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SCHOLASTIC SANSKRIT

A HANDBOOK FOR STUDENTS

by

Gary A. Tubb
and
Emery R. Boose

Treasury of the Indic Sciences series

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Dedicated to the memory of our teacher,
Daniel Henry Holmes Ingalls (1916–1999),
Wales Professor of Sanskrit, Harvard University

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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 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 reformatting 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 Brahmanical 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 priniciples 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 *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 Brahmanical 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   New York
Series Editor, *Treasury of the Indic Sciences*   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

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 *mahākāvya* poems, 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 *Brahmasūtrabhāṣya*, 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 (Śrīvāṇivilāsa)

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. *Meghadūta* of Kālidāsa (ed. M. R. Kale).

Megh.M. Mallinātha's commentary on the *Meghadūta* (ed. M. R. Kale).

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

Pā. Pāṇini's *Aṣṭādhyāyī*

PP *Pañcapādikā* of Padmapāda (Madras Government Oriental Series 155)

Ragh. *Raghuvaṃśa* of Kalidāsa (Nirṇaya-Sāgara Press)

Ragh.H. Hemādri's commentary on the *Raghuvaṃśa* (ed. Rewā Prasāda Dwivedī)

Ragh.M. Mallinātha's commentary on the *Raghuvaṃśa* (Nirṇaya-Sāgara Press)

SBh *Brahmasūtrabhāṣya* of Śaṅkara (Svāmi Satyānanda Sarasvatī)

SDS *Sarvadarśanasaṅgraha* of Sāyaṇamādhava (Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute)

Śiśu. *Śiśupālavadha* of Māgha (Kashi Sanskrit Series 69)

Śiśu.M. Mallinātha's commentary on the *Śiśupālavadha* (Kashi Sanskrit Series 69)

Śiśu.V. Vallabhadeva's commentary on the *Śiśupālavadha* of Māgha (Kashi Sanskrit Series 69)

Speijer J. S. Speijer, *Sanskrit Syntax* (Rpt. Motilal Banarsidass)

Whitney William Dwight Whitney, *Sanskrit Grammar* (Harvard University Press)

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 *śāstra* 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 *Vedāntasūtras*), 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

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by the author's own commentary; the *Tarkasaṅgraha* of Annambhaṭṭa, for example, is little more than a string of lists without the explanations supplied in Annambhaṭṭa's own *Tarkadīpikā* 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 Bhaṭṭi's famous boast, that his *mahākāvya* could be understood only with the aid of a commentary (*vyākhyā-gamyam idaṃ kāvyam*, etc., *Bhaṭṭikāvya* 22.34). Bhaṭṭi'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 *kāvya* (*Kāvyālaṅkāra* 2.20), but we should also remember that Bhāmaha himself, when describing the characteristics of an ideal *mahākāvya*, does not say that the poem should require no commentary, but rather that it should not require *too much* commentary (*nâtivyākhyeyam*, *Kāvyālaṅkāra* 1.20).

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

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 *Padārthasaṅgraha*, which is ostensibly a commentary on the *Vaiśeṣika-sūtra*, and which in turn provides the occasion for Udayana's equally original *Kiraṇāvalī*. And the *Kiraṇāvalī* 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 work on poetics, the *Kāvyānuśāsana*, which appears in the form of a number of brief *sūtras* supporting his own commentary, the *Alaṅkāracūḍāmaṇi*, 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 *Parāśarapurāṇa* that is quoted in the *Nyāyakośa*:

> *pada-cchedaḥ padârthôktir vigraho vākya-yojanā*
> *ākṣepeṣu samādhānaṃ vyākhyānaṃ pañca-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 *Padārthokti*

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 *Vākyayojanā*

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—consitute 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. *padārthokti*—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. *vākyayojanā*—construing the sentences, i.e., indicating how the words fit together syntactically (Sections 1.76–1.84).

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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 dis-
cussion 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 *Raghuvaṃśa* of Kālidāsa.

In the first example, Mallinātha is glossing the word *śaiśave*, "in in-
fancy":

> *Ragh.M. 1.8   śiśor bhāvaḥ śaiśavaṃ bālyam. "prāṇabhṛj-jāti-vayo-*
> *vacanôdgātr-ādibhyo 'ñ" ity añ-pratyayaḥ. "śiśutvaṃ śaiśavaṃ bālyam"*
> *ity amaraḥ. tasmin vayasi [śaiśave].*   Infancy is the condition of being
> an infant, childhood. The suffix *aÑ* (i.e., *-a*, with *vṛddhi* strengthening of
> the first syllable of the stem to which it is added), by (*sūtra* 5.1.129 in
> Pāṇini's grammar) "*aÑ* is added to words for species of animals and for
> the ages of life, and to *udgātṛ*, 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 *śiśor bhāvaḥ* is an analysis in ordinary language of the formation
śaiśavam, 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 *prajānām*, "of the
people":

> *Ragh.M. 1.24   prajāyanta iti prajā janāḥ. "upasarge ca saṃjñāyām" iti*
> *ḍa-pratyayaḥ. "prajā syāt santatau jane" ity amaraḥ. tāsām [prajānām].*
> They are generated, thus progeny, people. The suffix *Ḍa* (i.e., *-a*, with loss
> of the final vowel and final consonant of the root to which it is added), by
> (*sūtra* 3.2.99 of Pāṇini) "And (*Ḍa* is added to the root *jan*) when a verbal
> prefix is used, if a name is being formed." "*prajā* 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 nom-
inal derivation (Section 1.29.1), and thus involves a *kṛt* suffix, but otherwise
the elements of Mallinātha's remarks are the same as in the preceding ex-
ample.

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:

> *Ragh.M. 1.54   dhuraṃ vahantīti dhuryā yugyāḥ. "dhuro yaḍ-ḍhakau" iti*
> *yat-pratyayaḥ. "dhūr-vahe dhurya-dhaureya-dhurīṇāḥ*
> *sa-dhuraṃdharāḥ" ity amaraḥ. dhuryān rathâśvān viśrāmaya*
> *vinīta-śramān kuru.*   They bear a yoke, thus yoke-bearers, draft animals.
> The suffix *yaT* (i.e., *-ya*, with acute pitch accent on the preceding
> syllable), by (*sūtra* 4.4.77 in Pāṇini) "*yaT* and *dhaK* are added to the root
> *dhur* (in the sense of 'bearing that')." "In the meaning of a yoke-bearer:
> *dhurya, dhaureya, dhurin*, and *dhuraṃdhara*"—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—*śiśor bhāvaḥ śaiśavam, prajāyanta iti prajāḥ*, etc.—are based on the treatment of such formations in Pāṇini's grammar, but the formulas themselves are in ordinary language and can 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.

> *Ragh.M. 1.17* **ā manoḥ**, *manum ārabhyêty abhividhiḥ. pada-dvayaṃ câitat, samāsasya vibhāṣitatvāt.* **Since Manu**—beginning with Manu; this is an inclusive limit. And these are two words, because the compound is optional.

> *Kum.M. 5.55* *tadêti cchedaḥ.* **tadā prabhṛti.** *tata ārabhyêti arthaḥ.* Divide after *tadā.* From then on, i.e., beginning then.

> *Kum.V. 5.63* *tvayā* **yathā śrutaṃ** *tathâiva tat. ... yathā śrutam iti dve pade.* It is just **as you have heard.** *yathā śrutam*—these are two words.

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* *vikriyanta iti karmaṇi.*   (The verb) *vikriyante* 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 antaraṃ sūcayataḥ.*   The two words 'where' suggest a great difference.

> *Ragh.M. 1.1* **pārvatī-paramêśvarau.** *parama-śabdaḥ sarvôttamatva-dyotanârthaḥ.* **Pārvatī and the Supreme Lord.** The word 'supreme' has the purpose of revealing his preeminence above all others.

> *Kum.M. 1.4* *kiṃcêti cakārârthaḥ.*   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 pakṣântare.*   *athavā* (is used) in (the sense of) an alternative.

> *Kum. V. 2.42 caḥ pūrvâpekṣayā samuccaye. hîti pāṭhe cârthe hiḥ.*
> (The particle) *ca* (is used) in (the sense of) conjunction with repect to what precedes. In the reading "*hi*," (the particle) *hi* (is used) in the meaning of (the particle) *ca*.

As the word *cârthe* 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 Pāṇinian system of grammar:

> *Ragh.M. 1.90 ā tapo-vanāt. āṅ maryādāyām.*   **As far as the penance-grove.** (The preposition) *ā* [called *āṅ* in Pāṇini's grammar] (is used) in the sense of an exclusive limit.

> *Kum.M. 1.35 naño viśeṣaṇatvaṃ ca-śabda-prayogād eva jñeyam.*
> And that the word *na* [called *nañ* in Pāṇini'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, seeSections 1.76–1.80.

1.7 Variant readings

Variant readings are referred to by using the noun *pāṭha* or any of the forms of the verb *paṭhati.*

> *Kum. V. 2.26 kṣatâhaṃ-kāra-śaṃsina iti jarat-pāṭho 'tra ramyataraḥ.*
> Here the old reading "*kṣatâhaṃ-kāra-śaṃsinaḥ*" is more appealing.

> *Kum. V. 2.28 prārthayadhvam ity apapāṭhaḥ.*   "*prārthayadhvam*" is a bad reading.

> *Kum. V. 3.44 iyâdīnāṃ chandasi vidhānād bhāṣāyāṃ triyambakam iti prayogo durlabha iti maheśvaram iti paṭhanīyam.*   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 marmârpitam iti pāṭhântaram.*   There is another reading, "*mamârpitam.*"

> *Kum.M. 3.44 kecit sāhasikāḥ tri-locanam iti peṭhuḥ.*   Certain reckless (commentators are said to have) read "*tri-locanam.*"

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 Pāṇinian 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   matiḥ prajñā*   **mind** intellect

> *Ragh.M. 1.4   me mama*   **my** of mine

> *Ragh.M. 1.29   nūnaṃ 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 madhuraḥ*   **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   auṣadhaṃ yathā auṣadham iva*   **as if medicine** like medicine [here *iva* glosses *yathā*]

> *Ragh.M. 1.24   tāsāṃ pitaras tu janma-hetavo janma-mātra-kartāraḥ kevalam utpādakā evâbhūvan.*   But **their parents** were **causes of birth** creaters merely of birth **alone** simply producers. [here *eva* glosses *kevalam*]

1.10.2   *Vigrahas*

When an analysis of a grammatical complex (such as a nominal compound) is given, the original word from the text is generally repeated after the analysis, rather than before it (see Section 1.21).

1.11   Glossing by equivalent forms

A simple gloss need not be an exact morphological copy of the original; often a different construction with equivalent meaning is used instead. Two types of glossing by equivalent forms are especially common:

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 anumātuṃ yogyāḥ*   **inferable** able to be inferred

> *Ragh.M. 1.26   yajñāya yajñaṃ 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 nâtikrāntavatyaḥ*   **they did not trangress** they did not go beyond

> *Ragh.M. 1.21   jugopa rakṣitavān*   **he guarded** he protected

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 vālmīky-ādibhiḥ*   **by wise men** by poets such as Vālmīki

> *Ragh.M. 1.16   nṛpa-guṇai rāja-guṇais tejaḥ-pratāpâdibhiḥ kula-śīla-dākṣiṇyâdibhiś 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   rakṣaṇād bhaya-hetubhyas trāṇāt*   **because of protecting** because of protection from sources of danger

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

> *Ragh.M. 1.25   pariṇetur dārān parigṛhṇataḥ*   **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 kīrtaye ... vijigīṣūṇāṃ vijetum icchūnām, na tv artha-saṃgrahāya. prajāyai saṃtānāya gṛha-medhināṃ dāra-parigrahāṇām, na tu kāmôpabhogāya.*   **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 arthaḥ*, (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 arthaḥ*

The phrase *ity arthaḥ* (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 nirviśeṣaṃ nirbhedam. tat-sadṛśam ity arthaḥ.*   **Not distinguished** from it—not different from it. In other words, like it.

> *Kum.M. 1.43   lolā capalā, paribhramaṇa-śīlêty arthaḥ*   **Unsteady** restless, i.e., tending to roam about

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

> *Kum.M. 1.11   mandām ... gatiṃ na bhindanti na tyajanty ity arthaḥ*   their slow pace **they do not break**—in other words, they do not abandon it

*Kum.M. 1.18   **nāga-vadhûpabhogyaṃ** nāga-kanyā-pariṇetāram ity arthaḥ.*   **who was to be enjoyed by a Nāga wife**—i.e., who was to marry a Nāga bride.

1.13.2   *iti bhāvaḥ*

The phrase *iti bhāvaḥ* (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-mṛgair** mārgita-mṛgaiḥ, śrāntair iti bhāvaḥ.*   **for deer** who had been hunting deer. The idea is that they were tired.

*Kum.M. 3.67   **kiṃcit ... parilupta-dhairyaḥ**, na tu prākṛta-janavad atyanta-lupta-dhairya iti bhāvaḥ.*   **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 bhāvaḥ*:

*Kum.M. 3.68   **sācī-kṛtā ... tasthau.** hriyā mukhaṃ sācī-kṛtya sthitêty arthaḥ. na kevalaṃ harasyâiva devyā apy udito rati-bhāva iti bhāvaḥ.*   **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   **kleśaḥ phalena** phala-siddhyā **punar-navatāṃ vidhatte.** pūrvavad evâkliṣṭatām āpādayatîty arthaḥ. sa-phalaḥ kleśo na kleśa iti bhāvaḥ.*   **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 padavīṃ** mārgam **aham pratipatsye.** tvām anugamiṣyāmîty arthaḥ. ato me nâsti vicāra iti bhāvaḥ.*   **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   **manīṣiṇo viduṣaḥ.** doṣa-jñasyêti yāvat.*   **Of a wise man** of a learned man. Specifically, of one who can recognize faults.

*Kum.M. 3.5   **punar-bhavaḥ** punar-utpattiḥ. saṃsāra iti yāvat.*   **Reoccurring** arising again. To be precise, transmigration.

*Kum.M. 1.39   **vedi-vilagna-madhyā** vedivat kṛśa-madhyā. tanu-madhyêti 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 abhiprāyaḥ* ("such is the import"), *iti tātparyaḥ* ("such is the overall sense"), and *ity āśayaḥ* ("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 bhāvaḥ* (Section 1.13.2), with similar meanings.

Kum.M. 5.73   yathā śmaśāna-śūpa-satkriyā na kriyate tathā tvam api tasmai na ghaṭasa iti tātparyârthaḥ.   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 cemetary, 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 … vivakṣitaḥ* 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 brahmacaryâśramo vivakṣitaḥ.*
> **"Of those who studied the sacred lore"**—by this he means the stage of sacred studentship.

> *Ragh.M. 1.59*   *atharva-nidher ity anena purohita-kṛtyâbhijñatvāt tat-karma-nirvāhakatvaṃ muner astîti sûcyate.*   "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*   **bhāgīrathī-nirjhara-śīkarāṇāṃ**
> *gaṅgā-prapāta-jala-kaṇānāṃ* **vodhā** *kṣeptêti śaitya-puṇyatvôktiḥ.*   **The carrier** the tosser **of the sprays of the cataracts of the Bhāgīrathī** 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 āsthâtiśayārtham.*   The mention of the thousand (eyes of Indra simultaneously turned towards his guru) is aimed at the abundance of his regard (for the guru).

> *Kum.M. 1.15*   *kramād viśeṣaṇa-trayeṇa śaitya-saurabhya-māndyāny uktāni.*   The three modifying (phrases) express coolness, fragrance, and gentleness, in that order.

1.14   Meanings by extension

The verbs *lakṣayati* 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 nīvi-śabdena nīvyā yad grathyate tad adho-vāso lakṣyate.*   Or, by the word "waistknot" there is included by extension the lower garment that is bound by that waistknot.

> *Kum.V. 3.10*   **madhuś** *caitras tena ca vasanto lakṣyate.*
> **Madhu**—Caitra, and this includes by extension the springtime.

> *Kum.V. 1.27*   *dīpa-śabdenâtra jvālā-varti-taila-bhājanâtmakaḥ 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-pratiṣṭhāḥ** *labdha-sthitayaḥ. labdhâvakāśā 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.

*Kum.M. 1.24   labdha udayo yayā sā **labdhôdayā**. utpannêty arthaḥ. abhyuditêty anyatra.*   By whom arising has been attained, she is **labdhôdayā**, i.e., born [in reference to Pārvatī]. In the other [i.e., in reference to the moon], having risen.

*Ragh.M. 2.73   **adarśanena** pravāsa-nimittena ... candra-pakṣe, adarśanaṃ kalā-kṣaya-nimittam.*   **By nonappearance** caused by his being away from home. ... In the case of the moon, the nonappearance is caused by its waning.

*Ragh.M. 4.33   **phalaṃ** lābham. vṛkṣa-pakṣe prasavaṃ ca. ... **utkhātaḥ** sva-padāc cyāvitaiḥ. anyatra, utpāṭitaiḥ.*   **The fruit** the profit [in reference to the kings]. And in the case of the trees, their produce. ... **Dislodged** unseated from their positions. In the other [i.e., in reference to the trees], uprooted.

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-padaṃ** parasya rañjanârthaṃ yad asatya-bhāṣaṇaṃ sa upacāras tasya padaṃ 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. 1.44   yūpo nāma saṃskṛtaḥ paśu-bandhāya dāru-viśeṣaḥ. yūpā eva cihnāni yeṣāṃ teṣu (**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 *yūpa*s, in those (***yūpa*-marked ones**).

*Ragh.M. 1.4   **vaṃśe** kule. janmanâika-lakṣaṇaḥ santāno vaṃśaḥ.*   **In the *vaṃśa*** in the family line. A *vaṃśa* 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 Amarasiṃha, 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 vihāpitaṃ dānam" ity amaraḥ.   "Donation, grant, gift"—Amara [cited to define *tyāga*].

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

Ragh.M. 1.4   "vajraṃ tv a-strī kuliśa-śastrayoḥ, maṇi-vedhe ratna-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.

Frequently the quotations from dictionaries add little to what the commentator has already said on his own, and appear to be made simply for the weight of the lexicographer's authority or to reinforce the memory of students who were supposed to learn the dictionary by heart:

> Kum.M. 2.64   *ratiḥ smara-priyā. "ratiḥ smara-priyā" ity amaraḥ.*
> **Rati** the beloved of Kāma. "Rati, the beloved of Kāma"—Amara.

Quotations from dictionaries interrupt the running gloss when introduced near the place in the commentary at which the word to be defined is presented. Some commentators therefore save such quotations and lump them together at the end of their comments on a verse or other portion of the text.

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   *uccaiḥśravo nāma*   **Uccaiḥśravas** by name

> Kum.V. 2.47   *uccaiḥśravaḥ-saṃjño 'śva-śreṣṭhaḥ.*   The most excellent horse named **Uccaiḥśravas.**

> Kum.M. 2.1   *tārakeṇa tāraka-nāmnā vajraṇakha-putreṇa kenacid asureṇa.*   **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 *viśeṣa* 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   *aśoko vṛkṣa-viśeṣaḥ*   **aśoka** a species of tree

> Kum.M. 2.59   *ayaskāntena maṇi-viśeṣeṇa*   **by lodestone** by a particular kind of mineral

> Kum.M. 2.21   *pāśaḥ rajjur āyudha-viśeṣaḥ*   **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"; *āṅ 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 praśnântaram*   **next** after the question

> Kum.M. 3.59   *kathaṃcid 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   yaṃ himālaya*   **whom** Himālaya

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

> *Kum.M. 1.48   taṃ prasiddhaṃ keśa-pāśam*   **that** famous **head of hair**

> *Kum.V. 1.56   kenâpi kāmena kayâpy ajñâtêcchayā*   **with a certain
> desire** with some unknown wish

> *Megh.M. 1   kaścid anirdiṣṭanāmā 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 con-
stituent 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 "expand-
ing" 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 sec-
ond type of analysis is possible only for words more complex than inflected
primary words, and it is therefore reserved for formations involving nomi-
nal or verbal stems that are themselves derived from simpler elements. In
analyzing these complex formations, it is usually possible either to sep-
arate the constituent elements and place them in a phrase in which their
relationship is explicitly stated (as in the analysis of many kinds of nomi-
nal 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 (*śāstrīya-vigraha*, "technical analysis," or *alaukika-vigraha*, "extraordinary analysis"), and analysis in ordinary, non-technical language (*laukika-vigraha*).

The *śāstrīya-vigraha* proceeds by naming the sequence of stems and suffixes involved, together with any inserted elements required by the sequence. For example, a genitive tatpuruṣa 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 + Nas + 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 *Nas* 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: *rājñaḥ puruṣaḥ* ("a man of the king's") and *stenasya karma* ("the activity of a thief"). This sort of analysis in ordinary language occurs constantly in Sanskrit commentaries, and is obviously more readily accessible to students than analysis in technical language, since it requires no knowledge of the artificial terminology of Pāṇinian grammar. What it does require is familiarity with the modes of complex formation susceptible to such analysis (Section 1.19), the general principles of analysis involved (Section 1.20), the manner in which the formulas of analysis are inserted in a running commentary (Section 1.21), and the common formulas used in analyzing each type of complex formation (Sections 1.27–1.75).

Full coverage of the terms required in technical grammatical analysis and the procedures by which they are used by the commentators is beyond the scope of this handbook, but a brief overview of how such analyses are usually worded by commentators is given below in Section 1.20.

1.19   Modes of complex formation

An analysis in ordinary language is a restatement in the "phrase mode" (*vākya-vṛtti*) 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-ādy-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 *kṛt* 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 Pāṇinian 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 *lakṣaṇa-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-tatpuruṣa* 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 automically 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 doe not occur (e.g., when the suffix *Ka* is added to the root *budh*, the resulting form is *budha* 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 *-ābha* 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, *yu* in the technical name of suffixes stands for the longer form *ana*, and to this *yu* will be added indicatory letters covering the grammatical phenomena associated with the suffix in question. Thus *LyuT* is the name of the *kṛt* 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 *-ī* 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 *-t* (e.g., *loka-kṛt*, "world-making," from the root *kṛ*).

The meanings of these indicatory letters are fully explained by Otto von Böhtlingk in his *Pânini'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 *śaiśavam* ("infancy"), formed from *śiśu* ("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 *śiśor aN*. Further technical devices may used in identify-

ing 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 *mānam*, 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 *śaiśavam* a commentator might say *bhāve aN* ("*aN* in the sense of a state or condition"; see Section 1.28), and for *mānam*, if it is interpreted as having instrumental force (*mīyate anenêti mānam*, "one measures with it, thus a measurer," i.e., an instrument of measuring) the comment might be *karaṇe 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 *Dhātupāṭha*, an appendix to Pāṇini's grammar), are provided with indicatory letters of their own—e.g., *kṛ*, "to do," is technically called *ḌUkṛÑ*, with the *ḌU* indicating that the root may take a certain suffix, and the *Ñ* indicating that the root takes ātmanepada 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., *ḌUkṛÑ karaṇe*, "*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 tathôktam, tat tathā-bhūtam,* etc., used at the end of analyses of *bahuvrīhi* 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-sakhah*, 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 *marutah sakhā marut-sakhah*, "friend of the wind: wind-friend." In employing this standard formula, however, the commentator Mallinātha inserts synonyms after the first member in the analysis and after the repetition of the entire compound:

> Ragh.M. 2.10   *marutah vāyoh sakhā **marut-sakho** 'gnih.*   Friend of the wind, of air: **wind-friend**, fire.

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 Mallinātha of the compound *marut-prayuktāh* ("impelled by the wind") in the same verse is not *marutā prayuktāh* but *vāyunā preritāh*—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-putrāt*, "from the king's son," the commentator may give the analysis *rājñah putrāt*, based on the nominative-case formula *rājñah putrah* but reflecting the ablative case of the word being explained. Such an analysis is called a *pariniṣṭhita-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-putrāt* would be *rājñah putras tasmāt*, "the king's son, from him." Such an analysis is called a *prathamânta-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 *bahuvrīhi* 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-karṇāt*, "from Long-ear," may be either *dīrghau karṇau yasya tasmāt (tathôktāt)*, "whose ears are long, from him (who is so-called)," or, with the addition of a further pronoun to pick up the analysis, *dīrghau karṇau yasya sa (tathôktas) tasmāt*, "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 *marut-sakhah* used as an example in Section 1.21.1 is actually the

first member of a longer compound, *marut-sakhâbham* ("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-sakhaḥ* 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 sakhā **marut-sakho** 'gniḥ. sa ivâbhātîti marut-sakhâbhaḥ. "ātoś côpasarge" 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 (Pā. 3.1.136) "And (there is the suffix) ka after (a root ending in) long -ā, 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 Hemādri analyzed this same compound *marut-sakhâbham*, he not only inserted a quotation from a dictionary, but also could not decide whether *marut-sakhaḥ* means Agni or Indra, and whether the longer compound is an *upapada* compound, as Mallinātha thought, or a *madhyamapadalopa-bahuvrīhi* compound (Section 1.66.2):

> *Ragh.H. 2.10   maruto vāyoḥ sakhā iti **marut-sakho** 'gnis tasyâbhêvâbhā yasya. indrasyêti vā, "pulomārir marutsakhā" iti dhanaṃjayaḥ. tadvad ābhātîti 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: "Pulomāri, Marutsakha [among the epithets of Indra]," says [the lexicographer] Dhanaṃjaya. 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 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.," Pā. 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., Pā. 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 (Pā. 3.1.6–3.1.7; Whitney 1040)—*jugupsate, titikṣate, cikitsati, mīmāṃsate, bībhatsate, dīdāṃsate, śīṣāṃsate*. 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

(Section 1.26).

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 *iṣ* (*icchati*) after the infinitive of the root in question:

> *Kāśikā 3.1.7   kartum icchati **cikīrṣati**.*   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 *-ā*; the same suffix will be added to the root *iṣ* in the analysis:

> *Kum.M. 3.14   **īpsitam** āptum iṣṭam*   **desired** sought to be obtained

> *Ragh.M. 1.2   **titīrṣus** taritum icchuḥ*   **desirous of crossing** seeking to cross

> *Ragh.M. 1.7   **vijigīṣūṇām** vijetum icchūnām*   **of those desirous of conquering** of those seeking to conquer

> *Kum.M. 2.7   **sisṛkṣayā** 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   śaṅke patiṣyati kulam [**pipatiṣati kulam**]*   I fear the bank is going to fall—**the bank is likely to fall**

> *Kāśikā 3.1.7   [śaṅke mariṣyate śvā] śvā **mumūrṣati***   I fear the dog is going to die—**the dog is likely to die**

1.24 Intensives

These are the *yaṅ-anta-dhātus*, "roots ending in [the suffix] *yaṅ*," 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 *bhṛśam* ("intensely") for the intensive meaning:

> *Kāśikā 3.1.22   punaḥ punaḥ pacati **pāpacyate***   he cooks repeatedly

> *Kāśikā 3.1.22   bhṛśaṃ 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   jaṅgamyante bhṛśaṃ gacchantîti **jaṅgamā** deva-tiryaṅ-manuṣyîdayaḥ.*   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 krāmati **caṅkramyate***   he moves crookedly (i.e., he goes in zig-zag fashion).

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

1.25 Causatives

These are the *ṇij-anta-dhātus*, "roots ending in [the suffix] *ṇic*," 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 *gacchantaṃ 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   kaṃsa-vadham ācaṣṭe kaṃsaṃ ghātayati*   He tells the story of the slaying of Kaṃsa—**he has Kaṃsa slain.**

1.26 Denominatives

These are the *nāma-dhātu*s, "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 putrīyati*   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 *kṛt* formation (cf. Section 1.23).

1.26.2 Behavior toward

(Pā. 3.1.10):

> *Kāśikā 3.1.10   putram ivâcarati putrīyati*   he treats (him) like a son

1.26.3 Behavior like

(Pā. 3.1.11):

> *Kāśikā 3.1.11   śyena ivâcarati śyenāyati*   it acts like a falcon

> *Ragh.M. 2.61   amṛtam ivâcaratîty amṛtāyamānami*   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   (abhṛśo) bhṛśo bhavati bhṛśāyate*   (not having been intense) it becomes intense—**it itensifies**

> *Ragh.M. 2.17   śyāmāni bhavantîti śyāmāyamānāni*   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   muṇḍaṃ karoti muṇḍayati*   he makes it shaven—**he shaves it**

> *Ragh.M. 3.35   laghayiṣyatā laghuṃ kariṣyatā*   **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):

> *Kāśikā 3.1.18   sukhaṃ vedayati **sukhāyate**   he feels happiness*

1.26.7   Doing or making something

(Pā. 3.1.17, etc.):

> *Kāśikā 3.1.17   śabdaṃ karoti **śabdāyate**   he makes sound—**he sounds***

> *Kāśikā 3.1.19   namaḥ karoti **namasyati**   he does honor—**he honors***

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

> *Kāśikā 3.1.25   satyam ācaṣṭe **satyāpayati**   he tells the truth*

> *Kāśikā 3.1.15   tapaś 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.

> *Kāśikā 3.1.15   romanthaṃ vartayati **romanthāyate**   it turns over the cud—**it chews the cud***

> *Kāśikā 3.1.20   [pucchaṃ paryasyati] **paripucchayate**   it tosses its tail around—**it wags its tail***

> *Kāśikā 3.1.25   ślokair upastauty **upaślokayati**   he praises with eulogies—**he eulogizes***

> *Kāśikā 3.1.25   lomāny anumārṣṭy **anulomayati**   he strokes the hairs in the direction in which they lie—**he curries***

> *Kāśikā 3.1.25   varmaṇā saṃnahyati **saṃvarmayati**   he girds with armor—**he armors***

Chapter 6

Primary Nominal Derivation

1.27   Introduction

The formations called *kṛt* or *kṛd-anta* ("ending in *kṛt* 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 *kṛt* 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 *tiṅ* suffixes (the inflectional endings of finite verbs).

Akin to the *kṛt* suffixes are the suffixes called *uṇ-ādi* ("beginning with *uṇ*"), 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 *uṇ-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 *kṛt* formations. For example, the first of the *uṇ-ādi* suffixes, *uṇ* (the purpose of the final *-ṇ* is to indicate that the vowel of the root to which it is added is subject to *vṛddhi* strengthening), is said to form the word *kāru* from the root *kṛ*, and this formation is analyzed *karotīti **kāruḥ** śilpī*, "he makes, thus **a maker**, an artisan," exactly as in the analysis of *kartari kṛt* 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 *kṛt* formations follow very closely the treatment of these formations in Pāṇini'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 *kṛt* formations are possible only when compounded with an accompanying word (Section 1.32). The various verbal participles form special subsets of *kṛt* 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).

1.28   Basic *bhāve* meanings

A great many *kṛt* 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:

> *Ragh.M. 5.45*   **bhaṅge** *bhañjane*   **in breaking**—in (the action of) breaking

> *Ragh.M. 5.61*   **āgamena** *āgamanena*   **by the arrival**—by the arriving

> *Kum.V. 1.59*   *sammārjanaṃ* **sammārgaḥ**   (the action of) sweeping—**sweeping**

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:

> *Ragh.M. 2.54*   **prahṛtaṃ** *tu* prahāras *tu*   **but the stroke**—but the striking.

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 *kṛ*:

> *Ragh.M. 3.51*   **prahasya** *prahāsaṃ kṛtvā*   **laughing** performing the action of laughing.

When this technique is used, it is often the continuative made from *kṛ*, rather than the verbal noun, that indicates the presence of secondary meanings such as that of the causative:

> *Ragh.M. 5.62*   **praveśya** *praveśaṃ kārayitvā*   **showing in** causing him to perform the action of entering

The rarer *ṇamul* form of continuative is usually glossed simply by offering the commoner form of the continuative as a synonym:

> *Kum.M. 4.26*   *stanau sambādhya* **stana-sambādham**   striking the breasts—**striking the breasts**

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:

> *Kāśikā 3.3.11*   *[paktuṃ vrajati]* pākāya vrajati   [**he goes in order to cook**] he goes for cooking

> *Kāśikā 3.3.11*   **bhoktuṃ vrajati** *bhojako vrajati*   **he goes in order to eat**—he goes as an eater

> *Kāśikā 3.3.12*   *[aśvān dātuṃ vrajati]* aśva-dāyo vrajati   [**he goes in order to give horses**] he goes as one intending to give horses

> *Kāśikā 3.3.13*   *[kartuṃ vrajati]* kariṣyāmîti vrajati   [**he goes in order to do**] he goes (with the thought), "I shall do"

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 *karmaṇi* (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 particpates 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 *pacatîti pācakaḥ*, "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: *yaḥ pacati sa pācakaḥ*, "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   apidhīyate 'nenêty apidhānaṃ kapāṭam*   (something) is covered by this, thus **a covering**, a leaf of a door

> *Kum.V. 7.53   apidhīyate sthagyate yena tad apidhānam 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   tapatîti tapanaḥ sūryaḥ*   it heats, thus **heater**, the sun

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

> *Ragh.M. 2.72   sukhayatîti 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   viśeṣeṇa bhīṣayate śatrūn iti vibhīṣaṇaḥ*   he especially frightens his enemies, thus **terrifying**

> *Kum.V. 1.15   niyataṃ jharati sravatîti nirjharaḥ*   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 vikṣipantîty utkirāḥ*   they scatter upwards—toss upwards, thus **scattering up**

> *Kum.V. 5.44   upayacchate svīkarotîty upayantā pati*   he takes—accepts as his own, thus **taker**, bridegroom

1.29.2   *karmaṇi*

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 that active.

> *Ragh.M. 2.65   kāmyata iti kāmo varaḥ*   it is desired, thus **a desire** a choice

> *Ragh.M. 1.20   prārabhyanta iti prārambhāḥ*   they are undertaken, thus **undertakings**

> *Ragh.M. 2.4   prasūyata iti prasūtiḥ santatiḥ*   it is procreated, thus **procreation** offspring

1.29.3   *karaṇe*

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 'nenêti sammohanam*   (one) is infatuated by means of this, thus **infatuating**

> *Kum.M. 2.4   vibhajyate 'nenêti vibhāgaḥ*   (something) is divided by this, thus **a division**

> *Kum.M. 3.40   vihanyanta ebhir iti vighnāḥ pratyūhāḥ*   (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 arpaṇaḥ*   (something) is offered to this, thus **recipient**

1.29.5   *apādāne*

Formations made with *kṛt* suffixes used in the sense of a point of departure involved in an action are analyzed with a finite verb and a form of the pronoun *idam* exhibited in the ablative case.

> *Ragh.M. 1.2   prabhavaty asmād iti prabhavaḥ kāraṇam*   (something) arises from this, thus **a source** a cause

1.29.6   *adhikaraṇe*

Formations made with *kṛt* suffixes used in the sense of a location involved in an action are analyzed with a finite verb and a form of the pronoun *idam* exhibited in the locative case.

> *Kum.V. 6.43   saṃcaranty asminn iti saṃcaro mārgaḥ*   (people) travel on this, thus **a road** a street

> *Ragh.M. 5.40   dhīyate 'syām iti dhānī*   (something) is put in it, thus **a receptacle**

> *Kum.M. 1.7   likhyate yeṣu te lekhāḥ patrikāḥ*   those on which writing is done are **writing sheets** leaves

Notice that in the last example the commentator has used the alternative approach described in the introduction to Section 1.29.

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).

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 participles (either active or passive) rather being analyzed through the use of of finite verbs. 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 vidhinêṣṭavatām*   **Of those who have sacrificed** of those who have offered sacrifice in accordance with the rules

> *Kum.M. 2.46* *yajvabhiḥ vidhivad iṣṭavadbhiḥ*   **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 *karmaṇi* (Section 1.29.2), or will gloss the item with a .

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

> *Kum.M. 1.58* *arcitam ... pūjyamānam*   **worshiped** ... being worshiped

1.30.3 *bhaviṣyati*

Formations made with *kṛt* suffixes used with future sense, like those to which present sense is expressly assigned, may either be analyzed with a finite future verb and *iti*, or glossed with a future participle.

> *Kum V. 1.49 [1.50]* *bhaviṣyatîti bhavitrī*   she will be, thus **future**

> *Ragh.M. 5.32* *samprasthitaḥ prasthāsyamānaḥ san*   **going forth** being about to go forth

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 *śilpini*, "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—*gāyatîti gāyanaḥ*, 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 *tac-chīla* (i.e., *tat-śīla*), "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,

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 Pāṇini's specification *tac-chīla* after a finite verb giving the general meaning of the formation:

> *Ragh.H. 2.3* **dayāluh** *dayate tac-chīlaḥ*   **compassionate**—he has compassion, one who is characterized by that

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

> *Ragh.M 4.85* **jiṣṇur** *jaya-śīlaḥ*   **victorious** characterized by victory

> *Ragh.M. 2.72* **sahiṣṇuh** ... *sahana-śīlaḥ*   **forbearing** ... characterized by forbearance

> *Kum.M. 1.23* *sthiti-śīlāḥ* **sthāvarāḥ** *śaila-vṛkṣîdayaḥ*   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).

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 *tatpuruṣa* compound using the same words that make up the compound, since one cannot say **mantrāṇāṃ kṛt*, as one could say, for example, *mantrāṇāṃ srasṭā* in analyzing the genitive tatpuruṣa compound *mantra-srasṭā*. 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*   *mantrān 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 *tatpuruṣa* 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 *tatpuruṣa*:

> *Ragh.M. 2.3*   *dharantīti dharāḥ. ... payasāṃ dharāḥ* **payo-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*   *jānātîti jñaḥ. ... vedanānāṃ jñaḥ [vedanā-jñaḥ]. athavā vedanāṃ jānātîti* **vedanā-jñaḥ**.   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

kṛt formation and proceed with the standard analysis for a *tatpuruṣa* compound (usually a genitive *tatpuruṣa*, with the first member displayed in the objective genitive case in the analysis), just as the substitution of a synonym is the usual way of explaining uncompounded *bhāve kṛt* formations (Section 1.28). For example, Pā. 3.1.108 prescribes the formation of the noun *hatyā*, "the action of killing," from the verbal root *han*, provided that the form is accompanied in compound by an *upapada*. The compound *brahma-hatyā* means "the killing of a brahmin," and is analyzed as a straightforward genitive *tatpuruṣa* compound—*brahmaṇo hananam*—with the substitution of the verbal noun *hananam* for *hatyā*. Because *hatyā* cannot occur without an *upapada*, the analysis *brahmaṇo hatyā is impossible.

Most *upapada* compounds, however, do not involve *bhāve kṛt* formations as their final member, and are therefore analyzed with formulas using finite verbs. The most common situation is a *kartari kṛt* formation as the final member (i.e., a formation referring to the agent, Section 1.29.1), with an *upapada* appearing in the accusative case in the analysis (Section 1.32.1), but the *upapada* may also appear in some other case (Section 1.32.2), and many other compounds have a *kṛt* formation in the sense of some other *kāraka* as the final member (Section 1.32.3). *Kṛt* formations that appear at the end of *upapada* compounds, like those functioning as freestanding words, may involve temporal restrictions (Section 1.32.4) or other conditions of meaning (Section 1.32.5), which will sometimes require formulas of analysis that differ slightly from those used in analyzing uncompounded *kṛt* formations.

1.32.1   *kartari kṛt* with accusative

Most *upapada* compounds have as their final member a *kṛt* formation referring to the agent of the action expressed by the verbal root to which the *kṛt* suffix is added, and as their first member a word referring to the direct object of that action. These compounds are analyzed by displaying the first member in the accusative case, and using the standard *kartari kṛt* formula (Section 1.29.1) in analyzing the final member.

> *Ragh.M. 2.71   hutam aśnātīti* **hutîśo 'gnih**   it eats the oblation, thus **the oblation-eater**, fire

> *Ragh.M. 1.85   mahīṃ kṣiyate īṣṭa iti mahī-kṣit. tasya* **mahī-kṣitaḥ**   He rules—controls—the earth, thus earth-ruler. Of him, **of the earth-ruler**.

> *Kum.V. 5.22   mahāntam utkṛṣṭam arhatīti* **mahîrhā** *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   senāṃ nayatīti senā-nīś camū-patiḥ ... taṃ* **senā-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   senāṃ nayati yas taṃ* **senā-nyam**   who leads an army, him—**an army leader**

1.32.2   *kartari kṛt* 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 svêcchayā caratīti* **kāma-caraḥ**   he roams at will—at his own desire—thus **roaming-at-will**

> *Kum.M. 3.37   paṅkāj jāyata iti* **paṅka-jam**   it is born from the mud, thus **mud-born**

> *Ragh.M. 4.72   guhāsu śerata 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   stambe ramanta iti* **stambe-ramāḥ** *hastinaḥ*   they delight in a clump of grass, thus **stambe-ramas**, elephants

> *Kum.M. 1.10   vane carantīti* **vane-carāḥ** *kirātāḥ*   they roam in the forest, thus **forest-roamers**, mountain tribesmen

1.32.3 *kṛt* in the sense of another *kāraka*

When the *kṛt* formation appearing as the final member of an *upapada* compound is passive, the standard formula for the analysis of a *karmaṇi kṛt* 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   tailena pūryanta iti **taila-pūrāḥ***   they are filled with oil, thus **oil-filled**

The *kṛt* formation may have the sense of any of the other kārakas as well, and for each the standard formula of analysis described for uncompounded *kṛt* 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 *kṛt* 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   pumān sūyate 'nenêti **puṃsavanam***   a male is produced by means of this, thus **a male-producing (rite)**

1.32.4   Temporal restrictions

As in uncompounded *kṛt* 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   vṛtraṃ hatavān iti **vṛtra-hā***   he has slain Vṛtra, thus **Vṛtra-slayer**

> *Kum.V. 6.3   smaraṃ śāsitavān **smara-śāsanaḥ***   who has chastised Smara—**the Smara-chastiser**

> *Kum.V. 1.19   pakṣāṃś chinnavān iti **pakṣa-cchit***   he has clipped the wings, thus **wing-clipper**

> *Ragh.M. 1.23   **pāra-dṛśvanaḥ** pāram antaṃ dṛṣṭavataḥ*   **limit-seers** who have seen the limit, the extremity

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 *kṛt* formations the *upapada* may appear in some case other than the accusative.

> *Ragh.M. 5.69   sarasi jātaḥ **sarasi-jaḥ** kamalaḥ*   born in the water—**water-born** lotus

> *Ragh.M. 1.31   magadha-vaṃśe jātā **magadha-vaṃśa-jā***   born in the Magadha dynasty—**Magadha-dynasty-born**

> *Ragh.M. 1.85   tīrthîbhiṣekeṇa jātāṃ **tīrthîbhiṣeka-jām***   produced by bathing in the sacred ford—**sacred-ford-bathing-produced**

1.32.5   Other conditions of meaning

As with uncompounded *kṛt* formations, the most common condition of meaning applied to *kṛt* formations in *upapada* compounds is that of *tācchīlya*, "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 *kṛt* formations are to be 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 *tat-* as a substitute for it there:

> *Ragh.M. 1.3   **kavi-yaśaḥ-prārthī**. kavīnāṃ yaśaḥ kāvya-nirmāṇena jātaṃ tat-prārthanā-śīlaḥ.*   **Seeking the fame of poets**: the fame of poets, 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 *śīlam asya*, "whose nature it is to . . . ," and *iti*.

Ragh.M. 1.43　sva-niḥśvāsam anukartuṃ śīlam asyêti
sva-niḥśvāsânukāriṇam　　whose nature it is to imitate their own breath,
thus **imitating their own breath**

Ragh.M. 1.49　samidhaś ca kuśāṃś ca phalāni cîhartuṃ śīlam yeṣām iti
samit-kuśa-phalîharāḥ, taiḥ **samit-kuśa-phalîharaiḥ**　　whose nature it is
to bring fuel, kuśa grass, and fruits—bringers of fuel, kuśa grass, and
fruits; by them, **by bringers of fuel, kuśa grass, and fruit**

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 *tācchīlye* for
compounds such as *svaniḥśvāsânukārin* in the example given above (by
Pā. 3.2.78) is prescribed in the sense of the agent with the condition *kartary*
upamāne, "when (the *upapada*) 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 *upapada* in the nominative case, followed
by *iva* and the standard formula for the analysis of a *kartari kṛt* formation
(Section 1.29.1):

> *Ragh.M 4.4　dvirada iva ... gacchatîti* **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 an agent when accompanied by an
upapada, with the condition of meaning *ātma-māne* (considering oneself
to be so). Accordingly, the formula of analysis for such compounds adds
the object *ātmānam*:

> *Kāśikā 3.2.83　darśanīyam ātmānaṃ manyate ...* **darśanīya-mānī**　　he
> considers himself good-looking ... (thus,) **considering himself**
> **good-looking**

1.33　Verbal participles

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

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

> *Ragh.M. 12.74　śaṃsatī bruvāṇā*　　**indicating** telling

> *Ragh.M. 11.10　uhyamāna iva vāhanena prāpyamāṇa 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 ādṛtavān*　　**with respect** having felt respect

> *Ragh.M. 12.75　lajjitā lajjāvatī*　　**embarrassed** with embarrassment

> *Kum.M. 4.17　upagūḍhāni āliṅganāni*　　**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 com-
pounds beginning with verbal nouns.

> *Ragh.M. 1.71　asahyā soḍhum aśakyā*　　**unbearable** unable to be borne

> *Ragh.M. 1.86　yāyayituṃ yogyaṃ yājyam*　　worthy of sponsoring a
> sacrifice—**fit for sacrificing**

> *Ragh.M. 4.6　stutyam stotrârham*　　**praiseworthy** deserving praise

> *Ragh.M. 1.3　upahāsyatām upahāsa-viṣayatām*　　**being laughable**
> being an object of laughter

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 bhavitâiva. ... bhavya-śabdaḥ 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   bhinatti kūlam iti **bhidyaḥ**. "bhidyôddyau nade" (Pāṇini 3.1.115) iti kyab-antau nipātitau.*   It bursts its bank, thus **a rushing river**. By Pāṇini 3.1.115 (the words *bhidya* 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-garhyam. "avadya-paṇya-" iti nipātaḥ.*   **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*).

Chapter 7

Secondary Nominal Derivation

1.35   Introduction

The formations called *taddhita* or *taddhitânta* ("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 *strī* suffixes (which convert nominal stems to the feminine gender) and the *sup* 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 *tat* 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 *tat* 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 "*tasmai 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 "*hita*":

> *Kāśikā 5.1.5   vatsebhyo hito (go-dhuk) **vatsīyaḥ***   beneficial to calves—(a dairyman) **good to calves**

*Kāśikā 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 (*matvarthīya*, Section 1.40), the suffixes that have the force of particular case endings (*vibhaktisaṃjñaka*, Section 1.41), and the suffixes that produce formations referring to the same object as the base to which the suffix is added (*svârthika*, 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 *varṇin*, although made by adding the possessive suffix *-in* (called *inI* by Pāṇini) to the noun *varṇa*, has the very specific meaning of a member of the first *varṇa* or social class, i.e., a *brahmacārin* or student. This meaning is specified in Pā. 5.2.134, "After *varṇa* in the sense of a *brahmacārin*," in the section of his rules dealing with this suffix.

Ragh.M. 5.19   **varṇī** brahmacārī. "varṇino brahmacāriṇaḥ" ity amaraḥ.
"varṇād brahmacāriṇi" itîni-pratyayaḥ.   A **varṇin** a brahmacārin.
Amara says "varṇins are brahmacārins." The suffix *inI* 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 *tatpuruṣa* 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:

(instrumental)

> *kulālena kṛtam—**kaulālakam***   "made by a potter"
>
> *dadnā saṃskṛtam—**dādhikam***   "prepared with yogurt"
>
> *nāvā tāryam—**nāvyam***   "crossable by boat"

(dative)

> *ātmane hitaḥ—**ātmanīnaḥ***   "good for oneself"
>
> *gave hitam—**gavyam***   "good for a cow"

(ablative)

> *nyāyād anapetam—**nyāyyam***   "not deviating from the law"
>
> *manor jātaḥ—**manuṣyaḥ***   "born from Manu, human"
>
> *viduṣaḥ īṣan-nyūnaḥ—**vidvatkalpaḥ***   "slightly less than learned, i.e., fairly learned" (cf. Section 1.42.3), Section 2.19.3

(genitive)

> *śiśor bhāvaḥ—**śaiśavam***   "the state of a child, childhood"
>
> *pṛthor bhāvaḥ—**pārthavam***   "the state of being wide, wideness"
>
> *kāṣṭhasya vikāraḥ—**kāṣṭhamayam***   modification of wood, wooden
>
> *gavāṃ samūhaḥ—**gotrā***   collection of cows, herd of cattle"
>
> *mātuḥ bhrātā—**māturaḥ***   "mother's brother, materal uncle"
>
> *rājñāṃ yogyam—**rājanyakam***   "appropriate for kings"

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

> *devasyâyam—**daivaḥ***   "this is a god's, belonging to a god"
>
> *janasyâyam—**janakīyaḥ***   "this is the people's, belonging to the people"

(locative)

> *atithiṣu sādhuḥ—**ātitheyaḥ***   "good toward guests, hospitable"

> *sabhāyāṃ sādhuḥ—**sabhyaḥ***   "good in the court, polite"

> *uṣṭre bhavaḥ—**auṣṭrakaḥ***   "relating to a camel"

> *grīṣme bhavaḥ—**graiṣmakaḥ***   "produced in summer"

> *kuruṣu jātaḥ—**kauravakaḥ***   "born among the Kurus"

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 adhīta iti **vaiyākaraṇaḥ***   "he studies grammar, thus **grammarian**"

> *dharmaṃ caratîti **dhārmikaḥ***   "he practises righteousness, thus **righteous**"

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

> *uḍupena taratîty **auḍupikaḥ***   "he crosses by boat, thus **boatman**"

Examples from the commentaries:

> *Ragh.M. 1.25 daṇḍam arhantîti daṇḍyāḥ. "daṇḍâdibhyo yat" iti ya-pratyayaḥ . . . . tān **daṇḍyān***   They deserve punishment, thus punishable. The suffix -*ya* by (Pāṇini 5.1.36) "(The suffix) *yaT* after *daṇḍa*, etc." . . . . Those **criminals**.

1.36.2 Instrumental

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

> *Kum.M. 3.64 pataṅgena tulyaṃ **pataṅgavat** śalabhavat . . . "tena tulyaṃ kriyā ced vatiḥ" iti vati-pratyayaḥ.*   equivalent to a moth **moth-like** like a moth . . . The suffix *vatI* by (Pāṇini 5.1.115) "There is (the suffix) *vatI* in the meaning of 'like this,' if an action is referred to."

> *Ragh.M. 4.31 nāvyā naubhis tāryā **nadīḥ***   **navigable** crossable by boats **rivers**

1.36.3 Dative

> *Kir.M. 13.69 ātmane hitam **ātmanīnam**.*
> *"ātma-viśva-jana-bhogôttarapadāt khaḥ."*   beneficial to oneself **good for oneself**. By (Pā. 5.1.9) "(The suffix) *kha* (i.e., -*īna*) after *ātman*, *viśva*, *jana*, and a word ending in *bhoga*."

> *Śiśu.M. 1.41 viśvasmai janāya hitaṃ **viśvajanīnam**.*
> *"ātma-viśva-jana-bhogôttarapadāt khaḥ."*   beneficial for all people **good for all people**. By (Pā. 5.1.9) "(The suffix) *kha* (i.e., -*īna*) after *ātman*, *viśva*, *jana*, and a word ending in *bhoga*."

> *Śiśu.M. 14.4 he **sārva** sarvahitatvāt sārvaḥ, tatsambodhane.*
> *"sarva-puruṣābhyāṃ ṇa-ḍhañau."*   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 *sarva* and *puruṣa* there are (the suffixes) *Ṇa* and *ḍhaÑ* (i.e., -*a* and -*eya*, respectively)."

1.36.4 Ablative

> *Kum.M. 1.26 abhijanād āgatena **ābhijanena***   come from a good family **of good family**

> *Kum.V. 5.29 [M 30] brahmaṇa āgataṃ brahmamayam, tena [brahmamayena] vedotthena tejasā*   coming from *brahma* brahmanic, with that [**brahmanic**]—arising from the Vedas—**splendor**

*Ragh.M. 4.4   pitur āgataṃ **pitryam**. "pitur yat" iti yat-pratyayaḥ.*
siṃhāsanam   coming from the father **paternal**—the suffix *yaT* (i.e.,
-ya) by (Pā. 4.3.79) "*yaT* after *pitṛ* (in the sense of coming from
that")—**throne**.

*Ragh.M. 5.9   janapadebhya āgatair **jānapadaiḥ**. "tata āgata" ity aṇ.*
kaḍaṅgarīyaiḥ   with **country** from the country—the suffix *aN* by
(Pā. 4.3.74) "come from that"—**straw**

*Ragh.M. 1.60   **daivīnāṃ** devebhya āgatānāṃ durbhikṣâdīnām,*
mānuṣīnāṃ manuṣyebhya āgatānāṃ caura-bhayâdīnām. ubhayatrâpi
"tata āgataḥ" ity aṇ. "ṭiḍ-ḍhāṇ-añ-"ity-ādinā ṅīp. āpadām   of
disasters (both) **divine** coming from the gods, such as famine, and
human coming from humans, such as the danger of theft. In both there is
the suffix *aN* by (Pā. 4.3.74) "come from that." There is (the feminine
suffix) *ṄīP* (i.e., *-ī*) by (Pā. 4.1.15).

*Kum.V. 2.3   arthād anapetā acalitā **arthyā** anadhyāropitârthāḥ.*
"dharma-pathy-artha-nyāyād anapete."   not deviating—not
moving—from the facts **factual** without hyperbole. (The suffix *-ya* is
added by Pā. 4.4.92) "After *dharma, pathin, artha,* and *nyāya* in the sense
of not deviating."

*Kum.M. 2.2   arthād anapetābhiḥ **arthyābhiḥ**. artha-yuktābhir ity*
arthaḥ. "dharma-pathy-artha-nyāyād anapete" iti yat-pratyayaḥ.   not
deviating from meaning **meaningful** provided with meaning. (The suffix
-ya is added by Pā. 4.4.92) "After *dharma, pathin, artha,* and *nyāya* in the
sense of not deviating."

*Ragh.M. 2.55   **nyāyyā** nyāyā anapetā. yuktêty arthaḥ.*
dharma-pathy-arthâdinā yat-pratyayaḥ.   **lawful** not deviating from the
law; i.e., proper. The suffix *yaT* by (Pā. 4.4.92.) "After *dharma, pathin,*
artha, ..."

1.36.5   Locative

Perhaps the most common locative formula of analysis is *tatra bhavam,*
"occurring in that, pertaining to that."

Ragh.M. 1.20   "prāk" ity avyayena pūrva-janmôcyate. tatra bhavāḥ
prāktanāḥ. *"sāyaṃ-ciraṃ-"ity-ādinā ṭyul-pratyayaḥ.*   By the
indeclinable *prāk* ("before") a former lifetime is referred to. Pertaining to
that **former**. The suffix *ṭyuL* (i.e., *-ana,* before which *-t-* is inserted) by
(Pā. 4.3.23) "after *sāyam, ciram, ...*"

*Ragh.M. 1.36   prāvṛṣi bhavaḥ **prāvṛṣenyaḥ**. "prāvṛṣa enyaḥ" ity*
*enya-pratyayaḥ. tam **prāvṛṣenyam**.*   Occurring in the
monsoon—monsoonal. The suffix *-enya* by (Pā. 4.3.17) "*enya* after
prāvṛṣa (in the sense of occurring in that)." That **monsoonal**.

*Ragh.M. 1.88   vane bhavaṃ **vanyaṃ** kanda-mūlâdikam*   occurring in
the forest **forest** (food), such as bulbs and roots.

*Kum.M. 3.23   **haimavatam** himavati bhavam.*   **Himalayan** occurring
in the Himalaya.

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

*Ragh.M. 2.70   **prāsthānikaṃ** prasthāna-kāle bhavam. tat-kālôcitam ity*
arthaḥ. "kālāṭ ṭhañ" iti ṭhañ-pratyayaḥ.   **pertaining to starting a**
journey occurring on the occasion of starting a journey; i.e., appropriate
for that occasion. The suffix *ṭhañ* (i.e., *-ika,* by Pā. 4.3.11) "(The suffix)
ṭhaN after (a word referring to) an occasion."

*Ragh.M. 5.15   **āraṇyakā** araṇye bhavā manuṣyā muni-pramukhāḥ.*
"araṇyān manuṣye" iti vuñ-pratyayaḥ.   **wilderness people** humans
occurring in the wilderness, such as sages. The suffix *vuN* (i.e., *-aka*) by
(Pā. 4.2.129) "After *araṇya* when referring to humans."

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

*Ragh.M. 1.55   sabhāyāṃ sādhavaḥ **sabhyāḥ**. "sabhāyā yaḥ" iti*
ya-pratyayaḥ.   Good at court **courteous**. The suffix *-ya* by (Pā. 4.4.105)
"(The suffix) *-ya* after *sabhā*."

Kum.M. 2.57 saṃyuge sādhuṃ **sāṃyugīnam**. *"pratijanādibhyaḥ khañ"
iti khañ-pratyayaḥ.* good at battle **good at battle**. The suffix *khaÑ* (i.e.,
-īna) by (Pā. 4.4.99) "After *pratijana*, etc., (in the meaning 'good at that.' "

*Kum.V. 2.57 **sāṃyugīnam** raṇa-paṇḍitam. sādhv-arthe
"pratijanādibhyaḥ khañ."* **good at battle** expert in battle. (The suffix
-īna) in the sense of "good (at that)" by (Pā. 4.4.99) "After *pratijana*, etc.,
(the suffix) *khaÑ* (in the meaning 'good at that')."

*Ragh.M. 2.30 śaraṇe sādhuḥ **śaraṇyaḥ**. "tatra sādhuḥ" iti
yat-pratyayaḥ.* Good at refuge **providing good refuge**. The suffix *yaT*
(i.e., *-ya*) by (Pā. 4.4.98) "Good at that."

Another locative formula is based on the meaning of enrollment or enlistment:

*Ragh.M. 4.45 senāyāṃ samavetāḥ **sainyāḥ**. ... "senāyā vā" ity
ṇya-pratyayaḥ.* Enrolled in the army **soldiers**. The suffix *Ṇya* (i.e., *-ya*)
by Pā. 4.4.45 *senāyā vā*, "After *senā* there is optionally (the suffix *Ṇya*
[i.e., *-ya*] rather than *ṭhaK* [i.e., *-ika*] in the meaning of enrollment)."

*Ragh.M. 4.74 **sainikāḥ** senāyāṃ samavetāḥ prāgvahatīyaṣ
ṭhak-pratyayaḥ* **soldiers** enrolled in the army. The suffix *ṭhaK* (i.e., *-ika*)
from the section extending (from Pā. 4.4.1) up to "*vahati*" (in Pā. 4.4.76).

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 an-
alyzed with a formula placing the base in the genitive case: *tasyâpatyam*,
"offspring of his" (Section 1.37.1). Genitive formulas are also used in an-
alyzing 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 *tasyâpatyam*

*Ragh.M. 1.1 parvatasyâpatyaṃ **pārvatī**. "tasyâpatyam" ity aṇ,
"ṭid-ḍhân-añ-" ity-ādinā ṅīp.* offspring of the mountain (*parvata*)
Pārvatī. (The suffix) *aṆ* (i.e., *-a* by (Pā. 4.1.92) "Offspring of that"; (the
feminine suffix) *ṄīP* (i.e., *-ī*) by (Pā. 4.1.15).

*Ragh.M. 3.5 magadhasya rājño 'patyaṃ strī **māgadhī**.
"dvyañ-magadha-kaliṅga-sūramasād aṇ" ity aṇ-pratyayaḥ.* Female
offspring of the king Magadha **Māgadhī**. The suffix *aṆ* (i.e., *-a*) by
(Pā. 4.1.170) "(The suffix) *aṆ* after names of two syllables and after
Magadha, Kaliṅga, and *Sūramasa*."

*Ragh.M. 4.87 rājño 'patyāni rājanyāḥ kṣatriyās tān **rājānyān**
"rāja-śvaśurād yat" ity apatyârthe 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 *śvaśura*."

1.37.2 *tasya bhāvaḥ*

*Ragh.M. 1.8 śiśor bhāvaḥ **śaiśavaṃ** bālyam.
"prāṇabhṛjjāti-vayovacanôdgātrâdibhyo 'ñ" ity añ-pratyayaḥ.* The
state of an infant **infancy**. The suffix *aÑ* (i.e., *-a*) by (Pā. 5.1.129) "(The
suffix) *aÑ* after names of animal species, words for stages of life, and
udgātṛ, etc."

*Ragh.M. 1.8 yūno bhāvo **yauvanaṃ** tāruṇyam. yuvâditvād
aṇ-pratyayaḥ. tasmin vayasi [yauvane].* The state of a young
man—youth, adolescence. The suffix *aṆ* (i.e., *-a*) because of belonging to
the *yuvâdi* group (mentioned in Pā. 5.1.130). In that stage of life **in youth**.

*Kum.V. 1.4 dhātavo 'tra sindūrâdayo raktāḥ, te vidyante yasya sa
dhātumān; tad-bhāvo dhātumattā, tām [dhātumattām].* 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 prakāmasya bhāvaḥ **prākāmyaṃ** 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 bhāvaḥ karma vā* **steyaṃ** *cauryam. "stenād yan nalopaś ca iti yat-pratyayaḥ na-lopaś ca."*   The condition or activity of a thief **theft**, stealing. By (Pā. 5.1.125) "After *stena* there is (the suffix) *yaT* (i.e., -*ya*) and the dropping of *na*."

> *Kum.V. 4.9   kitavasya karma* **kaitavam**   The activity of a deceiver **deception**.

> *Ragh.M. 4.1   **rājyaṃ** rājñaḥ karma prajā-paripālanâtmakam. purohitāditvād yak.*   **rule** the activity of a ruler, consisting of protecting his subjects **rule** the activity of a ruler, consisting of protecting his subjects. (The suffix) *yaK* (i.e., -*ya*) because of belonging to the *purohitâdi* group (mentioned in Pā. 5.1.128).

modification, product (*tasya vikāraḥ*):

> *Ragh.M. 2.29   dhātor gairikasya vikāro dhātumayī tasyāṃ [**dhātumayyām**] **adityakāyām** ūrdhva-bhūmau.*   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   hiraṇyasya vikāraḥ* **hiraṇmayam**. *dāṇḍināyana-"ity-ādinā nipātaḥ*   A modification of gold **made of gold**. An exceptional form (see Sections 1.20, 1.35), by (Pā. 6.4.174) "*dāṇḍināyana . . . .*"

ruler (*tasya rājā*, etc.):

> *Ragh.M. 4.40   **kāliṅgaḥ** kaliṅgānāṃ rājā. "dvyañ-magadha-kaliṅga-"ity-ādinā aṇ-pratyayaḥ.*   **The Kāliṅga** king of the Kaliṅgas. 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. 2.20   **pārthivena** pṛthivyā īśvareṇa. "tasyeśvaraḥ" ity añ-pratyayaḥ.*   **By the ruler** by the lord of the earth. The suffix *aN* by (Pā. 5.1.42) "Lord of that."

collection (*tasya samūhaḥ*):

> *Kum.V. 7.57   mālānām samūho* **mālyam**. *"pāśâdibhyo yaḥ" ity anena yaḥ*.   A collection of garlands **garland wreath**. The suffix -*ya* by (Pā. 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: *tasyêdam*, "this belongs to it, this is connected with it."

> *Ragh.M. 5.75   gaṅgāyā idam* **gāṅgam**   this is of the Ganges **Gangetic**

> *Kum.M. 1.41   tasyā imau* **tadīyau** *bāhū*   These two are hers **her two arms**

> *Kum.M. 2.1   svayam-bhuvo brahmaṇa idaṃ* **svāyambhuvam**   This belongs to the Self-born—Brahmā **of the Self-born**

> *Kum.V. 2.1   svayam-bhūr brahmā tasyêdaṃ* **svāyambhuvam**   The Self-born is Brahmā; this is his **of the Self-born**

Occasionally the pronoun *idam* is omitted and a form of the word *sambandhin*, "connected to," is used instead.

> *Ragh.M. 4.35   **vaitasīṃ** vetasaḥ sambandhinīṃ vṛttim. praṇatim ity arthaḥ.*   The **behavior** associated with a reed **of a reed**; i.e., bending.

> *Ragh.M. 1.13   **kṣātraḥ** kṣatra-sambandhī   **warriorly** connected with a warrior

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 *bahuvrīhi* compounds.

Kum.M. 4.18   ṛtur asya prāptaḥ **ārtavaṃ** *vāsantam. "ṛtor aṇ" ity aṇ-pratyayaḥ*   Its season has arrived **seasonal** vernal. The suffix *aṆ* by (Pā. 5.1.105) "(The suffix) *aṆ* after *ṛtu* (in the sense of having arrived for this)."

Kum.M. 4.27   duḥkham asyāḥ saṃjātaṃ **duḥkhitā**. *saṃjāta-duḥkhêty arthaḥ. tārakâditvād itac.*   grief has occurred for her **aggrieved** griefstricken. (The suffix) *itaC* (in the sense of having occurred for this) because of belonging to the *tārakâdi* group (mentioned in Pā. 5.2.36).

Kum.V. 2.33   [yāvan-mātreṇa] yat parimāṇam asya yāvān. tataḥ svârthe mātrāc.   [**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.

Kum.V. 6.92   vivāhaḥ prayojanaṃ yasyāḥ sā **vaivāhikī**   That which has a wedding ceremony as its occasion is **nuptial**

Ragh.H. 5.58 [M 5.57]   gāndharvaṃ gandharvo devatā yasya tat   That which has a Gandharva as its deity is **Gāndharva**.

Kum.V. 2.17   catvāro 'vayavā yasyāḥ sā **catuṣṭayī**. *"saṅkhyāyā avayave tayap."*   That which has four parts is **four-part**. (By Pā. 5.2.42) "(The suffix) *tayaP* after a numeral, in the sense of (having that many) parts)."

1.39   Compound formulas of analysis

In addition to the use of compounds ending in *-sambandhin* as a substitute for a genitive pronouns (Section 1.37), there are some meanings which are expressed through compounds to begin with in Pāṇini's rules, and commentators preserved those formulas in analyzing formations. The most common of these are *tad-artham* ("for the purpose of that") and *tad-arham* ("appropriate to that," "deserving that").

Ragh.M. 1.44   arghaḥ pūjā-vidhiḥ, tad-arthaṃ dravyam **arghyam**. *"pādârghābhyāṃ ca" iti yat-pratyayaḥ.*   Honoring is the rite of hospitality, an offering for that purpose **an offering of honor**. The suffix *yaT* by (Pā. 5.4.25) "and after *pāda* and *argha* (there is *yaT* in the sense of being for that purpose)."

Ragh.M. 5.2   arghârtham idam **arghyam**. *"pādârghābhyāṃ ca" iti yat-pratyayaḥ. pūjârthaṃ dravyam*   This is for the purpose of honoring **an offering of honor**. The suffix *yaT* by (Pā. 5.4.25) "and after *pāda* and *argha* (there is *yaT* in the sense of being for that purpose)." An offering for the purpose of hospitality.

Ragh.M. 5.3   vidhivad vidhy-arham. yathā-śāstram ity arthaḥ. "tadarham" iti vati-pratyayaḥ.   **properly** appropriately to the rules; i.e., in accordance with the prescriptions. The suffix *vatI* by (Pā. 5.1.117) "appropriate to that."

Kum.M. 3.76   anukampitum arhām **anukampyām**. *"ṛ-halor ṇyat" iti ṇyat-pratyayaḥ.*   Deserving to be pitied **pitiable**. The suffix *ṆyaT* by (Pā. 3.1.124) "(The suffix) *ṆyaT* to (words ending in) *-ṛ* or a consonant."

1.40   Possessive suffixes (*matvarthīya*)

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

daṇḍo 'syâstîti **daṇḍikaḥ**   "he has a staff, thus **staff-bearer**"

dhanam asyâstîti **dhanī**   "he has wealth, thus **wealthy**"

gāvo 'sya santîti **gomān**   "he has cows, thus **cow-having**"

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

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

ghṛtaṃ pracuram asminn iti **ghṛtamayaḥ**   "ghee is abundant in it, thus **made (mostly) of ghee**"

jānu pramāṇam asyêti **jānu-dagdham**   "the knee is its extent, thus **knee-deep**"

vīnā-vadanaṃ śilpam asyêti **vainikaḥ**   "his art is vīnā-playing, thus **vīnā-player**"

Less commonly, any of these possessive formulas of analysis can be replaced with formulas using relative pronouns, as in the analysis of *bahu-vrīhi* compounds (Sections 1.64–1.68); e.g., *ghṛtaṃ pracuraṃ yasmin sa ghṛtamayaḥ*, "that is *ghṛtamaya* in which ghee is abundant."

1.40.1   Straightforward possession

Kum. V. 3.69   balaṃ vidyate yatra tad **balavat**. *vaśo 'syâstîti* **vaśī** *śāntaḥ.*
That in which strength is found is **strong**. He who has control is **self-controlled** peaceful.

Kum. V. 5.10   praṇayaḥ prītir vidyate yasyâsau **praṇayī**   That which has love—affection—is **a lover**

Ragh.M. 1.12   śuddhir asyâstîti **śuddhimān**. *tasmin* **śuddhimati**. **tad-anvaye** *tasya manor anvaye.*   It has purity, thus pure. In that **in the pure lineage of his** in the lineage—the dynasty, of him—of Manu.

Ragh.M. 1.53   āhuti-gandho yeṣām astîty **āhuti-gandhinaḥ**   of which there is the aroma of offerings, thus **having the aroma of offerings**

Kum.M. 3.65   tapo 'syâstîti **tapasvī**. *"as-māyā-medhā-srajo viniḥ" iti vini-pratyayaḥ. tasmai* **tapasvine**.   He has asceticism, thus an ascetic. The suffix *vinI* by (Pā. 5.2.121) "(The suffix) *vinI* after words ending in *as* and after *māyā, medhā*, and *sraj*."

Ragh.M. 5.52   vāco 'sya santîti **vāgmī** *vaktā. "vaco gminiḥ" iti gmini-pratyayaḥ.*   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   **putriṇāṃ** sat-putravatām. praśaṃsāyām ini-pratyayaḥ.*
having sons having good sons. The suffix *inI* expressing praise.

*Kum.M. 1.55   **sparśavatīḥ** sukha-sparśāḥ. mṛdvīr ity arthaḥ. praśaṃsāyāṃ matup.*   **having (a good) feel** having a pleasant feel; i.e., soft. (The possessive suffix) *matUP* expressing praise.

Kum.M. 1.4   dhātavaḥ sindūra-gairikâdaya 'sya santîti **dhātumān**. *nitya-yoge matup. tasya bhāvo dhātumattā. tām [**dhātumattām**].*   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   putrāś ca duhitaraś ca putrāḥ. "bhrātṛ-putrau svasṛ-duhitṛbhyām" ity ekaśeṣaḥ. te 'sya santîti putravān. bhūmârthe matup. tasya **putravato** *'pi bahv-apatyasyâpîty arthaḥ.*   Sons and daughters—children. An *ekaśeṣa* formation (see Chapter 9) by (Pā. 1.2.68) "(When) *bhrātṛ* and *putra* (come together) with *svasṛ* and *duhitṛ* (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.

1.41   *Vibhaktisaṃjñaka* 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.

*Ragh.M. 1.66   **mattaḥ paraṃ** mad anantaram. "pañcamyās tasiL."*
After me subsequent to me. (By Pā. 5.3.7) "(The suffix) *tasIL* in place of the fifth case ending."

*Kum.M. 1.46   **tataḥ** tasyāḥ pārvatyāḥ. "pañcamyās tasiL."*   **From her** from that one—from Pārvatī. (By Pā. 5.3.7) "(The suffix) *tasIL* in place of the fifth case ending."

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 *samasânta* 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.

> *Kum. V. 6.43   tama tamisram*   darkness **darkness**

> *Kum. V. 2.44   sampraty eva sāmpratam. prajñâditvād aṇ.*   Now **now**. (The suffix *aN* because of belonging to the *prajñâdi* group (mentioned in Pā. 5.4.38).

> *Kum. V. 2.33   [yāvan-mātreṇa] yat parimāṇam asya yāvān. tataḥ svârthe mātrāc.*   **[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

> *Kum. V. 5.14   alpā hrasvā vā vṛkṣā vṛkṣakāḥ*   meager or short trees **saplings**

> *Ragh. M. 1.51   vṛkṣakāḥ hrasva-vṛkṣāḥ ... "hrasvârthe ka-pratyayaḥ.* **saplings** short trees. ... The suffix *-ka* in a diminutive sense.

1.42.3   Other additions of meaning

> *Kum. V. 3.52   atiśayena bahu bhūyiṣṭham.*   exceedingly much **mostly**.

> *Ragh. M. 1.12   atiśayena śuddhimān śuddhimattarah.* *"dvivacana-vibhajyopa-"ity-ādinā tarap-pratyayaḥ.*   exceedingly pure **purer**. The suffix *taraP* by (Pā. 5.3.57) "(The suffixes *taraP* and *īyasUN* in the sense of exceeding) when speaking of two things," etc.

> *Kum. V. 4.35   soma iva somyaḥ. "śākhâdibhyo yat."*   Like the moon **gentle**. (By Pā. 5.3.103) "*yaT* after *śākhā*, etc. (in the sense of 'like')."

> *Ragh. M. 5.36   īṣad-asamāptam kumāram kumārakalpam skanda-sadṛśam. "īṣad-asamāptau" ity-ādinā kalpap-pratyayaḥ.*   A slightly incomplete Kumāra **virtually a Kumāra**. The suffix *kalpaP* by (Pā. 5.3.67) "In the sense of slighty 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 *bhū* and *kṛ* in the meanings of "becoming that, not having been it before" (*abhūta-tadbhāve*, Pā. 5.4.50) and "making something that." Several other *taddhita* suffixes are used in much the same way.

> *Kum. V. 4.13   akathā kathā kṛtam kathīkṛtam. cviḥ. "asya cvau" itîtvam.* Not (having been) a story, make (into) a story **reduced to story**. (The suffix) *cviḥ*. There is *ī*- (in place of the final *-ā* before this *Cvi*, which is then dropped) by (Pā. 7.4.32) "(There is *ī*) in place of *-a* or *-ā* when *Cvi* follows."

> *Kum. M. 4.13   kathī-kṛtam akathā kathā sampadyamānam kṛtam śabda-mātrâvaśiṣṭam.*   **reduced to story** made to become a story, not having been a story—remaining in report alone.

> *Ragh. M. 1.30   aparikhāḥ parikhāḥ sampadyamānāḥ kṛtāḥ parikhī-kṛtāḥ ... abhūta-tadbhāve cviḥ*   made to become moats, not having been moats **made moats** ... (The suffix) *Cvi* in the sense of becoming something, not having been it before.

*Kum.M. 3.68　asāci sāci sampadyamānā **sācī-kṛtā** tiryak-kṛtā*
becoming oblique, not having been oblique **made oblique** cast sidelong

1.42.5　*Samāsânta* 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 *bahuvrīhi* (see Section 2.15), but there are others, including *-a* at the end of certain *tatpuruṣa*s in which the final member is a stem ending in a consonant.

*Ragh.M. 1.13　vyūḍhaṃ vipulam uro yasya sa **vyūḍhôraskaḥ**.*
"uraḥ-prabhṛtibhyaḥ kap."　　He who has a broad—wide—shoulder is **broad-shouldered**. (By Pā. 5.4.151) "(The suffix) *kaP* after (a *bahuvrīhi*) ending in *uras*, etc."

*Ragh.M. 1.81　saha patnyā vartata iti **sa-patnīkaḥ** san. "nady ṛtaś ca"*
iti kap-pratyayaḥ　　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 *bahuvrīhi*) that has the feminine ending *-ī* or *-ū* or that ends in *ṛ*."

*Ragh.M. 1.63　puruṣasyâyuḥ **puruṣâyuṣam**. varṣa-śatam ity arthaḥ.*
"śatâyur vai puruṣaḥ" iti śruteḥ. "acatura-"ity-ādi-sūtreṇâc-pratyayânto
*nipātaḥ. ... brahmaṇo varco **brahma-varcasam**. "brahma-hastibhyāṃ*
varcasaḥ" ity ac-pratyayaḥ.　　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 *bahuvrīhi* 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-

atory one—a distinction determining whether the compound can be analyzed using the same words that make up the compound (Section 1.46). On the basis of these distinctions the grammarians have evolved a series of standard formulas to be used in analyzing each particular type of compound; we describe the formulas for the most important types in Sections 1.48–1.68.

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 *karmadhāraya* compounds (1.44.3; Sections 1.54–1.55),

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

4. *bahuvrīhi* 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-patitaḥ*, "fallen from heaven," is analyzed *svargāt patitaḥ*.

1.44.3 *Karmadhāraya*

For *karmadhāraya* 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., *rakta-latā*, "red vine," may by analyzed *raktā latā*.

But for some *karmadhāraya* 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 *rājā ca sa ṛṣiś 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 *karmadhāraya*s of simple apposition. Thus even *rakta-latā* will generally be analyzed *raktā ca sā latā ca*, "it is both red and a vine."

1.44.4 *Dvandva*

For the other two categories of compounds—*dvandva*s and *bahuvrīhi*s— 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-kṛṣṇau*, "Rāma and Kṛṣṇa," is analyzed *rāmaś ca kṛṣṇaś 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 *karmadhārayas* in order to make it clear that both members refer to the same thing is missing in the formula for *dvandvas*, in which the two members refer to two separate objects.

1.44.5 *Bahuvrīhi*

In *bahuvrīhi* 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 thorugh which the compound refers to the outside object: e.g., *dīrgha-karṇaḥ*, "Long-ear," is analyzed *dīrghau karṇau 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-samāsa*s ("simply compounds") or *sup-sup-samāsa*s ("noun-noun-compounds," in reference to Pāṇini's general rule for compounding, 2.1.4: "*[sup] saha supā*," "[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* **vinā-kṛtā**. *viyojitā satîty arthaḥ. sup-supêti samāsaḥ.*
> **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 *bahuvrīhi* 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).

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 *avyayībhāva* 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*, *bahuvrīhis*, *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.I.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-arthaṃ** vṛddhy-artham eva.*
> *"arthena saha nitya-samāsaḥ sarva-liṅgatā 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 *artha* 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 buy only to certain species, so the Sanskrit compound *kṛṣṇa-sarpa* refers not to any black snake, but only to a particular kind of cobra. Thus an analysis such as *kṛṣṇaś ca sa sarpaś 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.

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. Sev-
eral important groups of Sanskrit compounds are obligatory compounds in
this sense: *avyayībhāva*s in which the first member is incapable of con-
veying the meaning in question as a separate preposition (Section 1.50),
*tatpuruṣa*s in which the first member is a prefix or preposition used ad-
jectivally (Section 1.57), *tatpuruṣa*s 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 com-
pound rather than in the formulas required in analyzing them. They will be
touched on in separate sections under each type of compound (e.g., Sec-
tions 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 *avyayībhāva*s

For these compounds the analysis simply separates the two members and
places the second member in the case that is governed by the first: *bahir-
grāmam*, "outside the village," for example, is analyzed *bahir 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 an-
alyzed 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 tech-
nically known as *karmapravacanīya*—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 *avyayībhāva*s are *karma-
pravacanīya* in some meanings but not in others; e.g., *anu-vanam* ("near
the forest") and *anu-gaṅgam* ("along the Ganges") are optional compounds
and may be analyzed *anu vanam* and *anu gaṅgām*, but *anu-ratham* ("be-
hind 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 *karmapravacanīya* and others that are
not: e.g., *anu-vanam* ("near the forest") is an optional compound, but *upa-
kumbham* ("near the pot") is obligatory.

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

> *Ragh.M. 1.5   [ā-janma] ā janmanaḥ. janmârabhyêty arthaḥ. "āṅ
> maryādâbhividhyoḥ" ity avyayībhāvaḥ.*   **[From birth]** from birth, i.e.,
> beginning with birth. This is an *avyayībhāva* by (Pā. 2.1.13) "*ā* in the
> sense of limit or inclusion (may be compounded with a following noun)."

1.50   Obligatory *avyayībhāva*s

For each of these compounds in which the first member cannot stand out-
side the compound while expressing the same meaning, some other way
to convey the meaning of that member must be found. The forms of anal-
ysis used for such compounds differ greatly depending upon the specific

form and meaning of the first member. To take the obligatory *avyayī-bhāvas* mentioned in the preceding subsection: *anu-ratham* ("behind the chariots") is analyzed *rathānāṃ paścāt* ("at the rear of the chariots"), *anu-jyeṣṭham* ("in order of age") is analyzed *jyeṣṭhānupūrvyeṇa* ("according to the sequence from the oldest"), and *upa-kumbham* ("near the pot") will be analyzed *kumbhasya samīpe* ("in the vicinity of the pot"). Obviously no general rule for the treatment of these can be given; usually the precise wording used in analyzing these forms is drawn directly from specifications found in individual rules in Pāṇini's grammar. Yet the more common of these obligatory *avyayībhāvas* occur rather frequently, so that the formulas used to analyze them show up often in commentaries; it is therefore useful to be familiar with a few of them (of course the second member will vary, but whenever the first member is used with the same meaning as in the compounds mentioned here, the basic formula of analysis will be the same):

kumbhasya samīpe: upa-kumbham, "near the pot"

ātmany adhikṛtya: adhy-ātmam, "concerning the self"

rathānāṃ paścāt: anu-ratham, "behind the chariots"

śaktim anatikramya: yathā-śakti, "according to one's ability"

jyeṣṭhānupūrvyeṇa: anu-jyeṣṭham, "in order of age"

cakreṇa ekakāle: sa-cakram, "simultaneously with the wheel"

jalasya madhye: antar-jalam, "within the water"

dine dine: prati-dinam, "on each day"

Some examples from commentaries:

*Ragh.M. 1.6   vidhim anatikramya **yathā-vidhi**. "yathâsâdṛśye" ity avyayībhāvaḥ. ... **yathā-kāmam** abhilāṣam anatikramya ... **yathâparādham** aparādham anatikramya ... **yathā-kālaṃ** kālam anatikramya*   not transgressing the rule **in accordance with the law**; an *avyayībhāva* by (Pā. 2.1.7) "*yathā* (may be compounded with a following noun) in a meaning other than similarity." ... **in accordance with their** noun) in a meaning other than similarity." ... **in accordance with their**

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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   padasya paścād **anu-padam**. paścād-arthe 'vyayībhāvaḥ.* after the foot **following upon**. An *avyayībhāva* in the meaning of "behind" [by Pāṇini 2.1.6].

*Ragh.M. 1.91   **a-vighnaṃ** vighnasyâbhāvo 'stu. "avyayaṃ vibhakti-" (Pā. 2.1.6) ity-ādinâbhāvârthe 'vyayībhāvaḥ.*   **May there be no obstacle** an absence of an obstacle. An *avyayībhāva* in the meaning of "absence" (by Pāṇini 2.1.6).

*Kum.M. 1.48   saṃśayâbhāvaḥ **asaṃśayam**. sandeho nâstîty 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   akṣṇoḥ samīpe **samakṣaṃ** purataḥ. "avyayaṃ vibhakti-samṛddhi-" ity-ādinâvyayībhāvaḥ.*   in the vicinity of her eyes **before her eyes**, in front of her. An *avyayībhāva* by (Pā. 2.1.6) "An indeclinable (is compounded with a following noun) in the senses of . . . ."

1.51   Irregular *avyayībhāvas*

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, *avyayībhāvas* in which the order of the members is reversed, so that they end up with a governed prior member and thus appear to be *tatpuruṣas*; these are nevertheless analyzed like regular *avyayībhāvas*: e.g., *gaṅgā-pāram*, "across the Ganges," is analyzed *gaṅgāyāḥ pāram*. Conversely, it should be noted that there are *tatpuruṣas* that have governed final members and thus appear to be *avyayībhāvas*, either because the order of the members is irregularly reversed—e.g., *bhūta-pūrvaḥ*, "having occurred previously," analyzed *pūrvaṃ bhūtaḥ*—or because it is logically more convenient to interpret them as having reversed members (Section 1.53.3),

or because they really do have governed final members but are neverthe-less traditionally regarded as *tatpuruṣas* because they are used adjectivally rather than adverbially (Section 1.57.3).

C. *Tatpuruṣa* Compounds

1.52 Introduction

The category of *tatpuruṣa* compounds (Pāṇini 2.1.22–2.2.22; "determi-native compounds," Whitney 1262–1291) has several important subtypes. The varieties of *tatpuruṣa* distinctive enough to require separate formulas of analysis will be treated under the following headings:

1.53 dependent compounds (*vibhakti-tatpuruṣa*)

descriptive compounds (*karmadhāraya*):

1.54 simple *karmadhārayas*

1.55 comparative *karmadhārayas*

1.56 *dvigu* compounds

1.57 prepositional *tatpuruṣas* and related compounds (*prādi-tatpuruṣa*, etc.)

1.58 negative compounds (*nañ-tatpuruṣa*)

1.59 *upapada* compounds

1.60 irregular *tatpuruṣas*

1.53 Dependent *tatpuruṣas*

Dependent *tatpuruṣas*, often called case-*tatpuruṣas* ("*vibhakti-tatpuruṣa*," 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. Accord-ingly the analysis is usually quite straightforward (Section 1.53), but there are slight complications when additional clarification is necessary (Sec-tion 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 appear-ing 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:

> *dvitīyā-tatpuruṣa* (accusative *tatpuruṣa*):
>
>> *grāmaṃ gataḥ—grāma-gataḥ* ("gone to the village")
>> *muhūrtaṃ sukham—muhūrta-sukham* ("pleasure for a moment")
>
> *tṛtīyā-tatpuruṣa* (instrumental *tatpuruṣa*):
>
>> *asinā kalahaḥ—asi-kalahaḥ* ("a fight with a sword")
>> *paraśunā chinnaḥ—paraśu-cchinnaḥ* ("cut with a hatchet")
>
> *caturthī-tatpuruṣa* (dative *tatpuruṣa*):
>
>> *kuṇḍalāya hiraṇyam—kuṇḍala-hiraṇyam* ("gold for an earring")
>> *kuberāya baliḥ—kubera-baliḥ* ("an offering for Kubera")
>
> *pañcamī-tatpuruṣa* (ablative *tatpuruṣa*):
>
>> *svargāt patitaḥ—svarga-patitaḥ* ("fallen from heaven")
>> *vṛkebhyo bhayam—vṛka-bhayam* ("fear of wolves")
>
> *ṣaṣṭhī-tatpuruṣa* (genitive *tatpuruṣa*):
>
>> *candanasya gandhaḥ—candana-gandhaḥ* ("fragrance of san-dalwook")
>> *idhmasya pravraścanaḥ—idhma-pravaścanaḥ* ("cutter of fuel," i.e., a hatchet)

saptamī-tatpuruṣa (locative *tatpuruṣa*):

> *akṣeṣu nipuṇaḥ—akṣa-nipuṇaḥ* ("skilled in dice")
>
> *māse deyam—māsa-deyam* ("payable in a month")

Note that the first member need not appear in the singular in the analysis, but may have the grammatical number required.

In these formulas, the choice of cases is of course governed by the Sanskrit idiom rather than by what one might expect in English or any other language: thus *vṛkṣa-bhaya*, "wolf-fear," "fear of wolves," is an ablative *tatpuruṣa*, not genitive, because in Sanskrit the ablative case is used with words expressing the source of fear.

Examples from the commentaries:

accusative (*dvitīyā*):

> *Kum.M. 1.5   adhaḥ-sānūni megha-maṇḍalād adhas taṭāni gatāṃ prāptām [adhaḥ-sānu-gatām]. "dvitīyā śritâtīta-patita-gatâtyasta-prāptâpannaiḥ" iti samāsaḥ.*   gone to—reaching—the below-slopes—slopes below the circle of clouds **below-slope-gone**. The compound is by (Pā. 2.1.24) "A word in the accusative case is compounded with *śrita, atīta, patita, gata*," etc.

> *Kum.M. 2.23   astaṃ nāśam itaḥ prāptaḥ [astam-itaḥ]. astam iti makārântam avyayam. tasya "dvitīyā śritâtīta-patita-gatâtyasta-prāptâpannaiḥ" iti samāsaḥ.*   gone to—reached to—setting—destruction [**setting-gone**]. *astam* is an indeclinable ending in *m*. Its compound is by (Pā. 2.1.24) "A word in the accusative case is compounded with ... ."

> *Kum.M. 3.41   latāgṛhadvāraṃ gataḥ [latāgṛhadvāra-gataḥ]*   gone to the vine-hut-door [**vine-hut-door-gone**]

instrumental (*tṛtīyā*):

> *Kum.V. 1.27 [M 28]   prabhayā mahatī prabhā-mahatī iti tṛtīyā-samāsaḥ.*   great with splendor **splendor-great**; this is an instrumental compound.

> *Kum.V. 1.56 [M 57]   samidbhir edhaiḥ samiddhaṃ dīptam [samit-samiddham]*   kindled—lighted—with firewood—with fuel **firewood-kindled**

> *Kum.M. 1.51   mantraiḥ pūtaṃ saṃskṛtam [mantra-pūtam]*   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   ācārârthair lājair ācāra-lājaiḥ*   with puffed rice for the sake of custom **with custom-puffed-rice**

> *Kum.V. 1.60   [avacita-bali-puṣpā] avacitāny uccitāni baly-arthaṃ pūjârthaṃ puṣpāṇi yayā sā   [collected-offering-flowered]* she by whom flowers for the sake of offering—for the sake of worship—had been collected—accumulated

ablative (*pañcamī*):

> *Kum.V. 1.37 [M38]   sitā itaraḥ sitêtara iti "pañcamī" 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 Pā.2.1.37).

> *Kum.M. 2.30   sahasrān nayanebhyo 'dhikaṃ sahasra-nayanâdhikam.*   more than thousands of eyes **eye-thousand-more**

> *Kum.M. 2.45   tasya tārakasyâpātāt samāpatter bhayāt [tad-āpāta-bhayāt]*   from fear of his—Tāraka's—attack—encounter **from his-attack-fear**

genitive (*ṣaṣṭhī*):

> *Ragh.M. 1.9   teṣāṃ raghūṇāṃ guṇais tad-guṇaiḥ.*   by the virtues of theirs—of the Raghus **by their-virtues**

Ragh.M. 1.12   *tad-anvaye tasya manor anvaye kule.*   in
his—Manu's—lineage **in the Manu-lineage**

Ragh.M. 1.24   *vinayasya śikṣāyā ādhānāt karaṇāt [vinayâdhānāt]*
from the imparting—doing—of education—instruction **from
education-imparting**

Kum.M. 1.58   *adrīṇāṃ nāthaḥ **adri-nāthaḥ***   lord of mountains
mountain-lord

Kum.M. 2.25   *[ogha-saṃrodhaḥ] oghasya saṃrodhaḥ
pravāha-pratibandhaḥ*   **current-obstruction**
obstruction—flow-obstacle—of the current

locative (*saptamī*):

Kum.M. 1.44   *pravāle bāla-pallava upahitaṃ nihitaṃ [pravālôpahitam]*
laid—put down—on a bud—young leaf **bud-laid**

Kum.M. 2.45   *bhuvanānām ālokane prītiḥ [bhuvanâlokana-prītiḥ]*
joy in the seeing of the worlds **world-seeing-joy**

Kum.V. 3.8   ***pādânataḥ** pādayor [patita] ānataś caraṇa-patitaḥ*
fallen—bowing down—at the feet **foot-fallen**

Kum.M. 4.10   ***tvad-adhīnaṃ** tvayy adhīnam*   dependent on you
you-dependent

Ragh.M. 4.5   ***sāmrājya-dīkṣitam** sāmrājye sāmrājya-karmaṇi
maṇḍalâdhipatye dīkṣitam abhiṣiktam*   **suzerainty-consecrated**
consecrated—anointed—in suzerainty—being suzerain, overlordship

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 sup-
plied. This occurs, for example, in a group of instrumental *tatpuruṣas* deal-
ing with combinations of foods (Pāṇini 2.1.34–35): thus *dadhy-odanaḥ*
("yogurt-rice") is analyzed *dadhnôpasikta odanaḥ* ("rice *sprinkled* with

yogurt"), and *guḍa-dhānāḥ* ("molasses-barley") is analyzed *guḍena miśrā
dhānāḥ* ("barley *mixed* with molasses"). Commentators call such com-
pounds *madhyama-pada-lopa* (see Section 1.54.4).

Kum.V. 3.46   *akṣa-pūrṇaṃ sūtram **akṣa-sūtram***   bead-filled string
bead-string

Kum.V. 3.56   *bimba-tulyo 'dharo **bimbâdhara** iti śāka-pārthivâditvāt
samāsaḥ.*   cherry-like lip **cherry-lip**: the compound is (justified) by
belonging to the *śaka-pārthiva* group.

1.53.3   Partitive genitive as second member

In *tatpuruṣa* compounds with partitive genitive as second member (*ekadeśi-
tatpuruṣa, avayava-tatpuruṣa, aṃśi-tatpuruṣa*, Pā. 2.2.1–2), in which the
first member of a *tatpuruṣa* compound is a word delimiting a part of a sin-
gle whole expressed by the second member, a logical problem arises. The
object referred to by a *tatpuruṣa* is supposed to be a variety of the thing ex-
pressed 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 consid-
ered to have its members reversed (because the syntactical predominance
ends up belonging to the first member). Thus *pūrva-kāyaḥ* ("fore-body") is
analyzed *pūrvaṃ kāyasya* ("front of the body"), and *arddha-pippalī* ("half-
pepper") is analyzed *arddhaṃ pippalyāḥ* ("half of a pepper").

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

Some commentators interpret the *rāja-dantâdi* category rather broadly,
to include compounds with reversed members that other commentators in-
terpret as falling outside all categories (i.e., as *sup-sup-samāsas*; see Sec-
tion 1.44.6):

Ragh.H. 3.55 [M 54]   [an-āsvāditapūrvam] pūrvam āsvāditam
āsvādita-pūrvam, tato nañ-samāsaḥ, rājadantādiḥ.
[not-tasted-before:] previously tasted—before-tasted, then a negative
compound. (The compound *āsvādita-pūrva* belongs to) the *rāja-dantâdi*
group.

Ragh.M. 3.54   anāsvādita-pūrvam pūrvam anāsvāditam. sup supêti
samāsaḥ.   **untasted-before** previously untasted. A compound by (the
general rule) "noun with noun."

1.54   *Karmadhārayas* of simple apposition

Karmadhārayas (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 re-
quire 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 ba-
sic 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 nei-
ther 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 re-
quired (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 sub-
stantive (*viśeṣaṇa-[pūrva-pada]-karmadhāraya*, "*karmadhāraya* with an

adjective [as first member]," Pāṇini 2.1.57 ff.; Whitney 1280) is the sim-
plest and most common form of *karmadhāraya*, and its analysis is done in
the manner already explained in Section 1.44: while compounds such as
nīlôtpalam ("blue waterlily") and *rakta-latā* ("red vine") may be analyzed
simply by separating their members—*nīlam utpalam* and *raktā latā*—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: *nīlam ca tad*
utpalam ca ("it is both blue and a waterlily") and *raktā ca sā latā ca* ("it is
both red and a vine"). Again, note that the presence of this pronoun (usu-
ally some form of *tad* or *adas*) in the analysis serves to distinguish these
compounds from *dvandva*s.

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 śailāś ca **sarva-śailāḥ**.*
"pūrva-kālâika-sarva-jarat-purāṇa-nava-kevalāḥ samānâdhikaraṇena"
iti samāsaḥ.   they are both all and mountains **all-mountains**. The
compound is by (Pā. 2.1.47) "When preceding, the words *eka, sarva,*
jarat, purāṇa, nava, and *kevala* (are compounded) with a word in
apposition."

*Kum.M. 2.32   mahān asuro **mahâsuraḥ**.*
"san-mahat-paramôttamôtkṛṣṭāḥ pūjyamānaiḥ" iti tatpuruṣaḥ.   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 ad-
jective (*viśeṣaṇôbhaya-pada-karmadhāraya*, "*karmadhāraya* with adjec-
tives as both members") are usually analyzed using the formula just de-
scribed. 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 ad-
verb modifying the second member. For example, *tulya-śvetaḥ* ("equally
white") is analyzed *tulyaś câsau śvetaś ca* ("it is both equal and white"),

and *bhojyôsnam* ("palatably warm") is analyzed *bhojyam ca tad usnam 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 pallavavat snigdhā câsau pāṭalā ca*
> *[pallava-snigdha-pāṭalā]*   it is both glossy like a sprout and pink
> **[sprout-glossy-pink]**

> *Ragh.M. 1.16 bhīmaiś ca kāntaiś ca [bhīma-kāntaiḥ]*   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, *snātânuliptaḥ* ("bathed and oiled") is analyzed *ādau snātaḥ paścād anuliptaḥ* ("first bathed, afterwards oiled"), and *pītôdgīrṇam* ("drunk and vomited") is analyzed *ādau pītam paścād udgīrṇam* ("first drunk, afterwards vomited").

Another common type of *karmadhāraya* combines two color adjectives.

> *Kum.M. 3.36 kṛṣṇaś câsau sāraḥ śabalaś ca kṛṣṇa-sāraḥ kṛṣṇa-mṛgaḥ.*
> *"varṇo varṇena" iti samāsaḥ.*   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 haritam ca aruṇam ca [haritâruṇam]. "varṇo varṇena"*
> *iti tatpuruṣaḥ.*   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., *rājarṣiḥ* ("king-sage") is analyzed *rājā ca sa ṛṣiś 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., Śaṅkarâcārya, Bhoja-rāja—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. *rūpaka-samāsas*, Section 1.55.3) rather than using the *câsau ... ca* formula:

> *Kum. V. 3.27 navam cūtam eva bāṇaḥ śaras tasmin [nava-cūta-bāṇe]*
> the arrow—shaft—that is a fresh mango blossom, on it **on the**
> **fresh-mango-arrow**

> *Kum.M. 3.27 navam cūtam cūta-kusumam tad eva bāṇas tasmin*
> *nava-cūta-bāṇe.*   a fresh mango—mango blossom, the arrow that it is,
> on it **on the fresh-mango-arrow**

> *Ragh.M. 1.58 rājyam evâsramas tatra munim [rājyâsrama-munim]*
> the life-stage that is kingship, a sage in it **[a kingship-lifestage-sage]**

> *Ragh.M. 4.5 padmâtapatreṇa padmam evâtapatram tena*   **with a**
> **lotus-parasol** a parasol that was a lotus, with it

> *Kum.M. 3.36 kusumam evâikam sādhāraṇam pātram tasmin*
> *[kusumâika-pātram].*   a single—common—cup that was a flower, in it
> **in the flower-single-cup**

> *Kum.M. 3.53 vasanta-puṣpāny evâbharaṇam*
> *[vasanta-puṣpâbharaṇam]*   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-brāhmaṇaḥ* ("deity-brahmin") is analyzed *deva-pūjako brāhmaṇaḥ*

("deity-worshipping brahmin"). Commentators frequently refer to compounds of this type as "*śākapārthivâdi* compounds," since they are grouped together (by a *vārtika* on Pāṇini 2.1.60) in a list beginning with the compound *śāka-pārthivaḥ* ("vegetable-king" or "era-king," analyzed *śāka-bhojī pārthivaḥ* ["vegetable-eating king"] or *śāka-priyaḥ pārthivaḥ* ["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 *guḍa-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 (*guḍa-miśra-dhānāḥ, deva-pūjaka-brḷahmaṇaḥ*) that can be interpreted as standing in compound with the first member (*guḍa-miśrā dhānāḥ, deva-pūjako brāhmaṇaḥ*). Accordingly, commentators often refer to such compounds as *uttara-pada-lopa-samāsas* ("compounds in which the second word [of the first member] has been dropped"), or, much more commonly, as *madhyama-pada-lopa-samāsas* ("compounds in which the middle word has been dropped").

> *Megh.M. 1*   *chāyā-pradhānās taravaś* **chāyā-taravaḥ***.*
> *śākapārthivâditvāt samāsaḥ.*   shade-rich trees **shade-trees**. The
> compound is because of being in the *śāka-pārthivâdi* 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 *upamāna*) and the second member is a substantive representing the common property (*sāmanyavacana*). In the second type both members are substantives: the first represents the object of comparison (*upamita*) and the second represents the standard of comparison (*upamāna*). 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 *Upamānapūrvapada karmadhāraya*

These formations (*upamānapūrvapada-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 vṛkṣa iva prāṃśur unnataḥ* **śāla-prāṃśuḥ***.*
> tall—lofty—like a sal tree **sal-tall**
>
> *Kum.M. 1.13*   *candra-marīcibhir iva gauraiḥ śubhraiḥ*
> *[candra-marīci-gauraiḥ] . . . . "upamānāni sāmānya-vacanaiḥ iti*
> *samāsaḥ.*   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*   *[bālêndu-vakrāṇi] bālêndur iva vakrāṇi*
> **[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*   *pallavavat snigdhā câsau pāṭalā ca*
> *[pallava-snigdha-pāṭalā]*   it is both glossy like a sprout and pink
> **[sprout-glossy-pink]**

1.55.2 *Upamita-samāsa*

In analyzing these (*upamita-samāsa, upamānottarapada-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 'yaṃ vyāghra iva—puruṣa-vyāghraḥ* ("[this is] a man like a
> tiger—man-tiger")

mukham candra iva—mukha-candraḥ ("a face like the moon—moon-face")

Examples from the commentaries:

*Ragh.M. 1.12   rājā indur iva **rājêndū** rāja-śreṣṭhaḥ. upamitaṃ vyāghrâdinā samāsaḥ.*   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   hayo ratnam iva **haya-ratnam** aśva-śreṣṭhaḥ.*   a horse like a jewel **a horse-jewel** best of horses

*Ragh.M. 4.61   mukhāni padmānîva **mukha-padmāni**. upamita-samāsaḥ.*   faces like lotuses **face-lotuses**. A simile compound.

*Ragh.M. 5.73   dantāḥ kośā iva **danta-kośāḥ***   teeth like buds **teeth-buds**

1.55.3   *Rūpaka-samāsa*

In *karmadhārayas* in which one substantive is equated with another, either metaphorically or literally (*rūpaka-samāsa*, "compound of metaphorical identification"; *avadhāraṇapūrvapada-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 (*upamā*). The formula of analysis inserts *eva* ("actually," "nothing but ...") after the first member:

puruṣa eva vyāghraḥ—puruśa-vyāghraḥ ("a tiger that is actually a man—man-tiger")

mukham eva candraḥ—mukha-candraḥ ("a moon that is nothing but a face—face-moon")

Examples from the commentaries:

*Kum.M. 3.30   cūta-pravāla evâuṣṭham **cūtapravālâuṣṭham**.*   a lip that is actually a mango-shoot **a mangoshoot-lip**

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

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, ṛṣayaś ca—saptarṣayaḥ ("they are seven and are sages—the Seven Sages")

pūrvā câsau iṣukāmaśamī ca—pūrvêṣukāmaśamī ("it is both eastern and Iṣukāmaśamī—East Iṣukāmaśamī")

Example from a commentary:

*Kum.M. 1.16   sapta ca te ṛṣayaś ca **saptarṣayaḥ**. "dik-saṅkhye sañjñāyām" iti samāsaḥ.*   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:

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 appplicable to words derived by the use of *taddhita* suffixes (Sections 1.35 ff.):

> *pañcasu kapāleṣu saṃskṛtaḥ—pañca-kapālaḥ* ("prepared in five pots —five-pot")

Here the added word *saṃskṛtaḥ*, 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 *dvābhyāṃ gobhyāṃ krītam* ("bought with two cows"). Note that the same sort of analysis is used when the compound begins with a word signifying a direction:

> *pūrvasyāṃ śālāyāṃ bhavaḥ—paurva-śālaḥ* ("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 *karmadhāraya*s commonly employed in the analysis of longer compounds (Sections 1.54.1, 1.69):

> *pañca gāvo dhanaṃ yasya: pañca-gava-dhanaḥ* ("whose wealth is five cows: five-cow-wealth")

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

> *pūrvā śālā priyā yasya—pūrva-śālā-priyaḥ* ("to whom the eastern hall is dear—east-hall-lover")

Examples from the commentaries:

Kum.M. 2.17   [catur-mukha-samīritā] caturbhir mukhaiḥ samīritā satī. "*taddhitârtha-*"*ity-ādinôttara-pada-samāsaḥ. samāhāre caturmukhîti syāt.* **four-mouth-uttered** being uttered from four mouths. (This is) a compound with another word following in compound, by (Pā. 2.1.51) "(Number and direction words are compounded with a noun in apposition) to form a *taddhita* derivative, or when another word follows in composition, or when an aggregate is denoted." If an aggregate were denoted [the form] would be *caturmukhī.*"

Ragh.M. 3.45   trayāṇāṃ lokānāṃ nāthas tri-loka-nāthaḥ. "*taddhitârtha-*" *ityādinôttara-pada-samāsaḥ. tena [tri-loka-nāthena].* lord of the three worlds—three-world-lord. (This is) a compound with another word following in compound, by [Pā. 2.1.51] "To form a *taddhita* derivative," etc. By him, **by the three-world-lord**.

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) *pañca gāvaḥ samāhṛtāḥ—pañca-gavam* ("five cows taken together—five-cow[-aggregate]")
>
> *trīṇi bhuvanāni samāhṛtāni: tribhuvanam* ("the three worlds taken together: three-world[-aggregate]")

or (2) *pañcānāṃ gavāṃ samāhāraḥ—pañca-gavam* ("an aggregate of five cows—five-cow")

> *trayāṇāṃ bhuvanānāṃ 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:

Kum.V. 2.17   caturṇāṃ mukhānāṃ samāhāraḥ **catur-mukham**.
pātrâdiḥ.   an aggregate of four mouths **four-mouth**. (But for a different
interpretation see Mallinātha's comment on this word, quoted under
Section 1.60 a.)

Kum.V. 2.30   sahasraṃ nayanāni samāhṛtāni **sahasra-nayanam**.
"*taddhitârthôttarapada-samāhāre ca.*" "*dvigur ekavacanam.*"   A
thousand eyes collectively **thousand-eye**. (Pā.2.1.51:) "To form a *taddhita*
derivative, or when another word follows in compound, or in the sense of
an aggregate." (Pā. 2.4.1:) "A *dvigu* is singular in grammatical number."

Kum.M. 6.93   trayāṇām ahnāṃ samāhāras try-ahaḥ.
"*taddhitârthôttarapada-samāhāre ca*" *iti samāsaḥ*. "*rājâhaḥ-sakhibhyaṣ
ṭac*" *iti ṭac-pratyayaḥ. dvigutvād ekavacanam*. "*rātrâhnâhāḥ puṃsu*" *iti
puṃ-liṅgatā. tasmāt* **try-ahād ūrdhvam**   an aggregate of three
days—triduum. The compound is by (Pā. 2.1.51) "to form a *taddhita*
derivative, or when another word follows in compound, or in the sense of
an aggregate." There is the suffix *-a* (in place of the final *-an* of *ahan*) by
(Pā. 5.4.91) "After *rātri, ahan* and *sakhi* there is *ṬaC* (at the end of a
compound)." There is singular number because it is a *dvigu*. There is
masculine gender because of (Pā. 2.4.29) "*rātri, ahna*, and *ahaḥ* (at the
end of a *tatpuruṣa* are) in the masculine." After it **after a triduum**.

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 in-
cluded 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 *kā-* and *kad-* are
replaced by *kutsita* ("censured") when they mean "bad," and by *īṣad* when
they mean "slightly, partly" (Pāṇini 6.3.101 ff.):

> *kutsitaḥ puruṣaḥ—kā-puruṣaḥ* ("bad person")
>
> *īṣat puruṣaḥ—kā-puruṣaḥ* ("semi-human")
>
> *kutsito 'śvaḥ—kad-aśvaḥ* ("bad horse")
>
> *īṣad uṣṇam—kad-uṣṇam* ("lukewarm")

Similarly, the standard synonym *kutsita* is also used for the prefixes *ku-*
(Pāṇini 2.2.18) and *kim-* (Pāṇini 2.1.64) when they mean "bad," and the
standard synonym *īṣad* is also used for the prefix *kava-* (Pāṇini 6.3.107)
when it means "slightly", e.g., in analyzing the compounds *ku-puruśaḥ*
("bad person"), *kim-sakhā* ("bad friend"), and *kavôṣṇam* ("lukewarm").

> *Ragh.M. 1.2*   **dustaraṃ** *taritum aśakyam*. "*īṣad-duḥ-suṣu-*"*ity-ādinā
> khal-pratyayaḥ*.   **hard-to-cross** unable to be crossed. The suffix *KHaL*
> (i.e., *-a*), by (Pā. 3.3.126) "In connection with *īṣad, duḥ*, and *su . . . .*"

> *Ragh.M. 1.67*   **kavôṣṇam** *īṣad uṣṇaṃ yathā tathā . . . kavôṣṇam iti
> ku-śabdasya kavâdeśaḥ*.   **luke-warm** so as to be slightly warm. . . . In
> *kavôṣṇam* there is the substitution of *kava* for the word *ku*.

> *Ragh.M. 1.84*   **kôṣṇena** *kiṃcid uṣṇena*. "*kavaṃ côṣṇe*" *iti ca-kārāt
> kâdeśaḥ*.   **luke-warm** somewhat warm. There is the substitution of *ka*
> [for *kava*] because of the word "also" in (Pā. 6.3.107) "And *kava* also,
> when *uṣṇa* follows."

1.57.2   *Prādi-tatpuruṣas* **with fixed meaning**

The traditional list of verbal prefixes (*prādi*, Pāṇini 1.4.58) includes a few
items that are rarely prefixed to finite verbs; these are treated like the pre-

fixes in Section 1.57.1. The prefix *dur-* ("bad"), for example, is often replaced by the standard synonym *duṣṭa* in the analysis of a simple descriptive *karmadhāraya*: e.g., *duṣṭo janaḥ—dur-janaḥ* ("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 *sādhu, samīcīna, śobhana, śubha, pūjita*, etc., and when it means "well" (i.e., when it is used as an adverb modigying a following adjective) it may be replaced by *samyak, suṣṭhu, atīva*, 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*   *adhirājata ity adhirājaḥ prabhuḥ. pacādy-ac. adhir aiśvarye. [nagâdhirāja iti] ṣaṣṭhī-samāsaḥ. [yadi vā] adhikaś câsau rājā [ca] adhirājaḥ. "rājâhaḥ-sakhibhyaṣ ṭac."*   He rules over, thus overlord—master. (The *kṛt* 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) *ṬaC* (i.e., *-a*, in place of the final *-an* of *-rājan*, by Pā. 5.4.91) "*ṬaC* after *rājan, ahan*, and *sakhi* (at the end of a compound)."

> *Kum.M. 1.1*   *adhiko rājā **adhirājaḥ**.*   superior king **over-king**

> *Megh.M. 4*   *śobhanam āgataṃ **svāgatam**.*   good coming **welcome**

> *Kum.M. 4.45*   *suṣṭhu caritârthāni [**su-caritârthāni**] ...*   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 rājā*, "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., *pra-vātaḥ* ("strong wind") may be analyzed *prakṛṣṭo vātaḥ* or *prabhūto vātaḥ*. 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.) *pragataḥ pitāmahaḥ—pra-pitāmahaḥ* ("previous grandfather—great-grandfather")

> (acc.) *atikrānto mālām—ati-mālaḥ* ("gone beyond the necklace [i.e., surpassing it in beauty]—beyond-necklace")

> (instr.) *avakruṣṭaḥ kokilayā—ava-kokilaḥ* ("called down to by the koil—down-koil")

> (dat.) *parimlāno 'dhyayanāya—pary-adhyayanaḥ* ("[too] exhausted for study—beyond-study")

> (abl.) *niṣkrāntaḥ kauśāmbyāḥ—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 *avyayībhāvas*, 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 fulfil 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 *ati-māla*, for example, is *ati* 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.

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

> *Ragh.M. 12.73* **ati-śastrāḥ** *śastrāṇy atikrāntāḥ*   gone beyond weapons **beyond-weapon**

> *Ragh.M. 2.9* **unmadānām** *utkaṭa-madānām* **high-impassioned** highly impassioned

> *Ragh.M. 3.41* **atīndriyeṣv** *indriyāṇy atikrānteṣu. "atyādayaḥ krāntādyarthe dvitīyayā" iti samāsaḥ.* **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** *prakṛṣṭe 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-tatpuruṣas*

These formations (Pāṇini 2.2.18, Whitney 1090 ff.) involve prefixes compounded with verbal forms. When the prefixes *pra-*, etc. (Section 1.57.2) re 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., *ūrī-kṛ* ("to accept"), *astaṃ-gam* ("to set, to go down"), *alaṃ-kṛ* ("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., *alaṃ-kṛtaḥ*, "adorned," is viewed as the past participle of the verb *alaṃ-kṛ* 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:

> *prakarṣeṇa jvalati—pra-jvalati* ("it blazes strongly")

> *madhye 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* *sambhūyâgatāḥ* **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 *-ī* (technically said to be formed with the suffix called *cvi*, Pāṇini 5.4.50) and some form of the verb *kṛ* 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—kṛṣṇī-bhavati* ("[having earlier been] non-black, it becomes black")

> *akṛṣṇaḥ sampadyamānaḥ—kṛṣṇī-bhūtaḥ* ("having become black")

> *akṛṣṇaḥ sampadyate taṃ karoti—kṛṣṇī-karoti* ("he makes it black")

akṛṣṇaḥ sampadyamānaḥ kṛtaḥ—kṛṣṇī-kṛtaḥ ("made black")

Similar formulas of analysis are used for other formations involving the same notion; e.g., *mithyā-karoti* ("he falsifies") may be analyzed *mithyā na bhūtvā mithyā sampadyate tat karoti* ("he makes it become false, not having been false [before]").

Analyses of *cvi-* formations have already been described under the heading of *taddhita* suffixes; see Section 1.42.4.

1.58   Negative *tatpuruṣas*

Negative *tatpuruṣas* (*nañ-tatpuruṣa*, 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")
>
> *nâśva ity an-aśvaḥ*   ("not a horse, thus non-horse")
>
> *brāhmaṇo na bhavatîty a-brāhmaṇaḥ*   ("[he] is not a brahmin, thus non-brahmin")
>
> *aśvo na bhavatîty an-aśvaḥ*   ("[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:

> *brāhmaṇād anyaḥ—a-brāhmaṇaḥ*   ("other than a brahmin—non-brahmin")

aśvād anyaḥ—an-aśvaḥ   ("other than a horse—non-horse")

Note that, as this formula indicates, negative *tatpuruṣas* are anomalous in that the syntactical predominance belongs to the first member rather than to the second (cf. *prādi-tatpuruṣas* 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-pūrā **a-taila-pūrā** akṛtrimatvāt*   not oil-filled **non-oil-filled** nonartificial
>
> *Kum.M. 3.50   na kṣaratîty **akṣaram** avināśinam*   it does not perish, thus **non-perishing** neverending

1.59   *Upapada* compounds

These compounds (*upapada-tatpuruṣa*, 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 *tatpuruṣa* 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 *kṛt* 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-*tatpuruṣa*, because *dharaḥ* can stand as a separate word meaning "bearer."

Note that a compound such as *satya-vādin*, "truth-speaker," is also an *upapada* compound even though there is an independent word *vādin*, because *vādin* 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-charaḥ* can be analyzed using the standard formula for ordinary *tatpuruṣas* (*payasāṃ charaḥ*, "bearer of water [or of milk]"), while compounds like *kumbha-kāraḥ* and *satya-vādin* 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 *tatpuruṣas* (Section 1.58):

> *kumbhaṃ karotîti kumbha-kāraḥ* ("he makes a pot, thus pot-maker")

> *satyaṃ vadatîti satya-vādī* ("he speaks the truth, thus truth-speaker")

> *nagaraṃ gacchatîti nagara-gāmī* ("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 krīyate sêty aśva-krītī* ("she is bought with a horse, thus horse-bought")

> *manoḥ jāyata iti manu-jaḥ* ("[he] is born from Manu, thus Manu-born")

> *aśvena krītā—aśva-krītī* ("bought with a horse—horse-bought")

> *manoḥ jātaḥ—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 *tatpuruṣas*. For example, *mantra-kṛt* (*mantraṃ karotîti*) can be analyzed *mantrāṇāṃ sraṣṭā*, "creator of *mantras*."

Note that the basic formulas most commonly used in analyzing *upapada*-compounds are equivalent to the formulas employed in analyzing

kṛt-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-gāmin*, for example, is not someone who just happens to be going to the city at this moment (as the analysis *nagaraṃ gacchatîti* 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 *bahuvrīhi* compounds (Section 1.64 ff.), or is simply placed in a *bahuvrīhi* compound with a verbal noun:

> *nagaraṃ gantuṃ śīlam asyêti nagara-gāmī*   ("his practice is to go to the city, thus city-goer")

> *nityaṃ snātuṃ śīlam asyêti nitya-snāyī*   ("his practice is to continually bathe, thus continual-bather")

> *nagara-gāmī: nagara-gamana-śīlaḥ*   ("city-goer: having the practice of going to the city")

> *madhura-bhāṣiṇī: madhura-bhāṣaṇa-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 *kṛt* suffixes in Section 1.31.

1.60 Irregular *tatpuruṣas*

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

1.60.1 *Pṛṣodarādi* 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: *balāhakaḥ* ("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 *vārinām vāhakaḥ* ("bearer of waters"); *śmaśānaḥ* ("cremation grounds") is said to be a compound of *śava* (which is replaced by *śma*) and *śayana* (changed into *śāna*), and is analyzed *śavānām śayanaḥ* ("resting-place of corpses"). Commentators call such compounds *pṛṣodarâdi*, because they are grouped together (Pā. 6.3.109) under the example *pṛṣodaram*, a *bahuvrīhi* compound said to be made up of *pṛṣad* and *udaram*.

> *Kum.M. 1.4   vārīnām vāhakā* **balāhakāḥ**. *pṛṣôdarâditvāt sādhuḥ.*
> carriers of water **clouds**. (The replacement of *vāri* by *bala* and of *vāhaka* by *āhaka*) is all right because (the compound belongs to) the *pṛṣôdarâdi* group.

> *Ragh.M. 3.19   dyaur oko yeṣām te divâukaso devāḥ. pṛṣôdarâditvāt sādhuḥ. teṣām [divâukasām]*   those whose dwelling is heaven are heaven-dwellers—gods. (The replacement of *dyauḥ* by *diva*) is all right because (the compound) belongs to the *pṛṣôdarâdi* group. Of them **of the gods**.

> *Ragh.M. 3.57   āśiṣi daṃṣṭrāyāṃ viṣaṃ yeṣāṃ te āśī-viṣāḥ sarpāḥ. pṛṣôdarâditvāt sādhuḥ.*   Those who have poison in the fang—tooth—are **fang-poisons** serpents. (The replacement of *āśiḥ* by *āśī*) is all right because (the compound) belongs to the *pṛṣôdarâdi* group.

> *Ragh.M. 3.59   veveṣṭi vyāpnotîti viḍ vyāpakam ojo yasya sa tasya* **biḍaujasaḥ** *indrasya. pṛṣodarâditvāt sādhuḥ*   it is active all over—it pervades—thus ubiquitous, pervasive; of him whose strength is (pervasive)—**of Biḍaujas** of Indra. (The replacement of *viḍ* by *biḍa*) is all right because (the compound) belongs to the *pṛṣôdarâdi* group.

> *Ragh.M. 1.11   manasa īśino* **maniṣino** *dhīrāḥ, vidvāṃsa iti yāvat. pṛṣôdarâditvāt sādhuḥ.*   Having the wish of the mind **intelligent**—wise. To be precise, learned. (The compound is) all right because of its being (in the group) *pṛṣodarâdi*.

The Pāṇinian system of grammar speaks of other types of irregularities as well. For example, a *Vārtika* 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 *śakandhu* (supposedly from *śaka* and *andhu*) 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 *maniṣin* as falling within the *pṛṣodarâdi* group in the last example, places it (probably more exactly) within this *śakandhv-ādi* group in a commentary on another poem:

> *Kum.M. 1.28   manasa īṣā maniṣā sâsyâstîti* **maniṣī** ... *śakandhv-āditvāt sādhuḥ.*   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) *śakandhv-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-dantâdi* group mentioned above in Section 1.53, which is used in the following example to justify a *dvandva* with supposedly reversed members and an irregular replacement:

> *Ragh.M. 1.35*   **dam-patī** *jāyā-patī. rāja-dantâdiṣu jāyā-śabdasya dam iti nipātanāt sādhuḥ.*   **married couple** husband-and-wife. (The compound) is all right (even though one would expect the form *pati-jāye*) because of the exceptional use of *dam* as a substitute for the word *jāyā* within the *rāja-dantâdi* group.

1.60.2   *Mayūravyaṃsakādi* 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 *āpanna*—e.g., *prāpta-yauvanā* ("[a girl] who has reached adolescence")—which might logically appear to be *bahuvrīhis*

(analyzed, for example, *prāptaṃ yauvanaṃ yayā sā*, "she by whom adolescence has been reached") but which are traditionally (following Pāṇini 2.2.4) analyzed as accusative *tatpuruṣa*s 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 *prāptā yauvanam*, "(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 *mayūravyaṃsakaḥ* ("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 *tatpuruṣa*s 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., *anyo rājā—rājântaram* ("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*   **vanântarād** *anyasmād vanāt*   **from other-forest** from another forest

> *Kum.V. 1.56 [M 57]*   *anyā mūrtir* **mūrty-antaram**   another form **other-form**

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

> *Kum.V. 1.14*   *yad-ṛcchā-śabda icchârtho mayūra-vyaṃsakâdiḥ.*   [The compound] *yad-ṛcchā* ("what(ever)-wish," meaning a whim, belongs to the *mayūra-vyaṃsakâdi* group.

> *Ragh.M. 5.15*   *na vidyate kiṃcana yasyêty* **a-kiṃcanaḥ.**
> *mayūra-vyaṃsakâditvāt tatpuruṣaḥ*   of whom there is not anything **anything-less.** (This is) a *tatpuruṣa* (which is all right) because of belonging to the *mayūra-vyaṃsakâdi* 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 *-rūpya* in words such as *samarūpya* ("formerly in the possession of an honest man") and *devadattarūpya* ("formerly belonging to Devadatta") (Pāṇini 4.3.81), and of *-maya* (technically called *mayaṬ*, Pāṇini 4.3.82, 4.3.143 ff., 4.3.148 ff.) in words such as *aśmamaya* ("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 asyêti* **rekhāmātram.** *īṣad apîty arthaḥ.*
> *"pramāṇe dvayasac-"ity-ādinā mātrac-pratyayaḥ.*   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) "*-dvyasaC, daghnaC*, and *mātraC* in the sense of size.

> *Ragh.M. 1.50*   *bhāga eva* **bhāga-dheyo** *'ṃśaḥ. "rūpa-nāma-bhogebhyo dheya-pratyayo vaktavyaḥ" iti vaktavya-sūtrāt svâbhidheye dheya-pratyayaḥ.*   **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 Vārtika rule "It should be stated that the suffix *-dheya* (may be added) after *rūpa, 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* ("Rāma and Kṛṣṇa"). The same formula applies no matter how many members the compound has: *devāś ca gandharvāś ca mānuṣāś côragāś ca rākṣasāś ca—deva-gandharva-mānuṣôraga-rākṣasāḥ* ("gods and fairies and humans and serpents and ogres").

> *Ragh.M. 1.1   pārvatī ca parameśvaraś ca pārvatī-parameśvarau.*
> both Pārvatī and the Lord **Pārvatī-and-the-Lord**

> *Kum.M. 2.41   chedāś ca pātāś ca cheda-pātās teṣām [cheda-pātānām]*
> both cuttings and fallings, of them **of cuttings-and-fallings**

> *Kum.V. 2.7   strī ca pumāṃś ca strī-puṃsau. acaturâditvād ac.*
> Woman and man **woman-and-man**. (There is the suffix) *aC* (i.e., *-a*, which replaces the final vowel and consonant of *pumān*) 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 *hastaś ca pādaś 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 tayoḥ samāhāraḥ ("hand and foot, the combination [or aggregate] of the two")

hastaś ca pādaś ca samāhṛtau ("hand and foot taken together")

Examples from the commentaries:

> *Kum.M. 1.11   śroṇayaś ca payodharāś ca śroṇi-payodharam*   both hips and breasts **hips-and-breasts**

> *Kum.V. 2.5   caraṃ câcaraṃ ca carâcaram*   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 *tatpuruṣas*. To take the example used in Section 1.44—*dīrghau karṇau yasya sa dīrgha-karṇaḥ* ("he who has long ears is Long-ear")—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 *dīrgha* and *karṇa*, 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-karmadhāraya* (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 *tatpuruṣa*s (Section 1.66), and those special *bahuvrīhi*s that cannot be directly compared in structure with any type of *tatpuruṣa* (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 *bahuvrīhi*s 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 *bahuvrīhi*s 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 *karmadhāraya*s 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 thorugh 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.) *prāptā atithayo yaṃ sa prāptâtithiḥ [grāmaḥ]*
("that [village] which guests have reached is reached-guested")

(instr.) *ūḍho ratho yena sa ūḍha-rathaḥ [anaḍvān]*
("that [ox] by which a cart has been pulled is pulled-carted")

(dat.) *upahṛtaḥ paśur yasmai sa upahṛta-paśuḥ [rudraḥ]*
("He [Rudra] for whom a beast has been sacrificed is sacrificed-beasted")

(abl.) *uddhṛta odano yasyāḥ sā uddhṛtâudanā [sthalī]*
("that (dish) from which the rice has been removed is removed-riced")

(gen.) *pītam ambaraṃ yasya sa pītâmbaraḥ [hariḥ]*
("He [Hari] of whom there is a yellow garment is yellow-garmented")

(loc.) *vīrāḥ puruṣā yasmin sa vīra-puruṣaḥ [grāmaḥ]*
("that [village] in which there are heroic men is hero-manned")

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 *bahuvrīhi*s of most types other than this simple appositional type only the genitive occurs.

genitive pronoun:

> *Ragh.M. 1.15   sadṛśa ārambhaḥ karma yasya sa tathôktaḥ [sadṛśârambhaḥ]*   he who has commensurate undertaking—activity—is so-called [**commensurate-activitied**]

> *Ragh.M. 1.55   nayaḥ śāstram eva cakṣus tattvâvedakaṃ pramāṇaṃ yasya tasmai naya-cakṣuṣe.*   to him for whose eye—authority for determining the truth—is policy—theory **to the policy-eyed one**

> *Kum.M. 1.53   śobhanā dantā yasyāḥ sā su-datī*   she who has beautiful teeth is *beautiful-toothed*

> *Kum.M. 2.20   kuṇṭhitā aśrayo yasya tat kuṇṭhitâśri kuṇṭhita-koṭi.*   that which has blunted corners is **blunt-cornered** blunt-edged

instrumental pronoun:

> *Kum.M. 1.6   hatā dvipā gajā yais teṣāṃ hata-dvipānāṃ kesariṇāṃ siṃhānām*   of those by whom elephants—pachyderms—have been killed **of the killed-elephant ones**

Kum.M. 1.1 [kampita-devadāruḥ] kampitā devadāravo yena sa tathôktaḥ.   **shaken-pine**: he by whom the pines are shaken is so-called

*Kum.M. 1.25 labdha udayo yayā sā **labdhodayā**. utpannêty arthaḥ* she by whom birth is obtained is **obtained-birthed**, i.e., born

*Kum.M. 2.22 apaviddhā tyaktā gadā yena saḥ **apaviddha-gadaḥ**.*   he by whom the mace was discarded—abandoned—is **abandoned-maced**

locative pronoun:

*Ragh.M. 1.18   sahasraṃ guṇā yasmin karmaṇi tad yathā tathā **sahasra-guṇaṃ** sahasradhā.*   in which action there are a thousand repetitions, that; in such a way, **a thousand-fold** a thousand times over

1.65.2   Negative *bahuvrīhis*

Negative *bahuvrīhis* (*nañ-bahuvrīhi* compounds) are related to the negative *tatpuruṣas* (Section 1.58). The standard formula of analysis uses the present participle *avidyamāna*:

> *avidyamānā bhāryā yasya so 'bhāryaḥ* ("he is *a-bhārya* [wifeless] of whom a wife does not exist," "he is wifeless who does not have a wife")

> *avidyamānaḥ putro yasya so 'putraḥ* ("he is *a-putra* [sonless] of whom a son does not exist," "he is sonless who has no son")

Other formulas of equivalent meaning are also used; thus *a-putraḥ* ("sonless") may also be analyzed *putro nâsti yasya* or *putro na bhavati yasya* ("of whom there is no son").

> *Ragh.M. 1.30   avidyamānam anyasya rājñaḥ śāsanaṃ yasyās tām **an-anya-śāsanām** urvīm*   her for whom the rule of another king does not exist **the un-other-ruled** earth

1.65.3   *Prādi-bahuvrīhi* compounds

Prepositional *bahuvrīhis* correspond to *prādi-tatpuruṣas* (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 *tatpuruṣas*:

> *prapatitaṃ parṇaṃ yasya sa pra-parṇaḥ* ("that is away-leaved whose leaf has fallen away")

> *udgatā kandharā yasya sa ut-kandharaḥ* ("that is up-necked whose neck is lifted up")

Examples from the commentaries:

> *Ragh.M. 2.22   **puraḥ-phalāni** purogatāni pratyāsannāni phalaṃ yeṣāṃ tāni hi.*   **ahead-fruited** those whose fruits are located ahead—in the near future

> *Kum.V. 4.1   vigato naṣṭo dhavaḥ patir yasyāḥ sā **vi-dhavā***   she whose husband—spouse—is gone away—perished—is **husbandless**

> *Kum.M. 3.75   **ucchirasaḥ** unnata-śiraso mahataḥ*   **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-bahuvrīhi* compounds

Bahuvrīhis beginning with *saha* ("with") or its substitute *sa-* might be expected to be analyzed along the lines of *tatpuruṣas* with inseparable prefixes as the first member (thus *sa-putraḥ*, "with his son," might be analyzed *sahitaḥ 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 the entire compound and the thing denoted by the second member are equally involved in some action—e.g., *sa-putro gataḥ*, "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 *tatpuruṣa*, 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 *vartate*:

> *Ragh.M. 1.81   saha patnyā vartata iti* **sa-patnīkaḥ** *san. "nady-ṛtaś ca" iti kap-pratyayaḥ*   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 *ı* or ˉ, or in *r*."

> *Ragh.M. 2.23   **sa-dārasya** dārair arundhatyā saha vartamānasya* **with-wifed** being with his wife Arundhatī

These compounds must be distinguished from those bahuvrīhis in which *sa-* stands not for *saha* but for *samāna* ("same," "shared") or *sadṛśa* ("similar"). Examples are *sa-varṇaḥ* "having the same social class" (*samāno varṇo yasya sa sa-varṇaḥ*) and *sa-tīrthaḥ* "having the same teacher" (lit., "having the same font").

1.65.5 *Anekapada-bahuvrīhi* compounds

Aneka-pada or "multiword" *bahuvrīhis* 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 *citrā-jarad-gavīkaḥ*. We are therefore stuck with three members, but the resulting analysis is fortunately straightforward—the three are simply put in apposition: *citrā jaratī gaur*

yasya, "of whom there is a spotted old cow." Similarly *dīrghā tanvī jaṅghā yasya sa dīrghā-tanvī-jaṅghaḥ*, "he is Long-thin-shank who has a long thin shank."

1.66 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

> *śaśī śekhare yasya sa śaśi-śekharaḥ* ("he is moon-crested who has a moon on his crest")

> *cakraṃ pāṇau yasya sa cakra-pāṇiḥ* ("he is discus-handed who has a discus in his hand")

Example:

> *Kum.M. 3.10   pinākaḥ pāṇau yasya sa pināka-pāṇiḥ. . . . tasya [pināka-pāṇeḥ].*   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

> *uṣṭrasyêva mukhaṃ yasya sa uṣṭra-mukhaḥ*   ("he is camel-faced who has a face like a camel's")

> *candrasyêva kāntir yasya sa candra-kāntiḥ*   ("he is moon-splendored who has splendor like the moon's")

In analyzing this last type of compound, many commentators prefer a fuller formula:

uṣṭrasya mukham iva mukhaṃ yasya sa uṣṭra-mukhaḥ   ("he is camel-faced who has a face like a camel's face")

candrasya kāntir iva kāntir yasya sa candra-kāntiḥ   ("he is moon-splendored who has splendor like the moon's splendor")

Such compounds are considered another form of *uttara-pada-lopa-samāsa* (see end of Section 1.54.4), since the compound can be interpreted as standing for *uṣṭramukha-mukhaḥ, candrakānti-kāntiḥ*, etc.

Ragh.M. 1.8   munīnāṃ vṛttir iva vṛttir yeṣāṃ teṣāṃ [muni-vṛttīnām] of those who have a life like the life of sage **of the sage-lived ones**

Ragh.M. 1.13   vṛṣasya skandha iva skandho yasya sa tathā [vṛṣa-skandhaḥ]. ... uttara-pada-lopī bahu-vrīhiḥ.   he whose shoulder is like the shoulder of a bull is so **[bull-shouldered. ... A *bahuvrīhi* with loss of the latter member (of the first word).

Kum.M. 1.11   aśvānāṃ mukhānîva mukhāni yāsāṃ tāḥ aśva-mukhyaḥ kinnara-striyaḥ. uṣṭra-mukhavat samāsaḥ.   those who have faces like the faces of horses are **horse-faced** Kinnara women. The compound is like "camel-faced."

Kum.M. 3.54   taruṇârkasya rāga iva rāgo yasya tat [taruṇārka-rāgaṃ] bālârkâruṇam ity arthaḥ. upamānapūrvapado bahuvrīhir 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 *bahuvrīhi* with a standard of comparison as the first member, and with loss of the latter member (of the first word).

*Kum.M. 4.3   puruṣasyâkṛtir ivâkṛtir yasya tat **puruṣâkṛti***   that which has a shape like the shape of a man is **man-shaped**

Ragh.M. 3.55   kumārasya skandasya vikrama iva vikramo yasya sa tathoktaḥ [kumāra-vikramaḥ].   He whose power is like the power of Kumāra—of Skandha—is so-called **[Kumāra-powered]**.

1.67   Special *bahuvrīhis*

The standard technique of using a relative pronoun in an oblique case while analyzing *bahuvrīhis* does not apply in three peculiar types of *bahuvrīhis*, 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 *bahuvrīhis* correspond for the most part to the irregularities found in *tatpuruṣa* compounds (Section 1.68).

1.67.1   *Saṃkhyā-bahuvrīhi* compounds

Saṃkhyā-bahuvrīhis ("*bahuvrīhi* 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)   *daśānām āsannāḥ—āsanna-daśāḥ* ("around ten")
        daśānām adūrāḥ—adūra-daśāḥ ("not far from ten")
        daśānām adhikāḥ—adhika-daśāḥ ("more than ten")
        daśānāṃ samīpe ye vartante te upa-daśāḥ ("those which are in the vicinity of ten are 'around ten' ")

The first member of this sort of compound must be one of the four listed here. Note that these are akin to genitive *tatpuruṣas* with reversed members (with the last, "*upa- ...*" being like an *avyayībhāva*, and glossed in the same way as *upa-kumbha*, Section 1.50).

(2)   *dvau vā trayo vā—dvi-trāḥ* ("two or three")
        trayo vā catvāro vā—tri-caturaḥ ("three or four")

Note that these are akin to *dvandva* compounds. Commentators sometimes leave out one of the *vā* words:

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

(3)   *dviḥ (āvṛttāḥ) daśa—dvi-daśāḥ* ("ten [repeated] twice," i.e., twenty)

These are like our compounds "two score," etc.

Kum.M. 3.1   trir āvṛttā daśa parimāṇam eṣām iti **tridaśān** *devān.*
"saṅkhyayâvyayâsannâdūrâdhika-saṅkhyāḥ saṅkhyeye" iti bahuvrīhi.
their extent is ten repeated thrice, thus **thirty** gods. A *bahuvrīhi* by
(Pā. 2.2.25) "An indeclinable, *āsanna, adūra, adhika*, and a numeral [is
compounded] with a numeral, in the meaning of a number."

1.67.2   *Dig-bahuvrīhi* compounds

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

> *dakṣiṇasyāḥ pūrvasyāś ca diśor (yad) antarālam (sā) dakṣiṇa-pūrvā*
> *(dik)* ("[that direction is] southeastern [which is] the interval between
> the southern and eastern directions")

> *uttarasyāḥ pūrvasyāś ca diśor antarālam—uttara-pūrvā* ("the inter-
> val between the North and the East—Northeast")

1.67.3   Reciprocal combat

*Bahuvrīhi*s describing reciprocal combat (Pāṇini 2.2.27) are indeclinable
compounds; in their analysis the members are displayed in the locative
when the word *gṛhītvā* ("grasping") is added, and in the instrumental when
the word *prahṛtya* ("striking") is added:

> *keśeṣu keśeṣu ca gṛhītvêdaṃ yuddhaṃ pravṛttam—keśâkeśi* ("this
> battle proceeded grasping each other by the hair—hair-to-hair")

> *daṇḍair daṇḍaiś ca prahṛtyêdaṃ yuddhaṃ vṛttam—daṇḍâdaṇḍi* ("this
> battle occurred striking each other with staves—staff-against-staff")

1.68   Irregular *bahuvrīhi*s

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

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 be-
long to the *āhitâgny-ādi* group (see the last example below). Mutilation of
members (e.g., in *pṛṣodarādi* 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.

> *Ragh.M. 1.23   dharme ratir yasya tasya [dharma-rateḥ]*   of him
> whose love was for the law **of the law-love one**

> *Kum. V. 2.18   yuga-pramāṇā bāhavo yeṣāṃ tebhyo 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 netrāj janma yasya sa* **bhava-netra-janmā.**
> *"avarjyo bahuvrīhir vyadhikaraṇo janmâdy-uttarapadaḥ" iti vāmanaḥ.*
> He whose birth was from the eye of Bhava is **Bhava-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. āhitâgny-āditvān niṣṭhāyāḥ para-nipātaḥ.*
> **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 *āhitâgny-ādi* (*āhitâgni*, "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

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 com-
pound in itself. The principle exceptions are *dvandva* compounds, where

the number of members in the compound does not fundamentally alter the method of analysis (Section 1.62), and certain rare *bahuvrīhi* 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 *Kumārasaṃbhava* 1.60, *tacchiraś-candra-pādāḥ* (i.e., *tat-śiras-candra-pādāḥ*), 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 *tat* is the first member of the genitive *tatpuruṣa* compound *tac-chiraḥ*, which in turn is the first member of the locative *tatpuruṣa* compound *tacchiraś-candraḥ*, which in turn is the first member of the entire genitive *tatpuruṣa* compound *tacchiraścandra-pādāḥ*. A full analysis of the compound, using the standard formulas for these types of compounds, would be as follows:

(1)   *tasya śiraḥ: tac-chiraḥ,*
       tacchirasi candraḥ: tacchiraś-candraḥ,
       tacchiraścandrasya pādāḥ: tacchiraścandra-pādāḥ

       his head: his-head,

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

(2)   *tasya śiraḥ: tac-chiraḥ,*
       tasmin candraḥ: tacchiraś-candraḥ,
       tasya pādāḥ: tacchiraścandra-pādāḥ

       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 *bahuvrīhi* 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:

(3)   *tasya yac chiras tasmin yaś candras tasya pādāḥ*

       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:

(4)   *tasya giriśasya śirasi candrasya pādāḥ*

the beams of the moon on his—Śiva's—head

(For the inserted gloss *giriśasya* 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-chiraś-candraḥ* plus *pādāḥ*. The analysis offered by the commentator Cāritravardhana avoids this problem by using a single relative pronoun:

(5) *tasya śambhoḥ śirasi yaś candras 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-chiraś-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-ruhāṇi] agre upari yāni sarāṃsi teṣu ruhāṇi*
> *padmāni*   [**highest-pond-growing:**] growing in those ponds that are highest—on top—**lotuses.** [Here the pronouns are necessary to prevent the reader from taking *saroruha* as a compound.]

> *Ragh.M. 1.58 [ātithya-kriyā-śānta-ratha-kṣobha-pariśramam]*
> *ātithyasya [yā] kriyā tayā śānto ratha-kṣobheṇa yaḥ pariśramaḥ sa yasya*
> *sa taṃ tathoktam*   [**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 *tayā* after *kriyā* is to prevent the reader from taking *ātithyasya* with anything other than *kriyā.*]

> *Ragh.M. 1.51 [ālavālâmbu-pāyinām] ālavāleṣu jalâvāpa-pradeśeṣu yad*
> *ambu tat-pāyinām*   [**trough-water-drinkers:**] drinkers of that water which is in troughs—in watering places.

> *Ragh.M. 1.4 kṛta-vāg-dvāre kṛtaṃ rāmāyaṇâdi-prabandha-rūpā yā vāk*
> *saiva dvāraṃ 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 *Rāmāyaṇa,* etc.

> *Kum.M. 1.47 [sva-cāpa-saundarya-madam] sva-cāpa-saundaryeṇa yo*
> *madaḥ tam*   [**own-bow-beauty-pride:**] that pride which is due to his own-bow-beauty

1.71 Special techniques

The sort of straightforward analysis just described works well for compounds made up of a string of dependent *tatpuruṣas,* 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 *Kumārasaṃbhava* 4.29, for example, the bow of Kāma is described as *pelava-puṣpa-patri,* "having tender blossoms as its arrows," and each of the major commentators on the poem gives as the analysis of this *pelavāni puṣpāny eva patriṇo 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 puṣpāni ca* (Section 1.54.1), rather than *pelavāni puṣpāni.*

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 *Kumārasaṃbhava* 1.11, the *kinnara* women are described as *durvaha-śroṇi-payodharârtāḥ,* "tormented by their burdensome hips and breasts," where *śroṇi-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   śroṇayaś ca payodharāś ca śroṇi-payodharam; durvaheṇa durdhareṇa śroṇi-payodhareṇârtāḥ pīḍitāḥ*   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., *kṛcchreṇôhyata 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 (*durdhareṇa*).

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 *Kumārasaṃbhava* 1.10, where phosphorescent plants (*oṣadhayaḥ*) are described as *darī-gṛhôtsaṅga-niṣakta-bhāsaḥ*, "having light clinging in the interior of cave-houses." An anonymous commentary (inserted in a conflated version of Vallabhadeva's commentary, BORI Devanāgarī MS No. 379 of 1887–91) analyzes this compound in the most tedious way possible, with no inserted glosses or explanatory material:

> *kiṃ-viśiṣṭā oṣadhayaḥ? **darī-gṛhôtsaṅga-niṣakta-bhāsaḥ**. darya eva gṛhaṃ darī-gṛham. darī-gṛhānām utsaṅgo darī-gṛhôtsaṅgaḥ.*

> *darī-gṛhôtsaṅge niṣaktā bhāso yāsāṃ tāḥ.*   What sort of plants? **Having cave-house-interior-clinging-light**. Houses that are actually caves: cave-houses. The interior of the cave-houses: cave-house-interior. Whose light is clinging in the cave-house-interior, those.

The major commentators use much more streamlined methods of analysis, with a judicious number of synonyms thrown in:

> *Kum.C. 1.10   kīdṛśya oṣadhayaḥ? **darī-gṛhôtsaṅga-niṣakta-bhāsaḥ**. darya eva guhā eva gṛhās teṣām utsaṅge niṣaktāḥ praviṣṭā bhāso yāsāṃ tāḥ.*   What sort of plants? **Having cave-house-interior-clinging-light**. Those that had light clinging—penetrating—in the interior of those houses that were actually caves—actually grottoes.

> *Kum.M. 1.10   daryaḥ kandarā eva gṛhās teṣām utsaṅgeṣv abhyantareṣu niṣaktāḥ saṃkrāntā bhāso yāsāṃ tāḥ.*   Those that had light clinging—reflected—in the interiors—insides—of those houses that were actually caves—grottoes.

> *Kum.V. 1.10   daryaḥ kandarā eva gṛhās tad-utsaṅge niṣaktā lagnā bhāso yāsāṃ tāḥ.*   Those that had light clinging—adhering—in the interior of those houses that were actually caves—grottoes.

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 only in interpreting *utsaṅga* as singular rather than plural. Vallabhadeva also prefers the singular here, and deviates in a minor way from the other two commentators in using the more compressed form *tad-utsaṅge* in place of *teṣām utsaṅge*.

The style of each commentator is often marked by consistent preferences in these matters. For example, a preference for singular or plural, wherever there is a choice, characteristically separates Vallabhadeva 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

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 tatpuruṣa compound (*Śiśupālavadha* 4.20): *vilambi-ghaṇṭā-dvaya-parivārita-vāraṇêndra-līlā*, "the grace of a mighty elephant girded by a hanging pair of bells." Vallabhadeva analyzes this as *vilambi yad ghaṇṭā-dvayaṃ tena parivārito yo vāraṇêndras 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 *vilambinā ghaṇṭā-dvayena parivāritasya vāraṇêndrasya līlā*, "the grace of an elephant-lord girded by a hanging bell-pair." Note that neither commentator bothers to analyze *ghaṇṭā-dvaya* or *vāraṇêndra*.

Second, a long *bahuvrīhi* compound (*Śiśupālavadha* 3.80): *uttāla-tālī-vana-sampravṛtta-samīra-sīmantita-ketakīkāh*, "(regions) where the screw pines are parted by the breeze moving forth from the tall grove(s) of palms." Vallabhadeva's analysis is *uttālaṃ yat tālī-vanaṃ tasmāt sampravṛtto yaḥ samīras tena sīmantitāḥ ketakyo yatra te tathôktāḥ*, "Those (regions) are so-called in which (there are) screw pines parted by that breeze which is moving forth from that palm-grove which is tall." Mallinātha's analysis is *uttāleṣu tālī-vaneṣu sampravṛttena samīreṇa sīmantitāḥ ketakyo yeṣu te tathôktāḥ*, "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 *tālī-vana*. Notice also that while Vallabhadeva interprets *vana* as ablative singular, Mallinātha presents it as locative plural—an instance of a characteristic difference already described.

The formula *te tathôktāḥ* ("they are so-called"), and the simpler *te tathā* ("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 *dīrgha-karṇa* ("Long-ear") can be analyzed *dīrghau*

karṇau yasya sa dīrgha-karṇaḥ, or *dīrghau karṇau yasya sa tathôktaḥ*, or simply *dīrghau karṇau yasya sa tathā*.

Finally, an example of a long *upapada* compound (*Śiśupālavadha* 5.12): *vanyêbha-mastaka-nikhāta-nakhâgra-mukta-muktāphala-prakara-bhañji*, "(cave-houses) possessing [*-bhañji*, neut. pl. of *-bhaj*] heaps of pearls released by claw-tips that had been dug into the heads of wild elephants." Vallabha's analysis is *vanyêbha-mastakeṣu nikhatāni yāni nakhâgrāṇi tair muktāni yāni muktāphalāni teṣāṃ prakarās tān bhajantîti tathā tāni*, "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 *vanyêbhānāṃ mastakeṣu nikhātair nakhâgrair muktān muktāphala-prakarān bhajantîti tathôktāni*, "those (cave-houses are) so-called, as they possess pearl-heaps released by claw-tips dug into the heads of wild-elephants." Here Vallabha does not analyze *vanyêbha-mastaka*, Mallinātha does not analyze *muktāphala-prakara*, and neither analyzes *vanyêbha* or *nakhâgra*.

Chapter 9

Ekaśeṣa Formations

1.73 Introduction

Ekaśeṣa ("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 *ekaśeṣa* formation the formula of analysis is exactly parallel to that of a simple *itaretara dvandva* compound (Section 1.62).

1.74 *Dvandvâikaśeṣa*

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   mātā ca pitā ca pitarau*   mother and father—**parents**.

> *Ragh.M. 1.40   mṛgyaś ca mṛgāś ca mṛgāḥ*   does and bucks—**deer**

> *Kum.M. 1.27   putrāś ca duhitaraś ca putrāḥ*   sons and daughters—**children**

1.75 *Napuṃsakâikaśeṣa*

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

> *Kum.M. 1.2* *bhāsvanti ca [ratnāni] bhāsvatyaś ca [mahâuṣadhīḥ]* **bhāsvanti** *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 *mūla* ("root"). In arranging the words of the *mūla* the commentators use either of two basic approaches, representing radically different ways of indicating the construction of the text: the *kathaṃbhūtinī* approach (Section 1.77), and the *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 *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 *kathaṃbhūtinī* 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 *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 *kathaṃbhūtinī (ṭīkā)* because one of the most

frequent questions used in this style is *"katham-bhūta?"* ("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:

> *tasmin viprakṛtā kāle tārakeṇa divâukasaḥ*
> *turāsāham purodhāya dhāma svāyambhuvam yayuḥ*

> At that time, being oppressed by Tāraka, the gods (lit.,
> "heaven-dwellers"), placing Turāṣāt (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 *kathambhūtinī* approach, arranges these words as follows:

> *divâukasaḥ ... svāyambhuvam dhāma ... yayuḥ .... kim-viśiṣṭāḥ?*
> *viprakṛtāḥ .... kena? tārakeṇa. kva? tasmin kāle .... kim kṛtvā?*
> *purodhāya .... kam? turāsāham ....*

> The gods went to the abode of Svayambhū. How characterized?
> Oppressed. By whom? By Tāraka. At what? At that time. Doing what?
> Placing before them. Whom? Turāṣāt.

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 *Samāsacakra*, an elementary handbook used at the beginning stage in the traditional system of Sanskrit education:

> *viśeṣaṇam puraskṛtya viśeṣyam tad-anantaram*
> *kartṛ-karma-kriyā-yuktam etad anvaya-lakṣaṇam*

> The word order is characterized by subject, object, and verb, placing
> modifiers before what they modify.

In addition, vocatives usually appear first in such an arrangement, and relative clauses precede correlative clauses. A commentary using this approach is called an *anvayamukhī (ṭīkā)* because it arranges the words "by means of the normal construction" (*anvaya-mukhena*). For example, the commentator Mallinātha uses this approach to arrange the words of the verse quoted above as follows:

> *tasmin kāle ... tārakeṇa ... viprakṛtāḥ ... divâukasaḥ ... turāsāham ...*
> *purodhāya ... svāyambhuvam ... dhāma ... yayuḥ.*

> At that time, by Tāraka oppressed, the gods, Turāṣāt placing before, to
> Svayambhū's abode went.

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):

> *tasminn iti. **tasmin kāle** pārvatī-śuśrūṣā-kāle **tārakeṇa** tāraka-nāmnā*
> *vajraṇkha-putreṇa kenacid asureṇa **viprakṛtā** upaplutā divam okaḥ*
> *sthānam yeṣām te **divaukaso 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 Vajraṇakha **oppressed**

distressed, of whom heaven is the abode—place—those **heaven-dwellers** gods ....

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 *kathaṃbhūtinī* approach. For example, the anonymous commentator on *Kumārasaṃbhava* 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):

> *tasminn iti.* **divâukaso devāḥ svāyambhuvaṃ dhāma** *sthānaṃ* **yayur** *gatāḥ. kiṃ-viśiṣṭāḥ?* **viprakṛtā** *apakṛtāḥ. kena?* **tārakeṇa.** *kva?* **tasmin kāle** *īśvara-tapo-vidhāna-kāle. kiṃ kṛtvā?* **purodhāya** *agre kṛtvā. kam?* **turāsāham** *indram.*

"At that," (etc.)—**The heaven-dwellers** gods **to Svayaṃbhū's abode** place **went** had gone. How characterized? **Oppressed** mistreated. By whom? **By Tāraka.** At what? **At that time** at the time of the Lord's performance of austerities. Doing what? **Placing before** putting in front. Whom? **Turāṣāt** Indra.

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, divâukasaḥ,* and *turāsāham.* 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 (*avataraṇa*) 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 *kathaṃbhūtinī* commentary, because a commentary using the *kathaṃbhūtinī* 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 *kathaṃbhūtinī* 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 *Śiśupālavadha* of Māgha:

> *śriyaḥ patiḥ śrīmati śāsitum jagaj*
> *jagan-nivāso vasudeva-sadmani*
> *vasan dadarśâvatarantam ambarād*
> *dhiraṇya-garbhâṅga-bhuvaṃ muniṃ 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 Hiraṇyagarbha.

The earliest of the commentators on the great Sanskrit *kāvyas* whose works have survived, Vallabhadeva, comments on this using the old *kathaṃbhūtinī* 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 muniṃ dadarśa** *iti sambandhaḥ* [Section 1.82.2]. *nanu* [Section 2.49] *harayo daśa saṃkhyātā vartante—"arka-markaṭa-maṇḍūka-viṣṇu-vāsava-vāyavaḥ / turaṅga-siṃha-śītāṃśu-yamāś ca harayo daśa." ko 'sau harir ity āha—śriyaḥ patiḥ lakṣmī-nātho viṣṇur ity arthāḥ* [Section 1.13.1]. *muniṃ kam ity āha—***hiraṇya-garbhâṅga-bhuvaṃ** *brahma-tanayaṃ nāradam ity arthaḥ. yady api brahma-[tanaya-]tvenâsau tadā hariṇā [na] jñāyi, yena kenacic chabdena nirdeśe kartavye muni-śabdaḥ* [Section 1.6.2] *prayuktaḥ kavinā jñāta eva, tasya câitad vacanam. kadâdrākṣīt kva* **vasudeva-sadmani** *śūrasena-putra-gṛhe* **śrīmati** *sarva-samṛddhi-yukte* **vasan** *tiṣṭan. kali-dvāpara-sandhāv ity arthaḥ. nanu bhagavān purātana-munir badary-āśrama-nivāsī kim-iti tatrôvāsêty āha–kiṃ kartuṃ* **jagac chāsituṃ** *tri-bhuvanaṃ rakṣituṃ pālayitum. etena karmādhīnatvaṃ bhagavato nirastam. kīdṛśo hariḥ* **jagan-nivāsaḥ** *bhuvanānāṃ nivāsaḥ ādhāraḥ. nivasanty asminn iti nivāsaḥ* [Section 1.29.6]. *kīdṛśam* **ambarād** *ākāśād* **avatarantaṃ** *patantam, muner viśeṣaṇam* [Section 1.82.3]. *aṅgabhū-śabda upacārān mānase 'pi putre vartate. yathā sarasija-śabdaḥ sthala-kamale '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** the spouse of Lakṣmī, i.e., Viṣṇu. What sage? He tells us—**the son of Hiraṇya-garbha** 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 Śūrasena, (which was) **glorious** endowed with all prosperity. What is meant is (that it was) at the

juncture of the Kali and Dvāpara 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-bhū* (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 *anvayamukhī* treatment by the more recent commentator Mallinātha, who begins as follows:

śriya iti— ... **śriyo** *lakṣmyā* **patiḥ**. *anena rukmiṇī-rūpayā śriyā sameta iti sūcitam* [Section 1.13.5]. *"rāghavatve 'bhavat sītā rukmiṇī kṛṣṇa-janmani" iti viṣṇu-purāṇāt.* **jagan-nivāso** *jagatām ādhāra-bhūtaḥ* [Section 1.84.3]. *kukṣi-sthâkhila-bhuvana iti yāvat* [Section 1.12.3]. *tathāpi* **jagal** *lokaṃ* **śāsituṃ** *duṣṭa-nigraha-śiṣṭānugrahābhyāṃ niyantuṃ* **śrīmati** *lakṣmī-yukte* **vasudeva-sadmani** *vasudeva-rūpiṇaḥ kaśyapasya veśmani* **vasan** *kṛṣṇa-rūpeṇa tiṣṭhan* **harir** *viṣṇur* **ambarād avatarantam**. *indra-sandeśa-kathanârtham iti bhāvaḥ* [Section 1.13.2]. *hiraṇyasya garbho hiraṇya-garbho brahmânda-prabhavatvāt, tasyâṅga-bhuvaṃ tanū-jam. athavā tasyâṅgād avayavād utsaṅgākhyād bhavatîti hiraṇya-garbhâṅga-bhūs* [Section 1.32.2, Section 1.59] *taṃ [hiraṇya-garbhâṅga-bhuvaṃ]* **munim**. *nāradam ity arthaḥ. "utsaṅgān nārado jajñe dakṣo 'ṅguṣṭhāt svayambhuvaḥ" iti bhāgavāt.* **dadarśa.** *kadācid iti śeṣaḥ* [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 Rukmiṇī, because the Viṣṇupurāṇa says, "She was Sītā when he was Rāghava, and Rukmiṇī in his birth as Kṛṣṇa." **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 (*hiraṇya*)—Hiraṇyagarbha, Brahmā, because he was produced from the golden egg. His son, offspring [**the son of Hiraṇyagarbha**]. Or—arising from an *aṅga*—a part of the body, namely the lap—of him, born from a part of the body of Hiraṇyagarbha. That **sage**, i.e., Nārada. Because the Bhāgavatapurāṇa says, "Nārada was born from the lap of the Selfborn, 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 *hiraṇya-garbhâṅga-bhuvam* as a genitive *tatpuruṣa*, 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 *kathambhūtinī* approach to break the *mūla* into two or more large parts, but will use the *anvayamukhī* method in dealing with each of these parts.

In the second variation, which occurs most often in conjunction with the *anvayamukhī* 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 *anvayamukhī* 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 *Kumārasambhava*:

> *ayi jīvita-nātha jīvasîty abhidhāyôtthitayā tayā puraḥ*
> *dadṛśe puruṣâkṛti kṣitau hara-kopânala-bhasma kevalam*

[When the love-god Kāma was burned to death by the fire from the third eye of Śiva, Kāma's wife Ratī 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 *kathambhūtinī* commentary (once again, the anonymous commentary inserted in the conflated recension of Vallabhadeva's commentary):

> *ayîti. tayā ratyā kāmo hara-kopânala-bhasma dadṛśe dṛṣṭam.*
> *kimviśiṣṭam? puruṣâkṛti puruṣâkāram. kasyām? kṣitau pṛthivyām.*
> *katham? puro 'grataḥ. kiṃ-viśiṣṭayā ratyā? utthitayā. kiṃ kṛtvā? ity*
> *abhidhāya uktvā. iti iti kim? he jīvita-nātha tvaṃ jīvasi kiṃ na? ayi iti*
> *komalâmantraṇe.*

"ayi," (etc.)—**By her** by Ratī, 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 Ratī, 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 *anvayamukhī* commentary (again, Mallinātha's *Saṃjīvinī*):

> *ayîti. ayi iti praśne—"ayi praśnânunayayoḥ" iti viśvaḥ—ayi jīvita-nātha*
> *jīvasi prāṇiṣi kaccid ity abhidhāyôtthitayā tayā ratyā puro 'gre kṣitau*

*puruṣasyâkṛtir ivâkṛtir yasya tat **puruṣâkṛti kevalam** ekaṃ*
***hara-kopânala-bhasma dadṛśe** dṛṣṭam. na tu puruṣa iti bhāvaḥ.*

"ayi," (etc.)—"Ah" (is used) in the sense of a question: "*ayi* in (the senses
of) interrogation and conciliation"—Viśva. **Ah lord of my life, you are
alive? You are living, I hope? Speaking thus, rising up, by her** by Ratī
before in front **on the ground** that whose form is like the form of man **in
the form of a man, only** alone **the ash of the fire of Śiva's anger was
seen** was seen. But not a man—this is the idea.

(3) Another example of an *anvayamukhī* commentary, this time with
a bit less explanatory material added (the *Dhīrarañjikā* of Rāma Govinda
Siddhāntavāgīśa):

> *ayi jīvitêti. ayi iti sambodhane. he **jīvita-nātha** tvaṃ **jīvasîty abhidhāya**
> uktvā **utthitayā tayā puro 'gre puruṣâkṛti** puruṣasyêvâkṛtiḥ saṃsthānaṃ
> yasya tādṛśaṃ **hara-kopânala-bhasma kevalaṃ dadṛśe** ity anvayaḥ.*

"*ayi jīvata-,*" (etc.)—*ayi* (is used) in address. Oh **lord of my life** you are
alive? Thus speaking uttering **rising up, by her before** in front **in the
form of a man** of which the form, the configuration, is like a man's, of
that sort **only the ash from the fire of Śiva's anger was seen**—this is the
construction.

Notice that this commentator ignores the word *kṣitau* in the *mūla*.

(4) Example of a commentary using a mixture of the *kathaṃbhūtinī*
approach and the *anvayamukhī* approach (Cāritravardhana's *Śiśuhitaiṣiṇī*):

> *ayîti. tayā ratyā **puro 'gre puruṣâkṛti** puruṣasyêvâkṛtir ākāro yasya tat.*
> ***hara-kopânala-bhasma** harasya kopâgner bhasma **kevalaṃ dadṛśe***
> *dṛṣṭam. na tu kānta iti śeṣaḥ. kim-bhūtayā tayā? ayi iti komalâmantraṇe*
> *bho **jīvita-nātha** prāṇa-nātha **jīvasîty** abhidhāya uktvā **utthitayā.***

"*ayi,*" (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** uttering
rising up.

(5) Example of an *anvayamukhī* commentary with omission of many
of the words of the *mūla* (Vallabhadeva's *Pañjikā*, with the omitted words
supplied in square brackets):

> *ayîti. [ayi] kaccit [jīvita-nātha] prāṇêśvara **jīvasîty** [abhidhāya] uktvā*
> ***utthitayā tayā kevalaṃ [puruṣâkṛti]** puruṣa-saṃsthānaṃ*
> *[**hara-kopânala-bhasma**] rudra-roṣâgni-bhasmī **dadṛśe** dṛṣṭam. na tu*
> *priyaḥ. matsyasyêva dagdhasya tasyâkāro na naṣṭaḥ.*

"*ayi,*" (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.

(6) Example of a sophisticated commentary that offers explanations of
only a few of the words in the *mūla* (the *Prakāśikā* of Aruṇagirinātha).
Note that Aruṇagirinātha reads *puruṣâkṛtiḥ* [feminine, and thus a genitive
tatpuruṣa] rather than *puruṣâkṛti* [neuter, and thus a *bahuvrīhi* modifying
-bhasma]:

> *avadhānasya kāryam āha—ayîti. "ayi praśne sānunaya" iti halāyudhaḥ.*
> ***puruṣâkṛtir** iti pāṭhaḥ. tad-viśeṣaṇaṃ **hara-kopânala-bhasmêti.***
> *hara-kopânale bhasmī-bhūtā. **kevalam** iti, na kaścid apy abhasmī-bhūtas*
> *tad-avayavas tat-paricchado vêty arthaḥ. etad vibhāvôdbodha-paraṃ*
> *vākyam.*

He tells us the effect of her attentiveness—"*ayi,*" (etc.). "*ayi* in
conciliatory inquiry"—Halāyudha. The (correct) reading is "**the form of
a man.**" "**The ash of the fire of Śiva's anger**" modifies this.
"**Entirely**"—the idea is that not a single limb of his, and not a single
garment, had not been reduced to ashes. This is a statement dealing with
the awakening of the factors (connected with the mood of compassion).

(7) Example of a commentary giving the bare *anvaya* without comment
before proceeding to a full commentary (the *Vivaraṇa* of Nārāyaṇapaṇḍita,
who closely follows Aruṇagirinātha both in his readings and in his com-
ments):

vilocanayor avadhāna-paratva-vidhānasya phalam āha—ayîti.
jīvita-nātha tvaṃ jīvasy ayîty abhidhāya, utthitayā tayā puraḥ kṣitau
puruṣâkṛtir dadṛśe.

 jīvita-nātha prāṇêśvara tvaṃ jīvasi. **ayi** *iti sânunaya-praśna-viṣayam*
avyayam. *"ayi sânunaye praśne" iti halāyudhaḥ. jīvasi kaccid ity arthaḥ.*
ity abhidhāya *uktvā* **utthitayā** *kṛtôtthānayā. puruṣâkṛti-mātra-darśanaṃ*
jīvana-sandehe hetuḥ. ata eva sa-tvaram utthānam. **tayā** *ratyā [puraḥ]*
agre **kṣitau** *bhūmau* **puruṣâkṛtiḥ** *puruṣasyâkṛtir ākāro* **dadṛśe** *dṛṣṭâbhūt.*

 ayam abhiprāyaḥ—hara-kopânala-niṣpatanânantaram eva moham
upagatā ratir īṣan-moha-vigamanânantaraṃ priya-śarīra-saṃsthānaṃ
pūrvavad evâvalokya satvaram utthāya tat-samīpam upagamya purastād
eva puruṣâkṛtiṃ dadarśêti.

 *kīdṛśī punaḥ sā puruṣâkṛtir ity āha—***kevalaṃ hara-kopânala-bhasma***
iti. kevalaṃ tac-charīrâvayaveṣu tat-paricchadeṣu vā na kaścid aṃśas
tatrâbhasmasād-bhūto dṛṣṭo 'bhūd iti bhāvaḥ. puruṣâkṛtîty eva kecit
paṭhanti. tan-mate puruṣâkṛti hara-kopânala-bhasma dadṛśa ity anvayaḥ.

 anena ślokena karuṇasya vibhāvôdbodho 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"—Halāyudha. 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 Ratī **[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, Ratī 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 "*puruṣâkṛti*." 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.

B. Other Techniques

1.81   Introduction

Although the methods of arranging the words of the text described in Sec-
tions 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 mean-
ing of a sentence (Section 1.83), and devices for marking words belonging
to particular syntactical categories (Section 1.84). Much syntactical infor-
mation is also conveyed through the use of the technical terminology of
Pāṇinian grammar.

1.82   Direct statement of connections

1.82.1   *anvaya*

The word *anvaya* ("going together," construction) can refer not only to
the construction of an entire passage (as in the name of the *anvayamukhī*
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) is the construction." For an example, see the next-to-last sentence in
the commentary of Nārāyaṇapaṇḍita 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 *kathaṃbhūtinī* style of
commentary (Section 1.77). For example, in explaining his statement *tatra
dravyāṇi pṛthivy-ap-tejo-vāyv-ākāśa-kāla-dig-ātma-manāṃsi navâiva*
("Among these the substances are nine only—earth, water, fire, wind, space,
time, direction, soul, and mind," *Tarkasaṅgraha 3*), Annambhaṭṭa makes
the following remark in his own commentary on the text, the *Tarkadīpikā*:

tatra dravyâdi-madhye dravyāṇi navâiva ity anvayaḥ. kāni tāni? ity ata āha—pṛthivī ity-ādi.   The basic construction is: **"Among these** among the substances, etc. **the substances are nine only."** What are they? In reply he says—**earth**, etc.

1.82.2   *sambandha*

The term *sambandha* ("connection") and related forms (*sambadhyate, sambandhanīya*, etc.) are used in expressly stating the connection of one word with another word or words. These terms appear in commentaries in either of two situations.

One situation is that in which the commentator must explain in his remarks on one portion of a work that a word is to be construed with a word or phrase occurring in an earlier or later portion of the work (cf. the formula *iti śeṣaḥ*, Section 1.83.1). This often happens when several individual verses of a long poem are syntactically connected (Section 1.82.4):

> *Ragh.M. 1.5   so 'ham. "raghūnām anvayaṃ vakṣye" ity uttareṇa sambandhaḥ*   . **I, being so.** The connection (of this) is with what follows (four verses later in the poem), "shall proclaim the dynasty of the Raghus."

> *Ragh.M. 1.36   āsthitav ārūḍhau. "jagmatuḥ" iti pūrveṇa sambandhaḥ.* **Having seated themselves** having taken their seats (in the vehicle). The connection is with what came before (in the preceding verse), "they went."

The other situation is that in which a word in the portion of the work being commented on is to be construed with more than one word in that portion:

> *Kum.M. 2.10   tathā ātmānam ātmanā eva—ātmany evêty atrâpi sambadhyate—svasminn eva sṛjasi.*   Likewise your **self by the self alone**—"in the self alone" (occurring in a later clause in the same verse) is to be construed here as well—in yourself alone **you create.**

> *Ragh.M. 11.11   siṣevire iti sarvatra sambadhyate.*   (The verb) "served" is to be construed (with the subject in each clause) throughout (this verse).

> *Kum.V. 2.9   apir virodhe sarvatra sambandhanīyaḥ.*   (The particle) *api* in the sense of contradiction is to be construed with (the first word of each clause) throughout (this verse).

The term *yojya* ("to be connected") is used in much the same way.

1.82.3   *viśeṣaṇa*

The word *viśeṣaṇa* ("modifier") is used in explaining which word an adjective or adverb is to be construed with:

> *Ragh.M. 1.83   sandhyāyām apy etad viśeṣaṇaṃ yojyam.*   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 viśeṣaṇāni tulyāni.*   The modifiers apply equally to Meru as well.

> *Ragh.M. 1.18   **bhūty-arthaṃ** vṛddhy-artham eva .... grahaṇa-kriyā-viśeṣaṇaṃ câitat.*   **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 *śloka-dvayena ... āha* ("through the use of a pair of verses [the author] says ..."), *śloka-trayeṇa ... āha*, 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), *saṃdānitaka* (a group of three such verses), *kalāpaka* (four verses), and *kulaka* (five or more verses).

Kum.M. 4.42–4.43   śāpâvadhir api tenâivôkta ity āha
śloka-dvayena—... yugmakam.   [In the introduction to verse 42:] That
he himself also stated a limit to the curse (the poet) tells us in a pair of
verses—... [At the end of the comments on verse 43:] (this has been a)
yugmaka.

Ragh.M. 1.5–1.9   evaṃ raghu-vaṃśe labdha-praveśas tad-varṇanaṃ
pratijānānaḥ "so 'ham" ity-ādibhiḥ pañcabhiḥ ślokaiḥ kulakenâha—...
kulakam.   [In the introduction to verse 5:] Having thus been granted
entry into the dynasty of the Raghus, (the poet) tells us that he proposes to
describe it, with a *kulaka* in five verses beginning "I, being so"—... [At
the end of the comments on verse 9:] (this has been a) *kulaka.*

1.82.5   Connections between statements

In addition to specifying the syntactical construction of a passage, com-
mentators 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 commen-
tator neglects to repeat many of the words being commented on, being
content to let the synonyms he supplies for them take their place in reveal-
ing the structure of the original sentence [see Section 1.80, example (5)];
here the original words are inserted in square brackets.

Kum.V. 3.63   kṛta-praṇāmā ca [sā] asau [bhavena] hareṇa
an-anya-bhājam a-sādharaṇam [patim] bhartāraṃ [āpnuhi] labhasva ity
[abhihitā] agadyata. etac ca [tathyam] satyam eva. devena paścād
udvāhitatvāt. na câitad āścaryam. [hi] yasmād īśvarāṇām ādhyānāṃ
vyāhṛtaya uktayaḥ pāke phala-kāle viparītam anyam eva arthaṃ na
puṣyanti na phalanti. devaś cêśvaraḥ.

And **[she]** that woman, having bowed to him, **[was addressed]** was
spoken to **[by Bhava]** by Śiva, "**[Obtain]** acquire **[a husband]** a spouse
enjoyed by no other not shared." And this **quite [accurately]** truly.
Because afterwards Śiva 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 Śiva is a lord.

For further examples see the passage from *Śiśu.V.* 1.1 quoted in Section 1.79.
This technique is essentially another way of achieving the goal of the ques-
tions asked in the *kathaṃbhūtinī* style of commentary (Section 1.77).

1.83   Supplying words needed to complete the sense

When a word must be supplied in the original text, two situations are possi-
ble: 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
śeṣaḥ* 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 śeṣaḥ*

The formula *iti śeṣaḥ* ("thus the remainder," "this remains [to be sup-
plied]") is placed after words understood in the original text and supplied
by the commentary. It may be translated "supply ...":

*Ragh.M. 12.71   **tena pathā** setu-mārgêṇa **uttīrya** sāgaram iti śeṣaḥ.*
By that path by the route of the bridge **having crossed over**. Supply "the
sea."

*Kum.M. 2.56   **tat-tapaḥ vareṇa** vara-dānena **śamitaṃ hi**. mayêti śeṣaḥ.*
For by a boon by the granting of a boon **his ascetic power was quelled.**
Supply "by me."

Ragh.M. 1.35   vasiṣṭhasyâśramaṃ jagmatuḥ.
putra-prāpty-upāyâpekṣayêti śeṣaḥ.   **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 *vartate* ("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 *sūtra*, is called *nivṛtti*, and a word that has ceased being carried over is said to be *nivṛtta*. The authors of commentaries on works in which *anuvṛtti* and *nivṛtti* operate frequently use these technical terms, most often at the very beginning of their commentary on the *sūtra* in question:

> ~~Kāśikā 1.2.9   sann ity anuvartate, ktvêti nivṛttam.   "san" is carried~~ over (from a previous rule). "*ktvā*" is no longer carried over (from this point on).

> Kāśikā 1.2.26   *vêti vartate, seḍ iti ca.*   "*vā*" is present (in this *sūtra* by *anuvṛtti*), and also "*seṭ*."

> Kāśikā 8.1.54   *pūrvaṃ sarvam anuvartate gaty-artha-loṭaṃ varjayitvā.* Everything previous (i.e., everything in the previous *sūtra*, whether actually read there or present by *anuvṛtti*) is carried over, except "*gaty-artha-loṭ.*"

Other terms are occasionally used to point out similar phenomena even in works other than those of the *sūtra* type:

> Kum.M. 2.11   *tvam ity anuṣajyate.*   "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 *lokântara-sukhaṃ puṇyam* (*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 *puṇyam* as the subject:

> ~~Ragh.M. 1.69   yat puṇyam, tal lokântare para-loke sukham~~ *sukha-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 tuṣṭā satī ... kāma-dughā bhavati.*   **For** from which as cause **she**, being **pleased** gratified, ... is **a granter of wishes**.

Similarly, the words *vṛṣṭibhir udvejitāḥ ... siddhāḥ* (*Kum.* 1.5) might be taken to mean "the *siddhas* are tormented by rains," until this device makes it clear that the adjective *udvejitāḥ* is not a predicate but serves as a modification of the subject:

> Kum.M. 1.5   *vṛṣṭibhir udvejitāḥ kleśitāḥ santaḥ ... śṛṅgāny āśrayante.* 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 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 *prakṛtim viddhi me parām jīva-bhūtām*, "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* **tam kāmam.**   **Him** Kāma **the obstacle** being an impediment.

> *Kum.M. 3.19* **surāṇām** *vijayâbhyupāye jayasyôpāya-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   *sati* marking the locative absolute

The present participle *sat*, when used in the locative case, serves to mark locative absolute constructions. For example, *mahaty avarodhe mahaty 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* **avarodhe** *antaḥpura-varge* **mahati saty 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* **asyām** ... **pītâmbhasi** *satyām* **apaḥ pibeḥ.**   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** *sati*   **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* **catur-asram** *anyūnânatiriktam* **yathā tathā śobhata iti** **caturasra-śobhi.**   That which has four corners is four-cornered (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* **sahasram** *guṇā* **yasmin** *karmaṇi* **tad yathā tathā** **sahasra-guṇam** *sahasradhā.*   In which there are a thousand repetitions, that, in such a manner: **in a thousand ways** a thousandfold.

> *Ragh.M. 1.40* **adūram** *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 **Pārvatī**

Part II

The Bhāṣya Style

by Emery R. Boose

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 *bhāsya* 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).

> *śuklatā, śuklatvam*   being white, whiteness
>
> *aśvatā, aśvatvam*   being a horse, horseness

Note that *tā* and *tva* are identical in meaning.

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2.5.2   -*bhāvaḥ* and *vṛddhi* derivatives

Nominal abstract nouns also include *tatpuruṣa* compounds formed with -*bhāvaḥ*, "state, being," and neuter *vṛddhi* derivatives. For example, from *guru*, "heavy," are formed *guru-bhāvaḥ* and *gauravam*, both meaning "being heavy, heaviness," and both synonymous with *gurutvam* and *gurutā*. Abstracts in *tā* or *tva* are more common in commentarial prose, and so they are the subject of the following paragraphs. However, *tatpuruṣas* in -*bhāvaḥ* and *vṛddhi* derivatives are occasionally used in the same constructions described for abstracts in *tā* and *tva*.

> *indrasya lāghavāt = indrasya laghutvāt*   because Indra is swift (causal ablative)

> *maitryeṇa gacchati = mitratayā gacchati*   he goes as a friend (predicative instrumental)

> *tasya putra-bhāve 'pi = tasya putratve 'pi*   although he is a son (locative absolute)

> *deva-bhāvaṃ prapadyate = devatāṃ 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 guṇāḥ śuklatvâdayaḥ paṭa-deśā abhyupagamyante na tantu-deśāḥ*   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 *śuklatvam* and the sentence requires an abstract noun that means "being *śukla*." Note that abstract nouns formed by adding *tā*, *tva*, or -*bhāvaḥ* to a *dvandva* compound may denote relationship, e.g., *pitṛ-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 vilakṣaṇatve prakṛti-vikāra-bhāvo dṛṣṭaḥ*   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   śeṣa-śeṣitve 'dhikṛtâdhikāre vā pramāṇâbhāvād dharma-brahma-jijñāsayoḥ*   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 rājatā*   of Indra there is kingness: Indra is king

> *paṭasya nīlatvam*   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 rājatā = rājêndraḥ*   Indra is king

> *paṭasya nīlatvam = nīlaḥ paṭaḥ*   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 *tā* or *tva* may be used as a member of a compound.

tad-rājatā-hetuḥ   his-kingness-reason: the reason for his being king

ātma-nityatvam   self-eternalness: the eternality of the self

But more often *tā* and *tva* are added to whole compounds in the sense of "being that which the compound denotes." The compound may be a *tatpuruṣa, bahuvrīhi,* or *dvandva*.

rāja-putratā   king-son-ness: being the son of a king (*tatpuruṣa*)

mahā-balatvam   great-strength-ness: being possessed of great strength (*bahuvrīhi*)

moha-śokatvam   delusion-grief-ness: being delusion and grief (*dvandva*)

In analyzing such constructions it is essential to determine the type of the original compound (i.e., *tatpuruṣa, bahuvrīhi,* or *dvandva*), and it is helpful to keep in mind the alternative constructions without the abstract suffix.

rāmasya rāja-putratā = rāja-putro rāma   Rāma is the king's son

indrasya mahā-balatvam = mahā-bala indraḥ   Indra is possessed of great strength

hetor moha-śokatvam = moha-śokau hetuḥ   the cause is delusion and grief

2.7.3   Causal phrase within a sentence

The nominative of an abstract noun in *tā* or *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.

rāmasya rāja-putratā viśrutā   Rāma's king-son-ness is well-known: it is well-known that Rāma is the king's son

deva-patir indro mahā-balatvāt   Indra is lord of the gods because of [his] great-strength-ness: Indra is lord of the gods because he possesses great strength

avidyāyā duḥkha-hetutvaṃ darśayati   he shows ignorance's suffering-cause-ness: he shows that ignorance is the cause of suffering

duḥkhasyâvidyā-hetutvaṃ 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 *tasya* or *indrasya* with *mahā-balatvāt*. Note the importance of correctly analyzing the original compound. In the third example above the compound is a *tatpuruṣa*; in the fourth it is a *bahuvrīhi*. Sometimes an author will distinguish a *bahuvrīhi* compound by adding the optional suffix *ka* (e.g., in the fourth example one could say *avidyā-hetukatvam*; see Section 2.15), but usually the compound must be analyzed on the basis of context.

2.7.4   *iti* clause without abstract suffix

Because the word *iti* 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 *iti* clause without the abstract suffix.

rāmasya rāja-putratā viśrutā = rāja-putro rāma iti viśrutam

deva-patir indro mahā-balatvāt = sa mahā-bala iti deva-patir indraḥ

avidyāyā duḥkha-hetutvaṃ darśayati = duḥkha-hetur avidyêti darśayati

duḥkhasyâvidyā-hetutvaṃ darśayati = avidyā-hetuṃ 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 *tva*.i

2.7.5 Two genitives

As was mentioned above, abstract nouns in *tā* or *tva* 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.

> *rāmasya rāja-putratā = rājñaḥ putraṃ rāmaḥ*   Rāma is the king's son

Here the subjective genitive is *rāmasya*, and *rājñaḥ* (*rāja-* 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.

> *SBh 1.1.1   sarvasyâtmatvāc ca brahmâstitva-prasiddhiḥ*   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 *brahmaṇaḥ*.

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 *tvāt*, *tvena*, and *tayā* 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).

> *SBh 1.1.2   tatrâivaṃ sati brahma-jñānam api vastu-tantram eva bhūta-vastu-viṣayatvāt*   this being the case, knowledge of brahman also depends only on the thing itself, since it has for its object an existing thing

> *SBh 1.1.2   na, vedānta-vākya-kusuma-grathanârthatvāt sūtrāṇām*   no, since the *sūtras* have the purpose of stringing together the flowers that are the Vedānta passages

> *SDS p. 3   na câsya [sukhasya] duḥkha-sambhinnatayā puruṣârthatvam eva nâstîti mantavyam*   nor should it be thought that it [pleasure] is not the aim of man because it is mixed with pain

> *SBh 1.1.4   mantrāṇāṃ cêṣe tvêtyādīnāṃ kriyā-tat-sādhanâbhidhāyitvena karma-samavāyitvam uktam*   and it has been said that the *mantras, iṣe 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 Other cases

The following are fairly typical examples of abstract nouns in *tā* or *tva* used in cases other than the ablative or instrumental.

2.9.1 Nominative as subject of sentence

> *SDS p. 2   atha kathaṃ parameśvarasya niḥśreyasa-pradatvam abhidhīyate*   but how can it be said that the Supreme Lord bestows *niḥśreyasa*?

2.9.2 Accusative as object of the sentence

> *SBh 1.1.1   yasmād veda evâgni-hotr-ādīnāṃ śreyaḥ-sādhanānām anitya-phalatāṃ darśayati*   because the Veda itself shows that the means to success, the *agnihotra* and so on, have transient fruits

2.9.3 Dative of purpose

> *GBh 2.20   hantir atra vipariṇāmârthe draṣṭavyo 'punar-uktatāyai*   the verb *hanti* should be regarded here as signifying "transformation," to avoid redundancy

2.9.4 Genitive to modify another noun

> *SBh 1.1.7   tan na [ātma-śabdasya] anekârthatvasyânyāyyatvāt*   that is
> wrong, because of the impropriety of [the word *ātman*'s] having more
> than one meaning

2.9.5 Locative in a locative absolute construction

(See Section 2.29.)

> *SBh 1.1.2   nanu bhūta-vastutve brahmaṇaḥ pramāṇântara-viṣayatvam
> eva*   but if *brahman* is an existing thing, then it must be the object of
> another means of knowledge

2.10   Predicative instrumental

The instrumental of an abstract noun in *tā* or *tva* 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."

> *rājatvena vṛta indraḥ*   Indra was chosen with kingness: Indra was
> chosen as king

> *mitratvena rāmaṃ jānāmi*   I know Rāma with friendness: I know Rāma
> 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 brahmâtmatvena prasiddham asti*   if in
> that case *brahman* were well known in the world as the self

> *SBh 1.1.2   śrutyâiva ca sahāyatvena tarkasyâbhyupetatvāt*   and
> because *śruti* itself accepts reasoning as an aid

> *SBh 1.1.4   na hi śāstram idantayā viṣaya-bhūtaṃ brahma
> pratipipādayiṣati*   for the *śāstra* does not wish to teach *brahman* as this,
> as an object

In the last example above note the addition of the suffix *tā* to the demon-
strative pronoun *idam* to form *idantā* "this-ness, being this."

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."

> *rājatāṃ gacchati*   he goes to kingness: he becomes king

> *nīlatvaṃ yāti*   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."

> *rājatām indraṃ gamayati*   he makes Indra go to kingness: he makes
> Indra a king

> *nīlatvaṃ paṭaṃ 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 *tatpuruṣa*s or *bahuvrīhi*s (*avyayībhāva*s are rare and *dvandva*s are usually straightforward). Sometimes a compound can be identified on grammatical evidence alone: The gender and number of a *tatpuruṣa* are those of its final member. A *bahuvrīhi* is an adjective and its gender and number are those of the word (either expressed or understood) that it modifies. *bahuvrīhi*s are sometimes distinguished by the suffix *ka* (see Sec-

tion 2.15). When such evidence is inconclusive, the compound must be identified on the basis of context.

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, *dharmâdharma-jñāna-phalâbhyudayaḥ*, "success that is the fruit of the knowledge of *dharma* and *adharma*," can be analyzed as follows:

> *dharmâdharmajñānaphala-abhyudaya karmadhāraya*
> *dharmâdharmajñāna-phala*   genitive *tatpuruṣa*
> *dharmâdharma-jñāna*   genitive *tatpuruṣa*
> *dharma-adharma*   *dvandva*

The shorter compounds from which the original long compound is constructed are usually *dvandva*s or *tatpuruṣa*s; rarely are they *bahuvrīhi*s (except for a few very common types of *bahuvrīhi*s, e.g., those ending in *-ādi*). Thus adjoining words within a long compound are usually to be construed as coordinate (*dvandva*: e.g., *dharmâdharma*) or as appositional (*karmadhāraya*: e.g., *phalâbhyudaya*) or as connected by a case relationship (*vibhakti-tatpuruṣa*: e.g., *jñāna-phala*).

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.

> *indraputrapautrāḥ = indra-putrapautrāḥ*   the sons and grandsons of Indra
>
> *rāmaśitasarāḥ = rāma-śitasarāḥ*   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 *janmâdi-sarva-bhāva-vikāra-varjitam*, "devoid of all transformations of state, such as birth and so on":

> *janmâdisarvabhāvavikāra-varjita* instrumental *tatpuruṣa*
> *janmâdi-sarvabhāvavikāra*   *karmadhāraya*
> *sarva-bhāvavikāra*   *karmadhāraya*
> *bhāva-vikāra*   genitive *tatpuruṣa*
> *janma-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-janmâdi-kāraṇam brahmâdhigamyate*   *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 *janmâdi* 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.

> *SBh 1.1.3   jagato janmâdi-kāraṇam brahmâdhigamyate*

Such constructions are a mixture of the sentence mode of expression (*vākya-vṛtti*) and the compound mode of expression (*samāsa-vṛtti*). For example, "knowledge of the eternality of the self" might be expressed:

> *ātma-nityatva-vidyā*   compound mode
> *ātmano nityatvasya vidyā* sentence mode
> *ātma-nityatvasya vidyā*   mixed mode: theoretically acceptable
> *ātmano nityatva-vidyā*   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 *tatpuruṣa*.

> *bhakti-nimittaṃ jñānam*   knowledge is the cause of devotion
> (*tatpuruṣa*); or, knowledge has devotion as its cause (*bahuvrīhi*)

> *bhakti-nimittakaṃ jñānam*   knowledge has devotion as its cause
> (*bahuvrīhi*)

In the first example above only the context can determine whether the compound is a *tatpuruṣa* 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 *tva*; in this case *ka* is particularly helpful because the gender and number of the original compound are no longer evident.

> *jñānasya bhakti-nimittatvaṃ prasiddham*   it is well-known that
> knowledge is the cause of devotion (*tatpuruṣa*); or, it is well-known that
> knowledge has devotion as its cause (*bahuvrīhi*)

> *jñānasya bhakti-nimittakatvaṃ prasiddham*   it is well-known that
> knowledge has devotion as its cause (*bahuvrīhi*)

A further example:

> *GBh 1.1   hīyamāna-viveka-vijñāna-hetukenâdharmeṇâbhibhūyamāne*
> *dharme*   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 *tatpuruṣa* 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 *tatpuruṣa*. 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:

> *SBh 1.1.1   adhyāso viṣaya-tad-dharmāṇām*   superimposition of the
> object and its qualities

> *PP p. 33   adhyāsa-svarūpa-tat-sambhāvanāya*   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-tatpuruṣa* (i.e., as connected by a case relationship) or as a *dvandva* (i.e., as coordinate).

> *avidyā-kāraṇa-vināśaḥ*   destruction of the cause of ignorance; or,
> destruction of the cause that is ignorance

> *avidyā-bhūta-kāraṇa-vināśaḥ*   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 *tatpuruṣa*) or "the cause that is ignorance" (*karmadhāraya*); in the second example *avidyā-bhūta-kāraṇa* must mean "the cause that is ignorance." Further examples:

GBh 2.10   *prāṇīnāṃ śoka-mohâdi-saṃsāra-bīja-bhūta-dośôdbhava-*
kāraṇa-pradarśanârthatvena vyākhyeyo granthaḥ   this section should be
interpreted as serving to show the cause of the origin of that defect that is
the seed of *saṃsāra*, i.e., grief, delusion, and so on, for living beings

SBh 1.1.19   *puccha-pratiṣṭhā-bhūta-brahma-prāpteḥ phalasya*
nirdiṣṭatvāt   because the fruit that is the obtaining of *brahman*—who is
the tail, the support—is indicated (in the text)

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 (*bahuvrīhi*)

  yad-rūpaḥ   the color of which (*tatpuruṣa*); or, having which as its color
  (*bahuvrīhi*)

  kim-rūpaḥ   the color of what (*tatpuruṣa*); or, having what as its color
  (*bahuvrīhi*)

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   *yad-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

bahuvrīhi compounds containing *kim* are often used to ask a question.

  SBh 1.1.2   *kim-lakṣaṇam punas tad brahma*   but
  having-what-as-its-definition is that *brahman*: but what is the definition of
  that *brahman*?

2.19   Idiomatic terms

The following words are common in an idiomatic sense at the end of a
compound. See Section 2.44 for *bahuvrīhis* in *-ādi*.

2.19.1   *-antara*

-antara, n., "interval, difference," often forms neuter *tatpuruṣa* compounds
meaning "a different, another."

  rājântaram   a different king, another king

  gṛhântarāṇi   different houses, other houses

Commentators usually gloss such compounds with the word *anya*; e.g.,
rājântaram would be glossed *anyo 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."

  dhanârtham   for the sake of money

  ātmâikatva-pradarśanârtham   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-sādhanârtham   = *tat-sādhanāya* in order to prove that

2.19.3   *-kalpa*

-kalpa, m., "manner, way," forms *bahuvrīhi* compounds with the meaning
"almost, nearly."

  sa mṛta-kalpaḥ   he is nearly dead

  rāja-kalpo devadattaḥ   Devadatta is almost a king

Note: Pā. 5.3.67 explains *-kalpa* as a *taddhita* 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 *tatpuruṣa* compound to mean "being in or on," where no previous motion is implied.

>   *kṣetra-gatā vṛkṣāḥ*   the trees in the field

Such compounds may also mean "relating to, concerning."

>   *bhāryā-gatā cintā*   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-garbhaṃ ghaṭam*   a pot filled with milk

>   *ratna-garbhaḥ syūtaḥ*   a sack containing jewels

2.19.6   *-jana*

-jana, m., "person, people," forms masculine *tatpuruṣa* compounds that may denote either an indefinite individual or a collection.

>   *pitṛ-janaḥ*   a father; or, fathers

In longer compounds *-jana* often pluralizes a preceding member that might otherwise be understood as singular.

>   *mitrânugrhitaḥ*   helped by a friend; or, helped by friends

>   *mitra-janânugrhitaḥ*   helped by friends

2.19.7   *-jāta*

-jāta, n., "collection," forms neuter *tatpuruṣa* compounds denoting a collection of things.

>   *kārya-jātam*   the aggregate of effects

In longer compounds *-jāta* may pluralize a preceding member that might otherwise be understood as singular.

>   *deva-prasādaḥ*   the grace of the god; or, the grace of the gods

>   *deva-jāta-prasādaḥ*   the grace of the gods

2.19.8   *-pūrva*

-pūrva, "previous," when modifying a past participle in a *tatpuruṣa* compound may be placed after the participle.

>   *saṅkalpita-pūrva*   = *pūrva-saṅkalpita* previously imagined, already imagined

2.19.9   *-mātrā*

-mātrā, "measure," forms *bahuvrīhi* compounds whose literal meaning is "having ... as its measure, having the size of."

>   *gṛha-mātro gajaḥ*   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-mātraṃ caitanya-viśiṣṭam 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."

> *guṇa-mātra-viṣaya buddhiḥ*   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 Pāṇinian terminology) and commentators may identify it as such. See Section 1.60.3.

2.19.10   -*viśeṣa*

-*viśeṣa*, m., "distinction, difference, peculiarity," may form masculine *tatpuruṣa* compounds meaning "a particular" or "a distinguished."

> *giri-viśeṣaḥ*   a particular mountain
>
> *rūpa-viśeṣaḥ*   distinguished beauty

tatpuruṣas in -*viśeṣa* and in -*bheda*, m., "difference" may also mean "a kind of, a variety of."

> *puṣpa-viśeṣaḥ*   a kind of flower
>
> *maṇi-viśeṣaḥ*   a variety of jewel

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.

> *udāro rāmaḥ*   Rāma is noble
>
> *mitraṃ rāmaḥ*   Rāma is a friend

A predicative noun usually precedes the subject, especially in short sentences or when the predicate is emphasized.

SBh 1.1.4   ato na puruṣa-vyāpāra-tantrā brahma-vidyā   therefore knowledge of *brahman* does not depend on the activity of man

SBh 1.1.4   nityaś 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-ādyāḥ śrutayo mokṣa-pratibandha-nivṛtti-mātram evâtma-jñānasya phalaṃ darśayanti   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   jñānaṃ tu pramāṇa-janyam. pramāṇaṃ ca yathā-bhūta-vastu-viṣayam.   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 mention. The pronoun often agrees 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 predicate of two or more words.

PP p. 79   nanu mahad etad indra-jālam   but this is a great deception

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   ata evânuṣṭheya-karma-phala-vilakṣaṇaṃ mokṣâkhyam aśarīratvaṃ nityam iti siddham   therefore it is proven that bodilessness, which is different from the fruit of actions to be performed and is called *mokṣa*, is eternal

SBh 1.1.1   evam ayam anādir ananto naisargiko 'dhyāso mithyā-pratyaya-rūpaḥ kartṛtva-bhoktṛtva-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, *aśarīratvam* 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 grammmatical subject of the sentence.

SBh 1.1.1   asmat-pratyaya-gocare viṣayiṇi cid-ātmake ... adhyāsaḥ superimposition on the *viṣayin*, which is the object of the notion of I and whose nature is intelligence ...

Here *asmat-pratyaya-gocare* expresses a quality of the *viṣayin* that was mentioned previously, while *cid-ātmake* expresses a new quality. The distinction might be indicated in English as follows: "the *viṣayin*, 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 attibutive qualifiers; see Section 1.84.2), or by the past participle *bhūta* placed in compound with the qualifier (Section 1.84.3. Usually *sant* and *bhūta* serve to make the construction clearer and can be omitted without changing the meaning of the sentence.

> *SBh 2.1.4   tathêdam api jagad acetanaṃ sukha-duḥkha-mohânvitaṃ sad acetanasyâiva sukha-duḥkha-mohâtmakasya kāraṇasya kāryaṃ bhavitum arhati*   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-kāraṇa-bhūtaṃ sattvaṃ pradhānâvasthāyām api vidyate*   but since the *pradhāna* consists of the three *guṇas*, *sattva*, which is the cause of all knowledge, exists also in the *pradhāna* state

Here *sad* shows that *acetanaṃ sukha-duḥkha-mohânvitam* qualifies *jagad* and *bhūta* shows that *sarva-jñāna-kāraṇa* qualifies *sattvam*. In many cases *sant* has the special meaning "although being."

> *SBh 1.1.5   pradhānasyâcetanasyâiva sataḥ sarvajñatvam 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 *bhūta* 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   taṃ ke cid "anyatrânya-dharmâdhyāsa" 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 pratīyata" iti yuktaṃ vaktum*   nor is it reasonable to say that it is not known

> *SBh 1.1.4   nahi "'śarīrâdy-ātmâbhimānino duḥkha-bhayâdimattvaṃ dṛṣṭam' iti tasyâiva veda-pramāṇa-janita-brahmâtmâvagame tad-abhimāna-nivṛttau tad eva mithyā-jñāna-nimittaṃ duḥkha-bhayâdimattvaṃ bhavati" iti śakyaṃ 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 *brahman* produced by the *pramāṇa* 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 *śarīrâdy-ātmâbhimānino ... dṛṣṭam* and this clause expresses a reason. The second *iti* quotes all the words between *nahi* and *śakyaṃ 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   <u>kim u vaktavyam</u> "aneka-śākhā-bheda-bhinnasya
> deva-tiryañ-manuṣya-varṇâśramâdi-pravibhāga-hetor
> ṛg-vedâdy-ākhyasya **sarva-jñānâkarasya** aprayatnenâiva līlā-nyāyena
> puruṣa-niḥśvāsavad **yasmān mahato bhūtād yoneḥ sambhavaḥ** 'asya
> mahato bhūtasya niḥśvāsitam etad yad ṛgveda' ityādi-śruteḥ **tasya**
> **mahato bhūtasya niratiśayaṃ sarvajñatvaṃ sarva-śaktimattvaṃ ca**" <u>iti</u>

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-jñānâkarasya ... yasmān mahato bhūtād yoneḥ sambhavaḥ ...
> tasya mahato bhūtasya niratiśayaṃ sarvajñatvaṃ sarva-śaktimattvaṃ 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-jñānâkarasya*:

> aneka-śākhā-bheda-bhinnasya
> deva-tiryañ-manuṣya-varṇâśramâdi-pravibhāga-hetor
> ṛg-vedâdy-ākhyasya   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 *sambhavaḥ*:

> aprayatnenâiva līlā-nyāyena puruṣa-niḥśvāsavad   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 ṛgveda ityādi-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)
rajêndra iti	(*iti* clause)
yasmād rajêndraḥ	(relative pronoun)
indre rājñi sati	(locative absolute)
rājā hîndraḥ	(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 nânubhavâpekṣâstîti śruty-ādīnām eva prāmāṇyaṃ syāt. puruṣâdhīnâtma-lābhatvāc ca kartavyasya.*   For if the object [of the knowledge of *brahman*] were something to be accomplished, then there would be no dependence upon direct experience; consequently the *śruti* 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   paśvâdibhiś câviśeṣāt*   and because there is no difference from cows, etc.

> *SBh 1.1.4   ato vedāntānām ānarthakyam akriyârthatvāt*   therefore the Vedānta texts are meaningless because they are not concerned with action

> *SBh 1.1.7   bhṛtye tu svāmi-bhṛtya-bhedasya pratyakṣatvād upapanno gauṇa ātma-śabdaḥ*   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 *paśvâdibhiś câviśeṣāt* is a complete sentence; the conclusion, stated earlier in the passage, must be supplied by the reader. In the second example the compound *akriyârthatvāt* substantiates the assertion made in the prior portion of the sentence. In the third example the nominal phrase *svāmi-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   kriyā-samavāyâbhāvāc câtmanaḥ kartṛtvânupapatteh*   and because the self cannot be an agent since there is no inherence of action (in it)

> *SBh 1.1.4   heyôpādeya-śūnya-brahmâtmatâvagamād eva sarva-kleśa-prahāṇāt puruṣârtha-siddheḥ*   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   na, indriyâviṣayatvena sambandhâgrahaṇāt*   no, because the connection is not grasped, since [*brahman*] is not an object of the senses

> *SBh 1.1.4   sarva-gatatvena nityâpta-svarūpatvāt sarveṇa brahmaṇaḥ*   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 proceding to the most removed cause.

2.26.3   *ca* in causal series

In sentences citing several causes it is essential to understand correctly the conjunction *ca*. *ca* may connect the sentence to the preceding sentence, as in the first example in Section 2.26.2. In this case *ca* is placed after the first word of the sentence. *ca* may also connect causes within the sentence, and here one must distinguish between coordinate causes (connected by *ca*) and serial causes (where one is the cause of the other). Sometimes the meaning of *ca* cannot be determined by its position alone and must be determined by context.

SBh 1.1.23   tad ayuktaṃ śabda-bhedāt prakaraṇāc ca saṃśayânupapatteḥ   that is not right since a doubt is not possible because of the difference of words and because of the topic

SBh 1.1.1   na tāvad ayam ekantenâviṣayo 'smat-pratyaya-viṣayatvād aparokṣatvāc ca pratyag-ātma-prasiddheḥ   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 the first example above *ca* connects *śabda-bhedāt* and *prakaraṇāc*; both are causes of *saṃśayânupapatteḥ*. In the second example, the particle *ca* connects *asmat-pratyaya-viṣayatvād* and *aparokṣatvāt pratyag-ātma-prasiddheḥ*; here *aparokṣatvāt* is the cause of *pratyag-ātma-prasiddheḥ*.

2.26.4   Verbal nouns expressing cause

Verbal nouns formed by adding the suffixes *a, ana,-ana* or *ti* to the root are often used as the final member of a compound that expresses a reason or cause. Often the resulting nominal construction is most conveniently translated into English by a clause.

kārya-darśanāt   because of seeing the effect: because the effect is seen, because we see the effect

In some cases the same meaning may be expressed by replacing the verbal noun with an abstract noun formed by adding *tā* or *tva* to the past passive participle.

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.*

SDS p. 3   dehâtirikta ātmani pramāṇâbhāvāt   because there is no proof of a self separate from the body

SBh 1.1.22   nâiṣa doṣo bhūtâkāśasyâpi vāyv-ādi-krameṇa kāraṇatvôpapatteḥ   this fault does not apply because the elemental ether also can be a cause through the series beginning with air

SBh 1.1.4   śarīra-sambandhasyâsiddhatvād dharmâdharmayor ātma-kṛtatvâsiddheḥ   because it is not established that *dharma* and *adharma* are performed by the self, since the connection of the body [with the self] has not been established

SBh 1.1.5   api ca pradhānasyânekâtmakasya pariṇāma-sambhavāt kāraṇatvôpapattir   moreover the heterogeneous *pradhāna* can be the cause because of the possibility of transformation (in it)

Some of the most common of such verbal nouns are listed below, along with the meanings that they often have in this construction.

abhāva; -abhāvāt	absence; because there is no
abhyupagama; -abhyupagamāt	acceptance; because we accept that
upapatti; -upapatteḥ	fitness; because it is reasonable that
darśana; -darśanāt	seeing; because we see that
prasiddhi; -prasiddheḥ	reknown; because it is generally known that
yoga; -yogāt	fitness; because it is reasonable that
sambhava; -sambhavāt	possibility; because it is possible that
siddhi; -siddheḥ	establishment; because it is established that

Other terms used in the same construction include *smaraṇa* and *śravaṇa* (see Section 2.41) and *prasaṅga* and *āpatti* (see Section 2.50.3).

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.

SBh 1.1.2   anyeṣam api bhāva-vikārāṇāṃ trisv evântar-bhāva iti janma-sthiti-nāśānām iha grahaṇam   the other transformations of state also are included among just these three; therefore the text mentions birth, subsistence, and destruction

Sometimes *iti* is followed by a pronoun or adverb that serves to distinguish this use of *iti* from other common uses. For example, *iti tasmāt, iti tena, ity atah*,"therefore" (lit. "from that" where "that" refers to the content of the *iti* clause).

> *SBh 1.1.4   tasmān na pratipatti-vidhi-viṣayatayā śāstra-pramāṇakatvaṃ brahmaṇaḥ sambhavatîty atah sva-tantram eva brahma śāstra-pramāṇakam*   therefore it is impossible that *brahman* should be made known by the *śāstra* as the object of an injunction to know; consequently *brahman* 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   kṣātraṃ karma yuddha-lakṣaṇaṃ guru-bhrātṛ-putrâdi-hiṃsā-lakṣaṇam atyantaṃ krūram api sva-dharma iti kṛtvā nâdharmāya*   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 *yasmāt, yena, yat, yataḥ*, or *yāvatā*. 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.

> *SBh 1.1.14   itaś ca prācuryârthe mayaṭ. yasmād ānanda-hetutvaṃ brahmaṇo vyapadiśati śrutir eṣa hy evânandayatîti.*   And for this reason the suffix *maya* means abundance. Because the scriptural passage "for he alone causes bliss" shows that *brahman* is the cause of bliss.

Or the clause may substantiate an assertion made earlier in the same sentence.

> *GBh 2.14   sukha-duḥkhe punar niyata-rūpe yato na vyabhicarataḥ*   but pleasure and pain are constant in nature because they do not vary

When the reason precedes the conclusion, the conclusion is usually introduced by a correlative pronoun or adverb such as *tasmāt, tena, tat, atah, tataḥ*, or *tāvatā*. The pronoun or adverb functions as a conjunction and has the meaning "therefore."

> *PP p. 258   yasmād brahmâvāptiḥ puruṣârthaḥ tena tat jñānenâptum iṣṭatamam*   since obtaining *brahman* is the aim of man, therefore it [*brahman*] is what one most desires to obtain through knowledge

Occasionally the relative pronoun or adverb is placed at the end of the clause expressing the reason and the correlative is omitted.

> *SBh 1.1.6   tathā pradhānam api mahad-ādy-ākāreṇa niyamena pravartate yasmāc cetanavad upacaryate*   in the same way the *pradhāna* also acts according to rule in the form of the *mahat* and so on; for this reason it is figuratively said to be intelligent

> *SBh 1.1.4   nâpi saṃskāryo mokṣo 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 ... *yasmāt tasmāc cetanavad upacaryate* "because ... , therefore it is figuratively said to be intelligent"; the second example becomes ... *yena tena vyāpāram 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.

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   dehêndriyâdiṣv aham-mamâbhimāna-rahitasya pramātṛtvânupapattau pramāṇa-pravṛtty-anupapatteḥ*   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 [mumukṣatvâdiṣu] hi satsu prāg api dharma-jijñāsāyā ūrdhvaṃ ca śakyate brahma jijñāsituṃ jñātuṃ 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 hîndriya-viṣayatve brahmaṇa idaṃ brahmaṇa sambaddhaṃ kāryam iti gṛhyeta*   for if *brahman* were an object of the senses then this [world] would be perceived as connected with *brahman* 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 pariṇiṣṭhita-vastu-svarūpatve 'pi pratyakṣâdi-viṣayatvaṃ brahmaṇaḥ*   and, even though it has the nature of an accomplished thing, *brahman* is not an object of perception, etc.

2.29.4   Abbreviated locative absolute

The locative absolute often appears in abbreviated forms such as *tatrâivaṃ sati*, *evaṃ 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 *sant* 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   evaṃ ca saty athâto brahma-jijñāsêti tad-viṣayaḥ pṛthak-śāstrârambha upapadyate*   and this being the case, the undertaking of a separate *śāstra* which has that for its object, with the words *athâto brahma-jijñāsā*, is appropriate

> *SBh 1.1.5   tathā sati yan-nimittam īkṣitṛtvaṃ pradhānasya tad eva sarvajñaṃ mukhyaṃ brahma jagataḥ kāraṇam*   if that were the case then the very cause of the *pradhāna*'s being a seer would be the omniscient and primary *brahma* 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.

SBh 1.1.1   sarvo hi puro'vasthite viṣaye viṣayântaraṃ adhyasyati
since everyone superimposes an object on another object that is in front of
him

SBh 1.1.1   na hîndriyāny anupādāya pratyakṣâdi-vyavahāraḥ
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, sit-
uation, 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 taṃ vadanti*   they call him Devadatta

Generally the *iti* clause stands first in the sentence. In some cases words be-
fore 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 construc-
tions. 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 matvā*) or more generally to give an explanation of some
sort.

> *"indra upagacchati" iti matvā palāyate = "indra upagacchati" 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 evânandamaya ātmā" ity evaṃ prāpte*
> therefore the self consisting of bliss is just a transmigrating being—the
> *pūrvapakṣa* being thus established

> *SBh 1.1.4   tasmād "aham brahmâsmi" ity etad-avasānā eva sarve
> vidhayaḥ sarvāṇi cêtarāṇi pramāṇāni*   therefore all the injunctions and
> all the other *pramāṇa*s come to an end in the realization "I am *brahman*"

Here *ity evaṃ prāpte = iti prāpte* and *ity etad-avasānā = ity avasānā*.

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 mantavya" iti śrutiḥ*   the scriptural passage "[the
> self] is to be heard, is to be thought about"

> *SBh 1.1.5   "pradhāna-puruṣa-saṃyoga nityânumeya" iti sāṅkhyā
> manyante*   the Sāṅkhyas believe that the connections of the *pradhāna*
> with the *puruṣa*s 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 jñānaṃ manyase sa sattva-dharmaḥ "sattvāt sañjāyate
> jñānam" iti smṛteḥ*   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 sen-
tences from the passage. These quoted sentences may be connected by
expressions such as the following:

> *... ity ārabhyâha ... iti*   beginning thus ... the text goes on to say ...

> *tathā ... iti*   similarly the text says ...

> *ante ca ... iti*   and the text concludes ...

> *... ityādi ... ityantaṃ bhāṣyam*   the *bhāṣya* beginning with ... and
> ending with ...

An example:

> *SBh 1.1.2   kiṃ punas tad vedānta-vākyaṃ yat sūtreṇêha lilakṣayiṣitam.
> "bhṛgur vai vāruṇir varuṇaṃ pitaram upasasāra. adhīhi bhagavo
> brahma" ity upakramyâha "yato vā imāni bhūtāni jāyante. yena jātāni
> jīvanti. yat prayanty abhisaṃviśanti. tad vijijñāsasva." tasya ca
> nirṇaya-vākyam "ānandād dhy eva khalv imāni bhūtāni jāyante.
> ānandena jātāni jīvanti. ānandaṃ prayanty abhisaṃviśanti" iti.*

But which Vedānta text does the *sūtra* wish to indicate here? Beginning
with "Bhṛgu Vāruṇi indeed approached his father Varuṇa and said 'Sir,
teach me brahman'," 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 idaṃ mamêdam" iti naisargiko 'yaṃ loka-vyavahāraḥ*
> there is this natural worldly practice expressed in the thought "this is I, this is mine"

> *SBh 1.1.1   sarvo hy ātmâstitvaṃ pratyeti na "nâham 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 câyam asti niyamaḥ "puro'vasthita eva viṣaye viṣayântaram adhyasitavyam" 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 aspaṣṭa-brahma-liṅgāni sandihyante "kiṃ paraṃ brahma pratipādayanty aho svid arthântaraṃ kiṃ cid" 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 niścitaṃ bhavati.*

> *SBh 1.1.7   tasmāc "cetana-viṣaya ihâtma-śabda" iti niścīyate*
> therefore it is settled that the word *ātman* here refers to a conscious entity

> *SBh 1.1.11   tasmāt "sarvajñaṃ brahma jagataḥ kāraṇaṃ nâcetanaṃ pradhānam anyad vā" iti siddham*   therefore it is established that the omniscient *brahman* is the cause of the world, not the unconscious *pradhāna* nor something else

> *SBh 1.1.14   yo hy anyān ānandayati sa pracurânanda iti prasiddhaṃ 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 saṃsāritvaṃ nâsav avagata-brahmâtma-bhāva" ity anavadyam*   it is irrefutable that one who is a transmigrating being as before has not comprehended that *brahman* is his self

> *PP p. 163   "nâpi jñānântaram utpannam" iti viśeṣaḥ*   nor does another cognition arise—this is the difference

Note that some of the phrases commonly used in glossing, e.g., *ity arthaḥ* (see Section 1.10) or *ity 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."

ity anavadyam   this is irrefutable
ity abhyupagatam this we accept

ity abhyupetam	this we accept
ity avasitam	this is settled
ity upapannam	this is reasonable
iti gamyate	this can be inferred
iti dr̥ṣṭam	this is seen (in ordinary experience)
iti niścitam	this is settled
iti prasiddham	this is generally known
iti bādhitam	this is ruled out
iti bhaviṣyati	this might be
iti yuktam	this is reasonable
iti viruddham	this is a contradiction
iti sambhāvyate	this is possible
iti siddham	this is established
iti sugamam	this is clear
iti spaṣṭam	this is clear

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."

> *iti śakyate vaktum = iti śakyaṃ vaktum*   this can be said, it is possible to say this
>
> *iti yujyate vaktum = iti yuktaṃ vaktum*   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 pasive sense according to the mode of the accompanying verb.

> *devadattaḥ śaknoti ghaṭaṃ kartum*   it is possible for Devadatta to make a pot (active)
>
> *devadattena śakyate ghaṭaṃ kartum*   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   kathaṃ punaś "chando'bhidhānān na brahmâbhihitam" iti śakyate vaktum*   but how can it be said that *brahman* is not denoted because the meter is denoted?
>
> *SBh 1.1.4   ata sa [ātmā] na kena cit pratyākhyātuṃ śakyo vidhi-śeṣatvaṃ vā 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-dharmāṇāṃ câdhyāsaḥ tad-viparyayeṇa viṣayiṇas tad-dharmāṇāṃ ca viṣaye 'dhyāso mithā" iti bhavituṃ 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 nirdoṣaṃ śāstram apramāṇaṃ kalpayituṃ 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 *śakyam* 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 evâtmânandamayo bhavitum arhati*   the [self] consisting of bliss must be the highest self

SBh 1.1.4   nârhaty evaṃ bhavituṃ kārya-vidhi-prayuktasyâiva brahmaṇaḥ pratipādyamānatvāt   it does not have to be so, since *brahman* is taught only in so far as it is connected with injunctions to action

2.36.3   Infinitive expressing purpose

The infinitive sometimes expresses aim or purpose.

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.

PP p. 30   "nyonya-dharmāś ca" iti pṛthag dharma-grahaṇaṃ "dharma-mātrasyâpi kasya cid adhyāsa" iti darśayitum   the separate mention of the word *dharma* in the phrase *anyonya-dharmāś 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).

SBh 1.1.1   tat punar brahma prasiddham aprasiddhaṃ vā syāt. yadi prasiddhaṃ na jijñāsitavyam. athâprasiddhaṃ nâiva śakyaṃ jijñāsitum iti. ucyate ...   But that *brahman* 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 ...

A much longer example is found in *SBh* 1.1.4, where a *pūrvapakṣa* discussion of many lines is concluded as follows:

tasmāt pratipatti-vidhi-viṣayatayâiva śāstra-pramāṇakaṃ brahmâbhyupagantavyam iti. atrâbhidhīyate ...   Therefore *brahman* 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 ...

Compare this construction with the common use of *iti* to mark the end of a chapter or an entire work.

iti śrīmac-chārīraka-mīmāṃsā-bhāṣye śrī-śaṅkara-bhagavat-pāda-kṛtau prathamâdhyāyasya prathamaḥ pādaḥ   thus ends the first *pāda* of the first *adhyāya* of the commentary on the *Śrīmac-chārīraka-mīmāṃsā* composed by Śrī-śaṅkara-bhagavat-pāda

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 *etat* 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

erbs 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*," *gṛhīta* "mentioned or referred to in the *mūla*."

SBh 1.1.22   *tasmād ākāśa-śabdena bhūtâkâśasya grahaṇam*   therefore
by the word "ether" there is reference in the *mūla* to the elemental ether

SBh 1.1.20   *tac ca paramêśvara-parigrahe ghaṭate*   and that makes
sense if the reference in the *mūla* is to the Supreme Lord

SBh 1.2.1   *sarvaṃ khalv idaṃ brahmêti sva-śabdenâiva brahmôpāttam*
brahman is directly mentioned by its own name in the passage "of course
all this is *brahman*"

erbs of taking—)

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   *itaś câivam abhyupagantavyam asti pūrvasmin vākye*
prakṛtaṃ brahmêti   and for this reason we must accept the fact that
brahman is the topic of the previous passage

• SBh 1.1.12   *kim ihânandamaya-śabdena param eva brahmôcyate*
yat-prakṛtaṃ satyaṃ jñānam anantaṃ brahmêti   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-lakṣaṇaṃ punas tad brahmêty ata āha bhagavān*
sūtrakāraḥ   but what is the definition of that *brahman*? the blessed
author of the *sūtras* explains (in the following *sūtra*)

2.39.4   Author as understood speaker

The *mūlakāra* is often the unexpressed subject (or agent, in a passive con-
struction) of a verb in the third person singular. Commentators use such
verbs (especially in the *avataraṇa* 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*.

PP p. 135   *tat-sādhanârtham āha pratyag-ātma-prasiddher iti*   in order
to substantiate that, the *mūlakāra* says "because the inner self is
well-known"

GBh 2.23   *kasmād [ātmā] avikriya evêty āha*   why is [the self]
changeless? the *mūlakāra* explains (in the following verse)

Other phrases employing *āha* include *ity āśaṅkyâha* "having raised this
doubt the *mūlakāra* says" (see Section 2.49.4), *dṛṣṭântam 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 objec-
tion.

GBh 2.48   *yadi karma-phala-prayuktena na kartavyaṃ karma kathaṃ*
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

āśaṅkate   he raises a doubt

udāharati   he cites as an example

upasaṃharati   he summarizes

darśayati   he shows

pariharati   he refutes

prapañcayati   he explains in detail

varṇayati   he describes

The future tense refers to a passage of the *mūla* subsequent to the one presently under consideration; e.g., *vakṣyati* "the *mūlakāra* will state," *darśayiṣyati* "the *mūlakāra* will show."

> *SBh 2.1.6   tarkâpratiṣṭhānād iti ca kevalasya tarkasya vipralambhakatvaṃ darśayiṣyati*   and the *sūtrakāra* will show the fallaciousness of mere reasoning in the *sūtra "tarkâpratiṣṭhānāt"*

2.39.5   Participles of verbs of saying

Participles of verbs meaning "to say," "to show," etc. may refer to the *mūlakāra*; e.g., *ukta* may mean "stated by the *mūlakāra*," *vakṣyamāṇa* may mean "to be stated by the *mūlakāra*," and *vivakṣita* may mean "intended by the *mūlakāra*" (lit., "what he means to say").

> *SBh 1.1.1   brahma ca vakṣyamāṇa-lakṣaṇaṃ janmâdy asya yata iti* and the definition of *brahman* will be stated by the *sūtrakāra* in the *sūtra* "from which there is the origin and so on of this (world)"

> *SBh 1.1.31   tri-vidham iha brahmôpāsanaṃ vivakṣitam*   a three-fold meditation on *brahman* 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 *mūlakāra* in passive constructions where the agent (the *mūlakāra*) is not actually mentioned.

> *SBh 1.1.3   kim-arthaṃ tarhîdaṃ sūtraṃ yāvatā pūrva-sūtra evâivaṃ-jātīyakaṃ śāstram udāharatā śāstra-yoṇitvaṃ brahmaṇo darśitam*   then what is the purpose of this *sūtra*, in as much as by adducing such a *śāstra* on the previous *sūtra* it was shown that the *śāstra* is the source of *brahman*?

> *PP p. 137   nanu brahma-vidyām anartha-hetu-nibarhaṇīṃ prati-jānatâvidyânartha-hetuḥ sūcitā*   objection: by asserting that knowledge of *brahman* destroys the cause of evil, it is shown that ignorance is the cause of evil

Here the present participles *udāharatā* and *pratijānatā* properly refer to *sūtrakāreṇa*, the unexpressed agent of *darśitam* and *sūcitā*, respectively. Note that neither the Sanskrit nor the English translation requires mention of the word *sūtrakāra*.

2.39.7   Auto-commentary

When an author writes a commentary on his own work (a so-called "auto-commentary") he normally refers to the *mūlakāra* as if the *mūlakāra* were another person. Thus the third person is used (not the first person, as one might expect), and the other terms and constructions described above are employed where appropriate.

2.40   References to the commentary

2.40.1   First person plural

A commentator often refers to his own work with a verb in the first person plural. The past and future tenses refer to preceding and subsequent passages of the commentary.

> *SBh 1.1.4   nityam aśarīratvam 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 câyam arthaḥ sarveṣāṃ vedāntānāṃ tathā vayaṃ asyāṃ śārīraka-mīmāṃsāyāṃ pradarśayiṣyāmaḥ*   and how this is the meaning of all the Vedānta texts we shall show in this *śārīraka-mīmāṃsā*

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," *yathôkta* "as previously stated," *ukta-nyāyena* "in the manner previously stated."

> *GBh 2.21   nanûkta evâtmano 'vikriyatvaṃ*
> *sarva-karmâsambhava-kāraṇa-viśeṣaḥ*   objection: 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

> *SBh 1.1.5   brahma ca sarvajñaṃ sarva-śakti*
> *jagad-utpatti-sthiti-nāśa-kāraṇam ity uktam*   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 *mūlakāra* (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 tûktam ... iti* or simply *yat tu ... iti* may mean "what was said previously, i.e., ..."

> *SBh 1.1.4   yat tu heyôpādeya-rahitatvād upadeśânarthakyam iti nâiṣa*
> *doṣaḥ*   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*.

> *SBh 1.1.5   yat tûktaṃ sattva-dharmeṇa jñānena sarvajñaṃ pradhānaṃ*
> *bhaviṣyatîti tan nôpapadyate*   but what was said before, i.e., that the
> *pradhāna* may be omniscient because knowledge is a quality of
> *sattva*—that is unreasonable.

Note that the same construction (but not with *ukta*) may be used to quote something other than the commentator's own work, e.g., a rival interpretation.

> *SBh 1.1.4   yad api ke cid āhuḥ*
> *pravṛtti-nivṛtti-vidhi-tac-cheṣa-vyatirekeṇa kevala-vastu-vādī veda-bhāgo*
> *nâstîti tan na*   and what some say, i.e., that no portion of the Veda
> declares a mere thing separate from injunctions to act or to refrain from
> acting or from something subordinate to such injunctions—that is wrong

2.40.4   Reference to earlier topic

An abbreviated reference to earlier commentary may be made by mentioning the topic of the earlier discussion.

> *vāyunā vyākhyāte*   this is explained by *vāyu*: this is explained by what
> we said concerning *vāyu*

2.40.5   *agre*

The adverb *agre* "in front of" means "later on, below" when used in reference to the commentator's own work.

> *evam agre vakṣyate*   thus it 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 *āmnā* refer to what is taught in the sacred or traditional texts: *ity āmnāyate* "this is taught in the sacred texts," *āmnāta* "taught in the sacred texts."

Derivatives of *dṛś* refer to what is seen in ordinary experience: *iti dṛśyate = iti dṛṣṭam* "this is seen in ordinary experience," *iti dṛṣṭaṃ loke*

"this is seen in the world," -*darśanāt* (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 *prasidh* refer to what is generally known in the world: *iti prasidhyate = 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 *smṛ* refer to what is taught in *smṛti: iti smaryate* "this is taught in *smṛti*," -*smaraṇāt* (final member of compound) "because *smṛti* teaches that... ."

Derivatives of *śru* refer to what is taught in *śruti: iti śrūyate* "this is taught in *śruti*," -*śravaṇāt* (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 pṛthivy-ādi jagan-nityatva-vādīnāṃ yathā ca*
> *sāṅkhyānāṃ guṇāḥ*   like the earth and so on for those who believe that
> the world is eternal, and like the *guṇa*s for the Sāṅkhyas

Or a general reference may be made to anyone who holds such a view.

> *SBh 1.1.4   yasya tūtpādyo mokṣas tasya mānasaṃ vācikaṃ kāyikaṃ vā*
> *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 *sāṅkhyānām* would be glossed *sāṅkhyānāṃ mate* "in the view of the Sāṅkhyas," while *yasya* would be glossed *yasya mate* "in the view of whomever."

Chapter 18

Examples and Comparisons

2.43   Introduction

Certain terms are commonly used to introduce examples and comparisons. *bahuvrīhi*s in *ādi* often give specific examples of a more general term. Comparisons may be drawn by adverbs formed with the suffix *vat* 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   śira-ādiṣu pucchânteṣv avayaveṣ-kteṣu*   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.

> *indrâdayo devāḥ*   the gods, Indra and so on; Indra and the other gods

> *ākāśâdīni bhūtāni*   the elements, ether and so on; the elements, such as ether

Here *bahuvrīhi*s 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 *bahuvrīhi* is used as a substantive.

> *āgatā rāmâdayaḥ*   Rāma and the others came

Here *rāmâdayaḥ* mentions a particular individual (Rāma) and denotes (in addition to Rāma) the set of individuals associated with Rāma. Note that the *bahuvrīhi* is often singular in this construction, even though it refers to more that one thing.

> *SBh 2.1.24   nahi vāyur ākāśo vâuṣṇyâdinā balād dadhi-bhāvam āpadyate*   for neither air nor ether is compelled by heat and so on to turn into curds

*bahuvrīhi*s of the same meaning as those in *ādi* may be formed by *ādika* (see Section 2.15), the related word *ādya*, and other words meaning "beginning" such as *prabhṛti*.

> *indrâdayo devāḥ = indrâdikā devāḥ = indrâdyā devāḥ =*
> *indra-prabhṛtayo devāḥ*

2.44.2   Series of compounds

Several *bahuvrīhi*s 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 *ādi*s.

> *SBh 2.1.1   sarvajñaḥ sarvêśvaro jagata utpatti-kāraṇam mṛt-suvarṇâdaya iva ghaṭa-rucakâdīnām*   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   paśvâdayaḥ śabdâdibhiḥ śrotrâdīnāṃ sambandhe sati śabdâdi-vijñāne pratikūle 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 *ādi*s simply show that other related examples could be named if desired, and so the *ādi*s may be rendered by "for instance." In the second example each *bahuvrīhi* in *ādi* implies a more or less well defined set of items (e.g., *śrotrâdi* "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 *ity-ādi* (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 *ity-ādi* has the sense "quotations such as... ." Like other *bahuvrīhi*s in *ādi*, *ity-ādi* may modify another word in the sentence, or the word that it modifies may be unexpressed, or *ity-ādi* may occur in compound.

> *SBh 1.1.4   kim-arthāni tarhy ātmā vā are draṣṭavyaḥ śrotavya ity-ādīni vidhi-cchāyāni vacanāni*   then what is the purpose of passages that resemble injunctions, such as "the self indeed, my dear, is to be seen, is to be heard"?

> *SBh 1.1.12   evam ākāśas tal-liṅgād ity-ādiṣu draṣṭavyam*   so it is to be regarded in passages such as *ākāśas tal-liṅgāt*

> *SBh 2.1.7   sarvaṃ taṃ parādād yo 'nyatrâtmanaḥ sarvaṃ vedêtyādi-śravaṇāt*   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 câivam-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 Pāṇini 5.1.115–116 to constructions that can be paraphrased in one of the following ways:

> *brāhmaṇavad vartate = brāhmaṇena tulyaṃ vartate*   he acts like a Brahmin (paraphrase by instrumental of noun with *tulyam*—similarity of action must be denoted)

> *mathurāvat śrughne prākāraḥ = mathurāyām iva śrughne prākāraḥ*   the wall in Śrughna, like the one in Mathurā (paraphrase by locative of noun with *iva*)

> *devadattavad yajñadattasya gāvaḥ = devadattasyêva yajñadattasya gāvaḥ* 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., *mātṛvat para-dārān paśyati = mātaram iva para-dārān paśyati* "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 dagdhêndhanâgnivat svayam evôpaśamyate*   and that extinguishes itself, like a fire whose fuel has been consumed

Here *dagdhêndhanâgnivat = dagdhêndhanâgnir iva* (note that *vat* is used correctly here, since *dagdhêndhanâgnivat svayam ev"paśamyate* can be paraphrased by *dagdhêndhanâgninā tulyaṃ svayam ev"paśamyate*, and the point of comparison is the act of extinguishing itself). Often the suffix *vat* is added to *bahuvrīhis* in *ādi* to indicate that the noun mentioned in the *bahuvrīhi* is one of several that might be named for the sake of comparison.

> *dehâdivat*   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 dehâkāra-pariṇatebhyaḥ kiṇvâdibhyo mada-śaktivac caitanyam upajāyate*   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   nâpi viśiṣṭa-kriyā-yoga-nimittaṃ vāyur vāvā saṃvargaḥ prāṇa vāvā saṃvarga 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 śarīram iti vyavahāro rāhoḥ śira ityādivad aupacārikaḥ* 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 particuarly common when the standard of comparison is expressed by a verbal clause.

> SBh 2.1.4   *nanu dharma iva brahmaṇy apy anapekṣa āgamo bhavitum arhati*   objection: the sacred texts must be independently authoritative with regard to *brahman* also, just as (they are) with regard to *dharma*

> SBh 1.1.4   *svâtma-dharma eva saṃs tiro-bhūto mokṣaḥ kriyayâtmani saṃskriyamāne 'bhivyajyate yathâdarśe nigharṣaṇa-kriyayā saṃskriyamāne bhāsvaratvaṃ 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 svargâdi-kāmasyâgnihotrâdi-sādhanaṃ vidhīyata evam amṛtatva-kāmasya brahma-jñānaṃ vidhīyate*   just as means such as the *agnihotra* are enjoined for one who desires heaven and so on, so knowledge of *brahman* 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 rājâsau gacchatîty ukte sa-parivārasya rājño gamanam uktaṃ 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 *pūrvapakṣa*, lit., "the prior view." The *pūrvapakṣa* 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 *pūrvapakṣa* is put forth, and a debate develops be-

tween the *pūrvapakṣin* (the upholder of the *pūrvapakṣa*) and the *siddhāntin* (the upholder of the *siddhānta*, i.e., the comentator) 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 *pūrvapakṣa*s. 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 *sūtra*s, some *sūtra*s may express a *pūrvapakṣa* but lack any of the terms described in Section 2.49 that ordinarily mark an objection. However *pūrvapakṣa sūtra*s (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-śabdaḥ pūrvapakṣa-vyāvṛtty-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 kāṇādās tv etebhya eva vākyebhya īśvaraṃ nimitta-kāraṇam anumimate 'ṇūṃś ca samavāyī-kāraṇam*   the followers of Kaṇāda 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 yojayituṃ śakyante*   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 *siddhāntin* and the *pūrvapakṣin* address one another directly. Second person pronouns and second person verbs are not uncommon in such passages.

> *SBh 1.1.1 yuṣmat-pratyayâpetasya ca pratyag-ātmano 'viṣayatvaṃ bravīṣi*   and you (i.e., the *siddhāntin*) say that the inner self which is free of the notion of you is not an object

> *SBh 1.1.5 idaṃ tāvad bhavān praṣṭavyaḥ kathaṃ nitya-jñāna-kriyātve sarvajñatva-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 tenântaḥkāraṇôparāga-nimittaṃ mithyâivâhaṅkārtṛtvam ātmanaḥ sphaṭika-maṇer ivôpādhāna-nimitto lohimā.*   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 *japā* flower] is false

> *kathaṃ punaḥ sphaṭike lohitimno mithyātvam.*   But how is the red color in the crystal false?

> *ucyate yadi sphaṭika-pratisphālitā nāyana-raśmayo japā-kusumam upasarpeyus tadā viśiṣṭa-sannivesaṃ tad eva lohitaṃ grāhayeyuḥ. na hi rūpa-mātra-niṣṭhaś cākṣuṣaḥ pratyayo dṛṣṭa-pūrvaḥ. nâpi svâśrayam anakarṣad rūpa-mātraṃ pratibimbitaṃ kva cid upalabdha-pūrvam.*   We reply: if the ocular rays reached the *japā* 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.

nanv abhijātasyêva padma-rāgâdi-maṇer japā-kusumâder api prabhā vidyate tayā vyāptatvāt sphaṭiko 'pi lohita ivâvabhāsate.   Objection: light exists in the *japā* flower and so on also, just as it does in noble gems such as a ruby; the crystal also apears to be red because it is pervaded by that (light).

tathâpi svayam alohito mithyâiva lohita ity āpadyeta.   Even so the fact remains that what is not red in itself (i.e., the crystal) falsely appears to be red.

atha prabhâiva lohitâvabhāsate na sphaṭika iti.   Then the light alone appears red, not the crystal.

śauklyam api tarhi sphaṭike prakāśeta.   In that case whiteness also would appear in the crystal.

atha prabhayâpasāritaṃ tad iti cet.   Now if it is objected that it (i.e., the whiteness) is driven out by the light.

sa tarhi nīrūpaḥ kathaṃ cākṣusaḥ syāt. na ca rūpi-dravya-saṃyogād vāyor api tathātva-prasaṅgāt. na prabhā-nimittaṃ lauhityaṃ tatrôtpannam uttara-kālcm api tathā-rūpa-prasaṅgāt.   How in that case could (the crystal) which would have no color be visible? Nor (is the crystal visible) because of a connection with another substance possessing color, since the same would apply to air also. Nor is redness produced in it by the light, since that would involve (the crystal's) retaining the same color (i.e., red) even after (the *japā* flower is removed).

2.49   Objection

The following terms are commonly used to raise an objection. Normally the objection is a *pūrvapakṣa*, but occasionally some of the same terms are used for a counterobjection by the *siddhāntin*. *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 *nanu* "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 viṣayiṇas cid-ātmanaḥ kathaṃ viṣaya-bhāvaḥ*   but how can the subject whose nature is consciousness be an object?

> *PP p. 55   nanu na vyāpakam idaṃ lakṣaṇaṃ svapna-śokâdāv 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 'yaṃ tarko nāma*   but what is this so-called reasoning?

> *PP p. 333   atha śabda-janyasyâiva jñānasyâbhyāso 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 *kathaṃ punar* "but how?"

> *SBh 1.1.1   kathaṃ punaḥ pratyag-ātmany aviṣaye 'dhyāso viṣaya-tad-dharmāṇām*   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 nāmôpadiṣṭaṃ kiṃ 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 *aśarīratvam eva dharma-kāryam iti cen na tasya svabhāvikatvāt*   if it is objected that bodilessness itself is produced by *dharma*, then we reply no, since that (bodilessness) is natural

> SBh 1.1.4 *aviṣayatve brahmaṇaḥ śāstra-yonitvânupapattir iti cen nâvidyā-kalpita-bheda-nivṛtti-paratvāc 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 āśaṅkya*

Derivatives of the root *āśaṅk* "to suspect (wrongly)" often mark an interpretation that appears to be reasonable but is incorrect. For example: *ity āśaṅkya* "having raised (or anticipated) this doubt," *āśaṅkyate* "is suspected, is wrongly held to be true."

> PP p. 248   *tatra krama-niyamârtho 'tha-śabda ity āśaṅkyâha phala-jijñāsya-bhedāc ca*   the word *atha* 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 1.1.1   *ata eva na brahma-śabdasya jāty-ādy-arthântaram āśaṅkitavyam*   therefore one should not suspect that the word *brahman* has another meaning such as class

> SBh 1.1.3   *janmâdi kevalam anumānam upanyastam ity āśaṅkyeta tām āśaṅkām nivartayitum idam sūtram pravavṛte śāstra-yonitvād 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-yonitvāt*"

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   *kim tāvat prāptam brahmaṇo 'rthântaram amukhya ātmânandamayaḥ syāt*   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-yonitvam 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 evêdam brahmaṇo jagad vilakṣaṇatvāc ca na brahma-prakṛtikam 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., *āha* "an objector says," *apara āha* "another says," *atra ke cid 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 *āha* 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   *āha mā bhūj jñāna-dvayam*   an objector says: let there not be two cognitions

SBh 1.1.6   atrâha yad uktaṃ nâcetanaṃ pradhānaṃ jagat-kāraṇam īkṣitṛtva-śravaṇād iti tad anyathâpy upapadyate   here an objector says: what was said before, i.e., that the unconscious *pradhāna* cannot be the cause of the world because *śruti* teaches that [the cause] is a seer—that can be explained in another way

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 codanīyam* "nor should it be urged that ..." (see Section 2.23). The reason for the prohibition usually follows.

SDS p. 8   na ca vyāpti-jñānaṃ sāmānya-gocaram iti mantavyaṃ vyaktyor avinābhāvâbhāva-prasaṅgāt   nor should it be thought that knowledge of concomitance has the generic properties as its object, since that would involve the absence of concomitance of the two individuals

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 *pūrvapakṣin* 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 *atrâbhidhīyate = atrôcyate* "here we reply, on this point we reply" and *brūmaḥ* "we reply." These expressions are particularly common when the *siddhānta* is introduced after a long *pūrvapakṣa* or after a debate between two or more *pūrvapakṣins*. 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   tatra prasiddher vāyuḥ prāṇa iti prāpta ucyate prāṇa-śabdaṃ brahma vijñeyam   the word *prāṇa* means air because it is well-known in that (meaning)—the *pūrvapakṣa* being thus established, we reply that the word *prāṇa* must be understood to denote *brahman*

SBh 1.1.4   atrâbhidhīyate na karma-brahma-vidyā-phalayor vailakṣaṇyāt   here we reply no, because of the difference between the fruit of the knowledge of *karma* and the fruit of the knowledge of *brahman*

SBh 1.1.19   tatra kathaṃ brahmaṇaḥ sva-pradhānatvaṃ śakyaṃ vijñātuṃ prakṛtatvād iti brūmaḥ   how can it be known that *brahman* is the chief thing in the passage? we reply: because it is the subject of discussion

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," *nâitad 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 āśaṅkêti* or *tan mâśaṅkîti* "lest this doubt arise." The pronoun *tat* in such expressions may refer to a preceding *yat* (see Section 2.40.3) or may simply refer to the objection in general.

SBh 1.1.31   nâitad evam upāsā-traividhyāt   this is not so because of the threefoldness of meditation

GBh 2.18   anyathā pṛthivy-ādivad api nityatvaṃ syād ātmanas tan mā bhūd iti nityasyânāśina ity āha   otherwise the self's eternality would be like that of the earth and so on—lest that be the case, the author of the text uses the words "eternal" and "unperishing"

Sometimes the opponent's view is rejected in a more dramatic fashion.

SDS p. 7   tad etan mano-rājya-vijṛmbhanam   so this [i.e., the argument you have presented] is just building castles in the air

2.50.3   *prasaṅga* and *āpatti*

Derivatives of the roots *prasañj* "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: *prasaṅga* and *āpatti* "undesirable implication," *prasajyate* and *āpadyate* "is implied as an undesirable consequence."

> *SBh 1.1.22   na câyam ākāśa-śabda ubhayoḥ sādhāraṇaḥ śakyo vijñātum anekârthatva-prasaṅgāt*   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 svâśraya-kriyayā vikriyetânityatvam 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 jñātam evêty ajijñāsyatvaṃ 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 *prasaṅga* or *āpatti* and introduced by *anyathā* "otherwise."

> *SBh 1.1.19   tenânandamayasya brahmatvam anyathā prakṛta-hānâprakṛta-prakriyā-prasaṅgāt*   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 doṣaḥ* or *nâiṣa doṣaḥ* or *nâyaṃ doṣaḥ* "this fault (does) not (apply)," i.e., "the fault proposed by the objector does not hold true for our doctrine." Similarly *na duṣyati* means "does not harm our position."

> *SBh 1.1.12   yat tûktam annamayâdy-amukhyâtma-pravāha-patitatvād ānandamayasyâpy amukhyatvam iti nâsau doṣa ānandamayasya sarvântaratvāt*   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-saṃsāritva-nivartanena nitya-muktâtma-svarūpa-samarpaṇān na mokṣasyânityatva-doṣaḥ*   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 evaṃ yadi rajju-svarūpa-śravaṇa iva sarpa-bhrāntiḥ saṃsāritva-bhrāntir brahma-svarūpa-śravaṇa-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 eṣa mano-ratho yady anumānâdeḥ prāmāṇyam na syāt. asti ca prāmāṇyam*   . 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."

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 ... tathâpi ...* "even if ... still ... ," *kāmam* "granted,"
satyam "true," *bādham* "yes, surely," *astu* "let it be," and *sarvathâpi* "but
in any case" may be employed.

> *SBh 1.1.4   atrâpare pratyavatiṣṭhante yady api śāstra-pramāṇakam
> brahma tathâpi pratipatti-vidhi-viṣayatayâiva śāstreṇa brahma
> samarpyate*   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 uktam. bādham ata evârthāj
> jīve brahma-svarūpa-prakāśâcchādikâvidyā 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 tarhy atrivṛt-kṛtam 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 brahmâivâbhihitam iti na chando'bhidhānam.
> sarvathâpy 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   anupakurvann api tarhi sahakāry apekṣyeta*   in that case the
> auxillary would be required even though it does not render assistance

> *SBh 1.1.19   annamayādīnām api tarhi brahmatva-prasaṅgaḥ*   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 sec-
ond interpretation with particles such as *athavā* 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-yonitvāt"* is introduced;
in the second example a second interpretation is given of the word *jyotis* in
the *sūtra "jyotiś caraṇâbhidhānāt"*.

> *SBh 1.1.3   athavā yathôktam ṛg-vedâdi śāstram yoniḥ kāraṇam
> pramāṇam asya brahmaṇo yathāvat-svarūpâdhigame*   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 nâyam jyotiḥ-śabdaś cākṣur-vṛtter evânugrāhake
> tejasi vartate 'nyatrâpi 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 fa-
vored 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 pronomial adverbs
as pronouns, some peculiarities in the use of correlative pronouns and ad-
verbs, 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 sen-
tence (or clause). Frequently this connection is crucial to the meaning of
the passage. Note that particles such as *kiṃ ca*, lit., "and what?" are prop-
erly 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   *tṛtīye 'dhyāye parâparāsu vidyāsu sādhanâśrayo vicāraḥ*
> *prāyeṇâtyāgāt. athêha caturthe phalâśraya āgamiṣyati*   . In the third
> *adhyāya* 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 dvitīyo 'dhyāyaḥ* 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 ... atha ...* "if ... but if ... ."

> PP p. 123   *yadi na [artha-kriyām] kuryād asal-lakṣaṇa-prāpter na paramârtha-vastv atha kuryān na tarhi sthāyī*   if it does not perform [useful activity] then it is not a real thing since it fulfills the requirements of a non-existent thing; but if it does perform [useful activity] then it is not permanent

Occasionally *atha* is used in place of *yadi* or *cet* to state a condition.

> SBh 1.1.4   *atha prakaraṇântara-bhayān nâitad abyupagamyate tathâpi sva-vākya-gatôpāsanâdi-karma-paratvam*   if this is not accepted for fear of introducing a new topic, then even so (it must be admitted that the Vedānta texts) are concerned with actions such as meditation contained in those very texts.

2.53.2   *tatra*

tatra often refers 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 1.1.1   *tatrâtha-śabda ānantaryârthaḥ parigṛhyate*   the word *atha* in the passage is used to signify immediate succession

> SBh 1.1.23   *vāyu-vikārasya pañca-vṛtteḥ prāṇasyôpādānaṃ yuktam. tatra hi prasiddhatarah prāṇa-śabdah*   . It is reasonable that the reference is to the five-fold *prāṇa* that is a modification of air, since the word *prāṇa* is better known in that sense.

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."

> PP p. 257   *bahavaś ca sambandha-viśeṣaḥ. tatrâvaśyam anyatamaḥ pratipattavyo 'nyathā vyavahârânupapatteḥ*   . And there are many kinds of relationship. Of these one must necessarily be accepted because otherwise discourse would be impossible.

> PP p. 90   *tatra na tāvat prathamaḥ kalpo jaḍa-svarūpe pramāṇa-phale viśvasyânavabhāsa-prasaṅgāt*   of these, first of all, not the first alternative, because if the fruit of *pramāṇa* were insentient 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   *kutaḥ saṃśayaḥ. ubhayatra prayoga-darśanāt. bhūta-viśeṣe tāvat suprasiddho loka-vedayor ākāśa-śabdo brahmaṇy api kva cit prayujyamāno dṛśyate.*   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 anīyastvaṃ jyāyastvaṃ côbhayam ekasmin samāśrayituṃ śakyaṃ virodhāt*   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 this passage" or "in this case" or "with regard to this" and so on. If the reference is to a recently mentioned substantive, *atra* and *iha* are equivalent to the locative of the pronoun *idam* (see Section 2.55).

SBh 1.1.22   kiṃ punar atra yuktaṃ bhūtâkāśam iti   but what is right in this case? [the word *ākāśa* refers to] the elemental ether

SBh 1.1.23   ata iha prāṇa-śabdena katarasyôpādānaṃ yuktam iti bhavati saṃśayaḥ   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 gautamâgnir yoṣā vāva gautamâgnir ity atra yoṣit-puruṣayor 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 *ihâpi* "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.

PP p. 249   iha tu nitya-nirvṛttaṃ puruṣa-vyāpārânapekṣaṃ brahma jijñāsyam   but in this case the object of inquiry is *brahman*, eternally accomplished and independent of man's action

iha may also signify "in this world" (= *iha loke*).

2.53.5   *kiṃ ca*, etc.

kiṃ ca "moreover," *api ca* "moreover," *anyac ca* "and another thing," *aparaṃ ca* "and a further thing," *tathā ca* "and similarly," and the like all serve to add something to what has been said before.

PP p. 49   kiṃ ca rajata-rūpeṇa cet pariṇatā śuktiḥ kṣīram iva dadhi-rūpeṇa tadā doṣâpagame 'pi tathâivâvatiṣṭheta   moreover, if shell were transformed into silver as milk is transformed into curds then it would remain just so (i.e., as silver) even when the defect is removed

SBh 1.1.4   api ca brāhmaṇo na hantavya iti câivam-ādyā nivṛttir upadiśyate   moreover, abstinence from action is taught in passages such as "a Brahmin is not to be killed"

2.53.6   *tu*, etc.

tu, kiṃ tu, paraṃ 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 *kiṃ tarhi* "but rather, instead."

SBh 1.1.4   na tu tathā brahmaṇa upāsanā-vidhi-śeṣatvaṃ sambhavati   but *brahman* cannot thus be subordinate to injunctions to meditate

SBh 1.1.2   tasmāj janmâdi-sūtraṃ nânumānôpanyāsârtham. kiṃ tarhi vedānta-vākya-pradarśanârtham   . Therefore the *sūtra* beginning with the words *janmâdy* does not serve to put forth an inference, but rather to point out a Vedānta text.

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   prāk ca tathā-bhūtâtma-vijñānāt pravartamānaṃ śāstram avidyāvad-viṣayatvaṃ nâtivartate. tathā hi brāhmaṇo yajetêtyādīni śāstrāṇy ātmani varṇâśrama-vayo 'vasthâdi-viśeṣâdhyāsam āśritya pravartante.   And the *śāstra*, 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   adhyāso nāmâtasmiṃs tad-buddhir ity avocāma. tad yathā putra-bhāryâdiṣu vikaleṣu sakaleṣu vâham eva vikalaḥ sakalo vêti bāhya-dharmān ātmany adhyasyati   . 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.

2.53.8   Words for "therefore"

A conclusion may be introduced by a pronoun or adverb such as *tasmāt*, *tena*, *tat*, *tataḥ*, *ataḥ*, 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 avidyāvad-viṣayāṇy eva pratyakṣâdīni pramāṇāni śāstrāṇi ca*   therefore the *pramāṇas* such as perception and the *śāstras* have as their object those affected by *avidyā*

> *PP p. 140   bādham ukta-lakṣaṇâvidyā pratyag-dṛśy api sambhaven nâitāvatā tat-sambhavaḥ sidhyate. tena nidarśanīyaḥ 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 evâtmā*   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-yathâtmya-jñānaṃ puruṣa-buddhy-apekṣam. kiṃ 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   aṅganâdy-āliṅganâdi-janyaṃ sukham eva puruṣârthaḥ*   the aim of man is just the pleasure that arises from such things as embracing

women This meaning is strengthened in the expression *eva kevalam* "just this and no more."

> *SBh 1.1.1   brahma-codanā tu puruṣam avabodhayaty eva kevalam*   but the scriptural imperatives concerning *brahman* only instruct a man and no more

When combined with the pronoun *tat*, *eva* means "the very one, the same one."

> *SBh 1.1.19   tathā sati tad eva brahmânandamaya ātmâvayavī tad eva ca brahma pucchaṃ pratiṣṭhâvayavaḥ*   this being the case, that very *brahman* would be the self consisting of bliss, the whole, and that same *brahman* would be the tail, the foundation, a part

> *PP p. 107   atrâha bhavatu na vastv-antaram. tad eva tad iti tu na kṣamyate.*   Here the objector says: we grant that [the image in a mirror] is not a different thing [from the object reflected]; but we cannot accept that it is the same thing (i.e., that the two are identical).

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-ktaṃ sarva-jñāna-śaktimattvena sarvajñaṃ bhaviṣyatîti. tad api nôpapadyate*   . Objection: it was said that [the *pradhāna*] might be omniscient because it possesses the capacity for all knowledge. That also is not reasonable.

> *SBh 1.1.1   nanu śeṣa-ṣaṣṭhi-parigrahe 'pi brahmaṇo jijñāsa-karmatvaṃ na virudhyate*   objection: even if the genitive of general relation is used in the text, *brahman*'s being the object of the desire to know is not contradicted

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 = tathâpi* "even so, still, nevertheless" (see Section 2.50.6).

2.55 Pronomial adverbs used as pronouns

Pronomial 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:

kutaḥ	= ablative of *kim*
kutra	= locative of *kim*
yataḥ	= ablative of *yat*
yatra	= locative of *yat*
tataḥ	= ablative of *tat*
tatra	= locative of *tat*
ataḥ	= ablative of *idam*
atra	= locative of *idam*
iha	= locative of *idam*
kva	= locative of *kim*

Note that the relative adverbs *yataḥ* and *yatra* may be correlated with the pronoun *tat* and the demonstrative adverbs *tataḥ* and *tatra* may be correlated with the pronoun *yat*.

SBh 1.1.1 *yatra yad-adhyāsas tad-vivekâgraha-nibandhano bhramaḥ* the superimposition of one thing on another is an error based on the failure to grasp the difference of the two

SDS p. 31 *yad vedyate yena vedanena tat tato na bhidyate*   whatever is made known by a cognition, that is not different from that (cognition)

PP p. 211 *adhīta-vedasya yo 'rtho 'vagatas tatrâiva vipratipattayaḥ santi*   there are conflicting views with regard to that meaning learned by one who has studied the Veda

In the first example above *yatra = yasmin* and both *yatra* and *yad* correspond to *tat* (= *tayoḥ*); in the second example *tataḥ = tasmāt* and corresponds to *yena*; in the third example *tatra = tasmin* and corresponds to *yo 'rthaḥ*.

2.55.2 Adverbs as attributives

The adverbs mentioned above may act as attributives of singular substantives in the ablative or locative case.

tato deśāt = tasmād deśāt	from that place
kutaś cit kāraṇāt = kasmāc cit kāraṇāt	from some cause
atra ghaṭe = asmin ghaṭe	in this pot
iha loke = asmin loke	in this world

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 yaḥ* "whoever" and *yatra yatra* "wherever." In this case the correlative pronoun or adverb is also repeated.

SBh 1.1.12 *yatra yatra vibhūty-ādy-atiśayaḥ sa sa iśvara ity upāsyatayā codyate*   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 avabhāsakaṃ tat taj jyotiḥ-śabdenâbhidhīyate*   therefore whatever illuminates something is denoted by the word *jyotis*

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-kṛtena doṣeṇa guṇena vânu-mātreṇâpi sa na sambadhyate*   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 samartham*   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   yathâkâśasyâkṣa-vyāpāram antarâpy aparokṣatā tathā darśayiṣyāmaḥ*   we will show how the ether is directly known even without the functioning of the eye

> *SBh 1.1.5   yathā tu tarkeṇâpi brahmaṇa eva kāraṇatvaṃ nirvoḍhuṃ śakyate na pradhānâdīnāṃ tathā prapañcayiṣyati na vilakṣaṇatvād*

> *asyêtyevamādinā*   but the *sūtrakāra* will explain in *sūtras* such as *na vilakṣaṇatvād asya* how by reasoning also the causality of *brahman* alone can be established, and not that of the *pradhāna* and so on

Note that in both examples a sentence of equivalent meaning can be obtained by omitting *yathā* and replacing *tathā* with *iti*.

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   alaṅkāro hy ayam asmākaṃ yad brahmâtmâvagatau satyāṃ sarva-kartavyatā-hāniḥ kṛta-kṛtyatā cêti*   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 'laṅkāra eva sūtrāṇāṃ yad anekârthatā 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 *alaṅkāra*. 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   yathā pituḥ pitêti prayoge 'nyaḥ pitā ṣaṣṭhi-nirdiṣṭo 'nyaḥ prathama-nirdiṣṭaḥ   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 cit* (or *eke*) ... *apare* (or *anye*) ..." some ... others ... ."

2.57   Demonstrative pronouns

2.57.1   Scale of proximity

The uses of the pronouns *idam*, *etat*, *adaḥ*, and *tat* are distinguished by the Indian grammarians in the following *kārikā*:

> *idamas tu sannikṛṣṭaṃ samīpatara-varti câitado rūpam*
> *adasas tu viprakṛṣṭaṃ tad iti parokṣe vijānīyāt*

> One should know that *idam* refers to what is near, *etat* to what
>   is closer at hand, *adaḥ* to what is remote, and *tat* to what
>   is not visible to the speaker.

   The words *idam*, *etat*, and *adaḥ* 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"). *adaḥ* 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 correlative is 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 Brahmin"); when it appears alone it is usually translated by the appropriate personal pronoun (e.g., *saḥ* "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 karmâkarmâiva sampadyata ity etam arthaṃ darśayiṣyan 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   saṃsāre vairāgya-pradarśanârthaṃ cêdam āha*   and in order to demonstrate dispassion toward *saṃsāra* 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   *tad etat* and *tad idam*

tat is sometimes used in apposition with *etat* or *idam* to make an emphatic reference to something recently discussed; e.g., *tad etat* or *tad idam* "this one here (*etat* or *idam*) that we have been talking about (*tat*)."

> *SBh 1.1.1   tam etam evam-lakṣaṇam adhyāsaṃ paṇḍitā avidyêti manyate*
> this superimposition as defined above scholars regard as *avidyā*

> *SDS p. 6   tad etat sarvaṃ samagrāhi*   all of this is summarized (in the following verses)

> *GBh 1.1   tad idaṃ gītā-śāstram*
> *samasta-vedârtha-sāra-saṅgraha-bhūtaṃ durvijñeyârtham*   this

gītā-śāstra which is a summary of the essence of the meaning of the entire
Veda and whose meaning is hard to grasp

When *tat* 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 (*tat*)"
or "this is the same one."

    so 'yaṃ 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 brāhmaṇaḥ*); 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.

1. Abhyankar, Kashinath Vasudev and J. M. Shukla. *A Dictionary of Sanskrit Grammar.* 2nd rev. ed. Gaekwad's Oriental Series 134. Baroda: Oriental Institute, 1977.

   Dictionary of Sanskrit grammatical terms, including both technical terms of Pāṇinian grammar and more general grammatical terms.

2. Apte, Vaman Shivaram. *The Student's Guide to Sanskrit Composition.* 24th ed. Pune: Anath Vidyarthi Griha Prakashan, 1960.

   Helpful observations on syntax, the uses of particles, and many specific points of grammar and composition.

3. Böhtlingk, Otto. *Pāṇini's Grammatik.* 2nd ed. 2 vols. 1887. Kyoto: Rinsen Book Company, 1977.

   Translation of Pāṇini's grammar; the second volume includes several indices that are very useful for looking up technical terms found in commentaries.

4. Cardona, George. *Pāṇini: A Survey of Research.* New Edition. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1998.

   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.

5. Cardona, George. *Pāṇini: His Work and Its Traditions*. Volume 1: Background and Introduction. Second revised and enlarged edition. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1997.

   A very thorough and careful presentation of Pāṇini's approach and techniques, providing a rich and invaluable description of the entire system.

6. Coulson, Michael. *Sanskrit: An Introduction to the Classical Language*. Oxford: Teach Yourself Books-Hodder and Stoughton, 1976.

   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.

7. Devasthali, G. V. *Anubandhas of Pāṇini*. Publications of the Centre of Advanced Study in Sanskrit, Class B, No. 2. Pune: University of Poona, 1967.

   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.

8. Hartmann, Peter. *Nominale Ausdrucksformen im Wissenschaftlichen Sanskrit*. Heidelberg: Carl Winter Universitätsverlag, 1955.

   Detailed and scholarly treatment of nominal constructions in the bhāṣya style of Sanskrit prose.

9. Jacobi, Hermann. "Über den nominalen Stil des wissenschaftlichen Sanskrits." *Indogermanische Forschungen* 14 (1903): 236–251. Rpt. in: Hermann Jacobi. *Kleine Schriften*. Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag GmbH, 1970. 1: 6–21.

   Good general introduction to the bhāṣya style of Sanskrit prose; includes an exemplary passage, with translation, from the *Vedāntaparibhāṣā*.

10. Jhalakīkar, Mahāmahopādhyāya Bhīmācārya. *Nyāyakośa or Dictionary of Technical Terms of Indian Philosophy*. Rev. by Mahāmahopādhyāya Vāsudev Shāstrī Abhyankar. 4th ed. Bombay Sanskrit and Prakrit Series 49. Pune: Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, 1978.

    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.

11. Kale, Moreshwar Ramchandra. *A Higher Sanskrit Grammar*. Rpt. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1972.

    The only grammar of Sanskrit in English that gives a full presentation of the Pāṇinian system of grammar. Unfortunately it has no index.

12. Katre, Sumitra M. *Aṣṭādhyāyī of Pāṇini*. Texas Linguistics Series. Austin: University of Texas Press, 1987.

    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.

13. Renou, Louis. *Histoire de la langue Sanskrite*. Les Langues du Monde 10. Lyon: Editions IAC, 1956.

    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.

14. Speijer, J. S. *Sanskrit Syntax*. 1886. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1973.

    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.

15. Whitney, William Dwight. *Sanskrit Grammar*. 2nd ed. 1889. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1971.

Comprehensive treatment of Sanskrit and Vedic morphology from a Western viewpoint; very little discussion of Pāṇinian grammar or of Sanskrit syntax.

Commentarial Passages Quoted

Grammatical Citations

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