, *bahuvrīhau* #113, *ic* #127)
dvidaṇḍyādayaḥ śabdā icpratyayāntāḥ sādhavo bhavanti
The *taddhita* affix *iC* occurs, via *nipātana,* for deriving *bahuvrīhi* compounds listed in the group headed by *dvidaṇḍi.*

EXAMPLES:

dvidaṇḍi praharati '. . . attacks with two sticks'
dvimusali praharati '. . . attacks with two clubs'

1. *Kāśikā* explains that *dvidaṇḍyādibhyaḥ* ends in *caturthī* 'dative' denoting the sense of *tādarthya* 'for the purpose of. . . .' It is not an ablative (*pañcamī*). The derivates of this rule are restricted to denote special meanings since they are given as fully derived via *nipātana.* Thus, *dvidaṇḍi* = *dvau daṇḍau asmin praharaṇe* 'a fight in which two sticks are used to attack', as in *dvidaṇḍi praharati* 'he is fighting with two sticks'. Obviously, *dvidaṇḍi* cannot be correct if used in place of *dvidaṇḍā* of *dvidaṇḍā śālā* 'a hall with two shafts'.

Note that this happens to be a section dealing with *bahuvrīhi* compounds. But there are also some *tatpuruṣa* compounds within the *dvidaṇḍyādi* group where *iC* is desired. Thus, we have *nikucyakarṇi* and *prohyapādi,* as in *nikucyakarṇi dhāvati* 'runs having ears squeezed in' and *prohyapādi hastinaṃ vāhayati* 'drives the elephant by prodding with his feet'. These compounds are both formed in view of 2.1.72 *mayūravyaṃsakādayaś ca.*

5.4.129 प्रसंभ्यां जानुनोर्ज्ञुः

prasaṃbhyāṃ jānunor jñyuḥ
/pra-sam-bhyām 5/2 (*itar. dv.*), *tābhyām*; *jānunoḥ* 6/2 *jñyuḥ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samāsāntāḥ* #68, *bahuvrīhau* #113)
'pra-sam' ity etābhyām uttarasya jānuśabdasya jñur ādeśo bhavati samāsānto bahuvrīhau

The form *jñu* comes in place of *jānu* which occurs at the end of a *bahuvrīhi* compound used in combination after *pra* and *sam.*

EXAMPLES:

prakṛṣṭe jānuny asya = prajñuḥ 'one whose knees are shapely'
saṃhate jānuny asya = saṃjñuḥ 'one whose knees are unshapely'

1. Note that *jñu* could not be accepted as an affix. It is a replacement for *jānu,* as indicated by *jānunoḥ* in genitive dual. This specification would have been made by *jānunaḥ,* an ablative singular, if *jñu* was intended as an affix.

5.4.130 ऊर्ध्वाद्विभाषा

ūrdhvād vibhāṣā
/ūrdhvāt 5/1 *vibhāṣā* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samāsāntāḥ* #68, *bahuvrīhau* #113, *jānunoḥ* #129)
ūrdhvaśabdād uttarasya jānuśabdasya vibhāṣā jñur ādeśo bhavati
The form *jñu* comes in place of *jānu,* optionally, when the latter is used at the end of a *bahuvrīhi* compound after *ūrdhva.*

EXAMPLES:

ūrdhve jānuny asya = ūrdhvajānuḥ 'one whose knees are raised'
ūrdhvajñyuḥ 'id.'

5.4.131 ऊधसोऽनङ्

ūdhaso'naṅ
/ūdhasaḥ 5/1 *anaṅ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samāsāntāḥ* #68, *bahuvrīhau* #113)
ūdhaḥśabdāntasya bahuvrīher anaṅādeśo bhavati samāsāntaḥ
The form *anaN̆* comes in place of the final of a *bahuvrīhi* compound which ends in *ūdhas.*

EXAMPLES:

kuṇḍam iva ūdho'syāḥ = kuṇḍodhnī 'a cow with a full udder'
ghaṭodhnī 'a cow with udder like a pitcher'

1. Note that *anaN̆* is a replacement (*ādeśa*). For, if it was an affix, marking it with *N̆* as an *it* would not serve any purpose. The purpose of marking *anaN̆* with *N̆* is to enable it to replace the final *s* of *ūdhas* (1.1.53 *ṇic ca*). A *vārttika* requires that *anaN̆* should be stated as a replacement for *ūdhas* in the context of feminine. That is, *anaN̆* should not be allowed to replace *ūdhas* in masculine. Refer to the appendix of 4.1.25 *bahuvrīher* . . . for derivational details of *kuṇḍodhnī.*

5.4.132 धनुषश्च

dhanuṣaś ca
/dhanuṣaḥ 5/1 *ca* ϕ/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samāsāntāḥ* #68, *bahuvrīhau* #113, *anaṅ* #131)
dhanuḥśabdāntasya bahuvrīher anaṅ ādeśo bhavati
The form *anAṄ* also comes in place of the final of a *bahuvrīhi* compound which ends in *dhanuṣ* 'bow'.

EXAMPLES:

śārṅgam dhanur asya = śārṅgadhanvā 'one who carries a bow made of horn'
gāṇḍīvadhanvā 'one who carries the Gāṇḍīva as his bow'
puṣpadhanvā 'one who carries a bow of flowers'

1. Note that 6.1.77 *iko yaṇ aci* applies after *anAṄ* is introduced. The short *a* before *n* is replaced with long (*ā*) in view of 6.4.8 *sarvanāmasthāne cāsambuddhau*. The *s* of *sU* is deleted by 6.1.68 *halṅyābbhyo. . . .* The *n* will, of course, be deleted by 8.2.7 *nalopaḥ. . . .* Thus, *śārṅgadhanu + an→śārṅgadhanvan + s(U→ϕ) = śārṅgadhanv(a→ā) n + s = śārṅgadhanvān + (s→ϕ) → śārṅgadhanvā(n→ϕ) = śārṅgadhanvā.*

5.4.133 वा संज्ञायाम्

vā saṃjñāyām
/vā ϕ *saṃjñāyām* 7/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samāsāntāḥ* #68, *bahuvrīhau* #113, *anaṅ* #131, *dhanuṣaḥ* #132)
dhanuḥśabdāntād bahuvrīher anaṅ ādeśo vā bhavati saṃjñāyāṃ viṣaye
The form *anaṄ* comes in place, only optionally, of the final of a *bahuvrīhi* compound which ends in *dhanuṣ*, provided the derivate signifies a name (*saṃjñā*).

EXAMPLES:

śatadhanuḥ 'a name; one who has one hundred bows'
śatadhanvā 'id.'
dṛḍhadhanuḥ 'a name; one whose bow is very strong'
dṛḍhadhanvā 'id.'

1. This replacement of *anAṄ* is made optional in the context of *saṃjñā* 'name'. It is interesting to note that *Kāśikā*'s examples of the preceding rule are all *saṃjñā*. In fact, examples of this rule are relatively less known as names.

5.4.134 जायाया निङ्

jāyāyā niṅ

/jāyāyāḥ 6/1 *niṅ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samāsāntāḥ* #68, *bahuvrīhau* #113)
jāyāśabdāntasya bahuvrīher niṅ ādeśo bhavati
The form *niṄ* comes in place of the final of a *bahuvrīhi* compound which ends in *jāyā* 'wife'.

EXAMPLES:

yuvatir jāyā yasya = yuvajāniḥ 'he whose wife is young'
vṛddhajāniḥ 'he (an old man) whose wife is old'

1. Note that *niṄ* replaces the final *ā* of *jāyā*. The *y* is deleted by 6.1.66 *lopo vyor*. . . . The *n* is also deleted (8.2.7 *nalopaḥ* . . .) subsequent to *puṃvadbhāva* 'masculine transformation' of 6.3.34 *striyāḥ puṃvad*. . . .

5.4.135 गन्धस्येदुत्पूतिसुसुरभिभ्यः

gandhasyed utpūtisusurabhibhyaḥ
/gandhasya 6/1 *it* 1/1 *ut-pūti-su-surabhi-bhyaḥ* 5/3 (*itar. dv.*), *tebhyaḥ/*
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samāsāntāḥ* #68, *bahuvrīhau* #113)
'ut, pūti, su, surabhi' ity etebhyaḥ parasya gandhaśabdasya ikārādeśo bhavati samāsānto bahuvrīhau samāse
The form *iT* comes in place of the final sound segment of a *bahuvrīhi* compound which ends in *gandha* 'fragrance', used in combination after *ud, pūti, su* and *surabhi*.

EXAMPLES:

udgato gandho'sya = udgandhiḥ 'that whose fragrance is on the rise'
pūtigandhiḥ 'one whose smell is bad'
sugandhiḥ 'that which smells good'
surabhigandhiḥ 'one whose frangrance is sweet smelling'

1. The *T* in *iT* is used for ease of articulation (*uccāraṇārtha*). Here again *iT*, as a *samāsānta*, replaces the final *a* of *gandha* (1.1.51 *alo'ntyasya*).

Note that *gandha* can denote both a *dravya* 'thing', i.e., 'fragrance', as well as *guṇa* 'quality', i.e., 'fragrant'. This replacement is allowed where *gandha* means *guṇa*. Thus, the replacement will not apply in case of *udgandhaḥ āpaṇikaḥ*, paraphrased as *śobhano gandho'sya* 'the trader whose fragrances are good' (cf. *vt.*: *gandhasyetve tadekāntagrahaṇam*).

5.4.136 अल्पाख्यायाम्

alpākhyāyām
/alpākhyāyām 7/1 = *alpasya ākhyā* (*ṣaṣ. tat.*), *tasyām/*

(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samāsāntāḥ* #68, *bahuvrīhau* #113, *gandhasya it* #135)
alpākhyāyāṃ yo gandhaśabdas tasyekārādeśo bhavati samāsānto bahuvrīhau samāse
The form *iT* comes in place of the final sound segment of a *bahuvrīhi* compound which ends in *gandha* with the denotation of *alpa* 'little'.

EXAMPLES:

alpam asmin bhojane ghṛtam = ghṛtagandhi 'a dish which only has the smell (very little amount) of ghee (clarified butter)'
kṣīragandhi 'a dish which has very little milk'

5.4.137 **उपमानाच्च**

upamānāc ca
/*upamānāt* 5/1 *ca* ϕ/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samāsāntāḥ* #68, *bahuvrīhau* #113, *gandhasya it* #135)
upamānā paro yo gandhaśabdas tasyekārādeśo bhavati samāsānto bahuvrīhau samāse
The form *iT* comes in place of the final sound segment of a *bahuvrīhi* compound which ends in *gandha*, used in combination after a constituent denoting an object of comparison (*upamāna*).

EXAMPLES:

padmasyeva gandho'sya = padmagandhiḥ 'one who smells like lotus'
karīṣagandhiḥ 'one who smells like dried cow-dung'

5.4.138 **पादस्य लोपोऽहस्त्यादिभ्यः**

pādasya lopo'hastyādibhyaḥ
/*pādasya* 6/1 *lopaḥ* 1/1 *ahastyādibhyaḥ* 5/3 = *hastī ādir yeṣām; na hastyādayaḥ = ahastyādayaḥ* (*nañ. tat.* with int. *bv.*), *tebhyaḥ*/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samāsāntāḥ* #68, *bahuvrīhau* #113, *upamānāt* #137)
upamānādd hastyādivarjitāt parasya pādaśabdasya lopo bhavati samāsānto bahuvrīhau samāse
LOPA comes in place of the final sound segment of a *bahuvrīhi* compound which ends in *pāda* 'foot', used in combination after a constituent signifying an object of comparison, provided the same is not listed in the group headed by *hastī* 'elephant'.

EXAMPLES:

vyāghrasyeva pādāv asya = vyāghrapāt 'one whose feet are similar to a tiger's'

siṃhapāt 'one whose feet are similar to a lion's'

1. Note that *LOPA* itself is here offered as *samāsānta.* The final *a* of *pāda* will thus be deleted.

5.4.139 कुम्भपदीषु च

kumbhapadīṣu ca
/kumbhapadīṣu 7/3 *ca ϕ/*
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samāsāntāḥ* #68, *bahuvrīhau* #113, *upamānāt* #137)
kumbhapadīprabhṛtayaḥ kṛtapādalopāḥ samudāyā eva paṭhyante, tatraivaṃ sūtraṃ jñeyam
LOPA also comes in place of the final sound segment of *bahuvrīhi* compounds listed in the group headed by *kumbhapadī.*

EXAMPLES:

kumbhapadī 'she whose feet are round as a pitcher'
śatapadī 'that (a lily) which has one hundred feet (petals)'

1. Note that this *samāsānta* deletion of the final sound segment of a *bahuvrīhi,* for example *kumbhapada,* is limited to compounds destined to be used in feminine with *ṄīP.* It is in view of this scope of feminine that locative in *kumbhapadīṣu* is interpreted as locative of domain (*viṣaya-saptamī*). Besides, deletion in compounds with preceding constituents denoting *upamāna* 'object of comparison' and *saṃkhyā* 'number' is already made available by rules 5.4.137 *upamānāc ca* and 5.4.140 *saṃkhyāsupūrvasya,* respectively. This rule is formulated with *ṄīP* as its scope. This provision is also obligatory. Consequently, *anyatarasyām* of 4.1.8 *pādo'nyatarasyām* will not be applicable to it.

5.4.140 संख्यासुपूर्वस्य

saṃkhyāsupūrvasya
/saṃkhyā-su-pūrvasya 6/1 = *saṃkhyā ca sus ca = saṃkhyāsū; tau pūrvau yasya* (*bv.* with int. *dv.*), *tasya/*
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samāsāntāḥ* #68, *bahuvrīhau* #113, *pādasya* #138)
saṃkhyāpūrvasya supūrvasya ca bahuvrīheḥ pādaśabdāntasya lopo bhavati samāsāntaḥ
LOPA occurs in place of the final sound segment of a *bahuvrīhi* compound which ends in *pāda,* used in combination after a constituent which denotes *saṃkhyā* 'number', or is constituted by *su.*

EXAMPLES:

dvau pādāv asya = dvipāt 'that which has two feet'

tripāt 'that which has three feet'
śobhanau pādāv asya = supāt 'he whose feet are beautiful'

1. These examples will also involve *cartva* (8.4.55 *khari ca*, 8.4.56 *vā' vasāne*), in addition to *LOPA*.

5.4.141 वयसि दन्तस्य दतृ

vayasi dantasya datṛ
/vayasi 7/1 *dantasya* 6/1 *datṛ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samāsāntāḥ* #68, *bahuvrīhau* #113, *saṃkhyāsupūrvasya* #140)
saṃkhyāpūrvasya supūrvasya ca bahuvrīher yo dantaśabdas tadantasya 'datṛ' ity ayam ādeśo bhavati samāsānto vayasi gamyamāne
The form *datR* comes in place of the final *danta* of a *bahuvrīhi* compound used in combination after a constituent, either used with the denotatum of *saṃkhyā*, or constituted by *su*, provided derivates denote age (*vayas*).

EXAMPLES:

dvidan 'a child with only two teeth'
caturdan 'a child with four teeth'
śobhanā dantā asya samastā jātāḥ = sudan kumāraḥ 'a boy whose teeth have all come out beautifully'

1. The *R* as an *it* in *datR* is intended for operations specific to items marked with *uK*, i.e., *u*, *ṛ*, *ḷ*, as an *it* (*Kāś.*: *ṛkāra ugitkāryārthaḥ*). More particularly, it facilitates *nUM* of 7.1.10 *ugid acāṃ sarvanāmasthāne*. Thus, *dvi*(*danta*→*dat*) = *dvida* + (*n* (*UM*→ϕ) *t*)) = *dvidant* + *s*(*U*→ϕ) = *dvidan*(*t*→ϕ) + *s* = *dvidan* + *s*. The final *t* of *dvidant* will go through deletion by 8.2.23 *saṃyogāntasya lopaḥ*. The *s* will also go through deletion by 6.1.68 *halṅyābbhyo*. . . . Similar rules apply in deriving other examples.

2. Note that *datR* replaces *danta*, in toto, since *datR* consists of more than one sound segment (*anekāl*; 1.1.55 *anekālśit sarvasya*).

5.4.142 छन्दसि च

chandasi ca
/chandasi 7/1 *ca* ϕ/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samāsāntāḥ* #68, *bahuvrīhau* #113, *dantasya datṛ* #141)
chandasi ca dantaśabdasya 'datṛ' ity ayam ādeśo bhavati samāsānto bahuvrīhau samāse
The form *datR* comes, also in Vedic, in place of the final *danta* of a *bahuvrīhi* compound.

EXAMPLES:

patradatam ālabheta 'one should obtain (a sacrificial animal) with no teeth on its jaws'
ubhayadata ālabhate '. . . gets an animal with teeth on both of its jaws'

1. Note that the twin conditions of constituency and derivate meanings are not pertinent in the Vedic.

5.4.143 स्त्रियां संज्ञायाम्

striyāṃ saṃjñāyām
/striyām 7/1 *saṃjñāyām* 7/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samāsāntāḥ* #68, *bahuvrīhau* #113, *dantasya datṛ* #141)
striyām anyapadārthe saṃjñāyāṃ viṣaye dantaśabdasya datṛ ity ayam ādeśo bhavati
The form *datṚ* comes in place of the final *danta* of a *bahuvrīhi* compound provided derivates signify a name in feminine.

EXAMPLES:

ayodatī 'a female name; she who has iron-like teeth'
phāladatī 'a female name; she who has teeth sharp as blades of a plow'

1. Note that *samadantī* 'a female with even teeth' and *snigdhadantī* 'a female with shining teeth' cannot qualify for this *samāsānta* replacement since these are not names. They serve as general qualifiers. The *ṄīP* of *ayodatī*, etc., is introduced in view of 4.1.6 *ugitaś ca*. Derivates such as *samadantī* are derived with *ṄīṢ* of 4.1.55 *nāsikodarouṣṭha. . . .*

5.4.144 विभाषा श्यावारोकाभ्याम्

vibhāṣā śyāvārokābhyām
/vibhāṣā 1/1 *śyāvārokābhyām* 5/2 (*itar. dv.*)/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samāsāntāḥ* #68, *bahuvrīhau* #113, *dantasya datṛ* #141)
'śyāva, aroka' ity etābhyāṃ parasya dantaśabdasya datṛ ity ayam ādeśo bhavati vibhāṣā samāsānto bahuvrīhau
The form *datṚ* comes optionally in place of the final *danta* of a *bahuvrīhi* compound, used in combination after *śyāva* 'dark' and *aroka* 'non-bright'.

EXAMPLES:

śyāvadan 'he whose teeth are dark'
śyāvadantaḥ 'id.'

arokadan 'he whose teeth are not bright'
arokadantaḥ 'id.'

1. Note that this optional replacement is still limited to the denotatum of *saṃjñā* 'name'. Elsewhere, as in *śyāvadantaḥ* and *arokadantaḥ*, no replacement in *datṚ* will be allowed. A replacement in *datṚ*, as usual, conditions the introduction of *nUM* (7.1.70 *ugidacāṃ . . .*).

5.4.145 अग्रान्तशुद्धशुभ्रवृषवराहेभ्यश्च

agrāntaśuddhaśubhravṛṣavarāhebhyaś ca
/agrānta-śuddha-śubhra-vṛṣa-varāhebhyaḥ 5/3 = *agraśabdaḥ ante yasya; agrāntaś ca śuddhaś ca śubhraś ca vṛṣaś ca varāhaś ca* (*itar. dv.* with int. *bv.*), *tebhyaḥ; ca* ϕ*/*
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samāsāntāḥ* #68, *bahuvrīhau* #113, *dantasya datṛ* #141, *vibhāṣā* #144)
The form *datṚ* comes optionally in place of the final *danta* of a *bahuvrīhi* compound, used in combination after a constituent ending in *agra* 'front', or after *śuddha* 'clean', *śubhra* 'white', *vṛṣa* 'bull' and *varāha* 'boar'.

EXAMPLES:

kuḍmalāgradan 'he whose teeth are (pointed) like the tip of a bud'
kuḍmalāgradantaḥ 'id.'
śuddhadan 'he whose teeth are clean'
śuddhadantaḥ 'id.'
śubhradan 'he whose teeth are white'
śubhradantaḥ 'id.'
vṛṣadan 'he whose teeth are like those of a bull'
vṛṣadantaḥ 'id.'
varāhadan 'one whose teeth are like those of a boar'
varāhadantaḥ 'id.'

1. The *ca* in this rule is used for facilitating replacement in other examples (*Kāś.*: *anuktasamuccayārthaś cakāraḥ*). Thus, we get *ahidan/ ahidantaḥ* 'one who has snake-like teeth' and *mūṣikadan/ mūṣikadantaḥ* 'one who has rat-like teeth'.

5.4.146 ककुदस्यावस्थायां लोपः

kakudasyāvasthāyāṃ lopaḥ
/kakudasya 6/1 *avasthāyām* 7/1 *lopaḥ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samāsāntāḥ* #68, *bahuvrīhau* #113)

kakudaśabdāntasya bahuvriher lopo bhavati samāsānto'vasthāyāṃ gamyamānāyām
LOPA comes in place of the final sound segment of a *bahuvrīhi* compound which ends in *kakuda* 'hump', provided the derivate denotes *avasthā.*

EXAMPLES:

asañjātaṃ kakudam asya = asañjātakakut 'a bull with no fully developed hump; a young bull'
pūrṇakakut 'a bull with fully developed hump; a middle-aged bull'
unnatakakut 'a bull with raised hump; an aging bull'

1. This *samāsānta* provision makes deletion of the final *a* in *kākuda* as optional. The condition of *avasthā* blocks *śvetakakudaḥ* 'white-humped' from availing this provision.

5.4.147 त्रिककुत्पर्वते

trikakut parvate
/trikakut 1/1 *parvate* 7/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samāsāntāḥ* #68, *bahuvrīhau* #113, *lopaḥ* #146)
trikakudi bahuvrīhau kakudaśabdasya lopaḥ samāsānto nipātyate parvate' bhidheye
LOPA comes in place of the final of a *bahuvrīhi* compound in deriving *trikakut,* via *nipātana,* when the derivate signifies *parvata* 'mountain'.

EXAMPLES:

trīṇi kakudāny asya trikakut parvataḥ 'a mountain with three peaks'

1. *Kāśikā* explains that *trikakut* is the name of a particular mountain with three peaks. This example then has the implication: *na ca sarvas triśikharaḥ parvatas trikakut. kiṃ tarhi? saṃjñaiṣā parvataviśeṣasya* 'not every mountain with three peaks is Trikakut. What then? It is the name of a particular mountain'. This derivate is then restricted with the scope of *saṃjñā* 'name'. Elsewhere, the derivate will be *trikakudaḥ.*

5.4.148 उद्विभ्यां काकुदस्य

udvibhyāṃ kākudasya
/ud-vi-bhyām 5/2 (*itar. bv.*); *kākudasya* 6/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samāsāntāḥ* #68, *bahuvrīhau* #113, *lopaḥ* #146)
'ud, vi' ity etābhyāṃ parasya kākudaśabdasya lopo bhavati bahuvrīhau samāse
LOPA comes in place of the final of a *bahuvrīhi* compound which ends in *kākuda* 'palate', used in combination after *ud* and *vi.*

EXAMPLES:

udgataṃ kākudam asya = *utkākut* 'he whose palate is prominent'
vikākut 'he whose palate is not formed well; cleft palate'

5.4.149 पूर्णाद्विभाषा

pūrṇād vibhāṣā
/pūrṇāt 5/1 *vibhāṣā* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samāsāntāḥ* #68, *bahuvrīhau* #113, *lopaḥ* #146, *kākudasya* #148)
pūrṇāt parasya kākudaśabdasya vibhāṣā lopo bhavati bahuvrīhau samāse
LOPA comes optionally in place of the final of a *bahuvrīhi* compound which ends in *kākuda*, used in combination after *pūrṇa* 'full'.

EXAMPLES:

pūrṇaṃ kākudam asya = *pūrṇakākut* 'he who has a fully developed palate'
pūrṇakākudaḥ 'id.'

1. The deletion of the final *a* of *kākuda* is here made optional.

5.4.150 सुहृद्दुर्हृदौ मित्रामित्रयोः

suhṛddurhṛdau mitrāmitrayoḥ
/suhṛd-durhṛd-au 1/2 (*itar. bv.*); *mitrāmitrayoḥ* 7/2 (*itar. bv.*)/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samāsāntāḥ* #68, *bahuvrīhau* #113)
'*suhṛt, durhṛt*' *ity nipātyate yathāsaṃkhyaṃ mitrāmitrayor abhidheyayoḥ*
The forms *suhṛt* and *durhṛt* are derived, via *nipātana*, when the signification is that of a 'friend' and 'non-friend', respectively.

EXAMPLES:

śobhanaṃ hṛdayam asya = *suhṛt* = *mitram* 'he whose heart is beautiful; a friend'
duṣṭaṃ hṛdayam asya = *durhṛt* = *amitram* 'he whose heart is wicked; a non-friend'

1. The condition of *mitrāmitra* blocks the replacement in examples such as *suhṛdayaḥ kāruṇikaḥ* 'a compassionate person with good heart' and *durhṛdayaś coraḥ* 'a thief with bad heart'.

5.4.151 उरःप्रभृतिभ्यः कप्

uraḥprabhṛtibhyaḥ kap
/uraḥprabhṛtibhyaḥ 5/3 = *uraḥprabhṛti yeṣām* (*bv.*), *te, kap* 1/1/

(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samāsāntāḥ* #68, *bahuvrīhau* #113)
uraḥprabhṛtyantād bahuvrīheḥ kap pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *kaP* occurs after a *bahuvrīhi* compound which ends in stems listed in the group headed by *uras* 'chest, breast'.

EXAMPLES:

vyūḍham uro' sya = vyūḍhoraskaḥ 'one whose chest is strong'
priyasarpiṣkaḥ 'he who likes ghee'
avamuktopānatkaḥ 'one who has taken off his shoes'

1. Note that the group headed by *uras* also contains *pumān* 'man', *anaḍvān* 'bull', *payaḥ* 'milk', *nauḥ* 'boat' and *lakṣmīḥ* 'wealth', all ending in nominative singular. How come their listing in the group is not made with their stem forms? That is, why are they listed in the group as ending in nominative singular? So that the provision of this rule applies to them only when they are used in nominative singular. Elsewhere, in dual and plural, *kaP* will be made optional by 5.4.154 *śeṣād vibhāṣā*. Thus, we will get *dvipumān/ dvipuṃskaḥ* and *bahupumān/ bahupuṃskaḥ*. This *kaP*, in view of a *gaṇasūtra*, is obligatory when *naÑ* combines with *artha* to denote 'that which does not have any meaning'. Thus we get *anarthakaḥ*.

2. Note that *vyūḍha + uras + ka* yields *vyūḍhoraska* through the application of 6.1.97 *ato guṇe*. The *ṣ* of *priyasarpiṣka* is accomplished by the application of 8.3.39 *iṇaḥ ṣaḥ*. The last *avamuktopānatka* derives from *avamukta + upānah + ka* where given *avamuktopānah* through the application of 6.1.97 *ato guṇe*, the *h* of *upānah* is replaced with *dh* (8.2.34 *naho dhaḥ*). An application of *jaśtva* (8.2.39 *jhalāṃ jaśo' nte*) followed by *cartva* (8.4.55 *kri ca*) will produce *avamuktopāna*(*h*→*dh*→*d*→*t*) + *ka* = *avamuktopānatka*.

5.4.152 इनः स्त्रियाम

inaḥ striyām
/*inaḥ* 5/1 *striyām* 7/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samāsāntāḥ* #68, *bahuvrīhau* #113, *kap* #151)
innantād bahuvrīheḥ kap pratyayo bhavati striyām viṣaye
The *taddhita* affix *kaP* occurs after a *bahuvrīhi* compound which ends in *in* when the derivate signifies feminine.

EXAMPLES:

bahavo daṇḍino' syāṃ śālāyām = bahudaṇḍikā śālā 'a hall in which there are many shaft-carrying renunciates'
bahusvāmikā nagarī 'a city with many rulers'
bahuvāgmikā sabhā 'a gathering with many eloquent speakers'

1. Note that, in the absence of *striyām*, 5.4.154 *śeṣād vibhāṣā* will make *kaP* optional. Thus, *bahudaṇḍī/ bahudaṇḍikaḥ* (*rājā*) 'a king with many stick-carrying guards'. Derivats of this rule involve *in* of 5.2.115 *ata iniṭhanau*, where *bahudaṇḍin* + *ka*, etc., go through deletion of *n*. Affix *ṬāP* is then introduced to derive *bahudaṇḍikā*, etc.

5.4.153 नद्यृतश्च

nadyṛtaś ca
/ nadyṛtaḥ 5/1 = *nadī ca ṛt ca* (*sam. dv.*), *tasmāt*; *ca* ϕ/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samāsāntāḥ* #68, *bahuvrīhau* #113, *kap* #151)
nadyantād bahuvrīher ṛkārāntāc ca kap pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *kaP* occurs after a *bahuvrīhi* compound which ends in a constituent termed *nadī*, or else, ends in *ṛ*.

EXAMPLES:

bahvyaḥ kumāryo' smin deśe = bahukumāriko deśaḥ 'a place which abounds in girls'
bahukartṛkaḥ 'that which has many makers'

1. The *T* of *ṛT* is for facilitating articulation (*Kāś.*: *takāraḥ mukhasukhoccāraṇārthaḥ*). It is not intended for *taparakaraṇa* (1.1.60 *taparas tatkālasya*). Note that *Kāśikā* interprets *nadyṛtaḥ* as a *dvandva* compound with *tadantavidhi*. That is, *nadyantād ṛkārāntāc ca*. The word *anta* of *nadyanta* is used to refer to the following constituent of the *bahuvrīhi* compound. Finally, *nadī* refers to constituents termed *nadī* (1.4.3 *yūstryākhyau nadī*). The first derivate *bahukumārīka* derives by combining (*bahvī* + *Jas* + *kumārī* + *Jas*) + *kaP*) = *bahukumārīka*, where *bahvī* gets replaced with its masculine counterpart *bahu* (*puṃvadbhāva*; 6.3.34 *striyāḥ puṃvadbhāṣit* . . .).

5.4.154 शेषाद्विभाषा

śeṣād vibhāṣā
/ śeṣāt 5/1 *vibhāṣā* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samāsāntāḥ* #68, *bahuvrīhau* #113, *kap* #151)
yasmād bahuvrīheḥ samāsānto na vihitaḥ tasmād vibhāṣā kap pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *kaP* occurs optionally after the remaining *bahuvrīhi* compounds for which no *samāsānta* provision is yet made.

EXAMPLES:

bahvyaḥ khaṭvā asmin = bahukhaṭvakaḥ '(a hall) in which there are many cots'
bahukhaṭvākaḥ 'id.'

bahukhaṭvaḥ 'id.'
bahumālakaḥ '(a place) which abounds in flowers (garlands)'
bahumālākaḥ 'id.'
bahumālaḥ 'id.'

1. The word *śeṣa* of *śeṣāt* refers to *bahuvrīhi* compounds for which no *samāsānta* provisions are made. Such compounds will receive optional *kaP*. Recall that 1.2.48 *gortriyor upasarjanasya* provides for shortening of the final vowel of a feminine constituent termed *upasarjana*. This shortening, however, is made optional in case of *ā* of feminine affix *āP* when *kaP* follows (7.4.15 *āpo'nyatarasyām*). We will thus get three forms: one with *kaP* and shortening, one with *kaP* but with no shortening, and one without *kaP*, though with shortening. Thus, *bahukhaṭvakaḥ/ bahukhaṭvākaḥ/ bahukhaṭvaḥ*, etc. How come *anṛkkam* and *bahvṛkkam* of *anṛkkaṃ sāma* and *bahvṛkkaṃ sūktam* receive *kaP* when 5.4.74 *ṛkpūrabdhūḥ* . . . has already made a general provision for affix *a*? They should thus not be treated as *śeṣa*. But this is not true (*naitad asti*). Rule 5.4.74 *ṛkpūrabdhūḥ* . . . makes its provision with specific meaning conditions of *māṇavaka* 'boy' and *caraṇākhyā* 'branch of Ṛk'. Derivates with meanings of *sāman* and *sūkta* must still be treated as *śeṣa*. Derivates such as *priyapathaḥ* and *priyadhuraḥ* cannot be accepted as *śeṣa* since 5.4.74 has already made a provision for *a*.

5.4.155 न संज्ञायाम्

na saṃjñāyām
/ na ϕ saṃjñāyām 7/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samāsāntāḥ* #68, *bahuvrīhau* #113, *kap* #151)
saṃjyāyāṃ viṣaye bahuvrīhau samāse kap pratyayo na bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *kaP* does not occur after a *bahuvrīhi* compound which signifies a name (*saṃjñā*).

EXAMPLES:

viśvadevaḥ 'a name; one whose gods are all gods'
viśvayaśāḥ 'a name; one who has all the fame'

1. This negative provision is made against the positive provision of *śeṣa* of the preceding rule. Obviously, both derivates are names. Deriving *viśvayaśāḥ* from *viśvayaśas* + *sU* would require lengthening of the final *a* of *viśvayaśas* (6.4.14 *atvasantasya* . . .) and deletion of *s* of *sU* (6.1.68 *halṅyābbhyo* . . .). Thus, *viśvayaś*(*a*→*ā*)*s* = *viśvayaśās* + *s* = *viśvayaśās* + (*s*→ϕ) = *viśvayaśā*(*s*→*r*→*ḥ*) = *viśvayaśaḥ*.

5.4.156 ईयसश्च

īyasaś ca

/īyasaḥ 5/1 *caϕ/*
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samāsāntāḥ* #68, *bahuvrīhau* #113, *kap* #151, *na* #155)
īyasantād bahuvrīheḥ kap pratyayo na bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *kaP* also does not occur after a *bahuvrīhi* compound which ends in affix *īyasUN* (5.3.57 *dvivacanavibhajyopapade tarabīyasunau*).

EXAMPLES:

bahavaḥ śreyāṃso' sya = bahuśreyān 'one who has many superior qualities'
bahuśreyasī '. . . has many beautiful women'

1. Our first example illustrates the negation of the provision of 5.4.154 *śeṣād vibhāṣā*. The second example illustrates the negation of the provision of 5.4.153 *nadyṛtaś ca*. This second example is also denied shortening of 1.2.48 *gostriyor upasarjanasya*, especially in view of the *vārttika: īyaso bahu vrīher neti vācyam*. Refer to examples under 5.3.57 *dvivacana* . . . for derivational details.

5.4.157 वन्दिते भ्रातुः

vandite bhrātuḥ
/vandite 7/1 *bhrātuḥ* 5/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samāsāntāḥ* #68, *bahuvrīhau* #113, *kap* #151, *na* #155)
vandite' rthe yo bhrātṛśabdo vartate tadantād bahuvrīheḥ kap pratyayo na bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *kaP* does not occur after a *bahuvrīhi* compound which ends in *bhrātṛ* 'brother', qualified with the sense of *vandita* 'praised, respected'.
śobhano bhrātā asya = subhrātā 'one whose brother is handsome'

1. The word *vandita* is used in the sense of *stutaḥ* 'praised' or *pūjitaḥ* 'respected'. This rule negates the provision of 5.4.153 *nadyṛtaś ca*. Incidentally, verbal root *vadI* of *vanditaḥ* is not interpreted as meaning 'salutation' (*abhivādana*). Consequently, we will indeed get *kaP* in *vanditabhrātṛkaḥ* 'one whose brother is saluted'. The condition of *vanditaḥ* facilitates *kaP* in counter-examples such as *mūrkhabhrātṛkaḥ* 'one whose brother is an idiot' and *duṣṭabhrātṛkaḥ* 'one whose brother is a rogue'.

2. Note that the final *ṛ* of *subhrātṛ* + *s*(*U*→ϕ) will be replaced with *anAṄ* (7.1.94 *ṛduśanas* . . .) to yield *subhrātan* + *s*. The penultimate *a* of the *aṅga*, i.e., *subhrātan*, will then be replaced with long (6.4.8 *sarvanāmasthāne cāsambuddhau*). The *s* at the end of the string will then be deleted by 6.1.68 *halṅyābbhyo*. . . . Rule 8.2.7 *nalopaḥ* . . . will then delete the *n*. Thus, *subhrāt* (*a*→*ā*) *n* + *s* = *subhrātān* + (*s*→ϕ) = *subhrātā*(*n*→ϕ) = *subhrātā*.

5.4.158 ऋतश्छन्दसि

ṛtaś chandasi
/ṛtaḥ 5/1 *chandasi* 7/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samāsāntāḥ* #68, *bahuvrīhau* #113, *kap* #151, *na* #155)
ṛvarṇāntād bahuvrīheś chandasi viṣaye kap pratyayo na bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *kaP* does not occur, in Vedic, after a *bahuvrīhi* compound which ends in *ṛ* (*ṛT*).

EXAMPLES:

hatā mātā asya = hatamātā 'he whose mother was killed'
hatapitā 'one whose father was killed'
hatasvasā 'he whose sister was killed'
suhotā 'one whose *hotṛ*, ritual priest, is good'

1. All these bases end in *ṛ*. The negation of *kaP* is obviously made against the provision of 5.4.153 *nadyṛtaś ca*. Refer to the derivation of *subhrātā* for derivational details.

5.4.159 नाडीतन्त्र्योः स्वाङ्गे

nāḍītantryoḥ svāṅge
/nāḍītantryoḥ 6/2 = *nāḍī ca tantrī ca* (*itar. dv.*); *svāṅge* 7/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samāsāntāḥ* #68, *bahuvrīhau* #113, *kap* #151, *na* #155)
svāṅge yau nāḍī-tantri-śabdau tadantād bahuvrīheḥ kap pratyayo na bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *kaP* does not occur after a *bahuvrīhi* compound which ends in *nāḍī* 'artery' and *tantrī* 'vein', providing they are parts of one's own body (*svāṅge*).

EXAMPLES:

bahvyo nāḍyo'sya = bahunāḍiḥ kāyaḥ 'a body with many more arteries'
bahutantrīr grīvā 'a neck with many more veins'

1. The word *tantrī* is used here in the sense of *dhamanī* 'vein'. The first example goes through shortening of 1.2.48 *gostriyor upasarjanasya*. The second does not go through shortening because *tantrī* ends in feminine (cf. *kṛtaḥ striyāḥ pratiṣedho vaktavyaḥ*).

5.4.160 निष्प्रवाणिश्च

niṣpravāṇiś ca
/niṣpravāṇiḥ 1/1/ *ca* ϕ/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samāsāntāḥ* #68, *bahuvrīhau* #113, *kap* #151, *na* #155)

niṣpravāṇir iti nipātyate
The *taddhita* affix *kaP* does not occur, via *nipātana*, after the *bahuvrīhi* compound *niṣpravāṇi*.

EXAMPLES:

nirgatā pravāṇy asya = niṣpravāṇiḥ paṭaḥ 'a (freshly woven) piece of cloth (whose loom is removed)'
niṣpravāṇiḥ kambalaḥ 'a just about ready blanket'

1. This negation relates to the positive provision of 5.4.153 *nadyṛtaś ca*, made specifically for *nadī*. A replacement in short *i* for long of *pravāṇī* is accomplished by 1.2.48 *gostriyor upasarjanasya*. The *ṣ* of *niṣpravāṇiḥ* is a replacement of *ḥ* of *niḥ* (8.3.41 *ṛdudupadhasya cāpratyayasya*).

APPENDIX

Derivational History of Examples

This volume basically deals with three types of derivates: (*i*) nominals which end in affixes termed *vibhakti* (4.1.2 *svaujasmaut. . . .*); (*ii*) nominals which end in feminine (4.1.3 *striyām*) affixes marked with *Ṅī* (*ṄīP, ṄīṢ, ṄīN*) and *āP* (*ṬāP, ḌāP, CāP*); and (*iii*) nominals which derive with affixes introduced within the domain of 4.1.76 *taddhitāḥ.*

Rule 4.1.1 *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* heads the domain of rules contained within *adhyāyas* four and five of the *Aṣṭādhyāyī.* As such, an input qualifying for entry to this domain must be:

(*iv*) a nominal stem (*prātipadika*; 1.4.45 *arthavad adhātur apratyayaḥ prātipadikam*), or

(*v*) an item ending in feminine affixes marked with *Ṅī* and *āP* (*ṅyāp*), or else,

(*vi*) a *pada* (1.4.14 *suptiṅantaṃ padam*), i.e., that which ends in affixes denoted by the abbreviatory terms *sUP* (4.1.2 *svaujasmaṭ . . .*) and *tiṄ*, though *sUP* alone for the context of this rule (1.4.14 *sup-tiṅantaṃ padam*; 4.1.82 *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā*).

An output of this domain could be three-fold:

(*vii*) a form termed *pada* 1.4.14 *suptiṅantaṃ padam*) which ends in affixes denoted by the abbreviatory term *sUP* (4.1.2 *svaujasmauṭ . . .* (*i*) above); or,

(*viii*) a form ending in feminine affixes of (*ii*) above; or else,

(*ix*) a form which ends in a *taddhita* affix, and is termed nominal stem (1.4.46 *kṛt-taddhita-samāsāś ca*).

Comparing (*iv-vi*) with (*vii-ix*) reveals that outputs of this domain can also re-enter it as inputs. Note, however, that only one of these outputs, i.e., (*vii*) above, provided it forms a syntactico-semantic relationship (*sāmarthya*) with another such item, can re-enter this domain optionally. Outputs (*viii-ix*) must re-enter this domain obligatorily. This obligatory re-entry, however, must opt for yielding an output listed under (*vii*). Given this, one can conclude that the terminal output of this domain must be of the type of (*vii*), i.e., a *pada.* In summary, an input of this domain must be a nominal stem. This input can then opt for yielding an output of types (*vii-ix*). Selecting (*vii*) may produce a *pada* which, depending on its syntactico-semantic relationship with another such output, may optionally qualify for re-entry to this domain. Selecting (*viii-ix*) makes the re-entry obligatory, though this time, output type (*vii*) must be the terminal form.

Our first three volumes have discusses hundreds of derivational types of

(*vii*). The appendix, unless otherwise required, will focus mainly on derivates of types (*viii-ix*).

4.1.1 *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* . . .

4.1.2 *svaujasmauṭchaṣṭābhyāṃ* . . .

Note that paradigmatic forms of *kumārī* 'girl', a feminine parallel to the masculine *kumāra* 'boy', are given as examples under rule 4.1.2 *svaujasmauṭ*. . . . The base *kumārī* is derived by introducing affix *ṄīP* (4.1.20 *vayasi prathame*) after *kumāra*, its masculine counterpart, to denote feminine. Rules 1.3.1 *halantyam*, 1.3.8 *laśakv ataddhite* and 1.3.9 *tasya lopaḥ* will accomplish *it*-deletion of *P* and *Ṅ* (of *ṄīP*) to produce *kumāra* + (*Ṅ*→ϕ) *i* (*p*→ϕ) = *kumāra* + *i*. Rule 6.4.148 *yasyeti ca*, read with 1.4.13 *yasmāt*. . ., and 1.4.18 *yaci bham*, will then delete the final short *a* of *kumār*(*a*→ϕ) + *ī* to produce *kumārī*.

(1) *kumārī* (nom. sing.)
(2) *kumāryau* (nom.-accus. dual)
(3) *kumāryaḥ* (nom. plural)
(4) *kumārīm* (accus. sing.)
(5) *kumārīḥ* (accus. plural)
(6) *kumāryā* (inst. sing.)
(7) *kumārībhyām* (inst.-dat.-abl. dual)
(8) *kumārībhiḥ* (inst. plural)
(9) *kumāryai* (dat. sing.)
(10) *kumārībhyaḥ* (dat.-abl. plural)
(11) *kumāryaḥ* (abl.-gen. sing.)
(12) *kumāryoḥ* (gen.-loc. dual)
(13) *kumārīṇām* (gen. plural)
(14) *kumāryām* (loc. sing.)
(15) *kumārīṣu* (loc. plural)

Given *kumārī* + *sU*, where 4.1.2 *svaujas* . . . introduces the nominative singular ending *s*(*U*→ϕ), rule 6.1.68 *halṅyābbhyo* . . ., read with 1.2.47 *apṛkta* . . ., will delete *s* to produce *kumārī*. This, in turn, will be assigned the term *pada* (1.4.14 *suptiṅantaṃ padam*) via 1.1.62 *pratyayalope pratyayalakṣaṇam*. Refer to *kumārī*, and several other examples (707-10, p. 501) in the appendix of volume II for additional details. The nominative and accusative dual forms, i.e., (2) *kumāryau*, are derived from *kumārī* + *au* and *kumārī* + *au*(*Ṭ*→ϕ), respectively, where the final *ī* of *kumārī* is replaced with *y* (6.1.77 *iko yaṇ aci*). This same *y* replacement applies also in case of (3) *kumāryaḥ* where, given *kumār*(*ī*→*y*) + (*J*→ϕ) *as* = *kumāryas*, *rutva-visarga* (8.2.66 *sasajuṣo ruḥ*; 8.3.15 *kharavasānayor visarjanīyaḥ*) yields *kumārya*(*s*→*r*(*U*→ϕ)→*ḥ*) = *kumāryaḥ*.

The accusative singular and plural forms, i.e., (4) *kumārīm* and (5) *kumārīḥ*, are derived from: *kumārī* + *am* and *kumārī* + *Śas*, respectively. Rule 6.1.107 *ami pūrvaḥ* orders *ī* as a single substitute in place of the sequence *ī* + *a* of *kumārī* + *am* to produce: (4) *kumārīm*. Rule 6.1.102 *prathamayoḥ pūrvasavarṇaḥ*

orders a similar single substitute for a similar vocalic sequence in *kumārī* + (*Ś*→ϕ) *as* to produce *kumārī* + *s*. Our final form (5) *kumārīḥ* derives from *kumārī* + *s* through *s-visarga*. Deriving (6) *kumāryā*, (7) *kumārībhyām* and (8) *kumārībhiḥ* from *kumārī* + *Ṭā*, *kumārī* + *bhyām* and *kumārī* + *bhis* requires replacing *ī* with *y* (of 6.1.77 *iko yaṇ aci* in *kumāryā*) and *rutva-visarga* (in *kumārībhiḥ*).

The dative singular form (9) *kumāryai* derives from *kumārī* + (*Ṅ*→ϕ) *e* where rule 7.3.112 *āṇ nadyāḥ* introduces augment *ā*(*Ṭ*→ϕ) to produce (*kumārī* + *ā* + *e*), under the condition of the assignment of the term *nadī* to *kumārī* (1.4.3 *yūstryākhyau nadī*). Rule 6.1.88 *vṛddhir eci* then orders *ai* as a single replacement for *ā* + *e*. Rule 6.1.77 *iko yaṇ aci* is, of course, responsible for turning *kumārī* + (*ā* + *e*→*ai*) into *kumār*(*ī* →*y*) + *ai* = *kumāryai*. Example (10) *kumārībhyaḥ* is derived from *kumārī* + *bhyas* via *rutva-visarga*. The ablative and genitive forms (11) *kumāryāḥ* is derived from *kumārī* + *ṄasI* and *kumārī* + *Ṅas* = *kumārī* + *as*, respectively, with augment *āṬ* (7.3.112 *āṇ nadyāḥ*). Given *kumārī* + *ā* + *as*, 6.1.100 *akaḥ savarṇe dīrghaḥ* will apply to produce *kumārī* + (*ā* + *a*→*ā*) *s* = *kumārī* + *ās*. This, in turn, through the application of 6.1.77 *iko yaṇ aci*, and *rutva-visarga*, will produce

kumār(*ī*→*y*) + *ā*(*s*→*r*→*ḥ*) = *kumāryāḥ*.

The genitive-locative dual (12) *kumāryoḥ* is derived from *kumārī* + *os* through *ī*→*y* (6.1.77 *iko yaṇ aci*) and *rutva-visarga*. The genitive plural (13) *kumārīṇām* is derived from *kumārī* + *ām* where 7.1.54 *hrasvanadyāpo nut* introduces augment *nUṬ*, thereby producing *kumārī* + *n*(*UṬ*→ϕ) + *ām* = *kumārīnām*. The final derivate *kumārīṇām* is gotten via *n*→*ṇ* of 8.4.1 *raṣābhyāṃ no ṇaḥ samāṇapade*. Our locative singular form (14) *kumāryām* derives from *kumārī* + *Ṅi* where *Ṅi* is replaced with *ām* of 7.3.116 *ṇer āp*. . . . Thus, *kumārī* + (*Ṅi*→*ām*) = *kumār*(*ī*→*y*) + *ām* = *kumāryām*. Deriving (15) *kumāriṣu* from *kumārī* + *su*(*P*→ϕ) entails replacing the regular *s* with its retroflex counterpart (8.3.59 *ādeśa-pratyayoḥ*). The preceding derivations show how the assignment of the term *nadī* to *kumārī* plays an important role in deriving its paradigmatic forms. Forms of (16) *gaurī* and (17) *śārṅgaravī* also follow the pattern of *kumārī*.

Our next three examples illustrate derivates of feminine affixes *ṬāP*, *ḌāP* and *CāP*. Thus, (18) *khaṭvā* ends in *ṬāP* and derivates from *khaṭvā* + *s*(*U*→ϕ), where deletion of *s* is accomplished similarly to (1) *kumārī*. The nominative dual form (19) *khaṭve* derives from *khaṭvā* + *au* where *au* is replaced with (*Ś*→ϕ) *ī* in view of 7.1.18 *auṅaḥ āpaḥ*. We get *khaṭve* from *khaṭvā* + *ī* via a single *guṇa*-replacement for the sequence *ā* + *ī* (6.1.87 *ād guṇaḥ*). The nominative plural form (20) *khaṭvāḥ* derives from *khaṭvā* + (*J*→ϕ) *as*, where rule 6.1.102 *prathamayoḥ pūrvasavarṇaḥ* applies to yield *khaṭv*(*ā* + *a*→*ā*) *s* = *khaṭvās*, via *pūrvasavarṇadīrgha*, a single replacement for a vocalic sequence homogeneous with the preceding sound. The application of *rutva-visarga* will finally produce *khaṭvāḥ*. This *pūrvasavarṇadīrgha* of (20) will also apply in case of

(21) *khaṭvām* and (22) *khaṭvāḥ*, the accusative singular and plural forms of *khaṭvā*, deriving from the strings *khaṭv*(*ā*+ *a*) *m* and *khaṭvā*+ (*Ś*→ϕ) *a*(*s*→*r*→*ḥ*).

Examples (23) *bahurājā* and (24) *kārīṣagandhyā* illustrate affixes *ḌāP* and *CāP* respectively. Affix *ḌāP* is introduced after the *bahuvrīhi* compound *bahurājan*, parallel to *bahavo rājānaḥ yasyām nagaryām* 'a city with many kings'. This introduction of *ḌāP* is made by 4.1.13 *ḍāb ubhābhyām anyatarasyām* against the negation of *ṄīP* by 4.1.12 *ano bahuvrīheḥ*. Forms of (23) *bahurājā* and (24) *kārīṣagandhyā* both follow the paradigmatic patterns of (18) *khaṭvā*. Our example (24) *kārīṣagandhyā* derives from *kārīṣagandhya* + *CāP* paraphrased as *karīṣasya gandha iva gandho yasyāḥ* 'she who smells like dried cowdung'. Technically though the paraphrase should be: *karīṣam gandho yasyāḥ* 'she whose smell is that of a dried cowdung'. Given *karīṣa* + *Ṅas gandha* + *sU iva* + *sU*, a *bahuvrīhi* compound will be formed in view of the *vārttika*: *saptamyupamānapūrvapadasyottarapadalopaś ca* (cf. *Mbh.* under 2.2.24 *anekam anyapadārthe*). This, consequent upon the deletion of the final constituent (*uttarapadalopa*), i.e., *iva* + *sU*, as the *vārttika* requires, will produce: *karīṣa* + *sU gandha* + *sU*. Application of *sUP*-deletion will then produce: *karīṣagandha*. Rule 5.4.137 *upamānāc ca* will then introduce a *samāsānta* affix (5.4.68 *samāsāntaḥ*) as a replacement for the final *a* (*antādeśa*; 1.1.52 *alo'ntyasya*) of *gandha* of *karīṣagandha*. We will now have *karīṣagandhi*, a nominal stem, after which *Ṅas* is introduced to make it syntactically related (*samartha*). The *taddhita* affix *aṆ* can now be introduced to produce *karīṣagandhi* + *Ṅas* + *aṆ* parallel to the meaning of *karīṣagandher apatyam* 'offspring of Karīṣagandhi'. Rule 2.4.71 *supo dhātuprātipadikayoḥ* will as usual delete *Ṅas*. Rule 6.4.148 *yasyeti ca* will then delete the final *i* of *karīṣagandh*(*i*→ϕ) + *a*. A replacement in *vṛddhi* for the first *a* of *k*(*a*→*ā*)*rīṣagandhi* + *a* = *kārīṣagandh* + *a* is accomplished in view of 7.2.117 *taddhiteṣv acām ādeḥ*. We thus get *kārīṣagandha* which ends in *aṆ* and is also recognized as *upottama* based upon its next to the last *a* termed *guru* before the conjunct *ndh* (1.4.11 *saṃyoge guru*). Rule 4.1.87 *aṇiñor anārṣayor*. . . can now introduce *ṢyaṄ* in place of affix *aṆ* to produce: *kārīṣagandh*(*a* = (*Ṣ*→ϕ)*ya* (*Ṅ*→ϕ) = *kārīṣagandhya*. The feminine affix *CāP* can now be introduced after *kārīṣagandhya* to produce *kārīṣagandhyā* in consonance with rule 4.1.74 *yaṅaś cāp*. Incidentally, *savarṇadīrgha* of 6.1.101 *akaḥ savarṇe dīrghaḥ* finally produces *kārīṣagandhyā* from *kārīṣagandhya* + (*C*→ϕ) *ā*(*P*→ϕ) = *kārīṣagandhya* + *ā*. An introduction of *sU*, and its subsequent deletion, will offer a fully derived word still as *kārīṣagandhyā*.

These preceding offer examples of feminine forms ending in *sUP*. Forms of *dṛṣad* are offered to illustrate the introduction of *sUP* after a nominal stem. Operations relative to the selection and deletion of a *sUP*, deletion of an element termed *it*, or replacement of a *s* by *ḥ* via *r* (*rutva-visarga*), will apply to derive various paradigmatic forms of *dṛṣad*. Thus: (25) *dṛṣad* 'nom. singular', (26) *dṛṣadau* 'nom. dual' and (27) *dṛṣadaḥ* 'nom.-acc. plural, or ablative-genitive singular', where the first involves deletion of *sUP* (6.1.68

halṅyādi . . .) and the last an application of *rutva-visarga* on nominal endings *Jas, Śas, ṄasI* and *Ṅas*, of course, subsequent upon deletion of *J, Ś, Ṅ* and *I* as elements termed *it*. Consider additional forms such as (28) *dṛṣadbhiḥ* 'instrumental plural', (29) *dṛṣadbhyaḥ* 'dative-ablative plural' and (30) *dṛṣadoḥ* 'genitive-locative dual' where *rutva-visarga* must also apply. Deriving dual forms with *bhyām*, i.e., (31) *dṛṣadbhyām*, should not present any problem. The locative plural form (32) *dṛṣatsu* involves *t* as a replacement for *d* of *dṛṣad* before *s* of *suP* (8.4.54 *kari ca*).

4.1.4 *ajādyataṣ ṭāp*

4.1.5 *ṛnnebhyo ṇīp*

4.1.6 *vano ra ca*

Examples (32) *ajā*, (33) *eḍakā*, (34) *caṭakā* and (35) *aśvā* derive with *ṬāP* introduced after *aja, eḍaka, caṭaka*, and *aśva* via application of *savarṇadīrgha* of 6.1.101 *akaḥ savarṇe dīrghaḥ*.

Examples (36) *kartrī*, (37) *hartrī*, (38) *daṇḍinī* and (39) *chatriṇī* are derivates of *ṄīP→ī*. This first two involve a replacement in *r* (6.1.77 *iko yaṇ aci*) for the final *ṛ* of *kartṛ* + *ī* and *hartṛ* + *ī*. Refer to derivations (7) *taritā* and (177) *karttā* in the appendix of vol. II for details of deriving *kartṛ* and *hartṛ*. Our next two examples derive from *daṇḍin* + *ī* and *chatrin* + *ī* where the *n* of *chatrin* is replaced with *ṇ* (8.4.1 *raṣābhyāṃ no ṇaḥ samānapade*). The word (40) *daṇḍin* itself derives from *daṇḍa* + *inI* where affix *inI* is introduced after a nominal stem ending in *a*, namely *daṇḍa*, as an alternate derivate of affix *ṭhaN*, namely (41) *daṇḍika*, both denoting the sense of *matUP* (5.2.115 *ata iniṭhanau*). Thus, *daṇḍin* and *daṇḍika* both denote the sense of *daṇḍo'syāstīti* 'one who has a shaft'. Incidentally, the final *a* of *daṇḍa* will be deleted by 6.4.140 *yasyeti ca* before affixes *inI* and *ṭhaN*. Of course, the *ṭha* of *ṭhaN* will be replaced with *ika* of 7.3.50 *ṭhasyekaḥ*. Example (39) *chatriṇī* follows the same pattern. It also entails replacing *n* of *chatrin* + *ī* with *ṇ* (*ṇatva*; 8.4.1 *raṣābhyāṃ no ṇaḥ samānapade*.

These feminine derivates all can also be accepted as their nominative singular counterparts. That is, after placement and subsequent deletion of *sU* similar to (1) *kumārī* and (18) *khaṭvā*.

4.1.7 *ugitaś ca*

(42) *bhavatī*
(43) *atibhavatī*
(44) *pacantī*
(45) *yajantī*
(46) *dhīvarī*
(47) *pīvarī*
(48) *śarvarī*
(49) *paralokadṛśvarī*
(50) *sahayudhvā*

Our examples (42) *bhavatī* is derived by introducing affix *ṄīṢ* after *bhavatŨ*, a pronominal, in turn, derived with the *Uṇādi* affix *ḌavatUP* (*Uṇ.* 1/63 *bhāter ḍvatup*) introduced after verbal root *bhā*. Given the string *bhā* + *avat*, rule 6.4.143 *ṭeḥ* (cf. *vt.*: *ḍitkaraṇasāmarthyād abhasyāpi ter lopaḥ*) deletes the *ā* of

bhā. Affix *ṄīP* is then introduced after *bhavat* to denote feminine, at the strength of *U* as an *it* (1.3.2 *upadeśe'janunāsika it*). The *sU* introduced after *bhavatī* will as usual be delted by 6.1.66 *halṅyābbhyo. . . .* Example (43) *atibhavatī* derives from *atibhavatī* + *sU* where *atibhavat* is an indeclinable compound parallel to *ati* + *sU bhavat* + *sU.* Refer to (436) *atikhaṭvaḥ* and (437) *atimālaḥ* (appendix of vol. II) for further details regarding formation of these compounds.

Example (44) *pacantī* derives from *pacat* + *ṄīP* + *sU,* where *pacat* is a derivate of affix *SatṚ* (3.2.124 *laṭaḥ śatṛśānacāv . . .*) introduced after verbal root *pac.* Refer to (489) *pacantam* in the appendix of vol. III for derivational details of *pacant.* Deriving *pacantī* from *pacant* + *ṄīP* + *sU* via *it* and *sU*-deletions does not offer anything new. This same is also true of (45) *yajantī,* a derivate of *yajant* + *ṄīP* + *sU.*

Examples (46) *dhīvarī* derives from *dhīvan* + *ṄīP* + *sU* where the *n* of *dhīvan* is replaced with *r* of this rule. Affix *ṄīP* is, of course, also available from 4.1.5 *ṛnnebhyo. . . .* Examples (47) *pīvarī* and (48) *śarvarī* follow the same derivational pattern. Incidentally, *dhīvan* is a derivate of *KvanIP* introduced after verbal root *dhā* where rule 6.4.66 *ghumasthāgā . . .* causes a long *ī* to replace the final *ā* of *dhā,* thereby producing *dh*(*ā*→*ī*) + (*K*→ϕ) *van* = *dhīvan.* One can similarly derive *pīvan* and *dṛśvan* where affixes *KvanIP* and *vanIP* are introduced by rules 3.2.94 *dṛśeḥ kvanip* and 3.2.75 *anyebhyo'pi dṛśyante,* respectively. Example (49) *paralokadṛśvarī* derives from *paralokadṛśvan* + *ṄīP* + *sU.* Refer to (532) *paralokadṛśvā* in the appendix of vol. III for deriving *paralokadṛśvan.*

A *vārttika* under this rule disallows *ṄīP* and *r*-replacement when *van* occurs after a verbal root ending in a sound denoted by the abbreviatory term *hŚ* (cf. *Śś.* 5-10). Thus, (50) *sahayudhvā* of *sahayudhvā brāhmaṇī* will have its *ṄīP* and *r* blocked.

4.1.8 *pādo'nyatarasyām*
4.1.9 *ṭāb ṛci*

(51) *dvipāt*
(52) *dvipadī*
(53) *tripāt*
(54) *tripadī*
(55) *catuṣpād*
(56) *catuṣpadī*
(57) *dvipadā*
(58) *tripadā*
(59) *catuṣpadā*

These examples involve nominal stems which all end in *pāda.* We get two derivates since affix *ṄīP* is introduced optionally (*anyatarasyām*). The word *dvipāda,* for example in (51) *dvipāt* and (52) *dvipadī,* is a *bahuvrīhi* compound formed with *dvi* + *au pāda* + *au* (2.2.24 *anekam anyapadārthe*) parallel to *dvau pādau asya.* Rule 5.4.140 *saṃkhyāsupūrvasya* causes the deletion of the final *a* of *dvipāda* after compound-formation and *sUP*-deletion. Our present rule optionally introduces affix *ṄīP* after *dvipād.* Rule 6.4.130 *pādaḥ*

pat, read with 6.4.129 *bhasya* (1.4.18 *yaci bham*), now requires that *pād* of *dvipād* + *ī* be replaced with *pad*. This produces *dvi* (*pād→pad*) + *ī* = (52) *dvipadī*. Example (51) *dvipād* does not receive *ṄīP*. A lack of *ṄīP* also blocks the replacement of *pād* by *pad*. The final *a* of *pāda* is here again deleted by 5.4.140 *saṃkhyā supūrvasya*. A *sU* introduced after *dvipād* is deleted as usual by 6.1.66 *halṅyābbhyo*. . . . The final *d* of *dvipād* is optionally replaced with *t* by 8.4.55 *vā' vasāne* read with 8.4.54 *kari ca*. Derivational details of (53) *tripād* and (54) *tripadī* are not any different.

Examples (55) *catuṣpād* and (56) *catuṣpadī* are also very similar to the preceding derivates. They, however, involve *visarga* and *ṣ* (*ṣatva*) as replacements. Given *caturpāda*, the *r* is replaced with *visarga* by 8.3.15 *kharavasānayor visarjanīyaḥ*. This *visarga* will then be replaced with *ṣ* of 8.3.41 *idudupadhasya*. . . . We will thus get *catuṣpād*. Deriving (56) *catuṣpadī* with *ṄīP*, *visarga* and *ṣatva* should not pose any problem.

Examples (57) *dvipadā*, (58) *tripadā* and (59) *catuṣpadā* are derivates of *ṬāP* conditioned by the denotation of *ṛci* (4.1.9 *ṭāb ṛci*). These obviously are exceptions to *ṄīP*. Affix *ṬāP* is introduced in each case after deleting the final *a* of . . . *pada* by 5.4.140 *saṃkhyāsupūrvasya*. These forms can also be treated as their nominative singular counterparts after introducing and deleting the nominal ending *sU*.

4.1.10 *na ṣaṭsvasrā* . . .

4.1.11 *manaḥ*

4.1.12 *ano bahuvrīheḥ*

pañca		*sapta*	
(60)	*svasā*	(61)	*duhitā*
(62)	*nanāndā*	(63)	*yātā*
(64)	*catasraḥ*	(65)	*dāmā*
(66)	*dāmānau*	(67)	*dāmānaḥ*
(68)	*sīmā*	(69)	*sīmānau*
(70)	*sīmānaḥ*	(71)	*atihimā*
(72)	*atihimānau*	(73)	*atihimānaḥ*
(74)	*suparvā*	(75)	*suparvāṇau*
(76)	*suparvāṇaḥ*	(77)	*sucarmā*
(78)	*sucarmāṇau*	(79)	*sucarmāṇaḥ*

Refer to the appendix of vol. II (under 1.1.24 *ṣṇāntā ṣaṭ*; (86) *pañca*, (87) *sapta*) for derivational details of *pañca* and *sapta*.

The nominal base in example (60) *svasā* ends in *ṛ*, and hence, qualifies for *ṄīP* of rule 4.1.5 *ṛnnebhyo ṇīp*. Our present rule negates this *ṄīP*. Note that *svasṛ* of *svasṛ* + *sU* receives *anAṄ* as a replacement for its final *ṛ* from rule 7.1.94 *ṛduśanas* . . ., read with 1.1.52 *ṇic ca*. We thus get *svas*(*ṛ→an*(*AṄ→ϕ*) + *s*(*U→ϕ*)) = *svasan* + *s*. rule 6.4.11 *aptṛntṛcsvasṛ* . . . then replaces the penultimate *a* with its long counterpart to produce *svas*(*a→ā*) *n* + *s*. The *s* of the

nominal ending is deleted by 6.1.68 *halṅyābbhyo*. . . . Finally, the *n* of *svasān* + (*s*→ϕ) is deleted by rule 8.2.7 *nalopaḥ prātipadikāntasya* to produce *svasā*(*n*→ϕ) = *svasā*. Examples (61) *duhitā*, (62) *nanāndā* and (63) *yātā* derive similarly from *duhitṛ* + *sU*, *nanāndṛ* + *su* and *yātṛ* + *sU*, respectively. Example (64) *catasraḥ* is slightly complex since, given *catur* + (*J*→ϕ) *as*, rule 7.2.99 first requires *catur* to be replaced with *catasṛ*. This, in turn, qualifies *catasṛ* to receive *ṄīP* of 4.1.5 *ṛnnebhyo* . . . which our present rule negates. Rule 7.2.100 *aci ca ṛtaḥ* then applies on *catasṛ* + *as* to produce *catasr* + *as* by replacing the *ṛ* with *r*. Finally, the *s* of *as* goes through *rutva-visarga* whereby we get *catasṛ* + *a* (*s*→*r*→*ḥ*) = *catasraḥ*.

Example (65) *dāmā* is a nominative singular derived from *dāman* + *sU* where *dāman* is a derivate of affix *manIN* introduced after verbal root *dā* by 3.2.71 *āto manin* . . . Refer to (503) *sudāmā* (appendix of vol. III) for additional details concerning long *ā* as a replacement for short (*ātva*), and deletion of *n* (*nalopa*). The dual and plural forms derive from *dāman* + *au* and *dāman* + *Jas* where deletion of *n* does not take place. Example ((66) *dāmānau* involves *ātva* but (67) *dāmānaḥ* involves *rutva-visarga* in addition. Examples (68) *suparvā* through (79) *sucarmāṇaḥ* follow the same derivational patterns. The dual and plural forms of *suparvan* and *sucarman*, namely *suparvāṇaḥ*/ *suparvāṇaḥ*; *sucarmāṇau*/ *suparvāṇaḥ* also involve *ṇ* as a replacement for their *n* (*ṇatva*; 8.4.1 *raṣābhyāṃ no ṇaḥ* . . .). The last six examples, namely (74) *suparvā*, etc., are also compound termed *bahuvrīhi* ending in *an*, where deletion of *an*, a *ṭi* (1.1.64 *aco'ntyādi ṭi*), does not take place. An optional affix for *bahuvrīhi* compounds with *ṭi*-deletion will be offered by the next rule.

4.3.13 *dāb ubhābhyām anyatarasyām*

(80) *pāmā*
(81) *pāme*
(82) *pāmāḥ*
(83) *sīmā*
(84) *sīme*
(85) *sīmāḥ*
(86) *bahurājā*
(87) *bahuraje*
(88) *bahurājāḥ*
(89) *bahudhīvarī*
(90) *bahudhīvā*
(91) *bahupīvarī*
(92) *bahupīvā*

We have already explained derivational details of (68) *sīmā* / (69) *sīmānau*/ (70) *sīmānaḥ* which all end in *man* (4.1.11 *manaḥ*). We have also illustrated (74) *suparvā* / (75) *suparvāṇau* / (76) *suparvāṇaḥ* which are *bahuvrīhi* compounds ending in *an*. Our present rule offers examples of both the nominal stems which end in *man* and *bahuvrīhi* compounds which end in *an*. A form such as (83) *sīmā* does not here derive from *sīman* + *sU*. It instead derives from *sīman* + *ḌāP* + *sU* where, because of *Ḍ* as an *it* (*Ḍit*), *ḌāP* conditions *ṭi*-deletion (6.4.143 *ṭeḥ*). Thus, *sīman* + *ḌāP* = *sīm* (*an*→ϕ) + *ā* = *sīmā*→*sīmā* + (*sU*→ϕ) = *sīmā*. Its dual form *sīme* derives from *sīman* + *ā* + *au* where, after deletion of *an*, *au* is replaced with *Śī* of 7.1.18 *auṅ āpaḥ*. Rule 6.1.87 *ād guṇaḥ*

then offers a single *guṇa* are replacement for the sequence *au* + *ī*. This yields *sīm* (*au*+*ī*→*e*) = *sīme*. Derivin (85) *sīmāḥ* from *sīm*(*an*→ϕ)+(*Ḍ*) *ā*(*P*) = *sīmā* + (*J*) *as* = *sīma* + *as*, via *savarṇadīrgha* and *rutva-visarga*, should not be difficult.

The *bahuvrīhi* compounds (2.2.24 *anekam anyapadārthe*) *bahurājan*, *bahudhīvarī* and *bahupīvarī* are formed parallel to *bahavo rājānaḥ yasyāṃ sā*, *bahavo dhīvānaḥ yasyāṃ sā* and *bahavo pīvānaḥ yasyāṃ sā*, respectively. An optional *ḌāP*, for example in case of *bahurājan*, will yield the string *bahurājan* + *ā*. Its nominative singular, dual and plural forms can be derived similarly to (83) *sīmā*, etc.

Examples (89) *bahudhīvarī*/(90) *bahudhīvā* and (91) *bahupīvarī*/ (92) *bahupīvā* illustrate the function of *anyatarasyām*, especially in relation to a *bahuvrīhi* ending in *van*. Thus, such a *bahuvrīhi* compound will also get an optional replacement in *r* (4.1.7 *vano ra ca*). Example (89) *bahudhīvarī* will thus derive from *bahudhīvan* + *ṄīP* = *sU* where the final *n* of *bahudhīvan* will be replaced with *r* to produce *bahudhīvarī* subsequent, of course, to *sU*-deletion. An optional *ḌāP* will require deletion of *an* to produce *bahudhīv*(*an*→ϕ) + (*Ḍ*) *ā*(*P*) + (*sU*→ϕ) = *bahudhīvā*. Example (91-92) follow similar derivational patterns.

4.1.15 *ṭiḍḍhāṇañdvayasaj* . . .

(93)	*kurucarī*	(94)	*madracarī*
(95)	*sauparṇeyī*	(96)	*vainateyī*
(97)	*kumbhakārī*	(98)	*nagarakārī*
(99)	*autsī*	(100)	*audapānī*
(101)	*ūrudvayasī*	(102)	*ūrudaghnī*
(103)	*ūrumātrī*	(104)	*jānudvayasī*
(105)	*jānudaghnī*	(106)	*jānumātrī*
(107)	*pañcatayī*	(108)	*daśatayī*
(109)	*ākṣikī*	(110)	*śālākikī*
(111)	*lāvaṇikī*	(112)	*yādṛśī*
(113)	*tādṛśī*	(114)	*āḍhyaṃkaraṇī*
(115)	*subhagaṃkaranī*		

Examples (93) *kurucarī* and *madracarī* derive from (*kurucara* + *ṄīP*) + *sU*)) and (*madracara* + *ṄīP*) + *sU*)) where *kurucara* and *madracara* are *tatpuruṣa* compounds (2.2.19 *upapadam atiṅ*) formed, parallel to *kuru* + *suP* + *cara* and *madra* + *suP* + *cara*. Our second constituent *cara* is derived by introducing the *kṛt* affix *Ṭa* after verbal root *car*, under the cooccurrence condition of *kuru* + *suP* and *madra* + *suP*, respectively (3.2.16 *careṣ ṭaḥ*). Affix *ṄīP* is introduced after *kurucara* and *madracara* under the specification of *Ṭ* as an *it* (*ṭit*) of this rule. The *a* of *kurucara* and *madracara* will be deleted by 6.4.148 *yasyeti ca* under the assignment of the term *bha* (1.4.18 *yaci bham*). Rule 6.1.68 *halṅyābbhyo* . . . will delete *sU* introduced after *kurucarī* and *madracarī*.

Example (95) *sauparṇeyī* and (96) *vainateyi* derive from (*sauparṇeya* + *ṄīP*)

+ *sU*)) and (*vainateya* + *ṄīP*) + *sU*)) where *sauparṇeya* and *vainateya* are derivates of the *taddhita* affix *ḍhaK* parallel to *suparṇāyā apatayaṃ strī* 'female offspring of Suparṇī and *vinatāyā apatyaṃ strī* 'female offspring of Vinatā'. Thus the *taddhita* affix *ḍhaK* is introduced after a syntactically related feminine base *suparṇī* + *Ṅas* (4.1.82 *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā*; 4.1.120 *strībhyo ḍhak*) under the meaning condition of *apatya* (4.1.92 *tasyāpatyam*). We will thus get (*suparṇī* + (*Ṅas*→ϕ) + (*ḍh*→*ey*)) *a* = *suparṇī* + *eya* after *sUP*-deletion (2.4.71 *supo dhātu . . .*) and *ey* as a replacement for the *ḍh* of affix *ḍha* (7.1.2 *āyaneyīniyaḥ . . .*). The initial vowel *u* of *suparṇī*, as *aṅga* (1.4.13 *yasmāt pratyayavidhis . . .*; 6.4.1 *aṅgasya*) before the *taddhita* affix (7.2.117 *taddhiteṣv acām . . .*) *ḍhaK* marked with *K* as an *it* (7.2.118 *kiti ca*), must go through a replacement in *vṛddhi*. Thus, *s*(*u*→*au*)*parṇī* + *eya* = *sauparṇī* + *eya*. The *ī* of *sauparṇī* + *eya* will also be deleted by 6.4.148 *yasyeti ca*, subsequent to the assignment of the term *bha* (1.4.18 *yaci bham*). Affix *ṄīP* can now be introduced after *sauparṇeya* under the condition of *ḍha* of rule 4.1.15 *tiḍḍhāṇañ . . .* Rule 6.4.148 *yasyeti ca* will again apply to delete the final *a* of *sauparṇey*(*a*→ϕ)+ (*Ṅ*)*ī*(*P*) = *sauparṇeyī*. The *sU* introduced after *sauparṇeyī* will also be deleted. Example (96) *vainateyī* follows the same derivational pattern.

Examples (97) *kumbhakārī* and (98) *nagarakārī* derive from (*kumbhakāra* + *ṄīP*) + *sU*)) and (*nagarakāra* + *ṄīP*)+ *sU*)) through the application of 6.4.148 *yasyeti ca* and 6.1.68 *halṅyābbhyo . . .*. The first deletes the final *ī* of *kumbhakārī* and *nagarakārī*. The second, of course, is used to delete *sU*. Refer to (97) *kumbhakāraḥ* in the appendix of vol. III, for deriving *kumbhakāra* parallel to (*kumbha* + *am* + *kṛ* + *aṆ*) + *sU*)), where *kāra* is combined with *kumbha* + *ām* to produce an *upapada-tatpuruṣa* compound. Similar derivational details are also involved in deriving *nagarakāra* of (98) *nagarakārī*. The *ṄīP* of these two derivates is introduced under the conditions of *aṆ*

Examples (99) *autsī* and (100) *audapānī* involve affix *ṄīP* introduced after *autsa* and *audapāna* under the specification of *aṅ*. That is, they derive from (*utsa* + *Ṅi* + *aÑ*) + *ṄīP*)) + *sU*))) and (*udapāna* + *Ṅī* + *aÑ*) + *ṆīP*)) + *sU*))) through deletion of *Ṅī*, *a* (of *utsa* before *aÑ*, and *autsa* before *ṄīP*) and *sU*. The *vṛddhi* of *u* is, of course, conditioned by *Ñ* as an *it* of affix *aÑ* (7.2.117 *taddhiteṣv acām. . . .* Affix *aÑ* is introduced after *utsa* + *Ṅī* and *udapāna* + *Ṅi* by 6.1.86 *utsādibhyo'ñ*, as an alternate of *aṆ* of 4.1.83 *prāg dīvyato'ṇ*. Commentators generally interpret *aÑ* of these derivates as denoting the sense of 4.3.53 *tatra bhavaḥ*. This explains why the locative singular ending *Ṅi*, and not the genitive *Ṅas*, is introduced to make the two bases syntactically related (*samartha*). Refer to Bhimsen Shastri (VI:1989, p. 15) for details of how introducing *aÑ* to denote an *apatya* will block *ṄīP* in favor of *ṄīN* (4.1.73 *śārṅgaravād . . .*) which, in turn, blocks *ṄīṢ* of 4.1.63 *jāter astrīviṣayad. . . .* Recall that *utsa* and *udapāna* denote *jāti*, especially in view of Patañjali's explanation of *gotraṃ ca caranaiḥ saha* (cf. *Mbh.* ad 6.1.63 *jāter . . .*).

Examples (101) *ūrudvayasī*, (102) *ūrudaghnī* and (103) *ūrumātrī* are derived from (*ūrudvyasa* + *ṄīP*) + *sU*)), (*ūrudaghna* + *ṄīP* + *sU*)) and (*ūrumātra* + *ṄīP*) + *sU*)), respectively. The three bases i.e., *ūrudvayasa*, *ūrudaghna* and *ūrumātra*, which receive affix *ṄīP* of this rule, denote *pramāṇa* 'measure', and end in the *taddhita* affixes *dvayasaC*, *daghnaC* and *mātraC*, respectively (5.2.37 *pramāṇe dvayasajdaghnañmātracaḥ*). Deriving *ūrudvayasī*, etc., from (*ūrudvayasa* + *ṄīP*) + *sU*, through the application of 6.4.148 *yasyeti ca* and 6.1.68 *halṅyābbhyo* . . . to accomplish deletion of *a* and *sU* is easy. Examples (104) *jānudvayasī*, (105) *jānudaghnī* and (106) *jānumātrī* also follow the same derivational pattern.

Examples (107) *pañcatayī* and (108) *daśatayī* illustrate bases which receive *ṄīP* on account of their *tayaP*. Thus, *pañcatayī* derives from (*pañcan* + *Jas* + *tayaP*) + *ṄīP*)) + *su*))), where *tayaP* is introduced to denote *avayava* 'part of a whole' of 5.2.42 *saṃkhyāyā avayave tayap*. This same is also true of (108) *daśatayī*. Their *n* is deleted in view of 8.2.7 *nalopaḥ prātipadikāntasya*. Deletion of *Jas*, and the final *a* of *pañcataya* and *daśataya* before *ṄīP* will again be accomplished by 6.4.148 *yasyeti ca*. The *sU* of course will be deleted by 6.1.68 *halṅyābbhyo*. . . .

Examples (109) *ākṣikī* is derived from (*ākṣika* + *ṄīP*) + *sU*)), where *ākṣika* is a *taddhita* derivate paraphrased as *aksair divyati* '. . . plays by means of dice'. Thus, affix *ṭhaK* is introduced by 4.4.2 *tena divyati* . . . after the syntactically related nominal stem *akṣa* + *bhis*. We will get *akṣa* + *ṭha* after the deletion of *bhis* (2.4.71 *supo dhatu* . . .). The *ṭh* of *ṭhaK* will be replaced with *ik* of 7.3.50 *ṭhasyekaḥ* to yield *akṣa* + *ika*. This, in turn, will produce *ākṣika* after the application of 6.4.148 *yasyeti ca* and 7.2.118 *kiti ca*. Thus *akṣ*(*a*→ϕ) + *ika* = (*a*→ϕ *ā*) *kṣ* + *ika* = *ākṣika*. Our present rule can then introduce *ṄīP* to derive *ākṣikī* which, with introduction of *sU*, will produce *ākṣikī*. Note that the *a* of *ākṣika* will be deleted by 6.4.148 *yasyeti ca*. The *sU* of *ākṣikī* + *sU* will be subsequently deleted by 6.1.68 *halṅyābbhyo*. . . . Example (110) *śālākikī* derives from (*śalākā* + *bhis*) + *ṄīP*)) + *sU*))) and follows the same derivational pattern.

Let us now consider (111) *lāvaṇikī* which derives from (*lavaṇa* + *sU* + *ṭhaÑ*) + *ṄīP*)) + *sU*))) where affix *ṭhaÑ* is introduced after *lavaṇa* + *sU* by rule 4.4.52 *lavaṇāṭ ṭhañ* read with 4.4.51 *tad asya paṇyam*. Deriving *lāvaṇikī* through *ika* placement for *ṭha*, deletion of the final *a* of *lavaṇa* and initial *vṛddhi* by 7.2.117 *taddhiteṣv acām* . . . offers nothing new. This same is also true of deletions of *sU*.

Examples (112) *yādṛśī* and (113) *tādṛśī* derive from (*tādṛśa* + *ṄīP*) + *sU* and (*yādṛśa* + *ṄīP*) + *sU* and illustrate instances where bases ending in affix *kaÑ* receive *ṄīP*. Refer to examples (473) *tādṛśaḥ* and (475) *yādṛśaḥ* in the appendix of vol. III for derivational details of *tādṛśa* and *yādṛśa*. Examples of *KvaraP* can also be found there under (668) *itvarī* and (674) *naśvarī*. Examples (457) *āḍhyaṃkaraṇam* and (458) *subhagaṃkaraṇam*, again in the appendix of vol. III, illustrate bases which end in affix *KHyuN* and receive *ṄīP* to

denote feminine. Deriving (114) *āḍhyaṃkaraṇī* and (115) *subhagaṃkaraṇī* from (*āḍhyaṃkaraṇa* + *ṄīP*) + *sU*)) and (*subhagaṃkaraṇa* + *ṄīP*) + *sU*)) should pose no problem.

4.1.16 *yañaś ca*

4.1.17 *prācāṃ ṣphas . . .*

(116) *gārgī* / (117) *vātsī*

(118) *gārgyāyaṇī* / *vātsyāyanī*

Example (116) *gārgī* illustrates how a derivate of *yaÑ* (4.1.105 *gargādibhyo yañ*) derived by introducing this *taddhita* affix after *garga* + *Ṅas* to denote a *gotra* descendant (4.1.92 *tasyāpatyam*; 4.1.162 *apatyaṃ pautraprabhṛti . . .*) receives *ṄīP*. Refer to (761) *gārgyaḥ* and (762) *vātsyaḥ* in the appendix of vol. II for deriving *gārgya* and *vātsya*. Rule 6.4.148 *yasyeti ca* will first delete the *a* of *gārgya* + *ṄīP*. Rule 6.4.150 *halas taddhitasya* will then delete the *y* of *gārgy* + *ṄīP* to produce *gārgī*. Deriving *gārgī* from *gārgī* + *sU* should pose no problem. Example (117) *vātsī* follows this same pattern.

Examples (118) *gārgyāyaṇaḥ* and (119) *vātsayāyanaḥ* illustrate how the *taddhita* affix *Ṣpha* facilitates subsequent introduction of affix *ṄīṢ* of 4.1.41 *ṣid gaurādibhyaś ca*. Thus, *gārgya* + *Ṅas* + *Ṣpha* will go through three operations: *it*-deletion of *Ṣ* (1.3.6 *ṣaḥ pratyayasya*), *āyam* as a replacement for its *ph* (7.1.2 *āyaneyīnīyiyaḥ . . .*), and deletion of the final *a* of *gārgya* (6.4.148 *yasyeti ca*). Thus, *gārgya* + (*Ṣ*→ϕ) (*ph*→*āyan*) *a* = *gārgy*(*a*→ϕ) + *āyan* + *a* = *gārgyāyana*. Rule 2.4.71 *supodhātu . . .* will then delete *Ṅas*, based upon the assignment of the term *prātipadika* to *gārgyāyana* (1.2.46 *kṛttaddhitasamāsāś ca*). The way is now clear for introducing affix *ṄīṢ* of 4.1.41 *ṣid gaurādibhyaś ca*. This will produce: *gārgyāyan*(*a*→ϕ) + (*Ṅ*)*ī*(*Ṣ*) through *it*-deletion and the application of 6.4.148 *yasyeti ca*. The *n* of *gārgyāyanī* + *sU* will be replaced with *ṇ* (*ṇatva*; 8.4.1 *raṣābhyāṃ no ṇaḥ . . .*). Deletion of *sU* (6.1.68 *halñyābbhyo . . .*) will finally accomplish *gārgyāyaṇī*. Example (119) does not require *ṇatva*.

4.1.18 *sarvatra lohitādikatantebhyaḥ*

(120) *lauhityāyanī*

(121) *śāṃsityāyanī*

(122) *bābhravyāyanī*

(123) *śākalyāyanī*

(124) *śākalāḥ*

Examples (120) through (123) derive from (*lauhitya* + *Ṅas* + *Ṣpha*) + *sU*)), (*śāṃsitya* + *Ṅas* + *Ṣpha*) + *sU*)), (*bābhravya* + *Ṅas* + *Ṣpha*) + *sU*)), and (*śākalya* + *Ṅas* + *Ṣpha*) + *sU*)), respectively. The bases of all these derivates end in *yaÑ* of 4.1.105 *gargādibhyo yañ*, etc. Thus, given *lohita* + *Ṅas* + *yañ*, we will get *lauhitya* through *it*-deletion, deletion of *sUP* and *a* (2.4.71 *supodhatu . . .*; 6.4.148 *yasyeti ca*). The initial *vṛddhi* in *lohita* will be accomplished by 7.2.117 *taddhiteṣv acām. . . .* Example (121) *śāṃsityāyanī* follows the same pattern.

Deriving *bābhravya* from *babhru* + *Ṅas* + *yaÑ*, where *yaÑ* is introduced by 4.1.106 *madhubabhrvor . . .*, involves application of 6.4.146 *or guṇaḥ* and 6.1.76 *vānto yi pratyaye*. The first rule orders *o* as a replacement for *u* of *babhru*. The second then replaces the *o* of *babhro* with *av*. Thus: *babhr(u→o→av) + ya = babhravya*, which, through *vṛddhi* of 7.2.117 *teddhiteṣv cām . . .*, will produce *b(a→ā)bhravya*. Note that deriving (122) *bābhravyāyaṇī* from *bābhravya + (ph→āyan) + ṄīṢ) + sU))* also involves *ṇatva*. Thus we get: *bābhravyāya(n→ṇ)ī + (sU→ϕ)) = bābhravyāyaṇi*.

Example (123) *śākalyāyanī* offers nothing new. Note, however, that since *śakala* is listed within the *lohitādi* group before *kaṇva*, though after *kata*, it qualifies for both *Ṣpha* and *aṆ*. The derivate in *aṆ*, i.e., (124) *śākalāḥ*, derives from *ś(a→ā)kala + (Ṅas→ϕ) + aṆ(→ϕ)) = śākala + Jas)))* with the signification of *śākalyasyeme chātrāḥ* 'students of Śākalya'. Affix *aṆ* is introduced here by 4.2.111 *kaṇvādibhyo gotre*.

4.1.22 *aparimāṇabistācitakambalyebhyo na taddhitaluki*

(125) *pañcāśvā* / (126) *daśāśvā*
(127) *dvivarṣā* / (128) *trivarṣā*
(129) *dvibistā* / (130) *dvyācitā*
(131) *dvikambalyā*

These preceding are all derivates of *ṬāP* introduced as an exception to *ṄīP* of the preceding rule. Of course, after a nominal stem termed *dvigu*. Thus, *pañcan + bhis aśva + bhis* combine to produce (125) *pañcāśva* through deletion of *bhis* (*sUP*-deletion; 2.4.71 *supo dhātu . . .*) and *n* (8.2.7 *nalopaḥ . . .*). This *dvigu* compound is formed by 2.1.51 *taddhitārthottarapada . . .* in anticipation of the *taddhita* affix *ṭhaK* of 5.1.37 *tena krītam*. This *ṭhaK* is, however, deleted by 5.1.28 *adhyardhapūrvād*. We now have a nominal stem (1.2.46 *krittaddhitasamāsāś ca*) where *LUK*-deletion of a *taddhita* affix after a compound termed *dvigu* has taken effect. Rule 4.1.21 *dvigoḥ* then offers *ṄīP* which our present rule blocks under the qualification of *aparimāṇa* 'non-measure'. Rule 4.1.4 *ajādyataṣ ṭāp* then offers *ṬāP* to facilitate the derivation of *pañcāśvā* from *(pañcāśvā + ṬāP) + sU))* through *savarṇadīrgha* (6.1.101 *akaḥ savarṇe dīrghaḥ*) and deletion of *sU* (6.1.68 *halṅyābbhyo . . .*). One can similarly derive (126) *daśāśvā*.

(127) *dvivarṣā* and (128) *trivarṣā* are offered as examples where a *dvigu* compound with the signification of *kāla* meets the specification of *aparimāṇa*. Here again, affix *ṭhaK* is introduced by 5.1.80 *tamadhīṣṭo bhṛto . . .* after the *dvigu* compound *dvivarṣa*, paraphrased as *dve varṣe bhūte* parallel to *dvi + au varṣa + au*. This affix is deleted by 5.1.89 *cittavati nityam*. This deletion will now block *ṄīP* in favor of *ṬāP* to derive (127) *dvivarṣā* and (128) *trivarṣā*.

Examples (129) *dvibistā* and (130) *tribistā* are derived with *ṬāP* after *ṄīP* is negated. Thus, *(dvi + au bistā + au) + ṭhaK))*, with deletions of *sUP* and *ṭhaK*, will produce *dvibistā*. Affix *ṭhaK* is introduced by 5.1.52 *sambhavatyavaha-*

rati. . . . It is deleted by 5.1.28 *adhyardha.* . . . Deriving *dvibistā* from (*dvibistā* + *ṬāP*) + *sU* through *savarṇadīrgha* and deletion of *sU* offers nothing new. One can similarly derive (130) *tribistā* parallel to (*tri* + *Śas bistā* + *Śas*) + *ṭhaK*→(*tribistā* + *ṬāP*) + *sU* = *tribistā.*

Example (130) *dvyācita* is similarly derive from *dvi* + *au ācita* + *au* with the paraphrase *dvau ācitau pacati.* This derivate involves *ṭhaÑ* which is introduced by 5.1.54 *dvisaṃgoṣṭhaś ca* but is deleted as usual by 5.1.28 *adhyardha.* . . . Deriving *dvyācitā* from (*dv*(*i*→*y*)*ācita*)) + *ṬāP*)) + (*sU*→))) = *dvyācitā* does not offer anything new.

Example (131) *dvikambalyā,* parallel to *dvi* + *bhyām kambalya* + *bhyām* derives with *ṭhaK,* similar to (125) *pañcāśvā,* with the denotatum of *dvābhyāṃ kambalyābhyāṃ krītā.*

4.1.23 *kāṇḍāntāt kṣetre*

4.1.24 *puruṣāt pramāṇe' nyatarasyām*

(132) *dvikāṇḍā kṣetrabhaktiḥ*
(133) *trikāṇḍā kṣetrabhaktiḥ*
(134) *dvipuruṣā parikhā*
(135) *tripuruṣā parikhā*
(136) *dvipuruṣī parikhā*
(137) *tripuruṣī parikhā*

Rule 4.1.23 *kāṇḍāntāt kṣetre* negates *ṄīP* after a *dvigu* compound which ends in *kāṇḍa,* provided the derivate denotes *kṣetra* 'field'. Examples (132) *dvikāṇḍā* is a derivate of *ḌāP* with the *dvigu* compound *dvikāṇḍā* where the derivate is paraphrased as *dve kāṇḍe pramāṇam asyāḥ kṣetrabhakteḥ.* Note that the *taddhita* affixes *dvayasaC, daghnaC* and *mātraC* will be introduced by 5.2.37 *pramāṇe.* . . . These will be deleted by a *vt* (*ad:* 5.2.37) *pramāṇe lo vaktavyaḥ.* Rule 4.1.3 *ajādyataṣ ṭāp* can now introduce *ṬāP* to derive intended examples similar to the examples of the preceding rule. Example (133) *trikāṇḍā* does not offer anything new. Examples (134) *dvipuruṣā* is a derivate of *ṬāP* introduced after *dvipuruṣa,* a *dvigu* compound paraphrased as *dvau puruṣau pramāṇam asyāḥ parikhāyāḥ.* The *taddhita* affix *ṭhaK,* introduced by 5.1.57 *tad asya parimāṇam,* is then deleted by 5.1.28 *adhyardhapūrvadvigor.* . . . One can similarly derive (136) *dvipuruṣī* if one prefers *ṄīP* over the option of *ḌāP.* Same set of rules derive (135) *tripuruṣā* and (137) *tripuruṣī.*

4.1.25 *bahuvrīher ūdhaso ṇīṣ*

4.1.26 *saṃkhyyāvyayāder ṇīp*

(138) *ghaṭodhnī*
(139) *kuṇḍodhnī*
(140) *dvyūdhnī*
(141) *nirūdhnī*

This rule favors *ṄīṢ* over *ṄīP,* though the derivates of both differ only in

accent (*svara*). A *bahuvrīhi* compound such as *ghaṭodhnī* is formed with *ghaṭa* + *sU ūdhas* + *sU* by 2.2.24 *anekam anyapadārthe* in the sense of *ghaṭa iva ūdho' syāḥ*. An application of 2.4.71 *supodhātu* . . . deletes the two nominal endings in view of the assignment of the term *prātipadika* (1.2.46 *kṛttaddhita* . . .). Rule 6.1.97 *āto guṇe* then applies on *ghaṭa* + *ūdhas* to replace the sequence *a* + *u* with a single *guṇa* vowel *o*, a substitute homogeneous with the *u* which follow (*parasavarṇa*). The result, i.e., *ghaṭ*(*a* + *u*→*o*) *dhas* = *ghaṭodhas*, receives *an*(*AṄ*) of rule 5.4.131 *ūdhaso' nañ* in place of its final *s* (1.1.52 *ṇic ca*). This produces (*ghaṭodha*(*s*→*an*(*AṄ*→ϕ)) = *ghaṭodhan*.

Our present rule introduces affix (*Ṅ*)*ī*(*Ṣ*) = *ī* not simply as an exception to the *ṄīP* of 4.1.12 *ano bahuvrīheḥ* but also to the *ṬāP* of 4.1.13 *ḍāb ubhābhyām anyatarasyām*. The *a* of *ghaṭodhan* + *ī* is deleted by 6.4.134 *al lopo' naḥ* under the assignment of the term *bha* (1.4.18 *yaci bham*; 6.4.129 *bhasya*). Thus: *ghaṭodh*(*a*→ϕ) *n* + *ī* = *ghaṭodhnī* + (*sU*→ϕ) = *ghatodhnī*. Note that a derivate of *ṄīṢ* is marked *udātta* at the beginning (3.1.3 *ādyudattaś ca*). A derivate of *ṄīP* is marked *anudātta* in view of 3.1.4 *anudāttau suppitau*. Example (139) *kuṇḍodhnī* follows the same pattern.

Examples (140) *dvyūdhnī* derives from (*dvi* + *au ūdhas* + *au*) + *ṄīP*)) + *sU*))) where *dvi* is a number word. Derivational details offer nothing new except with regard to accent. The *Phiṭsūtra* 1: *phiṣo' ntodāttaḥ* marks *dvi* as *udātta* at the end. Rule 6.1.152 *anudāttaṃ padam ekavarjam* then applies to produce *dvi* + *dhn* where, except for *dvi*, the rest is marked *anudātta* via *nighāta*. The string which we get after the application of 6.1.77 *iko yaṇ aci* plus (*Ṅ*)*ī*(*P*) is subject to the application of 8.2.4 *udāttasvaritayor yaṇaḥ* . . ., whereby *yū* is marked *svarita* to produce: *dvyūdhnī*. Recall that the *a* of *ūdhan* will be deleted, and *ī* will be marked *anudātta* in view of (3.1.4 *anudāttau suppitau*). One can similarly derive (141) *nirūdhnī* parallel to *nirgatam ūdho yasyāḥ* where *nir* is an indeclinable (*avyaya*). Note that accentual differences between derivates of *ṄīṢ* and *ṄīP* amount to a difference of *udātta* and *anudātta*, respectively.

4.1.27 *dāmahāyanāntāc ca*

This rule negates *ṄīP* after a *bahuvrīhi* compound which begins with a constituent denoting *saṃkhyā* 'number' and ends in *dāma* and *hāyana*. Recall that affix *ṄīP* which is negated by 4.1.12 *ano bahuvrīheḥ* is offered as an option to *ḌāP* of 4.1.13 *ḍāb ubhābhyām*. . . . Since this rule offers an optional *ṄīP* which is already available from 4.1.28 *ana upadhālopino' nyatarasyām*, this provision must be accepted as obligatory (*nitya*). Deriving (142) *dvidāmnī*, (143) *tridāmni* and (144) *dvihāyani* from (*dvi* + *au dāman* + *au*) + *ṄīP*, etc., parallel to *dve dāmanī yasyāḥ*, etc., involves deletion of *an* of *bha* by 6.4.134 *allopo' naḥ*.

4.1.28 *ana upadhālopino' nyatarasyām*

This rule allows *ṄīP*, optionally with *ḌāP*, for a *bahuvrīhi* compound which ends in *an* and goes through the deletion of its *upadhā*. Consider (145)

bahurājñī, paraphrased as *bahavo rājāno yasyāṃ*. Thus, *bahu + Jas rājan + Jas* will combine to produce *bahurājan* which, after receiving *ṄīP*, will produce *bahurāj(a→ϕ) n + ī = bahurājn + ī* with the application of 6.4.148 *yaci bham*. Rule 8.4.40 *sto ścunā ścuḥ* will then apply to produce *bahurāj(n→ñ) + ī = bahurājñī + (sU→ϕ) = bahurājñī*. The dual (146) *bahurājñau* and plural (147) *bahurājñaḥ* derive from *bahurājñ(ī→y) = au(Ṭ) = bahurājñyau* and *bahurājñ(ī→y) + (J) a(s→ḥ) = bahurājñyaḥ*, through applications of 6.1.77 *iko yaṇ aci* and 8.3.15 *kharavasānayor visarjanīyaḥ*.

Not accepting the option of *ṄīP* will lead to derivate in *ḌāP* (4.1.13 *ḍāb ubhābhyām . . .*), for which see (23) *bahurājā*. The nominative dual (148) *bahurāje* and plural (149) *bahurājāḥ* will be derived similarly to (84/85) *sīme/sīmāḥ* where deletion of *an* by 6.4.143 *teḥ*, read with 6.4.149 *bhasya*, must be accomplished.

A non-acceptance of this option of *ḌāP* will lead to the negation of *ṄīP*, *ḌāP*, and *ṭi*-deletion. This will produce (150) *bahurājā*, (151) *bahurājānau* and (152) *bahurājānaḥ*, similar to (68/69/70) *sīmā/sīmānau/sīmānaḥ*.

4.1.29 *nityaṃ saṃjñāchandasoḥ*

4.1.30 *kevalamāmakabhāgadheyapāpāparasamānāryakṛta . . .*

This rule makes the optional *ṄīP* of the preceding rule as obligatory (*nitya*). This obligatory provision is restricted to the context of *saṃjñā* 'name' in the Classical language. The *ṄīP*, however, is made obligatory for Vedic in all contexts. Thus we get (153) *atirājñī* from *atirājan + ṄīP* and (154) *surājñi* from *surājan + ṄīP*, similar to (145) *baburājñī*, etc. Vedic usages can be illustrated by (155) *pañcadāmnī* and (156) *sámāṉamūrdhanī*. They can be derived from (*pañcadāman + ṄīP) + sU*)), and (*samānamūrdhan+ṄīP)+sU*)), where *pañcadāman* and *samānamūrdhan* are *bahuvrīhi* compounds paraphrased as: *pañca dāmāni yasyāḥ sā* and *samānaṃ mūrdhā yasyāḥ*.

Derivates of 4.1.29 are restricted to the context of *saṃjñā*, insofar as Classical usages ae concerned. They are specified for Vedic with no restriction. We will get derivates of *ṬāP*, in the Classical usage, outside of the context of *saṃjñā*. Thus, (157) *kevalī* and (158) *kevalā* (with *ṬāP*) will be two Classical forms, as opposed to one, namely *kevalī*, in the Vedic.

Examples (159) *māmakī* derives from (*māmaka + ṄīP*) + *sU* where (160) *māmaka* 'this is mine' itself is a derivate of affix *aṆ*, introduced optionally in view of 4.3.1 *yuṣmadasmador . . .*, after *asmad* to signify *mamāyam* 'this is mine'. Note that *asmad* is replaced with *mamaka* (4.3.3 *tavakamamakāv . . .*) which, after initial *vṛddhi* by 7.2.117 *taddhiteṣv acām . . .*, produces: (*asmad→mamaka*) + *a*(→ϕ)) = *māmaka + a*. The final *a* of *māmaka* will be deleted by 6.4.148 *yasyeti ca* to produce *māmak(a→ϕ) + a = māmaka* with *vṛddhi*. Deriving (161) *māmakā* from *māmaka + ṬāP* requires *i* as a replacement for *a* to produce: *mām(a→i) ka + ṬāP*. This replacement is offered by *māmakanarakayor upasaṃkhyānam*, a *vārttika* ad 7.3.44 *pratyayasthāt. . . .*

4.1.34 *vibhāṣa sapūrvasya*

4.1.35 *nityaṃ sapatnyādiṣu*

Note that this rule offers *n* as an optional replacement for the final sound segment of a non-*upasarjana* nominal stem, namely *pati*, when it is used in combination after another constituent. Thus, we get (162) *vṛddhapatnī* and (163) *vṛddhapatiḥ* from *vṛddhapat(i→n)+ ṄīP = vṛddhapatnī + sU→vṛddhapatnī* and *vṛddhapati + sU = vṛddhapatiḥ*, paraphrased as: *vṛddhaḥ patiḥ yasyāḥ*. One can similarly derive (164) *sthūlapatnī* and (165) *sthūlapatiḥ*.

Rule 4.1.35 *nityaṃ sapatnyādisu* derives (166) *sapatnī* and (167) *ekapatnī* with an obligatory *n* (as well as *ṄīP*), parallel to *samānaḥ patir yasyāḥ* and *ekaḥ patir yasyāḥ*, respectively. This provision is offered relative to a select list of stems headed by *sapatnī*. A specification by means of *sapatnyādiṣu* is made to indicate that *samāna* is reduced to *sa*. Thus, *samāna + sU pati + sU = sa(māna→ϕ) pati = sapati*, etc.

4.1.36 *pūtakrator ai ca*

4.1.37 *vṛṣākapyagnikusitakusīdānām udāttaḥ*

4.1.38 *manor au vā*

Example (168) *pūtakratāyī* derives from *pūtakratu +ṄīP = pūtakrat(u→ai) +ī = pūtakratai + ī*. Rule 6.1.78 *eco'yavāyāvaḥ* then applies to produce *pūtakrat(ai→āy) = i = pūtakratāyī + (sU→ϕ) = pūtakratāyī*. Incidentally, *pūtakratuḥ* is derived as a *bahuvrīhi* compound parallel to *pūtaḥ kratuḥ yena*.

Examples (169) *vṛṣākapāyī*, (170) *agnāyī*, (171) *kusitāyī* and (172) *kusīdāyī* derive with *ṄīP* introduced after *vṛṣākapi*, *agni*, *kusita* and *kusīda* with an *ai* marked *udātta* as a replacement for their final sound segments. The word *vṛṣākapi* is *udātta* in the middle since *a* of *ṣa* is marked *udātta* by the *Phiṭsūtra: laghāv ante dvayoś ca* . . . . 6.1.158 *anudāttam padaṃ ekavarjam* will turn the rest of the vowels into marked *anudātta*. This, however, will not apply to replacement in *ai* which our present *sūtra* marks *udātta*. The words *agni*, etc., are marked *udātta* at the end in view of the *Phiṭsūtra: phiṣo'ntodāttaḥ*. The *udātta* for the replacement in *ai* could be gotten via *sthānivadbhāva*. Replacing *ai* with *āy* by 6.1.78 *eco'yavāyāvaḥ* is the only non-accentual operational step in deriving these forms. All other operations are routine.

Rule 4.1.38 *manorau vā* offers three derivates: (173) *manāyī*, (174) *manāvī* and (175) *mánuḥ*, where *manu* is marked *udātta* at the beginning (*Uṇādi*: 1/10). These three derivates are gotten via options of *ai*, *au*, and a lack there of. Thus: *ma(u→ai→āy)+i=manāyī*, *man(u→au→āv)+ī=manāvī*, and *manu*. Our last example must also be denied *ṄīP* since associated options (*sanniyogaśiṣṭa*) of replacements in *ai* and *au* are both denied.

4.1.39 *varṇād anudāttopadhāt topadhāto naḥ*

4.1.40 *anyato ṇīṣ*

This rule introduces *ṄīP* as an option to *ṬāP* for stems which denote 'color (*varṇa*)' and contain *t* in their *upadhā*, penultimate position. This *t*, in turn, is simultaneously replaced with *n*, of course, when the option of *ṄīP* is

accepted. Thus, we get (176) *etā́*, (177) *enī́*; (178) *śyetā́* (179) *śyenī́*; and (180) *haritā*, (181) *hariṇī*. Deriving *e*(*t*→*n*) *a* + *ṄīP* = *en*(*a*→) + *i* =*enī*+*sU* = *enī* or *eta* + (*Ṭ*) *ā*(*P*) = *et*(*a*+*a*→*ā*) = *etā* + *sU* = *eta*, etc., is not very difficult.

Examples: (182) *sāraṅgī* and (183) *kalmāṣī* are derivates of *ṄīṢ* covered by rule 4.1.40 *anyato ṇīṣ*. The specification of *anyataḥ* refers to stems which do not contain *t* in their *upadhā*. It has been noted that derivates of *ṄīP* and *ṄīṢ* differ only in their accents. Thus, *sā́raṅgī* and *ka̲lmāṣī́*.

4.1.41 *ṣidgaurādibhyaś ca*

Examples *narttakī*, *rajakī* and *gaurī* have been derived in the appendix of vol. II as (477), (478) and (708) respectively. Refer to example (118) and (119) in this volume for derivational details of *gārgyāyaṇī* and *vātsyāyanī*. Follow the derivational patterns of *gaurī* for deriving (184) *matsī* from (*matsa* + *ṄīṢ*) +*sU*.

4.1.42 *jānapadakuṇḍagoṇasthalabhājana* . . .

This rule offers *ṄīṢ* after eleven bases with reference to eleven corresponding meanings. Example (185) *jā̲npā̲dī* is a derivate of *ṄīṢ* introduced after *jānapada*, a base derived with affix *aÑ* introduced after *janapada* (4.1.86 *utsādibhyo'ñ*). Affix *ṄīṢ* must be introduced here when the derivate is denoting *vṛtti* 'livelihood'. An interpretation outside of the meaning of *vṛtti* will demand affix *ṄīP* of 4.1.15 *ṭiḍḍhāṇañ*. . . . Note that as a derivate of *ṄīP*, *jānapadī* will be obligatorily marked *udātta* at the beginning (*ādyudātta*). This obligatory *udātta* is accomplished in view of 6.1.197 *ñnityādir nityam*. Thus, *jānápadī*. A derivate of *ṄīṢ* will be marked *udātta* at the end (*antodātta*), on account of retaining its affixal accent (*pratyayasvara*; 3.1.3 *ādyudāttaś ca*) of *udātta* at the beginning: *jā̲na̲pa̲dī*.

Examples: (186) *kuṇḍī*, (187) *goṇī*, (188) *sthalī*, (189) *bhājī*, (190) *nāgī*, (191) *kālī*, (192) *nīlī*, (193) *kuśī*, (194) *kāmukī* and (195) *kabarī* are derived with *ṄīṢ* with the signification of *amatra*, etc. Elsewhere, we will find derivates of *ṬāP* such as *kuṇḍā*, *guṇā*, *sthalā*, *bhājā*, *nāgā*, *kālā*, *nīlā*, *kuśā*, *kāmukā*, and *kabarā*, respectively. Incidentally, the word *nāga* can be used as denoting either a quality (*guṇavacana*), or *jāti* 'class'. Affix *ṄīṢ* is introduced when *sthaulya* 'fatness' is denoted. That is, *ṄīṢ* cannot be employed if the derivate denotes a quality other than *sthaulya*, or it denotes *jāti*. A similar restriction is imposed on *kāmukā* which must be used with a particular denotatum. A denotatum of *maithunecchā* will favor *ṄīṢ*. A desire for something else will favor *ṬāP*. Note that *kāmuka* is derived with affix *ukaÑ* (3.2.154 *laṣapatapada* . . .) with the signification of *kartṛ*. It cannot be used in the sense of *icchā* 'desire' in general. Incidentally, *maithunecchā* is interpreted as a *bahuvrīhi* compound of *vyadhikaraṇa* 'non-appositional' type paraphrased as: *maithune icchā yasyāḥ*. Affix *ṬāP* of meanings outside of *amatra*, etc., will be introduced by rule 4.1.4 *ajādyataṣ ṭāp*.

4.1.51 *ktād alpākhyāyām*

Example (196) *abhraviliptī* derives from *abhravilipta* + *ṄīṢ* where the

derivate must have the signification of *alpa* 'little' and *abhra* must denote *karaṇa*. Thus, *abhra* + *Ṭā* combines with *vilipta*, a derivate of *Kta* (3.2.102 *niṣṭhā*), to produce (*abhravilipta* + *ṄīṢ*) *sU*→*abhraviliptī*. Similar derivational pattern is followed for deriving (197) *sūpaviliptī*.

4.1.52 *bahuvrīheś cāntodāttaḥ*

Examples (198) *śaṅkhabhinnī* and (199) *urubhinnī* are derived from (*śaṅkha* + *sU bhinna*) *ṄīṢ*)) + *sU* and (*uru* + *au bhinna*) *ṄīṢ*)) + *sU*, paraphrased as *śaṅkhaḥ bhinnaḥ yasyāḥ sā* and *urū bhinnau yasyāḥ sā*, respectively. Incidentally, *bhinnaḥ* is derived as example (28) in the appendix of vol. I. The final *udātta* accent is accomplished in view of 6.1.170 *jātikālasukhādibhyo*. . . . Example (200) *galakotkṛttī* and (201) *keśalūnī* derive from (*galaka* + *sU utkṛta*) + *ṄīṢ*)) + *sU* and (*keśa* + *Jas lūna*) + *ṄīṢ*)) + *sU*, paraphrased as *galakam utkṛtam asyāḥ* and *keśāḥ lūnāḥ yasyāḥ*, respectively. Incidentally, *Nyāsa* offers the paraphrase *keśān lunāti* which goes against the requirement of *bahuvrīhi*.

4.1.53 *asvāṅgapūrvapadād vā*

Example (202) *śārṅgajagdhī* derives from (*śārṅga* + *sU jagdha*) *ṄīṢ*)) + *sU*, parallel to *śārṅgaṃ jagdhaṃ yayā* 'she by whom ginger-root was eaten'. Note that (203) *jagdha* is a derivate of *Kta* introduced after verbal root *ad* where *ad* gets replaced with *jagdh* of 2.4.36 *ado jagdhir lyapti*. . . . The *t* of *jagdh* + *ta* is replaced with *dh* of 8.2.40 *jhaṣastatho*. . . . The *dh* of *jagdh* is then deleted by 8.4.65 *jharo jhari savarṇe* to produce: *jag*(*dh*→ϕ) + *dha* = *jagdha*. The *bahuvrīhi* compound *śārṅgajagdha* is formed by 2.2.24 *anekam anyapadārthe*, and is marked *udātta* at the end by 6.2.170 *jātikālasukhādibhyo*. . . . This same derivational pattern also applies to (204) *palāṇḍubhakṣitī*, paraphrased as: *palāṇḍuḥ bhakṣitaḥ yayā sā*. Incidentally, *bhakṣita* is derived with *Kta* introduced after *bhakṣ* + *ṆiC* of rule (3.1.25 *satyāpa*. . . *curādibhyo ṇic*). An example such as (205) *surāpītī* derives from *surā* + *sU pīta* + *sU*, paraphrased as *surā pītā yayā*, where *pīta* is a derivate of *pā* + *Kta*. The *ā* of *pā* is replaced with *ī* (*ītva*) to produce *p*(*ā*→*ī*) + *ta* = *pīta* (6.4.66 *ghumāsthāgāpā*. . .). Examples (206) *śārṅgajagdhā*, (207) *palāṇḍubhakṣitā* and (208) *surāpītā* will be derived with *ṬāP*, respectively, if the option of *ṄīṢ* is not accepted.

4.1.54 *svāṅgāc copasarjanād asaṃyogopadhāt*

Examples (209) *candramukhī* and (210) *candramukhā* involve *ṄīṢ* and *ṬāP* as optional. These example both contain *candramukha*, a *bahuvrīhi* compound fromed with *candra* + *sU mukha* + *sU* (2.2.24 *anekam anyapadārthe*) as their base. Given *atikeśa* + *ṄīṢ* the final *a* of *atikeśa* will be deleted by 6.4.148 *yasyeti ca*. This, after placement of *sUP*, and subsequent deletion, will yield (*atikeś*(*a*→ϕ) + *ī*) + (*sU*→ϕ) = *atikeśī*. One will end with *atikeśā*, a derivate with *ṬāP*, if the option of *ṄīṢ* is not accepted. This derivate will involve *savarṇadīrgha* (6.1.101 *akaḥ savarṇe dīrghaḥ*) to produce *atikeśa* + (*Ṭ*) *ā*(*P*) = *atikeśā*. One can introduce *sU* and apply its deletion to derive *candramukhā*.

Examples (211) *atikeśī* and (212) *atikeśā* are also optional. The base, i.e., *atikeśa*, is a *prādi-tatpuruṣa* formed with *keśa* + *Śas* + *ati*, in view of the *vārttika:*

atyādayaḥ krāntādyarthe dvitīyayā (1.4.79 *jīvikopaniṣadāv aupamye*). Note that *atikeśa* has a final constituent which denotes *svāṅga*, and also does not have any conjunct in its *upadhā*. Note further that *ati* is an *upasarjana*, especially in view of 1.2.44 *ekavibhakti cāpūrvanikpāte*. Deriving these examples with *ṄīṢ* and *ṬāP* offers nothing new. A question is raised as to why *atikeśa* has to receive a feminine affix. That is, why should we not accepted it as a masculine in accord with rule 2.4.26 *paraval liṅgaṃ dvandvatatpuruṣayoḥ*. A *vārttika* (ad 2.4.26 *paraval. . .*; *dviguprāptāpannālam. . .*) blocks the assignment of gender in consonance with a constituent which follows (*paravalliṅgatā*) in favor of gender in accord with the qualified (*viśeṣya*).

4.1.55 *nāsikodarauṣṭhajaṅghādantakarṇaśṛṅgāc ca*

Examples (213) *tuṅganāsikī* and (214) *tuṅganāsikā*, again involve options of *ṄīṢ* and *ṬāP*. The compound is analyzed as: *tuṅgā nāsikā yasyāḥ*. The final *ā* of the resultant string *tuṅgānāsikā* is replaced with its short counterpart because *nāsikā* is termed an *upasarjana* (1.2.48 *hrasvo napuṃsake. . .*). Additionally, *tuṅgā* also goes through masculine transformation (*puṃvadbhāva*; 6.3.34 *striyāḥ. . .*). Deriving *tuṅganāsikī* and *tuṅganāsikā* from (*tuṅganāsika* + *ṄīṢ*) + *sU* and (*tuṅganāsika* + *ṬāP*) + *sU* does not offer anything new. One can similarly derive (215) *tilodarī* and (216) *tilodarā*. These two sets of examples constitute exceptions to rule 4.1.56 *na kroḍādibahvacaḥ* whereby the optional *ṄīṢ* of this rule is negated. The nagation is of course conditioned by the qualification of *bahvac*. Incidentally, rule 4.1.55 *nāsikodarauṣṭha. . .* is accepted as a prior exception (*purastāpavāda*) which blocks an immediately subsequent operation (*anantara*). Note that the remaining examples all involve a *saṃyoga* 'conjunct' in their *upadhā*.

Examples (217) *bimboṣṭhī* and (218) *bimboṣṭhā* are derived paraphrased as *bimbam iva oṣṭhau yasyāḥ*. An optional *pararūpa*, single replacement homogeneous with what follows, yields *bimb*(*a*+*o*→*o*)*ṣṭha* (cf. *vt.*: *otvoṣṭhayoḥ samāse vā* ad 1.1.64 *aco'ntyādi ṭi*). Those who do not accept this optional *pararūpa* can apply 6.1.88 *vṛddhir eci* for a single *vṛddhi* replacement. This will yield (219) *bimbauṣṭhī* and (220) *bimbauṣṭhā*. Examples (221) *dīrghajaṅghī* and (222) *dīrghajaṅghā* are derived paraphrased as: *dīrghe jaṅghe yasyāḥ sā*. The base *dīrghajaṅgha* is derived similar to *tuṅganāsika* of (213) *tuṅganāsikā*.

4.1.56 *na kroḍādibahvacaḥ*

Example (223) *kalyāṇakroḍā* is a derivate of *ṬāP*, paraphrased as *kalyāṇī kroḍā yasyāḥ sā*, where *ṄīṢ* is negated on account of *kroḍā*, itself a feminine. The compound involves shortening of the final *ā* of *kroḍā* because it is assigned the term *upasarjana*. A masculine transformation of *kalyāṇī* will also be accomplished similar to example (213) *tuṅganāsikī*. Example (224) *kalyāṇakhurā* can be similarly derived. Note that *jaghana* of (225) *pṛthujaghanā* and *lalāṭa* of (226) *mahālalāṭā* denote a limb but contain many vowels (*bahvac*). This, in turn, forms a basis for negating *ṄīṢ* in favor of *ṬāP*.

4.1.57 *sahanañvidyamānapūrvāc ca*

Examples (227) *sakeśā* and (228) *sanāsikā* are paraphrased as *saha keśair vartate* and *saha nāsikayā vartate*, respectively. Rule 2.2.28 *tena saheti tulyayoge* allows the formation of compounds *sakeśa* and *sanāsikā*. Based upon the assignment of the term *upasarjana* to the constituency of these compounds, *saha* is replaced with *sa* in view of rule 6.3.80 *vopasarjanasya*. Examples (229) *akeśā*, (230) *anāsikā*, and (231) *vidyamānakeśā* and (232) *vidyamānanāsikā* are offered as examples for initial constituency of *naÑ* 'not' and *vidyamāna* 'existent'. The first two compounds, i.e. *akeśa* and *anāsikā*, are formed with reference to the *vārttika: naño'styarthānāṃ bahuvrīhir vā cottarapadalopaś ca vaktavyaḥ*; cf. 2.2.24 *anekam anyapadārthe*. This *vt.* is also responsible for deleting *vidyamāna*. Refer to examples (79) *abrāhmaṇaḥ* and (80) *anaśvaḥ* (vol. III, appendix) for applications yielding *a* and *an* relative to *naÑ*.

4.1.61 *vāhaḥ*

Examples (233) *dityauhī* and (234) *praṣṭhauhī* are derivates of *ṄīṢ* introduced after *dityavāh* and *praṣṭhavāh*. Thus, affix *ṆvI* is introduced after verbal root *vah* (3.2.64 *vahaś ca*) under the cooccurrence condition of an object, namely *ditya* + *am*. We will get *dityavah* as a result of *sUP*, *it* and affixal deletions. The *v* of *ṆvI* will of course will be deleted by 6.1.67 *ver apṛktasya*. Rule 7.2.116 *ata upadhāyāḥ*, read with 1.1.61 *pratyayalope pratyayalakṣaṇam*, will cause *vṛddhi* to produce *dityav(a→ā)h* = *dityavāh*. This, in turn, will be assigned the term *prātipadika* (1.2.46 *kṛttaddhitasamāsāś ca*), and will receive affix *(Ṅ)i(Ṣ)*. Rule 6.4.132 *vāh ūṭh*, read with 1.4.18 *yaci bham* and 6.4.129 *bhasya*, will then apply to replace the *v* of *vāh* with *ū(ṬH)* to produce: *ditya(v→u(ṬH→ϕ)h))* + *ī* = *dityaūh* + *ī*. An application of rule 6.1.89 *etyedhatyūṭhsu* replaces the sequence of *a* and *ū* with a single *vṛddhi* vowel *au*. This gives us *dity(a+ū→au)h* + *ī* = *dityauhī*. Deriving *dityauhī* from *dityauhī* + *sU* does not offer anything new. Similar derivational steps are involved in deriving (234) *praṣṭhauhī* from (*praṣṭha* + *am* + *ṆvI* + *ṄīṢ*) + *sU*.

4.1.62 *sakhyaśiśvīti bhāṣayām*

Examples (235) *sakhī* and (236) *aśiśvī* are derivate of *ṄīṢ* introduced after *ṣakhi* 'friend' and *aśiśu* 'childless'. Deriving *sakhī* from (*sakhi* + *ṄīṢ*) + *sU*, through deletion of the base-final short *i* (6.4.148 *yasyeti ca*), and subsequently introduced *sU*, is straightforward. A *bahuvrīhi* compound such as *aśiśvī* is paraphrased as *avidyamānaḥ śiśuḥ yasyāḥ*. The base *aśiśu* can be derived similar to *akeśa* of (239) *akeśā*. Deriving *aśiśvī* from *aśiś(u→v)* + *ī* = *aśiśvī* + (*sU→ϕ*) = *aśiśvī*, through *yaṇ* (6.1.77 *iko yaṇ aci*) and deletion of *sU*, offers nothing new.

4.1.76 *taddhitāḥ*

This domain of affixes termed *taddhita* extends through the end of the fifth *adhyāya*. Rule 4.1.82 *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* requires these affixes to be introduced optionally after a syntactically related (*samartha*) *pada* (1.4.14 *suptiṅantaṃ padam*). This interpretive rule is given by way of an *adhikāra* and

governs operational provisions prior to 5.3.1 *prāg diśo vibhaktiḥ*. Note that operational provisions relative to these affixes is treated as part of *padavidhi* similar to formation of compounds (*samāsa*). Many of the *taddhita* derivates are also treated as exceptions to compounds. However, a compound formation does not completely block its *taddhita* counterpart. Thus, *aupagavaḥ* 'a descendant of Upagu' is formed optionally with *upagor apatyam pumān* 'male offspring of Upagu'. These preceding strings both can also be used optionally with *upagvapatayam*, a *ṣaṣṭhī-tatpuruṣa* compound. Such an interpretation is gotten by carrying *anyatarasyām* of rule 4.1.81 *daivayajñiśaucivṛkṣa*. . . .

Rule 4.1.83 *prāg dīvyato'ṇ* introduces *aṆ* as a general (*autsargika*) affix to which specific exceptions are also enumerated. A series of subsections within this large *prāgdīvyatīya* section is characterized with specific affixal denotatum as follows: *tasyāpatyam* (4.1.92), *tena raktaṃ rāgāt* (4.2.1), *nakṣatreṇa yuktaḥ kālaḥ* (4.2.3), *saṃskṛtaṃ bhakṣāḥ* (4.2.16), *sā'smin paurṇamāsīti saṃjñāyām* (4.2.21), *sā'sya devatā* (4.2.24), *tasya samūhaḥ* (4.2.37), *viṣayo deśe* (4.2.52), *tad adhīte tad veda* (4.2.59), *tad asminn astīti deśe tannāmni* (4.2.67), *tena nirvṛttam* (4.2.68), *tasya nivāsaḥ* (4.2.69), *adūrabhavaś ca* (4.2.70), *tatra jātaḥ* (4.3.25), *tatra bhavaḥ* (4.3.53), *tasya vyākhyāna*. . . (4.3.66), *tata āgataḥ* (4.3.74), *so'sya nivāsaḥ* (4.3.89), *abhijanaś ca* (4.3.90), *tena proktam* (4.3.101), *kṛte granthe* (4.3.116), *tasyedam* (4.3.120) and *tasya vikāraḥ* (4.3.134). It has already been explained how variable references such as *tad, tena, tasya, tatra,* etc., specify syntactically related *padas* in terms of their nominal endings.

Rules 4.2.67 *tad astīti deśe tannāmni*, 4.2.68 *tena nirvṛttam*, 4.2.69 *tasya nivāsaḥ* and 4.2.70 *adūrabhavaś ca* outline affixal provisions dealing with four specific denotata (*cāturarthika*). Yet another subdomain, aptly called *śaiṣika* (4.2.92 *śeṣe*), covers rules enumerated prior to 4.3.132 *tasya vikāraḥ*. This is a residual domain insofar as affixal denotatum is concerned. That is, it covers meaning previously not covered by rules such as 4.1.92 *tasyāpatyam* through 4.2.70 *adūrobhavaś ca*. The fourth *pāda* of *adhyāya* four basically deals with two major affixal provisions of *ṭhaK* (4.4.1 *prāg vahateṣ ṭhak* and *yaT* (4.4.75 *prāg hitād yat*). Some major subsections of rules in the fifth *adhyāya* introduce affixes known as *vibhakti* (5.3.1 *prāg diśo vibhaktiḥ*), *tadrāja* (5.3.119 *ñādayas tadrājāḥ*) and *samāsānta* (5.4.68 *samāsāntāḥ*). The *taddhita* domain has a very complex networking of subdomains mostly because of various denotata expressed by its affixal provisions. This summary is presented simply for illustration. Further details will be offered with specific derivates.

I have already discussed the derivational history of many *taddhita* derivates elsewhere. Specific operational details of additional derivates will be offered here, as well as in explanatory notes under individual rules, when necessary. In the meantime, here are a few general operations dealing with *taddhita* derivates:

(1) Bases after which *taddhita* affixes are introduced are largely syntactically related *pada* (*samartha-pada*), or nominal stems (*prātipadika*). A syntac-

tically related base is mostly determined on the basis of variable references contained within rules specifying their denotational scopes, i.e., 4.1.92 *tasyāpatyam*, etc., read with 4.1.82 *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā*. Bhaṭṭoji (*SK* on 4.1.92 *tasyāpatyam*) notes that affixes are to be introduced after bases which have already accomplished *sandhi* (*kṛtasandhikārya*). For, initial *vṛddhi* blocks the final and penultimate *vṛddhi* (cf.: *ādivṛddhir antyopadhāvṛddhī bādhate*). A non-application of *sandhi* would yield a wrong form such as **sāvutthiti* as opposed to *sautthiti*. That is, if affix *iÑ* is introduced after *suutthita* + *Ṅas* + *iÑ* = *s*(*u*→*au*) *utthita*→*s*(*au*→*āvutthit*(*a*→ϕ)) + *i* = *sāvutthiti*, without accomplishing *s*(*u*+*u*=*ū*) *tthita* = *sūtthita* to start with.

(2) A *taddhita* derivate is assigned the term nominal stem (1.2.46 *kṛttadhitasamāsāś ca*).

(3) Nominal endings (*sUP*) contained within such derivates is then deleted by 2.4.71 *supo dhātuprātipadikayoḥ*.

(4) *vṛddhi*.

7.2.116 *taddhiteṣv acām ādeḥ* (*vṛddhiḥ* #114, *aco'ñṇiti*)

'the initial among vowels of an *aṅga* (1.4.13 *yasmāt pratyayavidhis tadādi pratyaye'ṅgam*) is replaced with its *vṛddhi* (1.1.1 *vṛddhir ādaic*) counterpart (1.1.3 *iko guṇavṛddhi*) when a *taddhita* affix marked with *Ñ* and *Ṇ* as an *it* follows'

7.2.118 *kiti ca*

'the initial among vowels of an *aṅga* is replaced with its *vṛddhi* counterpart also when a *taddhita* affix marked with *K* as an *it* follows'

(5) *guṇa*

6.4.146 *or guṇaḥ* (*aṅgasya* #1, *bhasya* #129, *taddhite* #133)

'the final *u* of an *aṅga* termed *bha* (1.4.18 *yaci bham*) is replaced with its *guṇa* (1.1.2 *adeṅ guṇaḥ*) counterpart when a *taddhita* affix follows'

(6) Deletion of *ī* and *a* at the end of an *aṅga* termed *bha*

6.4.148 *yasyeti ca* (*aṅgasya* #1, *bhasya* #129, *taddhite* #133, *lopaḥ* #147)

'the final *i* and *a* (1.1.52 *alo'ntyasya*) of an *aṅga* termed *bha* is deleted by *LOPA*, when a *taddhita* affix, and *ī* of a feminine affix as well, follows'

(7) Deletion of *ṭi* of an *aṅga* termed *bha* ending in *n*

6.4.144 *nas taddhite* (*aṅgasya* #1, *bhasya* #129, *lopaḥ* #134, *ṭeḥ* #143)

'the *ṭi* (1.1.64 *aco'ntyādi ṭi*) of an *aṅga* termed *bha* which ends in *n* is deleted by *LOPA*'

(8) Replacement in *āyan*, etc.

7.1.2 *āyaneyīnīyiyaḥ phaḍhakhachaghāṃ pratyayādīnām*

(*aṅgasya* #6.4.1)

'the initial *ph*, *ḍh*, *ek*, *ch* and *gh* of an *aṅga* is replaced with *āyan*, *ey*, *īn*, *īy* and *iy* respectively'.

Commentators advise that these replacements must be accomplished right when corresponding affixes are introduced'.

Deriving a *taddhita*-derivate generally involves operations already outlined.

I shall, for economy, refer to them as *bha-saṃjñā* 'assignment of the term *bha*', *ī-lopa* 'deletion of *ī* by *LOPA*', *a-lopa* 'deletion of *a* by *LOPA*', *ṭi*-deletion, *vṛddhi*, *guṇa*, replacements in *āyan*, etc. Scroes of other examples have been derived under individual rules.

4.1.81 *daivayajñiśaucivṛkṣisātyamugri . . .*

Examples (237) *daivayajñī*, (238) *śaucivṛkṣī*, (239) *sātyamugrī* and (240) *kāṇṭheviddhī* are all derivates of *iÑ* (4.1.95 *ata iñ*) introduced after *devayajña* + *Ṅas*, *śucivṛkṣa* + *Ṅas*, *satyamugra* + *Ṅas* and *kaṇṭheviddha* + *Ṅas*. Incidentally, *devayajña*, *śucivṛkṣa*, *satyamugra* and *kaṇṭheviddha* are all *bahuvrīhi* compounds, paraphrased as *devā yajñā asya*, *śuciḥ vṛkṣaḥ asya*, *satyam ugram asya* and *kaṇṭhe viddham asya*. Note that preposing (*pūrvanipāta*) of *satya*, a qualified (*viśeṣya*), as well as introduction of augment *mUM*, is accomplished via *nipātana*. The non-deletion of locative (*saptamī*) in *kaṇṭheviddha* is in line with 6.1.12 *amūrddhamastakāt*. Deletion of *Ṅas* (2.4.71 *supodhātu . . .*) and the final *a* of the bases before affix *iÑ* (6.4.148 *yasyeti ca*) with initial *vṛddhi* (7.2.115 *aco' ñṇiti*) produces *daivayajñi*, *śaucivṛkṣi*, *sātyamugri* and *kāṇṭheviddhi*, respectively. Affix *ṄīṢ* (4.1.65 *ito manuṣyajāteḥ*) can now be introduced to derive *daivayajñī*, *śaucivṛkṣī*, *sātyamugrī* and *kāṇṭheviddhi*, through *bha*-deletion of the base-final *i*. We will get (241) *daivayajñyā*, (242) *śaucivṛkṣyā*, (243) *sātyamugryā* and (244) *kāṇṭheviddhyā* if the option of *ṢyaÑ* of this rule is accepted. Thus, *daivayajñi* + *ṢyaÑ* + *CāP*, *śaucivṛkṣi* + *ṢyaÑ* + *CāP*, *sātyamugri* + *ṢyaÑ* + *CāP* and *kāṇṭheviddhi* + *ṢyaÑ* + *CāP* will yield *daivayajñā*, *śaucivṛkṣyā*, *sātyamugryā* and *kāṇṭheviddhyā*, respectively. Of course, through *bha*-deletion and *savarṇadīrgha*. Affix *CāP* will be introduced in accord with 4.1.74 *yañaś cāp*.

4.1.89 *gotre' lug aci*

Example (245) *gārgīyāḥ* derives from *gārgya* + *ām* + *cha* where rule 4.2.113 *vṛddhāc chaḥ* introduces affix *cha*. Recall that *gārgya* itself derives from *garga* + *Ṅas* + *yaÑ* where *yaÑ* is introduced with the denotatum of a *gotra*-descendant. How come the string for deriving *gārgīyāḥ* is given as *gārgya* + *ām* in plural? For, rule 2.4.64 *yañañoś ca* requires deletion of *yaÑ* in plural. In fact, an affix with the denotatum of *gotra* is deleted when plurality (*bahutva*) is denoted. Thus, the base should still be *garga*. It is explained that *yaÑ* will be saved from this deletion by rule 4.1.89 *gotre' lug aci*. For, an affix, i.e., (*ch*→*īy*) *a*, beginning with a vowel (*ajādi*) with follow. This blocked deletion will retain the affix as well as initial *vṛddhi* and will enable *gārgya* + *ām* to receive *cha*. This will give us *gārgya* + (*ch*→*īy*) *a* = *gārgy*(*a*→ϕ) + *īya* = *gārgy* + *īya*, through *īy*-replacement (7.1.2 *āyaneyīnī . . .*) and *bha*-deletion of *a*. The *y* of *gārgy* + *īya* will be deleted by 6.4.151 *āpatyasya ca taddhite . . .* to produce *gārg*(*y*→ϕ) + *īya* = *gārgīya*. A nominative plural form, i.e., *gārgīyaḥ*, can be derived from *gargīya* + (*J*) *as* via *pūrvasavarṇadīrgha* (6.1.102 *prathamayoḥ pūrvasavarṇaḥ*) and *rutva-visarga* (8.2.66 *sasajuṣo ruḥ*; 8.3.15 *kharavasnayor . . .*). Thus, *gārgīya* + *as* = *grgīy*(*a*+*a*→*ā*) *s* = *grgīya*(*s*→*r*→*ḥ*)) = *gārgīyāḥ*. Example (246) *vātsīyāḥ*

follows the same pattern.

Similar derivational pattern is also followed by (247) *ātreyīyāḥ* where *atri* + *Ṅas* + *ḍhaK* (4.1.121 *itaś cāniñaḥ*) produces *ātreya* through *bha*-deletion of *i* and *ey* replacement of *ḍh*. Note that *ātreya* is derived with no deletion of *ḍhaK*. A derivate with deletion in plural (2.4.65 *atribhṛgukutsa . . .*) will be *atrayaḥ*, parallel to the singular and dual nominative *ātreyaḥ* and *ātreyau* where deletion has taken effect. A string, such as *atri* + *ām* + *ḍhaK*, will produce *ātryeya* where our present rule will not allow the deletion of *ḍhaK* because a vowel-initial affix is anticipated. Thus, *ātreya* + (*ch*→*īy*) *a* = *ātrey*(*a*→ϕ) + *īy*) *a*) = *ātreyīya* + *Jas* = *ātreyīyāḥ*.

One can similarly begin to derive *khārapāyaṇīyāḥ*, from *kharap* + *ām* + *phaK*, where *phaK* will be introduced by 4.1.99 *naḍādibhyo phak*. Rule 2.4.63 *yaskādibhyo gotre* will require the deletion of *phaK*, but will be blocked by the negation of our present rule in anticipation of (*ch*→*īy*) *a*.

4.1.90 *yūni luk*

The derivation of (248) *phāṇṭāhṛtiḥ* begins with *phāṇṭāhṛta* + *Ṅas* + *apatya* + *sU*, where *phāṇṭāhṛta* + *Ṅas* receives affix *iÑ* (4.1.95 *ata iñ*) and produces *phāṇṭāhṛti* through initial *vṛddhi* and *bha*-deletion. Why initial-*vṛddhi* when the base already has a *vṛddhi* vowel initially? Well, when it rains it rains all over—on wet and dry places both. Rules apply the same way (*parjanyaval lakṣaṇāni bhavanti*). Yet another base, i.e., *phāṇṭāhṛta*, is produced with the denotation of *yuvāpatya* by introducing affix *aṆ* (4.1.150 *phāṇṭāhṛtimimatābhyāṃ ṇaphiñau*) after *phāṇṭāhṛti* + *Ṅas* where the derivate denotes *yuvāpatya* 'young descendant'. But this *aṆ* may also be deleted in anticipation of the vowel-initial affix *aṆ* of 4.2.112 *iñaś ca*. The base will again be *phāṇṭāhṛti*. This *phāṇṭāhṛti* with *aṆ* will produce *phāṇṭāhṛta* through *bha*-deletion.

Derivates such as (249) *bhāgavittāḥ* and (250) *kāpiñjalādāḥ* follow similar patterns. Their derivation starts with the introduction of affix *iÑ*. Thus, *bhāgavitta* + *Ṅas* + *iÑ* and *kapiñjalāda* + *Ṅas* + *iÑ* will produce *bhāgavitti* and *kāpiñjalādi* with the denotatum of a *gotra* descendant. One will get *bhāgavittika* and *kāpiñjalādya* with the introduction of affixes *ṭhaK* (4.1.148 *vṛddhāṭ ṭhak . . .*) and *Ṇya* (4.1.151 *kurvādibhyo ṇyaḥ*), respectively, where the derivates will denote *yuvāpatya*. Rule 7.3.50 *ṭhasyekaḥ* will replace *ṭha* with *ika*. Anticipating the introduction of *aṆ* by 4.2.112 *iñaś ca* will cause deletion of *ṭhaK* and *ya*. This will change the two bases back to *bhāgavitti* and *kāpiñjalādi*. The new derivates of *aṆ* will be: *bhāgavitta* and *kāpiñjalāda*. Derivation of (251) *taikāyanīyāḥ* will begin with the introduction of *phiÑ* after *tika* + *Ṅas*, whereby we will get *taikāyani*. One will now derive *taikāyanīya* with the introduction of affix *cha* (4.1.149 *pheś cha ca*), denoting *taikāyaner yuvāpatyam* 'young descendant (*yuvāpatya*) of Tailāyani'. If one further anticipates *cha*, a vowel-initial affix, to denote, for example, *taikāyanīyasya chātrāḥ* 'students of Taikāyanīya', the earlier *cha* will be deleted. The base will now become *taikāyani*. The second *cha* will now produce *taikāyanīya* which, with *Jas*, will yield

taikāyanīyāḥ.

4.1.91 *phakphiñor anyatarasyām*

The derivation of (252) *yāskāyanīyāḥ* begins with *yaska + Ṅas + apatya + sU.* Affix *aṆ* is here introduced by 4.1.112 *śivādibhyo'ṇ.* We will thus get *yāska* through *bha*-deletion and initial *vṛddhi.* Affix *phiÑ* (4.1.156 *aṇo dvyacaḥ*) will then be introduced after *yāska + Ṅas* to produce *yāsk*$(a\rightarrow\phi)$ + $(ph\rightarrow$*āyan*$)$ *i= yāskāyani* through *bha*-deletion and *āyan* as a replacement for *ph.* But if this process is intervened in anticipation of the vowel-initial affix $(ch\rightarrow$*īy*$)$ *a,* rule 4.1.91 *phakphiño'nyatarasyām* will delete *phiÑ.* Our string *yāska + Ṅas +* $(ch\rightarrow$*īy*$)$ *a* will produce *yāskīya* similar to one in (245) *gārgīyāḥ.* We will get *yāskāyanīyāḥ* optionally with (253) *yāskīyāḥ* if the optional deletion of *phiÑ* is not accepted. Note that affix *phiÑ* denotes *yuvāpatya* 'young descendant'. A young descendant of *gārgya* will similarly be derived as *gārgīya,* where affix *phaK* (4.1.101 *yañiyoś ca*) will be deleted in anticipation of $(ch\rightarrow$*īy*$)$ *a* (4.2.114 *vṛddhāc chaḥ*). A non-deletion of $(ph\rightarrow$*āyan*$)$ *aK* will produce (254) *gārgyāyaṇa* where *n* will be replaced with *ṇ* (*ṇatva*). An anticipated *cha* will then produce *gārgyāyanīya* of (255) *gārgyāyaṇīyāḥ.* Similar pattern is also followed by (256) *vātsyāyanīyāḥ.*

4.1.98 *gotre kuñjādibhyaś cophañ*

Kāśikā lists (257) *kauñjāyanyaḥ,* (258) *kauñjāyanyau,* (259) *kauñjāyanāḥ,* the nominative singular, dual and plural forms, respectively, of *kauñjāyanya* as examples. It is not difficult to derive *kauñjāyana* from *kuñja* + $(C\rightarrow\phi)$ *pha*$(Ñ\rightarrow\phi)$ = *k*$(u\rightarrow au)$ *ñj*$(a\rightarrow\phi)$ + *pha = kauñj* + $(ph\rightarrow$*āyan*$)$ *a = kauñjāyana* through *bha*-deletion, initial *vṛddhi* and *āyan* replacement for *ph.* Rule 5.3.113 *vrātacphañor astriyām* then introduces affix *Ñya* with the significaiton of the base (*svārtha*). Application of *bha*-deletion on *kauñjāyan*$(a\rightarrow\phi)$ + *ya* will produce *kauñjāyanya.* Deriving *kauñjāyanyaḥ* and *kauñjāyanyau* from *kauñjāyanya + sU* and *kauñjāyanya + au* offers nothing new. Deriving *kauñjāyanāḥ* form *kauñjāyanya + Jas* will require deletion of *Ñya* by 2.4.62 *tadrājasya bahuṣu . . .* at the strength of the term *tadrāja* (5.3.199 *ñyādayas tadrājāḥ*). We thus get: *kauñjāyan*$(ya\rightarrow\phi)$ + $(J\rightarrow\phi)$ *as = kauñjāyanyāḥ,* similar to (445) *pañcālāḥ* (appendix of vol. II).

4.3.1 *yuṣmadasmador. . ./* 4.3.2 *tasminn aṇi ca yuṣmākāsmākau*

(260) *yauṣmākīṇaḥ* / (261) *yuṣmadīyaḥ* / (262) *yauṣmākaḥ*
(263) *āsmākīnaḥ* / (264) *asmadīyaḥ* / (265) *āsmākaḥ*

Note that each set illustrates derivates of *khaÑ, cha* and *aṆ,* respectively. Affixes *kha* and *cha* yield *īna* and *īya,* through *īn* and *īy* replacements for *kh* and *ch,* respectively (7.1.2 *āyaneyīnīyiyaḥ . . .*). Rule 4.3.2 *tasminn aṇi ca yuṣmākāsmākau* requires *yuṣmad* and *asmad* to be replaced with *yuṣmāka* and *asmāka,* respectively, before affixes *khaÑ* and *aṆ.* Derivates of *cha* are not allowed this replacement. Affix *aṆ* is introduced under the provision of *anyatarasyām.* The *ṇ* as a replacement for *n* can be gotten by applying 8.4.1 *raṣābhyān no ṇaḥ samānapade.*

4.3.3 *tavakamamakāv ekavacane*

(266) *tāvakīnāḥ* / (267) *māmakīnāḥ*
(268) *tāvakāḥ* / (269) *māmakāḥ*

These derivates illustrate *tavaka* and *mamaka* as replacements for *yuṣmad* and *asmad* before affixes *khaÑ* and *aṆ*. All examples involve initial *vṛddhi*. Replacement in *īn* for *kh* is applicable to derivates of *khaÑ*. Thus, (*yuṣmad→tavaka*) + *kha* = *t*(*a→ā*) *vaka* + (*kh→īn*) *a* = *tāvakīna* + (*J*) *as→tāvakīnāḥ*, etc.

5.3.30 *añcer luk*

(270) *prāg*

Note that the derivation of *prāg* begins with *pra* + *añcU*, where affix *KvIN* is introduced by 3.2.59 *ṛtvigdadhṛk* . . . after verbal root *añc* (3.1.91 *dhātoḥ*), used with the preverb *pra*. The *ñ* of *añc* then goes through deletion by 6.4.24 *aniditāṃ hal*. . . . Our string, *pra+ac* + (*KvIN→v*) = *pra+ac* + *v*, goes through deletion of *v* by 6.1.67 *ver apṛktasya* (cf. 1.2.41 *apṛkta ekāl pratyayaḥ*). Affix *ṄīP* is then introduced after *pra+ac* with reference to a *vārttika* ad 4.1.6 *ugitaś ca* (cf. *añcateś copasaṃkhyānam*). Given *pra+ac* + (*Ṅ→ϕ*) *ī* (*P→ϕ*) = *pra+ac* + *ī*, rule 6.4.138 *acaḥ* will apply to delete the *a* of *ac* with reference to the assignment of the term *bha* (1.4.18 *yaci bham*). The *a* of *pra+*(*a→ϕ*) *c* + *ī* = *pra+c* + *ī* will now be replaced with its long counterpart by 6.3.136 *cau*, yielding *pr*(*a→ā*) *c* + *ī* = *prācī*.

One can now introduce affix *Ṅī* after *prācī* to further introduce *astātI*. It is this *astātI* which goes through deletion of rule 5.3.30 *añcer luk*. But this deletion has its consequences. It is because of this deletion that *ṄīP* also gets deleted by 1.2.49 *luk taddhitaluki*. This removal of *ṄīP* also causes removal of what it conditioned. That is, the deletion of *a* of *ac*, and the long replacement for short *a* of *pra* as well. This gives us *pra+ac* = *prāc*, through *savarṇa-dīrgha* (6.1.101 *akaḥ savarṇe dīrghaḥ*).

We can now introduce *sU* after *prāc* which will be subsequently deleted by 2.4.82 *avyayād āpsupaḥ*. For, *prāc* is an *avyaya* in view of 1.1.38 *taddhitaś cāsarvavibhaktiḥ*. Note, however, that *prāc* will still be a *pada*. This will enable rule 8.2.62 *kvin pratyayasya kuḥ* to apply *kutva*. We will thus get *prā*(*c→k*) = *prāk*. This resultant *k* can then be replaced by *g* through *jaśtva* (8.2.39 *jhalāṃ jaśo'nte*).

5.4.68 *samāsāntāḥ*

(271) *dvipurī* / (272) *tripurī*
(273) *kośaniṣadinī*
(274) *vidhuraḥ* / (275) *pradhuraḥ*
(276) *uccairdhuraḥ*

Note that (271) *dvipurī* has *dvipur* as its base. It is a *dvandva* compound of the *samāhāra* type formed, under the provisions of 2.1.51 *taddhitārthot-*

tarapada . . ., parallel to *dvi* + *au pur* + *au*. The compound base *dvipur* receives the *samāsānta* affix *a* of 5.4.74 *ṛkpūr*. . . . Our string *dvipur+a* will still be treated as *dvigu* because *a* will become part of it. This enables it to receive the faminine affix *ṄīP* (4.2.21 *dvigoḥ*). The *a* of *dvipura*, as usual, will go through deletion. This will give us *dvipurī* + *s*(*U*→ϕ) = *dvipurī* + *s*. The *s* itself will be deleted by 6.1.68 *halṅyābbhyo* . . . to produce *dvipurī*. Example (272) *tripurī* follows similar derivational paths.

The next (273) *kośaniṣadinī* also contains a *dvandva*, i.e., *kośaniṣad*, derived from *kośa* + *sU niṣat* + *sU*, with the signification of *ca*. The *samāsānta* affix *ṬaC* will then be introduced to yield *kośaniṣada*. Rule 5.2.128 *dvandvopatāp* . . . will then introduce affix *inI*. We will then derive *kośaniṣada* + *in* = *kośaniṣad*(*a*→ϕ) + *in* = *kośaniṣadin*. Rule 4.1.5 *ṛnnebhyo ṇīp* will then introduce *ṄīP* to produce *kośaniṣadinī*. It can be transformed into a *pada* by introducing, and subsequently deleting, *sU*.

Examples (274) *vidhuraḥ* and (275) *pradhuraḥ* contain *bahuvrīhi* compounds *vidhura* and *pradhura*, parallel to *vi* + *sU dhur* + *sU* and *pra* + *sU dhur* + *sU*, respectively. The compound bases *vidhura* and *pradhura* receive the *samāsānta* affix *a* (5.4.74 *ṛkpūr* . . .).

Rule 6.2.1 *bahuvrīhau prakṛtyā* . . . requires the prior constituent of a *bahuvrīhi* compound to retain its original accent. Thus, *iv*, since it is a *nipāta*, is marked *udātta* (*Phiṭsūtra*: 79). The remaining compound is marked *anudātta* in view of 6.1.152 *anudāttaṃ padam*. . . . We then get *ekaśruti* 'monotone' in view of 8.4.65 *udāttānudāttasya svaritaḥ*. This gives us: *vidhúraḥ*. This same also applies to *pradhúraḥ*. The *samāsānta* affix is also consequential for accent, especially since it is treated as part of the compound. If not, the affix could have been marked *udātta* at the beginning (3.1.3 *ādyudāttaś ca*). The affixal accent would have been accepted for *vidhuraḥ* on account of its being *satiśiṣṭa* 'taught subsequently'. Deriving (276) *uccairdhuraḥ* involves introducing the *samāsānta* affix *a* (5.4.74 *ṛkpūrabdhūḥ* . . .). The result is still a *bahuvrīhi*, and hence, the original accent of the initial constituent is retained. The compound is marked *udātta* at the end (*antodātta*).

Bibliography

Abhyankar, Kashinath Vasudeva

1960 (Ed.) *The Paribhāṣenduśekhara of Nāgeśa*, edited and explained by F. Kielhorn, II, new edition, with preface by K.V. Abhyankar. Poona: Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute.

1977 *A Dictionary of Sanskrit Grammar*, second edition, revised by J.M. Shukla. Baroda: Oriental Institute.

Agrawal, Vasudeva Sharan

1963 *India as Known to Pāṇini*, second edition. Varanasi: Prithivi Prakashan.

Bhattacharya, Ram Shankar

1966 *Pāṇinīya Vyākaraṇa kā Anuśīlan.* In Hindi. Varanasi: Indological Book House.

Bhimasen Shastri

1979 *Nyāya-paryālocanam*, a Critical Study of the Nyāsa of Jinendrabuddhi. In Hindi. Delhi: Bhaimi Prakashan.

1983–88 *Laghusiddhāntakaumudī*, commentary in Hindi, 4 vols., reprint. Delhi: Bhaimi Prakashan.

Böhtlingk, Otto

1964 *Pāṇini's Grammatik*, reprint. Hildesheim: Olms.

Brahmadatta Jijñāsu

1981 *Aṣṭādhyāyībhāṣya, prathamāvṛtti*, part II, in Hindi, third reprint. Amritsar: Ramlal Kapoor Trust.

Cardona, George

1988 *Pāṇini: His Work and Its Traditions, Background and Introduction.* Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass.

Charudeva Shastri

1969–73 *Vyākaraṇa-candrodaya*, 5 vols., in Hindi. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass.

Dwarikadas Shastri and Kalika Prasad Shukla

1965–67 (Ed.) *Kāśikāvṛtti of Vāmana and Jayāditya with Nyāsa of Jinendrabuddhi and Padamañjarī of Haradatta*, 6 vols. Varanasi: Tara Publications.

Giridharaśarmā Caturveda and Parameśvarānanda Śarmā Bhāskara

1958–61 (Ed.) *Vaiyākaraṇa-siddhāntakaumudī with Bālamanoramā of Vāsudeva Dīkṣita and Tattvabodhinī of Jñānendra Sarasvatī*, 4 vols. Varanasi: Motilal Banarsidass.

Katre, Sumitra M.

1989 *Aṣṭādhyāyī of Pāṇini.* Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass.

1981 *A Glossary of Grammatical Elements and Operations in the Aṣṭādhyāyī.* Mysore: Central Institute of Indian Languages.

Mishra, Harsh Nath

1987 (Ed., tr.) *Nāgeśabhaṭṭakṛtaḥ Paribhāṣenduśekharaḥ*, with Sanskrit and

Hindi commentaries. Delhi: Kendriya Sanskrit Vidyapeeth.

Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa

1973–74 *Prakriyāsarasvam Savyākhyam*, 2 vols. Tiruvananthapuram: University of Kerala.

Panshikar, Vasudev Lakshman Shastri

1985 (Ed.) *Siddhāntakaumudī with Tattvabodhinī Commentary of Jñānendra Sarasvatī and the Subodhinī Commentary of Jayakṛṣṇa*, reprint. Delhi: Chowkhamba Sanskrit Pratishthan.

Śarmā, Raghunātha

1979–81 *Vākyapadīyam of Bhartṛhari* with the commentary Ambākartrī, vols. II–III (1–2). Varanasi: Varanaseya Sanskrit Vishvavidyalaya.

Rangācārya, M.

1916, 1927 (Ed.) *Rūpāvatāraḥ of Dharmakīrti*, 2 vols. Madras: G.A. Natesan & Company.

Sharma, Rama Nath

1987 *The Aṣṭādhyāyī of Pāṇini*, vol I. Introduction to the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* as a Grammatical Device. New Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal Publishers.

1990 *The Aṣṭādhyāyī of Pāṇini*, vol. II. English translation of *Adhyāya* One with Explanatory Notes, Derivations and Appendices. New Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal Publishers.

1995 *The Aṣṭādhyāyī of Pāṇini*, vol. III. English translation of *Adhyāyas* Two and Three with Explanatory Notes, Derivations and Appendices. New Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal Publishers.

Śrīnārāyaṇa Miśra

1969, 1971 *Kāśikā with the Hindi Commentary Prakāśa*, 2 vols. Varanasi: Chowkhamba.

Tripathi, Jayashankarlal

1986–94 *Vāmanajayādityaviracitā Kāśikā Nyāsa-Padamañjarī-Bhāvabodhinī-sahitā*, parts I–IX. Varanasi: Tara Printing Works.

Trivedi, Kamalashankar Pranshankar

1925, 1931 (Ed.) *The Prakriyākaumudī of Rāmacandra with the Commentary Prasāda of Viṭṭhala*, 2 vols. Poona: Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute.

Vasu, S.C.

1962 (Ed., tr.) *The Aṣṭādhyāyī of Pāṇini*, 2 vols., reprint. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass.

1962 *The Siddhāntakaumudī of Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita*, 2 vols., reprint. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass.

Veda Vrata

1962–63 (Ed.) *Vyākaraṇa-mahābhāṣyam, Pradīpa-udyotavimarśaiḥ samalaṅkṛtam*, 5 vols. Rohtak: Gurukul Jhajjar.

Index of Derivations

(in the appendix*)

akeśā (229) 783
agnāyī (170) 779
ajā (32) 767
atikeśā (212) 781
atikeśī (211) 781
atibhavatī (43) 768
atirājñī (153) 778
atihimā (71) 769
atihimānaḥ (73) 769
atihimānau (72) 769
anāsikā (230) 783
abhraviliptī (196) 780
aśiśvī (236) 783
aśvā (35) 767
asmadīyāḥ (264) 788
ākṣikī (109) 773
ādhyaṃkaraṇī (114) 774
ātreyīyāḥ (247) 787
āsmākaḥ (265) 788
āsmākīnaḥ (263) 788
uccairdhuraḥ (276) 790
urubhinnī (199) 781
ūrudaghnī (102) 773
ūrudvayasī (101) 773
ūrumātrī (103) 773
ekapatnī (167)779
eḍakā (33) 767
etā (176) 780
enī (177) 780
autsī (99) 772
audapānī (100) 772
kabarī (195) 780
kartrī (36) 767
kalmāṣī (183) 780
kalyāṇakroḍā (223) 782
kalyāṇakhurā (224) 782
kāṇṭheviddhī (240) 786
kāṇṭheviddhyā (244) 786
kāpiñjalādāḥ (250) 787
kāmukī (194) 780
kārīṣagandhyā (24) 766
kālī (191) 780
kuṇḍī (186) 780
kuṇḍodhnī (139) 776
kumārī (1) 764
kumārīḥ (5) 764
kumārīṇām (13) 765
kumārībhiḥ (8) 765
kumārībhyaḥ (10) 765
kumārībhyām (7) 765
kumārīm (4) 764
kumārīṣu (15) 765
kumāryaḥ (3) 764
kumāryā (6) 765
kumāryāḥ (11) 765
kumāryām (14) 765
kumāryoḥ (12) 765
kumāryai (9) 765
kumāryau (2) 764
kumbhakārī (97) 772
kurucarī (93) 771
kuśī (193) 780
kuṣiṭāyī (171) 779
kuṣīdāyī (172) 779
kevalā (158) 778
kevalī (157) 778
keśalūnī (201) 781
kośaniṣadanī (273) 790
kauñjāyanaḥ (257) 788
kauñjāyanāḥ (259) 788
kauñjāyanyau (258) 788
khaṭvā (18) 765
khaṭvāḥ (20) 765
khaṭvām (21) 766
khaṭve (19) 765
galakotkṛttī (200) 781
gārgī (116) 774
gārgīyāḥ (245) 786

*Numbers in the parenthesis refer to serial number of examples and numbers outside are pages where derivations are presented.

gārgyāyaṇa (254) 788
gārgyāyaṇī (118) 774
gārgyāyaṇīyāḥ (255) 788
goṇī (187) 780
gaurī (16) 765
ghaṭodhnī (138) 776
caṭakā (34) 767
catasraḥ (64)770
catuṣpadā (59) 769
catuṣpadī (56) 769
catuṣpād (55) 769
candramukhā (210) 781
candramukhī (209) 781
chatriṇī (39) 767
jagdha (203) 781
jānpādī (185) 780
jānudaghnī (105) 773
jānudvayasī (104) 773
jānumātrī (106) 773
tādṛśī (113) 773
tāvakāḥ (268) 789
tāvakīnāḥ (266) 789
tilodarā (216) 782
tilodarī (215) 782
tuṅganāsikā (214) 782
tuṅganāsikī (213) 782
taikāyanīyāḥ (251) 787
trikāṇḍā kṣetrabhaktiḥ (133) 776
tridāmnī (143) 777
tripadī (54) 769
tripadā (58) 769
tripād (53) 769
tripurī (272) 790
tripuruṣā parikhā (135) 776
tripuruṣī parikhā (136) 776
trivarṣā (128) 775
daṇḍika (41) 767
daṇḍin (40) 767
daṇḍinī (38) 767
daśatayī (108) 773
daśāśvā (126) 775
dāmā (65) 770
dāmānaḥ (67) 770
dāmānau (66) 770
dityauhī (233) 783
dīrghajaṅghā (222) 782
dīrghajaṅghī (221) 782
duhitā (61) 770
dṛṣatsu (32) 767
dṛṣad (25) 766
dṛṣadaḥ (27) 766
dṛṣadoḥ (30) 767
dṛṣadau (26) 766
dṛṣadbhiḥ (28) 767
dṛṣadbhyaḥ (29) 767
dṛṣadbhyām (31) 767
daivayajñī (237) 786
daivayajñā (241) 786
dvikambalyā (131) 776
dvikāṇḍā kṣetrabhaktiḥ (132) 776
dvidāmnī (142) 777
dvipadā (57) 769
dvipadī (52) 768
dvipāt (51) 768
dvipurī (271) 789
dvipuruṣā parikhā (134) 776
dvipuruṣī parikhā (136) 776
dvibistā (129) 775
dvivarṣā (127) 775
dvyācita (130) 776
dvihāyanī (144) 777
dvyūdhnī (140) 777
dhīvarī (46) 768
nagarakārī (98) 772
nanāndā (62) 770
nāgī (190) 780
nirūdhnī (141) 777
nīlī (192) 780
pacantī (44) 768
pañcatayī (107) 773
pañcadāmnī (155) 778
pañcāśvā (125) 775
paralokadṛśvarī (49) 768
palāṇḍubhakṣitā (207) 781
palāṇḍubhakṣitī (204) 781
pāmā (80) 770
pāmāḥ (82) 770
pāme (81) 770
pīvarī (47) 768
pūtakratāyī (168) 779
pṛthujaghanā (225) 782
praṣṭhauhī (234) 783
pradhuraḥ (275) 790
prāg (270) 789
phāṇṭāhṛtiḥ (248) 787
bahudhīvarī (89) 771

bahudhīvā (90) 771
bahupīvarī (91) 771
bahupīvā (92) 771
bahurājā (86) 770
bahurājāḥ (88) 770
bahurājānaḥ (152) 778
bahurājānau (151) 778
bahuraje (87) 770
bahurājñaḥ (147) 778
bahurājñī (145) 778
bahurājñau (146) 778
bābhravyāyanī (122) 775
bimboṣṭhā (218) 782
bimboṣṭhī (217) 782
bimbauṣṭhā (220) 782
bimbauṣṭhī (219) 782
bhavatī (42) 767
bhāgavittāḥ (249) 787
bhājī (189) 780
madracarī (94) 771
manāyī (173) 779
manâvī (174) 779
mahālalāṭā (226) 782
mātsī (184) 780
māmakāḥ (269) 789
māmakā (161) 778
māmakī (159) 778
māmakīnaḥ(267) 789
yajantī (45) 768
yātā (63) 770
yādṛśī (112) 773
yāskāyanīyāḥ (252) 788
yāskīyāḥ (253) 788
yuṣmadīyaḥ (261) 788
yauṣmākaḥ (262) 788
yauṣmākīnaḥ (260) 788
lāvaṇikī (111) 773
lauhityāyanī (120) 774
vātsī (117) 774
vātsīyāḥ (246) 786
vātsyāyanaḥ (119) 774
vātsyāyanī (118) 774
vātsyāyanīyāḥ (256) 788
vidhuraḥ (274) 790
vidyamānakeśā (231) 783
vidyamānanāsikā (232) 783
vṛddhapatiḥ (163)779
vṛddhapatnī (162) 779
vṛṣākapāyî (169) 779
vainateyī (96) 771
śaṅkhabhinnī (198) 781
śarvarī (48) 768
śākalāḥ (124) 775
śākalyāyanī (123) 775
śāṃsityāyanī (121) 774
śārṅgajagdhī (202) 781
śārṅgaravī (17) 765
śālākikī (110) 773
śaucivṛkṣī (238) 786
śaucivṛkṣyā (242) 786
śyetâ (178) 780
śyenî (179) 780
sakeśā (227) 783
sakhī (235) 783
sanāsikā (228) 783
sapatnī (166) 779
sámānamûrdhanī (156) 778
sahayudhvā (50) 768
sātyamugrī (239) 786
sātyamugryā (243) 786
sāraṅgī (182) 780
sīmā (83) 770
sīmāḥ (85) 770
sīmānaḥ (70) 770
sīmānau (69) 770
sīme (84) 770
sucarmā (77) 769
sucarmāṇaḥ (79) 769
sucarmāṇau (78) 769
suparvā (74) 770
suparvāṇaḥ (76) 770
suparvāṇau (75) 770
subhagaṃkaraṇī (115) 774
surājñī (154) 778
surāpītā (208) 781
surāpītī (205) 781
sūpaviliptī (197) 781
sauparṇeyī (95) 771
sthalī (188) 780
sthūlapatiḥ (165) 779
sthūlapatnī (164) 779
svasā (60) 769
haritā (180) 780
hariṇī (181) 780
hartṛ̂ (37) 767

Index of Terms

akarmaka 370
akālaka 323
akriyāja 46
aṅga 156, 202–03, 262, 511, 519, 772, 785
agurūpottama 76
atideśa 176, 312
adhikaraṇa 36, 460, 516, 562, 619, 676, 693
adhikaraṇa-vicāla 619–21
adhikavidhāna 319
adhikāra 1, 18, 78, 80–81, 205, 214, 220, 264, 355, 389, 783
anantara 14, 56, 201, 326, 421, 782
anantarāpatya 90, 102, 111, 115–16
anabhidhānāt 196, 326–28, 357, 441, 477–78, 495, 555, 571, 585
anuktasamuccayārtha 97, 115
anudātta 7, 10, 42–43, 60, 183, 290, 337–39, 341, 345–46, 353, 410, 483, 734, 744–45, 777, 779, 790
anupasarjana 18–21
anubandha 22
anuvṛtti 7, 14, 23, 38, 47, 52, 64, 78, 100, 106, 114, 119, 126, 129, 138, 166, 170, 182, 187, 193, 196, 203, 205, 232, 249, 252–53, 260–61, 265, 276, 281, 284, 292, 295, 306, 315, 317, 320, 322, 335, 375, 389, 391, 394–96, 401, 407, 411, 451, 458–59, 468, 471, 475, 479, 485, 493, 498, 523, 538, 552, 572, 587, 596–97, 605, 609, 615, 622, 635, 656, 669, 674, 717, 719, 728
anusvāra 470, 595–96, 667
antaraṅga 19, 35, 681
antodātta 225, 325, 346, 415, 531, 542, 721, 780, 790
anyatarasyām 11, 12, 16–18, 29–30, 32, 77, 80–81, 91, 101, 124–26, 138–140, 166, 186–87, 222, 248–49, 276–87, 300, 383–84, 390, 443, 446, 455, 465–67, 549, 552, 571–73, 579, 582–84, 586–87, 594, 600, 607, 615, 619–21, 631, 656–57, 686–92, 729, 732–33, 739–41, 749, 766, 768, 770–71, 777, 784, 788
anyatrābhāva 188
apādāna 296, 601, 689
aprāpta (*vibhāṣā*) 38, 60, 339
abhidheya 13, 472
abhividhi 441, 696
abhūtatadbhāva 693, 697
arthadvāra 81, 429, 463
avayava 39, 51, 58–59, 76, 147, 253, 260, 335, 337, 340, 347–48, 426, 469, 540–41, 773
avyaya 5, 31, 218, 221, 262, 284, 366, 504, 601, 603, 620, 635–36, 670–71, 689, 693, 717–19, 744, 777, 789
avyayībhāva 255, 273, 284–86, 371, 374, 378, 518, 520, 524–25, 567, 705, 709, 712, 715, 731–33
avyavahitāpatya 94
asaṃyogopadha 61
asiddha 14–15
asiddhatva 15
ākṛti 63–64
ākṛtigaṇa 44, 57, 97, 115, 179, 189, 209, 304, 508, 535, 589, 653, 713
āgama 22
ātideśika 299
ātmanepada 690
ādeśa 74, 77, 116, 608, 745
ādeśapakṣa 74
ādeśavidhāna 629
ādyudātta 127, 310, 327, 415, 542, 780
ādhāra 166, 274, 368, 437, 464, 659
ādheya 46, 274, 464
āmreḍita 699
itaretarayoga 2
itaretarāśraya 88
uttarapada 83, 124, 225, 238, 376, 449, 487
utsarga 61, 93, 97, 429
udātta 41–43, 46, 52–54, 60–70, 127, 133, 161, 178–79, 181–83, 197, 204, 224–25, 230, 290–92, 294–95, 310, 325, 337–39, 344–46, 349, 354, 359–61, 375, 409–11, 413, 415, 425, 430, 446, 483, 531, 541–42, 571, 598, 606, 623, 675, 708, 721, 734–37, 741, 777, 779–81, 790
uddeśya 2
upajñāta 323–24
upadeśa 6, 324, 677
upadhā 16, 18, 32–33, 42–43, 46, 54–55, 60–64, 69, 197–98, 206, 225, 233–34, 241, 243, 247, 336, 358, 513, 570, 681, 777, 779, 782
upadhālopa 16, 32
upasarga 503–04, 716, 738–39
upasarjana 18–19, 45, 47, 54–55, 57–58,

61, 294, 727, 757, 782–83
upottama 73, 75, 513, 720, 766
ubhayatra-vibhāṣā 78
ekadeśa 80, 253, 267, 717, 719
ekavacana 2, 5–6, 9, 251, 357, 688
ekavadbhāva 712
autsargika 210, 214, 217, 248, 257, 266, 281, 317, 336, 467, 483, 505, 784
karaṇa 50–51, 152, 179, 303, 356–57, 398, 402, 405–06, 417, 424, 455, 481, 526, 560, 562, 664, 687, 690
kartṛ 356–57, 402, 478, 503, 535, 558, 565, 629, 690, 692–95, 767, 780
karmadhāraya 54, 235, 332, 410, 414, 434–35, 512, 519–20, 526, 713–14, 716, 718, 723, 729–30, 734, 742
karman 5, 62, 256, 304, 370, 387, 399, 416, 469, 478, 494–95, 503, 505, 508–15, 519, 526, 534–35, 558, 562, 565–66, 684, 687, 690
karmapravacanīya 370, 689
karmavyatihāra 672, 743
kāraka 504, 687–88, 693
kāla 153–54, 176–77, 220, 230, 256, 275, 278, 280, 310, 357, 392, 480–81, 489–92, 497, 562, 664, 682, 775
kṛbhvastiyoga 698
kopadha 198, 246, 336, 341, 681
kriyā 85, 153–54, 192–93, 357, 370, 387, 392, 440, 456, 474, 501–04, 530, 619, 670, 673–75, 739
kriyābhyāvṛtti 674–75
kriyāviśeṣaṇāt 355
gati 51, 366
guṇa 12, 45–48, 67, 70, 72, 157, 174, 179, 220, 352, 367, 421, 426, 430, 497, 501–02, 504–05, 507, 524, 544, 556, 630, 632, 648, 670, 700, 715, 747, 765, 771, 777, 785–86
guṇavacana 46–47, 63, 69, 508, 628, 780
guṇavṛddhi 785
guru 73–76, 410, 513, 626, 766
gurūpottama 75, 77
gotra 64–65, 73–77, 87–91, 93–101, 104–05, 115, 129, 137, 140–43, 148, 180, 184, 248, 291–92, 299–300, 312, 330, 333–34, 514, 661, 774, 786–87
gotrāpatya 93, 102
gotrāvayava 76
gaurava 235, 685
gha 85, 123, 172–73, 215–16, 264, 415, 424–25, 477, 511, 554, 670–71
ṇyābanta 7
caturthī 5, 307, 375, 388–89, 396, 432–38, 461, 494–95, 678–79, 744
caraṇa 64, 184–85, 330, 334, 514
carīva 12, 637, 733, 750, 755
cāturarthika 200, 211, 214–15, 227, 784
jaśtva 229, 733, 755, 789
jāti 6–9, 19, 30, 45, 54, 63–65, 67, 69, 123, 132, 140, 165, 433, 501, 504, 542, 582, 583, 592, 619, 642, 649, 668, 684, 688, 723, 772, 780
jihvāmūlīya 273
jñāpaka 22, 81, 85, 161, 184, 539, 618, 632, 718, 721
jñāpakahetu 456
ṭi-deletion 17, 123, 160–61, 178, 181, 212, 319, 409, 412, 433, 471–72, 481, 505, 507, 519, 524, 540, 543–44, 549 554, 620, 626, 628, 632, 650, 672, 712, 716, 719–20, 723–24, 728, 730–32, 736–37, 739, 770, 778, 786
ṇatva 26, 43, 59, 85, 505, 519, 521, 719, 738–39, 767, 770, 774–75, 788
tatpuruṣa 506, 667, 704, 707–09, 712–13, 717–30, 735, 744, 771
tadantavidhi 8, 10, 11, 15, 19–21, 29, 51–52, 55, 57, 62, 96, 100, 133, 136, 150, 184, 237, 281, 327, 356, 395, 397, 433, 443, 448, 485, 491–92, 512, 549, 756
tadrāja 65, 132, 144, 148–51, 658, 661–62, 784, 788
taparakaraṇa 7, 48, 146, 234–35, 756
tādarthya 307, 439, 678–79
tiṅanta 2, 634
tulyayoga 38, 402
tṛtīyā 5, 151–54, 156–58, 160–62, 200, 300, 313
topadha 42, 681
dīrgha 175, 430, 645
dravya 367, 464, 474, 502, 504, 619, 648, 654, 669–70, 684, 747
dvandva 2, 82–83, 146, 157, 175, 304–05, 308, 329, 396, 434, 461, 513–14, 589–90, 711–12, 718, 730, 756, 789–90
dvigu 27–29, 85–87, 195, 443, 448–53, 465–66, 483, 485–87, 536–37, 726–28, 730, 775–76, 790
dvitīyā 5, 193, 215, 302, 356, 369, 370, 375, 394, 425, 698, 700
dvivacana 5, 627, 629, 758
dvyac 3, 107, 147, 225, 227, 293, 359, 457, 698
dhātu 2, 11, 152, 722
nadī 21, 107–08, 211, 218, 402, 412, 710, 732, 756, 760, 765
napuṃsaka 158, 582, 668–69, 728

nitya 3, 31, 154, 210, 273, 341, 365, 449, 473, 479, 485, 573, 584, 624, 667, 669, 672, 681–82, 686, 707, 744–45, 750, 755, 756, 777
nipāta 282, 386, 790
nipātana 35–36, 40, 59–60, 62–63, 78, 157, 163, 172, 177–78, 262, 334, 358, 401, 431, 469–71, 473, 487–88, 500–501, 503, 518, 521, 523, 526–28, 543, 557–58, 562, 564, 567–68, 581–82, 588, 605–06, 608, 613–14, 654, 667, 671, 699, 711–12, 715–16, 739, 741–44, 753–54, 760, 786
nimitta 86–87, 89, 120, 249, 455–56, 458, 629, 681
niyama 94, 156, 233, 264, 369, 442, 592
niravakāśa 240
nirdhāraṇa 79, 648, 659
niṣedha 19
niṣṭhā 51, 53, 304, 535, 781
naimittika 89, 663
pañcaka 9, 737
pañcamī 5, 8, 31, 38, 40, 48, 59, 77, 80, 86–87, 116, 206, 226, 266, 295–01, 356, 369, 403, 445, 463, 546, 556–57, 591, 600–601, 604, 610–12, 614–17, 662
pada 19, 62, 73, 79, 85, 124–25, 143, 168, 170–71, 193, 195, 223–24, 243, 252, 257, 356, 358, 360, 362–63, 369, 371–79, 389, 392–94, 398, 400, 425, 439, 462, 472, 477–78, 487, 491, 494, 496, 519, 522, 527, 551, 559, 564, 587, 595–96, 604, 627, 637–39, 645, 665, 742, 763–64, 769, 783–84, 789–90
paratva 70, 109, 137, 158, 184, 202, 220, 228–29, 255, 258, 287, 296, 329, 340–41
paranipāta 53
paramaprakṛti 96, 136
pararūpa 699, 782
parasaptamī 88, 251, 699
parasavarṇa 595–96, 667, 777
parārtha 2, 6
paribhāṣā 8, 15, 20, 51–52, 74, 80–81, 118, 121, 133, 429, 529, 543–44, 549, 600, 706, 721
paryudāsa 19, 219, 224, 549
puṃyoga 8, 40, 48–50, 67
puṃyoga-lakṣaṇa 7
puṃyogābhāva 27
puṃvadbhāva 133, 179, 331, 434, 448, 482, 629, 712, 747, 756, 782
punarvidhāna 468, 575, 581, 591
purastāpavāda 56, 293, 333, 336, 438, 782
purāṇaprokta 317
pūrvapada 124, 376
pūrvapadaprakṛtisvara 54
pūrvarūpa 549, 705
pūrvavipratiṣedha 83
prakṛti 36, 94, 108, 249, 264, 313, 341, 429, 436–38, 536, 560, 565, 608, 693, 696
prakṛtiniyama 94
prakṛti-vikārabhāva 439
prakṛtyartha 9, 551
prakṛtyarthaviśiṣṭaḥ 92
prakṛtyarthaviśeṣaṇam 200, 638
pratipadavidhāna 377, 437
pratipadokta 112
pratiṣedha 14, 19–20, 60, 441, 482
pratyaya 12, 542, 544, 608
pratyaya-niyama 94, 628
pratyayalakṣaṇa 250, 251
pratyayalopa 158, 577
pratyayavidhi 227, 230, 266
pratyayasanniyoga 266
pratyayasvara 344, 780
pratyayārtha 9, 264, 289, 439, 480, 518, 536, 626
pratyayārtha-viśeṣaṇa 291, 473
pratyāsatti 83, 434
pratyāhāra 541, 731, 733
prathamā 280, 305, 400–401, 419, 425, 439, 461–62, 467–68, 490, 496–99, 535, 537–44, 546, 551, 558, 561, 563–66, 569, 610–12, 614–17
pravṛttinimitta 504
prasajya 19
prāgdīvyatīya 82, 84, 87–91, 144
prātipadika 1–3, 5–6, 9–10, 62, 72, 79, 96, 522, 551, 601
prātipadikārtha 5, 558, 601
prādisamāsa 715, 717, 724, 730
prāpta (vibhāṣā) 60, 77, 339
prāyika 571
prokta 196–99, 314–15, 318, 324
bahiraṅga 35
bahulam 51, 129–30, 139, 271, 304, 311–12, 353, 411, 417, 526, 586–87, 697–99, 738–39
bahuvacana 5, 357, 378, 555
bahuvrīhi 10, 12, 16–19, 30–33, 40, 52–54, 58, 63, 83, 411, 435, 506, 512, 667, 669, 683, 698, 706–09, 711–12, 714, 717, 726, 734–40, 742–60, 766, 768, 770–71, 777–81, 783, 786, 790
bahvac 56–57, 203, 224, 294, 388, 642, 782
bādhakabādhanārtha 97, 179, 297, 336
bādhya-bādhakabhāva 93, 97

bāhulaka 54, 412
bha 12, 17, 78, 497, 539, 596, 744, 771–72, 777, 785, 789
bhāva 151, 365, 414, 417, 428, 504, 506–15, 532, 535, 673–74, 676, 693
bhāvin 86
matvarthīya 200, 421
madhyodātta 41, 292, 337, 606
mahāvibhāṣā 61, 649, 695
yathāsaṃkhya 2, 131, 249–50, 268, 301, 331, 423, 458–59, 476, 493, 510, 526, 528, 575–76, 611, 623
yuktavadbhāva 156, 353–54
yugapad 158, 289
yuvan 72, 73, 89–91, 96, 100, 141–43, 148, 511, 514, 631–32
yogavibhāga 11, 18, 23, 187, 248–49, 267, 276, 306, 325, 357, 423, 445, 472, 492, 509, 539, 542, 563, 576, 654, 710, 729
yogyatā 436–37, 439
yopadha 64, 66
yuvāpatya 93, 96, 100, 106, 787–88
rutva-visarga 82
ropadha 234–35
laghu 74, 125, 512, 626
lumān 156
vaṃśya 141–42
vacanasāmarthya 466
vidheya 2, 6
vibhakti 1, 284–85, 436, 546, 567, 597–607, 609–10, 731, 733–34, 763, 784
vibhāṣā 38, 61, 66, 125, 157, 169, 223, 231, 239–40, 247, 256–57, 263, 265, 271, 364, 413, 431, 449–51, 517, 612, 618, 634, 641, 643–44, 668–70, 675, 695, 704, 707, 745, 751–52, 754–56, 758
vivakṣā 190, 192–93, 200–204, 439, 570, 669
viśeṣa 6, 156, 235, 374, 586, 609
viśeṣaṇa 3, 10, 38, 51, 54, 58, 108, 110, 203, 226, 370, 648, 734
viśeṣaṇārtha 5
viśeṣya 3, 10, 69, 110, 226, 734, 782, 786
viṣaya 13, 34, 40, 188–89, 649
viṣayasaptamī 88
visarga 540, 675, 769
vṛddha 3, 27, 39, 88, 92–93, 108, 129–30, 137, 139, 146, 180–82, 217, 226–37, 240, 245–46, 340, 345–46, 351
vṛddhi 3, 26, 70–71, 78, 82, 85, 87–89, 98–99, 113, 116–17, 120, 125, 129–30, 148, 149, 766, 772–75, 778, 782–83, 785–89
vyakti 9
vyadhikaraṇa 463
vyavasthitavibhāṣā 11
vyavahitāpatya 95
śaiṣika 93, 214–15, 251, 335, 417, 784
ṣṭutva 540, 547
ṣaṭ 13–14, 540, 546–47, 769
ṣaṣṭhī-tatpuruṣa 435, 784
sattā 9, 38–39, 274, 516, 570, 693
sattva 46
sanniyogaśiṣṭa 560, 779
sapiṇḍa 143
saṃjñā 33–34, 59, 67, 156–57, 168, 223, 265–66, 311, 324, 343, 379, 401, 431, 445–48, 469, 490, 528, 557, 563, 579, 581, 583
saṃjñāsamāveśa 141–42
saṃyoga 61, 69, 74–75, 456–58, 782
saṃyogopadha 56–60
samartha 24, 78–79, 190, 455, 516, 597, 766, 772, 783
samavāya-sambandha 154
samāsa 18, 80, 84, 655, 688, 704, 708, 784
samāhāra 2, 30, 712, 720, 730, 789
samāhāradvandva 2, 273, 722
samāhāradvigu 27
sampadyakartṛ 693
samprasāraṇa 430, 548–49, 712
sarvanāman 538, 541, 598, 601–02, 607, 609, 635–37, 649
savarṇadīrgha 387, 667, 721, 766–67, 771, 775–76, 786
sāmarthya 78, 80, 518, 763
sāmānādhikaraṇya 14, 141, 400, 734
sāmānya 6, 465, 609
sāmānyagrahaṇa 10
sāvakāśatva 4, 137
sāhacarya 23, 65, 107, 135, 253, 255, 260, 278, 289, 292, 306, 356, 446, 453, 461, 532, 664
sthānaṣaṣṭhī 87
sthānin 541
sthāninirdeśa 266
sthānivadbhāva 41, 74, 663, 779
svara 3, 466, 482, 734, 777
svarita 31, 126–27, 161, 182, 261, 413, 451, 475, 479, 484, 529, 571, 597, 699, 741, 777
svārtha 3, 163, 191, 427–28, 438, 469, 508, 525, 530–32, 536, 560, 575, 611, 620–22, 633, 635, 646, 648, 660–61, 666–68, 671–73, 677, 679–81, 683–85, 788
svārthika 699
hetu 48, 86, 300–301, 402, 498, 610, 690
hrasva 38, 74, 352, 645–47, 715

Index of *Sūtras*
(translated and explained)

aṃśaṃ hārī (5.2.69) 556
akṣṇo'darśanāt (5.4.76) 710
agārāntāṭ ṭhan (4.4.70) 391
agner ḍhak (4.2.33) 175
agrākhyāyām urasaḥ (5.4.93) 722
agrād yat (4.4.116) 414
agrāntaśuddhaśubhravṛṣavarāhebhyaś ca (5.4.145) 752
aṅguler dāruṇi (5.4.114) 735
aṅgulyādibhyaṣ ṭhak (5.3.108) 656
a ca (4.3.31) 267
acaturavicaturasucaturastrīpuṃsadhenv . . . (5.4.77) 710
acittahastidhenoṣ ṭhak (4.2.47) 185
acittād adeśakālāṭ ṭhak (4.3.96) 309
ac pratyanvavapūrvāt sāmalomnaḥ (5.4.75) 709
ajādī guṇavacanād eva (5.3.58) 628
ajādyataṣ ṭāp (4.1.4) 7
ajāvibhyāṃ thyan (5.1.8) 433
ajināntasyottarapadalopaś ca (5.3.82) 642
ajñāte (5.3.73) 637
añcer luk (5.3.30) 612
añ nāsikāyāḥ saṃjñāyām . . . (5.4.118) 737
aṇañau ca (4.3.33) 268
aṇiñor anārṣayor gurūpottamayòḥ . . . (4.1.78) 73
aṇ inuṇaḥ (5.4.15) 672
aṇ ṛgayanādibhyaḥ (4.3.73) 294
aṇ kuṭilikāyāḥ (4.4.18) 364
aṇo dvyacaḥ (4.1.156) 136
aṇ ca (5.2.103) 576
aṇ mahiṣyādibhyaḥ (4.4.48) 380
ata iñ (4.1.95) 96
ata iniṭhanau (5.2.115) 582
ataś ca (4.1.175) 149
atigrahāvyathanakṣepeṣv akartari . . . (5.4.46) 690
atither ñaḥ (5.4.26) 679
atiśāyane tamabiṣṭhanau (5.3.55) 626
ateḥ śunaḥ (5.4.96) 724
adūrabhavaś ca (4.2.70) 201
adbhiḥ saṃskṛtam (4.4.134) 424
adyaśvīnāvaṣṭabdhe (5.2.13) 522
adhikam (5.2.73) 558
adhikaraṇavicāle ca (5.3.43) 619
adhikṛtya kṛte granthe (4.3.87) 303
adhunā (5.3.17) 605
adhyardhapūrvadvigor lug . . . (5.1.28) 447
adhyāyānuvākayor luk (5.2.60) 552
adhyāyiny adeśakālāt (4.4.71) 391
adhyāyeṣv eva ṛṣeḥ (4.3.69) 291
adhvano yatkhau (5.2.16) 524
ana upadhālopino'nyatarasyām (4.1.28) 32
anatyantagatau ktāt (5.4.4) 665
anadyatane rhil anyatarasyām (5.3.21) 607
anantāvasathetihabheṣajāñ ñyaḥ (5.4.23) 677
anaś ca (5.4.108) 731
anasantān napuṃsakāc chandasi (5.4.103) 728
anukampāyām (5.3.76) 638
anukābhikābhīkaḥ kamitā (5.2.74) 558
anugavam āyāme (5.4.83) 715
anugādinaṣ ṭhak (5.4.13) 671
anugv alaṅgāmī (5.2.15) 524
anudāttāder añ (4.2.44) 183
anudāttādeś ca (4.3.140) 338
anupadasarvānnāyānayaṃ baddhā . . . (5.2.9) 520
anupady anveṣṭā (5.2.90) 567
anupasarjanāt (4.1.14) 18
anupravacanādibhyaś chaḥ (5.1.111) 498
anubrāhmaṇād iniḥ (4.2.62) 195
anṛṣy ānantarye . . . (4.1.104) 102
ano bahuvrīheḥ (4.1.12) 16
ano' smāyassarasāṃ jātisaṃjñayoḥ (5.4.94) 723
antaḥpūrvapadāṭ ṭhañ (4.3.60) 284
antarbahirbhyāṃ ca lomnaḥ (5.4.117) 737
antarvatpativator nuk (4.1.32) 35
antikabāḍhayor nedasādhau (5.3.63) 631
annāṇ ṇaḥ (4.4.85) 399
anyato ṅīṣ (4.1.40) 43

anvavataptāt rahasaḥ (5.4.81) 714
apatyaṃ pautraprabhṛti gotram (4.1.162) 140
apadātau sālvāt (4.2.135) 242
apamityayācitābhyāṃ kakkanau (4.4.21) 366
aparimāṇabistācitakambalyebhyo . . . (4.1.22) 28
apādāne cāhīyaruhoḥ (5.4.45) 689
apūrvapadād anyatarasyām . . . (4.1.140) 124
aponaptrapāṃnaptṛbhyāṃ ghaḥ (4.2.27) 171
ap pūraṇīpramāṇyoḥ (5.4.116) 736
abhijanaś ca (4.3.90) 305
abhijidvidabhṛcchālāvacchikhāvac . . . (5.3.118) 661
abhiniṣkrāmati dvāram (4.3.86) 303
abhividhau sampadā ca (5.4.53) 695
abhyamitrāc cha ca (5.2.17) 524
amāvāsyāyā vā (4.3.30) 266
amu cac chandasi (5.4.12) 671
ayaḥśūladaṇḍājinābhyāṃ ṭhakṭhañau (5.2.76) 559
araṇyān manuṣye (4.2.129) 239
arurmanaścakṣuścetorahorajasāṃ lopaś ca (5.4.51) 693
arddhāc ca (5.4.100) 726
ardhād yat (4.3.4) 251
arśādibhyo'c (5.2.127) 589
alpākhyāyām (5.4.136) 747
alpe (5.3.85) 645
avakrayaḥ (4.4.50) 381
avakṣepaṇe kan (5.3.95) 650
avayave ca prāṇyoṣadhivṛkṣebhyaḥ (4.3.135) 335
avayasi ṭhaṃś ca (5.1.84) 483
avasamandhebhyas tamasaḥ (5.4.79) 713
avāt kuṭārac ca (5.2.30) 532
avārapārātyantānukāmaṃ gāmī (5.2.11) 521
aveḥ kaḥ (5.4.28) 680
avṛddhād api bahuvacana . . . (4.2.125) 236
avṛddhābhyo nadīmānuṣībhyas . . . (4.1.113) 107
avyaktānukaraṇād dvyajavarārddhād . . . (5.4.57) 698
avyayasarvanāmnāṃ akac prāk ṭeḥ (5.3.71) 635
avyayāt tyap (4.2.104) 221
avyayībhāvāc ca (4.3.59) 284
avyayībhāve śaratprabhṛtibhyaḥ (5.4.107) 730
aśabde yatkhāv anyatarasyām (4.3.64) 287
aśvapatyādibhyaś ca (4.1.84) 81
aśvasyaikāhagamaḥ (5.2.19) 525
aśvādibhyaḥ phañ (4.1.110) 105
aśvimān aṇ (4.4.126) 419
aṣaḍakṣāśitaṅgvalaṅkarmālam . . . (5.4.7) 666
asaṃjñāyāṃ tilayavābhyām (4.3.149) 343
asamāse niṣkādibhyaḥ (5.1.20) 442
a sāmpratike (4.3.9) 254
asurasya svam (4.4.123) 417
astāti ca (5.3.40) 618
astināstidiṣṭaṃ matiḥ (4.4.60) 385
asmāyāmedhāsrajo viniḥ (5.2.121) 586
asvāṅgapūrvapadād vā (4.1.53) 53
ahaṃśubhayor yus (5.2.140) 596
ahassarvaikadeśasaṃkhyātapuṇyāc ca . . . (5.4.87) 717
ahno'hna etebhyaḥ (5.4.88) 718
ākarṣāṭ ṣṭhal (4.4.9) 360
ākarṣādibhyaḥ kan (5.2.64) 554
ākālikaḍ ādyantavacane (5.1.114) 500
ākrandāṭ ṭhañ ca (4.4.38) 375
āgavīnaḥ (5.2.14) 523
āgrahāyaṇyaśvatthāṭ ṭhak (4.2.22) 168
āḍhakācitapātrāt kho'nyatarasyām (5.1.53) 465
atither ñyaḥ (5.4.26) 679
ātmanviśvajanabhogottarapadāt khaḥ (5.1.9) 434
ātharvaṇikasyekalopaś ca (4.3.133) 334
āprapadaṃ prāpnoti (5.2.8) 519
āyaḥśūladaṇḍājinābhyāṃ ṭhakṭhañau (5.2.76) 559
āyudhajīvibhyaś chaḥ parvate (4.3.91) 306
āyudhajīvisaṃghāñ ñyaḍ vāhīkeṣv . . . (5.3.114) 659
āyudhāccha ca (4.4.14) 362
ārag udīcām (4.1.130) 118
ārhād agopucchasaṃkhyāparimāṇāṭ ṭhak (5.1.19) 440
ālajāṭacau bahubhāṣiṇi (5.2.125) 588

āvatyāc ca (4.1.75) 71
āvasathāt ṣṭhal (4.4.74) 393
āśvayujyā vuñ (4.3.45) 276
āhi ca dūre (5.3.37) 616
igantāc ca laghupūrvāt (5.1.131) 512
ic karmavyatihāre (5.4.127) 743
iñaś ca (4.2.112) 227
itarābhyo'pi dṛśyante (5.3.14) 604
itaś cāniñaḥ (4.1.122) 113
ito manuṣyajāteḥ (4.1.65) 65
idama iś (5.3.3) 598
idamas thamuḥ (5.3.24) 609
idamo rhil (5.3.16) 605
idamo haḥ (5.3.11) 602
inacpiṭac cikaci ca (5.2.33) 533
inaḥ striyām (5.4.152) 755
initrakaṭyacaś ca (4.2.51) 188
indravaruṇabhavaśarvarudra . . . (4.1.49) 49
indriyamindraliṅgamindradṛṣṭam . . . (5.2.93) 568
ive pratikṛtau (5.3.96) 651
iṣṭādibhyaś ca (5.2.88) 566
īyasaś ca (5.4.156) 757
īṣadasamāptau kalpadeśyadeśīyaraḥ (5.3.67) 633
ugavādibhyo yat (5.1.2) 429
ugitaś ca (4.1.6) 10
uñchati (4.4.32) 372
utka unmanāḥ (5.2.80) 561
utkarādibhyaś chaḥ (4.2.90) 213
uttamaikābhyāṃ ca (5.4.90) 720
uttarapathenāhṛtaṃ ca (5.1.77) 479
uttaramṛgapūrvāc ca sakthnaḥ (5.4.98) 725
uttarāc ca (5.3.38) 617
uttarādharadakṣiṇād ātiḥ (5.3.34) 614
utsādibhyo'ñ (4.1.86) 84
udak ca vipāśaḥ (4.2.74) 203
udarāṭ ṭhag ādyūne (5.2.67) 555
udaśvito' nyatarasyām (4.2.19) 166
udīcāṃ vṛddhād agotrāt (4.1.157) 137
udīcām iñ (4.1.153) 134
udīcyagrāmāc ca bahvaco, . . . (4.2.109) 224
udvibhyāṃ kākudasya (5.4.148) 753
upajānūpakarṇopanīveṣ ṭhak (4.3.40) 273
upajñāte (4.3.115) 323
upādhibhyām tyakann āsannārūḍhayoḥ (5.2.34) 534
upamānāc ca (5.4.137) 748
upamānād aprāṇiṣu (5.4.97) 724
uparyuparisṭāt (5.3.31) 613
upasargāc ca (5.4.119) 738
upasargāc chandasi dhātvarthe (5.1.118) 503
upasargād adhvanaḥ (5.4.85) 716
upādhibhyāṃ tyakanāsannā rūḍhayoḥ (5.2.34) 534
upte ca (4.3.44) 275
ubhād udātto nityam (5.2.44) 541
umorṇayor vā (4.3.158) 348
uraḥprabhṛtibhyaḥ kap (5.4.151) 754
uraso aṇ ca (4.4.94) 404
uraso yac ca (4.3.114) 322
urūttarapadād aupamye (4.1.69) 67
uṣṭrād vuñ (4.3.157) 348
ūṅ utaḥ (4.1.66) 66
ūdhaso' naṅ (5.4.131) 745
ūrṇāyā yus (5.2.123) 587
ūrdhvād vibhāṣā (5.4.130) 745
ūṣasuṣimuṣkamadho raḥ (5.2.107) 578
ṛkpūrabdhūḥpathām ānakṣe (5.4.74) 708
ṛtaś chandasi (5.4.158) 759
ṛtaṣ ṭhañ (4.3.78) 298
ṛto'ñ (4.4.49) 380
ṛtor aṇ (5.1.105) 496
ṛnnebhyo ṅīp (4.1.5) 9
ṛṣabhopānahor ñyaḥ (5.1.14) 438
ṛṣyandhakavṛṣṇikurubhyaś ca (4.1.114) 108
ekagopūrvāṭ ṭhañ nityam (5.2.118) 584
ekadhurāl luk ca (4.4.79) 396
ekaśālāyāṣ ṭhaj anyatarasyām (5.3.109) 656
ekasya sakṛc ca (5.4.19) 675
ekāc ca prācām (5.3.94) 650
ekād ākinic cāsahāye (5.3.52) 624
ekād dho dhyamuñ anyatarasyām (5.3.44) 619
eko gotre (4.1.93) 94
eṇyā ḍhañ (4.3.159) 349
etado'n (5.3.5) 599
etetau rathoḥ (5.3.4) 599
edhāc ca (5.3.46) 621
enab anyatarasyām adūre' pañcamyāḥ (5.3.35) 615
aikāgārikaṭ caure (5.1.113) 500
aiṣamohyaḥśvaso' nyatarasyām (4.2.105) 222

ojaso' hani yatkhau (4.4.130) 422
ojaḥsaho'mbhasā vartate (4.4.27) 369
or añ (4.2.71) 202
or añ (4.3.139) 337
or deśe ṭhañ (4.2.119) 232
oṣadher ajātau (5.4.37) 684
kaṃśaṃbhyāṃ babhayustitutayasaḥ (5.2.138) 595
kaṃsāṭ ṭiṭhan (5.1.25) 446
kaṃsīyaparaśavyayor yañañau (4.3.168) 354
kakudasyāvasthāyāṃ lopaḥ (5.4.146) 752
kacch āganivaktrag arttottarapadāt (4.2.126) 237
kacch ādibhyaś ca (4.2.133) 241
kaṭhacarakāl luk (4.3.107) 318
kaṭhināntaprastārasaṃsthāneṣu . . . (4.4.72) 392
kaḍaṅkaradakṣiṇāc cha ca (5.1.69) 475
kaṇvādibhyo gotre (4.2.111) 226
kathādibhyaṣ ṭhak (4.4.102) 407
kadrukamaṇḍalvoś chaṇḍasi (4.1.71) 68
kanthāpaladanagaragrāma . . . (4.2.142) 246
kanthāyāṣ ṭhak (4.2.102) 220
kanyāyāḥ kanīna ca (4.1.116) 110
kapijñātayor ḍhak (5.1.127) 509
kapibodhād āṅgirase (4.1.107) 104
kambalāc ca saṃjñāyām (5.1.3) 430
kambojāl luk (4.1.173) 148
karkalohitād īkak (5.3.110) 657
karṇalalāṭāt kan alaṃkāre (4.3.65) 288
katryādibhyo ḍhakañ (4.2.95) 217
karmaṇa ukañ (5.1.103) 495
karmaṇi ghaṭo' ṭhac (5.2.35) 534
karmandakṛśāśvād iniḥ (4.3.111) 321
karmaveṣād yat (5.1.100) 494
karmādhyayane vṛttam (4.4.63) 387
kalāpino' ṇ (4.3.108) 319
kalāpivaiśampāyanāntevāsibhyaś ca (4.3.104) 316
kalāpyaśvatthayavabusād (4.3.48) 277
kaler ḍhak (4.2.8) 159
kalyāṇyādīnām inaṅ (4.1.126) 116
kasya it (4.2.25) 170
kasya ca daḥ (5.3.72) 636
kāṇḍāṇḍād īrannīracau (5.2.111) 580
kāṇḍāntāt kṣetre (4.1.23) 28
kāpiśyāḥ ṣphak (4.2.99) 219
kālaprayojanād roge (5.2.81) 562
kālāc ca (5.4.33) 682
kālāṭ ṭhañ (4.3.11) 255
kālāt (5.1.78) 480
kālāt sādhupuṣpyatpacyamāneṣu (4.3.43) 275
kālād yat (5.1.107) 497
kālebhyo bhavavat (4.2.34) 176
kāśyapakauśikābhyāṃ ṛṣibhyāṃ ṇiniḥ (4.3.103) 315
kāśyādibhyaṣ ṭhaññiṭhau (4.2.116) 229
kāsūgoṇībhyāṃ ṣṭarac (5.3.90) 647
kiṃyattado nirdhāraṇe dvayor . . . (5.3.92) 648
kiṃsarvanāmabahubhyo' dvyādibhyaḥ (5.3.2) 598
kimaḥ kṣepe (5.4.70) 706
kimaḥ saṃkhyāparimāṇe ḍati ca (5.2.41) 539
kimaś ca (5.3.25) 609
kimidambhyāṃ vo ghaḥ (5.2.40) 538
kimettiṅavyayaghād . . . (5.4.11) 670
kimo't (5.3.12) 603
kiśarādibhyaḥ ṣṭhan (4.4.53) 382
kuṭīśamīśuṇḍābhyo raḥ (5.3.88) 646
kutvā ḍupac (5.3.89) 646
kutsite (5.3.74) 637
kumahadbhyām anyatarasyām (5.4.105) 729
kumudanaḍavetasebhyo ḍmatup (4.2.87) 211
kumbhapadīṣu ca (5.4.139) 749
kurunādibhyo ṇyaḥ (4.1.170) 146
kurvādibhyo ṇyaḥ (4.1.151) 132
kulakukṣigrīvābhyaḥ . . . (4.2.96) 217
kulaṭāyā vā (4.1.127) 117
kulatthakopadhād aṇ (4.4.4) 357
kulāt khaḥ (4.1.139) 123
kulālādibhyo vuñ (4.3.118) 324
kulijāl lukkhau ca (5.1.55) 466
kulmāṣād añ (5.2.83) 564
kuśāgrāc chaḥ (5.3.105) 655
kusīdadaśaikādaśāt ṣṭhanṣṭhacau (4.4.31) 371
kṛkaṇaparṇād bhāradvāje (4.2.145) 247
kṛño dvitīyatṛtīyaśambabījāt kṛṣau (5.4.58) 699

kṛtalabdhakrītakuśalāḥ (4.3.38) 272
kṛte granthe (4.3.116) 323
kṛbhvastiyoge sampadyakartari cviḥ (5.4.50) 692
kedārād yañ ca (4.2.40) 180
kevalamāmakabhāgadheya . . . (4.1.30) 33
keśād vo' nyatarasyām (5.2.109) 579
keśāśvābhyāṃ yañchāv anyatarasyām (4.2.48) 186
kopadhāc ca (4.2.79) 206
kopadhāc ca (4.3.137) 336
kopadhād aṇ (4.2.132) 240
kośāḍ ḍhañ (4.3.42) 274
kaupiñjalahāstipadād aṇ (4.3.132) 333
kaumārāpūrvavacane (4.2.13) 163
kauravyamāṇḍūkābhyāṃ ca (4.1.19) 25
kauśalyakārmāryābhyāṃ ca (4.1.155) 135
ktād alpākhyāyām (4.1.51) 51
ktermam nityam (4.4.20) 365
kratuyajñebhyaś ca (4.3.68) 290
kratūkthādisūtrāntāṭ ṭhak (4.2.60) 194
kramādibhyo vun (4.2.61) 195
krītavat parimāṇāt (4.3.156) 347
krītāt karaṇapūrvāt (4.1.50) 50
kraudyādibhyaś ca (4.1.80) 76
kṣatrād ghaḥ (4.1.138) 123
kṣīrāḍ ḍhañ (4.2.20) 167
kṣudrābhyo vā (4.1.131) 119
kṣudrābhramaravaṭara . . . (4.3.119) 325
kṣetriyac parakṣetre cikitsyaḥ (5.2.92) 568
kha ca (4.4.132) 423
khaṇḍikādibhyaś ca (4.2.45) 183
khalagorathāt (4.2.50) 187
khalyavamāṣatilavṛṣabrahmaṇaś ca (5.1.7) 432
khaḥ sarvadhurāt (4.4.78) 395
khāryā īkan (5.1.33) 452
khāryāḥ prācām (5.4.101) 727
gandhasyed utpūtisusurabhibhyaḥ (5.4.135) 747
gambhīrāñ ñaḥ (4.3.58) 283
gargādibhyo yañ (4.1.105) 103
garttottarapadāc chaḥ (4.2.137) 243
gahādibhyaś ca (4.2.138) 243
gāṇḍyajagāt saṃjñāyām (5.2.110) 579
gireś ca senakasya (5.4.112) 733
guḍādibhyaṣ ṭhañ (4.4.103) 408
guṇavacanabrāhmaṇādibhyaḥ . . . (5.1.124) 508
gṛṣṭyādibhyaś ca (4.1.136) 122
gṛhapatinā saṃyukte ñyaḥ (4.4.90) 401
gotrakṣatriyākhyebhyo bahulaṃ vuñ (4.3.99) 311
gotracaraṇāc chlāghātyākāratadaveteṣu (5.1.134) 514
gotracaraṇād vuñ (4.3.126) 330
gotrastriyāḥ kutsane ṇa ca (4.1.147) 128
gotrād aṅkavat (4.3.80) 299
gotrād yūny astriyām (4.1.94) 95
gotrāvayavāt (4.1.79) 75
gotre kuñjādibhyaś cphañ (4.1.98) 98
gotre'lug aci (4.1.89) 87
gotrokṣoṣṭrorabhrarājarājanya . . . (4.2.39) 179
godvyaco' saṃkhyāparimāṇāśvāder yat (5.1.39) 456
godhāyā ḍhrak (4.1.129) 118
gopayasor yat (4.3.160) 349
gopucchāṭ ṭhañ (4.4.6) 358
goyavāgvoś ca (4.2.136) 243
gor ataddhitaluki (5.4.92) 721
goś ca purīṣe (4.3.145) 341
goṣadādibhyo vun (5.2.62) 553
goṣṭhāt khañ bhūtapūrve (5.2.18) 525
grāmakauṭābhyāṃ ca takṣṇaḥ (5.4.95) 724
grāmajanapadaikadeśād añṭhañau (4.3.7) 253
grāmajanabandhusahāyebhyas tal (4.2.43) 182
grāmāt paryanupūrvāt (4.3.61) 285
grāmād yakhañau (4.2.94) 216
grīvābhyo'ṇ ca (4.3.57) 283
grīṣmavasantād anyatarasyām (4.3.46) 276
grīṣmāvarasamād vuñ (4.3.49) 278
ghacchau ca (4.4.117) 415
ghañaḥ sāsyāṃ kriyeti ñaḥ (4.2.58) 192
ghanilacau ca (5.3.79) 640
ṅyāpprātipadikāt (4.1.1) 1
caṭakāyā airak (4.1.128) 117
catuṣpādbhyo ḍhañ (4.1.135) 121
caraṇebhyo dharmavat (4.2.46) 184
carati (4.4.8) 360
carmaṇo' ñ (5.1.15) 438
cittavati nityam (5.1.89) 487
cūrṇād iniḥ (4.4.23) 367
chagalino ḍhinuk (4.3.109) 320

cha ca (4.2.28) 172
chatrādibhyo ṇaḥ (4.4.62) 386
chadirupadhivaler ḍhañ (5.1.13) 437
chandasi ghas (5.1.106) 496
chandasi ca (5.4.142) 750
chandasi ṭhañ (4.3.19) 259
chandasi paripanthipariparinau (5.2.89) 566
chandaso nirmite (4.4.93) 403
chandaso yadaṇau (4.3.71) 293
chandogaukthikayājñikabahvṛcanaṭāñ ñyaḥ (4.3.129) 332
chandobrāhmaṇāni ca . . . (4.2.66) 198
chedādibhyo nityam (5.1.64) 472
janapadatadavadhyoś ca (4.2.124) 235
janapadaśabdāt kṣatriyād añ (4.1.166) 143
janapade lup (4.2.81) 208
jambvā vā (4.3.165) 352
jambhā suharitatṛṇasomebhyaḥ (5.4.125) 742
jātarūpebhyaḥ parimāṇe (4.3.153) 345
jātināmnaḥ kan (5.3.81) 642
jāter astrīviṣayād ayopadhāt (4.1.63) 63
jātyantāc cha bandhuni (5.4.9) 668
jānapadakuṇḍagoṇasthalabhāja . . . (4.1.42) 44
jāyāyā niṅ (5.4.134) 746
jihvāmūlāṅguleś chaḥ (4.3.62) 286
jīvati tu vaṃśye yuvā (4.1.163) 141
jīvikārthe cāpaṇye (5.3.99) 652
jya ca (5.3.61) 630
jyotsnātamisrāśṛṅgiṇorjasvinnūrjasvala . . . (5.2.114) 581
jhayaḥ (5.4.111) 733
ñitaś ca tatpratyayāt (4.3.155) 346
ñyādayas tadrājāḥ (5.3.119) 662
ṭāb ṛci (4.1.9) 13
ṭiḍḍāṇañdvayasajdaghnañ . . . (4.1.15) 20
ṭhakchau ca (4.2.84) 210
ṭhag āyasthānebhyaḥ (4.3.75) 296
ṭhañ kavacinaś ca (4.2.41) 181
ṭhaṭ ca chandasi (5.2.50) 546
ṭhājādāv ūrdhvaṃ dvitīyād acaḥ (5.3.83) 643
ḍāb ubhābhyām anyatarasyām (4.1.13) 16
ḍhaki lopaḥ (4.1.133) 120
ḍhak ca maṇḍūkāt (4.1.119) 112
ḍhaś chandasi (4.4.106) 409
ṇacaḥ striyām añ (5.4.14) 672
tata āgataḥ (4.3.74) 295
tatpuruṣasyāṅguleḥ saṃkhyāvyayādeḥ (5.4.86) 716
tat prakṛtavacane mayaṭ (5.4.21) 675
tat pratyanupūrvam īpalomakūlam (4.4.28) 369
tatra kuśalaḥ pathaḥ (5.2.63) 553
tatra ca dīyate kāryaṃ bhavavat (5.1.96) 491
tatra jātaḥ (4.3.25) 263
tatra tasyeva (5.1.116) 502
tatra niyuktaḥ (4.4.69) 390
tatra bhavaḥ (4.3.53) 280
tatra vidita iti ca (5.1.43) 458
tatra sādhuḥ (4.4.98) 406
tatroddhṛtam amatrebhyaḥ (4.2.14) 164
tata sarvādeḥ pathyaṅgakarmapattra . . . (5.2.7) 519
tad adhīte tad veda (4.2.59) 193
tad adhīnavacane (5.4.54) 696
tadarthaṃ vikṛteḥ prakṛtau (5.1.12) 436
tad arhati (5.1.63) 472
tad arham (5.1.117) 502
tad asminn adhikam iti daśāntāḍ ḍaḥ (5.2.45) 542
tad asiminn annaṃ prāye . . . (5.2.82) 563
tad asminn astīti deśe (4.2.67) 199
tad asmin vṛddhyāyalābhaśulkopadā . . . (5.1.47) 461
tad asmai dīyate niyuktam (4.4.66) 389
tad asya tad asmin syād iti (5.1.16) 439
tad asya paṇyam (4.4.51) 381
tad asya parimāṇam (5.1.57) 467
tad asya brahmacaryam (5.1.94) 489
tad asya saṃjñātaṃ . . . (5.2.36) 535
tad asya soḍham (4.3.52) 280
tad asyāṃ praharaṇam iti . . . (4.2.57) 192
tad asyāsty asminn iti matup (5.2.94) 569
tado dā ca (5.3.19) 606
tad gacchati pathidūtayoḥ (4.3.85) 302
taddharati vahatyāvahati . . . (5.1.50) 462
taddhitāḥ (4.1.76) 71
tadyuktāt karmaṇo'ṇ (5.4.36) 683
tadvahati rathayugaprāsaṅgam (4.4.76) 394
tadvān āsām upadhāno mantra . . . (4.4.125) 418

tantrād acirāpahṛte (5.2.70) 556
tapaḥ sahasrābhyām vinīnī (5.2.102) 575
tam adhīṣṭo bhṛto bhūto bhāvī (5.1.80) 481
tayor dārhilau ca cchandasi (5.3.20) 606
tarati (4.4.5) 358
tavakamamakāv ekavacane (4.3.3) 250
tasiś ca (4.3.113) 322
taseś ca (5.3.8) 601
tasminn aṇi ca yuṣmākāsmākau (4.3.2) 249
tasmai prabhavati santāpādibhyaḥ . . . (5.1.101) 494
tasmai hitam (5.1.5) 432
tasya ca dakṣiṇā yajñākhyebhyaḥ (5.1.95) 490
tasya dharmyam (4.4.47) 380
tasya nimittaṃ saṃyogotpātau (5.1.38) 455
tasya nivāsaḥ (4.2.69) 201
tasya pākamūle pīlvādikarṇādibhyaḥ . . . (5.2.24) 528
tasya pūraṇe ḍaṭ (5.2.48) 545
tasya bhāvas tvatalau (5.1.119) 504
tasya vāpaḥ (5.1.45) 460
tasya vikāraḥ (4.3.134) 334
tasya vyākhyāna iti ca vyākhyātavya . . . (4.3.66) 288
tasya samūhaḥ (4.2.37) 178
tasyāpatyam (4.1.92) 91
tasyedam (4.3.120) 325
tasyeśvaraḥ (5.1.42) 458
tālādibhyo' ṇ (4.3.152) 344
tāvatithaṃ grahaṇam iti lug vā (5.2.77) 560
tikādibhyaḥ phiñ (4.1.154) 134
tiṅaś ca (5.3.56) 626
tittirivaratantukhaṇḍikokhāc chaṇ (4.3.102) 314
*tīrarūpyottarapadād añña*u (4.2.106) 222
tugrād ghan (4.4.115) 414
tundādibhya ilac ca (5.2.117) 583
tundibalivaṭer bhaḥ (5.2.139) 595
tuś chandasi (5.3.59) 628
tūdīśalāturavarmatīkūcavārāḍ (4.3.94) 308
te tadrājāḥ (4.1.172) 147
tena krītam (5.1.37) 454
tena ca yathākathācahastābhyāṃ ṇyatau (5.1.98) 493
tena tulyaṃ kriyā ced vatiḥ (5.1.115) 501
tena dīvyati khanati jayati jitam (4.4.2) 356
tena nirvṛttam (4.2.68) 200
tena nirvṛttam (5.1.79) 481
tena parijayyalabhyakāryasukaram (5.1.93) 489
tena proktam (4.3.101) 313
tena raktaṃ rāgāt (4.2.1) 151
tena vittaś cuñcupcaṇapau (5.2.26) 529
tenaikadik (4.3.112) 321
trapujatunoḥ ṣuk (4.3.138) 337
triṃśaccatvāriṃśator brāhmaṇe . . . (5.1.62) 471
trikakut parvate (5.4.147) 753
treḥ samprasāraṇaṃ ca (5.2.55) 548
thā hetau ca cchandasi (5.3.26) 610
dakṣiṇād āc (5.3.36) 616
dakṣiṇāpaścātpurasas tyak (4.2.98) 218
dakṣiṇermā lubdhayoge (5.4.126) 743
dakṣiṇottarābhyām atasuc (5.3.28) 611
daṇḍavyavasargayoś ca (5.4.2) 663
daṇḍādibhyaḥ (5.1.66) 473
dadhnaṣ ṭhak (4.2.18) 166
danta unnata urac (5.2.106) 577
dantaśikhāt saṃjñāyām (5.2.113) 581
dānīṃ ca (5.3.18) 606
dāmanyāditrigartaṣaṣṭhāc chaḥ (5.3.116) 660
dāmahāyanāntāc ca (4.1.27) 31
dikśabdebhyaḥ saptamīpañcamī . . . (5.3.27) 610
dikpūrvapadāṭ ṭhañ ca (4.3.6) 252
dikpūrvapadād saṃjñāyāṃ ñaḥ (4.2.107) 223
dikpūrvapadān ṅīp (4.1.60) 60
digādibhyo yat (4.3.54) 281
dityadityādityapaty . . . (4.1.85) 82
dīrghajihvī ca cchandasi (4.1.59) 59
duḥkhāt prātilomye (5.4.64) 702
duṣkulāḍ ḍhak (4.1.142) 125
dūtasya bhāgakarmaṇī (4.4.120) 416
dṛtikukṣikalaśivastyastyaher ṭhañ (4.3.56) 282
dṛṣṭaṃ sāma (4.2.7) 158
deyam ṛṇe (4.3.47) 277
deye trā ca (5.4.55) 697
devatāntāt tādarthye yat (5.4.24) 677
devapathādibhyaś ca (5.3.100) 653
devamanuṣyapuruṣapurumartyebhyo . . . (5.4.56) 697
devāt tal (5.4.27) 679

deśe lubilacau ca (5.2.105) 577
daivayajñiśaucivṛkṣisātyamugri . . . (4.1.81) 77
dyāvāpṛthivīśunāsīramarutvad . . . (4.2.32) 174
dyudrubhyāṃ maḥ (5.2.108) 578
dyuprāgapāgudakpratīco yat (4.2.101) 220
dravyaṃ ca bhavye (5.3.104) 654
droṇaparvatajīvantād anyatarasyām (4.1.103) 101
droś ca (4.3.161) 350
dvandvamanojñādibhyaś ca (5.1.133) 513
dvandvāc cudaṣahāntāt samāhāre (5.4.106) 730
dvandvāc chaḥ (4.2.6) 157
dvandvād vun vairamaithunikayoḥ (4.3.125) 329
dvandvopatāpagarhyāt prāṇisthād iniḥ (5.2.128) 589
dvigoḥ (4.1.21) 27
dvigor yap (5.1.82) 483
dvigor lug anapatye (4.1.88) 85
dvigor vā (5.1.86) 484
dvigoṣ ṣṭhaṃś ca (5.1.54) 465
dvitricaturbhyaḥ suc (5.4.18) 674
dvitripūrvād aṇ·ca (5.1.36) 453
dvitripūrvān niṣkāt (5.1.30) 450
dvitribhyāṃ ṣa mūrdhnaḥ (5.4.115) 735
dvitribhyāṃ tayasya ayaj vā (5.2.43) 540
dvitribhyām añjaleḥ (5.4.102) 727
dvitryoś ca dhamuñ (5.3.45) 620
dvidaṇḍyādibhyaś ca (5.4.128) 744
dvivacanavibhajyopapade tarabīyasunau (5.3.57) 627
dvistāvā tristāvā vediḥ (5.4.84) 715
dvīpād anusamudraṃ yañ (4.3.10) 254
dves tīyaḥ (5.2.54) 548
dvaipavaiyāghrād añ (4.2.12) 162
dvyacaḥ (4.1.121) 113
dvyacaś chandasi (4.3.150) 343
dvyajṛdbrāhmaṇarkprathamādhvara . . . (4.3.72) 293
dvyañmagadhakaliṅga . . . (4.1.168) 145
dhanagaṇaṃ labdhā (4.4.84) 398
dhanahiraṇyāt kāme (5.2.65) 554
dhanuṣaś ca (5.4.132) 746
dhanvayopadhād vuñ (4.2.121) 233
dharmaṃ carati (4.4.41) 377
dharmapathyarthanyāyād anapete (4.4.92) 403
dharmaśīlavarṇāntāc ca (5.2.132) 591
dharmād anic kevalāt (5.4.124) 741
dhānyānāṃ bhavane kṣetre khañ (5.2.1) 515
dhuro yaḍḍhakau (4.4.77) 395
dhūmādibhyaś ca (4.2.127) 238
na kroḍādibahvacaḥ (4.1.56) 57
nakṣatrād ghaḥ (4.4.141) 427
nakṣatreṇa yuktaḥ kālaḥ (4.2.3) 153
nakṣatrebhyo bahulam (4.3.37) 271
nakhamukhāt saṃjñāyām (4.1.58) 59
nagarāt kutsanaprāvīṇyayoḥ (4.2.128) 238
nañas tatpuruṣāt (5.4.71) 707
nañduḥsubhyo halisakthyor . . . (5.4.121) 739
naḍaśādāḍ ḍvalac (4.2.88) 212
naḍādibhyaḥ phak (4.1.99) 99
naḍādīnāṃ kuk ca (4.2.91) 213
nate nāsikāyāḥ saṃjñāyāṃ . . . (5.2.31) 532
na daṇḍamāṇavāntevāsiṣu (4.3.130) 332
nadī paurṇamāsyāgrahāyaṇībhyaḥ (5.4.110) 732
nadyādibhyo ḍhak (4.2.97) 218
nadyṛtaś ca (5.4.153) 756
nadyāṃ matup (4.2.85) 210
na dvyacaḥ prācyabharateṣu (4.2.113) 227
na nañpūrvāt tatpuruṣād acatura . . . (5.1.121) 505
napuṃsakād anyatarasyām (5.4.109) 732
na pūjanāt (5.4.69) 705
na prācyabhargādi . . . (4.1.176) 150
na ṣaṭsvasrādibhyaḥ (4.1.10) 13
na saṃkhyādeḥ samāhāre (5.4.89) 720
na saṃjñāyām (5.4.155) 757
na sāmivacane (5.4.5) 665
nāḍītantryoḥ svāṅge (5.4.159) 759
nāntād asaṃkhyāder maṭ (5.2.49) 545
nāvo dvigoḥ (5.4.99) 725
nāsikodarauṣṭhajaṅghā . . . (4.1.55) 55
nikaṭe vasati (4.4.73) 393
nityaṃ chandasi (4.1.46) 47
nityaṃ vṛddhaśarādibhyaḥ (4.3.144) 340
nityaṃ śatādim āsārdhamāsasaṃvatsarāc ca (5.2.57) 550
nityam saṃjñāchandasoḥ (4.1.29) 33
nityam sapatnyādiṣu (4.1.35) 39
nityam āsic prajāmedhayoḥ (5.4.122) 740

nirvṛtte akṣadyūtādibhyaḥ (4.4.19) 365
niśāpradoṣābhyāṃ ca (4.3.14) 256
niṣkulān niṣkoṣaṇe (5.4.62) 701
niṣpravāṇiś ca (5.4.160) 759
nītau ca tadyuktāt (5.3.77) 639
ner biḍajbirīsacau (5.2.32) 532
notvadvardhabilvāt (4.3.151) 344
naudvyacaṣ ṭhan (4.4.7) 359
nauvayodharmaviṣamūlamūla . . . (4.4.91) 402
pakṣāt tiḥ (5.2.25) 528