CHAPTER FIVE

IMPORTANCE OF ТИТ, КИТ AND МИТ IN RELATION TO ĀGAMAS AND A
NOTE ON THE SŪTRA SVARITEŅĀDHIKĀRAH

PART-I

The grammatical theory established and analyzed by Панини is so sophisticated and context sensitive that the morpho-phonological rules offered in the AST, can even provide mathematical reconstruction. Geoffrey K. Pullum and Andras Kornai have pointed out this in their paper entitled ‘Mathematical Linguistics’. In this process, the paribhāṣā rules of Панини play a great role. As Панини’s process of language analysis includes many lexical strings like substitution, augmentation, replacement and deletion, the paribhāṣā rules connected with these topics undoubtedly help the programme. As a result, Панини’s compact derivational process of Sanskrit language appears to be capable of producing its intended result. In the PP of the VSK, Бхаттоji takes under consideration a good number of Paninian rules which identify the intricacy involved in the use of augments of various types. A discussion on various augment and their usage in the lexical process with the help of Paninian sūtra-s which are again discussed by Бхаттоji in the PP of the VSK can disclose the fact how these sūtra-s reign a major part of the grammatical field created by Панини. This way it can also establish the importance of the PP of the VSK. In this chapter our humble endeavour is to concentrate on this issue.

1. ...that ordered sets of CSG or URS rules provide a good mathematical reconstruction of Panini’s (morpho)phonological rules..., and are superior to the neogrammarian SOUND LAWS both in descriptive detail and in predictive power. op.cit, p. 2
I. A NOTE ON AGAMA

The term āgama which is rendered as augment in English, is not used by Pāṇini in his AST but this term is applied generously in the works of the later grammarians.\(^2\)
The term āgama implies a grammatical element added to another linguistic part under some specific condition. In the DSG this term is said to be a word element which is added to the primitive or basic unit during the process of the formation of a complete word in Sanskrit Grammar.\(^3\) This is called āgama because it comes from other place and is joined with the element under consideration. In the commentary to the TP, the term is explained elaborately.\(^4\) The most important characteristic feature of an āgama is that after it is joined with the contextual element, it becomes a part of the whole element. It also becomes the subject to all the characteristic phenomena and operation related to the element concerned. This is warranted by the expression āgamanā-\(\text{māgamidharmavaisistyam}\).\(^5\) Thus after the āgama is attached, it becomes inseparable from the element to which it is attached and all the relevant grammatical operation is done to the proposed element along with the augmentation. It can be asserted in the opposite way that an augment does not possess any sense of its own. Nor does it put any impression in the sense of the term to which it is added. So the lexical string to which an augment is added is never looked upon as a new word.\(^6\) This is to be pointed out here that, Indian tradition accepts ṣabda as eternal. So the addition of an augment is

\(^2\) Kātyāyana has used the term in the vārttika navārthavato hyāgamastadgunibhūta-stadgrahanena grhyate yatha nyatra. MHB. on the P. sūt. dā dāḥa ghvadāp(1.1.19)
\(^3\) op. cit., p.51
\(^4\) anāra vidyamānastu yo varṇaḥ śrīyate’dhikah \ āgamyamānātulyatyātaśa āgama iti smṛtaḥ in connection with the sūt - ahkāra āgamavikārilopinām. op.cit.,1.23, p.27.
\(^5\) in connection with the pr. no 11,PBSS, p.34.
\(^6\) yadāgamastadgunibhūtastadgrahanena grhyante. pr. no.11.ibid., p.29
regarded as a substitution of a word with an augment, in place of a word without that.\textsuperscript{7}

The inclusion of an augment does not affect the ongoing grammatical process.\textsuperscript{8} In the \textit{vṛtti} to the KALV also this characteristic feature of an \textit{āgama} is reflected.\textsuperscript{9} An \textit{āgama} is regarded as the presence of a letter.\textsuperscript{10} An \textit{āgama} can come before, after or in the midst of the concerned grammatical element. So augmentation has to play a great part in the process of word formation. As Paninian Grammar relates the formative stages of words of the Sanskrit language, it involves a very wide area of activity of augmentation. But an augment is completely different from an \textit{ādesa} or substitute. A substitute behaves like the original grammatical element.\textsuperscript{11} So it affects the formation in hand.\textsuperscript{12} But both the \textit{āgama} and \textit{ādesa} serve important lexical purposes and as a result, these two functional elements have become indispensable grammatical strings, in the derivational theory propounded by Pāṇini. It is important to note that a \textit{vikāra} which is regarded as another element of grammatical function always takes the place by ousting the original but a substitute occupies the place of the original by destroying it completely. The nature of the activity of \textit{āgama}, \textit{ādesa}, \textit{vikāra} and \textit{lopa} is magnificently stated through a \textit{kārikā} of the Āpisāliya school of Grammar which is quoted in the Pāṇji-the commentary of the KALV.\textsuperscript{13} So it appears that the process of augmentation is not solely owned by the

\begin{itemize}
\item \textit{ādesastarhime bhaviṣyanti anāgamacānām sāgamakāh.} as quoted by Y. Dahiya. PAL. p.33.
\item \textit{prakṛtiṁ pratyaṁ cāpi yo na hanti sa āgamaḥ.} as quoted by G. Haldar, VDI. Part 1.,p.169
\item \textit{prakṛtipratyayayoranupaghāti āgamaḥ.} op.cit. in connection with the sut. āgama udanubandhaḥ svarādantyāt paraḥ. p. 23
\item \textit{varṇopasthitirāgamaḥ.} as quoted by G. Haldar, VDI. Part 1.,p.16
\item \textit{sthānivādādesāh.} Čāndraparibhāṣāsūtra no. 20, PBS, p. 47.
\item \textit{rūpāntarāpattirādesāh.} as quoted by G. Haldar, VDI. Part 1, p.169
\item \textit{āgamo'napaghātena vikārasocopamardanāt / ādesaṁ prasangena lopaṁ sarvāpa-karsanāt\textbackslash .} op.cit. KALV, p. 24
\end{itemize}
Paninian school of Grammar. The use of augment is noticed in other grammatical system too. In the HNMV the word *visnu* is used in place of *āgama*. According to this school of Grammar, Lord *visnu* always appears suddenly and becomes the patron of the devotee. An *āgama* does a similar function as a grammatical element for which it is also called *visnu*\(^{14}\) in this school. K.C. Chatterjee in his book *Technical Terms of Sanskrit Grammar (TTSG)* states that *āgama* was also called *upajāna* in earlier works like the *NIR*.\(^{15}\) Whatever be the name, an augment is treated as a friendly element in the grammatical operation. So it is often compared to the ashes smeared on the forehead where as a substitute is compared to an enemy that takes the place of the opponent.\(^{16}\) It is very much important to note here that in Sanskrit Grammar the position of an augment is indicated generally by joining the indicatory letters *f, k, m* etc. with it. So in a *kārikā* quoted in the *JANV*, augments are denoted by the term *kaṭametāḥ*.\(^{17}\) In the Paninian system of Grammar too, this practice is available. In the *VJP* it is clearly mentioned that an augment is always attached with the third case ending.\(^{18}\) But though there are different ways of indicating augment, suffix and *vikarana* in Sanskrit Grammar, the sharp line of differentiation is not followed in every occasion. In the *AST* too the process of selecting an augment and suffix is not pointed out. It is because,

---

14. *viṣṇuryathā madhyatāḥ svayamāvirbhūya posako bhavati tathā yo vidhiḥ pravartate sa āgamo viṣṇuścocyate*. vṛttī to the rule 40. p.29

15. op. cit. p.274 ..


17. *ādesaḥ pralayaścaiva kaṭameto hi lakṣmaṇi / bhāvyasabdena pañcaite kathyante devanandibhiḥ //*, op.cit., (1.1.3, *Laghuvṛtti*)

18. *tiṭhyāya yo nirdīṣyate sa āgamaḥ pratyetavyah*, op. cit. in connection with the sūt. *tenetyāgamaḥ* (1.173)
Pāṇini has used the same grammatical element as both vikaraṇa and augment in his AST. As for example, the element a of sap in the word bhavati is treated as suffix where as in the word tārisat the element a is taken as an augment. Again, in the words janāṣaḥ and indrāṇī the elements asuk and anuk respectively are taken as augments by Pāṇini, but the words could have been constructed also through double affixation. It is to be noted here that Pāṇini has formulated the rule ādyudattāsca (3.1.3) which states that suffixes possess the first vowel accented. Augments, on the other hand are unaccented. The application of augment in Paninian Grammar again shows the fact that such an element can occur initially, finally and before the last vowel of the lexical string to which it is prescribed. According to Y. V. Dahiya, the function of an augment and that of final suffixes, in grammatical process of Pāṇini, is seen to be identical. As an augment does not possess any particular meaning of its own, it is different from the suffix that carries some meaning or can add something to the meaning of the original to which it is assigned. The construction process of the word śriyammanyah shows the fact that the change of i of śri to iy is due to the addition of the element am which is prescribed by the rule ica ekacompratyayavacca (6.3.68). Here, according to Dahiya, though the element am, is implemented by the prescriptive rule of augmentation, it is actually treated like a suffix. Thus it is clear that though an augment is an additional element attached to a grammatical unit in the process of formation of words, it turns to be inseparable from that unit after the attachment takes place. But the augmented element does not possess any extra meaning. So augmentation is just a formal part of the grammatical process laid down by Pāṇini.

19. PPSG, p. 53
20. Thus both augment and final suffixes (samāsānta pratyayas) perform the same grammatical functions in the Paninian system. PAL. p.48.
21. Here the change of i to iy is caused by am being treated like a suffix. ibid. p.48.
II. A NOTE ON ANUBANDHA AND IT

The word anubandha is derived from anu - bandha, where the term anu denotes ‘after’ and the root bandh means to bind. Thus the resultant word anubandha implies that element which is to be bind afterwards. But in Grammar, this term does not necessarily denote the element to be attached at the end of the unit proposed. It rather implies a particular type of grammatical element which is attached to roots, suffixes, augments, substitutes and the like. Though the prefix anu is present, the term anubandha sometimes can signify the special type of element that is put to the unit of Grammar even in initial place. As for example, according to the sutra - adimitudavah (1.3.5), the initial elements ni, tu and du are elided in case of some particular roots as a result of which they can be treated as anubandha-s. The term anubandha is not used in the AST but it is found in the vārttika of Katyāyana.22 This term is used in the KALV.23 In the KPSV, anubandha is again defined as what is destroyed after its utterance.24 In the Haimalaghunyāsā the term anubandha is defined as the element which is prescribed for grammatical purpose only.25 Thus the word anubandha as a whole completely refers to the element technically used in Sanskrit Grammar, which does not stay at the time of grammatical function but which serves some specific purposes of the grammarian concerned. So an anubandha can be termed as a grammatical sign specially

22. anubandhakararārthaśca. MHB. āhn. 1.
23. āgama udanubandhāḥ svarādantāt paraḥ. op. cit. nāmaprakaraṇam. 1st pāḍah, p.23.
24. uccāritapradhvaṃsino hyanubandhāḥ. op. cit. pr. no-55, PBS., p.64.
used for a technical purpose. In the *DSG*, it is clearly stated that the term *anubandha* is selected for signifying the mute significatory letter chosen on the basis of the analogy of the idea of *anubandhya paśu* which is kept for a sacrifice and afterwards is killed.  

In the Grammar of *Paṇini*, the term *it* is used to serve the purpose of *anubandha* and it refers *lopa* or elision.  

The term *it* is constructed from the root √*i* meaning to go. So the term *it* signifies that element which goes away after performing the needful in the process of grammatical function. The element which is to be elided afterwards is called *it*-element and in Paninian Grammar this element is attached to suffixes, augments, substitutes, *vikarana*-s and roots. The addition of such an element signifies various purposes in Grammar e.g. placement of augments, substitutes, affixes; occurrence as well as prevention of the operations like *guṇa*, *yuddhi* and *samprasāraṇa*, identification of *udātta*, *anudātta* and *svarita* vowel and also the functions of the root and *prātipadika*-s.  

The term *it* is very popular in Sanskrit Grammar and the grammarian of non-Paninian school have also used the term generously in their respective works. *K. C. Chatterjee* has clearly mentioned that a group of occidental scholars opines that the word *it* is the corrupted form of the particle *iti*. *Bhattotaji* has used the term *it* several times in his *vrtti* in the *VSK*.  

---

26. op. cit. p.24  
27. *upadeśe janmāṇīṣika iti*. (1.3.2)  
28. eti gacchatīti it. TTSG. p.132  
29. pref. AST. p.36. etd by D.K. Bidyaratna.  
31. 'Dr. Bühler has suggested that 'it' is for 'iti', a derivation that at once commends itself. Burnell, on the Aindra Grammar. as quoted in the TTSG. p.132  
32. *eśāmantyaḥ* itah. in connection with the māheśvara sūtra-s; 'hal' *iti* sūtre'antamıṣyāt in connection with the P. sūt. *halantyaḥ*(1.1.3). SP. VSK .vol 1 pp. 4,5.
Cardona has used the term marker to signify an \(-t\)-letter.\(^{33}\) Through the whole AST these markers are used as specific formulae. Cardona in his book Panini maintains the view that the markers can represent a class or series, can distinguish a particular grammatical element from others and they are used in the pratyāhāra-s also.\(^{34}\) It is to be remembered that the use of \(-t\)-letters in the Grammar of Panini has brought conciseness to a certain extent. Though, generally a mute consonant is used to symbolize the \(-t\)-letter, Panini has formulated the status of \(\hat{t}\) for vowels also, and this custom is prevalent through the Paninian system of Grammar as a convention.\(^{35}\) The most important characteristic feature of an \(-t\)-letter or anubandha is that though it has nothing to do with the grammatical function under consideration, it specifies the particular activity to be done and thus it can be regarded as the identifying instrument. It is worth noting here that the idea of applying an \(-t\)-letter or anubandha can not be called Panini's brainchild because the use of \(\text{auṁ}^{36}\) and \(\text{aṁ}^{37}\) with the marker \(\hat{n}\) show the reflection of the traditional usage earlier than Panini.\(^{38}\)

III. ĪT, KIT AND MIT ĀGAMAS

Panini's Grammar deals with various types of āgama-s and the sūtra-s related to these āgama-s are explained by Bhattoji in different places of the VSK. In the PP of the

33. Instead, markers-which Pāṇini calls it and Paniniyas also call anubandha - are recited as parts of linguistic units. Panini, p. 47
34. op cit., pp. 48 to 50
35. pratiṣṭhānunāsikyāḥ pāṇiniyāḥ. In connection with the P. sūt. upadeśe jamanāsika it (1.3.2). SP.VSK vol 1 , p.10
36. in the P. sut. auṁ āpah (7.1.18)
37. in the P.sut. āni cāpah (7.3.105)
VSK, Bhattoji has explained the interpretative canons, which guide the placement of the 
tit, kit and mit āgama-s in the process of formation of Sanskrit words. The term tit 
represents the element where the letter t remains as an amubandha and as a result is 
elided in the following stages of the concerned grammatical operation. Similarly the term 
kit signifies that grammatical string where k remains as the it-letter and is elided in the 
successive grammatical process. In the same way the term mit represents that 
grammatical element where m is the amubandha. The terms tit, kit and mit are purely 
technical and outside the world of Grammar they do not bear any meaning. In case of 
augmentation tit, kit and mit elements are accommodated as a part of the sthāni 
prescribed. These elements may be joined to a letter, a syllabic part or to a full word as 
the case may be. It is to be mentioned here that tit, kit and mit elements have their 
particular location which Pāṇini has established with the help of the paribhāṣā sūtra-s 
ādyantau tākitau (1.1.46) and midaco’ntyātparāḥ (1.1.47). It is already seen that 
Bhattoji, has discussed these interpretative canons in the PP of the VSK. A brief note 
on these three āgama-s are furnished below.

(i) tit āgamas

In the whole body of the AST, a handful of tit āgama-s are prescribed and their 
location is regulated by the meta rule ādyantau tākitau (1.1.46). According to this rule 
the tit augment is attached as the initial part and the kit augment is joined as the final part 
of the original element proposed thereon. Being the rule of augmentation the present 
paribhāṣā remains different from the rule of replacement and it also minimizes the 
scope of the latter in the field of grammatical operation. Thus the rule under 
consideration can be treated as the apavāda rule in relation to the paribhāṣā - sasthi 
sthāneyogā (1.1.49) but it is again overruled by the sūtra-parāśca (3.1.2) by the strength
of the canon - *purastādapanāda anantarān vidhiṁ bādhante nottarān*. K. Das has clarified this in his *PPSC*. In the *AST*, various types of *tit āgama*-s are found. They are *it*, *aṭi*, *āṭi*, *śīnuti*, *yānuti*, *sutu*, *tutu*, *matu*, *thatu*, *tamaṭu*, *yuṭu*, *ruṭu*, *nuṭu* and *dhuṭu*. Among these *tit* augments some are used as optional and some are prescribed for the vedic language.

It is to be noted here that in the *AST*, the same *tit* augment is prescribed to various grammatical elements with the help of more than one operational rules. As for example, the augment *iṭu* is prescribed in the *AST* by the *sūtra*-s - *ārdhadātukasyedbalādeḥ* (7.2.35), *gamerit paraasmaipadeṣu* (7.2.58) etc. So the formal representation of the words of Sanskrit language which is documented in the *AST* through the grammatical rules, shows a variety of *tit āgama*-s. It has already been pointed out that the attachment procedure of the *tit āgama*-s is guided by the rule *ādyantau takitau*. An attempt is made here to project the attachment procedure of the *tit agama*-s under the guidance of the rule *ādyantau* etc.

The operational rule *ārdhadātukasyedbalādeḥ* prescribes the addition of *iṭu* augment to the *ārdhadātuka* affix starting with a consonant except *y*. As the augment *iṭu* is a *tit āgama*, by following the guideline established by the interpretative canon *ādyantau* etc., it comes before the *sthāni*, i.e. *valādi-ārdhadātuka* here which is enumerated with the sixth case ending in the present operational rule. As a result, the formation of the Sanskrit words *lavāta*, *lavitum*, *pavāta*, *pavitum* etc. are found.

The *sūtra*- *leto 'daṭau* (3.4.94) prescribes the occurrence of the augments *aṭu* the *āṭu* to the endings of the vedic subjunctive. The augments *aṭu* the *āṭu* with the indicatory *t* are

---

39. pr. no. 60. PBSS. p.185
40. op. cit. p.65
41. *dhuṭu* is optional by the P. *sūṭu. daḥ śi dhuṭ* (8.3.29)
42. The augment *that* that comes by the P. *sūṭu. that cacchandasi* (5.2.50).
fit agama-s and as a result they are placed according to the convention established by
the interpretative canon ādyantau etc. So by the strength of this paribhāṣā a and ā come
before the endings of the subjunctives. Thus the words like jōṣat and tārisat are found.

Two consecutive sūtra-s liṅah sīyuṭ (3.4.102) and yāsuṭ parasmaipaḍeśūdātto
nicca (3.4.103) prescribe the inclusion of two augments sīyuṭ and yāsuṭ respectively in
the process of word construction. The former rule signifies that the augment sīyuṭ comes
to the endings of liṅ lakāra. Here the word liṅah is the sthānī as it is expressed in the
sūtra with the help of the genitive case ending. The latter rule, prescribes the
implementation of the augment yāsuṭ to the endings of liṅ in the parasmaipada form.
The implementation of the augments sīyuṭ and yāsuṭ is done by the guideline placed by
the interpretative canon ādyantau etc. It is to be noted here that by the rule liṅah
salopo’nantyasya (7.2.79) the s of both sīyuṭ and yāsuṭ are elided. Moreover, the u of
both these augments are used as indicatory.43 Thus by the first rule the formations like
pacetā, and by the second rule the constructions like kuryāt are found in Sanskrit.

The operational rule suṭ tithoh (3.4.107) prescribes the addition of the augment
suṭ to the affixes ta and tha in liṅ lakāra provided the t and th are the initial letters of the
said affixes. In this rule the term tithoh represents the sthānī. The implementation of the
augment suṭ is guided by the paribhāṣā rule ādyantau etc. Accordingly, the augment
suṭ is added before the sthānī. Thus we come across the formations of words like kṛṣista.
This is to be noted here that in case of the augment sīyuṭ the sthānī is liṅ whereas in case
of the augment suṭ, the sthānī is t and th. This is clearly pointed out by the S. C. Vasu in
his explanation in the AST.44

---

43. The u is for the sake of pronunciation exposition. AST.vol 1, p.597. etd. by S.C.Vasu.
44. op. cit. ibid, p .598.
The operational rule Švasastut ca (4.3.15) relates that the augment tut is prescribed to the affix than which optionally comes after the word śvas. In this sūtra the term than though not physically present, comes from the previous sūtra and is treated as the sthāni in the ongoing function. The augment tut will follow the paribhāṣā rule ādyantau etc. in the process of its implementation. As a result, the augment tut will be added before the affix than which gives rise to the formation of the word śauvastikah.

The rule nāntādasahkhyāderma (5.2.49) prescribes that the affix dat takes the augment mat in the sense of puranā or multiplication after a numerical word ending in n when no other such word precedes. In this sūtra though the word dat is not uttered, it comes from the previous rule and acts as the sthāni. The augment mat with its indicatory t comes before the sthāni. As a result, the formation of the words paṇcamah, saptamah etc. are seen in Sanskrit. In the Veda the augment that is seen to be attached to the affix dat which also, following the paribhāṣā sūtra ādyantau etc. gives rise to the usage like paṇcathah and saptathah. This is prescribed by the operational rule that cacchandasi (5.2.50). In a similar way, following the convention set up by the rule ādyantau etc. the affix dat takes the augment tamaṭ optionally after the words viṁśati etc. This is prescribed with the help of the rule viṁśatyādibhyāvastamadanyatarasyān (5.2.56). The augment tamaṭ being a tit agama comes before the sthāni and as a result, we come across the numerical words viṁśatitamah, ekaviṁśatitamah etc. in Sanskrit.

The operational rule dīnō yudaci kniti (6.4.63) prescribes that the augment yut is to be added after dīn to the ārdhadhātuka affix starting with a vowel and having an indicatory k or n. In this sūtra though the word ārdhadhātuka is not enumerated, it is to be joined here by the force of the adhikāra sūtra – ārdhadhātuke (4.4.46) and it is transformed into the sixth case ending by the strength of the canon ubhayānirdeśe
The augment \( yu_t \) with its indicatory \( t \) is added before the sthāṇī according to the norm set up by the paribhāṣā rule ādyantau etc. Thus the words upadidiye, upadidiyāte etc. are formed in Sanskrit.

The rule \( sīno \) ruṭ (7.1.6) prescribes that the augment ruṭ is to be added to the at substitute of jh, after the root śi. Though the term at which is a substitute for jh is not enumerated in the rule it is to be taken as the proper sthāṇī. This is clearly stated in the vṛtti forwarded in the AST<sup>46</sup>, vol II. So by the strength of the interpretative canon ādyantau etc. the augment ruṭ is to be added before the element at. Accordingly the words serate, seratām etc. are found in Sanskrit. The prescriptive rule hrasvanadyāpo ruṭ (7.1.54) states that the augment ruṭ is added to ām after the stems ending in a short vowel, nadi and after the stems ending in feminine affix ā. In this sūtra the element ām, though not present, comes from the previous rule – āmi sarvanāmnaḥ suṭ (7.1.52). This is important to note that the element āmi is changed into genitive here and acts as the sthāṇī. So following the guideline of the paribhāṣā rule ādyantau etc. the element ruṭ occurs before ām. As a result, the words vrksānām, kumarīnām, mālānām etc. are formed.

The operational rule daḥ si dhut (8.3.29) prescribes that the augment dhut is to be optionally attached to a word beginning with s, after a word ending in ṣ. In this sūtra the word si acts as the sthāṇī by the strength of the canon ubhayanirdeṣe pañcaminirdeṣe baliyān. The augment dhut is a tit element. So according to the interpretative rule ādyantau etc. the augment is inserted before the word with s. Thus the words śvalitśāye, madhulit-tṣāye etc. are formed.

---

<sup>45</sup> pr. no. 71. PBSS., p.197

<sup>46</sup> sīno gāduttarasya jhādesasyāto ruḍigamo bhavati. op. cit. p.1318
In the AST, Panini has shown that in the process of word-construction the tit āgama is applied to affixes, substitutes and even to words. But whatever be the nature of the element to which the tit āgama is attached, the placement process of such augment always conforms to the paribhāṣā rule ādyantau etc. It is to be noted here that in the AST the line of demarcation between an augment and an affix is not followed strictly. The augments like maṭ, thaṭ and tamat can be taken as separate affixes. S.C. Vasu has pointed out this in his exposition to the AST by referring a quotation from Böhtlingk’s work.47 K. Das has also supported this view while dealing with the paribhāṣā-s related to augmentation.48

(ii) kit āgamas

The paribhāṣā - ādyantau etc. not only guides the placement process of tit āgama-s in lexical strings, it also has set up the convention of the placement of kit āgama-s. By the strength of the concerned paribhāṣā rule a kit augment occurs at the end of the sthāni proposed. In Paninian Grammar a good number of kit augment are seen to be used in the lexical process of word representation. They are ānuk, vuk, ṣuk, thuk, titthuk, ithuk, tuk, yak, asuk, sak, muk, puk, yuk, juk, nuk, luk, kuk and tuk. Some of these kit augments are used optionally. As for example, the augment kuk is used optionally by the sutra – putrāntādanyatarasyāṁ (4.1.159). Again some of these kit augments are prescribed by more than a single sutra. As for example, the augment vuk

47. Böhtlingk takes maṭ, thaṭ and tamat as separate affixes and not as augment. He says “...That Panini by forms maṭ, thaṭ tamat so much resembling dat, should not have meant an affix, is not probable...” op. cit. p.917

48. Panini’s scheme of augmentation is not beyond question at least in a number of case. Because, many of the augment may well be treated as suffixes. PPSG, p.63.
is prescribed by both the śūra-s - bhruvo vuk ca (4.1.125) and bhuvo vughuļītoḥ (6.4.88). But irrespective of the nature of application involved, the kit augment follows the interpretative canon ādyantau etc. for its placement in the grammatical string.

The operational rule indravarṣabhavasaṁvarudramrādaṁrādayayayavayavavamanvātulēcāryānāmanuk (4.1.49) prescribes the addition of the augment ānuk to the words indra, varuṇa etc when the feminine affix his follows. Here the words indra, varuṇa etc. are treated as the context of operation. Accordingly the augment ānuk comes in the final position of the words concerned. Thus the words indrānī, varūnānī, sarvānī etc. are constructed.

The rule bhruvo vuk ca prescribes the addition of the augment vuk to bhru when the affix dhak is applied in the sense of descendant. Here the term bhru acts as the sthānī. The augment vuk with its indicatory k letter is a kit āgama. So by the convention laid down by the śūra - ādyantau etc. this augment is placed at the end of the sthānī. Accordingly the word bhraiviyah is formed.

The operational rule manorjātāvaṁyatau suk ca (4.1.161) states that the affixes an and yat are added after the word manu and the augment suk is added to it if the whole word denotes the name of a class. The word manu in the śūra is taken as the sthānī. The augment suk with its indicatory k letter is placed according to the paribhaṣā principle ādyantau etc. Accordingly, the augment is added at the end of the sthānī. Thus the word mānuṣah is formed in Sanskrit.

The three consecutive rules śaṭkatikatipayacaturāh thuk (5.2.51), bahupūga-gaṇaṁsaṁghasya tithuk (5.2.52) and vatorithuk (5.2.53) state the addition of the augment thuk, tithuk and ithuk respectively. The placement procedure of these kit augments follows the norm established by the interpretative canon ādyantau etc. As a result, these three augments are placed at the end of the sthānī proposed respectively. Thus the words sāṣṭhah, caturthah etc. with the augment thuk, bahutithah, pūgatithah etc. with the
augment *tithuk* and *yāvatithāḥ, tāvatithāḥ* etc. with the augment *ithuk* are formed in Sanskrit.

The operational rule *hrasvasya piti kṛti tuk* (6.1.71) prescribes the inclusion of the augment *tuk* to a root ending in a short vowel when a *kṛt* affix having an indicatory *p* follows. Here the word *hrasvasya* in the sūtra remains as the *sthānī*. The augment *tuk* with its indicatory *k* comes at the end of the *sthānī* proposed. Thus the words *somasut, prahṛtya, upastutya* etc. are formed in Sanskrit.

The rule *ktvoyak* (7.1.47) prescribes the inclusion of the augment *yak* to the affix *ktvā* in the Veda. The term *ktvāḥ* in the sūtra acts as the *sthānī* and the augment *yak* with its indicatory *k* comes at the end of the affix *ktvā*. Thus the Vedic word *datvāya* is constructed. Similarly the operational rule *aįjarasuk* (7.1.50) states the inclusion of the augment *asuk* in the Veda to the affix *jas* of the nominative plural, after a stem ending in *a* or *ā*. Here also the placement in guided by the *paribhāṣā* rule *ādyantau* etc. So the augment *asuk* which is a *kit āgama* with its indicatory *k* is placed after the *sthānī* i.e. *jas* here. Accordingly the words *brāhmanāsasah, so:myāsah* etc. are constructed in the Vedic language.

The prescriptive rule *yamaramanamātām sakca* (7.2.73) states the addition of the augment *sak*. It states that in the *parasmaipada* the *sic* of the aorist takes the augment *it* after *yam, raṁ, naṁ* and the roots ending in *ā* and the augment *sak* is added. As the augment *sak* is a *kit āgama*, its occurrence is regulated by the *paribhāṣā* rule *ādyantau* etc. Therefore it comes at the end of the *sthānī* i.e. *yam, raṁ, naṁ* and the roots ending in *ā* here. This is clearly stated in the *vṛtti* to this rule in the *AST.* vol II.\(^{49}\) Thus we come across the words like *ayamsit, vyaraṁsit* etc. in Sanskrit.

\(^{49}\) *yama rama nama ityetesāmāṅgānāmakārāntām ca sagāgam obhavati parasmaipade sici idāgamasca. op. cit., p.1389.*
The operational rule āne muk (7.2.82), states that the augment muk is to be added to a verbal stem ending in $\text{ṛa}$. When the participial ending āna is attached. Here the verbal stem ending in $\text{a}$ is treated as the sthāni. The augment muk being a kit āgama is attached at the end of the sthāni by the rule ādyantau etc. Thus the word formations pacamāṇah, yajamāṇah etc. are found.

Three consecutive operational rules arttihrīblirikmyikśmyyātām prīnau (7.3.36), śacchāśāhvāvyaśvepām yuk (7.3.37) and vo vidhūnane juk (7.3.38) prescribe the addition of the augments puk, yuk and juk respectively to the respective sthāni-s. All these three augments being kit āgama-s get their position in the lexical string totally regulated by the interpretative canon ādyantau etc. Thus in all these cases the concerned augments come at the end of the element proposed in each sūtra. So with the help of the first rule the words like arpayati, hreparatī etc. are formed. The second rule puts forward the construction niśayayati, avasāyayati etc. and by the third rule the word upavājayati is formed.

The prescriptive rule līlornuglukāvanyatarasyāṁ snehīvipūtane (7.3.39) states the addition of the augments muk and luk optionally to the roots lī and lā respectively before the causative affix ni when the causative denotes the melting of a fatty thing. The roots lī and lā are treated as the sthāni here. Thus by the guiding rule ādyantau etc. the kit āgama-s are added at the end of the root lī and lā respectively. As a result the words vilinayati, vilalayati etc. are constructed in Sanskrit.

The prescriptive rule ṃpoḥ kuk tuk ṣari (8.3.28) states that optionally the augment kuk is added to the final n and the augment tuk is added to a n when a sibilant follows. Here the term ṃpoḥ is treated as the locus of operation and both the augments kuk and tuk are kit āgama-s with their indicatory k letter. So following the guideline of the interpretative rule ādyantau etc. these āgama-s are added finally to respective
As a result the words prāṅkṣete, prāṅkaṣṭhah, vaṇḍṣete etc. are formed in Sanskrit.

This is to be noted here that like the case of other augments, the addition of some kit augment too, brings confusion with affixation in the process of word construction. As for example, the words with augments ānuk and asuk can be constructed easily by using double affixation. This is clearly shown by K. Das in his PPSG. But whatever may be the case, the augments with indicatory k are always placed at the end of the context under consideration.

(iii) mit āgamas

In the AST a good number of mit āgama-s are prescribed to lexical strings in the process of word formation. The position of a mit āgama is regulated by the interpretative canon midaco 'ntyā pariḥ (1.1.47). An important point to be noted is that this rule also guides the position of the suffix śnāṁ which is added to the roots of the rudhādi class by the rule rudhādibhyah śnāṁ (3.1.78). But in the present chapter only the mit augments are taken into account. According to the paribhāṣā rule midacah etc. the mit augment is to be added to the last vowel of the element prescribed. It is seen in the case of mit āgama as it happens in the cases of other āgama-s that some rules prescribe the optional use of such an augment and again the same augment is prescribed to different sthānī-s with the help of various rules. As for example, the rule rāṭreḥ kṛti vibhāṣā (6.3.72) states that the augment mum is prescribed optionally to the word rātri before a word formed by a kṛt affix. Again the same augment mum is prescribed by the rules kāre satyāgadasya (6.3.70) and śyenatilasya pāte ṅe (6.3.71). But whatever be the nature of the process, the position of a mit augment is fixed in accordance with the paribhāṣā rule mida etc. The mit āgama-s prescribed in the AST are am, mum, mum,ām, im, pum and uḥ.

50, op.cit., p. 53.
The operational rule *sjjidprorjhalyamakiti* (6.1.58) prescribes that the augment *am* is to be added to the roots *srṣj* and *drś* when follows an affix beginning with a *jhal* letter but does not bear the indicatory *k*. Here the roots *srṣj* and *drś* are taken as the context of operation. The augment *am* is a *mit āgama* with the indicatory letter *m*. So by following the convention laid down by the *paribhāṣā* rule *midaca* etc, the augment *am* comes after the last vowel of the *sthāni*. Here, in both the cases the last vowel, which is also the only vowel, is *ṛ*. So the augment occurs after that. Accordingly, the words *srasta, srastum* from the root *srṣj*, *drasta, drastum* from the root *drś* are formed in Sanskrit language.

The operational rule *arurdviṣadajantasya mum* (6.3.67) prescribes that the augment *mum* is to be added to the words *arus, dviṣat* and to a stem ending in a vowel, unless it is an indeclinable, when follows a word with *khit* affix. Here the terms *arus* etc are prescribed as the *sthāni*. The augment *mum*, with its indicatory letter *m* has to follow the guideline of the interpretative canon *midaca* etc. for its implementation. As a result it is placed after the last vowel in each case. Accordingly, the words *aruntudah, dviṣantapah* etc. are formed in Sanskrit.

The prescriptive rule *idito num dhātoḥ* (7.1.58) states that the augment *num* is to be added to the root which has an indicatory *i*. Here the root with indicatory *i* is taken as the *sthāni* of the prescribed operation. The augment *num*, with its indicatory *m* letter follows the convention set up by the *paribhāṣā* - *midacah* etc. for its placement and it is accordingly added after the last vowel of the *sthāni* proposed. As a result, the words *kunditir, kunditum* from *kudi* etc. are formed in Sanskrit Grammar.

The operational rule *caturanaduḥhorāmudattah* (7.1.98) states that the augment *dm* is to be added to *catur, anaduh* and it is acutely accented. The words *catur* and *anaduh* are treated as the *sthāni* here. The augment *dm*, with its indicatory *m* is a *mit āgama* and following the guideline prescribed by the interpretative canon *midacah* etc.
comes after the last vowel of the *sthāni*. So the words *catvārah, anadvān* etc. are found in Sanskrit.

The prescriptive rule *tr̥yāha iṁ* (7.3.92) states that the augment *iṁ* is to be added to *tr̥yāh* when a *piṭ śārvadhātuka* affix beginning with a consonant follows. The word *tr̥yāha* acts as the *sthāni* of the proposed operation. The placement of the augment *iṁ* follows the norm of the *paribhāṣā* rule *midacah* etc. Accordingly, the āgama *iṁ* comes after the last vowel of the concerned *sthāni*. So the words *ṭṛṇedī, ṭṛṇekṣi* etc. are constructed.

The two consecutive rules *patah puṁ* (7.4.19) and *vaca uṁ* (7.4.20) prescribe the addition of the augments *puṁ* and *uṁ* to the root *vpat* and *vvac* respectively in the *āṇi* aorist. In both the cases the roots *vpat* and *vvac* are treated as the context of operation. The augment *puṁ* and *uṁ* being *mit* augments are placed in accordance with the *paribhāṣā* rule *midacah* etc. Accordingly these two augments come after the last vowel of the *sthāni* in each case. As a result the words *apaptat, apaptatam, avocat* etc. are formed in Sanskrit.

Thus it is seen that an augment with indicatory *m* is always inserted after the last vowel of the lexical string at hand, irrespective of the ultimate or penultimate position it occupies. If there is only one vowel in the stem, the augment will occur after that. So it can be said that the activation of *mit ōgama* in the grammatical process is completely governed by the *paribhāṣā* rule *midacah* etc. and as there are different types of *mit ōgama*-s, the present *paribhāṣā* points to its command over a huge number of operational rules of Sanskrit Grammar laid down by Pāṇini. Moreover, augments as it is shown earlier after their attachment become the indispensable part of the linguistic element to which they are employed. So the *paribhāṣā sūtra*-s *ādyantau* etc. and *midacah* etc. which guide the attachment process of these augments, are seen to be connected invariably with the basic element of the word, the final representation of which is the
aim of the sūra. Bhattoji, by taking these two interpretative canons in the PP of the 
VSK, and also appending his vṛtti to them, has certainly established the importance of 
these rules in the field of Sanskrit Grammar as far as the process of word construction 
is concerned.

PART-II

svaritenādhikāraḥ (1.3.11).

It is already pointed out that this rule stands as a separate type of rule in the PP of 
the VSK because it involves the purpose of using circumflex accent in the sūra-s of the 
AST. But no other paribhāṣā rule, discussed in the PP, is related to accentuation. This 
particular rule declares the way used by Pāṇini for determining the domain of words to 
be connected in the successive sūra or sūra-s. Bhattoji has clearly explained the 
meaning of this rule in his small but effective vṛtti. The meaning of this sūra is that the 
expression which possesses circumflex accent in a rule laid down by Pāṇini, will occur 
in the subsequent rule or rules. The meaning of this sūra is that the expression which possesses circumflex accent in a rule laid down by Pāṇini, will occur in the subsequent rule or rules.51 It can be said in the other way that the word with 
circumflex accent in Paninian sūra relates the beginning of the particular domain of 
grammatical elements. The word adhikāra means repetition of a grammatical element in 
one place which is stated in another context.52 The term adhikāra in the present sūra is 
used in the sense of viniyoga53 or commission or addition of a thing in the successive 
rule. A.S. Sastri also takes this meaning of the term adhikāra in the KAD commentary.54 
Haradatta takes the word adhikāra in the sense of vyāpāra.55 In the BM the meaning of

52. ekatropatasyānyatra vyāpārah adhikāraḥ. SABK, in connection with the P.sūt.

vrddho yuna tallaksanascedeva višesah (1.2.65)
53. adhikāraḥ viniyoṣyaḥ KAS, Part I, p. 47.
54. op. cit. p.266
55. viniyoga iti vyāpāraṇaṃ. KV. vol.I, p.408
the word *adhikāra* is taken as circulation.\(^{56}\) The word *svarita* means the characteristic feature of a particular vowel sound.\(^{57}\) It is defined by *Pāṇini* as *samāhāraḥ svaritaḥ* (1.2.31). But the term *svarita* is not used in the technical sense in the present *sūtra*. In that case it would have been applicable only to the vowels but not to the consonants. The word *svarita*, on the other hand, is used here to relate a sign used technically by *Pāṇini* for serving a specific grammatical purpose. The purpose here, is to select the portion which is to be attached to the successive rule or rules. Thus the *svarita* sign used in the Paninian rule implies that the portion where the particular sign is used, is to be continued to the next rule or a number of successive rules. For this reason the instrumental used in the word *svarita* in the present *sūtra* is taken as the case where the rule *ithambhū-talaksane* (2.3.21) is applied. This is clearly stated in the *KAS* Part I.\(^{58}\) So the present *paribhāṣā* establishes the convention that the application of *svarita* serves as the sign by which the *adhikāra* in Paninian rule is recognized. More clearly it can be said that the use of a circumflex accent in a rule of Paninian Grammar sets up the use of *adhikāra* device. As a man stays in his occupied place in a town though he moves around, the word employed by *Pāṇini* with *svarita* characteristics, too, remains circulated in the respective places.\(^{59}\) *Vāsudevadikṣita* has explained the meaning of this *sūtra* in a clear manner. According to him the use of circumflex accent implies the occurrence of the function called *anuvṛtti* to the successive place.\(^{60}\) The application of the present rule can


\(^{57}\) svarito nāma svaraviśeṣo varṇadharmah. KAS, Part I, p. 47.

\(^{58}\) svariteneti ithambhūtalaksane trīyā. op.cit, p. 47.

\(^{59}\) yathā puruso yatradhikṛto nagarādau tatraivaḥpatisṭhate, tathā svaritaguṇayuktam śabdarūpam niyuktam sūtrakāreṇa tatra tatropatiṣṭhate. Nyāsa, p.408.

\(^{60}\) śabdasya ca uttarasūtrasvanuvṛttireva vyāprtiḥ, svaritena svaraviśeṣena adhikāra uttaratānuvṛttirūpavyāpāraḥ prayetavyah. BM, PP, VSK, vol. I, p. 52.
be observed in the sūtra-āṅgasya (6.4.1) where the word with circumflex accent occurs in the successive rules. The most important point to be noted here is that the final limit of an adhikāra is ascertained from the authoritative statements of the ancient grammarians. Like the case of nasalization of vowels, the continuation of the part or the whole body of a rule, which is used with a circumflex accent, is fixed on the basis of convention laid down by the grammarians of Paninian school.  

Patañjali has accepted three purposes of the present paribhāṣā rule. In the first place, this rule denotes how the adhikāra element is to be recognized in Paninian Grammar. Secondly, this rule states an extra function i.e. adhikaṁ kāryaṁ. Thirdly, this rule speaks of that element in Grammar which does something excess. According to Jñānendrasarasvatī the sūtra under consideration thus implies that one being the preceding refutes the successive one. S.D. Joshi and Roodbergen have also clarified this point in their explanation to this rule. One important characteristic feature of this sūtra is that if the constituent words are taken in a slightly changed way i.e as svarite nādhiṅkāraḥ, the rule implies a different meaning. In that case it states that when an element with circumflex accent is identified in Paninian sūtra the concept of adhikāra is stopped. In this sense also the present rule can be applied to the AST. As for example, the svarita sign found in the rule viṁṣatikāṣṭ khaḥ (5.1.32), signifies the cessation of the adhikāra of the identified element coming from the rule dvitipūrvvānnīkāī (5.1.30).  

61. anunāsikyavat svaritoccaranampi pratijñāgamyam.BM, VSK, vol. I, p. 52  
62. pratijñāśvaritāḥ pāṇinīyāḥ, op.cit., p. 47.  
63.MHB. in connection with the P. sūt. svaritenaḍhiṅkāraḥ (1.3.11).  
64. kiṁca adhiṁ kāraṁ kṛtiryaṁ yatpūrvaṁ san paraṁ bādhate. TB.PP. VSK, vol 1. p. 52.  
Thus the term found in the sūtra- dvitipūrvvān尼斯kāt, which is marked with the svarita sign can come as a governing element only up to the rule bistācca (5.1.31). So the force of the paribhāṣā under consideration is very strong in the whole of the AST and it also saves Pāṇini from repeating many grammatical elements in various places. This rule also establishes the fact that the rules of Pāṇini possessed accents. Thus Bhattoji, by enlisting this rule in the PP of his VSK has established his prudence and scholarship in the area of Sanskrit Grammar.