

CHAPTER V

STUDY OF THE MEANINGS OF PARTICLES AND DERIVATIVES

This chapter contains an analysis of the view points of Kaṇḍabhaṭṭa on the meaning of the particles (*Nipātas*), the secondary suffixes, numbers and the primary suffix. Kaṇḍabhaṭṭa has focused more on the practical aspects of these suffixes than the philosophical aspect. He does not discuss the grammatical derivations and the correctness of form. On the contrary, he has paid attention to the salient features of minor but important topics. The role of particles (*Nipātas*) in the language is radically dealt with in this chapter. There are some primary and secondary suffixes which are popular in the usage like *Ktvā*, *Tva*, *Tal*, etc. The direct sense of these primary and secondary suffixes has been presented with appropriate examples. The two sections of this chapter discuss the use of number in general and particular senses. There are rules in grammar for deciding the number of the word, but in the usage its application differs from theoretical arguments. The present chapter also incorporates the views and interpretations of Logicians and Vedic Hermeneutics on the same topic.

V.1. Meaning of the *Nipāta*

Particle (*Nipāta*) is a technical term which has been defined in various ways. In *Nirukta*, it is classified as one of the four varieties of word (*Pada*) – *Catvāri Padajātāni Nāmākhyātopasarganipāta*. It is defined by Yāska as ‘that which is used in several senses - *Uccāvaceṣvartheṣu Nipatanti*.¹ According to another

¹ Yāska, *op cit*, p. 1

definition, the sources of which is not known, the words like *I*, ² etc. are termed as *Nipāta* –

इयन्त इति संख्यानं निपातानां न विद्यते ।

प्रयोजनवशादेते निपात्यन्ते पदे पदे ॥

However confusion persists between *Avyaya* and *Nipāta*. The question arises - are *Nipātas* different from *Avyayas* or are they from the same category? Therefore, there is a need to clarify this point. So I have given a discussion on it.

V.2. Discussion on *Avyaya* and *Nipāta*

Avyayas is distinct grammatical category. They do not have any nominal or verbal declensions so it is correctly defined as *Yanna Vyeti Tadavyayam*. No *Avyaya-pada* under goes any change when it is connected with either gender or number or case or voice (i.e. active and passive). The wellknown definition of *Avyaya* from *Gopatha-brāhmaṇa* is -

सदृशं त्रिषु लिङ्गेषु सर्वासु च विभक्तिषु ।

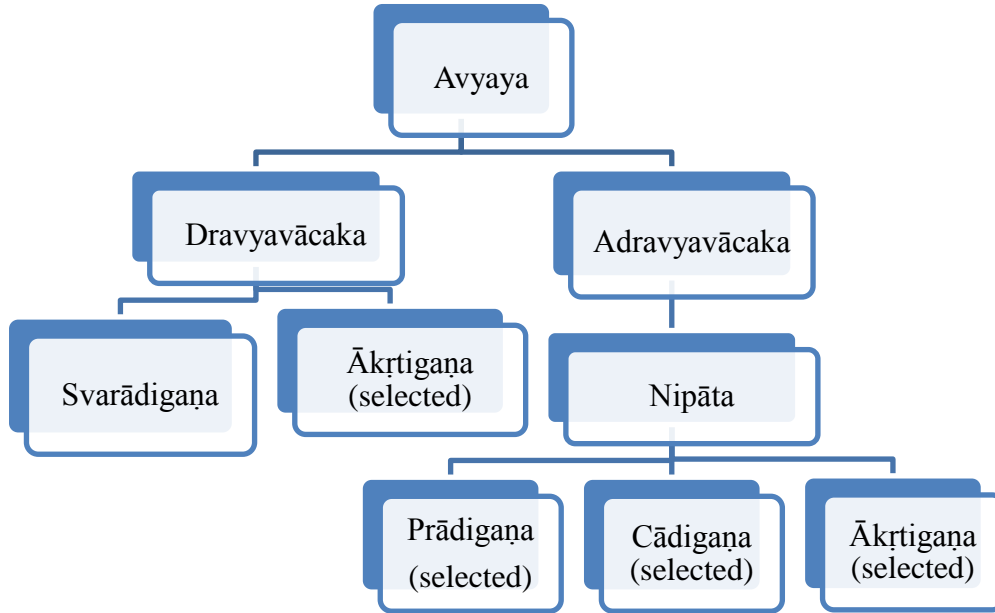
वचनेषु च सर्वेषु यन्न व्येति तदव्ययम् ॥³

Pāṇini defines *Avyaya* as ‘the words *Sva*, etc. and *Nipāta* are indeclinable (*Svarādinipātamvyayam* I.1.3). According to this aphorism of Pāṇini, the term *Nipāta* falls under the category of Indeclinable. Indeclinable (*Avyaya*) is a broad term which includes many letters, words and prefixes. *Avyaya* is mainly divided into the two groups. The first contains the words of the *Svarādigāṇa* and some

² Here the letters *I*, *U*, etc. are treated as words on the strength of the aphorism चादयोऽसत्त्वे ॥ १.४.५७॥ and निपात एकाजनाङ् ॥ १.१.१४॥

³ *Gopatha Brāhmaṇa*, 1.26 p. 13

selected words of the *Ākṛtigāṇa*. Second group is named as *Nipāta* which contains the selected words of *Prādigāṇa*, *Cādigāṇa* and *Ākṛtigāṇa*. The words of the first group are substantives (*Dravyavācaka*) while the words of the second group (*Nipāta*) are non-substantives (*Adravyavācaka*). The nature of being substantive and non-substantive is the main cause for their classification.⁴ This discussion is intentionally placed here because many-a-time, by mistake, particle and indeclinable are taken as synonyms. Therefore, an attempt has been made to throw light on this issue. The diagram given below is prepared on the basis of this discussion. It will be helpful to have a quick idea about the indeclinable and its varieties.



The expressibility of *Nipāta*

The question is raised in the very beginning of the chapter of VBS that whether the meanings of the particles like *Ca*, *Kila*, *Khalu*, etc. and the prefix *Pra*, *Anu*, *Sam*, etc. are directly understood or not? The problem arises because in some

⁴ The words of the first group (*Dravyavācakas*) are marked with the sign of *Antyodātta* and the words of the second group (*Adravyavācakas*) have the *Ādyudātta* sign.

cases these words don't express any meaning by themselves but in some cases they convey some specific meaning when they are connected with other words. Mainly we find this kind of problem in the poetic compositions. Many times poets make use of particle like *Ca*, *Na*, *Nu*, etc. to maintain the metrical harmony and propriety of the rhythmic structure but we hardly find use of such *Nipātas* in prose or day to day linguistic use. We also observe the fact that most of the words of these category i.e. *Avyaya* and *Nipāta*, are not in use at present. The reason may be the ordinary expressions do not require all those words. The popular words like *Khalu*, *Kila*, *Bhṛśam*, etc. are found in common use. The most or very frequently used word is *Ca*. We also think that all those words were developed when Sanskrit language was in developing stage and it was in practical use for communication. Even in the classical poetic works, we found the proper, authentic and lucid use of all those words. I have also covered all these aspects in my paper on “*Mahakaveḥ Kālidāsasya Avyayapadaprayoga-sauṣṭhava-vimarśa*”.

Kaṇḍabhaṭṭa clearly states that the meanings of all the words coming under Nipata group are not directly understood but indirectly understood. In this connection, he differs from logicians.

द्योतकाः प्रादयो येन निपाताश्चादयस्तथा ।

But, logicians opine that *Pra*, etc. suggest their meaning while *Ca*, etc. directly express their meaning - *Prādayo Dyotakāścādayo Vācakāḥ*.

This view of logicians has been refuted by Kaṇḍabhaṭṭa by presenting several arguments. He says that all particles are implied. These words have to be used in association with other words and not independently. They cannot be termed as expressive since they are not used independently. In the example *Īśvaram-anubhavati* (he has the experience of the god), the verb *Anubhavati* is made of

prefix *Anu* with the verbal root *Bhū* (1P) (to be, to become). Here the meaning of the verb is ‘to experience’. This meaning is independently rendered neither by the prefix nor by the root. If the prefix is taken as having special meaning when connected with particular root, then this will lead to the fault of prolixity. The prefix *Anu* is useful for grasping the complete meaning of the word. So, the meaning conveyed by both prefix and root is implied meaning. This quality of being implimented is present in *Ca* and other particles. In the sentence *Caitramiva Paśyati*, the particle *Iva* denotes the sense of similarity. It is helpful to get the appropriate meaning.

This rule of *Nipāta* is applicable in the passive construction also. Kaunḍabhaṭṭa has given some examples like *Upāsyete Hariharao* (Hari and Hara have been worshipped by him). In this, the sense of ‘worship’ is not located in the root *Ās - Āste* (2A) (to sit, to lie, to rest) but it is manifested by the prefix *Upa*.

Other examples are *Sākṣātkriyate*, it means the action leading to perception (*Pratyakṣānukūla-vyāpāra*), *Alaṅkriyate* means the action leading to beautification (*Śobhanānukūla-vyāpāra*) and *Ūrīkriyate* i.e. the action leading to acceptance (*Svīkṛtyanukūla-vyāpāra*). All these are the examples of passive construction. The root *Kṛ* is common in all the examples but the meanings of all the expressions are different. This difference is visible by the power of particle.

Logicians argue that the root *Kṛ* is intransitive in *Karoti Ghaṭam*, hence it should be taken as intransitive everywhere. This presentation of Kaunḍabhaṭṭa, to my mind is not an authentic presentation of logicians’ view. No sensible person can argue that the root *Kṛ* is intransitive in *Rāmaḥ Karoti Ghaṭam*. It may be Kaunḍabhaṭṭa has mispresent logician’s view for the purpose of refuting and substantiating grammarian positin in this regard as far as transitiveness of the roots is concerned. It is but natural that he could find fault in above mention view.

Kauṇḍabhaṭṭa finds fault in this view of logicians. Let us examine the following examples. *Sākṣātkriyate Śivaḥ* (he has the perception of lord Śiva). In this sentence if the word *Sākṣāt* is taken as a *Nipāta* (indeclinable) and not as a root, then the rule (*Laḥ Karmaṇi Ca Bhāve Cākarmakebhyaḥ*) for passive construction would not be applicable. What an important role particle plays is well illustrated in the example *Sākṣātkriyate Śivaḥ*. The word *Sākṣātkriyate* is a combination particle *Sākṣāt* and the passive form of the root *Kṛ*. If particle *Sākṣāt* is removed from the word, then there cannot be either active or passive construction of the root *Kṛ*. This argument can be illustrated as - *Kṛṣṇaḥ Śivam Karoti* or *Kṛṣṇena Śivaḥ Kriyate*. Both these examples are grammatically right, but they are logically incorrect. If we prefixed the particle *Sākṣāt* then both the active and passive constructions would be grammatically and logically correct - *Kṛṣṇaḥ Śivam Sākṣātkaroti* or *Kṛṣṇena Śivaḥ Sākṣātkriyate*. In such sentences the particles are significant when they are associated with the roots and they also control the function of the root. We must appreciate Kauṇḍabhaṭṭa for his selection of such typical sentences.

The way Kauṇḍabhaṭṭa deals with the problem with regard to the meaning of the particles does not sufficiently clarify the issue. Moreover the condition for the definition⁵ of transitive will no longer sustain and the word *Śiva* would not have any case suffix. It is because *Process* and *Result* are the expressed-meanings of the root. When process and result have common substratum, the root is termed as intransitive and when they have different substratum, the root is termed as transitive. Therefore any root cannot be fixed as either transitive or intransitive. Both root and particle should be taken into consideration when they are used in sentences.

Logicians hold the view that prefixes are implied while particles are not implied. As evidence they quote the statement of lexicon – ‘both word *Sākṣāt*

⁵ स्वार्थफल-व्यधिकरणव्यापार वाचकत्वं सकर्मकत्वम् । VBS, p. 326

and *Pratyakṣa* are synonymous (*Sākṣātpatyakṣatulyayoḥ*). Firstly, in this statement of lexicon, *Sākṣāt* denoted the same meaning what *Pratyakṣa* denotes. The *Sākṣātkāra* is the meaning of the particle. It may also denote the action leading to meaning of the root. Secondly, there is no rule for transitiveness supporting that the *Result* should be the meaning of the root. Transitiveness may be either of the root or of particle.

Kaṇḍabhaṭṭa argues that if the *Sākṣāt* (particle) is the only the meaning of the word *Pratyakṣa*, then there would not be any difference between the meaning of a noun and of a root. It is by the strength of the maxim – नामार्थधात्वर्थयोर्भेदेन साक्षाद्-अव्युत्पन्नः. There is no mutual conformity by differentiating relation between the sense of a noun and of a root. Similarly, there would no be any difference between the meaning of a *Nipāta* and a root. As a result, one can frame a sentence like *Taṇḍulaḥ Pacati* instead of *Taṇḍulam Pacati*. The sentence *Taṇḍulaḥ Pacati* even though grammatically correct but it cannot be accepted by the learned as it lacks the logical potency. No well read person who has acquired the proper skills of communication and has learnt the language correctly will make such a sentence.

Let us see another example. In the sentence *Dhavakhadirayoḥ Samuccayaḥ*, the genitive case is used because *Dhavakhadiras* have relation with *Samuccaya*. If the particle *Ca* becomes denotative then the usage *Dhavasya Ca Khadirasya Ca* will take place instead of *Dhavaśca* and *Khadiraśca* which are in usage. According to grammarians, the word *Śobhana* itself convey the collective sense and hence there is no relation of subject and adjective between *Śobhana* and *Ca*.

Kaṇḍabhaṭṭa takes up the problem of meaning of prefixes for discussion. First of all question is raised are the prefixes denotative or implemented? It means, do the prefixes directly convey their meanings or they indirectly express their meaning. This question cannot be answered unless and until we certainly know

whether the prefixes have meanings or not like other types of nouns, adjectives, adverbs, etc. As we know prefixes not being connected with nouns or verbs do not convey any sense. They do not have independent meanings. Whatever meaning they convey that is only possible when they are associated with the other words. No doubt, this is a complicated issue if somebody says that *Pra* has no meaning. If it is completely meaningless, then how can it denote a particular meaning being associated with *Kurute* or *Dadāti*.

If *Pra*, etc. have independent meaning, they can be used independently. *Pra* and *Nis* which express the senses of *Prakarṣa* (excellence) and *Niścaya* (ascertainment) could be used independently. Firstly it will lead to a wrong usage. Grammarians instruct not to use them independently. Secondly, prefixes will be treated as nominal and verbal stems. Then they will need case affixes like genitive, etc. Thirdly, there is no point in differentiating the two i.e. nominal stems and case affixes.

Further Kaṇḍabhaṭṭa says that one object (*Padārtha*) generally goes with its similar object but it hardly goes with a dissimilar object. For example the particle *Pra* may be used with the roots *Bhu*, *Dā* as *Prabhavati*, *Pradadāti* but never as *Pragacchati*. This is because the combination of particle and root will not give a logical meaning if particles are used either by force or by ignorance. If used, they will be meaningless and cannot satisfy the need of communication. But at the time the use of either *Nipātas* or *Upasargas*, one should be very careful and followed the rules prescribed by grammarians.

This point will be clearer when we think of the use of the *Ku*. *Ku* is an indeclinable but it looks like a prefix. So the words like *Kumata*, *Kuputra*, *Kusaṃsakārṣa* can be framed but one cannot coined a sentence like *Rāmaḥ Kukaroti*. This sentence makes also clear the use of prefix. Therefore Kaṇḍabhaṭṭa rightly avers that the function of particle should not be confined.

पदार्थः सदृशान्वेति विभागेन कदापि न ।

निपातेतरसंकोचे प्रमाणं किं विभावय ॥४४॥

Kaṇḍabhaṭṭa takes up another issue. Particles are found in the usages like *Ghaṭo Nāsti*. In this example *Na* is the particle which denotes the sense of negation. Hence it is proper to accept a few particles as denotative.

Kaṇḍabhaṭṭa has quoted two examples of the poetic composition in support of his view.

1. वागर्थाविव संपृक्तौ वागर्थः प्रतिपत्तये ।⁶ (just as speech is connected with its meaning).
2. शरैरुस्रैरिवोदीच्यानुद्धरीष्यन् रसानिव ।⁷ (with a desire to lift up the Northerners, like the water, with the rays-like arrows).

In the first example, the *Iva* is used in the sense of similarity. If it is taken as denotative only then it will lose its connection with the verb *Vande*. Here it is used as an adjective of second case, but it does not have any direct connection with the verb since similarity is not the meaning of nominal stem. So it cannot be considered as an object of *Vande*.

If it be argued that *Iva* is being the adjective of the second case, it will also have case suffixes of the second case by the strength of the rule ‘neither the stem nor the affix should be used alone (*Na Kevala Prakṛti Prayoktavyā Na Kevala Pratyayaḥ*)’. This is meant for the correctness of the word and not for showing the adjective and the verb.

In *Usraiḥ Iva Śaraiḥ*, there has to be non-differentiated relation according to the maxim ‘for nominal stems standing in apposition the concordance will be by

⁶ Kālidāsa, *Raghuvamśam*, p. 2

⁷ *Ibid*, p. 129

non-differentiation only (*Samānādhikaraṇa Prātipadikayorabhedenaiiva Anvayaḥ*)', but this rule cannot be applicable to the *Iva*. It is because, similarity is based on difference. *Śara* is not *Usraḥ*. There cannot be *Abhedānvayasambandhaḥ* like *Usrābhinnasadrśabhinna Śaraḥ*. Therefore, it is better to take *Iva* in its implied sense.⁸

The opponent argues that a word conveying its meaning by denotation or implication or suggestion can be expressive only. Thus, in *Nañ*-compound, the implied sense of the particle *An* becomes *Viśeṣaṇa* and the sense of the latter word becomes *Viśeṣya*. In this manner, the particle gets connected with the nominal stem; as a result the case gets affixed to it.

This view of the opponent is rejected by Kauṇḍabhaṭṭa. He tries to establish his view by giving the following three reasons.

1. Indeclinable too, gets the case suffixes by the indication of aphorism *Avyayādāpsupaḥ* (II.4.82). But later on they are dropped and will never have any nominal or verbal declensions.
2. The *Vartika* - '*Nipātas* do not have any meaning – *Nipātasya Cānarthakasya*' is not all applicable.
3. Yāska in his *Nirukta* has referred to *Upasarga* and *Nipāta* as not having any primary or secondary sense to convey the meaning. They are just manifests of meaning. At this point of discussion, Kauṇḍabhaṭṭa has quoted as a verse in which the significance of prefix is nicely explained. The root *Hṛ* - *Harati* (1P) (to take away, to carry) is taken along with five different prefixes. The root remains the same but the meaning changes by the force of the prefix.

उपसर्गेण धात्वर्थो बलादन्यत्र नीयते ।

⁸ शरैरुग्रैरिवोदीच्यानुद्धरिष्यन्सनिव । इत्यादावन्वयो न स्यात् सुपां च श्रवणं ततः ॥४५॥ VBS, p. 336

प्रहाराहारसंहारविहारपरिहारवत् ॥⁹

The view of the *Vārtika* on particle is - ‘some particles are implied (*Nipāta Dyotakāḥ Kecit*)’. So, on the basis of *Vārtika*, the opponent argues that it is right to accept some particles as expressive (*Vācaks*) and some as implied (*Dyotaka*).

The view of the Bhartṛhari is similar to *Vārtika* -

निपाता द्योतकाः केचित्पृथगर्थप्रकल्पने ।

आगमा इव केचित्तु संभूयार्थस्य साधकाः॥ २.१९२॥

उपरिष्ठात्पुरस्ताद्वा द्योतकत्वं न भिद्यते ।

तेषु प्रयुज्यमानेषु भिन्नार्थेष्वपि सर्वथा॥ २.१९३॥¹⁰

Kaṇḍabhaṭṭa doesn’t agree with the view of *Vārtikakāra* and the opponent. He says the problem will remain the same in stating some as denotative and some as implied. The notion that ‘*Ca*, *Vā*, etc. when have the meaning can be used to make up the quarters in a verse’ doesn’t seem appropriate. The aphorism *Kṛttaddhitasamāsāśca* itself supports that *Ca*. etc are not meant for completing the quarters of the verse. Moreover, there are several examples present in the classical literature which support this view of Kaṇḍabhaṭṭa.¹¹ Therefore, it is not proper to think that some particles are expressive and some implied.

⁹ *Prahāra* means to attack, *Āhāra* means to eat, *Samhāra* means to destroy, *Vihāra* means to wander and *Parihāra* means to avoid.

¹⁰ Bhartṛhari, *op cit*, p. 124

¹¹ Use of *Ca* in the sense of ‘mutual expectancy’ in *Raghuvaṃśam* – तयोर्जगृहतुः पादान्नाजा राज्ञी च मागधी । तौ गुरुर्गुरुपत्नी च प्रीत्या प्रतिनन्दतुः ॥१.५७॥

Ca in the sense of ‘but’ in *Abhijñānaśakuntalam* - शान्तमिदमाश्रमपदं स्फुरति च बाहुः कुतः फलमिहास्य ॥१.१६॥

Ca in the sense of ‘as soon as’ in *Raghuvaṃśam* - ते च प्रापुरुदन्वन्तं बुबुधे चादिपुरुषः ॥१०.६॥

To this, opponent argues that when particles become denotative they can be used independently. But this view is not correct. The aphorism of Pāṇini – *Te Prāgadhātoḥ* (I.4.80) suggests their use before the verbal root only. Hence, there is no independent use for *Nañ*, etc. even though some like *Ca*, etc becomes denotative; nevertheless they should never be used independently. It seems that Kaṇḍabhaṭṭa has followed Bhartṛhari who presents the same thought in his VP-

चादयो न प्रयुज्यन्ते पदत्वे सति केवलाः ।

प्रत्ययो वाचकत्वेऽपि केवलो न प्रयुज्यते ॥ २१९.४॥¹²

Thus, in the chapter named as *Nipātārthanirṇaya*, Kaṇḍabhaṭṭa brought together the views of logicians and other ancient grammarians on the meaning of *Nipāta*. At many places he differs from other and follows his predecessors. *Nipātas* are very useful for proper communication because they signify certain subtle meanings which other words cannot do. The proper use of them also beautifies the senses, clarifies the senses, and fulfils the syntactic need in the metrical structures. But much attention is not paid towards their learning and proper use. They are not meant for completing the quarters of the verse or for giving conciseness to the expression. They have their significance in the use of language. They play very important role for the meaningfulness of the speech and for the beautification of the language.

Vā in the sense of ‘like or similar’ in *Uttarameghaḥ* - जातां मन्ये शिशिरमथितां पद्मिनीं
वान्यरूपाम् ॥ २३॥

¹² Bhartṛhari, *op cit*, p. 124

V.3. Meaning of the *Tvāḍibhāvapratyayay*

Tva, *Tal*, etc are the secondary derivative suffixes which are enjoined to the crude form (*Prātipadika*). These suffixes generally denote the sense of relation. The aphorism of Pāṇini – *Tsya Bhāvastvatalau* (V.1.118) declares the use of the suffixes *Tva* and *Tal* in the sense of *Bhāva*. The word *Bhāva* is not used in its general sense of ‘meaning or intention’. It is explained by grammarians as *Prakṛti-janyabodhe Prakāro Bhāva*, it means that which is recognized as the qualifier in the meaning produced by the *Prakṛti* (stem) e.g. when the word ‘cow’ is uttered, the ‘cowness’ (*Gotva*) is also realised. This realization is the knowledge of *Bhāva*¹³. It is in the context of *Pravṛti-nimitta*.¹⁴ It can be illustrated as - *Ghaṭa* is recognized as *Ghaṭa* on the basis of *Ghaṭatva*. Any object which has the quality of *Ghaṭa* is named as *Ghaṭa*. This quality or specialty is *Ghaṭatva* and its sense is denoted by ‘*Tva*’ suffix.¹⁵ Another example is – *Pācakatva* (act of cooking). A person who is busy in the act of cooking is named as *Pācaka*. This act of cooking or naming as *Pācaka* is done by the *Bhāva* – suffix ‘*Tva*’.¹⁶

Meaning of the term *Bhāva*

¹³ षष्ठ्यन्ताद् भावेऽर्थे त्वप्रत्ययः, तत्प्रत्ययश्च स्यात् । Varadarāja, *op cit*, p. 241

¹⁴ प्रवृत्तिनिमित्तं पदशक्यतावच्छेदकम् । यथा घटत्वं घटपदस्य प्रवृत्तिनिमित्तम् । एवं शुक्लादिपदस्य शुक्लत्वम्, पाचकादेः पाकः, देवदत्तादेस्तत्तत्पिण्डादि प्रवृत्तिनिमित्तम्भवति । प्रवृत्तिनिमित्तशब्दस्य व्युत्पत्तिः – प्रवृत्तेः=शब्दानामर्थबोधनशक्तेः निमित्तम्=प्रयोजकम् इति । तच्च शक्यतावच्छेदकम्भवतीति ज्ञेयम् । तल्लक्षणञ्च प्रकारतया शक्तिग्रहविषयत्वम्-इति । Gaṅgeśopādhyāya, *TC*, p. 79

¹⁵ घटस्य भावो घटत्वं घटता वा । पशोर्भावः पशुत्वं पशुता वा ॥

¹⁶ The same is explained by Viśvanātha in the 2nd chapter of SD – अन्यच्छब्दानां व्युत्पत्तिनिमित्तम् अन्यच्च प्रवृत्तिनिमित्तम् ।, p. 47

The term *Bhāva* denotes the sense of relation when used in primary derivatives, secondary derivatives and compound. The example of primary derivative is *Pācaka*. The example of secondary derivative is *Aupagavatvam* (the relation of son with Upaguh) and the example of compound is *Rājapuruṣatvam* (a person having the relation with a king).

In the examples like *Śukla*, etc. the suffix ‘*Tva*’ denotes the sense of quality i.e. the quality of whiteness. This quality renders the sense of *Jāti* also – शुक्ले गुणे शुक्लत्वं नाम जातिर्भावः । In case of the terms like चुत्वम्, कुत्वम्, etc. the suffix stands for the entire *Ca* class and *Ka* class.

Some famous examples are –

विद्वत्त्वं च नृपत्वं च नैव तुल्यं कदाचन ।

स्वदेशे पूज्यते राजा विद्वान् सर्वत्र पूज्यते॥¹⁷

यौवनं धनसम्पत्तिः प्रभुत्वमविवेकता ।

एकैक्यमप्यनर्थाय किमु यत्र चतुष्टयम्॥¹⁸

पटुत्वं सत्यवादित्वं कथायोगेन बुध्यते ।¹⁹

Kaiyaṭa defines the term *Bhāva* as ‘*Bhāva*-suffix is a denoted sense of relation in case of a compound, primary and secondary derivatives except in case of those words which have either conventional meaning or identity by nature (*Abhinnarūpa*) or an invariable relation’.²⁰

Bhartr̥hari takes it in the sense of *Guṇa* and also talks about its classification as *Samsarga* and *Bheda*.

¹⁷ *Pañcatantram* 2.56, p. 377

¹⁸ *Hitopadeśa*, p. 235

¹⁹ *Ibid* 1.99, p. 368

²⁰ कृत्तद्धितसमासेभ्यःसम्बन्धाभिधानं भावप्रत्ययेनाऽन्यत्र रूढ्यभिन्नरूपाव्यभिचरितसम्बन्धेभ्यः । *VBS*, p. 340

संसर्ग-भेदकं यद्यत्सव्यापारं प्रतीयते ।

गुणत्वं परतन्त्रत्वात्तस्य शास्त्र उदाहृतम् ॥ ३.५.१ ॥²¹

The word *Guṇa* functions in two ways -1) when we talk about the qualities like *Rasa* (taste), *Rūpa* (form), *Gandha* (smell), *Śabda* (sound), *Sparsha* (touch), etc. and 2) the qualities like *Śuklatva* (whiteness), *Mṛdatva* (softness), *Ghanatva* (thickness) etc. The word *Bhāva* is used for *Guṇa* in the second sense. In the expression *Śuklaḥ Ghaṭaḥ* (the white jar), the *Śuklaḥ* is used as a qualifier of *Ghaṭaḥ*. Both *Ghaṭaḥ* and *Śuklaḥ* have a relation of non-difference (*Anvaya*). In *Śuklatva*, the suffix *Tva* denotes the sense of quality (*Guṇa*) and not of the relation. In case of the word *Sattā* (*Sat+tal*), the suffix *Tal* suggests the sense of the state of being existence.

When the words are used in their conventional senses such as *Dāmodaratvam*, *Kṛṣṇasarpatvam*, etc. the *Bhāva*-suffix *Tva* denotes the meaning of universal in particular.

The discussion on the problem of the meaning of the *Bhāva*-suffix

Kaundabhaṭṭa has explained the meaning of the *Bhāva*-suffix (*Tva*) in the sense of relation. He gives the examples of compound, primary and secondary derivatives - *Rājapuruṣtvam* (relation of master and servant), *Aupagatvam* (relation of father and son) and *Paktṛtvam* (relation of the state of action and *Kāraṇā*) respectively.²²

²¹ Bhartṛhari, *op cit*, p. 269

²² एवञ्च राजपुरुषत्वम्, औपगवत्वम्, प्रकृतत्वमित्यादौ स्वस्वामिभावसम्बन्धः, उपगवपत्य सम्बन्धः क्रियाकारकभावसम्बन्ध इत्यन्वयबोधः । VBS, p. 341

Vedic Hermeneutics do not accept this view of grammarians that primary and secondary derivative suffixes express the sense of relationship. They give the example of *Daṇḍin* (a person holding a staff). In this example, the *Taddhita* suffix *Ini* (=In) expresses the sense of substance. Any relation between a person and *Daṇḍa* arises after accepting the relationship of the qualifier and qualificant. Accordingly the word *Pācaka* (Nvul-Ak) does not present the relationship between the agent and action. Further they say that in *Daṇḍintva* and *PācaKtvā*, *Tva* may denote the sense of relation but in *Dāmodaratvam* and *Ghaṭatvam*, the *Bhāva* suffix does not denote the sense of relation.

Kaṇḍabhaṭṭa does not agree with the view of Vedic Hermeneutics. He strongly refutes their argument by saying that it is not proper to accept any rule partially. This kind of act is known as *Ardhajaratinyāya*.²³ He further says that if the sense of relation is not expressed by *Taddhita* and *Kṛdanta* in *Daṇḍin* and *Pācaka*, then the same would not be expressed by *Bhāva*-suffix in the example of *Daṇḍitvam* and *Pācakatvam*. Moreover, he makes it clear that in a cognition produced by the stem, the qualification lies in the sense which is expressed by the *Bhāva*-suffix. If it is accepted that quality resides in the stem alone express the sense of *Bhāva*-suffix, then *Tva* in *Ghaṭatva* would denote the sense of substantive (*Dravyatva* because it lies in the *Ghaṭa* itself). Moreover, if it be accepted that the qualifier is denoted through *Bhāva*-suffix, then in *Daṇḍitvam*, the sense of *Daṇḍa* would be the denotation of the *Bhāva*-suffix *Tva*. As a result, the sense of relationship between the two cannot be expressed by the *Taddhita* suffix *Ini* (In) in *Daṇḍin*.

Kaṇḍabhaṭṭa further says that the qualification generated by the stem is denoted by the *Bhāva*-suffix. It clear that it should not be argued that in *Ghaṭatva*, the *Bhāva*-suffix denotes *Ghaṭatvatva* because it is the qualification

²³ अत्रार्धजरतीयं स्याद् दर्शनान्तरगामिनाम् । सिद्धान्ते तु स्थितं पक्षद्वयं त्वादिषु तच्छृणु ॥५०॥ *Ibid*

of *Ghaṭatva*. In this case, the existence of Brahman qualified by the individuals is manifested as *Ghaṭatva*. Bhartṛhari opines the same –

सम्बन्धिभेदात्सत्तैव भिद्यमाना गवादिषु ।

जातिरित्युच्यते तस्यां सर्वे शब्दा व्यवस्थिताः॥ ३.१.३३॥

तां प्रातिपदिकार्थं च धात्वर्थं च प्रचक्षते ।

सा नित्या सा महानात्मा तामाहुस्त्वतलादयः॥ ३.१.३३॥²⁴

The view of the Vārtikakāra is – the *Taddhita* suffixes denote the quality which is present in a substance –

यस्य गुणस्य भानाद् द्रव्यो शब्दनिवेशस्तदभिधाने त्वतलौ²⁵

Kaṇḍabhaṭṭa takes the meaning of this *Vārtika* in the following sense ‘the secondary derivative suffix *Tva*, *Tal*, etc. denote that which presents itself as qualification of its substratum and they are affixed to the stem which denotes the sense of quality.’ Thus, the *Bhāva*-suffix renders the cognition to which the universal sense acts as the qualification. It denotes the sense of quality (*Guṇa*) in *Śukla*, *Aṇu*, *Mahat*, etc; action in *Pācaka*, etc. universal in *Ghaṭa*, etc.

He further opines that the word itself functions as a qualifier for the substance. The words like *Hari*, *Hara*, *Nala*, *Ikṣavāku*, etc. denotate the existence of some individuals by the power of word itself.

V.4. Meaning of the Secondary Suffix relating to *Devatā*

Kaṇḍabhaṭṭa has discussed the meaning of *Taddhita* suffixes which are used for the rites and oblations made for particular deities (*Devatā*). The aphorism of

²⁴ Bhartṛhari, *op cit*, pp. 203-204

²⁵ Patañjali, *op cit*, p. 366

Pāṇini *Sā'sya Devatā* (IV.2.23) states that the suffix *Aṇ*, etc. should be used in the sense of genitive after the case ending of the word *Devatā*, etc. They denote the sense of possession e.g. *Viśvadevo Devatā'syeti Vaiśvadevī Haviḥ* (an oblation whose deity is Viśvadevo is called *Vaiśvadevī*). Here the oblation has the relation with deity and the oblation made for him.

The use of the secondary suffixes like *An*, etc. pertaining to *Devatā*, has three-fold application in the usage. They are –

1. *Devatā-viśiṣṭa-deya* – an offering qualified by the deity.
2. *Devatā* and *Deya* – deity and the offering.
3. *Pradeya* – offering.

Devatā-viśiṣṭa-deya is explained by Kaṇḍabhaṭṭa by giving the example of *Indro Devatā'syeti Aindram Haviḥ* (an oblation whose deity is Indra is called *Aindram*). In this example, the suffix *Aṇ* denotes the sense of an offering (*Deya*) which is qualified by the deity. The same rule is applied to the expression *Aindrī*.²⁶ *Aindrī* means an offering (*Deya*) qualified by the deity which is not different from Indra.²⁷ In the same way, the word *Vaiśvadevī* renders the sense of an offering which is qualified by the deity not different from the Viśvadeva.²⁸ Hence, it is important to hypothesize a denotative function in the words like Indra, Viśvadeva, etc. in order to express the state of being a deity (*Devatātvā*).

The second variety - *Devatā* and *Deya* denote the multiple senses i.e. *Deya* (i.e. an offering) and *Devatā* (a deity). In this variety, the sense of offering (*Deya*) is the qualifier while the sense of deity is a qualificant. Kaṇḍabhaṭṭa opines that though the sense of deity is a part of the meaning of a suffix, but it is qualified

²⁶ The *Taddhita* word *Aindrī* is made by enjoining the suffix *डीप्* to the word Indra by strength of the aphorism *टिड्ढाणञ्द्वयसज्दन्नज्मात्रत्तयण्ठक्ठञ्क्वरपः* ॥४.१.१५॥ then the letter अ of इन्द्र is dropped by the aphorism *यस्येति च* ॥६.४.१४८॥. The word *Aindrī* is used for the direction whose deity is Indra i.e. the eastern direction.

²⁷ इन्द्राभिन्नदेवताविशिष्टदेयम् । VBS, p. 435

²⁸ विश्वदेवाभिन्नदेवताविशिष्टदेयम् । *Ibid*

by the sense of the stem Agni by the relation of non-difference (*Abhedānvaya*). The sense of deity is specially denoted by the *Taddhita*-suffix. Therefore, it cannot have any syntactic relation with the meaning of the stem in a manner that the latter member qualifies the former by the relation of non-difference. In order to avoid this problem, the two-fold meaning of the *Taddhita*-suffix has to be accepted.

Kaṇḍabhaṭṭa explains the third variety i.e. *Pradeya* (offering) by placing the argument that if the sense of deity is expressed by the stem Agni and then it is unnecessary to assume a separate denotative function in suffix. Hence, offering alone is accepted to be the denotation of the *Taddhita*-suffix but the sense of deity is expressed by the power of convention (*Rūḍī*). In *Aindram Haviḥ*, the *Taddhita*-suffix expresses the sense of the offering.

Vedic Hermeneutics do not agree with the view of Kaṇḍabhaṭṭa. They argue that the offering can never be accepted as the denotative, because it is expressed by another word i.e. *Dadhi*, etc.

Kaṇḍabhaṭṭa says that this is not the case. The sense of the thing offered can be expressed by the word (*Aindram*) itself even in the absence of the word *Dadhi*. Secondly, both *Aindram* and *Dadhi* are co-referents. He concludes this discussion by saying that *Vṛtti* is an additional function to render the coherent and complete meaning of the words whether directly expressed or not. *Taddhita*, too is a *Vṛtti* so it has the power to convey the qualified meaning. In the examples of *Aindrī* and *Āgneya*, the *Taddhita*-suffix denotes the sense of offering qualified by the deity.

V.5. Meaning of the Undifferentiated Singular Number

In Sanskrit grammar, three Numbers have been accepted viz. singular, dual and plural. The point of discussion in this section is ‘how one has the cognition of any particular number?’ This problem has been dealt with by Kaṇḍabhaṭṭa. He

gives two interpretations– 1) when all particular numbers exist without any distinction²⁹ and 2) when numbers exist without any specification in their general sense.³⁰ There isn't any discrimination of number in the mind of the listener when he heard the word for the first time. It is illustrated by giving the example of honey. Honey is considered to be the best medicine. Its constituents are the juices of different flowers. When we take honey, we take it as a whole, we don't think about its ingredients and taste of different flowers individually. This is known as *Abhedaikatvasamkhyā*. The term *Abhedaikatvasamkhyā* (undifferentiated singular number) means the numbers are co-referents and they do not denote the sense of difference. Bhartṛhari writes –

अभेदैकत्वसंख्या वा तत्रान्यैवोपजायते ।

संसर्गरूपं संख्यानामविभक्तं तदुच्यते ॥ ३.१४.१०० ॥

यथौषधिरसाः सर्वे मधुन्याहितशक्तयः ।

अविभागेन वर्तन्ते तां संख्यां तादृशीं विदुः ॥ ३.१४.१०१ ॥³¹

The second interpretation says that the number in general sense excludes all the particular numbers like singular, etc. It is a kind of number which enacts as a universal. It has been illustrated as 'a person cannot identify the exact colour from a far distance, but he affirms that the thing seen by him has some colour.' The same is case with the compound. In compound too, the particular number of secondary component are not known still they denote some numbers by the power of *Abhedaikatvasamkhyā*. At this point of discussion, Kauṇḍabhaṭṭa quotes the example *Kapiñjalān Ālabhet*. The word *Kapiñjalān* is in Accusative plural. It denotes the sense of more than two i.e. three or four or innumerable partridges. But in this example only the sense of three is understood and it

²⁹ संख्याविशेषाणामविभागेन सत्त्वम् = अभेदैकत्वसंख्या । *Ibid*, p. 436

³⁰ परित्यक्तविशेषं वा संख्यासामान्यं तत् । *Ibid*

³¹ Bhartṛhari, *op cit*, pp. 495-496

excludes the other ideas of number of more than three. Bhartṛhari deals the topic in the following way –

भेदानां वा परित्यागात्संख्यात्मास तथाविधः ।

व्यापाराज्जातिभागस्य भेदापोहेन वर्तते ॥ ३.१४.१०२ ॥

अगृहीतविशेषेण यथा रूपेण रूपवान् ।

प्रख्यायते न शुक्लादिभेदरूपस्तु गृह्यते ॥ ३.१४.१०२ ॥³²

Similarly, in the compound *Rājapuruṣaḥ* (a person belonging to king), a person is taken as having relation with only one king. His relation with more than one king is not thought about in the initial stage. The idea of singularity excludes the use of two or more kings. The curiosity to know specially is preceded by the knowledge of the universal, which is expressed by the word itself. Hence, a special kind of denotation has to be accepted in a word to denote the number in general.

V.6. Meaning of the Intended or Unintended Denotation of Number

In the very beginning of the chapter on intended or unintended denotation (*Samkhyāvivakṣā*), Kaṇḍabhaṭṭa has cited the view of Vedic Hermeneutics on *Samkhyāvivakṣā* and then refuted their view by presenting several arguments. Vedic Hermeneutics hold the opinion that there are two types of words 1) *Subject* (*Uddeśya*) and 2) *Predicate* (*Vidheya*).³³ Subject is that to which something is prescribed. Predicate means that which is prescribed with reference to the subject. The sense of Number is not prescribed by the *Subject* but by the *Predicate* e.g. *Graham Sammārṣti* (he washes the cup). In the present

³² *Ibid*, p. 496

³³ उद्देश्यप्रतिनिर्दिश्यमानयोरैक्यमापादयत् सर्वनाम-पर्यायेण तत्तल्लिङ्गभाक् । and तादात्म्यसंसर्गस्थले विशेष्यत्वमेव उद्देश्यं विशेषणत्वमेव विधेयम् । Abhayaṅkara, K.V. & Śukla, J.M., *op cit*, p. 83

example *Graha* is the Subject which presents the singular number. But it does not refer to a single cup since the sense of one cup is not intended to be expressed. It denotes the sense of more than one cup.

The example of *Predicate* is given by Vedic Hermeneutics by quoting a Vedic statement *Paśunā Yajeta* (let the animal-sacrifice be performed). In this, the word *Paśu* is *Predicate* which gives the exact sense of singular number which is also intended to be expressed.

Kaṇḍabhaṭṭa doesn't agree with the view of Vedic Hermeneutics. He strongly says that the fixation of number doesn't depend upon the *Subject* and *Predicate*. On the contrary, it should be decided by the intention of the speaker whether to express it or not.³⁴

लक्ष्यानुरोधात् संख्यायास्तन्नातन्ने मते यतः ।

पश्वेकत्वादिहेतूनामाश्रयणमनाकरम् ॥५७॥

The rule of Pāṇini *Dhātoḥ* (III.1.91) is sufficient to throw light on this topic. Here the word *Dhātoḥ* is in the singular form and is the *Subject* still it expresses the sense of singularity only.

If it be accepted that the sense of singularity is not intended to be expresses in *Dhātoḥ*, then plurality would be taken to be expressed. As a result, the verbal termination would be affixed to even a collection of roots and the sense of the termination can be qualified by the sense of all the roots. To this, again, if it be argued that the number of the qualifier of the *Subject* is also not intended to be expressed as it refers to the number of the subject, then in *Ārdhadhātukasyeḍvalādeḥ* (VII.2.35); the singularity of *Valādi* qualifies

³⁴ तथा वैयाकरणानाम्मते उद्देश्य-विधेयत्वावच्छेदेन कश्चन नियमो नास्ति । सङ्ख्या विवक्षाऽविवक्षे लक्ष्यानुरोधिन्यो । VBS, p. 342

Ārdhadhātuka in the aphorism. But such is not true in the present example as here the sense of singularity is intended to be expressed.

Kaunḍabhaṭṭa argues that the view of Vedic Hermeneutics that the number of the qualifier of the *Predicate* is intended to be expressed is not appropriate. According to their view, in the aphorism *Radābhyām Niṣṭhāto Naḥ Pūrvasya Ca Daḥ* (VIII.2.42) *Radābhyām* and *Pūrvasya* are the qualifiers of *Niṣṭhāto* and *Daḥ* respectively. Here *Naḥ* is the *Predicate* which is qualified by the singularity of the number. If it be accepted, then this rule may instruct a singular *Nakāra* which will be substituted for *Takāra* and *Dakāra*. As a result, the substitute of two *Nakāra* in *Bhinnaḥ* would become uncertain.³⁵ He further explicates another rule of Pāṇini – *Ād Guṇaḥ* (VI.1.87). In this aphorism, the term *Guṇaḥ* is the *Predicate*. Here the sense of singularity is intended to be expressed. As a result of this, the use of *Ekaḥ* in the aphorism *Ekaḥ Pūrvaparayoḥ* (VI.1.84) will be meaningless.

Vedic Hermeneutics do not agree with this view of Kaunḍabhaṭṭa. They argue that if it would not be accepted that the qualifier of the *Predicate* is used to be intentionally expressed, then there cannot be any restriction. Moreover, the aphorism VI.1.87 may suggest the use of more than two *Nakāras* in the case of *Bhinnaḥ*. Secondly, in the aphorism VI.1.84, the word *Ekaḥ* is used in the restricted sense. Here two substituents are to be replaced by one substitute and not by two different substitutes.

Kaunḍabhaṭṭa doesn't accept this view of the opponent. It is observed that no valid argument is made by Kaunḍabhaṭṭa to refute the view of the opponent. At the end of this discussion, it seems that Kaunḍabhaṭṭa appears to be agree with Vedic Hermeneutics' view that the number of *Predicate* and its qualifier is

³⁵ रदाभ्यां वाक्यभेदेन नकारद्वयलाभतः । क्षतिर्नैवास्ति तन्त्रत्वे विधेये भेदकस्य तु ॥५९॥ *Ibid*

intended to be expressed; still he strongly says that it solely depends upon the intention of the speaker and contextual conditions.

V. 7. Meaning of the Primary Suffix *Ktvā*

Ktvā is a Primary derivative suffix (*Kṛdanta*). It has been stated by the aphorism of Pāṇini – *Samāna-Kartṛkayoḥ Pūrvakāle* (III.4.21). According to this rule, when the different actions are performed by a common agent, then the comparatively earlier action will govern the *Ktvā* suffix e.g. *Saḥ Bhuktvā Vrajati* (he starts going after completing his meal). This sentence shows two different actions – action of eating and action of going. The agent of both the actions is same. The action of eating took place prior to action of going; therefore it gets the suffix *Ktvā*.

Kaṇḍabhaṭṭa opines that the suffix *Ktvā* signifies the sense of *Bhāva* i.e. action. His view is similar to that of Kātyāyana who also endorse the same thought.³⁶ In the chapter on suffix *Ktvā*, Kaṇḍabhaṭṭa has given an elaborative discussion on the point of *Samāna-Kartṛkayoḥ* i.e. the agent, of the action denoted by the root (with *Ktvā*) and by the following root, is always the same.

The opponent argues that if the agent is same then the use of *Aham* can be substituted by *Mayā* in the example *Paktvā'ham Bhokṣye* (after cooking, I shall eat). But Kaṇḍabhaṭṭa disagrees with this view of the opponent. It means that in the above expression, the suffix *Ktvā* expresses the agent because the verbal ending expressed it too. The former expression is with regard to the action of cooking and the latter with regard to the action of eating. Both the actions of the

³⁶ अव्ययकृतो भावे इति वार्तिकादित्यर्थः । *Ibid*, p. 348

agent are expressed through *Ktvā*. Therefore, there is no need to use the form *Mayā*.³⁷ At this point of discussion he quotes two verses of VP.

प्रधानेतरयोर्यत्र द्रव्यस्य क्रिययोः पृथक् ।

शक्तिर्गुणाश्रया तत्र प्रधानमनुरुध्यते ॥ ३.७.८१ ॥

प्रधानविषया शक्तिः प्रत्ययेनाभिधीयते ।

यदा गुणे तदा तद्वदनुक्तापि प्रकाशते ॥ ३.७.८१ ॥³⁸

Kaundabhaṭṭa says that the expression *Bhoktum Pacati* (he cooks in order to eat) is a single sentence. For, there is a relationship of a qualifier and a qualified between the act of eating and that of cooking. If this view is not accepted, then *Bhunkte Vrajati* (he eats, he walks) will also be treated as a single sentence which is not desirable. The state of the qualification and that of qualified is of four types. These four types are –

1. *Janyatva* (the state of being produced).
2. *Sāmānādhikaraṇa* (co-referentiality).
3. *Pūrvottarabhāva* (the state of being the predicate and subsequent).
4. *Vyāpyatva* (the state of being the invariable concomitant).

The example of the first variety is - *Bhoktum Pacati* (he cooks to eat). In this, the act of cooking leads to the act of eating.

The second and the third variety can be illustrated by the expression *Bhuktvā Vrajati* (he goes after having meal). Here both the act of eating and cooking are performed by the same agent. The act of eating is followed by the act of going.

³⁷ तृतीयाऽऽपादनस्तु – आख्यातार्थक्रियायाः प्रधानभूतायाः कर्तुरभिधानात्प्रधानानुरोधेन गुणे कार्यप्रवृत्तेर्न सम्भवति । *Ibid*

³⁸ Bhartṛhari, *op cit*, p. 313

The last variety can be illustrated as *Adhītya Tiṣṭhati* (he stands up after completing the study). This expression cannot be used in the absence of the action of study. Study is the concomitant with the act of studying. Another example is - *Mukham Vyādāya Svapiti* (he sleeps with the mouth open). Here too, the act of opening the mouth is required to render the sense of invariable concomitant. There is a concomitance between the act of sleeping and opening the mouth.

Kaṇḍabhaṭṭa concludes this chapter on *Ktvā* by stating that the suffixes *Ktvā*, etc. should be accepted as the co-signifiers of these four relationships mentioned above.³⁹

In this chapter I tried my level best to elaborate some of the innovative ideas of Kaṇḍabhaṭṭa and I was convinced that his contribution is laudable and significant. His ideas have undoubtedly enriched the philosophy of Sanskrit grammar. A thorough understanding of all these thoughts is very much essential for proper, authentic and sophisticated use of language like Sanskrit which is a scientific language.

³⁹ एवञ्च प्रकृत्यर्थक्रिययोः संसर्गे तात्पर्यग्राहकत्वरूपं द्योतकत्वं क्त्वादीनाम् । VBS, p. 350