The American Institute of Buddhist Studies (AIBS), in affiliation with the Columbia University Center for Buddhist Studies and Tibet House US, has established the *Treasury of the Indic Sciences* series as a complement to its *Treasury of the Buddhist Sciences* series. For over fifteen hundred years the scholars representing various Buddhist traditions were actively engaged in dialogue and debate with representatives of various Vedist, Hindu, Jainist, and other religious and secular traditions. In this cosmopolitan milieu the shared arts and sciences of all these Indic traditions were constantly refined and developed. In full acknowledgement of this broader context, the AIBS is widening its Buddhistic mandate with the *Treasury of the Indic Sciences* series in which it is publishing translations of influential classics from the diversity of Indic traditions. Publications from both Treasuries will bring important Indic contributions into contemporary discourse, enriching and contributing to our global cultural, philosophical, spiritual, and scientific heritage.
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Series Editor’s Preface

It was only after this book was accepted for publication in the *Treasury of the Indic Sciences* series that I was called upon to become editor of the same series, and thus eventually found myself in the rather odd position of welcoming my own work into the series. I am grateful for this opportunity for two reasons. First, it affords me a place, separate from the preface and introduction that Emery Boose and I wrote together, to describe subsequent developments in the handbook that have involved only my portion of the work and not his. Second, it allows me to make a few comments, at a point near the beginning of this new series, on my hopes for the series and their connection with the subject matter of the present volume.

This is the first printed edition of a handbook for students on the reading of Sanskrit commentaries that has been circulated privately in five previous versions over a period reaching back twenty-five years. The original version was a typewritten draft containing two sections corresponding to the two parts of the present edition. The first section was mine, and dealt with commentarial techniques for explaining the meanings of words in a text, and thus provided a survey of methods of glossing. The second section, written by Emery Boose, covered the distinctive features of the type of expository prose used in discussing the contents of the text, and was thus concerned with what Renou and others have referred to as the *bhāṣya* style of Sanskrit.

Subsequent versions of the handbook have largely been the result of my own attempts to find the most useful way to deal with a complex topic treated only sporadically in the original version—the use in commentaries of the technical devices of traditional Pāṇinian grammar, a topic that is difficult to introduce concisely and simply, and impossible to treat comprehensively in any portion of a single volume. Throughout the history
of these attempts, Emery Boose’s portion of the handbook has remained essentially the same, with the exception of progressive changes in visual formatting and the correction of minor typographical errors. Neither I nor any of the many readers of the handbook I have heard from has discovered any way in which his contribution could be improved. I have also avoided making any changes to the preface and introduction that we wrote together, other than those required by the alterations in my own material that I shall now briefly describe.

In the second version of the handbook, the material on Pāṇinian grammar was extracted to form the core of a separate part of the work, and at the same time the other parts of work were typed into computer files and reformatted. My treatment of this Pāṇinian material became progressively more unwieldy, and once it had been circulated among colleagues in the third version of the handbook, I realized that this material was too difficult and extensive to be handled with the same comprehensiveness as in the part of the handbook dealing with glosses in non-technical language, and that the same range of technical information was beginning to be covered in recent work by George Cardona and others. In the fourth version, the other portions of the handbook were reformatted separately from the material on Pāṇini, which was then withdrawn. In the fifth version, the first part was rewritten in view of the new structure, both parts were completely reformatted using the \texttt{LATEX} macro system with automated cross references and indexing, and a shortened overview of Pāṇinian technical terminology was added to the first part to compensate for the withdrawal of a separate section on this topic. The present edition is an improved reformating of this fifth version, reshaped to fit the series in which it appears.

Along the way this handbook has been read by many students and colleagues, and in recent years here at Columbia University I have used it occasionally in courses with a focus on the study of commentarial techniques, in which we have read from samples of commentaries on poetic and philosophical works that I have annotated with cross-references to the sections of the handbook. I am grateful to all those students who have offered comments on the handbook, and I would especially like to thank Rupa Viswanath for her detailed comments and suggestions.

It was only after coming to Columbia that I was exposed to the extensive role played by Sanskrit commentarial techniques in Buddhist texts. For this I have Professor Robert A. F. Thurman to thank. He encouraged me and others to be attentive to the interplay between Brahmical and Buddhist intellectual activities, and it was in the setting of joint meetings of classes of advanced Sanskrit and advanced Tibetan, in which we read the same texts in both languages, that the interconnections became most clear to me. In reading with our students a commentary by Candrakīrti, I realized that some of Candrakīrti’s points were often lost on Tibetan-oriented readers who were not versed in the technicalities of Sanskrit grammatical explication, and at the same time that Candrakīrti had expounded detailed principles of exegesis that had remained largely unknown to readers who specialized in non-Buddhist texts.

I was therefore pleased to learn of the initiation of the \textit{Treasury of the Indic Sciences} series, which is designed to publish works of non-Buddhist origin that are relevant to the history of Buddhism in India and beyond, and I was more particularly delighted by Professor Thurman’s invitation to include this handbook on Sanskrit commentaries in the series. I am also grateful for the concurrent inclusion in the same series of the catalogue of Sanskrit manuscripts at Columbia University compiled by David Pingree. Both works are perhaps atypical of the sort of text that will constitute the bulk of the series, but both are tools for pursuing its aim of exposing the intellectual interplay between Buddhist and non-Buddhist activity within a shared intellectual world.

The opening volume in the series presented a Brahmical work on logic, translated by Stephen H. Phillips and N. S. Ramanuja Tatachārya. The vitality of this sort of text as a participant in cross-cultural conversations was made clear once again last year in a conference on Mind and Reality held here at Columbia, in which Professor Phillips engaged in stimulating dialogue with experts on Buddhist logic. I am confident that subsequent volumes in this series will make available texts of similar interest and usefulness.

In addition to my gratitude to Professor Thurman for all of his many acts of inspiration and support, I feel a deep indebtedness to the technical editor of the series, Thomas Yarnall. His knowledge of the interacting systems of thought I have mentioned is matched by his expertise in all the departments of publishing technology, and enriched by his generosity and patience.

My longest-standing debt of gratitude is to my old friend Emery Boose. His contribution to this handbook speaks for itself in its insight and rigor,
and without him none of this would ever have been written. I hope that the publication, at long last, of this handbook might serve in some small way to begin to repay his many kindnesses.

In this edition, chapters are numbered sequentially throughout the book, but the numbering of sections is separate for each part. Cross-references are by section or subsection, and the numbers referring to these begin with the number of the part in which they appear, so that it will be immediately apparent whether the topic in question is being treated in terms of glossing or of argument.

I have typeset this book using open-source \LaTeX computer typesetting software running on open-source Debian GNU/Linux operating systems.

Gary A. Tubb  
Series Editor, *Treasury of the Indic Sciences*  
New York  
November 2006

Authors’ Preface

This handbook is intended to give students in the early years of their study of Sanskrit some help in using Sanskrit commentaries and in reading the *bhāṣya* style of Sanskrit prose, which is employed not only in commentaries but in many other works as well. We try to bring together simple explanations of the things that often make it difficult for students to begin to deal with scholastic works in Sanskrit, and of the things that are most readily useful once they are understood. We hope that the handbook will serve both as a reference work—by using the index or table of contents it should be possible to find explanations of many puzzling problems as they arise—and as a general introduction to the techniques used in commentaries and in the *bhāṣya* style in general.

In identifying the difficulties that scholastic styles of Sanskrit present we have tried to follow our own observations of the obstacles most often encountered by students—observations that include our own memories of the problems we grappled with as students. We were fortunate in having teachers whose explanations made accessible to us much that had seemed impenetrable. What has prompted us to attempt the writing of this handbook is the fact that so many things that turned out to be so simple and useful did have to be explained to us, unless we had managed to figure them out on our own in the process of struggling with the texts: in printed sources much of the information we needed was buried, scattered, or nonexistent.

Most of what we present here is not our own discovery. In particular we have made frequent and grateful use of information gleaned from remarks made in class by Professor Daniel H. H. Ingalls and from the works of Speijer and Coulson mentioned in the Appendix.

We are grateful to Professor Ingalls for reading the first drafts of Part...
Authors' Preface

One and for making many detailed and helpful suggestions.

Part One of the handbook, written by Gary A. Tubb, deals with the devices used in Sanskrit commentaries to explain the words of the text being commented on and their meanings; it covers fully the more important techniques of glossing in non-technical language used by the commentators, and gives a brief introduction to the rudiments of analysis in the technical terminology of Pāṇinian grammar as employed in commentaries. Part Two, written by Emery R. Boose, deals with the devices used in commentaries to discuss the ideas contained in the text being commented on, and provides an introduction to the bhāṣya style and to the techniques of Sanskrit expository prose in general, whether employed in a commentary or in an independent work. In each part there are occasional references to sections in the other parts, and both parts are covered simultaneously by the indices at the end of the handbook, but neither of the parts presupposes a knowledge of the material covered in the other.

The examples used in the handbook are drawn as far as possible from works that are easily accessible and that students of Sanskrit are likely to read. In Part One they come chiefly from well-known commentaries on the great mahākāvyas, especially from the commentaries of Mallinātha, and occasionally an example is borrowed from the works of the grammarians. In Part Two the examples come from texts of the Śaṅkara school of Vedānta, especially from Śaṅkara's own Brahmasūtra-bhāṣya, and in a few instances constructed examples are given for the sake of simplicity.

Although Part One thus relies primarily on literary works for its examples, and Part Two on philosophical works for its examples, the points illustrated in each part are applicable to most commentarial or expository works on any subject.

The members of Sanskrit compounds are separated by hyphens as far as possible, and a circumflex accent is used to mark a long vowel or diphthong produced by sandhi between words or members of a compound. Square brackets indicate words not present in the Sanskrit text that must be supplied from context. In Part One, words quoted from the text being commented on in an example are in bold type. Also in Part One, indicatory phonemes (anubandhas) in technical elements of Pāṇinian grammar are printed as uppercase letters.

Ellipsis in a passage cited in Sanskrit is marked by three dots, and is indicated only when it occurs within the words actually quoted. Words preceding or following the quoted words in the same original sentence are often omitted without notice when the quoted words yield the same meaning that they have in the full sentence.

In the translations of the examples, parentheses indicate words that are necessary to give a clear translation in normal English and that are implied in the Sanskrit text but do not correspond directly to words actually present in the Sanskrit text. Square brackets indicate words corresponding to terms that in the Sanskrit text are not expressly present but that must be understood from the context; the English words in square brackets are often translations of Sanskrit words supplied in square brackets in the text. In Part Two a very literal translation is sometimes followed by a colon and a more natural translation, and alternative translations are separated by a semicolon.

Reference is often made to the works of Coulson, Speijer, and Whitney where these authors have additional discussion or examples for the grammatical point in question. References to Coulson are by page number; references to Speijer and Whitney are by paragraph number. See the Appendix for bibliographic information on these and other works that may be useful in learning to read scholastic styles of Sanskrit.
Abbreviations

Coulson  Michael Coulson, *Sanskrit: An Introduction to the Classical Language* (Teach Yourself Books)

GBh Bhagavadgītābhāṣya of Śaṅkara (Śrīvīṇivilāsa)

Kāśikā Kāśikā Vṛtti on Pāṇini’s Aṣṭādhyāyī

Kir. Kirātārjunīya of Bhāravi (Nirṇaya-Sāgara Press)

Kir.M. Mallinātha’s commentary on the Kirātārjunīya (Nirṇaya-Sāgara Press)

Kum. Kumārasambhava of Kalidāsa (Nirṇaya-Sāgara Press)

Kum.C. Cāritravardhana’s commentary on the Kumārasambhava (Gujarati Printing Press)

Kum.M. Mallinātha’s commentary on the Kumārasambhava (Nirṇaya-Sāgara Press)

Kum.V. Vallabhadeva’s commentary on the Kumārasambhava (ed. M. S. Narayana Murti)


Megh.V. Vallabhadeva’s commentary on the Meghadūta (ed. E. Hultzsch).

Pā. Pāṇini’s Aṣṭādhyāyī
Introduction

The Sanskrit Commentary

0.1 Importance of commentaries

The Sanskrit tradition offers to each student of its texts a rich source both of potential assistance and of potential difficulties in the form of an extraordinary abundance of works of commentary. The importance that these commentaries have for students is due in general to two characteristics—the simple fact of their abundance, and the specific ways in which they offer assistance in the reading of a Sanskrit text.

Works of commentary pervade the history of Sanskrit thought to a degree that is unparalleled in the writings of most other traditions: it is no exaggeration to say that of all the expository works available in Sanskrit most are, at least in external form, commentaries. There are several reasons for this prevalence of commentaries in Sanskrit, and some of them are tied to features that are peculiar to the Sanskrit tradition.

One striking feature is the frequency with which we find works in Sanskrit that seem to require, or even to presuppose, the eventual services of a commentator. In works of the sāstra type, this situation is an ancient one. The old sūtras standing at the head of several of the philosophical schools are essentially signposts in a line of oral argument (which may in itself be a form of commentary on an older text, as in the exegesis of the Upaniṣads underlying the composition of the Vedānta-sūtras), and in the absence of that oral corpus the sūtras often have meaning for us only as they are expounded in a full scholastic commentary. Throughout the history of Sanskrit thought a similar situation is produced by authors who give a bare outline of their material in short sūtras or kārikās that are then fleshed out
by the author's own commentary: the Tarkasangraha of Annambhaṭṭa, for example, is little more than a string of lists without the explanations supplied in Annambhaṭṭa's own Tarkadipīkā or in the similar works by other scholars.

In these laconic works the underlying motive is clearly a desire to facilitate memorization of the chief points of a system. Another frequent source of works requiring commentary is the deliberate practice of composing works of great difficulty, a practice that is explicitly and proudly acknowledged in the poet Bhagi's famous boast, that his mahakāvyya could be understood only with the aid of a commentary (vyākhya-gamyam idam kāvyam, etc., Bhaṭṭikāvyā 22.34). Bhagi's verse was taken up by Bhāmaha in his work on poetics, and twisted into the petulant observation that such poems are more śāstra than kāvyā (Kāvyālankāra 2.20), but we should also remember that Bhāmaha himself, when describing the characteristics of an ideal mahakāvyya, does not say that the poem should require no commentary, but rather that it should not require too much commentary (nātivyākhayaṃ, Kāvyālankāra 1.20).

Yet poems far less recondite than Bhagi's have attracted many commentators (witness the enormous number of available commentaries on Kālidāsa's mahakāvyas), and for this the reasons are obviously pedagogical. Indeed, the fact that we have old commentaries on these mahakāvyas, and only much more recent ones on great plays of equivalent age and difficulty, may be presumed to indicate that the mahakāvyas made up the standard curriculum for Indian students of Sanskrit kāvyā.

Another striking feature of the Sanskrit tradition is the frequency with which works that may as well have been independent treatises are cast into the external form of a commentary on an earlier text. In this way many treatises of great originality have been made to depend, at least nominally, on earlier works that they leave far behind—one thinks of Praśastapāda's Padartha-sangraha, which is ostensibly a commentary on the Vaiśeṣika-sūtra, and which in turn provides the occasion for Udayana's equally original Kiranāvalī. And the Kiranāvalī stands at the head of a very long string of commentaries upon commentaries, with varying degrees of dependence on the work being commented upon in each instance. In many such works the motives for writing in the form of a commentary go beyond the aim of providing exegesis, and include the desire to associate oneself with an established authority—to present one's views as a worthy unfolding of time-honored tradition.

In many other works in which the commentarial format is freely chosen the underlying concern is, once again, pedagogical. We often find a scholar breaking a single body of material into several parts of increasing difficulty, which are then presented as a string of commentaries, one upon another. An example of this is Hemacandra's Apoetics, the Kāvyānusāsana, which appears in the form of a number of brief śūtras supporting his own commentary, the Alankāracudāmani, which in turn is expanded upon in another commentary by the same author, the Viveka. The material in the Viveka is of an advanced nature and could easily have been presented in the form of an independent treatise, but by shaping it into the form of a commentary on his more elementary work Hemacandra allows the students in his advanced class to continue their studies using a framework with which they are already familiar.

In some ways a work like Hemacandra's is equivalent to one of our modern books in which extensive footnotes and appendices are provided, but there is an important practical difference between the two formats: in a modern work the additional material is presented in a number of separate notes whose connection with the main text is merely signaled by typographical symbols or references, but in a Sanskrit work the additional material is usually presented in a more continuous composition that relies on a large body of conventional terminology and special syntactical devices in fulfilling its role as a commentary on the original text. As a result, an understanding of the special techniques of the Sanskrit commentarial style is necessary in the reading of such works.

0.2 The five services of a commentary

In identifying the useful services offered by Sanskrit commentaries, we have been guided by the list of the five characteristics of commentaries given in a verse from the Purāṇa purāṇa that is quoted in the Nyāyakośa:

\[
\text{pada-cchedaḥ padarthhōktiḥ vigraho vākya-yojanaḥ ākṣepṣu samādhiḥ ānty vyākhyānti pārica-lakṣaṇam}
\]

These five services correspond, in this same order, to the problems most often faced by students attempting to decipher a Sanskrit text:
0.2.1 Padaccheda

Word-division, separation of the words of the text: the rules of sandhi and the peculiarities of the Devanāgarī script make this the first problem that confronts a student attempting to translate a text. Before one can begin to look up the words one must know where one word ends and the next begins. Any commentary that is not too long-winded can immediately solve this problem for even a beginning student, yet many students do not know enough about the basic nature of a commentary to take advantage of this simple service.

0.2.2 Padarthokti

Stating the meaning of the words, paraphrasing: once it has been determined what the words of the text are, the next problem is to find the appropriate meaning in the dictionary. Because most Sanskrit words have so many possible meanings, the most frustrating part of the study of Sanskrit for many students in their early years is the necessity of laboriously writing down or holding in mind several definitions for each word until it can be determined which possible meaning is most appropriate for each word in the present context. While it is true that the glosses offered by commentators may often be as unfamiliar to a student as the word being glossed, even a beginning student who is confronted, for example, with the word bhāskaraḥ in a Sanskrit text may find a simple gloss such as bhāskaraḥ sūryaḥ accessible enough to save some of the time spent flipping through the dictionaries. On a higher level, of course, these glosses often provide information that is difficult or impossible to find in the standard reference works, or that at least is more precise in its appropriateness to the text being commented on.

0.2.3 Vigraha

Analysis of grammatical complexes (i.e., of nominal compounds and of derived stems): here the dictionaries are often of no use, especially where nominal compounds are involved. Time spent in learning to understand the basic formulas of analysis used by commentators is useful not only because it makes it possible to take advantage of this service of commentaries, but also because it is a good way to acquire a grasp of the different types of complex formations used in Sanskrit.

0.2.4 Vākyayojana

Construing the sentences, indicating the construction of the text: once again, a student can avoid the tedious procedure of trying to figure out the text in several stages, if only the basic principles by which commentators repeat the words of the text being commented on are understood. These principles are really fairly simple, but until they have been explained to a student most commentaries appear to be masses of unconnected explanations.

0.2.5 Ākṣepasamādhāna

The answering of objections: this part of a commentary is concerned with the ideas contained in the original text rather than with its words. Accordingly, it differs from the four preceding services in two ways. First, at this level a commentary goes beyond straightforward exegesis and becomes an argumentative treatise in its own right. Second, this portion of a commentary is based on the style of oral debate rather than on the style of oral instruction, so that it uses a different arsenal of vocabulary, syntax, and organization. An understanding of this style can be applied to the reading of any text written in expository Sanskrit, whether that text is a commentary or not.

The first four of these services form the subject of Part One of this handbook in their achievement through methods of glossing using non-technical language. Their achievement through the use of the technical elements of Pāṇinian grammar is touched on here in Sections 1.18—1.20, but a full treatment of the topic lies outside the scope of this handbook in its present form. The fifth service forms the subject of Part Two.
Chapter 1

The First Four Services

1.1 Introduction

Of the five services that a full commentary is expected to provide, the first four are services of glossing and deal directly with the words of a text, while the fifth is a service of discussion and is concerned more with the ideas expressed in that text. Generally the first four services—the four principal elements in the glossing of the words of a text—constitute the bulk of a commentary on a literary text, but may appear only intermittently in a commentary on a philosophical or scientific text. In commentaries of any type, however, the basic techniques of glossing are the same. In Sanskrit commentaries these four services are achieved partly through the use of the technical elements of Pāṇinian grammar, and partly through methods of glossing using non-technical language. Part One of this handbook deals with the use of non-technical language to fulfil the first four services:

1. *padaccheda*—division of words, i.e., the resolution of external sandhi (Sections 1.3–1.7).

2. *padarthokti*—statement of the meaning of the words, i.e., the giving of synonyms, paraphrases, definitions, and examples (Sections 1.8–1.17).

3. *vigraha*—analysis of complex formations, i.e., breaking them down into their constituent elements (Sections 1.18–1.75).

4. *vākyayojana*—construing the sentences, i.e., indicating how the words fit together syntactically (Sections 1.76–1.84).
A full treatment of the achievement of these same services through the use of the technical elements of Pāṇinian grammar lies outside the scope of this handbook.

The fifth of the services provided by commentaries, that involving discussion of the ideas contained in the text, will form the subject of Part Two.

1.2 Types of glossing

In the following sections, methods of glossing will be taken up one by one, but in an actual commentary they often work together in explaining a particular word. As preliminary examples of the types of glossing used by commentators and of how the explanation of those types is distributed in this handbook, here are the full remarks of the commentator Mallinātha on three words from the Rāghuvanṣa of Kālidāsa.

In the first example, Mallinātha is glossing the word saīśāve, “in infancy”:

\[ \text{Ragh. M. 1.8} \text{ śīśor bhāvaḥ saīśāvam bālyam. “prānabhrj̄-jāti-vayo-vacanādīgdr̄-ādībhī yē” ity an-pratayāyah. “śīśūvam saīśāvam bālyam” ity amarāḥ. tasmin vayaṣi [śāśāve].} \]

Infancy is the condition of being an infant, childhood. The suffix \( aN \) (i.e., \(-a\), with \( vrddhi\) strengthening of the first syllable of the stem to which it is added), by (ṣūtra 5.1.129 in Pāṇini’s grammar) “\( aN \) is added to words for species of animals and for the ages of life, and to \( udādṛ\), etc. (in the senses of the condition of being that or the activity of that).” “Infanthood, infancy, childhood”—Amara. In that age of life (viz., in infancy).

Here śīśor bhāvaḥ is an analysis in ordinary language of the formation saīśāvam, an example of secondary nominal derivation (Section 1.37.2). This is followed by a simple synonym, bālyam (Section 1.9). The next sentence gives the \( taddhita\) suffix by which the word is formed according to the Pāṇinian system of grammar, and quotes the specific rule by which its formation is justified. The next sentence cites the treatment of the word in the dictionary of Amara (Section 1.16.2). The final sentence, after these explanations in which the word has been treated in the nominative case, in effect gives it the locative case ending that it has in the original text (Section 1.21). This last step is necessary so that the word will fit properly in the syntactical arrangement of the entire verse (Section 1.78).

In the examples given in this handbook, the words repeated from a text being commented on are emphasized in bold type. In this example, the word being explained never actually appears in the commentary in the same form that it has in the original text, and we have therefore supplied it in square brackets at the point at which the words of the commentary serve to reconstitute it.

In the next example, Mallinātha explains the word praśānaḥ, “of the people”:

\[ \text{Ragh. M. 1.24} \text{ praśāyaṇa iti praśā janāḥ. “uṇaśarge ca samjādyām” iti da-pratayāḥ. “praśā syāt santatau jane” ity amarāḥ. tāsām [praśānaḥ].} \]

They are generated, thus progeny, people. The suffix \( Da\) (i.e., \(-a\), with loss of the final vowel and final consonant of the root to which it is added), by (ṣūtra 3.2.99 of Pāṇini) “(\( Da\) is added to the root \( jan\)) when a verbal prefix is used, if a name is being formed.” “praśā in the senses of offspring and people”—Amara. Of them (viz., of the people).

Here the complex formation being analyzed is an example of primary nominal derivation (Section 1.29.1), and thus involves a \( krt\) suffix, but otherwise the elements of Mallinātha’s remarks are the same as in the preceding example.

In the final example Mallinātha chooses to end his remarks by repeating in its original case the word being explained, rather than simply indicating that case by the use of a pronoun:

\[ \text{Ragh. M. 1.54} \text{ dhūraṁ vahantī dhūrā yugyāḥ. “dhuro yad-dhakau” iti yat-pratayāḥ. “dhūra-vāhe dhūrāya-dhāureya-dhūrināḥ sa-dhuramdhāraḥ” ity amarāḥ. dhūrāṇāṁ rathisvān viṣāmaya vinītas-trāmān kuru.} \]

They bear a yoke, thus yoke-bearers, draft animals. The suffix \( yaT\) (i.e., \(-a\), with acute pitch accent on the preceding syllable), by (ṣūtra 4.4.77 in Pāṇini) “\( yaT\) and \( dhāK\) are added to the root \( dhūr\) (in the sense of ‘bearing that’).” “In the meaning of a yoke-bearer: dhūrya, dhāureya, dhūrin, and dhūramdhāra”—Amara. Rest make quiet and rested the yoke-bearers the chariot horses.
Of the four services of commentaries listed in the preceding section, the first service, division of the words of the original text, is accomplished in each of these examples simply by isolating the word in order to explain it. The second service, that of explaining the meaning of the individual word, is accomplished partly by giving synonyms, partly by quoting dictionaries, and partly by performing the third service, that of analyzing complex formations, since each of the three words being explained in the comments quoted here happens to be an example of such a formation. The fourth service, that of indicating the syntactical structure of the original text, is generally achieved through the use of methods that can be glimpsed in the ways in which the commentator has returned each word to the required grammatical case at the end of each of the examples.

It is in the analysis of complex formations that the role of Pāṇinian grammar becomes most visible. The formulas used to give the meanings of these items—śīrī hāvah śāśāvam, prajāyanta iti prajāh, etc.—are based on the treatment of such formations in Pāṇini’s grammar, but the formulas themselves are in ordinary language and can be understood without a detailed knowledge of the technical elements of Pāṇinian grammar. The same is true of much of the terminology used by the grammarians to name important classes of complex formations. The artificial names for elements such as suffixes, however, together with the meanings of the indicatory letters added to them, require special explanation; a brief overview of this topic is given in Sections 1.18—1.20.

Chapter 2

Division of Words

1.3 Introduction

In Sanskrit sentences the constant application of rules for the euphonic combination of words often makes it difficult to determine where one word ends and the next begins. The resolution of sandhi between words is the chief purpose of the oldest surviving exegetical works in India; to each of the collections of Vedic hymns there was added in ancient times a padapāṭha (“word-text”) version, in which each word-isolate is exhibited separately, with terminal sandhi. This straightforward approach to the separation of words can still be found in the padaccheda feature of many of the modern editions of Sanskrit texts printed as ponies for Indian students. In most Sanskrit commentaries, however, the indication of boundaries between words is not given a distinct section reserved for that purpose, but rather is achieved naturally through three general practices: the repetition of the words with intervening explanatory material (Section 1.4), the occasional specification of word-division in doubtful instances (Section 1.5), and the citation of individual words for the purpose of making special remarks (Section 1.6). In the course of displaying the words of the text being commented on, a commentator may also mention variant readings (Section 1.7).
1.4 Repetition of the words of the text

Ordinarily a continuous commentary repeats each word found in the text. For examples of how this is done and for a description of common exceptions to this general rule, see Sections 1.76–1.80. Because each word repeated from the text is usually followed by a gloss or by other inserted material, separation of the words of the text is automatically provided in the course of presenting the words for explication. The value of the repeated words in providing this service is enhanced if they are printed in bold type; if they are not, they may be sought out and underlined (Section 1.79).

1.5 Specification of word-division

For purposes of word-division, the repetition of words from the text involves ambiguity only when two adjacent items in the text are repeated next to each other in the commentary without the insertion of intervening explanatory material. Because it may not be clear whether or not such items form a compound word, the commentator will sometimes explicitly state whether they are two words or one, or will specify where the division should be made.

1.6 Citation of individual words

In the course of giving a running gloss, the words repeated from the text are generally presented in the same form in which they appear in the text (Section 1.9). Often a commentator will also single out a word for further remarks, and when this is done there are four principal methods of citing the word (i.e., of referring to it as a word, rather than simply using it in the course of a continuous gloss):

1.6.1 iti

The word may be followed by iti (corresponding to our use of quotation marks):

Kum.V. 1.58 vikṛṇyanta iti karmanī. (The verb) vikṛṇyante is passive.

Kum.V. 1.25 um iti praṇaya-kope. (The particle) um is used in feigned anger.

1.6.2 -śabda, -kāra

The word may be placed in compound with -śabda or (especially if it consists of a single syllable) with -kāra:

Ragh.M. 1.2 dvau kva-śabdau mahad antaram sūcayataḥ. The two words ‘where’ suggest a great difference.

Ragh.M. 1.1 pārvati-paramēśvarau, para-ma-śabdaḥ sarvottamatra-dyotanārthaḥ. Pārvati and the Supreme Lord. The word ‘supreme’ has the purpose of revealing his preeminence above all others.

Kum.M. 1.4 kinceti ca kārārthaḥ. The meaning of (the particle) ca is “furthermore.”

1.6.3 Inflected indeclinable

If the word is indeclinable, it may be given an inflectional ending and be declined like a masculine noun. The presence of the case-ending will then be enough to indicate that the word is being referred to as a word rather than being used in its own meaning. Ambiguity exists only when the indeclinable ends in a long vowel and is presented in the nominative, but here
the context will usually make it clear that the word is being referred to as a word.

Ragh.M. 1.24 apiḥ samuccaye. api (is used) in (the sense of) conjunction.

Ragh.M. 1.4 athavā paksāntare. athavā (is used) in (the sense of) an alternative.

Kum.V. 2.26 ksatāham-kaśa-śaṁśina iti jaras-pātha 'itra ramyatarah. Here the old reading "ksatāham-kaśa-śaṁśinaḥ" is more appealing.

Kum.V. 2.28 prārthayadhvam ity apapāthaḥ. "prārthayadhvam" is a bad reading.

Kum.V. 2.38 yādārthaḥ chandasti vidhāndadbhaṣṭāyaṁ triyambakam iti prayogo durlabhah iti maheśvaram iti pā thinyam. Because (sandhi substitutes) such as "iy" are prescribed (only) for the Vedic language, the usage "triyambakam" is difficult to arrive at in the classical language, so that one ought to read "maheśvaram."

Kum.V. 4.36 marmārpatim iti pā thinyāram. There is another reading, "marmārpatim."

Kum.M. 3.44 kecit śaḥasikāḥ tri-locaṇam iti pēṣhaḥ. Certain reckless (commentators are said to have) read "tri-locaṇam."

As the word cārthe in the last example shows, this device can also be used in compound, where the inflectional ending will, of course, be absent. This should not result in ambiguity as long as it is recognized that a compound is being used.

1.6.4 Anubandhas

The word may be displayed along with the indicatory letters (anubandhas) used in the Pāṇiniāna system of grammar:

Ragh.M. 1.90 ā tapo-vanāī. āni māryādāyām. As far as the penance-grove. (The preposition) ā [called āni in Pāṇiniāna’s grammar] (is used) in the sense of an exclusive limit.

Kum.M. 1.35 nañā viṣeṣaṇatvam ca-sābda-prayogād eva jiṣeyam. And that the word na [called na in Pāṇiniāna’s grammar] is a modifier can be known simply from the use of the word ca.

For an overview of the use of anubandhas and the technical citation of grammatical elements such as roots, see Sections 1.76–1.80.

1.7 Variant readings

Variant readings are referred to by using the noun pātha or any of the forms of the verb pāthāti.
Chapter 3

Giving the Meaning of Words

1.8 Introduction

The basic task of giving the meaning of a word in the text being commented is carried out by placing an explanation of that meaning, at the simplest level often merely a synonym for it (Section 1.9) alongside the word in question. Ordinary this simple gloss follows the word being explained, but the location of the gloss may vary (Section 1.10). Commentators may also gloss words with equivalent forms other than simple synonyms (Section 1.11), and may expand the gloss in various ways (Section 1.12) or append more removed paraphrases (Section 1.13). Techniques are available for dealing with words that refer by extension to objects other than those directed denoted (Section 1.14) and with words that have double meanings (Section 1.15). These techniques of glossing may be supplemented by the use of separate definitions (Section 1.16). Further devices are used in glossing special items such as proper names, the names of species, particles, indeclinables, and pronouns (Section 1.17).

When the word being explained happens to be a complex formation arrived at through derivation, the formation may be analyzed using the formulas available for each of the types of derived stems (Sections 1.18 ff). Words may also be explained through the use of the technical elements of Paninian grammar.
1.9 Simple synonyms

The words repeated from the text being commented on are most commonly glossed by the insertion of a synonym after each. Simple glosses of this sort may be provided for virtually every part of speech:

Ragh.M. 1.1  vande 'bhivādaye  I honor I salute
Ragh.M. 1.2  maith prajñā  mind intellect
Ragh.M. 1.4  me mama  my of mine
Ragh.M. 1.29  nānām dhruvam  surely certainly

These inserted glosses are placed in grammatical apposition with the word being glossed. Thus a gloss of a verb will agree with it in person and number; a gloss of a substantive will agree with it in case and number, and a gloss of an adjective will agree with it in case, number, and gender:

Ragh.M. 1.27  vande ‘bhivādaye  I honor I salute
Ragh.M. 1.2  mohād ajñānāt  out of folly out of ignorance
Ragh.M. 1.36  snigdo madhurāh  agreeable (masc.)—sweet

1.10 Location of glosses

Usually the gloss follows immediately after the word quoted from the text being commented on. There are two principal exceptions:

1.10.1 Enclitics

Enclitics and other words closely dependent upon a preceding word must usually be separated from the words they are glossing.

Ragh.M. 1.28  aüşādham yathā aüşādham iva  as if medicine like medicine [here iva glosses yathā]

1.11.1 Periphrasis

A periphrastic construction is used to bring out the precise meaning of a morphological feature in the original:

Ragh.M. 1.20  anumeyā anumātam yogyāh  inferable able to be inferred
Ragh.M. 1.26  yajñāya yajñān kartum  for sacrifice in order to perform sacrifice
Ragh.M. 1.72  mucye mukto bhavāmi  I am freed I become freed

1.11.2 Participle

A past active participle may be used to gloss a finite verb:

Ragh.M. 1.17  na vyatīyur nātikrāntavayaḥ  they did not transgress
they did not go beyond
Ragh.M. 1.21  jugopa rākṣitavān  he guarded he protected

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1.12 Expansions of glosses

A simple gloss is often expanded beyond the mere giving of a synonym by including illustrative or explanatory material.

1.12.1 -ādi

Inserted examples are generally offered in the forms ending in -ādi ("such as," Section 2.44):

Ragh.M. 1.14 sūribhiḥ kavibhir vāṃśiky-ādibhiḥ by wise men by poets such as Vālmīki

Ragh.M. 1.16 nyāpa-gunaṭ rāyga-gunaś tejāḥ-pratāpādibhiḥ kula-śīla-dākṣīnyādibhiḥ ca with the qualities of a king with royal qualities such as valor and prowess, and such as good family, good conduct, and politeness.

1.12.2 Implications

Commentators very frequently fill out a gloss by explicitly stating what is merely implied in the original wording:

Ragh.M. 1.24 raksanād bhaya-hetubhyas trānāt because of protecting because of protection from sources of danger

Ragh.M. 1.24 bharaṇād anna-pāṇādibhiḥ poṣaṇāt because of supporting because of nourishing with food, drink, etc.

Ragh.M. 1.25 pariṇetur dārān parighnataḥ of the marrier of the wedder of a wife

1.12.3 Implied contrasts

Similarly, commentators often spell out the implications of an expression by making implied contrasts explicit:

Ragh.M. 1.7 yaśase kīrtaya ... vijigāṇām vijetum icchānām. na tv artha-samgrahāya. praṭāya saṃtiṇāya grha-madhyānām dāra-parighnānām, na tu kāmāpahāgāyā. Of those who were desirous of victory wishing to conquer for the sake of fame of glory, but not for the sake of amassing wealth. Of those who were householders married men for the sake of offspring of progeny, but not for the sake of the enjoyment of pleasure.

1.13 More removed paraphrases

When a commentator feels that glossing a word with a synonym or equivalent form is not sufficient, he may provide a freer paraphrase. Such paraphrases are usually followed by one of three phrases: (Section 1.13.1) ity arthah, (Section 1.13.2) iti bhāvaḥ, or (Section 1.13.3) iti yāvat. For the first two of these phrases other expressions are sometimes substituted (Section 1.13.4), and additional formulas are used to mark comments serving to bring out the implications of the words being commented on (Section 1.13.5) and the purposes of the author's statements (Section 1.13.6).

1.13.1 ity arthah

The phrase ity arthah (lit., "such is the meaning," "the meaning is that . . .") is used to mark a paraphrase that simply restates the literal meaning of the text in another way. Such paraphrases are often added after a simple gloss:

Kum.M. 1.46 tato nirviśeṣam nirbhedaṃ. tat-sadṛśam ity arthah. Not distinguished from it—not different from it. In other words, like it.

Kum.M. 1.43 loīā capalā, paribhramana-stilēṭy arthah Unsteady restless, i.e., tending to roam about

Just as frequently they are used instead of a simple gloss:

Kum.M. 1.11 mandām . . . gatīṁ na bhīndanti na tavyānti ity arthah their slow pace they do not break—in other words, they do not abandon it
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1.13. More removed paraphrases

1.13.2 iti bhāvah

The phrase iti bhāvah (lit. "such is the idea," "the idea is that...") is used to mark comments that go a step further by stating the underlying idea intended by the author of the text being commented on.

Kum.M. 1.15 

**anviṣṭa-mrgair mārgita-mrgaiḥ, sṛṇatār iti bhāvah.** for deer who had been hunting deer. The idea is that they were tired.

Kum.M. 3.67 

**kimcit ... parilupta-dhairyāḥ, na tu prākṛta-janavad atyanta-lupta-dhairyā iti bhāvah.** With his calmness slightly ruffled. But not with his calmness exceedingly ruffled, as in common people—this is the idea.

Because expressions that are difficult enough to require a free paraphrase are also likely to require further explanation, it is quite common to find a remark ending with ity arthaḥ being followed immediately by a comment ending with iti bhāvah:

Kum.M. 3.68 

**sācī-krṣa ... tathau. hriyā munakṣam sācī-krṣṭya sṭhitēry arthaḥ, na kevalam harasyāva devyā apy udito rati-bhāva iti bhāvah.** She stood turned aside, i.e., she stood with her face averted out of embarrassment. The idea is that the emotion of love had arisen not only in Śiva, but in the Goddess as well.

Kum.M. 5.86 

**kieśaḥ phalena phala-siddhyā punar-navatām vidhatte. pūrvaved evaśikṣatām apiśadayātī arthaḥ. sa-phalāḥ klesa na kieśa iti bhāvah.** Toil, through its fruit—through the accomplishment of its fruit—restores freshness. In other words, it makes one unburdened by toil, just as one had been before. The idea is that fruitful toil is not toil.

Kum.M. 4.10 

**tava pādavāṁ mārgam aham pratīpiṣaye. tvām anugamonāyāmīti arthaḥ, ato me nāsti vicāra iti bhāvah.** Your path way I shall resort to—i.e., I shall follow you. Hence you need not worry about me—this is the idea.

1.13.3 iti yāvat

The phrase iti yāvat (lit., "just this much [is meant]") is used after a paraphrase that expresses the meaning of the original text more precisely, either by substituting a more specific term for a wider one, or by reducing a picturesque expression to plain language. iti yāvat may thus be translated "specifically," "to be precise," "to put it plainly," etc., depending on the context.

Ragh.M. 1.25 

**manṣṭina vidūṣāḥ. doṣa-jñāsyēti yāvat.** Of a wise man of a learned man. Specifically, of one who can recognize faults.

Kum.M. 3.5 

**punar-bhāvah punar-upatiḥ. samsāra iti yāvat.** Reoccurring arising again. To be precise, transmigration.

Kum.M. 1.39 

**vedi-vilagana-madhyaḥ vedivat krṣa-madhyaḥ. tana-madhyēti yāvat.** Altarground-narrow-waisted thin-waisted like an altarground. To put it simply, slender-waisted.

1.13.4 Other phrases

Several other phrases are frequently used to mark the end of a free paraphrase. The most common of these are ity abhipriyaḥ ("such is the import"), iti tātparyāḥ ("such is the overall sense"), and ity āśayāḥ ("such is the intention [of the author]"). These phrases are used in exactly the same way as ity arthaḥ (Section 1.13.1) and iti bhāvah (Section 1.13.2), with similar meanings.

Kum.M. 5.73 

**yatō tīvraśāna-yūpa-saktiyā na kriyate tathā tvam api tasmai na ghataya iti tātparyārthaḥ.** The overall sense is that just as the consecration of the sacred post used in Vedic ritual is not performed for the executioner's stake in a cemetery, so also you are suited for him.

1.13.5 anena, etena

In another group of formulas used to mark comments on the author's intentions, the remark of the commentator begins with the word anena or etena
("by this [expression or statement]"). The formulas anena ... vivakṣitāḥ and anena ... iti vivakṣyate (both meaning "by this he means to say . . .") are used with essentially the same force as the formula ity arthaḥ (Section 1.13.1). The other formulas beginning with anena generally involve an attempt to convey the subtler implications or suggestions of the author's statement: e.g., anena ... sūcitaḥ and anena ... iti sūcyate (both meaning "by this ... is hinted at"), anena ... iti gamyate ("by this ... is made known"), and anena ... iti dhvanyate ("by this ... is suggested"). All such formulas should be self-explanatory once their general pattern has been understood.

Ragh. M. 1.8 abhyasta-vidyānām. etena brahmocaryāsramo vivakṣitāḥ. "Of those who studied the sacred lore"—by this he means the stage of sacred studentship.

Ragh. M. 1.59 atharva-nidher ity anena purohitā-kṛtyābhiṣāvāt yat-karma-nirvāhakāvatvam muney asūti sūcyate. "Of him who was the repository of the Atharva Veda"—by this it is hinted that the sage was expert in the rites of the domestic priest and was therefore capable of carrying out those rituals.

1.13.6 References to speech

Similar observations are frequently made by any of the many ways of referring to the act of speaking on the part of the author of the text being commented on.

Kum. V. 1.15 bhāgirathī-nirjhara-sīkarāṇām gangā-pratāpā-jala-kaññānām vodhā kṣepetī āsūti-punayatvāktiḥ. The carrier the tosser of the sprays of the cataracts of the Bhāgirathī of the drops of water of the waterfalls of the Ganges—this is an expression (ukti) of coolness and holiness.

Kum. M. 2.29 sahasra-grahaṇam āsthâtisayārtham. The mention of the thousand (eyes of Indra simultaneously turned towards his guru) is aimed at the abundance of his regard (for the guru).

1.14 Meanings by extension

The verbs laksayati and ākṣipati are used by commentators to refer to the power of words to include in their meanings objects connected with the object directly denoted by them.

Kum. V. 1.37 athavā nīvī-sabdena nīvyaḥ yad grahyate tad adho-vāso laksyate. Or, by the word “waistknot” there is included by extension the lower garment that is bound by that waistknot.

Kum. V. 3.10 madhus caitraḥ tena ca vasantō laksyate. Madhu—Caitra, and this includes by extension the springtime.

Kum. V. 1.27 dīpā-sabdendrā jvālā-vartī-taila-bhājāndmakaḥ samudāya ākṣiptaḥ. Here the word “lamp” implies by extension the aggregate composed of flame, wick, oil, and vessel.

1.15 Glossing of puns

When words of the text being commented on refer simultaneously to two objects through double meanings, the commentator may organize his references to these two sets of meanings either by using expressions meaning “in (reference to) one ... in (reference to) the other place” or by referring to the two sides with the word pakṣa.

Kum. M. 2.27 labdha-praṭiṣṭhāḥ labdha-sūkṣmam, labdha-vakāsā ity anyatra. Having obtained a foundation [in reference to the gods], having obtained their positions. In the other [alternative, i.e., in reference to rules of grammar], having obtained the opportunity for operation.
1.16 Definitions

When a word in the text being commented on is used in a technical or uncommon sense, the commentator may find it necessary to interrupt his running gloss in order to give a formal definition of the word. In such instances he may either offer his own definition (Section 1.16.1), or quote an authoritative dictionary (Section 1.16.2).

1.16.1 Definitions offered by the commentator

Since a definition involves an independent sentence stating the meaning of a word, it cannot reproduce the case and number of the word as used in the original text. To solve this problem a commentator will sometimes add a pronoun after the definition in order to “pick up” the defined word and restore it to its original case, etc., so as to match the original text and continue the running gloss:

Ragh. M. 1.7 **tyāgāya**—sat-pātre viniyogas tyāgaḥ—tasmai **for donation**—donation is presentation to a worthy recipient—for it

Kum. M. 4.9 **upacāra-padam** parasya raṇjanārhaṃ yad asaya-bhāsānam sa upacāras tasya padam sthānam, kaitava-sthānam iti yāvat. **An occasion of upacāra**—an upacāra is an untrue statement made for the purpose of pleasing someone else. An occasion—an instance—of it. To put it bluntly, an instance of deceit.

Alternatively the commentator may simply insert the definition before or after the portion of the running gloss in which the word in question is presented. In such instances he will often employ the particle **nāma** (“by name,” “that which is called . . .”) immediately after the word being defined, in order to make it clear that he is pausing to give a definition:

Ragh. M. 4.44 **yūpa nāma sanskrtaḥ paśu-bandhōya dāru-visēṣaḥ, yūpā eva cihnaṁ yeyāṁ tēṣu (yūpa-cihneṣu).** (That which is called) a **yūpa** (“sacrificial post”) is a special piece of wood consecrated for the tying up of the sacrificial victim. Of which the marks are **yūpas**, in those (yūpa-marked ones).

Ragh. M. 1.4 **vamśe kule, janmanāda-lakṣaṇaḥ santūno vamśaḥ.** In the **vamśa** in the family line. A vamśa is a series preserving continuity by birth.

1.16.2 Definitions quoted from dictionaries

Most of the Sanskrit dictionaries quoted by the commentators follow one of two standard formats. Some, such as the dictionary of Amarasimha, simply string synonyms together after the fashion of a thesaurus, so that all the words appear in the nominative case:

Ragh. M. 1.7 **“tyāgo vihāpitam dānam” ity amaraḥ.** “Donation, grant, gift”—Amara [cited to define tyāga].

Others, such as the dictionary of Kesavasvāmin, display the word to be defined in the nominative case and its meanings in the locative case:

Ragh. M. 1.4 **“vajraṁ tv a-stri kuliśa-śastrayoh, moni-vedhe rāma-bhede” iti keśavaḥ.** “vajra, non-feminine (i.e., found both as masc. and as neut.), in (the meanings of) thunderbolt and weapon, drill for boring gems, type of jewel”—Keśava.
1.17 Treatment of special items

Commentators use special devices to mark proper names (Section 1.17.1) and names of species (Section 1.17.2), and to explain the meanings of particles (Section 1.17.3), other indeclinables (Section 1.17.4), and pronouns (Section 1.17.5).

1.17.1 Proper names

Proper names are marked as such, either by being followed by nāma (used as a separate, indeclinable word) or by being displayed as the first member of a bahuvrīhi compound ending in a word meaning “name” (nāma, saṃjñā, ākhyā, etc.).

Kum.M. 2.47  uccaihśravaḥ nāma  Uccaiḥśravas by name

Kum.V. 2.47  uccaihśravah-saṃjñō śva-sreṣṭhāh.  The most excellent horse named Uccaiḥśravas.

Kum.M. 2.1  tārakeṇa tāraka-nāmnā vajraṇakaḥ-puṭreṇa  kenacid asurenā.  By Tāraka by a certain demon named Tāraka, the son of Vajraṇakha.

1.17.2 Names of species

When words referring to species or particular types of things are glossed, the term viṣeṣa is placed in compound after a word referring to a wider class of things to make it clear that the word being glossed does not apply to all members of that wider class.

Kum.M. 3.26  aśoka vṛka-viṣeṣaḥ  aśoka a species of tree

Kum.M. 2.59  ayakṣāntena maṇi-viṣeṣena  by lodestone by a particular kind of mineral

Kum.M. 2.21  pāśaḥ rajjura dhudha-viṣeṣaḥ  lariat lasso, a particular type of weapon

1.17.3 Meanings of particles

Many indeclinables in Sanskrit are function words whose meaning is primarily grammatical. For these items it may be difficult to provide a synonym or definition, and to explain their meaning a commentator must cite the word and make a direct statement of the force with which it is used. For examples of how such statements are made see Section 1.16. Note particularly the device of expressing the function of a particle through a word presented in the locative case (e.g., apiḥ samuccaye, “api in the sense of conjunction”; āḥ maryādāyām, “ā in the sense of an exclusive limit”).

1.17.4 Other indeclinables

For other indeclinables, such as temporal adverbs, a commentator may simply indicate the precise significance of the word in the present context:

Ragh.M. 1.59  atha praśnāntaram  next after the question

Kum.M. 3.59  kathacidd atiyatnena  somehow with great effort
1.17.5 Pronouns

Similar information is inserted to explain the significance of pronouns. When the pronoun’s antecedent is not in the text, the commentator may supply it:

Ragh.M. 1.18 sa rājā he the king
Kum.M. 1.2 yam himālaya whom Himālaya

And for other pronouns the special force with which they are used may be indicated:

Kum.M. 1.48 tāṃ pratisdham kesa-pāśam that famous head of hair
Kum.V. 1.56 kenāpi kāmena kavyāpy ajitādchayā with a certain desire with some unknown wish
Megh.M. 1 kṣćid anirdistānaṃ Yakṣo a certain—unspecified by name—Yakṣa.

Chapter 4

Analysis of Grammatical Complexes

1.18 Introduction

The opportunity to break down grammatical complexes into their constituent parts arises constantly in commentaries on Sanskrit texts, since most words in the language are made up of readily discernible elements. Any inflected word, for example, contains both an inflectional stem and an inflectional affix, and such words can be analyzed by identifying the stem and naming the affix. The resulting analysis, however, will be a purely technical one, since the affixes can be named only through the use of the artificial terminology of Sanskrit grammar. When speaking of Sanskrit commentaries, what is more commonly meant by the term vigraha is an analysis in ordinary language, which is produced by using several separate words to restate the meaning of a single complex form—i.e., by “expanding” the complex form into a phrase with the same meaning.

Because ordinary language provides no entire words that can serve as direct substitutes for morphemes such as the inflectional endings, this second type of analysis is possible only for words more complex than inflected primary words, and it is therefore reserved for formations involving nominal or verbal stems that are themselves derived from simpler elements. In analyzing these complex formations, it is usually possible either to separate the constituent elements and place them in a phrase in which their relationship is explicitly stated (as in the analysis of many kinds of nominal compounds), or to produce a phrase that gives the same meaning as the complex form by using ordinary words to express the force of the gram-
matical elements involved in the complex formation (as in the analysis of forms derived through suffixation).

For these complex formations there are thus two kinds of analysis available: analysis in the technical language of grammar (śāstṛya-vigraha, "technical analysis," or alaukika-vigraha, "extraordinary analysis"), and analysis in ordinary, non-technical language (laukika-vigraha).

The śāstṛya-vigraha proceeds by naming the sequence of stems and suffixes involved, together with any inserted elements required by the sequence. For example, a genitive tatpurusa compound such as rāja-puruṣaḥ ("king’s man") will be explained in a technical analysis as being made up of the stem rājan with the termination of the genitive singular, -as (which is dropped in the final form), followed by the stem puruṣa with the termination of the nominative singular, -s. The actual analysis will take the form rājan + Nās + puruṣa + sU. The extra letters added in the names for the suffixes serve various purposes and disappear in the final form; here the N in Nās indicates that certain things are inserted before this suffix when it comes after a feminine stem, and the U in sU is simply to make it possible to pronounce the name of the suffix. Similarly, the taddhita formation steyam ("thievery," from stena, "thief"), may be analyzed in technical terms as stena + yaT + am. Here the T in the technical name of the taddhita suffix yaT indicates which sort of pitch accent the suffix carries.

For these same formations the laukika-vigraha proceeds by expanding each formation into a phrase having the same meaning: rāja-puruṣaḥ ("a man of the king’s") and stena + yaT + am. The analysis in ordinary language is a restatement in the "phrase mode" (vākyavṛtti) of the meaning expressed in a more compact mode by the formation being analyzed. Sanskrit grammar recognizes five modes (vṛtti) of the formation of derived words for which a vigraha in ordinary language may be possible:

1. san-ady-anta-dhātu-vṛtti, or the formation of new verbal stems (ending in the suffix san, etc.), i.e., of denominative verbs by adding suffixes to nouns, and of stems of secondary conjugation by adding suffixes to verbal roots (Sections 1.22–1.26).

2. kṛd-vṛtti, or the formation of new nominal stems by primary derivation, i.e., by adding kṛd suffixes to verbal roots (Sections 1.27–1.34).

3. taddhita-vṛtti, or the formation of new nominal stems by secondary derivation, i.e., by adding taddhita suffixes to nominal stems (Sections 1.35–1.42).

4. samāsa-vṛtti, or the formation of new nominal stems through the compounding of nouns (Sections 1.43–1.72).

5. ekaśeṣa-vṛtti, or expressing the sense of several words related by meaning or syntactical concord through the retention of only one of those words, e.g., "dogs" for "dogs and bitches" (Sections 1.73–1.75).

1.20 General principles of analysis

For each type and subtype of complex formation susceptible to analysis in ordinary language, there exists a basic formula of analysis that, while it may be understood without a knowledge of the details of Pāṇini grammar, is based directly on the treatment of these formations by Pāṇini and his successors. For some formations, notably those derived by the addition of taddhita suffixes (Section 1.35), the formula follows the exact wording of the rules of Pāṇini. For others, the formulas are designed to express the meanings assigned to the formation by Pāṇini.
Some words are analyzed not in terms of formulas used for types or subtypes of complex formations but in terms of the specification by the grammarians of a meaning for that particular word. Such irregular words are said to be nipātita, “set down,” as opposed to words that are laksana-labdha, i.e., whose formation is arrived at by more general rules (see, for example, Section 1.34).

To some extent the formulas actually used by many commentators are drawn from a practical tradition of commentarial techniques rather than directly from a close adherence to the detailed explanations of the grammarians. Thus for some formations (e.g., nañ-tatpurusā compounds, Section 1.58) the formula usually encountered in the commentaries is more straightforward and less strict than some grammarians would like, and for others (e.g., samāhāra-dvandva compounds, Section 1.63) the commentators often do not bother to include in their formula of analysis the full details of the special elements of meaning involved in the formation. And for some formations the full standard formula coexists with a simplified formula used when the complex formation forms part of a larger complex (as in the analysis of karmadhāraya compounds serving as members of larger compounds, Section 1.71).

When some of the less common formations are to be analyzed, the degree to which the formulas used in a given commentary coincide with the formulas offered by the grammarians may also be influenced by the type of reader for whom the commentary is intended. Rudimentary lists of simple formulas of analysis, collected in short handbooks such as the Samāsacakra, join lists of verbal and nominal paradigms as the first items memorized by students in the traditional system of Sanskrit-medium education, and commentaries intended for students in their early years of study will naturally attempt to conform to the formulas presented in these elementary handbooks.

Careful study of the basic formulas of analysis available for each type of formation is valuable in several ways. First, a knowledge of the formulas is useful in itself as an aid to a clearer understanding of the different types of complex formations used in Sanskrit. Second, familiarity with the nature of the more important formulas is helpful in recognizing an analysis for what it is, should it show up unexpectedly in an otherwise discursive work of commentary. Finally, the ability to recognize the basic formulas easily is necessary if one is to understand the sentences in running glosses into which they are inserted, because the formula itself may often be obscured in ways described in the following section.

For all these reasons the treatment of each type of complex formation in this handbook includes a statement of the basic formula of analysis appropriate to that formation, drawn from the works of the grammarians, alongside any examples taken from commentaries.

Of the five types of complex formation listed above, the first three (derivative verbs, nouns of primary derivation, and nouns of secondary derivation) are also susceptible to analysis in terms of the technical elements of Pāṇinian grammar in addition to analysis in ordinary language. While both approaches depend upon the details of Pāṇini’s treatment of the language, the technical analysis goes beyond the ordinary analysis in employing the specially coded terminology used by Pāṇini in referring to grammatical elements. In the analysis of derived forms the most important of these elements are the suffixes, and the Pāṇinian treatment of suffixes involves three special problems.

First, Pāṇini recognizes derivation by suffixation only, so that many phenomena that we might not automatically associate with suffixes are described by the Pāṇinians as being due to the addition of some suffix. For example, the form -ābha that occurs at the end of the upapada compound analyzed by Mallinātha and Hemādri in the examples used in Section 1.21.2 is a derivative of the verbal root bhā, and the vowel of the root appears to have been shortened. For reasons of economy the way that Pāṇini explains such a form is to say that it is the result of the addition of a short -a suffix, before which the long -ā of the root has dropped. Similarly, formations that appear to consist of the bare root with no alteration (e.g., the final member of veda-vid, “Veda-knowing,” which is simply the root vid, “to know”) are explained by Pāṇini as the result of the addition of a “null suffix,” i.e., a suffix that completely disappears.

Second, the technical names of the suffixes generally contain extra letters beyond the actual form of the suffix itself, the purpose of which is purely indicatory. For example, the short -a suffix that forms the component -ābha is technically called Ka, and in this name the K is merely a “dummy letter” serving to convey grammatical information about the resulting form. Such an indicatory phoneme (displayed here in uppercase) is called an anubandha or it, and it does not appear in the final form. The general purpose of K in this role is to indicate that when the suffix marked
with it is added to a root, the guna-strengthening usually caused by the addition of a suffix does not occur (e.g., when the suffix Ka is added to the root bodh, the resulting form is bodha rather than bodha), and there is also a special rule to the effect that the final vowel of roots in long -ā is dropped before suffixes with indicatory K (thus the form -ābhā rather than -ābhā).

Third, in the technical names of some suffixes even the actual form of the suffix does not appear, being replaced by some substitute specified by Pāṇini. For example, ku in the technical name of suffixes stands for the longer form ana, and to this ku will be added indicatory letters covering the grammatical phenomena associated with the suffix in question. Thus LyuT is the name of the krt suffix -ana that produces nominal stems in which the acute accent rests on the syllable before the suffix (which phenomenon is indicated by the L in the technical name) and for which the feminine stems end in -i rather than the usual -ā (which is indicated by the T in the technical name).

All three of these problems arise in the case of a suffix such as KviP, the technical name for one of the null suffixes mentioned under the heading of the first problem noted above. The actual suffix is vi, which is said to always disappear, so that it is in effect replaced by zero. The K, once again, indicates lack of strengthening, and the P indicates that roots ending in short vowels will add the augment -i (e.g., loka-krt, “world-making,” from the root kr).

The meanings of these indicatory letters are fully explained by Otto von Böhtlingk in his Pāṇini’s Grammatik and (much more accessibly for readers of English) by G. V. Devasthali in his Anubandhas of Pāṇini. Both books also give lists of the suffixes, both with and without the indicatory letters, and some similar information is provided by M. R. Kale in A Higher Sanskrit Grammar. A more thorough introduction to Pāṇini’s methods is available in the works by George Cardona listed in the Appendix. We cannot reproduce this information here, but we can point out the two most common ways in which these technical names of suffixes are used.

First, the actual technical analysis of a complex formation consists of the technical name of the suffix, preceded by the ablative of the item to which the suffix is added. Thus the word saṣṭavaṃ (“infancy”), formed from sīṣu (“infant”) by the addition of the short -a suffix technically called aN (the N indicates vṛddhi-strengthening of the first syllable of the formation) is analyzed sīṣor aN. Further technical devices may be used in identifying the base to which the suffix is added; for example, one way of referring to verbal roots is by adding the suffix -ti, so that the word mānām, formed from the root mā (“to measure”), may be analyzed by saying māter LyuT (“LyuT [i.e., the taddhita suffix -ana] after māti [i.e., the verbal root mā]”).

Second, the meaning of these suffixes is indicated by preceding the technical name of the suffix with its meaning in the locative case (cf. Chapter 6). Thus for saṣṭavaṃ a commentator might say bhāve aN (“aN in the sense of a state or condition”; see Section 1.28), and for mānām, if it is interpreted as having instrumental force (miyate anenēti mānām, “one measures with it, thus a measurer,” i.e., an instrument of measuring) the comment might be karane LyuT (“LyuT in the sense of an instrument”; see Section 1.29.3).

This same technique is used in dealing with other grammatical elements as well. Verbal roots, for example, as they appear in the traditional list (the Dāṇḍāyaṇa, an appendix to Pāṇini’s grammar), are provided with indicatory letters of their own—e.g., kṛ, “to do,” is technically called DUKṛN, with the DU indicating that the root may take a certain suffix, and the N indicating that the root takes ātanepada endings with the benefit of the action accrues to the agent. The meaning of the root is indicated by a word in the locative case placed after the technical name of the root—e.g., DUKṛN karane, “kṛ in the sense of doing.”

Commentators frequently use such technical remarks as supplements to analyses in ordinary language or in place of them. In the quotations from commentators offered in the handbook we will often include such remarks as samples of this approach, but a full understanding of their use requires a dedicated study of Pāṇinian grammar.

### 1.21 Insertion of analyses in a commentary

The formulas of analysis described below in Sections 1.22–1.75 are inserted at the proper places in a running commentary in much the same way as the simple glosses described in Section 1.9 (for detailed examples of the arrangement of running commentaries and the insertion of explanatory material, see Sections 1.76–1.80). In their placement within a commentary the formulas of analysis differ from simple glosses only in that, as the examples given in the following sections indicate, an analysis is usu-
ally placed before the complex being analyzed, while synonyms and other simple glosses usually follow the words they explain (Section 1.10).

In practice commentators often do not bother to repeat the full original form of the complex being analyzed (especially when it is a nominal compound); in such instances the analysis itself replaces the repetition of the original formation, or the analysis may conclude with a simple reference to the original form rather than with its actual restatement (as in the phrases tat tathā, tat tathōktam, tat tathā-bhūtam, etc., used at the end of analyses of bahuvṛthī compounds; Section 1.70).

The basic formula of analysis may often be obscured by the addition of other material when the commentator finds it necessary either to gloss the words used in the analysis (Section 1.21.1), or to indicate the inflection of the complex being analyzed as it appears in the original text (Section 1.21.2).

1.21.1 Glossing the words used in the analysis

Within the basic framework of a standard formula of analysis, commentators may insert glosses of the words making up that analysis at any point, using the same techniques that are employed in glossing separate words in the original text. For example, the word marut-sakhaḥ, an epithet of fire, is a straightforward genitive tatpuruṣa compound, meaning “friend of the wind,” and its analysis, using the standard formula (Section 1.53.1) is therefore simply marutaḥ sakhaḥ marut-sakhaḥ, “friend of the wind; wind-friend.” In employing this standard formula, however, the commentator Mallināṭha inserts synonyms after the first member in the analysis and after the repetition of the entire compound:


This technique is taken a step further in the practice of using synonyms in place of the parts of the original complex when analyzing the complex. For example, the analysis given by Mallināṭha of the compound maruṛ-prayuktāḥ (“impelled by the wind”) in the same verse is not maruṭa prayuktāḥ but vāyunā preritāḥ—synonyms for the original members of the compound, displayed in the analysis with the same inflection and position that the original members would have in the standard formula of analysis.

1.21.2 Indicating the inflection of the original

The formulas for the analysis of derivative and compound nouns as offered by the grammarians generally present the noun that is being analyzed in the nominative case. Of course such nouns may appear in any case in a text being commented on, and in order to make the transition from the standard formula to the inflection found in the original text a commentator may follow either of two procedures in analyzing the noun.

One procedure is to modify the basic formula by inflecting the syntactically predominant part of the analysis to match the inflection of the noun being commented on. For example, where the text has rāja-puruśā, “from the king’s son,” the commentator may give the analysis rājāḥ putrāḥ, based on the nominative-case formula rājāḥ putrāḥ but reflecting the ablative case of the word being explained. Such an analysis is called a pariniṣṭhiḥa-vibhakti-vigraha, “analysis (using) the case-ending of the finished (form).”

The other procedure is to use the standard formula without modification, and then to add a pronoun to pick up the formation and convert it to the required inflection. Using this method the analysis of rāja-puruśā would be rājāḥ putrāḥ tasmat, “the king’s son, from him.” Such an analysis is called a prathamānta-vigraha, “analysis ending in the nominative case-ending.”

Where a pronoun already occurs at the end of a standard formula, as for example in the analysis of bahuvṛthī compounds, the same two options are still available. Here the pronoun already present at the end of the standard formula is the syntactically predominant part of the analysis, as it refers to the same thing that the formation as a whole refers to. Thus the analysis of the compound dīrgha-karnāt, “from Long-ear,” may be either dīrghau karnau yasya tasmat (tathāktāt), “whose ears are long, from him (who is so-called),” or, with the addition of a further pronoun to pick up the analysis, dīrghau karnau yasya sa (tathāktas) tasmat, “whose ears are long, he (is so-called), from him.”

Just as parts of a formula of analysis may be separated by intervening glosses (Section 1.21.1), this “pick-up” pronoun added at the end of a nominative-case analysis may be separated from the body of the analysis by any amount of intervening explanatory material. For example, the compound maru-sakhaḥ used as an example in Section 1.21.1 is actually the
first member of a longer compound, *marut-sakhābh*am (“shining like fire,” masculine accusative singular), which Mallinātha interprets as an *upapada* compound (Sections 1.32, 1.59). He therefore uses a pronoun to pick up *marut-sakhā* for the rest of the analysis of the longer compound, and then he must add another pronoun at the end to place the whole compound in the accusative case. But before adding this last pronoun he pauses to explain which kṛt suffix is used to form the last part of the compound:

Ragh.M. 2.10 *maruto vāyoḥ sakāḥ marut-sakhāḥ* ‘gniḥ. sa ivābhāttī marut-sakhābh. “ātoś cāpasarge” iti ka-pratyayaḥ. tam. Friend of the wind, of the air: wind-friend, fire. (He) shines as he does; thus wind-friend-shiner. The suffix Ka (i.e., -a, without strengthening of the root to which it is added) by (Pa. 3.1.136) “And (there is the suffix) ka after (a root ending in) long -a, when a verbal prefix is used.” Him.

Note that insertions such as this do not alter the basic formula of analysis: they simply interrupt it. The same problem arises when a commentator offers more than one explanation of a part of the analysis, for he will carry on with the basic structure of the formula no matter how many alternatives he inserts in a part of the formula. For example, when the commentator Hemāddi analyzed this same compound *marut-sakhābh*am, he not only inserted a quotation from a dictionary, but also could not decide whether *marut-sakhā* means Agni or Indra, and whether the longer compound is an *upapada* compound, as Mallinātha thought, or a *madhyamapada-bahuvrthī* compound (Section 1.66.2):

Ragh.H. 2.10 *maruto vāyoḥ sakāḥ iti marut-sakhāḥ* ‘gniḥ tasyābhēvākhā yasya. indrasyati vā, “pūlomārī marutsakhā” iti dhanamjayaḥ, tadvad ābhāttī vā. tam. Friend of the wind, of the air, thus wind-friend, fire. Whose appearance is like the appearance of his [i.e., of Agni’s]. Or [like the appearance] of Indra’s: “Pūlamārī, Marutsakhā [among the epithets of Indra],” says [the lexicographer] Dhanamjaya. Or, (he) shines as he does, thus wind-friend-shiner. Him.

In reading the examples quoted from commentaries in the sections that follow, take care to separate the features of expression required in order to match the inflection of the word being explained from those features proper to the formula of analysis being exemplified.

**Chapter 4. Analysis of Grammatical Complexes**

**Chapter 5**

**Derivative Verbs**

**1.22 Introduction**

Of the five modes of complex formation recognized in Pāṇinian grammar, four result in derived nominal stems. The fifth involves the addition of suffixes to verbal roots and to nominal stems to create formations that are treated as derived verbal roots. The first of these “root-forming suffixes” taken up by Pāṇini is the desiderative suffix -sa, called san by Pāṇini (the final -n serves only to indicate that the resulting formation will have the acute pitch accent on its first syllable). The formations so derived are therefore called san-ādy-anta-dhātu (“roots ending in san, etc.”), Pa. 3.1.5–3.1.32; corresponding to “derivative or secondary conjugation,” Whitney 996 ff.).

Some of the suffixes are added to items already technically considered roots without producing any change in meaning that requires analysis in ordinary language. This is true, for example, of verbs that use the causative suffix without clear causative meaning, including the items viewed by Pāṇini as roots of the cur-ādi or tenth-class and by Western grammarians as denominatives with causative rather than denominative accent (*corayati, cintayati, etc.,* Pa. 3.1.25; Whitney 607, 775, 1041 b, 1056), and it is also true of the roots that use the desiderative suffix without clear desiderative meaning (Pa. 3.1.6–3.1.7; Whitney 1040)—jugupsate, titkṣate, cikitsati, mūmāṃsate, bībhatsate, didāṃsate, stāṃsate. But these suffixes also produce four large groups of formations susceptible to analysis in ordinary language: desiderative verbs (Section 1.23), intensive verbs (Section 1.24), causative verbs (Section 1.25), and denominative verbs.
1.23 Desideratives

These are the sann-anta-dhātus, “roots ending in (the suffix) san,” Pā. 3.1.7; “desiderative verbs,” Whitney 1026–1040. A straightforward desiderative formation is analyzed in ordinary language by a formula using the verb īṣ (icchati) after the infinitive of the root in question:

Kāśikā 3.1.7 kartum icchati cikīṛati. He wishes to do.

The same principle applies to the analysis of desiderative formations in which the addition of a further suffix has produced a participle, an adjective in -u, or a noun in -a; the same suffix will be added to the root īṣ in the analysis:

Kum.M. 3.14 ipṣitaṃ āptum iṣṭam desired sought to be obtained

Ragḥ.M. 1.2 tūṛṛus taritum iechuḥ desirous of crossing seeking to cross

Ragḥ.M. 1.7 vijigṛiṇām vijetum icchānām of those desirous of conquering of those seeking to conquer

Kum.M. 2.7 sisṛkṣaya sraṣṭum icchayā through the desire of creating through the wish to create

Certain idiomatic uses of the desiderative require special analysis:

Kāśikā 3.1.7 sanke pāṭiyati kulam [pipaṭiṣati kulam] I fear the bank is going to fall—the bank is likely to fall

Kāśikā 3.1.7 [sanke marṣiyate śvā śvā mamūṛṣati] I fear the dog is going to die—the dog is likely to die

1.24 Intensives

These are the yan-anta-dhātus, “roots ending in [the suffix] yan,” Pā. 3.1.22–3.1.24; “intensive or frequentative verbs,” Whitney 1000–1025. In the basic formulas for the analysis of intensives and frequentatives the finite simple verb is used with the addition of punaḥ punaḥ (“again and again”) for the frequentative meaning or bhṛṣam (“intensely”) for the intensive meaning:

Kāśikā 3.1.22 punaḥ punaḥ pacati pāpacyate he cooks repeatedly

Kāśikā 3.1.22 bhṛṣam jvalati jājvalyate it blazes intensely

As in the analysis of desideratives (Section 1.23), the same basic formula applies even when further suffixation occurs:

Kum.M. 1.23 jangamayante bhṛṣam gacchitāni jaṅgamā deva-tiryāh-manuṣyādyayaḥ. They move all around—they go intensely—thus moving creatures—gods, animals, humans, and so forth.

Here a kṛt suffix used in the sense of the agent (Section 1.29) is added to the intensive formation in order to form a nominal stem.

Again as in the analysis of desideratives, certain idiomatic uses of the intensive require special analysis:

Kāśikā 3.1.23 kuṭilaṃ kṛitiṃ caṅkramyate he moves crookedly (i.e., he goes in zig-zag fashion).

Kāśikā 3.1.24 garhitaṃ lampaṭi lolupyate he breaks it in a reprehensible way (i.e., he busts it all to pieces).

1.25 Causatives

These are the niḥ-anta-dhātus, “roots ending in [the suffix] niḥ,” Pā. 3.1.26; “causative verbs,” Whitney 1041–1052. Straightforward causative formations may theoretically be analyzed by using the present participle of the root in question, followed by some verb of instigation; thus gamayati, “he
causes him to go,” may be analyzed *gacchantam prerayati*, “he sets him going.” In practice, however, such formations are only very rarely analyzed in ordinary language; instead a commentator will offer the causative form of a synonymous verb as a gloss or provide an analysis in the technical terminology of Pāṇinian grammar.

As in the analysis of the derivative verbs described in the previous two sections, certain idiomatic uses of the causative require special analysis. An example:

Kāśikā 3.1.26 *kamsa-vadhām ācāste kamsam ghātayati* He tells the story of the slaying of Kamsa—he has Kamsa slain.

### 1.26 Denominatives

These are the *nāma-dhātus*, “roots [formed from] nouns,” Pā. 3.1.8 ff.; “denominative verbs,” Whitney 1053–1068. Denominative verbs are formed by the addition of suffixes to substantives and adjectives. They fall into several groups according to the precise meaning imparted by the suffix. For each group the standard formula of analysis in ordinary language is based directly upon the wording of the portions of the rules of Pāṇini describing those meanings; the commentators follow these basic formulas of analysis quite closely, but sometimes omit the elements referring to finer details of meaning. In the following examples, the basic formulas are taken from the Kāśikā, and the elements sometimes omitted by commentators have been placed in parentheses.

#### 1.26.1 Desire to have

(Pā. 3.1.8–3.1.9):

Kāśikā 3.1.8 *(ātmanaḥ)* *putram icchati putriyati* he desires a son (for himself)

Ragh.M. 1.35 *putrakāmyayā ātmanaḥ putrecchayā* through desire for a son through the wish for a son for themselves

In the last example the denominative stem has been subjected to further suffixation in order to produce a *krt* formation (cf. Section 1.23).

#### 1.26.2 Behavior toward

(Pā. 3.1.10):

Kāśikā 3.1.10 *putram ivācarati putriyati* he treats (him) like a son

#### 1.26.3 Behavior like

(Pā. 3.1.11):

Kāśikā 3.1.11 *syena ivācarati syenāyati* it acts like a falcon

Ragh.M. 2.61 *amṛtam ivācaraity amṛtyāyamānāni* it acts like the nectar of immortality, thus acting like the nectar of immortality

#### 1.26.4 Becoming something

(Pā. 3.1.12–3.1.13):

Kāśikā 3.1.12 *(abhṛṣaḥ) bhrṣo bhavati bṛṣyayate* (not having been intense) it becomes intense—it intensifies

Ragh.M. 2.17 *syāmāni bhavantīi syāmāyamānāni* they become dark, thus darkening

For the basic formula and the optional omission of its first part, cf. the analysis of *cvi* formations (Section 1.42.4).

#### 1.26.5 Making something so

(Pā. 3.1.21):

Kāśikā 3.1.21 *munḍam karoṭi munḍayati* he makes it shaven—he shaves it

Ragh.M. 3.35 *laghayiyatā laghum kariyautā* by the one being about to lighten it—by the one being about to make it light

Ragh.M. 5.73 *malinayanti malināni kurvanti* they dirty them—they make them dirty
1.26.6 Feeling something

(Pā. 3.1.18):

Kāśīkā 3.1.18 sukham vedayati sukhyate he feels happiness

1.26.7 Doing or making something

(Pā. 3.1.17, etc.):

Kāśīkā 3.1.17 sabdaṁ karoti sabdāyate he makes sound—he sounds
Kāśīkā 3.1.19 namaḥ karoti namasyati he does honor—he honors

Often a particular noun will call for a more specific verb:

Kāśīkā 3.1.25 satyam ācaṣṭe satyāpayati he tells the truth
Kāśīkā 3.1.15 tapas carati tapasyati he performs austerities

Such meanings shade off into the next category.

1.26.8 Making use of something

(Pā. 3.1.15, etc.):

In this category belong many specific analyses applying to particular words. A few examples follow.

Kāśīkā 3.1.15 romanthaṁ vartayati romanthāyate it turns over the cud—it chews the cud
Kāśīkā 3.1.20 [puchham paryayati] paripucchayate it tosses its tail around—it wags its tail
Kāśīkā 3.1.25 ślokaṁ upastauty upaślokaṁyati he praises with eulogies—he eulogizes
Kāśīkā 3.1.25 lomāṁ anumārsfy anulomayati he strokes the hairs in the direction in which they lie—he curries
Kāśīkā 3.1.25 varmaṇā sampahyati saṁvarmayati he girds with armor—he armors

Chapter 6

Primary Nominal Derivation

1.27 Introduction

The formations called krt or krd-anta (“ending in krt suffixes,” Pā. 3.1.91-3.4.117; “primary derivatives,” Whitney 1143–1201) are the nominal stems (including participles and verbals) derived through the addition of suffixes to verbal roots. In general terms the category of krt suffixes includes all suffixes added directly to verbal roots with the exception of the san-ādi suffixes (“root-forming suffixes,” Sections 1.22–1.26) and the tin suffixes (the inflectional endings of finite verbs).

Akin to the krt suffixes are the suffixes called un-ādi (“beginning with un”), which serve the same function of deriving nominal stems from verbal roots, but often do so through forced and improbable etymologies. They are preserved in collections outside the grammar of Pāṇini, and although Pāṇini makes reference to this group of suffixes (Pā. 3.3.1–2, 3.4.75), his general policy is to take the nouns derived by un-ādi suffixes as ready-made forms, so that he does not concern himself with their derivation. The commentators mention them rather infrequently in comparison with the suffixes taught by Pāṇini, and when they do refer to them their techniques of analysis are the same as those used in analyzing krt formations. For example, the first of the un-ādi suffixes, un (the purpose of the final -n is to indicate that the vowel of the root to which it is added is subject to vrddhi strengthening), is said to form the word kāru from the root kr, and this formation is analyzed karotti kāruḥ śilp, “he makes, thus a maker, an artisan,” exactly as in the analysis of kartari krt formations (Section 1.29.1).
As in the analysis of the other types of complex formations, the formulas of analysis in ordinary language used by the commentators to explain \textit{krt} formations follow very closely the treatment of these formations in \textit{Panini}'s grammar. Thus the formulas of analysis may be divided by their being applicable to either of two major categories of meaning: that of the verbal action itself (Section 1.28), and that of the various participants in an action (Section 1.29). Beyond these basic varieties of meaning, the precise meaning of a formation may be narrowed by restrictions of relative time (Section 1.30) or by any of a number of other restrictions of meaning (Section 1.31). Furthermore, many \textit{krt} formations are possible only when compounded with an accompanying word (Section 1.32). The various verbal participles form special subsets of \textit{krt} formations, and some of these require special treatment (Section 1.33). Finally, the explanation of certain formations depends not upon the basic formulas of analysis but upon the specification by the grammarians of particular meanings for particular words (Section 1.34).

\section*{1.28 Basic bhāve meanings}

A great many \textit{krt} suffixes are used bhāve, i.e., in the sense of the verbal action itself. Most of the resulting formations are nouns of action corresponding in meaning to the English gerund in ‘-ing’. Since the only straightforward method of duplicating the meaning of such formations in ordinary language in Sanskrit is through the use of another verbal noun formed with a different suffix, the explanation of these items in commentaries is usually achieved either by giving an analysis in technical terminology or by simply offering a synonym:

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textit{Ragh.M. 5.45} bhā́ge bhaṅjane \textit{in breaking}—in the action of breaking
  \item \textit{Ragh.M. 5.61} āgámena āgaumanena \textit{by the arrival}—by the arriving
  \item \textit{Kum.V. 1.59} saṁmārjanam saṁmārgah \textit{the action of sweeping}—sweeping
\end{itemize}

The offering of a synonym in the form of another verbal noun using a different suffix is also employed when the word being glossed happens to be a participle with simple bhāve meaning:

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textit{Ragh.M. 2.54} \textit{prahṛtaṁ tu prahāras tu} \textit{but the stroke}—but the striking.
\end{itemize}

When, however, the formation being explained is an indeclinable verbal form, more complicated formulas are required.

Continuatives are generally analyzed by using a verbal noun derived from the same root, followed by a continuative form of the root \textit{kr}:

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textit{Ragh.M. 3.51} prahasya prahāsaṁ kṛtvā \textit{laughing} performing the action of laughing.
\end{itemize}

When this technique is used, it is often the continuative made from \textit{kr}, rather than the verbal noun, that indicates the presence of secondary meanings such as that of the causative:

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textit{Ragh.M. 5.62} praveśya praveśaṁ kārayitvā \textit{showing in causing him} to perform the action of entering
\end{itemize}

The rarer \textit{namul} form of continuative is usually glossed simply by offering the commoner form of the continuative as a synonym:

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textit{Kum.M. 4.26} stanau sambādhya stana-sambādham \textit{striking the breasts}—striking the breasts
\end{itemize}

Infinitives may often be explained through the use of a verbal noun in the dative case, but even where this is possible other more roundabout expressions are also allowed, which generally use verbal formations referring to the agent rather than to the verbal act itself:

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textit{Kāśikā 3.3.11} [paktuTfl vṛajati] pākāya vṛajati \textit{[he goes in order to cook]} he goes for cooking
  \item \textit{Kāśikā 3.3.11} bhoktuTfl vṛajati bhajako vṛajati \textit{he goes in order to eat}—he goes as an eater
  \item \textit{Kāśikā 3.3.12} [āsvān dātuTfl vṛajati] aśva-dāyo vṛajati \textit{[he goes in order to give horses]} he goes as one intending to give horses
  \item \textit{Kāśikā 3.3.13} [kartuTfl vṛajati] kariṣyāṁti vṛajati \textit{[he goes in order to do]} he goes (with the thought), “I shall do”
\end{itemize}
1.29 Basic kāraka meanings

The kṛt suffixes that do not refer to the verbal action itself refer to a participant in that action. In the Pāṇinian system there are six categories of such participation, called kārakas. With few exceptions (Sections 1.30.1, 1.31, 1.32.4, 1.32.5) formations made with such suffixes are analyzed using formulas containing finite forms of the verb in question. When the suffix is used in the sense of the agent (Section 1.29.1) or the object (Section 1.29.2) of the action, an active or passive finite verb is sufficient to indicate the thing to which the formation refers, since by Pāṇini’s rules the verbal termination of an active verb is itself used kartari (in the sense of the agent), and that of a passive verb is used karmani (in the sense of the object). The thing referred to by the formation will then be the grammatical subject of the finite verb. But where the suffix is prescribed by Pāṇini in the sense of some other kāraka (Sections 1.29.3–1.29.6), the category of participation through which the thing referred to is connected with the verbal action must be indicated by using some form of the pronoun idam, exhibited in the grammatical case appropriate to the kāraka in question.

None of these formulas, unlike those used in the analysis of derivative verbs and of nominal compounds, can be substituted directly for the word that it analyzes, because in each of these formulas the syntactically predominate element is a verb, while the word being analyzed is a noun. Instead the formula in itself merely offers a clear explanation of the manner in which the thing referred to participates in the verbal action. Accordingly, each of these formulas must be concluded with the particle iti followed by the word being explained. For example, in order to explain that the word pācaka refers to the agent in the action of cooking, the basic formula is simply pacati, “he cooks”; but the full analysis is pacati pācakāḥ, “he cooks, thus [he is] a cooker.” Much less frequently a commentator will avoid the need for the particle iti by using a relative pronoun: yah pacati sa pācakāḥ, “he who cooks is a cooker.” The same technique is occasionally used in analyzing formations involving any of the kārakas; compare the following analyses:

**Kum.C. 7.53**

apidhiyate 'nendy apidhānaṁ kapāṭam (something) is covered by this, thus a covering, a leaf of a door

**Kum.V. 7.53**

apidhiyate sthagyate yena tad apidhānaṁ kavāṭaḥ that

by which (something) is covered—concealed—is a covering, a leaf of a door

Notice also that, as in the analysis of other types of complex formations, the commentator may insert glosses at any point in the analysis.

1.29.1 kartari

Formations made with kṛt suffixes used in the sense of the agent of an action are analyzed with finite active forms of the verb in question. Where the word being analyzed is plural, a plural form of the finite verb will be used. The same basic formula applies whether the word being analyzed is a substantive or an adjective.

Ragh.M. 4.12 tapatiit tapanəḥ sūryaḥ it heats, thus heater, the sun

Ragh.M. 4.42 yudhyanta iti yodhāḥ they fight, thus fighters

Ragh.M. 2.72 sukhayatiti sukhaḥ it pleases, thus pleasant

When such formations contain a verbal prefix, two methods of analysis are available. The prefix may be expanded, so to speak, into a separate adverbial form:

Ragh.M. 12.68 viseṣena bhīṣayate satrūn iti vibhīṣanāḥ he especially frightens his enemies, thus terrifying

Kum. V: 1.15 ntyatam jharati sarvatitī nīrharatī it flows—streams—continuously, thus a cascade

Or the prefix may simply be retained with the finite verb used in the analysis:

Ragh.M. 1.38 utkiranti vikṣipantaṁ utkirāḥ they scatter upwards—toss upwards, thus scattering up

Kum. V: 5.44 upayacchate svākarotī upayanatī pati he takes—accepts as his own, thus taker, bridegroom
1.29.2 karmanī

Formations made with kṛt suffixes used in the sense of the object of an action are analyzed in much the same way as kartari formations, except that the finite verb used in the analysis will be passive rather than active.

Ragh. M. 2.65 kāmyata iti kāmo varāḥ  it is desired, thus a desire a choice
Ragh. M. 1.20 prārabhyanta iti prārambhāḥ  they are undertaken, thus undertakings
Ragh. M. 2.4 prastāyita iti prastāthiḥ santatiḥ  it is procreated, thus procreation offspring

1.29.3 karāṇe

Formations made with kṛt suffixes used in the sense of an instrument involved in an action are analyzed with a finite verb, usually passive, and a form of the pronoun idam exhibited in the instrumental case.

Ragh. M. 5.57 sammohyate ’nenēti sammohanam  (one) is infatuated by means of this, thus infatuating
Kum. M. 2.4 vibhajyate ’nenēti vibhāgaḥ  (something) is divided by this, thus a division
Kum. M. 3.40 vihanyanta ebbhir iti vighnah pratīyāḥ  (people) are obstructed by these, thus obstructions obstacles

1.29.4 sampradāne

Formations made with kṛt suffixes used in the sense of the one for whose sake an action are analyzed with a finite verb and a form of the pronoun idam exhibited in the dative case.

Kum. V. 6.87 [6.88] arpyate ’smā ity arpanaḥ  (something) is offered to this, thus recipient

1.30 Temporal restrictions

While most kṛt suffixes are used with present or temporally indefinite force, a great many suffixes are assigned specific temporal meaning, and this specification will be reflected in the analysis of the resulting formations. Most common is the specification of past time (Section 1.30.1), but one also often finds present time assigned to participles that usually refer to past time (Section 1.30.2), and some suffixes have future meaning (Section 1.30.3).
Chapter 6. Primary Nominal Derivation

1.30.1 bhūte

In addition to the various past participles, many other words are formed with kṛt suffixes expressly assigned past meaning by Pāṇini; the specification bhūte ("in the sense of what is past") applies throughout a large segment of Pāṇini’s rules for kṛt suffixes (3.2.84–3.2.122) and appears sporadically elsewhere as well. Formations to which this specification applies are conventionally glossed through the use of past participle (either active or passive) rather than analyzed through the use of finite verb. In such glosses the particle iti is not necessary, since the participle, by virtue of its own nominal character, can be substituted directly for the noun being explained. For the same reason it is possible to indicate the case of the word being glossed by the case of the participle used, so that the formation need not be exhibited in the nominative case, as is necessary with formulas of analysis using finite verbs and iti.

Ragh.M. 1.44 yajvanāṃ vidihiṃśastavātāṃ Of those who have sacrificed of those who have offered sacrifice in accordance with the rules

Kum.M. 2.46 yajvabhīḥ vidhiḥ ātavādhbhīḥ By those who have sacrificed by those who have offered sacrifice in accordance with the rules

Here the past active participle is used. For further examples and for examples of past passive participles in the explanation of kṛt formations, see Section 1.32.4.

1.30.2 vartamāne

Specification of present meaning is necessary only for formations that by more general rules would otherwise have past or future meaning. By far the most common instance is the assignment of present meaning to the “past passive participle.” When this occurs the commentator will either use the usual formula for the analysis of a kṛt suffix used karmanī (Section 1.29.2), or will gloss the item with a.

Ragh.M. 5.2 śrūyata iti śrutam vedaśāstram it is heard, thus śruta, the Vedic scripture

1.31. Other restrictions of meaning

In addition to the temporal specifications just described, there are other conditions of meaning (upādhi) that are applied to various kṛt suffixes by Pāṇini. Often the condition amounts to a restriction on which suffixes may be used with a particular root in particular meanings. For example, the suffixes mentioned in Pā. 3.1.145–147 carry the restriction śīpini, “when an artisan is being referred to,” and as a result words such as nartaka, “dancer,” and gāthaka or gāyana, “singer,” should be used only when speaking of professional dancers and singers, and not when speaking of just anyone who happens to dance or sing. Such restrictions of meaning are not usually reflected in the analyses offered by commentators; although they may often refer to the rule that lays down such a restriction, they will generally be content with the usual formula of analysis—gāyatī gāyanāḥ, etc.

Some more general conditions of meaning, however, are regularly incorporated in the formulas of analysis used by commentators. By far the most frequently encountered of these is the specification tāc-chīla (i.e., tāṣṭā), “having that (action) as one’s nature or habit, characterized by that (activity),” a condition that applies throughout a lengthy sequence of rules in Pāṇini (3.2.134–3.2.179) and in some other rules as well. For example,
Chapter 6. Primary Nominal Derivation

1.32. Accompanying words (upapada)

Many kṛt formations occur only at the end of nominal compounds when expressing a given sense, and thus cannot be used in that sense without a subordinate word (upapada) accompanying them as the first member of the compound. To take as an example the formation that has provided the name for the entire class of primary compounds, the word kṛt itself, formed from the root kṛ, “to do, to make,” occurs at the end of compounds in the sense of “who has done or made (something)” — e.g., mantra-kṛt, “one who has made mantras.” The word kṛt is not available in this meaning outside such compounds, although it does appear as an uncompounded word in another meaning (viz., as the technical term for suffixes of primary derivation). It is therefore not possible to analyze the compound as a straightforward tatpurūsa compound using the same words that make up the compound, since one cannot say *mantrāṇāṃ kṛt, as one could say, for example, mantrāṇāṃ sraṣṭā in analyzing the genitive tatpurūsa compound mantra-sraṣṭā. Instead the analysis of an upapada compound is usually achieved by analyzing the kṛt formation at the end of the compound with the standard formulas used for uncompounded kṛt formations and exhibiting the upapada separately in the case that indicates its relationship to the action expressed by the verbal form in that formula, rather than its relationship to a noun that expresses the sense of the final member of the compound:

Ragh. M. 1.61 mantrāṇ kṛtavān mantra-kṛt One who has made mantras — a mantra-maker

When, however, a compound ends with a kṛt formation for which the rules of Pāṇini provide a derivation as an independent word and do not restrict it to use in compound with an upapada, we have a regular tatpurūsa compound, and a commentator may thus analyze the kṛt formation in the usual way outside the compound, and then analyze the compound itself as a straightforward tatpurūsa:

Ragh. M. 2.3 dharantī dharāḥ ... payo-dharāḥ paya-dharāḥ stanāḥ they bear (something), thus bearers. ... bearers of milk — milk-bearers, breasts

Occasionally it may not be clear which interpretation of a given compound is more appropriate:

Kum. M. 1.20 jānāti jīnaḥ ... vedanānām jīnaḥ [vedanā-jīnaḥ]. athava vedanāṃ jānāti vedanā-jīnaḥ. He knows, thus a knower. ... a knower of pain [a pain-knower]. Or: he knows pain, thus a pain-knower.

For upapada compounds in which the kṛt suffix is used bhāve, i.e., in the sense of the verbal action, the only way of analyzing the compound in non-technical language is to substitute a freestanding synonym for the

the word satya-vādī, “truth-speaking” (an upapada compound; see Section 1.32), may be used accurately in reference to a man who habitually or characteristically speaks the truth, even if he does not happen to be speaking at the moment, but it may not be used accurately in referring to an habitual liar, even if he happens to be speaking the truth at the moment.

In explaining formations involving this condition of meaning, some commentators simply supply Partini’s specification tāc-chīla after a finite verb giving the general meaning of the formation:

Ragh. H. 2.3 dayāluḥ dayate tāc-chīlaḥ compassionate—he has compassion, one who is characterized by that

Much more frequently, commentators follow the model of Partini’s specification by glossing the formation with a word in which -chīla is placed in compound with a verbal noun denoting the action in question.

Ragh. M. 4.85 āsāṃ jaya-sīlāḥ victorious characterized by victory

Ragh. M. 2.72 sahāṣṇāḥ ... sahāna-sīlāḥ forbearing ... characterized by forbearance

Kum. M. 1.23 sthitī-sīlāḥ sthāvarāḥ śaiva-vrksīdayaḥ characterized by standing still — stationary things, mountains, trees, etc.

Slightly different formulas may be used when the kṛt formation being analyzed occurs at the end of a compound (Section 1.32.5).
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1.32. Accompanying words (upapada)


Kum. V. 5.22 mahāntam uśkaṇam arhatiti mahāṁrāh bahudhanā it deserves a great (price)—a high (price), thus costly, worth much money.

As in the analysis of uncompounded forms, relative pronouns may be used to avoid the use of iti. Compare the following two analyses:

Kum. M. 2.51 senaṁ nayati senā-nis camā-putiḥ... toṁ sena-nyam. He leads an army, thus army-leader, general ... [we wish to create] him, [we wish to create] an army-leader.

Kum. V. 2.51 senaṁ nayati toṁ sena-nyam who leads an army, him—an army leader

1.32.2 kartari krt with non-accusative

When the first member of the upapada compound does not refer to the direct object of the verbal action involved in the second member, it will appear in the analysis in some case other than the accusative.

Kum. M. 1.50 kāmena svēcchāya caratiḥ kāma-caraḥ he roams at will—at his own desire—thus roaming-at-will.

Kum. M. 3.37 pākāj jāyata iti pāka-jām it is born from the mud, thus mud-born.

Ragh. M. 4.72 guhāsu śeṣata iti guhā-śayāḥ they lie in caves, thus cave-lying.

This class of compounds includes many in which the first member retains its case ending within the compound, a phenomenon that does not affect the basic formula of analysis:

Ragh. M. 5.72 stambhe ramanta iti stambhe-ramāḥ hastimāḥ they delight in a clump of grass, thus stambhe-ramas, elephants.

Kum. M. 1.10 vane carantiti vane-carāḥ kirātāḥ they roam in the forest, thus forest-roamers, mountain tribesmen.
1.32.3 \( krt \) in the sense of another \( kāraka \)

When the \( krt \) formation appearing as the final member of an \( upapada \) compound is passive, the standard formula for the analysis of a \( kārmanī krt \) formation (Section 1.29.2) is used, and the \( upapada \) is exhibited in the case needed to express its connection with the verbal action. In the following example the \( upapada \) refers to the instrument, and thus appears in the instrumental case.

Kum. V. 1.10  \( \text{tailena pūrṇaṃ iti taila-pūrāḥ} \)  they are filled with oil, thus \( \text{oil-filled} \)

The \( krt \) formation may have the sense of any of the other \( kārakas \) as well, and for each the standard formula of analysis described for uncompounded \( krt \) formations (Section 1.29) will be used, with the \( upapada \) appearing in whatever case is appropriate to connect it with the verbal action. In the following example, the \( krt \) suffix forming the final member of the compound is used \( karaṇe, \) in the sense of the instrument (Section 1.29.3), and the \( upapada \) refers to the object of the action. Since a passive verb is used in the analysis, the \( upapada \) shows up in the nominative case.

Ragh.M. 3.10  \( \text{punam sītāte nenēti punāsavānam} \)  a male is produced by means of this, thus \( \text{a male-producing (rite)} \)

1.32.4 Temporal restrictions

As in uncompounded \( krt \) formations, restrictions of the time referred to may apply, the most common instance being restriction to past time (Section 1.30.1). These are ordinarily glossed with a past active participle, with which the particle \( iti \) is not strictly necessary, and may be either included or omitted.

Ragh.M. 3.62  \( \text{vṛtram hatavān iti vṛtra-hā} \)  he has slain Vṛtra, thus \( Vṛtra-slayer \)
Ragh.M. 1.3  \( \text{kavi-yāśaḥ-prārthī. kaviṇām yāśah kāvyā-nirmāṇena jātām ita-prārthanā-śīlaḥ} \)  seeking the fame of poets: the fame of poets, produced by the making of poetry—characterized by the seeking of it.

Kum. V. 6.3  \( \text{smaraṃ sāstivān smara-sāsanaḥ} \)  who has chastised Smara—\( \text{the Smara-chastiser} \)

Kum. V. 1.19  \( \text{pakṣāṃs chinnavān iti pakṣa-cchit} \)  he has clipped the wings, thus \( \text{wing-clipper} \)

Ragh.M. 5.69  \( \text{sarasi jātah sarasi-jāḥ kamalah} \)  born in the water—water-born lotus

Ragh.M. 1.31  \( \text{magadha-vāṃśe jātā magadha-vāṃśa-jā} \)  born in the Magadha dynasty—Magadha-dynasty-born

Ragh.M. 1.85  \( \text{ṭīrthabhīṣekena jātām ṭīrthabhīṣaka-jām} \)  produced by bathing in the sacred ford—sacred-ford-bathing-produced

1.32.5 Other conditions of meaning

As with uncompounded \( krt \) formations, the most common condition of meaning applied to \( krt \) formations in \( upapada \) compounds is that of \( tācchālīya, \) "having that as one's characteristic or habitual action" (Section 1.31). However, if the compounds ending in \( -śīla \) that are used to gloss uncompounded \( krt \) formations are to used in glossing \( upapada \) compounds then one must include the \( upapada \) as the first member of the compound gloss, or, if the \( upapada \) has been exhibited separately in order to make a remark, one must either include the \( upapada \) in the compound gloss or use \( tait- \) as a substitute for it there:

Ragh.M. 1.23  \( \text{pāra-drāvanaḥ pāram antaṃ drṣṭavātaḥ} \)  limit-seers

The past passive participle may appear instead, when the verb is passive or has a "past passive participle" with active meaning. As in other \( upapada \) compounds, in the analysis of compounds involving intransitive \( krt \) formations the \( upapada \) may appear in some case other than the accusative.

Ragh.M. 1.3  \( \text{kavi-yāśaḥ-prārthī. kaviṇām yāśah kāvyā-nirmāṇena jātām ita-prārthanā-śīlaḥ} \)  seeking the fame of poets: the fame of poems, produced by the making of poetry—characterized by the seeking of it.

More commonly, such \( upapada \) compounds are analyzed by using the infinitive of the verb in question, with the \( upapada \) as a separate object in the accusative, followed by \( śīlaṃ asya, \) "whose nature it is to ... ," and \( iti. \)
Chapter 6. Primary Nominal Derivation

Section 6.34 Irregular forms (nipātana)

Most participles are simply glossed with participles of the same form from a root of equivalent meaning.

Ragh.M. 12.74  saṃsati bruvānā indicating telling
Ragh.M. 11.10  uhayamāna iva vāhanena praṃyamāna iva as if being carried along as if being transported by a vehicle

The same procedure is followed in general for a past passive participle, but other synonyms of different form are chosen if the participle is used with active meaning, with present meaning, or in the sense of the verbal action itself (bhāve).

Ragh.M. 3.5  ādṛta ādṛtavāṇ with respect having felt respect
Ragh.M. 12.75  lajjita lajjitavāt embarrassed with embarrassment
Kum.M. 4.17  upagūḍhāṇi upānāṇi embraces embracings

Gerundives are analyzed with several formulas designed to bring out the specific meaning of the participle in the context, most often by using other gerundives together with infinitive forms, but sometimes with compounds beginning with verbal nouns.

Ragh.M. 1.71  asahyā sodhyām asahyā unbearable unable to be borne
Ragh.M. 1.86  yāpyātum yogyam yājyam worthy of sponsoring a sacrifice—fit for sacrificing
Ragh.M. 4.6  stutyaṁ stotrārham praiseworthy deserving praise
Ragh.M. 1.3  upahāsyatām upahāsa-viṣayatām being laughable being an object of laughter

1.33 Verbal participles

The category of kṛt formations includes verbal participles, which are treated in several ways by commentators.

Kāśi. 3.2.83  darśaniyam āmāṇām manyate ... darśaniyam āmāṇi he considers himself good-looking ... (thus) considering himself good-looking

Ragh.M. 4.4  dvirada iva ... gacchatātī dvirada-gāmī he walks like an elephant, thus walking like an elephant

Other conditions of meaning are analyzed with formulas dependent upon the specification of meaning provided in the rules of Pāṇini. For example, the suffix -in that is prescribed with the condition tācchitvye for compounds such as svamitvāsvānukārīn in the example given above (by Pā. 3.2.78) is prescribed in the sense of the agent with the condition kārthya upamāṇe, “when (the upapāda) is (another) agent serving as a standard of comparison” for some other compounds (by Pā. 3.2.79). Such compounds will be glossed by exhibiting the upapāda in the nominative case, followed by iva and the standard formula for the analysis of a kārtarā kṛt formation (Section 1.29.1):

Ragh. M 4.4  dvirada iva ... gacchatātī dvirada-gāmī he walks like an elephant, thus walking like an elephant

By a subsequent rule (Pā. 3.2.83), the same suffix can be added to the root man, “to consider,” in the sense of the agent when accompanied by an upapāda, with the condition of meaning āmāmāṇe (considering oneself to be so). Accordingly, the formula of analysis for such compounds adds the object āmāṇām:

Kāśi. 3.2.83  darśaniyam āmāṇām manyate ... darśaniyam āmāṇi he considers himself good-looking ... (thus.) considering himself good-looking

1.34 Irregular forms (nipātana)

Formations that diverge from the general rules of the class to which they belong, either in their meaning or in their form, are often singled out by the grammarians for an explicit individual specification of the formation.
as irregular (*nipātana*). Such words are said to be *nipātita*, “set down.” Commentators frequently mention the rules specifying these forms, and explain them either with simple synonyms or with a formula of analysis based on the meaning of the form rather than on the general formula for the class to which the form belongs. The following are examples of irregular gerundives:

Kum.V. 3.18  *bhavya eva bhavitāva. ... bhavya-śabdah kartari nipātitaḥ. is surely to be will certainly be. ... The word *bhavya* is set down as an irregular form (by *Pāṇini* 3.4.68) in the sense of the agent (rather than in the sense of the object, as one would expect).

Ragh.M. 11.8  *bhinnati kālam iti bhidyāḥ. “bhidyāddyau nade” (Pāṇini 3.1.115) iti kyab-antau nipātitaau. It bursts its bank, thus a rushing river. By *Pāṇini* 3.1.115 (the words *bhidyā* and *uddya*) are set down as irregular gerundive forms (with active meaning, rather than passive meaning as one would expect).

Kum.M. 3.57  *an-avadyam a-garhyan. “avadya-pamyān” iti nipātah. uncensurable not deserving of censure. By *Pāṇini* 3.1.101 (the word *avadya*) is set down as an irregular form (in the meaning “censurable,” although the regular form in other senses of the word is *anudya*).

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### Chapter 7

#### Secondary Nominal Derivation

##### 1.35 Introduction

The formations called *taddhita* or *taddhitānta* (“ending in *taddhita* suffixes,” Pā. 4.1.76–5.4.160; “secondary derivatives,” Whitney 1202–1245) are the nominal stems derived through the addition of suffixes to other nominal stems. In general terms the category of *taddhita* suffixes includes all suffixes added directly to nominal stems with the exception of the suffixes used to form denominative verbs (Section 1.26), the *śṛṇ* suffixes (which convert nominal stems to the feminine gender) and the *suṇ* suffixes (the inflectional endings of nouns).

Most of the formulas used to analyze *taddhita* formations are taken directly from *Pāṇini*’s specifications of the meanings for each suffix. In *Pāṇini*’s rules the nominal stem to which a suffix may be added is generally represented by the pronoun *tāt* or an equivalent, and the analysis of any particular formation simply substitutes the noun that serves as the base in that formation for the form of *tāt* prescribed by *Pāṇini*. To take as an example the meaning that has given the *taddhita* class of suffixes its name, Pā. 5.1.5 states “*tasmiḥ hitam*, “good for that, beneficial to that,” and any formation derived by the addition of a suffix added to a base to produce a word with this meaning can be analyzed by exhibiting the base in the dative case, followed by the word “*hitā*”:

*Kāśikā* 5.1.5  *vatsabhya hito (go-dhuk) vatsīyāḥ beneficial to calves—(a dairyman) good to calves*
Kāśīka 5.1.10 sarvasmai hitam sārvam beneficial to all—good for all

Formulas of this type may be called dependent formulas of analysis (Section 1.36). Other formulas that follow the specifications of Pāṇini in precisely the same way are those in which the base to which the suffix is added is exhibited in the genitive case (Section 1.37), in the nominative case (Section 1.38), or as the first member of a nominal compound (Section 1.39). Important subdivisions of taddhita suffixes are the possessive suffixes (matvarthiya, Section 1.40), the suffixes that have the force of particular case endings (vibhaktisamjñaka, Section 1.41), and the suffixes that produce formations referring to the same object as the base to which the suffix is added (svārthika, Section 1.42).

As in other categories of grammatical complexes (cf. Sections 1.20, 1.34), some particular taddhita formations are individually specified by Pāṇini as exceptional forms (nipāta), rather than being derived through more general rules. Such specification is called nipātana by the commentators, and the words so specified are said to be nipātita. Typically they involve either unusual forms or, more often, very specific meanings, that could not be known from the general rules for the suffixes with which they are formed. For example, the word varṇa, although made by adding the possessive suffix -in (called inl by Pāṇini) to the noun varna, has the very specific meaning of a member of the first varna or social class, i.e., a brahmacārin or student. This meaning is specified in Pā. 5.2.134, “After varna in the sense of a brahmacārin,” in the section of his rules dealing with this suffix.


Amara says “varṇins are brahmacārins.” The suffix inl by (Pā. 5.2.134) “After varṇa in the sense of a brahmacārin.”

1.36 Dependent formulas of analysis

In these the suffix is treated as though it were the second member of a dependent tatpurusa compound. Thus in the analysis the word to which the suffix is added is placed in whatever case is required by its relation to the word expressing the meaning of the suffix:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Formula</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kulālena kṛtam—kauḷālakam</td>
<td>“made by a potter”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dadnā sanśkrīt—dādhikam</td>
<td>“prepared with yogurt”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nāvā tāryam—nāvyam</td>
<td>“crossable by boat”</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(instrumental)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Formula</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ātmane hitam—ātmanīnāḥ</td>
<td>“good for oneself”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gave hitam—gavyam</td>
<td>“good for a cow”</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(dative)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Formula</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nyāyād anapetam—nyāyam</td>
<td>“not deviating from the law”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>manor jātāḥ—manuyāḥ</td>
<td>“born from Manu, human”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>viduṣoḥ īṣan-nyāyam—vibdvalpah</td>
<td>“slightly less than learned, i.e., fairly learned”</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(ABLATIVE)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Formula</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ṣīṣor bhaṭavaḥ—ṣaṭṭavam</td>
<td>“the state of a child, childhood”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>prītor bhaṭavaḥ—pāṛthavam</td>
<td>“the state of being wide, wideness”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kāṣṭhasya vikāraḥ—kāṣṭhamayaṃ</td>
<td>modification of wood, wooden</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gavāṃ samāhah—gortī</td>
<td>collection of cows, herd of cattle”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>māruḥ bhrātā—māturaḥ</td>
<td>“mother’s brother, maternal uncle”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rājītāṃ yogayāṃ—rājanyakam</td>
<td>“appropriate for kings”</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(note the use of ayam in the following genitive examples:)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Formula</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>devasayāṃ—daivaḥ</td>
<td>“this is a god’s, belonging to a god”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>janasyāṃ—janakīyaḥ</td>
<td>“this is the people’s, belonging to the people”</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Chapter 7. Secondary Nominal Derivation

1.36. Dependent formulas of analysis

1.36.1 Accusative

When the word to which the suffix is added is displayed in the accusative case in the analysis, the formula used is like that employed in analyzing *upapada* compounds (Sections 1.32, 1.59):

- vyākaraṇam adhitā iti *vaiyākaraṇah* “he studies grammar, thus grammarian”
- dharmaṇa caratiti *dhārmikah* “he practises righteousness, thus righteous”

And this formula may be used with the first element in other cases as well:

- udāpena taratity *audupikah* “he crosses by boat, thus boatman”

Examples from the commentaries:

Kum.M. 3.64  *patantena tulyam patantigavat* sālabhavat . . . “tena tulyam kriyā cet vatiḥ” iti vati-pratyayāḥ. equivalent to a moth moth-like like a moth . . . The suffix *vati* by (Paṇini 5.1.115) “There is (the suffix) *vati* in the meaning of ‘like this,’ if an action is referred to.”

Ragh.M. 4.31 *nāyā naubhis tāryā *nādiḥ* navigable crosable by boats rivers

1.36.2 Instrumental

Where the other oblique cases are involved, the formulas are akin to those used in analyzing case *tatpurusāsas*.

Kum.M. 3.64  *patantena tulyam patantigavat* sālabhavat . . . “tena tulyam kriyā cet vatiḥ” iti vati-pratyayāḥ. equivalent to a moth moth-like like a moth . . . The suffix *vati* by (Paṇini 5.1.115) “There is (the suffix) *vati* in the meaning of ‘like this,’ if an action is referred to.”

Ragh.M. 4.31 *nāyā naubhis tāryā *nādiḥ* navigable crosable by boats rivers

1.36.3 Dative

Kri.M. 13.69  *āmane hitam ātmanīnam*. “ātma-visvā-jana-bhogottarapadāt khaḥ.” beneficial to oneself good for oneself. By (Pā. 5.1.9) “(The suffix) kha (i.e., -īna) after *ātma, viśva, jana,* and a word ending in *bhoga.*”

Śīṣu.M. 1.41  *viśvaṃ sajanāna hitam viśva jānīnām*. “ātma-visvā-jana-bhogottarapadāt khaḥ.” beneficial for all people good for all people. By (Pā. 5.1.9) “(The suffix) kha (i.e., -īna) after *ātma, viśva, jana,* and a word ending in *bhoga.*”

Śīṣu.M. 14.4  *he sārva sarvahitvāt sāryā* tatasambodhane. “sarva-purāṇbhāgyān na-dhanāv.” O (you who are) good for all good-for-all because of being beneficial for all; (the vocative) in addressing that. (The suffix is by Pā. 5.1.10) “After *sārva* and *purāṇa* there are (the suffixes) *Na* and *dhaN* (i.e., -a and -eya, respectively).”

1.36.4 Ablative

Kum.M. 1.26  *abhijanāt āgatena abhijanena* come from a good family of good family

Kum.V. 5.29 [M 30]  *brahmaṇa āgatam brahmanayam, tena [brahmanayena] vedothena tejasā* coming from *brahma brahmanic,* with that *brahmanic*—arising from the Vedas—splendor
Perhaps the most common locative formula of analysis is *tatra bhavam*, "occurring in that, pertaining to that."

Another common locative formula is *tatra sādhuḥ*, "good in that, good at that."

When the relevant rule of Pāṇini specifies any special condition of meaning (called an *upādhi*), the commentator will include that specification in analyzing the formation. Here, for example, are two refinements on the *tatra bhavam* formula:

When the relevant rule of Pāṇini specifies any special condition of meaning (called an *upādhi*), the commentator will include that specification in analyzing the formation. Here, for example, are two refinements on the *tatra bhavam* formula:

1. **Dependent formulas of analysis**

   *prāśādaṇāḥ* *prāśāṇa-kałe bhavam. tat-kālācitam ity arthaḥ. "kālāḥ thālī" iti thālī-pratyañyataḥ. pertaining to starting a journey occurring on the occasion of starting a journey; i.e., appropriate for that occasion. The suffix *thālī* (i.e., -ika, by Pā. 4.3.11) "(The suffix) thālī after (a word referring to) an occasion."

   *śaranghai* *āranyaka aranya bhavāḥ māṇuyā muni-pramukhāḥ. "āranyaka māṇuyā" iti vṛt-pratyañyataḥ. wilderness people humans occurring in the wilderness, such as sages. The suffix *vṛt* (i.e., -aka) by Pā. 4.2.129) "After aranya when referring to humans."

   Another common locative formula is *tatra sādhuḥ*, "good in that, good at that."

   *sābhāyaṁ sādhuḥ sabhāyāḥ. "sābhāyaḥ yaḥ" iti ya-pratyañyataḥ. Good at court courteous. The suffix *-ya* by (Pā. 4.4.105) "(The suffix) -ya after sabhā."
1.37 Genitive formulas of analysis

The single largest topic in the section on taddhita suffixes in Pāṇini is that of patronymics and related formations referring to descent. These are analyzed with a formula placing the base in the genitive case: tasyāpatyam, “offspring of his” (Section 1.37.1). Genitive formulas are also used in analyzing derivatives with abstract meaning (Section 1.37.2), and formations with many other meanings as well (Section 1.37.3), as well as formations expressing a general connection (Section 1.37.4).

1.37.1 tasyāpatyam

Ragh. M. 1.1 parvatasyāpatyam pārvaṭī. “tasyāpatyam” ity an, “tid-dhān-an-” ity-adina ṅp. offspring of the mountain (parvata)

Pārvaṭī. (The suffix) aN (i.e., -a) by (Pā. 4.1.92) “Offspring of that”;(the feminine suffix) NiP (i.e., -i) by (Pā. 4.1.15).

Ragh. M. 3.5 magadhasya rājīṇī 'patyam strī māgadhi. “dvaṁ-magadha-kaliṅga-sūramasad an” ity an-pratyayaḥ. Female offspring of the king Magadha Māgadhi. The suffix aN (i.e., -a) by (Pā. 4.1.170) “(The suffix) aN after names of two syllables and after Magadha, Kaliṅga, and Sūramasa."

Ragh. M. 4.87 rājīṇī 'patyāni rājanyāḥ kṣatriyāḥ tāṁ rājānyān “rāja-svaśārād yat” ity apatyaṛthe yat-pratyayaḥ. Offspring of a king—royal men, kṣatriyas—them royal men. The suffix yaT (i.e., -ya) in the meaning of offspring by (Pā. 4.1.137) “(The suffix) yaT after rājan and śvāra.”

1.37.2 tasya bhāvaḥ

Ragh. M. 1.8 śīrṣ bhāvaḥ śāśavam bālyam. “prānabhṛjjāti-vyovacanōdgrāṁdibhyo ‘i” ity an-pratyayaḥ. The state of an infant: infancy. The suffix aN (i.e., -a) by (Pā. 5.1.129) “(The suffix) aN after names of animal species, words for stages of life, and udgār, etc.”

Ragh. M. 1.8 yūno bhāvo yauvanam tāryumān, yuvādīvād an-pratyayaḥ. tasmin vayasi [yauvanē]. The state of a young man—youth, adolescence. The suffix aN (i.e., -a) because of belonging to the yuvādī group (mentioned in Pā. 5.1.130). In that stage of life in youth.

Kum. V. 1.4 dhātavo 'tra sindūrådayo raktaḥ, te vidyante yasya sa dhātumāṇ; tad-bhāvo dhātumattā, tāṁ [dhātumattāṁ]. Minerals here are red ones such as red lead. That which has them is mineral-rich. The state of being that is mineral-richness. That mineral-richness.

Kum. M. 2.11 prākāmyaḥ bhāvaḥ prākāmyaḥ yathā-kāmatvam. The condition of being willful willfulness, doing as one wishes.
1.37.3 Others

Similar genitive formulas are used with many other specific meanings. For example:

activity (tasya karma):

Kum.M. 2.35  stenasya bhāvah karma vā steyam cauryam. "stenā ya na\-lopa\-ca iti yat-prayatyaḥ na-lopa\-ca." The condition or activity of a thief, stealing. By (Pa. 5.1.125) "After stena there is (the suffix) ya? (i.e., -ya) and the dropping of na."

Kum.V. 4.9  kitavasya karma ka\-itavam  The activity of a deceiver deception.

Ragh.M. 4.1  rājyaṁ rājñāḥ karma prājā-paripēdānātmakam. purohitādīdīvād yak.  rule the activity of a ruler, consisting of protecting his subjects. The activity of a ruler, consisting of protecting his subjects. (The suffix) yaK (i.e., -ya) because of belonging to the purohitādī group (mentioned in Pa. 5.1.128).

modification, product (tasya vikāraḥ):

Ragh.M. 2.29  dhātot gairikasya vikāro dhātumayā tasyāṁ [dhātumayāṁ] adityakāyāṁ ārdhva-bhānau  a modification of a mineral, of red chalk—made of mineral, on it on the highland the upland made of mineral.

Ragh.M. 5.2  hiranyasya vikāraḥ hiraṁmayam. dāndināyana-"ity-ādīnā rīpātāḥ  A modification of gold made of gold. An exceptional form (see Sections 1.20, 1.35), by (Pa. 6.4.174) “dāndināyana….”

ruler (tasya rājā, etc.):

Ragh.M. 4.40  kālingaḥ kālingānām rājā.  "dvayaṁ-magadha-kālinga-"ity-ādīnā an-pratyayah. The Kālinga king of the Kālingas. The suffix aN (i.e., -o) by (Pa. 4.1.170) “The suffix aN after names of two syllables and after Magadha, Kālinga, and Sūrāmasa.”

Ragh.M. 2.20  pārthivena prthivyā īśvaraṇa. "tasyāṁvāraḥ" ity aN-pratvayaḥ.  By the ruler by the lord of the earth. The suffix aN by (Pa. 5.1.42) “Lord of that.”

1.38 Nominative formulas of analysis

In these the base to which the suffix is added appears in the nominative case together with a further specification of meaning drawn from Pāṇini’s rules, and the object referred to by the resulting formation is indicated by a pronoun in the genitive case. The genitive pronoun may be either a form of idam or a relative pronoun picked up by some form of tat. These formulas are thus akin to those used in analyzing bhavārthi compounds.

collection (tasya samāhaḥ):

Kum.V. 7.57  mālānāṁ samāho mālayam. “pāśāṁbhīyo yaḥ” ity anena yaḥ. A collection of garlands garland wreath. The suffix -ya by (Pa. 4.2.49) “ya after pāśa, etc. (in the sense of a collection of that).”

1.37.4 General connection

In analyzing formations expressing general connection, the base is displayed in the genitive case and a form of the pronoun idam is added: tasyēdam, “this belongs to it, this is connected with it.”

Ragh.M. 5.75  gāngāyā idam gāngam  this is of the Ganges Gangetic

Kum.M. 1.41  tasyā idam tādiyau bāhū  These two are hers her two arms

Kum.M. 2.1  svayam-bhuvo brahmaṇa idam svāyambhuvaṁ  This belongs to the Self-born—Brahmā of the Self-born

Kum.V. 2.1  svayam-bhūr brahmaṇā tasyēdam svāyambhuvaṁ  The Self-born is Brahmā; this is his of the Self-born

Occasionally the pronoun idam is omitted and a form of the word sam-\bandhīn, “connected to,” is used instead.

Ragh.M. 4.35  vataṣṭaṁ vetaṣṭaṁ sambandhīṁ vṛttim. praṇātim ity arthāḥ. The behavior associated with a reed of a reed; i.e., bending.

Ragh.M. 1.13  kṣātraḥ kṣattra-sambandhī  warriorly connected with a warrior
Chapter 7. Secondary Nominal Derivation

1.40 Possessive suffixes (matvarthīya)

Formations made with possessive suffixes are glossed with asya vidyate or asyāsī ("of him there is, he has"), placed after the word to which the suffix is added, and followed by iti:

- danḍo 'syāśātita danḍikā 
  "he has a staff, thus staff-bearer"
- dhanam asyāsītī dhanī 
  "he has wealth, thus wealthy"
- gāvo 'syā santītī gomān 
  "he has cows, thus cow-having"

The last word could also be analyzed gāvo 'smīn santītī gomān, "there are cows in it, thus cow-having"

Similar formulas are used in conjunction with the addition of a word in the analysis to bring out the full meaning of certain other suffixes:

- ghṛtāṃ pracuram asmin iti ghṛtamayām 
  "ghee is abundant in it, thus made (mostly) of ghee"
- jānu pramānāṃ asyēti jānu-dagdham 
  "the knee is its extent, thus knee-deep"
Chapter 7. Secondary Nominal Derivation

1.41 Vibhaktisanjñaka suffixes

These are indeclinable suffixes having the meaning of a particular case ending. Most common are -tas, with ablative meaning, and -tra, with locative meaning. They are glossed by replacing them with the appropriate case ending.

Kum. M. 1.55 sparśavān sukha-sparsā, mrdvīr ity arthaḥ. praśamasyayām matup. having (a good) feel having a pleasant feel; i.e., soft. (The possessive suffix) matUP expressing praise.

Kum. M. 1.44 dhātavaḥ sindāra-gairikādaya 'syā santīti dhātumān. nīvya-yoge matup. tasya bhāvo dhātumātā. tām [dhāatumātā]. It has minerals—red lead, red chalk, etc.—thus mineral-rich. (The possessive suffix) matUP expressing constant connection. The condition of being that, mineral-richness. It mineral-richness.

Kum. M. 1.27 putrās ca duhitaraś ca putrāḥ. “bhrātr-putrāv svas-duhitrībhyaṁ” ity ekaśeṣaḥ. te ‘syā santīti putravān. bhūmārtho matup. tasya putravatā ’pi bahu-aparyasāpyītī arthaḥ. Sons and daughters—children. An ekaśeṣa formation (see Chapter 9) by (Pā. 1.2.68) “(When) bhrātr and putrā (come together) with svas and duhitr (respectively, the first alone is retained).” He has them, thus having children. (The possessive suffix) matUP expressing the sense of abundance, of him although having children, i.e., although having many offspring.

vīṇā-vadanaṁ śīlpaṁ asyēti vāṁśikaḥ “his art is vīṇā-playing, thus vīṇā-player”

Less commonly, any of these possessive formulas of analysis can be replaced with formulas using relative pronouns, as in the analysis of bahu-vr̥hi compounds (Sections 1.64-1.68); e.g., ghṛtam pracurān yasmin sa ghṛtamayā, “that is ghṛtamaya in which ghee is abundant.”

1.40.1 Straightforward possession

Kum. V. 3.69 balaṁ vidyate yatra tad bhavat. vaśo 'syāśti vaśi śāntaḥ. That in which strength is found is strong. He who has control is self-controlled peaceful.

Kum. V. 5.10 praṇayāḥ pritrī vidyate yasyāsau praṇayī That which has love—affection—is a lover

Ragh. M. 1.53 ahu-gandha yeṣām astiṣy ahu-gandhināḥ of which there is the aroma of offerings, thus having the aroma of offerings

Kum. M. 3.65 tapo 'syāśti tapasvi. “as-māyā-madhā-srajo vinīḥ” iti viṇi-pratayaḥ. tasmin tapasvina. He has asceticism, thus an ascetic.

The suffix viṇ by (Pā. 5.2.121) “(The suffix) viṇ after words ending in as and after ma, medhā, and sraj.”

Ragh. M. 5.52 vācō 'syā santīti vāgmī vakāḥ. “vacō gminīḥ” iti gmini-pratayaḥ. He has speeches, thus eloquent a speaker. The suffix gmini by (Pā. 5.2.124) “(The suffix) gmini after vac.”

1.40.2 Additions of meaning

Ragh. M. 1.91 putrīnāṁ sat-putravaḥ. praśamsayāṁ ini-pratayaḥ. having sons having good sons. The suffix ini expressing praise.
Chapter 7. Secondary Nominal Derivation

1.42 Svārthika suffixes

These suffixes are added to a base “in the sense of its own meaning,” i.e., to produce a formation meaning the same thing as the base to which the suffix is added. Often these suffixes result in no change in meaning at all (Section 1.42.1), but more broadly the category also includes those suffixes that impart a some connotation, resulting in diminutives (Section 1.42.2) or related formations (Section 1.42.3) such as pejoratives and honorifics. Also included here are the suffixes allowing nouns to be used in conjunction with verbs in the senses of becoming that or making something that (Section 1.42.4), the samasānte suffixes (Section 1.42.5), which are added to end of nominal compounds without changing the meaning of those compounds.

1.42.1 With no addition of meaning

In glossing these forms a commentator will simply use the base word followed by eva to emphasize that the word formed with the suffix means just the same thing as the base to which the suffix was added.

\[\text{Kum. V 6.43 tama tmisram} \quad \text{darkness} \quad \text{darkness}\]

\[\text{Kum. V 2.44 samprat eva smpratam, prajādāivad an. \quad \text{Now now.}\]

(The suffix aN because of belonging to the prajādā group (mentioned in Pa. 5.4.38).

\[\text{Kum. V 2.33 [yāvan-māreṇa] yat parimāṇam asya yāvān. tataḥ svārthe mātrāc. \quad \text{[By just which much.]} \]

It has which as its extent—which much. After that there is (the suffix) mātraC in the sense of the base itself.

1.42.2 Diminutives

\[\text{Kum. V 5.14 alpā hrasvā vā vrksa-vṛṣakāh} \quad \text{meager or short trees saplings} \]

\[\text{Ragh.M. 1.51 vṛṣakāh hrasva-vṛṣa... “hravārthe ka-pratyayaḥ. saplings short trees...

The suffix -ka in a diminutive sense.}\]

1.42.3 Other additions of meaning

\[\text{Kum.V 3.52 aṭṭayena bahu bhāṣyatiham. \quad \text{exceedingly much mostly.}}\]

\[\text{Ragh.M. 1.12 aṭṭayena suddhīmān suddhimattaraḥ, “dvivacana-vibhājyopāt ity-ādīna taraP-pratyayaḥ. \quad \text{exceedingly pure}}\]

\[\text{pure. The suffix taraP by (Pa. 5.3.57)} \quad \text{“(The suffixes taraP and yasUN in the sense of exceeding) when speaking of two things,” etc.}\]

\[\text{Kum.V 4.35 soma iva somyah. “sākhādibhyo yat.” \quad \text{Like the moon gentle. By (Pa. 5.3.103)} \quad \text{“(yaT after sākhā, etc. (in the sense of ‘like’).”}}\]

\[\text{Ragh.M. 5.36 tṣad-asamāptam kumāram kumārakaItam skanda-sadṛśām. “tṣad-asamāptau” ity-ādīna kalpaP-pratyayaḥ. \quad \text{A}}\]

\[\text{slightly incomplete Kumāra virtually a Kumāra. The suffix kalpaP by (Pa. 5.3.67) \quad “In the sense of slightly incomplete ...”}}\]

1.42.4 cvi, etc

Cvi is the Pāṇinian name for a particular suffix that converts nouns into items functioning as verbal prefixes before the verbs bhā and kr in the meanings of “becoming that, not having been it before” (abhita-tadbhāye, Pa. 5.4.50) and “making something that.” Several other taddhita suffixes are used in much the same way.

\[\text{Kum.V 4.13 akathā kathā kṛtaṁ kathiItam. cviḥ. “asya eva” itiItam. Not (having been) a story, make (into) a story reduced to story. (The suffix) cviḥ. There is r- (in place of the final -a before this Cvi, which is then dropped) by (Pa. 7.4.32) \quad “(There is r in place of -a or -ō when Cvi follows.”}\]

\[\text{Kum.M. 4.13 kathi-kṛtam akathā kathā sampadyāmanāṁ kṛtaṁ śabda-mātrāvāśiṣṭam. \quad \text{reduced to story made to become a story, not having been a story—remaining in report alone.}}\]

\[\text{Ragh.M. 1.30 aparikhiḥ parikhiḥ sampadyāmaṇāḥ kṛtaḥ parihi-kiśāḥ \quad “abhita-tadbhāve cviḥ \quad made to become moats, not having been moats made moats ... “(The suffix) Cvi in the sense of becoming something, not having been it before.}\]
1.42.5 Samāsānta suffixes

These suffixes are added at the end of a compound, without affecting the meaning of the compound. The most commonly mentioned is -ka at the end of a bahuvrhi (see Section 2.15), but there are others, including -a at the end of certain tatpurusas in which the final member is a stem ending in a consonant.

Ragh.M. 1.13  vyūḍhaṇ viḍulam uro yasya sa vyūḍhōrasakaḥ.
"uraḥ-prabhrtibhyāḥ kap.” He who has a broad—wide—shoulder is broad-shouldered. (By Pā. 5.4.151) “(The suffix) kaP after (a bahuvrhi) ending in uras, etc.”

Ragh.M. 1.81  saha patnyā vartata iti sa-patnīkāḥ san. “nady ṛtaś ca” iti kap-pratyayah He is together with his wife, thus being with his wife.
The suffix kaP by (Pā. 5.4.153) “And (there is kaP after a bahuvrhi) that has the feminine ending -r or -a or that ends in r.”

Ragh.M. 1.63  puruṣasyāh puroṣaṇusam. varṣa-śatam ity arthah.
“śatāyur vai puroṣaḥ” iti śrutēḥ. “acatura-”ity-ādi-sūtrēṇāc-pratayānōt nīpātāḥ . . . brahmaṇa varco brahma-varcasam. “brahma-hastibhyāṃ varcasāḥ” ity ac-pratyayah. The life span of a man a man's life span; i.e., a hundred years, because the Veda says, “A man has a lifetime of a hundred years.” An exceptional form [see Sections 1.20, 1.35] ending in the suffix aC, by (Pā. 5.4.77) “acatura-,” etc. The splendor of brahma the brahma-splendor. The suffix aC by (Pā. 5.4.78) “(The suffix aC) after varcas, when it follows brahma or hastin.”

Chapter 8

Nominal Compounds

A. General Principles

1.43 Introduction

Most Sanskrit compounds, no matter how many words they are composed of, can be analyzed in the first instance as compounds containing only two members (cf. Section 2.13). In the longer compounds, of course, either or both of these members may itself be a compound of any number of words; it is then analyzed in precisely the same way, beginning by breaking it down into two members. The only compounds that must be analyzed from the beginning as containing more than two members are certain dvandva and bahuvrhi compounds (Sections 1.62, 1.65.5), but for these the basic techniques of analysis are exactly the same as those used in analyzing two-member compounds of these types. It is therefore convenient to begin by describing the standard formulas used to analyze two-member compounds in each important variety of Sanskrit compound (Sections 1.44–1.68), before explaining how these same formulas are applied to the more complicated business of analyzing long compounds (Sections 1.69–1.72).

Which formula is used in analyzing a given compound depends upon several factors—which of the four basic categories the compound belongs to (Section 1.44), whether the compound form conveys additional elements of meaning beyond those included in the general rules for each category (Section 1.45), and whether the compound is an optional one or an oblig-
1.44 Basic categories of compounds

In what follows we assume that you are familiar with the basic differences separating the four major categories of Sanskrit compounds:

1. *avyayībhāva* compounds (Section 1.44.1; treated in detail in Sections 1.48–1.51),

2. *tatpuruṣa* compounds (1.44.2; details in Sections 1.52–1.60), including the important subclass of *karmadhārāya* compounds (1.44.3; Sections 1.54–1.55),

3. *dvandva* compounds (1.44.4; Sections 1.61–1.63), and

4. *bahuvṛti* compounds (1.44.5; Sections 1.64–1.68).

Only occasionally is a compound analyzed as falling outside these groups (Section 1.44.6). The English names given to these categories in Whitney’s grammar are noted at the beginning of the sections listed after each category.

For each of these basic categories there is a standard formula of analysis that can be used to produce a *vigraha* for most of the regular compounds within that category. The formulas differ from each other to reflect the differences in the location of the syntactical predominance (*prādhānya*) in compounds of different categories.

1.44.1 *Avyayībhāva*

The most straightforward formulas are those that apply to compounds in which one member adds some specification to the other simply by standing in some oblique (i.e., other than nominative) case relationship to it; in analyzing such compounds all that is necessary is to separate the two words and give them their proper case-endings.

In *avyayībhāva* compounds it is the first member that is syntactically predominant and the second member that simply adds some specification to the notion expressed by the first member; in the analysis it is therefore the second member that is exhibited in some oblique case (namely, the case governed by the first member): e.g., *bahir-grāmam*, “outside the village,” is analyzed *bahir grāmāt*.

1.44.2 *Tatpuruṣa*

In simple *vibhakti-tatpuruṣa* compounds (“case-tatpuruṣa,” “dependent determinative compound”) it is the second member that adds the specification; in the analysis the first member is therefore placed in some oblique case: e.g., *svarga-patītaḥ*, “fallen from heaven,” is analyzed *svargat patītah*.

1.44.3 *Karmadhārāya*

For *karmadhārāya* compounds, the variety of *tatpuruṣa* in which the first member adds specification to the second member by standing in apposition to it (“descriptive compounds”), it is often possible to proceed just as straightforwardly, by simply exhibiting the first member in the nominative case; e.g., *rākta-lātā*, “red vine,” may be analyzed *rākta lātā*.

But for some *karmadhārāya* compounds—particularly those composed of two substantives, such as *rājarṣi*, “king sage”—such an analysis may leave the connection between the two members vague. To make it clear that both members refer to one and the same thing, such a compound is analyzed *rāja ca sa rṣī ca*, “he is both a king and a sage,” and for the sake of consistency this fuller formula is usually extended to apply to all *karmadhārāyas* of simple apposition. Thus even *rākta-lātā* will generally be analyzed *rākta ca sā lātā ca*, “it is both red and a vine.”

1.44.4 *Dvandva*

For the other two categories of compounds—*dvandvas* and *bahuvṛtis*—the situation is more complicated than the furnishing of some specification to the predominant member by the other member: in both categories some
additional element of meaning is involved in the compound and must be reflected in the analysis by the addition of an extra word.

In *dvandva* compounds this additional element of meaning is the notion of conjunction. Syntactical predominance belongs to both members equally, and both are therefore displayed in the nominative case, but to express the idea of conjunction the word *ca* must be added in the analysis; e.g., *rāma-kṛṣṇa*, “Rāma and Kṛṣṇa,” is analyzed *rāma ca kṛṣṇa ca*, “(both) Rāma and Kṛṣṇa.” Note carefully the difference between this formula and the fuller form of the analysis sometimes used for *karmadhāraya* compounds: the pronoun that always appears in the formula for *karmadhāraya* in order to make it clear that both members refer to the same thing is missing in the formula for *dvandva*, in which the two members refer to two separate objects.

### 1.44.5 Bahuvṛtīhi

In *bahuvṛtīhi* compounds the additional element of meaning is the notion of some relationship—usually that of possession—through which the compound refers not to the object expressed by either member, but to some other object outside the compound. Thus neither member has syntactical predominance; the predominance belongs to the outside object, and that object must be reflected in the analysis of the compound by the addition of a relative pronoun, the case of which will convey the relationship through which the compound refers to the outside object: e.g., *dirgha-karṇaḥ*, “Long-ear,” is analyzed *dirghaḥ karṇaḥ yasya saḥ*, “of whom there are long ears, he,” “he who has long ears.”

### 1.44.6 Kevala-samāsa

A few compounds are not included by the grammarians under any of these four categories. Occasionally an author will produce an ad hoc compound that, while its meaning is perfectly clear, cannot conveniently be explained by any of Pāṇini’s particular rules for the formation of compounds in each of the four categories (e.g., *ājanma-śuddhaḥ*, “pure since birth,” *Rāgh. 1.5*), and occasionally words that could as well have been considered separate are viewed as a compound for technical reasons of grammar (e.g., *vāgarthāv-iva*, “like sound and sense,” *Rāgh. 1.1*). Such compounds are called *kevala-samāsas* (“simply compounds”) or *sup-sup-samāsas* (“noun-noun-compounds,” in reference to Pāṇini’s general rule for compounding, 2.1.4: “[sup] saha supāḥ,” “[An inflected noun] (may be compounded) with an inflected noun”). Commentators often content themselves with merely noting the fact of such a compound:

*Kum.M. 4.21* viṇā-κṛत. viyojītā satkṛty arthaḥ. sup-supēti samāsah. bereft i.e., being deprived of. (This is) a compound, by the *sup-supā* (rule).

Fortunately, when such compounds are analyzed, their analysis is usually trivial, since it consists simply of separating the two members of the compound—thus *ājanma-śuddhaḥ* is analyzed *ājanma śuddhaḥ*, and *vāgarthāv-iva* is analyzed *vāgarthāv iva*—so that they need not detain us further.

Most compounds, however, fall within the major groups, and more often than not the basic formulas of analysis are adequate. Yet for some types of compounds further formulas are necessary, either because the compound involves the addition of a further element of meaning (Section 1.45) or because one of the members of the compound is a word that cannot be used outside a compound (Section 1.46).

### 1.45 Additional elements of meaning

The conveying of special elements of meaning through composition, with the resulting necessity of adding words in the analysis to convey that meaning when the compound is dissolved, operates not only throughout the general categories of *dvandva* and *bahuvṛtīhi* compounds (as explained in the previous section), but also in particular types of compounds within the general categories. Each of these special types of compound has its own standard formula of analysis; the details are given in the lists of formulas below.

#### 1.45.1 Comparison

For example, certain kinds of *karmadhāraya* compounds involve the notion of comparison, so that the word *iva* (“like”) must be inserted in the analysis even though it does not appear in the compound (Section 1.55).
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1.45.2 Aggregation

Similarly, certain types of *dvandva* and *tatpuruṣa* compounds involve the notion of aggregation, so that the *samāhāra* (“aggregate”) is often employed in the analysis (Sections 1.56, 1.63).

1.45.3 Clarification of connection

In particular instances it is necessary to insert a word offering clarification of the precise connection between two members of a compound, without abandoning the basic formula of analysis (e.g., Sections 1.53.2, 1.54.4).

1.46 Optional and obligatory compounds

A further source of multiplication of formulas for the analysis of compounds is the fact that not all compounds can be analyzed using the same words that make up the compound. Traditionally, this problem is approached through the distinction between optional and obligatory compounds. In the examples of a simple *avyayāḥṭiva* and a simple *tatpuruṣa* given in Section 1.44, the words that serve as members of the compound are capable of being used as separate words in a phrase to express the same meaning that they express when in compound. In order to express that meaning the compounding of the words is therefore optional. In many compounds, however, the members of the compound cannot be used to express the same meaning in a phrase; such compounds are therefore called obligatory (*nitya-samāsa, “always a compound,” in the sense that the words must always be in compound if they are to express that particular meaning), and are described as *a-sva-pada-vigraha* (“having no analysis in their own words”). There are several general reasons why a compound might be obligatory:

1.46.1 Asvapadavigraha compounds

In practice the designation of *a-sva-pada-vigraha* is applied only to compounds of the types mentioned in the following subsections. Strictly speaking, however, the compounds that involve additional elements of meaning and thus require that other words be added to the members of the compound when an analysis is given (Section 1.45) are obligatory, in the sense that the members of the compounds are not capable in themselves of expressing the full meaning of the compound through their use in a phrase. By this interpretation, all *dvandvas*, *bahu vr̥iḥis*, *karmadhārayas* of comparison, and other such compounds are obligatory compounds. There is evidence that this was the view of Pāṇini himself, and that the later tradition misunderstood his treatment of optionality (Paul Kiparsky, *Pāṇini As a Variationist* [co-published by the Poona University Press and the M.L.T. Press, 1979], p. 43). In any case, the tradition does not regard such compounds as incapable of analysis in their own words; the standard formula of analysis for each of these types of compounds does use the words that make up the compound, even if it has to use something else in addition.

When a compound is considered a *nitya-samāsa* any rewording of it is technically not a true *vigraha* analysis but simply a description of the meaning of the compound. After offering such rewording a commentator may then point out that the compound is considered *nitya*:

Ragh.M. 1.18 *bhūtyā arthāya bhūty-artham vr̥ddhy-artham eva. “arthena saha nitya-samāsah sarva-līngadā ca vaktavyā.” only for prosperity’s sake for the sake of prosperity, for the sake of income. (By the Vārtika rule) “It should be stated that (in compound) with *arrha* there is a *nitya-samāsa* (and it may be used to modify words) in every gender.”

1.46.2 Conventional meanings

Some compounds have acquired by convention a meaning that is more specific than that expressed in a standard analysis. Just as the English compound “bluebird” refers not to any blue bird but only to certain species, so the Sanskrit compound *krṣṇa-sarpa* refers not to any black snake, but only to a particular kind of cobra. Thus an analysis such as *krṣṇa ca sa sarpa ca, “it is a snake and it is black,” while it may indicate the etymological formation of the compound, does not accurately restate the compound’s full meaning. Commentators frequently point out that such compounds are *nitya-samāsas*; strictly speaking their full meaning can never be reproduced in the form of a standard analysis, but can only be conveyed through a synonym or definition of the compound as a unit.
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1.46.3 Bound forms

In practical terms the most important reason for the obligatory status of a compound is that one of its members is an element that simply cannot stand as a separate word within a phrase, or at least cannot do so with the same meaning that it has within the compound. In such instances some substitute must be found for this element in the phrasal analysis, and these compounds can therefore not be analyzed using their own words. Several important groups of Sanskrit compounds are obligatory compounds in this sense: *avyayībhāvas* in which the first member is incapable of conveying the meaning in question as a separate preposition (Section 1.50), *tatpurasas* in which the first member is a prefix or preposition used adjectivally (Section 1.57), *tatpurasas* in which the final member is a verbal noun that can exist only at the end of a compound (Section 1.59), and a few others. For each of these groups the formulas of analysis that are required differ markedly from the standard formulas for the broad category within which the group falls; specific details are given under each section.

1.47 Irregularities

Irregularities in compounds usually involve oddities in the form of the compound rather than in the formulas required in analyzing them. They will be touched on in separate sections under each type of compound (e.g., Sections 1.51, 1.60, 1.68).

**B. Avyayībhāva Compounds**

1.48 Introduction

*Avyayībhāva* compounds (Pā. 2.1.5–2.1.20; “secondary adjective compounds used adverbially,” Whitney 1313) are indeclinable adverbial compounds with a preposition or other indeclinable as first member. For *avyayībhāva* compounds the distinction between optional (Section 1.49) and obligatory compounds (Section 1.50) is particularly noticeable: the two are analyzed in quite different ways.

1.49 Optional *avyayībhāvas*

For these compounds the analysis simply separates the two members and places the second member in the case that is governed by the first: *bahīr-grāmam, “outside the village,”* for example, is analyzed *bahīr grāmāt, “outside of the village.” But things are usually not this simple, because in order for the compound to be optional—and thus capable of being analyzed in its own words—the preposition or indeclinable that constitutes the first member of the compound must be able to stand as a separate word governing another word in a particular case—words that can do so are technically known as *karmapravacaniya*—and furthermore it must be capable of doing so with the same meaning that it has in the compound. Some prepositions that occur as the first member of *avyayībhāvas* are *karmapravacaniya* in some meanings but not in others; e.g., *anu-vanam (“near the forest”) and anu-gālam (“along the Ganges”) are optional compounds and may be analyzed *anu vanam and anu gālam,* but *anu-ratham (“behind the chariots”) and anu-jyeṣṭham (“in order of age”) are obligatory compounds that require special treatment. Similarly, for certain meanings there are some prepositions that are *karmapravacaniya* and others that are not: e.g., *anu-vanam (“near the forest”) is an optional compound, but upakumbham (“near the pot”) is obligatory.*

When the preposition beginning the compound is available as a separate preposition governing a particular case, the analysis is straightforward:

*Ragh.M. 1.5* [ā-janma] ā janmanah. janmārobhhyāty arthah. “ān maryāddābhvidhyoh” ity avyayībhavaḥ. [*From birth*] from birth, i.e., beginning with birth. This is an *avyayībhava* by (Pā. 2.1.13) “*ā* in the sense of limit or inclusion (may be compounded with a following noun).”

1.50 Obligatory *avyayībhāvas*

For each of these compounds in which the first member cannot stand outside the compound while expressing the same meaning, some other way to convey the meaning of that member must be found. The forms of analysis used for such compounds differ greatly depending upon the specific
Most of the common irregularities are in the construction of the compound itself rather than in the formula by which it is analyzed. There are, for example, avayābhāvas in which the order of the members is reversed, so that they end up with a governed prior member and thus appear to be tatpurusas; these are nevertheless analyzed like regular avayābhāvas: e.g., gangā-pāram, “across the Ganges,” is analyzed gangā-yāḥ pāram. Conversely, it should be noted that there are tatpurusas that have governed final members and thus appear to be avayābhāvas, either because the order of the members is irregularly reversed—e.g., bhūta-pūrvaḥ, “having occurred previously,” analyzed pūrvaḥ bhūtaḥ—or because it is logically more convenient to interpret them as having reversed members (Section 1.53.3), wishes not transgressing their desires . . . in accordance with the crime not going beyond the crime . . . in accordance with the time not going beyond the (proper) time.

Ragh.M. 1.44 padaṣya paścād anu-padaṃ. paścād-arthe ‘vyayābhāvaḥ. after the foot following upon. An avayābhāva in the meaning of “behind” [by Pāṇini 2.1.6].

Ragh.M. 1.91 a-vighnam vighnasyabhāva ‘stu. “avyayaṃ vibhakti-” ‘vyayābhāvaḥ. May there be no obstacle an absence of an obstacle. An avayābhāva in the meaning of “absence” [by Pāṇini 2.1.6].

Kum.M. 1.48 saṁśaya bhāvaḥ asaṁśaya. saṁdeho nāstīty arthaḥ. An absence of doubt without doubt no doubt; i.e., no doubt exists.

Kum.M. 1.60 ahany ahani praty-aham. on each day daily

Kum.M. 5.1 aksnoḥ samipe samakṣam purataḥ. “avyayaṃ vibhakti-samydhiḥ.” ‘vyayābhāvaḥ. in the vicinity of her eyes before her eyes, in front of her. An avayābhāva by (Pa. 2.1.6) “An indeclinable (is compounded with a following noun) in the senses of . . .”
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or because they really do have governed final members but are nevertheless traditionally regarded as tatpurusas because they are used adjectivally rather than adverbially (Section 1.57.3).

C. Tatpurusa Compounds

1.52 Introduction

The category of tatpurusa compounds (Pāṇini 2.1.22–2.2.22; “determinative compounds,” Whitney 1262–1291) has several important subtypes. The varieties of tatpurusa distinctive enough to require separate formulas of analysis will be treated under the following headings:

1.53 dependent compounds (vibhakti-tatpurusa)
   descriptive compounds (karmadhraya):
     1.54 simple karmadhrayas
     1.55 comparative karmadhrayas
1.56 dvigu compounds
1.57 prepositional tatpurusas and related compounds (pradi-tatpurusa, etc.)
1.58 negative compounds (nañ-tatpurusa)
1.59 upapada compounds
1.60 irregular tatpurusas

1.53 Dependent tatpurusas

Dependent tatpurusas, often called case-tatpurusas (“vibhakti-tatpurusa,” Pāṇini 2.1.22–2.1.48; “dependent compound,” Whitney 1264–1278), are those in which the first member of the compound stands in some oblique case relationship to the second.

In these compounds the first member simply adds some specification to the second member by standing in some case-relationship to it. Accordingly the analysis is usually quite straightforward (Section 1.53), but there are slight complications when additional clarification is necessary (Section 1.53.2) and when the second member is most conveniently interpreted as a partitive genitive (Section 1.53.3).

1.53.1 Straightforward analysis

The two members are simply separated, with the second member appearing in the nominative case and the first member in any oblique case. The names by which commentators refer to these compounds indicate the case in which the first member appears in the analysis:

*dvitiya-tatpurusa* (accusative tatpurusa):
- grāṇam gatah—grāma-gatah (“gone to the village”)
- muhūrtam sukham—muhūrta-sukham (“pleasure for a moment”)

*tritiya-tatpurusa* (instrumental tatpurusa):
- asinā kalahaḥ—asi-kalahāḥ (“a fight with a sword”)
- parasunā chinnaḥ—paraśu-cchinnaḥ (“cut with a hatchet”)

*caturthi-tatpurusa* (dative tatpurusa):
- kunḍalāya hirūyam—kunḍala-hirūyam (“gold for an earring”)
- kuberāya baliḥ—kubera-baliḥ (“an offering for Kubera”)

*pāñcamī-tatpurusa* (ablative tatpurusa):
- svargāt patitāḥ—svarga-patitāḥ (“fallen from heaven”)
- vrkebhyaḥ bhayam—vrka-bhayam (“fear of wolves”)

*śaṣṭhi-tatpurusa* (genitive tatpurusa):
- candanasya gandḥaḥ—candana-gandḥaḥ (“fragrance of sandalwook”)
- idhmasya pravaścanah—idhma-pravaścanah (“cutter of fuel,” i.e., a hatchet)
accusative (dvitiya):

Kum.M. 1.5 adhah-sānuni megha-mandalād adhas taṭāni gataṁ prāpiṁ [adhah-sānu-gatām]. “dvitiya śrītatita-patita-gatayasta-prāptipanmah” iti samāsaḥ. gone to-reaching—the below-slopes—slopes below the circle of clouds below-slope-gone. The compound is by (Pa. 2.1.24) “A word in the accusative case is compounded with śrīta, atita, patita, gata,” etc.

Kum.M. 2.23 astam nāstam itaḥ prāpnaḥ [astam-itaḥ], astam iti makārāntam avyayaṁ, tasya “dvitiya śrītatita-patita-gatayasta-prāptipanmah” iti samāsaḥ. gone to—reached to—setting—destruction [setting-gone] astam is an indeclinable ending in m. Its compound is by (Pa. 2.1.24) “A word in the accusative case is compounded with . . .”

Kum.M. 3.41 latāgrhadvāram gataḥ [latāgrhadvāra-gataḥ] gone to the vine-hut-door [vine-hut-door-gone]

instrumental (trīṭīya):

Kum.V. 1.27 [M 28] prabhāyā mahātī prabhā-mahātī iti trīṭīyā-samāsaḥ. great with splendor splendor-great: this is an instrumental compound.

1.53. Dependent tatpurusas

Kum.V. 1.56 [M 57] samīdbhir edhāiḥ samiddham dipam [samī-samiddham] kindled—lighted—with firewood—with fuel firewood-kindled

Kum.M. 1.51 mantraḥ pātāṃ sanskrētam [mantra-pātām] purified—refined—with mantras mantra-purified

dative (caturthī): Dative tatpuruṣa compounds are relatively infrequent because of the limited scope of the dative case in Sanskrit. When they do occur commentators tend to explain them not by displaying the first component in the dative case, but by using the equivalent (and perhaps less ambiguous) compound ending in -artha (see the example on p. 91 and cf. Section 2.19.2):

Ragh.M. 2.10 acārārthair lajair acāra-lajaiḥ with puffed rice for the sake of custom with custom-puffed-rice

Kum.V. 1.60 [avacita-bali-puspā] avacitāṇy uccitāṇi bali-arthaṃ pūjārtham puspāṇī yeyā sā [collected-offering-flowered] she by whom flowers for the sake of offering—for the sake of worship—had been collected—accumulated

ablative (paścami):

Kum.V. 1.37 [M38] sitā itarā sitētara iti “paścami” iti yoga-vibhāgāt samāsaḥ. other than white white-other (i.e., black). The compound is by separating “a word in the ablative case (is compounded)” (from the rest of the sūtra in Pa.2.1.37).

Kum.M. 2.30 sahasrān nanunabhya dhikam sahasra-nayanādham. more than thousands of eyes eye-thousand-more

Kum.M. 2.45 tasya tāraṇāyapātaṁ samāpatis bhayāt [tāda-pāta-bhayā] from fear of his—Tāraka’s—attack—encounter from his-attack-fear

genitive (śasṭhi):

Ragh.M. 1.9 teṣāṁ raghunāṁ guṇais tad-guṇāiḥ. by the virtues of theirs—of the Raghus by their-virtues
1.53.2 Additional specification of connection

Occasionally the connection between the first and second member is not adequately indicated merely by the case of the first member as it appears in the analysis, so that an additional word of clarification must be supplied. This occurs, for example, in a group of instrumental tatpuruṣas dealing with combinations of foods (Pāṇini 2.1.34–35); thus dadhy-odanaḥ (“yogurt-rice”) is analyzed dadhnōpasīktā odanaḥ (“rice sprinkled with yogurt”), and guda-dhānāḥ (“molasses-barley”) is analyzed guḍena miṣrā dhānāḥ (“barley mixed with molasses”). Commentators call such compounds madhyama-pada-lopa (see Section 1.54.4).

1.53.3 Partitive genitive as second member

In tatpurṣa compounds with partitive genitive as second member (ekadeśi-tatpurṣa, avayava-tatpurṣa, anśi-tatpurṣa, Pā. 2.2.1–2), in which the first member of a tatpurṣa compound is a word delimiting a part of a single whole expressed by the second member, a logical problem arises. The object referred to by a tatpurṣa is supposed to be a variety of the thing expressed by the second member, with the first member simply adding some specification, but (to give an English example) a halfpenny, for instance, is not really any sort of penny at all. Accordingly, the second member in such compounds is construed as a partitive genitive and the compound is considered to have its members reversed (because the syntactical predominance ends up belonging to the first member). Thus pārva-kāyāḥ (“fore-body”) is analyzed pārva, kāyaśya (“front of the body”), and ardha-pippalf (“half-pepper”) is analyzed ardha, pippalya (“half of a pepper”).

This same procedure—making the first member predominant and exhibiting the second member in the genitive case in the analysis—is also used for several other rather obscure groups of tatpurṣas (see Pāṇini 2.2.3–5), and for a few irregular compounds (Pāṇini 2.2.31) typified by the word rāja-dantāḥ (“king-tooth,” i.e., front tooth), which might appear to be a karmadhāraya but instead is analyzed dantānām rājā (“king of teeth”).

Some commentators interpret the rāja-dantādi category rather broadly, to include compounds with reversed members that other commentators interpret as falling outside all categories (i.e., as sup-sup-samāsas; see Section 1.44.6):
1.54 Karmadhārayas of simple apposition

Karmadhāraya (Pāṇini 2.1.49-2.1.72; “descriptive compounds.” Whitney 1279-1291) are tatpuruṣa compounds in which the two members appear in grammatical apposition in the analysis. Although some important types of karmadhāraya involve the additional notion of comparison and thus require special formulas of analysis (Section 1.55), in most karmadhārayas the first member simply adds some specification to the thing expressed by the second member.

For all karmadhāraya compounds of simple apposition a single basic formula of analysis applies, but minor differences sometimes occur depending upon whether the compound contains an adjective as the first member only (Section 1.54.1), as both members (Section 1.54.2), or as neither member (Section 1.54.3). For the latter group, in which both members of the compound are substantives, special treatment is sometimes required when further specification of the connection between the members is required (Section 1.54.4). Note that karmadhārayas in which both members are substantives often involve the notion of comparison (Sections 1.55.2, 1.55.3), and karmadhārayas composed of substantive plus adjective nearly always involve comparison (Section 1.55.1).

1.54.1 Adjective plus substantive

The karmadhāraya compound composed of an adjective followed by a substantive (viśeṣaṇa-[pūrva-pada]-karmadhāraya, “karmadhāraya with an adjective [as first member],” Pāṇini 2.1.57 ff.; Whitney 1280) is the simplest and most common form of karmadhāraya, and its analysis is done in the manner already explained in Section 1.44: while compounds such as niḥṭi[pāl]am (“blue waterlily”) and rakta-lātā (“red vine”) may be analyzed simply by separating their members—niḥṭi utpalam and rakta lātā—they are more commonly analyzed with the fuller formula that uses a pronoun to make it clear that both members refer to the same thing: niḥṭi ca tad utpalam ca (“it is both blue and a waterlily”) and rakta ca sā lātā ca (“it is both red and a vine”). Again, note that the presence of this pronoun (usually some form of tād or adas) in the analysis serves to distinguish these compounds from dvandvas.

In practice, commentators often use the regular formula but sometimes simply separate the two words and place them in apposition:

Kum.M. 1.2 sarve ca te śāilāḥ ca sarva-śāilāḥ. “purva-kālāṭika-sarva-jarāt-purīṇa-nava-kevalāḥ samānādhiṣṭanena” iti samāsāḥ. they are both all and mountains all-mountains. The compound is by (Pā. 2.1.47) “When preceding, the words eka, sarva, jarat, purāna, nava, and kevala (are compounded) with things to be praised.”

Kum.M. 2.32 mahān asu[ro mahāsuraḥ. “san-mahat-paramōttamānōttṛṣṭāḥ pūjyaṁnaṁ”] iti tatpurṣaḥ. a great demon great-demon. The tatpuruṣa is by (Pā. 2.1.61) “The words san, mahat, parama, uttama, and utkṛṣṭa (are compounded) with things to be praised.”

1.54.2 Adjective plus adjective

Karmadhāraya compounds composed of an adjective followed by an adjective (viśeṣaṇaḥ-bhaya-pada-karmadhāraya, “karmadhāraya with adjectives as both members”) are usually analyzed using the formula just described. Thus the analysis regularly presents both members as adjectives describing the same thing, even though in most of these compounds (e.g., those formed by Pāṇini 2.1.68) the first member actually functions as an adverb modifying the second member. For example, tulya-śvetāḥ (“equally white”) is analyzed tulya ca sāv ca śvetāḥ ca (“it is both equal and white”),

Ragh.M. 3.54 anāśvadita-pūrṇam pūrṇam anāśvaditaṃ. sup supeti samāsāḥ. untasted-before previously untasted. A compound by (the general rule) “noun with noun.”
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and bhojyaṣṭam (“palatably warm”) is analyzed bhojyaṃ ca tad uṣṇam ca (“it is both palatable and warm”).

As with other simple karmadhārayas, commentators may use the regular formula or simply place the two words in apposition:

Ragh.M. 1.83  pallaavyat snigdha cāṣau pātalā ca
[pallava-snigdha-pātalā] it is both glossy like a sprout and pink

Ragh.M. 1.16  bhīmaī ca kāntai ca [bhīma-kāntai] both awesome and lovable awesome-lovable

When both members of the compound clearly do function as adjectives describing the same object, they are often past participles indicating consecutive actions involving that object (Pāṇini 2.1.49); for these compounds a special formula of analysis is used: for example, snāṭulaipuritāḥ (“bathed and oiled”) is analyzed ādau snāṭaḥ paścad anuliptāḥ (“first bathed, afterwards oiled”), and pūḍgimnāṃ (“drunk and vomited”) is analyzed ādau pūtim paścad udgimnāṃ (“first drunk, afterwards vomited”).

Another common type of karmadhāraya combines two color adjectives.

Kum.M. 3.36  kṛṣṇa cāṣau sārāḥ śābalaś ca kṛṣṇa-sārāḥ kṛṣṇa-mrgah.
“varna varnena” iti samāsah. it is both black and speckled—spotted, a black-spotted antelope. The compound is by (Pā. 2.1.69) “a color with a color.”

Kum.M. 4.14  haritaḥ ca aruṇam ca [harita-rūrni]. “varna varnena” iti tatpuruṣah. both green and pink [green-pink]. The compound is by (Pā. 2.1.69) “a color with a color.”

1.54.3 Substantive plus substantive

Many such compounds involve the added notion of comparison (Sections 1.55.2, 1.55.3). When merely apposition is involved, the standard formula for a karmadhāraya is used: e.g., rāja-rṣīḥ (“king-sage”) is analyzed rāja ca sa rṣī ca (“he is both a king and a sage”). Such compounds are not very frequent in Sanskrit, except when a title is compounded with a proper name (in which case the title usually comes last—e.g., Śrīkalacārya, Bhojaraṇa—even though it might logically be expected to come first), because it may be unclear from the compound in what sense the first member applies to the thing expressed by the second.

In practice commentators often analyze noun-noun karmadhārayas simply by putting the particle eva after the first member (cf. rāpakā-samāsas, Section 1.55.3) rather than using the cāṣau … ca formula:

Kum.V. 3.27  navāṃ cūtāṃ eva bānah śāras tasmin [nava-cūta-bāne] the arrow—shaft—that is a fresh mango blossom, on it on the fresh-mango-arrow

Kum.M. 3.27  navāṃ cūtāṃ kūsamām tad eva bānas tasmin nava-cūta-bāne. a fresh mango—mango blossom, the arrow that it is, on it on the fresh-mango-arrow

Ragh.M. 1.58  rājyam evāśrama tatra munim [rājayāśrama-munim] the life-stage that is kingship, a sage in it [a kingship-lifestage-sage]

Ragh.M. 4.5  padmātapatrena padmam evāpatram tena with a lotus-parasol a parasol that was a lotus, with it

Kum.M. 3.36  kūsaman evākam sādhāraṇom pātram tasmin [kūsaman-pāram]. a single—common—cup that was a flower, in it in the flower-single-cup

Kum.M. 3.53  vasanta-puṣpāty evābharaṇam [vasanta-puṣpābharaṇam] an ornament that is springtime-flowers a springtime-flower-ornament

1.54.4 Additional specification of connection

This last problem is particularly acute in karmadhārayas composed of two substantives when the first member cannot be applied, as it stands, directly to the thing denoted by the second member. In analyzing loose compounds of this sort it is necessary to add some explanation of the precise connection between the members. This is done by placing the explanatory word in compound with the first member in the analysis: for example, deva-brahmaṇaḥ (“deity-brahmin”) is analyzed deva-pūjako brahmaṇaḥ.
("deity-worshipping brahmin"). Commentators frequently refer to compounds of this type as “śākapārthivādi compounds," since they are grouped together (by a vārtika on Pāṇini 2.1.60) in a list beginning with the compound śāka-pārthivāh ("vegetable-king" or "era-king," analyzed śāka-bhoj-pārthivāh ["vegetable-eating king"] or śāka-priyaḥ pārthivāh ["a king fond of vegetables," or, according to some, "a king beloved of an era"]).

Note that these compounds are similar to those such as gūḍa-dhānāḥ (Section 1.53.2): in both groups the connection between the two members requires some explanation, and in both groups this explanation is supplied by adding a word between the members (gūḍa-miśra dhānāḥ, deva-pājaka-brāhmaṇaḥ) that can be interpreted as standing in compound with the first member (gūḍa-miśra dhānāḥ, deva-pājaka brāhmaṇaḥ). Accordingly, commentators often refer to such compounds as uttara-pada-lopa-saṁśasas ("compounds in which the second word [of the first member] has been dropped"), or, much more commonly, as madhyama-pada-lopa-saṁśasas ("compounds in which the middle word has been dropped").

Megh.M. 1 chāyā-pradhiinas taravas chāyii-taravas. The compound is because of being in the śāka-pārthivādi group.

1.55 Karmadhārayas of comparison

These are of two basic types. In one type (Section 1.55.1) the first member is a substantive representing the standard of comparison (the upamāṇa) and the second member is a substantive representing the common property (saṁanya-vacana). In the second type both members are substantives: the first represents the object of comparison (upamita) and the second represents the standard of comparison (upamāṇa). This second type can be analyzed in two ways, depending upon whether the underlying comparison is viewed as a simile (Section 1.55.2) or as a metaphor (Section 1.55.3).

1.55.1 Upamāṇapūrvapada karmadhāraya

These formations (upamāṇapūrvapada-karmadhāraya, "karmadhāraya in which the first member is a standard of comparison," Pāṇini 2.1.55), are analyzed by simply separating the members of the compound and inserting between them the particle iva ("like"):  
ghana iva śyāmaḥ—ghana-śyāmaḥ ("dark as a cloud—cloud-dark")  
kumudam iva śyenī—kumuda-śyenī ("white like a waterlily—lily-white")

Examples from the commentaries:

Ragh.M. 1.13 śālo vrksa iva prāṁśur unnataḥ śāla-prāṁśuḥ:  
tall—lofty—like a sal tree sal-tall

Kum.M. 1.13 candra-mārīcibhir iva gauraiḥ subhraiḥ  
[candra-mārīci-gauraiḥ] . . . . “upamāṇāni saṁānya-vacanaiḥ iti  
saṁāṣāḥ . . . . pale—white—as moon-beams moon-beam-pale. The  
compound is by (Pā. 2.1.55) "Standards of comparison [are compounded]  
with words expressing shared properties."

Kum.M. 3.29 [bālēndu-vakraiṇi] bālēndur iva vakraiṇi  
[young-moon-crooked] crooked as a young-moon

A commentator may express the comparison through the use of the suffix -vat rather than the particle iva:

Ragh.M. 1.83 palla-vat snigdha cāsau pātalā ca  
[palla-sniigdha-pātalā] it is both glossy like a sprout and pink  
sprout-glossy-pink

1.55.2 Upamita-saṁśa

In analyzing these (upamita-saṁśa, upamāṇottarapada-karmadhāraya, "karmadhāraya in which the second member is a standard of comparison," Pā. 2.1.56), the particle iva is inserted after the second member. Because these compounds are made up of two substantives, a pronoun may optionally be used in the analysis to make it clear that both nouns refer to the same object.

puruṣo 'yaṁ vyāghra iva—puruṣa vyāghraḥ ("[this is] a man like a  
tiger—man-tiger")
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1.56. Dvigu compounds

The category of dvigu compounds (Pā. 2.1.52; Whitney 1312) includes several types of compounds in which the first member is a numeral. There are special restrictions on the use of numerals and words signifying directions as the first member of a karmadhāraya. These items may form the first member of simple two-member descriptive compounds only when the compound constitutes a proper name (Pāṇini 2.1.50). Such compounds may be broken down using the standard formula for the analysis of karmadhārayas, although the resulting analysis will simply indicate the grammatical formation of the compound rather than restating its full meaning, since the analytical phrase is not in itself a proper name:

- **Sapta ca te, rṣayaś ca—saptarṣayaḥ** (*they are seven and are sages—the Seven Sages*)
- **Pūrva ca saṃkhyā vā—pūrveśu saṃkhyāḥ** (*it is both eastern and ṣamākhyā—East samākhyā*)

Example from a commentary:

Kum.M. 1.16 sapta ca te rṣayaś ca saptarṣayaḥ. “dik-sankhye sanjñāyām” ñī samāsah. they are seven and are sages seven-sages. The compound is by (Pā. 2.1.50) “Direction and number words (are compounded with a noun in apposition) in the sense of a proper name.”

These items may also be used as the first member of a *karmadhāraya* compound under three more complex conditions (Pāṇini 2.1.51): when the compound involves an additional element of meaning equivalent to one of the senses of the suffixes used to form words by secondary derivation (Section 1.56.1), when the whole compound is itself the first member of a longer compound (Section 1.56.2), and (c) when the compound involves the added notion of aggregation by functioning as a collective noun (Section 1.56.3). Compounds beginning with numerals under any of these three conditions are called dvigu, and special methods of analysis are required for each of the three conditions:

Examples from the commentaries:

Kum.M. 3.39 latā eva vadhvas tābhyaḥ [latā-vadhūbhyaḥ] wives that are actually vines, from them from vine-wives

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**1.56.1 Dvigu compounds**

In karmadhārayas in which one substantive is equated with another, either metaphorically or literally (*rūpaka-samāsā*, "compound of metaphorical identification"; *avadhāraṇa-pūrava-pada-karmadhāraya*, "karmadhāraya in which the first member is a limitation"), what is involved here is simply a different interpretation of the compounds in the preceding group, by viewing the comparison involved as a metaphorical equation (*rūpaka*) rather than as a simile (*upamāda*). The formula of analysis inserts *eva* ("actually," "nothing but ...") after the first member:

- **Puruṣa eva vyāghraḥ—puruṣa-vyāghraḥ** ("a tiger that is actually a man—man-tiger")
- **Mukha eva candraḥ—mukha-candraḥ** ("a moon that is nothing but a face—face-moon")

Examples from the commentaries:

Kum.M. 3.30 caṭa-pravāla evaṇāstan caṭapravālauṇāstan. a lip that is actually a mango-shoot a mangoshoot-lip

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**1.55.3 Rūpaka-samāsā**

In karmadhārayas in which one substantive is equated with another, either metaphorically or literally (*rūpaka-samāsā*, "compound of metaphorical identification"; *avadhāraṇa-pūrava-pada-karmadhāraya*, "karmadhāraya in which the first member is a limitation"), what is involved here is simply a different interpretation of the compounds in the preceding group, by viewing the comparison involved as a metaphorical equation (*rūpaka*) rather than as a simile (*upamāda*). The formula of analysis inserts *eva* ("actually," "nothing but ...") after the first member:

- **Puruṣa eva vyāghraḥ—puruṣa-vyāghraḥ** ("a tiger that is actually a man—man-tiger")
- **Mukha eva candraḥ—mukha-candraḥ** ("a moon that is nothing but a face—face-moon")

Examples from the commentaries:

Kum.M. 1.12 rājā indur iva rājā-sreṣṭhāḥ. upamitam vyāghrādīnā samāsāḥ. a king like the moon *moon-king* best of kings. The compound is by (Pā. 2.1.56) “The object of a simile [compounded with] a word such as ‘tiger.’”

Kum.M. 2.47 haya ratnam iva haya-ratnam aśva-sreṣṭhāḥ. a horse like a jewel a horse-jewel best of horses


Kum.M. 5.73 danta kośā iva danta-kośāh teeth like buds teeth-buds
1.56.1 Taddhitārtha-dvigu

In the "dvigu involving the sense of a taddhita suffix" the two members of the dvigu compound are placed in apposition, and something is added to indicate the additional element of meaning, using the techniques of analysis applicable to words derived by the use of taddhita suffixes (Sections 1.35 ff.):

\[\text{pañca\hbox{-}kapāle\hbox{-}samśkrtya\hbox{-}pañca\hbox{-}kapālaḥ ("prepared in five pots—five-pot")}\]

Here the added word samśkrtya, together with the locative case of the other words in dependence on it, serves to indicate the additional element of meaning. The word "dvigu" ("two-cow") that is used as the name of this whole class of compounds is in itself an example of this particular subclass and is analyzed dvabhāyām gobhāyām kṛtām ("bought with two cows"). Note that the same sort of analysis is used when the compound begins with a word signifying a direction:

\[\text{pūrvasya\hbox{-}śālāya\hbox{-}bhavah—paurva\hbox{-}śālāḥ ("produced in the eastern hall, pertaining to the eastern hall—east-haller")}\]

1.56.2 Uttarapada-dvigu

The "dvigu with a second member" is analyzed like any other longer compound (Section 1.69 ff.); the two members of the dvigu itself are therefore placed in apposition, using the shorter formula for karmadhārayas commonly employed in the analysis of longer compounds (Sections 1.54.1, 1.69):

\[\text{pañca\hbox{-}gāvā\hbox{-}dhanam yasya: pañca\hbox{-}gava\hbox{-}dhanāḥ ("whose wealth is five cows: five-cow-wealth")}\]

The same principles apply when the first element is a word signifying a direction:

\[\text{pūrvā\hbox{-}śālā\hbox{-}priyā yasya—pūrva\hbox{-}śālā\hbox{-}priyaḥ ("to whom the eastern hall is dear—east-hall-lover")}\]

Examples from the commentaries:

1.56.3 Samāhāra-dvigu

In the "dvigu of an aggregate," or collective dvigu, once again the two members of the dvigu appear in apposition in the analysis. The added notion of aggregation can be indicated in either of two ways:

(1) \[\text{pañca\hbox{-}gāvā\hbox{-}samāhṛtāḥ—pañca\hbox{-}gavām ("five cows taken together—five-cow")}\]

\[\text{trīṇi bhuvanāni samāhṛtāni: tribhuvanam ("the three worlds taken together: three-world[-aggregate]")}\]

or (2) \[\text{pañcānām gavām samāhāraḥ—pañca\hbox{-}gava: (an aggregate of five cows—five-cow")}\]

\[\text{traya\hbox{-}nām bhuvanānām samāhāraḥ—tribhuvanam ("the aggregate of the three worlds—three-world")}\]

Compare with this the analysis of collective dvandva compounds (Section 1.63).

In this particular subclass of compounds, words signifying directions cannot be used as the first member.

Examples from the commentaries:
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1.57 Tatpuruṣas with inseparable first member

istatpuruṣa

Many tatpuruṣa compounds—most of them karmadhārayas—cannot be analyzed in their own words because the first member of the compound is a prefix or other item that cannot stand independently as a separate word (Whitney 1281 ff.). These inseparable words fall into three broad groups: individual prefixes with prescribed meanings (Section 1.57.1), words included in the list of verbal prefixes (prādi) (Section 1.57.2), and other items placed in compound with a following verbal form (Section 1.57.3).

1.57.1 ku, su, etc.

Most of the inseparable prefixes that are not included in the list of verbal prefixes occur only in certain specific meanings, so that in the analysis of compounds in which such prefixes are used a standard synonym may be used in place of the prefix. For example, the prefixes ku- and kad- are replaced by kutsita ("censured") when they mean "bad," and by ṣad when they mean "slightly, partly" (Pañini 6.3.101 ff.):

- kutsitāḥ puruṣaḥ—kā-puruṣaḥ ("bad person")
- ṣat puruṣaḥ—kā-puruṣaḥ ("semi-human")
- kutsitā śvah—kad-āsvah ("bad horse")
- ṣad uṣṇam—kad-uṣṇam ("lukewarm")

Similarly, the standard synonym kutsita is also used for the prefixes ku- (Pañini 2.1.22) and kim- (Pañini 2.1.64) when they mean "bad," and the standard synonym ṣad is also used for the prefix kava- (Pañini 6.3.107) when it means "slightly," e.g., in analyzing the compounds ku-puruṣaḥ ("bad person"), kim-sakhaḥ ("bad friend"), and kavōṣṇam ("lukewarm").

Ragh.M. 1.2 dustaraḥ turium asakyam. "ṣad-duḥ-ṣuṣu-"-ity-adinā khal-pratyayaḥ. hard-to-cross unable to be crossed. The suffix KHāL (i.e., -a), by (Pañini 3.3.126) "In connection with ṣad, duḥ, and su . . . ."

Ragh.M. 1.67 kavōṣṇam ṣad uṣṇam yahā tathā . . . kavōṣṇam iti ku-sāhaṣaya kavādeśaḥ. luke-warm so as to be slightly warm. . . . In kavōṣṇam there is the substitution of kava for the word ku.

Ragh.M. 1.84 kāṣṇena kīṃcād uṣṇena. "kavaṃ cōṇya" iti ca-kārāt kādeśaḥ. luke-warm somewhat warm. There is the substitution of ka [for kava] because of the word "also" in (Pañini 6.3.107) "And kava also, when uṣṇa follows."

1.57.2 Prādi-tatpuruṣas with fixed meaning

The traditional list of verbal prefixes (prādi, Pañini 1.4.58) includes a few items that are rarely prefixed to finite verbs; these are treated like the pre-
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The prefix *dur-* (“bad”), for example, is often replaced by the standard synonym *dusṭa* in the analysis of a simple descriptive karmadhāraya: e.g., *dusṭo janah—dur-janah* (“a depraved person—bad-person”). However, because these prefixes frequently have a rather vague meaning, the word that replaces them in the analysis may be chosen from a large list of synonyms: thus *su-*, when it means “good” (i.e., when it is used as an adjective modifying a following noun), may be replaced by *sadhu, samuccha, sobhana, pājita,* etc., and when it means “well” (i.e., when it is used as an adverb modifying a following adjective) it may be replaced by *samyak, suṣṭhu, ativa,* etc.

Often more than one explanation is possible in analyzing these compounds. In the first example below, the commentator first interprets the compound as an *upapada tatpuruṣa,* then decides it is a *prādi tatpuruṣa.*

**Kum.V. 1.1** adhirāja ity adhirājaḥ prabhuh, pacādy-ac. adhir aśvarye. [nāgādhirāja iti] śaṣṭhi-samāṣṭāḥ, yadi vād adhiκaś ca sa ṛāja [ca] adhirājaḥ. “ṛājāhaḥ-sakhīḥīyas fuc.” He rules over, thus overlord—master. (The krt suffix) aC [i.e., -a, which is added after the roots] pac, etc. (in the sense of an agent, by Pā. 3.1.134). (The prefix) adhi (is used) in the sense of lordship. mountain-overlord is a genitive (tatpuruṣa) compound. [Or rather] he is both superior [and] a king—over-king. (The suffix) TāC (i.e., -a, in place of the final -an of -rājan, by Pā. 5.4.91) “TāC after rājan, ahan, and sakhi (at the end of a compound).”

**Kum.M. 1.1** adhiko rāja adhirājaḥ. superior king over-king

**Megh.M. 4** sobhanam āgataṃ svāgatam. good coming welcome

**Kum.M. 4.45** suṣṭhu caritārthānī [su-caritārthānī] ... well expressed well-expressed

1.57.3 Dhātu-lopa prādi-tatpuruṣa

A similarly straightforward analysis is sometimes used for compounds beginning with a prefix that is commonly used with finite verbs (e.g., adhirājaḥ, “over-king,” may be analyzed adhiko rāja, “a higher king”), but more usually such compounds are analyzed by replacing the prefix with the past passive participle of some verb, joined together with the prefix in question. The particular verb chosen may differ even in two analyses of the same compound; e.g., *prā-vāṭaḥ* (“strong wind”) may be analyzed *prakṛṣṭo vāṭaḥ* or *prabhūto vāṭaḥ.* Such compounds are called *dhātu-lopa* (“involving the loss of a verbal root”—cf. Section 1.54.4).

When the first member of a prepositional compound is expanded by using the past passive participle of a verb in this way, the second member of the compound may appear in any of the first five cases in the analysis (vārtikas on Pāṇini 2.2.18):

(nom.) *pragatāḥ pitāmahah—pra-pitāmahah* (“previous grandfather—great-grandfather”)

(acc.) *aitkrānto mālāḥ—ai-mālāḥ* (“gone beyond the necklace [i.e., surpassing it in beauty]—beyond-necklace”)

(instr.) *avakruṣṭah kokilayā—ava-kokilāḥ* (“called down to by the koil—down-koil”)

(dat.) *parimalāno dhyaṇanāya—pary-adhyaṇanāḥ* (“[too] exhausted for study—beyond-study”)

(abl.) *niṣkrāntaḥ kauśāmbiḥ—niṣkauśāmbiḥ* (“gone out from Kauśāmbi—outside-Kauśāmbi”)

Note that in the analysis of such compounds (“prepositional compounds with governed final member,” Whitney 1310) the first member is syntactically predominant, despite the general rule that in *tatpuruṣas* the syntactical predominance belongs to the second member. In construction these compounds are thus akin to *avyayābhavas,* but they are used as adjectives rather than as indeclinable adverbs. Whitney and some other Western scholars therefore group them together with *bahuvrīhis* under the heading of secondary adjective compounds (Whitney 1292 ff.), but because they do not fulfill the basic requirement that a *bahuvrīhi* must refer to something other than what is referred to by either of the members of the compound (something that is *aii-māla,* for example, is *aii* in a particular way), the Sanskrit tradition regards them as *tatpuruṣas* that form exceptions to the general rule by which it is the first member that adds some specification to the second.
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1.57 Tatpurusas with inseparable first member

Note also that, unlike other tatpurusas with an inseparable first member, prādi-tatpurusas with a governed final member cannot be regarded as karmadhārayas; once a substitute is provided for the inseparable members, they are analyzed exactly like ordinary dependent compounds (vibhaṅgitatpurusas, Section 1.53.1), except that the order of their members is reversed.

Ragh.M. 12.73 ati-śastrāḥ sastrāṇy atikrāntāḥ gone beyond weapons beyond-weapon

Ragh.M. 2.9 unmadānām utka-madānām high-impassioned highly impassioned

Ragh.M. 3.41 atindriyāv indriyāny atikrānteṣu. “atyādayah krāṇiādyarthre dvīṭīyāḥ” iī samāsah. super-sensory gone beyond the senses. The compound is by (the Vārtika rule) “ati, etc. (are compounded) with a word in the accusative, when the sense is ‘advanced,’ etc.”

Different commentators may choose different ways of expanding the prefix:

Kum.V. 1.45 [M 46] pravāte prakrāfte vāte. in a strong-wind in a protracted wind

Kum.M. 1.46 pravāte prabhūta-vāta-sthale in a strong-wind in a powerful-wind-place

Kum.C. 1.46 pragato vāto yatra tat pravātam. where there is an advanced wind, that is strong-wind(ed)

1.57.4 Gati-tatpurusas

These formations (Pāṇini 2.2.18, Whitney 1090 ff.) involve prefixes compounded with verbal forms. When the prefixes pra-, etc. (Section 1.57.2) are used in conjunction with a verbal form they are called gati (Pāṇini 1.4.60), and this same designation also applies to other items used in a similar way (Pāṇini 1.4.61–79); e.g., ārī-kr (“to accept”), astam-gam (“to set, to go down”), alam-kr (“to adorn”). For practical purposes nominal forms derived from verbs with a gati as the first member are regarded as derivatives of the unit composed of gati plus verb, rather than as nominal compounds—e.g., alam-kṛtaḥ, “adorned,” is viewed as the past participle of the verb alam-kr rather than as a compound of alam and kṛtaḥ—so that commentators regularly explain such items by giving a synonym or a technical analysis rather than an analysis in ordinary language. When it is necessary to bring out the meaning of the prefix, the formation may be analyzed by using some substitute (usually an adverb or a word in an oblique case functioning as an adverb) for the prefix; this technique is used to explain the meaning of the prefix whether the prefix occurs in conjunction with a finite verb, a participle, or a noun derived from a verbal root:

prakāরṣeṇa jvalati—pra-jvalati (“it blazes strongly”)

mādhye hitam—antar-hitam (“placed in the middle—interposed”)

viśeṣataḥ jñānam—vi-jñānam (“knowledge in terms of particulars—particular knowledge”)

A gerund may also be used for this purpose:

Kum.M. 2.28 sambhūyagatāḥ samāgatāḥ coming having gathered come together

In dealing with derivative nouns, however, the prefix may also be replaced with an adjective rather than an adverb:

viśiṣṭaṃ jñānam—vi-jñānam (“special knowledge”).

One gati-formation that requires special analysis and that appears quite frequently is the compounding of a word ending in -f (technically said to be formed with the suffix called cvi, Pāṇini 5.4.50) and some form of the verb kr or bhū. The analysis of such formations brings out the full meaning of a thing's becoming or being made something that it had not been before:

akṛṣṇaḥ kṛṣṇaḥ sampadyate—krṣṇi-bhavati (“[having earlier been] non-black, it becomes black”)

akṛṣṇaḥ sampadyamānāḥ—krṣṇi-bhūtah (“having become black”)

akṛṣṇaḥ sampadyate tam karoti—krṣṇi-karoti (“he makes it black”)

Note: The text contains several references to Sanskrit terms and phrases, which may require a more detailed explanation or context for full comprehension. The text is from a historical or academic context, likely discussing linguistic or grammatical analysis of Sanskrit.
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1.58 Negative tatpurūsas

Negative tatpurūsas (naś-tatpurusa, Pāṇini 6.3.73–77; Whitney 1288.1), sometimes called “alpha-privative” compounds, begin with a- or (before vowels) an-. They constitute a subclass of karmadhārayas with inseparable prefixes as the first member, and they require special formulas of analysis. Commentators frequently content themselves with a direct statement of the compound’s meaning by using the sentence “[it is] not ...,” with or without the verb “to be,” followed by iti:

na brāhmaṇa ity a-brāhmaṇaḥ (“not a brahmin, thus non-brahmin”)  
nāśa ity an-aśvah (“not a horse, thus non-horse”)  
brāhmaṇaḥ na bhavatīt tya a-brāhmaṇaḥ (“[he] is not a brahmin, thus non-brahmin”)  
aśvo na bhavatīt an-aśvah (“[it] is not a horse, thus non-horse”)

Actually, however, such compounds have a more precise meaning than is indicated in this formula of analysis: a non-brahmin, for example, is not anything that is not a brahmin, but rather someone who is like a brahmin (by being a member of the same more general category—i.e., human) and yet different from a brahmin, and similarly a non-horse is an animal that is other than a horse. To bring out this meaning commentators just as frequently use a stricter formula in analyzing these compounds:

brāhmaṇaḥ anyaḥ—a-brāhmaṇaḥ (“other than a brahmin—non-brahmin”)

Note that, as this formula indicates, negative tatpurūsas are anomalous in that the syntactical predominance belongs to the first member rather than to the second (cf. prādi-tatpurūsas with governed final members, Section 1.57.2).

Commentators often simply use the negative particle na in analyzing such compounds, especially when it is a verbal activity that is being negated:

Kum. V. 1.10 na taila-purā a-taila-purā akṛtrimatvāt not oil-filled  
non-oil-filled nonartificial  
Kum.M. 3.50 na kṣaratītya a-kṣaram avināśīnam it does not perish, thus non-perishing neverending

1.59 Upapada compounds

These compounds (upapada-tatpurūsa, Pāṇini 2.2.19, etc.; Whitney 1286–1287) have as their last member a bound form, i.e., a word that occurs only at the end of a compound. In tatpurūsa compounds that cannot be analyzed in their own words because the final member cannot stand as a separate word with the same meaning outside the compound, the usual situation is that the second member is a verbal derivative (i.e., a noun formed from a verbal root by primary derivation—see the sections on krt suffixes, Sections 1.27–1.34) that can appear with the meaning in question only when placed in compound with a preceding subordinate word (upapada). For example, kumbha-kāraḥ, “pot-maker,” is an obligatory upapada-compound, because there is no independent word kāraḥ with the general meaning of “maker,” whereas payo-dharaḥ, “water-bearer (i.e., cloud)” or “milk-bearer (i.e., breast),” is an ordinary (and optional) case-tatpurūsa, because dharaḥ can stand as a separate word meaning “bearer.”

Note that a compound such as satya-vādīn, “truth-speaker,” is also an upapada compound even though there is an independent word vādīn, because vādīn as a separate word does not have the general meaning of “speaker,” but rather more specific meanings, such as “debater.” Thus a
compound like *payo-charah* can be analyzed using the standard formula for ordinary *tatpurusas* (*payasam charah, “bearer of water [or of milk]”), while compounds like *kumbha-karah* and *saryavadin* require more round-about modes of analysis.

The usual formula involves replacing the second member with a finite verb, and displaying the first member separately in the required case. Because this produces a sentence rather than a phrase in apposition with the compound being analyzed, the analysis is followed by *iti*, just as in the analysis of negative *tatpurusas* (Section 1.58):

- *kumbham karotiti kumbha-karah* (“he makes a pot, thus pot-maker”)
- *saryam vadatiti saryavaditi* (“he speaks the truth, thus truth-speaker”)
- *nagara gacchatiti nagara-gami* (“he goes to the city, thus city-goer”)

As the examples show, the final member in an *upapada*-compound usually has active meaning, and the first member usually represents the direct object of that action. Where the second member has passive meaning, the first member may appear in an oblique case in the analysis, and the second member may be replaced either by a finite passive verb or by the equivalent participle (in which case no *iti* is needed):

- *aśvena kṛyate sēty aśva-kṛiti* (“she is bought with a horse, thus horse-bought”)
- *manoḥ jāyata iti manu-jaḥ* (“[he] is born from Manu, thus Manu-born”)
- *aśvena kṛitā—aśva-kṛiti* (“bought with a horse—horse-bought”)
- *manoḥ jārāḥ—manu-jaḥ* (“born from Manu—Manu-born”)

An alternative and simpler way of analyzing *upapada* compounds is to replace the second member with a synonym that can stand as a separate word; the compound can then be analyzed using the standard formula for ordinary dependent *tatpurusas*. For example, *mantra-kṛt* (*mantram karotiti*) can be analyzed *mantrayam srasṭā, “creator of mantras”.*

Note that the basic formulas most commonly used in analyzing *upapada*-compounds are equivalent to the formulas employed in analyzing *kṛi*-suffix formations in general (Section 1.27 ff.). One deficiency in these formulas is that *upapada*-compounds often involve an additional element of meaning, in that the action referred to in the second member must be a characteristic or habitual one—a *nagara-gamī*, for example, is not someone who just happens to be going to the city at this moment (as the analysis *nagara gacchatiti* might imply), but rather someone who habitually or regularly goes to the city, whether he is going there now or not. To meet this problem, commentators sometimes prefer to analyze these compounds by using the word *śīlam* (“[characteristic or habitual] conduct, practice”), which is either employed in conjunction with an infinitive in a formula akin to that used in analyzing *bahuvrihi* compounds (Section 1.64 ff.), or is simply placed in a *bahuvrihi* compound with a verbal noun:

- *nagara gamin śīlam asyeti nagara-gamin* (“his practice is to go to the city, thus city-goer”)
- *nityam snātum śīlam asyeti niya-snāyi* (“his practice is to continually bathe, thus continual-bather”)
- *nagara-gāmī: nagara-gamana-śīlah* (“city-goer: having the practice of going to the city”)
- *madhura-bhāṣiṇī: madhura-bhāṣana-śīlā* (“sweet-speaking: having the practice of speaking sweetly”)

For examples of commentarial analyses of *upapada* compounds see the treatment of this topic under the heading of *kṛi* suffixes in Section 1.31.

### 1.60 Irregular *tatpurusas*

The common irregularities affecting the analysis of *tatpurusas* fall into two general groups.

#### 1.60.1 *Prśodarādī* compounds

One group contains the compounds that are analyzed as being composed of words that appear in the compound in an inexplicably mutilated form.
Once the supposedly original form of the mutilated member of the compound has been restored, the analysis is straightforward along the lines of the usual formulas. For example: balāhakahā ("cloud") is said to be a compound of vāri (which has collapsed into ba) and vāhaka (with its initial v changed into l), and is analyzed vārīṇām vāhakaḥ ("bearer of waters"); śmaśānāḥ ("cremation grounds") is said to be a compound of sava (which is replaced by śma) and sayana (changed into śāna), and is analyzed śavānām śayanaḥ ("resting-place of corpses"). Commentators call such compounds prṣodarādi, because they are grouped together (Pa. 6.3.109) under the example prṣodaram, a bahuvrīhi compound said to be made up of prṣad and udaram.

Kum.M. 1.4 vārīṇām vāhakaḥ balāhakahā. prṣodarādītvāt sādhuh. carriers of water clouds. (The replacement of vāri by bala and of vāhaka by śhaka) is all right because (the compound belongs to) the prṣodarādi group.

Ragh.M. 3.19 dyaur oko yeṣām te divāpakaso devāh. prṣodarādītvāt sādhuh. yeṣām [divāpakasām] those whose dwelling is heaven are heaven-dwellers—gods. (The replacement of dyauh by diva) is all right because (the compound) belongs to the prṣodarādi group. Of them of the gods.

Ragh.M. 3.57 āśiṣi damstrāyān viṣaṇ juṣēṃ te āśi-visaṅh sarpāh. prṣodarādītvāt sādhuh. Those who have poison in the fang—tooth—are fang-poisons serpents. (The replacement of āśiḥ by āś) is all right because (the compound) belongs to the prṣodarādi group.

Ragh.M. 3.59 veveṣṭi vyānapoṣṭi vid vyāpakam ojo yoṣya sa tasya biḍaṭājarasah indrasa. prṣodarādītvāt sādhuh it is active all over—it pervades—thus ubiquitous, pervasive; of him whose strength is (pervasive)—of Bīḍājjas of Indra. (The replacement of vid by bīdaḥ) is all right because (the compound) belongs to the prṣodarādi group.

Ragh.M. 1.11 manasa īsino manaṣīno dhīrāh, vidvānma iti yāvat. prṣodarādītvāt sādhuh. Having the wish of the mind intelligent—wise. To be precise, learned. (The compound is) all right because of its being (in the group) prṣodarādi.

The Paninian system of grammar speaks of other types of irregularities as well. For example, a Vārīkṣa on Pā. 6.1.94, which deals with situations in which the second of two vowels is the single substitute for both, establishes a group of irregular compounds such as sakandhū (supposedly from saka and andhuh) in which this replacement occurs unexpectedly. Commentators may sometimes disagree even with themselves on how to explain irregular sandhi combinations in compounds; so Mallinātha, who explained the word maniṣīn as falling within the prṣodarādi group in the last example, places it (probably more exactly) within this sakandhū-ādi group in a commentary on another poem:

Kum.M. 1.28 manasa īsā maniṣī sāvyāṣītīr maniṣī ... sakandhū-ādītvāt sādhuh. The desire of the mind is intelligence; he who has it is intelligent ... (The compound is) all right because of its being (in the group) sakandhū-ādi.

Phonetic alterations within a compound can occur in many categories of compounds, and commentators make mention of other lists of irregularities as well, including the rāja-dantādi group mentioned above in Section 1.53, which is used in the following example to justify a dvandrava with supposedly reversed members and an irregular replacement:

Ragh.M. 1.35 dam-paṭi jāyā-paṭi. rāja-dantādiṣu jāyā-śabdasya dam iti nipātanāt sādhuh. married couple husband-and-wife. (The compound) is all right (even though one would expect the form paṭi-jāye) because of the exceptional use of dam as a substitute for the word jāyā within the rāja-dantādi group.

1.60.2 Mayārvayaṇasakādi compounds

The second group involves the compounds that are analyzed as having the syntactical predominance in the first member rather than the second, so that the order of the two members seems to have been reversed. We have already mentioned a few of these (see Section 1.51 and the sections referred to there, and Section 1.53.3). In the same category belong compounds beginning with prāpta or āpāna—e.g., prāpta-yaувanā ("[a girl] who has reached adolescence")—which might logically appear to be bahuvrīhis...
(analyzed, for example, prāpta-yauvanām yayā sā, “she by whom adolescence has been reached”) but which are traditionally (following Pāṇini 2.2.4) analyzed as accusative tatpurūsas in which the order of the members has been reversed and in which the second member is the direct object of the first: thus prāpta-yauvanā is analyzed prāpīā yauvanām, “(being) arrived at adolescence.”

Compounds with reversed members that do not fall under specific rules (as the last example does) are called mayūravyaṃsakādi by the commentators, because they are grouped together (Pāṇini 2.1.72) under the example of the irregular karmadhāraya compound mayūravyaṃsakāh (“peacock-cunning”), which is supposed to mean “cunning peacock.” This group includes many other irregularities as well.

Of the types of compounds in this group involving tatpurūsas in which the first member is syntactically predominant, two are especially noteworthy because of their great frequency: compounds ending in -antaram (cf. Section 2.19.1)—e.g., anya rāja—rājāntaram (“another king”)—and compounds ending in -mātram (cf. Section 2.19.9)—e.g., cid eva—cin-mātram (“just consciousness, pure consciousness”). For these two types of compounds the syntactical predominance of the first member is indicated by the standard formulas of analysis using anya and eva.

Ragh. M. 1.49 vanāntarād anyasmād vanāt from other-forest
Kum. V. 1.56 [M 57] anyā mārtir mūrtī-antaram another form

Among the other oddities included in the mayūravyaṃsakādi category are compounds containing indeclinables of various kinds:


Ragh. M. 5.15 na vidyate kīṃcana yasyaṣṭi a-kiṃcanaḥ. mayūra-yaṃsakādiḥvāt tatpuruṣaḥ of whom there is not anything anything-less. (This is) a tatpuruṣa (which is all right) because of belonging to the mayūra-yaṃsakādi group

1.60.3 Suffix-formations resembling compounds

Finally, it should be noted that, in some formations that look like compounds, what appears to be the second member is treated by the grammatical tradition as a suffix rather than as a noun in compound. This is true, for example, of -rāpa in words such as samarāpya (“formerly in the possession of an honest man”) and devadattarāpya (“formerly belonging to Devadatta”) (Pāṇini 4.3.81), and of -maya (technically called mayaT, Pāṇini 4.3.82, 4.3.143 ff., 4.3.148 ff.) in words such as aśnamaya (“made of stone”) and vrīhimaya (“filled with rice”). In analyzing such formations, commentators use the formulas appropriate for taddhita-formations (Section 1.42 ff.) rather than the formulas applicable to nominal compounds (cf. Section 2.19).

Ragh. M. 1.17 rekhā pramāṇam asyti rekhamātrām. ātad apiṣṭi arthah. “pramāṇe dvayasac-”ity-ādinā mātra-c-prayayah. it has the size of a line, thus a mere line. The meaning is “even slight amount.” The suffix mātraC (is added by Pā. 5.2.37) “-dvayaṣC, daghnaC, and mātraC in the sense of size.

Ragh. M. 1.50 bhāga eva bhāga-dheyo 'msah. “rāpa-nāma-bhogebhyo dheya-pratayayo vaktavyah” itti vaktavya-sūrūti svabhādheyo dheya-pratayayah. A portion (bhāgadheya) is simply a portion (bhāga), a part. The suffix dheya (is added) in the sense of the base itself (i.e., without changing the meaning of the word to which it is added), by the Vārīka rule “It should be stated that the suffix -dheya (may be added) after rāpa, nāma, and bhoga.”

D. Dvandva Compounds

1.61 Introduction

Dvandva compounds (Pāṇini 2.2.29, etc.; “copulative compounds,” Whitney 1252–1258) are divided into two major sub-categories of: simple copulative compounds (Section 1.62) and copulative compounds that involve the added notion of aggregation (Section 1.63).
1.62 Itaretara dvandvas

Itaretara dvandva compounds (dvandva of “one and the other”; Whitney 1253.1) are cumulative compounds in which each member contributes equally to the total grammatical number (dual or plural) of the compound. For these compounds all that is necessary to accomplish an analysis is to separate the members and add ca after each to express the notion of conjunction; the standard formula is that already mentioned in Section 1.44: rāmaś ca kṛṣṇaś ca—rāma-kṛṣṇau (“Rama and Kṛṣṇa”). The same formula applies no matter how many members the compound has: devāś ca gandharvāś ca mānusāś cūragāś ca rākṣasāś ca—deva-gandharva-mānusūrāga-rākṣasāḥ (“gods and fairies and humans and serpents and ogres”).

Ragh.M. 1.1 pārvatī ca paramesvaras ca pārvatī-paramesvarau. both Pārvatī and the Lord Pārvatī-and-the-Lord

Kum.M. 2.41 chedāś ca pāṭāś ca cheda-pāṭāḥ ivaṁ [cheda-pāṭānām] both cuttings and fallings, of them of cuttings-and-fallings

Kum.V. 2.7 strī ca puṁsāḥ ca strī-puṁsau. acaturādāvinād ac. Woman and man woman-and-man. (There is the suffix) aC (i.e., -a, which replaces the final vowel and consonant of puṁsā) because of belonging to the list beginning with a-catura (in Pā. 5.4.77).

1.63 Samāhāra dvandvas

In this type of compounds (“dvandva of a combination,” Pā.2.4.2; Whitney 1253.2), the two members are thought of as combining to operate as a unit, so the compound is always neuter singular (whereas the itaretara-dvandva takes as its grammatical number the combined numbers of its members). More often than not commentators analyze these compounds using the simple formula applied to itaretara-dvandvas: e.g., hasta-pādam may be analyzed simply hasta ca pādaḥ ca (“hand and foot”). When it is felt desirable to indicate in the analysis the added notion of aggregation, the techniques used are similar to those that are applied in the analysis of collective dvigu compounds (Section 1.56.3), so that two options are available:

hastaś ca pādaś ca tayoh samāḥārōḥ (“hand and foot, the combination [or aggregate] of the two”)

hastaś ca pādaś ca samāhītau (“hand and foot taken together”)

Examples from the commentaries:

Kum.M. 1.11 śrōṇayaś ca payodharāś ca śrōṇi-payodharam both hips and breasts hips-and-breasts

Kum.V. 2.5 caramaḥ cācaramaḥ ca carācaram both moving and unmoving moving-and-unmoving

E. Bahuvrīhi Compounds

1.64 Introduction

Compounds of the Bahuvrīhi category (Pāṇini 2.2.23–2.2.28; “possessive compounds,” Whitney 1293-1308), are exocentric compounds referring to something outside the compound itself that is described by the compound. The distinctive feature of the formulas used to analyze bahuvrīhi compounds is the relative pronoun that serves to express the relationship through which the compound refers to that outside thing denoted by neither of the compound’s members individually. The other relationship that must be indicated in the analysis is that between the members of the compound, but in this the compound is nearly always closely analogous to one of the types of tatpurūṣas. To take the example used in Section 1.44—dirghau karnaḥ yasya sa dirgha-karnah (“he who has long ears is Longear”)—the relative pronoun yasya indicates that the thing referred to by the whole compound is masculine in gender and singular in number, and is connected with long ears through a relationship expressed by the genitive case, while the relationship between dirgha and karna, as shown by the placing of the two words in apposition in the analysis, is exactly parallel to the relationship between the two members of a simple viśeṣaṇa-karma-dhārāya (Section 1.54.1). In terms of the ways in which they are analyzed,
Bahuvrīhi compounds can be divided into three basic groups: those that correspond in structure to karmadhāraya compounds (Section 1.65), those that correspond in structure to dependent tatpurusās (Section 1.66), and those special bahuvrīhis that cannot be directly compared in structure with any type of tatpurusa (Section 1.67).

1.65 Appositional bahuvrīhis

In these compounds ("samānādhikaraṇa-bahuvrīhis," "appositional possessive compounds"), the relationship between the members is parallel to that between the members of a karmadhāraya, so that in the analysis the two members will usually be displayed in simple apposition (Section 1.65.1), with modifications for bahuvrīhis that correspond to special varieties of karmadhāraya: negative compounds (Section 1.65.2), prepositional compounds (Section 1.65.3), and a special form of the latter, compounds with saha or sa as the first member (Section 1.65.4). The basic principle of apposition applies also to bahuvrīhis analyzable as having more than two basic members (Section 1.65.5).

1.65.1 Simple appositional bahuvrīhis

In the analysis of these compounds the two members are simply placed in apposition, as in the analysis of karmadhārayas of the adjective-plus-substantive type (Section 1.54.1), or, more rarely, of the simple substantive-plus-substantive type (Section 1.54.3). Differences in the analysis arise not in the treatment of the two members themselves, but in the case of the relative pronoun used to indicate the relationship through which the entire compound refers to some outside object; depending upon the precise nature of this relationship the pronoun can appear in any of the six oblique cases (in order to make the meaning of the compounds clearer in the following examples, a word denoting the outside object to which the entire compound refers is added in square brackets):

- (acc.) pṛāptā atithayo yam sa pṛāptātithih [grāmāh] ("that [village] which guests have reached is reached-guested")
- (instr.) uḍho ratho yena sa uḍha-rathah [anadvān] ("that [ox] by which a cart has been pulled is pulled-carted")

Note that except when the pronoun is in the genitive or locative the first member of the compound is usually a past passive participle. The genitive is most common, followed by the instrumental and locative; in bahuvrīhis of most types other than this simple appositional type only the genitive occurs.

genitive pronoun:

- (dat.) upahṛta paśur yasmāi sa upahṛta-paśul [rudrah] ("He [Rudra] for whom a beast has been sacrificed is sacrificed-beasted")

abol.: uddhṛta odano yasyāḥ sā uddhṛtáudanā [sthālī] ("that (dish) from which the rice has been removed is removed-riced")

genitive pronoun:

- (gen.) pīṭham ambaraṁ yasya sa pīṭhambaraḥ [harīh] ("He [Hari] of whom there is a yellow garment is yellow-garmented")

- (loc.) virāḥ purusāḥ yasmin sa vīrā-purusāḥ [grāmāh] ("that [village] in which there are heroic men is hero-manned")

instrumental pronoun:

- (loc.) hata dvipā gaṇā yais teṣāṁ hata-dvipānāṁ kesariniim ("those by whom elephants—pachyderms—have been killed of the killed-elephant ones")
1.65. Appositional bahuvrihis

Prepositional bahuvrihis correspond to prādi-tapuruṣas (Section 1.57.2), and in their analysis the prefix that constitutes the first member of the compound is replaced by a past passive participle with the prefix in question, just as in the analysis of prepositional tapuruṣas:

\[ \text{prapattāṁ parṇaṁ yasya sa pra-parṇaḥ} \]
\[ \text{“that is away-leaved whose leaf has fallen away”} \]

\[ \text{udgātā kandhāraṁ yasya sa ut-kandhāraḥ} \]
\[ \text{“that is up-necked whose neck is lifted up”} \]

Examples from the commentaries:

Ragh.M. 2.22 pruṣa-phalāṇi purogatiṁ pratyāsannāṁ phalāṇaṁ yepāṁ tāṁ hi. ahead-fruited those whose fruits are located ahead—in the near future

Kum. V. 4.1 vigato naśto dhavaḥ patir yasyaṁ sa vi-dhavaḥ she whose husband—spouse—is gone away—perished—is husbandless

Kum.M. 3.75 uchirasāṁ unnata-sīraso mahāaṁ high-headed uplifted-headed—great

Note in the last example that the commentator simply inserted the expansion into the compound without bothering to offer an analysis.

1.65.4 Saha-bahuvrihi compounds

Bahuvrihis beginning with saha (“with”) or its substitute sa- might be expected to be analyzed along the lines of tapuruṣas with inseparable prefixes as the first member (thus sa-putraḥ, “with his son,” might be analyzed saḥiḥāḥ putro yasya, “whose son is together [with him]”), and some commentators use such a formula. But many such compounds are technically limited to instances in which both the thing referred to by the entire compound and the thing denoted by the second member are equally involved in some action—e.g., sa-putro gatiḥ, “He went with his son”—so that some commentators prefer the stricter and simpler formula saha...
putreṇa, “together with his son.” Although this analysis makes the compound look like a dependent tātpuruṣa, such compounds are still classed as bahuvrīhis.

In practice commentators using the saha formula usually employ it in connection with a form of the verb varītate:

_Ragh.M. 1.81_ saha patnyā varīta iti _sa-patnīkāḥ_ sa. “nady-ṛta ś ca”

iti kap-prayayah he is with his wife, thus being with-wifed. The suffix _kap_ (i.e., _-ka_, is added by Pā. 5.4.153) “and (after a bahuvrīhi) ending in the feminine endings _i_ or _-i_, or _-r_.”

_Ragh.M. 2.23_ sa-dārasya dārair arundhatyā saha varītanasya

with-wifed being with his wife Arundhatī

These compounds must be distinguished from those bahuvrīhis in which _sa_ stands not for _saha_ but for _samāṇa_ (“same,” “shared”) or _sadrā_ (“similar”). Examples are _sa-varṇaḥ_ “having the same social class” (_samāṇo varṇo_ yasya sa _sa-varṇaḥ_) and _sa-tīrthaḥ_ “having the same teacher” (lit., “having the same font”).

### 1.66.5 Anekapada-bahuvrīhi compounds

Aneka-pada or “multiword” bahuvrīhi must be analyzed as consisting of more than two members. Ordinarily compounds containing many words—with the exception of certain _dvandvas_ (see end of Section 1.62)—can be analyzed in the first instance as compounds of only two members, by combining words in such a way that either or both of the two basic members is itself a compound. But because of the numerous rules governing the retention of feminine endings and the addition of suffixes in bahuvrīhi compounds, it is sometimes necessary to analyze an appositional bahuvrīhi compound as being composed of three or more basic members. In the compound _citra-jaratī-guḥ_ (“having a spotted old cow”), for example, we cannot combine the first two words (“having a spotted-and-old cow”) because the form of the compound would then have to be _jarac-citra-guḥ_, and we cannot combine the last two words (“having a spotted old-cow”) because the form would have to be _citra-jarad-gavīkāḥ_. We are therefore stuck with three members, but the resulting analysis is fortunately straightforward—the three are simply put in apposition: _citra_ _jaratī_ _gaur_.

### 1.66.6 Non-appositional bahuvrīhis

A few types of bahuvrīhi compounds are analyzed as _vyadhikaraṇa_ or non-appositional. For these few bahuvrīhis the precise way in which the first member of the compound adds some specification to the second member is most conveniently demonstrated by displaying one of the two members in an oblique case in the analysis. This sort of analysis is used for two particular types of compound:

#### 1.66.1 Locative as second member

_śaśi_ ṣekhara yasya sa _śaśi-ṣekharah_ (“he is moon-crested who has a moon on his crest”)  
cakra pāṇau yasya sa _cakra-pāṇih_ (“he is discus-handed who has a discus in his hand”)

Example:

_Kum.M. 3.10_  _piṅkāḥ_ pāṇau yasya sa _piṅkā-pāṇih_. . . . _tasya [piṅkā-pāṇeh_]. in whose hand is (the bow) Pināka, he is Pināka-handed. . . . Of him [of the Pināka-handed one].

#### 1.66.2 Genitive as first member

_uṣṭrasyeva mukhaṁ yasya sa _uṣṭra-mukhaḥ_ (“he is camel-faced who has a face like a camel’s”)  
candraṣyeva kāntir yasya sa _candra-kāntih_ (“he is moon-splendored who has splendor like the moon’s”)

In analyzing this last type of compound, many commentators prefer a fuller formula:
Chapter 8. Nominal Compounds

1.67 Special bahuvrhis

The standard technique of using a relative pronoun in an oblique case while analyzing bahuvrhis does not apply in three peculiar types of bahuvrhis, involving numerals (Section 1.67.1), intermediate points of the compass (Section 1.67.2), and indeclinable descriptions of reciprocal combat (Section 1.67.3). The other peculiarities observed in the analysis of bahuvrhis correspond for the most part to the irregularities found in tatpurusa compounds (Section 1.68).

1.67.1 Sāmkhya-bahuvrhi compounds

Sāmkhya-bahuvrhis (“bahuvrhi of numerals, Pāṇini 2.2.25) fall into three main groups, for each of which the peculiar form of the standard analysis is self-explanatory:

(1) dasīniim iisanniiJ:!-iisanna-dasiiJ:! (“around ten”) dasīniim aduriiJ:!-adura-dasiiJ:! (“not far from ten”) dasīniim adhikiiJ:!-adhika-dasiiJ:! (“more than ten”) dasīniim mukham iiva sa ustra-mukha (“he is camel-faced who has a face like a camel’s face”) candrasya kāntir iiva kāntir yasya sa candra-kāntī (“he is moon-splendored who has splendor like the moon’s splendor”) Such compounds are considered another form of uttara-pada-lopati (see end of Section 1.54.4), since the compound can be interpreted as standing for ustra-mukha-mukha, candra-kānti-kānti, etc.

Ragh. M. 1.8 muninām vṛttir iiva vṛttir yesaṁ teṣam [muni-vṛttinām] of those who have a life like the life of sage of the sage-lived ones

Ragh. M. 1.13 vṛṣasya skandha iiva skandho yasya sa rathā [vṛṣa-skandhā]. . . uttara-pada-lopi bahurviḥ. he whose shoulder is like the shoulder of a bull is so [bull-shouldered] . . . A bahurviḥ with loss of the latter member (of the first word).

Kum. M. 1.11 aśvānām mukhāniva mukhāni yāsāṁ tāḥ aśva-mukhyā kinnara-sriyoh, ustra-mukhavat semāśah. those who have faces like the faces of horses are horse-faced Kinnara women. The compound is like “camel-faced.”

Kum. M. 3.54 tāravākasya rāgo iiva rāgo yasya tat [tāravākarāgaṇi] bālākāramam ity arthaḥ. upamānapūrṇapado bahurviḥ uttarapadalopaś ca. that which has redness like the redness of the young sun is young-sun-rednessed, i.e., as pink as the young sun. A bahurviḥ with a standard of comparison as the first member, and with loss of the latter member (of the first word).

Kum. M. 4.3 puruṣasyākṛtrī iivākṛtrī yasya tat puruṣākṛtrī that which has a shape like the shape of a man is man-shaped

Ragh. M. 5.25 dvi-trāṇi dve [vā] triṇi vā. two-or-three [either] two or three.

(2) dvau vā trayo vā—dvi-trāh (“two or three”) trayo vā catvatu vā—tri-caturāḥ (“three or four”) Note that these are akin to dvandva compounds. Commentators sometimes leave out one of the vā words:

Kum. M. 3.55 kumārasya skandasya vikrama iiva vikramo yasya sa taihokāh [kumāra-vikramāh]. He whose power is like the power of Kumāra—of Skandha—is so-called [Kumāra-powered].

1.67.2 Indeclinable descriptions of reciprocal combat

Ragh. M. 1.8 muniṁiif[\[l vṛttir iiva vṛttir yesii'!l teśii'!l [muni-vṛttinim] of those who have a life like the life of sage of the sage-lived ones

Ragh. M. 1.13 vṛṣasya skandha iiva skandho yasya sa rathā [vṛṣa-skandhā]. . . uttara-pada-lopi bahurviḥ. he whose shoulder is like the shoulder of a bull is so [bull-shouldered] . . . A bahurviḥ with loss of the latter member (of the first word).

Kum. M. 1.11 aśvānām mukhāniva mukhāni yāsāṁ tāḥ aśva-mukhyā kinnara-sriyoh, ustra-mukhavat semāśah. those who have faces like the faces of horses are horse-faced Kinnara women. The compound is like “camel-faced.”

Kum. M. 3.54 tāravākasya rāgo iiva rāgo yasya tat [tāravākarāgaṇi] bālākāramam ity arthaḥ. upamānapūrṇapado bahurviḥ uttarapadalopaś ca. that which has redness like the redness of the young sun is young-sun-rednessed, i.e., as pink as the young sun. A bahurviḥ with a standard of comparison as the first member, and with loss of the latter member (of the first word).

Kum. M. 4.3 puruṣasyākṛtrī iivākṛtrī yasya tat puruṣākṛtrī that which has a shape like the shape of a man is man-shaped

Ragh. M. 5.25 dvi-trāṇi dve [vā] triṇi vā. two-or-three [either] two or three.

(2) dvau vā trayo vā—dvi-trāh (“two or three”) trayo vā catvatu vā—tri-caturāḥ (“three or four”) Note that these are akin to dvandva compounds. Commentators sometimes leave out one of the vā words:

Kum. M. 3.55 kumārasya skandasya vikrama iiva vikramo yasya sa taihokāh [kumāra-vikramāh]. He whose power is like the power of Kumāra—of Skandha—is so-called [Kumāra-powered].

1.67.3 Intermediate points of the compass

Ragh. M. 1.13 vṛṣasya skandha iiva skandho yasya sa rathā [vṛṣa-skandhā]. . . uttara-pada-lopi bahurviḥ. he whose shoulder is like the shoulder of a bull is so [bull-shouldered] . . . A bahurviḥ with loss of the latter member (of the first word).

Kum. M. 1.11 aśvānām mukhāniva mukhāni yāsāṁ tāḥ aśva-mukhyā kinnara-sriyoh, ustra-mukhavat semāśah. those who have faces like the faces of horses are horse-faced Kinnara women. The compound is like “camel-faced.”

Kum. M. 3.54 tāravākasya rāgo iiva rāgo yasya tat [tāravākarāgaṇi] bālākāramam ity arthaḥ. upamānapūrṇapado bahurviḥ uttarapadalopaś ca. that which has redness like the redness of the young sun is young-sun-rednessed, i.e., as pink as the young sun. A bahurviḥ with a standard of comparison as the first member, and with loss of the latter member (of the first word).

Kum. M. 4.3 puruṣasyākṛtrī iivākṛtrī yasya tat puruṣākṛtrī that which has a shape like the shape of a man is man-shaped

Ragh. M. 5.25 dvi-trāṇi dve [vā] triṇi vā. two-or-three [either] two or three.

(2) dvau vā trayo vā—dvi-trāh (“two or three”) trayo vā catvatu vā—tri-caturāḥ (“three or four”) Note that these are akin to dvandva compounds. Commentators sometimes leave out one of the vā words:

Kum. M. 3.55 kumārasya skandasya vikrama iiva vikramo yasya sa taihokāh [kumāra-vikramāh]. He whose power is like the power of Kumāra—of Skandha—is so-called [Kumāra-powered].
be the first member is a past passive participle; those compounds of this type in which the reversal is optional are said by the commentators to belong to the ahitagny-adi group (see the last example above). Mutilation of members (e.g., in prṣodādi compounds—see Section 1.58) also does not affect the basic formula used in analyzing the compound, and the same is true of the numerous suffixes added at the end of bahuvrīhi compounds.

1.67.2 Dig-bahuvrīhi compounds

Dig-bahuvrīhis ("bahuvrīhis of direction," Pāṇini 2.2.26) form names of the intermediate points of the compass:

dakṣīṇasyāḥ pūrvasyas ca diśor (yad) antarālam (sā) dakṣīna-pūrva (dik) ("[that direction is] southeastern [which is] the interval between the southern and eastern directions")

uttarasyāḥ pūrvasyas ca diśor antarālam—uttara-pūrva ("the interval between the North and the East—Northeast")

1.67.3 Reciprocal combat

Bahuvrīhis describing reciprocal combat (Pāṇini 2.2.27) are indeclinable compounds; in their analysis the members are displayed in the locative when the word grhīṭva ("grasping") is added, and in the instrumental when the word prahrtya ("striking") is added:

keśesu keśesu ca grhītvēdaṃ yuddhaṃ právṛttam—kesākeśi ("this battle proceeded grasping each other by the hair—hair-to-hair")

daṇḍair daṇḍais ca prahrtyēdaṃ yuddhaṃ vṛttam—danḍādanḍi ("this battle occurred striking each other with staves—staff-against-staff")

1.68 Irregular bahuvrīhis

These correspond in general to the types of irregularities found in the form of tatpurusa on which the bahuvrīhi may be said to be based. Reversal of members is most common in bahuvrīhis in which what would normally

Kum. M. 3.1 trīr āvṛtā daśa pārīṃnām eṣām iti trīdaśān devān.
"sāṁkhyeyāvayāsānānādārādi-kā-sāṁkhyeyā iti bahuvrīhi, their extent is ten repeated thrice, thus thirty gods. A bahuvrīhi by (Pā. 2.2.25) "An indeclinable, ēsanna, adūra, adhitā, and a numeral [is compounded] with a numeral, in the meaning of a number."

1.69. Introduction

Compounds containing more than two words can usually be viewed as consisting of two members, one or both of which happens to be a compound in itself. The principle exceptions are dvandva compounds, where

Rag. M. 1.23 dharme raitir yasya tasya [dharme-rateM of him whose love was for the law of the law-love one

Kum. V. 2.18 yuga-pramāṇā bāhavo yeṣām tebhya yuga-bāhubhya ājānu-bhujebhyaḥ— to those whose arms are pole-length to the pole-armed ones to those whose arms reach to their knees.

Kum. M. 3.72 bhavasya netrā janma yasya sa bhava-netra-janmā. "avarjyo bahuvrīhi vyadhikaraṇo jannādy-uttarapadaḥ" iti vāmanaḥ. He whose birth was from the eye of Bāhva is Bāhva-eye-birthed.

Vāmana says that a nonappositional bahuvrīhi need not be avoided if the last member is a word such as "birth."

Kum. M. 2.47 deha-baddham baddha-deham [i.e., baddho deho yena]. mūrtimad ity arthaḥ. āhitagny-ādīvāni niṣṭhāyāḥ para-nipātāḥ. body-assumed assumed-bodied [i.e., by whom a body has been assumed]. The meaning is embodied. Irregular reversal of members because of belonging to the group āhitagny-ādi (āhitagni, "established-fired," i.e., by whom the ritual fire is maintained, is a compound that also appears in the reversed form agny-āhita).

F. Longer Compounds
the number of members in the compound does not fundamentally alter the method of analysis (Section 1.62), and certain rare bahuvrthi compounds (Section 1.65.5). Longer compounds are analyzed by breaking them down into their parts, and analyzing those parts as well, using essentially the same techniques as in the analysis of simple compounds containing only two words. The differences from the treatment of simpler compounds consist primarily of techniques used to avoid the tedious repetition of parts of the overall compound. The general principle is one of omitting as much as possible of this repetition with the help of relative pronouns (Section 1.70), and this principle is supplemented where useful by the use of simpler formulas of analysis for some types of compounds or by other special techniques (Section 1.71). Commentators often show individual preferences in their choice of the available options (Section 1.72).

### 1.70 General principles

In analyzing a longer compound the standard formulas of analysis, if used in their full form for each of the compounds forming part of the overall compound, would generate a tedious amount of repetition, and commentators often manage to omit much of this repetition, using relative pronouns where necessary to preserve an indication of how the parts fit together. We may take as a simple example a compound in *Kumāravatihāvya* 1.60, tacchiraś-candra-pādāh (i.e., tat-siras-candra-pādāh), meaning “the beams of the moon on his (Śiva’s) head.” While an English translation of longer compounds such as this usually starts from the end of the compound, the analysis in Sanskrit usually starts from the beginning; thus *tāt* is the first member of the genitive *tatpuruṣa* compound *tacchiraś*, which in turn is the first member of the locative *tatpuruṣa* compound *tacchiraś-candra*, which in turn is the first member of the entire genitive *tatpuruṣa* compound *tacchiraś-candra-pādāh*. A full analysis of the compound, using the standard formulas for these types of compounds, would be as follows:

1. *tasya śirah: tacchiraś, tacchiraś-candra: tacchiraś-candra, tacchiraś-candra-pādāh: tacchiraś-candra-pādāh*

   his head: his-head,

   the moon on his-head: his-head-moon,

   the beams of his-head-moon: his-head-moon-beams

Of course such an analysis is unnecessarily cumbersome, and scarcely any commentator would be so tedious (but see the first example in Section 1.72). The repetition of the compounds arrived at in each step of the analysis can be avoided by using a pronoun to replace each compound when marking its case as the first member of the next larger compound:

1. *tasya śirah: tacchiraś, tasmin candra: tacchiraś-candra, tasya pādāh: tacchiraścandra-pādāh*

   his head: his-head,

   the moon on it: his-head-moon,

   its beams: his-head-moon-beams

But even this single mention of the form of each intermediate compound is more than most commentators find necessary. It can be omitted by relying on these pronouns to indicate the connection between the parts of the entire compound. When this is done the only further necessity is to make it clear what each such pronoun refers to, and this may be done by supplying relative pronouns. If the part being referred to by the pronoun is itself one of those types of compounds analyzed by a formula ending with a pronoun whose antecedent is clear—e.g., a bahuvrthi ending with “…yasya saḥ”—this problem is automatically taken care of. In our example, each of the constituent compounds is a *tatpuruṣa* in which the last member is syntactically predominant; for these it is therefore possible simply to insert a relative pronoun in apposition with the last member of each successive part:

1. *tasya yac chiras tasmin yas candras tasya pādāh*

   the beams of that moon which is on that head which is his

This process of simplification is carried to its extreme in the analysis of the compound offered by the commentator Mallinātha:

1. *tasya girīṣasya śirasi candrasya pādāh*
the beams of the moon on his—Śiva’s—head

(For the inserted gloss giristasya see Section 1.21.) The only problem with this simplest form of analysis is that, while it indicates the syntactical connections between the individual words in the whole compound, it leaves unclear the precise arrangement of these words into subordinate compounds within the whole—in this instance, it may be unclear whether the final compound is composed of tac-chiraḥ plus candra-pādāḥ, or of tac-chiras-candraḥ plus pādāḥ. The analysis offered by the commentator Cāitravardhana avoids this problem by using a single relative pronoun:

(5) tasya śambhoḥ śirasasya candraḥ tasya pādāḥ

the beams of that moon which is on his—Śiva’s—head

This makes it clear that he divides the compound into tac-chiras-candraḥ plus pādāḥ.

Relative pronouns of this sort are frequently used to avoid what would otherwise result in uncertainty or misapprehension:

Kum.M. 1.16 [agra-saro-ruhāni] agr aprā yāni sarāmsī tēṣu ruhānī padmānī [highest-pond-growing:] growing in those ponds that are highest—on top—lotuses. [Here the pronouns are necessary to prevent the reader from taking sarourh as a compound.]

Ragh.M. 1.58 [ātithyā-kriyā-sānta-ratha-kośobha-parisramam] ātithyasya [yā] kriyā tāyā śānto ratha-kośobhaḥ yah parisramah sa yasya sa tam tathoktams [hospitality-rite-pacified-chariot-jolt-fatigue:] he is so-called who has that fatigue, due to chariot-jolts, which is pacified by that [which is] the rite of hospitality. [Here the tāyā after kriyā is to prevent the reader from taking ātithyasya with anything other than kriyā.]

Ragh.M. 1.51 [ālavālāmbu-pāyiṇām] ālavālāsya jālāvāpa-pradesēṣu yad ambī tat-pāyiṇām [tough-water-drinkers:] drinkers of that water which is in troughs—in watering places.

Ragh.M. 1.4 kṛta-vāg-dvāre kṛtaṁ rāmāyanaṁ-prabandha-rūpā yā vāk sāiva dvārāṁ praveśo yasya tasmin. in the one having a made-speech-door: in that which has a door—entrance—made that is nothing other than that which is speech, in the form of the Rāmāyana, etc.

1.71 Special techniques

The sort of straightforward analysis just described works well for compounds made up of a string of dependent tātpurūsas, but it can be interrupted when an element within the larger compound is one that requires a more complicated formula. Commentators do what they can to streamline the process of analysis, usually by employing a simpler formula of analysis than that applied to compounds in isolation (Section 1.71.1), and if this is not possible they will analyze a constituent compound separately from the larger compound (Section 1.71.2).

1.71.1 Simpler formulas of analysis

By far the most common instance of simplified formulas is in the analysis of karmadhārayas forming part of a larger compound; in this situation they are often analyzed simply by placing the members of the karmadhāraya in apposition. In Kumārasambhava 4.29, for example, the bow of Kāma is described as pelava-puspa-patri, “having tender blossoms as its arrows,” and each of the major commentators on the poem gives as the analysis of this pelavāni puspāni eva patrīno yasya tat, “that which has arrows that are tender blossoms,” even though in isolation the karmadhāraya at the beginning of the compound would always be analyzed pelavāni ca tāni puspāni ca (Section 1.54.1), rather than pelavāni puspāni.

1.71.2 Separate analysis

Often the formula required for the analysis of a constituent compound cannot be fit smoothly in the analysis of the larger compound, and some part of the larger compound must then be analyzed separately, before beginning the continuous analysis of the whole. In Kumārasambhava 1.11, the kinnara women are described as durvaha-srōṇi-payodharārāh, “tormented by their burdensome hips and breasts,” where srōṇi-payodharam
is a samāhāra-dvandva compound (Section 1.63). The commentators first analyze this part separately, and then treat it as a unit in the analysis of the larger compound:

Kum.M. 1.11 śrōnayaś ca payodharaś ca śrōn-payodharam; durvahena
durdharena śrōn-payodharendrāh pīdītaḥ hips and breasts:
hips-and-breasts; tormented—oppressed—by
burdensome—heavy—hips-and-breasts

Notice that the first member of this whole compound, durvaha (“burdensome, difficult to carry”) is itself a compound, and could be given an analysis of its own—e.g., krcchenaḥyata iti durvaham, “it is carried with difficulty, thus difficult-to-carry”—which would then be converted to the instrumental case for the analysis of the rest of the larger compound by adding tena after its analysis. But commentators very frequently choose not to bother with the analysis of items whose construction is obvious, and will often simply provide a synonym instead, as Mallinātha has done here (durdharena).

1.72 Choice of options

The analyses of any longer compound offered by different commentators may differ, aside from actual differences of opinion on the grammatical construction of the compound, depending on the frequency with which each commentator chooses not to analyze constituent parts of the whole or to insert explanatory glosses, and also depending on the extent to which each commentator chooses to use the inserted relative pronouns described in Section 1.70. A simple example is Kumārasambhava 1.10, where phosphorescent plants (oṣadhayah) are described as dari-grhōtsanga-niśakta-bhāsah, “having light clinging in the interior of house-houses.” An anonymous commentary (inserted in a conflated version of Vallabhadeva’s commentary, BORI Devanāgari MS No. 379 of 1887–91) analyzes this compound in the most tedious way possible, with no inserted glosses or explanatory material:

kim-viśiṣṭa oṣadhayah? dari-grhōtsanga-niśakta-bhāsah. darya eva
gṛham dari-grham. dari-grham utsanage dari-grhōtsangah.

Here the three commentators differ somewhat in the choice of synonyms they offer, but in the actual analysis of the compound the commentator Cāritravardhana differs from Mallinātha throughout their commentaries: when they differ on this point, it is consistently Vallabhadeva who gives the singular and Mallinātha who gives the plural.

To illustrate further these choices and to introduce several other aspects of the analysis of long compounds, here are three long compounds with analyses offered by these two commentators. In the quotations from
Chapter 8. Nominal Compounds

the commentaries, all inserted explanatory material and glosses have been deleted, so as not to distract attention from the analyses themselves. Notice that in the analysis of longer compounds such as these, Vallabhadeva differs from Mallinātha in another way as well: Vallabhadeva consistently uses the technique of inserting relative pronouns with following correlatives, while Mallinātha consistently avoids the use of pronouns wherever they are not absolutely necessary.

First, a long tatpurūṣa compound (Śīṣṭāvatāra 4.20):

vilambi-ghanādvaya-parivārita-vāraṇāṇḍra-llā, “the grace of a mighty elephant girded by a hanging pair of bells.” Vallabhadeva analyzes this as vilambi yad ghanādvayam tena parivārito yo vāraṇāṇḍras tasya līlā, “the grace of that elephant-lord which is girded by that bell-pair which is hanging.” The analysis that Mallinātha’s gives is vilaminī ghanādvayena parivāritasya vāraṇāṇḍras tasya līlā, “the grace of an elephant-lord girded by a hanging bell-pair.” Note that neither commentator bothers to analyze ghanādvaya or vāraṇāṇḍra.

Second, a long bahuvrīhi compound (Śīṣṭāvatāra 3.80):

uttāla-tālvāna-sampavṛtta-samāra-simanta-ketakīkā, “(regions) where the screw pines are parted by the breeze moving forth from the tall grove(s) of palms.” Vallabhadeva’s analysis is uttāla yat tālvāna tasmāt sampavṛtto yah samāras tena simantaś kekatāyo yatra te tāthākā, “Those (regions) are so-called (there are) screw pines parted by that breeze which is moving forth from that palm-grove which is tall.” Mallinātha’s analysis is uttāloṣṭa tālv-vāneṣu sampravṛtitena samārēṇa simantaḥ ketakāyo yeṣu te tāthākā, “Those (regions are) so-called in which (there are) screw pines parted by the breeze moving forth in tall palm-groves.” Again, neither commentator bothers to analyze tālv-vāna. Notice also that while Vallabhadeva interprets vāna as ablative singular, Mallinātha presents it as locative plural—an instance of a characteristic difference already described.

The formula te tāthākā (“they are so-called”), and the simpler te tāthā (“they are thus,” see the next example), are used very frequently at the end of an analysis requiring a pronoun to restitute the whole compound after the use of a relative pronoun (as in the analysis of bahuvrīhi compounds) or iti (as in the analysis of some upapada compounds). These formulas are designed to avoid the necessity of repeating the whole compound at the end, and are used even with simple two-member compounds. Thus the bahuvrīhi compound dirgha-karṇa (“Long-ear”) can be analyzed dirghau
dirghau yasya sa dirgha-karṇaḥ, or dirghau karṇau yasya sa tathākāḥ, or simply dirghau karṇau yasya sa tathā.

Finally, an example of a long upapada compound (Śīṣṭāvatāra 5.12):

vanyēbha-mastaka-nikhāgra-mukta-muktāphala-prakara-bhajii, “(cave-houses) possessing [-bhajī, neut. pl. of -bhaj] heaps of pearls released by claw-tips that had been dug into the heads of wild elephants.” Vallabhadeva’s analysis is vanyēbha-mastakesu nikhāgtiś yānī nakhāgrāṇi tair muktāṇi yānī muktāphalāṇi teṣāṇi prakarās tān bhajanīti tathā tūni, “those (cave-houses are) so, as they possess those heaps of those pearls which have been released by those claw-tips dug into wild-elephant-heads.” Mallinātha’s analysis is vanyēbhāṇāṁ mastakesu nikhitāī nakhāgrāira muktāṇ muktāphala-prakarān bhajanīti tathākā, “those (cave-houses are) so-called, as they possess pearl-heaps released by claw-tips dug into the heads of wild-elephants.” Here Vallabhadeva does not analyze vanyēba-mastaka, Mallinātha does not analyze muktāphala-prakara, and neither analyzes vanyēba or nakhāgrāra.
Chapter 9

Ekaṣeṣa Formations

1.73 Introduction

Ekaṣeṣa ("remainder of one") formations (Pā.1.2.64–1.2.73) are those in which one noun is used in the dual or plural to stand for more than one noun of identical form but different signification (e.g., “Smiths” for “[Bob] Smith and [Tom] Smith”), one noun (the masculine form) is used to stand for both male and female members of a pair (Section 1.74), or a neuter adjective is used to modify both a neuter noun and a non-neuter noun (Section 1.75). For every kind of ekaṣeṣa formation the formula of analysis is exactly parallel to that of a simple itareṣu dvandva compound (Section 1.62).

1.74 Dvandvāikaṣeṣa

Here the name of the male of a pair stands for both the male and the female (e.g., “dogs” for “dogs and bitches”).

Ragh.M. 1.1  mātī ca pitā ca pitarau  mother and father—parents.

Ragh.M. 1.40  mrgaš ca mrgāś ca mṛgāḥ  does and bucks—deer

Kum.M. 1.27  putraś ca duhitaraś ca putrāḥ  sons and daughters—children
1.75 \textit{Napuṣaksāikaśeṣa}

Here a neuter adjective applies simultaneously to a neuter noun and a masculine or feminine noun.

Kum. M. 1.2 \textit{bhāsvatī ca} \{rātāṇī\} \textit{bhāsvatyaś ca} \{mahāuṣadhiḥ\} \textit{bhāsvatī dyutimanti} shining [jewels (neuter)] and shining [herbs (feminine)]—shining (neuter), radiant.

Chapter 10

Indicating the Construction

A. Arranging the Words of the Text

1.76 Introduction

Sanskrit commentaries are built up on a framework consisting of a rearrangement of the words of the text being commented on. The original text is called the \textit{mūla} ("root"). In arranging the words of the \textit{mūla} the commentators use either of two basic approaches, representing radically different ways of indicating the construction of the text: the \textit{kathābhūtī} approach (Section 1.77), and the \textit{anvayamukhī} approach (Section 1.78). The explanatory material offered by the commentator is superimposed upon the framework made up by the repeated words of the \textit{mūla}, using techniques that are the same in both approaches (Section 1.79). Several variations on the two approaches are possible (Section 1.80).

1.77 The \textit{kathābhūtī} approach

In this approach the commentator begins by giving the basic "skeleton sentence" of the original text, and then gradually fills in each of the remaining parts of the \textit{mūla} by asking questions that bring out the ways in which those parts fit into the construction of the original text. A commentary using this approach is called a \textit{kathābhūtī (īkā)} because one of the most
frequent questions used in this style is “katham-bhūtā?” (“of what nature?”), “being how?”, “what kind of...?”), or its equivalent “kim-viśiṣṭa?” (“distinguished by what?”). To illustrate this approach we may use as the mūla verse 2.1 of the Kumārasambhava of Kālidāsa:

\[
\text{tasmin viprakṛtā kāle tārakena divāukasah}
\]

\[
\text{turāsāham purodhāya dhāma svāyambhuvaṁ yayuḥ}
\]

At that time, being oppressed by Tāraka, the gods (lit., “heaven-dwellers”), placing Tūrāsāt (Indra) before them, went to the abode of the Self-born (Brahmā).

An anonymous commentary on the poem (inserted in the conflated recension of Vallabhadeva’s commentary in the BORI Devanāgarī MS 379 of 1887-91), using the kathambhūtā approach, arranges these words as follows:

\[
divāukasah... svāyambhuvām dhāma... yayuḥ... kim-viśiṣṭaḥ?
viprakṛtāḥ... kena? tārakena. kva? tasmin kāle... kim kṛtvā?
purodhāya... kam? turāsāham...
\]


Notice that the “skeleton sentence” need not be restricted to just the subject and verb. The commentator will generally include at least the direct object, and may also include items that are only loosely connected with the basic sentence (e.g., interjections and vocatives), as well as any simple items that can be dealt with easily and unobtrusively.

1.78 The anvayamukhī approach

In this approach the commentator goes straight through all the words of the mūla in one long string, merely rearranging them so as to place them in the most easily understandable prose order. In practice this usually results in some version of a “standard prose word-order,” the essentials of which are recorded in a verse in the Samāsaacakra, an elementary handbook used at the beginning stage in the traditional system of Sanskrit education:

\[
\text{tasmin i. tasmin kāle pārvaṭi-suśrūṣā-kāle tārakena tāraka-nāmā}
\]

\[
vajranāha-pureṇa kenaic asureṇa viprakṛtā upapātā divam okaḥ
\]

\[
sthānāṃ yeṣām te divāukasā devāḥ...
\]

“At that.” (etc.)—At that time at the time of Pārvatī’s service by Tāraka by a certain demon named Tāraka, the son of Vajraṇāha oppressed

1.79 Insertion of explanatory material

The basic arrangement of the words of the mūla, arrived at by either of the two approaches just described, serves as a framework upon which the commentator superimposes a mass of explanatory material. The glosses, analyses, and other comments are simply placed alongside the words of the mūla in their appropriate locations, using the techniques explained in preceding sections. The resulting interspersions often obscure the basic framework made up of the words repeated from the mūla. To illustrate this problem, here is the actual beginning of Mallinātha’s commentary on the verse we have been using as an example (the words repeated from the mūla are in bold type here):

\[
\text{tasmin i. tasmin kāle... tārakena... viprakṛtāḥ... divāukasah... turāsāham...}
\]

\[
purodhāya... svāyambhuvām... dhāma... yayuḥ.
\]

At that time, by Tāraka oppressed, the gods, Tūrāsāt placing before, to Svayambhū’s abode went.
Chapter 10. Indicating the Construction

1.79. Insertion of explanatory material

In the Sanskrit the disjoining effect of all this inserted matter is lessened somewhat by the connective powers of inflectional endings, and in giving this example we have helped matters further by underlining the words of the mūla. In many printed editions of Sanskrit commentaries, however, the customary lack of typographical emphasis and detailed punctuation makes the basic framework blend in with the mass of comments, so that the obstacles to an awareness of the underlying framework are intensified. Despite these difficulties, it is essential to remember that the words of the mūla (or at least readily discernible substitutes for them) have been arranged in a particular way by the commentator. If the commentary is viewed merely as a collection of unconnected clusters of explanation, the value of the underlying framework as a guide to the construction of the mūla will be lost. As a practical device it is often helpful to seek out the words repeated from the mūla and underline them, if the edition being used does not already set them apart in some way.

The explanatory portions of a commentary are inserted in precisely the same way in a commentary using the kathābhūtinī approach. For example, the anonymous commentator on Kumārasambhava 2.1 cited above fills out his basic framework as follows (note that in either approach the commentator first identifies the passage about to be commented upon by citing the pratīka, the first word or two, of the passage in question):

\[
\]


This is followed in the anonymous commentary by a mass of grammatical argument, including the citation of rules of Pāṇini and the analysis of the complex formations svāyambhuvam, divāukasāḥ, and turāśāhāṃ. While most commentators place analyses in ordinary language alongside the formations being analyzed, comments using technical language and arguments on technical matters are treated like quotations from dictionaries (see Section 1.13): some commentators insert them in the relevant place in the running commentary, and others bunch them together at the end of the commentary on the verse or section of the original text. Comments on technical matters concerning the verse or section as a whole (e.g., the explanation of the meter in which the verse is written or of a poetic figure involving the whole verse) are nearly always placed at the end, unless they are worked into the introduction (avatāraṇā) to the comment on that verse or section.

Bunching the technical comments together at the end of the commentary on a passage has the effect of reducing the interruption of the flow of the running commentary. Even when this is done, the indication of the construction of the mūla can still be considerably obscured by the insertion of explanatory material, and this problem is more acute in an anvayamukhī commentary than in a kathābhūtini commentary, because a commentary using the kathābhūtini approach sets forth the construction of the original text in a much more obvious way to begin with. While the anvayamukhī approach thus produces a commentary that is more difficult to read until one has had some experience with its characteristic procedures, it is important to learn how to deal with its intricacies, because in practice most commentators rely primarily on this style in preference to the kathābhūtini approach, which, in addition to being rather more tedious, came to be regarded as old-fashioned.

As a further example to help make clear the essential difference between the two approaches and the ways in which explanatory material may be inserted in the basic framework, we may take as our mūla the opening verse of the Śīṣupālavadhā of Māgha:

\[
\text{śrīyaḥ patiḥ śrimati śāśitum jagaj jagaj-nivāsa vasudeva-sadbhujā}
\]

vasan dādaśāvataraṃtām ambaraḍ dhīranya-garbhadāśa-bhuvam munim hariḥ

Hari, the husband of Śrī, the abode of the world, dwelling in the glorious house of Vasudeva in order to govern the world, saw descending from the
sky the sage (Nārada) who is the son of Hiranyagarbha.

The earliest of the commentators on the great Sanskrit kāvyas whose works have survived, Vallabhadeva, comments on this using the old kathānubhūti approach. His remarks begin as follows (the numbers in square brackets indicate the sections of this handbook in which you will find explanations of some of the devices being used here):

śriya iti. harir munīṃ dadarśa iti sambandhāḥ [Section 1.82.2]. nanu [Section 2.49] haraya dasa samabhīyataḥ vartante—"arka-maraka-manḍūka-visṇu-vāsava-vāyavaḥ / turanga-simha-sīrāmu-yamāśa ca haraya dasa." ko 'sau harir ity āha—śriyā pathiḥ lakṣmī-nāha viṣṇu ity arthaḥ [Section 1.13.1]. munīṃ kam ity āha—hiraṇya-garbhaṅga-bhuvanaḥ brahma-tanayaṁ nāradam ity arthaḥ, yady api brahma-[tanaya-jīvenāsa] tadā harinā [na] jñāyi, yena kenaic ca chadbena nirdeśe kartavye munī-śabdāḥ [Section 1.6.2] prayuktāḥ kavinā jñāta eva. tasya cātād vacanam. kādārākṣī kva vasudeva-sadāni śīrasena-purota-gțhe śrīmati sarva-samārddhi-yukte vasantī tāṣṭan. kāli-dvapara-sandhyāṁga-bhuvanaṁ nivasaṁ adharaṁ. nanu bhagavāṇ purātana-munīr badary-aṣṭra-nivāst kiṃ-i ti tattvavāṣety āha-kiṃ kartuṁ jagaḥ ācāsaṁ tri-bhuvanaṁ rakṣitum pālayitum. etena karmādhēnaṁ bhagavāṇ nirastam. kṛdṛḥ harir janaṁ niśavāḥ bhuvanāṇāṁ niśavaḥ adhārāḥ. niṇvasanty asmin ti niśavāḥ [Section 1.29.6]. kṛdṛṣām ambardā añāśād avatārāntām padantam. muner viśeṣaṇam [Section 1.82.3]. aṅgabūḥ-śabḍa upacārān mānase 'pi putre vartate. yathā sarasija-śaḍāḥ shala-kamałe 'pi. . . . "Of Śrī," (etc.)—The construction is "Hari saw the sage." But there are ten Haris who are enumerated—"The sun, a monkey, a frog, Viṣṇu, Indra, the wind, a horse, a lion, the moon, and Yama are the ten Haris." Which one is this? He tells us—the husband of Śrī of Lakṣmī, i.e., Viṣṇu. What sage? He tells us—the son of Hiranyagarbha the offspring of Brahmā, i.e., Nārada. Although at that time Hari did not recognize him as Nārada, since he had to be designated with some word or other the word 'sage' is used, which the poet knew him to be, and this is his (i.e., the poet's) utterance. When did he see him? Where? Dwelling situated in the house of Vasudeva in the home of the son of Śīrasena, (which was) glorious endowed with all prosperity. What is meant is (that it was) at the juncture of the Kali and Dwapara ages. But the Lord is the ancient sage who resides in the āśrama at Badarī, so why would he dwell there? He tells us—in order to do what? In order to govern the world in order to protect, to rescue, the universe. This (statement) refutes (the notion) that the Lord is dependent upon actions. What sort of Hari? The abode of the world the abode, receptacle, of the worlds. They abide in him, thus (he is) an abode. What sort (of sage)? Descending from the sky flying down from the heavens—this modifies the sage. The word aṅga-bhā (lit., "arising from the body") is metaphorically applied to a mind-born son as well, just as the word sarasi-ja (lit., "born in water") is applied even to a lotus growing on dry land. . . .

The same verse is subjected to the anuvamukhi treatment by the more recent commentator Mallinātha, who begins as follows:

śriya iti— śriyo lakṣmyā pathiḥ anena rukminiṁ-rāpayā śriyā sameta iti sācīcam [Section 1.13.5]. "rāghavate 'bhavat stūr rukminiṁ krṣṇa-janamāni" iti viṣṇu-purānāḥ. jagan-nīvāsa jagaṭāṁ adhāra-bhūtāḥ [Section 1.84.3]. kṣiṣ-śādhāla-bhuvanaṁ iti yāvar [Section 1.12.3]. tathāpi jagaḥ lokam śāśūnāṁ duṣṭa-nigrasa-śiṣṭaṅgraḥābhāyāṁ niyantum śrīmati lakṣmyā-yukte vasudeva-sadāni vasudeva-rūpaṁ kaśyapaṣya vēsmāni vasantā krṣṇa-rūpeṇa tiṣṭham harir viṣṇu ambardā avatārāntām. indra-sandeśa-kathārātham iti bhāvaḥ [Section 1.13.2]. hīranyasya garbhaṁ hīranyā-garbhaṁ brahmāṇa-prabhuvaṁ, tasyāṅgā-bhāvaṁ tena-jam. athaṁ tasyāṅgād avayaṁ utṣaṅgākhyād bhavaṁ hīranyā-garbhaṅga-bhāvaḥ [Section 1.32.2. Section 1.59] tam [hīranyā-garbhaṅga-bhuvaṁ] munim, nāradam ity arthaḥ. "utṣaṅgān nāradō jajīne daśaḥ 'nugsthaṁ svayambhuvaḥ' iti bhūgavāt. dadardā. kādāc ātītā śeṣāḥ [Section 1.83]. . . .

"Of Śrī," (etc.)— The husband of Śrī of Lakṣmī. By this it is suggested that he was with Śrī in the form of Rukmini, because the Viṣṇupūrāṇa says, "She was Śiśa when he was Rāghava, and Rukmini in his birth as Krṣṇa." The abode of the world the receptacle of the universe. To be precise, the one in whose belly the entire universe is situated. Nevertheless in order to govern the world to control the world by restraining the evil and favoring the good in the glorious endowed with prosperity house of Vasudeva home of Kaśyapa in the form of
Vasudeva dwelling residing in the form of Kṛṣṇa, Hari Viṣṇu, descending from the sky—the idea is that (he was coming) for the purpose of delivering a message from Indra. The fetus (garbha) of the golden one (hiraṇyāya)—Hiranyagarbha, Brahmā, because he was produced from the golden egg. His son, offspring [the son of Hiranyagarbha]. Or—arising from an arga—a part of the body, namely the lap—of him, born from a part of the body of Hiranyagarbha. That sage, i.e., Nārada. Because the Bhāgavatapurāṇa says, “Nārada was born from the lap of the Self-born, and Dakṣa from the thumb.” He saw. Supply “at a certain time.” …

Here the words of the mūla, shown in bold type in the text and translation, are presented in the normal prose word order of Sanskrit, although the continuity of this word order is impossible to convey in the English translation. Notice that Mallinātha first analyzes hiraṇyāga-rarbhā-bhavam as a genitive tatpurūṣa, and then decides that it is an upapada compound. When a commentator gives more than one possibility in such instances, the last alternative mentioned is ordinarily the one that he prefers.

1.80 Variations on the two approaches

Commentators frequently use one of three variations on the basic ways of arranging the words of the mūla.

The first variation involves a combination of the two basic approaches. Quite often a commentator will use something akin to the kāthābhūtini approach to break the mūla into two or more large parts, but will use the anvayamukhi method in dealing with each of these parts.

In the second variation, which occurs most often in conjunction with the anvayamukhi approach, the commentator arranges the whole commentary in standard fashion, but omits the repetition of the words in the mūla. When this is done the glosses of the omitted words appear where they would be if the words of the original text were repeated in the commentary—to put it another way, the gloss often takes the place of the repeated word from the mūla in giving the basic construction of the original text.

In the third variation, the commentator begins by giving the bare anvaya of the original—i.e., the arrangement of the words of the mūla in the order that forms the framework of an anvayamukhi commentary—without inserting any explanatory material. Once this has been done, the commentator begins again and gives a full commentary using any of the approaches or variations mentioned above.

As examples of the approaches and variations just described, here are seven actual commentaries on a single text. The mūla is verse 4.3 of the Kamārasaṃbhava:

ayī jīvita-nāṭha jīvasīy abhidhāyātthitayā tāyā puraḥ
dādrē puruṣākṛti kṣiṭau hara-kopānala-bhasma kevalam
[When the love-god Kāma was burned to death by the fire from the third eye of Śiva, Kāma’s wife Rāti fainted. Now she has regained consciousness, and—]

"Ah, lord of my life, are you alive?" Speaking thus, by her, rising up, was seen before her on the ground only the ashes from the fire of Śiva’s anger, in the form of a man.

(1) Example of a kāthābhūtini commentary (once again, the anonymous commentary inserted in the conflated recension of Vallabhadeva’s commentary):

ayīti, tayā ratyā kāmo hara-kopānala-bhasma dādrē dṛṣṭam.
kim-visīṣṭam? puruṣākṛti puruṣākāram. kasyām? kṣiṭau prabhīyām.

katham? puro ’gratāh. kim-visīṣṭayā ratyā? utthitayā. kim kṛtvā? ity
abhidhāya uktav. iti iti kim? he jīvita-nāṭha tvaṃ jīvasi kim na? ayī iti
komalāmanirāpe.

"ayī,” (etc.)—By her by Rāti, Kāma, the ash of the fire of Śiva’s anger, was seen was seen. Characterized by what? Having the form of a man having the shape of a man. On what? On the ground on the earth. How? Before in front. By Rāti, being characterized by what? Rising up. Doing what? Thus speaking uttering. What is “thus”? Oh lord of my life you are living, aren’t you? “Ah” (is used) in tender address.

(2) Example of an anvayamukhi commentary (again, Mallinātha’s Saṃjīvini):

ayīti, ayī iti praśne—”ayī praśnānuṣayayōh” iti viṣvaḥ—ayī jīvita-nāṭha
jīvasi prāṇīṣi kaccid ity abhidhāyātthitayā tāyā ratyā puro ’gre kṣiṭau
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1.80. Variations on the two approaches

Example of an anvayamukhi commentary with omission of many of the words of the mūla (Vallabhadeva’s Pāṇīkā, with the omitted words supplied in square brackets):


“ayī,” (etc.)—[Ah] I hope [lord of my life] lord of my life you are living? Thus [speaking] uttering rising up, by her only [in the form of a man] in the shape of a man [the ash from the fire of Śiva’s anger] the ash from the fire of Śiva’s anger was seen was seen. But not her beloved. When he was burned, his shape, like that of a fish, was not destroyed.

Example of a commentary giving the bare anvaya without comment before proceeding to a full commentary (the Vivaraṇa of Nārāyaṇapandita, who closely follows Aruṇāgirinātha in his readings and in his comments):

ayī. tayā ratyā puro ’gre puruṣākṛtir puruṣasyēvākṛtih ākāro yasya tat. hara-kopānala-bhāsmā harasya kopāgner bhāma kevalaṁ dadrē drṣṭam. na tu kānta iti kēṣaḥ. kim-bhātyā tayā? ayī iti komaḍāmantreṣe bho jīvita-nātha prāṇa-nātha jīvāsīty abhidhāya uktvā utthiayā.

“ayī,” (etc.)—By her by Ratī before in front in the form of a man that whose form, shape, is like a man’s. The ash of the fire of Śiva’s anger the ash of the anger-fire of Śiva only was seen was seen. Supply “but not her beloved.” By her, being of what sort? Ah used in tender address, Oh lord of my life lord of my life are you alive? Thus speaking rising up.
vilocanayor avadhāna-paratva-vidhānasya phalam āha—ayitī. jīvītā-nātha tvam īvasy ayity abhidhāya. utthitāya tayā purāh kṣitau puruṣākṛtri dadrē.

jīvītā-nātha prāṇēśvara tvam īväsī. ayitī tānunaya-praśnā-vasayam avayam. “ayi tānunaye praśne” iti haḷiṇyadhā, īväsī kaccid ity arthaḥ, ity abhidhāya ukṛtā utthitāya krātthāṁyā, puruṣākṛtri-mātra-darśānam jīvanasandhe hetuḥ, ata eva sa-tvaram utthānām. tayā rāyā [purāḥ] agry kṣitau bhūmā puruṣākṛtriḥ puruṣāsyaśākṛtriḥ abhāvo dadrē drēṣṭāhāt. 

āyam abhīprāyāḥ—hara-kopānala-niṣpatanānantaram eva moham upagati rīṣa-moha-vaṁgaṁanāntaram prīya-sārura-saṁsthañāṁ pārvavad evāvokṣaya satvaram utthāya tat sansāpam upaganiya purastād eva pursākṛṭiṁ dadrēti.

kidrśī puṇaḥ sā pursākṛṭi ity āha—kevalaṁ hara-kopānala-bhasma iti. kevalaṁ tac-carairāvayaveṣu tat-paṁstchadase vā na kaścid anāsas tattvaṁbhāsmatād-bhūto drēṣṭo bhāvāḥ. pursākṛtya eva keci paṁstanti. tāt-mate pursākṛti hara-kopānala-bhāsma dadrē ity anvayaḥ. 

anena ślokena karuṇasya vibhāvodbodho darśitaḥ.

He tells us the result of her making her eyes attentive—“ayi,” (etc.). Lord of my life, you are living, aren’t you? Thus speaking, by her, rising up, before her on the ground a man’s form was seen.

Lord of my life lord of my life, you are living? ayi is an indeclinable used in the context of conciliatory inquiry. “ayi in conciliatory inquiry”—Haḥyudha. The meaning is “You are alive, I hope?” Thus speaking uttering rising up performing the action of rising up. That she sees only the form of a man is the cause for her doubt concerning whether he is alive or not. Hence her rising up quickly. By her by Rat! [before] in front on the ground on the earth a man’s form the form, shape, of a man was seen was seen.

What is intended is this—immediately after the fire of Śiva’s anger had gone forth, Rati fainted. After regaining consciousness somewhat, she saw the shape of the body of her beloved, just as before, and rising quickly she went near him and saw up close the form of a man.

Of what further nature was that form of a man? He tells us—entirely ash from the fire of Śiva’s anger. Entirely—the idea is that not a single portion was seen, either in the limbs of his body or in their garments, that had not been completely reduced to ashes. Some read “puruṣākṛti.” In their opinion the construction is “the ash from the fire of Śiva’s anger was seen in the form of a man.”

This verse displays the awakening of the factors connected with the mood of compassion.

### 1.8.1 Introduction

Although the methods of arranging the words of the text described in Sections 1.76–1.80 constitute the primary means of indicating the construction of the text being commented on, commentators also make use of several other techniques to indicate features of syntax and construction. Among these are various ways of directly pointing out connections between words (Section 1.82), formulas for supplying words needed to complete the meaning of a sentence (Section 1.83), and devices for marking words belonging to particular syntactical categories (Section 1.84). Much syntactical information is also conveyed through the use of the technical terminology of Pāṇini grammar.

### 1.8.2 Direct statement of connections

#### 1.8.2.1 anvaya

The word anvaya (“going together,” construction) can refer not only to the construction of an entire passage (as in the name of the anvayamukha style of commentary, Section 1.78), but also to the construction of any part of the whole, and commentators frequently mark a specification of the construction of the original text by adding the formula ity anvayaḥ, “thus (is) the construction.” For an example, see the next-to-last sentence in the commentary of Nārāyaṇapāṇitā quoted at the end of Section 1.80.

The portion of a passage most commonly singled out for this treatment is the basic “skeleton sentence” of the original text, so that the formula ity anvayaḥ is often used in connection with the kathāṁbhūti “construction of the original text (Section 1.77). For example, in explaining his statement tatra dravyāni prthivy-ap-tejo-vāyv-ākāśa-kāla-dig-ātma-maṇāṇi navāviva (“Among these the substances are nine only—earth, water, fire, wind, space, time, direction, soul, and mind,” Tarkasattra 3), Anambhaṭṭā makes the following remark in his own commentary on the text, the Tarkadipikā:
The term *yojya* (“to be connected”) is used in much the same way.

### 1.82.3 višeṣaṇa

The word *višeṣaṇa* ("modifier") is used in explaining which word an adjective or adverb is to be construed with:

- **Ragh.M. 1.83** *sandhyāyām apy etad višeṣaṇam yojyaṁ*. This modifier (viz., “glossy and pink as a fresh shoot”) is to be construed with the dawn as well.

- **Ragh.M. 1.14** *merāv api višeṣaṇāṇi tulyāṇi*. The modifiers apply equally to Meru as well.

- **Ragh.M. 1.18** *bhūty-arthāṃ vṛddhy-artham eva ... grahaṇa-kriyā-višeṣaṇam cātāt*. Only for the sake of prosperity for the sake of well-being .... And this is a modifier of the action of taking.

As the first two examples indicate, this term is used in reference to adjectives chiefly when one adjective is to be construed with more than one noun.

### 1.82.4 Connections between verses

When a work composed in verse contains a sequence of verses that are syntactically connected (either by grammatical opposition or by the use of relative clauses), a commentator may call attention to such a sequence in two ways. In the introduction to his comments on the first verse in the sequence the commentator will usually specify the number of verses so connected through such statements as *sloka-dvayena ... aha* (“through the use of a pair of verses [the author] says ...”), *sloka-trayāṇa ... aha*, etc.

The commentator may also make use of the technical terms for connected sequences of various lengths. These terms are used most frequently at the end of the comments on the final verse of the sequence, in order to mark the close of the group of connected verses, but they may also be used in the introduction to the first verse in the sequence as well. The most frequent of these technical terms are *yugmaka* or *yugma* (a pair of syntactically connected verses), *samāṇitaka* (a group of three such verses), *kalāpaka* (four verses), and *kulaka* (five or more verses).
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1.82.5 Connections between statements

In addition to specifying the syntactical construction of a passage, commentators often try to help the reader understand the connections between the parts of the passage by making small asides designed to indicate the logical chain of thought involved. In the following example the commentator neglects to repeat many of the words being commented on, being content to let the synonyms he supplies for them take their place in revealing the structure of the original sentence [see Section 1.80, example (5)]; here the original words are inserted in square brackets.

Kum.M. 3.63  

And [she] that woman, having bowed to him, [was addressed] was spoken to [by Bhava] by Siva, “[Obtain] acquire [a husband] a spouse enjoyed by no other not shared.” Aod this quite [accurately] truly. Because afterwards Siva married her. Nor was this surprising. [For] because the utterances the statements of lords of rich persons do not foster do not result, at ripeness at the time of fruit, in an opposite an entirely different sense. And Siva is a lord.

1.83 Supplying words needed to complete the sense

When a word must be supplied in the original text, two situations are possible: if the word is simply to be understood in the passage without actually occurring elsewhere in the text, a commentator will use the formula iti seṣaḥ when the supplying the word (Section 1.83.1), but if the word is to be carried over from a preceding part of the text, formulas involving several technical terms are used (Section 1.83.2). See also Section 1.82.2.

1.83.1 iti seṣaḥ

The formula iti seṣaḥ (“thus the remainder,” “this remains [to be supplied]”) is placed after words understood in the original text and supplied by the commentary. It may be translated “supply ... ”:

Ragh.M. 12.71  

By that path by the route of the bridge having crossed over. Supply “the sea.”

Kum.M. 2.56  

For by a boon by the granting of a boon bis ascetic power was quelled. Supply “by me.”

Ragh.M. 1.35  

They both went to the hermitage of Vasiṣṭha. Supply “because of their need for a means of obtaining a son.”

1.83.2 Words carried over

Works of the sūtra type achieve much of their conciseness by assuming that a word used in any sūtra will be supplied in each succeeding sūtra in which it is needed. This “carrying over” of a word is called anuvṛtti, and a word so carried over is said to be anuvṛtta; finite verbal forms are used...
as well: anuvartate ("it remains over"), or simply varrate ("it is present"). The cessation of this process of carrying over, which occurs at the point at which the word is no longer needed to complete the meaning of a sutra, is called nivṛtti, and a word that has ceased being carried over is said to be nivṛttta. The authors of commentaries on works in which anuvrtti and nivṛttti operate frequently use these technical terms, most often at the very beginning of their commentary on the sutra in question:

Kāśikā 1.2.9: sann āru anuvartate, kvāti nivṛttām. "sann" is carried over (from a previous rule). "kvāti" is no longer carried over (from this point on).

Kāśikā 1.2.26: vāti varrate, sed iti ca. "vāti" is present (in this sutra by anuvṛtti), and also "set āti ca."

Kāśikā 8.1.54: pūrṇam sarvam anuvartate gaty-artha-loṭāṃ varjayātā. Everything previous (i.e., everything in the previous sutra, whether actually read there or present by anuvṛtti) is carried over, except "gaty-artha-loṭā." Other terms are occasionally used to point out similar phenomena even in works other than those of the sutra type:

Kum.M. 2.11: tvam ity anuṣṭayate. "You" is carried over (from the previous verse in the poem).

1.84 Devices for marking features of syntax

Commentators use special devices to mark the subject and predicate (Section 1.84.1), adjectives that are used attributively rather than as predicates (Section 1.84.2), substantives used attributively (Section 1.84.3), locative absolute constructions (Section 1.84.4), words used adverbially (Section 1.84.5), and vocatives (Section 1.84.6).

1.84.1 yat ... tat marking subject and predicate

The relatively free word order of Sanskrit, together with the frequent omission of linking verbs, often makes it difficult to tell which of two nouns or adjectives is the subject and which is the predicate. Commentators sometimes meet this difficulty by marking the subject with a relative pronoun and the predicate with the correlative pronoun. For example, the sentence lokāntara-sukham punyam (Ragh. 1.69) could theoretically mean either "pleasure in the next world is merit" or "merit is pleasant in the next world (i.e., leads to happiness there)." Mallinātha's commentary marks punyam as the subject:

Ragh.M. 1.69: yat punyam, taci lokāntare para-loke sukham sukhā-karam. That which is merit is pleasant pleasure-producing in the other world in the next world.

1.84.2 sat marking attributive adjectives

Another way of distinguishing attributive adjectives from predicate adjectives is through the use of the present participle sat (masc. san, fem. satī), which is placed after adjectives that are used attributively. For example, the sentence prītā kāmadughā hi sā (Ragh. 1.32) could theoretically be interpreted in several ways; Mallinātha's commentary makes it clear that prītā goes with the subject sā:

Ragh.M. 1.32: hi yasmāt kāraṇāt sā prītā uṣṭā satī ... kāma-duḥghā bhavati. For from which as cause she, being pleased gratified, ... is a granter of wishes.

Similarly, the words vrṣṭibhir udvejitaḥ ... siddhāḥ (Kum. 1.5) might be taken to mean "the siddhas are tormented by rains," until this device makes it clear that the adjective udvejitaḥ is not a predicate but serves as a modification of the subject:

Kum.M. 1.5: vrṣṭibhir udvejitaḥ klesitaḥ santi ... śṛṣṭīyāḥ asrayante. Being tormented troubled by rains, they resorted to its peaks.

1.84.3 -bhūta marking attributive substantives

The word bhūta may be placed in compound after a substantive to make it clear that it is being placed in apposition with some other noun.
This device is often used to avoid any difficulties the reader may have in linking two nouns of different gender, as the addition of -bhūta converts an attributive substantive into an adjective that may be inflected in any gender; Bhagavadgītā 7.5, for example, has prakṛtiṃ viddhi me param jīva-bhūtam, "know my other nature, which is the soul." For more on this, see Section 2.17.

In commentaries this device is particularly useful when a pronoun of the same gender as the attributive noun might seem to refer to it, but in fact refers to some other object that is being equated with the thing denoted by that substantive:

Kum.M. 3.74 vighnam antarāya-bhūtam tām kāmam. Him Kāma the obstacle being an impediment.

Kum.M. 3.19 surānāṃ vijayābhhyupāye jayasyopāya-bhūte tasmin hare. Against him against Śiva the means of victory being the means of winning for the gods.

Without this device the phrases commented on in these examples might be taken to mean "that obstacle" and "against that means of victory."

1.84.4 satī marking the locative absolute

The present participle satī, when used in the locative case, serves to mark locative absolute constructions. For example, mahatī avarōdeh mahatī api (Ragh. 1.32) could mean either "even in his large harem" or "even though his harem was large." Mallinātha's commentary makes it clear that the latter is the intended meaning:

Ragh.M. 1.32 avarōdeh antahpura-vargē mahatī satī api even on his harem—on the group of women in his seraglio—being large

The participle may be in any gender:

Ragh.M. 1.89 asyāṃ ... pūrābhhasi satīyam apah pibēḥ. you must drink water ... on her ... being one by whom water is drunk.

For beginning students this device is especially useful in marking items that they might otherwise interpret as finite verbs in the third personal singular present indicative:

Ragh.M. 1.78 srotasi pravāhe nadati satī the current—the flow of water—being roaring

1.84.5 yathā tathā marking adverbs

The formula yathā (bhavati) tathā is used to mark words used adverbially:

Kum.M. 1.32 catasro 'srayo yasya ac catu-asram anyūnānātiriktaṃ yathā tathā śobhāta iti caturāsra-śobhī. That which has four corners is four-sided (i.e., symmetrical)—having neither too little nor too much (in any part)—it is beautiful in that way, thus symmetrically beautiful.

Ragh.M. 1.18 sahasra- gunā yasmin karmani tad yathā tathā sahasra- gunaṃ sahasra-dāhā. In which there are a thousand repetitions, that, in such a manner: in a thousand ways a thousandfold.

Ragh.M. 1.40 adīraṃ samīpam yathā bhavati tathā. not far vicinity, in a way that is so.

1.84.6 he marking vocatives

Commentators regularly use the particle he before words in the vocative case to mark them as such, even if the word is used with no accompanying interjection in the original text:

Kum.M. 2.51 he vibho svāmin O lord master

Kum.M. 5.36 he pārvati O Pārvati
Part II

The Bhāṣya Style

by Emery R. Bose
Chapter 11

The Fifth Service

2.1 Introduction

Those portions of a Sanskrit commentary that are not specifically devoted to glossing the words of the text are usually concerned with discussing the contents and implications of the text. Often these portions constitute the major part of a commentary on a philosophical or scientific text, but only a small part of a commentary on a literary text. Traditionally, discussion of meaning takes the form of a dialogue in which the commentator allows opponents to raise various objections against the text or against his interpretation of it and then proceeds to refute these objections. This format is based both historically and stylistically on oral debate (see Section 2.48), and its traditional importance may be seen in the term chosen for the fifth service that a full commentary is expected to provide, i.e., ākṣepasamādhāna, "the answering of objections." A distinctive style of Sanskrit prose evolved for such discussion, a style that became the standard both for commentaries and for independent works of philosophy and science.

This bhāṣya style presents many features of syntax and terminology that may be unfamiliar to beginning students. The present chapter deals with those features that seem to pose the most problems for students, i.e., those that occur fairly often and have been found by experience to be the most puzzling. Some general observations on the discussion of meaning are given in Sections 2.2 and 2.3; the rest of the chapter has been arranged by bringing together (as far as possible) those items that are similar in form or function. Particular words or constructions may be sought in the index.
Note: although Part Three deals specifically with commentaries, all but Section 2.39 is applicable also to independent works composed in the bhāṣya style.

2.2 Content

Discussion of the meaning of the text is less limited in content than the analysis of the words themselves. Ordinarily discussion proceeds by a series of objections and refutations that lead to confirmation of the commentator’s view. In this discussion the commentator may examine the implications of the text, defend the views represented in the text against those of rival schools, defend his interpretation of the text against other interpretations, and introduce his own insights (though the last are rarely claimed by the commentator as his own, and are usually argued to be implicit in the text itself). He may support his arguments by citing examples and comparisons (Chapter 18) or by appealing to the authority of other texts, other teachers, and common experience (Chapter 17). In learning to read such discussion it is essential to learn the conventional terms used to mark different sections of the commentary. For example, certain terms are used to raise an objection, to reply to an objection, or to introduce an alternative interpretation (Chapter 19). Familiarity with these terms often permits a reader to follow the flow of an argument even when the details of the argument are not yet understood. It is also important to remember that glosses of the text may be interspersed among long sections of discussion. These glosses may be more easily recognized as such if the words of the text are kept in mind as the commentary is read.

2.3 Style

The prose of commentaries is characterized by nominal constructions employing abstract nouns (Chapter 12), long compounds (Chapter 13), and relatively few finite verbs. These constructions permit the concise expression of complex ideas and so are well suited to the writing of commentaries. They also create the greatest single difficulty for the beginning student who is not yet accustomed to this style. Other characteristic features that the student must learn include conventions of word order (Chapter 14) and of causal sentences (i.e., sentences that express a reason or cause; Chapter 15), and peculiarities in the use of iti (Chapter 16) and in the use of various particles and pronouns (Chapter 20).
Chapter 12

Abstract Nouns

2.4 Introduction

Nominal abstract nouns (i.e., abstract nouns derived from other nouns) are widely used in commentarial prose. This section discusses the formation and significance of such nouns, the common constructions that employ them, the uses of the different cases in these constructions, and two idiomatic constructions that involve the instrumental and the accusative. (See also: Coulson 140–42, 154–58; Speijer 235–39; Whitney 1237, 1239.)

2.5 Formation

2.5.1 tā and tva

The most common nominal abstract nouns are those formed with the suffixes tā (feminine) and tva (neuter). These may be added to any adjective or substantive to form abstract nouns meaning “being such, the quality of being so and so” (Pā. 5.1.119).

ṣuklatā, ṣuklatvam  being white, whiteness

aśvatā, aśvatvam  being a horse, horseness

Note that tā and tva are identical in meaning.
2.5.2 -bhāvaḥ and vrddhi derivatives

Nominal abstract nouns also include tatpurūsa compounds formed with -bhāvaḥ, “state, being,” and neuter vrddhi derivatives. For example, from guru, “heavy,” are formed guru-bhāvaḥ and gauravam, both meaning “being heavy, heaviness,” and both synonymous with guruvam and guruta. Abstracts in tā or tva are more common in commentarial prose, and so they are the subject of the following paragraphs. However, tatpurūsas in -bhāvaḥ and vrddhi derivatives are occasionally used in the same constructions described for abstracts in tā and tva.

indrasya lāghavat = indrasya laghuvat because Indra is swift (causal ablative)
maitrīya gacchati = miritatayā gacchati he goes as a friend (predicative instrumental)
tasya putra-bhāve 'pi = tasya putratve 'pi although he is a son (locative absolute)
deva-bhāvaḥ prapadyate = devatām prapadyate he becomes a god (accusative with verb of motion)

2.6 Significance

2.6.1 Used by necessity

In some cases the abstract notion conveyed by the abstract noun is essential to the meaning of the sentence.

SBh 2.2.17 paṭasya tu guṇaḥ sūklaṁ vādavyaḥ paṭa-devaḥ abhyupagamyaṁ te na iṣṭu-devaḥ but the qualities of the cloth, whiteness and so on, are admitted to reside in the cloth, not in the threads

Here the guṇaḥ is sūklaṁ and the sentence requires an abstract noun that means “being sūkla.” Note that abstract nouns formed by adding tā, tva, or -bhāvaḥ to a dvandva compound may denote relationship, e.g., pitra-putratvam, “being father and son,” i.e., “the relation of father and son.” Here too the abstract notion is essential to the meaning of the sentence.

SBh 2.1.4 na ca vilāṣyaṁ ātyaktaṁ prakṛti-vikāra-bhāvo drṣṭaḥ and the relation of material cause and effect is not seen (in two things) when they are different from one another

SBh 1.1.1 sēṣa-ṣeṣitve 'dhiKR̥aśahkāre vā pramāṇābhaḥvād dharma-brahma-jiṭhāsāyaḥ because there is no proof that the inquiries into dharma and into brahman are related as subordinate and principal or as qualified and qualification

2.6.2 Used by choice

But in most cases the abstract notion conveyed by the abstract noun is not essential to the meaning of the sentence. Instead abstract nouns are used to form nominal constructions when the same meaning could be expressed by a different construction that does not require the abstract noun. It is this syntactical use of the abstract noun that is taken up in the remaining paragraphs of this section.

2.7 Common constructions

2.7.1 With subjective genitive

Abstract nouns in tā or tva are usually construed with a separate subjective genitive. This construction may provide a complete statement, where the abstract noun expresses the predicate.

indrasya rāja-tā of Indra there is kingness: Indra is king
paṭasya nīlāvam of the cloth there is blueness: the cloth is blue

A Sanskrit sentence of equivalent meaning can be obtained by dropping the abstract suffix and making the subjective genitive the new subject.

indrasya rāja-tā = rājendra-Indra is king
paṭasya nīlāvam = nīla-paṭa- the cloth is blue

It is important to realize that these constructions are simply different ways of expressing the same idea. The abstract suffix does not imply an abstraction of thought lacking in the alternative construction.
2.7.2 In compound

Abstract nouns in \( \text{i} \) or \( \text{tva} \) may be used as a member of a compound.

\( \text{tad-rājaitē-hetuḥ} \)  his-kingness-reason: the reason for his being king
\( \text{āma-nīyatvam} \)  self-eternalness: the eternality of the self

But more often \( \text{i} \) and \( \text{tva} \) are added to whole compounds in the sense of “being that which the compound denotes.” The compound may be a \( \text{tatpuruṣa} \), \( \text{bahuurvṛti} \), or \( \text{dvandva} \).

\( \text{rāja-putratē} \)  king-son-ness: being the son of a king (\( \text{tatpuruṣa} \))
\( \text{mahā-balatvam} \)  great-strength-ness: being possessed of great strength (\( \text{bahuurvṛti} \))
\( \text{moha-sokatvam} \)  delusion-grief-ness: being delusion and grief (\( \text{dvandva} \))

In analyzing such constructions it is essential to determine the type of the original compound (i.e., \( \text{tatpuruṣa} \), \( \text{bahuurvṛti} \), or \( \text{dvandva} \)), and it is helpful to keep in mind the alternative constructions without the abstract suffix.

\( \text{rāmasya rāja-putratē viśrutē} \)  Rāma’s king-son-ness is well-known: it is well-known that Rāma is the king’s son
\( \text{deva-patir indro mahā-balatvē} \)  Indra is lord of the gods because of [his] great-strength-ness: Indra is lord of the gods because he possesses great strength
\( \text{avidyāyā duḥkha-hetutvam darśayati} \)  he shows ignorance’s suffering-cause-ness: he shows that ignorance is the cause of suffering
\( \text{duḥkhasyāvidyā-hetutvam darśayati} \)  he shows suffering’s ignorance-cause-ness: he shows that suffering has ignorance as its cause

The nominal construction consisting of abstract noun and subjective genitive is usually translated into English by a clause. The subjective genitive is often omitted in the Sanskrit when it is easily understood from the context; in the second example above we must supply \( \text{tasya} \) or \( \text{indrasya} \) with \( \text{mahā-balatvē} \). Note the importance of correctly analyzing the original compound. In the third example above the compound is a \( \text{tatpuruṣa} \); in the fourth it is a \( \text{bahuurvṛti} \). Sometimes an author will distinguish a \( \text{bahuurvṛti} \) compound by adding the optional suffix \( \text{ka} \) (e.g., in the fourth example one could say \( \text{avidyā-hetu katvam} \); see Section 2.15), but usually the compound must be analyzed on the basis of context.

2.7.3 Causal phrase within a sentence

The nominative of an abstract noun in \( \text{i} \) or \( \text{tva} \) may be used (as above) with a subjective genitive to form a complete statement. More often such a phrase is employed as part of a longer sentence where the case ending of the abstract noun indicates the relationship between the phrase and the other words of the sentence.

\( \text{rāmasya rāja-putratē viśrutē} = \text{rāja-putro rāma iti viśrutam} \)
\( \text{deva-patir indro mahā-balatvē = sa mahā-bala iti deva-patir indraḥ} \)
\( \text{avidyāyā duḥkha-hetutvam darśayati = duḥkha-hetur avidyēti darśayati} \)
\( \text{duḥkhasyāvidyā-hetutvam darśayati = avidyā-hetum duḥkham iti darśayati} \)

2.7.4 \text{i}ti clause without abstract suffix

Because the word \( \text{i} \) may be used to quote a statement or cite a reason (see Chapter 16), the above constructions can be expressed equivalently by means of an \( \text{i} \)ti clause without the abstract suffix.

\( \text{rāmasya rāja-putratē viśrutē = rāja-putro rāma iti viśrutam} \)
\( \text{deva-patir indro mahā-balatvē = sa mahā-bala iti deva-patir indraḥ} \)
\( \text{avidyāyā duḥkha-hetutvam darśayati = duḥkha-hetur avidyēti darśayati} \)
\( \text{duḥkhasyāvidyā-hetutvam darśayati = avidyā-hetum duḥkham iti darśayati} \)
An understanding of these equivalent constructions can be very helpful in trying to understand long and complex sentences using abstracts in tā or tvā.

### 2.7.5 Two genitives

As was mentioned above, abstract nouns in tā or tvā are usually construed with a separate subjective genitive that may have to be supplied from the context. If another genitive is present, it is usually placed in compound with the abstract noun.

\[
\text{rāmasya rājā-patrā = rājāh putram rāmaḥ} \quad \text{Rāma is the king's son}
\]

Here the subjective genitive is rāmasya, and rājāh (rājā- in compound) is a possessive genitive. But occasionally the other genitive appears separately, particularly if emphasis is placed on its case and number, since these are obscured in compounds.

\[
\text{SBh 1.1.1 sarvasyāmanvāc ca brahmāśītva-prasiddhiḥ} \quad \text{and the existence of brahman is well known because it is the self of everyone}
\]

Here sarvasya is a partitive genitive, and the subjective genitive (which must be supplied) is brahmāṇaḥ.

### 2.8 Causal ablative and instrumental

Sanskrit permits the use of both the ablative and the instrumental cases to express a reason or cause, and abstract nouns in tvā, tvena, and taya are very common in this sense. The ablative of tā is rare, probably because it is identical in form with the genitive (its use is prohibited by Pā. 2.3.25).

\[
\text{SBh 1.1.2 tatrāy-vat sati brahma-jīhānam api vastu-tantram eva bhūta-vastu-viṣayatvāt} \quad \text{this being the case, knowledge of brahman also depends on the thing itself, since it has for its object an existing thing}
\]

\[
\text{SBh 1.1.2 na, vedānta-vākya-kusuma-grathanārhañcāt sātrāṇām} \quad \text{no, since the sūtras have the purpose of stringing together the flowers that are the Vedānta passages}
\]

### 2.9 Other cases

The following are fairly typical examples of abstract nouns in tā or tvā used in cases other than the ablative or instrumental.

#### 2.9.1 Nominative as subject of sentence

\[
\text{SDS p. 3 na cāsya [sukhasya] dukkha-sambhinnatvā puruṣārthavam eva nāstīti mantaṇavam nor should it be thought that it [pleasure] is not the aim of man because it is mixed with pain}
\]

\[
\text{SBh 1.1.4 mantrānāṃ cēse tvētyādīnāṃ kriyā-tat-tadhanabhidyāyitvena karma-samavāyitvam uktam and it has been said that the mantras, i.e. tvā and so on, are based on action because they declare action and the means to action}
\]

Several such abstract nouns may be combined in one sentence to express coordinate or serial causes; see Section 2.26 for a discussion of such constructions. Note also the idiomatic use of the instrumental discussed in Section 2.10.

#### 2.9.2 Accusative as object of the sentence

\[
\text{SBh 1.1.1 yasmād veda evāgni-hotra-adīnām śreyah-sādhanaṇām anitya-phalatām darśayai because the Veda itself shows that the means to success, the agnīhotra and so on, have transient fruits}
\]

#### 2.9.3 Dative of purpose

\[
\text{GBh 2.20 hantiḥ atra viparīṇāmaḥḥ the verb hanti should be regarded here as signifying "transformation" to avoid redundancy}
\]
2.9.4 Genitive to modify another noun

In the last example above note the addition of the suffix 'tā to the demonstrative pronoun idam to form idantā “this-ness, being this.”

2.9.5 Locative in a locative absolute construction

(See Section 2.29.)

SBh 1.1.7 tan na [ātma- śabdasya] anekārthavāryānyāvyatyāvāt that is wrong, because of the impropriety of [the word ātman’s] having more than one meaning.

2.10 Predicative instrumental

The instrumental of an abstract noun in tā or tvam is often used idiomatically to complete the predicate of a sentence. The instrumental expresses “in what quality or capacity” and can usually be translated by “as.”

riṅatvena vrta indraḥ Indra was chosen with kingness: Indra was chosen as king

mitratvena rāmaṁ jānāmi I know Rama with friendness: I know Rama as a friend (i.e. to be a friend)

Usually the context will distinguish this construction from the use of the instrumental abstract to state a reason (see Section 2.8). Further examples:

SBh 1.1.1 yadi tarhi loke brahmāmatvena prasiddham asti if in that case brahman were well known in the world as the self

SBh 1.1.2 śrutiāśv ca sahāyatvena tarkasyābhhyupetavāt and because śruti itself accepts reasoning as an aid

SBh 1.1.4 na hi sāstram idantayā viṣaya-bhūtaṁ brahma pratipipādayiṣati for the sāstra does not wish to teach brahman as this, as an object

2.11 Accusative with verb of motion

The accusative of an abstract noun in tā or tvam may be used idiomatically with a verb of motion to mean “to become.”

rājatāṁ gacchati he goes to kingness: he becomes king

nīlatvāṁ yātī it goes to blueness: it becomes blue

In the same way the accusative may be used with the causative of a verb of motion or with a verb signifying “to lead,” “to bring,” etc., to mean “to cause to become, to make into.”

rājatāṁ indrāṁ gamayati he makes Indra go to kingness: he makes Indra a king

nīlatvāṁ paśaṁ nayati he brings the cloth to blueness: he makes the cloth blue
Chapter 13

Compounds

2.12 Introduction

Long and complicated compounds are common in most Sanskrit commentaries. This section deals with how to analyze long compounds, how a compound may be related to the other words of a sentence, three devices used to clarify ambiguous compounds, the use of tat, yat, and kim in compound, and several common terms used idiomatically at the end of a compound. (See also: Coulson 107-11; Speijer 193.3, 197, 213 b, 228-31; Whitney 1222 h.)

2.13 Analyzing long compounds

(See also Sections 1.69-1.72.)

2.13.1 Identification

First one must determine the type of the original compound and its relation to the other words of the sentence. Long and difficult compounds are usually tatpurusas or bahuvrhihis (avyayibhāvas are rare and dvandvas are usually straightforward). Sometimes a compound can be identified on grammatical evidence alone: The gender and number of a tatpurusa are those of its final member. A bahuvrhi is an adjective and its gender and number are those of the word (either expressed or understood) that it modifies. bahuvrhis are sometimes distinguished by the suffix ka (see Sec-
2.13.2 Dissection

Long compounds can often be analyzed as compounds of two elements, where the second element is the last member of the compound and the first element is everything that precedes the last member. By a series of such dissections, a long compound can often be reduced to several shorter compounds. For example, dharmadharma-jñāna-phalabhūyudayah, “success that is the fruit of the knowledge of dharma and adharma,” can be analyzed as follows:

\[
dharmadharmajñānaphalabhyudaya karmadhārāya
dharmadharmajñānaphalā
genitive tatpurusā
dharmadharmajñāna
genitive tatpurusā
dharma-adharmā
dvandva
\]

The shorter compounds from which the original long compound is constructed are usually dvandvas or tatpurūsas; rarely are they bahuvrhitīs (except for a few very common types of bahuvrhitīs, e.g., those ending in -ādi). Thus adjoining words within a long compound are usually to be construed as coordinate (dvandva: e.g., dharmadharmā) or as appositional (karmadhārāya: e.g., phalabhūyudaya) or as connected by a case relationship (vibhakti-tatpurusā: e.g., jñāna-phalā).

2.13.3 Grouping

The analysis outlined above must be modified for some compounds. Sometimes two or more members form a natural group and must be so treated when the compound is resolved into its two basic elements.

\[
\text{indrapurapauṭraḥ} = \text{indra-purapauṭraḥ} \quad \text{the sons and grandsons of Indra}
\text{rāmaśītasaṭrāḥ} = \text{rāma-śītasaṭrāḥ} \quad \text{the sharp arrows of Rāma}
\]

The original compound can still be resolved into two elements; however, the second element here is not a single word but a compound that forms a natural unit. Such units should be looked for when the simple procedure described above does not yield a satisfactory sense. A longer example is jannādi-sarva-bhāva-vikāra-varjitaṁ, “devoid of all transformations of state, such as birth and so on”:

\[
\text{jannādisarvabhāvavikāra-varjita instrumental tatpurusā}
\text{jannādi-sarvabhāvavikāra karmadhārāya}
sarva-bhāvavikāra karmadhārāya
bhāva-vikāra genitive tatpurusā
ejanma-ādi bahuvrīhi
\]

2.14 Relation to words outside the compound

In theory, a word standing outside of a compound may be construed with the compound as a whole and not with some prior portion of it. A word that is to be construed with a prior portion must be incorporated into the compound.

\[
jagaj-janmādi-kāraṇām brahmādhiṣṭigamya = \text{brahman is known to be the cause of the origin and so on of the world}
\]

Here brahman is construed with the entire compound and jagat is construed with janmādi within the compound. But in actual practice this rule is often broken, and a separate word or phrase (especially one in the genitive case preceding the compound) is construed with a prior portion of the compound.

\[
\text{SBh 1.1.3 jagato jannādi-kāraṇām brahmādhiṣṭigamya}
\]

Such constructions are a mixture of the sentence mode of expression (vākyavṛtti) and the compound mode of expression (samāsa-vṛtti). For example, “knowledge of the eternality of the self” might be expressed:

\[
\text{ātma-nityatva-vidyā} \quad \text{compound mode}
\text{ātmano nityatvyasya vidyā} \quad \text{sentence mode}
\text{ātma-nityatvyasya vidyā} \quad \text{mixed mode: theoretically acceptable}
\text{ātmano nityatva-vidyā} \quad \text{mixed mode: theoretically unacceptable}
\]
The last construction occurs less often than the preceding three, but it occurs often enough to warrant consideration when the usual interpretations of a passage do not yield a satisfactory sense.

2.15 ka to mark a bahuvrīhi

With a few minor exceptions the suffix *ka* may be added optionally to any bahuvrīhi compound (Pā. 5.4.154). *ka* does not alter the meaning of the compound and is often added to obtain a stem more easily inflected, e.g., mahā-yaśaska from mahā-yaśas. *ka* is also used to mark a compound as a bahuvrīhi, especially where, because the gender and number of the compound are inconclusive and the context might admit alternative interpretations, the bahuvrīhi might be mistaken for a tatpurāsa.

\[\text{bhakti-nimittām jñānam} \text{ knowledge is the cause of devotion (tatpurāsa); or, knowledge has devotion as its cause (bahuvrīhi)}\]

\[\text{bhakti-nimittakām jñānam} \text{ knowledge has devotion as its cause (bahuvrīhi)}\]

In the first example above only the context can determine whether the compound is a tatpurāsa or a bahuvrīhi; in the second example the compound must be a bahuvrīhi. *ka* may be added to a bahuvrīhi before the abstract suffixes *tā* and *rā*; in this case *ka* is particularly helpful because the gender and number of the original compound are no longer evident.

\[\text{jitānasya bhakti-nimittatvam prasiddham} \text{ it is well-known that knowledge is the cause of devotion (tatpurāsa); or, it is well-known that knowledge has devotion as its cause (bahuvrīhi)}\]

\[\text{jitānasya bhakti-nimittakatvam prasiddham} \text{ it is well-known that knowledge has devotion as its cause (bahuvrīhi)}\]

A further example:

\[\text{GBh 1.1 hiyāmāna-viveka-vijnāna-hetukendharmenateghbhāyamāne dharma} \text{ when dharma is being overcome by adharma of which the cause is a lessening of discriminatory knowledge}\]

2.16 tat to mark a dvandva

The pronoun *tat* may be used in a compound to form a dvandva (either of the entire compound or more often of part of the compound) where otherwise a tatpurāsa would ordinarily be understood. In this case *tat* repeats a prior member of the compound. For example, *karma-phala-tyāgaḥ* would ordinarily be understood as "renunciation of the fruits of actions," and *karma-phala* taken as a genitive tatpurāsa. But *karma-tat-phala-tyāgaḥ* means "renunciation of actions and their fruits." Here *karma-tat-phala* is a dvandva compound of *karma* and *tat-phala*, and *tat* refers to the preceding word *karma*. Further examples:

\[\text{SBh 1.1.1 adhyāsa viṣaya-tad-dharmāṇāṃ} \text{ superimposition of the object and its qualities}\]

\[\text{PP p.33 adhyāsa-svarāpa-tat-sambhāvandya} \text{ for the sake of the nature of superimposition and the possibility of it}\]

2.17 -bhūta to mark a karmadhāraya

The past participle -bhūta may be used within a compound to show that two adjoining members are to be construed as a karmadhāraya (i.e., as appositional) where otherwise one might construe them as a vibhakti-tatpurāsa (i.e., as connected by a case relationship) or as a dvandva (i.e., as coordinate).

\[\text{avidyā-kāraṇa-vināśaḥ} \text{ destruction of the cause of ignorance; or, destruction of the cause that is ignorance}\]

\[\text{avidyā-bhūta-kāraṇa-vināśaḥ} \text{ destruction of the cause that is ignorance}\]

In the first example only the context can determine whether *avidyā-kāraṇa* means "the cause of ignorance" (genitive tatpurāsa) or "the cause that is ignorance" (karmadhāraya); in the second example *avidyā-bhūta-kāraṇa* must mean "the cause that is ignorance." Further examples:
Chapter 13. Compounds

2.18 Pronouns in compound

The pronouns tat, yat, and kim appear frequently in compound (yat and kim as first member, tat as any member except last). In compound tat, yat, and kim (the stem forms) may stand for any gender and number. Thus tad-rūpaḥ may be “his color,” “her color,” “its color,” “their color,” “the color of those two,” etc. The compounds may be of various types; for example:

- **tad-rūpaḥ** its color (tatpuruṣa); or, having that as its color (bahuvṛhi)
- **yad-rūpaḥ** the color of which (tatpuruṣa); or, having which as its color
- **Kim-raja** the color of what (tatpuruṣa); or, having what as its color

A special use of tat is mentioned in Section 2.16. Note that when yat is in compound, its correlative pronoun need not be in compound.

GBh 2.16 **yat-viṣaya buddhir na vyabhicarati tat sat** having-which-as-its-object a cognition is not in error, that is sat: that thing is sat when a cognition having it as its object is not in error

*bahuvṛhi* compounds containing kim are often used to ask a question.

GBh 2.1.2 **kim-lakṣaṇe punā tat brahma** but having-what-as-its-definition is that brahma; but what is the definition of that brahma?

2.19 Idiomatic terms

The following words are common in an idiomatic sense at the end of a compound. See Section 2.44 for *bahuvṛhi* in -ādi.

2.19.1 -antara

-antara, n., “interval, difference,” often forms neuter tatpuruṣa compounds meaning “a different, another.”

- **raja-antara** a different king, another king
- **grhantarāni** different houses, other houses

Commentators usually gloss such compounds with the word anya; e.g., raja-antaram would be glossed anya rājā.

2.19.2 -artha

-artha, m., “purpose,” often forms masculine tatpuruṣa compounds used adverbially in the accusative singular to mean “for the sake of, in order to.”

- **dhanārtham** for the sake of money
- **ātmārtha-pradarśanārthaṃ** in order to show the oneness of the self

Note that the same meaning may be conveyed by the dative case of the word or compound to which -artha is added.

- **tat-sādhanaṇārtham** = tat-sādhanaṇa in order to prove that

2.19.3 -kalpa

-kalpa, m., “manner, way,” forms bahuvṛhi compounds with the meaning “almost, nearly.”

- **sa mṛta-kalpaḥ** he is nearly dead
- **rāja-kalpo devadattaḥ** Devadatta is almost a king

Note: Pa. 5.3.67 explains -kalpa as a *tattvāt* suffix (kalpaP in Pāṇinian terminology) and commentators may identify it as such.
2.19.4 -gata

-gata, the past participle of gam, may be used in a tatpurusa compound to mean “being in or on,” where no previous motion is implied.

kṣetra-gata vrksāh the trees in the field

Such compounds may also mean “relating to, concerning.”

bhārya-gata cinta worry for his wife

In both instances -gata conveys a meaning usually expressed in other constructions by the locative case.

2.19.5 -garbha

-garbha, m., “womb, foetus,” forms bahuvrīhi compounds meaning “having inside, containing, filled with.”

kṣīra-garbham ghatam a pot filled with milk

ratna-garbham syūtah a sack containing jewels

2.19.6 -jana

-jana, m., “person, people,” forms masculine tatpurusa compounds that may denote either an indefinite individual or a collection.

pitr-janah a father; or, fathers

In longer compounds -jana often pluralizes a preceding member that might otherwise be understood as singular.

mitrānugṛhitah helped by a friend; or, helped by friends

mitra-janānugṛhitah helped by friends

2.19.7 -jāta


kārya-jātam the aggregate of effects

In longer compounds -jāta may pluralize a preceding member that might otherwise be understood as singular.

deva-prasādah the grace of the god; or, the grace of the gods

deva-jāta-prasādah the grace of the gods

2.19.8 -pūrva

-pūrva, “previous,” when modifying a past participle in a tatpurusa compound may be placed after the participle.

sankalpita-pūrva = pūrva-sankalpita previously imagined, already imagined

2.19.9 -mātra

-mātra, “measure,” forms bahuvrīhi compounds whose literal meaning is “having ... as its measure, having the size of.”

gṛha-mātra gajah an elephant the size of a house

Often such compounds have the special meaning “measured by, being no more than, mere, only.” In this case the compound often appears as a neuter singular substantive.

SBh 1.1.1 deha-mātra ca itanyaviśiṣṭam ātmā the self is just the body qualified by consciousness
When -mātra has this meaning commentators usually gloss the compound with the word eva; e.g., deha-mātram would be glossed deha eva. Occasionally compounds in -mātra have the opposite meaning: "the full measure of, the whole class of, any."

\[\text{guna-mātra-visāya buddhi} = \text{an idea referring to any quality}\]

Thus -mātra can generalize as well as particularize.

Note: Pā. 5.2.37 explains -mātra as a taddhita suffix (mātraC in Paninian terminology) and commentators may identify it as such. See Section 1.60.3.

2.19.10 -viṣeṣa

-viṣeṣa, m., "distinction, difference, peculiarity," may form masculine tatpuraśa compounds meaning "a particular" or "a distinguished."

\[\begin{align*}
\text{giri-viṣeṣah} & \text{ a particular mountain} \\
\text{rāpa-viṣeṣah} & \text{distinguished beauty} \\
\text{tatpurusas in -viṣeṣa and in -bheda, m., "difference" may also mean "a kind of, a variety of."} \\
\text{puspa-viṣeṣah} & \text{a kind of flower} \\
\text{mani-viṣeṣah} & \text{a variety of jewel}
\end{align*}\]

Chapter 14

Word Order

2.20 Introduction

There are relatively few constraints on the order of words in Sanskrit prose, and some commentators of a more literary style vary their sentence structure often. But some observations about word order can be helpful, especially in reading long sentences. This section discusses the order of subject and predicative nouns, the order of attributive and predicative nouns, the scope of the word iti, and the underlying syntactical construction of long sentences. See Section 2.26 for the conventions of word order in causal sentences. (See also: Coulson 46–49; Speijer 16–17, 31.)

2.21 Subject and predicative nouns

2.21.1 Predicative nouns

Predicative adjectives agree with the subject in number, gender, and case, while predicative substantives agree in case but not necessarily in gender or number.

\[\begin{align*}
\text{udāro rāmap} & \text{ Rāma is noble} \\
\text{mitraṇ rāmap} & \text{Rāma is a friend}
\end{align*}\]

A predicative noun usually precedes the subject, especially in short sentences or when the predicate is emphasized.
Chapter 14. Word Order

SBh 1.1.4 aha na puruṣa-vyāpāra-tantrā brahma-vidyā therefore knowledge of brahman does not depend on the activity of man

SBh 1.1.4 nityaḥ ca mokṣaḥ sarvair mokṣa-vādibhir abhyupagamyate and mokṣa is accepted as eternal by all those who uphold the doctrine of mokṣa

The same order is usually followed in sentences with predicative accusatives.

SBh 1.1.4 evam-ādiyāḥ śrutayo mokṣa-pratibandha-nivṛtti-mātram evāma-jñānasya phalam darsayanti scriptural passages such as these show that the fruit of self-knowledge is simply the cessation of obstacles to mokṣa

But it is also quite common for the subject to precede a predicative noun, particularly if the subject is emphasized or if it has just been mentioned in the previous sentence.

SBh 1.1.4 jñānam ta pramāṇa-janyam, pramāṇam ca yatha-bhūta-vasu-viśayam. But knowledge arises from a pramāṇa. And a pramāṇa has for its object a thing as it really is.

Thus the general rule that a predicative noun precedes the subject unless the subject is emphasized is often but not always followed. Subject and predicative noun are best distinguished on the basis of context: usually the subject has been mentioned or implied in previous sentences and the predicative noun contains some new information about the subject.

2.21.2 Pronoun subjects

Pronoun subjects deserve special attention. The pronoun often appears in gender and number with a predicative substantive.

tan mitram he is a friend

The pronoun may either precede or follow the predicative noun.

Sometimes the pronoun is placed in the middle of a predicative of two or more words.

PP p. 79 nanu mahād etad indra-jālam but this is a great deception

SBh 1.1.4 evam-ādyāḥ śrutayo mokṣa-pratibandha-nivṛtti-mātram evāma-jñānasya phalam darsayanti thus this beginningless, endless, natural superimposition takes the form of false knowledge, causes [the self] to be an agent and enjoyer, and is evident to everyone

2.22 Attributive and predicative nouns

2.22.1 Word order with subjects

In general, attributive nouns express something already known or established about the subject, while predicative nouns assert something new. Thus the context is usually sufficient to distinguish the one from the other when both occur in the same sentence. But sometimes word order is also helpful, especially in long sentences. Some authors characteristically place attributive nouns before and predicative nouns after the subject.

SBh 1.1.4 evam-ādyāḥ śrutayo mokṣa-pratibandha-nivṛtti-mātram evāma-jñānasya phalam darsayanti scriptural passages such as these show that the fruit of self-knowledge is simply the cessation of obstacles to mokṣa is eternal

SBh 1.1.1 evam ayam anādir ananto naisargiko 'dhyāso mithyā-pratyaya-rūpāh kārtṛva-bhoktṛvā-pravartakaḥ sarva-loka-pratyakṣaḥ thus this beginningless, endless, natural superimposition takes the form of false knowledge, causes [the self] to be an agent and enjoyer, and is evident to everyone

In these examples attributive nouns precede and predicative nouns follow the respective subjects, asārīrataṃ and adhyāso.

2.22.2 Word order with other nouns

This same order, i.e., attributive qualifiers—substantive—predicative qualifiers, may also be used for substantives that are not the grammatical subject of the sentence.

SBh 1.1.1 asmat-pratyaya-gocare viśayina cid-ātmake ... adhyāsah superimposition on the viśayin, which is the object of the notion of I and whose nature is intelligence ...

Here asmat-pratyaya-gocare expresses a quality of the viśayin that was mentioned previously, while cid-ātmake expresses a new quality. The distinction might be indicated in English as follows: “the viśayin, which is the object of the notion of I, has intelligence as its nature; superimposition on it ...”
2.22.3 Markers of attributive qualifiers

Attributive qualifiers may be marked as such by the present participle *sant* placed after the qualifier (compare the use of *sant* to gloss attributive qualifiers; see Section 1.84.2), or by the past participle *bhiita* placed in compound with the qualifier (Section 1.84.3). Usually *sant* and *bhiita* serve to make the construction clearer and can be omitted without changing the meaning of the sentence.

*SBh* 2.1.4 *tathédam api jagad acetanam sukha-duḥkha-mohānīvatam sad acetanasyāīva sukha-duḥkha-mohātmakasya kārānasya kāryam bhavitum arhat* in the same way this world also which is unconscious and possessed of pleasure, pain, and delusion must be the effect of a cause that is unconscious and whose nature is pleasure, pain, and delusion

*SBh* 1.1.5 *tri-guṇatvāt tu pradhānasya sarva-jñāna-kārana-bhūtām satvaṃ pradhānāvasthāyām api vidyate* but since the *pradhāna* consists of the three *guṇas*, *satva*, which is the cause of all knowledge, exists also in the *pradhāna* state

Here *sadb* shows that *acetanam sukha-duḥkha-mohānīvatam* qualifies *jagad* and *bhiita* shows that *sarva-jñāna-kārana* qualifies *satvaṃ*. In many cases *sant* has the special meaning "although being."

*SBh* 1.1.5 *pradhānasyācetanasyāīva sattaḥ sarvajñātavam upacaryate vedānta-vākyeṣu* in the Vedānta texts omniscience is figuratively ascribed to the *pradhāna*, although it is really unconscious

Often this meaning is confirmed by adding the particle *api* to *sant*; see Section 2.54.2. Occasionally *bhiita* marks the predicate of the sentence instead of an attributive qualifier.

*PP* p. 183 *avidyā ca saṃsāra-hetu-bhūtā* and ignorance is the cause of *saṃsāra*

2.23 Scope of *iti*

The word *iti* is normally placed immediately after the word or words that are quoted by it. Thus *iti* marks the end of a quotation, but in most cases the beginning must be determined on the basis of context. Sometimes words placed at the beginning of a sentence for the sake of emphasis are to be construed with words after the *iti* clause; in this case care must be taken not to include these beginning words in the *iti* clause. Negatives such as *na ca* and *nahi* are especially common in this construction. In the following examples quotation marks have been added to show the extent of each *iti* clause.

*SBh* 1.1.1 *tāṃ ke cid "aṇyanṛṇya-dharmādhyāsa” iti vadanti* some say that it is the superimposition of the qualities of one thing on another thing

*PP* p. 356 *na ca “sa na pratiyata” iti yuktam vaktum* nor is it reasonable to say that it is not known

*SBh* 1.1.4 *nahi “aśājñā-tāmaṃbhāmānino duḥkha-bhayādīmatvaṃ drṣṭaṃ” iti tasyādiva veda-pramaṇa-janita-brahmādīvagasame tad-abhimāna-nivṛttau tad eva mithyā-jñāna-nimittam duḥkha-bhayādīmatvaṃ bhavati* iti *sakya kalpayitum* for it cannot be imagined on the ground that someone who wrongly identifies his self with his body, etc. is seen to possess pain, fear, etc., that when the same person has knowledge of the self as *brahma* produced by the *pramaṇa* which is the Veda and when the mistaken identification has ceased, he should have that same possession of pain, fear, etc. which was caused by false knowledge

The last example shows that one *iti* clause may include another: The first *iti* quotes the words *aśājñā-tāmaṃbhāmānino ... drṣṭaṃ* and this clause expresses a reason. The second *iti* quotes all the words between *nahi* and *sakya kalpayitum* and this clause expresses what it is that cannot be imagined.

2.24 Analyzing long sentences

Unusually long and difficult sentences are best approached by first identifying their underlying syntactical construction. Once the skeletal construction is understood, the remaining words of the sentence can be construed
correctly. Sometimes it is helpful (when possible) to underline the words comprising the skeletal sentence. For example:

SBh 1.1.3  kim u vaktavyam “aneka-sākha-bheda-bhinnasya
deva-tīrya-manusya-varṇāramādi-pravībhāga-heto
gr-vedādy-ākhyaṣya sarva-jānākarasya aprayamenāiva līlā-nyāyena
puruṣa-niḥśvāsavād yasmān mahato bhūtād yoneh sambhavah ‘asya
mahato bhūtasya niḥśvāsitam etad yad grveda’ ityād-śruteḥ tasya
mahato bhūtasya niratīṣayam sarvajñatvam sarva-saktimattvam ca” iti

The skeletal construction of this sentence (underlined above) is:

kim u vaktavyam ... iti how much more must it be said that ...

Thus the final iti quotes every word of the sentence after vaktavyam. Within this long quotation, the following skeletal construction (in boldface above) may be seen:

sarva-jānākarasya ... yasmān mahato bhūtād yoneḥ sambhavah ...
tasya mahato bhūtasya niratīṣayam sarvajñatvam sarva-saktimattvam ca
from which great being as the source there arose that mine of all
knowledge, that great being possesses supreme omniscience and
omnipotence

To this skeletal construction the remaining elements of the sentence may be added. The first is a series of qualifiers of sarva-jānākarasya:

aneka-sākha-bheda-bhinnasya
deva-tīrya-manusya-varṇāramādi-pravībhāga-heto
gr-vedādy-ākhyaṣya divided according to various branches, the cause of
the distinctions of gods, animals, men, class and stage of life, etc., and
known as the Rig Veda, etc.

The second is an adverbial phrase modifying sambhavah:

aprayamenāiva līlā-nyāyena puruṣa-niḥśvāsavād without any effort at
all, in the manner of sport, like a man’s breathing out

The third is substantiation of the entire statement by a quotation from scripture:

asya mahato bhūtasya niḥśvāsitam etad yad grveda ityād-śruteḥ
because of scriptural passages such as “from that great being this was
breathed forth which is the Rig Veda”

The whole sentence may now be translated:

How much more must it be said that that great being possesses supreme
omniscience and omnipotence, from which great being as the source there
arose—without any effort at all, in the manner of sport, like a man’s
breathing out—that mine of all knowledge that is divided according to
various branches, that is the cause of the distinctions of gods, animals,
men, class and stage of life, etc., and that is known as the Rig Veda,
etc.—as we know from scriptural passages such as “from that great being
this was breathed forth which is the Rig Veda.”
Chapter 15

Causal Sentences

2.25 Introduction

Sentences that express a reason, cause, or motive are essential for interpretation and discussion and so are common in almost every commentary. The constructions most often used to state a reason are ablative and instrumental phrases, clauses formed by *iti*, clauses introduced by a relative pronoun or adverb, locative absolute constructions, and clauses introduced by the causal particle *hi*. For example, each of the following may convey the idea "because Indra is king":

- *indrasya rājatvāt* (ablative phrase)
- *rajendra iti* (*iti* clause)
- *yasmād rajendraḥ* (relative pronoun)
- *indre rājī sati* (locative absolute)
- *rājā hīndraḥ* (causal particle *hi*)

Note that commentators often vary these constructions in successive sentences and occasionally combine two or more of them in the same sentence.

*SBh 1.1.2* kartavye hi viṣaye nāṁbhavāpeksāstīī śrutī-ādīnām eva prāmāṇyam syāt, puruṣādhiṁāma-lābhavāc ca kartavyasya. For if the object [of the knowledge of *brahma*] were something to be accomplished, then there would be no dependence upon direct experience; consequently the śrutī and so on would be the only means of knowledge. And because the origination of something to be accomplished depends upon man.
(See also: Coulson 170–71; Speijer 365–68; Whitney 303.)

2.26 Ablative and instrumental phrases

2.26.1 Ablative causal phrases

Nouns in the ablative or (less often) the instrumental case may express a reason or cause. Abstract nouns in tā or tvam are especially common in this construction (see Section 2.8). The noun may be a single word or a compound. The reason may be expressed by the noun alone or by a nominal phrase of which the noun is a member. The noun or nominal phrase may form a complete statement by itself, or it may stand at the beginning, middle, or end of a longer sentence.

\[ SBh \ 1.1.1 \ \text{paśvādibhiḥ cāviśesāt} \ \text{and because there is no difference from cows, etc.} \]

\[ SBh \ 1.1.4 \ \text{ato vedāntoḥāṃ anarthakhyam aklīyaraḥhatvāt} \ \text{therefore the Vedānta texts are meaningless because they are not concerned with action} \]

\[ SBh \ 1.1.7 \ \text{bhṛtye tu sāmī-bhṛtya-bhedasya pratyakṣatvād upapanno gauṇā ātma-sabdāḥ} \ \text{but in the case of a servant the word ātman may be used in a secondary sense because the distinction of master and servant is obvious} \]

In the first example above the nominal phrase \text{paśvādibhiḥ cāviśesāt} is a complete sentence; the conclusion, stated earlier in the passage, must be supplied by the reader. In the second example the compound \text{akliyaraḥhatvāt} substantiates the assertion made in the prior portion of the sentence. In the third example the nominal phrase \text{sāmī-bhṛtya-bhedasya pratyakṣatvād}, inserted in the middle of the sentence, gives a reason for the assertion made by the rest of the sentence.

2.26.2 Series of causes

In sentences citing a series of causes, the more removed cause is generally placed before the nearer cause. Two conventions of case are common: either the whole series of causes is put in ablative cases, or the ablative and instrumental cases alternate (the ablative being used for the nearest cause). Examples of the former:

\[ SBh \ 1.1.4 \ \text{kriyā-samavāyābhāvāc cātmanah karitrvānuṣpapatteḥ} \ \text{and because the self cannot be an agent since there is no inference of action (in it)} \]

\[ SBh \ 1.1.4 \ \text{heyopādeya-sūrya-brahmātmatavagamād eva sarva-kleśa-prahānāt puruṣārtha-siddheḥ} \ \text{because of the accomplishment of the aim of man, which results from getting rid of all afflictions, which in turn results only from the knowledge that brahman who is devoid of anything to be avoided or sought after is the self} \]

Examples of the latter:

\[ SBh \ 1.1.2 \ \text{na, indriyāviṣayatvena sambandhāgahahanā} \ \text{no, because the connection is not grasped, since [brahman] is not an object of the senses} \]

\[ SBh \ 1.1.4 \ \text{sarva-gatavena nityāpta-svarūpātva sarveṇa brahmanāḥ} \ \text{because brahman is by nature always present to everyone, since it is omnipresent} \]

Note the importance of reading the entire Sanskrit sentence before beginning to translate. Often the most natural English translation reverses the order of the Sanskrit, beginning with the nearest cause and proceeding to the most removed cause.

2.26.3 \text{ca} in causal series

In sentences citing several causes it is essential to understand correctly the conjunction \text{ca}. \text{ca} may connect the sentence to the preceding sentence, as in the first example in Section 2.26.2. In this case \text{ca} is placed after the first word of the sentence. \text{ca} may also connect causes within the sentence, and here one must distinguish between coordinate causes (connected by \text{ca}) and serial causes (where one is the cause of the other). Sometimes the meaning of \text{ca} cannot be determined by its position alone and must be determined by context.
2.27. *iti* clauses

One of the many uses of *iti* is to cite a reason or cause (see Chapter 16 for other uses). In this case *iti*, whose basic meaning is “thus, in this way,” comes to mean “thinking thus, on these grounds, for this reason.” Usually the words quoted by *iti* precede the assertion or conclusion that they substantiate.

\[\text{SBh 1.1.2} \text{ anyeśam api bhāva-vikārānām trisy evāntar-bhāva iti}\]

\[\text{jana-māraññā-aṭṭhakām iha grahaṇam} \text{ the other transformations of state also are included among just these three; therefore the text mentions birth, subsistence, and destruction}\]

Other terms used in the same construction include *smarana* and *śravāna* (see Section 2.41) and *prasaṇa* and *āpatti* (see Section 2.50.3).

In some of the most common of such verbal nouns are listed below, along with the meanings that they often have in this construction.

- *abhāva*; -*abhavāt* absence; because there is no acceptance; because we accept that
- *abhyupagama*; -*abhyupagamāt* fitness; because it is reasonable that
- *upapatti*; -*upapatte~* possibility; because it is possible that
- *darsana*; -*darsanāt* establishment; because it is established that
- *yoga*; -*yogāt* yoga; -*yogat*
- *sambhava*; -*sambhavāt* siddhi; -*siddhe~*
- *śabdha-bhedyāt prakaranāc ca* that is not right since a doubt is not possible because of the difference of words and because of the topic
- *śamsayānupapateḥ* first of all, it [the self] is not a non-object in an absolute sense, because it is the object of the notion of I and because the inner self is well known since it is directly experienced

In some cases the same meaning may be expressed by replacing the verbal noun with an abstract noun formed by adding *a* or *tva* to the past passive participle.

- *kārya-dārśanāt* because of seeing the effect; because the effect is seen, because we see the effect
- *kārya-dṛṣṭatvāt* because of the seen-ness of the effect: because the effect is seen, because we see the effect

In the following examples note the use of the words *abhāva*, *upapatti*, *asiddhi*, and *sambhava*.

\[\text{SBh 1.1.2} \text{ nāśa dāso bhūdākāsāyāpi vāyv-ādi-kramena}\]

\[\text{kāraṇavāpateḥ} \text{ this fault does not apply because the elemental ether also can be a cause through the series beginning with air}\]
Sometimes *iti* is followed by a pronoun or adverb that serves to distinguish this use of *iti* from other common uses. For example, *iti tasmā, iti tena, ity atāḥ,* “therefore” (lit. “from that” where “that” refers to the content of the *iti* clause).

*S Bh 1.1.4*  
*tasmā na pratipatti-vidhi-viṣayatayā śāstra-pramānakatvam brahmaṇah sambhavatīty atāḥ sva-tantram eva brahma śāstra-pramānakam* therefore it is impossible that brahma should be made known by the śāstra as the object of an injunction to know; consequently brahma is made known by the śāstra as an independent entity only

This construction may be made even plainer by the addition of a word such as kāraṇa; e.g., *iti tasmāt kāraṇāt* “for that reason.” *iti kṛtvā,* which often means “thinking thus,” may also mean “therefore, for this reason.”

*GBh 2.10*  
kṣātram karma yuddha-lakṣānam  
guru-bhṛṣṭi-putrādi-hināḥ-lakṣānam aiyantam kṛtaṃ api sva-dharma iti kṛtvā nādharmanāya the action of a warrior, characterized by battle and by violence to his teachers, brothers, sons, etc., though extremely cruel, is his own dharma; therefore it does not lead to adharma

2.28 Relative pronouns and adverbs

A reason or cause may be expressed in a clause introduced by a relative pronoun or adverb such as *yasmiit, yena, yat, yataḥ,* or *yatāḥ.* The relative in this case functions as a conjunction and has the meaning “because.” Such a clause may form a complete sentence that substantiates a previous assertion.

*S Bh 1.1.14*  
*itaś ca prācuryārthe mayaḥ. yasmād ānanda-hetutvam brahmaṇa vyapadiśatī śrutit esa hy evānandayati.* And for this reason the suffix *mayaḥ* means abundance. Because the scriptural passage “for he alone causes bliss” shows that brahma is the cause of bliss.

Or the clause may substantiate an assertion made earlier in the same sentence.

*S Bh 1.1.14*  
*napi samskāryo mokṣa yena vyāpāram apekṣeta* nor is mokṣa something to be purified, by reason of which it would depend on action

One way to understand this construction is to supply the correlative before the conclusion: the first example becomes ... *yasmiit tasmāc cetanavād upacaryate* “because ... , therefore it is figuratively said to be intelligent”; the second example becomes ... *yena tena nyapāram apekṣeta* “because ... , therefore it would depend on action.” See Chapter 20 for further discussion of pronouns and pronomial adverbs.

2.29 Locative absolute

Commentators often use the locative absolute construction to express causal and conditional clauses. Usually the locative absolute precedes the main assertion of the sentence. The basic significance of this construction, i.e., “this being the case,” must be variously interpreted according to the context.
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Note: included here are constructions involving a single abstract noun in the locative case. While these are not strictly locative absolutes, they are used in the same way (such locatives are regarded as nimitta-saptami “locative of motive” by the Indian grammarians, though they may be converted to locative absolutes without changing the meaning by adding sati).

2.29.1 Expressing a cause

The locative absolute may express a reason or cause, in which case it means “given the fact that, since.”

SBh 1.1.1 dehendriyādiṣv ahām-mamābhimāna-rahitasya
pramāṇāvapapattau pramāṇa-pravṛty-anupapataḥ because the pramāṇas could not function, since one who does not identify “I” and “mine” with the body, senses, etc. cannot be a knower.

2.29.2 Expressing a condition

The locative absolute may express a condition, in which case it means “if, when.”

SBh 1.1.1 teṣu [mumukśavādiṣu] hi sātvā prāg api dharma-jīviṇasāyā
ārthvām ca śakyate brahma jīviṇastum jñātam ca for when these [the desire for mokṣa, etc.] exist, it is possible to desire to know and to know brahman, both after and even before the desire to know dharma.

The condition may be hypothetical, in which case an optative often appears in the conclusion.

SBh 1.1.2 sati hindriya-visayate brahmaṇa idam brahmaṇa
sambaddham kāryam iti gṛhyeta for if brahmaṇ were an object of the senses then this [world] would be perceived as connected with brahmaṇ as its effect.

2.29.3 Concessive locative absolute

The addition of api gives the locative absolute the concessive meaning “even though” (see Section 2.54.2).

SBh 1.1.4 na ca parinisthitā-vastu-svarūpaṇe ‘pi
pratyākṣādi-visayatvaṁ brahmaṇaḥ and, even though it has the nature of an accomplished thing, brahmaṇ is not an object of perception, etc.

2.29.4 Abbreviated locative absolute

The locative absolute often appears in abbreviated forms such as tatrāvām sati, evam sati, and tathā sati. Each of these means “this being the case,” where “this” refers to some previously stated condition. Note that the locative absolute in general consists of a “subject” and a “predicate,” i.e. words that would become the subject and predicate if the locative absolute were made into an independent sentence. For example, in rāme gate “Rāma being gone” the subject is rāme and the predicate is gate (the independent sentence being gato rāmaḥ). In these abbreviated forms the predicate consists of the participle sati and the adverbs evam or tathā, while the subject is either omitted or represented by tatra (equivalent here to tasmin; see Section 2.55).

SBh 1.1.4 evam ca saty athātō brahma-jīviṇastitā tad-visayā
pṛthak-sāstrasambhā upapadyate and this being the case, the undertaking of a separate sāstra which has that for its object, with the words athātō brahma-jīviṇastitā, is appropriate.

SBh 1.1.5 tathā sati yan-nimittām īkṣūrtvam pradhānasya tat eva sarvajñatam mukhyam brahma jagatah kāraṇam if that were the case then the very cause of the pradhān’s being a seer would be the omniscient and primary brahmaṇ who is the cause of the world.

2.30 Causal particle hi

A reason or cause may be introduced by the particle hi “since, for.” Usually hi is placed after the first word of the sentence or clause in which it appears.
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SBh 1.1.1 sarvo hi puro'vasthite viṣaye viṣayāntaram adhyasyati
since everyone superimposes an object on another object that is in front of him

SBh 1.1.1 na hindriyāny anupādāya prayākṣādi-vyavahārāh sambhavati
for without the senses the functioning of perception and so on is not possible

Chapter 16
Uses of iti

2.31 Introduction

The particle iti “thus, in this way” has many uses in Sanskrit commentaries. These uses all derive from the basic function of iti: it marks the preceding word or words or sentences as a quotation of some sort. “Quotation” is used here in a broad sense; the iti clause need not consist of words actually spoken or thought and may describe more generally a reason, purpose, situation, and so on. This section discusses typical constructions employing iti and the use of iti in quotation, explanation, and comment, as well as constructions employing the infinitive (both with and without iti) and the use of iti to mark the end of a passage. Quotation marks have been added in the examples to show the extent of each iti clause. See Section 2.27 for the use of iti to cite a reason or cause and Sections 2.44.3 and 2.45.3 for ityādi, itivat, and ityādivat. The various uses of iti in glossing are discussed in Part One. (See also: Coulson 203–05, 230–35; Speijer 383–90, 491–99.)

2.32 Common constructions

The words quoted by iti usually form a complete statement. If a single word is quoted it normally appears in the nominative case.

"devadatta" iti tām vaḍanti they call him Devadatta

Generally the iti clause stands first in the sentence. In some cases words before the iti clause are construed with words following iti, and it is possible
for one iti clause to include another; see Section 2.23 for such constructions. The words immediately after iti normally indicate the relationship of the iti clause to the rest of the sentence. However iti is also used alone, without other explanatory words, to mark words spoken (= ity uktvā) or thought (= iti marvā) or more generally to give an explanation of some sort.

"indra ugamacchati" iti marvā palāyate = "indra ugamacchati" iti palāyate he flees, thinking "Indra is coming"

Occasionally demonstratives such as evam and etad are added redundantly to iti.

SBh 1.1.12 "tasmāt saṃsāry evānandamaya ātmā" iti evam prāpte therefore the self consisting of bliss is just a transmigrating being—the pārvapaska being thus established

SBh 1.1.4 tasmād "aham brahmāsmi" ity etad-avasāna eva sarve vidhāyā sārāṇi cētārāṇi pramāṇāṇi therefore all the injunctions and all the other prāmāṇas come to an end in the realization “I am brahman”

Here ity evam prāpte = iti prāpte and ity etad-avasāna = ity avasāna.

2.33 Quotation

2.33.1 iti with source

iti may quote the actual words of a person or text, or the views held by a particular person or school of thought. Usually iti is followed by a word or phrase giving the source of the quotation. A verb meaning “to say,” “to think,” etc. may be added but is not necessary.

SBh 1.1.2 "śrotavyo mantaiva" iti śrutiḥ the scriptural passage “[the self] is to be heard, is to be thought about”

SBh 1.1.5 "pradhāna-puruṣa-sanyoga nityānumeyya" iti śāṅkhyā manyante the Śāṅkhyaśas believe that the connections of the pradhāna with the puruṣas must necessarily be inferred

2.33.2 iti with ablative

Often the word giving the source of a quotation is put into the ablative case. Here the ablative does not signify that the words are quoted from that source; rather, it means “because ... says ...”

This construction is very common in appeals to scriptural authority.

SBh 1.1.5 yat tu jñānam manyate sa sattva-dharmah “sattvāt saijjyate jñānam” iti smṛtiḥ but what you think is knowledge is actually the quality of sattva because smṛti says that knowledge arises from sattva

2.33.3 iti with partial quotations

A commentator may wish to refer to a long passage without quoting the passage in its entirety. In this case iti is often used to quote selected sentences from the passage. These quoted sentences may be connected by expressions such as the following:

... ity ārāhyāḥ ... iti beginning thus ... the text goes on to say ...

tathā ... iti similarly the text says ...

ante ca ... iti and the text concludes ...

... ityādi ... ityantam bhāṣyam the bhāṣya beginning with ... and ending with ...

An example:

SBh 1.1.2 kim punas tad vedānta-vākyam yat sūrenāḥ līlagśaṣiṣṭām. “bhṛgur vai vārunir varaṇam piṣaram upasāsāra. adhīh bhagavo brahma” ity upakramyāḥ “yato vā imāni bhūtāni jāyante. yena jātāni jīvanti. yat prayanti abhisāmīśanti. tad vijñānāsava.” tasya ca nirṇaya-vākyam “ānandād dhīr eva khalv imāni bhūtāni jāyante. ānandena jātāni jīvanti. ānandam prayanti abhisāmīśanti” iti.

But which Vedānta text does the śāstra wish to indicate here? Beginning with “Bhṛgur Vāruni indeed approached his father Vāruna and said ‘Sir, teach me brahma’,” the passage goes on to say “from which indeed these beings are born; by which, when born, they live; into which, when dying,
they enter—desire to know that.” And its concluding sentence is “from bliss only, of course, these beings are born; by bliss, when born, they live; into bliss, when dying, they enter.”

2.34 Explanation

An *iti* clause is often used to explain a particular term or concept. Sometimes the *iti* clause anticipates what a person might think or say in the situation being described.

SBh 1.1.1 “aham idam mamādham” *iti* vaisargiko ‘yam loka-vyavahāraḥ
there is this natural worldly practice expressed in the thought “this is I, this is mine”

SBh 1.1.1 sarvayo ātmāstivāṃ prayet na “nāham asmi” *iti* for everyone knows the existence of the self; no one thinks “I am not.” Occasionally the *iti* clause follows the term that it explains.

SBh 1.1.1 na cāyam asti niyamaḥ “pūra-vasthiṃ eva viṣaye viṣayāntaram adhyāstavyam” *iti* nor is there an invariable rule that an object can be superimposed only on another object that is in front of us

SBh 1.2.1 punar apy anyāni vākyāny aspaśā-brahma-liṅgāni sandihyante “kim pāram brahma praśādayany aho svid ardhāntaram kim cīd” *iti* but other passages, in which the characteristic marks of brahman are not clearly set forth, give rise to doubt: do they refer to the highest brahman or to something else?

Here the meanings of niyamaḥ and sandihyante are specified by the subsequent *iti* clauses.

2.35 Comment

2.35.1 Comment with *iti*

An author may comment on a statement by adding *iti* and a word or phrase that conveys the desired comment. The passive (third person singular) and the past passive participle (neuter singular) are most often used in this construction. Note that these two are identical in meaning; e.g., *iti niścitam = iti niścīyate*. Occasionally one finds the synonymous construction *iti niścīyam bhavati.*

SBh 1.1.7 tasmāc “cetana-viṣaya ihāma-sābda” *iti* niścīyate therefore it is settled that the word *ātman* here refers to a conscious entity

SBh 1.1.11 tasmā “sarva-jñānam brahma jayatām kāranaṃ niścīnam pradhānaḥ anayaḥ vā” *iti* siddhām therefore it is established that the omniscient brahma is the cause of the world, not the unconscious pradhāna nor something else

SBh 1.1.14 yo hy anayān ānandayati sa pracūrdanāna iti prasiddhāṃ bhavati for it is well-known that one who causes others to be blissful must himself abound in bliss

A gerundive, an adjective, or a substantive may also be used with *iti*.

SBh 1.1.4 “yasya tu yathā-pūrvaṃ samsārdhivāṃ nāsav ava-gata-brahmāma-bhāva” *iti* anavadyam it is irrefutable that one who is a transmigrating being as before has not comprehended that brahman is his self

PP p. 163 “nāpi jñāntaram utpānam” *iti* viṣeṣāḥ nor does another cognition arise—this is the difference

Note that some of the phrases commonly used in glossing, e.g., *iti arthaḥ* (see Section 1.10) or *iti anvayaḥ* (see Section 1.44), employ the same construction.

2.35.2 Commonly used comments

Some of the most common comments with *iti* are listed below. In some cases more than one form is used; e.g., *iti viruddham, iti virudhyate*, and *iti virodhaḥ* are all used to mean “this is a contradiction.”

*iti anavadyam* this is irrefutable
*iti abhyupagatam* this we accept
2.36 Constructions with the infinitive

The following constructions with the infinitive are used both to govern an iti clause (compare comments with iti in Section 2.35) and by themselves.

2.36.1 Infinitive with śak and yuj

The infinitive is often used with the passive or the gerundive of śak “to be able,” or with the passive or the past passive particle of yuj “to fit, to be suitable.”

\[
\text{iti śakyate vaktum} = \text{iti śakyaṁ vaktum} \quad \text{this can be said, it is possible to say this},
\]

\[
\text{iti yujyate vaktum} = \text{iti yuktam vaktum} \quad \text{this can reasonably be said, it is reasonable to say this}.
\]

Note that the infinitive in Sanskrit has only one form, and acquires an active or passive sense according to the mode of the accompanying verb.

devaladattaḥ śaknoti ghaṭam karm it is possible for Devadatta to make a pot (active)

devaladattaḥ śakyaḥ ghaṭam karm it is possible for a pot to be made by Devadatta (passive)

In the examples below the infinitive has a passive sense and may be rendered in English by a passive infinitive (e.g., “to be made”).

SBh 1.1.25 katham punaś “chando bhidhnāṁ na brahmabhūhitam” iti śakyate vaktum but how can it be said that brahmā is not denoted because the meter is denoted?

SBh 1.1.4 ava sa [āmā] na kena cā pratyāhāryatum śakyo vidhi-śeṣatvāṁ vá netum therefore it [the self] cannot be denied by anyone, not can it be made subordinate to an injunction

SBh 1.1.1 “viṣayiṇi… viṣayasya tad-dharmāṇāṁ cādyāṣah tad-viparyayena viṣayiṇās tad-dharmāṇāṁ ca viṣaye dhyaśo mithā” iti bhavitum yuktam it is reasonable that superimposition of the object and its qualities on the subject and conversely superimposition of the subject and its qualities on the object are false

SBh 1.1.7 na tu nirdoṣam śāstram apramāṇom kalpayitum yuktam but it is not reasonable to imagine that the faultless śāstra is not a pramāṇa

Note that śakyam and yuktam sometimes appear as impersonal indeclinables in this construction; e.g., in the second example above śakyo agrees with sa, but the sentence would also be correct if śakya were substituted for śakyo.

2.36.2 Infinitive with arh

The infinitive may be combined with the verb arh “to be obliged to” to give the sense “ought, should.” The infinitive of bhū is particularly common in this construction; e.g., iti bhavitum arhati “this must be the case.”

SBh 1.1.12 para evāmāṇandamayo bhavitum arhati the [self] consisting of bliss must be the highest self
The infinitive sometimes expresses aim or purpose.

2.36.3 Infinitive expressing purpose

The infinitive sometimes expresses aim or purpose.

\[ \text{rāmaṃ draṣṭum agacchat} \]  he went to see Rāma (i.e., in order to see Rāma)

This sense of purpose may be conveyed by an infinitive governing an iti clause.

\[ \text{PP p. 30 } \text{"nyonya-dharmāḥ ca" iti prthag dharma-grahaḥ} \]
\[ \text{"dharma-mātrasyāpi kasya cid adhyāṣa" iti darśayitum} \]  the separate mention of the word dharma in the phrase anyonya-dharmāḥ ca serves to show that there may also be superimposition of some quality only

2.37 End of a passage

iti sometimes marks the end of a section of text. This usage is particularly common in passages expressing a pūrvapakṣa view (see Chapter 19).

\[ \text{SBh 1.1.1 } \text{tat punar brahma prasiddham aprasiddham vā syāt. yadi prasiddham na jijnāsātavyam. athāprasiddham nāiva sākyam jijnāsātum iti. ucyate } \ldots \]
\[ \text{But that brahma must be either well-known or not well-known. If it is well-known then one need not desire to know it; if it is not well-known then it is impossible to desire to know it. We reply } \ldots \]

A much longer example is found in SBh 1.1.4, where a pūrvapakṣa discussion of many lines is concluded as follows:

\[ \text{tasmaī pratipatti-viśayatayādvā śāstra-pramāṇakaṁ} \]
\[ \text{brahmābhyanugantavāyam iti. atrābhidhiyate } \ldots \]
\[ \text{Therefore brahma is to be accepted as proven by the śāstra only in so far as it is the object of the injunction to know. Here we reply } \ldots \]
Chapter 17

References

2.38 Introduction

The most common reference to another person or text is a direct quotation followed by *iti* and the name of the person or text quoted (see Section 2.33). This section discusses other terms and constructions that are often used in making references. These will be taken up according to the nature of the reference: a commentator may refer to the text or the author of the text he is commenting on, to his own work, to various recognized authorities, and to persons holding a particular view. The traditional terms *mūla* and *mūlakāra* are used in this section to refer to the text being commented on and the author of the text being commented on, respectively. See Section 2.57.2 for the use of *etar* and *idam* to refer to preceding and subsequent passages of a work.

2.39 Text and author of text

2.39.1 Verbs of taking

Verbs of taking—(*)

Derivatives of the roots *grah* “to grasp,” *parigrah* “to embrace,” and *upādā* “to take” may indicate what is specifically mentioned or referred to in the *mūla*. For example: *upādāna* “mention of or reference to in the *mūla*,” *grhīra* “mentioned or referred to in the *mūla*.”
2.39.2 prakṛta, aprakṛta

The past participle prakṛta “being the subject of discussion” may refer to what is being talked about in a passage of the mūla. Conversely a-prakṛta points to what is not the subject of discussion.

SBh 1.1.26 itas cāivam abhyupagantavyam asti pūrvasmin vākya prakṛtam brahmēti and for this reason we must accept the fact that brahman is the topic of the previous passage

SBh 1.1.12 kim ihānandamaya-sabdena param eva brahmōcyaṭe yat-prakṛtam satyaṃ jñānām anantam brahmēti does the word ānandamaya here refer to the highest brahman that is the subject of the passage “brahman is true, knowledge, endless”?

2.39.3 Author of text commented on

The mūlakāra may be referred to directly by name, by an honorary title such as bhagavān, or by a descriptive term such as sūtrakāra “author of the sūtras” or bhāṣyakāra “author of the bhāṣya.”

SBh 1.1.2 kim-laksanam punas tad brahmēty ata āha bhagavān sūtrakāraḥ but what is the definition of that brahman? the blessed author of the sūtras explains (in the following sūtra)

GBh 2.23 kasmād (ātmā) avikriya evēty āha why is [the self] changeless? the mūlakāra explains (in the following verse)

Other phrases employing āha include ity āśāṅkyāha “having raised this doubt the mūlakāra says” (see Section 2.49.4), drṣṭāntām āha “the mūlakāra gives an example,” and uttaram āha “the mūlakāra replies.” Note that āha sometimes means “an objector says” and serves to introduce an objection (see Section 2.49.6). ucyate “is said by the mūlakāra” may introduce a quote from the mūla, especially where this answers a question or objection.

GBh 2.48 yadi karma-phala-prayuktena na kartavyam karma kathām tarhi kartavyam ity ucyate if action is not to be performed by a person impelled by the fruit of action, then how is it to be performed? the mūlakāra explains (in the following verse)

Note that ucyate is also used to introduce the commentator’s own reply to an objection (see Section 2.50.1). Some other common verbs used in this construction are listed below (he = mūlakāra).

- ārabhate he begins
- āśāṅkate he raises a doubt
- udāharai he cites an example
- upasāmarahai he summarizes

2.39.4 Author as understood speaker

The mūlakāra is often the unexpressed subject (or agent, in a passive construction) of a verb in the third person singular. Commentators use such verbs (especially in the avatāraṇa or brief introduction to a verse or other portion of the mūla) to explain the intentions of the mūlakāra in a given passage. For example, āha “the mūlakāra says” often introduces a quote from the mūla.

FP p. 135 tat-sūdhanārtham āha prayag-āma-prasiddher iti in order to substantiate that, the mūlakāra says “because the inner self is well-known”
2.39.5 Participles of verbs of saying

Participles of verbs meaning “to say,” “to show,” etc. may refer to the mūla; e.g., avakṣyati “the mūla will state,” darśayati “the mūla will show.”

SBh 2.1.1 brahma ca vakṣyamāṇa-laksanam janmādy asya yata iti and the definition of brahma will be stated by the sūtra “from which there is the origin and so on of this (world)”

SBh 1.1.31 trī-vidham iha brahmopāsanaṃ vivakṣitam a three-fold meditation on brahma is intended here (i.e. in this passage) Note that such participles may also refer to the commentator’s own work (see Section 2.40.2).

2.39.6 Instrumental of present participle

The instrumental of a present participle may refer to the mūla in passive constructions where the agent (the mūla) is not actually mentioned.

SBh 1.1.4 nityam aśārīratvam akarma-nimittatvād ity avocāma we said earlier that bodilessness is eternal because it does not have action as its cause

SBh 1.1.1 yathā cāyaṃ arthaḥ sarveṣām vedāntānām tathā vayam asyam sārīraka-mimāṃsādīn pradosarāvisyāmaḥ and how this is the meaning of all the Vedānta texts we shall show in this sārīraka-mimāṃsā
2.40.2 Participles

Participles of verbs meaning "to say," "to show," etc. may refer to the commentator's own work. The past participle ukta is particularly common in such references, e.g., ukta "previously stated," yathokta "as previously stated," ukta-nyaya "in the manner previously stated."

\[ \text{GBh 2.21 naroaka evamano 'vikriyastam sarva-karmasambhava-karaa-visesa' objective: it was previously said that the particular cause of the impossibility of all actions (in the self) is the fact that the self does not change} \]

\[ \text{S Bh 1.1.5 brahma ca sarvajna sarva-sakti jagad-uptatti-sthitii-nasa-karaam ity uktaam and it has been said that brahman is the omniscient, omnipotent cause of the origin, subsistence, and destruction of the world} \]

Note that such participles may also refer to the mulakara (see Section 2.39.5).

2.40.3 Relative clause

A relative clause introduced by yat and concluded by iti may quote some earlier statement of the commentary. This construction is especially common where an earlier point is raised again in the course of discussion. For example, yat tuktam ... iti or simply yat tu ... iti may mean "what was said previously, i.e., ... ."

\[ \text{S Bh 1.1.4 yat tu heypadeya-rakhitavad upadesanarthakyaam iti nasa dosa but as for what was said before, i.e., that the teaching is purposeless because it is free of anything to be avoided or sought after—that fault does not apply.} \]

When the correlative tat is used it refers to the entire statement quoted by yat and iti.

\[ \text{S Bh 1.1.5 yat tuktaa sattva-dharmena jhanena sarvajnaa pradhanaa bhaviyitii tan nopaapade} \]

2.40.4 Reference to earlier topic

An abbreviated reference to earlier commentary may be made by mentioning the topic of the earlier discussion.

\[ \text{vyunii vyakhya this is explained by vyau: this is explained by what we said concerning vyau} \]

2.40.5 agre

The adverb agre "in front of" means "later on, below" when used in reference to the commentator's own work.

\[ \text{evam agre vaksya this will be explained later on} \]

2.41 Recognized authorities

Special terms may be used to refer to recognized authorities. The choice of such terms varies according to the subject matter of the work, the particular commentator, and the nature of the authority referred to. A few examples are given below.

Derivatives of amna refer to what is taught in the sacred or traditional texts: ity amnaya "this is taught in the sacred texts," amnata "taught in the sacred texts."

Derivatives of drs refer to what is seen in ordinary experience: iti drsya = iti drstam "this is seen in ordinary experience," iti drstam loka
"this is seen in the world," -darsanāt (final member of compound) "because it is seen that..."

The word nyāya refers to a popular maxim: iti nyāyāt "because of this popular maxim."

Derivatives of prasiddh refer to what is generally known in the world: iti prasiddhyate = iti prasiddham "this is generally known," iti prasiddham loke "this is generally known in the world," -prasiddheḥ (final member of compound) "because it is generally known that..."

Derivatives of smr refer to what is taught in smṛti: iti smaryate "this is taught in smṛti," -smarāṇāt (final member of compound) "because smṛti teaches that..."

Derivatives of śru refer to what is taught in śruti: iti śrāyate "this is taught in śruti," -śrāvanāt (final member of compound) "because śruti teaches that..."

2.42 Genitive in reference to particular views

Persons who hold a particular view may be referred to by a word in the genitive case, where the genitive is construed with a word or phrase that expresses the view in question. The reference may name the persons directly.

SBh 1.1.4 yathā prthivy-ādi jagan-nityatva-vidnānāṃ yathā ca
śāṅkhyaṇāṃ guṇāḥ like the earth and so on for those who believe that the world is eternal, and like the guṇas for the Śāṅkhyaśas

Or a general reference may be made to anyone who holds such a view.

SBh 1.1.4 yasya tātāpyo mokṣas tasya mānasam vācikam kāyikam va kāryam apekṣate for whomever mokṣa is something to be produced, for him it depends on a mental, verbal, or bodily effect

Commentators normally gloss such a genitive with the word mate "in the view." For example, in the examples above śāṅkhyaṇāṃ would be glossed śāṅkhyaṇāṃ mate "in the view of the Śāṅkhyaśas," while yasya would be glossed yasya mate "in the view of whomever."

Chapter 17. References

Chapter 18

Examples and Comparisons

2.43 Introduction

Certain terms are commonly used to introduce examples and comparisons. bahuvrīhis in ādi often give specific examples of a more general term. Comparisons may be drawn by adverbs formed with the suffix vara or by phrases containing iva or yathā. Such comparisons may give a corroborating example (e.g., "this situation is exemplified in this instance") or may comprise the main statement (e.g., this situation is like that situation"). See Section 2.53.7 for the use of tathā hi and tad yathā. (See also: Coulson 49–50, 195, 214–15; Speijer 229.1, 241, 430, 470 a; Whitney 1107.)

2.44 Bahuvrīhis in ādi

2.44.1 Compounds in -ādi

ādi m. "beginning" is very common in bahuvrīhi compounds whose literal meaning is "of which ... is the first, beginning with ..." Sometimes the prior member of the compound is in fact the first element of a series and the compound is best translated literally. In such cases a bahuvrīhi in anta m. "end" often expresses the final element of the series.

SBh 1.1.19 śrā-ādiṣu pucchāntesv avayaves-keṣu when the parts beginning with the head and ending with the tail have been mentioned
More often the prior member of the compound is simply a characteristic or prominent member of the group that is denoted by the compound as a whole. Here a less literal translation of ādi is more appropriate.

inḍrādayo devāḥ  the gods, Indra and so on; Indra and the other gods

ākāśādīni bhūānī  the elements, ether and so on; the elements, such as ether

Here bahuvṛthis in ādi give examples of the general terms they modify: Indra is a particular god and ether is a particular element. Often the general term is unexpressed and the bahuvṛthi is used as a substantive.

āgata rāmādayaḥ  Rāma and the others came

Here rāmādayaḥ mentions a particular individual (Rāma) and denotes (in addition to Rāma) the set of individuals associated with Rāma. Note that the bahuvṛthi is often singular in this construction, even though it refers to more than one thing.

SBh 2.1.24  nahi vāyur ākāśo vaṃśiṇādīnā balād dadhi-bhāvam
āpādyate  for neither air nor ether is compelled by heat and so on to turn into curds

bahuvṛthiṣ of the same meaning as those in ādi may be formed by ādika (see Section 2.15), the related word ādīya, and other words meaning “beginning” such as prabhṛti.

inḍrādayo devāḥ = inḍrādikā devāḥ = inḍrādyā devāḥ = inḍra-prabhṛtyayo devāḥ

2.44.2 Series of compounds

Several bahuvṛthiṣ in ādi may be used in a single statement in order to make the sentence logically complete. Often it is not necessary to translate each ādi by “etc.” or “and so on,” and a more natural translation can be obtained by considering the purpose of the ādis.

SBh 2.1.1  sarvajñāḥ sarvēṣvaro jaṅgata upatī-kāraṇām
mṛt-suvarṇādāya iva ghaṭa-rucakādānām  the omniscient Lord of all is the cause of the origin of the world, just as clay and gold, for instance, (are the causes of the origin) of a pot and a gold ornament

SBh 1.1.1  paśvādayaḥ śabdādibhiḥ śrotādānām sambandhe sati śabdādī-viṣṇāme pratiṅkāle jāte tato nivartante  when there is contact of sense objects such as sound with sense organs such as the ear and when an unpleasant cognition of sound, etc. has arisen, cows and other animals move away from that

In the first example above the ādis simply show that other related examples could be named if desired, and so the ādis may be rendered by “for instance.” In the second example each bahuvṛthi in ādi implies a more or less well defined set of items (e.g., śrotādī “the ear and so on” refers to the five sense organs), and so the ādi compounds may be rendered by the general terms that they imply.

2.44.3  ityādi

The compound ityādi (lit., “of which the first is thus”) may be used in direct quotation to indicate that the quotation is one of several that might be named. In this case ityādi has the sense “quotations such as...” Like other bahuvṛthiṣ in ādi, ityādi may modify another word in the sentence, or the word that it modifies may be unexpressed, or ityādi may occur in compound.

SBh 2.1.7  sarvam tuṁ parādād yo ‘nyatrātmanāḥ sarvam vedēyādi-śravanādi  because of śruti passages such as “everything has deserted him who knows everything in something other than the self”
Sometimes *evam* is added redundantly to form expressions such as *ity-evam-ādi* (= *ity-ādi*) or *iti cāivam-ādi* (= *ity-ādi ca*).

### 2.45 Suffix *vat*

#### 2.45.1 Adverbs in -vat

The suffix *vat* (neuter accusative singular of the possessive suffix *vant*) often forms adverbs meaning "like, as." Such adverbs may be made from any noun, e.g., *dehavat* "like the body." The grammatical relationship between the noun and the other words of the sentence is not indicated in the form of the adverb and must be understood from the context. The correct use of *vat* when it means "like, as" is limited by Panini 5.1.115–116 to constructions that can be paraphrased in one of the following ways:

- *brahmāṇavat vartate* = *brahmāṇena tulyam vartate* he acts like a Brahmin (paraphrase by instrumental of noun with *tulyam*—similarity of action must be denoted)
- *mathurāvāt śrūghe prākāraḥ* = *mathurāyām iva śrūghe prākāraḥ* the wall in Śrūghe, like the one in Mathurā (paraphrase by locative of noun with *iva*)
- *devadattavād yajñadattasya gāvah* = *devadattasyeṇa yajñadattasya gāvah* Yajñadatta’s cows, like Devadatta’s (paraphrase by genitive of noun with *iva*)

However in actual practice adverbs in *vat* are often used incorrectly, especially in popular literature; e.g., *mātrvat para-śārām paśyatī* = *mātraṁ iva para-śārām paśyatī* “he looks on another’s wife as he looks on his mother” (paraphrase by accusative of noun with *iva*).

#### 2.45.2 With standard of comparison

Adverbs in *vat* often express a comparison where the noun to which *vat* is added is the standard of comparison (*upamāna*).

*SBh* 1.1.4 *sa ca dagdhēndhanāgnivat svayam evāpaśāmyate* and that extinguishes itself, like a fire whose fuel has been consumed

Here *dagdhēndhanāgnivat = dagdhēndhanāgnir iva* (note that *vat* is used correctly here, since *dagdhēndhanāgnivat svayam iva* "paśāmyate can be paraphrased by *dagdhēndhanāgninā tulyaṁ svayam eva"paśāmyate, and the point of comparison is the act of extinguishing itself). Often the suffix *vat* is added to *bahuvrthi* in *ādi* to indicate that the noun mentioned in the *bahuvrthi* is one of several that might be named for the sake of comparison.

- *dehādivat* like the body and so on; as is the case, for example, with the body

Sometimes the noun to which *vat* is added is construed with another word of the sentence (see Section 2.14 for a parallel construction in which the prior member of a compound is construed with a word outside the compound).

*SDS* p. 2 *tebhya eva dehākāra-parinatebhyāḥ kīṃvādibhyo mada-saktivac caityam upajīyate* consciousness arises from just those [four elements] which are transformed into the form of the body, just as the power of intoxication (arises) from yeast and so on

#### 2.45.3 itivat, ityādivat

The adverbs *itivat* “as is the case in this quotation” and *ityādivat* “as is the case in quotations such as this” are used when direct quotations are presented for comparison.

*SBh* 1.1.4 *nāpi viśiṣṭa-kriyā-yoga-nimittam vāyur vāvā samvargaḥ prāṇa vāvā samvargaḥ itivat* nor is [knowledge of the self as brahman] based on connection with a particular action, as is the case in the passages “wind indeed is the absorber,” “breath indeed is the absorber”

*SDS* p. 6 *mama sartram iti vyavahāro rūḥoh śīra ityādivad aupacārīkāḥ* the expression “my body” is figurative, as is the case in expressions such as “Rāhu’s head”
2.46 iva and yathā

Comparisons are often expressed by iva “like, as” or yathā “like, as.” If the standard of comparison (upamāna) is one word, iva is placed after it; if it consists of several words, iva is often placed in the middle of them. yathā usually precedes the standard of comparison and is particularly common when the standard of comparison is expressed by a verbal clause.

SBh 2.1.4  nanu dharma iva brahmaṇy apy anapeksa ṣāgamo bhavitum arhati objection: the sacred texts must be independently authoritative with regard to brahma
also, just as (they are) with regard to dharma

SBh 1.1.4  svātma-dharma eva sams tiro-bhūto mokṣah kriyātināni samekriyāmāne 'bhivyajyate yathādarāṇe nigharṣaṇa-kriyād samskriyāmāne bhāsavatvam dharmaḥ mokṣa is a hidden quality of the self that is manifested when the self is purified by action, just as the quality of brightness (is manifested) when a mirror is purified by the act of rubbing

Comparisons may be made more explicit by using the correlatives yathā ... tathā (or evam or ittham) ... If the subject under discussion is compared to something else, then the former is normally treated as the subject of comparison (upameya) and placed in the tathā clause.

SBh 1.1.4  yathā svarṣādi-kāmasāyaagnihotrādi-sādhanam vidhyata evam amṛtavā-kāmasāya brahma-jīvānam vidhyate just as means such as the agnihotra are enjoined for one who desires heaven and so on, so knowledge of brahma is enjoined for one who desires immortality

Sometimes this construction is abbreviated by replacing the tathā clause with tadvat, lit., “like that,” i.e., “so it is here (in the case under discussion).”

SBh 1.1.1  yathā rājāsau gacchatiti ukte sa-parivārasya rājito gamanaṁ uktaṁ bhavati tadvat just as the sentence “there goes the king” implies the going of the king with his retinue, so it is here

Chapter 19

Terms of Discussion

2.47 Introduction

Discussion of the meaning of the text being commented on usually takes the form of a dialogue between the commentator and one or more opponents who raise objections to his interpretation. The parts of the dialogue are marked by certain conventional terms that may be roughly divided into those used to present an objection and those used to reply to an objection. Certain terms also mark an alternative interpretation in cases where the commentator is willing to admit another view.

2.48 Dialectic style

2.48.1 Oral debate

Analysis of the meaning and implications of the text being commented on (as opposed to analysis of the words of the text, discussed in Part One) usually appears as a dialogue whose form is based, both historically and stylistically, on oral debate. The view of the commentator and his school is known as the siddhānta, lit., “the demonstrated conclusion.” Opposing views are included under the term pūrva-pakṣa, lit., “the prior view.” The pūrva-pakṣa may be the established doctrine of another school, or it may be any question or doubt anticipated by the commentator. The dialogue that leads to proof of the siddhānta may take several forms. Often a problem is posed, a pūrva-pakṣa is put forth, and a debate develops be-
between the pūrvapakṣin (the upholder of the pūrvapakṣa) and the siddhāntin (the upholder of the siddhānta, i.e., the comntator) that eventually leads to confirmation of the siddhānta. Sometimes the siddhānta is stated first, only to be attacked by the pūrvapakṣin and defended in the ensuing debate. In longer arguments the siddhānta may be confronted with a series of pūrvapakṣas. In this case a commentator often permits one pūrvapakṣin to debate another (or several others) before the siddhānta is finally established. Such passages deserve careful reading since the reply to an objection may not represent the commentator's own view but may be the reply of one pūrvapakṣin to another. Note that when the text is a collection of sūtras, some sūtras may express a pūrvapakṣa but lack any of the terms described in Section 2.49 that ordinarily mark an objection. However pūrvapakṣa sūtras (both with and without the special terms that mark an objection) are usually clearly identified as such by the commentators.

2.48.2 Pūrvapakṣa and siddhānta

The terms pūrvapakṣa and siddhānta are occasionally used directly.

SBh 1.1.4 tu-sabdaḥ pūrvapakṣa-vyāvṛtti-arthaḥ the word tu (in the sūtra) serves to rule out the pūrvapakṣa

When the pūrvapakṣa is the well known view of another school it may be identified as such.

SBh 1.1.5 kāṇḍās tv etebhya eva vākyebhya ātvarām nimitta-kāraṇam anumimāte 'nāṁ ca samavāyī-kāraṇam the followers of Kaṇḍā on the other hand infer from these same passages that the Lord is the efficient cause and the atoms are the material cause

More often the pūrvapakṣa and siddhānta are identified by the terms discussed in Sections 2.49 and 2.50.

The word pakṣa “side, alternative” may refer to any particular view.

SBh 1.1.5 tāni [vedānta-vākyāni] pradhāna-kāraṇa-pakṣe 'pi yojayītum sākyante those [Vedānta passages] can also be interpreted on the view that the pradhāna is the cause

2.48.3 Direct address

The influence of oral debate on the dialectic style of Sanskrit commentaries is seen most clearly when the siddhānta and the pūrvapakṣin address one another directly. Second person pronouns and second person verbs are not uncommon in such passages.

SBh 1.1.1 yusmat-pratyayāpatasya ca pratyag-ātmano 'viṣayatvam brahma and you (i.e., the siddhānta) say that the inner self which is free of the notion of you is not an object

SBh 1.1.5 idam tāvad bhavaḥ praṣṭavyaḥ kathāḥ nitya-jītāna-kriyārve sarvajñārva-hānir iti first of all, you (i.e., the pūrvapakṣin) are to be asked this: why should [brahman’s] always being engaged in cognitional activity cause it to lose its omniscience?

2.48.4 Example of dialectic style

The following passage is an example of the dialectic style and illustrates some of the terms discussed in Sections 2.49 and 2.50.

PP pp. 100–101 tenāntahkāruṇḍapārāga-nimittam mithyāvāhanākārtyam atmanāḥ sphaṭika-maṇer ivopadhana-nimitto lohitimā. Therefore the self’s thinking “I am the agent,” caused by the coloring (of the self) by the mind, is false, just as the red color in a crystal caused by proximity [to a red japa flower] is false

kathāḥ punah sphaṭike lohitimno mithyātvam. But how is the red color in the crystal false?

ucyate yadi sphaṭika-pratisphaliḍā nāyana-raśmayo japa-kusumam upasarpeyus tada viśiṣṭa-sannivesam tad eva lohitim grāhayeyuh na hi rūpa-māra-nīśṭhaḥ cākṣuṣṭah pratyayo drṣṭa-pūrvah. nāpi svaśrayam anarkṣaṇa rūpa-māraḥ pratiḥimbītān kva c id upalabhdha-pūrvam. We reply: if the ocular rays reached the japa flower after being deflected by the crystal, then they would cause us to grasp that red color that inheres in the thing it qualifies (i.e., the flower). For visual cognition has never been seen to consist of color alone. Nor has mere color ever been found to be reflected without reference to its substrate.
2.49 Objection

The following terms are commonly used to raise an objection. Normally the objection is a pārvapākṣa, but occasionally some of the same terms are used for a counterobjection by the siddhiṁtin. iti often marks the end of the objection (see Section 2.37).

2.49.1 nanu and atha

The most common term for introducing an objection is the particle rianu “but, objection:” nanu stands at the beginning of the first sentence of the objection, and is especially common in objections consisting of several sentences.

PP p. 84 nanu viśayinas cid-ātmanah kathām viṣaya-bhāvaḥ but how can the subject whose nature is consciousness be an object?

PP p. 55 nanu na viyāpakam idam lakṣanaṁ svapna-śokādāv asambhavāt objection: this definition does not extend far enough since it does not include dreaming, grief, and so on

The particle atha “now, then, but” introduces a new idea or a new topic (see Section 2.53.1) and may introduce an objection. atha also stands at the beginning of the sentence.

PP p. 171 atha ko 'yam tarko nāma but what is this so-called reasoning?

PP p. 333 atha śabda-janyasyādva jñānasyābhivyāso vidhīyata iti then repeated thinking of the cognition produced by śabda is enjoined

2.49.2 Interrogatives

Objections are often phrased as direct questions introduced by interrogatives such as katham, kva, or kim. Especially common is katham punar “but how?”

SBh 1.1.1 katham punah pratyag-ātmany aviṣaye 'dhyāso viṣaya-tad-dharmanām but how can there be superimposition of the object and its qualities on the inner self which is not an object?

kim combined with the instrumental has the idiomatic meaning “what is the use of . . . ?” This construction may be used to find fault with an opponent’s statement.

SBh 1.1.4 yadi nāmopadistham kim tava tena syād iti even if [an ordinary thing] is taught [in the Veda]—what is the use of this to you?
2.49.3 iti cet

An objection, particularly a short one, may be marked by the concluding words iti cet, lit., “if thus,” i.e., “if this objection is raised, if you say this.” Usually the objection concluded by iti cet is followed in the same sentence by the response to the objection.

SBh 1.1.4 aśārātvā mā eva dharma-kāryam iti cēn na tasya svabhāvikaṃ vā if it is objected that bodilessness itself is produced by dharma, then we reply no, since that (bodilessness) is natural

SBh 1.1.4 aśājyate brahmaṇaḥ śāstra-yonīrvaṇanapattir iti cēn nāvidyā-kalpita-bheda-nivṛtti-paravāc chāstrasya if you say that if brahman is not an object it will be impossible for the śāstra to be its source, then we reply no, because the śāstra is concerned with discarding the distinctions fabricated by avidyā

2.49.4 ity āśānkyya

Derivatives of the root āśank “to suspect (wrongly)” often mark an interpretation that appears to be reasonable but is incorrect. For example: ity āśānkyya “having raised (or anticipated) this doubt,” āśānkyate “is suspected, is wrongly held to be true.”

PP p. 248 tatra krama-niśārtho ‘tha-sābda ity āśānkyāha phala-jīṣṭasya-bhedāc ca the word aha in the passage signifies order of succession—having raised this doubt, the author of the text replies “because of the difference of fruits and objects of inquiry”

SBh 1.1.4 ata eva na brahma-sabdasya jāty-ādy-arthāntaram āśāṅkītvāyam therefore one should not suspect that the word brahman has another meaning such as class

SBh 1.1.3 janmādi kevalam anumānam upanyastam ity āśāṅkyeta tām āśāṅkāṃ nivartayitum idam sūtraḥ pravartya śāstra-yonīvād iti one might suspect that the origin and so on [of the world] were put forth [in the sūtra] merely as an inference—in order to rule out this doubt, the sūtrakāra has undertaken this sūtra “śāstra-yonīvāt”

2.49.5 prāpta and ākṣipta

The past participle prāpta “obtained,” in the sense of “obtained at first view, concluded superficially,” often marks a pūrvapakṣa. Thus prāpta is “obtained as the pūrvapakṣa” and iti prāpte is “this being obtained as the pūrvapakṣa.”

SBh 1.1.12 kiṃ tāvat prāptaḥ brahmaṇaḥ ‘rthāntaram anukhya ātmānam-anumānaḥ syād first, what is the pūrvapakṣa? the [self] consisting of bliss must be something other than brahman, not the primary self

SBh 1.1.4 tasmān na brahmaṇaḥ śāstra-yonīvam iti prāpta ucyate therefore the śāstra is not the source of brahman—the pūrvapakṣa being thus established, the sūtrakāra replies (in the following sūtra)

The past participle ākṣipta “objected, put forth as an objection” may be used in the same way.

SBh 2.1.6 tasmād vilakṣaṇam evēdam brahmaṇaḥ jagad vilakṣaṇatvāc ca na brahma-prakṛtiḥ ity ākṣipte pratividhatte therefore this world is completely different from brahman and because it is different it cannot have brahman as its material cause—this objection being raised, the sūtrakāra replies (in the following sūtra)

2.49.6 Verbs of speaking

The third person of verbs meaning “to speak” may introduce an objection, e.g., aha “an objector says,” apara aha “another says,” atra ke ci āhuḥ “on this point some say.” But the same expressions may also introduce another interpretation acceptable to the commentator (see Section 2.51.2), and aha without an expressed subject may refer to the author of the text being commented on (see Section 2.39.4). The meaning of these expressions is usually clear from the context.

PP p. 199 aha mā bhūj jñāna-dvayam an objector says: let there not be two cognitions
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SBh 1.1.6  

2.49.7 Clauses beginning with na ca ...

A brief objection may be expressed in an iti clause introduced by na and followed by a gerundive, e.g., na ca ... iti mantavyam “nor should it be thought that ...,” na ca ... iti vācyam “not should it be said that ...,” or “na ca ... iti codānīyam “nor should it be urged that ...” (see Section 2.23). The reason for the prohibition usually follows.

SDS p. 8  

2.50 Reply

The following terms are commonly used to answer an objection. In most cases it is the siddhāntin who replies, but occasionally some of the same terms are used when the pūrvapākṣin responds to an objection.

2.50.1 Verbs of speaking

The most common term for introducing the siddhāntin’s reply to an objection is ucyate, lit., “it is said,” i.e., “this is said in answer, we reply.” Similar expressions include atrābhidhiyate = atrōcyate “here we reply, on this point we reply” and brāmaḥ “we reply.” These expressions are particularly common when the siddhānātī is introduced after a long pūrvapākṣa or after a debate between two or more pūrvapākṣins. The reply itself may be formulated in the commentator’s own words or it may contain a quote from the text being commented on. In the latter case it may be more appropriate to render ucyate by “the author of the text replies” (see Section 2.39.4).

SBh 1.1.28  

2.50.2 tan na and other denials

The reply to an objection may begin with an explicit denial of it, e.g., tan na “not that,” tad asat “that is not right,” tad ayuktam “that is not reasonable,” nditad evam “this is not so.” Or a prohibition may be placed within an iti clause, e.g., tan mā bhūd iti “lest that be the case,” mā bhūd āsāṅkēti or tan māsāṅkēti “lest this doubt arise.” The pronoun yah in such expressions may refer to a preceding yat (see Section 2.40.3) or may simply refer to the objection in general.

SDS p. 7  

2.50. Reply

SBh 1.1.31  

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2.50.3 **prasāṅga and āpatti**

Derivatives of the roots *prasāṅj* “to become attached to” and *āpad* “to fall into misfortune” are often used to reject a proposition by pointing to its undesirable consequences. For example: *prasāṅga* and *āpatti* “undesirable implication,” *prasajyate* and *āpadyate* “is implied as an undesirable consequence.”

**SBh 1.1.22** *na cāyam ākāśa-sādha ubhayaḥ sādhāraṇaḥ śākyo vijñātum anekārthavat-prasāṅgat* nor can the word ākāśa here be understood to have both (meanings) equally, since that would involve (a single word’s) having more than one meaning.

**SBh 1.1.4** *yady ātmā svāśraya-kriyāyān vikriyātānāṁ ātmanaḥ prasajyeta* if the self were altered by an action inhering in it then impermanence of the self would result.

**SBh 1.1.1** *tato jñātām evety ajñātāya vartet punar āpannam* then [brahman] must be known and so [brahman’s] not being an object of inquiry would again result.

When an assertion is made, the reason for rejecting its alternative is often expressed in a phrase containing *prasāṅga* or *āpatti* and introduced by *anyathā* “otherwise.”

**SBh 1.1.19** *tenāndamayaśyā brahmatvam anyathā prakṛta-hāndaprabhū-prakṛtā-prasāṅgat* therefore the [self] consisting of bliss is brahman, since otherwise we would make the mistake of abandoning the subject of the passage and accepting what is not the subject of the passage.

2.50.4 **doṣa**

The word doṣa “fault, defect” refers to a flaw in an argument or doctrine. The reply to an objection often begins *na doṣah* or *nāśa doṣah* or *nāyaṃ doṣah* “this fault (does) not (apply),” i.e., “the fault proposed by the objector does not hold true for our doctrine.” Similarly *na duryāt* means “does not harm our position.”

**SBh 1.1.12** *yat tāktaṁ annamāyāḥ-amukhyāṁ-paravāḥ-patitavāḥ ānandamayaśyā可分为 amukhyavatvaṁ iti nāsa doṣa ānandamayaśa sarvāntaravatī* but as for what was said before, i.e., that the [self] consisting of bliss also cannot be the primary [self] because it belongs to a series of secondary selves beginning with the [self] consisting of food—this fault does not apply, because the [self] consisting of bliss is the innermost of all.

**SBh 1.1.4** *ato ‘vidyā-kalpita-saṃsārirava-nivartanena niyama-mukttvā-svarūpa-samarpitaṁ na mokṣayāntītyata-doṣah* therefore the fault of impermanence does not belong to mokṣa because by discarding the appearance, fabricated by avidyā, that (the self) is a transmigrating being, (scripture) teaches that the nature of the self is eternally free.

2.50.5 **syāt and bhavet**

The optatives *syāt* and *bhavet* “might be” may be used to state that the objection might have been valid if the objector had not overlooked an important point, e.g., *syād etat* “this might be the case,” *syād etad evam* “this might be so.” The reason why the objection is not valid then follows.

**SBh 1.1.4** *syād etad evaṁ yadi rajju-raśvā-sāvāna iva sarpa-bhrāniṁ saṁsārirava-bhrāntir brahma-svarūpa-sāvāna-mātreṇa nivarteta na tu nivartate* this might be so, if the error of transmigratoriness were dispelled by merely hearing about the true nature of brahman, just as the error of the snake (is dispelled) when one hears about the true nature of the rope; but it is not dispelled.

**SDS p. 7** *syād etat. syād esa mano-ratho yady anumānadeḥ prāmāṇavana na syāt. asti ca prāmāṇavana* . This might be. This would be our wish if inference and so on had no validity; but they do have validity.

Note that in some authors *syāt* may refer forward and may mean “let us suppose the following.”
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2.50.6 yady api and other concessives

If the respondent is willing to grant part or all of an objection, expressions such as yady api ... tathāpi ... “even if ... still ...” kāman “granted,” satyam “true,” bādhām “yes, surely,” astu “let it be,” and sarvathāpi “but in any case” may be employed.

SBh 1.1.4  ātrāpare prayavatiśāhante yady api śāstra-pramāṇakam brahma tathāpi pratipatti-vidhi-visayaṭayāva śāstraṇa brahma samarpyaṭe here others raise an objection: even if the śāstra is the means of knowing brahman, still brahman is taught by the śāstra only as an object of the injunction to know

PP p. 73  nanu na jīvo brahmaṇo ‘nya ity uktaṃ. bādhām ata ēvāṁ tāj jīve brahma-svarāpa-prakāśācchādikāvidyā kalpyate. Objection: it has been said that the jīva is not different from brahman. Yes—for this very reason avidyā is known by implication to be that which obscures the light of the true nature of brahman in the jīva.

SBh 1.1.24  astu tarhi ātrivrt-krta tejaḥ prathamajam in that case let the light (in the passage) be the first-born (light) not yet made tripartite

SBh 1.1.25  asmin pakṣe brahmāvabhīhitam iti na chando bhidhānām. sarvathāpy asti pūrvasmin vākye prakṛtam brahma. On this view brahman only is denoted and so the meter is not denoted. But in any case brahman is the subject of the previous passage.

2.50.7 tarhi

In discussing the implications of a statement or objection the particle tarhi “in that case,” i.e., “if we accept that to be true,” is often used.

PP p. 128  anupakarvantam api tarhi sahakārya apekyeta in that case the auxiliary would be required even though it does not render assistance

SBh 1.1.19  annamayādihām api tarhi brahmātva-prasangāḥ in that case the [self] consisting of food and the other [selves] also would have to be brahman

2.51 Alternative interpretation

2.51.1 Second interpretations

After giving one interpretation of the text being commented on or of some point raised in discussion of the text, a commentator may introduce a second interpretation with particles such as athava or yadvā, both of which have the sense “or else, on the other hand.” Frequently (but not always) the second interpretation is favored by the commentator. In the first example below a second interpretation of the sūtra “śāstra-yonitvā” is introduced; in the second example a second interpretation is given of the word jyotis in the sūtra “jyotis caraṇābhidhānāt”.

SBh 1.1.3  athāvā yathākoṭam rg-vedādi śāstraḥ yonih kāman pramāṇam asya brahmaṇo yathāvat-svarūpādhisame or else the śāstra consisting of the Rig Veda and so on as described above is the source, i.e., the cause, i.e., the authority for knowledge of the true nature of that brahman

SBh 1.1.24  yadvā nāyaṃ jyotis śādaś cākṣur-vṛttē evānuṛghāhake tejas vartate ‘nyatrdpi prayoga-darśanāt or else the word jyotis here does not denote the light that aids the function of the eye, since we see that it is used in other meanings also

2.51.2 Citing others

Expressions such as apara āha “another says” and atra ke cid āhuḥ “on this point some say” often introduce an objection (see Section 2.49.6). The same expressions introduce an alternate interpretation (usually not the favored one) when the interpretation is allowed to stand unrefuted by the commentator.
Chapter 20

Particles and Pronouns

2.52 Introduction

In Sanskrit prose, particles play an important role in connecting sentences and in altering the meaning of a sentence. This section discusses some of the particles used for these purposes, and also the use of pronominal adverbs as pronouns, some peculiarities in the use of correlative pronouns and adverbs, and uses of the four common demonstrative pronouns. (See also: Coulson 61–63, 76, 171–77, 191–95, 207–14; Speijer 261–90, 394–490.)

2.53 Particles connecting sentences

The following particles often connect a sentence (or clause) to what has been said before, especially when they appear at the beginning of the sentence (or clause). Frequently this connection is crucial to the meaning of the passage. Note that particles such as kim ca, lit., “and what?” are properly rhetorical questions but are best rendered in English by less literal translations. See Section 2.30 for the use of the causal particle hi.

2.53.1 atha

atha “now, then, but” introduces a new topic or a new idea.

SBh 4.1.1 tritye 'adhīye parāparāsu vidyāsu sādhanārayo vicāraḥ prāyaṇāyāgāt. athāha caturthe phalāśraya āgāmiṣyat . In the third adhīya discussion was centered primarily on the means (of knowledge)
with regard to the higher and lower knowledges. Now in this fourth (adhyāya there will be discussion) of the fruits (of knowledge).

Compare the common use of atha to begin a chapter or an entire work, atha dvitiyo ‘dhyāyah now begins the second adhyāya Often the new idea introduced by atha is an objection (see Section 2.49.1). In conditional sentences atha may be used with yadi to propose an alternative, i.e., yadi \ldots{} atha \ldots{} “if \ldots{} but if \ldots{}”

Occasionally atha is used in place of yadi or cet to state a condition.

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When a number of items have been mentioned in a previous sentence, tatra may begin the next sentence with the meaning “of these things just mentioned.” In this case tatra is the equivalent of teṣu and is regularly glossed as teṣu madhye “among these.”

\[
\text{PP p. 257 bahavaś ca sambandha-viśeṣāḥ. taitāvaśyam anayatanath pratiipattayo 'nyathā vyavaharānapapateḥ \ldots{} And there are many kinds of relationship. Of these one must necessarily be accepted because otherwise discourse would be impossible.}
\]

\[
\text{PP p. 90 tatra na tāvat prathamāḥ kalpo jaḍa-svārūpe pramāṇa-phale viśvasyānavabhāṣā-prasangāḥ \ldots{} of these, first of all, not the first alternative, because if the fruit of pramāṇa were insertent then nothing at all would appear}
\]

2.53.3 tāvat
tāvat may be used adverbially in the meaning “first, first of all.” In this sense it usually introduces the first of a series of points or alternatives and may be combined with tatra (see the last example above). Generally tāvat is placed after the first word of the sentence.

SBh 1.1.22 kutāḥ saṁśayaḥ. ubhayatra prayoga-darśanāt. bhūta-viśeṣe tāvat suprasiddho loka-vedayor ākāśa-sābdo brahmān api kva cit prayujyamāno dṛṣṭaye. Why is there a doubt? Because we see its use in both meanings. First, the word ākāśa is well known in both worldly discourse and in the Veda in the sense of a particular element; but in some cases we see that it is used to denote brahman also.

SBh 1.2.1 na tāvad anāśravasya jñāyaṇaṁ cābhayam ekasmin samāśrayiṁ samyac ca virodhi it first of all, smallness and greatness cannot both reside in one thing, because of the contradiction

2.53.4 atra and iha
atra and iha often refer to a recently mentioned quotation or fact in the sense “in that passage” or “in that case” or “with regard to that” and so on. When tatra refers to a recently mentioned substantive it is the equivalent of the locative of the pronoun tat (see Section 2.55).

SBh 1.1.11 tatrātha-sabdā anantarāyārthāḥ prāgarhyate the word atha in the passage is used to signify immediate succession

SBh 1.1.23 vāyu-vikārasya pañca-vrteḥ prānasvāpāṇam yuktam. tatra hi prasiddhataraḥ prāna-sābdaḥ . It is reasonable that the reference is to the five-fold prāna that is a modification of air, since the word prāna is better known in that sense.
Similarly *ity* *atra* may be “in this passage (quoted by *iti*)

SBh 1.1.22  *kim punar atra yuktam bhūdākāsam iti* 
but what is right in this case? [the word ākāsa refers to] the elemental ether

SBh 1.1.23  *ata iha prāṇa-sādāna katarasopādānam yuktam iti* 
*bhavati samśayaḥ* therefore there is a doubt: which of the two (meanings) is signified by the word prāṇa in this passage?

Similarly *ity* *atra* may be “in this passage (quoted by *iti*)

SBh 1.1.4  *yathā ca puruṣo vāva gautamāṇagnir yōga vāva gautamāṇagnir ity atra yosīt-puruṣāyor agni-buddhir manasi bhavati* 
and just as in the passage “man indeed, O Gautama, is a fire; woman indeed, O Gautama, is a fire” there is a mental meditation upon man and woman as fire.

The expressions *ihāpi* “here too, in this case also” and *iha tu* “but here, but in this case” show that the situation just described is similar to or different from the subject of discussion.

2.53.7  *tathā hi* and *tad yathā*

Clarification or illustration of what has been said before is introduced by *tathā hi* (lit., “for thus”) and *tad yathā* (lit., “that is like this”). Both have the sense “that is to say” or “for instance.”

SBh 1.1.1  *prāka ca tathā-bhūtāna-vijñāṇa pravartamānam śāstram avidyāvād-visayatvam nātivartate. tathā hi brāhmaṇa yajetetyātma. tad yatha* 
operating before such knowledge of the self has arisen, does not go beyond having as its object those affected by avidyā. That is to say, passages of the śāstra such as “a Brahmin should sacrifice” operate on the assumption that there is superimposition on the self of particulars such as class, stage of life, age, state, and so on.

SBh 1.1.1  *adhyāsā nāmātasmīṃs tad-buddhir ity avocāma. tad yathā putra-bhāryādaśu vikaśeśu sakaleśu vāham eva viкалak sukalo vēti bōgya-dharmān ātmanī adhyāsayati* 
We have said that superimposition is the notion of one thing in another thing. For instance, a man superimposes external qualities on his self if he thinks “I am ill” or “I am well” when his son, wife, and so on are ill or well.

2.53.6  *tu, etc.*

*tu, kim tu, param tu, punar,* and the like share the meaning “but” and often introduce a slightly different idea or (more strongly) a modification or correction of what has been said before. A more emphatic antithesis is introduced by *kim tarhi* “but rather, instead.”

SBh 1.1.4  *na tu tathā brahmaṇa upāsanā-vidhi-śeṣatvam sambhavati* 
but brahman cannot thus be subordinate to injunctions to meditate.

SBh 1.1.2  *tasmāj jannādi-sātram nāmānāśaṇyāśārtham, kim tarhi vedānta-vākyā-pradārisānārtham* 
therefore the sūtra beginning with the words jannādy does not serve to put forth an inference, but rather to point out a Vedānta text.

SBh 1.1.4  *api ca brahmaṇa na hantavya iti* 
moreover, abstinence from action is taught in passages such as “a Brahmin is not to be killed.”
2.53.8  Words for "therefore"

A conclusion may be introduced by a pronoun or adverb such as tasmāt, tena, tat, tataḥ, atah, or itaḥ. The pronoun or adverb functions as a conjunction and has the meaning "because of the preceding, for this reason, therefore."

SBh 1.1.1  

tasmād avidyāvāda-viśoyāy eva pratyaśādina pramāṇāṁ
śāstrāṁ ca  therefore the pramāṇas such as perception and the śāstras have as their object those affected by avidyā

PP p. 140  
bādham ukta-lakṣaṇāvidyā pratyag-dṛṣṭy api sambhavan
nātāvatā tai-sambhavāḥ sidhyate. tena nidārśāniyaḥ saḥ. Granted that avidyā as defined above is possible even in the case of the inner self; still, this much does not establish the actual existence of it (i.e., avidyā).
Therefore that is to be demonstrated.

SDS p. 3  
tac caitanya-viśiṣṭa-deha evātma therefore the self is just the body qualified by consciousness.

The force of the pronoun or adverb may be strengthened by addition of the particle eva (see Section 2.54.1); e.g., tasmād eva or ata eva "for this very reason." The reason itself may be expressed in a clause introduced by a relative pronoun or adverb; see Section 2.28 for such constructions.

2.54  Particles of emphasis

2.54.1  eva

eva lays stress on the immediately preceding word and may be rendered as "just, only, merely." It conveys the sense "just this—no more, no less."

SBh 1.1.2  

na vastu-yathāmyya-jñānam puruṣa-buddhy-apekṣām. kim
tarhi vastu-tantram eva tat. Knowledge of the true nature of a thing does not depend upon the notions of man; instead, it depends only on the thing itself.

SDS p. 3  

ātmanādy-ātmanādi-jānyam sukhām eva puruṣārthaḥ the aim of man is just the pleasure that arises from such things as embracing

2.54.2  api

api has two common meanings when modifying the immediately preceding word: "also, too" and "even, though." The intended meaning is usually clear from the context.

SBh 1.1.5  
nan-ktaṁ sarva-jñāna-saktimattvena sarvajñānam bhaviṣyaṁti. 
tad api nōpapadyate  Objection: it was said that [the pradhāna] might be omniscient because it possesses the capacity for all knowledge. That also is not reasonable.

With regard to the first meaning, note the use of api (either alone or in combinations such as api ca) at the beginning of a sentence to connect the sentence to what has been said before (see Section 2.53.5). With regard to
the second meaning, note the use of *api* with the locative absolute to mean “even though” (see Section 2.29.3) and the common expressions *yady api* “even if” and *evam api = tathāpi* “even so, still, nevertheless” (see Section 2.50.6).

2.55 Pronominal adverbs used as pronouns

Pronominal adverbs formed with the suffixes *tas* and *tra* (also the adverbs *kva* and *iha*) may refer to persons and things as well as places and are sometimes equivalent in both construction and meaning to the corresponding pronouns of suitable gender and number in the ablative or locative case.

2.55.1 Adverbs corresponding to pronouns

The following adverbs may be used in place of the corresponding pronouns:

- *kutah* = ablative of *kim*
- *kutra* = locative of *kim*
- *yatah* = ablative of *yat*
- *yatra* = locative of *yat*
- *tatah* = ablative of *tat*
- *atra* = locative of *tat*
- *atah* = ablative of *idam*
- *atra* = locative of *idam*
- *iha* = locative of *idam*
- *kva* = locative of *

Note that the relative adverbs *yatah* and *yatra* may be correlated with the pronoun *tar* and the demonstrative adverbs *tatah* and *atra* may be correlated with the pronoun *yat.*

SBh 1.1.1  *yatra yad-adyāsas tad-vivekāgraha-nibandhano bhramah*  the superimposition of one thing on another is an error based on the failure to grasp the difference of the two

2.56 Correlative pronouns and adverbs

2.56.1 Repeated correlative

The same relative pronoun or adverb may be repeated to give a general sense, e.g., *yo yah* “whoever” and *yatra yatra* “wherever.” In this case the correlative pronoun or adverb is also repeated.

SBh 1.1.12  *yatra yatra vibhāty-adātiśayaḥ sa sa tāvatra iy upāsyatayā codaye*  in whomever there is pre-eminence of power and so on, he is enjoined as the one to be worshipped as the Lord

SBh 1.1.24  *tasmād yad yat kasya cid avahāsakaṃ tat taj jyothiḥ-sabdenābhidhiyate*  therefore whatever illuminates something is denoted by the word *jyotiḥ*
2.56.2 Multiple pairs

Sanskrit often employs more than one pair of correlatives in the same sentence. The correlatives (or all but one) usually have an indefinite sense. There is no requirement that the demonstratives appear in the same order as the relatives, and either may occur in compound. Such sentences are often difficult to translate into English since English rarely uses more than one pair of correlatives in the same sentence. It may be helpful, especially upon first reading, to represent each pair of correlatives symbolically by letters such as "A," "B," and so on.

SBh 1.1.1 yatra yad-adhyāsa tat-keśena doṣeṇa guṇena vānu-mātreṇāpi sa na sambadhyaте when there is superimposition of A on B, B is not connected even in the slightest degree with any fault or virtue created by A; or, when there is superimposition of one thing on another, the latter is not connected even in the slightest degree with any fault or virtue created by the former

SDS p. 25 yad yadā yat karoti tat tadā tatra samartha when A causes B at time C, A is samartha of B at time C; or, whenever one thing causes another, the former is samartha of the latter at that time

In the first example above the correlatives are yatra = sa (B) and yad = tat (A); in the second example the correlatives are yad = tat (A), yadā = tadā (C), yat = tatra (B).

2.56.3 yathā with tathā

A clause introduced by yathā may express the object of a verb meaning "to say," "to show," and so on. The correlative tathā is normally used if the yathā clause precedes the main verb. In this construction yathā means literally "in what way" and can often be translated by "how."

PP p. 137 yathākāśya-vyāpāram antardāpy aparokṣata tathā darsavyayāmah we will show how the ether is directly known even without the functioning of the eye

SBh 1.1.5 yathā tu tarkeṇāpi brahmaṇa eva kāraṇatvaṁ nirvāṇam śakṣyate na pradhāṇādānām tathā prapañcāvyayai na vilākṣaṇavād

2.56.4 yat meaning “that”

The pronoun yat is sometimes used as a conjunction to introduce a subordinate clause. In this case yat means "which is the fact that" or simply "that." A correlative to yat is sometimes used, and iti is sometimes added redundantly to the end of the yat clause.

SBh 1.1.4 alankāraḥ bhayam asmākāṁ yat brahmaṁdvagatau savyāṁ sarva-kartavyataḥ-hāniḥ kṛta-kṛtyata cēti for this is our glory, that when there is knowledge of the self as brahman all duties cease and everything is accomplished

PP p. 317 ato 'lankāra eva sūrēnāṁ yat anekārthaḥ nāma therefore it is indeed an embellishment of sūtras that they have more than one meaning

In the first example the yat clause refers back to the correlative pronoun ayam and is concluded by iti. In the second example the yat clause refers to the preceding word alankāra. Sentences of equivalent meaning can be obtained by converting the yat clauses to iti clauses (i.e., by omitting the yat in both examples and adding iti to the end of the second), and in fact such subordinate clauses are far more often formed with iti than with yat (see Chapter 16). Note that when such a clause is formed with iti it tends to precede the word or words to which it refers, but when it is formed with yat it tends to follow.

2.56.5 Repeated anya

The notion "the one ... the other ..." or "some ... others ..." may be expressed by repetition of the pronoun anya.
SBh 1.1.23 *yatā pīṇā pīṭēḥ prayoge 'nyaḥ pīṭā saṅghī-nirdīṣṭo 'nyaḥ prathama-nirdīṣṭaḥ* just as in the expression “the father of the father” one father is indicated by the genitive case and the other is indicated by the nominative case.

Similar expressions include *ke cīt* (or *eke*) ... *apare* (or *anye*) ... “some ... others ...”

### 2.57 Demonstrative pronouns

#### 2.57.1 Scale of proximity

The uses of the pronouns *idam*, *etat*, *adah*, and *tat* are distinguished by the Indian grammarians in the following *kārikā*:

*idamas tu sanāktṛṣṭam samipatara-varti cātiado rūpam
adāsas tu viprakṛṣṭaṃ tad iti parokṣe vijñātyāt*

One should know that *idam* refers to what is near, *etat* to what is closer at hand, *adah* to what is remote, and *tat* to what is not visible to the speaker.

The words *idam*, *etat*, and *adah* are normally deictic pronouns, i.e., they point out a person or thing and distinguish it from others of the same class. Often they point to something in the speaker’s presence. In this case *idam* and *etat* designate something near the speaker and usually correspond to the English demonstrative “this.” Their areas of meaning tend to overlap, though *etat* is more emphatic and is often translated by “here” (e.g., *eṣa devadattaḥ “here is Devadatta”). *adah* designates something remote from the speaker and possibly not visible to him, and usually corresponds to the English demonstrative “that.” These three pronouns may also point to something just mentioned or about to be mentioned; in particular *etat* often points to what has just been said and *idam* to what is about to be said (see Section 2.57.2 *tat* is properly an anaphoric pronoun, i.e., it refers back to a preceding word in the context. It is therefore the usual correlative of the relative pronoun *yat* when the relative clause precedes the main clause (when the relative clause follows the main clause the correlatives are often *idam* or *etat* or is omitted altogether). When *tat* is used in apposition with a substantive it is usually translated by the definite article “the” (e.g., *sa brāhmaṇaḥ “the Brahmīn”); when it appears alone it is usually translated by the appropriate personal pronoun (e.g., *sah “he” or “it”). In cases other than the nominative and accusative, *idam* may be used anaphorically as a synonym of *tat* (e.g., *asya = tasya “his” or “its”). *idam* is enclitic when used in this way.

#### 2.57.2 Reference to earlier and later passages

In conversation and discussion *etat* usually refers back to what has already been said while *idam* usually refers ahead to what is about to be said.

**GBh 4.20** *tadīyaṃ karmākarmāva sampadyata ity etam artham
darśayitaḥ āha* being about to reveal this meaning, i.e., that the action of such a man becomes non-action, the author of the text says (the following verse)

**GBh 8.19** *samsūre vairgya-pradarśanārtham cēdam āha* and in order to demonstrate dispassion toward *samsūra* the author of the text says this (i.e., the following verse)

In the first example *etam artham* refers back to the preceding *iti* clause; in the second example *idam* refers ahead to the verse of the text about to be quoted.

#### 2.57.3 *tat etat* and *tat idam*

*tat* is sometimes used in apposition with *etat* or *idam* to make an emphatic reference to something recently discussed; e.g., *tat etat* or *tat idam* “this one here (*etat* or *idam*) that we have been talking about (*tat*).”

SBh 1.1.1 *tam etam evam-lakṣaṇam adhyāsaṃ pāṇḍita avidyāti manyate* this superimposition as defined above scholars regard as avidyā

SDS p. 6 *tat etat sarvāṇaṃ samagrāhi* all of this is summarized (in the following verses)

**GBh 1.1** *tad idam guṇa-sāstraṃ
saṃasta-vedārtha-sāra-saṅgraha-bhūtaṃ durvijñeyārthaṃ* this
*gītā-sāstra* which is a summary of the essence of the meaning of the entire Veda and whose meaning is hard to grasp.

When *tāt* is used in the predicate and the subject is *etat* or *idam*, the sense is “this one (*etat* or *idam*) is the one that we have been talking about (*tāt*)” or “this is the same one.”

so 'yam brāhmaṇaḥ this is the Brahmin; or, this is the same Brahmin

Note that the pronoun subject (*ayam*) may be placed in the middle of the predicate (*sa brāhmanah*); see Section 2.21.2.

## Appendix

### Useful Reference Works

The following reference works may be useful in reading Sanskrit commentaries and other works composed in the bhāṣya style.


   Dictionary of Sanskrit grammatical terms, including both technical terms of Pāṇinian grammar and more general grammatical terms.


   Helpful observations on syntax, the uses of particles, and many specific points of grammar and composition.


   Translation of Pāṇini’s grammar; the second volume includes several indices that are very useful for looking up technical terms found in commentaries.


   A critical survey of research on Pāṇini and Pāṇinian grammar, which provides not only a detailed bibliography but a reasoned treatment of work to date on every relevant topic.

A very thorough and careful presentation of Pāṇini’s approach and techniques, providing a rich and invaluable description of the entire system.


Sanskrit primer that provides additional discussion and examples for some of the material covered in our Part Three, along with many helpful observations on other grammatical points (see the table of contents). A brief but excellent introduction to commentarial techniques may be found in the discussion of Mallinātha’s commentary on Kumārasambhava 6.84–95 on pp. 258–267.


Explanations of the meanings of the indicatory letters used in the technical terms of Pāṇinian grammar, together with indices of grammatical elements both with and without the indicatory letters.


Detailed and scholarly treatment of nominal constructions in the bhāṣya style of Sanskrit prose.


Good general introduction to the bhāṣya style of Sanskrit prose; includes an exemplary passage, with translation, from the *Vedānta-paribhāṣā*.


Dictionary of technical terms of Indian philosophy, with special emphasis on Nyāya terminology. A difficult work, but useful for students who have some experience in reading Sanskrit philosophical texts. In Sanskrit.


The only grammar of Sanskrit in English that gives a full presentation of the Pāṇinian system of grammar. Unfortunately it has no index.


A complete English translation of Pāṇini’s grammar, with useful indices. The text is presented not in its traditional form but in marked-up Roman transliteration with sandhi dissolved and hyphens and accents added.


A short history of Sanskrit commentaries and a good general introduction to the bhāṣya style of Sanskrit prose may be found on pp. 133–146.


Comprehensive treatment of Sanskrit syntax that provides additional discussion and examples for some of the material covered in our Part Three (see the table of contents and the Sanskrit index). Speijer often refers to Pāṇini on specific grammatical points.

Comprehensive treatment of Sanskrit and Vedic morphology from a Western viewpoint; very little discussion of Pāṇinian grammar or of Sanskrit syntax.

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