I.1. History and Development of Sanskrit Grammar

It is said that in the ancient times, the Sanskrit language was अव्याकृत i.e., devoid of division of प्रकृति (natural forms) and प्रत्यय (suffixes). It was preached by reciting each word. But because of that lot of hard-work and time was spent to learn and practice. So, the gods prayed to *Indra*, the great grammarian of that time and asked to make Grammar simpler which can make sense of the meaning of words in less effort and in less time. Hearing the prayers of the gods, *Indra* started the process of telling the words by dividing those on the basis of their natural forms and suffixes. For that, the संस्कार (recollection) of natural forms and suffixes of words, the second name of *Devavāṇī* became Sanskrit. Poet Daṇḍi also recited this in his काव्यादर्श.

<div align="center">संस्कृतं नाम दैवी वाक् अन्वाख्याता महर्षिभिः[1] ॥</div>

Now again come to the term; Sanskrit Grammar, वेदs are considered as the root source of all available knowledge in the world. So, the root of Sanskrit Grammar is वेद itself. According to Max muller:

> "We may divide the whole of Sanskrit literature, beginning with the *Ṛgveda* and ending with Dayānanda's Introduction to his edition of the *Ṛgveda*.[2]"

Despite this, it is very difficult to say when the Grammar originated. It can be said that this scripture was fully developed before the composition of the Vedic texts. Because in the Vedic hymns, the suffixes, prefixes, roots and compounds

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1 काव्यादर्शः । 13.3

2 India: What can it teach us, p.125

are used very well. It is worth noting that the वेदs themselves are considered a rich linguistic and grammatical resource. The hymns and rituals in the वेदs show the complexities of Vedic Sanskrit and provide example of grammatical forms, poetic meters and syntactical constructions.

Bhartṛhari used a term साधुत्वज्ञानविषया for Sanskrit Grammar and established it in the category of स्मृतिs[3]. From the data available it can be known that in the Vedic era Grammar was considered as a pre-requisite for learning the वेदs. Patañjali mentioned in the MB that a ब्राह्मण should learn the वेदs with their six limbs without reason. Grammar is the main among those six limbs of the वेदs. Learning वेदs will be meaningful only after learning that main limb Grammar.

ब्राह्मणेन निष्कारणो षडङ्गो वेदेऽध्येयो ज्ञेयश्च इति । प्रधानं च षट्स्वङ्गेषु व्याकरणम् ।
प्रधाने च कृतो यत्नः फलवान् भवति[4] ।

Further, stating that the study of grammar is necessary to know the Vedic words, he said that:

पुराकल्प एतदासीत् - संस्कारोत्तरकालं ब्राह्मणा व्याकरण स्माधीयते ।
तेभ्यस्तत्तत्स्थानकरणणनादानुप्रदानज्ञेभ्यो वैदिकाः शब्दा उपदिश्यन्ते ।

In ancient times, after the उपवीतसंस्कार, the students first studied grammar, then the वेदs were studied.

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3 साधुत्वज्ञानविषया सेयं व्याकरणं स्मृतिः ।

अविच्छेदेन शिष्टानामिदं स्मृतिनिबन्धनम् ॥ वाप. 1.158

4 व्या. महा. पृ. 10

I.1.1 Some Vedic references to the Sanskrit Grammar

The following hymn of ऋग्वेद is considered to be the seed of Sanskrit Grammar:

चत्वारि शृङ्गा त्रयोऽस्य पादा

द्वे शीर्षे सप्त हस्तासोऽस्य ।

त्रिधा बद्धो वृषभो रोरवीति

महो देवो मर्त्याम् आविवेश[5] ॥

Giving the above example, Patañjali has presented the word as ब्रह्म in the following way:

> In the above hymn word, which is supreme power and presented in the form of वृषभ (Taurus). That शब्दब्रह्म has entered the living beings. He has four horns which are नाम, आख्यात, उपसर्ग and निपात, three legs which are Past, Future and Present tenses, two heads which are सुप् and तिङ् suffixes, seven hands which are the form of seven विभक्तिs and he is bound by three places which are head, heart and throat.

The ब्रह्म in the form of speech has been divided into four parts, which is in accordance with the philosophy of grammar. Out of these, the first three types of speech are very mysterious, what humans speak is the fourth type of speech. The same thing has been told in the ऋग्वेद as follow:

चत्वारि वाक् परिमिता पदानि तानि विदुर्ब्राह्मणा ये मनीषिणः ।

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5 ऋग्वेदः । 4. 58. 3

गुहा त्रीणि निहिता नेङ्गयन्ति तुरीयं वाचो मनुष्या वदन्ति[6] ।।

In the ऋग्वेद, the form of speech has been depicted as follow:

उत त्वः पश्यन्न ददर्श वाचमुत त्वः शृण्वन् न शृणोत्येनाम् ।

उतो त्वस्मै तन्वं वि सस्ने जायेव पत्य उशती सुवासाः[7] ।।

The goddess of speech does not see or hear whom she does not want, but before whom she has mercy, she reveals her form in the same way that a wife adorned with ornaments reveals her form before her husband.

In the ब्राह्मण literature we can see the real beginning of the grammar. In that too, some famous terms of Grammar are also found in the गोपथब्राह्मण.

गोपथब्राह्मणम् -
ओंकारं पृच्छामः को धातुः किं प्रातिपदिकं किं नामाख्यातं किं लिङ्गं किं वचनं का विभक्तिः
कः प्रत्ययः कः स्वरः उपसर्गो निपातः किं वै व्याकरणं को विकारः को विकारी कतिमात्रः
कतिवर्णः कत्यक्षरः कतिपदः कः संयोगः किं स्थानानुप्रदानकरण[8]....

In the same ब्राह्मण text, the definition of अव्यय is also found.
सदृशं त्रिषु लिङ्गेषु सर्वासु च विभक्तिषु ।
वचनेषु च सर्वेषु यन्न व्येति तदव्ययम्[9] ।।

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6 ऋग्वेदः । 1. 164. 45

7 *Ibid.,* 10. 71. 4

8 गोपथब्राह्मणम्, 1. 24

9 *Ibid.,* 1. 26,

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मुण्डकोपनिषद् -

> तत्रापरा ऋग्वेदो यजुर्वेदः सामवेदोऽथर्ववेदः शिक्षा कल्पो व्याकरणम् ।
>
> निरुक्तं छन्दो ज्यौतिषमिति । अथ परा यया तदक्षरमधिगम्यते ।।[10]

Apart from that, वेद is visualized as a body. In that form Grammar is visualized as the mouth of the वेदपुरुष

> छन्दः पादौ तु वेदस्य हस्तौ कल्पोऽथ पठ्यते ।
>
> ज्योतिषामयनं चक्षुर्निरुक्तं श्रोत्रमुच्यते ।।
>
> शिक्षा घ्राणं तु वेदस्य मुखं व्याकरणं स्मृतम् ।
>
> तस्मात् साङ्गमधीत्यैव ब्रह्मलोके महीयते[11] ।।

For the protection of the वेद, the method of अष्टाविकृति has been developed. The first of them is पदपाठ, which is the first step in the study of prefixes and suffixes in the mantras of the संहिता.

I.1.2 Some *Purāṇic* and *Śāstric* references to the Sanskrit Grammar

It is known from Vālmīki's रामायण that, during Rāma's time there was systematic reading and teaching of Sanskrit Grammar.

> नूनं व्याकरणं कृत्स्नमनेन बहुधा श्रुतम् ।
>
> बहु व्याहरतानेन न किञ्चिदपभाषितम्[12] ।। 4.3.29

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10 मुण्डकोपनिषद्, 1. 5, पृ.16

11 वाप. 1. 42 - 43

12 वाल्मीकीय रामायणम्, 4. 3. 29

In the महाभारत the word Grammar has been used in its original meaning.

सर्वार्थिनां व्याकरणाद् वैयाकरण उच्यते ।

तन्मूलतो व्याकरणं व्याकरोतीति तत्कथा ।।

Again, in the महाभारत Vyāsa says that, correct use of language makes a person excellent and through that merit the person who uses the authentic language attains heaven.

दिवं स्पृशति भूमिं च शब्दः पुण्यस्य कर्मणः ।

यावत् स शब्दो भवति तावत् स्वर्गे महीयते[13] ।।

In the वायुपुराण Grammar is described as शब्दशास्त्र and the वायु is said to be an expert of Sanskrit Grammar.

तत्राभिमानी भगवान्वायुश्चातिक्रियात्मकः ।

वातारणिः समाख्यातः शब्दशास्त्रविशारदः[14] ।।

I.1.3 Pre-Pāṇinian philosophy of Sanskrit Grammar

The study of grammar and linguistic analysis has been discussed throughout history. It refers to the linguistic theories and frameworks that were prevalent in ancient India prior Pāṇini's work. Before Pāṇini, there were several grammatical

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13 महाभारतम्, वनपर्व. 199. 13

14 वायुपुराणम्, 2. 44

schools emerged, each with its own approach and philosophy i.e., शिक्षा and निरुक्त schools. Among the five limbs of वेदs शिक्षा, व्याकरण, निरुक्त and छंद are related to linguistics. The महाभाष्यम् of Patañjali contains many passages which indicate background of a regular system of philosophy. It is said that, when Yāska wrote a commentary on निघण्टु (700-500 BCE), many branches of Sanskrit Grammar were in existence at that time. It is clear from वैयाकरणानां चैके[15] one of his statements that he was following his predecessor or his contemporary grammarians. He cited the definition of सन्धि, परः सन्निकर्षः संहिता is also explained in the अष्टाध्यायी of Pāṇini. So, it is possible that the definition was derived from their earlier grammar branches.

According to the available data, it can be said that the study and importance of Sanskrit Grammar has been there since the Vedic period. It was considered necessary to study grammar before studying the Vedas.

I.2 History and Development of Philosophy of Sanskrit Grammar

When we talk about the philosophy of language from the perspective of the world, then a question arises as to when the philosophical view of language would have started. Brayan Magee, a British Philosopher says that:

> "Language is so far thought to be a transparent medium through which we learn the natural and social order of things when we hear the appropriate words of some speaker. But men in Europe came to notice in the twentieth century that our very experiences are instead shaped and determined by the language we use. Our world is partly at least, the creation of

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15 Sarup, Lakshman, *The Nighaṇṭu and the Nirukta,* p.36

this language. This awareness was so new that men became acutely self-conscious of language. It has been said that this awareness is a central characteristic of the twentieth century."[16]

But again, when we say about India, there has been widespread self-awareness about the Sanskrit language since Vedic Period. Early emergence of so many different systems of language study, from the study of etymology to hermeneutics or theory of interpretation of scriptural texts testify the truth. We found it necessary to pay attention to the study of Sanskrit language and its purity. Otherwise, our tradition and culture would be endangered.

On the other hand, India also has been credited with first developing science of language or language study. Philosopher and linguist like Frits Staal defended the Pāṇinian Linguistics to be an exact science[17]. At the time, when various schools of Philosophy appeared, "Philosophy of Language" in the technical terms did not emerge in India. R. Rorty says on that:

> Philosophy of language succeeds and supersedes another branch of philosophy which was the core of philosophy so long, namely epistemology[18].

F. Staal commented that:

16 Magee, Brayan, Philosophy of Language: Dialogue with John Searle, p.157

17 Staal, Frits, Ritual, Grammar and the origins of Science in India, pp. 3-35

18 Rorty, Richard, Philosophy and the Mirror of Nature, p.12

"At times almost excessive preoccupation with language on the one hand with philosophy on the other may indeed be regarded as a characteristic of Indian civilization.[19]"

Contemplation of the sages of India regarding the element of speech and its Philosophy has been very ancient and solemn. As a result of this, many texts have been created showing the philosophical side of Sanskrit grammar from 400 BC to 1700 CE. Only few of them are available in published form. Still, it is difficult to say when this tradition of Philosophy of Sanskrit Grammar started. P. Cakravarti remarks:

"It is, however, difficult to ascertain the period to which the real foundation of the science of Sanskrit grammar might be traced[20]."

The scholars like Purūṣottamadeva, Sāyaṇa, Śeṣakṛṣṇa, NāgeśaBhaṭṭa, Bhartṛhari, KauṇḍaBhaṭṭa and BhaṭṭojiDīkṣita have propounded some original works describing their views on philosophy of Sanskrit grammar. They produced not only a most scientific system on etymology and semantics but also a remarkable philosophy of word and meaning.

The time of Pāṇini is 2900 B.V.S.[21] and it was the transition period of वैदिक Sanskrit and लौकिक Sanskrit. Therefore, he demonstrated aphorisms for rendering the words of both those subjects. The period before Pāṇini can be termed as Dark Age because of the non-availability of any work on Sanskrit Grammar. He

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19 Staal, F, Sanskrit Philosophy of Language, *Indian Philosophy: A collection of readings,* Vol. 2, Ed. Perret, Roy, p.181

20 Chakravarti, P, *The philosophy of Sanskrit Grammar*, p.31

21 संस्कृत-व्याकरणशास्त्र का इतिहास, भाग 1, पृ. 193

preserved all references of his contemporary grammarians and shaped it into a particular Grammar. His writing style is characterized by paucity[22]. In a scientific way, the small aphorisms of अष्टाध्यायी explains the expected meaning because of अनुवृत्ति. He had formulated rules for the Sanskrit words prevalent in his time. But there was a need for rules for the words to be used after his time. Therefore, the Kātyāyana (2800 B.V.S.)[23] made the rules by composing वार्तिक[24] for those other words. Due to the short style of the सूत्र and वार्तिक, commentaries would have been written from time to time, out of which the महाभाष्य of Patañjali (150 B.C.) is a unique work. It is not only a commentary on अष्टाध्यायी but is considered to be the beginning of various philosophies, especially Philosophy of Grammar.

I.2.1 Threefold development of Pāṇini Grammar

The word शब्दानुशासनम् for Sanskrit Grammar was prevalent in the time of Patañjali. At the very beginning of his MB, it is pointed out by saying अथ शब्दानुशासनम् । Pāṇini has also not used the word व्याकरण anywhere, but in one aphorism he has used the word वैयाकरण which is वैयाकरणाख्यायां चतुर्थ्याः[25]. Kaiyaṭa has described शब्दानुशासनम् as a synonym of Grammar in his commentary named प्रदीप. Successive scholars have divided Pāṇini Grammar in three forms. *Viz.*

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22 अर्धमात्रालाघवेन पुत्रोत्सवं मन्यन्ते वैयाकरणाः । परिभाषेन्दुशेखरः p.133

23 संस्कृत-व्याकरणशास्त्र का इतिहास, भाग 1, पृ. 193

24 उक्तानुक्तदुरुक्तानां चिन्ता यत्र प्रवर्तते ।

तं ग्रन्थं वार्तिकं प्राहुः वार्तिकज्ञाः विचक्षणाः ।। A dictionary of Sanskrit Grammar by Kashinath Vasudev Abhyankar, p.246

25 अष्टाध्यायी 6. 3. 7

1. अष्टाध्यायीक्रमः

2. प्रक्रियाक्रमः

3. दार्शनिकक्रमः

1. अष्टाध्यायीक्रमः - In this sequence, those compositions in which the interpretation of aphorisms has been done according to the existing sequence in the अष्टाध्यायी of Pāṇini are count in अष्टाध्यायीक्रम. It includes various commentaries which is also said वृत्ति and भाष्य. Currently महाभाष्य of Patañjali, काशिकावृत्ति of Vāman and Jayāditya and शब्दकौस्तुभ of Bhaṭṭojidikṣita are main texts.

2. प्रक्रियाक्रमः - It is said that, the development of प्रक्रियाक्रम took place in the eleventh century. The aphorisms of अष्टाध्यायी have been written in different chapters and sequence from the point of view of the accomplishment of the words. It is very popular method in present time. In this sequence, a composition called रूपावतार, composed by a scholar named Dharmakirti (1140 CE), comes first. Dr. Tripāṭhi remarks that: "He is different from a Buddhist scholar Dharmakīrti.[26]" After that, the रूपमाला of Vimala Saraswatī and the प्रक्रियाकौमुदी of Rāmacandrācārya are well-marked composition. Many commentaries have been written on प्रक्रियाकौमुदी. Thereafter, Bhaṭṭojidikṣita's immortal composition वैयाकरणसिद्धान्तकौमुदी comes, whose period is believed to be about 1560 CE, before Jagannātha Paṇḍita. Dikṣita's disciple Varadarāja composed

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26 Tripāṭhi, Jayshankra, *Paramalghumañjūṣā with Bhāvaprakāśa and Bālabodhini commentaries,* p. 3

मध्यसिद्धान्तकौमुदी and लघुसिद्धान्तकौमुदी, concise versions of वैयाकरणसिद्धान्तकौमुदी.

3. दार्शनिकक्रमः - Sanskrit Grammar does not only cognise the natural forms and suffixes of words, but it is also developed as an independent School of Philosophy. Philosophical order is the third method of grammar study. Although the main purpose of grammar is to decide the correctness and impurity of words[27]. However, it is not possible to decide the purity of a word without its meaning. Therefore, it is necessary to consider the semantics as well. This comparatively solemn thinking takes the form of philosophy. Bhartṛhari said in VP:

अर्थप्रवृत्तितत्त्वानां शब्दा एव निबन्धनम् ।
तत्त्वावबोधः शब्दानां नास्ति व्याकरणादृते[28] ॥

(Words alone express the meaning of the desired things. Understanding of the essence of words is not possible without support of linguistic (व्याकरण)).

Even though many scholars are not inclined towards philosophical studies, the amount of literature available is not less. Sphoṭāyana is considered to be the first scholar in the order of philosophical study. He is probably the promulgator of स्फोटवाद. Pāṇini mentioned him in one of his aphorisms of अष्टाध्यायी as: अवङ् स्फोटायनस्य[29] । However, Bimal Krishna opposing this view and stated that:

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27 साधुत्वज्ञानविषया सैषा व्याकरणस्मृति । वाप. 1. 142

28 *Ibid.*, 1.13

29 अष्टाध्यायी । 6.1.123

It is by no means clear whether Pāṇini knew about the theory of *Sphoṭa* in any admissible form. His अष्टाध्यायी bears no evidence of it except an enigmatic reference to an early grammarian by the name of Sphoṭāyana in rule 6.1.123 '*avaṅ sphoṭāyanasya*'. Haradatta, one of the Pāṇinīyas belonging probably to the 10th century AD, speculated that this Sphoṭāyana was the propounder of the *sphoṭa* doctrine[30].

Audumbarāyaṇa is also considered as ancient philosopher of linguistic study. As Yāska referred in his *Nirukta* that, इन्द्रियनित्यवचनम् औदुम्बरायणः[31] In this tradition Patañjali in his MB mentioned one more ancient philosopher Vyāḍi and his only philosophical text *Saṃgraha*, of which few fragments are available. He mentioned:

सङ्ग्रहे एतत् प्राधान्येन परीक्षितम् । - नित्यो वा कार्यो वेति । तत्रोक्ताः दोषाः प्रयोजनान्यप्युक्तानि । तत्र त्वेष निर्णयः - यद्येव नित्योऽथापि कार्यः, उभयथापि लक्षणं प्रवर्त्यम्[32]।

After him, Bhartṛhari (Around 4th Cen. AD) collected all those fragments and presented in his वाक्यपदीयम् which is divided in to three chapters.

In this order, there are many texts available after Bhartṛhari describing philosophy of Sanskrit grammar. These are:

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30 Matilal, Bimal, The word and the world, p.78

31 निरुक्तम्, 1. 1

32 व्याकरणमहाभाष्यम् । पस्पशाह्निकम् - पृ. 27

स्फोटसिद्धिः	Maṇḍanamiśra with his own commentary
स्फोटसिद्धिः	Bharatamiśra
स्फोटप्रतिष्ठा	Keśavakavi
स्फोटतत्त्व	Śeṣaśrīkṛṣṇa
स्फोटचन्द्रिका	Kṛṣṇabhaṭṭa
स्फोटवादः	Kauṇḍabhaṭṭa
स्फोटवादः	Nāgeśabhaṭṭa

Above all texts mainly describe स्फोट aspect of philosophy and VP was written in कारिका form. Therefore, Bhaṭṭojidīkṣita propounded a huge text presenting all aspects of philosophy of Sanskrit grammar namely शब्दकौस्तुभ. Giving summary of the same work, he composed वैयाकरणभूषणकारिका which is very concise and in the कारिका form. It is also called वैयाकरणमतोन्मज्जन. Kauṇḍabhaṭṭa, nephew of Bhaṭṭojidīkṣita composed two commentaries of it. *Viz.* बृहद्-वैयाकरणभूषण and वैयाकरणभूषणसार. In both these texts, the principles of Grammar have been established by criticizing Logicians[33]. Continuing this tradition, Nāgeśabhaṭṭa composed three मञ्जूषा. *Viz.*

- वैयाकरणसिद्धान्तमञ्जूषा
- वैयाकरणसिद्धान्तलघुमञ्जूषा
- वैयाकरणसिद्धान्तपरमलघुमञ्जूषा

These are the works of the time when Nāgeśa was presenting his erudition. Therefore, there is more to the criticism than the establishment of new principles.

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33 दुष्टं गौतमजैमिनीयवचनव्याख्यातृभिर्दूषितान्

सिद्धान्तानुपपत्तिभिः प्रकटये तेषां वचो दूषये ॥ वैयाकरणभूषणम्, मङ्गलश्लोकः 4 । पृ. 21

I.2.2 Tradition of Philosophy of Sanskrit Grammar

Sphoṭāyan (3043 BCE) - The earliest mention of sphoṭāyana is found in Panini's अष्टाध्यायी[34]. Haradatta, the commentator of काशिका, has explained the word स्फोटायन in पदमञ्जरी as follows:

स्फोटोऽयनं परायणं यस्य सः स्फोटायनः स्फोटप्रतिपादपरो वैयाकरणाचार्यः । ये त्वौकारं पठन्ति ते नडादिषु अश्वादिषु वा पाठं मन्यन्ते [35] ॥

No other information is available about his life and work.

Audumbarāyaṇa (3000 BCE) - The name 'Audumbarāyaṇa' suggests that his father's name was Udumbara. The earliest mention of Audumbarayaṇa is found in निरुक्त of Yāska. इन्द्रियनित्यवचनम् औदुम्बरायणः[36] । It suggests that he believed that the word is ephemeral.

Vyāḍi (2900 BCE) - Vyāḍi, also known as Dākṣāyaṇa in ancient literature, wrote a philosophical work in Sanskrit Grammar called सङ्ग्रह. Patañjali mentioned in महाभाष्यम्:

शोभना खलु दाक्षायणस्य संग्रहस्य कृतिः[37] । 2.3.66

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34 अवङ् स्फोटायनस्य । 6.1.123

35 काशिकाव्याख्या पदमञ्जरी । 6.1.123

36 निरुक्तम् । 1.1

37 पातञ्जलमहाभाष्यम् । 2.3.66

The सङ्ग्रह is not available now. Vyāḍi had discussed philosophy of grammar in detail and illuminated the philosophy behind word and its meaning. Patañjali describing subjects discussed in सङ्ग्रह mentioned that:

संग्रहे एतत्प्राधान्येन परीक्षितम् - नित्यो वा कार्यो वेति । तत्रोक्ता दोषाः प्रयोजनान्यप्युक्तानि । तत्र त्वेष निर्णयः- यद्येव नित्योऽथापि कार्यः, उभयथाऽपि लक्षणं प्रवर्त्यम्[38] । 1.1.1

According to some scholars and commentators, there were one lakh verses in सङ्ग्रह text of Vyāḍi.

इह पुरा पाणिनीयेऽस्मिन् व्याकरणे व्याड्युपरचितं लक्षग्रन्थपरिमाणं संग्रहाभिधानं निबन्धमासीत्[39] ।

Nāgeśa also mentioned in उद्योत, a commentary of महाभाष्यम्:

संग्रहो व्याडिकृतो लक्षश्लोकसंख्यो ग्रन्थ इति प्रसिद्धिः[40] ।

According to this statement there were one lakh verses in the *Saṃgraha* text. Yudhishtira Mimamsaka has collected remaining pieces and quotes of *Saṃgraha* which are found in various Grammar texts in his treatise[41]. Apart from this, no other information is available about Vyāḍi and his works.

Patañjali (1943 BCE) - In various ancient texts, Patañjali is alos known by Gonardīya, Goṇikāputra, Ahipati, Phaṇibhṛt, Śeṣarāja, Śeṣāhi, Cūrṇikāra and Padakāra. At present, three texts composed by Patanjali are available. *Viz.*

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38 *Ibid.*, 1.1.1

39 *Vākyapadīyam* with commentary of Puṇyarāja, Kāśī edition p.283

40 महाभाष्यप्रदीपोद्योत । 1. 1. 1

41 व्याकरणशास्त्र का इतिहास भाग 1, पृ.311

सामवेदीय निदानसूत्र, योगसूत्र and महाभाष्यम् which is a commentary on अष्टाध्यायी of Pāṇini with the help of वार्तिक of Kātyāyana. It is a treatise not only of Panini's अष्टाध्यायी but also of ancient Grammar schools. Many principles of Philosophy of Grammar are presented in this book. Bhartṛhari mentioned महाभाष्यम् as a source of all principles in his वाक्यपदीयम्:

कृतेऽथ पतञ्जलिना गुरुणा तीर्थदर्शिना ।

सर्वेषां न्यायबीजानां महाभाष्ये निबन्धनम्[42] ॥

(My master (*guru*) patañjali has propounded the source of all principles in his treatise महाभाष्यम्)

वैजिसौभवहर्यक्षैः शुष्कतर्कानुसारिभिः ।

आर्षे विप्लाविते ग्रन्थे सङ्ग्रहप्रतिकञ्चुके[43] ॥

(महाभाष्यम्, a sacred treatise of Patañjali, is a criticism of सङ्ग्रह of vyāḍi and submerged by followers of dry logic like Baiji, Saubhava and Haryākṣa.) After Pāṇini, Patañjali was the first who mentioned स्फोट in महाभाष्यम्. Based on that, Bhartṛhari elaborated the Philosophy of Grammar. Apart from this, Patañjali also composed योगसूत्र and strengthened योगदर्शन.

Bhartṛhari (457 AD) - After studying the MB of Patañjali in a subtle way, Bhartṛhari composed a book called वाक्यपदीयम्, presenting the Philosophy of

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42 वाक्यपदीयम् । 2.477

43 *Ibid.,* 2.47

Grammar taught by his teacher Vasurāta. It is written in the कारिका form and divided into three chapters. *Viz.* आगमकाण्ड, वाक्यकाण्ड and पदकाण्ड or प्रकीर्णकाण्ड. Some of the scholars are believe that वाक्यकाण्ड and पदकाण्ड are presented simultaneously in the second chapter and the third chapter is called प्रकीर्णकाण्ड. The name of the commentary of third chapter of VP by Helārāja is named प्रकीर्णप्रकाश suggest this opinion. According to Yudhiṣṭhira Mimāṃsaka, the title वाक्यपदीयम् is only the name of second chapter of this texts because it begins with the explanation of sentences, and it ends with the description of words and its meanings. Hence the titles of the chapters should be आगमकाण्ड, वाक्यपदीयकाण्ड and प्रकीर्णकाण्ड. Apart from that there are many manuscripts of VP found which end with following पुष्पिका:

इति भगवद्-भर्तृहरिकृते वाक्यपदीये द्वितीयं काण्डम् । समासा वाक्यपदीयकारिका[44] ।

Bhartṛhari has not given any personal information or anything about his teacher. Puṇyarāja has mentioned the name of Bhartṛhari's teacher as Vasurāta.

न तेनास्मद्गुरोस्तत्र भवतो वसुरातादन्यः कश्चिदिमं भाष्यार्णवमवगाहितुमलमित्युक्तं भवति[45] ।

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44 व्याकरणशास्त्र का इतिहास भाग 2, पृ. 437

45 Iyer, Subramania, *The Vākyapadīyam of Bhartṛhari Kaṇḍa II with commentary of Puṇyarāja and ancient Vṛtti*, p. 189

There are different opinions of scholars regarding the time of Bhartṛhari. According to the travelogue of the Chinese traveler Itsing, his period is considered to be the second half of the seventh century of Vikramāditya. But Yudhiṣṭhira Mimāṃsaka has considered his period 4th century of Vikramāditya or 478 AD. He has mentioned the following ten texts in the name of Bhartṛhari.[46]

1. महाभाष्यदीपिका
2. वाक्यपदीयम्
3. वाक्यपदीयस्वोपज्ञटीका
4. भट्टिकाव्यम्
5. भागवृत्तिः
6. शतकत्रयम् (नीति, शृङ्गार, वैराग्यम्)
7. मीमांसाभाष्यम्
8. शब्दधातुसमीक्षा
9. वेदान्तसूत्रवृत्ति
10. षष्ठीश्रावी-भर्तृहरिवृत्तिः

Out of all the above texts, वाक्यपदीयम् became very famous for rendering Philosophy of Grammar in detail. There were many scholars who have written various commentaries on VP and स्वोपज्ञवृत्ति of VP. Those are as follow:

1. Vṛṣabhadeva
2. Dharmapāla (800 AD)
3. Puṇyarāja (1100 AD)
4. Helārāja (1100 AD)
5. Phullarāja
6. Gaṅgadāsa

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46 व्याकरणशास्त्र का इतिहास भाग 1, पृ.395

Maṇḍanamiśra (773 AD) - Maṇḍanamiśra wrote a treatise named स्फोटसिद्धि on Philosophy of Grammar. There is total 36 कारिका on which he also has written a commentary. According to the शङ्करदिग्विजय of Vidyāraṇya, Maṇḍanamiśra was a disciple of Kumārila Bhaṭṭ[47] and his wife's name was Bhāratī. He had a debate with Śaṅkarācārya in which his wife Bhāratī had mediated. It is known in the अद्वैत sect that after being defeated in a debate with Śaṅkarācārya, he became devotee of Śaṅkara and thereafter known as Sureśvarācārya. Many scholars have quoted Sureśvara as Maṇḍanamiśra. There are many works found in the name of Maṇḍanamiśra, of which स्फोटसिद्धि is one. There is one commentary available written by Parameśvara, the son of a scholar named Ṛṣi was published by Madras University. The time of Parameśvara is considered to be the sixteenth century. He named the commentary on स्फोटसिद्धि as गोपालिका after his mother.

Bharatamiśra – One more text on स्फोट principal which is स्फोटसिद्धि is available in the name of Bharatamiśra. It is published from Trivandrum in 1327 AD. However, he has not given any detail of himself in this text. The name of Bharata is mentioned after Maṇḍanamiśra in the स्फोटसिद्धिन्यायविचार which is unknown text and published from Trivendram in 1917. The स्फोटसिद्धि of Bharata is divided into three chapters which are प्रत्यक्षपरिच्छेद, अर्थपरिच्छेद, आगमपरिच्छेद. It is written in कारिका form with self-explanation.

Kauṇḍabhaṭṭ (1600 - 1675 AD) - Kauṇḍabhaṭṭa was born in the सारस्वत् family in Kashi. As he introduced himself in his texts, his father's name was Raṅgojibhaṭṭa. He was younger brother of well-known scholar Bhaṭṭojidīkṣita.

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47 श्रीमच्छङ्करदिग्विजयः । 7.120

Kauṇḍabhaṭṭa studied under Śeṣa Rāmeśvar, the father of Śeṣakṛṣṇa, who is also known as Sarveśvar which is mentioned by Kauṇḍabhaṭṭa at the end of भूषणसार[48]. Yudhiṣṭhira Mīmāṃsaka has accepted Kauṇḍabhaṭṭa's time between 1600 to 1675 AD[49]. In the philosophical literature of Sanskrit Grammar, वैयाकरणभूषणसार composed by Kauṇḍabhaṭṭa is very famous text. The title suggests that it is a summary of वैयाकरणभूषण which is composed by Bhaṭṭojidīkṣita. VB is written in कारिका form and VBS is a commentary of it.

Jagadīśatarkālaṅkāra (1653 AD) - Jagdish wrote a treatise named शब्दशक्तिप्रकाशिका. Although it is primarily a text of न्याय, though it is mentioned here because Philosophy of Grammar is discussed there.

Jagadīśa's grandfather was Sanātanamiśra and father was Yādavacandra Vidyāvāgīśa. Sanātanamiśra was a father-in-law of Chaitanya Mahāprabhu. Jagdīśa had four brothers of whom he was the third. Apart from शब्दशक्तिप्रकाशिका, Jagadīśa has written many other न्याय texts. There are two commentaries written on शब्दशक्तिप्रकाशिका. First was written by Kṛṣṇakānta Vidyāvāgīśa and later was written by Rāmabhadra Siddhāntavāgīśa.

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48 अशेषफलदातारमपि सर्वेश्वरं गुरुम् ।

श्रीमद्भूषणसारेण भूषये शेषभूषणम् ।।

49 व्याकरणशास्त्र का इतिहास भाग 2, पृ.455

I.2.4 Timeline of Philosophical texts and authors of Sanskrit Grammar

No.	Text Name	Author	Time
1	-	Sphoṭāyana	3043 BCE
2	-	Aūdumbarāyaṇa	3043 BCE
3	सङ्ग्रहः	Vyāḍi	2900 BCE
4	व्याकरणमहाभाष्यम्	Patañjali	1943 BCE
5	वाक्यपदीयम्	Bhartṛhari	478 AD
6	स्फोटसिद्धिः	Maṇḍanamiśra	695 AD
7	वाक्यपदीयव्याख्या	Dharmapāla	857-900 AD
8	वाक्यपदीयव्याख्या	Puṇyarāja	1100 AD
9	वाक्यपदीयव्याख्या	Helārāja	1100 AD
10	स्फोटसिद्धिः	Bharatamiśra	-
11	वैयाकरणभूषणम्	Bhaṭṭojidīkṣita	1513 - 1593 AD
12	वैयाकरणभूषणसारः	Kauṇḍabhaṭṭa	1600 AD
12	शब्दशक्तिप्रकाशिका	Jagadīśa Tarkālaṅkāra	1653 AD
13	वैयाकरणसिद्धान्तमञ्जूषा	Nāgeśabhaṭṭa	1736 - 1753 AD

Yudhiṣṭhira Mīmāṃsaka's amendment has been taken with reference to the above timeline[50].

I.2.3 Means of valid knowledge accepted by Grammarians

Means of valid knowledge (प्रमाण) is needed to substantiate the meaning of any object. These are discussed in detail in many scriptures like न्याय, वेदान्त, मीमांसा. But the surprising thing is that the Grammarians have not discussed the means of valid knowledge independently in any texts. While discussing this issue in detail, Dr. Shukla states that:

> It is astonishing to note that, though, sometimes, the grammarians while discussing the categories (पदार्थ) followed the *Tārkika's,* sometimes the *Mīmāṃsaka's* and *Vedāntin's* yet, no grammarian has discussed the means of valid knowledge independently. Consequently, it is difficult to find in grammar the vivid and clear-cut definitions and illustrations of the means of valid knowledge. Even then after a minute and a critical study of the महाभाष्यम् and the वाक्यपदीयम् etc. we can prove that प्रत्यक्ष (perception), अनुमान (inference), शब्द (verbal testimony), अर्थापत्ति (disjunctive hypothetical syllogism) and अनुपलब्धि (non-recognition) have been accepted as the means of valid knowledge by grammarians[51].

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50 संस्कृत व्याकरण-शास्त्र का इतिहास, भाग-2, पृ. 430

51 Shukla, Kalikaprasad, *Paramalaghumañjūṣā,* p.3

In the first chapter of VP which is known as ब्रह्मकाण्ड, Bhartṛhari discusses the nature of 'word' (शब्द, स्फोट) and its relation to 'sound' (ध्वनि, नाद). The grammarian recognizes two types of words (*upādāna, śabda*). From these two, first is said to be the cause of sound while the second is associated with the meaning.[52]

I.3 Navya-nyāya system and its Grammatical Philosophy

Among the six schools of philosophy, *Nyāya* School is devoted to logic, epistemology and methodology. To understand the terms of नव्य-न्याय (neo-logic)*,* first it is necessary to know the tradition of न्यायशास्त्र. The term न्याय used in the sense of Logic from about the 1st century A.D. Dr. Satischandra remarks[53]:

The न्याय-शास्त्र was not so called before the subject of "न्याय" (syllogism) was introduced into it. As the चरकसंहिता, so far as we know, contains for the first time an exposition of the doctrine of syllogism under the name of स्थापना (demonstration), it is presumed that the word न्याय as an equivalent for Logic came into use about the composition of that संहिता, that is about the opening of the Christian era. The word became very popular about the 2nd century A.D. when the न्यायसूत्र was composed.

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52 द्वावुपादानशब्देषु शब्दौ शब्दविदो विदुः ।

एको निमित्तं शब्दानामपरोऽर्थे प्रयुज्यते ।।वाक्यपदीयम् 1.43

53 Vidyabhushan, Satiscandra, *A History of Indian Logic,* p. 42

The न्यायसूत्र or न्यायशास्त्र, which is considered to be the main book of jurisprudence, contain 528 sutras. In those aphorisms, a detailed description of sixteen पदार्थ (substances) are found.

I.3.1 Two streams of न्यायशास्त्र

The entire texts of न्यायशास्त्र of Gautama can be divided into two streams. *Viz.* प्रमेयप्रधान (object or content of knowledge) and प्रमाणप्रधान (means of valid knowledge). In which object or content of knowledge primarily described, they are called प्रमेयप्रधान and means of valid knowledge primarily described are called प्रमाणप्रधान. The works of scholars from Gautama to before Gaṅgeśa are प्रमेयप्रधान which are also called प्राचीन-न्याय.

The seeds of नव्यन्याय School of Philosophy are found in the Udayanāchārya's work[54]. Introducing technical language of नव्यन्याय in the तत्त्वचिन्तामणि, Gaṅgeśa Upādhyāya (12th century) is considered as a founder of नव्यन्याय system.

The first systematic work on न्यायशास्त्र is न्यायसूत्र, written by Akṣapāda around 150 A.D. It is divided into five books. Each containing two chapters called आह्निक (diurnal portions). There are various opinions about authorship of न्यायसूत्र in between Akṣapāda and Gautama. Dr. Satiscandra has discussed in detail in his book[55].

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54 Bühnemann, G. (1998). N. S. Dravid: *Nyāyakusumāñjali of Udayanācārya with translation and explanation*, Vol. l. xiv, p. 500

55 Vidyabhushan, Satiscandra, *A History of Indian Logic,* p. 46

Sibajiban Bhattacharyya remarked on the development of नव्यन्याय that,

> Sanskrit has well-defined and rigorous rules of formation from an alphabet which is phonetically arranged, and the grammatical rules are linearly ordered for scope in Pāṇini's अष्टाध्यायी. So, नव्यन्याय philosophers took advantage of this feature of Sanskrit in developing their technical language[56].

John Vattanky remarks in during the translation of कारिकावली, मुक्तावली and *Dinakarī*:

> "It is well known that this discipline makes use of a high degree of abstraction and a rigorously exact terminology. There is also the problem arising from inadequate or not yet standardized translations of technical terms. If one wants to study नव्यन्याय in any depth, one has necessarily to get oneself familiar with these aspects of the subject, much in the same way as when one sets out to study mathematics one has to be quite acquainted with mathematical terms and concepts. And just as in spite of proficiency in English one cannot understand a book on mathematics though in English unless one knows mathematics, even so a person who can read easily and even speak fluently classical literary Sanskrit will not be in a position to follow the technical discussions in दिनकरी or even in मुक्तावली unless he systematically studies नव्यन्याय."

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56 Bhattacharyya, Sibajiban, Some features of the technical language of Navya-Nyāya, *Philosophy East & West*, Vol. 40, No. 2, p.129

One of the reasons for studying PLM from the logical perspective is that, Nāgeśa have criticized Naiyāyikas throughout the work and established the principle of Philosophy of Grammar. Apart from this, the writing style of Nāgeśa is almost similar to the नव्यन्याय texts. Therefore, I am giving further details about his writing style with some examples. As in most of the नव्यन्याय texts, any subject is presented through its definition which is always flawless and the symptom is undeniable, devoid of defects like अव्याप्ति, अतिव्याप्ति and असम्भव etc. Naiyāyikas divide every definition in पक्ष, साध्य and हेतु. In the same way, Nāgeśa presented all the topics discussed in PLM from the beginning to the end with flawless features.

I. 3. 2 Grammatical Philosophy of Naiyāyikas

Scholars of न्यायशास्त्र have made invaluable contribution in the study of Sanskrit Grammar. They have presented a scientific theory of ध्वनि and शब्द and scholars like Jagdīśa and Gaṇgeśa have presented the relation between word and meaning from a very logical point of view. According to them शब्द is अनित्य (non-eternal). They have presented ईश्वरेच्छा (god's will) as the power to know the relation between word and meaning. Naiyāyikas have accepted four auxiliary causes for the formation of a sentence. Those are आकांक्षा, योग्यता, सन्निधि and तात्पर्य. Nāgeśa has also discussed those in the separate chapter.

According to Jagadīśa in SSP शाब्दबोध (verbal understanding of meaning) only possible through the complete sentence and not from individual words.

वाक्यभावमवाप्तस्य सार्थकस्यावबोधतः ।

सम्पद्यते शाब्दबोधो न तन्मात्रस्य बोधतः[57] ।।

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57 शब्दशक्तिप्रकाशिका, पृ. 63

I. 4. Introduction to the मीमांसाशास्त्र **and its philosophy**

The school of Mīmāṃsa was originated around the 3ʳᵈ century BCE. It was founded by the sage Jaimini. It has two main branches I. पूर्वमीमांसा II. उत्तरमीमांसा (also known as वेदान्त) वेदान्त focuses on the interpretation of the उपनिषद्s while पूर्वमीमांसा centers on the interpretation of the ritualistic portions of the वेदs, such as the संहिताs and the ब्राह्मणs. Its primary concern is to understand the nature of language and how it aids in the correct interpretation of sacred texts. Mīmāṃsakas emphasize the crucial role of language in understanding the rituals and the texts associated with them. According to them, language is not merely a means of communication but also a tool for performing वैदिक rituals. The study of मीमांसा is not limited to semantics and grammar but extends to the pragmatic aspects of language use.

मीमांसाशास्त्र is mainly divided into three parts which are as follow:

1. प्रमाणविचार (epistemology)
2. तत्त्वविचार (metaphysics)
3. धर्मविचार (religion and ethics)

Just as in other schools of philosophies knowledge has been divided into प्रत्यक्ष and परोक्ष form, similarly the Mīmāṃsakas have also followed this. They have accepted six प्रमाण (means of valid knowledge) which are प्रत्यक्ष, अनुमान, उपमान, शब्द, अर्थापत्ति and अनुपलब्धि.

I. 4. 1 Grammatical philosophy of Mīmāṃsakas

Mīmāṃsakas have accepted the word as नित्य (eternal form). They have not only accepted the eternality of words but also have made it a fundamental principle to protect the वेदs.

दर्शनमुच्चारणं तत्परार्थं परमर्थं प्रत्यायितमुम् । उच्चरितमात्रे हि विनष्टे शब्दे अर्थं प्रत्यायितुं न शक्नुयात्[58] ।

Mīmāṃsakas have accepted sound as an eternal element too. It is manifested by the utterance and represented by the syllables. But Grammarian school of philosophy have gone one step beyond sound by finding a subtle element and given the theory of स्फोट as the cardinal principle and the final cause of sound.

Kumārilabhaṭṭa has refuted the स्फोट in a separate chapter of the text called श्लोकवार्तिक. Grammarians have considered every component suffix and letter of the word as imaginary. Since this स्फोट theory denies the existence of वेदs by declaring all components of sentences and words as imaginary, Mīmāṃsakas could not accept the existence of the स्फोट.

There's also a separate chapter in the मीमांसासूत्र namely व्याकरणाधिकरण (1.3.9) dealing mainly with the problem of grammatical approach. According to them the letters which complete a word are found to be important and therefore it would be inappropriate to accept an incomprehensible theory like स्फोट which is physically different from the letters.

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[58] शबरभाष्य, पृ. 65