

## The *taddhita* affixes prescribed for pronominal stems: Analysis of pre-Pāṇinian *ātI* (A 5.3.34) occurrences

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### Abstract

The present article can be inserted in a broader line of research, where specific pre-Pāṇinian occurrences of *sarvanāmans* + *taddhita* affixes are analysed to show how Pāṇini explains what in appearance was anomie and immediately transforms it into a strict norm. A previous analysis focused on several instances of the affix *akāC* (A 5.3.71), which all the translators of *R̥gveda* and *Śaunakīya Samhitā* interpret as *ka* (A 5.3.70), with a generic diminutive meaning; even though the affix *akāC* can be understood as a pure device created by Pāṇini to deal with an internal sandhi problem in a systematic way, it is worthy to consider the several meanings *akāC* can convey (Ferrero 2023). This regulatory process can also be found in the prescription of other *taddhita* affixes; for this reason, the affixes *ātI* (A 5.3.34) / *enaP* (A 5.3.35) / *āC* (A 5.3.36) have been generally examined in this article. Moreover, some examples of the application of the affix *ātI* to pronominal stems have been specifically studied in the Vedic *saṃhitās*, to understand why Pāṇini needs to introduce another aphorism explaining *uttarāt* and *adharāt* when it is possible to obtain these same forms by looking at A 7.1.16 *pūrvādibhyo navabhyo vā*. This article aims at showing the importance of a strong relation between Pāṇinian linguistics and philology.

**Key Words** – Pāṇini; *Aṣṭādhyāyī*; Pronouns; *taddhita*; Vedic

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## 1. Introduction

The topic of the present research is the analysis of the *taddhita* affix *ātI* (A 5.3.34), which occurs after the pronominal word-forms denoting directions; in particular, according to aphorism A 5.3.34 «uttarādharaḍakṣiṇād ātiḥ»: ‘[The *taddhita* affix] *ātI* occurs after *uttara* “north”, *adhara* and *daḁṣiṇa* “south” ending in the locative, ablative and nominative endings in the meaning of *diś* “direction”, *deśa* “location” and *kāla* “time”<sup>1</sup>. Furthermore, several occurrences of *uttarāt* (i.e., *uttara* + *ātI*), *adharāt* (i.e., *adhara* + *ātI*) and *daḁṣiṇāt* (i.e., *daḁṣiṇa* + *ātI*) are here studied in pre-Pāṇinian sources, mainly in Vedic *saṁhitās*, to understand the reasons behind the insertion of this rule A 5.3.34 (*ātI*) and of the following two *sūtras*, namely, A 5.3.35 «*enab anyatarasyām adūre ’pañcamyāḥ*» (> *enaP*) and A 5.3.36 «*daḁṣiṇād āc*» (> *āC*), in the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* (A) of Pāṇini, since there are some other rules that, at first sight, might deal with the same phenomena (see below).

The main context of the article is determined by Sanskrit pronouns that are introduced in A 1.1.27 «*sarvādīni sarvanāmāni*»: ‘The word-forms beginning with *sarva* “all” (*sarvādi*) are designated as *sarvanāman* “pronouns”’. This term *sarvādi* is used to introduce a list of thirty-five pronominal stems, the first member of which is *sarva* ‘all’<sup>2</sup>. It is important to remember that the pronominal declension is partially different from the nominal one. In fact, Pāṇini introduces some substitutes for the nominative plural (A 7.1.17 «*jaśaḥ śī*»)<sup>3</sup>, the dative singular (A 7.1.14 «*sarvanāmaḥ smai*»)<sup>4</sup>, the ablative and the locative singular (A 7.1.15 «*ṇasiṇyoḥ smātsminau*»)<sup>5</sup> and, finally, the genitive plural (A 7.1.52 «*āmi sarvanāmaḥ suḥ*»)<sup>6</sup>. In order to better understand the examples mentioned in the present article, the ablative singular is analysed in detail in the next paragraph.

Aphorism A 7.1.15 «*ṇasiṇyoḥ smātsminau*» prescribes the total replacement of the affix *ṆasI* with the substitute *smāt* (abl. sg.). For this reason, *sarva-* + *ṆasI* becomes *sarva-* + *smāt* and the result is the form *sarvasmāt* for the ablative singular. The same rule A 7.1.15 also prescribes the replacement of the affix *Ṇi* with the substitute *smin* (loc. sg.). Therefore, *sarva-* + *Ṇi* becomes *sarva-* + *smin* and *sarvasmin* is obtained for the locative singular.

However, not only the pronominal inflection is different from the nominal one, the *taddhita* affixes prescribed for the pronominal stems are different from those prescribed

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Author’s note: All the translations are by the author, unless specifically stated.

<sup>1</sup> A 5.3.34: «uttarādharaḍakṣiṇād ātiḥ [pratyayaḥ 3.1.1 paraś ca 3.1.2 ṇyāprātīpadikāt 4.1.1 taddhitāḥ 4.1.76 dikṣabdebyaḥ saptamīpañcamīprathamābhyo digdeśakāleṣv astātiḥ 27]».

<sup>2</sup> (1) *sarva* ‘all’, (2) *viśva* ‘all’, (3) *ubha* ‘two’, (4) *ubhaya* ‘both’, (5) word-forms ending with the affix *Ḍatara*, (6) word-forms ending with the affix *Ḍatama*, (7) *itara* ‘other’, (8) *anya* ‘other’, (9) *anyatara* ‘either’, (10) *tvat* ‘other’, (11) *tva* ‘other’, (12) *nema* ‘half’, (13) *sama* ‘all’, (14) *sima* ‘whole’, (15) *pūrva* ‘east or prior’, (16) *para* ‘subsequent’, (17) *avara* ‘west or posterior’, (18) *daḁṣiṇa* ‘south or right’, (19) *uttara* ‘north or inferior, subsequent’, (20) *apara* ‘other or inferior’, (21) *adhara* ‘west or inferior’, (22) *sva* ‘own’, (23) *antara* ‘outer or an under or lower garment’, (24) *tyad* ‘he, she, it’, (25) *tad* ‘he, she, it’, (26) *yad* ‘who’, (27) *etad* ‘this’, (28) *idam* ‘it’, (29) *adas* ‘that’, (30) *eka* ‘one’, (31) *dvi* ‘two’, (32) *yuṣmad* ‘you’, (33) *asmad* ‘we’, (34) *bhavat* ‘you’, (35) *kim* ‘what’ (see KV ad A 1.1.27).

<sup>3</sup> A 7.1.17: «*jaśaḥ śī* [aṅgasya 6.4.1 ataḥ 9 sarvanāmaḥ 14]» ‘*Śī* replaces *Jas* when it occurs after the pre-affixal base consisting of a pronominal stem ending in the short vowel -a’.

<sup>4</sup> A 7.1.14: «*sarvanāmaḥ smai* [aṅgasya 6.4.1 ataḥ 9 ṇeḥ 14]» ‘*smai* replaces *Ṇe* when it occurs after the pre-affixal base consisting of a pronominal stem ending in the short vowel -a’.

<sup>5</sup> A 7.1.15: «*ṇasiṇyoḥ smātsminau* [aṅgasya 6.4.1 ataḥ 9 sarvanāmaḥ 14]» ‘*smāt* and *smin* replace *ṆasI* and *Ṇi* when they occur after the pre-affixal base consisting of a pronominal stem ending in the short vowel -a’.

<sup>6</sup> A 7.1.52: «*āmi sarvanāmaḥ suḥ* [aṅgasya 6.4.1 āt 50]» ‘*suḥ* is inserted at the head of *ām* when it occurs after the pre-affixal base consisting of a pronominal stem ending in the phoneme a’.

for the nominal word-forms, and they refer either to the totality of the *sarvanāman* category (i.e., the members of the *sarvādi* list) or to individual components of the same group. The *taddhita*s prescribed for the *sarvanāman* category are solely represented by Pāṇini's aphorism A 5.3.71 «*avyayasarvanāmnām akac prāk ṭeḥ*», namely, 'The affix *akaC* occurs before the syllable beginning with the last vowel (*ṬI*) of indeclinables and pronominal stems'. For this reason, the outcomes of a previous analysis related to this *sūtra* A 5.3.71 and its implications are here shown, because this research on the affix *akaC* (and the occurrences of the affix *akaC* in the Vedic *saṃhitās*) has been used as a model for further research, and, in particular, this study has been useful to outline the next research on *ātI* / *enaP* / *āC* (A 5.3.34-36).

However, in the present article, special attention is devoted to the *taddhita* affixes prescribed for individual components of the *sarvanāman* category, in particular, to these just mentioned affixes. These *sūtras* are placed in the reference *taddhita* sub-sections defined in the *Prakriyākaumudī* (PK) by Rāmacandra. The following *navya vyākāraṇa* works slightly modify the *taddhita* sub-sections, but the principle of grouping together affixes presenting the same meaning or the same function remains in both the *Siddhāntakaumudī* (SK) by Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita and the *Laghusiddhāntakaumudī* (LSK) by Varadāraja. Subsequently, these rules are analysed according to the most important commentary of the grammatical tradition, that is, the *Mahābhāṣya* (M) together with the *vārttikas* (vt.) of Kātyāyana, whereas some specific examples are provided by the *Kāśikāvṛtti* (KV).

After a general presentation of these secondary affixes *ātI* / *enaP* / *āC*, only the occurrences of *uttara* + *ātI* > *uttarāt*, *adhara* + *ātI* > *adharāt* and *dakṣiṇa* + *ātI* > *dakṣiṇāt* found in the *Ṛgveda* (RV) and in the *Śaunakīya Saṃhitā* (AVŚ) are studied. In fact, it is immediately evident that this affix generates the final forms *uttarāt*, *adharāt* and *dakṣiṇāt* that morphologically correspond to the ablative form *rāmāt* (that is, the ablative of the nominal inflection) and that these are different from *sarvasmāt* (namely, the ablative of the pronominal inflection). These instances are then compared with a single example of *uttarasmāt* (inflected as a pronominal stem, that is, *uttara* + *ṆasI* > *uttara* + *smāt* – see A 7.1.15), which is first mentioned in the RV and then exactly repeated by the AVŚ. What is curious is that *uttarasmāt* is mentioned together with *adharāt* (from *adhara* + *ātI* – see A 5.3.34).

Finally, a step back in the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* of Pāṇini is taken to try to explain why the author prescribes the *taddhita* affix *ātI* here, even if the examples of *uttarāt*, *adharāt* and *dakṣiṇāt* can be obtained through the optionality (*vā*) prescribed by rule A 7.1.16 *pūrvādibhyo navabhyo vā*<sup>7</sup>. The general idea is to demonstrate that Pāṇini wants to give a norm in order to account for all the linguistic peculiarities (anomalies) found in the Vedic *saṃhitās*. In fact, the present proposal is to outline the importance of the problem here tackled with the aim of understanding the real necessity of introducing these rules A 5.3.34 – 36 in the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*.

The purpose is to interpret the technical sources on the basis of Vedic literature, and vice versa to understand the literary sources with the aid of technical sources. What is here obtained is a review of some important linguistic changes relating to pronouns and their relationship with the normative lines drawn by Pāṇini in his grammar.

<sup>7</sup> A 7.1.16: «*pūrvādibhyo navabhyo vā [aṅasya 6.4.1 ataḥ 9 ṇasīṇyoḥ smātsminau 15]*» 'smāt and smin preferably – Kiparsky (1979: 1) – replace *ṆasI* and *Ṇi* when they occur after the pre-affixal bases consisting of the nine [pronominal stems] beginning with *pūrvā* and ending in the short vowel -a'.

## 2. The affix *akaC* as a model for further research

The present paper starts by enunciating all the aphorisms preceding *taddhitāḥ* (A 4.1.76) in order to understand how these *taddhitas* are to be defined:

- A 3.1.1 *pratyayah* ‘An affix’
- A 3.1.2 *paraś ca* ‘and it is introduced after’
- A 4.1.1 *nyāpprātipadikāt* ‘after *Nī*, *āP* and a nominal base’
- A 4.1.76 *taddhitāḥ* ‘they are called *taddhita*’

Therefore, the *taddhita* affixes (A 4.1.76) can be understood as affixes (A 3.1.1), which are introduced after (A 3.1.2), in particular after *Nī*, *āP* and nominal bases (A 4.1.1).

After having grasped all the contextual information, it is now possible to turn to the main point. The *taddhita* affixes are listed and explained in the rules following A 4.1.76 «*taddhitāḥ*» up to A 5.4.160 «*niṣpravāṇiś ca*». However, only some of these secondary affixes are taught for pronominal stems, referring either to the totality of the *sarvanāman* category (namely, to the *sarvādi* list) or to individual components of this group. Since the *taddhita* affixes prescribed for the entire *sarvanāman* category are solely represented by Pāṇini’s rule A 5.3.71 «*avyayasarvanāmnām akac prāk teḥ*», the outcomes of a previous analysis related to this *sūtra* and its implications are shown here-below in order to outline the next research on *ātI / enaP / āC* (A 5.3.34-36).

In fact, rule A 5.3.70 «*prāg ivāt kaḥ*» – that is an *utsarga* rule – prescribes the affix *ka* after nominal bases and it extends up to *sūtra* A 5.3.96 «*ive pratikṛtau*»; see, for instance, *aśva* + *ka* + *sU* (nom. sg.) > *aśvakaḥ* ‘a certain horse (whose ownership is not known).’ Immediately after, it is possible to find this aphorism A 5.3.71 – that is an *apavāda* rule – which prescribes the affix *akaC* before the syllable beginning with the last vowel of indeclinables and pronominal bases. For this reason, in the case of the pronominal stem *sarva-* ‘all’, the *taddhita* affix *akaC* is introduced before the syllable beginning with its last vowel and *sarv* + *akaC* + *a* = *sarvaka-* is obtained. As *sarvaka-* follows the pronominal declension, the substitute *Śī* (see A 7.1.17 *jaśaḥ śī*) occurs in the place of the affix *Jas* (nom. pl.): *sarvaka* + *Śī* > *sarvake* ‘they, who are not known.’

Moreover, Pāṇini mentions several meanings for the affix *akaC*:

- 1) *ajñāte* ‘unknown (before)’ (A 5.3.73)  
Ex. *sarv-ak-e* ‘they, who are not known.’
- 2) *kutsite* ‘contemptible’ (A 5.3.74)  
Ex. *sarv-ak-e* ‘they, who are contemptible.’
- 3) *anukampāyām* ‘compassion’ (A 5.3.76-77).
- 4) *nītau* ‘a strategy for solving problems (driven by compassion)’ (A 5.3.77);  
Ex. *sarv-ak-e* ‘all of them, poor them!’
- 5) *alpe* ‘small’ (A 5.3.85)  
Ex. *sarv-ak-e* ‘they, who are little.’
- 6) *hrasve* ‘short’ (A 5.3.86)  
Ex. *sarv-ak-e* ‘they, who are short.’

Some occurrences of *sarvanāmans* + *akaC* that can be found in pre-Pāṇinian literary sources (mainly in RV and AVŚ) are presented in the next paragraphs, where a new translation has been proposed, with the aim of connecting these pronominal word-forms, which are endowed with secondary affixes, with the senses of *akaC* shown by Pāṇini. In fact, these instances have been analysed according to their meanings, namely, *ajñāte*

‘unknown’, *kutsite* ‘contemptible’, *anukampāyām* ‘compassion’ / *nītau* ‘a strategy for solving problems’, and *alpe* ‘small’. It is important to remember that no examples of *akaC* as *hrasve* ‘short’ have been found. The choice to present the material in this arrangement, that is, following the A order of meanings, is merely for the sake of clarity.

1) *ajñāte* ‘unknown (before)’ (A 5.3.73)

The first occurrence is part of the refrain of several hymns in the book VIII of RV<sup>8</sup>:

*nābhantām anyaké same*  
‘Let all **the others (i.e., the enemies)** burst!’<sup>9</sup>

In this quotation, *anyake* occurs with the meaning of *ajñāte*, that is, it refers to someone that is not known (namely, ‘all the others, who are not known (before)’) and it is possible to understand from the context who these people are, in this case the enemies<sup>10</sup>.

1) *ajñāte* ‘unknown (before)’ (A 5.3.73) / 2) *kutsite* ‘contemptible’ (A 5.3.74)

The following example comes from the refrain of RV 10.133.1-6 (devoted to Indra)<sup>11</sup>:

*nabhantām anyakeṣām jyākā adhi dhanvasu*  
‘Let the little bowstrings **of the (contemptible) others (i.e., the enemies)** burst on their bows!’<sup>12</sup>

In this sentence, it is difficult to understand if *anyakeṣām* occurs with the meaning of *ajñāte* ‘all the others, who are not known’ or in the sense of *kutsite* ‘contemptible’, because it is possible to understand from the context that these people (i.e., the enemies) are also contemptible<sup>13</sup>.

3) *anukampāyām* ‘compassion’ (A 5.3.76-77) /  
*nītau* ‘a strategy for solving problems’ (A 5.3.77)

<sup>8</sup> This quotation *nābhantām anyaké same* is found in the following hymns: RV 8.39.1-10 (devoted to Agni), RV 8.40.1-11 (Indra and Agni), RV 8.41.1-10 (Varuṇa), and RV 8.42.4-6 (the Aśvins). As for the context, see Jamison and Brereton (2014, 2: 1107-1113).

<sup>9</sup> Jamison and Brereton (2014, 2: 1107-1113) translate this sentence as «Let all the other squirts burst!», while Geldner (1951, 2: 352-356) as «All die anderen Schwächlinge sollen entzweigen». Nevertheless, even if this interpretation is suggested by the context, there is no word specifically indicating ‘squirts’ or ‘Schwächlinge’ (in German).

<sup>10</sup> The commentary of Sāyaṇa *ad* RV 8.39.1 specifies which is the meaning of *anyake*, as follows: «*anyake śatravo 'pi same sarve nabhantām*, that is, ‘same ‘all’ *anyake* ‘enemies’ burst». See Sontakke and Kashikar (1933-1951, 3: 730).

<sup>11</sup> As for the context, see Jamison and Brereton (2014, 3: 1616-1617).

<sup>12</sup> Jamison and Brereton (2014, 3: 1616-1617) translate it as ‘Let the little bowstring of the other squirts burst on their bows’, while Geldner (1951, 3: 365-366) as ‘Die Sehnen der anderen Schwächlinge sollen an dem Bogen entzweigen!’. However, as in the previous occurrence, i.e., *nābhantām anyake same*, there is no word specifically indicating ‘squirts’ or ‘Schwächlinge’ (in German).

<sup>13</sup> The commentary of Sāyaṇa *ad* RV 10.133.1 explains which is the meaning of *anyakeṣām*, as follows: «*anyakeṣām kutsitānām anyeṣām śatrūṇām*», namely, ‘*anyakeṣām* “of the contemptible (pl.)” *anyeṣām* “of the enemies”’. See Sontakke Kashikar (1933-1951, 4: 794).

This is one of the few examples of *sarvanāman* + *akaC* found in the AVŚ 1.3.6-9<sup>14</sup>:

*evā te mūtram mucyatām bahir bāl iti sarvakām*  
 ‘So be your urine released, out of you, with a splash! **All of it!** (i.e. **Finally all of it, poor you!**)’

In this specific case, there is a *nīti* ‘a strategy for solving problems’ in the use of the reed on the suffering person and there is also someone who feels *anukampā* ‘compassion’ towards the person helped by the hymn. These meanings, *anukampāyām* ‘compassion’ and *nītau* ‘a strategy for solving problems’, are closely related and they are both applied to the word-form *sarvakam*, justifying the interpretation “Finally all of it, poor you!”<sup>15</sup>.

#### 5) *alpe* ‘small’ (A 5.3.85) / 2) *kutsite* ‘contemptible’ (A 5.3.74)

From this point onwards, a series of instances of *tad* ‘he, she, it’ with the affix *akaC* starts. Among these *tad*-occurrences, the first could refer to two different meanings (namely, *alpe* and *kutsite*), but once again there is no evidence in favour of the former or the latter. It appears in the RV 1.191.15 (against poisonous animals)<sup>16</sup>:

*iyattakāḥ kuṣumbhakās takām bhinadmy āsmanā*  
 ‘Such a little teeny *kuṣumbha*-bug - I split **that (contemptible) itty-bitty thing** with a rock’<sup>17</sup>.

In this example, *takam* occurs with the meaning of *alpe*, i.e., it refers to something ‘small’ – ‘a little teeny *kuṣumbha*-bug’. However, it is not difficult to understand why these bugs have been considered as contemptible by some commentators<sup>18</sup>.

This research on pre-Pāṇinian instances of *sarvanāmans* + *akaC* demonstrates the importance of maintaining a strong relation between philology and linguistics (the indigenous one). Consequently, this has two different implications: on the one hand, the rules can be better understood while analysing the occurrences of the several linguistic phenomena described in grammar, and, on the other hand, the interpretation of Vedic and Sanskrit sources benefits from the Pāṇinian grammatical description. In this way, it is possible to catch some nuances of meaning explained by the A, as in our case study. For instance, the examples *nābhantām anyaké same* and *nābhantām anyakéṣām jyākā ādhi*

<sup>14</sup> As for the context, see Whitney and Lanman (1905, 1: 3-4): “Against obstruction of urine: With a reed”:

<sup>15</sup> Another example of the close relation between *anukampāyām* and *nītau* is presented by RV 10.59.9 and, according to Jamison and Brereton (2014, 3: 1470-1471), it is devoted to Heaven and Earth: «*āva dvaké āva trikā divās caranti bheṣajā / kṣamā carīṣṇv ekakām*» ‘From heaven **the merciful pair (as a *nīti*)** is coming down, the trio (is coming) down, the remedies! To ground **the merciful single one (i.e. *remedy* – as a *nīti*)** is coming’. With *dvake*, the hymn addresses a couple coming down (to earth) as a *nīti* ‘a strategy for solving problems’, since they are merciful towards human beings. In fact, they are also addressed as ‘remedy.’ With *ekakam*, the situation is almost the same: the hymn invokes a merciful single one (that is also a ‘remedy’) to come from heaven; it can be considered as a merciful being that appears as a *nīti* ‘a strategy for solving problems’.

<sup>16</sup> As for the context, see Jamison and Brereton (2014, 1: 1470-1471).

<sup>17</sup> Jamison and Brereton (2014, 1: 1470-1471) translate it as ‘Such a little teeny *kuṣumbha*-bug – I split that itty-bitty thing with a rock’, Geldner (1951, 1: 272-274) as ‘Gar winzig ist der Kuṣumbhaka: den kleinen zerschlage ich mit dem Stein’ and Witzel and Gotō (2013: 345-347) as ‘So winzig ist der Kuṣumbhaka. Den kleinen zebreche ich mit dem Stein’, both defining *takam* as ‘den kleinen (Kuṣumbhaka)’.

<sup>18</sup> The commentary of Sāyaṇa ad RV 1.191.15 presents a secondary meaning for this *takam*, as follows: «*takam kutsitam tam nakulam*», that is, ‘*takam* “contemptible” *tam* “mongoose”’. See Kashikar and Sontakke (1933-1951, 1: 1114).

*dhānvasu* show a primary meaning of *ajñāte* ‘unknown’, even if *anyakēśām* could also have a secondary sense of *kutsite* ‘contemptible’. In both cases, the translation ends up being partially different from that given by authors such as Jamison and Brereton (2014) and Geldner (1951), and often differs with Sāyaṇa’s commentary (Sontakke, Kashikar 1933-1951). At the same time, looking at RV instances made it possible to clarify the relation between the senses *anukampāyām* ‘compassion’ (A 5.3.76-77) and *nītau* ‘a strategy for solving problems’ (A 5.3.77). Without reading these two aphorisms together, it is difficult to grasp the specific meaning given to *akaC* in quotations as *evā te mūtram mucyatām bahīr bāl īti sarvakām* (but also *áva dvaké áva trikā divás caranti bheṣajā / kṣamā carishṇv ekakām*). Here it is clear that a human being is suffering, and that the rite should serve the purpose of releasing his urine (or to ask the gods for help). In these cases, there is a *nīti* ‘a strategy for solving problems’ that is asked by the suffering person, but there is also someone who feels *anukampā* ‘compassion’ towards the person helped by the hymns. The results of this study have been published in Ferrero (2023).

### 3. The *taddhita* affixes *ātI* / *enaP* / *āC* (A 5.3.34 – A 5.3.36)

The *navya vyākaraṇa* works create several sections grouping together the *taddhita* affixes based on their meanings or focusing on their first member. In fact, the PK mentions eleven sub-sections<sup>19</sup>, which are then transformed by the SK into nineteen sub-divisions<sup>20</sup>; this number is probably justified by the fact that Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita deals with all the *sūtras* of the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* of Pāṇini. Subsequently, the *kaumudīs* of Varadarāja, i.e., the *Madhyasiddhāntakaumudī* (MSK), the *Laghusiddhāntakaumudī* (LSK) and the *Sārasiddhāntakaumudī* (SSK), progressively reduce the quantity of these aphorisms, giving priority to the best-known rules or to the most used ones, and this specific trend is also reflected in the sub-sections concerning the *taddhita* affixes. For instance, the LSK shows fifteen sub-sections dealing with the secondary affixes, which are listed here-below<sup>21</sup>:

- 1) *apatyādhikāra* ‘The governing domain of [affixes denoting] progeny’
- 2) *raktādyarthaka* ‘[Affixes denoting] the sense of ‘dyed with’, etc.’
- 3) *cāturarthika* ‘[Affixes] with fourfold signification’
- 4) *śaiṣika* ‘The remaining [affixes]’
- 5) *vikārādyarthaka* ‘[Affixes] meaning modification, etc.’
- 6) *thagadadhikāra* ‘The governing domain of *thaK*’
- 7) *yadadhikāra* ‘The governing domain of *yaT*’
- 8) *chayadadhikāra* ‘The governing domain of *cha* and *yaT*’

<sup>19</sup> The PK lists the following ‘*taddhitāḥ*’ sub-sections: 1) *prāgdīvyatīyeṣv apatyārtheṣu sādharmaṇāḥ pratyayāḥ*, 2) *prāgdīvyatīyāḥ*, 3) *cāturarthikāḥ pratyayāḥ*, 4) *śaiṣikāḥ pratyayāḥ*, 5) *vikārādyarthakāḥ pratyayāḥ*, 6) *prāgvahatīyāḥ pratyayāḥ*, 7) *prāgdhitīyāḥ pratyayāḥ*, 8) *prākṛtīyāḥ pratyayāḥ*, 9) *prāgvatīyāḥ*, 10) *prāgddiśīyāḥ*, 11) *anye taddhitāḥ*.

<sup>20</sup> The SK mentions the following sub-divisions among the *taddhita* affixes (*taddhiteṣv*): 1) *apatyādivikārāntārtha-sādharmaṇaprakaraṇam*, 2) *apatyādhikārapra°*, 3) *raktādyarthapra°*, 4) *cāturarthikapra°*, 5) *śaiṣikapra°*, 6) *prāgdīvyatīyapra°*, 7) *thagadadhikārapra°*, 8) *prāgghitīyapra°*, 9) *chayator adhikārapra°*, 10) *ārhiyapra°*, 11) *thañadhikāre kālādhikārapra°*, 12) *thañadhikārapra°*, 13) *bhāvakarmārthapra°*, 14) *pāñcamikapra°*, 15) *matvarthīyapra°*, 16) *vibhaktisaṃjñakapra°*, 17) *prāgīvyapra°*, 18) *svārthikapra°*, 19) *dviruktapra°*.

<sup>21</sup> As for the Sanskrit names (and the English translations) of these fifteen sub-sections, see Kanshi Ram (2010-2012).

- 9) *ṭhañadhikāra* ‘The governing domain of *ṭhañ*’
- 10) *tvataladhikāra* ‘The governing domain of *tva* and *taL*’
- 11) *bhavanādyarthaka* ‘[Affixes] denoting the locus of growing, etc.’
- 12) *matvarthīya* ‘[Affixes] denoting possession’
- 13) *prāgdiśīya* ‘[Affixes prescribed] prior to *diś*’
- 14) *prāgīviya* ‘[Affixes prescribed] prior to *ive pratikṛtau*’ (see above – the affix *akaC*)
- 15) *svārthika* ‘The *svārthika* [*taddhita* affixes]’

Concerning the *taddhita* affixes prescribed for individual components of the *sarvanāman* category, the most interesting are *ātI / enaP / āC* (A 5.3.34 – A 5.3.36)<sup>22</sup>. These affixes are part of a group of rules headed by A 5.3.27 *dikṣabdebhyaḥ saptamīpañcamīprathamābhyo digdeśakāleṣv astātīḥ* «[The *taddhita* affix] *astātI* occurs after the word-forms denoting directions and ending in locative, ablative and nominative endings in the meaning of *diś* ‘direction’, *deśa* ‘location’, and *kāla* ‘time’». The following *sūtras* (from A 5.3.28 up to A 5.3.40) prescribe different *taddhitas* occurring after several direction terms, all of them ending in locative, ablative and nominative endings in the meaning of *diś*, *deśa*, and *kāla*. However, only the aphorisms dealing with those directions designated as *sarvanāmans* (i.e., *uttara* ‘north’, *pūrva* and *para* ‘east’, *dakṣiṇa* and *adhara* ‘south’, and *avara* ‘west’ – see the 35 members of the *sarvādi* list) are here taken into consideration, followed by the examples provided by the KV *ad* A 5.3.28 – A 5.3.40:

- A 5.3.28 *dakṣiṇa-uttarābhyām atasuc*<sup>23</sup>  
 Ex. *dakṣiṇa* + *atasuC* > *dakṣiṇatas*  
 Ex. *uttara* + *atasuC* > *uttaratas*
- A 5.3.29 *vibhāṣā para-avarābhyām*<sup>24</sup>  
 Ex. *para* + *atasuC* > *paratas* (*vibhāṣā* – marginally) / *parastāt* (< *astātI* – A 5.3.27)  
 Ex. *avara* + *atasuC* > *avaratas* (*vibhāṣā* – marginally) / *avastāt* (< *astātI* – A 5.3.27)
- A 5.3.34 *uttara-adhara-dakṣiṇād ātiḥ* (see below)
- A 5.3.35 *enab anyatarasyām adūre pañcamyāḥ* (see below)
- A 5.3.36 *dakṣiṇād āC* (see below)
- A 5.3.37 *āhi ca dūre*<sup>25</sup>  
 Ex. *dakṣiṇa* + *āhi* > *dakṣiṇāhi* / *dakṣiṇā* (< *āC* – A 5.3.36)
- A 5.3.38 *uttarāc ca*<sup>26</sup>  
 Ex. *uttara* + *āC* > *uttarā* / *uttara* + *āhi* > *uttarāhi*

<sup>22</sup> The *taddhita* affixes *ātI / enaP / āC* (A 5.3.34–A 5.3.36) are listed by the SK in the sub-section named *vibhaktisaṃjñakaprakaraṇam* ‘The *vibhakti* affixes’ (tr. Vasu 1905-1907).

<sup>23</sup> A 5.3.28: «*dakṣiṇottarābhyām atasuc* [*dikṣabdebhyaḥ saptamīpañcamīprathamābhyo digdeśakāleṣu* 27]» ‘[The *taddhita* affix] *atasuC* occurs after *dakṣiṇa* and *uttara* ending in locative, ablative and nominative endings in the meaning of *diś*, *deśa*, and *kāla*’.

<sup>24</sup> A 5.3.29: «*vibhāṣā parāvarābhyām* [*dikṣabdebhyaḥ saptamīpañcamīprathamābhyo digdeśakāleṣu* 27 *atasuc* 28]» ‘[The *taddhita* affix] *atasuC* occurs marginally – Kiparsky (1979: 1) – after *para* and *avara* ending in locative, ablative and nominative endings in the meaning of *diś*, *deśa*, and *kāla*’.

<sup>25</sup> A 5.3.37: «*āhi ca dūre* [*dikṣabdebhyaḥ saptamīpañcamīprathamābhyo digdeśakāleṣu* 27 *apañcamyāḥ* 35]» ‘[The *taddhita* affix] *āhi* also occurs after *dakṣiṇa* ending in locative and nominative endings, but not in an ablative ending, in the meaning of *diś*, *deśa*, and *kāla* as *dūre* “distant”’.

<sup>26</sup> A 5.3.38: «*uttarāc ca* [*dikṣabdebhyaḥ saptamīpañcamīprathamābhyo digdeśakāleṣu* 27 *apañcamyāḥ* 35 *dūre* 37]» ‘And [the *taddhita* affixes *āC* – A 5.3.36 – and *āhi* – A 5.3.37] occur after *uttara* ending in locative and nominative endings, but not in an ablative ending, in the meaning of *diś*, *deśa*, and *kāla* as *dūre* “distant”’.



A 5.3.39 *pūrva-adhara-avarāṇām asi pur-adh-avaś caiṣām*<sup>27</sup>

Ex. *pūrva* + *asI* > *purās*

Ex. *adhara* + *asI* > *adhas*

Ex. *avara* + *asI* > *avas*

A 5.3.40 *astāti ca*<sup>28</sup>

Ex. *pūrva* + *astātI* > *purastāt*

Ex. *adhara* + *astātI* > *adhastāt*

The affix *ātI* is mentioned in *sūtra* A 5.3.34 *uttarādharaḍakṣiṇād ātiḥ* [*dikṣabdebhyaḥ saptamīpañcamīprathamābhyo digdeśakāleṣu* 27], that is, «The *taddhita* affix *ātI* occurs after *uttara*, *adhara* and *dakṣiṇa* ending in the locative, ablative and nominative endings in the meaning of *diś*, *deśa*, and *kāla*». Thus, *uttara* + *ātI* > *uttarāt*, *adhara* + *ātI* > *adharāt*, *dakṣiṇa* + *ātI* > *dakṣiṇāt*; it is immediately clear that these forms correspond – from a strict morphological point of view – to the ablative singular of the nominal inflection (i.e., *rāmāt* < *rāma* + *ṆasI*), which is different from the ablative singular of the pronominal declension (that is, *sarvasmāt* < *sarva* + *smāt* – A 7.1.15). Nevertheless, despite this peculiarity of *uttarāt*, etc., it is important to note that the M does not comment on this rule.

KV *ad* A 5.3.34 provides the following examples:

*uttarasyām diśi vasati* = *uttarād vasati* ‘he lives in the north’

*uttarād āgataḥ* ‘he came from the north’

*uttarād ramaṇīyam* ‘it is beautiful hereafter’

*adharād vasati* ‘he lives in the south’

*adharād āgataḥ* ‘he came from the south’

*adharād ramaṇīyam* ‘it is beautiful down below’

*dakṣiṇād vasati* ‘he lives in the south’

*dakṣiṇād āgataḥ* ‘he came from the south’

*dakṣiṇād ramaṇīyam* ‘it is beautiful down below’

The affix *enaP* is prescribed by A 5.3.35 *enab anyatarasyām adūre* ‘*pañcamyāḥ* [*dikṣabdebhyaḥ saptamīpañcamīprathamābhyo digdeśakāleṣv* 27 *uttarādharaḍakṣiṇād* 34], i.e., ‘The *taddhita* affix *enaP* optionally – Kiparsky (1979: 1) – occurs after *uttara*, *adhara* and *dakṣiṇa* ending in locative and nominative endings, but not in an ablative ending (*apañcamyāḥ*)<sup>29</sup>, in the meaning of *diś*, *deśa*, and *kāla* as *adūre* “non-distant”’. For instance, *uttara* + *enaP* > *uttareṇa*, *adhara* + *enaP* > *adhareṇa*, *dakṣiṇa* + *enaP* > *dakṣiṇena*, corresponding to the instrumental singular of the nominal inflection (i.e.,

<sup>27</sup> A 5.3.39: «*pūrvādharaḍavarāṇām asi puradhavaś caiṣām* [*dikṣabdebhyaḥ saptamīpañcamīprathamābhyo digdeśakāleṣu* 27]» ‘[The *taddhita* affix] *asI* occurs after *pūrva*, *adhara* and *avara* ending in locative, ablative and nominative endings in the meaning of *diś*, *deśa*, and *kāla*, and *pur-*, *adh-*, *ava-* replace them (i.e., *pūrva*, *adhara*, *avara*)’.

<sup>28</sup> A 5.3.40: «*astāti ca* [*dikṣabdebhyaḥ saptamīpañcamīprathamābhyo digdeśakāleṣu* 27 *pūrvādharaḍavarāṇām puradhavas* 39]» ‘[The *taddhita* affix] *astātI* also occurs after *pūrva*, *adhara* and *avara* ending in locative, ablative and nominative endings in the meaning of *diś*, *deśa*, and *kāla*, and *pur-*, *adh-*, *ava-* replace them’.

<sup>29</sup> M *ad* A 5.3.35 insists on the insertion of *apañcamyāḥ* in rule A 5.3.35 by mentioning «*apañcamyā iti prāḡ asaḥ* (vt. 1)», i.e., ‘[The term] *apañcamyāḥ* extends [to all *sūtras*] prior to *asI* (see A 5.3.39)’. Therefore, Patañjali elucidates vt. 1 as «*apañcamyā iti yad ucyate prāḡ asas tad draṣṭavyam*». The author explains that the term *apañcamyāḥ* will create problems in extending beyond A 5.3.39 and, therefore, the Vārttikakāra (i.e., Kātyāyana) blocks its *anuvṛtti* before the affix *asI* (*dveṣyaṃ vijānīyād aviśeṣeṇeta uttaram apañcamyā iti | tad ācāryaḥ suhṛd bhūtvānvācaṣṭe* ‘*pañcamyā iti prāḡ asa iti* ||).

*rāmeṇa*). However, it is not significant as the previous occurrences *uttarāt*, *adharāt* and *dakṣiṇāt* (see A 5.3.34) since the instrumental singular is the same both in the nominal inflection (*rāmeṇa*) and in the pronominal declension (*sarveṇa*). For this reason, the distinction between the nominal and pronominal inflection is not evident from a morphological point of view.

KV *ad* A 5.3.35 provides the following examples:

*uttareṇa vasati* (A 5.3.35) ‘he lives nearby in the north’  
 OR *uttarād vasati* (A 5.3.34) ‘*id.*’  
 OR *uttarato vasati* (A 5.3.28) ‘*id.*’  
*adhareṇa vasati* (A 5.3.35) ‘he lives nearby in the south’  
 OR *adharād vasati* (A 5.3.34) ‘*id.*’  
 OR *adhastād vasati* (A 5.3.40) ‘*id.*’  
*dakṣiṇena vasati* (A 5.3.35) ‘he lives nearby in the south’  
 OR *dakṣiṇād vasati* (A 5.3.34) ‘*id.*’  
 OR *dakṣiṇato vasati* (A 5.3.28) ‘*id.*’

The affix *āC* is taught by rule A 5.3.36 *dakṣiṇād āC*<sup>30</sup> [*dikṣabdebhyaḥ* 27 *saptamīpañcamī-prathamābhyo* 27 *digdeśakāleṣv* 27 *apañcamyāḥ* 28], namely, «The *taddhita* affix *āC* occurs after *dakṣiṇa* ending in locative and nominative endings, but not in an ablative ending, in the meaning of *diś*, *deśa*, and *kāla*». Therefore, *dakṣiṇa* + *āC* > *dakṣiṇā*, corresponding to the Vedic instrumental<sup>31</sup> singular of the nominal inflection (i.e., *rāmā*), but this form is not significant as the previous instances of *uttarāt*, *adharāt* and *dakṣiṇāt* (see A 5.3.34); because, once again, the Vedic instrumental singular ends up being the same in the nominal declension (*rāmā*) and in the pronominal inflection (*sarvā*);

<sup>30</sup> M *ad* A 5.3.36 asks: ‘What is the purpose of the *anubandha* in *āC* (*kim arthaś cakāraḥ*)?’ At first, the aim seems to be the accentuation (*svarārthaḥ*); in accordance with A 6.1.163 *citah*, the *anubandha* *C* is added to secure the *udātta* accent in the final syllables of the secondary derivative forms (*cito ’nte udātto bhavātīty antodāttatvaṃ yathā syāt*). Nevertheless, this is not the scope (*naitad asti prayojanam*), because *āC* consists of only one syllable and, thus, no purpose is served by the *anubandha* with reference to the accent (*ekājayaṃ tatra nārthaḥ svarārthena cakāreṇānubandhena*). The accent is instead obtained by means of the fact that *āC* is an affix (*pratyaṣvareṇaiva siddham*). The second hypothesis is that the *anubandha* *C* is used to distinguish this affix *āC* from the others (*viśeṣaṇārthas tarhi*). So, the question ‘Which is the *sūtra* where the scope of distinguishing this affix *āC* from the others is evident (*kva viśeṣaṇārthenārthaḥ*)?’ finds an answer in rule A 2.3.29: «*anya-ārāt-itara-ṛte-dikchabda-añcu-uttarapada-āC-āhi-yukte*».

<sup>31</sup> It is easy to understand why *uttara* + *ātI* > *uttarāt*, *adhara* + *ātI* > *adharāt*, *dakṣiṇa* + *ātI* > *dakṣiṇāt* (A 5.3.34) – corresponding to the ablative singular of the nominal inflection, i.e., *ramāt* – can be used in the sense of *diś* ‘direction’ and *deśa* ‘location’; it is more difficult to explain the meaning brought by the affixes *enaP* (A 5.3.35) and *āC* (A 5.3.36). In fact, *uttara* + *enaP* > *uttareṇa*, *adhara* + *enaP* > *adhareṇa*, *dakṣiṇa* + *enaP* > *dakṣiṇena* and *dakṣiṇa* + *āC* > *dakṣiṇā* correspond respectively to the instrumental singular and the Vedic instrumental singular of the nominal inflection. Hence, it can be useful to investigate the uses of the instrumental case in Sanskrit (and Vedic) grammar. Speijer (1886: 42-58) explains that the instrumental case has first a sociative meaning, that is, it denotes concomitancy or mutuality of relations. However, by extending the notions of concomitancy, accompaniment, simultaneousness from space and time to all sorts of logical categories, the instrumental tells the *how* of the action or state, i.e., (1) it represents the instrument (*karaṇa*) or (2) the agent (*kartṛ*), (3) it denotes quality, attribute or circumstance, (4) it declares the test, to measure by, (5) it expresses the price or value, (6) it denotes the way, by which one goes, and (7) it denotes the cause, motive or reason. The author concludes that the instrumental is used in the sense of time, namely, to denote *in what time* something is accomplished. This last purpose of the instrumental case is the most interesting because it is useful to explain that the two affixes *enaP* (A 5.3.35) and *āC* (A 5.3.36) are here taken into consideration because they bring, among the others, the meaning of *kāla* ‘time’ (see *dig-deśa-kāleṣv* – A 5.3.27).

for this reason, the distinction between the two declensions is not immediately evident from a morphological point of view.

KV *ad* A 5.3.36 provides the following examples:

*dakṣiṇā vasati* ‘he lives in the south’

*dakṣiṇā ramaṇīyam* ‘it is beautiful here below’

Since the occurrences of *uttara*, *adhara* and *dakṣiṇa* + *enaP* (A 5.3.35) and *dakṣiṇa* + *āC* (A 5.3.36) give no significant results for the general research, which is mainly interested in the *sarvānamans*, taking into consideration how they are inflected and composed, and now also how there are affixed, only the instances of *uttara*, *adhara* and *dakṣiṇa* + *ātI* (A 5.3.34) have been analysed. To understand why Pāṇini feels the need to insert this rule in the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*, considering that the forms *uttarāt*, etc. can also be obtained by means of other aphorisms (first of all, by means of the optionality prescribed by *sūtra* A 7.1.16 *pūrvādibhyo navabhyo vā*), the pre-Pāṇinian literary sources (mainly ṚV and AVŚ) have been studied. Some examples of *ātI* occurring after the pronominal stems have been examined in the next section, trying to better understand which was the linguistic repertoire the author describes in his grammatical work.

#### 4. Instances of *uttarāt* and *adharāt* in ṚV and AVŚ

The following instances of *uttarāt* and *adharāt* – it was not possible to find examples of *dakṣiṇāt* – are taken from pre-Pāṇinian sources, that is, from the *saṃhitās* of ṚV and AVŚ. Concerning the ṚV, the current translations by Jamison and Brereton (2014), Geldner (1951) and Witzel and Gotō (2013) have been considered in analysing the single occurrence of *uttarasmāt* (in *maṇḍala* 10) compared to the 4 occurrences of *uttarāt* (in *maṇḍalas* 4/5/6/7); moreover, there are 10 instances of *adharāt* (in *maṇḍalas* 4/5/6/7/8/10). On the other hand, the translation of Whitney and Lanman (1905) is the reference text for the books of the AVŚ and is especially useful in understanding the instances of *uttarāt* (x12) and *adharāt* (x18). Finally, there is also a single instance of *uttarasmāt* in the AVŚ; nevertheless, it is important to remember that this AVŚ sentence mentioning *uttarasmāt* also occurs in the above-mentioned example of the ṚV.

At first, the single example of *uttarasmāt* (i.e., the ablative singular of the pronominal declension) is here shown. In fact, as anticipated in the introduction of the present article, the affix *ṆasI* (abl. sg.) is replaced with the substitute *smāt* (A 7.1.15). For this reason, *sarva-* + *ṆasI* becomes *sarva-* + *smāt* and the result is the final form *sarvasmāt* for the ablative singular. The single instance of *uttarasmāt* is part of the refrain of the hymns ṚV 10.42.11, ṚV 10.43.11, and ṚV 10.44.11 (all devoted to Indra)<sup>32</sup>:

RV 10.42.11 (= RV 10.43.11 / RV 10.44.11):

*bṛhaspátir naḥ pári pātu paścād utóttarasmād ádharād aghāyóḥ /  
índraḥ purástād utá madhyató naḥ sákhā sákhībhyo várivaḥ kṛṇotu //*

‘Let Indra, lord of the formulation, protect us all around, from behind and **from above and from below**, from him who wishes ill – from in front and from the middle. Let him, as comrade, create wide space for his comrades’. (tr. Jamison and Brereton 2014, 3: 1446)

<sup>32</sup> As for the relevant context, see Jamison and Brereton (2014, 3: 1445-1450).

The same occurrence found in the refrain of the above-mentioned hymns of the RV is then repeated by AVŚ 7.51.1, which is part of a hymn entitled by Whitney and Lanman (1905, 1: 421-422) as “For protection by Brihaspati and Indra”. This sentence is then exactly repeated by AVŚ 20.17.11, AVŚ 20.89.11 and AVŚ 20.94.11:

AVŚ 7.51.1 (= AVŚ 20.17.11 / AVŚ 20.89.11 / AVŚ 20.94.11):  
*bṛhaspátir naḥ pári pātu paścād utóttarasmād ádharād aghayóḥ /*  
*índrah purástād utá madhyató naḥ sákḥā sákhibhyo várīyah kṛṇotu //*  
 ‘Let Brihaspati protect us round about from behind, also **from above, from below**, against the malignant one; let Indra from in front and from midway make wide space for us, a companion for companions’. (tr. Whitney and Lanman 1905, 1: 422)

What is curious is that, both in RV and AVŚ, this *uttarasmāt* is mentioned together with *adharāt* (from *adhara* + *ātI* – A 5.3.34); in fact, *uttarasmād adharāt* stands for ‘from above and from below’ and, for this reason, it is possible to hypothesise that the discrepancy between *adharāt* (and *paścāt* – which is not a *sarvanāman*) and *uttarasmāt* is probably determined by a particular need in metrics.

Subsequently, in RV 6.19.9 and RV 8.61.16 (both devoted to Indra)<sup>33</sup>, the derivative forms *uttarāt* (< *uttara* + *ātI*) and *adharāt* (< *adhara* + *ātI* – A 5.3.34) are mentioned together. Furthermore, these forms *uttarāt* and *adharāt* are introduced in the same sentence with *paścāt* and *purastāt* / *purā* ‘from behind [...] from in front’, which are the other two direction terms used in the meaning of *deśa*, but which are not included in the *sarvādi* list:

RV 6.19.9: *ā te śúsmo vṛṣabhā etu paścād óttarād adharād ā purástāt /*  
*ā viśvāto abhī sám etv arvān índra dyumnām svārvad dhehy asmé //*  
 ‘Let your unbridled force, a bull, come here from behind, here **from above and below**, here from in front. Let it come altogether toward us from all sides. Indra, grant to us sun-like brilliance’. (tr. Jamison and Brereton 2014, 2: 799)

RV 8.61.16: *tvām naḥ paścād adharād uttarāt purā índra ní pāhi viśvātaḥ /*  
*ārē asmāt kṛṇuhi daīvyam bhayām āré hetīr ádevīḥ //*  
 ‘Protect us from behind, **from beneath, from above**, from in front, from everywhere, Indra. Put far away from us fear of the gods, far away the ungodly missiles’. (tr. Jamison and Brereton 2014, 2: 1147)

The same two occurrences of *uttarāt* (< *uttara* + *ātI*) and *adharāt* (< *adhara* + *ātI* – A 5.3.34), introduced in the same sentence with *paścāt* and *purastāt* / *purā* ‘from behind [...] from in front’, (which are not included in the *sarvādi* list) can be found in several hymns of the AVŚ. For instance, AVŚ 6.40.3 is part of a hymn titled “For freedom from fear” by Whitney and Lanman (1905, 1: 310). This sentence is repeated by AVŚ 8.5.17, entitled by Whitney and Lanman (1905, 2: 490-493) as “Against witchcraft etc.: with an amulet”, but in this example the reference is to the rivals (*sapatna*) and no longer to the enemies (*amitra*)<sup>34</sup>:

<sup>33</sup> As for the context, see Jamison and Brereton (2014, 2: 798-800, 1145-1147).

<sup>34</sup> Another hymn that mentions the four direction terms in the meaning of *deśa* and that is in between these two instances is AVŚ 8.3.20, which is titled by Whitney and Lanman (1905, 2: 481-486) as “To Agni: against sorcerers and demons.”

AVŚ 6.40.3: *anamitrām no **adharād** anamitrām na **uttarāt** /  
indrānamitrām naḥ paścād anamitrām purás kṛdhi //*

‘Freedom from enemies for us **below**, freedom from enemies for us **above**; O Indra, make freedom from enemies for us behind, freedom from enemies in front’. (tr. Withney and Lanman 1905, 1: 310)

AVŚ 8.5.17: *asapatnām no **adharād** asapatnām na **uttarāt** /  
indrāsapatnām naḥ paścāj jyótiḥ śūra purás kṛdhi //*

‘Freedom from rivals for us **below**, freedom from rivals for us **above**, freedom from rivals for us behind, O Indra, light in front make thou, O hero’. (tr. Whitney and Lanman 1905, 2: 492)

The following example focuses on *uttarāt* ‘above’ and *adharāt* ‘below’ (and *purastāt* ‘in front’ – which is not included in the *sarvādi* list – but not *paścāt* ‘behind’): AVŚ 11.2.4 is part of a hymn titled by Whitney and Lanman (1905, 2: 620-625) as «To Rudra, especially as Bhava and Čarva»<sup>35</sup>.

AVŚ 11.2.4: *purastāt te nāmaḥ kṛṇma **uttarād adharād** utá /  
abhīvargād divás páry antárikṣāya te nāmaḥ //*

‘We pay thee homage in front, **above**, also **below**; forth from the sphere of the sky, homage [be] to thine atmosphere’. (tr. Whitney and Lanman 1905, 2: 621)

All the previous occurrences refer to *uttarāt* (< *uttara* + *ātI*) and *adharāt* (< *adhara* + *ātI* – A 5.3.34) in the meaning of *deśa* ‘location’, explicitly mentioning a movement ‘from above’ or ‘from below’. The forms *paścāt* ‘from behind’ and *purastāt* / *purás* ‘from in front’ are almost always read in these examples, but they are not relevant since these terms are not part of the *sarvādi* list and, therefore, they are not designated and inflected as pronominal stems.

Both in the RV and AVŚ, there are several occurrences of *uttarāt* and *adharāt* mentioned alone; for this reason, only some of these examples are here analysed, whereas the other instances are listed in the footnotes. Nevertheless, *uttarāt* (< *uttara* + *ātI*) mentioned in RV 4.26.6 (Praise of Falcon)<sup>36</sup> and RV 5.60.7 (devoted to the Maruts)<sup>37</sup> is used to qualify ‘heaven’, and thus not used as pronoun:

RV 4.26.6: *ṛjīpī śyenó dádamāno aṁśúm parāvataḥ śakunó mandráṁ madam /  
sómam bharad dādṛhāṇó devāvān divó aṁśmād **úttarād** ādāya //*

‘Flying straight, the falcon, the bird, hanging onto the plant, brought from afar the gladdening, exhilarating drink, the soma, holding it firmly, having the gods on his side, having taken it **from yonder high heaven**’. (tr. Jamison and Brereton 2014, 1: 601)

RV 5.60.7: *agnís ca yán maruto viśvavedaso divó váhadhva **úttarād** ádhi ṣṇúbhiḥ /  
té mandasānā dhúnayo riśādaso vāmám dhatta yájamānāya sunvaté //*

<sup>35</sup> There are four other hymns that refer to the four direction terms in the meaning of *deśa* and that follow AVŚ 11.2.4, that is, AVŚ 12.1.32 (“To the earth” – Whitney and Lanman 1905, 2: 660-672), AVŚ 18.4.11 (“Funeral verses” – Whitney and Lanman 1905, 2: 869-894), AVŚ 19.15.5 (“For safety and success” – Whitney and Lanman 1905, 2: 921-923), and AVŚ 19.48.4 (“To night: for protection” – Whitney and Lanman 1905, 2: 977-978).

<sup>36</sup> As for the context, see Jamison and Brereton (2014, 1: 600-601).

<sup>37</sup> As for the context, see Jamison and Brereton (2014, 2: 739-740).

‘O Maruts, affording all possessions, and Agni too – when you (Maruts) drive yourselves **from higher** heaven along (its) backs, exulting, boisterous – (all) you who have care for the stranger, establish a thing of value for the sacrificer who presses soma’. (tr. Jamison and Brereton 2014, 2: 740)

However, the derivative form *uttarāt* can also be found in AVŚ 11.6.18, which is part of a hymn titled by Whitney and Lanman (1905, 2: 640-643) as “To many different gods: for relief”, and AVŚ 12.3.24, which is titled “Cremation as a sacrifice” by Whitney and Lanman (1905, 2: 682-693).

AVŚ 11.6.18: *éta devā dakṣiṇatāḥ paścāt prāñca udēta / purāstād uttarāc chakrā viśve devāḥ samētya té no muñcantv āṃhasaḥ //*  
‘Come, ye gods, from the south; from the west come up eastward; from the east, **from the north**, mighty, all the gods, coming together: let them free us from distress’. (tr. Whitney and Lanman 1905, 2: 642)

AVŚ 12.3.24: *agnīḥ pácan rakṣatu tvā purāstād indro rakṣatu dakṣiṇatō marútvān / váruṇas tvā dṛmḥād dharīṇe pratīcyā uttarāt tvā sōmaḥ sám dadātai //*  
‘Let Agni, cooking, defend thee on the east; let Indra, with the Maruts, defend on the south; may Varuna fix thee in the maintenance of the western [quarter]; **on the north** may Soma give thee together’. (tr. Whitney and Lanman 1905, 2: 687)

It is evident that *uttarāt* (< *uttara* + *āt*) is used in the sense of direction (*diś*), i.e., ‘from the north’ / ‘on the north’. The other terms used to indicate the remaining directions are *purastāt* ‘from the east’ / ‘on the east’, *dakṣiṇatas* ‘from the south’ / ‘on the south’, and *paścāt* ‘from the west’ / *pratīcyās* ‘of the western [quarter]’<sup>38</sup>. For this reason, having to do with direction terms properly used in the meaning of *diś*, *dakṣiṇatas* (which is part of the *sarvādi* list, but which takes here the *taddhita* affix *atasu* C – A 5.3.28) is introduced in the place of *adharāt* ‘from below’.

On the other hand, when *adharāt* is understood as ‘from the south’, *uttarāt* is often substituted by *udaktāt* ‘from the north’. However, even if the instances of *udaktāt* are not relevant for this research, as this term is not designated as a *sarvanāman*, an example of *adharāt* can be found in RV 7.72.5, which is then repeated exactly with the same words by RV 7.73.5 (both devoted to the Aśvins)<sup>39</sup>, whereas further instances can be read in the footnotes<sup>40</sup>.

RV 7.72.5 (= RV 7.73.5):  
*ā paścātān nāsatyā purāstād āśvinā yātam adharād udaktāt / ā viśvātaḥ pāñcajanyaena rāyā yūyām pāta svastībhiḥ sādā naḥ //*  
‘Journey here from the west or from the east, Nāsatyas, here **from the south** or from the north, Aśvins, here from everywhere with the wealth belonging to the five peoples. – Do you protect us always with your blessings’. (tr. Jamison and Brereton 2014, 2: 974)

<sup>38</sup> There are two other hymns that refer to these four direction terms (*uttarāt*, *purastāt*, *dakṣiṇatas*, and *paścāt*), namely, AVŚ 19.16.1 (“For safety and protection” – Whitney and Lanman 1905, 2: 923-924) and AVŚ 19.27.14 (“For protection etc.: with a triple amulet” – Whitney and Lanman 1905, 2: 938-941).

<sup>39</sup> As for the context, see Jamison and Brereton (2014, 2: 973-975).

<sup>40</sup> There are two other hymns that mention these four direction terms in the meaning of *deśa*, that is, RV 7.104.19 (dedicated to Indra – see Jamison and Brereton 2014, 2: 1014-1018) and RV 10.87.20-21 (devoted to Agni Demon-Smiter – see Jamison and Brereton 2014, 3: 1529-1532).

What is curious is that Whitney and Lanman continue to translate *adharāt* as ‘from below’ / ‘below’, for instance, in AVŚ 2.14.3, which is part of a hymn titled by Whitney and Lanman (1905, 1: 57-59) as “Against *sadānvās*”; the translation remains the same even when *uttarāt* is substituted by *udaktāt*, in this case mentioned as ‘from above’ – see AVŚ 8.3.19 entitled as “To Agni: against sorcerers and demons” by Whitney and Lanman (1905, 2: 481-486)<sup>41</sup>:

AVŚ 2.14.3: *asaú yó adharād grhās tātra santv arāyyàḥ /  
tātra sédir ny ūcyatu sārvas ca yātudhānyàḥ //*

‘Yon house that is **below** – there let the hags be; there let debility make its home, and all the sorceresses’. (tr. Whitney and Lanman 1905, 1: 58)

AVŚ 8.3.19: *tvām no agne adharād udaktās tvām paścād utā rakṣā purástāt /  
prāti tyé te ajārāsas tāpiṣṭhā aghāsaṃsaṃ śósucato dahantu //*

‘Do thou, O Agni, **from below**, from above, do thou defend us from behind and from in front; let those [flames] of thine, unaging, extremely hot, greatly paining, burn against the evil-plotter’. (tr. Whitney and Lanman 1905, 2: 484)

What emerges from the analysis of all these occurrences is the fact that, once the *taddhita* affix *ātI* (but also the following affixes *enaP* and *āC*) occurs after the pronominal stems, the derivative forms *uttarāt*, *adharāt* and *dakṣiṇāt* – A 5.3.34 (as well as *uttareṇa*, *adhareṇa* and *dakṣiṇeṇa* – A 5.3.35 – and *dakṣiṇā* – A 5.3.36) start to be considered as crystallised forms<sup>42</sup>, no longer as pronominal stems.

## 5. Conclusion

The research on pre-Pāṇinian examples of *sarvanāmans* + *ātI* shows, again, how a strong relation between philology and linguistics (in this case, the indigenous one) ensures a better understanding of the grammatical rules, while analysing the occurrences of the several linguistic phenomena described in the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*, and a subtler reading of Vedic and Sanskrit sources, especially due to the benefits deriving from the Pāṇinian grammatical description.

In this way, it is possible to understand why Pāṇini introduces A 5.3.34 (and A 5.3.35 – A 5.3.36) in the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*. It is well-known that *sūtra* A 4.1.2 prescribes all the endings of the nominal inflection (*sv-au-jas* – nom. – *am-auṭ-chaṣ* – acc. – *ṭā-bhyām-bhis* – ins. – *ṇe-bhyām-bhyas* – dat. – *ṇasi-bhyām-bhyas* – abl. – *ṇas-os-āṇ* – gen. – *ṇy-os-sup* – loc.). Subsequently, aphorism A 7.1.15 «*ṇasiṇyoh smātsminau*» is introduced because it prescribes the substitutes *smāt* and *smin* in the place of the nominal endings *ṆasI* and *Ṇi* (abl. / loc. sg.) when they occur after the pronominal stems ending in the short vowel *-a*, for instance, *sarva* ‘all’. For example, *sarva* + *ṆasI* > *sarva* + *smāt* = *sarvasmāt* (abl.

<sup>41</sup> There are four other hymns that refer to the four direction terms in the meaning of *deśa* and that follow these instances, namely, AVŚ 8.4.19 (“Against sorcerers and demons: to Indra and Soma” – Whitney and Lanman 1905, 2: 486-490), AVŚ 12.1.31 (“To the earth” – Whitney and Lanman 1905, 2: 660-672), AVŚ 12.2.41 (“The flesh-eating and the householder’s fire” – Whitney and Lanman 1905, 2: 672-682) and AVŚ 20.128.2.

<sup>42</sup> According to rule A 1.1.38 «*taddhitaś cāsarvavibhakti [avyayam 37]*» ‘[The word-form ending with] a *taddhita* affix to which all the *vibhaktis* cannot be attached is designated as *avyaya* “indeclinable”; in fact, ‘The feminine affix *āP* and the nominal affixes *suP* are zero-replaced by *LUK* when attached to an *avyaya*’ (A 2.4.82 «*avyayād āpsupaḥ [luk 58]*»). See Candotti (2012).

sg.). Furthermore, A 7.1.16 «*pūrvādibhyo navabhyo vā*» prescribes an optionality: the substitutes *smāt* and *smin* preferably replace *ŌasI* and *Ōi* (abl. / loc. sg.) when they occur after the nine pronominal stems beginning with *pūva* and ending in the short vowel *-a*, that is, *pūva* ‘east or prior’, *para* ‘subsequent’, *avara* ‘west or posterior’, *dakṣiṇa* ‘south or right’, *uttara* ‘north or inferior, subsequent’, *apara* ‘other or inferior’, *adhara* ‘west or inferior’ (A 1.1.34), *sva* ‘own’ (A 1.1.35), and *antara* ‘outer or an under or lower garment’ (A 1.1.36). According to this last rule A 7.1.16, *uttarasmāt* (*uttara* + *ŌasI* > *uttara* + *smāt* = *uttarasmāt*) is preferable to *uttarāt*, but this means that there is also the possibility to obtain *uttara* + *ŌasI* = *uttarāt*. Therefore, the question here remains: what need is there to introduce another aphorism explaining this form *uttarāt* if it is possible to obtain the same form by looking at A 7.1.16? While looking at the instances of *uttarāt* and *adharāt* found in the ṚV and AVŚ, Pāṇini probably realises that the optionality of aphorism A 7.1.16 is not enough to explain these occurrences. In fact, rule A 5.3.34 *uttarādharadakṣiṇād ātiḥ* is much more specific, prescribing this *taddhita* affix *ātI* after *uttara* ‘north’, *adhara* and *dakṣiṇa* ‘south’ ending in locative, ablative and nominative endings – with a further extension than the only ablative case ending in *-āt* – in the meaning of *diś* ‘direction’, *deśa* ‘location’ and *kāla* ‘time’ – where these word-forms denote a primary sense of direction, but with the affix *ātI* they can also have different nuances of meaning.

This differentiation of cases and meanings has probably been proposed by Pāṇini in his grammar to explain the several occurrences of *uttarāt* and *adharāt* that he was able to find in the ṚV and AVŚ, and that has been shown above. Hence, *uttarāt* can bring the sense of ‘from the north’ / ‘on the north’, as in AVŚ 11.6.18 and AVŚ 12.3.24, where it is mentioned together with the other three directions, that is, *dakṣiṇatas* ‘from the south’ / ‘on the south’ (which is also a *sarvanāman*, but which takes here the *taddhita* affix *atasuC* – A 5.3.28), both followed by *purastāt* ‘from the east’ / ‘on the east’, and *paścāt* ‘from the west’ / *pratīcyās* ‘of the western [quarter]’ (which are not part of the *sarvādi* list). Furthermore, *adharāt* can be understood as ‘from the south’ as in ṚV 7.72.5 (= ṚV 7.73.5), where *uttarāt* is then substituted by *udaktāt* ‘from the north’ (which is not designated as *sarvanāman*). Conversely, *uttarāt* and *adharāt* have also been understood in the meaning of *deśa* ‘location’, as ‘from above’ / ‘above’ and ‘from below’ / ‘below’. For instance, in ṚV 6.19.9 and ṚV 8.61.16, the derivative forms *uttara* + *ātI* and *adhara* + *ātI* are mentioned together. These forms are introduced in the same sentences with *paścāt* and *purastāt* / *purās* ‘from behind [...] from in front’, which are the other two direction terms used in the sense of *deśa*, but which are not included in the *sarvādi* list. The same occurrences of *uttarāt* and *adharāt* (mentioned together with *paścāt* and *purastāt* / *purās*) can be found in several hymns of the AVŚ, for instance, AVŚ 6.40.3 and AVŚ 8.5.17. However, what is worthy to note is that there are no pre-Pāṇinian examples of pronominal stems endowed with the secondary affix *ātI* in the meaning of *kāla* ‘time’, at least in the *saṃhitās* here examined. Finally, a single example of *uttarasmāt* (that is inflected as the ablative singular of the pronominal declension) can be found in ṚV 10.42.11 (= ṚV 10.43.11 / ṚV 10.44.11). The same occurrence found in the refrain of the above-mentioned hymns of the ṚV is then repeated by AVŚ 7.51.1. This sentence is then exactly repeated by AVŚ 20.17.11, AVŚ 20.89.11 and AVŚ 20.94.11. What is curious is that, both in ṚV and AVŚ, this *uttarasmāt* is mentioned together with *adharāt* (see *adhara* + *ātI* – A 5.3.34), where *uttarasmāt adharāt* stands for ‘from above and from below’ and, for this reason, the author of this article advances the hypothesis that the inflectional discrepancy between *adharāt* and *uttarasmāt* (i.e., the affix *ātI* vs the



pronominal inflection) is probably determined by a particular need in metrics, which justifies the poetic license.

While dealing with this main research on *ātI*, two occurrences emerge as even more peculiar, namely, *uttārāttāt* ‘from the north’ / ‘from above’ and *adharāttāt* ‘from the south’ / ‘from below’, and they can be found in ṚV 10.27.15 (devoted to Indra)<sup>43</sup> and ṚV 10.36.14 (dedicated to All Gods)<sup>44</sup>:

ṚV 10.27.15: *saptā vīrāso adharād ūd āyann aṣṭóttarāttāt sám ajagmīran té / náva paścātāt sthivimānta āyan dáśa prāk sánu ví tiranty áśnaḥ //*  
 ‘Seven heroes came up **from the south**, eight **from the north**: they joined together. Nine with grain sacks came from the west, ten in the east traverse the back of the rock’. (tr. Jamison and Brereton 2014, 3: 1416)

ṚV 10.36.14: *śavitā paścātāt śavitā purástāt śavitóttarāttāt śavitādhārāttāt / śavitā naḥ suvatu sarvātātīm śavitā no rāsātām dīrghām āyuh //*  
 ‘Savitar from behind, Savitar from in front, Savitar **from above**, Savitar **from below** – let Savitar impel wholeness to us; let Savitar bestow on us a long lifetime’. (tr. Jamison and Brereton 2014, 3: 1435)

The forms are basically derived from *uttarāt* and *adharāt*, which are considered as crystallised forms (A 1.1.38), then followed by an affix *tāt*. Whitney (1896: 404-405) teaches *tāt* as «a suffix of locality», [...] «which is added to words having already a local or directive value: thus, to adverbial accusatives; to adverbial ablatives (*uttarāttāt*); and to prepositional adverbs».

However, in his grammar, Pāṇini does not treat a specific affix *tāt*, he just mentions an affix *tātiL* (in A 4.4.142 «*sarvadevāt tātiL*»). This is very important because Debrunner (1954: 620) explains that *tāt* was known for sure only in the ṚV, in which it is possible to find *upara-tāt-i* and *vrka-tāt-i* (inflected in the locative singular), *deva-tāt-* and *sarva-tāt-* (inflected according to different cases); in fact, the author underlines that the old grammarians (amongst whom Pāṇini himself) do not know the affix *tāt*. For this reason, this affix is something that should be further investigated in the future, its peculiarity being that it remains in the field of anomie.

The purpose of the present research is to show the several peculiarities of Sanskrit pronouns and the importance of studying them by simultaneously looking at the indigenous grammar (i.e., Pāṇini) and at the Vedic and Sanskrit literature.

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### Abbreviations

- A *Aṣṭādhyāyī*. Ed. and tr. Böthlingk (1887). See also ed. and tr. Vasu (1891-1898); ed. and tr. Katre (1987); ed. and tr. Joshi and Roodbergen (1991-2011); ed. and tr. Sharma (1987-2003).  
 AVŚ *Atharvaveda Śaunakīya*. Ed. Vishva Bandhu (1960-1964). Tr. Whitney and Lanman (1905).

<sup>43</sup> As for the context, see Jamison and Brereton (2014, 3: 1412-1417).

<sup>44</sup> As for the context, see Jamison and Brereton (2014, 3: 1434-1435).

- KV *Kāśikāvyṛtti*. Ed. Sharma, Deshpande, and Padhye (1969-1970).  
 LSK *Laghusiddhāntakaumudī*. Ed. Joshi (2001). Tr. Kanshi Ram (2010-2012).  
 M *Mahābhāṣya*. Ed. Kielhorn (1880-1885).  
 MSK *Madhyasiddhāntakaumudī*. Ed. Joshi and Jha (1960).  
 PK *Prakriyākaumudī*. Ed. Trivedi (1925-1931).  
 RV *R̥gveda*. Ed. Sontakke and Kashikar (1933-1951). Tr. Geldner (1951). See also tr. Witzel and Gotō (2013); tr. Jamison and Brereton (2014).  
 SK *Siddhāntakaumudī*. Ed. Pancholi (1966). Ed. and tr. Vasu (1905-1907).  
 SSK *Sārasiddhāntakaumudī*. Ed. and tr. Devasthali (1968).

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