

'Samjñāyām' in Pāṇini

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POONA

1966

Reprinted from the
Journal of the University of Poona,
Humanities Section, No. 25, pp. 31 to 75.

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This monograph proposes to discuss the expression *saṁjñāyām* (locative singular of *saṁjñā*) which occurs in the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*² in order to lay down a condition necessary for the operation of the rules in which it occurs.

The discussion is necessitated by the following circumstances:

A. Pāṇini himself nowhere makes it clear what he means by this expression. The commentators also apparently take it for granted that the expression is self-explained. The *Kāśikā* e. g. generally adds only the word *viśaye* ‘in the matter (of)’ after it, thus explaining only the meaning of the case ending, but not of the stem itself.

B. It is generally understood as meaning ‘a name’. Thus, 1. often having given instances in illustration of the rule concerned, the commentators remark that these are names of such-and-such things³. 2. The authors belonging to the other schools of Sanskrit grammar like Candra usually replace Pāṇini’s *saṁjñāyām* by *nāmni*⁴. 3. Modern translators and annotators also generally translate this expression by ‘a name’. BÖHTLINGK e. g. throughout renders this expression by ‘wenn ein Name gebildet wird’, or by

1. This monograph is an amplification of a paper read by the author on this subject at the 26th session of the International Congress of Orientalists, New Delhi, 1964. The paper itself was a result of the correspondence initiated by Dr. SIDDHESHVAR VARMA.

2. The expression *saṁjñāyām* occurs actually in 63 sutras of the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*. Of these, in one rule, viz P. 4.2.21 the expression *saṁjñāyām* was most probably not read by Pāṇini himself. There are 35 rules more in which the expression is not actually read, but it is regarded as carried forward (*anuvṛtta-*) from previous rules by the commentators. There are two more rules (P. 6.2.124 and 8.4.4.) where also the expression is not read directly, but it is evidently implied. It occurs in compound forms (such as *saṁjñāntarayoḥ* P. 3.2.179, *saṁjñāchandasoḥ* P. 4.1.29) in 14 rules 10 out of which contain the expression directly and 4 have it carried forward from previous rules. Only in one rule (P. 6.3.38) the compound is in the genitive case, all others being in the locative. The negative expression *asaṁjñāyām* occurs in 8 rules. All these rules have been translated, with comments where necessary, below.

3. Thus commenting on P. 6.2.129, the *Kāśikā* remarks that *dākṣikūlam*, *māhikikūlam* etc. are *grāmanāmadheyāni* ‘names of villages’; under P. 5.1.28, the *Tattvabodhinī* says that *pañcalauhitikam* and *pañcakalāpikam* are *parimāṇaviśeṣasya nāmadheye* ‘names of particular measures’. Often the commentators retain the word *saṁjñā* itself, cf. *Kāśikā* on P. 1.2.53, 4.3.27, 4.3.117, 5.2.23 etc.

4. Cf. Candra 2.2.67 (P. 2.4.20), 1.3.77 (P. 3.3.174), 2.3.27 (P. 4.1.30), 2.3.69 (P. 4.1.58) etc.

‘um einen Namen zu bilden’, or by ‘bei der Bildung eines Namens’ or by some such thing.

As against the above it may be pointed out :

1. that not all the words which have been given as illustrations by the commentators can be looked upon as names. This is the case, e. g. with words like *hr̥dya-* ‘agreeable to the heart’ (P. 4.4.95), *nāvya-* ‘fordable by a boat’ (P. 4.4.91), *avaṭīṭa-* ‘flat-nosed’ (P. 5.2.31), *nibiḍa-* ‘id.’ (P. 5.2.32) etc. which are evidently mere attributives. And, if an instance from the Gaṇapāṭha is permitted, there is a verbal form also, viz. *prastumpati*, which is formed *saṃjñāyām* (P. 6.1.157).

2. That there are cases where Candra has not replaced *saṃjñāyām* by *nāmni*; *saṃjñāyām* is retained in C.1.1.123; 2.3.60; 3.3.83; 3.3.121; 4.3.78 etc.

3. That often the commentators interpret the word *saṃjñāyām* in different ways. The *Tb.* once (under P.1.1.34) paraphrases it by *ādhunika-saṃketa-* ‘a modern convention’ and on another occasion (P.4.4.96) by *prasiddhi-* ‘wellknownness’. The *Bm.* under P.4.4.96 paraphrases *saṃjñā* by *rūḍhi-* ‘usage’ (similarly also under P.3.3.19). Thus besides being interpreted as a kind of word, viz. a naming word, a substantive, it has also been interpreted in an entirely different sense, viz. ‘convention, usage, currency’ (which may be responsible for the restriction of the use of a word in a substantive character).

4. That besides *saṃjñā* Pāṇini has also used words like *nāman* (P.2.2.26; 3.3.34; 5.3.18 etc.) and *ākhyā* (3.3.108; 5.1.95; 5.4.104 etc.) which also generally mean a name. If *saṃjñāyām* also meant the same thing, it will have to be ascertained whether they are used indiscriminately or whether there is some shade of difference.

Hence this discussion.

I propose to show that in our context (viz. *saṃjñāyām*) the word *saṃjñā* is more or less equivalent to what the later grammarians call *yogarūḍha-* ‘a word whose etymological meaning is restricted by convention’.

2

I propose to proceed as follows :

- A. An examination of some sūtras which, on the basis of a contrast, offer a clue for the understanding of Pāṇini’s intended meaning of *saṃjñāyām*.
 B. A translation, with illustrations where necessary (from the commentaries, particularly the *Kāśikā*) and comments (where necessary), of all the rules containing this expression. C. An examination of the rest of the evidence.

Results which can be arrived at by a study of contrasts :

1. In 5.4.94 Pāṇini teaches affixion of a *samāsānta-* suffix ṬaC to tatpuruṣa compounds ending in words like *anas-* ‘a cart’, *aśman-* ‘a stone’ etc., if the compound in question expresses a *jāti* ‘class’, or is a *saṃjñā*-word.

This mention of *samjñā* separately from *jāti-* suggests that words formed ‘*samjñāyām*’—or *samjñā*-words as we may call them—are not expressive of a class. In other words *samjñā*-words are restricted to individual objects (the *vyakti-* or the *dravya-* of the Sanskrit grammarians).

2. P. 1.1.34 is a gaṇa-sūtra also included in the gaṇa *sarvādi* (P. 1.1.27). This gaṇa-sūtra gives the designation *sarvanāman-* under certain circumstances to words like *pūrva-* ‘eastern, ancient, prior’, *para-* ‘foreign, highest, following’, etc. provided no *samjñā* is involved—‘*asamjñāyām*’. A glance at the literal meaning of the word *sarvanāman-* will clarify the essential nature of a *samjñā*-word. A *sarvanāman-* is ‘a word for all’. Naturally when it comes to be restricted to one or more individuals, it ceases to be a *sarvanāman-* in the literal sense: it becomes a *vyaktināman-* or a *dravyanāman-*.⁵ This also applies to the next gaṇasūtra, which says that the word *sva-* is a *sarvanāman-*, but not when it means ‘a relative’ or ‘property’. It is evident that in these two senses the word *sva-* has been substantivised, whereas it has remained adjectival when meaning ‘one’s own’. Thus these two gaṇa-sūtras confirm the results arrived at from P. 5.4.94 considered above.

That a word which has been substantivised ceases to be a *sarvanāman-* has been expressed by the *SK* (under P. 1.1.29) in the maxim *samjñōpa-sarjanībhūtās tu na sarvādayāḥ*.⁶

3. The sūtras P. 1.2.53–57 are rather of an unusual nature. These are the only polemic sūtras in the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*. It is believed that Pāṇini here is controverting a view of his predecessors. The substance of the sūtras 53–55 is that names (*samjñā*) are self-authoritative, that they continue to be used even after the connection (*yoga-*) between the names and the objects named exists no more, and that consequently grammar should not lay down rules regarding the gender and the number of the names.

I have shown elsewhere⁷ that the rules in question cannot have come from Pāṇini. Originally they must have been Vārttikas which were later misunderstood for and so incorporated in the sūtras. Be it as it may, the sūtras are in one way relevant for our purpose. They show the contrast between *yoga-* and *samjñā* which is at least as old as the Vārttikas. They show that as *samjñā*-words the names are not purely etymological words. In addition to this etymological connection (*yoga-*) there is an additional element. That social convention (*saṅketa-*) or usage (*rūḍhi-*) is this additional element, has been shown below.

5. Cf. *Ekadravyopaniveśinī samjñā* (P. 1.4.1 Vā 44), ‘A *samjñā* attaches to a single object’.

6. Based on the Bhāṣya (P. 1.1.27 Vā 6; I 88): *samjñōpasarjane ca viśese’vatiṣṭhete*, ‘A *samjñā* and a word which is (technically called) *upasarjana-* (cf. P. 1.2.43–44) reside in an individual’.

7. *ABORI*, 30, 135–144.

4. The word *saṁjñā* is coupled with *chandas-* in two rules, viz. P. 4.1.29 and 6.3.63. This association is also suggestive. It suggests that in the *saṁjñā*-words there is often something peculiar, something different from the normal pattern, and so it requires special mention, as in the case of the *chandas*.

3

Here follow all the rules containing the expression *saṁjñāyām*, with illustrations (mostly as given in the *Kāśikā*) and comments where necessary.

1. पूर्वपरावरदक्षिणोत्तरापराधराणि व्यवस्थायामसंज्ञायाम् । 1.1.34

The words *pūrva-* 'eastern; ancient, prior', *para-* 'foreign; highest; following', *avara-* 'low; posterior', *dakṣiṇa-* 'southern', *uttara-* 'northern; later', *apara-* 'western; another; posterior', and *adhara-* 'lower; inferior', when expressive of relative position (in time or place), are optionally termed *sarvanāman-* before the ending *-Jas* (Nom. plu. m. f.), provided no *saṁjñā* is involved.

Examples : पूर्व, पूर्वाः । अपरे, अपराः । अवरे, अवराः । दक्षिणे, दक्षिणाः । उत्तरे, उत्तराः । परे, पराः । अधरे, अधराः, where no *saṁjñā* is involved. But उत्तराः कुरवः, 'N. of a country', because उत्तराः is part of a name.

2. अन्यपदार्थे च संज्ञायाम् । 2.1.21.

A word with a case-ending (*subanta*) forms an *avyayībhāva* compound with names of rivers when the compound concerns a *saṁjñā* and has a denotation other than that of the component words.

Examples : उन्मत्तगङ्गाम्, लोहितगङ्गाम्, कृष्णगङ्गाम्, शनैर्गङ्गाम् (all place-names, literally meaning 'where the Gaṅgā is wild, where the Gaṅgā is red' etc.).—Counter-example: शीघ्रगङ्गो देशः, 'a place where the Gaṅgā is rapid'.

3. संज्ञायाम् । 2.1.44

A declinable word in locative forms a *Tatpuruṣa* compound with another word with a case-ending provided the compound concerns a *saṁjñā*.

Examples : अरण्येतिलकाः 'wild sesamum', अरण्येमाषाः 'wild beans', वनेकिशुकाः 'wild kiṁśuka', कूपेपिशाचकाः 'fiends in a well'. According to some, these expressions secondarily mean 'something not in keeping with expectations'.

No counter-examples are given. For the retention of the case-ending of the first member of the compound, see P. 6.3.9 below.

4. दिक्संख्ये संज्ञायाम् । 2.1.50

Words expressive of a point of the compass and the numerals form a *Tatpuruṣa* compound with a noun in apposition, provided it concerns a *saṁjñā*.

Examples : पूर्वेषुकामशमी 'Eastern Iṣukāmaśamī', अपरेषुकामशमी 'Western Iṣukāmaśamī', both being place-names. पञ्चाम्नाः (?), सप्तर्षयः 'the constellation of the Great Bear'. —Counter-examples : उत्तरा वृक्षाः 'northern trees,' पञ्च ब्राह्मणाः 'five Brāhmaṇas'.

5. संज्ञायां कन्थोशीनरेषु । 2.4.20

A Tatpuruṣa compound ending in *kanthā* 'town' becomes neuter if it concerns a *saṃjñā* and the town belongs to the Uśīnara country.

Examples : सौशमिकन्थम् 'kanthā of the Sauśamis', आह्वरकन्थम् 'kanthā of the Āhvaras', both are names of places in the Uśīnara country.—Counter-examples : वीरणकन्था 'kanthā of the Vīraṇas' which is not a *saṃjñā*. दक्षिकन्था 'kanthā of the Dākṣis', this is a *saṃjñā* but this *kanthā* does not belong to the Uśīnara country.—For the accent of these words, see P.6.2.124 below.

6. भृजोऽसंज्ञायाम् । 3.1.112

The suffix *-KyaP* is employed (to denote the object) after $\sqrt{bhr-}$, provided the word thus formed is not a *saṃjñā*.

Example : भृत्यः (= भर्तव्यः) 'one who ought to be supported' (as a servant).—Counter-example : भार्याः 'N. of a Kṣatriya family'. Here *Bhārya* is a proper noun. Commentators also cite भार्या 'wife' as a *saṃjñā*.

Unfortunately the position is not quite clear here. If the word *bhṛtya-* is formed in the purely adjectival sense (equivalent to *bhartavya*), then of course it will not be a *saṃjñā*. But the commentators do not stop here. They further add कर्मकराः (not कर्मकरादयः) as a synonym. This would at once turn the word into a *saṃjñā*. The *Bālamānoramā* has seen this point and remarks : ननु भृत्यशब्दस्य कर्मकरेषु रूढत्वात् संज्ञाशब्दत्वमेव....., but as a reply it refers only to Bhaṭṭoji's statement : क्रियाशब्दोऽयं न तु संज्ञा. Accordingly we have to suppose that in spite of his paraphrasing *bhṛtya-* by *karmakara-*, Bhaṭṭoji (and probably the author of the *Kāśikā*) here take the word as equivalent to *bhartavya* only.

7. शमि धातोः संज्ञायाम् । 3.2.14

All roots in composition with *śam-* may take the suffix *-aC*, provided the word formed is a *saṃjñā*.

Examples : शंकरः, शंभवः, शंवादः (all names).—No counter-examples.

8. संज्ञायां भृतृवृजिधारिसहितपिदमः । 3.2.46

The roots *bhr-*, *tr-*, *vr-*, *ji-*, *dhr-*, *sah-*, *tap-* and *dam-* when in composition with a grammatical object etc., take the suffix *-KHaC*, provided the word formed is a *saṃjñā*.

Examples : विश्वंभरा (=वसुंधरा) 'the earth' (the *Kaumudī* adds विश्वंभरः 'N. of Viṣṇu'), रथंतर्म 'N. of a sāman', पतिवरा 'a maiden who chooses her own husband', शत्रुंजयः 'N. of an elephant', युगंधरः 'N. of a mountain', शत्रुंसहः, शत्रुंतपः and शत्रुंदमः, all the last three probably being names of different men.—Counter-example : कुटुम्बभारः (= कुटुम्बं विभर्तीति) 'supporting a family'.

9. गमश्च । 47

Also the root *gam-*.

Example : सुतंगमः (from which the patronymic सौतंगमिः). —No counter-example.

10. उपसर्गे च संज्ञायाम् । 3.2.99

Also when in composition with a preverb, $\sqrt{\text{jan-}}$, takes the suffix *-Da*, provided the word formed is a *saṃjñā*.

Example : प्रजा: 'creatures'. - No counter-example.

11. भुवः संज्ञान्तरयोः । 3.2.179

The suffix *KVIP* (= a particular variety of zero-suffixes) comes after $\sqrt{\text{bhū}}$, if the word thus formed is a *saṃjñā* or if it means a surety.

Examples : विभू: 'N. of a man'. प्रतिभू: 'a surety' (= धनिकाधर्मणोरन्तरे यस्तिष्ठति *Kāsikā*). -No counter-example.

An interesting question arises here. What is the special purpose in reading the word *antara-* in the *sūtra*? Could it not have been covered by the word *saṃjñā* itself? For one would think that the word *pratibhū-* in the sense of surety is equally a *saṃjñā*. To this the reply given by the commentators is that a *saṃjñā* (like *Vibhū* for instance) holds good as long as the person or the object denoted by that *saṃjñā* exists, while the word *pratibhū-* is applicable to the person concerned only so long as he stands surety. Once the debt is repaid, he ceases to be a *pratibhū*. Read the *Tb.* नन्वेवं प्रतिभूशब्दः संज्ञेति फलितम् । तत्र संज्ञायामित्येव सिद्धम् । किमन्तरग्रहणेन ? अत्राहुः । यावद्द्रव्यभाविन्यः संज्ञाः । प्रतिभूशब्दस्तु सत्येव तस्मिन् ऋणप्रदानेन निवर्तत इत्युभयोर्भेद इति ।

Here one may as well ask : what about the word *sākṣin* 'a witness' then? Evidently that word stands quite on a par with the word *pratibhū-* here, but is still regarded a *saṃjñā* by Pāṇini himself (5.2.91). Apparently in our present *sūtra* *saṃjñā* means only a proper noun.

12. विप्रसंभ्यो इवसंज्ञायाम् । 180

$\sqrt{\text{bhū}}$ in composition with the preverbs *vi-*, *pra-* and *sam-* takes the suffix *-Du*, provided the word formed is not a *saṃjñā*.

Examples: विभुः (=सर्वगतः) 'all-pervading,' प्रभुः (=स्वामी) 'lord, master', संभुः (=जनिता) 'a progenitor'. The *Vārttika* adds words like मितद्रुः, शतद्रुः, संभुः here.- Counter-example: विभू: 'N. of a man' (P.3.2.179).

13. पुवः संज्ञायाम् । 3.2.185

$\sqrt{\text{pū}}$ takes the suffix *-itra* in the sense of an instrument, provided the word formed is a *saṃjñā*.

Example: पवित्रम् 'a sieve or strainer; or, two *kuśa* blades used for purifying'. It also means 'a *darbha* ring for the finger'.

14. अकर्तरि च कारके संज्ञायाम् । 3.3.19

A root takes the suffix *-GHāÑ* to form a word denoting non-agentive case-relations, provided the word thus formed is a *saṃjñā*.

Examples : प्रासः (= प्रास्यन्ति तम्) 'that which is thrown', a dart; प्रसेवः (= प्रसीव्यन्ति तम्) 'that which is stitched', a sack; आहारः (= आहारन्ति तस्माद् रसम् इति) 'that from which juice is extracted', the food. The *Kāsikā* adds two particular instances: मधुराहारः and तक्षशिलाहारः. The word

meṣa- is also a *saṃjñā*, but it is formed with *-aC* (and not with *-GHaÑ*) as it denotes an agent: (= मिषत्यसौ) 'one who looks on (helplessly!)', a ram.

Counter-example: कर्तव्यः 'fit to be done' (e. g. कटः).

15. संज्ञायां समजनिषदनिपतमनविदषुञ्शीङ्भृञिणः। 3.3.99

The roots *sam-aj-*, *ni-sad-*, *ni-pat-*, *man-*, *vid-*, *su-*, *śi-*, *bhr-* and *i-* form feminine nouns with the suffix *KyaP*, provided these are *saṃjñā*-words.

Examples: समज्या (= समजन्त्यस्याम् इति) 'where people assemble', an assembly; निषद्या (आपणः) 'a market-place'; निपत्या (= पिच्छिला भूमिः) 'slippery ground'; मन्या (= गलपाश्वंसिरा) 'a particular vein in neck'; विद्या 'learning'; सुत्या 'pressing of Soma'; शय्या 'a bed'; भृत्या 'nursing; wages'; इत्या (= ईयतेज्या) 'a palanquin'.—Counter-examples (of the *Tattvabodhini*): मतिः, भृतिः, आसुतिः।

16. संज्ञायाम्। 3.3.109

The suffix *-NVUL* (= *aka*) comes after roots when a word so formed is a *saṃjñā*.

Examples: उद्दालकपुष्पभञ्जिका 'a kind of game in which the *uddālaka* flowers are plucked'; वरणपुष्पप्रवाहिका (v.1. °प्रचायिका), आभ्यूषखादिका, आचोषखादिका, शालभञ्जिका, तालभञ्जिका (apparently names of games or pastimes, consisting of eating or flower-plucking).

17. पुंसि संज्ञायां घः प्रायेण। 3.3.118

Roots generally take the suffix *-GHa* to form a masculine noun denoting the instrument or location of an action, provided the word so formed is a *saṃjñā*.

Examples: (in the instrumental sense) दन्तच्छदः 'tooth-cover', i. e. a lip; उरच्छदः 'a breast-plate', घटः 'a jar'. The word *prasādhana* 'a comb' (?) is also a *saṃjñā*, but not being masculine, it does not take the suffix *-GHa*. (In the locative sense) आकरः (= एत्य तस्मिन् कुर्वन्तीति) 'a mine'; आलयः 'a house'.—Counter-example: प्रहरणः 'striking' (as a दण्ड- 'staff').

18. गोचरसंचरवह्व्रजव्यजापणनिगमाश्च। 3.3.119

The words गोचर- 'pasture', संचर- 'a passage', वह- 'a shoulder (of a draught animal)', व्रज- 'a cow-pen', व्यज- 'a fan', आपण- 'market' and निगम- 'Veda' or 'market' are formed as *saṃjñā*-words with the suffix *-GHa*. The commentators, taking *ca* in the sense of *et cetera*, add कष- and निकष- 'a touchstone'.

The *Kāśikā* does not explicitly mention the *saṃjñādhikāra* here. But as it is effective in the subsequent rules (3.3.120 ff), it must be effective here also.

19. अवे तृस्त्रोर्घञ्। 120

The roots *tr-* and *str-* in composition with the preverb *ava-* take the suffix *-GHaÑ* to form masculine nouns denoting the instrument or the location of an action, provided the word so formed is a *saṃjñā*.

Examples : अवतारः (?), अवस्तारः 'a litter' or 'a cloth round a tent'. The *Kaumudī* paraphrases it by जवनिका 'a curtain'.

The word *avatāra*- presents a difficulty as regards meaning. Bhattoji takes it in the sense of 'a flight of steps' as is evident from the word कूपदेः 'of a well etc.' which he adds after अवतारः. But the *Kāśikā* does not look upon the word in this sense as a *saṃjñā* and raises a question as regards its formation in this sense. Its own solution is that the word प्रायेण (3.3.118) which is valid in this rule also may be invoked here. Read: कथम् अवतारो नद्याः? न हीयं संज्ञा । प्रायानुवृत्तेरसंज्ञायामपि भवति ।

One however fails to see why the word अवतार- in the sense of 'a flight of steps' cannot be a *saṃjñā*.—VASU translates the word by 'the descent (or incarnation of a deity).' But since in this sense the word does not denote a करण- or an अधिकरण-, this interpretation is doubtful.

20. हलश्च । 121

Roots ending in a consonant take the suffix *-GHaÑ* to form masculine nouns denoting the agent or the location of an action, provided the word so formed is a *saṃjñā*.

Examples : लेखः 'writing material' (?); वेदः 'The Veda' (by which one knows everything); वेष्टः (v. 1. वेष्टः) 'a wrapper'; बन्धः 'a bond'; मार्गः 'a way'; अपामार्गः (= अपमृज्यतेऽनेन व्याध्यादिरिति) 'the plant *Achyranthes Aspera*'. The *Kaumudī* adds रामः (रमन्तेऽस्मिन् योगिन इति) and विमार्गः (= समूहनी) 'a broom'.

21. अध्यायन्यायोद्यावसंहाराः । 122

The words अध्याय- (= अधीयन्तेऽस्मिन्निति) 'a text, or its chapter', न्याय- (= नीयतेऽनेनेति) 'a universal rule; a right manner', उद्याव- (= उद्युवन्त्यस्मिन् अनेन वेति) 'a mixer,' and संहार- (= संहियन्तेऽनेनेति) '(an instrument or place of) withdrawing or drawing together' are formed as *saṃjñā*-words with the suffix *-GHaÑ*. The *Kāśikā* also inserts the words आधार- 'a support', and आवाय- 'an instrument of weaving' in the sūtra itself and by *ca* understands words like अवहार- 'suspension of fighting (?)'.

22. उदङ्कोऽनुदके । 123

The word *udaṅka*- is formed as a *saṃjñā*-word with *-GHaÑ* if water is not referred to.

Examples : तैलोदङ्कः 'a vessel for oil'; घृतोदङ्कः 'a vessel for ghee'.—उदकोदञ्चनः is also apparently a *saṃjñā*, but it is not formed with *-GHaÑ*, because it is connected with water.

The *Kāśikā* does not expressly bring down the expression *saṃjñāyām* in this rule. But read the *Tattvabodhinī* which says: उदकोदञ्चन इति । 'पुंसि संज्ञायाम्' इति घे प्राप्ते घञ् विहितः etc. This suggests that the expression *saṃjñāyām* is valid here also.

23. क्तिच्क्त्वो च संज्ञायाम् । 3.3.174

Roots take the suffixes *-KtiC* and *-Kta* when benediction is intended, provided the word so formed is a *saṃjñā*.

Examples: तन्ति: (= तनुतात्) ' one who it is hoped will weave ' ;
 साति: (= सनुतात्) ' one who it is hoped will give ' ;
 भूति: (= भवतात्) ' one who it is hoped will prosper ' ;
 मन्ति: (= मनुतात्) ' one who it is hoped will think ' ;
 देवदत्तः (= देवा एनं देयासुः) ' given by the gods (after being
 sought for from them) '.

For the accent of this word, see P.6.2.148 below.

24. संज्ञायाम् 3.4.42

√*bandh-* takes the suffix *-NamUL*, when the word so formed is a *saṁjñā*.

Examples : कौञ्चबन्धं बध्नाति ' binds in a heron-knot manner ' ;
 मयूरिकाबन्धं (बद्धः), अट्टालिकाबन्धं बद्धः ' bound in a peacock-knot, in an
aṭṭālikā-knot manner '.

25. नित्यं संज्ञाछन्दसोः । 4.1.29

A Bahuvrīhi compound ending in *-an* whose penultimate *a* has been dropped forms its feminine necessarily with the suffix *-NīP*, provided the word so formed is a *saṁjñā*, or it occurs in the Veda (where it may not be a *saṁjñā*).

Examples : सुराज्ञी, अतिराज्ञी (both place-names). The rule is an exception to 4.1.28 which teaches *-NīP* optionally: thus both बहुराजा and बहुराज्ञी (which are not *saṁjñā*-words).

26. केवलमामकभागधेयपापापरसमानार्थकृतसुमङ्गलभेषजाच्च । 30

In the Veda, the words *kevala-* etc. form their feminine with *-NīP*; they also do so in the non-Vedic language provided the word so formed is a *saṁjñā*.

Examples : केवली; मामकी ' mine ' ; भागधेयी ' due as a share ' ; पापी ' sinful ' ; अपरी ' the future ' ; समानी ' same ' ; आर्यकृती ' made by a noble man ' ; सुमङ्गली ' greatly auspicious ' ; भेषजी ' healing '.

Apparently these are all Vedic words. They do not seem to have occurred as non-Vedic words, even in the capacity of a *saṁjñā*. Also, when the *Kāśikā* cites counter-examples (like केवला, मामिका, भागधेया etc.), it adds only *bhāṣāyām* (and not *bhāṣāyām asaṁjñāyām*). Is it possible that in spite of the commentators' remark संज्ञाछन्दसोरित्येव, we have to understand *chandas* only as valid in this rule ?

27. रात्रेश्चाजसौ । 31

Before a case-ending other than *-Jas* (Nom. plu. m. f.), the word *rātri-* takes the suffix *-NīP* in the Veda; also in the non-Vedic language provided it is a *saṁjñā*. Thus रात्री (Nom. sing. ; in या रात्री सृष्टा), रात्रीभिः.

Here again, in spite of *Kāśikā*'s express statement, one wonders whether the *saṁjñādhikāra* is really valid here. The *Kaumudī*, relegating the rule to the Vedic section, seems to be of the opinion that only the word

chandas is valid here. Anyway, it is difficult to see what sort of a *saṁjñā* words like *rātri*, *rātrībhīḥ* will be.

28. नखमुखात् संज्ञायाम् । 4.1.58

A word ending in *-nakha* or *-mukha* does not form its feminine with *-N̄iṢ*, if the word so formed is a *saṁjñā*.

Examples : रूर्पणखा 'having nails like winnowing fans', N. of a demoness, a sister of Rāvaṇa; वज्रणखा 'having hard claws'; गौरमुखा 'fair-faced'; कालमुखा 'black-faced' (all names of women). For the cerebralization of *n* see P. 8.4.3 below.—Counter-examples: ताम्रनखी कन्या 'a girl having red nails'; चन्द्रमुखी 'having a moon-like face' (scil. कन्या etc.). These are not names.

29. दीर्घजिह्वी च छन्दसि । 59

And the word दीर्घजिह्वी is a *saṁjñā* (formed with *-N̄iṢ*) occurring in the Veda. दीर्घजिह्वी 'having a long tongue' is the name of an evil spirit.

30. बाह्वन्तात् संज्ञायाम् । 4.1.67

A compound ending in the word *-bāhu* forms its feminine with a suffix *-ūN̄* provided the word so formed is a *saṁjñā*.

Examples : भद्रबाहुः 'having beautiful arms'; जालबाहुः 'web-armed', (both names of women). —Counter-example: वृत्तबाहुः 'having tapering arms' (not a name).

31. (कद्रुकमण्डल्वोश्छन्दसि ।) संज्ञायाम् । 4.1.72

Even in the non-Vedic language, the word कद्रु- and कमण्डलु- form their feminine with *-ūN̄* provided the words so formed are *saṁjñās*. Thus कद्रुः 'N. of the mother of the Nāgas'; कमण्डलुः 'a kind of animal'. (Apparently *kamaṇḍalū* is not a proper noun, though it is a *saṁjñā*.) —Counter-examples: कद्रुः, कमण्डलुः. (According to the commentators, the word *kamaṇḍalu-* in the sense of 'a water jar' is not a counter-example, because it is not a feminine word.)

32. संज्ञायां श्रवणाश्वत्याभ्याम् । 4.2.5

The suffix taught in the sense of 'time connected with an asterism' (4.2.3.) undergoes an elision (called *lup*) after the words *śravaṇa-* and *aśvattha-*, provided the words so formed are *saṁjñās*.

Examples : श्रवणा रात्रिः 'the full-moon night in the month of *śrāvana*'; अश्वत्यो मुहूर्तः 'the *muhūrta* called *aśvattha*'. —Counter-example: श्रावणी रात्रिः. Though there is no difference in meaning, it seems that *śravaṇā* has become a substantive, while *śrāvāṇī* has remained an adjective.

33. सार्जस्मिन् पौर्णमासीति [संज्ञायाम्] । 4.2.21

Names of full-moon nights take the prescribed suffix to denote a division of time in which the night falls, provided the word so formed is a *saṁjñā*.

Examples : पौषः 'N. of the month, the fortnight or the year (in which the moon is in conjunction with the *puṣya* asterism on the full-moon night)'. -Counter-example : the word पौष is not used in connection with divisions of time other than those mentioned above, say दशरात्रः ' a period of ten nights '.

It is clear from the discussion in the Bhāṣya that Pāṇini did not read the word *saṃjñāyām* in the sūtra. Kātyāyana proposes to read it in the sūtra with a view to avoiding over-extension of the formation. Patañjali however opposes it on the ground that it is superfluous since the word *iti* read in the sūtra already performs that function. The *Kāśikā* also takes the words *iti* and *saṃjñāyām* as synonymous (. . . .इतिकरणस्य संज्ञाशब्दस्य च तुल्यमेव फलं प्रयोगानुसरणम्), but thinks that Pāṇini read both the expressions deliberately, his object being to make clear this meaning in which he has used the word *iti* —a meaning which is not otherwise well known (. . . किमर्थं द्वयमुपादीयते ? संज्ञाशब्देन तुल्यतामितिकरणस्य ज्ञापयितुम् । न ह्ययं लोके तथा प्रसिद्धः । संज्ञार्थत्वे तु संप्रति ज्ञापिते यत् तत्र तत्रोच्यते इतिकरणस्ततश्चेद् विवक्षेति तदुपपन्नं भवति ।) !

Whether Pāṇini read the word *saṃjñāyām* in the sūtra or not, two points emerge from the discussion : According to the commentators (1) the word *saṃjñāyām* serves the purpose of a reference to the actual usage (in order to avoid an over-extension of the formation concerned) ; and (2) the expression *iti* serves this function as well as *saṃjñāyām*.

34. दिक्पूर्वपदादसंज्ञायां ञः । 4.2.107

After a compound with a word expressive of a direction as the first member, the suffix *-Ña* is employed in the 'remaining' senses, provided the compound is not a *saṃjñā*.

Examples (where the stem is not a *saṃjñā*) : पूर्वशालः ' being in the eastern hall ' ; दक्षिणशालः ' being in the southern hall ' ; अपरशालः ' being in the western hall ' . The feminine of these words would be in *-ā*.—Counter-examples (where the stem is a *saṃjñā*) : पूर्वेषुकामशमः ' a resident of *Pūrveṣukāmaśamī* ', अपरैषुकामशमः ' a resident of *Apareṣukāmaśamī* ', cf. P. 2.1.50. The feminine of these words would be in *-ī*.

35. संज्ञायां शरदो वृञ् । 4.3.27

The word *śarad* takes the suffix *-VUÑ* (= *-aka*) in the sense of ' grown or produced therein ', provided the word formed is a *saṃjñā*. Thus शारदकाः, which is a name of a particular kind of *darbha* grass ; also of a kind of beans (both growing in autumn). On the other hand, when not a *saṃjñā* the word is *śārada-* ' autumnal ' (in the purely adjectival sense).

The *Kāśikā* mentions a view according to which the *saṃjñādhikāra* runs up to 4.3.27.

36. संज्ञायाम् । 4.3.117

After a word (in instrumental) comes the prescribed suffix in the sense of ' made thereby ', provided the word thus formed is a *saṃjñā*.

Examples : माक्षिकम् (= मक्षिकाभिः कृतम्), कार्मुक(त)म्, सारघम्, पौत्तिकम्, all meaning 'honey' (lit. 'made by a bee' etc.), or different kinds of honey. The *Kāśikā* simply says मधुनः (and not मधुविशेषाणां) संज्ञा एताः, apparently favouring the first interpretation. In actual practice, the words probably denoted different kinds of honey.

37. कुलालादिभ्यो वृञ् । 118

In the above context, the words read in the list beginning with *kulāla*-take the suffix *-VUN* (= *-aka*).

Examples : कौलालकम् 'made by a potter', the earthen-ware; वारुडकम् cane products (lit. made by a Varuḍa).

38. क्षुद्राभ्रमरवटरपादपादञ् । 119

In the same context the words क्षुद्रा etc. take the suffix *-aÑ*.

Examples : क्षौद्रम्, भ्रामरम्, वाटरम्, पादपम् 'honey' (lit. made by the different kinds of bee like *kṣudrā*, etc. *Pādapa* ?)

39. (पिष्टाच्च ।) संज्ञायां कन् । 4.3.147

The word *piṣṭa-* takes the suffix *-kaN* in the sense of 'its product', when the word thus formed is a *saṃjñā*. Thus पिष्टकः 'a cake made of flour (*piṣṭa*); pastry.' A counter-example will be पिष्टमय- 'made of flour' in the adjectival sense (P. 4.3.146).

40. असंज्ञायां तिलयवाभ्याम् । 4.3.149

The words तिल- and यव- take the suffix *-mayaT* in the sense of 'its product or part', when the word so formed is not a *saṃjñā*.

Examples : तिलमयम् 'made of sesamum'; यवमयम् 'made of barley'. These are not *saṃjñā* words. They are used only adjectivally. Counter-examples: तैलम् 'oil' (lit. made from sesamum); यावकः 'a particular food prepared from barley'. These two are *saṃjñā*-words.

41. संज्ञायां ललाटकुक्कुट्यौ पश्यति । 4.4.46

The words *lalāṭa-* and *kukkuṭi* (in accusative) take the suffix *-THAK* (= *-ika*) in the sense of 'one who sees it', provided the word thus formed is a *saṃjñā*.

Examples : लालाटिकः, कौक्कुटिकः. According to the commentators, *lalāṭika-* means a good-for-nothing servant ('merely looking at the master's forehead'); while *kaukkuṭika-* means a mendicant (or a hypocrite). The exact meaning does not seem to be clear.

42. संज्ञायां जन्या । 4.4.82

janyā is formed as a *saṃjñā*.

It means 'one who carries the bride (*janī*) to the bridegroom' and denotes either a female friend of the bridegroom, or the bridegroom's party as a whole (*janyāḥ* in the plural).

43. संज्ञायां धेनुष्या । 4.4.89

The word *dhenuṣyā* is formed as a *saṃjñā*. It means a cow pledged to the creditor.

44. गृहपतिना संयुक्ते व्यः । 90

The suffix *-Ṇya* (comes after the word *gṛhapati-*) to denote what is connected with the *gṛhapati-*, when the word so formed is a *saṃjñā*. Thus गार्हपत्यः 'N. of a particular sacrificial fire' (the householder's fire.).

45. नौवयोधर्मविषमूलमूलसीतातुलाभ्यस्तार्यंतुल्यप्राप्यवध्यानाभ्यसमसमितसमितेषु । 91.

The suffix *-yaT* (P. 4.4.75) comes after the words *nau-* etc. in the senses *tārya-* etc. (respectively), provided the word formed is a *saṃjñā*.

Thus, नाव्यम् (= नावा तार्यम्) 'fordable by a boat', as water (but नाव्या = a river); वयस्यः (= वयसा तुल्यः) 'a friend' (lit. 'equal of age'); धर्म्यम् (= धर्मणे प्राप्यम्) 'obtainable through Dharma'; विष्यः (= विषेण वध्यः) 'fit to be killed by poisoning'; मूल्यम् (= मूलेन आनाम्यम्) 'price', the word originally meaning, according to the commentators, 'what is fetched by the capital invested', i.e. profit; मूल्यः (= मूलेन समः) 'worth the price' (?); सीत्यम् (= सीतया समितम्) 'ploughed'; तुल्यम् (= तुलया समितम्) equal (lit. 'weighing equal').

While the *saṃjñā*-character of some of the words like *vayasya-* is quite clear – it always means a friend and not anybody and everybody who may be of the same age – the other words formed by this rule are not *saṃjñā*-words in the usual sense of names. Many of them are pure adjectives, and even here their application does not seem to be restricted.

46. धर्मपथ्यर्थन्यायादनपेते । 92

After the words *dharma-* 'law', *pathin-* 'path', *artha-* 'gain', and *nyāya-* 'propriety', in the sense of 'not deviating from it'.

Examples: धर्म्यम् 'not deviating from virtue or law; just'; पथ्यम् 'not deviating from the path', wholesome (particularly diet); अर्थ्यम् 'conductive to gain' or 'conforming to fact' (*artha-*); न्याय्यम् 'customary, proper'.

Development of a secondary meaning is discernible in *pathya-*, but not so in others.

47. छन्दसो निर्मिते । 93

After *chandas* 'desire' (in the instrumental) in the sense of 'created'. Thus छन्दस्यः 'made at will'.

Not a *saṃjñā* in the usual sense.

48. उरसोऽण् च । 94

The suffix *-aṆ* as well as *-yaT* comes after the word *uras* in this sense. Thus उरस्यः or औरसः 'produced from the breast', an own or legitimate son (as different from an adopted one etc.). According to the commentators, the words here formed are not used with any other thing, say मुख- 'happiness', even if it be उरगा निर्मित-

49. हृदयस्य प्रियः । 95

After the word *hr̥daya-* 'heart' (replaced by *hr̥d-* acc. to P.6.3.50) comes the suffix *-yaT* in the sense of 'dear or agreeable to it'. हृद्यः 'agreeable to the heart'.

According to the commentators, the word हृद्य- is used with reference to some specific objects like देशः 'a region', वनम् 'a forest' etc.; not with reference to a son etc. (even though he be हृदयस्य प्रियः).

50. बन्धने ऋषौ । 96

The *samjñā*-word *hr̥dya-* also denotes 'a vedic Mantra' (*ṛṣi-*) for subduing or bewitching (another's heart)'.⁹

According to the *Tb.* the *samjñādhikāra* serves to exclude the usual meaning of the word *ṛṣi-* 'a seer' (such as *Vasiṣṭha*⁹)! But this is not satisfactory. The restriction should refer to the meaning of the formation tought, not of the words in the rule.

51. मतजनहलात् करणजल्पकर्षेषु । 97

After the words *mata-* 'knowledge' etc. in the sense of 'its means' etc. Thus मत्यम् (= मतस्य करणम्) 'a means of knowledge'; जल्पः (= जनस्य जल्पः) 'a talk of the people', gossip, rumour; हल्यः (= हलस्य कर्षः) 'furrowing by a plough'.

The *Kāśikā* does not expressly mention the application of the word *samjñāyām* in this rule. But since a new topic begins with the next rule, it is presumed that the *samjñādhikāra* is valid up to the present rule. The commentaries *Bm.* and *Tb.* even go further and say that the *samjñādhikāra* extends right up to the end of this section (*pāda*).

52. कम्बलाच्च संज्ञायाम् । 5.1.3

The suffix *-yaT* comes also after the word *kambala-* in the *prāk-kṛitīya* senses (5.1.1-16).

Thus कम्बल्यम् (= ऊर्णपलशतम्) 'a hundred *palas* of wool (necessary for making a blanket)'. Counter-example: कम्बलीया '(wool etc.) fit for making a blanket'. *VASU* translates कम्बलीया by 'wool' adding 'lit. fit for making blanket...'. I am afraid if the word is thus taken as a substantive (and not in its adjectival sense) it will cease to be a counter-example, and be a *samjñā* itself.

53. विंशतित्रिंशद्भ्यां द्वुन्नसंज्ञायाम् । 5.1.24

The affix *-DVUN* (= *aka*¹⁰) comes after the words *viṃśati-* 'twenty' and *triṃśat* 'thirty' in the *ārḥīya* senses (P. 5.1.37-62) when no *samjñā* is involved (but otherwise *-kaN*).

9. 'Samjñādhikārād Vasiṣṭhādāv ṛṣau nāyam yat'.

10. Causing the dropping of the final vowel of the stem (if the stem ends in a vowel), or that of that part of the stem which begins with the last of the vowels (if the stem ends in a consonant), P. 6.4.143.

Examples : विशकः 'bought for twenty'; त्रिशकः 'bought for thirty'. Counter-examples (where a *saṃjñā* is involved) : विशतिकः, त्रिशत्कः, which are names of particular coins having twenty and thirty parts respectively.

54. अध्यर्धपूर्वद्विगोलुगसंज्ञायाम् । 5.1.28

When no *saṃjñā* is involved, a suffix denoting the *ārhiya* meanings (P. 5.1.37-62) is dropped after a compound beginning with *adhyardha-* and after a dvigu compound.

Examples : अध्यर्धकंसम्, द्विकंसम्, त्रिकंसम् 'bought for one and a half Kamsas', etc.; अध्यर्धशूर्पम्, द्विशूर्पम्, त्रिशूर्पम् 'bought for one and a half śūrpaś (of corn)' etc.—Counter-examples (with *saṃjñās*) : पाञ्चलोहितिकम्, पाञ्चकलापिकम् 'names of particular measures' (' परिमाणविशेषस्य नामधेये एते Tb.). See also P. 7.3.17 below.

55. संख्यायाः संज्ञासंघसूत्राध्ययनेषु । 5.1.58

After a numeral, the prescribed suffix comes in the sense of ' that is its measure ', when (the word thus formed is) a *saṃjñā* or when it means a group (of living beings), a Sūtra, or a mode of study.

The Vārttika makes a clarification that in the case of a *saṃjñā*, there is no addition to or modification of the meaning of the stem. The suffix is *svārthe*. Thus पञ्चैव पञ्चकाः 'five', after which the commentators add : शकुनयः.

The exact nature of *saṃjñā* is not clear to me here. Whether the word पञ्चक- is an adjective but restricted to birds only, or it is a substantive meaning either a 'bird' or any particular species of birds, I am not in a position to say.

56. त्रिंशच्चत्वारिंशतोर्ब्राह्मणे संज्ञायां ङ् । 5.1.62

The suffix *-DaN* comes after the words *triṃśat* 'thirty' and *catvāriṃśat* 'forty' in the sense of ' that is its measure ', when it concerns a *saṃjñā* that refers to a Brāhmaṇa text. Thus त्रिंशानि ब्राह्मणानि 'The Traiṃśa Brāhmaṇas (having thirty chapters = the *Sāṅkhāyana*)'; चात्वारिंशानि ब्राह्मणानि 'The Cātvarimśa Brāhmaṇas (having forty chapters = the *Aitareya*)'.

The net meaning of ब्राह्मणे संज्ञायाम् according to Candra 4.1.65 is 'name of a Brāhmaṇa' since he replaces Pāṇini's expression by ब्राह्मणाख्यायाम्. The Tb. also remarks expressly : इह ब्राह्मणसंज्ञायामिति षष्ठीसमासेन निर्देष्टुमुचितम् । तथा सति 'ब्राह्मणस्य चेत् संज्ञा' इति स्फुटीभवति ।

57. हैयंगवीनं संज्ञायाम् । 5.2.23

Haiyaṅgavīna- is a *saṃjñā*-word. It means 'ghee' ('butter' acc. to the *Kaumudī*) prepared from yesterday's milking' (*hyogodoha-* > *hiyaṅgu-*).

As the *Kāśīkā* says, the word is restricted only to a particular product (of yesterday's milking) viz. ghee (or butter), and does not denote any other product, such as buttermilk (*udaśvit*).

58. नते नासिकायाः संज्ञायां टीटञ्-नाटञ्-भ्रटञ् । 5.2.31

In the matter of a *saṃjñā* the suffixes *-ṭīṭaC*, *-nāṭaC* and *-bhraṭaC* come after *ava-* when flatness of nose is to be conveyed. Thus अवटीटम्, अवनाटम्,

अवभ्रटम्, all meaning 'flatness of nose'. Also अवटीटा [अवनाटा, अवभ्रटा] 'a flat nose'; and अवटीटः, अवनाटः, अवभ्रटः 'flat-nosed'.

59. नेर्विडज्-बिरीसचौ । 32

In the same context, the suffixes *-biḍaC* and *-birisaC* come after *ni-*. Thus निबिडम्, निबिरीसम् 'flatness of nose'. (Also निविडा, निबिरीसा 'a flat nose'; निविडः, निबिरीसः 'flat-nosed'.)

In expressions like निविडा: केशाः 'thickly grown hair', निविडं वस्त्रम् 'thickly woven cloth', the word *nibiḍa-* is used in connection with objects other than nose. This use is explained as being figurative.

60. इनच् पिटच् चिकचि च । 33

Also the suffixes *-inaC* and *piṭaC* (come after *ni-*); before *-inaC*, *ni* is replaced by *cika*¹¹ and before *-piṭaC* by *ci-*. Thus चिकिनः, चिपिटः 'flat-nosed'. (The other forms चिकिना, चिपिटा 'a flat nose' and चिकिनम्, चिपिटम् 'flatness of nose' are not given by the commentators).

One rather expected Pāṇini to teach these forms by Nipātana : something like 'चिकिनचिपिटौ'!

All the three sūtras (5.2.31-33) are rather curious. *ṭiṭaC* etc. are evidently not really suffixes. They seem to be borrowed words. The words taught here are somewhat analogous to the *uṇādi* formations.

61. उपाधिभ्यां त्यकन्नासन्नारूढयोः । 34

After the words *upa-* and *adhi-* comes the suffix *-tyakaN* to denote 'what is proximate' and 'what is ascended' respectively when a *saṃjñā* is formed. Thus, उपत्यका (= पर्वतस्यासन्नं स्थलम्) 'land at the foot of a hill'; अधित्यका (= पर्वतस्यारूढं स्थलम्) 'table-land'.

The expression *saṃjñāyām* is intended to emphasize that not any vicinity or elevation, but only a particular one, viz. the one in connection with *parvata-* 'hill, mountain' is intended. This also accounts for the absence of the change *a > i* required by P. 7.3.44 (so the *kāśikā*).

According to the commentators, the suffix *-tyakaN* is *svārthe*, the idea of vicinity and elevation being already conveyed by *upa-* and *adhi-* themselves.

62. ब्राह्मणकोष्णिके संज्ञायाम् । 5.2.71

The words *brāhmaṇaka* and *uṣṇikā* are formed as *saṃjñā*-words. Thus, ब्राह्मणको देशः (= यत्रायुधजीविनो ब्राह्मणाः सन्ति) 'a country inhabited by Brāhmaṇas who live by weapons'; उष्णिका (= अल्पाग्ना यवाग्ः) 'rice-broth'.

63. तदस्मिन्नन्नं प्राये संज्ञायाम् । 5.2.82

After a word in nominative (denoting food) comes the suffix *-kaN* to denote an occasion on which that particular food is principal or customary, when the word thus formed is a *saṃjñā*.

11. The final *a* is dropped evidently by P. 6.4.148 (*yasyeti ca*). The *Bm.* however says: *tatra akāra uccāraṇārthaḥ*.

Examples : गुडापूपिका पौर्णमासी ‘ N. of a particular full-moon day on which the *guḍāpūpa* sweets form the chief or customary meals ’. Similarly तिलापूपिका पौर्णमासी.

64. कुल्माषादञ् । 83

In the same context the word *kulmāṣa-* takes the suffix *-aṆ*. So कौल्माषी पौर्णमासी ‘ a full-moon day on which the *kulmāṣa-*¹² forms the chief or customary meals ’.

65. साक्षाद् द्रष्टरि संज्ञायाम् । 5.2.91

After the word *sākṣāt* comes the suffix *-inI* to denote an onlooker, i.e. ‘ a witness ’, when the word thus formed is a *saṃjñā*.

Samjñāyām is intended to indicate the restricted use of the word *sākṣin-*, viz. with reference to the technical onlooker, ‘ the witness ’. This excludes, e. g. the creditor and the borrower, even though they evidently witness the transaction of lending etc.

66. गाण्ड्यजगात् संज्ञायाम् । 5.2.110

After the words *gāṇḍī* (or *gāṇḍī*) and *ajaga-* comes the possessive suffix *-va* to form a *saṃjñā*. Thus गाण्डीवम्, गाण्डिवम् ‘ N. of Arjuna’s bow ’; अजगवम् ‘ N. of Śiva’s bow ’.

67. दन्तशिखात् संज्ञायाम् । 5.2.113

After the words *danta-* ‘ a tooth, a tusk ’ and *śikhā* ‘ a crest ’ comes the suffix *-valaC* in the possessive sense to form a *saṃjñā*. Thus, दन्तावलः ‘ an elephant ’ (दन्तावलः सैन्यः । दन्तावलो गजः, *Kāś*); शिखावलः ‘ a peacock ’ (शिखावलं नगरम् । शिखावला स्थूणा, *Kāś*). For the lengthening, see 6.3.118 below.

68. ज्योत्स्नातमिस्राशृङ्गिणोर्जस्विन्नृजस्वलगोमिन्मलिनमलीमसाः । 114

The words *vyotsnā* etc. are formed in a possessive sense as *saṃjñā*-words. Thus ज्योत्स्ना ‘ moon-light ’, तमिस्रा ‘ night ’ (also तमिस्र- ‘ dark ’); शृङ्गिणः ‘ a ram ’ (?); ऊर्जस्वी, ऊर्जस्वलः ‘ mighty ’; गोमी ‘ possessing cows ’; मलिनः, मलीमसः ‘ dirty ’.

The *Kaumudī* makes no reference to *saṃjñāyām* but the *Kāśikā* does. Only the first three words seem to have developed into substantives, while the remaining five have apparently remained on the adjectival level. Perhaps the irregularity (real or imaginary) in some formations (e. g. *vyotis* > *vyots* in *vyotsnā*) or the rarity of the suffix (e. g. *īmasuC* in *malīmasa-*) constitutes the *saṃjñā* character here.

69. संज्ञायाम् मन्माभ्याम् । 5.2.137

After stems ending in *-man* and after words ending in *-ma* comes the suffix *-inI* in the possessive sense to form *saṃjñā*-words. Thus (from stems in *-man*) प्रथिमिनी, दामिनी; (from one in *-ma*) सोमिनी, all names of women.—

12. *Kulmāṣa-* ‘ appears to have been a coarse thick gruel ’. For its constituents and other details, see AGRAWALA, *India*, 109-110.

Counter-examples : सोमवान् 'having Soma', होमवान् 'having an offering', both being mere adjectives, and no names.

70. (कुत्सिते ।) संज्ञायां कन् । 5.3.75

The suffix *-kaN* comes after a stem denoting something contemptible, provided the word thus formed is a *saṃjñā*.

Examples : शूद्रकः, धारकः (SK. राधकः), पूर्णकः.

Apparently, the words became mere proper names later on, losing their original bad connotation.

71. (ह्रस्वे ।) संज्ञायां कन् । 5.3.87

The suffix *-kaN* comes in the case of a *saṃjñā* associated with shortness. Thus, वंशकः, वेणुकः 'names of two kinds of (short) bamboo'; दण्डकः 'a handle'?

72. संज्ञायां च । 5.3.97

Also in the case of a *saṃjñā*, the suffix *-kaN* comes in to denote likeness. Thus अश्वकः 'a thing (so called because) resembling a horse'; similarly उष्ट्रकः, गर्दभकः. These won't be names of men, vide the next rule.

73. लुप्तमनुष्ये । 98

The suffix taught in the preceding rule undergoes a *lup*-elision, if the *saṃjñā*-word refers to a man. Thus, चञ्चा (= चञ्चैव मनुष्यः) 'a straw-man, doll' (called contemptuously); दासी 'a slave-like man'; खरकुटी (meaning?). For the accent on the initial syllable of these words, see P. 6.1.204 below.

74. अनोश्मायःसरसां जातिसंज्ञयोः । 5.4.94

In the case of a class or a *saṃjñā*, the suffix *-TaC* comes after *tatpuruṣa* compounds ending in *anas-* 'a cart', *aśman-* 'a stone', *ayas-* 'iron' and *saras-* 'lake'.

Examples : (of *saṃjñā*) : महानसम् 'a heavy waggon'; (also) a kitchen; पिण्डाश्मः (?); लोहितायसम् 'copper'; जलसरसम् 'N. of a particular lake (?)'

The examples of *jāti* 'class' : उपानसम् 'space in a carriage (?); अमृताश्मः (meaning ?); कालायसम् 'iron'; and मण्डूकसरसम् 'a frog-lake'.

The contrast between these two sets of words is not quite clear in many cases. It is not easy to see how *upānasa-* is a *jāti* word. In the case of *mahānasa-*, if the *saṃjñā* is to be understood in the meaning 'kitchen', then the apparent absence of any connection between the meanings will have to be regarded as the reason for the word being looked upon a *saṃjñā*. Both *piṇḍāśma-* and *amṛtāśma-* are equally obscure. As regards *lohītāyasa-* and *kālāyasa-*, both mean two different metals, and so it is difficult to see why one is a *jāti*-word and the other a *saṃjñā*-word. Only the last pair is somewhat clear. *Jalasarasa-* is probably a name of a particular lake while the word *maṇḍūkasarasa-* would apply to any lake having frogs in it.

Counter-examples : सदनः, सदश्मा, [सदयः], सत्सरः 'a good cart' etc. There is no suffix here, because the condition *jātisamjñayoḥ* is not fulfilled.

75. अञ् नासिकायाः संज्ञायां नसं चास्थूलात् । 5.4.118

In the matter of a *samjñā* the suffix *-aC* comes after a bahuvrīhi compound ending in *nāsikā*, when the first member is other than the word *sthūla-*; also, *nāsikā* is changed to *nas-*.

Examples : दूणसः 'tree-nosed'; वद्भीणसः 'thong-nosed'; गोनसः 'cow-nosed'. These, whatever their etymological meaning, are apparently proper names (the last one also means a kind of large snake).—Counter-example: तुङ्गनासिकः 'having a long nose', a mere adjective, and not a name. For the cerebralization of *n*, see P. 8.4.3 below.

76. (धनुषश्च ।) वा संज्ञायाम् । 5.4.133

The final of the word *dhanus*, when forming the second member of a bahuvrīhi compound, is replaced by *anAN̄* (i. e. *dhanus* > *dhanvan-*) optionally in the case of a *samjñā*.

Examples : शतधनुः or शतधन्वा । दृढधनुः or दृढधन्वा. Literally meaning 'having a hundred bows' and 'having a strong bow' respectively they are evidently names.

An interesting question arises here : The previous rule धनुषश्च (5.4.132) enjoins the substitution of *dhanvan-* in the place of *dhanus* compulsorily when it forms the second member of a bahuvrīhi compound. The present sūtra makes it optional in the case of a *samjñā*. We naturally suppose that the examples given under the previous rules 5.4.132 are other than those concerning a *samjñā*. Curiously however out of the four examples in the *Kāśikā* there are three which are proper names and are evidently *samjñā*-words : शाङ्गधन्वा 'Wielder of the *śāṅga*-bow, i. e. Viṣṇu', गण्डीवधन्वा 'wielder of the *Gāṇḍīva* bow, i. e. Arjuna'; पुष्पधन्वा 'having a flowery bow, i. e. the God of Love'. How then are these words given here? Perhaps their *samjñā* character is not intended here; they are intended to be understood only in the adjectival sense.

77. स्त्रियां संज्ञायाम् । 5.4.143

In the case of a *samjñā*, the word *danta-* is replaced by *datR-* when it is the second member of a bahuvrīhi compound in the feminine gender.

Examples : अयोदती, फालदती : proper names (of domonesses!), literally meaning 'having teeth like iron' and 'having teeth like a ploughshare.'—Counter-examples : समदन्ती 'having even teeth'; स्निग्धदन्ती 'having glossy teeth', only adjectival expressions, and no names.

78. विभाषा श्यावारोकाभ्याम् । 144

Optionally after the words *śyāva-* and *uroka-* (even outside the feminine gender).

Examples : श्यावदन्तः or श्यावदन्; अरोकदन्तः or अरोकदन् : names, originally meaning 'having discoloured teeth'.—When used in the pure adjectival sense, only श्यावदन्तः and अरोकदन्तः.

79. न संज्ञायाम् । 5.4.155

In the case of a *saṃjñā*, the suffix *-kaP* does not come after a bahuvrīhi compound.

Examples : विश्वदेवः (विश्वे देवा अस्य), विश्वयशाः ; names literally meaning ' looking upon everybody as a god ' and ' world-famous ' respectively.

80. पारस्करप्रभृतीनि च संज्ञायाम् । 6.1.157

In the matter of a *saṃjñā*, words like *Pāraskara-* are correct in the form in which they are read (i. e. with an *s*).

Thus, पारस्करः ' N. of a man (e. g. author of a gṛhya-sūtra); also, of a country; रथस्था (v.l. स्था) ' N. of a river ' ; किष्कुः ' a particular measure ' ; किष्किन्धा ' N. of a cave ' (the residence of the monkey kings); तस्करः ' a thief ' ; बृहस्पतिः ' N. of a deity ' ; प्रायश्चित्तम्, प्रायश्चित्तिः ' atonement ' ; वनस्पतिः ' a tree '. A *gaṇa-sūtra* read here also provides for the form प्रस्तुम्पति when speaking of a bull.

A strange assortment ! It contains not only proper nouns (a name of a man [or a country], of a deity, of a river, of a cave) and common nouns, but even a finite verb !

81. संज्ञायामुपमानम् । 6.1.204

In the matter of a *saṃjñā*, a word denoting a standard of comparison is accented on the initial syllable. Thus च'ञ्चा, व'द्भिका, ख'रकुटी, दा'सी. For the formation of these words, see P.5.3.98 above. Here संज्ञायामुपमानम् = a nick-name based on similarity.—Counter-examples: अग्निः (in the expression अग्नि'मणिवकः); here अग्नि' is only a (figurative) description of the boy, and not his name (appellative or nick-name); देवदत्तः —this is a name, but not a nick-name based on similarity.

82. निष्ठा च द्व्यजनात् । 205

A dissyllabic form ending in the suffix called *niṣṭhā* (= *-Kta* P.1.1.26; i.e. a past passive participle), when a *saṃjñā*, is accented on the initial syllable, provided it has a vowel other than *ā*.

Examples : द'त्तः, गु'प्तः, बु'द्धः. The words देव'ः, भीम'ः etc. are also *saṃjñās* but they are not past passive participles; similarly words like चि'न्तितः, रक्षित'ः are past passive participles and are used as *saṃjñās*, but they are not dissyllabic. So both kinds of *saṃjñās* are not accented initially.—Counter-examples: कृत'म् ' done ' ; हृत'म् ' carried off ' . These are not *saṃjñās*.

83. मतोः पूर्वमात् संज्ञायां स्त्रियाम् । 6.1.219

The vowel *ā* preceding (the possessive suffix) *-matU* has an udātta accent, if it occurs in a feminine *saṃjñā*.

Examples : उदुम्बरा'वती, पुष्करा'वती, वीरणा'वती, शारा'वती—all names of rivers¹³. इक्षुम'ती and हुमव'ती are similarly names of rivers, but there is no *ā* in them which would be udātta.—Counter-example : ख'ट्वावती ' having a bed ' : this is not a name, so not accented on *ā*. (For *a > ā*, see P.6.3.119–20 below).

13. For identification of these, see AGRAWALA, *India*, 43 ff.

84. अन्तोऽवत्याः । 220

A feminine *samjñā* ending in *-avati* is accented on the final syllable.

Examples: अजिरवती', खदिरवती', हंसवती', कारण्डवती' —again names of rivers. ¹³

85. ईवत्याः । 221

Also one ending in *-ivati*.

Examples: अहीवती', कृषीवती', मुनीवती' —similar names (may be, at least partly, of localities).

86. संज्ञायां च । 6.2.77

Of a compound, the second member of which is formed with the suffix *-aṆ* —but not from \sqrt{kr} —the first member is accented on the first syllable, if the whole compound is a *samjñā*.

Examples: त'न्तुवायः (नाम कीटः) 'a spider'; बा'लवायः (नाम पर्वतः) 'N. of a mountain'. -रथकारः though a *samjñā*, is however not so initially accented owing to the prohibition *akṛñah* (P. 6 2.76).

87. संज्ञायां गिरिनिकाययोः । 6.2.94

In the matter of a *samjñā* a compound ending in *-giri* and *-nikāya* is accented on the final syllable of the first member.

Examples: अञ्जना'गिरिः, भञ्जना'गिरिः—names of hills; शापिण्ड'निकायः, मौण्ड'निकायः, चिखिल्लि' (चिखिल्लि° P 3.3.41 *Kāś*)निकायः, all names of localities, literally meaning 'dwelling-place of the Śāpiṇḍis' etc. On these words AGRAWALA, *India*, p. 136 observes: 'These (i. e. *nikāyā* and *nikāya*) are synonymous of *nivāsa*, a dwelling place (III.1.129; III.3 (41)), and are in this sense peculiarly Pāṇinian words. It is not certain whether they were used to denote only the residence of monks.'—Counter-examples: परमगिरि': 'a high hill', ब्राह्मणनिकाय': 'a dwelling-place of the Brāhmaṇas.'

88. बहुव्रीहौ विश्वं संज्ञायाम् । 6.2.106

In the matter of a *samjñā*, the word *viśva-* when leading in a *bahuvrīhi* compound is accented finally.

Examples: विश्व'देवः, विश्व'यशाः, विश्व'महान्, all names literally meaning 'regarding everything as divine (?)' etc. When used in the literal sense, and not as names, the accent would be different: वि'श्वदेवः etc.—For the absence of the *samāsānta* suffix *-kaP*, see P. 5.4.155 above.

89. उदराशेषुषु । 107

In the matter of a *samjñā*, the first member of a *bahuvrīhi* compound is accented finally when *udara-* *aśva-* and *iṣu-* are second members.

Examples: वृको'दरः, दामो'दरः, हय'श्वः, यौवना'श्वः, सुवर्ण'पुङ्खे'षुः, महे'षुः. These are all names (the first two being of Bhīmasena and Viṣṇu-Kṛṣṇa respectively).

The *Kāśikā* brings down the word *saṃjñāyām* in the next rule (*kṣepe* 6.2.108) also. But as all the examples given there contain the same *uttara-padas*, viz. *udara-* etc. this seems unnecessary.

90. संज्ञौपम्ययोश्च । 6.2.113

The word *karṇa-* is accented initially when it is the final member of a *bahuvrīhi* compound, provided that the word formed is a *saṃjñā* or that it denotes similarity.

Examples (of *saṃjñā*) : कुञ्चिक'र्णः, मणिक'र्णः. Both are names. Examples of similarity are : गोक'र्णः, 'having ears like those of a cow'; खरक'र्णः. These are not *saṃjñās*, but words used in their adjectival sense.

91. कण्ठपृष्ठग्रीवाजङ्घं च । 114

Also the words *kanṭha-* 'neck', *prṣṭha-* 'back', *grīvā* 'neck' and *jaṅghā* 'shank'.

Examples : शितिक'ण्ठः, नीलक'ण्ठः (both names of Śiva), काण्डपृ'ष्ठः, नाक-पृ'ष्ठः, सुग्री'वः 'N. of a monkey chief', नीलग्री'वः 'N. of Śiva', दशग्री'वः 'N. of Ravana', नाडीज'ङ्घः, तालज'ङ्घः. Words like खरक'ण्ठः, गोपृ'ष्ठः are not *saṃjñās* but words used adjectivally, meaning 'having a neck like that of an ass' etc.

92. शृङ्गमवस्थायां च । 115

Besides in connection with *saṃjñā* and resemblance, the word *śṛṅga-* 'a horn' when the final member of a *bahuvrīhi* compound is accented initially.

Example : ऋष्यशृ'ङ्गः 'N. of a celebrated Ṛṣi'. It is to be noted that there is nothing to prevent the compounds formed in order to denote similarity from developing into *saṃjñās*. Some have actually developed so, e. g. गोकर्णः which is the name of a form of Śiva.

93. कन्था च । 6.2.124

When the word *kanthā* is final in a *tatpuruṣa* compound of neuter gender, it is accented initially.

Examples : सौशमिक'न्थम्, आह्वरक'न्थम्, चर्मक'न्थम्. These words are formed ' *saṃjñāyām* ', vide P. 2. 4. 20 above.

94. कूलसूदस्थलकर्षाः संज्ञायाम् । 6.2.129

In the matter of a *saṃjñā*, the words *kūla-*, *sūda-*, *sthala-* and *karṣa-*, when they form the second member of a *tatpuruṣa* compound, are accented initially.

Examples : दाक्षिकूलम्, माहकिकूलम्, देवसूदम्, भाजीसूदम्, दाण्डायनस्थली, माहकस्थली, दाक्षिकर्षः. As the *Kāśikā* tells us, these are all names of villages (*grāmanāmadheyāni*). —Counter-example : परमकूलम् where *-kūlam* is not accented initially because no *saṃjñā* is involved.

95. संज्ञायामनाचितादीनाम् । 6.2.146

In the matter of a *saṃjñā*, past passive participles other than *ācita-* etc. are accented on the final syllable, when in a compound they are preceded by words designated as *gati* (P. 1.4.60 ff), by a noun related with the verb (P. 1.4.23 ff), or by words designated as *upapada* (P. 3.1.92).

Examples : संभृतः (scil. रामायणः) ‘Sambhūta, having the patronymic Rāmāyaṇa (?)’; उपहृतः (scil. शाकल्यः) ‘Upahūta, having the patr. Śākalya’; परिजग्धः (scil. कौण्डिन्यः) ‘Parijagdha, having the patr. Kaundinya’; धनुष्वाता (नदी) ‘N. of a river’ (lit. ‘dug by a bow’); कुदालखातम् (नगरम्) ‘N. of a city’ (lit. ‘dug by a spade’); हस्तिमृदिता (भूमिः) ‘trampled down by an elephant (?)’.—*Upapada* is really speaking not applicable in the present sūtra.

Ācita-, etc. though *saṃjñā*-words, have a different accent.

96. कारकाद्दत्तश्रुतयोरेवाशिषि । 6.2.148

The words *datta-* and *śruta-* are accented on the final syllable when in a compound they follow a *kāraka* (a noun related with the verb), only if a benediction is implied, and the word is a *saṃjñā*.

Examples : देवदत्तः, विष्णुश्रुतः. These are names (literally meaning ‘given by the gods [after being sought for from them]’ and ‘heard by Viṣṇu [who i.e. Viṣṇu was prayed for hearing him i.e. the person so designated]’).—For the formation of these words, see P. 3.3.174 above.

97. संज्ञायाम् । 6.2.159

In a compound beginning with the negative particle, the second member, if a *saṃjñā*, is accented on the final syllable when deprecation is implied.

Examples : अदेवदत्तः ‘unworthy of the name Devadatta’; अयज्ञदत्तः, अविष्णुमित्रः.

98. संज्ञायां मित्राजिनयोः । 6.2.165

The words *mitra-* and *ajina-*, when final in a bahuvrihi compound, are accented on the final syllable, if the compound is a *saṃjñā*.

Examples : देवमित्रः, ब्रह्ममित्रः, वृकाजिनः, कूलाजिनः, कृष्णाजिनः. These are names (literally meaning ‘having divine friends’ etc.).—Counter-examples : प्रियमित्रः ‘fond of friends’, महजिनः ‘having a large skin’. These are not names, but words used in their adjectival sense.

99. प्रादस्वाङ्गं संज्ञायाम् । 6.2.183

In a compound beginning with *pra-* the second member, when not expressive of a part of the body, is accented on the final syllable, if the compound is a *saṃjñā*.

Examples : प्रकोष्ठम् ‘a court in a house’; प्रगृहम्, प्रद्वारम् (meaning ?). प्रहस्तम् ‘the open hand with the fingers extended’ and प्रपदम् ‘tip of the toes’ are also *saṃjñā*-words, but they are accented differently because they are names of parts of body. —Counter-example : प्रपीठम् (?).

100. (अलुगुत्तरपदे । 6.3.1) मनसः संज्ञायाम् । 6.3.4

Before the second member of a compound, the Instrumental after *manas-* is not elided, if the compound is a *saṃjñā*.

Examples : मनसादत्ता, मनसागुप्ता, मनसासंगता. These are names (lit. meaning 'mentally given' etc.). —Counter-examples : मनोदत्ता 'mentally given'; मनोगुप्ता 'cherished in or protected by the mind'. These are not names, but words used in adjectival senses.

MW gives *manodattā* with the meaning '(prob.) N. of a woman' on the authority of the present rule. This is evidently questionable.

101. हलदन्तात् सप्तम्याः संज्ञायाम् । 6.3.9

Before the second member of a compound, the Locative coming after a stem ending in a consonant or in *a* is not elided, if the compound is a *samjñā*.

Examples : यृधिष्ठिरः 'N. of the eldest Pāṇḍava prince'; त्वचिसारः 'a bamboo'; अरण्येतिलकाः 'wild sesamum'; अरण्येमाषकाः 'wild beans'; वनेकिंशुकाः 'wild kiṃśuka'; वनेहरिद्रकाः 'wild yellow sandal'; वनेबल्वजकाः 'wild *balvajaka* (Eleusine Indica)'; पूर्वाह्नेस्फोटकाः 'boils-in-the-forenoon'; कूपेपिशाचकाः 'fiends in a well' (the reading under 2.1.44 is क्षुपेपि) —Counter-example : अक्षशौण्डः 'skilled in (playing with) dice'. This is not a *samjñā*. For the formation of the compounds अरण्येतिलकाः etc., see P. 2.1.44 above.

102. संज्ञापुरण्योश्च । 6.3.38

A feminine *samjñā* and an ordinal do not change to the corresponding masculine stem (required by P 6.3.34–36)

Examples (of *samjñā*) : दत्ताभार्यः, गुप्ताभार्यः (meaning 'one whose wife's name is Dattā' etc.); दत्तापाशा, गुप्तापाशा (meaning 'a bad Dattā' etc.); दत्तायत्ते, गुप्तायत्ते (meaning 'behaving like a Dattā' etc.); दत्तामानिनी, गुप्तामानिनी (meaning 'considering oneself a Dattā' etc.).

103. उदकस्योदः संज्ञायाम् । 6.3.57

Before a second member of a compound, *udaka-* is replaced by *uda-*, if the whole word is a *samjñā*.

Example : उदमेघः. A person, dark as a water-cloud would be so nick-named (cf. Tb.)

104. ङ्यापोः संज्ञाछन्दसोर्बहुलम् । 6.3.63

Before a second member of a compound, the final vowel of stems ending in the (feminine) suffixes *-Ńi* and *-āP* is shortened 'generally' in the case of a *samjñā*; (also) if the word occurs in the Veda (without being a *samjñā*).

Examples (of *samjñā*) : (stems in *i*) रेवतिपुत्रः, रोहिणिपुत्रः, भरणिपुत्रः. These are names (lit. meaning 'son of Revati' etc.). (Stems in *ā*) शिलवहम्, शिलप्रस्थम्. These must have been place-names since *-vaha* and *-prastha* are two of the common suffixes forming place-names in Pāṇini (cf. AGRAWALA, *India*, p. 69).

105. सहस्य सः संज्ञायाम् । 6.3.78

Before a second member of a compound which is a *samjñā*, *saha* is replaced by *sa*.

Examples : साश्वत्थम्, सपलाशम्, सशिशपम्. These are apparently names of particular forests, to judge by *Bm*'s remark on सपलाशम् : ‘वनविशेषस्य संज्ञेयम्’ ।
—Counter-examples : सहयुध्वा ‘fighting together’; सहकृत्वा ‘working together’.

106. वनगिर्योः संज्ञायां कोटरकिंशुलकादीनाम् । 6.3.117

Words of the *koṭara* list and those of the *Kimśulaka* list lengthen their final vowel before *-vana-* and *-giri-* respectively in the matter of a *saṃjñā*.

Examples : कोटरावणम्, मिश्रकावणम्, [पुरगावणम्,] सिद्धकावणम्, सारिकावणम्. These are names of particular forests. किंशुलकागिरिः, अजनागिरिः etc., names of mountains. For the change of *-vana-* to *-vāna-*, see P.8.4.4 below. For the identification of these, see AGRAWALA, *India*, pp. 40–43.

107. वले । 118

The final vowel of the first member of a compound is lengthened before *-vala*.

Examples : आसुतीवलः ‘a distiller; a priest who prepares the soma’; कृषीवलः ‘a farmer’; दन्तावलः ‘an elephant’. For the suffix *-valaC*, see 5.2.113 above.

The *Kāś.* does not expressly bring down the expression *saṃjñāyām* in this rule (but the *SK* does it). It is, however, done so in the next rule.

108. मती बह्वचोऽनजिरादीनाम् । 119

Stems consisting of more than two syllables, excepting those like *ajira-*, lengthen their final vowel when the suffix *-matU* follows, if the whole word is a *saṃjñā*.

Examples : उदुम्बरावती, मशकावती, वीरणावती, पुष्करावती, अमरावती. All are names of rivers (the last one is the name of the city of the gods also). For the accent, see P. 6.1.219 above; for the change *m > v*, P. 8.2.11 below.

Counter-example : वलयवती ‘having a ring or a circle’; not a name.

109. शरादीनां च । 120

Also in the case of words like *śara-*.

Examples : शरावती, वंशावती etc. (Similarly names of rivers). For the accent, see P. 6.1.219 above.

110. अष्टनः संज्ञायाम् । 6.3.125

Before a second member of a compound which is a *saṃjñā*, the final vowel in the word *aṣṭan-* ‘eight’ is lengthened.

Examples : अष्टावक्रः ‘N. of a celebrated Rṣi’; अष्टाबन्धुरः (prob.) ‘N. of a particular kind of chariot having eight seats’; अष्टापदम्¹⁴ ‘the fabulous animal *śarabha*’.—Counter-examples : अष्टपुत्रः ‘having eight sons’; अष्टभार्यः ‘having eight wives’. These are not names, but adjectives.

14. The *Bm.* finds it difficult to regard this word as a *saṃjñā*: ‘*saṃjñāntvām anveṣaṇīyam*,’ it says.

111. नरे संज्ञायाम् । 6.3.129

In the matter of a *saṁjñā*, the final vowel of *viśva-* is lengthened when *-nara-* follows as a second member of a compound. So विश्वानरः ‘N. of a man’ (also applied to Indra, Savitr̥ etc.). —Counter-example: विश्वानरः ‘connected with all men (?)’, in the adjectival sense.

112. परिमाणान्तस्यासंज्ञाशाणयोः । 7.3.17

After a numeral, the initial vowel of a word expressive of a measure is *vṛddhi* but not of *śāna*¹⁵, before a *taddhita* suffix furnished with the code-letter *Ñ*, *N* or *K*, provided no *saṁjñā* is involved. Thus, द्विसौवर्णिकम् ‘bought for two *suvarṇas*’. But the rule does not operate in the case of the *saṁjñā*-words, e. g. पाञ्चलोहितिकम्, पाञ्चकपालिकम् (which are names of particular measures, cf. P. 5.1.28 above).

113. वचोऽशब्दसंज्ञायाम् । 7.3.67

Before the suffix *-NyāT*, there is no velarization (of the palatal) in $\sqrt{\text{vac-}}$, unless a grammatical term is implied. Thus वाक्यम् ‘to be said’; but वाक्यम् ‘a sentence’, as this is a शब्दसंज्ञा.

BÖHTLINGK translates *śabdasaṁjñāyām* by ‘wohl aber in der Bedeutung “Wort, Rede”’. The expression *śabdasaṁjñāyām* occurs in P. 8.3.86 below where he translates it thus: ‘wenn das abgeleitete Wort der Name eines bestimmten Lautes ist’. The expression *śabdasaṁjñā* occurs in *svam rūpam śabdasyāśabdasaṁjñā* P.1.1.68 where it is translated as ‘ein grammatisch-technisches (Wort)’. For the sake of consistency I throughout translate *śabdasaṁjñā* by ‘a grammatical technical term’ (corresponding to Bhaṭṭoji’s paraphrase *śabdaśāstre yā saṁjñā* under p. 1.1.68).

114. संज्ञायाम् । 8.2.11

The *m* in *-matU* is changed to *v* in a *saṁjñā*.

Examples: अहीवती’, कपीवती’, ऋषीवती’, मुनीवती’. Probably names of rivers. For the lengthening, see P. 6.3.120 above. For the accent, see P. 6.1.221 above.

115. आसन्दीवदण्ठीवच्चक्रीवत्-कक्षीवद्दुमण्वच्चर्मण्वती । 8.2.12

The *saṁjñā*-words *āsandīvat-* etc. (are correct in the form in which they are read).

आसन्दीवान् (= अहिस्थलम् *kāś.*) ‘N. of a city’ (lit. ‘possessing a royal throne’); अण्ठीवान् ‘the knee’; चक्रीवान् ‘N. of a king’ (but *cakrivat-* also means ‘wheeled’); कक्षीवान् ‘N. of a vedic Ṛṣi’; रुमण्वान् ‘N. of a minister of Udayana; (also) of a mountain’; चर्मण्वती ‘N. of a celebrated river’. —Counter-example: आसनवान् ‘having a seat’; अस्थिमान् ‘bony’; चक्रवान् ‘having a wheel or a discus’; कक्ष्यावान् ‘having a girdle’; लवणवान् ‘having salt’; चर्मवती ‘having hide’.

15. The net result of prohibiting *vṛddhi* in the case of the word *śāna-* (where the prohibition is really ineffective, because this word already contains it) is to re-allow it in the first member of the compound, where otherwise it would have been barred. So *dvaiśānam*, *traiśānam*, ‘bought for two *śānas*, for three *śānas*’.

116. उदन्वानुदधौ च । 8.2.13

The word *udanvat-* (*m*) (is correct) in the matter of *saṃjñā*, and also when equivalent to *udadhi*.

Thus उदन्वान् ‘ N. of a R̥ṣi ’; also (= उदधिः) ‘ ocean ’.— The counter-example of *Kās*. is उदकवान् ‘ having water ’.

This is an interesting case. The express mention of *udadhi-* shows that *udanvat-*, when meaning ‘ ocean ’ is not a *saṃjñā* word. Why? If, on the other hand, one still regards it as a *saṃjñā*-word, then the wording of the sūtra becomes faulty. *Udanvāmś ca* would have been sufficient (as the *Bm.* suggests).

117. अभिनिसः स्तनः शब्दसंज्ञायाम् । 8.3.86

The *s* of $\sqrt{\text{stān-}}$ following *abhinis-* is cerebralized optionally in the case of a grammatical term. Thus अभिनिष्ठानः or अभिनिस्तानः ‘ the sound visarga ’.

The word is formed with *-GHaÑ* according to P 3.3.19 (quoted above). The present rule accounts for the change *s* > *ṣ*.

118. एति संज्ञायामगात् । 8.3.99

In the case of a *saṃjñā*, an *s* followed by *e* is cerebralized after vowels (except *ā*), semi-vowels, *h*, and (the consonants belonging to) the *K*-series except *g*.

Examples : हरिषेणः, वारिषेणः, जानुषेणी (all are names of men and women). हरिसक्थम्, विश्वक्सेनः, सर्वसेनः are also similarly names, but there is no cerebralization, because they do not fulfil one or the other condition.— Counter-example : पृथुसेनः ‘ having a large army ’, when not intended to be a name.

119. नक्षत्राद्वा । 100

Optionally after a name of a constellation.

Examples : रोहिणीषेणः and षेनः, भरणीषेणः and षेनः.

120. पूर्वपदात् संज्ञायामगः । 8.4.3

After the first member of a compound (containing an *r* or *s*), an *n* is changed to *ṇ*, but not after (a final) *g*, if the compound is a *saṃjñā*.

Examples : द्रुणसा, वद्धीणसः, खरणसः, शूर्पणखा. All are names literally meaning ‘ tree-nosed ’ etc.

For the formation of the first three words (with *naska* *ma* *at*) see P. 5.4.118 above. For the feminine formation of the last example P. 4.1.58 above.

121. वनं पुरगामिश्रकासिधकाशारिकाकोटराग्नेभ्यः । 4

After *puragā* etc. as the first members of a compound, *ṇ* is to be changed to *ṇ* in the case of a *saṃjñā*.

Examples : पुरगावणम्, मिश्रकावणम्, सिधकावणम्, शाारिकावणम्, कोटरावणम्, अग्नेवणम्. Vide P. 6.3.117 above. According to some *ṇ* is not a *saṃjñā*-word (cf. *Bm.*).

122. प्रनिरन्तःशरेक्षुक्लक्षामकाण्यखदिरपीयूक्षाभ्योऽसंज्ञायामपि । 5

After *pra-* etc, even if no *saṃjñā* is involved.

Examples : प्रवणम् 'slope' (in प्रवणे यष्टव्यम्), निर्वणम् 'an open country' (in निर्वणे प्रतिधीयते), अन्तर्वणम् 'within a forest'. The words शरवणम्, इक्षुवणम् etc. may simply denote the literal meaning 'a clump of reeds', 'a sugarcane wood' etc. or they may be names of particular clumps or woods.

4

The examples, as already hinted at the beginning, fall into two major categories : A. the nouns or substantives and B. the adjectives. The nouns are, of course, originally adjectives, later substantivised and used as names. They are of all kinds, proper, common, material etc. In the second category, the adjectives have remained on the adjectival plane. They do not seem to have developed into substantives. I give below instances showing different types. The list is not exhaustive, but sufficiently representative of the various types.

A. Names :

(of persons) *Śaṅkara-* (3.2.14), *Sutaṅgama-* (3.2.47), *Vibhū-* (3.2.179), *Devadatta-* (3.3.174), *Śūrpaṅakhā* (4.1.58), *Bhadrabāhū* (4.1.67), *Kadrū* (4.1.72), *Somini* (5.2.137), *Śatadhanvan-* and *°dhanu-* (5.4.133), *Ayodati* (5.4.143), *Pāraskara-* (6.1.157), *Dattā* (6.1.205), *Vrkā-dara-* and *Haryāśva-* (6.2.107), *Kuñcikārṇa-* (6.2.113), *Śitikāṅtha-*, *Sugrīva-* and *Nāḍijāṅgha-* (6.2.114), *Ṛṣyaśṛṅga-* (6.2.115), *Manasādattā* (6.3.4), *Yudhiṣṭhira-* (6.3.9), *Udamegha-* (6.3.57), *Revatiputra-* (6.3.63), *Aṣṭāvakra-* (6.3.125), *Cakrīvāt-* and *Rumaṅvat-* (8.2.12), *Hariṣeṇa-* (8.3.99) etc. — Nicknames : *Cāncā*, *Dāsī* etc. (5.3.98)

(of countries, villages and towns) *Unmattagaṅga-* (2.1.21), *Pūrveṣu-kāmaśamī* (2.1.50), *Sauśamikantha-* (2.4.20), *Surājñī* (4.1.29), *Brāhma-naka-* (5.2.71), *Dākṣikūla-*, *Devasūda-*, *Dākṣikarṣa-*, and *Māhakisthalī* (6.2.129), *Ahīvati* (6.1.21), *Kuddālakṣhātā-* (6.2.146), *Śilavaha-* (6.3.63), *Āsandīvat-* (8.2.12) etc.

(of rivers) *Udumbarāvati*, *Puṣkarāvati* etc. (6.1.219), *Ajiravati* and *Khadiravati* etc. (6.1.220), *Dhanuṣkhātā* (6.2.146), *Carmaṅvati* (8.2.12) etc.

(of hills and mountains) *Bālavāya-* (6.2.77), *Añjanāgiri-* and *Bhañjanāgiri-* (6.2.94), *Rumaṅvat-* (8.2.12)

(of plants) *Aranyetilaka-* and *Vanekimśuka-* (2.1.44), *Apāmārga-* (3.3.121), *Śāradaka-* (4.3.27), *Vaiśaka-* and *Veṅuka-* (5.3.87), *Tvacisūra-* (6.3.9) etc.

(of forests) *Sāśvattha-* (6.3.78), *Koṭarāvāna-*, *Miśrakāvāna-* etc. (6.3.117)

(of animals) *dantāvāla-* (5.2.113), *śrṅgiṇa-* (5.2.114), *gonasa-* (5.4.118), *tāntuvāya-* (6.2.77), *aṣṭāpada-* (6.3.125).

(Material nouns) *mākṣika-* etc. (4.3.117), *kṣaudra-* etc. (4.3.119), *taila-* (4.3.149), *haiyaṅgavīna-* (5.2.23), *viśvambharā* (3.2.46), *uṣṇikā* (5.2.71), *tamiśrā* and *vyotsnā* (5.2.114) etc.

(Names of particular divisions of time) *śravaṇā* and *aśvattha-* (4.2.5), *pauṣu-* (4.2.21), *guḍāpūpikā* (5.2.82), *kaulmāṣī* (5.2.83).

Technical terms and other names : (in law) *pratibhū-* ‘a surety’, (3.2.179), *sākṣin-* ‘a witness’ (5.2.91), *dhenuṣyā* ‘a pledged cow’ (4.4.89); (in grammar) *vākya-* ‘a sentence’ (7.3.67), *abhiniṣṭāna-* ‘the visarga’ (8.3.86); (N. of coins and measures) *kambalya-* (5.1.3), *viṃśatika-* and *triṃśatika-* (5.1.24), *pāñcalohitika-* and *pāñcakaḷāpika-* (5.1.28); (N. of lifters) *krauñcabandha-* and *aṭṭālikābandha-* etc. (3.4.42); (N. of games) *uddālakapuṣpabhañjikā*, *varaṇapuṣpapravāhikā*, *śālabhañjikā* etc. (all in 3.3.109); (N. of texts) *Traiṃśa-* and *Cātvāriṃśa-* (5.1.62); (professions) *āsutīvala-* ‘a distiller’ and *kṛṣīvala-* ‘a farmer’ (6.3.118).

That these words which have been given by the commentators as the illustrations of the *saṃjñāyām-* rules are names is quite evident. It is made further clear by the counter-examples which palpably convey just the etymological meaning. These latter have remained as adjectives. Thus *Viśvambhara-* ‘N. of Viṣṇu’ or *Viśvambharā* ‘the earth’ is a *saṃjñā-*word, but not *kuṭumbabhāra-* ‘maintaining the family’; *Śūrpanakhā* ‘N. of a demoness’ is a *saṃjñā-*word, but not *śūrpanakhī* ‘having nails like winnowing fans’; *Bhadra-bāhū-* ‘N. of a woman (lit. ‘having beautiful arms)’ is a *saṃjñā-*word, but not *vṛttabāhu-* ‘having tapering arms’; *kambalya-* ‘a hundred palas of wool’ is a *saṃjñā-*word, but not *kambalīya-* ‘fit for making a blanket’; *taila-* ‘oil’ is a *saṃjñā-*word, but not *tilamaya-* ‘made of sesamum’ etc.

Having given the examples the commentators often say that these are names of such and such things. Here though sometimes the commentators use the expression *nāmadheya-* ‘name’, they often use the word *saṃjñā* itself in this sense. Cf. the *Kāśikā*: *janapadādīnām saṃjñā etāḥ* (1.2.53) ‘these are names of countries’, *darbhaviśeṣasya mudgaviśeṣasya ceyam saṃjñā* (4.3.27) ‘this is the name of a kind of Darbha grass and also of a kind of beans’, *madhunaḥ saṃjñā etāḥ* (4.3.117) ‘these are names of honey’ etc., also under P.5.2.23, 5.3.97, 6.1.204, 6.2.146 etc.

Not only the commentators, even Pāṇini seems to have used the expression as denoting a kind of words, the *saṃjñā-*words in general and proper names in particular. As a rule the expression *saṃjñāyām* occurs in the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* for laying down a condition (*upādhi*). But there are at least four rules in the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*, where *saṃjñāyām* is a sort of logical subject (*uddeśya*), because the *saṃjñā-*words are made there the subject of some operation. The gaṇa-sūtra *pūrvaparāvara*^o etc. (= P. 1.1.34) gives the nomenclature *sarvanāman-* to the words *pūrvā-*, *para-* etc. provided they are not *saṃjñā-*words. P. 4.2.107 teaches suffixion of *-ñā* to certain compounds provided they are not *saṃjñā-*words. P. 6.2.159 describes the accent of certain

compounds where the second member is a *saṃjñā*-word. Lastly, P. 6.3.38 teaches the retention of a feminine stem in certain compound formations when they are *saṃjñā*-words. In all these cases *saṃjñāyām* is equivalent to *saṃjñāyām vartamānain padam*, i.e. a *saṃjñā*-word = a name. A point to note further is that in all these cases the names (as quoted by the commentators) are proper names.

B. *Samjñā*-words which are not names :

Kevalī, māmakī etc. (4.1.30); *nāvya-* ' fordable by a boat ', *dharmya-* ' obtainable through Dharma ', *tulya-* ' equal ' etc. (4.4.91); *dharmya-* ' just, lawful ', *pathya-* ' wholesome ', *nyāyā-* ' proper ' etc. (4.4.92); *chandasya-* ' made at will ' (4.4.93); *urasya-* ' produced from the breast ' (4.4.94); *hr̥dyā-* ' agreeable to the heart ' (4.4.95); *avaṭīṭa-*, *avanāṭa-* and *avabhraṭa-* ' flat-nosed ' (5.2.31); *nibiḍa-* and *nibirīsa-* ' id ' (5.2.32); *cikina-* and *cipiṭa-* ' id ' (5.2.33); *ūrjasvin-* ' mighty ', *gomin-* ' possessing cows ', *malina-* and *malīmasa-* ' dirty ' (5.2.114).

These words, as said above, are obviously adjectives. Their use as names is not attested. The number of the sūtras which teach these formations is rather small as compared with the number of the sūtras belonging to the other group. It is 9 whereas the sūtras of the other group number 109. But in spite of this disparity of proportion the fact does remain that words formed under the two groups of *saṃjñāyām*-rules fall into two different categories.

Here, then, is a problem. There are two sets of *saṃjñāyām* rules in the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*: one in which the words so formed are substantives and have been used as names of various kinds: *saṃjñā* in these rules therefore could be an equivalent of *nāmadheya* ' a name ' ; The other, where words so formed have remained as adjectives. They have not been used as names. *Samjñā* could not mean a name in these cases. They are not *saṃjñā*-words in the usually accepted sense. *Samjñā* in these rules must have some different meaning. If so, what is it ? And why does Pāṇini use one and the same expression with two different meanings in two different sets of rules ? Or is it possible that *saṃjñā* has some other meaning, more or less a broad or general meaning, which is applicable in both sets of rules ?

In order to be able to answer these questions, let us look into the nature of the names a bit closely. When a name has some etymological meaning (and such indeed are most of the names in Sanskrit), it is reasonable to suppose that when that particular name came into being for the first time, the object so named actually possessed the attribute connoted by the name. That later on the object may lose that attribute and still continue bearing that name, or that some other object (or person) not possessing that attribute may come to get that name is a different thing. It is reasonable to suppose that at the time a name (i. e. a significant name) originates, it is based on some property of the object named. Let us consider for instance *Udumbarāvatī*, which is a name of a river (P.6.1.219). The river in all probability had

Udumbara (*Ficus Glomerata*) trees in some abundance on its banks from which it got its name. Now the river may have some other prominent characteristics. It may have been full of rocks, be zigzag, have sweet water etc. characteristics each of which could equally supply a name.¹⁶ But somehow the Udumbara trees caught the imagination of the society and the river was named *Udumbarāvati*. What will influence the selection of the people, you cannot say. But what is really important is that having once made this selection, the society will probably refrain from giving this same name to another object even if it possessed that particular attribute. Supposing another river with Udumbara trees is found, the society will probably select some other attribute of the river to serve as the basis of its name. This second river, though possessing the attribute connoted by the name *Udumbarāvati*, will not be denoted by that name. There is thus a restriction on the denotative power of a name, a restriction imposed by the social convention.

Let us take some other examples. The word *taila-* (p. 4.3.149) literally means ' a product of sesamum ' (cf. P. 4.3.134), but in practice it means a particular product of sesamum, viz. ' oil '. (That the word has been further extended to denote oil extracted from seeds other than sesamum is a different thing.) Similarly *tvacisāra-* (P.6.3.9) literally meaning ' strong in skin ' or ' having a tough skin ' denotes by usage only a bamboo tree. *Upatyakā* (P.5.2.34) literally meaning ' adjoining ' conveys by usage only the land adjoining a hill. In all these cases the role played by social convention or usage in restricting the denotation of a naming word is quite evident.

If we bear in mind this essential feature of a name (a *saṁjñā*), viz. the restriction of the etymological meaning by social convention, it will not be very difficult to find out why Pāṇini has used the word *saṁjñā* with reference to those words also, where the formations have not developed into names. The reason is that though they have fallen short of developing into names, they still exhibit the important feature of a name : their denotation is also restricted by social convention. It is not possible to illustrate this in all cases, but the commentators have supplied clues in some cases at least. Here are some instances :

The word *gārhapatya-* is not applicable to the other fires like *āhavanīya-* even though they are connected with the householder (*saṁjñāyām ity anuvṛtter āhavanīyādau nātiprasaṅgaḥ* *Tb.* under P. 4.4.90). *Hṛdya-* is used only with reference to certain substantives like *deśa-* ' a country ', *vana-* ' forest ' ; it is not used. e.g. with reference to *putra-* ' a son ' (. . . *hṛdyam vanam . . . iha na bhavati : hṛdayasya priyaḥ putra iti Kāś.* under P. 4.4.95). *Tulya-* just means ' similar, equal ' and not necessarily ' weighing equal ' (*tulyam iti sadṛśamātre prayujyate, na tulāyām āgrahaḥ kriyate, Tb.* under P. 4.4.91). *Pathya-* does not mean one who sticks to the ordinary way (which would cover even a thief), but one who does not deviate from the

16. The hypothetical names would be something like *aśmāvati*, *kuṭīlikā* and *madhidakā*, corresponding to the qualities mentioned.

path laid down by the śāstras (. . . *śāstrīyāt patho 'napetam eva pathyam, na tu mārgād anapetaś cauro 'pi, Tb. under P. 4.4.92*). In this section the *Kāśikā* is never tired of pointing out again and again that the purpose of reading the expression *saṃjñāyām* is to suggest the restriction of the denotation (*saṃjñāgrahaṇam abhidheyaniyamārtham* under P. 4.4.46; 4.4.89; 5.2.91 ; *saṃjñādihikārād abhidheyaniyamḥ* under P. 4.4.92 (also *Tb.*), 94-95; *saṃjñādihikāro 'bhidheyaniyamārthaḥ* under 4.4.91). In other words the expression *saṃjñāyām* serves the purpose of preventing over-extension (*atiprasaṅganivṛtti* of *Kāś.* and *Tb. under P. 4.4.90*) of a name to objects that possess the connotation of that name, but are not denoted by it in the actual usage.

Here then is the key to Pāṇini's use of the expression *saṃjñāyām* with reference to two different kinds of words taught in two different sets of rules. To whichever of these two classes a word may belong, one feature is common to both, viz. restriction of the derivational meaning (*abhidheyaniyama-*) by social convention. And what we have named as the social convention was given the name of *saṃjñā* by the ancient Hindu grammarians. *Saṃjñā* literally means ' common understanding ', or in other words ' social convention '. Its paraphrase by *saṃketa-* (*Tb. under P. 1.1.34*) makes this meaning clear.

The basic meaning of *saṃjñā*, then, is (1) social convention. In the field of linguistics, i. e. in the matter of words and their meaning, the term means (2) convention about a word, i. e. the conventional use of a word, or the use of a word in a conventional meaning. The next stage would be (3) a word so used (i. e. in a conventional way or meaning). A further specialisation would be the meaning (4) ' name ' (in its various kinds, the proper names being the *saṃjñā*-words par excellence). This seems to be the logical development of the meanings of the word *saṃjñā*. Though the majority of words formed under the *saṃjñāyām*-rules are names (and a large part of them are proper names), from the preceding survey of the whole material I have come to the conclusion that Pāṇini has used the term in the meaning No. 3 i. e. a conventionally used word. That represents the highest common factor of the significances of the term as used by Pāṇini.

Rūḍhi- and prayoga- :

The commentators use two expressions in this connection, viz. *rūḍhi-* and *prayoga-*. Both of them mean practically the something : the practice, usage, i. e. in our context, the linguistic usage. We have seen above that the actual usage of an expression is determined by the social convention. But a grammar cannot always state the full significance, all the associations of a word. Information supplied by the grammar has to be supplemented by a reference to the actual usage. The commentators therefore often remark that *saṃjñā* in such cases is a synonym of *rūḍhi-* (' *saṃjñā rūḍhiḥ* ' *Bm. under P. 4.4.96*), or that by the word *saṃjñā* it is *rūḍhiḥ-* that is intended (' *saṃjñāśabdena rūḍhir vivakṣitā* ' *Bm. under P. 3.3.19* and *saṃjñā hi rūḍhir vivakṣitā* ' under P. 4.4.89). Under P. 4.2.21 the *Kāśikā* remarks

that the purpose of reading the word *iti* and the word *saṃjñā* is the same viz. keeping the track of the actual usage (*itikaraṇasya saṃjñākaraṇasya ca tulyam eva phalaṃ prayogānusaraṇam*).

Twofold derivation :

The earliest passage where Pāṇini's *saṃjñā* has been interpreted as meaning *rūḍhi-* is perhaps the Bhāṣya under P. 3.1.112. It runs thus: *Atha vā ya ete saṃjñāyām vidhīyante, teṣu naivaṃ vijñāyate saṃjñāyām abhidheyāyām iti. Kim tarhi? Pratyayāntena cet saṃjñā gamyate*, "Or in the case of these (suffixes) which are prescribed in the matter of a *saṃjñā*, in their case (the expression *saṃjñāyām*) is not to be understood as (equivalent to) *saṃjñāyām abhidheyāyām*¹⁷ 'when a name is to be expressed (i.e. formed)'. How then? (It means) if a convention (or usage) is understood by (the whole expression) ending in the suffix (which is prescribed)". Here in the expression *pratyayāntena cet saṃjñā gamyate*, Kaiyaṭa paraphrases *saṃjñā* by *rūḍhi* 'convention, usage'. He says: *saṃjñāśabdah karmasādhanā na gṛhyate. Kim tarhi? Bhāvasādhanah. Tena pratyayāntena yadi rūḍhir gamyate tataḥ pratyayaḥ*, '(Here) the word *saṃjñā* does not express an object. What then? (It expresses) a verbal abstract. So (the meaning is that) the suffix (comes in) if a convention is understood by (the whole expression) ending in the suffix'. Nāgeśa comments on this thus: *Bhāvasādhanena dhātūnām anekārīhatvād rūḍhir ucyate. Tad āha 'rūḍhir' iti. Tadviśayo 'rthah. Tena rūḍhyartho gamyata iti yāvat. Nāmadheyavācī saṃjñāśabdah tu karaṇavyutpanna iti jñeyam*, 'The word *saṃjñā* when expressive of a verbal abstract means convention or usage, because verbal roots are capable of conveying more than one meaning. So he (i.e. Kaiyaṭa) says: (*saṃjñā* means) *rūḍhi*. (To be precise it means) the meaning connected with it (the convention). In other words (the ultimate meaning is that the suffix concerned comes in) if some conventional meaning is understood. The word *saṃjñā* which is a synonym of *nāmadheya* 'name' should, however, be understood as expressive of a means'. It will be seen that the word *saṃjñā* is derived in two ways by the commentators according to its meaning. When it means 'a convention or usage' it is a *bhāvasādhanā-* word, and when it means 'a name' it is *karmasādhanā-* according to Kaiyaṭa, but *karaṇasādhanā-* according to Nāgeśa. The latter view seems preferable.

It is true that the Bhāṣya does not expressly paraphrase *saṃjñā* by *rūḍhi-*. But both the commentators agree on this point. Instances from other commentators have been cited above.

A secondary meaning of Saṃjñā :

There remains a small residue of *saṃjñāyām*-rules which attempt to explain words which are of an obscure nature. Such are e.g. P. 5.2.31-33. The words like *avaṭīṭa-*, *avanāṭā-*, *nibiḍa-*, *cipīṭa-*, whose formation is taught

17. The translation '(the expression *saṃjñāyām*) is not to be understood as (equivalent to) *saṃjñāyām abhidheyāyām*' can be replaced by 'it is not to be understood (that the suffixes come in)'. In this case the following quotation marks are to be deleted.

in these rules, are obscure. They do not fit in the pattern of *saṃjñā*-words which we have seen so far, viz. the restriction of an etymological meaning. Indeed these words don't seem to have any etymological meaning. Some of them have all the make-up of borrowed words (words of some non-Aryan source) and it is somewhat strange that Pāṇini should have gone out of his way in explaining such words. Be it as it may, the words *saṃjñā* and *rūḍhi*-in these cases assume a somewhat different meaning. Apart from applying to words where an etymological meaning has been restricted by convention, they in these cases apply to words which have no etymological meaning, but a purely conventional one. Under P. 3.2.46 the *Nyāsa* remarks that *saṃjñā*-words are of two kinds, one in which the meaning of the component elements (i.e. the etymological meaning) is preserved, e.g. words like *saptaparṇa*- 'seven-leaved' (the plant *Alstonia Scholaris*); and the other where no such meaning is perceptible, e.g. words like *tailapāyika*- 'a cockroach' (' *saṃjñā-śabdā hi dvividhā bhavanti. Keciḍ avayavārthānugatā, yathā saptaparṇa iti. Keciḍ tu viparītā, yathā tailapāyikā iti* '). On the words like *pāraskara*- (P. 6.1.57), the *Tb.* remarks that these are really speaking conventional words, and though an attempt is made to analyse them there is no stress on the meaning of the components (the etymological meaning) (' *vastutas tu rūḍhiśabdā ete kathamcid vyutpadyante, ity avayavārthe nāgrahaḥ kāryaḥ* ')

Samjñā and the uṇādi words :

A culmination of this meaning of the word *saṃjñā*, viz. absence of a perceptible connection with the etymological meaning or, in many cases, the difficulty of analysis itself, is found in what are called the *uṇādi* words (P. 3.3.1). These words also have been traditionally regarded as *saṃjñā*-words. This is clear from the following couplet which enunciates broad principles to be followed in the explanation of the *uṇādi* words and incidentally identifies them with the *saṃjñā*-words :

*Samjñāsu dhāturūpāni pratyayāś ca tataḥ pare |
Kāryād vidyād anūbandham etac chāstram uṇādiṣu ||*

' The forms of roots, the suffixes following them, and the code-letters (indicative of incidental operations) should be known (i. e. reconstructed) from the effects (i. e. the facts which are to be explained) in the case of the *saṃjñās*. This is the doctrine (or the technique) about the *uṇādi* words (i. e. the words formed with *uṇ* and similar suffixes) '.

Apparently to justify the use of the term *saṃjñā* with reference to the *uṇādi* words, the commentators bring down into the present rule (P. 3.3.1) the expression *saṃjñāyām* from the rule *puvaḥ saṃjñāyām* (P. 3.2.185). Thus the *Kāśikā* remarks: *vartamāna ity eva, saṃjñāyām iti ca. Uṇādayaḥ pratyayā vartamāne rthe saṃjñāyām viśaye bahulam bhavanti*, " The expression *vartamāne* (P. 3.2.123) (is) of course (valid here), and similarly *saṃjñāyām* (P. 3.2.185). The suffixes like *uṇ* come in variously in connection with a present action in the case of a conventional word ". The *Bm.* says that *saṃjñā* here is a synonym of *rūḍha*- (*saṃjñāśabdāś cātra rūḍhaśabdaparauḥ*) By

rūḍha- of course, is here meant a purely *rūḍha*-word, i.e. a word whose analysis is not possible, or whose current meaning is not derivable from the meaning of (what are believed to be) its component elements.

Evidence in Yāska :

It seems that derivatives of *sam√jñā-* had already developed this meaning in the time of Yāska. He uses two words, *samvijñānabhūta-* (*Nir.* 7.13) and *samvijñāta-* (1.12). Durga explains *samvijñānabhūta-* by *rūḍha-*. There is some difference of opinion as regards the interpretation of the passage (1.12) in which the word *samvijñāta-* occurs. According to one interpretation given by Durga, *samvijñāta-* is equivalent to *rūḍhiśabda* (‘*samvijñānapadam itīha śāstre rūḍhiśabdasyeyam samjñā*’) and stands for such words as *go-*, *aśva-*, *puruṣa-*, *hastin* etc. which cannot be regularly derived from verbal roots.

Samjñā = Yogarūḍha :

Though derivatives of *sam√jñā-* seem already¹⁸ to have become synonymous with *rūḍha-* (as opposed to *yaugika-* words of the later grammarians), and though the commentators style the *unādi* words as *samjñās* (by bringing down the expression *samjñāyām* in the rule 3.3.1), I do not think that this was meant by Pāṇini. There is no *anuvṛtti* of *samjñāyām* in rules 3.2.186 ff. But my main reason for this contention is that as a rule Pāṇini has explained in the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* only such words as are analysable. The words whose formation is not clear, such unanalysable words have been relegated by him to the *unādi* section. The division is more or less clear. True, there are border cases both ways. Words like *avaṭīta-*, *cikina-*, *cipita-* etc. mentioned above should have found a better place in the *unādi* section. On the other hand, some clearly analysable formations, like agent nouns formed with the suffix *-ira* (*madirā*, *khadirā*, *ajirā*, *timira*, *badhirā*, *sthāvira* etc.) have not been analysed in the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*. But these are after all exceptions, and the boundary line is clear. I therefore do not think that Pāṇini’s *samjñā*-words are purely *rūḍha-* words; they are rather, with exception of words like *avaṭīta-*, to use an expression of the later grammarians, *yoga-rūḍha-* words, words whose etymological meaning is restricted by convention. Pāṇini has given the *yaugika-* words without mentioning any condition, while *samjñāyām* is one of the means used to indicate what are later called *yogarūḍha*-¹⁹ words.

Samjñā, nāman- and ākhyā :

Two more terms used in the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* have to be studied here, viz. *nāman-* and *ākhyā*. The reason for this is that the word *nāman-* has been

18. That is, on the assumption, that Yāska preceded Pāṇini.

19. The comments of the *Tb.* and the *Bm.* on the word *śūrpaṇakhā* may be quoted here as bringing out the contrast between the *yaugika-* (or the *kevalayaugika-*) words on the one hand and the *samjñā* (= *yogarūḍha-*) words on the other. Thus the *Tb.* says : *Śūrpaṇakheti. . . yadū tu śūrpaṇanakhāni yasyū iti yogamūtraṃ vivakṣyate, na tu samjñā, tato 'samjñātvān na ūṣṇisedho na vā natvam, tena rākṣasya api yogavṛtyā śūrpaṇakhī bhavaty ūḥuḥ*. Similarly *Bm.* : *kevalayaugikatve tu ūṣ bhavaty eva. Natvaṃ tu na.*

almost always, and *ākhyā* (*ākhya-* when final of a bahuvrihi compound) sometimes has been used in the sense of 'a name'. The instances of *nāman-* thus used are : *diṅ-nāman-* 'a name of a point of compass' (P. 2.2.36), *chandonāman-* 'a name of a metre' (P. 3.3.34; 8.3.94), *vyākhyātavyanāman-* 'a name of (a text) to be explained' (P. 4.3.66), *manuṣya-nāman-* 'a name of a man' (P. 5.3.78), *jāti-nāman-* 'a class name, a common noun' (P. 5.3.81), *sīra-nāman-* 'a synonym of *sīra-*; a word meaning a plough' (P. 6.2.187), *kāra-nāman-* 'a name of a tax' (P. 6.3.10), *kāla-nāman-* 'a word expressive of (a division of) time', and *deśa-nāman-* (in *tad asmin nastīti deśe tannāmnī* P. 4.2.67) 'a place-name'. The uncompounded form occurs in 3.4.58; 4.3.72; and 6.2.187.

Cases of *ākhyā* (f.) and *ākhya-* (mfn) are : *agnyākhyā* 'a synonym of *agni*; a name of fire' (P. 3.2.92); *yajñākhya-* 'a name of a sacrifice' (P. 5.1.95; 6.2.133), *parimāṇākhyā*, 'a name of a measure' (P. 3.3.20), *rogākhyā-* 'a name of a disease' (P. 3.3.108), *vaiyākaraṇākhyā* 'a grammatical technical term'²⁰ (P. 6.3.7) etc. But the word *ākhyā* has not always developed into 'a name'. Quite often it preserves its original general meaning, viz. 'expressive of, denoting, meaning' etc. Thus, *tulyākhyā-* 'meaning equal' (P. 2.1.68), *alpākhyā* 'denotation of (the meaning) a little' (P. 4.1.51; 5.4.136).

There is, then, not much difference between *nāman-* and *ākhyā*. Both of them are practically synonymous in the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*. The only difference between the two is that *ākhyā* is used sometimes in the basic sense 'expressive of', and sometimes in the restricted sense of 'a name'; *nāman-*, on the other hand, almost always means 'a name'. That the two are mutually convertible is exemplified by the occurrence of both *jātināman-* (P. 5.3.81) and *jātyākhyā* (P. 1.2.58).

But the case of *saṃjñā* is different. The expression *saṃjñā* on the one hand, and the expressions *nāman-* and *ākhyā* on the other, do not stand on the same level. True, they are related in a way, since in the capacity of a naming word they do not convey the purely etymological meaning; they are influenced by the convention (cf. the remarks of *Kāśikā* like *nāmagrahaṇam rūḍhyartham* under P. 2.2.26 and *ākhyāgrahaṇam rūḍhisampratyaartham* under P. 3.2.92, similar to those under the *saṃjñāyām*-rules). But there is a difference of emphasis. Perhaps it is not without significance that the words *nāman-* and *ākhyā* never occur in the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* alone; they always occur as the second member of a compound, the first member being the object named. *Saṃjñāyām*, on the other hand, with the sole exception of *śabdasaṃjñā*, everywhere occurs by itself; no *saṃjñin* is mentioned. I believe this formal difference is significant. The expression *nāman-* (and *ākhyā* when meaning 'a name') is relative. It expects the object named. There is thus an emphasis on the signifiant—signifié relationship in the case of the expression *nāman-* (and *ākhyā*) in the

20. Literally meaning 'a term (belonging to the jargon) of the grammarians', the term is, to all intents and purposes, synonymous with *śabdasaṃjñā*.

Aṣṭādhyāyī. But this is not the case with the expression *saṃjñāyām*. There is no stress there on this relationship. Hence no mention of the signifié in the *saṃjñāyām* rules. Instead what is emphasized there is the modification of the purely etymological meaning (by convention: *saṃjñā*). The *nāman-* (or *ākhyā*) primarily denotes a certain kind of words, the naming words, while *saṃjñā* primarily denotes an outside factor, viz. the social convention which modifies the primary meaning of words and *may* make names out of such words.

This explains why not all the words formed *saṃjñāyām* are names. This interpretation is also in agreement with the contrast between *saṃjñā* and *yoga-* as seen in P. 1.2.53–55.

The wording of two rules in the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* is significant in this respect. They are: *triṃśaccatvāriṃśator brāhmaṇe saṃjñāyām DaṆ* 5.1.62, and *striyām saṃjñāyām* 4.4.32. Here *brāhmaṇe saṃjñāyām* in the former rule is practically equivalent to *brāhmaṇasaṃjñāyām* 'in (forming) the name of a Brāhmaṇa text', and the latter rule to *striṣaṃjñāyām* 'in (forming) the name of a woman'. This will be clear from the corresponding rules of Candra which read as *triṃśaccatvāriṃśato brāhmaṇākhyāyām DaṆ* C. 4.1.65 and *stri-nāmni*²¹ C. 4.4.132 (cf. also the comment of the *Tb.* quoted above under P. 5.1.62). Pāṇini *could* compound the expression *saṃjñāyām* if he had wanted it as his successors have done. That he does not do so is to be explained on the hypothesis that *saṃjñāyām* in Pāṇini does not so much indicate the use of a particular word as a name, as the restriction of the primary meaning of that word by convention.

Other ways of indicating *yogarūḍha* formations:

The use of the expression *saṃjñāyām* is not the only way resorted to in the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* for indicating the *yogarūḍha* formations. Sometimes this has been done by specifically mentioning the meaning. P. 3.1.144–150 may be adduced by way of example. All the words whose formation is taught in these rules are agent nouns. They, however, do not denote purely the agent of the activity concerned, but an agent in some specified sense. Thus *gr̥ha-* ($\sqrt{\text{grāh-}}$ + *-Ka*) is not anything that takes something but only a house (and house-wife) (P. 3.1.144). Words like *nartaka-* ($\sqrt{\text{nrt-}}$ + *-SVUN*), *gāthaka-* ($\sqrt{\text{gāi-}}$ + *-thakaN*) and *gāyana-* ($\sqrt{\text{gāi-}}$ + *-NYUT*) do not denote anyone who dances or sings, but a professional (*śilpin-*) dancer and singer (P. 3.1. 145–147). Similarly *hāyana-* ($\sqrt{\text{hā-}}$ + *-NYUT*) means only a particular kind of paddy (*vrihi-*) and also a year (P. 3.1.148).

Sometimes instead of analysing such words, Pāṇini has given these words in the finished form (*nipātana-*), either with or without the meaning. Most of these words also are, of course, different kinds of names. Thus *bhidyoddhyau nade* P. 3.1.115 teaches the words *Bhidyā-* and *Uddhyā-* which

21. So C too uses *ākhyā* and *nāman-* promiscuously!

are names of two rivers.²² *Puṣya-* and *Sidhya-* are names of a constellation (P. 3.1.116). P. 3.1.102–104 teach the formations (rather the finished words) *vahya-* ‘a cart’, *arya-* ‘a master, a merchant’ and *upasaryā* ‘a female due for impregnation’.

The commentators point out the part played by convention in such words also. On *ānāyya-* (lit. ‘to be caused to be brought’) the *Kāśikā* remarks: *rūḍhir eṣā. Tasmād anityaviśeṣe Dakṣiṇāgnāu evāvatiṣṭhate*, ‘This is a convention. So (the word *anitya-*) denotes only a particular temporary object, viz. the Dakṣiṇa fire’. Similarly *dhāyyā* (P. 3.1.129) does not stand for all the *Sāmidenī* ṛcs, but only for a particular one, it being a conventionalized word (*dhāyyeti na sarvā sāmādhēny ucyate. Kim tarhi? Kācid eva. Rūḍhasābdo hy ayam*). This sūtra also reads the word *sāmnāyya-* which means a particular sacrificial offering (*rūḍhitvāc ca havirviśeṣa evāvatiṣṭhate*). Although meaning is furnished in the case of many *nipātita* words, in many other cases it is not so given. And theoretically it is neither necessary. It is the doctrine of the Sanskrit grammarians that whatever is not provided for by the ordinary rules, is achieved by the process of *nipātana-* (‘*yad iha lakṣaṇenānupapannam, tat sarvaṁ nipātanaṭ siddham*’ *Kāś.* under P. 3.1.123).

It may be mentioned in passing that the number of the sūtras which deal with the *yogarūḍha-* words, either by analysing them and stating the specific meaning or by resorting to the process of *nipātana-* (with or without meaning) is quite large. Indeed they are more numerous than the rules which perform the same function by using the expression *samjñāyām*.

There are, then, a variety of ways by which the use of a word in a conventionalized sense is indicated in the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*. Generally this is done by mentioning the specific meaning. Another way of doing this is to use an expression like *samjñāyām*, or *nāman-* or *ākhyā*. Yet a third way is that of *nipātana-* (either with or without meaning). And we even find *nipātanas* in the *samjñāyām*-rules, to make doubly sure, so to say (cf. P. 4.4.82, 4.4.89, 5.2.23, 5.2.71, etc.). Still a fourth device is to explain the word *iti* as being synonymous with *samjñāyām* (cf. the remarks of *Kāśikā* quoted under P. 4.2.21 above²³). This variety of means to perform one and the same function is rather bewildering. One rather expected uniformity of method in a scientific work like the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*. It is not within the scope of this monograph to go into this matter deeper. Suffice it to say that this may indicate at the composite nature of the structure of the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*.

The results of the whole discussion may be summed up thus :

1. Although a large part of the words formed under the *samjñāyām*-rules function as names, that is not the basic or the theoretical meaning of the term *samjñā* in Pāṇini. There it means ‘a word whose etymological meaning is restricted by convention’. In other words it is equivalent to the term *yogarūḍha-* of the later grammarians.

22. *Nade* is equivalent to *nadaviśeṣe*. This applies elsewhere also.

23. Also the *Nyāsa* under P. 5.2.110.

2. In the grammatical literature the word *saṃjñā* has been used in the meaning of a purely *rūḍha*- word also. This meaning is also found in a few cases in the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*. Such cases are however only marginal on the whole (as said above), the expression being equivalent to *yogarūḍha*-.

3. The use of the term *saṃjñā* is differentiated from that of the terms *nāman*- and *ākhyā* by the fact that these latter expressions primarily mean a name, whereas *saṃjñā* primarily means a convention, and then a conventional word. In Pāṇini there is an emphasis on the signifiant-signifié relationship in the case of *nāman*- (and *ākhyā*); in *saṃjñā* the emphasis is on the part played by convention.

4. The use of the expression *saṃjñāyām* is only *one* out of the many ways in which Pāṇini draws attention to the *yogarūḍha*- character of a word.

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bhāryā	3.1.112	Revatiputraḥ	6.3.63
Bhāryāḥ	”	Rohiṇiputraḥ	”
Bhīmāḥ	6.1.205	Rohiṇiṣeṇaḥ	8.3.100
bhr̥tyā	3.3.99	Rohiṇiṣeṇaḥ	”
bheṣajī	4.1.30	lālāṭikāḥ	4.4.46
bhr̥maram	4.3.119	lekhaḥ	3.3.121
Maṇikārnaḥ	6.2.113	Lohitagaṅgam	2.1.21
matyam	4.4.97	lohitāyasam	5.4.94
Madhurāhāraḥ	3.3.19	vaṁśakāḥ	5.3.87
Manasāguptā	6.3.4	Vaṁśāvati	6.3.120
Manasādattā	”	Vajraṇakhā	4.1.58
Manasāsamgatā	”	Vāddhrikā	6.1.204
Mantiḥ	3.3.174	Vaddhr̥iṇasaḥ	5.4.118
manyā	3.3.99	”	8.4.3
mayūrikābandha-	3.4.72	vanaspatiḥ	6.1.157
malinaḥ	5.2.114	vanekim̐sukāḥ	2.1.44
malīmasaḥ	”	”	6.3.9
Maśakāvati	6.3.119	vanebālvajakāḥ	”
mahānasam	5.4.94	vaneharidrakāḥ	”
Mahēṣuḥ	6.2.107	vayasyaḥ	4.4.91
mākṣikam	4.3.117	varaṇapuspappravāhi (v.1.	
māmaki	4.1.30	— °cāyi)kā	3.3.109
Māhakikūlam	6.2.129	vahaḥ	3.3.119
Māhakisthālī	”	vākyam	7.3.67
Miśrakāvaṇam	6.3.117	vātaram	4.3.119
”	8.4.4	Vāriṣeṇaḥ	8.3.99
Muniṇvati	6.1.222	vāruḍakam	4.3.118
”	8.2.11	viṁśatikāḥ	5.1.24
mūlyāḥ	4.4.91	vidyā	3.3.99
mūlyam	”	Vibhūḥ	3.2.179
meṣaḥ	3.3.19	vimārgaḥ (SK)	3.3.121
Maunḍinikāyāḥ	6.2.94	Viśvāmbharaḥ (SK)	3.2.46
Yajñadattāḥ	6.2.159	Viśvāmbharā	”
yāvakaḥ	4.3.149	Viśvādevaḥ	5.4.155
Yugaṁdharāḥ	3.2.46	”	6.2.106
Yudhiṣṭhiraḥ	6.3.9	Viśvāmahān	”
Yauvanāśvaḥ	6.2.107	Viśvāyaśaḥ	5.4.155
Rakṣitāḥ	6.1.205	”	6.2.106
Rathakārāḥ	6.2.77	Viśvānaraḥ	6.3.129
Ratham̐taram	3.2.46	Viṣnumitrāḥ	6.2.159
Rathasthā (v. 1. °spā)	6.1.157	Viṣnuśrutāḥ	6.2.148
rātri	4.1.31	viṣyaḥ	4.4.91
Rādhakaḥ (SK)	5.3.75	Viṣvaḥṣeṇaḥ	8.3.99
Rāmaḥ (SK)	3.3.121	Vīraṇāvati	6.1.219
		”	6.3.119

Vṛkājinaḥ	6.2.165	saṁcaraḥ	3.3.119
Vṛkōdaraḥ	6.2.107	Sam̐bhūtāḥ (Rāmāyanaḥ)	6.2.146
venukaḥ	5.3.87	saṁhāraḥ	3.3.122
Vedaḥ	3.3.121	Sapalaśam	6.3.78
veṣṭaḥ (v.l. °ṣaḥ)	„	Saptaṛṣayaḥ	2.1.50
yrajaḥ	3.3.119	samajyā	3.3.99
Ṣaṁkaraḥ	3.2.14	samāni	4.1.30
Ṣaṁbhavaḥ	„	Sarvasenaḥ	8.3.99
Ṣaṁvadaḥ	„	Saśimśapam	6.3.78
Ṣatadhanuḥ	5.4.133	sākṣi	5.2.91
Ṣatadhanvā	„	Sātiḥ	3.3.174
Ṣatruṁjayaḥ	3.2.46	sāragham	4.3.117
Ṣatruṁtapaḥ	„	Sārikāvaṇam	6.3.117
Ṣatruṁdamaḥ	„	Sāśvattham	6.3.78
Ṣatruṁsahaḥ	„	Sidhrakāvaṇam	6.3.117
Ṣanairgaṅgam	2.1.21	„	8.4.4
śayyā	3.3.99	sityam	4.4.91
Śaravaṇam	8.4.5	Sugrīvaḥ	6.2.114
Śarāvati	6.1.219	Sutaṅgamaḥ	3.2.47
„	6.3.120	sutyā	3.3.99
Śāpindīnikayaḥ	6.2.94	sumaṅgalī	4.1.30
śaradakaḥ	4.3.27	Surājñī	4.1.29
Śārikāvaṇam	8.4.4	Suvarṇapunkhēṣuḥ	6.2.107
śālabhañjikā	3.3.109	Somini	5.2.137
śikhāvalaḥ	5.2.113	Sausāmikāntham	2.4.20
Śitikāṅṭhaḥ	6.2.114	„	6.2.124
Śilaprastham	6.3.63	Hamsavati	6.1.220
Śilavaham	„	Hariṣenaḥ	8.3.99
Śūdrakaḥ	5.3.75	Harisaktham	„
Śūrpaṅakhā	4.1.58	Haryāśvaḥ	6.2.107
„	8.4.3	halyaḥ	4.4.97
śṛṅgiṇaḥ	5.2.114	Hastimṛditā	6.2.146
Śyāvadan	„	hṛḍyaḥ	4.4.95-96
Śyāvadantaḥ	5.4.144	haiyaṅgavinam	5.2.23
Śravaṇā	4.2.5		

Abbreviations

Bh. = *Bhāṣya*

Bm. = *Bālamānoraṃā*

C = Candra

India = V. S. AGRAWALA, *India as known to Pāṇini*, 2nd ed., 1963.

Kāś. = *Kāśikā*

MW = Monier Williams

P. = Pāṇini

SK = *Siddhānta-Kaumudī*

Tb. = *Tattvabodhinī*

Vā. = *Vārttika*
