

VYĀKARAṆA MAHĀBHĀṢYA OF PATAÑJALI ON PĀṆINI 3.1 (ĀHNIKAS 1 TO 6) (1) *

Stephen Peter THOMPSON

PREFACE

The *Sanskṛta* language is acknowledged to have the finest and oldest grammatical system in the world today, besides possessing an incomparable literature. Hence for understanding the nature of language and of the Word itself it becomes imperative to study the greatest authorities on *Sanskṛta* Grammar, viz. *Pāṇini*, *Kātyāyana* and *Patañjali*.

At the heart *Pāṇini*'s great *Aṣṭādhyāyī* lies the concept of *pratyaya*, being by far the largest *adhikāra sūtra*, governing the three central *adhyāyas* of the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* and virtually half the *sūtras*. This in itself bears witness to the importance of the concept in language. Indeed it has been said that to understand the Word, one needs first to understand the relation between the stem which is known and the *pratyaya* which is unknown but joins the stem to bring forth the meaning of the whole Word.

Thus this thesis focuses on the first and most important *pāda* within the province of the *Pratyaya Adhikāra*, the *pratyayapāda*, with a view to shedding some light on the concept of *Pratyaya* and indirectly on the Word itself.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

Part A:

- Chapter 1 General Introduction on the Concept of *Pratyaya* in relation to the terms *Prakṛti*, *Aṅga*, *Dhātu*, and *Prātipadika*
- Chapter 2 Uses of the *Pratyaya* in *Pāṇini's Aṣṭādhyāyī* in Order of Occurrence (26)
- Chapter 3 Eight Major Types of *Pratyaya* referred to in the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*

Part B:

- Chapter 4 Introduction to the Translation
- Chapter 5 The *Sanskṛta* text and the English Translation of the *Vyākaraṇa Mahābhāṣya* by Patañjali on 3.1, the *Pratyaya Pāda* Comprising six *Āhnikas* and Dealing with Kātyāyana's *Vārttikas* on Pāṇini 3.1.1-149
- Chapter 6 Critical Notes on the Text of the *Pratyayapāda*
- Chapter 7 Summary and Conclusion
- Bibliography

PART A

CHAPTER I: GENERAL INTRODUCTION ON THE CONCEPT
OF *PRATYAYA* IN RELATION TO THE TERMS:
PRAKṚTI, *AṄGA*, *DHĀTU*, AND *PRĀTIPADIKA*

Etymology and definitions of *Pratyaya*

The word *pratyaya* is derived from the root/ *dhātu i* preceded by *prati* and followed by the *pratyaya ac*¹.

According to *Pāṇini* 3.3.56 *ac* comes after a *dhātu* ending in *i* or *ī* (when mere action is denoted, or when the sense is that of a name, the word being related to the *dhātu* from which the name is derived but not as an agent).

Here the *dhātu i* in the sense of ‘movement’ is preceded by the *upasarga prati* creating a special result in the *prakṛti/* base or stem, in the sense of before, forward, in front, on, forth; so in the verbal form meaning to go forward, to meet, to resort to, to receive, to accept, to admit, to recognise, (c.f. *pratītaye* Ṛ.V. 1.36.20, *pratītayena* Ṛ.V. 4.5.14) to be certain of, be convinced that, (*Grhya-* and *Śrauta-Sūtra*, *Nirukta* and *Ramāyana*); to trust and believe (*Kathāsaritsāgara*).

Attestations of the Word *Pratyaya*

The *dhātu i* followed by the *pratyaya ac* to form a noun/*nāman* (by “*erac*” 3.3.96), which *pratyaya* is recorded in the literature in the following meanings:

1. *Upaniṣads*:

In the meanings knowledge, consciousness, faith in, belief in, firm conviction, confidence, hopefulness, certainty, ...

¹ Formation: *prati+ayaḥ*. *niru* 1.3 *abhi ityābhimukhyam*. *pratiityetasya prātilobhyam prati in* (*dhā pāṭha gatau* 1045 *adādigāṇa parasmai aniṭ*) *abhirabhāge* 1.4.32 - (*ac bhāve*) *lakṣaṇa - upasarga prati* used in the sense of *abhi/lakṣaṇa* meaning away from (*lakṣaṇe* = sign ‘in direction of’, i.e. away from) *erac* 3.3.46 (*bhāve, akartari, kārake*) *ivarnāntād dhāto bhāve* (3.3.18) *akartari cakārake samjñāyām* (3.3.19) *ac pratyayo bhavati/ ghajo pavāgah/ by citah* 6.1.163 (*antah udāttaḥ*) the *it i* is for the final *udātta* accent.

The earliest reference in the *Upaniṣads* is found in the *Māṇḍūkyaopaniṣad* (7):

nāntaḥ prajñam na bahiṣprajñam nobhayataḥ prajñam na prajñānaghanam na prajñam nāprajñam/ adṛṣtamavyavahāryam agrāhyam alaksanam acintyam avyapadeśyam ekātmapratyaya-sāram prapañcopaśamaḥ śāntaḥ śivam advaitam caturtham manyante sa ātmā sa vijñeyah/

“They consider the Fourth (*turīya*) to be that which is not conscious of the internal (subjective) world, nor conscious of the external (objective) world, nor conscious of both the worlds, nor is it a concrete consciousness, which is unseen, beyond empirical dealings, beyond grasp (intangible), devoid of qualifications, beyond thinking, and beyond description; essentially of the nature of consciousness as the Self alone (*ekātma pratyayasāram*) in which all phenomena cease; which is peaceful, auspicious and non-dual. That is the Self, and that is to be known.” In accordance with the Vedic text ‘it is to be meditated upon as the Self’ (*Brh.* 3.4.7).

The next reference to *pratyaya* is in the *Maitrāyāṇīya Upaniṣad* (6.10):

puruṣaś cetā pradhānāntaḥsthaḥ/ sa eva bhoktā prākṛtam annam bhukta iti/ tasyāyām bhūtātmā hyannam/ asya kartā pradhānaḥ/ tasmāt triguṇam bhojyam/ bhoktā puruṣo ’ntasthaḥ/ atra dṛṣtam nāma pratyayam/

“The conscious Person (*puruṣa*) stands in the midst of matter (*pradhāna*). He is an enjoyer — he enjoys the food of nature (*prakṛti*). Even this elemental soul (*bhūtāman*) is food for him; its maker is matter. Therefore, that which is to be enjoyed consists of the three ‘qualities’ (*guṇa*) and the enjoyer is the person (*puruṣa*) who stands in the midst. Here observation is clearly consciousness (or Knowledge) *pratyaya*.”

Other *Upaniṣads* use the concept in a similar sense. In the following passages the word *pratyaya* carries the sense of comprehension, knowledge or realisation:

Mahopaniṣad 5.12.13:

navaprasutasya parādayam cāhamidaṃ mama/ iti yah pratyaya svasthastajjāgratprāgabhāvanāt//12

“This (consciousness) is I, beyond this (manifest universe) my newly created (universe)”.

Thus the consciousness/*Pratyaya* is oneself because of existing before waking from That (Brahman).

ayam so ’hamidaṃ tanma iti janmāntaroditaḥ pīvaraḥ pratyayah

prokto mahājāgraditi sphuṭam//13

“This is That which I am. There is this (manifest universe) which is mine. Thus spoken of as gross in former lives, it is certainly declared as consciousness, the Great awakening (in fact).”

Sarasvatīrahasyopaniṣad 3:

*tasyaiva stuvato nityam samabhyarcya sarasvatīm/
bhaktīsraddhābhīyuktasya ṣaṇmāsātpratyayo bhavet//*

“After six months of praise always fully engaged with devotion and faith, having worshiped Sarasvati, one would become realized”.

However, here it is found in its technical sense ‘affix’:

Prāṇopaniṣat or Praṇavopaniṣat 2.34

— *Gopatha Brāhmaṇa 1.1.24-30*

*omkāraṃ prcchāmaḥ ko dhātu kiṃ prātipādikaṃ kiṃ
nāmākhyātam kiṃ liṅgaṃ kiṃ ca vacanaṃ kā vibhaktiḥ kaḥ
pratyayaḥ ... ko dhātur ityāpter dhātur avatim apy eke/
rūpasāmānyādyarthasāmānyānyanya nedīyastasmādāpter oṅ-
kāraḥ sarvam āpnotīy arthaḥ/ krdantam arthavat prātipadikam
adarśanam pratyayasya nāma sampadyate/*

“ We are asking questions about the sound ‘Om’. Which is (its) *dhātu*? Which is (its) *prātipadika*? What is (its connection with) *nāman* (noun) and *ākhyāta* (verb)? What is its *liṅga* (gender)? What is its *vacana* (number)? What is its *vibhakti* (case)? What is the *pratyaya*? Its *dhātu* is *āp* or according to others *av* (to protect etc.). According to the former, being common to all forms and meanings, it pervades all as ‘Om’. Ending in a *ḥ* *pratyaya* it is meaningful and is thus *prātipadika*. The disappearance of its *pratyaya* (still) means it is valid as a *nāman* (noun).”

In the *Śrī Rāmapūrvatopaniṣat 39.4.7* the sense is ‘belief’:

*sa tu rāme śaṅkitāḥ sanpratyayārtham ca dandubheḥ/
vīgraham darśayāmāsa yo rāmastambacikṣipta//*

In the *Sāmarahasyopaniṣat 4.227.12* the sense is ‘realisation’:

*rasalīlāyām pravṛttir anyadharmavismaraṇapūrvikā jātā/
tasyāḥ sevākāyāyām pratyayo babhūva//
250.1 tallilākathā parā kāṣṭhā tasyām līlāyām parā kāṣṭhā/
288.16 yadā mahābhāgyodayo bhavati tarāṃ tadāsyām līlāyām
pratyayo bhavet/*

2. Nirukta

In the *Nirukta*, we find *Yāska* is using the word in the sense of conception, assumption, notion; or according to *Abhyankar*, the word *pratyaya* is used in the sense of realization, in which case the *dhātu i* in *pratyaya* means knowing (or consciousness) according to the maxim (quoted by *Abhyankar* from an unknown source); c.f. *sarve gatyarthā jñānārthāḥ* “All *dhātus* meaning to go have (also) the meaning to know”, and *yadi mantrārthapratyāya nirarthaka bhavati* (“(The *Nirukta*) as means for the realisation of the meaning of the *mantras* (Vedic stanzas) is of no use”, *Nirukta* 1.15). Incidentally, *Yāska* uses other terms, e.g. *nāmakaraṇa upabandha* etc. to convey the idea of grammatical *pratyaya*.

3. Prātiśākhya

The word *pratyaya* is used in the *Prātiśākhya* works in the sense of ‘following’ or ‘that which follows’, i.e. the literal meaning. The word *pratyaya* is used in the *Prātiśākhyas* and their commentaries in the sense of ‘subsequent word or sound’ *sparśe coṣaḥ pratyaye pūrva-padyaḥ* (R.P. 1.30); *uṣa* forming the first member of a compound is designated *riphita* when a mute follows.

medhātirtho varuṇānta vratāntau sparśāntasthāpratyayau nirhrasete (R.P. 1.90)

“In the *Medhātithi* hymns, compounds ending in ‘*Varuṇa*’ and ‘*Vrata*’ are shortened when a mute or semi-vowel follows.”

In the *Vājasaneyī Prātiśākhya* the word is used both in the sense of ‘following’ and in the sense of ‘a suffix’/*pratyaya*. Thus in *pratyaya-savarṇaṁśali śākatāyaṇaḥ* (3.9) “*Śākatāyaṇa* prescribes the change of a *Vāsarjanīya* into the homogeneous letter of the following sound when a sibilant follows”. *pratyayasavarṇa* is used in the sense of *parasavarṇa*.

In *hrasvavyañjanābhyāṁ vakārādau vibhaktipratyaye* (5.13) however *vibhaktipratyaye* means a “suffix which is a case ending”.

In the *Taittirīya Prātiśākhya*, *pratyaya* is used in the sense of augment in *akurva iti ca pratyayātparaḥ* (5.7), whereas in *Pāṇini*, as we shall see, we find the word used in the specialised sense of a suffix, as *apṛkta* is used in reference to a *pratyaya* only.

In the *Gopatha Brāhmaṇa* (1.1.26):

kā dhātur ity ādir dhātuḥ/ rūpasāmānyād arthasāmānyam

nedīyah/ tasmādāperonkārah/ sarvamāpnotītyarthaḥ kṛdantam arthavatprātipadikam/ adarśanam pratyayasya/ nāma sam-padyate/ nīpāteṣu cainam vaiyākaraṇā udāttaṃ samāsananti tadavyayībhūtam anvarthavācī śabdo no vyeti kadācaneti/
See page 112 for translation.

In the *Brāhmaṇas* as well as *Prātiśākhya*s it is clear the word means not only 'that which follows, (V.Pr.3.9) 'augment'. (*Tai Pr. akurva iti ca pratyayātparaḥ* (5.7) and 'case ending' ('*darśanam pratyayasya*' *Gopatha Brahmaṇa* 1,26) but at one time included the sense of suffix, prefix, infix, and augment.

4. Other Grammarians

'Pratyaya' is used in this wide sense only once by *Pāṇini* in *aṇuditsavarṇasya cāpratyayaḥ* 1.1.69. Hence the objector urges in the *M.Bh.*:

atyalpamidamucyate apratyaya iti apratyaya ādeśa ṭit kinmita iti vaktavyam

"It is too narrow to say 'not a *pratyaya*/affix'. It should be stated 'not a *pratyaya*, or an *ādeśa*/substitute or having an it 't', or an it 'k' or an it 'm'."

The etymological sense is thus shown in *M.Bh.* 3.1.1:8 *yastamartham pratyāyayati sa pratyayaḥ* "That which causes the meaning to be know is *pratyaya*" as we shall see in more detail subsequently. *nāmakaraṇa* and *upabandha* would appear to be the earlier names for a '*pratyaya*'. Both are found in the *Nirukta*. While explaining *kiṃ punardvigusaṃjñā pratyayotarapadayor bhavati* under *taddhitārthottarapadasamāhāre ca* 2.1.51, *Kaiyata* says *kāśakṛtsnasya pratyayottarapadayoḥ iti sūtram*. From this it is clear that *Kāśakṛtsna* also used *pratyaya* in the sense of a *pratyaya*.

All the different systems of *Sanskṛta* grammar use '*pratyaya*' for a 'suffix' with the exception of the *Jainendra* and *Mugdhabodha*. *Jainendra* uses the second syllable *tya* for *pratyaya* and *Mugdhabodha* follows *Jainendra*. *Kātantra*, *Samkṣipta* and *Supadima Vyākaraṇam* use *pratyaya* without defining it.

5. Classical literature

Kālidāsa has used the two technical terms *prakṛti*² and *pratyaya*

² That to which the *pratyaya* is added is known as *prakṛti*. *prakṛti* has the sense of 'original form' in the *Nirukta* 2.2,

in *Raghuvamśa* 11.56.

*tā narādhipasutā nṛpātmajaiste ca tābhir agaman kṛtārthatām
so 'bhavad varavadhūsamāgamah pratyayaprakṛtiyogasan-
nimah/*

“The princesses attained the object of their being, on being united with the princes, as did the princes by being joined with the princesses. The union of the bride and bridegroom was like the combination of the *prakṛti*/base with the *pratyaya*/affix.”

Bhāravi also uses the term in *Kirātārjunīyaḥ* 13.19 -

*sa bhavasya bhavakṣayaikahetoḥ sītasapteś cavidhāsyatoḥ sahā-
rtham/*

*ripurāpa parābhāvāya madhyaṃ prakṛtipratyayor ivānu-
bandhah//*

“The enemy came for his own overthrow between *Śiva*, the sole cause of creation, and *Arjuna* of the white steeds, both about to accomplish their object simultaneously, even as the indicatory letter comes for elision between the *prakṛti* and the *pratyaya* which together express the meaning.”³

Bhaṭṭoji quotes in the *Praudhamanoramā*:

*uditavati parasmīn pratyaye śāstrayonau gatavati vilayaṃ ca
prākṛte 'pi prapañce sapadi padamudītaṃ kevalaḥ pratyayo yat
tadiyad iti mimīte ko hṛdā pañiḍto 'pi//*

“When the Supreme Knowledge (*pratyaya*) which has its source in scripture, arose and the visible world created by *Māyā* (or illusion) melted away, there arose an entity which is pure knowledge. Who, however learned he may be, can now measure

*athāpi prakṛtaya evaikāṣu bhāṣyante vikṛtaya ekāṣu (dhātorākhyātapadabhāvena sa yaḥ
prayogaḥ sā prakṛti/ nāmībhūtasya tasyaiva yaḥ prayogaḥ sā vikṛtiḥ durgah/)*

“Further, primary forms alone are used in speech among some people; secondary forms among others”.

Pāṇini uses the term *aṅga* or base as his synonym of *prakṛti*

yasmāt pratyayavidhis tadādi pratyaye 'ṅgam 1/4/13

“Whatsoever is followed by an enjoined *pratyaya* the prior part of that (combination), in its state prior to any change resulting from combination, is named *aṅga* (in relation to and) in the presence of that following *pratyaya*.”

Similar to the usage in the *Prātiśākhya*s and *Pāṇini*, *Samkṣiptasāra Vyākaraṇa* uses *prakṛti* in this sense in *prakṛtivad dvirguṇādiśca 2.5.56* etc.

In 2.2.89 *mūlaprakṛti* is used. *Goyīcandra* explains it thus —

*prakṛtipadena yasmātpatyayotpatistasyaiva grahṇe siddhe vyutpāditastadagrahanārtha
dhātoreva śabdasya mūlaprakṛtiḥ/ dhātujatvāt sarvaśabdaḥ/ mūlaprakṛtīti kṛtam yasmād
dhātoḥ śabdaḥ/*

3 3 (N.B.-In *Kālidāsa*'s simile the masculine 'Pratyaya' and feminine *Prakṛti* are *upamānas* for the bridegroom and bride respectively. But in *Bhāravi*'s simile the *upamāna* *Prakṛti* is feminine but the *upameya* *bhāva* is masculine and since the sense of *prakṛti* is subordinate to *pratyaya*, *Śiva* becomes inferior to *Arjuna*. Moreover, *anubandhas* generally come at the end of a *pratyaya* (and not between it and the *prakṛti*).

by heart its extent? When the *pratyaya gh-a* which acts after the *prakṛti* as prescribed in grammar, added to *idam* and everything belonging to the *prakṛti* was elided, there sprang into existence a word which is solely a *pratyaya*. That word is *iyat*. Who, however learned he may be, can thoroughly explain this?"⁴

Paṇḍitrāja Jagannāth has a similar stanza in the *Rasagaṅgādhara*:
*guṇavṛddhī pare yasmin naiva staḥ pratyayātmake buddheṣu
 saditikhyaṭam tadu brahma samupāsmahe//*
 "We worship that Brahma (the Supreme Being consisting of pure thought (*pratyaya*)) in whom there is neither any attribute nor any growth or development. Known among the wise as the existent or eternal one."

Finally there is a *subhāsita*:

*Hariharayor iha bhedaṃ kalayati loko vināśāstram/
 anayoḥ prakṛtir abhinnā pratyayabhedād vibhinnavad bhāti*
 "People here regard *Hari* and *Hara* as different and dig their own graves (*vināśa agram*) though there is nothing in the *Śāstras* to warrant this. Their nature (*Prakṛti*) is the same but appears different owing to a difference in knowledge (*pratyaya*)."

Pratyayas as a rule come after the base to which they have been added. Hence *Pāṇini* has framed the *adhikāra sūtra Paraśca 3.1.2* immediately after the *sūtra Pratyaya 3.1.1*. So in *Kādambarī* (page 47) *Bāṇabhaṭṭa* uses the *parisaṃkhyā pratyayānām paratvam* "being subsequent (is characteristic) of *pratyayas*". The major exception is the *pratyaya bahuc* by *Pāṇini sūtra "Vibhāṣā supo bahuc purastāt tu" 5.3.68* but *Candra (4.3 vṛtti)* and his followers refuse to regard *bahuc* as a *pratyaya* c.f. 'more' and 'most' in English forming comparative and superlative suffixes, c.f. also:

Mahābhāṣya 3.1.2 vā 6:

*dvayasajādīnām ca kevalānām prayogo dṛśyate/
 kimasya dvayasam kimasya mātram kādya tithīti//
 dvayasādyo vai vṛttijasadrśā avṛtījā bahustathā//*

⁴ This *pratyaya vat* is added to *idam* and the *va* of *vat* is changed to *gha* (i.e. *iya*) by *kimidambhyām vo ghaḥ 5. 2. 4* so we get *idam iya t*. Then by *idam iṣa 5.3.3* *i* replaces *idam* so we have *īyat*. The *i* is elided only by *yasyeti ca 6.4.148*. So that the whole base is *pratyaya iyat* remains. Similarly *adhunā 5.3.17* *adhunā* etc.

c.f. in English 'bus' in an abbreviation of omnibus, dative plural of Latin 'omnis'. 'Bus' corresponds to Sanskrit *bhyas(bhyas)*.

(In Gathic Avesta *tā (Yas. 11.7.3)* for Sanskrit *pitā* in *Y. Avesta turiya (Vis. 12.15)* for *pitṛvya*.)

“The usage of ‘*dvayasac*’*pratyaya* and the rest alone (i.e. without a base or *prakṛti*) is seen (as) ‘What is the measure (*dvayasac*) of that? What number day is it today?’
Dvayasac and the rest are indeed like verbal activities or *prakṛtis*. As non-verbal, (not *prakṛtis*) so they are like *bahuc*”.⁵

In the *Madhyama Vyāyoga* of *Bhāsa* (?) we find

“*rūpaṃ satvaṃ balaṃ caiva pitṛbhiḥ sadṛśaṃ bahu*

“form, purity, and strength is indeed likewise great with the ancestors”

where *bahu* is used separately, as also

janayati ca manojvaram svarō yaṃ bahusadrśo hi dhanañjaya-svarasya (24)

“But the vowel generates fire in the mind which is indeed very much like that of *Dhanañjaya*’s vowel/sound”

where ‘*bahu*’ has been compounded with *sadrśa*⁶.

6. ‘Platonic Type Dialogue’ on *pratyaya* by *Patañjali*

Rather than specifically defining the concept, *Pāṇini* frames the *adhikāra sūtra Pratyayah* (3.1.1) and thereby indicates that the prescribed items which in the third, fourth and fifth *adhyāyas* (making it much the largest governing *sūtra* in terms of sphere of influence) come after *aṅga* (which come into existence only after a *pratyaya* is added), are all *pratyayas*. The tradition, particularly that of *Kātyāyana* and *Patañjali*, has interpreted the word consistently in the sense of that which causes one to understand a meaning:

“Or else we can resort to the meaning (for explaining the *pratyaya* rule). A *pratyaya* is that which causes the meaning to be meant or understood.”

“Is this (going) to be stated? ‘Not at all.’ How will it be understood — if unexpressed?”

“‘*pratyaya*’ is formed as a great *saṃjñā*/technical term.”

“And *saṃjñā* is verily (normally) that than which nothing is shorter.”

“How is this? For the purpose of the technical name is brevity.”

“In that context the reason for the ‘great *saṃjñā*’ is so that its purpose as an ‘*anvartha saṃjñā*’ (a term whose meaning is

⁵ *bahuc* can easily have the secondary sense of ‘to a large extent’ (c.f. Germ. ‘fast’ and Fr. ‘asse’) and both the position of ‘*bahu*’ and the accent along with the gender of the word show there is a compound of ‘*bahu*’ and a following word.

⁶ See Wackernagel, ‘*Altindische Grammatik*’, 2.1.236.

intelligible in itself and opposed to such technical terms as 'bha', 'ghu' coined by Pāṇini, may be known."

"A *pratyaya* leads towards i.e. causes one to recognise or acknowledge convince (anyone of the truth of anything)"

[Kālidāsa - 'makes clear', 'proves' (*Sam K.*, *Sāh.*)]

"If '*pratyaya*' leads towards, i.e. causes (the listener) to recognise (the meaning) then the technical term *pratyaya* does not obtain for '*avi-ka*' (c.f. *aveḥkaḥ avoḥ kaḥ* 5.4.2) ("the *pratyaya* '*ka*' acts after '*avi*' in the sense of '*avi*'/*svārthe* itself, i.e. without change of sense") and the rest (of *svārthe pratyayas*) for they do not cause one to recognise anything."

"Well then, '*pratyaya*' is that which is led towards, i.e. is caused to be recognised or acknowledged, is made clear or proved (i.e. the *pratyaya* is heard/recognised but not as having an independent meaning)."

"Then the term *pratyaya* does not obtain for the *pratyaya* '*san*' (desiderative) etc. which causes to recognise a meaning."

"Well then this word is expressive of both, expressive of the Agent (who causes to recognise, i.e. know the meaning) and expressive of the object (which is caused to be recognised or is made known)."

"Well then also, whence this (notion) of 'what (*āgama* and *pratyaya*) have in common is that they are not previously taught,' as in the words *trāpuṣam* and *jātuṣam* (derived by *trapujatunoḥ ṣuk* 4.3.138".

"The *pratyaya* '*aṅ*' with the augment/*āgama* acts in the sense of modification *vikāra* and *jātu* (n., lac, gum) thus *trāpuṣam* made of tin, *jātuṣam* m.f.n. "made or covered with lac or gum".

"Here the letter '*a*' (of the *pratyaya* '*aṅ*') causes the meaning to be meant or understood, not (the augment/*āgama*) letter '*ṣ*'."

"Elsewhere also it is by reason of the letter '*a*' (that there is) pronunciation of that meaning. We think it is the letter '*a*' which causes the meaning to be meant or understood, not the letter '*s*'."

"Where else?"

"After '*bilva*' etc. the *pratyaya* '*aṅ*' acts in the sense of its modification or part (*vikāra* or *avayava*) *bailva* m.f. (*ī*)n. "relating to or coming from the *bilva* tree", (made of *bilva* wood, modification, part of the *bilva* tree)."

7. Nāgeśa's Discussion on *Svārtha Pratyayas*

Generally a meaning is assigned to a *pratyaya* when it is prescribed. When the meanings are not assigned, the *pratyaya* is said to bear the sense of the base.

One might say that the term 'pratyaya' which implies that which is termed so, conveys a meaning and ought properly not to be applied to those (*pratyayas* which convey no meaning⁷ whatever). (The author of the *Paribhāṣā*) says therefore *anirdiṣṭārthaḥ pratyayāḥ svārthaḥ*

nanv atyantasvārthakānām arthapratyayakatvarūpaḥ pratyaya-tvānupapattir ata āha anirdiṣṭārthāḥ pratyayāḥ svārthe// Pari 113

(*Pari. 113*) "Pratyayas to which no meaning has been assigned (in grammar) convey the meaning of the (bases) to which they (are added)."

yasyārthaḥ prakṛtyā pratyāyyate so 'pi pratyayaḥ ity asyāpy aṅgikārāt tasya pratyayatvam iti na doṣa/

"As we hold (not only that a *pratyaya* conveys a meaning but hold) likewise⁸ that, the meaning of which is conveyed by the base (to which it is added) too may be termed a *pratyaya*, it cannot be improper to apply the term *pratyaya* to the latter (i.e. to *pratyayas* which convey no meaning of their own)."

svārtha ity asya svīyaparakṛtyartha ity arthaḥ/

Svārthe (in this *Paribhāṣā*) means that they convey the meaning of their own bases.⁹

This gives rise to the present (*Paribhāṣā*) on this:

mahāsamjñābalād arthākāṅksāyām anyān upasthitir asyā bijam/

"When (*Pāṇini*) adopts so long a technical term (as *pratyaya*) his doing so shows that (what is denoted by that term) must (in accordance with the etymological meaning of the latter necessarily convey) a meaning and as no other (meaning) can be conveyed (by the *pratyayas* spoken of in this *Paribhāṣā* they must convey the meaning of the bases to which they are added)."

(This (*Paribhāṣā*) is found in the *Bhāṣya* on P.3.2.4 and other rules.)

Nāgeśa 83

nanu kuṭīra ityādau svārthikatvātsvārthikānām prakṛtito liṅgavacanānuvṛtter nyāyapṛāptatvāt pumstvānupapattir apkal-pam ity atra napuṃsakatvaikavacanayoranupapattiś cet yata āha.

"One might say e.g. in *kuṭīra* 'a small hut' (*pratyaya a* which has been added by 5.3.88 has been added to the feminine *kuṭī* does not add any meaning of its own) but leaves (*kuṭīra*) with the same meaning that would be denoted by the original base (*kuṭī*).

7 such as *k* in 5.4.28

8 namely in accordance with *Bhāṣya* on 3.1.1 *pratyaya iti māhatī samjñā*

9 i.e. *sva* in the sense of *svīya supī sthaḥ* (3.2.4)

'*Kuṭīra*' ought not to be masculine because (derivative bases formed by means of) *pratyayas* 'that do not convey any particular meaning of their own, should in accordance with the practice of ordinary life receive their gender and number from the original base (from which they are derived) and that (for the same reason) *ap-kalpa* 'almost water' (*ap*, *āp* — in accordance with 5.3.67 is derived from the feminine plural *āp*, *āpah*, by means of the *pratyaya kalpap*) ought not to be neuter and singular (the author of the *Paribhāṣās*) says therefore:

kvacitsvārthikāḥ prakṛtito līngvacanāny ativartante//83

"(Pari. 83): Sometimes (it happens that bases which are derived by means of) *pratyayas* that (do not convey any particular meaning of their own, but) leave the meaning which is conveyed by the original base (to which they are added unchanged) do not take their gender and number from these original bases (from which they are derived)."

Pratyayas taught in 5.3.1 *prāgdiśo vibhakti* etc. convey no meaning of their own but merely indicate that the base to which they are added must be understood in some particular sense or other; the new bases therefore which are formed by them convey the same meaning as the original bases to which they are added and might accordingly be expected to receive their gender and number from the latter.¹⁰

ṇacaḥ strīyām 5.4.14 iti sūtre strīyām ity uktir asyā jñāpakā

The fact that (*Pāṇini*) has stated in the *sūtra* 5.4.14 (that *añ* shall be added to bases in *ṇac*) *strīyām* i.e. in the feminine, indicates (the existence of) this (*Paribhāṣā*).

anyathā karmavyatihāre "ṇac strīyām" 3.3.43

"If on the other hand (the *Paribhāṣā* did not exist) that (*strīyām* in 5.4.14) would serve no purpose, because *ṇac* by 3.3.43 can be added only in the feminine (and because new bases derived from such bases in *ṇac* by means of *añ* could likewise be nothing but feminine)."

spasṭā ceyam bahujvidhāyake bhāṣye/

This (*Paribhāṣā*) is found in the *Bhāṣā* on *Sūtra* 5.3.68 which teaches the addition of *bahuc*.

Mbh. 3.2.4.2 line 10, also on 3.3.19 and 3.4.9 etc. (the sense given in the language long before this formulation) is stated as the composite

¹⁰ see *P.V.* 3.7 and 55

svārthikā iti/ prāyeṇetiśeṣa/ svakīyaprakṛte 'rthe bhavā ity arthah/ tasilādyarthanirdeśābhāvādatisāyanā ityādinām prakṛtyarthaviśeṣaṇatvād iti bhāvah.

sense of the base and *pratyaya* together. Usually there is stated to be *pratyayārthasya prādhanyam* c.f. *prakṛtipratyayau sahārtham brūtaḥ na kevalaḥ pratyayaḥ*. (Mbh. on P.1.2.64, Vārt. 1.5 p. 234. 1.15) “Pre-eminence for the meaning of the *pratyaya*. The base and the *pratyaya* are spoken of together; neither the base alone should be used for making sense nor the *pratyaya* alone.” [Cf. also 1.3.1 Vārt. 4 p. 254.1.26; 2.3.1; Vārt. p. 442.1.2; 3.1.4 Vārt. 3 p. 79.1.5.6.]

The Concept *Dhātu* Defined

Dhātu is from the *dhātu ḍu-dhāñ juhotyādi* Cl. 3 *dhāraṇaḥpoṣaṇayoh dāne 'pi ity eke*. To hold, nourish and sustain, some say it means to give; also derived according to *uṇādi* 1.70.

sitanigamimasisicyavidhāñakuśibhyastun

“*Pratyaya tun* comes after the *Dhātus si* (bind), *tani* (spread), *gami* (go), *masi* (complete), *sic* (sprinkle), *avi* (protect), *dhāñ* (bear support), *kuś* (lament).”

Originally it meant layer, essential or constituent part, component, ingredient (esp. and in *R.V.* only i.f.c. where often = fold e.g. *tridhātu* threefold etc. *R.V.* 1.34.6 etc.). Then it meant element, primitive matter (e.g. *mahābhūtaḥ kṣiti āp tejas marutaḥ vyoman*) or the constituent elements of the body *rasādayaḥ saptaḥ dhātavaḥ te rasa, rakta, māṃsa, medosthi, majjā śukrāni*. (*Caraka Saṃhitā*, 15, 16 etc.) The last meaning, both semen and more generally ‘seed’, indicate a more “essential”, nature for the word-meaning than the analogy of ‘root’ used to translate the term when speaking in linguistic terms. It is also used in the sense of the five *jñānendriyas* or the *tanmātras*, namely (*'gandha, rasa, rūpa, sparśa and śabda'*).

Attestations of the Word *Dhātu*

In grammar it means ‘element’ or ‘essential ingredient’. Thus ‘seed’ rather than ‘root’ is the more accurate translation. It is first found in the *Gopāṭha Brāhmaṇa* (in the grammatical sense: see earlier reference under *pratyaya*, page 112).

1. *Upaniṣads*

In the *Chāndogya Upaniṣad* we have the earliest *Upaniṣadic* reference 6.5.1 ff.

*annamaśitaṃ tredhā vidhīyate/
tasya yāḥ sthaviṣṭo dhātustatpurīṣaṃ bhavati/
yā madhyamastanmāṃsam/ yo 'niṣṭhastanmanah/*

'Food when eaten becomes divided in three ways: that which is the grossest 'ingredient'/ element (*dhātu*) of it turns into faeces, that which is the medium (ingredient) becomes flesh. That which is the subtlest becomes mind.'

The second earliest is the *Kathopaniṣat* 2.20:

*aṇoranīyān mahato mahīyānātmāsya jantornihito guhāyām/
tamakratuḥ paśyati vītaśoko dhātuprasādān mahimānam
ātmanah//*

"The Self is subtler than the subtle, greater than the great, is lodged in the heart (of every creature). A desireless man sees the glory of the Self, through the serenity of the organs (*dhātu*) and (thereby) becomes free from sorrow."

Śaṅkara Commentary on *Kaṭha*. 2.20:

*śaṅkarabhāṣye/ mana ādīni karaṇāni dhātavaḥ śarīrasya
dhāraṇāt prasīdantīty eṣāṃ dhātunām prasādād/*

'The organs such as mind etc., become composed; *dhātus* being so called because of holding the body, (so) "through serenity of the organs".'

2. In *Nirukta* (1.20)

etāvantaḥ samānakarmaṇo dhātavaḥ dhātur dadhāteḥ/

So many '*dhātus*' have the same meaning. '*Dhātu*' is derived from '*dhā*' (to put, hold, nourish).

3. In *R.V.*, *Prāt.* 6.6

tadākhyātaṃ yena bhāvaṃ (abhidadhāti) sa dhātu

That by which being/action is declared or made known. It is the original basis of words as it is the basic component of earth when it is used in the sense of mineral.

4. *Bṛhat Devatā*

It is found several times in the *Brhat Devatā* 2.101-102:

*liṅgaṃ dhātu vibhakti ca sannamet tatra tatra ca/ yad yad
syācchāndasammantrē tattatkuryāttu laukikam//*

“‘Liṅga’ (gender), ‘dhātu’ and ‘vibhakti’ (inflection) one should in their respective places adapt (to the sense). Whatever is Vedic in a formula one should turn into everyday speech.”

5. Pāṇini

Pāṇini does not define *dhātu* but merely names two important *dhātus* — one of the first conjugation and one of the second ... (according to one view) and says that ‘*dhātus*’ are of the nature of these. His rule is:

bhūvādayo dhātavaḥ 1.3.1

“*Bhū* and the rest are (called) *dhātus* (beginning with *bhū* are of the nature of *dhātu*) or (*bhū* and the rest, and *vā* and the rest are called *dhātus*.)”¹¹

Mahābhāṣya 1.3.1 *Vārttika* //

i.e. *bhūvādi* is to be derived with one *aunādika* agent *pratyaya i*; thus *bhūvo* ‘*rtham vadantīti*’.

It is possible that in some ancient *Dhātu Pāṭha*, ‘*vā*’ stood at the head of the ‘*vādi*’ *dhātus* and so some predecessor of Pāṇini framed the *sūtra bhūvādayo dhātavaḥ* which was taken over by Pāṇini.

Kātyāyana says *kriyā vacano dhātuḥ* 1.1.1 and *kriyā bhāvo dhātuḥ* 2.1.3 — a word denoting a verbal activity. It is just possible that we have nouns from the two general *dhātus* ‘to go’ etc. and ‘to be’ (in the words of *Rāma Tarkavāgīśa parispanḍattasādhanasādhyā gamanādi aparispandanasādhanā sādhyā avasthānādi*) and that the author intended us to understand ‘that which denotes action and that which denotes existence are *dhātus*’. (Cf. *Nirukta* 1.1 *bhāva-pradhānam ākhyātam; satvapradhānām nāmāni* “The verb has becoming as its fundamental notion, nouns have being as their fundamental notion”.)

11 A *śloka* explains that the ‘*v*’ in the *sūtra* is for auspiciousness:
*bhūvādīnām vakāro ‘yam (lakṣaṇārtha) maṅgalārthaḥ prayujyate/
vyavadhānamiko yanabhirvāyuvambarayoriva/
bhūvo vārtha vadantīti bhvarthā vādaya smrtāḥ
bhūvādaya iti jñeyo bhūvo ‘rthā vādayo ‘thavā.*
(The second half is found in *Kāśikā* on 1.3.1)

The Concept *Prātipadika* and Attestations of Meaning

1. *Pāṇini*

(i) *Prātipadika* literally 'available in every word', express, explicit. *Śrṣṭidhara*, a Bengali commentator of the 17th century derived it from *pratipada* 'every word' with the *pratyaya thak* according to *sūtra padottarapadam grhṇāti* 4.4.39. "The *pratyaya thak* comes in the sense of who takes, after a word having *pada* as its second member, the word being in the second case in construction." So '*prātipadika*' means that which embraces every inflected word, i.e. words like *vrkṣa* etc., which are inherent in all the different inflected forms, like *vrkṣam vrkṣāni* etc.

It is, however possible that *tha* (*k*) has been added to *pratipada* in the sense of *prayojanam* 5.1.109. "The *pratyaya thañ* (*ik*) comes after a word in the first case in construction in the sense of 'that whose occasion or purpose is this' and the word *prātipadika* means that which is necessary for each inflected word. (*Prayojana* is similar to *phala* here) since no inflected word (*subanta* or denominative) can be formed without the help of the *prātipadika*.

Monier-Williams notes that *prātipada* occurs in *Sāmkhyāyāna Śrauta Sūtra* in the sense of 'forming the commencement'. Thus '*prātipadika*' forms the beginning of words which cannot be used unless and until a *vibhaktipratyaya* is added '*suptihantam padam*' 1.8.14. "That which ends in a "sup" (nominal *vibhakti*) or a *tiñ* (verbal *vibhakti*) is a *pada*".

(ii) *Pāṇini* defines *prātipadika* as "*arthavadadhāturapratyayah prātipadikam*" 1.2.45 *kṛttaddhitasamāsaś ca* 1.2.46, i.e. "that which conveys meaning and is neither a '*dhātu*' nor a '*pratyaya*' (nor a word ending in a '*pratyaya*') is a '*prātipadika*'". "*Samāsa*' (compounds) as well as words ending in primary or '*kṛt pratyaya*' and secondary or '*taddhita pratyayas*' are also called *prātipadika*", which we shall consider in relation to *pratyaya* in the appropriate section. *Pāṇini* implies four kinds of *prātipadika*: *mūlabhūta*, *kṛdanta*, *taddhidānta*, and *samāsa*.

2. *Brāhmaṇa*

The term is mentioned in the *Brāhmaṇa* i.e. *Gopathabrāhmaṇa* of the

Atharva Veda:

*mahāsamjñākaraṇaṃ śrutyanurodhānaṃ tathā cātharvaṇe
paṭhyata/ ko dhātuḥ kiṃ prātipadikaṃ kaḥ pratyaya iti/*

“Producing a ‘Great technical term’ (whose meaning is derivable from its form) in accordance with the śruti and likewise is recited (there in the sentence) What is a *dhātu*? What is a *prātipadika*? What is a *pratyaya*?”

It is not mentioned in the *Prātiśākhya* works, probably because those works were concerned with formed words which had actually been in use. (*Bhā* 1.2.45 vā 8).

3. *Kātyāyana* in the *Mahābhāṣya*

*nityasambandhāv etāv arthau prakṛti pratyaya iti pratyayena
nityasambandhāt kevalasya prayogo na bhaviṣyati/*

“The meaning of *prakṛti* and *pratyaya* are always connected together. One should know from the eternal connection there will (never) be use of (either) alone.”

CHAPTER 2: USES OF THE WORD *PRATYAYA* IN *PĀṆINI'S AṢṬĀDHYĀYĪ* IN ORDER OF OCCURRENCE (26)

1. *pratyayasya lukṣlulupaḥ* (1.1.61) (*adarśanam*)

“The disappearance of a *pratyaya*, when it is caused by the words ‘*luk*’, ‘*slu*’ or ‘*lup*’, is designated by those terms respectively.”

2. *pratyayalope pratyayalakṣaṇam* (1.1.62)

“When there is a *lopa* (elision) of a *pratyaya*, the *pratyaya* still exerts an influence (and the operations dependent upon it take place as if it were present).”

3. *anuditsavarnasya cāpratyayaḥ* (1.1.69) (*svaṃ rūpam*)

“The letters of the *pratyāhāra an*, i.e. vowels and semi-vowels and a term having ‘*u*’ as its indicatory letter, refer to names of their own form as well as to their homogeneous letters, except when they are used as *pratyayas*.”

Here *pratyaya* is explained by *Bhaṭṭoji Dikṣita* in *Siddhānta*

Kaumudī in similar terms to *Patañjali*'s explanation *pratīyate* ('it is admitted, recognised, known, understood, implied,' M.W.), but then itself glossed by *vidhīyate* ('it is anything enjoined, ordained by rule'), indicating the word has a much wider scope here, including prefixes and augments and *ādeśas* (substitutes).

4. *apr̥kta ekālpratyayaḥ* (1.2.41)

"A *pratyaya* consisting of a single letter is called *apr̥kta* not mixed." Here the word is used in the specialised sense of a *pratyaya*.

5. *pradhānapratyayārthavacanam arthasyānyapradhānatvāt* (1.2.56) (*aśiṣyam*)

"(Nor need be taught) the rule relating to the dependence of the meaning of a word on the principle (*pradhāna*) in a compound or on the *pratyaya* because the authority of the meaning (of a word, compound or derivative) consists in something else."

That is, inasmuch as the meaning of a word is fixed by usage and idiom, the proofs, for the meaning of a word are not only to be searched either in the *pratyayas* which go to form it nor by its principal word if it is a compound, for the proof of the meaning is the usage of a people.

6. *ṣaḥ pratyaya* (1.3.6) (*ādir iti it*)

"The initial ṣ of a *pratyaya* is indicatory (and thus goes 'lopa' when the *pratyaya* comes into operation)."

7. *yasmāt pratyayavidhis tadādipratyaye 'ṅgam* (1.4.13)

"After whatsoever there is a *pratyaya* enjoined (whether it be a *dhātu* or a *prātipadika*) that which begins therewith, in the form in which it appears when the *pratyaya* follows, is called an *aṅga* (an inflective base, called *prakṛti* by *Patañjali* and the later tradition)."

[N.B. Philosophically this leads some to suggest a parallel between the *prakṛti* and *puruṣa* in *Sāṃkhya* and *Śrīmadbhagavadgītā* and *aṅga* and *pratyaya* in *Pāṇini*.]

8. *ṣaṣṭhyatas arthapratyaya* (2.3.30)

"Sixth case *pratyaya* is used in connection with words ending with *pratyayas* having the sense of the *pratyaya atasuc* (*dakṣiṇottarābhyām atasuc* 5.3.28 *svārthe*) " i.e. of its base 'dakṣiṇa', 'uttara' (direction, locality or time).

9. *pratyayaḥ* (3.1.1)

“A *pratyaya*/affix.” This *sūtra* regulates the sense of others. From this place forward to the end of the fifth book all will get the name *pratyaya* or affix except the *aṅga* or *prakṛti* (base), the *upapada* (dependent word) or the *upādhi* (the attribute or special case) that occasion changes.

10. *kāspratyayādāmamantre liṭi* (3.1.35) (*pratyaya dhātoḥ*)

“*ām* is the *pratyaya* of the *dhātu* *kās* to cough, and of those *dhātus* that are formed by *pratyaya* (i.e. derivative verbs) when *liṭ* (perfect tense) follows except in the mantra (i.e. Veda).”

Here one special class of *pratyaya* is mentioned as conveying the function and meaning of *dhātus* to certain nominal forms.

11. *apratyayāt* (3.3.102)(*striyām*)

“After *dhātus* that end in a *pratyaya* there is the *pratyaya a*, the word being feminine.”

This refers to the first group of *pratyayas sanādyantāḥ* (3.1.32) the words ending with the *pratyaya san* etc. (conveying the sense of desire etc.) which are called *dhātavaḥ* (*dhātus*) in spite of this. The *ḥ* *pratyaya* is then added to these enabling the *strī* (or feminine) *pratyaya* to be added, which finally prepares the way for the *pada* forming *pratyaya* or *sup-vibhakti* enabling the word to fully manifest its meaning in the ‘cosmos’ of the sentence.

$jñā + san + a \Rightarrow jijñāsa \Rightarrow jijñāsa + ṭāp \Rightarrow jijñāsā + jas \Rightarrow$
 $jijñāsāḥ$, the ladies desire to know.

12. *dhātusambandhe pratyayāḥ* (3.4.1)

“Words formed with *pratyayas* stand (in reference to time) in closer relation to the *dhātu* (with which they are allied)”, or more literally, “*Pratyayas* are employed in denoting the relation between (the sense of) *dhātu*” which confirms the special function of the *pratyaya* in the sentence in bringing forth the meaning, i.e. making manifest what without them is not known. (Here when there is a relation between two *dhātus* as qualifier and qualified the *pratyayas* may be employed in denoting other times than that specifically ordained for them, i.e. *pratyaya* is related directly to *dhātus* and not to whole sentences (e.g. *tatra vasan dadarśa*).

13. *svāṅge tatpratyaye kṛbhvoḥ* (3.4.61) (*ktvā namulau*)

“*pratyaya ktvā* and *namul* act after *dhātu kṛ* (make) and *bhū* (become) in composition with a word denoting a member of one’s own body when *pratyaya tas* is enjoined thereto.”

E.g. *mukhataḥ kṛtya gataḥ* having placed himself at the head/front, he went.

14. *nādhārthapratyaye cvyarthē* (3.4.62)

“*Pratyaya ktvā* and *namul* act after *kṛ* and *bhū* when a word ending in *pratyaya nā* or a *pratyaya* with the meaning of *dhā* or having the sense of the *pratyaya cvi* is in composition.”

e.g. *nānā kṛtya gataḥ* having performed variously (sacrifices etc.), he went.

15. *ñītaśca tatpratyayāt* (4.3.155)

“*Pratyaya añ* acts in the sense of ‘its product or part’ after a word ending in a *pratyaya* having an indicatory *ñ* denoting its product or part,”

e.g. *daivadāravam*, made of the tree *Devadāru*, or being part of it.

16. *vānto yi pratyaye* (6.1.79)

“The substitution of those ending in *v* (namely *av* and *āv*) for *o* and *au* also takes place before a *pratyaya* beginning with *y*.”

E.g. *go + yam* ⇒ *gavyam*, belonging to a cow; *nau + yam* ⇒ *nāvyam*, belonging to a boat.

17. *bhīhrībhṛhumadajanadhanadaridrājāgarām pratyayātpūrvam piti* (6. 1. 192)

“For the benefit of the *dhātus bhī, hrī, bhṛ, hu, mada, jana, dhana, daridrā,* and *jāgar* and their reduplicates the *udattā* accent is before the *sārvadhātuka* unaccented *pratyaya* (called *tiñ vibhakti* conveying the sense of the three *puruṣa*/persons) in the singular (*pit*), on the syllable which precedes the *pratyaya*.”

E.g. *bibheti*, he is afraid; *jāgārti*, he awakes or keeps himself awake.

18. *aniganto ñcatau vapratyaye* (6.2.52) (*prakṛtisvarah*)

“An immediately preceding *gati* not ending *i* or *u* or *r* retains its

original accent before *añc* when a *pratyaya* having a *v* follows.”

E.g. *prāñ* (*kvin pratyaya*).

19. *ica ekāco 'mpratyayavac ca* (6.3.68)

“A monosyllabic word, ending in *ic* (any vowel other than *a*), when followed by a word formed by a *khit pratyaya* receives the augment *am*, which is added in the same way as the *pratyaya am* of the accusative/*karman* singular signifying that most desired of the agent (*karturīpsitatamaṃ karma* 1.5.49).”

E.g. *darśanīyamanyaḥ*, ‘thinking oneself handsome,’ by *ātmamāne khaśca* 3.2.83 or *naramanyaḥ*, ‘thinking oneself a man,’ by *rto nisarvanāmsthānayoḥ* (7.3.110)

(“*Guṇa* is substituted for the final *r* of a stem in the *adhikarāna*(locative) singular and in the strong cases.” As a result *nṛ* becomes *nara*.”)

20. *viṣvagdevyoś ca ṭeradryañcatau va pratyaya* (6.3.92)

“In place of the last vowel with the consonant that follows it, of a pronoun and of the words *viṣvak* and *deva* is substituted *adri* when *añc* with *pratyaya v* follows.”

E.g. *viṣva + añc + kvip* ⇒ *viṣvadryañ*, ‘going everywhere or in all directions.’ (*śiśimpala-vada*)

ind. *dryak* forth, on both or all sides (*R.V.* 7.25.1).

21. *utaś ca pratyayād asamyogogapūrvāt* (6.4.106) (*hiḥ luk*)

“The imperative *hi* is *luk* elided after the *u* of a *vikarāna pratyaya* called *śnu*, and *u* of the *svādi* and *tanādigāna* respectively (i.e. class 5 and 8 for the special conjugations, namely present, imperative, optative and imperfect) provided the *u* is not preceded by a *samyoga* (conjunct consonant).”

E.g. *sunu*: do thou press out the (soma); *tanu*: thou shouldst expand.

22. *pratyayottarapadayoś ca* (7.2.98) (*yušmadasmadoḥ maparyanta-sya tvamāv ekavacana*)

“*tva* is substituted for *yušm* and *m* for *asm* when they signify a single individual, even when a *pratyaya* follows or a word is in composition.”

E.g. *tvadīyaḥ* thine; *madīyaḥ*: mine.

23. *pratyayasthāt kāt pūrvasyāta id āpy asupaḥ* (7.3.44)

“Let the vowel *i* be in the place of the vowel *a* coming before the letter *ka* standing in a *pratyaya* when the feminine *pratyaya āp* follows, provided that the feminine *pratyaya* does not come after a *sup vibhakti pratyaya* /case affix.”

E.g. *sarvakaḥ, sarvikā*, every female.

24. *vitto bhogapratyayoh* (8.2.58)

“The (irregularly formed participle) *vitta* denotes ‘possessions’ and ‘known/recognised’.” (Again tradition says *pratīyate iti pratyayaḥ* it is known or makes known. Some indication that *Pāṇini* was perhaps conscious of this dimension as also applicable to the concept in the broader context of *śabda* the Word.)

25. *kvinpratyayasya kuḥ* (8.2.62)

“A stem formed with the *pratyaya kvin* (under *sparśo ’nudake kvin* 3.2.58) substitutes at the end of a word a guttural for the final consonant.”

E.g. *ghṛtasprk*, touching ghee.

26. *ādeśapratyayayoh* (8.3.59) (*inḥoḥ* 8.3.57).”

“*ṣ* is the substitute for that *s* which is an *ādeśa* substitute (of the *ṣ* of a *dhātu* in the *Dhātu pāṭha* by 6.1.64 *dhātvādeḥ ṣaḥ saḥ*) or which is a portion of a *pratyaya* (under the above condition of being preceded by an *ik* vowel or a guttural, *inḥoḥ* (8.3.57).”

E.g. *rāmeṣu*, in (all) *Rāmas*.

From these instances we conclude:

(1) That *Pāṇini* himself uses the concept primarily in the technical sense of ‘affix’ coming after a base or *aṅga*. Similarly, from an examination of an instance in the *Mahābhāṣya*, we conclude *Patañjali* used it in the same sense.

(2) That 8.2.58 particularly acknowledges the state of ‘making known’ as being central to the meaning of ‘*pratyaya*’.

CHAPTER III: EIGHT MAJOR TYPES OF PRATYAYA
REFERRED TO IN THE AṢṬĀDHYĀYĪ

A description with illustrations from the *Īsopaniṣad* etc., namely:

- | | |
|--------------------|-------------------------|
| 1) <i>sanādi</i> | 5) <i>sup</i> |
| 2) <i>vikaraṇa</i> | 6) <i>strī</i> |
| 3) <i>ḥṛt</i> | 7) <i>taddhita</i> |
| 4) <i>tiṅ</i> | 8) <i>samāsānta</i> |
| | <i>unādi</i> (Appendix) |

Following the order of *Pāṇini*, we find that after first establishing the “*pratyayaḥ*” (3.1.1), its position is then defined as “*paraśca*” (3.1.2) that is ‘following’ a *dhātu*¹². Then by yet another *adhikāra* or *paribhāṣā sūtra* “*ādyudāttaś ca*” (3.1.3) (*pratyayaḥ*) “That which is called a *pratyaya* has *udātta* accent on its first syllable.” Except for the *sup* and *tiṅ pratyayas* which are *anudātta*, “*anudāttau muppitau*” 3.1.4

1. *Sanādi* Section — (*dhātu* forming *pratyayas*)

Then begins the first group of *pratyayas* having in common their capacity to form verbs and to technically acquire the full nature of *dhātu* or ‘seed’ forms “*sanādyantā dhātavaḥ*” (3.1.32). “All the words ending with the *pratyaya san* and others (twelve in all) are called *dhātu*”, having the same functions, taking *tiṅ vibhakti* etc., as the original *dhātu* defined at 1.3.1 as “*bhūvādayo dhātavaḥ*” and collected in the *Dhātu Pāṭha* (being about 2000 in number, (1943 in *S.K.*)). This in itself illustrates the enormous potency of a *pratyaya* to manifest meaning. Our first illustration relates to the first of this group of *pratyaya*, namely *guptijkidbhyah san* (3.1.5) (*pratyayaḥ*) “After the *dhātus gup tij* and *kit* comes the *pratyaya san*.” “*Dhātoḥ karmanah samānakarṭṛkādicchāyām vā*” 3.1.7 “The *pratyaya san* is optionally attached in the sense of ‘wishing’ after a *dhātu* expressing the object wished and having the same agent of action as the wisher thereof”.

Thus we find *dhātu* ‘*gup*’ *gopane* ‘to hide’ when *san* is added

¹² (except in the case of *bahuc* which by “*vibhāṣā supo bahuc purastātu*” (5.3.68) is placed ‘before’ (a *dhātu* etc.), or the *pratyaya kalp* can be used after, and in the case of *pratyayas* with the indicator ‘*m*’ like the *vikaraṇa śnam* of *rudhādibhyah śnam* (3.2.78) they are infixed after the last of the vowels by *midaco’ntyāt parah* (1.1.47))

and there is reduplication of the *dhātu* by (6.1.9) “*sanyaño*” “Of a non-reduplicate *dhātu* ending in *san* (desiderative) or *yañ* (intensive) *pratyayas*, there is reduplication” and a palatal replaces the guttural in the reduplicate syllable by “*kuhoś cuḥ*” (7.4.62) forming ‘*jagupsa*’ to which is added *prathama puruṣa ekavacana ātmanepada tiñ vibhakti*, ‘he’, first (Western third) person singular, (the action being related to one’s own self), receives ‘e’ by “*ṭita ātmanepadānām ṭereḥ*” (3.4.79) *jugupsate* in the sense of ‘he censures’ or ‘despises’. (“*San*” in the sense of its *prakṛti* or base.)

E.g. *yastu sarvāṇi bhūtāny ātmany evānupaśyati/*

sarvabhūteṣu cātmānam tato na vijugupsate//

“He who sees all creatures in Himself, Himself in all creatures, feels (no desire to hide or) hatred (as a result)”. (*Īśā* 6)

2. *Vikarāṇa* Section

The second major group of *pratyayas* is called *vikarāṇa* since they bring about a modification in the nature of a *dhātu*’s expansion, which manifests finally as a *pada* by “*suptināntam padam*” (1.4.14) “That which ends in a *sup* (nominal *vibhakti pratyaya* (case ending)) or in a *tiñ kriyā vibhakti pratyaya* (verbal/conjugational ending) is a ‘*pada*’ or fully inflected word”. Unlike the previous group, they do not appear to convey any distinctive meaning except that related to time or mood. Primarily they are said to be *svārthikapratyayāḥ*. They, therefore, come to modify the verb in the very sense of their own (*dhātu*) to which they become attached.

This group begins with the (future and conditional *pratyayas*) “*syatasī ṛ luṭoḥ*” (3.1.33) When *ṛ* [*ṛñ* (2nd future and conditional)] and *ṛṭ* (the first or periphrastic future) follow then *sya* and *tāsi* are respectively the *pratyayas* of a *dhātu*, and ends with ‘reflexive *pratyayas*’. “*Kuṣirajoh prācām śyan parasmaipadam ca*” (3.1.90) (*karmakartari*.) “The *pratyaya śyan* comes after the *dhātu kuṣ* to pull and *rañj* to colour in the reflexive voice according to the opinion of Eastern Grammarians, and those *dhātus* take *parasmaipada pratyayas*.”

Within this broad section are given, first of all, subjunctive “*Sib bahulam leṭi*” (3.1.34), then the periphrastic perfect “*kāspratyayādām-amantra liṭi*” (3.1.35), then the forms of the aorist “*cli luṇi*” (3.1.43) “*cleḥ sic*” (3.1.44) (The Western ‘*S*’ aorist).

“*śala igupadhādanītaḥ ksaḥ*” (3.1.45) (‘*Sa*’ aorist)

- “*niśridusrubhyaḥ kartari caṅ*” (3.1.48) (Reduplicated aorist)
 “*asyativaktikhyātibhyo ’n*” (3.1.52) (‘a’ aorist)
 “*kṛmṛḍṛ ruhibhyaśchandasi*” (3.1.59) (‘a’ aorist)
 “*ciṅ te padah*” (3.1.60) (The aorist passive)
 “*ciṅ bhāvakarmanoḥ*” (3.1.66) (The aorist passive)
 “*sārvadhātuke yak*” (*bhāvakarmano*)
 (3.1.67)(Impersonal/passive)

(For example “*pūrṇamevāvaśisyate*” *isā śāntipāṭhah* “The full, complete and perfect alone remains”.) Then the first and other *gaṇas*.

Let us first consider a development:

“*kartari śap*” (a-) (3.1.68)

“The *pratyaya śap* comes after *dhātu bhū* etc. when a *sārvadhātuka pratyaya* follows signifying an agent,” i.e. “*tiṅ śitsārvadhātukam*” (3.4.113).

“The *pratyayas* called ‘*tiṅ*’ and those with an ‘*it*’ *ś*, are called *sārvadhātuka* (7.3.84)”

“*Sārvadhātukārdhadhātukayoḥ*” (3.4.113) “When a *sārvadhātuka* or an ‘*ārdhadhātuka*’ (3.4.114) *pratyaya* (the remainder) follows, there is *guṇa*¹³ of the final of an (*aṅga*) ending in *ik* (*i u r ḷ*).” Thus *bhū* becomes *bho* and *ava* being substituted by “*eco ’yavāyāvah*” (6.1.78) followed by the *a* of *śap*¹⁴ and *ti* of *tip*,¹⁵ we have *bhavati* ‘he becomes’. The sense of agent being indicated by *tip ādeśa* of ‘*la*’ (“*lasya*” 3.8.87) according to “*lah karmaṇi ca bhāve cākarmakebhyah*” (3.4.69) (*kartari*).

This is followed by *śyan vikaraṇa* for the formation of the fourth conjugation by “*divādibhyaḥ śyan*” (3.1.69) “*Na*” is for accent by “*ñnityādir nityam*” (6.1.197). “Whatever is derived with a *pratyaya* having an indicatory *ñ* or *n* has *udātta* on the first syllable.” Then in the case of ‘*div*’ to play and other *dhātus* ending in ‘*r*’ or ‘*v*’ the penultimate ‘*i*’ is lengthened before a consonantal *pratyaya* by “*hali ca*” (8.2.77) giving the form *dīvyati* ‘he plays’; or *jī* becomes *jir* and then *jīr*; or *strī* becomes *stir* and then *stīr*.

Similarly the *śnu* is the *vikaraṇa* of class five *dhātus* taking *guṇa* before the ‘*pit*’ ending i.e. *ekavacanam parasmaipadam* enabling us to form the *svādigana* by “*svādibhyaḥ śnuḥ*” (3.1.73) (*sārvadhātuke*,

13 *adeṅgaṇah* (1.1.2) “a, e and o are called *guṇa*”.

14 *lašakvataddhite* (1.3.5) *ś* is *it*.

15 By *halantyam p* is *it* (1.3.3)

kartari) *sunoti* "he presses out (the soma)". (*Guṇa* by "sārvadhātukā-rdhadhātukayoḥ" (7.3.84).

The sixth class, like class one and four, ending in 'a' nonetheless debars *śap* thus preventing medial *guṇa* by "pugantalaghūpadhasya ca" (7.3.86), "tudādibhyaḥ śaḥ" (3.1.77) (*sārvadhātuke kartari*) and "sārvadhātukamapit" 1.2.4. Therefore 'ś' is *ñit*. So by "kñiti ca" 1.1.5 (*na guṇavṛddhī*.) "Pratyaya śa is employed after the *dhātus* of the *tudādi gaṇa* when a *sārvadhātuka pratyaya* follows denoting the agent, and 'it' ś makes this *sārvadhātuka*."

So, for example, *tud śa ti* ⇒ *tud a ti* ⇒ *tudati* He strikes.
pra-viś śa-anti praviśanti by "jho 'ntaḥ" (7.1.3) and "ato guṇe" (6.1.97) (Here the *bahuvacana* form) *andham tamaḥ praviśanti* "They enter into blinding darkness (who worship *avidyā*)."(Īśa v. 9)

The seventh class has the rare characteristic of its *pratyaya* being infixes within the *dhātu* and not after (contrary to *paraś ca* (3.1.2) the general rule) by "rūdhādibhyaḥ śnam" (3.1.78).

"The *pratyaya śnam* (= 'na') (in the 'pit' or strong forms and *n* elsewhere) comes after *dhātus* of the *rūdhādi gaṇa* in denoting an agent when a *sārvadhātuka pratyaya* follows (debarring *śap* of *kartariśap* (3.1.68))."

Thus we have *ruṇaddhi* "He obstructs". (by "at kupvān numvyavāye 'pī" (*ṇ* for *n*) (8.4.2) "Even when a separation is caused by the intervention of the *pratyaya 'ku'* (gutturals) and 'pu' (five labials), *āṇ* (particle *ā*) and *num* (*anusvāra*), singly or combined in any way) the substitution of the cerebral for the dental 'n' following 'r' or ś') in the same 'pada' shall take place" and by "jhaśas tathor dho 'dhah" (8.2.40) "There is *dha* in place of the *t* or *th* coming after *jhaś* (soft aspirate) but not if the 't' or 'th' is part of the *dhātu dhā* to hold."

[Note: We find the same *dhātu* but without the *vikaraṇa 'śnam'*, because it is an aorist form, in the *Kāṭhapaniṣad* (1.21) *mā mā uparotsiḥ*. *Yama* says to *Naciketas*, 'do not press me (for knowledge of the Self)'.]

The eighth class has the *vikaraṇa u* after it and in development is the same as class five *svādigāṇa* except for the absence of the *n* of *śnu*.

By "tanādikṛñbhyah uḥ" (3.1.79) it is stated that "(after the *dhātu tan* etc. and the *dhātu kṛ* (to make) comes the *pratyaya u* when a *sārvadhātuka pratyaya* follows signifying the agent". This debars the *śap* of "kartari śap" (3.1.68). Thus we have *tanoti* or *tanute*, "He or

she expands” or again with the present stem of *kr* by “*ata utsārvadhātuke*” (6.4.110) “In place of the short *a* of *kr* to make (in the *gunated* form (*‘kar* by 3.1.79), there is short *u* when a *sārvadhātuka pratyaya* (with an *it k* or *ñ*) follows”. Thus *kuru ant*.

By *iko yanāci* (6.1.77) *kuru-anta* (from *śatṛ*/present participle *parasmaipada*) becomes *kurvan* (*u* is replaced by *v*).

As in *kurvanneveha* (Īśā.2) “(By) doing *karma* should indeed one wish to live here for a hundred years”.

The ninth class has the *vikaraṇa* ‘*śnā*’ that is *nā* in the ‘*pit*’ or strong forms and *nī* elsewhere before consonants and *n* before vowels by the *sūtra* “*kryādibhyaḥ (nā) śnā*” (3.1.81) “*ī halyaghoḥ*” (6.4.113) “*śnābhyas tayor ātaḥ*” (6.4.112) (*lopaḥ*)

“After the *dhātu krī* to buy etc. there is *śnā* when a *sārvadhātuka pratyaya* follows denoting the agent”. Again there is *apavāda* or debarring of *śap* (3.1.68). Thus *krīṇāti* ‘He or she buys’.

The tenth class, causatives and so-called denominatives or *pratyaya-dhātus* have already been referred to in the first section “*sanādyantā dhātavaḥ*” (3.1.32) and by the general designation of *vikaraṇa* for *dhātus*, “*kartari śap*” (3.1.68) (*sārvadhātuke*).

The remaining classes two and three are dealt with prior to (3.1.1 “*pratyaya*”) because for them an ‘elision’ rather than a positive *pratyaya* replaces the *śap*.

Thus by “*adiprabhṛtibhyaḥ śap*” (2.4.72) “There is *luk* elision of *śap* after *ad* to eat etc.” *luk* acts in place of *śap* but there is *adarśanam* (disappearance of that) and it is not characterised by any of the qualities of the *pratyaya* it replaces in contrast to *lopa* (“*pratyayalope pratyayalakaṣanam*” (1.1.62) by “*na lumatāṅgasya*” (1.1.63).

We then have *atti* ‘He eats’. (By “*khari ca*” (8.4.55) “When *khar* (*kha pha cha ṭha tha ca ṭa ta ka pa śa śa sa*) follows there is *car* (*ca ṭa ta ka pa śa śa sa*) in the place of (any consonant except a semi-vowel or a nasal) *jhal*.” Thus ‘*d*’ is replaced here by ‘*t*’ because no ‘positive’ *vikaraṇa* intervenes.

Another example from this *gaṇa* is the *ātmanepada* form of ‘*ās*’ *bahuvacane* (*anta* of “*jho ’ntaḥ*” 7.1.3). Because it is replaced by “*at*” by “*ātmanepadesv antaḥ*” (7.1.5) in the (place of ‘*jh*’ not coming after the vowel ‘*a*’ (*vikaraṇa* of class 1.4.6 and 10) when terminations are *ātmanepada*”.

So *yo ’vidyām upāsate* Īśā.9 “Those who worship *avidyā* (rites), enter

blinding darkness”.

Finally the third class is formed by substituting *ślu* blank (of “*pratyayasyalukślulupaḥ*” 1.1.61) and reduplicating. Thus “*juhoty-ādibhyaḥ*” (2.4.75). “*ślu* is to be substituted in place of the *pratyaya śap* (3.1.69) after the *dhātu hu* to sacrifice or eat etc.” When there is ‘*ślu*’ there are two in the place of a *dhātu*, (i.e. *dhātu* is doubled). Thus *juhoti* ‘He sacrifices’. “*kuhoś cuḥ*” (7.4.62). “A letter of the palatal class (here ‘*j*’ is the substitute of the letter of the guttural class or of an ‘*h*’ (as here) in a reduplicate” and “*sārvadhātukārdhadhātukayoḥ*” (7.3.84) “When a *sārvadhātuka* or an *ārdhadhātuka pratyaya* follows, then *guṇa* is *ādeśa*/substitute of an *aṅga* ending in *ik* (*i, u, r*)”.

From the same *guṇa* we have the *dhātu dhā* ‘*dhāraṇa*poṣaṇayoḥ’ to hold, sustain, nourish, occurring in *Īśā. 4* ‘*dadhāti*’

tiṣṭhat tasmin apo mātariśvā dadhāti

“It (the Self) being there, *Mātariśvā* allots (or supports) all activities”.

3. *Kṛt* Section

We turn now to the next major group of *pratyayas* marked by two note *adhikāra sūtras* ‘*dhātoḥ*’ (3.1.9) “As far as the end of the third *Adhyāya* from this *sūtra*, the *pratyayas* are understood to come after some *dhātu*” and “*tatropapadaṃ saptamīstham*” 3.1.92 “Here in this third *Adhyāya* referring to *dhātu*, the word implied in a term exhibited in the ‘*adhikāraṇa*’ or seventh/locative case is called ‘*upapada*’ or dependent word”. “*Kṛd atin*” (3.1.93) “(In this section in which there is a reference to a *dhātu*) any *pratyaya* except *tin* (*kriyāvibhakti-pratyaya* or verbal tense terminations) is called *kṛt*.” This *kṛt* is a very large term strictly including within it several subordinate terms *kṛtya*, *niṣṭhā*, *sat*, “*śit*, *sārvadhātuka*” and *ārdhadhātuka pratyaya*, comprising 125 in all, as well as the 748 *uṇādisūtrāṇi* listed separately from the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* (but nonetheless referred to). Of these *yat* (3.1.97), *nyat* (3.1.124), *ghañ* (3.3.16 etc.), *ṭrc* (3.1.133), *ktin* (3.3.94), *lyuṭ* (3.3.115 etc.) *tumun* (3.3.10 etc.), *ktvā*, (3.4.18) are very general. The rest are added to particular *dhātus* under specific conditions.

kṛtyā (*prāñ nṅvulaḥ*) 3.1.95 (A *kṛt pratyaya* usually indicates the agent “*kartari kṛt*” (*kartari kṛt* 3.4.67). They come immediately after the *dhātu* (3.1.91) with the exception of cases such as the “*lataḥ śatṛśānacāvaprathamāsamānādhikāraṇe*” (3.1.124). A *śit pratyaya* is separated from the *dhātu* by a *vikāraṇa*.)

“From this *sūtra* as far as *ṅvulṛcau* (3.1.133) all the *pratyayas* will bear the name *kr̥tya*” Like its genus (*kr̥t*), it represents the type of verbal base formed with the *pratyaya* it stands for. ‘*ya*’ is common to all six in this group (*kelimara* is added by *Kātyāyana* 3.1.96.). “*tavyattavya anīyarah*” (3.1.96) (*dhātoḥ*).

“The *pratyaya tavyat tavya* and *anīyar* come in the sense of object or mere action” (“*tayoreva kr̥tyakta khalarthāḥ*” 3.4.70 *Dhātus*). For example, *anīyar* occurs in *Kaṭha Up.* 2.13, after *dhātu mud* in the sense of future passive participle. ‘*sa modate modanīyaṃ hi labdhvā*’ “That (mortal who has become the enlightened man) rejoices having obtained that which causes delight (but which is to be delighted in)”. “*aco yat*” (3.1.97) (*dhātoḥ*).

“The *pratyaya yat* comes after a *dhātu* that ends in a vowel”. For example “*sa ātmā sa vijñeyah*” *Māṇḍūkya* 7 “That is the Self and that is to be known”. Here the letter ‘*t*’ of the *pratyaya* shows that the *udātta* accent falls on the first vowel if it is of no more than two syllables *vi* being a separate *pada* by “*yato ’nāvah*” (6.1.213). Therefore the accent ‘*is*’ on *e*. The *ā* of *dhātu jñā* is changed to *ī* by “*īdyati*” (6.4.65). “Final *ā* of a stem or *aṅga* is changed into *ī* before the *kr̥t pratyaya yat*”, which in turn became *guṇa e* by “*sārvādhātukārdhadhātukayoḥ*” (7.3.84).

The next major *kr̥t pratyaya* is “*nyat r̥halornyat*” (3.1.124). “The *pratyaya nyat* comes after a *dhātu* ending in *r̥* (i.e. long or short) or in a consonant”. For example *avyavahāryam ibid.* 7

After the *dhātu hr̥* preceded by *a + vi + ava* the *pratyaya ‘nyat’* comes, causing *vṛddhi* (“*vṛddhir ādaic*” 1.1.1 — by *uraṇ raparah* 1.1.52 *ā* is followed by *r*) thus *hār* giving *Avyavahāryam* “(That Self) is beyond empirical dealings”.

Let us consider *ṛc* “*ṅvul ṛcau*” 3.1.133 (*dhātoḥ*). “The *pratyayas ṅvul* (“*yuvoranākau*” 7.1.1 = *ak*) and *ṛc* = (*ṛ*) are placed after all *dhātus* expressing the agent”. For example, ‘*na kartā asi na bhoktā asi mukta evāsi sarvadā*’ (*Aṣṭāvakraśaṃhitā* 1.6) “You are neither the doer nor the enjoyer. Verily (in truth) you are ever free”.

Here, when the first case ending ‘*su*’ follows, it is in the sense of *prātipadika* by “*prātipadikārtha liṅga parimānavacanamātre prathamā*” (2.3.46) (not in the sense of vocative). “The sound *anaṅ* is the augment of what ends in short ‘*r̥*’, (here *karṛ* = *kr̥+ṛc*) and of ‘*uśanas*’ (“regent of the planet Venus”), ‘*purudaśas* and *anehas* (time).’ (= *kart + an + s*) by “*r̥duśanaspurudaśo ’nehasaṃ ca*”

(7.1.94). Then by “*ap tṛn tṛc svasṛnapṛ neṣṭṛ kṣatṛ hotṛ potṛpraśāstrṇām*” (6.4.11) “When the first five *sup vibkakti* or case affixes excluding the vocative singular come after the word *ap* ‘water’, what ends in *tṛn* or *tṛc*, *svasṛ* (sister), *napṛ* (grandson), *neṣṭṛ* (a priest who officiates at a sacrifice), *tvastṛ* (a carpenter), *kṣatṛ* (a charioteer), *hotṛ* (a priest who recites the *Ṛgveda* at a sacrifice), *potṛ* (a priest at a sacrifice), and *praśastr* (a ruler); the penultimate letter shall be lengthened.”

Thus is formed *kartān* + *s*. The ‘s’ is elided by “*halnyābhyo dīrghāt sutisyapṛktaṃ hal*” (6.1.65). “‘su’ (1st sing. case *pratyaya*) and ‘ti’ and ‘si’ (terminations of two of the persons) when reduced to a single consonant by 1.2.41 and after what ends in a consonant or long vowel *ī* or *ā* of the feminine endings. Thus the form *kartā/agent* manifests.

Thus after *dhātu* ‘*śam*’ *upaśame* (in the sense of deep rest) by “*striyām ktin*” (3.3.94) *ktin* acts in the feminine to express an action etc. and by “*anunāsikasya kvijhaloḥ*” (6.4.15) (*dīrghaḥ*). “A long vowel shall be the *ādeśa* (substitute) for the penultimate of that which ends with a nasal in the presence of ‘*kvi*’ *pratyaya* and when a *pratyaya* beginning with a *jhal* and distinguished by an indicatory ‘*k*’ or ‘*n*’ follows”. Thus *śām (k)tin* = *śām ti*.

By “*mo ’nusvāraḥ*” (8.3.23) in place of ‘*m*’ is *anusvāra* when a consonant follows. “*anusvārasya yayiparasavarṇa*” (8.4.58) “in place of *anusvāra* when ‘*yay*’ follows a letter homogeneous with the latter acts.” (Thus ‘*n*’) ‘*śāntiḥ śāntiḥ śāntiḥ*’ ‘Peace, peace, peace (physical, natural and supernatural, to avert all evils)’.

From the *sūtra* “*lyuṭ ca*” (3.3.115) (*napuṃsake bhāve*) we learn that “the *pratyaya* ‘*lyuṭ*’ is added to the *dhātu* when the name of the action is expressed in the neuter gender”. Thus *ās* (to sit) gives *āsanam* (seat, in *Brhad* (6.2.4) *tasmā āsanam āhr̥tyodakam āhārayāṃ cakāra* “(The king) gave him a seat, had water brought for him and made him a reverential offering”. (one of the four examples of this *pratyaya* being used in the principal *Upaniṣads*.)

Finally “*samānakartṛkayoḥ pūrvakāle*” (3.4.21) (*ktvā*) “When the actions signified by two *dhātus* or verbs have the same agent, the *pratyaya* *ktvā* comes after that verb which is related to a time prior to that of the other”. For example, ‘*mahāntaṃ vibhum ātmānaṃ matvā dhīro na śocati*’ (*Kaṭha Up.* 2.1.4. “Having realised that great and all-

pervading Self, a wise man does not grieve". From *dhātu man avabodhane jñāne* to realise, 'n' is *lopa* elided by "*anudāttopadeśa-vanati tanotyādīnām anunāsikalopo jhali kñiti*" (6.4.37) "when there follows a *pratyaya* beginning with a 'jhal' (any consonant except the semi-vowels and nasals) and distinguished by an indicatory 'k' or 'n', there is elision of the following that end in a nasal, namely those which in their original enunciation (in the *Dhātu Pāṭha*) are *anudātta* or gravely accented, *yam ram nam gam han* and *manya* (to respect) and *van* to ask or beg and *tan* 'to stretch' etc." (included in which as a *dhātu* of the eighth class is *man* to understand). Thus our form *matvā* 'having realised' is manifest.

4. *Tiñ* Section

The fourth major section of *pratyayas* is called *tiñ*, a *pratyāhāra* of all the basic verbal endings in the Sanskrit language. This *sūtra* is preceded by the (*adhikāra sūtra*) ("*lasya*" 3.4.77). "In the place of *la*" will be substituted the *pratyaya* (to be ordained in the following *sūtras*).

The *la* stands for ten *pratyayas*:

<i>laṭ</i>	present
<i>liṭ</i>	perfect
<i>luṭ</i>	first (or periphrastic) future
<i>lṛṭ</i>	second future
<i>leṭ</i>	Vedic subjunctive
<i>loṭ</i>	imperative
<i>lañ</i>	imperfect
<i>liñ</i>	potential/optative and benedictive
<i>luñ</i>	aorist
<i>lṛñ</i>	conditional

By "*laḥ karmani ca bhāve cākarmakebhyaḥ*" (3.4.69) "The letter 'l' is placed after transitive *dhātus* in denoting the object/*karman* as well as the agent/*karṭr* and after intransitives/*akarmaka* marking the condition/*bhāva* (i.e. the action itself which the *dhātu* imports) as well as the agent".

Given that ultimately there is only one activity containing the whole diversity of creation, and that from *om* as rest to *om* as the whole creation *kr* is an act/*kriyā* of love/*prīti* or *prema*, these *pratyayas* in the *tiñ* section play a particularly crucial part in

establishing the relationship between the action/*kriyā* and the parts of the sentence/*vākya*, said to be 'a cosmos of meaning'.

To illustrate this special function, let us consider three single but profound sentences from the Upaniṣads which may highlight the function of the *tiṅ* *pratyayas*. All three are in the present. So Pāṇini says: "*vartamāne laṭ*" (3.2.123) "*Laṭ* is placed after a *dhātu* employed in denoting present action". "*tiptasjhisipthasthamipvasmastātāmjhahāsāthāndhvamiḍvahimahiṅ*" (3.4.78) These eighteen are the substitutes/*ādeśa* of '*l*' and ordered in a precise way which relates to the three persons:

prathama puruṣa (First, Western third)

madhyama puruṣa (Middle, Western second)

uttama puruṣa (The highest/best, Western first)

Pāṇini defines these respectively but perhaps significantly in another order: "*yuṣumadyupapade samānādhikaraṇe sthāniny api madhyamaḥ*" (1.4.105) "When the *sarvanāman* (name of all) (Western 'pronoun') *yuṣmad* (Thou, you two, ye) understood and also when the same expressed is the attendant word in agreement with the verb and denotes the agent or object signified by the verbal termination, then the verbal termination is *madhyama* (middle)". "*Asmadyuttamaḥ*" (1.4.107) "When the *sarvanāman* *asmad* (I, we two, we) is in the same circumstances (as *yuṣmad* above) then the verbal *pratyaya* of terminations are called *uttama* highest/best". "*śeṣe prathamah*" (1.4.108) "In all other cases, the verbal *pratyaya*/ terminations are called *prathama* (first)". Each of these is naturally distinguished, as is the case with *nāman*, on the basis of number, namely *ekavacana* 'expressive of one', *dvivacana* 'expressive of two', *bahuvacana* 'expressive of many'. The eighteen then manifest as *parasmaipada* and *ātmanepada*:

	sg.	du.	pl.	sg.	du.	pl.
	<i>eka</i>	<i>dvi</i>	<i>bahu</i>	<i>eka</i>	<i>dvi</i>	<i>bahu</i>
First Person/ <i>prathama</i>	<i>tip</i>	<i>tas</i>	<i>jhi</i>	<i>ta</i>	<i>ātām</i>	<i>jha</i>
Middle Person/ <i>madhyama</i>	<i>sip</i>	<i>thas</i>	<i>tha</i>	<i>thās</i>	<i>āthām</i>	<i>dhvam</i>
Best Person/ <i>uttama</i>	<i>mip</i>	<i>vas</i>	<i>mas</i>	<i>iṭ</i>	<i>vahi</i>	<i>mahiṅ</i>
(3.4.78)						

Our first illustration starts with the *madhyama puruṣa*, as does Pāṇini, perhaps because this is the most important relationship, that with one's teacher, the person facing one, the Middle Person. So in *Chāndogya* (6.6.7) etc., we find the famous *vākyaḥ* "*Tat tvam asi*"

“Thou art that”.

Here the *dhātu* “as” *bhuvi* is in the sense of pure existence. By “*tāsastyor lopah*” (7.4.50) “There is elision of the ‘s’ of *tās* (of first future) and *dhātu* ‘as’ (to be) when a *pratyaya* beginning with ‘s’ follows”. Here the *pratyaya sip* is signifying the *madhyamapurusa*/Middle Person, thus focusing on the pure existence at that point.

Our second illustration is the equally famous *vākya* from the *Brhadāranyakopaniṣad* (1.4.10) “*Ahaṃ brahmāsmi*” “I am Brahman”. Here, with the same *dhātu* (*as*) expressing pure being of the person, through that focus of *mip pratyaya*, ‘*uttama puruṣa*’/ the best person, is reached. (Perhaps this is only possible after first having acknowledged “*tat tvam asi*”, that which faces one reflects for one the Absolute or the light of the Self!)

Finally, in the *Māṇḍukyopaniṣad* (1.2) and *Brhad* 4.4.5 *ayam ātmā brahma* “This Self is Brahman”, where the verb ‘to be’ is understood (as so often in *Saṃskṛta*), for the *prathamapurusa*/First Person. Nonetheless, though unexpressed, *asti* “pure being”, expressed through the first person *pratyaya tip*, still operates the more powerfully to bring one to the final realisation of the non-difference of *ātman* and *brahman*. What we normally take for granted as the ‘third person’, (he, she, it, they, the rest), is in reality found to be nothing less than the embodied Absolute.

5. *Sup* Section

The fifth group of *pratyayas* are, like *tin*, centered on a *pratyāhāra*, that of *sup*, this time representing all the *nāma* or nominal *vibhaktipratyaya* (in Western terminology, case endings). These are so called because of the Greek word originally used for such *pratyayas* ‘*ptōsis*’ meaning a ‘falling away’ from the vertical position of the ‘*onoma*’ (noun proper). The ‘Stoics’ fixed the use of the term ‘case’ as we have it today. The nominative was the upright case ‘*orthē*’ or *eutheiptosis* and the rest were ‘oblique’ ‘*plagiai*’. They were grouped together as ‘oblique’ because in at least some of their uses there was prominent not only the meaning of the noun but a particular relation between it and other word(s) (usually verbs, prepositions or other nouns). Aristotle had not regarded what we call the nominative case as a case at all; he distinguished nouns between ‘*onoma*’ the noun proper (in its nominative case and its derivatives ‘*ptōseis*’ which included in

our terms its oblique cases. (Cf. 1, Bekke, Aristotle, Vol. I, p. 104.) We know that (after Aristotle) the Stoics had five cases, nominative, accusative, dative, genitive, and one other.

If it was not vocative, it must be that the adverb was regarded as a case by some Stoic grammarians and then the vocative would be a separate noun form by itself. The question must be left open on the evidence available. So too must be the origin of the word '*ptōsis*' (meaning 'fall' literally), as a grammatical term from which by translation are taken the Latin '*casus*' and our '*case*'. (Cf. R.H. Robbins, *Ancient and Mediaeval Grammatical Theory in Europe*). In contrast is *Pāṇini*'s system, of which R.H. Robbins says 'of more merit than any single work on grammar in ancient or medieval Europe'.

The '*sup*' *pratyayas* taken in conjunction with the *kāraka sūtra* would form the basis for a totally fresh view on the parts of the sentence seen as applicable to all languages. Just as the twenty-one *sup vibhaktipratyaya* represent all possible endings, though not necessarily manifest at any particular time, so too the 'concepts' underlying those *pratyayas* '*apādāna*' '*sampradāna*' '*karāṇa*' '*adhikarāṇa*' '*karma*' and '*kartā*' may be viewed as present though not necessarily manifest in every sentence.

This group of *pratyayas* too is headed by an *adhikāra sūtra* "*nyāpprātipadikāt*" (4.1.1) "After what ends with the feminine terminations *nī* or *āp* or after a *prātipadika* ("*arthavadadhātur apratyayaḥ prātipadikam*" (1.2.45), "*kṛttaddhitasamāsās ca*" (1.2.46) "*svaujasamautchaṣṭābhyāmbhis nebhyaṃbhyasnasibhyāmbhyas nasosām nyos sup*" (4.1.2).

Coming after a *prātipadika* of a feminine ending these twenty-one *pratyayas* and their substitutes serve to manifest four universals and the two particulars, as we may describe the system of the six *kāraḥ*. We shall attempt to illustrate each of these in a sentence showing the contrast to the Greek system. This has as its central concept the 'upright or nominative form of the noun' from which all else is said to be a falling away, whereas in the *Pāṇinian* system we see that all six concepts are 'in relation to the action' "*kārake*" (1.4.23). Such action correctly perceived in any sentence is part of the one activity (*kriyā*) which manifests from rest and returns to rest.

1. The first 'universal' relation to the action is:

“*dhruvam apāye 'pādānam*” (1.4. 24)

“In moving away from the eternal unmoving there is *apādāna*”. That fixed point which is the limit denoted by a word dependent on the verb is called the limit of ablation in relation to the action.

“*apādāne pañcamī*” (2.3.28) When the word denotes the eternal unmoving (from which the movement comes), the fifth case is employed, (i.e. *ñasi*, from “*svaujas*” (4.1.2) and by “*īā ñasi ñasām inātsyāḥ*” (7.2.12), *ñasi* is replaced by *āt* when the *prātipadika* ends in a short 'a'. Thus *pūrṇāt pūrṇam udacyate* “The pure Perfect and Complete *saguna* (conditioned Brahman) proceeds from the Pure Perfect and Complete (unconditioned Brahman *nirguṇa Brahman*)”.

The Greek and Latin concept of ablation “carrying away from” lacks the reference to the unmoving source and, therefore, is not so universal.

2. The second 'universal' we may likewise consider:

karmanā yam abhipraiti sa sampradānam (1.4.32)

“By means of the object (be it gift, offering or sacrifice) whom the mind intends to connect with, that very one is called the *sampradāna* or recipient in relation to the action”.

Again notice how the concept of dative connects with giving but does not bring out either the intention of the mind or the relation to the one action. By “*caturthī sampradāne*” (2.3.13) the fourth case (i.e. *ñe, bhām, bhyas*) is employed when the sense is that of *sampradānam* (recipient) to whom the action is dedicated. As '*paramātmāne namaḥ,*' a bow to the Supreme Self.

3. The third 'universal' is the instrument:

“*sādhakatamaṃ karaṇam*” (1.4.42)

“That which is most auspicious or effective in the accomplishment of action is called the instrument”.

“*karṭṛkaraṇayos tṛtīyā*”(2.3.18) “When the agent and instrument are not specified by the termination of the verb (i.e. when the verb is not in agreement with them), the third case (i.e. *īā*) is employed”. Thus *īśā vāsyamidam sarvam* “All this is to be covered by the Lord, (the Supreme Self)”.

4. The fourth 'universal' is called locative in the Greek/Latin tradition but *Pāṇini* defines it as:

“*ādḥāro 'dhikaraṇam*” (1.4.5)

“The container of the action, the substratum or substance (of the Absolute in time and space) is the *adikaraṇa*, the place in time and space where the action takes place”.

“*saptamy adhikaraṇe*” (2.3.36) “When the sense is that of location, the seventh case, *Ṇi* and *sup* are employed”. For example ‘*yastu sarvāṇi bhūtāny ātmany evānupaśyati sarvabhūteṣu cātmānam ...*’ (*Īśa. 6*) “Who sees all creatures in himself, himself in all creatures (feels no hatred)”.

These four, though not always manifest in a sentence remain implied:

- (1) from whom/which the action arises,
- (2) to whom/which it is dedicated,
- (3) by means of whom/which it proceeds, and
- (4) in what (whether in time or space) it takes place.

Whereas the agent and the object may take on a universal aspect, generally they are relative, particularly to the desire of the agent, in so far as he/she believes he/she is the doer of the action.

The accusative in Western grammar is probably so named through a mistranslation by the Latin grammarian Varro. Its Greek name *aitiatikē* (*ptōsis*) means appropriately the case ‘which is acted upon’ or ‘the Object case’. Varro seems to have taken the Greek word as derived from *aitiaomai* (to accuse) and so passed on to us the misnomer ‘casus accusativus’.

Pāṇini says “*kartur īpsitatamaṃ*” (1.4.49) “That which is most beloved (or desired to be obtained) of the agent is *karma/object*”.

“*karmaṇi dvitīyā*” (2.3.2) “When the object (is not denoted by the termination of the verb i.e. when the verb does not agree with it) the second case i.e. *supvibhaktipratyayāḥ am auṬ Śas*, are attached to the words”.

“*tad dhāvato’nyān atyeti tiṣṭhat*” (*Īśa. 4*) “That (Self) other runners overtakes, while standing”.

Finally let us consider the subject, agent or nominative. The very language of subject and object speaks of a duality which finally the *vākya* or *śabda* transcends, but nonetheless this appears to be the key relative function in the sentence, since the discovery of “*na kartāsi*” “Thou art not (in reality) the doer” is the key to the realisation *mukta evāsi sarvadā* “Verily thou art ever free”.

Pāṇini’s definition is nonetheless of universal value. For he says, “*svatantraḥ kartā*” (1.4.54) “He who holds the system within himself is the agent (of the Absolute) for the purpose of the action, the

independent one”.

“*prātipadikārthaliṅgaparimāṇavacanamātre prathamā*” (2.3.46) “The first case, i.e. *supvibhaktipratyayāḥ su au jas* is where the sense is only that of *prātipadika* (crude form ready to enter the condition of the ‘pada’ in a sentence) or an additional sense of gender, or measure or number”.

‘*anejad ekaṃ manaso javīyah*’ (Here *asti* is understood and the *kartr*/agent is expressed by the ‘*ti*’ substitute by “*lah karmani ca bhāve cākarmakebhyah*” (3.4.69)). “(That Self is) unmoving, one, faster than the mind”.

nainad devā āpnuvan pūrvam arṣat (Īśā. 4) “The senses could not reach it. It ran ahead”.

6. Strī Pratyaya Section

The next major group of *pratyayas* are the *strīpratyaya*. These too have a special *adhikāra sūtra* “*striyām*” (4.2.3). “When feminine nature is to be indicated, the *pratyayas* which are enjoined hereafter must be employed”.

Thus by “*ajādyataṣṭāp*” (4.1.4) ‘*stryām nyāp prātipadikāt*’. “The *pratyaya ṭāp* is employed to indicate feminine nature after the *prātipadika*/(nominal stem) *aja* etc. and after the stems ending in short *a*”.

For example “*jñājñau dvāvajāvīsānīsāvajā hyekā bhoktr- bhogārthayuktā*” (Śveta 1.9) “There are two unborn ones (*ajau*), the knowing (Lord) and the unknowing (individual soul), the omnipotent and the impotent. She (i.e. Nature, *Prakṛti*) too is unborn (*ajā*) who is connected with the enjoyer and the objects of enjoyment”.

In a similar manner the various *strī pratyaya* “*ugitāś ca*” (*striyām nīp*) (4.1.6) “After what has an indicatory *uk* (i.e. *u, r, l*) the *pratyaya nīp* is employed”. So *jagatī*, the feminine form of the present participle with the *pratyaya śatṛ*, therefore has taken *ī* in the feminine. In denoting singular location or *adhikaraṇa* by *nerām nadyāmnībhyaḥ ām* is the substitute of the locative ‘*i*’ after a stem called *nadī* (“*yūstryākhyo nadī*” (1.4.3). Words ending in long *ī* (as *jagatī*) or *ū* always feminine, are called *nadī*) and after the feminines in *āp* and after the word *nī*”. So, ‘*yat kiṃ ca jagatyām jagat*’ (Īśā. 1) “(By the Lord is to be covered) whatever in the universe (or world) moves”.

7. *Taddhita* Section

The last two groups of *pratyayas* are called *taddhita pratyayas*. Numerically the largest group, comprising two hundred and eighty-one different *pratyayāḥ* from “*taddhitāḥ*” (4.1.76) to *niṣpravāṇiśca* (5.4.160) thus comprising nearly two whole *adhyayas* in extent. The last group of *taddhitapratyayā ‘samāsāntāḥ’* (5.4.65) to (5.4.160), we consider separately, as they deal with a whole class of words, *samāsa*, which distinguishes them from the general *taddhita pratyayas*.

They are prescribed as secondary *pratyayas* and as such they follow by *nīp āp (nyānta ābanta) prātipadikāt* (4.1.1.) but do not precede them. However, in the case of the *taddhita/strī pratyaya ti* and the *samāsāntāḥ pratyayas* the order is reversed.

Hence in the case of *yuvati bahugomatikā* etc. *ti* and *ka* prevail over *nīp* and *ṭīp* respectively. Similarly in the case of *sup* (nominal endings) and *taddhita/secondary pratyayas*, as a rule, the former get priority over the latter, though nowhere is this stated categorically by *Pāṇini*. Still, it is like other important conclusions deduced from his own treatment of language in the *sūtras* (namely *jñāpakas*, *paribhāṣās* and *vārtikās*) i.e. *subantāt taddhitotpattiḥ* “The addition of secondary *pratyaya* is to a *subanta* base”. This is borne out by “*ghakālataneṣu kālanāmnaḥ*” (6.3.17) which prescribes “*aluk* (non-inclusion of *sup/nominal* ending, here seventh/*adhikaraṇa* case), optionally after a word denoting time, ending in a consonant or *a* when *tarap* or *tamap* or the word *kāla* and *pratyaya tan* follows”.

In instances such as *pūrvāhṇetare pūrvāhṇetame pūrvāhṇetate* if we do not accept the principle *subantāttaddhitotpatti* then in the above instances the *taddhita pratyayas tarap tamap* and *tana* cannot follow the *subanta* or *prātipadika pūrvāhne*. Hence the question of the elision of the *adhikaraṇa/locative* endings in the above instances by “*supo dhātuprātipadikayoḥ*” (2.4.71) would not arise at all. As such the very utility of the above *sūtra* 2.3.71 becomes quite questionable. We have to conclude as the matter stands that *taddhitas* are added to *subanta* bases and then the *sūtra* in question becomes essential to rule out elision of the termination of *adhikaraṇa/locative* singular in the instances noted above.

However, in the case of *atyantasvārthika taddhita pratyayas* (with indication of the sense of the bases to which they are added), we find a different practice. The *pratyayas* of the above description are

added to *prātipadikas* not to *subanta* (nouns in their fully inflected state) as is the case for the rest of the *taddhitas*.

Thus *taddhitas* are divisible into:

- (1) *asvārthika* (*pratyayas* which add to the meaning of the base), and
- (2) *svārthika* (*pratyayas* which are simply indicative of the meaning of the base (found in *Pāṇini* 5.3 and 5.4 only).

asvārthikāḥ take priority because they are the true representatives of *taddhita* (*tasmāi hitāstaddhitāḥ*) and are also far greater in number.

There is no consistency in the *taddhita prakaraṇa* (apart from *svārthikas*) between *pratyayas* and their meanings. A single *pratyaya* is prescribed in a number of senses and vice versa, e.g. *añ* is enjoined in more than six senses as:

- | | |
|---|--------------------------------------|
| “ <i>tasyāpatyam</i> ” (4.1.92) | “ <i>tena raktam</i> ” (4.2.1) |
| “ <i>nakṣatreṇa yukta kālah</i> ” (4.2.3) | “ <i>dr̥ṣṭam sāmā</i> ” (4.2.7) |
| “ <i>samskr̥tam bhakṣāḥ</i> ” (4.2.16) | “ <i>parivr̥to rathah</i> ” (4.2.40) |

Similarly in the sense of *tasyāpatyam* many *pratyayas* are prescribed from 4.1.83 to 4.1.179. Therefore the arrangement of *taddhita pratyayas* has not been made entirely on the basis of their meaning, because in that case the fallacy of *avyāpti* (inadequate pervasion) will be inevitable.

To say that specification of the meaning of the *asvārthika pratyaya* has been made, keeping in view a particular *pratyaya* as the limit of its extension, does not appear warrantable. In the majority of cases a particular meaning has been taken as a limit to the jurisdiction of a general *pratyaya*. For instance,

- “*prāgvahateṣṭhak*” (4.4.1); “*prāgdhitādyat*” (4.4.75);
 “*prākkr̥tāccha*” (5.1.1).

In between two general *pratyayas* several meanings are specified in which various *pratyaya*, both *utsarga* and *apavāda*, are enjoined for various bases. The jurisdiction of one meaning ends before the commencement of the next one. E.g. *tasyāpatyam* 4.1.92 runs up to 4.1.178.

Henceforward begins “*tena raktam*” (4.2.1), which in turn continues until the next meaning takes over “*nakṣatreṇa yukta kālah*” (4.2.3).

Thus we find the jurisdiction of a particular meaning has to be ascertained while keeping in view the advent of the next meaning and not the *pratyaya*.

There is no technicality in specification of meanings etc. The change of a *pratyaya* is not essential with the change of meaning, for the same *pratyaya* is prescribed in various meanings (see above).

The option of meaning is clearly mentioned in the course of the *pratyayādhikāra* with which it is concerned, e.g. within “*aṅ* *adhikāra*” (4.1.83) all the optional meanings such as “*tasyāpatyam*” (4.1.92), “*tena raktam*” (4.2.1), “*dr̥ṣṭam sāma*” (4.2.7) etc. are clearly mentioned, leaving no scope for confusion with regard to their fields of operation. As such there is no *bādhyabādhaka bhāva* (relation of exclusion of one *pratyaya* by another) amongst the *pratyaya*, on account of variation in their meaning.

Still the *Śloka-vārttika* on “*tasyāpatyam*” (4.1.92) hints at the instance of the above phenomena in some cases of *pratyaya* based on the relative priority of meaning:

*tasyedam ity apatyē 'pi bādhanārthakṛtam bhavet/
utsargaḥ śeṣa evāsau vṛddhānyasya prayojanam//*

Similarly the *vārttika* on *dityadityādityapatyuttarapadānnyah//* (4.1.85) *nyādaśo 'rthaviśeṣalakṣaṇād nāpavādāt pūrvavipratī-siddham//* testifies to the working of the *pūrvavipratīśedha* also in the *taddhita* section. Although on the ground of variation in meaning there is almost no prevalence of one *pratyaya* over another, still the relation of *bādhyabādhyabhāva* between *utsarga* and *apavāda* *pratyaya* cannot be ruled out.

The general *adhikāra sūtra pratyaya*, though penetrating through each and every *sūtra* within the limits of the jurisdiction, is prevailed over by many particular *pratyayas*. For instance the *utsarga pratyayas* *aṅ* *ṭhan ṭhak* and *yat* etc. within their respective jurisdiction are invariably passed over by *apavāda sūtras*. One may also note the systematic and scientific arrangement.

(1) First *aṅ* *adhikāra* (4.1.83) Jurisdiction of *aṅ* to the end of 4.3.

(2) Second *ṭhagadhikāra* (4.4.1) to (4.4.74).

(3) Third *yat* *adhikāra* (4.4.75) to (144) ... etc.

Within these *pratyayādhikāra* are enunciated several *arthādhikāra* e.g. “*tasyāpatyam*” “*tena raktam rāgāt*” “*samskṛtam taratī*”, “*tad vahatī*” “*rathayugaprasaṅgam*” “*tatra sādhu*” etc.

The *apatyādhikāra*, being the largest, claims priority over the rest. A particular *arthādhikāra* generally being mentioned at the very outset is followed by the particular *pratyaya* prescribed therein.

This is the general plan in the whole *Taddhita prakaraṇa*, with

certain variations dealing with *śaiṣika* and *svārtha pratyayas*.

The 'primitive' or primary nouns having been formed from *dhātus* by adding the *kṛt pratyayāḥ*, other nouns may again be derived from the primary nouns to imply every possible relation to the things, actions or notions which the primary or primitive '*kṛd anta*' express. The *pratyayāḥ* forming these derivative (or secondary) nouns are called *taddhita*. (*Sandhi* for *tad hita* because the nouns denote something relating or belong to 'that which is primitive or primary'.) Or the literal sense is "*tasmai hitāstaditāḥ*" (5.1.5) "that which renders some 'good' (to a word whether *laukika* or Vedic by occasioning some improvement in its significatory power)". *Taddhita* is a term having representative meaning, cf. *tasmai hitam* (P.5.1.5).

A term of the ancient pre-Pāṇinian grammarians used by Pāṇini just like *sarvanāma* or *avyaya* without giving any specific definition. The term occurs in the *Nirukta* of Yāska at 11.2:

*atha taddhitasamāseṣu ekaparvasu vānekaparvasu pūrvam
pūrvam aparamparam pravibhajya nibrūyāt/ daṇḍyaḥ puruṣaḥ/
daṇḍam arhatīti vā/ daṇḍena sampadyata iti vā/ daṇḍo dadāter
dhārayati karmaṇaḥ/*

"Now with regard to secondary derivatives and compounds whether of one or more than one member one should explain their component parts in their respective order having first divided (the words) into them e.g. 'Punishable' i.e. a person (liable to punishment) deserving punishment or something to be accomplished by punishment. *Daṇḍa* (punishment) is derived from *dhātu daṇḍa* meaning to hold".

Pāṇini has used the word *taddhita* not for words but for the *pratyayas* which are added to form such words at all places, e.g. in "*taddhitaś cāsarvavibhaktiḥ*" (1.1.38) "And the words ending in *taddhita* (or secondary) *pratyaya* which are not 'derived' in all the case are also indeclinables".

"*prācām śpha taddhitāḥ*" (4.1.17) "In the opinion of the Eastern grammarians, the *pratyaya śpha* is employed after what ends with the *pratyaya ya* and is to be regarded as a *taddhita pratyaya*".

"*taddhitāḥ*" (4.1.176) "The *taddhita pratyayāḥ* are treated of hereafter".

"*ye ca taddhite*" (6.1.61) "There is the substitution of that stem *śīrṣan* for *śīras* when a *taddhita pratyaya* beginning 'y' with follows etc." In fact, he has begun the enumeration of the *taddhita pratyayāḥ* with the *sūtra* "*taddhitāḥ*" (4.1.76) by putting the term *taddhita* for *pratyayāḥ* such as *tiṅ syaṅ aṅ* etc., which are mentioned thereafter.

In his rule “*kṛttaddhitasamāsās ca*” (1.2.46) and in the *Vārttika* “*samāsakṛttaddhitāvyayāḥ*” (1.4.1. *vārttika* 41), the word *taddhita* appears to be actually used for the words derived from nouns by secondary *pratyaya*, although commentators have explained there the terms *kṛt* and *taddhita* for *kṛdanta* and *taddhitānta*. The term *taddhita* is evidently echoed in the *sūtra* “*tasmai hitam*” (5.1.5), which although not the first *sūtra* of the *taddhita* section may imply that there were possibly long lists of secondary nouns with the sense of secondary *pratyaya*, and *taddhita* was perhaps the first sense given there (*Abhyankar*). The number of *taddhita pratyayāḥ* is clearly very large (1,110 *sūtras*). The main sub-divisions mentioned are preceded by the ‘great option’ “*samarthānām prathamād vā*” (4.1.82).

If we assume the same meaning for “*samartha*” as in 2.1.1 “*samarthapadaavidhiḥ*” we may accept Scharfe’s translation cf. 4.1.82. “After the first of (words) with a single meaning preferably (*taddhita*) *pratyayāḥ*”, following Kiparsky’s interpretation of *vā*. For words with the same meaning there would be as a general rule/*utsarga* compounding. In special cases however, composition may be superseded by *taddhita* formation. These are listed in rules following 4.1.16.

1. “*apatyārthaka tasyāpatyam*” (*prāgdīvyato ’ṇ*)
e.g. ‘*Vaiśvānaraḥ*’ by “*ṛsyandhakavṛṣṇikurubhyaś ca*” (4.1.114) and *aupagavaḥ* off spring of ‘*Vaiśvānara*’ and ‘*Upagu*’.
“The *pratyaya aṇ* (4.1.83) and those that follow it denote the descendant of someone”, to “*na prācyabhargādiyaudheyādibhyaḥ*” (4.1.178) “The *tadrāja pratyaya* is not elided in the feminine if it forms the names of *kṣatriyas* of the east, *yaudheya* etc.” e.g. *Prācālī* a *kṣatriya* woman of the east.

2. “*raktādyarthaka tena raktam rāgāt*” (4.2.1)
“The *pratyaya aṇ* etc. already ordained (4.1.83) comes after the name of a colour in the sense of ‘coloured’ thereby as far as “*naḍādinām kuk ca*” (4.2.91)”. e.g. *kāṣāyam* brown-red cloth or garment.

“The augment *kuk* comes after the word *naḍa* etc. when the *pratyaya cha* follows in the four senses: “*tadasmīn nastīti deśe tannāmni*” (4.2.67); “*tena nivṛttam*” (4.2.68); “*tasya nivāsa*” (8.2.69); “*adūrabhavaś ca*” (4.2.70)”. Namely ‘That thing is in this (place named)’ “*tad asmīn astīti deśe*” (4.2.67), ‘completed by him’ “*tena*

nirvṛttam” (4.2.68), ‘his dwelling place’ “*tasya nivāsaḥ*” (4.2.69), ‘after what is near’ “*adūrabhavaś ca*” (4.2.70).

3. ‘*śaiṣika*, “*śeṣe*” (4.2.92)

“The *pratyayāḥ* taught hereafter have senses other than those mentioned above”.

“*ātharvaṇikasyekalopaś ca*” (4.3.133) (“*tasyedam*” (4.3.120)) “The *pratyaya aṅ* comes in the sense of ‘this is his’ after the word *ātharvaṇika* and the penultimate ‘*ika*’ is elided”. e.g. ‘*ātharvaṇo dharmā āmnāyo vā*’.

4. “*prāgdīvyatīya tasya cikāra*” (4.3.134)

“A *pratyaya* (4.1.83 *aṅ* etc.) comes after a word in the sixth case in construction in the sense of ‘a modification thereof”.

‘*aśmano vikāraḥ āśmanaḥ*’ made of stone

‘*bailvaḥ*’ (by “*bilvādibhyo ṅ*” (4.3.136) made of *Bilva* wood)

‘*trāpuṣam jātuṣam*’ (by “*trāpujatuno puk*” (4.3.138))

“*kamṣīyaparaśavyayoryajajo luk ca*” (4. 3. 168)

“The *pratyayāḥ yañ* and *añ* come respectively in the sense of its product after the word ‘*kāṁsīya*’ and ‘*paraśavya*’ and there is elision (of the *cha* and *gha pratyayas* of those words”.

5. “*prāgvahatīya prāgvahateṣṭhakāḥ*” (4.4.1)

“The *pratyaya ṭhak* comes as a governing *pratyaya* in the sense enumerated hereafter up to *sūtra* 4.4.76”, e.g. *ākṣikāḥ*

“*āvasathāt ṣṭhal*” (4.4.74) “The *pratyaya ṣṭhal* comes in the sense of who dwells there after the word *āvasathā* in the seventh case in construction”.

“*tadvahati rathayugaprāsaṅgam yat*” (4.4.86) “*Pratyaya yat* acts in the sense of what bears it after the words *ratha yuga prasaṅga* being in the second case in construction” e.g. *ratham vahati ‘rathyah’* .

6. “*prāgdhitīya/“prāgdhitādyat*” (4.4.75)

“In each *sūtra* from this one forward to “*tasmai hitam*” (5.1.5) the *pratyaya yat* bears rule”.

“The *pratyaya yat* comes after the word ‘*sodara*’ in the sense of who sleeps, the word being in the seventh case in construction”, e.g. *ratham vahati rathyah* (4.4.110-114) *chandasi* only.

7. *ārhiya*/“*prāk krītācchah*” (5.1.1)

“From this *sūtra* onwards to “*tena krītam*” (5.1.37) (“*tasmai hitam*” (5.1.5)) e.g. *vatsēbyo hito vatsīyo godhuk yajñīyo brāhmaṇaḥ ārtvijīno brāhmaṇaḥ* the *pratyaya* ‘*cha*’ bears rule to *yajñartvigbhyām ghakhañau* (5.1.71).

“The *pratyayāḥ gha* (*iya*) and *kha* (+ *īna*) come respectively after the words *yajña* and *rtvij* in the sense of deserving that”.

8. ‘*thanadhikārastha*’/ “*pārāyaṇaturāyaṇācāndrāyaṇam vartayati* (*than*) *prāgvahateṣṭhan*” (5.1.72)

“The *pratyaya than* (*ik*) (5.1.18) comes in the sense of who performs this after the words ‘*pārāyaṇa*’ ‘*turāyaṇa*’ and ‘*cāndrāyaṇa*’ being in the second case in construction.

‘*ākalikādādyantavacane*’ (5.1.114) “*pārāyaṇikaś cchātraḥ tau-rāyaṇiko yajamānaḥ cāndrāyaṇikastapasvī*” “The word *ākalikat* is irregularly formed in the sense of ‘what coincides with the beginning and the end’ i.e. what lasts only an instant”.

9. *bhāvakarmārthaka*/ “*tena tulyakriyācedvati*” (4.1.115) e.g. *brahmaṇavat*.

“The *pratyaya vat* comes after a word in the third case in construction in the sense of like that, when the meaning is similarity of action”. *brahmaṇas tvaḥ* (*bhāvaḥ karma*) (5.1.136) “The *pratyaya tva* comes in the sense of nature or action thereof after the word *Brahman* denoting a kind of *hotṛ* priest” (e.g. *brahmatvam*).

10. “*pāñcamika dhānyānām bhavane kṣatre khañ*” (5.2.1)

“The *pratyaya khañ* (+ *in*) comes after the name of any particular corn, being in the genitive case in construction in the sense of a place of growing when the place is a field.” (e.g. *mudgānām bhavanam kṣetra* ⇒ *maudgīnām*).

“*indriyam indraliṅgam indradṛṣṭam indrasṛṣṭam indrajuṣṭam indradattam iti vā* (*ghac*)” (5.2.13) “The word ‘*indriyam*’ (showing *udātta* on the last) is anomalous, meaning an organ of sense and so called either because it is the characteristic from which the existence of *Indra* is inferred or ‘it is seen by *Indra*’ or ‘it is created by *Indra*’ or ‘wished by *Indra*’ or ‘given by *Indra*’”.

11. *matvarthīya*/ “*tadasyāstyaminniti matup*” (5.2.94)

“The *pratyaya matup* (*mata manta* f. *ī*) comes after a word in the first case in construction in the sense of ‘where it is’ or ‘in whom it is’”, e.g. *gāvo 'aya santi gomān*.

“*aham śubhayoryus*” (5.2.140)

“The *pratyaya yus* comes in the sense of *matup* after the word ‘*aham*’ and the indeclinable ‘*śubham*’ (good)”.

12. *vibhaktisaṃjñaka* | “*prāgdiśovibhaktiḥ*” (5.3.1) *svārthe prakaraṇam*

“The *pratyaya* taught from this *sūtra* forward as far as 5.3.27 (exclusive) are called ‘*vibhakti*’”.

“*thāhetau ca cchandasi*” (5.3.26) “*Pratyaya thā* comes in the sense of cause also (as well as ‘manner’) in the *chandas* after the word *kim*”. ‘*kathā*’.

13. *svārthika* | “*dikśabdebhyaḥ saptamīpañcamīprathamābhyo digdeśakāleṣv astātiḥ*” (5.3.27)

“After the words of ‘direction’ ending in the locative, ablative and nominative, and referring to direction, locality, or time, comes the *pratyaya astāti* (= *astāt*) without change of sense” e.g. *purastāt niṣpravāṇiś ca* (5.4.160).

[N.B. Sometimes includes *samāsanta* from (5,4.68)]

The word *niṣpravāṇiś ca* is irregularly formed without adding the *pratyaya kap* though the last word is a *nadī* word.

“*taddhitāḥ samarthānām prathamād vā*” (4.1.82)

“The *taddhita pratyayah* on the alternative (of their being employed at all) come after the word that is signified by the first of the words in construction in a *sūtra* up to but excluding “*prāg diśo vibhaktiḥ*” (5.3.1)”.

We shall consider a few of these by way of example. “*aśvapatyādibhyaś ca*” (4.1.84) “And let the *pratyaya aṅ* come in the sense of various *pratyayas* occurring antecedently to *tena dīvyati khanati nayati nitam* (4.4.2)”. “When the sense is ‘who plays, digs, conquers or is conquered therewith’, there is the *pratyaya ṭhak* after these”. ‘*aśvapatiḥ*’ by “*taddhiteṣv acām ādeḥ*” (7.2.117) and “*yasyeti*” (6.4.148) (*taddhitebhasya lopah*) “When a *taddhita pratyaya* follows with an indicatory *ñ* or *ṅ* there is *vṛddhi* in place of the first vowel among the vowels”.

‘The offspring of (one of the kings styled *Aśvapati*)’ is

āśvapatyam by “*dityadityādityapatyuttarapadāṅ nyah*” (4.1.85) “The *pratyaya nya* in the sense of the various senses occurring antecedently to 4.4.2, comes after the proper names *diti aditi āditya* ‘the sun’ and that which has the word *pati* as its final member”. Thus *daitya* descendant of *diti*, *āditya* descendant of *Aditi* or a descendant of the sun, *prajāptyah* descendant of *Prajāpati*. For example: ‘*pūṣannekarse yama sūrya prajāpatya*’ (*Īśā. 16*) “O, *Pūṣan* (thou who art the nourisher), the solitary traveller, the controller, the acquirer, the son of *Prajāpati* (do remove the rays, gather up thy dazzle)”. Again this *taddhita* may serve as a representative of one of a very large group of powerful secondary *pratyayāḥ*, which links with one of the senses of *taddhita* itself.

By “*asurasya svam*” (4.4.123) the *pratyaya yat* comes in the *chandas* after the word *asura* in the sixth case in construction (i.e. in the sense of belonging). *asura* having in turn been derived from *Uṇādi 5.1.42* ‘*aserurana*’ from *dhātu ‘as’-kṣepaṇe* in the sense of ‘throwing up’. Thus when *yat* added in the sense of “*tasmai hitam*” (5.1.5) “A *pratyaya* like ‘*yat*’ comes after a word in the fourth case in construction in the sense of ‘good for that’” (the difference in *vibhakti* being due to Vedic context). We have the form of ‘*asurya*’ ‘belonging to or good for the *Asuras*’.

So in *Īśā. 3* ‘*asuryā nāma te lokā andhena tamasā vṛttāḥ*’ “Those worlds of devils are covered by blinding darkness.” (*Śāṅkara* comments: As compared with their attainment of the non-dual state of the Supreme Self, even Gods are *Asuras* (devils), and the worlds belonging to them ‘*asuryāḥ*’.)

tāṅste pretyābhigacchanti yeke cātmahano janāḥ// “Those people who kill, i.e. deny the Self after giving up this body, go to those (worlds)”.

Another extremely important *taddhita pratyaya* is decreed by “*tasya bhāvastvatalau*” (6. 1.119) which states “the *pratyayas tva* and *tala* (= *ta* or *tā*) come after a word in the sixth case in construction in the sense of the nature thereof”.

So *eka* followed by *tvam* gives us *ekatvam* literally ‘of the nature of one’, as in *Īśā. 7* = oneness/unity ‘*tatra ko mohaḥ kaḥ śoka ekatvam anupaśyataḥ*’ “In the self, of the man of realisation (in whom all beings become the Self) what delusion and what sorrow can remain for that seer of oneness?”

Our last example is the so-called comparative *pratyaya*, which in

English is often represented by final ‘-er’. This is ordained by “*dvivacanavibhajyopapade tarabīyasunau*” (5.3.57) which states that “The *pratyayāḥ tarap (tara)* and *īyasun (īyas)* come in the sense of ‘surpassing’ (*atiśāyane*) after a *prātipadika* (as comparison between) the things or when that which is added to it (*upapada*) is to be distinguished from another”.

Thus from the *dhātu juñ* in the sense of swift movement manifests ‘*javiya*’ when followed by *īyas*, for this causes *guṇa* of the *u* of *ju* (“*sarvadhātukārdhadhātukayoḥ*” (7.3.84)) giving *jo + īyam* and *javiyam* by “*eco ‘yavāyāvaḥ*” (6.1.78) the *s* becoming first *ru* by “*sasajuṣo ruḥ*” (8.2.66) then *u* by “*haśi ca*” (6.1.114) before the following *na*, finally in *saṃhitā* (union of one *vākya*) by “*ād guṇaḥ*” (6.1.87) manifests as *javiya* from *Īśā. 4* “*annejad ekaṃ manaso javīyo nainaddevā āpnuvam pūrvamarṣat*” “It (the Self) is unmoving, one, and faster than the mind (*manasas*). The senses (*devāḥ*) could not overtake it, since it ran ahead”.

8. *Samāsāntaḥ* Section

We turn to our final group of *pratyayāḥ*, also called *taddhita*, the *saṃāsāntāḥ pratyayāḥ*, forming the final section of the *svārthika taddhita* section, which have the characteristic of conveying or bringing forth the meaning of that to which they are attached without adding anything additional, from 5.4.68 to 5.4.160. These are all prescribed at the end of compounds in specific cases.

By the *sūtra* “*avyayībhāve śaratprabhṛtibhyaḥ*” (5.4.107) *Pāṇini* states “When the compound is an *avyayībhāva* or ‘indeclinable compound’ the *taddhita pratyaya tac* (= *ac* by “*cuṭū*” (1.3.7) and *a* by “*halantyaṃ*” (1.3.3)) comes after the words *śarat* etc. as final of the compound”. E.g. *upaśardam* ‘near the autumn’.

Again “*anaśac*” (5.4.104) “And after that *avyayībhāva* which ends in *an* let there be *tac*”. “*nastaddhite*” (6.4.144) (*bhasya, ṭe, lopah*) “And when a *taddhita pratyaya* follows, there is elision of the last vowel with what follows it of what ends in ‘*n*’ and is called *bha*” (c.f. “*yaci bham*” (1.4.18) “When a *pratyaya* with an initial ‘*ya*’ or a vowel follows, what precedes (not being *sarvanāmasthāna*) is called *bha*”.

Thus there is elision of the *an* of *ātman* because the following *taddhita pratyaya ‘tac*’ when stripped of its indicator letters really

begins with 'a'. e.g. *adhyātmam* (relating to the Self). As in *Kenopaniṣad* 4.5: '*atha adhyātmam yadetad gacchatīva*'. "There is (the instruction through analogy) in the context of the individual self. This (known fact that the mind) seems to go to It (Brahman) ..."

Again, there is the context of a *bahuvrīhi samāsa* (in respect whereof for the most part the sense of a different word is the main one, to which the sense of the compound epithet is subordinate). we have the *sūtra* "*suhṛddurhṛdau mitrāmitrayoḥ*" (5.4.150) "The forms of *suhṛd* and *durhṛd* occur with the sense of friend and foe" (the *aya* of *hṛdaya* being elided in the *bahuvrīhi*).

Thus *suhṛd* 'whose heart is well affected', and *durhṛd* 'whose heart is ill affected'. For example "*sarvasya prabhūmīśāṃ sarvasya śaraṇam suhṛt*" (*Śvet.* 3.17). "The Lord, the ruler of all, the Friend (and) the Shelter of all" For an example of *tatpuruṣa samāsa pratyayaḥ* again we take the *pratyaya tac* ordained by "*rājāhas-sakhibhyaḥ tac*" (5.4.91) Whereby "the *taddhita pratyaya tac* comes after a *tatpuruṣa samāsa* (in which for the most part the sense of the last of its elements is the main one) that ends with the word *rājan* (a king), *ahan* (day), *sakhi* (friend)" and by "*ānmahataḥ samānādhikaraṇajātīyayoḥ*" (6.3.46). "Long 'ā' is the substitute (cf. the final of 'mahat' (great), when a word in the same case follows and when *jātīya* (like) follows". Thus *sa yathā kumāro vā mahārājo vā* as in *Bṛhad.* 2.1.19, *mahābrāhmaṇo vā tighnīmānandasya gatvā śayīta* "Verily as a youth of a great king or a great *Brahman* might rest when he has reached the utter oblivion of bliss, so this one now rests".

Finally, "the *pratyaya tac* comes after the word *varcas* when preceded in a compound by the words 'brahma' or 'hasti'".

"*brahmahastibhyām varcasah*" (5.4.78) which may be read in the *Tai.* 1.3: '*saha nau yaśaḥ saha nau brahmavarcasam*' "May we both attain fame together. May spiritual eminence be vouchsafed to both of us together".

A. *Uṇādi* Section (Appendix)

The last major section of *pratyaya* still comes under the general category *kṛt* but, being only referred to by *Pāṇini* yet listed separately in tradition, may be considered as somewhat distinct. The *uṇādi pratyayas* headed by the *pratyaya an* are similar to *Pāṇini*'s *kṛt pratyayas*, giving derivation mostly of such words as are not derived

by the *sūtras* of *Pāṇini*. No particular sense such as agent, object etc. is mentioned in connection with these *pratyayas*, as *Pāṇini* has stated in “*tābhyām anyatronādayaḥ*” (3.4.75). (They are, however, *kṛt pratyayas* under the general meaning *sūtra* “*kartari kṛt*” and are placed on a level with other *pratyayāḥ* (Comp. “*titutratathasisu-sarakaseṣu*” (7.2.9) (*aniṭ*.) “The words formed by *uṇādi pratyayas* denote other ideas than these two (i.e. *sampradāna* recipient and *apādāna* ablation)”. In other words any one of the senses *kartr* agent, *karman* object, *karāṇa* instrument, *adhikarāṇa* location is assigned to the *uṇādi pratyaya* as suits the meaning of the word.

Although some scholars believe that the *uṇādi pratyayāḥ* are given by a grammarian later than *Pāṇini*, as there are words like *tāmbūla*, *tīnāra* and others included in the list of *uṇādi* words, and that there are many interpolated *sūtras*, still the *uṇādi* collection must be looked upon as an old one containing at least some pre-*Pāṇinian* material, which is definitely mentioned by *Pāṇini* in two different *sūtras*, namely “*uṇādayo bahulam*” (3.3.1). “The *pratyayāḥ* ‘*uṇ*’ and the rest with the force of the present (i.e. implying neither past time nor future) and with a sense simply appellative (and not descriptive) are attached diversely”, and “*tābhyām anyatronādayaḥ*” (3.4.75) (see above for translation). ‘Some *pratyayas*, though there be no express injunction regarding them, are to be inferred as belonging to the class’ “*kecid avihitā eva prayogata unniyante*”. The maxim in regard to the *pratyaya* ‘*uṇ*’ etc. is this:

*saṃjñāsu dhāturūpāni pratyayās ca tataḥ pare/
kāryād vidyādanubandham etac chāstram uṇādiṣu//* (M.Bh.
3.3.12.136)

“When in appellatives we find the forms of *dhātus* and *pratyayas* coming after them, then one may know from the result (as presented in the word) what are the indicatory letters which the *pratyaya* must have possessed in order to produce the result”.

This is a frank admission of the arbitrary nature of these *pratyayas*, in contrast to most of *Pāṇini*’s *pratyayas*.

The technical terms *hrasva dīrgha pluta udātta upadhā lopa samprasāraṇaṃ abhyāsa* are used in the same sense as in *Pāṇini*. The *anubandhas* are similar. However, *Katyāyana* shows the particular *sūtras* of *Pāṇini*:

(8.3.50) “*kaḥ karatkaratikṛdhikṛteṣv anadite*”; (7.4.15)
“*āpo ’nyatarasyām*”; (7.2.78) “*īḍajanorddhe ca*”; (8.3.59)
“*ādeśapratyayoh*”

do not apply to *Uṇādi* (4.226) which is an exception to “*gatikārako-papadāt kṛt*” (6.2.139).

“*gatikārakopapadayoḥ pūrvapada prakṛtisvaratvaṃ ca*” (*Uṇ.* 4.226) “The *pratyaya asi* acts after compounds which have for their first member either a *gati* word or when the *upapada* is a *kāraka*; and the first member retains its original accent”. *Patañjali*, apparently ascribing the collection to *Śākaṭāyana* in *Mahābhāṣya* on “*uṇādayo bahulam*” (3.3.1), states on the strength of the *Vārttika* “*tatroṇādi-pratiṣedha*” that these *pratyayas* and the words given in the *uṇādi* collection should not be considered as genuinely derived. The derivation is not a very systematic and logically correct one and therefore, for practical purposes, the words derived by the application of the *pratyayas aṅ* etc. should be looked upon as underived. Cf. “*uṇādhayo vyutpannāni prātipadikāni*” (*M.Bh.* on *P.1.1.16*, 3.4.77).

There is a counter statement also seen in the *Mahābhāṣya* “*uṇādayo vyutpannāni*” “*Uṇādi* (should be looked upon) as derived” representing the other view prevailing at the time. *M.Bh.* on 3.1.133; but not much importance (according to Abhyankar) seems to be attached to it, nor any trace of it in Kielhorn’s edition!

The different systems of grammar have different collections of such words which are also known by the term *uṇādi*. Of the collections belonging to *Pāṇini*’s system, three collections are available: the collections in five *pādas* given in the printed edition of *Siddhānta Kaumudī*, the collection in ten *pādas* given in the printed edition of the *Prakriyā Kaumudī* and the collection in the *Sarasvatī Kaṅṭhābharāṇa* of *Bhoja* forming *pādas* 1, 2 and 3 of the second *adhyāya* of the work. The first *sūtra* in *S.K.* is “*kṛvāpājimivādisādhyasubhya uṇ*” “Let the *pratyaya uṇ* come after the *dhātu kṛ* to make, *vā* to blow, *pā* to drink, *ji* to overcome, *mi* to scatter, *svādi* to taste, *sādhi* to accomplish, *aśu* to pervade”. Thus *kāruḥ* an artisan, *vāyu* ‘Air’, (as in “*vāyur anilam amṛtam athedaṃ asmāntam*” (*Īśā.* 17) “Let (my) vital force (or wind) now attain the (all pervading) immortal Air, and now let this body be reduced to ashes”) *pāyuh* the organ of excretion, *jāyuh* a drug (which overcomes diseases), *māyuh* the bile, *svādi* sweet, *sādhu* who accomplishes the object of another, hence virtuous, *āśu* quickly.

One more example of *uṇādi sūtra* will serve to illustrate their special function in providing some derivation for many words, particularly in the *Upaniṣads* which otherwise would remain

underived.

“*avateṣṭilopaś ca*” (Uṇ. 1.139) The *pratyaya san* comes after the *dhātu ‘av’* (600) “*raḁṣana gatikānti prītitṛpti avagamapraveśa śravaṇa svāmī artha yācana kriyā icchā dīpti avāpti ālīngana himsā ādāna bhāga vṛddhiṣu*” “in the sense of protecting, movement, beauty or brilliance or desire (to return to the Absolute etc.) pleasing, satisfaction, understanding, penetration, hearing or listening, lordship, purpose or aim, asking) action, desire (of the Self), shining, obtaining or pervading, embracing, injuring or killing, accepting, disturbing or allotting and finally in prospering.” In the twenty activities perhaps we get a glimpse of the manifest nature of the *dhātu* of all *dhātus*, the seed of all seeds at work, and there is *lopa* (elision) of the *an* (*ti*) portion of *san*. Thus *ava + m = u u + m*.

The penultimate *a* and the final *v* are both changed to *u* by “*jvaratvarasrivyavimavām upādhāyās ca*” (6.4.20) “In *jvara tvā sriv av* and *mav* before the above mentioned *pratyayāḥ* (*vi-v*, a nasal or a *jhalādi kit* or *tiṅ*) there is the single substitution of *u* for each of the ‘*v*’s and for the vowel preceding the final consonant”. These two coalesce into one long *ū*, then *guṇa* by “*sārvadhātukārdhdhātukayoḥ*” (7.3.84) giving as in the second line *Īśā. 17* quoted above. *Om krato smara kṛtaṃ smara krato smara kṛitaṃ smara* “O my mind remember — remember all that has been done. Remember, remember all that has been done”.

(to be continued)

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