

I N T R O D U C T I O N

1.0. Pāṇini, the author of the Aṣṭādhyāyī.

pāṇini(p) has attracted the attention of the western and native linguists, in this century by the Aṣṭādhyāyī (Aṣṭ), his composition par-excellence, in the Sanskrit grammar. The principles established by him, may be useful to analyse the language; the word, the sentence and the relation between them.

1.1. Data concerning the life of Pāṇini.

The life history of P, the soothing moon of the sky of Sanskrit literature is lost in the womb of mysterious clouds. Yet he is alive and will continue to remain alive for centuries to come through his excellent work, the Aṣṭ. Very little information about P's life is available, so we have to depend upon some legendary tales and quotations of Sanskrit writers about P's life.

1.1.1. Legendary tales.

P has become an interesting character of some legends. According to the Kathāsaritsāgarā of Somadeva and the Bṛhadkathāmañjarī of Kṣemendra, both the Sanskrit versions of the Bṛhatkathā of Guṇāḍhya, originally written in Paisācī, P was a dull student of Varṣa and acquired knowledge by the worship of Śiva. According to these works, he was at the court of the Emperor of the Nanda dynasty and a friend to the Emperor. The Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa, a

Budhist work in Sanskrit, of about 8th century supports P's friendship with the Emperor of the Nanda dynasty. According to a well known stanza of Nandikeśvara, P worshiped Lord Śiva for a long time to get the better of Kātyāyana (Kāt) who was a rival in his study. Lord Śiva became pleased and blessed him with 14 groups of sound. One more legend says, P and Kāt were studying in Taxila from Ācārya Varṣa. The beautiful daughter of Varṣa chose Kāt as her mate. So P being disheartened tried to commit suicide. Lord Śiva saved him from that and blessed him with knowledge. A south Indian legend says that once in the marriage of Śiva, P and Kāt were seated right and left side of Śiva respectively. Lord Śiva gave 14 groups of sound to P and to Agatsya, the Tamila grammar. P was killed by a lion according to the Pāñcatantra. However romantic and interesting these legendary tales are, they seldom provide us with reliable sources and historical facts about P's life.

1.2. As some authorities say, P was a maternal cousin to Vyāḍi, the author of the Saṃgraha. The name of P's mother was Dākṣī and so he was named Dākṣīputra. The references of Dākṣīputra as the name of P are often found in MBh, Ślokatmakā-pāṇinīyaśikṣā etc and Vyāḍi is referred to as Dākṣāyaṇa, a patronymic name. But Vyāḍi as a maternal uncle of P is not accepted by some scholars. K.V. Abhyankara dates Vyāḍi after P and before Patañjali.

1.3. P is said to be the elder brother of Piṅgala, the author of Piṅgalasūtra, the work on Sanskrit prosody. The commentator of Kātyāyana'sarvānukramaṇi, ṣaḍguruśiṣya refers to Piṅgala as the younger brother to P in his commentary Vedārthadīpikā. The Ślokatmakapāṇinī-śikṣā also believes so. But we can not accept any relation between them, until we do not get some reliable proof.

1.4. The Jāmbavatīvijaya or Pātālavijaya is ascribed to P but it is obvious that it is a composition by a later writer. He may be P but other than our P, the author of the Aśt.¹⁵ Śrīdharadāsa, in the Saduktikarṇāmṛta, an anthology introduces P as Dākṣīputra and poet. Rājāśekhara, the author of the Sūktimuktāvalī¹⁶ says that P firstly composed grammar and then the Jāmbavatīvijaya,¹⁷ the poem. Kṣemendra sings his praise especially for upajāti metre in the Suvṛttatilaka, the book on Sanskrit prosody. Kṣitīśacandra Caṭṭopādhyāya discussed this matter in detail and thought that the Jāmbavatīvijaya is a composition of 8th to 9th century and it is totally imaginary to think that P is a poet. MBh, in one of the kārīkās, uses the word "Kavi"¹⁸ for P but Kaiyaṭa and Nāgojī take the word "Kavi" for "medhāvī", the intelligent.¹⁹

1.5. As quoted supra, the name of P's teacher was Varṣa and MBh and Kāś. give the name of Kautsa as his disciple.²⁰ Kāś refers to two types of his disciples i.e. pūrvapāṇinīya and aparapāṇinīya.²¹ Thus it is quite clear that he would have taught his grammar to number of students.

1.6. In the Sanskrit lexicons, P's names are given as Pāṇini, Āhika, Śālaṅki, Dākṣīputra²² and Śālātūrīya. He is also known as Sūtrakāra.²³ Among these names, Pāṇini is his patronymic name and is explained by Kaiyaṭa as — paṇino'patyam iti aṇ pāṇinaḥ, pāṇinasyāpatyam yuveti²⁴ iṅ pāṇiniḥ but this etymology is not accepted by all scholars.

1.7. The scholars have given the different opinions about P's time. Gold Stucker, R.G.²⁵ Bhandarkar, K.B. Pathak, etc put P in the 7th century BC. Dr. D.R. Bhandarkar's revised²⁶

opinion is that he flourished in the middle of 6th century BC. According to Macdonell, he lived in the 5th century BC. Bohtlingk believes that he belongs to 350 BC probably. Dr.V.S. Agraval discussed this point in detail and arrived at the conclusion that P lived in the middle of the 5th century BC and we accept his opinion about his time.

1.8. P is believed to be the inhabitant of north-west India. One of P's names, Śālāturiya is concerned with his native place and identified with Lahaur by Gunningham. In the days of Hiuen Tsang, Śālātura was a prosperous town. P himself refers to the word Śālātura in IV. iii.94 Vardhamāna, in his Gaṇaratnamahodadhī, Bhāmaha in the Kāvyaśāṅkara, Bhoja in the Sarasvatīkaṇṭhābharaṇa identify P as Śālāturiya. According to Weber, P belongs to the Vāhika country, Śālaṅki is one of his names and related with the Vāhika country. Taking the above mentioned facts in consideration, we may fairly conclude that P most probably belonged to the north-west part of India.

2.0. Pāṇini and his predecessors -

P mentions 10 grammarians as his predecessors by name in the Aṣṭ. They are Āpiśali, Kāśyapa, Gārgya, Gālava, Cākravarman, Bhāradvāja, Śakāṭāyana, Śākalya, Seṅka and Sphoṭāyana. According to the commentators, P mentions the name of these grammarians to indicate that the operations in question are optional. But when the rule contains both the name of a grammarian and the word showing option i.e. vā etc, P mentions such a name for honoris causa (pūjārtha). But some modern scholars believe that P wants to note the differences in usage and to make the rule optional according to that grammarian, when he mentions the name of a

grammarian along with the word (vā etc) showing option. Without giving the name, P mentions udīcām (of northerners), prācām (of easterners) and ācāryāṇām (of the teachers, i.e. grammarians) some scholars believe that the words udīcām etc refer to the area in which certain usage is found and also to schools of grammarians. While, according to some scholars, the rules containing the names of grammarians and the words showing option refer not to schools but to dialectal usages.

39

2.1. The occurrence of the names of P's predecessors in the Aṣṭ is listed here in the Sanskrit alphabetic order.

- (1) Āpīśali - VI.i.92. (pūjārtha)
- (2) Kāśyapa - I.ii.25. (pūjārtha) Also with Gārgya & Gālava VIII.iv.67. (pūjārtha)
- (3) Gārgya - VIII.iii.20. (pūjārtha) also with Gālava vide - VII.iii.99. (pūjārtha)
- (4) Gālava - VI.iii.61. (pūjārtha), VI.i.74. (vibhāṣārtha), also with Gārgya vide VII.iii.99. (pūjārtha)
- (5) Cākravarman - VI.i.130 (vibhāṣārtha)
- (6) Bhārdvāja - VII.ii.63. (vibhāṣārtha)
- (7) Śākaṭāyana- VII.iv.111.(vibhāṣārtha), VIII.iii.18. (pūjārtha), VIII.iv.50. (pūjārtha)
- (8) Śākalya - I.i.16. (vibhāṣārtha), VI.i.127. (pūjārtha), VIII.iii.19. (vibhāṣārtha), VIII.iv.51. (pūjārtha)
- (9) Senaka - V.iv.112. (pūjārtha)
- (10) Sphoṭāyana - VI.i.123. (pūjārtha)

2.2. The usage of the different parts of the country known to P, without mentioning the

name of grammarians is listed as under :

- (1) udīcām - III.iv.19. (vibhāṣārtha), IV.i.153. (vaicitryārtha), IV.i.157. (pūjārtha), IV.iii.32. (vibhāṣārtha), VII.iii.46. (vibhāṣārtha)
- (2) prācām - I.i.75. (vibhāṣārtha - Bhāṣāvṛtti), III.i.90. (vibhāṣārtha), III.iv.18. (vibhāṣārtha), IV.i.43. (vibhāṣārtha), IV.i.160. (pūjārtha), V.iii.80. (pūjārtha), V.iii.94. (pūjārtha), V.iv.101. (vibhāṣārtha), VIII.ii.86. (vibhāṣārtha)
- (3) ācāryāṇām - VII.iii.49. (nityārtha), VIII.iv.52. (pūjārtha)
- (4) sarveṣām - VII.iii.100. (nityārtha), VIII.iii.22. (nityārtha)
- (5) ekeṣām - VIII.iii.102. (vibhāṣārtha - pdm)

2.3. The pre-pāṇinian grammarians not occurring in the Aṣṭ.

The 16 pre-pāṇinian grammarians, not mentioned by P in the Aṣṭ are discussed fully by Pt. Yudhiṣṭhira Mīmāṃsaka. They are Śivamaheśvara, Bṛhaspati, Indra, Vāyu, Bharaḍvāja, Bhāguri, Pauṣkaraśādi, Kāśakṛtsna, Śāntanu, Vaiyāghrapadya, Mādhyaṇḍini, Raughī, Śaunaki, Gautama and Vyāḍi. No doubt, some of these early teachers are referred to by the commentators but it is impossible for us to find out a single rule in the Aṣṭ. as of pre-pāṇinian work definitively, because no complete work which is accepted as pre-pāṇinian work remained with us, except some fragments of old treatises.

2.4. Probably it is accepted by the scholars that Yāska flourished before P. No reference of Yāska, however is given by P in the Aṣṭ, except a quotation of a patronymic name Yāska (II.iv.63.) which alone can not prove that P knew Yāska, the author of the Nirukta, a run-

ing commentary of the Nighaṇṭu. On the other hand, Yāska does not refer to p anywhere in the Niruka. But according to some scholars, Yāska uses the samjñas like upadhā (occurring thrice in the nirukta II.i., athāpy upadhālopo bhavati - jagmur iti, II.i., athāpy upadhā-
āvikāro bhavati - rājā daṇḍīti IV.12. ādinā^{bhyāsenā} upa^{hitena} upadhām ādatte), abhyāsa (occurring in the nirukta II.iii.2., 3, V.12, X 42), abhyasta (occurring in the Nirukta II.12, III.10, IV. 23, 25, VI.3.), guṇa (X.17), in the sense in which p uses them. These evidences show that Yāska might have flourished after p while, according to Dr. Belvalkar, p does not give any rule for the word sūryā, the wife of sūrya (sūryapatnī) nor does he give the rule to form the word "apārṇa" occurring in the Nirukta. Kāt. gives two vārttikas to explain the words like "prārṇa, ṛṇārṇa but omits the word apārṇa. The developed speculations in the Sanskrit grammar as noted in the Aṣṭ, favour the anteriority of Yāska but the above mentioned evidences⁴⁵ require more research before settling the date of these great teachers.

2.5. The works known to pāṇini.

Very scarce as the sources of the literary works - known to p are, it would be interesting, with reference to his own works, to know about the works of which he knew. The literature known to p has been referred to in the following five ways -

1. Dīṣṭa (IV.ii.7), 2. Prokta (IV.iii.101), 3. Upajñāta (IV.iii.115), 4. Kṛta (IV.iii.87), 5. Vyākhyāna (IV.iii.66).

1. Dīṣṭa literature:- This consists of the religious literature that has been realized by the great seers. In this are included the melodious poetry of the Sāmaveda, the sūktas of the Ṛgveda and adhyāyas and anuvākas.⁴⁶

2. Prokta (promulgated) literature:- This literature consists of the textual sections⁴⁷ like Taitirīya, Kaṭha, and Kalāpa sections of the Kṛṣṇa-yajurveda as well as the ancient⁴⁸ Brāhmaṇa granthas and the ancient Kalpasūtras. It is remarkable that non-vedic as the Bhikṣu-sūtras and Naṭa-sūtras are, they are included in this lore. The reason of the same may be explained that the attitude of the composer ācāryas of the Bhikṣusūtras and the Naṭasūtras was the same as the ancient oriental traditions of the teacher; and the level of their scientific criticism and analysis was fairly scholastic. By and by they were also believed to be⁴⁹ equivalent to the Vedas.⁵⁰

3. Upajñāta literature:- The literature which was seen by some prominent seerwas call-⁵¹ ed the Upajñāta literature (IV.iii.115). It was also deemed to be primeval ācikhyaśā. The works of Āpiśali, Kāśakṛtsna, Śākaṭāyana and P as classified under this section are known as Prokta. However the literary composition of P may be termed Prokta as well as Upajñāta. The science of P was useful not only to any one particular section of the Vedas but to all of them together equally. The learners of a newly composed volume were named after the composer of the scientific volume (IV.ii.65) as the learners of the work containing eight books of P were called 'aṣṭakāḥ pāṇinīyāḥ' and daśakāḥ vaiyāghrapadīyāḥ too in the same way.

4. Kṛta literature:- The works named after the name of their specific composer consi-⁵² sted of the volumes of such sections. Such works were known from their subjects and contents. P has given the names of Śiśukrandīya, Indrajānaniya and Yamasabhiya as the illustrations of such works (IV.iii.88). The author of the Kāś gives Saubhadra, Yāyāta etc as the illustrations of the same.⁵³

5. Vyākhyāna:- The works which were not composed originally and which were composed⁵⁴ on the religious subjects or the subjects of folk lore were classified under this section.

We shall now try to trace out in brief which specific works in the above mentioned sections were known to P.

The Bahvīc, Śaunaka and Paila sections of the Ṛgveda and the subordinate sections of⁵⁵ the Ṛgveda like Bāṣkala and Māṇḍūkya were familiar to P. He was also familiar with the⁵⁶ Tittirī, Varatantu, Khaṇḍika, Ukha, Kaṭha and Kalāpa sections of the Kīṣṇayajurveda. The Ārcika and geva sections of the Sāmaveda also were known to him (IV.iii.72., III.ii.68.). P also refers to Mauda and Pippalāda, the two carāṇas of the Atharvaveda (VI.i.174.).

Among the Brāhmaṇa granthas, he refers to the Kauṣītaki brāhmaṇa of thirty adhyāyas⁵⁷ and aitareya brāhmaṇa of forty adhyāyas. He also refers to the Kalāpa granthas. P refers to the word 'anubrāhmaṇa' which signifies, according to Kāś, a grantha quite similar to brāhmaṇa.⁵⁸ P also possessed the knowledge of, according to Libich and Thieme, the Upaniṣadas like the Bṛhadāraṇyaka and the Chāndogya. We also find the references of ancient kalpasūtras in the Aṣṭ.

Among the literature, other than that of the Vedic one, Vāstuvidyā, Aṅgavidyā, Śikṣā, Vyākaraṇa, Muhūrtavidyā etc are also referred to in Ṛgayanādi class (IV.iii.73). In the Bhikṣusūtras, the word bhikṣu means a brāhmaṇa ascetic. Still then, the reference of a speaker of Nāndī (III.ii.21), the reference of poems composed in śloka and gāthā (III.ii.23) also are

found in his work. Pat and Kās⁵⁹ cite the ancient ākhyāna granthas of Rāma (Jāmadagni) and Yayāti as illustrations. Pat also gives the names of Vāsavadattā, Sumanottarā and Bhaimar-athī as the illustrations of the Ākhyāyikās. The works known to P is a subject requiring a deep study and an independent research. Here the idea is only to offer a glimpse of the same.⁶⁰

2.6. The accessories to the Aṣṭādhyāyī.

The treatises, closely related with the Aṣṭ. are Dhātupāṭha, Gaṇapāṭha, Uṇādisūtras, Phitsūtras, Līṅgānūsāsana and Śikṣā. Without these treatises to the Aṣṭ, one can not grasp P's grammar. The Dhātupāṭha (Dp) is a list of verbal roots and generally ascribed to Śak-atāyana, the authority of etymological school of grammarians. Some scholars like Liebich, Pawte etc think that the Dp is a work of P's predecessor and P takes it over from his pre-⁶¹decessors. Pawte gives the authorship of the Dp to Śakatayana. Not only the modern scholars like Pawte etc but old commentator like Jinendrabuddhi also does not accept P as the author of the Dp. Dr. Belvalkar properly believes that the Dp is a work of P because the functions of the anubandhas (markers) in the rules and the Dp are in accord with each other. Moreover⁶³ P mentions the rules regarding the verbal roots in accord with their occurrence in the Dp. The other important accessorial treatise to the Aṣṭ. is the gaṇapāṭha (Gp). The gaṇas are the groups of words which undergo the similar grammatical changes. It is P's peculiar device that he takes the first word of the group of the words and adds the word 'ādi' to it to denote all the words of that group e.g. 'pra' from the group of the words pra, parā, etc. Hence prādi is called a gaṇa. Seeing the close connection of the Gp with the Aṣṭ., we may

conclude that the author of the Aṣṭ and the GP is the same. The uṇādi sūtras provide for introducing certain affixes to add to the verbal roots to derive nominal bases. These rules are known as uṇādi because the first rule provides for affixing 'uṇ' to a series of verbal roots to derive nominal bases such as kṛ + uṇ kārū (artisan), vā + uṇ vāyu (wind). The scholars are of the different opinions about the authorship of the uṇādi rules. According to Dr. Belvalkar the uṇādi rules are the work of P.⁶⁵ The commentators are also not unanimous about the authorship of the uṇādi rules. Some attribute them to P, while according to some, they are ascribed to Śākatāyana.⁶⁶ Some commentators attribute them to Kātyāyana. We may conclude that P knows the uṇādi rules well and most of these rules go to the earlier period than P's time. The phiṭ rules are the rules that are provided for accentuation of nominal bases according to their phonological shape and meaning. For example, the first rule states that the final vowel of a nominal base (phiṣ) is udātta (of high pitch). These rules are known as phiṭ rules because these rules concern with phiṣ, the term denoting a nominal base, for which P uses the term Prātipadika. These rules are attributed to Śāntanava (or Śāntanu).⁶⁷ No doubt, these rules are post-pāṇinian but were known to Patañjali. The Liṅgānuśāsana states the rules based on the structure and meaning of the nominals to describe their gender i.e. the third rule states that five bases ending in "i" are feminine: mātrī, duhitṛī, svasī etc. In the Aṣṭ, there are rules regarding gender. For example, paravallīṅgaṃ dvandvatatpuruṣayoḥ (II.iv.26) which states that the gender of a dvandva or a tatpuruṣa compound is that of the subsequent member. Most of the scholars believe that P has not composed the text of the Liṅgānuśāsana and the text now we have is the work of a person other than P.⁶⁸ The Śikṣā texts deal with particular

aspects of phonetics in connection with branches of Vedic texts. Some Śikṣā texts treat general aspects of Sanskrit phonetics. We have two Śikṣā texts, one in a verse style and the other in a sūtra style, known as Pāṇinīya-śikṣā. The scholars gave the different opinions about the authorship of these two texts. Discussing in details, Dr. Cardona concludes that P might have composed either of the śikṣā texts. The paribhāṣās are, no doubt, ascribed to Vyādi. According to Dr. K.V. Abhyankar, Vyādi flourished after P but before Patañjali.⁷¹

3. The Pāṇini school in the Sanskrit grammar: a brief account.

3.0. P does not intend to teach Sanskrit language by composing the Aṣṭ to those, for whom Sanskrit is unfamiliar. In his time, Sanskrit was a spoken language. Hence it was not a problem for P to teach Sanskrit. His grammar attempts very successfully to formulate maximally concise and consistent rules for the formation of Sanskrit forms and sentences. Thus P has given a thorough analysis of Sanskrit language. He follows the descriptive method of linguistics.

3.1. P has composed his Aṣṭ with expertness and Kāt added to its merit by adding his vār-⁷²ttikas, which correct, modify or supplement the rules of the Aṣṭ. Kāt has formed about 4000 vārttikas on nearly 1500 rules of Aṣṭ. According to Goldstucker, Weber and Burnell, Kāt criticised P by his vārttikas and Pat replied in justification. But Dr. Kielhorn properly thinks that Kāt wrote vārttikas not to find merely faults in the Aṣṭ but he tried to justify the rules according to the usage of his time. Pat has no prejudice for Kāt as Dr. Gold-⁷⁴stucker thought. According to Dr. Belvalkar, Kāt flourished between 500-350 BC. These

thoughts are based on the fact that Kāt flourished between 500-350 BC. These

Patañjali with his magnum opus, the Mahābhāṣya, a great commentary on the both P's rules and Kāt's vārttikas. Pat discusses the matter fully and supplies us with a fund of information.⁷⁶

Really MBh is an encyclopaedic work in a lucid and exhaustive style and excels other commentaries like those of Śabarasaṁvāmi and Śaṅkara. Pat has commented 1228 rules of P's grammar in 85 āhnikas. He also contributed to the philosophy of Sanskrit grammar which is afterwards dealt with fully in the Vākyapadīya of Bhartṛhari. According to Dr. Belvalkar, Pat belonged⁷⁷ to 150 BC.

This is the first period of P's school of grammar, the period of three sages (munitraya). These three great teachers gave the rules to the science of grammar. They studied in deep the living language of their time and made considerable contribution to the field of Sanskrit grammar.

3.2. Kaiyaṭa, the son of Jaiyaṭa of Kashmir wrote a learned commentary, Pradīpa on the MBh in the 11th century. Nāgēśa, a reputed grammarian of the 18th century wrote a commentary known as Udyota on the Pradīpa. Nāgēśa also wrote some renowned works on Sanskrit grammar and other Indian sciences. In the fifth century, Bhartṛhari⁷⁸ wrote, on the MBh a learned commentary named Dīpikā which is not available in full now.

3.2.1. The second period of the development of P's school starts from the scholarly gloss of Vāmana and Jayāditya of the 7th century, known as Kāśikā because it is said to have been composed in Kāśī, a holy city in India. The Kāśikā, the joint work of Vāmana and Jayāditya

runs over each and every rule of the Aṣṭ in a scholarly but simple style. It is however believed that the gloss on the first five books was written by Jayāditya and on the remaining three books, it was composed by Vāmana.⁷⁹ It follows the MBh but omits the scholarly discussion occurring in the MBh. It presents the whole text of the Aṣṭ with anuvṛtti etc. preserving the ancient grammatical traditions. Hence it can be properly said that the Kāśikā is the Bible for the students of P. Jinendrabuddhi, a Budhist scholar of 8th century wrote a scholarly gloss - the Kāśikāvivarapañjikā,⁸⁰ also known as Nyāsa on the Kāśikā. He belonged to the eastern school of grammar. Haradatta of a Dravidian Brahmin family of southern India wrote a learned commentary known as Padamañjarī on the Kāśikā in about 11th century. He followed the MBh closely. The Bhāgavṛtti,⁸¹ attributed to Bhartṛhari is an old treatise on the Aṣṭ which is available in a fragmentary form and whose authorship is still uncertain. Puruṣottamadeva, probably a Budhist grammarian of the eastern school, in Bengal wrote a commentary named Bhāṣāvṛtti in 12th century on the Aṣṭ.⁸² He omitted the vedic rules. He also wrote some other works on Sanskrit grammar. Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita, the stalwart grammarian of 17th century wrote a scholarly commentary named "Śabdakaustubha" on the Aṣṭ, which is not available in full now. Annambhaṭṭa's Mitākṣarā,⁸³ written in 16th century, a commentary on the Aṣṭ is worth quoting. ⁸⁴ Viśveśvarasūri and Sūamī Dayānanda Sarasvatī composed the commentaries on the Aṣṭ in the 19th and 20th centuries respectively.

3.3. Before going to enlist the grammarians of the prakriyā branch of the pāṇinian school of grammar, we discuss briefly the important difference between the old branch and the prakriyā branch of P's school of Sanskrit grammar. Sanskrit was a spoken language when P composed

sed his treatise on Sanskrit grammar. Hence P did not intend to teach Sanskrit, nor did he arrange the rules in his treatise in accordance with the process (prakriyā). P taught his rules to analyse the language in a precise style. The brevity is the soul of his grammar. But when Sanskrit lost its place as a spoken language, the treatise explaining the process was required. The grammarians like Dharmakīrti, Vimalasarasvatī etc gave the different order to P's rules to facilitate the process. But they did not cover all rules of P's grammar. Dharmakīrti, a Buddhist scholar composed the Rūpāvatāra, in which the chapters are called "avatāras". The author belongs to 12th century. Vimalasarasvatī wrote a treatise named Rūpā-⁸⁵mālā. The chapters of the treatise are named mālās. The author flourished in 1350. Rāmacandra-⁸⁶dra, the son of Kiṣṇācārya of 14th century composed the Prakriyākaumudī which became a model for Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita in composing the Siddhāntakaumudī. Rāmacandra treated only 2470 rules of the Aṣṭ. Viṭṭhalācārya's commentary Prasāda is the most famous commentary among⁸⁸ other commentaries on the Prakriyākaumudī. He belongs to a period not later than 1525. The commentary Prakāśa of Kiṣṇa on the Prakriyākaumudī is worth quoting. All these grammarians of the prakriyā branch of P's school tried to arrange P's rules according to prakriyā but Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita surpassed them all. He not only treated all P's rules along with Kāt's vār-⁸⁹ttikas alone but also dealt with the Dhātupāṭha, the Gaṇapāṭha, the uṇādi rules, the Liṅgān-uśāsana, the Śikṣā text. He was a stalwart grammarian and authority not only upon P's school but also upon other schools of Sanskrit grammar. In accordance with prakriyā, we first time, get the text of P fully discussed by Dīkṣita. Hence according to some scholars, the SK sup-⁸⁹ercedes the other Sanskrit treatises of the Pāṇinian school of Sanskrit grammar. But it is

obviously seen that the grammarians of the prakriyā branch of P's school arranged the rules of the Aṣṭi in accordance with the process so the original order of the rules, which is the most important feature of the P's treatise is disturbed. Hence, to understand the rules properly with their functions became difficult in this new arrangement of P's rules. The gloss, therefore became necessary on each and every rule^k of the Aṣṭi. Still some important features like the anuvṛtti, the adhikāra, the asiddhātva etc require the knowledge of the order of the original text of P's grammar. Some scholars criticised the new arrangement of the rules properly. Mr. Colbrook writes, "But sūtras of Pāṇini, thus detached from their context, are wholly unintelligible without the commentator's exposition. They are indeed what Sir William Jones has somewhere termed them dark as the darkest oracle."

Bhaṭṭojī Dīkṣita also composed auto-commentary named Praughamanorāmā on the SK. He belonged to 16th century. His disciple Varadarāja composed three abridged editions of the SK. They are the Laghusiddhāntakaumudī, the Madhyasiddhāntakaumudī and the Sārasiddhāntakaumudī. The Laghu and Bṛhatṭhabdenduśekharas of Nāgeśa are learned commentaries upon the SK. Among the large number of commentaries on the SK, the Tattvabodhinī of Jñānendra Sarasvatī is scholarly and the Bālaṃmanorāmā of Vāsudeva Vājapeyī is popular among the students of Sanskrit grammar. Bhaṭṭojī is criticised by Cakrapāṇidatta and Jagannātha in the Praughamanorāmā-khaṇḍana and the Manoramākucamardinī respectively. Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa in 16th century composed a learned treatise named Prakriyāśarvasva and treated all the rules of P in the different style than that of Dīkṣita's.

3.4. Pāṇinian school on semantics and philosophy of Grammar.

Indian sages were interested in and familiar with philosophy of grammar from the early time. We find such thoughts in the earliest treatise of Yāska but fully treated in the MBh, the Magnum opus of Patañjali. We have three treatises of P's school of Sanskrit grammar, concerning with semantics and philosophy of grammar.

Bhartṛhari composed his learned treatise named Vākyapadīya with a gloss on 1st and 2nd ⁹³ Kāṇḍas in the fifth century, which attracted the attention of the linguists all over the world. Kauṇḍabhaṭṭa composed the ^{ai}Vyākaraṇabhūṣaṇa, infact a commentary on his uncle Bhaṭṭoji's verses on grammar, known as the Vaiyākaraṇasiddhāntakārikā. Kauṇḍabhaṭṭa also abridged his treatise as the ^{ai}Vyākaraṇabhūṣaṇasāra. Nāgojībhaṭṭa, also known as Nāgeśa composed the Vaiyākaraṇasiddhāntalaghumañjuṣā on philosophy of grammar.

4. The Aṣṭādhyāyī:- The best specimen of the sūtra style.

4.0. P has been praised for his concise style by western and native Sanskritists. For the sake of brevity and precision, P chooses the sūtra-style for his treatise i.e. the Aṣṭ.

4.1. The Aṣṭ is a work of sūtras or rules, and a sūtra is the most concise form of a saying which otherwise takes many words in expression of the same thing. The word sūtra is that which tersely informs its content. In other words, a sūtra means a short phrase or a small comprehensive group of words. The Śabdakalpadruma fairly defines it as, ⁹⁴alpākṣaram asandigd-
⁹⁵ham sāravad viśvatomukham/astobham anavadyam ca sūtram sūtravido viduḥ//

In this respect, the Aṣṭ is the best specimen of the sūtra-style. P has taken great pains to ensure that the material is presented as briefly and concisely as possible. According to Goldstucker, the sūtra style may have arisen in the scarcity of the material for writing or as Belvalkar suggests, his object may have been to give his students aids to memory.

4.2. Types of rules:- P has composed the rules with an eye on brevity so much so that brevity has since become the soul of Sanskrit grammar. P has composed the Aṣṭ in the sūtra style with a view to explaining the greatest meaning by the smallest number of words. According to the tradition, these sūtras are of six types. They are as -

samjñā ca paribhāṣā ca, vidhir niyama eva ca /
atideśo'dhikāraś ca, ṣaḍvidhaṁ sūtralakṣaṇam //

98

We proceed to discuss each of them fully.

4.2.1. Samjñā sūtras (Technical Terms) The word samjñā is derived from sam + jñā. It means a short wording to convey ample sense - "samjñāyate'nayā iti samjñā". As in normal social life, we can get surity and certainty by making samjñās. In the grammatical treatise too, samjñās are made to bring brevity, clarity and certainty. The rules explaining samjñās are called samjñā rules. For example, vṛddhi is a samjñā and a rule I.i.1. vṛddhir ād aic explains vṛddhi. Hence this rule is called a samjñā rule. Most of the samjñās are taught by P in the first book of the Aṣṭ so the first book is counted as the samjñādhyaḥya by the commentators.

99

4.2.2. Paribhāṣā sūtras (meta rules) A paribhāṣā is a rule that helps us interpret and apply the rule very properly and is also applicable in the latter or the former rules than its own number.¹⁰⁰ If a conflict occurs between two rules, the paribhāṣā rule helps clarify their meaning and usage, e.g. mīder guṇaḥ (VII.iii.86). It means guṇa is substituted in place of "mid". Now it becomes vague here which letter from m-i-d is to be substituted? Here the paribhāṣā rule iko guṇa-vṛddhī (I.i.3) comes to our help and specifies that guṇa would be in the "ik" vowels of "mid".

The other important function of paribhāṣā is to specify a niyama in place of an anyama. For example, P teaches a paribhāṣā rule - vipratishedhe param kāryam (I.iv.2). Here vipratishedhe means opposition of rules of equal force. Vipratishedha occurs when two rules having different objects in view come in the scope of operation simultaneously in a proper case. For example, supi ca (VII.iii.102). It means that before a case - ending beginning with yañ pratyāhāra, the final "a" of a nominal stem is also lengthened. So rāma + bhyām < rāmābhyām. While bahuvacane jhaly et (VIII.iii.103) states that before a case - ending beginning with jhal pratyāhāra, "e" is substituted for the final short "a" of a nominal stem. So rāma + su < rāmeṣu. But when the plural case affix "bhyas" follows, which rule should be applied? The letter "bha" belongs to both of the pratyāhāras i.e. yañ and jhal. An anyama occurs here. This anyama is solved by a paribhāṣā rule vipratī. (I.iv.2). This rule ordains that the latter rule should be brought in force. So rāma + bhyas < rāmebhyaḥ. The paribhāṣā rules also function in the correct formation of the words. The rules stating such paribhāṣās are known as paribhāṣā sūtras.

4.2.2.(1) Saṃjñā and paribhāṣā rules are read together because they are closely connected; however they are different from each other. The paribhāṣā rule is read just after a saṃjñā rule with which it is concerned. There is one more important difference between saṃjñā and paribhāṣā rules. That is, the saṃjñā rule does not become the part of the rule with which it is concerned and it gives only information, while a paribhāṣā rule becomes the part and parcel of the rule with which it is concerned and both the rules make a whole. For example, iko guṇavṛddhī (I.i.3) is a paribhāṣā rule. It means that whenever guṇa or vṛddhi is enjoined by using the term guṇa or vṛddhi, it takes place in ik vowels only. mīder guṇaḥ (VII.iii.82) is a vidhirule. iko.(I.i.3) becomes the part and parcel of mīder guṇaḥ and becomes a whole. While a saṃjñā rule adeṇ guṇaḥ (I.i.2) would suggest that the vowels a, e and o are termed "guṇa". It only explains what guṇa is, but does not become the part of a rule with which it is concerned.

4.2.3. Vidhi sūtras (operational rules) A rule that states an operation or vidhi is counted as a vidhi sū or an operational rule. For example, vṛddhir eci (VI.i.88).

4.2.4. niyama sūtras (restrictions) The rule that defines the specification of the grammatical operations is called a niyama rule. When more than one grammatical operations are available, a rule is made for a particular operation. Then the other existing operations would become ineffective. The rule that states such a rule is called a niyama sūtra. In certain cases, even if a grammatical operation is made by one particular rule or rules, another rule is made for the same operation, then it is called a niyama rule. For example,

ekāca upadeśe. (VII.ii.10) prohibits idāgama after the root kṛ in the perfect tense (lit.) The prohibition of the idāgama after the root kṛ is selfsustained. Still by making a rule kṛṣṛbhṛ (VII.ii.13), P prohibits the idāgama again after the root kṛ etc in the perfect tense. So VII.ii.13 is a niyama rule. The rule kṛ etc (VII.ii.13) limits the scope of the rule ekāca. (VII.ii.10) and specifies that the said prohibition is applicable only in the root words kṛṣṛ etc and idāgama would occur in all the other roots formerly whose idāgama is prohibited by VII.ii.10.

4.2.5. Atideśa sūtras (extention rules) A rule which extends its properties or attributes to some other given item which it would not itself have been applied otherwise, is called an atideśa rule (extention rule).

4.2.5.(1) Before going to discuss about an atideśa rule, it is necessary to understand about two words, sthānī and ādeśa. The word that is substituted for some original word is called ādeśa, or a substitute and the original word for which the substitution is made, is called sthānī. For example, aster bhūḥ (II.iv.52). Here "as" is an original word and it is substituted by the word bhū. So "as" is sthānī and the latter one i.e. bhū is an ādeśa. When an ārdhadhātuka affix is applied, bhū is the substitute of the verbal root "as" Now "as" is a dhātu by I.3.1. but here bhū is not a dhātu. It is a substitute and different from the verbal root bhū (sattāyām) By the virtue of sthānivadā. (I.i.56) bhū, the ādeśa is also attributed the dhātusamjñatva.

4.2.5.(2) There are two types of atideśa. i.e. (a) kāryātideśa and (b) rūpātideśa.

- (a) *kāryātidēśa* - For grammatical operations, to take a root-word for an another one just like it, is called a *kāryātidēśa*. In the above mentioned illustration, *bhū* is a substitute for "as" in II.iv.52. Here for the grammatical function, *bhū* is thought to be like "as". Hence it gives a good example of a *kāryātidēśa*.
- (b) *rūpātidēśa* - When the presence of a certain form is assumed for the grammatical function, it is called a *rūpātidēśa*. Because of the elision of a certain form, the grammatical function can not occur. So the form in elision may be assumed to be present there for the said operation. It is a *rūpātidēśa*. For example, *kr + atus* ➤ *kr + atus by iko yaṇ aci* (VI.i.77). Now by *ekāco dve*. (VI.i.1) "*kr*" should be reduplicated. But there is no vowel (ac) in "*kr*". Hence the reduplication is here inapplicable. But by the virtue of I.i.59. (*dvīrvacane'ci*) "*r*" in "*kr*" would be deemed as "*r*" and it would again be "*kr*". Here "*r*" has been assumed to function in place of elided "*r*". So it is a *rūpātidēśa*. The affix "*vat*" or "*mat*" is seen in the *atidēśa* rules. Sometimes, it is to be understood.
- 4.2.6. *Adhikāra sūtras* (headings) When a complete rule passes on into the following rules upto the certain limit, it is called an *adhikāra sūtra* (a heading) for example, *kārake* (I.iv.23). This rule goes upto I.iv.55. Hence it is an *adhikāra* rule.
- 4.2.7. *vibhāṣā sūtras* (option rules) The option rules and the negative rules are not independent rules. The rule making option in the general rule is an option rule. For example *karmaṇy aṇ* (III.ii.1) is a general rule, while *āto'nupasarge kaḥ* (III.ii.3) makes option to III.ii.1. So it is an option rule.

4.2.8. Nisedhasūtras (negative rules).

The rules stating the negation of a certain operation is a negative rule. For example, nāj jhalau (I.i.10) is a negative rule to tulyāśya. (I.i.9) Among the six types of rules : saṁjñā rules (definition), paribhāṣā rules (meta rules), vidhi rules (operation rules) and atideśa rules (extension rules) may have negations, For example -

- (a) saṁjñā rules:- I.i.10. is a negative rule to I.i.9.
- (b) paribhāṣā rules:- I.i.4. is a negative rule to I.i.3.
- (c) vidhi rules:- II.ii.10. is a negative rule to II.ii.8.
- (d) atideśa rules:- I.ii.18. is a negative rule to I.ii.5.

104

adhikāra rules have no negations. According to some Scholars, niyama rules have no negations.

4.3. The following table presents the typewise analysis of the rules of the Aṣṭ.

BOOKS	QUARTERS	SAM	PARI	VIDHI	NIYA	ATI	ADHI	TOTAL
I	i	57	13	-	-	5	-	75
	ii	11	01	21	01	39	-	73
	iii	08	02	01	82	-	-	93
	iv	101	01	-	06	-	02	110
II	i	66	01	-	-	01	04	72
	ii	27	-	-	10	-	01	38
	iii	02	-	69	01	-	01	73
	iv	-	-	64	-	19	02	85

BOOKS	QUARTERS	SAM	PARI	VIDHI	NIYA	ATI	ADHI	TOTAL
III	I	02	01	137	-	04	06	150
	II	01	-	181	04	-	02	188
	III	-	-	166	-	06	04	176
	IV	02	-	110	03	01	01	117
IV	I	07	-	161	04	-	06	178
	II	-	-	140	02	02	01	145
	III	-	-	165	-	03	-	168
	IV	-	-	142	-	-	02	144
V	I	-	-	129	-	01	06	136
	II	-	-	140	-	-	-	140
	III	01	-	112	01	01	04	119
	IV	-	-	157	01	01	01	160
VI	I	03	01	211	01	02	05	223
	II	-	-	195	-	-	04	199
	III	-	-	137	-	-	02	139
	IV	-	-	168	02	01	04	175
VII	I	-	-	94	02	07	-	103
	II	-	-	113	04	-	01	118
	III	-	-	118	01	01	-	120
	IV	-	-	96	-	01	-	97
VIII	I	01	-	59	-	09	05	74
	II	-	-	101	04	-	03	108
	III	-	-	112	04	-	03	119
	IV	-	-	66	02	-	-	68
GRAND TOTAL :		289	20	3365	135	104	70	3983

4.4. The number of rules in the Aṣṭādhyāyī

4.4.1. According to the tradition, the Aṣṭ consists of 3995 rules inclusive of 14 Māheśvara rules known as pratyāhāra rules. A well known stanza of Svarasiddhāntacandrikā runs as -

catuṣṣahasrī sūtrāṇaṃ, pañcasūtravivarjitā/
aṣṭādhyāyī pāṇinīyā, sūtrair māheśvaraiḥ saha //

106

According to some scholars, the rules in toto are 3996 including the 14 Māheśvara rules.

According to the Bohtlingk edition, which is considered a standard work in Europe and other countries even today, the total number of rules are 3997 inclusive of the 14 pratyāhāra

107

rules. In accordance with this edition, the number of rules, adhyāya and pādavise would be as under :

Adhyāya	Pāda I	Pāda II	Pāda III	Pāda IV	Total
I	75	73	93	110	351
II	72	38	73	85	268
III	150	188	176	117	631
IV	178	145	168	144	635
V	136	140	119	160	555
VI	223	199	139	175	736
VII	103	118	120	97	438
VIII	74	108	119	68	369
				TOTAL :	: 3983
					14
					3997

4.4.2. Pt. Brahmadaṭṭa Jijñāsu and Pt. Yudhiṣṭhira Mīmāṃsaka have edited the Aṣṭ in accordance with the MBh text. The number of rules of this edition according to adhyāya and pāda is as follows -

adhyāya	pāda I	pāda II	pāda III	pāda IV	Total
I	74	73	93	109	349
II	71	38	73	85	267
III	150	188	176	117	631
IV	176	144	166	144	630
V	135	140	119	160	554
VI	217	198	138	175	728
VII	103	118	119	97	437
VIII	74	108	119	67	368
TOTAL : :					3964
					14
					3978

4.4.3. The number of rules in the Bohtlingk ed. tallies with that of the Nirṇayaśāgara ed. and that of the ed. by S.C. Vasu but sometimes they differ in the wording of the rules. The Mīmāṃsaka's ed. counts 19 rules less than these editions. We have strictly followed the Bohtlingk ed. of the Aṣṭ for our research.

4.4.4. According to Dr. F. Kielhorn, the text accepted by the Kāś differs from the text accepted by the MBh in only 58 rules. 10 rules from these rules are altogether fresh additions, 9 rules are a result of separating original 8 rules in 17 rules by the yogavibhāga¹⁰⁹ and in 19 rules new words have been inserted into the original rules.

4.4.5. The Kāś is blamed for the difference in the number of rules in the Aṣṭ and is also accused by some scholars¹¹⁰ that the Kāś has inserted all the improvements made by Candragomī in to the text of the Aṣṭ. But not only the Kāś, but the technique of the yogavibhāga of Patañjali, the vārttikas of Kātyāyana are also supposed to be responsible for the difference of the text.

5. Aṣṭādhyāyī, the Vyākaraṇaśābdānuśāsana.

5.1. P's grammar is always and emphatically named as vyākaraṇa¹¹¹. The object of vyākaraṇa is to analyse words. Hence it is also termed as śābdānuśāsana. The word śābdānuśāsana, hence, stands for grammar. The grammar is what analyses the words by prakṛti and pratyaya -¹¹² vyākriyate anena iti vyākaraṇam. Goldstucker explains the word vyākaraṇa ās -

Vyākaraṇa means "undoing", i.e. analysis, and Pāṇini's grammar is intended to be a linguistic analysis, it undoes words and undoes sentences which consist of words; it examines the component parts of a word, and therefore teaches us the properties of base and affix and all the linguistic phenomena connected with both; it examines the relation in sentences, of one word to another, and likewise unfolds all the linguistic phenomena which¹¹³ are inseparable from the meeting of words. The Aṣṭ is therefore, rightly called a śābdānuśāsana, a grammar of word.

5.2. Aṣṭādhyāyī, the title.

P has composed his grammar in the eight books, i.e. adhyāyas so it is named Aṣṭādhy-¹¹⁴āyī, Aṣṭakā or Aṣṭikā. It is also known as Pāṇinīya because it has been promulgated by P. It also bears the title, the Vṛttisūtra.¹¹⁶ The Kāś frequently uses the term akāḷaka grammar for the Aṣṭ.¹¹⁷ In the days of P, the grammarians were taking much interest in fixing the rules regarding the tenses, i.e. parokṣa, adyatana etc. P, who had a true insight of the expert linguist, left this controversial point of Indian grammar in those days and standing a loof, he left it to usage so, in this sense, P's grammar is referred to as an akāḷaka grammar.¹¹⁹

5.3. The peculiarities of the Aṣṭādhyāyī.

For the brevity and precision, P has displayed some peculiar devices in his grammar. We proceed to discuss them in following sections.

5.4.(1) The three peculiarities of the Aṣṭ are worth noting. The three types of recitation of the Aṣṭ are (a) Anunāsika recitation (b) Svarita recitation and (c) Saṁhitā recitation.

(a) Anunāsika recitation:- According to I.iii.2, the anunāsika vowel read in upadeśa (I.iii.2) is termed it. Such a vowel is to be marked with an anunāsika mark. According to some authorities, such vowels were marked with an anunāsika mark in P's time but then they were read without the marks and taught by the teacher which vowels were anunāsikas, while some scholars believe that the text of the Aṣṭ was same as it is today but the anunāsikas (nasals) are deemed by the tradition.¹²⁰

(b) Svarita recitation:- According to I.iii.11, the adhikāra rules (headings) were

marked with a svarita mark but nowadays, such a mark is not in vogue. Some authorities believe, on the contrary, that Aṣṭ¹²¹ was read in ekaśruti from the beginning and marks were not used but taught traditionally.

(c) Sāmhitā recitation:-- Some scholars believe the Sāmhitā recitation of the Aṣṭ¹²². Probability of the Sāmhitā recitation is accepted because we find some proofs of the Sāmhitā recitation in Sanskrit texts.

5.4.(2) The use of elliptical sentences:--

The contemplation of the Aṣṭ¹²³ will, clearly show that the copula is never stated in the rules, except some rules. Usually it is the context that enables us to supply the correct form. For example, ādir antyena saheta (I.i.71) will be construed as "antya itā saha ādiḥ svam rūpam (madhyapatitāṅ ca grāhayati.)".

5.4.(3) A change in a case according to the context.

The brevity is said to be the soul of P's grammar. For the sake of brevity, P has accepted the elliptical construction for the Aṣṭ¹²⁴. Each rule of the Aṣṭ is assumed to be a complete sentence but seldom do we come across a rule with all its components expressively stated. However the words, which are actually not present in the rule but which are to be understood as the constituents of the said rule, come in to the rule by the technique of anuvṛtti. In this way, the anuvṛtta word or words from the preceding rule undergo the change in the case terminations so as to suit the context. It is known as "vibhakti-vipariṇāma" in P's grammatical tradition. For example, the word karttari in locative sing. from

III.i.68. comes in to III.i.87. and turns itself in to nom. sing. karttā, so as to suit the context. Besides this, sometimes the word from the preceding rule, when coming into the subsequent rules turns itself in to a verb, so as to suit the context. For instance, samāsaḥ (II.i.3), when it is read in akṣaśalākā. (II.i.10) is changed to a verb in a 3rd person plural. i.e. samasyante, in the agreement with the subject akṣaśalākā. etc in 3rd person plural. Sometimes the context requires much more to be read in a rule to complete the meaning. In such a case, the tradition alone comes to our help. For example, in iko guṇavṛddhī (I.i.3) the words guṇa and vṛddhi are read from the preceding rules i.e. I.i.1. & I.i.2., and changed "guṇena vṛddhyā ca" according to the context. But the word "śiṣyamāṇe" is to be supplied in the context. Thus the rule will be read as "guṇena vṛddhyā ca śiṣyamāṇe guṇavṛddhī ikaḥ syātām".

5.4.(4) The words without case terminations :-

It is a wellknown dictum in P's grammatical tradition that the words without case affixes should not be used. ¹²⁴ Still we have a numbers of illustrations in the Aṣṭ, of the words, which are used without case affixes. According to some scholars, they are taken from the preceding works directly and not of P's own, otherwise P's attitude to use such words is not obviously seen. ¹²⁵ Existence of such words demands more research.

5.4.(5) The nipātana rules - There are some rules in the Aṣṭ which are known as the nipātana rules, in Pāṇinian tradition. When the words which are not derived by or in accord with the rules of the Aṣṭ, they are taken as they are, and thought correct through the nipātana ¹²⁶ rules by P. The nipātanas are presented in manifold senses, the nipātana of augments, of

affixes etc. when P reads the words through the nipātana rules, it is not to be understood that such words are unable to be derived but for the sake of brevity, the nipātana is laid down. The following kārīkā states the functions of the nipātana -

apṛāpteh prāpanam cāpi, prāpter vāraṇam eva ca/

129

adhikārtavivakṣā ca, trayam etan nipātanam //

5.4.(6) Some minor devices in the Aṣṭādhyāyī.

(a) Use of plural forms:- In a peculiar sense, P has employed the plural forms. For example, in IV.ii.109, the word "madra" is read in plural. "Madra" is known for two senses, i.e. the name of country and happiness. With a view to including the name of country, it is read in plural.

(b) The association of the words:- By the mention of the words together, P teaches the meaning which is not said. For example, the word "nava" is read in II.i.49, known in two senses i.e. nine and new. Here the word "nava" is associated with the word "purāṇa", so it should be understood in the sense of "new" but not in the sense of nine.

130

(c) The nipātana rules are made to conclude peculiar meaning. For instance, the word "bhojya" is read in VII.iii.69. The nipātana of this word limits its meaning only to abhyavayavahārya (edible food).

131

(d) The reading of a word again:- It is P's peculiar device that he reads again the word, however it comes through the chain technique to indicate a peculiar sense. For example, the word "karma" is already read in I.iv.46 and it can be understood in I.iv.49

by the chain technique. But P reads the word "karma" again to eliminate the word "ādhāra"¹³² (I.iv.46), otherwise it would occur in I.iv.49. alongwith the word "karma".

(e) The addition of peculiar words:- With a view to mentioning the distinctive sense, P adds the words nāma, ākhyā etc to the words. For instance, P uses the word ākhyā with¹³³ the word stheya in I.iii.23, to indicate that the word stheya is applied only for arbitrator. Thus the word ākhyā stands for "tittle".

(f) Reading of a word again in the same topic:- Sometimes, P reads the word again in the same topic in a peculiar sense. For example, the word "haviṣ" is read in V.i.2. and again read in V.i.4.¹³⁴ In doing so, P wants to indicate that the word haviṣ occurring in V.i.4. has a specific sense.

(g) Use of non-compound words:- P sometimes does not form compounds to indicate the distinctive sense. For example, in V.ii.47. the compound of the words guṇa and nimāna can be formed for the sake of brevity. But P reads guṇasya nimāne instead of making compound guṇa-¹³⁵ nimāne. In doing so, P wants to mention the oneness of the word guṇa.

(h) Use of synonyms together:- Sometimes, P reads the synonyms together in a peculiar sense. For example, in III.ii.188. the words "mati" and "buddhi" are synonyms. According to the commentators, these synonyms are used in the different sense, mati is for "a desire" (icchā) and "buddhi" is for intellect.¹³⁶

(i) Use of overwording:- Sometimes P uses the words which seem to be redundant at first instance but he does so to indicate the distinctive sense. For example, he reads the

word "śabḍa" in VI.ii.103 alongwith the word "dik", which at the first instance, seems to be meaningless. But P uses the word "dik" for the inclusion of both the words, kāla, indicating direction and kāla indicating country.

137

(j) How to construe the rules of the Aṣṭādhyāyī.

Mostly P has used four cases in the Aṣṭ i.e. prathamā (a nominative case), pañcamī (an ablative case), śaṣṭhī (a possessive case) and saptamī (a locative case). All these four cases are used together in several rules, while in some rules, less cases than these four are used. Sometimes, dvitīyā (an accusative case) and tṛtīyā (an instrumental case) are used too. If we give the numbers 1, 2, 3 etc to the cases prathamā, dvitīyā, tṛtīyā etc respectively, these numbers should read 5761 in the order, to construe the rules of P's grammar. We should, then provide a verb which is generally missing in the rules as discussed in 5.4.(2) to complete the sense. In case, less cases than these four are used, the order of the numbers of cases i.e. 5761 will be the same. For example, in VI.i.84. ād guṇaḥ, the words "saṁhitāyām" "aci", "pūrvaparayoh" and "ekaḥ" are read through the chaintechnique. Now, if we put the above mentioned words alongwith the rule ād guṇaḥ, according to the order 5761 and provide a suitable verb, generally added to the word in a nominative case, the rule ād guṇaḥ will run as āt (5-1) aci (7-1) saṁhitāyām (7-1) pūrvaparayoh (6-2) ekaḥ (1-1) guṇaḥ (1-1) (adesaḥ) syāt (verb). P has used these four cases i.e. prathamā, pañcamī, śaṣṭhī and saptamī in the following sense :-

(a) prathamā : (any item) takes place

(b) pañcamī : after (any item)

. (c) gaṣṭhī : of, or in place of any item

(d) saptamī : in or in the sense of "what follows" (parasaptamī), when any item is to be understood in the following rules (viṣaya-saptamī, which is contrasted to a parasaptamī) and in the sense of cause i.e. in any item caused by any item (nimitta-saptamī). The saptamī in the Adhikāra sū is to be understood as viṣayasaptamī.

Firstly, the adhikāras (headings) and the words coming through the technique of anuvṛtti should be considered, when we construe the rules of P's grammar.

6.0. The contents of the Aṣṭādhyāyī, in brief.

P's grammar is divided into 8 books i.e. adhyāyas and each book is subdivided in 4 quarters i.e. pādas to suit the grammatical functions and mnemonic purpose. Each quarter consists of topics i.e. prakaraṇas which contain rules i.e. sūtras. The rules are formed by exhaustive and still concise language. In the following pages, we proceed to discuss in brief, the contents of the Aṣṭ.

6.1. 1st Book :- In the first book, most of the saṃjñās alongwith the paribhāṣās have been discussed. Moreover, necessary rules for composition with regard to the two types of pādas of the verbal roots i.e. ātmanepada and parasmaipada have been dealt with. The rules regarding the kāraṇa also have been explained here.

6.2. 2nd Book :- In the first two quarters of this book, the rules regarding the samāsa (compounds) have been given. In the third quarter, the remaining uses of cases in the kāraṇa etc are discussed. In the fourth quarter of the book, some compounds like dvigu etc,

the substitutes of the verbal roots have been explained. The quarter ends with the discussion of the elision of affixes.

6.3. 3rd Book :- This book forms a very important part of P's grammar, as it is pertaining to the *tiñanta* (verbal inflexions) and the *kiñanta* (primary derivatives).

6.4. 4th Book :- The affixes which are known as the *taddhita* (secondary derivatives) are discussed in this book.

6.5. 5th Book :- The discussion of the *taddhita* is continued in this book.

6.6. 6th Book :- In the first quarter of this book, P deals with the rules of reduplication (*abhyāsa*) of the verbal roots and the rules of combination and those of accents. In the second quarter of the book, the accents of the compounds are discussed. In the third quarter, the changes in the first member of the compounds are dealt with. In the fourth quarter, the changes about letters, when affixes are added to the *aṅga*, are elaborated.

6.7. 7th Book :- Like the fourth quarter of the 6th book, in this book also, there is a description of the changes occurring in the *aṅga* due to the addition of the affixes to it. These changes are quite similar to the morphophonemics, an important aspect of a modern linguistics.

6.8. 8th Book :- The complete 7 books and the first quarter of this book are known as *sapāda-saptādhyāyī*, while remaining three quarters of the book bear the name *tripādī*. The order of the rules in the *tripādī* bears a great importance in the functions of P's grammar. The second quarter of the book, the first one of the *tripādī* starts with the well known

36
paribhāṣā rule - pūrvatrāsiddham. It means that let the last three quarters (tripādī) of the Aṣṭ be considered as invalid with reference to the first seven books along with the first quarter of the 8th book (sapādasaptādhyaī) and in the last three quarters of the 8th book (tripādī) too, the subsequent rule with reference to the preceding one be considered invalid. In the first quarter of the tripādī, the rules regarding accentuation, the elision of some items i.e. saṁyogānta etc., are discussed. In the second quarter of tripādī, the rules regarding combination are dealt with. In the last quarter of the tripādī, the topics like natva, retroflexion etc are discussed.

7.0. Saṁjñās or technical terms in the Aṣṭādhyaī.

7.1. P has discussed most of the technical terms or saṁjñās in the first book of his grammar. Hence the book is given the name "saṁjñādhyaī" by some authorities.¹³⁸ and the remaining saṁjñās are enumerated in the different parts of the Aṣṭ in accordance with the purpose. P has enumerated well nigh 100 saṁjñās totally of which 68 saṁjñās are given in the first book of his grammar, and the remaining saṁjñās are taught in the different parts of the Aṣṭ. The following table makes it clear.

Books	Quarters	Sām̐jñās in Numbers				TOTAL
		i	ii	iii	iv	
I	25	10	02	02	31	68
II	04	02	02	02	-	08
III	05	01	-	-	02	08
IV	03	-	-	-	-	03
V	-	-	-	-	-	-
VI	02	-	-	-	-	02
VII	-	-	-	-	-	-
VIII	01	-	-	-	-	01
TOTAL						90

7.2. In order to make his study concise, clear and convenient, P has used symbols known as sām̐jñās. P has used the word sām̐jñā in two-fold sense, one is in a technical sense sam-¹³⁹ jñayate 'naya¹⁴⁰ iti sām̐jñā, the word sām̐jñā which is formed with the instrumental suffix 'an'. Here a sām̐jñā means a short wording to convey ample sense. In the second sense, the word sām̐jñā means sampratyaya or a name, in some instances, having etymological as well as conventional meanings such as *śūraparīṇakā* etc and in some cases, having only a conventional meaning such as *pañcālāḥ*, *varaṇāḥ* etc. The word sām̐jñā is used only four times in the whole of P's grammar in the sense of a technical term. While it is used in as many as 63 rules¹⁴³ uniformly in the locative case except in one I.ii.53 in the sense of a proper name.

7.3. For the sake of brevity, clarity and preciseness, P has coined the technical terms in the Aṣṭ. Every saṃjñā suggests a definite term used in a particular grammatical operation.¹⁴⁵

7.4.1. Saṃjñās and their classification:-

According to some scholars, Pat. puts the saṃjñās in two major divisions: (1) kṛtr-ima saṃjñās or artificial terms such as ṭi, ghu, bha and the like which are coined by the author (2) akṛtrima saṃjñās are terms such as avyaya, sarvanāma etc. According to the same¹⁴⁶ authorities kṛtrima saṃjñā is again subdivided in to two groups : (1) the saṃjñās that are seen to be entirely arbitrary like ṭi, ghu, bha and the like and (2) those that are abbreviations of longer words, and the third category, which is to be added to it, is the category of the terms like kṛt, bahuvrīhi etc. Now it is obvious that Pat does not mean the saṃjñās ṭi, ghu etc as kṛtrima and the saṃjñās avyaya, sarvanāma etc as akṛtrima in the above mentioned sense. It is to be noted that Pat wants to state a general view that the saṃjñās used by the people as thenames are akṛtrima saṃjñās, while the saṃjñās coined by the grammarian for the grammatical functions are kṛtrima saṃjñās. Thus we conclude that 'kṛtrima' (artificial) and 'akṛtrim' (natural) are not two classes of the technical terms of P, but they are two classes of saṃjñās in general. In P's grammar all technical names are kṛtrima and both the terms kṛtrima and akṛtrima are found mentioned by P. But in matter of a grammatical operation, the artificial (kṛtrima) gets preference over the natural (akṛtrima).¹⁴⁹ The saṃjñās like avyaya etc are - some authorities believe, mahatī saṃjñās. These are self explanatory terms and according to some authorities, are thought to be borrowed by P from¹⁵⁰

the old treatises.

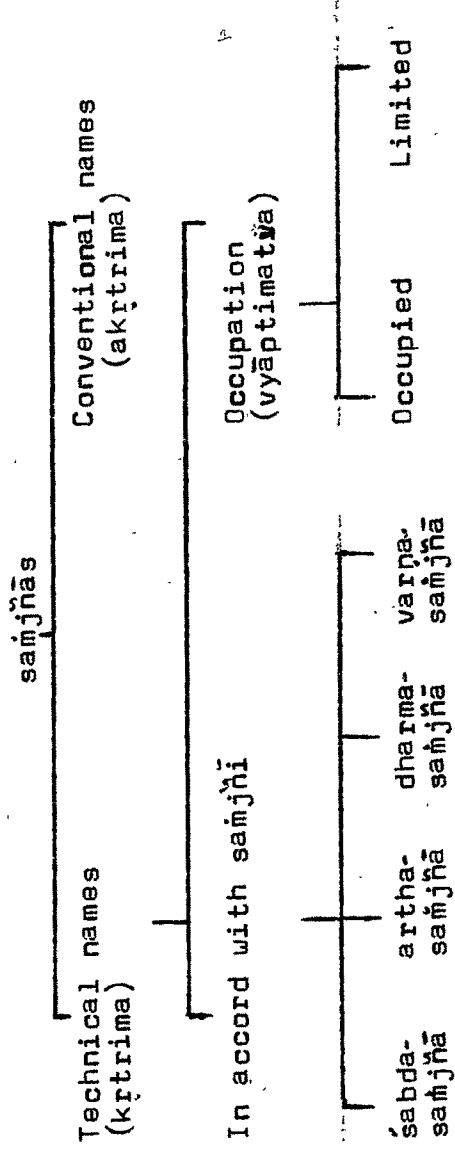
7.4.2. With another point of view, some authorities divide saṃjñās used by P in a technical sense, into two broad categories. The first is those saṃjñās which are related to wording (śabda). Hence they are known as śabda-saṃjñās. The second one is those saṃjñās that are related to the meaning, so they are called arthasaṃjñās. For example, vṛddhi, guṇa, saṃyoga etc are śabdasaṃjñās because they denote some specific words as their saṃjñās. While vibhāṣā, lopa, samprasāraṇa and the like are arthasaṃjñās for they denote only the sense or meaning of the words as such. According to some scholars, one more category such as dharmasaṃjñā should be added to this list. For example, udātta, anudātta and svarita are dharmasaṃjñās as they refer to the dharma or particular characteristic of vowel.

7.4.3. It is obviously seen that there are two peculiarities of some of these saṃjñās. Some of the technical terms are merely technical names such as guṇa, vṛddhi etc, while some of them are not only technical names but they are also class names such as avyaya, sarvanāma, ātmanepada etc. Some scholars believe that vṛddhi, guṇa, saṃyoga etc are varṇa-saṃjñās because they do not denote words but they denote letters (varṇas).

7.4.4. At the first sight, it seems that P has mentioned the technical names haphazardly as some scholars believe, because he has not given all of them in the first book of his grammar, which is a book on the technical terms. But the contemplation of the Aṣṭ, clearly shows that P has done it purposely. The terms widely applied are arranged in the first two books and the rest whose application is limited for a certain topic are given in the concerning topics. In this way, there are two types of saṃjñās. The first type of the saṃjñās

is related to wide sphere while second one is limited for a certain topic. Hence, though there is resemblance of reduplication, the term 'abhyāsa' cannot be applied in the abhyāsa topic of the 8th book.

7.4.6. The various types of saṃjñās as discussed above, can be put diagrammatically as under.



7.4.7. The saṃjñās used by P in his grammar are now enlisted here with exposition in brief in Sanskrit alphabetical order :-

(a)

(1) aṅga-(I.iv.13) (stem) It is defined as - After whatsoever there is an affix added to, whether verbal root or nominal base, the word-form having that as its beginning, is termed an aṅga, when the affix follows it. For example - vana + ām < vana + n + ām (VII.i.54) = vana + nām. Here by the virtue of I.iv.13, the long vowel is substituted for final of the noun stem i.e. vana. So it is vanānam.

(2) adhikaraṇa (I.īv.45) (Receptacle support.) It is explained as - Substratum (adhāra) is

termed adhikaraṇa. Substratum is that in which the action is supported or located. By II.iii.36, the adhikaraṇa takes 7th case. For example, sthālyām pacati. Substratum is three fold (a) Regarding the contract, as seen in 'kaṭe āste' (b) Relating to the viśaya i.e. 'mokṣe icchā asti' (c) (one that is) all-pervading i.e. sarvasminnātmā' sti. Adhikaraṇa is a kāraka and has been discussed from I.iv.45-48.

(3) anudātta (I.ii.30) (Gravely accented). It is defined as - The vowel that is produced from the lower part of the parts of articulation such as palate etc, is termed gravely accented. For example 'a' in arvan.

(4) anunāsika (I.i.8) (nasal.) anunāsika is defined as - That which is pronounced by the nose along with the mouth is termed anunāsika (nasal). For example, in abhra ām apah (R̥gveda V. 48.1) ām is anunāsika.

(5) apādāna (I.iv.24) (Ablation) It is explained as - That which is firm(dhruva) when separation takes place (apāye) is termed apādāna. By II.iii.28 an apādāna takes an ablative case (pañcamī) Apādāna is a kāraka and discussed from I.iv.24-31. For example - grāmā āyāti.

(6) apikṛta (I.ii.41) (A suffix consisting of a single phoneme.)

It is defined as - An affix (suffix) consisting of a single letter i.e. phoneme is termed apikṛta. For example 's' of nom.sing. su. By the virtue of I.ii.41, 's' in nom.sing. 'su' is apikṛta. Hence by VI.i.67, the affix s(u) is elided after vāc i.e. vāc + su < vāc + s < vāk

(7) abhyasta (VI.i.5) (Reduplicated.)

It is explained as the both are collectively called 'abhyasta'. For example, dadāti. Here dad of the verbal root dā (to give) is an abhyasta by VI.i.5. By VII.i.4, 'at' is substitute for jha and we have the form dadati.

(8) abhyāsa (VI.i.4) (The first member of a reduplicated form)

It is defined as - The first of the two is termed abhyāsa (Reduplicate). For example hu + ti < huhu + ti (VI.i.4). Here the first member "hu" of hu-hu is an abhyāsa by VII.iv.62, jhuhu + ti < juhu + ti (VIII.iv.53) < juhoti (VII.iii.84).

(9) avasāna (I.iv.110) (Pause - vacuum) It is explained as - The absence of the letters is termed avasāna. For example, in nom. sing. rāma + r (by VIII.ii.66) Here after 'r' there is vacuum (no syllable) By I.iv.110. 'r' is avasāna, <rāmaḥ (VIII.iii.15).

(10) avyaya (I.i.37) (The indeclinable)

It is defined as - The word 'svar' etc and the nipātas (particles vide I.iv.56) are called avyaya. The avyaya loses its case affixes by II.iv.82. Kāś. cites an old stanza regarding the characteristics of the avyaya -

sadrśāmtriṣu liṅgeṣu, sarvāsu ca vibhaktiṣu/
vacaneṣu ca sarveṣu, yanna vyeti tad avyaya //

It means the avyaya is that which is invariable in all the genders, cases and numbers and which is not undergoing a change. The words like racaḥ remain as racaḥ in all the genders numbers and cases. The avyaya is discussed from I.i.37-41.

(11) avyayībhāva (II.i.5) (The indeclinable compound).

It is explained as - The indeclinable (avyaya) is compounded with sense of an inflective affix (vibhakti) etc, and compound so formed is termed avyayībhāva (II.i.6). When that which was not indeclinable, becomes indeclinable, it is termed avyayībhāva. It is a self explanatory term. In the avyayībhāva compound, the sense of the first of its members is main one. The compound becomes indeclinable by I.i.41 and loses the case affix by II.iv.82. The avyayībhāva compound is discussed from II.i.5-21. For example 'adhistri' kathā varttate.

(a)

(12) Ātmanepada (I.iv.100) (tañ and āna affixes.)

The term ātmanepada is defined as - The pratyāhāra tañ (nine affixes contained under the pratyāhāra tañ, coined from III.iv.78) and āna (two affixes śānac and kānac (III.i.83 and III.ii.106 respectively) also cānaś and śānan which are substitutes of 'la' (by III.iv.77) are termed ātmanepada. For example, labhe etc. The ātmanepada is discussed from I.iii.12-77.

(13) āmantrita (II.iii.48) (vocative)

The term āmantrita is defined as - The word in a nominative case, in the sense of vocation is termed āmantrita. The āmantrita word takes ādyudātta accent by VI.i.198. For example 'agne'

(14) āmreḍita (VIII.i.2) (The second member of a reduplicated form). The term āmreḍita is explained as - Of that which twice uttered, the latter word form is termed āmreḍita. By the virtue of VIII.ii.95, the āmreḍita word becomes pluta, for example caur!caur!etc.

(15) ārdhadhātuka (III.iv.114) (All verbal terminations other than tiñ and śit (III.iv.113) The term is explained as - The affixes, other than tiñ and śit (v.III.iv.113) are termed ārdhadhātuka. It means the personal endings of the verbs in the perfect tense (lit) and the benedictive mood (āśīrliñ) are called ārdhadhātuka. Being ārdhadhātuka affixes, they take the idāgama and viharāṇa is not added before these affixes, to the verbal roots. For example, lavitā etc. The term is discussed from III.iv.114-117.

(i)

(16) it (I.iii.2) (Exponential marker, an indicative letter.)

The term is defined as - The nasal vowels in original statement are termed 'it' Upadeśa is an original instruction. Traditionally dhātu, sūtra, gaṇa, uṇādi, śabdānuśāsana, liñgānuśāsana, āgama, pratyaya and ādeśa; these nine are known as upadeśa. The term it is discussed from I.iii.2-9. For example 'u' in su (nom.sing.) is 'it'.

(u)

(17) uttama (I.iv.107) (I.iv.101) (First person, the Highest.) The term is explained as - When the pronoun asmā either understood or expressed, is the attendant word in agreement with the verb, then there is the verbal termination termed First person or highest. For example, ahaṃ gacchāmi.

(18) udātta (I.ii.29) (Acutely accented.)

The term udātta is defined as - A vowel produced from the upper part of the points of articulation such as palate etc with their parts, is termed udātta or acutely accented. The

first vowel of an affix is udātta by III.i.3. For example kṛ + tavyam < kartavyam.

(19) upadhā (I.i.65) (The penultimate phoneme)

The term upadhā is defined as - The letter immediately preceding the last letter is termed upadhā or the penultimate phoneme. For example, in pac, bhid, budh; a, i, u are penultimate letters respectively. In bhid + tṛc, 'i' in bhid is termed upadhā by I.i.65. Hence guṇa is substituted for 'i' of bhid=bhettā, by VII.iii.86.

(20) upapada (III.i.92) (Word in proximity to which it is subordinate, the dependant word).

The term upapada is explained as - In the heading dhātoḥ (referring to verbal roots) the word in the locative case (saptamī) is termed upapada. For example, in III.ii.1 i.e. karmaṇy aṇ, the word 'karma' is put in the locative case. The locative case is used in three fold sense i.e. parasaptamī, nīmittasaptamī and viśayasaptamī. There is not any of above mentioned senses in the word karmaṇi exhibited in the locative case. So it means that when the word denoting 'karma' (object) is an upapada, the affix aṇ is added to a verbal root, So kumbhaṁ karoti < kumbha + kṛ + aṇ < kumbhakāraḥ.

(21) upasarga (I.iv.59) (A preposition, a particle joined to a verb or noun denoting action.)

The term upasarga is defined as - When the particles pra, parā etc (I.iv.58) composed with a verb, they are termed upasarga. They are a sub-division of the nipāta (a particle) exhibited in I.iv.56. For example 'pra' in 'prāpya'. The term upasarga is discussed from I.iv.59-82.

(22) upasarjana (I.ii.43) (The secondary word.)

The term upasarjana is defined as - In the rules relating to the compounds (samāśas) the word read in the nominative case, is termed upasarjana. For example ṣaṣṭhī (II.ii.8). The word termed as upasarjana is to be placed first in the compounds by the virtue of II.ii.30. Hence devasya gr̥ham < devagr̥ham (I.ii.43, II.ii.8, and II.ii.30). The term upasarjana is discussed from I.ii.43-44.

(e)

(23) ekavacana (I.iv.102, I.iv.22) (singular)

There are three traids of conjugational affixes which are termed prathama (lowest) etc (I.ii.29) As regard these three traids, the expression for 'one' in each traid is termed ekavacana or singular. For example tip (3rd person sing.)

(k)

(24) karaṇa (I.iv.42) (Instrument, the means, by which an action is effected) The term karaṇa is explained as - That which is especially auxiliary in the accomplishment (of the action) is termed karaṇa. For example, dātreṇa lunāti. Here dātra is karaṇa. karaṇa takes the instrumental case by II.iii.18. It is discussed from I.iv.42-44.

(25) kartṛ (I.iv.54) (The agent of an action, subject of a sentence) The term kartṛ is defined as - The independent one (relative to other kārakas) which is absolute and principal source of action is termed kartṛ. For example, Devadatta in Devadatto gacchati. kartṛ is one of the six kārakas, and takes the instrumental case by II.ii.18 in the passive voice and the

nominative case by II.iii.46 in the active voice. The term is discussed from I.iv.54-55.

(26) karma (I.iv.49) (The object of an action) What the agent (I.iv.54) seeks most to encompass, is termed karma or object. For example, 'kaṭam' in kaṭam karoti. karma is one of the six kārakas and takes the accusative case by II.iii.2 in the active voice and the nominative case by II.iii.46 in the passive voice. The term is discussed from I.iv.49-53.

(27) karmadhāraya (I.ii.42) (The appositional determinative compound) The term karmadhāraya is defined as - A tatpuruṣa compound, of which a case of each member is the same, is termed karmadhāraya or the appositional determinative compound. For example - nilotpalam. The karmadhāraya compound is a variety of the tatpuruṣa compound.

(28) karmapravacanīya (I.iv.83) (A part of speech used to denote an action, consisting of ati, adhi etc, a pre verb.) The term karmapravacanīya is explained as - That which qualifies or speaks about an action (Mbh) is termed karmapravacanīya. The term is given to a group of nipātas, which the upasarga consists of, but the upasargas are used with verbs, while the karmapravacanīya itself denotes the action and it is never used with verbs as the upasargas. For example, su in su stutam bhavatā. It does not take combinational changes like the upasarga. The karmapravacanīya, generally governs the accusative case by II.iii.8. This term is discussed from I.iv.83-98.

(29) kāraka (I.iv.23) (Instrument of action) P does not define the term kāraka but uses it as an adhikāra rule kārake (I.iv.23). It is explained as - The capacity in which a thing becomes instrumental in bringing out an action, is termed kāraka. This capacity is looked upon in the following kārīkā :-

kartā karmakaraṇam, sampradānam tathaiva ca /
apādānādhikaraṇe ca, ityevam kārakāṇi ṣaṭ //

The six kārakas are discussed from I.iv.23-55 and kāraka-vibhaktis are treated from II.iii.1-73.

(30) kṛt (III.i.93) (The class of primary affixes used as suffixes used to form the nouns from verbal roots) The term kṛt is defined as - Any affix except tiṅ (tense-affixes) applicable to the verbal bases, is termed kṛt. For instance, kṛ + tavyat < kartavyam. The words formed by these affixes are called prātipadikas by I.ii.46. The term is discussed from III.i.93-III.iv.117.

(31) kṛtya (III.i.95) (The class of affixes forming the future passive participle) The term kṛtya is not defined by P but it is used as a technical term in the sense of kṛt affixes possessing the sense of "should be done" P uses the term kṛtya as an adhikāra rule (III.i.95) and mentions kṛt affixes therein which are to be termed kṛtya. For example, kṛ + tavyat < kartavyam (should be done). There are seven kṛtya affixes as mentioned by the following

kārika :-

tavyam ca tavyatam cāṇiyam kelimaram tathā /
yataṁ nyatam kyapam caiva, sapta kṛtyān pracakṣate //

The kṛtya affixes are discussed from III.i.95-133.

(32) gati (I.iv.60) (A preposition) The term gati is defined as -The words pra, parā, etc. are termed gati while in composition with a verb. For example 'uts' in utpatati. The term gati is discussed from I.iv.60-82.

(33) guṇa (I.i.2) (The vowel phonemes a, e and o) The term guṇa is defined as - The vowels a, e and o (themselves or formed by the rules) are termed guṇa. For example 'a' in brahma-siḥ, (vide I.i.51), 'e' in maheśaḥ and 'o' in sūryodayaḥ. The term guṇa is discussed from I.i.2-6.

(34) guru (I.iv.11) (Prosodically long vowel, heavy) The term is defined as - A short vowel immediately before a conjunct consonant and a long vowel are termed guru. For example, 'i' in siksā and 'ī' in nadi. The term guru is discussed from I.iv.11-12.

(35) gotra (IV.i.162) (The affixes used for forming patronymic and matronymic names, the grandson and his descendants) The term gotra is explained as - A descendant, being a grandson or a still lower offspring is termed gotra. For example gārgya (the grandson of garga).

(36) gha (I.i.22) (The comparative and superlative affixes tarap and tamap) The term gha is defined as - The affixes tarap and tamap are termed gha. For example, kumāritarā = kumārī + tarā < kumāritarā by IV.iii.43.

(37) ghi (I.iv.7) (A nominal stem ending in 'i' or 'u' other than the word sakhi) The term ghi is defined as - The rest of the words ending in 'i' or 'u' except the word 'sakhi'.

For example, agni (fire) The nominal stem called ghi takes guṇa-substitution in dative, ablative and genitive singular by VII.iii.111, so agnit̥ ṇas < agne + ṇas < agnes (VI.i.110) and then agneḥ. The term ghi is discussed from I.iv.7-9.

(38) ghu (I.i.20) (The verbal bases dā and dhā except dāp and daip). The term ghu is explained as - The verbal bases having the form of dā (to give) and dhā (to place) except dāp and daip are termed ghu. There are four verbal bases in dā i.e. dūdāñ, dāṇ, do and deñ and two verbal bases in dhā i.e. dūdāñ and dhet, dāp is for two verbal bases i.e. dāp and daip (by pari. under III.iv.19) For example praṇidatī etc. Because of the verbal bases being ghu, the 'na' in 'prani' is changed into 'pa' by VIII.iv.17.

(t)

(39) ṭi (I.i.64) (The final syllable beginning with a vowel) The term ṭi is defined as - The final portion of a word beginning with the last among the vowels in the word is termed ṭi. For example 'it' in agnit̥.

(t)

(40) tatpuruṣa (II.i.22) (A class of compounds in which the last member is qualified by the first one without losing its grammatical independence). The term tatpuruṣa is not defined by P but it is used as an adhikāra rule (II.i.22) With a view to including the compounds of the same nature, P does not define it and discusses the tatpuruṣa compound from II.i.22-II.ii.22. The major divisions of the tatpuruṣa compound are (1) vibhakti-tatpuruṣa (II.i.24) (2) samānādhikaraṇa-tatpuruṣa or karmadhāraya (I.ii.42) (3) saṅkhyā-tatpuruṣa or dvigu (II.

i.52) (4) avyayatapurūṣa (II.i.i.1-3) (5) vyadhikaraṇa-tatpurūṣa (II.i.i.5) (6) nañ-tatpurūṣa (II.i.i.2-6) (7) upapada-tatpurūṣa (II.i.i.19) (8) prādi-tatpurūṣa (II.i.i.18) (9) ṇamul-tatpurūṣa (II.i.i.20) (10) mayūra-vyaṁsakādi-tatpurūṣa (II.i.i.72). However these divisions are not mentioned by P, the commentators divide them clearly as noted above. (Example: -rājapurūṣaḥ).

(41) tadanta (I.i.i.72) (Coming to an end by that, ending in that) The term tadanta is defined as - Let an adjective (by which an injunction is made) denote that which ends with it and also its own form. For example, erac (III.iii.56) enjoins the affix ac to the root 'i' and also others ending in 'i'. Here eḥ is an adjective through which an injunction is made.

Hence eḥ stands for both 'i' ityasya dhātoḥ and ikārāntasya dhātoḥ. Thus we have it ac = ayaḥ and ci + ac = cayaḥ. This is an important feature of the Aṣṭ in the interpretations of its rules. This feature is especially helpful to those adhikāra words coming into the subsequent rules. For example prātipadikāt (IV.i.1) is read into the large number of the subsequent rules. In the subsequent rules, the words ataḥ (IV.i.4), yañāḥ (IV.i.16) etc are read, which become the adjectives of the word 'prātipadikāt'. So ataḥ, yañāḥ etc mean adantāt, yañantāt by I.i.i.72.

(42) tadrāja (IV.i.174) (The taddhita affixes given in the rules IV.i.168-174, added to the nouns of a race for forming the nouns of its chief). The term tadrāja is explained as - These viz the affixes mentioned from IV.i.168-174 are called tadrāja. These affixes are applied to such words which mean both the country and the warrior-race. For example, pāñcālāḥ, the son of pāñcāla and inhabitant of pāñcāla country.

(d)

(43) dīrgha (I.ii.27) (The prosodically long vowel) The term is defined as - A vowel whose time is that of long ū is termed dīrgha. For example, "ī" in gaurī.

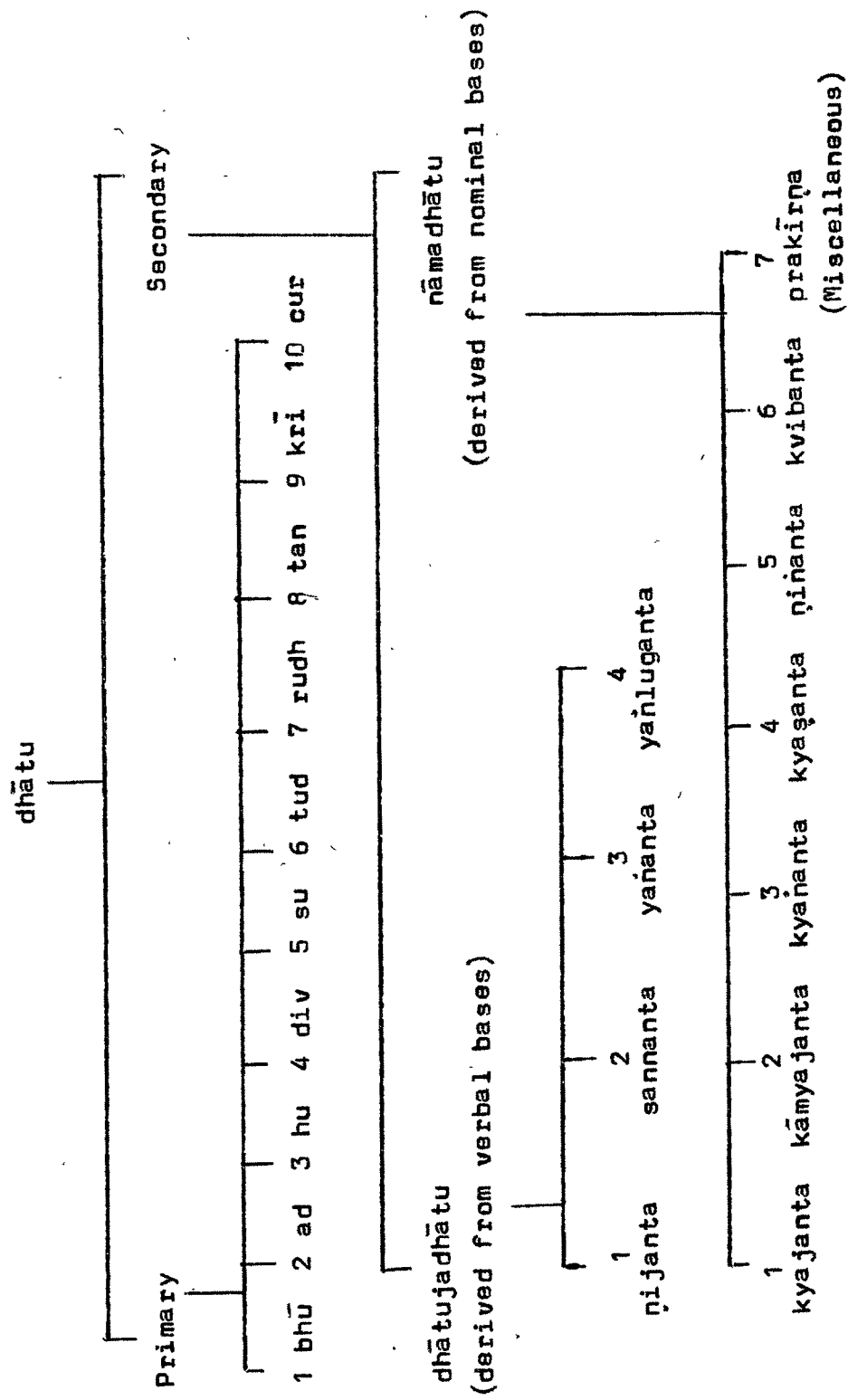
(44) dvandva (II.ii.29) (A copulative compound) The term dvandva is explained as - When a set of several words ending with case affixes stands in a relation expressible by "and"(ca), the set is made into a compound, and the compound so formed is termed dvandva. For example, plakṣaṇyagrohau.

(45) dvigu (II.i.52) (Kind of a tatpuruṣa compound in which the first member is a numeral, the numeral determinative compound). The term dvigu is defined as - In a case, where the sense is that of a taddhita affix or when an additional member comes after the compound, or when an aggregate is to be expressed, the compound, of which, the first member is numeral, is termed dvigu. For example, pañcakapālāḥ, pañcavaṭī etc. The dvigu compound is a sub-division of the tatpuruṣa compound and it is declined in the neuter gender and singular number of pañcapātram. When it ends in a, the feminine affix nī is applied generally e.g. pañcavaṭī etc.

(46) dvivacana (I.iv.102) (dual) The term dvivacana is defined as - These three traids of conjugational affixes have been termed prathama etc. As regard these three expressions, in each traid, the expressions for two are termed dvivacana or dual. For example, gacchataḥ, nayāvāḥ etc.

(dh)

(47) dhātu (I.iii.1) (A verbal stem) The term dhātu is explained as - The words beginning with bhū (to become) and vā (to blow) denoting action are termed dhātu or a verbal base. For example, bhavati. According to some authorities vā in I.iii.1 is for auspiciousness (Mbh etc) while some take it as a verbal root (Pdm etc) P mentions secondary verbal bases by III.1.32 (vide - pratyayadhātu-samjñā). The following table gives the analysis of the verbal roots primary as well as secondary.



(n)

(48) nadī (I.iv.3) (The feminine endings- ī and ū) The term nadī is defined as - The - words ending in long ī and ū, being names of females are termed nadī. For example, kumārī. The augment āṭ is added to the case endings of the dative, ablative and genitive singular after the nominal stems termed as nadī by VII.iii.112. So kumārī + ñe < kumārī + ā + ñe < kumāryai. The term nadī is discussed from I.iv.3-6.

(49) nipāta (I.iv.56) (A particle) P does not define the term nipāta but he has enumerated it in a group of words, 'ca' etc i.e. cādi. The term nipāta is the term given by the ancient grammarians and it was one of the four categories of words, i.e. nāma, ākhyāta, upasarga and nipāta. (Vide - Nirukta, 1.1. Niruktaśāstra, Bhagavadatta, Amṛtasara Ed.Vs. 2021, P.4) P does not take nipātas as an independent category of words but he counts them as a subanta. (Vide- sūptiñāntam padam I.iv.14) Nipātas are avyayas by I.i.37 and lose their case terminations by II.iv.82. The term nipāta is discussed from I.iv.56-97.

(50) niṣṭhā (I.i.26) (Participial suffixes ta and tavat) The term niṣṭhā is defined as - The affixes (k)ta and (k)tavat (u) are termed niṣṭhā. The indicatory 'k' prevents viddhi by I.i.5. For example, kītaḥ, kītavān etc.

(p)

(51) pada (I.iv.14) (An inflected word, a word form terminating in either sup or tiḥ) The term - pada is defined as - That which ends in sup (case affixes by IV.i.2) or in tiḥ (tense-affixes by III.iv.78) is termed pada. For example brāhmaṇa + jas < brāhmaṇaḥ, pac + tip <

pac + śap + tip < pacati. The term is discussed from I.iv.14-17.

(52) parasmaipada (I.iv.99) (The personal endings of the Active Voice). The term parasmaipada is explained as - The substitutes of "la" are termed parasmaipada. There are 18 personal endings comprised in the tiñ pratyāhāra. The first nine personal endings are called parasmaipada, in the tiñ pratyāhāra. For example, nī + śap + tip < nayati. The verbs which take both the personal endings i.e. parasmaipada and ātmanepada are termed ubhayapada verbs. For example, dā, dadāti and datte. The term parasmaipada is discussed from I.iii.78-93.

(53) prāghya (I.i.11) (Uncombinable by euphonic rules, to be pronounced separately.) The term prāghya is defined as - A dual case affix ending in ī, ū or e, is termed prāghya. For example, agnīt iti < agnī iti. Here the vowels "ī" in angñi and an initial "i" in iti do not admit of euphonic combination by VI.i.101. The term prāghya is discussed from I.i.11-19.

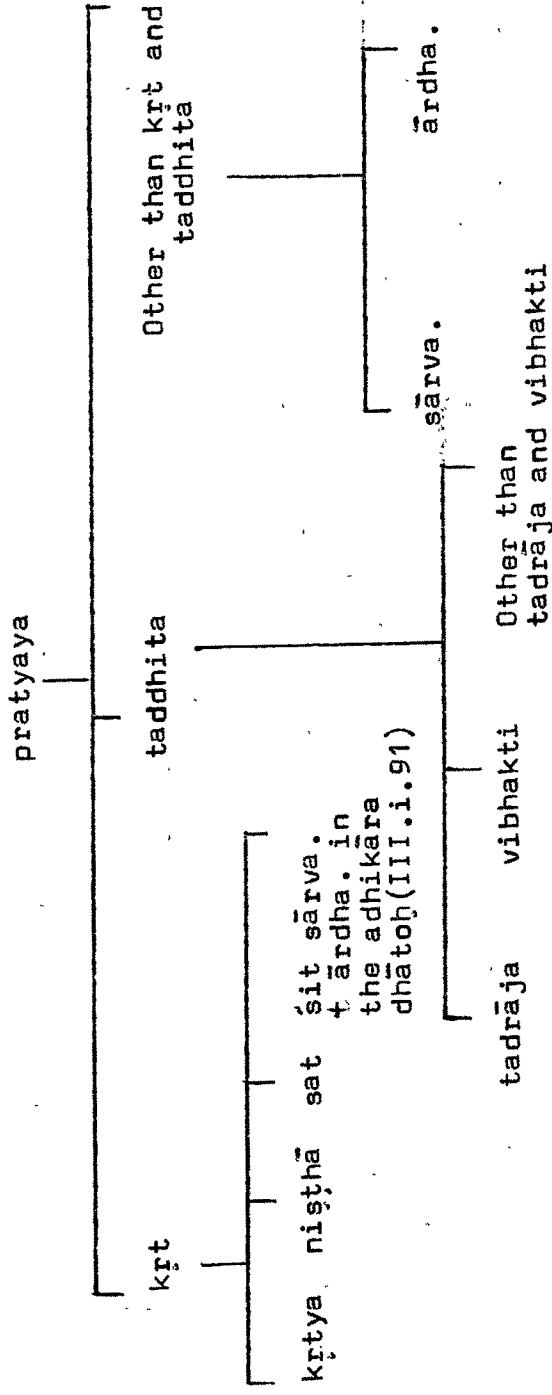
(54) pratyaya (III.i.1) (An affix) The term pratyaya is explained as - The term pratyaya is that which is placed after the base (prakṛti). The term pratyaya is read in III.i.1 as adhikāra which continues up to the end of the fifth book. The term pratyaya is, therefore not merely a term but a comprehensive term (mahāsamjñā), stretched up to half of the Aṣṭ. The pratyaya-samjñā with its varieties can be put diagrammatically as under :-

Table - 1

pratyaya				
Sup	tiñ	kṛt	taddhita	dhātu stri

Analytically the pratyaya-samjñā can be put in a diagram as under : -

Table - 2.



- (55) pratyayadhātu (III.i.32) (Secondary verbal bases) The term pratyayadhātu is defined as - All the words ending with the affixes san etc are termed dhātu. For example, cikīṣati.
- (56) pratyāhāra (I.i.71) (The abbreviated term) The term pratyāhāra is not used by name in the Aṣṭ, but it is frequently used by the grammarians of Pś school of Sanskrit grammar. The term pratyāhāra is defined as - Let the initial (letter) together with the final indicatory (letter) constitute a term for itself and the intervening letters. This abbreviated term is called pratyāhāra. For example, ac, hal etc. (Vide it - samjñā topic¹¹.)
- (57) prātipadika (I.ii.45) (A nominal stem) The term prātipadika is defined as - The word having signification, but which is neither a verbal root, nor an affix is termed prātipadika.

The forms ending in kṛt affixes, or taddhita affixes or compounds are also termed prātipadikas. For example, dīṭha (a wooden elephant) The term prātipadika is discussed from I.ii.45-46.

(58) prādi (I.iv.58) (The prefix group beginning with pra etc.) The term prādi is explained as - The words pra etc, when not signifying substances are termed nipāta. The words listed in prādi group are pra, parā, apa, sam, anu, ava, nis(r̥), dus(r̥), vi, ān, ni, adhi, api, ati, su, ut, abhi, prati, pari and upa. The term is a sub-variety of the nipāta-saṃjñā and is discussed from I.iv.58-60.

(59) prathama (I.iv.101) (The third person, the third person endings) The term prathama is defined as - In three traids of the pratyāhara tiṅ i.e. both the sets parasmaipada and ātmanepada, first traid among them is termed prathama. For example, dr̥ś + śap + tip < paśyati.

(60) pluta (I.ii.27) (A proloted vowel) The term pluta is defined as - The vowel whose time is that of the proloted ū₃ (i.e. of three mātrās) is termed pluta. For example, Devadattā₃ anvāsa. The final vowel in Devadattā is proloted or pluta. Its pluta character is indicated in big 3 at its end.

(b)

(61) bahuvacana (I.iv.102) (plural) The term bahuvacana is defined as - These three traids of conjugational affixes have been termed prathama etc. As regard these three expressions, in each traid the expression for many is termed bahuvacana or plural. For example, paśyāmaḥ, nayāmaḥ, etc.

(62) bahuvrīhi (I.ii.23) (The compound in which component members designate something else)

The term bahuvr̥hi is not defined by P, but he has termed bahuvr̥hi to those compounds, which are not given in any rule above. II.ii.23 is an adhikāra rule and goes upto II.ii.28.

(bh)

(63) bha (I.iv.18) (A nominal stem before suffixes beginning with "y" or vowels) The term bha is defined as - When an affix having an initial "y" or a vowel, being one of the affixes, beginning with su (IV.i.2) and ending in k (V.iv.151) Follows, not being sarvanāmasthāna (I. i.42-43), then what precedes, is termed bha. For example, śālā+ cha (IV.ii.114) Because of being bha, the last vowel of śālā is dropped and then we have sala+ cha < śāl + cha < śāl + iya < śālīyaḥ (VI.iv.148) The term bha debars the application of the term pada. The term bha is discussed from I.iv.18-20.

(m)

(64) madhyama (I.iv.101) (The second person, the second person endings) The term madhyama is explained as - In the three traids of the pratyāhāra tin̄ (i.e. both the sets of parasmaipada and ātmanepada) the second traid among them is termed madhyama, or second person. For example, gacchasi, nayasi etc.

(y)

(65) yuvan (IV.i.163) (The younger descendant of any one, an elder being still alive) The term yuvan is defined as - When one in a series of descent beginning with a father etc. is alive, the descendant of a grandson or still lower descendant is termed yuvan only. For example, gargaḥ < gārgyāyaṇaḥ. The term yuvan is discussed from IV.i.163-167.

(५)

- (66) laghu (I.iv.10) (A prosodically short vowel, light) The term laghu is defined as - A short vowel is termed laghu. For example, "i" in "bhid" is laghu.
- (67) luk (I.i.61) (Elision of a suffix) The term luk is defined as - The elision of an affix when caused by the term luk, is termed luk. For example, stu + śap + tīp < stu + tīp (elision of śap by I.i.61) < stauti (by VII.iii.89).
- (68) lup (I.i.61) (Elision of a suffix, leaving the gender and number of original stem unaltered, vide I.ii.51) The term lup is defined as - The elision of an affix, when caused by the term lup, is termed lup. For example, varaṇāḥ.
- (69) lopa (I.i.60) (Elision) The term lopa is defined as - The disappearance (of anything previously apparent) is termed lopa or elision. For example, jas < as by I.iii.6,9.
(v)
- (70) vibhakti (I.iv.104) (The inflectional case affixes or tense affixes) The term vibhakti is explained as - The traids of conjugational affixes and case affixes are termed vibhakti. For example gacchati, puruṣaḥ etc.
- (71) vibhāṣā (I.i.44) (option) The term vibhāṣā is defined as - The negation or option is termed vibhāṣā or option. The commentators mention three kinds of vibhāṣā viz. (1) prāptavi-
bhāṣā (2) aprāptavibhāṣā and (3) prāptāprāptavibhāṣā.
- (72) vṛddha (I.i.73) (A nominal stem whose first syllable is a vṛddhi (I.i.1) syllable i.e. ā, ai or au.) The term vṛddha is defined as - That word whose first vowel among the vowels is a vṛddhi vowel (I.i.1) is termed vṛddha. For example, "ā" in 'sālā, "ai" in aitikāyana and

"au" in aupamanyavaḥ. Śālā, being vṛddha, takes the affix "cha" by IV.ii.114. (Vide term "bha".) The term vṛddha is discussed from I.i.73-75.

(73) vṛddhi (I.i.1) (The vowel phonemes a, ai and au) The term vṛddhi is defined as - The vowel phonemes ā, ai and su (themselves or formed by rules) are termed vṛddhi. For example, "ā" in āślāyana, "ai" in aitikāyana and "au" in aupagavaḥ. The term vṛddhi is discussed from I.i.1-6.

(s)

(74) ślu (I.i.61) (Elision of the present marker of the third verbal class "hu" - II.iv.75). The term "ślu" is explained as - The elision of an affix, when caused by the term "ślu" is termed ślu. The specific feature of the elision of the present marker śap by the term ślu is that it causes reduplication of the roots to which it is adjoined. For example, hu + śap + tip < hu + ślu + tip (II.iv.75) < hu + tip (I.i.61) < juhoti (reduplication, by VI.i.10).

(s)

(75) saṣ (I.i.24) (The numerals ending in "ṣ" or "n") The term saṣ is defined as - The numerals (saṁkhyā ending in "ṣ" or "n", are termed saṣ and the numerals ending with the affix dati is also termed saṣ. For example, saṣ, pañcan, kati etc. The plural case affixes jas and śas (nomi. and accu. pl.) are elided after the numerals termed saṣ by VII.i.22. The term saṣ is discussed from I.i.24-25.

(s)

(76) śat (III.ii.127) (The participial suffixes śatṛ and śānac) The term sat is defined as - These two (suffixes) śatṛ and śānac (III.ii.124) are (collectively) termed sat. The

term sat i.e. śatṛ and śānac replaces not only the affixes of the present tense but also sometimes the affixes of future. (III.iii.14) For example, kurvan, kariṣyat etc.

(77) samāsa (II.i.3) (The compound word) The term samāsa is explained as - The case inflected word may be compounded with a case inflected word with which it is connected in sense. P has mentioned four principal kinds of the compound viz. (1) avyayībhāva (2) tatpuruṣa (3) bahuvrīhi and (4) dvandva. The term samāsa is discussed upto II.ii.38.

(78) sarvanāma (I.i.27) (Pronouns, - a group of words beginning with the expression sarva, comprising real pronouns and a series of pronominal adjectives) The term sarvanāma is explained as - The words sarva and the rest are termed sarvanāma (pronoun) The term is discussed from I.i.27-36.

(79) sarvanāmasthāna (I.i.42) (The first five case - endings, except of the neuter gender and also nom. pl. and accu. pl. affixes of the neuter gender i.e. śi (i)) The term sarvanāmasthāna is defined as - The suṭ (First five case affixes) except of aneuter gender is termed sarvanāmasthāna. śi (nominative and accusative plurals of a neuter gender) (Vide - VII.i.20) is termed sarvanāmasthāna. The term sarvanāmasthāna is discussed upto I.i.43.

(80) savarṇa (I.i.9) (A homogeneous letter, belonging to the same group of sounds) The term savarṇa is defined as - Two sounds having the same points of articulation and effort are mutually homogeneous. In spite of having the same points of articulation and effort, the ac sounds and hal sounds are not homogeneous mutually. This term is discussed upto I.i.10.

(81) saṁkhyā (I.i.23) (A numeral) The term saṁkhyā is defined as - The words bahu (many)

gaṇa (group) and the words ending in the affix *vat* (V.ii.39) and *ḍati* (V.ii.44) are termed *saṁkhyā*. For example *bahudhā*, *katidhā* etc.

(82) *saṁpradāna* (I.iv.32) (The idea expressed by a dative case, recipient) The term *saṁpradāna* is defined as - He, for whom the object of his action (I.iv.49) is intended by the agent (vide - I.iv.54) is termed *saṁpradāna*. The *saṁpradāna* is one of the six *kāraṇas* and takes a dative case by II.iii.13. For example, *māṇavakāya bhikṣām dadāti*. The term *saṁpradāna* is discussed from I.iv.32-41.

(83) *saṁprasāraṇa* (I.i.45) (Vocalization of the semivowels (*yaṇ*) The term *saṁprasāraṇa* is defined as - (That) the *ik* vowels (*i*, *u*, *ṛ* and *ḷ*) which replace the semi-vowels *i.e.* *yaṇ* (*y*, *v*, *ṛ* and *ḷ*) is - termed *saṁprasāraṇa*. For example, *svap + ta < sup + ta* (VI.i.15) < *suptaḥ*.

(84) *sambuddhi* (II.iii.49) (Vocative singular, the nominative singular in vocation) The term *sambuddhi* is defined as - In the sense of addressing, the singular number of the first case affixes is termed *sambuddhi*. By the virtue of VI.i.69, the word, termed *sambuddhi* drops its case ending viz *he* - *Rāma!*

(85) *saṁyoga* (I.i.7) (Conjunction of consonants, a conjunct consonant) The term *saṁyoga* is defined as - consonants (*hallaḥ*) unseparated by a vowel are termed *saṁyoga* or conjunct consonants. For example, "kk" in *kukkuṭa*. The term *saṁyoga* applies to the whole of the conjunct consonants jointly and not separately.

(86) *saṁhitā* (I.iv.109) (Junction or combination of phonemes according to euphonic usage) The term *saṁhitā* is defined as - The closest (*paraḥ*) proximity (*sannikarṣaḥ*) of letters

(there being the intervention of half a prosodial measure between them - kās.) is termed saṁhitā. For example, dadhi + atra < dadhyatra (VI.i.77) The subject of the term saṁhitā is shown in the following kārīkā (SK on Mūs) :-

saṁhitaikapade nityā, nityā dhātūpaṣargayoḥ /

nityā samāse, vākye tu, sā vivakṣām apeksate //

It means the saṁhitā is compulsory in one word, in a verb and preposition and in a compound. But in a sentence, it is in accord with speaker's desire. There are main three varieties of saṁdhi, a popular term for saṁhitā. They are (1) svarasamdhī (2) vyañjana-samdhī and (3) visargasamdhī.

(87) sārvaadhātuka (III.iv.113) (All personal endings comprised in the singlum 'tin' and other affixes characterized by the exponential marker "ś".) The term sārvaadhātuka is explained as - All personal endings (III.iv.78) and all affixes having an indicatory "ś" are termed sārvaadhātuka. For example, pac + śap + tip < pacati.

(88) svarita (I.ii.31) (A circumflexly accented vowel, mixed tone produced by the combination of high and low tones) The svarita is defined as - The vowel that has the combination of acute and grave tones, is termed svarita, or circumflex accent. For example, kva.

(h)

(89) hetu (I.iv.55) (The agent in the causative) The term hetu is defined as - That which is the causal agent thereof is termed hetu or the agent in the causative, as well as agent. For example, kārayati.

(90) hrasva (I.ii.27) (The prosodically short vowel) The term hrasva is defined as - A vowel whose time is that of short "u" is termed hrasva or short. For example, "u" in madhu.

8.0. Technique of Anuvṛtti.

P is unparalleled in his economy of words. The brevity is the soul of his grammar. He has never used even a single letter that is useless for his treatise. The well known paribhāṣā therefore, says that the students of grammar, over the saving of half a mātrā (prosodial length) rejoice as much as over the birth of a son.

8.1. P has displayed some techniques to bring economy and precession in his grammatical treatise. Anuvṛtti is one of them. The word anuvṛtti is derived from anu + vṛt (to follow) When a word, or words from the previous rule follow into the subsequent rule or rules for the sake of intended purpose, it is known as anuvṛtti.

8.2. When a word or words from the previous rule follow into the subsequent rules without dropping any intervening rule is known as the anuvṛtti like the stream of a river. For example,

- | | | |
|-------------------------|---|------------------------|
| (1) upadeśe'j | ↓ | anunāśika it (I.iii.2) |
| (2) hal antyam | ↓ | Upadeśe, it (I.iii.3) |
| (3) na vibhaktau tusmāḥ | ↓ | Upadeśe, it (I.iii.4) |
| (4) ādir ŋiṭuḍavaḥ | ↓ | Upadeśe, it (I.iii.5) |
| (5) ṣaḥ pratyayaśya | ↓ | Upadeśe, it (I.iii.6) |
| (6) cutū | ↓ | Upadeśe, it (I.iii.7) |
| (7) laśakv ataddhite | ↓ | Upadeśe, it (I.iii.8) |

But, for the sake of removing ambiguity, sometimes, the chain is broken, though the intended word might have come into the subsequent rule by the anuvṛtti. As for example, in I.iv.49 (kartur īpsitatamaṁ karma), the word karma is introduced by P, even though he could

have availed of it by anuvṛtti from I.iv.46 (adhīśīnsthāsām karm). But P by repeating the word karma in I.iv.49, ingeniously suggests a change of topic from I.iv.49 onwards. In I.iv.46, the word karma is associated with ādhāra (substratum) - which is following from I.iv.45. This means that the section I.iv.45 to I.iv.48 treats the karma-samjñā of ādhāra objects, while from I.iv.49 the topic changes, as P now discusses the karmasamjñā of words other than ādhāra.

Sometimes, in anuvṛtti where certain words or words are not applicable to the condition in the subsequent rule, P does not seem to insist on their continuation. For example, in IV.i.82 (samarthānām prathamād vā) the anuvṛtti of "samartha" is coming from II.i.1 (samarthaḥ padaavidhiḥ). By the repetition of the word "samartha", P suggests that here the word samartha is in the sense of akṛtasamdhī-kārya. The students of P are always found practical. They do not seem to insist on all the steps of prakriyā everywhere. Thus in deriving the form seduṣī, they would not insist on the īdāgama to suffix "vas" and to drop it afterwards due to samprasāraṇa. Instead, without adding "ī" to "vas", they would like directly to change "vas" into "us", - when "ī" is added to it.

Sometimes, P reads the word again to denote a specific operation, however the word could have been read by anuvṛtti from the previous rule. For example, in spite of taking an from IV.i.83, by anuvṛtti, P reads an again into IV.ii.77 for the sake of indicating that this sū debars IV.ii.85.

Moreover, it is to be noted that though whole sū is coming into the subsequent rules by anuvṛtti, the relevant portion of that sū is to be understood in to the subsequent rules.

when all words are not relevant to the subsequent rules. For example, whole sū nyāprātīpa-dikāt (IV.i.1) is coming into the subsequent rules, yet only the word "prātīpadikāt" of this sū, being relevant comes into striyām (IV.i.3).¹⁶⁸

Sometimes a portion of a word of the previous rule comes into the following rule by anuvṛtti. For example, from IV.i.26, saṁkhyā, a portion of a word - saṁkhyāvayvādeḥ is to be read into IV.i.27, while the remaining portion of that word i.e. avyavādeḥ should cease to be valid.¹⁶⁹

8.3. When a word or words from the previous rule come into the subsequent rules, dropping the intervening rule or rules, like a jump of a frog, such anuvṛtti is known as Maṇḍukapluti. It is so named because the word from the previous rule does not occur into some intermediate rules as a frog does not touch an intermediate place when it jumps. For example, the word karttari is read in III.i.68 and it comes upto III.i.82. Then it is not read into III.i.83 to 86, because it is not required the re, and because of its requirement, it is again read into III.i.87. It is a good example of Maṇḍukapluti because "karttari" comes into III.i.87, leaving the intervening rules III.i.83-86. It gets the nom. sing. case affix according to vibhaktivipariṇāma to suit the context.¹⁷¹

8.4. When, though it is strange, a word or words from the subsequent rule are taken into the preceding rules, - it is the anuvṛtti known as apakarṣa.¹⁷² For example,

(1) ṣaṣṭhī II.ii.8. (na nirdhāraṇe)
↑

(2) na nirdhāraṇe II.ii.10.

Here the whole rule II.ii.10 is dragged up into the preceding rule II.ii.8. Hence such

anuvṛtti is known as an apakarṣa.

8.5. It is interesting to note that P has used the particle "ca" for the sake of anuvṛtti.

For instance -

(1) bahugaṇavatudati saṁkhyā I.i.23.

(2) śṇāntāḥ ṣaṭ (saṁkhyā) I.i.24.

(3) ḍati ca (ṣaṭ, saṁkhyā) I.i.25.

In this triad of rules, the word "saṁkhyā" comes into I.i.25 by the particle "ca". It is also to be noted that the anuvṛtti made by "ca" ends from the rule where the particle "ca" is enumerated. For example,

(1) kopadhā aṇ IV.ii.132.

(2) kacchādibhyaś ca (aṇ) IV.ii.133.

In above mentioned rules, the anuvṛtti of the affix aṇ ends from IV.ii.133 because ca is read in this rule. It should also be noted that the words, when repeated from the preceding rule, get the construction in accordance with the context.

In spite of the great importance in his grammar, P has no where used the word anuvṛtti by name. Moreover, on what occasions, such anuvṛtti should be resorted and how far it is to be extended, are determined by authoritative commentators.

9.0. Technique of Adhikāra.

P has no where used the word anuvṛtti in Aṣṭ, though he has used the word adhikāra (I.i.11) which has close connection with the anuvṛtti.

9.1. When the anuvṛtti of a whole rule covers a long area, it is known as adhikāra. It affects each and every rule to the certain limit, while, when the word of the preceding rule goes into the limited no of subsequent rules it is known as anuvṛtti. Moreover, it should be noted that the Adhikāra as such is subject to requirement and not like a stream of a river.¹⁷⁵ The adhikāra rule is marked with circumflex accent. The adhikāra rules bear great importance in P's grammar.

10.0. Technique of Anubandhas.

The word anubandha is, however no-where used by P, in his grammar, but it is frequently used by pat right upto Nāgeśa, the grammarians of P's School. P has used the self explanatory term "it", derived from "i" (to go) - that which is to be dropped, in stead of the term "anubandha".¹⁷⁶ The term anubandha is derived from anu + bandh (to tie) meaning "what is attached to".¹⁷⁷ It is attached to a stem, termination, augment or a substitute to indicate the occurrence of some special modifications such as vikaraṇa, āgama, guṇa or vṛddhi, accent etc but which, when the word is completely formed, is vanished and is cast off, in consonance with the designation "it" given to it.¹⁷⁸

10.1. For the sake of brevity, P has displayed the technique of anubandhas. That, which letters are to be declared "it" or as anubandhas, is discussed by P in the third quarter of the first book of his grammar. These rules are as under :-

- (1) upadeśe'j anunāsika it I.iii.2.
- (2) hal antyam (upadeśe, it) I.iii.3.
- (3) na vibhaktau tusmāḥ (upadeśe, it) I.iii.4.

- (4) ādir ñi-tu-ḍavaḥ (upadeśa, it) I.iii.5.
- (5) saḥ pratyayasya (upadeśa, it) I.iii.6.
- (6) cutū (upadeśa, it) I.iii.7.
- (7) la-ṣa-kv ataddhite (upadeśa, it) I.iii.8.
- (8) tasya lopaḥ I.iii.9.

10.1.1. The anunāsika (nasal) vowels in upadeśa are considered as to be 'it'. Here upadeśa means original instruction. The nasality of vowels is, now not found marked. Some authorities believe that it was marked in the ancient time but nowadays it is not seen. Hence the nasality is, now ascertained by tradition only.

10.1.2. All final consonants being read in upadeśa are considered to be 'it' (I.iii.3). But the letters of t-group i.e. t, th, d, dh and the letters 's' and 'm' being in upadeśa and final ones, when they are as the part of vibhakti, are not declared as 'it' (I.iii.4). Here P has applied the word vibhakti in a wider sense. It declares the option to I.iii.3. The final consonants n, t etc. therefore in Rāmān, Śarvasmin, Rāmāt etc are not dropped in spite of the force of I.iii.3.

10.1.3. Sometimes, the anubandhas stand at the beginning of a word. These anubandhas are ñi, tu and ḍu, which are considered as 'it' (I.iii.5). Here it should be noted that tu and ḍu in I.iii.5 are not the same as udit tu denoting t-group. The illustrations of this rule are given from DP. traditionally "ṣ" is ananubandha when it is read in upadeśa and stands at the beginning of affixes (I.iii.6). The letters of c-group and t-group i.e. c, ch, j, jh, ñ and t, th, ḍ, ḍh, ṇ, when read in upadeśa and standing at the beginning of a word are decla-

red as 'it'. (I.iii.7) And the letters "l" and "ś" and the letters of k-group i.e. k, kh, g, gh and "ñ" are considered as 'it', when read in upadeśa, standing at the beginning and not read in taddhita affixes. (I.iii.8)

10.1.4. The letters designated "it" or anubandha are to be elided. It means, they are not the integral part of the word they form.
183

10.1.5. P has used all the vowels except "ai" and "au" and all the consonants except ch, jh, th, ḍh, d, dh, ph, b, bh and h as anubandhas, however he has used some of these excluded letters as anubandhas, as sthānins. These letters are kh, gh, ch, jh, ḍh, dh, ph, y and v (though y and v are designated as anubandhas also). Thus the letters not utilised by P for achieving economy are d, dh, b and h. Thus two vowels "ai" and "au" and four consonants i.e. d, dh, b and h, totally six letters are not used by P in his grammatical treatise. Though in 'it'-saṃjñā rules y, v and r are not counted by P but they are enumerated in Mūs as anubandhas. Thus including the anubandhas, enumerated in Mūs, P has used 22 consonants i.e. all letters of k-group, three letters of c-group (i.e. c, j and ṇ), three letters of ṭ-group (i.e. ṭ, ḍ and ṇ) two letters of t-group (i.e. t and n) two letters of P-group (viz. p and m) all semivowels i.e. y, v, r and l and three sibilants i.e. ś, ṣ and s and all the vowels except "ai" and "au". The vowels ā, ū, ī, e and o are found used as anubandhas in DP only. The long ī is nowhere found used as an anubandha. Hence ten vowels and twenty two consonants;
184
thirty two letters in toto are used as anubandhas by P in his grammatical treatise.

11.0. Technique of the abbreviated terms.

For the sake of brevity and precision, P has displayed some techniques in his grammar¹⁸⁵ i.e. Aṣṭ. The technique of abbreviated terms or pratyāhāras is one of them.

11.1. There are 14 rules outside the Aṣṭ text traditionally known as Māheśvara-sūtras¹⁸⁶ (Msūs). According to a legend, they are handed to P by Mahēśa (great God Śiva) at the end of his tāṇḍava dance. However emphatically P's commentators contribute the authorship of these rules to Mahēśa, the intimate relation of these rules, with the Aṣṭ text well proves that¹⁸⁷ the author of Aṣṭ text and these 14 rules is one and the same person, Pāṇini. That these rules read outside the Aṣṭ text, does not prove the different authorship of these rules than¹⁸⁸ that of Aṣṭ text, as some authorities say, for, these rules known as - aksarasamāmnāya are¹⁸⁹ grouped as separately by P as GP, DP etc are grouped by him.

11.2. The 14 Māheśvara rules are as under :

- (1) a / i / u / Ṇ (2) ṛ / ṝ / K (3) e / o / Ṃ (4) ai / au / C
- (5) h(a) / y(a) / v(a) / r(a) / ṝ (6) lA/Ṇ (7) ṅ̄(a) / m(a) / ṇ(a) / ṇ(a)/Ṁ
- (8) jh(a)/bh(a)/Ṃ (9) gh(a)/ḍh(a) / ḍh(a) / ṣ (10) j(a) / b(a) / g(a) / ḍ(a) / d(a) / ś (11) kh(a) / ph(a) / ch(a) / ṭh(a) / th(a) / c(a) / ṭ(a) / t(a) / v
- (12) k(a) / p(a) / y (13) ś(a) / ṣ(a) / s(a) / R (14) h(a) / L

11.3. The consonants at the end of Msūs, here shown in capital letters are 'it' by I.iii. 3. These 'it' letters are indicative letters which are to be dropped by I.iii.9, and they are not to be considered as a part of the pratyāhāras they form P in otherwords has used 14

anubandas to coin pratyāhāras. An akāra in Msū 6, by some authorities, is considered as 'it' ¹⁹² by I.iii.2 for coining 'ra' pratyāhāra. In the first four Msūs, the vowels have not been ¹⁹³ passed through euphonic combination by P with a view to teaching them clearly. The lengthened forms of a, i, u and r are not mentioned in the text of Msūs, by P, because these short vowels ¹⁹⁴ are representatives of their homogeneous letters. e and o are not homogeneous letters to ¹⁹⁵ ai and au respectively hence they are put into two different rules. An akāra in h(a) etc here, ¹⁹⁶ put in brackets, is for easy pronunciation.

11.4. At a glance, it is clearly seen that the popular order of sanskrit alphabet in which the letters are horizontally arranged, according to their points of articulation, is purpose-fully changed by P. The new arrangement in which letters are vertically arranged is not in ¹⁹⁷ accordance with the points of articulation but according to the manner of articulation. For practical requirement of his grammar, P, putting aside the popular arrangement of letters, adopts the new arrangement to coin the shortest expressions pithily serviceable to his grammatical work.

11.5.1. Arrangement of vowels :-

It can be apparently seen that P, in teaching the vowels, puts aside the popular arrangement of the letters, of the prātiśākhya and śikṣā texts. VPr teaches eight vowels - viz a, i, u, and r and their lengthened forms. It excludes ṛ, while TPr gives short ṛ with lengthened and prolated forms of a, i and u. To suit the grammatical operations, the list of short vowels is split into two rules. The first rule presents three more frequent letters

while second rule presents two letters of which the last one is extremely rare. The lengthened and prolated forms are not given because, in P's grammar short vowels are representatives of them both. After teaching short vowels, P gives four diphthong letters in two rules, i.e. 3rd and 4th. The first set of the diphthong vowels, presented in 3rd rule, is the result of 199
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1	Short Vowels (Msūs 1 - 2)	a ↓ ā	i ↓ ī	u ↓ ū	i ↓ ī	i ↓ ī	VI.i.101.
2	Long Vowels	ā/ā + ā/ā	i/ī + i/ī	u/ū + u/ū	i/ī + i/ī	i/ī + i/ī	
3	Guṇa Vowels (Msū-3)	a ↓ ā	e a/ā + i/ī ↓ ai	o a/ā + u/ū ↓ au	a(r) a/ā + i/ī ↓ ā(r)	a(l) a/ā + ā(l) a/ā + + i	I.i.2, I.i.51, VI.i.87.
4	Vṛddhi Vowels (Msū-4)	ā	ā/ā + e/ai	ā/ā + o/au	ā(r) a/ā + i/ī	ā(l) a/ā + + i	I.i.1, I.i.51, VI.i.88.
5	Diphthong Vowels (Msūs-3-4)	e i ↓ y ↓	e i ↓ y ↓	o u ↓ v ↓	ai i ↓ r ↓	au u ↓ i ↓	I.i.1-2.
6	(a) hrasva substitutes		i ↓ y ↓	u ↓ v ↓	i ↓ r ↓	u ↓ i ↓	I.i.48.
	(b) yaṇ substi- tutes		y ↓	v ↓	r ↓	i ↓	VI.i.77.
	(c) sampraśaraṇa substitutes		i ↓	u ↓	r ↓	i ↓	I.i.45.
	(d) ayādi substi- tutes	e < a + i < ay o < a + u < av ai < a + e < a + a + i < āy au < a + o < a + a + u < āv					VI.i.78.

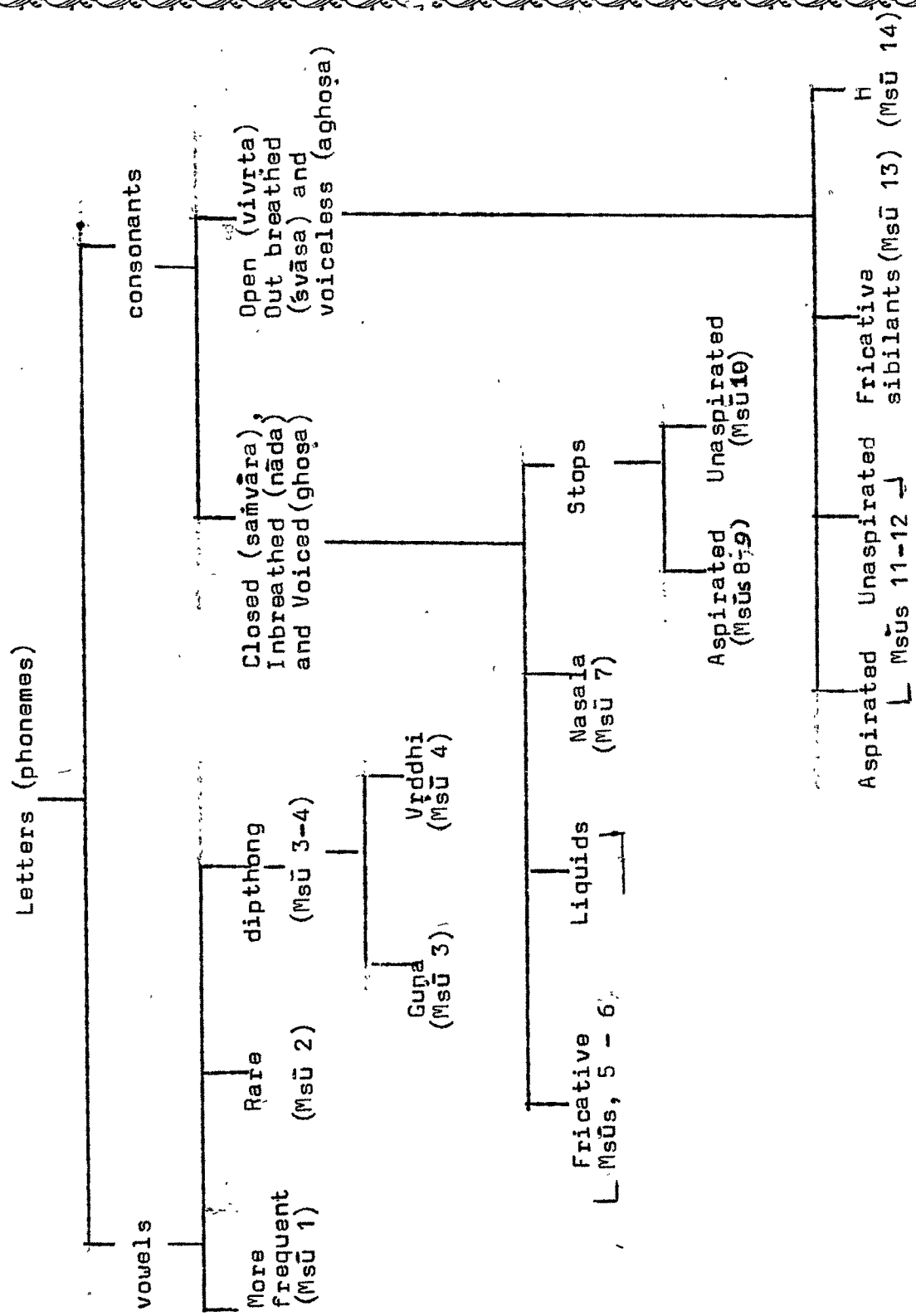
In the popular order of the Sanskrit alphabet, the consonants are arranged horizontally according to the points of articulating organs preceding from the back the mouth to the front the lips. The following table shows it clearly.

The place of articulations		Unvoiced consonants			Voiced consonants		
		Sibilants	Unaspirated	Aspirated	Unaspirated	Aspirated	Liquids
Sr. No.	Group	Abbreviated Term	Aspirated	Unaspirated	Aspirated	Unaspirated	Aspirated
1	Velar	ku	h	k	kh	g	gh
2	Palatal	cu	's	c	ch	j	jh
3	Retroflex	ṭu	ṣ	ṭ	ṭh	ḍ	ḍh
4	Dental	tu	s	t	th	d	dh
5	Labial	pu	-	p	ph	b	bh

Before going to discuss the varga arrangement made by P, it is to be noted that after teaching vowels, he enumerates liquids (semi vowels) headed by "h" an aspirated voiced sound contrasting with voiceless aspirate sound "h" of sibilant list comprising in śāśal pratyāhāra. Thus "h" occurs twice in Msū 5 and Msū 14. For twice occurrence of "h", the traditional explanation is given that it is for coining some pratyāhāras to suit the gramm-

atical operations. P separates "l" from the liquid list to coin some pratyāhāras and for debaring from aṭ pratyāhāra. The liquids are given soon after teaching vowels because they are closely related with vowels (supra, vide a chart given on P.74) Then P rearranges the varga order in which first two letters in each group (varga) are voiceless consonants whose first-member is unaspirated and second one is aspirated. The remaining three letters of each group are voiced consonants of which third and fifth letters of each group are unaspirated and fourth of each group is aspirated sound. Then come the liquids which are voiced unaspirated sounds. Lastly comes the sibilant group of which all letters are voiceless aspirated sounds. Instead of arranging the consonants in ka-ca-ṭa-ta-pa groups, horizontally as they are in the popular order and maintained in Msūs for vowels and liquids, he arranges them vertically in ca-pa-ka-ṭa groups in accordance with the manner of the articulation. This order is continued from Msū 7-10. The nasals are given soon after teaching liquids because by some authorities, they are included in the semi-vowel list and have homogeneity. Then P teaches aspirated voiced sounds in two Msūs. The sounds jha and bha are separated from the voiced aspirated group to suit the grammatical functions. Then he teaches unaspirated voiced sounds in a single Msū 10. Then P enumerates unaspirated and aspirated voiceless sounds in two Msūs i.e. 11-12. Then P forms the 12th Msū to separate ka and pa sounds from that list to debar these letters from car pratyāhāra. Lastly in two Msūs, sibilants - aspirated voiceless sounds are given. It is obviously to be noted that the rearrangement accepted by P upto Msū 10, is again changed from Msū 11 to 12 for coining some pratyāhāras to suit the grammatical operations. It is clearly seen that the sounds read from Msū 5 to 10 have the external-

effort saṁvāra, nāda and ghoṣa, while the sounds enumerated in Msū 11 and 12 have vivāra, śvāsa and aghoṣa external efforts contrasting with saṁvāra, nāda and ghoṣa respectively. The following chart will make it clear :-



11.5.3. In spite of their importance and functions, in his grammar P does not enumerate the ayogavāhas i.e. anusvāra, visarga, jihvāmūliya and upadhmanīya in MSūs. They are not uttered independently but uttered always in combination with another phoneme such as a etc, hence they are called 'ayogavāha'.

11.5.4. I.i.71 is a pratyāhāra-samjñā rule. It says that the initial letter (one may take any letter as an initial one from any MSū except an indicatory letter at the end of each MSū) with a final indicatory letter (is for itself and for the intervening letters). For example, in MSū 1, one may take "a" as an initial letter and "ṇ" as an indicatory letter by I.iii.3. Hence by virtue of I.i.71, the pratyāhāra a-ṇ would be formed, which stands for "a" itself and for the intervening letters "i" and "u". Thus taking any letter as initial from MSūs, with a final indicatory letter, it is possible to coin 305 pratyāhāras, in toto. The following chart will make it clear.

Sr. No.	INITIAL LETTER	WITH A FINAL INDICATORY LETTER.	TOTAL NUMBER OF PRATYAHARAS FORMED
1.	a i u	ṇ	3
2.	i i	k	5
3.	e o	ṇ	7
4.	ai au	c	9
5.	h(a) ṣ(a) v(a) r(a)	t	13
6.	l(A)	ṇ	14

Sl. No.	INITIAL LETTER	WITH A FINAL IN- DICATORY LETTER.	TOTAL NUMBER OF PRA- TYĀHĀRAS FORMED
7.	ñ(a) m(a) ṇ(a) ṇ(a) n(a)	M	19
8.	jh(a) bh(a)	N	21
9.	gh(a) dh(a) dh(a)	Ṣ ; Ṣ	24
10.	j(a) b(a) g(a) ḍ(a) d(a)	Ṣ	29
11.	kh(a) ph(a) ch(a) ṭh(a) th(a) c(a)	V	37
12.	ṭ(a) t(a) p(a)	Y	39
13.	ś(a) ṣ(a) s(a)	R	42
14.	h(a)	L	43

11.5.4. But p does not make use of all the possibilities for coining pratyāhāras. To suit²¹³ the grammatical functions for his grammar i.e. Ast, p has coined only 41 pratyāhāras which are counted by the following kārīkā quoted by Kās.

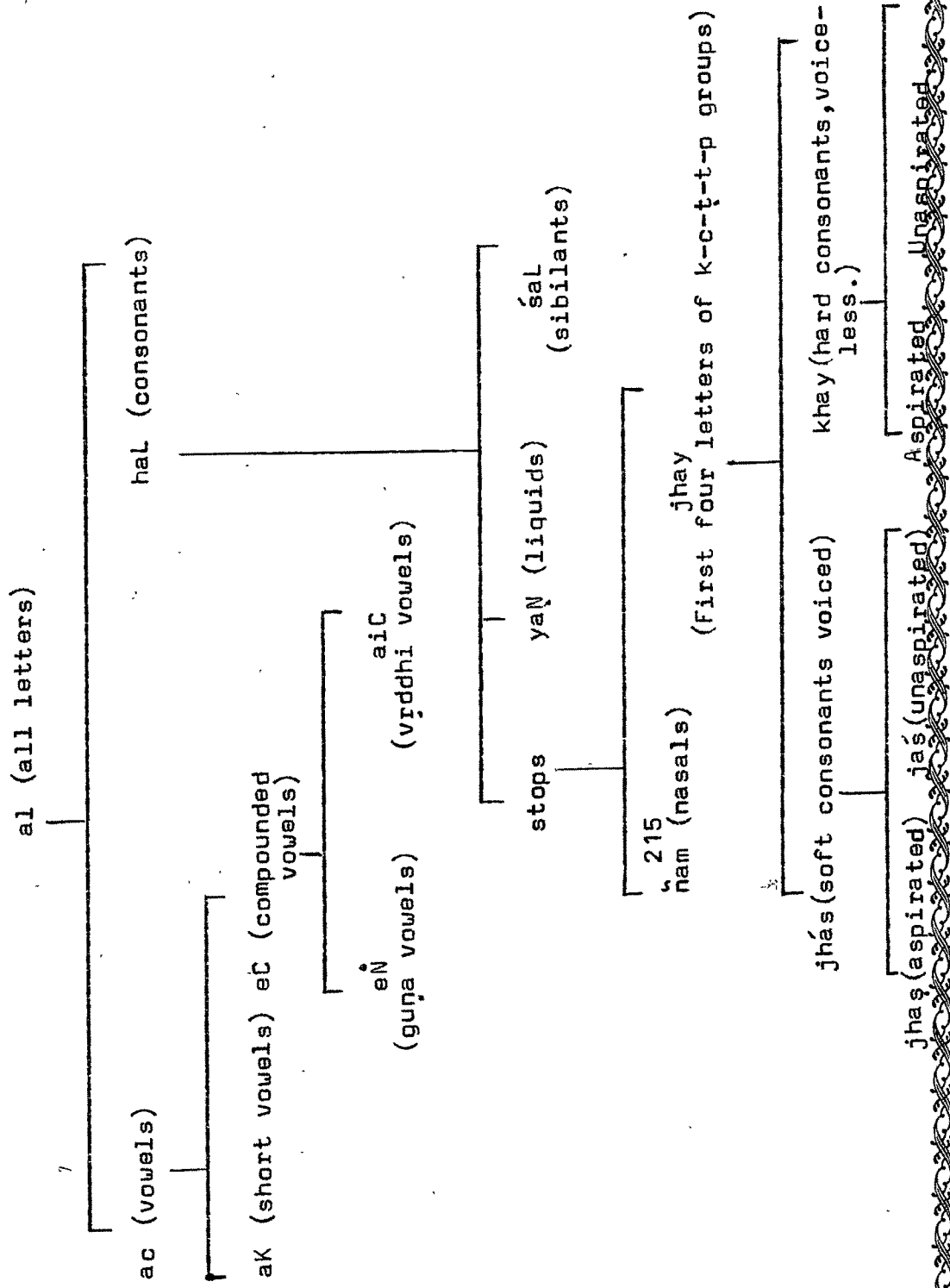
ekasmin ṇaṇaṇavata dvābhyām śas tribhya eva kaṇamaṇ syuḥ /
²¹⁴
 jñeyau cayau caturbhyo raḥ pañcabhyaḥ śalau śadbhyaḥ //

The following chart shows it clearly :-

INITIAL LETTERS	FINAL INDICATORY LETTERS														
	N	K	N	C	T	I	N	M	S	S	V	Y	R	Y	
PRATYĀHĀRAS FORMED	(1)	(3)	(1)	(4)	(1)	(3)	(3)	(3)	(1)	(2)	(6)	(1)	(4)	(5)	(6)
a	(3)*	(5)	-	(9)	(13)	(14)	(19)	-	-	(29)	-	-	-	-	(43)
i	-	(2)	-	(8)	-	(13)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
u	-	(3)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
e	-	-	(2)	(4)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
ai	-	-	-	(2)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
h(a)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	(20)	-	-	-	-	(34)
y(a)	-	-	-	-	-	(4)	(9)	(11)	-	-	(18)	-	(29)	(32)	-
v(a)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	(32)
r(a)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	(31)
m(a)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	(24)	-	-
ñ(a)	-	-	-	-	-	-	(3)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
jh(a)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	(5)	(10)	-	(20)	(23)	(24)
bh(a)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	(4)	-	-	-	-	-
j(a)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	(5)	-	-	-	-
b(a)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	(4)	-	-	-	-
kh(a)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	(10)	(13)	-
ch(a)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	(6)	-	-	-
c(a)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	(8)	-
ś(a)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	(3)	(4)

* The figures in the brackets show the total number of the letters in the pratyāhāras.

11.5.5. Thus it is obviously seen that P has changed the popular order of the Sanskrit alphabet to coin pratyāhāras for his grammar. Some important pratyāhāras can be put in the following diagrammatical form which shows the concordance between the new arrangement and popular arrangement :-



11.5.6. It is to be noted that P has not limited his concept of pratyāhāras to Msūs only. But the same mechanism of I.i.71, he has coined some more pratyāhāras from his own rules for his grammar.

11.5.6(a) On the basis of IV.i.2, P coins the following three pratyāhāras :-

- (1) sup = All case terminations i.e. in II.iv.82.
- (2) suṭ = First five case terminations except of neuter gender are termed sarvanām-
asthāna by I.i.43.
- (3) āp = Case terminations beginning from instrumental singular to locative plural
i.e. in VIII.ii.112.

11.5.6(b) Similarly, on the foundation on III.iv.78, P frames the following two pratyāhāras:-

- (1) tiñ = All personal endings i.e. in I.iv.101.
- (2) tañ = The ātmanepada personal endings i.e. in I.iv.100.

11.5.6(c) It is supposed that P has coined the pratyāhāra tñ which occurs in II.iii.69 and is framed on the basis of III.ii.124 and III.ii.135. In spite of abnormality in coining such a pratyāhāra, it gets support of the standard grammarian like pat. It is also supposed by the later grammarians of P's School that P has coined kṛñ pratyāhāra on the basis of V.iv.50. to V.iv.58 and support as a pratyāhāra has been given by Kāt and Pat. But these two pratyāhāras i.e. tñ and kṛñ have abnormal nature and have no conformity with the other pratyāhāras like aC, haL etc. formed by I.i.71.

11.5.6(d) The pratyāhāras used in the Aṣṭ by P are listed hereunder in Sanskrit alphabetic

order :-

(1) aK	(2) aC	(3) aT	(4) aN1	(5) aN2	(6) aM	(7) aL	(8) aS	(9) iK
(10) iC	(11) iN	(12) uK	(13) eN	(14) eC	(15) aiC	(16) khay	(17) khaR	(18) naM
(19) caR	(20) chaV	(21) jaS	(22) jhaY	(23) jhaR	(24) jhaL	(25) jhaS	(26) jhaS	(27) baS
(28) bhaS	(29) maY	(30) yaN	(31) yaN	(32) yaM	(33) yaY	(34) yaR	(35) raL	(36) vaL
(37) vaS	(38) saR	(39) saL	(40) haL	(41) haS				

12.0. Some important metarules occurring in the Aṣṭādhyāyī.

P reads some important pari. rules, which have the key-place in his grammatical treatise, i.e. the Aṣṭ. ²¹⁸ Before going to discuss these rules, it is essential for one to understand the principles of yathoddeśa and kāryakāla, to understand how pari rules and saṁ. rules work.

12.0.1. The formation of correct forms of the language is the principal aim of the śabdān-uśāsana i.e. grammar. ²¹⁹ Here it lays down certain rules which explain the process of formation of the correct words. When a student of P's grammar reads the saṁ. rule "viddhir ād-aic" (I.i.1) or the pari rule "iko gunaviddhi", (I.i.3) which does not explain the formation of words, he finds no utility of these rules. But when he reads these rules along with vidhi - rules - "viddhir eci" (VI.i.88) and "sārvadhātukārhadhātukayoḥ" (VII.iii.84), he soon understands the co-relation of saṁ. and pari. rules with vidhi rules. Thus, to understand a saṁ. rule or a pari. rule in its own place, is called the yathoddeśa principle. Nāgeśa ²²⁰ explains it as - "upadeśam anatikramya iti yathoddeśam / uddeśah upadeśadeśah" /

12.0.2. But when a student of P's grammar comes across the vidhi rules, he feels need of saṁ. and pari. rules to understand the function of vidhi rules. So he brings these rules to

the area of the vidhi rules, which together with saṁ. and pari. rules form a single expression (ekavākyatā) It is called the kāryakāla principle. It is explained by Nāgeśa as - "kāryakālam²²¹ ityasva ca kāryena kālyate svasannidhim prāpyata ityarthah"/

12.1. The pari. rules regarding ik-vowels.

The rule regarding ik-vowels bears good importance in P's grammar. It runs as - "iko guṇavṛddhi" (I.i.3) The words vṛddhi and guṇa follow from I.i.1 and I.i.2 respectively in this rule. Thus it means that the word ikaḥ (ending in a geni. case) ushers in whenever guṇa and vṛddhi are enjoined by mentioning the word guṇa and vṛddhi. For example in "mīder guṇah" (VII.iii.82), "mīder vṛddhi" (VII.ii.114) or "sici vṛddhiḥ parasmaipadeṣu" (VII.ii.1), the word ikaḥ is supplied. But, where guṇa or vṛddhi is ordained without the mention of guṇa or vṛddhi by name, there the word ikaḥ is not supplied. For instance, in "diva aut" (VII.i.84), the word ikaḥ is not supplied because the word vṛddhi is not mentioned by name. Hence, though "au" is a vṛddhi letter, "v" in "div" is changed to "au" but not "i" in "div".

12.2. Metalinguistic use of cases.

The concept of meta-language is one of the important features of modern linguistics. P was not unaware of this concept. He knows that a word in ordinary language conveying some idea could not be regarded as the same when employed to convey its own form. The use of a word is one thing, its mention another. P, in this sense, uses some cases.

12.2.1. The rule regarding sthānaśasthi.

According to Pat. there are one hundred and one meanings of the genitive case.

They are, for example, father-son, master-servant, part-whole etc. But when in the sūs, the sixth case is used in a non-verbal relation in general, it is called sthānaśaṭhi. It is explained in the following rule -

"saṭhī sthāneyoga" (I.i.49)

It means that saṭhī i.e. the sixth case (without any indication to show its relation with any other word in that sūtra) must be understood as connected with the word "sthāna". Here the word sthāna means occasion for substitution. For example - "iko yan aci" (VI.i.77) The sū means that "yaṇ" is substituted in place of (sthāna) "ik". In this sū, the sixth case in "ikah" does not express any particular relation with any other word in the sūtra. But in "ūdupadhāyā gohaṇ" (VI.iv.89), the penultimate letter of "goh" is to be changed to "ū". However "goḥ" is exhibited in saṭhī, it does not mean "in place of" because the specific relation i.e. awayava-saṭhī (part and whole) is here expressed. So, when any of these relations of the sixth case is not expressed in the sūs, the sixth case is to be associated with "sthāna". By the force of this sū, more than one letters may be displaced. For example, in "aster bhūḥ" (II.iv.52), the substitute "bhū" displaces "asti". So also in "bruvā vaciḥ" (II.iv.53), "vacih" displaces "brū".

12.2.2. The cause which brings about a change may be something which either precedes an occupant (sthānī) or succeeds it. If it follows the sthānī, then it is exhibited in the locative case. It is explained in the following sū.

"tasminniti nirdiṣṭe pūrvasya (I.i.67)

This sū means that an operation enjoined by the expression in the locative case,

should be understood with respect to the letter which is (immediately) preceding (without the intervention of any other letter) For instance, in $\text{sudhī} + \text{upāśya}$, "yaṇ" is substituted in "ik" of sudhī by VI.i.77. Here "u" in "su" and "ī" in "dhī" both are iks. According to I.i.67, the latter i.e. "ī" in "dhī" is operated because "ac" ("u" of upāśya) immediately follows it.

12.2.3. When something is directed to be done by using the ablative case, then the change is to be made in that, which immediately follows that which is in the ablative case. The following sū explains it -

"tasmād ity uttarasya" (I.i.67)

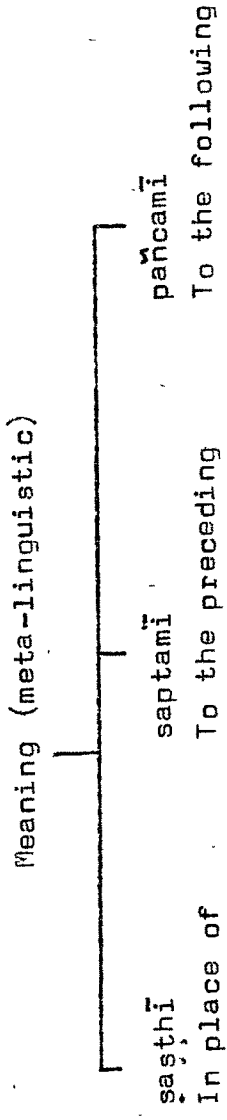
This sū means that an operation enjoined by the expression in the ablative case, is to be understood with respect to the letter which is (immediately) following (without the intervention of any other letter) for example - utthānam . It can be worked out as -

$\text{ut} + \text{sthānam} < \text{ud} + \text{th} + \text{thānam}$ (VIII.iv.61) $< \text{ud} + \text{thānam}$ (VIII.iv.69) $< \text{ut} + \text{sthānam}$ (cartva by VIII.iv.55) $< \text{utthānam}$. Here in "udaḥ sthāstambho pūrvasya" (VIII.iv.61) "udaḥ" is exhibited in the ablative case. Hence the letter "s" of sthānam which immediately follows that which is exhibited in the ablative case is to be operated on.

But it should be noted that when the operation is ordained by the expression of both these cases i.e. saptamī and pañcamī , pañcamī is stronger than saptamī . Hence the operation ordained by the expression in the ablative gets preference. For example, in āsina , $\text{ās} + \text{śānac} < \text{ās} + \text{āna} < \text{īna} < \text{āsina}$. In this example "ī" is substituted by VII.ii.83 "āne" is coming from VII.ii.82. āne is exhibited in the locative case hence the operation may take the place in "s" of ās by I.i.67. But "āsah" is exhibited in the ablative case, so

"ī" will be substituted in the place of "ā" of "āna" by I.i.67. The expression in pañcamī is stronger than the expression saptamī. Hence "ī" will be substituted in the place of "ā" of āna.

Thus these sūs explain the meaning of the genitive, ablative and locative cases, when they occur in the sūs of the Aṣṭ. These three cases can be presented diagrammatically as under :



12.3.1. Meta-rules regarding augmentation.

Before going to discuss these rules, we should understand the meaning of three words, sthānī, āgama and ādeśa. Generally the sūs of the Aṣṭ ordain that some change occurs with reference to some thing that exists. With respect to this change, what is affected by the rule is called sthānī. When the change is an addition to some thing that exists, it is called āgama or augment and when the change is the elision of some thing that exists, it is called ādeśa or substitute. In the sūs of the Aṣṭ, the ādeśa is generally exhibited in the first case and the sthānī in the genitive case.

The sthānī may be added to. The addition may be by way of prefixing something to sthānī or suffixing something to it or in-fixing. These three changes are explained in the following two meta-rules.

(a) "ādyantau takitau" (I.i.46).

This sū means that (the augments) having an indicative "ṭ" and an indicative "k" are to be prefixed and suffixed respectively to that of which they are spoken: ṭit becomes the initial part of that of which it is spoken, for example - ṣaṭtsantaḥ, ṣaḍ + santaḥ < ṣaḍ dh + santaḥ (VIII.iii.29) < ṣaḍ t + santaḥ (VIII.iv.55) In this example, the augment dh is ṭit hence it is prefixed to sthānī "santaḥ". kit becomes the final part of that of which it is spoken. For example bhiṣayate. It may be worked out as bhī + ṇic (III.i.26) < bhī + ṣuk + ṇic (VII.iii.40) < bhīṣi + ṣap + ta < bhīṣe + a + ta < bhīṣay + a + ta < bhīṣa-yate. In this illustration, the augment ṣuk is added to bhī before ṇic by VII.iii.40. ṣuk is kit, so by I.i.46 it becomes the final part of sthānī, bhī and we have bhīṣi.

(b) The insertion after the last vowel in the sthānī is explained in the following meta-rule.

"mid aco'ntyāt parah" (I.i.47)

This sū means that (the augment) having indicative "m" is to be added to the last vowel among the group of vowels (and it becomes the part of that vowel). For example - vanāni, vana + jas < vana + 'si (VII.i.20) < vana + n(um) + i (VII.i.72) < vanāni (VI.iv.8, sarvanāmasthānadīrgha). Here the augment n(um) being "mit" gets its place after the last vowel of sthānī. The final "a" of "vana" is the last among the vowels, so that it is put after that "a".

12.3.2. Meta rules regarding the substitution.

The sthānī or occupant is affected in three ways. The final letter is displaced

by the substitute or some times the initial letter is displaced. Some times the whole is displaced. These three changes are explained by the following four meta-rules.

(a) "alo'ntyasya" (I.i.52).

This sū means that when a substitute is enjoined with the mention of a genitive case, it takes the place of the final letter of which it is enjoined. The words ṣaṣṭhī and sthāne come into this sū from I.i.49. For example - "yah". It may be worked out as - yad + su < ya a + su (VII.ii.102) < ya + su (pararūpa by VI.i.97) < yah. In this example, "a" is substituted in the place of tyad, tad, yad etc by VII.ii.102. The question arises as to what letter of "yad" should be changed to "a"? This meta-rule makes it clear and declares that the final "d" of yad should be changed to "a" because in VII.ii.102, the word tyadādīnām is exhibited in the genitive case.

(b) "ādeh parasya" (I.i.54).

This is an exception to I.i.52. It means that, if the substitute is enjoined of the following, it takes the place of the initial letter of that following word. For example, dvīpam. It can be worked out as - dvi + ap < dvi + ap + a (V.iv.74) < dvi + īp (VI.iii.97) < dvīpam. In the case of dvi + ap, "ī" is substituted by "dyvantarupasargebhya'pa īt". (VI.iii.97) Though "apaḥ" in this sū, is in the genitive case, the substitute does not take place of the final "p" of "ap" according to I.i.52, but of the initial "a" of "ap" because dyvanta, etc in the sū is exhibited in the ablative case. Thus there are two cases i.e. ṣaṣṭhī and pañcamī, the meaning of pañcamī is stronger than that of ṣaṣṭhī.
226

(c) Sometimes whole of the sthānī is displaced. The following meta-rule explains it.

"anekāl-śit sarvasya" (I.i.55).

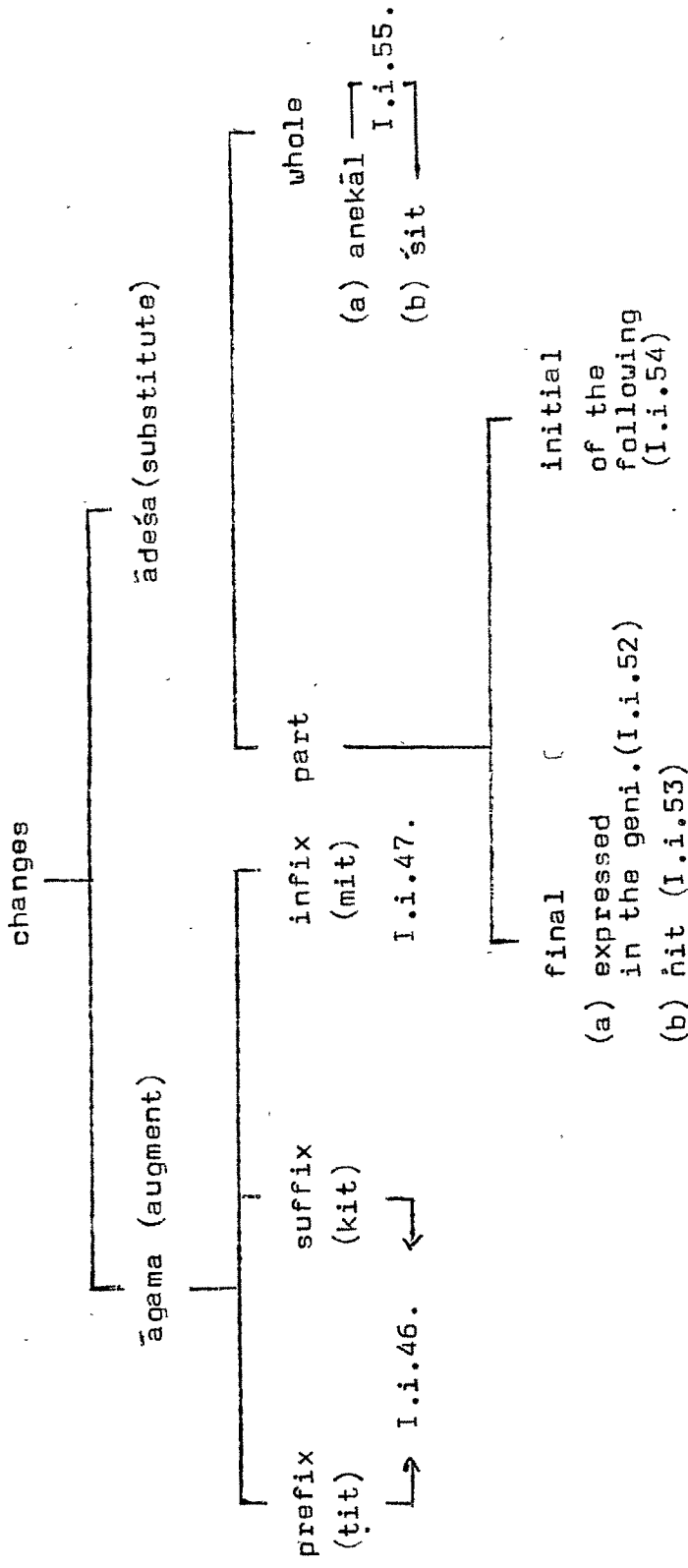
This sū means that the substitute consisting of more than one letter, or having "ś" as "it" displaces the whole of sthānī. This sū is an exception to I.i.52 "ais", for instance, is substituted in the place of "bhis" by VII.i.9. It takes the place of whole of "bhis", though "bhisah" is exhibited in the genitive case, because the substitute "ais" is anekāl. śi is a śit substitute which is substituted in the place of jas and śas (nom. and accu. plural affixes) by VII.i.20. It takes the place of whole of jas or śas, though the word "jaśśasoh" is exhibited in the genitive case.

(d) In spite of having more than one letter, the śit substitute takes the last letter. This sū debars I.i.55. The sū is as under -

"ñic ca" (I.i.53).

This sū means that the substitute having an indicative "ñ", takes the place of the last letter (though it consists of more letters than one) for instance, go + agram < g + ava + agram (avañ by VI.i.123) < gavāgram. In this example, the substitute "avañ" is anekāl. Hence it might have replaced the whole of the sthānī "go" by I.i.55, but it is a śit substitute. So, by this pari. rule, it takes the place of the final letter of the sthānī "go".

12.3.3. The changes ordained by these meta-rules can be presented diagrammatically as under -



12.4. The metarules regarding mention.

When there is an occasion for more substitutes than one, the specification of the substitutes is necessary. The following two meta-rules explain it.

12.4.1. "sthane'ntaratamaḥ" (I.i.50).

This sū means that whenever an occasion for substitution arises, there will be the substitute which is the most homogeneous one. For example, in mahā + īśaḥ, the guṇa is substituted in the place of the final "ā" of mahā and the initial "ī" of īśaḥ. Now, guṇa means a, e and o by I.i.2. Out of these three substitutes "e" is the most homogeneous to "ā" and "ī", because the place of articulation of "ā" is glotal velar and that of "ī" is palate.

The place of articulation of 'e' is glotal and palate, the both.

In this sū, the word "sthāna" means "prasaṅga". So "sthāne" means, when an occasion arises. The āntarya or homogeneity is four fold: (1) by place (2) by meaning (3) by quality and (4) by quantity. When there is an occasion of more homogeneities in the substitution, the homogeneity by the place (sthāna) is more forceful. For example in stu + tā < stotā (= one who praises), guṇa is enjoined by "sārvadhātukārdhadhātukayoḥ" (VII.iii.84). The guṇa means "a", "e" and "o". Now "a" is more homogeneous to short "u" of "stu" by the homogeneity of quantity and "o" is more homogeneous to the place. The latter is more forceful according to the pari. - "yatrāṇekavidham āntaryam tatra sthānata āntaryam balīyaḥ". So the form will be stotā in stead of statā.

12.4.2. But when items of a subsequent enumeration in a rule of replacement have the same number as items previously enumerated in the rule, they are related in order (krama) i.e.

$a_1 \text{ --- } a_n > b_1 \text{ --- } b_n$. The following sū explains it.

"yathāsāmkhyam anudeśaḥ samānām" (I.iii.10).

This sū means that when in a rule, there is the case of equal numbers of substitutes and of things for which these are to be substituted, their mutual assignment (of each to each) is according to the order of enumeration. For example, in "ecōyavāyāvāḥ" (VI.i.78), there are four sthānins exhibited in a pratyāhara "ec" viz e, o, ai and au and four substitutes viz ay, av, āy and āv. Here the sthānins and ādeśas are equal in number. Hence the yathāsāmkhya pari. is applicable. So the substitutes will come in the order of the sthānins i.e.

e = ay, o = av, ai = āy and au = āv To understand it clearly, "haraye" may be quoted.

It can be worked out as - hari + hē < hari + e < hare + e (VII.iii.111) < haray + e (VI.i.78) < haraye. "ay" is substituted in the place of "e" of hare, because both these letters are equal in number in the order of enumeration. Both paris can be put diagrammatically as under:

changes

according to
homogeneity

Note: The substitutes and the
substituends are not necessarily
equal in number.

according to the
number (of enumeration)

Note: The substitutes and the
substituends are necessarily
equal in number.

12.5. Following two meta-rules, with respect to the substitution are worth quoting.

12.5.1. "eca iq qhrasvādeśe" (I.i.48)

It means that when short vowels are ordained as substitutes, "ik" will be substituted in the place of "ec". For instance, atiri kulam. Here "atiri" may be worked out as -

atikrāntam rāyam yat kulam /

rai + ati (I.ii.43, II.ii.30) < ati + ri < atiri. In this illustration "hrasva" is substituted in the place of "rai". Now, "ai" has no short form. But this pari comes to our help and "i" is substituted in the place of "ai".

12.5.2. "uraṇ raparah" (I.i.51)

It means that when (any letter of) the aṇ group i.e. a or i or u is ordained as a substitute for "i", it is (always) followed by the letter "r". "uḥ" in this sū is the

geni. case of "r̥". For example, in mahā + iṣiḥ < mah + ar (a + r) + ṣiḥ (VI.i.87, I.i.51 "a" being guṇa, is invariably followed by "r") < maharṣiḥ. The aṇ in this sū is a pratyāhāra denoting a, i and u. Hence "i" or "u" may be substituted for "r̥" and actual substitute is "ir" or "ur" respectively.

According to the neo-branch of Pāṇinian school, ṛ will present its homogeneous letter ṛ also. Therefore the word "uḥ" means "in the place of "ṛ" and "l̥". ṛ will include its homogeneous letter "l̥" by the vā. "ṛl̥varṇavoh mithaḥ sāvarṇyaṁ vācyaṁ", but it is not possible for "r" to include "l̥". So here "ra" is understood as a pratyāhāra comprising with "r" and "l̥". Now "ra" includes "l̥" also. Thus, this sū means that whenever "aṇ" is ordained as the substitute, in the place of "ṛ" or "l̥", it is invariably followed by "r" or "l̥".

12.6. The rules regarding sthānivadbhāva.

sthānī and ādeśa both are different items. Hence the operations directed to sthānī²²⁸ are in-applicable when sthānī is substituted. But to make the operations applicable there, the following rule ordains it as -

(a) "sthānivad ādeśo'nalvidhau" (I.i.56)

The word sthānī means the primary speech - sound which is replaced by ādeśa and ādeśa means that has been substituted. The sū means that the substitute is like the sthānī except in operations regarding a letter. The substitute is of eight kinds: (1) dhātu (2) aṅga (3) kṛt (4) taddhita (5) avyaya (6) sup (7) tiṅ (8) pada. The word "alvidhi" can be desolved in four ways (1) alāḥ vidhiḥ (Instrumental Determinative) (2) alāḥ vidhiḥ (Ablative Determinative) (3) alāḥ vidhiḥ (Genitive Determinative) and (4) ali vidhiḥ (Locative

Determinative) In these four cases the substitute is not like the sthānī.

Though ādeśa and sthānī are distinct in themselves, all the grammatical technical qualities which have been ascribed to the sthānī, all its class-qualities therefore are shared by the ādeśa, so the ādeśa being identical with sthānī, replaces sthānī. The relation between sthānī and ādeśa is compared by MBh with that of between guru and his son. ²²⁹

ādeśa is considered like sthānī. For example, the substitute in place of kṛt is considered like kṛt viz prakṛtya. It can be worked out as under :-

pra + kṛ + tvā (III.iv.21) < pra + kṛ + lyap (VII.i.37) < pra + kṛ + t (uk) + ya (VI.i.71) < prakṛtya. In this example, ya (lyap) is ordained to be substituted in the place of "ktvā" by "samāsānāpūrve ktvo lyap" (VII.i.37). Then the augment "tuk" is ordained by VI.i.71 to short kṛ before "pit kṛt" affixes. The substitute "lyap" is "pit" but not "kṛt", because it is not enumerated in the list of kṛt affixes. "ktvā" was "kṛt" but "lyap" is not "kṛt". Hence the said rule of augment "tuk" is incapable. But sthānivāt rule comes to our help and declares that ādeśa is like sthānī. Here "ktvā" which is "kṛt", is sthānī and "lyap" is ādeśa in the place of "ktvā". So the rule of augment tuk will be applied and form will be prakṛtya. But in the operation regarding "al" (any letter), this rule is not applicable. For example - dyauh = div + su < di au + su (VII.i.84) < dyauh. In this illustration, "au" is a substitute in the place of "v" of "div" and if it is understood like sthānī i.e. "v" of "div" according to I.i.56, the case affix "su" will be elided by VI.i.68 (halnāvābbhya) and the incorrect form "dyau" will be formed. But the latter part of the same rule says that sthānī vat is not applicable with respect to "al-vidhi". There is an ablative case in halnāvābbhya, so being

"alvidhi" (alāḥ vidhiḥ = operation after 'al') the sthānivat is prohibited and "su" is not after a letter ending in 'hal'. Hence it is not elided. Thus the sthānivadbhāva is prohibited in "al-vidhi".

(b) The following rule extends the sthānivadbhāva to certain phonological qualities.

"acaḥ parasmin pūrvavidhau" (I.i.57)

This sū means that the substitute which replaces a vowel, becomes like a vowel, if the substitution has been occasioned on account of something following and when a rule is to be applied to any thing preceding such a substitute. For example - paṭayati. The process for the form paṭayati is as under :

paṭu + ṇic (by vā. on III.i.26) paṭ + i (vā. on VI.iv.155, nāviṣṭhavat prāti.)
 paṭi + śap + tip < paṭe + a + ti < paṭay + a + ti < paṭayati. In this illustration, with respect to "al-vidhi", if the sthānivat is prohibited, then the penultimate "a" in "paṭ" gets its vṛddhi by VII.ii.116. But the substitute lopa (elision of "u" of paṭu) is here to be understood sthānivat according to I.i.57. Hence in paṭ + o + i, zero (ādeśa) is preventing the "a" in "paṭ" from becoming penultimate, so that vṛddhi does not take place. Thus this sū lays down an exception to analvidhi of the previous rule.

(c) sū I.i.58 lays down the exception to I.i.57, which says that the substitute which replaces a vowel becomes like sthānin under certain condition. But I.i.58 says that the substitute which replaces the vowel is not to be understood sthānivat with respect to padāntavidhi etc. For example - kau staḥ. In kau + staḥ, "a" of the root "as" is elided and if this "a" is understood as sthānivat, then "au" in "kau" will turn to "av" by VI.i.78.

Then "kāṽ staḥ" will be an incorrect form. The sthānivat is here prohibited by I.i.58, because it is a padāntavidhi. "kau" is a pada by I.iv.14 and "au" stands at the end of the pada. Hence "av" is not substituted in the place of "au", because it is not followed by a vowel.

12.7. The rules regarding pratyayalakṣaṇa.

In P's grammar syncope (lopa) of a pratyaya is considered as a substitute. So the same value would have to be attached to the zero as to the substitute by I.i.56. Hence, when suffix is by the word "lopa" syncopated, the zero is regarded as possessing all those grammatical technical qualities of the sthānin (suffix) whereby certain sūś are either applicable or not.

230

P gives two important rules for pratyayalakṣaṇa as under -

(a) "pratyayalopa pratyayalakṣaṇam" (I.i.62)

This sū states that though an affix may be elided (by lopa), yet an operation of which such affix was the cause, must take place. For example, in "some suṇah" (III.i.90), somam + su + kvip (III.i.190) < soma + su + v (Here "v" is a single letter, so it is termed apṛkta by I.ii.41) < soma + su (Being apṛkta, the letter "v" is elided by VI.i.67) < somasut (VI.i.71) The affix kvip is syncopated, yet it being "kit" and "kṛt" makes the latter member (uttarapada) of the compound udātta by VI.ii.139 and being pit also "t(uk)" is added to āṅga by VI.i.71.

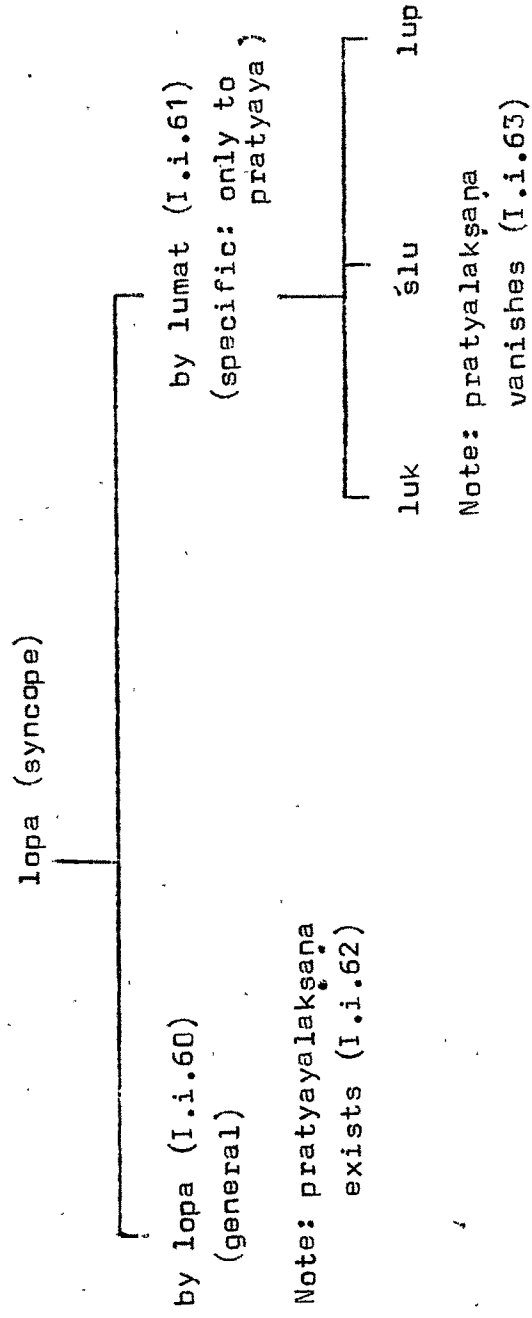
(b) But when syncope has been ordained by lumatā, the pratyayalakṣaṇa remains no

longer. The following rule explains it -

"na lumatāṅgasya" (I.i.63).

This sū states, of the āṅga of which affix has been elided by the expression of "lumān" i.e. "luk", "ślu" and "lup", the operation dependent upon it, does not take place regarding such āṅga. This sū, thus, lays down an exception to I.i.62 which ordains the operation caused by the affix, which is not apparent. For example, gargāḥ (plural form of gārgyaḥ) The word gārgyaḥ is formed by adding the suffix "yāṅ" to "garga" by IV.i.105. The force of the indicator "ṅ" causes vṛddhi of the first vowel of the word garga by VII.ii.117. So we get the form gārgyaḥ. But in plural, according to II.iv.64, there is "luk" of the affix "yāṅ". Here by the expression of "luk", the affix "yāṅ" is elided, so the ṅitva is lost by I.i.63. Hence VII.ii.117 is not now applicable and the plural form of "gārgyaḥ" is "gargāḥ".

(c) The pratyakṣaṇa rules can be presented diagrammatically as under -



12.8. The rule regarding svarūpagrahaṇa.

In P's grammar, when any grammatical operation has to be performed, it refers to its own form to which it has been performed, and not to its synonyms or meaning. The following rule explains it -

"svam rūpam śabdaśyāśābdasāmānjñā" (I.i.68).

This sū means that the form of the word stands for itself (in this grammatical treatise and not for its meaning or synonyms) except technical terms used in this grammar. For example, the affix "ḍhak" is ordained after "agni" by IV.ii.33. Here the form (i.e. word form "a-g-n-i") of "agni" should be taken and not the meaning of it viz fire or its synonyms viz pāvaka, anala etc. But the latter portion of this sū, śābdasāmānjñā is an exception to the former one. It declares that in the case of the technical terms used in this grammar, the meaning should be considered and not the word-form. For example, in "mīder ounah" (VII.iii.82) Here the word guṇa is a technical term (vide I.i.2) Hence the meaning of "guṇa" i.e. a, e and o, should be considered and not its word-form i.e. "g-u-ṇ-a".

12.9. The rule regarding tadantagrahaṇa.

"yena vidhis tadantasya" (I.i.72).

This sū means that an attribute by which an injunction is made, denotes that which ends with it and also its own form. For example, sū. "erac" (III.iii.56) enjoins "ac" after the root "i" and those ending in "i". In "ayah", i + ac (III.iii.56) < e + ac (guṇa) < ay + a (VI.i.78) < ayah and the same process is in cayah, ci + ac (III.iii.56) < ce + ac (III.iii.56) < ce + ac (guṇa) < cay + a (VI.i.78) < cayah. In these illustrations, "eḥ" is

an attribute by which an injunction is made. So "eḥ" means 'of that ending in "i" and of "i" itself'. It means, "i" stands for itself and for the roots ending in "i" viz "ci" "ji" etc.

12.10. The rule regarding ekavedbhāva.

When an occasion arises to perform an operation on a single letter, the following rule makes clarification.

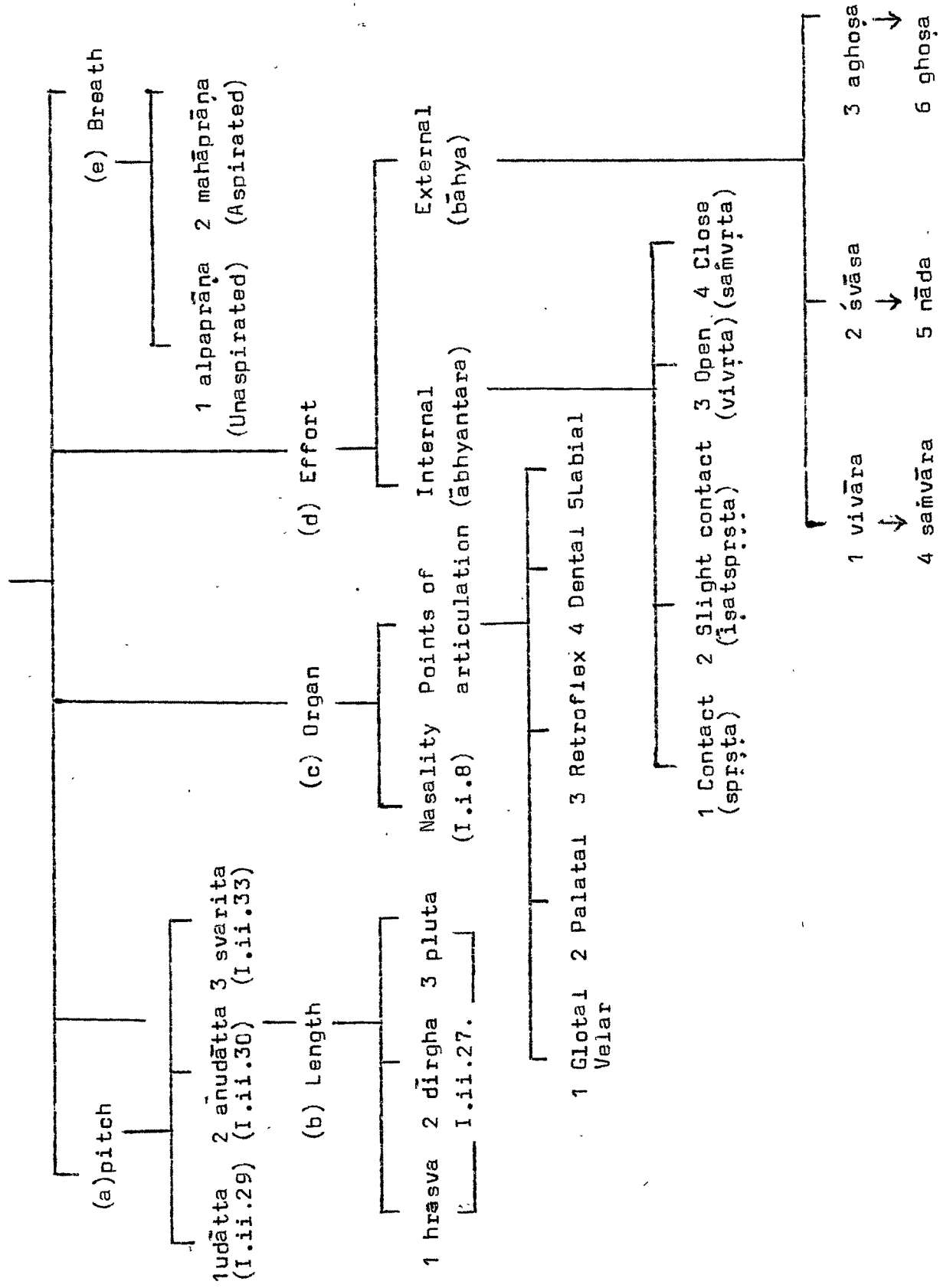
"ādyantavadvēkasmin" (I.i.21)

This sū denotes that the operation should be performed on a single letter as upon an initial or upon a final. For instance, ābhyām. By the virtue of VII.iii.102, the final of a noun-stem ending in short "a" is lengthened before a case affix beginning with the pratyāhāra "yañ". So rāma + bhyām < rāmābhyām. Here the final short "a" of rāma is lengthened before bhyām, the case affix beginning with "yañ". For ābhyām, the process is - idam + bhyām < ida + a + bhyām (VII.ii.102) < ida + bhyām (pararūpa by VI.i.94) < a + bhyām ("id" is elided by "hali lopah" VII.ii.113) < ābhyām. Now in a + bhyām, "a" is a single letter. Hence by "supi ca" (VII.iii.102) if it is understood as initial, the operation ordained by supi ca, will not take place. sū. I.i.21 comes to our help and declares that "a" is a single letter, so it should be taken as initial or as final. Hence a + bhyām < ābhyām.

12.11. The theory of sāvarṇya.

12.11.1.P's sāvarṇya theory has its important role to morphophonemics in general. It is based on five aspects in which a letter may be used. They are (a) pitch (b) Length. (c) Organ (d) Efforts, internal and external and (e) breath. The following diagram shows it clearly.

Aspects for sāvāṇya



To understand the theory of sāvarṇya, one should understand these five aspects. The vowels are of three kinds: udātta, anudātta and svarita by pitch. Vowels may be viewed with reference to their prosodial length. They are described as consisting of three lengths called mātrās. The hrasva or laghu consists of one mātrā. The dīrgha or guru consists of two mātrās and the pluta consists of three mātrās.

The letters are characterised by their point of articulation. They are classified as glotal velar, palatal, retroflex, dental and labial. They are further characterised by efforts (prayatnas) ābhyanantara (within the mouth cavity) and bāhya (without the mouth cavity). According to ābhyanantara prayatna (internal effort), they are classed as contact (spṛṣṭa), slight contact (īṣatṣpṛṣṭa), open (vivṛta) and close (saṁvṛta) The letters are classed as stops (spṛṣā), liquids (antaḥstha) and spirants (uṣman) with regard to the disposition of the organ at the time of pronunciation. The external effort is of eleven kinds and it may be divided in two varieties contrasting one with another. For example, vivāra contrasts with saṁvāra, śvāsa to nāda, aghoṣa to ghoṣa, alpaprāṇa to mahāprāṇa, udātta to anudātta. The following table presents the external effort of each of the consonants.

1	Glotal Velar	(k)	(kh)	g	gh	ñ	h	(ḥ)
2	Palatal	(c)	(ch)	j	jh	ṇ	y	(ś)
3	Retroflex	(ṭ)	(ṭh)	ḍ	ḍh	ṇ	r	(ṣ)
4	Dental	(t)	(th)	d	dh	n	l	(s)
5	Labial	(p)	(ph)	b	bh	m	v	(ṁ)

Those that are enclosed in circles have vivāra, śvāsa and aghoṣa as their prayatna and those not enclosed in circles have saṁvāra, nāda and ghoṣa prayatna. Those that are underlined are mahāprāṇa and those that are not underlined are alpaprāṇa.

P considers only two aspects i.e. point of articulation and effort to define the term savarna. When the point of articulation and (internal) effort are identical, two letters are understood to be savarna of each other. It is explained in the following sū.

"tulyāsyaprayatnaṁ savarnaṁ (I.i.9).

It means, a letter having in common with another letter a similar effort at a point in the mouth is termed savarna. The word āśya, in the sū means the points of articulation (āśye bhavam āśyaṁ tālvādisthānam - kāś) To determine the savarna relationship, the external effort is useful only when more than two letters related as savarnas come simultaneously for operation. In such instances the external effort is employed to determine the substitute that most resembles the sthānī. With respect to these two aspects i.e. the points of articulation and internal effort, the following table will clearly exhibit which two letters are savarnas to each other -

1	Glotal Velar	a	k	kh	g	gh	ṅ	h	ḥ	e	ai	o	au
2	Palatal	i	c	ch	j	jh	ñ	[y]	ś	e	ai		
3	Retroflex	ṛ	ṭ	ṭh	ḍ	ḍh	ṇ	[r]	s				
4	Dental	l	t	th	d	dh	n	[l]	s				
5	Labial	u	p	ph	b	bh	m	[v]		o	au		ṁp

The letters of the same point of articulation are exhibited in one horizontal line. The letters classed as contact (spṛṣṭa) are underlined. Those designated as slight contact (īṣatspṛṣṭa) are placed in the squares. And the letters whose internal effort is "open" (vivṛṭa) are left open. The letter "a" of which effort is "close" is enclosed in a circle. Now, the letters in the same line and having the same mark are to be understood savarṇas viz k and kh, c and ch etc being in the same line and having the same mark i.e. the underlined, are savarṇas, because the point of articulation and the (internal) effort of these letters are the same.

12.11.2. By I.i.9, the letters having the same point of articulation and the same (internal) effort become homogeneous to each other. By the rule "a" becomes homogeneous to "h" and so is "i" to "ṣ", "ṛ" to "ṣ", and "ī" to "ṣ". But it is not desired. So in such cases the prohibition of homogeneity is inuniciated by the following sū.

"nāḥ jhalau" (I.i.10)

This sū means that (the letters denoted by the pratyāhāras) a-c (vowels) and ha-l (consonants) are not termed savarṇa to each other (though the point of articulation and the (internal) effort of the both a-c and ha-l are the same) So in dadhi + sīṭalam, by I.i.9, the final "i" in "dadhi" and initial "ṣ" of "sīṭalam" are homogeneous to each other, and by "akāḥ savarṇe dīrghah" (VI.i.101) dīrgha "ī" is substituted in the place of both the letters "i" and "ṣ" and the incorrect form "dadhīṭalam" would occur. But I.i.10 prevents it, so in such a case the usual sandhi does not take place.

232

12.11.3. Thus by the theory of sāvarṇya, one single letter stands for many other letters to

which it is savarṇa or homogeneous. So that whatever change is enjoined regarding that letter, shall take place with reference to others also. The following meta-rule enunciates it -

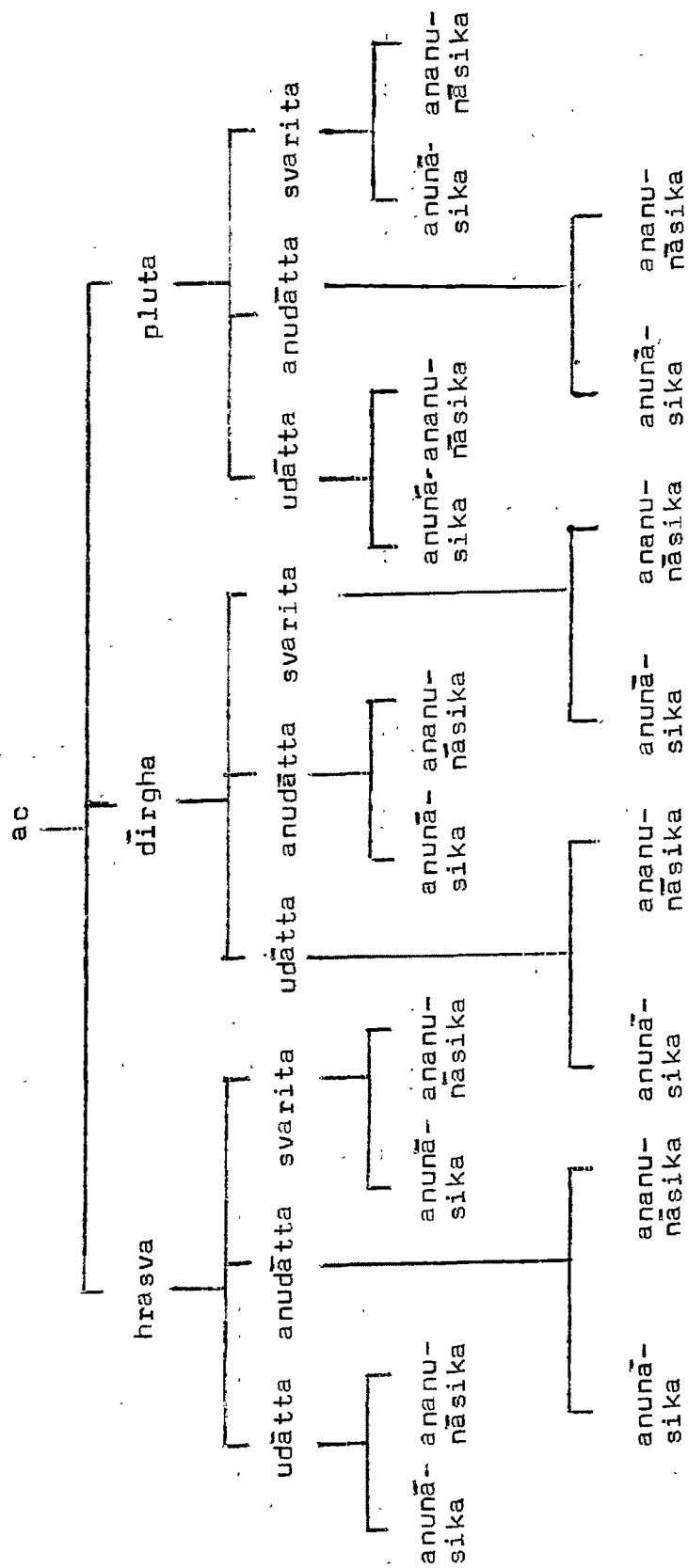
"anudit savarṇasya cāpratyayaḥ" (I.i.69)

It means that a letter denoted by aṇ (MSŪ6) and that with indicatory ū "ku-cu-tu-tu-pu), when not enjoined may stand for their savarṇas.

In this sū, to coin the short form aṇ, the latter 'ṇ' of MSŪ6 should be taken according to tradition. apratyaya means excepting those that are enjoined. That which is enjoined is called pratyaya. So whatever it is, an augment, a substitute or an affix, when it is enjoined, it does not stand for its homogeneous letters. For example, "i" is substituted in the place of "idam" by V.iii.3. Though "idam" consists of three mātrās, the pluta ॥3 is not to be substituted in the place of "idam", because, here "i" is enjoined (pratyaya) in the sū "idama iṣ" (V.iii.3) It should be noted that here "apratyaya" is an adjective to aṇ only. Hence it means that the letters comprising in the short form aṇ which are not ordained "apratyaya" is not to be connected with ūdit. So ūdit, though enjoined, will stand for its homogeneous letters. For example, in "coḥ kuḥ" (VIII.ii.30), kuḥ stands for its homogeneous letters. ūdit means the letters having an indicatory "u". They are ku (k-group of letters), cu (c-group of letters), tu (ṭ-group of letters) tu (t-group of letters) and pu (p-group of letters) Thus now a, i, u or ṛ stands for its eighteen varieties. ḷ stands for its twelve varieties because it has no lengthened form. e, o, ai and au also represent their twelve varieties because they have no short form. ṛ or ḷ stands for its thirty varieties according

to the vā. "rlvarṇayoh mithah sāvarṇyaṁ vācyam" (vā. on I.i.9, quoted by SK) (The mutual homogeneity of r and l should be stated)

The vowels are of three kinds as their pitch: (1) udātta (I.ii.29) (2) anudātta (I.ii.30) and (3) svarita (I.ii.31). Moreover the vowels are of three sorts by their prosodial length: (1) hrasva (2) dīrgha and (3) pluta (I.ii.27) In this way the vowels become of nine varieties. By nasality (by way of nasal and non-nasal) the vowels, generally present their eighteen varieties. The following diagram, for example presents the eighteen varieties of the vowels -



12.11.4. The letters comprising in the pratyāhāra "aṇ" and udit stand for their savarṇa according to I.i.69, but, for specific purpose, P prevents these letters from becoming savarṇas, though they are technically savarṇas. If many letters, which stand for their savarṇas by I.i.69, come as substitutes, the following rule prevents them from standing them for their homogeneous letters.

"taparas tatkālasya" (I.i.70)

This sū means that a letter preceded or followed by "ta" stands for its prosodial length with which it is pronounced. Hence the symbols "at", "it", "ut" etc. stand for their six varieties only and dīrgha and pluta which have six varieties of each, are here not counted by I.i.70. For example, in "adeṇ guṇaḥ" (I.i.2) "at" presents its six hrasva varieties and dīrgha and pluta varieties will not be included in "at".

12.12. The vipratishedha principle.

When there is a conflict between two rules of equal force, the succeeding rule comes in to operation. The following rule explains it.

"vipratishedhe param kāryam" (I.iv.2)

This sū states that, when there is tulyabalavirodha, it means, the competition of two rules of equal force, that which is the subsequent (para) prevails. For example, in rāma + bhyas, by "supi ca" (VII.iii.102), the final short "a" of the base ending in short "a" is lengthened, when it is followed by the letters of "yaṇ". At the same time by VII.iii.103, "e" is substituted in the place of the final short "a" of the base ending in short "a", when followed by plural case affix beginning with the letters of "jhal". Now "bh" in

"bhyas" belongs to both the pratyāhāras yañ and jhal. So, both the substitutes, long substitute and e-substitute in the same time come in the place of the final "a" of rāma. Hence it is tulyabalavirodha. The present sū. comes to our help and determines that the "e" is to be substituted because it is ordained by VII.iii.103 which is the next (para) to VII.iii.102, which ordains the long substitution. But it should be noted that, when there is no tulyabalavirodha, the subsequent does not prevail. Besides, the parakārya only occurs in the sapādasaptādhyāyī which is its jurisdiction.

12.12.1. There are some exceptions to the vipratishedha principle. In the sapādasaptādhyāyī, the subsequent is stronger than what precedes, but versatile (nitya) is stronger than the subsequent rule if it is non-versatile (anitya) The internal (antarāṅga) is more forceful than external (bahiraṅga) which is versatile (nitya) and specific (apavāda) is stronger than general (utsarga) if it is internal (antarāṅga) We consider these meta-rules as under -

233
12.12.1(a) Versatile and Non-versatile-parānnityam balavat. It means that the versatile (nitya) rule is stronger than the subsequent rule if it is non-versatile (anitya). nitya is explained as - kṛtākṛtaprasaṅgī vidhir nityaḥ.²³⁴ It means that it would apply if the subsequent rule were to have taken effect and it applies even when the latter does not take effect. For example, in tud + tip, the vikaraṇa "sa" is ordained after "tud" by III.i.77 and "guṇa" is substituted in the place of the penultimate "u" of "tud" by VII.iii.86. Here VII.iii.86 is the subsequent rule, hence by I.iv.2, it will take effect. But "sa", ordained by VII.i.77 which, however stands before VII.iii.86, is versatile, because it would apply if VII.iii.86 were to have taken effect and it also applies when VII.iii.86 does not take

effect. Here "śa" remains, after the guṇa having been substituted or not. "ś" is "apit" and "apit" is deemed like "ñit" by I.ii.4. So "guṇa" is prohibited by I.i.5.

12.12.1(b) Internal and External-asiddham bahiraṅgam antaraṅge. ²³⁵

It means that, that which is external (bahiraṅga) should be regarded as not having taken effect when that which is internal (antaraṅga) is to take effect. Here the word antaraṅga means that a rule whose conditions (nimittas) ²³⁶ of operation occur earlier in the wording of the form, or in the process of formation. And whose conditions (nimittas) ²³⁷ occur later in place or time than the condition of antaraṅga, is called external or bahiraṅga. For example in "syona", siv + na, here "u" is substituted in the place of "v" of "siv" by VI.iv.19. So siu + na. Now by "iko yaṇ aci" (VI.i.77), "y" is substituted in the place of "i" before "u" and "guṇa" is substituted in the place of the penultimate "i" in "si" before the affix "na", by VII.iii.86. Thus here two rules apply at the same time with respect to "i" in "siv" Hence the question arises which of these two rules i.e. VI.i.77 and VII.iii.86, should take effect? "u" causes the substitution "y" for "i" which is internal because it stands before the cause of guṇa substitution i.e. "na", while the substitution guṇa for "u" is caused by "na" which is beyond the cause "u". So it is external or bahiraṅga. Thus internal is more forceful than external.

12.12.1(c) Universal and Specific-antaraṅgād apy apavādo baliyan. ²³⁸

It means, the specific rule is more forceful than the general rule which is internal. The word apavāda ²³⁹ or specific is explained as - yena nāprāpte yo vidhir ārabhyate sa tasya bādhako bhavati/ It means that the apavāda rule is a specific rule and it is

coined for particular causes which all fall under a general rule (utsarga) It necessarily, therefore debars latter because it would otherwise not serve any purpose. For example, in apatyārtha, the affix añ is ordained by IV.i.92. This is a general rule. But the affix in is ordained after the nominal stem ending in short "a" by IV.i.95, which is a specific rule. Hence it is stronger than IV.i.92. So in devadattasya apatyam, the affix "in" is to be enjoined and the form will be daivadatti, while the affix "añ" ordained by the general rule IV.i.92 will be enjoined to the nominal stems ending in other than that ending in short "a".

12.13. The asiddha principle.

The asiddha principle is one of the most important devices of P's grammar. Before going to discuss this principle, we may understand the structure of P's grammar which plays an important role in the asiddha theory. First seven books i.e. adhyaayas and the first quarter (pāda) of the eighth book is called sapādasaptādhyaṇī, and remaining three quarters of the eighth book are called tripādī, which is in contradiction to sapādasaptādhyaṇī. As discussed supra 12.12., in the sapādasaptādhyaṇī, the subsequent rule is stronger than the preceding one, when there is a conflict between two rules of equal force. But the rules, which could not have got the room of the main structure i.e. the sapādasaptādhyaṇī, they have been put in the last three quarters of the eighth book, i.e. tripādī. We may freely call them śeṣa rules.

The tripādī section starts with the adhikāra rule - "pūrvatrāsiddham" (VIII.ii.1). The word asiddha in this sū means, the function of a rule considered as not having taken effect, The word pūrvatra means with respect to the application of a preceding rule. Thus

the sū. means that the subsequent rule (with respect to the sapādasaptādhyaī) is considered as not having taken effect (though it is applied) with regard to the application of the preceding rule. For example, in asmai + uddhara, "āy" is ordained in the place of "ai" of "asmai" by VI.i.77. So it becomes asmāy + uddhara. The final "y" in "asmāy" is elided by VIII.iii.19. Hence it is now asmā + uddhara. According to VI.iii.87, "guṇa" is substituted in place of the final "ā" of asmā and the initial "u" of uddhara. So the incorrect form asmoddhara may occur. But VIII.iii.19 is read in the tripādī. Hence with respect to rules of the sapādasaptādhyaī i.e. VI.iii.87, lopa of "y" by VIII.iii.19 is considered as not having taken effect and there will be hiatus between two vowels "ā" and "u" of asmā and uddhara respectively. In short the first part of this sū, if we say freely, says that the tripādī section is asiddha or unoperative as long as the sapādasaptādhyaī operates. Besides this, this asiddha rule is an adhikāra rule and affects the rules upto the end of this book. Hence the second part of this sū. if we say freely, means that, in remaining three quarters i.e. tripādī, the subsequent rule is asiddha with respect to the preceding one. For example in gacchān, the process goes as - gacchat + su < gaccha +n(um) + t + su (VII.i.70) < gaccha + n + t ("su" is elided by VI.i.68) < gaccha + n ("t" is dropped by VIII.ii.23) < gacchan. In the position gaccha + n + t, "t" is elided by VIII.ii.23. Now by VIII.ii.7, "n" standing at the prātipadika is to be elided. But in the tripādī section, VIII.ii.7 is a preceding rule to VIII.ii.23. Hence according to VIII.ii.1, the elision of "t" ordained by VIII.ii.23 is invalid with respect to the rule "nalopa" VIII.ii.7.

13.0. The categorization in the Aṣṭādhyaī.

The categorization is a well known feature of the modern linguistics. P recognises categorization with respect to the formal syntactic ground. The nounstem or a verbal stem has to undergo certain process before getting its complete form known as "pada" (I.iv.14). The categorization with a view to getting a complete form which is either a noun or verb, may be divided in two broad parts: (1) nominal inflection and (2) tensemode. The nominal inflection is ⁱⁿ contradistinction from tense mode. The nominal inflection is a result of a nominal stem plus a case affix and to derive a form denoting a case inflected category, the nominal stem has to pass through certain process. For instance, the nominal stem derived (vyutpanna) or underived (avyutpanna), has to get the name prātipadika by I.ii.45 or I.ii.46. Then the seven triplets of suffixes given in IV.i.2, termed as vibhakti (I.iv.104) are to be added to a noun-stem. Then according to the structure of the nominal stem, these triplet endings are replaced. For example - rāma + tã < rāma + ina (VII.i.72) < rāmeṇa ("n" turns into "ṇ" by VIII.iv.2) but in hari + tã, tã ("ā") is replaced by "nā" by VII.iii.120. In the same way the fourth triplet ending singular ñe (e) is simply added to a nominal stem ending in a consonant - bhagavat + ñe (e) < bhagavate but it is replaced by "ya" in the case of rāma + ñe < rāma + ya, by VII.i.13 < rāmāya ("supi ca" VII.iii.102) Thus P reads the case endings i.e. su - au - jas etc. and then makes changes with regard to these affixes in accordance with the structure of a nominal stem.

In this way, the structure of a verbal form is a verb stem (which is classed as bhvādi, adādi etc. according to its structure) plus tense mode suffix. The siglum given to this category is "la" which is treated here as suffix. Thus to achieve a complete verb

form, "la" is added to a verbal stem. In process of derivation "la" is replaced by one of the suffixes specified as laṭ, loṭ, liṇ etc. For example in "jayati", the process is as under—
 ji + laṭ (III.ii.123) < ji + l (III.iv.69) < ji + tip ("l" is replaced by "tip" III.iv.78) <
 ji + śap + tip (III.i.168) < je + a + ti (VII.iii.84) < jay + a + ti (VI.i.78) < jayati. In
 this illustration "tip" is substituted in the place of laṭ (here "a" in "lat" is for feci-
 lity of pronunciation) which is itself a substitute for "la" general. But in the imperfect
 past, "la" is replaced by lañ (III.ii.111). For example, in "abhavat" the process is as bhū
 + lañ (III.ii.11, this sū replaces "la") < a(t) + bhū + lañ (VI.iv.71) < a + bhū + tip
 (III.iv.78) < a + bhū + śap + t (III.iv.100) < a + bhū + a + t (III.i.68) < a + bho + a + t
 (VII.iii.84) < abhav + a + t (VI.i.78) < abhavat. In the same way "la" is replaced by luṇ;
 loṭ, luṇ etc. P's grammar is however an unbroken chain of rules, yet it is broken due to
 the different topics, and to achieve a complete word form, it is necessary to co-relate these
 topics. For example, the verb form "akārsīt" is derived from the root "kr". We may divide
 this complete form in four components, which are to be co-related by the special rules laid
 down in the Aṣṭ. These components are :

$$a + b + c + d$$

$$(a) + (\bar{k}ar) + (s) + (\bar{i}t)$$

We have to take "kr" from the Dhātupāṭha, "ti" from the ti-group (III.iv.78) and vikaraṇa
 (a conjugational sign) from III.i.33-66. Then to interrelate these four parts, we have to
 take help of the topics falling under the adhikāra (governing rule) "aṅasya" (VI.iv.97)
 241

In this way, P prefers to set up a base form from which all these variants can be
 derived. It is similar to the concept of the categorization of the modern linguistics. It

makes the description simple yet methodical.

14.0. The topic in the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*.

P's *Aṣṭ* is the best specimen of the descriptive branch of modern linguistics. The description is laid down in eight books known as *adhyāyās*. Each of these books is divided into four quarters which are called *pādas* and these quarters consist of topics or *prakaraṇas* containing the most exhaustive and concise rules or *sū*s. One of the most distinguishing features of the *Aṣṭ* is its topics. We enlist all the topics occurring in the *Aṣṭ* according to their order in the rules.

BOOK ONE : QUARTER ONE

1.0. guṇavṛddhī topic	1 - 6	2.0. samyogasaṁjñā topic	7
3.0. sanunāśikasamjñā topic	8	4.0. savarṇasaṁjñā topic	9 - 10
5.0. pragṛhyasaṁjñā topic	11 - 19	6.0. ghusamjñā topic	20
7.0. ādyantavadbhāva topic	21	8.0. ghasamjñā topic	22
9.0. saṁkhyāsaṁjñā topic	23 - 25	10.0. niṣṭhāsaṁjñā topic	26
11.0. sarvanāmasamjñā topic	27 - 36	12.0. avyayaśamjñā topic	37 - 41
13.0. sarvanāmasthānaśamjñā topic	42 - 43	14.0. vibhāśasaṁjñā topic	44
15.0. samprasāraṇasaṁjñā topic	45	16.0. sasthīnirदिष्टा-āgamādeśasthāna nerdeśa topic	46 - 55
17.0. sthānīvadbhāva topic	56 - 59	18.0. lopasaṁjñā topic	60 - 63
19.0. ṭisaṁjñā topic	64	20.0. upadhāśasaṁjñā topic	65

21.0. saptamī-pañcamī-nirdiṣṭa-
kārya topic 66 - 67 22.0. grahaṇakaśāstra topic 68 - 72

23.0. vṛddhasamjñā topic 73 - 75

BOOK ONE : QUARTER TWO

24.0. ṇit topic 1 - 4 25.0. kit topic 5 - 26
26.0. hrasvādi samjñā topic 27 - 28 27.0. udattādisamjñā topic 29 - 40
28.0. aprktasamjñā topic 41 29.0. karmadhārayasamjñā topic 42
30.0. upasarjanasamjñā topic 43 - 44 31.0. prātipadikasamjñā topic 45 - 46
32.0. hrasvavidhi topic 47 - 48 33.0. prātipadikāntavidhi topic 49 - 52
34.0. aśīṣya topic 53 - 57 35.0. vacanavidhi topic 58 - 63
36.0. ekāśeṣa topic 64 - 73

BOOK ONE : QUARTER THREE

37.0. dhātusamjñā topic 1 38.0. itsamjñā topic 2 - 9
39.0. anudeśa topic 10 40.0. adhikārasavarūpa topic 11
41.0. ātmanepada topic 12 - 77 42.0. paraśmaipada topic 78 - 93

BOOK ONE : QUARTER FOUR

43.0. ekāśamjñā topic 1 44.0. vipratīṣedha topic 2
45.0. nadīśamjñā topic 3 - 6 46.0. ghīśamjñā topic 7 - 9
47.0. laghusamjñā topic 10 48.0. gurusamjñā topic 11 - 12
49.0. aṅgasamjñā topic 13 50.0. padasamjñā topic 14 - 17

51.0. bhasamjñā topic	18 - 20	52.0. vacana niyama topic	21 - 22
53.0. kāraṇa topic	23 - 55	54.0. nipāṭasamjñā topic	56 - 98
55.0. parasmaipadasamjñā topic	99	56.0. ātmanepadasamjñā topic	100
57.0. prathamādisamjñā topic	100	58.0. ekavacanādisamjñā topic	102 - 103
59.0. vibhaktisamjñā topic	104	60.0. puruṣa topic	105 - 108
61.0. samhitāsamjñā topic	109	62.0. avasānasamjñā topic	100

BOOK TWO : QUARTER ONE

63.0. samartha topic	1	64.0. parāṇvadbhāva topic	2
65.0. samāsa topic	3 - 72		

BOOK TWO : QUARTER TWO

65.0. samāsa topic (CONTD)

BOOK TWO : QUARTER THREE

66.0. vibhakti topic	1 - 47	67.0. amantritasamjñā topic	48
68.0. sambuddhisamjñā topic	49	69.0. saṣṭhī śeṣa topic	50 - 73

BOOK TWO : QUARTER FOUR

70.0. ekavadbhāva topic	1 - 16	71.0. samāsaliṅga topic	17 - 31
72.0. anvādeśa ādeśaḥ topic	32 - 34	73.0. ārdhadhātuke dhātvaśeṣa topic	35 - 57
74.0. luk topic	58 - 82	75.0. ambhāva topic	83 - 84
76.0. lutaḥādeśaḥ topic	85		

BOOK THREE : QUARTER ONE

77.0. pratyaya topic	1 - 4	78.0. kṛdbhinnasanādi pratyaya topic	5 - 66
79.0. sārva dhātuke kṛdbhinna- vikaranapratyaya topic	67 - 86	80.0. karmavadbhāva topic	87 - 90
81.0. kṛdādisamjñā topic	91 - 94	81.1. kṛtyapratyaya topic	95 - 132
81.2. kartṛvācaka kṛtpratyaya topic	133 - 150		

BOOK THREE : QUARTER TWO

81.3. sopapadakṛtpratyaya topic	1 - 83	81.3.1. bhūtādhikāre sopapadakṛt- pratyaya topic	84-101
81.3.1a. bhūtādhikāre kṛt pratyaya topic	102- 122	81.4. kṛt pratyaya topic	123-133
81.4.1. varttamānādhikāre tācchīlika kṛt-pratyaya topic	134- 179	81.4.2. tācchīlikabhinnakṛtpratyaya topic	180-188

BOOK THREE : QUARTER THREE

81.4.2a. uṇādayo bahulam topic	1 - 2	81.5. bhaviṣyati kṛtpratyaya topic	3 - 15
81.6. trikālikakṛtpratyaya topic	16 - 17	81.6.1. bhāve kartṛbhinnakāra- ca kṛt pratyaya topic	18 - 93
81.6.2. bhāve kartṛbhinnakāra- ca stṛyadhikāroka kṛt-pratyaya topic	94 - 112	81.6.3. kṛtyalyuto bahulam topic	113
81.6.4. napumsake bhāve kṛt praty- aya topic	114 - 116	81.7. karanādhikaranayoh kṛtpra- tyaya topic	117 - 125
81.8. īṣadduḥsuṣu kicchrākṛch- rārthoṣu kṛtpratyaya topic	126 - 130	81.9. lakārārtha topic	131 - 176

BOOK THREE : QUARTER FOUR

81.10.	dhātusambandhe pratyayaḥ topic	1
81.11.	kriyāsamabhihārādi topic	2 - 5
81.12.	chandasi vidhayaḥ topic	6 - 17
81.13.	ktvādi-kṛtpratyaya topic	18 - 66
81.13a	kṛtpratyayārtha topic	67 - 76
81.14.	lādeśa topic	77 - 117

BOOK FOUR : QUARTER ONE

82.0.	nyāpprātipadikāt topic	1
83.0.	suppratyaya topic	2
84.1.	stripratyaya topic	3 - 75
84.2.	striyam taddhitapratyaya topic	76 - 81
85.0.	samartha topic	82
85.1.	prāgdīvyatīyataddhitapratyaya topic	83 - 91
85.1.1.	prāgdīvyatiye apatyapratyaya topic	92 - 178

BOOK FOUR : QUARTER TWO

85.1.2.	raktārtha topic	1 - 2
85.1.3.	nakṣatreṇa yuktaḥ kalāḥ topic	3 - 6
85.1.4.	dṛṣṭam sāma topic	7 - 9
85.1.5.	parivṛto rathaḥ topic	10 - 13
85.1.6.	tatroddhṛtamamatrebhyaḥ topic	14

85.1.7.	sthandilācchayitari vrata topic	15
85.1.8.	sāṃskṛtam bhakṣāḥ topic	16 - 20
85.1.9.	sāsmīn paurnamāsītisāmājñāyām topic	21 - 23
85.1.10.	sāśya devatā topic	24 - 36
85.1.11.	tasya samūhaḥ topic	37 - 51
85.1.12.	viśayo deśe topic	52 - 54
85.1.13.	sosyādir iti cchandasaḥ pragāthesu topic	55
85.1.14.	saṅgrāme prayojanayoddhṛbhyāḥ topic	56
85.1.15a	tadasyām praharaṇam iti kṛdāyām naḥ topic	57
85.1.15b	ghaṇaḥ sāśyām kriyetai naḥ topic	58
85.1.16.	tad adhīte tad veda topic	59 - 66
85.1.17.	cāturarthikapratyaya topic	67 - 91
85.1.18(A)	śaiṣikapratyaya topic	92 - 145

BOOK FOUR : QUARTER THREE

85.1.18(B)	śaiṣikapratyaya topic (CONTD.)	1 - 10
85.1.18a	kālādhikāroktapratyaya topic	11 - 24
85.1.18b	jātārtha topic	25 - 37
85.1.18c	kṛtalaabdhaśālāḥ topic	38
85.1.18d	prāyabhavaḥ topic	39 - 40
85.1.18e	sambhūte topic	41 - 42
85.1.18f	kālādhikāre sādhanvādisu śaiṣikapratyaya topic	43 - 50

: 120 :

85.1.18h	tadasya sodham topic	52
85.1.18i	tatra bhavaḥ topic	53 - 65
85.1.18j	tasya vyākhyānam iti ca vyākhyātavyanāmaḥ topic	66 - 73
85.1.18k	tata āgataḥ topic	74 - 82
85.1.18l	prabhavati topic	83 - 84
85.1.18m	tadgacchati pathidūtayoh topic	85
85.1.18n	abhinīṣkrāmati dvāram topic	86
85.1.18o	adhikṛtya kṛte granthe topic	87 - 88
85.1.18p	sosya nivāsaḥ topic	89
85.1.18q	abhijanaḥ topic	90 - 94
85.1.18r	bhaktiḥ topic	95 - 100
85.1.18s	tena proktam topic	101 - 111
85.1.18t	tenaikadik topic	112 - 114
85.1.18u	upajñāte topic	115
85.1.18v	kṛte granthe topic	116
85.1.18w	saṁjñāyām topic	117 - 119
85.1.18y	tasyedam topic	120 - 133
85.1.19.	vikāravayavārthaka taddhitapratyaya topic	134 - 168

BOOK FOUR : QUARTER FOUR

85.2.1.	thagadhikāre tena dīvyati khanati jayati jitam topic	1 - 2
85.2.2.	samskṛtam topic	3 - 4
85.2.3.	tarati topic	5 - 7

85.2.4.	carati topic	8 - 11
85.2.5.	vetanāḍibhyo jīvati topic	12 - 14
85.2.6.	hartyutsaṅgāḍibhyaḥ topic	15 - 18
85.2.7.	nirvṛtte 'kṣadyūtāḍibhyaḥ topic	19 - 21
85.2.8.	sāmsrṣṭe topic	22 - 25
85.2.9.	vyāñjanair upasikṭe topic	26
85.2.10.	ojaḥ-sahombhaśā varttate topic	27
85.2.11.	tatpratyanupūrvamīpalomakūlam topic	28
85.2.12.	parimukhaṁ ca topic	29
85.2.13.	prayacchati garhyam topic	30 - 31
85.2.14.	uñchati topic	32
85.2.15.	rakṣati topic	33
85.2.16.	śabdaderduraṁ karoti topic	34
85.2.17.	pakṣimatsyamīḡaṇ hanti topic	35
85.2.18.	paripantham ca tiṣṭhati topic	36
85.2.19.	māthottarapadapadavyanupadaṁ dhāvati topic	37 - 38
85.2.20.	padottarapadeṁ grhṇati topic	39
85.2.21.	pratikanṭhārthalaḷamāṁ ca topic	40
85.2.22.	dharmaṁ carati topic	41
85.2.23.	pratipatham eti topic	42
85.2.24.	samavāyaṇ samavaiti topic	43 - 45
85.2.25.	samjñāyām lalāṭakukkutyaḥ paśyati topic	46

85.2.26.	tasya dharmyam topic	47 - 49
85.2.27.	avakrayaḥ topic	50
85.2.28.	tad aśya paṇyam topic	51 - 54
85.2.29.	śilpam topic	55 - 56
85.2.30.	praharaṇam topic	57 - 59
85.2.31.	asti nāsti diṣṭam matiḥ topic	60
85.2.32.	śīlam topic	61 - 62
85.2.33.	karmādhyaṇe vṛttam topic	63 - 64
85.2.34.	hitam bhakṣaḥ topic	65
85.2.35.	tad asmai dīyate niyuktaṃ topic	66 - 68
85.2.36.	tatra niyuktaḥ topic	69 - 70
85.2.37.	adhyāyinyadeśakālāt topic	71
85.2.38.	kaṭhināntapraṣṭārasaṁsthāneṣu vyavaharati topic	72
85.2.39.	nikāṭe vasati topic	73 - 74
85.3.1.	yadadhikāre tad vahāti rathayugaprapāśaṅgam topic	75 - 82
85.3.2.	vidhyatyadhanuṣaḥ topic	83
85.3.3.	dhanagaṇeṃ labdhā topic	84 - 85
85.3.4.	vaśaṃ gataḥ topic	86
85.3.5.	padam asmin drāyam topic	87
85.3.6.	mūlamasyābarhi topic	88
85.3.7-10.	saṃjñāyāṃ dhenuṣā ityādi topic	89 - 92
85.3.11.	chandaso nirmite topic	93 - 94

85.3.12-14. hṛdayasya priyaḥ ityādi topic	95 - 97
85.3.15. tatra sādhuḥ topic	98 - 106
85.3.16. samānatīrthe vāsī topic	107
85.3.17. samānodare śayitaḥ topic	108 - 109
85.3.18. bhava chandasi topic	110 - 118
85.3.19-26. barhiṣi dattam ityādi topic	119 - 133
85.3.27-33. adbhiḥ saṁskṛtam ityādi topic	134 - 144

BOOK FIVE : QUARTER ONE

85.4. prākṛitīyataddhitapratyaya topic	1 - 17
85.5. prāgvatīya taddhitapratyaya topic	18
85.5.1. ārhīyapratyaya topic	19 - 36
85.5.2. tena kṛitam topic	37
85.5.3. tasya nimittam saṁyogotpātau topic	38 - 41
85.5.4. tasyeśvaraḥ topic	42
85.5.5. tatra vidita iti ca topic	43 - 44
85.5.6. tasya vāpaḥ topic	45 - 46
85.5.7. tadasmin vṛddhyāyalābhaśulkopadaḥ dīyate topic	47 - 49
85.5.8. taddharati vahatyāvahati bhārād vaṁśādibhyaḥ topic	50 - 51
85.5.9. sambhavatyavaharati pacoati topic	52 - 55
85.5.10. sosyāśavasaṁbhṛtayaḥ topic	56
85.5.11. tadasya parimāṇam topic	57 - 62
85.5.12. tad arhati topic	63 - 71

85.5.13.	varttayati topic	72
85.5.14.	āpannaḥ topic	73
85.5.15.	gaochati topic	74 - 77
85.5.16.	kālādhikāra topic	78
85.5.16a	tena nirvṛttam topic	79
85.5.16b	tam adhiṣṭo bhr̥to bhūto bhāvi topic	80 - 92
85.5.16c	tena parijayyalabhyakāryasukaram topic	93
85.5.16d	tadasya brahmācāryam ityādi topic	94
85.5.16e	dakṣiṇa iti topic	95
85.5.16f	dīyate kāryam topic	96
85.5.17.	vyustāḍibhyo'ṇ ityādi topic	97
85.5.18.	tena yathākathā ca ityādi topic	98
85.5.19.	sampāḍini topic	99 - 100
85.5.20.	tasmai prabhavati santāpāḍibhyaḥ topic	101 - 103
85.5.21.	samayaśtadasya prāptam topic	104 - 108
85.5.22.	prayojanam topic	109 - 114
85.6.	bhāvakarmādhikāre tena tulyam kriyā ced vatiḥ topic	115 - 118
85.6.1.	tasya bhāvastvatalau topic	119 - 136
BOOK FIVE : QUARTER TWO		
85.7.	taddhiteṣu pāñcamika topic	1 - 93
85.8.	matubartha topic	94 - 140

BOOK FIVE : QUARTER THREE

85.9.1.	prāgdiśīyavibhaktipratyaya topic	1 - 26
85.9.2.	prāgdiśīyavyatiriktasvārthikapratyaya topic	27 - 69
85.9.3.	prāgdivīyataddhitapratyaya topic	70 - 95
85.9.3(2)	kasya ca daḥ ityādi topic	72
85.9.3(3)	añāte topic	73
85.9.3(4-5)	kutsite ityādi topic	74 - 75
85.9.3(6-7)	anukampayām topic	76 - 84
85.9.3(8)	alpe topic	85
85.9.3(9-17)	hrasve ityādi topic	86 - 95
85.9.4.	ivārthīyataddhitapratyaya topic	96 - 111
85.9.5.	svārthikeṣu tadraḥjapratyaya topic	112 - 119

BOOK FIVE : QUARTER FOUR

85.9.6.	taddhītesu svārthikapratyaya topic	1 - 67
85.9.7.	saṁāsāntapratyaya topic	68 - 160

BOOK SIX : QUARTER ONE

86.0.	dvīrvacana topic	1 - 12
87.0.	saṁprasāraṇa topic	13 - 44
88.0.	āṭva topic	45 - 57
89.0.	āgamādeśa topic	58 - 71
90.0.	sandhi topic	72 - 157

90.1.	saṃhitāyāṃ tuṅāgama topic	73 - 76
90.2.7	saṃhitāyāṃ ādesāḥ topic	77 - 114
90.8.	prakṛtibhāva ityādi topic	115 - 130
90.9.	saṃhitāyāṃ ādesāḥ topic	131 - 134
90.10.	saṃhitāyāṃ sū. topic	135 - 157
91.0.	svara topic	158 - 223

BOOK SIX : QUARTER TWO

91.1.	prakṛtisvara topic	1 - 63
91.2.	pūrvapadādyudāttaśvara topic	64 - 91
91.3.	pūrvapadāntodāttaśvara topic	92 - 110
91.4.	uttarapadādyudāttaśvara topic	111 - 142
91.5.	uttarapadāntodāttaśvara topic	143 - 199

BOOK SIX : QUARTER THREE

92.0.	aluk topic	1 - 24
93.0.	anānādyādesāḥ topic	25 - 33
94.0.	pūmvadbhāva topic	34 - 42
95.0.	hrasvavidhi topic	43 - 45
96.0.	āgamādeśa topic	46 - 110
97.0.	dīrgha topic	111 - 139

BOOK SIX : QUARTER FOUR

98.1.	aṅgādhikāre dīrghadi topic	1 - 21
-------	----------------------------	--------

98.2.1.	nalopa topic	23 - 33
98.2.2.	idādyādeśa topic	34 - 36
98.2.3.	aṅgānūnāsikalopa ityādi topic	37 - 45
98.3.	aṅgādhikāre ārdhadhātuke topic	46 - 68
98.4.	aṅgādhikāre āgamādeśa topic	69 - 128
98.5.	bhasya topic	129
98.5.1.	bhādhikāre padādeśa topic	130
98.5.1a	bhādhikāre samprasāraṇa topic	131 - 133
98.5.1b-e	bhādhikāre lopādi topic	134 - 156
98.5.1f-i	bhādhikāre ādeśādi topic	157 - 162
98.5.1j-k	bhādhikāre prakṛtiavadbhāvādi topic	163 - 175

BOOK SEVEN : QUARTER ONE

98.6.	yvādīnām ādeśāḥ topic	1 - 57
98.7.	numāgama topic	58 - 83
98.8.	audādyādeśāḥ topic	84 - 89
98.9.	nīdvadbhāva topic	90 - 92
98.10.	anañādeśa topic	93 - 94
98.11.	trjvadbhāva topic	95 - 97
98.12.	aṅgādhikāre āgamādeśa topic	98 - 103

BOOK SEVEN : QUARTER TWO

98.13.	sici vṛddhiḥ topic	1 - 7
--------	--------------------	-------

: 128 :

98.14.	id-nisedha topic	8 - 34
98.15.	idāgama topic	35 - 78
98.16.	līṇaḥ saṇopaḥ ityādi topic	79 - 83
98.17.	vibhaktau ādeśāḥ topic	84 - 90
98.18.	maparyantasya adhiḱāre vibhaktau ādeśāḥ topic	91 - 98
98.19.	vibhaktau tīṣṭ - catasṛ - ityādyādeśāḥ topic	99 - 113
98.20.	vrddhi topic	114 - 118

BOOK SEVEN : QUARTER THREE

98.21.	ñīti ṇīti kīti vrddhiḥ ityādi topic	1 - 35
98.22.	ṇau āgamādeśāḥ topic	36 - 43
98.23.	ikārādyādeśāḥ topic	44 - 51
98.24.	kutva topic	52 - 69
98.25.	lopa topic	70 - 73
98.26.	dīrghādi topic	74 - 120

BOOK SEVEN : QUARTER FOUR

98.27.	upadhāyām vidhayaḥ topic	1 - 8
98.28.	āgamādeśaḥ vidhayaḥ topic	9 - 57
98.29.	abhyāśasya vidhayaḥ topic	58 - 97

BOOK EIGHT : QUARTER ONE

99.0.	dvīrukti topic	1 - 15
100.0.	padasya topic	16

101.0.	padāt topic	17
102.0.	anudāttam sarvam apādātau topic	18 - 71
103.0.	āmantritam pūrvam avidyamānavat topic	72 - 74
<u>BOOK EIGHT : QUARTER TWO</u>		
104.0.	asiddha topic	1 - 3
104.1.	asiddhādhikāre āgamādeśa topic	4 - 41
104.2.	niṣṭhāvīkāra topic	42 - 61
104.3.	kutvādeśādi topic	62 - 81
104.4.	udāttādi-svara topic	82 - 108

BOOK EIGHT : QUARTER THREE

104.5.	sāṃhitāyām ru topic	1 - 12
104.6.	sāṃhitāyām lopah topic	13 - 14
104.7.	sāṃhitāyām āgamādeśāḥ topic	15 - 33
104.8.	visarjanīya topic	34 - 54
104.9.	mūrdhanya topic	55 - 119

BOOK EIGHT : QUARTER FOUR

104.10.	sāṃhitāyām ṇatva topic	1 - 39
104.11.	ścutvādi topic	40 - 45
104.12.	dvitva topic	46 - 52
104.13.	jaśtvādi topic	53 - 57
104.14.	savarṇa topic	58 - 62
104.15.	chakārādyādeśāḥ topic	63 - 68

FOOTNOTES

- 1 Cardona, On translating formalizing Pāṇinian rules P.1
- 2 Kathāsaritsāgara 1.4.20 (Bihāra Rāṣṭarabhaṣā Paṇḍit Ed. 1960
atha kālena varṣasya śiṣyavargo mahānabhūt / tatraikāḥ pāṇinir nāma jadaḥ buddhitaro' bhavati //
- 3 Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa, paṭala-53, p. 611-612
tasyāpyanantaro rājā Nandanamā bhaviṣyati / puṣpakhye nagare śrīmān mahāsainyo mahābalaḥ //
bhaviṣyati tadā kāle brāhmaṇas tārikā bhuvi/tasyāpyanyatamaḥ sakhyāḥ Pāṇinir nāma māṇavaḥ //
- 4 Nandikeśvara's Kāśikā, stanza-2, quoted by V.S. Agrawal, Pāṇinikālīna Bhāratavarṣa, p. 472 (Footnote)
_____ Jayaswal quoted by V.S. Agrawal, p. 21, Śrī Guruprasādāśāstrī, Kāśī Ed. 1936
- 5 A legend quoted by J.M. Sukla in his HPSSG, p. 48
- 6 Ibid, p. 48
- 7 Pañcatantṛa, mitrasamprāpti, stanza-36
siṃho vyākaraṇasya kartur prāṇān priyān pāṇineḥ /
- 8 Pt. Yudhiṣṭhira Mīmāṃsaka, HSG Vol. I, p. 181, 275-291 (Sonipat Ed. VS 2030) Paribhāṣāsūcana of -
Vyādi is recently published by K.V. Abhyankar, vide Paribhāṣāsaṅgraha, Poona Ed. 1967
- 9 MBh, I-i-20 (Motilal Banarasi Das, Delhi Ed. p. 184)
sarve sarvapadādesāḥ dākṣiṇputrasya pāṇineḥ / Also vide, Ślokātmakapāṇinīyaśikṣā, stanza-56
śaṅkaraḥ śaṅkarīm prādāt dākṣiṇputrāya dhimate / (Venkateshvar Press Ed. 1959)
- 10 HSG Vol. I, p. 184. Also MBh, II-iii-66, 'śobhanā khalu dākṣāyaṇasya saṅgrahasya kritiḥ /
- 11 K.V. Abhyankar, Paribhāṣāsaṅgraha, Introduction, p. 12
- 12 Ibid, p. 13
- 13 Kātyāyanīyaśikṣasāraṇukramāṇi, p. 70
tathā ca sūtryate bhagavatā Piṅgalena Pāṇinīyanujena . //
- 14 Ślokātmakapāṇinīyaśikṣā in Śikṣāsaṅgraha, p. 385 (quoted in HSG Vol. I, p. 183)
- 15 Saduktikarṇāmṛta, Calcutta Ed 1965, stanza-2130
subandhau bhaktir naḥ ka iha raghukāre na ramate/dhṛtir Dākṣiṇputre /
- 16 namaḥ pāṇinaye tasmai yasmādāvirabhūt iha/ātau vyākaraṇam kāvyam anujāmbavatīvijayam //
quoted by Pt. Mīmāṃsaka in HSG Vol. II, p. 431 (Sonipat Ed. VS 2030)

- 17 Suvṛttatilaka of Kṣemendra, 3.30 (edited with Vṛttaratnākara, Chowkhamba, VS1984)
 spṛhañīyatvamaritam pāṇīner upajātibhiḥ/camatkāraikaśārābhir udyānasyeva jātibhiḥ//
- 18 Pt. Mīmāṃsaka, HSG Vol. I, p. 239-240
- 19 MBh, I-iv-51, tadakīrtitam ācaritaṁ kavinaḥ/ Also Prad. kaviśabdo medhāvivacanah krāntadarśa-
 nāt/ Udyota-kaviḥ krāntadarśano bhavati niruktā itī bhāvah/
- 20 MBh on III-ii-108, upasēdivān kautsaḥ pāṇinim/ Kāś. on the same sū. anūṣivān kautsaḥ pāṇinim
 upaśūsūvān kautsaḥ pāṇinim/
- 21 Kāś. on VI-ii-104, also vide MBh on I-iv-1, ubhayathā hyācāryeṇa śiṣyāḥ sūtram pratipāditāḥ
 kecid ākaḍārād ekāsañjñā itī, kecit prāk kaḍārāt param kāryam itī/
- 22 Trikaṇḍaśeṣa of Puruṣottamaśeṣa, pāṇinis tvāhiko dākṣīputraḥ 'sālāṅkipāṇināu/śālottariyah../
 quoted in HSG Vol. I, p. 178
- 23 Kāś. on IV-ii-74, mahatī suksmekṣikā varttate Sūtrakāraśya /
- 24 Pt. Mīmāṃsaka, HSG Vol. I, p. 182-183
- 25 Quoted by V.S. Agraval, Pāṇinikālīna Bhāratavarṣa, p. 467
- 26 Ibid, p. 467
- 27 Ibid, p. 467
- 28 Ibid, p. 467
- 29 Ibid, p. 468
- 30 Ibid, p. 468
- 31 V.S. Agraval, India as known to Pāṇini, 2nd Ed. p. 476
- 'On the basis of his numismatic data, Pāṇini thus belongs to the period of transition between the age of Bimbisāra and Kauṭilya, i.e. between sixth and fourth century BC. A date in the fifth century BC admirably reconciles the coin references of the Aṣṭādhyāyī:
- 32 Belvalkar, SSG p. 15
- 33 Today it is a deserted village in the north-western frontier province near Attock in Pakistan, Agraval, Pāṇinikālīna Bhāratavarṣa, p. 14-15 (Footnote)
- 34 Kāvyaśālākāra of Bhāmaha, p. 62, p. 132 (Motilal Banarasi Das, Delhi Ed. 1970)
 'śālāturiyamatanetanukrameṇa, ko vakṣyatīti virato'hamato vicārāt / Also vide, Gaṇaratna-
 mahodadhī of Vardhamāna (Delhi Ed. Egging, 1963) p. 2, stanza-2, 'śālāturiyaśakataṅgajacandragomī'
 etc/also the gloss on it, 'śālāturo nāma grāmaḥ/so'bhijano'syāstīti śālāturiyah tatra bhavān-

pāṇiniḥ /

- 35 Belvalkar, SSG, p. 15-16, Pt. Yudhisthira Mīmāṃsaka believes the Vāhika country as Pāṇini's native place and Śālātura as a native land of Pāṇini's forefathers, vide, HSG Vol. I, p. 187
- 36 For the detailed survey of the predecessors of Pāṇini, vide HSG Vol. I, p. 134-177, Cardona's - PSR p. 146-148, Agraval, Pāṇinikālīna Bhāratavarṣa, p. 333-334
- 37 Nyāsa on VI-i-92, yadyapi ācāryagrahaṇe naiva pūjā vikalpaś cobhayaṁ sampadyate, tathāpyācāryagrahaṇasya prādhānyena pūjām khyāpayitum vā grahaṇaṁ kṛtāmiti bhāvah /
- 38 Cardona, PSR, p. 146
- 39 Ibid, p. 146-148
- 40 HSG Vol. I, p. 73-133. Among these, some pre-Pāṇinian teachers are discussed by Cardona, Vide- PSR p. 148-152
- 41 Dr Agraval gives the list of 65 predecessors of Pāṇini, Pāṇinikālīna Bhāratavarṣa, p. 19 (Foot-note)
- 42 B. Bhaṭṭācārya, Yāska's Nirukta, Galcutta Ed. 1958, p. 5
- 43 Belvalkar, SSG, p. 6
- 44 For sūryā, vide Kāt on IV-i-48, sūryād devatāyām cāb vaktavyah, prārṇa etc. pravatsatara. vā. 7 and ṛṇadaśābhyām. vā. 8 on VI-i-89
- 45 Cardona, PSR, p. 273
- 46 Vide- IV-ii-8-9, V-ii-59 (sūkta), V-ii-60 (adhyāya and anuvāka)
- 47 IV-ii-66, chandobrahmaṇāni ca tadviśayāni /
- 48 Vide- IV-iii-102, 107, 108
- 49 IV-iii-110
- 50 V-i-94, tad asya brahmacaryam /
- 51 Kās. on IV-iii-110, tadviśayatā cātreṣyate, tadarthaṁ chandograhaṇam anuvartyaṁ, guṇakalpana-yā ca bhikṣuṇaṭasūtrayoś chandastvam / Chowkhamba Ed. 1952, p. 336
- 52 Kās. on II-iv-21
- 53 IV-iii-116, kṛte granthe, IV-iii-87, adhikṛtya kṛte granthe.
- 54 IV-iii-66, tasya vyākhyāna itī ca vyākhyātavyanāṁnah /
- 55 Vide- V-iv-154, IV-iii-106, II-iv-59
- 56 Vide- IV-iii-102, IV-iii-104

- 57 IV-iii-105, purāṇaprokṭeṣu brāhmaṇakalpeṣu /
 58 Kāś. on IV-ii-62, anubrāhmaṇādīni, brāhmaṇasādṛśo' yam grantho' nubrāhmaṇam /
 59 VI-ii-103
 60 Agraval, Pāṇinikālīna Bhāratavarṣa, p. 307-322
 61 Pawate I.S. The Structure of the Aṣṭādhyāyī, p. 91
 62 Nyāsa on VII-iv-3, gaṇakāraḥ pāṇinir na bhavatīti/ tathā ca anyo hi gaṇakāraḥ, anyas ca sūtra-
 rakāraḥ/Also on IV-i-106, VII-iv-75, etc.
 63 Belvalkar, SSG p. 21, Cardona, PSR p. 163
 64 Ibid(SSG) p. 19, also cf HSG Vol. II, p. 146. For the different opinion, vide- Pawate, The Structure
 re of the Aṣṭādhyāyī, p. 91
 65 SSG p. 21
 66 F. Kielhorn, MBh. Vol. I, p. 131, nāma ca dhātujam āha nirukte vyākaraṇe śakaṭasya tokam /
 67 For the detailed accounts, vide HSG Vol. II, p. 312-324, Cardona, PSR p. 170-174
 68 Pt. Mīmāṃsaka attributes the līṅgānuśāsana to Pāṇini. For his arguments, vide HSG Vol. II, p. 25
 69 Cardona, PSR p. 179-182, Belvalkar, SSG p. 22
 70 Cardona, PSR, p. 182
 71 Abhyankar K.V. Paribhāṣaśaṅgraha, p. 12-14 (Introduction). Also vide SSG p. 23
 72 The word vārttika is defined as -
 uktānuktaduruktānām, cintā yatra pravarttate / tam grantham vārttikam prāhur vārttikajñā -
 vipaścitah//Cited by Abhyankar K.V. in the Mahābhāṣya Prastāvanā Khaṇḍa, p. 86 Also cf Udyo-
 ta on I-i-i, sūtre' nuktaduruktacintākaratvam vārttikatvam /
 73 Kielhorn, Kātyāyana and Patanjali, p. 4-5 Chowkhamba Ed. 2nd Ed. 1963
 74 Ibid p. 50-51
 75 For the definition of bhāṣya, vide DSG p. 294
 sūtrārtho varṇyate yatra, padaḥ sūtrānusāribhiḥ/svapadāni ca varṇyante, bhāṣyam bhāṣyavido
 viduḥ//Also vide- Ākṣepasamādhānaparo grantho bhāṣyam/quoted in Paribhāṣaśaṅgraha, p. 1, foot-
 note-3
 76 Vākyapadīya, II-iv-79, kṛte' tha patanjalinā guruṇā tīrthadarśinā/sarveṣāṃ nyāyabījānām mahā-
 bhāṣye nibandhane //

- 77 Belvalkar, SSG p. 27
- 78 K.A.S.Iyer, Bhartr̥hari, p. 2-5
- 79 Kāśikā by Dvārikā Dās Śāstrī and K.P. Śukla, Introduction, p. 10
- 80 DSG on these names
- 81 The Bhāgavṛtti is edited by Pt. Yūdhiṣṭhira Mīmāṃsaka in VS 2021. Also vide-HSG Vol. I, p. 470-474
- 82 Saṃskṛtavṛtākaraṇa Kā Udbhava aura Vikāsa by Satyakāma Varmā, p. 288 (Delhi Ed. 1971)
- 83 Ibid, p. 298
- 84 Pt. Mīmāṃsaka, HSG Vol. I, p. 495, 497
- 85 Gopal Dutta Pandeya, Vaidyākaraṇasiddhāntakāumudī, Vol. I, p. 10 (Chowkhamba Ed. 1979)
- 86 Ibid, p. 11 Also vide- SSG p. 36
- 87 K.P. Trivedi, Prakriyākāumudī, Vol. I, Introduction, p. 35 (Bombay Sanskrit and Prakrit Series- NO. LXXVIII 1925) Belvalkar puts him in the 15th century cf SSG p. 37
- 88 SSG p. 37
- 89 Kaumudī yadi kaṇṭhassthā, vṛthā bhāṣye paśīramah/Kaumudī yadyakṇṭhassthā, vṛthā bhāṣye paśīramah // quoted in Saṃskṛtavṛtākaraṇa Kā Udbhava Aura Vikāsa, p. 243
- 90 Quoted by Ballantyne in his ed. of the Laghusiddhāntakaumudī, introduction, p. (Delhi Ed. 1966)
- 91 Saṃskṛtavṛtākaraṇa Kā Udbhava Aura Vikāsa, p. 244
- 92 Ibid, p. 326
- 93 Cardona, PSR, p. 299
- 94 Vide- alpākṣarave sati bahvarthabodhakatvaṃ sūtratvaṃ/ Suryakanta Bali, Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita, p. 85, footnote
- 95 Bhāmatī on I-i-1,
laghūni sūcitārthāni, svalpakṣarapadāni ca/sarvataḥ sārabhūtāni, sūtranyāhur manīṣiṇaḥ//
- 96 Pāṇini of Goldstucker, p. 28, Chowkhamba Ed. 1965
- 97 Belvalkar, SSG p. 19, also vide- Paribhāṣāsāṅgraha, p. 1
- 98 Durgasiṃha's Kātantraṭīkā on sū. I-i-2, Calcutta Ed. 1874, p. 469
- 99 Nāgeśa on V-ii-122, tasmāt saṃjñāpramāṇe prathamādhyaye/Also vide MBh on I-iv-i, saṃjñādhī-kāraś cāyam/
- 100 Pdm, paritaḥ sarvatra pūrvatra vyavahite cānantare ca bhāṣyate kāryam anayā sā -

paribhāṣā/Kāśikā, Tara Publication, Part-II, p.1, 1965 Ed.

101 aniyame niyamakāriṇī paribhāṣā / Quoted by K.V.Abhyankar, Paribhāṣāsaṅgraha, Introduction, p.7

102 Udyota on V-i-1, saṃjñāparibhāṣayoḥ parārthayor api parasparasambandhaśanāt /

103 DSG p.10. The mat is changed to vat by VIII-ii-2

104 Deva Prakāśa Pātañjala, Aṣṭādhyāyīprakāśikā, VS 2012 Ed, p.62

105 Svarasiddhāntacandrikā, Annamalai University Ed, verse-15

106 Śrīśacandra Ćakravartī, Nyāsa Vol.I, Introduction, p.1,

trīṇi sūtrasahasrāṇi, tathā navaśatāni ca/saṅṇavatīm ca sūtrāṇam, pāṇiniḥ kṛtavān svayam //

107 Cardona, PSR p.142

108 Pāṇinīyam Śabdānuśāsanam (Prathamā Bhāgaḥ) tatra Aṣṭādhyāyīsūtrapāṭhaḥ, p. cha

109 Indian Antiquary, Vol.XVI, p.179

110 Belvalkar, SSG p.31

111 G.B.Palsule, Some primary nominal formations missing in Pāṇini, p.1

112 Kāś. prakṛtyādivibhāgakalpanayā sāmānyaviśeṣavatā lakṣaṇena / p.1

113 Goldstucker, Pāṇini, p.196, London Ed, MDCCCLXI

114 aṣṭikā pāṇinīyāṣṭādhyāyī/ cited by HSG Vol.I, p.244, also cf MBh on V-i-58

115 pāṇinīnā proktam pāṇinīyam (IV-iii-101)

116 MBh on II-i-1, va.23, na bruno vṛttisūtravacanaprāmāṇyād iti/kim tarhi? vārttikavacanaprāmāṇyād iti/

117 paṇinyupajñam akālakam vyākaraṇam / Kāś. on IV-ii-21, IV-iii-115, VI-ii-14 etc. Also vide-

Pāṇinikālīna Bhāratavarṣa, p.26-27

118 cf Pāṇinikālīna Bhāratavarṣa, p.26-27

119 kālopasarjane ca tulyam (I-ii-57), also vide MBh on III-ii-115, katham jātiyakam punaḥ paro-
kṣam nāma? kecit tavad āhuḥ varṣasatavṛttam paroḥsam iti, अपरा अहुं कांतांतरितम परोक्षम
iti/ अपरा अहुं द्व्यहवृत्तं त्र्यहवृत्तं ceti /

120 Kāś. on I-iii-2, pratijñānūnāsikyāḥ pāṇinīyāḥ / Also vide Note- 180

121 Kāś. on I-iii-11, pratijñāsvaritāḥ pāṇinīyāḥ/

122 śloka vārttika on I-iv-56, rīśvarād vīśvarān mābhūt /

123 MBh on I-i-56, va.14, kāryaviparināṃād vā siddham/kāryasya sampratyayasya viparināmah -

- 124 Vide- apadaṁ na prayuñjīta / also cf na kevalā prakṛtiḥ prayoktavyā na kevalaḥ pratyayaḥ /
 Quoted in Pāṇinīyavyākaraṇa Kā Anuśīlana, p.80
- 125 Ibid, p.79-83, also Cardona, PSR p.155
- 126 Kāś. on III-i-123, yad iha lakṣaṇena anupapannaṁ tat sarvaṁ nipātanāt siddham /
- 127 cf Prād. on V-i-114, dhatusādhana-kālānām, prāptiyartham niyamasya ca/anubandhavi-kāraṇām, ruḍh-yartham ca nipātanam//For detailed account of nipātena, see Pāṇinīyavyākaraṇa Kā Anuśīlana, Chapter-6
- 128 Kāś. on VIII-ii-67, kimartham tarhi nipātanam yāvatē pūrveṇaiva ruḥ siddhaḥ? dīrghatvamapyatvasantasya cādhātor iti? sambuddhau dīrghārtham ete nipātyante/ Also vide-Prād. on Vi-ii-2, anekaprayojanasampattiḥ nipātanād bhavati /
- 129 Pāṇinīyavyākaraṇa Kā Anuśīlana, p.103
- 130 Vide-5.4.5. Also cf Nyāsa on IV-i-32, nipātanasāmarthyāt arthaviśaye vṛttiḥ /
- 131 Kāś. on VII-iii-69, iha bhakṣyam abhyavyavahāryamātram /
- 132 Kāś. on I-iv-49, karmṇetyanuvarttanāne punaḥ karmagrahaṇam ādhāranivṛtyartham/ Also PSS, pari.17, ekayoganirdiṣṭānām padānām saha vā pravṛttiḥ saha vā nivṛttiḥ /
- 133 Kāś. on I-iii-23, vivādapadanirṇetā loke sthēya iti prasiddhaḥ tasya pratipattyartham ākh-yāgrahaṇam /
- 134 Prād. on V-i-2
- 135 Pāṇinīyavyākaraṇa Kā Anuśīlana, p.276
- 136 SK on this sū.matir ihecchā, buddheḥ pṛthag upādānāt /
- 137 Kāś. on VI-ii-103, śabdagrahaṇam kālavācino'pi dikśabdasya parigrahaṇārtham /
- 138 MBh on I-iv-1, saṁjñādhikāraś cāyam/Also cf Nāgeśa on V-ii-112, tasmāt saṁjñāprakaraṇe prathanādyāye ... /
- 139 III-iii-106
- 140 There are six types of rules and one of them is a saṁjñā rule. Vide- IV-ii-1. For saṁjñā, vide MBh on I-i-40, I-i-56, I-iv-1, I-iv-23 etc.
- 141 Prād. on I-i-67, saṁjñāsampratyaya ucyate /
- 142 Vide- I-i-68, I-iv-1, VII-iii-67, VIII-iii-86
- 143 Trivedi H.P. Studies in Pāṇini, p.10. Also cf Palsule G.B. Saṁjñāyām in Pāṇini, p.1, footnote 2.

- 144 LSS in saṃjñāprakaraṇa, saṃjñāpraṇayanam ca lāghavena śāstraṇaṇīyartham /
 145 TB on saṃjñāprakaraṇa, yā yā saṃjñā sā sā prayojanavatī /
 146 Chatterji K.C. Technical Terms and Technique of Sanskrit Grammar, Calcutta Ed. 1948, p.1
 147 Ibid, p.1
 148 Puṇyārāja on Vākyapadīya, kṛtrima śāstriyā parabhāṣikītyucyate / Also vide- MBh on I-i-22,
 kartur īpsitatamaṃ karma iti kṛtrima karmasaṃjñā /
 149 MBh on I-i-22, kṛtṛmākrītrimayoḥ kṛtrime kāryasaṃpratyayaḥ /
 150 Nyāsa on I-i-37, avyayam iti mahatī saṃjñā kriyate, anvarthasaṃjñā yathā vijñāyeta / Also -
 vide- I-i-41, I-iii-1, I-iv-48 etc. Also Pdm on I-iv-83, mahāsaṃjñākarāṇam anvarthasaṃjñāvi-
 jñānārtham /
 151 Prad. on II-i-19, pūrvacāryavihitagurusamjñāśrayād yad upādhiṇām pūrvacāryāḥ saṃjñām vya-
 dhīṣata /
 152 MBh on I-i-43, śabdasaṃjñāyām śabdasyaiva sampratyayo bhavati nārthasya /
 153 Ibid, naveti vibhāṣāyām arthasya saṃjñā kattavyā /
 154 Nyāsa on I-ii-29, lokavedayor udātṭādayaḥ śabdāḥ varṇānām yo dharmas tat tatraiva prasi-
 ddhaḥ, na tu tadvatyaci, tasmāc ila vyākaraṇe udātṭādayaḥ dharmāḥ yasyācas tadguṇe 'ci saṃ-
 jñāpyante /
 155 Kās. on I-i-1, vṛddhiśabdāḥ saṃjñāntvena vidhiyate, pratyekam ād alcam varṇānām / Also on I-i-
 2 etc.
 156 Pawate I.S. The Structure of the Aṣṭādhyāyī, p.11
 157 Pāṇinīyavyākaraṇa Kā Anuśīlana, Chapter-1
 158 Devanadin, Śarvavarman, Rāmacandra, Bhaṭṭoji etc use the term sandhi in spite of using the
 term saṃhitā. However Nāgeśa in his LSS and BSS uses the term saṃhitā at the end of his -
 commentaries on SK
 159 VPr gives four kinds of sandhi, vide te sandhayaḥ catvāro bhavanti/svarayoḥ, vyañjanayoḥ,
 svaravyañjanayoḥ/-VPr. 3.3. PK gives four kinds of sandhi, vide evaṃ tavad yathā kathamcit
 catvāro sandhavo bhavantu nāma/pañcasandhipravādas tu saṃjñāprakaraṇe 'pi sandhitvam upa-
 caryeti samādhyaṃ/Prakāśa on PK's sandhiprakaraṇa. A popular verse, found in the Kātantra
 grammar, gives five varieties of sandhi as -
 svarasandhir vyañjanasandhiḥ prakṛtisandhis tathaiva ca/anusvārī visargaś ca, sandhiḥ syā

- pañcalakṣaṇaḥ/Rūpāvatāra advocates six varieties of sandhi in a verse as-tuksvaraḥ prakṛtiś caiva, vyañjanaś ca tataḥ param/tato visarjanīyaś ca, svādi ṣaṭ sandhir ucyate //
- 160 MBh on I-i-1, pramāṇabhūta ācāryo darbhapavitrapāṇiḥ, sucāvākāśe prāṇmukha upaviśya mahatā prayatnena sūtrāṇi prapaṇayati sma / tatrāśakyam varṇanāpyanarthakena bhavitum, kim punar ity atā sūtreṇa ?
- 161 PSS pari. 22, ardhamaṭrālāghavena putrotsavam manyante vaiyākaraṇāḥ / Poona Ed. 1962
- 162 siṃhāvalokitam caiva, maṇḍukaplutam eva ca/ gaṅgāpravāhavac cāpi, adhikāras tridhā mataḥ // DSG p. 15
- 163 Vide footnote 132
- 164 PSS pari. 17, Poona Ed. 1962, vide footnote 132
- 165 Vāsudeva Śāstrī Abhyankar, Tatvadarśa on PSS, pari. 56
- 166 PSS pari. 56, akṛtavṛtṭiḥ pāṇinīyaḥ / also Nāgeśa on this pari. na kṛtaḥ viśiṣṭaḥ ūhaḥ niścayaḥ śāstrapravṛttivīśayaḥ yaiḥ / it is further explained as-nimittaṁ vināśonmukhaṁ dr̥ṣṭvā tā tat prayuktaṁ kāryam na kurvantītyarthaḥ /
- 167 Kāś. on IV-ii-77, aṅgrahaṇam nadyām matupo bādhānātham /
- 168 Kāś. on IV-i-3, nyāpṛatipadikāt sārvaadhikāre'pi prātīpadikānātram atra prakaraṇe sambādhyate nyāporanaivane vidhānāt /
- 169 PSS pari. 18, kvacid ekadeśo'pyanuvarṭtate /
- 170 MBh on I-i-3, va. 2, athavā maṇḍukagatayo' dhikāraḥ / yathā maṇḍukā utplutyotplutya gacchanti tadvad adhikāraḥ / Delhi Ed. p. 118, also vide MBhD p. 94
- 171 Kāś. on III-i-87
- 172 MBh on II-ii-8, iti vakṣyati, tasyāyam purastād apakarṣaḥ/ and Udyota on the same passage, na nirdhāraṇe ityatreṭi śeṣaḥ / etc, Also cf Nyāyakōśaḥ, p. 52 parasūtrapadānām anvayārtham pūrvasūtra ākarṣaṇam iti /
- 173 Nyāsa on I-i-68, cānukṛṣṭatvād uttaratra tad anuvṛttir na syāt/ also cf PSS pari. 78, cānukṛṣṭam nottaratra /
- 174 PSS pari. 1, vyākhyānato viśeṣapratipattir na sandehād alakṣaṇam / (quoted in MBh on MSū. 6)
- 175 Praḍ. on V-ii-4, yatraivārthitvaṁ tatraivādhikāraḥ sambandhyante nānyatra / Udyota on the same, arthitvaṁ ākāṅkṣā / na tu nadīrotonyāyenādhikāraḥ iti bhāvaḥ /
- 176 Cāndravṛtti on 1.1.5, iṇaḥ kvip tuk etīti it/ gacchati na tiṣṭhati ityarthah/ Also cf i. 9

- 177 anu paścād badhyate iti / Anubandhas of Pāṇini, p.1
- 178 Nyāyakośa, p.28, prakṛtipratyayāgamādeśānām vikaraṇāgamaguṇaviddhyādikāryaviśeṣārtham anubandhaniyaḥ pariniṣpannapadakāleṣu āsrūyamāṇatayā naśvarahaḥ itsamjñatayā kṛtalopo varṇaḥ // Poona Ed. 1928
- 179 Kās. on I-iii-2, upadiśyate' nena iti upadeśaḥ śāstravākyaṇi, sūtrapāṭhaḥ khilapāṭhaś ca/also cf SK on I-iii-2, upadeśa ādyoccarāṇam /
- 180 Pm on SK, on I-iii-2, yadyapi sūtrakārakṛto' nuñāsikapāṭha idānim paribhraṣṭas tathāpi vṛttikārādivyavahārabalena "yathākāryam prakṛt sthitaḥ" ityanumīyate /
- 181 Vide footnote 121
- 182 P has used the word vibhakti in a wider sense. Here it is used not only for case endings and personal endings but also for taddhita affixes. Vide DSG p. 357
- 183 SK on samjñāprakaraṇa, pratyāhāreṣu itaṁ na grahaṇam / Also MBh on MSū. 5, pratyāhāre' nubandhānām, kathamaṁ grahaṇeṣu na / ācārād apradhānatvāl lopaś ca balavattaraḥ // Nāgeśa discusses this problem in two paribhāṣās. Vide PSS pari. 4, anekāntā anubandhā iti/and pari. 5, ekāntāḥ /
- 184 The detailed study of anubandhas of Pāṇini is made by Devasthali G.V. in Anubandhas of Pāṇini, Poona Ed. 1967
- 185 MBh on MSū. 1, lāghvārthaṁ cādhyaṁ vyākaraṇam / Prad. on the same, lāghavena śabdajñānam asya prayojanam / Also MBh on I-iv-23, lāghvārthaṁ hi samjñākaraṇam / Also cf Kās. on MSūs. pratyāhāro lāghavena śāstrapraṇītyarthaḥ /
- 186 SK on samjñāprakaraṇa, iti māheśvarāṇi sūtrāṇi / Kās. does not recognise these sūs as MSūs. At the colophon of these sūs, it runs as-iti pratyāhāraprakaraṇam /
- 187 Vide footnote 4
- 188 LSS on samjñāprakaraṇa, asyākṣarasamāmnāyasya vāgyavahārajanakasya ca na kāścit kartā'sti/ evameva vede pāramparyeṇa smaryamāṇaḥ /
- 189 Cardona, PSR p. 160-161
- 190 EM on SK, samjñāprakaraṇa, munitrayagranthabahiḥ bhūtatvād apramāṇam ityatrāha-māheśvarāṇi / Also cf BSS, samjñāprakaraṇa, ata eva aṣṭādhyāyapekṣayā'sya granthāntaratvam /
- 191 MBh on MSū. 8, so'yam akṣarasamāmnāyo vākyaśamāmnāyaḥ puṣpitaḥ phalitaś candratārakavat pratimaṇḍito veditavyo brahmaśāṣiḥ /

- 192 According to some authorities P does not intend to coin "ra" pratyāhāra, nor it is accepted by Pat, because P's expression in VII-ii-2, ato lrāntasya, in stead of ato rāntasya shows that akāra in MSū.6 is not accepted as "it" by P. For the interesting discssion, vide LSS on MSū.6
- 193 TB on MSūs, varṇāṇām asandigdhatvena bodhanāya saṁhitāyā avivakṣaṇād etesvasandhiḥ /
- 194 Ibid on MSū.4, akārādyupadeśena tathā tatsavarṇāṇām ākārādīnām lābhāt prthag ākārādayo nopadiṣṭaḥ/Also vide I-i-69
- 195 SK, saṁjñāprakaraṇa, edaitor odatos ca na mithaḥ sāvarṇyam/ai auj iti sūtrārambhasāmarthyāt /
- 196 Ibid, hakārādiṣvakāra uccāraṇārthaḥ /Also cf MBh on MSūs, na punar antareṇācām vyāñjanas-yocāraṇam api sambhavati /
- 197 Thieme, Pāṇini and Veda, p.105
- 198 Supra footnote 194
- 199 Vide I-i-2, VI-i-87
- 200 Vide I-i-1, VI-i-88
- 201 RPr 1-10, aṣṭau samāntākṣaraṇyāditas tataś catvāri sandhākṣaraṇyuttarāṇi /
- 202 Ibid, 13-40, mātrāsaṁsargād avare'prthak śrutiḥ /
- 203 Ibid, 13-41, hrasvānusvāravatyatiśaṅgavat pare /
- 204 Prm on MSū.5, hakāropadeśaḥ aṭ-as-haś-in-grahaṇeṣu hakāragrahaṇārtham/Ibid on MSū.14, idam sūtram val-ral-jhal-śalsu hakāragrahaṇārtham/Also cf Prasāda on PK, MSū.5, hakāro dvirupātto'yam, aṭi śalyapi vāñchatā/arhenādhukṣad ityatra, dvayaṁ siddham bhaviṣyati// "h" is enumerated in aṭ pratyāhāra. Hence "n" becomes "ṇ" by VIII-iv-2 and "h" is in śal pratyāhāra so "ksa(sa) is substituted by III-i-45 for "cli" in aṭduh+cli+t< aṭduh+sa+t< adhuk+sa+t< adhukṣat. P wants to debar "h" from the pratyāhāras khar, char, jhar, yar and śar, so by VIII-iv-55, bhed+tā< bhetta but not in bhid+hanta = bhit+hantā etc
- 205 Vide rāmeṇa by VIII-iv-2, here "ā", "m" and "e" are included in aṭ pratyāhāra, while in taralena, "na" does not become "ṇa" due to the intervention of "l" which is not in aṭ pratyāhāra. I am indebted to my guiding teacher Dr A.N.Jani whose article "Arrangement of phonemes in the varṇasamānāya" is utilized by me in this section.

206 ajjhaloḥ antar madhye tiṣṭhanti iti antaḥsthāḥ /

207 "ja" and "bha" are separated from the voiced aspirated group to form yañ pratyāhāra. Hence

deva + bhyaṃ < devābhyāṃ by VIII-iii-102 but not in deva + sya

208 "ka" and "pa" are not included in car pratyāhāra, hence we have bhavān + karoti < bhavānkaro-

ti but bhavān + chādayati < bhavānśchādayati /

209 SK, sañjñāprakaraṇa, haśaḥ sañvārā etc. Also ibid on I-i-9

210 MBh on MSū.5, ayogavāhānām atsu upadeśaḥ karttavyaḥ ṇatvam prayojanam/sarṣu jaśbhāvaśatve
prayojanam /

211 This is a self explanatory term and explained as- akārādinaḥ varṇasamāmnāyena sañhitā santāp-
ye vahanti ātmalābhaṃ te ayogavāhāḥ/Uvvaṭa on VPr 8-18, quoted by DSG p.40

212 P nowhere uses the term pratyāhāra bṛ name in his grammar. However it is found used in the
old treatise like Rk 1-3, pratyāhāraṭho varṇo'nubandho vyañjanam/The word pratyāhāra is ex-
plained as-pratyāhriyante saṅkṣipyante'smin varṇā iti pratyāhāraḥ /Prm on SK,I-i-71

213 Some authorities accept 42 th pratyāhāra "ra". Supra footnote 192

214 Bhāṣāvṛtti, Tara Publication, Varanasi, 1971 p.1

ekaṃ trīṇi punaś caikam, catvāryekam trayam trayam/ekam dve ṣaṭ, tathaivekam, catuḥ pañca ṣaḍ-
eva ca //

215 The pratyāhāra ṇam is not accepted by all the commentators. It is not counted in a kārīkā
quoted by Kāś. Supra, 11.5.4 and footnote 214

216 MBh on II-iii-62, trṇ iti nedam pratyayagrahaṇam/kiṃ tarhi ? pratyāhāragrahaṇam /

217 MBh on III-i-40, iṣyate ca prāpnoti ca /katham? kiṃ iti nedam dhātugrahaṇam /kiṃ tarhi ?
pratyāhāragrahaṇam /

218 For the definition of paribhāṣā and other details vide 4.2.2.

219 MBh Vol.I, p.22 & 25, duṣṭaṃ chabdan mā prayukṣmahītyadhyeयम् व्यākaraṇam/ xxxx yo hi śabdān
janāti, apasābdānapyasaḥ janāti/ yathaiva śabdajñāne dharmah, evamapasābdajñāne'pyadharmah/

220 PSS pari 2

221 PSS pari 3

222 G.B.Palsule, Some views of Pāṇini and his followers on Object Language and Meta Language,

Poona 1970

223 MBh on I-i-49, ekasata m saṣṭhyarthāḥ, yāvanto vā/te sarve saṣṭhyam uccaritatayam prapnuvantī/
MBh Vol.I, p.263

224 Vide SK on I-i-49, sthānam ca prasāṅgaḥ/ prasāṅga is further explained as-ekasya sthāne
anekesaṁ prāptiḥ prasāṅgaḥ/

225 PSS pari 70, ubhayanirdese pañcaminirdeso baliyān/

226 cf Kāś. on I-i-54, parasya śiṣyamāṇam karyam adeḥ alah pratyetyavyam/kva ca parasya karyam
śiṣyate ? yatra pañcaminirdesaḥ/

227 Vide SK on I-i-50, yatrānekavidham antaryam tatra sthānata antaryam baliyāḥ/Also vide PSS
pari 13

228 MBh on I-i-56, anyah sthany anya adesah/sthanyadesapirhaktvād etasmat karanāt sthānikār-
yam adesē na prāpnoti/ Also vide Kāś. on I-i-56

229 Ibid sthānikāryam adesē'tidiśyate guruvaḍ guruputrā itī yathā/

230 Vide Kāś on I-i-62, pratyayanimittaṁ karyam asati api pratyaye katham nu nāma syāt itī
sūtram idam ārabhyate/pratyayalope kṛte pratyayalakṣaṇam pratyayahetukam karyam bhavati/

231 SK on saṁjñāprakaṛaṇa, khayām yamaḥ khayāḥ, kaḥpau visargaḥ sara eva ca/ete śvāsānupra-
dānā aghoṣās ca vivṛivate// kaṇṭham anye tu ghoṣaḥ syuḥ saṁvṛtā nābābhāginah/ayugmā
vargayamagā yaṇaś cālpāsavaḥ smṛtāḥ//

232 SK on I-i-10, tena dadhītyasya harati śītalam saṣṭham sāndram ityetesu paresu yanādikam
na/ anyathā dīrghēdīnām iva hakārādīnām api grahaṇakāśāstrabalaḍ actvaṁ syāt/

233 PSS pari 42

234 Vide Nāgeśa on pari 42

235 PSS pari 50

236 Nāgeśa on pari 50, antar madhye bahiraṅgaśāstrīyanimittasamudāyamadhye'ntarbhūtanyāṅgāni
nimittāni yasya tad antaraṅgam/Also cf DSG p.28 antah āṅgāni nimittāni yasya/

237 Ibid tadyanimittasamudāyād bahirbhūṭāṅakam bahiraṅgam/

238 PSS pari 57

239 Ibid

240 Cardona, Pāṇini's Syntactic Categories, p.213, Journal of the Oriental Institute Vol. XVI No 3
March, 1967

241 Vide Buiskool, Tripādī, p.13, " Owing to this circumstance morphology occupies a large place
in the word description of the Aṣṭādhyāyī and thus the method applied to it by Pāṇini becomes a characteristic feature of the whole work. "