CHAPTER V

DHARMAKIRTI'S TREATMENT OF THE

SCIENCE OF GRAMMAR (Contd.)
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While dealing with the science of grammar expounded in Ast, DK draws our attention to the most practical side of the same viz. रूपा and we find that it has been given the most significant role in his work. In this chapter we are, therefore, to discuss his mode of presentation of रूपा े indicated by the title रूपावतारा and narration of the process of formation i.e., रूपविधि of रूपा। Lastly we are to turn our attention to certain other miscellaneous factors which have played an important role in his treatment of the science of grammar dealt with in Ast.

Mode of presentation of रूपां.

Unlike the earlier grammatical works on Ast, the novelty with which रूप is endowed, is the mode of presentation of रूपाः i.e. the final level of utterance. In this work the student is in fact, given information about

Vide

1. Supra pp. 32 & 33
rupas and it is for pointing out the formation of the same that sutras of Ast are dealt with here, whereas, in the earlier works the aim of the authors was to explain and interpret sutras and it is for the illustration of these rules of Ast, that rupas are mentioned accidentally. The work of DK is therefore correctly titled as Rupavatāra.

In the first section Samjñāvatāra, DK does not deal with any rūpa, since it is meant to give certain preliminary information and it is in the Samhitāvatāra that he actually introduces sandhirupas.

**Sandhirupas**

In the first sub-section tuksandhi of Samhitāvatāra seven sandhirupas vis. devacchatram, hričchah, melccchah, vadhūcchāya, kumarīcchāya, ācchādayati, mācchidat are introduced as being derived from the seven instances vis. deva + chatram, hrī + chah, mel + chah, vadhū + chaya, āh + chādayati and māh + chidat respectively. Of these the first rupa is cited to illustrate the rule.

2. Rup P = I pp. 6 & 7
'che ca' (6-1-73), the next two are introduced to illustrate the rule 'dīrgaḥ' (6-1-75), the next two illustrate the rule 'pādāntāda' (6-1-76) and the last two are given as examples of the rule 'ānāsac' (6-1-74).

In svarasandhi, DK cites many a rupa as examples of acsandhi. He points out that among the six instances dadhi + atra, smi + atra, madhu + atra, vadhu +
ākṛtiḥ, pitr + arthah, l + ākṛtiḥ wherein the rule 'ikoyanaci' (6-1-77) operates, eleven sandhirupas can be formed since the rule 'anaci ca' (8-4-47) also has its optional function in them. It is noteworthy that the number of rupas cited as illustrations for a single rule is significant. For example, the said rule 'ikoyanaci' has its function in vowels like 'i', 'u', 'r' and 'l' irrespective of their varieties like hrasva, dīrga, and pluta and in order to point out the same he chooses the above six instances wherein we get the hrasva varieties of all these ('i', 'u', 'r' & 'l') in dadhi, smi, madhu, vadhu, pitr, and arthah.

The eleven sandhirupas are dadhyatra, sammyatra, madhvatra, vadhvākṛtiḥ, pitrarthaḥ, lākṛtiḥ, dadhyatra, sammyatra, madhvatra, vadhvākṛtiḥ & pitrarthaḥ.

(Rup = P I p.8)
madhu, pitṛ and 1 respectively) and the dirgha
varieties i.e. ती and तु (in samā and vadhā) which
thereby become the place of function for the said rule.
So also while citing the function of a sandhirūpa as
illustrating a particular sandhi rule, he also takes care
to note the rest sandhi operations it undergoes. Thus
in the instance archa + roah and tava + likārah wherein
the rule 'ādgunāḥ' (6-1-87) operates he notes the function
of the rule 'urānraparāḥ' (7-1-51) and the optional func-
tion of the rule 'aco rahābhyaṃ dvē' (8-4-46) whereby four
rupas vis. archarccah, archarcah tavalkkārah and tavalkārah
are obtained. So also in the instance ya + āgataḥ and
pato + iha he says that the rule ecocayāvayāvah (6-1-78)
operates and owing to the optional function of the rule
'lopah sākalyasya' (8-3-19) two sets of rupas ya āgatah
and yayagataḥ, pata iha and pataviha are got. In
this way the sandhirūpas wherein all the vowels get either
the euphonic combination or the prakrtibhāva are explained
at length.

4. Rūp P = I p. 9
5. Ibid p. 12
In vyanjanasandhi DK cites a number of rupas to illustrate the same. He begins the same with instances payas + sitam, nis + carati san + sambhuh, tat + cit and says that these are the places of operation of the rule 'stoh scūnā scuh' (8-4-40) whereby the rupas payasitam, niscarati, sansambhuh, taccit are got. He adds that instances like tad + jhasah and tad + nākaharāh are likewise to be understood as tajjhasah, tannakharāh. He then gives the other rupas which regularly illustrate PAN's rules regarding the combination of consonants. In visargasandhi and svadisandhi also a number of rupas are cited likewise.

2. Vibhaktirupas:

It is in the vibhaktiyavatara that DK has exposed all the declensional forms. His mode of presentation of rupas can be pointed out as such; i.e. he first of all gives

6. Ibid pp. 15 & 16
7. Ibid p. 16
the rupas of a stem ending in a particular letter and says that rupas of other stems ending in that particular letter are also to be declined likewise. The rupas of the stems which end in that particular letter, but have got certain variations in declension are next noted down with reference to the particular case and number wherein the disparity is evident.

While dealing with the rupas of the masculine stems ending in vowels, we find that DK first gives the rupas of akārānta stems like vrkṣa, nirjara, sarva, pāda, dvyaḥna etc. which have dissimilar rupas. The rupas of the stem somapā and hāhā are explained while dealing with akārānta stems. DK gives the rupas of the base kavi for the stems ending in ‘i’ and the rupas of stems like sakhi, dvi, tri, audulomi are also dealt with one by one. The rupas of bases like gramā, vātaprāmi, bahusreyasi, sudhī and pradhi are dealt with while dealing with ‘ī’ stems. Then the ‘u’ stems, kāru and krostu and ‘ū’ stems like khalapū, pratibhū, varsabhu and punarbhū are dealt with reference to their declensional rupas. After dealing with the rupas of prkārānta stems
like pitr, mr, and karn, he makes the remark

\[ \text{ṭkāralkārāntāḥ sabdāḥ aprasidhāh}. \]

He then deals with the rupas of stems like so, go and glau for dealing with stems ending in 'e', 'o' and 'au' respectively.

While dealing with rupas of feminine stems ending in vowels, he begins to narrate the rupas of stems ending in 'ā' because feminine stems ending in the short vowal 'a' positively get a feminine suffix, ṭap or the like. Then the rupas of stems ending in other vowels are also dealt with in order. He also points out that feminine stems ending in 'ī', 'ɪ' and 'e' are not in vogue.

After dealing with the rupas of neuter stems in the ajantapunasakaliṅga section of vibhaktyavatāra, DK passes on to the halantapulliṅga section. The rupas of the

8. Ibid. p. 58
9. īkāra = ikāra = ekārāntā aprasidhāh (P-I p. 71)
masculine stems ending in consonants are dealt with in the order in which the final consonants of these stems, occur in the fourteen Sivasutras. DK also points out that masculine stems ending in 'y', ' Antar', 'A', 'J', 'bh', 'gh', 'dh', 'b', 'g', 'd', 'kh', 'ph', 'ch', 'th', 't', & 'k' are not in vogue. 10

While citing the rupas of the feminine stems also, which end in consonants, DK follows the order of the consonants in the fourteen Sivasutras. He also points out that feminine stems ending in the consonants y, l, Antar, n, J, gh, dh, b, g, d, kh, ph, ch, th, th, t and k are not in usage. 11 The narration of the rupas of neuter stems ending in consonants is also done in the order in which their final consonants occur in the Sivasutras. He also notes that neuter stems ending in the consonants x, l, Antar, n, J, bh, gh, dh, ch, d, kh, ph, ch, th, th, t, k and s are little known. 12

10. Sup. P - I pp. 87 to 106
11. Ibid pp. 113 to 117
12. Ibid pp. 118 to 127
The grouping of the stems yuvam and asamad under the section, alinga is a peculiarity of Rupā. These stems have their own common declensional forms in the three genders since they do not denote any particular sex. That is why they are grouped as alingas. The various declensional forms of each of these two stems are dealt with in all details by DK, in this section specially framed for the same.

3. Avyayarūpāṇa

The avayyas which are really substantas wherein the sup suffices get elided permanently, are enumerated in the Avyayāvatāra. After citing the rule 'svarādinipātama-vyayam' (1-1-37), he enumerates the sābdas comprehended in the svarādígama referred to in this rule. He further points out that the avayyas are to be divided into two groups, one comprising the original ones and the other

13. "atha halantesvaliṅgaprakaranam" (Rup F = I p. 123)
14. Vide Supra pp. 105 & 106
15. Rup F = I pp. 123 to 127
16. Ibid p. 128
comprising those got by the operation of Paninian rules and that the latter variety is of three types viz. avyayī-

bhāva, krdanta and taddhitānta which are illustrated next. 17

He then mentions the nipatas coming under the ganas like cādi, prādi, etc. which also get the avyayasamjña by the rule 'svarādi......'. 18

4. Strīpratyayantarupas:

Under the section titled 'Strīpratyayavatāra', DK gives the rupas which are feminine in gender. 19 He points out that there are eight suffixes viz. ṭāp, dāp, cāp, śīp, śīs, śīn, ūn and ti which are added to bases in order to denote the feminine gender. 20 Citing the relevant rules,

17. "atra kānicidavyayāni svarūpato nipātitāni kānicī-

llaksanalabdhāni/ laksanalabdhāvyayāni tredhā bhavanti

avyayībhāva = krdanta = taddhitānta-bhedena"

(Rup P - I pp. 128 & 129)

18. Rup P - I pp. 130 & 131

19. Ibid pp. 132 to 144

20. "ke punah stripratyayāḥ? ṭāp, dāp, cāp, śīp, śīs, śīn,

ūn , ti ityete stripratyayāḥ"(Rup P - I p. 132)
he passes on to give the rupas, formed by these feminine
suffixes in their order mentioned above.

5. Usage of vibhaktirupas in a sentence:

DK not only introduces the vibhaktirupas but also
points out their usage in a sentence. We find that in the
section Karakāvatāra, he shows the usage of the vibhakti-
rupas in a sentence in order to point out the varieties
of sense which these rupas convey as per the relevant rules
of Ast.\textsuperscript{21}

6. Samastarupas:

It is under the section Samāsāvatāra that DK introduces
the samastarupas. This is one of the most useful parts in
the text to a student studying the Sanskrit language. Before
giving the rupas, he initially makes the student aware of
the four varieties of samasas viz. avayābhāva, tatpurusa,
bahuvrihi and dvandva.\textsuperscript{22} Then he enumerates regularly

\textsuperscript{21} \textit{Hup P - I} pp. 145 to 164

\textsuperscript{22} \textit{Vide Supra} p. 108
the samastarupas coming under the four groups of samasas with the authority of the relevant rules of Pan.\textsuperscript{23}

After enumerating the rupas of these four-fold classification of samasas, he makes us aware of certain other samastarupas also, which, eventhough coming under the four groups of samasas mentioned previously, have got peculiarities which are accounted for by means of the samasanta suffixes, non-elision of the component sup suffixes etc. These rupas are hence enumerated by him in the two sub-sections named samasanta and alugadi-samasasrayavidi.\textsuperscript{24}

7. Taddhitantarupas:

The Taddhitantarupas which form a great majority are dealt with by DM in the section, Taddhitavatara. First of all he gives the taddhidanta forms like aupagava, daksi, daksayana etc. occuring in the sense of apatya, gotropatya, and yuvapatya.\textsuperscript{25} He then gives

\textsuperscript{23} Run P - I pp. 165 to 191

\textsuperscript{24} Ibid pp. 192 to 218

\textsuperscript{25} Ibid pp. 219 to 227
the rupas like salveya, ganghara etc. got by the addition of taddhita suffixes named 'tadraja' occurring in the sense of 'tasya raja' as well as 'tasya apatyam'. Then rupas like kasayah (patah), taisi (ratrih), vasistham (sama), vastrah (rathah), saravah (odanah) etc. where the various taddhita suffixes convey the varieties of sense like 'tena raktam', 'nakasatrena yuktah kalah, 'drstam sama', 'parivrto rathah, 'tatra uddhrtam' etc. taught by the various rules of Ast. So also the rest manifold varieties of taddhitantarupas are cited by him with particular reference to the taddhita suffixes, their sense and the substantas to which these suffixes are added. These taddhitantarupas also are dealt with by him citing the relevant rules of Ast.

26. Ibid pp. 227 to 229
27. Ibid pp. 229 & 230
28. Ibid pp. 231 to 308
8. Tīnantarūpas derived from the ten ganaś of roots:

It is in the second part of the work that DK presents the tīnantarūpas which are derived by the addition of tī suffixes to the roots. He first of all gives the rūpas of the root bhū in the lākāra lat and then the rūpas, in the same lākāra, of certain other roots coming under the ten ganaś i.e. from bhavādigaṇa to curādigaṇa. 29

DK then passes on to deal with the rūpas in the lākāra lāḫ of some roots coming under the ten ganaś, beginning with 'bhū'. 30 In this way the rūpas in the lākara lat and vidhiliṅ of certain roots coming under the ten ganaś starting with 'bhū' are also narrated by him. 31 After dealing with the above four lākaraś occurring in the sense of kartr, he turns his attention to present the rūpas of certain roots in the lākāra lat occurring in the sense of karman, bhāva and karma kartr. 32 Thus citing the

29. Rupa P - II pp. 4 to 50
30. Ibid pp. 51 to 73
31. Ibid pp. 74 to 99
32. Ibid pp. 100 to 107
rupas in the four sarvadhatukalakaras in all details, he passes on to deal with the rupas of certain roots (coming under the ten ganas beginning with 'bhū') in the ardhadhatukalakaras, āsiriṅ, lit, luś, luṭ, lṛṇ and lṛṭ occurring in the sense of kārtya. He also gives the rupas of certain roots in the said ardhadhatukalakaras which occur in the sense of bhāva and kārman.

It is noteworthy that while citing the tānata-rupas in different lakaras of the various roots, DK makes clear the conditions under which one and the same root is to take parasmaipada termination or ātmanepada termination or both of them. For example, after giving the parasmaipadarupas of the root 'ji' in the lakara lat, he also cites the atmanepadarupas vijayate and parājayate quoting the relevant rule 'vipārabhyam jeh'(1=3=19) which ordains the ātmanepada termination to this root.

33. Ibid pp. 108 to 176
34. Ibid pp. 176 to 186
35. Ibid p. 9
So also the atmanepada roots like rasa which get the parasmaipada termination and the roots like kro which get both parasmaipada and atmanepada terminations are indicated by him giving the relevant rules of PAN.36

9. Tinantarupas derived from sanādyanta roots:

DK next draws our attention to another category of tinantarupas which are characterised by the roots from which they are derived. Sounds which have at their end suffixes like san, yau, nac, kyañ, kamyac, kvip, yak and kyas are designated as dhātu by the rule ‘sanādyanta dhātavah’ (3-1-32) and from these roots also one can get various tinantarupas, by the addition of tī suffixes.37

Thus an enormous number of tinantarupas like jugupsate, mimissate, bubhucati, bhubhūyate, etc. derived from sananta roots, babhyyate, sasūcyate, atatya te etc. derived from yananta roots, babhavit, babhoti, pāpaciti,

36. Ibid pp. 77 & 153

37. Vide Supra pp. 114 & 115
papaki etc. derived from yaluganta roots, bhāvayati, edhayati, pācayati, mandayati, etc. derived from nijanta roots, bubhūsayati, bubhūsayate, pipaksayati, pāpacayati derived by the addition of suffixes san, nic, etc. to one and same root one over the other, putriyati, rājiyati, carmiyati, asvasyati etc. derived from subanta roots are all dealt by him in details without omitting any of their varieties.  

10. **Usages of tinantarupas in a sentence:**

Dpp not only presents the tinantarupas, but also points out their usage in different varieties of meaning. The section named 'Tīnviṃbhaṅkaṭvartha' is hence very useful to the student to understand the usage of tinantarupas in a sentence. With the authority of the rules of Ast, DK shows in this section how the tinantarupas can be used in a manifold variety of sense.

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38. *Rup* F - II pp. 186 to 235

39. *Ibid* pp. 235 to 241
11. **Krdantarupas:**

Krdantarupas which are furnished by the addition of krt suffixes to the roots and which get prātipadikā- 

samjña by the rule 'krtaddhitasamāsca' (1-2-46) and 

thereby become substantas by the addition of sup suffixes 

are dealt finally by DK in the three sections as satrādi-

prakarana, kṛtyaprakarana and kṛtyapariccheda. In satrādi-

prakarana, DK deals with those 

krdantarupas wherein the krt suffixes substitute the lakaras.

Hence rupas like pacantam, pacamanam, pacan, vidyamanah etc. 

wherein the krt suffixes satr and sānac replace the lakāra 

lat, rupas like bhavisyan, bhavistān wherein the krt 

suffix satr replaces the lakāra krt, rupas like babhuvan, 

echānacakryan, etc. wherein the krt suffix kvasu replaces 

the lakāra lit, are enumerated by him. He also includes 

here the rupas pavamaṇaḥ, mandayamaṇaḥ, etc. which are 

pointed out as derived by the krt suffixes āsan and ānas, 

though these suffixes do not replace any lakāra. DK next 

presents certain krdantarupas wherein the component krt 

suffix has got an additional technical name 'kṛtya'.

40. Ibid pp. 241 to 247
In the section krtaparakarana concerned with them, he deals with rupas like kartavyam, vastavyam, smāniyam, pacelminah, ceyam, hāryam, brahmodyam etc. got by the addition of the various kṛtya suffixes, tavya, tavyat, anīyar, kalimar, yat, nyat and kyap. In the next sub-section kṛprakarana which is comparatively very large, DK points out the remaining krdantarupas which are numerous in number and are got by the addition of various kṛt suffixes like nul, trc, etc.

Finally it deserves mention here that the originality of the work lies in the presentation of rupas for which the rules of Ast are rearranged by DK. The order, in which DK has presented the vibhaktirupas, samastarupas, etc. is followed by the authors of later recasts eventhough the order of tinantarupas is not adopted by them.

41. Ibid pp. 247 to 253
42. Ibid pp. 254 to 306
43. Vide Infra P. 307 & 308
It can thus be found that the presentation of rupas is the most illustrious feature of Rup which won recognition and popularity in course of time.

Narration of prakriya or the process of formation

The science of grammar is termed 'sabdānusāsana' in the sense that it expounds the sābdas discriminating the same from asādhusabdās. 44 The accuracy and inaccuracy of sābdas are therefore, the main concern of grammar and this is attained by pointing out the prakriya i.e. the process of formation of the parinisthitarupas. Hence to a student of grammar particularly to a beginner, the narration of prakriya or the process of formation is of immense value in the study of grammar. It is quite welcoming that Rup throws a flood of light in this regard.

No one can deny the fact that DK deserves high appreciation in this respect also. We are now to turn our attention to the narration of the process of formation of rupas by DK.

44a. śabdāḥ anusisyante asādhusāddebhyo vīmicya bodhyante iti sabdānusāsanam
1. Prākṛityā of the saṇḍhirupa;

DK is very keen and vigilant while narrating the prākṛityā or the process of formation. He deals with each and every stage while narrating the same. For example he begins the saṁhitāvatāra stating that ‘deva + chatram iti sāhita’ and after dealing with the stages through which the said instance passes on to reach the final level of utterance devacchatram, says ‘ālistocāraṇam kartavyam, devacchatram iti siddham bhavati’. The first step of deva + chatram in this direction is devat + chatram and the next and final step is devacchatram. These stages are clearly pointed out by giving the rules ‘che ca’ (6=1-73) and ‘stoh….’ (8=4-40) which ordain ‘t’ and ‘c’ here and in order to indicate the operation of these two rules, the necessary paribhāṣā rules and saṁjñā rules are also dealt with on the spot itself. Hence a


46. Here the saṁjñā rule ‘parah….’ (1=4-109) is interpreted to explain the word saṁhitāyam which is got by anuvṛtti in the rule ‘che ca’. So also the paribhāṣā rules saṣṭhi… (1=1-49) and ādvāntau… (1=1-46) are interpreted here since they help to understand the meaning of the rule ‘che ca’. The rule ‘stoh….’ teaches cāvarga as the substitute of tāvaraṇa and hence the paribhāṣā rule ‘yathā…’ (1=3-10) is also interpreted since it determines the particular letter i.e. ‘g’ which among the cāvarga is to replace ‘t’ here. (Ruṣṭ P = I p. 7)
student does never feel giddy while grasping the process of formation of this sandhirūpa.

With regard to svarasandhi, vyāñjanasandhi, visargasandhi, and svādisandhi also, he gives the prakriya of sandhirūpas very clearly and accurately. In the case of the instance dadhi + atra, he not only deals with the four stages through which it passes on i.e., 1. dadhyatra, 2. dadhhyatra, 3. dadhyatra, and 4. dadhyatra, but also points out the contingency of the operation of the rule sāmyogāntasya lopah (8-2-23) and averts the same pointing out the paribhaśā 'asidham bahiraṅgam antaraṅga'.

It can be thus correctly stated that while narrating the different stages during the process of formation of a rūpa, he also pays attention to the probable contingency of the operation of any rule, involved therein and points out how such contingencies are to be averted scientifically. We meet with such numerous instances all through the work.

So also in the vyāñjanasandhi while dealing with the sandhiprakriya of the instances vak + hasati, ac + halau, sat + halāni, tat + hitam, tristup + hutam, he points out

47. Rup P = I p. 8 & Vide Supra p. 85.
that the final consonant in all the previous forms in these instances gets jastva by the rule 'ghalām......' (8-2-39) and then states that the rule 'jhayo ho......' (8-4-62) is to function on the initial consonant 'h' of the latter forms in these instances. And to point out the particular consonant which as per the above rule optionally replace the consonant 'h', DK narrates the bāhyaprayatna of each and every consonant and then makes the statement 'mahāprānasaya sōsmano ghasavato nādavato hakārasya saṃvrtakanthasya sthāne, pūrvasaverno mahāprānavaṁ sōsmavaṁ nādavam ghasavamsa vargacaturtho bhavati. Thus he arrives at the final level of utterance vāgghasati vāghasati etc. Here it is to be noted that unless one is aware of the bāhyaprayatna of consonants, the process of combination of these instances can never be understood and DK helps the student by equipping him with this readymade knowledge at his finger-tips.

48. Ṛg P - I p. 17
2. Prakriya of vibhaktirupa:

The prakriya of the vibhaktirupa is dealt in all minute details by DK. He narrates the same very clearly and orderly. Perhaps one may only feel that he could have made it more concise in certain instances. Hence nowhere he cannot be accused of obscurity.

With regard to the narration of the prakriya of vibhaktirupas it can be seen that he gives all the details of the process of formation of the vibhaktirupas formed from the masculine stem vrksa which is taken first for elaboration. In order to give the prakriya of the nominative singular form, vrksah, he starts from the pratipadikasamjñā of the stem vrksa stating "vrksa iti sthite (arhatvaṭṭtvat) pratipadikasamjñayām svadutpattih" and after dealing with each and every step in the process of formation, concludes the same with the remark "tasmi vrksah yathā vrksaṣṭisthāti." In this way he delineates all the rupas of the stem vrksa with clear reference to the

49. Vide Supra pp. 76 & 77

50. Bup P-I p. 29
process of formation of the same. After dealing with the vibhaktirupas of the vrksasabda, he passes on to deal with other masculine stems ending in 'a' having peculiar rupas unlike vrksasabda and the prakriya of these peculiar rupas are clearly narrated then and there. In this way the process of formation of the vibhaktirupas of and the masculine, feminine, neuter stems ending in vowels and consonants are delineated accurately. We cannot but appreciate the clarity and ease with which he gives the prakriya of the vibhaktirupas.

3. Prakriya of stīrpratyayāntarūpa, samastarūpa and taddhitāntarūpa:

The process of formation of stīrpratyayāntarūpa, samastarūpa, and taddhitāntarūpa is narrated clearly by DK. With regard to the prakriya of stīrpratyayāntarūpa and taddhitāntarūpa got by the addition of feminine as well as taddhita suffixes to nominal and sup-inflected bases respectively, there is not so much intricacy as in the prakriya of vibhaktirupas. Yet, DK does not confine himself to the mere narration of these rupas,
but pays attention to give the prakriya of them individually. So also, he gives the prakriya of each and every samastaraupa pointing out the peculiarity, if any, it presents, from the prakriya of the samastaraupa mentioned previously. For example, while dealing with the prakriya of the samastaraupa, kastasritah he says, "pūrvavat supo luk; kastasabdasya dvitiyeta śūtre prathamindriṣṭatvād upasarjanatayā pūrvanipataḥ svādyutpattih; kastasrito devadattah."

51. For example we may go through the prakriya of bahurājini (stripratyayantarūpa) and aupagavah (taddhitāntarūpa) as narrated by BK:

"bahurājan ityatra, an upadhālopinyatarasyām(4-1-23) upadhālopinah annantaḥ bahuveryah śūpratayaḥ bhavatyanyatarasyam / yaci bham (1-4-18) iti bhasaṃjñayam, alloponah (6-4-134) ityakāralopah; stoh scunā scuh (8-4-40) iti cutvam; bahurājini nagari"

(Rup P = I p.133)

"upagūnān ityatra ittvāṅmalopah taddhitāḥ iti taddhitāsamajñayām supo luk bhavati / upagūnān iti jāte, aṅgasya (6-4-1), mrjervrdhiḥ(7-2-114), aco niti(7-2-115), iti vartamānḥ, taddhitevwajāmdah (7-2-117) niti, niti ca taddhite paratoṣāgasya- cāmāraco vṛddhirbhavati / aṅgasya (6-4-1), bhasya (6-4-129), nastaddhite(6-4-114) iti vartamānḥ, orgunah (6-4-116), uvarṇantasyāṅgasya bhasya guno bhavati taddhite parataḥ/ iti aupagavah" (Rup P = I p.219)
4. Prakriyā of tīṅantarūpa and kṛdantarūpa

With regard to the narration of the prakriyā of tīṅantarūpas we find that DK has devoted much care on the same as on the prakriyā of vibhaktirūpas. The prakriyā of the tīṅantarūpas of the parasālipāda root bhū and the ātmanepada root edh in each and every lakaṇa is narrated in all details. The prakriyā of the tīṅantarūpas of certain other roots coming under the ten ganaś is also described when the deviation of the same from the tīṅantarūpa mentioned previously is met with. He makes clear the prakriyā of the sanādyanta roots also. Here also the root bhū is taken first for narrating the prakriyā. The kṛdantarūpa does not present much difficulty in their process of formation. Yet, the prakriyā of the same is also given due attention. 53

53. For example, we may go through the narration of the prakriyā of the kṛdantarūpa bhavani:

"idānām satradau kṛte, kartari sap iti sapi, sārvadhiṣṭa-kārthādhātukaḥ iti gunah; avādesah; atogune iti pararūpatvam/ bhavat iti jāte, kṛdantatvena prāti- padikasamajñayam avādayo bhavanti…………………/ halihyadisaṅgyogantaloṣau; bhavan "(Rūp P-II p.242)
Other Miscellaneous factors

It has been already stated that, in his treatment of the science of grammar expounded in Ast, DK has made use of certain other miscellaneous but relevant factors also.54 They are the vars, the istsis of PAT, the unadisutras, the paribhasas, verses of his own as well as of other grammarians, ganapathas, and the gana sutras. Among these the vars and verses mentioned in Rup, are taken up for detailed study in the following chapters.55 Therefore, we are now to deal with the istsis of PAT, paribhasas, unadisutras, ganapathas and gana sutras.

Istis of Patanjali:

The istsis of PAT are the foremost one among the several factors that contribute to the greatness of his work, Mbh.56 These istsis are accepted to be the authority

54. Vide Supra p. 130
55. Vide In fra pp. 209, 230
56. Vide Nagesabhatta, "mahabhãsyeti - vyãkhyaãt svapaãsyestyãdyã{kathamena}nãvakhyãat svaditaraãbhãsyavai- laksãnyena mahatvan" (Udyota of Mbh. vol. I prathamakhandha p.2)
par excellence in the science of grammar. In his work, DK has made use of 2 ists from the Mbh.\textsuperscript{57} It deserves mention that DK does not quote the exact wording of these ists as given in Mbh, but only comprehends the idea in similar statements.

\begin{flushright}
\textit{Gatikāraketarapūrvapadasya yan nesyate:}
\end{flushright}

\begin{flushright}
\textsuperscript{(gatikārakapūrvasyaiyeneyate\textsuperscript{57} = isti under rule 6.4.82)}
\end{flushright}

This statement ‘gatikāraketarapūrvapadasya yan nesyate’ is made by DK while dealing with the declensional rupas of

\begin{flushright}
\textsuperscript{57}. In his index (vārtikaparibhāṣādīśā) to the edition of \textit{Rup}, Prof. Rang. has wrongly noted some more statements as the ists of PAT. But when we refer to \textit{Mbh} under the relevant rules, it can be clearly understood that these statements of \textit{Rup} are based on the vārs of \textit{Mbh} or the views of other grammarians cited in \textit{Mbh} and they are not based on any isti of PAT. For example, Rang gives the statement (in \textit{Rup}) ‘prathamalingagranam cā’ as the isti of PAT, but when we refer to \textit{Mbh} under the rule ‘yū strākhyau nadā’ (1.4.5) it can be clearly understood as vār. (\textit{Rup} P - I p.50 & \textit{Mbh} Vol.I dviṭīyakanda p.221)
\end{flushright}
Ikaranta stems like pradhi, suddhadi and paramani. It means that the substitute yan taught by the rule 'eramekaco.....(6-4-32) and replacing the vowel 'i' at the end of a root, does not function when the root is preceded by forms other than those designated as 'gati' or 'karaka'. DK points out that with regard to the base pradhi, the substitution by 'y'(yan) of the vowel 'i' as per the above rule, can take place since the purvapada pra in pradhi has the designation gati and hence has the rupas pradhyau etc. in nominative dual onwards whereas in regard to the bases suddhadi and paramani, the same does not take place since the purvapadas su and parama in the said instances are neither gati nor karaka and has the declensional rupas paramaniyau and suddhadhiyau etc. in the dual number of nominative case onwards, wherein it is the iyan which comes as the substitute of the final vowel 'i'.

It is noteworthy here that this statement of DK is drawn from the isti of PAT given as 'gatikaraka purvasya...avyate meaning "with regard to the yanadesa taught by

38. Run. P - 1 p. 52
the rule 'aranëkacca'(6-4-32) it is desirable that the
same, while substituting the vowel 'i', of a root having
a pūrvapada, does so only if that pūrvapada be gati or
kāraka.\textsuperscript{59} The idea of this isti is hence given by DK
as 'gatikāraketarapūrvapadasya yan nasyate'.

Sūtrāntādakalpaśaderisyate:

(VidyālaksanaKalpaśūrāntādakalpaśadakak smrtah = isti
under rule 4-2-60)

DK makes the statement 'sūtrāntādakalpaśaderisyate' while
dealing with the rūpa 'kālpasūtrah' meaning 'kalpasūtra'
ādhite vetti vai i.e. 'one who learns or knows the kalpa-
sūtra'.\textsuperscript{60} Though the rule 'kratukthādisūtrāntātthakā'
(4-2-60) ordains to bases ending with 'śūtra', the taddhita
suffix thak to denote the sense 'tadādhite' or 'tadveda',
the base kālpasūtra does not procure it since the base
beginning with 'kalpa' and ending with 'śūtra' is excluded
from the scope of the suffix thak as per this statement.

\textsuperscript{59} Nbb (Vol. II) under rule 6-4-32, Vol. II p. 942
\textsuperscript{60} Rup P = I p. 237
Hence by the addition of the original taddhita suffix an, one gets the form kalpasūtraḥ to denote the idea of one knowing or learning kalpasūtra.

This statement 'sūtrāntādakalpāderisyate' found in Rup is the outcome of the āstārika rule 4-2-60. PAT gives his āstārika as 'vidyālaksana-kalpasūtrāntādakalpāderiṣya smṛtah' and after explaining the same, he cites the rūpa kalpasūtraḥ saying 'ākalpā-deriṣya kimartham? kalpasūtraḥ'. PAT means that bases which have, at their end, sounds like vidyā, laksana, kalpa and sūtra get the suffix thak and the base having 'sūtra' at the end and 'kalpa' in the beginning does not procure thak and hence gets the original suffix an alone, whereby the form kalpasūtraḥ is obtained.

Paribhasas:

In addition to the paribhasā rules found in Ast, DK has comprehended certain other paribhasas or postulates in his work. These paribhasas facilitate the easier understanding
of the process of formation of rupas as well as the meaning of the rules of Ast and are accepted in the science of grammar on the authority of the vars of KAT and Mbh of PAT. It is praiseworthy that DK has adhered to the needs of 'bāla', the beginner by introducing these paribhasas in relevant places for giving the interpretation of rules or narrating the prakriya of rupas. The paribhasas which he has selected for his work number 32 and a few of them are now briefly dealt with so as to show how these paribhasas are interwoven by DK in his work to interpret a rule or narrate the prakriya of a rupa.

Ekadesavikrtamananyavad bhavati:

This paribhasā is cited by DK to point out that the nipatas ah and maḥ; even when stripped of the anubandha 'i'...

62. Vide Nagesabhatta, "pracinavaiyakaranatantre vacani-kanyatra paniniyatantre jaśapanya-yaniddhāni bhāsyavārtikayornibaddhāni yāni paribhāsārūpāni.../" (Paribhāsaenduṣekhara p. 1)
can be treated as āḥ and māḥ and hence in the instances āḥ (ā) + chādayati and māḥ (ā) + chidat the rule 'āṁmaññosca' (6.1-74) can very well operate treating the 'ā' and 'mā' here to be āḥ and ṁāḥ. As per this paribhāṣā, a sound incurring a change in its minor part, does never become any other one. In spite of this minor change, it can therefore be treated as the same as it was before. DK adds that a dog, even when one of its limbs like tail, ears, etc. is cut off, does not become a horse or a donkey but, is the dog itself.

Asiddham bahirāṅgam antaraṅge

While dealing with the euphonic combination of dadhi & astra into dāhyatra, DK cites this paribhāṣā which makes bahirāṅga rules invalid from the point of view of antaraṅga rules. The elision, of the letter 'y' in dāhyatra, contingent by the rule 'samyogāntasya lopah' (8.2-23) is averted by this paribhāṣā according to which the substitute

63. Run P = I p.8
64. Ibid p.9
'y' (of the letter i) taught by the bahiraṅga rule 'iko yanaci' (6-1-77) becomes invalid with respect to the antaraṅga rule 'samyogantasya lopah' and hence the substitute 'y' does not get elided by the rule 'samyogantasya.

Pratyayagrahane yasmāt sa vihitah tadādestadantasya grahanam

Samjñāvidhau pratyayagrahane tadantagraham na bhavati

Both these paribhasas are cited by DK while interpreting the rule 'suptiḥantam padam' (1-4-14). There he points out that in the existence of the paribhasa 'pratyayagrahane yasmāt sa vihitah tadādestadantasya grahanam' which means 'whenever an affix is employed it denotes the part which begins with that, to which the affix has been added and ends with the affix itself', the part 'anta' in the rule is an excess and hence it indicates the paribhasa 'samjñāvidhau pratyayagrahane, tadantagraham na bhavati' meaning 'an affix, when employed in a rule which teaches the meaning of a technical term, does not denote a wordform ending with the affix.' As a result, the ghanajñā taught by the rule 'taraptamapau gahā' (1-1-22) relates only to the suffixes tarap and tamap and not to tarabanta and tâmabanta.

65. Ibid p. 24
Therefore in the sentence 'gaurī brāhmanītāra' the hrasva taught by the rule 'gharūpa...'(6-3-43) occurs only to the purvapada brāhmanī which is followed by tarap having ghasāṃjñā and not to gaurī which is followed by brahmanītāra i.e. tarabanta which does not have the ghasāṃjñā.

Padaṅgadhikāre tasya ca tadantasya ca

While narrating the prakriyā of the nominative dual form nirjarasau of the masculine base nirjara, DK refers to both of these paribhasas. According to the paribhasa, 'padaṅgadhikāre tasya ca tadantasya ca', a substitute coming to a word or base, governed by a rule studied under the adhikāra, padasya or aṅgasya comes to that part also which ends with that word or base. Hence the jarā taught as a substitute of jarā by the rule 'jarāya jarasanya-tarasyām (7-2-101) can have its function in the base nirjara by the favour of this paribhasa which allows the rule to function on jarā as well as on a base ending with jarā since

66. Ibid p. 36
this rule comes under the scope of the adhikara rule 'agasya' (6.4-1). However the substitute jaras replaces the part jarā alone of nirjara and not the whole base nirjara, in accordance with the paribhāṣā, 'nirdisyā-
manasyadānā bhavanti' by which a substitute can take the place of that alone which is actually enunciated in a rule. 
This paribhāṣā is referred to by DK while giving the prakriyā of the accusative plural dvipadah of the 'd' stem dvipad also.67 While interpreting the rule 'ista-
kesikamalānanam..........'(6.3-65) DK once again refers to the paribhāṣā 'yadāṅga............'.68

It is clear from the paribhāsas dealt with just now, that the introduction of paribhāsas in this work by DK, help to interpret the rules or narrate the prakriyā of rupas or to point out the rules which act as the jañapakas of these paribhāsas. Moreover by incorporating the paribhāsas, DK has achieved the purpose of making the reader acquainted with these technical postulates which would an help for advanced study in the science of grammar.

67. Ibid pp. 100 & 101
68. Ibid p. 209
Unādi rules:

We find that DK has made use of 15 unādi rules for interpreting the rules of Ast and narrating the prakṛtya of rupas. He has given the meaning of most of these rules and we are now concerned with the relevance of these rules in his work.

1. Pāterdattih (unādi: IV = 58):

Before dealing with the declensional rupas of the 'i' stem pati, DK cites this rule. He points out that the stem pati is got by the addition of the suffix dati taught by this unādi rule, to the root 'pā' wherein the 'a' gets elided on the basis of the anubandha 'd' in dati as per the rule teh (6-4-143).

2. Si = tani = gani = masei = aacii = avii = dih = krusibhayastum (unādi: I = 69):

Before dealing with the declensional rupas of the 'u' stem krostu, DK cites this rule, gives its meaning and

69. Ibid p. 46
says that the stem kroṣtu derived from the root krus by the addition of the suffix tum taught by this unādi rule, is a kṛdanta stem endowed with the prāti-\[padikasamjña.\]

3. Glaṇudibhyāṃdauh (unādi: II - 65):

Before dealing with the declensional rupas of the stem 'glau' DK cites this rule and gives its meaning to point out that the masculine stem glau is derived by the addition of the suffix dau to the root 'glai'.

4. Bhāṭerdaṭavauh (unādi: I - 63):

It is for pointing out the derivation of the 'ī' stem, bhavatī that DK mentions this rule and gives it meaning. Thus he makes the reader aware of the fact that the root 'bhā' added with the suffix daṭavu procures the kṛdanta stem bhavat and by the addition of the feminine suffix

70. Ibid p. 53
71. Ibid p. 60
72. Ibid p. 67
&h;<i>ip</i>, the stem bhavati is got.

5. <i>Laks<sup>er</sup>mut ca</i> (un<i>âdi</i>: III - 160):

The derivation of the 'I' stem lakṣ<sub>mi</sub> is got by this rule which is cited by Da<sub>K</sub> before dealing with the declensional rupas of this stem. The meaning of the rule is that the root 'laks' gets the suffix 'I' as well as the augment <i>mut</i> and thus we get the stem lakṣ<sub>mi</sub>.

6. <i>Sty<sup>â</sup>yater<sup>dr</sup>art</i> (Un<i>âdi</i>: IV - 167):

As per this un<i>âdi</i> rule, the root 'styai' gets the suffix <i>drat</i>. This rule is cited by Da<sub>K</sub> to point out the derivation of the 'I' stem stri. He states that the anubandha 'd' in the suffix <i>drat</i> causes the elision of the letter 'ai' and the form <i>stra</i> got thereby, gets the feminine suffix &h;<i>ip</i> by the force of the rule 'tis<sup>â</sup>th<sub>an</sub>a<i>â</i>n...'

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73. Ibid p. 68
74. Ibid p. 697
7. Patastha ca (unādi: IV = 12):

DK points out that the nakāranta stem pathin is derived as per this rule which gives the suffix ‘ins’ and the final substitute ‘sth’ to the root ‘pat’ to get the stem pathin.75

8. Parau vrajeh sasca padānte (unādi: II = 60):

This unādi rule means that the root ’vraj’ gets the suffix kvip and the lengthening of its vowel ‘a’ when it has the upapada ’pari’ and that the base parivrāj got thereby, is subject to the substitution by ’s’ of its final consonant ’j’ when ’j’ becomes the final one of a pada. It is to point out the nominative singular forms parivrāt and parivrād of the ’j’ stem parivrāj that DK cites this unādi rule in his work.76

9. Vartamane prsat = brhat = mahat = satrvat (unādi: II = 85):

DK cites this rule to point out that the base mahat,

75. Ibid p. 97
76. Ibid p. 100
derived by the addition of the unādi suffix ati to the root 'maha', gets the operations enjoined to the suffix satr.\\n\\nDK points out that the base mahā, as per the satrvabhavya enjoined by this unādi rule gets the suffix num taught by the rule 'ugitacām......' (7-1-70), when followed by the suffix su; hence its nominative singular form is obtained as maha.

10. Vasēh kanasīh (Unādi: IV = 240):

The base usānas is derived from the root 'vas', added with the suffix kanasī ordained by this rule which is cited by DK before dealing with the declensional rupas of usānas.\\n
11. Nāmāntādāh (Unādi: I = 119):

This rule teaches the suffix 'da' to roots ending in consonants, viz. ṅ, m, ŋ, n, and n which come under the pratyahāra nam. DK cites this rule only to point out

77. Ibid p. 105
78. Ibid p. 109
the fact that the consonant 'm' is comprehended by the
pratyahāra nam referred to in the part namantesu of the
verse beginning with 'yamirnamantesvanideka......'
which is an anītkarika. He states that in this verse
the reference to the root 'yam' as namanta is quite
appropriate since its final consonant 'm' is one among
the letters comprehended by nam which is understood as
a pratyahāra from this unādi rule itself.


While interpreting the rule 'jagrovicinmalāitsu(7-3-85),
DK states that the rule teaches guna to the root jagr when
it is not followed by the suffixes vi, cim, nal and hit.
It is in order to illustrate the same, that he presents
this unādi rule which teaches the suffix svin to the
root jagr. He continues that the suffix svin when
stripped of the anubandhas becomes vi and hence the root
jagr added with this suffix vi does not get guna by the

79. Rup P - II p. 111
80. Ibid p. 165
part avicinnalhitsu of the rule 'jagro..." and we get the resultant form jagrih.

13. krvapajimisvadisadhyaubhiva un (Unadi: I = 1).

14. Gamerdoh (Unadi: II = 67)

15. Sarvadhathubhyosun (Unadi: IV = 188):

These three unadi rules are dealt by DK while interpreting the rule 'unadayo bahula' of Ast (3-3-1). The suffixes beginning with un are referred to in the rule 'unadayo........" and hence DK cites as examples these three rules among the many which ordain the unadi suffixes. Of these three unadi rules the first, 'krv...." ordains the suffix un to the roots kr vaa paa ji, mi svad, sadh and as etc. whereby forms like karuh, vayuh, payuh, javuh, mayuh, svaduh, saduh and asuh are got. The unadi rule 'gamerdoh', cited next by DK, teaches the suffix do to the root gam, to procure the stem 'go'. The rule 'sarva...." enjoins to all the roots the suffix

81. Ibid pp. 289 & 290
asum and DK cites the forms like sarah, tejah, manah, tamah etc. as examples.

Ganapathas and ganasutras:

DK's avowed aim in creating a recast of Ast was to bring the rupas within the easy reach of the students of grammar. Hence his work gives, as stated earlier, more importance to rupas. Therefore, when a rule of Ast, selected for his work, refers to gana or list of nominal stems which behave alike grammatically, he gives the gana-patha for ready reference. Thus we find that DK has enumerated ganas like svaradi, pradi, ajadi, etc. referred to in rules like 'svaradipatamavyayam' (1-1-37)

'pradayah' (1-4-58) 'ajadyatap' (4-1-4) etc. respectively. In addition to these he has enumerated certain ganas though he has omitted in his work, the rules which refer to these ganas. They are the ganas like uryadi, the gana headed by the word saksat etc. He has not mentioned in his work, the rules 'uryadividacacca' (1-4-61)

82. [Note: Page numbers and references are likely part of the document's structure and not integral to the content.]

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82. Rup F - I pp. 128, 130 & 132
and 'saṅkṣatprabhṛtī ca' (1-4-74) which endow the two
groups of sabdas headed by ०००० and saṅkṣat, with the
nipātasaṃjña. These nipatas are enumerated by him to
point out that they get the avyaya-samjña taught by the
rule 'sva-rādini-patamavyaya' which is interpreted by
him.

However it deserves mention that in certain instances
DK does not enumerate all the stems or roots coming under
the ganas which are referred to in the Paninian rules se-
lected by him, but gives only a few among them. For
instance, in the ganas like nāḍyādi, utkārādi, etc. referred
to in rules like 'utkārādibhyasahak' (४-२-९०)'nāḍyādibhya-
dhak' (४-२-९७) etc. respectively, we find that forms utkāriyam,
śaṅgharīyam and pippaliyam derived from certain stems utkara,
śaṅghara and pippala coming under the utkārādigaṇa and the
forms nāḍeyam, maheyaṃ and vārānaseyaṃ derived from a few
stems nāḍi, māḥi and vārānasi coming under the nāḍyādigaṇa,
are only mentioned by him. So also with regard to
the ten ganas of roots, bhuvādi, adādi etc., he does not enumerate
all the roots coming under these ganas but cites only a few of
them under the respective ganas, in course of narrating their

83. Ibid pp. १३० & १३१
84. Ibid pp. २४० & २४१
verbal forms in the various sections concerned with them. 85

Again DK has made mention of certain ganasutras for
giving the rupas of certain stems which have some speciality
from the other stems occuring in the same gana. 86 For example,
he mentions the ganasutra nrnarayorvrdhischac to point out
the fact that in addition to the feminine suffix hrin en-
joined by the rule sarigaravadyane hrin (4-1-73) to the stems
sarigarava, kapatava, nr, and nara etc. coming under the
sarigaravidigana the stems nr and nara alone, get an
initial vrdhhi also whereby the form nar is arrived at. 87
So also other ganasutras like sarvatoktnarthadityeke,
arrhato num ca, maranatosananiisanesu jna etc. are
cited to point out the rupas like rji, rji, arrhantyam
jnapayati etc. 88

85. Rup F - II pp. 4 to 241

86. Scholars are of opinion that the so called ganasutras do not
have the status of a sutra which is defined as "alpaksarama-
masandigdham". They are to be more appropriately
called ganavakyas which are interpolations made in the gana-
patha by later authors. For further details, Vide Kapila-
deva sastry Samakrtva vyakaran nem ganapath ki paramvra
aur acary Panini pp. 84 to 91

87. Rup F - I p. 143

88. Rup F - I pp. 140 & 273, P - II pp. 46 & 218