CHAPTER THREE

ROLE PLAYED BY THE PARIBHĀŚĀPRAKARĀṆA OF SIDHĀNTA KAUMUDĪ IN UNDERSTANDING THE ACTUAL MEANING OF OPERATIONAL APHORISMS (VIDHI SŪTRAS) OF THE ĀSTĀDHYĀYĪ

The size of the PP of the VSK is small in comparison to the number of paribhāsā sūtra-s of Panini furnished throughout the AST. But the short length of this chapter can in no way mar its intrinsic value. The paribhāsā sūtra-s selected by Bhaṭṭoja for discussion in the PP of the VSK can touch a good number of operational principles of the AST. Looking into the field of action of these paribhāsā-ś, the value of the PP can be estimated easily. The paribhāsā-ś treated in this prakaraṇā of the VSK can provide their guidance to the operative rules involved in the important grammatical topics like the transformation of vowels, the process of replacement of grammatical elements, of augments and the application of the svarita vowel. Besides these the PP of the VSK takes into account the paribhāsā-ś establishing the relative hierarchy of different types of Paninian rules. The aim of the present chapter is to observe and examine the activities of the paribhāsā sūtra-s of the PP in the theory of grammatical operation laid down by Panini.

(i) iko gunavrddhi (1.1.3)

Bhaṭṭoja starts the PP of the VSK with this sūtra. This is the third sūtra of the AST. It is regarded as a paribhāsā rule because of its interpretative nature. In the AST, this sūtra remains as the first paribhāsā rule and Bhaṭṭoja also considers it justified to begin

1. This is a paribhāsā, that is a rule laying down a grammatical convention, which is helpful in interpreting other rules. S.D. Joshi and J.A. F. Roodbergen, AST. vol 1, p-3
the paribhāṣā chapter of the VSK with this sūtra. In the AST, this sūtra is preceded by two saṃjñā sūtra-s from which, by the strength of anuvṛti, are joined here the words vrddhi and guru respectively. In the present sūtra the expression guṇavrddhī is the uddeśya part and the term ikah stands as the vidheya. This is clearly stated by S.D. Joshi and Roodbergen in their translation of the first volume of the AST. Like other sūtra-s of Pāṇini, this sūtra too possesses two parts, viz. one is the formal or the external part and the other is the material or intrinsic part. The formal part denotes the appearance of a sūtra and it implies the basic format that the sūtra is to follow. As for example, in case of a samjñā rule the general format is that the saṃjñā portion and the saṃjñī part have to take the same case endings. This principle comes under the scope of the external periphery of the sūtra concerned. The material part, on the other hand, implies the subject matter with which the sūtra is concerned. It is regarded as the internal part of the rule concerned. The nature of a sūtra is established by examining both its formal and the material part. The present sūtra, when thus examined can be regarded as a paribhāṣā rule. Neither formally nor from the view point of the subject matter, this rule can be considered as a saṃjñā sūtra. It is because the two constituent parts of this sūtra, viz, ikah and guṇavrddhī are employed in two different case-endings. The term ikah shows the use of the sixth case-ending whereas the word guṇavrddhī is used in the duel number of the first case-ending. Moreover, the sūtra does not establish any technical concept which is necessary for grammatical purpose. So from the view point of the subject matter also, this rule cannot be called a saṃjñā rule. This sūtra cannot be an

2. vrddhirādaic (1.1.1) and adeṅgunah (1.1.2)
3. 'vrddhirādaic' 'adeṅgunah' ityato vrddhiriti guṇa iti cānuvantate. BM. PP. VSK. vol 1. p-41
4. op. cit, p-4
adhikāra sūra because it does not flow to the successive sūra. Neither the sūra has a svarita accent. This fact is mentioned in the PM clearly. This rule is not a vidhi rule because a vidhi sūra is always prescriptive in nature. It is to be pointed out that through the present sūra no grammatical operation is introduced. Moreover, if this sūra is taken to be a vidhi sūra, the operational rule like sārvadhātukārdhātukayoḥ (7.3.84) that prescribes the grammatical function called guṇa will become meaningless. Haradatta, while dealing with this sūra, skillfully clarifies this point. S.C. Vasu, in his translation of the AST, vol. I, has pointed out the restrictive nature of this rule because of the enumeration of the words guṇa and vrddhi here. Bhattachj, by including this sūra in the PP of the VSK declares his support to the opinion of Haradatta. The KAS accepts this rule as a paribhāṣā regarding the determination of the sthāni. S.C. Vasu, again accepts this as a paribhāṣā for determining the original letters. This sūra is regarded as a paribhāṣā rule by Bhoja also.

The present sūra possesses three technical terms of Paninian Grammar, viz. ik, guṇa and vrddhi. The term ik is a pratyāhāra that covers the vowels i, u, r and I. This mode of using a comprehensive designation, which is very common in the Grammar of Panini has come in to being on the basis of the sūra-ādirantyena saheī(1.1.71).

\[\text{nadhihāraḥ, asvaritavāt, asaṁyujyanirdeśāca, adhikāre hi 'ikoguṇavrddhi na dhātulopah', iti saṁyujaiva nirdiśet. op. cit, KV. vol. I, p.71.}\]
\[\text{aprāptaprapako vidhiḥ. comm., MUGBV, p.15.}\]
\[\text{nāpi vidhiḥ, 'iṣakaḥ sthāne guṇavrddhi bhavataḥ' iti lakṣaṇāntarena vidhāsyamānātvaḥ. PM, KV. vol. I, p.71}\]
\[\text{op. cit, p.5}\]
\[\text{op . cit., p.5}\]
\[\text{This is a paribhāṣāsūtra, and is useful in determining the original letters, in the place of which the substitute guṇa and vrddhi letters will come. AST, vol. I, p.4}\]
\[\text{SAKBH, sūt. no. 1.2.41}\]
The terms *guna* and *vrddhi* stand for the concerned grammatical operation. The definition of *guna* and *vrddhi* is forwarded by Pāṇini through the sūtra – *adeṅgunaḥ* (1.1.2) and *vrddhirādaic* (1.1.1) respectively. The present sūtra states that in Paninian Grammar where *guna* and *vrddhi* are prescribed by uttering the words *guna* and *vrddhi* respectively, there remains the term *ikah*. More clearly it can be said that in such cases *guna* and *vrddhi* are done in place of *i, u, r, or l*. This is to be noted here that though the words *guna* and *vrddhi* come in the present sūtra by anuvṛtti from the two previous sūtra-s, Pāṇini has again attached here the term *gunavrddhi* separately. Actually this attachment brings the real essence of the sūtra concerned. This fact specifically implies that the inclusion of *ikah* is to be done only when *guna* and *vrddhi* operation is prescribed by a rule with the help of the enumeration of the two words *guna* and *vrddhi* respectively. This is clarified by Bhaṭṭoṇi in his vṛtti to this rule. Had the term *gunavrddhi* been not present in this sūtra, it would have meant general *guna* and *vrddhi* function of *ikah* by drawing the words *guna* and *vrddhi* from the two previous sūtra-s. But the presence of this term in the present sūtra acts as the conditional element of the function concerned. In the BM the meaning of this rule has been discussed clearly. The word *ikah* in this sūtra bears great significance both formally and materially. The sixth case ending attached to the term *ik* signifies the meaning ‘in place of’ by the force of the rule *ṣaṣṭhi sthāneyogā* (1.1.49). So the term *ikah* implies the meaning ‘in place of *ik’*. Again the inclusion of the word *ikah* in the rule deliberately rejects the *guna* or *vrddhi* of any letter other than *i, u, r, and l*. Patañjali has offered

12 op.cit.,VSK, vol. I, p. 41

13. *guna vrddhirityuccāryya yatra gunavrddhi vidhiyete tatra ika iti saṣṭhyanam padamupatiṣṭhate iti yojana*. op. cit, ibid, p. 41
an elaborate discussion in this connection. The operational rules like sthuladūrā-
yuvahrasvak—sāpraksudrāṇāmyaṇādiparam pūrvasya ca gūṇaḥ (6.4.156), mṛjervṛddhiḥ.
(7.2.114), midergūṇaḥ (7.3.82), jūṣa (7.3.83), sārvadhātukārdhadhātukayoh, pugantalaghū-padhasya ca (7.3.86), ācchatyāṝ̄m (7.4.11), nṛśo 'ṅgūṇaḥ (7.4.16)
prescribe either gūṇa or vṛddhi with the enumeration of the respective term for which,
by application of the present paribhāṣā, the term ikah is added. Accordingly, the
operation gūṇa or vṛddhi is done in place of the vowels i, u, r and l only. As for
example, the sūtra - midergūṇaḥ prescribes gūṇa operation to the root īmid which
consists of three letters, viz. m, i and d. The force of the present interpretative canon
brings the addition of the term ikah here. So the gūṇa operation occurs in case of i only
but not in other letters of the term īmid. Thus the word medyati is constructed. This is to
be remembered here that if gūṇa or vṛddhi operation is not prescribed by the
enumeration of the words gūṇa and vṛddhi respectively, the present paribhāṣā does not
get its way of application. Thus the sūtra - tyadādīnāmaḥ (7.2.102) prescribes that a will
come in case of tyad etc. The letter a is included in the list of gūṇa letters but even then
this sūtra cannot come under the pervue of the present paribhāṣā because here, the
operation gūṇa is not uttered specifically with the enumeration of the word gūṇa. As a
result, the inclusion of ikah is not done here. So, according to this sūtra a comes directly
in place of the last letter of words like tyad. Similarly, in the case of the sūtra - diva aut
(7.1.84) the letter au is prescribed in place of div. Though the letter au is a vṛddhi letter,
the operation vṛddhi is not prescribed here with the enumeration of the word vṛddhi
itself. As a result, the present paribhāṣā can not come in the way of interpreting the
meaning of the sūtra - diva aut. So the word ikah can not be included in the body

14. kim prayojanaṁ? ākāraṇavṛtttyartham sandhyakṣaraṇivṛtttyartham vyāñjanani-
vṛtttyartham ca. MHB, in connection with the P.sūt. iko gūṇavṛddhi (1.1.3)
of this sūtra. Accordingly, au comes in place of v of div giving rise to the formation of the word dyauh. Another point to be noted here is that the present interpretative canon guides to select the sthāni or locus of the grammatical operation regarding guṇa and vrddhi when no sthāni is specifically mentioned in the concerned rule. But if the sthāni is mentioned specifically, the present paribhāṣā has nothing to do. This is elaborately stated by Jñānendrasarasvatī in the commentary called Tattvabodhini (TB). It is to be noted here that in the operational rule orgunah (6.4.146), the operation guṇa is prescribed by the physical presence of the word guṇa itself. But the present paribhāṣā cannot be applied here, because, in this operational rule, the sthāni is specifically mentioned i.e. u. So by the strength of this rule the guṇa operation is directly done to the letter u in connection with the words taken under consideration and subsequently the letter u is changed into o. Similarly, through the sūtra - acoonīti (7.2.115), the operation vrddhi is prescribed to the vowel sound of the specified original part of the words taken under consideration. The present paribhāṣā remains inactive here too, because the sthāni, in this case, is specifically selected for the commencement of the vrddhi operation. A locus of operation can not be taken when a sthāni is already selected. So, by the strength of the sūtra-acoonīti, the vrddhi operation is done to the first vowel sound of the prakṛti or the original part if a taddhita suffix ending in n, ṇ or k follows. As a result the words like gārgyāḥ, dāśarathīḥ, śāivāḥ are formed. Though Bhaṭṭojī, in the PP of the VSK does not discuss this idea specifically, he has clarified it through the expression ikāḥ iti sāsthyantam padam attached in his vṛtti to the sūtra. It is because a word with the sixth case-ending which is of unspecified relation stands for sthāni in

15. yatra sāksat sthāni na nirdiṣṭāḥ ‘sārvadhātukārdhadhātukayoḥ’, ‘sici vrddhiḥ.’ ityādau, tatraiveyam paribhāṣā pravartate, na tu ‘acoonīti’ ityādau, sthānininirdesāt. PP.VSK. vol.1 , p-41
an operational rule by the strength of another interpretative cannon *yasthi* sthānevyoga (1.1.49). Thus it can be pointed out that when the word *ikāh* is supplied by the present *paribhāṣā* rule it acts as the *sthānī*. It is also important to note here that the enumeration of the words *guna* and *vrddhi* which is the conditional element for the activation of the present *paribhāṣā* rule can not be taken as understood by the repetition of those terms in the *sūtra* itself because a *paribhāṣā* is always applied to an operation but not to *anuvāda* or mere repetition.\(^\text{16}\) In Sanskrit Grammar, the term *anuvāda* is technically used to denote repetition of an element which is stated earlier.\(^\text{17}\) As for example, in the *sūtra* *ato gune* (6.1.97), the word *guna* is physically present but it does not specify the *guna* operation. The term *guna* here stands for mere repetition. So the *paribhāṣā* *iko gunavrddhi* can not come here as a guiding force. Similarly, in the *sūtra* *vrddhirasyaācāmādestadvrddham* (1.1.73), the word *vrddhi* is specifically mentioned but it does not denote here the *vrddhi* operation. On the other hand, the presence of the word *vrddhi* here, is only for reassertion. As a result, the present *paribhāṣā* can not be applied here. It is to be noted here that the *paribhāṣā* *sūtra* – *iko gunavrddhi*, though it remains as the third *sūtra* of the *AST*, can show its attachment to various types of operational rules laid down by *Pāṇini* throughout the *AST*. *Bhaṭṭoji*, by explaining this *sūtra* in the very beginning of his *PP* of the *VSK*, has put due importance to this rule. In the *VDI*, G. *Haldar* again states it clearly that *Pāṇini* has taken this *paribhāṣā* from the work of his predecessors.\(^\text{18}\)

\(^{16}\) vidhauparibhāṣopatiśthate naṇuvāde. pr. no. 102, PBSS, p-237

\(^{17}\) pramanantaravagatasya arthasya sabdena saṁkīrtanamātramānavādaḥ. KAS. on the P.сут. anuvāde caraṇānāṁ (2.4.3.), p.136

\(^{18}\) op cit, p. 372
(ii) acaśca (1.2.28)

This is the second sūtra of the PP of the VSK. By placing this sūtra just after the rule iko gunavrddhi in the paribhāṣā chapter of the VSK, Bhattoji has established a sequence of subject matter. This is because, like the previous paribhāṣā rule, this sūtra too, speaks of the guideline regarding vowel transformation. Haradatta shows the similarity of this sūtra with the previous one conspicuously. This rule, like iko gunavrddhi cannot be a sāmījnā sūtra, because neither from the formal point nor on the basis of its subject matter it can establish its sāmījnā status. This rule cannot be an adhikāra sūtra because it does not pass over to the successive rule which is the basic characteristic feature of an adhikāra rule. That this rule is an interpretative canon is accepted unanimously. S. C. Vasu declares its interpretative nature in his exposition this rule. In the KAS. this rule is regarded as a paribhāṣā that determines the locus of grammatical operation. Jinendrabuddhi accepts it as a lingavatī paribhāṣā which is used for determining the sthāni. S. D. Joshi and Roodbergen, in translating this sūtra, have stated clearly that it is an interpretative canon as it establishes a grammatical convention that helps in the way of interpretation of other rules. In this sūtra, by the strength of anuvṛtti from the rule ukālojarasvadārghaplutah (1.2.27), the term ajarasvadārghaplutah is attached and this portion acts as the uḍḍēṣya part of the whole sūtra whereas the part acaḥ stands as the vidheya. This is pointed out by S. D. Joshi and Roodbergen in the AST, vol. I. The meaning of the present sūtra is that when ac

19. iko gunavrddhi ityanena samānāmidam. PM. KV. vol 1, p.306
20. AST, vol. I, p.84
21. paribhāṣāyam sthāniniyamārthā, op.cit., p.33
22. paribhāṣāyam liṅgavatī sthāniniyamārthā Nyāsa. KV. vol. I, p.306
23. AST. vol1, p . 45
24. op. cit., p. 45
or a vowel is prescribed by uttering the words *hrasva, dīrgha* or *pluta*, the word *acah* is to be employed which acts as the *sthānī* or locus of the proposed grammatical action and the meaning of the term *acah* remains as 'in place of a vowel'. In *SAKBHI*, a similar canon is found. Bhattoji’s expression *acah iti śaṣṭhyantam padamupatiṣṭhate* in the *vr̥tti* implies this idea only. Thus, this *sūtra* is meant for the supplement of the *sthānī* only. The important point to be noted here is that when *ac* is enjoined by the physical presence of the word *hrasva, dīrgha* and *pluta*, then only the present *paribhāṣā* gets its way of application. In the *KAS* the meaning of this rule is clarified magnificently. The meaning of the present *sūtra* can be explained in a negative way also. The word *acah* can not be supplied in a *sūtra* when *ac* is not prescribed by enumerating the words *hrasva, dīrgha* or *pluta*. M.V. Mahashabde has explained this point in the note part of his translation of the *VSK*. It is worth mentioning here that the status of *hrasva, dīrgha* and *pluta* is invariably connected with a vowel sound and not with a consonant. In this way the addition of the term *ac*, in this *sūtra* apparently stands as useless. S.D. Joshi and Roodbergen though opine that this term is superfluous in the present *sūtra*, at the same time they admit the fact that the joining of *ac* is necessary for the next *sūtra* of the *AST* which runs as *uccairudattah* (1.2.29). In the present *sūtra* the term *acah* bears a sense of restriction that prevents the imposition of the substitute prescribed by the terms *hrasva, dīrgha* and *pluta* to a final consonant letter. This is stated by S. D. Joshi and

25. *aco hrasvadīrghaplutaḥ*. op.cit. 1.2.42
26. *hrasvadīrghaplutaḥ svasāṁjñayā śisyamāṇā aca eva sthāne vediatavyāḥ*. op.cit. p.33
27. op cit, p.49
28 The word *ac* from P 1.2.27 is to be continued in P 1.2.28 although strictly speaking, it is redundant here...still, the *anuvṛtti* of *ac* is required for the sake of P 1.2.29. *AST*.vol.II, p.45.
Roodbergen in the AST. vol. II.29

The application of the present paribhäśā rule is seen in the functional process of many sūtra-s of the AST. As for example, the sūtra – hrasvo napuṁsake prātipadikasya (1.2.47) prescribes the substitution of a short vowel in connection with a prātipadika in the neuter gender. In this operational rule ac is prescribed by the enumeration of the word hrasva itself. Therefore, according to the present paribhäśā, the term acaḥ is to be supplied here. So the resultant meaning of the concerned rule comes out as a short vowel occurs in place of the final vowel of a prātipadika in neuter gender. Thus the words upagu from ga, atiri from rai etc. are formed. Similarly through the operational rule akṛtsārvadhāntukayoh ōḍirghaḥ (7.4.25), it is stated that the final vowel of a stem is lengthened before an affix beginning with y and having an indicatory k or ṇ when it is neither a kṛt nor a sārvadhānta. In this sūtra the word ōḍirgha is physically present and as by the enumeration of this word a vowel is stated, the term ac-ah is to be added by the application of the present paribhäśā. Thus the full meaning of the concerned functional rule comes out and the formations of the words like ciyate from vēci, śṛyāte from śṛu are established. Similar is the case in the Paninian rule vākyasya teḥ ṣvāta uḍātah (8.2.82). Here also the word plutaḥ is enumerated specifically and it prescribes a vowel. So the present paribhäśa establishes the insertion of the word acaḥ here as the sthānī. A counter example can prove the strength of this paribhäśā in a better way. The rule diva ut (6.1.131) prescribes u for div. Though the letter u is a short vowel, it is not prescribed in the sūtra by the enumeration of the word hrasva. As a result, there is no question of inserting the sthānī by the paribhäśa principle acaśca. On the other hand, here, by the force of the sūtra - alo'ntasya (1.1.52), the sound u comes in place of v and this will lead to the formation of the word dyubhyām etc. It is to be noted here
that Bhaṭṭoja has enumerated this interpretative canon just after the sūtra—iko gunavrddhi in his VSK, because both of them are of same nature. These two paribhāṣā sūtra-s decide the sthānī for the occurrence of the respective grammatical operation. But if the sthānī is already fixed in a rule, this paribhāṣā too like the preceding one does not find its applicability. More clearly it can be said that when the locus of the concerned grammatical operation is already established in the functional sūtra, these two paribhāṣā-s are not used in any way. So by adjusting the sūtra—acāsa just after the rule iko gunavrddhi in the PP of the VSK, Bhaṭṭoja has proved his grammatical insight and power of observation. There is a good number of interpretative canon placed in the AST in between these two rules. But because of their intrinsic similarity in connection with the grammatical issue, these two rules are placed one after the other in the PP of the VSK by Bhaṭṭoja.

(iii) ādyantau takitauf (1.1.46)

This is the third Paninian sūtra explained by Bhaṭṭoja in the PP of the VSK. With this sūtra he comes to the interpretative principle regarding augmentation. In the PM, Haradatta opines that this sūtra bears the nature of both sanjñā and paribhāṣā. In the sanjñā part the sūtra relates the definition of ādi and anta with the help of t-kāra and k-kāra respectively.30 In the Nyāsa, this rule is regarded as a paribhāṣā by virtue of it being an exception to the paribhāṣā—ṣaṣṭhī sthāneyoga.31 S. D. Joshi and Roodbergen while dealing with this sūtra conspicuously state that it cannot be a sanjñā sūtra as no

30. atra dvau paksau sambhavataḥ—sanjñā syāt paribhāṣā vetī. tatra sanjñāpakṣe' yamarthah. takiśavīti karmadhārayaḥ, itsanjanākau tākārakākārāu ādyantayah sanjñēti. KV. vol. I, p.162

31. 'ṣaṣṭhī sthāneyogaḥ ityasyāḥ paribhāṣāyāḥ ayamapavādāḥ tena tatsambandhādasya- pi paribhāṣātvaṁ vijñayate. op. cit., ibid, p.162
technical term of Paninian Grammar is defined with the help of this rule. According to these scholars, the present rule, on the other hand, is purely a *paribhāṣā* because of its interpretative nature. According to G. Haldar, this *paribhāṣā* rule has been constructed by Pāṇini himself to make the analysing process of the *AST* easier. Bhoja has formulated a similar type of rule in his Grammar. It is to be borne in mind that this rule presupposes the existence of a *sthāni* or locus of the proposed grammatical operation. This rule states that the augment which has an indicatory *t* is to be added initially i.e. before the *sthāni* concerned and the augment ending in *k* is fixed finally i.e. after the *sthāni* proposed. The scholar like D. K. Bidyaratna, in his Bengali edition of the *AST*, maintains that the augment which has its last letter *t* elided will be applied before the word reflected with the sixth case-ending whereas the augment having the last *k* letter elided will be applied after the word possessing the sixth case-ending. In the *KAS* also this idea is clearly mentioned. According to Jinendrabuddhi the word *sāṣṭhi* comes in this rule as a *simhāvalokitanyāya*. Though Bhattoji has not openly said anything regarding this topic, in his *vṛtti* to this rule, the expression *yasyoktau tasya* attached there, proclaims the same view. Moreover, the insertion of the word *kramād* by Bhattoji in the *vṛtti* is very important. It speaks of the proper sequence of the necessary placement. Bhattoji again has shown in his exposition the use of the word *it* to *t* and *k* separately by excluding the *it* part from the whole compounded word.

32. It is a *paribhāṣā*, a rule which lays down a grammatical convention of interpretation of rules valid throughout the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*. AST. vol. I, p.57
33. VDI. Part-I, p.372
34. *ṭakītavādyantau* (1.2.35)
35. op. cit, p.8
36. *ādistiddhavati, antah kidbhavati sāṣṭhinirdistasya*, op. cit. vol. I, p.18
Actually the word \textit{takitau} in the present rule is a compounded word with $t$, $k$ and it where the term \textit{it} is to be added twice according to the customary principle that in Grammar, the word \textit{it} in connection with a \textit{dvandva} compound is added to all the constituent parts.\textsuperscript{38} \textbf{Bhaṭṭoja}, while discussing the meaning of the present interpretative canon, has separated the constituent parts of the word \textit{takitau}\textsuperscript{39} and thus makes the process of understanding easier. \textbf{Bhaṭṭoja} also uses the word \textit{avayava} in his \textit{vṛtti} deliberately to imply the sense of ‘a portion’. An augment always becomes a portion of the \textit{sthāṇī} and \textbf{Bhaṭṭoja}’s explanation indicates here this characteristic feature of an augment. The \textit{KAS} has not used any word of this sort in connection with this \textit{sūtra}. \textbf{Bhaṭṭoja}, undoubtedly has become successful in making the meaning of the present \textit{sūtra} clear and compatible with the help of his short but grave expression furnished in the \textit{vṛtti}. In the opinion of S. D. Joshi, the present rule is an exception to the rule \textit{sāṣṭhi sthāṇeyogā}.\textsuperscript{40} It is important to note here that the present \textit{paribhāṣā} rule, though an exception, is placed before the rule \textit{sāṣṭhi sthāṇeyogā} in the \textit{AST}. It can be presumed from this fact that \textbf{Pāṇini} himself does not want to break the continuity of the subject matter treated in the \textit{sūtra}-s starting from \textit{sāṣṭhi sthāṇeyogā} to \textit{dvirvacane’ci} (1.1.59).

The group of these eleven \textit{sūtra}-s deals with the process of substitution whereas the present \textit{paribhāṣā} is primarily related to augmentation. So this reversal order is followed by \textbf{Pāṇini}. \textbf{Bhaṭṭoja} on his part, has also placed the present \textit{paribhāṣā} \textit{sūtra} before the rule \textit{sāṣṭhi sthāṇeyogā}, in the \textit{PP} of the \textit{VSK}, though he does not show the grouping

\textsuperscript{38} \textit{tasca kasca \textit{takau}, \textit{takārādakāra uccāraṇārthāḥ \textit{takau itau yayostau \textit{takitau} dvandvānta icchabdaḥ pratyekam sambadhya. BM \textit{PP}. VSK, Vol. I, p.42
\textsuperscript{39} \textit{titkitau}. ibid, p.42
\textsuperscript{40} Therefore P 1.1.46 also, which lays down the convention regarding the augments marked with $T$ and $K$ is considered to be an exception to P . 1.1.49. \textit{AST}.vol I, p.59
of the aforesaid eleven *śūra*-s in this chapter. Thus the placement of the present *paribhāṣā* in the *PP* of the *VSK* before the general *śūra* - *ṣaṣṭhi* *sthāneyoṣā* is not exceptional in any way.  

The application of the present *paribhāṣā* can be seen in the *śūra* – *ārdhadhātukasyedbalādeḥ* (7.2.35). This operational rule states the inclusion of the augment *it* in connection with an *ārdhadhātuka* affix starting with a consonant except *y*. Here, the augment is purposefully shown with the indicatory /", as a result of which the augment is termed as a *ṭīṭ aṅgama*. In the present functional rule the word *ārdhadhātukasya* and *balādeḥ* possess sixth case - ending constructing the *sthāni* of the proposed grammatical operation. Here the term *balādeḥ* again stands as an adjective of the word *ārdhadhātukasya*. In this situation, the present *paribhāṣā* rule plays its role significantly. 

With the strength of this canon the augment *it* is placed before the *balādi* – *ārdhadhātuka* affix. As a result, the word *bhavisyati* etc. are formed. Similarly, the present *paribhāṣā* is capable of being applied in the interpretation process of the rule *sāccchāśāhvāvyavepāṁ yuk* (7.3.37). This operational rule prescribes the inclusion of the augment *yuk* and the word *sāccchāśāhvāvyavepāṁ* stays here as the *sthāni* because of the application of the sixth case – ending thereon. The augment *yuk* is *kit*, for which by the strength of the present *paribhāṣā* *śūra* it will be inserted finally i.e. after the word pointed out as the locus of operation in the rule concerned. Thus the words like *sālayati, pālayati* are formed.

(iv) *midaconaṁtyātparaḥ* (1.1.47) 

This rule is the fourth *paribhāṣā* *śūra* of the *PP* of the *VSK*. In the *AST* also this rule is placed just after the *śūra* - *ādyantau takitau*. It can be inferred from the position of this *śūra* in the *PP* that Bhaṭṭoṛji has placed this *śūra* just after the rule *ādyantau* 

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41. AST. vol 1. p.59.
because both of them are of same nature. Like the previous rule, the present *śūtra* also deals with the norm of the placement of augment having the indicatory letter *m*. So, like the previous rule, this *śūtra* also establishes a grammatical process of interpretation of a particular group of Paninian aphorisms. S. D. Joshi and Roodbergen, in the translation of the *AST*, vol. II, have mentioned this clearly. The term *mit* in the *śūtra* refers to the grammatical element where *m* is used as the indicatory letter. This term is a technical one and it refers to the *āgama* marked by the indicatory *m*. The word *acaḥ* in the *śūtra*, is used in the sixth case ending and it bears the sense of *nirdhāraṇa* which in Sanskrit Grammar is used to select one or a group out of many of the same category. In the *KAS*, this view is retained. Though it denotes specification, the term *acaḥ* in the *śūtra* is used in the singular number to denote the meaning of *jāti*. Haradatta following the *KAS*, has supported this view only. Bhaṭṭoji in his *vr̥tti* simply mentions the existence of the genitive case in the expression *acaḥ*. Though in the *BM* it is stated that in the present *śūtra* the implementation of the singular number is non-intentional in the *TB* it is specifically mentioned that the existence of the singular number denotes the concerned class or *jāti*. This type of implementation can be supported by one of the Paninian *śūtra*-s which states that the singular number can be used in the language to denote a *jāti* through *nirdhāraṇa*. The word *acaḥ* in the present *śūtra*, denotes the group of vowel sounds used in Sanskrit language. So by the present *parībhāṣā* *śūra* it is

42. op. cit, p. 60
43. ‘acaḥ’ iti nirdhāraṇe  saṣṭhi. op.cit., p.18
44. ‘acaḥ’ iti nirdhāraṇe  saṣṭhi jātāvekavacanamityāha, PM. KV. vol.II, p.163
45. ‘acaḥ’ iti  saṣṭhyantāṁ. PP.VSK, vol.I, p.43
46. ‘acaḥ’ ityekatvamavivakṣitaṁ. op. cit.,ibid., p. 43
47. *śūtre jātyābhīpṛayeṇa ‘acaḥ’ ityekavacanamiti bhāvah*. op. cit., ibid, p.43
48. *jātyākhyāyāṃkasmin bahuvacanamanyatāraseṃ*.(1.2.58)
contented that an augment having the indicatory letter \( m \) is to be inserted after the last one among the existing vowels of the concerned lexical unit. Bhaṭṭojaḥ while explaining the meaning of this \( sūtra \) specifically mentions that the insertion of the \( mūt \) augment remains as the part of the concerned \( sthāni.\)\(^{49}\) S. C. Vasu, in the translation of the \( AST. \) vol.I, specifically mentions that the augment in this case becomes the final position of that where it is inserted.\(^{50}\) An important point to be noted is that though the strength of the word \( parah \) exists in the \( sūtra \), the word \( antyād \) with the ablative case can not be equated with the word \( acaḥ. \) It is because in that case the expression \( acaḥnyāt parah \) would have carried the sense that the last letter of the element to which the attachment of the augment is prescribed has to be a vowel. Then the present \( paribhāṣā \) would have covered up only those elements, which end in a vowel sound. But in that case, the grammatical elements ending in a consonant would have stayed outside the jurisdiction of the present interpretative canon. Then the prescription of \( num \) to \( ‘muc \) by the rule \( se mucādinām \) (7.1.59) would not be possible under the guidance of the present \( paribhāṣā \) rule. It is because the grammatical particle \( muc \) ends in a consonant i.e. \( c. \) To avoid this problem, the term \( acaḥ \) has been taken as a form of genitive case by the strength of \( nirdhāraṇa \) and the singular form is used to symbolize the class. This point is elaborately discussed in the \( Nyāsa.\)\(^{51}\) K. Das has simplified the meaning of this \( sūtra \) by expressing the fact that the position of the last vowel of the concerned grammatical element does not

\(^{49}\) acaḥ madhye yo’ntyāstasmātparastasyaivaṁtvayavo mītyāt. PP. VSK, vol.I, p.43

\(^{50}\) op. cit, p.35

\(^{51}\) atra yadi ‘acaḥ’ ityesā paṇcāmī syāt, antyādityanayā paṇcamīyā samānādhikara
    natvam syāt ↑.. tasmanān nirdhārane saśṭhyāmīti. KV, vol. I, op.cit., p.163
The application of the present *paribhāṣā* can be understood with the help of examples. The operational rule *napuṁsakasya jhalacah* (7.1.72) prescribes the insertion of the augment *num* to a neuter stem ending in a consonant except a nasal or a semivowel or ending in a vowel sound. The augment *num* is a *mit* augment. A neuter stem may have various linguistic parts. But the present prescriptive rule has not specified the place exactly where the augment should be inserted. In this juncture the present *paribhāṣā* can solve the problem. With the help of the present interpretative canon it is decided that the augment *num* which is a *mit* will come after the last vowel of the concerned neuter stem. Thus we come across the formation of the words like *payāṃsi, yasāṃsi*. But in the case of the root *vmaṣṭa* an exceptional grammatical use is located. Here the augment *num* is added not after the last vowel. On the other hand, the augment here, is inserted between *s* and *j* which gives rise to the formation like *maṅkā* and *maṅktum*. This is stated by S.C. Vasu in his exposition to this rule in the translation of the *AST*. But the general dictum that exception proves the rule may heighten the strength of the present *paribhāṣā* in the grammatical field.

It is to be added here that like the preceding *paribhāṣā* rule, this Paninian canon also presupposes the existence of a linguistic element to which the *mit* augment is to be added. Here also the locus of the proposed grammatical operation has to be expressed with the genitive case ending. This can be explained with the help of the previous example. In the rule *napuṁsakasya jhalacah*, the word *napuṁsakasya* possesses the sixth

52. *According to the paribhāṣā* viz. *midaco'ntyat paraḥ* (P 1.1.47), an augment or a suffix with indicatory *m* is placed after the last vowel of a stem, irrespective of ultimate or penultimate position it occupies in the stem. PPSG, p.63.
53. op. cit, pp-35,36
case ending and it acts as the \textit{sthāni} of the said operation in connection with which the application of the rule \textit{midaco 'ntyāt parah} can be illustrated. But the genitive case used here does not carry the sense conveyed by the rule \textit{sasthi sthānayogā} as a result of which the present \textit{paribhāsa} can easily be termed as an exception to the rule \textit{sasthi sthānayogā}. This is clearly mentioned by S. D. Joshi and Roodbergen in their exposition to the present \textit{paribhāsa} rule.\textsuperscript{54} Again the present \textit{paribhāsa} rule overrides the rule \textit{paraśca \textit{(3.1.2).}}\textsuperscript{55}\textsuperscript{P}\textsuperscript{\textit{ata}}\textsuperscript{\textit{nyat parah}} \textit{Patanjlali has established this fact} in the \textit{MHB} and in this way the scope of the rule \textit{midaco 'ntyāt parah} can be extended over a good number of Paninian rules. So the inclusion of this \textit{paribhāsa} rule in the \textit{PP} of the \textit{VSK} by Bhaṭṭoji has put value to the concerned chapter and this fact obviously suggests Bhaṭṭoji's maturity in the field of grammatical study.

(v) \textit{sasthi sthānayogā\textsuperscript{(1.1.49)}}

This is the fifth \textit{paribhāsa} sutra taken by Bhaṭṭoji in the \textit{PP} of the \textit{VSK}. This rule is undoubtedly a \textit{paribhāsa} because it establishes a grammatical technique for the interpretation of many other rules of the \textit{AST}. This \textit{paribhāsa} is quoted in the \textit{VJP}.\textsuperscript{56} A \textit{paribhāsa} principle with almost similar meaning, is found in some of the works of non-Paninian school of Sanskrit Grammar.\textsuperscript{57} It is to be noted here that in the list of \textit{paribhāsa}-s composed by Bhoja, though the canons \textit{takītāvādyantau}\textsuperscript{58} and \textit{midaco 'ntyātparah}\textsuperscript{59} are found, the present rule has not got its place there. Bhaṭṭoji, by

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{54} op. cit., p.61
\item \textsuperscript{55} \textit{midaco 'ntyāt para ityucyate sthānayogatvasya pratayaparotvasya ca pavādah} \textit{op.cit., in connection with the P.sūt. midaco 'ntyātparah \textsuperscript{(1.1.46)}}
\item \textsuperscript{56} op.cit., 1.136.
\item \textsuperscript{57} \textit{ṣaṣṭhīśśvyaśvya}. KPS. PBS, p.78
\item \textsuperscript{58} 1.2.35.
\item \textsuperscript{59} 1.2.36
\end{itemize}
placing the present *paribhāṣā* just after the rule *midaco ‘ntyāparah* in the *PP* of the *VSK* proves his grammatical intuition as well as prudence. Both of these rules deal with the criteria of the insertion of a lexical element in the process of formation of Sanskrit words. In the *KAS.* vol.I, the present rule is called a *yoganiyamā paribhāṣā* 60 i.e. an interpretative canon related to the insertion of a grammatical element in place of the proposed *sthānī*. The term *ṣasthi* used in the present rule represents a word of the operational rule that has a particular type of sixth case ending. The expression *sthāneyogā* found in the *sūtra* can be explained in various ways. As for example, this word can be compounded on the basis of the expression *sthāne yogo asyāh* where it denotes the sixth case ending that is to be connected with *sthāne*. The seventh case ending retained in the word *sthāne* in the present rule speaks of its existence on the basis of the grammatical custom called *nipātana*. Secondly, the term *sthāneyogā* can be explained on the basis of the expression *sthānena yogo asyāh* where it denotes the sixth case ending that is to be connected with the word *sthāna*. Patanjali, in the *MHB* has explained this subject elaborately.61 It is to be remembered here that in the second type of the construction of the word *sthāneyogā* also, the existence of *e-kāra* in the word *sthāne* is due to the custom of *nipātana*. Vāsudevadikṣita following the *MHB*, has explained the word *sthāneyogā* in his commentary.62 Patanjali has added another explanation in this regard by taking the term *sthāneyogā* as a resultant form of two words *sthāne* and *ayogā* where the word *ayogā* according to him denotes an unexpressed

60. op. cit, p.18.

61. op. cit, āhn-1.

62. *sthānāṁ prasaṅga iti vakṣyati, tasmin vācakatayā yogo yasyāḥ sa sthāneyogā, nipānat saptaṁyā aluk sthānena yogo asyā iti vā vigrahaḥ. nipātanādetrvaṁ. BM PP. VSK, vol. I, p. 44.*
Bhattoji's explanation tallies with that of Patanjali as he uses the word \textit{anirdhâritasambandhavisesa} \textit{sasthi} to analyse the meaning of the present \textit{paribhāṣā}. Moreover, Bhattoji has taken the meaning of the word \textit{sthāna} as \textit{prasanga}. In the \textit{KAS} also this meaning is shown conspicuously. S. C. Vasu too has taken the meaning of the word \textit{sthāna} as \textit{prasanga}.

The meaning of the present \textit{paribhāṣā} comes to be that when a genitive case is used in a \textit{sūtra} of Pāṇini and no specific sense is denoted by this, it is to be connected with the expression 'in place of'. More clearly it can be said that, in Paninian \textit{sūtra}\textit{-s} the locus of a grammatical operation is generally denoted by the words possessing the sixth case ending. In the \textit{AST} various lexical operations including elision come under the scope of the present interpretative canon. Thus the scope of the present \textit{paribhāṣā} appears to be very wide in Paninian Grammar. K. Das has clearly stated this while dealing with the present \textit{sūtra} in his book on Paninian \textit{paribhāṣā}. The application of this \textit{paribhāṣā} can be observed with the help of an example. The operational rule \textit{ikoyanaci} (6.1.77) states the application of the grammatical element \textit{yan} in place of \textit{ik} in the process of euphonic combination. As the word \textit{ikah} possesses the sixth case ending, the present \textit{paribhāṣā} is to be applied here. Accordingly, the meaning of this

63. athavā-sthāne ayogā sthāneyogā, kimidam ayogeti ? avyaktayogā ayogā. MHB, in connection with the P. sūt. \textit{sasthi} sthāneyogā (1.1.49)
64. sthānaṁca prasangaḥ. PP. VSK, vol. I, p. 45.
65. sthānaśabdaśca prasangavācī, op. cit., p. 18
66. The word sthāna here is synonymous with prasangaḥ or 'occasion'. AST .vol. I, p .37
67. The scope of application of the present \textit{paribhāṣā} is so wide in Pāṇini that some fifty rules on euphonic combination refer to it for determination of actual locus of euphonic replacement etc. in a single chapter of the \textit{Aśūdhyāyī}. PPSG, p.39
operational rule becomes that \( yan \) comes in place of \( ik \) in connection with euphonic combination. In this case, no question of initial or final part of the element \( ik \) comes into consideration. It is rather, the whole locus that is to be replaced by the lexical element \( yan \). As a result, the words like \( dadhyatra, ityādi \) are formed in Sanskrit language. It is to be noted here that when a definite relation is denoted by the application of the sixth case termination in a sūtra of Panini, the present \( paribhāṣā \) does not get the way of its application. Thus in the rule \( ādudhāya vā gocah \) (6.4.89), the term \( upadhāyaḥ \) is expressed with the genitive case ending. This term denotes here a part of the original element and as a result the implementation of the term \( upadhā \) in this functional rule denotes the part - whole relation that exists between the root \( ḍguh \) and its penultimate letter. So the present \( paribhāṣā \) has nothing to do with this rule. This is explicitly mentioned by Vāsudevadīksita in the BM commentary.68 S.C. Vasu, for this reason has accepted the restrictive nature of the present \( paribhāṣā \) in connection with the words applied with the genitive case terminations in the aphorisms of Panini.69 G. Cardona points out the benefit achieved by Panini in the AST with the help of the present interpretative canon. According to him, the rule \( sasthī sthāneyoga \) saves Panini from repeating the use of the word \( sthāne \) in connection with the concerned operational rules possessing the word with the sixth case - ending.70 This view can be supported

68. ‘udupadhāyaḥ goḥah’ ityatra tu goha iti ṣaṭṣṭī na sthānārthikā, upadhāpadasa- mabhivyāhāreṇa avayavasaṣṭhivanirdhāraṇāt, paribhisāṇānām ca aniyame niyanārthameva pravṛtteḥ. op.cit., PP. VSK, vol.I, p.44

69. This aphorism lays down the restrictive rule for the interpretation of such words. AST, vol.I, p.37.

70. That is, instead of using \( sthāne \) ‘in place’ repeatedly with genitive forms in substitution rules, Panini lets this metarule come into play, so that one understands the particular relation in question and can, in effect, supply \( sthāne \) in construction with a genitive. Panini, p.52
by Nāgęśa’s statement which states that the utterance of the word sthāna as an adhyāhāra.\textsuperscript{71}

\textit{(vi) sthane'ntaratamah (1.1.50)}

This is the sixth paribhāṣā sūtra taken up for explanation by Bhaṭṭoji in the PP of the VSK. In the AST this sūtra is placed just after the interpretative rule \textit{sasthi sthāneyogā} and Bhaṭṭoji too has followed Pāṇini’s arrangement regarding the placement of this sūtra in the PP. According to Jinendrabuddhi this rule is a paribhāṣā and is meant for regulating the substitute.\textsuperscript{72} Haradatta, explains the reason why this rule cannot be taken as an independent prescription.\textsuperscript{73} He also opines that this rule is a paribhāṣā where sthānasasthi remains as a constituent element.\textsuperscript{74} In the Nyāsa also the injunctive nature of this rule is refuted.\textsuperscript{75} S. D. Joshi and Roodbergen following Pataṅjali have called it a paribhāṣā which is used to bring a restriction in connection with various possible substitutes.\textsuperscript{76} As this rule is used for the interpretation of several other rules of the AST it can definitely be called a paribhāṣā. More clearly it can be said that the present sūtra can not be an operational rule because it only specifies the process of selecting one among the several possible substitutes which take place by the

\begin{footnotes}
\item[71] \textit{sasthimatroccarane sthanapadādyadhāhāra iti}. PP. LSS, p.58.
\item[72] \textit{paribhāṣeyamādesāniyamārtha}. Nyāsa, KV, p.170
\item[73] \textit{yadyayaṁ svatantro vidhiḥ syād, atrāpi prāpnoti}. PM. ibid, p.170
\item[74] \textit{paribhāṣaprakaranaṁ paribhāṣeyam yatra sthānasasthi tatropatisthate}. ibid, p.171
\item[75] \textit{nedāṁ vidhāyakāṁ vākyāṁ, kim tarhi ? lakṣaṇāntaraṇaḥ prāptānāmananta- ratamāṁmitaraśaṇaḥ yo'ntaratamah, sa eva bhavati niyamārthamiti darsayati}. op.cit., pp.170, 171.
\item[76] This is a paribhāṣā which serves to impose a niyama ‘restriction’ with regard to possible substitutes. AST, vol. I, p.67
\end{footnotes}
strength of various prescriptive aphorisms of Panini. The word sthāne in this sūtra, following the previous one, implies the meaning of prasaṅga or occasion. Bhaṭṭoji has clearly stated this in his vṛtti to this rule. Though the term antara has several meanings, in the present paribhāṣā rule, it is used to denote similarity. In the BM, Vasudevadīksita has specifically mentioned this. The element tamāp which is a suffix denoting the superlative degree is employed in the expression antaratamah to signify the most similar one. Panini, in his Grammar, has shown the existence of the lexical proximity among the sounds. The rule regarding the concept of savarṇa is a testimony to it. Sanskrit Grammar establishes four types of proximity between the substituend and the substitute viz. proximity by place, by meaning, by quality and by quantity. S. C. Vasu, in his translation, has discussed this elaborately. The proximity by place signifies the similarity of the place of articulation. The proximity by quality implies the equality in terms of prayatna i.e. the effort of articulation and by the proximity in terms of pramāṇa signifies the equality in respect of duration effective in the process of pronunciation. The present paribhāṣā rule states that in the process of the linguistic formation, in place of the substituted always the nearest substitute comes. The application of this interpretative canon is seen in various cases of

77. prasāṅge sati sadṛṣatama ādesāḥ syāt. PP. VSK. vol.I, p.45
78. interval between two phonetic elements when they are uttered one after another; hiatus, pause. DSG, p.26
79. antarasabdo’tra sadṛṣaparyāyah. op. cit., PP. VSK. vol.I, p.45
80. supra .ch-II, fn.94.
81. op. cit, p.8
82. atra sthānasabdena ā{lā}vādisthānaṁ vivakṣitāṁ, guṇaśabdena prayatnāḥ, pramāṇa-śabdena ekadvimātrādiparimāṇāṁ. BM. PP.VSK. vol.I, p.46.
grammatical operation laid down by Panini. As for example, the proximity or homogeneity of the substitute with the original, on the basis of the place of articulation is taken into consideration in the operation prescribed by the rule akah savarne dirghah (6.1.101). By the force of this rule the words adya and avadhi give rise to the resultant form adyāvadhi where the substitute i.e. ā and the original i.e. a bear the same place of articulation i.e. the palate. The application of proximity between the substitute and the original on the basis of meaning is seen in the activation process of the injunctive rule trjvat krostuh (7.1.95). By the strength of this sūtra the replacement of the word krostu by krostr is done on the basis of the criteria of proximity regarding meaning. Here both the substitute and the substituend imply a jackal. Again the application of the proximity between the substitute and the original on the basis of quality is seen in the activity field of the operational rule cajoх ku ghimnyatoh (7.3.52). By this rule the sound c which is non-aspirated and unvoiced is replaced by the sound k which possesses the same effort in the process of articulation. As a result, we come across the formations like pākah, from √pac and rāgah from √raj. The proximity or nearness between the substitute and the substituend on the basis of duration of articulation is furnished in the activity process of the prescriptive rule adaso 'serdādudomah (8.2.80). This rule states that u will be the substitute for short vowel and ū will be the substitute for a long vowel. As a result, the words like amun, amunā, amū are formed. All these are discussed elaborately in the KAS. vol.I.83

The important point to be noted here is that the word sthāne can come in the sūtra - sthāne 'ntaratamah from the previous rule ṣaṣṭhi sthāneyogā with the help of the technical device called anuvṛtti. But Panini has again attached this term deliberately in the present sūtra to establish the fact that when various types of proximity are present,

83. op.cit., p. 19.
the proximity on the basis of the place of articulation must be taken into consideration.

Bhattoji, though silent in his \textit{vy\text{"o}tti} regarding the recurrence of the word \textit{sth\={a}ne}, has used the \textit{paribh\={a}\text{"a} - yat\={a}r\={a}nekavidham\={a}ntaryam} \textit{tatra sth\={a}nata \={a}ntaryam bali\={y}ah} in his explanation. The application of this canon can be derived by the force of the word \textit{sth\={a}ne} enumerated in the present interpretative canon. This is mentioned in the \textit{KAS} explicitly.\textsuperscript{84} The \textit{paribh\={a}\text{"a}-yat\={a}r\={a}nekavidham} etc. is treated by N\=age\=sa in the \textit{PBSS}.\textsuperscript{85} This \textit{paribh\={a}\text{"a}} relates the fact that the similarity regarding the place of articulation is taken as the most powerful one among the four scales of measurement of the homogeneity or proximity between the substitute and the original and when more than one type of proximity are present, the proximity on the basis of the place of articulation prevails. This linguistic phenomena is documented several times in the \textit{AST}. As for example, the \textit{guna} letters found in Sanskrit Grammar are \textit{a}, \textit{e} and \textit{o} as it is established by the rule \textit{adengunah}. For selecting the \textit{guna} substitute of \textit{i}, one can not go for \textit{a} though \textit{i} and \textit{a} possess the proximity regarding the duration of articulation. Here the \textit{guna} substitute of \textit{i} will invariably be \textit{e} because both of them share a common place of articulation i.e. palate in case of \textit{i} and gutturo-palate in case of \textit{e}. In that case one can find the word formations like \textit{ceta} from \textit{\text{\=v}ci}, \textit{stot\={a}} from \textit{\text{\=v}stu}.\textsuperscript{86} Bhattoji, has furnished a detail list of place of articulation of various sounds\textsuperscript{87} of Sanskrit language. K. Das states

\begin{verbatim}
84. sth\={a}nc iti vartam\={a}ne puna\=h sth\={a}negraha\=nam yat\={a}r\={a}nekavidham\={a}ntaryam sambhavati tatra sth\={a}nata ev\={a}ntarya bali\=yo yath\=a syat., op.cit., p.19
85. pr. no.13, op. cit., p.47
86. KAS, vol 1. p.19
87. akuhavisarjaniy\=an\=am kan\=th\=ah. icuy\text{"a}\=san\=am t\=alu. \=tura\=san\=am m\=ur\=dh\=a. \=tulas\=an\=am danta\=h. up\text{"a}padh\=mi\=ny\=an\=am \=mo\=sto\=th\=au. \=mn\=n\=nan\=am \=n\=\=ik\=a ca. edai\=toh kan\=th\=ata\=lu. odai\=toh kan\=th\=o\=sto\=th\=an. vak\=\=a\=rasya danto\=th\=an. jihv\=\=am\=\=u\=li\=yas\=ya jihv\=\=am\=\=u\=la\=m. nasik\=an\=usv\=a\=rasya. iti sth\=\=an\=\=i. SP, VSK, vol. I, p. 18.
\end{verbatim}
it clearly that the canon yatāne ‘ntaratamah etc. is a mere elucidation of the Paninian rule sthāne ‘ntaratamah. The word sthāne in the present paribhāṣā sūtra, according to S. D. Joshi and Roodbergen, signifies a condition that indicates the domain of application of the concerned rule. In the translation of the AST, these scholars take the meaning of the word sthāne as a substitute originating in the place of the substituend. Moreover, the superlative degree used in the word antaratamah in the present paribhāṣā sūtra is very much important. Bhattoji shows the meaning of the word antaratamah as sadrśatamah in the exposition to this rule. It relates the fact that among the proximities of the same nature also, the likest will prevail. As for example, the Paninian rule jhayoho ‘nyatarasyāṁ (8.4.62) prescribes the optional change of the sound h into a letter which is homogeneous with the prior one. By the application of this operational rule the combination of the words vak and hasati gives rise to the word vāgghasati, although the form is optionally used in Sanskrit language. In this combined word the sound h of hasati is changed into gh. But all the sounds of the k – class are homogeneous with h because they all are palatal sounds. Even then in the present grammatical operation h is changed into gh because both of these are soft and aspirate sounds. Thus the superlative degree in the word antaratamah signifies that among the homogeneous sounds with the same place of articulation too, the most similar one prevails. This subject is elaborately discussed in the KAS.

88. The paribhāṣā is thus a mere elucidation of this rule viz. sthāne ‘ntaratamah, PPSG, p. 124.
89. op. cit p.68
90. supra, fn. 77.
The present paribhāṣā reigns the field of substitution which is regarded as one of the important lexical operations current in the construction process of the words in the area of Paninian Grammar. This substitution sometimes relates the replacement of more than one letters also. As a result, a good number of Paninian sūtra come under the control of the present paribhāṣā rule. So the inclusion of this paribhāṣā sūtra in the PP of the VSK obviously heightens the value and importance of this prakārana in the field of Sanskrit Grammar. This paribhāṣā rule is also available in the KPSV, in the Grammar of Bhoja and CANV also.

(vii) tasminniti nirdistepurvasya (1.1.66)

This Paninian sūtra is used as the seventh sūtra in the PP of the VSK. Bhaṭṭoji in the arrangement of the paribhāṣā sūtra-s in the PP, has skipped a good number of sūtra-s in between the rules sthāne 'ntaratamaḥ and the present aphorism of which some arc again taken for discussion in the PP afterwards. Like other paribhāṣā sūtra-s dealt with in the PP of the VSK, this rule is also taken from the first chapter of the AST. This is an interpretative canon, without doubt, because this rule sets up a technique for the interpretation of Paninian rules. S. C. Vasu recognises the interpretative nature of this rule. S. D. Joshi and Roodbergen in their translation of the AST vol. I, call it a paribhāṣā rule because of its interpretative character. In the Nyāsa it is called a paribhāṣā that can wipe out the confusion regarding some particular placement of the

92. pr no. 16, op.cit., PBS,p.55
93. op.cit.,1.2.39.
94. pr. no. 22, PBS, p. 47.
95. This is a declaratory or interpreting sūtra. AST,vol.I, p. 59
96. op. cit., p.117
97. kim pūrvasyekah pratyāsatībhājo yaṃdēṣah, uta parasyeti. tatra sanādehe sati niyamārtheyam paribhāṣā'rabhyate. op.cit., KV. vol.I. p. 233
substitute. Because of the presence of the word *nirdīṣṭa*, this rule is called *nirdīṣṭaparībhasā*. This meta rule establishes the significance of the use of the locative in the aphorisms of Panini. The word *tasmin* in the present *sūtra* symbolizes the word expressed in the seventh case ending in the Paninian rules. The term *nirdīṣṭe* here signifies immediate sequence. This term originates from *vdis* with the prefix *nir* attached before it. The prefix *nir* refers continuity and the root *dis* is used to signify the meaning of pronunciation. Thus the accumulated word *nirdīṣṭe* means continuous pronunciation i.e. utterance without any break or interruption caused by intervening letter. This is clearly manifested in the *vṛtti* of Bhattoji where he has used the term *varṇāntareṇā- vyavahitasya* to give the meaning of the word *nirdīṣṭe*. The important point to be noted here is that in Grammar the intervention between two letters can be of two types – one is by the presence of sound and the other by time. In the present context, only the intervention by the presence of letter is barred but the intervention by time is not taken into consideration here. Thus the presence of the word *nirdīṣṭe* in the present *parībhasā sūtra* proves Panini’s deliberation to establish the fact that it will refer to the case where no intervention due to the presence of any letter is found. Bhattoji wants to establish this idea in his *vṛtti* and he is successful in this venture. The scholar like S. D. Joshi and Roodbergen opine that the word *nirdīṣṭe* is redundant in the *sūtra*. It is because, the sense of the word *nirdīṣṭe* in the *sūtra* is conveyed by the term

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98. DSG, p.208
100. nirdīṣṭagrahanamāntaryārthāṁ. KAS. vol. I, p. 24
101. vyavadhānaṁ cātra varṇākṛtameva niṣidhyate, na tu kālakṛtāṁ
    samhitādhiḥkārajjānapakāt. op.cit., PP. VSK, vol. I, p. 46
102 the word ‘nirdīṣṭe’, which is strictly speaking, is not required… etc. AST vol.I, p.119.
pūrvasya. Thus this rule states that if a word is applied with a seventh case ending in a Paninian sūtra, the proposed operation will occur before the term having the locative case. The application of this interpretative canon can be seen with the help of an example. The prescriptive rule ikoyanaci states that yan will come in place of ik if a vowel follows. The word aci is employed here with a locative case termination. So the lexical operation i.e. the substitution of yan in place of ik will take place just before an ac by the strength of the present paribhāṣā. So when the words iti and ādi are connected in the process of euphonic combination y will come in place of i, that stands immediately before a which is a vowel. Thus the combined formation like ityādi are found in Sanskrit. This paribhāṣā is present in the KPSV and also in the Grammar of Bhoja with a slight word variation.

(viii) tasmādītyuttarasya (1.1.67)

This Paninian sūtra is treated by Bhaṭṭoji in the PP of the VSK, as the eighth paribhāṣā rule. In the AST, this rule follows the rule tasmimiti etc. and this sequence is retained by Bhaṭṭoji in the PP. From the previous sūtra the word nirdiṣṭe comes here with the same meaning. In this sūtra also, the term tasmād symbolizes the word with the fifth case endings in the aphorisms of Panini. Bhaṭṭoji’s vṛtti to this rule clarifies the meaning of the word tasmād in a befitting manner. S. D. Joshi and Roodbergen think that the word nirdiṣṭe is redundant in this sūtra also because the purpose of this word has already been served by the term uttarasya. It is important to note that the inclusion of the word nirdiṣṭe ascertains that this rule does not hold good if there is any intervention.

103. pr. no. 21 op.cit.,PBS. p.57
104. op.cit.,1.2.28
105. saptamā nirdiṣṭe pūrvasya.
106. pāncamānirdeśena kriyāmānāṁ kāryāṁ varṇāntaṁ vyavahitasya parasya ānīeyāṁ.

PP. VSK. vol. I. p.46.
by letter.\textsuperscript{107} This rule too can wipe out the confusion regarding a particular type of placement of the proposed substitute. The rule states that if a word in ablative is employed in a \textit{sūtra} of Panini, the proposed grammatical operation will occur just after the word having the fifth case-ending. The application of this interpretative canon can be understood with the help of an example. The operational rule \textit{tīnatiṇāḥ} (8.1.28) states that a finite verbal term after a non-verbal one becomes unaccented. In this operational \textit{sūtra} the word \textit{atīṇāḥ} is expressed with the fifth case ending and it thus carries the force of the word \textit{tasmād} of the present \textit{paribhāṣā} rule. The word \textit{atīṇāḥ} with the ablative case-termination decides the fact that the grammatical operation laid by the concerned prescriptive rule will occur immediately after the element signified by the term \textit{atīṇāḥ}. As a result, the expressions like \textit{agnimile purohitam}\textsuperscript{108} are found. This rule can not be applied in the expression \textit{īle agnim} because though in this expression the terms referred by \textit{tīn} and \textit{atīn} are present, the \textit{tīn} here, does not come immediately after the \textit{atīn}. As a result, the present \textit{paribhāṣā} rule cannot be affective. This is clearly explained in the \textit{BM} as well as \textit{TB}\textsuperscript{109}. M.V. Mahashabde, while explaining the \textit{nirdistāparibhāṣā} opines that the meaning of both the \textit{sūtra-s tasminnitinirdiste pūrvasya} and \textit{tasmād ityuttarasya} can be grasped simply by adding the words \textit{pare} and \textit{parasya} respectively by the imitation of the addition of the word \textit{sthāne} to the word employed with the sixth case-ending\textsuperscript{110} in Paninian Grammar.

\footnotesize{107. nirdiṣṭagrāhaṇamanuvartata iti tenātrāpi vyavahite kāryam na bhavatī bhāvaḥ. PM. KV. vol. I, p.236.  
108. RV. 1.1.1  
110. To explain it in a simple way — pare is to be associated with the word in locative and \textit{parasya} to word in the ablative just like \textit{sthāne} is associated with the word in gen. Notes. SK, p.53.}
This is to be noted here that the two rules *tasmin etc* and *tasmād etc* are related with the substitution process mainly. *Pāṇini* offers the descriptive analysis of the Sanskrit language taking the word—data as its constituents and a large number of rules of substitution has been incorporated in the *AST*. Among this group of rules, a good number can again come under the scope of these two *paribhāṣā* sūtra-s. So the inclusion of these two *paribhāṣā* rules in the *PP* of the *VSK*, stands as a stamp of prudence and deep grammatical observation from Bhaṭṭoja's part. The *paribhāṣā* rule *tasmād etc* is found in the *KPSV* and also in the Grammar of Bhoja with a slight word variation.

(ix) *alo’ntasya* (1.1.52)

This is the ninth *sūtra* of the *PP* of the *VSK*. In the *AST* this rule precedes the *nirdīśtaparibhāṣā* but Bhaṭṭoja has not retained this sequence in his *PP*. This rule is undoubtedly a *paribhāṣā* because like the other rule under this category, this *sūtra* too, establishes a technique for the interpretation of a group of Paninian aphorism. This *sūtra* guides the technique of placing a substitute in the body of the original grammatical element. So it can be called a metarule of substitution. The substitution may be of different kinds, viz. a letter for a letter, a letter for a word etc. When a substitute is prescribed for a word or a group of syllable, one has to take resort to the present *paribhāṣā* because this interpretative canon instructs about the exact location of the proposed substitute in that word.

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111. pr. no. op.cit., 22 PBS. p.57
112 op.cit., 1.2.29.
113 *pañcamya nirdiste parasya*.
114. The element replaced can be a sound or a larger grammatical unit. Panini, p.10.
the previous *sūra sthāne'ntaratamah* as a result of which the sense of *sthānasasthi* invariably comes here. Though Bhattoji has not specifically mentioned anything about this in his *vṛtti*, he has hinted the idea of *sthānasasthi* with the expression *ṣaṣṭhīnirdīṣṭasya*. Thus when there is the application of sthānasasthi i.e., the genitive case implying the meaning 'in place of' the present *paribhāṣā* gets effective. But if it is a case of *avayavasasthi* i.e. if the genitive case expresses the part-whole relation, the present *paribhāṣā* has nothing to do. This is to be noted here that as the present *paribhāṣā* is a rule of substitution, the sense of the terms like *ādeśa* and *sthānī* automatically remain here by the strength of the context.\(^{115}\) The term *alāh* here is expressed with the genitive case-ending and *al* - the *pratyāhāra* denotes all the letters furnished in the *māheśvara sūtra*. The term *alāh* in the present *sūtra* qualifies the word *antasya* but it can no way qualify the word *ādeśa*. It is specifically mentioned in the *Nyāsa*.\(^{116}\) Thus the present *paribhāṣā* denotes that a substitute comes in the place of the last letter of the *sthānī*. It is worth mentioning here that according to the present *paribhāṣā* rule the substitution may take place in the last letter either of a word or of a group of syllable as it is pointed through the concerned prescriptive rule.\(^{117}\) The application of the present interpretative canon can be observed in various rules laid down by Panini. As for example, the operational rule *tyadādīnāmah* prescribes *a* in place of *tyad* etc. The present *paribhāṣā* instructs that the substitution of *a* will take place in the last letter of *tyad* i.e. the *d* of *tyad* will be replaced by *a*. As a result, we find the formations *sah*, *yah* etc. in Sanskrit language. Another important point is that the

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115. AST. vol 1. p.72 etd by S.D.Joshi and Roodbergen

116. algrahanamantyasya viśeṣaṇāṁ, nādeśasya ; anyathā hyalantyasyeyevam brūyāt.  
KV, vol. I, p.179

117. PPSG, p.44
occurrence of the term *alah* in the present *paribhaṣa* serves an important purpose. It relates the fact that by the strength of the present interpretative canon the operation prescribed can not occur in place of the last word but it comes in the last letter only. Thus, the present *paribhaṣa* rule nullifies the possibility of accepting the replacement of the whole word *anaduh* by *d* in the prescriptive rule *vasusramśuḥdvahṃsvanaduhāṃ dah* (8.2.72). Similarly the inclusion of the word *antasya* in the present *paribhaṣa* establishes the fact that the substitution will take place in the last letter only, not in any place other than that. This is clearly stated by Nāgase in the LSS.\(^{118}\)

According to Haradatta, the rule *ṣaṣṭhi sthāneyogā* comes in this *sūtra* as an adhikāra. The adhikāra of only the term *ṣaṣṭhi* does not serve the purpose here. Because in that case the *paribhaṣa* will occur in the cases related to the augmentation also.\(^{119}\) To avoid this, the whole expression *ṣaṣṭhi sthāneyogā* is to be added here by the force of the adhikāra. But Joshi and Roodbergen have refuted the relevance of adhikāra here. According to them the rule *ṣaṣṭhi* etc. is discontinued in the very next *sūtra* as a result of which it cannot come to the rule *alo’ntasya* as an adhikāra.\(^{120}\)

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118. antasyeti sāhacaryādala iti ṣaṣṭhyantakānti, antyasyāla ityarthah, iti kim? padasyeti
vidhiyamānaṁ ‘vasusramśu’ (8/2/72) iti datvaṁ ‘svanadudhvyāṁ’ityādvantyasya
padasya mā bhūt. . . . . evāḥcāla eveti, antyasyaiveti niyamadvayamatra. op.cit, p.63.

119. sāmānyavacane’pi ‘ṣaṣṭhi sthāneyogā’ ityādhipārāt sthānaṣaṣṭhinirdeśasatyeti
vedityavan’ anyathā ṣaṣṭhimātraṣādvahāra yasya ṣaṣṭhinirdeśasya yadkārayaṁ
yathābhūtamucyate - ādesarupāṁ, āgamarupāṁ vā, tattathābhūtameva tadantasya

120. As stated by the Nyāsa on the *KV* on the present rule, the *KV* in its rendering of P. 1.1.52 continues P. 1.1.49 by way of *adhikāra* ‘section heading rule’….. Against this, we note that P. 1.1.49 is discontinued in P. 1.1.50. Therefore it cannot come back in P. 1.1.52. AST, vol.1, p. 73.
A. S. Sastri the words śaṣṭhī and sthāne come in the present sūtra from the rule śaṣṭhī sthāneyogā as an anuvṛtti.121 The present rule establishes a lexical condition to the operation called substitution. So it has a congruity with the subject matter of the previous sūtra-s taken up by Bhaṭṭoji in his PP. In this way Bhaṭṭoji has followed a special sequence though he has not followed the order of Pāṇini here.

(x) nicca (1.1.53)

This Paninian rule has been placed as the tenth sūtra by Bhaṭṭoji in the PP of the VSK. In the AST also this sūtra comes just after the rule alo'ntyasya and Bhaṭṭoji has followed the order of Pāṇini in placing the present rule in his work. This rule is undoubtedly a paribhāṣā rule because it establishes a technique related to the process of substitution which prevails through the whole of the AST. This rule is related to the substitution of the lexical element with the indicatory ī. Though this sūtra looks very small in size in comparison to other paribhāṣā rules of Pāṇini which are discussed in the PP of the VSK, the force of this sūtra is so much that it brings the whole of the preceding rule as well as the word sthāne from the sūtra sthāne 'ntaratamah in it and ultimately becomes a much longer rule. Moreover, the words like ādesā and sthāni are invariably joined here by the force of the sthāni-ādesā context. It is to be noted here that the term ca in the present rule does not bring the anuvṛtti but it stands to measure the boundary here, with the elements of the preceding and following rules. This is clearly mentioned by Joshi and Roodbergen.122 Thus to assign the proper meaning of the present paribhāṣā it is to be connected with the previous rule alo'ntyasya and also with the rule anekālīṣṭsarvasya (1.1.55) which comes afterwards in the PP of the VSK.

121. ‘ṣaṣṭhī sthaneyoga’ sūtra hoite ‘ṣaṣṭhī, sthāna - oi padadvayer anuvṛtti hoiyā thāke; VSK, SPP. p.208.
122. AST. vol l., p.74.
Bhaṭṭoji has clearly mentioned in his vṛtti that the present sūtra is an exception to the rule anekālīśitasarvāsyā.\textsuperscript{123} Vāsudevadīkṣita has supported this view in his commentary.\textsuperscript{124} This fact signifies that the present rule restricts the sense of the rule anekāl etc. because exceptional rule has the power to set aside the sense of the general rule.\textsuperscript{125} The characteristic feature of an exceptional rule is offered in the PBSS by Nāgesa.\textsuperscript{126} In the present paribhāṣā rule, though Pāṇini has not included, neither the explanation is provided by Bhaṭṭoji to this effect, the expression anekāl is to be added here on the strength of the utsarga-apavāda relation. Thus the present paribhāṣā states that the substitute with the indicatory letter ū, even though it consists of more than one letter, comes only in the place of the final letter of the sthāni. The application of this interpretative canon can be seen in the functional process of many prescriptive aphorisms of Pāṇini. As for example, the operational rule ānaṁṝto dvandve (6.3.25) prescribes the substitution of ānaṁ in the words ending in ū in case of dvandva-compound. \textsuperscript{¶} As the substitute ānaṁ is ūṇt as well as anekāl, by the strength of the present paribhāṣā, it comes in place of the last letter of the concerned term. Thus in a dvandva compound with the words mātr and pītṛ, the ū of mātr is changed into ā. Accordingly the words like māṭipitarau etc. are formed. In the AST, Pāṇini has enumerated eight substitutes of ūṇt

\textsuperscript{123} ' - sarvasya (sū 45) ityasyāpavādaḥ. PP. VSK., vol.1, p. 50.

\textsuperscript{124} 'anekālśit sarvasya' iti vakṣyamāṇasya sarvādeśatvavidherayaṁ vidhirapavādaḥ

BM.VSK. vol.I, p.50

\textsuperscript{125} DSG, p. 30.

\textsuperscript{126} yena nāprāpte yo vidhirārabhyate sa tasya bādhako bhavati, pr. no. 58, op.cit,
p.173.
type. They are akaṁ, inaṁ, anān, niṁ, avaṁ, ānaṁ, iyān and uvaṁ. This is to be mentioned here that the prescription of the same hit element is offered sometimes to various sthāni by more than one sūtra-s in the AST. As for example, the element ānaṁ is prescribed by more than one sūtra. As a result, like other paribhāṣā rule, the present paribhāṣā too offers a wide field of action in Pāṇini's Grammar. But there is an exception to this rule, which is found in the case of the substitution of the hit element tātāṁ prescribed by the sūtra-tuhṣastāṁśaṁsyayatarasyāṁ (7.1.35). This substitute though possesses the indicatory ṅ and contains letter more than one, it replaces the whole sthāni viz. tu and hi here. As a result, the word formation like jīvaṭāṁ in place of jīvaṭu is found.

Another point to be noted here is that by the strength of the utsarga-apavāda relation, the word ekāl is to be joined in the meaning of the sūtra-alo'ntyasya whereas the term anīt is to be added to the meaning of the rule anekālṣit sarvasya. Again in similar manner the term anekāl is to be inserted in the meaning of the present paribhāṣā rule. As a result, these three paribhāṣā rules appear to be interlinked. But their order in the AST as well as in the VSK seeks explanation. Logically, the rule anekālṣit demands its position just after the sūtra-alo'ntyasya and then comes the context of the

127. in the P.sūt. sudhāturakaṁ ca (4.1.97)
128. in the P. sūt. kalyāṇyūḍāṁmaṁ ca (4.1.126).
129. in the P. sūt. ādhaso'naṁ (5.4.131)
130. in the P. sūt. jāyāyā niṁ (5.4.134)
131. in the P. sūt. avaṁ sphota'yanasya (6.1.123).
132. in the P. sūt. anāṁpyo dvand-ve (6.3.25)
133. in the P.sūt. aci śuddhātubhruvaṁ yvoriyanaṁvaṁ (6.4.77)
134. anān sau (7.1.93), ṛduśanaspuruḍaṁso 'nehasāṁca (7.1.94)
135. AST. vol 1, p. 75. etd. by S.D.Joshi and Roodbergen
rule *nicca. But Pāṇini has changed the logical order of these three inter connected paribhāṣā rules for the successful implementation of his condensed mannerism. The placement of these three sūtra-s in the logical way would have entangled the curtailment of the term alo'ntasya by the word sarvasya of the next rule and it would have also brought the repetition of the same term in the rule *nicca. So, in order to avoid this difficulty Pāṇini has taken up the present order and Bhaṭṭoji has also kept this order in tact in the PP of the VSK.

(xi) ādeḥ parasya (1.1.54)

This Paninian rule has been taken as the eleventh paribhāṣā sūtra by Bhaṭṭoji in the PP of the VSK. This rule is purely an interpretative canon because it establishes the technique of interpreting Paninian aphorisms. The word sthāne comes here from the rule sthāne'ntaratamaḥ and the term alah is joined here from the rule alo'ntasya by the strength of anuvṛtti. Like the previous rule here also the words ādesa and sthānī are joined by the force of the context of substitution. This is a meta rule guiding the process of substitution in the stages of formation of Sanskrit words. This rule is an exception to the rule alo'ntasya.136 M. V. Mahashabde has explained this idea in a very easy way.137 In the present paribhāṣā rule, both the words ādeḥ and parasya are expressed with the genitive case termination for the technical purpose of Grammar and thus this employment follows the guideline of the rule ṣaṣṭhi sthāneyogā. Thus the sūtra states that when a substitute is prescribed in the place of a lexical element that follows, it comes in the place of only the initial letter of the element proposed. It is to be noted

136. ‘alo'ntasya’ (sū 42) ityasyāpavādah. PP.VSK vol.I, p.51

137. This is, of course, the exception to alo'ntasya. Thus, when there are these two cases in the aphorism, this meaning of the ablative is stronger than that of the genitive. Notes. SK, p. 55.
here that in the field of Grammar, Pāṇini has never prescribed an operation by enumerating the word *parasya* in a *sūtra*. On the other hand, the grammatical operation expressed with the help of the ablative case-ending represents the function of this type. This is formulated by the rule *tasmaṇḍityuttarasya*. All these points are clarified in the *Nyāsa*. Moreover, it is to be noted here that though the present *paribhāṣā* is an exception to the rule *alo’ntasya*, it does not prohibit the substitution of element consisting of one letter in the concerned manner, but it only prohibits the substitution in the place of the last letter of the *sthānī* concerned. So in the present *paribhāṣā*, though Pāṇini has not specifically mentioned, the intended substitute is considered to be of one letter. The application of the present *paribhāṣā* can be observed in various operational rules of Pāṇini. As for example, the rule *īdāṣaḥ* (7.2.83) prescribes the substitution of *ī* in place of *āna* where *āsa* remains as the conditional term. Now the term *āsaḥ* is expressed in the ablative case for which the *paribhāṣā* rule *tasmaṇḍ* etc. will be applicable and by its force, the said operation will take place after the conditional term signified in the *sūtra*. Thus the representation of the word *parasya* is determined here. The *sthānī* in this prescribed grammatical operation, remains as *āna*. By the strength of the present *paribhāṣā*, the substitute *ī* will come in the place of the first letter of *āna* i.e. *ā* here. As a result, we find the word *āsinaḥ*. Bhaṭṭojī’s *vṛtti* to this rule can clarify the proposed sense of the *sūtra*. The present *sūtra* is, undoubtedly a *paribhāṣā* which is connected with a special type of substitution. Pāṇini has shown the morphological derivation process of Sanskrit language in the *AST*. This process, along with other type of


139. op. cit., p.181

140. exposition .AST. vol 1, p.77. etd. by S.D.Joshi and Roodbergen

141. parasya yadvihitam tattasyāderbodhyam, PP. VSK.vol.I, p.51.
operations, includes substitution also. The present *paribhāṣā* guides the placement of the substitute in the initial part of the original lexical unit about which the concerned operation is formulated. Naturally this rule has a wide field of application and Bhaṭṭoji has proved his power of observation, in the field of Grammar, by including this *paribhāṣā* rule in the PP of the VSK. In the Grammar of Bhoja also this *paribhāṣā* is present with the interchange of the constituent words.142

(xi) anekālīṣit sarvasya (1.1.55)

This Paninian rule is discussed as the twelveth *paribhāṣā* śūtra by Bhaṭṭoji in the PP of the VSK. This is essentially a *paribhāṣā* rule because it lays down a special technique with the help of which the aphorisms of Pāṇini are interpreted. The word *sthāne* is to be supplied here by the force of *anuvṛtti* from the rule *sthāne ‘ntaratamaḥ*. As this is a rule of substitution, the word *ādesa* and *sihāni* are to be placed by the strength of the *sthāni-ādesa* context. The term anekāl in the present śūtra signifies the substitute that consists of more than one letter. The term *śit* represents the substitute with the indicatory ’ letter.143 Thus the meaning of the present *paribhāṣā* becomes that a substitute consisting of more than one letter and the substitute with indicatory ’ come in the place of the whole *sthāni*. Thus this śūtra comes to be an exception to the rule *alo’ntasya*.144 Moreover, this rule refutes the rule parasya because it is a subsequent śūtra in comparison to the rule *ađeh parasya* and it is a custom in Grammar that in case of confusion always the subsequent one prevails if both are of equal strength.145 The application of this rule is seen in several operational norms. As for example, the rule

142. parasyadeh. op.cit., (1.2.33).
143. śakara it yasya sa śit. BM. PP. VSK.vol. I, p.51
144. ‘alonya’ sutrapavādaḥ. exposition of Bhaṭṭoji. Ibid. p.52.
145. P. śūt. vipratisedhe param kāryam (1.4.2)
bruvo vacih (2.4.53) prescribes the substitution of vac in place of brū when an ārdhadhātuka affix is applied. Here the term vac represents the ādesā or the substitute that consists of more than one letter. So it can be called anekāl. Now, by the strength of the present paribhāṣā rule vac comes in the place of the term brū. As a result, we come across the formations like vakā. The application of the present paribhāṣā in the case of substitute with the indicatory letter ʻi is also available in several prescriptive rule of Pāṇini. As for example the sūtra-jāśasoh ʻiḥ (7.1.20) states that ʻi is substituted in place of jas and ʻas i.e. nominative and accusative plural respectively. The substitute ʻi is a ʻsit element because ʻi is elided here. As a result, the formations like kunḍāni, madhūni are found in Sanskrit. In this connection Bhaṭṭoji’s idea on the operational rule aśṭābhya auś (7.1.21) is worth mentioning. According to Bhaṭṭoji though the substitute auś is a ʻsit, by the strength of the fifth case termination applied in the word aśṭābhyaḥ, the grammatical action is prescribed to the subsequent element. So the possibility of the application of the rule ādeḥ parasya originates here. But as the present paribhāṣā rule is a subsequent rule, it becomes stronger and as a result it prevails in the application of the substitute auś. All these are clear from the statement of Bhaṭṭoji in his vṛtti to the present paribhāṣā rule.146 Accordingly the formation of the word aṇau is seen. Bhaṭṭoji though has specifically mentioned the possibility of the application of the rule ādeḥ parasya in the case related to the substitute with the indicatory ʻi, he has not pointed out any such possibility in the case of the substitute consisting of more than one letter. But the word ityādau in the expression aśṭābhyaḥ auś ityādau etc. has a force to indicate this idea which is refuted by many of the modern grammarians. A.S. Sastri, in his exposition to this rule in the SK has raised this point.147 Another point to be noted here is that the status

147. op. cit., SPP, p. 213
of anekāl is applicable only to the actual form of the substitute, but it is not applicable to the substitute along with the indicatory letter. It is because the indicatory letter is taken into consideration only as a symbol for serving the grammatical purpose. As such it cannot be a part of the operation concerned.\textsuperscript{148} Nāgēśa has discussed this point elaborately in his PBSS.\textsuperscript{149} In the operational rule idama i\textsuperscript{`} (5.3.3), the present paribhāṣā can be applied directly. This rule states that the substitute i\textsuperscript{`} comes in the place of idam when a prāgdiśīya affix follows. Here i\textsuperscript{`} is a substitute. So by the strength of the present paribhāṣā, the actual substitute i will come in the place of the whole word idam. As a result, the word construction like iha is seen in Sanskrit.

Thus, the present paribhāṣā has a wide scope of application in connection with the operation called substitution. This paribhāṣā brings a total change in the concerned morphological item and thus it serves as an important lexical rule found in the field of Sanskrit Grammar. So the inclusion of this paribhāṣā rule in the PP of the VSK proves Bhaṭṭoji's grammatical insight as well as linguistic foresight. This interpretative canon is also enlisted in the Grammar of Bhoja with slight variation in the placement of the words.\textsuperscript{150}

\textbf{(xiii) svaritenādhikāraḥ (1.3.11)}

This Paninian sūtra is taken by Bhaṭṭoji as the last paribhāṣā rule in the PP of the VSK. This sūtra is totally different from the previous Paninian rules discussed in the PP of the VSK. It is without doubt, a paribhāṣā rule because like the other rules discussed in the PP of the VSK, it lays down a criterion of interpreting the aphorism of Pāṇini. Through the previous paribhāṣā rules Bhaṭṭoji has shown the vowel gradation, augmentation

\textsuperscript{148} AST. vol. 1, p.42. etd. by S.C. Vasu.
\textsuperscript{149} in connection with the paribhāṣā nānubandhakrtamanekāltvāṃ. op.cit. pr. no. 6, p.18.
\textsuperscript{150} sidanekālsarvāya. op.cit. (1.2.34)
and substitution of many varieties in the PP, but the present paribhāṣā rule opens the field of a completely different subject matter. For this reason this paribhāṣā rule of Pāṇini has been taken separately for discussion in the fifth chapter of this project.

Thus, it is documented that the thirteen paribhāṣā rules of Pāṇini on which Bhattoji has put forward his explanation in the PP, can cover the application process of a huge number of operational rule laid down in the AST. So, though small in size the PP of the VSK is eligible for attaining importance in the field of Sanskrit Grammar and the proper analysis of these sūtra-s can produce a compact idea on the topic of paribhāṣā in general. So Bhattoji can always demand a place of importance in this regard.