

The present chapter of the thesis is entitled as “*Study of the Meanings of Roots, Tenses and Case Suffixes.*” As title suggests, the chapter is a critical discussion on the study of the meanings of roots, tenses, and case suffixes according to PLM. Nāgeśa has explained the meanings of various roots with examples in the PLM by refuting Naiyāyikas and Kauṇḍabhaṭṭa’s thoughts.

As in the Introductory chapter, I discussed about two such parts of PLM, *i.e.*, पूर्वार्ध and उत्तरार्ध. Scholars have conceived of two such divisions based on the various subjects of PLM.

IV. I. Meanings of Roots

There were a group of scholars among Grammarians and *Nairuktas* who considered all words to be derived from आख्यात or roots. Yāska enounced in his निरुक्त that, सर्वाणि नामान्याख्यातजानि इति शाकटायनो नैरुक्त-समयश्च¹⁶³ । It means all प्रातिपदिक are derived from roots. Among all Grammarian Śākaṭāyana and all most all *Nairuktas* were in favor of this theory. Apart from Śākaṭāyana, all other Grammarians and Gārgya was opposed to this theory. Yāska mentioned himself this in his निरुक्त that न सर्वाणि नामानि आख्यातजानि इति गार्ग्यो वैयाकरणानां चैके¹⁶⁴ । Patañjali has also indicated the same in the following verse in MB.

नाम च धातुजम् आह निरुक्ते व्याकरणे शकटस्य च तोकम्¹⁶⁵ ।

163 निरुक्तम् 1.12

164 *Ibid.*, 1.12

165 व्या.महा. 3.3.1

After studying all these opinions of various scholars, we can say that Pāṇini has followed the middle path. At some places they have considered the प्रातिपदिक to be derived from roots and at some places those are considered as traditional (customary) words. And because of this consideration of Pāṇini, two परिभाषाs (general definitions) could be established which are - उणादयो व्युत्पन्नानि प्रातिपदिकानि¹⁶⁶ and उणादयोऽव्युत्पन्नानि प्रातिपदिकानि.

Here, उणादयः means traditional words which are propounded by those aphorisms which predicate कृत् suffixes starts from उण्. Nāgeśa also have followed the opinion of Śākaṭāyana in PLM and has considered that all words are derived from roots. At the beginning of the धात्वर्थ chapter, he has propounded that - अथ सकल-शब्द-मूलभूतत्वाद् धात्वर्थो निरूप्यते¹⁶⁷ । Thereafter, he starts the chapter by giving the definition of the meaning of the root which is as follows:

फलानुकूलो यत्न-सहितो व्यापारः धात्वर्थः¹⁶⁸

It means the व्यापार (action) which is being performed with effort for any फल (result) is the meaning of the root. Other scholars like Bhaṭṭojidikṣita and Kaunḍabhaṭṭa of Grammar school have considered the व्यापार (action) and the फल (result) both as the meaning of the root. Kaunḍabhaṭṭa has demonstrated the meaning of the root at very beginning of his treatise VBS. Nāgeśa has further refuted his opinions in present chapter. Basically, Nāgeśa considers the व्यापार

166 परिभाषेन्दुशेखरः, 22

167 पलम. पृ. 126

168 *Ibid.*

(action) as the meaning of root instead of considering व्यापार (action) and फल (result) these two separately as the meaning of the root.

For example, the meaning of the root पच् is the action of cooking which is being performed for preparing the food. Here व्यापार (action) is characterized by an adjective which is यत्नसहित (with effort). Therefore, the व्यापार as the meaning of the root will be only considered if it would be performed यत्नसहित. If there would not any effort in the action of cooking then the sentence like अयं न पचति (He is not cooking) will only be considered, not अयं पचति (He is cooking).

IV. I. 1 Definition of फल (Result) and व्यापार (action)

Nāgeśa has described that, result derives from the meaning of the root. Simultaneously it also derives from व्यापार (action). Because the action sometimes alleged not real. For example, ईश्वरस्तिष्ठति । The God is standing. Here, the action is 'to stand' but this action does not show any result in real. In this situation, the result is taken as विशेष्य (a substantive) because it derives from the action which is विशेषण (an adjective). In the PLM, the definition of फल (result) is:

फलत्वं च तद्धात्वर्थजन्यत्वे सति कर्तृ-प्रत्यय-समभिव्याहारे
तद्धात्वर्थनिष्ठ-विशेष्यता-निरूपितप्रकारतावत्त्वम्¹⁶⁹ ।

As above Nāgeśa mentioned that the फल (result) is विशेष्य (a substantive) but in the कर्तृवाच्य (active voice form) it is also taken as विशेषण (adjective). For

169 पलम. पृ. 127

example, the result of the root पच् is ‘to cook’ and it derives from the cooking action. Therefore, it is विशेष्य (a substantive) and in the कर्तृवाच्य (active voice form) it is विशेषण (an adjective) because पचति (cooking) is a result of पचनानुकूलव्यापार (an action for cooking).

Nāgeśa has given another example of the root पत् (to fall). The example is वृक्षात् पत्रं भूमौ पतति । (The leaf falls from the tree). The meaning of the root पत् is विभागजन्यसंयोगः ।

विभागजन्यसंयोगादिरूपे पतत्यादिधात्वर्थे विभागसंयोगयोः
फलत्ववारणाय उभयम्¹⁷⁰ ।

It means, first the leaf separates from the tree that is विभाग and then it connects to the earth which is संयोग. In this situation the result should be taken as a substantive and an adjective both. Otherwise, there would be अतिव्याप्ति (a fault of over-application) in the result.

Nāgeśa has explained two things about व्यापार. First, the action produces फल and it is also meaning of the root. Therefore, we can consider both फल and व्यापार as meaning of roots.

व्यापारत्वं च धात्वर्थफलजनकत्वे सति धातुवाच्यत्वम्¹⁷¹ ।

In the above definition of व्यापार, the word अनुकूल (favorable) indicates the relation between फल and व्यापार which is जन्यजनकसम्बन्ध. फल is जन्य (produced) and व्यापार is जनक (producer).

170 पलम. पृ. 127

171 पलम. पृ. 129

IV. I. 2 Rebuttal of Bhartṛhari and his follower's opinion

The ancient Grammarians like Bhartṛhari and their followers Bhaṭṭojidīkṣita etc. consider both फल and व्यापार separately as meaning of roots. In the VP of Bhartṛhari, he described both separately¹⁷². He used dual form in the *kārikā* (फलव्यापारयोः). But considering this opinion, Nāgeśa has raised the following objections:

1. If we consider फल and व्यापार separately as a meaning of roots then according to the meaning, sometimes the व्यापार has to be considered as the उद्देश्य (object) and the फल as the विधेय (predicate), and sometimes the फल will be the उद्देश्य and the व्यापार as the विधेय. Thus, accepting both separately, the situation of उद्देश्य-विधेयभाव (objective-predicate) is natural. In नीलो घटः, sometimes नीलः is the object and घटः is the predicate and sometimes vice versa.
2. The second objection is that two types of derivations (कार्यकारणभावः) have to be conceived. When the action is perceived primarily and the result is secondary, then कर्तृवाचकप्रत्यय has to be considered as the reason which is associated with the roots. And when the फल is perceived primarily and the व्यापार is secondary, then कर्मवाच्यप्रत्यय, which is associated with the roots, have to be considered as the reason for that perception.

172 फलव्यापारयोः धातुः.....तिङ्गर्थस्तु विशेषणम् ॥ वै. भू. सा. 2

IV. I. 3 Views of Mīmāṃsakas and their rebuttal

Mīmāṃsakas like Maṇḍanamiśra are of the opinion that the meaning of root is फल (result) not व्यापार. The meaning of व्यापार is suffixes like तिङ् etc. For example, in words like पाकः, the meaning of suffix घञ् is पाक-व्यापारः. Denying this opinion, Nāgeśa has explained list of faults.

First is that the aphorism of Pāṇini लः कर्मणि च भावे चाऽऽकर्मकेभ्यः (3. 4. 69) will be wrong by accepting above opinion of Mīmāṃsakas. And the aphorism follows the previous one कर्तरि कृत् (3. 4. 67). The aphorism लः कर्मणि.... defines the लकार in the sense of कर्ता and कर्म. Therefore, suffixes like तिप् in place of लकार can only mean कर्ता and कर्म, not व्यापार.

The second fault is that in many phrases which are derived from the combination of different suffixes with the same root, those suffixes will have to be considered as meaning of the same व्यापार. For example, in the three different suffixes present in पचति, पक्ष्यति, पक्ववान् etc., one has to imagine the power of understanding of a व्यापार in which there is गौरव (needless multiplication of causes). Furthermore, in a root which is existing in multiple phrases, there is more conciseness in the imagination of the power in root to explain व्यापार.

The third fault is that when we will consider the meaning of व्यापार a suffix, then just as the suffix तिप् suffix of पचति will understand actions like blowing etc., in the same way the same व्यापार will have to be understood by the suffix तिप् present in गच्छति which is not possible.

Fourth is that the system of सकर्मक (transitive) and अकर्मक (intransitive) will be destroyed. Because this system has been constructed by considering व्यापार as the meaning of root. Their definitions are as follow:

- स्वार्थव्यापारव्यधिकरणफलवाचकत्वं सकर्मकत्वम् ।

The व्यापार which is the meaning of the roots and expressing the result by connecting with different अधिकरण are known as transitive roots.

- स्वार्थव्यापारसमानाधिकरणफलवाचकत्वम् अकर्मकत्वम्¹⁷³ ।

The व्यापार which is the meaning of the roots and expressing the result being in the same अधिकरण are known as intransitive roots.

Here Mīmāṃsakas are of the opinion that the word स्वार्थ should be replaced by the word प्रत्ययार्थ and there will be no defect in the above theory. But even after accepting above opinion of Mīmāṃsakas there may be still error in the sentences like घटं भावयति । Apart from this, Pāṇini's system of अनभिहित (not desired) and अभिहित (desired) will be defected.

Pāṇini has given an aphorism कर्मणि द्वितीया in the authority of the aphorism अनभिहिते and described that when the object is not declared, let the accusative case be used in the case of the object. For that reason, if the meaning of suffixes like तिङ् etc. is taken as व्यापार and not as कर्ता and action, then doer and action will never be declared because suffix will always refer to action.

173 पलम. पृ. 36

The fifth fault in the above opinion of Mīmāṃsakas is that if action is not considered as the meaning of root, two meanings i.e., व्यापार and कारक of suffixes like कृत् and ण्वल् etc. will have to be considered. But that is not possible because those suffixes are created to describe subject and object. Therefore, words like गमनम् which is derived from the root गम् and the suffix ल्युट्, would not express the meaning of going. It would only mean a conjunct consonant. In that situation sentences like ग्रामः संयोगवान् are used in practice, similarly, sentences like ग्रामः गमनवान् will also be used.

The sixth fault in this sequence is seen in the sentences like गुरुः शिष्याभ्यां पाचयति । (Teacher makes two disciples cook). Here, the act of the teacher (व्यापार) has to be considered as meaning of suffix णिच्. Because, Pāṇini has prescribed aphorism हेतुमति च to express the व्यापार. Apart from this, it is yet remain to express the act of the disciple who is applicable in this sentence.

Therefore, the above opinion of Mīmāṃsakas is not acceptable due to being contaminated with many defects. Other scholars like Kauṇḍabhaṭṭa, Gaṅgeśa and Gadādhara have also criticized this view of the Mīmāṃsakas refuted in their texts.

IV. I. 4 Definition of क्रिया (Action)

Nagesh has further presented the definition of action which is as follows.

सर्वकारकान्वयितावच्छेदकधर्मवती क्रिया¹⁷⁴ ॥

That is, action will be called that which has the ability to be associated with all the कारकs (cases). Here the purpose of using the word 'सर्व' with the कारक is to

174 पलम. 140

make it clear that all the कारकs are associated with action only. The अधिकरणकारक (locative case) is also associated to the action through its subject or object. The cases are either the executor or performer of the action. Therefore, the word कारक is interpreted as follow: करोति, क्रियां निर्वर्तयति इति कारकः । Therefore, the cases are the parent of the action and the action is presented by cases.

Nāgeśa has quoted two verses from VP further to clarify his point.

यावत् सिद्धमसिद्धं वा साध्यत्वेनाभिधीयते ।

आश्रित-क्रम-रूपत्वात् सा क्रियेत्यभिधीयते¹⁷⁵ ॥

Whatever is सिद्ध (accomplished) or साध्य (to be accomplished), निष्पन्न (derived) or अनिष्पन्न भाव (incomplete feeling), said in the form of accomplishment, becomes an क्रिया (action). Because of the accomplishment of that feeling, there could be a sequence of व्यापार (sub-actions) in it. For example, when saying पचति, from the beginning to the end of the action, a sequenced form of many sub-actions, such as lighting a fire, etc. is present.

Yāska has said the same thing in the following words:

पूर्वापरीभूतं भावमाख्यातेन आचष्टे पचति व्रजतीत्युपक्रमप्रभृत्यपवर्गपर्यन्तम्¹⁷⁶ ।

It means many sequential actions from beginning to end are called by the words like पचति, व्रजति etc. It is because of this sequence of many sub-actions that the word क्रिया is meaningful. Therefore, Bharṭṛhari used the term 'आश्रितक्रमरूपत्वात्' in Kārikā.

175 वा. प. 3. 8. 1

176 निरुक्त 1. 1

In the second Kārikā, it is explained that why the actions in the word like पचति, etc., are considered as one in spite of being completed by many secondary processes in sequence. In these secondary actions which are arising from sequence, there is no oneness in reality due to the पौर्वापर्य (relation of prior and posterior). Yet none of them conceives or alleges unity by his संकलनात्मिका बुद्धि (creative intelligence). In this way, the group of actions conceived by the intellect is considered to be the main action.

गुणभूतैरवयवैः समूहः क्रमजन्मनाम् ।

बुद्ध्या प्रकल्पिताभेदः क्रियेति व्यपदिश्यते¹⁷⁷ ॥

The definition of action has been presented by the author of बृहदेवता in the following verse -

क्रियासु बह्विष्वभिसंश्रितो यः पूर्वापरीभूत इवैक एव ।

क्रियाभिरनिर्वृत्तिवशेन सिद्ध आख्यातशब्देन तमर्थमाहुः¹⁷⁸ ॥

Patanjali has also explained the nature of action in an interesting way in his MB. According to him the form of action is invisible. Therefore, it cannot be shown directly like a baby in the womb. It is only known by inference¹⁷⁹ ।

177 वा. प. 3. 8. 4

178 बृहदेवता 1. 44

179 क्रिया नामेयम् अत्यन्ताऽपरिदृष्ट, अशक्या पिण्डीभूता निदर्शयितुं यथा गर्भो निर्लुठितः साऽसौ अनुमानगम्या । महा. 1. 3. 1

Here, Nāgeśa has mentioned two definitions i.e., सिद्ध (accomplished) and साध्य (an object to be accomplished) which is propounded by Kauṇḍabhaṭṭa in his VBS. He has not mentioned Kauṇḍabhaṭṭa's name but only mentioned a word केचित्.

सिद्ध - सिद्धत्वं क्रियान्तराकाङ्क्षोत्थापकतावच्छेदकवैजात्यवत्त्वे सति कारकत्वेन क्रियान्वयित्वे सति कारकान्तरान्वयायोग्यत्वम् ।

There are three parts in the above definition of सिद्ध. First is सिद्धत्वं.....जात्यवत्त्वे सति. It means the only object which has the power to arise expectancy for another action will be considered as सिद्ध.

Second part is कारकत्वेन क्रियान्वयित्वे सति. It means words denoting accomplishment are present in the कारक form and will be related with the verb.

Third part is कारकान्तरान्वयायोग्यत्वम्. It means the accomplished words which are related to कारक will not appear with another कारक. It will only be related with the verb. For example, the word पाकः will only relate with the verb like अस्ति etc. It can be said that, when the actions are completed, they are considered as सिद्ध.

साध्य - साध्यत्वं च क्रियान्तराकाङ्क्षानुत्थापकतावच्छेदकं सत् कारकान्तरान्वययोग्यतावच्छेदकरूपत्वम् ।

The form of साध्यत्व (an object to be accomplished) is exact opposite to the definition of the सिद्धत्व (accomplished). Since the साध्य itself is an action, there is naturally no expectancy for another action in it. The second characteristic of साध्यत्व is that they can be related with the कारक.

Apart from above definitions, Nāgeśa has given his own definition of साध्यता which is as follow:

साध्यत्वं निष्पाद्यत्वम् एव¹⁸⁰ ।

According to Nāgeśa, Kauṇḍabhaṭṭa's definition of साध्यत्व seems faulty. Because there is a condition in the definition that, साध्यता cannot arise expectancy. But in the MB of Patañjali, sentence like पचति भवति¹⁸¹ is considered correct and भवति is considered arising expectancy of पचति. So, paradox can be seen between the statements of Patañjali and Kauṇḍabhaṭṭa.

Therefore, it is necessary to consider निष्पाद्यता (executable object) as साध्य and निष्पन्न (accomplished) as सिद्ध.

IV. I. 5. Definitions of सकर्मक (transitive) and अकर्मक (intransitive)

Nāgeśa has given simple definition of transitive and intransitive. After that he has started discussing meanings of various roots. According to him when फल (result) and व्यापार (action) both stay in one substratum, the root will be considered as अकर्मक (intransitive)

फलसमानाधिकरणव्यापारवाचकत्वम् अकर्मकत्वम्¹⁸² ।

When the substratum will be different for each i.e., result and action, the root will be considered as सकर्मक (transitive).

सकर्मकत्वं च फलव्यधिकरणव्यापारवाचकत्वम्¹⁸³ ।

180 पलम. पृ. 146

181 महा. भा. 1. 3. 1

182 पलम. पृ. 148

183 *Ibid.*

However, both these definitions are similar to Kauṇḍabhaṭṭa's definitions of transitive and intransitive roots. Following *kārikā* is found in the धात्वर्थ chapter of VBS.

फलव्यापारयोरेकनिष्ठतायामकर्मकः ।

धातुस्तयोर्धर्मिभेदे सकर्मक उदाहृतः¹⁸⁴ ॥

In the above *kārikā*, Kauṇḍabhaṭṭa used the word एकनिष्ठता for one substratum. Further, Nāgeśa shows the same thing with an example which is also discussed by Bharṭṛhari in the VP.

The meaning of the intransitive root अस् is 'to be' and for that reason, the फल (result) is not visible here. Since, the result is not visible in such roots, all those types of roots are considered as intransitive roots. When we use the root अस् in any sentence, the substratum of action and result is the subject and it would not be considered as intransitive root. Bharṭṛhari testified the same in the following *kārikā*:

आत्मानमात्मना बिभ्रदस्तीति व्यपदिश्यते ।

अन्तर्भावाच्च तेनासौ कर्मणा न सकर्मकः¹⁸⁵ ॥

(The root अस् (to be) is said to possess its existence within itself, i.e., it is having action according to existence and is known as अस्ति. It could not appear as transitive because the object remains embedded in the subject.)

Apart from the above definitions of transitive and intransitive, Nāgeśa has concluded the topic by giving two more definition of the same. Because,

184 वै. भू. सा. 1. 13

185 वाप.

according to the views of Kaunḍabhaṭṭa, roots like शीङ्, स्था and आस् can not be considered as सकर्मक. Those could not express the action which is different than the result. Therefore, Nāgeśa described सकर्मक and अकर्मक as follow:

शब्दशास्त्रीयकर्मसंज्ञकार्थान्वय्यर्थकत्वं सकर्मकत्वम् । तदनन्वय्यर्थकत्वम् अकर्मकत्वम्¹⁸⁶ ।

Those roots which are termed as कर्म by the grammatical process would be considered as सकर्मक and those which are not termed as कर्म would be considered as अकर्मक. Therefore, in the sentence like अध्यासिता भूमयः the root आस् is सकर्मक because the substratum भूमयः is termed as सकर्मक by the rule of grammar अधिशीङ्-स्थासां कर्म. In the above definition of सकर्मक, the term अन्वय suggests the meaning related to the object which is different than the meaning of the root. For example, the meaning of the root जीव् is to bear life. The object 'life' is already embedded in the root जीव्, and for that reason it cannot be considered as सकर्मक root.

IV. I. 6. Meanings of ज्ञा, इष्, पत् and कृ roots

1. Meaning of the root ज्ञा (to know)

Nāgeśa's views regarding the meaning, result and action is as follow:

जानातेः विषयतया ज्ञानं फलम् । आत्ममनःसंयोगो व्यापारः । अत एव मनो जानाति इत्युपपद्यते¹⁸⁷ ।

The knowledge which embedded with the subjects like घट, पट etc., is the फल or meaning of the root ज्ञा and to know those subjects, the combination of आत्मा and

186 पलम. पृ. 150

187 पलम. पृ. 151

मन is the व्यापार. Here, the word आत्मा suggests the meaning of अन्तःकरण (internal organ) and मन suggests the meaning of the power of that internal organ. The sentences like आत्मा आत्मानं जानाति are grammatically true because there are two types of bodies imagined i.e., अन्तरात्मा and शरीरात्मा. First is the subject and later is considered as object.

Further, Nāgeśa has refuted the views of Vedāntin as well as Kauṇḍabhaṭṭa. They both have considered आवरणभङ्ग (destruction of envelopment) as the result of the root ज्ञा. Nāgeśa has refuted both and presented a *kārikā* from the VP.

2. Meaning of the root इष् (to desire)

Further, the meaning of the root इष् is discussed. The result of इष् is desire and the knowledge that is compatible with that desire is व्यापार. Here it can be asked that the substratum of the फल of desire can only be those things which are present at the time of the wish of the person making the wish. How can things of the past and future can be the subjects of desire.

The answer to the above question is that due to the presence of those things in the intellect, the things of the past and future also become the subject of desire.

3. Meaning of the root पत् (to fall)

There are two opinions regarding the meaning of the root पत्. The first meaning is the व्यापार arising from the separation whose फल is संयोग. In this opinion the root would be considered as transitive. For example, नरकं पतितः । (fell into hell).

Here, नरक is termed as कर्म according to the rule of Grammar. Therefore, the root will be considered as सकर्मक.

Another view is that the root पत् means only 'contact arising from separation' and not the action conducive to contact caused by division. In this view, the root पत् is considered to be intransitive. Here, contact was assumed to be the action. Even without being separated from the tree, the leaf may be united with the ground by bending from the branch due to storm etc. But in this case the root पत् is not used. For this reason, the meaning of the root पत् is considered to be the union caused by division.

4. Meaning of the root कृ (to do)

There are also two opinions about the meaning of the root कृ. In the first view, the meaning of the root कृ is व्यापार which has a different substratum from the substratum of the फल and व्यापार. Having different substratum, it will be considered as transitive root.

The second view is that the meaning of the root कृ is only फल which is यत्न (effort). This is the view of the Naiyāyikas and has a fault. According to the definition of intransitive, the root यत् becomes intransitive. Therefore, if we take यत्न as the meaning, the root कृ will become intransitive.

IV. I. 7 Naiyāyikas on लकारार्थ

Nāgeśa has ended the chapter of meaning of roots with the views of Naiyāyikas on the meaning of लकार. Although this topic has been discussed in detail in a

separate chapter, the opinion of the Naiyāyikas has been presented briefly here. Because, Naiyāyikas have considered फल and व्यापार as the meaning of roots. According to them, suffixes like तिप् in the place of लकार suggest the meaning of कृति (activity of will) not कर्ता.

Nāgeśa has refuted the above opinion of Naiyāyikas. Considering the meaning of लकार as कृति, due to lack of equivalence of these pronouns i.e., युष्मद् and अस्मद् with लकार, the system of मध्यमपुरुष and उत्तमपुरुष would not be formed. For example, पचन्तं चैत्रं पश्य । (Look at the cooking Chaitra). In this sentence substitutes like शतृ and शानच् would only suggest the meaning of कृति (activity) but not कर्म (accusative) and सम्प्रदान (dative). One can say that, फलमुखगौरवं न दोषाय (it is not a fault to accept गौरव (needless multiplication of causes) for any major purpose), that is not worth saying. Because, लकारs express the meaning not substitutes like तिप् etc. लकारs are few and substitutes are many.

There is another fault in accepting the meaning of लकारs as कृति. In the examples like रथो गच्छति । (Chariot is going), the chariot is अचेतन (unreal) and there is no यत्न in it. Therefore, one should consider रूढि लक्षणा in the action or root which makes गौरव (needless multiplication of cause).

Another fault is, if they believe the meaning of लकारs is only कृति but not कारक, the कारकs always be undeclared and aphorisms like अनभिहिते of Pāṇini will be useless.

Naiyāyikas also believe that, in the verbal understanding, the meaning of nominative case is primary. Nāgeśa refuted this opinion by explaining the example पश्य! मृगो धावति । (See! deer is running).

IV. II लकारादेशार्थ (meanings of substitutes in place of लकारs) and दशलकारार्थनिरूपणम् (Meaning of ten tenses)

After the detailed explanation of निपात, Nāgeśa has discussed the meaning of लकाराः (tenses) in a separate chapter. Some scholars have considered two chapters for meaning of tenses i.e., दशलकारादेशार्थनिरूपणम् and लकारार्थनिरूपणम्. In the first part, the meaning of suffixes substituted in the place of लकारs are discussed and in the later part the meaning of the ten लकारs are discussed.

I have given logio-grammatical study of both these chapters further. First, I have discussed the meaning of suffixes substituted in the place of लकारs. Naiyāyikas give most importance to conciseness and believe that the power for conveying the meaning stays in लकार but not in suffixes like तिङ्. But the Grammarians have accepted the power to convey the meaning in the suffixes that occur in place of that लकार. Patañjali, in the commentary of the अणुदित् सवर्णस्य चाऽऽप्रत्ययः (1. 1. 69) states that it is the spoken word which convey the meaning, not the unspoken one. Nāgeśa begins present chapter by quoting Patañjali as following:

उच्चारित एव शब्दोऽर्थप्रत्यायको नानुच्चारित इति भाष्याल्लोके
तथैवानुभवाच्च तदादेशतिङामर्थो निरूप्यते¹⁸⁸ ।

The meaning of the तिङ् in the place of the लकारs are either (1) Specific numbers एकत्व, द्वित्व etc. (2) Present, Past and Future time (3) Subject and Object कारकविशेष (4) Action भाव. Suffixes like शप्, श्रम्, etc. at the place of लकारs express the subject, and with the suffixes like यक्, चिण् etc. express the object or

188 पलम. पृ. 243

action. Explaining the meaning of the तिङ्, Nāgeśa cited a verse from VBS of Kaṇḍabhaṭṭa which is as below:

फलव्यापारयोस्तत्र फले तद्भ्रुक्चिणादयः ।

व्यापारे शप्श्रमाद्यास्तु द्योतयन्त्याश्रयान्वयम्¹⁸⁹ ॥ वै. भू. 3

(The suffixes like तिङ्, यक् and चिण् etc. occurring in place of लकारs are indicative of the passive voice. On the contrary, in the presence of suffixes like शप्, श्रम् etc., related to substitutes in place of लकार indicates the Nominative case.)

फलव्यापारयोर्धातुराश्रये तु तिङः स्मृताः ।

फले प्रधानं व्यापारस्तिङर्थस्तु विशेषणम्¹⁹⁰ ॥

Roots are considered to be the meaning of फल and व्यापार and तिङ् are considered to be the वाचक of both कर्ता and कर्म. The व्यापार is primary towards फल and the meanings of तिङ् which are subject, object, number etc. are adjectives.

- Definition of वर्तमानकाल (present tense)

Nāgeśa has given following definition of present tense in the PLM which is as follow:

वर्तमानकालत्वं च प्रारब्धपरिसमाप्तक्रियोपलक्षितत्वम्¹⁹¹ ।

189 पलम. पृ. 245

190 *Ibid.*

191 पलम. पृ. 248

The word वर्तमान is related to time. Therefore, its definition can only be related to time, not separate from it. Hence, the time, which is the substratum of an action which has been started but is not completely finished, is the वर्तमानकाल (present time). To be induced by action means to become the substratum of action.

Kaunḍabhaṭṭa has given another definition of वर्तमानकाल. According to him, the present time is different from the past and future¹⁹². There are only three types of time, hence the third one can be known by differentiating from two.

Further, the meanings of तिङ् substituted in the place of all लकारs are being explained.

The meaning of तिङ् substituted in the place of लिट्

There are two types of time considered i.e., अद्यतन and अनद्यतन. Both these differences are of past and future tenses. The meaning suffix तिङ् substituting in the place of लिट् is अनद्यतन or परोक्ष (beyond the range of sight). Further, the meaning of the roots like कृ, भू and substitute आम् are discussed in detail.

The meaning of तिङ् substituted in the place of लुट् and लृट्

The suffix तिङ् occurring in the place of लुट् (first future) means अनद्यतन (not applicable to the current day). The rest of the meaning is the same as the meaning of तिङ् occurring in the place of लट्.

192 भूतभविष्यद्भिन्नत्वं वर्तमानत्वम् । पलम. पृ. 248

The definition of भविष्यत्व is given as follow:

भविष्यत्वं च वर्तमानप्रागभावप्रतियोगिक्रियोपलक्षितत्वम्¹⁹³ ।

(The प्रागभाव (non-existence of anything) which is indicated by the action which has an origin in the present tense and is a substratum of action is called लृट् first future).

The meaning of the तिङ् substituted in the place of लृट् is as follow:

लृट्-तिङ्स्तु भविष्यत्सामान्यमर्थः¹⁹⁴ ।

The meaning of the तिङ् substituted in the place of लृट् is भविष्यत् (future). The rule of Pāṇini लृट् शेषे च । 3. 3. 3 is termed लृट् लकार for future tense. The अनुवृत्ति of भविष्य in the rule is taken from the rule भविष्यति गम्यादयः । 3. 3. 3

The meaning of तिङ् substituted in the place of लेट्

The meaning of 'Ting' occurring in place of 'लेट् लकार' is विधि (precepts). The rule लिङ्गर्थे लेट् । 3. 4. 7 describes the meaning of लेट्. Usage of लेट् forms is found only in Vedas and Brahmin texts. That is why Pāṇini has prescribed लेट् only from the point of view of Vedic words. In the usage of लेट् and लट्, Nāgeśa has considered the difference only in terms of form between अट् and आट् insertions. Like लट् लकार has such a भवति form, then लेट् लकार has a भवाति form.

193 पलम. पृ. 253

194 *Ibid.*

The meaning of तिङ् substituted in the place of लोट्

The meaning of तिङ् in the place of लोट् is given as follow:

लोटितङ्स्तु विध्यादिरर्थः । तत्र अधीष्टम् सत्कारपूर्वको व्यापारः¹⁹⁵ ।

The तिङ् occurring in place of लोट् has the same meaning as विधि etc. In them the word अधीष्ट means to put someone into action respectfully. For example, आगच्छतु भवान् जलं गृह्णातु । (come, drink water).

The meaning of तिङ् substituted in the place of लङ्

लङादेशस्य तु भातानद्यतनत्वम् अधिकोऽर्थः । शेषं लङ्वत्¹⁹⁶ ।

The meaning of तिङ् occurring in the place of लङ् is भूत-अनद्यतन (more like past tenses which not applicable to the current day).

The meaning of तिङ् substituted in the place of लिङ्

Nāgeśa has quoted Kauṇḍabhaṭṭa's *kārikā* explaining the meaning of लिङ् लकार. The meaning of तिङ् occurring in the place of लिङ् is विधि, निमिन्त्रण, आमन्त्रण, सम्प्रश्न and प्रार्थना.

अस्ति प्रवर्तनारूपम् अनुस्यूतं चतुर्ष्वपि ।

195 पलम. पृ. 254

196 पलम. पृ. 255

तत्रैव लिङ् विधातव्यः किं भेदस्य विवक्षया¹⁹⁷ ॥

Further, he has given the definition of प्रवर्तनात्वम्.

The meaning of तिङ् in the place of लुङ् and लृङ्

लुडादेशस्य तु भूतसामान्यम् अर्थः । भूतत्वं च वर्तमानध्वंसप्रतियोगिक्रियोपलक्षितत्वम्¹⁹⁸ ।

तिङ् occurring in place of लुङ् means simple past tense. The meaning of past tense here is to refer to an action that happened in the past.

तिङ् occurring in place of लृङ् means when the incompleteness of action becomes visible and causative feeling appears it becomes past and future tense.

197 पलम. पृ. 255

198 पलम. पृ. 260

IV. III कारकार्थनिरूपणम् (Meanings of Cases)

After the explanation of the meaning of substitutes in place of लकार as well as the meaning of लकारs, Nāgeśa started explaining the meaning of कारकs. In the beginning he gave the name of six cases in one verse which is as follow:

कर्ता कर्म च करणं सम्प्रदानं तथैव च ।

अपादानाधिकरणमित्याहुः कारकाणि षट्¹⁹⁹ ॥

- | | |
|---------------------|---------------------------------|
| 1. कर्ता (subject) | 4. सम्प्रदान (receiver) |
| 2. कर्म (object) | 5. अपादान (point of separation) |
| 3. करण (instrument) | 6. अधिकरण (location) |

After that, he has given a definition of कारक which is as follow:

क्रियानिष्पादकत्वं कारकत्वम्²⁰⁰ ।

(The causative factor is to perform the action).

IV. III. 1 कर्ताकारक (subject) - प्रथमाविभक्ति (nominative case) and सम्बोधन (vocative)

कर्ता is a substratum of action which is the meaning of the root²⁰¹. Nāgeśa also quoted Bhartṛhari's *kārikā* which also testifies the same. The hemistich is as follow:

199 पलम. पृ. 315

200 *Ibid.*,

201 तत्र प्रकृतधातुवाच्यव्यापाराश्रयत्वं कर्तृत्वम् ।

धातुनोक्तक्रिये नित्यं कारके कर्तृतेष्यते²⁰² ।

The व्यापार (process) is not expressed through other cases than subject. For example, वह्निना पचति । (cooks with fire). Here, the processes like ignition etc. in fire are not meaning of the root पच्. In the definition of कर्तृत्व, the term 'धातुवाच्य' has been given to prevent the process of the action in other कारकs.

It is widely known that anything which is termed as subject will be nominative case. The aphorism प्रातिपदिकार्थलिङ्गपरिमाणवचनमात्रे प्रथमा²⁰³ suggests that all the crude form of words, gender, measurement and numbers will be nominative case. But there's no mention of the word कारक. Therefore, we have to consider two *vārtika* from the MB²⁰⁴ i.e., तिङ्समानाधिकरणे प्रथमा and अभिहिते प्रथमा. These two *vārtika* are complying with the word कारक and for that reason कर्ताकारक should be considered as the meaning of nominative case.

Pāṇini has given one more aphorism form nominative case which is सम्बोधने च²⁰⁵ । It clarifies that the words with vocative case is also a meaning of nominative case. Here, a question arises that how nominative case can be termed as कारक due to lack of productivity of action. The answer is, सम्बोधन means turning towards someone who is not facing the speaker and its result is to engage in work or to retire from work. सम्बोधन has been called अनुवाद्य-विषय. It means the speaker addresses what already exists. Bharṭṛhari also explained the same in VP.

202 पलम. पृ. 316

203 अष्टाध्यायी 2. 3. 46

204 महा. भा. 2. 3. 46

205 अष्टाध्यायी 2. 3. 47

सिद्धस्याभिमुखीभावमात्रं सम्बोधनं विदुः ।

प्राप्ताभिमुख्यो ह्यर्थात्मा क्रियासु विनियुज्यते²⁰⁶ ॥

- Other definition of कारक

Further, Nāgeśa has discussed various definitions of कारक which are as follow:

- क्रियानिमित्तत्वं कारकत्वम्²⁰⁷ ।

If it is said that the cause of an action is कारक. Nāgeśa has not clarified that who has given the above definition in any other scriptures. He has just presented the definition as पूर्वपक्ष without giving name of any scholar. He refuted above by saying that the word निमित्त in the definition suggests the meaning of प्रेरकनिमित्त (conducive cause) rather than उत्पादक-निमित्त (productive cause). In the accepting of above definition अतिव्याप्ति arises in the sentences like चैत्रस्य तण्डुलं पचति । Here, चैत्रस्य suggests relative case which is not कारक. To resolve the fault, Nāgeśa gave two more definitions of कारक which are as follows:

क्रियाऽन्वितविभक्त्यर्थान्वितत्वं कारकत्वम् ।

क्रियानिर्वर्तकत्वं कारकत्वम् ।

The meaning of the first definition is that the object that is being used in the case (subject or instrument) that is being expressed in the action is कारक.

The meaning of the second definition is that whatever is the originator of the action is कारक.

206 वाप. 3. 7. 163

207 पलम. पृ. 223

Further, Nāgeśa has refuted one more definition of कर्तृत्व given by the Mīmāṃsakas which is as follows:

कारकान्तरप्रयोज्यत्वे सति कारकचक्रप्रयोजकत्वं कर्तृत्वम् ।

It means that the one who is not inspired by any other कारक and is the inspirer of all other कारकS is the subject. Patañjali also accepted above definition in MB.

According to him, when all other कारकS are present, work does not happen unless the कर्ता inspires those कारकS. Therefore, the subject is primary among all.

Nāgeśa refuted Patañjali also. He gave the example, स्थाली पचति । Here, स्थाली (a plate) is inanimate matter and cannot inspire to do the action of cooking. Kaṇḍabhaṭṭa also refuted above definition by giving the example दण्डः करोति ।

Dr. Kapildev Shastri doesn't accept above opinion of Nāgeśa and Kaṇḍabhaṭṭa and remarks as follow:

परन्तु नागेशभट्ट तथा कौण्डभट्ट का यह खण्डन उचित नहीं है क्योंकि स्थाली पचति या दण्डः करोति इत्यादि प्रयोगों में स्थाली आदि अचेतन पदार्थों में चेतनता का आरोप करके ही उन में कर्तृत्व की विवक्षा की गयी । इस प्रकार जब आरोपित चेतनता वहां है तो स्थाली या दण्ड इत्यादि स्वतः अन्य कारकों के प्रेरक तथा कर्ता से अप्रेर्य हो जायेंगे²⁰⁸ ।

IV. III. 2. कर्मकारक (object) and द्वितीया विभक्ति (accusative case)

Nāgeśa has given following definition of object.

208 पलम. पृ. 327

कर्मत्वं च प्रकृत-धात्वर्थप्रधानीभूतव्यापारप्रयोज्यप्रकृतधात्वर्थफलाश्रयत्वेन उद्देश्यत्वम्²⁰⁹ ।

The root that is being used, the meaning of that root which is action that directly arises from it and what is desired by the speaker is the object. In the example, कुम्भकारः घटं करोति । (Potter makes a pot), घट is termed as object. Because the primary meaning of the root कृ is उत्पत्त्यनुकूलव्यापारः (process to be done) and the secondary meaning is the result of the process, means a pot. And the pot is also ईप्सिततम (most intensely desired) by the potter. Therefore, घट is termed as कर्म.

Further, Nāgeśa has discussed particular words i.e., प्रयोज्य, प्रकृतधात्वर्थफल and उद्देश्यत्व given in the definition. He also has made some additions to above definition of कर्म. According to him, the word योग्यताविशेष-शालित्वम् should be add at the end of definition. For example, चैत्रः काशीं गच्छति न प्रयागम् । (Caitra goes to Kāśī not Payāga). According to the rule of Pāṇini, कर्तुरीप्सिततमं कर्म । 1. 4. 49, the meaning of ईप्सिततम is considered not only desired but also योग्यताविशेष (exceptional competency) and प्रयाग also will be termed as कर्म. Further, the rule of Pāṇini तथायुक्तं चानीप्सितम् । 1. 4. 50 also discussed.

There are some द्विकर्मक (having two accusatives) roots like दुह्, याच् etc., in which two actions appear simultaneously. In the sentence, गां दोग्धि पयः, it appears that the cow separates the milk from itself, while it also appears that the cowherd gets the milk separated from the cow. According to above definition of कर्म, the word गो and पयस् both will be termed as कर्म and the rule of Pāṇini अकथितं च । 1. 4. 50 will be useless.

209 पलम. पृ. 328

Here, Nāgeśa presents his views on this by saying that in the द्विकर्मक roots shows only one primary action. For example, the root दुह् only suggests the meaning of the action of the cowherd. In this situation, if the word गो will declare by the अपादान that would be right but there is no विवक्षा (intention of speaker) that would be of relative case.

In this case, views of Naiyāyikas are also discussed. Nāgeśa has given various definitions presented by Naiyāyikas and all are refuted. Definitions of सकर्मक and अकर्मक roots are discussed again in the light of कर्मकारक. Those definitions are similar to the definitions discussed in the धात्वर्थनिरूपणम्.

IV. III. 3 करणकारक (instrument) and तृतीया विभक्ति (instrumental case)

The definition of instrument is given in the PLM is as follow:

स्वनिष्ठव्यापाराव्यवधानेन फलनिष्पादकत्वं करणत्वम् । इदमेव साधकतमत्वम्²¹⁰ ।

The व्यापार (action) of कारक produces the result without any intervention is the instrument. For example, दण्डेन घटं करोति । (makes a pot with a stick). Here, the दण्ड is a कारक and through the process of it the pot is being made. The action of stick produces the result in the form of pot and the दण्ड is करणकारक.

The definition is similar to the rule of Pāṇini साधकतमं करणम् । 1. 4. 42. In the word साधकतमम्, the suffix तमप् suggests the meaning of प्रकर्ष (superiority). This superiority is visible only in comparison to other कारकs, not in comparison to any other instrument.

210 पलम. पृ. 345

Nāgeśa has quoted the *kārikā* from VP explaining the definition of instrument which is as follow:

क्रियायाः परिनिष्पत्तिर्यद्वापारादनन्तरम् ।

विवक्ष्यते यदा यत्र करणं तत्तदा स्मृतम्²¹¹ ॥

Nāgeśa has explained above *kārikā* with the example रामः बाणेन वालिं हन्ति । (Rāma kills Vāli with an arrow). Above definition of Bhartṛhari, the word क्रिया suggests the meaning of फल in the form of action. In the active voice, the separation of life force in the body arising from the action of the arrow and the action of the doer in the form of Rāma appears. In the passive voice, the result which is separation of life through the arrow is first perceived, and later the arrow is perceived to have been fired by Rāma.

In the PLM, instrument and instrumental case have been explained very briefly. The views of either Naiyāyikas or the Mīmāṃsakas regarding instrument or instrumental case has not been mentioned.

IV. III. 4 सम्प्रदानकारक (act of giving) and चतुर्थी विभक्ति (dative case)

The definition of सम्प्रदान given in the PLM is as follows:

क्रियामात्रकर्मसम्बन्धाया क्रियायामुद्देश्यं यत् कारकं तत्त्वं सम्प्रदानत्वम्²¹² ।

The word क्रियामात्र suggests the meaning of all actions. Therefore, whatever कारक is presented as the objective to relate the उद्देश्य (anything to which one refers), it will be सम्प्रदान. In general, the meaning of the word दान is to give

211 वाप. 3. 7. 90

212 पलम. पृ. 347

something to a needy person like charity. So, a question arises that the meaning of the word दान in the name of सम्प्रदानकारक is also to give?

Dr. Kapildev Shastri answers this question as follows:

ऐसा कहना इसलिये आवश्यक था कि कुछ प्राचीन व्याख्याकार केवल दान क्रिया के 'कर्म' के साथ सम्बन्ध करने के लिये दान क्रिया के उद्देश्य के रूप में प्रस्तुत किये गये 'कारक' को 'सम्प्रदान' कारक मानते थे²¹³ ।

Nāgeśa has presented different example than विप्राय गां ददाति (Gives a cow to Vipra) which is चैत्रः मैत्राय वार्ताः कथयति । (Caitra narrates story to Maitra). In this example दान is not an action but कथन is an action. To relate its action with conversation, Maitra has been presented as the उद्देश्य (object of the statement).

Views of वृत्तिकारs and their refutation

Regarding the definition of सम्प्रदानकारक, Nāgeśa has presented the opinion of some ancient commentators of अष्टाध्यायी. Among those वृत्तिस, only काशिकावृत्ति is available in present time.

सम्यक् प्रदीयते यस्मै तत् सम्प्रदानम् इत्यन्वर्थसंज्ञेयम्²¹⁴ ।

213 पलम. पृ. 348

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It means, the one for whom it is given well is a सम्प्रदान. In this form it is अन्वर्थसंज्ञा (term whose meaning is intelligible in itself). Bhaṭṭojidīkṣita also presented the similar meaning in the commentary of the rule कर्मणा यमभिप्रैति स सम्प्रदानम् । 1. 4. 32. According to him दानस्य कर्मणा यमभिप्रैति स सम्प्रदानसंज्ञः स्यात्²¹⁵ । Therefore, the things which are to be taken back after given will not have सम्प्रदानसंज्ञा. In the examples like रजकस्य वस्त्रं ददाति । (gives clothes to the washerman), the clothes have to be taken back after washing, hence it is not the सम्प्रदान of the word रजक but has relative case.

According to Nāgeśa, above opinions of वृत्तिकारs are not appropriate. Accepting above views contradicts the statement of MB. Patañjali has given an example खण्डिकोपाध्यायः शिष्याय चपेटां ददाति²¹⁶(Teacher slaps pupil). Patañjali has not accepted सम्प्रदान as अन्वर्थसंज्ञा (a term whose meaning is intelligible in itself).

Therefore, the usage of the root दा and other roots, whether there is meaning of proper giving or not, the उद्देश्य which is to establish relation with the action of another verb should be considered as सम्प्रदान.

While presenting his opinion on सम्प्रदान, Nāgeśa has given the definition as follow:

सम्प्रदानचतुर्थ्यर्थ उद्देश्यः²¹⁷ ।

215 वै. सि. कौ. 1. 4. 32

216 वै. महा. 1. 4. 32

217 पलम. पृ. 351

The meaning of चतुर्थी विभक्ति (dative case) inflection from सम्प्रदानकारक is उद्देश्य (thing to which one refers). In the example विप्राय गां ददाति (gives a cow to Vipra), The Vipra is उद्देश्य and such charity in which cow is an object. The cow is being donated for the purpose of Vipra.

Further, another definition of सम्प्रदान is also presented by Nāgeśā which is as follow:

अकर्मकक्रियोद्देश्यत्वं सम्प्रदानत्वम्²¹⁸ ।

In the very first definition of सम्प्रदान, the word कर्म suggested only the transitive roots. Therefore, Nāgeśā has presented above definition. According to that, if the root is intransitive then the उद्देश्य will be considered as सम्प्रदान.

Further, Nāgeśā has discussed the relevance of the rule कर्मणा यमभिप्रैति स सम्प्रदानम् । 1. 4. 32 and ended the topic.

IV. III. 5. अपादान (point of separation) and पञ्चमी विभक्ति (ablative case)

The definition of अपादान given in the PLM is as follows:

तत्-तत्-कर्तृसमवेत-तत्-तत्-क्रियाजन्यप्रकृतधात्ववाच्यविभागाश्रयत्वम् अपादानत्वम्²¹⁹ ।

That is to say, to become a substratum for such separation, which don't significantly relate to the root, arising from that action and existing in that subject through the समवाय-सम्बन्ध (inseparable relation) is अपादान.

218 *Ibid.*

219 पलम. पृ. 355

For example, रामः गृहात् आयाति (Rāma comes from the home). In this sentence, the action of coming is there through the समवाय-सम्बन्ध in the subject Rāma. The action of coming generates separation from home and this separation is not a significant meaning of the root या which is combined with the prefix आ. The substratum of the separation is गृह. Therefore, it is termed as अपादानकारक and ablative case. Further, Nāgeśa has discussed the relevance of the words तत्-तत्-कर्तृ and तत्-तत्-क्रिया in the definition. He has given example like वृक्षं त्यजति खगः (Bird leaves tree) and परस्परस्मान् मेषावपसरतः (Two sheep separate from each other).

Presenting the importance of the word, Nāgeśa has quoted Bhartṛhari.

न सोऽस्ति प्रत्ययो लोके यः शब्दानुगादृते ।

अनुविद्धमवज्ञानं सर्वं शब्देन भासते²²⁰ ॥

(There is no such knowledge in the world which is without the understanding of words. Complete knowledge appears as if word is integral to it.)

Due to difference of words in the same element, there is difference in meaning because only the meaning encapsulated by the word is understood.

Another definition of अपादानकारक is also discussed without mentioning name of anyone which is as follow:

गत्यनाविष्टत्वे सति तज्जन्यविभागाश्रयत्वम्²²¹ ।

220 पलम. पृ. 357

221 पलम. पृ. 362

It means कारक which is not a substratum of action but of the separation which arises from the action. Nāgeśa refuted above definition by giving examples like परस्परस्मान् मेषावपरसरतः (two sheep separation from each other) and पर्वतात् पततोऽश्वात् पतत्यश्ववाहः (The rider falls from the horse falling down the mountain). In both these examples, sheep and horse are substratum of the actions i.e., separation and falling down. So, there is अव्याप्ति fault in the above definition.

Further, the meaning of the ablative case also discussed in one line which is पञ्चम्यर्थोऽवधिः (The meaning of the ablative case is अवधि). In the अष्टाध्यायी, Pāṇini described the rule ध्रुवमपायेऽपादानम् । 1. 4. 24 for अपादानकारक. In that rule, the meaning of the word ध्रुव is also अवधि (time-period).

IV. III. 6 अधिकरण (location) and सप्तमी विभक्ति (locative case)

The definition of अधिकरण which is given in the PLM is as follows:

कर्तृकर्मद्वारकफलव्यापाराधारत्वम् अधिकरणत्वम्²²² ।

The subject and the object becoming the basis of the action and the result respectively is the form of अधिकरण (location). For example, चैत्रः स्थाल्याम् ओदनं गृहे पचति (Cooks rice in a pot at home). In this sentence, the basis of the substratum of the cooking process by the subject Caitra is the house and the substratum of the result in the form of cooked rice is the pot.

The above definition of अधिकरण described by Nāgeśā is similar to the Bhartṛhari's definition of अधिकरण which is as follow:

222 पलम. पृ. 366

कर्तृ-कर्म-व्यवहिताम् असाक्षाद् धारयत्क्रियाम् ।

उपकुर्वत्क्रियासिद्धौ शास्त्रैऽधिकरणं स्मृतम्²²³ ॥

(The कारक which is related to the subject and the action and which helps in the accomplishment of the action by becoming the not-physical basis of the action, has been called अधिकरण in the scriptures.)

Three Types of अधिकरण

There are three types of अधिकरण are described in the PLM.

1. अभिव्यापक

अभिव्यापक-अधिकरण (comprehending location) is the primary among other two types. Nāgeśa also described that अभिव्यापकातिरिक्तं गौणम् अधिकरणम् इति बोध्यम्²²⁴ । (Other two types of location which is different than अभिव्यापक-अधिकरण should be considered secondary अधिकरण). The definition of अभिव्यापक is as follow:

तत्र सकलावयवव्याप्तौ व्यापकाधारत्वम्²²⁵ ।

Where the power of आधेय pervades every element of the आधार, that is called अभिव्यापक-अधिकरण. For example, तिलेषु तैलम् (There is oil in sesame seeds).

223 वाप. 3. 7. 148

224 पलम. पृ. 368

225 *Ibid.*

Here, the oil is spread throughout the molecules of the sesame seeds, hence it will be considered as आधेय and तिल as अभिव्यापक-आधार.

2. औपश्लेषिक

The meaning of उपश्लेष is considered as सामीप्य-सम्बन्ध (proximity) by Nāgeśa. From the point of view of proximity, the substratum which is related to it is औपश्लेषिक-अधिकरण. Nāgeśa has given the example of a rule of Pāṇini इको यणचि । 6. 1. 77. In this rule, the word अचि is of locative case. The meaning of अचि is the vowels which are near to the letters of इक् प्रत्याहार.

Nāgeśa has refuted the example कटे आस्ते (sits on the mat) of the औपश्लेषिक अधिकरण which amazed the scholars. Because in the VSLM, शब्देन्दुशेखर and उद्योत commentary of MB, this example is considered for औपश्लेषिक but in the PLM it is refuted.

Dr. Kapildev Shastri commented on that as follow:

इस रूप में यह स्पष्ट है कि नागेशभट्ट ने लघुमञ्जूषा, शब्देन्दुशेखर तथा महाभाष्य की उद्योत टीका में 'कटे आस्ते' जैसे प्रयोगों को औपश्लेषिक अधिकरण का उदाहरण माना है। परन्तु यां परमलघुमञ्जूषा में उन्हीं प्रयोगों को वे विषय स्पतमी का उदाहरण क्यों मान बैठे ? यह बात समझ में नहीं आती²²⁶।

3. वैषयिक

The definition of वैषयिक substratum is as follow:

226 *Ibid.*, पृ. 371

एतद्वातिरिक्तं वैषयिकम् अधिकरणम् 227।

वैषयिक (object of the action) is considered to be substratum different from the अभिव्यापक and औपश्लेषिक. In the अभिव्यापक, आधेय and आधार were related through समवाय-सम्बन्ध and in the औपश्लेषिक, आधेय and आधार were related through सामीप्य-सम्बन्ध or संयोग-सम्बन्ध. Apart from these three relations, when आधार and आधेय relate through the विषयता-सम्बन्ध that will be considered वैषयिक type of substratum. The examples are कटे आस्ते (sits on the mat) and जले मत्स्याः सन्ति (There are fish in the water).

The topic ends with the explanation of सत्सप्तमी in which an action that aims at another action. Pāṇini also made the rule यस्य च भावेन भावलक्षणम् । 2. 3. 37 for that.

IV. III. 7 Meaning of the षष्ठी विभक्ति (relative case)

The definition of relative case is given in the PLM at the end of the chapter of कारकs which is as follow:

कारकप्रातिपदिकार्थव्यतिरिक्तः स्वस्वामिभावादिः सम्बन्धः षष्ठ्या वाच्यः²²⁸ ।

The meaning of the relative case is relation like self and master which is different from कारकs and प्रातिपदिकार्थ (meaning of the crude form of word). For example, राज्ञः पुरुषः (king's man). The relative case in the word राजन् suggests the meaning of to be a king's man which is स्व-स्वामिभावसम्बन्धः.

227 *Ibid.*, पृ. 368

228 *Ibid.*, पृ. 373

Chapter ends with the explanation of relative case. Nāgeśa has presented it very briefly and at the end he quoted Bhartṛhari for the reason of arising the relative case which is as follow:

भेद-भेदकयोश्चैकसम्बन्धोऽन्योऽन्यमिष्यते ।

द्विष्टो यद्यपि सम्बन्धः षष्ठ्युत्पत्तिस्तु भेदकात्²²⁹ ॥

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229 पलम. पृ. 375